# *Appendix*

## Let's Keep the Record Straight on Hanford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF


**HON. BEN F. JENSEN**
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES


*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, during the recent debate on the Hanford power proposal, I felt obligated to speak out against an article that had been placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 16, 1962, which purported to answer the "Fact Sheets on Hanford New Production Reactor Electric Generating Plant" which I had inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 13, 1962. The short time at my disposal limited me to pointing out just a few of the questionable statements made in the so-called analysis of my fact sheets.

Even though we, who opposed this project last year, were successful in defeating this latest attempt to circumvent the will of the House, the record should be kept straight. I am therefore presenting herewith a full rebuttal to the attempt to cast doubt on my fact sheets:

I said in that fact statement, "objective same as last year." The proponents say it is not the same. Last year's objective was the construction of electric generating facilities at Hanford and the delivery of such power to the Bonneville system. That is exactly what would happen under the present proposal and nothing can change it. Even Washington Public Power Supply System admitted in a letter to AEC and Bonneville that the objective was the same.

I said, the "Federal Government would be de facto guarantor for Washington Public Power Supply System revenue bonds."

The proponents disagree. I said black on white in my fact sheets, the Bonneville Power Administration, an agency of the U.S. Government, freely admitted that Bonneville would deliver power of a value equal to all Washington Public Power Supply System costs and "in that sense the terms of the contract would be security for the revenue bonds which would be issued to finance the plant."

How much clearer does it need to be spelled out?

I said in the fact sheet, the "Washington Public Power Supply System proposal provides for Federal takeover of new production reactor powerplant."

The proponents claim that this takeover can be done only after congressional authorization. There is no such provision anywhere in the proposed contract on which facts can be based. There were provisions in the contract under which the contract could be terminated with an obligation for the Government to reimburse the Washington Public Power Supply System for all costs, bond redemption, and so forth.

I said, "New production reactor costs have skyrocketed."

The proponents said I had overlooked the fact that every nuclear project in the United States has exceeded its original cost estimate. I did not overlook this failing of AEC to make realistic cost estimates. It is something the Congress should recognize in the future in evaluating all proposed projects. The public power proponents on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy who insisted on AEC starting out on a convertible type production reactor before the proper research and designing was completed should hereafter think twice before making such a recommendation.

The fact remains that "new production reactor costs have skyrocketed." How else can you describe a $20-million increase in October 1961 and a $23 million additional increase in March 1962? No one knows just what the actual end cost may be. This in the face of assurances presented to the Congress by the AEC in September 1960, 2 years after the project was started, that the new production reactor would be completed within the original $145 million cost estimate and on time as scheduled.

I said: "generating plant costs have increased."

The proponents claim I said "generating facilities of the new production reactor have increased in cost from $95 to $130 million." This is not true. I said:

> Last year the estimated cost of constructing generating facilities at Hanford new production reactor was $95 million. Now we are told that Washington Public Power Supply System will have to issue $130 million in bonds to finance the project.

My statement is true. Testimony was given before our subcommittee earlier this year that the new production reactor generating plant construction cost increase was $5 or $10 million, with other items accounting for the balance of the increase to $130 million.

I said, "new production reactor power nonfirm." The proponents have to admit that this is true, but attempt to minimize how unrealiable such power would be. The fact remains that the new production reactor is of a new and untried design. Numerous and serious design and construction problems have developed, the cost has increased by $50 million, and there is no assurance that operational problems may well prevent the optimum production now estimated.

There are to be numerous scheduled outages during dual-purpose operation to permit refueling in connection with plutonium production. The number is apparently classified, as no mention is made of the number in any public report. I have been informed that other nuclear experts feel that the scheduled and unscheduled outages of the new production reactor might result in a maximum plant factor of not more than one-half that estimated by AEC and its engineers.

In contrast, hydroelectric plants with sufficient water supply are extremely reliable and fossil-fueled steam electric generating units have often operated a full year or more without a shutdown.

I said, "new production reactor power would be costly." The proponents attempt to refute this by breaking the item into five segments. Their first segment relates to two of the six items I listed as being necessary to a proper evaluating of the real cost of new production reactor power. They inferred that I had a "complete misunderstanding of the proposed arrangements."

The proponents claim that the proposed payments for steam would provide some reimbursement to the Government and that such amount could be over $125 million. Actually, the proposed payments for steam in the first 4 years, for instance, will total only $600,000 or less than one-twelfth the interest cost on the convertibility feature alone. It is also possible and so admitted by the proponents that the total payments for steam over the life of the project could be a minimum of $3 million.

I indicated that a "reasonable portion of the fuel costs and operating and maintenance costs of new production reactor" should be included in the new production reactor power costs, "so as to help realize the reduction in plutonium as reported to Congress." The proponents again accuse me of a lack of understanding of the proposed arrangements. I understand full well the intent in the proposed arrangements to ignore this proper charge against new production reactor power. The proponents also claim that only through the proposed contract can the Government reduce the cost of plutonium. Actually, the contract would result in increased hidden costs or losses to the taxpayers.

I said there should be a charge for the Bonneville Power Administration reserve capacity that must be provided, in order to back up the new production reactor power during the numerous times the new production reactor will be out of service. The proponents infer that in the early years of new production reactor power operations, Bonneville Power Administration would have a surplus of reserve electric generating capacity, so no charge should be made for the reserve capacity necessary to back up new production reactor power. This is a proper charge regardless of whether Bonneville has surplus capacity or not.

I said that a proper charge should be made for transmission costs. Again, the proponents claim that Bonneville Power Administration feasibility studies made a proper allowance for this. Here, again, there is no assurance that a proper charge will be made, as the $4 per kilowatt-year mentioned is totally unrealistic.

I said there should be a charge against new production reactor power for lost revenue to Bonneville Power Administration due to use of new production reactor power when Bonneville Power Administration had surplus power going to waste. The record is clear and Bonneville has testified that under both median and adverse streamflow conditions there will be a varying number of months of each year for many years in the future when Bonneville will have up to 3 million or more kilowatts of continuous power going to waste over its hydroelectric dams. During those periods, if power is produced at new production reactor, it can only replace power that would otherwise be generated by these hydroplants. It is just that simple.

I said, "Bonneville to exchange low-priced firm power for high cost nonfirm power," and that "use of new production reactor power would require Bonneville Power Administration to waste more hydropower in certain months."

The proponents did not make specific reference to the above facts, but went into a long dissertation on why they claim new production reactor nonfirm power will be turned into firm power.

There can be no denying that Bonneville power is low-priced power. The Bonneville estimate of a $18 million deficit for this year—fiscal year 1962—is ample testimony to that fact. With a more proper interest cost in keeping with those now being paid on long-term U.S. bonds, this deficit would be nearer $30 million annually.

That new production reactor power would be nonfirm power is well established. That it would be high cost is equally easy to establish by taking all the proper cost that should be charged up to such power production. For instance, under power-only operation, the Washington Public Power Supply System debt service, the fuel cost and the operation and maintenance costs total nearly $25 million annually. This does not include any charge for interest or amortization on the new production reactor itself. Using the Bonneville firm power rate of $17.50 per kilowatt-year, Bonneville would have to furnish, during the power-only period, 1,430,000 kilowatts of firm power and in return would get 800,000 kilowatts of nonfirm power. Even if we concede—which we do not—that new production reactor power production would permit Bonneville to generate 905,000 kilowatts of firm power, it would still be a losing proposition.

With respect to the Bonneville hydropower that would have to be wasted in certain months if new production reactor power is to be utilized, the facts are so irrefutable as to make the proponents' arguments fantastic.

I said: "claim of enhancement to coal burning steamplant is absurd," and "coal burning steamplant would provide more desirable power for Pacific Northwest."

The proponents refer to the argument that "the Washington Public Power Supply System proposal would damage the coal industry." In thus paraphasing my statements, the proponents ignore the reference to the absurdity of their claims that new production reactor would enhance future coal burning steamplants in the region. Nor do I understand why they make reference to eastern coal interests when my statement contained no such reference.

The proponents also purposely ignored my statement that a coal-burning steamplant would provide far more desirable power for the Pacific Northwest. There can be no question on that score, that the coal-burning steamplant would be much more reliable and would produce more energy per kilowatt of installed capacity. Also, it could be shut down or power production curtailed when excess hydroenergy was available.

I said: "financial infeasibility alone should preclude Bonneville Power Administration from executing proposed Washington Public Power Supply System contract."

The proponents say that the Bonneville Power Administration Administrator testified that Bonneville and Washington Public Power Supply System had found the proposed arrangements economically and technically feasible.

My answer to this is that the record is clear that to arrive at any such conclusion there had to be highly questionable assumptions as to the operating schedules together with unwarranted writeoff or ignoring of proper costs.

It is understood that the Bonneville staff made a 50-year operational study which showed a deficit of over $200 million with new production reactor power, as compared to operation over the same period without new production reactor power. When questioned on this, the Bonneville Administrator was very evasive and never gave a responsive answer to the question, but he did not deny that such a study had been made.

Facts are the entire proposal was absurd to say the least, which the majority of the House Members could plainly see, after free and full debate.

## John Glenn Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, Hubert F. Lee, of Decatur, Ga., publisher of Dixie Business magazine, has announced the selection of Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., to receive that publication's Great American Award for 1962. It is particularly fitting that this year's award should go to Colonel Glenn and he thus joins the company of an exclusive group of distinguished Americans who have been singled out for this tribute to their achievements. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the magazine's announcement of the 1962 award be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S NEW HERO, LT. COL. JOHN H. GLENN, JR., IS EIGHTH TO BE SELECTED AS A GREAT AMERICAN

(By Hubert F. Lee)

Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., has been selected as a Great American for 1962.

Selection was made by the editors of Dixie Business mazagine.

Past winners include: Dr. Chas. F. Kettering, 1955; Cecille B. DeMille, 1956; Helen Keller, 1957; Tom D. Spies, M.D., 1958; Senator Lister Hill, 1959; Oveta Culp Hobby, 1960; R. M. Wilson, M.D., 1961.

The Great American award was to have been a one-time affair to honor the late Dr. Chas. F. Kettering for his work in trying to find a cure for cancer and establishing the Kettering-sponsored work at the Southern Research Institute in Birmingham. The first award was presented to Dr. "Ket" by Dr. Thomas W. Martin, the first to be named "Man of the South" for 1946.

## Oil in Washington: No Clear-Cut Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, an end to the uncertainties that have marked the policy of the administration on issues related to oil is urgent.

An article by Mr. Clyde LaMotte, Washington editor of Oil & Gas Journal, in the July 16 issue of that publication, presented the situation in such a clear and comprehensive form that I am herewith entering the complete text in the RECORD:

OIL IN WASHINGTON: NO CLEAR-CUT POLICY

(By Clyde La Motte)

The record of the Kennedy administration in handling oil-related issues has been far from imposing.

The administration not only has failed to solve any of the major oil problems during its 18 months in office, but has managed to create some new ones to add to the list.

The net effect has been to leave the oil industry up in the air, waiting for some semblance of a recognizable pattern on oil policy to emerge.

This uncertainty was understandable at the outset. But as the months have rolled by with no break in the fog, many have begun to wonder if there is reason to hope the situation will ever improve.

It's not that the Kennedy team has displayed an antioil attitude. Rather, increasing restiveness in the industry stems largely from the administration's seeming inability to come to grips with oil issues, leaving oilmen in doubt as to what course the Government will follow.

The situation has been made worse by the manner in which the administration has operated. It has been quick to move in on oil-problem areas, only to turn shy and noncommittal at the point of decision.

MOUNTING PROBLEMS

The administration's fumbling of import controls for residual fuel oil is a prime example of how initial boldness was followed by cautiousness and inaction.

You will recall that one of the first actions taken by Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall was to call for a public hearing on residual controls.

That was in February of last year, and it set the stage for a prompt policy determination by the new team in office.

But the decision never came. Eventually, the problem was routed to the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, which went through a full-dress factfinding study to determine whether controls on residual-fuel-oil imports were needed for national defense and security.

That study was completed long ago, but still nothing has happened. Obviously, the administration is stalling on that issue. It either has been unable to reach a conclusion or has deliberately delayed action in order to use the issue as a bargaining tool.

In either case, the industry has been left in doubt.

*Crude-oil-import controls*

The greatest turmoil of all has stemmed from the administration's involvement in crude-oil controls.

Here again, the administration moved in with initial vigor. Public hearings were held on the west coast and in Washington last year. Interior was busily engaged in hammering out a new control program.

But this effort faltered, too. Interior did come up with a program, but at the last minute there was enough opposition by the State Department and other Government agencies to bring about a stalemate.

To get off the hook for the allocation period that lay just ahead, the administration late last December set up a special, high-level study committee headed by OCDM's successor, the Office of Emergency Planning. It was to report its findings to the President by midyear. So far, nothing has happened, and the deadline has been extended to September 1.

*Asphaltic crudes*

Another Government study that has been on the shelf so long it has almost been forgotten concerns a determination as to whether the asphaltic content of imported crudes should be exempt from the control program.

The Kennedy administration inherited that problem from the Eisenhower administration and has shown no indication of providing an answer.

*Regulatory reform*

One of the early aims of the Kennedy team was to overhaul the work of the regulatory agencies to improve their efficiency and to cut down on the tremendous backlogs of cases.

Right after his election, President Kennedy appointed James M. Landis to make a study of the agencies and to present recommendations.

After a well-publicized start, however, the drive toward this goal soon lost momentum. Landis disappeared from the scene long ago and little remains of the initial effort.

*ABC transactions*

At one point last year, Internal Revenue Service suspended action on ABC producer sales.

To the industry's relief, it resumed giving clearances to such deals a short time later, but actually left the issue unresolved. IRS; still has the matter "under study," but has made no final decision to retain or end ABC transactions.

*Advisory groups*

The operation of industry advisory bodies, such as the National Petroleum Council, has been put under a cloud by Justice Department rulings concerning the membership and operation of these groups.

Industry concern is not so much over the rulings, themselves, as over its inability to get the Justice Department to spell out precisely what it wants. Here once more, uncertainty is the principal problem.

*Percentage depletion*

Although its view has been sought repeatedly, the administration has not taken a stand on oil's percentage depletion.

At one time, an announcement was promised by this spring. But spring came and went, and nothing developed. It is generally assumed now that the administration's position will be known when it presents its tax overhaul program to Congress. And no one yet knows when that will be.

Meanwhile, some Treasury and Internal Revenue Service officials have taken potshots at percentage depletion from time to time in public statements. Since this was not an official action, it only served to stir up the issue without settling it one way or another.

2. LACK OF LEADERSHIP

Industry frustration over administration indecision is further aggrevated by a seeming lack of clear-cut channels for oil problems.

That is, who's calling the oil signals for the Kennedy administration?

In the early months, Udall appeared to be the top man. But he soon ran into problems and soon shifted much of the responsibility for oil to his Assistant Secretary for Minerals, John M. Kelly.

Kelly wasted no time in tackling the problems and is generally given credit for developing the control-program recommendations Interior proposed last fall.

However, when that effort stalled at the White House, Kelly had little choice but to sit back and await the shaping of signals there. He's still waiting.

OEP also loomed large in the picture for a time, and both oil-import-control-program studies were shifted to it. Even so, it soon began to appear that OEP was being used as a way station where issues could be sent until someone in the administration decided what should be done.

In recent months, Meyer Feldman has loomed on the oil scene in Washington.

Feldman, deputy special counsel to the President, has become the man to see on oil matters. This would indicate that the President is leaning toward a staff approach rather than a departmental approach and that Feldman, rather than Udall or OEP Director Edwin A. McDermott, has the responsibility for shaping oil policy.

If this is so, it hasn't been made clear by the President, even within governmental circles.

3. POOR COMMUNICATIONS

As the administration gets bogged down on oil problems, its communication with industry tends to worsen. This intensifies the guessing game atmosphere in Washington and leaves the door open to rumor peddling.

The snafu on communications was demonstrated at the time the trade bill was nearing a showdown vote in the House recently. The official White House position on the crude-oil import-control program was that this issue was under study by OEP and that a White House stand would have to be delayed until after that report was made—around September 1.

However, White House aids were quietly circulating a memorandum to key oil-producer-State Congressmen. The intent was to show there was no need for congressional action on oil imports because the administration was planning to take action designed to help producers. Some hints were dropped as to what this action would be.

This sort of procedure indicates the administration has already decided what it plans to do and is simply using the OEP study as a stalling device. Otherwise, how could the administration make any promises when it hadn't yet seen a report from OEP?

At this stage, the administration technique appears to be to try to placate all factions as much as possible until the time arises when it is ready to take a position on a given oil issue—or until it is forced to do so by political or other considerations.

If that assumption is valid, it may be a long time, indeed, before the oil industry will be able to discern an oil policy in Washington.

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## Medical Care for the Aged: He Needs an Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, while the medicare proposals considered in the last few weeks by the Senate are dead for this session, their ghosts promise to be with us to a great extent this fall.

In this past Sunday's Washington Post, Mr. Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune columnist, provides a concise analysis of what we can expect as an election issue, detailing, correctly I believe, the action that will be taken by the White House in attempting to capitalize, strangely enough, on defeat.

Mr. Drummond's column is particularly useful in two respects. On one hand he gives a clear explanation of what did happen in the Senate to cause the defeat of the President's proposal, and on the other his comments serve as a warning to the Republican Party that this fall, when we go to the people, we must go not only with our reasons for voting against the President's proposal but be ready to tell readily and frequently what the Republican program is for medicare for the elderly citizens.

As Republicans I think we have a great story to tell, a story of progress. We have our record of support for the Kerr-Mills bill, signed into law by a Republican President, after receiving strong support of Republicans in the Congress.

We have our record of support for the Saltonstall proposal presented during the recent debate.

I personally feel that the combination of Kerr-Mills and the implementation of the provisions as contained in the Saltonstall proposal not only provides the Republican Party with a sound record, but a strong issue as well—and most important, the best program for solving the problem of medical and hospital care for the aged. I submit that this is the proper solution, and since the issue is to be plunked into the middle of the political arena this fall, I

likewise submit that it is a winning issue for the Republican Party.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article by Mr. Drummond printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOP NEEDS PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVE: MEDICARE CAN BE CRUCIAL ISSUE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

It is entirely reasonable and proper that President Kennedy should make his defeated medicare bill an important issue in this year's congressional election.

He needs an issue, and if medical care can help him get another Democratic Congress elected this fall, there is no reason why he shouldn't use it to the full.

The matter which needs to be examined is whether Mr. Kennedy can make it an effective partisan campaign issue in light of the voting record of his own party. I do not suggest that he will fail. He is a mighty powerful campaigner. But he faces formidable hurdles.

When the Democratic Party, with a 2-to-1 majority in the Senate and a 258-to-174 margin in the House, is unable to pass the administration's urban affairs bill, its farm bill, its medicare bill, how can it be very persuasive to argue that the election of a few more Democrats will give the White House what it wants?

The President recognizes that he is on weak ground here. He revealed this when he distorted the facts in his statement minimizing the Democrartic votes against his bill and trying to pin nearly the whole responsibility for his defeat on the Republicans.

Mr. Kennedy remarked that a mere "handful of Democrats" voted against medical care. Since when has nearly one-third of the huge Democratic majority in the Senate been a "handful?" The fact is the Democrats contributed only 10 fewer votes to the defeat of medicare than the Republicans.

Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, one of the two or three most powerful Democratic Members of the Senate, informed the President months ago that he would be compelled to battle the medicare bill to death. He did. He introduced the motion to kill it. He led the battle. He succeeded.

Ten of the Democratic chairmen of the 16 Senate standing committees voted against the President. In other words, more than a two-thirds majority of the most influential Democratic Senators opposed the medicare bill. There is more Democratic opposition to the bill in the House than in the Senate.

Finally, medical care for the aging received five more votes this time than it did in 1960. But Mr. Kennedy refrained from citing the fact that four of these came from Republicans and only one from the Democratic side.

These political facts will certainly make it difficult for the President to convince the voters that on the record the Democratic Party deserves to be rewarded at the polls this fall. But Mr. Kennedy has assets at his command, and it is my conviction that he can use this issue to positive advantage if the Republicans fail to aline themselves decisively behind a constructive, workable, worthy alternative to the President's method.

Medical care for the aged by one method or another has substantial public support. Both national platforms in 1960 and both presidential candidates favored Federal aid for medicare. They differed principally over how it should be financed. Both parties offered medicare legislation at this session of Congress, and each contributed to the defeat of the other's bill.

The issue in the fall elections will not be over the objective of medical care for the aging, but over method and over which party is more likely to get it enacted.

The President has two advantages in taking this issue to the country.

The Democrats are more identified with the cause of medicare than the Republicans.

Mr. Kennedy's position has been consistent and clearcut. His will be the ascendant national voice in the campaign, and it will serve to identify his party with the goal of medicare more fully than any Republican voice can.

This means, it seems to me, that the President may well succeed in making medicare an effective issue in the campaign, unless the Republican candidates for Congress show that collectively they are behind a practical alternative.

## FHA, VA Home Foreclosures Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, John F. Kennedy has yet to "get this country moving again." The only direction in which it is moving, these days, is backward. A very disturbing story by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, in the July 18 edition of the Long Island Press, shows us that FHA and VA home foreclosures have risen sharply.

When we bear in mind that the owners of these homes are individuals with moderate and small incomes—the very people the Democratic Party proposes it is for—the situation is tremendously serious. Yet our President keeps his Fabian Socialist advisers and up to now has followed their advice.

The article follows:

FHA, VA HOME FORECLOSURES RISE SHARPLY

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—Foreclosures of Government-insured homes have reached startling record levels, and the rate of such defaults is steadily increasing.

More than 47,000 defaulted homes are now in the hands of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans' Administration. Of this total, some 30,000 have been taken by the FHA, and 17,000 by the VA.

These grim totals, a record high, are more than triple the 15,000 homes the two agencies had foreclosed by this time last year.

This is the latest dolefull report on sagging business conditions President Kennedy has received from his Council of Economic Advisers. This study has been discussed in his inner councils, but nothing has been said about it publicly.

Two other disquieting factors are stressed in this backstage report:

(1) Foreclosures on privately financed housing also have risen steeply this year.

(2) The FHA and VA are encountering great difficulty in finding buyers for the thousands of defaulted homes, even at reduced prices.

The President's economic advisers have told him this sluggish situation will continue until the general economy improves, particularly in employment. The economists noted that most of the foreclosures are in States and areas where unemployment has been heaviest and most persistent.

According to this study, most of the foreclosed homes are in good condition, and average 6 months to 5 years in age.

Another significant point is that up to last year, the FHA and VA had relatively little trouble in reselling defaulted homes. A combination of inflation and demand produced abundant buyers. But no longer.

For upwards of a year foreclosed homes have been piling up by the thousands, until they are now at record levels.

While the two agencies are taking losses on the few homes they are able to sell, so far the Government has been protected by a $1 billion fund built up by mortgage insurance.

Under FHA and VA guaranteed housing loans, buyers pay 1½ percent mortgage insurance. This goes into a reserve fund that the two agencies draw on to pay banks and other lending concerns in the event individual borrowers default. As a consequence, despite the record number of foreclosures, the Government has suffered no direct losses as yet.

The FHA has guaranteed mortgages on 3,353,000 homes; the VA on more than 1 million.

Fear of further adding to the country's economic difficulties is the reason Kennedy has delayed issuing an Executive order barring FHA and VA mortgages on segregated housing. That's the private explanation of housing officials. They say the National Association of Home Builders warned the President such an edict would seriously impair construction, particularly in the South. In an effort to determine the effect of such an Executive order, the President directed his Council of Economic Advisers to make a survey and report to him by August 1.

## Disarmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, currently, the Disarmament Conference is underway in Geneva.

Over the years, the Soviets have refused in over 70 negotiations, to reach agreement in detail.

Unfortunately, the Communists still refuse the right of inspection, to assure that nations abide by agreements.

Because of the dangers of a continued arms race—including, now, further nuclear testing by the Soviets—I again stress that it is important not only for the United States to take realistic leadership, but also to encourage, as possible, more pressures from the people of the world upon the need for realistic agreements.

Over the weekend, I was privileged to discuss the matter further in a broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations. The address, I believe, included some recommendations which, if adopted, would, first, strengthen the U.S. negotiators' hand in Geneva; second, encourage greater support for the position of the West; and third, draw a sharp contrast between United States and Soviet policies on disarmament.

I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Around the globe, there is a general recognition that war is a tragic waste, and—as demonstrated twice in our lifetimes—it is not successful in ending all wars.

The existence of nuclear weapons—of unbelievable destructive power—makes the threat of either triggered or accidental war even more dangerous—perhaps suicidal.

Despite this realization, however, humanity finds it extremely difficult to find ways to stop the arms race; to beat our conventional nuclear weapons into plowshares, and to channel more of our great resources—human and natural—away from weaponry and toward peaceful purposes, for bettering, not threatening to destroy, human life.

As of now, the nations of the globe—Communist and non-Communist—spend roughly about $120 billion annually for armaments. For comparison, this exceeds the combined gross national product (that is, the value of all goods and services), of over 79 lower income nations of the world.

The Communists—dedicated to conquest of the world—of course, constitute the major reason for the threat of war, and the continued arms race.

Despite lipservice to disarmament and peace, the Reds have stubbornly refused—in over 70 consultations on disarmament—to accept realistic safeguarded agreements.

Now, what can be done? Realistically, we cannot disarm unilaterally—exposing ourselves to sneak attack. Dedicated to peace, then, we need to (1) Maintain an adequately strong jet-missile-nuclear-space defense force to discourage aggression; (2) provide leadership in further efforts toward disarmament and peace; (3) mobilize more people and nations in support of safeguarded proposals on disarmament—and to put more pressure on the Communists.

In the past, we, as a nation, have demonstrated a willingness to utilize our manpower and resources not only in protecting freedom, but for creating an improved climate for peace.

For the future, I believe we could well restate our willingness to invest in peace—as we have invested in military forces for protection of freedom.

Specifically, this could include a willingness to dedicate a significant percentage of savings from disarmament toward creating a better economic life for our people—abroad, as well as at home—and promoting peace in the world.

Would this be a practical investment? In my judgment, yes. Why? For the following reasons: (1) If this served to further progress on arms control, the threat of war—with its terrible destruction of life, property, or, perhaps civilization—would be diminished; and (2) the cost of armaments for the U.S. taxpayer—now at about $52 billion a year, then, could be substantially reduced; (3) the economic machinery—now producing defense materials—rather than grinding to a standstill, with unpredictable impacts on the economy—would be utilized for consumer goods.

If realistic safeguarded agreements on arms reduction and control can be reached; and if weaponry production plants can be changed over to turning out consumer goods; this pumping of economic life into the world would: (1) Eliminate many of the breeding grounds of strife, controversy, and war; (2) brighten the outlook for lasting peace; (3) improve the standards of living for more people; and (4) economically provide more markets for U.S. products; for industrially advanced nations—despite the fact that they compete with us in some fields—also are the best markets for U.S. products.

A redeclaration of our willingness to invest in peace would, I believe, create a sharp contrast to the constantly war-threatening policies of the Kremlin, encourage more nations to enthusiastically support progress on reduction of armaments, and be a constructive step toward peace.

## Another Yalta in Asia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the President in his news conference today expressed tremendous satisfaction with the signing of the Geneva-Troika Accord, concerning Laos.

In my opinion this agreement, which was signed also by Red China, will assist the Communists in the takeover of South Vietnam. Unfortunately, American policy here is in line with Communist strategy. Richard Starnes, in today's Washington Daily News, tells us his viewpoint in an on-the-scene report:

BIG QUESTION IN LAOS
(By Richard Starnes)

VIENTIANE, LAOS, July 23.—The newly born kid has 3 heads, 14 godparents, and a hopelessly tangled pedigree. Any sane observer is moved to wonder if the brat's first yell might not be its last, as well.

With the signing of the Geneva accord, troika government in Laos becomes a formal instrument for governing, pacifying and neutralizing this remote, backward little country. None of these tasks is going to be easy, and it is perhaps unrealistic to believe they are at all possible.

Even assuming good faith on the part of all the Geneva signatories the future of Laos is an omnious dark cloud.

Within 75 days of the signing, all foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from the country. For the United States this means the removal of only 400 to 500 military advisers, a move that is nevertheless a retreat and a defeat which all the sugar-coated platitudes in the world cannot disguise.

But we are proceeding with plans to do it, even though plenty of Americans here are not convinced the Communists mean to do the same thing.

There are probably 10,000 Vietminh (North Vietnam Communist) troops still in Laos. These hard-core cadres are what made the difference between American-trained Royal Laotian Army troops and the home-grown Pathet Lao Communist forces. But the problem in getting North Vietnam troops to leave is that the Communists have never admitted they were here in the first place.

This "ain't nobody here but us chickens" fiction will make it extremely difficult to evict these tough, disciplined and dedicated Red guerrillas. What if 75 days expire and no Communist troops have gone back home to North Vietnam through the International Control Commission checkpoints?

The United States probably would howl to the International Control Commission, and the International Control Commission might even chide the coalition. But if the latter chose to insist the Vietminh never had been here in the first place, no one could say them nay. Ten times 10,000 soldiers could be hidden in this jungle wilderness and it would take as many again to get them out.

U.S. policymakers here are acutely aware of this problem. But their plans for dealing with it are a big question mark. Even assuming the International Control Commission would try to cope with the problem (another large assumption in view of the Commission's record for overseeing peace between North and South Vietnam for 8 bloody years), the International Control Commission has no means of enforcing its will.

But, in charity, suppose all foreign troops do leave Laos. The next step will be integration of the Lao armed forces. There are perhaps 100,000 men under arms here now. The coalition has insisted integration of the warring factions is wholly an internal matter. American sources here believe 20,000 troops would be sufficient to insure internal security, but the coalition probably will insist on 30,000 or more.

The biggest question then is what will be the makeup of the integrated army. How many will come from the Pathet Lao forces? How many from the bruised but still numerically superior Royal Laotian Army? And how many will be North Vietnam guerrillas dressed in new uniforms but still taking orders from Hanoi?

Only when the answers to these questions are known will the Western World begin to have a glimmer of insight into the true nature of the shaky Lao troika which has just been underwritten at Geneva.

## Transportation Award to Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, my esteemed colleague, the senior Senator from the State of Washington, Senator MAGNUSON, will be honored by the National Defense Transportation Association when he receives the National Transportation Award in San Francisco Committee, Senator MAGNUSON has made in October.

As chairman of the Senate Commerce many notable contributions in the field of transportation. His dedicated efforts to improve all phases of transportation has won the respect of all of us.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the news release of July 23, prepared and distributed by the Department of Defense, which reveals his selection as the award winner and also tells of his many accomplishments.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, of Washington State, has been selected by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to receive the 13th annual National Transportation Award of the National Defense Transportation Association. His selection was based on achievements in transportation which contributed to the effectiveness of the transportation industry in support of national security.

The award will be formally presented to Senator MAGNUSON at the association's 17th annual transportation and logistics forum which will be held in San Francisco October 28–31.

The citation accompanying the award said that Senator MAGNUSON, during his career in

Congress, "has been particularly active and effective in the field of transportation legislation bearing upon all modes of transportation."

"In his capacity as chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, he has constantly and consistently led the way in endeavors designed to enhance and to improve our national transportation system throughout. His successful efforts range through the Magnuson-Monroney aid-to-airports bill, the Federal Aviation Act, congressional approval of the International Rail and Highway Commission studies, development of the world's first nuclear-propelled merchant ship, the NS *Savannah*; the world's first oceangoing hydrofoil vessel, the HS *Denison*; the Transportation Act of 1958, and most recently, the report developed under his guidance, as a result of Senate Resolution 29 of the 86th Congress.

"His inspiring leadership and enthusiasm, sturdy principles and progressive spirit, and his valuable and noteworthy service in the cause of transportation preparedness have merited for him the respect of the entire transportation world," the citation concluded.

Born in Moorhead, Clay County, Minn., April 12, 1905, Senator MAGNUSON came to Washington, D.C., January 1937, as a Member of the House of Representatives from Seattle, Wash., where he served until assuming his Senate seat on December 13, 1944. He now ranks 9th among Democrats and 11th in seniority in the membership of the Senate of the 87th Congress.

Senator MAGNUSON holds important positions in the Senate for the advancement of his and the Nation's transportation objectives.

He is chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce and chairman of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, which weighs the funding needs of 29 Government agencies, including all regulatory agencies and of the Federal Aviation Agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Office of Emergency Planning.

Senator MAGNUSON is also a member of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, chairman of the Standing Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and of the Special Subcommittee To Study Operation of the Military Air Transport Service and the Military Sea Transportation Service, chairman of the Special Subcommittee To Study Methods of Advancing Foreign Trade between the United States and Asia, and Between the United States and Canada and Iceland.

In addition, Senator MAGNUSON is the recognized spokesman for transportation in the nine-member Senate Democratic policy committee on which he serves, and he heads the Congressional Board of Visitors to both the U.S. Coast Guard Academy and the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy.

Senator MAGNUSON, as the 1961 winner of the National Transportation Award, heads a list of many transportation-field leaders who have been honored in previous years. They include Morris Forgash, chairman of the board and president of the United States Freight Co., selected as the 1960 winner for sparking industrywide interest in a basic set of standards and dimensions of transportation equipment; Stephen D. Bechtel, Sr., 1959 winner, selected for his strengthening of transportation facilities through engineering and construction, mainly in the building of oil and natural gas pipeline systems; Robert G. LeTourneau, 1958, for his development of heavy-duty handling, hauling, and loading equipment; William T. Farcy, 1957, for his efforts to strengthen transportation as a leader of the Association of American Railroads; Donald J. Russel, 1956, for his contribution to the solution of emergency transportation problems; Donald W. Douglas, Sr., 1955, for his work in both military and civilian transportation; and Charles H. Weaver, 1954, for the design and construction of the nuclear powerplant for the submarine *Nautilus*.

The National Defense Transportation Association, a military-civilian group of transportation professionals established the National Transportation Award in 1949 in the interest of promoting transportation preparedness and fostering a keener realization of military transportation requirements.

## Need for Family Farm Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the diminishing of the family farm in U.S. agriculture has been one of the great human and economic changes in the rural life of America.

Unfortunately, the dim outlook for a livelihood on the farm creates serious far-reaching challenges and problems of the 15½ million people now living on U.S. farms.

Recently, the Secretary of Agriculture appointed a special committee for studying the impact of existing policies and programs on the family farm.

The study—I would hope—will come up with some worthwhile recommendations on what can—and should—be done to better enable the farm family to adjust to these changes in economic-agricultural life.

Over the weekend, I was privileged to discuss this matter over Wisconsin radio stations.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from my remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In our fast progressing, technological age, farming—as other major segments of our economic life—is undergoing dramatic, far-reaching changes. In agriculture, these include—

1. A tremendous shift in population from rural to urban living. In 1850, only 15 percent of the people lived in urban areas. In 1950—100 years later—this had raised to 65 percent. By 2000, the proportion, it is predicted, will increase to 73 percent.

2. The technological revolution, also has resulted in trends toward larger farms, including the development of "corporation farming."

3. The lack of bargaining power—comparable to the economic influence of either big business or labor—too, has not provided the farmer a strong voice in determining prices for commodities.

In agriculture, also, there is a whole complex of additional problems, including housing, health, and education; opening of new opportunities for rural industries and on-farm recreational programs; retirement of low productive land; and broadening of natural resources conservation programs.

All of these, and other, trends in agriculture are having a far-reaching effect upon, and creating special problems for, the Wisconsin and American farm.

Because of the changing conditions, I proposed—in 1961—legislation for establishing a Country Life Commission. The purposes included (1) evaluating the long-range problems in agriculture; (2) developing recommendations for meeting the challenges; for adjusting to changing conditions; for improving the economic outlook; and for establishing a set of guidelines, particularly in production and consumption, for a more favorable long range supply-demand balance in agriculture.

As yet, the Congress, regrettably, has failed to take action for establishing such a commission.

Recently, however, the Secretary of Agriculture—recognizing the need for action in the field—appointed a 34-member Public Advisory Committee. The purpose: To make a study of impacts and effects of existing policies and progress on the family farm.

According to a recent analysis by the Committee on Economic Development, the existing policies, since 1947, have resulted in the following consequences:

1. The farm policies may have moderated a decline of farm income—more than if there had been no farm program; however, it has not prevented an ever-widening gap between farmer and nonfarmer earning.

2. The programs have not helped most the farmers who are most in need of help; that is, the small farmers who market less; and who do not receive large amounts from price support programs.

3. The existing program, though costly to the taxpayer, has not provided a permanent solution to the supply-demand imbalance of farm commodities.

Traditionally, the family farm has served as a "way of life" for rural America; as a source of our vital food supply; and as a cornerstone of our economy.

The family farm study—covering, as I believe it could, and should, many of the objectives of my proposed Country Life Commission—can, I believe, contribute to better understanding of, and solutions for, the difficult, complex problems confronting us in agriculture.

## Support for the Medal of Merit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to me to have the president of the State University of Iowa, Dr. Virgil Hancher, endorse my proposal to award a Medal of Merit to citizens of this country who make significant contributions to the humanities and the arts. Following the introduction of House Joint Resolution 818, Dr. Hancher wrote me to report on a statement which he had made over radio station WSUI at Iowa City, Iowa. I am proud to have Dr. Hancher's support. He speaks for a State university which is recognized throughout the United States for its many contributions to the humanities and the arts. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Dr. Hancher's letter in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter follows:

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
*Iowa City, Iowa, July 18, 1962.*

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR FRED: In response to a request from radio station WSUI, I released the following statement about the announcement that you have introduced a joint resolution calling for a national award for significant contributions to the humanities and the arts. Please feel free to use this statement in any way you desire.

"The joint resolution introduced by Congressman SCHWENGEL, if passed by the Congress, would establish a new, far-reaching, and important national policy. Congressman SCHWENGEL is to be commended for it.

"We have the reputation of being a practical, pragmatic people—a reputation which often obscures our interest in the arts and the humanities. To focus attention on them as would be done by the proposed awards is a most meritorious endeavor."

I am suggesting to Provost Davis, Dean Weaver, and Dr. Harper that you would be interested in any comment that they care to make.

With warmest regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
VIRGIL M. HANCHER,
*President.*

## The Crucial Role of Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the increasing crisis in the western Pacific, underlined by the Red Chinese buildup on the mainland opposite Formosa, serves as a reminder of the highly strategic importance of Formosa.

There has been altogether too little appreciation in the United States, and in the Western World, of the role which Chiang Kai-shek's government on Formosa plays in keeping Formosa firmly within the free world and out of the Red orbit in the Orient. It is regrettable that all too many in the West look upon the problem of Formosa, Quemoy, Matsu, and the Formosa Straits as a localized issue. It certainly may have local considerations, but it is hightime that the free world comes to a better understanding of the vital importance of Formosa in the struggle against Communist aggression. It is most necessary that the West should recognize the services which the Government and armed forces of free china are performing, not just for free China, but in the interest of freedom everywhere.

It is in view of this need for a better understanding of the strategic importance of Formosa, and its importance to free world strategy, that I commend to the attention of the House a highly informative article, "The Crucial Role of Formosa," by Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, USMC (retired), director, National Security and Foreign Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. This article appeared in the Baltimore American and other publications of the Hearst newspapers on Sunday, June 17, 1962.

With such articles as this, the Hearst publications continue the Hearst tradition of taking a lead in informing our Nation on issues vital to our survival.

Following is the full text of the article:

[From the Baltimore American, June 17, 1962]

THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF FORMOSA

(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, USMC (retired), written expressly for Heart Headline Service)

(General Hittle is director of national security and foreign affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars. During his Marine Corps career he served in command and staff assignments and as assistant to the Secretary of Defense for legislative affairs. He recently returned from an extensive trip through the Orient, accompanying National Commander in Chief Robert E. Hansen.)

The increasing U.S. involvement in southeast Asia places increasing emphasis on Chiang Kai-shek's government on Formosa. Not only is Formosa strategically important in terms of Pacific geography, but also Chiang's armed forces are a key factor in the growing Asian conflict.

Formosa, under the free China regime, plays a crucially important role in Asian strategy. Here are a few reasons why Formosa is one of the most important strategic areas in the world today.

Standing squarely across the north-south sea lanes off the China coast, Formosa commands the access from the Pacific into the South China Sea, through which must pass U.S. support for our forces in southeast Asia.

Additionally, Formosa outflanks Okinawa and the Japanese archipelago from the south, and the Philippines from the north.

Thus, Formosa is a central—and vital—position of the U.S. outer-defense line in the western Pacific. That line, with its northern flank in South Korea, extends southward through Okinawa, Formosa, and the Philippines, to South Vietnam.

Much of Formosa's strategic importance, from the U.S. standpoint, results from the size and efficiency of Chiang's armed forces. The total military force under Chiang is about 600,000.

There is no question but what the U.S. military advisers—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps—have turned out, with the cooperation of the Chinese, one of the largest, and certainly one of the most efficient, anti-Communist forces outside of NATO.

One of the prime problems facing Chiang Kai-shek has been that of overage officers and NCO's. This was the direct result of the large number of senior officers and NCO's who remained loyal to Chiang when he left the mainland for Formosa.

Although Chiang was repeatedly urged to sack them, he recognized their loyalty, and hence this moral obligation to them for refusing to make a deal, which they could have done at that time, with the Reds.

Chiang simply said that they were loyal to him and he would not "break any man's rice bowl." This has been a vexing problem to the U.S. military mission and to Chiang's top command.

It, however, is now well on the way to solution, through a twofold program: Retirement of the older officers and noncoms with assurances of appropriate jobs in the civilian economy, and assignment to administrative and noncombatant billets in the defense establishment.

Chiang's air force warrants particular mention. It is one of the most efficient in the world. U.S. military officers on Formosa say that its maintenance record is extremely good and it is combat ready.

Apparently this view is concurred in by Mao's pilots as U.S. officers point out that the Red Chinese air force obviously avoids major contact with Chiang's air units. Free Chinese airmen say that the Reds have not forgotten their 1958 losses, reportedly 30 to 1, at the hands of Chiang's pilots.

The free Chinese navy, equipped with U.S.-built vessels, performs the double duty of naval patrol of the Formosa straits and the island's coastal waters, as well as maintaining the amphibious lift for Chiang's crack marine corps troops.

The marines, trained by U.S. Marine Corps advisers, total about 25,000. They are kept at a high peak of combat readiness and have the mission of spearheading the anticipated return to the mainland.

U.S. civilian, as well as military, officers on Formosa seem favorably impressed by Chiang's use of U.S. aid. In contrast to so much of the Orient, Formosan farms are not hopelessly fragmented into tiny plots and separated family holdings. Particularly in the fertile agricultural plains of the southern portion of the island, one is immediately impressed by the large fields and efficient land management.

Emphasis upon the land being owned by those who work it has been a major objective of Chiang's government on Formosa. By eliminating a large portion of absentee farm ownership, Chiang's agricultural policies set a high standard of land utilization for all of Asia.

One of the most striking impressions of Formosa under the free Chinese Government—and in this it contrasts with practically all of the Orient today—is the absence of the extremes of numbing squalor and shocking opulence.

There is a purposefulness about those on farms, in the villages, and in the city which seems to reflect relatively satisfied and intensely determined people. There are no beggars on the streets of Formosan cities.

With respect to the much-publicized dispute between Red China and the Soviet Union, Chiang has, of course, definite opinions. His views on this matter are noteworthy, for he has been fighting international Communism longer than any world leader today.

It is Chiang's belief that the Sino-Soviet dispute is one of Communist methods, not objectives, and that it is essentially a personal conflict between Mao and Khrushchev. Consequently Chiang holds that the dispute will not break up Russian and Red Chinese cooperation in furthering Communist objectives.

Chiang's conclusion is substantiated by the Soviet Union's military assistance to Red China. The large number of late-model Mig's stationed at key air bases on the mainland opposite Formosa underline the continuing Russian support, not only in providing the high-performance aircraft, but also the spare parts that are necessary to keep such complicated planes operational.

One cannot be long in Formosa without being aware of the hope for an early return to the mainland. This is the dominant purpose that pervades the free Chinese armed forces, and in large measure, the entire free Chinese population. U.S. officials on Formosa say they have never seen the expectation of return to the mainland as strong as it is at the present time.

Unquestionably, the downward spiral of the Red Chinese economy with its attendant flood of refugees, indicates the widespread unrest that must be causing endless trouble for Mao's police state.

Chiang and his followers appear confident that the day is nearing for the return to the mainland. Whether it will come or not is problematical. Yet, it is the anticipation of return to the mainland that keeps hope and purpose alive on Formosa.

It is a goal which U.S. policy should not foreclose. If the expectation of return were killed, the morale of the free Chinese, military, and civilian alike, would suffer drastically.

It is in the interest of U.S. security that a strong and determined free Chinese anti-Communist Government firmly holds the crucially important island of Formosa. This is an indispensable role that Chiang Kai-shek's free Chinese regime is so effectively playing in the Asian conflict.

## Farm Bill Debacle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following newspaper discussion of the recent farm bill debate and voting in the House of Representatives is of real interest. It was written by Mr. William Sumner in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of June 29:

FARM BILL DEBACLE

WASHINGTON.—The administration's campaign for its farm bill was smoothly plotted and generaled and seemed to be moving with the usual relentless efficiency.

Yet it lost, as have other projects conducted similarly. While attempting to analyze the surprise defeat may be futile and time wasting, it may be a valuable exercise for the President.

The farm bill blitz seemed to have everything. Arms were twisted. Deals were offered. Promises made. The outcome was expected to be close, but there was an air of confidence on the House flor. Such Republican strategists as Minnesota's ALBERT QUIE frankly stated they were on the losing side.

So, how to explain the desertion from the ranks by 48 Democrats? And the solid (all but one) Republican vote? It seems to me that Minority Leader HALLECK is given far too much credit for this upset. Much of the defeat was built right into the bill, and the elements of defeat increased as debate continued.

This exposes the administration's greatest flaw in such matters. Apparently, in its high-powered planning, it gives little thought to men's honest convictions. There has to be pressure, but there are men sitting in the House who vote from conviction.

The basic issue in the farm bill was whether farms could continue under subsidies without more rigid controls to cut the cost of tremendous overproduction.

Honest men could argue for weeks over such an issue, but, unfortunately, it became clouded. Amendments were included in the bill as it was marked up in committee. Some 20 to 30 amendments were accepted by the committee during debate. All were designed to free one section or another from the rigid production quotas of the original bill.

The man who thought there should be some brake on production would conclude that a gigantic snow job was in operation. Why, for example, should the South be exempt from feed grain quotas? Why should this area be allowed to turn over acreages idled by cotton or tobacco quotas to contribute to a feed grain surplus, while the Midwest was held under rigid control?

Unfortunately for the administration, that was a good question. The answer was plain: it was a deal with the South to get the bill passed. But this political horse trading, with others, enabled men to vote against the bill without worrying about the basic issue.

## Why Should We Keep Them Up?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Washington Post this morning an article by Roscoe Drummond which points up very well the uselessness of constantly going to the empty conference table with the Russians.

It seems the time has come when we should stop fanning the breeze:

BERLIN TALKS: WHY SHOULD WE KEEP THEM UP?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Does the United States have to rush breathlessly and endlessly to the empty conference table every time Moscow crooks its finger and says, in effect, "Let's talk about something we'd like to do to you"?

Is there any reason why we should keep on talking and talking every time the Kremlin wants to use the appearance of negotiation to serve its own ends?

These questions arise as Secretary of State Dean Rusk is in Geneva for another series of Berlin probes with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

I am not arguing that all negotiation with the Soviets is undesirable. But I do suggest that the time has come to end these empty talks and to serve notice on Moscow that they will be resumed only when they are prepared to offer or to accept some reasonable and rational basis for accomplishing something.

President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, Secretary Dulles, Secretary Herter, Ambassador Thompson—in Washington, Geneva, Moscow have had at least a hundred negotiating sessions, and not once have the Soviets offered any course of action over West Berlin other than that the Western rights should be canceled.

It seems to me increasingly evident that an end to this kind of negotiation is the only effective way of informing Mr. Khruschev that he isn't going to have his way and that further repetition of our disagreements is pointless.

This would at least help to clear the air, and I suspect that a breather from totally unproductive negotiation would ease tensions, not increase them.

There is a certain dignified power and clarity in President de Gaulle's refusal to negotiate over Berlin until Moscow offers some basis of negotiation. General De Gaulle's position is:

Our rights in West Berlin were not given to the West by the Soviet Union and cannot be taken away by any Soviet actions.

The West is creating no crisis in Berlin. We have asked for nothing. It is Moscow which is asking for a new West Berlin status. So let the Soviets come forward with something we can seriously talk about.

They haven't. Not once; not at any point. After years of negotiation, going back to the summit of 1955, the Kremlin position is the same: We are to get out.

Moscow's public stance is that it would like to have the United States make constructive proposals to weaken the Western position. They say in effect: If you don't like our suggestions about how you should get out of Berlin, you make some counter proposals about how you should get out of Berlin.

This is the position today. It seems to me that it would be better to stop this shadowboxing and refuse to engage further in this Soviet gambit of using the appearance of negotiation to serve the Kremlin's purpose.

## Editorials Suggest Red Aid Vote Not Popular With the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it may be that some Members of Congress will regret the vote which will continue to give American taxpayers' money to the enemy. My mail indicates that the people do not believe in aiding the enemy and I am afraid they may express themselves strongly on this matter at the polls next November. Of course, it is not the first time in our history that the people have been way ahead of Congress. In this instance Congress has turned its back on the people under pressure from the administration and no amount of White House propaganda will make the people forget. As a part of these remarks, in order to remind my colleagues of the grassroots sentiment on foreign aid, I would like to include an editorial, "Foreign Aid Sellout" from the Dallas Morning News of July 20, 1962, and one, "Congress Shuns Responsibility in Compromise on Foreign Aid" from the Dallas Times Herald of July 20:

[From the Dallas Morning News, July 20, 1962]

FOREIGN AID SELLOUT

Results of the Senate-House conference on this year's foreign aid bill add up to nothing less than a complete, unabashed sellout. Normally these conferences are held for the necessary purpose of working out a compromise between the different views of both Houses of Congress. Usually they meet each other halfway.

This year was different. The purpose seems to have been to reach a compromise between Congress and the administration. But there was no compromise at all. On every major point, Congress capitulated to the administration.

Both Houses of Congress early approved several much-needed restrictions on foreign aid outlays. Had it not been for tremendous administration pressure and lobbying, they most likely would have imposed even tougher prohibitions.

The Senate had forbidden the President to give aid to Yugoslavia and Poland, except surplus commodities. It had cut the President's request for aid to India by $88 million—limiting it to the level of last year's appropriation. It had demanded that aid be cut off to countries which expropriate American property without making a fair payment for it.

The House had prohibited our purchase of U.N. bonds until all countries pay off their debts to the world organization. It agreed that no aid should be given to Com-

munist countries, but gave the President authority to dole out funds to them if he could justify his actions "in the national interest." The House also demanded that countries expropriating American property be penalized.

What came out of the conference? A compromise whereby the Senate gave up its opposition to aiding Red nations (which the House had also opposed in principle) in exchange for the House dropping its ban on U.N. bond purchases (which most Members of the Senate would have gone along with). The Senate limitation on aid to India was killed—in exchange for which the House gave up nothing. And, to wrap up the whole package, both Houses conceded on the issue of expropriation.

On every issue, the administration got what it wanted and gave up nothing. Oh, yes, the total appropriation was slightly lower than the administration's original request. But this is standard operating procedure. The President always asks for more than he expects to get and Congress always cuts the request—usually by more than it did this time.

For months the American people have become fed up with the self-defeating nature of our foreign aid giveaways. They have let their representatives in Congress know in no uncertain terms—by telegrams and letters—that they are unalterably opposed to aiding Red nations, financing the U.N.'s activities while the Communists and neutrals refuse to pay their share of the cost, rewarding India for its doubledealing and subsidizing the seizure of American property abroad.

There is no doubt that Congress originally got the message. But apparently the people are going to have to continue to make their wishes known—every week or so, if necessary. If the House and Senate fail to reinstate some of their original restrictions when the conference bill goes back to them for a final vote, the people will just have to write again.

This time maybe more of them will let their representatives know how they feel. Let's hope that they also remind them rather bluntly that elections are coming up and that the best qualification for reelection is for a Congressman to represent his constituents' views, whatever else he may do in Washington.

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[From the Dallas Times Herald, July 20, 1962]

CONGRESS SHUNS RESPONSIBILITY IN COMPROMISE ON FOREIGN AID

After asserting its responsibility and authority for legislative matters on Tuesday, Congress shied away from at least a part of them on Wednesday.

Specifically, after defeating the administration's social security medicare bill, it reversed itself on foreign aid to give the administration virtually all the authority it had asked. This came about in the agreement reached by Senate and House conferees.

It was a compromise.

The House compromised by giving up its restriction against buying United Nations bonds. The Senate compromised by giving up its restriction against cash aid for Communist countries. The administration, which insisted on authority to continue aid to Yugoslavia and Poland at its discretion and on authority to purchase United Nations bonds to bail out that organization, gives up virtually nothing.

The foreign aid measure agreed upon by the conference committee represents considerable change from the stand originally taken in Congress.

Both Houses initially gave the administration a setback. In each instance, though, there was a reversal on reconsideration the following day.

A great deal of pressure undoubtedly was brought to bear against individual Congressmen and Senators to cause them to change their minds and soften their stand. More pressure must have been applied to eliminate the rest of the objectionable restrictions in the conference committee.

It would have been heartening to see Congress resist this pressure as strongly as it did that applied in the case of the medicare bill.

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## Union Leader Fights Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, there is an incredible story in today's New York Times, telling how a union leader is going to fight against a union certified by the National Labor Relations Board. The story follows:

GARMENT UNION'S EMPLOYEES WIN 18-MONTH FIGHT FOR OWN UNION

(By John D. Pomfret)

WASHINGTON, July 22.—The staff union within the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has won its long fight for certification by the National Labor Relations Board.

The Board has decided to give the union, known as the Federation of Union Representatives, legal status as exclusive bargaining agent for Garment Worker organizers, business agents and political and education department personnel.

The decision has not been written yet. That is expected to take about 2 weeks.

It was learned authoritatively however, that the Board made the key decision on Friday that will give the staff union the certification that it has sought—and that the Garment Workers' Union has vigorously opposed—for 18 months.

The Garment Workers' Union is one of a number of unions in which staff members have organized to bargain with their union employers in the last few years. Some of the unions within unions have had a relatively easy time. But others have met with vigorous opposition. David Dubinsky, 70-year-old president of the Garment Workers, has waged a vigorous fight against the staff union.

The significance of certification is that it will put the staff union under the protection afforded majority unions by the Taft-Hartley Act.

If Mr. Dubinsky persists in his refusal to negotiate with the staff union—and he has indicated that he will—the Labor Board presumably will try to compel him to do so.

Mr. Dubinsky might welcome such a move by the Board, however, because it would enable the Garment Workers to test before the U.S. Court of Appeals the validity of the staff union's certification. The Garment Workers, at a convention last May, authorized Mr. Dubinsky to fight the staff union in court.

The Garment Workers' opposition to the staff union is based on the argument that it is not an employer and its staff members are not employees in the usual sense. Rather, the union contends, its staff members are officers of a nonprofit organization with a mission. A test of that theory would be watched with interest inside the labor movement.

The mathematics of the staff union's certification is complex.

To be certified, a union must poll a majority of the valid votes cast in an election conducted by the Board.

The Garment Workers' staff held an election on May 12, 1961. Both sides challenged some of the ballots.

All but 2 of the challenges have now been disposed of, and the score stands 115 for the staff union and 113 against it.

TWO LEADERS FIRED BY UNION

The two ballots that have not been counted are those of two of the principal leaders of the staff union, Constantine Sedares and Isadore Bloom. Both of them were fired as Garment Union organizers before the Board representation vote.

The dismissal of the two men is the subject of an unfair labor practice case brought by the Board's General Counsel against the Garment Workers. The case may take months to decide. Meanwhile, the Board ordered on October 3, 1961, that their ballots be set aside unopened until the unfair labor practice case was disposed of.

The logic of the situation is this: If the Board decides ultimately that the men were fired for just cause, and that they should have not been allowed to vote, the election score will remain as it is and the staff union will win, 115 to 113.

If, however, the Board decides that the men were illegally discharged and their ballots are counted, both would have to have voted against the staff union for it to fail to gain the necessary majority. The vote, in other words, would then be 115 to 115. If one voted for the staff union and the other against, the final score would be 116 to 114. If both voted for the staff union, the score would be 117 to 113.

Under these unusual circumstances, the staff union has asked the Board to waive its customary insistence on the secrecy of the ballot and order the ballots opened.

BOARD TO OPEN BALLOTS

The Board decided on Friday to adopt this course. The Board will instruct Ivan L. McLeod, its regional director in New York, to open the two ballots and certify the staff union as bargaining agent if either of the two ballots is for it.

Both men have submitted affidavits saying that they voted for the staff union.

There were two aspects of public policy involved in the decision—that of disposing of representation petitions without delay and that of maintaining the secrecy of the ballot. The Board was understood to have decided that, under present circumstances, the secrecy of the two ballots was fictional and should not prevent the Board from disposing of the case.

It is always possible for the Board members to change their minds before issuing the written decision. However, in this case, the possibility was considered virtually nonexistent.

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## Empires of Soviets, Czars Akin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago our colleague, the Honorable EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, of Illinois, appeared on the coast-to-coast radio network with Dr. Clarence Manion. Following that appearance, the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel had a very good editorial concerning it.

I include that editorial herewith:

EMPIRES OF SOVIETS, CZARS AKIN

That there is "an amazing geographic resemblance of the present Soviet empire to the empire of the Russian czars, which at the start of World War I had within its boundaries a majority of 57 percent of non-Russian people," was dramatically portrayed over the weekend on the nationwide Manion Forum network radio program.

This dramatic revelation was highlighted before the vast coast-to-coast radio audience, when Dr. Clarence Manion, forum director and former dean of the Law College of the University of Notre Dame, called to the microphone Congressman EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, of Illinois, a particularly knowledgeable authority on the broadcast subject, who is advocating the creation of a special House Committee on Captive Nations and for assistance to legitimate groups of captive peoples of the Soviet Union now functioning throughout the free world.

Most pertinently Congressman DERWINSKI predicated the impact of his subject on the fact that "despite Communist regimentation and persecution, these people maintain their language, traditions, cultures, and religious beliefs that stimulate their independent spirit and their hopes for eventual restoration as free and independent governments in keeping with the principle of self-determination of nations."

Graphically describing this nationalistic spirit as "the Achilles heel of the Communist world," DERWINSKI declared that these forces "if properly understood and evaluated by our State Department and then implemented by an imaginative program, would result in an effective policy approach leading to the restoration of freedom to the various peoples that comprise the Communist world."

Dr. Manion struck the same encouraging note when, in presenting DERWINSKI to the radio audience, he said that: "In the captive nations, now enslaved under Communist gangster governments, lies our best hope for destroying the Communist conquest and restoring peace to the world." And Manion related how there are 23 of these captive nations now, amazingly containing more than 1 billion people.

And Manion recounted how, for the past 5 years, pursuant to an act of Congress, passed in 1959, the President has proclaimed the last week in July as Captive Nations Week—"when Americans are asked to work and pray for the early restoration of these enslaved people to their historic and national independence."

Congressman DERWINSKI stressed the highly pertinent fact coincident to his subject, that "history does repeat itself," but that, regrettably, "this simple truism is obviously lost on the officials of our State Department, especially as it relates to our policies pertinent to international communism and the Soviet Union in particular. I do not believe that any major nation has been handicapped by as great a degree of blindness and unrealistic interpretation of the historic facts as the United States at the present time."

DERWINSKI described how "this fact is tragically demonstrated when we view the attitude and policies of our Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and our Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, on the issue of the captive nations of Eastern Europe."

The Illinois Congressman gave a graphic description of how the Soviet Union and its satellite puppets constitute a vast colonial empire, having imposed communism by force of arms on peoples who still possess their own histories, traditions of freedom, and unique nationalistic origins. But he said that lamentably, Rusk, Stevenson, and their appeasement-minded subordinates "unfortunately disregard these historic facts."

DERWINSKI said that this is particularly unfortunate since "these people, despite Communist regimentation and persecution, maintain their languages, traditions, cultures, and religious beliefs that stimulate their independent spirit and their hopes for eventual restoration of free and independent governments in keeping with the principle of self-determination of nations."

The Illinois Congressman most realistically climaxed his appeal to the American people to insist that their Government cease helping, and sensibly resist the Communist world conspiracy by withdrawing our foreign aid from such Communist governments as Yugoslavia and Poland, which he said "are part of the Soviet economic sphere, channeling not only their surplus products into Soviet-controlled economic programs, but depriving their own people of the necessities of life to meet quotas imposed by the economic czars of the Red world."

## Secretary of Agriculture Out of Touch With Reality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal illustrates how far out of touch the Secretary of Agriculture is with reality. Unfortunately, his faulty approach to economics is shared by too many New Frontiersmen.

MR. FREEMAN'S LONELY ROAD

The Nation has reached a "crossroads" on farm policy, Agriculture Secretary Freeman declared the other day. It must decide, he said, between eventual abandonment of all farm programs and a revival of the administration's plan for the most rigid farm regimentation in history.

In Mr. Freeman's view, of course, the road to choose is the administration plan. And he seems to think this decision can be reached by plowing under the GOP. For he had harsh words for the "vicious, partisan" Republicans who helped beat that plan in the House last month. (As for the Democrats who were needed to make that defeat possible, they merely had "some honest differences.")

Well, the Secretary certainly isn't going to elevate the debate by that kind of name-calling. But he is clearly correct when he says agriculture is at a crossroads.

It has taken both economics and politics to put it there. On the economic level, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Government simply cannot afford to go on forever piling up mountainous surpluses, paying out billions in subsidies, inviting new Billie Sol Estes scandals, and generally making the farm mess progressively worse.

Even if all this made any sense economically, politics is beginning to work against it. The power of the farm vote is steadily dwindling; according to one estimate, only 6 percent of the voters now are engaged in commercial farming. And it's abundantly clear that a good many of them don't want any part of Mr. Freeman's totalitarian-type controls.

At the same time the political strength of the urban voters is growing. And it is they, as consumers and taxpayers, who pay through the nose for Government farm programs, either present or projected.

Before long, if Mr. Freeman sticks to the road to serfdom he has chosen for farmers, he may find himself pretty lonely.

## Supreme Court Ruling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the Nation was shocked by a Supreme Court ruling which restricted the practice of reciting prayers in public schools. As a result of this ruling I received an inquiry from the First Presbyterian Church in Branson, Mo., asking how the Supreme Court ruling would affect various local practices and customs now in effect. This inquiry included but was not restricted to Christmas programs, Easter programs, prayers before athletic contests, and so forth.

I forwarded the inquiry on to the Department of Justice and the Department in its reply was unwilling to take the position that any of the aforementioned practices were still legal as a result of the Supreme Court's ruling. Instead the Department suggested that the interested party "look for guidance to local school authorities who, in light of advice given to them by appropriate State or local legal official, may be able to assist him."

Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, the letter from the First Presbyterian Church of Branson, Mo., is offered herewith along with a reply from the Department of Justice:

BRANSON, MO., *July 2, 1962.*

The Honorable DURWARD G. HALL,
*U.S. House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The session of the First Presbyterian Church, Branson, Mo., has instructed me to write you for your opinion concerning the recent action of the Supreme Court of the United States in connection with the decision concerning the use of the printed prayer in the State of New York.

There are several questions which the decision rendered immediately raises in our minds:

1. Does this action reflect in any way on the use of religious materials in school programs—in particular, Christmas programs, Easter programs, the use of ministers as speakers in assembly programs, etc.?

2. Does this indicate that the Christian religion can no longer be taught from the standpoint of a historical approach to the growth and development of man?

3. In view of this decision, does this eliminate the use of prayer before athletic contests?

4. Will the use of general prayer be permitted at any time within the framework of the operation of a school program?

Please understand that this letter is a request for information that we may use in a study of the situation. We shall try to base any decisions that we make for the work of our church on facts and not upon judgments or opinions. We do not intend to be critical in a derogatory way toward any action of the Court, or governing bodies, unless we are led to do so through careful study. The study that we are seeking to make at this time is simply for the guidance of our own thinking, and is in no way an official act of our church as a whole, nor is it any reflection of any action taken by any body other than one local session of one local church.

We will greatly appreciate any information that you are able to give us on this

matter. We do not expect you to commit yourself one way or another, but we would appreciate your giving careful consideration to the various implications, and continuing interpretations that may come from groups not too well qualified to judge. Without the information we are seeking, we are helpless to make any decisions.

Yours most sincerely,

BYRON PRICE,
*Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Branson, Mo.*

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JULY 12, 1962.

Hon. DURWARD G. HALL,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Attorney General has asked me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of July 6, 1962, together with a letter of July 2, 1962, from one of your constituents, Byron Price, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Branson, Mo. With reference to the recent decision by the Supreme Court affecting prayer in the public schools, Mr. Price asks for an opinion on four questions. In your letter, you request information as a basis for answering those questions.

As you may know, the Attorney General is unable to issue an opinion on these questions since he is authorized by law to advise only the President and heads of departments.

However, two things may be noted about the Court's opinion. First, it dealt only with a prayer the content of which was prescribed by State authorities to be part of a school program. Second, the Court was careful to mark out by way of illustration certain traditional areas in the Nation's life which it indicated were not affected by its decision. In his opinion for the Court Mr. Justice Black said (*Engel* v. *Vitale*, 30 U.S. Law Week 4550, 4554, note 21, decided June 26, 1962):

"There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that school children and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance."

Concededly, the general area is an involved and complicated one for which definitive answers in many cases are quite difficult, and the implications of the decision for the situations described by Mr. Price are not clear. We may expect lawyers and judges to have conflicting interpretations as to whether or not the Supreme Court's decision applies in any given case. This was the theme of Arthur Krock's article in the New York Times on July 1, 1962, when he said (sec. E, p. 9):

"Nevertheless, conflicting interpretations will continue to be made by the Supreme Court. And the indication of the comments on Monday's decision that this prospect is generally realized furnishes some ground for speculation as to the results in school and family practices where 'religion' is involved, and in national and local politics and legislation.

"In many schools there will continue to be a voluntary prayer period, but carefully disengaged from any 'government' origin. The Supreme Court decision has left a teacher free to pray, with any pupils who elect to join, to a Supreme and nondenominational being. But until or unless the Court writes, as often it does, a modifying decision, a prayer composed by a pupil, or the conduct of this 'religious exercise' in silence, will more certainly avoid the taint of unconstitutionality."

A similar article by Anthony Lewis in the New York Times on July 1, 1962, section 10E, makes the same point, and this is a view shared by many other commentators.

We recognize that general discussions of this type afford little guidance respecting specific problems, and that a clear answer cannot be given to one in the position of Mr. Price who in good faith wants to comply with the Constitution. But I think he will be doing all any law abiding citizen can do under the circumstances, if in the first instance he looks for guidance to local school authorities who, in light of advice given to them by appropriate State or local legal official, may be able to assist him. This was the course of action recently followed by the Superintendent of Schools in the District of Columbia in submitting various questions in this highly controversial area to its Corporation Counsel.

The Attorney General has asked me to send you a copy of the President's remarks on the subject and to advise you that he agrees with those remarks.

Mr. Price's letter is returned herewith.

Sincerely,

HAROLD F. REIS,
*Acting Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel.*

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## Damaging Our Cause and Giving an Assist to the Commies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article and letter appeared in Mrs. Hedda Hopper's column of July 22, from Hollywood.

Here again we can get a good idea of how, through stupidity or malice or a little of both, we manage to damage our cause and give an assist to the Commies:

HOLLYWOOD

(By Hedda Hopper)

HOLLYWOOD, July 22.—Fred Niblo Jr., whose father was a founder of the academy and directed the first "Ben-Hur," has been in Vietnam with the U.S. Information Agency 3 years, writing and producing documentaries and newsreels and training local personnel in screen writing.

He'll be home soon, but he couldn't wait to pen a needling note to Dalton Trumbo. Here are excerpts:

"DEAR DALTON: Thought you might like a report on the growing success of your books and pictures in beleaguered Saigon, thanks to the distribution facilities of our Government, which holds no grudges. Your 'Spartacus' qualifies as an American-produced picture whose minimum gross is guaranteed by the U.S. Government. * * * Everybody here is wild to learn English. Bookshops do a great business and I've seen some dillies on their racks. But none of yours, Dalton * * * except in the PX.

"We have a PX for U.S. military and civilian personnel, and it was like a breath of Hollywood and Vine to find your 'Johnny Got His Gun' on sale to American servicemen who have been sent here to oppose communism. I feel sure that your vivid descriptions of the sufferings of the wounded, and the disillusionment of troops generally, is just what our lads need before going out on a jungle patrol, in the course of which they may be shot from ambush * * *. I'm not certain that you're aware of your popularity in far-off, war-torn Vietnam. But you're definitely making a contribution. I must not overlook the splendid cooperation you're receiving, somehow, from the American Government. Before leaving for home, I shall try to interest our consulate in organizing Dalton Trumbo Week here in Saigon."

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## Panama-United States Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, since the June 1962 conferences in the White House between the Presidents of Panama and the United States, much has been published concerning the relations of these nations which concern the maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the Panama Canal.

Unfortunately, the treatment generally given to this vital matter in the major press is inadequate in precision. In contrast, a number of small publications have dealt with the problem with a refreshing degree of candor.

The latest such discussion appeared in the July 1962, Pan American Headlines, the monthly publication of the Committee on Pan-American Policy of New York, of which Harold Lord Varney is president and Dr. Charles Callan Tansill is chairman of research.

The indicated article follows:

WHY ARE WE NEGOTIATING WITH PANAMA?

When the American and the Panamanian Presidents go into conference to discuss the future of the Canal Zone, American-minded citizens have cause for uneasiness. For what is there to discuss? The Canal Zone is ours "in perpetuity" by the terms of the November 18, 1903, Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. Any discussion could only mean the possible relinquishment of part of our sovereignty.

The conclusion is inescapable that Washington is having another attack of tremors.

To President Kennedy's credit it must be said that in the joint communique which he issued with President Chiari on June 13, he made no important new committal. But he did announce that he would appoint "high level" U.S. representatives to carry on further discussions with Panama. This is bad news. It means that the soft policy group in the State Department will have a chance to keep the sovereignty issue alive by further dangerous negotiations. President Kennedy could have ended the whole festering issue by giving an emphatic and final "No" to President Chiari.

We are in the presence of a mysterious agitation, from many sources, urging that we surrender the Canal. The agitation is not new. The first popoff was fired by Alger Hiss in 1946. Then head of the Office of Special Political Affairs of the State Department, Hiss transmitted the 1946 report of the Governor of the Panama Canal to the United Nations with a description of the Canal Zone as "occupied territory."

The proposed of internationalization was brought into the open in the article by Stanford Professors Marvin B. Travis, and James

T. Watkins in the April 1959 issue of Foreign Affairs.

A more important voice which has suggested internationalizing the Canal is that of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Writing in her column June 22, 1962, Mrs. Roosevelt said: "It seems one way to unify the world is to make these passageways international." She added, "I would hope that we might begin at least to talk about a possible move in this direction."

Fortunately, Congress has one Catonian Member in the person of DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat of Pennsylvania, who is always on the alert to expose the plans and blunders of the giveaway faction. Mr. FLOOD believes that we made a ghastly mistake in the Eisenhower order of September 17, 1960, permitting the display of the Panama flag with the Stars and Stripes in the Canal Zone. This symbolic action was a tacit admission by the United States that our sovereignty over the Zone is only partial. It was an open and inviting door to further demands by the irresponsibles in the Panamanian Republic.

## Coalition Against President?—Baloney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert the following article entitled, "Coalition Against President?—Baloney," which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star, Thursday, July 19, 1962, in its entirety in the Appendix of the RECORD:

COALITION AGAINST PRESIDENT?—BALONEY

A lot of pure face-saving baloney is being talked in Washington these days in the wake of the breakdown of Presidential leadership in the U.S. Congress.

The medicare defeat, at the first hurdle chosen as the testing ground pretty well pins the tail on the donkey as far as the President's whole legislative program is concerned.

So now, the President is talking about a coalition against him in Congress, of the need for more Democrats in Congress, and that he "will make medicare a major issue in the election campaign."

These are political devices. There is no coalition in Congress and such talk is pure baloney harking back to the Taft days. As far as the Presidential program is concerned, it has been kicked around by many different combinations of opponents—each combination different for each kind of program involved.

It is obvious that the individual proposals have each produced its own opposition, and this is not a trade votes coalition as has been seen in the past.

Such comparisons are a political coverup for the simple fact that the program had in it the seeds of its own defeat, and the blame for failure lies with the proposals made and with the kind of leadership applied by the President and the White House gang.

More Democrats? How many more? Does he have to have a monopoly in Congress to exert leadership? Two years ago he promised us big things with a "President and Congress of the same party"—so, now, the excuse is that his party must not only dominate but overwhelm the legislative seats. But most of his trouble has been with his own committee chairmen—who wont change.

As for "making this a major issue in the coming election"—that is a gesture. The President has even less control over what will be the real major issues in the various congressional elections this fall than he has over Congress.

The people decide what are the major issues—and circumstance has a good deal to do with it. After the defeat of a similar proposal back when the President was a Senator, and a candidate for the presidential nomination, candidate Kennedy said then that he would make it (and aid to education) the big issues of the 1960 election campaign.

Were they the big issues?

Did that have any effect on the Congress elected in that campaign?

The repeat of the same threat 2 years later in an off-year election is a mere political ritual—or else the President has developed an exaggerated idea of his own position and power.

## Shows Immaturity in Medicare Defeat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune emphasizes the lack of maturity shown by the White House in connection with the Senate defeat of the medical care bill.

It seems the administration feels that they have a constitutional right, which they have, to veto acts of Congress but that Congress has no right to fail to act on recommendations by the Executive.

The editorial follows:

SHOWS IMMATURITY IN MEDICARE DEFEAT

Once again the occupant of the White House is acting like a spoiled little boy.

Having suffered a severe setback by this week's Senate vote in tabling the proposed medical care plan for the elderly, President Kennedy has lashed back by urging the voters to keep this in mind when casting their ballots in November.

The President refuses to accept the will of the majority even though it was by the barest of majorities that he was able to obtain a 4-year lease on the White House in the first place.

Without arguing the merits of the proposed medicare bill, we believe that once again President Kennedy has indicated his immaturity by attacking those who dare to disagree with him.

By a 52 to 48 margin the U.S. Senate said it did not want to enact medical aid for the elderly at this session. Among those voting against the President's wishes were 21 members of the President's own party. If he had had the support of the Democrats his wishes would have been fulfilled, but not everyone in the upper House was ready to go along on a program that threatened to cost taxpayers several billions of dollars annually.

As to the bill itself, maybe the President is not willing to realize that not everyone is willing to accept another socialistic formula in this country.

The medical aid bill would have provided hospitalization, nursing care, and some diagnostic services for virtually all citizens over 65. The payments would be financed through increased social security deductions.

An ironic, but nevertheless, undeniable fact is that your family men would be financing this proposal for the benefit of millions of older people, many of whom are well able to handle their own medical expenditures and who would not have paid a penny into the fund which would finance this medical care.

For those unfortunate enough to require medical treatment and not having the ability to finance it, the hospitals and doctors already provide services, without charge, if necessary, without any formal Federal law.

For years local governments have provided medical and hospital care for indigents. Community Hospital in San Mateo spends thousands of dollars each month in just this way. Sequoia Hospital has a long-established policy that it will never turn away a patient who needs hospitalization, regardless of the financial situation.

Some people—apparently a majority in the case of the U.S. Congress—seem to want to slow the movement toward a socialistic state directed from the White House.

The President can show a maturity and respect for the people's voice by accepting defeat as gracefully as he has accepted victory.

## Washington and the Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in Forbes magazine in the July 15 issue.

The article is written by a businessman for business people. It is factual, and it is deliberate in its approach. Quite a refreshing change after the prejudiced and passionate rantings of fuzzy-headed professors:

INVESTMENT POINTERS

(By Bradbury K. Thurlow)

WASHINGTON AND THE MARKET

The suddenness and intensity of the Kennedy bear market caught all but the most confirmed pessimists by surprise. It is idle to compare a decline of the present magnitude with any of the postwar stock market corrections; it has all the earmarks of a classic, old-fashioned, major bear market, with strong implications of troubles to come in the national economy. "How could it have happened?" asks the dazed investor, who has watched some $150 billion of his own and others' paper profits vanish into thin air in 3 months. "I thought that, with a Government subsidized and supported economy, major bear markets were a thing of the past."

So they were until now, and it would behoove us all to look deeply and dispassionately into the present state of affairs in an attempt to find out what it is that has changed. In my opinion the widely heard argument that stock prices declined because they were too high is a superficial half-truth. Stocks do not go up because they are cheap or down because they are overvalued. Such an assumption would presuppose that investors were rational in their motivations and expectations, which is manifestly untrue. If it were true, stocks would always sell at the right price and would never be too high or too low. It is true, however, as this column has repeatedly observed, that a high price level is vulnerable to bad news, because it presupposes that bad news cannot happen or it willfully ignores adverse developments that have already taken place and that must ultimately be reckoned with.

The specific bad news that toppled the market in this instance was President Ken-

nedy's intervention in the steel strike. Prior to Friday, April 13, the decline had been orderly and more or less confined to issues that had shown technical weakness. It was a typical secondary correction and showed many signs of having run its course. After the steel fiasco it turned into a rout. Everyone seemed to understand all at once that the 20-year party was over and no one wanted to be the last to leave. They did not sell because prices were too high, but because they were convinced that prices were now going to decline instead of going higher. The magic spell of the bull market had been broken.

It is a pity that the administration, with all its economic and political experts could not have listened to just one small voice that understood and sympathized with the speculative phenomena of the free enterprise system. The break in stock prices proceeded in large part from the feeling that the Government was attempting to destroy the free enterprise system, replacing it with some sort of State socialism in which the profit motive was to be sacrificed to the national interest. If, as many believe, the national interest consists largely in maintaining full employment, it is hard to see how this can be served without creating some sort of incentives for those who are to provide the employment, unless the Government is to be the sole purveyor of jobs in the future. Business is well aware that Mr. Kennedy is incapable of maintaining economic prosperity without its full cooperation and support. It is now equally aware that the Government not only intends giving nothing in return for the support it expects, but has actually been planning a whole series of restrictive measures to curtail business profits for the purpose of distributing a greater portion of the national income to the laboring classes. Baldly stated, business has no recourse but to go on strike for a fair deal.

I would therefore confine all market operations to trading positions in oversold stocks, and investment positions to special situations and industries like aircrafts, tobaccos, silver stocks, railroads, and similar already-depressed groups that stand to be helped rather than hindered by Government hostility toward heavy industry and Government attempts to bolster the economy by means other than the conventional ones of stimulating activity by increasing profit incentives for corporations and individuals. This is not a very optimistic view. I hope it is wrong, but until there is some evidence of understanding of the main problem in Washington, there is really no alternative.

## Hon. Clare Hoffman

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, any organization or group of people who can boast that CLARE HOFFMAN is one of its members is bound to be a live one. Here is a man fearless and consistent, never a demagog, who says what he thinks and means what he says. With his unusual personality he makes friends of those who disagree with him and commands the admiration of all he comes in contact with. There is never a dull moment when he is around.

CLARE HOFFMAN has no sophisticated air, nor does he preach his philosophy. Like the able lawyer he is, he argues his case with facts and force interspersed with a brand of keen but gentle humor which charms his hearers and convinces them that he knows what he is taking about.

CLARE HOFFMAN is missed in this session of Congress, and it is a great loss to all of us that his health has prevented his attendance. So it is indeed a privilege to do him honor and together with his host of friends I wish him serenity and contentment in the knowledge that he has worked faithfully and well for the people he has represented for such a long time. There can be no doubt that although he is retiring from active duty in this great legislative body, his capacity for friendship and his devotion to our country will always be an inspiration.

May I add my personal good wishes to him and assurance that I am very proud of his friendship, and hope I may always be worthy of it.

## Ridder Finds Concern Over United States in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, there is currently a subtle effort being made to create a myth that a sophisticated view of economics supports a budget deficit as a means of stimulating growth, and, further, that European economists support this idea. In that connection I want to call your attention to the following excellent discussion by Mr. B. H. Ridder, Sr., as it appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of June 27:

EUROPE WARNS AGAINST DEFICIT BUDGET—RIDDER FINDS CONCERN OVER UNITED STATES

(By B. H. Ridder, Sr.)

LONDON.—The first meeting of our London group of friends, counselors, and advisers took place almost immediately after our arrival in England. There was, of course, John Lloyd and many of our old standbys who have briefed us, year after year, on the British and European situation. To our surprise and pleasure, Preston Grover, with whom we became acquainted in Paris years ago, was in London and we had the opportunity and great satisfaction of lunching and dining together. He has been the head of the Moscow bureau of the Associated Press for the past 5 years and brought a profound and current opinion of Russian conditions to our attention.

We cannot exaggerate the value and importance to us of this group of intelligent and well-informed professionals, opinion gatherers and news analysts of highly skilled competence. Their familiarity with immediate contemporary events and their shrewd judgment of the currents of European business and diplomatic maneuvers would at least equal, and possibly exceed that available through governmental channels.

All told, at one time or another there were a dozen or more old friends laying their cards on the table and analyzing their opinions. In former years the discussions turned toward Europe and its difficulties but during these days the sole topic of importance was the current trend in the United States and the part that Mr. Kennedy and the Democratic policies played in bringing about this market plunge with its sudden impact upon an unsuspecting world.

Europe is extraordinarily prosperous with its economy working at high speed and growing at a rate double or triple that if our own. They are fully employed and could use a million or more workers if they were available, a condition of unexampled prosperity that is fearful of the impact of our depression upon their vigorous economy.

They told us that Walter W. Heller, the chief economic adviser to the Kennedy administration, is in Paris. Professor Heller was drawn from the economics department of the University of Minnesota to serve in Washington. I am deeply indebted to the same department for having brought me up-to-date with European conditions before leaving St. Paul.

In Paris, a number of European nations urged Dr. Heller not to embark on a gamble of large deficit financing to meet the sudden disastrous setback that has bewildered Washington as well as Europe. European economists were told in Paris by Professor Heller, it has been reported, that the administration plans to meet the crisis by immediate use of deficit budgets. They hold that spending into prosperity was an old illusion that never worked and will not work today.

There is a serious risk involved in attempting to stimulate American economy by that wornout panacea. There is a dangerous risk of bringing about almost immediately a crisis in the international balance of payments with its consequence of undermining the stability of the dollar.

This advice comes from the 20-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the most important central clearinghouse of the Western World meeting in Paris. At the same time the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Switzerland, added its powerful warning against deficit financing and in addition urged that American interest rates be raised as a counter measure to attract and return the European balances that have fled from the storm in the United States.

As a timely warning of things to come, the Canadian Government has suddenly announced an increase in the interest rate to bolster the falling Canadian dollar. Never before in financial history has the short-term interest rate been raised so sharply at one step.

European opinion, we are told, believes that the Kennedy warning against price increases in the steel industry was a public announcement of the end of the American boom and the cause and beginning of the present artificially created depression.

One wonders in London how the downward trend can be reversed. It is easy to create panics, as we have seen recently, but to stop the avalanche is a major operation. The favorite London cocktail, at the moment, is stocks on the rocks.

## The First Lady

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I read in this morning's Philadelphia Inquirer

a beautifully worded editorial regarding the manner in which the First Lady of our country has been conducting her affairs.

The language and the content of this editorial are so impressive and gives such a splendid acknowledgment of the accomplishments of the First Lady in the first 18 months of her husband's term of office, that I am attaching it to these remarks for the Members to read:

THE FIRST LADY

The wife of the President of the United States holds no official position in the Government but she is expected to accept appropriate semiofficial duties and responsibilities for the public good and in the national interest.

Mrs. John F. Kennedy, combining young enthusiasm with mature judgment and unfailing good taste, has well earned the deep respect and admiration of the American people for her conduct and achievements as First Lady. The unassuming, sensible manner in which she discussed the problems and challenges of her first 18 months in the White House—in a press interview published Sunday—reflects the same forthright direction given by Mrs. Kennedy to her numerous projects of enduring significance in the fields of White House refurbishing and goodwill ambassadorship.

She is a credit to her family and her country.

## Decisions at Gettysburg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the July 2 edition of the New York Herald Tribune carried a thoughtful editorial on the wisdom behind the formation of the Republican National Citizens Committee during the All-Republican Conference at Gettysburg.

This editorial points out the tremendous value this organization will have, not only to the Republicans, but to the country as well. I commend it to the study of all my GOP colleagues who will be running for reelection in November.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 2, 1962]

DECISIONS AT GETTYSBURG

The minimal requirement of a good citizen in a democracy is to cast a thoughtful ballot at election time. The most thoroughgoing way to work to get good government is to take active part in a local political organization, and to try there to insure that proper candidates are picked, proper delegates sent to State and National conventions. In addition there are a number of ways that the citizen can exert his influence to see that his government is truly representative—including, notably, making campaign contributions. The Republicans, gathered at Gettysburg, have formed an organization that will enable those who sympathize with the party's point of view (and those who would like to help direct the formation of that point of view) to take part in politics on a national scale.

The organization is known as the Republican National Citizens Committee. It will provide a national focus for the large number of voluntary, special organizations that are customarily formed for particular purposes during a campaign—to permit dissident Democrats, say, or those not affiliated with any party, to support a Republican for local, State or National office. It will also enable those who are not active in either a regular local organization or in one of these special groups to have a share in a major political movement.

The citizens committee will work closely with both the Republican National Committee, which comprises the official leadership of the party, and the newly formed All-Republican Conference, in developing doctrine and candidates for a truly national, and vital party.

This is a positive step. Over the past 30-odd years, while the two-party system has generally prevailed throughout the United States, it has only done so by recognizing that there is a decisive bloc of voters outside the traditional system of party allegiances. This bloc cannot be taken for granted; it is diverse, its membership changes frequently and it reacts differently but sharply to each new set of national issues.

To reach this large mass of voters, to enlist their interest and aid, requires more than the customary party organization, essential as that is to conduct a vigorous campaign. It needs such a flexible and comprehensive body as the citizens committee promises to be.

The approaching congressional campaign is a critical one. The halting, jittery state of the national economy, the long stalement in Congress, and the lack of administration guidance on the immediate problems facing the country al call for genuine leadership by the Republicans. And they call for the broadest possible effort by the citizenry at large to supply purpose and drive to a confused Washington. The Republican decisions at Gettysburg offer and opportunity to provide both.

## Requiring Feasible Plans for Relocation of Families Displaced by Highway Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the House last Wednesday voted 236 to 159 to amend the Federal-aid highway bill to water down a provision which would have required that the States furnish assurances of having one or more "feasible" plans for relocation of families displaced by acquisition or clearance of rights of way. As amended, the bill now merely requires in this connection that the States provide "relocation advisory assistance". I voted against the change, even though the only correspondence I received on this consisted of pleas from both the Missouri Highway Commission and the Missouri Automobile Association to vote the other way and support the amendment.

I belong to the automobile association and have belonged for many years and I have always tried to help our Missouri Highway Commission on legislative objectives. Highways for fast travel and communication are, of course, essential, and we in the Congress have voted billions upon billions of dollars for such improvements. But people count, too—and that is often lost sight of.

Mr. Speaker, because of the questions which will undoubtedly arise as to why we had a rollcall vote over what appear to be minor language differences in the legislation, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter I have written to the chief engineer of the Missouri State Highway Commission, Mr. J. J. Corbett, as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., July 20, 1962.*

Mr. J. J. CORBETT,
*Chief Engineer, Missouri State Highway Commission, Jefferson City, Mo.*

DEAR MR. CORBETT: I received your letter urging support for H.R. 12135 except for one provision you wanted changed—as proposed in the Baldwin amendment. I read the material you sent me, and listened to the debate but could not vote for the Baldwin amendment. As you know, it passed anyway. But I think you are entitled to an explanation for my vote, since you indicated that the Baldwin amendment was important to the Missouri highway program.

My feeling is this: we are dislocating thousands of settled and contented property owners and tenants and businesses all over this country for a variety of worthwhile programs which I strongly support—not only better highways, but urban renewal and other programs to improve the physical plant of America. Under urban renewal and also under the interstate highway program, we require effective programs for the relocation of the displaced families and businesses. Even so, many hardships occur, and it is a sad thing when a family is forced to pull up roots extending back many years and is literally pushed out to find another place, often on very little notice. In other cases they are told it will be years before they can sell their properties.

I am constantly being asked by constituents to help them qualify for hardship treatment so that they can obtain a prompt sale of their property in order to purchase other quarters. Under urban renewal programs, which I have helped to write as a member of the Housing Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I have joined in increasing the relocation allowances, in urging better procedures for acquiring the property to be cleared, and in assuring the former owners or tenants of comparable quarters elsewhere.

It seems to me the requirements of the bill as reported would not have provided any serious hardships to the States in the expenditure of Federal-aid highway funds but the people affected—the homeowners and tenants and the businesses forced to move—would be greatly benefited. It is easy enough to say that Missouri already does a good job in this respect, but I can assure you the record is full of instances of other States not doing a good job and of all kinds of hardships occurring in Missouri too. We need "feasible" plans for relocation.

This is all "water over the dam" perhaps, since the Baldwin amendment did carry despite my negative vote, but in view of the fact that I have always come to the help of the Missouri State Highway Commission on legislation here, and have done my best to support you where I thought you were right, I felt I should make it very clear why I voted opposite to your request on this matter.

Building roads is a most important function of both the Federal and State governments. But people who are adversely affected—as so many are—are entitled to more than a superficial "sorry" for the incon-

venience and often hardship to which they are put. That is why I voted to require feasible plans for relocation.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. (MRS. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
*Member of Congress, Third District, Missouri.*

## U.S. Policy in Berlin—Eyewitness Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for the benefit of other Members of Congress, as well as State Department officials, a fine letter from Kurt T. Meyers, a Capital University student, outlining his observations concerning East and West Berlin.

Mr. Meyers is a member of Capital University Chapel Choir that recently concluded an extended tour of European countries. The choir performed in East Berlin with considerable impact as is set forth by the following UPI story from Hamburg:

CAPITAL CHOIR SINGS CONCERT IN EAST BERLIN

HAMBURG, GERMANY.—The Capital University Choir will head for home Tuesday after scoring a triumph on the Communist side of the Berlin wall Thursday.

The choir's performance in East Berlin drew the largest audience of any of the 16 performances scheduled on the group's current tour of Europe.

"More than 2,000 East Berliners came to hear us sing sacred music at the Protestant Marien Church in the Soviet sector," Dr. Ellis E. Snyder said. Dr. Snyder is choir director.

"The audience was comprised of a mixture of old and young. After the concert we were asked to sing some numbers outside the church," he said.

The 62-year-old professor and his student singers arrived Thursday on a tour sponsored by the Lutheran Capital University of Columbus.

Snyder said he could not disclose how the choir's concert for a church congregation in Communist-ruled East Berlin was arranged.

"The boys and girls walked over there individually and returned to West Berlin right after the concert without any trouble.

"The Communist border guards were very courteous and nice," he said.

Like all foreigners, choir members were checked into East Berlin through the Friedrichstrasse crossing opposite the American "Checkpoint Charlie." Friedrichstrasse is the only border crossing where the Communists allow foreigners to enter.

"We never had realized what it was until we actually saw it," Snyder said, describing the group's reaction to the wall. "The boys and girls felt they should do something about it, if they had a chance."

He said his students were briefed by U.S. officials at America House here on the Berlin political situation.

After a second concert Friday at the U.S. Army Berlin Brigade Chapel the choir sang Sunday at the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church.

The students will sing a concert here in Hamburg, the last stop of their 5-week tour.

Mr. Speaker, with Mr. Meyers' permission, I am submitting his letter:

COLUMBUS, OHIO,
*July 14, 1962.*

HON. SAM DEVINE,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. DEVINE: Since I am positive that you do not know me, I shall identify myself by saying that I am the son of A. C. Meyers, the Republican committeeman of the 29th ward of Franklin County. Your presence was appreciated at a meeting of the 29th ward Republican at the Marion-Franklin High School just prior to the primaries, in May. I have written to you before on several occasions to voice my opinion on various matters pertaining to legislation up for consideration at the time. Now, however, as a U.S. citizen, I feel obligated to write to you to inform you of some recent experiences I have had in Berlin where the two leading philosophies of government in the world meet face to face.

The circumstances surrounding my visit to Berlin were simply these. I was a member of the Capital University Chapel Choir which this past Wednesday completed a 5-week tour of 8 European countries, singing some 20 concerts along the way. The stay in Berlin lasted from July 5 through 8, and included 3 concerts there. As you may have read or heard, the Chapel Choir actually sang a concert in the Soviet sector of Berlin (see the enclosed newspaper article), and upon doing so, became the first choir from the West to sing in East Berlin since the erection of the barrier last August 13. This venture afforded the choir members, including myself, the opportunity to have "candid" views of East Berlin and to meet and speak with the unfortunate people who were found to be literally enslaved in the grasp of the East German Government. In addition, the choir saw much of West Berlin and traveled along the "wall" for several miles, hearing the heartbreaking stories of people shot trying to escape and of families, husbands and wives, separated by the wall. To attempt to communicate the emotion experienced during the 3-day stay in Berlin would be pointless. But as an American, I was reviled by what I heard from Germans and Americans concerning Allied policy and American policy toward the whole Berlin situation. I left Berlin with the impression that someone is really having the wool pulled over his eyes, as we say, be it Kennedy, Congress, the American people or anyone. I don't know how much ready and accurate information Congressmen receive on Berlin, and I must admit that I don't have affidavits on what I am about to relate. But I hasten to add most of these accounts have come from people who seem to be "in the know," as is one man whom I met who is directly connected with the underground transportation of refugees from East to West Berlin.

To begin, while in West Berlin, the choir visited Amerika Haus (America House) which is an American information center visited by people of many nations to gain information about the United States. Prior to the days of the wall, East Berliners would visit this building and in actuality, one room was reserved for East German people only. Continuing, the chapel choir was ushered into a second-floor room where several maps of Germany and Berlin are displayed. The purpose was to have a 1-hour briefing on Berlin by a distinguished looking American diplomat, followed by a short question and answer period.

The briefing covered several areas of thought and I shall review a sampling of the material. Three reasons were given for the existence of West Berlin: (1) The presence of NATO powers in West Berlin; (2) the link to West Germany which sends one-half billion dollars to West Berlin annually for improvements; and (3) the psychological faith in West Berlin on the part of the people.

It was stated that the Communists are trying to weaken West Berlin through plans which would chew away at each of these foundation blocks. Here are three corresponding plans: (1) Remove allied troops from West Berlin, so much in the news lately; (2) make Berlin a free city, disconnected from West Germany; and (3) the wall itself.

Concerning the "psychological faith in West Berlin," we were told that this suffered a setback when the barrier went up, However, the attitude has now returned to normal among the West Berliners. We learned that at present more people enter Berlin to live than depart from the city. The West German Government grants 3,000 marks (about $800) to each new couple who move from West Germany to West Berlin to live. When the new couple has lived in Berlin for 3 years, the money becomes an outright gift.

During the question and answer period, someone asked, "What would have occurred had American tanks knocked down the barrier on August 13?" The diplomat said that among many possibilities these two are probably foremost: (1) The wall would have been rebuilt, but farther back in Soviet territory; (2) the wall would have been rebuilt on the spot under the protection of Russian tanks.

When asked his personal feelings on the question, the representative denied comment. The preceding was outpoured at the America House. However, people not attached to the State Department tell different stories.

In other parts we learned that West Berliners are now more insecure than they have ever been. All the Jews have left the city, taking their wealth with them. Other rich people have abandoned Berlin in favor of West Germany. At 1 automotive plant some 6 months ago, 92 employees resigned simultaneously and left the city. At the rooming house where the chapel choir ate meals and where the men stayed, the manager needs help to take care of the property, but he can find none. Why is all this true?

1. Americans did nothing but stand and watch the wall go up,

2. Most of the people think that if Soviet troops would attempt to occupy West Berlin today, the 11,000 allied troops would withdraw and offer no resistance, and

3. There is a strong feeling that all Berlin will be Communist controlled within 2 years. In other words, the people don't want to be caught in a trap like 1.1 million East Berliners almost a year ago.

One choir member has a cousin in the armed forces who patrols the border between the East and West Zones of Germany, just east of Helmstedt, Germany. He and other GI's report that more than 1,000 American solders are in prison in East Berlin. Many of them overcome by the tension along the Berlin wall, resorted to drink. In a state of inebriation they wandered too close to the wall and were lured over by East German women, only to wake up in an East German prison. I know. This story is difficult to believe, and we have never read anything about it in newspapers back here at home. But who should know better than the men on the scene?

Needless to say, we Americans were reminded that for the first 3 days of the wall's existence, the East German guards carried empty guns, no ammunition. Further, that secret service men who had been in East Berlin on the morning of August 13 reported this fact to the West and sanctioned a quick knockdown, but it never came. We were told of a strong indication that LYNDON JOHNSON, during his emergency visit to Berlin, may have talked directly with Kennedy, expressing his conviction that the wall should

come down. But even if this did occur, no result occurred.

In earlier times when the Englishman, Chamberlain, was bowing happily to the enemy and giving up lands to the aggressor, we are told that in Berlin signs depicting Chamberlain as a little man with an umbrella became symbolic. Now, there are pictures of Kennedy, MacMillan, and De Gaulle popping up as little men with umbrellas.

Several weeks ago, when Dean Rusk visited West Berlin for a few hours, 30,000 people were expected to be present. Instead there were a meager 3,000. Some of them waved signs which read, "We like Clay. He has a direct line to the President." Accompanying cartoons showed Clay on one end of a telephone line. The line went around the State Department, also shown, directly to President Kennedy at the other end of the line.

While it was certainly adding salt to a sore wound, upon returning to New York City on Tuesday, I purchased and read a copy of William J. Lederer's book "A Nation of Sheep." It was so indicative of what I had just experienced in Berlin.

The one story which shocked me the most came from the lips of a man who is now a Lutheran World Federation representative in West Berlin. He is an important link between the church in the West and the church in German Soviet territory. In his work he visits East Berlin and East Germany quite often. He also knows many of the people in the State Department in West Berlin. "During the first week of September, 1961, a few weeks after the erection of the wall, I visited Leipzig in the Soviet zone, as I do from time to time. When I checked into the hotel where I always stay in Leipzig, there was a note for me, requesting that I call a certain number. I recognized the number as that of a friend of mine in Freiburg, also in the Soviet zone. I called the number and my friend answered, saying that he wanted to see me as soon as possible. We arranged for a meeting the next day in Leipzig, and the man made the 2½-hour drive to see me. When we met face to face, he said that he had come to tell me a story he had just heard. The Russian official Gurness (the spelling is my own guess—K. M.) had visited the University of Mines at Freiburg, and he told a certain class exactly how August 13 had come about. The Russian stated that Mr. Khrushchev had left the Vienna Conference, the first meeting of the two K's, with the impression that Kennedy is nothing but a weak, inept politician. Upon returning to Moscow, he summoned Walter Ulbricht to him from the so-called Germany Democratic Republic, instructing him to make preparations for August 13. On that date, the plans should be executed and nothing more than a minor military reaction will have to be squelched. August 13 arrived, and not even the minor military reaction was put up by the West. The story ended here. When I returned to West Berlin shortly thereafter, I hurried to some of my friends at the State Department and told them what I had heard. The fellows there decided to write up my experience in a report, and to forward the report to Washington. In time, the report was ready. But the man whose signature would grant official authorization for transmission of the report to Washington refused his signature for fear that he might hurt Kennedy's feelings." Yes; another story hard to believe. But the man who told it is a devout Christian who works every day to help the church in East Germany. I trust him.

This is a portion of what we Americans, members of the Capital University chapel choir, found out while in Berlin. Many of us recalled with horror some of the "beauty contest elections" in the United States through which men have been elected to positions in which they must deal directly with problems we encountered. Many of us wished that the whole American "left wing" could pay a 7-day visit to the city of Berlin. Many of us wished that every Congressman could actually walk the streets of Berlin and experience the feeling, as we did, that Berlin is a true story.

There is little that we as individuals can do. The 60 or so slides of East and West Berlin that I have will be less meaningful to people than an article in Life magazine. A couple of us are going to attempt to seek 3 months' employment in West Berlin for next summer through our hosts who were so kind to us and who told us so much about Berlin, if somehow we might boost the morale.

If I were asked, I would summarize the whole Berlin situation as I saw it like this: when a new teacher enters a classroom, the students prod and prod, prod and prod, to see how far the new teacher can be pushed. If the new teacher makes it evident that he means business, from the beginning, and boxes in one kid's ears to prove it, he usually commands the respect of the class and never has to resort to force again. If the new teacher is not firm and overlooks the little prods, the time comes when he must frantically act in an attempt to regain control over the classroom. John Kennedy is the new teacher in the classroom; he is allowing himself to be pushed.

I am hoping that Kennedy and the United States will soon adopt a "We mean business!" foreign policy with regards to the Communists. When I saw East Berlin, I once said that I would lay down my life if 100 East Berliners could go free. Many others made similar statements. Now it looks as if it's up to the Congressmen to carry the ball for the American people.

Right now I am thankful that a Congressman represents my district who will at least read what I have to say. And my conscience will never bother me for having failed to inform my Congressman of what I saw with my own eyes.

Respectfully yours,

KURT T. MEYERS.

## A Christian Evaluation of the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an excellent and timely article by Dr. Albert J. Lindsey, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in my home city of Tacoma, Wash. Dr. Lindsey is highly regarded in our community and his article, which has been delivered as a sermon, has been widely discussed.

The article follows:

A CHRISTIAN EVALUATION OF THE U.N.

(By Dr. Albert J. Lindsey)

Our modern world has many national and international organizations of a cooperative nature. They have been brought about by the increasing proximity of nations. One such organization is the United Nations, which had its inception in San Francisco, October 24, 1945.

During the succeeding years, everything possible has been done to sell this institution to our people as a solution and remedy for the ills of our Nation and the world. How successfully this has been done may be seen in the fact that, in many respects, the U.N. has been made the idol of worship for at least a strong part of our schools, our churches, and our Government.

In the light of what I sincerely believe and understand, it is impossible for me to give blanket endorsement to this program. There are too many serious criticisms of the United Nations with ramifications in our own Nation to neglect an honest evaluation of the total picture. So let us consider it together under the following: its one worldism, its self defense, its record, its philosophy, its conflict with Christianity and the perfect world government.

I. ITS ONE WORLDISM

It must be obvious to many thinking people that this is but the old and again the modern philosophy of the "one world" idea or world centralization. While this may sound very good and appeal to the imagination of many as a desirable condition for our present day world, yet to understand what this actually means one must realize this is the philosophy that grows out of the age-old dream of Satan himself.

The first example of the "one world" idea or world centralization is to be found in the Garden of Eden with Satan's hopes embracing all mankind under his rule. It becomes more pronounced a little later in the 11th chapter of Genesis when, in the construction of the Tower of Babel, which was to unify all mankind, it became necessary for God to intervene. The Lord said—

"Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

"Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

"So the Lord scattereth them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth and they left off to build the city." Genesis 11: 6–8.

It is significant that Christianity made its entry into the world at a time when world centralization was a very prominent factor. There had proceeded in order a series of world empires beginning with Babylon, passing to Medo-Persia, then to Alexander's great domain of Greece, and still later to the familiar Roman Empire where nothing was higher than the state and the emperor ranked as god and was so worshiped. History has recorded that it was an age marked with cultural unity, world trade and intercourse, world peace, world demoralization and the mingling of world religions. This brings us to face the facts of our present era.

In the quest for world unity, man has put forth special effort during these recent years. Since 1914 the world has been experiencing an age of conflict. It has been an age in which men have sought frantically to create a world community. Some steps had been taken in this direction previous to 1914, but after the First World War the League of Nations became a formal expression of the hope for a "parliament of man." The repeated failures of the League dashed hope to the ground and finally the dream vanished in the awful realities of World War II. But the fire of that hope was rekindled following the war and the United Nations was born. Its record shows that it has failed in its promise and nations have bypassed it in such realms as regional military alliances and conferences by governmental heads. Yet the hope for a world community persists in the minds and hearts of many whose basic intentions are good.

Thus we have the great current organization known as the United Nations which is essentially a type of world centralization and destined, if permitted, to bring about one worldism.

II. ITS SELF-DEFENSE

Many are asking, what about it? Is it, as some have painted, a Red Trojan horse

within our borders or is it a valuable needed institution to help our Nation and the world? That is a good question. During the years of United Nations history I have followed its work with keen interest. In fact once I made a considerable study of it, at which time I sent both to the President and our State Department various materials which I had come in contact with and which seemed most reliable that were critical of the U.N., asking if these statements were true and if not, to give evidence which would disprove them. The matter was smoothly dismissed with the sending of materials singing its praises. In a general way they condemned the materials which I had forwarded as "so many glaring errors of fact and such a quantity of misinformation that it will be impossible to correct them all item by item within the limits of a letter." This seems to be the typical reply that one gets, with the implication that we are not to question the high and mighty wisdom of our leaders—they have all the answers, they know, they will make the decisions and we are to abide by them. This of course is not the pattern of democracy.

But we cannot overlook the fact that the U.N. is being used to the detriment of many nations, and our own in particular. Why did Russia join the U.N.? That question has often been raised. Why should Russia, which feels superior and not subject to the United Nations, yet belong to it? There are two good reasons: (1) From within, by a process of continual talk, they may keep the U.N. from any action that would destroy their plans; (2) they may use it for selfish ends against the West and through it learn secrets which they otherwise would not have access to. The espionage which they have carried out in this manner is a record of fact. This is a terrible picture but nevertheless true.

Under our agreements with the United Nations we have no check or control over countless thousands of aliens whom the United Nations can bring here for any purpose whatever. They have complete freedom to bring in what they want, take out what they can get, come and go as they please, stay as long as they wish. The have a diplomatic status which places them above the normal laws to which our own citizens are subject.

The United Nations, established in the very heart of America, has become the international headquarters for Russian espionage and for the dissemination of Communist-Socialist propaganda.

Added to this is the fact that the U.N. contributes to a weakening of our national loyalty, which is the basis of our liberty and freedom. This is being done in many ways such as by the interference of UNESCO, a U.N. organization, in the educational systems of our Nation by its distribution of propaganda to American high school students, thus perverting the thinking of our future generation. The absence of pride in Old Glory and in our heritage is to be found on every hand as symbolized by the high school boy who said, patriotism is "for the birds."

In all fairness it must be noted that as America's permanent representative to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., recognized many weaknesses and shortcomings within this structure and that it is "cumbersome, generally slow, and overly talkative." According to the official literature released in favor of the United Nations, our leaders maintain that most of the faults are being corrected and that the good of the U.N. far overshadows is harm. I do believe that the balance sheet will show that the United Nations has given considerable humanitarian help to mankind which cannot be ignored and certainly is to be commended. However that does not minimize the valid criticisms levied against it which have yet to be answered.

III. ITS RECORD

In spite of the sobering lessons of experience, the idea of referring every international problem to the U.N. as the hope for proper solution became a very popular thing. Eugene Gilbert, president of the Gilbert Youth Research Co., revealed in a survey among young people that they think that the U.N. is great, but are very hazy on details. That undoubtedly is a pretty good picture of not only the youth of our land but the adults. The increasing popularity of the U.N. is seemingly a combination of sentimentality, ignorance, and mental laziness. The U.S. News & World Report has stated:

"As many statesmen see it, the United Nations is a declining force in the world, due to Russian vetoes and other obstructions.

"Now, in a new session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Lodge is trying to restore it to a position of importance."

The article sets forth evidence to show that the record of the U.N. has been anything but successful.

Mr. William Henry Chamberlain, noted author, lecturer and contributor to the Wall Street Journal and many nationally known magazines, has carefully observed U.N. activities both at headquarters and in the field. He says:

"What is not generally realized is that the U.N. has shown itself competent only for mischief, that there is a wide and dangerous disparity between its pretensions and its real power, that the subordination of vital U.S. interests to the shifting and uncertain majorities of the U.N. Assembly could create serious threats to our national well-being. It is ironical that there is a tendency to advocate unconditional reliance on the United Nations, just after that organization has revealed itself as a broken reed, even from the standpoint of passing effective moral judgments, to say nothing of taking effective action.

"By the terms of the charter the United Nations is a league of everyone, against no one, with the primary objective of preserving world peace. Power to act is vested in a Security Council of 11 members, of whom 5—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China—are permanent. Any of these permanent members can stop the functioning of the Council by casting a veto.

"It is as if a community should place the maintenance of law and order in the hands of a commission of five, one of them a notorious gangster and troublemaker. It could easily be foreseen that under such an arrangement the state of public security would leave much to be desired."

From the position of our Nation certain things stand out as of serious nature. The first of these is the Soviet veto power in the Security Council which has been used upwards of 80 times to block action. Then there has been certain action taken which has seemed inadvisable such as the intervention in Korea which many feel could have been more satisfactorily handled by the United States alone, especially in that it remains in uneasy truce and a technical state of war. Further, there is obviously no real ground of moral authority in the U.N. as revealed in the brutal onslaughts against the Hungarian people and the outbreaks in the Middle East in which the U.N. was ineffective. And more recently we witnessed its loss of face in the Congo where the U.N. forces were all but thrown out.

Russia's obstinacy has proved a major item in this ineffectiveness. Mr. Lodge is on record in saying that if the future could have been foreseen when the U.N. was created, it is doubtful whether Russia would have been given a seat, but it is too late now to think of that. Incidentally, in one of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's annual reports, Senate Report No. 131, we find this brief review of the Soviet Union's treaty-breaking record.

"In a foreword, Chairman EASTLAND observed that 'The staff studied nearly a thousand treaties and agreements of the kinds described above, both bilateral and multilateral, which the Soviets have entered into not only with the United States, but with countries all over the world. The staff found that, in the 38 short years since the Soviet Union came into existence, its Government had broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise.'

"In that statement he questioned whether treaty breaking is not an instrument of national policy for the U.S.S.R. and he quoted from two official sources.

"First Zinoviev, a Lenin lieutenant, in 1919:

"'We are willing to sign an unfavorable peace—it would mean we should put no trust whatever in the piece of paper we should sign. We should use the breathing space so obtained in order to gather our strength so that the mere continued existence of our Government would keep up the world-wide propaganda which Soviet Russia has been carrying on for more than a year.'

"Then Stalin:

"'Words must have no relations to actions—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.'"

All this is wrapped up in the record and you certainly do not have to be a Harvard professor or a Philadelphia lawyer to understand these basic facts. This in the light of the startling fact that the two-thirds majority for the Western viewpoint, which at one time was almost automatic, no longer exists certainly paints a dark picture. This is largely true because the newer members of the U.N. are almost entirely Asian and African, thus creating a situation where the two-thirds in the Assembly cannot be obtained for any proposition to which the Soviet bloc and the Arab-Asian-African bloc are opposed. The French Ambassador to the United States, M. Herve Alphand, called attention to this situation, with great clarity at the time of the Suez crisis.

"No country can safely imagine the U.N. in its present state as the only way of determining and implementing international law. Because, if you go to the Security Council, you are faced with the Soviet veto. And if you go to the Assembly, you could be defeated by a majority formed by the Soviet bloc and the Bandung group. No country could accept in all cases that its foreign policy should be defeated by the Soviet veto or the Bandung group."

Please note this important fact: The "Bandung group" is a group of Asian and African states, including Red China, which held a conference in Bandung, in Indonesia, April 1955, and represents 29 nations which is 60 percent of the total population of the earth, extremely wealthy in material resources and control 2 of the earth's strategic waterways.

To this black record is added the fact that just a few years ago investigation revealed an abnormally high percentage of U.S. employees of the U.N. took the fifth amendment when questioned about Communist affiliations and espionage. It was exceedingly difficult to remove these individuals and the U.N. tribunal, sitting on these cases, even then awarded extravagant sums of compensation and severance pay.

Mr. Chamberlain seems fully within the realm of the facts when he says:

"Surely it is time to recognize that the high hopes placed in the U.N. when it was formed have not been realized, that this organization has been useless in most re-

spects, dangerous in some, and competent only for mischief."

IV. ITS PHILOSOPHY

We look next at its philosophy. Our Founding Fathers were most careful to separate neither the individual nor the state from an obligation to God. Contrary to the tendency in American life today they did not leave the concept of God nebulous, undefined and wholly subject to private interpretation but held to a personal, supernatural being, the Creator through whom the human race has been endowed with dignity and inalienable rights. They recognized the rights supernaturally supplied and sanctioned by a sovereign Creator which both rulers and the ruled must everywhere respect.

Now the so-called universal Declaration of Human Rights overwhelmingly approved by the General Assembly of the United States in 1949 has had the full support, as far as the evidence goes, of the National Council of Churches and the National Catholic Education Association which are represented on the National Commission for UNESCO; yet, in contrast, there has not been the same enthusiasm shown on the part of the church at the grassroots level. The major reason for this has been very clearly set forth I believe in an editorial of Christianity Today:

"The very first article of the U.N. declaration at once reflects its differences with the Declaration of Independence in clear light. That article declares:

" 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.'

"The U.N. statement incorporates no references to a supernatural creator, nor does it anywhere assert that God endows mankind with specific rights. It asserts that men are 'endowed with reason and conscience,' but it does not specify the source of this endowment; * * * it nowhere asserts that it is the Living God who sanctions these rights. Its repeated formula is 'everyone has the right to * * *' It erases * * * the emphasis that the Declaration of Independence vigilantly sustained, that the Living God is the source and sanction of human freedoms.

"The consequence of this deletion is far reaching * * * [it] could leaven the confused popular mind with an inadequate and unprotected view of human rights * * * [it] shifts the whole discussion of responsibility one sidedly to that of human rights, and neglects the equally important subject of human duties.

"The observance of Human Rights Day in the free world ought to confront the totalitarian threat to human liberties head-on. But the U.N. formula fails to do so; in fact, its very neutrality leaves human rights vulnerably exposed and endangered.

"Since the U.N. Declaration does not assert that God is the source and sanction of these rights, an impression continues to gain ground that the United Nations is their source and sanction. 'The U.N. guarantees these rights.' This is the formula one overhears time and again. If that really be the case, then the individual is guarded from the tyranny of the totalitarian state only by the totalitarian superstate. For if the U.N. is the source and sanction of human rights, there can be no appeal to a source and sanction higher than the U.N. by reference to which even the positions of the U.N. are to be approved or disapproved. In that event, the conflict between the Soviet orbit and the United Nations reduces to a conflict between superstates; the only issue in the balances is, which of them has the power of the totalitarian determination of human life? Either there is a source and sanction of human rights superior to the United Nations, a supernatural exposition of man and his station in the universe, or the conflict over human rights reduces to an intramural struggle between two totalitarian powers. The framers of the Declaration of Independence saw this issue with clearer vision than our modern statesmen. And until this issue of the ultimate source and sanction of human rights is clearly faced within the U.N., those who see dim outlines of a totalitarian superstate need not be dismissed as suffering from eschatological oddity.

"If the free world is really to stand fast against the threat to human freedoms, it will find the first line of defense, and the only unassailable tower, where the Christian patriots who forged the American Declaration of Independence located it, in the fact that man bears by divine creation a unique dignity, and that the state and citizen alike are bound in a responsible way to the Living God."

V. ITS CONFLICT WITH CHRISTIANITY

All that has gone before is information which brings the mind of the evangelical Christian to the only possible conclusion that the U.N. and its philosophy is in definite conflict with true, Biblical Christianity. One worldism or world centralization may sound like a good thing to the untrained, unspiritual mind, but certainly is not of God. This thing can easily become the devouring monster that will turn and destroy those who created it. Many there are who will argue that world government will result in world communism. Such a "one world" government could decide eventually most, if not all, of the details of our daily living—within our educational system, on radio, television, film, press. Eventually there could be carried out in this world superstate the mongrelizing of all races. Certainly if this were the will of God He would not have prevented it, as the record reveals.

In connection with this, it is interesting to note the content of William Ernest Hocking's book, "The Coming World Civilization," recently published. From a review of the book by Surjit Singh, professor of Christian philosophy in the San Francisco Theological Seminary, I take the following paragraph, which shows the sinister and destructive philosophy in such thinking:

"The author believes neither in the equal validity of all religions nor in any easy syncretism. Being appreciative of the universal and historical elements in religion he keeps open the possibility of a universal religion. He thinks it will be reconceived Christianity, although perhaps not known or recognizable under that name. It is perhaps more apt to say that in the Coming World Civilization Christianity will be thrown together with other religions in the crucible of common worship, fellowship, and interchange and by imparting its maturity to others and incorporating 'the spiritual iron' of the East it will be transformed into the religion, not Christian, but the universal religion which will minister to the motivations of civilization. This is the empirical way the Christian religion becomes the nameless universal religion."

Now all of this foreshadows what many believe to be a very dark picture for evangelical Christianity and they feel it is time that the grassroots level were awakened to the situation. Now let's get it clear in our minds, we are not alarmists, but we refuse to be regimented into a program which in the light of all the evidence that we have seems to be contrary to the basic revelation of Scripture, regardless of how high and noble its motives may sound.

In addition to what has already been said with its far-reaching ramifications, there should be emphasized some of the things that stand out in this subtle conflict with the Christian church as based upon the Word of God, the Bible. Already before us is the common danger of one-worldism—the mongrelizing of all races which is manifested in intermarriage and intermingling of races which according to many Bible scholars is contrary to Scripture. We do not mean that there is any superiority of races nor that there should be any discrimination.

Something else involved in this world centralization that would be very advantageous for Satan in accomplishing his main desire is the destruction of the church of Christ and the establishment of his Satanic kingdom. It is no secret that the proponents of the world government idea in many cases are in favor of forbidding our missionaries from entering any country that is non-Christian. Their philosophy generally is that whatever faith is strongest in each nation should have the sole power of determining what religious practice would be carried on therein. That would mean that if in America 51 percent of the people were non-Christian, then Thanksgiving, Easter, Christmas and all things pertaining to the Christian church could be, and perhaps would be, abolished and atheism could become our national faith.

Let us also take for example the matter of the world calendar which the proponents are endeavoring to work out through the United Nations which revision would destroy the 7-day week cycle of time as set forth in Genesis. It would not be long before the Lord's day would be scrambled throughout the other days of the week, and it would be practically impossible for churches to worship on His true day.

It is also significant that the entire philosophy of the United Nations, which is antibiblical, is centered in man and only in man. It is based upon the premise that we, that is the United Nations, can do this and can do that. Such a philosophy that rules out divine leadership can only result in eventual harm. Certainly this has characterized the the U.N. from its very inception and God has been politely but firmly ruled out.

Someone has reminded us that God Almighty endowed the oyster with a ready-made house to live in. All he has to do is open the doors of his house to take in his food and close them again to keep out his enemies. He has perfect social security, yet he is the easiest creature in the world to catch. He always ends up in the soup. So what does his vaunted security amount to? The eagle on the other hand is peculiar among created things in another respect. When a severe storm strikes, all the other birds either hide from the storm or try to fight it as long as their strength holds out. The eagle neither fights nor runs away. He simply sets his wings so the fury of the storm itself lifts him above the storm where the sun is shining and there he remains "free as a bird" until the storm is over and only a fool would pity the eagle because he isn't an oyster.

Now the road to freedom in our land must begin with the decision as to what kind of freedom we want. Is it a freedom from something, or freedom for something? Do we want to become a nation of oysters or a nation of eagles? Our forefathers guarded the right to risk capital in the hope of a return on their investment, the right of unlimited expansion of their business, the right to let the people in true democratic fashion cast their ballots in the cash registers of the Nation for the businesses which serve them best, and above all, cherish the right to be free to worship God as His word dictates. Freedom to them was a positive thing and they wisely chose the eagle as their national emblem.

Every Bible student is aware that in our present era or dispensation, world government and world centralization is that which is connected with and largely controlled by the prince of the air, or the power of dark-

ness, Satan himself. They further know it is his pattern and policy throughout the ages, as has been pointed out from the Scriptures. It is also quite clear as we move toward the end of this age that there will be a great superhuman effort to bring about that very thing. We see it taking place today in almost every department of life and even within the visible church, with ecumenicity and church union at times displacing the Gospel. It is something that appeals to the emotions of people, it tickles their ears. They speak of it as being that which is spiritual, good, uplifting, a step in the right direction, whereas the poor, blinded souls do not know that they are sounding their own death knell and moving forward into the shackles of the bondage of Satan himself. Unity of the Spirit is one thing—unity by man is another.

VI. THE PERFECT WORLD GOVERNMENT

True, there will come a day when there will be one world government and complete and perfect world centralization, but it will not be by man, rather by Almighty God. God, and not man, will usher in the long-looked-for utopia. The closing chapter of my book, "The Prophetic Pulpit," entitled "Prophecy and Christ's Kingdom," presents a detailed vivid picture of this wonderful world reign yet to come.

I think again of my visits to the U.N. headquarters. I could not help but stand back and say to myself "Behold the modern Tower of Babel." We will not deny that there are humanitarian aims in the Economic Council of this institution, but the basic principle is contrary to the divine program of God. It is satanic in its origin and if pursued, as it appears to be, can only bring us down the road eventually to our own sorrow and destruction.

This message is, I know, in decided contrast to a great host of messages that are given from the pulpits of our land as they yearly observe World Order Sunday. Certainly it is diametrically opposed to what has been desired by the leaders of the National Council of Churches, along with other ecclesiastical leaders, but as a watchman on the wall, as one called to proclaim the truth of God's Word and defend it from heresy, as one who sees the prophetic picture of God's Word as I believe I do, I would not be true to my position if I spoke otherwise. Certainly the road to freedom and the road to God does not lie in our current existence through world centralization, but rather it lies only in a strong faith in Jesus Christ, for it is written, "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts 4: 12).

## Just Imagine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Warwick Advertiser, in my district, on July 20.

The editorial is brief and to the point. It tells the story of debt and disaster in language and in figures that we can all understand. I commend it to the attention of the House:

JUST IMAGINE

Imagine that your salary is $8,200 a year—and you are almost $30,000 in debt.

Last year your debt increased by $390.

This year you are adding at least $700 to your indebtedness.

Your friends are warning you that you can't continue to pile up additional debt—that this is the road to financial ruin.

So you and your wife talk it over and decide to draw up a budget for next year.

But instead of reducing expenditures—or even holding them at their present level—you decide that you will spend $340 more next year than this year.

You reach this decision on the assumption there is nothing definite—that you will receive a salary increase next year; therefore you plan to spend it.

Nearly everyone will agree that a family handling its finances on this basis is headed for serious trouble.

Yet, add seven ciphers to these figures—and you have the exact fiscal situation of the Government under the Kennedy administration.

## Brutal Mandate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a remarkable book entitled "Brutal Mandate." This book, which has just been published by Macmillan, was written by Allard K. Lowenstein. Mr. Lowenstein, a distinguished constituent, is known by many of us. A former president of the National Student Association, he served on the staffs of Senators HUBERT HUMPHREY and Frank Graham. The book is a fascinating account of a trip to South-West Africa made in 1959 by three young Americans including the author. In addition, the book provides useful insights into the workings of the United Nations. It should be required reading for anyone who wants to understand South-West Africa.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote the foreword, which follows:

(Foreword by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt)

How little most of us know about Africa. The other day someone started to tell me something which was a fact about South Africa but had nothing whatever to do with South-West Africa, which was the area about which we were talking.

This book by Mr. Lowenstein is the story of a trip undertaken to render a service to the people of this mandated territory. The story itself is told in a natural and completely fascinating way, with poetic descriptions which give one an understanding of the country and its people; and the care with which these young men recorded and documented their findings is a truly remarkable achievement. It required courage, good judgment, coolness, and persistence.

Mr. Lowenstein and his companions had all of these qualities, but besides they had a depth of human sympathy and understanding which wiped out the fear of the white man on the part of the black. Yet through the whole book one can sense how deep that fear has become. The terror as it is indicated on every page is one of the things any decent white person will feel shame about.

I have known Mr. Lowenstein for many years. He is a person of unusual ability and complete integrity. I think he will always fight crusades because injustice fills him with a sense of rebellion. He wants to be of help in some way, and it must have been a great satisfaction to him and his companions when the recordings they had succeeded in smuggling out of South Africa were finally played for members of the Fourth Committee at the United Nations. Their own testimony made a deep impression, so deep that they awakened much new interest in South-West Africa and gained new respect for their own country.

I hope this book will be widely read not only in this country but also in many other countries, and my thanks go to Mr. Lowenstein, the author, and to his cotravelers for a remarkable piece of work well done.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of July 21, 1962:

WHAT IS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT TODAY?

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, of Texas)

The Constitution has been reinterpreted in intent and violated in practice until its use today resembles little its original content and spirit. Indeed, it is appropriate to ask what significance is the congressional oath of office, to swear to uphold and defend the Constitution. Yet since the original underlying concepts are so sound as they relate to freedom for individuals from domination, surely it is not old-fashioned and foolish to ask at any time, including today's events, is this the constitutional role of Federal Government, remembering that the Constitution preserves freedom by a form of limited government of checks and balances, a republic within a democracy?

"The destruction of a mighty nation may well be approaching because of the activities of one person. He has encouraged leaders to tranquilize the populace with half-truths. He has lured the press into inattention and has assisted the people in duping themselves. He has persuaded his fellow citizens to concentrate on life's comic strips and mindless entertainments and to avoid the bruises of reality. The culprit is the person whose eyes scan these words, and whose hands—at this moment—hold this book. The country is the United States of America" ("A Nation of Sheep," by William J. Lederer).

Have we become a Nation of sheep? Of course not. Do we care little about constitutional government, a tough instrument for freedom-loving, tough, and self-disciplined people? No, we do care. Then why doesn't our Government represent us as we are?

NEW FRONTIER DEFEATS

House and Senate Members are rebelling. Americans are awakening to what is happening under the New Frontier concepts of "democratic socialism." Views from home are influencing Representatives and Senators. As usual, while Members reflect grassroots sentiment they lag considerably behind the people. The arm twisting and political bribery by President Kennedy and his aids are being overbalanced by pressure from home as people finally recognize the fallacious programs and fallacious reasoning of the President and his New Frontier architects—including as right hand aids 36 members of ADA, the American Democratic socialists.

Defeats of Kennedy legislation this week: (1) The tax bill: In the Senate some of the unconstitutional carrot-and-stick punitive taxes passed by the House have been amended.

(a) Automatic withholding of interest and dividends was deleted, thus eliminating overwithholding, taxing nontaxpayers, and administrative chaos.

(b) Investment credit was reduced, approaching liberalized depreciation which is what is really needed.

(c) Foreign tax grossup or double taxation eliminated.

(d) Business expense deductions made less stringent.

(2) The Hanford atomic public power development was defeated in the House by a vote of 232 to 163 (Government power development has no constitutional basis).

(3) An antitrust civil process amendment was defeated, 202 to 200, an amendment which would have permitted Attorney General Bobby Kennedy to demand and get the books and records of any business without due process of law—unconstitutional.

(4) A transfer of States rights to the Secretary of Commerce pertaining to relocation of displaced families because of highway right-of-way was defeated 236 to 159 and the authority left in the States. States rights violation and Federal dictation is unconstitutional.

(5) Farm bill rejected earlier by the House, resulted in a substitute, reducing regimentation and control for the farmers reluctantly passed by many, 229 to 163, only after solemn warning that the Kennedy-Freeman controls will not be tolerated and a better bill next year must be forthcoming. Farm bills as now constituted are totally unconstitutional.

(6) Medicare: medical care for the aged, was forced to a vote by the President and defeated 52 to 48. This compulsory tax, plus gratuitous coverage, jeopardizing our fine medical services, is a part of socialism and is totally unconstitutional. Federal Government is not constitutionally empowered to permit it to feed, clothe, house, provide jobs, medical care or basic necessities of our people. These defeats of the Kennedy program each in turn involve unconstitutional grants of power and were rejected by the Congress.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS—CHECK CONSTITUTIONALITY

(1) Foreign aid: House-Senate conference; as expected, the conferees struck out (a) House demand that no U.S. funds beyond our percentage assessment, already paid, go to support the member nations of the United Nations who are delinquent, until they pay up; (b) the Senate limitations on aid to Communist countries were replaced by the House revision which gives the President authority to give money, food, and gifts to Yugoslavia, Poland, Red China, Cuba or whomever he wants. Constitution calls aid to enemies treason, and no one questions that Communists are our enemies.

(2) Conference report on social security's Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 was passed 357 to 34, providing (a) $140 million of unbudgeted expenditures; (b) increased authority to Secretary of HEW to determine on repayment by trainees. Constitutional? No, this is government by men, not law; (c) Subsidizing countless chislers and goldbricks who are freeloading in the ADC (aid to dependent children) and other programs. Hardly constitutional.

DALLAS FEDERAL BUILDING

An interesting new development arose as a group of Dallas citizens visited the President requesting money for the Dallas building. Of course, it is the right of citizens to petition their government, the elected officials. Some interesting questions now arise:

1. Should new communication lines be set up, as requested, between Dallas and the President beyond or replacing the customary government legislative procedures all of which have resulted in formal approval of the building?

2. What new information is needed inasmuch as complete data is in House and Senate committee and Government agencies?

3. Should Federal buildings be built when the Government is deficit financing, increasing the danger of inflation, devaluating the purchasing power of money? I believe in each case the question gives the answer. Now try the Constitution on each of these.

Back to the basic question: why not constitutional government? Why are we not militant constitutionalists? Because constituents have grown careless in their choice of public officials for reasons other than constitutional, many times a selfish interest, or just as significant a failure through ignorance, not apathy, of what the elected officials were doing. The citizen voters will soon have a chance to correct both, inasmuch as the President has chosen an issue, medicare, which through compulsory tax and bureaucratic dictation is unconstitutional. Obviously those who expect victory for this issue are assuming the people's ignorance of the facts. So the battle is joined; Constitution and facts on the one hand, bureaucratic control and ignorance on the other. Which will it be? The key to the answer follows.

## Radio Station WQUA's Editorial on the Senate's Vote on the Medical Care for the Aged Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the President's angry resolve to carry the medical care for the aged issue to the people in the elections this fall, I find a recent editorial broadcast by radio station WQUA, Moline, Ill., which serves the district I represent, an interesting one. I recommend it the perusal of the President and his staff.

A transcript of the editorial follows:

If President Kennedy thinks that his medicare bill was defeated because the Congress is opposed to medical care for the aged or only because of opposition to the watered-down terms of the compromise bill, he is far more naive than we believe to be the case.

Adequate medical care for the aged is like motherhood and love of country—everyone is for it. But not everyone was for the bill which he and the Kennedy steamroller tried to force through Congress. The pressure used to try and force a favorable vote on the measure was little short of blackmail, if we are to believe some of the reports from reliable sources which have come to our attention.

The late Secretary Ribicoff, the President's henchmen, highly placed Government officials were drafted to make a whirlwind high pressure tour to arouse support for King-Anderson. That it failed is reassuring to those of us who believe in the orderly processes of government. It is heartening to those of us who believe that the Members of Congress were elected to discuss dispassionately, to consider honestly and to vote conscientiously on proposed laws. When attempts are made to browbeat Senators and Congressmen into line, to cajole and even threaten them, such tactics make a travesty of democracy.

The President expresses his insistence that defeat of King-Anderson be made an issue in the elections this fall. It is inevitable that such will be the case, whether or not he likes it, but we believe he may be in for a surprise when he hears what the electorate has to say about it next November.

## Mayor Tate Welcomes the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on July 4, the President of the United States came to Philadelphia to speak at the Independence Hall. Many distinguished people were present as well as over 125,000 citizens of the city of Philadelphia. The Governors of the United States who were completing their annual conference were also present. The mayor of the city of Philadelphia, the Honorable James H. J. Tate, made the following outstanding remarks in greeting the people and President Kennedy on Independence Day:

REMARKS BY HON. JAMES H. J. TATE, MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH OF JULY, 1962, INDEPENDENCE HALL

It is indeed an honor and a privilege for me, as mayor of Philadelphia, to extend to you a cordial welcome to this hallowed shrine of American liberty.

At this spot occurred one of the most inspiring events in all history. From here, a clarion call to freedom and human dignity was sounded, the echoes of which are still reverberating around the world.

We Philadelphians are infinitely proud of the heritage which has been bestowed upon us. With all Americans, we know that the ideals first enunciated here may not be taken for granted, but must be zealously guarded and constantly renewed.

At the time of the Declaration of Independence, the American colonists had little real unity. Widely separated by distance and poor communications they had different interests. They were wealthy landowners and poor farmers, worldly merchants and humble artisans, liberals and conservatives. They were Catholics and Jews and Protestants who could still remember the religious persecutions of other lands.

And yet, with all these diversities, there was one unifying force that proved stronger than all the others—so strong that the signers were willing to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

This was the concept that men could be free—that government must depend upon the "consent of the governed"—that justice is the right of all men.

While the Declaration proclaimed independence, it also pledged interdependence—mutual reliance of the separate States upon each other for the common good.

That concept is just as valid today as it was in 1776. To millions of people around the world, newly entered upon or about to cross the threshold of freedom, it is just as electrifying as it was to the colonists who stood here and heard the immortal words first proclaimed.

To us Americans, this anniversary provides an opportunity for solemn rededication. The ideals which gave birth to our Nation 186 years ago glow ever brighter with the passage of time.

Let us, as the first recipients, use that flame, to brighten a dark and suspicious world. Let us, by our thoughts and acts, reaffirm the pledge that was taken here. Let us, finally, give full flower to the promises of freedom, human dignity, and mutual assistance that were born here in Philadelphia.

## Deficit Spending the Key to Economic Ills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, at long last it may be that some administration officials are recognizing the seriousness of our balance-of-payments imbalance. It is too bad that they would not take the next step and admit that the problem is caused by the fiscal irresponsibility of deficit spending.

The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal offers some constructive thinking on the matter:

DOLLARS, DOUBTS, AND DEFICITS

A high Treasury official predicts a marked improvement in the U.S. balance-of-payments position this year. The Pentagon plans a series of moves to lessen its contribution to the payments deficit. The West Europeans suggest that a trend toward higher interest rates here would be a long step toward solving the problem.

So there is plenty of activity—or at least discussion—on the payments front, as indeed there should be. The question is whether enough will be done in time. For none of the talk so far has served to restore foreign confidence in the dollar. On the contrary, the lack of confidence and the expectation of eventual dollar devaluation continues.

Such concern is inevitable for the simple reason that the deficit persists and the gold still flows out. And this country's growing debt to foreigners already greatly exceeds its remaining gold reserve.

It seems to us unquestionable that some of the current suggestions would help. Permitting interest rates to rise to levels approximating those in Europe would be likely to discourage investors from transferring funds to Europe. Whether anything of the sort will be allowed to happen is another matter. The old "easy money" fetish is strong in Washington; these days it shows up in the dubious argument that higher interest rates might dampen domestic economic activity.

As for the Pentagon, its outlays abroad of some $3 billion a year make for a net payments drain of over $2 billion. Secretary McNamara says he hopes to reduce that drain to $1 billion—but not until the 1966 fiscal year. Moreover, some of the reduction would be accompanied by increasing defense spending at home, which won't help our domestic budget problem.

Surely more can be done in the military area. It is hard to believe that an adequate assault has been mounted on the waste throughout the Pentagon structure. It is also hard to believe that the prosperous Europeans, a dozen years after rearmament got under way, cannot be persuaded to do more for their own defense.

And certainly an obvious place to whittle the payments deficit is foreign economic aid. It is true that more and more aid goods are being bought in the United States. But as with military spending, it isn't much help to transfer part of the aid from the payments deficit to the domestic deficit. The thing to do is to cut it. Instead, the Government goes merrily ahead with this wasteful, indiscriminate and often ineffective program.

Finally, there is the by no means insignificant matter of the domestic budget deficit itself—$6.3 billion last fiscal year, anywhere up to $15 billion this year. Some Europeans say a moderate deficit would not unduly increase their worries about the dollar, provided it were financed out of savings instead of out of inflation. Since the latter is the Government's customary method, it's no good laughing off the domestic deficits as if they were unrelated to the dollar's international standing.

Though a lot of confusion has developed about the payments deficit, the essential facts are perfectly plain. U.S. business enjoys a large export surplus; it is primarily the Government's policies at home and abroad that have created the deficit.

The Government admittedly is trying to do some things to repair the damage, but it is still avoiding the hard decision to adopt the sound financial policies that would clear up both the budget and the payments deficit. That is the corrective which is called for, and the persistent foreign doubts, about the dollar are saying it can't be indefinitely delayed.

## Rt. Rev. Msgr. Robert J. White Honored by the People of Old Orchard Beach, Maine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on July 14, 1962, an unusual but fitting honor was conferred upon Rt. Rev. Msgr. Robert J. White, a retired admiral chaplain of the U.S. Navy, by the people of Old Orchard, Maine. The town officials and the people of Old Orchard set aside July 14, 1962, as Father Bob White Day, on which occasion appropriate ceremonies were held, and a bronze plaque in tribute to Monsignor—Admiral—White was affixed to the veterans' monument located at Old Orchard.

Monsignor White, who has lived at Old Orchard Beach for over 40 years, is recognized as the community's outstanding citizen. Monsignor White is held in high esteem by all who know him, without regard to race, color, or creed. His life, dedicated to God and to country, is an inspiration for all others to follow.

On the occasion of dedication ceremonies, Hon. John L. Sullivan, former Secretary of the Navy, delivered a splendid and deserving tribute to Monsignor White.

In my remarks, I include the address of former Secretary of the Navy, Hon. John L. Sullivan:

ADDRESS BY JOHN L. SULLIVAN AT DEDICATION CEREMONIES HONORING FATHER BOB WHITE, OLD ORCHARD BEACH, MAINE, JULY 14, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Father Bob White, and ladies and gentlemen, I want you all to know how very glad I am today to return to Old Orchard Beach. I say "return" because in the summers of 1903 and 1904 our family had a house here and they were two of the happiest summers I have ever enjoyed.

I am exceedingly grateful to the committee for inviting me to join you in honoring a truly great American. This is a significantly unique occasion. Today you are dedicating a plaque to a man who is still very much alive. Perhaps somewhere, someplace, sometime this has happened before the honoree has died. If it has happened heretofore, I must confess that I have never heard of it, and the fact that you are doing him this great honor while he is here to enjoy your plaudits, your gratitude, and your compliments, in my opinion, tells me much more of the high esteem with which he is held in this community than if you were to erect a 250-foot monument after he had died. As we gather here today to dedicate this plaque to be affixed to the soldiers' monument in your beautiful war veterans memorial park, it seems appropriate to look at the record of this great man whom you are honoring today and the multitude and variety of the great things he has achieved that merit such unprecedented recognition.

After graduating from Harvard College in 1915, he was commissioned in the U.S. Navy where he served on naval transport duty and special foreign duty in England, France, Italy, and Yugoslavia. After the war he continued in the U.S. Naval Reserve with the grade of lieutenant commander.

Resuming again his education at the Harvard Law School, he graduated in 1920 and from 1920 to 1927 he served as assistant district attorney for Middlesex County, Mass., and practiced law in Boston.

I did not know Father Bob White in those days, but I can recall in the fall of 1924 my father—who was an excellent lawyer and a particularly astute political observer—told me that he had just encountered attorney Bob White in Boston and that I should keep my eyes on him. He spoke in glowing terms of Bob White's personal magnetism, his keen knowledge of the law, his eloquence and, above all, his ability to get along extremely well with all kinds of people. Dad told me then that when the time came if Bob White wanted to be Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or U.S. Senator, without the slightest question he would make the grade and become an outstanding figure in the public life of the Nation.

My father's prophecy fell by the wayside in 1927 when Bob White received his vocation and decided to study for the Catholic priesthood. After 4 years at the Sulpician Seminary at Catholic University, he was ordained in Portland in 1931.

Father Bob's academic endeavors did not cease when he became a priest. Between 1931 and 1934 he won degrees of bachelor of canon law, bachelor of sacred theology, licentiate in canon law, and doctor in canon law. Subsequently, he received an honorary degree of doctor of laws from the St. John's University and a similar degree from Holy Cross College. Surely this is an awesome record of academic interest and intellectual capacity.

Despite his great activity as a priest, he had always been interested in the affairs of the veterans of World War I. In fact, it was while he was serving as national chaplain of the American Legion in 1933 and 1934 that I first came to know him and was afforded the opportunity of observing the tremendous tact and great wisdom with which he caused to be composed divergent differences of opinion among strong segments of the leading members of the American Legion. In fact, the tact and persuasiveness he demonstrated on many, many occasions not only resulted in his becoming the American representative of the Congress of Allied Veterans in London in 1934, in Paris in 1935, and Brussels in 1936, and in Warsaw in 1937,

but it has led me to believe that if he had chosen a diplomatic career in the State Department he would have been fully as successful as he has been as a lawyer and as a priest.

In 1937 he was apopinted dean of the Law School of Catholic University for a 5-year term. In 1941 he was reappointed dean but along came Pearl Harbor and then Monsignor White applied for and obtained a leave of absence from his duties as dean of the law school and less than a month after Pearl Harbor, joined the Naval Chaplain Corps.

He served with the 8th Fleet in the waters of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, southern France and Italy. He was promoted to commander and later to captain. Subsequently, he was promoted to the rank of commodore and is the only chaplain with the rank of commodore to have served on active duty in the history of the U.S. Navy.

In time of war, the chaplains of all faiths are of tremendous importance to the morale, well-being, and fighting spirit of the men to whom they administer. It is my considered opinion that next to the commanding officers they are of the greatest importance.

Perhaps the briefest and best way for me to convey to you the esteems in which he was held by his fellow officers and enlisted men with whom he served is to read the citation which accompanied the Bronze Star Medal awarded to him by Adm. H. K. Hewitt, fleet commander, for meritorious achievement in the central Mediterranean from November 9, 1943, to Christmas Day 1944. The citation reads: "Displaying exceptional skill and energy, Chaplain White efficiently administered the varied activities of the Chaplains' Corps and maintained a high standard of morale and spiritual undertakings for the relief of the sick and impoverished in war-stricken areas which had been newly liberated from enemy occupation. During the amphibious invasion of southern France, while serving on board the flagship of a naval task force commander, he exhibited extreme coolness and intrepidity under enemy fire, and by word and example inspired the personnel of the assault and support forces to carry out their tasks with valor."

At the conclusion of the war Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal appointed Commodore White to make an overall survey of the administration of discipline and courts martial in the Navy and Marine Corps in World War II. I was in the Navy at the time, and I can attest to the thoroughness and the value of his recommendations in a report which caused the Judge Advocate General of the Navy to appreciably improve the Navy's judicial system. Because of his great professional skill, his humanitarianism, and his completely objective attitude toward this work in which he was engaged, he contributed so materially to the formation of Navy Department policies in regard to naval justice that he was awarded the Commendation Medal of the Secretary of the Navy.

Although he was retired from active duty in 1947 with the rank of rear admiral, Father Bob served as president of the Military Chaplains Association of the United States from 1945 to 1949. Ever since his retirement he has been an active consultant to the Department of Defense and to the U.S. Navy and has been a frequent lecturer in the classes of the Naval Chaplains School and the Naval School of Justice. Even the Army has seeen fit to call on him for lectures at the Army graduate schools.

Now, this seems to be a very sketchy and inadequate summary of the things Father Bob White has achieved. Endowed with a keen and alert mind, a vibrant and warm personality, a genuine respect for all of his fellow men of whatever creed, Father Bob White as a lawyer, priest, author, professor, dean, chaplain, admiral, and authority on naval justice, has displayed his remarkable gifts, not just of the mind but also the generosity and understanding of his heart and his soul. If he had merely possessed a fine mind and was less understanding and tolerant and affectionate toward those with whom he associated, he never could have achieved 10 percent of the objectives he accomplished. Few men have been endowed with such a wide spectrum of talents. None I know have devoted so much of that talent for the public good.

We are all familiar with the shopworn phrase "for God and country." I doubt if anyone in this audience today has ever met a man who has worked harder for, or accomplished as much for, his God and his country as Father Bob White.

I close by presuming to say to him in your behalf as well as in mine that it is the fervent wish not only of those of us who have gathered here on this happy occasion today but also of the hundreds of thousands of men and women in and out of the service whom he has helped throughout his lifetime that he will be granted many, many more years to serve, as he has all his life, his God, his country, and his fellow man.

## Reactions of Old Elis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, in yesterday's New York Herald Tribune there is a story concerning the reactions of Yale alumni on the awarding of an honorary degree to a well-known individual.

The story follows:

KENNEDY DEGREE OUTRAGES OLD ELIS—YALE ALUMNI CRITICAL OF AWARD

("When the big blue team gets after you, Harvard, goodnight."—A Yale football song.)

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Giving a Yale honorary degree to that young man from Harvard has stirred up some of Old Eli's old grads.

Critical letters to the editor from five Yale alumni, complaining about Yale conferring an honorary doctor of laws degree on President Kennedy June 11, appear in the July issue of the Yale Alumni magazine.

The same issue carries President Kennedy's picture on the cover and the text of his speech at Yale's 261st commencement. The editors printed the letters without comment and without any letters praising the degree.

"Please be advised that with your bestowing an honorary degree upon John F. Kennedy, my contributions will cease," wrote John E. Eckelberry, of New York, Yale, 1955.

"I value highly my Yale education," said R. E. Packer, of Sierra Vista, Ariz., class of 1953. "But my Yale degree can no longer call forth my full pride, now that a similar honor is held, unearned, by a pathetic product of Harvard who regards individual human freedom in this Nation as mere hindrances to his determined experiments toward a planned Socialist state."

Of Mr. Kennedy's comment ("I have the best of both worlds. A Harvard education and a Yale degree") Mr. Packer wrote: "Incredibly rude."

HE'S DISMAYED

"I was quite dismayed to read in the newspapers over the weekend that Yale will award an honorary degree to President Kennedy," said John Fleming Kelly, class of 1947 and law 1950, in a letter written before the commencement.

Mr. Kelly said he was "quite curious" about how the citation to the President would read and added:

"Will it say, for example, that few holders of the office have displayed the arrogance of this man in dealing with matters of grave public crisis, such as the steel price situation? Will it praise him for his high-sounding, convincing words of courage and determination about crises in far-off places, such as Laos, and for failure to put action behind these words? Will it compliment him for upholding such basic principles as freedom of speech, citing his cancellation of a subscription to the Herald Tribune because of its criticism of him?

"I respectfully submit that when Yale honors him, she does a grave disservice to concepts she should foster, and she weakens the very foundation on which she herself stands."

Another writer, Douglass B. Simonson, of New York, class of 1919, asked: "Was the President given an honorary degree merely because of his title, or because of something really great he had accomplished, or because Yale believed in and wanted to put her stamp of approval on his programs and theories?" He said he assumed it was done for the third reason.

"Yale knows what would happen to her if she did not live within her income, yet she honors for the second time a President who believes his country can spend itself into prosperity without inflation," Mr. Simonson said. "I hate to think," he added, "how far the $47 million raised by Yale alumni for the university will go toward accomplishing its original purpose."

The same issue of the Yale Alumni magazine also carries the baccalaureate address of Yale President A. Whitney Griswold. In it Mr. Griswold said "we must take a hammer" to the popular image which pictures the American college alumnus as:

"The irascible member of the old guard who neither dies nor surrenders, fuming with rage (and perhaps a little bourbon) at his football tickets, or the coach, and dashing off sulfurous letters to his university beginning, 'I was shocked to discover that' and ending 'unless something is done about this at once I shall no longer contribute or remain, sincerely yours.' "

## Statement in Support of H.R. 11948

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement I presented to the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on General Education on June 29, 1962, in support of my bill H.R. 11948 to provide for an extension of library services:

STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 11948, TO EXPAND LIBRARY SERVICES THROUGH AN AMENDMENT OF THE RURAL LIBRARY SERVICES ACT, BEFORE THE HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON GENERAL EDUCATION, JUNE 29, 1962

Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure to appear before this subcommittee to support a legislative measure which I have introduced to further extend the scope of Federal financial assistance to the States for library services. My bill, H.R. 11948, would amend the present Library Services Act to

include areas of our Nation lacking public libraries or with inadequate public libraries, and to help expand public elementary and secondary school libraries and certain college and university libraries. The bill would also stimulate education programs for the training of persons in the field of library science.

The declaration of policy as stated in the bill is a summation of my feelings about the need for an expanded program of Federal financial assistance for library services. As the declaration points out there is a growing need for information and education for all our people. Today's rapidly expanding body of knowledge makes good libraries essential at all levels of education from elementary school through adult education in order to provide maximum opportunities for study and research and to produce well-informed citizens who are capable of exercising sound judgment and engaging in profitable employment. I might also call attention to the fact that the modernization of our society and current technological developments have reduced the work hours of the day and week and given the average worker considerable leisure. It is reasonable to assume that citizens will read good books as an important phase of wise leisure and recreation. There is evidence, therefore, of an increasing demand and need for adequate library services for the public and for our schools.

As every member of this subcommittee knows the present deficiencies of public libraries, school libraries, and college and university libraries are critical. In my opinion there is an undisputable need for a coordinated program of library development to help bring about maximum availability and utilization of library resources and services.

The legislation I propose would help the States accomplish this purpose through several programs of financial assistance. Title I of the bill is concerned with public libraries. Under this title an appropriation of $20 million would be authorized for each of 5 years beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963 to be used for payments to States which have an approved plan for the further extension of public library services to areas within the State without such services, or with inadequate services. The title authorizes the appropriation of specific sums for the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Canal Zone and provides that the remainder of the appropriations for the title to be divided among the States according to the population of the State to the population of the United States. A provision is made for State matching funds in accordance with the ability of the State to match Federal funds, as determined by per capita income within the State.

Title II of the bill provides assistance to library programs in public elementary and secondary schools through an authorized appropriation of $30 million for 5 years beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963. Funds under this title are to be allotted to the States according to their ratio of the State's school-age population—5 to 17—to the school-age population of all the States. The title also contains a matching provision which is based upon State per capita income.

Mr. Chairman, it is appalling to me to note that in many elementary and secondary schools the "library" is only a table in the back of the classroom where some few children of high motivation might wish to sit and read. All too often the classroom teacher has had little or no training in the selection of reading materials for elementary and secondary age children. Thus at an early age when they are developing an appreciation for books and the world of knowledge to be found therein, many of our schoolchildren are left out of this important adventure. Current statistics report that more than 10 million children go to public schools where there are no school libraries and more than 40,000 or nearly half of all our public schools have no libraries. There is certainly a need for a forceful echo of the ideas of Leslie W. Dunlap who, in a discussion of the history of libraries, has pointed out:

"* * * As the objectives of the schools broadened to include training for living in a democracy in addition to instruction in traditional subjects, the role of school libraries became increasingly more important. Libraries now are widely recognized as an integral part of schools, and the future of school library services depends directly on the place of the school in contemporary society." [1]

The third title of my proposal to amend the Library Services Act is concerned with the library services of our colleges and universities.

Title III authorizes library grants to institutions of higher education to assist and encourage such institutions in the acquisition for library purposes of books—other than textbooks—periodicals, documents and other related materials. The grants authorized under this title are graduated in amount according to the level of higher education offered by the school. For example, the grant would be $1,000 for schools offering a 2-year educational program; $2,500 for an institution offering an educational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree or a more advanced degree or $5,000 if the institution provides an educational program for which it awards both bachelors' and advanced degrees.

I hardly need mention to this subcommittee the importance of library services to our institutions of higher education which have the responsibility for the education and training of our most qualified students. To envision higher education without adequate accompanying library facilities for research and study is to propose a race without a course: you may well have people going somewhere but the starting place would have been missed. I say this because the thoughts and theories of past scholars as recorded in books provides a starting place for newer directions, interpretations and, in fact, contradictions by those of this era who would seek true understanding and knowledge. It has been said by many people in many different ways:

"More than any other instrument of society the library is custodian and disseminator of the world's knowledge. Libraries preserve and make available the results of previous human experience; they are the instruments which make possible the enrichment and extenison of that exeperience." [2]

The challenges to higher education in these special times are tremendous; they relate to the basics of human sufferings and hunger; of freedom and self-government; of progress and more abundant life; of free thought and expanding horizons. If it still holds that from research comes the truth then we must be concerned indeed that those who are true seekers of the truth through the academic disciplines of higher education have available to them adequate facilities for research of which the library is a fundamental part.

A fourth title of the bill also relates to institutions of higher education. It would make available to participating institutions funds for the operation by them of short-term or regular session institutes for training to improve the qualifications of librarians or individuals engaged in library work. The institute participant would be entitled to receive a stipend of $75 per week plus $15 for each dependent for the duration of the institute.

I believe that the value of institute training programs, has been firmly established as a sound educational method. The institute training program has certainly been effectively promoted by the National Defense Education Act which was enacted by the 85th Congress. That same act, as you perhaps know, provided some assistance to libraries. However the assistance was restricted to an emphasis upon books and materials related to the study of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. I believe that the current Rural Library Services Act is the appropriate measure to incorporate the purposes embraced by my bill.

I should like to conclude with these thoughts: Ours is a free society. Our children may read according to their own dictates and are limited only by their abilities. We hope that the exposures which books afford will broaden their perspectives and stimulate thought. We hope that they will read even those works with which we are not in agreement, for this is a part of the challenge of the quest for truth.

We know that many societies are not free. The youth of one generation may well not know the events of yesterday or the thoughts of others if those ideas are not in keeping with the current "party line." All too often the records of the past are closed—thereby offering little guidance for a better tomorrow.

Let us maintain our compassion for those who are not free and encourage them to seek liberty. Let us take care to guard our own freedoms and our democratic way of life. In so doing, let us promote the expansion of those institutions which are important parts of our free society—let us assist in the expansion of the scope and services of the library.

[1] Dunlap, Leslie W., "The Story of Our Libraries," prepared for Collier's Encyclopedia; Library and Education Division, Collier's Encyclopedia, New York, N.Y.

[2] U.S. Office of Education, "The State and Publicly Supported Libraries," Introduction; Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956.

## Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 16, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, in observing the Captive Nations Week, officially and solemnly, the people and the Government of this country steadfastly cling to the time-honored and long-tested American tradition and policy. The spirit and the very core of that policy is to express our wholehearted sympathy for oppressed and downtrodden peoples, to aid them in every way possible, to champion their righteous cause, and to condemn the oppressors of these peoples.

For nearly two decades 9 nations with a total population of nearly 90 million in northern, central, eastern, and southern Europe have been captives in their homelands behind the Iron Curtain. These Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechoslovaks, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Rumanians differed from each other in

many ways, but they all were one in their appreciation of freedom and in their readiness to fight and die for their independence. They did fight, and millions of them died in defense of freedom, but, as they were no match to the aggressive might and the deceitful methods of the Soviet Union, they all fell victims of Soviet communism as the result of the last war. All efforts on their part and on the part of their friends in the West have failed to secure their freedom. We all hope and pray that future efforts to free these nations from Communist totalitarian tyranny will succeed and they will regain their freedom.

## Schlesinger, Galbraith and Company Know Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting item in the Wall Street Journal today pinpoints some of the very reasons we are in our economic doldums. Two main reasons are Schlesinger and Galbraith philosophies.

The ad follows:

ABOUT FIXOCRATS AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE

A friend of mine has taught me a lesson I shall not soon forget. In a few simple sentences, he has made crystal clear the social significance of advertising in our society.

This man has worked for 30 years to build his own manufacturing business. He makes a good and useful product, and with intelligent effort, he has built a prosperous business. I am sure today he is properly classifiable as a rich man.

So I said to him the other day, "How does it feel to be a millionaire?"

With a quizzical grin he replied, "Well, you know it's pretty hard to figure out how to act like one. When we were living on $30 a week, we ate Wheaties for breakfast, and now that we're rich, we still eat Wheaties for breakfast. I wore Arrow shirts then, I wear Arrow shirts now. I smoked Camel cigarettes and drank cokes then, I do the same now. We had a Maytag washer then, we have a Maytag washer now. Sure, we have a bigger house—we've had some trips abroad, but mostly we wear and eat and use and do about the same thing we always have."

How simply my friend put his finger on the greatest thing about our American way of doing business. With advertising and mass production we make the best pretty much available to everyone, so much so that it's a little hard to act like a millionaire. The poor are nearer to the rich in the United States than in any country in the world, simply because mass production, mass advertising, and mass selling bring the best within the reach of almost everyone.

Despite the truly wonderful achievements of our system, I hear a good deal of criticism of advertising these days. It comes mostly, I think from the "fixocrats," those self-elected superthinkers who would like to establish a sort of dictatorship of the intelligentsia in which they would decide what is good for everyone and protect the rest of us from the consequences of our own poor judgment.

They're a confident lot, these "fixocrats." Undismayed by the fact that ours is the most successful and the most democratic economic system in the world, they are sure they can fix it better. They see no need to demonstrate their qualifications. They just expect us to hand them the monkey wrench.

One of the criticisms, for example, presented by Schlesinger, Galbraith, and company is that advertising makes people want things they shouldn't. I suppose that might occasionally be true, but it's also true of college educations and bikini bathing suits—and I'm not in favor of outlawing either one.

What Schlesinger, Galbraith, and company mean, of course, is that advertising makes people want things Schlesinger, Galbraith, and company think the people don't need. What Schlesinger, Galbraith, and company attack, whether intentionally or unconsciously, is the most fundamental principle of our society—freedom of choice. Freedom to choose what we will buy—freedom to choose our friends and associates—freedom to choose where and how we will live—freedom to save our money, to spend it wisely, or to "waste" it if we please.

Freedom of choice has given Americans the world's highest standard of living. Mass production and mass marketing have literally made it more economical to sell the best at a price most everyone can afford. Advertising is democracy in marketing. Through the competition it stimulates, it brings the best to more millions than ever have had it in any other economic system, and certainly to far more than are securing it under any other economic system today.

Schlesinger, Galbraith, and company may be master technicians, but I for one would like to see a few successful samples of their work before we hand them the monkey wrench.

Mr. A. stands for Art Tatham, board chairman, Tatham-Laird, Inc., Advertising, Chicago, New York, Hollywood.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

AMSTERDAM, N.Y.
*June 14, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I would like to appeal to you as a citizen of the United States, Ukrainian descent, for you to consider favorably the resolution (H. Res. 211) for the establishment of a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

A man of your position, I am sure, will consider favorably such an important resolution which will serve as a reservoir of information and data on various captive nations in the U.S.S.R., which information could be available to the U.S. Government and various agencies of all the affairs behind the Iron Curtain.

I again sincerely urge you, sir, to help support this resolution (H. Res. 211) in your House Rules Committee.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

STEPHANIE KOWAL.

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ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.,
*June 22, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I wholeheartedly support your House Resolution 211.

Sincerely yours,

LEONID LYSENKO.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.,
*June 16, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Ignat A. Bilyj, a Cossack by origin, lawfully admitted to and residing presently in the United States, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to establish a Special Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

IGNAT A. BILYJ.

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CHICAGO, *June 14, 1962.*

Hon. D. J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I am glad to report that I am supporting completely your resolution (H. Res. 211).

Yours sincerely,

S. SAMBORSKI.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your proposed House Resolution 211 to be the best and the most appropriate one at the present time, in the war against the colonialists in Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

BEEBOARCE OLEKSUNDSENKO.

## The People Speak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following stories which appeared in the July 21, 1962, edition of the Owosso Argus Press. Under the headline "People Look at the Role of Government in Agriculture," the views of the people from one of the finest agricultural areas in the Nation, Shiawassee County, should be of interest to all Members:

PEOPLE LOOK AT THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURE

IN THE COUNTRY

Most of the Shiawassee County farmers and village residents interviewed are against the Federal Government's grain storage program.

This was the result of a survey taken this week among Shiawassee County farmers and village residents. The following question was asked several farmers and village residents in the county:

What do you think of the Federal Government's grain storage program?

Some comments of those against the program follow:

Allen Brichan, a rural Owosso farmer, said: "I don't think much of it It is the best thing for the big fellow that ever happened, but it is the worst thing that could happen to the little farmer."

His son, John Brichan of Owosso, R.F.D. 1, who owns a 126-acre farm, said:

As far as Government help goes, I think it has gotten too big. There are a lot of ways that the Government can help people but once they get started they become too big and things like that happen." (He was referring to the recent corn scandal in Michigan where over 600,000 bushels of Government stored corn is reportedly missing from five elevators.)

John's wife, Barbara, said: "I don't know too much about it but I think it is a good thing to find it out if there is something wrong with the program."

Earl Sanders, of Corunna, R.F.D. 2, who owns an 80-acre farm, said:

"I don't think much of it." If everyone that wanted to store grain kept it at home instead of selling it to the Government, all this wouldn't be going on."

One farmer, who asked that his name not be used, said: "Someone is getting rich off it. I think most of the grain surplus is on paper."

Another farmer, who owns a 100-acre farm and who asked that his name not be used, said: "It is getting to be kind of a joke."

Joes Smolek, of Owosso, R.F.D. 3, who operates a 160-acre farm north of Owosso and whose only dealing with the Federal Government has been to receive acreage allotments, said:

"This Government control business is too much of a headache for everybody. We're all paying for it (costs of storage) one way or another."

Smolek said he has never put any land into the Soil Bank or sold any of his crops to the Federal Government. "And I'm getting along pretty good," he commented.

Joe Horski, of Owosso, R.F.D. 5, who rents 150 acres of farmland, said:

"I think it is a waste of money. They should let the farmers alone and let them grow their own crops like it used to be. The farmers would quit raising as much of a certain crop if there was too much on the market."

Walter Hart, of Morrice, R.F.D. 1, who owns a 60-acre farm and rents other land, said:

"I don't think very much of it. I think it is just a dictator way of running it. It is making the big farmers big and the little farmers smaller. Farmers don't have any rights from nothing."

A minister, who asked that his name not be used, said:

"Well, I think the Government grain storage program is one of the ripest sources of graft in the country today. It is so full of loopholes, that it brings out all the crookedness in human nature."

He added that he limits his public statements to the preaching of the word of God and let the people set their own judgments on public affairs.

Ralph Loomis, of Perry R.F.D. 1, who owns a 200-acre farm, said:

"There is a place for a storage program but I'm not in favor of the Government interfering in my business. I don't like the Government tendency to more and more dictate in the lives of the people."

He continued by saying, "Government was instituted among men for the sake of the governed and not for the sake of the Government."

Comments completely in favor or partly in favor of the grain storage program follow:

Mrs. Dorothy Beardslee, a Morrice housewife, said: "Basically, I think the program had good intentions, but graft is ruining it."

Miss Linda Hankinson, 16, a junior at Morrice High School, whose father owns a farm, said: "I think having it is a good idea if there isn't a lot of graft in it."

A Perry man, who asked that his name not be used, said: "I think it is a good thing to hold prices up if this (such things as the corn scandals) is going to happen, we should go back to supply and demand."

In referring to the corn scandals, he said: "I think that loss is partly due to shrinkage. Last year the corn had high moisture content, and they should allow so much for shrinkage."

Completely in favor of the grain storage program, A. L. Smith, of Perry, who owns an 84-acre farm, said: "That is a pretty good thing for the farmer. I do some farming and I think it is a pretty good program."

One of the shortest and to the point comments was made by Mrs. Connie Flynn, a Morrice bookkeeper and a housekeeper who said:

"I'm just glad my name's not Haddix." (She was referring to the recent corn scandals at grain elevators connected with the Haddix family.)

AND IN THE CITY

People in downtown Owosso don't profess to be experts on the Government's grain storage operations, but they seem to have two common thoughts on the agriculture situation:

1. If the Government would keep out of farming, the law of supply and demand would bring production and consumption in line with one another;

2. The claim by the owner of several Michigan elevators which allegedly are short some 636,950 bushels of corn that the loss is due to shrinkage from drying just doesn't seem right.

Men and women were asked their opinions of the Government's policy of buying surplus grain and storing it in privately owned elevators rented for that purpose.

Most of them preferred to discuss the farm problem as a whole, including soil bank practices, and the broadening investigation of Michigan elevators owned by Bud Haddix and members of his family.

"How could corn possibly shrink that much?" asked Agnes Miller, of 521 Adams Street.

"It doesn't seem like you could get that much shrinkage," said Jack Gazella, of 117 South Cedar Street.

Furthermore, it just doesn't seem right to most of them that the Government should have so much say-so over what farmers do and don't do, anyway.

"I can't see paying farmers for not using their land," said Mrs. Miller in a swipe at the soil bank. "That's not a logical way to do things. Nature takes care of herself and the law of averages would see to it that surpluses got used up without so much storage.

"Why can't they (the Government) trust the judgment of the farmers, especially the older ones? They know what to raise and when to raise it.

"Farmers have been in business long enough. Don't they know what they can raise to their best advantage; it's their livelihood."

Gazella saw Government involvement as inherently bad: "As long as you are going to have Government control, you'll see crooked stuff going on until the end of time."

His solution is simple. "If they'd leave supply and demand alone, they'd take care of themselves."

Mrs. Allen Brainerd of Oakley, who works in a downtown store, sees it about the same way. "For years, this country was in good shape," she said. "Before 1929, everything was governed by the law of supply and demand."

Despite their feelings about it, the people interviewed see little chance of the Government getting out of the agriculture business.

"I've never gone along with that (the Government buying up farm surpluses) in the first place, but we've got it and we're going to be stuck with it for some time to come," said Victor Lahmann of 115 Osburn Street.

"I'd like to see the Government gradually work itself out of the farm picture, because it's costing everybody, including the farmer, money," he added. "I think it can be done."

Jay Montgomery, of 701 Wiltshire Drive, sees Government control as a stifler of initiative, whether it's on the farm or downtown.

"There are too many people checking on too many other people," he declared. "We'd be better off if the Government stayed out of the farming business and left it up to the farmer."

For that matter, he went on, "the Government should keep its hands off all small businesses, farms, and anybody else trying to do something for himself."

Prentiss Latham of 215 S. Saginaw Street wasn't sure whether the Government should be buying up and storing surplus grain, but he thought there should be some plan for doing something with it.

"If the Government is going to take over all that grain, it ought to have a plan to do something with it," he said. "They might be able to use some of it instead of dollars in foreign aid.

"I think some effort will be made in that direction now," he concluded.

Mrs. Brainerd was another who saw advantages of shipping surplus grain overseas.

"Too many people in the world are starving," she said. "We're storing our grain and sending our money overseas; it might be better to send them the grain."

## Medicare and Thorns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, in the President's words, "a handful" of 21 Democrats helped scuttle the bill the President intends to use this fall to set himself up as a demagog.

What actually happened is rather pointedly discussed by William S. White, in one of his columns of last week, and by Roscoe Drummond in his article of July 20:

MEDICARE: WHAT ITS LOSS SHOWS

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—To get to the calm facts about the political implications of the Senate's rejection of President Kennedy's medical care bill it is necessary to cut through a great deal of that breathless melodrama which good actors call hokey theater.

This is no mere minor political affair. But, notwithstanding much shrill rhetoric from partisans and their followers, it is not great, enormous, colossal, bitter, direful, dreadful, or historic.

Undoubtedly, it will form an issue in some of the congressional campaigns this fall—in some places. But to suggest, as many are doing, that it will provide the very hinge and pivot amounts to suggesting that the whole fate of both parties can be settled upon a single question which is far from clear cut and far from universal in its impact on voters.

The President is annoyed that his bill failed in the Senate. He is interested in reversing that verdict in the next Congress. He will certainly take a hand in the congressional campaign, though even now the depth of his commitment to that enterprise is still unsettled.

He will make a dual effort. First, he will try to make sure that the new Congress remains in Democratic control—not excluding those who are "bad" Democrats from his point of view, for the "bad" along with the "good" are necessary to form a Democratic majority. Next, he will give special help to those who from his viewpoint are the right kind of Democrats—meaning ready to support him on medicare and many other things, too.

He has no intention whatever, however, of going out howling for the heads of those Democrats, mostly Southern, who left him on medicare and have left him on other issues, too.

The truth is that he never had any real hope for medicare at this session; for even had the bill cleared the Senate it was already dead and buried in the House. So the Senate battle, if not a sham battle, was at best a battle lost before it began.

What has been "proved" by medicare had already been proved over and over to all who would look and listen. This is that the President has been able to take Congress with him on the vital things—cold war, foreign trade, foreign aid—but has not been able to take Congress with him on much of his domestic program.

This being the bedrock reality, the President is, of course, not going to lunge out on any "give 'em hell" congressional campaign, for several sound reasons. One is that no amount of Presidential "give 'em hell" could destroy the more or less conservative Democratic grip on Congress which is exercised by its committee chairmen—unless the Republicans won.

Another is that he has got to get along with that Congress—and those chairmen—in another year and on many other issues besides medicare. A third reason is that tough as this present Congress has been on him, he would, after all, much rather deal with another Democratic Congress than with a Republican one.

And, finally, it should not be forgotten that Congress has not in fact rejected medical care for the aged, in principle and as such. It has rejected a particular bill, embodying a particular approach at a particular time, which was presented to the Senate in so helter-skelter a way that even some who were sympathetic to the general idea would never have voted for it anyhow in these circumstances.

WHERE J.F.K.'s TROUBLE ARISES—16 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMEN, 16 THORNS IN YOUR SIDE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The Senate defeat of the medicare bill points up the excruciating difficulty President Kennedy is having with his own party in Congress. It is causing the White House increasing alarm.

Major administration bills are being lost. When the administration wins, as in the case of the new debt ceiling, it comes with such a narrow margin that the loss of a mere handful of seats in the fall election would be a major administration calamity. Often an administration victory, such as the recent House approval of authority to give aid to Yugoslavia and Poland, is simply the reversal of a previous administration setback.

The Kennedy honeymoon endured just one session of Congress. The evidence of the widening gulf between the President and the Democratic Party in Congress is no longer in dispute.

The point I want to examine is not what is happening—that is obvious—but where the trouble is coming from.

Mr. Kennedy's own theory, which he expounded again and again to the voters during the campaign, was that since the country already had a Democratic Congress, all that was needed to resolve legislative deadlock was a Democratic President so the two could work cooperatively together.

Reality has disproved theory. The Democratic Congress and the President have, much of the time, worked uncooperatively apart.

The question that arises is, Where has been the source of much of the congressional Democratic resistance to the President? To find the answer it seems reasonable to look at the record of Mr. Kennedy's senior Democratic partners, the most powerful men on Capitol Hill. The nearest thing to the board of directors of the Democratic Party in the Senate are the chairmen of the Senate committees.

There are 16 Senate standing committees. There are 16 Democratic chairmen.

Over a 5-month period of this session of Congress on 59 recorded votes affecting administration-sponsored proposals these 16 Democratic chairmen voted collectively 255 times against the President.

The boxscore is as follows:

| Chairman and committee: | *Times voting against President* |
|---|---|
| ROBERT KERR, Oklahoma, Space | 10 |
| ALLEN ELLENDER, Louisiana, Agriculture | 20 |
| CARL HAYDEN, Arizona, Appropriations | 10 |
| RICHARD RUSSELL, Georgia, Armed Services | 24 |
| W. ROBERTSON, Virginia, Banking and Currency | 53 |
| WARREN MAGNUSON, Washington, Commerce | 5 |
| ALAN BIBLE, Nevada, District of Columbia | 7 |
| HARRY BYRD, Virginia, Finance | 32 |
| W. FULBRIGHT, Arkansas, Foreign Relations | 10 |
| JOHN MCCLELLAN, Arkansas, Government Operations | 29 |
| CLINTON ANDERSON, New Mexico, Interior | 13 |
| JAMES EASTLAND, Mississippi, Judiciary | 31 |
| LISTER HILL, Alabama, Labor, Public Welfare | 6 |
| O. JOHNSTON, South Carolina, Post Office and Civil Service | 11 |
| DENNIS CHAVEZ, New Mexico, Public Works | 6 |
| MIKE MANSFIELD, Montana, majority leader | 8 |
| Total | 255 |

Ten of these sixteen Democratic chairmen and eleven other Democrats voted against the White House to defeat the medical-care bill tied to social security.

It is true that most of these powerful Democratic chairmen are from Southern or Border States. But that does not make them any the less a source of difficulty for the President. It simply points up the deep division within the Democratic Party and that the election of Mr. Kennedy has not produced the kind of working relationship with a Democratic President he said it would.

What effect will this record have on the coming elections? One can't be sure. But the fact is that the only time a party in control of both Congress and the White House increased its seats in an off year election—in 1934—was when a Democratic Congress had been an active ally of a Democratic President, not a substantial opponent.

## Home Rule Versus Rules

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN E. MOSS**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, home rule for the District of Columbia, contrary to the apparent thinking of many Members of Congress, has widespread support throughout the county and is not just a local issue important only to residents of the Nation's Capital.

The Sacramento Bee, in a recent editorial, strongly urged action in this body to bring District of Columbia home rule legislation to the floor for a vote. As you know, a discharge petition now is being circulated to do just that. I have on several occasions in past years signed such petitions to give all Members of the House an opportunity to cast their vote on this important issue. I have again this year signed the discharge petition, and I hope at least 218 of my colleagues will add their signatures to this effort.

The Sacramento Bee editorial of July 6, 1962, follows:

HOME RULE VERSUS RULES

A discharge petition is being circulated in the House of Representatives to get a bill providing home rule for the District of Columbia out of committee.

It is scandalous, of course, that such a move is necessary to provide home govern-

ment for the Nation's Capital, but even more so because of the reasons involved.

A majority of the residents of the District of Columbia are Negroes and a majority of the members of the District of Columbia and rules committees, which would have to pass on the bill, are southerners.

Congress should see to it that the legislation is brought to the floor of the House for a showdown battle and to wipe out this blot on democracy. But although 219 signers are needed to sidestep the two recalcitrant committees, only 57 Members of Congress at the last count had signed the petition.

## Gould Plans New Antarctic Visit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Laurence Gould, president of Carleton College, is one of the truly outstanding educators of this country, and one of Minnesota's greatest citizens. I want to share with my colleagues the following article which appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press June 24.

CARLETON PREXY TO RETIRE: GOULD PLANS NEW ANTARCTIC VISIT

(By Falsum Russell)

After a summer of fishing and another trip to the Antarctic, the retiring president of Carleton College, Laurence McKinley Gould, is going to return to his first professional love—teaching.

"It is the most exciting thing I have ever done in my life," the world famous educator, geologist, and explorer who has sledged over the barren wastes of the bottom of the world and been rescued from the frigid waters of the Arctic, said Saturday of teaching.

"It is exciting because you are dealing with people * * * with immortality."

Dr. Gould was sitting in his office in Laird Hall, the administration building on the Northfield College's campus which he has occupied for 17 years since being elevated from professor of geology to the administrative post.

One office wall is covered by a panel of photographs taken by Dr. Gould during three trips to the Antarctic, the first as geologist and second in command of the Adm. Richard E. Byrd expedition and two as director of the U.S. Antarctic programs during the International Geophysical Year.

On another wall, above the door and in his line of vision, is a picture of Abraham Lincoln, whom he considers "without parallel in human history" and whom he admits has had a great influence on his life, which began 65 years ago as a Michigan farm boy.

"The first book I ever bought with money I earned myself was about Lincoln," Dr. Gould recalled. "I earned he money picking strawberries for a penny a box." He was 13 then.

Dr. Gould also believes that it was because Lincoln was a lawyer that he decided to study law when he enrolled in the University of Michigan after teaching country school 2 years at Boca Raton, Fla., to earn the money.

But he changed his mind after taking a course in geology from a professor in whose home he worked to help put himself through college.

"Geology seemed much more exciting than law," he explained.

Within 3 years and one summer he earned a bacheor's degree, graduated magna cum laude, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi, national honorary science fraternity.

"I wouldn't advise any other student to go through college like I did. All I did was study. I never had a date or anything," he said in reference to his outstanding scholastic record.

Then he explained that he was a "frustrated athlete" who couldn't make the track squad and so turned to study.

He stayed on at Michigan University, where he received a doctorate in science in 1925, and taught geology until 1932.

In the meantime, he had made two summer trips to the Arctic—one in 1926 to Greenland with a University of Michigan team and another in 1927 as geologist with the Putnam Baffin Island expedition. It was on one of these trips that a boatload of Eskimo women rescued him and a companion from icy waters after their craft overturned.

"I became famous among the Eskimos as the man who couldn't paddle his own canoe," laughed Dr. Gould.

He had also married Margaret Rice, who had been one of his students. "But I never dated her as long as she was in my class," he interjected.

The Goulds had been married 2 years when they came to Carleton in 1932.

Since then, Larry Gould has achieved an amazing record as a teacher, administrator, fund raiser, and scientist.

A former student who remembers him as a "young, swashbuckling, adventurer type" when he first came to Carleton calls Dr. Gould "by all odds the most inspiring teacher I have ever had." He described him as a man of "warmth and humor who could combine these things with an almost encyclopedic knowledge of his subject matter."

Last year the board of trustees of Carleton established the Laurence McKinley Gould Science Fund as a living memorial to the president "in recognition of Dr. Gould's distinguished career as a scientist and educator." A half million dollars of the initial $670,000 gift to the fund went to establish a professorship in geology.

During the 17 years Dr. Gould has been president, Carleton College has raised more than $17 million and undertaken six major building projects, the largest the more than $1½ million Olin Hall of Science, completed in 1961.

He has received honors galore, including more than 20 honorary college degrees, the Navy's Distinguished Public Service Medal, the Explorers' Club Medal, the Congressional Gold Medal, the David Livingston Gold Medal of the American Geographical Society, and the Cross of St. Olaf from the late King Haakon of Norway.

He has also been honored with election to top positions with such organizations as the Ford Foundation, the National Science Board, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the William Hood Dunwoody Industrial Institute of Minneapolis and the Phi Beta Kappa Foundation.

But, of all the tributes paid him, perhaps none has been more heart warming than the words "We love Larry" etched by students in uneven lettering in a concrete sidewalk slab outside Laird Hall which Dr. Gould could see every time he entered or left his office building.

When he retires from the Carleton scene at the end of this week, the slab will remain as an informal reminder to students and returning alumni of the tall (5 feet, 11 inches), handsome man with the dark brown eyes, shock of often-toulsed brown hair, and red necktie who carved such an important niche for himself and the college during his 30 years there.

Dr. and Mrs. Gould and their poodle, Jill, will leave early in July for their summer home at Jackson Hole, Wyo., at the foot of the Tetons, where he plans to spend his summers fishing.

In October he will be off on the Antarctic inspection trip as chairman of the Polar Research Committee of the National Academy of Sciences.

In February he is scheduled to return to the "exciting experience" of teaching as professor of geology at the University of Arizona, Tucson.

## So This Is Tax Equality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the question of taxes and tax policy is a matter of deep concern to us all, particularly in view of recent economic developments in this country, including the steel crisis and the stock market fall. E. H. Engesser, perceptive editor of the New Richland (Minn.) Star made some thoughtful comments about tax reform in a recent column which provide some insight into the complicated and complex problems of tax matters. Under unanimous consent, I include his editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

SO THIS IS TAX EQUALITY

(By E. H. Engesser)

A year ago President Kennedy promised the country he would put before Congress a major tax reform bill aimed at equal treatment of equally situated persons.

Nothing wrong with that. And then just a few weeks ago, the President gave us some equally promising words. He would ask Congress for tax cuts for all. Certainly, nothing wrong with that either. Not on the surface anyway.

From the evidence that's at hand the tax bill that's been brewing for over a year will prove to be more like a 50-megaton bomb than a soothing syrup in its effect to the taxpayer. It will, on the face of it, provide tax cuts all right. But it will reach into every taxpayer's hind pocket—big and small—to pay for them. And it also appears that somebody forgot to pass along whatever formula the President had for "equal treatment of equally situated persons."

This evidence is provided by the stated policies and objectives of the prinicpal architects of the oncoming bill. They are Stanley S. Surrey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policies; Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; and Mortimer K. Caplin, Commissioner of Internal Revenue. All are longtime advocates of drastic tax reform, and if they favor tax equality, their devotion is strictly rhetorical.

Here's an example of how they would achieve "equal treatment of equally situated persons" and of what taxpayers may look for in the new bill when it is presented to Congress in August:

They would end tax credits on dividends because they consider this a loophole for the wealthy. They would remove exemptions for the aged and the blind because such exemptions "rode the tax base." They would wipe out the benefits of joint returns because this constitutes "favored" treatment. They would eliminate deductions of State and local taxes as being another loophole for the "wealthy" and if you own and occupy your home they would tax you a portion of its

rental value which they consider "investment income."

Such is tax equality on the New Frontier.

These mental geniuses have loused up so many tax problems in this State, so watch out if this structure they have designed for the Federal Government, is passed. After it is passed, we will really find the loopholes.

## Whither Our Dollar?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, Europe's confidence in our dollar continues to evaporate.

There is only one way to stop this loss of confidence and that is to return to sound economic principles. Gaston Coblentz, in today's New York Herald Tribune, discusses this loss of confidence:

EUROPE'S CONFIDENCE IN DOLLAR CONTINUES FADING

(By Gaston Coblentz)

GENEVA.—New distrust of the American dollar in many European quarters has been the ironic sequel to the U.S. Treasury Department's declaration that the U.S. international balance of payments is showing decisive improvement.

Instead of producing a show of confidence in the dollar, the administration's assurances have been swiftly followed by some of the heaviest gold buying on the London market since the gold crisis of October 1960.

Normally, an improvement of the balance of payments should arouse new confidence in the dollar abroad. It should lead foreigners to believe that the chances of Washington being forced to devalue the dollar in relation to gold have decreased rather than increased.

It has not worked out that way this time. The upsurge of gold buying in London was accompanied, in midweek, by a parallel development on the Paris gold market.

The reasons for this seemingly perverse European reaction to Washington's stated optimism are easy to find:

1. Prospect of a huge deficit in the U.S. domestic budget if the Kennedy administration decides to go ahead with a massive tax cut.

Until recently, the administration seemed to have succeeded in persuading the Europeans that an American budget deficit would be a legitimate means of reinvigorating the Nation's economy. Washington received promises that such deficits would not, in themselves, provide grounds for a foreign run on the dollar.

However, the Europeans do not appear to have envisaged a deficit of the mammoth proportions of $12 billion to $15 billion currently under public discussion in the United States.

According to well-placed European government officials, this new prospect is beginning to undermine the earlier assent to less dramatic U.S. deficit financing and has played an important role in the latest upsurge of gold buying.

2. Snowballing distrust in Europe of the tactical mechanisms—for example, credit swap deals with European nations—which the U.S. Government is using to bolster the dollar.

The Sunday Telegraph of London said yesterday: "Defensive monetary agreements concluded by America's ingenious and determined Under Secretary of the Treasury Robert Roosa, will doubtless continue to hide the true magnitude of the pressure on the dollar over the next few weeks or months. But nobody, really, is being fooled."

The Journal de Geneve commented as follows on last week's $100 million swap arrangement with Switzerland: "The Swiss National Bank was not motivated by confidence in the dollar."

The Financial Times of London added: "There is little doubt that official reserve figures are becoming less and less a guide to what is really going on."

On close examination, the Treasury's new currency swap with Switzerland was found by European observers to be an arrangement whereby the Swiss have skillfully managed to unload $100 million from their mounting dollar holdings in exchange for Swiss francs.

3. A further factor in the latest gold upsurge has been the unwillingness of many Europeans to accept the stated improvement in the U.S. balance of payments as putting an end to the dollar problem.

In other words, even if the U.S. foreign payments deficit were to be reduced to a trickle—Mr. Roosa said that the 1962 figure would be below $1.5 billion, which would still be more than a trickle—the possibility of a major gold crisis would nevertheless not be eliminated.

It would persist because of more than $22 billion held by Europeans and other foreigners, which constitute a direct call on U.S. gold stocks of only slightly more than $16 billion.

Under these circumstances other confidence-affecting factors besides the condition of the U.S. international balance of payments could cause a run on the dollar.

Agence France Presse noted: "The campaign of optimism being conducted by official American quarters is being met with reserve by some foreign experts.

"The latter say, in effect, that the danger hanging over the dollar does not depend directly on the annual condition of U.S. balance of payments, but on the disproportion between the U.S. short-term obligations (the huge sum of dollars held by foreigners) and the U.S. gold reserves."

## The National Lottery of Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out to the Members of this House the national lottery of Poland. This lottery was not established by the Communists, for lotteries in Poland are traditional—they date back to 1808.

The Communist government of Poland operates the national lottery in much the same way as do the governments of other nations. In 1961, gross receipts came to almost $53 million. The government profit was over $18 million.

Actually, most Communist governments are not prone toward lotteries. Only a few of the Communist nations utilize them. Of those European nations not operating lotteries, the overwhelming majority are Communist. The reason is quite simple—the Communists frown on gambling as being frivolous and undesirable in what they call the new socialist man. This is just another manifestation of human individualism that the Communists refuse to recognize—we are in rare company.

Mr. Speaker, a national lottery in the United States could pump into our Treasury over $10 billion which can be used for tax cuts and reduction of our national debt.

## Marvin F. Schweers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this occasion to bring to the attention of my colleagues the distinguished record of one of my constituents, now conservationist for the State of Wisconsin, Mr. Marvin F. Schweers, who was recently singled out for special tribute by the Wisconsin State Journal for its weekly feature: "Know Your Madisonian."

Mr. Schweers you may recall was singled out for citation by the Federal Government in 1960 for his pioneer work and leadership in advancing soil and water conservation programs in Wisconsin by fostering constructive, harmonious relations among Department of Agriculture and cooperating agencies.

Under unanimous consent, I include the article herewith:

MARVIN F. SCHWEERS

If Marvin F. Schweers would take an airplane ride over the lush, productive agricultural State of Wisconsin he would probably have the same feeling of pride and accomplishment as a man looking over his first successful garden.

For Schweers, now State conservationist, has probably had more to do with soil conservation programs in Wisconsin than any other individual.

On September 19, 1933 the first soil erosion control project in the country began. It was the Coon Creek project in Coon Valley which was to become the model for similar projects throughout the country.

It was Schweers of the Soil Erosion Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture who persuaded the first two farmers in the country to sign cooperative agreements for application of erosion control measures on their farms.

Since then Schweers' activities have been a history of soil conservation in the State. Contour farming and planting, terracing, are now common and unquestioned practices and in recent years Schweers has devoted much of his attention to watershed programs and flood prevention.

Typical of the praise which has come to Schweers and his work was a comment by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, after a field inspection trip in Wisconsin.

"Since soil erosion is such a serious problem in so many parts of the world," HUMPHREY said, "I have wondered whether the

people in charge of training technicians of underdeveloped countries in the free world are bringing these men to see your area.

"It seems to me that you have much to teach—in fact, nearly every type of soil conservation practice may be found within the southwestern Wisconsin driftless area," he said.

For his pioneer work in the State Schweers was cited by the Federal Government in 1960 for "long-sustained leadership in advancing soil and water conservation programs in Wisconsin by fostering, constructive, harmonious relations among Department of Agriculture and cooperating agencies."

A native of Shawano, Schweers received a bachelor of science degree in agricultural engineering from the University of Wisconsin where he was on the varsity football team.

He received a master's degree from Iowa State University and was on the agriculture engineering staffs at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Illinois, and Michigan State University before joining the Department of Agriculture in 1933 and spearheading the Coon Creek project.

Schweers is in charge of a staff of about 230 full-time employees and several part-time people in 71 soil conservation districts set up on a county basis.

He lives with his wife at 621 Chapman Street. They have three sons.

## Bertelsen Aeromobile for Public Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article concerning a most amazing invention, followed by an editorial from the Peoria Journal Star regarding that same invention.

These news stories point up the fact that one of my constituents, Dr. William Bertelsen of Neponset, accomplished through individual research, the development of the very complex combination of an aeromobile and a boat. This clearly indicates the need for continued private research to supplement the Government programs.

The article follows:

[From the Peoria Journal Star, July 20, 1962]

DR. BERTELSEN'S FLYING MACHINE—PLAN AEROMOBILE FOR PUBLIC MARKET

NEPONSET.—Dr. William R. Bertelsen, the inventor-physician, plans to manufacture and market a combination aeromobile and boat to sell competitively with inboard cruisers.

It will be called Arcopter GEM–3 and should be in production this winter.

Dr. Bertelsen says you will be able to cruise around in it like a boat at typical boat speeds of 20 to 30 miles per hour.

But, unlike a boat, you also will be able to lift it 3 to 18 inches off the surface of the water and skim along at speeds up to 90 miles per hour, riding on a cushion of air.

What's more, since you're above the surface you can use it all year—over any unobstructed surface: snow, sand, ice, marsh, or any kind of road.

Dr. Bertelsen hopes to have a model of the Arcopter GEM–3 ready this fall for a month or so of tests before he tries it out on a trip across Lake Michigan from Chicago to St. Joseph.

He took his GEM–2 on a successful trip across the Mississippi River last winter but was defeated by weather and some float problems when he tried to take it across the lake in April.

The Bureau County physician, who formed the Bertelsen Manufacturing Co., Inc., to produce his inventions, said the GEM–3 will cost about the same as inboard boats selling in the $10,000 to $20,000 price range.

He has been inventing, building, and flying his air cushion vehicles for more than 3 years and feels confident that he eventually will be awarded the U.S. patents for them. He says he was first to apply for the patents and that several others applied later.

LANDGOING, SEAGOING FLYING MACHINE

Speeds up to 90 miles per hour will be possible with this combination boat and flying machine, according to Dr. William Bertelsen of Neponset, its designer. It is 24 feet long, about 6 feet high and nearly 8 feet wide. It weighs 2,500 pounds when loaded with with four passengers, has a 150-horsepower Lycoming engine using 10 gallons of gasoline an hour, and is made of steel alloy tubing and aluminum sheathing.

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[From the Peoria Journal Star, July 20, 1962]

DON'T KILL THE GOOSE THAT LAYS GOLDEN EGGS

The triumph of a country doctor with an idea and a good deal of ingenuity is far greater than meets the eye in these plans of Dr. William Bertelsen to manufacture and market a boat that also skims above the water, ice, or land at 90 miles an hour on an "air cushion."

To get a genuine idea of the triumph of his individual initiative, it would be necessary to take a hard look at the programs of the U.S. Government in search of a vehicle using the same principle for both the Army and the Navy.

The Government, although not all details of these activities are readily available and "unclassified," has spent sums of money that are not large as Government projects go in research and development in this same field. Those same sums of money are of staggering size in terms of private effort, and fantastic compared to the cash on which Dr. Bertelsen has operated.

Yet, it now appears that the good doctor has succeeded, where the Government projects have not—and he's been at it less time as well as with much, much less money.

It reminds us that major progress in sonar was made by a free lancer without Government control or cash, and that the fantastic Sidewinder missile that seeks out and climbs up the jet tail-pipe of enemy planes was developed by a young man completely on his own. (He even had a tough time getting Government officials to listen and look at it.)

The examples are many and include some of the most vital discoveries in the Government's own fields of activity.

This endless variety of effort from unexpected people is the huge bonus we get from a free system, as opposed to one in which all such effort is a Government monopoly.

It is not a question of which is the better approach. The evidence is overwhelming that a mixed approach is better than an exclusively controlled Government activity.

It will be a sad day for America if independent effort and the incentive for it is ground under by bigness of any kind.

## Anarchy or a Monument to Cooperation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I would like to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial written by Clark Eichelberger, executive director of the American Association for the United Nations, who has just returned to this country from the Congo.

Mr. Eichelberger's discussion of the role of the United Nations in the difficult Congo situation is additional evidence of the importance of our continuing to give support to the United Nations.

The editorial follows:

[From the Saturday Review, July 14, 1962]

ANARCHY OR A MONUMENT TO COOPERATION?

(By Clark Eichelberger)

Exactly 2 years ago on July 14, at 3:22 a.m., the Security Council of the United Nations, in response to the frantic request of the Congolese Government, voted to send United Nations troops to the Congo. Tired delegates responded to Dag Hammarskjold's appeal that the peace of the world depended upon immediate action. Not only was there danger of complete chaos in the Congo; it was feared and with good reason that Communist powers were ready to move in. Such a maneuver would force a response from the United States and other Western nations. The result might well be a third world war.

The United Nations acted. Then began a series of steps which were to involve thousands of men, loss of U.N. personnel, the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, scenes of bitterness in the General Assembly, and finally the martyrdom of Dag Hammarskjold himself.

The U.N. had to improvise and to revise its tactics as it went along. It did not have enough forces to gain complete mastery of the situation at once. Gradually, however, violence subsided and the threatened secession of a number of provinces was materially abated. The turning point came when the United Nations was able to give safe conduct to a majority of the members of the Congolese Parliament to meet under its protection in Louvanium University. A legally constituted government resulted, and Cyrille Adoula was elected Premier.

The staff of the United Nations in the Congo takes two distinct forms. Harlan Cleveland has called one the peacekeeping force and the other the nation-building operation. The former consists of about 18,000 troops gathered from 18 countries—none from the great powers and the majority from the states of Asia and Africa. The paid propagandists of Tshombe, seizing upon some isolated incidents of violence, have attempted to malign these U.N. troops. But all who have had contact with them testify that they have been disciplined and at times patient almost beyond endurance. They are the forerunners of a true United Nations force.

MANY ENGAGED IN RECONSTRUCTION EFFORT

The other staff in the Congo represents the efforts of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to alleviate hunger and disease and to establish eventually a viable economy and an educational system. I talked with an internationally famous

economist who has been on important missions throughout the world. He was so inspired by what the U.N. was doing in the Congo that he was willing to stay in the area long beyond his normal term of service. He is typical of many of the 450 civilian technicians engaged in this reconstruction effort.

Directing the United Nations operation in the Congo is Mr. Robert K. A. Gardiner, a native of Ghana. A Greek scholar and an Oxford graduate, he impresses one by his breadth of vision and his understanding of the problems the U.N. faces. Serving with him are executives of different nationalities whose story of dedication and heroism will someday be written.

The U.N. has a long road ahead of it before it can withdraw its military and technical forces from the Congo. One major step must be taken immediately: the reintegration of Katanga into the central government's territory.

Protracted negotiations since last December have taken place between Tshombe and Adoula. On June 26, Tshombe again returned to Elisabethville, boasting that he had signed nothing. Now if Tshombe stalls negotiations indefinitely, Adoula's position will be greatly weakened. The flames of secession which have subsided in other provinces will be rekindled. The Communists, who have been quiescent in the Congo since Gizenga's arrest, might attempt to find another champion.

It is imperative that the members of the United Nations make it very clear to Tshombe that they expect the Kitona agreement to be implemented fully. Much of the responsibility for reinforcing the U.N.'s determination must come from the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the United States.

U.N. ACTION HELPS PREVENT RETURN OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

Part of this responsibility is aiding the U.N. to finance the Congo operation. If the Members of the U.S. Congress wish to avoid anarchy in the Congo and prevent the return of Communist influence in that land, they could help by the immediate passage of the authority of the President to purchase $100 million worth of U.N. bonds, to be paid back over a period of 25 years. Walter Lippmann has called the U.N. program in the Congo the world's most sophisticated example of international cooperation. Assuming the gradual but eventual success of this program, the results not only for the Congo but for the whole world could be salutary indeed. The United Nations will have developed the foundation of a U.N. force. It will have learned how to police troubled areas, using the troops of many countries. It will have developed, through itself and the specialized agencies, both a trained staff and the methods for building up the economy of a large area, that has suddenly become independent. Much that it has learned will be of help in many parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world. The world will have built a lasting monument to Hammarskjold's memory in a more mature and strengthened United Nations.

## City Commission of Plymouth, Mich., Urges Legislation To Augment President's Transportation Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution, urging that the Senate and House initiate legislation to augment the President's transportation message, was passed unanimously by the City Commission of Plymouth, Mich., on July 16, 1962:

Whereas Plymouth, Mich., a city of residential and light industry complex, in cognizance of the importance of good transportation to the well-being of its citizens; and

Whereas the April 1962, transportation message to Congress by President John F. Kennedy has impressed this commission by its candid and thorough analysis of regulation, subsidization, and inequities in the field of transport, a service absolutely necessary to the economic welfare of the entire Nation; and

Whereas this country must maintain a strong, healthy, competitive transportation system, and the President's impartial study of this basic function of our economy should be implemented by action: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the City Commission of Plymouth respectfully request the Senate and House Commerce Committees to initiate legislation in this present Congress to augment the President's transportation message.

## "PT–109" Director Gets Fired

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it does not pay to say anything about the President, even if you are the director of the film concerning his PT boat activities.

In yesterday's New York Herald Tribune there is a story telling why Mr. Milestone was fired:

"PT–109" DIRECTOR OPENS HIS MOUTH, GETS FIRED

(By Joe Hyams)

HOLLYWOOD.—Making a film about President Kennedy's wartime exploits now before the cameras in Munson Island, Fla., apparently is as risk-ridden as the story it will tell.

Newest casualty on the trouble-beset "PT–109" is veteran director Lewis Milestone, who was fired yesterday by Warner Bros. for publicly criticizing the screenplay. He was replaced by Boston-born 40-year-old Leslie Martinson, who will be the third director on the picture. Director Raoul Walsh was fired during the film's early stages at a cost to Warner Bros. of $150,000.

Mr. Milestone, who has directed such outstanding films as "A Walk in the Sun," "All Quiet on the Western Front," and "Mutiny on the Bounty," told a newsman last week that the film, the first movie ever made about a living President wouldn't be worth making and that he wouldn't be directing it if Mr. Kennedy weren't the hero.

"The effort we have to make here is that everybody not come out as a comedian," he said. "It's all right for the men to be kind of bickering, but a lot of the script is cornball jokes and we'll have to get rid of that.

"It would be just another adventure story. If it weren't about Kennedy, we might say, 'What the hell, why bother. We've got better stories than this'."

Mr. Milestone's comments reportedly angered J. L. Warner, head of the studio, who has a personal interest in the picture. Warner's, however, has not yet issued an official statement concerning the replacement of Mr. Milestone, although informed sources say that it is undoubtedly because Mr. Milestone spoke out of turn.

The 134-page screenplay of the film, based on Robert J. Donovan's bestseller of the same title, is by veteran screenwriter Richard Breen. The picture is being produced by Bryan Foy, who is under contract to Warner's and who last week said, "It's a damn good script and it's not going to be changed."

Mr. Milestone and Mr. Foy were in continual disagreement over the script's merits and the director insisted on making changes as he went along. Last week he received instructions from the head of the studio not to change one line of the screenplay unless he gave studio executives and Mr. Foy 4 days' notice.

## Foreign Aid Is Not a Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS J. LANE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Americans were getting just a bit tired of the one-way street that is taking billions of dollars earned by the taxpayers of the Nation to the underdeveloped countries for the purpose of helping them to become self-reliant and partners in progress through freedom and enterprise.

On the face of it, there seemed to be very little evidence of the knowledge or techniques they have developed, which could be helpful to us.

It is surprising and reassuring to learn that "the United States has benefited astonishingly from the assistance of less-advanced countries."

The authority for this statement is the former Governor of Massachusetts, and the former Secretary of State in the Eisenhower administration, a man whose experience and whose word commands respect—Christian A. Herter.

Furthermore, he proposes a program to get the most out of "reverse foreign aid."

Read the stimulating article, "What Foreign Countries Can Do for Us," by Christian A. Herter—with Donald Robinson—from the July 15, 1962, issue of This Week magazine, a supplement of the Boston Sunday Herald:

WHAT FOREIGN COUNTRIES CAN DO FOR US

(By Former Secretary of State Christian A. Herter with Donald Robinson)

Millions of Americans have a distorted impression of the aid we are giving the less-advanced nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Both here and abroad, there is a misconception that foreign aid is strictly a one-way street—away from the United States. A widespread belief exists that we have spent over $1,400 million on point 4 technical assistance and received nothing in return.

The truth is that so-called underdeveloped countries have been making real contributions to the everyday lives of the American people. They have been helping to raise our standard of living while we have been aiding them.

In my opinion, the moment has come to recognize the help the United States has had, and to try to increase its flow.

LET'S LAUNCH A POINT 5

I would like to see a program launched by our Government, designed specifically for

this purpose. It could be called the point 5 program.

Under this program, the United States would not give things away. We would not show other people how to do things. Instead, we would say to less-advanced countries: "What can we learn from you?" And, "Please lend us your experts to teach us how to do things."

Not only would we make direct gains from such a program, but the whole picture that these developing countries have of the United States would change. No longer would they regard us as a smug, rich nation that has everything and thinks it knows everything. They would see that we really mean it when we say foreign aid is a two-way street.

The United States has benefited astonishingly from the assistance of less-advanced countries.

From the Indian plant rauwolfia, for example, the drug, reserpine, which has proven so effective in treating high blood pressure and mental disease, was developed. From the jungles of Latin America we get curare, the wonderful plant extract that helps in anesthesia by relaxing the muscles of patients undergoing abdominal surgery.

Our meat tenderizers also originated in the wilds of Latin America—with natives who wrapped meat in leaves of the papaya tree. The Orient gave us kudzu, a rugged vine widely utilized in the South to prevent soil erosion.

WONDER PINE TREE FROM KOREA

A Korean forestry expert, Dr. Sin Kyu Hyun, has developed a remarkable new hybrid pine tree—from pitch and loblolly pines—at the Korean Institute of Forest Genetics in Suwan. It grows rapidly and produces an excellent quality of wood. Most important, it prospers in a cold climate, unlike most of our commercial southern loblolly pine.

The U.S. Forest Service is giving the new pine tree extensive field tests in Illinois. It may revolutionize our northern woods.

We've received some splendid technical assistance, too. Specialists from Iran and Taiwan have shown us new laboratory methods for staining bacteria and making vaccine.

A pair of Japanese scientists have solved a problem that baffled domestic soybean producers for years—how to make American soybeans palatable to Oriental consumers.

Orientals dislike our soybeans because the shells are too oily and have "eyes" that cause urgly dark spots in cooked foods. As a result, we have lost millions of dollars a year in potential markets.

Finally, the U.S. Department of Agriculture turned to Japan for help. It loaned us two of its top scientists, Dr. Kazuo Shibasaki and Tokuji Watansbe. Working with Americans at the Department of Agriculture's laboratory in Peoria, Ill., they devised a technique for cracking the soybeans and stripping their shells, leaving the flavorsome insides intact.

"These developments should open a larger part of an expanding soybean market in Japan to U.S. beans," the Department of Agriculture says.

Some of the scientists brought from other nations to the United States for training have taught us more than we've taught them. Trainees from Thailand, Lebanon, and Venezuela, for instance, were assigned to an American laboratory doing research on vegetable oils. Their discoveries on extraction and uses of oil from sesame seeds have proved immensely valuable.

Not long ago, the tomato crop in California was threatened by a mysterious new disease. A Brazilian scientist, Alvaro S. Costa, then in the United States, identified the virus that was causing the trouble—so that successful countermeasures could be taken.

Even students who come from abroad to attend our colleges have made significant contributions. Only last January, it was announced that a young Peruvian studying engineering at Stanford University had invented a device that may be the answer to man's long-sought dream of vertical take-offs and landings by conventional high-speed aircraft.

The youth, Alberto Alvarez-Calderon, has designed a special rotating cylinder built into the wings of airplanes that enables them to zoom straight up or down. It does it by changing the direction of the propeller slipstream.

Both the U.S. Army and Navy are deeply interested in the device.

MORE AID ON THE WAY

There are many, many other tangible things that we can learn from the less-advanced nations.

Out of India's experience with community self-help programs, we can borrow techniques for motivating our Navahos and other impoverished American Indians to improve themselves.

From Latin America we can learn a lot more about herb medicine. Latin American specialists say that the variety of herbs used as medicine by the native population is "tremendous." In particular, they think we should study corn silk. They term it "the cheapest and best possible diuertic, just boiled in water and drunk."

We can learn a great deal about herb medicine from Pakistan, too. It is reported to have herbs that are very effective in the treatment of dysentery.

Indonesia can teach us a great deal about parisitology. It has an internationally renowned parisitologist in Dr. Lie Kian Joe. Peru can instruct us in the effects of high altitudes on the human body. Some superb research is being done there by Dr. Alberto Hurtado.

Chile can assist us in our efforts to harness sunlight. It has one of the world's outstanding research centers on solar energy.

Take the crucial matter of desalinization—removing the salt from sea water so it can be utilized for irrigating land. The United States has an extensive project underway.

However, little Israel is working on desalinization techniques that may help us one day.

Fishery experts say that we can get many technical tips from the Japanese fishing industry. Japan is far ahead of us, it appears, in the artificial raising of shrimp. The Japanese carefully screen off large ocean inlets. The shrimp multiply swiftly and are near at hand for the catching.

In addition, the Japanese have an ingenious new scheme for luring big food fish close to land. They have built artificial reefs of hollow concrete blocks a short distance offshore. The fish come from all over to make their homes inside or around the blocks, and the fishing catch has increased notably. The plan has been so successful that the Japanese have fondly nicknamed the concrete reefs, "Our fish apartment houses."

Perhaps both techniques can be applied in American waters.

We can still learn much in agriculture. There are many admirable products in the less-advanced countries that might grow in the United States. One is the naranjilla of Ecuador—a refreshing, vitamin-packed fruit of the tomato family, prized for its tangy juice. Another is the chirimoya of Peru, a fruit with the appearance of a giant green apple, tastes like a combination of banana and pineapple.

Our architects could gain new ideas from Latin America. Its architects have made striking advances in design and materials. So have the architects of Cambodia.

Every one of the less-advanced nations has peerless offerings in the cultural sphere. The dramatic primitive art and textile designs of Africa, the delicate Chinese opera, the stirring folk dances of the Philippines, the modern symphonic music of Latin America—to mention but a few—could all enrich our American life—and some already do.

It is important that we take immediate steps to draw fully on the reservoir of skills, talents, knowledge, and products that can be found in developing countries.

A program of this sort would be easy to organize. It could be done by a stroke of the Presidential pen.

Already several governmental departments are active along these lines. The Department of Agriculture dispatches men overseas to scout for new plants and it is carrying on joint research with foreign scientists. The U.S. Public Health Service is supporting some oversea medical investigations.

We have only to expand and coordinate these endeavors. Here are two simple steps:

1. Each of our ambassadors to the less-advanced countries should be instructed to approach the local government and request it to explore ways in which it can assist us. (It should be made very clear, of course, that this is not a quid pro quo for our American-aid dollars. Rather, it is a recognition of the great contributions these countries have to make to us.)

2. Each of our Government departments should be required to survey ways in which the United States could use assistance from less-advanced nations.

No costly bureaucracy has to be established to run the program. A few men properly authorized, would be all that are needed to pull together the information and make sure it goes to Government bureaus, universities, scientific institutions, and so forth, where it can be used.

To begin we need only a clear statement by our Government expressing gratitude for the help we've received and letting the world know that it is U.S. policy to ask the aid of the less-advanced countries as well as to give them aid.

I hope that the press and other U.S. opinionmakers will make this clear. And, most important, that the thousands of Americans who visit less-advanced countries every year will tell them how much the United States appreciates and wants their help.

I sincerely believe that the point 5 program would do great good. It would give the world a better, friendlier impression of the United States. Simultaneously, it could bring specific rewards to every one of us.

Seeking help from the developing nations could be one of the biggest favors we have ever done ourselves.

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## Foreign Languages and Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I should like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of an article entitled "Foreign Languages and Federal Aid to Education," which was published in the May 1962 issue of Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

The article is based on an address which I was privileged to deliver on December 29, 1961, at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America in Chicago, Ill.

The text of the article follows:

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

(By JOHN BRADEMAS, Congressman from Indiana)

In the last several years, in large part because of the leadership of the Modern Language Association, the American people have come to understand more clearly than ever before the great importance to our country, in terms of national security if for no other reason, and there are other reasons, of developing and maintaining a reservoir of persons skilled in the knowledge of modern foreign languages. Even a man of little political sensitivity could not fail, a few days ago, to have appreciated the immense impact of the few words spoken in Spanish by Mrs. Kennedy during the President's visit to Latin America.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that you and the members of the association may be interested to know the results of a short survey that I arranged a few months ago to determine the knowledge of foreign languages of Members of the Congress of the United States. Although a substantial number of Members of the House and Senate who responded said they had no foreign language ability at all, a sizable number of my colleagues indicated that they had at least some capacity to speak or understand at least 1 of 28 different foreign languages. Their knowledge ranged from French and Spanish and German at one end of the scale, quite understandably, through a variety of languages including Polish, Russian, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Chinese, Croatian, Yiddish, Hungarian, Hindustani, and Sioux Indian at the other.

It is not primarily about languages, however, that I wish to speak to you this afternoon, but about higher education generally, and in particular about the relationship between the Federal Government and higher education. Although, as your chairman has indicated, I am a politician, I come to you as a friend. A frustrated Hispanist, and former college teacher, I now serve, as he has also indicated, on the House Education and Labor Committee and on two of the standing subcommittees of the three that deal with education. At the present time I am also serving as chairman of the Advisory Group on Higher Education, the purpose of which is to provide by the end of January specific legislative recommendations on what Congress ought to be doing in the next session in the field of assistance to colleges and universities in the United States. Moreover, during the past year it has been my good fortune to have visited several universities abroad—four in Argentina, two in England, six institutions of higher learning in the Soviet Union, as well as a number of colleges and universities here in our own country. What I should like to do this afternoon is discuss with you something of what I've learned from these experiences of the last year and then to make bold as a politician to offer to you as professors some admonitions for the coming year.

My thesis is a simple one and it is this: In a world more troubled than man has ever known, and with the United States more burdened with responsibility for leadership than ever before, the American university community, indeed the American educational community generally, has a crucial contribution to make in supplying that leadership, and the university community is not now doing enough. I do not for a moment suggest that our failure to do an adequate job of what Senator JOSEPH CLARK, of Pennsylvania, has called in a very arresting phrase "the staffing of freedom" is primarily to be charged, or entirely to be charged, against the university community. Clearly this is not the case. But some of the fault does lie there. Particularly, my fellow humanists, it lies with you rather than with the natural scientists.

SOVIET CHALLENGE IN EDUCATION

First of all, let me tell you something of what I learned during my visit to the Soviet Union a few weeks ago. I went with other members of the House Education and Labor Committee to get some firsthand picture of what the Russians are doing in their school systems. We visited Moscow, Kiev, and Leningrad, and in those great cities visited elementary and secondary schools, technical institutes and universities. We talked with principals and students, with rectors and ministers of education. I have no time here to detail for your our experience in that remarkable land. But I can give you these major conclusions from our visit. First, the Soviets are deeply committed to education. Both teachers and students take education very seriously indeed, and they are working hard at it. They mean business, and they take education seriously, I think, for two reasons. First, in a society where there is essentially no private property, the way to get ahead in terms of status and prestige and power and influence is, with the single exception of activity in the Communist Party, education. And, second, the Soviets regard education as the key to the economic, industrial, scientific, and military development of their country.

I said they worked hard. We visited, as I think you in this group will be particularly interested to know, 1 of 14 experimental language schools in the city of Leningrad. This school taught English. Chinese, French, German, or Hindustani are taught in four other schools, and in the rest one can learn English. One begins at the second grade and continues the course through 10 or 11 grades. I was mightily impressed by the high caliber of the students in this school, by the dedication and devotion of the teachers.

A second major impression that I brought from the Soviet Union is this, that although the Soviets are behind us today in many ways in the field of education, their totalitarian system gives them the capacity to train the kind of manpower, the collective farmers, the lathe operators, the nuclear physicists, the teachers, the engineers that their state planner believe are essential to building up the power of the Soviet state. I visited, for example, the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute in Moscow, where the director told me with great pride that the 7-year plan called for him to admit to his institution, that year, 1,500 freshmen who were later to become teachers. He said, using Marxist jargon, "We overfulfilled our plan. We admitted 1,550." At the Alexander Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad I was told by the director that after the students have graduated and are able to teach, if they are not required in Leningrad or in Kiev, in Moscow or in the big cities where most Soviet young people would prefer to stay, they are sent off to Tashkent in Central Asia, or to other parts of the country which are not so pleasant. This totalitarian system, therefore, gives the Soviets a kind of advantage in directing the flow of national investment in education over us which, of course, we do not wish to match but which, nonetheless, poses a most serious challenge to us.

Third, the emphasis in the Soviet Union on education for science and technology, with its dramatic results increased industrial and military strength, is, I think, compelling evidence of the ruthless Soviet concentration on building up national power.

The question we must ask then, in assessing the Soviet educational system, is not whether the Soviets are ahead of us today economically and scientifically but, rather, will their totalitarian system enable them to pull ahead of us 5 or 10 or 20 years from now?

Three or four weeks ago the Engineering Manpower Commission in the United States published a report which said that at the present time the Soviets are outproducing us in the field of engineers at the rate of 3 to 1. I think many of you in this room will be interested to see the National Science Foundation publication that will be coming out some time next month by Prof. Nicholas DeWitt of the Russian Research Center at Harvard, in which he is going to delineate with careful statistics the situation with respect to Soviet manpower and education at the present time.

This Soviet challenge in science and technical education is one of the major reasons that the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee in September named the bipartisan Advisory Group on Higher Education, to which I referred a minute ago, the purpose of which is to develop specific recommendations for what the Federal Government ought to be doing in the way of assisting the colleges and universities of our country. During the last several weeks we have been meeting, as members of this group, with outstanding scientists and educators from throughout the country to get their off-the-record views on what we should do. And I hope very much that Congress will act on legislation for Federal assistance to strengthen colleges and universities this coming year. If we are going to "staff freedom effectively" in the United States, we must invest far more in higher education than we have in the past.

EDUCATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

Not only is it essential, however, that we invest more nationally in our colleges and universities in the United States, but our commitments elsewhere in the world mean, in my judgment, that we must also give far greater attention than we have heretofore to the role of education in our foreign policy. Let me give you a specific example from some personal experience. I want to offer to you the proposition that the universities of Latin America have a crucial contribution to make to the development of strong and viable democracies in the nations to the south of us. With his concept of a grand Alliance for Progress, President Kennedy has, in effect, rediscovered Latin America. We have been awakened to a new consciousness in our country today of the importance to us of what happens in Latin America. And as a result of this awakening, we have, as citizens of this country, committed ourselves to helping in the urgent task of building democratic societies in our own hemisphere.

VISIT TO ARGENTINA

Last spring, with Congressman ROBERT GIAIMO, of New Haven, Conn., I visited one of the largest and most powerful countries of Latin America, Argentina. While in Argentina I talked with the rectors of several universities, with student leaders, with professors, with Argentine newspapermen, and television and radio reporters, with the country's only Nobel prize winner, as well as with the Minister of Education and with President Frondizi of Argentina himself. You all know the importance of our diplomatic representatives abroad being equipped with the languages of the countries to which they are assigned. I can only say that the fact that my colleague, Congressman GIAIMO, speaks Italian and that I can defend myself in Spanish meant that we were able to have far more candid conversations in Argentina than would certainly have been the case otherwise. This visit to Argentina persuaded us that the universities of Latin America are an indispensable key to the economic development and the social reform

which these nations must have if they are to create democratic societies and free political institutions that will endure.

The universities of Latin America are going to have to produce the engineers, the agricultural specialists, and the technicians required to fight hunger, poverty, and disease and to move these countries in our own hemisphere onto the stage of the 20th century. Otherwise, you and I can expect to see the spread of Castro-like movements throughout Latin America.

SHORTAGES IN LATIN AMERICA

As President Kennedy said in his great Alliance for Progress speech of last March, "We must rapidly expand the training of those needed to man the economies of rapidly developing countries. This means expanded universities, graduate schools, and research institutes." Latin America must have not only investment capital in the form of physical resources if it is to move ahead in rapid economic and technical growth, but it also needs highly trained and highly skilled human beings, too few of which it now has. The University of Buenos Aires, for example, the largest university in a land famed for its production of beef, seems far behind us in modern techniques of animal husbandry. A recent census at the University of Buenos Aires, which has from 55,000 to 60,000 students, showed that nearly 20 percent were studying law, while only 2 percent were in the fields of agronomy and veterinary medicine. And the Latins, even the Argentines, are not that much more a litigious people than we are. There are, however, historical reasons for so many law students in Latin-American universities. I have no time now to go into the reasons, well known to many of you in this room. The fact remains that Latin America faces not a grave shortage of lawyers but of people trained in what I would call the the strategic fields, those fields that lead to rapid economic and social progress.

EDUCATION AND ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Now what can we in the United States do to help fill this technical gap and put some flesh on the bones of the Alliance for Progress? First of all, I would argue that in the shaping of our Alliance programs we must give a high priority to aid to higher education in Latin America. And in particular we should strengthen what I have just called the strategic fields, agronomy, engineering, economics, the natural sciences, and public administration. This does not mean that we should oppose the development of the humanities in Latin America, but our resources in the United States are limited. We should, in my judgment, invest those resources where the dividends make the maximum contribution to our national policy goals. The goals are to develop strong economies and strong democracies in these lands. In the long run, after all, only the universities of Latin America are going to be able themselves to train the people that their countries require. We cannot do that job for them. But we can help them get started and we can help them get started now. Let me make just one suggestion, which I think is particularly relevant for those of you who teach modern foreign languages. I offer this suggestion on the basis of my experience in Argentina, and offer it because of what appears to me to be one of the major shortcomings of Latin American universiites. I refer, of course, to the lack of full-time professors. The suggestion is simply this: That we send more of our top professors from the United States to Latin American universities.

I do not oppose bringing Latin American undergraduates to this country, but I am frank to say that if there is a choice, the priority should certainly go to sending more of our professors to strengthen existing universities in those countries in order to build up strong departments there. Specifically, I would urge the establishment of a new system of exchange chairs or professorships between the United States and Latin America. In Letin America, in each country where such a chair would be set up, it could be known be known as the Franklin D. Roosevelt Chair of American Studies, or the Abraham Lincoln Chair, or the George Washington Chair, or the Thomas Jefferson Chair. Indeed, if you'll go along with a John F. Kennedy Chair, I'd be glad to accept a Dwight D. Eisenhower Chair. Such a chair might be established in each of half a dozen of the major universities in Latin America and an outstanding professor from the United States be named to fill it for 1 year. In return, there should be established in the United States an equivalent number of chairs of Latin American studies, each named after a leading Latin American hero, such as a Benito Juarez Chair, a Simon Bolivar Chair, a Bernardo O'Higgins Chair, or because this year is the 150th anniversary of his birth in Argentina, a Domingo Faustino Sarmiento Chair. These chairs should not all go to the major American universities; they should go to some of our excellent smaller universities as well. The establishment of these chairs would be mutually helpful and would also dramatize the importance of professorships. By requiring that the Latins send us some of their outstanding scholars, we would make clear our own desire to learn from them. And I would add that these chairs might well be financed, not by U.S. Government funds, but either through university to university arrangements or financing by American private business firms. This is just one suggestion that I would presume to offer as we try to help the Latin Americans train people in the skills and talents essential if they are going to have a chance to make democracy work.

PROFESSORS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Now I have discussed briefly with you some facets of higher education in three parts of the world, in the Soviet Union, in the United States, and in Latin America. I speak to you as a politician with responsibility to help frame legislative policies that are in some measure related to all three of these areas. You may appropriately ask, "What does all this have to do with us in the educational community, in the university community especially, and even more particularly what does all this have to do with us in the field of the humanities?" And to this question I make the following answer: American university teachers know far too little about politics and particularly about governmental policies affecting higher education. Members of the American university community, especially in the humanities, have far too little understanding of the nature of the political process, less of the relationship of the Federal Government to higher education, and, I fear, care not very much about their ignorance on either count. The natural scientists, I might interject, do know their way around in the world of government and politics, and they have learned that Emerson's famous dictum, "in the right state the scholar is man thinking," may be too limited a view of the scholar's role in the world of the 20th century. All of you are familiar with C. P. Snow's warning of the immense gulf that divides the natural scientists from the humanists or from what Snow, who is himself a dweller in both realms, calls the literary intellectuals, which means you. To Snow's argument I would add at least two corollaries: first, that we politicians do not know enough about modern science; and second, that those of you who teach arts and letters in American universities do not know enough about either science or politics. It is this ignorance of politics on the part of the university community that concerns me chiefly here this afternoon.

Professors should pay increased attention to governmental policies affecting higher education for two principal reasons. First, our universities today are being urged to supply more trained leadership than ever before in the history of this Republic to meet our national needs both at home and abroad. The Communist world is ranged against us scientifically and economically, as well as militarily, and we need all the brainpower we can get for national survival. Indeed, it was primarily because of the widespread public acceptance of this fact that Congress passed 3 years ago the National Defense Education Act. Now I know that many of you in this room may be very unhappy about what you feel to be the Federal Government's overemphasis on assisting science and technical education and not doing more for the humanities. Let me, however, respectfully suggest that such an attitude may be due to a failure on your part to appreciate that there are necessary limitations on the Government's interest in supporting programs in the field of education. For example, the fact that the Federal Government seeks to encourage the training of more language teachers rather than more language scholars does not mean that scholars are not important. What it does mean is that the Federal Government, with limited resources, and priorities defined in terms of national policy, must limit its assistance to teachers. Earlier this year, when considering revision of the National Defense Education Act, a distinguished classical scholar appeared before our subcommittee. He did so to urge the inclusion of Latin and Greek in the language section of the National Defense Education Act. I advised this distinguished classicist that one of the Congressmen listening to his testimony was of Italian origin and that another, which was I, was of Greek origin. I added that both of us, nonetheless, had misgivings about his proposal. For the issue was not whether the improved teaching of Latin or Greek was advisable. Clearly it is advisable and is a self-evident case. The issue, however, with which we as legislators are faced, is whether the inclusion of Latin and Greek under the National Defense Education Act would make any significant contribution to strengthening the teaching of Latin or Greek was advisable. tion to our national defense, the purpose of the law.

I think that you humanists will be glad to know that the issue of the relative emphasis to be placed on assistance to the humanities and to science is a continuing preoccupation of members of the House Education and Labor Committee. This is something we wrangle about all the time, even as all of you do. I also think it fair to say, and hope it will not be taken in a partisan vein, that President and Mrs. Kennedy have done more to invigorate national interest in the fine arts and in the humanities in our country than any occupants of the White House in a long, long time.

UNIVERSITIES' COOPERATION NEEDED

Now there is a second and final reason that I think you should become more concerned with politics and public policy. It is this. Enrollments in American colleges and universities in the next decade will skyrocket. And there is little question that the universities will require more support from Federal funds, as well as from State and private sources, if they are going to meet the impact of these increased enrollments. The university community, and the education community generally, therefore, have a direct stake in the kind of programs that the Government develops. You, therefore, should not hesitate to make your voices heard in Washington. Because if you fail to, someone else will. Politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum. And your voices have not been loud. Your voices have not been clear on many matters directly affecting higher

education. Let me give you one example. I refer to the issue of the affidavit of disclaimer in the National Defense Education Act. I am not talking about the loyalty oath. I am talking about the affidavit of disclaimer. And I am not even talking about which side of the issue you happen to be on. I serve on the committee that deals with this issue and I have several colleges and universities in my district, yet in my first 2½ years in Congress I did not receive six letters on this subject—not six letters. Now if it be said by you in response that we in Congress should act, let's say, to repeal the affidavit of disclaimer, self-generated by principle, then I would respectfully respond that Members of Congress have more principles to champion than we have time for now. If the groups most directly touched by given issues do not themselves trouble to make their views known in Washington, is it not reasonable for us to assume that they really care little about them? Even in the field of higher education Congress must take into consideration a broad spectrum of what we would call political issues. The affidavit of disclaimer raises some; civil rights, religion, loans and grants, aid to public or private institutions—these are all issues that will affect final legislation. So I urge you not to be shy. Look at the land grant universities. They have for many years cooperated very effectively with their State legislatures in the shaping of education policy. The university community in our country must now help the Federal Government shape the Federal contribution to the American university.

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION'S CONTRIBUTION

Now I want to say very happily that the Modern Language Association is an outstanding exception to this self-imposed isolation of university people from making known to government their concern for programs in the field of education. The spadework that was done during the mid-1950's by the foreign language program of the Modern Language Association under the imaginative leadership of your former executive secretary, William Riley Parker, who, by the way, has had the good judgment to become a Hoosier, played a key role in the success of the foreign language programs developed under the National Defense Education Act. Kenneth Mildenberger continues to do all of you of the Modern Language Association proud by his outstanding contribution to the modern foreign language programs in the U.S. Office of Education. And I would add further that the testimony this year before the special Education Subcommittee of the House of Dr. Stone, and Dr. Walsh, and Dr. Ferguson, all of the Modern Language Association, was without question among the most valuable and intelligent that we on that committee have heard. There is no question then that in helping shape the National Defense Education Act language programs the Modern Language Association has played a major part in stimulating a rebirth of interest in language studies in the United States.

Let me conclude by reiterating first that higher education is increasingly significant within our own country and in our foreign policy, both because of our own national needs here at home and because of the continuing challenge of the Communist world. Second, let me reiterate that the Federal Government will necessarily, in the years ahead, make a greater contribution to higher education. Finally, let me repeat that you of the university community must, for these reasons, do much more than you have in the past to make your voices heard in Washington in determining this policy. I once had a tutor at Harvard College who was the same man who tutored an undergraduate named John F. Kennedy. And I recall very vividly how this professor once startled a class on opening day by announcing, "First of all, I had better tell you what I believe. I believe in three things: sweet reason, high morality, and plenty of horsepower." If we in the United States are going to maintain a free and humane society, we need all three—sweet reason, high morality, and plenty of horsepower. And you in the universities must be largely responsible for supplying all three. Thank you very much.

## Knuckling Down to Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, our President was surely a brave talker, during the 1960 campaign, saying what he was going to do to Khrushchev when he got a chance. The first chance he got, he stumbled and fell. From then on, his attitude has been one of deliberate retreat.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer, in an article recently, tells us of his reaction to the Kennedy program of defeatism and Roscoe Drummond tells us why talks on Berlin are pointless:

WASHINGTON ATTITUDE IS ONE OF DEFEATISM

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

WASHINGTON.—Coming home from a Europe bustling with prosperity and busy with plans for future strength to an America whose leaders seem drowsy with appeasement, is a depressing experience.

Khrushchev's new burst of aggressive insolence was predictable. German officers in Bonn told me a month ago that our pathetic efforts to induce the Russians to see reason on Berlin, disarmament, the stoppage of tests, Laos, etc., were bound to provoke not a settlement but a new set of Soviet demands.

Yet I get back just as Secretary of State Rusk starts off to Europe to celebrate the signing of a treaty with Laos that may cost us South Vietnam as well, and to try to find out why the Russians do not see reason on the subject of Berlin.

I hear over the radio that our Secretary thinks that even if Laos goes Communist, that will be no loss while if it stays neutral that will be just dandy. By the same theory he could advocate the neutrality of all Western Europe, of Japan, and of all our other allies.

My friends here tell me that the President's chief aim is to avoid direct confrontation with the Russians—meaning a tank facing a tank, while the truth is that the basic missile-to-missile stance is a giant confrontation which cannot be avoided if we wish to remain free. I am also told that Secretary McNamara thinks that aiming our missiles at Soviet strategical targets exclusively (unless the Russians have previously wiped out our cities) will cool Moscow's passion for brinkmanship. Why doesn't somebody tell him that brinkmanship is the Soviets chief weapon and that only bold counterbrinkmanship by the United States has (so far) restricted the Communist blight to one-third of the world.

But instead of sending our new Ambassador, Foy Kohler, to Moscow, with instructions to inform the Russians that the endless palaver has ended with the recall of Ambassador Thompson (whom Germans make responsible for the recent Berlin plan that scared them so), the President states that Kohler's job will be to prevent nuclear war with Russia.

Why not shut up, join our allies in scientific research and military strength, and let the Russians worry about the chances of conflict with us—for a change? If, as Secretary McNamara boasted, our side is much stronger, the danger of the Soviets starting a nuclear war is far less than the danger of making any further concessions to them. Unless, of course, one follows the logic of "scientist" Jerome Wiesner that the stronger we get (antimissile missiles) and the safer we are (shelters for the people), the more likely a "despairing" Khrushchev will launch a nuclear attack. How crazy can you get?

Meanwhile, one finds the administration shaking in its shoes over the possibility that Chiang Kai-shek may make an effort to reconquer his own country which Communist blunders have brought to the verge of ruin. Some officials think we should hasten to feed China—presumably so that the Communists cannot only hang on to it but successfully resist Chiang.

In short, I find the Washington official attitude one of basic defeatism hidden behind a hot air screen of talk about the historical trend being on our side. And obviously, this administration considers every day that passes without a nuclear war to be a victory even if Laos or British Guiana does slip behind the Iron Curtain (which Adlai Stevenson said would not matter). Personally, with the late William Faulkner, "I decline to accept the end of man."

Here at home I find an element of humor in the debate about whether or not the administration is pursuing a no-win policy. State Department Planner Walter Rostow says it is not—and then goes on to state that neither side can have victory. A distinguished columnist writes that the President really is trying to win the cold war but mistakenly refrains from saying so.

But surely, on this point the President himself is the ultimate authority. Only recently he told a press conference:

"We are trying to maintain our own position."

If this means anything, it means that the United States will be satisfied with more or less successful containment of further Communist expansion. This may or may not be the best we could do. It is certainly not a policy of winning.

ANY REASON TO KEEP GOING?—RENEWED TALKS ON BERLIN REGARDED AS POINTLESS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Does the United States have to rush breathlessly and endlessly to the empty conference table every time Moscow crooks its finger and says, in effect, "Let's talk about something we'd like to do to you"?

Is there any reason why we should keep on talking and talking and talking every time the Kremlin wants to use the appearance of negotiation to serve its own ends?

These questions arise as Secretary of State Dean Rusk is in Geneva for another series of Berlin probes with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

I am not arguing that all negotiations with the Soviets is undesirable. But I do suggest that the time has come to end these empty talks and to serve notice on Moscow that they will be resumed only when they are prepared to offer or to accept some reasonable and rational basis for accomplishing something.

President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, Secretary Dulles, Secretary Herter, Ambassador Thompson—in Washington, Geneva, Moscow—have had at least a hundred negotiating sessions, and not once have the Soviets offered any course of action over

West Berlin other than that the Western rights should be canceled.

It seems to me increasingly evident that an end to this kind of negotiation is the only effective way of informing Mr. Khrushchev that he isn't going to have his way and that further repetition of our disagreements is pointless.

This would at least help to clear the air, and I suspect that a breather from totally unproductive negotiation would ease tensions, not increase them.

There is a certain dignified power and clarity in President de Gaulle's refusal to negotiate over Berlin until Moscow offers some basis of negotiation. General de Gaulle's position is:

Our rights in West Berlin were not given to the West by the Soviet Union and cannot be taken away by any Soviet actions.

The West is creating no crisis in Berlin. We have asked for nothing. It is Moscow which is asking for a new West Berlin status. So let the Soviets come forward with something we can seriously talk about.

They haven't, not once; not at any point. After years of negotiation, going back to the summit of 1955, the Kremlin position is the same: We are to get out.

Moscow's public stance is that it would like to have the United States make "constructive" proposals to weaken the Western position. They say in effect: "If you don't like our suggestions about how you should get out of Berlin, you make some counterproposals about how you should get out of Berlin."

This is the position today. It seems to me that it would be better to stop this shadowboxing and refuse to engage further in this Soviet gambit of using the appearance of negotiation to serve the Kremlin's purpose.

What purpose?

In the judgment of Gen. Lucius D. Clay, who has had the fullest firsthand experience, who was commandant in Berlin during the blockade and is now President Kennedy's special adviser on Berlin, the Soviet purpose is to use interminable negotiations over Berlin as a device to try to divide the allies and slow down the movement of the European Common Market and all it means to the West.

In an interview with the Associated Press, General Clay said that Khrushchev's real goal is not Berlin but "to destroy the movement toward political unity in Western Europe."

To this end the Soviets demand that the West get out of Berlin, and then charge the United States with fomenting war because we resist a Kremlin demand.

Under these circumstances it strikes me that the time has come to break off these "talks with an ulterior purpose" until Khrushchev ceases his threats and offers a solid basis for negotiation.

At this stage we are negotiating with ourselves against ourselves.

## The 50th Anniversary of Radio Station WHLI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, Today, July 23, 1962, is the 15th anniversary of radio station WHLI, located in Hempstead, Long Island, N.Y.

WHLI has long had a fine record of broadcasting programs of community interest to its listeners. An important program, particularly in these days of international tension, is the weekly "Report From Washington," on which I have had the privilege of appearing regularly. This public service of WHLI gives local Representatives an opportunity to report directly to Long Islanders on the issues under consideration in the Congress.

It gives me pleasure to congratulate WHLI on this 15th anniversary and to wish for this enterprise a long and successful future.

## J.F.K. Resolution Spurs Query: "Who's Captive?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the latest issue of World, the 1960 captive nations proclamation issued by President Eisenhower is presented side by side with President Kennedy's 1962 proclamation.

When a direct comparison is made, Mr. Speaker, little additional comment is necessary. Under unanimous consent, I include this article, entitled "J.F.K. Resolution Spurs Query: 'Who's Captive?' " into the RECORD at this point, with the request that the Members study the two proclamations carefully and reach their own conclusions without further comment on my part.

The article follows:

[From World, July 31, 1962]

J.F.K. RESOLUTION SPURS QUERY: "WHO'S CAPTIVE?"

By joint resolution of July 17, 1959, Congress "authorized and requested" the President of the United States to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week," "inviting the people of the United States to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies and activities" annually "until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations."

President Kennedy's first such proclamation, last year, was made hastily—and "reluctantly," according to Georgetown's Prof. Lev Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee—before a Saturday departure for relaxation at Hyannis Port, Mass. Fulfilling the bare minimum of congressional request, it said nothing at all about the Soviet Union as "captor" of East European and Asian satellites.

This year's statement is similar. Released from the White House late on July 13, the proclamation went virtually unnoticed in the press' preoccupation with a new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and with the reopening of Geneva disarmament talks with a Soviet Government known to take spiteful exception to any mention of its "captive nations imperialism."

Practically every U.S. metropolitan center has established civic committees to promote the purposes of the Captive Nations Week resolution, with activity running especially high in large European population centers like Chicago and New York.

How little the present administration appears to care about such "hard-line" reminders to the Kremlin is illustrated by World's comparison of the heart of President Kennedy's 1962 proclamation with President Eisenhower's of 1960:

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

"Whereas many nations throughout the world have been made captive by the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Soviet communism; and

"Whereas the peoples of Soviet-dominated nations have been deprived of national independence and individual liberties; and

"Whereas the citizens of the United States are linked by bonds of family and principle to those who love freedom and justice on every continent; and

"Whereas it is appropriate and proper to manifest to the peoples of the captive nations the support of the Government and people of the United States for the just aspirations for freedom and national independence.

"I invite the American people to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to support of their just aspirations."

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

"Whereas there exist many historical and cultural ties between the people of these captive nations and the American people; and

"Whereas the principles of self-government and human freedom are universal ideas and the common heritage of mankind.

"I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty."

## Don't Be Stubborn, Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 13, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the President could do both the country and himself a lot of good if he would not be so stubborn in advocating foolish programs to the Congress. This is discussed in a recent article by Donald I. Rogers:

OUR PRAGMATIC PRESIDENT AND HIS UNPOPULAR PROGRAMS

(By Donald I. Rogers)

Political defeats of his economic programs may yet make a good President of John F. Kennedy, and these wholesale defeats are beginning to occur in wholesale lots.

The President is a gifted politician, which is a good thing to be. He is not much of a theorist, but calls himself a pragmatist. That's an honest enough description.

The defeats the President's program has suffered could bring the President's political pragmatism into play. He might reason this way: "I am popular. My programs are not. Therefore, if I dump the programs and adopt popular ones, I can win in 1964."

The defeats began when Congress rejected the Freeman farm folly. This bill would have given the Department of Agriculture bureaucracy the final say over every acre, every

cow, every sprig in the United States. The men who own and farm the farms would have used their own properties only by the leave and in accordance with the instructions of Uncle Sam.

Tuesday last week was a red-letter day for Kennedy program defeats.

The Senate killed medicare. Despite the pressure and propaganda, more people have been becoming aware of the evils of this bill. It's even worse than people think. For instance, it has been estimated that a young new entrant into social security today can expect to pay in taxes 167 percent of the benefits he can expect to receive in his lifetime.

This is "insurance?" Who would buy a policy that worked that way? Why should the voters buy it? A majority of Senators felt the political wisdom of defeating this expansion of social security.

Then the Senate Finance Committee whipped the Kennedy proposal to subject all business expense accounts to rigid Federal standards. It is the recognized privilege of Government to tax profits. This proposal, however, would have given the Government the right to declare that expenses for getting business or running it really are profits, and tax them as if they were.

Over on the House side, by a bruising 232 to 163 vote, the Representatives set back the administration's proposal to expand public ownership of electrical power.

They dumped the Hanford, Wash., plan to set up Government-owned electrical generating facilities at the atomic energy installation.

The administration isn't all defeated and doesn't always to deserve to be. The President's transportation message and recommendations in the field included a condemnation of featherbedding on the railroads. The railroads responded by producing the courage to announce they'd follow through.

They set a mid-August date on which they will lay off many thousands of the firemen who have been riding around on the fireless trains for many years. And if the unions want to strike, the railroads will take a strike.

The administration's new depreciation schedule, although often misinterpreted as a tax cut, is a sensible step to remove unnecessary drags on the economy, and was hailed as such by the business community. This should prove to the pragmatic President that when the administration stops being antibusiness, business ceases to be antiadministration.

The emerging pattern should be becoming clear to the President. Other politicians who must answer to the voters know that their constituents want them to defeat plans for larger government spending, more government controls, and greater welfare statism. There is no public outcry, save from splinter groups, when they do what the majority of voters want.

Consider, for instance, the fact that Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, Democrat, of Florida, who represents a State with the largest concentration of social security recipients in the Nation, felt confident enough of his constituents' desires to vote against medicare.

On the other hand, genuine moves to improve the portions of the economy that have suffered so heavily from Government meddling are popular with voters.

Somehow the American people seem to be awakening to the fact that Washington, city of considerable scandal and waste and error, at least since Civil War days, is as prone to mistakes and corruption as any other part of the Nation, and that the more concentrated the power and the money in Washington, the greater the danger and the greater the disasters from mistakes and corruption.

Somehow, too, the people seem to be awakening to the fact that they can cope with their own problems without waiting for Washington to wade through its redtape and compound the Washington overhead costs.

Thus the defeats the administration has taken will make it look less bad in history. There is still time if the President is truly pragmatic for him to reverse his field and be a really popular President.

## Confusion by Judicial Decree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, in a 1-minute speech on the floor of the House today I announced introduction of a joint resolution calling for submission to the States of a proposed constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right of any State to establish, through its own constitution, representation in one house of its legislature based on factors other than population exclusively.

In my remarks I briefly referred to last Wednesday's decision of the Michigan Supreme Court holding unconstitutional an amendment to the Michigan constitution establishing State senatorial districts adopted by vote of the people in 1952.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the July 19 Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette commenting on the State supreme court decision:

CONFUSION BY JUDICIAL DECREE

I. THE STATE OF MICHIGAN A STATE OF CONFUSION

Decision yesterday by the State supreme court that Michigan's constitutional apportionment of the State senate is unconstitutional raises issues that conceivably could plague us for a generation.

It involves not only the question of whether the legislature will be able to reapportion the senate within the court's time limit or whether, as an alternative, each party will nominate 32 candidates in subsequent at-large primaries to run for 32 senator-at-large positions at the November 6 general election.

It involves constitutional fundamentals.

The court, as we see it, rewrote a good part of the State constitution when it held that a State senate weighted in favor of area factors against population equality among the districts violated the clause of the 14th amendment of the U.S. Constitution which guarantees to all persons "the equal protection of the laws."

It appears likely that the State court's decision will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court and possible that the higher tribunal would stay the State order pending its decision.

In such an event, matters would continue temporarily as they stood the day before yesterday.

In the interim the questions would remain.

A stay of the State order conceivably could stretch beyond the court-fixed deadlines—reapportionment by August 20 or an at-large primary September 11. Thus, we presume, the senatorial primaries and elections would proceed under the outlawed amendment. But then, if the highest Court should sustain the State court, would the new senate be a nullity? And then what?

As to broader issues, the question arises concerning the first section of Michigan's "declaration of rights"—"All political power is inherent in the people"—and the meaning of the rights the people have "reserved to themselves," the initiative and referendum.

The amendment now held unconstitutional was initiated by petition and adopted at a statewide referendum.

And what about other representational inequities in the State constitution? Townships, for instance, vary widely as to population, yet the constitution calls for boards of supervisors composed of one from each, regardless of size.

Finally, if the U.S. Supreme Court gets the case, the question may well arise as to whether the 14th amendment had the effect of nullifying the earlier provision that the U.S. Senate be composed of two Senators from each State—also regardless of area or population.

II. "STAGGERING" CONSEQUENCES

As State attorney general, before he was elevated to the Michigan Supreme Court, Justice Paul L. Adams, defending the constitutional apportionment of the State senate against August Scholle's appeal—now decided in Scholle's favor—foresaw "staggering" consequences from a decision such as that handed down yesterday at Lansing.

He foresaw chaos for representative government at all levels.

If the State senate must be apportioned strictly according to population, he said in effect, then such bodies as Boards of Supervisors must be similarly apportioned.

Kalamazoo County offers a graphic example.

Prairie Ronde Township, according to the 1960 census, has a population of 628. Constitutionally it is entitled to one supervisor. So is Portage Township with 32 times as many people—20,181—and Kalamazoo Township, also with 32 times as many people—20,166.

The city of Kalamazoo, which has 12 representatives on the board of supervisors, has 130 times as many people as Prairie Ronde.

The court has said that in the State senate, the "equal protection" clause means equal representation—districts equal in population. The precedent, if it is sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court, could be applied to any level of government—not only counties, but to cities which chose their commissioners or aldermen by wards.

All such inequities would be open to challenge.

III. BASIC DISTINCTION

When the Michigan redistricting issue again comes before the U.S. Supreme Court, the Justices will face one condition that has not prevailed in similar cases involving other States.

There the Nation's High Court has been faced with failure of legislatures to act in accordance with State constitutions or with inequalities developing from legislative action.

In the Michigan case, the Justices will be confronted with the fact that the present State senate districting, struck down by the State supreme court decision, was a decision by the people themselves, initiated by the people and adopted as a constitutional amendment in 1952. Moreover, the choice was a knowing and specific one. For at the same election, they turned down a proposed constitutional amendment which would have apportioned the State senate on a population basis, the end sought by the State AFL-

CIO President August Scholle, who initiated the current action.

It should be remembered, too, that the senate districting was "frozen" by the constitutional amendment only so long as the people wanted it that way. It could have been "unfrozen" or changed by the same procedure—initiatory petition and popular vote.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the comment of State Supreme Court Justice Paul L. Adams who was State attorney general when Mr. Scholle originally brought suit. Justice Adams, who refrained from participating in the current action because of his earlier State affiliation, opposed the Scholle petition at that time. Among other things, he noted that the people have a "right to be wrong."

It will be interesting to hear what the U.S. Supreme Court Justices have to say about this.

Associate Justice Tom Clark noted, for example, in the historic Tennessee case in which he concurred with the majority intervention, that he would not have done so "if there were any other relief available to the people of Tennessee." He pointed out specifically that the State had no referendum or initiative law such as Michigan has.

IV. ON PARTY LINES?

It is unfortunate that the motives of the members of Michigan's highest court should be impugned, but the 4-to-3 division on the Senate apportionment written into the Constitution a decade ago by vote of the people makes it inevitable.

The division was on party lines, four Democrats voting to throw it out, three Republicans to uphold it.

Redistricting according to population, ignoring area interests, would favor the Democrats.

Continuing the constitutional apportionment would have favored the Republicans.

Under the Michigan nonpartisan system, justices are nominated by party conventions, though they run without partisan designation on the ballot. In a very real sense they owe their places on the bench to the party which nominated them or to the Governor who appointed them.

Wednesday's decision is further colored by the fact that the appellant in the present case was August Scholle, who is not only president of the State AFL–CIO but a major power behind the Democratic Party in Michigan.

It would be unjust to say that the seven justices in the 4-to-3 party-line split were carryin the political battle to the State's highest bench rather than simply giving expression to their differing philosophies and viewpoints. But it looks that way.

V. IF, IF, IF

Popular approval of a new State constitution may well hold the key to a sane and sensible solution of what otherwise could be a chaotic impasse growing out of the State supreme court's rejection of a 1952 constitutional amendment apportioning the State Senate.

If the decision is appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court and if the U.S. Supreme Court accepts it for review and issues a stay order holding the State court action in abeyance pending decision, then the status quo presumably would prevail and the 1963 senate would be elected under the 1952 amendment.

Then if the higher Court's decision should be delayed into next April or beyond and if the new constitution, containing a new apportionment formula, should be adopted at the April election, becoming effective as of January 1, 1964, and voiding the controversial 1952 amendment as of that date, and if the higher Court should then decide to make no change in view of the comparatively short time before the new constitution would take over, then the whole Scholle case would become academic.

It's an "iffy" sequence, but under the circumstances let no one minimize the importance of the proposed new State constitution.

But there's the added possibility that if all of these "ifs" materialize, Mr. Scholle might challenge the senate apportionment formula in the new constitution and the whole rat race would start anew.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Tribute to the Mormon Pioneers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK CHURCH**
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, today the people of my State join with those of our sister State to the south, Utah, to pay tribute to the Mormon pioneers on the occasion of the 115th anniversary of their arrival in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

One hundred and fifteen years is a large portion of the lifetime of our Republic, but the lessons taught by the example of the Mormon pioneers and their descendants are still relevant today. In the beginning, the Mormons did not find the going easy; they suffered much for having the courage of their convictions. They were the victims of much unjust persecution which forced them from one city to another on the American frontier. Fnally, after the tragic martyrdom of their prophet, Joseph Smith, they packed their wagons for the long trip across the desolate Great Plains and imposing Rocky Mountains to the uninhabited intermountain West.

Although they sought only the privacy to practice their beliefs, the Mormons were not left alone for long. Soon after their arrival in Utah, a swarm of men passed through on their way to the California Gold Rush. But the Mormons did not succumb to the temptation to get rich quick, and stayed to found their own empire in the mountain fastness. Ten years after the Mormons' arrival, the U.S. Government began its first major effort to punish the Mormons by sending Johnston's army to Utah. This tragic passage of persecution continued throughout most of the latter half of the 19th century; it is a sad chapter in the annals of our history.

Despite these persecutions, the Mormons managed to perform two highly impressive accomplishments in the latter half of the last century. They arranged to bring thousands of converts from various European countries to their intermountain empire. Some of these immigrants formed the valorous handcart companies, which, without the aid of horses or oxen, pulled their possessions across the plains. Many of these immigrants were Scandinavian; they quickly learned English and were assimilated into the community without the hardships endured by many non-English-speaking immigrants to other parts of our country. No immigration to America was better organized than that of these Mormon converts coming to their mountain Zion.

In addition to assimilating and arranging transportation for these immigrants, the Mormon Church directed one of the greatest colonizing efforts in American history. The Mormons settled much of the mountain West, bringing civilization to some places where few other men would have had the will to go. The Mormons were the first Anglo-Saxon people to practice extensive irrigation; they made many semiarid regions of the West green and lush with irrigated crops. The Mormons were the first settlers in my own State of Idaho; they founded Fort Lemhi in 1855. They founded the first permanent town in Idaho, Franklin, in 1860; there they also established the first school. The Mormons founded their second Idaho town, Weston, exactly 100 years ago.

Today, the position of the Latter-day Saints is one of great prestige. One of their members is considered a possible candidate for the Presidency of our country. Other Mormons have achieved titles in many different fields—from Miss America, to middleweight boxing champion of the world. In public life, Mormons have played a prominent role in Congress, and have held such important executive positions as Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Treasurer of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, U.S. Commissioner of Education, and Secretary of the Interior, under Democratic and Republican Presidents alike. On the artistic side, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir is known and loved by people in all parts of our country, and, indeed, the whole world.

Why have the Mormons attained this position of recognition? The primary reason is, I think, that they have set such a good example of Christianity in action. The Mormons do not have a paid clergy, but rather, the members fill all the church positions themselves, without financial remuneration. And their church activities are grand in scale; their youth groups are the envy of all who know them; their charitable activities reach to every sector of their communities. No Mormon in need will suffer, either for material goods or for brotherly companionship.

Not only do Mormons give generously of their time to church activities, including working on church farms, but also they give generously of their money. Like the early Christians, every Mormon tithes, giving a tenth of his income before taxes to his church. Mormon families help maintain missionaries thoughout the world; the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gives a fine example of missionary activity to the other Christian churches. Many young Mormon men and women give several years of their lives as missionaries for their church, both overseas and in the United States.

In addition to their worthwhile religious and social activities, the Mormons have gained the respect of the country by their extensive educational activities. Utah, the most Mormon State in the country, is also, on average, the most highly educated; the average citizen there has completed 12 years of schooling. The Mormon Church runs several excellent institutions of higher education, including Brigham Young University, and in my own State, Ricks College at Rexburg. Mormons believe wholeheartedly in the worth of education and devote a large portion of their resources to it.

Today, the people of my State pause to pay tribute to the Mormon pioneers. We admire their valor and the example of Christian community that they and their descendants have given us. In this troubled age, it is encouraging to see how well these good Christian people have ordered their lives.

## International Soil and Water Utilization Seminar Held in South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BEN REIFEL**
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, representatives of some 30 nations gathered on the campus of South Dakota State College at Brookings last week for an exchange of information on wisest possible utilization of two of the world's most precious resources—soil and water.

There could be no more fitting place than the campus of an agricultural school in the heartlands of America for the dissemination of the information which can allay the hunger and thirst of millions around the world. We in South Dakota were proud to play host to these visitors eager for the knowledge of soil and water conservation techniques which have made our farmers the most efficient in the world.

Among the speakers was Mr. W. E. O'Brien, a native South Dakotan and staff member of the Senate Government Operations Committee, who assisted the Honorable KARL E. MUNDT, Senator from South Dakota, in arranging for the seminar. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that his address be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

THE SEMINAR AS VIEWED FROM WASHINGTON

(Remarks of W. E. O'Brien, Senate Government Operations Committee)

I feel honored to be present among this group of distinguished scientists and agriculture experts who are pooling their knowledge and experience for the improvement of the general welfare of humanity everywhere.

This seminar is the first of its particular kind. From the start, this effort seems to have been marked by a star of good fortune. As those of us who are especially interested in having it succeed, have viewed the efforts thus far—we have marveled that so much has been done so quickly. Our Government is sending information on this seminar to all the world through our U.S. Information Service.

Less than a year ago this idea was put forward. There was no special act of Congress to implement it. No one was sure just what the mechanics of such a seminar should be. Nevertheless, we are here tonight because of the great surge of good will and complete cooperation which have been ever present during the days of preparation.

First, were fortunate to have the support and encouragement of a South Dakota statesman who firmly believes in the value of exchanging scientific knowledge for the betterment of the peoples of the world, and for encouraging friendships and understanding among the nations of the world.

Senator KARL MUNDT of South Dakota, author of the Exchange of Persons Act, lent every assistance, gave every encouragement, and supplied the support which was necessary to bring this seminar to fruition. Without his sponsorship, it would not have been possible to untangle the many skeins of administrative policy through which we had to find our way.

I bring you his greetings and good wishes for success. It was his hope that the press of congressional legislative business would permit him to attend these opening days of the seminar. He believes in the great worth of these projects. He wishes to have more of them. He knows that the experiences of this seminar will be helpful in forming plans for succeeding seminars. Already Senator MUNDT has studies underway in agencies of government for the purpose of making plans, writing legislation, and changing administrative procedures which will smooth the way for this cooperative attack on other agriculture problems which torment the world.

We were blessed secondly with inspiration and suggestions from many persons in the executive branch of our Government. Those who have worked on this project recognize the names of Cannon Hearne, that great director of our foreign agriculture training, and of his able assistant, Milton Norland. You know of Roy Mimms, who has been sympathetic and understanding as he represented the AID division of our State Department. You know of Ted Scheulke and Mrs. Ann Logan, who have believed in this project and have worked in the Cultural Exchange Division of the State Department to help bring many of these people to the seminar. All of these people in Government worked together and with all of us. We are in their debt. Additionally, the Farmers Union, the Grange, and the Farm Bureau cooperated to give us ideas and encouragement.

But most important of all—we have had South Dakota State College. Words are inadequate to paint the picture of achievement of the past year. When we came out here last October to present the idea to the president and faculty of this great college, the suggestion was siezed upon with alacrity. In the words of our astronauts—all signs were "Go".

It is too long a litany to recite the names of those who have worked so faithfully and well to make this succeed. You see many of them here tonight. From the very first moment, all personnel at the college gave unstintingly of their resources. We had no negative attitudes; we had no bickering; we had no hesitation. We had nothing but determination for success—and I believe that we now have that, too. President Briggs, and South Dakota State College faculty—may I express the appreciation of Senator MUNDT and of the people in the executive agencies of Government for your leadership and for your undaunted determination to make this seminar a project of great value. South Dakota State College has, I am sure, far exceeded any of the dreams which Justin Morrill and Abraham Lincoln had for the land-grant colleges when they prepared the way for the establishment of these institutions 100 years ago this month. We all have confidence this is but a milestone in your continuing record of achievements.

The originators of this seminar and those who have worked out the mechanics of it realize that each visitor can bring something to the seminar, and we trust that each will take something with him to his homeland which will be helpful to his fellow citizens.

Former Secretary of State Christian Herter wrote an article which appeared in This Week magazine last Sunday. In it he outlined ideas of what information our country can get from other countries which will be helpful to us. I think all of us who have worked on this seminar can be a little bit self-satisfied that we have anticipated Christian Herter and have provided this opportunity to do just the things he has in mind.

If this seminar is as favorably received as we have every reason to anticipate, it is the hope of Senator MUNDT that a second can be planned very soon. It is Senator MUNDT'S feeling that what we are doing on the subject of soil and water can be done on other problems of agriculture such as storage and preservation of foods, home and farm improvement through cooperative efforts of farmers, training of technicians, and a myriad of other problems on which much is to be done if we are to end the problems of poverty and hunger in the world.

And, he believes very devoutly in the values which accrue to the world through getting peoples from other nations together—to work, to exchange ideas, to break bread together in friendship and understanding.

We wish all those who are visiting here from other nations to know that we welcome you as friends and coworkers. I feel that the sentiments which the founders of this seminar have toward you are expressed most nobly in the words of the great Nobel poet of India, Rabindranath Tagore, who wrote:

"Thou has made me known to friends I knew not,
Thou has given me seats in homes not my own,
Thou has brought the distant near and made a brother of the stranger."

I have endeavored to review for you what has happened thus far on the work of this seminar—the generation of ideas, the sentiment and philosophy behind it, and the hopes for its success and the success of succeeding seminars. Whatever effort each of us has made, will, I am confident, be repaid a hundredfold in values both actual and spiritual.

## Representative Ken Hechler Makes a Visit to His Office a Memorable Occasion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, constituents from the Fourth Congressional District of West Virginia are pleased when they come to see KEN HECHLER, their very able, conscientious, and devoted Representative. They find him attentive, gracious, and accommodating, and their visits leave them with pleasant memories of the occasion.

Thus, when three members of St. Marys, W. Va., Women's Club came to Washington, D.C., earlier this month to attend the 71st International General Federation of Women's Clubs Convention, they were confident that their Congressman, KEN HECHLER, would live up to his reputation as a host. They brought women's club representatives from other cities and towns in the Fourth Congressional District, and, with KEN HECHLER, they toured the White House and the Capitol for a day filled with excitement and pleasure.

Mrs. Edgar B. Fleming, of the St. Marys, W. Va., Women's Club was so impressed with the day she and her fellow club members spent with Representative KEN HECHLER, that she wrote a detailed account of the occasion for the Pleasants County Leader. I ask unanimous consent to have Mrs. Fleming's story printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because I think it adds luster to my affable, hard-working friend, KEN HECHLER, whose services in the House of Representatives bring credit and recognition to the State of West Virginia.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEEK IN WASHINGTON WITH HECHLER FILLS DAY FOR WOMAN'S CLUB VISITORS

The three members of the St. Marys Woman's Club, Mrs. Keith Thacker, Mrs. J. E. Rupert, and Mrs. Edgar B. Fleming, last week attended the 71st International General Federation of Women's Clubs Convention in Washington, D.C.

They were joined by Mrs. William G. Woodcock, western district president and a member of the Vienna Woman's Club, 10 members of the Logan Woman's Club, and 1 member from the Holdren Woman's Club, in taking a day off from the convention, meeting KEN HECHLER, Congressman from the Fourth District, for a tour of the White House Thursday.

It was a sleepy but excited group of women who met their host at the east gate of the White House that morning, but everyone was on time and clicking their high heels anxious to begin this wonderful experience.

They were introduced to their official guide, Mr. Brandt—"no relation to Willie"—he added. He was a charming, informative

guide and even though we were sure that Congressman HECHLER had seen these beautiful things many times before, he enjoyed them again just as much as the ladies did, seeing it for the first time. The guide spoke reverently whenever he was explaining about the first family and the group felt a great surge of pride knowing that they were all partial owners in the White House property and, with Mrs. Kennedy's cultural interest, they knew that it was at its best.

After touring the White House interior they came out of the building and strolled down the drive with Congressman HECHLER and into the west wing which accommodates the press offices, staff offices, and other additional executive offices.

They visited at this point, Mrs. Evelyn N. Lincoln, personal secretary to the President, whose office is adjoining the President's office. They were escorted into the President's own office where Colonel Glenn's press conference was held. In this office there also was the President's rocking chair and each lady took her share of sitting in it momentarily. Our host then hailed taxis, directing the cabdrivers to take the women to the House of Representatives entrance of the Capitol.

The honored privilege of meeting Representatives began the moment they went through the swinging doors. They first met CARL ALBERT, from Oklahoma, majority leader of the House of Representatives, who is one of the Rhodes scholars in Congress. Another was the meeting of JOHN BRADEMAS, Representative in Congress from South Bend, Ind.

Walking further down the hall, they met Larry O'Brien, President Kennedy's right-hand man on Capitol Hill, with whom they chatted and he stated that "West Virginia" was the magic word at the White House.

The halls were teeming with people—Government employees and tourists—and the group was stopped again by Congressman HECHLER in order to meet Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, senior Senator from Texas, and Senator JOHN SPARKMAN from Alabama, who ran with Governor Stevenson in 1952.

They walked with Congressman HECHLER, but as fast as he travels, they were able to keep pace with him. Some of the ladies had to stop and change their shoes which gave them a "second wind." They had to laugh with Mr. HECHLER at the manner in which he kept them in a queue-up formation and moving right along. He would stop and smile until everyone grouped again, then he'd raise his right arm and bring it up over his head—they'd say "Charge"—and take a deep breath to continue at their fast-covering pace, grateful every stop and every moment for the wonderful opportunity which was coming their way through the graciousness of their host.

They met WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN from South Carolina in the Senate gallery, and Representative FRANK STUBBLEFIELD from Kentucky.

Congressman HECHLER opened many doors and it seemed uncanny that when they noticed any sign which read "do not enter this entrance—closed"; that was the one he would enter. He was kidded by the group about his magic open sesame, and he laughingly retorted that he always figured that you were allowed to go as far as you could until someone stopped you. So he kept opening doors and sticking his head in to see if they could enter and so they continued going through the magic doors.

One magic entrance was gained when it was realized that they were in Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON'S office. His secretary Mrs. Juanita Roberts, showed the group his private office, which was beautiful and in the center of the room a colored waiter was preparing a long luncheon table for a private meal. When asking the secretary who was lunching with the Vice President, she answered—"Oh, just some dignitaries." Well, they didn't find out that bit of information.

The ladies wound their way across the rotunda and turned to the left where Congressman HECHLER opened another door. Quietness and solitude hit them as they realized this was the new soundproof chapel for the House of Representatives. It is truly a beautiful little chapel and the open Bible lays on a long altar with the light of day coming through a stained glass window made of Blenko glass from Melton, W. Va.

Congressman HECHLER invited them to the Speakers' dining room for luncheon being served by a colored waiter from West Virginia. The famous House of Representatives' bean soup was served as an appetizer. After having the honor of being Mr. HECHLER'S luncheon guests, they were taken to the House of Representatives Chamber where WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee was speaking on the tariff bill, H.R. 9900. He answered many questions, one of which was asked by Congressman ARCH MOORE, from First District of West Virginia. When Chairman MILLS finished presiding, he received quite an ovation and applause.

While in the Chambers, the group learned about the page boys, ranging in ages from 14 to 18 years of age, wearing white, long-sleeved shirts, four-in-hand ties, and black trousers. They have a training period and continue their high school education while receiving a handsome remuneration per year. Many of them continue in the political science field. They look like little choir boys, all sitting on each side of the platform, with their chins in their hands, waiting for a signal from a Congressman as compared to the Senate page boys where they answer to the loud snaps of the finger through tradition, the boys in the House respond to white pushbutton signal. Their jobs are to keep the daily records of the session up to date in a looseleafed hardback book at each seat.

In both the House of Representatives and the Senate, facing the front of the room, the Democrats sit on the left and the Republicans on the right. As compared to the Senate also, the seats are connected in the House, where in the Senate they have separate little desks. All of the desks in the Senate are copied after Daniel Webster's original desk which is No. 2.

The ladies realized history was in the making here and that they were witnessing the excitement of it and not missing a minute or a movement.

The secretaries are all male and take notes in shorthand for 15-minute intervals each, rushing out and transcribing the notes. This is the way the records are kept up daily. It's highly organized and is tradition also that retains this method of recording instead of the faster way of using stenotyping.

While in the House they waved to CLEVELAND BAILEY, Congressman from the Third District, from the gallery. Upon leaving the House introductions were made to JOHN M. SLACK, JR., from the Charleston area, and to Mrs. ELIZABETH KEE, the first and only woman ever to be elected to Congress from West Virginia. Her husband, deceased, was the chairman of House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Traveling at a rapid pace down another flight of stairs and an escalator, Congressman HECHLER introduced the female group to the former ambassador from Finland, who was accompanied by Senior Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY from Minnesota. They also met the former Speaker of the House, JOE MARTIN, who is a Republican from Massachusetts.

The group then took the subway over to the new Senate Building while riding and trying to take notes, they learned that it is the shortest subway in the world, being 900 feet long. This was a nice breezy ride at from 15 to 18 miles per hour.

The first office Congressman HECHLER escorted the ladies to was the office of Miss Dorothy Fosdick, daughter of the late Harry Emerson Fosdick, world famous theologian. Miss Fosdick is the director of the Subcommittee on National Security.

Congressman HECHLER then took the group into the Senate Chambers, where senior Senator DIRKSEN, from Illinois, was discussing the various aspects of the social security law. At one place in his talk, he proved his point by telling an appropriate joke.

Coming from this point, introduction was made to HALE BOGGS, Representative in Congress, who is called the whip of the House of Representatives. This is an old British term and means informing Members as to how the programs are and also he is the one who says: "Let's reason together."

Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH then met the group and Congressman HECHLER. They were escorted into his offices, which were beautiful. In his own private office the decor was done with green walls and red furniture. In bringing the room colors together, there had been hung two modern abstract paintings on opposite walls in colors of red, green, white, and yellow. He said: "Let's have a circle meeting," and continued to ask the ladies to meet his publicity secretary for a description of the St. Marys Woman's Club's fitness program project to be recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Congressman HECHLER then took the ladies back over to the Old Senate Office Building to Senator ROBERT BYRD'S office where they were intrigued by the decor. It was flanked by plants of begonias and philodendron, a huge tank of tropical fish and a cage containing an orange canary, about which the Senator remarked, "He's quite a singer." The group journeyed on into the inner office of BYRD'S and it was found that he had been so busy that he was being compelled to eat his lunch from his desk. By this time it was 3 o'clock in the afternoon, but they lingered long enough for Senator BYRD to show them all the framed photographs he prized. They were hung on three walls and went to the ceiling, which showed various events in his political career, including a photo taken in front of the Parthenon in Greece, India, Afghanistan, and a photo of his high school band in which he played the bass drum.

They chatted with Senator BYRD'S secretary who told them that she learned just recently that Jack Dempsey was born and raised in Mud Fork, W. Va. She was from West Virginia also.

It was a wonderful day that the delegation spent with Congressman HECHLER as his special guests. It was with the patience of Job that he showed the ladies and taught them all which was witnessed and experienced that day with his minute and detailed explanation. On leaving the Capitol, the ladies felt that they had really been a part of the heartthrob of our democracy.

West Virginia has made quite a name for itself in the District of Columbia and everyone expresses their love and respect for Congressman HECHLER and a love for the people from our State. It was heard to be said, "No wonder West Virginia isn't very progressive—they are too busy being nice people." The ladies resented the first part of the statement, but appreciated the latter part. This group realized and appreciated the fact that they had been given the "red carpet" treatment by Congressman KEN HECHLER and it will remain in their memories as one of the most memorable days of 1962.

## A Government of Law or of Men?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DON L. SHORT**
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, developments in the past few days concerning strikes which were threatened, and strikes now taking place in our defense effort prompted me to issue a special report relative to my bill, H.R. 9555, to prohibit strikes by employees employed in certain strategic defense industries.

It is interesting to note that my bill provides a method similar to that just used by President Kennedy. My bill was introduced on January 10, 1962, the opening day of Congress, and identical to one introduced the previous fall by Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas.

I ask unanimous consent that my release of yesterday, July 23, be included with my remarks today, together with editorials appearing in the New York Times of July 23, 1962, entitled "New Labor Law Needed," and in the Washington Post, July 24, 1962, entitled "Emergency Strike Formula."

I call attention to the fact that both these editorials call attention to the need for legislation, in spite of the fact that in this instance most of the striking workers have complied with the President's personal request.

President Truman found, when he seized the steel mills to end a walkout, that the President cannot go too far in improvising when he does not have—to back up his action—the authority of law. We hope President Kennedy does not have to learn the same lesson at the expense of our country's defense effort—and at the expense of our public safety.

Obviously public attention is focused increasingly on the subject of keeping our defense effort "moving ahead"—to borrow a now-famous phrase of President Kennedy's.

I cannot urge too strongly that it is imperative for the Congress to consider and pass legislation—not as a punitive measure for labor unions—but providing proper legal means to bring about fair and equitable agreements and settlements of all disputes between labor, management, and the Government which hamper the defense program of our country.

I believe my bill, H.R. 9555, provides this legal method, and I commend it to your attention.

The articles follow:

A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS OR OF MEN?

I am gratified to note President Kennedy, in his efforts to bring about a settlement of the labor dispute taking place in the aerospace industry, has used essentially the procedure provided for in my bill, H.R. 9555, introduced by me on the opening day of Congress this year. This bill would prohibit strikes by employees employed in certain strategic defense industries, and provide a method for settling disputes between labor and management, whenever they occurred.

The two unions involved in the aerospace industry dispute, as well as the industries involved, have now yielded to the personal request of President Kennedy to observe a 60-day "peace period," during which time a three-man board, appointed by the President, is to hold hearings and present to him its recommendation for settlement of the dispute.

Along with every loyal U.S. citizen, I am relieved that our defense effort will not be delayed at least in this specific area. I am reminded of my comment concerning the triple responsibility of labor, management, and military government, before the House of Representatives on July 17:

"If labor, management, and government could forget their natural suspicions and work out equitable and fair arrangements with regard to our defense effort, that would be the perfect solution."

However—and this is a big however—it behooves the Congress to keep in mind that this is a government of laws, not of men. The President's act in setting up his board for the 60-day period (after which presumably he could invoke the Taft-Hartley 80-day "cooling off" injunction provision), has been carried out without any real authority of law.

Let me point out that had my bill, H.R. 9555, been enacted into law, the building of the 11 nuclear submarines—so vital a part of our country's defense effort—would not now be halted by the strike of 8,000 shipyard workers in Groton, Conn. Nor would we have experienced the frightening possibility of 150,000 aerospace workers walking out at noon today. Our country would have rested easier. Our allies for peace around the world would have rested easier. I am convinced our labor union workers also would have rested easier—to say nothing of the industry involved—because the lawful means of settling disputes would have been provided, leaving no illusion in anyone's mind that a strike in our defense establishments would be allowed to disrupt our defense effort.

The President jumped into this labor-management dispute with all four feet at the psychological moment—just when his Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service had thrown up its hands in despair, and when his Secretary of Labor had indicated his frustration. While the President's undoubted genius for public relations may have enjoyed a lift in the minds of many people (who perhaps do not fully realize all that is involved), the black eye given our defense effort will not so easily be overcome in the eyes of the world.

My bill would make the Secretary of Defense, the labor union or unions involved, and management equally responsible for appointing the board members, in contrast to the President's personally appointed board. It would have the added advantage and impetus of being U.S. law, if enacted. This means the emergency board's recommendation would be binding, not optional, as is the case with the President's board.

I believe that labor, management, and military government can reach fair and equitable agreements in such disputes—particularly if the proper motivation and necessary means is present. The best motivation possible is the defense of our Nation, and the defense of each and every citizen. The necessary means will be present if my bill is enacted into law.

Is Congress to allow its legislative responsibilities, which we have sworn to uphold, to be assumed by the executive branch? What are we Members elected for? Certainly not to be merely a soundingboard or rubberstamp for the President and his advisers.

The White House, for more than a year now, indicated it intended to transmit to Congress recommendations for a more flexible approach to the settlement of emergency disputes. The President's Advisory Council on Labor-Management Policy presented its recommendations to him nearly 3 months ago. It now appears there should be no further question concerning the need for passage of legislation to protect our Nation's defense effort.

It is now an undeniable fact that President Kennedy himself has not been averse to using essentially the same method outlined in my proposed legislation.

I, therefore, call upon the Congress to support my effort to bring about immediate consideration and approval of a fair, workable, and equitable law dealing with strikes in our missile and defense industry.

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[From The New York Times, July 23, 1962]

NEW LABOR LAW NEEDED

The 60-day delay President Kennedy has effected in strike threats against five producers of missiles, planes, and spacecraft prevents what would have been an inexcusable disruption of vital national programs. A settlement pattern had been provided in the noninflationary agreement negotiated last week by the Douglas Aircraft Co. and the two unions involved in the present conflict. The other manufacturers' refusal to go along with the Douglas clauses on union and job security were the bars to full peace.

Gratifying as is the administration's success in postponing the showdown, the entire incident focuses sharp new attention on the need for improved legal machinery to deal with emergency labor disputes. The President has again felt obliged to improvise a formula outside the one prescribed by the Taft-Hartley Act. In the transportation field, where some labor relations are under the Railway Labor Act and others under Taft-Hartley, the improvisation method has been working spottily. Secretary of Labor Goldberg is embroiled in intraunion and interunion politics in his efforts to unravel the row between the flight engineers and the airline pilots. The railroads and east coast docks face new crises.

The White House has indicated for more than a year that it intended to transmit to Congress recommendations for a more flexible approach to the settlement of emergency disputes. It has had for nearly 3 months the ideas on this subject of the President's Advisory Council on Labor-Management Policy. The time to get measured congressional consideration of any program probably has passed. But the worst time is to wait until a major breakdown in a key industry necessitates panicky action on Capitol Hill. If employers and unions are to respect the Government's role in protecting the national interest it ought to have a solid underpinning in law.

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[From the Washington Post, July 24, 1962]

EMERGENCY STRIKE FORMULA

President Kennedy has inaugurated a new technique in dealing with strike threats that might cause a national emergency. Instead of invoking the Taft-Hardley Act, the President requested a 60-day delay in the walkouts scheduled for Monday by the employees of several producers of missiles, planes, and spacecraft. Both the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists responded in a spirit of accommodation and proper regard for the national interest. During the 60-day period a three-man Presidential board will try to settle the disputes, by mediation if possible and by making findings and recommenations if necessary.

In some respects the special Presidential board will have an advantage over any fact-finding board that might have been named under the Taft-Hartley Act. The law specifically denies Taft-Hartley boards authority to make recommendations. Conse-

quently, Taft-Hartley factfinders may be handicapped in bringing about a settlement. They cannot focus public opinion on fair terms that ought to be accepted in the public interest. By contrast, the Presidential board in the present disputes is specifically authorized to hold hearings and to make findings and recommendations for a settlement.

The weakness of the new technique, of course, lies in the fact that it is wholly voluntary. It will break down any time a union may refuse to cooperate by postponing a schedule strike, and the President then would have no alternative to falling back upon Taft-Hartley. President Truman discovered, when he seized the steel mills to end a walkout that was threatening the national safety, that the White House cannot improvise to the point of using force in preference to using law already on the books.

The need for additional law in this field is clear and unmistakable, and it is not minimized by the union's wise compliance with the President's current requests. Probably it is too late for any comprehensive bill to be passed by the present Congress, but recommendations ought to be forthcoming on the basis of the report of the President's Advisory Council on Labor-Management Policy a few months ago. It is an area in which strong leadership from the White House will be needed.

## Letter of Appreciation From a Katu Tribesman of South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, all too often we hear of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of our Government's efforts to assist the underprivileged in foreign countries and little or no mention is made of the efforts of our private citizens and their organizations in this same endeavor. The Pearl City Peninsula Chapel, Pearl City, Hawaii, under the leadership of its pastor, Harold L. Fickett, for example, applied the May 27 offerings of its congregation toward the purchase of foodstuff and gathered articles of clothing which, with the cooperation of the First Baptist Church of Pearl Harbor, were shipped to the members of the Katu tribe of South Vietnam.

Distribution of their gifts was made with the assistance of a U.S. Army sergeant and a missionary family in South Vietnam. The military forces of this area also aided greatly in getting the food and clothing to the people.

The members of the Pearl City Peninsula Chapel and the First Baptist Church of Pearl Harbor are to be congratulated. Their act of kindness and generosity was well received and has, in my estimation, added considerable luster to America's image in that part of the world.

A letter of appreciation written in Vietnamese by Dinh Trien, a Katu tribesman, and translated into English, is submitted herewith for all to read and reflect upon.

The letter follows:

(Written at Phu Hoa, June 4, 1962)

First of all, I offer thanks to God because He has mercifully considered my family, and saved us from our misery, and we became the first fruits of the Katu village of O-Ray.

I wish to represent all the Katu tribespeople in the districts of Tring-Mang, Ha-Mang, and O-Ray. Our hearts are sincerely thanking God because He blesses all His servants, and therefore love comes to our people, and we want to thank the church there because we have received all those relief goods—each kind—food and clothes. We can see clearly that the church and the missionaries alike are very good to us, and their hearts are rich in love and generous in their help to us.

Because of this, today we can join hands with all of you in the blood of Jesus Christ. All of us Katu thank God, thank the church, thank the missionaries because you have been considerate in supplying these needs at a time when there is so much hunger and need of clothes. We are all very moved by it all, and the thought comes to our hearts that we must continue to trust the Lord.

I beg you all there in the church, children of God, please remember our Katu tribe and pray for us, because my relatives and all of our neighboring villages have not yet received Christ as Saviour. We want you to pray—all of you, that the Holy Spirit will work in this place.

I am pleased to represent my people in sending this letter to you in your church. May God's blessings be upon you, God's children.

DINH TRIEN.

## Federal Retirees Need Annuity Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS J. LANE IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 3987, TO INCREASE THE ANNUITIES OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 13, 1962

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, retirement income, to provide some measure of comfort, independence, and freedom from financial worry in old age, is one of the principal objectives of the American people.

Long before the United States woke up to the need for establishing a contributory system of old-age and survivors insurance, the chief inducement for young men and women to devote their working years to employment by the Federal Government was the prospect of security in old age under civil service retirement.

That attraction has lost its luster as latecoming pension plans have caught up with, and in some cases have surpassed, the average level of benefits paid to civil service annuitants.

The Federal employee pays 6½ percent of his salary as his share of supporting the civil service retirement system, which is considerably higher than the contributions of other workers to their retirement systems, but, proportionately, the Federal worker receives less security.

How did this situation come about? Through indifference to the plight of Federal annuitants and the steady erosion of their pensions by the gradual increase in the cost of necessities. The improvement in the American standard of living saw the fixed-income annuitants steadily lose ground in their efforts to make both ends meet.

Failure to increase Federal retirement benefits, to compensate for the deterioration in the purchasing power of pensions, is a breach of faith on the part of Government toward the old and faithful employees who gave the energy, skill, and pride of their best years to its service.

Unless this pension deficit is brought into balance, many qualified young people, observing the neglect of civil service annuitants, will be disinclined to invest their lives in the service of a Government that shows such little consideration for its retired employees.

This will inevitably weaken the quality and the morale of the civil servants whom we depend upon to carry out the day-to-day responsibilities and the functions of the U.S. Government. Conversely, what we accomplish for the annuitants, will help to improve the caliber and the confidence of Federal employees. Not only have the annuities of retired Federal employees been held to the same level since 1958; but have suffered a loss of 13 percent in real income since 1939.

The number of bills introduced to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act by increasing annuities, is evidence that the Congress is seriously concerned about annuitants living on "austerity budgets" because of circumstances beyond their control.

H.R. 3987 is the bill I have presented for your consideration. Its purpose is to increase the annuity of each retired employee who, on the date of this act is receiving or entitled to receive an annuity from the civil service retirement and disability fund. It will provide a 20-percent increase for each annuity under $1,500 with a 10-percent increase for the remainder of an annuity that extends beyond $1,500.

Furthermore, each annuity shall be increased whenever (1) there is a general adjustment of salaries of classified employees or of postal employees or (2) the formula for computing annuities of retiring employees generally is liberalized. Such increase in the annuity of a retired employee or member shall operate to increase the annuity of his survivors proportionately.

In return for the 6½ percent withheld from the salaries of Federal employees to finance their share of retirement benefits—they deserve more than mere subsistence checks—when their working years are past.

Civil service annuitants look to us for an increase in their pensions to meet the economic realities of 1962.

## The Space Flight of Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert J. Murrin, a native of Hazleton, Pa., a city in my congressional district, and who presently resides in Springfield, Va.,

has forwarded a poem which he has written in honor of Colonel Glenn and his historic flight into space. In a note which he sent along with his poem, Mr. Murrin stated:

I met Colonel Glenn and his family on several occasions recently. They are great.

Mr. Murrin's poem follows:

THE SPACE FLIGHT OF LT. COL. JOHN H. GLENN, JR.

(By Robert J. Murrin)

A U.S. Marine—Col. John H. Glenn
Was the one selected from American men,
To make our first orbit around the earth
And prove to the world our technical worth.

Three years of preparing—cancellations, ten,
Preceded the flight of this man of great men.
(Seven astronauts.)
There was Shepard down range, then Grissom, too,
Prior to this space shot for the Red, White and Blue.

The "countdown" was thorough with "hold" after "hold"
As he sat in the capsule so brave and so bold.
Then came the final from 10 down through 1
And America's space age had really begun.

In the interest of peace it was open and free
So that nations could witness and all could see.
Throughout the free world there were prayers sent to heaven
For the safety of this astronaut as he rode *Freedom 7*.

Three times around and many miles high,
The capsule was guided by a really great guy.
There were periods of tension and concern o'er the shield
But the courage of this man never once did yield.

Reentry—recovery—pick up and then
An historical salute to the Colonel Glenns.
To the White House—then Congress—parades, ticker-taped;
To his Ohio hometown, all aclaim was great.

There was Ann, Dave and Lyn so humble, yet proud
Of husband and father as they greeted each crowd.
There was honor and glory, both well deserved,
From the Nation this hero courageously served.

He paid tribute to his associates with dignity and delight,
For the part they all played in this wonderful flight.
He bowed before God in Solemn Prayer
And thanked the Almighty for being right there.

Yes! Our way of life was strengthened that day
As the Mercury program went "A-OK."
And so for the space flight of Col. John Glenn
Go the blessings and thanks of his countrymen.

## Fate of Fishing Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues a compelling article in the Nation testifying to the problems of the New England fishing fleet.

In 1940, imports of groundfish amounted to only 7 percent of domestic consumption. That percentage has now increased to 70 percent. It is ironical to note that while the agreements under the Reciprocal Trade Act permit the importation of groundfish with no restraint, the fishermen are prohibited by law to purchase fishing vessels overseas at a reduced cost of 55 percent. Why should our Government follow a policy which permits imports when they hurt an industry and prohibits imports when they would help the industry?

The policy of preventing the purchase of foreign-built fishing vessels was established to assist the U.S. shipbuilding industry but the high cost and competitive situation has resulted in only two or three boats being built in 12 years.

The fleet in Gloucester, Mass., is only one-fourth of its size in 1940. The shipbuilding industry does not gain but the fishing industry gets hurt. Either the fishing industry should be permitted to purchase its boats overseas, or the Nation as a whole—not the distressed fishermen—should pay the price of this national policy.

The article by William S. Ellis of the Nation under the heading of "Asleep on the Deep" follows:

PORTLAND, MAINE.—This country's one remaining link with traditional free enterprise is near the breaking point, having been subjected to an excessive strain of indifference. Not much is being done to stop the drift into oblivion of the New England commercial fishing industry. Indeed, it is now questionable whether anything can be done, short of instituting heavy Government subsidies, to save this first-born of the Nation's industries.

It is not a pleasant picture: Decaying piers and wharves, beached vessels, shuttered waterfront shops, and men who have known no provider but the sea suddenly forced to compete in a world where cod and halibut mean nothing more than words on Friday's menu. There is a grim irony in the picture, too, for consumer demand for fish has risen steadily in recent years.

If and when the industry succumbs, a significant era will have ended. Commercial fishing off the shores of northern New England was the first draft of the grand design for individual initiative in the country. It offered to those willing to accept the hardships the rare advantage of participating in a business where the basic product was free for the taking.

Profit from the industry helped finance other industries, and with the arrival of each loaded trawler at the now famous fishing ports in Maine and Massachusetts, a young and struggling America gained added strength. The waters of the North Atlantic seemed to hold an inexhaustible supply of fish. Lobsters and giant sea scallops, haddock, hake, whitefish, cusk, and mackerel—they were all there, ready to fill the nets and the traps and to satisfy the dogged determination of the individualists in the yellow slickers. In 1910, the Maine scallop industry reached a record annual production with landings totaling more than 2 million pounds, but in the years to follow the catches became increasingly smaller. It was the starfish, said the men of the fleet; the starfish were eating the scallops. And then they began to worry about possible depletion of other species.

Fear of depletion became somewhat of a phobia among many New England fishermen. Motivated in good measure by this fear was the failure to modernize the fleet, to overhaul the industry and, in general, to prepare to meet the foreign competition everyone seemed to be expecting. The competition came, all right, and from the decks of their battered wooden trawlers the men from Boston and Portland and New Bedford watched in dismay as foreign, government-subsidized fleets of gleaming steel vessels invaded the rich fishing grounds of Georges Bank, in the North Atlantic.

The cries of protest might have been louder had not most of the New England fishermen been choking on the myth that free enterprise, in the early American tradition, is self-adjustable to the times. It developed, then, that 70 percent of the fish now consumed in the United States is imported. Production, meanwhile, has declined nearly 50 percent in the past 40 years.

Down through the years, the fishing industry has become almost hopelessly entangled in a web of archaic laws, the most oppressive of which dates back to 1792. Basically, the law forbids the purchase of foreign-built fishing vessels, weighing over 5 tons, for documentation in this country.

New England fishermen, of course, are not opposed to the protection of American shipbuilding interests (they, as much as anyone, have reason to appreciate such protection, having absorbed some of the first economic shocks of the postwar recovery of Japan and the Common Market miracle), but if they are to purchase new vessels at all, it must be from foreign yards. The cost of having a modern trawler constructed in this country is prohibitive for the average New England fisherman. Builders in Holland offer 90-foot steel trawlers—fully equipped, including radar and fish scopes—for about $83,000. The same boat built here would cost a minimum of $125,000. The U.S. Government is willing to help make up a portion of the difference, but most fishermen find it impossible to meet the requirements for such aid.

An overlooked paradox in the 1792 law as it applies today is this: there are few, if any, shipbuilders in this country either prepared or willing to produce the type of vessel best suited for fishing operations in the North Atlantic. Thus, the Government is, in effect, protecting a nonexisting industry.

The harmful effect of the law is reflected in present-day scenes along the once handsome waterfront of Portland, Maine. There, creaking and squeaking as they bob about like so many splay-staved tubs in river rapids, are some of the 19 vessels in the Portland fishing fleet. One of the boats is more than 75 years old, but it is still in service, going to sea in defiance of all concepts of safety. There is no toilet on the boat (only 5 of the 19 Portland trawlers do have toilets). Sleeping quarters are crowded and pungently distinctive with a blended aroma of fish, gasoline fumes, and soggy sneakers. Shamelessly flaunting their rude good health, the rodent residents of the vessel use the galley for a gymnasium.

Recently, a magnificent Danish fishing boat came to Portland. Actually, the vessel was as much a pleasure craft as it was a working boat. For example, it was completely air conditioned and there were thick carpets in the crewmen's lounge. Portland fishermen were unabashedly envious. "When we finish our day's work, we go below and put on smoking jackets," a crewman on the boat told a crewman on one of the Portland trawlers. "When we finish work," the trawlerman replied, "we go below and put on life jackets."

Since the seaworthiness of many of the vessels in the New England fleet can be questioned, ocean marine-insurance premiums are exorbitantly high. STANLEY TUPPER, Republican Congressman from Maine and a member of the House Merchant Marine and

Fisheries Committee, has estimated that in some cases premiums for 10 years of coverage on one old trawler would involve enough money to buy a new trawler. TUPPER would like to have the Government underwrite a portion of the insurance cost. A move to have New England fishermen included in the Federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Act, making them eligible for payments on account of injury, has widespread support in the industry.

The Federal Government has been suspiciously reluctant to help the industry. Even now, while President Kennedy stresses the need for protecting certain domestic interests (glass, carpet manufacturers) from Common Market encroachments, the industry on which the economy of the country was weaned is allowed to sink in a quagmire of unconcern. Why? Simply stated, the New England fishing industry is being sacrificed—knowingly or not—in the interest of international cooperation.

The Federal Tariff Commission in 1956 recommended that the tariff on imported fish be raised as a means of aiding the domestic industry. President Eisenhower, however vetoed the measure, although 2 months earlier he had approved a similar Commission move to restrict sales of wood from Great Britain, France and Italy to this country. Eisenhower said a higher tariff on fish would be a blow to the economies of Iceland, Canada, and Norway. What he failed to add was that approval of the recommendation might have endangered the negotiations then underway to extend the treaty permitting U.S. troops to be based in fish-exporting Iceland.

And at a time when Canada was making it possible for a man to get in the fish business on a large scale, but with only a small investment, the U.S. Department of Justice was making an almost ludicrous attempt to apply the antitrust laws to Maine's lobstermen. Going back to 1947, when there was an urgent need for technological research in the industry, the Fish and Wildlife Service requested $401,000 for the commercial-fisheries studies; the House of Representatives approved the appropriation only after it had been slashed to $200,000.

While the New England fishing industry was running the Washington obstacle course, other nations were making major advances in commercial fishing. In Canada, the Government let it be known that it was prepared to finance construction of new boats and new fish-processing plants in the form of low-interest, long-term loans. Now, practically every small Canadian port has modern docking and harbor facilities provided by the Government. Lower production costs developed as a result of the Government-aid program, and Canadian fish products became available in this country at prices which domestic producers found impossible to meet. Frozen blocks of codfish from Denmark began to appear on the market in Gloucester, a situation comparable to a linoleum sale in an Isfahan bazaar.

As far as technological advances were concerned, the United States was being left far behind. Vessels of major foreign fleets have so far surpassed the rotting trawlers out of Portland and Boston that there no longer remains much hope of ever catching up. Danish fishermen, for example, have been able to double their catches within the past decade without adding one extra man to the crews; while that may not speak well for employment, it certainly illustrates the type of efficiency conceived by Government subsidy and born of modern equipment.

With the decline of traditional American fishing supremacy in the North Atlantic, there has been a corresponding increase in activity there by foreign vessels. Late last year, a fleet of 50 or more Russian trawlers arrived at fishing grounds barely 50 miles from the Cape Cod summer home of President Kennedy. They were accompanied by two mother ships which were, in effect, floating factories. The trawlers would unload their catches onto the mother ships where the fish would be cleaned by machine—24 times as fast as it is done by hand on American boats—and frozen on the spot. New England fishermen had never seen anything quite like it.

Before long, complaints were being made to the State Department, but Government officials pointed out that the Russians had a right to fish the grounds. When it was charged that the Russians were violating an internaitonal law by using small mesh nets so fine they could drag up mud, the Coast Guard said it could not board ships in international waters unless they were under American registry. Clearly, Washington had no intention of kicking up a fuss over the matter.

The Russian ships are still there, and recently a large, modern fishing vessel flying the Polish flag and carrying a Chinese crew moved into the area. It is not unlikely that the Communists have something more in mind than simply looting the Atlantic banks of fish. For example, they may be collecting information on water temperatures and thermal layers, subjects of considerable importance in submarine warfare. A newsman who flew over the Russian fleet reported seeing some of the trawlers with decks conspiciously free of nets. Even so, the Russians continue to outfish us, just as the Canadians and Icelanders continue to outprice us.

The Soviet trawlers off Cape Cod have an average length of 170 feet as compared to the 138-foot *Flying Cloud*, the largest vessel in the Boston fishing fleet. The larger factory ships have many of the pleasant features generally associated with passenger liners. Crewmen are served their meals by uniformed waiters and waitresses. Sleeping and recreational quarters are clean, spacious, and comfortable. Understandably, the average Russian crewman is quite content to stay at sea for months at a time. American fishermen are not willing to do that because, for one thing, the discomforts of working on the old New England trawlers are much too formidable to be endured over a long period of time. The seas are extremely heavy at Georges Bank much of the time and there is a constant danger of collision (the bank is on the New York-Great Britain passenger liner route). Then, too, there are the icebergs and the cruel storms known only to the North Atlantic.

The New England fisherman, therefore, stays out for, say, 7 days. If the fishing is good, he will collect perhaps $135 at the end of the trip. The pay is not exceptional, the working conditions leave much to be desired and there is every reason to believe that things will get still worse. These unpleasant facts have not been lost on the younger men who, because of family traditions, would be expected to become commercial fishermen. They are staying ashore in droves. Most New England fishermen are in their late fifties—too old to change jobs and too young to have been completely immunized against reality by memories of past glories.

## Medicare Failure Blow to J.F.K.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of July 18, 1962:

HANDWRITING ON THE WALL? MEDICARE FAILURE BLOW TO J.F.K.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy saw his true image today as he looked in the mirror of public opinion. It was a picture of waning confidence in a President whose advocacy of socialistic measures had made grassroots citizens shy away from his leadership.

The most severe blow yet dealt the Kennedy administration came when the Senate killed by a vote of 52 to 48 the social security health care plan for the aged. The Kennedy medicare plan thus is stifled, at least through this session of Congress.

Supporters of the measure were confident it would ease through the Senate, even though the House Ways and Means Committee has kept the bill locked up for more than 17 months.

When the Senate went along with the House, it meant Congress is acutely aware of public opinion, even though the administration ignores it.

The President's bill would have brought virtual socialized medicare to the United States as the first step to socializing other professional and industrial activities. The appalling experience suffered by Canadians whose physicians went on strike rather than serve under a similar plan, may have been the cue that turned the Senate tide along with public opinion against the bill.

More likely, the Congressmen—Democrats as well as Republicans—felt conscience bound to express the sentiments of their constituents. They survive in office as long as their actions reflect the majority thinking of the people who elected them.

The President, in contrast, is attuned only to the thinking of daydreaming advisers who view the country as what they think it should be, rather than what it is.

The Senate defeat of the medicare plan implies significance far deeper than a vendetta against a single measure. As one commentator said: "It also throws a psychological pall over many other key Kennedy measures."

Administration spokesmen blame the measure's defeat in large measure to intensive lobbying by insurance companies and the American Medical Association.

They fail to concede that the administration's own lobbyists, perhaps the most powerful on Capitol Hill, had exerted every pressure at their command to push the bill through the Senate.

The Senate of the United States has correctly mirrored public opinion. This country wants no part of socialism.

## Communists in Our Churches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Matt Cvetic, who for 9 years was a Communist for the FBI, has written an excellent article entitled "Communists in Our Churches," which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

Under unanimous consent I place it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

COMMUNISTS IN OUR CHURCHES

(By Matt Cvetic)

In this article, let me answer once and for all the question of whether or not there are

Communists in our churches and church organizations.

I find it difficult to understand why some of our clergy refuse to recognize the facts about Red infiltration into our church groups, when they are so blatantly evident. How any clergyman, or for that matter, any believer in God, can front for Red causes in the face of the murderous history of communism, is also something that staggers the imagination.

Both Marx and Lenin considered religion their prime enemy, therefore the prime target for destruction. "Religion," they both taught, "is an opiate for the ignorant masses—it must be destroyed."

With this destructive thesis of the Reds on religion, how can any believer in the Supreme Being blind himself to the realities of communism by joining Communist fronts, or by defending Communists in their evil conspiracy, when by so doing, he is contributing to his own murder? So-called intellectuals, especially in the fields of religion and education, would do well to learn from history, which records that in every nation which was lost to communism, most of the intellectuals, even those who were in the forefront aiding, abetting, and defending the Red cause, were murdered, thrown into political prisons, or sent to slave camps.

Are the Reds infiltrating the churches in the United States? Of course they are—and in many cases with the help of the very clergy who would be tortured and murdered if the Reds took over.

As an example of Communist church infiltration, let me recall a Red meeting which I attended in Pittsburgh, Pa., in the fall of 1949. At this meeting, Steve Nelson, a top Red agent, read a report from Joseph Stalin, the leader of international communism at that time. In this report, Stalin laid out plans for the mass murder of 20 million people in China to solidify Red control of that country. This Kremlin report, and the ensuing discussion, also outlined plans for the murder of additional thousands in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Where did the Communists plot this mass murder of millions? Was it in some deserted cellar, or some faraway secret hideout? No, the Kremlin plot was revealed in a most respectable place—the meeting room of one of the largest churches in the northside section of Pittsburgh, Pa., and with the permission and full knowledge of the pastor.

Many American clergy and church laymen are not aware that the Reds have a well worked out plan for the infiltration of our churches and church organizations.

This infiltration is planned by a secret group of high level Red agents, labeled the "Clergical Commission of the Communist Party." This Red commission is composed of Soviet agents and American Reds, posing as ministers, preachers, and priests, who have fallen away from the church and joined the Communist Party, and lay Red agents. How do I know about the existence of this Red clergical commission? I have reason to know only too well, because in 1945, while posing as a Communist for the FBI, I was a member of this Red commission. In the Pittsburgh district alone, this commission consisted of 12 well-trained Red agents. Similar Red commissions with orders to infiltrate and use the churches and church bodies exist in every section of the United States.

It might be apropos to point out that at this very moment, Red agents are well-entrenched in key positions of some of our national church bodies. There, under the cover of respectability, they are zealously carrying on their Communist work, often aided and abetted by the very churches and church groups they are plotting to destroy.

"What about Red China?" I am often asked, "If we would recognize Red China we could send over our missionaries. We can't ignore 600 million Chinese people." My answer to those who would play into the Red hands by recognizing Red China as a spiritual must, can be given by posing this question: "How many missionaries have we been permitted to send to Soviet Russia since we so foolishly recognized that godless Red government in 1933?" The answer, of course, is "None." If we recognize Red China, we may be assured that the Red tyrants will never permit us to preach our Gospel, which the Reds are sworn to destroy.

It is true the Reds in Russia permit a small percentage of the churches and synagogues to function, about 2 or 3 percent of the number in existence prior to the Red takeover in that nation. However, this small exercise of religion is permitted by the Reds in Russia solely to mislead visitors from free countries. The Reds' plot calls for the ultimate destruction of all religion, including this 2 or 3 percent, when they find it no longer necessary to permit some display of religion behind which to hide their ulterior motives.

For a more recent picture of freedom of religion Communist style, let us take a look at poor Tibet. Since the Reds have stolen this little country, the Tibetan monks have been publicly tortured and murdered or imprisoned. The Tibetan nuns have been sent into brothels for the Red soldiers, and the children of Tibet have been taught to spy on their parents, brothers and sisters, and report any spark of opposition to the Red tyrants.

If the Reds ever take over in our free nation, we may be certain that their plan for religion is the same as it is for Russia, Red China, and Tibet. I personally sat in secret Red meetings where plans for the torture and murder of the American clergy were discussed.

What is our answer to the Communists and their sympathizers? We must brook no compromise with the Reds, or with those who aid and abet them in any way. Jesus Christ sounded the warning in these words: "A man cannot serve both God and mammon." Yes, it is time that the flock calls on the Red-fronting ministers to answer for their betrayal of God, by espousing communism and Communist causes. "No man can serve two masters," adds Jesus Christ.

We must open our eyes and speak out against the godless Red tyranny. Let us rid ourselves of these "wolves in sheeps' clothing" who, while hiding behind the holy cloth and the respectability of the church, are carrying on their un-Godly and devilish work to destroy us.

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## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LORAIN, OHIO,
*June 15, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is the copy of a letter which I have sent to the Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH, chairman of the House Rules Committee, in support of the House Resolution 211.

Your efforts on behalf of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain and the wisdom in initiating the creation of a special House committee to study their plight under the Soviet Russian domination are gratifying and appreciated by Americans everywhere.

I am convinced that your efforts will be successful because the truth always prevails. And the aim of the House Resolution 211 is to reveal the truth about the captive nations to the free world.

With best wishes and continued support, I remain,

Very truly yours,

DAVID R. LIMA.

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LORAIN, OHIO,
*June 15, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I am writing you to request your support in favor of creating a Special House Committee on Captive Nations as provided for in the House Resolution 211.

In our lifetime the non-Russian nations within the U.S.S.R. and in the so-called people's democracies now under Communists have been ravished by war and tyranny. While the entire populations and territory of such non-Russian nations as Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, White Ruthenia, or the Baltic countries were under the Nazi occupation, only a fraction of Russia proper and of her population suffered comparable hardships of the war. Yet it has been widely but mistakenly assumed in the West that Russia suffered most.

For the free nations of the world the horrors of the last war ended in 1945. Yet the non-Russian nations behind the Iron Curtain are fighting even today to preserve their way of life against the destroying system forced upon them by the Russian Communists.

They are encouraged in their fight for survival by any action taken by the free people which pays tribute to their aspirations. The creation of a House Captive Nations Committee would not only provide the moral strength to continue their fight but would also supply information on conditions in these countries which is essential to the survival of our American way of life.

Very truly yours,

DAVID R. LIMA.

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Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your House Resolution 211 to be the best and the most appropriate one at the present time, in the fight against the Moscow totalitarians.

Sincerely yours,

WASYL STUBER.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

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PATERSON, N.J.,
*June 19, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Nicholas Suchenko, a Cossack by origin, lawfully admitted to and residing presently in the United States, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to establish a Special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

NICHOLAS SUCHENKO.

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JUNE 3, 1962.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building.*

DEAR SIR: Herewith we ask you to support the resolution (H. Res. 211) which would establish a permanent House Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

We are deeply disappointed in the nonpropitious attitude of the Secretary of State Mr. Rusk, with regard to Ukraine and other captive nations, calling them "a traditional part" of Russia.

We believe profoundly that such a permanent Committee on Captive Nations would serve the best source of facts and information on the plight of captive nations in Soviet Russia.

Sincerely yours,

IVAN MASIUK.

(The original petition was signed by 12 Philadelphians.)

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ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Miss Marie Gubaroff, a Cossack by origin and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to pass the Flood resolution for a Special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

MARIE GUBAROFF.

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## The Spreading Rot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of today, July 24, brings us some words of wisdom from the past.

The words from Lord Macaulay's famous letter to his friend, H. S. Randall, of New York, are still very much to the point and we have not yet had the answer.

Are his lordship's gloomy predictions being fulfilled or are we going to have the strength and the courage and dedication to stem the tide that may well engulf us in this 20th century?

The editorial follows:

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: THE SPREADING ROT

"I have long been convinced," wrote Lord Macaulay more than a hundred years ago, "that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty, or civilization, or both." He had in mind specifically American democracy, which he was sure would go under in our century if not in his own.

Macaulay is neither the first nor will he be the last to indulge in headshaking about democracy as a political system. There is a good deal of headshaking going on in this country right now. For our part, though we are congenitally skeptical of either predictions or pat historical analogies, we must confess we too sometimes wonder.

Several circumstances have thus far combined to confound Macaulay's prophecy. The most obvious is that this country has never been a pure democracy, as the fact that it is a Republic plainly announces. Popular but representative government, with the ingenious checks and balances of our own system, is a powerful deterrent to mob rule and ruin, just as it was meant to be.

Moreover, American capitalism functioning in political liberty has worked a miracle Macaulay did not foresee. It has brought an unprecedented degree of material well-being to the people generally. And not only material; it has produced a highly literate, intelligent, and civilized electorate—something never even attempted in the democracies of antiquity.

Yet, despite such bulwarks, disturbing echoes of Macaulay's forebodings can be heard plainly enough today—not least in the Congress of the United States.

What is one to make, for instance, of the proposed pension for veterans of World War I? This subsidy would total $11 billion over the years and benefit chiefly the veteran who doesn't need it. It is so cynical a grab that it is opposed by all the major veterans organizations, by the chairman of the House Veterans' Committee and by almost all Congressmen in their hearts. But the fear of offending veterans is so great in Congress that it may quite possibly be enacted.

This in microcosm is what has been happening on a vastly expanded scale. Big and little groups of people have concluded that the Federal Government is, after all, a free lunch; that the Treasury of all the people can be plundered, seemingly without end, for the presumed enrichment of this or that interest. And the thises and thats are multiplying like rabbits. Almost nobody any more goes without a subsidy.

Now the undeniable degeneration of America's political and economic institutions is not, in our view, primarily the fault of the public at large. Plenty of local governments are corrupt, but in their own communities people continue to behave responsibly, building their hospitals and churches and schools and, even more important, raising their educational sights for the sake of their children.

The trouble is that it becomes increasingly difficult to act responsibly as the Federal Government encroaches more and more on all local governments, communities, and individuals. We personally have talked with many farmers who would like to see the whole Federal subsidy-control apparatus scrapped, but as long as other farmers are taking their handouts they will take theirs too.

Strictly speaking, that is not a very admirable moral attitude, but it is understandably human in circumstances that seem beyond the individual's control. And so the rot spreads through the land until almost everybody figures, Who can stop Washington? And if it insists on pouring it out, why not get in on the gravy?

For it is the Federal Government that not only makes it possible for the rot to spread but actively and, these days, increasingly encourages it. Whether it is the White House demanding that the people submit to compulsion for yet another handout, or the Congress passing yet another boondoggle, there is only one word for it. The word is "demagogy."

And when demagogy finally combines with a general willingness to be bought, things may get beyond the power of even our powerful political and economic institutions to check. The danger today arises not from those democratic institutions but from their perversion.

The people and their institutions are resilient and capable of withstanding much abuse; as we say, they have until now defied Macaulay's words of doom, and we hope they will go right on doing so. But that is no reason for anyone, from Washington to the last subsidized farm and business and household, to be complacent about his warning:

"When a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country."

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## Military Outmaneuvered: Single Staff Chief Sneaks In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union:

MILITARY OUTMANEUVERED: SINGLE STAFF CHIEF SNEAKS IN

It has become the fashion in Washington to describe Robert S. McNamara as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Secretary of Defense in our history. This is lavish praise but in actuality it is circumscribed by the fact there have only been eight of them since the military services were merged into a single Department of Defense in 1947.

Certainly he is an able administrator. But the measure of greatness in such a crucial position must lie with the decisions which might have to be tested in a military confrontation. The curtain of censorship being drawn about the Department of Defense leaves the public with a very restricted view of what is going on.

Only through the congressional hearings on appropriations do we get the picture of

strong differences of opinion as to our readiness or the course of military preparedness. The argument over the practicability of the B–70 bomber, aired before congressional hearings, disclosed the Air Force as opposed to much of Mr. McNamara's concept of our defense posture.

Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., who recently resigned as Secretary of the Army, while giving praise to Mr. McNamara's ability, has expressed grave concern over the centralization of authority in the office of the Secretary of Defense to a point where decisions, once made by chiefs of the military as individuals, are being made by the Secretary of Defense and his staff.

Thus we have the gradual development of a single Chief of Staff, through, it might be said, the back door. It was never intended that the Reorganization Act which created the Department of Defense would turn out this way. In fact, it was thought safeguards had been set up to prevent it.

The office of the Secretary of Defense was to be a coordinating and planning organization, limited in size and scope. It has become a swollen giant that has absorbed the duties and responsibilities of decision, command, and execution.

The present administration in Washington approves of this way of doing things. The White House personal staff itself is growing swiftly and day by day shrinking the decision responsibilities of the traditional executive departments.

A President, or an administration, is not to be judged on the ability to assume or seize power, but to lead. In a republic, leadership is not a question of issuing orders but of discussions, of debate, of persuasion, and finally, of decision.

No man in the world can properly and intelligently handle the vast authority that is being assembled by the Secretary of Defense. We have too much at stake to withdraw power from the chiefs of our various military services and units, and silence their voices. We must know our military shortcomings as well as our strengths.

## Will Washington Dump the Textile Industry?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, June 25, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Herald, Rock Hill, S.C., of recent date:

WILL WASHINGTON DUMP THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY?

Senate Finance Committee hearings are scheduled this week on the administration trade bill to grant tariff-cutting power to the President.

We view that part of the bill as just another deposit in the Presidential bank of unconstitutional powers. But the other major provision of the bill, which passed in the House, is viewed as a warning that the Kennedy administration is considering a sacrifice of the domestic textile industry on the altar of one-worldism.

The bill authorizes an adjustment assistance plan for workers injured by import competition. This is Washington mealy-mouth which, translated into plain English, means the Government is going to give away textile jobs and put the workers on relief.

Passage of the bill would mean that the Chief Executive would no longer need to be concerned with injury to domestic industries. Instead, he could designate them as "expendable" for purposes of his foreign policy.

The adjustment assistance would give more generous benefits to workers out of jobs because of import competition than is given to those unemployed for other reasons. One Congressman says it will create a new class of privileged unemployed workers. If it must be done to further the self-abnegation of our once proud Nation, we feel no privilege could be too great for those denied the self-respect of gainful employment and forced onto the rolls of a superdole.

This is South Carolina's major industry that is being set up for the sacrifice. We trust our Congressmen will give good account of themselves and secure a guarantee in the statutes that textile jobs will be preserved.

It is particularly pertinent, we think, that administration trade negotiations with the European Common Market have shown weakness by the United States and strength abroad. On August 1, the Inner Six nations will raise their tariffs on American synthetic fabrics from 21 to 40 percent. American artificial-fiber fabrics will face new tariffs, raised from 16 to 40 percent.

These new tariffs were announced by the European Economic Community in retaliation against U.S. import restrictions on carpets and glass. The President said he was not able to offer anything attractive enough to the Europeans to make up for their losses in the U.S. carpet and glass market.

We would have hoped that, instead of searching for an attractive conciliatory measure, he would have given sharp warning about the depth of penetration in America of European steel and automobile sales. A Mexican standoff still seems preferable to outright capitulation.

## When Flights Are Delayed: Offer Plenty, Tell Nothing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, oftimes there is much significance to be found in humor. Art Buchwald has repeatedly satirized, with a light but incisive touch, the foibles of our civilization.

Art Buchwald has done it again in an article which appeared in the Boston Globe captioned "When Flights Are Delayed, Offer Plenty, Tell Nothing." With his flair for understatement, Mr. Buchwald begins by stating, "It happens, now that everyone is traveling by air, that planes are occasionally late." I know the depth of the preciseness of the phrase "occasionally" from reading letters of irate air travelers which pour into my office daily on the "no-go" airplane.

The Saturday Review carried a case history of an airline "no-go-no information" incident, entitled "There Will Be a Slight Delay." This magazine then published a sequel to the article composed of some of the many letters received from airline travelers, former and present. The introduction to this sequel, appropriately entitled, "There Will Be a Slight Scream of Outrage," stated:

Doubtless we twanged a public nerve, for rarely in our memory has there been such a swift outpouring of anguished personal experience.

The Review published these letters "for the benefit of the airlines and for the ultimate public good."

It is with these sentiments in mind that I commend to my colleagues the reading of Art Buchwald's column on the many woes of the air-traveling public:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, July 23, 1962]

WHEN FLIGHTS ARE DELAYED OFFER PLENTY, TELL NOTHING

(By Art Buchwald)

It happens, now that everyone is traveling by air, that planes are occasionally late. Nobody usually knows how late a plane is because airline employees are sworn to keep this information a secret. Therefore, someone can spend anywhere from a few hours to a few weeks in an airport waiting for his plane to be called.

Now no one knows this, but each airline has two sets of employees—one to take care of the passengers when everything is going all right and one to take care of the passengers when everything is going all wrong.

The second set naturally requires special training to handle such situations and are usually selected from psychological tests which show that they're masochists.

We were very fortunate to attend a class where employees were being trained to handle passengers whose plane was late. The professor was explaining the problem to the students.

"Word has just been received that flight No. 9900, which was supposed to have left New York, is 12 hours late. You must deal with the problem. What is the first thing you do?"

A student raised his hand. "I would announce over the loudspeaker that flight 9900 has been delayed 40 minutes."

"Very good," the professor said. "This will keep the passengers happy and give you a chance to think of the next thing you're going to do. What should that be?"

"When the 40 minutes are up," a student said, "I would then announce over the loudspeaker that there will be a further delay in flight 9900 and all passengers are requested to go to the coffeeshop and have a free cup of coffee on the airline."

"Correct. Now, let us suppose that a passenger comes up to the counter and wants to get some information about the delay. One of you shall play the passenger and the other the airline employee," the professor said. "Let's see how it will work."

The student playing the passenger went up to the counter. The student playing the airline attendant stood behind it.

"You're standing too close to the counter," the professor warned the airline employee. "At that proximity the passenger could swing and hit you."

The airline employee stepped back a few feet.

"Good, now go ahead."

The student passenger spoke first. "See here, I want to find out about this delay."

"No, no, no" the professor shouted to the student airline employee. "You looked up. You never should look up when a passenger first speaks to you about a delay. Pretend you're writing out baggage tags. Ignore the passenger."

The student airline employee studied a schedule.

"I beg your pardon," the student passenger said, "but could you give me some information about the delay in flight 9900?"

"What delay?"

"You know very well what delay. We've been waiting here 5 hours and no one will tell us anything."

The student airline employee said: "Would you like to have a cup of coffee, compliments of the airline?"

"I've had seven cups of coffee, two lunches, and two dinners, compliments of the airline. I bought a ticket for a flight, not a meal voucher to a coffeeshop."

"There seems to be weather trouble in New York," the airline employee said.

"You're giving out information," the professor shouted. "You're supposed to keep him in the dark."

"I'm sorry," the student employee said.

"How long do you think I'll have to wait?" the student passenger asked.

"We'll have more information for you in 40 minutes."

"That's what you said 40 minutes ago," the student passenger said.

"Snarl," cried the professor to the student employee.

The student employee snarled: "I don't fly the planes, sir. I can't be responsible for everything."

"Excellent, excellent," said the profesosr. "If you'll come back in 40 minutes, we may have more information for you. Now do you want another free cup of coffee or don't you?"

The student passenger yelled: "Drop dead."

The professor said to the airline employee: "Very good. I think you could have been a little more surly at the end, but that will come with practice. Now let's all go down to the gymnasium and practice defending ourselves in case the passenger loses his temper completely."

## When Is President Kennedy Going To Do Something To Drive Communist Tyranny Out of Cuba?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, this is a question that is worrying more and more Americans everywhere, since each additional day Castro and his Communist henchmen reign unchecked in Cuba gives the world Communist movement that much more time to zero in on its ultimate target only 90 miles away, the great bastion of freedom, the United States of America.

Many of our citizens have spoken out on this matter. Among them is one of the most outstanding public-minded and world-minded citizens of the city of Indianapolis which I represent, Mr. Preston G. Woolf. Mr. Woolf has been writing a series of articles called "Crisis in Latin America," for the Indianapolis Star.

In the ninth of these articles Mr. Woolf strikes at the heart of the issue when he points out that the Alliance for Progress is too slow. He states:

> Indulging in the Alliance for Progress is compared with a person who redecorates his living room, while his roof is burning.

Clearly, Mr. Woolf does not have the ostrichlike approach to the vital matter of our national security that is betrayed by those who speak glibly in terms of long-range panaceas but who would not face up to the desperate danger immediately at hand.

Mr. Speaker, following is the full text of the article by Mr. Preston G. Woolf in the Indianapolis Sunday Star of June 24, 1962:

ALLIANCE TOO SLOW: POLICY ON CUBA WORRIES PUBLIC

(By Preston G. Woolf)

An aroused American public is becoming increasingly aware that all is not going well south of the border. A strong base of operations for international communism has been founded on the southern doorstep of the United States.

There is being established a Cuban Soviet Socialistic Republic only 15 minutes from Miami by jetplane. Here our enemies are building a base from which to launch their ideological offensive and a strong armed fortress for a future military eventuality.

In 2 short years they have built the second strongest military power in the hemisphere. A very real possibility exists that as many as 10 more Castro-type governments could be formed during the sixties. Before 1970 we could witness a Latin American Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The American public is concernd that in official pronouncements on foreign policy Washington seldom mentions Cuba, thus creating the belief that the close proximity of the Communists is calmly tolerated.

We are aware that the Alliance for Progress aims at the long-range needs of improving conditions in Latin America. Few dispute its virtues. But we do not have time on our side to see the accomplishment of these goals.

Previous articles in this series have discussed the various problems of agrarian reform, eradication of illiteracy, tax reform, and economic improvement.

All of these programs require generations to accomplish. In the meantime the Communists are making rapid gains and could take over nation after nation before the Alliance starts to show tangible results.

Now, 2 years after the Alliance program commenced, we know that far from good cooperation exists. We know that we are committed to $2 billion a year and some recipients wish far more. So, it appears that the maximum expectation of results will not be sufficient to curtail the growth of Communist power in country after country throughout Latin America.

For these reasons the forgotten American public wishes to see a more realistic program to solve some of the hemispheric problems.

Many millions of thoughtful citizens throughout Latin America and within the United States soberly believe that the only way to stop the threat of Communist takeover in the Americas is to remove the Reds from their new base of operations in Cuba.

Indulging in the Alliance for Progress is compared with a person who redecorates his living room, while his roof is burning. Latin America can be lost while we follow a slow process of seeking very long range reforms.

During the early 1960's, the Reds actively pursue their goal of the conquest of the Americas, while we are pumping out aid dollars to our neighbors, many of whom are not willing to make a collective vote against those seeking their own defeat.

While this travesty continues, Washington seems to have been hypnotized by the intellectual theory of nonintervention, while the deadliest enemy this Republic has ever known plots for our downfall from just over the horizon from Key West, Fla.

We delude ourselves when we think that the United States can avoid some involvement in the internal affairs of many other nations, whether this is called intervention, interference, participation, cooperation, or other titles.

The question which our American public is anxious to answer is whether we wish to have peace at any price, or if we find it intolerable to have a growing Communist Peoples Republic at our doorstep?

If Cuba is to be freed, we will have to take the initiative. The chances of many of the left-of-center Latin nations even voting for action against Cuba is slim.

On the other hand there are many stanch and true small Latin nations that favor intervention. They feel it unwise to take the lead, because, if the United States should choose not to back them up, they would then have committed hara-kiri.

The same situation applies to many responsible individuals in Latin America.

A growing number of people recognize the eventual decision concerning what to do about Cuba is inevitable. They know that it is not easy and can be dangerous, but they believe that the alternative can be far worse. If Washington determines to come to grips with the question it can depend upon widespread public support.

America has been proud and strong. It is far less fearful of Khrushchev's rantings and threats than it is of what our future and our children's future will be if we permit our country to become an island in a Communist hemisphere.

Some 60 years ago Cuba was in the hands of tyrants. The threat to the United States was far less than today. At that time our parents and grandparents asserted their beliefs and principles in their support of the policies of President William McKinley to take all necessary action to free Cuba.

Their lives were just as dear to them as are ours today. I believe that today's generations hold their love for freedom just as high.

## Irish Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 15, 1962, Irish Day was observed in Wyoming Valley with a turnout of some 10,000 who enjoyed the program held at Sans Souci Park, near Wilkes-Barre. As I was convalescing from an operation, I could not attend. It was the first Irish Day program I had missed in many years. The principal address was delivered by Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian in my congressional district and native of Pittston. On Wednesday, July 18, the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader published Mr. McCarthy's fine address on its editorial page and as part of my remarks today I include the aforementioned speech:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, July 18, 1962]

IRISH IN COMMUNITY AND COUNTRY

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

(The accompanying article is an extract from an address Charles A. McCarthy, Pittston native and historian, delivered at Irish Day at Sans Souci Park on Sunday. Mr. McCarthy is a past president of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick of Greater Pittston and currently is president of the

Pennsylvania Society of Washington, D.C., where he is employed by the Government.)

Today is Irish Day at this fine amusement park in which we are gathered—nor is the occasion limited to the confines of Wyoming Valley. It is Irish Day throughout the length and breadth of this glorious land of ours because this is the one country in the world where freedom has always flourished. Freedom is a cornerstone of life of an Irishman and his descendants, so I feel at ease in declaring this to be Irish Day.

On an occasion such as this, there would be much to talk about on a variety of subjects. However, I think—and I'm certain you will agree—it is proper on this occasion for me to say something about the Irish—and their descendants—down to some of us who are fourth and fifth generation at least.

Oh, yes, the Irish were here early in their quest for freedom. One has only to go to the Wyoming Monument and scan the listing of names of those who fell in the battle and subsequent massacre—184 years ago—to have that verified.

Not far from where we meet today, in Hanover Township, lived Captain McKarrigan, a name not likely to be mistaken, who fell before the onslaught of the British, Tories, and Indians, while landing his company on that fateful day of July 3, 1778.

Thomas Neill, the highly respected Irish schoolteacher, of whom Charles Miner, the historian, spoke in glowing terms, was on the field of battle at Wyoming. Recorded as one of the most scholarly men of the valley at that period, he gave his life's blood in opposition to "Red Coat" rule.

The Irish names are on the roster rolls at Wyoming. I might add a sidelight—there is a C. McCartee listed. Because of the illiteracy prevalent at that time, this might be Charles McCarthy.

Students of history are aware that when troops marched out from Forty Fort to do battle with the invading horde, they marched to the tune of "Saint Patrick's Day in the Morning," as played by company fifers and drummers. Charles Miner and William Brewster, both outstanding historians of the Wyoming Valley, attest to this.

When President Abraham Lincoln sent out a call for troops to protect the Union, one of the first units to leave Luzerne County, was the Emmett Guards of Pittston—every man an Irishman or the son of an Irishman.

It was the 56th Regiment which opened the firing at Gettysburg, the turning point of the Civil War. In its ranks were Wyoming Valley men, including those with Irish blood coursing through their veins.

In the Spanish-American War of 1898, when the 9th Infantry Regiment of the Pennsylvania National Guard was lined up on the parade grounds at Camp Gretna—and the call came for troops to be sent out of the State to protect this country, only two companies volunteered to a man, Company H of Pittston, under the command of Captain Flannery, and Company I of Wilkes-Barre, under the command of Captain McCreery. Both companies were comprised entirely of men of Irish birth or descent and both were, prior to the reorganization of the Pennsylvania State Militia, Emmett Guard Companies, named for Robert Emmett, the Irish patriot.

John Malia, a native of the Browntown section of Pittston Township, fired the first shot in the Spanish-American War. A gunner of the U.S.S. *Nashville* cruising in the Gulf of Mexico, he was manning his gun when the order came to open fire on enemy ships. His captain spotted a Spanish merchantman, the *Buena Ventura*, and ordered the gun on that side to fire. The order was received and executed by John Malia.

By historical research, we are able to determine that the Irish were active for freedom's sake, not only here in Wyoming Valley, but throughout the entire United States from colonial times to the present. Those of us who are descendants of that noble group appreciate the contribution of the Irish to the freedom we so enjoy today.

That contribution comes not only from the accepted fact that about one-half of Washington's Army was composed of Irish. It comes particularly from the fact that the Irish largely composed the best regiments of the Army. For instance, one of the two most distinguished regiments fighting for freedom was Smallwood's Regiment, the Maryland Regiment, almost one-half of which was Irish.

The French Army fighting for American independence under the command of Count Rochambeau, which sealed the fate of Cornwallis and ended the war, was comprised largely of Irishmen. The French Army included a whole brigade of Irish troops, consisting of three regiments. Gen. Arthur Dillon, their leader, a deputy in the French National Assembly, reported:

"The Irish troops have always insisted on being the first to march toward the enemy lines."

More important for us in this country has been the attitude of the Irish toward freedom in this country. They came here to secure freedom which also produced opportunity. But freedom was first in their minds and hearts. They recognized this as the greatest asset of the new nation and they identified themselves with it.

They came and accepted the country as it was, blessing the Lord for their good fortune. They did not come to criticize nor to subvert it, nor to remake it according to their social views or to make it into an instrument to foster the ambitions of Ireland. They came to serve it and to love it.

When the Irish settled this region they displayed their practical levelheadedness by putting into perspective any discrimination with which they were compelled to contend. They suffered the worst discrimination an impoverished immigrant could suffer, that of employment. In many areas, they were met with the sign: "No Irish need apply." Any person interested in reading about the employment discrimination against the Irish settlers is advised to read James J. Corrigan's brilliant history on that phase of our economic life.

*Note*, if you will, the fullhearted acceptance of the Irish settlers and their descendants of the Constitution of the United States. No Irishman is ever neutral toward a principle. He understands that a principle demands acceptance or rejection. The Irish do not quibble about supporting the Constitution. They support the whole Constitution, not just the fifth amendment.

Furthermore, those of Irish birth or descent in these United States do not believe in any sly or covert attacks on the Constitution and our freedom under the guise of being concerned with the defense of individual traitors, leftists, or subverters.

The abiding faith of the Irish has enabled them always to prize the greatness of this country. Our country gives us freedom under God to realize our destiny with God. We are willing to defend it with our lives because it recognizes the meaning of human life. That is why the Irish living in America feel that to be loyal to God they must be loyal to the United States.

Thus we pledge our allegiance to this country; with our hearts we love it; with our faith we preserve it, the best country in the world and worthy of the best in us.

May God bless and protect it and the Irish forever.

## Spend Our Way to Prosperity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence wrote an editorial for the July 18, 1962, issue of the Washington Evening Star in which he discussed the dangerous doctrine being followed by the present administration that spending by the Federal Government, even if it produces deficits, will somehow, by some magic of its own, produce an economic utopia.

The fallacies of this doctrine were discussed in another editorial which appeared in the same issue of the Star.

Under unanimous consent, I place both editorials in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SPEND OUR WAY TO PROSPERITY? DEEPEST DEPRESSION FEARED IF UNSOUND COUNSEL PREVAILS

(By David Lawrence)

Everybody, irrespective of party or faction, wants America to enjoy an era of prosperity, but if unsound counsel prevails at the White House and in Congress, the United States may experience in the next few years its deepest depression of this century.

A dangerous doctrine has lately been warmed up from New Deal days and has been given respectability by advisers to President Kennedy. It is that spending by the Federal Government, even if it produces deficits, will somehow, by some magic of its own, produce an economic utopia.

If spending were the solution to economic ills, then the United States should still be going through the most prosperous 45-year period in its history. The World War I spending reached a peak of nearly $20 billion in 1919. At the end of World War II, spending reached another peak—nearly $100 billion—in 1945. But the big war was over only 5 years when the Korean conflict sent Federal spending upward to around $75 billion in 1953. Instead of tapering off substantially after the Korean war, the spending during the cold war has kept on climbing, and this year is back up to around $90 billion.

The idea that mere spending of money produces prosperity is fallacious. It is the way the money is spent which counts—especially whether the funds are used in private investment for productive purposes that last beyond just a short-term period.

The key is not how much is spent, but what the money is spent for. Defense money expended on weapons does not develop a high volume of transactions that percolate through the whole economy. Private spending, on the other hand, is usually for goods that have a long-term value and that multiply the number of transactions in the business world.

A devastating rebuttal of the spending theory was made recently by Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier. He was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers from 1957 through 1960, but his advice wasn't always followed. In a speech on June 18 before the Babson Institute of Business Administration, he said in part:

"What recent history tells us about the effect of increases in Federal spending is not very favorable to the view that an economy

such as ours can spend itself into prosperity via the Federal budget.

"What this experience tells us is that, if the environment is not favorable to an increase in private spending, an increase in Federal spending, even a large increase, is a well-nigh futile exercise.

"In the first 4 months of this calendar year the cash budget of the United States ran a deficit of close to $10 billion, on a seasonally adjusted annual rate basis. In the comparable 4 months of the 1958–59 recovery the Federal cash budget showed a surplus of $4.6 billion, on an annual rate basis.

"Yet the unemployment rate has actually been somewhat higher under the recent deficit than it was under the earlier surplus. There were clouds on the economic horizon in those months of surplus in 1960, but it must be conceded that the economic sky in 1962, under very large deficits, is far from entirely clear."

Dr. Saulnier said pointedly that to those "who regard budgetary deficits as a more or less guaranteed formula for producing a brisk recovery the present cycle must be a veritable nightmare." He argued bluntly that tax reductions will not by themselves furnish a remedy. He added: "If there is a need to cut taxes in the expansion phase of a cycle, when we already have a large deficit, then there is equally a need to consider whether we are now spending too much money on programs that make no contribution whatever to our capacity for growth and to consider whether we are doing other things, entirely outside of the tax field, that are tending to suppress private investment spending.

"If this is what we are doing, and I think it is, then we cannot retrieve the situation with governmental red ink, and very few really sophisticated people will believe that we can."

This is a period of self-examination, and it is becoming clearer every day that across-the-board tax cuts or simplified tax rules on depreciation or other artificial measures will not and cannot of themselves do as much good for the economy as can a healthy reduction in unproductive expenditures for armament and an avoidance of excessive spending for social-welfare programs that the national economy at this time cannot really afford.

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THE ECONOMIC DEBATE

The gloomy prophets of doom are working mighty hard these days to prove that only a quickie (preelection) tax cut or a spurt of extra Federal (pump-priming) spending, or both, can save the country from drifting into a new recession. The economy, they suggest, presumably more in sorrow than in anger, is listless and sluggish, and unless Uncle Sam does something about it in a hurry he will have to do more about it later. Strangely enough, some of those who are viewing with alarm today were among those who were most glibly confident only last January that all sorts of new economic records would be established in 1962 and they set their sights high—perhaps too high. Their concern today is that these targets seem currently beyond reach.

There is reason, perhaps, for disappointment at this fact, but not necessarily for some of the dolefully bearish interpretations or clamorings for action in haste. The Federal Reserve Board, for example, has announced that its seasonally adjusted index of industrial output for June held unchanged (actually it was up a fraction of 1 percent) at May's record level of nearly 118 percent of the 1957 average. It was explained, though, that declines in steel and automobile production were responsible for the fact there was no significant June advance. Given less attention was the fact that auto production was down in June because of a companywide shutdown by Ford, forced by a strike in one of the company's parts plants, and that July output will move up again. New car sales in the first 10 days of July, incidentally, reached their best total for the period since 1955. As for steel, it seems worth noting that a 10.6-percent production increase in the second week of July was the best upturn of the year.

There were bearish interpretations, also, of the fact that personal incomes in June increased by only $700 million from the May annual rate of $440.4 billion—although both figures represent new record levels. Meanwhile, on the corporate side, within the past week a whole string of blue chip companies—including such as IBM, General Electric, RCA, Du Pont, Texaco, and Monsanto Chemical—have reported alltime record sales and profits for either the first half or second quarter of 1962. These hardly are recession reports, even though it may be argued with some validity that the so-called recovery rate is slowing down.

As for Federal action, however, the need has not been proved for a last-minute, vote-getting job of tax reduction and least of all for a new burst of spending. The administration has promised to submit to Congress next winter a program for constructive overhauling of the tax laws as they affect both corporations and individuals. There is plenty of room for improvement, in a way to help business and to ease the personal tax burden. It would be helpful then to seek ways for reducing Federal spending, not raising it. That would be a good time and an effective way to help the national economy.

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## "The Great Period of the Foreign Service," an Address by President John F. Kennedy to the American Foreign Service Association, May 31, 1962

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on May 21, 1962, President Kennedy addressed the members of the American Foreign Service Association in Washington, D.C., on the subject, "The Great Period of the Foreign Service."

This was the first time in history that a President of the United States has addressed the American Foreign Service Association.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk was present, as well as Under Secretaries George W. Ball and George C. McGhee. The Honorable Charles E. Bohlen, special assistant to the Secretary of State, and president of the association, presided and introduced the President to the nearly 1,000 persons who attended the meeting.

I think President Kennedy's remarks on this occasion will be of interest to persons outside the Foreign Service and I am therefore pleased to insert his address in the RECORD.

The address follows:

THE GREAT PERIOD OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

(By President John F. Kennedy)

The Foreign Service, as all of you know was formed, or at least the State Department was, on July 27, 1789, when George Washington signed the act establishing the Department of Foreign Affairs. This act provided that the Secretary should conduct the business of the Department, and I quote: "In such manner as the President of the United States shall from time to time order or instruct."

That is my mandate to involve myself in your business and I want to say that I do not think that there is any responsibility placed upon the President of the United States, even including that of Commander in Chief, which is more pressing, which is more powerful, which is more singularly held in the Executive (as opposed to so many other powers in the Constitution, which are held between Congress and the Executive) than that which is involved in foreign policy.

I know that many Foreign Service officers feel (like former marines, who believe that the old days were the best days) that the days before World War II were the golden days of the Foreign Service, that since then the Foreign Service has fallen on hard times and that there is a good deal of uncertainty about what the future may bring.

I would like to differ with that view completely. In my opinion, today, as never before, is the golden period of the Foreign Service.

In the days before the war, we dealt with a few countries and a few leaders. I remember what Ambassador Dawes said, that the job was hard on the feet and easy on the brain. Theodore Roosevelt talked about those who resided in the Foreign Service rather than working in it. We were an isolationist country, by tradition and by policy and by statute. And therefore those of you who lived in the Foreign Service led a rather isolated life, dealing with comparatively few people, uninvolved in the affairs of this country or in many ways in the affairs of the country to which you may have been accredited.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

That is all changed now. The power and influence of the United States are involved in the national life of dozens of countries that did not exist before 1945, many of which are so hard pressed.

This is the great period of the Foreign Service, much greater than any period that has gone before. And it will be so through this decade, and perhaps even more in the years to come if we are able to maintain ourselves with success.

But it places the heaviest burdens upon all of you. Instead of becoming merely experts in diplomatic history, or in current clippings from the New York Times, now you have to involve yourselves in every element of foreign life—labor, the class struggle, cultural affairs and all the rest—attempting to predict in what direction the forces will move. The ambassador has to be the master of all these things, as well as knowing his own country. Now you have to know all about the United States, every facet of its life; all the great reforms of the thirties, the forties, and the fifties. If you are going to represent the United States powerfully and with strength and with vigor. When you represent the United States today, it is not a question of being accredited to a few people whose tenure is certain, but instead, of making predictions about what will be important events, what will be the elements of power or the elements of struggle, and which way we should move. And this calls for the finest judgment.

In the Foreign Service today you have a great chance and a great opportunity. And I hope that you recognize it, and realize that on your decisions hang the well-being and the future of this country.

THE PLACE TO BE IS IN THE KITCHEN

There is a feeling, I think, in the Foreign Service that the State Department and the

Foreign Service are constantly under attack. Well, I would give two answers to that. In the first place, the questions with which you are dealing are so sophisticated and so technical that people who are not intimately involved week after week, month after month, reach judgments which are based upon emotion rather than knowledge of the real alternatives. They are bound to disagree and they are bound to focus their attacks upon the Department of State and upon the White House and upon the President of the United States. And, in addition, party division in this country, where the parties are split almost evenly, and in spite of the long tradition of bipartisanship, accentuates the criticisms to which the Department of State and the White House are subjected.

If change were easy, everybody would change. But if you did not have change, you would have revolution. I think that change is what we need in a changing world, and therefore when we embark on new policies, we drag along all the anchors of old opinions and old views. You just have to put up with it. Those who cannot stand the heat should get out of the kitchen. Every Member of Congress who subjects you to abuse is being subjected himself, every 2 years, to the possibility that his career also will come to an end. He doesn't live a charmed life. You have to remember that the hot breath is on him also, and it is on the Senate, and it is on the President, and it is on everyone who deals with great matters.

This is not an easy career to be a Foreign Service officer. It is not an easy life. The Foreign Service and the White House are bound to be in the center of every great controversy involving the security of the United States, and there is nothing you can do about it. You have to recognize that ultimately you will be subjected, as an institution, to the criticisms of the uninformed, and to attacks which are in many cases malicious and in many cases self-serving. But either you have to be able to put up with it, or you have to pick a more secluded spot.

Personally, I think the place to be is in the kitchen, and I am sure the Foreign Service officers of the United States feel the same way.

CAREER VERSUS NONCAREER

One of the other points which I know is of concern, is this question of career versus noncareer.

The pressures which come upon a President, as you know, are many. We try to do our best in picking the best man available. We have a higher percentage of ambassadorial posts occupied by career men, 68 percent, than at almost any time in this century, with the exception of a few months at the end of 1959.

My own feeling is that there is a place for the noncareer ambassador—not for political reasons, but when he happens to be the best man available. For example, Mr. Reischauer happens to have special skills in Japan; he has a knowledge of Japanese and of the history of the country, and he has a Japanese wife. I had only met Mr. Reischauer when he came to call on me to go to Japan. But his was a distinguished appointment, and to a country which has an intellectual tradition. My feeling is we should send career men, to the maximum extent possible, unless there happen to be special skills which a noncareer officer holds.

On the other hand, the career men themselves have to be of the best quality. You cannot expect any President or Secretary of State, merely to please the career officers, to send a career officer to a post if he is not the best. He should be the best. After 10 or 20 years in the Service, he should be the best, in language, in knowledge, in experience. He should be able to stand up to any competition. If we get the best we can get in the Foreign Service at the begining, every post will go to a Foreign Service officer. I am sure that all a Foreign Service officer asks is to be judged fairly, without bringing in extraneous circumstances, on this basis of judgment: Who is the best man for that post at that time, given the situation in the United States and the situation in that country? That should be the standard.

Now in some cases it will be a noncareer appointment, but in many cases, in my judgment, we will end up with the best man available, and he will be a Foreign Service officer.

Lastly, I want to say one word about the next year or so. We are in a very changing period. Our policies are changing, and should change, and we are very much dependent upon the Department of State for action, for speed, for judgment, and for ideas. I know the difficulty of attempting to clear policy and of coordinating it between the Department of State, the CIA, the Defense Department, the White House, the Expert-Import Bank, the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, and the Congress. But nevertheless, it does seem to me that in the days that are coming, we want, first, action in the sense that we should bring these matters to a head and do it with speed if we can. And still more, we need a sense of responsibility and judgment in order to get the work out—not action for action's sake. We must not become so enmeshed in our bureaucracy that four or five overburdened men make decisions which should come from the Department itself with some speed and action.

THE BEST PERIOD TO BE A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Another point, of course, is that we should have, at least at the White House, Department of State, and Secretary of State levels, evidence of dissent and controversy. We have had some new ideas in the last year in foreign policy; some new approaches have been made. We want them to come out of the State Department with more speed. What opportunities do we have to improve our policies abroad? How, for example can we make the Alliance for Progress more effective? We are waiting for you to come forward, because we want you to know that I regard the Office of the Presidency and the White House, and the Secretary of State and the Department, as part of one chain, not separate but united, and committed to the maintenance of an effective foreign policy for the United States of America.

Therefore, in the final analysis, it depends on you.

That is why I believe this is the best period to be a Foreign Service officer. That is why I believe that the best talent that we have should come into the Foreign Service, because you today—even more than any other branch of government—are in the front line in every country of the world.

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## The Ultimate Weapon Is Foresight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the President has very wisely recognized that the future security of the United States and the free world depends upon our ability to exploit to the fullest extent our capabilities in outer space.

In the past the United States has had time, through trial and error, to develop new weapons systems. In the world in which we live today, however, we cannot afford any delay in our technological advance and the development of weapons systems designed to meet any threat to our security.

Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, has said that to prevent a fatal technological surprise in the 1970's our military preparations must include capabilities in space. I think it is indeed fortunate that we have such a man with the military experience, sound judgment, foresight, and dynamic personality to lead our Air Force in these critical and uncertain times. General LeMay is more than a great military leader. He is a military statesman.

The Air Force magazine for May 1962, carried an article by General LeMay entitled "The Ultimate Weapon Is Foresight." I wish that every American could have the opportunity to read this article. The message it carries is vital to our national security.

Believing that my colleagues will find the article as interesting and thought provoking as I did, I request that it be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD under permission previously granted:

THE ULTIMATE WEAPON IS FORESIGHT

(By Gen. Curtis E. LeMay)

(Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, is probably the world's most noted airman. Prior to his present assignment, he served as Vice Chief of Staff and as commander of the Strategic Air Command. A native of Columbus, Ohio, his service career dates back to 1929, when he completed flight training after receiving his B.S. in engineering from Ohio State University. The above article is a slightly condensed version of an address by the general at Assumption College, Worcester, Mass., March 28.)

The military point of view is a figure of speech often used to describe something that really doesn't exist in our country. The views of our military men differ just as much as do the views of Congressmen from different districts, or clergymen of different faiths, or scientists of different backgrounds.

Like other responsible citizens, most military men try to study problems objectively and judge proposals honestly. But we use different background experience in the solution of our problems. We appreciate problems differently because of this difference in experience. And we don't always agree. So it seems to me wrong to suppose that some kind of thought control produces only one military viewpoint on our problems. There is no such thing in our country. There are many military viewpoints.

What follows is, from my point of view as a military man. In our world that has witnessed great changes in the last few years, a military point of view must consider space as a new factor in our foreign affairs. I should therefore like to * * * discuss this new factor that will influence greatly our country's future. And I am going to describe my ideas that seem valid from my background in aviation and my experience with military problems.

The field of knowledge that is producing our capabilities in space today has its origin in the development of aviation. And the problems of space development are much the same as problems that confronted the growth of aviation. But our world has changed swiftly since World War II, and it is changing swiftly today. Now, we can no longer take long years to recognize coming problems and more long years to theorize about their solution as we did with airpower in the 1920's and 1930's. In today's world we have a hostile competitor for the solution

of every problem—political, technical, and strategic. On the outcome of this competition depends our military security and our leadership of the free world.

Let me give you an example of the way we were slow to recognize coming problems * * *. Almost half a century ago Dr. Robert Goddard proved the validity of rocket propulsion principles in a vacuum. These are the principles applied today to launch intercontinental missiles, satellites into orbit, and interplanetary probes. They will be applied to launch our lunar expedition and return it to earth. They will probably be applied to control maneuverable vehicles in space some day.

But it took a long time for us to recognize the importance of Goddard's work, even though he continued this work until 1945. In 1929 he demonstrated the first successful liquid-fueled rocket flight at Auburn, Mass.

Many times during these years Dr. Goddard successfully demonstrated rocket-engine performance, and technical reports on his work were widely published by the Smithsonian Institution.

But it was after that, in 1936, that a representative of the Army Air Corps visited Goddard to assess officially the military value of his work. He reported that there was little military value in it, but that rockets would appear useful to drive turbines. And we did little to exploit Goddard's work until after World War II. We can't afford to make that kind of mistake today.

We were not only slow to recognize the value of Goddard's work, we were also slow to see that it was part of a growing problem.

Goddard's work was recognized in Germany and Russia as early as 1920. By 1923 a technical study of the rocket in a space environment was published in Germany. By 1929 the first of nine volumes of an encyclopedia on space travel was published in the Soviet Union. In 1930 the German Army, after reviewing the work of Goddard and others, decided to establish a rocket program and to equip an artillery proving ground to develop military missiles. In 1934 the first Soviet liquid-propellant rocket was successfully fired.

In 1937 the German Army and Air Force opened the rocket research station at Peenemünde on the Baltic Sea. This is where they developed the V–1 and V–2 missiles of World War II. Those missiles lacked only nuclear warheads to make them effective strategic weapons. Also in 1937, the Soviet Union established rocket test centers at Kazan, Moscow, and Leningrad. And after the war, they captured and put to work in the Soviet Union a number of German personnel and missiles from the German arsenal at Peenemünde.

The strategic problem of intercontinental missiles and space operations was impending when Germany and the Soviet Union decided to pursue the development of Goddard's knowledge. We might even say that the conditions for the strategic missile problem were established when Goddard acquired his knowledge of rocket propulsion. After all, in our society we cannot keep men's minds under lock and key. Goddard's knowledge would be gained by those who wanted it. We cannot control what men will do with their knowledge. And problems arise not only from what men do with their knowledge; they also arise from what men fail to do.

I suppose World War II is one classic example of the kind of problem that can arise from what men fail to do. For a long time, we failed to stop Hitler at any point in his continual march of aggression. And finally he brought much of the world to ruin.

There were many reasons why no nation tried to stop Hitler before his march into Poland. And I don't wish to oversimplify the reasons. But one important reason was that no nation, or alliance of nations, outside of Germany had strategic capabilities in being that were clearly superior to the Germans.

The weapons of all major powers were much alike—and the Germans might have been a little better during the 1930's. No nation had the advantage of a breakthrough in new weapons and none held great quantities of arms, but Germany had the greatest quantity. No other nation wanted the burden of a large military establishment, but Germany developed one.

I think we could have obtained enough strategic advantage from the development of our technology to deter Hitler without large standing armies. Let me give you an example. In 1922 our National Bureau of Standards published one of the first studies of the jet-propulsion engine. Stanford Moss at General Electric had already developed the supercharger. This supercharger turbine technology was the essential basis for the design of a turbojet engine. Eight years later in 1930, Frank Whittle, a British Air Force officer, obtained British patents for turbojet engines. And so the stage was set for the American or British development of the jet engine. But it was the Germans who were the first to fly a jet airplane. They did it in 1939. It was several years later, during the war, that the British and we began to build jet airplanes. In the meantime, the Germans had them in operational squadrons.

We probably could have had them before Hitler. And if we had had them, Hitler would have had to reckon with their superior performance even if he did have a large air force.

Another example. After Marconi invented the radio he reported in 1922 that radar could be developed, and he described how it would work. It wasn't until 13 years later that the development of radar was seriously considered in Britain. In the meantime, we had made some important observations and studies of radar in our own country. Again the stage was set. And when radar was finally developed, it was a real breakthrough that gave the British the margin they needed to win the battle of Britain in 1940 But we could have had radar much sooner and Hitler would have had to reckon with this too.

Of course this kind of strategic anticipation and development would have been called an arms race. But we might have deterred Hitler at least long enough for the rest of the world to organize its opposition to him. It would have been a struggle between laboratories and learning and men's minds instead of a ruinous war. We didn't make the choice for the development of arms in the 1930's and we probably could not have done so in the political climate of those years.

The choice between what our societies will do and what they will not do is always a political choice. And the process of choosing often takes years longer than the action itself after the choice has been made.

Twenty years after the Germans had bombed London from zeppelins and night-bomber aircraft in World War I, we had only 13 B–17's. Later the B–17 was the mainstay of our bomber force in Europe in World War II.

Two years after we had 13 B–17's that flew 140 miles an hour, the Germans flew the first jet aircraft. We could have had B–17's years earlier than that, and we tried to get them. But we spent those years in making a choice. Part of making the choice was listening to argument.

We heard arguments that Army bombers should not be designed to fly farther than 300 miles from our shoreline. And this argument came 17 years after the old, early Army bombers under General Mitchell had sunk the captured German battleship *Ostfriesland*, the light cruiser *Frankfort*, and the destroyer *G–102*. And later, we sank the obsolete battleships *Alabama*, *Virginia*, and *New Jersey*. But still the argument was that bombers weren't supposed to fly more than 300 miles from our shores. Those years of choice were the years when bombs were falling regularly on Chinese cities and, in Spain, on Barcelona.

Most of us think of Lindbergh's flight from New York to Paris as the event that dramatized the new era of aviation. And yet, 10 years after Lindbergh's flight, Pan American and Imperial Airways survey flights across the North Atlantic were the 11th and 12th successful nonstop transatlantic flights completed out of 85 attempts made up to that time. So we didn't develop aviation very rapidly after Lindbergh's flight.

We had to choose many times between what we would do and what we would not do in aviation. And there were all kinds of arguments about each choice. An aeronautical authority of his day said that airplanes would never fly faster than 440 miles per hour. There were other arguments that there was a maximum size and weight for airplanes and therefore a maximum range that airplanes could attain. Later there were arguments about the sound barrier—we could never fly faster than sound. And there was the argument about the heat barrier. All these arguments turned out to be wrong. But they prolonged the time it took to make our choice. But the political choice between things we would do and things we would not do was determined by much more than these technical arguments. There were economic arguments—and there were philosophical arguments.

In the 1920's and 1930's when we were developing aviation we had also pursued a policy of disarmament—mainly naval disarmament. The public attitude was to support a policy of isolationism if possible and neutrality at most. The popular idea that our country should never become involved in what we called Europe's wars was a very powerful idea. And it certainly influenced the political choice between the development and deferment of new weapons.

Now we face the problem of choosing what we should do and what we should not do about the development of military capabilities in space. And there is technical argument, economic argument, and philosophical argument about our political choice.

The popular ideas accepted by the public today will probably influence the political way we choose our capabilities in space. The powerful ideas of today are not the neutrality and isolationism ideas of the 1920's and 1930's. The powerful ideas of today are new and peculiar to our time.

Not too many years ago, for example, the public was accustomed to the idea that the Defense Department would provide for our external security. The job of keeping America secure was the military's, under the direction of the President, and with appropriations voted by the Congress.

Today a new phenomenon has tended to disassociate this public image of security from the Defense Department. This phenomenon fogs the vision. It outmodes classical ways to deal with security problems. And it confuses our efforts to develop a workable national military strategy.

This phenomenon is a condition in which many people question whether security will in fact be provided by the Armed Forces if they are called on to perform.

Historically, the Armed Forces provide security by protecting lives and property from enemy forces. If the man on the street comes to believe that this type of protection will involve the destruction of the persons being protected as well as the aggressor, then to him, obviously, the cure has become as painful as the disease.

To a person who believes this, military action no longer promises the security traditionally sought from military forces.

It makes little or no difference that this image of modern war may not be valid. If it exists at all—and very few will question that it exists—then it serves to divorce security from military forces in the public mind.

This is the subject I want to deal with at this point. I feel this is vital background not only to the solution of modern military problems in space but to many other problems as well.

An ancient Greek once wrote that the art of war is, in the last resort, the art of keeping one's freedom of action. This thought has stood up through the ages and is pertinent here.

When all is said and done, we maintain military forces to give us freedom to exercise national power. Some of our new strategic literature tells us that our present posture gives the statesman too little freedom of action, too little room to maneuver. It says that today's nuclear posture doesn't lend itself to control, that limited actions won't remain limited. And it also says that missile forces don't give enough time for decision and negotiation.

I don't subscribe a hundred percent to all these ideas. I think there are many ways that you can maintain a nuclear posture and still have freedom of action. And I am certainly not suggesting that we stop building missile and manned weapon systems—they are going to be needed for some years to come. But I do recognize this:

Each dominant war system that has emerged in this century has tended to increase the danger attached to the exercise of national power and to complicate the statesman's job. Instead of making his work easier and giving him the variety of options he desires, these new weapons have closed in steadily on his maneuver room until today he senses he has none at all.

Seapower was an ideal tool for the diplomat. War and the threat of war were far removed from his shores and there was all kinds of time for decision. This offered the diplomat lots of maneuver room.

But each succeeding war system, built on an expanding technology, has cut into the statesman's art. Large land war systems, for example, resulted in wide damage, huge costs, and they couldn't always be controlled for the purpose of national power. The First World War was a good example of how such systems could expand war beyond control.

More recently, the jet bomber came on the scene to remove land and sea barriers. It offered almost unrestricted access to an enemy's forces. It reduced the time for decision. And, with its atomic payload, it increased the scope of destruction.

Finally, today, the ICBM has severely limited the statesman's maneuver room. In a word, then, security has declined and the exercise of national power has been restricted as technology has advanced.

Faced with this kind of dilemma, the statesman has tried to increase his maneuver room by other means. This search for security, excited by arguments over nuclear weapons, has taken two main directions in the last several years. One involves nuclear disarmament. The other addresses various ways to deter nuclear war. These are the powerful ideas of our time.

Most people recoil from the idea of building military space capabilities because they see this as a further cause for instability and a needless extension of a nuclear arms race that, in their view, has already gone too far.

When you lump their arguments together with those of the very logical and calm fellow who asks why try to deter nuclear war by taking the nuclear weapon into space—since we can already do an impressive job with it from here on earth—when you get the total effect of these arguments, then you have a lot of tough opposition to military space systems. You have economic, technical, and philosophical opposition.

But there is one point which all of these ideas miss.

Their entire emphasis is on the nuclear weapon. Some of them favor nuclear disarmament or nuclear arms control. Others strive for nuclear deterrence. They all look on nuclear weapons as the last and final form of weapons that man will devise—and as weapons that will always determine the outcome of wars.

They look on space operations merely as an extension of the use of nuclear weapons.

This may not be the case at all.

Our national security in the future may depend on armaments far different from any we know today. And, believe me, they won't be ultimate weapons either.

Perhaps they will be weapons that enable us to neutralize earth-based ICBM's.

Perhaps they will be weapons that strike with the speed of light. That kind of speed makes the 15,000-mile-an-hour ICBM a relatively slow moving target.

If a new generation of space weapons can neutralize an aggressor's ICBM's, then the world will enter a new era in warfare, or in the prevention of warfare.

What I am saying is that space capabilities may bring about the technological disarmament of nuclear weapons.

Let me give you one brief example of what I am talking about: Beam-directed energy weapons may be used in space. And the energy directed by these weapons could travel across space essentially with the speed of light. This would be an invaluable characteristic for the interception of ICBM warheads and their decoys.

We've looked into the phenomena associated with this kind of weapon. We have evidence from scientific papers they have published that the Soviets are also interested. And Khrushchev himself has boasted publicly about "fantastic weapons."

Suppose the Soviets were first to develop advanced weapons of this sort and to employ them aboard maneuvering spacecraft?

If they could neutralize our ICBM's with such a system, they could change the balance of decisive power in their favor.

If they could neutralize satellites and spacecraft with such a weapon, they could prevent us from developing an equal defense against their ICBM's.

And they could even prevent us from going into space for peaceful purposes.

I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that with such a capability an enemy would have the potential to dominate the world. He would have the military superiority essential to support all forms of aggressive policies to pursue his objectives.

Never before has there been so great a need to be certain of the steps we take to guarantee our security. For centuries, successful national military strategies have been based on principles of war learned in equally as many centuries of military experience. Those lessons came hard. And they came at a great cost in lives and in gold and in national power.

When Nathan Bedford Forrest said that the secret of success in battle was "to get there first with the most men," he was recognizing principles of war that have been successful for more than 2,500 years. We ignore those lessons at our peril. Modern war is far too destructive to apply those principles exactly the way General Forrest would have applied them. Today, the desired way to apply those principles is by strategic anticipation and development. For if we are not the first with the most capability, we are very likely to be too late with too little.

In the past 15 years it has been the Soviets who have been too late with too little:

The atomic bomb canceled the advantages of Soviet capabilities for mass aggression at the end of World War II when the Soviets maintained extremely large military forces and began to build modern air forces.

The development of our effective air defenses with nuclear weapons circumvented slower Soviet efforts to develop a long-range-bomber striking force.

The rapid development of the B–47 jet bomber force in the Strategic Air Command frustrated Soviet intentions to control the aerospace in areas vital to our interests. It also countered their ability to employ their masses of men and aircraft in long wars of attrition. It forced them to build strong air defenses and, by diverting their resources, retarded the development of their strategic striking forces.

In the same manner, the rapid development of our missile-warning systems and second-generation ballistic missiles has frustrated Soviet efforts to seize a strategic advantage in this area with their ICBM's.

We have maneuvered our strategic advantage to counter the Soviets in each of these developments. But each time they have come closer to winning the contest for strategic advantage. The race for missile dominance has thus far been marked by an uncomfortably close margin and it has not been clear who enjoyed the margin. And it is a well-known fact that the Soviets now lead us in the field of booster thrust for both missile and space development.

One danger to our security will come from Soviet efforts to exploit this situation. Another and greater danger can come from our willingness to accept and perpetuate this status quo—either through fear of destabilizing this relationship, or through resigning ourselves to arguments that nothing can be done about it.

In this situation, one significant strategic requirement for both sides is to develop the capability to neutralize opposing ICBM's. But we could become preoccupied with the requirement stated this way.

We could become so preoccupied that we might overlook an equally important one—to retain forces that can control the aerospace. This includes the area from the earth's surface all the way up to and including what we now know as outer space.

Controlling the aerospace from the earth's surface on out into space is going to take modern versions of missiles and manned aircraft, and it is going to take manned and unmanned spacecraft. It would do no good to leapfrog into outer space without a simultaneous ability to control the lower aerospace.

I have said many times that I believe we should never replace tested and reliable weapons with new and unproven ones until we are sure the new one can either do a better job or a necessary job that cannot be done at all by the old systems. In short, I believe in having in-being protection along with progress.

Achieving that protection in being along with progress will require a great deal of wisdom and courage in the years immediately ahead. We will need in-being forces that can control each stratum of the aerospace. At the same time, we will have to plan for the future. The long leadtimes to develop modern weapon systems and the fact that those weapon systems could hand the developer a decisive advantage will demand that we handle our military resources with a balance far more delicate than ever before.

So when I call for the development of military space capabilities I am not forgetting that there is a simultaneous requirement to update our capabilities in the other strata of the aerospace.

Nevertheless, there is this fact of very long leadtimes between inception and a combat capability with modern weapons. This means that we have to start now on the

systems of the future. I think we can start with what we know now.

Military space capabilities will eventually be the choice made by our political process. What we should do is to expedite the process by recognizing the advantages of developing military space systems as quickly as possible.

We can be reasonably sure of one thing. Whatever we do, the Soviets already have recognized the importance of these new developments and they are moving at full speed for a decisive capability in space.

If they are successful, they can deny space to us. I don't believe it is necessary to dwell any longer on the strategic consequences of such a situation.

All of us join in hoping we will make real progress toward disarmament and true peace. While we wait for distinct signs that we are in fact making progress toward disarmament, we must continue to make adequate preparations for freeman's defense. To prevent a fatal technological surprise in the 1970's, those preparations must include capabilities in space.

## Twentieth Anniversary of the WAVES

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, on July 30, 1942, President Roosevelt signed a bill authorizing the formation of the WAVES—Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service. At the peak of World War II, 80,000 Waves were on duty carrying out a wide range of tasks including parachute rigger, gunnery instructor, communication specialist, and aerologist. During the past 20 years, over 138,000 Waves have served in the Navy. Though beginning as an emergency organization, they are now 5,500 strong, a respected and valued element of our Regular and Reserve Navy Forces. As they begin their 21st year, I am sure my colleagues join me in saluting them and wishing the Waves 20 times 20 more years of devoted service to our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, last Friday, at the U.S. Navy Training Center at Bainbridge, Md., where our Waves receive their recruit indoctrination, a class of 61 recruits completed their training and heard Under Secretary of the Navy Fay praise them "as an example for women in the whole country." He also presented the American Spirit Honor Medal to one of my constituents, Miss Lotus P. Bugbee, of Kailua, Hawaii, awarded for her leadership and devotion to duty. Miss Bugbee was also judged the honor woman of her company and during the training period was selected as the recruit petty officer of her company. We, of Hawaii, are indeed proud of Miss Bugbee for her truly outstanding achievements and wish her smooth sailing during her navy tour.

In recognition of the 20th anniversary of the WAVES, I insert, under unanimous consent, two articles in the RECORD. The first, by Mohammed Rauf, Jr., appeared in the July 21 edition of the Washington Evening Star and the other, written by William O. Foss, was published in the July issue of Our Navy magazine.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 21, 1962]

WAVES HAIL ANNIVERSARY

(By Mohammed Rauf, Jr.)

BAINBRIDGE, MD., July 21.—Twenty-two-year-old Lotus P. Bugbee's lustrous hair reached to her waist. She was very proud of it. So, no wonder she wept when, 10 weeks ago, a barber attached to the WAVE training center here clipped her tresses to regulation neck length.

But yesterday dark-eyed Lotus, of Kailu, Hawaii, was the toast of everyone at the center when she was graduated first in the latest batch of seamen-apprentice company of 61 Waves to proudly march past Under Secretary of Navy Paul B. Fay, who told them that because of them the country will be a better place.

The graduation exercises coincided with two other important events at the naval training center here.

First, the day's events were in celebration of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the WAVES.

Second, it also was the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Bainbridge Center.

OTHERS WIN HONORS

Besides Miss Bugbee, other girls who stole the show were Noreene Haprian, 24, of Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and Kay Ouimet, 19, of Napa, Calif.

Miss Bugbee not only was judged the Honor Woman in her company but also was the recipient of the American Spirit Honor Medal for leadership and devotion to duty. During training she was the recruit chief petty officer of her company.

Miss Haprian was honored for being the recruit commander, and Miss Ouimet (pronounced "we may") was honored for being the assistant recruit chief petty officer.

The girls, who now will disperse for higher training, expressed a definite view that, in spite of military training, they are not prepared to surrender any of their privileges as women.

Said Miss Bugbee: "Of course, we still expect men to open the door for us. We want to make it clear that we are ladies first and Waves afterward."

FROM GIRLS TO WOMEN

She said that 10 weeks of training at the center meant the difference for them between being girls and women.

"The drill was hard. The discipline was hard. But it knocked off a lot of our sloppiness and made better women out of us," she said.

She was seconded by Miss Haprian, who said: "This training in how to budget our time and how to lead an organized life will help us to be better wives and mothers.

"Before we came here we thought we were well groomed. But now after this training in how to be tiptop in dress and everything, do we realize how little we knew before we came here."

DRILL EXHIBITION APPLAUDED

Miss Ouimet concurred by adding that the training taught them clarity of thought and brought to them a deeper understanding of things.

The part of the ceremony which drew the most applause was an exhibition of precision marching by the drill team of the graduating class.

Led by Janet Nelson, the 40-member team wearing black aiguillettes around the left shoulder went through such as marching "to the wind," "in the squalls," and the interchange march.

With the left hand on the waist, the team would go through the "pinball march," reform and freeze—halt as if, all of a sudden, a spell had been put upon it.

The exhibition ended with all the girls standing in a row and then producing wrapped pieces of oil cloth which spelled "1942 Waves 20th anniversary 1962."

Under Secretary Fay flew for the march-past from Washington in a helicopter. It landed on the drill-ground, which is known as the grinder to the Waves.

He called them "an example for women in the whole country," and reminded them of their duty of upholding an image of dedication, in association with the defense forces of the Nation.

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[From Our Navy magazine, July 1962]

HOW WAVES SUCCEEDED IN A MAN'S NAVY

(By William O. Foss)

"History will record that the WAVES fulfilled a great purpose."

So spoke President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the second anniversary of the WAVES.

On July 30, 1962, when this elite distaff organization celebrates its 20th anniversary, the WAVES can be assured that history is well aware of the importance of womanpower in the U.S. Navy. Crystall ball guzers will tell you that seapower and womanpower will be going steady for quite some time.

You could find plenty of skeptics who heehawed when President Roosevelt signed the legislation which created the WAVES on July 30, 1942.

Skirts in a man's Navy—it'll never work. A woman's place is in the kitchen. But women didn't stay in the kitchen during World War II. Millions of American women left the comforts of their homes to become Rosie the riveter in war plants, turning out ships, planes, guns, and tanks for our Armed Forces. The took over the lathe while the men picked up the guns and went off to fight the Axis.

Even with women taking over men's jobs in the war industries, the Armed Forces still suffered from manpower shortage. Good, able-bodied soldiers and sailors, whose skills and training were needed on the fighting fronts, were being wasted in noncombatant jobs.

Once again womanpower came to the fore. The Army got its WACS and the Navy solved its manpower shortage by establishing a Women's Reserve.

To get things off to a smooth sailing, the Navy decided that its Women's Reserve should be blessed with a catchy nickname. While the Army had no trouble translating the Women's Army Corps into WACS, the Navy telescoped the words "Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service" in WAVES. The monicker has since become a tradition.

Three days after President Roosevelt signed the bill which created the WAVES, Mildred McAfee, then president of Wellesley College, was sworn in as the first Director of the Women's Reserve. Miss McAfee, who had worked on an Advisory Educational Council, planning the training of women in the Navy, was given the rank of lieutenant commander. In November 1943 she became the first woman line officer to hold the rank of captain.

With the naming of the Director and blessed with a catchy monicker, the WAVES wasted no time in moving into high gear.

Thousands of young women invaded Navy recruiting services to volunteer. After 1 year of operation, the WAVES had 27,000 officers and enlisted women, with another 10,000 women in training.

Where men once had formed the entire staff of all Navy shore establishments, women took over and ran administrative and personnel offices, handled the mail,

manned control towers on airfields, served in communications centers, restored health to the wounded in naval hospitals, packed parachutes, served as gunnery and air navigation instructors, and generally performed hundreds of jobs which the male Navy had considered to be exclusively men's jobs.

But wars are to be fought by men, and by July 30, 1943—12 months after the establishment of the Women's Reserve, the WAVES had replaced enough officers and men to man the ships of a major task force, including a battleship, 2 large aircraft carriers, 2 heavy cruisers, 4 light cruisers, and 15 destroyers.

Training schools for the female sailors sprung up at both civilian and naval activities, with Hunter College in New York becoming a Wave recruit training camp in early 1943. At one time in 1944, as many as 5,000 Waves were training at Hunter College.

Enlisted women also received their initial training as radiomen at the University of Wisconsin, as yeomen at Oklahoma A. & M., and as storekeepers at the University of Indiana.

The first women officer-candidates reported for indoctrination at the U.S. Naval Training School, Northampton, Mass., in August 1942. The following November the Navy opened up another Wave officer training school at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

In September 1944, the Congress passed a bill permitting Waves to volunteer for duty outside the continental United States. Less than 1 month later, the first Wave officers went overseas. The first large group of enlisted women marched down the gangplank of a transport in Pearl Harbor on January 6, 1945. That same month a Wave was assigned to duty in the Aleutian Islands as a weather observer.

When the Japanese signed the surrender documents on the deck of the U.S.S. *Missouri* on September 2, 1945, some 86,000 officers and enlisted Waves were on duty at 900 naval installations. They had made available 50,000 men for duty afloat or overseas and had taken over about 27,000 jobs in the greatly expanded Naval Shore Establishment.

The important contribution to the war effort of those who remain behind to man the home front is not always understood or appreciated by the men facing danger on the fighting front. Only after the present becomes history do we learn to appreciate the work of our contemporaries.

To get the true picture of the Waves' contribution in World War II, we have only to turn back the pages of history and note these important achievements:

Waves were on duty in nearly every type of shore activity including air stations, Naval hospitals, district headquarters, navy yards, and supply depots.

Waves handled about 80 percent of the work in administration and supervision of the Navy mail service for the entire fleet and the Navy's extracontinental activities.

In the Bureau of Naval Personnel, 70 percent of the Navy complement was made up of Waves.

In Radio Washington, nerve center of the Navy worldwide communication system, the Waves composed 75 percent of the personnel.

At Indian Head rocket powerplant, the Waves completely operated the rocket propellent laboratory, manned one of the two firing bays and did approximately half of the ballistic calculations.

About 13,000 Waves were in the Hospital Corps, helping the sick and wounded.

Waves performed an important part in the Navy's rehabilitation program, taking over such duties as occupational and physical therapy assistants or as instructors of the blind, deaf, and physically handicapped.

Thirty-eight ratings were opened to enlisted women.

About 30 percent of the Waves were assigned to Naval aviation. They repaired planes, packed parachutes, collected weather information, were Link trainer instructors and gunnery instructors, directed air traffic from control towers and performed many other duties in connection with aviation.

Getting supplies to the fleet and to advanced bases, paying sailors and accounting for expenditures of the Navy were the duties of some 1,000 Wave officers of the Supply Corps. Assisting in this work were several thousand enlisted women serving as storekeepers, yeomen and seamen.

The majority of Wave officers served as line officers. They held down such jobs as administrators, language specialists, radio and radar technicians, communicators, and educational services officers.

Some 390 Wave officers were medical specialists and served as laboratory technicians, dental hygienists, occupational and physical therapists, and the like.

Wave officers also served in the Medical Corps, Dental Corps and Civil Engineer Corps.

Wave officers in air activities included those who served as aerologists, assistant air transport officers and air navigation and Link celestial navigation instructor.

About 80 Wave officers were designated as Naval Air Navigators and thus became the first women officers in any U.S. military organization to perform duties as part of a military air crew. They wore the wings of the Naval Air Navigator on their uniforms. Their flights were made within the continental United States.

The Waves had done their wartime job well.

"The splendid services rendered by the WAVES in naval activities ashore, and their uncomplaining spirit of sacrifice and devotion to duty at all times, are examples of the sincerity and character of the Women's Reserve which a grateful Navy will not forget," said Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz after the war.

When V–J Day came—August 17, 1945—the WAVES stopped taking on recruits. By September 1946, the majority of those who had served their country so well had been discharged or released to inactive duty.

Because of their valuable wartime service, the Navy was unwilling to give up entirely the programs for women. Navy officials couldn't see the WAVE organization become another war surplus item, so a small number of WAVE officers and enlisted personnel were retained on active duty.

In March 1946 the Navy sponsored legislation to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Regular Navy and in the Naval Reserve. However, the OK to make the WAVES a permanent institution of the Navy was not given until June 12, 1948, when President Harry S. Truman signed the Women's Armed Services Integration Act. The act provided for women to be enlisted and appointed in the Regular as well as the Reserve components of the Navy, Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

While the manpower situation was not as critical as during World War II, the Navy found it necessary to recall to active duty a considerable number of WAVES reservists during the Korean war. There was no whimpering or complaints that "I've already served" to be heard from the called-up WAVES.

With the WAVES becoming real partners instead of an auxiliary group of the Navy, the women received career opportunities equal to those available to male enlisted and officer personnel.

Except for the normal courtesies extended to women by chivalrous men, WAVES do not receive any special favors in the service. Women are subject to the same regulations and advancement in rating as men. They have the same compensation, benefits and privileges as men and attend the same schools for training in their rating specialty.

Today there are approximately 631 WAVES officers on active duty.

Women officer candidates attend a 16-week course at the U.S. Naval Officer School (Women) Naval Station, Newport, R.I. Most of the officer candidates are college graduates, but women can apply for the program after completing 2 years of college studies. Women are commissioned as line officers or as staff officers in the Supply or Medical Service.

Enlisted women are afforded excellent opportunities to enter the officer career ranks. Not only can qualified enlisted Waves try for the regular officer programs, but they can try to—and do—win themselves a 4-year college scholarship under the highly successful Navy enlisted scientific education program.

A recent accounting by the Bureau of Naval Personnel showed that 5,760 active duty enlisted WAVES were serving in more than 20 ratings.

Another 4,000 officer and enlisted Waves serve in the Naval Reserve.

In 1960 the Navy set up a special program to recruit young women into the Naval Reserve. Those who join these Naval Reserve units attend 48 drills during the year. After a 12-month training period, they are reassigned to another Reserve unit where they perform the same duties as their male contemporaries.

Both Regular and Reserve enlisted Waves undergo their recruit training at the Recruit Training Command, Bainbridge, Md.

Women enlisting in the Regular Navy are assigned to naval activities within the United States. After 2 years they may be transferred to another activity in the States or when qualified, to oversea stations. The normal tour of duty is 18 to 24 months overseas and 3 years in the United States.

The esprit de corps of the WAVES is very high, according to Capt. Winifred Quick Collins, retiring Director of the WAVES.

Captain Collins, who first took command of the WAVES in August 1957, retires in early August when she will be relieved by Comdr. Viola B. Sanders. Miss Sanders will get captain stripes when she assumes her new duties.

A reason for the good morale in the WAVES is the high standards required for entry into the service.

"Quality attracts quality," said Captain Collins, explaining that the young girls who join the WAVES not only have high moral standards, possess charm and poise, but are also intelligent.

Since the WAVES accept for enlistment only 1 out of every 10 applicants, about 75 percent of WAVES recruits come from the top IQ levels. Ten percent of the young ladies have attended college.

Do Waves make the Navy a career?

Captain Collins, who was among the first group of women to be commissioned as women officers in the Women's Reserve in 1942, feels that many Waves intend to make the Navy a career.

Incidentally, the first enlisted woman in the U.S. Armed Forces to complete 20 years of active duty was a Wave. Chief Storekeeper Barbara Metras was transferred to the Fleet Reserve on April 20, 1962, after completing her first 20. She is married to CWO George H. Metras, U.S. Navy, retired. They reside in Mattapoisett, Mass.

The retention rate of the so-called first-termers is generally near the desirable 25-percentage figure, but many Waves succumb to love, marry and leave the service.

However, many Waves who marry sailors remain in the service until the first baby comes along.

Whenever possible, the Navy will attempt to have Navy husband-and-wife teams assigned to the same geographical area. For

example, if the husband serves in a ship home-ported in Norfolk, the Wave wife might be assigned to duty in the 5th Naval District. However, such duty assignments are made only when the principals are scheduled for regular transfers.

Waves have a reputation for being good Navy wives, said the retiring Waves Director, herself married to retired Rear Adm. Howard L. Collins. Waves who marry sailors have a thorough understanding of the duties of their husbands, and therefore adjust more easily to the hustle-bustle life of service families.

Looking into the future, WAVES Director Collins feels that the WAVES will be assigned to more important technical jobs as the Navy continues to expand and progress in the fields of electronics and space programs.

As the Navy develops new ratings to fit into the new technical schemes, personnel planners are constantly considering the possibility of employing experienced women technicians in shore billets.

While she is not agitating for new jobs, Captain Collins believes that the WAVES will be given increased responsibilities as the Navy continues to update its fighting equipment and techniques.

The success of the WAVES, from those early confused and hectic days of World War II to today's space age Navy, clearly shows that the original concept that a woman in uniform is simply to free a man for combat is outmoded.

WAVES are no longer a substitution, they are an institution.

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## Anniversary of the Settlement of Utah by the Mormons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK E. MOSS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, it was on this day 115 years ago that the first band of hardy Mormon pioneers descended into the Great Sale Lake Valley and camped on the site of what is now Salt Lake City. There were 144 men, 3 women, and 2 boys in the group, and the embryo city was laid out with solemn ceremonies and consecrated with prayers. That story has been retold many times and never fails to stir the blood of a people dedicated to religious and personal freedom.

Today, throughout Utah, the flags are flying and the people are gathering to commemorate the event with parades and pageants. From the metropolis of Salt Lake down to the smallest hamlet in the State, men, women, and children are pausing to pay tribute once again to our resolute forebears who crossed a thousand miles of dust and sagebrush and mountains to colonize a desert and found a State. It is a proud day in Utah—and a legal holiday by territorial legislature action since 1882.

But even with the trapping of Pioneer Day to help us, it is hard to recognize covered wagon Utah in the modern space age State in which we live. Utah has become the center of a booming missile industry, which has brought not only growing prosperity, but many adjustments as well.

Robert Cahn, writing in the Saturday Evening Post of April 1, 1961, characterized in a few swift lines the great change which has come to Utah. I would like to quote briefly from his opening paragraphs:

"If there is a place on this earth that nobody else wants, that's the place I am hunting for," Brigham Young asserted in the summer of 1847 as he led his hardy band of Mormons in search of a Zion where they could isolate themselves from the world and practice their unique religious and social customs. The place he found was a forbidding, arid land of rugged mountains and vast emptiness, now known as Utah.

A short time ago I stood with a Mormon friend in the foothills of the Wasatch Mountains behind Utah's capital, Salt Lake City, overlooking the panorama of the Great Salt Lake Basin.

"Brother Brigham sure wouldn't recognize the place now," my friend commented.

Where Brigham had found only desert, salt flats, and a few cottonwood trees, we saw a bustling, tree-shaded city stretching its fingers for miles into the valley below. A thin veil of industrial haze hung over the scene where nearly 500,000 people now live and work.

Today, after an arduous and sometimes violent century of evolution from religious empire to Federal territory to statehood, Utah finds itself in the midst of a new transition with the dawning of the space age. Utahans, who for years have had little to boast about except their educational system and the spectacular scenery, look on with pride and amazement as their industrially delinquent State burgeons into one of the major defense arsenals in the West. Announcement of a new missile contract causes almost as much stir at church gatherings as at union meetings. Missile plants that have sprouted along the western front of the Wasatch fatten Utah workers' wallets to the tune of $63 million a year. One out of every two Utahans employed in basic industries now works in defense or manufacturing.

A thorough and very interesting analysis of the impact of first the World War II military installations and then the missile industry on Utah is carried in the article entitled "An End to Isolation" which appeared in Challenge for February 1961. Although I do not vouch for accuracy of details, this article presents an interesting summary and I ask consent to place pertinent excerpts from the article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEFENSE AGE COMES TO UTAH: AN END TO ISOLATION
(By Frank A. Tinker)

The armaments industry has been with us since the first spears and coats of mail were fashioned. In modern society, however, this manufacturing complex has taken on intricate forms and is creating or making possible some highly unlikely communities. Many of these are totally creatures of the moment, such as the missile sites in Florida or the atomic testing grounds in Nevada and New Mexico. When the necessity for them ends, these settlements will disappear, since there was little activity in them in the past and no reason for them to continue. Few people will be affected by their going.

Other communities were well established before the economic stimulant of armaments. They were not created by the armaments industry, and they will have other reasons for continuing after the need for armaments passes or its nature alters. Their adjustment to the invasion is much more severe because they do have the philosophy, the expectancy, and the background of permanency. Furthermore, their citizens will be affected if the defense industries pull out. Whether or not this will occur in any specific case is still speculative. Of more immediate concern is the impact of such an invasion upon a settled and abiding society.

One of the most remarkable examples has occurred in Utah. Isolation and lack of industrial plants had inevitably caused many of the far-western communities to develop somewhat apart from the rest of the country. But, in addition, the peculiar history and outlook of Mormon society have tended to impart an even more insular character to the Utah valleys. The coming of an entire industry into this area might be expected to have revolutionary impact on the people's outlook.

The story of the withdrawal of the Latter Day Saints to Utah a little over a century ago is familiar. But it is less well known how thoroughly they cut themselves off from the rest of the country. It certainly has been impressed upon many travelers or would-be settlers in this socioreligious community that they were either out of place or simply unwanted, and that as recently as World War II. A schoolchild last year asked a newly arrived student if the people back East still thought Mormons wore horns and had many wives. This childish exaggeration reflected the residual attitude of proud separateness which has been common in Utah.

One of the most colorful chroniclers of Western America, Wallace Stegner, described the possible conquest of this attitude in his excellent book, "Mormon Country": "But if the tourists ever discover in numbers the back country that lies behind the loop of national parks and monuments, if they ever by any chance get up on Thousand Lake Mountain or the Aquarius Plateau, if they ever make their way to the Grandaddy Lakes Basin in the Uintahs, if the promoters ever succeed in exploiting to the full the skiing at Alta * * * the valleys of the mountains are no longer going to provide sanctuary. The Gentile (non-Mormon) world, this time as tourists instead of miners or railroadmen or cowpunchers or scientific explorers, is going to dilute Mormondom again, and from that dilution the separate and eccentric Mormon society may never emerge."

Mr. Stegner was only partly right. The skiers and tourists have indeed arrived in Utah during the past decade, but their influence has not been comparable to that of the wave of defense industries which swept over the State, nor has it lived up to his expectations.

At this point, it needs saying that Utah is only one example of a community whose character has been threatened by a defense invasion. Many other communities have had similar experiences. One of the most cherished traditions of America is its diversity; each region is proud of its own uniqueness. It is this hallowed personality, as well as the economic status quo, which is attacked by any flood of outsiders; and almost every region of the country has shown antagonism to large groups of newcomers for this reason. Utah is an extreme case only in that its history of isolation might be expected to intensify this antagonism.

Industrial Utah is made up of a single settlement lying along the western slopes of the Wasatch range, just east of the Great Salt Lake. This 75-mile-long development includes Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, and

Brigham City. In the past this has been the center of an economy supported by agriculture, metals, and transportation. The sugarbeet industry, developed and largely controlled by the Latter-day Saints Church, has provided a market for one of the major cash crops, and various vegetables are canned by large food processing companies. Kennecott's copper mines at Bingham are among the world's largest, and the United States Steel Co.'s mill at Geneva ranks first in the West. Due to its location, this valley has been a historic hub of travel and transport, particularly for railways.

SELF-SUFFICIENT COMMUNITY

Military organizations and contractors began to arrive in the Valley of the Saints shortly after World War II started. They came to take advantage of the local labor supply, to move from crowded and vulnerable coastal areas, to be nearer the metals mined and smelted in Utah, and to make use of the State's unique distribution facilities. Into the midst of this self-sufficient community were suddenly thrown five huge military bases, one of which has had the largest single payroll in the State ever since. Moreover, unlike other wartime encampments, these were adaptable to peacetime—or, at least, cold war—use. When the shooting stopped, they scarcely paused in their growth.

Hill Air Force Base has now become one of the major supply and repair centers of the Air Materiel Command, having the prime responsibility for several missiles and aircraft. The Utah General Depot at Ogden is a storage and distribution hub for Army units in the 11 Western States, and the naval supply depot at Clearfield performs much the same service for our Pacific fleet. West of Salt Lake City, the Dugway Proving Grounds is a center for testing and developing our chemical and bacteriological weapons and defenses. The Tooele Ordinance Depot restores and reconditions large quantities of military ammunition. On all of these installations, by far the largest percentage of employees are civilian residents of the area.

With the dawn of the missile age, still another large boost was given to the valley's economy. During the last 4 years, four large companies have set up plants there, and one already established corporation was awarded a major contract. Sperry-Rand arrived in 1956 to work on intricate rocket systems and is now manufacturing the Sergeant missile. Thiokol and Marquardt followed in the next year with ramjets, solid fuels, and the Matador, Falson, and Nike-Hercules weapons. The Hercules Powder Co. was awarded a large Minuteman contract in 1959, and in 1960 the Boeing Aircraft Co. arrived to start work on a new facility at Hill AFB in which it will assemble the Minuteman missile.

Because of the myriad unlisted expenditures made by these companies and defense installations, it is almost impossible to measure their complete contribution to the local economy. Some basic figures provide more than a hint, however. Utah's total income from the sale of farm products in 1959 was $166 million. A single military installation, Hill AFB, spent more than half this amount, $96 million, in wages and local requisitions. There are only 19 employers in Utah with more than 500 workers; 9 of these employers are engaged in defense work. The total nonfarm employee force is about 273,000 and 1 in 11 of these—25,000—is paid directly by the Federal Government for work on military installations. Over all, in 1959 nearly one-sixth of the State's total personal income came from defense; of the $1.6 billion earned, $250 million came from these expenditures.

This, of course, concerns mainly those persons working directly for the defense effort. It is difficult, however, to gainsay the indirect effect of defense spending. It is estimated that from 150 to 220 other citizens obtain a livelihood by furnishing services and goods to each 100 new workers in an area.

From this assumption it could be surmised that the 33,000 jobs given to Utah by the defense effort actually support a minimum of some 75,000 families—nearly a third of the State's population. But this does not take into account the number of wives who have gone to work because jobs are available, or the fact that many providers of goods and services who were already in business have expanded their operations and not given way to incoming competitors. On the other hand, the large percentage of metals and other goods produced in the State which wind up in the defense bins have not been counted either. In any case, it is clear that defense plays an inordinately important part in Utah's economic life.

ALTERED MOVEMENT

In offering employment here for outsiders, or many persons who might otherwise not have stayed in the State, this new industry has already altered the traditional movement of population. Since the State still ranks 32d in the United States in per capita income, even a small addition to income would prove critical for many persons. But there was no such trifling addition. Between 1954 and 1959 the average U.S. citizen increased his income by 33 percent; along Utah's Wasatch front this gain was more than 44 percent.

Prior to World War II, there was marked emigration from the valleys of Zion because of a high birth rate (about one-third above the national average) and insufficient local opportunities to sustain the resultant growth. With the beginning of the 1940's, however, this trend was reversed, and today there is a net inflow of young families amounting to approximately 40,000 persons over the last decade. This influx and the retention of those who reached maturity increased Utah's work force by 22 percent between 1950 and 1959. Only eight other States bettered this figure.

Probably the most noticeable effect of Utah's defense gains has been the almost complete urbanization of the population. This, in an area so vast and historically devoted to the good moral influence of agriculture, is a transformation indeed. Although the total population increased by 28 percent, 13 of Utah's 29 counties lost population during the last decade. Over three-fourths of the State's citizens now dwell in its single metropolitan strip. More than 550,000 of Utah's 880,000 people live in just 3 of the metropolitan counties. One of them, Salt Lake, has added nearly 40 percent to its rolls during this period.

Urbanization is a national trend that, in Utah, is accentuated by defense work. As far as the practical Utahan is concerned, this work is as good as any other, and he is usually happy to see it arrive, whatever the accompanying difficulties. Further, he almost desperately wants to be assured that it will not depart. One of the best ways to start an argument in this area is by remarking that these industries are temporary by their very nature and will eventually give way to other means of defense or even be eliminated by a disarmament program.

HALT IN EMIGRATION

Has the arrival of defense industries brought about great changes in the Mormon character and society? As yet, no such conclusion is warranted. For one thing, much of the growth in population resulted from a halt in emigration. In addition, the pull of this society upon its departed members is very strong. Several of the new companies found that a large percentage of their employees were former Utahans, encouraged to come home by the prospect of employment.

This is not an entirely local phenomenon. The "Okies" who fled to the milk and honey of California returned to the dusty flatlands as soon as there was an economic reason for the move. Indeed, though almost any uprooted citizen of our increasingly fluid society may go wherever there are good prospects of employment, he will go most willingly to his former home.

At present, only the structure of the community in Utah has been seriously altered by the coming of the defense dollar. Mainly, this has amounted to an increased concentration of the population, with all the attendant responsibility and difficulties being placed on the metropolitan areas and their government.

The individual, under the presumably leavening influence of new arrivals, has not shown many signs of experiencing a revolutionary change of attitude. He has certainly gained a new interest in national and international affairs, but, so far, only to the extent that they affect his pocketbook. He is most apt to consider these momentous affairs from the same provincial standpoint he cherished previously, and possibly from an even more self-centered attitude than he showed before his income became so dependent upon continued conflict. In other areas, such persons have gradually become more prone to rely on Federal programs of aid, such as that proposed now for education. Overall, the Government dollar loses some of the taint it may have had.

As yet, few communities such as that in Utah have been deserted by their generous, demanding tenant. Defense, as it is being managed today, incorporates its activities into the basic economic life of the region and is an entirely new factor. What changes it has brought seem to be confined to the mechanical operation of the host society. Whatever permanent change modern defense spending manages to effect in the individual will have to wait to be proved until that spending has ceased. At present, these alterations are superficial and quite likely to be as transient as the coin that caused them.

## Selling Public Timber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a timely editorial from the New York Times of July 21. It is entitled "Selling Public Timber":

SELLING PUBLIC TIMBER

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman has announced that more sawtimber is being logged in the national forests than in any previous period in history, and that the Forest Service has reduced appraised stumpage prices substantially in a "great effort * * *" to help timber purchasers and counteract the depressed conditions of the industry." He said the administration had asked Congress for increased funds for "forest development roads" to accelerate the harvest.

We hope the Secretary will keep in mind two facts. One is that the timber he is selling belongs to the public, and the public has a stake in the stumpage prices. The other is that the purposes for which the national forests were established are broader

than the subsidization of the timber industry.

As with every major industry, the lumber manufacturers have experienced periods of oversupply, competition, and recession, as well as prosperity. If the idea becomes fixed that it is the Forest Service's duty to come to the rescue of the industry whenever it is in trouble, it will be difficult to draw the line when the loggers demand access to vital watersheds and wilderness areas. By its opposition to the wilderness bill, which proposes to reserve only 8 percent of the total area of the national forests for the conservation of scenic and recreational resources, the industry has demonstrated it would not hesitate to demand such access.

## Where to, America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Earl Hall, pastor of the Normandale Baptist Church of Montgomery, Ala., recently delivered a sermon titled "Where to, America?" His is a timely message and one from which all of us can increase our spiritual strength:

WHERE TO, AMERICA?

(A sermon preached by Earl M. Hall to the Normandale Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., July 1, 1962)

(Nehemiah 1: 1–2: 4; text 2: 3)

INTRODUCTION

"Where to, America?" The ability to answer this question rests somewhat on a proper understanding of where we have been and where we are now. If you are going anywhere you have to start from where you are. And where you are determines the direction you have to take to get where you want to go.

I. THE HERITAGE OF OUR PAST

Where have we been? What has been in our Nation's past? The destiny of America is forever conditioned by her heritage. However bold may be the attempts of our present leaders to conquer the New Frontier, our national progress and security can only be safe as we keep a watchful eye on the landmarks of the receding past.

The Christian philosopher, Emile Caillet, has picturesquely commented: "Once the ultimate reference of our history is lost, the landscape of our reality is bound to turn into a wasteland where genuine historians yield to highly paid, popularizing newscasters. In the measure our Nation gets out of touch with its own history, it is likely to witness a transvaluation of values according to which the idols of the day, whether pros, crooners, or other entertainers are called upon to fill the void brought about by the loss of our true vision." [1]

If then, our future is forever conditioned by our past, let us ask: "What is our heritage? What is it that made America great? What is the American dream? What makes America different from other nations? What does she have to give to the rest of the world? What do our soldiers fight to preserve? What is our national purpose?"

The inability of our leadership in recent years to answer these questions intelligently, positively, and patrioticaly has led us into great confusion. We have been embarrassed on the battlefields of Korea, in Cuba, in Berlin, and now in Laos. We have made compromises at the summit-conference tables and in the halls of the United Nations which have contributed to the gains of world communism in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America. We have experienced confusion in domestic affairs as government has more and more invaded the personal, business, and State rights of its citizens.

The ability to deal wisely with domestic and foreign affairs is definitely related to a proper understanding of our national purpose. Confusion as to national purpose has marred the American image before many nations and has turned once friends into either neutrals or enemies. Such confusion has led to our retreat as a world leader and put us farther down the road to socialism.

Our national purpose, rightly understood, is rooted in a spiritual heritage. America is the only remaining nation on earth that had its begining in the determination of its Founding Fathers to establish a nation to the glory of God. Far as our present and past leadership may have departed from this purpose, yet it was in the mind of William Bradford and John Carver when they drew up the Mayflower compact just before they landed on the American shore in 1620. In it they said: "In the name of God, Amen. We, having undertaken for the glory of God and for the advancement of the Christian faith, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves into a civil body politic."

The same intent was stated in the Rhode Island compact, an example of the compacts made by the other 12 States, a few years later. "We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presense of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as He shall help will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect laws of His given us in His Holy Word of Truth, to be judged and guided thereby."

Later, when four of these Colonies drew up the New England Confederation, it began, "Whereas we all come into these parts of America with one and the same end; namely, to advance the kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity and in peace."

The Declaration of Independence was formed, signed, and issued in an appeal "to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions," and to secure for the Colonies the "Unalienable rights" by which they were "endowed by their Creator."

These documents, with the Constitution and its Bill of Rights—which set forth our national purpose and express the American dream—were the result of the religious views, and their moral implications of the Founding Fathers. This dream, this national purpose, embodies the ideals, concepts, and principles of those rights which are basic to a well-ordered society. We have often expressed them under the ideal of liberty, or freedom—the freedom to worship, to assemble, the freedom of the press, and freedom to pursue happiness. But the American dream was meant to be far more, as Thomas Jefferson expressed: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." If that be our national purpose, to seek the freedom of man from all forms of tyranny, then, we must forever be at war with communism, religious bigotry, too heavy industry, too loud and powerful labor, too much government, the chain of sin, and the bonds of unbelief.

Though we proclaim "liberty throughout the land," yet liberty was not the first love of our forefathers. Their belief in freedom flowed from their prononuced Christian faith. Our country was born believing it was a child of God, convinced that it was going somewhere for God's sake. This is the spiritual heritage of America. And in this heritage there has been left to this generation a vast reservoir of spiritual strength. But that reservoir is not fathomless. It must be constantly replenished if the spiritual soul of America is to survive as a legacy to future generations.

II. THE PRESENT DILEMMA

Then, how well are we doing in preserving this legacy for the next generations? There are abundant indications that the glorious heritage of our past has been forgotten and as a nation we are traveling the road of moral chaos and ruin after the pattern of ancient Babylon, Greece, and Rome. Jedidiah Morse, writing in 1799, warned of the danger in forgetfulness of our spiritual heritage: "Whenever the pillars of Christianity shall be overthrown, our present republican forms of government, and all the blessings which flow from them, must fall with them." [2] Billy Graham, in the closing message of his recent Chicago crusade, pointed out how America is following the path of Roman decay by trust in physical and material strength, poverty of dynamic spiritual faith, excessive taxes, high divorce rate, and preoccupation with sensuous pleasures.

This perilous danger of departing from our spiritual heritage was also expressed in 1961 by Dr. Louis Evans: "I don't know how long America will be here. As long as it is a servant of Jehovah, surely. After that it simply moves on the chessboard of history. We may have stronger guns than Russia, but we no longer have stronger goals than Russia. Not what we have in our hearts but only what we have in our hands is now our strength; and if we are overpowered there we have nothing." [3]

What indications are there that America has departed from her heritage as a child of God, and has lost her understanding that she is going somewhere for God?

For one thing, there are the inroads which have been made by atheistic and materialistic philosophy. While one-half of the world is under the tyrannical rule of men who deny God, America is beginning to feel the power of those alien forces which seek to destroy the faith which forms the foundation of individual freedom. Just this past week, June 25, 1962, the Supreme Court became an accomplice to these forces when it banned public prayer in the schoolrooms of New York State. This case was brought to the Supreme Court through the efforts of atheists and religious groups who deny our Lord Jesus Christ. These seek to remove from their children any training of any type which might be labeled spiritual. These fervent "worshippers of unbelief" apparently are unable to comprehend man as a spiritual creature and to accept the fact that this Nation was born to be a servant of God. And now, through a broad, liberal, and binding interpretation of the first amendment to our Constitution, another step has been taken to remove the name, spirit, and influence of God from public life.

This influence of atheistic and materialistic philosophy has brought about a multiplicity of other indications of "backsliding" from our spiritual heritage as a nation. Let me mention them with very little comment.

A standard of values which allows us to pay the entertainer $2 million per year and our educators $4,000.

A promotion of the sensual and immoral as seen in the movies, television, and in

[1] Emile Caillet, "America's Call As a Nation," Christianity Today, June 19, 1961, p. 7.

[2] Quoted in Christianity Today, June 19, 1961, p. 6.

[3] Op. cit., p. 8.

the literature purchased from the bookstores and magazine racks.

A floodtide of lawless terrorism as seen in the daily rising crime figures by both adults and young people.

The public apathy to the attendant evils bred by gambling, liquor, prostitution, the sale of narcotics, obscene literature, and the invasion of legitimate business by racksteers.

The creeping danger of Government control by party machines, gangsters, and self-seeking lovers of power.

The lack of concern for the assumption of citizenship responsibilities as manifested in absence from the polls on election days of nearly one-half of the qualified voters.

The misuse of freedom as seen in the waste of our natural resources; in racial strife; in the denial of the right to work; in the soft attitude of our courts to known Communist agitators; in the go-slow attitude of our Government to criticism of communism, Russia, and her leaders; in the invasion of personal and State rights by our Federal Government; and in the willingness of the general public to surrender their responsibilities to the Central Government.

The rising tide of propaganda for world government which makes a mockery of patriotism, seeks to subordinate the American flag to that of the United Nations, and hopes to surrender the future control of our Armed Forces to the United Nations.

And, the inability to put forth into Government and public life statesmen and leaders who remember and understand our heritage and are dedicated to preserve it in every corner of life.

III. THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

Now, in the light of where we have been and where we are now, I ask, "Where to, America?" Khrushchev has said he will bury us. He has predicted that the red flag will wave over America. Is this to be our destiny—enslaved and servile to a nation which denies God and vows to elevate communism over God and Russia over the world? What can stay this fate and get us back on the road of fulfilling our spiritual heritage as a "nation under God" and as a light of God's truth to all other nations?

Here I come to my text. First of all, we must be touched in the heart with the conditions as they are, with the remembrance of our glorious past, and with an understanding of God's purpose for us. That is why Nehemiah wept over the sad condition of Jerusalem. That's why he prayed to God. That's why he determined to do something about it. That's why he made request to the king. That's why he went back to the city of his fathers to rebuild its walls and restore Jerusalem as a place of service and glory to his God. He was touched by the awful conditions; he remembered the past; he had hope for the future.

Only as the spirit of Nehemiah possesses the people of America is there hope for the fulfillment of our God-intended purpose and destiny. Even now the hour is late, but not too late.

This concern to get us back on the road of our spiritual heritage will mean that we will seek to restore religious integrity in the land. We must not be afraid to be counted on God's side whether in the church, at home, in the schoolroom, in the home of friends, or at the council table with our enemies. The Bible has said: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord" (Psalm 33:12). Let us learn the lesson of Biblical history—the nation who forsakes the Lord is doomed to his judgment and punishment—and let us recapture the faith which motivated our Founding Fathers in the birth of this Nation.

Jesus said, "He who is not for me is against me, and he who gathers not with me scatters abroad" (Matthew 12: 30). Let America and her leadership begin to let the world know where they stand on all moral, economic, political, sociological, and even religious loyalties. Let us be just as stanch in our stand for right against wrong, good against bad, and truth against lies, as Martin Luther when he declared to the Diet of Worms: "Here I stand, God help me, I can do no other." And let us face the world once again in the conviction of Patrick Henry when he declared: "I know not what others may do, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." That's the kind of faith, loyalty, and integrity which will put us back on the road to our real destiny for God. And let us not forget that the bulwark of religious training is vital if the line is to be held against the forces of corruption, crime, and disloyalty. Men who are imbued with spiritual values are not disloyal. Children reared in homes where God is honored and morals are taught and lived seldom become juvenile delinquents. The appeal is simply, yet profoundly, "America, back to God." And the promise of God is: "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land" (II Chronicles 7: 14).

If America is to fulfill her destiny for God, somehow, she must restore incentive to her people. Through a combination of factors that old-fashioned American quality of personal initiative has been replaced by an easygoing attitude to work. Too much Government relief, too many subsidy programs, prostitution of unemployment compensation, misuse of power by labor unions, the abundant flow of political pottage, and the result of industrial automation have all contributed to this work lethargy which has descended over America. What a tragedy when those who would undo us are demanding longer hours and greater productivity from their people, and we are striking for a 25-hour week with 40 hours' pay, and are penalized when we produce more than the union says we can, and work without their permission.

What a tragedy when a mathematics teacher is fired for demanding exact and correct answers from his math students. "He was ruining the school's record with too many failures," it was reported. And what a tragedy when our educational system is not geared to turning out students who are acquainted with our heritage, skilled in the arts, and determined for their future—but rather seeks their adjustment to society, which by and large means that much of their individualism, personal initiative, and desire for hard work has been lost in a maze of Dewey philosophy.

When men are encouraged to stand on their toes to try for the heights, then each and all of us benefit. So then, America needs to restore incentive to her people if she is to fulfill her spiritual destiny as a nation.

And lastly, America must regain moral purity. Today's extremity, the present dilemma, ought to be our teacher—to teach us that carrying a nuclear knife is not enough to keep a nation safe. Other nations have thought so and have gone down from within. There must be an extra dimension to a nation's safety—it is the moral purity which flows from its religious faith.

Tennyson said of Galahad, "His strength was the strength of 10 because his heart was pure." We could use a Galahad at every gate in the Nation. For we not only have to be prepared any minute to fight, but to outlive, outlove, outlast the foe, and able to say when all is done—such as we were we gave ourselves outright.

CONCLUSION

A nation who knows where she has been and what she is to do can well overcome any mistakes of the present. Thus, our present plight is not hopeless. If we can rally the people back to a deep religious faith which is believed and practiced, if we can once again give ourselves to the principle of hard work, and will keep our hearts and lives pure before God, we can fulfill God's purpose as a Nation and see in reality the plea of Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address: "That this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

## A Lumber Indusry Loses a Champion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened yesterday afternoon to learn of the death of one of the outstanding citizens of the Second Congressional District of California which I am proud to represent. Mr. Arthur Bristow Hood, chairman of the board of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association and an active member of the lumber industry for more than a half century, died in San Francisco last Friday following a cancer operation.

Mr. Hood, a leading figure in the lumber industry for many years, had retired last fall as resident manager, Ralph L. Smith Lumber Co., division of Kimberly-Clark Corp., Anderson, Calif. Since his retirement, he had been serving as a consultant to the firm.

As the first chairman of the national wood promotion committee of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association, Mr. Hood was largely responsible for organizing the diverse elements of his industry into a single cohesive force.

Mr. Hood's career in the lumber industry began as a car loader in Rapid City, S. Dak. He subsequently worked his way up through yard foreman, mill superintendent, logging superintendent, and sales manager, to the post of general manager.

In 1943, the Ralph L. Smith Lumber Co. selected him to head its western operations. With the evolution of the Smith Co.'s Anderson operation, Mr. Hood was commissioned to head it and remained as resident manager after its acquisition by the Kimberly-Clark Corp., of Neenah, Wis.

Mr. Hood was a leader in the Western Pine Association since the early thirties and was a director for more than a dozen years. In 1953 he was elected vice president and in 1957, president of that association.

In 1959, Mr. Hood was unanimously elected chairman of the newly formed national wood promotion committee of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association, a post he held for 2 consecutive years.

In 1960 he was elected president of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association and the following year, chairman of the board. His other associa-

tions with NLMA have been as director, policy committee member, and a member of the Economic Council of the Lumber Industry.

He was a member of the Society of American Foresters; Forest Products Research Society; U.S. Forest Service Region Five Advisory Council; International Order of Hoo-Hoo, and Region 12 Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts of America.

Mr. Hood also held membership in the Redding, Calif., Chamber of Commerce and was a director of the natural resources committee, Sacramento council, California State Chamber of Commerce. His other directorships included the Shasta County Economic Commission the Shasta County Fair Board, and the Keep California Green Association.

Funeral Services were to be held today in Redding. All of us who have been associated with the lumber industry will long remember A. B. Hood as one of the outstanding representatives of this industry which is so vital to our Nation. His leadership and his wisdom contributed greatly to the progress of this industry. The National Lumber Manufacturers Association has printed in its bulletin a fitting memorial to this outstanding man and under unanimous consent, I include this memorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ARTHUR BRISTOW HOOD

We learned today that Bristow Hood had passed away at 4:30 a.m. Pacific daylight time at St. Francis Memorial Hospital in San Francisco following surgery for cancer.

Like all of you in the lumber industry, we could scarcely credit this sad news—but it is true.

Bristow Hood, the chairman of the board of National Lumber Manufacturers Association, who typified to all of us the man of character and integrity and wisdom and judgment each of us should like to be, is dead.

That this good man's soul has gone to its higher reward there is no doubt. The son of a minister, he lived his life in sanctity and wholesome devotion to the principles of morality he learned in a Christian home. He exemplified the true Christian gentleman, dedicating his life to service and achievement for truth, justice, accomplishment, and virtue.

Bristow Hood was the first man in the lumber industry with whom I had an opportunity to visit his plant and woods operations and to learn at first hand about the many complexities of the industry. To me he was more than a leader, he was as my father, considerate, responsive and kind beyond a normal business relationship. I have lost a friend.

Bristow Hood has breathed his last on this earth, but the breath of kindness and responsibility that he brought into the hearts of all with whom he was associated will perpetuate his life for generations to come. Throughout the length and breadth of this land are young men and women, and middle-aged men and women, to whom he gave inspiration through his lifelong devotion to religion, education, and the Boy Scouts of America.

Among those reading this brief tribute there are many who are better, more contributive humans, for having known, respected and loved this man. Each of us is the poorer for his passing.

And yet, the riches he has left us will persist. He has left us the legacy of determination and of understanding, of integrity and righteousness, of triumph in the accomplishment of good works well done.

This association is a monument to his labors. The national wood promotion program is his memorial. The tomorrows we shall know together in the lumber industry have been fashioned in many ways by his steady hand.

Bristow Hood is dead, but his memory and his character and his example of leadership in times of crisis will live with us all forever.

## Discharge Petition for Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues I have entered in the Appendix the following editorial from the July 23, 1962, Washington Post.

The events of this session provide a new opportunity to discuss and evaluate the discharge procedure. Two important measures are being promoted through discharge petitions; one concerns home rule; the second, a pension for our World War I veterans.

The discharge procedure was established to provide a safety valve against possible abuses of our generally sound committee system. The petition route was properly made difficult, requiring a constitutional majority, in order to prevent any widespread disregard for orderly committee procedures. While I would prefer a requirement of perhaps 45 percent of the membership, I think the rule is generally sound.

Whatever the merits of these two bills now on the Clerk's desk, the issue of committee responsibility is clearly quite different. A majority of the House District Committee have repeatedly refused to report bills for home rule and obviously have no intention of letting the House consider the issue. Under such conditions the discharge procedure is clearly justified.

The editorial follows:

DISCHARGE FOR HOME RULE

What kind of twisted reasoning has led more than 200 Members of the House to sign the discharge petition for the pension grab and only about 80 to sign a similar petition to release the District home-rule bill? The reason given for the reluctance of some Members to sign the home-rule petition is the existence of the other discharge measure. In trying to insulate themselves from the pension lobby they simply refuse to sign any discharge petition. But this seems to us wholly illogical. The fact is that the petition signed by nearly half the Members is in furtherance of an inexcusable raid on the Treasury. The other petition would give the House a chance to vote on a long-delayed reform that is firmly rooted in the principles of democracy and supported by both parties.

Few discharge petitions have ever come before the House with more merit on the side of the signers than the home-rule petition has. It is generally conceded that a bill giving the District of Columbia an elected local government would pass if it could ever be brought to a vote in the House. The Senate has repeatedly passed bills for this purpose in recent years. Only the reactionary opposition of the House District Committee has stood in the way. It was precisely this kind of obstructionism that the House sought to guard against when it adopted its discharge rule.

When Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER urged his colleagues to sign the home-rule petition the other day, he said that the bill which would be released is essentially civil rights legislation. Indeed, it is civil rights legislation without a racial angle, for white as well as colored citizens are disfranchised here, so far as local government is concerned. Residents of the District are simply asking for recognition of their basic rights as American citizens. Any Congressman worth his salt should be ready to stand up and be counted on this issue, whether it involves signing a discharge petition or voting for the bill on the floor.

It is not, moreover, an issue that can be dropped and forgotten. The action of the present House will stand to its credit or discredit in the November elections. Legislators of both parties who make no effort to carry out their party's campaign pledge to the people will be vulnerable to charges of insincerity and neglect. The only course that is consistent with good faith and sound political principles is to bring the bill to the floor and pass it.

## Amelia Earhart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 64th anniversary of Amelia Earhart, one of the most outstanding woman aviators of all time. Although Kansas is the legal birthplace of Miss Earhart, we in Massachusetts take great pride in the fact that Medford is her hometown. Members of the Earhart family are among Medford's most respected citizens. Amelia Earhart also spent a number of years working in Boston settlement houses and conducting English extension courses for the University of Massachusetts.

During the 1920's, few would have believed that a woman might fly the expanses of both the Atlantic and the Pacific, reach the height of 14,000 feet, or make a transcontinental nonstop flight. Yet Amelia Earhart did this and much more. She pioneered the autogiro, tested experimental planes and engines, gave hundreds of young enthusiasts their air instructions, boosted air travel with learned articles and thousands of lectures.

A commemorative stamp would be a highly appropriate memorial to Miss Earhart and to the pioneering spirit which has been instrumental in making our Nation great. The spirit, the personality, and the courage of Miss Earhart should be singled out as a model for future generations of Americans. It seems especially fitting in this age of space that we pay tribute to and renew in our national memory the courage and daring of the celebrated "Lady Lindy."

## Farm Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 12, 1962*

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the Detroit Free Press of Monday, July 23, asks a question which I think should be answered by the administration and the Secretary of Agriculture.

The question is: "Are you working on a solution, or are you part of the problem?"

The farm folly we have saddled to the backs of our taxpayers and our consumers is a luxury we can no longer afford to bear. We need a return to free market conditions for farm goods. We need an end to subsidies, an end to double standards which put our citizens in the ridiculous position of paying higher taxes so that they can pay higher prices for the food they eat and the clothes they wear.

Parkinson's law has never been more active than in the Agriculture Department. It is time we weeded out the waste and got down to the business of really attacking the problem we face.

The editorial follows:

A FARM PLAN TOO GOOD FOR FREEMAN'S LIKING

Every time Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman says something about agriculture, he provides an answer to that old question: "Are you working on a solution, or are you part of the problem?"

Freeman is definitely part of the problem.

He issued a 13-page statement the other day in answer to a 64-page study of the farm problem just made by the Committee for Economic Development. In his 13 pages, he epitomized all the worse of thinking that the CED had been trying to correct.

The CED, a group of businessmen, farmers, and educators, whose research and policy committee is headed by Ford's Theodore O. Yntema, suggested what it calls an "adaptive program" for agriculture.

The biggest problem, simply stated, is that we have too many farmers. Mechanization and fertilizers have cut the need for labor, and even a reduction in prices would not increase demand particularly.

The CED recommends a three-pointed attack to bring agriculture back into line.

First is to cut supports to the estimated fair market price. On crops on which the supports are too far out of line, farmers would be given an "income protection subsidy" which would be reduced to zero over a 5-year span.

Secondly, the CED suggests measures to help farmers and rural youngsters prepare for making a living off the farm. It would improve industrial training programs, offer some form of unemployment compensation to rural areas, and offer grants for moving, as the Government already does for "technologically unemployed" workers.

Fnially, it would take land out of production, particularly 20 million acres of wheatland in the West which should not have been plowed since World War II.

The CED approach isn't perfect, perhaps. Though the eventual savings would be great, it would be expensive for the 5 transition years. It also makes no suggestions about where the new industrial jobs are going to come from.

But it is a well-thought-out plan which makes more sense than any farm plan the United States has used in the past 30 years.

So what does Orville Freeman say about it? "Nothing more than a plan to end all farm problems, eliminate the family-type farm and in the long run would result in higher food prices than would the administration's program," he said.

Which means that the Government would be out of the farming business, thousands of bureaucrats would be off the payroll, and food prices, would be lower because they wouldn't be subsidized.

The housewife would not be paying tax money to keep her grocery prices artifically high.

The Nation, said Freeman, is "at the crossroads" where it must decide whether to abandon farm programs or adopt a system to "stabilize output and prices through managed abundance."

Considering that we've been "managing abundance" to the point where we have $9 billion in surplus crops, farm incomes which are not keeping up with the national average, and no solution in view from the Government, it seems high time to take the other road.

## A Novel Program for the Development of Young People for Careers in Science and Engineering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has seen in the last two decades a period of truly remarkable advances in human accomplishment. We have reached the point in our development where many of the basic needs of human society no longer give us serious concern. In his pursuit of a better, more comfortable life, man has broken through traditional barriers. And the road ahead looks bright indeed.

Whom may we thank for the strides we have made to date? I believe the major share of credit must go to our scientists, engineers, and technicians, who have given us the Aladdin's lamp of atomic energy, of faster, more reliable communication, of a capability to reach the stars and planets. If the gains made to date are to be exploited fully, we must again look to that area of society—scientists and engineers. The development of young people to carry on this great work is perhaps our greatest challenge. It is being met in a number of ways.

I would like to call attention to one method that was initiated with the help of an industry in my district. The firm is the Litton Systems Corp., with facilities in Woodland Hills and headquarters in Beverly Hills. In the spring of last year, in cooperation with the Los Angeles Board of Education and the California Department of Employment, Litton helped launch a program which is already paying substantial dividends in terms of scientific and technical growth.

I should like, at this time, to recount some of the background on this pilot program. For the details, I am indebted to Mr. George T. Scharffenberger, executive vice president of Litton, who was one of the prime movers in his corporation's role in the project.

On May 1, 1961, the Reseda, Calif., Adult School opened a course known as No. 590: Electronic Production Techniques. While the course was not new to the school or to the school system, it ordinarily was scheduled on a limited basis of 6 hours a week for 10 weeks. Electronics industries in the area, as well as the department of employment, called attention to the need for an accelerated program. Hence, No. 590.

The first major problem in the way of the acceleration was the lack of housing to provide around-the-clock training. Through the cooperation of Litton, a store building was located at 7215 Tampa Avenue, Reseda, and turned over to the adult school for use as a branch location. The building was equipped with salvage work benches and tables, with some new tablet armchairs, blackboards, storage cabinets, and so forth.

Because of some dexterities required for aspects of the work in the program, the department of employment provided a team of test technicians to screen applicants for training, to determine their chances of success. Since the program began, all candidates for the class have taken a battery of tests designed by the employment office. Fifty percent of those taking the tests have been rejected.

With the remaining students, the "cream," so to speak, of the crop of applicants, it was possible to move ahead much faster on all aspects of the training program. Teachers familiar with electronic theory and who had practical experience in the industry were recuited.

Finally, a compressed schedule of classes was organized, in which four different groups could be run through the course at one time. The prevailing pattern consisted of four classes a day, for 5 days a week, from 9 to 12 in the morning, from noon to 3 p.m., from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m., and from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Starting dates were staggered so that only one class was completed during any 1 week, enabling the employment office and industry to make interviewing an almost continual process. The classes ran on through the summer.

After graduation, students were sent out on employment interviews, through the cooperation of the Department of Employment and the personnel departments of Valley electronics firms. Many employeers found that the graduates were actually preferable in many instances to employees who had been hired with as much as 6 months' on-the-job experience. Records show that 96 percent of the graduates have been placed.

Through the early part of 1962, these were the estimated costs of the classes:

| | |
|---|---|
| Teacher salaries paid | $10,456.18 |
| Reimbursement from State to school district | 11,289.60 |
| Building rental | 2,250.00 |
| Total cost | 23,995.78 |

Equipment and supplies not provided by the Board of Education have been purchased from a class fee of $3 paid by each student.

By early this year, 518 student-graduates had already been hired by industry. Computing the combined earnings of these students at the most conservative hourly rate, it is estimated that they will earn in the current year $1,616,160—or more than 6,000 percent more than the cost of the class to early this year.

The department of employment indicates that the majority of students had no previous employment, or had worked in nondemand occupations before taking the class. Most of the students were women, and a majority were over 40 years of age. Many of them now are in the process of taking additional electronics courses in order to switch to the next grade of skill.

I call attention to this brilliant record because I think it exemplifies manifestation of American enterprise—a teamwork operation between our schools, our Government, and private industry. Projects like this one spell even greater advances for America in the years to come. More clearly than all the speeches that could be delivered, the record of this course demonstrates what is meant when funds spent for schooling are called investments, not spending.

I will close this with a few lines from a letter I received last week from Scharffenberger at Litton. He says:

From Litton's viewpoint, we have been delightened with [the class]. We have hired all of those from the school who wanted to come to us. This has varied from class to class, but I believe it may be up in the 90 percent category. In any event, we have found that all of these people from many walks of life have turned out to be excellent employees in our ever-growing electronics activities.

## Eugene J. Chariott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, a week ago, my home city of Norwalk lost one of its most valued citizens when Eugene J. Chariott died. Mr. Chariott had been a newsman with the Norwalk Hour, whose tribute to him, I herewith submit for the RECORD, as the best possible expression of the soffow felt by his friends:

EUGENE J. CHARIOTT

Eugene J. Chariott, one of Norwalk's most respected newsmen who had been a member of the editorial staff of the Norwalk Hour for 42 years, passed to his reward suddenly Monday afternoon following a heart attack at his home in 26 Concord Street. It was a great shock to the community.

Gene had been a newspaperman ever since he finished local schools. In 1917, he joined the staff of the former Evening Sentinel, covering Darien and the suburbs. In 1920, he left the Sentinel and worked a very short period for C. B. Dolge Co., of Westport, and then joined the Hour, becoming a reporter in that newspaper's South Norwalk office.

Gene was a conscientious, hard-working reporter who dug hard for the facts of every story he wrote. During his 42 years he was with the Hour he wrote much of the passing history of Norwalk.

A kindhearted man, Gene was beloved by the Hour newsboys buying at the South Norwalk office and of whom he was a faithful counselor.

Gene's hobby was the circus and he was a member of the Tom Thumb Tent of the Circus Fans of America. He loved the circus and on every occasion possible he could be found in the "big tent," not only watching the performance, but talking to the performers.

Besides his immediate family, Gene leaves behind hundreds of friends who mourn his passing.

## Flatbush's Arch of Triumph

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the great city of Brooklyn boasts one of the truly magnificent monuments in America. I refer to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Grand Army Plaza.

On July 1, 1962, this monument and the area immediately around was the subject of an excellent article in the New York Herald Tribune Sunday magazine Today's Living.

The article follows:

FLATBUSH'S ARCH OF TRIUMPH
(By Henry Hope Reed, Jr.)

If one were to look for an area that might be the quintessence of the late 19th century, Brooklyn's Grand Army Plaza might serve. Its planning, its monuments, and its name call up the decades when the "boys in blue" and the Grand Army of the Republic commanded the affection of New Yorkers.

Before exploring the plaza, it is worth taking a glimpse at the Montauk Club, at the northwest corner of Lincoln Place and West Plaza Street. This Brooklyn landmark was designed in 1891 by Francis H. Kimball, and is the outstanding example of Venetian Gothic in the city. John Ruskin, the English writer who dreamed of Gothic Venice, would have approved of it, with its brownstone and terra cotta arches, presumably inspired by Venice's Cà d'Oro. He would have delighted, too, in the frieze above the third story, which tells the story of the Montauk Indians and the first settlers.

Retracing his footsteps from the club, the visitor will find himself on Flatbush Avenue. Looking north along the busy thoroughfare, he will be able to make out the free-standing tower of the Williamsburgh Savings Bank, Brooklyn's tallest building.

Crossing Flatbush Avenue and going south, the tour passes a bust by J. Massey Rhind of one Dr. Alexander J. C. Skene, a gynecologist.

From this point, it is possible to study the plaza. It was designed as part of Prospect Park in 1866 by Olmsted, Vaux & Co. Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, who had jumped to fame with their plan for Central Park, found themselves at work on a second park after the Civil War, and this plaza, placed athwart the axis of Flatbush Avenue, was to serve as a formal approach. Islands of greenery separate local traffic from the through-traffic of main avenues—a rondpoint Americanized (especially in the planting of its unclipped trees). In the center was a round fountain at first, at roughly the location of the present one; a statue of Lincoln, now on the Garden Terrace by the park lake, was also here. Then in 1889, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument was placed at the southern end of the plaza, and around 1930 the Frank Bailey Jr. Fountain replaced the old one.

The new fountain, given by Frank Bailey, a Brooklyn real estate man, as a memorial to his son, was the work of Eugene Savage. The somewhat ungainly figures—male and female nudes standing on a ship's prow with a clownish Neptune at the southern end—border on caricature, but when the fountain is playing and the white plumes of water fall back to glisten on the green bronze, this takes its place among the first fountains of the city.

Crossing Vanderbilt Avenue, the tour goes north along the eastern green island. At its tip Gen. Henry Warner Slocum, Civil War officer and later U.S. Congressman, raises a hand to signal the charge; today, though, he is bereft of his sword. This statue is the work of Frederick Macmonnies. Across the plaza, in the same position on the western island, can be seen the standing figure by Henry Baerer of Gen. Gouveneur Kemble Warren, hero of Little Round Top at the Battle of Gettysburg.

The tour then crosses Eastern Parkway, which Olmsted and Vaux had hoped would one day be a green ribbon to a future park in Ridgewood. The term "parkway" was their invention, and literally meant "park way," not a six-lane cement highway.

The Brooklyn Public Library, like the Bailey Fountain, is a recent addition to the plaza. Gathens & Keally designed it in 1938, and it was opened in 1940. (Francis Keally's latest work, by the way, is the much-admired Iranian Embassy in Washington.) The relief on stone and the gilt figures on the entrance grille belong to Carl Paul Jennewein.

The tour comes to a halt at the entrance to Prospect Park; here is the most satisfactory spot to study the plaza and its ornaments. The four columns which guard the park entrance and the round temples at each end, as well as the vases and bronze lamp standards, are the work of Stanford White, and date from 1894. To Macmonnies goes the credit for the bronze eagles at the top of the columns. Macmonnies also did the Stranahan statue, standing in the park, a few feet beyond the entrance. James S. T. Stranahan was the businessman who, as president of the board of the Park Commission of Brooklyn from 1860 to 1862, fought for the park and solidly backed Olmsted and Vaux in their work.

It is now the turn of the plaza's cynosure, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. It was in 1885 that Mayor Seth Low, of Brooklyn, later president of Columbia University and mayor of New York, called for a memorial here "To the Defenders of the Union 1861–65." The proposal met with an enthusiastic response, and in 1889 a competition was held for the design. Among the solutions offered was a Romanesque castle—but Brooklyn was happily spared the grotesque when the arch of John H. Duncan, architect of Grant's Tomb, was chosen. That same year, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman laid the cornerstone with impressive ceremony.

Oddly enough, the arch is a square, 80 feet wide and 80 feet high. The structure itself does not count because a classical triumphal arch is nothing more than a stand for sculpture. The first sculpture was placed on it in 1895; these were the two bronze reliefs, an equestrian Lincoln and an equestrian Grant, by the well-known Philadelphia painter, Thomas Eakins, and the sculptor, William R. O'Donovan. If a patrolman of the 74th precinct is on hand to stop traffic, it is worth crossing to see what is, after all, a curiosity: the only equestrian portrait of Lincoln in sculpture. In 1898 came the Macmonnies quadriga—a four-horse chariot with Victory at the reins. It, too, is a rarity, the only

other American quadriga being on the Minnesota State Capitol in St. Paul.

The climax in the decoration came when Macmonnies' groups, the Army on the left and the Navy on the right, were placed on the arch in 1901. It is easy enough to point to the influence of the sculptors, Rodin and Rude, especially the latter's "La Marseillaise" on the Arch of Triumph in Paris; but Macmonnies proved a worthy follower of the Frenchmen. Consider the skill of bringing together figures in a variety of attitudes—guns; cannons; a ship's wheel—and then breathing life and heroism into the whole. It is the sculpture here which makes this the outstanding triumphal arch in the country, and now that the city is losing one of its three arches (the one over the Manhattan Bridge approach) it is to be treasured all the more.

## Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARLETON J. KING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial which appeared in the Plattsburgh Press-Republican, an independent newspaper, lists several thought-provoking reasons why the President's health care plan was defeated recently in the Senate. I wish to call the editorial to the attention of my colleagues because I feel it emphasizes two of the major factors which led to its defeat. The controversy over the financing of health care for the aged and the fact that this type of legislation is not needed at this time.

The editorial follows:

MEDICARE DIDN'T MAKE SENSE—WE'RE GLAD IT WAS DEFEATED

President Kennedy's health care plan for the elderly, to be financed under social security, is dead for this session of Congress.

The Senate voted this week to table the measure, thus killing it.

The President promply denounced the defeat and said he would take the issue to the voters in November, asking them to show their disapproval by electing Congressmen who would support the bill.

The threat doesn't faze Congress particularly. For Congressmen have a sensitivity to the thinking of the people at home. Their mail reflects that thinking. And the Congressmen usually reflect the views of their constituents on issues of this nature.

We would suspect that the Senate decision on medicare pretty well reflects national sentiment.

Chances of getting the bill through this session of Congress were virtually nil, for the House version had been bottled up in the Ways and Means Committee and the administration couldn't get it out. The President had hoped for Senate passage so he could keep it alive as a campaign issue this fall.

But the Senate disappointed him.

We are happy to see the bill defeated. For we do not honestly believe it is needed legislation. The legislation would have cost the Nation's taxpayers and businesses another $2 billion a year in payroll deductions.

And it would be money used to provide a program of financial help for people who already have access to help through existing welfare programs.

There are two programs now in operation, both under welfare. One provides all medical, doctor, and drug expenses for people who cannot pay. If the illness is prolonged, and it looks like the individual may become a permanent welfare case, then the individual is asked to turn over all his assets to the welfare department.

To get around this aspect of welfare, the Kerr-Mills bill was passed providing medical care for the aged, through welfare, but not requiring a pauper's oath for prolonged illness.

Thus there is no need that is not now being met through existing problems, and being met far more adequately than it would be under social security.

Why burden the Nation's citizens with a new payroll tax?

The Kennedy program doesn't make sense. We are glad to see it was defeated.

## The Lincoln Concert at Watergate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, because of my deep interest in Abraham Lincoln, I have the privilege of participating in many worthwhile events in his honor. One of the most rewarding this year was the second annual Lincoln concert by the U.S. Marine Band led by the distinguished and able Lt. Col. Albert Schoepper at Watergate on Sunday, July 8.

Because of the significant remarks which were made there, and the magnificent music played there in tribute to Lincoln, I feel that this program of words and music should become a part of the permanent record of our times. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the program in the RECORD:

LINCOLN CONCERT, THE U.S. MARINE BAND, LT. COL. ALBERT SCHOEPPER, U.S. MARINE CORPS, DIRECTOR, WATERGATE, WASHINGTON, D.C., SUNDAY, JULY 8, 1962

Capt. DALE HARPHAM (concert moderator). Ladies and gentleman, the U.S. Marine Band concert this evening is dedicated to Abraham Lincoln. It is the second in a series of what we hope will be annual concerts to honor the memory of the 16th President of the United States. The country, and especially those who are here tonight, owe the idea for these concerts, in memory of Lincoln, to Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa. The National Park Service and the Lincoln group of the District of Columbia carried Representative SCHWENGEL's idea into effect. This concert is being given under their auspices.

Tonight this second annual Lincoln concert was to have as its guest the distinguished Carl Sandburg, poet, biographer, and writer extraordinary. Mr. Sandburg is regarded the world over as the foremost American literary notable of our time. But this great American who is now 84 years of age, was unable to come himself. In his place the guest of honor tonight is his daughter, Miss Helga Sandburg. She is an authoress and lecturer of note in her own right. Later in this program she will be introduced to you for a brief talk by Congressman SCHWENGEL who is responsible for her being with us tonight. Miss Helga Sandburg's presence, as the star of this program, representing her father, intensifies the Lincoln quality of this event because, as you all know, Mr. Sandburg is the greatest of all Lincoln biographers. Miss Helga Sandburg inherited many of his gifts as we shall see when she speaks to us tonight.

This Lincoln concert is not related to any special event in Lincoln's life—it is just a tribute to our greatest American. But it is part of the general national observance of the Civil War Centennial. Our concert is patriotic. It is almost all American. It is aimed to reflect largely the spirit of Lincoln's time both in the North and in the South.

Under the baton of Col. Albert Schoepper, the U.S. Marine Band opens this concert with the "Lincoln Centennial March" by Lee Sanford.

(Music: "Lincoln Centennial March.")

Captain HARPHAM. Now let us go more deeply into the Lincoln story.

Dennis Hanks was a cousin of Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks. Dennis was reported to have said this of Abe's childhood. I quote: "It didn't seem no time till Abe was runnin' round in buckskin moccasins an' breeches, a tow-linen shirt an' coonskin cap * * * Abe never give Nancy no trouble after he could walk except to keep him in clothes. Most o' the time we went b'arfoot. * * * An' Abe was right out in the woods, about as soon's he was weaned, fishin' in the crick * * * goin' on coon hunts with Tom an' me an' the dogs; follerin' up bees to find bee-trees, an' drappin' corn fur his pappy. Mighty interestin' life fur a boy, but thar was good many chances he wouldn't live to grow up."

The Nation was beginning to come into its own in the times of Abraham Lincoln: Sturdy, rugged, self-reliant. The people's independence expressed itself in their democratic beliefs.

Today we are the greatest Nation of all time—and still growing. This power and vigor is told brilliantly in the contemporary composition by Joseph Wilcox Jenkins:

(Music: "The American Overture for Band.")

(Music: "Prairie Legend"; 1. "Bullwhacker's Dance"; 2. "Harvest Evening"; 3. "County Fair."

(Music: "Echoes of the 1860's.")

Captain HARPHAM:

"If Nancy Hanks
Came back as a Ghost,
Seeking news
Of what she loved most,
She'd ask first
Where's my son?
What's happened to Abe?
What's he done?

"Poor little Abe,
Left all alone
Except for Tom
Who's a rolling stone:
He was only nine
The year I died
I remember still
How hard he cried.

"Scraping along
In a little shack,
With hardly a shirt
To cover his back,
And a prairie wind
To blow him down,
Or pinching times
If he went to town.

"You wouldn't know about my son?
Did he grow tall?
Did he have fun?
Did he learn to read?
Did he get to town?
Do you know his name?
Did he get on?"

"Nancy Hanks," by ROSEMARY BENET.

We now hear, in an arrangement by Luis Guzman, a retired member of the Marine Band, the music that Lincoln often heard, asked for, and loved. Probably the nearest

approach to a Lincoln quality in American music is the literature of song left us by Stephen Foster. Lincoln could never really decide just which of Foster's songs he really loved most—but his dearest favorites are included in this medley presented now by Colonel Schoepper and the band—Stephen Foster Melodies.

(Music: "Stephen Foster Melodies.")

INTERMISSION

JULIAN BARBER. Good evening ladies and gentlemen, this is Julian Barber. Tonight, I not only have the honor of participating in this concert, but also the honor of presenting to you the father of these annual Lincoln concerts, Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa. The music you hear tonight, keeps alive the Lincoln tradition in the language of sound. Congressman SCHWENGEL keeps alive the Lincoln tradition in his speeches on the floor of the House, and his resolutions calling for national observance of our debt to Lincoln and rededication to our priceless title-deeds of freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Honorable FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa.

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL. Thank you, Julian. I have been stirred as I know all of you have, by the vivid recall, this music has given us, of the life and times of Abraham Lincoln. Colonel Schoepper, this so far has been an incomparable performance and I look forward—as we all do—to the performance yet to come. I am proud of these concerts, and thankful especially for the support and sponsorship of the National Park Service and the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia. Indirectly, I like to think of these Lincoln observances as bearing the imprint of the Congress of the United States, who make possible both the facilities and talent for this program.

In fact I should like to see Congress give some further public affirmation to the value of the humanities—reflected in programs like this—the learning, writing, and teaching of history, the appreciation of literature, art, music, and philosophy of America and the interpretation of the American ideals through these arts are so worth while and need more attention today for it is in the understanding and the living of the philosophy of our forebears which make us different and great. Maybe this should be done in the form of a congressional medal of merit, given by the Congress periodically to an outstanding American for his contribution in one or several of these fields. Right now if such a medal were to be awarded by the Congress, my candidate would be the eminent American who was to have been with us tonight. But Carl Sandburg, who we salute tonight, is unable to be here. It is typical of this American poet and biographer, that the human touch which invests the nobility of his character should manifest itself, in this situation tonight, which has deprived us of his presence.

For he has done the next best thing. In place of himself, he has sent us, to represent him, his daughter, Helga Sandburg. This is good, for she, too, is a person of eminence and distinction in the same field—literature—in which her father is so outstanding. She is the authoress of several excellent novels and is about to publish another very soon. She is, of course, very close to her father, Carl Sandburg—who has done so much to help us understand Lincoln better. Helga, at one time, was associated with the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and made her talents useful in the Office of the Keeper of the Collections. Washington is proud to have her as one of its permanent residents. Thus our program tonight, even to this generation, is kept well within the meaning and significance of the life and times of Abraham Lincoln. This is especially pertinent because we are close to the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, another historical milestone we shall soon appropriately commemorate.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to present to you the charming daughter of Carl Sandburg, Miss Helga Sandburg.

HELGA SANDBERG. I introduced one of my novels with a quote from Proverbs: "Wisdom is the principal thing: therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting, get understanding." And Job asks, "Where may wisdom be found and where is the place of understanding?"

For one is always looking. Since a boy Lincoln turned over the pages of his Bible; and when a man quoted freely from it. He spoke with Old Testament talk when he said, "Four score and seven years ago." All his public utterance was colored and had the rhythm of Holy Writ. And his letters too: "I pray our Heavenly Father," he wrote in the famous one to Mrs. Bixby who had lost so many sons in the conflict.

Lincoln was a man who knew sorrow; in his intimate family was death and illness and near insanity; in his public life came the first shot, and then the second, and then the carnage of that old war. He endured the hurt of signing a declaration of war and an Emancipation Proclamation; and took the consequences as long as breath remained. He told a woman formerly a slave who had come to him for help, "You may see days when all the food in the house is a single loaf of bread. Even so, you must give each child a slice and you must send him off to school." That is prophetic and has the sound of a Biblical proverb.

Lincoln was the people and they were Lincoln.

It is the same with my father. He is the people and they are he. Now he is 84 and he didn't come today because he is deep in a piece of writing. And this is appropriate. If someone were to set off that mushroom cloud, as some say will be done, he will look off through his window at it and then turn back to the paper on which his pencil is set. "There is something here I have to finish."

Sandburg is always going on about the people. In one of his poems they spoke: "I am the people * * * do you know that all the great work of the world is done through me? I am the audience that witnesses history. The Napoleons come from me and the Lincolns. They die. And then I send forth more Napoleons and Lincolns. I am the seed ground."

In another poem he told of this seed ground, of the woman who was the mother: "Nancy Hanks dreams by the fire * * * and the logs sputter and the yellow tongues climb. Red lines lick their way in flickers. Oh, dream, Nancy. Time now for a beautiful child. Time now for a tall man to come."

Well, he came, duly, and his statue is over there; and this evening honoring Sandburg, is really directed to him.

(Music: "National Emblem March.")

Captain HARPHAM. Robert Whitaker wrote a poem he called: "Lincoln." Perhaps if I read it now it may set the mood for the music about to be played. The poem goes like this:

"There is no name in all our country's story
so loved as his today;
No name that so unites the things of glory
with life's plain common way."

Just four lines—like an epitaph. Colonel Schoepper and the band present next Morton Gould's "American Salute"—a modern treatment of a Civil War tune that, in its way, too, "unites the things of glory with life's plain common way."

(Music: "American Salute.")

Captain HARPHAM. Our next selection is composed of an authentic medley of Southern songs that the armies of the South loved and enjoyed and that the soldiers of the North learned to cherish. This is the music that was in the background of the war below the Mason-Dixon line and often above it. It is now and will be forever an integral part of American folklore and tradition. Abraham Lincoln—during a gathering at the White House following the surrender of the southern forces—said, "I propose now closing up by requesting you play a certain piece of music. I thought 'Dixie' one of the best tunes I ever heard." The Marine Band then played "Dixie" for the President. "Dixie," as well as many other southern songs are presented now in Lucius Hosmer's "Southern Rhapsody."

(Music: "Southern Rhapsody.")

Captain HARPHAM. What comes now may be called the essence of this concert's musical tribute to Lincoln: a dramatic presentation uniting words and music to give us the "Lincoln Portrait" by Aaron Copland. The spoken portion of this portrait will be done by Julian Barber of WTOP's Broadcast House.

(Music: "Lincoln Portrait.")

JULIAN BARBER. "Fellow citizens * * * we cannot escape history." That is what he said. That is what Abraham Lincoln said. "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility."

He was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, and lived in Illinois. And this is what he said: This is what Abe Lincoln said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

When standing erect he was 6 feet 4 inches tall. And this is what he said. He said: "It is the eternal struggle between two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world." It is the same spirit that says: "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it no matter in what shape it comes. Whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men, as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

Lincoln was a quiet man. Abe Lincoln was a quiet and a melancholy man. But when he spoke of democracy, this is what he said: He said: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Abraham Lincoln, 16th President of these United States, is everlasting in the memory of his countrymen. For on the battleground at Gettysburg, this is what he said. He said, "That from these honored dead, we take increased devotion, to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion: That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. And that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom: And that Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Captain HARPHAM. Ladies and gentlemen, we have reached our finale. But we have a last word for this Lincoln tribute. The Lincoln group of the District of Columbia believe this should be the words of Lincoln himself. They are the words Lincoln used in referring to a beloved friend of his—Representative Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois—who had just died. Lincoln's tragic concern with the Civil War kept him from joining in efforts for a marble monument to this friend.

The last sentence of a letter he wrote explaining the situation, are words we can use today about Lincoln himself. Lincoln wrote: "Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty, unselfishly, for all men."

And now, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

(Music: "Battle Hymn of the Republic.")

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## The Role and Missions of the U.S. Navy Today—An Address by Rear Adm. Ira H. Nunn, Commandant, 9th Naval District, Navy League of United States Dinner, Michigan City, Ind., July 6, 1962

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on July 6, 1962, to attend a dinner sponsored by the Navy League of the United States as part of the annual Indiana Summer Festival in Michigan City, Ind.

Others attending the dinner included Mayor Francis G. Fedder, of Michigan City, and Mr. Hartley Job, president of the Michigan City Navy League.

The major address on this occasion was delivered by Rear Adm. Ira H. Nunn, U.S. Navy Commandant of the 9th Naval District.

Admiral Nunn's speech was a forceful and eloquent presentation of the importance of seapower to our national security and of the contributions made to our defense by the U.S. Navy.

I would like to include Admiral Nunn's fine address at this point in the RECORD:

"THE ROLE AND MISSIONS OF THE U.S. NAVY TODAY," SPEECH BY REAR ADM. IRA H. NUNN, U.S. NAVY COMMANDANT, 9TH NAVAL DISTRICT, ON OCCASION OF MICHIGAN CITY, IND., NAVY LEAGUE OF UNITED STATES DINNER, JULY 6, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to speak to you seriously and briefly for a few moments in an effort to persuade you, if indeed in this audience persuasion be necessary, that the importance of seapower to our country and to our allies is steadily increasing. By my advocacy of seapower I would not like to be taken as speaking in derogation of any other kind of power which is exerted in behalf of our country by any of our armed services, certainly not in derogation of airpower nor in derogation of power exerted upon land by our Army or our Marine Corps.

A few years ago General Marshall, when he was Chief of the Army, said, "Oceans are formidable barriers but to a nation enjoying naval superiority they become highways for invasion." And even more recently another eminent officer of an army, this time Viscount Montgomery of the British Army, speaking to a group of naval officers and speaking of his NATO responsibilities, said, "If you chaps lose control of the seas, we are done."

Now, what is the importance of this thing known as seapower to our country and to our allies? To begin with, ladies and gentlemen, this is a very moist sphere upon which we live. Seventy percent of the surface of the earth is covered by the oceans of the earth—300 million square miles of ocean on our globe, a considerable area if you remember that 3 million square miles comprise the area of the United States of America. A few years ago we said that 75 percent of the surface of the earth was covered by water, but since that time Admiral Byrd, a naval officer, has discovered that a large continent lies at the South Pole, and we have revised the estimate and we have determined that now 70 percent of our earth is covered by water. Of course our friends in the Air Force are prompt to point out to us that a hundred percent of the surface of the earth is covered by air and it is not necessary to revise that estimate when a naval officer discovers that another continent lies upon our earth.

PAX BRITANNICA HAS CEASED TO EXIST

For the first 150 years of the life of our country the freedom of the seas was preserved by Great Britain. We had a thing then known as the Pax Britannica, the peace of Britain, maintained by the British Empire, implemented by the British Navy. There could be no peace on earth, and there can be no peace on earth, unless the seas are free. In those days it was maintained free for all of us to use, the United States and Great Britain as well as by the Navy of Great Britain. Unfortunately, ladies and gentlemen, Pax Britannica has long since ceased to exist. The British Empire is no longer capable of maintaining the seas free for us to use or for her to use. The British Navy cannot do this, and if the seas are to be maintained free for us and all of the peace-loving nations of the world to use it must be done by the United States, aided and abetted by the navies of our allies. It is also true that every scientific advance that man has made has increased the power of the sea, has increased the importance of the sea. For example, when we passed from the propulsion of ships by sail to the propulsion of ships by steam, the importance of the sea increased. We could do more things, more powerful things, more quickly, on the surface of the seas in those days than we could do before. Today, ladies and gentlemen, we are passing from the propulsion of ships by steam to the propulsion of ships by atomic energy, and correspondingly the importance and the power of the seas increased. And all the inventions that man has made, all of the exotic technical advances are adaptable for use at sea. Many of them are adaptable only for use at sea. I am thinking of such things as the invention of the submarine. The invention of the airplane and the development of the aircraft carrier has increased the power which we exert at sea. Missilery, supersonic speeds, atomic propulsion, atomic weapons, all adaptable for use at sea, all ready to be used at sea, have increased the power of the seas.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF SEAPOWER

Speaking also in historical vein, it is true that any nation which has achieved international prominence, as indeed our country has done, and in achieving such international prominence has used the sea in that endeavor, as indeed our country has done, and if such a country, using the sea to achieve international prominence has abandoned the sea, that country has fast faded into decay. This was true of ancient Greece and Rome. When they abandoned the sea and gave their attention solely to land, these ancient civilizations faded into decay. This was true of Anthony and Cleopatra. At one time when their fleets were intact, they ruled what was then known of the civilized world, the Mediterranean area. When their fleets were destroyed they became powerless. This was true also of King Philip of Spain, at one time the ruler of the most powerful nation on earth. Overnight Philip of Spain became the ruler of a third-rate power when Elizabeth of England destroyed his armada off the coast of Great Britain. And within the memory of all of you here, you can see the decay of British power and the passage of British power to us because Great Britain passed the point and lost power to control the seas. These are historical reasons why the sea has been and is important to us and our allies.

There are more modern, more commercial, more cogent reasons. In the list of substances which we in this country must use in our peacetime economics and in our peacetime commerce, and which we must use in the event we make war, there are 77 such substances which are called strategic or necessary to our peacetime commerce and to our ability to make war. Of these 77 strategic or necessary materials our country, rich though we be in natural resource, is self-sufficient only in 11. Sixty-six of these necessary substances must be brought to our shores from abroad and over the surface of the seas.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY REQUIRES BASES ABROAD

I am sure that all of you here tonight know better than I that there are forces at large in this world hostile to us, opposed to us, and of great strength. I am speaking of international communism, so strong that we cannot hope to exist if we attempt to go it alone. Consequently, over the past several years our foreign policy has been based upon the principle of collective security. And pursuant to this principle of collective security we have today allied with us throughout the world some 42 nations. These nations are spread all over the face of the world. We must maintain communication with them by sea. We must maintain the ability to support them by sea in the event of war. If we lose control of the seas, ladies and gentlemen, we will lose our allies. Now, if our foreign policy is predicated upon the principle of collective security, our military policy is predicated upon the principle of maintaining bases abroad. We maintain bases abroad in order that we may have positions from which we may launch attacks against an enemy should war come to us. We also maintain these bases abroad in order that we might keep a war, should it come, far from our own shores. We would not welcome unwanted persons in the United States. Now, these bases are large and expensive and require support. We must maintain an ability to support these bases across the surface of the sea. As an example, let me refer to the contest in Korea. Korea was not regarded as a major all-out war, bloody and costly though it was. And yet in this limited war in Korea the United States took across the Pacific Ocean, from our country to Korea, for use in Korea, a hundred and sixty-seven million tons of dry cargo and, in addition, a hundred and forty-seven million barrels of petroleum products. And every man who went to Korea to fight, and many did, was accompanied by 8 tons of cargo when he went, and it required 65 pounds of supplies per day to keep him there. Now, such a lift can be accomplished only over the surface of the seas.

UNITED STATES HAS MOST POWERFUL NAVY ON EARTH

Today, ladies and gentlemen, we have control of the seas. The U.S. Navy has the most powerful navy on earth. Together with our allies we certainly control the seas today. But, unfortunately, should we lose control of the seas, we would lose it to our principal enemy, Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia today has the second most powerful navy on earth. Soviet Russia has long since eclipsed Great Britain in this regard. And in some respects Soviet Russia has a more powerful navy than we have. For example,

Soviet Russia has built more ships and more naval tonnage since World War II than any nation on earth including us. Soviet Russia has today more cruisers in active service than we have. Russia has more minecraft on active service than we have. And Soviet Russia, realizing that she is really strategically, fundamentally a large military land mass power, a continental power, with her allies ranged closely around her own perimeters—these allies of hers which we refer to as satellites close around her borders—Soviet Russia realizes that she need not use the seas as much as we need to use the seas in the event of war, and she knows that she may do us great damage, in the event of a conflict, simply by denying us the use of the seas or interfering substantially with our own use of the seas. Consequently, Soviet Russia, pursuant to her strategy, has built for herself the largest submarine fleet the world has ever seen. Russia has today more than 450 submarines. This is a large number, if we will recall that Germany started World War II with only 57 submarines. And so that today if we should go to war with Soviet Russia, we would confront an adversary having more than eight times the number of submarines that Germany had at the beginning of World War II. And most of you will remember the great disadvantage we felt in confronting the German submarine menace in the Atlantic Ocean in World War II. Now, this Russian submarine menace is one which has given our Department of Defense and our Navy a great deal of concern. This is a thing, I suppose, upon which we have spent, in the Navy, more money, more thought, more concern, more trouble, more worry, and more plain sweat and tears than upon anything else. And today we have means of combating the Russian submarine menace. We have many exotic weapons which we would use in combating this Russian submarine.

U.S. NAVY HAS THREE IMPORTANT WEAPONS

To begin with, ladies and gentlemen, tactically, of course, we would strike the submarine wherever we might find it. We would strike it at the shipyards where it is built. We would strike it in the shipyards in which it is outfitted for sea. We would strike it at the bases from which it operates. We would strike it in the narrow confines of the seas through which it must pass in order to reach the high seas. And, of course, we would strike it upon the high seas wherever it might be found, particularly in the vicinity of its target.

The U.S. Navy today has three important weapons of which the Navy is very proud, provided for it by a provident Congress of the United States. And I would like to mention three, and only three, of these weapons briefly to you tonight.

LARGE ATTACK CLASS AIRCRAFT CARRIERS

To begin with, we are extremely proud of our large attack class carriers. These are integrated airfields, mobile, able to move anywhere on the surface of the earth where there is water enough to float them. We confine in these ships, within 1,000 feet of hull, the capabilities of a 10,000-foot runway. We handle in these large, modern aircraft carriers the same weight of planes, the same speed of planes that a 10,000-foot runway would require on shore. These are mobile airbases, self-maintained, integrated, self-defended, less vulnerable to attack than any other kind of airfield. The enemy cannot know where they are because they move about. They are capable of 1,000 miles of translation within a single period of 24 hours. The enemy cannot zero in its rockets on one of these mobile airbases. And we may take these ships anywhere we wish and use them in behalf of our country without the necessity of international negotiations looking to the acquisition of treaty rights for airbases on foreign soil. And when the war is over, should it come, we may bring these home and save them to use another day. These ships will survive. They are not particularly susceptible to enemy attack. In World War II our modern aircraft carrier type was the *Essex* type, much less formidable than the type we have today, and yet of these *Essex*-type aircraft carriers we used in World War II, when we had some 37 of them on active service during the war, the United States lost not one. All were preserved. Some are in active service today. All were preserved to fight another day.

POLARIS SUBMARINES

The second weapon of which we are very proud is the Polaris-type submarine. This is an entirely new weapon system developed by the U.S. Navy now in operative force. This is a large atomic-propelled submarine, the Polaris type, capable of deep submergence, capable of submergence to more than 400 feet, capable of high speeds submerged, capable of submerged speeds in excess of 20 knots, a high speed if you will recall that our best submarines in World War II were capable of submerged speeds of 8 knots for a very few minutes of time. These submarines are capable of remaining submerged for great periods of time. They are capable of circumnavigating the globe without coming to the surface and they have done so. They are capable of passing beneath the polar caps of ice and they have surfaced through the ice at the North Pole. These submarines, as all submarines, have a great capability of concealment. The enemy cannot know where they are. They move at great speeds; they are mobile as are the aircraft carriers. Each of these submarines is armed with 16 Polaris missiles, ranges to 1,500 miles, capable of saturating the enemy earth. These missiles may be fired below the surface. The submarine need not come to the surface to fire its weapons, and each of these weapons is armed with an atomic warhead. This weapon may not be an absolute preventive of war but I promise you it is a great addition to our national deterrent. If it does not stop our enemies it will certainly give them pause. And I can say to you tonight that we have on station, not in operation, not in being, not completed, not at sea, but on station six of these submarines, stationed where we want them, and the enemy does not know where that is. Before the year is out we will have doubled that number.

THE NAVAL RESERVE

Now, the third weapon of which the Navy is very proud is one which has a great deal to do with this 9th Naval District in which we all live, and that is the Naval Reserve. You will agree with me, I'm sure, that if war comes it will come suddenly without warning and we may be forced to fight at least the first few weeks of another war, if it comes, with the men, ships, the planes, the weapons we have at hand; therefore it is necessary as it has never been before in the history of our country that our Reserves be truly ready, truly Ready Reserves. We believe in the Navy that we do have, a completely ready Naval Reserve. We have a thing known as our selected Reserve. It consists of young men who are not only selected to be in the Naval Reserve but who are especially selected for the tasks we would like them to perform in the event of war. They are especially trained in those tasks. And more importantly than all, I believe, these young men are preordered to the job where we will want them to serve. Each of these young men carries his orders in his pocket and he is no further from active duty tonight than a telephone call or an announcement over the TV or the radio. These Naval Reserves of ours were called up during the event of the Berlin crisis. Our antisubmarine warfare Reserves were called to active service. These selected Reserves of ours responded as we hoped. They responded as was anticipated. They are soon to be released to inactive duty. And I say to you tonight, ladies and gentlemen, their call-up was necessary, their call-up was effective. They gave us no trouble, these men. We are proud of them. They did well and they have effectively prevented a crisis over Berlin. There was no ultimatum as a result of Berlin. We are still in Berlin and we enjoy there our treaty rights because of the firm stand shown by our country, a part of which was the calling of our Reserves.

THE FUTURE IS NOT FOR LITTLE MEN WITH LITTLE MINDS

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you know as I do that these are difficult times in which we live. These are times which try men's souls. Your Congressman who resides in Washington will tell you, and you know from reading the papers, that a crisis arises each day which threatens our national existence. This is a time of crisis but I suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen, that in addition to being a time of crisis this is also a time of challenge. These are times for big things. These are times for change. These are times for great expectations. When I see our population doubling or perhaps redoubling in a single century; when I see standard of living rising all over the world, not only here but everywhere; when I contemplate the enormous drain that will be made upon our natural resources in the coming century; when I witness man's first faltering steps in this atomic age—we are today with the atom where we were with the automobile 25 years ago; when I see man trying to harness the rays of the sun; when I watch him seeking to penetrate outer space and succeeding more and more each day; when I observe his determination to unlock, if he can, the ultimate secrets of the universe; when I comprehend, in short, the boundlessness, vastness of man's expectations, then, ladies and gentlemen, I know one thing for sure and it is this: The future is not for little men with little minds. It is not for men without vision who fear progress. It is not for timid men who early in their lives were frightened by the story of Frankenstein. No, ladies and gentlemen, the future is for men, and women too, who dare to have great expectations and who, with the encouragement and assistance of all the people for whom they strive, will also have the courage, the persistence, the wisdom, and the patience to change their expectations into realities. I believe that our success or failure in the struggle against communism depends upon whether we have such men and women. I believe we have them in great abundance in our own country and in all the 42 nations allied with us throughout the world. I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that we have many such men and women in this room tonight. You, ladies and gentlemen, are such men and women, and with a completely justified confidence in your abilities, your loyalty, your energy, and your industry, the cause of freedom cannot, cannot fail.

## Arab Unity: Another Pipedream

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the summer 1962 issue of "Prevent World War III," a publication of the Society for the Prevention of World War III.

From time to time the American people are told that Arab unity is "just around the corner." The fact is that Arab unity is a myth. This is brought out most clearly in this article. It should be read by all Americans who want to be authoritatively informed on how the various Arab governments conspire against each other and employ all kinds of methods to subvert their neighboring governments. The role of President Nasser in this respect is particularly significant. His policies are one of the main stumbling blocks to Arab unity.

The article follows:

ARAB UNITY: ANOTHER PIPEDREAM

It is almost a ritual for Arab leaders to invoke that magic catch phrase "Arab unity" whenever they are at each other's throats. Indeed the cry for unity seems to grow louder in direct proportion to the deepening splits and intrigues which beset the Arab world. In this connection President Nasser and his henchmen are articulate performers.

A short while ago a correspondent for the Scripps-Howard newspapers reported from Cairo that President Nasser, although "quite gray at the temples" is still dedicated "to reviving and unifying the entire 'Arab nation' between the Persian Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean." According to this same report Egyptian officials are supremely optimistic about the coming unity. "We can't say when it will happen," said one spokesman for Nasser, "or exactly what political form it will take. All we can say is that the Arab people want unity and they shall have it."

Now there is no denying the fact that there is widespread sentiment among the Arab masses for closer ties. However, this desire rests on the shifting sands of the particular interests and ambitions of the different Arab leaders and cliques who are in command today. It would take more than the genius of our present engineering knowledge to build the structure of Arab unity on such foundations. This generalization is not made out of ill will toward the Arab peoples and their aspirations, it is rather an accurate description of the realities of Middle East politics.

UNITY WITH SYRIA

The last 12 months illustrate the illusive character of unity among the Arabs. In September 1961 the United Arab Republic, which was supposed to be Nasser's nucleus for his "one Arab world" was shattered by the dramatic Syrian revolt. In the previous issue of Prevent World War III (No. 59), we comented in detail on the significance of this damaging blow to Nasser's dreams. Up to then, Cairo's progaganda depicted the United Arab Republic as a model of harmony and cooperation between Egyptians and Syrians under the benevolent guidance of President Nasser himself. But after the collapse, the real character of the United Arab Republic was publicly spelled out by the Syrians.

The Damascus radio (September 28, 1961), minced no words in its attack on Nasser himself: "The Syrian army wished to get rid of the divine right which you, Mr. President (Nasser), granted to yourself. You have gagged mouths, suppressed freedoms, rigged elections, and set up a fictitious representative assembly. You destroyed society and turned brothers against one another." A statement by the Syrian revolutionary command (October 2, 1961), had this to say: "From the first day we wanted unity to be represented in the exchange of officers from both regions. What was sent us from Egypt? All the evils and sins committed under the name of unity started from this point."

The commander in chief of the Syrian Army (September 10, 1961), described that unity in these words: "They [the Egyptians] viewed it [the Syrian-Egyptian union] as a unity between master and slave, strong and weak, and one by the big and small. From this point their rule over the country was one of terror."

The break with Nasser did not mean the Syrians were not for Arab unity. In the public pronouncements of their leading officials it was made clear that they would strive to bring about closer relations with their Arab brothers. However, Syrian spokesmen indicated quite clearly that they had their own ideas as to how unity could be accomplished.

In the early part of this year the Syrian Government approached Iraq. Talks began between the two governments and a joint communique was issued which said "that a new friendly understanding had been reached between the two sides." Cairo reacted violently, accusing the Syrians of pursuing a policy of separatism. The leading Syrian newspaper AN-NASR (January 29, 1962) replied that if Cairo really believed in the "sound rules of Arab nationalism, they would welcome Syrian-Iraqi cooperation." As if to assure the rest of the Arab world, this same newspaper declared that the Syrian-Iraqi accord was not directed against any Arab state, but rather constituted a step taken in the interest of the Arab nation.

PROPAGANDA WAR

Cairo continued its attacks without letup. This in turn prompted Syria to retaliate in kind. Thus, the then Minister of Culture in the Syrian Government Fuad al-Adil delivered a scathing indictment of Nasser (February 22, 1962). "On this day," he declared, "4 years ago we embraced sisterly Egypt in a glorious unity we thought would be the harbinger of Pan-Arab unity. Today as we dwell on those happy hopeful days we know this unity collapsed. The man (Nasser) whom we elected as our leader—abused the trust we gave him. He abandoned the colleagues who gave him that trust, surrounded himself by hypocrisy and began to build himself up as an idol."

The Damascus radio continued to accuse Nasser of acting as a break on cooperation. Indeed it charged that he planned to cause disturbances within Syria. As matters turned out, the Syrian army did pull off a coup during the latter part of March. The army's action appears to have been the result of dissatisfaction with the regime that had been set up after the break with Egypt. However, Cairo had other hopes—and plans. The official Egypt news agency declared that the coup was the inevitable result of the separatist reactionary government.

Nevertheless there must have been profound disappointment within leading Egypt circles, when the Syrian army command made it clear that it had no intention of handing over Syria to Egypt, although Syrian spokesmen said that their movement was dedicated to the achievement of Arab unity. The familiar cry for unity, coupled with the clearcut reaffirmation of Syria's independence are another manifestation of the contradiction between dream and reality which we had noted previously.

Nasser, of course was not prepared to concede so easily and during the first days of April his agents in Syria tried very hard to seize power. They were thoroughly defeated and this debacle precipitated a new propaganda war between Egypt and Syria. Cairo accused Syria military leaders of having betrayed their people. To this charge the Damascus radio replied that while the Nasserites pretended that they were selflessly dedicated to the cause of unity "they have always been the cause of disunity among the Arabs and of inter-Arab defense" (April 4, 1962).

Even the King of Jordan was dragged into the picture by Radio Cairo. He was charged with having been one of the ringleaders in the anti-Nasser revolt. Jordan immediately denied the Cairo report. The newly appointed Prime Minister of Jordan accused Egypt of interfering in Syria's internal affairs. He warned Cairo that Jordan "would not stand idly by if Syria is subjected to outside aggression and conspiracies, irrespective of the source." (New York Times, Apr. 6, 1962.)

The climax to this latest Syrian bout with Nasser was reached when the former President Nazem el Kudsi was restored to office. The Government then issued a statement calling for the creation of a coherent Arab union (whatever that means). Thus, at the very moment of bitter conflict between Syria and Egypt the cry of Arab unity, like a broken record, was played again.

IRAQ IN THE RING

How does this endless search for unity fare in Iraq? In the last issue of Prevent World War III (No. 59) we described the bitterness which arose between Iraq on the one hand and Egypt on the other over the fate of oil-rich Kuwait. Because of her preponderant influence in the Arab League, Egypt was able to scotch Iraq's efforts to grab Kuwait under the guise of unity. Since that particular episode Iraq has had hardly a good word for the Nasser government. In fact, the Iraqis have been trying in various ways to isolate Egypt. This was basically the significance of the rapprochement which took place between Iraq and Syria in March.

Having accused the Arab League (which to all intents and purposes means Egypt) of doing the work of imperialism, the Iraq Government saw in Syria an important counterforce. Military cooperation is envisaged between the two countries and the hope is entertained that through such collaboration the fertile crescent plan, so close to the hearts of Iraq leaders and Egypt's nightmare, will ultimately come about.

Yet while Iraq spins her web of intrigue against Egypt, and to a lesser extent against Jordan, the Bagdad radio (February 22, 1962) speaks about Iraq's "sense of strong solidarity in defending the entity of the Arab nation and endeavoring to realize the nation's national aims."

JORDAN SEEKS UNITY

The Kingdom of Jordan is also an avid advocate for unity. Thus the King himself declared in an interview (January 12, 1962): "As a responsible Arab I feel that Arab unity, which we and our Jordanian family have dedicated ourselves to realize, will not be accomplished unless there is a unity among equal parties. To us it is most necessary for the continued existence of Arab entity, its progress and its strength." However, the King himself could not conceal the split personality of "Arab unity," for in the same interview he denounced Nasser and his henchmen "for treachery, terrorization, subversiveness, and the purchase of sick minds and souls which feign nationalism." He continued in this same vein, charging Nasser and his followers with "fabrication and lies." As for Iraq, the Jordanian King expressed the view that the Iraqi-Kuwaiti dispute "must be solved within the framework of brotherhood and sublime Arab interests."

Ten days after the Jordanian King spoke these brave words of unity with regard to Iraq, the Iraqi newspaper Al-Bilad reported that the Iraqi Government's recalling of its Ambassador from Jordan in protest against the Jordanian ruler's attitude toward the question of Kuwait, has won the support of all the political circles. "This step is consistent with the accepted methods for dealing with those rulers who adopt stands rendering services to imperialism" (January 25, 1962).

While the Jordanian King was being buffeted by the Iraqi blasts, the United Arab Republic released a torrent of abuse against

the King and his leading ministers. On February 2, radio Cairo told its listeners that King Hussein's throne was shaking under him. At the same time it accused him of not wanting to become a member of the Fertile Crescent because his real plan is "to devour Iraq." The steady abuse heaped upon the King and his family is almost unprintable. Nevertheless, it is broadcast far and wide through Cairo's controlled press and radio. Here then is another manifestation of the chimerical character of Arab unity.

SAUD VERSUS NASSER

The King of Saudi-Arabia is also a fervent believer in Arab unity. He has said so on countless occasions. Nevertheless there is little rapport, to say the least, between him and President Nasser. Egyptian propagandists have gone so far as to state that it is no longer possible for King Saud "to exist side by side with Gamal Abdel Nasser" (New York Times, Jan. 27, 1961).

The Cairo newspaper, Al Ahram, published an open letter to the King by one of Nasser's confidants, Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, in which the King was accused of attempting to organize a religious, economic, and political attack against Egypt. This charge came on the heels of King Saud's visit to the United States for medical treatment. Relations between Egypt and Saudi-Arabia have had their ups and downs through the years. They cooled off considerably during the Syrian revolt. Nasser accused the King of having contributed $5,600,000 to finance the Syrian coup.

The vituperative denunciations of Saud are of the same kind which have been hurled against the King of Jordan. The Saudi Government has replied by trying to limit Egypt's influence in that country. Moreover, the Crown Prince of Saudi-Arabia vowed that his government would "fight to the finish" against the Nasserites. Thus Saudi propaganda charges Egypt with profaning the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed. Nasser has been accused of betraying Arab interests. Indeed he has been charged with being a Communist. One broadcast from Mecca (March 2, 1962) declared that Nasser's "tortures and confiscation methods are no different from that of Communists. Where are the freedoms, the ideals, the Arab nationalism, and the Islam they speak of?" As if to answer this question the broadcast replies: "The hands of the dictator (Nasser) are smeared with the blood of the Egyptian people." "Nasser," the broadcast concluded, "has only succeeded in isolating himself and his country from the Arab world."

Another broadcast (May 3, 1962) quoted a leaflet circulated in Cairo which allegedly said in part: "This is the cry of Egypt. We ask you in the name of God and the martyrs butchered by executioner Abd an-Nasir to raise our voice over your free platform so that our Arab brothers may know that the Egyptian people denounce Abd an-Nasir and his clique and disown all his crimes against Arabs and Moslems."

UNITY—EGYPTIAN STYLE

The charges and countercharges, threats and counterthreats continue unabated. As usual, of course, Egypt itself is ever hammering away at the unity theme. However, there is no effort to conceal the role that Egypt envisages for itself in this grand design. On January 4, Radio Cairo told its listeners that the "battle for Arab unity" was entering a decisive stage. The mission of the United Arab Republic is foreordained: "This force has become responsible for and actively conscious of the historic role of the United Arab Republic and the United Arab Republic revolution under the leadership of President Nasser." The United Arab Republic is the base and the "source of leadership" in the "battle for the Arab destiny." The statement declared that there were two circles in the Arab homeland: "The internal circle is the United Arab Republic where there is no contradiction between its Government and the Arab nation at large. The external circle constitutes all parts of the Arab homeland outside the United Arab Republic where governments, in one way or another, are part of the imperialist force. These governments are a contradiction, hostile to the Arab peoples and the Arab nation at large, a matter which makes the liquidation of this sort of rule a necessary revolutionary Arab strategic target."

In plain English this means that so far as Egypt is concerned, Arab unity must be built over the corpses of the present Governments of Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and even Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. This also appears to be the interpretation of the Syrians. One broadcast from the Damascus radio stated (February 8, 1962): "As for Cairo, it is natural for it to fight any inter-Arab rapprochement, as long as such rapprochement does not serve its ambitions and does not fulfill the dreams of Cairo rulers of dominating the Arab State."

This same broadcast made another interesting observation, namely that a "a spirit of cooperation and amity prevails now in the Arab atmosphere since what occurs these days in the Arab world is not inspired by Cairo." In short, what this broadcast implied was that one of the fundamental elements militating against the creation of genuine Arab unity is the predatory character of the Nasser regime. This is not to say, of course, that the other Arab Governments are prepared to forgo their separate interests to further their mutual interests. Indeed, we have a feeling that their cries for Arab unity are convenient coverups for their particular hopes and plans for their own domination of the Middle East.

ONE MORE ILLUSION

In view of the foregoing, we were frankly astounded to read the statement by Chester Bowles, the President's Adviser on African, Asian, and Latin American Affairs, that "the Middle Eastern nations themselves are becoming less focused on conflicts with their neighbors and more interested in their own internal development" (April 12, 1962).

It is our sincere hope that this evaluation will not become part of what passes for our Government's approach to Middle Eastern problems. Surely our Middle East policy is already weighted with wishful thinking and it deserves to be spared from one more illusion.

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## Taxpayer Is Only Source of Revenue, Wilson Tells Mayors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, the role of the community is often underestimated, but it should be remembered that as the foundation supports the walls and roof of the house, so the community forms the base of our democracy. The citizens in particular, whose rights are so frequently threatened, compose the grassroots of the Government.

Recently New York's Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson, delivered a speech before the State conference of mayors at Buffalo, N.Y., in which he reminded us all of the dependence of the Government upon each individual taxpayer as the sole source of revenue. The speech very clearly explodes the myth of new sources of revenue which time and again is used to justify additional Government spending. I commend Lieutenant Governor Wilson's speech to all of my colleagues in the Congress, and under previous permission, insert it in the appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Yonkers (N.Y.) Record, June 28, 1962]

TAXPAYER IS ONLY SOURCE OF REVENUE, WILSON TELLS MAYORS

Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson yesterday asserted that the closer localities keep the responsibility for raising money to the privilege of spending it, the more efficient and economical government will be.

Speaking before the State conference of mayors at Buffalo, N.Y., he said, in part:

"I have one additional observation to make. Perhaps you will have noted that in dealing with the problem of revenue which presents itself at every governmental level I have scrupulously avoided any mention of new sources of revenue. This is an expression which to me is meaningless because there is really only one source of revenue and that is the taxpayer, whether he pays the taxes directly or indirectly in the purchase price of goods and services.

"Finding new sources of revenue most often is just a euphemism of finding new ways to extract money from the same source—the taxpayer.

"This is a concept which I think should be more widely understood than it is. For example, it should be more widely understood that Albany does not manufacture money—nor does Washington—and that aid which comes from central government, whether it be the seat of State government or the seat of National Government, is just the taxpayer's money collected by the central government and returned to him with a handling charge deducted in the form of administrative expense. Great recognition of this fact will, hopefully, bring greater awareness of its corollary. It is my simple statement of what I feel is a very sound governmental principle—namely, the closer we keep the responsibility for raising money to the privilege of spending it, the more efficient and economical will our government be.

"Perhaps the one who most needs to understand this principle is the taxpayer himself, who in very many instances seeks State aid or Federal aid for the solution of what is essentially a local problem under the delusion that someone other than himself is supplying the funds.

"I would add as a footnote another principle which is most succinctly stated in an expression which I learned as a child from my Irish grandmother: 'The man who pays the piper calls the tune.'

"In the very nature of things, the inevitable handmaiden of funds from the outside is controlled from the outside in varying degrees—and it might not be too farfetched to observe that local selfgovernment and local self-determination are attenuated and atrophied in almost direct proportion to the outside sharing of the cost."

The Lieutenant Governor also stressed the role of local government. He declared:

"In most instances the governmental official with whom the average citizen is required to deal is the local official—for you in village halls and city halls are the ones to whom he most often brings for solution the problems which arise in day-to-day living.

"In very large measure then—a larger measure than many of you may even have suspected—the way you deal with these problems greatly influences the formulation of his judgment as to government generally.

"As a consequence, we at other levels of government depend upon you to foster in the

average citizen that respect for government which is vital to the effective functioning of our whole society—and I want to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to you who bear so outstandingly this heavy burden of responsibility.

"Local government leaders—particularly in recent years with post-war growth—have had to find new solutions to new problems.

"Groups such as the Conference of Mayors have been in the forefront seeking solutions, making your problems known—and making known the solutions—in a common endeavor.

"Happily, many of the old rivalries have been broken down. I think if I had to use one word to sum up the key factor, it would be the word 'cooperation.'

"Throughout his administration, Governor Rockefeller has stressed cooperation and has undertaken State programs attuned to the needs of localities.

"The current State administration has taken the lead in providing the mechanism for regional planning. And has fostered inter-governmental cooperation."

Mr. Wilson took note of two factors—namely, cooperation and competition. On the one hand, he said local governments can cooperate to obtain needed, basic services. However, competition among communities, he explained, stimulates action. He explained the effects of competition at the State and local levels this way:

"The State of New York, in this healthy competition among the States of the Union, has moved forward dramatically.

"Since the State is nothing more than the sum of all of its component communities, our local governmental units are directly beneficiaries of this effort.

"For with a favorable economic climate in the State new job opportunities are provided for local residents; existing business and industry grows; and new industries swell the local tax base.

"I feel I must remind you, however, that just as there is this healthy competition among the States—so is there healthy competition among the communities of the State in the endeavor to attract new job opportunities, new business, new industry, and new assessables.

"It is the community which is most imaginative in its planning, its zoning, its maintenance of top-notch municipal service, its provision of educational and recreational opportunities, which proves best in this competition."

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## Address by Ferenc Nagy at the Captive Nations Dinner, July 18, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 18, 1962, I was privileged to attend the captive nations dinner which was held here in Washington to observe Captive Nations Week. At that dinner, Ferenc Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, delivered an address which eloquently states the position of the captive nations and underlines the necessity that the free nations of the world keep in active consideration the tragic plight of their brothers behind the Communist wall.

I believe that this address should have greater circulation, and I include it hereafter with my remarks:

ADDRESS BY FERENC NAGY, CAPTIVE NATIONS DINNER, JULY 18, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Mr. Goedhart, Senator Humphrey, Dr. Judd, honorable Senators and Congressmen, ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor and privilege to greet you in the name of the Assembly of Captive European Nations. We are gathered here to observe, for the fourth time, Captive Nations Week—which the U.S. Congress instituted as a token of moral and political commitment of America to the goal of independence and freedom for the nations fallen victims to the only expanding colonialism of our times. Our first duty is to express our feelings of abiding gratitude to the U.S. Congress for its action in 1959 and for the consistency of its interest in and support for the good cause we are trying to serve. It is particularly gratifying that so many distinguished Members of the Congress chose to be with us tonight. Their presence here is in itself a message of encouragement to the people of our homeland.

Our grateful thoughts also go to the President of the United States, the Honorable John F. Kennedy, for proclaiming Captive Nations Week 1962 and thus continuing the tradition his distinguished predecessor and himself have set.

We are privileged to have among us tonight the distinguished diplomatic representatives of four forcibly divided nations: Germany, China, Korea, and Vietnam, and the Ministers of Latvia and Lithuania. Their presence here symbolizes the will to recover freedom and the solidarity of all captive nations—whether entirely or only partly submerged by the Communist imperial tide; whether located in Europe, Asia, or the Western Hemisphere; whether nominally independent or formally incorporated in the Soviet Union proper. It also underscores the global nature of both perils and opportunities the free world is confronted with and, perforce, the necessity of coping with them on the same scale.

My main function tonight is to present tokens of recognition to three proven friends of the captive nations. But the occasion which has brought us together seems to devolve upon the chairman of the common organization of nine captive European nations another duty: to take stock—as briefly as this can be done—of the gains or losses our cause has registered during the past year.

Taken from the vantage point of the capital of the free world, the global balance sheet of the past year appears quite satisfactory. Most of the doubts on the real state of the world balance of power have by now been dissipated. Deceitful Soviet braggings notwithstanding, it is now generally recognized that militarily and economically the West is substantially ahead of its challenger. In this respect the contrast between the "valiant" threats of Khrushchev and his reluctance or—let us call it by its true name, his fear—to take any kind of offensive action in Berlin speaks volumes. The Peiping-Moscow rift and the very serious crisis of agriculture throughout the Communist world brought about by the passive resistance of the forcibly collectivized peasants—are further grounds for an optimistic assessment of the world situation.

The question which concerns us and should concern the entire free world is, however, whether the vista is as cheerful when seen by friends of the West from another vantage point: from inside the vast Soviet empire. On the strength of reports reaching us from countless sources we must conclude that the answer is in the negative. It is true, reason the thinking people behind the Iron Curtain, that the West has displayed enough determination on Berlin to deter Khrushchev from any physical action other than the rather defensive erection of the wall of shame. But it is equally true that over the last few years the West has accepted to narrow down the points at issue in Europe. In 1955, at the Geneva summit meeting it was still Europe—the whole of it—and the right of all its peoples to shape in freedom their destiny. This was gradually narrowed down until today only the fate of the Western-held part of Berlin constitutes the object of negotiations. And, goes on the reasoning to assure their continued presence in West Berlin the Western powers seem prepared to enter into nonaggression arrangements which the Soviet Union seeks for only one reason: Because they feel that this would do what all their propaganda efforts have failed to accomplish over the years—to persuade us that our fate is sealed and thus induce us to resign ourselves to the inevitable. Further reasons for a negative balance sheet are drawn from developments like Laos or Cuba, or from the impression that in all current negotiations—disarmament, for instance—concessions invariably come from the West. And then observant people behind the Iron Curtain—rulers and ruled alike—note other corroborating indications of Western reconciliation with the status quo in Europe.

In Western official statements the captive nations are more and more seldom mentioned, and when spoken about, their freedom is no longer referred to in terms of an objective of policy, but in terms of a remote hope.

In the United Nations Soviet colonialism is occasionally used by Western spokesmen as a point of rebuttal. But at the very time when the right of self-determination motivates a major portion of United Nations activities, no attempt is made to bring up, on its own merit, the issue of the denial of this right to the ancient nations engulfed by Soviet-Communist imperialism.

In Western pronouncements the distinction between the foreign-imposed regimes and the peoples over which they rule is too often ignored or blurred with the corollary that undue importance is attributed to the potentialities of cultural and economic exchanges and to Western ability to influence by friendly contacts the regimes in the direction of more internal freedom and less dependence on the Soviet Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have enumerated only a few of the many reasons of disillusionment in Eastern Europe which have come to our attention. The important and disturbing point is that they all converge in stressing that morale has reached an all-time low. And this can and should not be a matter of indifference to freemen everywhere and particularly to the nation which remains the "last and best hope of mankind." It is indeed very material to the West whether Khrushchev must or not reckon with the troublemaking potential of the captive nations in his lines of communication. And his assessment of this risk factor hinges largely on his judgment of the state of spirit in the captive countries, which might become an important determinant of the degree of his recklessness in a place like Berlin. And let us always bear in mind that what Moscow is after is not Berlin, but Western Europe. Berlin is but the place where Khrushchev hopes—and we are confident that he will keep on failing—to demonstrate that whenever it places the United States before an alternative of risking all or yielding substantially to Soviet demands the choice will be in favor of concessions with the result that the Western alliances will gradually disintegrate.

It follows then that in addition to their moral and political commitments and to

their long-range interest in a self-reliant Europe, a Europe united in its natural confines, the Western nations have a very vital and urgent stake in the eastern half of the old continent. And it is the considered view of our Assembly that the West can effectively serve both justice and self-interest by a number of actions which will at once rekindle hope in the hearts of the captive people and pave for them the way for eventual developments in the direction of freedom. We have in mind five specific steps:

1. To answer Soviet demands on Berlin and Soviet calls for the liquidation of the consequences of World War II with the plan of an all-European peace settlement based on the right of self-determination.

2. To keep the question of Hungary on the agenda of the U.N. and renew the demand for compliance with past resolutions.

3. To give assurance to the people of Albania that the territorial integrity of their country and their right of self-determination will be safeguarded against any foreign intervention.

4. To agree on a Western declaration of purpose along the lines of the Charter of Hope proposed by Senator HUMPHREY in 1959.

5. To place on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly the question of the denial of self-determination to the captive countries, and, regardless of the outcome of any vote, to keep this question on the agenda until justice is done.

On this latter point our plea is often dismissed with the argument that this is legally close to impossible. I submit that the records of the United Nations are replete with relevant precedents, established during the last 2 years. A very recent draft resolution on Northern Rhodesia, introduced on April 24, 1962, in the Special Committee of Seventeen, better known as Decolonization Committee, is a case in point. By a few changes and substitutions it would give us a draft resolution containing, among others, these paragraphs:

"The General Assembly

"Confirms the inalienable right of the people of Albania, etc., to self-determination and national independence;

"Recommends to the Soviet Union to take steps immediately to apply the provisions of the declaration granting independence to colonial countries and peoples to the aforementioned countries, to carry out democratic reforms, including the introduction of universal and equal suffrage, and to repeal all laws, ordinances, and regulations which directly or indirectly sanction any policy or practice based on political discrimination;

"Calls for the immediate release of all political prisoners, the lifting of all bans and limitations on the activities of all democratic political parties, and measures to insure complete freedom of activity for all political parties and their leaders;

"Invites the Soviet Union to withdraw all its armed forces from the aforementioned countries and to refrain from any interference in the preparation for and conduct of elections;

"Considers that the question of whether the aforementioned countries are to enter into a federation or any relationship of any other kind with other countries can be decided only by their proper and representative bodies after they have regained independence."

I think that by now you have all guessed that the proponent of the resolution on Northern Rhodesia which with minor modifications has become a draft we can support in good conscience is none but that "unblemished champion" of self-determination, the Soviet Union. You will not find it amiss, I hope, if for once we are supporting a proposal closely patterned on a Soviet draft resolution.

Ladies and gentleman, "Tell the West" is the anguished plea made by people in Eastern Europe every time they come across a friend preparing to flee or leave his ancestral homeland. If we were to condense all the "tell the West" messages that have reached us in recent months, it would sound something like this:

"Moscow has been bluffing you for years. Now it is trying to make you give in to their demands in places like Berlin. Call the bluff. Tell them that what they are after can only be secured by force. They will never try. For they have reasons to fear war, even a limited war, more than you.

"We know that the Communist empire is rent by profound contradictions, which in time will lead to disintegration. This development can only be foiled if you let Moscow prove to its subjects that communism is irresistibly advancing toward world dominion. Starve them of successes or, even better, show us by deeds that freedom is the wave of the future, and you will help set in motion forces which will save mankind the scourges of both slavery and war."

## Birmingham: Farm Market Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, most people are aware of the fact that Birmingham, Ala., my home, is the leading industrial center of the South and that its outstanding reputation as an industrial center is based on a unique geographical situation whereby deposits of iron ore, coal, and limestone, the ingredients essential to the production of steel, are located in one area.

What is not so readily recognized is the fact that Jefferson County, in which Birmingham is located, is also a splendid agricultural area and thousands of persons make their livelihood by farming. In addition, Birmingham has one of the largest markets for agricultural products in the South. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, and to all who read the RECORD, this other outstanding aspect of Birmingham and Jefferson County, by inserting in the RECORD an article on the unusual Birmingham Food Terminal and Farmers Market which appears in the June issue of Birmingham, the official monthly publication of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce:

MARKETBASKET FOR MILLIONS

(By Anne Haney)

Sprawled over a 100-acre black-topped tract in the northwestern section of Birmingham is a complex of buildings and activities. This is the busy Birmingham Food Terminal & Farmers Market that help feed citizens of Alabama and surrrounding States and major cities far to the north and west. It is the only one-stop wholesale-marketing facility in the South, and perhaps the Nation.

Value of the entire section approaches $10 million.

Located adjacent to a railroad and handy to three major highways, the area allows ample room for the buzzing incoming and outgoing traffic that in many other cities is jammed together like the melee of Times Square.

This food giant had a quiet birth years ago as a small farmers market on First Avenue near downtown Birmingham. Here wholesalers came to make their daily purchases in the highly crowded area. Farmers had trouble getting their produce in; once in, they couldn't get out.

In 1921 a few farmers joined together to form the Jefferson County Truck Growers Association. They rented 3½ acres for space and offstreet parking on both sides of First Avenue. After one or two attempts to locate in other areas, still near the downtown area, they bought the First Avenue space they had been leasing and settled down.

Confusion steadily mounted, with the increase of traffic and the city's booming increase in population. Over the years, more and more trucks—both farmer-seller and wholesale-buyer—tried to get into the same amount of space. It was, in short, chaos.

The time had definitely come for a change. A preliminary survey in 1949 and a later survey in 1954 pointed to several sites as better locations for the market. The first survey was made by the Farm Credit Association at the request of the Bank for Co-ops in New Orleans; the second was made by the Auburn Marketing Division and USDA in Washington.

Off to Georgia and South Carolina to study other farmers markets went a committee from the Jefferson County Truck Growers Association. They were looking for the best ideas to put into what has become one of the five top farmers' markets in the United States.

The site chosen for the new Farmers Market was a vacated Southern Railroad yard. Negotiations were begun to buy the 25 acres from Southern and blueprints were drawn.

To stay near much of their source of supply and to take advantage of the convenient area, some 23 wholesalers, brokers, and processors joined together to form the Food Terminal on the other 75 acres of the 100-acre tract. Here the two—Farmers Market and Food Terminal—work together and complement each other.

Not a dime of public money is in the Farmers Market. The entire $1,200,000-facility is owned by the co-op, the Jefferson County Truck Growers Association.

Here are 192 lots under sheds for farmers to put their produce on display for the consumer public. Bordering the lots are parking facilities to accommodate 1,000 cars and trucks. At the height of the season, farmers line up their trucks as overflow selling sheds; as many as 500 to 600 trucks may display produce in the area at one time.

The daily fee is based on size of vehicle. A member can rent a stall for $100 a year, then does not need to pay a daily fee. However, when he is not using his stall, the association can rent it by the day to someone else.

The 50-unit wholesale dealer building, 1,190 feet by 80 feet, enclosed, includes dock area and icing facility. Here, too, on the Farmers Market are a service station, air conditioned restaurant, farm supplies store, adminitsration offices, and Federal-State inspection office.

The Farmers Market employs its own police force of 6 men on full time, 15 in summer. Eight to fifteen sweepers are constantly at work keeping the market clean. And the Farmers Market even takes care of its own garbage disposal, with a dump truck almost always enroute between the market and the city dump. (Stalls are emptied each day to make way for fresh produce).

In the summer, there is as much business at night as in the daytime. Between June 1 and September 1, 1961, about 20,000 loads came into the market. Most is hauled in 1½ ton trailers, but during the rush season, about 40 percent may be pickups. Six to seven Federal and State inspectors stay busy, checking on quality of the merchandise. If it does not come up to standard, out it goes.

"We have many parttime farmers in the State," says Jack Tanner, president of the

Jefferson County Truck Growers Association and manager of the Farmers Market. "Growing vegetables and fruits and selling here fits ideally into their plans. But the market is set up to take care of the largest as well as the smallest farmer."

The farmers themselves own and operate the market. Any farmer who produces and sells vegetables may join. At their annual meeting, they elect three directors, each of whom serves 3 years on the nine-member Board of Directors. "Though a director need not be from Jefferson County, he must be a producer," pointed out Mr. Tanner.

Thousands of Birmingham housewives pay regular visits to the market where they buy in quantity, take their produce home, and can or freeze it for future use.

But the bulk of the produce goes to brokers and wholesalers. Such big cities as Louisville, Indianapolis, and Nashville take much of it. Here they find turnip greens, green onions, tomatoes, peaches, strawberries, lima beans—almost any vegetable or fruit grown in a five-State area, when they are in season.

Right next door to the market is $7 million Birmingham Food Terminal. Pay a visit here between 3 and 7 a.m. and you'll find huge trailer trucks by the dozen, scurrying men by the hundreds—loading and unloading, getting the food on the way for the waiting, sleeping consumer.

Here is the largest project of its kind in the South, made up of about 25 different businesses, from a jelly preserve plant to a building containing 2 million cubic feet of public storage, much of it cold storage.

The firms at the terminal employ 1,000 persons and pay them more than $2½ million annually. In just 1 month, $150 million changes hands. In this location, out-of-town buyers can come in and get everything they need, for foodstuffs come into the terminal from all over the world. And in turn, they may be shipped anywhere in the United States as well as overseas.

A typical produce house, Eidson Produce, handles fruits and vegetables from beans to radishes, parsley to lemons. They originate trucks from California, Texas, Florida, Arizona—wherever they find what they need. Eidson, director of the food terminal, operates 25 trucks of its own, as well as using other trucks. The company serves 150 accounts in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Tennessee. To give an idea of the volume handled by a Birmingham Food Terminal produce house, Eidson's biggest item in 1961 was potatoes—290 carloads of them. Next was 165 loads of lettuce.

"We've found no change in the public taste in the past 10 or 15 years," says W. B. Eidson, head of Eidson Produce, "except that the housewife is constantly looking for better quality."

Located for easy access by rail or truck, a central distribution point for the Southeast, with foodstuffs pouring in and out by the tons, the Birmingham Food Terminal and Farmers Market are truly a market-basket for millions.

## Wayward Buses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, growing pressure is being exerted on behalf of the administration mass transportation bills, which are in various stages of progress in the respective bodies of the Congress.

An editorial in this morning's Wall Street Journal throws an interesting light on the New York City operation of mass transportation, which should at least cause us to pause and consider the implications of forcing public control over all the private transportation companies of the country.

I submit for the RECORD the editorial entitled "Wayward Buses":

WAYWARD BUSES

Whatever else may be said about New York City politicians (and volumes may be said), no one can deny that they take integration seriously. In fact, they not only integrate people but they also integrate buses.

We don't refer here to the integration of people on buses, but rather to the buses themselves. It seems that after the city abruptly seized the Fifth Avenue bus system from private owners last March, it was disturbed to note that Fifth Avenue buses were mostly shining and new whereas other bus routes were using older, less attractive equipment.

City Hall was troubled. Where was the social justice if Fifth Avenue patrons rode in new buses while Eighth Avenue patrons rode in old buses? It was an outrage. But the politicians did not have to look far for a solution.

According to eyewitnesses and company spokesmen, they simply took the new Fifth Avenue buses and integrated them with older buses all over town. But, alas, as ingenious as this remedy seems, it was not without its drawbacks. The Fifth Avenue buses were equipped with route destination signs for Fifth Avenue and the buses brought in from other lines were not.

Though the officials naturally blame it all on the expropriated company, the result is not hard to guess. Bus passengers now know they are on a bus but, like the city fathers themselves, they don't seem to know where they are going.

## A Report by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on the United Nations Bond Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present for consideration of your own distinguished self and all the other Members of this great legislative body the text of a report on the United Nations bond issue by the Committee on International Law of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York which I read in the report for July 1962, of the committee of that distinguished association of lawyers concerned with Federal legislation.

While it is true that within the last few days the advisory decision of the International Court of Justice has declared that the members of the United Nations who are delinquent on payments in certain areas must pay up or lose their voting rights within a time specified, I am sure that, nevertheless, this analytical report by the bar of the city of New York committee will still be found interesting and importantly informative in the premises.

A REPORT ON THE UNITED NATIONS BOND ISSUE

(By the Committee on International Law)

I

On December 11, 1961, the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations at the 899th meeting of the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee predicted that by the end of 1961 there would be a gap of $107.5 million between the organization's debts and its available net cash resources, which could be expected to increase to $170 million by June 30, 1962. The alarming rate at which the costs of the Congo operation alone had been multiplying, of which the members had been aware for some time as evidenced by the various previous actions taken and resolutions passed both by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Security Council, and the General Assembly, required immediate action. As a result on December 20, 1961, resolution 1739 (XVI), providing for a bond issue, was adopted by the General Assembly.

The General Assembly recognized that while the proposed bond issue should not be deemed a precedent for future financing of the expenses of the United Nations, existing circumstances required "extraordinary financial measures." Pursuant to the resolution the Secretary General was authorized to issue bonds not exceeding U.S. $200 million in principal amount and to use the proceeds from the sale of such bonds "for purposes normally related to the Working Capital Fund." The resolution provides that an amount sufficient to pay interest charges on the bonds and the installments of principal due is to be included annually in the regular budget of the United Nations. The bonds are to have a 25-year maturity and carry a rate of interest of 2 percent. They may be issued in U.S. dollars or in such other currency as determined by the Secretary General. Each bond will be payable in 25 annual installments at a rate increasing from 3.1 percent of the principal amount at the end of the first year to 5.1 percent at the end of the 25th year. There is provision for prepayment in whole or in part at any time provided the partial prepayment is applied equally and ratably to all the bonds outstanding. The bonds may be offered to states which are members of the United Nations, members of the specialized agencies and of the International Atomic Agency as well as to the official institutions of such members, and, if the Secretary General, with the concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, shall so determine, to nonprofit institutions or associations. The bonds will be transferable only to governments or institutions to which the bonds may be initially offered pursuant to the resolution. Agreements for the sale of the bonds must be concluded before the end of 1962, but may provide for delivery of and payment for the bonds at any time on or before December 31, 1963.

II

It is clear that the United Nations has the power to issue valid and binding obligations. Although, like a sovereign state, the organization could not be sued without its consent, its obligations are similarly binding.

Article 104 of the charter provides: "The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes."

The borrowing of funds is a necessary consequence of the exercise of the organization's functions. Indeed, the authority of the organization to borrow was not chal-

lenged in 1948 when it financed the construction of its headquarters. The members have been regularly assessed to repay that loan as part of the organization's annual budget.

The International Court of Justice recognized the organization as a legal entity capable of operating as such, in the case of Reparation for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations, I.C.J. Reports, 1949, 174, which considered the question whether the organization had the capacity to bring an international claim against a state for damage caused to the organization and its agents.

"In the opinion of the Court, the organization was intended to exercise and enjoy, and is in fact exercising and enjoying, functions and rights which can only be explained on the basis of the possession of a large measure of international personality and the capacity to operate upon an international plane.

"Accordingly, the Court has come to the conclusion that the organization is an international person. That is not the same thing as saying that it is a state, which it certainly is not, or that its legal personality and rights and duties are the same as those of a state. Still less is it the same thing as saying that it is 'a super-state,' whatever that expression may mean. It does not even imply that all its rights and duties must be upon the international plane, any more than all the rights and duties of a state must be upon that plane. What it does mean is that it is a subject of international law and capable of possessing international rights and duties, and that it has capacity to maintain its rights by bringing international claims" (p. 179).

The reasoning which led the Court to conclude that the organization has rights against states under international law would likewise lead to the conclusion that it would be obligated under international law to pay the bonds.

III

There is presently before the International Court of Justice a related question which could affect the repayment of the bonds. On the same day it passed the resolution concerning the bond issue the General Assembly by resolution 1731 (XVI) asked the Court pursuant to article 96 of the charter for an advisory opinion on the question whether expenditures by the organization for operations in the Near East and Congo were "expenses of the organization" which "shall be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly" under article 17, paragraph 3 of the charter.

The Committee has not considered the merits of this question, but the character of the bonds as valid and binding obligations of the organization would not be affected if the Court should rule that the expenditures for the Near East and Congo operations were not "expenses of the organization." In this conenction it is to be noted that:

1. Under the terms of the General Assembly's resolution, the proceeds of the bonds are not specifically allocated for reimbursing the expenditures referred to in the request for the advisory opinion.

2. The assessments out of which the bonds are to be repaid will not be specifically allocated for such repayment but will be included annually in the regular budget of the organization.

Thus, if the Court should rule that the Near East and Congo operations were not "expenses of the organization," and if this should permit a member to withhold payment of that portion of its proposed regular assessment representing payment for expenditures of a type referred to in the request for the advisory opinion, the organization would nevertheless remain obligated to repay the bonds out of available resources.

Committee on International Law: Isaac N. P. Stokes, Chairman; Frank P. Davidson, Carl F. Farbach, Albert H. Garretson, George W. Haight James N. Hyde, Carlyle E. Maw, Chester Rohrlich, Michael A. Schwind, Leander I. Shelly, Saul L. Sherman, Paul Smith, Jr., Robin T. Tait, Theodore H. Thiesing, Lowell C. Wadmond, Frederick A. Yonkman.

MAY 31, 1962.

## TV Documentary Depicts Rehabilitation of Vets at Concord Woodworking Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the work being done in the field of retraining and rehabilitating many of our ailing and afflicted veterans by the Concord Woodworking Co., of Concord, Mass., which has long cooperated with the Veterans' Administration in a program of assisting patients from the VA hospital at Bedford, Mass.

And now, I am especially proud to learn that a movie company, headed by Veterans' Administration officials from Washington, D.C., has just completed a picture, using the veterans as "stars" and the facilities of Concord Woodworking as the setting.

I think that the president of Concord Woodworking, my good friend, John Damon, deserves special commendation and thanks for his interest in this work, and for his willingness to offer the facilities of his firm to help restore these veterans to a healthy and useful life.

Following is a story from the Concord Free Press, of July 12, 1962, that describes in more detail what Concord Woodworking is doing to help our hospitalized veterans:

TV DOCUMENTARY DEPICTS REHABILITATION OF VETS AT CONCORD WOODWORKING CO.

CONCORD.—A moving picture crew was hard at work in town Monday, with Concord Woodworking Co. as the setting.

The movie company, headed by a staff of experts from the Veterans' Administration in Washington, D.C., used as its stars a number of the veterans from the Bedford VA Hospital, who are part of the rehabilitation program in which Concord Woodworking Co. has played an active role since its inception after World War II.

The local firm, which has been cited many times for its cooperation in the rehabilitation program, has aided the Veterans' Administration in returning dozens of mentally ill patients through the transition process back to gainful employment and normal lives.

DEPICTS REHABILITATION

The moving picture, part of a television documentary to be shown on the Nation's video stations in the fall, will depict the part local manufacturing and mercantile establishments can and do play in helping these veterans back to normal lives.

Concord Woodworking Co. president, John K. Damon, was one of the first business executives in the area to recognize the value of this sort of training, and initiated the program in his concern immediately after his return from the war.

Employing sometimes as many as a dozen veterans, the company, through cooperation with Bedford Hospital administrators, places the veterans in various positions throughout the company, either benefiting their skills or helping them to learn new jobs.

"This has been mutually beneficial to both the company and the veterans," according to Mr. Damon.

Many of the veterans, who have graduated from the program and won discharge from the hospital, have been returned to the community as useful members of society. "All they need is a chance to work at something useful, and realize that they are needed and desired," according to Hugh E. Kilmartin, rehabilitation coordinator for the physical medicine rehabilitation service of Bedford Hospital.

Himself a resident of Concord, Mr. Kilmartin has been one of the people most instrumental in launching and expanding the outpatient rehabilitation work program.

Other local firms which, like Concord Woodworking Co., have joined and helped to sustain the rehabilitation program, will also appear in the film, with the production crew planning to spend a week or more in the area.

## Washington Seems Defeatist in Contrast With Europe's Self-Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, whose observations and interpretations on international affairs and our country's role in today's world I have found more penetrating and more prophetic than those of any other student of contemporary events whose writings I have had opportunity to follow during the last two decades or so:

WASHINGTON ATTITUDE IS ONE OF DEFEATISM

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

WASHINGTON, July 20.—Coming home from a Europe bustling with prosperity and busy with plans for future strength to an America whose leaders seem drowsy with appeasement is a depressing experience.

Khrushchev's new burst of aggressive insolence was predictable. German officers in Bonn told me a month ago that our pathetic efforts to induce the Russians to see reason on Berlin, disarmament, the stoppage of tests, Laos, etc., were bound to provoke not a settlement but a new set of Soviet demands.

Yet, I get back just as Secretary of State Rusk starts off to Europe to celebrate the signing of a treaty with Laos that may cost us South Vietnam as well, and to try to find out why the Russians do not "see reason" on the subject of Berlin.

I hear over the radio that our Secretary thinks that even if Laos goes Communist, that will be no loss while if it stays neutral that will be just dandy. By the same theory he could advocate the neutrality of all Western Europe, of Japan, and of all our other allies.

My friends here tell me that the President's chief aim is to avoid "direct confrontation" with the Russians—meaning a tank facing a tank, while the truth is that the basic missile to missile stance is a giant confrontation which cannot be avoided if we

wist to remain free. I am also told that Secretary McNamara thinks that aiming our missile at Soviet strategical targets exclusively (unless the Russians have previously wiped out our cities) will cool Moscow's passion for brinkmanship. Why doesn't somebody tell him that brinkmanship is the Soviets' chief weapon and that only bold counterbrinkmanship by the United States has (so far) restricted the Communist blight to one-third of the world.

But instead of sending our new Ambassador, Foy Kohler, to Moscow, with instructions to inform the Russians that the endless palaver has ended with the recall of Ambassador Thompson (whom Germans make responsible for the recent Berlin plan that scared them so), the President states that Kohler's job will be to "prevent nuclear war with Russia."

Why not shut up, join our allies in scientific research and military strength, and let the Russians worry about the chances of conflict with us—for a change? If, as Secretary McNamara boasted, our side is much stronger, the danger of the Soviets starting a nuclear war is far less than the danger of making any further concessions to them. Unless of course, one follows the logic of "scientist" Jerome Wiesner that the stronger we get (antimissile missiles) and the safer we are (shelters for the people), the more likely a "despairing" Khrushchev will launch a nuclear attack. How crazy can you get?

Meanwhile, one finds the administration shaking in its shoes over the possibility that Chiang Kai-shek may make an effort to reconquer his own country which Communist blunders have brought to the verge of ruin. Some officials think we should hasten to feed China—presumably so that the Communists can not only hang on to it but successfully resist Chiang.

In short, I find the Washington official attitude one of basic defeatism hidden behind a hot air screen of talk about the historical "trend" being on our side. And obviously, this administration considers every day that passes without a nuclear war to be a victory even if Laos or British Guiana does "slip" behind the iron curtain (which Adlai Stevenson said "would not matter"). Personally, with the late William Faulkner, "I decline to accept the end of man."

Here at home I find an element of humor in the debate about whether or not the administration is pursuing a "no win" policy. State Department planner Walter Rostow says it is not—and then goes on to state that neither side can have victory. A distinguished columnist writes that the President really is trying to win the cold war but mistakenly refrains from saying so.

But surely, on this point the President himself is the ultimate authority. Only recently he told a press conference: "We are trying to maintain our own position."

If this means anything, it means that the United States will be satisfied with more or less successful containment of further Communist expansion. This may or may not be the best we could do. It is certainly not a policy of winning.

## Thief Stabs Woman in Church in Nation's Capital—House Aid Begged Assailant for Mercy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington (D.C.) Post and the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star published reports today about the stabbing of a congressional employee in St. Peter's Catholic Church in Washington, D.C., by a knife-wielding thug.

These articles graphically describe the situation in the Nation's Capital.

It seems to many citizens of the District of Columbia that all able-bodied police should be hard at work before such events occur making the streets safe for citizens and visitors so that such horrible things as this do not happen at all.

Interestingly enough Mrs. Richard M. Simpson, whose husband was one of our dearest colleagues, told me today that two policemen were busy yesterday checking on a small, struggling, nonprofit theater club in the Northwest section of the Nation's Capital. As a result of their work, the director was brought before the Corporation Counsel today and charged with selling admission tickets to these two policemen.

Many taxpayers believe that the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia should see to it that the police are out protecting citizens and taxpayers and visitors from thugs and assailants instead of being detailed to such picayunish tasks as checking on such theater clubs. If two policemen can be detailed to such a task, how many other policemen were assigned to other equally nonsensical duties? No wonder the streets and even the churches are not safe with the police pulled off their essential tasks of protecting the citizenry to check on unimportant and picayunish matters. Nothing is more important than the safety of the lives of its citizens: This should be the No. 1 concern of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia as it is the No. 1 concern of the heads of all other cities in our Nation.

After the lives and safety of its citizens are completely assured, the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia can then spend its time in such harmless pursuits as harassing or ignoring the cultural and artistic concerns of the citizens of the Nation's Capital.

However, it is clear that the result of such cultural assignments as checking on the many small theater clubs in the Nation's Capital is that the police get a totally undeserved reputation as being unable to properly protect the lives of the citizens of the Capital City of the world's leading nation.

I include herewith articles from the Washington Post and the Evening Star:

[From the Washington Post, July 24, 1962]

THIEF STABS WOMAN IN CHURCH—HILL AID ASSAULTED AT ALTAR—VICTIM WOUNDED NINE TIMES DESPITE FRANTIC PLEAS

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

Mary Lou Kosterlitzky, top administrative aid to Representative FRANK BECKER, Republican, of New York, was choked and stabbed nine times yesterday by an attacker who robbed her of $7 as she was at prayer alone in a Capitol Hill church.

Miss Kosterlitzky, 45, of 100 Maryland Avenue NE., told police she was kneeling at the altar of St. Peter's Catholic Church when a man approached her from behind and whispered:

"Keep quiet and you won't get hurt."

Robbery squad detectives said Miss Kosterlitzky told them she quickly reached in her purse and pleaded with the intruder:

"I'll give you my money. Please don't hurt me. I am not well."

She said the man then seized her by the arm and forced her to walk about 35 feet to a confessional box near the rear of the church, where he choked and stabbed her when she began screaming.

WALKS TO OFFICE

The next thing she remembered, police reported, she had regained consciousness on the floor and walked to the sexton's office for help. Sexton Frank Fustero summoned the Reverend Peter Maher, who called police.

Miss Kosterlitzky, stabbed nine times in her upper back and hand, was admitted to Casualty Hospital in serious condition. Her condition later was given as fair.

The attack set off a widespread search in the area surrounding the church at Second and C Streets SE., behind the Old House Office Building, where Miss Kosterlitzky works.

Police broadcast a lookout for a Negro man, 20 to 25 years old, about 6 feet, of thin build and wearing brown trousers and a green shirt.

Three suspects were picked up, but were released after Miss Kosterlitzky was unable to identify them.

BECKER, who said Miss Kosterlitzy had worked for him for 10 years, went to the House floor to give his colleagues a report on the incident.

He said Miss Kosterlitzky, who once was employed by Representative CLARE HOFFMAN, Republican, of Michigan, apparently was returning from her lunch hour and a visit to a bank when she stopped at the church to pray.

BECKER said he did not blame the Metropolitan Police, but leniency of the courts which give too many suspended sentences and too many light ones.

[From the Washington Evening Star, July 24, 1962]

STABBING—HOUSE AID BEGGED ASSAILANT FOR MERCY

More than 40 detectives have been assigned to the search for a knife-wielding thug who inflicted 9 stab wounds on a New York Congressman's aid in St. Peter's Catholic Church where she had gone to pray.

Deputy Police Chief Edgar E. Scott today threw every available man in the homicide, robbery, and sex squads, as well as the fifth precinct, into the manhunt.

Miss Mary Lou Kosterlitzky, 45, of 110 Maryland Avenue NE., was reported in fair condition at Casualty Hospital and is expected to survive the slashing. Detectives said the nine wounds in her back and hand were from three-quarters of an inch to an inch deep and apparently were inflicted with a penknife.

Miss Kosterlitzky, from her hospital bed, was able to tell investigators the attacker was a Negro, 20 to 25 years old, slender and about 6 feet tall. He was wearing a green shirt which police theorized may be blood splattered.

TWENTY YEARS ON HILL

Miss Kosterlitzky has been a Capitol Hill employe for the past 20 years, the last 10 of them in the office of Representative BECKER, Republican of the Third New York District. She is now administrative aide to Mr. BECKER.

She was attacked in the church at Second and C Streets SE, shortly after 2 p.m., police said. Representative BECKER who hurried to his employe's side as soon as he was told of the attack, said Miss Kosterlitzky had left the office about 1:30 p.m. to go to a Capitol Hill area bank.

Then she walked south on Second Street and entered St. Peter's Church. The interior of the church is well lighted and usually

there are several persons praying there in the daytime, police said.

Miss Kosterlitzky knelt at the altar rail near a statue of the Virgin Mary, she said. It was then that she first noticed the man who attacked her. She said she looked over her shoulder to see the time on a wall clock and observed the man pacing back and forth near the entrance of the church.

ATTACKER APPROACHES

Then, the victim related, the man came up to the altar rail where she was praying and ordered her to walk to the back of the church.

Robbery squad detectives said she quoted the man as saying, "Keep quiet and you won't get hurt."

The woman, a tall brunet told police she immediately reached into her purse and gave the man the $7 she had with her and pleaded with him not to hurt her.

But, she said, he seized her arm and forced her to walk about 40 feet to a confessional box near the rear of the church. The attacker apparently stabbed her when she started screaming for help near the confessional.

Miss Kosterlitzky said that much of what happened after that is a blank. Inspector Nunzio Bonaccorsy said investigators found blood, a bloodstained woman's handkerchief, and part of a necklace in the confessional booth and more blood on a pew near the front of the church.

They said Miss Kosterlitzky struggled to the front of the church where she attracted the attention of a custodian, Frank Fustero, Mr. Fustero helped her next door to the rectory where the Reverend Peter Maher called police and Representative BECKER.

SOUTHEAST SEARCHED

The New York Congressman rushed to the church and rode to Casualty Hospital with his aid. Meanwhile, detectives, uniformed police, and canine corps teams converged on the scene and began a search of the Southeast area, fanning out from the Old House Office Building and the neighborhood around the church.

Later Representative BECKER returned to the House and interrupted a debate to tell his colleagues about the attack on Miss Kosterlitzky.

He asked that the judicial system in the District turn to tighter, tougher sentences, and charged that suspended and light sentences for serious offenses help cause crime in the Nation's Capital.

Miss Kosterlitzky, who was born in Mexico, was described by her coworkers as a friendly person, pleasant, always joking, and always willing to help another. She lived in an apartment at the Methodist Building.

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## Outstanding Colleges: Mark of a Great City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, there is no surer way to measure the importance of a city than to count the outstanding educational institutions located there. Birmingham, Ala., my home, which is often called the youngest of America's great cities, is fast becoming one of the top educational centers in the South due to the splendid reputation of the several colleges and institutions of higher learning located there.

I believe that it will be of interest to my colleagues, and all who read the RECORD, to note salient factors about some of Birmingham's outstanding institutions of higher learning and, thus, I enclose herewith an article on the subject which was printed in the June issue of Birmingham, the official publication of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce:

WHERE TO GO TO COLLEGE?

Where should my son or daughter go to school to get a first-class education? In the fields of liberal arts, certain phases of medicine, engineering, and other professions, the answer can be—Birmingham. The validity of this statement is proven by the emphasis on excellence at Birmingham-Southern College and Howard College, the renown of the faculty at the Medical School of the University of Alabama, the 3-year credit courses at the University of Alabama Birmingham Center, and the soon-to-come 4-year credit course in engineering at the center.

Whether one's objective be a degree, or his interest limited to broadening his education in noncredit classes for pleasure or profit, his goal may be achieved without leaving Birmingham.

Except that each of the schools mentioned offers the opportunity for a superior education in chosen fields and that the alumni of all consider their alma mater superior, the institutions are not comparable. The order of their mention in this article is not, therefore, to be interpreted as a judgment of the degree of excellence by the author.

At his inauguration as president of Birmingham-Southern College Dr. Henry King Stanford said: "We should now lift our sights to national standards of excellence and exert every effort to achieve them." While he was expressing this viewpoint for the institution which he headed, he could well have been speaking also for Dr. Leslie S. Wright, president of Howard College, as well as for Dr. Frank Rose, president of the University of Alabama. Each has expressed a similar goal.

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM CENTER

The university center in Birmingham is a part of the University of Alabama. It is headed by Dr. G. W. Campbell. Its purpose is to bring as many as possible of the services and facilities of the university to persons in Birmingham and neighboring communities.

The center has an impressive growth record. It was opened in 1936 in an old frame residence on 6th Avenue and 22d Street, with an enrollment of 116 adult students. Immediately after the end of World War II, university officials saw the necessity of improved and expanded facilities. By 1954 the center moved to its present location at 720 South 20th Street. By 1960–61, enrollment had increased to approximately 1,800 persons per quarter. The faculty had increased to 25 full-time and 41 part-time members.

The center program is designed to meet a variety of educational needs. Regular credit courses are offered, mainly in the late afternoon and evening, for the convenience of students with responsibilities which prevent attendance at other times of the day. These courses lead toward undergraduate and graduate degrees from the university. At present, 3 years of credit can be earned in the arts and sciences, business administration, chemistry, engineering, and nursing. Occasional undergraduate courses are offered in education and home economics. Up to 12 semester hours of credit can be earned toward a master's degree, mainly in education and engineering. By 1963, when new engineering facilities will have been completed, the degree of bachelor of science in engineering may be earned in Birmingham.

Numerous noncredit progams of a professional and semiprofessional nature are offered primarily for persons in business, industry, and Government. Special courses, seminars, workshops, institutes, discussion groups, and clinics are offered in cooperation with the various community organizations. One of every six pesons now attending the center is enrolled in special programs such as management development, real estate, insurance, electronic data processing, painting, art appreciation, and theater arts.

The center also operates Clark Memorial Theater, one of the valuable facilities of its speech course which embraces dramatic arts training. During 1961 several hundred persons actively participated in the productions before audiences aggregating approximately 27,000.

Deans of the schools and colleges and heads of the instructional departments on the main campus at Tuscaloosa provide supervision and guidance of all academic programs at the Birmingham center. Standards of instruction, course requirements, grading, and admission policies at the center are the same as those at the main campus.

Center students usually can be divided into two groups. The first consists of those who desire regular courses offered by the university, yet who work and cannot attend classes on the main campus during the day. The second group consists of persons who, regardless of their past educational experiences, wish to continue intellectual or cultural pursuits or to increase their professional, semiprofessional or technical training, without regard to the accumulation of college credits.

Both physical facilities and programs at the center are expanding. By January 1963 a new engineering building will be ready for occupancy. The building was made possible by gifts and pledges totaling about $880,000. In the university's long-range plans, a new university center building will be located on the southwest corner of 8th Avenue and 20th Street and will join the new engineering building.

During the 24 years of its existence the center has made a significant educational contribution to individuals, groups, and organizations in the Birmingham area. Since continuing education has become a lifelong necessity, the center will make an even greater contribution to the people of Birmingham in the years ahead.

BIRMINGHAM-SOUTHERN COLLEGE

Birmingham-Southern College offers degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science in a variety of subject fields, and master of science degrees in chemistry and biology.

In the past 4 years, under the leadership of President Henry King Stanford, the college has strengthened majors in several fields by strong appointments to the faculty in the fields of art, biology, economics, foreign languages, and political science.

A realistic stocktaking indicated that the size of the instructional staff for a few subjects was not adequate for the optimum standard of a major field. Majors in these subjects (physical education, dramatic arts, journalism, geography, sociology) have been dropped, although many courses in these fields are still offered.

Along with the college of arts and sciences, the Birmingham-Southern Conservatory of Music has achieved a place of prominence. This year, for the fourth consecutive year, students or graduates of the conservatory won all three events in the Birmingham Music Club competition.

Birmingham-Southern College offers a noncredit adult education program of liberal arts subjects and discussion groups. Each quarter a number of evening courses is selected on the basis of timeliness and demonstrated community interest. For example,

a recent quarter's program featured courses in astronomy, religion, creative writing, reading comprehension, and world affairs.

Birmingham-Southern sponsors the distinguished professor series, in which leading scholars from throughout the country are invited to speak to adult audiences in Birmingham. The annual lecture series is sponsored in cooperation with the American Association of University Women. Important figures in world affairs and journalism are brought to Birmingham under this program.

Birmingham-Southern's dramatic and musical events have long been known for their vigor, originality and quality of production. Under the directorship of Dr. Arnold Powell, College Theater at BSC has been one of the city's excellent sources of fresh, lively dramatic entertainment.

Another community service is the Executives Institute, a year-round program for Birmingham businessmen interested in acquiring a new association with literature and the arts.

Selected participants in the institute travel to High Hampton Inn, North Carolina, where for 2 weeks they attend discussions with Birmingham-Southern faculty members and engage in study sessions on literary and artistic works.

The fellows of the Institute meet at various times throughout the year for further discussions and new assignments. Now in its second year, the Institute has become a highly admired and enthusiastically accepted plan for adding to the intellectual versatility of businessmen.

The faculty consists of 62 full-time teaching employees, 46 percent of whom have had 10 years or more of teaching experience. Almost 75 percent of the staff members have taught for more than 5 years.

There are 24 full professors, 18 of whom have Ph. D. degrees; 14 associate professors, 4 with Ph. D. degrees, and 22 assistant professors, 4 with Ph. D.'s. In all, 40 percent of the faculty members hold Ph. D.'s, and a number of professors in specialized fields hold "terminal" degrees for their fields (art, music, physical education).

Sixty-five postgraduate degrees are held from colleges throughout the United States, including 41 from southern colleges and universities. Others are from Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Bryn Mawr, and Cambridge. Thirty-five of the sixty-five degrees were granted by universities which belong to the Association of American Universities—the elite of the Nation's educational institutions.

Thirty-six members of the faculty belong to national professional organizations. Fifteen have published one or more scholarly works within the past decade, including 6 books and 38 articles.

A $6 million, long-range development plan for the 250-acre campus is now well in progress. Within a few years most students will live on campus.

Thirty-two apartments for married students have been constructed, the old Munger Athletic Field has been replaced by a new and larger Munger Field, making room for two new buildings at the old site.

Construction is now underway on two new buildings—the Guy E. Snavely Student Center, which will almost triple the size of the old center and greatly modernize its facilities—and the new dormitories, one for men, the other for women, completing the "dormitory quadrangle" at the highest point on the Hilltop.

Temporary classroom and housing structures, built after World War II to accommodate veterans, are being razed.

The next major building project will be the $1.5 million Fine Arts Center. This showplace will house the art department, dramatics, music education and will feature an ultramodern auditorium.

The growing Birmingham-Southern Library now contains 89,500 cataloged volumes. Preliminary plans contemplate replacing the present library with a much larger building. Some 1,200 new titles were added to the library during 1960–61.

Artists Raymond McMahon and Virginia Rembert of the fine arts department are frequent contributors to exhibits in this area and have each had numerous one-man shows.

Religious organizations representing most major Protestant denominations and Catholic faith are active on the campus. Each year during winter quarter a Religious Emphasis Week is held, at which time a leading clergyman speaks at a special convocation each day. Many of the regular weekly convocation speakers are also religious leaders.

Birmingham-Southern has traditions, some of long standing, some ever changing, but all combining to produce a college spirit that most students feel is distinctive.

Among these traditions is the honor code, which gives the students heavy responsibility to uphold the values of honesty and integrity both in classroom work and in contact with fellow students and faculty members.

Birmingham-Southern has its May Day, interfraternity sing, "Mr. Hilltopper," stunt night, sports event, water ballet, and the Cellar, but these are, in the words of the late Dean Henry Shanks, "only evidences and expressions of the larger traditions. The individual, campus democracy, deep spiritual life, and high standards of excellence—these are the fundamental traditions at Birmingham-Southern College."

HOWARD COLLEGE

Academic excellence in a Christian environment accurately describes Howard College, the largest privately supported and fully accredited 4-year, coeducational college in Alabama.

In Howard's program of educational service there are more than 2,200 students enrolled from 64 Alabama counties, 22 other States, and 8 foreign countries.

The academic program, fully approved and accredited by all appropriate State, regional, and national accrediting agencies, includes 24 areas in which students can prepare for as many as 70 types of careers.

Degree programs leading to the bachelor of arts, bachelor of music, bachelor of science, bachelor of science in pharmacy, and bachelor of laws, are offered at Howard. The acquisition of the 115-year-old distinguished and renowned Cumberland School of Law has added a significant new area of service to the academic program.

The school also offers a combined-degrees program where students may continue work done in the college of liberal arts with that completed in the school of law in order to receive in 6 years the two degrees of bachelor of arts or bachelor of science and the bachelor of laws.

In joint programs which Howard has with Vanderbilt, Auburn, and Duke Universities, students interested in engineering and forestry may take a 5-year curriculum which leads to two bachelor's degrees. Under this arrangement the student takes a 3-year general program at Howard and a 2-year technical curriculum at one of these universities.

Howard's nationally accredited division of pharmacy is one of the largest and best-known in the Southeast. It is now a 5-year program, equaling any in the country.

Preprofessional courses now offered at Howard are law, engineering, medicine, dentistry, nursing, medical technology, and forestry.

Howard's evening division, offering opportunities for night students to earn degrees in some fields, was integrated with the day division in the 1961 fall semester. Classes are now offered from 8 in the morning until 10 at night.

Howard provides a varied program of adult education as a community service. Some of the programs carry college credit, while others are professional or avocational. The programs range from developmental reading for interested members of the community, to short-term courses for teachers and church workers.

A major division at Howard, the education department, has this responsibility along with that of providing teachers for schools. Howard has historically provided a large number fo qualified teachers for the public and private schools of Alabama and the Southeast. In 1960 there were 362 Howard graduates teaching in Jefferson County.

Another important community service has been developed by the biology department. Sixty acres of natural area, which includes a nature trail and amphitheater are available to study and use of public school science classes, Boy Scouts, and other groups interested in nature study and research.

Howard's nuclear science program is becoming one of the finest among small colleges in the entire South. Dr. Edward Robinson, a physics Ph. D. graduate of Purdue University, came to Howard in the fall of 1961 to direct the cyclotron research program.

An important division of the college, the widely emulated extension division for Christian training, reaches thousands of students in various centers over the State.

A library is the heart of a college. The Howard Library, serviced by a staff of 36 librarians, with a collection of 121,000 volumes, and a manuscript collection of 130,000 items, is a valuable center for research in numerous fields.

Exceptional collections of law, pharmacy, history, and biology works are available along with a rapidly growing collection of historical materials.

The library operates a professional microfilm department which actively seeks out important historical material. It has filmed more than 180,000 pages of unique historical documents, such as ante bellum local newspapers.

The faculty members at Howard have a widespread educational background. In their educational preparation they have attended 86 colleges and universities in the United States, France, Germany, and England for their degree programs. The terminal degrees of the faculty have been earned in 49 universities.

Forty-six percent of Howard's faculty hold earned doctoral degrees in their fields of specialization. This is far above the national average of 23 percent.

As an encouragement to faculty members to further achievement, sabbatical leaves are granted by the college. Faculty members are eligible to receive their full salary for one semester (one-half of the academic year) or one-half pay for two semesters (full academic year), for advanced study and research after 6 years of service.

Howard students enjoy a completely new 400-acre campus in the beautiful Shades Valley section of Greater Birmingham.

Five new buildings will soon be added to the 12 already completed on the Howard College campus. Two apartment buildings for married students, an additional residence hall for men, another for women, and a building to house the cyclotron are presently in varying stages of construction. All of the buildings are of Colonial-Georgian design in keeping with the standard architecture of the college.

The completion of the $1 million health and physical education building in September 1961, marked the beginning of the second phase of development of the new campus. At the present stage the new campus is valued at approximately $14 million.

The second phase of development, projected over a 10-year period to cover the sixties, will include the construction of 10

buildings and will complete the originally planned program of campus development, expected to cost $8 to $10 million.

Abundant opportunities for cultural, spiritual, and physical development are found at Howard College.

Each year the Student Government Association's concert and lecture series brings outstanding, nationally known groups in music and drama, as well as lecturers, to the campus.

The library lecture series features lecturers in varied fields each year, all well known in the publishing industry.

Howard's a cappella choir travels the Southeastern States each year giving concerts. Two of their tour programs have been released in record albums.

The music department's faculty concert series is a highlight of the concert season in Birmingham each year.

Howard's strong emphasis upon Christian ideals and practices is reflected in its rich program of student religious activities. A full-time director is in charge of the program which is centered around such daily, weekly, and annual activities as morning meditation, mission band, student retreats, and the Ministerial Association. All students attend weekly chapel services.

The annual Christian Focus Week brings outstanding religious lecturers to the campus.

Howard encourages extracurricular activities as a vital part of its educational program. The program includes Masquers Theater group, four national social fraternities, four national social sororities, and more than 20 Greek-letter and other professional, honorary, literary, and scholastic societies.

The physical education program at Howard is designed to develop the individual physically, spiritually, and mentally and comprises several divisions: (1) Required physical education for all students; (2) intramural athletics; (3) varsity athletics; and (4) professional preparation for teachers and coaches.

Howard is justly proud of its program for the preparation of high school teachers and coaches. Many of the coaches in Alabama are products of this professional program at Howard—a program that is rapidly expanding with the completion of the vast physical education complex that sprawls over the western sector of the new campus, covering in excess of a million square feet.

Howard's intercollegiate sports situation is improving under a renewed program. The football and basketball teams are rated among the top small college teams in the Nation.

Founded at Marion in 1842, Howard is the second oldest coeducational college in Alabama, and has been located at Birmingham since 1887.

## Clare Hoffman

SPEECH
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, as a partisan of long standing, CLARE HOFFMAN probably had little sympathy with what I was doing, but as a partisan he understands why I could not be here.

We shall miss CLARE HOFFMAN. The number of times CLARE HOFFMAN and I have voted together probably could be enumerated with the fingers of one hand. In the Committee on Education and Labor if we ever cast a single identical vote—unless it had to do with impacted-area legislation—it escapes me.

Although we differed—and still do—it was comforting to see him around. You knew where he stood. He made it clear and consistent. He has not, nor does he now, talk one way and vote another.

CLARE HOFFMAN and I have one thing in common. We love to fish. Dipping a line in a clear stream provides us both with relaxation from the strains of legislation. His forays on worms on the Capitol grounds have been nationally noted. For my part, I fish in West Virginia streams. I would not think of trying to feed those fish any flatland foreign worms.

I wish CLARE many days of good fishing when he closes his office for the last time.

## America's National Purpose: An Address by Rabbi William Berkowitz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address by Rabbi William Berkowitz, of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, New York City. Rabbi Berkowitz delivered his address at the 53d annual convention of B'nai Zion at Monticello, N.Y., on June 1, 1962:

AMERICA'S NATIONAL PURPOSE

(Address by Rabbi William Berkowitz)

May I begin by telling you how good it is to be in your midst. I do not know how many of you know this fact: I was raised in a home that was singular not only for its Hebraic culture, its Judaism, its nationalism, but also for its B'nai Zionism. As a youngster I attended with my parents B'nai Zion conventions and such names as Mr. Abramowitz Isaac Allen, Harry Pine, Joseph Kramer, Harris J. Levine and Herman Z. Quittman were names that were spoken of in my home with great respect and affection. Thus, you can understand that it was only natural for me to hitch my wagon to the B'nai Zion star, a star that is truly becoming meteoric in its ascent and in its brilliance. Likewise you can understand why we always bring our children to these conventions, because someday our son, Perry Ethan, may stand where I am standing and our daughter, Adena Karen, may head the women's division. In short I can say with the Psalmist: "It is good to be with you and to enjoy your friendship."

Now this evening my task is a most difficult one. For here I stand before a large and impressive group of thinking men and women, people who have gathered at this 53d annual convention of B'nai Zion and who look to the speaker to present in a brief period of time a message that will charge your thinking, that will answer some of the questions that are uppermost in the minds of all of us.

Thus, I began to ponder: What shall be my theme? I realized that the very gifted rabbi, Dr. Charles Shulman would speak on the subject of "The Adequacy of Judaism", and in passing I must say that he spoke most eloquently. He was more than adequate to this theme. I also knew what I would be called on to preach at Sabbath services, at which time I would concern myself with a Jewish theme. Here in passing may I offer a commercial in behalf of our Sabbath services, which take place tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and the sermon at 10:30, on the subject of "Challenge and Response". Those of you who drove up to Kutsher's must have noticed the sign on the road which read, "There are no services on this route." Unlike that sign, there will be services here tomorrow morning, and I hope all of you will attend. Likewise I knew that tomorrow there would be discussions on Israel and Zionism. And so mindful of all this and aware that "Upon three things the world of Bnai Zion stands: upon Zionism, upon fraternalism and upon Americanism"; I decided to turn to the theme of Americanism and have entitled my discourse "America's National Purpose."

My friends, what is it that is gnawing at the souls of people today? What perplexing question is it that heads the agenda of our personal and collective lives? The more one thinks and the more one ponders this question the more one realizes that the burning issue today is: how can our world be saved? This question is being asked before every shrine, every altar, every pulpit and tabernacle in the world. It is being voiced by peoples of all colors and creeds.

America, too, has pondered this crucial question. In a series of provocative essays in leading magazines, some of our leading thinkers have addressed themselves to our national purpose. Through these essays they have striven to awaken the body politic to the challenge of reexamining ourselves as to our aspirations. We are admonished to contemplate what we as citizens and as a nation want and hope to achieve in life. Indeed, we have come to the realization more and more that America today faces the burden of leadership with regard to the entire world. It is therefore no exaggeration to state that the people of the world look to us to lead in helping to save the world.

Come then my fellow Americans. Let us look inwardly. Let us reevaluate our own lives. Let us reassess our national goals and purposes and not drift aimlessly in the sea of depair. How appropriate to do so in the community of Monticello, for Monticello reminds each of us of that great American, a President of the United States, author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson.

To be sure one could speak at considerable length reiterating the virtues and the greatness that has made America the great land that it is, that has made us unwilling to trade her for any other under the sun. And yet, our consciousness of her inadequacies is not an antonym of love. True, we have made great advances. However what further progress we make on the path that leads to a rebirth of our national spirit and to the maintenance of our world leadership depends on how we respond to three major challenges confronting our Nation and mankind as a whole.

What are these challenges?

The first challenge of our age is psychological. Spelled out this means can we go further than the reduction of prejudice, intolerance, and bigotry to its ultimate disappearance. Alas, to report that the America of today is a far cry from the wishes and dreams of our Founding Fathers. What a gap between our creed and our deed. We were established as a land of haven and sanctuary for those who escaped from intolerance elsewhere. We became known as the great melting pot made up of so many racial, religious, and national groups. In the near two centuries of our history we have assimilated millions from every

part of the world and fashioned our Nation united and loyal. Such is our history.

And yet how is it with us today? In spite of undeniable gains, the story of the American Negro is but one sad example of the current state of affairs of the relationship between man and man. It needs little elaboration, for it is well known to all Americans, north and south of the Mason-Dixon line.

This yearning for the elimination of prejudice, the pursuit for integration and equality is beautifully illustrated in a prayer written by a Negro girl named Rosalind Haynes, who attends the New York public schools. Hear her plea:

"A TALK WITH GOD

"Dear God,
I've got a thing or two so mixed,
I thought no one but you could fix things up,
And make things right,
So I can sleep in peace tonight.

"I'm only 13 years old you see,
And this thing has been worrying me.
I'm telling you what it's about,
Because I know you'll help me out.

"In my neighborhood, not far from me,
A few blocks maybe two or three,
There's a school with playground wide,
And trees and shrubs on every side.

"I tried to get my Mom to see,
That this big school was built for me.
But she said no I cannot go,
That school is just for whites you know.

"Now God
You made the people,
All the white, the black, the great and small.
So I wish you'd explain to me,
The way you meant this thing to be.

"I asked my Mommie what was wrong,
But the words she used were much too long.
God what is meant by integration,
And a word called segregation?
I thought and thought when she got through,
And decided I would talk with you.

"Please let the folks who built that school
Learn something about the Golden Rule.
Let them know that it was your plan
To dye my skin a shade of tan,
But within I'm filled with childish joys,
Just like other girls and boys.

"The kinks within my hair may be,
Don't mar the soul that lives in me,
And whether lips are thick or thin,
They are mostly used to talk or grin.

"Dear God,
Please straighten out if you can,
This mess which has been made by man and let me use,
Just as I should, the school that's in my neighborhood."

Is this the America, the home of the free, the land of the brave? Let me cite another example that is still fresh in our minds. I refer to the religious hate, prejudice and bigotry that was injected into the recent presidential campaign. Each day our newspapers were filled with statements, some by reliable people, others by unreliable individuals, refusing to discuss the candidates on their merits or to face the issues but rather using the excuse of separation of church and state to feed the flame of bigotry; others basing arguments on innuendo and the half-lie, and giving expression to misrepresentation of facts with regard to both candidates. Is this the image of America that we wish to fashion for ourselves at home and abroad?

If America is to have a rebirth of its spirit, we must meet the test of this first challenge. Achieving tolerance and understanding means as someone rightly said, the recognition that in a democracy there may be any amount of distance from one another, provided it is not a distance of altitude. Totalitarianism demands uniformity. Democracy encourages variety. We must emphasize the right to be different and to accept those who are different, who think differently, whose physiognomy is different, whose skin is of a different color and whose religion teaches a creed completely different from our town. To emphasize the right to be different and our duty to respect that difference—that is the true meaning of broherhood and tolerance.

Do you remember the story told of the little girl who was explained the word humanity by her mother? She wasn't too succesful. Finally, the mother said to her daughter, "Well maybe you will understand if I tell you that all the people we know are humanity." That made an impression. The little girl's face lit up but then there was an expression of doubt. She asked, "But mommie, how about the people we don't know? Are they humanity?" Too many of us assume that it is only the people whom we know and whom we like who are humanity and are therefore candidates for brotherhood. America, if it is to regain its national purpose and its image in the world, must stand for and practice brotherhood. Our Nation would do well to look to the teachings of our Hebraic heritage, the cornerstone of American civilization. They would discover that God created one man Adam, as eternal proof that all men are equal before God and, therefore, should be equal before man.

The second challenge facing America's national purpose is political. In other words the question before us is: Can we go further than coexistence with communism to a global victory for democracy? In the last 50 years many new nations have emerged. As these words are being spoken the United Nations continues in session. Confronting the United Nations is an agenda of many items. Yet the basic question before it is: Can the free world lead in the global victory for democracy? Will the winds of nationalism bear the uncommitted nations toward the free world or into the Soviet orbit?

It is here that America can lead the free world if we but follow the path of faith rather than the path of fear. As of now our approach to communism has been one of hate and fear. However we must be aware that hate and fear are not a sound basis on which to establish anything, least of all a foreign policy. Let us rather recognize what communism is. It is a philosophy of poverty. Only in poverty and deprivation can all men be made and kept equal under the state. Why then should the democracies fear communism? Moreover, why suggest that all peoples and new nations must choose between communism and democracy. Such a choice implies that communism is politically and economically and spiritually an acceptable alternative to democracy. Nothing is further from the truth. There is no choice for those who wish to be free. The choice between communism and democracy is a choice between a God-filled world versus an atheistic world. The choice is: Does the state exist for the individual or the individual exist for the state? Is the individual holy and sacred or is he not? Shall we say that man is created in the image of God, or as the Communists say the state creates itself in the image of God.

If we seek the path of faith rather than fear, then the way to deal with Russia is not by trying to cut them off but by being ready and able to meet them on our terms, not on theirs. The mistake of western diplomacy is that we always meet the Russians on their terms, not on our terms. We have gone to the bargaining table only when forced by their initiative. Therefore our attitude has been defensive and negative. Thus, we have been ridden by fear rather than filled with faith.

If America is to regain its national purpose politically we must realize what a noted theologian recently said: "When the world was large and it took months to travel from one place to another, we could afford to be little men. Now that the entire world is a small neighborhood, we need big men and big minds."

While we may not be able to match the propaganda of communism, let us outmatch their performance. The open hand of democracy must prove itself far stronger and more effective than the closed fist of communism. If we discover that it is difficult to outlaw communism, let's outlive it. As the nations of the world continue to assemble at the U.N., and as the eyes and ears of the universe are focused on this world tribunal, let America based on a program of faith help lead in the prayer for one mankind and one world and fulfill the words of the Prophet Isaiah: "When nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The third challenge facing America if it is to regain its national purpose deals with morality. Here the question before us is: Can we shape our society into a better moral order? Again the challenge is hardly new. It is the age-old question of translating into practice the teachings of our heritage. This heritage calls upon us to dedicate ourselves not only to brotherhood, to peace and democracy, but also to morality.

What is moral law? Centuries ago a group of men arose in Judea who were part of the prophetic movement of Judaism, great and noble men, who taught morality not only for their generation but for those that followed. Amos, a shepherd, decried a society that oppresses the poor and enslaves the weak. He said, "Let justice well up like water."

Micah spoke of mercy when he said: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to love mercy, to do justice and to walk humbly with your Lord."

Hosea spoke about love, that which is so vital and necessary for man and society.

Jeremiah said: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom. Neither let the mighty man glory in his might. Let not the rich man glory in his riches. But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me that I am the Lord who exercises mercy."

These words of the Prophets are not empty dreams but are the foundation stones upon which our universe is built. If America is to regain its national purpose we must recognize that the moral law cannot be denied. This means a program of morality that reaches out into our economy, into our schools, into our relationships with other nations, into all phases of our day-to-day living. America's moral image to the world must be as the freest land rather than the richest, as the most attuned to human needs rather than the most powerful, as the servant of justice rather than as the leader of the world.

When the Israel armies marched into the Sinai peninsula the radio at that time carried the following broadcast: "This is Edward R. Murrow broadcasting from Jerusalem. Beside me is an Israel soldier and next to him is his tank. He has just returned from battle." The voice described the soldier whose face was blackened by smoke and powder. Then Murrow continued: "I know that you are returning to the front almost immediately. Tell me, suppose I were God and could grant you one wish—what would you ask for?" There was a pause for a few seconds and the reply was heard clearly. "If you were God and could grant me my wish, then give me tomorrow. I want to see tomorrow."

My friends, this is what we are working for. We want a tomorrow—a beautiful tomorrow for ourselves, our loved ones and the world. We crave a tomorrow in which this blessed land shall successfully meet the challenges facing us—psychological, political and moral and thus regain and restore America's national purpose and leadership in the world.

Thus do we pray: "May the God of our fathers grant us the strength together with all other Americans to lead in doing what needs to be done in order to fashion that tomorrow which will be a happy and peaceful one for us, for America, for Israel, for all mankind."

## Is There Anything New About Pensions?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting and enlightening editorial which appeared in the National Tribune—The Stars and Stripes on July 19, 1962:

IS THERE ANYTHING NEW ABOUT PENSIONS?

During the past several weeks there has been much space devoted in the editorial and news columns of the larger newspapers dealing with the pension proposals put forth by the Veterans of World War I, Inc. From the tone of these articles it would appear that the writers are of the opinion that pensions are something new and different in the history of this Nation.

Such legislation is not in any sense new but it is unique that the provisions of H.R. 3745 would grant benefits to World War I veterans similar in some respects to those of previous wars.

Pensions are as old as the Nation itself. It was George Washington who first proposed to the New Congress that veterans of the Revolutionary War be rewarded for their service. Since that time veterans of all wars have received benefits in varying degrees. In view of the publicity generated over this issue, we are publishing herewith a detailed summary of pension legislation since the inception of the Republic.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR (APRIL 19, 1775, TO APRIL 11, 1783)

The first act to provide non-service-connected pension for veterans was enacted March 18, 1818, for veterans of the Revolutionary War. This was 35 years after the end of the war. In order for a veteran to be eligible, he must have served a minimum of 9 months. The pension was payable to those "who is, or hereafter, by reason of reduced circumstances in life, shall be in need of assistance from his country for support." The rate provided was $20 per month for commissioned officers and $8 per month for others.

The act of May 15, 1828, provided pensions for officers and soldiers without qualificaton as to property, but under certain other conditions, who served in the continental line of the Army to the end of the war. The pension amounted to their full pay in the line according to rank, not to exceed in any case the full pay of a captain.

The act of June 7, 1832, provided pension for services of 2 years or more during the War of the Revolution. This pension was also based on pay received in service, not exceeding the pay of a captain. Those having less than 2 years, but not less than 6 months' service, were paid "an amount bearing such proportion to the annuity granted to the same rank of the soldier's grade." Under this act, rates ranged from $20 per annum to $600 per annum, according to rank and length of service. The age factor was implied, but not specifically mentioned. The rates provided for in this act of June 7, 1832, were not increased by subsequent legislation.

WAR OF 1812 (JUNE 18, 1812, TO FEB. 17, 1815)

The first service pension law for veterans of the War of 1812 was enacted February 14, 1871, or 56 years after the end of the war. Generally, a pensioner must have had 60 days honorable service. The amount of pension was $8 per month. The 60-day service provision was reduced by an act of Congress on March 9, 1878, to 14 days' service or in any engagement and honorably discharged. The rate still remained at $8. The service pension rate of $8 per month for veterans of the War of 1812, under the act of February 14, 1871, was never increased. The period of service, however, was reduced from 60 days to 14 days. Although the age factor was not specifically mentioned, it was most surely implied.

MEXICAN WAR (APR. 24, 1846, TO MAY 30, 1848)

The first service pension law for Mexican War veterans was enacted January 29, 1887, or 39 years after the end of the war. This act provided pensions for 60 days' service, or in battle, or personally named in resolutions of Congress. This pension was payable when the veteran reached 62 years of age or for disability.

This was the first pension law enacted in which age was specifically mentioned. The rate was $8 per month. This act was amended January 5, 1893, to provide $12 per month to certain survivors wholly disabled for manual labor and in such destitute circumstances that $8 per month "are insufficient to provide him with the necessaries of life." The act was again amended on April 23, 1900, to provide $12 per month, "to all survivors wholly disabled for manual labor and destitute," and again March 3, 1903, to provide for $12 per month for all survivors. A further amendment, February 6, 1907, provided a pension of $12 per month, "at 62 years of age; $15 per month at 70 years of age; $20 per month when 75 years of age." The law was finally amended on July 3, 1926, to provide for $65 per month for survivors, regardless of age or disability and $90 per month for survivors, if totally disabled or blind.

INDIAN WARS (JANUARY 1, 1817, TO DECEMBER 31, 1898)

While the Indian wars cover a period totaling 81 years from January 1, 1817, to December 31, 1898, the first Indian war pension act was passed July 27, 1892, to cover those participating in the wars from 1832 to 1842. This was 50 years after the end of the war. This act provided for pension of $8 per month for 30 days service, or less, if named in resolutions by Congress. Subsequent acts provided for pension for those who served from 1817 to 1858, 1855 to 1860, 1817 to 1860, 1859 to 1891, and 1817 to 1898. The length of time following each period of hostilities before pension legislation was enacted was as follows: 50, 44, 48, 53, 26, and 29 years respectively.

The act of March 4, 1917, was the first act applicable to Indian war veterans that provided a pension based specifically on the age factor. This act provided for a pension of $20 per month at age 62. An act of March 3, 1927, which was applicable to all those serving between 1817 and 1898 or 29 years after the end of the war, provided for a pension of $20 to $50 per month, based upon disability, $20 per month age 62, $30 per month age 68, $40 per month age 72, $50 per month age 75. These rates including the age provision were again increased on August 25, 1937, March 3, 1944, and finally on January 19, 1948, the latter act providing a pension of $24 to $72 per month, based upon disability, $36 per month age 62, $72 per month age 65 or over, $120 per month for those helpless or blind requiring regular aid and attendance.

LAND GRANTS TO VETERANS OF REVOLUTION, MEXICAN WARS, WAR OF 1812, AND INDIAN WARS

In addition to pensions, land grants were also given to veterans who served in the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, the Mexican and Indian wars. In this connection, in the report of the Commissioner of Pensions for the year 1861, it was stated that at that time "the whole number of acres of land granted for military service since the formation of our Government is 65,444,002. Estimated at the price of $1.25 per acre, the total value of this bounty is $81,930,002.50, a sum which wants but $7,956,357.15 to equal the whole amount of money paid in direct pensions from the commencement of the Revolution until now."

Five years later, or 46 years after the end of the war, an act was passed providing for monthly pension based upon age and length of service. The minimum monthly pension was $13 per month age 62 for 90 days service and the maximum was $16 for 3 years' service or more. The pension was increased from $13 and $16 to $15 and $19 at age 65; from $15 and $19 to $18 and $25 at age 70; from $18 and $25 to $21 and $30 at age 75.

There were other acts increasing rates until May 1, 1920, 54 years after the war, at which time a minimum monthly pension of $50 was granted, regardless of age or disability, and $72 per month if the veteran required regular aid and attendance.

July 3, 1926, the $50 award was increased to $65 and the $72 award to $90 per month. On June 9, 1930, the rate was again increased from $65 to $75 and from $90 to $100 for aid and attendance. Finally, on July 30, 1947, the rate increased to $90 per month, regardless of age or disability and $120 per month for those requiring regular aid and attendance.

WAR WITH SPAIN (APRIL 12, 1898, TO APRIL 11, 1899), FILIPINO INSURRECTION (APRIL 12, 1899, TO JULY 4, 1902), CHINA RELIEF EXPEDITION (JUNE 16, 1900, TO OCTOBER 1, 1900)

The first provision for payment of pensions to veterans of the Spanish-American War group was the act of June 5, 1920, 18 years after the end of the war. This act provided for a pension of from $12 to $30 per month, based upon disability. Provision was also made for pensions based upon attained age, the rate being: $12 per month age 65; $18 per month age 68; $24 per month age 72; $30 per month age 75. To be eligible, the veteran must have had 90 days or more service, honorable discharge and suffering from disability of permanent character, not due to vicious habits which so incapacitate him from performance of manual labor as to render him unable to earn a support. The law was amended on June 2, 1930, or 28 years after the end of the war to provide pension for veterans with 70 days or more service, but at a lesser rate than that paid to veterans with 90 days' service.

The amount of monthly pension was increased on two occasions prior to March 20, 1933, at which time payments were materially reduced, but restored by the act of August 13, 1935, to the full rate under laws in effect prior to the Economy Act of March 20, 1933.

The rate of pension for this group was increased from time to time until finally the act of May 23, 1952, provided pensions to them at the rate of $101.59 monthly with no income restrictions, and $135.45 where aid and attendance of another person was needed.

In summing up, we find that general pensions were provided 35 years after the end of the Revolutionary War; 56 years after the the War of 1812; 39 years after the Mexican War, 26, 29, 44, 48, 50, and 53 years following the various periods of hostilities during the 81 years of Indian wars; 24 years after the Civil War; and 18 years after the Spanish-American War. We also find that the pension payments to veterans have been based on the age factor—age 62 and over—throughout most of our pension history. While a "needs" clause was placed in acts in two instances, viz, the Revolutionary War and the Mexican War, it would appear that in both instances the "needs" clause was later eliminated.

In 1930, a new benefit, disability allowance, was provided for needy World War I veterans with non-service-connected disabilities. Four degrees of disablements, 25, 50 75, and 100 percent, were provided, and the maximum amount payable was $40 monthly. This allowance, however, was abolished by the Economy Act of 1933.

Another pension law for World War I veterans came into being coincident with the Economy Act of 1933. Under this law the veteran had to be permanently and totally disabled and single veterans could not have an income of over $1,000 annually and those who were married were limited to $2,500 annually. The monthly rate of pension was $30 for those World War I veterans who were permanently and totally disabled. The rate was slightly increased in 1944, in 1946 and in 1952 (income limitations were also increased to $1,400 for a single veteran and $2,700 for married veterans in 1952) and finally in 1954 the rate of $66.15 monthly for permanent and total disability was allowed and for those who had been on the pension rolls for 10 or more years or were 65 years of age, the rate was increased to $78.75.

World War II veterans have received pensions at the same rate as World War I veterans since 1944 and Korean conflict veterans have received the same rates since 1951.

It was in 1959 that an entirely new concept in pension legislation was enacted by the Congress and this affected World War I and World War II veterans as well as those of the Korean conflict, with the rates varying according to income of the veterans as well as the spouse.

Under this law a single veteran whose income is $1,400 annually may only receive $70 monthly instead of $78.75 monthly which most of them receive under previous law because of age 65. So, instead of liberalizing benefits to that group as the years go by as has been the previous policy of the Nation, it has become more difficult for a veteran to even qualify for a lesser amount of pension.

In comparison with previous pension laws it is now 44 years since the end of World War I and no provision has been made for a pension based solely on age and there has always been a needs clause attached to the receipt of pensions for that group.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

# Appendix

## National Junior Bowling Championships Praised for Contributions to Youth Fitness and Citizenship—Senator Randolph Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the National Junior Bowling Championships sponsored by the Bowling Proprietors Association of America are being held here in Washington, D.C., July 24–27. Young men and young women, numbering 92, representing 31 States compete in three classifications for $10,500 in college scholarships donated by the Bowling Proprietors Association of America. This is the second year that the association has held this competition, and the nationwide acclaim received in both civic and sporting circles has prompted its continuation as an annual affair.

The welcoming luncheon for the competing State champions and their parents and sponsors took place July 24 at the Mayflower Hotel. It was my privilege to address those assembled and to comment on the effectiveness and high merit of this program of physical fitness and good citizenship. I was also pleased to greet the two West Virginia champions, Jennifer Lynne Smith and Harry A. Shriner, Jr., both of Parkersburg, and to wish them well in the coming match-game contests. Honored guests at the luncheon were Shirley Garms and Dick Weber, the 1960–61 professional Bowlers of the Year.

Having in recent years become one of our most popular participation sports, bowling has significant effect on the overall level of physical fitness in this country—a vital question which has aroused considerable concern. Likewise, the youth bowling program of the Bowling Proprietors Association of America does much to combat juvenile delinquency and youth crime through organized bowling activities in the community.

Mr. President, in sponsoring this series of nationwide competitions which culminates in the National Junior Bowling Championships, the Bowling Proprietors Association of America is performing a meaningful community service, and is helping to produce young citizens who are both healthy and responsible. We owe them a debt of gratitude for this patriotic and civic-minded work.

I request unanimous consent that my remarks at the welcome luncheon of the championships be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH, DEMOCRAT OF WEST VIRGINIA, AT WELCOMING LUNCHEON FOR COMPETITORS IN THE NATIONAL JUNIOR BOWLING CHAMPIONSHIPS, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., TUESDAY, JULY 24, 1962

It is with a real sense of satisfaction that I greet this gathering of outstanding young athletes and friends of bowling, and extend a cordial welcome to our Nation's Capital. You are participating in a program of physical fitness and citizenship that is entirely in keeping with the highest American traditions, and so it is fitting that you gather in Washington for your championships. We are happy you are here.

For the second year the Bowling Proprietors Association of America has sponsored this annual competition, and the success of the program is attested by a wealth of favorable publicity. The Bowling Proprietors Association of America has drawn support throughout the United States, and noted bowling authorities offer generous and frequent praise for the wholesomeness and high ideals displayed in these junior championships.

You bowlers, both girls and boys, are here representing some 31 States to compete for the recognition, trophies and scholarship awards which are annually presented by the Bowling Proprietors Association to the eventual winners. However, meaningful as are these tangible rewards, it is perhaps more important that you represent a nationwide interest and concern in constructive programs of physical fitness, recreation, and good citizenship. America is aware that strong emphasis must be placed upon the mental, physical, and moral development of our young people if this Republic is to successfully discharge its responsibilities to the free world and newly emerging nations. You will bear a part of this national responsibility in the future.

Indeed, the example of fitness and health which participants in the junior bowling program display can have significant effect on others in America. President Kennedy has repeatedly stressed the need for an awakening in the field of physical fitness, and it is a need that should be of vital concern to all of us. For, as Disraeli once said, "The health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a state depend."

In an article prepared for the July 16 issue of Sports Illustrated magazine President Kennedy made this comment:

"Our own history, perhaps better than the history of any other great country, vividly demonstrates the truth of the belief that physical vigor and health are essential accompaniments to the qualities of intellect and spirit on which a nation is built. It was men who possessed vigor and strength as well as courage and vision who first settled these shores and, over more than three centuries, subdued a continent and wrested a civilization from the wilderness. It was physical hardihood that helped Americans in two great world wars to defeat strong and tenacious foes and make this country history's mightiest defender of freedom. And today, in our own time, in the jungles of Asia and on the borders of Europe, a new group of vigorous young Americans helps maintain the peace of the world and our security as a nation."

However, the President then went on to point out that in recent decades the overall level of our physical fitness has been well below that of any reasonable national standard.

The Kraus-Weber Survey of 1960 showed that there was indeed cause for alarm and a requirement for vigorous action. Competent survey figures indicated that 58 percent of all American youths were unable to pass a basic physical fitness test. This was a particularly appalling figure when noting that, of the Europeans tested, only 8.7 percent failed the test.

Since that time, the President's Council on Youth Physical Fitness, a group dedicated to eliminating this dangerous deficiency, has conducted a further study which adds credence to the Klaus-Weber findings. The President's Council reports that 10 million of our 40 million school children were unable to pass a minimum-level fitness test, and indicates that nearly 20 million would fail if confronted by a slightly more demanding test.

In considering these facts it becomes increasingly apparent that coordinated effort must be expended to promote physical fitness, and active participation in worthwhile programs such as youth bowling.

Under the able leadership of Bud Wilkinson, football coach at the University of Oklahoma, the President's Council on Youth Fitness continues to influence and guide toward more healthy, vigorous living, through constant research in areas of fitness and youth programs. The Council has instituted physical testing, promoted appropriate training in schools all over the country, and designed a nationwide campaign to alert Americans to physical conditioning needs. It is now going forward with a wide range of activities in the fields of recreation and health education.

As informed and realistic Americans, however, we cannot address ourselves solely to the problems on the physical side of the ledger. Rather, our efforts must be just as vigorous toward the development of moral character, and high standards of citizenship. I am gratified that in this vital area, also, the youth bowling program of the Bowling Proprietors' Association of America is demonstrating leadership and effective planning. The example and recognized success of this and other organized recreational groups is a constant and effective force in the taxing struggle against juvenile delinquency and youth crime. But much remains to be done.

According to statistics recently released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, arrests of youths under 18 in the year 1960 comprised 14 percent of the arrest total and represented an increase of 9 percent over the previous year. Even more shocking is the revelation that in the same year, 1960, youths under 18 made up 61 percent of all persons arrested for automobile theft; 49 percent of all burglary arrests; and 47 percent of all larcenies.

Indeed the situation has become so deplorable that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover gave the following testimony before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives, in January of this year: Mr. Hoover said

that, "The expanding scope of youthful criminality is one of the most disheartening things I can think of today. The frequency and viciousness of the criminal acts being committed by our young people, already alarming, are speeding toward certain tragedy unless the current trend is some way arrested."

The aim of the United States then, must be to promote and encourage activities at the local level which will eliminate substandard physical fitness, and lessen juvenile delinquency. What better answer than to combine into one attractive package a remedy that would have salutary effect on both situations? This youth bowling competition is such a program.

And, it has long been recognized that properly supervised athletic and recreational activities contribute significantly to characteristics of leadership, self-reliance, and fair play.

Among the most articulate proponents of athletics as a preparation for responsible adult living is the new member in the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice Byron R. "Whizzer" White. Justice White holds that participation in athletics, and particularly competitive athletics, is excellent training for later responsibilities and promotes clear thinking, the ability to make swift and accurate decisions, and sportsmanship. Certainly Byron White's opinion is worthy of consideration, for his personal accomplishments as an All-American football star and Rhodes scholar are an eloquent illustration that athletics can and does build effective citizens.

The Bowling Proprietors' Association of America is performing a valuable and rewarding public service in sponsoring this program of competition and scholarship awards for young people. You, who take part, are serving your country as you set a worthy example of citizenship and physical fitness.

I am confident that your stay in Washington, D.C., will be enjoyable and meaningful, and that you will compete with honor. You will return to your homes with a richer appreciation of the ideals and aims which have made this Nation the best hope of free men and women throughout the world.

## Moral Disease Offsets Medical Gains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am taking the liberty of inserting in the RECORD an article from the New York Herald Tribune of July 24, 1962. The statements by a British surgeon are well worth reading and convey a point of view that few of us would ever consider. I believe much of what this doctor has written and I am sure you will also:

A SURGEON LOOKS AT LIFE—FINDS MORAL DISEASE OFFSETS MEDICAL GAINS

NORTHERN IRELAND.—A leading British surgeon yesterday blamed a breakdown of moral standards for chipping away at advances medicine is making to make people's lives happier and healthier.

Alcohol, bad manners, selfishness and carelessness—these are human diseases, bringing tragedy and unhappiness, which doctors are finding it difficult to combat, Ian Fraser, president of the British Medical Association, told a congress of British doctors here.

Unlike many diseases, they are avoidable, he added.

Reviewing the progress of medicine in the 20th century—advances which have brought cures for once-dreaded diseases, Mr. Fraser said:

"We cannot, however, leave 1962 with a happy feeling of complacency. We must look at the debit side. A change in the mode of life that is causing great and genuine alarm is the deterioration in morals, manners, and ethics.

"Although this may be a national problem, it has repercussions on the medical profession and it puts obligations on its members that they find difficult to meet.

"Changed manners and morals and the glamor of living dangerously with the exhibitionism that it entails, have again raised the venereal disease rate and are filling our newspapers with reports of gangster attacks and murders.

"There is a decrease in our loyalty to our religious beliefs and with lack of home life delinquency is appearing at an earlier age."

Side by side with the greater leisure time came new sociological and psychiatric problems, Mr. Fraser continued. In a short time, in the United States, man will be working a 20-hour week, he said. Such a state of affairs may not upset the tramp, the philosopher, the beatnik, the monk, the alcoholic, or the professor.

"It will probably affect least the professional, executive, and manegement classes. But the compulsive worker will probably break down. In America many groups of neuroses have been classified * * * these people are all leisure stricken. They are unable to occupy their leisure.

"For them external resources are not sufficient—such as unlimited playgrounds, television, golf courses, museums, amusements, hobbies, tennis courts. They are not the answer. You can always supply the toys but you cannot supply the play."

Looking ahead, Mr. Fraser predicted a cure would be found for cancer within 25 years. He said:

"If a drug such as penicillin was found to stop the multiplication of bacterial life without altering the normal growth of the cells vital for our existence, surely some substance will be found.

"And the fact that even today we can see the disease going into reverse for 6 to 12 months, with apparent cure over that period, gives us the hope that we're on the right lines."

He also forecast that in the future the hospital nurse as she is known today will be a vanished thing of the past, too.

"For the future," he said, "it would appear that there will be a small number of highly trained women, probably with a university diploma. Others will be technicians only."

## Decline of American Prestige Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, last Tuesday, July 24, 1962, there appeared in the Washington Evening Star a news story and an editorial, both of which seem to me to be worth serious consideration. The editorial was written by Constantine Brown on the subject of American prestige in Europe. The news story consists of an open letter to Nikita Khrushchev by Paul Miller, president of the Gannett newspapers, and Walker Stone, editor in chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

In view of the fact that Berlin is probably the most important issue being discussed in Geneva at the present moment, the open letter is a timely commentary on the views of West Berliners concerning the fate of their city. The editorial by Mr. Brown is equally timely in that it explores the reasons behind the slump of our prestige in Europe. In my opinion, both the editorial column and the open letter should be brought to the attention of every American concerned with our position in Europe.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and the open letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECLINE IN AMERICA'S PRESTIGE: EUROPEANS FEEL THE UNITED STATES WASTES ITS MONEY AND TRIES TO SLEEP WITH A RATTLESNAKE

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—I saw America's prestige beclouded in Europe after World War I, when we appeared to go back into our isolationist shell. But I did not expect to see our prestige and influence take such a dip as they have recently.

After the first war ended Europe became irked at the insistence of the Republican administrations, which succeeded President Woodrow Wilson, that the money they had borrowed to carry on the war should be repaid. The crisp statement of President Coolidge, "They hired the money, didn't they?" caused a wave of anti-Americanism throughout the Allied lands of Europe.

Some British papers carried on their mastheads, "Let the Eagle scream." Others pictured the traditional Uncle Sam with the caption, "Uncle Shylock." In Paris, an American tourist who had overimbibed and had lit his cigar with a depreciated 5-franc note, shouting, "It's cheaper than to use a match," had to be rescued from a mob of jabbering Frenchmen by the police.

There was anger among the victorious Europeans that America was trying to help the cursed Huns out of their economic predicament by bringing some order out of the exorbitant reparations demanded by their conquerers. The Dawes and Young plans for settling these reparations, while reluctantly accepted by the Allied leaders, were strongly disapproved by the rank and file. Europe, throughout the administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, had written off America as a friendly country.

All the same, in the back of the minds of her leaders there was always the question whether the time might come when America's immense resources in substance and manpower would be needed again. This premonition proved more than accurate. America won the second war for freedom in Europe and Asia, and after that war dispersed her substance to remake a new world with Roosevelt's four freedoms as her slogan.

It is mainly through our efforts that Western Europe has been reconstructed so rapidly and has reached the point where she is ahead of us in economic growth and financial stability. The new Europe which has emerged from the devastations of the last war is grateful to us. Yet our prestige, particularly in the last year, has taken a

sharper dip than the stock market did on black Monday last May.

We have received friendly warnings that no nation throughout history, including the far-flung Roman Empire, has had inexhaustible resources, and that unless we trim our sails in domestic and foreign expenditures we be faced with a situation which may make it impossible for our European friends to help us—much as they want to. Our present leadership has been warned more than once that America is on the way to becoming a land of limited possibilities. Our economic and military commitments have become too great a burden.

The French, Germans, and Italians who owe us money from loans extended to them in our lush days are hurrying to repay the money years before the date due, in an effort to help the dollar which would otherwise sag in the world market.

We are not disliked, as was the case after World War I; quite the contrary. But Europeans are astonished that Uncle Sam, once a sharp horse trader, now shows so little political and economic realism.

G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has just concluded a tour of European capitals where he endeavored to persuade Paris, Bonn, and Rome to lavish their taxpayers' money on the underdeveloped peoples. France, he was politely told, had spent more than $1.5 billion on her former colonies in Africa and expects to spend much more in devastated Algeria. Germany and Italy—to a lesser extent—are giving substantial credits to these have-not countries.

When our allies are urged to follow our example with their own Peace Corps, they always point to the superb work done by the dedicated lifetime missionaries.

"Where do you people think you are going?" is the inevitable question asked your reporter. "Do your leaders really believe you can go to bed with a rattlesnake? Do you really believe that you can spend money like a drunken sailor without serious consequences to both yourselves and ourselves?"

This is the meaning behind our slump in prestige.

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## EDITORS WRITE KHRUSHCHEV: BERLINERS DOUBT RED BOSS

(Paul Miller, president of the Gannett newspapers, and Walker Stone, editor-in-chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, have been close personal friends and professional rivals for 35 years. With other representatives of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, they interviewed Premier Khrushchev in Moscow on July 13 and then went to Berlin.)

BERLIN, July 24.—An open letter from Berlin, July 24, 1962, to:

His Excellency, NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV,
*Chairman, Council of Ministers,*
*Moscow, U.S.S.R.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: A little more than a week ago, with a group of 10 other American newspapermen, we sat with you in the Kremlin and listened attentively to your views on how to solve the problem of Berlin in a way which you believed would contribute to the happiness and security of the German people and ease the tensions between the U.S.S.R. and the United States and its Allies.

Neither of us had been in Berlin for several years. We did not know how Berliners felt. So, on coming here after leaving the cordial hospitality of the Soviet Union, it seemed logical to ask the people of Berlin, both East and West, whether they agreed with your ideas and welcomed your proposals.

This is a report to you, our host in Moscow, as well as to our newspaper readers in America, on what we heard—and saw.

### TALKED WITH PEOPLE

First, let it be emphasized that we did not talk with Mayor Willy Brandt nor any officials of West Berlin. Nor did we talk with Herr Ulbricht or any officials of East Berlin or East Germany. But for the better part of 2 days we roamed the streets of both West and East Berlin, ranging both sides of the wall that has been erected to divide this great city, and talked with Germans willing to talk.

Using several different interpreters, we talked with people of such varied occupations as manual workers, clerks, students, lawyers, secretaries, businessmen, border guards, nurses, housewives, and of course taxi drivers who seem to be the common denominator of public opinion in all countries whatever the social system.

For these conversations we took along the official Soviet Union transcript of our Kremlin interview on July 13, and we read from that document the statements and suggestions you made.

### SUMMARY OF VIEWS

We told these people that we believe an accurate summary of your ideas and proposals can be expressed this way.

1. The last vestiges of the war which ended 17 years ago should be wiped out by a peace treaty.

2. The Soviet Union proposes to sign such a treaty with the government of East Germany and you are hopeful that it will be signed or acquiesced to by the United States, Great Britain, and France.

3. Such a treaty should establish what is now known as West Berlin as what you call a free city.

4. Such a solution must, in your view, include the withdrawal of United States, United Kingdom (British), and French troops from West Berlin.

5. The people of Berlin would then feel more secure, more confident of the future, and be happier.

6. Unless all this occurs, West Berlin will wither on the vine.

### EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION

Mr. Chairman, we hope you will be interested in the opinions of the people with whom we talked. We were.

In America, actions of governments are dictated by judgments of the people.

When we read your statement that the Germans of Berlin would be "much more at ease" and enjoy "prospects for further development" if a peace treaty were signed and Western troops withdrawn, we could hardly finish before the person being interviewed would exclaim "Nein."

When we asked if they would sleep easier if Allied troops withdrew from Berlin, they said: "Nein. In 30 days Russia would gobble up Berlin."

When we asked if a peace treaty would reassure them, a West Berlin policeman at the wall said, "You Americans of all people should know how little is the meaning of such promises."

Berliners, with the bitter firsthand experience of two dictatorships—Hitler's and Stalin's—behind them say they are not fooled by propositions for a Soviet-style peace.

### CAN SEE FOR SELVES

They say they can see for themselves what this peace means for their own relatives just a few blocks away in East Berlin. In their conversations with us they left no doubt that they fear the same fate if the American soldiers and their allies quit the city. These are no longer occupation troops in the minds of the Berliners with whom we talked but rather our protectors.

We talked with a Lutheran nun, standing on the West side of the wall waving at a window a block away from which she hoped a friend on the East side was watching. We talked with a middle-aged housewife, teetering tearfully on a parapet, waving and hoping her aged mother would see her from an apartment half a block across the wall. These and all the others said "Nein."

We talked with a woman more than 70 years old in East Berlin—and she was perhaps the most vehement of all in insisting that there must be no yielding, else all hope for her and Germany's remaining freedom be lost.

Mr. Chairman, we wonder if you have ever seen the wall? It is impossible to envisage it otherwise.

### WALL TAKES MANY FORMS

The wall takes many forms. The 26 miles between East and West Berlin is a continuous barricade of houses with bricked-in windows, garden walls with broken glass scattered on top, barbed wire, guarded stretches of canal where fleeing East Berliners have been shot by East Berlin guards. For long stretches jagged barriers of iron and steel back up heavy masonry. Spotlights rake wide areas at night.

Let us particularly describe one section, that in the Wedding district of northern East Berlin.

There, blocks of East German apartment buildings face west on a street dividing East and West Berlin. When residents saw that East Berlin was to be fenced in, some of them escaped by jumping from second- and third-story windows into mats held by West German firemen. Those apartment houses then were ordered evacuated. For blocks, the windows of every window were sealed with bricks and concrete. Some persons desperately leaped from seven-story roofs. There are wreaths and markers where East Berliners crashed to their deaths on the sidewalks. Finally, barbed wire was strung on the roofs.

Truly, Mr. Chairman, you have to see it to believe it. We hope you will come and have a look.

Sincerly yours,

PAUL MILLER.
WALKER STONE.

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## Medicare Delayed, Not Defeated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger, Gaffney, S.C., of July 21, 1962:

### MEDICARE DELAYED, NOT DEFEATED

Action of the U.S. Senate in disapproving President Kennedy's bill for medical assistance for the elderly through social security, by the close vote of 52 to 48, merely delayed medicare for a time. This will provide an opportunity for a better planned program which will meet the needs of the people. It may not be enacted even at next year's session of Congress, but the Ledger is perfectly willing to go on record with a prediction that medicare will be passed in the not too distant future.

Medicare is something the people need. That is why it is going to be approved in spite of the opposition of some well-meaning people who are sincere in their objections.

Here is the way the Charlotte News sees the situation:

"The medical problems of the elderly are not confined by State lines nor limited by the scope of social security. There is no magic in either.

"Quite simply, there is a growing need for a program, or programs, which provide adequate medical care at reasonable cost for all those who need it. Possibly an entirely new approach is needed; perhaps a melding of sorts could produce an adequate and lasting solution.

"In any event, the Senate rebuff administered yesterday to the social security health care proposal should be considered as much an opportunity for further action as it was a denial of the President's bill.

"After the wake, those who fought for the plan and those who fought against it should reexamine the problem with greater insight and less philosophical obstinacy. The reality of the need should provoke some realistic thinking."

Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, was the only southern Senator who supported President Kennedy when the vote was taken. In doing so, he kept faith with his people. He had campaigned for renomination in the recent primary as a supporter of medicare. He won by a vote of better than 2 to 1. He was obligated to support the measure, and that is what the editor of the Ledger believes a majority of the people of South Carolina wanted him to do.

The Ledger would not criticize the other Senators from the South. This newspaper believes they made a mistake, but at the same time it credits them with sincerity of purpose.

In the opinion of the editor, Senator JOHNSTON voted right.

## Help for the United Nations Endangered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the United Nations represents the best efforts of most countries to avert war of any sort. This is indeed a monumental task; its accomplishment even more difficult. In order to succeed this great mission demands the support of those interested in "securing the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity."

If the efforts for peace are to be continued, commented the Daily Journal, Elizabeth, N.J., on July 14, then this "resistance to financial support should be abandoned" by those Members of Congress who have heretofore fought our participation in the emergency U.N. aid. The U.N. is still an infant political organization and needs to be supported. As one of the parents of this 17-year-old we cannot allow it to flounder as we sit back smug and self-contented.

Mr. President, I ask for unanimous consent to have the editorial entitled "Help for the U.N. Endangered" printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELP FOR THE U.N. ENDANGERED

Antiforeign aid sentiment in the Congress is endangering any substantial help by this country to the impoverished United Nations. Two measures for U.N. assistance are under consideration on Capitol Hill—one provides for Government buying of $100 million of U.N. bonds and the other permits purchase of similar obligations by the public.

President Kennedy some months ago took the lead in offering to finance one-half the U.N. deficit created by the failure of members to meet assessments. A Senate bill complying with his wishes was passed April 5. Heavier opposition in the House brought an amendment to the foreign aid bill barring a loan or other special assistance to the U.N. until all other members have met their assessments. This passed the House Thursday.

The administration now will endeavor to negotiate this restriction out of the bill in conference committee, but tangible help for the U.N. is in a precarious position.

Other nations have bought or pledged to buy $66 million bonds of the type to be accepted by the U.S. Government, if authorized. The validity of the U.N. assessments on members is being tested in the International Court.

The performance of the United Nations has been less notable than most Americans expected of it when it was created in San Francisco in 1946. Nevertheless it has been stronger, more successful, and more enduring than its predecessor, the League of Nations, and it stands as the world's most practical implement for creating a permanent peace. More than 100 countries, West, neutral, unalined, and Communist have joined.

Few informed leaders doubt that it has been influential in quieting the many political uprisings of the last 15 years.

With all its flaws, the U.N. represents the will of most countries to avert nuclear and all other wars. This is not a simple ambition; its accomplishment is not easy.

Practical appraisal of the U.N. leads only to the conclusion its preservation is mandatory—if the efforts for peace are to be continued. This should be apparent to the Congress and the resistance to financial support should be abandoned.

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, another in a lengthy series of articles on the long and rich history of the Susquehanna River appeared in the Pittston, Pa., Sunday Dispatch on July 22, 1962. I have found this series to be especially interesting and informative as I have introduced legislation to develop the entire Susquehanna River watershed through three States—Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland. The survey is expected to get underway during the current fiscal year.

The aforementioned series of articles was written by Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district and native of Pittston, and as part of my remarks today I include the latest installment from last Sunday's Pittston Dispatch.

The article follows:

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION: ONCE HARVESTED ICE FROM RIVER, RACING AND SKATING POPULAR

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

No complete records were kept regarding the ice harvest on the Susquehanna River in the Pittston region.

John W. Davies & Son maintained an icehouse on the bluff near the east end of the ferry bridge (Fort Jenkins) as early as Thursday, September 1, 1870.

During February and March of 1874, and for many years prior, ice cut on the river was stored on the Wisner farm, located in the rear of 72 North Main Street.

When the annual ice harvest started on December 9, 1876, the ice was 7 inches thick. On December 21, 1876, it was 1 foot thick.

On March 24, 1880, Hughes & Co., a brewery firm at 24 Dock Street, used 30 wagons to haul ice to its plant from the river. The Hughes Brewery Co. cut 200 tons of 5-inch-thick ice for its own use on December 12, 1882.

SKATING, HORSERACING

Since the earliest days of the settlement of Pittston, the Susquehanna River was utilized for sport and relaxation.

On Christmas Day, December 25, 1871, a large crowd of skaters was enjoying this winter sport in the Pittston region. During the day, two boys broke through the ice. They were hurriedly hauled back to safety without injury to either of them.

It is reported that in February 1872 the usual winter sport of driving horses and sleighs on the frozen river was enjoyed.

During a portion of the 1890's, a hotdog man who carried his wares in a boiler strapped to his back skated around the bridge area where he sold hotdogs to skaters and others.

On January 30, 1897, a total of 2,000 skaters and a large number of horses with cutters were seen on the river.

CURLING GAMES

On February 1, 1897, at least 1,000 persons were skating on the river in the vicinity of Pittston. On this date several horseraces were held on the ice. Among the participants were: George Pierce and his famous horse, Elmo; W. F. Staley; Frank Coolbaugh; Dr. Joseph Atherton; William Sax; and Dunham Lamb, Jr.

In the 1890's and earlier, the Pittston Caledonian Club played curling games on the river ice.

Hundreds of persons were skating on the river on January 3, 1909, according to a news item of that era. It was not unusual for groups to skate to Wilkes-Barre and return the same afternoon.

During this same period, January 3, 1909, groups of skaters were observed on the ice between Forest Castle, on the west side of the river, and Falling Springs, on the east side of the river.

In the late 1950's W. Neal Thompson, a Pittston businessman and an oldtime Princeton University athlete, skated on the river in the area near Montgomery Ave., in West Pittston.

BOATING

For many decades, boating and boat racing were enjoyable diversion in the iPttston region.

At the Pittston regatta held on July 5, 1875, Mrs. Flora Gardner, of 82 Mill Street, won a 6-inch loving cup as a prize in a rowing match. Others participating in this race included Mary Eagen, of Lambert Street and Ida Friant, whose father was the toll-taker at the Ferry bridge.

In the tub race held during these festivities, Amos Stroh gave a demonstration of skill in maneuvering his craft.

ROWING CLUB

The Pittston Rowing Club was chartered on August 23, 1875. Initial members included: John E. Ball, John Richards, J. W. Freeman, George F. Sharkey, and C. W. Campbell.

On September 1, 1875, the club's boathouse was located on the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River, above the Water Street Bridge. The delivery of rowing boats was expected that week.

John E. Ball was commodore of the Pittston Rowing Club on August 11, 1876, at which time an invitation was extended to the local group to participate in the Owego Regetta scheduled for August 31, 1876. The Pittston sportsmen were also invited to attend a meet to be held at Newark, N.J., on August 20, 1878.

Through this period and until about the turn of the century, the eastern bank of the river was dotted with boathouses, the most popular types of boats being sailboats, sculls, rowing boats, and canoes.

PORT BLANCHARD UNIT

Monockonock Boat Club, located in the Port Blanchard section of Jenkins Township, was organized early in 1879. Its membership list included: Col. James Blanchard, Corey Sutherland, Charles E. Tracy, James Blanchard, John O'Rourke, George Stegmaier, Blanchard Chapman, and John Clifford.

The initial boat race between the Monockonock Boat Club and the Pittston Rowing Club resulted in a tie. Foster, Thompson, Kerr, and a man not now identifiable, were in the Monockonock crew.

The Monockonock Boat Club defeated the Plymouth Boat Club in a two-oared 1-mile race held at Port Blanchard on Saturday, August 16, 1885. The winning time was less than 6 minutes.

A new racing boat, of cedar, 42 feet long, have a beam of 18½ inches, and weighing 80 pounds, arrived at the Monockonock Boat Club on September 15, 1886.

In 1902 the Happy Thought Boat Club built flatboats at Towanda. These were later dismantled at Pittston and sold as scrap.

As late as the early 1900's, boat races were conducted near the two Pittston bridges, and near the present site of the Wyoming bridge.

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## Peace Corps Sets the Record Straight on Operations in India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, on July 16, the Washington Star carried an article on Peace Corps operations in India. It reports some disturbing charges made by an official of the Indian Government against the work of the Peace Corps in his country. When I read the article I got in touch with the Peace Corps in Washington to ascertain the facts. I was informed that the story in the Star carried several inaccuracies and that a letter had been sent to the paper to set the record straight.

I ask unanimous consent that the article and letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I call them to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 16, 1962]

INDIAN OFFICIAL OBJECTS TO AGES IN PEACE CORPS

(By Earl H. Voss)

NEW DELHI.—The U.S. Peace Corps program in India is "going to go on the rocks" if it continues its present course, according to a key Indian Government official here.

Peace Corpsmen assigned to India are too young, the official says; they are usually transferred out of the country before they have a chance to do effective work, and they are annoying the Indian Government with requests for special diplomatic privileges.

Twenty-six Americans, ranging from 19 to 45 years old, have been assigned to the Peace Corps in India. Most are in their early twenties. All work in rural communities in the Punjab, a State north of New Delhi.

WANTS OLDER ONES

"Sunday school people have no place here," the official commented acidly. "Let's have people in their early thirties. We asked for people 30 years of age, but you sent us 20-year-olds. What experience can they possibly have? Please don't send us half-baked people."

India has educated people, the official said, and many of its educated are unemployed.

There was a smile on the man's face, and he seemed to speak more in sorrow than in anger, but the depth of his feeling was unmistakable. He has been associated with Indian Government planning for the Peace Corps from the beginning.

He had nothing but admiration for the sincerity and hard work of the individual Peace Corpsmen assigned here. But he protested their short stays.

"Don't disturb people within 3 months of their arrival here," he complained. "It is not good for India. Sending people for such brief spells treats us too lightly."

He cited the example of a Ford Foundation man who has been working in India for 10 years.

Each operating member of the Peace Corps is estimated to cost the U.S. Government $26,000 he noted.

"You ought to be more serious about the Peace Corps," he said, "You are not getting $26,000 worth out of your people here. You are not even creating a good feeling."

PRIVILEGES ASKED

The official expressed impatience with the Peace Corps attempts to get a formal agreement on the status of its members here. American negotiators reportedly are asking diplomatic privileges and immunity from income taxes and customs for Peace Corps members.

Originally the Peace Corps workers were to live on the same level as the people they were to help, for the same salaries and under the same living conditions.

"What use is it to waste time on these trivialities?" the protesting official asked. "There is no urge on the part of India to write out agreements with the Peace Corps. Furthermore, it does not become a philanthropist to ask for small change. Must you hold out your hand for 20 cents after having given $20?"

Throughout his conversation he tried to avoid bringing in personalities. He mentioned only two, both favorably.

Mrs. Timmy Napolitano, the Peace Corps representative in New Delhi, has "done magnificently here," he said, "worked silently and effectively. She is a good American doing a good job. But you are taking her away."

The official said he understands Mrs. Napolitano, formerly Miss Levison, who made a quick trip back to the United States a few weeks ago to be married, is to be replaced by a man who will stay only 3 months.

"We are loath to say Mrs. Napolitano should stay," he said, "but please have someone here who can stay a reasonable time."

The other Peace Corps member mentioned by the official was Tom Kessinger, 20-year-old instructor in handicrafts from New Jersey, who was working with youth clubs and teaching rural youth work in the Punjab.

Late last month Mr. Kessinger married an Indian girl, a Sikh, working with him at a training center for village leaders in Nabha. He donned a turban for the Indian-style marriage at Amritsar, the "holy of holies" among Indian Hindu cities.

Another among the 26 Peace Corps men in the Punjab is Robert F. W. Schroeder, 22, of Maryland, a biologist who has been working as a plant pest control inspector.

The oldest member of the Corps in India is Frank Ziegler, 45, of Washington State, who is teaching Punjab peasants to raise poultry. He has had 6 years' experience as a county agent in the U.S. Agricultural Extension Service.

Youngest Peace Corps man here is a 19-year-old Julian Pineda, of Colorado, an assistant instructor in farm implements, teaching care and maintenance of tools.

American officials here say all Peace Corps volunteers in the field plan to stay for full tours of 20 months. They acknowledge, however, that the leadership has changed frequently. They deny the next Peace Corps director in India will stay only 3 months.

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JULY 17, 1962.

The EDITOR,
*The Evening Star,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR EDITOR: Monday's article on Peace Corps operations in India included a number of inaccuracies that we feel impelled to set straight.

If Star Reporter Earl H. Voss had not chosen to rely solely upon that favorite journalistic wraith—the unidentified key official—the errors might not have resulted. But he did, and they did.

The inaccuracies fall into four categories: the ages of the volunteers in India, the cost of their stay there, the "special privileges" they requested, and the length of time they will remain in their assignments.

Let us take them in order:

1. Age: Mr. Voss quotes Mr. Key Official as saying that the Peace Corps sent "20-year-olds" to India, whereas India "asked for people 30 years of age."

Fact: India did not ask for people 30 years of age. The ages of the 26 Peace Corps volunteers in India average out to 24. Indian officials participated in the selection of each volunteer.

2. Cost: Mr. Key Official calculated the cost of each operating member of the Peace Corps at $26,000, a figure Mr. Voss accepted without question.

Fact: It costs about $9,000 a year per volunteer, a breakdown of which is readily available.

3. Special privileges: Mr. Key Official reported to Mr. Voss that Peace Corps volunteers are annoying the Indian Government for special diplomatic privileges.

Fact: The volunteers do not have diplomatic immunity, nor have they sought it. They receive the same treatment as any other foreign visitors and are subject to local jurisdiction in the same way.

4. Length of stay: Mr. Key Official, as reported by Mr. Voss, implies that volunteers spend 3 months in India and then go home.

Fact: All 26 volunteers arrived in India on December 20, 1961, and are still there. Barring some unforeseen circumstance, they will remain until they have served 21 months.

In conclusion, we would hope that Mr. Voss, on his next trip to India, will choose to visit the Punjab and meet a real live volunteer.

It doesn't always ruin a story to check it out.

Sincerely,

TIMOTHY J. ADAMS,
*Acting Chief,*
*Public Information Division.*

## Judge Walter Burgwyn Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House, under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I include an article written by my cousin, Cash Stanley, editor of the Alabama Journal in Montgomery, Ala. This article is about my good friend Judge Walter B. Jones. It says more about this great man than I could possibly say here today. I think all of the people of the country should know about this great jurist:

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser-Journal, June 24, 1962]

A MONTGOMERY JURIST WHO ADORNS THE BENCH

(By C. M. Stanley)

When Judge Walter Burgwyn Jones was told that he faced a serious surgical operation a few weeks ago, he went seriously and methodically about making preparations.

He arranged for a substitute on the bench, attended to personal affairs and went to the hospital for the ordeal. The operation proved serious, and recuperation and convalescence have been slow. He has asked that the substitute judge serving in his place be retained until November. The popular jurist has been making satisfactory progress toward recovery and makes trips downtown greeting friends along the way.

Meanwhile he has been able to do a great deal of reading at home. He has received a good many friends who have called at the residence, and has retained other normal contacts. He has kept uninterrupted his widely read column "Off the Bench" which has been appearing in the Monday Montgomery Advertiser since 1924.

Judge Jones has accomplished much during his career, but perhaps his most important achievement is the distinction and prestige he has created for the circuit court of Montgomery County.

As a circuit judge for more than 40 years, friends have often asked why he has not aspired to the supreme court of the State. In many respects the senior and presiding judge of the Montgomery County Circuit Court occupies a place requiring as great talent and responsibility as does a supreme court justice. All litigation affecting the State or initiated by the State, is handled by Judge Jones' court and much of the utility litigation is of vast importance to the whole State.

Judge Jones is also engaged in many things outside his judicial duties. He is the author and compiler of many volumes of legal reference books. He is president, or past president, or head of numerous organizations such as the Alabama Bible Society, Knights of Pythias, Jones Law School, fraternities, legal organizations including the Alabama State Bar.

He is editor of the Alabama Lawyer, official organ of the State Bar and of the Alabama Bible Society Quarterly. He has held top positions in the Boys Club, St. John's Episcopal Church, Masonic bodies, various civic clubs and the Montgomery County Law Library.

He entered politics almost as soon as he got his law degree with distinguished honors at the University of Alabama. For a time he served as law clerk to U.S. District Judge Thomas G. Jones and Judge Henry D. Clayton. He learned stenography which is still useful to him on the bench and in his office for making hasty memos on his cuff or on stray scraps of paper.

He served as a youthful member of the Alabama Legislature, as an appointed member of the State highway commission, and member of the Montgomery City Commission.

He has been judge of the Montgomery County circuit court since 1920, having been elected to this office eight times. He presided by special appointment of Gov. Gorden Persons over the clean-up trials in Phenix City.

He is a member of "The Thirteen" of Montgomery, taking active part in its fortnightly meetings.

Judge Jones has gradually acquired land in Autauga County until he owns nearly a thousand acres located just north of the pottery on Highway 31 toward Birmingham. Here he spends his weekends and entertains friends and various organizations at his country estate which he calls Jonesboro. He has set aside extensive acreage for Camp Burgwyn where the 38th Rifle Company of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserves go into camp and engage in rifle practice.

The most important business connection of Judge Jones is as a banker. He is vice chairman of the Union Bank & Trust Co. of Montgomery, is a substantial stockholder and takes an active personal interest in the bank's growth and welfare.

Judge Jones is chairman of the Montgomery County jury commission, a special body created by the legislature. Working under this law Montgomery County has acquired the reputation of having the best and ablest blue-ribbon juries in the State—juries not swayed by their own feelings and opinions but which render verdicts strictly according to the law and facts presented to them.

Even as busy a man as Judge Jones has hobbies and avocations. My observation has been that he gets most enjoyment out of being with congenial friends. He can hold his own in any group of storytellers and in relating humorous personal incidents.

Usually he takes a different kind of vacation than do his friends. As an example last year he went to Virginia. He was scheduled to deliver an address but he embraced the opportunity to visit many of Virginia's historic shrines connected with the War Between the States. He gets special pleasure out of visits to places such as Appomattox, for it was at this historic spot that his father, Thomas Goode Jones, was a flagbearer in the negotiations between General Lee and General Grant on terms for ending the internecine war that had raged for 4 years.

Through the woods at Jonesboro Judge Jones takes long walks alone getting pleasure out of such close communion with nature in her many moods.

An interesting hobby of Judge Jones is the collection of photographs and pictures. He has hundreds of individual and group photographs on the walls of his library in town and at the Jonesboro country home. Many of them are autographed and all have personal associations that make them daily reminders of friends, especially military friends, many of whom are now scattered all over the world. He is constantly reminded of them by their pictures hanging on the walls.

It is a rare pleasure to those who have experienced it to have a visit with Judge Jones in his home library. It is instructive even to visit this old home in Montgomery at 353 Adams Avenue where his father and family lived while the father served as Governor and as district judge of the U.S. court. The home is adorned with historic objects including very old family portraits and noteworthy specimens of antique furniture, table silver, and mementos of the active lives of the Judges Jones, father and son.

## Exclusion of God From Our Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, there have come to my attention two excellent columns by George Todt relative to the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the New York prayer case. Both appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner: one, the title of which is "A Basic Premise," in the July 1, 1962, edition; the other, which is entitled "Pray Tell, How Come?" in the July 16, 1962, edition.

I believe the columns will be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place them in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, July 1, 1962]

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION—A BASIC PREMISE

"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise."—I Corinthians, I: 27.

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

These 22 words comprised the entire text of the entirely optional prayer recommended by the New York State Board of Regents—governing body of the public education system—to be spoken in school opening exercises.

It was struck down by a 6-to-1 ruling—Justice Potter Stewart dissenting—of the U.S. Supreme Court, highest legal tribunal in the land.

The decision is final.

But what of the moral law?

Anyone may quibble to his heart's content about the legalistic interpretation of this controversial matter, but I do not propose to do so now. The matter is really very simple.

If we are indeed a Nation "under God"—as stated in the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag—then none ought to feel insulted or discriminated against when American schoolchildren wish to demonstrate their simple homage to Almighty God, the Father of us all. Anytime, anyplace, or anywhere.

Why be so technical about it?

We Americans are basically a religious, not an atheistic people.

How, then, can we call ourselves a religious people when the very name of God is shushed and made controversial in our public schools?

I believe in the principle of separation of church and state as much as the next man.

But it is making a mountain out of a molehill to claim that this New York school prayer is in anywise a threat to that principle.

To argue such is little more than a blatant discourtesy to God and the overwhelming majority of the American people who love Him.

Where are we supposed to draw the line in this unhappy case?

Is it correct to love God in the home and at religious services—but not on the school ground?

And if we drive the image of God from the minds and hearts of little children at school—in their most formative years—how can we assume with confidence that they will be receptive to religion elsewhere?

The correct answer is that we cannot do so.

In effect the minority of Americans who wish to prevent the majority of their fellow citizens' children from saying homage to God in the classroom are—in effect—causing them in some measure to deny their God.

In the name of religious tolerance, I hope this matter will be corrected by whatever appropriate action may be needed.

A true spirit of charity, generosity and forbearance would help.

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[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, July 16, 1962]

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION—PRAY TELL, HOW COME?

"Hypocrisy is the homage which vice renders to virtue."—LA ROCHEFOUCAULD.

Why is it none of the vociferous breeding hearts among the civil liberties crowd never seem to concern themselves about American citizens who are unlawfully "railroaded" into insane asylums in the United States nowadays?

Let a Communist traitor, a rapist or a dope peddler have the least bit of anguished concern about the validity of their meticulously well conducted trials before an American court of law—and these people will be all over the case like a tent.

But what of the man or woman who gets sent wrongfully—and I do mean wrongfully—to the asylum by schemers?

Before the anvil chorus sings out with a wailing cry of denial that this may be true, let me refer my readers to some revealing source material that ought to be read by everyone.

First of all, to those who are interested, please write Genevieve Beck in charge of the reprint department of the eminent Reader's Digest in Pleasantville, N.Y. Enclose a dime and request a reprint of the illuminating article "The Tragedy of Sane People Who Get 'Put Away'" by Albert Q. Maisel.

This shocker, which commenced on page 98 of the February 1962 issue is an eye-opener in many ways.

The case histories presented show beyond shadow of a doubt that near-criminal proceedings are sometimes in vogue throughout the Nation when innocent people are "railroaded" by what amounts to little more than a kangaroo court of sorts.

How many innocent Americans may have been "put away" by criminal schemers in the past?

Any person so vile as to cause a fellow citizen to be incarcerated without cause in a mental hospital ought to get at least 20 years in prison. Or worse. In fact, much worse.

Yet the rights of the accused who is hailed before numerous courts across the land today—if accused of insanity—are largely nonexistent. Why?

A murderer, thief, arsonist, dope peddler, rapist, or Red traitor has guaranteed inalienable rights that must be observed in every court—but often a person who is merely "accused" of insanity has no rights at all.

Note that I wrote merely "accused" in this case.

Those who commit the heinous crimes previously mentioned are presumed innocent until proven guilty. Why not the victim of a wrongful accusation of mental imbalance?

Anyone, even a vicious psychopath or hopeless neurotic, can make unfounded charges or allegations concerning the behavior of his neighbor if he wants to do so.

Any of us might later become the victims of such abnormal plotters.

Before we hear more of wailing about civil liberties where the wrong kind of people are concerned—let's be sure our commitment procedures for the "alleged" insane are without blemish.

## Politics and Medicine

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, since the vote last week on the medical care issue, there have been many excellent editorial discussions on the implications of this action. I have been particularly impressed with three editorials in Pennsylvania newspapers and one in the Washington Star as well as an article in Time magazine, which pointed out that political—not humanitarian—considerations were the primary motivation behind the Kennedy administration's pressure for its own brand of legislation.

As one who has been sponsoring health care legislation since 1949, when I was in the House of Representatives, I was especially concerned that the "all or nothing" action in the Senate last week will prevent many Americans from receiving the health care legislation which they need.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the editorials and article, along with a thoughtfully written newsletter by the Senator from Maryland, the Honorable J. GLENN BEALL.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, July 22, 1962]

POLITICS IN MEDICARE

When President Kennedy's medical care bill was defeated in the Senate the other day, Mr. Kennedy blamed it on Republicans and a handful of Democrats.

The handful consisted of 21 of the 64 Democrats in the Senate, including the chairmen of 10 important committees. Quite a handful.

Eight of these antimedicare Democratic Senators are up for reelection in November. Two of the five Republicans who supported Mr. Kennedy also are candidates.

The President suggests medicare will be a top issue in the campaign. Loss of the bill was a "defeat" for every American family, he said. He has indicated he will campaign extensively in behalf of candidates who will support his program.

So we wonder: Will the President go into North Carolina, Arkansas, Arizona, Alabama, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Florida, and Georgia to campaign against Senators ERVIN, FULBRIGHT, HAYDEN, HILL, LONG, MONRONEY, SMATHERS, and TALMADGE, the Democrats from those States who voted against his bill and are candidates for reelection?

Will he go into California and New York and campaign in behalf of Senators KUCHEL and JAVITS, Republicans who supported his bill and are candidates?

We do not anticipate the President will do anything of the sort. Mr. Kennedy is a party politics man.

But if medicare is as much of an issue as he says it is, if he really believes the welfare of every American family is affected, he logically should favor those who backed the bill and oppose those who voted against it, regardless of party labels.

Otherwise, the whole controversy has the hollow sound of mere talking politics.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, July 22, 1962]

HOW NOT TO HANDLE CONGRESS

Few Presidents in this century had experience in Congress before moving into the White House. Mr. Kennedy is one of them. It would be natural to think that this would be an advantage, for one of the more vexing tasks of every President is to persuade, prod, or push Congress into passage of the legislation he believes desirable.

On the record in the present instance, familiarity with the ways of Congress has hardly seemed to work to the President's advantage. Though his own party is in control of both House and Senate—at least so far as the Democratic label is concerned—Mr. Kennedy has suffered two defeats dangerous to his prestige on Capitol Hill.

There is a similarity about them worth attention. In each instance the method used seems to have contributed notably to the defeat.

The first was Mr. Kennedy's proposed creation of a Department of Urban Affairs. A bill was introduced; the House Rules Committee killed it. The President thereupon set up the Department by Executive order—in effect challenging either Chamber to veto it—and underscored the challenge by announcing in advance that the post would be filled by the first Negro ever appointed to Cabinet rank. Such appointment would be entirely proper and many would have welcomed it; but advance announcement could only have the effect of pressuring Congressmen from districts with large numbers of minority group voters. The proof that Congress was not being handled skillfully came February 22, when the House vetoed the Department by a surprisingly heavy vote—243 to 150—with 111 Democrats turning in against Mr. Kennedy.

The second instance was that of medicare. Duly introduced legislation was blocked in the House Ways and Means Committee and in the Senate Finance Committee. The White House strategy again was to short circuit Congress. This time it was by way of an amendment to a bill already passed by the House; which had the effect of taking the proposal directly to the floor of the Senate and out of the hands of either committee. Moreover, an urgency tag was put on it in tacking it to the public welfare bill, a measure sure of passage and one for which the deadline had already expired. Thus little time was allowed for consideration and debate, much less for the public hearings to be expected in committee. The method was objectionable to many Senators. Their feelings had a part in the result—a defeat in a Chamber nearly two-thirds Democratic.

White House strategy has perhaps been a bit too clever, to the point where the Congress has felt it was being elbowed. When this happens, it inevitably votes for its own dignity. As a former Senator, Mr. Kennedy may find this worth remembering for future legislative efforts. There are softer but more effective techniques.

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[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, July 18, 1962]

MEDICARE: POLITICAL ISSUE

The U.S. Senate, in its scalpel-thin defeat of the administration's medicare bill, has presented President Kennedy with a surgical instrument with which to operate on the coming congressional elections.

The President was not hesitant in taking a quick warmup slash, either. It was, he said, a "defeat for every American family." He made reference not only to the 17 million Americans over 65 years of age but also the families of a great many of them who normally have to help pay the medical bills.

The American Medical Association, both nationally and in Philadelphia, was only momentarily slower in issuing victory statements in the name of the average American wage-earner, taxpayer, and medical bill-payer.

Plainly, the issue of linking medical care for the aged to the existing social security program is going back to the voter this fall. The doctors' views on the "unfairness" of saddling taxpayers with the care of those who could pay for it themselves, and fears that medicare is the opening wedge for all-out socialized medicine, will doubtless be heard again and again. But so will the administration's declarations that a very real problem exists for a multitude of American families—and this is the way to solve it.

So far as we can see, there is not—at this moment—a fully satisfactory alternative to place before the voters, even indirectly in the persons of the candidates running for office. A full share of the medicare defeat was contributed by 21 Democratic Senators, 17 of them from the South.

No matter what the President may do, the South's representation is not likely to change in any degree and may well continue to hold the balance of congressional power—not only in the Senate, where medicare went down to its rollcall defeat, but also in the House where the Ways and Means Committee, substantially salted with Dixie seniority-holders, has been sitting on administration measures determinedly month after month.

The President is most likely to use his medicare cutting edge only in the heavily populated States of the Northeast where some Republican muscle might still be "cut out," not against any nominal Democrats. And this, we believe, may make the whole grand display of political outrage an exercise in futility.

Nevertheless, the problem remains. Medical bills can impoverish an ordinary family with ailing elderly members. Private insurance plans are some help but evidently not enough. The Kerr-Mills plan, passed in 1960, specifically aids the medically indigent—but the many more who are not without some resources remain in limbo.

We are certain the President will campaign energetically for social security, but it is such a vast, impersonal, though not infallible, system already that we dread attaching any further complications to it. What we would like to see is a private insurance plan—with premiums ordinary mortals could afford—to take care of all oldsters left over from Kerr-Mills.

It is unpleasant to have one's medical expenses kicked around in the hurly-burly of politics, but the issue is now the prime football for the fall campaign, at least in this corner of the Nation. The starting whistle has already sounded—and it's likely to be a rough contest.

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, July 19, 1962]

POLITICAL MEDICINE

The political war touched off by the President's ill-advised statement after the defeat of the medical care bill is now in full swing. Perhaps this would have been inevitable without the Kennedy statement. But it is a spectacle which makes one wonder what the Democrats really wanted—medical care or a political issue.

In saying this, we attribute no lofty motives to the Republicans. Some of their comments are just as demagogic as those coming from the Democratic camp. But it was the President who fired the first shot.

The fact is that 21 Democratic Senators combined with 31 Republicans to kill the bill. The President said it was killed by the Republicans and a handful of Democrats—manifestly a distortion of fact. Of the 21 Democrats—a third of the party membership in the Senate—10 are chairmen of major committees.

Still, in the face of this, Democratic National Chairman Bailey has said: "Tuesday's defeat for the elderly citizens of America and their children and grandchildren will be hailed by some as a victory for the Republicans. I predict that it will be a costly victory when the voters go to the polls next November and turn thumbs down on the reckless Republican program of partisan obstruction."

But what about the 21 Democrats? Is Mr. Bailey saying that they, too, have struck a cruel blow at the elderly citizens of America and their children and grandchildren? Are they also guilty of reckless obstruction? Is Mr. Bailey calling for their defeat at the polls in November, and if so by Republicans?

Let's not be silly. Of course he isn't. Mr. Bailey is simply trying to play partisan politics with an issue which should not be political in nature and which will never be satisfactorily settled on a partisan basis.

The responsibility in this business rests with the Democrats, for they control the White House and have large majorities in both houses of Congress. They cannot pass the buck to the Republicans, for the obvious fact is that this bill failed because too many Democrats were opposed to it.

Their reasons varied, of course. But some of them, at least, voted as they did because they thought the President's measure was not a good bill, and because they resented the attempt to jam it through the Senate without even holding hearings on it.

Our crystal ball does not tell us how the voters will react to all of this in November. But we suspect that Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Bailey are going to be disappointed. For it will be very difficult to convince the voters that the minority Republicans, holding only one-third of the seats in the Senate, are the real villains of this piece. If this turns out to be correct, if the medicare issue turns out to be a flop, or worse, we suggest that the President and his advisers be ready with a better bill for submission to Congress when it reassembles in January.

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[From Time magazine, July 27, 1962]

CONGRESS: THE CASE FOR SUBTLETY

The favorite colors of the Kennedy administration often seem to be black and white: anything that the President does is good, and any opposition to it is bad. In a young and aggressive President, this is not completely surprising—and many Presidents before John Kennedy have viewed their own programs in equally absolute terms. But it is an attitude that often makes for cockiness along with determination, and it ignores the subtleties necessary to legislative success. Last week the venerable U.S. Senate, whose business is the grays of legislative compromise, took upon itself to teach the young President a bitter lesson about absolutes by killing his cherished medicare program.

Kennedy knew from the first that medicare could not pass this year; a similar bill is still languishing in WILBUR MILLS' House Ways and Means Committee, and MILLS has no intention of letting it go to the floor. But Kennedy, still smarting under his narrow squeak in the election, thought he saw in medicare a red-hot political issue with which to bludgeon his opponents and win votes for Democratic candidates in November. Though the American Medical Association far overstated the case by calling the medicare bill socialized medicine, Kennedy equated its opposition with callous disregard of elders' health. He bluntly said that he would get his way no matter what Congress did, and by insisting that medicare would be a partisan issue in the fall campaign, solidified Republican opposition to it. To many—including some in his own party—he seemed to be more interested in a political issue than in a bill.

VISIONS OF BLAME

In order to dramatize the vision of an obstructionist Congress, he hoped to get a favorable Senate vote on medicare, then blame the well-known coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats in the House for killing it. He had good reason to believe that he could: the 64-to-36 Democratic majority in the Senate usually makes that body amenable. With that in mind, the President permitted his Senate leaders to attach a modified form of the King-Anderson medicare bill as an amendment to an unrelated welfare bill. This had the advantage of bypassing the Senate Finance Committee, headed by medicare foe HARRY BYRD.

The Senate Chamber, jammed as the Senate tensed for the vote, hushed for the showdown rollcall, which came on a motion by Oklahoma's Democrat ROBERT KERR to table the medicare amendment worked out by the administration and five liberal Republicans. All 100 Senators were present—a rarity. Despite meticulous head counting, the outcome hinged on a few unpredictable votes. The count began with Vermont Republican GEORGE AIKEN's crisp antiadministration "aye"; it had seesawed to a 13-to-13 tie by the time the clerk reached DOUGLAS, of Illinois. Two-thirds of the way down the list the administration led, 37 to 31, but still ahead was the "murderer's row" of conservatives at the end of the alphabet.

Then West Virginia Democrat JENNINGS RANDOLPH, an oldtime New Deal liberal who rarely bucks a Democratic President, cast a resonant and decisive "aye." With that the administrative knew it had almost certainly lost, and Arizona Democrat CARL HAYDEN, who had reluctantly promised to support the administration only if his vote was needed to produce a saving tie, also voted against medicare. The final vote was 52 to 48—with 21 Democrats joining 31 Republicans to defy the President.

SERIOUS DEFEAT

The President was angry, and he reverted to a black-and-white view. About an hour after the vote, he made an unusual appearance before the TV cameras in the White House "fish room" to declare: "This is a most serious defeat for every American family, for the 17 million Americans who are over 65, [for] all those Americans who have parents, who are liable to be ill, and who have children to educate at the same time." Speaking over reporters' heads to the Nation, he said that "nearly all the Republicans and a handful of Democrats joined with them to give us today's setback. I hope that we will return in November a Congress that will support a program like medical care for the aged."

What stung Kennedy most was not the near unanimity of Republican opposition but what he called the "handful" of Democrats (Senate Minority Leader EVERETT DIRKSEN slyly christened them "living profiles in courage") who had made defeat possible—actually a third of the Senate's Democrats. They included such prominent Democrats as Foreign Relations Chairman WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, ace Investigator JOHN MCCLELLAN, moderate Liberal MIKE MONRONEY, former Vice-Presidential Candidate JOHN SPARKMAN, and Armed Services Chairman RICHARD RUSSELL, as well as HAYDEN, RANDOLPH and KERR.

It was old friend GEORGE SMATHERS who drew most of the anger of White House aids for his antimedicare vote, since he was an usher at Kennedy's wedding, is Democratic conference secretary, yet repeatedly votes against Kennedy on key issues ("He hasn't stood up for Jack since the wedding," goes a White House wisecrack). Heavy pressure

had been exerted to capture Senator RANDOLPH's decisive vote, including a telephone call from Kennedy himself. It all failed—and apparently because RANDOLPH was indebted to KERR for amending a welfare bill so that hard-pressed West Virginia could receive $11 million in aid to dependent children. Thus it was really Democrat KERR, who also carried Oklahoma colleague MONRONEY along with him, who really beat Kennedy.

NO PURGE

Behind all the personal reasons for opposition to medicare lay the real source of much of Kennedy's trouble with Congress. Many Senators simply did not like the hasty and ill-considered compromise bill—and did not like being lumped as enemies of the aged because they wanted to vote against it. Others resented the strong White House pressure. The committee chairmen were dead set against the administration's determination to bypass the Finance Committee—on the theory that the same thing might later happen to them. More significantly, the Senators resented being used in a hopeless cause to give the President a political issue. The Senators also recognized something else that Kennedy did not: medicare is not so overwhelmingly popular an issue as the President seems to believe. Letters ran heavily against medicare after Kennedy's appearance in Madison Square Garden, and a Gallup poll showed that its popular support had dropped from 55 percent last March to 48 percent in June.

Kennedy is nonetheless determined to make medicare important in the November elections, hoping that enough of the blame for its defeat will rub off on the Republicans. He is already scheduled to campaign in California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Connecticut, New York, and Ohio. But wherever he goes, and whatever he says about medicare, John Kennedy will be hard pressed to explain why the voters should punish his Republican opponents and continue to support the 21 stalwart Democrats of the Senate who ganged up on him last week.

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"SENATE CLOAKROOM"—NEWSLETTER OF J. GLENN BEALL, OF MARYLAND, U.S. SENATOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
*July 23, 1962.*

DEAR FRIENDS: Medicare scheme defeated in Senate—on Tuesday, a bipartisan move was made in the Senate to defeat the administration's medicare plan. A motion was passed to table the Anderson bill. This has the effect of killing the measure which would have placed virtually everyone over 65 under Government-controlled medical care. A majority of the Senators concurred with the arguments that the administration-backed Anderson medicare bill was not the best possible measure to accomplish the desired purpose. In this, the Senators were cognizant of the fact that they represented, not the President, but the people; opinion polls taken throughout the Nation have shown that the people are overwhelmingly against medicare.

We are interested in seeing that elderly persons get the medical care they need. No one group has the exclusive claim to the human quality of compassion. The division on the question of medicare has no relation to mercy or consideration for the elderly. Virtues are not on one side alone. The division is based on a difference of opinion as to the proper approach to the problem.

The Anderson medicare bill would have made medical care for persons over 65 an integral part of the social security system. And, although there was no limitation on how much it could add to social security taxes in years to come, there were definite limitations on what is could do. The benefits under the plan would have been a long way from taking care of the total medical needs of the older person. It would have paid no doctor bills; it would not have paid any part of the cost of a doctor's services in your home, in his office, or in a hospital. It would not have paid any surgeon fees. It would not have paid any dental bills. It would not have paid for any medicines used outside a hospital, or for any preventive medicines. It would not have paid for anything until the beneficiary went to a hospital. And even then it would have been inadequate; it provided for a $90 deductible, with the patient having to pay $10 a day for the first 9 days of hospitalization. Since the average hospital stay for an older person runs around 7 days, it is clear to see that medicare would have paid only a small part of one's hospital bill or possibly nothing at all.

The medicare bill made no distinction between those who need help with their medical expenses and those who do not. The wealthy would have received the same benefits as the poor. Some older people are truly in need, but it is also true that a large proportion of older people are quite well off. In fact, they are better off than young folks who are struggling to get started in their life's work and wrestling with the peak expenses of a growing family. It would have been these young folks who would have had to carry the burden of the cost of medicare. The people now 65 would have paid nothing, but would have been eligible for the benefits. The youth 20 years of age would have had to pay for medicare every week for the next 45 years, without receiving anything in return during that time, and even at the expiration of the 45 years, if he should live and if he then had to go to a hospital, he'd have to pay the first cost of each hospital visit, up to $90. As I see it, we certainly have no moral right to increase taxes now—establishing a compulsory tax resting most heavily on the young folks—to take care of people who can take care of themselves. And we certainly have no right to assume that all people over 65 are in need.

The argument that medicare would cost only one-half of 1 percent would not hold water for the simple reason that that figure could and would be raised to meet the costs in the future. The rate could be moved upward at the whim of future Congresses.

An actuary for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare testified before a congressional committee that the benefits under medicare would exceed the income. There was ample evidence presented to the effect that the plan was unsound. This meant that next year, and the next, and so on, Congress would have been called on to raise the tax rate.

The worst thing about the medicare plan is that it is socialized medicine and would constitute a dangerous step toward out-and-out socialism. Its proponents do not call it socialized medicine, at least in public, but in the end, it is one and the same thing. Those who would destroy our freedoms and turn us into a welfare state seem to have concentrated their efforts toward our acceptance of socialized medicine. When such a program began in England, it was said that it would cost about £100 million a year. The cost was twice that the first year, and in 10 years it was costing £707 million a year. A prominent British economist said: "If the United States ever got into the same situation as Great Britain, the welfare state would cost—in Federal, State, and local taxes—well over $100 billion a year."

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF MEDICINE MEANS POORER MEDICINE

Under the socialized system in Great Britain, patients may get only a few moments with a doctor, often required to see as many as 75 patients a day. During the 14 years of socialized medicine in England—a period during which 724 new hospitals have been constructed in the United States—only 1 hospital has been built in England. Americans do not want their medical system to deteriorate in this way. Quality medicine has been one of the crowning achievements of American life. Nothing should be done to destroy the initiative of the individual or the incentive for research which have wrought great advances in health and life expectancy in this country. If medicare bureaucracy should spread like a plague, replacing private initiative with Federal conformity and redtape, then standards would be certain to decline.

Yes, we do need to improve our programs for helping older people who need help. We made a good beginning with the recently enacted Kerr-Mills law, which provides for matching Federal and State funds for medical care for the older people who are in need. About half the States have passed laws providing for cooperation under the Kerr-Mills Act. Others will follow. Under Kerr-Mills, the money goes straight to the ailing old folks instead of being sopped up by a Federal bureau. Let's give Kerr-Mills a chance.

The people of America won a victory for medical progress, for sound government, for individual freedom, and for the American system of free enterprise—won over ballyhoo and hoax—when their Senators defeated medicare.

From what I have said here, you will understand why I voted with the majority to defeat the Anderson medicare bill.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING: TWO QUOTATIONS

"Government spending for social programs, no matter how worthy, should be kept to a minimum until there is Government income available to finance them. All Government spending is financed either by taxation or by inflation, which is a hidden form of taxation. In both cases, these taxes are eventually added to the cost of production and find their way into the price level * * *. I am confident the public is not fully aware of the economic dangers now overhanging us."—HAROLD H. HELM, chairman, Chemical Bank New York Trust Co., 1962.

"Revenues must cover expenditures by one means or another. Any government, like any family, can for a year spend a little more than it earns. But you and I know that a continuation of that habit means the poorhouse."—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1932.

Sincerely yours,

J. GLENN BEALL.

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## Economic Problems Faced by the American Lumber Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a brief item appearing in a recent issue of the National Lumbermen's Manufacturers Journal be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The item deals with the serious economic problems faced by the American lumber industry.

There being no objection, the item was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORSE ON LUMBER

On 2 consecutive days this week Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, on the floor of the Senate took the administration

to task for its inaction in resolving the serious economic problems faced by the American lumber industry.

MORSE, during debate on the administration's foreign aid bill, urged the President to do as much for the American lumber industry as he has done to assist Canada in regaining its economic stability. The Senator, pointing to the President's efforts, said that such action while commendable should not be done at the expense of a primary American industry.

Noting that portions of the President's trade bill as passed by the House were inequitable to American industry, Senator MORSE made a motion that the Senate defer action on the foreign aid bill until it had considered the administration's foreign trade bill. The motion was defeated by a close vote of 48 to 41. Senator MORSE then stated that he would continue to press for solutions to the lumber industry's problems.

Following this action, it is reported that Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, made a special visit to the White House to inform the President personally of the seriousness of the lumber industry's difficulties and to urge that immediate action be taken by the administration to resolve the industry's problems.

## New Jersey and Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a few months ago in response to a request by Commerce Secretary Hodges, I wrote to leading New Jersey businessmen throughout the State asking them to participate in the trade missions program.

The response I received was overwhelming. I received only eight immediate acceptances, and scores of other letters indicated the businessmen's desire to serve at a future date. Many had already served their country in other trade programs.

Those that could not serve were encouraging toward the program and foreign trade. For example, "I am very sorry that I cannot add this my other outside activities at the present time," commented one businessman. Continuing, he said:

> I say this with real regret, since I am fully aware of the importance of these missions and agree that our international business relationships have a vital relationship to the strength and solidarity of the free world.

Such is the realization of the importance of foreign trade. The Daily Journal of Elizabeth, N.J., has commented editorially on my request for businessmen of the Garden State.

I ask for unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the editorial "New Jersey and Foreign Trade."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW JERSEY AND FOREIGN TRADE

Statistics tell an interesting story of New Jersey's participation in foreign trade, but Senator WILLIAMS has discovered an intimate and factual knowledge of the commerce and needs of other lands exists among businessmen of the Garden State. He came upon this information in seeking assistance in trade missions of the Department of Commerce.

The Senator's comments about the competency and availability of businessmen attest the volume and the wide range of commerce of this State with the remainder of the world.

In Senator WILLIAMS' words "scores of key executives" wrote to him of their interest in the foreign trade missions, revealing simultaneously their knowledge and also disclosing practical experience on missions of the chamber of commerce and Federal agencies.

In summary, Senator WILLIAMS commented:

"The letters once again dramatized the importance of foreign trade to New Jersey, and they showed, too, that our businessmen are traveling around the globe to interest others in New Jersey products. All in all, it was a very impressive response, and New Jersey is offering much know-how and experience in the trade mission program."

The Garden State obviously will be represented abundantly and ably in future trade missions.

## A Tribute to John B. Little

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, John B. Little, a faithful and devoted employee of the House of Representatives for over 25 years, has, after a short illness, been called home by the good Lord. May his soul rest in peace in the arms of the God he served so faithfully and devotedly.

Little was his name and little was his stature, but great were his contributions to the membership of this body. John Little dedicated his life to the service of the Members of the House of Representatives. Those of us who knew him well affectionately called him vice president in charge of operations of the House Document Room. He always had the time to give the very latest information on the status of any bill, report, or document before this body. Due to his remarkable memory he could cite references to previous bills, reports, and laws way back into legislative history. But above and beyond his unquestionable competence and ability was the graciousness and generosity of his service and the gentlemanly manner in which he treated everyone who came to him for guidance and help.

In addition to his formal duties and responsibilities which John always handled expertly and efficiently, he was always ready to give anyone of us a hand in solving the many and complex problems that are the everyday event in any Member's office.

In the many years I knew John Little I called upon him for help for many things and many services. He never failed to do his best to help me solve my problems and always graciously. I know I speak not only for myself but for all the Members of this House when I say I deeply appreciated, and shall always cherish the memory of John Little—a giant little John—a truly dedicated public servant.

I do not know if John ever read the prayer I attach to this article, but he lived every line of it and I add it to my few remarks because I believe it epitomized his life:

"Lord
Teach me to be generous;
Teach me to serve You as You deserve:
To give and not to count the cost,
To fight and not to heed the wounds,
To toil and not to look for rest,
To labor and not to ask for reward
Save that of knowing I am doing Your will."

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

## Bill Haddad, Associate Director for Planning and Evaluation of the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks I include an article which appeared in the Volunteer of a newsletter by and for the volunteers of the Peace Corps about Bill Haddad, Associate Director for Planning and Evaluation of the Peace Corps.

Mr. Haddad, in addition to this nice writeup in the Volunteer, recently was selected by the Saturday Evening Post as one of the young men on the rise in the Nation. I concur with both of these that Bill Haddad is one of the most hard working young men in Washington and is doing an excellent job, not only in the Peace Corps but on many other special assignments that have been given him by the President. All of us are proud of the work that Bill Haddad is doing.

The article follows:

WHO'S WHO IN WASHINGTON

The model of the man who runs up escalators, Bill Haddad, Associate Director for Planning and Evaluation, is a study in versatility.

At the age of 14, Haddad decided that post-Pearl Harbor life in a Florida high school lacked flavor and that he wanted to make an active contribution to the war effort. He stretched his age to enlist in the Army Air Corps pilot training program. By the time his true age was discovered, he had been advanced to cadet squadron commander.

After several unsuccessful attempts to get drafted into the Army and to join the Marines, Haddad—16—convinced a Coast Guard admiral running the merchant marine to put him on an outbound ship "that wouldn't get back to the United States until I was old enough."

Commissioned an ensign in the merchant marine, Bill Haddad, who hadn't started shaving yet, was the youngest U.S. officer in World War II. In 5 years at sea as a radio officer he saw virtually every island in the Pacific, and most of the ports in Europe, Africa, and Latin America.

After his stint at sea he completed junior college while helping to run his family's

hotel-restaurant business. He returned to sea during the Korean war and later spent summer and Christmas vacations aboard ship, while working his way to an A.B. degree majoring in both the physical and social sciences at Columbia College. He worked his way through Columbia with the help of a midnight-to-dawn job at the marine radio station. Just as if he had time on his hands, he also enrolled in composition courses at the Julliard School of Music and studied piano.

In his final year at Columbia College, he combined his undergraduate work with the graduate course at Columbia Journalism School. He also created and edited a topical magazine, Prospects, which was distributed to over 300 colleges.

Haddad's interest in politics was growing. After a brief period as press director for a California political campaign, he returned east to study Chinese and Russian affairs at Georgetown University and to work for the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, headed by ESTES KEFAUVER.

In 1955, after becoming staff director of the subcommittee, Haddad was named special assistant to KEFAUVER. The two made a trip around the world, traveling through Russia and its satellites.

Upon returning to the United States, Haddad set up KEFAUVER'S primary campaigns and later became administrative officer in charge of KEFAUVER'S campaign for the Vice-Presidency. He also organized KEFAUVER'S convention floor fight against Senator Kennedy in 1956. When the election was over, he decided to leave politics. It is a testament to his versatility that he could get a job as a systems engineer at RCA's Creative Electronics Division.

His interest in journalism soon led him to work for the New York Post where, in his first month on the job, he scored a coup by uncovering a murderer before the police did. He was assigned to write a series of political exposés which resulted in the summoning of a dozen grand juries.

Haddad's work at the Post brought him widespread recognition and acclaim. In 1958 he received the George Polk Memorial Award, the Newspaper Reporters' Association Award, and the Newspaper Guild Page One Award. He received the George Polk Memorial Award and the Newspaper Guild Page One Award again in 1959, as well as the Byline Award of the Newspaper Reporters' Association (for heroic rescue work on the burning carrier *Constellation*), and the Heywood Broun Award of the American Newspaper Guild.

But the Kennedy Presidential campaign lured him back into politics as a special assistant to Robert Kennedy. It was the Attorney General who brought him to the attention of Sargent Shriver. He has been at the Peace Corps since the early days of March 1961.

Married to the former Kate Roosevelt, Haddad lives in Georgetown. In March they had their first child, Laura Whitney Haddad.

## Proposed Electoral College Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Journal and Tribune of Seneca, S.C., published in the July 11, 1962, issue an excellent editorial on the important resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 12, which proposes an amendment to the Constitution to change the method of electing the President and Vice President. The newspaper is ably edited and published by Mr. Paul League, one of the Nation's outstanding weekly newspaper editors. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTORAL COLLEGE AMENDMENT FAIR

The first congressional step has been taken to make it possible for us to elect a President in as fairly and representative a manner as we elect a Congressman or Senator.

A constitutional amendment (with Senator STROM THURMOND joint sponsor) by which candidates for the electoral college would each declare his choice for President and Vice President and then run for election in a manner similar to Senators and Representatives is now under study by the full Senate Judiciary Committee.

Instead of voting for a panel of electors representing one party or the other, the individual citizen, under the proposed amendment, would vote for two electors at large (as for Senators) and for one elector in his area (comparable to his congressional district). Thus, the electoral vote would very likely be divided. Most States would then be sending to the electoral college members of both parties, rather than sending the victorious panel, either all Democrat or all Republican, as is now done—depriving the State's minority of all representation.

Under the present system of a statewide general ticket, a voter has as many votes in presidential elections as his State has electors—one for each of its two Senators and one for each Congressman. Each New Yorker had 45 votes in 1960, each South Carolinian but 8.

The amendment would restore the purpose of the electoral college—to prevent distortions in the election of the President arising from the widely varying populations of the different States. Under this reform, every voter in every State would vote for three electors—just as he helps elect two Senators and one Representative.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN STUDENT SOCIETY, RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE,
*Troy, N.Y., June 14, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Recently the Ukrainian-American Student Society of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute sent a letter—a copy is enclosed—to Hon. HOWARD SMITH urging the passage of the Flood resolution, which calls for the establishment of a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

Our society is greatly interested in the progress of this vital resolution. Therefore, if we can be of any assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Yours truly,
LUBOMYR M. ZOBNIW,
*President.*

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UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS SOCIETY, RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE,
*Troy, N.Y., June 12, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The Ukrainian-American Student Society of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute strongly urges the passage of the Flood resolution, which calls for the establishment of a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

It is imperative that such a Committee on Captive Nations be established. Such a committee would be a source of unbiased information on all of the captive nations, which could be effectively utilized not only by our Government but by our educational institutions. In our colleges and universities there appears to be an increasing trend to appease the Communists. Many of these believers are ignorant of the enslaved non-Russian nations in U.S.S.R. Their only source of information about the captive nations is what is published in Russian magazines as U.S.S.R.

We all know that information about captive non-Russian nations is insufficient, hence many of our officials have committed glaring blunders concerning our greatest ally, the non-Russian enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain.

Therefore the Ukrainian-American Student Society strongly urges that the Flood resolution be refererd to a final vote by the House Rules Committee.

Yours truly,
LUBOMYR M. ZOBNIW,
*President.*

CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I support your House Resolution 211 as the best and the most appropriate at the present time in the war against the gangsters of the Kremlin.

Sincerely yours,

———— ————.

PLAINFIELD, N.J.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, ———— ————, a Cossack by origin, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to set up a special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Your proposal, House Resolution 211, is the best and the most appropriate one at the present time for us to contend with the Moscow imperialists.

Sincerely yours,

———— ————.

ROCHESTER, N.Y., *June 20, 1692.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Mrs. Olga Gubaroff, a Cossack by origin and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to support favorably the Flood resolution to set up a Special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

OLGA GUBAROFF.

## Proposed Amendment of McCarran-Walter Immigration Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time," Thomas Jefferson said over 150 years ago. But that God did not give us the right to deny liberty to those who desire it and did not give us the right to presuppose that one race of people is more desirable than another race.

The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act has long been conceded to be discriminatory and to be against the principles on which our Nation was founded. My distinguished colleague, the Honorable Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan, has proposed a bill which would eliminate the discriminatory features of the McCarran-Walter Act. His bill, which I am proud to cosponsor asks for the total number of admissible immigrants to be one-seventh of 1 percent of the total population instead of one-sixth of 1 percent of the white population according to the 1920 census. He would revise the "national origins" quota system by a formula based on the relative population of the countries of the world. The proposal also places great emphasis on legislating a family reunion in the United States.

This is sensible legislation. This is the principle of the legislation that was promised by Candidates Kennedy and Nixon, by Candidates Eisenhower and Stevenson, and by Republicans and Democrats.

The well-known commentator Harry Golden has written on Senator Hart's bill in the Carolina Israelite of May-June 1962. I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Golden's editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR HART'S IMMIGRATION BILL

"One law shall be to him that is homeborn and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you, as the Lord commanded Moses and Aaron."

Shutting the door on unrestricted immigration may not have diminished American vitality and elan but it did not on that account improve them either. I do not mean the immigrants are superior to natives; the atmosphere is precisely the opposite. The immigrants always feel themselves inferior and therefore they try that much harder. Immigrants understand this by instinct. They know they cannot change their appearance, their foreign accents and their strange habits in a short time, but they know despite all of this, they can enter the open society of America, if they try hard enough.

How many times in recent years have we heard men who control and affect our destiny; scientists, doctors, physicists, and missile experts speak with a foreign accent? But another 50 years of "racial" and "ethnic" restrictions and we will all look like Davy Crockett. Not that Davy Crockett was bad looking or un-American but he didn't look like the Swedish farmer in the Midwest, or the Irish laborer laying the railroad ties or the Jewish medical student, or the Polish ironworker, or the Chinese merchant in San Francisco, or the Italian restauranteur in Connecticut, or for that matter, the Mohawk Indian who works in high steel.

Both Kennedy and Nixon and before them Eisenhower and Stevenson promised revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. No revision has been made. And no one in his right mind believes that America will open its doors again to unrestricted immigration. The day when Emma Lazarus wrote about the "huddled masses yearning to be free," and the "homeless and tempest-tossed" is gone.

But both Republicans and Democrats have been promising revision of the restrictive immigration laws. The laws as they exist are evil in fact as well as in intention. These laws emphasize a "national origins" quota system. No Christian nation ought to tolerate such laws which presuppose one race of people is more desirable than another race.

Realistically, the "open door" policy is out of the question. But there are reasonable and providential revisions possible. And they are American. I refer to the proposals made by Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan, a bill now before the Congress. His proposal asks for the total number of admissible immigrants to be one-seventh of 1 percent of the total population instead of one-sixth of 1 percent of the white population according to the 1920 census. He would revise the "national origins" quota system by a formula based on the relative population of the countries of the world. His proposal also places great emphasis on legislating a family reunion in the United States and gives preference to families who want to join each other here.

He would also adjust the quotas realistically. For example, the present immigration quota for the United Kingdom is 65,361. The average immigration, however, from the United Kingdom has been for the last 10 years roughly 20,000 annually. HART proposes a quota of 25,000 which would certainly admit all who want to emigrate from the United Kingdom and the difference would be adjusted to those countries which have long waiting lists of potential immigrants. Thus where the present immigration quota for Greece is 308, Mr. HART would increase this to 3,458 which is still small considering the number of Greeks who want to come here. Already there are 105,000 Greeks on the waiting list plus that many more who do not think it even worth while to register.

Were we to revise this bill we would prove to the world that while we are busy with military defense preparations, and with day-to-day tensions arising out of the cold war as well as the concern with our own vast economy; we are not too busy to think of the sacredness of the individual and the respect of all of mankind.

## Prayer in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the recent Supreme Court decision relative to use of prayer in public schools continues to provoke editorial comment and diversified views. I have spoken on the floor of the Senate on this issue and have caused to be inserted in the RECORD the views of others. A most recent article received by me is an editorial from the Oxford, Ohio, Press, entitled "There's a Difference." My request that this editorial be printed in the RECORD does not mean that I concur with the views of the editor. I do think, however, that it reveals a deep and thoughtful analysis of some of the fundamental aspects of the subject, and I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE'S A DIFFERENCE—YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW IS THE KEY TO LIBERTY

If the Supreme Court had decreed to abolish Mothers' Day, it could scarcely have caused any more emotional stir than has resulted from the recent decision concerning New York State's attempt to adopt, and enforce, an official public school prayer.

Few controversial matters have such apparently safe positions as do those of anti-communism (meaning anti anything the Russians are for) promotherhood, pro-country and pro-God. So it is understandable that politicians looking Novemberward, television entertainers, and other publicity seekers have been quick to attack the decision as antireligious.

Ironically, some of those most vocal in criticizing the decision are the same politicians who held steadfastly for the separation of church and state regarding Federal

aid to education. Others are even more emotion charged—Jerry Lewis, Ed Sullivan, George Jessel and company: "The Supreme Court slapped Kennedy in the mouth." "Who says my kid can't pray in school?" "If they can teach them to drive a car they should be able to teach them to pray."

Far more astute, we think, than such catch phrases are those statements from churchmen themselves. Dr. Douglas M. Branch, general secretary of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, a church leader from the heart of the Bible Belt, declared:

"I think the ruling was inevitable. I don't see how the Court could have ruled otherwise. I think it is a clear violation of the Constitution for the administration of a public school to require prayers.

"It is no part of the business of Government to compose official prayers for any group of American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the Government."

We heartily agree. The adoption of an official prayer whose recitation is to be enforced as part of the public school program has no authorization under our country's Constitution.

But nobody, and certainly not the Supreme Court, has ruled that there will be no praying in classrooms, or that baccalaureate programs cannot be continued for those who wish to attend, or that special programs may not well begin with an invocation.

The important factor which we feel the New York State edict overlooked is that prayer is a personal thing. It varies among individuals as well as among religious creeds. The real meaning of prayer stems from an inner association with God; prayer is not a matter of recitation, a business of spouting off some meaningless words by rote while fashioning the day's first spitball.

Our own Talawanda High School, we think, has bridged the issue beautifully with its thought for the day, a nonreligious, yet spiritual, comment which precedes each day's morning announcements. Supervised by the student council with the cooperation of school service clubs, the thought is prepared and delivered by a different student each week. Frequently the student uses a quotation upon which to construct the day's comment.

A typical thought, for instance, began with an anecdote concerning a youth who fell from his boat, off the Atlantic coast, into the sea. A poor swimmer, he barely managed to keep afloat. Then when all seemed lost, he was spotted by a sailor aboard the Navy ship *Kittywake* and within minutes was rescued.

"Blessed are those," the Talawanda thought summarized, "who keep on the lookout for all in need, physically or spiritually. One person on the alert is better than a thousand whose vision does not go beyond self."

And such thought-provoking messages, prepared and delivered by the students themselves, are better, we feel, than a thousand recitations whose vision does not go beyond rote-learning and governmental enforcement.

The quest for religious freedom is what brought the Pilgrims to this shore in the first place. Men of profound religious faith themselves, they recognized all too well that true freedom of religion demands true freedom from governmental interference. Thus the first amendment came into being.

It is also basic to our way of life that religious education be the responsibility of the church and home, not the public schools. The Supreme Court decision thus reaffirms that point.

Furthermore, the right we have always had to teach our children in our homes and churches those particular religious beliefs which we ourselves hold remains the same. The Supreme Court decision can only serve to remind parents that this is not only a right but also a duty.

In fact, considering the increasing trend toward expecting local, State, or Federal Governments to protect and watch over us from the cradle to the grave, this decision which emphasizes that there are still some responsibilities better assumed by other influences, comes almost like a fresh cool breeze—a stirring up of ever-strong, if somewhat musty, currents from the old frontier.

## Carl L. Phinney: Citizen Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, the Texas rollcall of military leaders is honored to list Lt. Gen. Carl L. Phinney, of Dallas, among the top men in that category.

General Phinney's military service to his Nation and his State has spanned almost two generations. It has taken him from private to lieutenant general and he has served with distinction all the way.

Frank Langston, of the Dallas Times Herald, aptly recites General Phinney's long capabilities in a recent article which I am privileged to insert in the RECORD so all who know General Phinney may have a chance to read this tribute to a dear friend.

The article reads as follows:

THE LONG LOOK: CARL L. PHINNEY—CITIZEN SOLDIER

(By Frank Langston)

National defense has always had an important role in Texas—from the siege of the Alamo to the present.

And for many Texans—at home, at school, or at work—military service is a way of life. They are citizen soldiers and proud of it.

They may say little about it, but they place a high value upon freedom, country, flag, honor and duty. They have a high regard for efficiency and discipline. They believe in the principles of our free Nation and hope to pass on those same principles to their children.

Year after year they work seriously but without much fanfare at the exacting tasks of military training. And year after year for a short time they move out into the field to put that training to the best practical test short of combat.

Many make personal sacrifices to continue their military careers. But they are more likely to count it as duty than as sacrifice. It's a way of life.

Texas has been blessed with many outstanding citizen soldiers through the years, serving with distinction in peacetime or in combat.

But few have served Texas and the Nation better than Lt. Gen. Cary L. Phinney, who rose from young private to commander of the Texas National Guard.

EFFORTS FOR DEFENSE

General Phinney is a successful Dallas attorney and a civic leader in his community. But for years he has given even more of his time and efforts to the Guard and to the cause of national defense than to his law practice.

And last weekend, at a review in his honor by men of the 36th Infantry Division where he spent most of his career, he was awarded the National Guard Association Distinguished Service Medal.

It was a fitting tribute to an outstanding citizen soldier.

Thirty-six years ago Carl Phinney, a student at the University of Texas, enlisted in the 36th Infantry Division. Not long afterward he was commissioned as a quartermaster officer. By World War II he had risen to division quartermaster. He was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action at Salerno and was division logistical officer until rotated back to the United States.

EIGHT YEARS AS COMMANDING GENERAL

When the 36th Division was reorganized as a National Guard outfit after World War II, he was named chief of staff and by the time of the first summer field training was assistant division commander with special attention to infantry training. For 8 years he served as commanding general of the division, during which it was reorganized along the current pentomic concept.

Then last fall General Phinney retired and was promptly appointed to the honorary—but very active—post of commander of the Texas National Guard.

But commanding the division—or the Texas National Guard—was only a part of his work as a citizen soldier.

General Phinney believes strongly that America must have a strong national defense. He believes the cheapest, most practical way to achieve it is through building and maintaining strong Reserves.

Day after day, night after night, he told the story of national defense to civic groups.

As a senior officer, he was named to various policy boards within the Defense Department. He served as vice president of the National Guard Association of the United States, an organization that has made its voice heard frequently on defense matters.

MUST HAVE STRONG DEFENSE

"America must have a strong national defense," General Phinney frequently has told audiences—military and civilian alike.

"We must have an adequate Reserve," he has insisted just as frequently. "We must have a Reserve made up of men brought to a high degree of training, not only as individuals but as units. And our Reserves must be supplied with the newest weapons and equipment."

The citizen soldiers who have gone to camp with General Phinney each summer have found that their duties there were no picnic.

But then, war is no picnic, either. And the general insisted on preparedness for any emergency. They were there because they also believed in national defense.

For many of them, as it has been for years with General Phinney, military service is a way of life.

## The Size of the National Debt Doesn't Matter Because We Owe It to Ourselves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism.

Article No. 6 in the series concerns the cliche: "The size of the national debt doesn't matter because we owe it to ourselves."

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

CLICHES OF SOCIALISM

(No. 6)

"The size of the national debt doesn't matter because we owe it to ourselves."

Some things a person does owe to himself—intangibles like respect, integrity, responsibility. "This above all, to thine own self be true." But such duties to self are not a debt in the usual sense of a repayable loan or obligation.

If an individual transfers his own money or his own promise to pay from his right pocket to his left, the transaction clearly leaves him neither richer nor poorer. There would be no point in a person's borrowing from himself; but if for some reason he did, the size of the debt he owed himself wouldn't matter at all. However, if A gives his property to B, we do not say that each is as rich or as poor as before. Or, if C buys extensively on credit, his creditors surely do not believe that C "owes it to himself." They are keenly aware that the size of his debt makes a big difference when the bills fall due.

Instead of an individual, one might conceive of a society with the Government owning or controlling all property and persons and issuing money or bonds as a bookkeeping device to keep track of its spending. In such a situation, it wouldn't matter how many promises or bonds had been issued or remained outstanding. Since individuals would have neither property nor rights, the socialized government—as sole owner—would only be dealing with itself. But in a nonsocialized society, individuals do have rights and may own property. If the Government borrows property from citizen A, then it is obligated to repay that debt to A—not to B or C or D. The individual who owns a Government bond may be a taxpayer as well, and thus liable in part for the taxes the government must collect in order to redeem his bond; but B and C and D are also liable as taxpayers even if they own none of the bonds themselves. And the size of the debt makes a real difference to everyone involved.

One of the vital characteristics of the institution of private property is that ownership and control rests with individuals, and whether a person owns or owes makes a whale of a difference in how rich or how poor he is.

The concept of private ownership and control of property further presupposes a government of limited powers instead of a socialized society in which everything and everyone is government owned and controlled. Private property owners presumably have something to say about the extent to which government may tax or seize their property; otherwise, it wouldn't be a limited government, and there wouldn't be private property.

Now, government debt signifies that government has made certain claims upon private property above and beyond the "due processes" of authorized taxation. The semblance of private property must be maintained, else the government could find no "owner" from whom to "borrow" and no taxpayers upon whom to draw when the debt falls due. But, in essence, the government debt is an existing claim against property—like an unpaid tax bill—and the larger that debt, the less is the real equity of individuals in what is thought to be private property. In that sense, the socialization already has occurred, and the government does "owe to itself" because it owns the property. The size of the debt is important, however, because it measures the amount that taxpayers and property owners owe—not to themselves, but to the government over which they have lost control insofar as it now owns and controls them.

It would be most surprising to find a completely socialized government heavily in debt, simply because no sensible property owner would lend to such an institution if he could possibly avoid it. Though deficit financing seems inconsistent with the original American design of limited government, it is possible in an emergency for a limited government to find voluntary creditors, especially among its own citizens who expect the government to abide by its constitutional limitations and thus leave a large base of taxable private property through which debts may be redeemed. But the growing size of the government debt should be of real concern to every creditor and especially to every taxpayer with any interest whatsoever in private property and personal freedom.

PAUL L. POIROT.

## Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH

OF

## HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12648) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, some time ago we were interested in the very subject that is now being discussed. We had people from the military Defense Department, the civilian Defense Department, and the Department of Agriculture before our committee for the purpose of discussing the very subject we are now considering. And, I asked questions of each one of the witnesses what program we had developed for the civilian population in the event of a military attack. And, after very exhaustive effort on our part, we were told "Operation Grandma's Pantry." Now, that is the only program we have to protect the civilian food supply: "Grandma's Pantry." What that means I have no way of knowing, except to fill up your own pantry as grandma did in years gone by.

I take this time, Mr. Chairman, to complain in a nice way; I do not want to be mean about it, but here is an appropriation bill carrying almost $6 billion, reported on Friday, and we start on it on Tuesday. It was only introduced on Friday the 20th of July 1962. The 3-day rule is complied with only by counting Saturday and Sunday and for all practical purposes the bill was not available until yesterday morning. Nobody has had an opportunity to study the bill. I would like to have gone over it in our committee section by section, but time did not permit us to do so. This procedure has become the standard practice of the Appropriations Committee and I can conclude only that it is done intentionally.

Consequently, I am introducing a resolution providing for a change in the rules so as to provide that reports from the Appropriations Committee must be available to the membership 5 legislative days instead of the 3 calendar days now in the rules.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. I wonder if the gentleman would amend that rule so as to provide that when the Committee on Agriculture brings in a bill dealing with sugar that has been attached to a honeybee bill over in the Senate, that the rules provide that we at least have a copy of the amendment available so the Committee on Rules may be informed as to what it contains, and even the House membership may be let in on the secret?

Mr. COOLEY. I am sure the gentleman would endorse the resolution.

Mr. BROWN. If the gentleman will amend it in that way, I might support the gentleman's resolution.

Mr. COOLEY. I agree with the gentleman. My committee as well as the gentleman's committee was handicapped by not having printed copies of the Senate amendment. We had to make our own. It is bad precedent, and I hope it does not happen again, that another distinguished legislative body takes up a honeybee bill or bumblebee bill and attaches something of great importance to it as it did the 150,000 tons of sugar.

Mr. Chairman, I am serious in offering this resolution, and I hope the Rules Committee will consider it and that it will be adopted. I am not wedded to the 5 legislative days. Perhaps it ought to be 3 legislative days. But it certainly ought to be legislative days instead of counting Saturdays and Sundays.

Mr. Chairman, I do want to complain about certain reductions made in this appropriation bill.

Beginning with the appropriation for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year 1962, the Appropriations Committee put Public Law 480 operations on what it calls a pay-as-you-go basis. Up to that time, operations under Public Law 480 had been carried out on the same basis as price support and other operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation, viz: Expenditures during a fiscal year were made out of the capital funds of the CCC and at the end of the fiscal year an appropriation was made to reimburse the Corporation. Beginning with 1962, however, the Appropriations Committee included in the appropriation bill items for the various operations under Public Law 480 and stated in its report that—

> The amounts appropriated each year should serve as general guides in the conduct of these programs.

The bill, as reported by the committee this year, has sharply reduced the budget requests for the various types of operations under Public Law 480 and the following is a hurried analysis of the effect of this action on these programs.

TITLE I

Public Law 480, as amended by the act of August 8, 1961, authorizes the expenditure of $4.5 billion in the 3 calendar years 1962, 1963, and 1964, for sales under title I of Public Law 480 with the provision that not to exceed $2.5 billion may be expended in any 1 calendar year—thus taking into account the probability that there will be more opportunity for sale of commodities under this title in some years than in other years.

In its appropriation for the fiscal year 1962, the Appropriations Committee provided $1.353 billion for title I for the fiscal year 1962. In the budget request for fiscal year 1963, the Department asked for $1.293 billion for title I, which included $212 million by which actual title I transactions in 1962 had exceeded the limitation set by the Committee on Appropriations in its bill.

In this bill, making appropriations for the fiscal year 1963, the committee has deducted the $212 million from the budget request and has appropriated only $1.08 billion for the fiscal year 1963, in spite of the fact that the legislative committee having jurisdiction over this matter and the Congress have approved an act which authorizes the commitment of up to $2.5 billion for the fiscal year 1963.

In its report the Committee on Appropriations says:

> The amounts appropriated each year should serve as general guides in conduct of these programs.

By this language the Committee on Appropriations adopts, again, the device of trying to make law by a committee report, instead of placing the provision in its bill, where it could be challenged by a point of order, and overriding the wisdom of the legislative committee and the Congress by attempting to limit operations under title I to about $1 billion in fiscal year 1963, when the act approved by the Congress provides that operations under title I may be as large as $2.5 billion in 1 year.

I am informed that, since the Committee on Appropriations has refused to appropriate the $212 million by which title I operations exceeded the budget established by the Appropriations Committee last year, this amount will probably have to be subtracted from the $1 billion authorized for these operations in fiscal year 1963, and that this will reduce the available funds below the level of the agreements which are now in negotiation and contemplated for execution during fiscal 1963.

TITLE II

The bill reduces the appropriation request of $364 million by $114 million to $250 million for title II operations during fiscal year 1963. This is in contravention of the authority contained in Public Law 480 as the result of action of the legislative committee and the Congress which authorizes the expenditure of $300 million per year for programs under this title, plus any unexpended balance up to this amount from previous years. The AID agency informs me that this reduction in the appropriation and the implied limitation on expenditures and programs for 1963, will seriously interfere with the developing program to use American agricultural surpluses in beneficial public works programs in many parts of the world. Under these programs, public works such as roads, sewers, water systems, and so forth, are undertaken with part of the payment to the workers being in surplus agricultural commodities and the other part of the payment being made in money by the local government.

In Morocco, for example, 600 schools have been built under this type of assistance from the United States. The workers were paid partly by the local government and partly in surplus commodities made available under title II of Public Law 480.

TITLE III

Barter is the one part of the Public Law 480 program where the United States is assured of getting full value received for the surplus agricultural commodities which are exported. Under this program, materials—mostly minerals but including an increasing quantity of offshore procurement for the defense agencies—are acquired from sellers in foreign countries in exchange for surplus agricultural commodities. The law provides the criteria that the materials obtained must not be produced in adequate quantities in the United States, must be inexpensive to store, and must not deteriorate in storage and furthermore, that materials may be obtained through barter only when they have been designated by the President. This has proved to be one of the most beneficial avenues to the American people of export of agricultural commodities. Materials which have been obtained in exchange for perishable agricultural commodities are worth more today than when they were obtained. The storage costs of these materials are about $2 million per year contracted to more than $100 million for the agricultural commodities. Materials obtained under the barter program should be distinguished from materials which are obtained for the national stockpile. While some of the materials for the national stockpile—which was set up to provide a reserve of strategic materials in the event of war—have been obtained by barter, the basic purpose of the barter program is to dispose profitably of surplus agricultural commodities and to obtain, in return, materials, not necessarily of wartime or strategic value, but which are essential to American industry and not produced in sufficient quantity in the United States, for a permanent addition to our resources.

These go into the supplemental stockpile, which was established by the Agricultural Act of 1956. The only materials eligible for this program are those which are nondeteriorating in character, cost very little to store, and are not produced in adequate quantity in the United States. The materials involved are nonrenewable natural resources. To assume that we can have too much of these essential natural resources which are not produced in adequate quantity in the United States is to assume that we could have too much of any natural resource—such as oil, iron ore, or any other essential mineral.

The appropriation bill reduces the budget request for this program from $343 to $125 million, a reduction of $218 million. I am informed that this amount is barely sufficient to provide for transfer to the supplemental stockpile during the fiscal year 1963 of materials which are already under contract by the Department of Agriculture.

In view of the legislative language in the report of the Committee on Appropriations, this bill will seriously handicap efforts to exchange surplus agricultural commodities for foreign materials of lasting values.

TITLE IV

In 1959 the Committee on Agriculture reported a bill, which was approved by the Congress and the President, authorizing the sale of agricultural surpluses for long-term dollar credit—largely as a replacement for sales for foreign currencies under title I. For 2 years there was no implementation of this title by the executive branch of the Government, but in the fall of 1961 the first such agreement was entered into. Following are the title IV agreements which have been made, to sell our agricultural surpluses for dollars instead of for foreign currencies:

| | *Millions* |
|---|---|
| August 1961, El Salvador | $2.8 |
| November 1961, Portugal | 21.0 |
| March 1962, Peru | 2.0 |
| April 1962, Liberia | 12.4 |
| April 1962, Yugoslavia | 25.5 |
| May 1962, Venezuela | 16.5 |

It is obvious that under the concerted efforts of the Department of Agriculture and the AID agency, these title IV agreements have begun to materialize in the last few months, as Congress intended. Since the first of this calendar year agreements for dollar credit sales of our surpluses under title IV have amounted to $56.4 million.

In this appropriation bill the committee cuts the budget request for title IV from $90 to $40 million. This appropriation cover only the difference between the cost of the commodities, plus storage and handling charges to CCC, and the dollars which are to be received in payment for these commodities under the long-term contracts. Nevertheless, I am informed that this limitation of $40 million on title IV in fiscal year 1963 will limit these agreements during that year to approximately $125 million, whereas the agencies who are working on these agreements informed me that they have in prospect for the fiscal year 1963 title IV agreements totaling at least $290 million. Most of these agreements will be contracts for the sale of our commodities for dollars, instead of for local currencies, and there could be no more shortsighted position taken by this Congress than to limit the amount and extent by which our exports of surpluses may be shifted from local currencies to dollar credits.

This action by the Appropriations Committee is also in direct contravention of the action which has been taken

by the legislative committee and by the Congress in approving in the farm bill—H.R. 12391 and S. 3225—provisions substantially liberalizing the terms of agreements under title IV, so that even more commodities may be disposed of under this title, instead of under title I.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Would that be designed to take care of the T. & T. club?

Mr. COOLEY. What is the T. & T. club?

Mr. GROSS. Out on Thursday, back on Tuesday.

Mr. COOLEY. You mean the I.T.O.T. club? In on Tuesday, out on Thursday?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, something like that.

Mr. COOLEY. In this bill—and the chairman of the subcommittee probably has an explanation—I think they made some very drastic reductions in funds under Public Law 480 through which we are trying to dispose of these enormous surpluses which we have in our warehouses at the moment. I know last year they overspent the budget by the sum of $212 million. This year the appropriation bill fails to provide that $212 million, other than to deduct it from the appropriations we would only make this year.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. Last year we tried to appropriate in advance. The funds that the gentleman sees there are provided in advance. It does not restrict the basic law in any way. The subcommittee felt, however, that under the present conditions, with all the questions about the $6-billion agricultural bill, and with all the pressure that the gentleman and the Congress has had on existing farm laws, it should hold this within line as best it could. However, may I say again that these funds, once advanced to the corporation, are available for the purposes of the corporation without restriction.

May I say the language quoted by the gentleman from North Carolina points up the problem our Committee on Appropriations has in obtaining adequate funds for agricultural programs. Believe me it takes some doing.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. Let me point out this: As the gentleman further knows, if they sell these commodities for dollars, the dollars become available to meet the needs of the Corporation. We who are members of this subcommittee have a constant problem in trying to sell as much as possible for dollars, since the dollars are not only an asset to the Treasury, but help the Corporation meet its needs. We are constantly trying to push, and I think rightly so, for the sale of these surplus commodities for dollars. But I can assure the gentleman that there is no restriction insofar as this bill is concerned.

Mr. COOLEY. But the point is this: Our committee authorized an expenditure of $2.5 billion annually for operations under title I of Public Law 480. The net result of this bill will be to reduce that figure to $1 billion.

Mr. WHITTEN. If the gentleman will yield further, any bartering of what they have on hand, there is nothing here that limits it. Those commodities that they have belong to CCC. They can sell them all under Public Law 480, insofar as any limitation is concerned. The money involved here will go back to the Corporation for the purpose of future investment or replacement for commodities that may be sold one way or the other.

Mr. COOLEY. Does not the gentleman agree that this appropriation bill places a restriction, a limitation, upon the activities of those prosecuting their programs under Public Law 480?

Mr. WHITTEN. If the gentlemen will yield further, none whatever. It limits what they can do by reason of the amount of dollars they have.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman does admit that the gentleman's committee cut this item $212 million?

Mr. WHITTEN. I do. The committee recommended that we cut the amount of money by that amount. But I say again, any commodities CCC has on hand that are eligible for Public Law 480 can be sold under the law and there is nothing to restrict that operation.

Mr. COOLEY. Of course, our Committee on Agriculture wants to sell these commodities for dollars first, then for dollar short-term credit, and then for dollar long-term credit, and then for strategic materials and barter transactions, and then give away and sell for foreign currencies as a last resort. That is the way it should be. But our barter program has bogged down, it amounts to that, and now the dollar sales will be handicapped under this limitation.

Mr. WHITTEN. Might I say to the gentleman that there is no difference between us on this bill. Last year for the first time we tried to provide the funds for these purposes in advance. Because of the tight situation this year, we elected not to give them quite as much money in advance. But by reason of that fact, it does not keep them from carrying out every law that the gentleman has mentioned, having to do with the operation of the programs under Public Law 480.

Mr. COOLEY. I know, but they must have the money.

Mr. WHITTEN. We figured that if they can sell commodities they can get the money to carry out further loan and purchase programs. The funds were put in for future operations.

Mr. COOLEY. Then it is not the intention of the gentlemen's committee to further limit operations under the Public Law 480 program?

Mr. WHITTEN. It does not do that.

Mr. COOLEY. I am glad to have the gentleman's interpretation of his own bill, because the way I interpreted it, it seemed to me that you definitely limited operations under Public Law 480.

Mr. WHITTEN. These funds are advanced to the Corporation to help meet the Corporation's future obligations under the law. The commodities the Corporation now has can be sold under any authority it now has. Once it sells them, we would be faced thereafter with restoring the capital investment.

Mr. COOLEY. Is the committee advised as to why the barter transactions have bogged down?

Mr. WHITTEN. According to all the testimony we had before the committee it was that, what we were getting in return in these barter transactions, very few of the items were strategic, very few were needed.

Mr. COOLEY. The law does not limit it to strategic materials. It is just materials that are needed in our own economy.

Mr. WHITTEN. The testimony we had was that very few of them were really needed and that in effect the program was upsetting the normal channels of trade and really might be doing more injury than good.

(Mr. COOLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

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## Join Cancer Crusade—Give More To Cure More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, all of us have felt the sorrow and loss of someone who has been struck down by cancer. The late Senators Robert A. Taft, Brien McMahon, and the gentleman who served us so ably for such a long time in the chair you are now occupying, Speaker Sam Rayburn, were victims of this terrible killer. Cancer will touch two out of every three American homes and wil lstrike 45 million of our fellow citizens now living. This year alone about 275,000 Americans will die of cancer; one every 2 minutes. Yet, progress is being made in our fight against the plague of our time.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of two significant events that launched us into the battle: enactment of the National Cancer Institute Act which created the National Cancer Institute and the beginning of the American Cancer Society's first nationwide campaign of public education. By working together with complementary and supplementary programs, these two agencies—one governmental and the other composed of dedicated and conscientious volunteer citizens—have greatly reduced the cancer toll. In 1937 the cure rate was one saved out of every seven inflicted. To-

day, one out of three is being saved.

That is why I am speaking to you today.

Of the 58 divisions that compose the American Cancer Society, none are more dedicated and harder working than the New Jersey division. In 1946 the New Jersey division of the society elected as its first president George E. Stringfellow, of East Orange. Ever since than Mr. Stringfellow has been an active participant in the fight against cancer. Several years ago, he lent his name to a cancer editorial contest designed to increase public education in regard to the threat of cancer through the medium of newspaper editorials. It is my privilege today to announce the winners of the 1962 George E. Stringfellow Cancer Editorial Contest. The winner of the award representing the daily newspapers is A. Bruce Cook, of the Hudson Dispatch, Union City, N.J.; the weekly newspaper category award will go to Mrs. Rita Robertson Fuller, of the Blairstown Press, Blairstown, N.J. I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the texts of these two fine editorials:

JOIN CANCER CRUSADE—GIVE MORE TO CURE MORE

(By A. Bruce Cook, Hudson Dispatch, Union City, N.J.)

While the long-prayed-for breakthrough in the never-ending struggle to conquer dreaded cancer has not yet been achieved, such importance advances have been made in research that there is sound basis for the rising hopes of all who are devoting their time, talents and energies toward eventual conquest of this scourge of mankind which has reaped its lethal harvest throughout the history of man.

As our readers are aware from our annual essays on the subject, April is Cancer Crusade Month, the period during which funds are sought to carry on the life and death fight to find through research a cure for what was once a hopelessly incurable disease. The final answers haven't been found but now there is real hope and 1962 has been designated "Cancer Progress Year" because of the marked steps forward that have been made.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of two significant events in the American battle against cancer—enactment of the National Cancer Institute Act, which created the National Cancer Institute, and the launching by the American Cancer Society of its first nationwide public education campaign. There are chapters of the national society serving Hudson and Bergen Counties and New Jersey.

Although the dream of unlocking the mystery of cancer's cause and growth and the attainment of a cure hasn't been realized, great progress has been noted in its prevention and in saving lives when cases of the disease are caught in time. Two of every six cancer patients are being saved today as against but one in seven surviving a quarter century ago.

Having achieved an excellent record of $1,018,235 in fiscal 1960–61 contributions, the New Jersey division of the national cancer organization has set another million dollar goal for its current campaign. Bergen County raised $176,369 in the 1960–61 appeal and Hudson County $51,509. Surely, neither area will fall behind these figures in the present campaign.

An idea of the extent of the New Jersey division's accomplishments in the crusade against cancer may be gained from the statistics covering September 1960 to September 1961. The 21 chapters helped support 47 diagnostic clinics in general hospitals, reached more than 50,000 persons through 528 club and organization programs, distributed 2,010,701 leaflets and posters, informed 62,911 high school and college students about cancer, and showed 2,304 cancer films to 174,670 New Jersey residents.

In addition, 1,913,694 cancer dressings were made for the benefit of 4,590 patients. The chapters paid for 11,700 nursing visits to 1,122 patients and 1,675 patients were served with loan closet items. Transportation was provided 727 patients and 162 received home nursing care, homemaker and practical nurse service.

We have come a long way in this unrelenting fight and victory is no longer inconceivable. There is real reason to hope and you can do your part. To cure more, give more to your county cancer society chapter. Once again, "Raise the sword of hope."

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SECOND CHANCE

(By Rita Robertson Fuller, Blairstown Press, Blairstown, N.J.)

It must be very early, she thought. Outside the bedroom windows, it was still velvety black and the birds had not yet begun their morning conversation. Inside the big old house, all was quiet, too. The kids, home for the holidays, her husband, sprawled across two-thirds of the bed they shared, all slept the deep, deep sleep that comes just before dawn. It was almost like being the only person awake in the whole world. It was lonesome.

Not at all like that morning 25 years ago, she remembered. There'd been a party the night before, and her mother had finally to wake her, to remind her that it was her wedding day * * * "and look. The sun's shining." They'd been happy years—each anniversary a milestone, a time for thanksgiving that they'd been more fortunate than some of their friends who were no longer couples, either through death or the divorce courts. And while they'd been busy building a life, raising the children, they'd looked forward to the day which was about to dawn. It was a goal they'd aimed for, a prize to be won, something worth saving for. At first, it had gone slowly. The savings had been by quarters, dimes, pennies, even. Tonsils had made a big dent in the hoard, college had almost ruined it. But they'd promised each other, and themselves, that their silver anniversary would be the big payoff, the day they'd set out to see the great, big, wonderful world.

Up to a month ago, everything went fine. The travel fund was full to overflowing, the new luggage waited to be packed with the wrinkle-free, drip 'n' dry travel clothes, the passport was back from Washington, hilariously decked with the pictures that couldn't possibly look like them. Only one thing remained to be done—off to the doctor's for the shots that would keep them safe in the strange lands they'd visit. While we're there, they thought, we'd better have the checkup that we've been too busy to get all these years.

And that was the end of the dream. That was what burst the balloon and sent the fat travel folder full of plane tickets, hotel vouchers, bus trip tickets back for a refund. Because, during the pokings, the probings, inside and out, the doctor found a well-hidden lump, which had been growing quietly, painlessly, for goodness knows how long. Muttering curses on people who won't give him a chance to find such things sooner, the doctor whipped her off to the hospital without even a by-your-leave.

She rather lost track of things in the next few days, all of which ran together in a blur of whiteness—operating room, hospital room, nurses, and doctors—they came and went and she didn't care at all about any of them. The new luggage waiting at home, the canceled tickets, even the 25 years almost completed, were forgotten in a foreign world of pain and dope-iness. A strongely subdued and hushed family came and went; sat by the bed and when she began to notice them, were rather overwhelmingly cheerful, almost too convincing that "everything is just fine."

Well, she thought, lying very still not to disturb the big, tired guy who slept beside her, they didn't fool me at all. Naturally, they're not going to tell me what's the matter. For heaven's sake, if she hadn't raised the dickens, they wouldn't even have let her home for her anniversary which, however anticlimatic, was still another of those sentimental milestones in a very good marriage.

She'd had an ulterior motive, too. A silver anniversary would be the occasion for all sorts of celebrating in a family as close as hers. And she was hoping that, in their choice of gifts, her family would unconciously tell her the truth, if they hadn't already. Much as she wanted to believe that all was well, that she'd have lots more anniversaries to look forward to, it was hard not to wonder, especially at night.

The sun was up now, the birds were raising quite a din, completely uninterested in human problems. The house was beginning to wake up, too. The kids came in carrying silver wrapped packages, happily anticipating the surprised appreciation of the little silver gifts. But it couldn't be silver in the package their father held, too thin to be silver, too thick to be a card with a noncommital check in it. Disbelieving, she stared at the long ribbons of tickets, books of vouchers, and burst into tears. For Pete's sake, what's the matter, he asked, bewildered. I thought you'd be tickled to death. Doc says that you'll soon be good as new and there's no reason why we can't go as planned, just a little later.

So I'm lucky, she thought, believing at last. Terribly, terribly lucky. But I'll never trust luck again. From now on, I'm going for a checkup regularly, catch anything before it gets started. There'll be a golden anniversary coming up and I want to be around to celebrate it.

How about you? Are you going to wait until you learn the hard way, too? You needn't, you know. Cancer's greatest enemies are education and early detection. Use the weapons and while you're at it, send your check for the annual Cancer Crusade. If enough of us help, we'll find the cause and so the cure for the nightmare we all fear.

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## The U.S. Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a speech delivered at Brown University by Mr. Al Costanzo, now with National City Bank of New York, and formerly Deputy Managing Director for Latin American Affairs of the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. Costanzo speaks from knowledge and experience in his discussion of international monetary problems, with particular reference to the U.S. balance of payments deficit, in an address entitled "The Paris Monetary Agreement and the U.S. Dollar":

THE PARIS MONETARY AGREEMENT AND THE U.S. DOLLAR

In December 1961 the financial authorities of the United States, the countries of Western Europe and Japan met in Paris to strengthen the international monetary system of the free world. The conference participants agreed to place supplementary resources of $6 billion at the disposal of the International Monetary Fund to be used only as needed to forestall or cope with an impairment of the international monetary system. The new arrangement is aimed primarily at providing sufficient financial resources to the IMF to enable it to cope with any future difficulties which may beset the "key currencies" (i.e. the U.S. dollar and pound sterling) and threaten the viability of the international payments system. In other words, with the new arrangement the participating countries hope to be able to avoid a run on the U.S. dollar or pound sterling and a repetition of the 1929 collapse of the international payments system.

The outcome of the December Paris Monetary Conference raises a variety of questions as to the future of the International Monetary Fund and the international payments system. There are many who question the need for any changes in the IMF and others who feel that the present arrangement cannot provide the international liquidity required for sustained world economic growth and for a removal of the danger of a collapse of the international payment as occurred in 1929. For those of us in the United States, however, a more immediate issue is whether we should make use of the new arrangement to support the U.S. dollar. The problem before us is the delicate balance between the several objectives of national economic policy—i.e., full employment, economic growth, domestic price stability and balance of payments equilibrium. In the present stage of economic recovery should we give first priority to the restoration of balance of payments equilibrium and adopt appropriate corrective monetary and fiscal policy measures? Or should we give first priority to the acceleration of economic growth, financing the balance of payments in the interim by borrowing from the IMF? The stakes involved are high. A miscalculation as to the point where our foreign short-term creditors will begin to lose confidence in the U.S. dollar involves not only the future of the United States as a world financial center but also the future of the present international payments system and the ability of the free world to maintain a sustained rate of growth in excess of the Communist world.

CHANGES IN WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM

Why are our monetary authorities concerned with the present state of our international monetary system? We heard little concern about our international monetary system from the end of World War II through the late fifties. What are the new developments which once again have brought international payments problems to the forefront? The new factors in the world economy have been the economic and financial rehabilitation of Western Europe and the corollary change in the relative competitive position of the United States in world trade. These changes have meant the end of the dollar shortage era and the emergence of a new era of international competition in which the United States will be subject to the same balance-of-payments discipline which other countries have learned to heed in the postwar world, some through bitter experience.

The repercussions of the postwar reconstruction of Europe on the international monetary system have been twofold. First, the currencies of Western Europe have become convertible. For the first time since the 1920's the international monetary system is based essentially on a system of freely convertible currencies at fixed par values. This in turn has meant the reemergence of short-term capital movements as an important factor in international financial relations. Second, there has been a basic change in the relative position of the U.S. dollar in the world payments system. The dollar shortage era has given way to a new era of U.S. balance-of-payments deficits. In the decade of the 1950's, the United States incurred a balance-of-payments deficit of roughly $20 billion, which was financed to the extent of $7 billion by gold sales and $13 billion by short-term borrowing abroad. As a result, while short-term claims on the U.S. dollar of $9 billion in 1949 were backed by gold reserves of $25 billion, by the end of 1961 foreign short-term claims on the U.S. dollar had climbed to $19 billion while gold reserves had dwindled to less than $17 billion.

The full implications of the transformation in the international monetary system were not generally appreciated until the gold crisis of October 1960, in the heat of the presidential campaign in the United States, focused the spotlight on the new situation. The gold crisis stirred U.S. officials to action and provoked President Kennedy's message on balance of payments and gold on February 6, 1961, to reassure the world as to U.S. intentions with respect to the U.S. dollar. In this message, President Kennedy gave official recognition to the new role of short-term capital movements in the international payments system.

"Last year, 1960, the surplus of our exports of goods and services over our imports increased from $2.2 billion in 1959 to $5.8 billion. This was caused, principally, by an increase—amounting to more than $3 billion—in our exports. This once more reduced what may be called our basic deficit—it was only about $1.5 billion for the year. However, during 1960 there was a large movement abroad of short-term capital. Favorable interest rates abroad, a high rate of growth and good investment prospects in Europe and some speculative fears concerning the future value of the dollar all played a part. It is estimated that this outward flow of short-term funds was between $2 and $2.5 billion, and this was the crucial factor in raising the overall deficit to $3.8 billion. Of this, $1.7 billion were transferred in the form of gold and $2.1 billion took the form of increased foreign dollar holdings."

"An outward movement of short-term funds such as that which occurred in 1960 should not be considered a part of the basic deficit. Such movements are quickly reversible in response to changes in interest rates and other business factors here and abroad. Moreover, insofar as short-term funds transferred to foreign financial centers consist of U.S.-owned capital, they create U.S. claims against the recipient country. In the new era of convertible currencies upon which we have entered, we may expect that short-term money will continue to flow back and forth."

President Kennedy outlined a program for dealing with the short-term capital problem as well as the basic deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. Among the measures which he outlined for dealing with the short-term capital movement problem was an improvement in international monetary institutions.

"Increasing international monetary reserves will be required to support the ever-growing volume of trade, services, and capital movements among the countries of the free world. Until now the free nations have relied upon increased gold production and continued growth in holdings of dollars and pounds sterling. In the future, it may not always be desirable or appropriate to rely entirely on these sources. We must now, in cooperation with other lending countries, begin to consider ways in which international monetary institutions—especially the International Monetary Fund—can be strengthened and more effectively utilized, both in furnishing needed increases in reserves, and in providing the flexibility required to support a healthy and growing world economy. I am therefore directing that studies to this end be initiated promptly by the Secretary of the Treasury."

IMF VIEWS

President Kennedy's message immediately stirred the IMF to action. On February 10, 1961, Per Jacobsson, the Managing Director of the IMF, convened the IMF Board of Executive Directors. In this meeting he suggested that the Board begin to study what changes if any might be required in the IMF in light of the recent changes in the international payments system, particularly the de jure convertibility of the pound sterling, Belgian and French franc, lira, guilder, and krone to be announced on February 15, 1961.

The period from mid-February 1961 to the time of the annual meetings of the IMF in Vienna in late September 1961 was used to present to the IMF Board of Directors and the various member Governments studies by the IMF staff on the types of problems likely to arise under the current international payments system and the management's views as to how these problems could be coped with. In brief, the views of the IMF management were that a thorough overhauling of the IMF was not needed in the present stage of evolution of the international payments system and that ideas which had been advanced, such as the Triffin plan for the conversion of the IMF into a World Central Bank, were premature and unrealistic in the present state of world politics. While disequilibrating short-term capital movements was a factor to be contended with in the present world, the IMF had ample authority under the articles of agreement to assist countries with payments problems arising from capital outflows and to obtain additional resources as needed. In considering a request for IMF financial assistance to meet a capital outflow problem, the IMF would only need to assure itself that the capital outflow is not of a sustained nature. If the situation was not self-correcting, an understanding would have to be reached with the borrowing country as to the appropriate corrective measures to be taken to over come the balance-of-payments difficulties. The corrective measures undertaken by the borrower would need to provide a reasonable guarantee that within a 3- to 5-year period the country would not only eliminate the balance-of-payments deficit but also create a surplus necessary for the repayment of the IMF drawing. Under article 7 of the articles of agreement the IMF is authorized to borrow from its members currencies in short supply. Thus, if the IMF at anytime ran out of U.S. dollars or German marks, for example, it could negotiate with the country concerned for a loan of the currency needed. In short, the IMF staff found no reason for any changes in the articles of agreement. The articles provided sufficient authority to enable the IMF to deal with the problem of disequilibrating capital movements as it arose.

VIENNA MEETING

International liquidity and the adequacy of existing institutional arrangements was the principal subject on the agenda of the annual meetings of the IMF in Vienna in September 1961. There were two points of views on this matter. The United States, United Kingdom, and most of the underdeveloped countries were unwilling to leave the matter of the replenishment of Fund resources for negotiation with individual IMF members at the time the Fund management found that additional resources were needed. The United States and United Kingdom wanted specific commitments on the

part of the large industrial countries, that specified amounts would be put up now to create substantial resources for use in the event of disturbing capital movements. With a specific commitment of additional funds, the United States and United Kingdom were perfectly willing to leave the operating procedures of the Fund as they were. In other words, decisions as to the use of the Fund's resources to deal with balance-of-payments problems arising from capital outflows, would be left with the Fund management and the Board of Executive Directors. The continental European countries as the prospective creditors under the new arrangement, however, insisted on safeguards. First, they felt that the balance of power in the IMF was strongly in the hands of the United States. It was feared that the United States would tend to use this voting power in the IMF to support its foreign aid programs in underdeveloped countries. The prospective creditors were suspicious that the terms of IMF loans would be watered down and that they would be called upon to underwrite through the IMF financial irresponsibility and inflation in the underdeveloped countries. Continental Europe was opposed to the idea of a specific commitment of funds and wanted the decision as to the use of the additional borrowing by the Fund to be based on a case-by-case negotiation. Finally, they reluctantly accepted the idea of a specific commitment of funds but made it clear that they would expect the decision as to when the new resources would be used to be reached among the contributing countries outside the Executive Board of the Fund where continental Europe was in a minority.

In agreeing to the creation of a special fund for "key currencies" the continental nations stressed that they did not believe that there was any inherent deficiency in the existing institutional arrangements; the problem of international liquidity was primarily a matter of appropriate policies. The president of the Nederlandsche Bank, M. W. Holtrop, expressed his position as follows:

"Our present problems are not due to any inherent deficiency of our institutional set-up. Therefore, we cannot hope to solve them by changes in our institutions, but only by changes in our policies."

"More resources can at their best buy more time for the proper execution of the internal programs of action. If that time is not well used, they will only serve to perpetuate disequilibrium. There could be no greater fallacy than to imagine that the solution of our problems could be found—as it is sometimes suggested—in just feeding the excess reserves of the surplus countries back into the international circuit, so as to enable the deficit countries to continually finance their deficits. This would only create the perfect machine for perpetual inflation."

The spokesmen for the countries of continental Europe emphasized that while the IMF resources could supplement, they could not replace sound domestic monetary and fiscal policies. Karl Blessing, the president of the German Bundesbank noted:

"We must get away from creeping inflation which has dominated the past decade. The big countries have a special responsibility in this respect. I am aware that this is not music in the ears of those who believe that easy money and creeping inflation are basic conditions of high rates of growth, but I am more than ever convinced that sustained growth can only be achieved by refraining from inflationary practices."

PARIS AGREEMENT

An agreement was finally reached in Paris at the recent meetings of the OECD in Paris. Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and the United States agreed in principle to put up an additional $6 billion. Resources will be administered by the Fund, but the decision as to the use of these resources will be made by the contributing countries outside the framework of the Fund. Once the contributing countries have agreed among themselves, of course, the matter will formally go through the Fund legal channels with the contributing countries voting as a bloc. The contributing countries as a bloc have the controlling vote on the Board of the IMF.

MAY WEAKEN IMF

The critics of the new arrangement fear that the new arrangement will weaken the Fund and shift international monetary decisions to Europe. Any weakening of the Fund would, of course, be most regrettable. The Fund has played an important role in promoting monetary and fiscal policies in the free world, making possible the rapid move in recent years toward free trade and payments which has helped to integrate and strengthen the free world economy. In practice, I do not believe that the new arrangement will weaken the IMF. On the contrary, I would expect that the greater power which has been gained by the countries of continental Europe will strengthen even further the IMF's insistence on countries pursuing appropriate monetary and fiscal policies as a condition for financial assistance. This can be an important constructive force in strengthening the economies of the free world.

EFFECTS ON U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS POLICY

For us in the United States, however, the more important question related to the effects of the new arrangement on U.S. policies and attitudes toward our balance-of-payments problem. The United States has reached a turning point in its financial relations with the world. It is no longer the sole financial center of the world. London, Paris, Zurich, Milan, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, etc. are today all important financial centers. Moreover, the economic and financial reconstruction of Europe has now been completed and international reserves have reached adequate limits. There is little likelihood that continued balance-of-payments deficits in the United States will result in further increases in foreign dollar holdings. Europe and Japan and most other countries of the world will probably want to hold any addition to their international reserves in gold rather than U.S. dollars.

We can no longer afford to ignore the important change in the basic position of the U.S. dollar as an international currency. The era of the so-called dollar shortage or chronic U.S. balance-of-payments surplus is clearly over. In the 11-year period, 1950 through 1960, we ran a balance-of-payments deficit of roughly $20 billion, financed to the extent of $7 billion by gold sales and $13 billion by short-term borrowing abroad. The erosion in our net international reserves position continued in 1961, when we lost an additional $1 billion of gold, and added another $1 billion to the short-term claims against the U.S. dollar.

The question which bankers and business leaders throughout the world are asking themselves is: "How far can the deterioration in the net international reserves position of the United States go before touching off a run on the U.S. dollar?" As I indicated above, our gold reserves now provide only a fractional cover for our foreign short-term liabilities. As of the end of 1961 we had gold reserves of slightly less than $17 billion against bank deposits and other short-term claims against the U.S. Government and our banking system totaling roughly $22.5 billion. But less than $5 billion of our gold is at present legally available to meet demands by foreigners to convert their dollar balances into gold, the rest is tied up as a legal reserve against the note and deposit liabilities of the Federal Reserve System. I believe we have already reached the point where the risks involved in any further significant decline in our gold reserves are great and the consequences disastrous.

Here is where the new arrangement concluded in Paris enters the picture. Few would probably deny that a further decline in our gold reserves at this juncture would involve serious risks and must be avoided. But they would not be prepared to advocate the monetary and fiscal measures needed to achieve balance-of-payments equilibrium. They would fear that the neutral or restrictive monetary policies required would dampen the current recovery and the short-run growth rate of the economy. They would, therefore, probably advocate U.S. drawings on the IMF to tide the country over until somehow balance-of-payments equilibrium is restored.

SHOULD WE USE IMF RESOURCES TO DEFEND U.S. DOLLAR?

Although there have been no explicit statements on the matter, the urgency given by Government to the conclusion of the new IMF arrangements and constant reference to a basic deficit in our balance of payments which will require several years to correct lead one to suspect that a drawing on the IMF is considered a line of defense for the U.S. dollar. The administration appears to be relying primarily on export promotion schemes to correct our balance-of-payments deficit. Thus, the newly announced export insurance plan, the tying of U.S. aid to procurement in the United States, and the incentives to spur investments and strengthen the competitive position of American industry are expected to do the job of eliminating the so-called basic deficit. This, however, will take several years. In the meantime, it is hoped that we will be able to finance the residual basic deficits plus short-term capital outflows by an increase in our foreign short-term liabilities or by gold sales to the extent that foreigners are not willing to add further to their dollar holdings. However, if our level of gold reserves drops to a level which in the judgment of the administration threatens confidence in the dollar, the United States will make use of the IMF as required to maintain gold reserves at an appropriate level.

DEFICIT CURE—LIVING WITHIN OUR MEANS

In my opinion this is a dangerous policy and reminiscent of the inflationary policies pursued in many underdeveloped countries on the theory that productive credits are noninflationary, i.e., that an expansion in so-called productive credit is noninflationary in that it creates the goods to match the expanded money supply. The policy outlined in the previous paragraph fails to recognize that a balance-of-payments deficit and domestic price inflation are both the outward expression of an excess of expenditures over production. As Triffin points out in his "Gold and the Dollar Crisis," "Such a gap can arise only if it's financed, and its financing for a country as a whole, can come from two sources: Net foreign disinvestments by the nonbank sectors of the economy, or net borrowings from the domestic banking system." Since the overall volume of credit which the banking system can create is in the hands of the Federal Reserve System, the place to look for the basic cause and cure of our balance-of-payments deficit is in the policies of the Federal Reserve System. In other words, we can eliminate our balance-of-payments deficit by simply refraining from financing them. This means Federal Reserve policies limiting the injection of new money into our economy to the amount which the public is willing to hold. This may mean a monetary expansion proportionate to the rate of real growth of the economy, but not necessarily. Technological changes and other

factors could mean economies in the volume of cash balances required to sustain a given level of economic activity.

The achievement of balance-of-payments equilibrium could be a relatively easy process. We are already well into the recovery phase of the business cycle, and the period of large budgetary deficits appear to be behind us. The fiscal 1962 deficit has already been financed, and the administration promises us a balanced budget for fiscal 1963. There will, therefore, be no compelling reasons of Government finance forcing the Federal Reserve banks to purchase securities in the open market. The danger, however, will be that the Federal Reserve will be pressured to continue to supply funds to the banking system in the name of a higher growth rate and full employment. If this happens, the Federal Reserve System will continue to provide the financial means for sustaining our balance-of-payments deficit. Under these circumstances, the United States will in the not too distant future face the dilemma of whether to permit its gold stocks to decline further or whether to borrow from the IMF. The dangers of a further reduction in gold stocks are such that I believe the issue will be resolved in favor of a drawing from the IMF.

But an IMF drawing will not resolve our balance-of-payments problems. I do not believe that either the American public or the foreign holder of dollar balances is prepared for a situation where the United States, the world's banker, finds it necessary to borrow from the IMF to defend the U.S. dollar. A drawing on the Fund would not only seriously impair confidence in the dollar, but also reflect unfavorably on the economic and political prestige of the United States. As Mr. Alan H. Temple, former vice chairman of the First National City Bank, noted in a comment on the policy statement of the Committee for Economic Development on the International Financial Position of the Dollar:

"How can the United States, as banker to the world, expect to merit the confidence of its depositors while at the same time drawing on them (even through the IMF)? Such recourse to the IMF would be generally viewed, at best, as meaningless; and, at worst, as weakness."

A drawing from the IMF far from freeing the United States from the balance-of-payments discipline will, through the loss of confidence in the dollar, subject our policies more than ever as is the case of the United Kingdom today, to balance-of-payments considerations.

There is no easy way out of our problem. Sooner or later we must face up to our balance-of-payments deficit and take whatever measures are necessary, irrespective of other conflicting aims. The sooner we act, the easier the adjustment will be. The more we procrastinate, the greater the damage to the prestige of the dollar and greater the economic costs in terms of the growth rate and underutilization of manpower and equipment. At the present stage of recovery, the monetary policies called for to restore balance-of-payments equilibrium are those which would at the same time help to sustain the growth of our economy. The monetary policies which would eliminate our balance-of-payments deficit would at the same time act as a brake on excessive wage increases, increase productivity and stimulate the rate of investment and economic growth.

## Tribute to the Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the observance of Captive Nations Week this month was a very pertinent reminder of the fact that entire generations of men have lived in captivity under the most complete repression in all of history. We in free nations should never forget that others do not live in freedom; their hopes for eventual democracy should be our wish, too.

Many very fine statements have been made for this observance. I was happy to see that at least two New Jersey newspapers have commented editorially, and I ask unanimous consent to have an editorial from the Plainfield Courier News of July 19 and the Elizabeth Daily Journal printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Daily Journal, Elizabeth, N.J., July 20, 1962]

TRIBUTE TO THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

This is Captive Nations Week, a tribute to the turmoil and misery of 180 million people the other side of the Iron Curtain. In addition to the national observance, set by Presidential proclamation, numerous cities across the land acknowledge the significance of the week with public ceremonies and utterances of genuine sympathy.

All this is not a hollow gesture. Only a few of the millions can be reached by material gifts but more can hear messages broadcast to them—messages of hope and cheer and chronicles of life among the free.

For those in whom a vestige of spirit remains, the realization that the people of the United States—friends and often relatives—are thinking of them may be solace. We should hope that is true and helpful.

Another benefit can be derived from this observance of Captive Nations Week. All free people can consider their own fortunate status, can reevaluate the benefits of life away from totalitarianism. In short they are brought to realize that they are blessed by freedom from tyranny, from want, from despair.

[From the Plainfield (N.J.) Courier News of July 19, 1962]

CAPTIVE NATIONS

America's third annual observance of Captive Nations Week (July 15–21) comes when the nuclear stalemate seems to have led at least to a momentary relaxation of tensions in the cold war.

The Berlin ultimatum appears to have been indefinitely postponed; the troublesome Laotian question has been settled, at least on paper (though few believe in its real solution). Even the Cuban and Congolese problems have lost their immediacy.

Why then should we have a Captive Nations Week?

We should remember that for the captive peoples behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains there is no slackening, or relaxing, of strained relations and the threat of famine continues.

Just as the famine in Red China has not made Mao Tse-tung relax his hold on the suffering Chinese people, so the growing food shortages in Eastern Europe and in Russia itself have not caused the Communists to abandon their rigid program of forced collectivization of the peasants.

Captive Nations Week provides the American people, who enjoy freedom, food, and fair play, a chance to show the peoples of Eastern Europe that they are not forgotten. It provides our Government with a chance to capitalize on Soviet weakness by taking the initiative in the cold war.

It can do this by insisting on inclusion of the Hungarian problem on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly and by remaining steadfast in our refusal to help the Communists to solve their problems by credits or an expansion of trade. It can do it by raising the question of Soviet treaty pledges to hold free elections in Eastern Europe in all negotiations with the Kremlin and by placing the question of the denial of the rights of self-determination to the peoples of east-central Europe on the agenda of every session of the U.N. General Assembly.

## Our European Allies Are Concerned About the Way We Spend Money—Why Aren't We?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago we heard a lot from New Frontier campaigners about the decline in America's prestige abroad. For some reason those who were singing the song the loudest are now mute on the subject of our prestige after 18 months under the foreign policy of a new administration.

News reports from overseas, however, tell the story. Constantine Brown, a leading American columnist, reports that on his European tour an inevitable question put to him was "Do you really think you can spend money like a drunken sailor without serious consequences to both yourselves and ourselves?"

Many of us here at home have been asking that question too. In fact, the mail I am receiving from the people of the 10th District of Michigan indicates they are more concerned about this question than the Kennedy administration.

Mr. Brown's report from Rome, under the heading "Decline in America's Prestige," follows:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., July 24, 1962]

DECLINE IN AMERICA'S PRESTIGE—EUROPEANS FEEL UNITED STATES WASTES ITS MONEY AND TRIES TO SLEEP WITH A RATTLESNAKE

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—I saw America's prestige beclouded in Europe after World War I, when we appeared to go back into our isolationist shell. But I did not expect to see our prestige and influence take such a dip as they have recently.

After the first war ended Europe became irked at the insistence of the Republican administrations, which succeeded Woodrow Wilson, that the money they had borrowed to carry on the war should be repaid. The crisp statement of President Coolidge, "They hired the money, didn't they?" caused a wave of anti-Americanism throughout the allied lands of Europe.

Some British papers, carried on their mastheads, "Let the Eagle Scream." Others pictured the traditional Uncle Sam with the caption, "Uncle Shylock." In Paris, an American tourist who had overimbibed and had lit his cigar with a depreciated 5-franc note, shouting, "It's cheaper than to use a match," had to be rescued from a mob of jabbering Frenchmen by the police.

There was anger among the victorious Europeans that America was trying to help the cursed Huns out of their economic predicament by bringing some order out of the exhorbitant reparations demanded by their conquerors. The Dawes and Young plans for settling these reparations, while reluctantly accepted by the Allied leaders, were strongly disapproved by the rank and file. Europe, throughout the administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, had written off America as a friendly country.

All the same, in the back of the minds of her leaders there was always the question whether the time might come when America's immense resources in substance and manpower would be needed again. This premonition proved more than accurate. America won the second war for freedom in Europe and Asia, and after that war dispersed her substance to remake a new world with Roosevelt's four freedoms as her slogan.

It is mainly through our efforts that Western Europe has been reconstructed so rapidly and has reached the point where she is ahead of us in economic growth and financial stability. The new Europe which has emerged from the devastations of the last war is grateful to us. Yet our prestige, particularly in the last year, has taken a sharper dip than the stock market did on Black Monday last May.

We have received friendly warnings that no nation throughout history, including the farflung Roman Empire, has had inexhaustible resources, and that unless we trim our sails in domestic and foreign expenditures we will be faced with a situation which may make it impossible for our European friends to help us—much as they want to. Our present leadership has been warned more than once that America is on the way to becoming a land of limited possibilities. Our economic and military commitments become too great a burden.

The French, Germans and Italians who owe us money from loans extended to them in our lush days are hurrying to repay the money years before the date due, in an effort to help the dollar which would otherwise sag in the world market.

We are not disliked, as was the case after World War I; quite the contrary. But Europeans are astonished that Uncle Sam, once a sharp horse trader, now shows so little political and economic realism.

G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has just concluded a tour of European capitals where he endeavored to persuade Paris, Bonn and Rome to lavish their taxpayers' money on the underdeveloped peoples. France, he was politely told, had spent more than $1.5 billion on her former colonies in Africa and expects to spend much more in devastated Algeria. Germany and Italy—to a lesser extent—are giving substantial credits to these have-not countries.

When our allies are urged to follow our example with their own peace corps, they always point to the superb work done by the dedicated lifetime missionaries.

"Where do you people think you are going?" is the inevitable question asked your reporter. "Do your leaders really believe you can go to bed with a rattlesnake? Do you really believe that you can spend money like a drunken sailor without serious consequences to both yourselves and ourselves?"

This is the meaning behind our slump in prestige.

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## Congressional Relations With President Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, one of the Nation's most authentic news magazines, U.S. New & World Report, has just published extremely important and highly interesting views of 16 Members of the Congress on congressional relations with President Kennedy.

It is appropriate that the views expressed by Members of the Congress, including Members of this body, should be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that the article entitled "What They Say About J.F.K.," which appears in the June 30, 1962, edition of U.S. News & World Report, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Why is the Kennedy program taking such a battering in a Democratic Congress?

U.S. News & World Report put that question to influential Members of both Houses, representing both parties.

Their answers, presented here in their own words, give an extremely revealing picture of what has gone wrong in the White House relations with Capitol Hill.

More than politics is involved. Resistance to Kennedy methods—and goals—cuts across usual political lines.

At their own request, the men quoted below are not identified by name.

President Kennedy is going down to one defeat after another in a Congress with a heavy Democratic majority in each House.

Why? What explains an almost unprecedented record of defeat for the White House proposals on which the President is staking his prestige as leader of the party?

The President has just lost a fight for hospital insurance for the aged. He is losing, or has lost, on tax policy, on farm controls, on school aid, and other big issues.

A White House defeat had just been suffered on the issue of hospital insurance when U.S. News & World Report sought from Members of Congress an explanation of what lies behind the long string of defeats. On the medical-care issue, 21 Democratic Senators—many of them among the party's most prominent members—had voted against the President to give him one of his most embarrassing setbacks.

How do the Members of Congress themselves account for the long string of defeats they have administered to the White House?

The question-and-answer exchange with one of the top Democrats in Congress went like this:

Question. How would you explain, off the record, all of the trouble the President is having with his program in the current session of Congress?

Answer. Congress simply is more conservative than the President. That breeds trouble when the President pushes for what he wants.

Question. Is it as simple as that?

Answer. Yes, I think it is.

Another important Democrat, a Senator who is friendly to the administration and is known as moderately "liberal," had a somewhat more detailed explanation. His answer:

"There is not much in the President's program for the South, the Midwest, and the rural areas. That's where the power lies in Congress, and where it will lie for the next 10 years in spite of the population move to the cities.

"A majority of the Members here are rurally oriented and their people back home are conservatives—certainly more conservative than Kennedy. The President and his advisers, or most of them, know all about Massachusetts politics or Harvard economics, but not so much about the problems of the country.

"The administration is trying to move too fast. You can't come up here and try to abort regular procedures and get away with it.

"The President's advisers are a part of the trouble. It's not that there is so much friction, it's just that we do not know them and cannot talk their language.

"As for the Kennedy program, it lacks sex appeal. Much of it is old stuff, right off the New Deal table. But there are no Franklin D. Roosevelts or Rexford Tugwells or Thomas Corcorans to give it oomph and make it exciting and popular."

Another Democrat who has watched the internal workings of Congress for a decade had this to say:

"Kennedy does not have a firm idea about where he is going. His emotions are not involved in his program.

"The President is one of the new political breed. For him politics is an intellectual pursuit. He thinks in terms of voting blocs and what will appeal to those blocs. The idea is that if you can put together enough of these blocs you can win an election. It is a cold and calculating business, all headwork and no emotions, all brain and no heart.

"These smart young politicians of today's world do not let themselves get emotionally involved in anything. They do not have a do-or-die faith in issues. They play fine strategy, but their hearts are not in it. To them, a vote-getting issue is more important than legislation.

"Roosevelt's eyes used to light up when you mentioned the underprivileged. You catch no gleam in the eyes of these people. They play it cool. It is all for strategy. But they don't even play their strategy smartly."

On White House strategy, a veteran committee chairman raised this point:

"People up here are coming to resent the horde of lobbyists the White House sends to the Capitol. A Member of Congress thinks he has a responsibility to his district or State to decide for himself. But now he encounters the President's people everywhere, pursuing him, demanding, some threatening—and all trying to tell him what he must do. Members talk about it more and more, and

the resentment against such tactics is spreading."

A Democratic House Member, "liberal" in his voting, gave more detail on this point:

"There seems to be a strange misunderstanding at the White House about the way our Government is run.

"The White House has a team of men that works to get the President's program through Congress. These men are called in the Capitol 'White House lobbyists' and 'the Irish Mafia.' Whatever you call them, they do not seem to understand that the Congress is an equal partner of the executive branch of Government. They think that the President can dictate to Congress. That is their attitude.

"These young men come marching up to the Capitol. They wheedle and promise and threaten. When major legislation is being handled on the floor, you will find these men in committee offices just off the floor. They call in Members just before the vote and try all kinds of pressures.

"One House Member was told that, if he did not vote as they wanted him to vote, every military base in his district would be closed. Several of these were closed later. There also have been threats to take defense contracts out of congressional districts if Members did not vote the administration line.

"On one occasion, a White House lobbyist tried to invade the House floor to buttonhole Members. This is in clear violation of the rules of the House.

"I do not know that the President is acquainted with the tactics his men are using, but he should be told. He served in Congress long enough to know better than this. His men are trying to deal with Congress as if it were the Boston City Council. They are trying to transfer ward politics to the National Capital. It will not work."

A southern Democrat, conservative in his views, added this note:

"It's the advisers Kennedy has around him that cause the trouble in Congress. They are theorists and classroom fellows with impractical ideas and no experience in government. They are better at speechwriting than at legislating."

On the Kennedy program itself, an important Democrat from a State in the North took this approach:

"When the Senate looks at the Kennedy program on its merits, it simply does not go over. People are looking down the road and they see more and more interference in their lives by the Government in Washington. Take the farm plan, for example: When you examine the plan closely it boils down to Government control of the individual farmer—a real police state.

"People are getting worried about these big deficits as well. I was a State official before I came to Washington, and if we had had a fiscal policy like this one in Washington, we would have been run out of office mighty quick."

From a "moderate" Republican in the House who speaks for a northern suburban district came this:

"There is too much personal government. This dynasty thing is becoming very real to Congress.

"A Roman Catholic priest whom I have known for a long time told me this week that many of his parishioners who supported Kennedy are saying that they worry about the people around the President and the general direction he is taking in his policies."

Said an important Republican Senator from the Midwest:

"I find a growing fear among people back home about what is going to happen to free enterprise. You would expect this from Republicans, but I am hearing it from lifelong Democrats. What the President did in the steel dispute seems to have frightened a great many people. They are asking if we are on our way to a regimented economy.

"I think the President is an awfully nice fellow, and most people in Congress agree. But I must say that he needs more personal experience to back up his judgment—not the experience of his advisers. From that standpoint, I would say that the President's youth probably is a handicap in his relations with Congress.

"You should note one more thing: Kennedy is a minority President. He got only 49.7 percent of the presidential vote cast in 1960. That certainly did not demonstrate resounding support for his program, and Congress knows it."

A lifelong Democrat, closely associated with the leadership of the House for more than a quarter of a century, said:

"Politically, the people in Congress do not feel that they owe the President anything. A good many of them were elected in 1960 in spite of his presence on the ticket, rather than because his name was there. They feel that they have more of a mandate for their point of view than he does for his program."

A highly placed House Democrat, moderately "liberal," who has watched several Presidents come and go, made this comment on the President's problems with Congress:

"Legislation today is highly complicated. There are no simple bills. The farm bill was hard to understand. So was the medical-insurance bill. So is the tax bill. They cover a great many things and are highly technical. When you try to explain them so that people can understand them, you get bogged down in details.

"Pressure groups come along and grab one aspect of the legislation and get the people confused. The first thing you know, you are unable to see the main issue for the dust. In the confusion, Congress goes one way and the President goes the other.

"But Congress thinks it is doing what the people want. After all, the Members of Congress who are voting on the bills in the Capitol are the ones who must stand for reelection this autumn—not the President."

A Republican Senator, known as a "liberal," said this: "They don't do their homework at the White House. They don't spend enough time working out the details of legislation so that they can overcome objections. A good example is the hospital-insurance bill, just defeated. We had to work out a compromise up here in Congress—the administration didn't do it.

"If the White House had taken more time to work on this subject, the bill would have passed."

A "liberal" Democratic Senator described the situation in this manner:

"The administration gets too far ahead of itself—it simply asks for too much. They announce a program at the White House and immediately cast Congress in the role of opposition by saying that Congress is the 'real obstacle' to the program. That kind of thing does not go over very well up here.

"Actually, the White House people know that what they ask for goes far beyond anyone's expectation of what can be done. Most of us who are known as liberals feel that the White House has asked for too much, thereby creating opposition all over the place. Then you have to back away from some of your program and it makes you look bad.

"Out in the country, too, there has been an indifference and in some cases a downright opposition to the President's programs announced in Washington."

A Democrat with many years of experience in the House gave this view of the way things are handled now in Congress:

"Not only is the President asking too much, but when he is not given what he has demanded he does not know enough to drop the subject. He keeps trying to get it by other means. This antagonizes Congress and stiffens the opposition to everything he wants.

"The late Speaker Sam Rayburn used to draw up a list of priorities, giving regard to what he thought was reasonable for people who had to get elected. He never fought just to create an issue and put people on the spot for a campaign. He tried to write laws for which he thought there was a real need and a President had trouble trying to drive him beyond this point. Something quite different is happening today.

"Kennedy has no judgment about his timing for a fight with Congress. Sam Rayburn knew when to get into a fight and when to stay out of one. He understood when the House would never touch a piece of legislation. The White House now is driving Speaker McCormack into battles that never should be fought."

A Democratic Senator who has seen long service in both Houses of Congress added this view:

"The old leadership team of Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson is being sorely missed. Mr. Rayburn knew men and knew how to deal with them. He was a bridge between the administration and the southern Democrats. Lyndon Johnson was his protege. They understood each other.

"With Rayburn in the House and Johnson in the Senate, there was a friendly working relationship between the two branches. This does not exist today, as is evidenced by the row over appropriation bills that has tied up the executive departments of the Government.

"There are friends of Lyndon Johnson in Congress now who are not happy over the inactive role into which he has dropped as Vice President. They feel that his talents could be used to greater purpose. Indeed, some are saying that the White House is afraid to make real use of Lyndon in the Capitol for fear he would make the theorists around the President look bad."

From a Democratic Senator, long a friend of the President, came a comment on the President's family in relation to U.S. politics:

"Many strange things fit into the picture. Even the race of the President's youngest brother, 'Teddy,' for the Senate in Massachusetts is having an effect, especially among the 'hate Kennedy' group.

"There are Senators who speak of this race as an insult and a challenge to the prestige of the Senate. The reason is this: Senators have regarded their branch of Congress as one where experience counted. The Senate was a place to be sought after a man had served as a House Member, as Governor, after he had learned about public affairs.

"Now the Senators see a young man with no experience crowding his way into the Senate, coming solely on the basis of his family name and his money. They do not like what they have heard about the tactics used. They say it reflects the attitude of the Kennedy family toward the whole Government, that they do not like a Senate seat to be used as a toy to pacify a youngster.

"There also is the view that the Kennedy boys are aiming at Speaker John McCormack through his nephew, Edward J. McCormack, Jr. In the cloakrooms, there is talk that if this sort of thing can be done to Speaker McCormack, it can be done to any Member of Congress.

"I hate to say it, but even this is having an effect upon the President's program in Congress."

## A Tribute to John B. Little

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, so often we take for granted the services of those who work for us and fail to express our

appreciation for their great assistance. One of our faithful workers, John B. Little, passed away Sunday, July 22, and I want to take this occasion to pay tribute to him.

John Little was a goodhearted Christian worker. He always did his assignments as though the whole U.S. Government depended on him and his accuracy. He trained his brain to recall thousands of documents by subjects, sponsors, or dates and years. He was schooled by the Superintendent of the House Document Room, the late Elmer Lewis, 25 years ago and seemed to try to imitate his technique. This carried over for the present Superintendent of the Document Room, Mr. Gilman Udell. I understand that he was known to open the Capitol office each morning between the hours of 5 and 7.

John was a great, typical American, dedicated to his family and his life here on Capitol Hill. He loved his Capitol. He will be long remembered because of the fine character he exemplified in his everyday life in serving the thousands who had occasion to call the Document Room.

The words of the following poem express both sympathy for the loss of a dear one and the hope of immortality and reunion. May they bring to his family some comfort:

There is no death! the stars go down
To rise upon some other shore
And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forevermore.

There is no death! the dust we tread
Shall change beneath the summer showers
To golden grain, or mellow fruit,
Or rainbow-tinted flowers.

There is no death! although we grieve
When beautiful familiar forms
That we have learned to love
Are torn from our embracing arms;

They are not dead! they have but passed
Beyond the mists that blind us here
Into the new and larger life
Of that serener sphere.

Tho' disenthralled and glorified,
They still are here and love us yet;
The dear ones they have left behind
They never can forget.

## Appropriations for the Federal Maritime Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday last, during debate on the appropriation bill for Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the judiciary and related agencies, the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BONNER], chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, commented on appropriations for the Federal Maritime Administration for fiscal 1963.

Also rising on this particular appropriation was the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. TOLLEFSON], ranking minority member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, as well as our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE].

I wish to associate myself with the remarks of these gentlemen in urging that very close attention be given to the personnel requirements of the Federal Maritime Commission as a result of the responsibility given to them under the reorganization plan by this Congress.

As the gentlemen ably pointed out, the work of this Government agency is too important to be crippled by an inadequate number of employees.

I object as strenuously as any Member to increasing the overall number of Government employees, but we must be very careful in creating new areas of Government responsibilities if we are not prepared to give them the required manpower to do the job.

I join my colleagues on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in praise of the countless hours of work by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], and the other members of his subcommittee.

My comments are not in the nature of criticism but only to express the hope that this important agency will not be downgraded and that their needs will be given every consideration.

## The Nation's Crisis and the Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Sunday, July 15, 1962, issue of the State and Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., has printed on its editorial page an outstanding article by a very respected and highly esteemed minister of the Southern Baptist ministry, the Reverend Leslie W. Edwards, pastor of the Kilbourne Park Baptist Church. His article is entitled "This Nation's Crisis and the Church: A Minister Reviews Today's Condition and Religion's Role." Mr. President, I feel that this article is meritorious of consideration and attention by the Members of the Senate, and ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS NATION'S CRISIS AND THE CHURCH—A MINISTER REVIEWS TODAY'S CONDITION AND RELIGION'S ROLE

(By the Reverend Leslie W. Edwards, pastor, Kilbourne Park Baptist Church)

Our Nation is facing today its gravest crisis in the course of its entire history. Even in the throes of civil war, outward aggression, and depression the threat to our national life has never been so great. For civil war, war with other nations, depression and panic were tangible crises to be met by the united will and determination of a free people with resources to meet the challenge. In time of danger this Nation, as a democracy of free people, has always met with strength and unity the threat to its existence.

But the crisis today is more acute and more dangerous because it is not that of outward aggression, but of changing ideologies and principles resulting from the enervating creeping paralysis of welfare statism and centralized authority.

Our basic principles and policies are being eroded and changed by the prevalent trend toward a socialistic state and the assumption of power by a power-seeking Central Government. More and more do we find our individual rights and our States rights being invaded and set aside, purchased by grants from a paternalistic Federal Government or seized under various kinds of threats and coercion.

HOW IT BEGAN

The great depression in the early thirties gave a springboard into the creation of the welfare state. Under Franklin D. Roosevelt the current trend began, and has continued with increasing tempo. Subsidies, grants, aids of various kinds, public welfare programs—strengthening the coercive power of the Federal Government and dooming the American tradition of individual resourcefulness—have been the tool of those who are leading us away from our traditional principle of free enterprise and free men in a free society.

Likewise has the rise of minority groups, pressure groups, labor unions with increasingly strong demands affected our basic policy.

For these are potentially strong bloc-voting groups, and a political party or government anxious to retain or gain power caters to their demands.

Add to this the current worldwide trend toward socialism and communism, or democratic totalitarianism (if such is possible); the one-world idea advanced by Willkie, and carried to the extreme since his time, and resulting in the self-imposed task on the part of our Nation to rehabilitate a whole world, often at our own expense and at the cost of the good will of those we tried to help; the open and outspoken conflict between our Nation and the communistic bloc; and the soft policy we have followed in trying to appease our enemies—all these have affected our basic national policy and outlook.

CHANGING COURT

As a result of all these factors, we find radical and drastic changes in our national life. The Supreme Court, assuming power to itself, issues directives resulting from its own social thinking rather than from the intent and meaning of the Constitution, and we are directed to obey these directives as the law of the land. Legislation by Executive decree has also been accepted and the legislative branch in matters it wishes to press.

The Congress, with its desire to remain in power, blindly permits this usurpation of its own authority in the desire to win political power and bloc votes for the dominant party.

States rights are being invaded and set aside, as well as the rights of individual citizens.

The changing attitude of the citizenry of our Nation is seen in the fact that these things can happen. Too many of our citizens are receiving favors, doles, employment, or patronage from the Central Government and are unwilling to sacrifice this personal gain for the common good. The loss of personal integrity and rugged individualism is

seen when workers demand more and more for doing less and less; when rigid controls are accepted by the most independent class of all, the farmers, and when, with clear conscience, we accept money for not planting crops and not increasing industrial output.

Even when abuses are discovered in public relief governmental decree prevents remedy. Medicare is another step toward a socialistic state.

RIGHTS INFRINGED

Two traditional rights of the States, which were designed to prevent the encroachment of the Federal Government, are now being successfully invaded by the centralized Government. Voting rights have always been the province of the State. Requirements for registration and voting have traditionally and by law been left to the State.

But now the Federal Government, through its Department of Justice, by investigation, decree, coercion and threat is attempting (and succeeding) to determine the voting practices within the States.

The other right of the State, that of administering its educational system, has also been invaded by the Federal Government. The Supreme Court set the pattern by its desegregation decree, and the Government is using the threat of court decisions, executive decrees, and withholding of Federal aid to schools in an effort to make the States conform to its dictates.

Here again we are permitting this invasion by the desire for higher salaries, and new school buildings provided by a central government.

If and when the Federal Government does succeed in directing the school programs of the States, then States rights become a thing of the past.

In a recent broadcast covering the Governor's conference, Richard Harkness said that "the States have declined as units of government." This is a frank recognition of the changing concept of government—a radical departure from the clear protection of the rights of "sovereign" States as guaranteed under the Constitution.

THE REAL DANGER

Unless the trend is reversed it will not be long before we are a nation governed entirely from Washington, with the States little more than puppet States subject to the dictates and administration of a strong Federal Government.

When this does happen, then individual rights are lost. Any section of the country will be subject to the coercion and discriminatory action of the Central Government.

This is already seen in the attempted oppression of the South and the vindictiveness displayed by many toward the southern way of life.

Efforts are reportedly being made to prevent industry from moving south, not only by labor unions but by officials of Government as well. Without States rights a Central Government will be enabled to force any section into conformity or suppression.

As a result of this trend, the personal lives of the citizenry are being affected. The cultural and educational order is being changed, with the denial to individuals as to the right of choice of associates. Differences of cultural background, educational interest and foundation, social preferences are being ignored in the mass drive for regimentation and integration. And while the assumed rights of minorities are being advanced and protected, the real rights of the great majority are being destroyed and forgotten.

CHURCH'S PART

In all of this the church has a tremendous and vital responsibility. While it must respect and maintain the principle of separation of church and state, it must champion the rights of the people and lift a prophetic voice against encroaching evil, whether it be personal, social, or governmental.

The church, of course, must remain aloof from a sponsorship of any particular form of government and must work within the framework of democracy, monarchy, or republic, unless it be a government opposed to religion. The church must forever remain the champion of the people and the voice of conscience for a people.

But the church is confused. On the one hand a socialistic trend seemingly sponsors the benevolent and humanitarian projects for which the church must stand.

Care of the poor, aged, destitute—these are within the realm of the church's concern. The rights and dignity of the individual man, and his protection from exploitation are well within the province of the church.

Thus many within the church have embraced such projects as medicare, labor unionism, integration, current relief and public welfare programs, and other such kindred things without going deeper than a superficial feeling that these things are embraced in the tenets of religion.

But on the other hand, the church believes implicitly in the integrity of the individual and his responsibility to society. It believes in benevolence toward those really needing care without hope of reciprocity, and is disturbed when benevolence is used for exploitation and for political gain. It, of course, believes in the fair treatment of the workingman—it also believes in the equally fair treatment of his employer.

IT IS MISLED

It believes in government as being necessary and right, but it equally believes in the freedom of the individual soul from oppression, coercion, and threat.

What the church fails to see is that the socialistic and communistic adherents seek to lull the church to sleep by subtly advancing seemingly benevolent proposals, but seek to destroy the church by radically changing the intent, spirit, and purpose of such programs.

That the church needs to restudy the current trends in the light of its own responsibility and basic philosophy goes without saying. Certain things might be noted.

The church must stand for the constructive responsibility of the individual toward society. Its teaching of stewardship is centered on its belief that man is a steward of his possessions and life, and that these must be used to contribute to society. The Christian citizen will, if possible, contribute more to society than he draws from it.

The state, society, and the individual will become stronger when the principle of responsibility is the free expression of the individual. But the socialistic welfare state will seize the possessions of those who have to give to those who have not (with a cut for the administrative officials) and thus creates two evils—a resentful, oppressed productive group and a parasitic, indolent group who had rather receive than give.

GETTING THE VOTE

Naturally a government wishing to remain in power will cater to this latter group in exchange for its voting power. The principle of individual responsibility was early advanced by the Jewish nation in its mandate that those who did not work did not eat. Thus the church must insist on each man, as far as he is able, contributing to society and thus building its strength and responsibility.

Again, the church insists on personal moral integrity. "Thou shalt not steal" is a basic commandment and may be applied in more realms than housebreaking or larceny. To accept more pay for doing less work than one is capable of doing; to receive money for not producing; to live (if one is able to produce) on the bounty of those who do produce—these are just as truly stealing as is an open act of burglary.

This the welfare state sponsors with many a learned and sociological argument—but the fact remains that a man owes to his employer his best, and he owes to society his self support and more.

When the State passes from socialistic to communistic, then all of the citizens are forced to produce for the benefit not of themselves but of the State and its rulers. The church needs to adopt a hard and realistic attitude in an effort to impress the principle of honesty in corporate living.

WRONG CAUSES

In the matter of public welfare and relief the well-being of the recipient needs to be considered as well as the responsibility of the giver. To sponsor immorality by continuing relief to each child born out of wedlock—to sponsor idleness and sponging on one's fellowmen by continuing relief to those who are able but who will not work—to encourage these people to sell their votes for gain—these are inconsistent with basic religion. The church has lost much by turning over its charity and benevolence to the State or to private institutions, and has removed from benevolence its spiritual basis and good.

The early church ministered to the needy as an act of love—the State ministers to them now in a spirit of coldness and hopes for gain.

In the matter of human rights and dignity, the church needs to remember that good will, peaceful coexistence and respect are never forced by a law or coercion, but only as a spirit or voluntary respect and love is developed. The attempt to force good will and equality of citizenship by law only creates mutual distrust, strife, ill will; and lends itself to the exploitation of the minority groups by vote hungry politicians.

RIGHT COURSE

Often when these minority groups are given concessions by law, they lose more by greater danger of exploitation and the loss of friendship and rights developed slowly through the years. The church must recognize the basic dignity and worth of every individual, but it must foster that which will, in the long run, work for the ultimate good of each man and of every man. This can only be done through the spiritual growth of love, respect, and good will, not by a destructive, rapid breakdown by coercion or law.

In the light of all of this, the church needs to remember that its faith is not only emotional and sentimental, but practical and reasonable as well. It needs to dig beneath the surface to see the spiritual principles and needs, and to stand firm against the weakening of human integrity, morality, and good by political welfare schemes. For, of a truth, the church works for its own destruction in its support of welfare statism as well as the destruction of responsible, free citizenship. For it can be said of the State, the church, or the individual "for what doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

## Decline in America's Prestige: Europeans Feel United States Wastes Money and Tries To Sleep With a Rattlesnake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Constantine Brown

written from Rome and published in the Evening Star on Tuesday, July 24, 1962, gives some firsthand observations as to why the prestige of the United States is at a low ebb in foreign countries.

It seems to me that Mr. Brown's viewpoint should be given serious consideration by all Members of Congress as well as the executive branch.

The article follows:

DECLINE IN AMERICA'S PRESTIGE

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—I saw America's prestige beclouded in Europe after World War I, when we appeared to go back into our isolationist shell. But I did not expect to see our prestige and influence take such a dip as they have recently.

After the first war ended Europe became irked at the insistence of the Republican administrations, which succeeded President Woodrow Wilson, that the money they had borrowed to carry on the war should be repaid. The crisp statement of President Coolidge, "They hired the money, didn't they?" caused a wave of anti-Americanism throughout the allied lands of Europe.

Some British papers carried on their mastheads, "Let the Eagle Scream." Others pictured the traditional Uncle Sam with the caption, "Uncle Shylock." In Paris, an American tourist who had overimbibed and had lit his cigar with a depreciated 5-franc note, shouting, "It's cheaper than to use a match," had to be rescued from a mob of jabbering Frenchmen by the police.

There was anger among the victorious Europeans that America was trying to help the cursed Huns out of their economic predicament by bringing some order out of the exorbitant "reparations" demanded by their conquerors. The Dawes and Young plans for settling these reparations, while reluctantly accepted by the Allied leaders, were strongly disapproved by the rank and file. Europe, throughout the administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, had written off America as a friendly country.

All the same, in the back of the minds of her leaders there was always the question whether the time might come when America's immense resources in substance and manpower would be needed again. This premonition proved more than accurate. America won the second war for freedom in Europe and Asia, and after that war dispersed her substance to remake a new world with Roosevelt's four freedoms as her slogan.

It is mainly through our efforts that Western Europe has been reconstructed so rapidly and has reached the point where she is ahead of us in economic growth and financial stability. The new Europe which has emerged from the devastations of the last war is grateful to us. Yet our prestige, particularly in the last year, has taken a sharper dip than the stock market did on Black Monday last May.

We have received friendly warnings that no nation throughout history, including the far-flung Roman Empire, has had inexhaustible resources, and that unless we trim our sails in domestic and foreign expenditures we will be faced with a situation which may make it impossible for our European friends to help us—much as they want to. Our present leadership has been warned more than once that America is on the way to becoming "a land of limited possibilities." Our economic and military commitments have become too great a burden.

The French, Germans, and Italians who owe us money from loans extended to them in our lush days are hurrying to repay the money years before the date due, in an effort to help the dollar which would otherwise sag in the world market.

We are not disliked, as was the case after World War I; quite the contrary. But Europeans are astonished that Uncle Sam, once a sharp horse trader, now shows so little political and economic realism.

G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has just concluded a tour of European capitals where he endeavored to persuade Paris, Bonn, and Rome to lavish their taxpayers' money on the underdeveloped peoples. France, he was politely told, had spent more than $1.5 billion on her former colonies in Africa and expects to spend much more in devastated Algeria. Germany and Italy—to a lesser extent—are giving substantial credits to these have-not countries.

When our allies are urged to follow our example with their own Peace Corps, they always point to the superb work done by the dedicated lifetime missionaries.

"Where do you people think you are going?" is the inevitable question asked your reporter. "Do your leaders really believe you can go to bed with a rattlesnake? Do you really believe that you can spend money like a drunken sailor without serious consequences to both yourselves and ourselves?"

This is the meaning behind our slump in prestige.

## Governmental Role in Promoting Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently the Department of Commerce journal, International Commerce, published an article entitled "Government Has Far-Reaching Role To Play in Promoting $35 Billion Annual Trade."

I quote:

The merchandise trade of the United States now approaches $35 billion a year. Almost all of this trade is conducted by private enterprise. Yet, the U.S. Government has a far-reaching role to play with respect to it.

Reflecting further upon the Government role in international commerce, I ask unanimous consent to have the remainder of the article by Eugene M. Braderman, Director of the Bureau of International Programs, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT HAS FAR-REACHING ROLE TO PLAY IN PROMOTING $35 BILLION ANNUAL TRADE

One of the main functions of Government is that of promoting and fostering U.S. foreign commerce. The Department of Commerce is the principal agency engaged in this task. For its oversea operations the Department of Commerce utilizes the Foreign Service of the United States. The Department of Agriculture is responsible for the promotion of U.S. trade in agricultural products, and the Department of the Interior is similarly engaged in the fields of fisheries and minerals. The Export-Import Bank in its lending and guarantee programs is also engaged in the promotion of U.S. exports.

SERVICES PROVIDED

The Department of Commerce fosters and promotes the trade of the United States through two principal means. The first involves the development of an international economic climate in which trade may prosper and is carried on in cooperation with the Department of State and other agencies. U.S. efforts to seek trade liberalization and the removal of foreign discrimination against American goods are examples of this. The other effort is carried forward through the provision of information and advisory services to American business concerns engaged in foreign trade.

These services are provided to exporters, importers, industry in general, financial institutions, transportation companies, travel agencies, and other firms engaged in international business. They are carried forward through personal contact, by telephone, by letters, and through the issuance of a wide variety of publications which are designed to serve specific needs of those engaged in foreign trade.

In addition, the Department of Commerce provides a channel through which the experience of American business concerns may be brought to bear on the development of Government policies and programs in the field of foreign commerce. It also provides a means by which private enterprise may be mobilized to serve national objectives.

This is particularly important today. The United States now faces a wholly changed international economic situation from that which existed at the end of World War II. In the immediate post-war period, the United States was primarily concerned with rebuilding the war-torn economies of other nations. American goods sold themselves to the extent that other countries were able to pay for them. During that period, our concern was the "dollar gap." Now, however, the other industrial nations of the world have reconstructed their economies and rebuilt their monetary reserves and are competing strongly for world markets. Newly independent nations have also come upon the scene and require assistance if their economies are to grow and prosper. Regional trade groupings are coming into being. The impact of Communist expansionism is still another factor of great importance.

Because of these developments and resulting U.S. commitments the former dollar gap, or tendency to a surplus, has been replaced by a deficit in the U.S. balance-of-payments. Therefore, our export markets are more important to the Nation than ever before.

In recognition of this changed situation the Department of Commerce is today spearheading a national export expansion program with the aim of improving our balance-of-payments position through increased U.S. exports. All of the trade promotion facilities of the Department are being put into high gear to accomplish the job. The Secretary of Commerce has established a National Export Expansion Council and a number of regional councils throughout the United States to give its program the widest possible publicity and to mobilize all parts of the country.

The commercial activities of the Foreign Service are being expanded and given higher priority. The Department of Commerce is stepping up its services to U.S. business firms interested in foreign markets and reaching out to attract firms not before active in foreign trade. Everything possible is being done to spur American business to use abroad the highly developed competitive techniques that it has used so successfully at home.

The cornerstone of current U.S. trade policy is the trade agreements program. The basic legislative authority for this program is provided by the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended, and the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended. The 1934 act was extended in 1937, 1940 and 1943 without significant amendments.

Under the 1934 act the President was authorized to make trade agreements with foreign countries in which individual U.S. duty rates could be reduced from the 1930

rates by up to 50 percent in exchange for similar reduction in foreign tariffs on U.S. goods. This authority was used to conclude bilateral trade agreements with 29 countries.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert my Washington Report No. 15 dated July 19, 1962, on the subject of "Foreign Aid."

The report follows:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON: DURWARD G. HALL, SEVENTH DISTRICT, MISSOURI

The House of Representatives has passed a bill authorizing an additional $4.9 billion in foreign aid. An effort was made to ban any American funds for Communist governments in Poland and Yugoslavia, but we lacked the necessary votes. Nevertheless, we did place certain restrictions on such aid, although differences must still be worked out in conference between the House and Senate versions.

The record shows that the United States has spent over $2 billion in foreign aid in Yugoslavia over the last 12 years. This amounts to over $415,000 a day.

If the Yugoslav Communists allowed a Gallup poll to be taken—which they don't—it surely would reveal that only a handful of people in that country are even remotely aware of our help.

Nor is our assistance to Yugoslavia limited merely to foreign aid. At the present time, a high ranking officer in the Yugoslav Army is being given American instruction in the art of warfare at the Command and General Staff School in Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Experience over the past 20 years has demonstrated the futility of attempting to win over Communist governments with handouts. The head of the Polish government in exile stated in London that our giveways serve only to "aid the Communists." Yet, Polish-American organizations in Chicago bombarded the Congress with telegrams urging continued aid to Poland.

While our aid has gone to Poland, that country has promised 7 million rubles to Communist North Vietnam, and considerable Polish aid has gone to sustain Castro in power in Cuba.

Congressional investigations and reports of waste and inefficiency have failed to penetrate the State Department "Redtape Curtain" and are largely an exercise in futility.

Any crystal ball gazer can predict that next year's investigations will disclose new examples of such waste, just as they have in past years. Equally predictable will be the lack of corrective action by the bureaucracy.

The Netherlands is a NATO partner, but we are busily shoring up Indonesia's military establishment. Portugal is a NATO ally, but we are selling military equipment to India which seized Portuguese Goa.

The Arab refugees whom we help with our substantial U.N. contribution have become political pawns of the Arab governments that we help sustain. Yet those same governments do not allow American Congressmen of Jewish descent to travel across their countries in pursuit of official duties.

We have poured out foreign aid to support the independence of Laos while we urged a coalition government which leans heavily toward the Communists.

The Laos coalition government includes a known Communist and a Communist sympathizer in its troikalike arrangement. They will exercise a veto over the use of American military and economic aid, which could well be used against our other allies in southeast Asia.

Ironically, the Western sympathizer does control the Minister of Economics, making sure that the corridor for American aid remains open.

There also is reason to marvel at the lax accounting procedures used by the State Department. The unexpended balances of the foreign assistance program are estimated at $6.6 billion at the end of this fiscal year.

The report of the Foreign Affairs Committee staff survey team after a visit to three countries and an admittedly hurried review of the hoarding of unused funds found: "that there may be substantial hidden reserves available in all countries which are being held either to finance planned operations in future years or to meet future requirements."

Counterpart funds (reparations or purchase moneys deposited in foreign banks for U.S. use) totaling $8 billion cannot be converted into U.S. dollars by seven such countries' decrees, even for specific use of American personnel administering our aid in these countries.

No one knows, not even those administering the program, the magnitude of idle money. It seems reasonable to me that Congressmen responsible for voting tax dollars ask that we pause long enough to find out how much money can be recovered.

Though our foreign aid program is supposed to be a form of "economic warfare against communism," I suspect we would still be fighting World War II if our military tactics had been no better than our "economic warfare tactics" described above.

When the administration closed our fiscal books on June 30, we were approximately $7 billion in the red for the past year. In reality, we are not spending cash dollars on foreign aid, because we do not have it to spend. We are borrowing from our children by adding to the national debt, and thus limiting their ability to meet the problems of their day by having to pay for our self-indulgence.

Passage of the foreign aid bill with no holds barred on aid to Communist countries is being hailed as a victory for the administration. That may be, but I view it as a defeat for the American people.

DURWARD G. HALL,
*Member of Congress.*

## Pattern of Recent Decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Allendale County Citizens of Allendale, S.C., is noted for its strong and eloquent editorial comments, which are written by its able editor and publisher, Mr. Tom O'Connor. I am pleased to call to the attention of the Senate an editorial of July 20, 1962, of the Allendale County Citizen entitled entitled "Dictatorship in the Court." I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DICTATORSHIP IN THE COURT?

The pattern of unanimity, with just enough dissent to disguise a pattern, in recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, is sufficiently plain to allow at least a suspicion that decisions are often dictated, rather than arrived at by men thinking their way through legal swamps.

The pattern points to a desire to mold public opinion and to secure public support for programs and plans which are not in the realm of a free republic. The pattern suggests a political purpose and fulfillment of a promise. It suggests, strongly suggests, that the Court is dominated by some powerful personality which is able to hold down opposition and does so with an iron hand.

Many of the Justices are tired, old men, past the age of retirement in other fields of endeavor. As businessmen, industrialists, professional practitioners, they would long ago have been put out to pasture.

Their physical and mental alertness is open to question. That they could resist insistent and badgering argument is doubtful. For the sake of peace and quiet they can be suspected of terminating argument by agreement, perhaps convinced, their own days numbered, that it will not matter much in a distant future.

That, in the recent prayer decision, only one man could come out with any argument against the Court in the case, is a remarkable thing, considering the nuances and varied aspects of the question before the Court.

Justice Stewart says, "With all respect, I think the Court has misapplied a great constitutional principle. I cannot see how an official religion is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it. On the contrary, I think that to deny the wish of these schoolchildren to join in reciting this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation."

Are these not reasonable conclusions? Do you suppose that in any group of nine men, eight of those left would say this one is wrong? Certainly not if any thought had gone into the idea.

The Justices should begin asking themselves what they owe, not to their masters, but to their fellow citizens and then, safe in their positions kick over the traces and display at least some semblance of the individuality and intellectual integrity the Nation demands of men in their situation.

## What Old Glory Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, many people spend so much time watching television these days that I think we sometimes tend to forget the dedicated individuals who devote their time to providing good music, accurate news reporting and other public services on radio.

Mr. Thomas S. Carr, vice president of WBAL in Baltimore, and his staff are

such dedicated individuals. Last month Mr. Carr expressed his concern regarding the lethargic attitude of the average citizen in flying the flag on important holidays. Not content with expressing concern, Mr. Carr asked a member of the WBAL radio news staff, Mr. Al Quinn, to write an appropriate editorial on why everyone should display our flag to stimulate interest in this tradition.

Al promptly wrote such an inspiring article, it was transcribed by a member of the WBAL announcing staff with the music background "America" and was broadcast 15 times on Flag Day, 10 times on July 3 and 10 times on July 4. The public immediately evidenced its interest in this article by calling station WBAL requesting copies of it. Mr. Carr then arranged to have this tremendous bit of writing printed, with a background picture of the Iwo Jima Memorial, and gave complimentary copies to all who requested same. County boards of education have asked for up to 10,000 copies for distribution to schoolchildren.

I firmly believe we have one of the finest radio stations in the country in WBAL and I would like to take this opportunity to commend the management and staff for their continuing policy of providing the best service to the public.

I also feel that such patriotic endeavors should be encouraged and the efforts of Mr. Al Quinn and radio station WBAL should be brought to the attention of the public. That is why I ask that this splendid editorial, "What Old Glory Means," be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

WHAT OLD GLORY MEANS

"Why fly the flag?" the young man asked. "Long ago, when it was young—well, it was different then: it was novel; the thing to do. But now the flag is old, and the custom long outmoded."

The old man smiled. "Yes," he said, "the flag is old now, but then it always has been old. Remember? It was Old Glory 'way back there on Cowpens field, where Howard's men endowed it with the name of love. And it was old, and tattered too, the day it flew o'er Brooklyn's stubborn stand by Smallwood's bold command. It was older still, of course, at Fort McHenry when, waving in the morning breeze, it inspired a hymn of noble destiny. Yes, son, that banner of beauty was even old when its stars and stripes were stitched with loving care by Betsy Ross. As old as man's hatred of tyranny, his yearning for freedom, and his love of liberty won. Its origins indeed go back to civilization's very dawn. But, in its ageless beauty, it still is young. Young enough to quicken the beat of the soldier's heart at its morning rising, and moisten his eyes with sentiment at its vesper-time descent. And to symbolize the sailor's love for the ship on which he sails. It is so beautiful in its lasting youth that men still would die to keep it from the dust. Yes, the flag is young enough to bear new stars and mark the new additions to the family of the States. And, at least to these old eyes, its youth takes on new bloom as new nations emerge in pattern after that for which it proudly stands. Why fly the flag? Well, perhaps the answer's there. You need not fly the flag, for there is none to say you must. The choice is freely yours. That's what Old Glory means."

From its dusty box the youth unfurled the flag and placed it in its holder on the porch. He looked through misty eyes and said: "I think I never saw the flag before."

## Colorado Hospitals Need Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN A. CARROLL
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I am constantly impressed with the overwhelming need for funds for hospital construction and modernization in my State of Colorado.

Private individuals and groups, especially staff doctors, have made enormous financial contributions for expansion of our hospitals, but they can not bear this heavy burden alone.

In addition, the Hill-Burton hospital construction program has made valuable matching funds available to many Colorado hospitals.

But with all of this help there still remains a pressing need for additional sources of assistance, and I am pleased that a bill has been introduced to fulfill this purpose.

This bill is S. 3407, the Hospital Modernization Act of 1962, and the following is a statement I prepared at the time I became a cosponsor of S. 3407.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared on the subject.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN A. CARROLL ON HOSPITAL MODERNIZATION ACT OF 1962

I am pleased to join Senator CLARK and several other distinguished colleagues in sponsoring the Hospital Modernization Act of 1962 (S. 3407).

The hospitals in my State of Colorado are presently faced with a severe shortage of funds, both for new construction and for modernization of existing facilities.

I supported the full $150 million appropriation for the Hill-Burton program in the Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bill in order that Hill-Burton activities in Colorado could continue to operate at their present level.

However, even these funds are not sufficient to meet the hospital needs my State will be attempting to fill in the next few years.

Dr. Roy L. Cleere, State director of public health, has pointed out to me that "the rapid growth of the State has resulted in unprecedented demands for increased numbers of beds and expanded hospital services."

In Denver, for example, hospitals have waited 15 years to receive Hill-Burton assistance and currently are receiving only 16 percent Hill-Burton participation rather than 45 percent authorized because of limitation of funds.

A 1960 Public Health Service survey showed that in Colorado there was a $61 million backlog of modernization needs, not including those in the vital category of nursing homes, and this figure has undoubtedly become larger since then.

This nationwide survey was made by the Public Health Service to ascertain the modernization and replacement needs of the Nation's hospitals, and it was found that the projected national cost was $3.6 billion, nearly four times the current rate of annual construction expenditures in the entire health facilities field.

In light of the benefits this will provide toward improving Colorado hospitals, I am more than pleased to add my support to S. 3407. I have been advised that the initial cost of the modernization program outlined in this bill is not expected to exceed $100 million per year. In view of the tremendous personal sacrifices being made by staff doctors and other voluntary donors to hospital modernization, I consider this to be a moderate amount of help by the Federal Government.

It is my understanding that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is presently considering a similar proposal for presentation to Congress next year. However, the Clark bill does reflect the general aims of the administration's program for modernization of our Nation's hospitals, and I am confident that S. 3407 is a significant step in the right direction.

Although action may not be forthcoming in this session of Congress, we must begin now to focus attention on this crucial program of hospital needs. It is vital that concrete proposals be set forth so that interested groups can offer their reactions and suggestions.

This is a well-conceived measure, and I am glad to endorse its important purpose.

## Twentieth Anniversary of the WAVES

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this month, the WAVES celebrate their 20th anniversary.

Recently, the All Hands published an article on the splendid way in which the Waves—during these 20 years—have outstandingly served our counrty.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAVES CELEBRATE TWO DECADES IN THE NAVY

(By Dan Kasperick, JO1, U.S. Navy)

This month the Waves celebrate their 20th anniversary as part of the naval establishment. From a small group of women, qualified to perform just a few jobs, the organization has developed into an integral part of the Navy. Today, women serve in 21 Navy enlisted ratings. Many commissioned women officers serve at naval activities ashore and overseas—and one is now serving at sea (aboard a military transport).

Although the establishment of the Waves in July 1942 was the first major step the United States had taken to integrate them into the Navy, women had long before served in a military status. The Navy's first women were nurses—the Navy Nurse Corps was established in 1908.

The history of women in the Navy began to expand in World War I. In March 1917, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels inaugurated the Naval Research program for Yeoman F, later popularized as "Yeomanette."

More than 11,000 Yeomanettes served the Nation during World War I. They took over many desk jobs formerly held by men who

were needed at sea. Yeomanettes served as clerks, translators, draftsmen, fingerprinters, camouflage designers, and recruiting agents. They served in Guam, the Panama Canal Zone, France, and Hawaii, as well as in the continental United States.

By July 31, 1919, all Yeomanettes had been released from active duty, and it was again a man's Navy.

The rapid expansion of the Navy for World War II brought about an acute shortage of personnel early in 1942. Officers and enlisted men tied down with shore jobs were needed at sea to man the growing fleets of warships. Again, women were called upon to fill vacant shore billets and release the men for more strenuous duties.

In April 1942, the House Naval Affairs Committee recommended that a Women's Reserve be organized as part of the Naval Reserve. On July 30 a bill establishing the Women's Reserve, was signed by President Roosevelt. The legislation provided that women could serve in—not merely with—the Navy, subject to regulations and legislation which governed the Reserve. Stipulations in the bill limited women to service inside the continental United States, provided they would not exercise military command over men, and specified that the highest rank for a woman would be that of lieutenant commander. On August 4, 1942, Miss Mildred H. McAfee, president on leave of Wellesley College, was sworn in as lieutenant commander, U.S. Naval Reserve, to head the new program for the Navy.

The first year of training women in the Navy was more or less experimental. Navy expectations were exceeded; the first year's enrollment was almost three times the size expected when the WAVES were authorized.

Smith College at Northampton, Mass., was selected as the first WAVES officers' school. An account of the arrival of Smith's first officer trainees described the women as "purposeful and determined * * * carefully culled from thousands of applicants as officer material." The youngest in the group was 21; all had been previously graduated from colleges or universities, and many had been established professional women in private life.

In that initial program, 129 women were trained at Smith as future naval officers. A broader training program for women officer candidates was established on October 6, and 900 young women reported to the new U.S. Naval Reserve Midshipmen's School at Northampton.

The following month a branch of the school was opened at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

Schools for enlisted women were established in October at the Universities of Wisconsin and Indiana, and Oklahoma A. & M., to train communicators, storekeepers and yeomen, respectively.

In all, the first year of the Waves saw the establishment of 16 training schools for enlisted women, and the Naval Reserve Midshipmen's School for officers. Women were trained in gunnery and blind-flying instruction, aerology, aviation ground crew work, navigation, communications, and other fields.

In duty assignments, all but a small percentage had either directly replaced Navy men or were assigned billets born of Navy expansion which would otherwise have been filled by men. After 1 year, approximately 17,000 women officers and enlisted women were on the job and 10,000 others were in training.

By the Waves' second anniversary (July 30, 1944), the number of women on active duty had increased to 72,350. The limitations on officer ranks had been removed (November 1943), and provision had been made for one woman officer to be appointed to the rank of captain. The WAVES' director, Mildred McAfee Horton, was consequently promoted.

As the war months progressed the Navy's women entered many new fields. Enlisted Waves received 6 weeks of training at the recruit training school, Hunter College, New York, after which they learned new skills at 20 Navy schools or on the job, to boost Navy's womanpower.

In September 1944, Congress passed a bill which authorized WAVES to volunteer for duty outside the continental United States. Four months later a group of enlisted women arrived at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

In July 1945, the number of WAVES on active duty was 86,000. By that time, women had taken over 18 percent of all the Navy's U.S. shore jobs; their presence had released 50,000 men for duty afloat or overseas.

After 3 years with the Navy, WAVES were on duty at nearly every type of shore activity—air stations, hospitals, district headquarters, Navy yards, and supply depots. Fifty-five percent of the uniformed naval personnel in the Washington area were WAVES.

The Navy women's responsibilities had increased considerably. WAVES handled about 80 percent of the work in administration of the Navy mail service. In "Radio Washington," the nerve center of the Navy communications system, WAVES comprised 75 percent of the total allowance.

The Bureau of Naval Personnel was graced with many WAVES (70 percent), and at the Indian Head, Md., rocket powerplant (which at the time did 70 percent of the testing for all U.S. rocket propellants), WAVES operated the laboratory, worked in one of the two firing bays, performed ballistics calculations and other technical jobs. At that time, 38 ratings were open to enlisted women.

Thirteen thousand WAVES who served in the Hospital Corps tended to the sick and wounded. In Cleveland, Ohio, two Wave pharmacist's mates ran the first all-Wave dental prosthetic laboratory. WAVES played an important role in the Navy rehabilitation program by performing such duties as occupational and physical therapy, and instructing the blind, deaf, and handicapped.

The role of women in naval aviation inspired the expression "Air Waves." There were lots of them; approximately 30 percent of all WAVES worked in aviation—repairing planes, collecting weather information, training instructors and gunners, directing air traffic from control towers, operating Link trainers and packing parachutes.

Many even qualified as parachute riggers. In recent years, in order to graduate from the parachute rigging school at Lakehurst, N.J., each student, male or female, had to make a leap from an aircraft with a parachute he or she had packed. Hundreds of Waves qualified as parachute riggers during World War II. The jump, however, was not a requirement at that time. Waves no longer serve as parachute riggers, but there are still women on active duty who were trained in the rating and made the leap to qualify.

Most World War II Wave officers served as administrators, language specialists, radio and radar technicians, lawyers, communicators, and educational services officers. Nearly 400 served as medical specialists (laboratory technicians, dental hygienists, occupational and physical therapists, etc.). Forty-one lady doctors served in the Medical Corps, and there were two women dentists and two women civil engineers now on duty in the Navy.

Wave officers at air activities included aerologists, air transport officers and air navigation instructors.

Before the war ended, approximately 80 women officers had been designated as Naval Air Navigators. They were the first women in any U.S. military organization entitled to perform duties as part of a military air crew.

After World War II the total of women on active duty decreased greatly, and by September 1946, most Navy women had been discharged or released to inactive duty.

Capt. Mildred McAfee Horton was relieved by Capt. Jean T. Palmer on February 2, 1946; the outgoing wartime Director was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for her leadership. (Captain Palmer was succeeded by Capt. Joy Bright Hancock on July 26, 1946.)

During the war the Waves had proved their worth and the Navy was reluctant to give up its programs for women. A number of Navy women were retained in service, but, by the fourth anniversary of the program, only 9,800 remained on active duty.

On March 27, 1946, the Navy asked Congress to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women into the Regular Navy and Naval Reserve. More than a year later WAVE legislation was approved by the Senate, but, before final action on the bill had been taken by the House, Congress adjourned.

When Congress reconvened, the Navy again requested legislation for the integration of women into the permanent structure of the Regular Navy. The Women's Armed Services Integration Act, Public Law 625, was passed by the Senate and the House and signed by the President. It became law on June 12, 1948, marking another step forward.

This was perhaps the most significant milestone in history of the WAVES. Women were now given full partnership on the Navy team; the Women's Reserve was abolished; and women, for the first time, became a part of the Regular Navy.

The 1948 act provided that the number of enlisted women would not exceed 2 percent of the authorized active enlisted strength of the Regular Navy, and that the number of commissioned and warrant Waves would not exceed 10 percent of the authorized number of enlisted women.

The Navy's first move in implementing the new legislation got underway the day after the President signed the bill. The word came out of Washington that, effective immediately, Reserve women could enlist in the Regular Navy. On July 7, 1948, the first enlisted women were sworn in.

In May 1949 the Navy announced that it intended to assign Waves to billets overseas. A token assignment was effected in advance—three Wave officers had been ordered to duty in London; another to San Juan, Puerto Rico; and another had been temporarily assigned to Europe for the Berlin airlift.

The modern Waves, however, were no strangers to oversea service. Enlisted women had been serving as flight orderlies on board military transport planes which flew to Germany, Bermuda and the Caribbean area from the east coast, and to Hawaii and Alaska from the West.

At the same time the Regular Navy opened to women, the Reserves established a program for Waves. The new laws abolished the Women's Reserve and authorized the transfer of all members to appropriate components of the permanent Naval Reserve.

On the WAVES seventh anniversary—July 30, 1949, 3,216 Navy women were on active duty.

The eighth year of women in the Navy brought wider areas of assignment and changes in the officer uniforms. Enlisted Waves were assigned to oversea billets in London, officers were assigned to duty in Guam, Egypt, Alaska, and Germany and on February 10, 1950, the first wave of Waves to pull duty in Hawaii since 1946 departed the United States for Pearl Harbor.

The tradition that "women don't serve at sea" was broken when Wave medical officers were ordered to duty on board hospital ships.

At the outbreak of the Korean conflict, the Navy recalled many WAVE Reservists to active duty. In July 1950 there were 3,239 Waves on active duty; a year later the number had nearly doubled.

In 1951 the Wave Recruit Training Center was transferred from Great Lakes to Bainbridge, Md.

On the 10th anniversary of the WAVES, women were occupying Regular Navy billets both in the continental United States (at 250 stations) and at many oversea bases. Four hundred Waves were on duty in Alaska, Hawaii, England, Japan, France, Germany, Norway, and Italy.

During the 11th year of the WAVES a program was established to give outstanding enlisted women the opportunity to receive commissions in the Regular Navy. Also, on June 1, 1953, Capt. Louise K. White relieved Captain Hancock as director.

By the end of the 11th year, enlisted Waves were serving on board hospital ships and transports which moved dependents between the United States and oversea installations; the regulations that had landlocked enlisted women had been changed. (Sea duty has since become one of the most popular duties among the women in blue, as indicated by the long list of Wave HM's waiting for shipboard duty.)

In 1954, Navy women celebrated their gold hashmark anniversary. Many enlisted women had been on active duty long enough to rate the gold service stripes which signify 12 years of good conduct. Also that year, the first class of the new officer candidate training program for women reported to the women officers' school at Newport, and the peacetime strength of the WAVES was fixed at 500 officer and 5,000 enlisted.

Captain Wilde was relieved as WAVE director (or, Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel for Women) by Capt. Winifred R. Quick (Collins) in August 1957. Next month, Comdr. Viola B. Sanders will be promoted to captain and will relieve Captain Collins as director.

Today there are approximately 700 officer and 6,000 enlisted WAVES on active duty. All in all, after 2 decades of service with the Navy, the Waves have been around for many changes, including the growth of the atomic fleet and many advances into space. They have kept up with the changing times, filling many billets never dreamed of when Congress passed the legislation 20 years ago.

There is, of course, still a limitation on the employment of women in the Navy. Waves are prohibited from serving in aircraft on combat missions, on shipboard (except hospital and transport ships), or in jobs which require considerable physical strength.

But the Waves keep up with Navymen in other areas. There are now 46 Wave master and senior chief petty officers. And, at NAS North Island, San Diego, Calif., last April, Barbara D. Metras, SKC, became the first enlisted woman of the U.S. Armed Forces to complete 19 years and 6 months of active duty. She thus became eligible for transfer to the Fleet Reserve.

WAVE CONVENTION HIGHLIGHTS

Highlight of the WAVES 20th anniversary activities is the national convention to be held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C., later this month (July 26–29). The convention is open to all Waves, Regular or Reserve, active or inactive.

Registration for the activities opens at noon on July 26. At 1600 the same day registration and festivity will be combined during "registration on the rocks."

On Friday, July 27, the first wave of Waves—that is, the 200 women first to register—will take a special tour of the White House. Also on Friday, time is available for sightseeing and visits with Congressmen. The reunion reception at the convention hotel will be followed by attendance at the famous evening parade at the Marine Barracks.

"Business and buffoonery," scheduled for Saturday morning, July 28, will combine a business meeting with a humorous review of the WAVES' 20 years. The Saturday evening banquet will be held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. Those in attendance will include the Secretary of the Navy, the Vice Chief of Naval Operations, past WAVE directors, present directors of all the women's services, and Government officials who were prominent in the establishment of the WAVES. Mrs. Douglas Horton, the WAVES' first director (Capt. Mildred McAfee), will be toastmistress.

On Sunday, breakfast will be followed by a special memorial service at Arlington National Cemetery.

Waves may also participate in postconvention tours to San Juan, Puerto Rico, or southern Virginia.

Advance registrations may be mailed to: WAVES 20th Anniversary National Convention, 1616 K Street NW., Washington 6, D.C. The convention package including the banquet is $20. The only event which may be purchased separately is the banquet, at $10.

## Too Much Government? Just What Would You Cut Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism.

Article No. 5 in the series concerns the cliche "Too Much Government? Just What Would You Cut Out?"

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

"TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT? JUST WHAT WOULD YOU CUT OUT?"

This familiar question, raised by those who are uncritical of Government-guaranteed welfare, security, and prosperity, has baffled many a student of libertarian ideals, often leaving him speechless and humiliated.

And well it might; for any individual would find it virtually impossible even to list the multitudinous activities of the Federal Government, not to mention those of the 50 State governments and the more than 120,000 regional, district, and local governments. Certainly no audience, much less the questioner, would wait for a discussion of these manifold activities. The immensity of such a task is reflected in this fact: To give 1 hour's consideration to each $1 million in the 1960 Federal budget alone would consume all of a person's working time until about A.D. 2000.

Even if such a chore could be completed, the real question would still remain: Just what would you cut out? However, if the principles of limited government were understood and accepted, then, by definition, all activities not qualifying would be eliminated. The limited government concept:

Government should defend the lives and property of all citizens equally. This means protecting willing exchange and restraining unwilling exchange; suppressing and penalizing fraud, misrepresentation, predatory practices; invoking a common justice under written law; and keeping the records incidental to these functions. Government's legitimate purpose is to codify and then inhibit all destructive actions while leaving all creative and productive actions—including welfare, charity, security, and prosperity—to citizens acting voluntarily, privately, cooperatively, or competitively as they freely choose.

The concept of government outlined in the Declaration of Independence holds that man is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them the right to life and the right to liberty. Thus endowed with freedom of choice, each individual is presumed responsible for his own life and the development of his potentialities—within the limits of noninterference with the equal rights of every other peaceful person. Personal accountability further presumes responsibility for the products of one's creative efforts—the means by which life is sustained—and establishes a basis for the private ownership and control of property. Consistent with the ideals of self-responsibility, personal freedom of choice, and private property, is the free market method of voluntary exchange whereby individuals help themselves through serving others. Possessing economic freedom, each person may practice compassion and charity with what is his own. This leaves to government (organized force) the very limited task of defending life and property and preserving the peace.

Once this basis for limiting government is accepted, it is possible for a person to test any present activity of government at whatever level by a precise standard which tells him whether that activity is a proper function of organized police force. It is a matter of reasoning logically and deductively from our declaration's premise that man's right to life and liberty is derived not from the state but from his Creator.

LEONARD E. READ.

## Your Health May Be at Stake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial written by Mr. Ed Elfstrom, publisher of the Fullerton, Calif., News Tribune, which appeared on Monday, July 16. The editorial deals with the necessity for public information on dangerous drugs which are dispensed throughout the country without the proper warning to the users of these drugs that they may be lethal.

No one has a better right to make this demand than Mr. Elfstrom, whose daughter was killed a few years ago by the use of Chloromycetin under improper conditions and without knowledge of the patient or the parents that this drug had a deadly record of many deaths. Oftentimes, a warning may be included in a case of drugs, but when individually dispensed, there is no warning accompanying the medicine.

The editorial follows:

YOUR HEALTH MAY BE AT STAKE

Every citizen should consider himself in the gallery when the Senate takes up the prescription drug control measure newly sent to the floor by the Judiciary Committee.

He should follow the proceedings intently, for sooner or later he personally or those close to him will be affected by the outcome.

Proposals made by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER after 3 years of probing into the pharmaceutical industry, its production, pricing and vending practices, were watered down almost to the point of no return in Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND's Judiciary Committee. Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and Senator HRUSKA, of Nebraska, collaborated to strike out provisions of the Kefauver bill which would have gone far to assure Americans that drugs prescribed for them were thoroughly safe, effective and available at moderate cost.

Few of Senator KEFAUVER's original recommendations remain but the Tennessean, who has been through a battle and won it many times before, has pledged himself to a campaign to strengthen the measure with floor amendments. In this he should be joined by all Senators who have the welfare of their constituents at heart.

The principles for which Senator KEFAUVER is fighting may lack the flashy appeal of medicare or extending unemployment compensation benefits, but they are of vital importance to all Americans, those in good health as well as the ill, for no one can predict when he will fall victim to a sickness requiring medication.

These are some of the key reforms sought by Senator KEFAUVER as a result of his exhaustive study of the prescription drug industry and the manner in which it has conducted its business:

A requirement that manufacturers of drugs include full information warning of harmful side effects when sending any data about their products to doctors.

Insistence that manufacturers of drugs be held responsible for meeting safety standards by means of a registration which could be suspended or withdrawn.

A requirement that the generic or chemical name of a drug be indicated on the package and in advertisements as well as the trade name, permitting patients to save substantial amounts of money in the event of chronic or lengthy illness.

Firm controls to prevent drug manufacturers from placing potentially dangerous medications on the market and to restrain them from claiming effectiveness in conditions other than the one for which the drugs were initially developed.

These proposals are fair, not punitive. They are designed to safeguard the public, not to restrain free enterprise or hamstring research. Arguments in favor of the recommendations are overwhelming, supported by a mass of documentary and medical evidence gathered during the hearings conducted by Senator KEFAUVER's subcommittee.

Let us hope that his colleagues will cast aside political and other considerations to join him in enacting these sorely needed reforms. Few actions they could take would have such beneficial and lasting effects upon so many people.

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## American Legion Commander Clarifies Legion Position on Non-Service-Connected Disability Pension

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, there have been many conflicting reports as to the position taken by the American Legion in regard to H.R. 3745 which is the subject of a discharge petition now pending on the Speaker's desk.

The following release from the American Legion headquarters certainly leaves no doubt as to the official position of the American Legion relative to this legislation:

AMERICAN LEGION COMMANDER CLARIFIES LEGION POSITION ON NON-SERVICE-CONNECTED DISABILITY PENSION

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 23, 1962.—Charles L. Bacon, Kansas City, Mo., today released the following statement to Congress and the press:

"Press reports and other information received at the American Legion office indicate that the position of the American Legion on non-service-connected disability pension is not clearly understood. I would like to clarify two impressions which have just been brought to my attention and which are completely erroneous. In the first place, it has been reported that the American Legion is against non-service-connected disability pension. This is not correct. The Legion is supporting two bills—H.R. 886 and H.R. 2237—which are now before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and which, if enacted, will liberalize the present pension law. These Legion-supported bills provide for fair and equitable treatment of all war veterans—regardless of the dates of service—and include special provisions for those over 65, most of whom are veterans of World War I. Also provided in these bills are increased allowance for widows and orphans, most of whom are survivors of World War I veterans.

"In the second place, suggestions have been made and published that it is only the top officers of the American Legion who are not in favor of H.R. 3745 and a separate pension for Wlord War I veterans.

"These suggestions are not in accord with the facts. While the American Leigon has directed its energy in support of its own pension legislation, based upon resolutions approved at the 1960 and 1961 national conventions, rather than in opposition of other proposed penison measures now in the Congress, the facts are that for several years the delegates to national conventions of the American Legion, gathered together from all over the country, have considered many proposals for separate pensions for World War I veterans, and rejected them. At the 1961 convention, a resolution proposing support of H.R. 3745 failed to win the approval of the delegates. The last time a separate World War I pension proposal had sufficient support to secure a rollcall in the national convention of the American Legion was in 1958. On that occasion the vote rejecting the motion was 2,597 to 414.

"These expressions by the national convention constitute the official position of the American Legion.

"The top officers of the American Legion in their statements must correctly reflect the opinion of Legionnaires as they are expressed by the delegates to the national convention.

"I reiterate, therefore, the support of the American Legion for the liberalized pension provisions in the Legion-sponsored bills, H.R. 886 and H.R. 2237. They are fair, equitable, and give particular attention to the veterans over age 65."

Your attention is invited to the attached excerpt from the August 1962 issue of the American Legion magaizne in which is discussed in greater detail the Legion's pension proposals. Text follows:

"VETS FOR WHOM NEW LAW IS SOUGHT ALREADY ELIGIBLE, BUT PRESSURES IN THEIR NAME IMPERIL THEIR RIGHTS

"Vigorous discussions at quite a few American Legion State conventions this summer have indicated a general lack of knowledge about the non-service-connected pensions that are available to war veterans. Numerous speakers from the floors of various State conventions have told delegates that they know of penniless 72-year-old veterans, physically unable to work, for whose relief a general veterans' pension law should be enacted, granting $100 a month or so to most veterans after age 65.

"Under the existing law, any war veteran who meets that description, and who was honorably discharged from 90 days or more service, may receive a nonservice pension of from $85 to $100 a month. In fact a penniless veteran of any war and any age, who is permanently and totally disabled and unable to work may receive $85 to $100 a month under existing law. Veterans in similar condition, who have incomes up to $3,000 may, if they have a dependent, receive smaller pensions (the amount depending on the amount of other income). Veterans over 65 need not be more than 10 percent disabled in order to qualify for a pension if they are otherwise in the condition cited.

"When a veteran in such a plight is known, there is no need to urge passage of a new law for his relief. Simply refer him to the nearest American Legion service officer, to file a claim under existing law.

"The type of law sought in citing these cases, would provide about $100 a month to nearly all veterans over 65. It would include veterans who are in comfortable circumstances, by raising income limits and excluding retirement benefits. The American Legion believes such a law to be a legislative impossibility, and that if Congress were pressured into adopting its general principles, as might happen under tremendous pressure, the amount paid monthly would be greatly compromised, to the detriment of veterans who are in great need. There are close to 3 million veterans who would become eligible for about $1,200 a year, for a total yearly payment of about $3½ billion. The numbers would increase.

"The proposed law would apply only to World War I veterans and would add from 700,000 to a million pensioners, but it is hard to see how it could be enacted without including World War II and Korea veterans. The 1940 draft took men 45 years old, and they are 67 this year. Many World War II veterans who volunteered are also in their sixties today and some are in their seventies. As a general pension bill would have to be argued on the grounds that age and past service rated entitlement, the proponents of the bill would have to deny their strongest argument if they were to exclude veterans of World War II and Korea of the same age and similar past military service.

"Another difficulty in limiting such a bill to World War I veterans, is that the older World War II veterans have received less Federal benefit that any other generation of war veterans.

"Virtually none of the GI bill benefits went to the World War II vets who are now in their fifties, sixties, and seventies. They had already educated or job trained and housed themselves before the war. As no Federal bonus or adjusted compensation was paid them, most of the war veterans in the land who have received no Federal benefits as veterans at all are the older World War II vets. Nearly a quarter million World War II vets are now in their sixties.

"It is conceivable that Congress could be pressured into extending the principles of the general pension, substituting a pension for age for the present pensions for need and disability. If the Nation's veterans make it clear that that is what is wanted, it could happen. But it is not conceivable that the amount would be $100 a month, since a proposal to add billions to the Federal budget under a high-pressure campaign, would generate equal or greater opposition pressure. The Federal Government is presently paying

about $1.8 billion in nonservice pensions to veterans who are disabled and in need, and most of the provisions of the present law are tailored to hold the cost to about that figure, as it is already about one-fortieth of the Federal budget.

"The great danger to fair treatment of war veterans in recognition of past services that lies in pressuring through such a proposal is that the aged, penniless, unable-to-work veteran who can now get up to $100 a month would be reduced in order to distribute the available part of the Federal budget to veterans who are in less need than he.

"The American Legion has not supported the general pension idea, and in debate on convention floors since 1949, the realistic problems cited here have been those that have governed Legion policy on the subject. A group of World War I veterans organized for the chief purpose of having a general pension enacted have recently pressured their Congressmen so successfully that, by the first of July, 201 Members of the House had signed a petition to get the bill out of committee, 18 short of the votes needed. But the legislature, under organized pressure, has many ways of seeming nice and still blocking an act. Under great heat, the House could pass the bill and throw it to the Senate. This could happen. However, with news of its passage by the House the legislature could rely upon the strongest public reaction against war veterans in many years, so that by the time the Senate was pressed to act for the bill it would be under antipension and antiveteran public pressures of enormous magnitude. When a similar bill was proposed in 1948 the net result was a wave of antiveteran sentiment (even without passage by the House) which for years greatly jeopardized the existing veterans program that is especially sympathetic to veterans with demonstrable need of the benefits.

"The news that 201 Representatives had signed the discharge petition, brought a flood of newspaper editorials, such as that of the New York Herald Tribune of June 29, headed 'Stop This Veterans' Grab' which ended by suggesting that Representative WINFIELD DENTON, who introduced the bill, should be retired from office by his Eighth Indiana Congressional District, and an Associated Press story that if the Congress passed the bill the President would veto it.

"Today, the veterans in greatest need of pension are for the most part World War I veterans. Almost an even million World War I vets are presently pensioned because of their age, need, and disability, under the existing law, whose principles are supported by the Legion. The Legion is dissatisfied with the law in detail, though not in principle. The amounts payable in the upper brackets of the permissible income level are believed to be inadequate; and the counting of a wife's income as disqualifying income has been applied in many instances where it should not have been, the wife's income not having been available to the veteran. These and other aspects of the present law would be amended under Legion proposals, to give better treatment to those World War I and other veterans whose personal circumstances demonstrate a right to assistance out of regard for their past service to the Nation.

"American Legion National Commander Charles L. Bacon, asked by the press to comment on the pension situation, set forth the Legion's position as follows: '(1) That disability pension benefits are based on a showing of disability and unemployability; (2) that need (but not indigency or destitution) is an essential element of entitlement; (3) that war veterans similarly situated should be similarly treated by their Government, regardless of the dates of their service; (4) that special consideration and special attention should be given to veterans aged 65 and over.'

"The commander said that 'The American Legion has had as one of its * * * major objectives * * * the liberalization of the * * * present laws. Two Legion sponsored bills are pending, H.R. 886 and H.R. 2237, which recognize the present concepts. They would increase the amounts of pension payable, give special attention to veterans aged 65 and over, and eliminate undesirable features of existing legislation.'

"Meanwhile, if you know of any aged honorably discharged war veteran of 90 days service unable to work, and broke, rush him to your post service officer for an existing pension."

## Land-Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, this month marks the 100th anniversary of America's land-grant colleges. It is well for the Nation to observe on this important occasion just how vital a role these institutions have played in the development of our country.

Today these land-grant colleges, even though they number less than 4 percent of the Nation's colleges, enroll about 20 percent of the undergraduate students and grant nearly 40 percent of all doctor degrees in every field of study.

A century ago, the opportunity for higher education in the United States was severely restricted. Higher learning was largely denied to all those who lacked the privileges of social status and wealth.

Today all that has changed, thanks to the fruition of a dream championed by such men as Jonathan B. Turner, of Illinois, and Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont. Their dream called for a Federal land grant to each State—30,000 acres for each Member of Congress from the State. This land was to be sold—the price then ranged around $1.25 an acre—with the income going to endow and support at least one college in each State.

The land-grant measure, introduced by Morrill, who served nearly 50 years in Congress, was passed and finally signed into law by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862.

The colleges spawned by this historic act were far different from the institutions that had existed prior to that time. They emphasized professional or specialized education, seeking to meet the needs of the people to apply the discoveries of science and advancing technology to daily life.

Moreover, these colleges helped remove the old exclusiveness from education. Higher learning has become more widely available. No longer was it only the privilege of the few.

In my own State of Texas, we are justifiably proud of our land-grant colleges—the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College system—A. & M.—and Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Arlington State College in my own district is a rapidly growing institution of the A. & M. system, providing an excellent standard of 4-year instruction available at very nominal costs for thousands of north Texas young people.

Texas A. & M., which enrolled its first students in 1876, is one of the State's oldest public institutions of higher learning. Its education program comprises three main functions—resident instruction on the campus through the graduate level, research in numerous scientific areas both on and off campus, and extension services—adult education—through the State in the agricultural field and, to a more limited extent, in the engineering field.

A. & M., like its 67 sister land-grand institutions made possible by the bill signed into law 100 years ago this month, is truly one of democracy's colleges.

## Nations Step Up Battle for Fish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, in our preoccupation with industrial expansion and economic growth, we sometimes forget that this great advance can have a devastating side product that will have, in the long run, disastrous effects. I refer to the polluting of our rivers and streams and the consequent danger to all forms of life.

The following article by Jim Bishop, which appeared in the Washington Star, of July 23, points up the particular danger to the fishing industry—both in this country and throughout the world. In the days when we are faced with a population explosion of fantastic proportions, we cannot afford to have such a situation exist.

It is my hope that efforts such as our extensive water pollution control program will correct some of the problems mentioned by Mr. Bishop. I should also like to point out that research needs desperately to be conducted along this line. Legislation which I introduced to construct a Shellfish Research Laboratory at Milford, Conn., was signed into law last year. Others of my colleagues have sponsored programs for fish hatcheries, and so forth. It is extremely important that we devote much more time and energy to assuring that the world's ever-increasing food demands will be met in a realistic fashion.

The article follows:

NATIONS STEP UP BATTLE FOR FISH

(By Jim Bishop)

The mist remained constant in the morning. Then it lifted and the Japanese patrol boat headed east between Cheju and Wando, on the southern tip of Korea. The skipper swung his glasses north, sweeping the flat sea slowly, until a ship silhouetted itself on his eyes. He became excited. The navigator came running and gave the position of the strange ship as 34° north, 123°, 15 minutes east.

The captain picked up his microphone and called "Seaweed calling minnow. Seaweed

calling minnow. Killer shark operating in area four dash one three. Repeat. Killer shark in four dash one three." At once, all Japanese fishing vessels in the area hauled in their nets and headed away.

This is part of the fishing war which is spreading between nations.

The Japanese, the Koreans, the Norwegians, and the Icelanders are among the great fishing nations of the world. It is getting more difficult to supply the fishing needs of the world. Nations guard their fishing shoals jealously. For centuries, all seacoast countries proclaimed sovereignty over the sea stretching 3 miles from the beaches.

This has been enlarged unilaterally until now some nations do not recognize the coastal proclamations of others. Syngman Rhee, the hungry fox of Korea, started the war by announcing that his country had sovereignty over all waters within 200 miles of her coastline. The Japanese, who had fished these waters for years, and who, by treaty, are denied their old fishing rights off the Kuriles, refused to recognize Rhee's equity in distant seas.

South Korea sent out patrol vessels which fired on Japanese trawlers far out of sight of land. The Japanese, who did not want to create an incident, sent fast patrol vessels to "mother" the fishing boats. When a Korean patrol boat is sighted, the Japanese advise the trawlers in code. Still, Korea seizes about 30 Japanese fishing boats each year, and tosses their crews into prison. In a book called "Conquest of the Sea," the author, Cord-Christian Troebst, points out that, in 10 years, the United States will be paying to import fish from other nations.

The population explosion, in conjunction with the depletion of good fishing grounds, has caused British and Japanese trawlers to go as far as the coast of Chile for fish. Pollution from U.S. industrial plants has caused the cod, the tuna and sometimes the bluefish to move farther and farther from shore.

The waters, in many instances, are unfit for fishing, for bathing, and some of the crustacea cause hepatitis. The bacteria count off most harbors is dangerously high. Must we believe, then, that there are fewer fish in the sea than there were a hundred years ago?

No. The seas teem with fish. However, they are migrating to other shoals, other feeding grounds where the miniscule food, zooplankton and phytoplankton, abound. Still, man spends little time and even less money studying fish and their habits. In May 1961, a Danish frigate fired at a British fishing traveler, the *Red Crusader*, and hit it. The Danes said the British were fishing in Danish waters. Three years earlier, Iceland extended her territorial waters from 4 to 12 miles. The English became so angry that they sent trawlers to fish within 7 miles of Iceland, and protected them with warships. Part of the British report on all fishing applies to the whole world: "* * * fishing in 1958 brought in little more than the previous year in spite of more intense efforts. The haul per boat has dropped considerably. The catch next year will probably be even worse. . . ."

The Boston fishing fleet accounted for 200 million pounds of haddock alone in 1928. Cord-Christian Troebst point out that, in 1958, they brought in 70 million pounds. Two years ago, the salmon catch in Alaska dropped 40 percent. Ten years ago, 600,000 tons of sardines were canned on the U.S. west coast. A year later, it dropped to 5,000 tons.

The Soviet fishing fleet puts out five trawlers for every one the United States has. In 1958, the Russians caught 6,800,000 pounds of fish, a lot of it off the Grand Banks. Our catch was 4,800,000 pounds. The Russians have just completed 70 factory ships which cruise among the trawlers, picking up cod, tuna and herring, and processing them and freezing them for the long trip home.

## Power Preference Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the July 16, 1962 Pomona, Calif., Progress-Bulletin.

The Pomona Progress-Bulletin points out some of the serious drawbacks to the proposal pending in Congress to grant preferential rights to Federal power to the region in which such power is developed.

I believe the editorial will be of considerable interest to many Members of Congress whose district and State could be adversely affected, directly or indirectly, if legislation granting regional power preferences is enacted.

The editorial follows:

[From the Pomona (Calif.) Progress-Bulletin, July 16, 1962]

AS WE SEE IT—BY ONE OF US

The movement now in Congress to reserve preferential rights to Federal power to the region in which such power is developed is one that should be defeated.

Southern California would be terribly handicapped if such a measure were passed.

Agitation over this matter began several months ago when bills were introduced in Congress which would give consumers of Federal power in the Northwest rights that could be considered almost exclusive.

To be specific, the situation came up when Interior Secretary Udall requested bills which would give public and private consumers in the Columbia River basin prior rights to Bonneville power. These bills, if we are correctly informed, would give consumers in the Northwest prior rights to those of the preference public agencies in California.

Comprehensive plans have been in the making for some time whereby there could be a tie-in between Bonneville power and California in order that some of the Bonneville power could be brought down to agencies in California. No transfer of power could be assured if the proposed legislation is passed.

Newspapers throughout California have been urging Congressmen and Senators to put on a prompt and determined effort to halt this regional preference legislation. It would be a dangerous matter for the whole country.

The Long Beach Press-Telegram in a recent editorial spoke of the effect of the passage of such measures in the following paragraphs:

"On June 18 Congressman GUBSER, of Gilroy, offered an amendment which would give the same priority to northern California customers of the Central Valley project. GUBSER said he didn't like the principle involved, but if it is set to go, his area was going to get on the train.

"Then Senator BARRY GOLDWATER of Arizona, also opposed in principle to regional preference, announced he would ask for similar protection to reserve Colorado River power for Arizona and also provide similar preference for all major river basins of the country.

"What would all this do to southern California? Representative CRAIG HOSMER, quick to detect the danger, declared it would deny South Carolina's public agencies, including the Metropolitan Water District, any opportunity to receive firm Federal power from any source, including Hoover Dam. Southern Californians, whose taxes help finance these big power projects, would have no Federal power available to them whatever on a firm basis.

"HOSMER called GOLDWATER'S move a 'massacre raid on California water and power users and taxpayers' who have borne the major share of the cost of Hoover Dam and other Colorado River developments. He regards the move as potential disaster to southern California with regard to both water and power.

"In both categories, we are a have-not region. But we are a region that is one of the richest sources of Federal income, and when our money is used for these Federal developments, we have a clear right to share in the benefits.

"The affair is reminiscent of the struggle over the use of some of northern California's abundant water by southern California. In fact, the preference principle espoused by Udall, GOLDWATER, et al., might still be applied to that situation to our detriment.

"Fortunately, on that score, we have a powerful answer. Southern California is not exclusively a have-not area as regards all natural resources. We have oil, and our oil has been a major financial contributor to the State's program of water development. We have as much right to apply a regional preference principle to oil income benefits as the other areas have the right to establish power and water preference. It's a weapon we shouldn't hesitate to use if needed."

## Expanded Recreation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the July 19 issue of the Arlington, N.J. Observer, is noteworthy in that it points up the value of cooperative effort on the part of municipal government and interested citizenry in combating the problem of juvenile delinquency. Since Kearny and Harrison comprise a part of my congressional district, I am particularly proud of their achievement in this thorny area. Plaudits are indeed due to all who contribute so unselfishly in these efforts to help our youngsters, at a time of their lives when guidance and interest are so important.

The editorial follows:

EXPANDED RECREATION

The low rate of juvenile delinquency in West Hudson and North Arlington can be attributed largely to expanded recreational programs sponsored by municipal governments, churches, and civic organizations headed and staffed by volunteers.

The municipal programs sponsored by recreation departments or committees in Kearny, Harrison, and North Arlington are rated among the most comprehensive and effective in the country.

Supervised programs for children in all age brackets are not confined to summer school recess, but through the 12 months of the year. The outdoor activities have resulted in new attendance records at municipal playgrounds for more than 8 years and the number of children enrolled in indoor competitions during the school term has constantly increased in the three municipalities.

These programs, augmented by Little League baseball, under the direction and sponsorship of civic-minded volunteers and merchants and industries, and the West Hudson "Y" and church group activities add up to a laudable and successful effort on the part of elected officials and interested citizens to keep our community free of juvenile delinquency.

## Beyond the Bounds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARLETON J. KING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the July 19 issue of the Troy (N.Y.) Record newspaper, entitled "Beyond the Bounds."

The editorial is in reference to the President's ill-advised statement following the defeat of his medical care bill. His statement, as the editorial points out, does go beyond the bounds of propriety since the responsibility in this matter rests solely with Members of his own party. The Democrats have large majorities in the House and Senate and if any blame is to be placed for the failure of this program, it is because too many Democrats were opposed to it.

The editorial follows:

[From the Troy (N.Y.) Record]

BEYOND THE BOUNDS

That President Kennedy intended right along to exploit the outcome of his administration's fight for medicare has been well known. No secret was made of the plan to capitalize on either victory or defeat. In triumph his prestige would soar and in defeat he would salvage an election campaign issue.

Against this background President Kennedy's bitter disappointment at the Senate rejection of his medical care program is surprising. A display of injury inflicted on the angels by the powers of darkness would be no more than the normal distortion anticipated in election campaign oratory. But President Kennedy resorted to flagrant demagoguery.

He pictured the Senate rejection of medicare as a catastrophe of all-embracing magnitude. "A most serious defeat for every American family," was his description. And his call to arm for a crusade of ballots to slay the dragons next November suggested that multitudes of Americans would perish of neglect in the streets.

As President Kennedy knows full well this attitude is unwarranted. Adequate provision has been made for medical care for those unable to pay the cost of treatment or surgery in their advanced years. In truth, provisions already enacted to protect senior citizens of modest means exceed the promised benefits of medicare. And this without jeopardizing the quality of medical treatment through regimentation that forces standards lower. Moreover, year by year increasing numbers of Americans are providing for their own security through private and voluntary health insurance. The disaster tag President Kennedy sought to tie to the rejection of medicare does not jibe with the facts.

In venturing beyond the bounds of propriety President Kennedy reminded the country of his outburst of temper in the steel price case. At that time the President was caught unaware and the shock presumably accounted for the breakdown in self-control. In those circumstances cussing out all who did not agree with him and calling on the FBI to rout citizens out of bed was understandable. In the latest fit of temper, however, the excuses do not exist. President Kennedy was well informed on the closeness of the division in the Senate and his plans plainly had been made to take advantage of the vote regardless of the outcome. The Kennedy broadcast came within an hour of the rollcall in the Senate. The evidence of advance preparation makes the President's outburst all the more unseemly.

## Crime in the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, in relating on the floor of this House the incident, of the attack on his longtime employee in a church on Capitol Hill not far from the House of Representatives, our distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. BECKER] pointed out that the Metropolitan Police of the Nation's Capital were not to blame for the crime situation.

He placed the responsibility for the present situation squarely on the courts, and said that too many suspended sentences and too many light ones were being meted out by the courts.

This is indeed where much of the blame lies, and I wish to join with our colleague in his appraisal of the situation in the District of Columbia.

The Metropolitan Police Department under the fine direction of Chief of Police Robert V. Murray and Deputy Chief Howard V. Covell, has established a most commendable record and one which compares favorably with that of police departments in other cities.

The situation in the Nation's Capital is ably described in an editorial in Roll Call, and in today's Washington (D.C.) Evening Star from which I quote:

[From Roll Call]

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In April, as minor crimes increased on Capitol Hill, this newspaper editorialized that the criminal element was getting out of hand. Daily muggings, yokings, beatings, robbery, and vandalism are becoming commonplace, we editorialized, and something should be done about it.

In May, we again editorialized that if the reign of terror which is growing daily in intensity continues, this Capital is in danger of becoming an anarchy. We opined that the time has come for forceful and effective steps to be taken to protect the persons and possessions of citizens, workers, and employees from the evergrowing numbers of hoodlums, punks, maniacs, degenerates and thrillseekers apparently roaming the streets at will.

We suggested then that without delay a responsible crime commission should be established to make a thorough study of the crime situation before the incidents increase in intensity and seriousness.

As this is being written, some 40 detectives are combing Southeast Washington seeking a tall Negro youth who desecrated a holy sanctuary and ruthlessly and needlessly plunged a knife into the body of a pious congressional secretary at prayer.

At best, the assailant will be apprehended. He will, if past history is any criterion for the future, probably be freed. Maybe enough loopholes will be found in our criminal laws to have him incarcerated. Even so, in little time he will be free to commit bigger and more heinous crimes.

Representative FRANK BECKER, whom the victim served for the past 10 years as secretary, ran from the blood-drenched scene of the assault to the House floor to report the dastardly deed to his colleagues.

In an emotion-filled but uniquely fair and rational speech, Mr. BECKER graphically reported the assault, and told his colleagues, "It is a sad state of affairs, indeed, that in this great Capital City of ours, Washington, D.C., within 3 blocks of the Capitol itself, a citizen cannot even go into a church and pray in safety."

An indication of the response of the House may be garnered by the following reprint of the end of Mr. BECKER's speech, and the ensuing dialogue.

"Mr. BECKER. I certainly hope and pray, and I am sure the House joins me in prayer, for her recovery of this dastardly attempt on her life."

"Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California."

"Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill S. 476, creating the Point Reyes National Seashore."

In the 6 pages of wordage in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day, no further mention was made of the attack or the need for crime prevention.

How long can the Congress sit back and ignore a situation that well may develop into a state of Sodom and Gomorah? Does it have to be a Congressman's wife, or his secretary, or his child who is victimized before he will assume his responsibility to his fellow men?

The fact of the matter is that the Congress as a body is responsible for the Federal City—the District of Columbia. Certainly, the 537 elected Representatives are responsible for the Capitol area.

How many bodies must spill blood before the Congress will rise to action to make this national area safe for its Members, their aids, the millions of visitors and relatives, and the residents?

Congressman BECKER nobly absolved the Metropolitan Police of guilt. He is partly right. Chief Murray is a dedicated and able man, trying to administer a police force in one of the worst areas in the Nation. Aside from operating in a goldfish bowl, he is hampered by a string of do-gooder organizations, an unrealistic liberal front which tends to coddle criminals at the expense of law-abiding citizens, too many patrolmen unfitted morally or mentally for the task at hand, public apathy and legal restrictions proffered by the "liberal front" which hamper law enforcement and encourage criminality.

The Congress must take the lead in:

Insuring an adequate, well-trained, well-paid force of men possessed of good moral standards and a dedication to duty.

A change in the criminal laws to untie the hands of responsible law officers in apprehending and bringing to trial violators of the law.

A change of attitude in this District according protection to the innocent and not the guilty.

Establishment of a crime commission with power to recommend these and other sweeping revisions to the end that this Nation's Capital might realistically become a model city of responsible citizens where the visiting taxpayer, the lawmaker, the law-abiding

resident, may feel secure and safe and proud to be an American.

We do not advocate the deprivation of any man's rights as a citizen. We do advocate the guarantee of every citizen's right to move about freely and to enjoy freedom from fear.

Perhaps there have been times when suspects have been unjustly interrogated, when an innocent man has been questioned or booked. This, indeed, is not to be condoned.

But the pendulum has been pushed too far. While we are bending over backward to protect the lawless, we are getting stabbed in the back. Let us equalize the procedure, so that neither the suspect nor the decent citizen gets hurt.

More important than home rule, more sewers, added Federal payments, or anything presently facing Congress and the District, is the prevention of further abuse of our citizens. Let's tighten up our laws and encourage the judges to mete out punishment to fit the crime.

Way back in 300 B.C. Aristotle said, "Even when laws are written down, they ought not always remain unaltered." And "The generality of men are naturally apt to be swayed by fear rather than reverence, and to refrain from evil rather because of the punishment that it brings, than because of its own foulness."

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 25, 1962]

CRIME IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Twice Representative BECKER, of New York, took the floor in the House to comment on the attack on the administrative aid Branding this city a "jungle," he said: "It is a sad state of affairs, indeed, that in this great Capital City of ours, Washington, D.C., within three blocks of the Capitol itself, a citizen cannot even go into a church and pray in safety. I am not blaming the police of this city because I firmly believe it is more the fault of the judicial system which permits and forces release of criminal suspects so soon after they have been arrested."

Mr. BECKER is not alone in his concern. Many people in Washington, while recognizing that the law canont be enforced by unlawful means, are disturbed by the ever-increasing restraints being laid upon officials charged with the arrest and conviction of criminals. The rights of criminals, or of criminal suspects, should be respected. But their rights certainly should not override the right, or the opportunity, of a women to go into a church to pray without being set upon and stabbed. Congress in recent years has had several opportunities to balance these rights, but nothing has been done. Perhaps Mr. BECKER's experience will help to bring some constructive action.

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## H.R. 4068

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues H.R. 4068, which would require the establishment of congressional districts composed of contiguous and compact territory for the elections of Members of the House of Representatives. The bill, which has for many years been championed by the respected and learned Member from New York [Mr. CELLER], has been reported by Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 4068, Mr. Speaker, is addressed to a problem of utmost gravity, one that is at the very center of the democratic functioning of our representative form of government. The problem is that of equitable territorial apportionment so that legislatures may be truly and fairly representative insofar as complete objectivity may be attained. With respect to the House of Representatives, this problem has been met until now largely through creation of at-large seats for Members and through successive enlargement of the total membership of the House. With the consequent growth in the membership of the House, however, many are convinced that we may no longer resort to this solution. Hence we should seriously consider H.R. 4068 or some other measure to attain the same end.

I, for one, endorsed H.R. 4068 and would appreciate an early opportunity to support its enactment with my affirmative vote. It would resolve a fundamental and continuing problem in an objective, neutral manner that would reflect historic honor upon the Congress that enacts it. I urge its early consideration and adoption.

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## Enough Is Enough About China and the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Herald, Rock Hill, S.C., of July 23, 1962:

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH ABOUT CHINA AND THE U.N.

If a free society ever had enough of those self-inflated, meddling, biased do-gooder committees, commissions, action groups, organizations for or against, ad in adnauseum, the time is now.

A group of distinguished Americans who ought to know better have taken to recommending U.S. foreign policy and United Nations policy. They call themselves the Commission To Study the Organization of Peace, affiliated with the American Association for the U.N. Their recommendations were published as a report called A Universal United Nations. Looking over the members of this self-appointed body we found Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Frank P. Graham, and a professor emeritus from Harvard. It followed as night follows day that this outfit recommended the admission of Red China to the U.N.

If this group is going to pester the officers and representatives of our Government, we would have to recommend the establishment of an American Association for America. Nominations for membership would include the Honorable James F. Byrnes, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman, and the host of others, even as distinguished as Roosevelt, Graham, et al., who oppose admission of more Communists to the floundering U.N. But in any event, we trust that such things as "a universal United Nations" will end up where they belong, in the wastebasket.

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## How Many Times Can Man Be Skinned?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, how many times can the animal that is man be skinned and still survive? Hair, hide, and all have been taken from him due to naval procurement procedures revealed in today's edition of the New York Times, and the Navy continues to scalp him daily.

Comptroller General Joseph Campbell today charged that a $3,500,000 cost-plus-fixed-fee contract awarded to the Westinghouse Co. was $1,066,000 in excess of what it should have been. He demanded the money be returned to the Government.

I quote Mr. Campbell:

The Navy approved the award on the basis of a comparison with prices previously paid rather than attempting to obtain cost estimates or prior cost experience.

Further quoting Mr. Campbell:

If the Navy had obtained this information before approving the subcontract award, it would have been in a sound position to obtain a price about $1,066,000 lower than that paid for these items.

Mr. Speaker, this is what happened in the case of a nuclear reactor built by Westinghouse for a Navy ship. Yet, this is also exactly what is happening today in the $1 million overcharge for production of the PRC 41 radio set by the Collins Radio Co. The Navy paid Collins $886,000 to develop the walkie-talkie radio and then told that company not to send plans and specifications for it. Collins alone was invited to bid, and their bid was submitted as though the set had never been developed, resulting in an overcharge of over $1 million.

The Navy tried to defend this type of procurement practice as sound, the same as it will defend its mistakes and blunders in the Westinghouse contract.

I hope my colleagues will join me in stamping out this wasteful procurement procedure. It is within the power of Congress to do so. I hope my colleague, Congressman VINSON, chairman of the Armed Services Committee in charge of authorization of defense expenditures, and Congressman MAHON, chairman of the subcommittee on Defense of the Appropriations Committee, will take cognizance of this irresponsible, lackadaisical, dollars-be-damned method of buying military equipment.

Taxation is bleeding your constituents and mine to death. This kind of waste should, can, and must be stopped.

In conclusion, I wish to call attention to the New York Times story on this case, as printed in today's editions.

The article follows:

WESTINGHOUSE ACCUSED BY UNITED STATES OF OVERCHARGE OF $1,066,000—JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WEIGHS ACTION ON NAVY CONTRACT FOR NUCLEAR CARRIER

(By Cabell Phillips)

WASHINGTON, July 24.—The General Accounting Office charged today that Westinghouse Electric Corp. had overcharged the Navy by more than $1 million on reactor components for the nuclear-powered carrier, *Enterprise*.

It added that the company had refused to make restitution of the alleged overcharge and that the matter had been referred to the Department of Justice for appropriate action.

The report was issued by Comptroller General Joseph Campbell and addressed jointly to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. It suggested that Westinghouse might have entered into an illegal contract with one of its operating departments as a subcontractor to manufacture reactor components.

The company denied any wrongdoing in the transaction. In a statement issued through its Washington office today, company officials declared:

"The price bid was fair and reasonable and the subcontract was awarded and approved by the Government in accordance with prevailing laws, regulations, pricing policies, and practices."

COST-PLUS CONTRACT

The complaint alleges that Westinghouse contracted with the Navy in 1956 to supply coolant pumps for the atomic reactor to propel the *Enterprise* on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis for the sum of $3,500,000.

However, Westinghouse could have produced the pumps, the report asserts, for $2,434,000 and still have realized the stipulated profit of 3.65 percent, plus adequate allowances for overhead and administrative expenses. Thus, it is charged, the company earned approximately $1,066,000 in excess profits on the contract.

The report declares that Westinghouse, through its atomic equipment department, had manufactured pumps of a substantially similar design for the Navy under an earlier contract. When it was asked in 1956 to bid on new pumps for the *Enterprise*, it based its $3,500,000 bid on this earlier contract instead of on fresh cost data.

"The Navy approved the award on the basis of a comparison with prices previously paid," the report states, "rather than attempting to obtain cost estimates or prior cost experience."

"If the Navy had obtained this information before approving the subcontract award it would have been in a sound position to obtain a price about $1,066,000 lower than that paid for these items," the report continued.

In 1958, however, Westinghouse obtained from its Atomic Equipment Department, which it had designated as its subcontractor to produce the pumps, new cost data. This showed that the pumps could be profitably produced for substantially less than what had been bid.

Under the terms of the contract, the General Accounting Office contends, "subcontracts awarded by Westinghouse became reimbursable costs and thus, in essence, Westinghouse was buying for the Government and was receiving a fee for this service."

"We believe that the Government is entitled to recover from Westinghouse on the basis of Westinghouse's failure to use due care in establishing the cost of the work performed under the subcontract and charged to the Government under the cost-plus-a-fixed-fee prime contract," the report said.

ISSUE OF SUBCONTRACTING OFF

The report also asserts there is "a considerable question as to whether the subcontract between the two divisions (of Westinghouse) is a valid contract, since the law requires two or more separate legal entities as contracting parties."

As an appendix the report carries a four-page letter over the signature of John L. Howland, assistant general counsel for Westinghouse which sets out the company's position in the controversy. As summarized in the statement issued today, this position is as follows:

"At the time this bid was made, reliable information about the actual cost of building these giant, precision-made atomic pumps was not yet available. The first prototype pump of this size had been completed only shortly before. Our bid therefore was not based on cost information but on the prices previously paid or offered for smaller canned pumps. The subcontract was awarded on the basis of a firm price, sealed bid submitted in competition.

"On pioneering products such as these, the risk factor is great; unanticipated costs arising out of technical problems can be severe. Such pioneering by the 3-year-old Westinghouse atomic equipment plant had resulted in losses of over $3 million when the bid in question was submitted in 1957."

The Government's nuclear-power program has benefitted greatly from the pioneering efforts of this first privately-financed atomic equipment manufacturing plant. The fairness of its prices is indicated by the fact that, as of the end of 1961, this plant's profit after taxes on Government business was less than 6 percent.

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## Plain Talk on Reclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN A. CARROLL

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, one Coloradoan who talks often and in unmistakable terms about the values of the western reclamation program is Jim Malloy.

Mr. Malloy, who has for years led the fight for expanded boating recreation in Colorado, is a tireless speaker on behalf of sound, sensible reclamation projects.

He has, at the same time, fought for expanded recreational use of the facilities created as part of those projects.

Recently he had occasion to make a speech in support of the Fryingpan-Arkansas project and it was in his usual frank, plain style, with words unminced.

I ask unanimous consent that the address by Mr. Malloy be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY R. JAMES MALLOY, DENVER, COLO., CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COLORADO BOATING ASSOCIATION, BEFORE A MEETING OF THE METROPOLITAN WILDLIFE ASSOCIATION, JULY 12, 1962.

Mr. President, in the call for this meeting there appeared a statement to which I, as a member of the Metropolitan Wildlife Association, want to take immediate exception. That was the unfriendly statement about the Fryingpan-Arkansas project.

The Fryingpan-Arkansas project will mean a great deal to you folks here in the Denver metropolitan area.

This is the project for which the folks in the Arkansas Valley have pleaded for the last 30 years. Some of us have never faced a situation where there was not sufficient water to mature crops, or where you might be fearful of drinking the water that you get out of your city hydrants.

One thing is sure, opposition to the Fryingpan-Arkansas project on the grounds that it will add to the surplus crop situation is unwarranted.

This criticism has been bandied around by those who have continually opposed development of the West. It is the product of superficial judgment and of misapprehension, because reclamation actually contributes minutely to crop surplus problems. A tremendous advantage of irrigation farming is diversification.

When you go out for a Sunday drive, head up into the Colorado-Big Thompson project irrigation area around Berthoud, Greeley, Johnstown, Loveland, Longmont, and south of Fort Collins. There you will find the irrigation farmers raising just about everything except surplus crops. You will see sugarbeets, beans, peas, malt barley, alfalfa, onions, potatoes, tomatoes, pumpkins, squash, and many other specialty crops that do give high-paying returns to the irrigators. I don't believe there is a one of you who would want to advise the citizens of Estes Park to abolish their beautiful Lake Estes, located at the east end of their world-renowned mountain village. Lake Estes too, is a part of the Colorado-Big Thompson project. And the powerplant that you see as you enter the city, is one of six that is generating much-needed electric power that is being used throughout Colorado, Wyoming, and in portions of Nebraska.

This same situation is true in the Fryingpan-Arkansas project area. This project will not irrigate one additional acre of land that is not already under irrigation, but it will provide a supplemental supply of water when needed to irrigation farmers so that they can produce crops as abundantly and as diversified as their good neighbors in northern Colorado are now doing in the Colorado-Big Thompson project area.

Generally speaking, dryland farmers tie themselves to a one-crop economy; the crop involved is usually wheat or corn. The chief products of irrigation are nutritious fruits, vegetables and meats, which should be the main diet of every American. These products are not in surplus; they do not complicate the crop surplus picture; they do sustain the health and economy of the Nation.

To emphasize the values of irrigation and reclamation projects, I'd like to read to you an excerpt from a letter which Secretary Freeman wrote to U.S. Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, of New Mexico:

"To attempt to balance agriculture production with market needs by eliminating sound reclamation and irrigation projects would be tantamount to deliberately promoting inefficient use of agriculture resources."

And to further emphasize the importance of reclamation, the Secretary wrote this most important sentence:

"We feel that reclamation and irrigation have a highly necessary role to play in the wise, present and future use of land and water resources for the economic growth of the Nation."

Most of you have been over to Granby Reservoir, you've fished there, or at Green Mountain, or Shadow Mountain. These, too, are Bureau of Reclamation reservoirs storing water for irrigation use. I know that just about everyone of you have gone to Carter Lake, west of Berthoud; and to Horsetooth

at the west edge of Fort Collins. These too are Bureau of Reclamation reservoirs storing water for the Colorado-Big Thompson project.

You've all gone fishing on streams when the rivers were so high and roily that fish did not bite. Then, you've gone back when the stream was low and clear, and, boy, did you get the big ones.

When the Fryingpan-Arkansas project is constructed, there are planned to be three reservoirs on the eastern slope, and Ruedi Reservoir near Basalt, Colo., on the western slope. All told the Fryingpan-Arkansas project will create approximately 100 miles of shoreline. At Pueblo, there will be a reservoir that will have a total of 61 miles of shoreline, and that will store 400,000 acre-feet of water. I'm sure that folks in the Pueblo area will make good use of that reservoir.

It should be interesting to the Metropolitan Wildlife Association to note that the entire Colorado delegation—in fact, the entire delegations of every Western State—have solidly supported the Fryingpan-Arkansas project.

I have brought information material on the Fryingpan-Arkansas project, which I would like to distribute to this membership. These printed items will answer the questions that may occur from time to time as you discuss this project with your family and friends.

Our Metropolitan Wildlife Association is one of the largest—and certainly the very best—in the United States. Our national organization is headed by our former Coloradoan, Tom Kimball, a diligent and dedicated conservationist, with whom we've had many pleasant associations.

Every member of this association is united in the view that we must develop and improve our fisheries. Controlled flow of rivers is always conducive to good fishing. We have had wonderful cooperation between our organization and all local, State, and Federal organizations. We are proud of this relationship. With a fuller understanding of the complete facts on the part of all of us, I am sure that the Metropolitan Wildlife Association will progress in its effectiveness.

Thank you Mr. President for this opportunity to straighten out the record.

## A Bad Matter Worse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARLETON J. KING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the July 20 edition of the Troy Record newspaper, Troy, N.Y., provides a fair analysis of what the American people can expect as an election issue in November. The President has refused to accept the will of the majority party in the Senate and has urged the voters to bear in mind the medicare issue when they cast their ballots in November. As the editorial has concluded, the only cure for Mr. Kennedy's woes in Congress is to purge Members of his own party since 21 Democratic Senators voted against his medical program.

I submit the editorial for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A BAD MATTER WORSE

The Washington administration's attitude on the defeat of medicare reveals amazing political ineptness. Because the medical program under social security was a pet project of the administration and because an all-out effort was made to push it through Congress, the Senate's rejection of the bill was a severe setback to the administration. In view of the demonstrated political skill of the President he might be expected to make the best of the situation and salvage whatever prestige might be salvaged. Instead, President Kennedy has taken the lead in sounding a party line that is awkward and ineffectual.

The President blames "nearly all the Republicans and a handful of Democrats" for the defeat in the Senate. And he calls for repudiation of the Senators voting against medicare at the polls next November. Plainly the President hopes to prevent election of Republican Members of Congress next fall by accusing Republican candidates of blocking legislation originating in a Democratic administration.

This approach does not make sense. The voters are aware that the Congress already is Democratic. The Senate is divided 64 Members of Mr. Kennedy's party and 36 Republicans. The House seats are divided 263 Democratic and 174 Republicans. The Congress setbacks inflicted on the Kennedy administration are Democratic disavowals of the President's leadership.

How strongly Democratic is the stand in Congress against Kennedy administration measures is revealed by the Senate rollcall on the medical program. The bill was defeated by a margin of five votes. Voting against the bill were 21 Democratic Senators.

Following his Chief's line on the medical care program, Agriculture Secretary Freeman is blaming defeat of the administration's farm bill on the Republicans. Congress is writing its own farm bill. The draft of the measure does not please Secretary Freeman and he accuses Republicans of playing "the narrowest, most partisan, most bitter kind of politics" with farm legislation. The truth is that Democratic Members of Congress rejected the administration's farm program. The farm bill was killed in the House by a margin of 10 votes, 215 to 205. Forty-eight Democratic Members of the House voted against the Kennedy bill.

If the Kennedy administration is to hold down the customary midterm losses in the Democratic majorities now existing in Congress, the party line for the fall campaign must be changed. For it is apparent to the electorate that the cure for Mr. Kennedy's woes is a purge of his own party.

## Alert Guardsmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., of July 18, 1962:

ALERT GUARDSMEN

Members of Lynn National Guard units who turned out, better than 94 percent strong, in response to a practice alert Monday night are deserving of a salute for their promptness.

The Lynn response was 3 percent better than the average statewide 91 percent response of the 26th Yankee Division. The ideal turnout, in the view of military authorities, is 90 percent.

The fact that General Electric Co. is closed this week and many of the Yankee Division men who are employed there were on vacation when the alert call went out, was a factor in the Lynn units not attaining an even higher percentage of response.

Maj. Gen. Otis M. Whitney, Yankee Division commander, justifiably hailed the response of the citizen soldiers as a tribute to "their training and dedication."

The Lynn community owes much to its National Guard. It is the first line of military defense in case of an emergency. It can be called out in times of disaster, riots or other emergencies. The fact that these men are so alertly "on the ball," as Monday's call demonstrated, is a matter of gratification not only to their superiors, but to the community as a whole.

## The Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the House approved the 1962 trade bill by a substantial vote, we certainly expect that the Senate will follow suit and the administration will receive much of the authority requested to execute trade agreements.

I believe it is fair to say that this is one issue which completely obliterates party lines and also which, regardless of the position taken for or against the bill, leaves some doubts as to the merits of individual sections of the proposal. There is also the natural question in the minds of members of the legislative branch of Government on the effectiveness which the administration will bring to the authority granted under this act.

This natural doubtfulness is exceptionally well illustrated by an editorial in the July 19 edition of the Harvey Tribune, Harvey, Ill., entitled "The Trade Bill" which I ask leave to insert into the RECORD at this time.

The editorial follows:

THE TRADE BILL

The repercussions to the United States, following the passage by the House of the administration's trade bill, should be beneficial. Assuming that the law takes effect with not hitches, the President will have more power to lower tariffs than any other Chief Executive in the history of the country.

The theory of trade, however, is that each country produces some things particularly well. The Belgians might produce glass and carpets well, and cheaply, and we might mass-produce automobiles well. The goal is to get the Belgians to lower their tariff on our automobiles, so we can sell most of the automobiles, while lowering our tariffs on glass and carpets from Belgium so we can buy these things more cheaply.

Trade—especially international trade—does not work out this simply. One country may risk losing more jobs than new jobs created, temporarily. Or a trade agreement might work more to one country's advantage than to the other's. That is where the Government must protect home industry economy.

Our goal is—and the President has indicated his intention to pursue it—to lower tariffs to obtain expanded trade and lower

prices, while providing protection for industries which are threatened with extinction, either because of our higher wages or other factors. How just and delicate the administration applies the law in the next year or two will determine whether the new trade law remains the popular will, or whether Congress changes its direction in this field.

## Texas Bar Convention in Mexico City Aids Texas-Mexico Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH**
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on July 5, I was privileged to speak at the annual convention of the State bar association in San Antonio.

Part of the Texas State Bar Association conference was held in San Antonio, Bexar County; then later a joint convention with the Mexican convention was held in Mexico City.

In a recent editorial the Corpus Christi Caller properly referred to the joint meeting of Texas and Mexican lawyers as a constructive force for better international understanding and good will. While I was unable to attend the session in Mexico City, I understand that the lawyers in Mexico were magnificent hosts in the fine traditions of hospitality for which Mexico is so well known.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD the editorial from the Thursday, July 12, edition of the Corpus Christi Caller captioned "Joint Bar Convention Aids Texas-Mexico Cooperation."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOINT BAR CONVENTION AIDS TEXAS-MEXICO COOPERATION

The Texas State bar's decision to hold a joint convention in Mexico City with the Mexican Bar Association proved such a constructive idea that it should be repeated periodically in the future. Another joint meeting—next time in Texas—should be favorably considered.

The Texas and Mexican lawyers discussed such mutual problems as foreign investment and corporation laws, extradition treaties, divorces and wills, patent, trademark and copyright laws, labor and taxation statutes. More than 700 Texas lawyers attended the Mexico City half of the State bar convention, which began in San Antonio, and were addressed by distinguished jurists, law professors, attorneys, and governmental officials of Texas and Mexico.

Considering the close, extensive, and intricate relations between this State and the neighboring nation, such discussion of mutual legal problems cannot but have a high degree of practical value. Far more than most laymen realize, much State law in Texas derives from the Spanish code and its Mexican adaptations. The most notable recent example was a Texas appellate water law decision that traced precedents back through Mexico to medieval Spain.

In Mexico as in Texas, governmental leadership emerges to a dominant extent from the legal profession, and deliberations between representatives of that profession should be a constructive force for better understanding and good will between this State and Mexico. The friendly and mutually respectful social aspects of such a joint convention are also worthwhile. It is hoped that the new ties between the Texas and Mexican Bar Association will strengthen into a valuable continuing relationship.

## Remarks by Hon. John V. Lindsay at Stanley Isaacs Funeral, July 13, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, recently I, like countless others, was saddened by the death of Stanley Isaacs—a great friend, a dedicated humanitarian, and a matchless public servant.

Stanley Isaacs was an inspiration not only to me, but to the legions who have benefited by his wisdom, his counsel, and his devotion to the principle that the best politics is good government.

Stanley Isaacs was truly the conscience of good government.

I first met him in 1933, when I was a 20-year-old recruit in the Fusion reform movement in New York City. He was a tower of strength in that historic cause to bring good government and genuine reform to the city. As a civic crusader, as borough president of Manhattan, as city councilman, as minority leader of the city council, he admiringly fulfilled the highest objectives of that cause.

Through all these years I maintained a cherished association with him and was privileged to support many of the causes he championed in my own service in city government, in the State legislature, and in the Congress of the United States.

Stanley Isaacs was a man of genuine warmth, humility, perseverance, and loyalty. His ability was unparalleled—his contribution unequaled.

There is no more appropriate or eloquent tribute to this great American than the deeply moving eulogy delivered at Stanley's funeral service, delivered by our distinguished colleague from New York, JOHN LINDSAY. I commend his words, which come directly from the heart, to the attention of our colleagues—many of whom have led far more meaningful and enriched lives by having had the privilege of knowing the late, beloved Stanley Isaacs.

REMARKS DELIVERED BY HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY AT STANLEY ISAACS FUNERAL JULY 13, 1962

This is the moment when we take our leave of Stanley for a little while. For surely we'll be with him again, and he with us, as it is ordained and governed.

And even in that brief time of physical separation is there any of us who walks alone when Stanley has been at his side?

He walked, he ran, and he climbed and he held all of us by the hand and showed us the way. He saw the North Star when the rest of us couldn't find it, and he followed it.

His love was so deep and so wide and so true that it left its imprint on every person, on every child, every man and every woman of our city. His legatees and beneficiaries are all the people of New York; and most of all the oppressed, the forgotten and the lonely.

Stanley was the happiest and the youngest man that I ever knew. He had Edith by his side and she smiled and walked with him and shared him with us.

A great newspaper today called him a "gentleman." Aye, that he was, in the true meaning of that word. He was gentle—his hand and his heart was offered to every human being. Their misfortune was his misfortune. And he was a man—as straight and as tall and as strong as every father would want his son to grow to be. There was in him a toughness and a tensile strength and resiliency that swept away the roadblocks to progress and petty tyranny.

He fought for better schools, better housing, better playgrounds, better government—for day care centers and fair wages—and above all for basic freedoms, too often in need of champions like him—the right of every person to speak freely, to be defended and to have equal opportunity under law.

He gave of himself totally, unsparingly, to his city and his country. Self came last.

He was the conscience of his party, and he lifted and bettered that party and gave it standards.

Stanley Isaacs' contribution to our city and our country cannot be measured by words, but only by time and history, and the quiet thanks of millions and generations of New Yorkers who will not forget.

Our country and our city cannot long endure without men like Stanley Isaacs. There are very, very few of them.

We thank Edith for sharing him with us. And to Edith, to her children and to their children, we give our love and our comfort as they give theirs to us.

And we thank God he was among us, and will be among us always.

## Hanford Defeat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN J. ROONEY**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of July 20, 1962:

HANFORD DEFEAT

To put it mildly, it is altogether regrettable that the House, by a vote of 232 to 164, has killed the proposal to make a national asset of the steam that will be a byproduct of the plutonium-producing reactor being built at Hanford, Wash. If Congress would only permit the harnessing of this steam—in keeping with the legislation strongly recommended by the Joint Atomic Committee—the facility, wholly apart from its military function, would be a profitable powerplant for commercial uses. Indeed, it would be the biggest plant of its kind in the world.

However, under intense lobbying pressure from the coal industry, private utilities, and certain other self-serving interests, the House has voted in favor of killing the project. Hanford's steam, which could be harnessed to produce about 800,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity for peaceful and money-making uses, thus has been outlawed and condemned to absolute waste by a majority of our congressional representatives. This is being hailed as a victory in some quarters, but the American people have every reason to regard it as a defeat for themselves.

## Old Texas Revived in Plush Jefferson Hotel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the 1870's and 1880's the second largest city in the Lone Star State was Jefferson, Tex. At that time it was a thriving metropolis of 30,000 inhabitants. Shortly thereafter, river navigation to Jefferson became impossible, and the city's boom days ended. Recently a dedicated group of local citizens have understaken a restoration of this historic city. One of the outstanding accomplishments of this group has been the restoration of the Excelsior House hotel by the Jessie Allen Wise Garden Club.

The New York Times recently featured an article by Marilyn Stout setting forth the fascinating history of the Excelsior House and the restoration of this historic hostelry.

I submit the New York Times feature to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 22, 1962]

OLD TEXAS REVIVED IN PLUSH JEFFERSON HOTEL

(By Marilyn Stout)

JEFFERSON, TEX.—A motel-weary traveler crossing east Texas this summer has a refreshing experience in store for him if he stops for the night at a recently refurbished century-old hotel here in Jefferson. The hotel is the Excelsior House, where one can sleep in a ceiling-high four-poster, hang his wash-and-wear attire in a carved rosewood wardrobe, relax on a red velvet chaise longue and unpack his things on a marble-top dresser. It may be the same room that Ulysses S. Grant or Oscar Wilde once occupied, but with the comfort of a discreetly placed air conditioner.

The 14-room Excelsior House has the oldest known hotel records in Texas. It has been in continuous operation since the 1850's, and the furnishings have grown old gracefully along with the hotel. The restoration, for which the original furniture was used, has created a charming inn of the Victorian era.

During Jefferson's heyday as a bustling inland river port on Cypress Bayou or Creek, the hotel was called the "most lavish south of St. Louis," and Jay Gould, Rutherford B. Hayes, John Jacob Astor, and W. H. Vanderbilt were among those who stopped there.

HOTEL RESTORED

Last year, Excelsior House was put up for sale after the death of its owner, and it was feared that the building and its remarkable antiques might fall into the hands of people uninterested in maintaining the hotel's unusual character. As a result, the Jessie Allen Wise Garden Club here in Jefferson bought the hotel, restored its faded charm, and won the annual award of the Texas Historical Survey Committee for the best historic restoration project in the State.

The garden club paid $30,000 for the hotel and spent about $5,000 on renovating it. This, however, represented only part of the total renovation cost, as many members of the club restored the rooms at their own expense. Proceeds from the hotel now go to the club, a nonprofit organization.

The old frame and brick building is once again painted a gleaming white, and has a balcony of wrought-iron grillwork across its front. It is built in an "L" shape around an old walled garden that is dotted with tables and chairs. Geometrically laid walks of antique brick lead to a central fountain.

A balcony circles the inner courtyard, just a step across the hall from one's room. Nearly all the furniture now in use in the hotel is the original, much of it having arrived via riverboat in the 19th century.

When a traveler enters the lobby, he steps back into a time when riverboat captains, promoters, and planters registered there. Excelsior House then was the center of gay living, because Jefferson at that time was the second largest city in Texas, just behind Galveston.

The registration desk is the same solid, original one, as is the box for room keys. The porcelain and brass hatrack has undoubtedly held some illustrious headgear. The hotel registers, dating from 1877, are displayed under glass in the lobby, with copies available for thumbing.

NAVIGATION DRIES UP

At the bottom of one of the registers for January 2, 1882, Jay Gould wrote in a bold hand, "end of Jefferson." This was his prediction for the town's future when it refused to grant his railroad the right-of-way to connect with the river traffic on Cypress Bayou. Shortly afterward, the Federal Government broke up the natural log dam that made river navigation possible, and Jefferson's boom days were over.

The present Jay Gould Room in the Excelsior is up to the opulent taste of its namesake, and, like the other rooms, is decorated to the last heavy drapery and tassel in the manner of the period. The furniture here is of Circassian walnut, dating from the early days of the hotel. It includes two beds, two matching dressers, a wardrobe, and a velvet chaise longue. The room is papered in gold, a color that Gould could appreciate.

DIAMOND BESSIE

Another name on the register is that of Abe Rothchild, an itinerant diamond salesman, who appeared in Jefferson one day in 1877 with a woman known as "Diamond" Bessie Moore. A few days later, the woman was found murdered just outside town.

Rothchild stood three trials for the murder, but was finally acquitted. The sensational trials are still studied by Texas law students; Bessie herself is commemorated by the Diamond Bessie Suite.

The hotel's Diamond Bessie Suite is one of the most handsome. It includes a sunny solarium that overlooks the courtyard and a bedrom with a four-poster bed and a marble-top dresser. A neighboring Victorian parlor also can be made part of this suite.

The Presidential Suite, honoring Grant and Hayes, is a lovely pair of rooms with adjoining bath (all the rooms have a bath). Both rooms have their original carpeting and chandeliers.

The Red Room has a magnificent cloverleaf tester bed, a canopied four-poster that reaches the high ceiling. It also has a hand-carved red velvet sofa, a working fireplace (as do the other rooms) and brocade-finished wallpaper. The adjoining room is luxuriously furnished in gold and blue, with matching French Empire beds of tiger mahogany.

These are but a sampling of the accommodations at Excelsior House. A guest also might be bedded down in a rare sleigh bed, which the hotel acquired in the last century, or in the room with matching Jenny Lind beds. In any case, his room will be unique. All have been decorated individually.

LESS ORNATE WING

In addition to these elegant rooms, Excelsior House has a wing of small bedrooms. Each is furnished simply and charmingly with white walls, black or natural fireplaces and antique beds and dressers from the hotel's early days.

Some of the vanished gaiety has returned to Jefferson with the hotel's restoration. For the first time in many years, a Queen Mab Ball was held in the Excelsior's ballroom at Mardi gras time. The rugs were rolled back and again there was dancing under the Sevres chandelier. The gracious ballroom also has a Carrara marble fireplace, a boule cabinet and a rare, square piano.

The Excelsior dates from the 1850's, when William Perry, a noted riverboat captain, built the frame section of the hotel and shipped most of the furnishings by boat from New Orleans. After his death, Mrs. Kate Wood bought the hotel and added a brick wing.

Since then, there has been a string of proprietors, and, in the best western tradition, all but one has been a woman. One of these women kept an aviary of canaries, as well as a dog with a gold tooth, so that the Excelsior was known among traveling salesmen as the Canary Bird Hotel.

A visitor to Jefferson will find a stroll around the town rewarding since it retains its 19th-century charm in the many handsome houses. Some of these homes, furnished with fine antiques, open their doors to the public during the annual historical pilgrimage every spring.

Next year's pilgrimage will be April 26, 27, and 28, with hostesses dressed in ante bellum style. A play, "Diamond Bessie Murder Trial," based on the last dramatic hour of Rothchild's trial, also is presented during pilgrimage week.

TOWN SIGHTS

Those who visit Jefferson any other time of year can take a guided tour led by a member of the Garden Club. In addition to the Excelsior, other points of interest include Jay Gould's private railroad car, the Manse and the Jefferson Historical Museum.

The plush Gould railroad car, Atlanta, is owned by the Garden Club and sits across the street from the Excelsior. It is the only Gould rolling stock ever to make it to Jefferson. The Manse is the oldest building in town, a lovely reminder of pre-Civil War architecture. The Historical Museum has many early Texas artifacts.

Jefferson, whose population is now 3,000—it once was 30,000—is situated on U.S. 59, the main route between Texarkana and Houston. It is 150 miles east of Dallas.

## Clare Hoffman

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, during the 16 years which I have served in the House, it has been my privilege to observe the many contributions made by our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]. He is an extremely valuable Member of Congress; and it was with regret that I learned that he will not be with us after this session.

Mr. HOFFMAN is a sincere and dedicated patriot. His devotion to duty, his courage, and his energy know no bounds, and they have been an inspiration to all of us.

I will miss CLARE HOFFMAN. I will miss his engaging personality, his willingness to debate any Member of the House. But, above all, I shall miss his intense concern for the future of our Republic.

It is my hope that he will spend many happy years in retirement from the Washington political arena.

## Dedication of U.S.S. "Arizona" Memorial Shrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last Memorial Day I had the privilege of making the dedicatory address marking completion of the impressive new half-million-dollar memorial shrine over the sunken hulk of the battleship *Arizona* at Pearl Harbor in which are still entombed the bodies of 1,102 members of its gallant crew.

For me as for the hundreds who attended the rites it was a deeply moving occasion.

The white marble superstructure of the memorial gleaming in the bright Hawaiian sunshine seems far removed from the death and destruction of that fateful morning more than two decades ago that committed us finally to World War II. And in fact this tomb is not a symbol of tragedy or defeat. Rather it is a reminder of the relationship of vigilance to freedom as well as a tribute to those who died there.

Not the least of the shrine's features is a towering marble memorial wall on which are engraved for all time the names and rank of the *Arizona*'s "silent crewmen." The wall, now an integral part of the whole structure, was made possible through the contributions of AMVETS—the chartered organization of World War II and Korean veterans—which also 2 years earlier contributed a permanent memorial carillon to the site whose bells now ring out each twilight over the waters of Pearl Harbor.

The AMVETS were well represented at the dedication on Memorial Day by a large delegation, led by National Commander Edwin P. Fifielski of Chicago, not because of their specific contributions to the actual structure but because—in the words of Commander Fifielski—the occasion marked fulfillment of a long struggle by that organization to help make the shrine a living reality.

Indeed, I think it is fair to say that without the steadfast and determined efforts of AMVETS, there might have been a delay in the construction of this memorial, and hence no dedication last May 30.

I say this without prejudice to the devotion of the members of the Pacific War Memorial Commission, headed by H. Tucker Gratz of Honolulu, who conceived the handsome memorial in the first place and spearheaded the drive which raised over $325,000 of the total cost through private and public solicitations over a period of many years.

But it was AMVETS who, after public interest waned, not only got the project moving again but played the major role in persuading the 1st session of the 87th Congress to appropriate the final $150,000 needed to finish the uncompleted memorial.

AMVETS were motivated by the preamble of their constitution which commits its membership to preserving and honoring the heroic memory of all who gave their lives in World War II and Korea. Thus, it was a natural decision for the AMVETS National Executive Committee in 1958 to vote unanimously that all its organizational resources be concentrated on completing the *Arizona* memorial shrine after years of delay.

The initiatives taken by AMVETS in this long process brought about such results as these:

An endorsement of the project of the then President Eisenhower obtained at the White House on June 10, 1960.

A promise from President Kennedy that he would sign a funding bill for completing the memorial, obtained at the White House on August 8, 1961.

A marshaling of testimony by AMVETS in support of the legislation presented before the House and Senate subcommittees in the summer and autumn of 1961.

And, finally, just 3 weeks before adjournment of the 1st session of the 87th Congress, the scheduling of hearings by a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The rest is history.

In this summation it is proper, I feel, to express appreciation to House Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, to Chairman VINSON of the House Armed Services Committee, and to L. MENDEL RIVERS of South Carolina, chairman of Subcommittee No. 2, whose efforts brought about 11th-hour concurring action in the House under suspension of the rules, and to Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and to Senator HIRAM FONG, of Hawaii, who sponsored the authorizing bill in the Senate and helped untangle a parliamentary snarl involving the actual appropriation just hours before adjournment.

This brief tribute could have no more appropriate conclusion than to quote the inscription on the AMVETS carillon which sounds nightly over the newly consecrated tomb of the fallen heroes of December 7, 1941: "While these bells ring, safely rest; freedom lives."

## New State Commander of Pennsylvania Department of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the new State commander of the Pennsylvania Department of the American Legion, Mr. Louis J. Greco, of West Wyoming, one of my constituents. It is a high honor indeed to be selected for such a high post, especially in a State the size of Pennsylvania. I know Mr. Greco well and for many years and I can say with all sincerity the Pennsylvania Department of the American Legion made a very wise selection for its new commander. Commander Greco will perform outstandingly as he has done in many important capacities over the years. I know all in my constituency wish him well in his new undertaking. As part of my remarks today, Mr. Speaker, I include the fine editorial tribute paid to Commander Greco by the largest newspaper in my congressional district, the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, the Evening News, in its edition of Monday, July 23, 1962.

The editorial follows:

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader, the Evening News]

SALUTE TO LEGION'S STATE COMMANDER

Louis J. Greco, West Wyoming high school teacher and prominent figure in civic affairs, as well as in veterans' circles, is the seventh commander Luzerne County has provided for the Pennsylvania Department of the American Legion. It is a proud record in keeping with the reputation of this area for leadership in State and National organizations.

In following in the footsteps of Gen. Robert M. Vail, Warden William B. Healey, Judge Frank L. Pinola, Joseph McCracken, Judge Paul R. Selecky and Charles Cook, Commander Greco joins a distinguished company in peace and war. On the basis of his record of service to the Legion, as well as to the community and country, he not only will maintain the high standards of the past, but pioneer in new fields to meet the challenges of the dangerous era through which we are passing.

Commander Greco typifies the spirit of the American Legion. Dedicated, vigorous, alert, intelligent, he possesses all the qualifications for the post that has been entrusted to his care by 250,000 comrades in arms. America has in him a valiant champion.

His interests and activities in the Legion and elsewhere indicate his administration will put major emphasis on Americanism and freedom which are synonymous in today's world. Communists and other subversive elements will draw no comfort from his leadership. It is reassuring to know a man of his idealism and talent is in a key post in these troubled times.

Today, we congratulate not only Commander Greco on the new distinction that has come to him, but the State Department of the American Legion on its good fortune and judgment.

## Consumer Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we all remember the stirring message sent to us by the President on March 14 wherein he spelled out the need and the means to better protect the interest of the American consumer. Legislation will be needed to effect much of the improved protection. But already the President has brought into being a group exclusively dedicated to such improvement: the Consumers Advisory Council. In an editorial appearing on Sunday, July 22, the Newark News commented on creation of the 12-member Council.

Since the editorial points up some of the problems, as well as the basic need, for the Council, I would like to here bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, July 22, 1962]

CONSUMER PROTECTION

President Kennedy has appointed a 12-member advisory council to "give broad consideration to the consumers' needs and point of view."

If private enterprise is to function effectively, the President says, it must be protected against those who would exploit its freedom by resorting to fraud and ignoring the safety of the public. No one will dispute this.

Like politics and Government, business has its share of the unscrupulous, which is why business has itself set up better business bureaus and numerous trade and industry associations charged with guarding against sharp practices.

State and Federal governments, too, have numerous laws protecting consumers. The Federal responsibility to consumers is already in the hands—and at not inconsiderable cost to the beneficiaries—of more than a score of Government agencies and departments.

President Kennedy intends the consumers advisory council to become a permanent part of the Federal structure, and becoming permanent is what all Government agencies accomplish even if they accomplish nothing else.

If it can escape the futility that is the fate of most advisory councils, CAC conceivably may find ways to be useful to the consumer. But it does seem to have been assigned to a pretty crowded area, already occupied by powerful independent agencies that are likely to be unresponsive to back-seat driving.

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## The Federal Excise Tax on Musical Instruments Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the 87th Congress I introduced a bill, H.R. 11103, to repeal the manufacturers excise tax on musical instruments.

The purpose of my bill is to encourage students in elementary, high school, and college music courses to purchase musical instruments.

I should point out, Mr. Speaker, that under present law, musical instruments purchased by schools are exempt from this tax. But students who buy their own instruments are required to pay the tax. Statistics show that an overwhelming percentage of the sales of band and orchestra instruments in the United States are made to parents, students, private teachers, schools and religious and character-building organizations.

At a time when instruction in music has become an essential part of the curriculum of most of the school students of the United States and, moreover, at a time when there is increasing interest throughout the Nation in culture and the fine arts, I think it most inappropriate that the Federal Government should continue to impose this discriminatory tax on education in music.

Mr. Speaker, the best case for repeal of this excise tax on musical instruments that I have seen appeared in a recent message by Richard Bosse, of Elkhart, Ind., president of the National Association of Band Instrument Manufacturers and head of Artley, Inc., of Elkhart.

I know Mr. Bosse well and regard him highly and I should like to take this opportunity to call his important statement to the attention of my colleagues in Congress.

Mr. Bosse's statement, which was published in the June 1962 issue of the Music Trades, follows:

AMERICAN BAND INSTRUMENT INDUSTRY NOT EXPENDABLE, TAXWISE OR TARIFFWISE

The probability that the Trade Extension Act of 1962 (H.R. 9900, 87th Cong.) will become law makes it absolutely imperative that the music industry spare no effort to get repeal of excise tax on musical instruments.

While we do not believe that any responsible administration official considers our industry expendable, we do think they are not fully aware of the disaster we face if we cannot reduce costs in order to compete with instruments from the Common Market.

A manufacturers' excise tax is as much a portion of cost as labor, material, and burden. We cannot accept with enthusiasm any arbitrary assessments that will ultimately be used to finance our competition abroad.

NO REPEAL; NEED REVENUE

In reply to our direct appeal to the administration we were informed that the need for revenue precludes the repeal of the tax at this time. This seems like a shortsighted point of view, when the possibility exists that the loss of revenue from other income and payroll taxes will exceed excise tax revenue by many times.

The responsibility for this refusal to aid an industry in jeopardy rests in the White House, and the Treasury Department. We urgently suggest that all of our friends in the music industry come to our aid in this cause. Please address your pleas directly to the White House.

The following are excerpts from a memorandum prepared by counsel of NABIM and presented to the Treasury Department, and responsible Members of Congress. Please consider these logical arguments, they are valid, and present our point of view vividly and clearly.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE TAX

This 10-percent tax on musical instruments was first imposed in 1941. The proponents of the tax then indicated three reasons for imposition of the tax:

1. To divert critical materials to implements of defense.
2. To curb inflation.
3. To raise revenue.

Shortly after the imposition of the tax, manufacturers were ordered to cease production of new musical instruments in order to conserve vital materials for defense needs. Production was sharply curtailed. As a result, no significant revenue or inflation controls were achieved by the imposition of the tax. The primary purpose of the tax; i.e., to divert critical materials, was served, but not so much by the tax as by the mandate to curtail production.

II. PRESENT JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUANCE OF TAX

The continuance of the tax today would have to be justified on the ground of one of the original reasons for its imposition 20 years ago.

*Tax has outlived its purpose*

Certainly, no one will contend that the tax today can be justified on the basis of its original and primary purpose; i.e., diverting critical materials to implements of defense. There is now no apparent shortage or threat of imminent shortage of any of the materials used in the manufacture of musical instruments.

Neither is it likely that anyone will seriously contend that the demand for musical instruments has ever posed an inflationary threat or could make any significant contribution to inflation. Even if the inflationary element were present in 1941, there appears to be no substantial or credible evidence now available that musical instruments directly affect inflation at the present time.

There remains only the original purpose of raising revenue. Can the continuance of this excise tax on musical instruments today be justified alone on the basis of the revenue it raises? Available information discloses that the total revenue derived from excise taxes on all musical instruments, including pianos, organs, wind and string instruments, and all others for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, was $18,023,000. In the 1958 fiscal year, excise tax income on musical instruments of all types totaled $14,782,000 or fourteen-hundredths of 1 percent of the total excise taxes collected ($10,637,544,000). It is estimated that the total revenue derived from the tax on band instruments is less than 20 percent of total musical instrument excise taxes.

*Excise tax is drop in bucket*

The Department of Treasury will know better than anyone else what the approximate annual net yield would be on this excise tax over and above the cost of collection and administration. It would appear to be fairly safe to say that the annual net income from this tax is not a very substantial amount, particularly with respect to band instruments.

In any event, it is clear that the annual net income derived by the Government from this tax is not of such a substantial amount as to justify the continued imposition upon the musical instrument industry and the buying public of the hardships and inequities resulting from the 10-percent tax.

III. PURCHASE OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Music, in one form or another, is a required course of study in all of the elementary grades and is an elective course in high schools and colleges. Every grade school, high school, college, and university has one or more orchestras and/or bands.

As a result of this important role for music in the educational program, it is said that 82 percent of all musical instruments sold are purchased for educational purposes. Ninety-three percent of total band and orchestra instrument sales are made to parents, students, private teachers, schools, and religious institutions. Individual purchases by or for students account for 70 percentage points of the 93-percent total.

Purchases of musical instruments by educational institutions may be made on a tax-exemption certificate. Many schools buy musical instruments for students who use them in orchestras or bands. All such instruments are acquired without the excise tax being added, but all purchases of the same kinds of instruments by students or by parents for their student children are subject to the 10-percent tax.

Musical instruments for use by students are purchased generally while the children are quite young (ages 9 to 12). This means that the parents are quite likely to be in the younger age brackets. These facts and the further fact that most instruments sold for student use are purchased on the installment payment basis indicate that the tax is imposed on a group with lower than average ability to pay.

IV. AMERICAN-MADE INSTRUMENTS IN COMPETITION WITH FOREIGN-MADE INSTRUMENTS

The continued imposition of this tax upon our American-manufactured instruments places them in a most disadvantageous position with respect to instruments manufactured in and exported from foreign countries into our own domestic market.

*Excise tax cuts market*

The seriousness of the situation can be seen in these figures: In 1935, imported wind instruments sold in the United States totaled 6,243. By 1951, only 16 years later, this number had increased tenfold to 64,242, and in 1959, the number was 99,489. In 1950, 2,329 saxophones were imported. In 1959, the number was 12,094, an increase of 519 percent in only 9 years. Of an estimated United States business of approximately 375,000 musical instruments per year, more than 30 percent is captured by foreign instrument manufacturers, and this percentage is increasing each year.

Because of substantial differences in labor costs in the manufacture of these instruments, those made in foreign lands and imported to this country sell for substantially less than American-made instruments, even with tariffs on the imports taken into consideration. Incidentally, these tariffs are not high enough to give much protection, if any, to American-made instruments.

The addition of a tax of 10 percent upon American-made instruments adds substantially to the basic price advantage enjoyed by the imported instrument. The excise tax is also imposed upon the imported instrument, but 10 percent added to the American-made instrument, the manufacturer's selling price for which is $200, is $20, as compared to 10 percent levied against the basically lower price of the imported instrument.

It is difficult enough for American manufacturers to try to compete with foreign manufacturers, but the added burden of the excise tax of 10 percent only serves to widen the gap in final selling price between the domestic product and the imported instrument. Thus, the tax serves to hinder and restrict the market for our domestic manufacturers and to create unfair advantage for the import manufacturers.

V. REASONS FOR REPEAL OF TAX

The 10 percent excise tax on musical instruments should be repealed for the following reasons, to-wit:

1. The tax is discriminatory with respect to consumers.

(a) The tax is discriminatory in that the musical instrument basically is an educational tool just as much as are textbooks, maps, pencils, paper, rulers, cooking utensils, etc. All are requirements of either school or home study. None of the other educational tools is taxed. Musical instruments have been taxed unjustly and unfairly for 20 years.

(b) The tax is discriminatory in that it taxes the implements of one of the basic arts to the exclusion of the others. There is no tax on the paints, brushes, canvas, easels, drawing paper or other implements of the artist. While it is not meant to be advocated herein that the implements and equipment of the other arts should be taxed in similar fashion, it seems proper to inquire why the implements of one of the most cultural and popular of all the arts should be taxed to the exclusion of all others. This discrimination exists whether music is employed as a hobby, a cultural pursuit or as an employment. The professional musician has to pay a tax on the tools of his employment, while other professional tools are tax-free. Music should not be compelled to continue to shoulder the tax alone. The discrimination resulting should be eliminated by repeal of the tax.

(c) The tax is discriminatory in that band and orchestra instruments purchased by church, school or other organizations exempt under the law are not taxed, while instruments purchased by parents or students, and used in the same orchestral or band group with instruments owned by church, school or other exempt organizations, are subject to excise tax.

2. The tax is discriminatory with respect to manufacturers.

(a) The tax is discriminatory in that this type of tax, a selective manufacturers' sales tax, has an adverse impact on sales, production and employment in the taxed industry. The tax affects the cost functions of the manufacturer in the same way as the costs of raw materials, labor services, and other factors of production. Such increases in costs result in higher prices and tend to reduce sales and profits of the taxed producers. Accordingly, investments tend to decrease in the taxed industry (or at least increase at a slower rate than in nontaxed industries), and to be diverted to nontaxed lines. Such has been the experience in the American musical instrument business. The industry has been discriminated against by the continuance of the 10 percent excise tax on its products as compared to the industry whose products are not subject to such tax.

(b) The tax is discriminatory in that the 10 percent excise tax levied on the manufacturer's price of both domestic and imported instruments is a distinct disadvantage to the American manufacturer in competition with the imported product. The average American manufacturer markets and distributes its own products by sale directly to the retailer. Therefore, the American Manufacturer's price to the retailer includes not only costs of production but also all cost of advertising, marketing, distribution, sale, etc. The 10 percent is levied against this total cost or price.

The imported instrument is sold to an importer, jobber, wholesaler, or so-called middle man. The price in this instance is based upon production costs only. It is this basic production cost price on which the 10 percent excise tax is levied in the case of the imported instrument. The distribution costs, incurred by the importer, jobber, or middle man, are not part of the basic price upon which the 10 percent is computed and against which it is levied. Thus, the foreign manufacturer is provided a tremendous advantage by our own tax laws and manner of applying and levying our taxes. This is an advantage in addition to that gained by the foreign industry in the area of production costs, caused chiefly by the difference between the standards of living of American laborers and industrial workers in other countries. While this factor cannot be changed without lowering our own standards of living, the factor involved in the tax advantage to foreign manufacturers can be changed, either by repeal of the tax on all musical instruments or by amending our laws to eliminate the discrimination and inequity cited.

(c) The tax is discriminatory in that it creates special hardships and constitutes a particular burden for certain types of domestic manufacturers of musical instruments. The nonintegrated company runs the real risk of the tax being pyramided by both wholesaler and retailer, each of whom bases his markup on the cost of the instrument to him, including the excise tax on the manufacturer's price. For the purposes of this discussion, the nonintegrated company is the one producing the instrument and selling it to a jobber or wholesaler for eventual sale to a retailer, as compared to the integrated company, producing advertising, marketing, distributing and selling to the retailer.

(d) The tax is discriminatory in that the excise tax on the manufacturer's price will tend to be higher per unit for the instruments of the manufacturer distributing its own products than the tax levied upon the price per unit for the instruments of the manufacturer leaving to jobbers or wholesalers the task of distribution of its products. Of course, as pointed out herein above, there is always the risk of the tax being pyramided by both wholesalers and retailers on their separate percentage markups on the manufacturer's basic price including the tax.

(e) The tax is discriminatory in that there tends to be a restriction of consumption of or demand for products the prices of which reflect excise taxes imposed upon them. This is the natural result of the imposition of an excise tax upon manufactured goods. The tax increases the consumer price. The result noticed almost immediately is a lessening in sales of the given product or a slackening of the pace in the expanding market of the product, if the product has had a constantly growing demand. It is this principle that underlies the imposition of excise taxes upon luxuries. Most commodities subject to Federal excise taxes are considered to be in the luxury classification, but certainly musical instruments, as widely used as they are for education and employment, as well as for recreation and amusement, are not to be considered as luxuries.

Restricting the consumption of luxury goods will result in more resources (materials, labor, capital, etc.) being devoted to the production of those goods and services which are basic to the material well-being of the entire country. Thus, excise taxes being imposed upon luxuries and resulting in restricted consumption of them are not considered harmful to the economy.

*Reductions, but not for music*

It is to be noted here that, since the imposition of this excise tax upon musical instruments in 1941, there has been no reduction in the amount of the tax, although there were substantial reductions of similar excise taxes upon luxury items such as jewelry, furs, cameras, motion picture cameras, luggage, and so forth.

It may also be noted here that immediately prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Korea in 1950, extensive revision of our Federal excise tax program was being considered. At that time, the musical instrument industry was accused that repeal of the excise tax on all musical instruments had been agreed upon by Treasury officials for recommendation to Congress.

VII. CONCLUSION

Music is one of the great cultural arts. We Americans have done and are doing much to promote the individual and group interests of our citizens in these arts as the sources of cultural advancement, personal improvement, entertainment, recreation, relaxation, spiritual strength, and understanding. This administration is doing more than any Federal administration in our national history to develop interest and participation in the cultural arts. Its efforts are highlighted by the intense personal interest in and vigorous support of projects in such areas on the part of both the President and Mrs. Kennedy. This is inspiring and hopeful.

The continued imposition of the excise tax upon all musical instruments constitutes discrimination against this most popular and widely participated in cultural art without justifiable basis or commensurate benefit either to the Government or to the people. It has been tolerated too long. Its repeal is long overdue. It is to be hoped that the Treasury Department will include its repeal on musical instruments in its recommendations for tax revisions to be made to the Congress of the United States early in 1962.

## Congressional Medal of Honor Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on July 12 of last week, the 100th anniversary of the Medal of Honor, services were held in Arlington National Cemetery honoring the establishment of this award. There follows a report of this ceremony which appeared recently in the Army Times:

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY MEDAL OF HONOR: CENTURY OF VALOR

WASHINGTON.—The Army paid tribute to its combat heroes this week in ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery marking the Medal of Honor Centennial.

Five holders of the Nation's highest military award were in the group honoring the establishment 100 years ago of the Medal of Honor as an award to Army men for gallantry in action.

Luther Skaggs, the national chairman of the Medal of Honor Society, and Capt. Ola Mize, of Fort Benning, Ga., placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Skaggs was awarded the medal for leading a Marine assault against the Japanese on Guam in July 1944. Today he is a budget analyst for the Defense Supply Agency here.

Captain Mize, one of the last winners of the medal, was cited for his role in withstanding an enemy assault on a strategic outpost in Korea in June 1953.

In placing a wreath at the tomb, the group paid homage to the 2,199 men awarded the medal since its authorization by President Lincoln on July 12, 1862.

President Lincoln signed a joint congressional resolution providing for "medals of honor" to enlisted men of the Army and voluntary forces who "shall most distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action, and other soldier-like qualities."

In 1863, the law was amended to include officers, and was made retroactive to the start of the Civil War.

Small American flags were placed on the graves of the 136 Army Medal of Honor recipients buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Other Medal of Honor recipients at the ceremony were:

Col. Charles Davis, on active duty in the office of the Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics. He was cited in 1943 for leading an assault against the Japanese on Guadalcanal.

Lt. Col. Charles P. Murray, former deputy commander of the 1st BG, 3d Inf. (the Old Guard) of Fort Myer. A first lieutenant in December 1944, he received the medal for leading his reinforced platoon in an assault on a heavily fortified German position near Kaysersberg, France.

Maj. Lloyd L. Burke, on active duty in the office of the Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations. He was honored for leading elements of his company in assaults on three enemy positions in Korea in October 1951.

The Medal of Honor is presented to its winners by a high Government official "in the name of the Congress of the United States." For this reason, it is often called the Congressional Medal of Honor.

To be considered for the Medal of Honor, an act must involve extraordinary heroism and risk of life "above and beyond the call of duty." Further, it must involve "actual conflict with an enemy" and be conspicuous because of its "gallantry and intrepidity."

In the Civil War, 1,199 Union soldiers received the award. It was presented to 419 men who fought in the Indian wars, to 30 heroes of the Spanish-American War, and to 95 soldiers in World War I.

World War II brought the Nation's highest military award to 293 Army men. Seventy-eight more won the medal for acts of heroism during the Korean conflict.

Winners of the medal include all ranks from private to general; they include three boys no older than 15.

The first presentation of the Medal of Honor to an Army man was made on March 25, 1863. On that occasion, Secretary of War Stanton cited six members of Mitchel's Raiders for their participation in the capture of a Confederate train at Marietta, Ga., on April 12, 1862.

Gen. George Washington had created the Badge of Military Merit at Newburgh, N.Y., August 7, 1782, but it had fallen into disuse after the Revolutionary War. Decorations, as such, were still too closely related to European royalty to be of concern to the American people.

However, the fierce fighting and deeds of valor of the Civil War performed so close to home brought into focus the realization that such valor must be recognized.

Misuse of the medal led to a change in design and more specific regulations governing its award. The first change in design was made in the ribbon in 1896 upon recommendation of The Adjutant General because the original had been imitated by nonmilitary organizations.

In 1904 the many ambiguities of law regarding the award of the medal resulted in a second change, this time including a completely new design of the medal itself. The design adopted at that time is the one in use today. The medal was worn either suspended from the neck or pinned over the left breast in precedence to other military decorations. Stronger laws to protect the medal were also enacted.

The present type of neck ribbon was adopted in 1944. It is worn outside the shirt collar and inside the coat, hanging above all other decorations. Except for the Legion of Merit, Degree of Commander, awarded only to foreigners, the Medal of Honor is the only U.S. neck decoration.

In 1862 the Army had little experience in administering awards and no firm guidelines were established. As a result, awards were made without uniformity as to criteria or procedure. Many awards for service during the Civil War were made based only on application of the recipient. The Congress took cognizance of that unsatisfactory situation and on June 3, 1916, directed the Secretary of War to appoint a board of five retired general officers for the purpose of "investigating and reporting upon past awards of issue of the so-called Congressional Medal of Honor * * * and in any case in which said board shall find and report that said medal was issued for any cause other than distinguished conduct involving actual conflict with an enemy, the name of the recipient of the medal so issued shall be stricken permanently from the official Medal of Honor list."

The board concluded its review on February 15, 1917, and had stricken 911 names. Of the 911 cases approximately 864 involved awards to members of the 27th Maine Infantry. Volunteers from that regiment had been requested to remain in service beyond the expiration of their enlistment for mopping up operations. It was intended to award Medals of Honor to those who responded but by some misadventure medals were awarded to the entire regiment. Other canceled awards included those to the honor guard which accompanied the body of President Lincoln from Washington to Springfield, "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and Dr. Mary Walker.

World War I brought additional recognition of the need for clarification of the criteria for the Medal of Honor. The act of July 9, 1918, laid down the criteria which is in effect today. That act provided that "The President may award, and present in the name of Congress, a Medal of Honor to a person who, while a member of the Army and in action involving actual conflict with an enemy, distinguishes himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepedity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty."

Since then awards were made by special acts of Congress to Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, Maj. Gen. Adolphus W. Greeley, and to the Unknown Soldiers of World War I, World War II, and Korea and those of Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania after World War I.

Enlisted recipients of the Medal of Honor, Distinguished Service Cross, and Navy Cross who retire after 20 years service are eligible for an increase of 10 percent in their retired pay. Other awards, chiefly the Distinguished Flying Cross and Soldier's Medal, if awarded during peacetime, may be evaluated to determine if the heroism displayed was equal to that required for the Distinguished Service Cross. If so, they, too, may qualify for the increased retired pay.

Sons of Medal of Honor holders who are otherwise qualified may be admitted to the U.S. Military Academy without regard to quota requirements.

## Senator Morse and Rangeland Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD a speech made by Assistant Secretary of the Interior Carver before the 40th annual convention of the Izaak Walton League of America, together with an editorial from the Oregon Journal.

The development of our public rangeland, and in particular that under the Taylor Grazing Act administered by the Bureau of Land Management, has been a subject of great interest to the Izaak Walton League.

Over the last several months, there has been a great deal of confusion over the position of both the Department of the Interior and that of the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE].

There was also some confusion over the purposes for which the President had requested an additional $2 million for range development when the matter was on the floor of the Senate.

I have been at a loss to understand why this has been so, for in my acquaintance with the program Senator MORSE has urged, and it has always been clear to me that he was urging, only that we get on rapidly with long overdue range programs.

The record is clear. Senator MORSE has consistently over the past several years urged a two-pronged attack. Where a range is destroyed by wildlife, he urged immediate action on range re-

seeding as a part of the fire mopup. This policy was adopted by the Kennedy administration.

With equal vigor and consistence, he has urged that regular range funds be provided to make a full-scale effort to restore range productivity on depleted rangelands. This spring he broke through the budget barriers and convinced the President that this was a good step in the conservation of human and natural resources. Senator MORSE and Representative ULLMAN deserve special credit for the persistent effort they have made. They took one grazing district—Vale in Oregon—which is as big as the State of Rhode Island. They worked with stockmen, conservationists, and people in the Interior Department from the field level up to the Secretary. They talked to key Bureau of the Budget personnel and the President.

The result has been an encouraging awareness of the vital role these public lands play for grazing use and even more important for the development and protection of water resources.

The Government Printing Office has advised me that this speech will require approximately 3¼ pages for printing in the RECORD, at a cost of about $292.50. I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding the cost, the speech and editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR JOHN A. CARVER, JR., AT THE 40TH ANNUAL CONVENTION AND CONSERVATION CONFERENCE OF THE IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA AT THE BONNEVILLE DAM, JUNE 21, 1962

I am delighted that your national convention this year is in Oregon. You have a very active State organization here in Oregon and your local groups are active and vocal. I hope tonight to discuss constructively a national issue. I have picked my subject, and this platform, for presenting my views with the feeling that both are particularly appropriate.

The subject I have chosen may seem regional or local in its implication. Certainly I hope it will be a familiar one to the Oregon Izaak Walton League and its constituent chapters, particularly those in eastern Oregon. Nevertheless, I hope to demonstrate that the management by the Federal Government of the public lands in the West is a matter of concern to all of the people of the United States and of interest to a truly national body such as yours.

Walter Prescott Webb, a distinguished and sometimes acerbic historian, said a few years ago that the overriding influence that shapes the West is the desert. The desert, he said, "has stripped the mountains of their vegetation, making them rocky; it has dried up the inland seas, leaving Death Valley completely dry and Lake Bonneville a briny fragment in Great Salt Lake. It is the great designer of the American West, painting the landscape with color, chiseling the mesas and pinnacles, building the plains with soil washed down by perishing rivers such as the Platte and Canadian. It shortened the grass on its borders before destroying it in the interior. It never permitted trees on the plains it built, and where it found them it beat them down to sage and brush, reducing the leaves to thorns and the sap to grease and oil. The trees it could not destroy it shriveled, and those it could not shrivel it petrified."

Today I want to talk about Federal stewardship of land in the States which Webb calls the desert States—the 47-plus percent which Uncle Sam owns in the eight desert and three Pacific States.

This Federal land—coveted as it is in this land-hungry era—is a residue. It was left over after the colonizing surges, and of all the land in the desert States generally it is the most desertlike. Where water can be brought to the soil, the land has largely passed into private ownership.

The two principal land managing agencies of the Federal Government are the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture. Although 70 million acres of Federal land in the 11 Western States are timbered and Interior manages some of it, about six-sevenths of it is under Forest Service management. However, in a general way I want to confine my remarks today to that part of the so-called public domain which is chiefly valuable for grazing. Most of this land is under Interior dominion, but some of what I will say will apply to the lands chiefly valuable for grazing which are in national forest areas. These millions of acres have grass, minerals, and natural wonders. By and large, they lack abundant water.

Absence of water marks and controls the management of this part of Federal land. As the great cities on the rim of the desert reach farther and yet farther for the water to keep themselves alive, these public lands must nurture and hold the scant water that falls as rain. For the rains may come as torrents in a day, and vegetation is what holds the water from ripping away the soil to sediment the reservoirs, or from rushing destructively to erase the works of men.

Purity of water—quality of water—becomes of more and more importance as the wells are dug deeper and deeper.

The objective of our stewardship in essence is the conservation of the soil and the moisture. We are concerned with both ecology and hydrology. At a recent conference of my Department's leading technicians concerned with soil and moisture conservation work, the scientist from the U.S. Geological Survey gave me a term I would like to use as a theme: arid "land hydrology."

Deplorable is the word for the state of our stewardship of the desert public lands. In sum, our arid land hydrology—our work with the soil and the moisture—is deficient.

One deficiency is bureaucratic. We've been unable to put together reliable data and statistics from among the myriad bureaus and agencies of the Federal Government which have a responsibility for management of Federal land—five bureaus in the Interior Department alone. With this initial warning, let me give you highlights of a report recently furnished me on the status of Federal stewardship within Interior: 200 million acres need conservation treatment. At our 1961 rate of accomplishment, we need 42 years' effort in brush control, 20 years' effort in contouring; we need to seed 19 million acres, an area equal to the siz of 5 of the New England States; and we ought to build over 900,000 check dams. Some of our deficiencies are translated into 90 years or so backlog of work.

Our statisticians tell us we need to spend over a half-billion dollars in capital improvements, over $200 million on surveys and evaluations, a hundred million on operation and maintenance—for a total of about $850 million to do work for which we budgeted $16 million in 1963.

To talk of 60 or 70 years' backlog of work or to talk the need for a half a billion dollars capital improvements is simply not meaningful to the average citizen. Range managers classify range, using relative terms such as excellent, good, fair and poor. These terms have meaning mainly to the initiated, but a concept which can be understood by all is another measure of our stewardship. That is the trend in condition. Is the range getting better, staying the same, or getting worse? A shocking report which recently reached my desk shows that only one-fifth of our range is in an upward trend; that is, shows improvement in vegetation and soil stability between given years. All of the rest of it is either static or is in a downward trend.

A pilot study conducted at the request of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture working jointly in areas in each of three States (Oregon, Colorado, and Montana) emphasizes another doleful fact. The poorer the condition of the range, the more likely it is to be in a downward trend, and the curve steepens.

All of these statistics are from time to time questioned. In any given grazing district, you will find disagreement between those who seek the use of the range and those who would restrict or ration its use. But overall we find little quarrel with the conclusion that we need to do a great deal more of soil and conservation work on our land than seems practical of accomplishment under our current procedures, authorizations and appropriations.

I am reminded a little of the TV debate in one of those perennially recurring fluoridation fights. The opponents spent most of their time arguing over whether a person would have to consume at one sitting, in order to get a dangerous dosage of fluorides, a bathtub full of water or just half a bathtub full.

Whether the job of rehabilitating our range is equivalent to drinking a bathtub of water or half a bathtub—whether our backlog is 20 years or 60 years—may be valuable to know. But we already know we have to get started.

As President Kennedy said when he was inaugurated, we aren't going to get our program accomplished in 100 days or 100 weeks, but "let us begin."

Whether we have to consume a bathtub of water or half a bathtub, let us try to figure out ways to take it a quart at a time.

Before going further, it may be worthwhile for me to catalog some of the reasons for the existence of this deplorable condition of our rangelands. Without indicating my judgment as to relative importance, I would ask you to consider these things:

1. This Nation began as a thinly populated strip of the East coast. For the first 100 years or so, the lands managed themselves—man did not move upon them in such numbers or with such destructiveness as to cause real damage. Even in the 1870's when Interior Secretary Carl Schurz decried the activities of the loggers taking Federal timber without contract or payment, the grasslands were regarded as inexhaustible and free for the taking. As a country we have only comparatively recently come to see the necessity for planning; for management according to agreed upon standards. Standards of good practice have been largely academic, and remedial measures have been applied on the squeaky-wheel theory—uncoordinated, insufficient, oblivious to science, and too late. This is the carelessness of apparent plenty, the unconcern of seeming inexhaustibility. Teeming Japan and crowded Europe had to manage, but not us.

2. Furthermore, our laws traditionally have emphasized disposition as the predominating management objective. They still reflect the philosophy that lands are to be had by the public—to pass to private ownership at nominal or no cost. The Homestead law, the Desert Land Entry Act, Pitman Act, and a myriad of since repealed laws, such as the Timber and Stone Act and the Timber Culture Act. It was under the latter that 11 million acres of the Midwest passed into private ownership. Citizens could and did acquire this land on their promise to plant

10 acres of timber and care for it for a decade, as a condition of acquiring title to 160 acres—and I doubt that a cord of wood has inured to the Government in the performance of this promise.

The Bureau of Land Management was formed from the joinder of the General Land Office with the U.S. Grazing Service in 1946, a century and a third after the General Land Office was created. The General Land Office was 112 years old before the Grazing Service was established.

3. In 1934, the Congress, aware that the public range had fallen into deplorable condition, passed a great conservation measure, the Taylor Grazing Act. Under this act, which sought to ameliorate the chaos of the livestock industry dependent on the public land by some of the same techniques then being tried out for ameliorating the chaos in the rest of the business community under the NRA blue eagle codes, a scheme of management was brought to the public domain grazing lands. By Executive orders millions of acres were withdrawn and placed into grazing districts. A priority system was authorized whereby owners of private land who had a history of using the public range in connection with their private land for the base period, and who had hay and other forage for caring for the livestock when they could not graze the public lands.

Order was restored to the range, and a great deal of progress has been made in correcting the deficiencies which existed in 1934 on some of the ranges. On others, we are not materially better off now than we were then. The soil is too fragile, the water too deficient, the damage too far advanced. Furthermore, we have not yet succeeded in completing the adjudication process whereby public range is divided into allotments among those entitled to use it.

4. When the Taylor Grazing Act was passed, according to the debate recorded at the time, the anticipation was that fees for the use of the range would enable improvements to be made. We now collect from 30,000 permittees in the 16 grazing districts about $3 million a year. A quarter of this is earmarked for range improvement work. This represents only a fraction of the cost of administration and is insignificant when measured against the size of the job to be done.

Yet it would be misleading to conclude that significant economic advantages to the operators arise out of operation on the public range, as compared with private range. The low level of grazing fees, particularly in grazing districts, is offset.

For example, we projected a hypothetical ranch operation in eastern Oregon, based on averages extracted from a recent study of range and ranch economics and probably typical of hundreds of others. Use of BLM range accounted for 42 percent of his forage; his capital investment was $80,000; the gross annual income from sale of livestock, $14,000; interest, $3,900; depreciation, $3,300, and after operating costs, including grazing fees of just $346, his net was only $644, or $58 a month. Obviously his family is fed from interest on his investment, assuming it is paid for, and his depreciation. His investment, at least the value of the home ranch for purchase or sale purposes, in substantial part represents an allocation of the value of Taylor Act grazing privileges. If he is better off than a rancher using private forage only, the cattle business is even worse off than it claims. He is not getting rich on cheap grazing fees. Indeed, any increase in the grazing fees would tend to deflate the value of the ranch, and for Uncle Sam abruptly to attempt to collect for public forage at private forage rates would squeeze this man and hundreds of ranchers out of business.

5. The Taylor Act makes grazing subordinate to other uses of public land by providing for the classification of public land determined to be more valuable or suitable for uses other than grazing. If an area is classified as suitable for homestead or desert land entry, grazing privileges may be cancelled without compensation. The risk of this kind of loss, and loss of privileges incident to exchanges and withdrawals for park or other purposes, tends to discourage the making of permanent improvements by grazing permittees. Millions of acres formerly in range have been withdrawn for military purposes. There have been extensive developments on rangelands for oil-and-gas leasing, incidentally a much more fruitful source of revenue for the Federal Government than grazing—it is fortunate that these uses are generally compatible.

6. The Government and adjacent private owners and sometimes one Government landlord agency and an adjacent different Government agency are not always the best of neighbors. Lack of neighborliness militates against good management practices. "Good fences," the Poet Frost says, "make good neighbors." He wasn't thinking of some of the rangeland in Wyoming. And if a good fence makes a good neighbor, it doesn't necessarily follow that a padlocked gate or a barred entry makes a better neighbor.

This has particular application to joint use of the public land by game and fowl, and by the public generally seeking various kind of recreational pursuits. Recreation is coming to be more and more a recognized and measurable economic value in the application of treatment and other improvements of the land. Sometimes this leads to good management and sometimes it defeats good management.

The national convention of the Izaak Walton League is not likely to be much edified by this recital of our present situation and some of the reasons for its existence. More often than not, it is you and your spokesmen—statesmen like Joe Penfold—who are telling us these things. Your leaders know of the stewardship deficits of which I speak; they understand the historical and political reasons for their existence; and they are sensitive to the fact that it is a public responsibility and not just a government responsibility to devise workable ways of reducing these deficits.

We completed in Washington a week or so ago a White House Conference on Conservation. The President inspired us as he said that this administration wanted to be identified as a conservation administration. I hope the terms "conservation" and "conservationist" do not become devalued.

There was a time when conservation controversies could be neatly classified—the "good guys" against the "bad guys," the conservationists versus the destructionists. This is no longer true. As in the newer types of TV westerns, you have to look twice to identify the villain or the hero, and having done so, you are never sure you are right. I have attended lumbering, mining, oil and gas, trade association, and many another type of meeting, including meetings of many groups like yours. All these audiences have accepted the salutation "fellow conservationists" as entirely appropriate. Furthermore, each of these groups can document a claim to be called conservationist.

I am glad to enlist them all in the President's scope of the term. I am glad to admit that in the task of managing the public lands, we need them all.

So long as the policy of our laws allows the citizens to acquire title to minerals, to use the public range for grazing, to purchase Government timber in order to keep privately owned sawmills operating—in a word, while commercial interests have status on the public land—it is far more in our interest as managers to reach an accommodation with them than it is to decry their activities, to castigate this generation for the sins of the last, or to impugn motives as selfish or destructionist.

I think it possible for the condition of our public rangelands to be improved under the existing framework of the laws. People deriving a benefit from their use—the cattlemen, the hunters and fishermen, the recreationists, and rock hounds and bird watchers, the miners and the lumbermen and the oilmen—all will react patriotically to realistic and sensible proposals which hold promise of effecting improvements. Furthermore, I think they will agree that the cost can be equitably borne among them and the general taxpayers.

I spoke at the outset of arid land hydrology. We ought, it seems to me, to be able to improve the condition of our public grazing land by adapting the approach we use for hydrologic projects in the more conventional sense. The task of improving a particular area is equivalent to a dry land reclamation project.

It seems to me that an analysis of why we have been successful in managing and improving the great river systems of this country, both reclamation projects and flood control projects, will disclose many techniques and much comparability constructive to us in a new approach to arid land hydrology. These come to my mind:

1. Project approach: However much we may know about the total needs for the development of our rivers, we still recognize that we get the Congress to authorize them on a project-by-project basis. Over time we have achieved a balance between the intrinsics of engineering and the extrinsics of political possibility to enable us to show progress, decade by decade, in controlling the rivers and in bringing water to the irrigable desert; in building great power grids and in devising schemes for financing and repaying the investment. We know that to ask Congress for too much is to get nothing, and we know that the judgment of what is the right amount and what is the right time represents political virtuosity. Look around you while you are here in Oregon and in our neighboring State of Washington and you will see great monuments to political virtuosity—Bonneville, the Dalles, McNary, Ice Harbor, Detroit, Owyhee, Grand Coulee—this list is a list of the development of the West.

2. Cost-benefit ratio: In water projects, the magic formula is the cost-benefit ratio. When our engineers compute benefits to exceed cost, our elected lawmakers will not only authorize a project but can also choose the better or the best among competing projects. Why can't we apply this technique to our problems with improving our deteriorated grazing land?

3. Engineering and scientific studies and reports: The massive review reports of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers bring together the engineering, economic, social, and scientific data which bear upon various alternatives for the development of a given stream system. As in the case of the rivers, our arid land embraces widely differing problem areas, each of which must be treated as a unit, balancing physical treatments, economic adjustments, land tenure, and planned usage against the physical limitations of the area. These data must be gathered and correlated, and on a strictly scientific basis. It is important to identify what we don't know and what we do know, whether on passing anadromous fish over dams, or how much water we are losing to worthless plants and whether that water can be salvaged. At the present, we simply do not know the best ways to do some of the things that should be done. We don't know how to control gullying because we have only a hazy idea of the mechanics of the process. We must study the hydrologic characteristics of streams, for these control their ability to carry silt and sand.

Paradoxically on a worldwide basis we have far more data on humid lands than on the arid areas. Theoretically the latter are the more important. We have no complete idea of the total amounts of underground water nor of the rates of flow and total volume of many of the streams and other water sources significant to the proper development of rangelands.

4. Local cooperation: It is an exaggeration, but perhaps with a kernel of truth, to say that some really outlandish water projects can be authorized if there is solid local support for them. When I returned to Boise at the close of World War II, the Corps of Engineers was building a flood control dam, Lucky Peak. Since the Boise River was already controlled by Arrow Rock and the Anderson Ranch Dam, I inquired as to why Lucky Peak. One cynic said that it was because the Morrison-Knudsen Co., having just been canceled out of so much of its wartime work, needed to keep its engineers and equipment busy. Whatever the reason, the people of the town and our delegation in Congress were for it, nobody was against it, and who had the temerity to question it.

The Bureau of Reclamation knows the efficacy of having a proposed reservoir fully contracted for by the water users before a dollar is appropriated. I have the feeling that similar contractual arrangements could be made to finance some needed range improvements, if the users could get equivalent contract protection. A considerably stepped up rate of local cooperative work on the public land could be accomplished if we had equivalent legislative authority. Congress certainly would feel more kindly toward long-term improvements if there were a broader local base of participation.

Credit must be given to two Oregonians that I am able to report to you that this new approach, which I have outlined for you on an abstract or hypothetical basis, can also be discussed in specific terms. Congressman AL ULLMAN, of Oregon's Second District, and his colleague in the Senate, Senator WAYNE MORSE, about a year ago furnished the impetus for what has come to be called the Vale project. They brought together cattlemen using the range, representatives of your own and other organizations interested in wildlife use of the range, and other community and business leaders, in eastern Oregon. There in an extensive tour they examined firsthand the deplorable conditions typifying some of the worst of what I have mentioned today existing in the Vale District.

They urged a fresh approach to the problem of rehabilitating the Vale Grazing District, while taking into account the social, economic, and legal implications involved.

This particular district has almost all of the problems of aridity. In size it is very large, with 6½ million acres within its exterior boundaries, of which only 1½ million is owned by private, State, or other non-Federal owners.

Organized ranching has been carried on in the district since the late 1860's and probably no other area in the West today so closely resembles its appearance of 100 years ago. In the early years there was a heavy demand for horses, and huge herds ran wild. Some of their descendants still run wild in the canyons and inaccessible mountainous areas. The Taylor Grazing Act brought a measure of control to what had become by 1934 mainly a sheep area. Ranger livestock is still the major economic support of the district with 232 individuals licensed to graze 89,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.

Interior Department officials agreed to catalog the needs of the district and come up with a program for meeting them on a project basis. They found that heavy grazing and repeated fires had reduced range productivity, and it appeared that drastic reductions would have to be effected in the licensed number of cattle and sheep. This, it was recognized, would result in tremendous economic losses, not only for the individual rancher but for the entire economy of the area.

The project approach resulted in a report which proposed an acceleration of investment in resource development and rehabilitation, and intensification of management practices. These practices would include seeding, brush eradication, erosion control structures, seasonal use of fences and water developments.

More intensive management of the livestock by the private owners and cooperation of the users was a key element. It was estimated that benefits to the range users would be an extra 500,000 animal unit months of grazing use for a 7-year period and 37½ million pounds of beef above the current production levels.

Particular attention was paid to the recreation potential including scenic attractions, water recreation interests, wildlife, historical markers, and geological attractions. The need for opening the area to the public by means of roads and the development of public use and sites for camping, picnicking, and so forth was recognized with 55 such intensive-use sites planned.

Existing scientific knowledge in such matters as browse revegetation, site adaptations, and seeding techniques were brought to bear upon improvement of the lands, not only for commercial use but for deer winter ranges.

The Department's archives are filled with plans for improvement of the range. The Vale project is different in several important respects:

Among these are:

1. Local people including both the wildlife and the commercial users were brought early into the planning; after the plan was devised, the grazing district advisory board, with its wildlife representative, held a 3-day meeting in Washington to consider the plan, and make action recommendations.

2. The data gathered was related to the local economic situation, not only on a ranch-by-ranch basis but generally.

3. There was a followthrough by the elected representatives demanding action on the part of both the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

This last point should be emphasized. Historically, of course, Oregon has been well represented in the Congress on conservation issues. Charles McNary, a Republican Senator, was recognized by President Roosevelt as a great conservationist. It was he who placed the O. & C. lands on a multiple-use sustained-yield basis. It was no accident that a Democratic administration allowed his name to be memorialized by a great structure, McNary Dam. Dick Neuberger, a Democratic Senator, has his memory memorialized in the new Winema National Forest. His great work is being carried on by an equally fine conservationist, his widow and successor in the Senate, MAURINE NEUBERGER.

Her senior colleague, Senator WAYNE MORSE, year after year has fought successfully for more funds for improvement of the range. I would like to mention particularly the now established policy of providing for immediate reseeding of burned over rangelands.

The Vale project is not yet out of the woods, but the efforts of Senator MORSE and Congressman ULLMAN have given nationwide meaning to the term "Vale project," with emphasis on the word "project." Their intercession resulted in a supplemental request to the Congress from the President of the United States to add $2 million to the Interior Department appropriation bill to begin to implement the Vale project, and for the same approach in other Western States. The Senate has concurred, by a rollcall vote, and this matter will now be considered in the conference on the bill between the Senate and the House. I am hopeful that we can get the conference committee to recognize the project approach.

But whether we succeed or not in this particular Congress, I think we have taken the first steps on a new road, which promises improvements in the management of our rangelands.

I have discussed with you today on a rather technical basis the subject of improvement of our rangelands. I appreciate your attention, and the concurrence you have indicated by this attention in my idea that this is a national problem worthy of national attention.

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[From the Oregon Daily Journal, June 23, 1962]

URGENCY OF LAND REHABILITATION

L. C. (Jack) Binford, of Portland, newly elected national president of the Izaak Walton League, is never one to mince words.

He was in character the other day when he hurled his "big talk, little do" charge against the Kennedy administration on conservation matters.

Lest this be dismissed as a display of Binford's partisanship, it is remembered that Binford had equally harsh words for conservation policy failures during the Eisenhower administration.

We're not sure how much justification there is for Binford's impatience. John A. Carver, the Assistant Secretary of Interior who was guest speaker at the league's national convention here, denied Binford's charges of inaction and pointed out that time is needed to win congressional approval of programs being outlined for land management improvements.

Carver is in Binford's corner on the general proposition that public grazing lands in the 11 Western States have been badly neglected for decades and are in deplorable condition.

He suggested the project-by-project approach in land rehabilitation which has been so successful in river basin development.

In the past, the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management has not offered Congress specific range rehabilitation projects, and Congress has been parsimonious with funds designed to improve ranges in general.

The Vale project in eastern Oregon, prepared a few months ago, was a start in the direction of what Carver proposes. Senator WAYNE L. MORSE must get much of the credit for Senate approval of a $2 million appropriation, half for a start on Vale and the rest for pilot projects in Idaho, Nevada, and New Mexico. Binford freely gave the credit to him, although these two have feuded in the past. However, Binford probably was unjust in charging that Interior had given no help to MORSE. The Vale proposal, of course, was fully prepared by Oregon's BLM office. Its chances of winning House approval lie with the influence of Representative AL ULLMAN, the Democratic Congressman from eastern Oregon.

This is a good project. The Journal has supported it. It barely scratches the surface of what needs to be done to make up for the long years of neglect of public lands. And there is some concern that the BLM's regular appropriations will not be large enough to permit the allocation of sufficient personnel to the Vale project.

But the project-by-project approach suggested by Carver makes sense. With the example of its success in reclamation, power development and flood control, one wonders why it hasn't been tried before. Perhaps the urgency of land rehabilitation has not been so apparent.

But it is becoming more apparent, and no matter what administration is in power, it needs to occupy the attention not only of

Government agencies and the Congress but of the people themselves, with such organizations as the Izaak Walton League providing the stimulus.

## Supervisor Kenneth Hahn Writes President of General Motors Corp. on Polluting the Atmosphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present to your attention and also that of my distinguished colleagues, the text of a letter by Kenneth Hahn, member of Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, Calif., to Mr. John F. Gordon, president of General Motors Corp. The subject, I believe, continues to be of vital interest to all the people of our beloved Nation and I present it to you for your information.

I present also the text of a communication to me from Mr. Hahn giving me permission to insert his letter in the RECORD:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
*Los Angeles Calif., July 10, 1962.*

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
*Member of Congress,*
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CLYDE: I thought you would like to read a copy of the letter I have written to Mr. John F. Gordon, president of General Motors Corp.

I know you are vitally interested in combating our air pollution problem, not only in California but throughout the United States.

Sincerely,

KENNETH HAHN.

"BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
"COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
*"Los Angeles, Calif., July 9, 1962.*

"Mr. JOHN F. GORDON,
*"President, General Motor Corp.,*
*"Detroit, Mich.*

"DEAR MR. GORDON: I am sincerely disappointed by the automobile industry's failure to accept its responsibility in equipping automobiles, as they are manufactured in Detroit, with a muffler or other device which would reduce the air contaminants polluting the atmosphere.

"Since February 19, 1953, I have corresponded annually with the chief executives of the major automobile corporations. Each year I receive replies saying, in effect, that 'devices are still under study—they have not been perfected—the problem is still being researched.'

"During this period, major scientific accomplishments have been achieved. Man has gone into space; he has orbited the world. Electronics have advanced in every field. The jet airplane has been developed for normal passenger travel. Yet, the new automobiles coming from Detroit are still not equipped with a device to control fumes, which remain the major air pollution factor in Los Angeles County. Recognized health authorities, leading scientists and qualified engineers have proven beyond a doubt that the last major source of air pollution in Los Angeles County which is not under control by regulation of rules of the Board of Supervisors comes from the motor vehicle.

"California has a total of 8,102,164 registered vehicles, of which an estimated 3,500,000 are in Los Angeles County.

"In a recent 506-page report to Congress, the U.S. Public Health Service cited new evidence of danger to human health from automotive air pollution.

"The report states that steps to curb automotive pollution should not await the results of numerous research projects now underway, and summarizes research indicating the irradiated exhaust products are related to rising rates of lung cancer, emphysema and other pulmonary afflictions, as well as to heart and circulatory diseases, allergies and other ailments. In a letter accompanying this report, Surgeon General Luther Terry adds that research to date 'has produced evidence * * * that automobile emissions do produce effects on human beings.' Dr. Seymour M. Farber of the University of California Medical Center has stated that a cancer survey in Cincinnati showed "urban residents driving more than 12,000 miles per year are twice as susceptible to lung cancer as those driving less than 12,000 miles.'

"Although Dr. Farber advocated that electricity replace present forms of power which pollute the atmosphere, including gasoline engines, and the U.S. Public Health Service report made a similar suggestion, I am sure that the automobile industry can make the present gasoline-powered engine safe in the field of public health.

"There is no need of rules and regulations from Washington if industry assumes its own responsibility. But, unless this is done promptly, it might be necessary for the Congress of the United States to pass such necessary laws as would require the industry to equip its products with equipment that will lessen the amount of pollution emitted into the atmosphere.

"Under our system of government and free enterprise, I believe that the industry which causes a problem should be the first to correct it without regulations. But if industry fails to assume its rightful responsibility, then government has to step in. Without waiting for a law to be passed, I am hoping that you will use your influence as the president of General Motors Corp., to step up interest in this problem in your company and issue the appropriate orders to effect a solution. If there is a sincere will to accomplish this, I am sure it can be done.

"It is my hope, and I am sure it is the hope of all who suffer from the ill effects of air pollution, that the automobile industry will have on the 1963 models as they are produced in Detroit approved mufflers which will substantially reduce air pollution not only in Los Angeles, but in every major city with a large number of motor vehicles.

"Sincerely yours,

"KENNETH HAHN,
*"Supervisor, Second District."*

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
*Los Angeles, Calif., July 18, 1962.*

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
*Member of Congress,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CLYDE: I deeply appreciate your consideration in offering to insert my letter to Mr. John F. Gordon, president of General Motors, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

You have my full authorization to do so.

Sincerely,

KENNETH HAHN,
*Supervisor, Second District.*

## The Foreign Service and the World Struggle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, 1962, the Honorable Loy W. Henderson, former Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, delivered the first Carr Memorial Lecture Commencement Address at Wagner College, Staten Island, N.Y. As you know, the late Wilbur J. Carr was the founder of the U.S. Foreign Service and served his country in the field of foreign affairs for 47 years. Mr. Henderson is a great admirer of the late Wilbur J. Carr and is now professor of International Relations and Director, Center for the Study of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy, School of International Service at American University here in Washington.

The address follows:

THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE

No nation can maintain greatness for an extended period of time unless its ever-changing political superstructure is supported by an enduring framework of competent, devoted public servants. During the last 100 years our country has been fortunate in having had a number of outstanding able, and devoted public servants, of whom the Honorable Wilbur J. Carr was one of the greatest. It is to me a privilege to participate in exercises, a portion of which is to be devoted to the memory of Mr. Carr, under whom I served for many years and to whose sympathetic guidance and wise counsel I am forever indebted.

During nearly half a century—that is, from 1892 until 1939—he served the United States in the field of foreign affairs. By his integrity, courage, perseverance, and sheer ability, he won and retained the confidence of a long succession of Presidents, Secretaries of States, and Congresses. In an era when as a nation we had comparatively little interest in international affairs beyond the confines of the American continent, Mr. Carr devoted his life to the task of strengthening our organizational ability to deal with foreign problems. He is rightfully considered the founder of the Foreign Service of the United States. He not only founded the Service, he also played a leading role in its development during its formative years.

I am particularly pleased that Mrs. Carr is here. During her husband's life she was his loyal helpmate; since his death she has continued to maintain a deep interest in the welfare of the families of the Foreign Service—an interest which has earned for her the title of Mother of the Foreign Service.

Since Wagner College is today honoring the founder of a Service in which I have spent most of my life, it seems to me appropirate that my talk be on the subject: "The Foreign Service of the United States and the World Struggle."

In 1924 when the Foreign Service was founded, the United States in most parts of the world was playing the role of an observer rather than of a participant. Even at that time, our country was in need of a strong career Foreign Service skilled in the

conduct of all phases of international intercouse.

The international stage in 1962 is strikingly different from that on which we played a relatively minor role in 1924. The great empires based in Europe, which in 1924 still maintained at least a semblance of order in Asia and Africa, have been fragmented. Approximately 50 nations in various stages of development and with differing and sometimes conflicting aspirations have appeared on the scene. International communism, which in 1924 was more of a nuisance than a menace, now occupies more than one-fifth of the world's land surface and enthralls about one-third of the people.

As a result of technological advances, there has been a progressive shrinking of the earth. Nations geographically remote from one another have become close neighbors. What happens within one country frequently has effects on the welfare or security of countries on the opposite side of the globe. The internal affairs of every nation, therefore, have become a matter of legitimate interest to the whole international community.

These technical advances and the growing propinquity of nations have had profound effects of a social character on the world community. Discoveries by underprivileged peoples of new concepts of human relationships and of new standards of living, the rapidity of industrialization, tendencies toward urbanization, the weakening of family and community ties, and the broadening of education are among the factors that have brought great segments of the world population face to face with individual and group situations completely strange to them. As a result, much of the world is in a state of ferment. The peoples in many areas are demanding changes but do not know the kind of changes they really want or how to achieve them.

In such a setting a dramatic and historical struggle is taking place. The aggressor in this struggle is international communism which, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, is determined that the world of the future shall be Communist. Opposing the aggressor is a group of free world nations that are just as determined that the future world shall be free. Other members of the free world, including many of the nations that are new arrivals on the scene, consider themselves as neutrals even though the outcome of this struggle is certain to have a profound effect upon them.

The United States is the most prominent leader of those nations of the free world that are opposing the aggressor. It is, therefore, the chief target of international communism. In order to discharge its leadership responsibilities our Government must keep itself currently and minutely informed regarding conditions and developments throughout the world.

It must also be prepared to make quick policy decisions—sometimes relating to geographically remote areas—which might have important effects on the outcome of the struggle. The multiplicity, multifariousness, and interlocking nature of these problems render them extremely complex; the fact that they relate to a kaleidoscopic world gives geometric proportion to their complexity.

In such a setting, engaged in such a struggle, burdened with such responsibilities, our Government must rely heavily on the reservoir of knowledge tempered by experience, of techniques and skills developed over the years, and of the highly trained personnel which the Foreign Service and the other career services related to it are in a position to provide.

In the Department of State, in our diplomatic missions operating in more than a hundred of the world's capital cities, and in numerous consular offices in many nooks and corners of the world, the personnel of our Foreign Service are to be found in the frontlines of this struggle.

In view of the number and character of the international problems facing us, our Government cannot possibly conduct its foreign relations with the necessary effectiveness unless the key positions in the State Department in Washington and in our diplomatic and consular establishments are held by career personnel with extensive experience both at home and abroad or by persons who, lacking such experience, are not too self-assured or arrogant to profit from the counsel of their professional associates. Professional officers of the Foreign Service and related services are today no less essential to the conduct of the cold war than professional officers of our Armed Forces would be in the conduct of armed struggle on the battlefield.

Let us turn our attention for a few moments to the struggle that I have just referred to as the cold war and to the attitude which the American people and press have shown over the years toward the country which is the organizer, strategist, and leader of the forces of international communism. Our general attitude toward the Soviets since the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 has been marked by sharp fluctuations of optimism and pessimism—by alternating periods of hopeful friendliness and frustrated hostility. During the upswings of optimism we have had the feeling that we need no longer consider the Soviet Union as the deadly enemy of the free world. These upswings are usually encouraged by certain persons and groups who intimate that perhaps after all the Soviet Union is no longer genuinely interested in making trouble for other countries; it may be, they say, giving mere lipservice to the cause of world revolution; it may be developing into a truly responsible member of the international community; and it may be actually yearning for friendship and peace. The American people, nostalgic for a stable world, are prone to accept such intimations as good news. The administration that happens to be in power decides at this point to encourage the hoped-for trend in the Soviet Union by making concessions in the matter of territory or principle.

Following upswings of this kind we have uniformly discovered that our flexibility and willingness to accommodate have tended only to strengthen the prestige and international position of the Soviet Union and to weaken our own. When we realize that we have been misled our optimism changes to anger and chagrin. In our disappointment we sometimes engage in recriminations and in emotional outbursts that serve no purpose other than to diminish the respect for us of our allies and other members of the free world.

It is one of the duties of the members of the Foreign Service during these periods of ups and downs to do what they can to be helpful to the administration in power. They have the obligation of endeavoring to use their accumulated knowledge and experience in assessing the actual situation and in passing along their findings to those who make final policy decisions. In making such assessments the Service cannot permit itself to be swayed by emotions of pessimism or optimism, by prejudice, opportunism, or internal political considerations. The role of an unemotional assessor is not always congenial. In times of bounding optimism the members of the Foreign Service are sometimes branded by the optimists as unimaginative and inflexible reactionaries. During subsequent periods of frustration and of outrage at the thought of our public having been misled and our Government outsmarted, they have been accused by the pessimists of undue softness in dealing with the Communists. Members of the Service who are worthy of the trust that has been placed in them cannot permit criticism or fears for their personal future to deter them from the performance of their duties.

There are indications that we may be about to enter another period of optimism. Again we are being told that profound changes are taking place in the Soviet Union; that the present top Soviet leaders are prepared, in return for certain concessions on our part, to soften their positions to such an extent as to render possible a solution, or at least an amelioration, of the more dangerous problems existing between the Communist bloc and the free world. Some of these optimists are warning us that unless we make concessions, these Soviet leaders may be replaced by others who would be much less flexible.

Various of our leading theoreticians in the field of international affairs who long have criticized the United States for being a party to what they call an international ideological conflict, are also telling us that the time has come for us to demonstrate our maturity in international affairs by facing the realities of the situation. A realistic foreign policy, according to their teachings, is one based not on principle but on power interests. We should, as adults, they say, negotiate on the basis of objectives rather than of principles. Experience has proved, they maintain, that foreign policies based on principles tend to promote inflexibility which in turn leads to deadlocks. They consider that our statesmen in years gone by have rendered the American people a distinct disservice by encouraging them to think of foreign affairs in terms of principle. Similar views are being expressed by certain of our more prominent intellectuals who are highly respected as sophisticates.

Although I am not in a position to speak for our Government or to interpret its policies I have the impression that it is conscious of the dangers for the free world that can be created by these fluctuations of overoptimism and overpessimism in our attitude toward the Soviet Union. I have noted that when the chorus of optimism reaches a certain high pitch Government spokesmen usually tone it down by pointing out that thus far we have achieved little success in our attempts to iron out the basic differences between the Soviet Union and the free world. Government spokesmen also take issue from time to time with those pessimists who insist that we terminate what they regard as useless negotiations with the Soviet Union and confine our efforts to making the United States so strong militarily that international communism will not dare to attempt to take over additional territories or to subvert more free peoples.

Our Government apparently takes the position that in the absence of an effective agreement for the limitation of armament we have no choice other than continuing to strengthen our Armed Forces, but that concomitantly we should also continue to negotiate with the Soviet Union as long as there is even a slight hope of arriving at agreements which, without weakening the security of the free world, might avert armed cataclysm.

I crave your indulgence if I take advantage of this occasion to follow the time-honored custom of commencement speakers of addressing some exhortatory remarks to the graduating class.

I wish that I could with a clear conscience bring you who are receiving your diplomas today a message of good cheer. Unfortunately what I have to say at this point is not likely to be solacing. For more than 40 years I have been a close observer of the Soviet Union and of the tactics of international communism. During that period I have not seen the slightest evidence that the Soviet Government is prepared to abandon its basic aggressive objectives and I do not find convincing evidence that it is prepared to do so now. It is my belief that

the cold war will last for many years unless (a) we lose it as the result of some ill-considered action on the part of ourselves or our allies or as the result of failure on the part of ourselves or our allies to take a needed action; or (b) unless by some tragic miscalculation the cold war is converted into another shooting war which inevitably will develop into nuclear war.

I fear, therefore, that you who are graduating today will spend most of your lives in a cold-war atmosphere unless the free world disappears or unless you become unhappy participants in a nuclear war. I use the word "participants" because if a nuclear war breaks out it will be difficult for any human being—regardless of his convictions or geographical location—not to become involved in some way or other. Since willy-nilly you will find yourself involved if a fighting war should come, it behooves you to be a participant—not a bystander—in the present struggle. It is not likely that many of you will become members of the Foreign Service or of the other career services of our Government which are manning the front lines of the cold war. You can nevertheless do your part in keeping our national front unbroken. You can, for instance, help those around you to obtain a better understanding of the problems involved and you can assist in preventing them from falling under influences that can undermine our national resolution and unity. What are some of these influences? I shall take the time here to name only two of them. On the one hand, there is the creeping paralysis of national will which might be called "intellectual nihilism." This is a tortuous reasoning process that arrives at the conclusion that only the semiliterate and the naive allow themselves to be prisoners of ideals or to be animated by such sentiments as loyalty, patriotism, human sympathy, and respect for moral or spiritual values. On the other hand, there is a variety of movements inspired, in part, by misguided zealots frequently with highly idealistic motives that tend to blur the issues. Some of these movements, if they become widespread, can lead to national disunity and can undermine our ability to protect our security.

I urge that during the years to come you bear in mind that if the United States in the pursuit of its objectives—regardless how noble these objectives may be—jettisons the principles on which it was founded and on which our democratic and free society is based, we may well dissipate our national purpose and find ourselves helplessly and aimlessly adrift in a sea of opportunism.

If changes in the structure of world society should result in the outmoding of certain of the international principles which have guided us in the past we should state so frankly—not ostensibly continue to adhere to them while surreptitiously violating them. There are certain principles which do not change with time and circumstance, one of the most important of which is to live up to the international obligations that we have undertaken.

It is of course true that in view of its decentralization, international society does not lend itself to the maintenance of a rigid, symmetrical, and completely logical structure of international principles. In pondering international policy decisions we sometimes, therefore, encounter conflicts between two sets of principles, each of which can be advocated both from the point of view of international ethics and of national interest. In deciding the set by which we should be guided we should not allow ourselves to be influenced solely by the shortsighted opportunistic considerations of the moment.

The American people will lose their self-respect and cease to have confidence in their Government if our country cynically embarks upon policies that involve the betrayal of our friends and allies who have placed their trust in us; if it enters into bargains or takes other actions that deprive other peoples of their freedoms or that serve to strengthen the chains binding people who have already been reduced to serfdom; if it acquiesces in arrangements perpetuating international injustices because it is not in a position to correct them.

I hope that the members of your generation who are destined to carry the main burden of the struggle during the years to come will also bear in mind that victory does not necessarily go only to those who can mobilize the most men or manufacture the most powerful weapons. It can also go to those who persevere; who do not permit themselves to enter into compromises which can lead to their destruction merely because in their weariness they are willing to take risks in order to enjoy an illusory relaxation of tensions. Some 12 years ago one of our national leaders who later became Secretary of State said: "Lack of agreement should not so frighten us that we cast reason and experience to the winds and revert to the policy of seeking agreement in words merely in order to have a pretext for relaxing." What he said then holds true now.

The world which lies ahead of you will probably be one of constant international struggle from which there can be no relaxation. It need not, however, be one of gloom and bleakness. The very existence of the struggle can be stimulating, can provoke you to constructive thought and action, can help you to discover unsuspected resources in yourselves, can kindle your imagination, and can in general contribute to an atmosphere which self-satisfaction and sloth find uncongenial.

Aside from the struggle, it will be an exciting and interesting world in view of the changes that, as a result of astounding technological achievements, will be taking place at almost breath-taking speed. Upon you, therefore, will fall the responsibility of making sure that while these changes are taking place the basic principles and the cultural and spiritual values on which our civilization is based are preserved. It will be one of the tasks of your generation to strengthen and improve the political, economic, and social structures of our free society and to adjust it in such a manner that it will harmonize with the New World environment. May you succeed in discharging this responsibility and in performing this task.

## Tenth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Commonwealth Status of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the people of Puerto Rico on the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the commonwealth status of Puerto Rico. Ten years ago today, the new Constitution of Puerto Rico went into effect. It is a constitution which the representatives of the Puerto Rican people themselves drafted in their own tution means not only that the Governor, senators and representatives are elected by popular vote; it means also that the people of Puerto Rico now exercise real self-government, which is the essence of a republican form of government. As the delegates to the constitutional convention stated in a resolution in February 1952, Puerto Rico "is free of superior authority in the management of its own affairs," and yet remains a part of the Federal system of the United States with regard both to national programs and foreign affairs.

The people of Puerto Rico are to be commended for the way in which they have embraced their new political responsibilities. They are demonstrating that they and their Governor and representatives are fully capable of that freedom which is truly realized only when its exercise is determined by rational deliberation in democratic discussion and debate.

In light of political progress to date, we are justified in expecting Puerto Rico to continue on the way to becoming a model of republican self-government, and an example to peoples in other parts of the world whose freedom has been alienated to communist totalitarianism.

I should also like to take this opportunity to commend our distinguished colleague, Dr. A. Fernós-Isern, Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, whose dedicated, zealous and effective representation has made a great contribution in behalf of the people of the Commonwealth. I also send my felicitations on this occasion to one of the outstanding government leaders in the Western Hemisphere, Governor Muñoz-Marín whom I have had the pleasure of meeting in San Juan and who is a symbol of democratic leadership and responsible government which could well be emulated by other Latin American countries. I would be remiss also if I did not call the attention of my colleagues to the outstanding administration and dedicated application to the problems of housing, schools, health, and economic development which characterizes the regime of the mayoress of San Juan, Felisa Rincon de Gauthier.

I am proud that among the pioneering businessmen who have worked to raise the standard of the Puerto Rican people through the utilization of Operation Bootstrap are two members of my own family who, working in separate fields of industry, have helped to creat thousands of job opportunities for the people of Ponce and San Juan in this great Commonwealth. Finally, I commend the outstanding work being done by another Puerto Rican administrator of outstanding capability, Mr. Teodoro Moscoso who is now U.S. coordinator for the Alliance for Progress.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

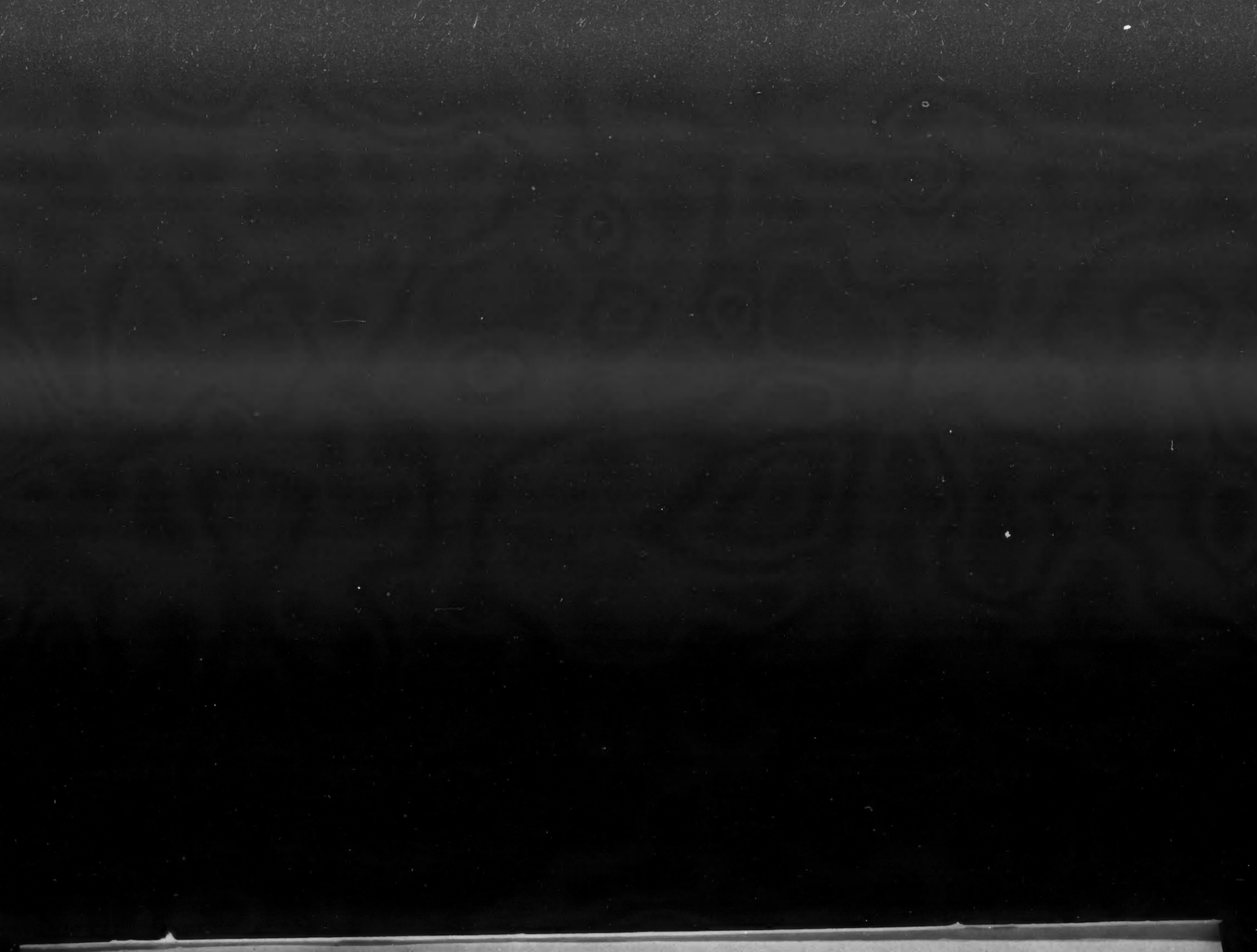

# Appendix

## Equal Pay Act of 1962

SPEECH
OF
## HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11677) to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by certain employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and to provide for the restitution of wages lost by employees by reason of any such discrimination.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Madam Chairman, I would like to read the sentence that follows the testimony which the gentleman from Michigan read when he quoted the witness from Pennsylvania:

A Federal equal pay law such as you are here considering is the obvious answer to the problem.

In Pennsylvania they have an equal pay law so they cannot discriminate against women. In adjoining States they do not. Therefore, industries might move to adjoining States where they can pay women less than they do in Pennsylvania. A Federal equal pay law is the obvious answer.

Madam Chairman, I urge the defeat of this amendment.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Madam Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thank the gentlewoman for that observation, and she is absolutely right, that the witness from the State of Pennsylvania was in favor of a Federal law. But I submit that that point, as interesting as it is, does not bear on the argument I was making. Suppose we have the Federal law? Now to follow the situation that I gave to you: One company had all women working in their plant and another company in Pennsylvania or any other State has half men working in their plant. You are going to say that——

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Madam Chairman, I refuse to yield further. I do not agree with the argument of the gentleman from Michigan. The gentleman cites a case as applying to the point he tries to make, and then when I read the ensuing language by the same witness, the gentleman says that it does not apply in this particular case. I submit that it does apply. The witness before the committee was saying that if an equal pay law is not enacted for all of the States, then the kind of incident which she cited would happen in many cases because the plant would be moved into an adjoining State, where the employer is allowed to pay women lower salaries than they pay to men workers.

Madam Chairman, I urge the defeat of this amendment, which further cuts the heart out of this bill.

## Protectionists Rap Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Lee M. Cohn, Star staff writer:

[From the Washington Evening Star, July 25, 1962]

PROTECTIONISTS RAP TRADE BILL—KENNEDY PLAN SEEN CAUSING DISTRESS

(By Lee M. Cohn)

O. R. Strackbein, a leading protectionist spokesman, denounced President Kennedy's tariff-cutting proposals today as "unilateral economic disarmament."

The tariff program is a plan for "stripping ourselves to the quick and laying ourselves open to competitive attacks that will chill and shrink our expansive economy," Mr. Strackbein said in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee.

He predicted that the administration's tariff bill would open the United States to greatly increased imports of agricultural and industrial products, and would cause untold industrial distress.

RAPS PROPAGANDEEING OF PLAN

Mr. Strackbein, who is chairman of the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy, charged that the administration has propagandized the Nation on tariffs and the press has suppressed the protectionist viewpoint.

"The vast propaganda campaign loosed upon the public 6 months ago by the executive branch of the Government was designed to overwhelm the elected representatives of the people," he charged, adding:

"It has succeeded up to this point, but only because the press enlisted eagerly as handmaidens and obsequious disseminators of the propaganda while wielding the blue pencil on nearly all else and stifling with deep silence nearly all contrary opinion."

SUSPECTS ECONOMY RESHAPERS

Mr. Strackbein suggested that the only logical explanation for the administration's bill is that some policymakers hope to wreck the American ecoomy and reshape it through "world economic planning by an international organization in which this country would be submerged."

The legislation, he said, would concentrate unprecedented power in the White House and the State Department at the expense of Congress.

He said administration lobbyists pushed the bill through the House last month through duress and offers of quid pro quo to Members for their votes.

The bill would empower the President to cut tariffs generally by 50 percent and in some important cases to eliminate them, in exchange for tariff concessions by other countries.

It would establish an adjustment assistance program of special aid to companies and workers injured by competitive imports, as a supplement and alternative to relief through tariff increases under the escape clause.

CITES TARIFF CUTS

Mr. Strackbein, noting that American tariffs have been reduced substantially during the last 28 years, said State Department negotiators have bargained improvidently and now demand a free hand to give away still more.

He said the House version of the escape clause is "anemic," and charged that the bill would discard this form of relief for a "dismal dole"—adjustment assistance.

Deriding administration claims that the bill would increase exports and reduce unemployment. Mr. Strackbein emphasized that Europe's Common Market has adopted protectionist policies on agricultural imports.

He said the administration is deceiving the public when it claims that the authority to cut industrial tariffs would help persuade the Common Market to ease restrictions on farm imports.

At yesterday's hearing, the administration's bill was endorsed generally by Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation; Carl J. Gilbert, chairman of the Committee for a National Trade Policy; George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and several other witnesses.

But Mr. Shuman urged Congress to make it clear that the U.S. negotiators must take a tough stand against the Common Market's discriminatory curbs on agricultural imports.

Mr. Shuman also opposed the adjustment assistance program which Mr. Meany called indispensable. Mr. Gilbert advocated full Federal financing of adjustment assistance, without State contributions.

Sidney Zagri, legislative counsel of the Teamsters Union, was one of the witnesses opposing the bill. He contended that the legislation would give to the President powers rightfully belonging to Congress, and would destroy the effectiveness of traditional safeguards against competitive imports.

## Trends in Dairy Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the July copy of the Twin City Milk Producers As-

sociation Monthly News printed a graph which revealed an interesting trend in the way the size of dairy herds is changing and the amount of milk produced by different sized herds. I have summarized that graph below and hope that the information presented will be of interest to my colleagues in considering the dairy proposals which will come before the Congress.

Between 1950 and 1960 the number of smaller dairy herds—19 or less—dropped sharply, on the average by about 51.9 percent. During the same 10 years the number of moderate and large dairy herds increased by an even larger percentage than the smaller herds decreased. The number of herds with 20 to 29 cows grew 18 percent, while herds of 30 or more cows grew 96.1 percent on the average.

The amount of milk produced by herds of 19 or less cows has shown a decrease corresponding to the decrease in the number of herds of that size. Whereas herds of 19 or less cows produced 72.4 percent of all milk in 1950 they accounted for only 32.1 percent of all milk production in 1960. During the same period the percentage of milk produced by the moderate and large dairy herds has increased in proportion to the larger number of herds of those sizes. Herds of 20 to 29 cows which produced 13 percent of all milk in 1950 produced 30.8 percent of all milk in 1960, while herds of 30 or more cows which produced 14.6 percent of all milk in 1950 produced 32.1 percent in 1960.

The following table gives a more detailed accounting of this information:

| Size of herd | Number in 1950 | Number in 1960 | 1960 as a percent of 1950 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 cow | 1,055,067 | 499,417 | −52.7 |
| 2 to 9 cows | 1,933,431 | 810,878 | −58.0 |
| 10 to 19 cows | 477,028 | 261,740 | −45.0 |
| 20 to 29 cows | 119,259 | 140,849 | +18.0 |
| 30 to 49 cows | 46,799 | 89,338 | +91.0 |
| 50 to 99 cows | 13,080 | 27,969 | +113.8 |
| Over 100 cows | 3,393 | 6,594 | +83.5 |

PERCENT OF ALL MILK FROM VARIOUS SIZE HERDS

| Size of herd | Percent of all milk produced in 1950 | Percent of all milk produced in 1960 |
|---|---|---|
| 1 to 9 cows | 43.0 | 21.5 |
| 10 to 19 cows | 29.4 | 10.6 |
| 20 to 29 cows | 13.0 | 30.8 |
| 30 to 49 cows | 7.9 | 19.3 |
| Over 50 cows | 6.7 | 17.8 |

The trend in dairy farming, then, would seem to be toward fewer of the smaller herds and more of the moderate and large herds. We can also expect to find most of our milk production coming from the moderate to large herds in the future.

## We're Paying for It, So We Might as Well Get Our Share

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism. Article No. 16 in the series concerns the cliche "We're paying for it, so we might as well get our share."

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and, under unanimous consent, place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

CLICHES OF SOCIALISM NO. 16: WE'RE PAYING FOR IT, SO WE MIGHT AS WELL GET OUR SHARE

This is how many otherwise responsible citizens rationalize their own lineup at the Federal trough. Farmers see businessmen getting their tariffs. Businessmen observe subsidies to farmers. Labor leaders eye them both for copying. Angelenos see the Gothamites getting Federal aid, and Miamians read about Federal handouts to Seattleites. Such logrolling of special interests grows, and "how to get ours" becomes the economic talk of the Nation. That a naughty feeling often attends this weak excuse is understandable.

For obvious reasons, this bromide evokes no sense of guilt in Socialists—those who would communize society; Federal handouts fit perfectly into their design of substituting government control for personal responsibility. The feelings of remorse are confined to individuals who think of themselves as conservative or libertarian. Unable clearly to diagnose their inconsistency, they at least suspect themselves of being Janus-faced.

To bring this political picture into focus, let's substitute one man for the majority, and a few for the millions, otherwise sticking to an accurate matching in structure. A man—call him Robin Hood—aspires to the role of God. He observes that the people in his shire come out unequally when freely exchanging the things they grow, the stock they raise, the items they make. Some fare a lot better than others. It never occurs to this Caesar of the countryside that dullness, laziness, indolence—as against ingenuity, initiative, industry—play a hand in these discrepancies. He sees only the inequalities and, in egostical disdain, only his system for erasing them.

So, bow in hand, our self-appointed hero takes the produce from all unto himself. He'll dole it out as he sees the need. Social justice of his variety will be served.

The Socialists in the shire—those who believe in the communalization of the product of all by coercion—may well be expected to hail this man and his tools of force.

But, what are we to think of those who have a libertarian bent, of those who pay lipservice to the free society, and then go on to assert, "We're paying for it, so we might as well get our share." What sincerity or depth can be ascribed to their lipservice? Do not actions speak louder than words? By their actions, are they not, most effectively, giving support to the socialistic design? Endorsing the welfare state? Upholding Caesarism?

Frederic Bastiat, more than a century ago, referred quite accurately to the above behavior as legal plunder, and explained in simple terms how to identify it: "See if the law takes from some persons what belongs to them, and gives it to other persons to whom is does not belong. See if the law benefits one citizen at the expense of another by doing what the citizen himself cannot do without committing a crime." [1]

No individual with libertarian pretensions can, in good conscience, advocate legal plunder. What, then, should be his position? He has only one way to turn. Bastiat, the libertarian teacher, was again helpful: "Then abolish this law without delay, for it is not only an evil itself, but also it is a fertile source for further evils because it invites reprisals. If such a law—which may be an isolated case—is not abolished immediately, it will spread, multiply, and develop into a system."

Today, in the United States of America, such law is not the isolated exception. It is already a system. This system of plunder derives much of its support from individuals who do not subscribe to socialism but who say, "We're paying for it, so we might as well get our share."

LEONARD E. READ.

[1] See "The Law," by Frederic Bastiat. Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington, N.Y., 76 pages.

## The Spanish National Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I should like to present to the Members of this House the example of the Spanish national lottery. This lottery is an excellent indication of the success that may be had in bringing gambling under the control of the state.

It is estimated that the Spanish national lottery soaks up approximately 90 percent of all potential gambling money in the nation. If a national lottery in the United States could meet with half this success, the results would be tremendously gratifying as some $50 billion is gambled here yearly. Besides which, the loss of gambling revenues—and this has been accomplished in Spain and elsewhere—would be a staggering blow to organized crime.

Spain is not a rich nation by any means—far from it—but the national lottery brought over $98½ million last year. The Government's income is almost $28 million.

Mr. Speaker, if the United States had a lottery that could attract 90 percent of potential gambling money—and if the

Treasury could hold on to one-third of these receipts—we would have over $10 billion in revenue. To deny us this money is to foist off on the taxpayers a gross injustice.

## Denial of God Not Needed To Separate Church-State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Fort Lauderdale News, by William Mullen, has expressed the views of many regarding the recent Supreme Court decision in the New York State school prayer case.

The New York case has caused widespread concern among our people, whose heritage is based on strong religious feeling. Mr. Mullen expresses this concern, and I include the editorial at this time in the RECORD:

DENIAL OF GOD NOT NEEDED TO SEPARATE CHURCH-STATE

(By William Mullen)

"God save the United States and this honorable Court."

With these words the Supreme Court of the United States of America opens its sessions to sit as the ultimate judicial authority on a Constitution that is the bedrock of a God-fearing land of freedom.

Throughout the history of the United States there have been the tendency, desire, and practice to supplicate before an Almighty Being; to call for divine guidance in all official actions, and to place in the trust of the Supreme Power the well-being of the Nation and eternal rest of the individual.

When the President of the United States is sworn to office, he takes his oath on a Bible. When members of the Supreme Court are sworn, each takes his oath on the Bible. When a witness in a courtroom takes the stand, he or she is sworn on a Bible. When a Girl Scout raises her right hand, she declares: "On my honor, I will try to do my duty to God and my country."

A Boy Scout pledges his trust to God. The Congress of the United States, the legislatures of virtually every State, the local county and municipal legislative bodies open meetings with an invocation to Almighty God.

Most civic dinners open and close with an invocation and a benediction—usually pronounced by the clergy or members of different religious faiths.

The "Pledge of Allegiance" states: "* * * One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The "Star-Spangled Banner," our revered national anthem, proclaims in the fourth stanza: "* * * Praise the power that hath made and preserved us as a nation. Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just. And this be our motto: In God is our trust."

Our children are taught to pray at bedtime, some using words of radiant beauty in their sheer simplicity: "Now I lay me down to sleep. I pray the Lord my soul to keep." Men going into battle pray. Not to the Supreme Court of the United States, but to the Supreme Power in whom all mortal souls must find eternal peace, regardless of race, creed, religion—or lack of it.

In its ruling declaring a simple, nonsectarian prayer approved by the Board of Regents of New York State unconstitutional, six mortal men of the Supreme Court, who were selected for such high office by other mortals and who swore to their responsibilities on a Bible that proclaims the Word of God, have blasphemed American tradition and have made a hollow mockery of the very prayer with which the Justices open their sessions to proclaim the law of the land.

If this is audacity to question the motives and sagacity of the six men who on Monday handed down a ruling that is contrary to the very concepts and teachings of our Nation, then so be it, for their action was based on the flimsiest splitting of legal hairs—as has been the history of the prevailing Court on other matters that have assailed the integrity and preservation of the United States.

Their ruling arbitrarily refutes the position of a different Supreme Court of 10 years ago that stated: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a supreme being."

The "unconstitutional" prayer reads: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country." It's as forthright and nonsectarian as that.

Ironically, the prayer was approved by New York's Board of Regents, which supervises education in the Empire State, as part of their "statement on moral and spiritual training" in schools and it was carefully worded so as not to offend minorities residing in that State.

Yet it was on the actions of members of minority groups who were represented in court by the American Civil Liberties Union that the Supreme Court ruling was based. The ACLU, incidentally, is best known for its efforts to have the traditions and privileges of the greater number either watered down or reshaped in the name of "rights" of minorities. The overall effect is to require general conformity to the ideas and beliefs of those who essentially do not conform.

So, from a prayer that was worded to avoid offense, six of the nine members of the Supreme Court have drawn the specious conclusion that inasmuch as it was drafted by an agency of government, it violates the first amendment of the Constitution. That amendment states, as part of the Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *."

Congress did not enact a law authorizing the New York State prayer, but Justice Hugo Black, with the concurrence of five other justices, saw the first amendment's command being made applicable to New York by virtue of stretching it into the 14th amendment with its portion of section 1, saying, in part: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The layman logically would interpret the first amendment to mean that the Congress shall not establish a national religion, which is an abridgement of rights that our Founding Fathers and the present generation would not tolerate.

But the gist of the Supreme Court ruling is that a simple prayer appealing to Almighty God is the establishment of a religion. If interpretations and legal hocuspocus can attempt to justify such reasoning, then it is equally proper for the lay public to assume that Supreme Court decisions giving Communists legal protection under the guise of rights are tantamount to endorsing the Communist ideology.

Carried to its ultimate conclusion as applied to the separation of church and state, the latest Supreme Court finding must mean that any reference to God is the establishment of a religion, which is unconstitutional, and therefore must be rectified by an official denunciation of God.

Going back to the Supreme Court of 10 years ago, we are a religious nation and if we are to protect that philosophy from incursions of the Supreme Court, it should be made the law of the land through a constitutional amendment that cannot be violated by six men in black robees.

Let the people speak out clearly and quickly on this issue with all their God-given powers. And let the six members of the Supreme Court stand impeached by a national declaration of faith in God.

## Would Long-Range Effect Be Good?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a fine editorial written by my good friend, Carl A. Saunders, the very able editor of the Kentucky Post and Times-Star, Covington, Kenton County, Ky., on July 24, 1962.

While it is true that my friend Carl mentions my name in this editorial nevertheless I think that his cogent and thought-provoking remarks with respect to the subject matter of a tax cut are so sound and so reasonable that readers throughout the Nation ought to have an opportunity to see and to read them.

I agree with Carl Saunders that, if we are to receive a tax cut, it is imperative that we wisely trim our budget.

The editorial follows:

WOULD LONG-RANGE EFFECT BE GOOD?

We note that our Congressman FRANK CHELF has gone all out for a tax reduction now in a letter to President Kennedy. We can see how a tax cut no doubt would provide some immediate stimulus to more spending and therefore provide a shot in the arm to our economy. However, one must consider the long-range results of such a move. Suppose the people who got the tax cut decided to put most of it away in savings rather than spend it in these parlous times. That would leave the economy just about where it is. And the U.S. Treasury would be looking around for means to get revenue to balance the billion or so that the tax cut would take from its returns.

We note also that Mr. CHELF says: "If business, large and small, and the wage earner are given an income tax reduction, it would put more money in circulation, and if we wisely trim our budget—without danger to our defenses—we could pass these savings on to our people in the form of tax reduction that would strengthen our entire economy." Those six words, "if we wisely trim our budget" gives Mr. CHELF the right hedge in advocating an immediate cut in taxes. Yes, if Government expenditures were cut to match a tax cut the whole thing might work out all right.

If the outgo from the Treasury is to be allowed to be just the same and the national debt and deficits are to be increased by a tax cut, where would we be in the end in bolstering the national economy? It is just like an individual, you can't continue to spend more than you take in and maintain your solvency. We may be in a state of deflation right now, but if the national debt and deficits grow each year, inflation will roar back in a hurry.

## Why, You'd Take Us Back to the Horse and Buggy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism. Article 7 in the series concerns the cliche "Why, you'd take us back to the horse and buggy."

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues, and under unanimous consent, place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CLICHES OF SOCIALISM—NO. 7: WHY, YOU'D TAKE US BACK TO THE HORSE AND BUGGY

The basic fallacy of this all-too-common cliche is a confusion between technology and such other aspects of human life as morality and political principles. Over the centuries, technology tends to progress: from the first wheel to the horse and buggy to the railroad and the jetplane. Looking back on this dramatic and undeniable progress, it is easy for men to make the mistake of believing that all other aspects of society are somehow bound up with, and determined by, the state of technology in each historical era. Every advance in technology, then, seemingly requires some sort of change in all other values and institutions of man. The Constitution of the United States was, undoubtedly, framed during the horse and buggy era. Doesn't this mean that the railroad age required some radical change in that Constitution, and that the jet age requires something else? As we look back over our history, we find that since 1776, our technology has been progressing, and that the role of Government in the economy, and in all of society has also grown rapidly. This cliche simply assumes that the growth of Government must have been required by the advance of technology.

If we reflect upon this idea, the flaws and errors stand out. Why should an increase in technology require a change in the Constitution, or in our morality or values? What moral or political change does the entrance of a jet force us to adopt?

There is no necessity whatever for morality or political philosophy to change every time technology improves. The fundamental relations of men—their need to mix their labor with resources in order to produce consumer goods, their desire for sociability, their need for private property, to mention but a few—are always the same, whatever the era of history. Jesus' teachings were not applicable just to the oxcart age of first century Palestine; neither were the Ten Commandments somehow outmoded by the invention of the pulley.

Technology may progress over the centuries, but the morality of man's actions is not thereby assured; in fact, it may easily and rapidly retrogress. It does not take centuries for men to learn to plunder and kill one another, or to reach out for coercive power over their fellows. There are always men willing to do so. Technologically, history is indeed a record of progress; but morally, it is an up-and-down and eternal struggle between morality and immorality, between liberty and coercion.

While no specific technical tool can in any way determine moral principles, the truth is the other way round: in order for even technology to advance, man needs at least a modicum of freedom—freedom to experiment, to seek the truth, to discover and develop the creative ideas of the individual. And remember, every new idea must originate in some one individual. Freedom is needed for technological advance; and when freedom is lost, technology itself decays and society sinks back, as in the Dark Ages, into virtual barbarism.

The glib cliche tries to link liberty and limited government with the horse and buggy; socialism and the welfare state, it slyly implies, are tailored to the requirements of the jet and the TV set. But on the contrary, it is socialism and state planning that are many centuries old, from the savage Oriental despotisms of the ancient empires to the totalitarian regime of the Incas. Liberty and morality had to win their way slowly over many centuries, until finally expanding liberty made possible the great technological advance of the industrial revolution and the flowering of modern capitalism. The reversion in this century to ever-greater statism threatens to plunge us back to the barbarism of the ancient past.

Statists always refer to themselves as "progressives," and to libertarians as "reactionaries." These labels grow out of the very cliche we have been examining here. This "technological determinist" argument for statism began with Karl Marx and was continued by Thorstein Veblen and their numerous followers—the real reactionaries of our time.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD.

## Robert Wysocki Heads New York State Squires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that one of my constituents, Robert W. J. Wysocki, has recently been elected as State chief squire, which is the highest position in the New York State Circle of Columbian Squires. For those who may not be familiar with this organization, I want to relate that the organization of the Columbian Squires is the junior order of the Knights of Columbus.

The Columbian Squires was started some 37 years ago by the Reverend Brother Barnabas, F.S.C., and it has since grown considerably throughout the country. New York State is the largest jurisdiction of the organization, with some 13 percent of its membership located there. It is this jurisdiction that Mr. Wysocki will head.

Mr. Wysocki resides in the Greenpoint section of my congressional district in Brooklyn. We are very proud of his election to this high position and there is no doubt in my mind that he will bring honor to his family, his friends, and all those who are associated with him. The people of Greenpoint feel honored that one of their own has been chosen for this important post.

I want to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Wysocki and his family and to wish him a most successful term as leader of his organization. He is an example for all our youth in proving that many opportunities still exist for young people who choose the path of service to their fellow men.

## Europe Is Waiting Kennedy's Move

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

[From the Newark Star Ledger, July 20, 1962]

EUROPE IS WAITING KENNEDY'S MOVE

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

THE HAGUE.—"We like President Kennedy's talk about a declaration of interdependence with Europe but we're waiting to see what he will do about it." This remark by a prominent member of the Dutch Government just about expresses the feelings of America's European Allies—and of governments in other parts of the world.

For—to put it mildly—a large number of them are a lot less pleased with the United States than they were—during the Eisenhower administration. Almost all believe the Kennedy administration is mistakenly putting the problems of seeking arrangements with the U.S.S.R. and currying favor with the newly independent nonalined States ahead of its duty to its Allies.

The Dutch, for instance, simply cannot understand why the United States has not only snubbed them but violated its own principle of self-determination in agreeing to see the savage Papuans of Dutch New Guinea placed under the—shall we say—irresponsible Indonesians.

The Belgians (and the French as well) have not quite forgiven the United States for siding with the Léopoldville government against Belgium and Belgium's friend, Tshombe.

Salazar of Portugal is openly critical and accuses Kennedy of blaming Portugal in Africa when he should be condemning the outside savages who massacred some 1,500 Angolans—men, women, and children—in cold blood.

De Gaulle will never understand Washington's refusal to accept Europe, particularly the new restored Europe—as an equal partner. Why should Washington still refuse to give France information the Soviets have long possessed? Why should there not be a sort of three-power executive committee of NATO to formulate common political and scientific policies as well as military? He strongly suspects that Kennedy's desire to bring Britain into the European Community hides the purpose of placing an American agent within that body.

The German Government, though not all of its members, harbors a sneaking feeling that London surely and Washington possibly welcome an agreement with the Kremlin on Berlin even if this implied a partial recognition of Communist East Germany.

Certain British officials, who have so long followed (and manipulated) Washington's decisions in most international matters, express a certain resentment that the United States should continue to tell Britain and the rest of West Europe what to do. For they share the other Europeans' pride in recent accomplishments and want Uncle Sam

to understand the European convalescent is now well again and expects to be consulted on all common matters.

Otherwise there will be no transatlantic partnership of any substance.

All these resentments give me the feeling that Kennedy has rather less time in which to start organizing that interdependent partnership of which he speaks than he seems to imagine. I also feel the United States cannot afford to wait until an enlarged European Community comes up with a partnership plan of its own. Our leaders would do better to start here and now planning that partnership with our coming partners.

Otherwise the new Europe may crystallize into a form that will make real interdependence illusory—to the detriment of all concerned.

## Tribute to Elbert B. Rose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MILTON W. GLENN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, the south Jersey area is fortunate in having an author and historian, who has done considerable research and written brochures and tracts on Abraham Lincoln. Elbert B. Rose has been recognized and honored for studied research and lectures, and it gives me considerable pleasure to report on the recognition extended to him by the Honorable Francis A. Stanger, Jr., president of Cumberland County Historical Society, in writing the foreword for a recent publication of the society entitled, "Lincoln in New Jersey."

Any further remarks on this dedicated man can best be made by including at this point the foreword in his work, which is as follows:

FOREWORD

"God has given great talents to some men and when they dedicate themselves and their efforts partriotically to matters of public benefit their country will be enriched and their fellows will bear them honors and praise."

Such a talented and dedicated man is the author of these historical writings about "Lincoln in New Jersey," Elbert B. Rose.

Mr. Rose is a resident of Bridgeton, N.J., his days here following a young manhood spent in the "lands of Lincoln"—Nolin's Creek, Knob Creek, New Salem, Springfield, and other places made famous by the one who trod long, hard miles between penury and the Presidency, who journeyed by his own will and wisdom from obscurity to immortality. In his youth, altars to Lincoln, self-erected, filled the author's heart. In Cumberland County (the county of his adoption) it is not hard for his inspired pen to illuminate those altars with glowing words of patriotism, for every ounce of Cumberland's soil whereon he now dwells and writes has been made sacred to Americans by the feet of heroes.

Mr. Rose, as a historian, has been highly honored. He has won award after award at Valley Forge from Freedom's Foundation, one being $1,000. He has a citation for his Lincolniana and a medal, both from the U.S. Government. He is editor at large of "Lincolnian," a publication of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia. He is an honorary member of the national Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission and a life member of the Cumberland County Historical Society. He owns one of the largest private Lincoln collections in America.

Beyond his gifted pen dealing with the hardships, industry, nobility and accomplishments of the martyred President, he does writing of a general historical nature. For 14 years he has written a special column "Journey Through History" for the Bridgeton Evening News, a widely read and oft-quoted series of articles.

The undersigned is complimented to be asked to give this forword.

The Cumberland County Historical Society is honored by the formal dedication of these writing to it.

February 22, 1962.

FRANCIS A. STANGER, Jr.,
*President of Cumberland County Historical Society.*

## Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., and His Little-People-to-Little-People Program: A Contribution to World Peace Through Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, we all remember the words of our President on that snowy Inaugural Day when he posed a challenge to all Americans: "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." This patriotic appeal to the people of our Nation was answered by many men and women who are serving their country. Theirs is the dedication to the common purpose of leading the world away from the perimeter of chaos to lasting peace. Through these efforts men and nations may seek the peaceful fulfillment of their destinies.

President Kennedy's words have instilled in Americans an awareness that freedom cannot be separated from responsibility, the responsibility of each of us to preserve the liberty which our forefathers have kept for us at so great a cost. We have an obligation to all patriots who fought all over the world to protect a living democracy.

During my years in Congress I have not known anyone who has devoted more tireless effort to the cause of peace than our beloved colleague, PETER W. RODINO, JR., the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey. Based on my observation, his vigor has been extended unstintingly on behalf of his constituents no less than it has in the interest of our national security and the broad area of peace. It was not surprising to me, therefore, to discover that Congressman RODINO'S 10-year-old son, Peter W. Rodino III, has flowing in his veins the same love of country. Young Peter, moreover, has a surprising perception, for a boy of his age, of the danger to the world which could result from misunderstanding and misconceptions of the aims of the United States, and the peaceful leadership our Nation offers to all nations dissatisfied with a fear-ridden world of nuclear terror.

Mr. Speaker, the words of Daniel Webster, uttered 131 years ago, can aptly be applied to present governments in our troubled world. Some rule neither wisely nor well. Undoubtedly, one day the long-pent emotions of chained humanity will break the bondage and storm over the oppressed lands. When that day comes, these people must know that in our democracy exists the understanding and friendship they will need if peace is to be permanent.

Daniel Webster said:

Certain it is that in these times of so much popular knowledge and so much popular activity, those governments which do not admit the people to partake in their administration but keep them under and beneath, sit on materials for an explosion which may take place at any moment and blow them into a thousand atoms.

Observing the critical status of the world, the young son of our colleague, PETER W. RODINO, wondered if he might help his country. Thoughtfully, he sat down and wrote a letter to Premier Khrushchev. The words of his letter made sense. He felt, as we all do, that if the Soviet leader was sincere, he could lessen world tensions. Thus, he reasoned, a good start could be made toward peace. Unfortunately, young Peter never received a reply to his letter. Nor did a second letter receive a reply.

It was then our good and able colleague from New Jersey, who has represented his district with distinction for almost a decade and one-half, in his inimicable manner, devised the program he calls little people to little people.

It is his view, shared by many of us, that the little people, the youngsters of America, can make a lasting contribution to peace through their correspondence with youngsters in every country in the world. Quite possibly this campaign will meet resistance behind the Iron Curtain, but much good can be accomplished if these boys and girls spread the story of America to other countries. In this way the future leaders of all nations will enter public life with a clearer picture of America. They will know our contribution to the growth of less developed nations through economic and technical aid. The clarity and frankness of the letters from our boys and girls can go far to erase the distorted image of America, an image that, unfortunately, prevails in some parts of the world.

It is my understanding that when Congress adjourns, the gentleman from New Jersey will work with the youth in his district on the little-people-to-little-people program. I applaud his efforts and wish him success. We can be sure that when he returns in January—and I know his constituents will, for the eighth time, exercise their good judgment and return him again to represent and serve them—he will report to the entire House of Representatives the progress made through his leadership.

I know that with his recognized ability and dedication to the cause of peace he cannot fail. I am sure that the children of his district will take pride in the fact that, through their example, similar pro-

grams will be initiated in all our 50 States. The children of Congressman RODINO's district will have the distinction of being the youth pioneers of peace.

## Land-Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, it was 100 years ago when President Lincoln signed into law the Morrill Land-Grant Act which Congress had initiated. No one at that time could visualize the full educational potential of this act. However, those of us who are here today cannot but cheer the wisdom, the farsightedness, and the deep-rooted inspiration which set into motion the plans for the land-grant colleges.

Fortunately, Indiana is blessed with one—Purdue University. This great university today is recognized as one of the finest in the country. It turns out top-notch scientists, engineers, educators, farm specialists, and agricultural economists—the best in the world.

It is with extreme pride in the success of the Morrill Land-Grant Act that I join with others throughout America in saluting the men who conceived this legislative proposal. It is typical of the incredible wisdom of the early Americans who pioneered for freedom. Education is one of the fundamental liberties to which this Nation is dedicated. By searching for the truth in free public institutions and elsewhere, we have been able to accomplish unparalleled progress. Who would have thought 100 years ago, that our Nation would have reached the high pinnacle of learning that it has. But the spark, which was ignited when we started the land-grant colleges with the Morrill Act, has spread like wildfire. And today new doors are daily opening which makes possible better things and better living for an educated American society.

A great value of the land-grant college was that it permitted all persons to obtain a higher education, if they had the incentive and initiative—as well as the scholastic ability.

It would take too much time to point out the singular advantages which have accrued to the Nation since the inception of the Morrill Act and its program of better education. But a quick look around one's community, State, and across the country, readily brings to mind the realization that one of the many reasons that America is so great, so strong, and so advanced, is because of the free educational opportunities we provide for our citizens.

It staggers the imagination to think what the next 100 years will produce in the way of education. But we can rest assured that our Nation's colleges and universities—whether or not they started under the land-grant concept—will be teaching young people to search for a better world in which people may live without the threat of war.

Again, the Nation thanks God for the wisdom and foresight of those who were responsible for the Morrill Land-Grant Act, only a short 100 years ago in this Nation's exciting history. As Lincoln—who signed the Land-Grant Act as President—so aptly said at Gettysburg: "brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

## Disarmament of the United States of America Through the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB CASEY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, Comdr. John W. Bentley, of American Legion Post No. 52, Houston, Tex., transmitted to me the speech of Col. Alvin M. Owsley, which the post believed merited the consideration of my colleagues.

Colonel Owsley is a founder and former past national commander of the American Legion. He spoke at the Music Hall in Houston, on May 8, 1962.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Commander Bentley's speech as follows:

DISARMAMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, representative of the patriotic and civil organizations and societies, members of the American Legion and Auxiliary, Americans all, it is a high honor and an esteemed pleasure to address you in this patriotic city of Houston tonight. You could not have chosen a more favorable place or one that will attract the attention of the State and the Nation more than to hold this meeting in the largest city of the South.

You in this fabulous Houston have established yourselves; the largest in population, the greatest in the export from our shores; second only to the port of New York. Added to these honors so richly bestowed upon you; Houston is now the space center of the Nation. From my city of Dallas, I bring you greetings and salute you as first among us all.

We gather here tonight as patriots of the mother country to state our position on one of the most important questions that has arisen in our lifetime: Disarmament of this mighty Republic through the U.N.

It is a rule of history that people never give up their liberty except under a delusion. This delusion may be one of security, of safety, or a delusion of grandeur. We must find the source of our power and dedicate that power to the preservation and security of our country—not to the delusion—the United Nations.

What does the United Nations contribute toward our security, or to improve the general welfare of the United States of America? It is to be assumed that those who took us into the United Nations had an idea that it would be beneficial to our country and to the world—that the U.N. would bring us the millennium—peace for a thousand years.

How did the United Nations ever get started and how was it fastened upon our fair land? Here is the answer: The United Nations Charter was the work of Alger Hiss and his Communist-Socialist workers beginning at Dumbarton Oaks, rewritten at Moscow, Russia—of all places—and signed by the nations in San Francisco. The Rockefellers gave $8.5 million to purchase the required land in New York City. The United States loaned $65 million without interest to build the headquarters building. This money is still owing us. The area now extends from 42d Street to 48th Street between First Avenue and East River in New York. Here stands the glasshouse with thousands of covetous eyes spying upon us; a vast monument to bad judgment.

In June 1947, the Secretary of State of the United States signed a special agreement with the Secretary General of the United Nations by which it was agreed that the United Nations would have authority to make rules and regulations governing the headquarters district. This treaty provides that any of the rules of the United Nations that may be inaugurated that may be in conflict with any local law, the U.N. rule prevails. The General Assembly of the United Nations promptly delegated the rule-making power to one man—the Secretary General—of course, a foreigner and now a Communist sympathizer. Now this six-block area in the heart of greater New York becomes extraterritorial, an independent principality—set apart. It is an island preserve concerning which one man makes his rules and regulations that supersede the ordinances of the city and State of New York or any act passed by the Congress of the United States. The United Nations treaties are superior and may supersede the Constitution of the United States or our Bill of Rights. Our American courts are citing the United Nations Charter and treaties as their authority. You may recall an American President claimed the right and authority to seize the steel industry under the United Nations Charter. The most dangerous repercussion of this action is that some members of the Supreme Court agreed with the President. The Secretary General has no restrictions placed upon him. He makes his own rules and can do whatever he pleases.

We find that the New York police, the FBI, and the Army of the United States cannot enter this extraterritorial "little kingdom." I ask you, What has become of the sovereignty of the United States? The cost of the United Nations to the United States in all the demands made upon us has run into the hundreds of millions of dollars. Each year the cost is increasing the taxpayers' burden. You are well acquainted with the proposal of the present administration to buy $100 million of these worthless bonds of the U.N. to bail it out of its present financial difficulties for the U.N. army expenses in the ill-fated Congo expedition. Well, let us get our eyes open and see that this $100 million doesn't bail them out at all. As soon as this $100 million is used up, they will have to have another $100 million, and in addition thereto, they will have to have $200 or $300 million to pay for their running expenses for the fiscal year fo 1962 and 1963. The United States of America should never buy one of these worthless bonds. The United States of America should never pay another dollar to the treasury of the United Nations until all the other nations who are members have paid their dues. I point out to you that the record shows that the Russians refuse to pay one cent toward the support of the United Nations police force that are now illegally upon the soil of the various states in Africa. The U.N. is interfering with the sovereign rights of the State of Katanga. Katanga, the only friend of the West, is being forced

into a coalition government of the Communists. Here agin the American dollar is being used against the interest of a country striving to maintain its freedom and friendship with the United States.

The U.N. organization has its hundreds of ambassadors, secretaries, technical assistants, aids, with traveling expenses of hundreds of people going around the world in this do-good job of giveaway; giveaway of American dollars and substance. The solemn truth is that the United States has been plundered and misused by her former foreign friends. "Show me my enemies and deliver me from my friends," cried a former U.S. President. The foreign nations are constantly on our doorstep in Washington demanding that we increase our aid to save them from communism.

Thus far we have done mighty little saving. The President's representatives have been on the run around the world handing out billions of dollars of you taxpayers' money. As a result of these many long years of spending like madmen, we have made enemies of nearly every nation in the world. America has striven so hard and desperately to be the friend of the world that all nations are now suspicious of our intentions. Now that the United Nations has its armed forces policing foreign soil, I ask you, Will the next move be to express a power of taxation—then the sovereign authority of our great Republic pass to a supergovernment?

Is the United States of America on the brink of being caught in the vortex of a tornado and snapped up in a spectacle of Old World confusion and rivalry? I charge and accuse the Charter of the United Nations serves the purposes of a foreign, superstate. Yes, of the Communist world. This we should reject. This is not for us in America.

Following the two world wars, the United States poured out of its Treasury up to this time more than $100 billion in gifts and foreign aid overseas. Now the present administration, through its Secretary of State, in his testimony before the Senate committees last week asked for $4,900 million additional to give away, when the national debt of the United States exceeds that of all nations of the world combined. We are falling into the trap that the Communists set for us when Lenin said: "The United States of America will spend itself into bankruptcy and then will fall into our laps like a ripe apple."

Our huge and oppressive national debt can be traced to the direct result of our membership in the United Nations. And of course the constant pressure that is placed upon us by the Socialists, the neutrals, and the Communists within the United Nations. Their purpose is: "Spend the United States into bankruptcy. Force America to financial collapse, and this is then a Communist victory."

Now there arises from the noblest sentiments of the human heart the desire for a peaceful world. This, of course, is the high goal toward which all freemen should search. We are mindful of the remarkable efforts to exercise war by the incantation of unsupported treaties. The effort that gave birth to the Kellogg-Briand Pact—or they call it the Pact of Paris—back of this grand gesture lay a variety of regional movements for peace. We have heard the seven conventions to avert the scourge of war by peaceful settlement of disputes of other nations and they were quickly initialed. We have heard about the foundation laid at Locarno by the four-power and the nine-power treaties in Far Eastern affairs; by the growing concord of the American family of nations, and by Great Britain's concession of freedom to southern Ireland and to Egypt. The world seemed to be ready to erect a stately temple for peace. We are aware of the American campaign for the outlawry of war which originated with a Chicago attorney and the great Republic of France was willing to subscribe publicly her adherence to any mutual agreement with the United States tending to outlaw war. Between these two countries, France and America, the American idea had become an international force. The Versailles Treaty which ended World War I had expressed the honorable intention to organize the world so that armed forces might be gradually reduced and eventually eliminated. But the task proved unexpectedly too difficult and beyond human power. We of this generation saw the rise of Germany to power under Hitler and became the most formidable armed force marching across Europe. We saw Mussolini, the jackal, betraying Italy, started the Italians on their death march. We watched Japan in the far Pacific as she defied the world. We saw the tragedy, the infamy, of Pearl Harbor, and the agony of World War II, and the war in Korea. What became of all those good intentions? Outside of a few nations of Western Europe, the British Commonwealth of nations, and the United States, no power honored its signature but immediately set upon a course of rearming and undertook to dominate the world.

Now from the United Nations our country is constantly deluged with the most extravagant propaganda supporting and praising the United Nations that the world ever witnessed. The Communists, the Socialists, the one-worlders, the internationalists, the do-gooders, and the floaters for jobs are having a heyday.

No product was ever sold to the American people in such flamboyant fashion as these social planners with wild imagination, describing the virtues of the United Nations. Even our little schoolchildren have become the subjects of the highest pressure, undertaking to teach these dear little girls and boys that the United Nations is far more important than America. We are finding that the blue and white flag of the United Nations is now being displayed beside the American flag, and if we are not watchful, Old Glory will be hauled down and the flag of the United Nations—a supergovernment—will be given the seat of honor.

We even have the astounding performance of mock raids by the imagined U.N. troopers taking place in several of our cities, exhibiting the skill and cunning of U.N. commandos. On the battlefield with the U.N. troops in Korea, it is fresh in our memory, the flag of the United States was lowered, and the flag of the United Nations raised above it. Yet the United States furnished 90 percent of all the fighting men, paid 93 percent of all the costs of that war. We lost 40,000 of our valiant men killed, and 100,000 more were wounded; $5 billion wasted. No nation from the United Nations made a greater contribution than a brigade of troops. And out of the membership of 58 nations, only 14 made any contribution whatsoever to that war.

When General Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I landed in France, the foreign leaders presented him with the ultimatum that American soldiers should fight under the flag of one of the Allied countries under the command of Allied officers. We recall General Pershing's historic reply: "The American soldier will fight under the flag of the United States of America and under the command of John J. Pershing." So we did. Our valiant and heroic men brought the enemy to their knees and saved the civilization of the world. All honor to this great American hero, one of the first military commanders of all history, Gen. John J. Pershing. Pershing knew there is no substitute for victory.

In comparison, hear the gallant and dynamic Gen. Mark Clark as he cried in anguish from Korea: "I am the first American commander compelled to sign a treaty ending a war we did not win." Every American commander in Korea, all of them, proclaimed, "I could have won that war." What prevented our victory? It was the combination of intrigue, treachery, and a stab in the back from the United Nations that robbed us of our victory beginning with the cruel and infamous attack on the greatest military genius of our times, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, causing his dismissal.

My countrymen, we are beating a retreat from the bold aggressive fearless national policy that has made and kept us great. In the place of honor, honesty, and integrity which are inherent in the organizations sponsored on American soil, the proceedings of the United Nations organizations show frequently dishonesty, doubledealing, outright deceit. No organization can operate where a suspicion of the integrity of its mebership continues and is justified. You recall the infamous picture of the leader of the Communist world, Khrushchev, when he stood in Paris, France, and destroyed the summit meeting; then K. attacked and insulted the President of the United States, and our President walked meekly away. We saw Khrushchev again in the United Nations when he took his shoe off his foot and pounded the table demanding that the organization censure the Government of the United States for our action for defending our security and our integrity in foreign lands. Why have we permitted such a disgraceful course of procedure by a leader of the Communist conspiracy? The Charter of the United Nations presupposes the U.N. an instrument of peace. All to the contrary, it has been the breeding ground for war. Let me point out to you some of the accomplishments of the United Nations since its organization.

Here they are:

1. The U.N. furnished arms to Israel through Red Czechoslovakia, established a socialist state, and Bernnadotte, the leader of the U.N., was assassinated. This left 300,000 Arabs homeless, fed every day now by the United States; the U.N. pays nothing. That alienated the entire Moslem world against us.

2. Provoked war between Israel and Egypt, and in that war the United States stabbed in the back our warmest, closest allies, Great Britain and France, kept them from winning the control of the Suez Canal.

3. The U.N. forced a division of Korea on Syngman Rhee. The armistice is worthless and is being violated every day. The Reds won. The United Nations does nothing; if anything it supports our enemies, the Reds.

4. The American military might and money saved Greece and Turkey. The United Nations made no contribution.

5. French Indochina—the U.N. made no contribution to the defense of that French protectorate. It cost the United States nearly $1 billion, and immediately after the French capitulated, Indochina immediately made a demand upon us for financial aid.

6. All southeast Asia—this area is threatened and the U.N. does nothing.

7. The U.S. mission prevented war in Thailand. The United Nations made no contribution.

8. Asking for aid in southeast Asia—our troops are the only ones there.

9. Now we turn to south and central America—Guatemala. The United States settled this trouble through our Ambassador; the United Nations made no contribution. Costa Rica and Nicaragua—the Caracas Treaty was invoked, and after trouble was settled through the direct American intervention, a delegation from the U.N. toured the troubled battlefield to give an opinion of who caused the trouble.

Let us look at Formosa. The U.N. supporting Red China for membership and against Chiang Kai-shek's claim to the offshore islands and independence. The important decisionmaking posts are consistently held by Socialist and Communist nations. The Secretary General, Dr. Thant, chosen from the Socialist country, is tonight dominated by Russia. The entire atmosphere at the U.N. is unfriendly and intolerant of the United States.

Now some say we can't go it alone. Maybe not. Any more than we can assume and carry the burdens, and especially the financial burdens, of the whole world alone. We should not try it. This course will bankrupt and destroy America as the first world power as it has every first power in world history. The facts are we shall never go it alone as long as we are rich and powerful and solvent. We will be compelled to go it alone only when we exhaust our resources, give away our superiority of striking power on the land and the sea and especially in the air with A-bombs and H-bombs and guided missiles. Only then will we find ourselves alone, deserted by foreign powers; friends and foes alike. In the event that we should run upon hard days financially, I ask you tonight, to whom shall we turn for friendship and support? To whom can we look to make loans to America if we get in financial troubles? The answer is, we would go down in defeat—our tears cannot wash away our sorrows. It is the history of mankind that people take advantage of you when you are weak. This means whether you are weak financially or whether you are weak in your armament. It is written, in Holy Writ, the 11th chapter of St. Luke, verses 21 and 22:

"When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a stronger than he shall come upon him and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils."

I give you one last tragic example: The rape of Hungary by Communist Russia while the United Nations stood still and would not heed the cry for freedom as it died. Let us look at the record. What has the United Nations done to free Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and East Germany? These states were once free. These sad and defenseless peoples are wanting freedom now. And there can be no freedom in the world—there can be no disarmament anywhere—until the Russians are willing to set free their satellite nations held slaves behind the Iron Curtain.

The United States of America has been made the tool of the Communists and all foreign nations in the United Nations. Every patriot in this Nation should rise up and say to the Members of the Congress of the United States, "We refuse to pay another dollar to this international Communist-dominated organization." Now is the time to say to the Congress, "We are finished with the United Nations." We will save the hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers, already overburdened in this country, we will save this Republic under our Constitution.

The patriotic mayor, Willie Brandt, of West Berlin, has a proposal that strikes me most favorably. His honor, the mayor, suggested that the United Nations headquarters be moved to West Germany. I am in favor of that. I am in favor of the United States getting out of the United Nations, and getting the United Nations off American soil.

Now my friends, I have given a short history of the performance of the United Nations, but today we are confronted with a most astounding proposal from our State Department that has yet been presented to the United Nations, and to the American people.

For a long time, something like 2 years or more, the great powers have been meeting in Geneva to discuss the problem of world disarmament, a ban on nuclear weapons, to create an atmosphere of peace in a peaceful world. After all these months and into the years, the free nations of the world have proposed to the Communists that the great powers should do away with nuclear tests, that we should put a limit upon the manufacture of these instruments of death on the land, on the seas, under the seas, and from the air.

But no possible disarmament treaty could be written and no possible understanding could be reached with the Russians unless they are willing to have a rigid inspection of their country. The Russians have flatly refused to allow the nations of the free world to come into Russia and make a careful inspection of their preparations for war.

Now we have just had an evidence of the trickery of the Russians. They are indignant because we have resumed our nuclear tests in the Pacific. There is no reason why Russia could object to our testing. The Soviets have already made their tests and they made them at a time when they were protesting that "no tests were being made;" yet, they were doing them in secret. They were downright lying all the time to the President of the United States or his Secretary of State, when the free powers were talking about a peaceful world and disarmament.

Now let's go back just a little bit. You will recall that immediately after the First World War, the socialist government of Great Britain proposed to the British Parliament disarmament. So they struck down the great and powerful British Navy, they divided the Air Force, and Great Britain began the dissolution and disintegration of her foreign possessions, composing the British Empire. France made the same fatal mistake, hoping that peace could be attained. The Republic of France launched on a program of disarmament. That was the reason why France was not prepared and was quickly overrun within 3 weeks by the powerful armament array from Hitler's army, and became slaves to the German Fuehrer; she disarmed herself.

At that particular era in the world's history, the three great naval powers—Great Britain, the United States, and Japan—met. The United States and Great Britain, holding down their naval armament and scrapping many first line ships—permitted Japan to build her navy that eventually resulted in Pearl Harbor; the tragedy and the horror, sacrifice of the Second World War, fought in so many places and with such great price in blood and tragedy to all. The blood of our precious sons and comrades has run red on foreign lands, made crimson the waters in freedom's name because we followed the misguided course of disarmament when we should have increased instead of diminished our strength and our power.

Now the State Department has come to the United Nations with a proposal that the United States completely disarm gradually step by step, move back from the position we now hold as the most powerful nation in the world, and that in this course of disarmament the strength of the imaginary armed forces of the United Nations should be increased, and that a United Nations army, navy, and air force should dominate and control the world. In our time, we have not seen peace; we have learned that an aggressive power begins to take over a nation by first disarming the people.

There are now 101 nations making up the membership of the United Nations. We wonder how much contribution each state will make in manpower; who is going to furnish the money to arm this great imaginary army and navy and air force of the U.N. Who is to be the commissar to command this mighty armed force? In the event that we surrender our arms to the superinternational world organization, God grant we shall not, how will we like to see those troops of the Congo, of the African nations, and also the Indians, from Nehru's India, occupying the city of Houston and our towns, commanding our citizens at the point of bayonets where they shall go and what they shall do? This proposal of the State Department and the Pentagon spells the doom of America as we have always known it. That would be the end of our sovereignty, of our freedom, when we haul down the flag of the red, white, and blue and raise up the flag of the United Nations. We close the books on the history of this mighty Republic and we say goodby to all our past greatness and grandeur. We would plunge our people into misery, slavery, and tears.

Now this proposal of the State Department for world disarmament in a peaceful world is the biggest piece of nonsense that was offered to the American people. This thing should be immediately beat down. We Texans should notify the Senators from Texas we will not tolerate them in office if they support this proposition of the State Department. You should notify every man in Congress that we will go into his district and drive him out of public life if he supports the surrender of the safety and the security and the sovereignty of this Republic into the hands of any international superworld-organization. Join me—follow me—as I damn this disarmament proposal with all my might, power, and soul.

In order to prepare this Nation for a State Department proposal of complete disarmament, the first attack on our national security comes from the Pentagon. The Secretary of Defense is proposing the disintegration of a large number of our State National Guard and Reserve units of several States. Evidently the Pentagon is losing sight of American history that the wars of this Nation have not been fought so much by the professional soldier as by the volunteer civilian State Guard and Reserve units. Every stroke of the action of the Pentagon and the State Department to destroy the strength and effectiveness of their National Guard units is a long step on the highway of complete surrender to the Communists. No, it is no wonder that the Governors of the several States are now shooting to Washington their protests against any such action on the part of the Government that would lessen the strength and the fighting power of the fighting men of the several States in our State Guard and Reserve organizations. What could be the purpose and who is it who desires to destroy the fighting power and the strength of this Nation? It has been the rule of our people that we have never favored the concentration of political or military power in one central locality. The fighting men of our Reserves, our National Guards, have made the highest contributions toward the protection and the winning of the victory in all the wars of this Republic.

If the Government in Washington can destroy the National Guards of our States, then we are at the mercy of foreign mercenaries. Those of us who have learned the history of the occupation of our neighbor State of Arkansas are not willing to surrender the military strength of imperial Texas to any other hand than those of our own loyal sons and daughters. We want to put Texans on guard to protect the international border between us and any other foreign nation. We want Texas men—the Texas National Guard and the Texas Reserve of the Army and the Navy and the Air Force on patrol; in their service and special training they have brought the highest praise and credit in our military history. Throughout the

long history of our great Republic it has been the pride of every State and the various military organizations within those States that we worked and served and fought and died together. You patriotic men and women tonight can be a tremendous force of wielding public opinion to persuade the Congress and the various departments of Government that we intend to have and to keep Texas men and women in uniform to protect us. Texans will tolerate no foreign troops upon the sacred soil of Texas.

Instead of this disarmament program on the part of the free nations of the world, we should increase the fighting strength of the free world countries. We can overwhelm the Russian Communists and we should make it known without any discussion that we do not intend to disarm but we intend to be the most powerful nation on earth, and if the Russians desire to challenge us, we will destroy them; from the air, from the sea, and meet them on the land.

When did it get to be the policy of Americans that we could not speak up for our own country and expound our positions for fear that we might make some Russian mad? In all of the discussions at Geneva, the free nations led by our State Department, we have made the most astounding proposal that could ever have been conceived of. The last proposal that the State Department made in Geneva to the Russians was that we would do away with our instruments and the ways and means we have to deliver our first striking power—or that we would limit our armament. The Russians are claiming that because we have that power to strike them and to destroy them that there is a constant threat against them; therefore, they will never disarm until we are willing to give them the strongest position and let us take second place. The Russian Communist conception of liberty is to hold all nations in slavery under Russian rule.

We have learned that the second place is no place at all. Either we shall be first—we shall be supreme in our power to defend this country and our allies, or our enemies will attack us and destroy us. History repeats itself. You will recall that when the mighty Alexander the Great, after having conquered the then known world lay mortally wounded, and there had gathered around him his generals, one had the courage to speak and ask: "Sire, now that you are dying, who shall be king?" The supreme military leader and the king of the world replied: "He that is strongest." It was true then, it is true now. The conscientious objectors, the do-gooders, the overly religious, and the downright cowards and traitors who would rather be "Red than dead" have no place in the great throbbing patriotic life of this country. We have fought many wars. We have fought the War of the Revolution for our freedom from a foreign country; we fought the War of 1812, the second war with Great Britain, to keep our freedom of the seas; we fought the war of 1861–65 based upon an ideal of the rights of men and of States to decide for themselves. The results of that titanic struggle were the creation and the cementing for all times of the American Union.

My countrymen, our weakness and our timidity have caused this serious situation in Central and South America. At a time when the State Department is knocking at the doors of the United Nations with our proposal for world peace, world disarmament in a peaceful world, our enemies, the Communist conspiracy seeking to destroy this Nation, are parading their strength before the many satellite countries they hold slaves behind their Iron Curtain. At a time when we are showing weakness and timidity and appealing for disarmament, our enemies are increasing their power to strike us down and enslave the world. We have lacked the ability or the courage or the wisdom to use the strength that is ours. We have failed to defend the ancient policy of the Monroe Doctrine. We have permitted our enemies to plant the schemes and conspiracies upon this Western World until only 90 miles from the soil of the State of Florida exists one of the most complete Communist conspiracies and governments existing in the world. We allowed a cheap trickster and gangster Communist to come to this country, receive the honors and plaudits of the land, gave him money enough to organize his conspiracy against us, and then allowed a force of Cuban patriots to undertake to invade the country, ill prepared, and with no support from our Government.

We are now faced with one of the most insulting procedures the world ever beheld—the Communist government of Cuba, holding some 1,200 or more of those ill-fated patriots who tried to invade their native Cuba and free it from the Communists. They are on the auction block, like the slaves of years ago, and are to buy their freedom with American dollars and gold. How far can we deviate from our glorious history and how low do we want to fall before we refuse to go any further?

The truth is, we are being blackmailed by many of the countries in Central and South America. We are being told that if we don't pour out the money in support of the underdeveloped countries they are going to desert us and go to the Communists. It has never been possible for one man to buy the friendship of his neighbor with money. It is not possible for us to buy the friendship of nations through foreign aid. There are many ways that we can help, but to place ourserves in the position where demands can be made upon our gold reserves by the foreigner and plunge the United States into bankruptcy is wrong. The truth is we have squandered so much money abroad that we have built up the factories and given many countries the means and the plants and the factories to enter world competition against us and to drive us out of the world market. The time has come to call a halt to this insane idea of giveaway and foreign aid, and we should aid only those countries that aline themselves on the side of freedom; yes, be our friends. Those who are not for us are against us.

There is another feature of our national defense that presents a position of weakness and peril to our country. We are giving away entirely too many secrets that are necessary for our security. Khrushchev wants coexistence between Communists and capitalists. The Russians take every idea and every suggestion that we have to offer and then turn it to their benefit. Now that the space age has arrived, we should follow the admonition of a distinguished Senator from Connecticut when he said: "We had better push military aspects of space and not share peacetime space know-how with the Russians. The Russians want to pick our brains for their military use and they tell us nothing." We had delegations from Russia visiting all over America, going into the plants where our airplanes, our fighters, our bombers, our war preparation was taking place.

The Russians learned the secret power of this country. Those delegations were composed largely of the Russian police and security agents spying to lay the foundation for an attack, when the time should come. How stupid can we be that we continue to give away our money, to give away our secrets, and to give away our souls to the Russian Communist conspiracy? Some may ask us the question: "If we do away with the United Nations, what then becomes of the direction of the forces of the world, the forces for evil and the forces for good?" Our answer to these timid souls is that the United Nations has never at any time forced, compelled, or impressed upon the world a peaceful moment. There are wars going on all over the globe today. More than 5,000—yes, many more—thousands of American boys are in South Vietnam today because the forces of the United Nations will not stop the Communists from invading that nation. You ask us what should we do without the United Nations. Well may we propose to those timid souls that the great and powerful nations, the free nations of the world, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, West Germany, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Scandinavians, and all other nations who want to be free can aline themselves on the side of freedom, led by this mighty Republic, and we shall say to the Communists: "Get off of our soil; get out of our way." We have more people in the free world today than they've got in the slave world of the Communists. We have more power for manufacture than the Communists.

One-half of the world is starving today for food because of the Communist yoke of slavery impressed upon them. And it is the considered opinion of many of the wise statesmen of our time that the only reason the Russian Communist organization has not attacked the free world is that they know they do not have the food and cannot make the slave peoples support a war. It would take more soldiers under Russian command in the Communist group to patrol and to keep the slave nations and the satellites of the Communists in line than Russia could put on the front at any one time. These Communist leaders know that if they started a war they will be defeated; they will be annihilated; they must know the United States will never surrender.

Therein lies the hope of the peace of the world. The peace of the world can be kept by those who are strong; those who are brave; and those who will be free; with God's help, the United States of America—our country—will lead the way.

Our ships have sailed on every sea,
We've protected many a state.
God grant our greatness may not fade
Through craven fears
Of being great.

## Senator Henry Dworshak

SPEECH
OF
## HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late beloved Senator HENRY DWORSHAK.

While he was serving in the House of Representatives, we were closely associated as members of the Committee on Appropriations—and later as conferees between the House and Senate. I found him to be a fine gentleman—industrious and fair. I am happy that I had the opportunity to work so closely with him. His handclasp was warm and friendly.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a great American. His life was dedicated to the preservation of our country and its resources. He served his State and Nation with distinction.

To his good wife and fine sons, I extend my deep heartfelt sympathy in their sad bereavement.

## The Passport Office Under the Direction of Miss Frances G. Knight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**Hon. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for extensive public reading the following excellent article on the service of the Passport Office under the direction of Miss Frances G. Knight. The agency indeed merits the signal praise accorded to it in these words of Kermit Holt which appeared in the Chicago Tribune under date of July 15, 1962:

FROM A TRAVELER
(By Kermit Holt)

This is going to be your first trip out of the country. You're going to need a passport—and you think maybe you'd better get started early; it's a Government operation and you can see yourself slashing your way through knots of redtape.

Relax! Getting a passport is such a simple matter, carried out with such efficiency, that you'll be amazed. And you'll be even more amazed at the speed with which you get it. Chances are good, if you live in the Chicago area, it will be in your hands in 24 hours—certainly no later than 48 hours. And even if a weekend intervenes, it's rarely more than 5 days. In most cases, if you apply for it in Chicago in the morning, you'll get it at home in the next day's mail!

Things weren't always this way. Remember how long it used to take to get a passport—often 2 weeks, 3 weeks, a month? Your trip was fast approaching and you lost sleep wondering if your passport would arrive in time. There's no worry anymore.

A man has to admit it: All this is due to feminine efficiency in the head office, a streamlining of procedures by Miss Frances G. Knight, Director of the State Department's Passport Office since 1955. Miss Knight introduced new methods and modern machines, redesigned passport application forms, opened new passport agencies, and gave them the authority to issue passports on the spot—after approval via teletype to Washington—and the first of last year introduced a new blue passport, more durable and harder to duplicate than the old greencloth-covered one.

A woman has to be given credit for the nationwide improvements in passport procedures, including those in Chicago, but the credit for local efficiency, making the getting of a passport such a happy experience for a midwestern traveler, must be shared with a mere man, W. Bruce Weaver, agent in charge of the passport agency in Chicago since 1958.

The Chicago passport agency will be 40 years old next Saturday (it was opened July 21, 1923, but was closed during the war years—GI travelers had no need for passports) but it doesn't look its age. It did until about 4 years ago when Miss Knight added another feminine touch. The once-dreary place was enlarged, redecorated, and refurbished until it compares favorably with the eye-appeal of airline and steamship ticket offices. Weaver and his staff of 10 in Chicago—expanded to 12 during the busiest season, March through June—issued 52,343 passports last year and expect to handle almost 60,000 before this year ends. And in 70 percent of the cases, the traveler got his passport in the next day's mail.

The Chicago passport agency, on the second floor of the U.S. Courthouse at 219 South Clark Street, handles passport applications from 18 Midwestern States. For those outside the Chicago area, applications may be executed by the clerk of any U.S. district court or by a clerk of a branch of any State court having authority to naturalize an alien. Then the applications are sent by mail to the Chicago agency.

If you come in person to the Chicago agency, a passport costs $10—$9 plus $1 as an execution fee. If the application is executed by clerks of State courts, the fee is $11 (clerks of State courts are authorized to collect a $1 execution fee). Renewing a passport (a new passport is valid for 3 years from the date of issue and may be renewed for an additional 2 years) costs $5.

Many travelers, however, have passports issued prior to September 14, 1959, and in that case the passport is valid for only 2 years from the date of issue and may be renewed for another 2 years, but no more than 4 years from the date of issue. The new passports, with renewal, expire 5 years from date of issue.

Here's what to take with you when you go in person to the second floor of the U.S. courthouse:

1. Proof of U.S. citizenship. That can be a birth or baptismal certificate (the original, not a photostat) or an affidavit executed by a parent, a close relative, or some other person having personal knowledge of your date and place of birth; or a naturalization certificate or evidence of citizenship of the person through whom you claim citizenship. A previously issued passport also will be accepted as proof of citizenship.

2. Evidence of identity. That can be an identification card or pass containing your signature and photograph or physical description — driver's license, government, industrial, or business identification card, or previous passport. It's no longer necessary to have an identifying witness who has known you for at least 2 years if you can establish your identity through other methods.

3. Two duplicate photographs. Both must be signed by the applicant and must have been taken within 2 years, either in color or black and white. The photographs must be full faced, on thin, unglazed paper, with a light background, and not over 3 by 3 inches or less than 2½ by 2½ inches. A relaxed, natural pose is recommended. Bring along a group photograph when a wife and/or children are to be included. (A passport may be amended to include the bearer's spouse or minor children by applying either by mail or in person at the Chicago passport agency.)

The whole process of applying for a passport takes only a matter of minutes. The information goes to Washington by teletype for a quick check. Unless you're on somebody's "wanted" list or unless there's a citizenship problem, you'll have your passport in your hands next day or the day after. For all-around efficiency it's difficult to top the U.S. passport agency.

## District of Columbia Has an Air About It: Defeatism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Mirror of July 20, 1962:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HAS AN AIR ABOUT IT: DEFEATISM
(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

WASHINGTON, July 19.—Coming home from a Europe bustling with prosperity and busy with plans for future strength to an America whose leaders seem drowsy with appeasement is a depressing experience.

Khrushchev's new burst of aggressive insolence was predictable. German officers in Bonn told me a month ago that our efforts to induce the Russians to see reason on Berlin, disarmament, the stoppage of tests, Laos, etc., were bound to provoke not a settlement but a new set of Soviet demands.

Yet I get back just as Secretary of State Rusk starts off to Europe to celebrate the signing of a treaty with Laos that may cost us South Vietnam as well, and to try to find out why the Russians do not see reason on the subject of Berlin.

I hear over the radio that our Secretary thinks that even if Laos goes Communist, that will be no loss and if it stays neutral that will be just dandy. By the same theory he could advocate the neutrality of all Western Europe, of Japan and of all our other allies.

My friends here tell me that the President's chief aim is to avoid direct confrontation with the Russians—meaning a tank facing a tank, while the truth is that the basic missile-to-missile stance is a giant confrontation which cannot be avoided if we wish to remain free.

I am also told that Secretary McNamara thinks that aiming our missiles at Soviet strategical targets exclusively will cool Moscow's passion for brinkmanship. Why doesn't somebody tell him that brinkmanship is the Soviets' chief weapon and that only bold counterbrinkmanship by the United States has (so far) restricted the Communist blight to one-third of the world?

But instead of sending our new Ambassador, Foy Kohler, to Moscow, with instructions to inform the Russians that the endless palaver has ended with the recall of Ambassador Thompson, the President states that Kohler's job will be to "prevent nuclear war with Russia."

Why not shut up, join our allies in scientific research and military strength, and let the Russians worry about the chances of conflict with us—for a change? If, as Secretary McNamara boasted, our side is much stronger, the danger of the Soviets starting a nuclear war is far less than the danger of making any further concessions to them.

In short, I find the Washington official attitude one of basic defeatism hidden behind a hot air screen of talk about the historical trend being on our side. And obviously, this administration considers every day that passes without a nuclear war to be a victory even if Laos or British Guiana does slip behind the Iron Curtain.

Here at home I find an element of humor in the debate about whether or not the administration is pursuing a no-win policy. State Department Planner Walter Rostow says it is not—and then goes on to state that neither side can have victory. A distinguished columnist writes that the President really is trying to win the cold war but mistakenly refrains from saying so.

But surely, on this point the President himself is the ultimate authority. Only recently he told a press conference: "We are trying to maintain our own position."

If this means anything, it means that the United States will be satisfied with more or less successful containment of further Communist expansion. This may or may not be the best we could do.

It is certainly not a policy of winning.

## Tribute to Hon. Abraham Ribicoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, the President today signed the public welfare amendments of 1962—which holds great promise for the needy people of this country, as well as for all our taxpayers. I would like to mark this occasion with a tribute to Abe Ribicoff, who has just resigned as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to run for the U.S. Senate from Connecticut. For he is the man who sparked that welfare reform and had the imagination and initiative to help President Kennedy and the Congress secure it for all the American people.

When Secretary Ribicoff came to his new post, he said that his experience as Governor of Connecticut had convinced him that social workers in our country had, for the most part, become "mere conduits" between the 4½ million people on relief—at a cost of some $7¼ billion—and the public purse. Underpaid, overworked, and usually undertrained, they didn't have the chance to help these people get off relief and back into useful self-supporting lives.

Mr. Ribicoff promised the Senate Finance Committee during his confirmation hearings a careful review and reappraisal of Federal welfare laws and programs. This promise resulted in one of the most comprehensive examinations of welfare operations ever conducted by the Federal Government. Social welfare leaders, Government officials, and interested citizens across the land worked together under Secretary Ribicoff's tireless leadership to produce recommendations aimed to prevent and reduce dependency and in the long run cut its high cost to the Nation.

Consider that just about a year ago the heartless, negative example of Newburgh was blazoned in the headlines and that today we have a new, a constructive program of welfare reform, stressing prevention, and where that is too late—rehabilitation, or a fresh start. We are going to have day-care centers for children of working mothers, so that these mothers can work and earn their own way. We are going to have community work projects. Throughout—we are going to try to help people in every way to help themselves.

Much, much of the credit for this new program goes to Abe Ribicoff. He went about his task quietly, bringing together people of different views, seeking the most constructive solutions. It is the way he works. It is the way he blazed new trails in social security, in combating juvenile delinquency, in achieving progress in educational television and water pollution control. It is the way he went about the United States, arousing the people to their lack of commitment to excellence in education whether elementary, secondary, or college.

Do the people of this country know his steady efforts helped get them more nursing homes and community health facilities? Sounder help for our Cuban refugees—who turned their backs on the evils of communism? Retraining for our unemployed workers? I think not. I think they may, in fact, be more conscious of our failures to obtain hospital care for our older citizens or improved education for our children. For these the Secretary fought too with all his strength, and I am confident that, when he comes to the Senate in January, he will be able to work to assure their eventual enactment into law.

Abe Ribicoff was a great Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. I look forward to working with him in the U.S. Congress, where I know he will be a greater Senator.

## Our Gold Reserve Keeps Dwindling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PETER H. DOMINICK**
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article by Mr. Henry J. Taylor published in the Rocky Mountain News, clear-cut reasons for our loss of gold reserves are set forth. Along with other Members, I have emphasized these points. But as is plain from Mr. Taylor's articles, the administration fails to heed these warnings. I urge my fellow Members to give this article serious thought and include it as part of my remarks:

OUR GOLD RESERVE KEEPS DWINDLING
(By Henry J. Taylor)

Goodby to more gold. What New Frontiersmen call sophistication in their thinking is, instead, an immaturity in their thinking. And that's the root of our gold crisis today.

Children in a candy store see all life in terms of spending more. Their introspection stops there. They merely make excuses for any obstructions. This is not a tragedy in children, but it is a tragedy when it dominates the policy of a great government.

The world responds, for the world is an old, old place, and it has seen many a sophisticate come and go—to the poorhouse. Every ounce of gold we have at Fort Knox is mortgaged. And Europeans are so unsophisticated that they prefer gold to the prospect of dollarettes.

Switzerland drew $25 million in the week ended July 11, and France $112.5 million. That knocked our gold supply down to a new 33-year low. For while the President and the White House brain trust say, "Yes, yes, our spend-spend debt-debt will get this country going," world confidence and the stock market say, "No, no."

The gold outflow in the first 6 months of 1962 ($592 million) is more than twice the loss in the first 6 months of 1961 ($216 million). Moreover, the week's outflow was the largest in 8 months.

The barrel now holds less than $16.3 billion. Of this, the law requires $11.5 billion behind our currency. That leaves less than $5 billion to meet $18 billion net short-term claims foreigners have on us, payable in gold.

But here comes a little "sophistication." Washington hardly discloses that many of these creditors have required Uncle Sam's gold guarantee behind some of the covenants if doing confidence continues to wane.

Economics will bend only so far to the desires of our political spenders. Then something has to give. And our gold is what gave again July 11. Yet "sophistication" in another of its several forms came forward. Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon sought to smother the required (Federal Reserve) report by intruding on it in a way that typifies why it's so hard for the public to realize what is happening behind the scenes.

He came up with what the New York Times sagely described as a "smooth public relations technique by surrounding the renewed gold outflow with fortuitous developments." Dillon coupled with the figures a simultaneous news blurb pointing hard in a different direction to mix up the news reports.

The news blurb said France is prepaying $293 million in debt to us. This simply means France doesn't owe it any more. Moreover, our accounts receivable now just fall short that much; all of which is no more pertinent to the grim gold figure than if Dillon had announced a birthday of Brigitte Bardot.

## Address of Harrison F. Houghton, Chief Economist, Select Committee on Small Business, U.S. House of Representatives, on "Random Comments on Entry and Public Policy," Delivered at Market Structure Workshop, Purdue University, June 21, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WRIGHT PATMAN**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a matter of increasing concern to those interested in the welfare of small business in the American free enterprise system is whether there is opportunity to small firms to enter into various lines of business activity, and to grow and prosper. Unfortunately, because of the growth of monopolies and oligopolies, opportunities for small business have been shrinking. Thus, the competitive challenge offered by new entrepreneurs is too often a thing of the past, particularly with respect to industries where dominant firms have gained control of the market.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is a growing interest in questions of market structure and opportunity for entry of small business among economists. In June, a group of some 100 economists from all over the Nation held a market structure workshop at Purdue University, for the purpose of exploring questions of market structure. One of the addresses given to this group was made by Harrison F. Houghton, chief economist of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives. Because of Mr. Houghton's long experience in the field of small business and antitrust, his comments are par-

ticularly noteworthy on the role of the economist in translating economic propositions into workable form for the policymaker.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to incorporate in the RECORD the text of Mr. Houghton's address:

RANDOM COMMENTS ON ENTRY AND PUBLIC POLICY

(By Harrison F. Houghton, chief economist, Select Committee on Small Business, U.S. House of Representatives, delivered at Market Structure Workshop, Purdue University, June 21, 1962)

As epochs are measured, it is now a generation, 30 years, since Chamberlin [1] and Joan Robinson [2] were in a photo finish race to announce that the real world consists largely of oligopolies, and that pure or perfect competition, to which monopoly was an occasional aberration, no longer was a worthy symbol of reality. Despite the high stakes involved, Mrs. Robinson paused long enough to offer a word of advice to the toolmakers in economic analysis. "The gap between the toolmakers and the toolusers is a distressingly wide one," she said, "and no economist can fail to have sympathy with the impatience of the politician, the businessman, and the statistical investigator, who complain of the extremely poor, arid, or even misleading information with which the analytical economists provide him." [3]

This advice seems most pertinent as we explore the question of entry and market structure, particularly in relation to public policy.

Emphasis on entry, both in the theoretical literature and in public policy, seems to be of relatively recent origin. The august Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,[4] for example, does not include the term "entry." The subject is not specially treated in Handler's [5] TNEC monograph on the antitrust laws, and is only briefly discussed in Wilcox's [6] monograph on competition and monopoly in American industry. The legislative history of the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act is silent on the question. Yet entry has become an issue in a number of merger cases under that act, is the subject of a major study by one of our leading academic economists, and is now a matter before this symposium.

Mr. Clodius' stimulating paper contains a most intriguing suggestion, namely, that a barrier to entry to the field of market structure research should be erected. Restricting the field to the more skillful economists capable of "informed judgments," he says, will probably yield "a consensus among people in the field rather than proof in the formal scientific sense." [7]

But when even the most thorough statistical studies must clear the hearsay rule before becoming probative, one may question seriously whether informed judgments can be too useful to the policymaker. Skill and judgment are not perfect substitutes for facts.

Aside from this, a broader question arises as to whether the language, definitions, and techniques used by the market structure toolmaker are suitable for shaping public policy. Antitrust enforcement is concerned with certain concepts, more legal than economic. For example, the keystone of monopolization is summed up in the phrase "power over price or power to exclude." The antimerger statute, section 7 of the Clayton Act, deals with incipient monopoly. The academic market structure specialist is concerned with the relation between market structure and performance, and with workable competition. Neither of these concepts incorporates standards universally agreed upon by economists. While the theorist may provide very provocative propositions in regard to entry, the question arises as to how applicable they are, either to present antitrust enforcement or new legislation.

The thrust of the Celler-Kefauver Act is primarily structural. The legislative mandate, reflected in the Government's presentation in litigated cases, is that the key question in a merger is the impact on concentration. The first mention of entry appears to have occurred in the Federal Trade Commission remand in the Pillsbury case,[8] where the Commission insisted that "all relevant factors" must be considered, including the pattern of acquisitions in the industry, the general increase in market shares, a decline in the number of mills, a lack of new entries, and a movement in the direction of oligopoly in particular markets. The door left ajar for entry by Pillsbury, was opened wide by the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws, which devoted an entire section to the matter.[9]

If defendants took heart by this introduction of entry as a factor of significance, their enthusiasm should not have led to hilarity, for the entry picture has influenced decisions to veto mergers, more often than to approve them In Crystal Sugar, an early private case, the district court observed that "amelioration of market structure conditions" was unlikely through reasonable access to the industry by new entrants.[10]

In Bethlehem,[11] the first Government case decided by the courts, the lack of entry over a long historical period reinforced the court's conclusion as to the merger's prospective bad effects. The court commented as follows (at 606–607):

"The prospect of a new entrant to replace an absorbed Youngstown, either in terms of capital investment or experience, is in the light of the history of this industry, practically nihil.

"The new entrants have made no real dent as far as the larger integrated companies are concerned. * * * The evidence establishes that the industry is and will be frozen in the foreseeable future into the present number of integrated steel producers."

Defendants had not disputed the Government's showing of extreme difficulty of entry of fully integrated steel companies, but had urged that vigorous competition was encouraged by other forms of entry, such as backward integration by semi- or non-integrated firms, or by steel consumers. "Still other kinds of entry are economically important," argued defendants' final brief, including penetration into new regions, expansion of certain producers at rates exceeding those of its rivals, and vertical expansions providing "a form of immediately available entry which necessarily places formidable obstacles in the path of any steel producer attempting to exercise restraints over price and other competitive standards with respect to a particular finished steel product." [12] Apparently these arguments were not decisively impressive to the court.

An interesting sidelight on the question of entry in the Bethlehem case revolved around the item track spikes—one of the lines of commerce. The Government demonstrated negligible entry over a long span of years in the production of this item. Defendants argued, nonetheless, that cost of entry is slight and that consuming railroads could easily acquire spikemaking machines and thus prevent any enhancement of prices.[13] The Court disregarded this argument, which if carried to its ultimate implications, would have involved examination of many peripheral questions, such as reciprocity, the price such railroads would have to pay for the raw material, bar steel, etc., etc.

Bok [14] has carefully examined the Brillo proceeding before the FTC with respect to the relevance of entry, and comments:

"With respect to new entry * * * practically no attention was paid to the question of precisely why this issue should be involved at all. Apparently, the assumption was made that any merger in a market where entry is comparatively easy would be much less likely to impair competition. This assumption, however, seems oversimplified. Economic theory suggests two ways in which freedom of entry may arguably be pertinent. First, the advent of new companies may serve to erode the immediate gains in relative size that accompany a merger. This result, however, is certainly not inevitable. * * * The other use for such evidence would be to demonstrate that potential competition will necessarily be such a threat that it will prevent a dominant firm from exercising its market power in a harmful way.

He reached a twofold conclusion:

"(1) * * * Potential firms are no substitute for actual companies in preserving such noneconomic advantages as the independence of small business, local initiative, and maximum career opportunity.

"(2) * * * Low entry barriers may not keep a dominant firm from raising prices. Such a firm may feel that the profits to be gained before the arrival of new entrants will be large enough to outweigh the advantages of charging a price so low as to discourage entry."

To sum up, consideration of entry in merger litigation [15] is redundant, when a showing is made of structural alteration in the form of a significant increase in concentration. Now entrants normally are of marginal, small firms entering and leaving. Such entrants have no real effect on market structure or market conditions. Basically, the question is whether any new entrants can manage to upgrade to the point of having any impact on the top layer of concentrated control, where price and output matters are determined. In oligopoly industries barriers to entry are formidable. Hence the entry condition will usually reinforce, rather than dilute, the showing of probable lessening of competition or tendency to monopoly, the legislative tests.

Entry in merger litigation has little in common with Bain's [16] work. As Mr. Clodius points out, Bain defines entry as new firm intervention resulting in an increase in industry capacity. It is not to be expected that participants in antitrust controversy will limit themselves to such a narrow definition. Indeed, entry is commonly considered as potential competition from any source, including expansionist activities of firms already in the business, as well as that from substitute products. Bain also emphasizes potential entry as a restraint on market control. While this may be relevant to a Sherman Act case, it could hardly be applied to merger cases concerned with incipient monopoly. Moreover, it is a factor extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assess empirically. Finally, he examines the question of the extent to which barriers to entry might be reduced in order to make competition more workable or to achieve better performance. This goes beyond the field of existing antitrust laws into the area of new legislation—and the analysis is not oriented in that direction. Thus, the tool users could not readily develop or implement a program on the basis of his study.

Most of us here fall into the category either of toolmakers or shapers upon whom the tool users will rely, if they understand us, or if we seem to make sense. But if our

Footnotes at end of speech.

bridge of communication breaks down, traditional "horsesense" will take over and a sort of Gresham's law will evolve where those concerned with the pursuit of victory will drive out of circulation those in pursuit of truth.

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[1] Edward Chamberlin, "The Theory of Monopolistic Competition" (Harvard University Press, 1933).

[2] John Robinson, "The Economics of Imperfect Competition" (Macmillan & Co., 1933).

[3] Ibid., p. 1.

[4] Macmillan, 1930.

[5] Milton Handler, "A Study of the Construction and Enforcement of the Antitrust Laws" (T.N.E.C. Monograph No. 38).

[6] Clair Wilcox, "Competition and Monopoly in American Industry" (T.N.E.C. Monograph No. 21).

[7] Robert L. Clodius, "Operational Criteria for Public Programs Affecting Firm Entry and Exit," p. 4.

[8] FTC docket 6000 (1953).

[9] Report, Mar. 31, 1955, pp. 326–327.

[10] *American Crystal Sugar Co.* v. *The Cuban-American Sugar Co.*, 152 F. Supp. 387, 400 (S.D. N.Y. 1957).

[11] *U.S.* v. *Bethlehem*, 168 F. Supp. 576 (S.D. N.Y. 1958).

[12] Brief on behalf of defendants, p. 111.

[13] Harrison F. Houghton, "The Anatomy of a Merger, Antitrust Bulletin," March–April 1961, vol. 6, No. 2.

[14] Derek C. Bok, section 7 of the "Clayton Act and the Merging of Law and Economics," Harvard Law Review, vol. 74, No. 2, December 1960, 226, 260–261.

[15] Other cases in which a showing of lack of entry has influenced the courts or the Federal Trade Commission to rule against mergers include *Crown, Spalding, Scott, Pillsbury,* and *Union Carbide.* In two cases, on the other hand, *Jerrold Electronics* and *Columbia Pictures,* great opportunity for new companies to enter the relevant markets influenced the courts to approve mergers. See Betty Bock, Mergers and Markets, 1962, National Industrial Conference Board, pp. 112–116 and 45.

[16] Joe S. Bain, "Barriers to New Competition" (Harvard University Press, 1956).

## New Legislative Representative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Glenn G. Hays, representative of the Bureau of Legislation of the National Woman's Christian Union, is retiring from that position as well as from her post as first vice president of the world's WCTU to return to her home in Ransom, Kans. While she will be greatly missed by her many friends in Washington, both in and out of Government, Kansans will welcome her back home again. Mrs. Hays has served her organization admirably and unselfishly in assignments of top responsibility. I want to join with all of her friends and associates in wishing her well.

The following report on her retirement is from her own column in the July 28, 1962, issue of the Union Signal, official publication of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union:

NEW LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE

It is time for me to retire and go back to the comfortable home in Ransom, Kans., where my husband and I had so many happy years. It is a small town, my hometown, where I shall be among friends and neighbors I have known all my life.

Every association I have had in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been happy and rewarding for me. As Glenn and I traveled in every State of the Union we found kind and considerate friends, until we were assured that WCTU comrades are the finest ever. Our lives were enriched by the thousands with whom we worked and associated—the secretaries and staff workers, the officers and leaders, the hosts who entertained us in their homes, the representatives of other groups.

Now, I am retiring also as first vice president of the World's WCTU. For the first time since I became a local WCTU president in the western Kansas town where my husband was high school principal, I shall be serving the WCTU in no official capacity. I shall be glad to have less responsibility, but my interest and loyalty will never wane. I am sure that I shall never miss a WCTU meeting which it is appropriate and possible for me to attend.

Mrs. Tooze has announced that Mrs. Mildred B. Harman will represent the National WCTU in its Bureau of Legislation. I am happy that one so well qualified can accept the appointment. For her I bespeak the same loyal and constant cooperation which you have given me.

Mrs. GLENN G. HAYS,
*Representative, Bureau of Legislation.*
WASHINGTON, D.C.

## Court Didn't Ban the Lord, but Zealots May Attempt It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John S. Knight, president and publisher of the Miami Herald, has written an editorial expressing his views on the recent Supreme Court decision in the New York State school prayer case. Because they reflect thoughtful consideration of the decision and its present and future impact on our religious observances in schools and other public gatherings, I ask that his remarks be printed at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Miamia (Fla.) Herald, July 1, 1962]

COURT DIDN'T BAN THE LORD, BUT ZEALOTS MAY ATTEMPT IT

While preparing for a brief vacation, I have been trying to understand the Supreme Court's recent ruling on the regent's prayer case from New York.

Depending upon how you view the decision, which held an innocuous and inoffensive prayer to be unconstitutional, the arguments run something like this:

Those who are offended by the decision accuse the Court of tortuous reasoning. They say that a logical extension of the Court's ruling, as applied to public schools, might require the abolition of prayer.

They want to know whether we must strike the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, or "And this be our motto: In God is our trust" from "The Star-Spangled Banner" before children may sing it.

THE RULING

In rebuttal, those who agree with the Court maintain that the decision did not prohibit prayers or the mention of God in public schools. They say the Court ruled only on an "official prayer" composed by a governmental agency, the State Board of Regents in New York.

As Justice Black said in delivering the opinion of the Court: "We think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of Government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by the Government."

But Justice Black went on to say: "There is, of course, nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that schoolchildren and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, which contain references to the deity or by singing officially composed anthems, which include the composer's professions of faith in a supreme being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God."

VOLUNTEERS ONLY

Thus it would seem that the Court's decision in the New York case held only that no branch of government can "order" the recital of any prayer since this would be in violation of the first amendment to the Constitution.

So the singing of "God Bless America" and "the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag" will not be barred since they are in no way "official." Nor does the decision contain any prohibition against voluntary prayers or recitations.

In the matter of Christmas celebrations, no governmental body can require such exercises. But, as David Lawrence has explained, if a class of pupils voluntarily sets up a program at Christmas and wants to sing any song, this is not barred. Some pupils could object and refrain from participation, or even leave the classroom.

What is really prohibited is any form of religious exercise which is prescribed by any branch of Government or by any individual holding public office.

OBJECTIONS APLENTY

If this reasoning is accepted, it appears that many of the early denunciations of the Court's ruling were based upon misinformation and misunderstanding.

As Editor Bill Baggs said in the Miami News: "The Court was reemphasizing that the state and the church are separate in the United States."

The Court was not, as some Members of Congress have charged, "promoting atheism."

Nevertheless, Justice Douglas in a dictum of his own expressed doubts concerning the use of prayers in opening sessions of the Supreme Court and each House of Congress. He went so far as to say that "once government finances a religious exercise it inserts a divisive influence into our communities."

While the concurring but separate opinion expressed by Justice Douglas has no bearing on the Court's decision, it is certainly subject to criticism as stretching the meaning of the first amendment to tortuous lengths.

Objections to the Court's action range from the Alabama Legislature, which found it "diabolical," to Cardinal Spellman's statement that "if that simple prayer can be interpreted as violating the separation of church and state, then I, too, can only pray: 'God save the United States,' for America has surely traveled far from the ideals of her Founding Fathers when the prayerful

mention of God's holy name in a public school breaks the law of this blessed land."

I suspect that Cardinal Spellman's utterance reflects the feeling of most Americans.

One is also tempted to agree with the Charlotte News which said: "Judicial interpretation is a vexing task, with endless implications arising from each decision. But, in this case, the Court has struck down, with no cause of necessity, a principle and an idea that was simple, fundamental, and ennobling. It has said that the Nation may not help its children to share in the spiritual heritage which is so great a part and power of the Nation."

Those who are agitated by the Court's ruling can take some comfort from the fact that the opinion, as written by Justice Black, was not nearly so sweeping as the early denunciations would make it appear.

There will be other cases, and possibly other decisions they will find more pleasing. Certainly, many of the editorial criticisms were emotionally, rather than judicially, found.

POINT TO REMEMBER

My personal regret over the decision arises because the American Civil Liberties Union and other extremists will not be content with what the Court has done but will seek to go much further in outlawing religious observances in the schools.

In fact, the ACLU has already called upon its 33 affiliates to launch a drive against Christmas and Chanukah observance, Bible reading, reciting the Lord's Prayer and baccalaureate services.

And, as mentioned earlier, Justice Douglas has expressed grave doubts over the use of prayer before the Supreme Court and the Congress.

In time, any number of zealots and crackpots will twist the Court's ruling in the New York case and quote the Douglas "dictum" to bolster their arguments and support their own purposes.

This is most unfortunate. For, as Don Shoemaker has written in the Miami Herald: "What the Founding Fathers obviously desired * * * was to avoid the establishment of a state church—not to disavow religious recognition."

We must now accept the decision that "official" prayers—directed by teachers in the classroom—are unconstitutional.

But the Court did not ban the Lord from our schools.

It is important to keep this distinction in mind when discussing the now famous New York school prayer case.

## House-Senate Conferences on Appropriation Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER H. DOMINICK
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. Speaker, recently, Mr. James Marlow, one of our very able newspaper columnists, has written a very interesting article in which he discusses the background and circumstances surrounding the disagreement which has occurred between the chairmen of the Appropriations Committees of the two Houses of Congress. It makes interesting reading and is most enlightening on the basic issues in the disagreement. Although the logjam has now been broken, I include Mr. Marlow's article as part of my remarks as it emphasizes some of the problems which Congress and the country must face from time to time:

THE WORLD TODAY
(By James Marlow)

WASHINGTON.—Two elderly Democrats are captains in one of the stuffiest disputes—it's called a battle for prestige—that ever slowed down the machinery of Congress.

For more than 3 months, the quarrel between these two men and the committees of which they are chairmen has prevented the House and Senate from voting on money to run the Government.

While the feud drags on, Government agencies are permitted under emergency regulations to go on spending this month at the rate they did in fiscal 1962, which ended June 30.

The argument between the two groups will probably have the same effect on the general public as Patrick Henry used to have on Thomas Jefferson, who said, "Although it was difficult when he had spoken to tell what he said; yet, while he was speaking, it always seemed directly to the point."

Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, 84, has been in Congress 50 years, longer than anyone there. Representative CLARENCE CANNON, of Missouri, 83, has been a Member of the House 39 years.

HAYDEN, as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and CANNON, as chairman of its opposite number in the House, are two of the most powerful men in Congress.

It's the kind of power that goes away back in congressional history.

Woodrow Wilson was writing respectfully on this subject 77 years ago, "I know not how better to describe our form of government in a single phrase than by calling it a government by the chairmen of the standing committees of Congress."

The dispute over prestige in this case involves tradition, one of the most sacred areas in Congress, although anthropologists sometimes refer to tradition as tribal custom.

Under the Constitution, revenue bills—taxation—are to originate in the House. It does not say appropriations bills—money voted by Congress for running the Government—have to originate in the House or be voted on there first.

But somehow traditionally the House has handled them first, too. The amount of money the House votes and the amount of money the Senate votes are seldom the same.

So members of the Hayden and Cannon committees must confer to reach a compromise by ironing out the differences. Then the agreed-on bill goes back to the full House and Senate for final and formal approval.

But also, somehow traditionally, these conferences between the two committees have been taking place on the Senate side of the Capitol with a Senator acting as chairman.

This irked CANNON and his committee of the House. House Members may feel a little inferior to the Senate for various reasons.

For example, House Members give up their seats to run for the Senate, even though the salary is the same, $22,500.

So CANNON'S committee, which may have felt like peasants with a petition, got fed up with trudging over to the Senate side for a conference under the chairmanship of a Senator and made demands on HAYDEN'S committee.

They were that half the conferences must be held on the House side of the Capitol and half of them must be under the chairmanship of a House Member.

But before HAYDEN would agree to that, he wanted a concession: An end to the tradition that all money bills originate in the House. He wants half of them to originate in the Senate.

That's where the two committees got stuck and have been stuck ever since. The full Houses have not been able to vote money for any Government department because their Appropriations Committees have not sent them agreed-on bills.

The two committees and their chairmen may get unstuffed soon to let the Government function as it is supposed to. Pressure is building up on them.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BRIGHTWATERS, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.
*June 15, 1962.*

Congressman OTIS PIKE,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PIKE: I wish to thank you for forwarding to me "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" and other requested publications. If more citizens and Congressmen took interest in this and other publications, I am sure that the Communist ideology would not be the serious internal threat it is today. Just think, it takes 248 pages just to list the subversive organizations.

I hope that you will help Congressman DAN FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, in his valiant effort to establish a Captive Nations Com-

mittee. Our Suffolk County American Legion, representing 6,500 Legionnaires, passed a resolution to this effect on June 9, so I am not the only one in your district who feels this way.

Here is our best method of winning the cold war (really, of course, a hot war for survival) without a nuclear or other type of battle. For if we can merely give the captive millions a little encouragement, the Reds will be unable to keep them under thumb for long. But, as long as our State Department fails to exploit the truth to our advantage, we will be unable to aid the captive nations in any capacity.

Accordingly, I urge your support of Congressman DAN FLOOD's House Resolution 211. Further, I respectfully request you inquire into the matter, to see why a year and a half has passed since introduction of the resolution, without getting it out of committee. Despite hundreds of letters, some of which forwarded petitions signed by thousands of citizens, the bill still languishes in committee. Frankly, I know many persons who are getting quite provoked, to put it mildly.

Thanks for your kind attention.

Yours for freedom,

E. LEE NORTH.

P.S.—God bless you, sir; keep up the good fight.

LEE NORTH.

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PATERSON, N.J.,
*June 19, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Iwan Bajeu, a Cossack by origin, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to create a Special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

IWAN BAJEU.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your proposition in House Resolution 211 to be the best means available now in the battle against the gangsters of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

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PATERSON, N.J.,
*June 21, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Andrej Stabroosky, am a Cossack by origin and an American citizen. I urge you to support the enactment of the Flood resolution to create the Special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

ANDREJ STABROOSKY.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Your House Resolution 211 is the best way to fight the cold war battles against the Moscow colonialists. We support you.

Sincerely yours,

MARIA LEWCZENKO.

## The True Targets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the current controversy over the Supreme Court decision in the New York school prayer case has resulted in heavy mail in each congressional office. Many Floridians have expressed their views and will continue to do so until the decision is better understood or receives further Court interpretation.

Editorial comment is a key indicator of public reaction, and an editorial in the Palm Beach Post-Times for July 1 studies the Court action with insight.

I ask that this editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Palm Beach (Fla.) Post-Times, July 1, 1962]

THE TRUE TARGETS

Now that some of the heat and fury of public reaction against the Supreme Court's decision last week concerning prayers in public schools has subsided, perhaps the time is ripe for a more thorough examination of just what the tribunal has ruled and what it has not ruled.

In the first place, the Supreme Court did not rule that prayers in public schools are unconstitutional.

The Court did rule that there can be no "official" prayers in public schools. It did rule that no State government or any other branch of government can "direct" the saying of any prayer.

The case on which the decision was made involved a New York State law which prescribed a prayer to be used in the public schools. In other words, the prayer was written by and directed by a governmental body. It is true that the law specified that no student should be compelled to take part in reciting the prayer and provided that any who wished could leave the room while it was being said.

The wording of the prayer was this: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

Now here is what the Court ruled officially:

"We think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government."

Simplified, the Court has said no governmental body and no person on a public payroll can require any individual or any group to recite a prayer, sing a song or participate in any religious exercise.

It did not say that no individual or group, such as a class in a public school, cannot voluntarily recite a prayer, sing a song or participate in a religious exercise.

This closer look makes it clear, of course, that the Court's ruling was not as all-encompassing as many people believe.

The true targets for public criticism and censure in this situation really are not the members of the Court. They are the individuals and groups who selfishly abused their rights as American citizens to take offense at the simple little prayer involved and institute the legal action that forced the Court to make its decision.

That tiny minority has used legal processes available to all Americans to impose their wishes upon the vast majority.

## Holes in Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, George Todt, a columnist who writes regularly for the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, has written two excellent columns concerning medicare. One is entitled "Medicare Insurance," the other is entitled "Holes in Medicare."

Under unanimous consent, I place both of the columns in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner, June 27, 1962]

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: MEDICARE INSURANCE

"Nine-tenths of wisdom consists of being wise in time."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Many competent critics of the controversial King-Anderson medicare bill now before Congress believe that a better alternative is the medical care insurance plan for senior citizens proposed by Congressman EDGAR W. HIESTAND, Republican, of California.

What would the Hiestand bill provide for the elderly?

According to the author of the legislation, it would give bona fide benefits superior to King-Anderson or any other similar proposals.

The mechanics would be accomplished through a system of medical care insurance certificates issued by the Treasury Department, and also by tax credits.

COMPLETELY DIFFERENT

Regardless of his income, any American citizen 65 years or older can be assured payment of his hospitalization, surgeon's fees, convalescent home treatment, nursing services, and other benefits.

The Hiestand plan—unlike other proposals—is completely voluntary.

No action is required by State legislatures and it contains no means test.

Actually, HIESTAND's plan is based upon a strictly confidential relationship between the senior citizen patient and the Treasury Department, the health insurance company of his choice, his doctor, and the hospital. No interference by Federal bureaucracy.

This is in reality a true free enterprise measure to help elderly Americans assist themselves without discrimination.

The measure would be financed by tax deduction and credits from the Treasury Department. Every American over 65 would file an income tax report—even in the cases where no tax was owed.

To those who owe no taxes, the Treasury would present a medical care insurance certificate (MCIC)—which would be used thereafter to obtain the kind of private medical health and accident insurance desired by the senior citizen concerned.

TAX DEDUCTIONS

The insurance company, in turn, will receive reimbursement of the health insurance premium cost—up to $125 per person—through turning in the certificate to the Treasury.

If one's income tax is less than $125—or $250 in the case of a married couple—the tax will be forgiven and a medical care insurance certificate issued which will make up the difference.

As an example, if $50 might be owed on taxes—then that much would be forgiven and a $75 medical care insurance certificate issued (the difference of $125 less $50 taxes) so that the senior citizen may obtain health insurance.

A FREE CHOICE

This salutary free-choice plan encourages those who can afford to do so to provide their own insurance protection—or provide it for their elderly relatives. Employers may do so, for elderly or retired employees, too.

One of the main advantages of the Hiestand bill over the administration (King-Anderson) bill is that the latter only protects those covered by railroad retirement and social security. But the former can assist everyone who reaches 65 years of age.

For best results, let's give the Hiestand bill our thoughtful consideration.

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner, June 26, 1962]

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: HOLES IN MEDICARE

"God heals and the doctor takes the fee."—Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac.

What are some of the chief objections to the King-Anderson medicare bill in Congress—and what is a good alternative measure?

Responsible critics of the controversial measure now kicking around on Capitol Hill in Washington say it is a "political devise," pure and simple.

They claim that it was written by leaders of big labor and social theorists who desire to mold a large bloc of senior citizens to their ideological views.

Organization, of course, is their key to power.

Senior citizens' clubs—formed originally to promote companionship and solve common problems—are rapidly being infiltrated with trained political activities.

CREATES VOTE BLOC

Nationwide affiliation of these clubs is creating a strong chain of command—all going on in the name of medical care for the elderly.

The slick young leaders of this movement—many in their thirties—hope to use the King-Anderson bill as a lure to weld 17 million Americans into a well-disciplined voting bloc.

It is expected to be amenable and responsive to each new call to impose more rigid social, economic and political control on the people of the United States. Will it succeed?

Actually, the King-Anderson measure has many weaknesses.

Usually glossed over, let's consider a few basic flaws: (1) It would only pay some hospital bills for some persons over 65 under social security; (2) nearly 50 percent of American senior citizens do not need its benefits or cannot qualify for them; (3) its tax burden would fall mainly on lower and middle class groups.

SOME BASIC FLAWS

Also, (4) it would meet only 25 percent of the total medical needs of our senior citizens; (5) it would not provide the physicians' services and drugs which are major needs of older people; (6) it would require a tremendous boost in social security rates or it would bankrupt the system; and (7) it is a compulsory plan.

Most important, it would result in a bureaucratic regulation of hospital administration and medical practice.

It would cause still another undesirable expansion of the public payroll—public trough would be a better way to put it—and more unwanted expansion of the dear old Federal bureaucracy.

A BETTER WAY

Well, what is a better way for Americans than this one?

Those interested in a workable plan based on free choice of free enterprise should write to Congressman EDGAR W. HIESTAND and learn about the salutary new bill he has introduced in Congress.

It is based on Federal income tax deductions or credits—even for those who do not pay any income tax—and permits our senior citizens to pay for their own insurance policies without interference.

Let's look into the Hiestand bill, the answer to King-Anderson.

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## SBA's Reply to an Editorial in the Wall Street Journal

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the influential Wall Street Journal has always been noted for its complete objectivity in reporting. Unfortunately, however, this condition does not appear to prevail in regard to its editorial policy which most times reflects and echos the views and opinions of big business.

A case in point is an editorial which appeared in that publication on July 2, 1962, entitled "Help Nobody Can Afford." In that editorial the biased point of view of the Associated General Contractors of America, Inc., in its criticism of the present excellent work of the Small Business Administration was repeated. This, apparently, was done without first investigating the facts. On July 11, 1962, I commented on the fact that the Wall Street Journal is wrong and I attempted to point out the errors stated in the editorial. It is a fact that the Associated General Contractors of America, Inc., are the spokesmen for the big business sector of builders of roads, factories, and office buildings.

Congress, in enacting the Small Business Act, declared that the American economic system of private enterprise is predicated upon free competition and annunciated a policy in the interest of small business in order to preserve free competition and to maintain and strengthen the overall economy of the Nation. The Congress further declared that free entry into business must be assured in the achievement of this national policy. The SBA's financial assistance, procurement, and technical assistance programs are designed to accomplish this congressional pronouncement.

One of the points in the Wall Street Journal's editorial castigated SBA's issuance of certificates of competency. As a matter of fact, by virtue of this agency issuing certificates of competency, it has resulted in a saving to the Government of $4.5 million and provided employment for about 1,360 workers. Without the SBA action the contracts would have gone to higher bidders, thus costing the Government and the taxpayers more money.

The Honorable John E. Horne, Administrator of the SBA, has replied to the Wall Street Journal's editorial of July 2, 1962, by a letter to its editor. In this reply, Mr. Horne has answered every criticism leveled at the SBA. I feel that in the interest of fairness and justice Mr. Horne's reply should be given wide circulation and, therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on July 20, 1962, be inserted in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

AGITATED ADMINISTRATOR

EDITOR, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL:

I am indignant at and deeply disturbed by what I can only conclude is a calculated effort on the part of the Wall Street Journal to discredit the Small Business Administration.

The latest incident to come to my attention is an editorial "Help Nobody Can Afford" in the July 2 issue. This editorial is so grossly incorrect and slanted that it appears its author deliberately avoided doing any research into the reasons for and operation of the joint set-aside program for Government construction contracts.

The editorial is only one of a long series continuing such distortion of the facts about SBA and its programs. Must I be forced to conclude that the Journal is woefully lacking in research facilities, or that it deliberately has embarked on a reckless course of misrepresentation?

The editorial says: "People who appear before congressional committees frequently want the Government to do something for them, but spokesmen for a number of construction companies are asking the opposite."

Contrary to what your editorial says, these spokesmen are seeking to maintain a firm grip on Government construction contracts for a select few. They are very definitely seeking to have the Government "do something for them." They are seeking a favored position, a lessening of competition, at the expense of small business.

The editorial also says: "The builders contend that among these firms are some of doubtful competence which the SBA itself, through its loan program, has helped to put in business in direct competition with established builders."

Certain large contractors do contend this, but the argument itself is false. The fact is that small businesses have been traditionally handicapped in securing long-term low-interest financing, and it was for this reason that the Congress authorized SBA to make loans to small business. What facts does your editorial writer have to back his claim that firms that borrow from SBA are "of doubtful competency?" I deny that this is so. Furthermore, there is no direct relationship, as the editorial implies, between firms that receive SBA loans and those that bid on Government contracts.

The editorial states: "But if a company's qualifications are questioned, the SBA simply issues a 'certificate of competency' attesting that the firm is qualified to bid on public projects."

The SBA issues certificates of competency only after a low-bidding small firm is faced

with loss of a contract because the contracting officer questions its financial ability or productive capacity to perform the contract. In such cases, SBA makes a thorough investigation and issues a certificate only when warranted. This certificate relates only to the particular contract in question. While more than 1,000 certificates of competency have been issued by SBA, only 30 have gone to construction firms.

The editorial adds: "The practical consequence of the SBA's set-aside procedures is that bidding is limited to firms designated as 'small' my SBA standards, whether qualified or not."

What facts does the Journal have for this assertion? The SBA is empowered by law to make a determination as to the competence of small firms to perform specific contracts and we do make such determinations. In all matters of judgment mistakes can occur. But does the Journal contend that SBA is carelessly issuing certificates of competency to unqualified firms?

The editorial says further: "A low bidder on a Government project was ruled ineligible by SBA because he wasn't 'small' enough. The next bidder was given the job which as a result cost the taxpayers 29 percent more than it should have."

There is no basis for the assertion that SBA's set-aside program costs the taxpayers additional money. It is true that sometimes a large construction firm which knows it is not eligible to bid on a set-aside contract, and knowing that its bid will be rejected, submits a phony bid—sometimes a below-cost bid—and then complains because its phony bid was "not accepted."

I freely concede the right of the Wall Street Journal to oppose the Small Business Administration and any or all of its programs of assistance to small firms. But in the interest of equity and fairplay I ask that the Journal at the same time adhere to the facts. Surely you will agree that it is by this means that the interests of the public can best be served.

JOHN E. HORNE,
*Administrator, Small Business Administration.*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

[This editorial noted criticism of the Small Business Administration being voiced by the Associated General Contractors of America, Inc.]

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## Editor Pierces Iron Curtain—Finds Drabness, Determination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the benefits of the people-to-people program who are acting as good will ambassadors of the United States of America was brought close to home a few weeks ago.

Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tenn., who is an outstanding newspaperman representing a great newspaper in this Nation, the Commercial Appeal, and the following: William F. Moss, of Nashville, John A. McDonald, of Nashville, William R. Carter, of Fayetteville, Hal Herd, of Franklin, L. C. Langford, of Old Hickory, Leslie Francis Vantrease, of Nashville, Mack Cates, of Nashville, Sidney N. Brown, of Fayetteville, W. Thornton Taylor, of Fayetteville, Louis D. Wallace, of Nashville, Tom J. Hitch, of Thompson Station, Joe C. Bellenfant of College Grove, Harold C. Meachom, of Franklin, Webster Pendergrass, of Knoxville, Clyde York, of Columbia, John W. Carney, of Joelton, Horace C. Colvett, of Alamo, Robert L. Baltz Jr., of Nashville, Roy D. Donegan, of Dickson, Mark Fitzpatrick, of Jeffersonville, Ga., George T. Hamilton, of Paris, A. B. Harris, of Rockford, Milton Humberd, of Cleveland, J. B. Jackson, of White Creek, Clyde E. Morgan, of Murfreesboro, Roy N. McPeak, of Decaturville, E. E. Pace Jr., of Huntingdon, Crosby E. Moore Jr., of Clarksville, Bobby Parkins, of Milan, John M. Proffitt of Athens, James C. Smith of Spring City, Clarence A. Whelchel, of Columbia, and Charles H. Wiles, of Nashville, toured the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and several of the other countries in Europe.

Mr. Ahlgren made a report of his trip in his paper on Sunday, July 22, 1962. The report follows:

EDITOR PIERCES IRON CURTAIN—FINDS DRABNESS, DETERMINATION

(By Frank R. Ahlgren)

It would be great if everybody in America—or the rest of the free world, for that matter—could take a trip behind the Iron Curtain.

For two important reasons: (1) To appreciate the conveniences and creature comforts we enjoy that the Communist countries do not; (2) to get the impact of determination that exists there, a determination to supplant our elective system of economic and governmental activity with their monolithic monstrosity that rules by fear.

The cynical elite who hold the reins know that our system is more productive. They saw what was going on in West Germany, which followed the pattern of federated states much like our own, so they sealed the border. And what a dismaying thing it is to view in the 20th century * * * a people (the East Germans) held in bondage by armed terror.

I am sure you have read this before, but only when you see it, do you realize that we must resist at every turn lest we, too, are victims of our own complacency.

One method of combating the Communists distrust of us—for remember they know only what they are told by the hard core intellectuals who run things out of the Kremlin—is to join a people-to-people tour from which 34 of us from Tennessee have just returned. W. F. "Red" Moss, Tennessee commissioner of agriculture, was in charge. (Another party of Tennesseans leaves next month and similar groups are being recruited from all over the United States.)

These are not devoted to tourism. They are good-will missions dedicated to improving relations between this country and the peoples of Europe, especially those under Communist direction.

For a little background: In 1941 the Soviet Union imposed a ban on foreign tourists which did not end until 1955. Then, in 1956, an agreement was reached under the prodding of President Eisenhower to permit our people to visit the Soviets and, in turn, the Russians could send equal numbers to the United States.

Thus the people-to-people program came into being. Since then, at 2-year intervals, the agreement has been renewed. So as a member of the PTP group you are actually under United States sponsorship and entitled to certain rights. Taking pictures, for example, but not of militarily significant things or beings.

About 2,500 Americans visited Russia in 1957 and in a year this number grew to 6,000. That figure will be considerably enlarged this year; we saw many Americans in the "open cities" which we visited; some on tours, others traveling in small groups.

We had an excellent briefing at Brussels on the European situation (and other world developments since he has served in a great many of our diplomatic stations) from Ambassador Douglas MacArthur III, nephew of the World War II and Korean hero.

He traced our disillusionment over developments that followed World War II. Our unprecedented aid to the Soviet had given us hope of amicable relationships but all we got was hostility from Stalin.

So we had to build our defenses against further takeover by the Communists and the cold war had begun. It is still on. While the Russian people seem friendly enough for the most part, you have only to consult recent stories about efforts to disarm to realize the sophisticates in the Kremlin have no intention of yielding one iota of power.

It was also somewhat startling to find, on closer examination of the Common Market formed by Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Holland, and Luxembourg, that the United States had another, although friendlier, competitor for world trade. The United States businessman no longer enjoys the virtual monopoly left by the destruction of industrial Germany, Japan, and other war-devastated countries. From now on we must get out and sell, use all that United States know-how and enterprise or we will find the Communist bloc and our European friends kicking us out of bed.

We had flown Belgian Sabena jet from New York to Brussels. There we boarded a Russian Aeroflot jet that was parked away from all the other planes like a sulking child. It proved to be a good one, though, and we arrived in Moscow right on the minute. We made four flights with Aeroflot and each was on time, the flying good and the planes adequate. You could identify them as copies, or improvements, of our own or British planes, and they were all equipped for quick adaptation for military purposes.

Since the state owns virtually everything in the Soviet Union it was not surprising to find that Intourist, which was to be our host and guide for the next 9 days, was a state agency and we had several samples of propaganda before we were done with Russia.

Moscow is a huge ant heap of 6 million (some say 9) people, all apparently on the move. By comparison with our cities there are fewer cars. Those we did see looked like they were copied from old Buicks and Plymouths or Chevrolets and Fords. Most were taxis. A few for the elite of the Kremlin looked like they had been stamped from the Packards of 1940.

You can spot the foreign visitors immediately, because Russian women are garbed in shoddy house dresses, American women wouldn't be caught dead on the street wearing, and men's suits look like they were assembled by automobile mechanics. Usually the trousers are so wide they must have difficulty avoiding getting both legs into one pants leg.

Like our cities, Moscow is having difficulty finding room for all the people moving in from rural areas. They are building on a massive scale, but close inspection reveals a lot may be desired in permanency. In fact, the hotel where we stayed was completed in 1957, yet there were bricks falling loose, elevators breaking down and the plumbing was positively antique. And balky.

This reads as though I were looking for blemishes. I assure you I was not. I wanted to be able to alert my countrymen to the

successes of Communist enterprise so that we might be jarred from some of our complacency. But when the defects are so apparent, they, too must be reported. And the Russians of this era do not build very well.

One of our guides proudly told us the Russian Soviet was embarked on a 10-year plan that would bring free housing for everybody, to be followed by a 10-year plan that would provide free transportation. It is my observation the transportation plan will have to be abandoned in favor of rebuilding the shabby construction of that first 10-year plan.

Of course, we were shown principally the things they wanted us to see and our tables were always loaded with bread and an abundance of butter. But even a walk down the side streets (we were given much more freedom of movement than I was prepared for) revealed well-stocked stores and few queues. Those usually were for some special item such as we have lineups on occasion.

We interviewed Deputy Minister of Agriculture Gregori Petrov and he was very frank about the concern for the need of expanding Russian agriculture. He told us of bold planning in areas that did not produce because of climatic conditions and freely admitted that the incentive system on the collective farm was more successful than the state-operated farms.

All land is owned by the state, except for small plots of from ¼ to 2½ acres given the collective farmers for gardens for their own consumption.

There is a little puzzlement that should be mentioned here, perhaps. The people are continually told about the glories of the Communist world and its repeated triumphs over others, especially us. (We are the target for all comparisons and propaganda.)

Yet the people are told they must expend more energy and work more diligently so they can surpass the United States. Some are beginning to wonder, especially when they see so many well-heeled Americans in their hotels and shops or even visiting the occasional countryside that is available.

And these small plots of privately owned land produce about 15 percent of the marketed agricultural products on only 3 to 4 percent of the sown acreage. And remember that the output per Soviet farmer is about one-eighth that of the American farmer.

Everybody works in the Russian Soviet. The women share physical tasks with the men. One collective farm had 3,200 in the fields and 1,700 were women. You already know the women keep the streets of Moscow swept with their antiquated brush brooms.

Our party viewed both state and collective farms. It was unanimous that the collective was more efficient and the Soviet officials admitted that was the direction agricultural production was taking because it afforded incentive.

We could well afford to remember this in our contemplation of farm legislation. Regimentation and lack of incentive have too many followers in our Government.

It was true in Hungary and Poland, where the land is principally owned by the peasants but operated under collective system and "guidance" from the state. The state has ways of "influencing" especially in the matter of price setting.

While in Moscow we attended the magnificent Bolshoi Ballet. There Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Gromyko and some of the other Khrushchev cronies appeared. Mr. K. did not look his radiant, belligerent self but maybe I was reading things into the picture.

There also is an impressive United Soviet Socialist Republic exhibit of economic achievements occupying hundreds of acres with 300 pavilions drawing huge crowds. Some of our boys thought the animal exhibits had been around there a long time and were hardly representative of the Russian Soviet run-of-the-yard stock.

We asked repeatedly to be able to visit a home, in city or on farm. Each time we were put off. Even an apartment would have satisfied us, but somehow the permission never came. The heavy foot traffic probably resulted from crowded living conditions * * * the people just took a walk instead of just sitting around looking at each other. One newspaperman told me sometimes four people, not even members of the same family, occupied a room.

We visited Krasnodar, the heart of rich blackland farming enterprises next, and then a resort [sic] hotel at Abrao Durso on the shores of a beautiful little lake. Here the only champagne vineyard and winery of all Russia is situated, so it had its compensations.

The Black Sea is only a few kilometers away so we took in Novorossisk, also before returning to Krasnodar and then Moscow.

July 4 we arrived in Hungary and H. G. Torbert, Jr., chargé d'affaires, had us to his home for the Independence Day reception. It couldn't have come at a better time. We were heartened by the more enthusiastic welcome we had received from Hungarian officials but to be on U.S.-owned property on July 4 after our recent tour of Russia was an occasion not likely to be forgotten by us Tennesseans.

Heartening also was the crowd of Hungarians who collected around the entrance to smile and wave as if joining us in spirit.

Hungary is Communist. Not the Russian brand but Communist nonetheless. Even if the pressure of Russian troops were removed there is doubt in my mind there would be a great shift to our form of government. As with the Poles and Russians, they did not have it too good under their former rulers and we cannot expect any great upsurge for our side.

They learn a little of West Germany's success and they have relatives in the United States that get word to them about better living here, but I am not optimistic about anything happening soon to bring them into our league.

Budapest and Warsaw were cordial and openly scorned the Russians. But they knuckle down when the diplomatic game starts. Their economies are improving slowly. We are helping both, Hungary with what peaceful means of encouragement we can put forward without bringing retaliation, and Poland with large credits for withdrawals from our farm surpluses.

Polish LOT airlines flew us to Warsaw from Budapest and again from Warsaw to East Berlin's Schonefeld Airport. The East Germans moved in fear and showed little interest in our presence. We had a short trip through the East German sector, sufficient to show us the poor condition of their farming.

A spontaneous cheer went up from the group when we finally wended our way through the redtape and the roadblocks separating the two Berlins. West Berlin, although surrounded by barbed wire on three sides and a horrible wall in front, was cheerful, hospitable and inspiring in its indomitable spirit.

They have trade relations with East Germany for two reasons: They are surrounded by it and they want an outlet for the surplus products that are building up. The wall, about which everybody knows, does not keep products from passing freely at the check points. The irony is that the people trying to get out of East Berlin are sometimes shot.

And the East Berliners were told that West Berlin built the wall.

At one time as many as 2,000 East Berliners a day were fleeing the Red paradise to refuge in West Berlin. It was too obvious that free enterprise was to be preferred to the Soviet-type government. So world opinion was risked because East Berlin was losing its workers and would soon be a greater wasteland than it is.

Of course you have heard of the contrast between the two: West Berlin more than 60 percent restored, East Berlin hardly patched up adequately, let alone showing anything of the vast reconstruction to the west.

In 1947 I saw the terrible destruction of Berlin while working for a short time with Gen. Lucius Clay, a venerated saint to West Berliners. The tremendous accomplishments of West Berliners and the cowed, listless efforts of East Berliners underscored the difference when men are free and when they must work under guns.

West Germany is prosperous. It has made alliances with the French, which I never believed to see. Great things are stirring in that direction and the Kremlin crowd is crying Fascist and imperialist with all its might. But to no avail; the West is prospering.

We found some of the same coolness in Paris as we encountered in Brussels. For the same reasons: our failure to support them in their colonial difficulties. However, we haven't done much for either lately and that may have something to do with it. Considering the times we have come to the rescue of both France and Belgium it would seem there would be a little more warmth.

However, the role of leader is not always the position of being cherished and we must be reconciled. We cannot buy friends in Europe or in this hemisphere.

As someone has said, "An expert is one who has been in a country less than 20 days or more than 20 years." So I shall try some conclusions whether or not they are in demand:

Russian construction and agriculture leave much to be desired. Remember, however, that the precepts of Lenin still prevail: "Use any means to gain your ends." One official made an oblique reference to that in admitting trying to copy our methods. They are in vast numbers (25 million casualties in the last war yet they still swarm the cities) and they have chosen domination of this country as their goal.

Transportation by air is tops but much of their other equipment is tied up in moving missile and satellite supplies. We were scheduled to go to Rostov but the visit was suddenly canceled, a report being there is a satellite project nearby. We must continue to try to get through to the Russian people for the Communist elite know they do not fight with vigor unless the homeland has been invaded. And somehow the people get the idea we do not want war or any part of their territory.

Hungary and Poland may be more defiant as time goes on; East Germany looked completely whipped. The contrast with West Germany has Khrushchev worried but he has plenty of divisions and a lot of hardware for war. Unquestionably there has been a loosening of restrictions and the farther you get from Moscow the friendlier the air.

Again, though, under the Communist system the climate can change pretty fast. (That Berlin wall was thrown up overnight and reinformed very swiftly when people began leaping it.)

At any rate, like I said at the beginning, meeting the people is the best way to convince them we are not a bunch of warmongers. So go behind the Iron Curtain if you are able. Take your wife, too, if you can. They certainly share the work with the women.

## Court Restricts Government, Not Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court decision in the New York school prayer case has caused great concern throughout the Nation. Many people have commented on it, and our congressional mail has been heavy.

Mr. William Spear, editor of the Fort Myers News-Press, in an editorial dated June 28, has written that the Court restricts Government, not citizens. As an example of the reaction in Florida to the Court decision, I include Mr. Spear's editorial at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

COURT RESTRICTS GOVERNMENT, NOT CITIZENS

Critics of the Supreme Court's school prayer decision are making violent and bitter attacks on it—as they have every right to do under the first amendment which the decision upheld. But much of the criticism seems based on misunderstanding of just what it was that the Court said.

The Court has seen "fit to abolish God from the lives of the people of this country," says Justice Millard Caldwell, of the Florida Supreme Court.

It is a decision "denying the privilege of prayer to God under law," says Cardinal McIntyre, of Los Angeles.

It forbids "the expression of even the simplest acknowledgment of a belief in God," says Senator WALLACE F. BENNETT, of Utah, a Mormon elder.

"The Court is denying freedom of religion to children in school," commented a Fort Myers woman.

Not at all; the Court did none of these things. It's unfortunate that the exigencies of headline writing—big letters in small space—required the headlines in most papers to say that the Supreme Court barred prayers in public schools. It didn't. It barred the Government—in this case the New York Board of Regents, which runs the schools—from requiring, recommending, or sponsoring prayers in public schools. There's a big difference.

Any children who want to say prayers in school, or whose parents want them to, can say them. They can offer any prayer they want to, including the specific prayer that figured in this case. They can say prayers in the schoolbus, on the playground, in the halls, even in their seats in the classroom before or after the lesson. The teachers and principals can pray, too. Anybody can say any prayer he wants to anywhere, anytime.

The Court's ruling was not directed at the citizens but at the Government. It didn't tell citizens that they must or must not do anything. It told the Government. It told it that Government must not sponsor a specific prayer to be said in public schools.

Citizens cherishing freedom of religion should welcome, not deplore, this restriction on government. Our written Constitution was framed by men who had firsthand knowledge, as our generation of Americans does not, of the evils and oppression that can come from state-sponsored religion. They were determined that the United States of America should be a free country, with every citizen free to think what he pleases, to speak his thoughts, and to worship his God, whatever his God might be, or refuse to worship anybody's God if that was his wish. To this end they wrote into the Constitution certain restrictions—not on the citizens but on the Government. It is to one of these restrictions on the Government that the Supreme Court's ruling is directed, leaving citizens free to pray in school or elsewhere or perform any other devotions they may wish to their God.

## Competition for Defense Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, this week a number of Midwestern Congressmen voiced dissatisfaction with a report by the Defense Department entitled "Changing Patterns of Defense Procurement." The report showed a concentration of basic research and applied research and weapons development contracts on the east and west coasts during the past year.

As a matter of fact, Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, of Ohio, stated that he did not believe that all the brains in the counrty are centered in California, New York, and Massachusetts, and argued for more defense contracts for the State of Ohio. I do not blame the Senator for trying to aid Ohio, and I also agree that we have no corner on the brain market. I point out the fact that while much of the research brainpower in the country seems to be concentrated on the east coast, I believe that other States have received their fair share of the defense dollar.

I would like to address myself to the interpretation of the phrase "fair share." It seems to me that the phrase "fair share" should be viewed in light of Secretary McNamara's statement of the criteria used by the Department of Defense in the awarding of defense contracts. Secretary McNamara said that the first and paramount objective of the Defense Department is to acquire weapons and materials which fully meet qualitative, authoritative and delivery requirements at the lowest overall cost. The dialog among the representatives of the various States should be viewed with this basic objective in mind. Contracts should continue to be awarded on the basis of the best quality at the lowest cost to the American taxpayer, not merely on the basis of equalizing the defense dollar among the various States.

I believe that there are sound reasons as to why Massachusetts and California receive more than one-half of the research and development and test and evaluation contracts. A report written far from either coast, at the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest at Dallas, Tex., concisely states the reasons why these two States receive such a high percentage of the research contracts:

Management planners, in considering sites for new or expanded facilities, have found that the availability of trained minds overshadows even such factors as the labor market, water supply, and power resources. Such a migration arises from the need by industry for access to persons with advanced training who can transact the new science into vastly improved or wholly new products.

It seems to me neither mysterious nor unfair why many firms should choose Massachusetts as the site where their business is most likely to prosper. The Bay State has merited its reputation as a center of learning in the United States. Our institutions of higher learning annually produce some of the Nation's most outstanding scientists, businessmen, engineers, doctors, and lawyers.

The merit system is the only sensible and logical manner in which to award our defense contracts. The Department of Defense's advice to States seeking defense contracts is worth repeating:

Local initiative seeking defense business must direct itself to the creation capability responsive to the exacting needs of modern warfare.

Communities which fail to recognize this fact, and which fail to energize and mobilize their institutions to adjust to it, cannot reasonably anticipate a major role in future defense procurement.

The press may play an important role in keeping the public informed and spurring local initiative. The Boston Globe and the Boston Herald-Traveler are to be commended for their continuing depthful analysis of the defense and space contract problems besetting the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. These papers have discussed these issues in highly responsible manner. I would like to insert at this time an article by Peter Greengough in the Boston Globe on July 24, 1962, as an example of the penetrating and informative treatment of the defense contract question:

CALIFORNIA WORRIED OVER COMPETITION—FEARS LOSS OF NO. 1 SPOT IN SPACE AND DEFENSE WORK—BAY STATE HAS EDGE IN LABOR COSTS

(By Peter B. Greenough)

LOS ANGELES.—Uneasy hangs the head that wears the mantle of success. California, the champ in space and defense work, is distinctly worried about holding on to what she has.

Efforts of Massachusetts and other Eastern States to wean away this business are not going unnoticed here.

Just as the Globe recently assayed this area's status in space, so are Los Angeles newspapers about to feel the economic pulse. Pressure, too, is being applied in Washington.

In response to questioning from California Congressman, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric has just given assurance that there are, to quote the Los Angeles Times, no intentions of moving any defense research or production work out of California.

Then he inserted a curious qualifier, which only adds to the queasiness here:

"When need arises for new types of studies or equipment that can't be handled by existing facilities in California or other States, economic conditions in other parts of this country will be considered."

Up to now, Congress has barred the Pentagon from awarding defense contracts on any basis other than who can do the best job, at the lowest price. Gilpatric emphasized that California makes out better because of cost and quality performances.

Let's consider that cost element. A great strike threat currently hangs over southern California's aerospace industries (the walkout is suspended for 60 days through the President's peacemaking efforts).

If there is a new wage settlement, unquestionably it will place further strain on a competitive labor cost position already working against California.

Consider this study, conducted for the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston by Scott Pardee, a doctoral candidate at MIT. Pardee examined wage rates in 18 representative jobs in firms doing specialized skilled technical work, such as in space components manufacture. His index is based on the average hourly wage rate per employee:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boston | 100 |
| New York | 102 |
| Chicago | 109 |
| Cleveland | 112 |
| Detroit | 121 |
| Pittsburgh | 117 |
| Los Angeles | 105 |
| Dallas | 84 |
| San Francisco | 117 |
| Houston | 101 |
| Philadelphia | 103 |
| Minneapolis | 98 |

Outside of Dallas and Minneapolis, Boston is in a better position to compete on a labor cost basis than any place else in the country.

It is somewhat more costly to do work in Los Angeles. Distinctly more so around the San Francisco-Oakland area. Therefore you wonder a bit about claims being made for California costs, which are in for an even higher turn.

If the coast lacks on this score, it definitely has other tangibles which make it terribly hard on the would-be competition.

An outfit like Lockheed alone is the "equivalent of any one of the NASA laboratories." This assessment comes from T. Keith Glennan, former NASA chief.

Literally armies of engineers and technicians are maintained by the big airframe industries here. According to Dr. Earl P. Stevenson, president of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, these firms today are:

"Overstocked on engineers and managers. They have hundreds of millions of dollars in projects outstanding, so they actually have to inventory a lot of capability and personnel. The thing is out of control. They have resources and people on the shelf."

At, it might be added, enormous expense to the U.S. taxpayer.

But this is not by nature of complaint. It merely spotlights what Boston is up against and the odds stacked against us.

An economic phenomenon taking place here in California has its counterpart in Massachusetts, too.

The trade calls it in-house.

In past, a huge company would keep the fat part of a contract for itself and then farm out, to hundreds of smaller outfits, much of the components work.

Now the big boys have begun keeping a good bit of this sub stuff to themselves, or "in-house."

The motivation is not entirely toward greater financial gain. Complexity of today's aerospace systems requires closer control and guidance of all manufacturing phases. Nevertheless, it has smaller suppliers around Los Angeles in a tizzy.

With good reason. "The future," Fortune magazine recently observed, "seems to hold fewer and bigger space contracts, leading to fewer and larger companies doing more things. Mergers are likely among the swarms of smaller firms. Competition may halve the present number of major aerospace companies before 1970."

So even where things, to us back East, look best, there is uncertainty and worry. The push toward space is anything but a universal joyride.

## Disaster Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, the several counties of agricultural upstate New York have now been declared a drought disaster area and will in due course undoubtedly qualify for liberalized agricultural loans. While commendable in itself, I have serious doubts that increased indebtedness even under the most liberal terms, will extend sufficient and timely aid to the stricken area.

Earlier in the session I had the honor of cosponsoring a bill which has now been enacted into law, enabling the Commodity Credit Corporation to furnish Government-owned and stored grains for the emergency relief of birds and other wildlife in disaster areas during periods of severe winter weather and the like.

I have now introduced a similar bill designed to make use of some of our stored surplus feed grains in disaster drought areas, without charge except for transportation, to sustain the herds of these hard-pressed farmers.

In urging the President and the Secretary of Agriculture for prompt action, my attention has been called to a very pertinent editorial of the Poughkeepsie Journal and under unanimous consent, I include it herewith:

COWS CAN'T EAT REDTAPE

Arguments against Government controls come home again in the condition faced by Dutchess County's hard-pressed dairy farmers who are forced to seek every available bit of pastureland or supplemental hay in the face of a severe drought.

With the county designated as a disaster area by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, a full week after the plea went out from here, lands were opened to farmers which have been diverted or placed in the Federal soil bank which means they were taken out of crop production, under contract with the Government.

The lands were opened—but they can't be used yet. Preliminary reports said that the farmer wishing to use the lands must apply to his local Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee for release of the acreage. The applications then are to be sent to Washington for approval, returned to the local ASC office. Then the lands will be freed if the applications are approved.

If home control were involved here, the land in question would have cattle grazing now.

In the words of the State ASC director: "I don't know how long it will take" to get the emergency program moving.

How effective Dutchess County's retired acreage will be in offsetting consequences of the drought is questionable in the first place.

There is a lesson involved, too, if course in addition to the desirability of home rule. It is that with all agriculture's advances, nature continues to have a forceful voice in the production of the soil.

## Officials at State University of Iowa Support House Joint Resolution 818 To Award Medal of Merit to Citizens Who Have Made Significant Contributions to the Humanities and the Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, officials of the State University of Iowa have been most generous in their support of the resolution I have introduced to award a Medal of Merit to the citizens of our country who have made significant contributions in the humanities and the arts. Dr. Virgil Hancher, president of the university, has made a wonderful statement supporting this proposal. This statement has already appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Since receiving his letter, I have received letters from Mr. John C. Weaver, vice president and dean of the graduate college at the State university; Mr. Earl Harper, director of the school of fine arts at Iowa; and Mr. Dewey B. Stuit, dean of the college of liberal arts. I am proud to place these letters in the Appendix of the RECORD. The State University of Iowa has made many great contributions of its own in these fields and to have the backing of these gentlemen is of tremendous value to my effort to secure approval for the medal of merit.

The letters follow:

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
IOWA CITY, IOWA,
*July 19, 1962.*

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL,
*116 House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SCHWENGEL: I am very favorably impressed with your effort to establish a national award for significant contributions to the humanities and the arts. The overwhelming preoccupation of our Nation with the progress of the sciences has surely endangered the proper advance of the humanities and the arts and I very much favor an attempt to give appropriate national recognition to excellence in these fields of intellectual endeavor. I sincerely hope that your plan will have a favorable reception in the Congress.

Indeed I think our thoughts might well go even further in the general direction which your resolution suggests. There could be very real merit in giving serious consideration to a national humanities foundation or to the broadening of the support now provided to the National Science Foundation in order to permit this agency to encompass the humanities and the creative arts. As I am sure you know, the enormous Federal subsidy of the sciences has brought some very difficult imbalances of scholarly support into our institutions of higher education. Our universities must not fail to meet their obligations for the support of all fields of knowledge and the education of whole men and women. Every scientific and technologic advance creates philosophic problems and we must constantly tend with equal vigilance

to the needs of all branches of learning and not permit an improper balance of emphasis in the recognizably important areas of science and technology.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. WEAVER,
*Vice President and Dean.*

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STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
IOWA CITY, IOWA,
*July 19, 1962.*

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL,
*116 House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MR. SCHWENGEL: Those of us who are particularly interested in the educational program in the fine arts here at the State University of Iowa are heartened and encouraged by the joint resolution recently introduced by yourself recommending establishment of a national award for those who have won distinction in the fields of the humanities and the arts.

I am certain that not only the cultural life of our people, but in the highest sense of the term, the spiritual aspirations of men and women will be well served by the establishment of such an award in recognition of achievement, particularly in the fine arts. I have become more and more convinced as the years have gone by and as I have had more experience with art and artists that in the fine arts we have an effective bridge from the realm of hardheaded practical affairs to that of a conviction that our lives and the world in which we live them are dominated by a creative and regnant divine intelligence.

Sincerely yours,

EARL E. HARPER.

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STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
IOWA CITY, IOWA,
*July 23, 1962.*

The Honorable FRED SCHWENGEL,
*116 House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SCHWENGEL: We of the college of liberal arts at the State University of Iowa should like to commend you for your effort to establish a national award for outstanding contributions to the humanities.

Although we applaud and endorse the Federal Government's interest in and support of the sciences (which are, of course, an integral part of the college of liberal arts) we feel that the humanities and social sciences are equally deserving of consideration and that the support of these fields is in the national interest.

Thank you for your personal interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

DEWEY B. STUIT,
*Dean.*

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## Inspiring Sketch of a Great Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an inspiring sketch of the history of the Catholic Presbyterian Church, whose members, in the early days of the Nation, contributed so much to the freedom of this Nation and the conquering of the British in the Revolutionary War. Since that time, the members and descendants of members have continued to be patriotic God-fearing Americans, and I commend to all who read this the lesson of greatness and inspiration from this story.

This is a reprint from the Chester News, Chester, S.C., of Wednesday, July 25, 1962:

MANY FAITHS MADE UP EARLY CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

(By Anne Collins)

Catholic Presbyterian Church is the oldest church of any denomination, so far as is known, in Chester County. It is located about 15 miles southeast of Chester on Little Rocky Creek.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether Catholic was organized in 1759 or 1770, but early historians agree that Rev. William Richardson organized it and supplied it over a period of 10 years. He preached on weekdays when unable to serve on the Sabbath.

Dr. George Howe's "History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina" has the following account of the organization of Catholic:

"Tradition informs us that the white men were settled on Catawba River, near the mouth of Rocky Creek, as early as 1742. If this is true, we should suppose it could only be the settlement of some adventurous Indian traders quite in advance of the white population.

"In about 1751 or 1752, there was an emigration from Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and from Virginia some former members of the Church of England. The progress of the settlement was slow until 1755, when in consequence of Braddock's defeat and the incursion of the Indians, the whole area of upper Carolina began to receive refugees from Pennsylvania and Virginia."

These settlers opened communications with their friends and families in Ireland and brought on a direct immigration from that country that reached its height perhaps in 1768. Each man 21 years old or over received a bounty grant of 100 acres of land as a head right, and an additional 50 acres for each member of his family.

The principal inhabitants active in organizing the church congregation were Thomas Garrett, John Lee, Alexander McKeown, and Hugh McDonald. Their efforts were directed by Reverend Richardson, who gave the name of "Catholic" to the fledgling church, because of the many denominations represented. Richardson did not visit the Waxhaws until 1758, nor take charge of that congregation until 1759. This is said to be the organization date of Waxhaw Presbyterian Church.

From May 1759 until 1773, a period of 14 or 15 years, Covenanters or Reformed Presbyterians, Associates and Presbyterians worshiped together according to the records. The meeting place was on Little Rocky Creek and the name given to the meeting house—as the Church of Dissenters was then called—was "Catholic." The congregation applied to the Reverend William Richardson in May of 1759 and were told that if they would build a house he would preach for them. They built a general meeting house on the Rocky Mount Road some 15 miles southeast of the town of Chester. Hewn puncheons were used for seats, and Richardson supplied the church on a part-time basis until his death in 1771.

The Chester District became the stronghold of Covenanterism in the South. In 1750, soon after the removal of the Reverend Alexander Craighead Society at Octorare, Pa., members of the society along with other Covenanters from Virginia and North Carolina, settled in the region.

Among those were Hugh and John McDonald who settled along Rocky Creek and were the pioneers of Chester District. John McDonald and his wife were both killed by the Cherokee Indians in 1761, and their children carried off as prisoners. Other founders of Catholic Church named in old records are John Bailey who gave a 3-acre lot to build the church on and who later had a 100-acre land grant on Rocky Creek, the families of Steele, Brown, King, Corder, Culp, Curry, Dunn, Nixon, McCalla, Hemphill, Harbison, Johnson, Coulter, and Harper, and others whose names were lost.

After Reverend Richardson's death, Rev. William Martin, a Covenanter minister who arrived with other Irish emigrants became Catholic's minister. Records show that Reverend Martin landed at Charleston on January 6, 1773, on the ship *Lord Don Luce*, with many emigrants, to settle on Rocky Creek. He was invited to serve Catholic soon after his arrival, and as a large number of his former congregation in Ireland came to America with him, they also were a part of his flock at Catholic. Among this number were the McCaws, Cherrys, Stinsons, Andersons, Martins, Knoxes, Pedens, McDills, Chestnuts, Hickliss, Moffats, and others whose descendants were not identified with the history of Catholic.

Reverend Martin preached at Catholic for several years but was dismissed for intemperance. In spite of this besetting sin, he preached with so much force and conviction for the Whig cause he roused the whole Rocky Creek section to the defense of their country. To him the early historians give credit for the fighting Scotch-Irish of Rocky Creek and their part in the success of the Colonial cause at the battle of Kings Mountain.

About this time, the Reverend James Campbell from Cape Fear came into the settlement and was called by the congregation, which he served for several years. During the stormy period of the Revolution, Catholic was without a regular pastor. The Reverend John Simpson, of Fishing Creek, occasionally preached there and administered the sacraments of the Lord's Supper and baptism of the children.

A missionary, the Reverend John Templeton, served Catholic and Purity churches for a short while and was succeeded by the Reverend Hugh Morrison. In 1788 the congregation at Catholic erected a new and commodious framehouse sufficiently large to accommodate the whole congregation.

The Reverend Robert McColluch became pastor of Catholic in 1794, and with the exception of a few years, served the congregation until his death in 1824. He with his wife, who was Mary Simonton, of Iredell County, N.C., sleep in the churchyard at Catholic.

On the 24th of December 1827, Catholic received by deed, from James McCalla, a son of the church, an additional 3 acres of land, with plat attached, adjoining the original 3 acres on which the church was built, giving the congregation a 6-acre plot. This deed was made to "James Harbison, Esq., James Ferguson, George Brown, William Corder, Thos. Peden, and David Jamieson, the ruling committee in behalf of the church called Catholic belonging to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and their successors in office."

The Reverend Leroy Davies, a son of the Reverend John Davies, for many years pastor of neighboring Fishing Creek church, served the church from 1827 until 1839. At this time Catholic had a membership of over 300.

During the pastorate of the Reverend Davies, the congregation leased for 10 years the Brick Church which the Covenanters had abandoned when they emigrated to the Northwest in 1831. Here the upper part of the membership of Catholic worshipped for 10 years, after which time the Brick Church was leased to Hopewell A. R. P. Church.

Elder Hugh White, living in this part of the congregation, in 1843 deeded to Catholic a 3-acre lot on which the other half of the flock had already erected a large frame building in which to worship.

From 1843 to 1847, this church was called Upper Catholic, as the earlier organization up there had been known, and the church minutes recorded in the book of the mother church, Catholic.

In 1847, the Upper Church asked for a separate organization and their request was approved by both the Presbytery and by Catholic. They were granted a certificate listing names of all the members and servants affiliated with the Upper Church. The name was changed from Upper Catholic to Pleasant Grove.

In the year 1839, the congregation of Catholic bought from James McDowell 5 additional acres of land. With 11 acres in their possession, they began plans to build a large brick church. This church, the third in Catholic's history, is the present building. It was finished and dedicated soon after the Reverend William Banks became pastor of Catholic in 1941.

The church history records an interesting sidelight on the building of the church: On October 30, 1833, during the fall term of court, David Lyle, an alien from Ireland, and the Reverend Robert Y. Russell, subjects of the King of Great Britain, came into open court and made application to become citizens of the United States of America,"—and were admitted. The minutes of session gave a detailed account of how David Lyle, an undertaker by profession, helped with the building of the new church.

## Extensions of Prayer Verdict Are To Be Feared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the public reaction to the Supreme Court decision regarding the New York State school prayer case has been widespread. Florida is no exception, and our mail on this important matter has been very heavy.

Editor Harvel Call, of the Pompano Beach Sun-Sentinel, has expressed his views in an editorial dated June 27. He points out some of the dangers in the Court decision, as well as the danger of what may follow if the will of the majority of our people be forgotten by the Court. He says:

The people, in the last analysis, run this country and have the final say.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert Mr. Call's editorial at this point in the RECORD:

VIEWED EDITORIALLY: AMENDMENT CAN OVERRULE COURT BAN ON PRAYER

(By Harvey A. Call)

The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court banning school prayers brings to mind one of the most significant scenes at Calvary on the first Good Friday.

Christ, slumped and exhausted on His cross, summoned the strength to raise His head heavenward and beseech His Father to forgive them "for they know not what they do."

And, it appears forgiveness should be sought for the six Justices who joined in the majority opinion "for they know not what they do."

It is extremely doubtful if any decision in the history of the Supreme Court has run more counter to the wishes of the vast majority of the people and sound reasoning.

Coupled with that is the fact it comes at an inopportune time—when the free world is waging a desperate fight against the godless concepts of communism.

It is most difficult for the average person to conceive of any danger to the United States being involved in pupils reciting the optional regents' prayer approved in 1951 for New York State schools.

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country," the prayer reads.

All but the few atheists and agnostics among us share a belief in a Supreme Being and can join in a prayer as nonsectarian, nondenominational as this.

And there was no compulsion in New York State that nonbelievers join in the prayer.

Yet, the Supreme Court finds it wrong, something that must be prohibited by law.

This runs counter to the general concepts of law.

Almost universally, our laws are enacted to protect society from those who would act in a manner to harm the best interests of the great majority of people.

There was a time when laws related directly to the customs and modes of the people. The judgment of the majority, what was considered good and bad, provided the basis for legal restraints being placed on actions of those who might not be inclined to conform.

These aspects, of course, are not involved in the least in the school prayer ban.

The great majority of Americans share a belief in an Almighty God; they see nothing wrong in acknowledging man's dependence on Him, and they favor seeking His blessings on all of us and the things we do.

Yet the six Justices of the Supreme Court were able to stretch this into a violation of the first amendment of the Bill of Rights.

That amendment is headed: "Religious establishment prohibited. Freedom of speech, of the press, and right to petition."

Short and to the point, the text reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of a religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Justice Hugo Black and his colleagues interpret this as denying any government the freedom to designate an official prayer which individuals may recite if they so choose.

The sole ray of sanity in the Supreme Court's action was the dissenting decision of Justice Stewart Potter who termed the majority action "wrong."

"I cannot see how any official religion is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it. To the contrary, to deny the wish of these schoolchildren to join in reciting this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of this Nation," Justice Potter declared.

A great deal more could be said on the subject. The important point is the decision constitutes the law of the land, at least for the present. So what is to be done about it?

The Supreme Court has usurped lawmaking activities, and we, the people, have sat back and taken it.

But we do not have to accept what the Supreme Court decrees. That tribunal is not superior to the people and their wishes.

Our Constitution affords us the right to amend the document to incorporate provisions and powers we may want in it.

If we wish that school prayers be permitted, we can amend the Constitution specifying this. We can override the Supreme Court.

We suggest that be done as a means of furthering the will of the people. Further, it is high time the Supreme Court be reminded that the people, in the last analysis, run this country and have the final say.

## FDA Caution Protects Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, I know of no better evidence of the valuable services performed by the Food and Drug Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare than the recent disclosures of side effects produced by a new tranquilizer drug.

As my colleagues know FDA wisely determined that the available information was insufficient to support claims that this drug could be used freely without injurious side effects. As a result, this drug was not licensed for sale in the United States.

In this connection, I include here an editorial from the Illinoian-Star, a daily newspaper published in Beardstown, Ill.:

[From the Beardstown (Ill.) Illinoian-Star]

FDA KNOWS BEST

Do you recall the cranberry controversy of 1960 when the Federal Drug Administration was criticized for banning the sale of cranberries which had been exposed to a spray that was considered detrimental to the health of humans?

Cranberry merchants howled especially loud since the disclosure preceded the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays. Some citizens bragged about eating cranberries anyway. Most persons avoided cranberries until they were deemed safe by the Food and Drug Administration.

That same fall Dr. Frances Oldham Kelsey of the FDA declined to license a tranquilizer drug that had a booming market in West Germany. Its advantages as a sleep-inducer were that there was no hangover and no danger in overdosage. It was sold in Britain, Portugal and Canada.

But Dr. Kelsey considered thalidomide a "peculiar drug." She considered the background material concerning tests and results inadequate to support the claims of no side effects. She kept postponing licensing the sale of the drug in the United States, and justifiably so.

Now it has been withdrawn from the world market, after thousands of children were born with an arm missing, sometimes with no arms or legs, sometimes with three limbs. The deformities were traced to the drug used by women within 20 to 40 days after conception. More such deformed births will occur within the year. Children born to mothers who took the drug stand a two out of five chance of being deformed. The death rate of those so deformed is two out of three.

Thanks to the caution of Dr. Kelsey and the FDA the drug was not sold in the United States, and American children were protected in the prenatal period.

The American public not only owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Kelsey, but should be convinced by now that the FDA knows best.

## General Patton's Premonition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the unbelievable, fantastic, and incredible stupidity of our Washington leadership during World War II remains an absolute mystery. It defies explanation.

The vast majority of even the enlisted men in Germany, in 1945, knew we should have gone to Berlin and Prague and secured the peace.

Mr. Speaker, I wished then and thousands of times since that our leaders in Washington had consulted more with men like Patton and MacArthur.

The following article appeared in the July issue of the American Legion magazine:

GENERAL PATTON'S PREMONITION

(By Larry G. Newman)

May 8, 1945, began as we knew it would at the press camp of the U.S. 3d Army in Regensberg, Germany, on the ugly, muddy banks of the fabled Danube.

At about 6 a.m., Col. James Quirk, of Philadelphia, Gen. George S. Patton's public relations officer, advised the war corespondents that the commanding general would hold a press conference as soon as all the reporters could get to Army headquarters.

In less than half an hour, American, French and British correspondents, some of whom had been with General Patton since the early days at Kasserine Pass, in North Africa, gathered in the warroom of an old Wehrmacht building a short distance from our press billet.

General Patton entered the room followed by his faithful English bulldog, Willie. The general walked to the situation map; his famed twin pistols with the ivory grips on each hip, stars on the shoulders of his battle jacket, four on each shirt tab, four more on his shining helmet liner—20 in all.

"Gen. Omar Bradley called me a few hours ago. The Hun has surrendered," he said to open the conference. "They're signing the papers at Reims this morning."

This was no surprise to Patton, nor to us. We had known the war was over for days. In fact, for the 3d Army the war had been over since Patton had been shunted from his road to Berlin in late March and early April and sent to "occupy real estate" in Bavaria, while the Russians captured the German capital and overran Czechoslovakia.

Before being ordered to Bavaria, the 3d Army had been permitted to sideslip a few miles into Czechoslovakia in the vicinity of Pilsen.

"But only to Pilsen," General Bradley had been forced to explain to Marshal Ivan Stepanovich Konev. Bradley, 12th Army Group commanding general, showed the Russian general the maximum advance line on a map and explained, "We had to go in to protect our flank on the Danube."

The American forces had been crowded up to the Czechoslovakian border for 2 weeks or more but it was not until May 4 that General Eisenhower had told Bradley to go ahead and let Patton and the 3d Army enter that Republic which owed so much to the United States for its existence. Patton's men got to Pilsen and were headed toward Prague when the order came to pull out and be prepared to "occupy a territory already assigned."

Such was the background against which General Patton spoke to us on that fateful May day, just 17 short but tragic years ago.

After telling us the details of Bradley's call to "Lucky Seven" the nickname by which the 3d Army was known, Patton walked over to the war map. He pointed slowly to the positions of the Red army in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Germany.

"This war stopped right where it started," Patton said. "Right in the Hun's backyard which is now Hitler's graveyard.

"But that's not the end of this business by any means. What the tin-soldier politicians in Washington and Paris have managed to do today is another story you'll be writing for a long while if you live.

"They have allowed us to kick hell out of one enemy and at the same time forced us to help establish a second one as evil or more evil than the first. We have won a series of battles, not a war for peace. We're headed down another long road to losing another peace.

"This day we have missed another date with our destiny, and this time we'll need Almighty God's constant help if we're to live in the same world with Stalin and his murdering cutthroats."

There were tears in General Patton's eyes as he recalled "the thousands from north Africa to the channel, on the sea, in the air, in the mud and filth, who gave their lives in what they believed was the final fight in the cause of freedom."

"I wonder how the dead will speak today when they know that for the first time in centuries we have opened central and western Europe to the forces of Genghis Khan," he continued. "I wonder how they feel now that they know there will be no peace in our times and that Americans, some not yet born, will have to fight the Russians tomorrow, or 10, 15 or 20 years from tomorrow.

"We have spent the last months since the Battle of the Bulge and the crossing of the Rhine stalling, waiting for Montgomery to get ready to attack in the north; occupying useless real estate and killing a few lousy Huns when we should have been in Berlin and Prague. And this 3d Army could have been. Today we should be telling the Russians to go to hell instead of hearing them tell us to pull back. We should be telling them if they didn't like it to go to hell and invite them to fight.

"We've defeated one aggressor against mankind and established a second far worse, more evil and more dedicated than the first."

During this tense and dramatic beginning of our V–E Day in Regensberg, General Patton had mentioned just one free world leader by name—Winston Churchill.

"Churchill was the only man in a position of power who knew what we were walking into," Patton said. "He wanted to get into the Balkans and central Europe to keep the Russians at bay. He wanted to get into Berlin and Prague and get to the Baltic coast on the north. Churchill had a sense of history. Unfortunately, some of our leaders were just damn fools who had no idea of Russian history. Hell, I doubt if they even knew Russia, just less than 100 years ago, owned Finland, sucked the blood out of Poland, and were using Siberia as a prison for their own people. How Stalin must have sneered when he got through with them at all those phony conferences."

When Patton finished there were a few questions. One was: What would he do now?

He said he wanted to go to the Pacific to fight under Gen. Douglas MacArthur in China and Japan. He said he hoped all "my correspondents" would come out there to help him clean up that war. As an aside he wondered: "What a helluva war it would be if Patton, MacArthur, and General (Robert E.) Lee ever took charge in Valhalla."

As he signed autographs and was photographed with "his" correspondents, Patton dropped one more prediction:

"Don't be surprised if they haven't already agreed to let the Russians come into that war in the Pacific. That would just about fix us up for another war in that direction before many moons pass." How right he was.

All this was off the record. We had not been able to quote Patton since he landed in Normandy. No one blamed General Bradley who had put the "muzzle" on, because we knew the order had been inspired a long way from the fighting front.

Later in the afternoon I went with Cornelius J. Ryan, author of the recent historic bestseller about D–Day, "The Longest Day," to Patton's trailer to bid him goodbye. We were heading toward Salzburg and Vienna looking for stories.

General Patton's striker, M. Sgt. William Meeks, greeted us at the trailer screen door.

Inside, resting in his stockinged feet, General Patton was thumbing through a volume on Napoleon's campaigns in Europe. He had also been reading from an account of Caesar's forays centuries before.

Looking up as we walked in, he said:

"Remember what I told you that day under the Black Gate in Trier?"

Both of us remembered. But Patton related his own story for us. "I was sitting in my jeep under the arch built to commemorate Caesar's conquest of the city. One of you wise reporters asked me how I felt riding along the same battle route as Julius Caesar had more than 19 centuries ago? And I said: 'Hell, Caesar couldn't have been a supply sergeant in the 3d Army.' "

He laughed, then grew serious as he returned to the subject of the morning conference.

"This should be a day of rejoicing without a worry about the future and the peace we have all fought for," he said. "But thousands will sleep in strange and distant lands forever and still there is no peace.

"You cannot lay down with a diseased jackal. Neither can we ever do business with the Russians. Even the stupidest man thousands of miles away, back home, should have realized that by 1943 at the latest.

"The Russians really took us for suckers after we saved their hides. Now there'll be a lot of wining and dining with them and a lot of pinning medals, but just wait until they send the fighting men back home and we get the postwar soldiers. Maybe then the tin soldiers on our side will see the handwriting on the wall. I hope I'm not here when that happens. I just couldn't stand being around and taking any lip from those —."

Connie Ryan and I left him knowing that his feelings about the Soviet Union and communism would keep him in hot water if he didn't get to the Pacific war with General MacArthur immediately.

The weeks and months following that day with Patton at Regensberg need little recalling.

Postwar brought scores of visiting firemen and "liberal" correspondents looking for a headline, especially if it carried the magic of Patton's name.

A casual and offhand remark about the use of some Germans who had held public jobs during the war was taken out of context. The violent reaction from the extreme left cost Patton his command of the famed 3d Army. Even before that he had been denied his request to lead his tankers and foot soldiers into China and Japan.

A broken General Patton went to Heidelberg to command a paper army—the 15th—which was involved in writing a history of the American Army's part in the victory in the West.

An automobile accident on December 9, 1945, outside of Heidelberg, sent him to the hospital where he died of pneumonia which followed complications from a broken neck.

But as one of my correspondent friends said the day they buried General Patton in a Luxembourg military cemetery:

"Georgie Patton didn't die from an automobile accident. He died of a broken heart when they took his army away and wouldn't let him fight in the Pacific for fear of upsetting the Soviet Communists and the do-gooders back in the States. They wouldn't let him speak his mind about the Reds and what they had in store for the United States and the free world.

"I guess it's just as well he died over here. The apologists, the peace-at-any-price cowards, the friends of the Soviet Union, always hated him. And brother, did he hate them. At least here he's buried alongside his beloved soldiers who died so those people back home could attack the things patriots love."

The memory of Gen. George Smith Patton Jr., will never disappear from U.S. military history. But the story is not yet all told. Somewhere General Patton's wartime diary holds the indictment of those who made the mistakes which brought the United States to its present day nuclear scramble to keep abreast of the Soviets. Someday that diary will be published, adding still another chapter in the fabulous Patton story. There is little doubt, especially among those who knew Patton, that his diary will not make pleasant historical reading for those who turned his 3d Army away from Berlin and Czechoslovakia; nor for those who promoted cooperation with the Soviet Union, though it meant slavery for the millions who now bleed and die in silence behind the Iron Curtain.

## Senator Henry Dworshak

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I WAS shocked and deeply saddened when I learned of the sudden passing last night of my dear friend, the Honorable HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Idaho.

Senator DWORSHAK first came to the Congress in 1938 as a Member of the House of Representatives, and my initial Appropriations Committee assignment in January 1945 was to the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Deparment of the Interior, of which he was then a member. I came to know HENRY quite well while serving with him on this subcommittee and our friendship became greater during the course of a lengthy committee trip through the then territory of Alaska in the summer of 1945. Although we were on opposite sides of the aisle, I always admired his ability, courage, and integrity.

HENRY DWORSHAK's length of service in the U.S. Congress is clear evidence of the confidence and respect the people of the State of Idaho had in his ability to faithfully discharge the duties of his office, and his unexpected death is a great loss not only to me as a friend but to his constituents and the entire Nation.

To his dear wife, their sons, and all the members of his family, I extend my deepest sympathy in their great loss.

## Spiritual Emphasis Is Vital in Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in the interests of presenting the views of the people of Florida regarding the recent Supreme Court decision in the New York school prayer case, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress an editorial from the Hollywood Sun-Tattler for July 2.

The Hollywood Sun-Tattler calls our attention to the second half of the sentence in the first amendment regarding religion, that no law shall "prohibit the free exercise" of religion, and suggests that the Court itself may be prohibiting the free exercise of religion by its decision.

Mr. Speaker, I include the Hollywood Sun-Tattler editorial at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SPIRITUAL EMPHASIS IS VITAL IN SCHOOLS

The Broward County School Board is to be commended for speaking out sharply against the U.S. Supreme Court ruling prohibiting prayers in school and for its determination to continue prayer and Bible reading in Broward County schools.

The attacks on prayer and Bible reading have been made on the basis that these are unconstitutional practices—when in actuality it is the attacks, not the practices which are unconstitutional.

For some reason, the U.S. Supreme Court has adopted a policy that the wishes of the minority shall in all cases supersede the wishes of the majority. And, in more than one instance, the Court has invented its own laws when statutory regulations and precedent have been lacking.

Ours is a nation founded on religious freedom. It was settled by people who were seeking to escape from religious persecution, to find a place where they could worship as they pleased. They called upon the guidance of the Almighty from the time they left the shores of Europe, through the time they formed their colonies and, later, established a new nation.

We are told that it is offensive to unbelievers and to certain minority groups to have prayer and Bible reading in our schools, and therefore these practices should be eliminated. We are told, further, that our Government is founded upon the principle of the separation of church and state and that prayer and Bible reading violate this principle. These are false arguments, deliberately false, and should be repudiated—whether they come from the U.S. Supreme Court or from some individuals seeking to undermine this greatest source of our national strength.

It is time for the people of this area, and citizens throughout America, to understand exactly what the Constitution says regarding religious freedom—and to understand how this constitutional provision is being perverted.

The first amendment to the Constitution, the first article of the Bill of Rights, starts out in this manner:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It doesn't take a supreme court lost in the throes of vague sociological concepts, to interpret these plain words nor does it take a silver-tongued politician to recall the conditions which brought about this provision.

The establishment of religion is a clear reference. Congress is prohibited from establishing a state church, such as exists in many nations of Europe and Latin America. The establishment of religion has to do with ecclesiastical hierarchy and official dogma and doctrine.

Establishment of religion has nothing to do with an individual's communication with God through prayer.

But most importantly, let us give emphasis to the words "no law prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

When the Supreme Court comes forth with an opinion that prayer cannot be permitted in schools, it clearly amounts to a law prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

It would be one thing to coerce children into praying in school. But that is not done. Those few children whose parents do not want them to be exposed to prayer are not required to participate. Freedom from religion, as opposed to freedom of religion, is respected in this case.

However, it is quite another thing to tell children that they cannot pray in school—and that is exactly what has been done in this case.

To be sure, the recent Supreme Court decision is drawn out along a thin and technical line that it involves a prayer prescribed by school officials. The Supreme Court has reached way out into judicial left field and come up with the ridiculous argument that this innocuously worder prayer amounts to the establishment of a religion and is therefore unconstitutional.

But how about the Lord's Prayer?

Will we be told next by our Supreme Court that the Lord's Prayer is the establishment of religion and that the Lord's Prayer is unconstitutional?

Are we to believe that the Bible is somehow subversive?

Significantly, most of the handful who bring the legal battles against school prayer and Bible reading are the nonbelievers. To them, the freedom "from religion" is the all-important thing.

According to the policy adopted by the Supreme Court, the vast majority of people who want to exercise their religious freedom and to practice their religious faith must give way to the few who admittedly care nothing about religion.

What sort of preposterous logic is this?

To say that religion, according to doctrine or to any organization, is being forced down anyone's throat in this country is ridiculous. Those who do not wish to practice any faith are not bothered; they are left free to do as they choose.

But, apparently, this is not enough for the nonbelievers. It bothers them that others want to practice their religion. So they go to our courts and say, "Stop this practice, it is offensive to us; somehow it violates our constitutional rights."

The situation created is a serious one because it goes to the basis of American tradition. From its very conception, ours has been a religious nation. Our people have worshiped God individually and in their churches; they have acknowledged His supremacy and have turned to Him for guidance.

In these times of growing materialism there has been a tendency to forget this heritage. More and more we have directed ourselves to the conclusion that we can now take over and direct things without any aid or assistance from the Supreme Being.

It has become somewhat fashionable to be atheistic and agnostic, and, particularly, this has become fashionable among many who have strong influence in our national Government.

At this time in our Nation's history, when the forces of communism stand as the greatest threat we ever have faced, we cannot placidly accept decisions—from any quarter—which whittle away our spiritual resources. In the battle for men's minds, hearts and souls, neither dollars nor soulless logic can provide the strength we need. If we do not have the strength which comes from faith in God, and if we do not nurture this strength through our national traditions and practices, we most surely will lose this battle for freedom.

## Government Violates First Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER H. DOMINICK
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. Speaker, in an article which appeared recently in the Longmont, Colo., Daily Times-Call, Mr. Bill Roberts discusses another very disturbing trend in the centralization of power which is taking place in our Government with increasing speed under the present administration. Indeed, the very actions about which Mr. Roberts complains—censorship of Government publications and documents with increased use of copyrighting—Congress sought to prohibit under our copyright law. I commend Mr. Roberts' very interesting article to my colleagues and include it as part of my remarks:

SALMAGUNDI: GOVERNMENT VIOLATES FIRST AMENDMENT

(By Bill Roberts)

Well, big brother Federal Government is at it again. Now they are copyrighting official public papers which is, of course, a violation of the first amendment, for here you see the Government is, in fact, curtailing the freedom of the press.

Let big brother government keep encroaching on your freedom, your individualism, and all at once you'll find it gone. And a good chunk of it is gone already.

The Federal Government has proven itself to be fiscally irresponsible with its debt-be-damned attitude, it has grown too big for its britches with its nightmarish FBI 3 a.m. knocking-door episode; it hit the tops in stupidity with its Cuban fiasco; it is attempting to jam an unneeded billion-dollar medical program down our throats (and with it goes more Government control, more bureaucracy, and probably more graft, boondogging and porkbarreling); it has usurped States rights; and, after a year of running another $7 billion in the red it now wants to cut taxes by $7 to $10 billion. This shows what an administration can do when the public is apathetic. Well, count me on the growing bandwagon of opposition to this mounting menace in Washington.

And now comes censorship of Government publications and documents with the increased use of copyrighting. The Federal Government is today the major source of information in pratically every field of endeavor. Currently $12 billion is being expended on Federal research yet only a negligible portion of unclassified findings is being made accessible to the public through noncopyrighted media.

Yet, remember, that section eight of the copyright law expressly stipulates that "No copyright shall subsist in any publication of the U.S. Government, or any reprint, in whole or in part thereof." The purpose is, of course, to assure maximum availability of informational material prepared by or for the Federal Government at the expense of the public.

Well, big brother government has now told the voter that the Government business is none of his business! But who cares? Hook up the boat and trailer for another weekend of fun or skip off to the mountains and forget it all. Let the powerful Kennedy machine run rampant, freedom is for someone else to worry about.

## Better Safe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I read with dismay accounts of the gutting of legislation in the Senate designed to tighten food and drug regulations. This legislation would, if enacted, afford additional needed protection against unsafe and unproven food and drugs.

I think that the need for the most scrupulous protection is pointed up in the recent disclosures about the tragic marketing of the drug thalidomide. A conscientious and dedicated public servant, Dr. Frances O. Kelsey, of the Food and Drug Administration, sensed the dangers in the drug and refused to clear it for marketing in the United States. Dr. Kelsey deserves the everlasting praise of millions of American mothers. She deserves commendation by all Americans.

We frequently hear complaints about clock watching and time serving among Federal employees. I suggest instead that the accomplishment of Dr. Kelsey is somewhat typical of the job performance of tens of thousands of devoted, conscientious civil servants that staff our Federal agencies.

Parenthetically, I think that there should be established a Medal of Honor for performances such as that of Dr. Kelsey. We have a Medal of Honor for military exploits. It is high time we have a citation for those who bring untold benefits to our country in peaceful pursuits. I hope that the White House will accord just recognition to Dr. Kelsey.

The next time a drug manufacturer complains of "bureaucratic harassment" by the Food and Drug Administration, he should be sat down and read the inspiring account of Dr. Kelsey's persistent, rewarding research. In an editorial in the Washington Post of July 24, recognition is given to this outstanding and dedicated public servant.

The editorial follows:

BETTER SAFE

One can imagine the annoyance, and even indignation, of the manufacturers of thalidomide when an obscure Government bureaucrat decided that the new sleeping compound was not proved to be safe. It is even conceivable that Dr. Frances O. Kelsey's superiors at the Food and Drug Administration felt that she was being a little sticky about a new drug that was widely marketed in Great Britain, Canada, and West Germany. After all, thalidomide was cheap, would not kill humans, and was apparently harmless to laboratory animals.

But if ever we needed a drug to prove that the most scrupulous standards must be enforced for the use of new compounds, it is thalidomide. The drug may be outwardly harmless to humans, but it has a deadly effect on the human fetus. It is calculated that by the end of next month the total of armless and legless children born in West Germany will be between 3,500 and 6,000; in Great Britain, a total of 800 deformed children are expected to be born in August.

These are horrifying statistics, and it could have happened here but for the stubborn caution of a Government official. Dr. Kelsey's resistance to pressure is of a kind that usually goes uncelebrated because the results of capitulation are seldom so graphic and grisly. But the publicity she is receiving ought to quicken popular appreciation of the quiet service performed by thousands of Food and Drug officials whose reward, more often than not, is grumbling about "bureaucracy" by bitter applicants.

It ought also to intensify interest in studies of the prenatal effect of other substances ingested by expectant mothers. It is bad enough when impure food and drugs harm humans; it is unconscionable when the victim is the unborn. One hopeful effect of the belated praise for Dr. Kelsey might also be to lend more urgency to the passage of new drug legislation, preferably in the undiluted form urged by Senator KEFAUVER.

One provision of Mr. KEFAUVER's proposed law would empower the Food and Drug Administration to test the efficacy as well as the safety of new drugs. The case of thalidomide demonstrates the value of responsible public control as the surest preventive medicine.

## Tenth Anniversary of Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues in wishing well to the Puerto Rican citizens of this country on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Ten years ago, when Puerto Rico became a Commonwealth, it was a poor land. But today, through the efforts of Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, the island has progressed to the point where it can stand proudly before any other island in the Caribbean.

Impressive improvements have been made in developing new housing, new industries, better sanitation, and a higher level of education. As a result

of the judicious enactment of tax laws, Puerto Rico has been able to pull itself up by its bootstraps and today is growing into one of the most prosperous countries in the world.

The citizens of Puerto Rico rely on us for protection; they serve faithfully and honorably in our Armed Forces; we are proud and happy to acknowledge the benefits derived from our association with them.

## The People Appreciate Those Who Fight To Save Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding daily newspapers in Indiana is the Madison Courier, founded in 1837. It is a highly respected organ in its own area as well as over the rest of Indiana and the northern portion of Kentucky.

It is, therefore, with some pride that I today insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Madison (Ind.) Courier on July 24, 1962, pertaining to my study on military procurement methods. With such support as this, I feel greatly encouraged as I continue what the newspapers call my "one man crusade" to stop all the waste in military purchasing.

The editorial follows:

[From the Madison (Ind.) Courier, July 24, 1962]

A VICTORY FOR EARL

EARL WILSON, representing this district in the U.S. House of Representatives, has been working hard lately to expose waste in contract buying by the U.S. Navy, and is making progress.

Recent arrests and probes made by a House investigating committee urged by Congressman WILSON, have proved the lawmaker's allegations true and shown the Congress and the people that large sums of money are being thrown away by unwise buying practices.

On July 18, the subcommittee's report ripped into Navy buying practices and attacked plans to award a $4 million contract for a marine radio without bids.

The report also raked the Navy for secretly changing its procurement policies to permit officials to accept bids on certain contracts only from favored firms.

In phrases that were sometimes sarcastic, sometimes blunt or caustic, the special investigations unit of the House Armed Services Committee said its hearing showed that other competent manufacturers could have submitted negotiable proposals on the radio contract.

Instead, the Navy plans to award the job to Collins Radio Co., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, as the sole source the Navy says can supply the radios as fast as the marines need them.

Collins, paid by the Navy to develop the radio, offered to take the production job for $4,373,546. WILSON obtained a bid from Arvin Industries, in Columbus, Ind., for $1.3 million less. But the Navy has refused to consider it.

The unpublicized policy switch, curbing competition, was made in September 1961 the record shows, but did not come out until the committee hearings June 28, 1962.

It was ordered by Kenneth BeLieu, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Supply and Logistics.

The hearing report called the new procedure a "secret policy, of doubtful legality and irregular in its origin."

The five-man subcommittee, headed by Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, said it denounces and condemns the action of the Navy in setting up the policy without notice to anyone, including the Secretary of Defense.

The report noted sarcastically that "we are asked to believe that this policy expresses a compassionate interest in saving prospective bidders from spending money" needlessly by bidding on jobs the Navy didn't want them to have.

At the time the policy came to light at the hearings, HÉBERT suggested "that you instead let the companies involved worry about saving the money, and that you worry about saving the taxpayers' money by permitting competition."

The hearings were called after Representative WILSON charged that the Navy was funneling this and other contracts to favored firms at exorbitant prices.

The HÉBERT report rapped the procedures in which low-ranking Navy officials made the key "sole source" decision, with higher echelons merely providing routine review.

The subcommittee filed a report pressing for more competition in bids on Navy electronic gear.

"Five hundred and sixty thousand dollars may be peanuts to the Government," WILSON said on the floor of the House last week, "but it is big money to the rest of us. That is what has been wasted in the past by the purchase of just one radar set, but I am elated to report today that the taxpayers have won a victory in this case and will soon see some money saved.

"Yesterday (I was advised) that the Navy has now delayed this procurement and will probably buy at least part of the set through open, competitive bidding. The Navy is going to open the door.

"Just how much will be saved will be known when a contract is let and I shall follow this procurement closely until that time.

"Good news about the (radar set) is the important thing today. This case, the arrests week in New Jersey and the progress of the amendment which will do away with much sole source buying by the military are all evidences of progress. If American industry gets a fair chance, the taxpayers will get a break, and that is what I am fighting for."

This work being done by Representative WILSON demonstrates the Congressman's keen desire to serve the people who elected him, and we owe him a vote of thanks for his hard work. If more of this type work is done in Congress, we can all expect to see money saved and, perhaps, lower taxes with no sacrifice of Government function or quality.

Good work, EARL.

## Hon. Clare Hoffman

SPEECH
OF
### HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 20, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to serve in the House of Representatives with the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, CLARE HOFFMAN, for nearly 20 years. We were both members of the House Committee on Labor back in the old days when the Taft-Hartley Act was being drafted. I have had many pleasant dealings with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] and have had an opportunity to observe him and his activities throughout the years.

The gentleman from Michigan, CLARE HOFFMAN, has made a legislative record which reflects untiring energy, unquestioned courage, and a dedicated desire to serve the public interest. I can hardly think of a member I have known since I have been here whose conduct has been quite as free of demagoguery. The gentleman from Michigan, CLARE HOFFMAN, asks for no quarter and gives none. He is in every sense a rugged individualist. He is a patriot who has never failed to speak up in behalf of what he considered best for America.

In my judgment, the gentleman from Michigan, CLARE HOFFMAN, has been a valuable balance wheel, a most useful advocate, and a public servant who has never faltered in his devotion to the cause of good government.

## National Council of Young Israel Salutes Jewish Chaplains Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on July 17, 1962, the National Council of Young Israel, with headquarters in New York, saluted the centennial of the Federal law permitting rabbis to serve as chaplains in the Armed Forces as an important milestone in the history of Judaism in America. Rabbi David H. Hill, president of this council, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, issued the following statement:

On July 17, 1862, President Lincoln signed a law which for the first time in the history of the United States allowed rabbis to serve as Jewish military chaplains. Until that time only ministers of the Christian faith could serve as military chaplains. The law is considered a landmark of religious equality.

It is symbolic that this year should mark both the centennial of this most important law affecting American servicemen of the Jewish faith and the golden jubilee of the Young Israel movement. For many years the National Council of Young Israel has been highly active in developing a program of strong, living traditional Judaism among our young men and women in the Armed Forces.

Young Israel maintains an Armed Forces division which extends spiritual and material aid to all orthodox enlisted personnel in the armed services. The division has headed the effort to solve the problems of Kashruth and other religious observances in the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

The National Council of Young Israel is in continuous contact with great numbers of orthodox soldiers and assists in a variety

of problems concerning their military and home life.

The first Jewish chaplain to be commissioned under the law signed by President Lincoln was Rabbi Jacob Frankel of Congregation Rodelph Shalom, of Philadelphia. He was assigned to a military hospital in September 1862.

## Public Welfare Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, June 29, 1962*

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, the President yesterday signed the public welfare amendments of 1962—which holds great promise for the needy people of this country, as well as for all our taxpayers. I would like to mark this occasion with a tribute to Abe Ribicoff, who has just resigned as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to run for the U.S. Senate from Connecticut. For he is the man who sparked that welfare reform and had the imagination and initiative to help President Kennedy and the Congress secure it for all the American people.

When Secretary Ribicoff came to his new post, he said that his experience as Governor of Connecticut had convinced him that social workers in our country had, for the most part, become "mere conduits" between the 4½ million people on relief—at a cost of some $7¼ billion—and the public purse. Underpaid, overworked, and usually undertrained, they did not have the chance to help these people get off relief and back into useful self-supporting lives.

Mr. Ribicoff promised the Senate Finance Committee during his confirmation hearings a careful review and reappraisal of Federal welfare laws and programs. This promise resulted in one of the most comprehensive examinations of welfare operations ever conducted by the Federal Government. Social welfare leaders, Government officials, and interested citizens across the land worked together under Secretary Ribicoff's tireless leadership to produce recommendations aimed to prevent and reduce dependency and in the long run cut its high cost to the Nation.

Consider that just about a year ago the heartless, negative example of Newburgh was blazoned in the headlines and that today we have a new, a constructive program of welfare reform, stressing prevention, and where that is too late—rehabilitation, or a fresh start. We are going to have day-care centers for children of working mothers, so that these mothers can work and earn their own way. We are going to have community work projects. Throughout—we are going to try to help people in every way to help themselves.

Much, much of the credit for this new program goes to Abe Ribicoff. He went about his task quietly, bringing together people of different views, seeking the most constructive solutions. It is the way he works. It is the way he blazed new trails in social security, in combating juvenile delinquency, in achieving progress in educational television and water pollution control. It is the way he went about the United States, arousing the people to their lack of commitment to excellence in education whether elementary, secondary, or college.

Do the people of this country know his steady efforts helped get them more nursing homes and community health facilities? Sounder help for our Cuban refugees—who turned their backs on the evils of communism? Retraining for our unemployed workers? I think not. I think they may, in fact, be more conscious of our failures to obtain hospital care for our older citizens or improved education for our children. For these the Secretary fought, too, with all his strength, and I am confident that, when he comes to the Senate in January, he will be able to work to assure their eventual enactment into law.

Abe Ribicoff was a great Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. I look forward to working with him in the U.S. Congress, where I know he will be a great Senator.

## No Lottery, Thanks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, for some time sponsors of lottery bills have been berating Congress for failing to act upon proposals for which hearings have not been requested. In addition, while statements have been uttered stating that the American public overwhelmingly favors a national lottery, in truth and in fact, every State in the Union, including the District of Columbia, outlaws lottery.

Many people oppose lottery on the ground of its objectionable morality features which obtain under certain circumstances. The national Catholic weekly, the Ave Maria, in an editorial has expressed its opinions as to the meaning and significance of a lottery. I believe this editorial from this national magazine of July 7, 1962, as indicative of the feeling of a large segment of our population and deserves reading. The article follows:

NO LOTTERY, THANKS

For a number of years a Congressman from New York, Representative PAUL A. FINO, has been advocating the establishment of a national lottery.

The advantages, he contends, are that $10 billion would be raised painlessly, taxes lowered, illegal gambling rackets put out of business, and so forth.

We have yet to be persuaded that the $10 billion the Congressman promises can be substantiated, that it is little more than a plump number pulled out of the air to sell his proposed legislation (H.R. 2007).

In fact, another New York Congressman, ALFRED E. SANTANGELO, called attention to the fact that the lottery bill stipulates "No ticket of participation shall be sold in any State * * * where such sale is illegal." He then neatly documented his charge that "not even one thin dime could or would be collected" by listing sections of 50 State constitutions and statutes forbidding lotteries.

No matter how doubtful the economic return, however, we feel that there is a more undesirable aspect of this national lottery bill.

That is, millions of Americans believe all forms of gambling are morally wrong, whether it be punchcards, bingo, slot machines, or lotteries.

Others who may not view gambling as wrong in itself look upon it as "a manifestation of the less desirable acquisitive methods of man" with definite "social evils," as the American Legion magazine editorialized last fall.

Congressman ROBERT DOLE, of Kansas, spoke for this segment of the population when he stated that a national lottery would surely bring "social and moral degradation."

It would seem, then, that apart from its economic effectiveness a Government-sponsored lottery would be repugnant to the consciences of a large part of our citizenry (perhaps even a majority). If this is so, national lottery legislation is best dead and buried.

## Solar Energy: Future Source of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News of Wednesday, July 25, 1962, published a very fine article by its very able staff member Gene Shumate, who is concentrating on scientific matters. In it, Mr. Shumate tells us about the trip which is to be undertaken in the near future by a State Department employee, Mr. John Hoke, who is going into remote areas of South America in a boat driven by solar energy and carrying instruments all of which will be using power from the sun.

This is not only a novel idea, but one which may lead to great benefits for all mankind in demonstrating the wonderful possibilities of utilizing solar energy for modern needs. Today, this is no longer a mere experiment. It is a reality, thanks to the pioneering work in this field by Hoffman Electronics Corp. This company, whose home office is located at Los Angeles, Calif., with branch offices and plants in various parts of the country, is ably headed by its president, Mr. H. Leslie Hoffman. He has done a marvelous job in guiding the company over the past two decades, during which time it has recorded phenomenal growth and a position of leadership in the field of electronics.

In recent years, Mr. Hoffman has devoted considerable time, energy and ability to the development of solar energy as a major source of power to benefit mankind in the future. In this respect, he has proved himself to be a man of vision, as well as a successful businessman. Now we learn that some of the instruments and equipment produced by Hoffman Electronics will be used on this exploratory trip to South America. In this

way, these Hoffman products will be pave the way for civilization.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert into the Appendix of the RECORD the article by Mr. Shumate and call it to the attention of all my colleagues:

A TRIP ON THE SUN

(By Gene Shumate)

Around August 20 several men from here will shove off in the deep jungle of South America in a boat powered entirely from the sun.

They'll carry along flashlights, radios, stereophonic equipment, electric drills, transmitters, and a host of other equipment, all dependent on power from the sun.

The only other source of energy on this safari will be a can of lighter fluid to take care of cigarette smokers.

The Government is deeply interested, as well as Hoffman Electronics, the foremost developer of the solar cell, in this experiment.

Yesterday I sat down with John Hoke, the State Department man making the trip, and John O'Brien, the Washington representative of Hoffman.

Mr. Hoke, who spent some time trying out one of these boats, is enthusiastic.

"We're going to travel into areas where the sun is the only feasible power for a boat except, of course, for a man with an oar," Mr. Hoke said.

The boat, if Hoffman and the State Department know what they are about, will cruise into the jungle very silently. The sunrays will hit small solar cells—the same kind used in most space satellites—and the energy will be converted into electrical and mechanical energy.

The sunrays, through the solar cells, will power the motor of the boat and provide all the other energy needed on the trip.

"We've decided to test this concept under the most punishing conditions," Mr. Hoke said. "If it works—and we're sure it will—then perhaps the people who can't get power in remote areas will benefit."

According to plans, Mr. Hoke will take the sun-powered boat deep into the interior of South America, starting in Surinam. He hopes the experiment will be over in about 6 weeks.

Along the way, Mr. Hoke said, he'll leave solar-powered radios in native villages.

"There's no power in those towns," he said, "and if they can pick up broadcasts through a solar-powered radio, then it's all well and good. Maybe they'll hear the Voice of America for the first time.

"My wife may not like my trip," he said, "but she'll be happy if we accomplish what we are trying to do."

## That Dollars-Be-Damned Attitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EARL WILSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the magazine, the Nation, reaches people nationwide, while the Lawrenceburg Press, of Lawrenceburg, Ind., covers a less selective group of people. It is interesting to note, however, that both publications are supporting my drive to save money by stopping waste in military procurement.

Both publications criticize the dollars-be-damned procurement policies rampant in our military departments today. I ask unanimous consent to insert both editorials in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lawrenceburg (Ind.) Press, July 19, 1962]

IT'S OUT OF YOUR POCKET

On this page appears a report from the Ninth District Congressman, on facts that he has uncovered in investigation of the Armed Forces type of "emergency" buying of everything from mule saddles to paper clips, even a few airplanes and missiles.

It is only too obvious that it is loosely conducted, filled with kickbacks and payoffs, all of which, comes out of your pocket and mine. There's nothing honest about an employee taking a cash gift to favor a bidder who makes an order cost half a million dollars more than it would have cost in open competition. Any voter who likes that sort of thing either isn't very smart, or very honest, or either.

Our trouble in this country is that we simply have gotten so used to such thievery on various levels that we say to ourselves that "we can't do anything about it, so why worry? Everybody's doing it."

This simply is not true. Everybody is not doing it, and we can do something about it, at the polls and in letters to the big spenders.

This is not only true in the weapons procurement scene. Let's quote a similar finding by Senator MCCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, in the Estes farm case, which is far from being the only one of its kind, as reported by the Indianapolis Star:

"The McClellan hearing on misapplication of the farm program gets gamier (meaning that it stinks) as it goes along. There no longer is any doubt that something is wrong, and rotten, in the system of controlled agriculture. The question is how much, how bad, and how long has it been going on?

"The best way to cure the problem of bureaucrats with bad memories and fast rulings is to get the Government out of farming. We believe many Congressmen will find growing support for this idea when they come home to campaign this fall."

[From the Nation, July 28, 1962]

A SCENT ON THE WIND

Weapons procurement and graft have traditionally gone together. In the days of battleships, some patriotic steelmasters sold the Navy defective armor plate. In the Spanish-American War, some meatpackers supplied the Army with embalmed beef. In World War I, many American airmen died in "flying coffins." After World War II, the chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee went to jail for influence peddling. The cold war made military spending a mainstay of the economy; surprisingly, there has been little scandal. It would be pleasant to believe that the penchant for crookedness has diminished, but it is far more likely that progress has been made in the art of covering up. Even so, some familiar smells are beginning to appear.

Representative EARL WILSON (Republican, of Indiana) read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 13 a series of stories by Charles Nicodemus in the Chicago Daily News. Robert Snoyer, president of Consad Corp., a small west coast electronics firm, wanted a Signal Corps contract. At Fort Monmouth, the vast research and procurement center of the Signal Corps in New Jersey, he was told by William Laverick, described as director of the production engineering department for the Army signal material support agency; Harrison F. Tryon, chief of the agency's logistics division, and Malcolm Schaefer, a former Signal Corps employee, that on payment of $48,000 he could be awarded a $2,400,000 contract for Army field-telephone switchboards. Snoyer protested that his firm could not afford $48,000 and the amount was reduced to $20,000.

The deal fell through and at some point Snoyer told his story to the Chicago Daily News and the FBI. The three accused men, according to the Daily News account, asked for $1,500 to cover the work they had done and to "grease the way" for future contracts. Acting under FBI instructions, Snoyer agreed to bring the money to the swank Shadow Brook restaurant in Shrewsbury, near Fort Monmouth. When he gave $850 in marked bills to Laverick and $650 to Tryon, both men were seized and arraigned before a U.S. commissioner on charges of accepting bribes. Schaefer was arrested on a charge of aiding and abetting bribery.

The amounts involved are, of course, in the peanut class. More important are the cases of what, in Tammany Hall nomenclature, would be called honest graft, such as purchases by the armed services of material at several times what it is worth. Representative WILSON, a long-time critic of sole-source procurement practices, submitted some cases to the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Investigations. The price of AN/SPS–10 radars, negotiated by the Navy with Sylvania and DuMont, was $40,000 apiece. When open competition was introduced, Daystrom, Inc., bid $17,083 and won the contract. Sole-source negotiations with Collins Radio resulted in a price of $60,000 for the AN/WLR–1 electronic countermeasures receiver. Under competitive bidding the price dropped to $15,000 per system, with Sylvania on the winning end this time.

To conclude what could be a long list, AN/PRC–10, a portable radio set purchased by the Army Signal Supply Agency in large quantities, cost $404 apiece from firms like Admiral Corp., RCA, and Motorola, but at the first open competition the price dropped to $286 each for over 10,000 units. The remarkable thing about this case was that the award went to a Huntington, Ind., firm. For the most part, Midwest firms have had lean pickings; the gravy goes to five or six States, with California far in the lead. The contractors in the favored States are happy, but their good fortune is imperiled by their hungry brethren in defense backwaters like Illinois and Michigan. The Congressmen from the underprivileged States will go hunting for padded contracts and outright thievery, and it is a safe bet they will find both.

## Is the Elimination of Farmers Any Solution to the Farm Problem?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, the report of the Committee for Economic Development has, as would be expected, brought various kinds of reaction. Many of those who simply want to sweep the problem under the bed have hailed it as a solution. In my judgment it fails as a solution first in that it solves nothing.

The inability of our present farm families to make an adequate living on the farm does not stem from their inability to produce and to produce abun-

dantly. On the contrary, it grows out of their inability to sell the products of their labor at a reasonable price, or to put it another way, to exchange their production for a reasonable amount of the production of our factories, our mines, our mills, and our service institutions.

It is commonplace to say that the American industrial worker spends a smaller portion of his disposable income for food and fiber than do the workers of any other Nation or in any other period of history. Actually, the average American worker spends about 20 percent of his earnings for food and fiber. In many countries, it is necessary to spend more than half of industrial earnings for this purpose, and in most cases, even then the food is not so good or plentiful.

Stating it in the reverse, this means that whereas the Russian farmers as a whole receive about 50 percent of what Russian industry, business, and commerce produce in exchange for agricultural products, American farmers only receive about 20 percent of comparable American production. Actually, American farmers have long subsidized American consumers. The inadequacy of farm income cannot be charged to inadequate production. Clearly, it lies in the field of price.

The price of farm production is established just as the price of other commodities is—by the law of supply and demand. When the supply exceeds the demand, the price must go down. That has been happening for many years.

The Committee for Economic Development rather glibly assumes that by moving 2 million or more farm families into town that the supply of agricultural commodities will be reduced. Is there any sound basis for this belief? I think not.

There are three major factors going into agricultural production. They are land, labor, and capital. All that the CED proposes to reduce is the input of labor. It would leave every acre of land, and, of course, if those acres fall into stronger hands, it would actually increase the availability of capital. Only the supply of labor would be lessened.

That is a normal phenomenon which has been taking place for a number of years. We have long since found that farm labor can and indeed is regularly replaced with modern machinery. With the increased availability of capital, which the transfer of these lands into the hands of large operators presupposes, it seems clear that there would be no reduction whatever in production, but probably an increase.

The proposal does, however, involve moving 2 million farmers off the farms. For practical purposes, this means 2 million farm families because the type of farmer that would be removed is the family farmer. This means a transfer of 6 to 8 million people from the farm into the cities, but it does not envision the creation of any new jobs in town. It simply means that these people would compete with present industrial workers. True, the CED economists suggest vocational training for these farm refugees. I do not believe that we will have any great success retraining people of 50 years and past, and yet, the average American farmer is now approximately 52 years of age. Most likely, these people will simply become a charge on the economy of our cities, but to the extent that they were able to find jobs, they would do it at the expense of existing workers. In any event, this will be a tremendously expensive transfer of populations.

But the injury would not cease there. Almost one-half the people of America are working in jobs which are dependent in one way or another upon agriculture. Millions of our people live in smaller towns which would of necessity disappear as the supporting farm population was transferred to the cities. It would not be two million people who would be involved, as suggested by CED. It would be more nearly on the order of 20 million people.

Can we seriously and intelligently consider the economic ruin of 20 million Americans in order to place our farming operations in strong hands? And in the final analysis, what else would be achieved? The underfinanced farmer would be moved. The corporate farm, probably a subsidiary of General Mills, General Foods, or some other economic "General" would take his place. Ultimately, there may be an economic profit for the "Generals" who remain in the business. But the privates in the ranks, the private farmers would be destroyed.

There have been many commentaries already written on this matter, but I think one of the better ones I have read comes from Mr. Warren H. Otto, vice president of the Nebraska Feed Grain Growers Association. His reply to the Committee for Economic Development is attached:

NEBRASKA FEED GROWERS ASSOCIATION,
*Clay Center, Nebr., July 17, 1962.*

*To the Committee for Economic Development:*

The Committee for Economic Development this week proposed eliminating 2 million farmers as the solution of the farm problem. This group of 200 leading businessmen and educators would, in one bold stroke, solve a problem that has been with us since the days of the Pharaohs.

The contention of the CED is that by forcing 2 million farmers onto the already overcrowded labor market, the Federal Government could reduce farm expenditures by one-half or $3 billion annually. As so-called leading businessmen and educators, their arithmetic just does not add up. They say that the exodus of farmers would amount to 1 out of 3. Since there are approximately 3,700,000 farmers remaining on the farms, an elimination of 2 million of them figures to more than one-half of the existing number. How can they expect an already glutted labor market to absorb this added number in the face of 4,500,000 currently unemployed? The average age of the American farmer is approximately 52 years. It would be interesting to know how many men past 50 years of age, with limited educations and off-the-farm labor experience have been refused jobs by some of the leading businessmen of the CED. The CED would curtail vocational agricultural training as one means of accomplishing their goal of helping the farmer and saving the Government $5 billion yearly. If their thinking holds true, then why should not the Federal Government limit to a fixed number the students entering the Nation's law schools whenever it appeared likely the Nation was about to face a preponderance of attorneys?

The CED advocates the elimination of all farm controls within 5 years and the immediate reduction of price supports and subsidies. If all business controls and subsidies were eliminated, the American farmer could possibly compete. Would business and labor be willing to do this? It is a matter of record that of every $1,000 spent by the Federal Government in the entire history of Government subsidies, the farmer has received $5 of that sum.

The CED people say that their organization is supported by contributions from business and industry. It would logically seem, that in their arrival at the solution of the farm problem, farmers themselves might have something of value to contribute.

The CED's contention that the removal of 2 million people from the Nation's farms offers a solution is sheer fantasy. Presumably, a large amount of this number would be many of the so-called small, inefficient farmers. The larger, more heavily mechanized and capitalized operator would immediately step in, take over, and make a shambles of the CED's theories. In the Midwest farming area it has been established that when 17 farmers are forced from the land, one business firm closes its doors. Using this ratio, the loss of 2 million farmers would mean the loss of 116,000 business establishments. The CED, composed of leading businessmen evidently believe that eliminating small business will also be beneficial to the national economy. The removal of 2 million farmers will spell death to countless small towns and rural communities. Farmers and business can be eliminated but not the land. It remains.

Uncontrolled production is not the solution. A prime historical example is the year 1932. With the price of corn at 10 cents per bushel, the American farmer produced the largest crop in history. Ford Motor Co. does not produce at 100 percent of plant capacity with the excess production offered to the consumer on a "what will you give" basis. Supply management is the key to industrial prosperity and will ultimately be the key to agricultural prosperity.

WARREN H. OTTO,
*Vice President.*

## Homer Bigart Reports on South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a very important article on South Vietnam which appeared in the New York Times on July 25. This article was written by Homer Bigart, who has just ended a 6-month assignment in South Vietnam.

The article sheds new light on the problems in that troubled area and is a highly informed critique of the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem. It raises many questions about our policy in South Vietnam.

VIETNAM VICTORY REMOTE DESPITE U.S. AID TO DIEM

(By Homer Bigart)

The United States, by massive and unqualified support of the regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem, has helped arrest the spread of Communist insurgency in South Vietnam. But victory is remote. The issue remains in doubt because the Vietnamese President seems incapable of winning the loyalty of his people.

From the strictly military point of view, the situation has improved. "We are now doing a little better than holding our own," was the cautious assessment made a few weeks ago by Maj. Gen. Charles J. Timmes, chief of the U.S. Army element of the military assistance and advisory group.

However, no decisive turn in the military struggle is expected this year. Combat effectiveness of the South Vietnamese has been temporarily weakened by robbing rifle companies of good officers and noncoms to provide cadres for two new divisions now being created.

These new divisions will increase the strength of the regular forces to more than 205,000 by the end of this year. In addition, the civil guard will be expanded to 72,000 and the self-defense corps to 80,000.

Assuming that the Vietcong (Vietnamese Communist) guerrillas do not receive substantial outside aid, there would seem to be valid reason for optimism. For in 1963 the Republic of South Vietnam will put well-equipped forces totaling more than 350,000 men against 25,000 guerrillas who have no artillery, no antiaircraft guns, no airpower, no trucks, no jeeps, no prime movers, and only basic infantry weapons.

Also by 1963 the Vietnamese armed forces should be adequately staffed with officers and noncoms and be somewhat better trained for fighting in jungles and swamps.

They will have more helicopters, armored personnel carriers and other gadgets to enhance mobility, more sentry dogs to sniff out guerrillas, more plastic boats for the delta region, more American advisers with fresh, new tactical doctrines.

Yet visions of ultimate victory are obscured by the image of a secretive, suspicious, dictatorial regime. American officers are frustrated and irritated by the constant whimsical meddling of the President and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, in the military chain of command.

The President assumes direction of military operations. All major troop movements, all officer promotions, must have his approval. Acting on vague rumors of a coup, Ngo Dinh Nhu last February summoned elements of the 7th division to outskirts of Saigon without notifying the 3d corps commander.

Failure to coordinate with area commanders has also marked the Presidential palace's use of general reserve troops. These have been dispatched on futile one-shot operations based on faulty intelligence and conducted with slipshod planning.

TIGHT CONTROL HAMPERS PURSUIT OF GUERRILLAS

In situations demanding fast action or improvisation, the palace's tight control of the army has killed initiative. In June, guerrillas wiped out a convoy 40 miles north of Saigon, killing two American officers. The only soldiers available for pursuit belonged to the general reserve.

Hours elapsed before Presidential consent could be obtained for the employment of these troops, and it was early evening when U.S. Marine helicopters put them down on the guerrillas' trail. The guerrillas got away easily despite their heavy booty in guns and ammunition.

This episode was a bitter revelation for Americans. The ambush occurred on the outskirts of Bentre, a garrison town, and on a heavily traveled highway. Yet the guerrillas moved into position in daylight, prepared the ambuscade in full view of the road and waited for 3 hours for the convoy to appear. They must have been observed by scores of peasants. Yet no one informed the garrison in Bentre.

Could this have happened if peasants felt any real identification with the regime?

A family living at the scene said it was threatened with death if it informed. But the Vietcong probably would never have undertaken this action without full confidence that the peasants were with them, or at least indifferent.

There is no accurate gage of sentiment in Vietnam. The press is rigidly controlled and there is no freedom of assembly. Even the election scheduled for this year was canceled when the rubber stamp national assembly altered the constitution to give itself another year of tenure.

President Ngo Dinh Diem is well aware of the importance of securing the countryside. His brother has the vision of concentrating peasants into strategic hamlets ringed with mud walls, moats, and barbed wire. The object is to isolate peasants from Communists. Brother Ngo Dinh Nhu urged the creation of 8,000 hamlets by the end of this year.

But the American aid mission has advised the regime to come up with a less-expensive plan. While appalled by the dreary regimentation of life in these fortified villages, most Americans are convinced that the strategic hamlet is part of the answer to the pacification problem. They hope to persuade the President that forced labor on hamlet defenses is not the way to win the affection of the peasants.

Besides urging the Government to pay for this labor—workers are not even fed but must provide their own food—the American mission is trying to channel aid directly to the villages in support of counterinsurgency.

In April, the Americans proposed that a trust fund equivalent to $110 million be set aside from counterpart funds—local currency equivalent to American aid funds—for direct application to the provinces, districts and villages. They wanted to knife through the bureaucratic fog to insure that emergency relief, food, blankets, medicine, or perhaps defense materials, such as barbed wire and cement, would reach the new villages in the critical first weeks.

This "impact aid," designed to show peasants that the Saigon regime really cared, would, of course, be handled at the scene by local Vietnamese officials; Americans would not be hanging around looking for gratitude, and peasants presumably would guess that the manna came from the Presidential palace.

There was urgency for action, for thousands of "Montagnards," the primitive tribesmen of the central plateau, were streaming into the garrison towns. Some were fed up with Viet Cong demands for food and services; other were lured by reports of medical attention and other amenities offered by the U.S. special forces. The Americans saw an opportune movement to win over tribesmen who had been ignored for years by the regime.

But the plan was coldly rejected by President Ngo Dinh Diem. He did not like the "political implications," an aid explained. The President evidently scented an American plot to undermine his control over local officials.

PROPOSAL TO LIBERALIZE REGIME IS SCUTTLED

Similarly, the President has scuttled other American proposals that might have softened his image.

One of the major recommendations of the mission here last fall of Gen. Maxwell Taylor, President Kennedy's military adviser, was that the regime liberalize itself by permitting the National Assembly to be somewhat less of a rubberstamp. It was thought that the President had agreed to permit the election of one or two independents in Saigon and that eventually political parties free of government control might be permitted to organize.

But the election has been put off for a year and meanwhile the President and his family are in no mood to relax their grip on the administration. Besides the President and brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, who has the title of political adviser, there is Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu, palace hostess and an influential member of the Assembly, whose "family bill," promulgated in 1959, prohibits divorce except under very unusual circumstances.

There are two other brothers, Ngo Dinh Can, who, like the President, is a bachelor, very straitlaced and aloof, and who runs the northern provinces from Hue, and Msgr. Ngo Dinh Thuc, Roman Catholic archbishop of Hue.

All the Ngo family are Catholics. The population of South Vietnam is predominantly Buddhist.

At the time of the Taylor mission, American officials talked openly of "pressuring" the Saigon regime for administrative reforms that would oblige it to relinquish some power. This plan was hotly resented by Ngo Dinh Nhu. According to U.S. Embassy officials, he incited the controlled Saigon press to print bitterly anti-American tirades. The campaign was hushed after a protest by the U.S. Embassy.

But Washington decided it was risky to prod President Ngo Dinh Diem publicly. Efforts to obtain major political and social reforms were quietly dropped after a few major concessions had been obtained: higher pay, fringe benefits and merit promotions for the armed forces; creation of a National Economic Council, quite impotent, but useful as a forum; the establishment of provincial advisory councils and village councils and, at the top, the equivalent of a National Security Council.

These improvements failed to touch the main problem. The Vietnamese President, according to former intimates, has become more aloof, trusting only his family, refusing to delegate authority. American officials find that even routine matters affecting the aid program must now be referred to Ngo Dinh Diem.

"It's virtually impossible to get anything done without the Ambassador running to the palace like an errand boy," one official said.

Meanwhile, a complete reassessment of the aid program is desperately needed, American officials say. Economic aid must be more closely related to the counter-insurgency effort, they explain, and the Saigon regime must pump an increased flow of piasters into the countryside to pay local costs of the strategic hamlet program.

The Government, alarmed by slumping revenues, has requested a $25 million U.S. grant, against which it would print more piasters. But Washington is now firmly opposed to cash grants. The United States has rejected an appeal by Vietnam for blanket waivers of the obligation in the aid program to buy American goods. Saigon had hoped for permission to spend American aid money on cheaper products from Japan. The regime particularly wanted across-the-board waivers for industrial machinery and chemical fertilizers.

This tightening of aid policies by Washington should give Ambassador Frederick E. Nolting, Jr., a little leverage in his bargaining with the Presidential palace. The Ambassador has not enjoyed much leverage.

In the last 15 months, a parade of VIP's, starting with Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON and ending with the recent visit by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, regaled President Ngo Dinh Diem with promises of "all the help you need." Hearing his leadership lauded as an "irreplaceable asset," the President presumably assumed he could re-

ject any proposals he disliked and still get all the money and military equipment he wanted from his friends in Washington.

Now Ambassador Nolting may be able to force action on a number of issues the Americans regard as crucial. These include a determination, long overdue, of priorities for programs such as strategic hamlets and population identification—the photographing and fingerprinting of every Vietnamese who can be caught. Perhaps the Ambassador can also revive the plan, rejected by Ngo Dinh Diem, for a rapid, uninterrupted flow of piasters to the provinces.

Finally the Americans want the President to promulgate as soon as possible a general amnesty offer. They believe the Government's psychological warfare campaign will be more effective once guerrillas learn they stand a chance of pardon if they defect to the Government forces.

FULL PUBLICITY IS URGED ON OFFER OF AMNESTY

Americans hope that the amnesty offer will be launched with fullest publicity, including a radio broadcast by President Ngo Dinh Diem stating the Government's policy on how the Vietcong are going to be treated, reeducated, and integrated.

Apart from the purely propaganda advantage, the national amnesty would inject a note of humanity in a struggle that has shocked American military observers with its senseless brutality. American advisers have seen Vietcong prisoners summarily shot. They have encountered the charred bodies of women and children in villages destroyed by napalm bombs.

This month a Defense Department spokesman in Washington said casualties were running at the rate of five Communists to every three for the South Vietnam Government forces. But casualty figures in South Vietnam are highly suspect, for they are often based on the estimates or air observers.

Moreover, one rarely sees a uniformed Vietcong guerrilla; generally the Communist rebels are indistinguishable from peasants. Thus, many of the enemy dead reported by the South Vietnam Government were ordinary peasants shot down because they had fled from villages as the troops entered. Some may have been Vietcong sympathizers, but others were running away because they did not want to be rounded up for military conscription or forced labor.

The presence of American observers has had an inhibiting effect on indiscriminate shooting. U.S. helicopters are now being used to evacuate prisoners to interrogation centers in the rear, where the prisoners are at least safe from the threat of summary execution. Later, at prison camps called reeducation centers, the prisoners are indoctrinated in "the rights and responsibilities of citizens," lectured on Vietcong crimes and told of the achievements of the Government.

Inadequate screening and identification has sometimes resulted in the unfortunate mixing of hard-core Vietcong and nonpolitical prisoners. But the process is now being improved under the direction of Frank Walton, former deputy chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, now head of the public safety division of the U.S. aid mission.

Mr. Walton is sending Vietnamese to the United States to study prison administration. As for conditions at the 43 reeducation centers, Walton says: "I've seen considerably worse prisons in the southern United States. Some of the centers were well run, others overcrowded," he said. There was no followup rehabilitation, hence no insurance that the former Vietcong would not defect again after their release.

In the fighting areas, American advisers fresh from training camps in the United States are astonished to find that, despite all the talk back home about unconventional warfare, the tactics here remain quite orthodox.

Government forces attempt large-scale operations that seldom flush more than a handful of Vietcong. Americans have been preaching the necessity of sustained operations. But Vietnamese commanders persist in one-shot maneuvers.

"A one-shot deal is like pushing quicksilver," one adviser commented. "Communists disperse only to fill up the vacuum as soon as the troops leave."

Helicopters have made an important contribution to the tactical mobility of Government forces. They have enabled Government units to strike at former "safe havens" of the Vietcong deep in jungles and swamps, then return quickly to their posts to be available for other missions.

"Helicopters permit us to do in 1 or 2 days what used to take 2 weeks," observed Col. Frank B. Clay, until recently American adviser to the Vietnamese 7th division.

Armored amphibious troop carriers were introduced in June. They were supposed to solve the problem of pursuit over rice paddies and swamps. It was soon evident that these vehicles cannot be used without careful reconnaissance of the terrain. They are easily balked by steep-banked canals and rivers. On one operation a whole company of vehicles was mired for hours.

DOGS REQUIRE TIME TO ADJUST TO TROPICS

Gadgets will not win this war, and neither will war dogs. Unfounded enthusiasm for sentry dogs prompted a worldwide recruitment of German shepherds. The U.S. advisory group wanted 1,000 dogs, but procurement was impossible. Only about 200 are currently in South Vietnam or in the pipeline. Most of the dogs that reached South Vietnam are sick. Of the five dogs assigned to the 7th division, four were sick and so was their trainer.

It was reported that they needed 3 months to adjust to the tropics. Meanwhile, someone discovered that each dog required $1.20 worth of frozen horsemeat a day; a Vietnamese soldier gets by on 19 cents worth of rice.

South Vietnam is a proving ground for other interesting theories. On the central plateau, for example, David Nuttle, a civilian attached to U.S. special forces, is experimenting with a poisonous shrub called kpung. Its leaves have nettles that cause excruciating pain that lasts a week. Mr. Nuttle proposes a double border of kpung around strategic hamlets to keep the Viet-Cong out.

On the political front Americans are less inventive. Washington insists there is no alternative to President Ngo Dinh Diem. U.S. official policy is tied to the status quo. This policy is doomed in the long run, some feel, because the Vietnamese President cannot give his country the inspired leadership needed to defeat the Vietcong.

In some areas the signs of disaffection are clear enough. Observers of sweeps by the Vietnamese Army through the Mekong delta provinces are often struck by the phenomenon of deserted villages. As troops approach, all flee, except a few old men and children. No one offers information; no one hurries to put out flags. Most of the rural area is controlled by Viet-Cong, whose agents will move back as soon as the troops have departed.

In the last 7 years, the United States has spent well over $2 billion to prevent a Communist takeover in South Vietnam. Holding the line in southeast Asia was a major premise of the strategy for containing communism formulated by John Foster Dulles, President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, who felt the whole of southeast Asia would go down the drain unless South Vietnam were saved.

The United States has been deeply involved in South Vietnam ever since 1954 when, after the defeat of the French in the Indochina war, Vietnam was partitioned. The Communists took over North Vietnam. With American support, Ngo Dinh Diem, a strongly anti-Communist aristocrat, rose to power in the south.

Few Americans in Saigon during the first chaotic years of President Ngo Dinh Diem's leadership had much confidence in his ability to survive. In 1955, President Eisenhower's special representative in South Vietnam, Gen. J. Lawton Collins, recommended that the United States withhold support from the aloof and obstinate Vietnamese leader.

But General Collins' recommendation was countered by reports sent to Allen W. Dulles, then director of the Central Intelligence Agency, by Col. (now brigadier general) Edward G. Lansdale, the chief U.S. intelligence agent in Saigon. Colonel Lansdale saw no alternative to Ngo Dinn Diem, Allen Dulles persuaded his brother, the Secretary of State, that Colonel Lansdale was right and General Collins was wrong.

ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP LACKING IN 1955

Those who recall conditions in Saigon at the time may now agree that Colonel Lansdale was right. Ngo Dinh Diem's rivals were either notoriously corrupt, or tagged as collaborators in the former French colonial regime, or lacking in popular appeal. Ngo Dinh Diem had some following among the Catholic refugees from North Vietnam, and these were at least reliably anti-Communist.

The little president has shown a remarkable talent for surviving coups and assassination attempts. He got rid of Emperor Bao Dai, established control over the army, won a small war against gangster elements of the Saigon police, eliminated the private armies of two powerful religious sects, the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao, and resettled a million refugees from the north.

In the relatively quiet years between 1955 and 1958, when the Communist insurrection supported by North Vietnam began, South Vietnam made some modest economic progress. Saigon looked relatively prosperous. But U.S. economic aid was slow to reach the villages. And Ngo Dinh Diem did little to generate enthusiasm for his regime.

By last year the Communists controlled most of the countryside. The Vietnamese president was forced to ask for greatly increased military aid. President Kennedy responded by rushing thousands of U.S. military personnel to South Vietnam to serve as advisers and instructors. A U.S. Military Assistance Command was established under Gen. Paul Donald Harkins.

Should the situation disintegrate further, Washington may face the alternative of ditching Ngo Dinh Diem for a military junta or sending combat troops to bolster the regime.

No one who has seen conditions of combat in South Vietnam would expect conventionally trained U.S. forces to fight any better against Communist guerrillas than did the French in their 7 years of costly and futile warfare. For, despite all the talk here of training men for jungle fighting, of creating counter-guerrillas who can exist in forests and swamps and hunt down the Vietcong, Americans may simply lack the endurance—and the motivation—to meet the unbelievably tough demands of jungle fighting.

## Gold Stockpile Falls by $137 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, apparently the U.S. gold reserves are the lowest in 23 years.

The following appeared in the Washington Post, July 12, 1962:

GOLD STOCKPILE FALLS BY $137 MILLION

The U.S. gold stockpile was reduced by $137 million during the week ended Wednesday after remaining unchanged 7 weeks, the Federal Reserve Board said yesterday.

The decline was the steepest 1-week loss in 8 months.

The dip was due to sales of $112 million in gold to France and $25 million to Switzerland.

At the close of business yesterday U.S. reserves totaled $16,298 million, the lowest since August 9, 1939.

The gold outflow for this year now stands at $502 million, compared with a loss of $216 million for the corresponding period of 1961.

Wednesday the Treasury disclosed that France was buying gold at the same time it was repaying more than $293 million of debt owed the United States. Earlier this week the Swiss National Bank disclosed it had bought $25 million in gold from the U.S. Treasury.

## Hon. Al Hansen, Vice Chairman of the Projects Committee, National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, from time to time Members of Congress become involved in what might be called extracurricular activities. We serve on civic committees, as members of fraternal organizations, and in lodges of various types. The most rewarding part of such service, to my mind, has always been the fine people we associate with, the men and women of distinction with whom we are privileged to work.

For a number of years now I have been actively associated with a very fine organization, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Many of my colleagues and friends in both the House and the other body also serve in various capacities with this group. I have had the honor and privilege of serving as chairman of the projects committee of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

In this capacity it has been my unique good fortune to meet and get to know one of the finest and most able men I have met, the Honorable Al Hansen, comptroller of the city of Minneapolis, Minn., and vice chairman of the projects committee.

My association with Al Hansen has been a most rewarding one. He has brought to the tasks assigned us a real understanding of the needs of the Nation in water resource development areas. His knowledge of the subject and his perception in making recommendations have both been of great help in carrying on the functions of our projects committee. In this work we are dedicated to the proposition that the Rivers and Harbors Congress as a whole should support only those development projects which are worthy of support, not only by our group but by the National Legislature as well.

This takes a lot of work, a great deal of thought and consideration.

Although a very busy man, Al Hansen has devoted much time and energy to these projects we have considered. His assistance has been invaluable.

Al Hansen is one of those rare public servants who has been able to gain the confidence and trust of all with whom he has dealt. He has served as a fiscal officer of the city of Minneapolis for more than two decades. He has been comptroller of that great Midwestern city since 1949. During his tenure as comptroller he has been successful in raising the city's financial rating from A to AAA and it stands now as one of the seven cities in the United States which has this enviable fiscal rating.

His services in Minneapolis have not gone unnoticed. He has developed an international reputation for sound fiscal management and for his complete knowledge of the fiscal affairs of municipalities. This reputation has brought to Minneapolis the representatives of the Government of Israel to study under his direction the methods of handling municipal finances. He also helped the city of Johannesburg, South Africa, develop a sounder, more workable fiscal policy and program.

Al Hansen's devotion to important causes is well known in his own home city. It has become equally well known among those of us who have served with him in the Rivers and Harbors Congress. He has been a member of the board of directors of that organization for some 20 years and is one of the oldest directors in point of service.

Mr. Speaker, I think that his fine character, his devotion to the improvement of the resources of America and his excellent record as comptroller of Minneapolis ought to be more widely recognized. That is why I have taken this opportunity to single him out for high praise under this leave to extend my remarks.

The people of Minneapolis and America have been well served by this fine gentleman, Al Hansen.

## Long Island Club Adopts Nonsectarian Membership Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, June 27, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that a well-known and distinguished organization, the Old Westbury Golf and Country Club of Long Island, has done something rather unusual which deserves recognition. It has adopted a policy of nonsectarian membership, and as such is leading the way for all similar organizations to follow.

As far as I know, this is one of the first organizations of its kind in the United States to adopt such a policy. This is a commendable step and I would like to extend my congratulations to the membership of the Old Westbury Golf and Country Club on this most worthy undertaking.

The general chairman of the Nassau-Suffolk region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Mr. George Auslander, has written a letter to the group commending it for its forthright policy. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert his letter into the RECORD.

It reads as follows:

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC., NASSAU-SUFFOLK REGION,
*Valley Stream, N.Y., June 21, 1962.*

*To the Membership of the Old Westbury Golf & Country Club:*

The National Conference of Christians & Jews enthusiastically commends the Old Westbury Golf & Country Club for its forthright policy of nonsectarian membership.

It is refreshing and encouraging to know that your social club is proving that men of different creeds can live and play together in harmony and good fellowship.

Your pragmatic approach in insuring a balanced nonsectarian membership is most realistic and should set a pattern for other high-minded social groups to follow.

Congratulations and best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely,

GEORGE AUSLANDER,
*General Chairman.*

## Program To Repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 831, 81st Congress—Internal Security Act of 1950—passed the House on August 29, 1950, and passed the Senate on September 12, 1950. This act was to protect the United States against certain un-American and subversive activities. There were record votes in both House and Senate. In the House the yeas were 354; the nays 20. In the Senate the yeas were 70; the nays 7.

In looking over the record vote, Mr. Speaker, I have noted with satisfaction that all Members of both bodies of Congress and both political parties from my State voted for this measure.

Recently, Mr. Speaker, when the U.S. Supreme Court decided Communist Party officials must register under this act a program to repeal this legislation was immediately begun by Communist Party leaders and, of course, as usual this Nation's dupes and tools in the radical left were enlisted in the campaign.

As an example, in the State of Washington such misguided individuals successfully incorporated a plank in the

platform of the Democratic Party calling for restrictions of this so-called McCarran Internal Security Act.

In fairness to a great political party and to its many patriotic Democratic officeholders and leaders, I should point out this action caused a walkout in the convention struggle between moderates and the radical leftist elements. Also, it should not be overlooked that this law was passed under a Democratic President by a Democratic Congress. But in my State Gus Hall and his Communist Party members have scored a victory. The Democratic Party of Washington State now has a plank in its platform opposing the law under which Communists must register, and under which Gus Hall and other Reds now face prosecution.

Assuredly no Washington State Democrat in the Congress is going to support that plank. I will have no issue with them on that score. No doubt they will want to declare themselves individually on this subject in due course.

But, Mr. Speaker, those in control of the Washington State Democratic Party have chosen to make this matter an issue between them and their Republican counterparts. As a result the voters in November will have a clear-cut choice with respect to this Communist control issue in the selection of political candidates, political leadership, and political party platforms.

The radical left element of my State's Democratic Party organization knew what it was doing when it assaulted the McCarran Act and put over this and other questionable so-called citizen rights declarations of policy.

The voters at the polls will be able to express their own opinions on such rights.

Meanwhile, as a matter of information, let me cite an excerpt from the July 1962 VFW American Security Reporter which describes the effort being made to repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950:

REDS BATTLE U.S. CONTROLS

At a rally of some 3,000 men, women, and youth in New York, June 7, U.S. Communist Party Secretary Gus Hall declared that the tide had turned in the Communist fight against the Internal Security Act of 1950, sometimes called the McCarran Act.

Under this act the Communist Party and Communist Party members have been ordered to register as agents of the Soviet Union. Such registration would destroy the Communists' claim that they represent a legitimate political movement in the United States and disclose to the public that they are acting in the interests of Moscow rather than in those of the people in the United States.

The Reds' battle to defeat this legislation reached a high water mark at the June 7 meeting when Gus Hall declared, "During the past 6 months I have spoken to some 50,000 students and youth directly, and through their newspapers to possibly half a million, and through local radios, TV, and press to millions of Americans. Ben Davis and others have had similar experiences. A year ago the McCarran Act was running against us. Today it is going the other way. The tide has turned."

The June 7 rally had international repercussions, too. The following day, June 8, Moscow broadcast a Red report of the meeting to Western Europe. The Moscow propaganda said that the Communist Party was being "persecuted" in the United States, and that the party was being defended by such "outstanding leaders of the American labor movement" as Gus Hall and Ben Davis (both Communist Party leaders), by the Veterans Committee of the Abraham Lincoln International Brigade, the American Committee for the Defense of People of Foreign Extraction, and the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship.

The propaganda broadcast abroad was aimed to persuade West Europeans that the "fascist danger" is rising in the United States in the form of "persecution" of Communists and "other progressive organizations" but that "unity, militant spirit, and greater sense of loyalty to democracy and peace will secure victory" against fascism in the United States.

What can we do? Use letters, newsletters, postcards, speeches, meetings, and rallies to explain to fellow citizens that U.S. Reds are attempting to defeat legally passed U.S. legislation by means of a massive propaganda campaign, that Communists, in fact, operate to protect the interests of Communist forces abroad, and particularly the Communist Party leadership in Moscow, and that we have every right to demand that they register as agents of the foreign powers which they are aiding.

A defeat of this legislation now would be used to persuade Western Europe and the world that the American will to combat communism is weakening, and thus open the door to an upswing in Communist activity in Western Europe. The battle is here. The effect will be felt all over the world.

## A Political Solution to an Economic Problem?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 16, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker my colleagues, the gentlemen from Washington [Mr. PELLY and Mr. WESTLAND], join me in this statement.

For many years Members of Congress representing the west coast and the Pacific Northwest have disregarded partisan politics and have worked together in behalf of projects beneficial to their areas, and have joined together in seeking solutions for their area problems. There has existed throughout the years an understanding that the welfare of our region transcended partisan politics.

Apparently, a new era has been born with the advent of the New Frontier. Several months ago the west coast lumber industry appealed to the administration and to Republican and Democrat Members of Congress for help. Lumber producers were losing their east coast markets to Canadian lumber producers. As of this moment, the Canadians have garnered 70 percent of the eastern markets formerly supplied by west coast producers. Several of our mills have closed as a consequence, resulting in considerable unemployment.

Republican and Democrat Congressmen held meetings together to explore possible courses of relief for the west coast industry. Several suggestions were advanced, including administrative as well as legislative action. Appeals were directed to the White House, the Department of Commerce, and the Forest Service. Congressional committees held hearings. It was obvious that quick action must be taken by the executive branch of the Government.

Now we are informed that the executive branch is about to announce some action for relief. Called to the White House are the Democrat Members of Congress who have been concerned with the lumber problems. Republicans and their views—advanced without regard to partisan politics—are completely ignored.

Some questions immediately come to mind: First, does this action signify the end of a wonderful working relationship between Republican and Democrat Members of Congress who lay aside partisanship in the interests of the welfare of the West and the Pacific Northwest? Second, are the actions to be recommended today by the executive branch purely political in nature? Third, did the fact that this is an election year have any bearing upon the decision to depart from the practice of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, who in connection with similar situations sought the advice and assistance of both Republicans and Democrats? If the answer to these questions is "Yes," then the actions for relief to be announced today will probably be headed toward failure.

## The Automated Grocer: The World of the "Slack Fill" and the "Jumbo Quart"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, an excellent example of one place where the consumer needs protection in America is the supermarket. I hope that more and more wives and other food purchasers are becoming aware of the misleading labeling and the trick packaging practices of the food and household product industries, but I am pleased to note that the administration plans to take action soon to regulate such practices in order to take some of the strain off the individual consumer.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, the following article from the AFL–CIO American Federationist for July 1962, by Nancy Pratt Vanderbeek, who conducts classes on consumer problems for university and union groups in Michigan:

THE CONFUSED CONSUMER AND THE SUPERMARKET MAZE

(By Nancy Pratt Vanderbeek)

Many shoppers unfortunately find themselves spending more but enjoying it less. Trying to make wise selections from the confusing array of packages lining supermarket aisles can become so frustrating that the

best-intentioned shopper will give up and buy blindly.

This can be costly as well as frustrating. A typical American family spends about one-third of its income on food. And about 75 percent of that money probably is spent in a large supermarket. Thus it's logical to start with the visit to the supermarket if a family is trying to cut down on living costs.

Savings at the supermarket should not be dismissed as piddling. A few cents off one can of coffee may not seem very vital to a family budget. But individual savings add up. One consumer survey estimated the average family could save about $200 a year through intelligent supermarket selections. Because food buying continues year in and year out, bad shopping habits represent a constant drain on the budget. On the other hand, wise habits, once learned, can mean a lifetime of savings.

For wise buying is simply a matter of building sensible shopping habits, acquiring nutritional and marketing know-how and applying it regularly. Marketing know-how is particularly important today because the shopper usually has no one to turn to but the package. There is no friendly grocer to advise her on the best buy. The supermarket clerk can direct her to the cake mixes but he can't tell her which manufacturer puts more raisins in the applesauce cake. Typically, the store clerk knows less about what goes into the 7,000 or more items on the supermarket shelves than the housewife herself. The package is the only source of information. It is vital, therefore, that the package tell "the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

Recently there has been encouraging news from Washington that the Federal Government may act to regulate some of the more questionable practices of food manufacturers. Just last year, Senator PHILIP A. HART, Democrat, of Michigan, chaired hearings of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on packaging and labeling practices of food and household products as they affect the consumer.

Testimony from a number of witnesses on the consumer's behalf outlined some of the major problems of food buying and indicated some areas in which Federal regulation apparently is needed. Three major areas are misleading information on the labels, deceptive sizes and fractional weights.

MISLEADING INFORMATION

Labels such as "economy size" or "family size" have lost their original meanings. Depending on the whim of the manufacturer, one or the other may be the larger size and sometimes neither is the best buy per pound. Indeed, even the generally accepted measures such as "quart" or "pound" do not always measure up to the traditional standards. Phrases such as "jumbo quart" confuse rather than inform. In today's supermarkets the stingy 15-ounce "pound" of frozen meat has almost replaced the real 16-ounce pound in most brands.

The law requires that a package state the true net weight of a product, but manufacturers have defied the spirit if not the letter of the law by showing net weights in illegibly small print or in dull colors (black against a dark blue background).

Possible Federal standards could correct this confusion by requiring that common measurements, if used by a manufacturer, must mean what they say. A "quart" must equal 32 ounces; a "pound" must weigh 16 ounces. Net weights should be printed in legible type, bearing a standard relation to the other printing on the label and located on the main panel of the package.

DECEPTIVE SIZES

The "slack fill" (packaging a product in an over-sized container) is an old evil. A new twist on this timeworn deception is to package or bottle merchandise in shapes that look larger than they really are. The Christmas tree shape, for example, can be used to make a 15-ounce "pint" look as large as its 16-ounce competitor. Bright colors in the lower section draw one's eye away from the narrow top half.

There may be nothing that can be done about such "psychological" deceptions but Federal standards could be established on slack fills. Regulations could define the percentages of fill for various products so consumers can be sure when they buy a box of chocolates that it contains a full measure of candy rather than wrapping paper.

FRACTIONAL WEIGHTS

It is fairly easy to compare the cost of two cans, one a 12-ounce can selling at 40 cents; the other an 18-ounce can at 65 cents. The careful buyer must pause in the aisle for a moment of mental arithmetic, but she doesn't need a slide rule or an advanced mathematics degree to figure out the 18-ounce can is 1½ times as large as the 12-ounce can at 40 cents and therefore must cost under 1½ times 40 cents (or below 60 cents) to be the better buy.

Consider the more typical practice today, an example cited in the course of the Hart hearings: 1 can holds 13¾ ounces and sells for 39 cents. The other weighs 14¼ ounces and sells for 41 cents. Which is the better buy?

The use of such fractional weights makes comparative pricing a nightmare. It was suggested at the Hart hearings that such fractions be abolished. This could be done by limiting the graduations of sizes in cans (to 2-ounce graduations, for example). Or it could be accomplished by requiring that the manufacturer mark the net weight at the lowest ounce (13¾ ounces would read 13 ounces). This practice might be more feasible because produce doesn't weigh out evenly. It's difficult to pack whole peaches, for example, to an exact ounce.

One problem Federal legislation probably cannot solve for the consumer is the reduction of sizes. Because a shopper will notice an increase in price, particularly on an item she purchases regularly, the manufacturer maintains the old price but reduces the size of the package, thus increasing the cost per unit. Often the manufacturer also changes the wrapper on the package, sometimes labeling it "new improved." Thus the consumer remains blissfully unaware she's paying a higher price per ounce for the same soap powder, although at the end of the month she may note the soap doesn't seem to go as far.

Such practices emphasize the need for careful comparisons on the part of the shopper as an individual. The Hart committee already has served a useful public purpose by publicizing sharp practices, and making consumers more aware of them. But it cannot do the whole job.

How can shoppers as individuals sharpen up their buying skills? Some advertisers and market analysts would have one believe consumers really aren't interested in making rational buying decisions. And some of the evidence does make one wonder.

One survey, showed that only 1 out of every 5 shoppers, carried a shopping list and that 7 out of every 10 supermarket selections were bought on impulse. And incidentally, the same survey showed men were even more prone to impulse buying than women.

The glittering aisles of eye-catching packages and displays in the supermarket are designed to lure one into spur-of-the-moment purchases. Thus the first rule for wise shopping is to curb such impulses. This may be easier said than done, but a first step is to make out a detailed shopping list. Perhaps the shopper should check up on herself at first and compare the articles she actually bought with those she intended to buy.

Plan weekly menus in advance; look at the local newspaper ads to get an idea of what shops might be offering specials. And try to shop after meals on a full stomach, when one's interest in food is weak and the impulse resistance the greatest.

One time-honored rule of home economists is to shop in a number of stores to get the best buy. Unfortunately this is rather unrealistic for the woman who works outside the home or for the mother with small children. Considering the fact supermarkets do tempt one to buy on impulse, a better rule might be to shop as infrequently as possible, using the local newspaper ads as a comparative guide to the best weekly buys.

The Hart committee findings indicate that neither the package nor the advertising is a reliable guide to price and quality. How does one judge one product against another? Where does one get the facts?

U.S. Department of Agriculture pamphlets and home economics handbooks available free in the public library can provide ground rules for sound nutrition. Cookbooks and the food editor's page in the daily newspaper can offer suggestions for new foods and more efficient menu planning. Such sources form the basis for wise buying. But none of these sources offer specific information on which brand is the best buy; which soap powder the most effective cleaner; which shampoo the lowest priced per quart.

For such information, there are three monthly consumer publications: Consumer Reports, Consumers Research Bulletin, and Changing Times. All are available in the public library. The first two are cooperative, nonprofit organizations which actually buy and test brand-name goods of all kinds. None accept advertising. Changing Times does not rate specific products although it does mention brand names in cost comparisons. It is part of the Kiplinger chain of business newsletters.

Another excellent source of consumer advice is the weekly column by Sidney Margolius syndicated in many trade union newspapers and journals.

Here is an example of the type of help such publications can provide. The January 1961 issue of Consumer Reports surveyed household cleaning products. The highest rated product in cleaning effectiveness was also one of the lowest priced; about 0.6 cents per gallon in solution as compared to 5.3 cents per gallon for the highest priced product.

It would be very difficult for an individual consumer to purchase every major brand of cleaner on the market and work out the comparative prices per gallon of solution. Nor could one make very reliable home tests. By making such cost and quality comparisons, Consumer Reports has simplified the housewife's buying decision. She can buy the best rated product and save herself both time and money in the supermarket.

An interesting footnote to the Consumer Reports article is that advertising would not have led one to this product, which is promoted on TV as a "laundry detergent." Only on the back of the label, in small print, does the manufacturer mention the product is "wonderful for windows, walls, woodwork, floors, tiles, cars, etc." One might wonder why the advertising does not inform consumers of the wonders of this particular product. Perhaps an answer is that the manufacturer has another candidate on the market for household cleaning. This product is almost five times as expensive and was not as highly rated by Consumer Reports testers.

The consumer magazines can narrow down the number of decisions and cost comparisons one must make in the supermarket aisles. But no publication can keep up to date on the price and quality trends of every item on the shopping list. Particularly with canned and frozen foods, prices change from

month to month and choice depends on individual taste. Thus the consumer must make her own comparisons if she is to make intelligent shopping decisions.

Generally, packaged products fall into two categories. The first is the manufacturers' brands—the common trade names advertised on TV and in magazines. The other category is the so-called private or retailer brands. For example, A. & P.'s private brand is called Ann Page. Some larger supermarket chains now manufacture several lines of canned goods under different private brand names.

As a general rule—and there are exceptions—the private brands are lower priced than the nationally advertised brands. In some cases the actual merchandise may be identical. The same canner may pack for both nationally advertised brands and for private retail brands. In any case, it's worth comparing prices between a brand name product and the private retail brand. If the latter is cheaper, it is certainly worth trying once to see if the quality is acceptable.

Louis Cheskin, director of the Cheskin Associates Marketing Institute, stated before the Hart committee: "The styling or packaging and the advertising or promotion often play greater roles in present-day marketing than the product itself because, from a purely utilitarian aspect, competitive products are generally very much alike. * * * Price has to be based on economic and psychological factors as well as cost."

Before selecting the so-called convenience foods such as instant potato, cake mixes, and other products, the housewife should consider whether the extra cost is worth the savings in time.

WHY HONEST LABELING IS IMPORTANT

"The consumer, as a result of his purchases in the marketplace, ultimately determines what goods shall be produced and in what amounts. For the system to operate soundly requires that this choice be a rational one.

"I think certain conclusions can be drawn from the June hearings. Particularly, many packaging and labeling practices make rational shopping by the consumer an unduly difficult, if not impossible task.

"A two-pronged problem results from these packaging practices. First, there is confusion in the marketplace. Second, there is lack of incentive and reward for the processor or manufacturer who desires to operate in an ethical manner by making necessary information readily and easily understandable to the consumer."—Chairman PHILIP HART, Democrat, of Michigan. (Source: "Hearings on Packaging and Labeling Practices, Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, Senate Judiciary Committee, 87th Cong.")

Some convenience foods are worth the extra money, particularly for women working outside the home or for older people living alone who cannot eat more than the "individual serving." In an emergency—if mother is sick, for instance—there's nothing like TV dinners. Furthermore, it's less expensive than dining out.

But other so-called conveniences may not add that much extra ease to living. Despite the TV ads, women don't regularly add bleach to their laundry just before they go out to a party. Liquid bleaches cost a fraction of the pre-packaged bleaches and are not all that messy to measure out. If consumers realized salt in individual shakers cost three times as much as the same salt in the regular container, they might not object to pouring it from the large container.

The continual use of convenience foods can double food costs in short order. And they may not be all that convenient.

Every week's mail brings the consumer a vast array of "valuable coupons" which can be redeemed for discounts on brand items or for specified items at certain supermarkets. It's difficult to pick up a package without a "gift" offer. Soap powders provide china sets; oleomargarines offer nylons; Chinese dinners promise chrysanthemums.

From the consumer point of view, there's nothing to lose by redeeming coupons which offer a cash reduction on a brand item. One needs to be somewhat more wary of the package offers that require one to send in money plus a boxtop to receive a "gift."

The 1962 Consumers Almanac published by Consumers Union summarizes a survey of premium offers. Of the 50 premiums examined, 18 (36 percent) were found to be of poor value; 16 (32 percent) were judged satisfactory; and 15 (30 percent) were rated good values. One item arrived too late to be evaluated in the special study.

Remember, the company buys its premiums at wholesale cost and offers the "gift" at retail value. Thus the money sent in with the boxtop may almost repay the company the cost of its "gift." Often the consumer could do as well or better shopping directly for the item at a sale.

Save stamps, cash in premiums offering cash bonuses but shop on the basis of quality and price, not on bonuses and ballyhoo.

A recurring theme here has been that a slightly suspicious attitude goes a long way in wise buying. Bargains are not handed out. Convenience costs money. Premiums and promotions also contain hidden costs and a heavy barrage of advertising is often used to create the illusion of brand differences rather than to inform. A skeptical buyer is not likely to be carried away by extravagant claims promising "miracle action due to a revolutionary new process."

A basic knowledge of nutrition is also essential. The housewife who knows the facts about food is not likely to spend needless dollars buying expensive fad foods. She will wait until the family physician rather than the advertiser prescribes vitamins or health foods. She also won't be led away from bargains by prejudices. A housewife who understands nutrition is more likely to experiment with so-called unpopular foods such as kidneys, tripe and cod, realizing they offer splendid nutrition at a reasonable cost.

A third element in wise buying is price consciousness. No one can memorize the current price of each of the hundreds of products in the yearly shopping basket. However, one can become familiar with the price trends of popular meats and so recognize when pork is a luxury and when it's "in season." One can memorize the prices of regularly purchased items such as toilet tissues, soap powders, and tomatoes to take advantage of specials and to know whether "4 cents off regular price" is a real saving or a sales gimmick.

Skepticism, a knowledge of food facts and price consciousness are an essential combination for today's shoppers. But there's a limit to what a shopper as an individual can do, as the Hart congressional hearings pointed out. This adds a fourth dimension to today's consumer; namely, political consciousness.

Legislative action could clear up a host of problems in the supermarket. The Hart committee hearings have highlighted these problems but legislation to correct them has not yet been proposed and it will take political action to get such bills through Congress.

The next time the housewife sits down to write out her shopping list, perhaps she ought to take a few extra minutes and write her Congressman. She can let him know she has read about the Hart hearings and wants legislative action from Congress to ease her shopping problems. The 4-cent stamp for the letter to Washington, D.C., could prove to be the most potent cost-cutting trick of all.

HOW MANY SERVINGS TO A CAN?

Here are the comparative capacities of some of the more common canned food containers: 8-ounce can or jar, 1 cup; No. 1 picnic can, 1¼ to 1½ cups; 12-ounce can, 1½ cups; No. 300 can, 1¾ cups; No. 303 can or jar, 2 cups; No. 2 can, 2¼ to 2½ cups; No. 2½ can, 3¼ to 3½ cups; No. 3 can, 4 cups; 46-ounce can, 5¾ cups; No. 10 can, 12 to 13 cups.

Generally, these sizes, when used, will be marked "No. 300 can," etc. These accepted can sizes could be used as a basis for standardization throughout the industry.

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## What Level for Dairy Price Supports?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from an economist, who is highly respected in his field, dealing with the relationship of price supports and dairy production. He points out a fact to which I have made numerous references. This is that there is no need to reduce dairy price supports below 75 percent of parity because at that level of support, it has been proven that supply and demand will balance. For the benefit of our colleagues, I am inserting the entire letter:

JULY 25, 1962.

The Honorable ALBERT H. QUIE,
*The House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN QUIE: Estimates of milk production in June 1962 indicate no greater quantity than in June 1961. This prompts a review of the production situation for the year 1962. Earlier forecasts were for production of 127 to 127.5 billion pounds. An estimate of 126 billion pounds seems more likely. This is more than 1 billion pounds of milk less than has been previously estimated. More than a billion pounds of milk approximates 50 million pounds of butter and 100 million pounds of nonfat dry milk.

Cheese production during the first 6 months of 1962 has been less than in the same months of 1961. Butter production, although greater than in 1961 through May, has been in excess by progressively smaller quantities. Butter production during the last half of 1962 may be less than in 1961.

Fluid milk consumption as reported from 76 Federal order markets for the first 5 months of 1962 was higher than for the same 5 months in 1961. This fact, coupled with a total milk production not in excess of 1961, would account for a smaller quantity of milk available for butter and cheese.

In April, we distributed a report which showed that support prices at 75 percent of parity would be expected to reduce the total milk supply. The reduction in 1962, however, has proceeded more rapidly as indicated in the table attached. Each month since January 1962 the percentage increase over 1961 has been smaller until by June the difference has disappeared. It is clear, therefore, that milk production can be controlled within the limits of 75 to 90 percent of parity, and that a change in this formula is not required. It also seems likely that the surpluses for 1962 which were estimated earlier may not materialize in the quantities previously expected.

*Monthly milk production on farms, United States, 1961 and 1962*

| Month | Monthly total | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1961 | 1962 | 1962 / 1961 |
| | *Million pounds* | *Million pounds* | *Percent* |
| January | 9,862 | 10,118 | 102.6 |
| February | 9,438 | 9,629 | 102.0 |
| March | 10,931 | 11,101 | 101.6 |
| April | 11,200 | 11,340 | 101.2 |
| May | 12,375 | 12,533 | 101.3 |
| June | 12,039 | 12,041 | 100.0 |
| July | 11,057 | ---------- | ---------- |
| August | 10,270 | ---------- | ---------- |
| September | 9,621 | ---------- | ---------- |
| October | 9,672 | ---------- | ---------- |
| November | 9,219 | ---------- | ---------- |
| December | 9,772 | ---------- | ---------- |
| Year | 125,456 | ---------- | ---------- |

## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the official reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the official reporters of the respective Houses.

The official reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the official reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond P. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

# Appendix

## Cooperation for Progress Between the United States and Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an address prepared by me for delivery before the Greek-American Progressive Association in Washington, D.C., on July 26, 1962, on the subject of cooperation for progress between the United States and Greece.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS BY HON. ALEXANDER WILEY, SENIOR REPUBLICAN, U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE GREEK-AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 26, 1962

Members of Greek-American Progressive Association, fellow Americans, I am happy to be with you.

Significantly, the name of your organization—the Greek-American Progressive Association—reflects the spirit and goal of U.S. policy—that is, better understanding and relations—and greater cooperation for progress—between the United States and Greece, as well as other nations.

Within our country—and in accordance with our national traditions—your program, too, commendably contributes—not just in spirit, but in action—to our national progress by: supporting civic, educational, philanthropic, and similar activities in your respective communities; promoting the social, ethical, intellectual interests of your members—to enable better fulfillment of the responsibilities of citizenship; disseminating Greek-American culture for enrichment of our way of life; and other worthy programs.

Significantly—through these and other efforts—you are imprinting Greek culture upon the mosaic of U.S. life—mirroring the ways, thinking and traditions of immigrants from many lands.

CONTRIBUTION OF GREEK CULTURE TO U.S. LIFE

Of Greek descent, you have a special responsibility—more directly than the rest of us—to a great, magnificent heritage of ancient Greece.

Down through the centuries, the traditions of Greek political-philosophical culture have lived—and shaped the affairs of humanity—from ancient to modern times.

In the United States—a relativcly young country—we, from our youth, recall the familiar names of—

Socrates, the influential teacher of philosophy, emphasizing the love of reason and of moderation in philosophical life; Plato, remembered for the philosophical concept that ideas are true knowledge and above material things. During his lifetime, he possessed the unswerving faith in the capacity of the human mind to attain absolute truth and to use this truth in the rational direction of human life and affairs. Democritus, too, during 460 to 430 B.C.—developed the concept that all substances consist of atoms—a theory which now—over 2,000 years later serves as the foundation for the great, revolutionary nuclear age.

From ancient Greece, also, the world has inherited fundamental ideas and ideals of democracy—many of which now serve as high principles of our Constitution and of our political life; styles of architecture; our language, also—particularly in many of its derivatives—reflects the enduring impact of the Greek language; as well as many other, philosophical, material, and spiritual concepts that have become indelibly imprinted—generation after generation—in human life and world progress.

During World War II, again, the "spark and spirit" of ancient Sparta burst into patriotic flames anew, as Greek soldiers bought—with their lives and the destruction of their homeland—precious time for the Allies in the struggle against fascism. Valiantly fighting—often with little more than bare and bloody hands, but indomitable spirits—they heroically drove Mussolini's Fascist forces back into the sea.

CHALLENGE OF NUCLEAR AGE

Of such a heritage, you can be justly proud.

Pride in the past, however—great though it may have been—is not enough.

In the nuclear-space age—faced with great, complex challenges on global fronts—we, now, must ask ourselves: What is our contribution to world history? To human progress? To peace?

In our time, can we—you and I—make contributions of significance and stature comparable to those of ancient Greece?

Or, will we, individually, find some "lame excuse" for a "free ride" upon the greatness—yes, upon the sacrifices—of those who have gone before us?

From time immemorial, there have been—with the recurring cycles of change and progress—new challenges to the mind, imagination and spirit of man.

In our increasingly complex world, this is more true now than in the past.

The creators of gunpowder, of the airplane, of the automobile, would be wide eyed in amazement if now they could witness the explosion of nuclear bombs, the supersonic speeds of jetplanes and rocket-powered X–15's manned air-spacecraft, man's orbiting of outer space, man's trajecting spacecraft toward the moon, and other planets of the universe.

Of a more earthly nature, the human race—despite thousands of years of existence—still has not been successful in finding a workable formula of man's right relationship to man. Generation after generation, humanity undergoes great fiery trials or strife and controversy and, indeed, a succession of wars that increasingly threaten to annihilate a portion—or all—of the human race.

There remain also the age-old human foes: of poverty, disease, illiteracy, hate, and prejudice which, if resolved, would immeasurably benefit mankind.

As in the times of Plato and Socrates, then, each generation—past, present, and future—possesses an opportunity for, yes, a challenge to greatness.

Upon the foundation of the past, now, we—each of us, within the limitation of our God-given abilities, talents, and imaginations—need to extend the horizons of our understanding, perceptions, and perspectives to encourage the space age challenges until in hurts; evaluate the forces and influences of our time; and then determine how we—with our minds, hearts, spirits ,and, above all, the sweat of our brow—can make our unique contribution toward shaping the future.

GREECE: OUTPOST OF FREEDOM

Significantly, your ancestral homeland of Greece, once again is making a contribution to history.

Under the dark overshadow of the Communist world, Greece stands Gibraltar-like as an outpost of freedom.

As comembers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we—two nations with great democratic traditions—stand shoulder to shoulder in combating communism.

On the global horizon, fortunately, there are signs appearing that: the upsurge of communism—particularly its military outspreading—may well have reached its apex and now be on the decline; the free-world perimeter has hardened to make even "chipping" aggression more difficult for the Communists; the Reds are finding it increasingly difficult to implant trouble-making machinery even in new, less-developed areas of the world; and the Communist system itself—in existence long enough to prove, or disprove its workability—is in trouble—experiencing serious deficiencies, even in meeting fundamental needs of its controlled people and nations—for example, the agricultural failure in the Soviet Union and Red China.

Relatively successful in holding back the tide of communism militarily, NATO—together with other allies—now rightly in turning more effort toward political-economic cooperation to meet the need of member nations.

Upon such a foundation, there is—I believe—also a next step of Western policy which would call for:

1. A greater shift from defensive-type thinking and policies to more creative, dynamic, nonmilitary counteroffensives—economically, politically and ideologically.

2. A willingness to stand face to face to the Communists and strongly say: "There are certain fundamental rights of humanity—including self-determination and freedom—to be respected, protected, and preserved for posterity. For these, we will give our all. Contrary to your policies, we do not 'want to bury you'; rather, we want your grandchildren to live under freedom—not because it is our way, but because it is the human, right way."

As of now, the free world possesses:

(a) The jet-missile-nuclear-space-military power (barring any advantage-giving breakthrough by the Communists)—to serve as a deterrent to aggression;

(b) The agriculture and industrial productivity to outproduce the Communists; and

(c) The ideas and ideals that will—if the majority of humanity is to be served—ultimately provide the foundation for world progress and peace.

CHANGING FACE OF EUROPE

We, as a people, and a free-world leader; and you, as Americans of Greek descent—many of whom travel periodically back and

forth to your ancestral homeland—can contribute much to a new era of progress.

How? In the following ways:

Support of realistic policies and programs for greater Greek-American and other kinds of international cooperation for progress and peace; and sharing with the old world the ideas and ideals which have made this a great country.

In Western Europe today, there is a great economic revolution:

The Common Market—in which Greece is awaiting ratification as an associate member—for example, stands as a mighty and growing economic community that will (a) better serve the citizens of Europe and (b) increasingly provide assistance and technical know-how to promote peace elsewhere in the world.

The success of European economic cooperation also represents a thorn in the side of Mr. Khrushchev. How? By creating an unfavorable picture of progress in free Europe, as contrasted to the "lack of, or minimal, progress" in Communist-dominated nations.

This improved economic condition will not only offer greater resistance to penetrations of communism, but also help to support the necessarily strong military defensive against Red aggression.

UNITED STATES-EUROPEAN INTERCHANGES

Historically, the United States, as a young Republic, has adopted—and benefited from—many of the cultures and traditions of the Old World.

In the years just ahead we will witness, however, an ever-greater reversal of this trend than has occurred in the past.

Among the features of U.S. modernism—here taken for granted—that will be appearing more and more in European life (some now being enjoyed among the elite) are: more home television, including Eurovision, and global vision resulting from such projects as the U.S. Telstar; the supermarket, with its great variety of fresh, preserved, and frozen foods; more electrical home appliances; improved housing; better plumbing and water services; more electricity to "light up life" in Western Europe; and other advancements to improve standards of material living.

As in the past, however, we here will continue to enjoy and be enriched by the customs, cultures, and traditions as well as new political, economic, scientific, philosophical discoveries and revelations emerging from the new Europe, and, yes, from your fatherland of Greece.

TELSTAR—SATELLITE OF PEACE

To further improve international exchanges, we now—almost daily—watch the revolutionary miracle of intercontinental television through Telstar.

The successful transmission of voice and picture from space marks a new triumph of the U.S. space program.

Miraculously, our scientific genius has found a way of "talking through" such an orbiting "star" to people around the globe. This represents human utilization of the great realm of outer space upon which the ancient Greeks thought, wrote, and philosophized about laws of the universe.

For the future we, and the people of the world, can look forward to greater accomplishments in space for radio, television, telephone communications, more accurate weather reporting; and ultimately, perhaps, for transportation, travel, and other practical programs.

By Telstar-type successes for peaceful use of space, the U.S. effort will, I believe, far outshine the Communist space feats. Why? Fundamentally, because these represent an effort to serve—not continually attempt to threaten and destroy—humanity.

The Telstar project then—in addition to being a highly significant scientific achievement—will be a forerunner of more satellite "missions of peace"—to promote by exchange of ideas, information, culture, TV people-to-people contacts and greater cooperation and understanding among the nations of the world:

Obviously, the Communists are disturbed by the great global acclaim. To attempt to detract attention, they are declaring a new series of tests of nuclear bombs.

In the minds of the people of the world, and in the judgment of history, however, a succession of Telstar-type successes will prove, I believe, far more significant to humanity. In reality, the global impact of such efforts to utilize space for peaceful purposes may, indeed, make the Soviet 100-megaton bombs—despite being dangerous to the world health and peace—sound like firecrackers by comparison.

CONCLUSION

With a future bright with promise for greater miracles, even though realistically also beset with serious problems, I believe that we, citizens of this great melting pot of nationalities of the world—by dedication to the highest ideas and ideals; by encouraging greater cooperation among and thereby enriching the life of all nationalities of our land; by carrying forward humanity-serving programs, many of which have been commendably supported by you individually and by your organization—in our time, may make contributions of comparable significance to—if different in kind from—the best past traditions of this country and ancient Greece.

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## Address by Senator Magnuson at Dedication of Marine Laboratory at Friday Harbor, Wash.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, at the invitation of the University of Washington, its president, Dr. Charles E. Odegaard, members of the faculty and of the university's board of regents, my colleague from the State of Washington, Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, on June 25 made the principal address at the dedication of the handsome new marine laboratory at Friday Harbor, Wash.

The choice of Senator MAGNUSON for this honor was most fitting. During his 25 years of service in the Congress of the United States, Senator MAGNUSON has been a devoted friend and champion of science and of scientists.

As all of us know, he was an original sponsor of the National Cancer Institute, since broadened into the National Institutes of Health.

Senator MAGNUSON introduced the first bill to create the National Science Foundation which has so ably stimulated basic scientific research and the education and training of young scientists for whom our Nation has such great need.

My esteemed colleague also assumed leadership in securing the funds for the magnificent U.S. science buildings and exhibits at the World's Fair in Seattle, buildings of such architectural merit that they were featured in our first television broadcasts to Europe via Telstar.

Senator MAGNUSON during this quarter century of service also has had a special interest in the oceans and their estuaries—in their defense, their vast but as yet scarcely tapped fisheries, mineral and medicinal resources, their utilization in broadening our commerce and trade, and their effect upon our weather and climate.

Two years ago Congress passed and the President signed Senator MAGNUSON's bill permitting the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which has its western base in Seattle, to expand its activities including oceanographic research beyond the continental shelf thus making it for the first time an oceanwide service of the United States.

Last year Congress passed and the President signed Senator MAGNUSON's bill broadening for the first time the missions of the U.S. Coast Guard to include scientific research, legislation which will result in material savings through the use of existing large Coast Guard ships.

Senator MAGUNSON's bill to establish a comprehensive national 10-year program of oceanographic research, surveys, education and construction of improved facilities has twice passed the Senate by overwhelming majorities, but is still pending in a subcommittee of the House of Representatives.

The Friday Harbor ceremony was attended by Dr. Athelstan F. Spilhaus, Commissioner of the U.S. Science Exhibit of the World's Fair and Chairman of the Committee on Oceanography of the National Academy of Sciences; by Dr. Joseph L. McCarthy, dean of the Graduate School, University of Washington; Dr. Robert Leslie Fernald, director of the Friday Harbor Laboratories, many other University of Washington faculty members and students, and many residents, not only of San Juan island communities but of nearby cities, including Bellingham and Anacortes.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address given by Senator MAGNUSON at the dedication of the new Friday Harbor Laboratory on June 25 of this year.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRIDAY HARBOR AND MARINE SCIENCE

(By Senator MAGNUSON, of Washington)

Dr. Spilhaus, Dr. McCarthy, Dr. Fernald, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to be here today. All of us can be proud as we dedicate this handsome new laboratory building in what I am sure we all agree is the world's most beautiful marine setting.

The university can be proud that it chose this magnificent site on San Juan Island 55 years ago for a marine biological station.

The Federal Government in 1922 wisely ceded an additional 484 acres to be added to the original site.

The State of Washington cooperated in the following year by declaring this area and all the marine waters of the San Juan Archipelago a marine biological and game preserve,

placing them for conservation purposes under the director of the laboratories.

Six small one-story laboratory buildings were constructed during the midtwenties. With these meager facilities Friday Harbor struggled on during the war years, years when our Navy and the Government were learning—the hard way—how limited has been our knowledge of the hydrosphere.

Friday Harbor's fame spread among scientists and others interested in the oceans and their contents until its importance as a research center outgrew the budget capacity of the university to meet the ever-expanding need for new facilities. This has been true not only at Friday Harbor but at other scientific centers throughout the United States.

Demands for greater scientific knowledge of the seas and of life within them increased, but construction of facilities for marine scientific training and ocean research was—and had been since the 1920's—at a virtual standstill. Universities simply did not have thee money to embark on adequate research facilities programs.

The national interest required new facilities for basic scientific research. The national interest required expanded research in the oceans and their estuaries, in atmosphere and space, in telecommunications and in many other scientific fields. Basic scientific research had become imperative to our national security and of vital importance to our economy and health. To some of us in the Congress one answer to the problem was to extend Federal assistance to those scientists and institutions who with expanded facilities and equipment could contribute to our knowledge in these scientific fields.

No statutory authority existed, however, by which the Federal Government could extend such assistance to institutions and centers—such as Friday Harbor—where the abilities to train scientists and conduct such research are concentrated. No precedent existed for such assistance. No agency existed that had authority to extend such assistance. New legislation was required.

In 1945, as a Member of the House of Representatives, I introduced—after consultation with many eminent scientists—the first bill in the history of the Congress to extend Federal help to universities and laboratories for basic scientific research, and to create an agency for that purpose—the National Science Foundation.

Two years later as Senator from Washington I introduced similar legislation which passed both Houses of Congress but was vetoed by the President. In 1950 with the assistance of the late Senator Kilgore, of West Virginia, the National Science Foundation Act was passed and the principle of Federal assistance to institutional centers and scientific research became a reality. The Foundation and its endeavors have since justified themselves many fold. The splendid laboratory we dedicate today is one example.

This laboratory to me represents many things other than just another handsome, well-equipped building.

It represents the inspiration of dedicated men and women of the University of Washington and the National Science Foundation.

It represents a close and healthy partnership between the State of Washington and the Federal Government in a concrete and realistic program to advance our scientific knowledge of life in earth's largest but least known environment—the oceans. And when I speak of oceans I include their estuaries and tide-washed shores.

This is a financial as well as an educational partnership. It is a partnership destined to continue here at Friday Harbor. To this enterprise, of which this handsome building and grounds are evidence, the Federal Government has contributed $375,000, the State of Washington and the university, $224,865.

Part of the State's expenditures have been for maintenance services and utilities. They include a new lighting system, new sewage disposal system, extension of fresh water mains and a new glass sea water system, all of these permanent works which will service not only this magnificent new laboratory, but a second laboratory building which will be needed soon. Construction on the second building should start by 1964, and again I anticipate National Science Foundation funding.

This means that Friday Harbor is on its way. It is destined to be one of the great international centers of biological marine studies of the world, ranking with Naples and Monaco and Plymouth. Already Friday Harbor has acquired an international reputation. This year scientists from eight foreign nations will come here for research studies. Europe, Australia, the Orient, and Latin America all will be represented.

Universities of 12 States last year sent graduate students here for summer research, studies, or lectures, and Sweden, Italy, Denmark, France, and Canada had brilliant young biologists here in residence although there were then only the old and small laboratories to work in.

The interest in these laboratories has not been limited to scientists and students. Friday Harbor has projected its message to all parts of the United States and to many foreign countries through the medium of educational television.

A series of fifteen 30-minute telecasts prepared by Dr. Dixy Lee Ray, titled "Animals of the Seashore" is now being shown in the Near East, Italy, and Denmark, and along the west coast of South America. There was a special showing of the entire series in the Navy Department last winter.

Other films for educational television included several supported by the American Cancer Society and produced under the auspices of the American Institute of Biological Sciences are being shown over many of our educational television stations throughout the country. All were produced here at Friday Harbor.

In coming years this activity will be greatly expanded and there will be many more educational television stations to utilize marine biology films from Friday Harbor. Congress this year passed and President Kennedy signed my educational television bill which provides Federal assistance in the construction and operation of educational television stations. This will assure the use of many TV channels which have been set aside for such use but are now vacant and one of the services these new stations will perform surely will be to telecast marine biology programs filmed at Friday Harbor.

All of us know how important marine biology is to the great fisheries industry of the Pacific Northwest, but some of us may be unfamiliar with the importance which the Navy Department attaches to it from the viewpoint of national defense.

The first interest of the Navy has been in connection with fouling which slows down ships and causes millions of dollars damages annually to drydocks and piers. Probably the most important symposium on marine boring and fouling organisms ever held took place here at Friday Harbor in 1957. The proceedings, edited by Dr. Ray, were published by the university in a book of more than 500 pages in 1959. I am proud to have it in my library.

Other marine biological problems which concern the Navy are listed in the Navy's Tenoc report issued a year ago. The word "Tenoc" stands for "Ten Years in Oceanography" and is a projected program for the coming decade.

These problems include—and I quote from the report:

"1. Biological interference with underwater acoustic systems.

"2. Biological influences upon mine and mine countermeasure actions.

"3. Biological deterioration of marine structures and equipment.

"4. Bioluminescence.

"5. Poisonous, venomous, and noxious marine organisms.

"6. Biological orientation, detection, and target valuation phenomena."

All of these, the Navy adds, must be investigated and defined as to the exact influence upon equipment and operations and for our national security.

Friday Harbor, with its new laboratory and the one to follow will contribute to this aspect of national defense in even greater measure than it has in the past.

Friday Harbor and Puget Sound are ideal locations for such studies. Although the waters of the sound are oceanic, the area is protected from storm waves and heavy pounding surf such as characterize the open coast. The San Juan Islands are sufficiently remote from industrial developments to be free from any serious pollution. Few areas in the world are so favored.

The beneficient factors which the entire Puget Sound area presents have impressed not only the National Science Foundation but the Navy's Bureau of Weapons and its Office of Naval Research, the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and other agencies of our Government.

The Navy, in recent years, also has accepted the principle of contracting much of its research to universities and research laboratories and to assisting financially in laboratory construction.

Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, Chairman of the Federal Council for Science and Technology and scientific adviser to the President, recently advised me of the marine facilities budget for 1963 which the administration has agreed to and is supporting.

The total for this budget for the entire United States is $11,065,000.

Locations of only four new laboratory facilities are specified by name and they are budgeted for $4,853,000, of which $4,257,000 is earmarked for the State of Washington; $2 million for the university's department of oceanography and $2,257,000 for the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries new laboratory in Seattle.

The Pacific Northwest is destined to become a free world center for marine biology and physical oceanography.

The importance of this area is recognized not only by the Department of Defense, the Bureau of Fisheries, and the National Science Foundation, but also by the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the U.S. Coast Guard.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey has its headquarters here on Puget Sound and soon will let a contract for a new and major base. The Coast Guard has its district headquarters on Puget Sound.

Three years ago Congress passed my bill to permit the Coast and Geodetic Survey to conduct oceanwide research. Previously it had been limited to the Continental Shelf. Passage of my bill is one of the reasons the Coast Survey needs a greatly expanded base at Seattle. Under Adm. Arnold Karo's direction, it is taking full advantage of this legislation and making notable contributions in oceanography.

Last year Congress passed my bill to permit the Coast Guard to engage in oceanographic research anywhere on the high seas. Before that it had authority to conduct research only in connection with the ice patrol.

The 1963 budget contains funds to commence instrumentation of some of the Coast Guard's fine, large ships, a program that will be greatly expanded in future years.

Dr. Wisener in his report on the 1963 program cited this legislation and stated that it, and pending legislation, will effect future

program planning. As President Kennedy's science adviser that is good news for oceanography.

President Kennedy's goal, Dr. Wisener's goal, my goal, and I am sure that of all of us here today, is to attain and maintain world leadership in the marine sciences—all of them.

In achieving this goal the Pacific Northwest will and must be in the forefront, if for no other reason because of our strategic location on the world's major ocean.

I see few shortcuts in this endeavor. What will be necessary is a continuous and long-range program as suggested 3½ years ago by the Committee on Oceanography of the National Academy of Sciences.

Shortly after the committee issued its report in January 1959, Senator JACKSON and I introduced a Senate resolution warmly endorsing the committee's recommendations and commending them to the Congress and to the executive branch of our Government.

This resolution was passed unanimously.

Later in the 86th Congress I introduced Senate bill 2692 to implement the recommendations of the Committee on Oceanography, of which Dr. Ray, who is here today, is an illustrious member. This, too, passed the Senate unanimously, but the House of Representatives failed to act on it.

The 86th Congress expired and it was necessary in this, the present Congress, to introduce new legislation. This was done. I introduced Senate bill 901 to authorize a 10-year national program of oceanographic research and surveys, with coordinated patterned somewhat similar to the highly successful British system. This passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority, but again the committee to which it was referred in the House of Representatives has failed to act on it.

I am not discouraged for two reasons. One is that the present administration has administratively carried out many of the recommendations contained in my bill, with the result that there has been a considerable advance in Federal assistance to our oceanographic institutions and laboratories.

A second reason is that, as I have learned from experience, patience is required to gain acceptance of new legislation in both Houses of Congress, particularly in fields of science and communications.

Sooner or later, I am convinced, both branches of Congress will come to the conviction that our long-range oceanographic program must have a statutory base.

This is not to criticize the work presently being done in this field by the administration or by any agency in Government. But at some time in the future there may be others to whom the urgencies of marine research may not seem quite so apparent. Then, if we are to continue forward on this endless frontier of science the program should have a statutory base, and for that reason I shall continue to offer legislation to achieve this purpose.

In the meantime I shall strive, as I have done in the past, to obtain full recognition of the superior quality of the work in marine sciences being done in the Pacific Northwest, not only at Friday Harbor but at the other laboratories of this area, which are still too few and too small. In a world which more and more is turning to the sea we must continue to expand our facilities, our scientific training, and our oceanographic research and survey programs. You who are here today will do that.

Thank you.

## Possibility of Producing Motion Pictures in Finland and Portugal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, in a recent issue of the Washington Daily News there was an article by James O'Neill, Jr., concerning his interview with Mr. Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., executive vice president of Pan American World Airways and a civic leader on all continents.

It is good to note that Mr. Pryor, who has wide business experience, emphasizes the importance of economy in production. His sound judgment and good taste have been a source of benefits to all our people.

My attention was drawn to this article by my dear friend, the Reverend Father Joseph F. Thorning, Ph. D., D.D., of St. Joseph's historic Carrollton Manor Church, Frederick County. Dr. Thorning, who is an associate editor of World Affairs and the author of "Miranda: World Citizen," has visited Finland and Portugal. He concurs with Mr. Sam Pryor in the recommendations made in this interview.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of Mr. O'Neill's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINLAND AND PORTUGAL FOR MOVIES

(By James O'Neill, Jr.)

The vital problem of getting moviemakers to make movies in America, rather than elsewhere around the globe, is becoming more of a trial for both Government and union officials, who feel the grand old dollar is being expended with too free a hand, without enough return or local employment.

I am all for making films abroad; I like their quality, scope, feeling, atmosphere and general tone. I hate sound stages and Hollywood designers. I am sick to death of formula pictures, which Hollywood's minds are bound to, by tradition.

Now I am looking for even more countries to make movies in.

But where?

There are two new "worlds" to conquer on and in film: Finland and Portugal.

My authority is the redoubtable Sam Pryor, Pan American World Airways senior vice president, who has begun to wonder why the filmmaking fraternity has not found his two favorite cities. (Both by the way, served by Pan Am, though by other airlines, as well.)

"Helsinki and Lisbon," he told me, "are virgin territory, really, for moviemakers. The only picture I recall ever being shot in Lisbon is, 'A Song To Remember,' and there was only a short, tragic sequence made there.

"But producers still haven't discovered this storybook land.

"The living is wonderful. Labor is cheap. The food, excellent; and the countries are so spectacular you would not believe them."

Mr. Pryor wondered if he should be talking for the record on a subject which is so upsetting to Hollywood, which feels that too many movies are being made abroad to the detriment of employment and the industry on the west coast.

I told him that Hollywood and its familial, union, press agent tieups had been falling on its face for a long time and that the superior movies were all being made on location, wherever in the world the stories took them.

He spoke enthusiastically of Lisbon, which, I gathered, must be his favorite place on earth, and gave me the impression that Helsinki was paradise.

So many films, these days, are located in Paris, London, and Rome, with a few side trips to Berlin, Frankfurt, and Naples, and these elegant towns cost money. Extras come high. Equipment and housing are moving up in price, to compete with Hollywood's frightening fees.

Just listening to Sam Pryor extol the wonders of the world makes one wish he could race down to Pan Am's nearest ticket counter, holler "Sam sent me," and take off for some exotic land, like Portugal, for instance, with a movie camera, a script and a couple of actors to prance about the scenery.

I just might try it.

## Bill Kilgarlin, of Houston: Young Leader for Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Houston Chronicle recently published a story about Bill Kilgarlin, a young Texas Democrat with a distinguished record of achievement.

Mr. Kilgarlin is the new chairman of the Harris County Democratic executive committee. The area he serves in this capacity embraces populous Metropolitan Houston.

I have known Bill Kilgarlin for many years, and I have followed his public career with interest and with great satisfaction. By devotion to the forward-looking principles of the Democratic Party, by selfless hard work and intelligent leadership, and his loyalty to his supporters, he has been given increasing responsibility for leadership.

When he served in the Texas House of Representatives, he built an outstanding record as a no-compromise fighter for the people's interest. He fought the entrenched special interests who had little concern for the public good.

To emphasize the leadership roles open to young Americans who take an active part in politics, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Sunday, July 22, 1962, edition of the Chronicle captioned "Young Men Guide Politics in Houston."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUNG MEN GUIDE POLITICS IN HOUSTON—KILGARLIN WORKS TO HOLD DEMS TOGETHER

Big and blustery William Wayne Kilgarlin, an Irishman with an abiding love for pizza and politics instead of potatoes, has never thought about being anything but a Democrat.

The 6-foot-2-inch, 290-pound new chairman of the Harris County Democratic executive committee also has an abiding love for a liberalism that has its roots in (and perhaps rests on the laurels of) the New Deal days of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

While looking for another Rooseveltian messiah, liberalism today must depend, for its new blood, on the Kilgarlins who believe, as he said, "The Democratic Party is the party of the common man, and I have to stick with it."

SHOWS DIFFERENCES

A visit to Kilgarlin's office—which is the office of the Harris County Democrats, the party's liberal wing here, is indicative of the differences between the Democratic and Republican parties here.

First, the Harris County Democratic executive committee has no headquarters and therefore no official office for its chairman. The Republican Party here does.

What serves as Kilgarlin's office is in a cavernous, echoing former store at 2707 Main, in the near downtown area. Republican Party headquarters here is in a modern office building at 3200 Audley, in the heart of affluent-ambitious southwest Houston suburbia.

COME TO TALK

In Kilgarlin's office, visiting party supporters come to talk: about idealism, liberal philosophy, the rightwing and the things that could be in the days that will be.

At Republican Party headquarters there were supporters, too: They worked the telephones and the typewriters to make financial appeals and oil the machinery of precinct organizations to get out the November vote.

Kilgarlin recognizes these symbolic differences and pledges an attempt to educate liberals, and Democrats, to talk less and do more.

HAS LIBERAL SUPPORT

With the support of liberals and the help of some conservatives in the primaries. Bill Kilgarlin, at 29, won a close race over his rightwing opponent and was given the job of heading the Democratic Party in the most populous county in the South.

And although the Democrats are the controlling party in local and State politics in Texas, Harris County gave a big majority to Republican Richard Nixon, and overwhelmingly voted for the GOP's Senator JOHN TOWER.

The Nixon majority here, 168,000 to 148,000 for President Kennedy, was the largest majority in any southern city.

This past May, the Republicans here held the largest primary in the South; and this November the GOP will go gunning for normally Democratic State and local bastions like never before.

Thus, Kilgarlin, a liberal, has the monumental job of trying to keep the liberal and conservative factions of the Democratic Party united while building a program that can do battle with Republicanism on the issues, and—most of all—get out the vote.

TWOFOLD JOB

"My job is twofold," said Kilgarlin. "It is to run elections, but it is also to campaign for the Democratic Party, its programs and its candidates. So I'm both a politician and an administrator.

"Until now the Democratic chairman never had to do any worrying about organizing for elections or bringing the issues before the public. In the primaries, the candidates did that, and in November there was no opposition.

"But now the fear of the Republican Party must lead us to bring the issues before the public at primary time and at general election time and, in the future, in local elections," Kilgarlin said.

Kilgarlin also pointed out that poll-tax campaigns are now more important to the Democrats.

"Even when the sale of poll taxes reaches records," he said, "there are more than 100,000 persons in the county who do not pay a poll tax. We need to get 500,000 qualified voters in Harris County by the end of January 1964," he said.

This year there are 357,000 poll tax holders out of a potential of about 600,000.

"The people who don't pay poll taxes would be Democratic Party supoprters," Kilgarlin said. "If we mount a drive, we can't help but gain."

Kilgarlin has set himself three goals during his administration: (1) Increase poll tax registration to 500,000; (2) improve the Democratic primary ballot and voting procedures to make voting easier and faster; (3) establish a continuing education program to combat "the successful" Republican propaganda campaign of the last few years" and present "our side of the issues."

As for the battle between liberalism and conservatism, Kilgarlin said his liberalism is relatively new.

"I have always been a Democrat, but my liberalism wasn't confirmed until I got into college where I began to think about what the issues were, what the differences were, and why the Democratic Party should remain liberal."

Conservatism, according to Kilgarlin, "says it's better to starve or suffer in order to maintain the dignity of the individual. The conservative would rather things be left undone than do what is necessary if it means governmental spending and aid.

"Where there is likely to be a profit to business from Federal aid, such as subsidy or tax cut, then the conservative is not opposed to Federal help.

"The liberal believes that the government that represents the citizenry has a duty to promote the welfare, the dignity, and the integrity of the individual. If local government cannot or does not do it, then Federal Government must do it."

But Kilgarlin gets disgusted at fellow liberals "because they tend to be a sort of ivory tower in-group that fails to get out and politic and propagandize for their position."

It was for this reason that Kilgarlin got into politics as early as 1948, when he was still 16 years old.

He attended his precinct convention in the East End, where he was raised. The precinct committeeman was a Dixiecrat. Kilgarlin personally found a candidate to run against the incumbent, then unofficially led his campaign. Kilgarlin's candidate won and is still the executive committeeman from precinct 11.

Kilgarlin's father, William Kilgarlin, is a retired oil refinery employee. His mother, a Federal employee since 1933, is a native of the town of Yarboro, Tex., in Grimes County.

"The town is no longer in existence," said Kilgarlin, "but that's not symbolic. The two liberal Yarboroughs spell their names differently."

After attending Houston schools, Kilgarlin went to the University of Houston for his bachelor of science degree in 1954 and this year received his law degree from the University of Texas.

In the years between graduating from Houston and entering Texas, Kilgarlin went to a school of hard knocks called the Texas Legislature.

In 1958 he became a State representative in the liberal sweep. But he and other liberals were swept out in 1960 by the well-organized brooms of conservatism.

With that lesson learned, Kilgarlin has his mind on a few personal goals:

To build the Democratic Party to wage war against rising republicanism.

To curb his culinary hobby of making spaghetti and pizza long enough to go on a diet.

To do something about the fact that he's a bachelor.

"I have to have someone whom I know will always vote for me," he said.

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## Dedication of Stauffer Chemical Co. Mine and Refinery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, progress is not an inevitable process. It has to be worked for and usually this is hard work. We in Wyoming rate progress, to borrow from a well-known commercial, "our most important product." As an example of the progress we are making I would like to call your attention to the dedication of a new trona mine and soda ash refinery built by the Stauffer Chemical Co. This plant, near Green River, Wyo., is proof of the vitality of Wyoming industry. A story on the plant dedication appeared in the July 19 edition of the Green River Star and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORMAL DEDICATION OF STAUFFER MINE, PLANT SLATED TOMORROW

Formal dedication of the new trona mine and soda ash refinery of Stauffer Chemical Co. of Wyoming lying northwest of Green River will be made Friday, July 20, with approximately 140 invited guests expected to attend.

Plant and mine tours are scheduled Friday morning, with a luncheon served at noon, and the formal dedication ceremony to begin at 2 p.m.

The invited guests include Stauffer Chemical Co., and Union Pacific officials, members of the Wyoming Natural Resource Board, officials of the State, county, and cities, political figures, newspaper representatives, representatives of financial institutions, and representatives of service clubs and organizations.

Hans Stauffer, president and director of Stauffer Chemical Co., will head the dignitaries from the New York offices, who include also A. E. Albright, vice president and assistant to the president; W. N. Saaby, director of transportation; G. A. Coffenberg, assistant director of transportation; T. B. Gibson, assistant secretary and manager of public relations; and P. S. Bedrossian, assistant treasurer.

John Stauffer, director, senior vice president and secretary, will come from Los Angeles; E. S. Rothrock, senior vice president and director and the general manager

of Consolidated Industries division, will come from Houston, Tex.

G. C. Ellis, president and general manager of West End Chemical; D. G. Ellis, president of Stauffer Chemical of Wyoming and vice president of western sales; R. M. Stampley, sales manager for West End Chemical; H. D. Hellmers, vice president of West End Chemical and Stauffer Chemical of Wyoming; L. F. Cummings, secretary and assistant comptroller of Stauffer Chemical Co.; and J. V. Wiseman, plant manager of West End Chemical, all will be present.

The Union Pacific Railroad will be represented by President A. E. Stoddard from Omaha; Lee S. Osborne, vice president of Pacific Coast, from Los Angeles; and Officials E. H. Bailey, J. R. MacArnally, W. P. Miller, A. B. Taylor, F. H. Gilroy, L. R. Thornock, E. W. Weaver, E. C. Remwick, C. A. Zubieta, V. O. Murray, I. M. Charles, Paul L. Harrison, and James A. Marsh.

Representing the natural resource board will be President and Mrs. G. E. Sorenson; Vice President and Mrs. C. E. Astler, Mr. and Mrs. O. E. Bever, and Mr. and Mrs. Milton Coffman; and the following staff members: Executive Director J. A. "Buck" Buchanan, Secretary Darlene Burns; Mr. and Mrs. E. J. VanCamp, Mr. and Mrs. John Goodier, Mr. and Mrs. Max Pierce, and Mr. and Mrs. John Reed.

Among the State officers will be Gov. Jack Gage, Attorney General Norman B. Gray, and State Engineer Earl Lloyd; Michael J. Dusik, chief State inspector of mines, and Louis LaSalle, deputy; and William "Scotty" Jack, commissioner, board of equalization and public service commission.

The Stauffer refinery was placed on stream in early May, 5 months in advance of the original target date of October 1962. Shakedown operation at the $10 million project actually started April 30.

Stauffer Chemical first discovered the huge deposits of trona in 1938, and core drilling for exploration continued through 1938 to 1960, blocking out ore reserves estimated at 200 million tons, lying generally at a comparitively shallow 900-foot depth.

Although some construction work by Winston Bros. Co., the prime contractor, was started early in the fall of 1960, first dirt for the mine shaft was moved on October 26, 1960, when top company officials and business community leaders of the area gathered for a formal ground-breaking ceremony.

The plant, as now constructed, is expected to produce between 175,000 and 200,000 tons of refined soda ash annually. The operation is under the direction of George Bowland, resident manager.

## Actions Speak Louder Than Words—Increase in Number of Government Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, I have participated in dozens of budget hearings since January. All the agencies seem to have one point in common. They, almost without exception have asked for a substantial increase in the number of employees.

Thousands upon thousands of employees have been added to the Government rolls since the advent of the Kennedy administration. The end is not in sight. Budget requests for fiscal year 1963 indicate the administration's hope of adding between 40,000 and 50,000 more jobs.

With this history in mind, I was surprised to read in the "Federal Diary" by Jerry Kluttz in last Sunday's Washington Post that both President Kennedy and Budget Director Bell have a deep abiding, and continuing interest in seeing that our Federal agencies do additional work without increasing their staffs.

Mr. President, actions speak louder than words. We can expect that one agency after the other will come before the Appropriations Committees of the Congress next year without requests for more new employees.

I assure my colleagues that agencies appearing next year, before the Appropriations Subcommittees of which I am a member, will receive every encouragement to carry out completely the wishes of the President and the Budget Director. Perhaps we can get a small start this year.

The words have been spoken—now let us have some action.

So that the other Members of the Senate will have this information readily at hand Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire portion of the column relating to staff increases be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 22, 1962]

THE FEDERAL DIARY—NEW POLICY AIMS AT MORE OUTPUT PER U.S. EMPLOYEE

(By Jerry Kluttz)

Federal agencies have been put on notice to plan on doing additional work without increasing their staffs.

They also have been directed to reduce employment where the workload is stable and to pay greater attention to employee productivity.

The policy pronouncement was sent by Budget Director David E. Bell to agency heads along with instructions on how to prepare estimates for the 1964 budget year. President Kennedy approved it. Bell gave this explanation of his action to agency heads:

"In this revision of Circular No. A-11, more emphasis has been placed on the need for attention to personnel requirements and employee productivity, with the objective of holding Government employment to the minimum required for efficient administration of Government programs.

"The heads of departments and agencies and their subordinates must make every effort to meet new personnel requirements through adjustments in existing activities and procedures, in lieu of adding new employees. Increases in staff should be planned only where it is clear that essential functions cannot be performed effectively with present personnel.

"It is expected that the President, in considering dollar amounts in connection with the 1964 budget, will also review proposed employment levels."

At other points, the Bell directive laid down these rules to govern Federal personnel use and policy:

"Where an automatic data processing system or other new equipment is installed, specials gains in employee productivity will ordinarily be budgeted.

"Estimated requirements for executive direction and administrative services will be held to minimum levels consistent with responsible and effective program management.

"Contracts with firms, institutions, or persons will not be used for the purpose of reducing or holding down Government employment when such employment would be the more efficient and effective method of accomplishing the desired work."

Agency budget officials say the instructions for the 1964 fiscal year go far beyond those of previous years in laying more stress on personnel policy and the maximum use of the Government's nearly 2.5 million civilian employees.

Mr. Kennedy's budget for the 1963 fiscal year, which began July 1, carried funds for 46,000 new Federal jobs. Congress hasn't cleared a single appropriation bill, but it can be expected to make cuts in agency requests for new jobs.

The major staff increases recommended by the President were in Post Office, Space, Federal Aviation, HEW, Interior, Internal Revenue, and Agriculture.

## Financing of Health Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, over recent months of discussion of the urgent needs of aged Americans for assistance in financing their health care, considerable criticism has been directed at Great Britain's National Health Service. I think our friends in Britain have shown considerable restraint in the face of allegations from this side of the Atlantic. It is significant that the British have undertaken a detailed study of their Health Service and I look forward to the results of that study this fall.

I ask unanimous consent that this article from the July 14 issue of the British Medical Journal, a response to the American Medical Association, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMA VERSUS NHS

The American Medical Association is not without critics in its own country, and we may be confident that a great many doctors in the United States of America deplore, as we do, the vulgarity and cheapness of its past and present attacks on the National Health Service. We have watched with some dismay the mushroom growth of the AMA's public relations activities and the colossal sums spent by it to defeat what our American colleagues call socialized medicine. The dismay is at the probably inherent weakness of American medical services if such a vast effort has to be expended on misrepresentation of what is happening in Britain. Three years ago, when AMA News published some nonsense about the NHS, we suggested that if the American Medical Association wanted "to be well prepared to deal with governmental plans for introducing compulsory health insurance into

the United States of America they would be wiser to find out how far American medicine falls behind in its services to the great American public."[1] But the AMA still prefers to distract attention from the weaknesses of American medicine by hammering away at Britain's NHS.

An AMA leaflet entitled "A Case Against Socialized Medicine," is one of its propaganda efforts against the King-Anderson bill for the medical care of the aged. It consists of some 20 or so quotations from different sources, 2 of them from the British Medical Journal, and 3 cartoons, of which by now, we hope, the AMA is heartily ashamed. We do not recall that those who favored the introduction of the NHS buttressed their case by distorted propaganda against such abuses as American doctors themselves have admitted—fee-splitting, overcharging, unnecessary operations, sending patients to "physician-owned drugstores,"[2] and so forth. We would not suggest that such abuses, and other disquieting aspects of what is in the United States of America called the doctor business, call for such a violent corrective as "socialized medicine"—a term whose exact meaning no one has yet defined. The AMA should, however, in the interests of American medicine—and especially in the interests of the American patient—understand that they have a lot to learn from Britain and Europe about methods of providing medical services—from our successes as well as our failures. "If the AMA have any regard for the truth," says the Times, "they should put the record straight; the American people should know that far from being a failure the British service can be counted a qualified success." The AMA, too, should not be led astray by a British characteristic—the capacity for self-criticism. Some of the most trenchant criticism of the NHS was embodied in the concluding part of the BMA presidential address given by Sir Arthur Porritt at Torquay in 1960. The report of his committee should be out this autumn. The British Medical Journal, too, has been outspoken—though maybe not outspoken enough—in its criticism of the NHS, for it is only exact diagnosis of illness or defect that can point the way to effective treatment. The AMA mistakes such criticism as a total condemnation of the NHS—and the adulators of the NHS in Britain mistake such criticism as a weakening of it. Both are wrong.

The AMA will, we hope, take what we say as the expression of a journal which has many friends and readers in a great country which has made great contributions to the art and science of medicine. It is a country, too, which, in the Veterans' Administration, has an advanced form of socialized medicine. So let it measure itself against itself.

[1] British Medical Journal, 1959, 2, 294.
[2] Newsweek, July 9, 1962.

## The Federal Debt and the Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Virginia Bankers Association on July 25, 1962.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Proposals have been advanced in recent weeks by economists, business, and labor groups that the administration give consideration to an immediate cut in Federal taxes on individuals and business as a means of cushioning the impact of a possible recession in our economy, to stimulate long-range economic growth by lowering the tax barrier to private enterprise and to restore business and investor confidence in the administration.

The incidence of Federal taxation on corporate profits at a 52-percent rate and individual incomes at a steeply graduated rate up to 91 percent has and does, in our opinion, serve as a deterrent to the capital formation adequate to support our rapidly expanding economy.

However, a drastic reduction in tax at a time when the Nation is already facing a large Federal budget deficit estimated to exceed $7 billion without a concurrent reduction in unnecessary Federal expenditures would, in our opinion, create a national fiscal condition which might dangerously shake the confidence in the dollar and in the administration by citizens of this country and foreign nations alike.

We recognize the huge stakes involved in the discussion on a possible tax reduction now taking place in Washington. These stakes may well include the continued success and prosperity of our free enterprise system which is inexorably tied up with our continued leadership in the free world, and as a consequence the future of the free world.

Rather than take a calculated risk that a drastic reduction in the Federal tax rate on business and individuals would greatly stimulate our economy, we urge that prompt consideration be given by the Congress to a substantial reduction in Federal expenditures as a prerequisite to, but to coincide with a reduction in the rate of taxation on business and individual incomes.

We further commend the able chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the Honorable HARRY F. BYRD, for the position he has taken in opposition to a further increase in the Federal debt and his insistence that the Federal Government operate within the framework of a balanced budget.

(The above resolution was unanimously adopted by the board of directors of the Virginia Bankers Association at a meeting held in Richmond, Va., on July 25, 1962.)

## Air Pollution Control Is a Responsibility of Industry as Well as Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, private and public scientific research on air pollution has established beyond doubt that a major cause is motor vehicle exhaust. Authorities on the subject are agreed on this.

We would all agree too, I think, that responsibility for controlling automotive air pollution, to the fullest degree that is now possible, also should be mutual—that is, this responsibility bears upon the automobile industry as well as upon government.

In the light of these thoughts I offer for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a significant letter from Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, of Los Angeles County, which is engaged at public expense, in a major air pollution control program. The letter from Supervisor Kenneth Hahn is addressed to the president of General Motors Corp.

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
*Los Angeles, Calif., July 9, 1962.*

Mr. JOHN F. GORDON,
*President, General Motors Corp.,*
*Detroit, Mich.*

DEAR MR. GORDON: I am sincerely disappointed by the automobile industry's failure to accept its responsibility in equipping automobiles, as they are manufactured in Detroit, with a muffler or other device which would reduce the air contaminants polluting the atmosphere.

Since February 19, 1953, I have corresponded annually with the chief executive of the major automobile corporations. Each year I receive replies saying, in effect, that "devices are still under study—they have not been perfected—the problem is still being researched."

During this period, major scientific accomplishments have been achieved. Man has gone into space; he has orbited the world. Electronics have advanced in every field. The jet airplane has been developed for normal passenger travel. Yet, the new automobiles coming from Detroit are still not equipped with a device to control fumes, which remain the major air pollution factor in Los Angeles County. Recognized health authorities, leading scientists, and qualified engineers have proven beyond a doubt that the last major source of air pollution in Los Angeles County which is not under control by regulation or rules of the board of supervisors comes from the motor vehicle.

California has a total of 8,102,164 registered vehicles, of which an estimated 3,500,000 are in Los Angeles County.

In a recent 506-page report to Congress, the U.S. Public Health Service cited new evidence of danger to human health from automotive air pollution.

The report states that steps to curb automotive pollution should not await the results of numerous research projects now under way, and summarizes research indicating the irradiated exhaust products are related to rising rates of lung cancer, emphysema, and other pulmonary afflictions, as well as to heart and circulatory diseases, allergies and other ailments. In a letter accompanying this report, Surg. Gen. Luther Terry adds that research to date "has produced evidence—that automobile emissions do produce effects on human beings." Dr. Seymour M. Farber, of the University of California Medical Center, has stated that a cancer survey in Cincinnati showed "urban residents driving more than 12,000 miles per year are twice as susceptible to lung cancer as those driving less than 12,000 miles."

Although Dr. Farber advocated that electricity replace present forms of power which pollute the atmosphere, including gasoline engines, and the U.S. Public Health Service report made a similar suggestion, I am sure that the automobile industry can make the

present gasoline powered engine safe in the field of public health.

There is no need of rules and regulations from Washington if industry assumes its own responsibility. But, unless this is done promptly, it might be necessary for the Congress of the United States to pass such necessary laws as would require the industry to equip its products with equipment that will lessen the amount of pollution emitted into the atmosphere.

Under our system of government and free enterprise, I believe that the industry which causes a problem should be the first to correct it without regulations. But if industry fails to assume its rightful responsibility, then Government has to step in. Without waiting for a law to be passed. I am hoping that you will use your influence as the president of General Motors Corp. to step up interest in this problem in your company and issue the appropriate orders to effect a solution. If there is a sincere will to accomplish this, I am sure it can be done.

It is my hope, and I am sure it is the hope of all who suffer from the ill effects of air pollution, that the automobile industry will have on the 1963 models as they are produced in Detroit approved mufflers which will substantially reduce air pollution not only in Los Angeles, but in every major city with a large number of motor vehicles.

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH HAHN,
*Supervisor, Second District.*

## Prayer in Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Mrs. Isabel S. Kaplan, of Marietta, Ohio, commenting upon the recent decision by the Supreme Court in a letter addressed to me makes pertinent suggestions for a possible solution to the quandary many parents and schools now face.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mrs. Kaplan be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARIETTA, OHIO,
*July 10, 1962.*

Hon. FRANK J. LAUSCHE,
*U.S. Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR LAUSCHE: The recent U.S. Supreme Court decision deciding against the prayer in public schools shocked many; however, considering past decisions of that august body, many of us, including myself, rather expected it. I still feel, nevertheless, that it is possible to keep religious training in our public schools and still have it approved by the U.S. Supreme Court. Could you therefore hear me out, Senator Lausche? I have a suggestion.

The prayer referred to above was considered "nonsectarian." Many of us feel there is no such thing as "nonsectarian" religious teaching. It is considered "Christian teaching" by Jews and "Protestant nonsectarian" teaching by Catholics. I therefore do not advocate such teaching and oppose it for all except those who do not object. However, even this teaching could fit in with my idea which is as follows:

The U.S. Supreme Court could approve and allow moral teaching in our public schools as a crime-preventive step. (If we need another reason besides a spiritual one.) This "moral" teaching could take the form of religious teaching to those who do not object, and could be given the first period of the day in public grade schools by the religious clergy of all faiths, Catholic, Jew, Protestant, and others. Children of different faiths would gather in separate rooms under religious teachers of their particular faith and after a period of "moral" teaching a general recess could be held. After this recess, regular classes could convene under regular teachers and the religion teachers could leave. Religion teachers could be supported by their own churches and no proselytizing would be permitted on school property. If any schools lacked the space needed, rooms in nearby churches could be utilized or classes held only twice a week. Children not having "morals" on a particular day could play until the general recess. Atheist children would not have to arrive until the general recess.

Each school, of course, would have its own way of incorporating such teaching into its system, but the point is:

1. No atheist child would be forced to sit in on a religion class nor would he be embarrassed by having to get up and leave the class while the rest of the class stayed to study religion. This was the reason the McCollum suit was brought in the first place. A child was regularly forced to suffer embarrassment because of religious teaching.

2. Religious teachers of all faiths would be allowed to teach their own, in their own way, in public schools, for the good of the State. (In religious class, that is.)

3. If the atheist and other taxpayers refuse to support religious schools then God-fearing taxpayers should not be made to support schools from which God's word is banned. Catholic and Jewish taxpayers should certainly not be obliged to support public schools in which "nonsectarian-Protestant" teaching is allowed, but from which Catholic and Jewish religious teachers are barred, as is the case here in Marietta and Washington County.

4. Religious teaching—Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, and other religious philosophies could be offered as electives in public high schools, especially to young men and women during the dating years, and taught by members of the clergy who practice the faith they teach.

5. Instead of the "comparative religious" courses offered in our State universities, regular courses in Catholicism, Judaism, Protestantism, Mohammedanism, etc., could be offered, by the clergy of that particular faith. At the present time, it would seem that only members of the Protestant clergy may teach religion in our State universities. If this is so, the situation will have to be changed or else this mother intends to raise plenty of fuss, and to encourage others to do the same.

Our Supreme Court Justices have stated that their ruling on the prayer aforesaid does not mean that all religion should be banished from our public schools.

If all religion is, however, eventually banished from our public school system, this taxpayer intends to vote against every bond issue for the erection and maintenance of further public schools and to encourage others to do the same.

Very sincerely yours,

MRS. ISABEL S. KAPLAN.

## Can America Do Too Much for You?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in his innaugural address, President Kennedy admonished the American citizens: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

Traditionally, silver-tongued orators have found it relatively easy and simple to pour out high-sounding principles and ideals.

In practice, however, experience has taught us that it is somewhat more difficult to implement such goals.

Deep in the soul of America—and, yes, of the world—there is a great political, intellectual, philosophical, and spiritual hunger—a desire, a yearning for worthy causes to give purpose and direction to life.

The key to real leadership—in accordance with this philosophy, however, requires not constant spoon feeding from the troughs of Uncle Sam, but the kind of leadership that reflects political courage in really asking the people to do something for their country.

Recently, Mr. Ward L. Quaal, the executive vice president and general manager of one of the outstanding radio broadcasting stations of the Midwest, WGN, Chicago, addressed the graduating class of Mundelein College, Chicago, on the topic "Can America Do Too Much for You?"

Reflecting thoughtfully and constructively on what the individual American can do to better serve his country, I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN AMERICA DO TOO MUCH FOR YOU?

(By Ward L. Quaal, executive vice president and general manager, WGN, Inc.)

In my 27 years in the radio industry and in television since its first year of infancy as a commercial medium, I have had the good fortune to address the general public on various segments of the broadcast industry on the many facets of radio and television.

Today, however, I should like to confine my remarks to a phrase which President Kennedy uttered in his inaugural address and has since been often quoted:

"Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

It is a challenging thought for young people today since the phrase itself is subject to a multiplicity of interpretations which may flow from your political or religious convictions, from your business or professional ambitions or from the very basic spirit which, like a beacon, will light the corridors along which you will walk throughout your life.

I would not presume to impose my own judgment upon that of the President of the United States as to his meaning in thus phrasing this admonition to the American people.

For that matter, he himself has avoided specific and exact proscriptions with respect to the meaning of this phrase, although I am sure he has been asked many times about it.

So far as I am concerned, the interpretation must be an individual one for each of us, somewhat in the fashion that certain works of poetry and philosophy imprint different images on different minds.

If we are to think constructively of what we can do as individuals for our country, we must first arrive at a meaning of those words alone: our country.

In the first place, our country is a Republic in its political form, a fact frequently forgotten or obscured. Each year, the broadcasting industry undertakes, in cooperation with the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the conduct of a nationwide contest among high school students. It is called the Voice of Democracy contest. The purpose of this competition is to encourage young people to speak positively and forcefully in behalf of the democratic way of life.

Each year when this contest is announced, a very dedicated American in our Chicago area purchases newspaper space to stress that the voice of our country is a voice of a republic more surely than it is a voice of a democracy.

I could not agree with him more enthusiastically but, setting the semantics, we know what we are or what we are supposed to be: We are a free people whose voice controls the state.

Years ago, when James Russell Lowell was the American minister in Great Britain, he was asked:

"How long will the American Republic endure?"

"As long," he answered crisply, "as the ideas of the men who made it continue to be dominant."

James Russell Lowell was speaking, of course, of the ideas of the Founding Fathers as expressed in the Constitution of the United States, as documented in such publications as "The Federalist Papers" and as implicit in the causes and objectives of our own great Revolution.

I would presume this much, with reference to President Kennedy's interpretation of his own advice, that he is well aware of and sensitive to these fundamentals in American life as set forth nearly two centuries ago. For just recently, when he had a party at the White House for the Nation's leading scientists and artists, all Nobel Prize winners, you may have noted he commented that never had so much brainpower sat down to dinner in the White House since Thomas Jefferson dined there alone.

Certainly, no man in the history of the United States, possibly excepting Benjamin Franklin, personified more surely the rewards of personal initiative than did Thomas Jefferson—writer, inventor, architect, educator, and political leader. The study of his life and that of other great personalities, whose contributions to our Nation's development have been unquestioned, brings one to an interesting postulate: what one can do for his country relates to what he does for himself.

Lest you conclude hastily that I am establishing a premise that selfishness is more to be desired than selflessness, let me with equal haste emphasize that I am talking about individual responsibility.

The philosophy of individual responsibility, recorded in civilization since the time of the stone carvers, was believed in and practiced by Jesus, by the world's great philosophers (such as Socrates and Plato), and by political leaders since tribal times. Where individual irresponsibility identifies leadership, as we well know within our own generation, chaos is pursued by collapse.

We see around us evidence of such irresponsibility extending from the gang leaders of juvenile packs to the awesome unreality that finds one-half of the world fenced in by barbed wire.

In summary, where an individual in a position of power seeks to enlarge that power through force, he is indeed expressing individual initiative but he is forgoing individual responsibility.

A man is distinguished more importantly from all of the other creatures of the earth by his ability to reason and, consequently, to aspire. In the animal world, the fang and the claw are the marks of superiority and leadership. To the extent that we as individuals resort to weapons and force, just so far do we negate the true meaning and the sure promise of individual responsibility.

Thus, it may be the case that what we can do for our country in one sense relates very directly to what we can do for ourselves. If, for example, our secret impulse is to satisfy a great need within us to be eminent in the field of science, the satisfaction of that impulse may lead to the greatest contribution we can make to our fellow man.

It is this interpretation of the President's admonition that would appear to me to be more consistent with the basic principles of the Republic in which we live—as these basic principles are spelled out in the document that begins with the words "We the people * * *"—and as the rights defined in the preamble to the Constitution relate in their ultimate substance to the dignity of the individual person.

This does not mean that man is an island unto himself.

There could have been no more dramatic demonstration of the reliance of the individual upon his fellow man than the adventure of February 20, 1962, when Astronaut John Glenn successfully entered the "keyhole in the sky." Colonel Glenn indeed was demonstrating individual initiative and responsibility in a most intense way, but as he himself has pointed out so frequently since, there were literally thousands of earth-bound persons, from missile mechanics to scientists, who made his flight possible. It was as if each of these thousands held a guidance string that terminated in the confined capsule that was the *Friendship 7*.

All of us, of course, made our contribution to that orbit thrice around the earth, a feat which has since been duplicated by Lt. Comdr. Malcolm Scott Carpenter. We may have done so only as taxpayers which, in itself, was not an inconsiderable accomplishment since it cost a million dollars more to launch the *Friendship 7* than the total expenditures for all Government services in the year 1800.

Yet, I am sure that millions of Americans who lived through the agony and the joy of that first flight with Colonel Glenn in some way associated themselves personally, as individuals, with him. This was a true expression of the individual identifying himself positively with the society of which he was a part.

We were, in those moments, even as was Walter Mitty, Col. John Glenn in flight—coursing over the oceans, over the great continents, penetrating the universe, and, finally, returning.

The exploration of the universe, so recently a figment of science literature, has begun in earnest and those of you here stand upon the threshold of that great adventure. Whatever may be the outcome, the search for facts that personifies these spatial activities is justified against the experience of history.

Most of the tragedies befalling mankind have resulted from ignorance. In the 14th century, such a plague visited the earth—the black death, it was called—that possibly half of the population of the earth was destroyed. Crews manning ships at sea perished. Wild animals took up abode in tenantless homes. A distinguished man of medicine of that tragic time explained the phenomenon by saying:

"The great conjunction of the three superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, in the sign of Aquarius, produced the black death."

It was not this, as we now know, it was the conjunction of vermin and microbes, carried by fleas and rats. The cause of this great scourge was discovered through painstaking examination over generations of time by thousands engaged in research.

The cures have been found, with no less demanding study, by such as the Pasteurs and the Listers and the Curies. Dedicated individuals, working along into the dark hours, expending their life energies, did this in medicine.

For material reward? I think not. For recognition? Surely for recognition, but mostly because they were devoted to a purpose that was more important in their minds than any other to which they could dedicate themselves.

In those darker days, when the practice of medicine was looked upon as a chicanery or occult science, people died because of ignorance. There are now those among us who question the wisdom of encircling satellites, missile launchings and projected trips to the moon.

We have come a long way, in this sense, from the day of this State's most treasured citizen, Abraham Lincoln, of whom Carl Sandburg said:

"In wilderness loneliness, he companioned with trees—silence claimed him as her own. In the making of him, the element of silence was immense."

And Mr. Sandburg later wrote:

"Many, if not all, frontier women of the old days were dreamers. Their lives were hard, their emotions mostly sealed up, but all around them was the mystery of the primeval forest; they treasured it in silence."

And now again, men and women face another great silence, with all of the implications of a new wilderness made up of galaxies, the silence of the universe.

This is the silent forest now to be penetrated. This is the ignorance now to be dispelled. This is the knowledge now to be sought. And upon its finding may rest the future of all of mankind as we know it.

In this overwhelming search, however—in this search for means of international communications and amity, developed through electronic systems that even now are in the laboratories—in this search, the right and the responsibility of the individual, and his concomitant freedom, should not be submerged.

Twenty-five centuries ago, Sparta—the totalitarian state of that time—was waging war against Athens, which stood for a freer way of life.

The Athenian statesman, Pericles, in a funeral oration over the first victims of the war, said:

"The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends to our ordinary way of life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbor for doing what he likes. * * *

"If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing, although the eyes of any enemy may occasionally profit from our liberality. We trust less in system and policy than in the native spirit of our citizens."

How apt are the words of Pericles today in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet states.

Yet, as Edith Hamilton wrote: "When the Athenians wanted not to give to the state, but the state to give to them, when the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again."

The lessons of history are inexorable. And though we cannot guide our lives in all fashions according to the plans written on ancient parchments, the words of responsible leaders through the ages on this subject of individual freedom bear unique similarity.

What can you do for your country? For one thing, you can see to it that your country does not do too much for you; for, if it does, in the sense that the state not only admonishes through law but administers through alms, then the undergirding of liberty will collapse and our destiny will be that of the Athenians.

In a statement on May 10 of this year, former President Eisenhower addressed himself succinctly to this very area, when he stated:

"It has long been my judgment that the real threat to liberty in this Republic will come not from any sudden, calculated assault; rather, the threat to our liberties will be primarily found in a steady erosion of self-reliant citizenship, and in excessive power concentration, resulting from the lodging of more and more decisions in an ever-growing Federal bureaucracy."

Each step taken by the Government, any government, to supplant your right to choose is a step closer to leaving you with only one right, if such it can be called: the right not to choose.

This may be a comfortable state of affairs, but it is a dangerous one. In totalitarian nations, the state chooses for you—what you shall be able to buy, how much you shall have to buy it with, what your career shall be, where you shall pursue it, the nature of your housing, the dicta of education for your children, the manner in which you shall worship, what you may read and hear, and the gods to whom you will pay homage.

These are some of the wonderful things your country can do for you, if you are unwilling to assume the responsibility of doing them for yourself.

One hundred and ten years ago, the 19th century philosopher and teacher, Amiel, wrote in his journal.

"The test of every religious, political, or educational system, is the man which it forms. If a system injures the intelligence, it is bad. If it injures the character, it is vicious. If it injures the conscience, it is criminal."

By this measure, you can calibrate the worth of the American system in its purest form, as designed by its original architects, against the enslavement to which freemen stand opposed.

This is the challenge to you as you enter the arena of triumph and turmoil, which mark the era in which we live.

There is no question about your capacity to meet that challenge. You have been well prepared. You have been blessed by freedom, and you may now bless her name by living with honor and pride and with the independence which has been foresworn as your birthright.

In the splendid future which faces you, whatever vocational pursuits you may follow and as the mothers of children who will fulfill other destinies in their turn, may you find great happiness and joy and a full life.

And may you give to your country that measure of truth and allegiance and dignity which you will surely demand of yourselves. No citizen can give less. No nation can ask more.

I hope that whatever may be the path you choose in life that you will never ignore the importance of continuing, in some form or another, your education. I hope this will include continued interest in your great school of Mundelein, but that in addition to that interest as an alumna, you will encourage your family to stress the value of a constant search for knowledge.

Over the years, my family and I have visited on many occasions the quaint and lovely home of Louisa May Alcott in historical Concord, Mass. On each of these visits, where one likes to drink of the past and recall the greatness of those who made this country great, I enjoy reading the inscription on the unique mantel of Louisa's home. It contains a quotation of her father's dear friend, William Ellery Channing, a famed Philadelphia educator, and it reads as follows:

"The hills are reared, the seas are scooped in vain if learning's altar vanish from the plain."

I do hope that in the years to come, you will also bear in mind the importance of superior performance in that which you do, no matter what may be the area of activity involved. In his beloved "Walden," Henry David Thoreau, who died more than 100 years ago, made a statement which I treasure, and I hope it is one that you will recall throughout your lifetime.

"I know of no more encouraging fact than the unquestionable ability of man to elevate his life by conscious endeavor. It is something to be able to paint a particular picture, or to carve a statue and so to make a few objects beautiful, but it is far more glorious to carve and paint the very atmosphere and the medium through which we look, which morally we can do. To effect the quality of the day, that is the highest of arts."

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## An Answer to Bertrand Russell's Appeasement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, a recent edition of the popular and widely read Washington news letter called Human Events carries a supplement in the form of a sharp and convincing reply to Bertrand Russell's logic of appeasement proposing that it is better to be Red than dead. The author of this reply is Prof. Edward J. Janisch, of South Dakota State College of Brookings, S. Dak.

I believe many in the Congress and the country will be interested in the penetrating and persuasive rejoinder which Professor Janisch wrote in refutation to the milk-toast philosophies attributed to Lord Bertrand Russell. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ANSWER TO BERTRAND RUSSELL'S "BETTER RED THAN DEAD" LOGIC

(By Edward J. Janisch)

Twenty-four hundred years ago, Aristophanes attacked a subtle and insidious logic that was sapping and corrupting ancient Athens. He opposed this infectious wrong logic, as he called it, with a right logic.

The right logic pleaded for a return to the virtues that bred the men of Marathon; it instinctively shrank from what was base and ignoble, and upheld honor and duty.

Wrong logic sneered at the mere mention of duty and, with subversive and cunning arguments, undermined consicence and confidence to the extent that it was difficult to distinguish between right and wrong.

That Athenian moral crisis is like a din and distant echo of the modern moral crisis, and the present logics, Red or heroic. The Red logic has no actual moral foundation. It is not only a wrong logic, but a sinister one.

One hears in intellectual circles today (it seems that the people are ahead of their subsidized thinkers) the groaning voices of defeatism which insist that nuclear war will mean at most the death of "mankind," and, at a minimum, the destruction of our Western civilization.

Harvard historian H. Stuart Hughes,[1] a front-runner in this movement, phrases and answers his own question: "Which do you want to be, Red or dead? To speak very crudely, I'm on the Red side of this."

Most of these bad (in a philosophical sense) arguments derive from a notion bandied about a few years ago by Lord Bertrand Russell. In that Lord Russell has become some sort of chieftain in this movement, it is only fair that one puts his logic through several crucial moral tests. What is true of Russell's propositions will be true also of the other members of his intellectual band. Lord Russell says:

"The great majority of mankind, even in politically educated countries, are occupied throughout the greater part of their time with quite unpolitical matters. They are concerned with love and family; they are concerned with success or failure in their work, and with the joy or pain of living, according to the state of their health. If you were to say to any ordinary person, seriously and as a practical issue: 'Would you rather live under a political and economic system different from your own or have all mankind die an agonizing death?' he would think you mad—and not without justification. Only a man who has lost his sense of human values through preoccupation with controversy can hesitate to answer this question as every sane man must answer it. Those who have been occupied in combating communism or in combating capitalism are likely to become obsessed by a belief that nothing else matters in comparison. In a life of dusty argument, they have lost all sight of everyday joys and sorrows.[2]"

On the surface, his logic sounds highly moral: He is a humanitarian whose deep concern for the survival of "mankind" is such that he would rather have all of us Red than dead. But what is hidden underneath that false surface?

First, nuclear war could mean the death of millions of people, but there is no proof that all "mankind" would perish. Clearly, if all mankind were to perish, Khrushchev, faced with oblivion, would not dare to adopt a policy of attack to which the West must reply in nuclear terms.

And even assuming total nuclear war, which would be horrible, the proposition concerning civilization's survival must be judged on grounds other than those that Lord Russell proposes. But all of this does not trouble me one one-hundredth so much as the wolfish morality that is implied in Lord Russell's so-called "humanitarian" argument; namely, that surrender, and all it implies, is preferable to righteous defense.

Let us assume surrender. Or, to satisfy Professor Hughes, surrender after our conventional forces have been destroyed by Red nuclear devices. What then? On what hu-

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[1] W. W. Kulski, "Peaceful Coexistence."

[2] An Independent candidate for the U.S. Senate in Massachusetts.

manitarian principles would Lord Russell or Professor Hughes defend the slaughter of millions of "class enemies" by the Reds? Surely, neither of these "thinkers" can be mistaken about this: The Red regime rides uneasily on a mountain of the corpses of these exterminated class enemies. No dogma of the Reds is more sacred than that dealing with the liquidation of class enemies. Would Lord Russell or Harvard's Hughes, then, for the sake of a theoretical survival of some abstract mankind and civilization, consign to a most agonizing death millions of men and women and children (such as the boys and girls in Hungary who were held in jails until they were old enough to shoot)?

Such a proposition is not only contemptible. It is inhuman and uncivilized beyond belief. Yet that is what this Red logic proposes.

It is dimly possible that a nuclear war could destroy the very things the West stands for. Those are the odds a moral man must bravely face. But surrender, or its variant, conventional defense until surrender—with that, the West and the good life are forever doomed and sealed.

Look to the Ukraine, to Hungary, to Red China's "leap forward" into the anthill. Who elects to survive at that cost, at even the price of the slaughter of millions of his fellows as blood sacrifices? He who pleads for such things, has he not lost the right to be called a moral man?

Those so-called humanitarians could take a lesson on the consequences of this Russellian Wrong Logic from a Polish Communist who once allowed himself a twinge of conscience before bowing again, as a Communist must, to the hard line of his former sins. He said:

"It was permissible to respect mankind without respecting men. It was rightful to harm individuals in the name of mankind. This sinister paradox consisted in anti-humanitarian practices covered up by humanitarian slogans. Mankind is not composed of men who can be turned out, but of irreplacable individuals. Man is a value to himself as truth is. But one must justify every pain one inflicts on other men; one must always render account for doing it."[3]

And this is not the murkey bottom of the moral abyss into which our Russellian thinkers have flung themselves. They plead for the survival of Western civilization. But, let me ask: Would there even be a Western civilization for them to whimper about if our forefathers had surrendered and refused to stand up to evil and brute threats throughout history?

It will do no good to whine that this threat is different. If I now enjoy the good life, it is because good men before me did not shrink from the absolute call of duty. I do not intend to do less, nor will I bequeath brutishness to the future while I am still free.

Lord Russell's argument is preposterous—a mockery of logic even when judged by his own method of thinking, logical analysis. He asks: "Would you rather live under a political and economic system different from your own?" Definitions, please, Lord Russell. How different?

But there is so much wrong with all of this I am willing to leave those objections behind for the moment and agree to ask his question not only of one human being, but of even millions of them. I ask:

"Would you Hungarians prefer to live under a political and economic system different from your own or have all Hungary die an agonizing death?"

Is it possible that those heroic men and women and children could die as they did defending the good life, while men here and in England who are still free, possessed of free speech, do no more than insist that all of us, as a moral act, commit ourselves to inhuman slavery and slaughter? Even the word "cowardice" fails me at this moment.

Is it not strange that Lord Russell is of the opinion that "love and the family, eating and sleeping, success or failure at work, and the joy and pain of everyday living" are "quite unpolitical matters." How can so learned a man fail so utterly to understand that political forms are but the outward expression of our moral world? When children are perverted by the state and turned into spies on their own family, what has happened to "quite unpolitical love and the family?" When men are deliberately starved and tortured as a matter of state policy, as were and are millions of Red victims—when others go to bed fearing the dreaded policeman's knock—what has happened to "quite unpolitical eating and sleeping?" I would like to know what are the "joys and pains of everyday living" when one has surrendered the good life and committed himself to one of those Red hellholes.

Clearly, it is not the right and heroic logic that has "lost its sense of human values." It is the propagandists of this inhuman logic who are devoid of human values. It is they who propose that men crawl on their bellies as the price of existence. It is they who preach that only crawling is human and moral. To my mind even the most cunning wrong logic is terrifically inferior to a simple teleological argument that states that God did not give men legs so that they might slither and grawl like snakes.

There can be no doubt that there is a dear price for the good life: It requires that a man, at any time, be willing to commit his life and his fortune to the righteous defense of the moral order from which he draws his humanity.

Socrates, the thinker and teacher, said he would gladly die many deaths rather than purchase existence at the loss of his moral person. Mere brute existence meant nothing to him.

If the Red logic will not learn from that venerable instructor in the good life, let it at least assume a decent silence in civilized respect for that Hungarian nation of good men and women and children whose courage and defense of human values was no less and no more than that wisest of men.

[3] Bertrand Russell, "Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare."

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## Tips From the New Europe on Recovery

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, the current issue of Life magazine has an interesting editorial in which it has explored reasons for the failure of the United States under the Kennedy administration to equal the economic growth of many European countries.

Significantly, the editorial points out that an examination of European growth shows countries there have encouraged business through lower taxes and have strengthened their currency by conservative financial policies.

I have urged both a reduction of taxes and a reduction in expenditures to spur growth in the United States. Early action is necessary to restore confidence in the country, which has been seriously affected by the widespread belief that the Kennedy administration is antibusiness.

I call to the Senators' attention particularly also the facts, as set forth in the editorial, about income-tax rates, deficit spending, capitalism or free enterprise, depreciation schedules, and the other economic factors which have been so much a part of the European recovery program.

These, Mr. President, are facts which the policymakers of this administration had better learn, and quickly, if our economy is to avoid a disastrous breakdown.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, entitled "Tips From the New Europe on Recovery," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIPS FROM THE NEW EUROPE ON RECOVERY

("I thought the experience of Europe, which has had a decade of unequaled progress * * * had some lessons for us."—President John F. Kennedy, June 14, 1962.)

The U.S. economy is in a trauma. We have been making a painfully slow recovery from our fourth postwar recession. Housing prices last week were going soft (down 5 to 10 percent); the unemployment rate rose slightly in June. As administration economists debate the problem—and the pros and cons of a tax cut—they are also asking what the United States has to learn from European economic recovery in the 1950's. The President himself has been hinting that deficit spending may have been a bigger factor in European recovery than orthodox economists admit. He also proclaimed, in his eloquent Fourth of July speech, an age of transatlantic "interdependence."

We agree with the President that it is better to compete inside the Atlantic community than outside it. But even inside a unified Europe of 225 million people (counting Great Britain) U.S. industry is bound to get the hardest run for its money it has ever known, and we had better get ready.

About 1960, broadly speaking, European businessmen came to the end of a 10-year cycle in which they concentrated on learning and adapting the best of U.S. production and merchandising methods, helped in advance by the $12 billion in Marshall plan grants and loans. If the United States is now to look the other way to learn, we should make sure we read the lesson of Europe's recovery correctly—and completely. European deficit spending is by no means the primary reason for European prosperity, and to read European practice as a middle way between communism and U.S. capitalism is a specious interpretation of what happened. In the vital areas of monetary orthodoxy and taxation, continental European recovery achieved its greatest thrust from government policies more capitalistic than those of the United States. Here's why:

HARD MONEY

Italy, Germany, and France all took off to prosperity only after Draconian currency reforms (initiated by Einaudi in Italy in 1947, by Erhard in German in 1948, by Rueff in France in 1958). During the past 3 years all three nations' currencies have remained stable vis-a-vis the dollar; the West German mark was actually revalued upward in 1961. Today it is the soundness of the dollar, not the French franc or the Italian lira, which is worrying the central bankers of Europe.

TAXES

Although they differ in degree and execution, the tax policies of the continental Common Market countries have been generally probusiness to an extent that would make an American businessman weep in

envy. These policies have two significant characteristics in common:

Less reliance on the income tax as a revenue producer. Eighty percent of U.S. Federal revenue comes from the corporate and personal income tax; the Bonn Central Government got only 45 percent of its revenue that way in 1961, Brussels only 39 percent. Even Britain whose welfare-state structure is less capitalistic than that of continental countries, got only 55 percent of its revenue by direct income taxation. In these countries there is more reliance on consumer-borne levies like customs and excise duties. In Germany personal income taxation stops at a maximum of 53 percent as compared to the confiscatory figure of 91 percent in the United States.

Incentive depreciation allowances. Here the difference between American and European approach is a fundamental one. In the United States depreciation allowances have been held unrealistically low; in Europe they have a definite and fixed goal to promote private investment. German recovery boomed with a 50-percent writeoff to manufacturers who replaced war-damaged plants. For certain new equipment with an arbitrarily short life of 3 years a French businessman can depreciate 50 percent of the cost in the first year. A German firm can depreciate a locomotive in 10 years, a kiln in 8 years. Under the U.S. Treasury's new depreciation schedules (the first thorough revision in 20 years) it will still take an American company 12 years to depreciate a locomotive, 15 years for a kiln and 18 years for a blast furnace. The new schedules will free an estimated $1.5 billion a year for U.S. plant modernization. But American industry is already spending $5 billion more on modernization than it gets in tax depreciation allowances.

The most involved argument of all concerns budgets and deficits. Europeans owe much more of their recovery to U.S. deficit spending than to their own. Even when they practiced it, many European governments managed to sell the deficit back to the investing public. This siphoned off savings.

Comparing European fiscal practice to ours is dangerous business. When a nationalized airline loses money (Britain's BOAC lost $33.6 million last year), this shows up as part of the government's fiscal picture—not the case here. In capital expeditures, too, European budgets reflect greater government ownership of industry than in the case in in United States. But government ownership was a European characteristic more than a generation before we had reason to admire the European growth rate.

More importantly, deficit financing, when practiced consistently by the United States, has peripheral effects it does not have when practiced by any one European country. Since the United States is the key-currency area, the fact that its Federal budget has been in deficit 7 of the last 10 years actually contributed (through funneling hard currency to Europe) to European recovery.

It is precisely because the United States is the key-currency area that our deficit financing has a point of diminishing return. The French and Swiss cashed another $137 million of dollar paper into gold 2 weeks ago, touching off another round of U.S. devaluation rumors in Europe. "The Americans," one European banker says, "have always believed in the soundness of the dollar. But gold is the only thing that we Europeans can put our trust in."

This is hard-money thinking with a vengeance. It may be significant that quantities of American investment money recently began to show up in Switzerland again. Confidence does matter. So do wage costs.

Right now organized labor is putting enormous pressure on the administration to cut taxes in lower income brackets to free more consumer buying power. At best this would be another "pep pill"—a kind of backdoor wage increase. At worst it might compromise the more fundamental changes needed if American business is to compete with Europe's new lean, modern, full-speed-ahead economy. We need these to cerate an investment climate of profit expectation and expanding job opportunities. Only then can we claim to have learned from Europe in the 1960's as much as the Europeans learned from us in the 1950's.

## Mann Creek Federal Reclamation Project, Idaho

SPEECH

OF

### HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 529) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The gentleman from Iowa, I am sure, has referred to paragraph 3 and I know in his usual diligence he has read the paragraph and has seen the reference to other crops. Livestock feed would be increased and row crop and orchard acreages would be expanded. Increases in alfalfa and feed grains would be marketed as livestock and livestock products. Row crops would consist largely of potatoes, tomatoes, sweet corn, and fruits, and the statement that no sugarbeets are grown in the area now and none are expected under project conditions.

The issue involved here is whether or not we want to build up the agricultural economy of an area already established. This Nation grows by the strengthening of all parts of the Union. I understand the argument made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] but his argument has to do with the supposed relationship of this little project to the area he represents. In a way I can understand too some of the other arguments, but reclamation has been developed in this country in order to bring about a strong nation, strong in all of its integral parts. The West is part of the Nation. Anybody who knows the benefits that have been derived from reclamation would not argue against the great contribution that reclamation has made to the growth of the United States. Nobody, by the same reasoning, can argue sucessfully against strengthening the Nation by firming up agriculture in the small already established agricultural area that this project will benefit. I can advise the Chairman and the Members of this Committee that this project, small though it may be, conforms in all respects to reclamation law and established policy.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. And no one can argue that there is not a real contradiction in this business of bringing more land into production to add to the surpluses already on hand and heavy costs to the taxpayers.

Mr. ASPINALL. I have already answered my colleague from Iowa. In fact, I understand the situation when I said there were in excess of 300 acres of land taken out of production each day because of Federal installations, mostly highways. It is closer to 3,000 acres a day. To put 595 acres of new land in this area into production and thus firm up the agricultural economy of the area is certainly to the advantage of the entire Nation and cannot be adding materially to the problems of agricultural surplus.

## Death of the Sentinel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Milwaukee Sentinel—one of Wisconsin's outstanding newspapers—recently "bowed" before the economic tide sweeping across, not only Wisconsin, but the Nation.

For Wisconsin—and especially for Sentinel readers, many of whose readership traditions date back for generations—this has been a seriously significant happening.

Now, the Sentinel has been taken over by the Milwaukee Journal—one of the outstanding, nationally recognized, employee-owned newspapers of the country.

As the sole newspaper controller, the Journal now has special responsibility to the community and to the great traditions of newspaperism, itself. This includes the obligation to publish with objectivity and perspective all significant views on the broad—almost limitless—range of local, State, national, and global topics which both the Sentinel and the Journal, in their fine traditions, covered for the people of Wisconsin.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal published two articles, first, reflecting upon the history and traditions of the Sentinel; and, second, an editorial reflecting upon the Journal's attitude in taking over the Sentinel.

I ask unanimous consent to have these articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENTINEL DATES BACK TO ERA WHEN CITY WAS DIVIDED

(By Robert W. Wells)

Except for the angled bridges over the Milwaukee River, the Milwaukee Sentinel is the last surviving relic of a bitter rivalry between two collections of log huts that grew in Milwaukee.

The Sentinel, which was bought this week by the Milwaukee Journal was founded by Solomon Juneau to promote his east side real estate. Byron Kilbourn already had a

paper—the Milwaukee Advertiser, which lasted under other names until 1939. The residents of Juneautown didn't want the Kilbourntown west-siders to control the power of the press.

REED WAS SUCCESSOR

Juneau was a fur trader and speculator, not a newspaperman. His interest in the Sentinel was peripheral. He hired a tubercular Irishman, John O'Rourke, to put out the weekly, which printed its first 300 copies on June 27, 1837.

O'Rourke was on his deathbed by the time the paper came out. He died a few weeks later, aged 24. Harrison Reed, who became Florida's Governor in the post-Civil War carpetbagger era, succeeded O'Rourke as publisher, and soon bought the weekly from Juneau.

The paper's first quarters were on North Water Street between East Michigan and East Clybourn Streets. It then moved to a room above a store at East Wisconsin Avenue and North Water Street. The store proprietor and his family lived downstairs.

PAPER WAS PROSPERING

Before long, the landlord came pounding indignantly up the stairs and ordered the Sentinel out. The clatter of the press was keeping him awake.

The paper found refuge over a nearby jewelry store, then over a harness shop. Despite its frequent moves, it was prospering. After the panic of 1837, times improved and settlers began to pour in.

In 1843, the Sentinel became a triweekly and the next year a daily. In 1845, when Rufus King became editor, it was ready to introduce a new circulation technique—it hired its first street newsboys, bringing in two leather-lunged lads from New York. The following year it brought the first power press to what was then called the Nation's Northwest.

Times were changing fast. Milwaukee had perhaps 600 residents when the Sentinel began and Juneau had featured ads for a sale of war surplus goods—flintlocks and scalping knives—along with cloth for the Indian trade. But by the time the weekly Sentinel became a daily, there were more than 6,000 persons here and no less than four newspapers.

Besides the Milwaukee Courier, formerly the Advertiser, the Sentinel's rivals were the Commercial Herald and the Milwaukee Democrat. The Herald died after a year or so and the Democrat migrated to Waukesha, but other papers rose to take their places.

Only modest capital was needed to start a paper then. Most were one-man operations, printed in either German or English. At one point there were two Sentinels operating simultaneously, one of them begun by Elisha Starr after he was fired as editor and publisher of Juneau's paper. He called his weekly the Milwaukie Sentinel to distinguish it from the Milwaukee Sentinel.

The Sentinel was a Whig paper, but in the midst of the 1841 campaign it suddenly turned Democratic. The paper's mortgage had been held by a Democrat, who foreclosed. The startled readers discovered that overnight the Whigs, whom the paper had been praising, were now blackhearted villians and the Democrats were fine fellows after all.

JUNEAU WAS OUSTED

The Whigs got back control after the campaign, but in 1843 another crisis arose. Solomon Juneau, who had backed the wrong political horse, was ousted as Milwaukee postmaster and Josiah A. Noonan, proprietor of the Milwaukee Courier, got the job.

The Sentinel thundered its displeasure. It called upon all Irishmen to arise. A pillar of their church had been "desecrated and trodden underfoot" by Noonan, the "soothless insulter," the editor declared.

The Courier, to the surprise of no one, leaped to Noonan's defense. The Sentinel had been the first daily in the territory, but the Courier—after changing its ownership and its name—soon became a daily, too. As the Wisconsin, it prospered to the point where a half interest sold for the impressive sum of $7,500.

Milwaukee became a city in 1846 and Wisconsin emerged as a State 2 years later. The area was growing fast. When the Civil War began, Milwaukee had nearly 50,000 people and Rufus King, the Sentinel editor, was an important man.

King had led a campaign for free education for children, pointing out that only a third of Milwaukee's youngsters in the 7 to 14 age group were in school. The notion of having poor children go to school instead of to work was controversial, but King persisted and for a time served as superintendent of an expanding school system.

Like most other Whigs, King had successfully made the transition to the new Republican Party and when the war began he became a brigadier general. He led what was later called the Iron Brigade, composed largely of Wisconsin men, and later was in command of 10,000 soldiers.

BLAMED FOR DEFEAT

He resigned after the second battle of Bull Run, a Union defeat which some blamed in part of King's decision to break off contact with Stonewall Jackson the day before full scale fighting began.

The influx of German settlers in Milwaukee's early days complicated the newspaper competition. To meet the rivalry of the German papers, the Sentinel in 1847 started a German-language supplement, the Volksfreund. It later broke away and was absorbed by the Wiskonsin Banner, the State's first German newspaper.

In 1862, the Sentinel bought the Wisconsin Free Democrat, Sherman Booth's Abolitionist journal. But there were plenty of rivals left. Aside from the Wisconsin (later the Evening Wisconsin), the principal competition was provided by the Milwaukee Daily News, which reached its peak in the 1870's.

RIVALRY WAS BITTER

A group of politicians, bankers, and railroad promoters then bought the Daily News, renaming it the Republican and News. Rivalry between this paper and the Sentinel quickly became bitter.

Under editor Lucius W. Nieman, who later was to found the Journal, the Sentinel so outdistanced the News in covering Wisconsin events that the News began pirating stories from its rival. The Sentinel decided to bait a trap.

A fake edition was printed, telling of the capture of Jesse James and his gang at Waukesha, and a copy distributed to the News, which promptly printed the story, ostensibly from its own correspondent. When the Sentinel revealed the hoax, the rival paper was forced to admit it had been taken in.

NEWSPAPERS MERGED

In May of 1882, Charles F. Ilsley, one of the Republican and News owners, acquired control of the Sentinel and the papers were merged into the Milwaukee Republican-Sentinel.

The new owners hired as editor to replace Nieman a colorful fellow named Col. Horace Rublee, one of the founders of the Republican Party and President Ulysses S. Grant's Minister to Switzerland. Rublee had found his ministerial duties light enough to permit frequent trips to Paris.

It was on one such jaunt that Rublee acquired his best claim to fame. He spotted an attractive young woman in a cabaret show, arranged for an audition for her with a producer and was ever after known as the discoverer of Sarah Bernhardt.

SARAH WAS GRATEFUL

The poet, Eugene Field, who worked briefly for Rublee at the Sentinel, wrote a tongue-in-cheek account of Miss Bernhardt's gratitude. According to Field, when Sarah was asked by a New York Times reporter about Colonel Rublee, she said:

"Wizout Monsieur le colonel vaire leetle good would by airt to do; he find me in ze song an' dance and he say, 'Saire, you air one—what you call him?—one daisie.'

"Ozzer men see me zen, but zey nevaire say me to be one daisie. Monsieur le colonel knows one daisie when he sees him and zat is ze grand plaisere to be one daisie."

JOURNAL GREW QUICKLY

After the purchase of the Sentinel by the Republican and News owners, Nieman purchased the newly begun Milwaukee Journal, which quickly grew from a shoestring operation into an important rival of the older publications.

It was one of 14 dailies begun in a 10-year period in Milwaukee, most of the others soon vanishing.

In face of the brisk competition from the new Journal, which quickly gained ground by its coverage of the Newhall House fire, the Republican-Sentinel dropped Republican from its name and expanded its statewide coverage. The Evening Wisconsin also improved its staff and facilities.

LUKEWARM SUPPORT

Before its purchase by the Republican and News interests, the Sentinel had given only lukewarm support to the railroads' war against State regulation of interstate fares and freight rates. Under its new owners, the Sentinel, like most other papers in the State, became a strong supporter of big business, as well as solidly Republican.

It found itself on the losing side in the curious campaign which saw a humorist and editor, George W. Peck, become Governor. As owner of a Milwaukee weekly, Peck's Sun, he was nationally known for his yarns about "Peck's Bad Boy."

Peck was swept into office because of indignation over Republican attempts to require elementary schools in the State to teach children in English rather than in German. This was regarded as an insult to the fatherland and the Democrats temporarily won power.

OTHER PAPERS WERE STARTED

As the 19th century neared its close, other papers rose to join the Sentinel's list of rivals. Victor L. Berger became editor of the Socialist daily, the Volks-Zeitung, in 1890, but soon left to start a weekly, the Social Democratic Herald, which evolved into the Milwaukee Leader, a daily.

The Leader became the Milwaukee Evening Post in 1938 and for a few years was published by the American Federation of Labor. It died in 1942.

The Milwaukee Free Press was begun in 1901 by La Follette backers and prospered for a time. During World War I, after a change in ownership, it became known as an apologist for pro-German interests. In 1918 it was one of three papers acquired by Arthur Bisbane, acting for William Randolph Hearst.

HEARST ACQUIRES SENTINEL

With the Evening Wisconsin and Milwaukee Daily News, the Free Press was merged into an evening paper called the Wisconsin News.

Hearst acquired the Sentinel in 1924 from Charles F. Pfister, a local leather tanner and financier. The Sunday Sentinel was merged with the Milwaukee Telegram, Hearst's Sunday paper here. The Evening Sentinel, which had begun publication in 1909 in competition with the Journal and other

afternoon papers, was merged with the Wisconsin News.

Two years after Hearst took over the Wisconsin News, 18 of the paper's 19 reporters went on strike after their petition for a raise had been thrown into the wastebasket. Replacements from Chicago and elsewhere were promptly hired and the strikers soon found themselves hunting other jobs.

SECRETIVE ABOUT OPERATIONS

Hearst was secretive about his Milwaukee operations. A retired municipal judge, August C. Backus, was originally listed as the Sentinel's new publisher after Hearst acquired it. Later the paper was ostensibly owned by the chain publisher, Paul Block. However, a public hearing on another matter subsequently revealed that Block had been no more than a tenant, with Hearst maintaining ownership.

In 1937 Hearst announced that Block was withdrawing. Both the Sentinel and the Wisconsin News were then under Hearst's management, with the name of the latter paper changed to the Milwaukee News. A combined Sunday edition was known as the Milwaukee Sunday News-Sentinel.

The News' 1920 strike hadn't amounted to much, but by 1936 many of its editorial department employees were members of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild and when they walked out that year the dispute was long and bitter. The guild sought $30 to $70 minimums for a 5-day week.

BITTERNESS REMAINED

After 6 months the strike ended. The paper resumed publication, but much of the bitterness remained. In September of the following year, when Block withdrew and the News and Sentinel consolidated some of their operations, it was rumored Hearst had lost $5 million on his Milwaukee ventures in the preceding 10 years.

Forty-one members of the two papers' editorial departments were dropped, only nine of them being guild members. Many of the others who were fired had been considered "scabs" and strikebreakers by the union.

The News continued to publish until January 16, 1939, when its history ended. The paper whose predecessor had been begun 103 years before by Byron Kilbourn was absorbed by the paper founded by Solomon Juneau.

THREE GERMAN DAILIES

Some News employees moved to the morning paper, along with such columnists as Walter Winchell and Westbrook Pegler and comic strips like Little Annie Rooney, Popeye, and the Lone Ranger.

In 1882, when the Journal was founded, Milwaukee had four English language and three German dailies. In the last 20 years, this number has shrunk to two, with many of the more important casualties having been absorbed by Hearst in his Milwaukee operations.

As the oldest newspaper in Wisconsin and the oldest Wisconsin business in continuous operation under the same name, the Sentinel claimed numerous firsts, including the first telegraph message brought to Milwaukee in 1848.

The Sentinel's reading room, established that year, was said to be the forerunner of the Milwaukee public library system. Increase A. Lapham, one of the early editors, was an originator of the U.S. Weather Bureau.

The Sentinel moved into its old building at North Plankinton Avenue and West Michigan Street in 1929. It completed a $2 million modernization program there in 1949, including installation of high-speed presses.

THE NEW SENTINEL

A concern for history is expressed by the Journal Co. in its announcement that the Milwaukee Sentinel with its unique tradition will not be lost to the Wisconsin community, but will gain a new lease on life as part of the Journal organization.

This is no small or merely sentimental concern. A consciousness of its history, with fine old institutions to cherish, is important to the soul of a community. The Sentinel certainly holds a key place among such institutions in Wisconsin.

There are families here who have been Sentinel readers for four and five generations, back to its first appearance among the 600 pioneer Milwaukeeans in 1837. It has the oldest continuous newspaper history in the whole country north and west of Chicago, has witnessed the entire life of the territory, city, and State. It has numbered some great leaders in Milwaukee and Wisconsin among its editors. Such a tradition was too much to lose.

History aside, a metropolitan morning newspaper also was too much for Wisconsin to lose. For so great a metropolis as Milwaukee to retain more than one daily newspaper was essential.

There will be regret that so big a city has come to single ownership of its daily press, and we share this feeling, too. It was not of our seeking or choosing. What must be remembered is that the actual choice that placed responsibility upon the Journal was between having two papers and having only one.

In these necessitous circumstances our company is dutybound to make the only recourse work in the most responsible way possible. The happy side is that there will still be a Sentinel, there will still be a metropolitan morning paper, and a good one—and if there must be a single ownership, at least the homeownership of both papers is a gain to be welcomed.

## Mann Creek Federal Reclamation Project, Idaho

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 529) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, once again there is presented to the House for its decision a project which has been approved by a majority of the members of the committee. Even though this House has overridden me on a number of occasions when I have objected to some of these bills, I once again want to call to your attention, particularly you who live in the East, what you are doing. You are actually taking $645 an acre and investing it in land that, after that $645 is invested, will still be worth only what it is today, and that at best is around $200 an acre.

I should like to remind some of you that twice in this session you have been called upon to raise the debt limit of the United States. Despite that fact, when various committees report to you bills which have been justified by the Bureaus downtown you throw caution to the wind and proceed with the authorizing of legislation.

In the past several weeks we have had two farm bills before us, and time after time those who have been for and against it have told you the amount of acreage that has been put into the soil bank, that we have surplus crops of every sort and description, that we are paying over $1 million a day for storage; and despite that we continue to authorize projects which increase those amounts.

I notice in the report of the Department on this legislation we are going to raise more alfalfa, we are going to raise more barley, we are going to raise more wheat, we are going to raise more cattle, at an increased cost to the American taxpayer.

The House has passed all these other projects in this session and there is no doubt in my mind that the House will today pass this bill. There is no sense in picking on a little project when you passed a couple of big ones that were terrible. But this is an election year, so we throw caution to the wind.

I admit that the gentlewoman from Idaho has discussed with me the substitute amendment. I am going to support her substitute amendment because it removes one of the really bad features from this bill.

I should like to call attention to the fact that the cost-benefit ratio is 1.5 to 1 according to the old formula. Confidentally what the new formula is, is very simple. The House and the Senate have notified the Department downtown that they cannot swallow any more of these projects that are being sent up here, so the same old projects that were not feasible under the old formula will now be worked over, and you can just rest assured that in the next several years we will have more or them presented to us for passage, unfeasible before, but they will figure out some new way of adding some new benefits to you that the taxpayers will have to pay for and invest untold sums of money in areas where you will never get that money back. That seems to be the will of the House.

This country was established on the theory that you should, when you invest a dollar, get a dollar back, or at least somewhere close to it.

This seems to be a long-forgotten policy, and I am sure that it will be forgotten again today. I just take this time today, as I have said on other occasions, to just make a little record so that some day whether I am around or not, I hope someone in their wisdom will at least look back at the record and say, "Well, somebody told them what was going to happen."

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PILLION. How can we reconcile this project in view of the recent statements by the Department of Agriculture that we have now approximately 50 million acres in surplus production throughout the country, and that in the foreseeable future there will be no shortage of food even if the 50 million acres are taken out of production? How do we reconcile that?

Mr. SAYLOR. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile it; and this was called to the attention of the House when we had the Fryingpan-Arkansas project up. The House closed its eyes and we did not even have a record vote on it. The leadership on both sides did not want it, and we only had, I think, about 29 Members who stood up and asked for a record vote. That project is just completely inconsistent with the position of the Department of Agriculture and you cannot reconcile them.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ASPINALL. Is it not a fact, Mr. SAYLOR, that you, as ranking minority member did cooperate with the chairman of the committee in requesting that the Department send up representatives to explain to us what this new formula would be and what it might lead to; and that so far as their explanations went we were quite critical of what was involved and we suggested to them that we did not wish them to use such a formula for the purpose of showing feasibility in projects which were in fact economically infeasible? We also got from them a statement that this new formula was to be used on all water resource projects whether they were reclamation, flood control, health, education, and welfare or agriculture.

Mr. SAYLOR. This is correct. I want to say to my colleague, the gentleman from Colorado, chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that, in my opinion, the arrogance of the executive branch of the Government in attempting to establish a completely new formula without having the courtesy to inform the chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is, I think, an outstanding example of how little attention the executive branch pays to the legislative branch of Government. I want to say, it was only because of the close questioning by the chairman, the gentleman from Colorado, and by other members of the committee, that we were able to come to a better understanding of the new formula that has been adopted downtown.

Mr. ASPINALL. Will the gentleman go just a step further and say that, and perhaps, it is not in our knowledge to be absolutely certain, but we are not informed as of the present time that this matter has been taken up with other agencies or committees having jurisdiction.

Mr. SAYLOR. That is correct. We have no idea whether or not they have proceeded with the recommendation that they said they would as far as our committee is concerned.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. The gentleman has not gone into a discussion of the repayment features with reference to the Bonneville Power District. Is this the area in which the amendment will be offered?

Mr. SAYLOR. This is the area in which the amendment will be offered. The amendment which the gentlewoman will offer will provide that the amount that the irrigators are not able to pay will not be charged against Bonneville. It will be charged against the power features of the projects in Idaho, in the upper reaches of the Snake River.

Mr. KYL. Would the offering of the amendment and its acceptance by the House be an indication that the committee and the House did not approve of the idea of taking funds from outside the service area of a power project for financing irrigation costs in another area?

Mr. SAYLOR. It certainly should. I am delighted to have had this matter brought to our attention, because this matter will be brought up in another project which we will discuss next week.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. What will be the interest rate on this money?

Mr. SAYLOR. Funds allocated to irrigation would carry no interest. That which is beyond the ability of the users to pay will bear no interest. It will be paid out of funds that are derived from the sale of power. The gentleman probably realizes that in reclamation projects the amount allocated to irrigation bears no interest. This is in the law of 1939 and has been in the law since 1902.

Mr. GROSS. But somewhere, somehow, someone has to provide the borrowed money.

Mr. SAYLOR. There is no question about it.

Mr. GROSS. And this money has to be borrowed at 3½ to 4 percent interest, I take it, and at a time when the Federal Government is reeling under debt and covered with red ink.

Mr. SAYLOR. I would like to say to my colleague that a large portion of the money that is being used as interest-free money for the payment of irrigation projects and that allocated to irrigation comes from the irrigation fund itself. This is a fund which is contributed to by the 17 Western States. This is the only justification one can give for the continuation of interest-free money. I want to ask my chairman if he will verify that statement.

Mr. ASPINALL. The gentleman is correct; and there have been placed in the fund certain contributions from the Federal Treasury as appropriations for the construction costs of specific irrigation projects. Also I would say that this is one of the few endeavors of the United States where, as they use interest-free payments they repay in full all allocations to construction costs for the facilities for irrigation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

## The Supreme Court Decision on School Prayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, on July 13, a distinguished cleric of the Episcopal Church, Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of California, delivered a timely and illuminating address before the Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco, entitled "The Supreme Court Decision on School Prayers." Bishop Pike is a member of the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court and for 5 years taught in the field of church-state relations at Columbia University Law School, as adjunct professor of religion and law, while dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. After admission to the California bar, he received his doctorate in the field of Federal procedure at Yale Law School.

Declaring that the Supreme Court has "deconsecrated the Nation," Bishop Pike, in his address before the Commonwealth Club of California, supported the proposal for an amendment to the Constitution, but objected to the forms of amendment introduced into the two Houses of Congress. He opposed adopting "exceptions" to the prohibition against the "establishment of religion" and urged that, instead, the phrase be reworded to say what it has always meant "so clearly that the Court can never misread it again." The phrase he proposes is: "the establishment of any denomination, sect, or other organized religious association."

Endorsing the middle way which the Nation has followed as between an established church and an atheistic state, the bishop expressed regret that the Supreme Court has moved us over to the same answer as to the relationship of religion to public life as that chosen by the Communist countries.

The legislative program recommended by Bishop Pike was stated in the following language:

> I propose that the first amendment be left just as it is, except that the three words which the Court has distorted, "establishment of religion," be replaced by words which would leave no doubt as to what our Founding Fathers intended: "the establishment of any denomination, sect, or other organized religious association." This would forever cut the ground out from under any attempts to bar the middle way in all its traditional applications, and at the same time protect us all fully from an official favoring of any of the religious segments in our pluralistic society, including secularism, which has now been given official blessing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Bishop Pike's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SCHOOL PRAYERS

(By Rt. Rev. James A. Pike)

When we close a church, we have kind of a sad service as to the building which has been hallowed by generations of worship, prayer and godly fellowship. We call it the deconsecration of a church. The Supreme Court has just deconsecrated the Nation.

Three solutions have been tried as to the problem of the relationship of the dominant religious tradition of a people to the public life of the State:

1. The establishment of a particular organized church as officially related to or united with the state—with or without full pay for the activity of other bodies.

2. The secularization of all public life, the elimination of any place for reference to the supernatural in any state function or institution. This was the method chosen by the French revolution and by Soviet Russia and other Communist countries.

3. The avoidance of the establishment of any particular organized religious body, but the public recognition—by solemn declaration and by prayer—of God and His providence.

From the time of our Founding Fathers we have followed this middle way—one not as clean cut or strictly logical as the other two choices, but one, by and large, workable in our pluralistic society, recognizing the religious dimension of our common heritage and at the same time imposing no sort of conformity upon anyone, whether of athiest persuasion or otherwise. Thus the Declaration of Independence reverently acknowledges our dependence upon God and refers our inalienable rights to His authorship; the Constitution also reveals its theistic premises; oaths are taken upon the Bible; the Supreme Court itself and both Houses of Congress open their sessions with solemn prayer and the same is true of other courts and legislative bodies; God is invoked in prayer at the inauguration of the President; our coins proclaim our trust in God, and He is likewise acknowledged in the official pledge of allegiance adopted by Congress; at Government expense chaplains conduct worship in our military installations; and prayer and Bible reading have been commonplace in our public schools from their beginning. Summarizing all this, just 10 years ago (as pointed out by Mr. Justice Stewart's discerning dissent in the new case), Mr. Justice Douglas, speaking for a majority of the Court, said: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being" (*Zorach* v. *Clauson*).

Now the Supreme Court has made a profound change in the American experiment. By its recent opinion "the middle way" is now out, and we are left in logic with the same approach as that of the Communist countries. The six members of the Court who voted this way, of course, did not have the slightest intention of favoring communism. They sincerely thought, I am sure, that they were achieving neutrality; but godless institutions are no more neutral than godly ones. And they did this by interpreting the first amendment to mean something it was never intended to mean, as is evident from our whole history as a people.

In the establishment clause "religion" means either an organized denomination or it means a general religious perspective or world view. If it means the former then obviously the New York school prayer did not establish a religion. If it means the latter, then the Court itself has established a religion, namely, that of secularism. Secularism is a perspective on life and reality taken on faith (so far this defines any religion) which includes men and things but not God, time and history but not eternity. It is a perfectly permissible position for any American to take; but it is a position, whether held consciously by conviction or unconsciously by default. When God is left out the result is nontheistic (etymologically, atheistic), whether anybody really intends this or not.

The Court actually need not have put itself in the position of establishing a religion in its attempt to prevent the establishment of a religion, because the first amendment never meant religion in the sense of a general view founded on faith, either theism or secularism. It meant an organized denomination, and in particular at the time it was drafted it meant the Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church, each of which was established in a number of the States. In other words, the amendment simply meant to avoid—and rightly so—the first solution to the problem of religion and the Government (church-state union), leaving open the middle way and by no means intending to drive us into the third solution (secularization of our public instrumentalities) characteristic of the Communist countries. With us separation of church and state was never intended to mean separation of religion from society.

Fine as the brief New York prayer was in avoiding sectarianism on the one hand and superficiality on the other, the saying or the not saying of it is certainly not crucial either to the churches or to education. It is the principle of this decision that is crucial.

Let us look at some of the specific implications.

1. It is an impressive moment indeed when at the opening of each session of the Supreme Court the robed Justices appear simultaneously at their places and, as they remain standing, an officer of the Court prays, "God save the United States and this honorable Court." In its majority opinion, Mr. Justice Black dismissed with a footnote this prayerful moment which has been used since the days of Chief Justice John Marshall—and the lengthier prayers used daily in each House of the Congress—as "patriotic or ceremonial occasions." Not so. When I first heard this prayer, on the occasion of my admission to the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court, I took it as serious prayer and was much impressed. Rather than Mr. Justice Black's washing out as not religious that which is patently a prayer, I prefer Mr. Justice Douglas' recognition in his concurring opinion that the prayers of Court and Congress are indeed prayers, though of course I disagree with his conclusion that they too should be banned.

2. In commenting on the opinion, President Kennedy urged the American people to pray more at home and to go to church more regularly. Here our chief public official, right out in the open on office time is seeking to further religion. What would be the outcome of an injunction suit against the President to prevent a repetition? I know this sounds strained; but so is the reasoning of the Court opinion which suggests the analogy.

3. Government-paid clergymen conduct services of worship for members of our Armed Forces in chapels built at Government expense on Government property, or in assigned space on Government-owned vessels. Are we to say now that our young people who, either by force of the draft law or by voluntary action, are serving our country in the Armed Forces are to be denied the opportunity for worship except where they are stationed reasonably near to parish churches or temples? Would this not interfere with the free-exercise-of-religion clause of the first amendment?

What do we do about the impasse to which the Court has brought us?

1. The Court's decision should be erased by constitutional amendment. But great care should be taken as to the form of this amendment. The one introduced into the House the day after the decision is unwise in that in allowing prayers and Bible reading in the public schools, it does not guarantee that a particular denomination could not take over and does not guarantee freedom of nonparticipation; the resolution introduced into the Senate the same day takes care of these points, but does not leave room for Bible reading—and a new case on this is soon to come before the Court; and each (because of overspecificity) fails to protect the broad range of ways in which religion is woven into the warp and woof of our public life. Neither would protect us from the Court's abolition of congressional prayers or of chaplaincies to the Armed Forces, for example. And both seem to set up an exception to the first amendment, when what really needs to be done is to reaffirm the first amendment—but in clear enough language that the Supreme Court cannot possibly misinterpret it.

Therefore, I propose that the first amendment be left just as it is, except that the three words which the Court has distorted—"establishment of religion"—be replaced by words which would leave no doubt as to what our Founding Fathers intended: "the establishment of any denomination, sect, or other organized religious association." This would forever cut the ground out from under any attempts to bar the middle way in all its traditional applications, and at the same time protect us all fully from an official favoring of any of the religious segments in our pluralistic society, including secularism—which has now been given official blessing.

Yesterday I forwarded this proposal to the Congress through the Senators from California and the Representatives who represent the people of the area covered by my diocese; and if you agree with me that this is the right approach I urge you to write or wire your support to the Senators and to the Congressman of your district.

What this will say is, not "the Court is right about the first amendment, but we want to change the American tradition"; but rather, "The Court is wrong and we want to write the first amendment so clearly that the Court can never misread it again". Incidentally, a majority of the justices misread it badly in the released-time decision more than a decade ago (*McCollum* v. *Champaign School District*), and this rewording would fix that, supporting the Court's later—and sound—decision on a related subject (*Zorach* v. *Clauson*).

2. Constitutional amendment takes quite a while. What do we do in the meanwhile? There are several possibilities:

(a) The President's idea is good (and the idea always has been): more prayer at home, more frequent church attendance.

(b) Why could not a teacher every morning take a coin out of his pocket and read from it the inscription "In God we trust" and then follow this by reading phrases from the Declaration of Independence, e.g., "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions" and "with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence"? This could be followed by the singing of the third stanza of the Star Spangled Banner, officially adopted by an act of Congress:

"Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a Nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just, and this be our motto, 'In God is our trust.'"

This will have covered by affirmation (which illogically enough seems to be protected by a footnote to Mr. Justice Black's opinion) most of the content of the banned prayer—and more besides.

Speaking of the Declarstion of Independence, it is ironic that so near the Fourth of July, as was pointed out by our diocesan director of education, Canon Trevor Hoy, in his sermon at Grace Cathedral last Sunday, "the Supreme Court's ruling may well go down in history as a new Declaration of Independence—independence from God Himself. For it is possible that we are on our way to establishing officially another 'religion' with man, and not God, upon the throne." Canon Hoy also pointed out that Mr. Justice Black denies that the decision will interfere with the "encouragement of schoolchildren and others to express love for our country by reciting historical documents which contain references to the Deity." But in thus seeming to make it permissible to express love for our country, but not for our God, he gets the priorities wrong contrary to a fundamental purpose of the free-exercise-of-religion clause of the first amendment; we are free to have a higher allegiance than to the Nation itself. Indeed, what in this regard is treason in some countries is in our Constitution built in as a right.

(c) A number of school boards on Long Island have announced that they will defy the decision. I do not hold with this. The Court's ruling is the law of the land. And teaching obedience to law is also part of what we wish to communicate to our young people. "Civil disobedience" is morally justified only in a most grave matter (which the precise issue of the saying of this prayer is not) and where all other remedies are foreclosed (which is not the case here). There is available a much more effective way which would dramatically witness both to obedience to law and to the need for the amendment. Let school boards declare that school officially opens 3 minutes after the now appointed hour, e.g., 8:33 instead of 8.30 and let the children gather on the sidewalks surrounding the school and recite the prayer under the leadership of their teachers (now "off duty") or volunteer parents. This (with "pix," of course) would vividly demonstrate the "lockout" of God which the Supreme Court has achieved. And in San Francisco, where for years and years the kindergarten children have had a prayer-song before midmorning graham crackers and milk, let the children be led out to the sidewalk for this song and then return for their midmorning snack. Of course, this might tempt the Court to rule next that people may not pray on public sidewalks. But really I am at least half serious in this suggestion.

(d) And, if we really care about all this, let's step up—through each church and through interchurch cooperation—our educational programs as to what makes a man, what makes a Jew or Christian, and what makes an American. In this we will not only be serving the church and the best development of the individual; we will as well be serving the Nation. For example, last week it was anounced that our State will provide in the public schools training in communism and Americanism. Good; but this comparison can be only superficial without careful study of the fundamental theological differences which underlie the two systems; that really requires the mention of the name of God—and a favorable presentation of certain fundamental doctrines. Hence, to have the job really done, the church and home will have to get into action, now that it would appear that the schools which we all support by taxes may be barred from presenting the outlook of the vast majority of the taxpayers. The official bodies of our diocese and national convention have publicly supported the strengthening of our public school system and believe that every effort should be made to find solutions to its pressing problems.

But the consequences of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the first amendment may be to deny our young people the presentation of truths which lie at the very foundation of our heritage during their working hours of formal study. The humanists may have it their way in the end and at the expense of all of us; hence, the majority of us may have to do the job the best we can on the scraps of time left over from a secularized curriculum. But, if we care, we'll try to do it.

3. But we should not be content with these partial measures. If the amendment fails, then those of us who really care about an open view of reality for our young people and for the stability of the Nation will hasten the development schools under religious auspices. The unsound McCollum decision, which also distorted the first amendment, was a large factor in the quick increase of the schools of my own church from 85 to about 400. We are already equipped with enough educational buildings—which, though now generally only in Sunday use, meet the building code requirements for day schools—to increase the number of schools to several thousand. If the failure of the amendment should be added to this decision an even stronger impetus than that of the McCollum decision will doubtless bring this about. The trend in other churches suggests that the same development may well occur; the record in all such schools makes clear that enrollees from the whole community, regardless of religious affiliation, will be served—and with no taint of proselytizing. Uninhibitedly—and beyond the reach of the arm of the Supreme Court (*Pierce* v. *Society of Sisters*), such schools can offer all subject matter under the perspective of the Judeo-Christian tradition, both for the better whole development of the child and for the soundest support of the ideological premises of the very Constitution to which the Court has appealed to cut all this out of our now tax-supported schools.

And speaking of that, it would be unrealistic to suppose that if this is the way things go—a way the Supreme Court will have pressed things to go, the time may come when most of us will begin to wonder why the nontheists do not support nontheistic schools, with the rest of us giving our support to the theistic schools. Then we would be back to the period before the rather late decade in American history when public schools began. This development was a good idea and from the beginning the public schools were permeated with the general religious tradition. It is too bad that the Supreme Court has forced us to begin to think of these things. The decision was disastrous—not just to the short New York prayer, but perhaps, in the end, to the public school idea, which laterly in our history has itself become an important and valuable American institution.

In the light of the gravity of this whole matter, appropriate in closing is the prayer with which the Supreme Court itself still opens its daily sessions: "God save the United States and this honorable Court."

ADDENDUM

Why should all be barred from beginning the day's task with prayer because the parents of a very few prefer that their children not do so? Here the outcome is inconsistent with the result of the Court's ruling on the compulsory flag salute. In 1943, the Court, reversing its position taken in 1940 (*Minersville School Dist.* v. *Gobitis*), held that objecting numbers of Jehovah's Witnesses could not be required to salute the flag and recite the Pledge of Allegiance (*West Va. State Board of Ed.* v. *Barnette*)—but these exercises were continued for the rest. But in the case of the school prayer, dissenters were already protected and yet all were barred by the Court from using it.

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## High School Dropouts Create Lifelong Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for the future, our Nation—for progress and security—will depend upon an expansive reservoir of technically skilled, well-educated people.

In recent times, Congress, and the States and communities, have been giving special attention—so well warranted—to the needs for expanding and improving our educational system.

Fundamentally, this must be done to accommodate the ever-increasing number of students knocking at the doors of the schools in the years ahead.

Realistically, however, I believe the Nation must also create a more favorable public climate and attitude toward education—instilling in our citizens, particularly youth, higher respect for intellectual endeavor.

Unless this is done, the Nation will fail to draw toward this worthy vocation not only the qualified teachers and academicians but also the talented, ingenious youth—dedication to attaining educational goals—necessary to our future.

Because this is now lacking, the tragedy of school dropouts is becoming a serious problem, nationally.

Earlier, this session, I introduced a resolution to authorize a special congressional study of the problem of school dropouts.

Recently, WITI–TV of Milwaukee, Wis., editorialized constructively, also, on this theme. Reflecting upon a serious problem of significance, not only to Congress, but to the whole country, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS CREATE LIFE LONG PROBLEMS

Mr. ZIMMERMANN. We'll soon begin counting up this year's crop of high school dropouts, and the problems they create for themselves and the community they live in.

Most high school dropouts will tell you they left school because they're bored with classrooms and are anxious to start making some money on their own. But the figures show that a strong back and the will to work are no longer enough. Our increasingly complex world is demanding special training and special skills; and the kind our high schools are turning out. Our young people are becoming more and more aware of those needs.

While the dropout problem is comparatively small in Milwaukee, it does exist; and for those who do decide to pull out before

finishing high school, the future is bleak. Across this Nation 20 percent of the unemployed are under 25 years old, and the greatest contributing factor is the lack of a high-school education.

Those who know these young people and their problems best realize the implications that go hand in hand with the premature end of education—people like Calvin Evans, dean of students at vocational school.

Mr. EVANS. If you ask them why they drop out, the most common reason given is: "I want to get a job." "I want to go to work." The truth is, however, that their schoolwork is not very satisfying to them; and a job looks so much better. With a little bit of money, they can get the status symbol of the jalopy or the hot rod. So they say they want to go to work, and they want to get a job. The chief problem faced by the young person that drops out of high school is how to secure employment. Today, almost all employers ask for a high-school diploma. They look upon the diploma as a sort of character reference. The problem, therefore, of the young person who drops out is how to secure something that will offset that lack of a diploma. He will find that almost all trades are closed to him unless he has a high-school education.

Mr. ZIMMERMANN. In the next 6 weeks these young people are going to make a decision that will affect them every day of their lives. It's a decision they must make carefully keeping in mind the stark fact that without that high-school diploma the doors to good jobs, good-paying jobs will be closed to them forever.

## Remarks of Mr. Miklos Sperling and Secretary of State Dean Rusk on Presentation of the Rembrandt Peale Portraits of George and Martha Washington to the Department of State, May 29, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding citizens of the State of Indiana is Mr. Miklos Sperling, of Indianapolis, an industrialist, engineer, and civic leader. Mr. Sperling and his wife recently presented to the Department of State an outstanding gift, the Hurst portraits of George and Martha Washington, oil paintings by Rembrandt Peale.

This was the only pair of original portraits of George and Martha Washington known to be in private hands and the paintings constitute a national treasure.

I was fortunately present at the ceremony at the Department of State at which Mr. Sperling made a moving extemporaneous statement of his reasons for presenting these fine portraits.

Mr. Sperling's remarks and excerpts from the remarks of Secretary of State Dean Rusk follow:

Mr. SPERLING. Mr. Secretary, Mrs. Rusk, ladies and gentlemen, and friends of mine who gather here for this occasion, I'd like to recall 36 years ago a young engineer. By my own choice I reached the shores of this country of ours. As a young fellow, I was a great admirer of a big freedom fighter of the time of 1848–49 in Hungary, Louis Kossuth, who believed in freedom, liberty, brotherhood, and equality. As a young fellow, I couldn't see it in Europe, so I chose to come to the United States. By hard work, by being an engineer, I made a step forward to be able to have an art collection of my own.

At this time I'd like to tell you, Mr. Secretary, that I would like to present to you, which is an honor to me, George and Martha Washington by Rembrandt Peale for the State Department as a symbol of freedom, devotion, and appreciation for my country in which I live today.

Secretary RUSK. Mr. Sperling, you could not have done us more honor or given us more pleasure than to make this magnificent gift to us to commemorate in this room the great first President and his First Lady. These Rembrandt Peale paintings are treasures of art. I know that our friends from the Gallery field who are here with us perhaps are envious because these are, I believe, the last two of these paintings that have been available in private hands. The others are already in institutional care.

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The fact that these were given to us by Mr. Sperling is to me of special importance. He came to us from Hungary, a country which has contributed unusual talents to our own country. I have heard scientists speculate about what they call the Hungarian paradox. "How is it" they say, "that Hungary has produced far more than its normal share of high talent in the sciences, the arts, in other fields?"

* * * * *

Mr. Sperling, we are delighted that you came here, became one of us, and that you joined other distinguished people from other countries who have come here to help us work out this story of freedom. We appreciate your interest in these rooms. You join others, such as Ambassador Cowen and Mrs. Cowen who are here today and others who have taken a deep personal interest in this eighth floor. And I hope you take some quiet satisfaction from the interest and appreciation shown by all of our distinguished foreign visitors whom we entertain here at these handsome and distinguished portraits of our first President and his First Lady.

We are deeply grateful and thank you very much for coming.

## Most Americans Pray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I have received many letters protesting the recent decision of the Supreme Court banning prayer in the public schools.

These letters came from people of all the great religious faiths of the Nation.

With the exception of two or three, these letters are all vehement in their protest and for the most part demanded corrective action in the form of a constitutional amendment to offset the decision.

One of the most impressive statements was made by a dear friend from Leominster, Mass., in my district, a great American of rich heritage, Miss Estella E. Marshall. She states:

Years ago when a noted French diplomat came to our shores to learn the source of America's greatness, he discovered that it was not because of her great industries, her immense natural resources, nor her educational advantages. None of these, he declared, were responsible for America's greatness. It was because of her unequaled spiritual development; that her bulwark was in her churches and, he stated, that, if America ever ceases to be good, she will cease to be great.

Miss Marshall continues:

Don't let this happen here as it has in other nations.

I think that these words are well worth noting and summarize the case for those who believe that spiritual values, rather than material wealth, is the real, outstanding element that makes our Nation truly great.

Miss Marshall referred to the opening of sessions of Congress with prayer which are recorded verbatim and the congressional Prayer Room where a Congressman may go to meditate or pray and seek God's guidance and strength in order to carry his great responsibility of Government in accordance with His righteous will.

The character of this Nation—

She asserted—

was molded in sacrifice and devotion, and if it is to live at all in these materialistic days it must be strongly garrisoned with virtue.

She concluded:

A material mind will degrade whereas the spiritual mind will elevate.

Her fine statement deserves careful attention and thoughtful consideration.

Reading all my various communications from my constituents brings me to the inescapable conclusion that an overwhelming number of Americans strongly disapprove the Supreme Court's decision, and only a very small minority indeed approves it.

Of course, minority rights should always be respected, not only in spiritual matters, but in political, social, and economic matters as well.

America will accord to every man the right to worship as he sees fit, and to abide with his own conscientious beliefs. But American opinion is predicated on our religious beliefs and teachings and on the philosophy of freedom, and those who would deny the children of citizens or residents of this country the right to pray in the schools, or elsewhere, are denying a sacred fundamental principle of America that goes to the roots of our free institutions and touches the very soul of America.

Let us with reverence and devotion recall the stirring words of the last verse of "America" which, incidentally, has been expunged or omitted from some modern American songbooks.

It goes as follows:

Our Fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of Liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With Freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King.

The Supreme Court ought to memorize this verse.

## Rally Protesting Russian Communist Oppression of Ukraine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 19, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a very significant rally was held in Cleveland on Sunday, June 24, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Liberation Front Organization of Greater Cleveland. The purpose of this rally was to protest Russian Communist oppression of Ukraine.

The principal speaker at this rally was Walter Dushnyck, editor of the Ukrainian Quarterly and the Ukrainian Bulletin, who has been a keen observer of events behind the Russian imperial curtain over the course of many years. Mr. Dushnyck analyzes the main line of Russian oppression in Ukraine and makes pointed reference to the need for a uniform policy in our Government toward the non-Russian nations held captive within the Soviet Union. He points up the conflict of policies on this vital question between statements made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and statements made by Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in the forum of the United Nations.

Under leave granted, I insert Mr. Dushnyck's address in the RECORD:

PROTEST RALLY AGAINST RUSSIAN COMMUNIST OPPRESSION OF UKRAINE

Chairman Dr. Wynnytsky, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, we have gathered here today to lodge our strong protest against the unbridled domination of Ukraine, our home country, by traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism. Khrushchev is persistently stirring up trouble in Berlin, Cuba, and now in Laos in order to divert the attention of the free world from the dangerous situation that he has in the Soviet Union, and particularly because of the incessant struggle of the Ukrainian underground forces against Russian Communist tyranny and despotism.

This is the reason why he ordered his KGB to assassinate such outstanding Ukrainian nationalist leaders and patriots as Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and Dr. Lev Rebet, Ukrainian nationalist writer.

American tourists and visitors to the U.S.S.R. and especially those who are of Ukrainian descent and understand the Ukrainian language, upon visiting Ukraine return with bleak stories about the miserable lot of the oppressed Ukrainian people:

(a) Russification: Moscow is relentlessly pursuing a policy of ruthless Russification in Ukraine, by imposing the Russian language as the "international" language, while the Ukrainian language is relegated to secondary importance. Ukraine's seven universities—in Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv, Odessa, Dniepropetrovsk, Uzhhorod, and Chernivtsi—are Russified in outlook, and flooded with technical textbooks and other classroom material in the Russian language.

(b) Economic misery: The Ukrainian people are suffering from an acute shortage of all consumer goods; they do not have adequate clothing, shoes or other manufactured goods. Even foodstuffs are very scarce. Substantial elements of the economy, especially in Western Ukraine, are clothing and other manufactured merchandise sent by Americans of Ukrainian descent to their relatives in that area of Ukraine.

(c) Antireligious oppression: Religious freedom is nonexistent in present-day Ukraine. The Soviet government has destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as evidenced by the third consecutive imprisonment and condemnation of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Catholic primate of Western Ukraine. Khrushchev's predecessor and tutor, Stalin, brutally destroyed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the late 1930's.

(d) National and political persecution: Despite constant claims of the Soviet government that the Ukrainian anti-Soviet underground, notably, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, have been totally annihilated, Soviet courts and military tribunals are busy meting out death sentences to Ukrainian patriots and freedom fighters. But even though active resistance and the guerrilla struggle have subsided in Ukraine, the opposition of the Ukrainian people to Russian Communist colonialism and imperialism goes on under various guises and subterfuges—and the final and complete liberation of Ukraine from the Russian colonial yoke is the ultimate objective of the Ukrainian people.

Ukraine is tortured by an alien despot, and the Ukrainian people are striving to achieve their God-given right to be free, just as are so many African and Asian nations which are receiving their freedom today.

We should not be deluded by the Ukrainian Dance Company of Kiev which has been touring this country for the past few weeks. We all know why these dancers were sent to us and by whom. They were sent to us by Moscow, the cruel oppressor of the Ukrainian people, and they were sent here to convince us and the Americans that all is well in the Soviet paradise, and that Ukrainian culture is flourishing in the U.S.S.R. and all reports to the contrary are nothing but false reports by the "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalist" agents, and the like.

But we are sure that these dancers, at least those who admitted being Ukrainian, found at least something that they could not find in the Communist-controlled press in Ukraine: that Ukrainians in the United States and in Canada are the implacable enemies of Russian communism and they are determined to fight it until Ukraine and the other captive nations are free and independent of Russian control and domination.

We must know that our work on behalf of our enslaved brothers and sisters gives serious cause for worry to Khrushchev and his satraps in Ukraine.

For instance, a few months ago, Mykola Pidhorny, Khrushchev's lackey in Kiev, while addressing a party conference in the Ukrainian capital, stated:

"We are not contemplating to argue with Mr. Diefenbaker, regarding the freedom and independence of the Ukrainian people, as well as other peoples of the U.S.S.R. This question was solved a long time ago."

But was it solved really? You and I know that it was not. There is no doubt that the Ukrainians and other peoples behind the Iron Curtain constitute the greatest weakness of the Soviet Communist empire and prevent Khrushchev from pushing his luck too far, including his game in Berlin. For the past 3 years during the observances of the Captive Nations Week in the United States, Khrushchev and his minions were raging with anger, and scathingly castigated the U.S. Congress and our President for the "Captive Nations Week" proclamations. Their fears were those of shaky tyrants who can read the handwriting and their eventual doom on the wall.

Khrushchev and company are acting before the eyes of the world as liberators of the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa. But, in fact, they themselves are the most despotic colonialists that humanity has ever known.

It is in this area, ladies and gentlemen, that we, the free citizens of this great and powerful country, can be of immeasurable importance and significance to the cause of human freedom everywhere.

Our duty is to be spokesmen for the oppressed and captive Ukrainians; to tell the world of their misery, enslavement, and their undying desire for and aspiration to freedom.

In this essential and vital task, to be sure, we are making progress. But from time to time, we encounter snags and obstacles in our way.

One of the most glaring examples of our bungling and failure to understand the true nature of the Russian Communist empire are the so-called Rusk letters, concerning the Flood resolution calling for the establishment of a special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. In August 1961 the Secretary of State wrote a letter to Congressman HOWARD W. SMITH, chairman of the House Rules Committee, expressing opposition to such a committee on the ground that it would irritate the Soviet Government and thus aggravate the problem of Berlin. Moreover, Mr. Rusk insisted that certain countries enumerated in the Captive Nations Week resolution of July 1959, are traditional parts of the Soviet state; namely, Ukraine, Armenia, and Georgia, and therefore U.S. support of such areas, he said, would give the impression that the U.S. Government lends its hand toward the dismemberment of the Russian state.

This statement, naturally, enraged the Ukrainians, Georgians, and Armenians to no small degree. Even the Soviet Government, while persecuting and oppressing the Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations, could not deny the separateness and political entities of these nations as distinct ethnic, political and historical units.

To show you what confusion and shadowboxing reigns as far as some of our high State Department officials are concerned, we will quote two other prominent American officials on the same subject:

1. Mr. Dean Acheson, then Secretary of State, in testifying before the House Foreign Relations Committee on June 21, 1951, stated:

"Historically speaking, the Russian state has three great drives—to the west in Europe, to the south into the Middle East, and to the east in Asia. The Politburo has acted in the same way. It carried on and built on the imperialistic tradition. What it has added consists mainly of new weapons and new tactics. The ruling power in Moscow has long been the imperial power and it now rules over a greatly extended empire. It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the Duchy of Moscow to a vast empire has got to be stopped."

2. On November 25, 1961, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Adlai E. Stevenson, in a memorandum on Soviet Russian colonialism, said:

"We are told that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination. Indeed, the Soviet regime at its inception issued a declaration of rights which proclaimed the right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states.

"How did this right work in practice? An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkov. In July 1923, with the help of the Red army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the U.S.S.R. In 1920, the independent Republic

of Azerbaijan was invaded by the Red army and a Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In the same year, the Khanate of Khiva was invaded by the Red army and a puppet Soviet People's Republic of Khorezm was established. In 1918 Armenia declared its independence from Russia and a mandate offered to the U.S. Government was refused by President Wilson. In 1920, the Soviet army invaded, and Armenian independence, so long awaited, was snuffed out. In 1921, the Red army came to the aid of Communists rebelling against the independent state of Georgia and installed a Soviet regime."

So, you can see for yourself the glaring inconsistencies and contradictions of the Department of State in such a vital and important area as are the captive non-Russian nations. Mr. Rusk was eloquently contradicted by his aide, just as Mr. Acheson's statement of 11 years ago was an expression of enlightened statesmanship and political sagacity.

But the Rusk letters are not the only glaring example of ignorance regarding the Soviet empire, ignorance which regrettably finds its place in the high places of our Government. A few days ago, an American singer in Benny Goodman's orchestra created a riot in Tiflis, capital of Georgia, when she sang a Russian song in Russian. She was hooted and whistled at by an angry crowd of 8,000 people. She quickly realized her mistake in singing a Russian song and in the Russian language in a country which hates everything Russian. But, who suggested that this American singer sing a Russian song in a non-Russian country which considers Russia, and rightly so, its aggressor and jailer? And who advised our Disarmament Ambassador Arthur Dean, to accept a tricky and boobytrapped agreement on war propaganda during a conference in Geneva a few weeks ago?

But, the latest developments in the State Department policies which are now being commented on widely throughout the country can no longer be considered as mistakes. I am referring to the so-called Rostow papers. It is a top-secret memorandum drafted by Walt W. Rostow, the State Department's Chief of the Policy Planning Council. It is said to be a series of proposals which would completely reverse U.S. foreign policy. These are said to include the recognition of Red China and East Germany; a series of "political accommodations" of Soviet plans and objectives; the abandonment of the captive nations and the recognition of the status quo, and generally, to do everything possible not to antagonize the Soviet leaders, but to espouse a way to a peaceful coexistence. As you undoubtedly know, Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has already announced a plan to call Mr. Rostow before a Senate committee to find out on what basis does he place his credence in a mellowing out process of the Russian totalitarian system.

This is why your actions as free citizens of the United States are so imperative and urgent. You must protest, you must speak out through your Congressmen and your Senators. Here, in Cleveland, I would like to pay a special tribute to two great friends of the Ukrainians and all other captive nations: the Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN and the Honorable Senator FRANK LAUSCHE, who are in the forefront of our struggle against Communist tyranny abroad and appeasement at home.

The Ukrainian nation has never ceased to fight against Russian oppression. The recent murders of outstanding Ukrainian revolutionary leaders abroad is the best evidence that Moscow is afraid of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Our country, the United States of America, remains a true citadel of freedom and hope for oppressed peoples everywhere. Our protest here today provides a proper occasion for the people of the United States to demonstrate their sympathy with and understanding of the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to freedom and independence. This we can do over and over again, as we firmly believe that the Ukrainian people shall and must be free and independent and take their rightful place in the family of free nations.

With all the colonial systems crumbling, the Soviet empire will also meet its doom. The United States, I firmly believe, will come to realize that by helping Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and other subjugated nations to regain their freedom, it will help itself to survive as a free and independent nation.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE

RESOLUTION 1

We, citizens and residents of the City of Cleveland present at the rally held on June 24, 1962, after hearing a detailed report of the confession of the murderer of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), unanimously state the following:

1. The murder of Stepan Bandera, leader of the OUN, by Russian KGB Agent Bogdan N. Stashynsky, is only one of the links in the whole series of political murders committed by the Soviet KGB on Ukrainian freedom fighters. The first victim of the Soviet security service was Simon Petliura, head of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918–1921, who was assassinated in 1926 in Paris by S. Schwartzbard, an agent of the Soviet security police.

The second victim of the same criminal Moskovite government was Col. Eugene Konovalets, founder and first head of the OUN, who was killed in 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland, as a result of the explosion of a time bomb slipped into his pocket by Soviet Secret Agent Valiukh.

2. The physical destruction by Bolshevik Moscow of the leaders of the Ukrainian national idea, the foremost carriers of the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the free world, attests to the fact that the ideal of liberation of Ukraine and other nations enslaved by Communist Russia is so powerful and so dangerous for Moscow that it does not hesitate to commit terroristic acts even on the territory of the free nations. These inhuman and abhorrent Bolshevik methods Moscow applies to all freedom-loving and outstanding leaders, who incessantly point out the menace of Russian communism to the free world as a whole.

3. Official participation and direction of the Soviet Government in the planning and execution of political murders should serve as a signal and warning to the still free Western World that Bolshevism under the leadership of Nikita S. Khrushchev has not changed and has not ceased to be an imperialist movement, and that it still is endeavoring to conquer the entire world by methods which are repulsive and condemned by the whole civilized world: violence, terror, and assassination.

4. Before the free world, and especially in the United Nations, the Russians pose as "defenders of liberation of the Asian and African nations from colonialism," but at the same time they practice the worst possible form of colonial oppression and enslavement over the non-Russian nations under their domination and use all and every means at the disposal of their cruel and totalitarian regime to suppress and strangle every manifestation and aspiration of these non-Russian nations to freedom and national independence.

Therefore, we assembled here, do unanimously—

1. Accuse the Soviet Government of crimes committed in Ukraine and call on the free world at large to condemn Nikita S. Khrushchev, Alexander N. Shelepin, and the entire Government of the Soviet Union for the planning and execution of the murder of OUN leaders, Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet.

2. Wholly support the decision of the Attorney General of the United States of America which proclaimed that the Communist Party of the United States is an illegal and conspiratorial organization and an agent of Moscow, and that all its activities are directed toward the destruction of the United States.

3. Appeal to the Government of the United States to prevail upon the Government of the German Federal Republic, on the territory of which the Russian secret agent committed the crime, to apply appropriate sanctions against Moscow, and assure the guarantee of personal security to all exile leaders in West Germany.

4. Demand that the criminal, B. Stashynsky, be put before a court of justice for his heinous crime.

5. Appeal to the free world to take a keen interest in the fate of the captive nations, enslaved by Moscow, and in particular the enslaved Ukrainian nation, and to provide them adequate support for the realization of their national liberation.

6. Appeal to all Ukrainians to mobilize their moral and material resources for the struggle and victory by increasing and strengthening their patriotic activities and to be ready for the fulfilment and realization of the ideal for which the finest sons of Ukraine lived, fought for, and died: Simon Petliura, Eugene Konovalets, Roman Shukhevych, Stepan Bandera and thousands of known and unknown heroes who died for the establishment of a free, independent, and sovereign Ukrainian state.

RESOLUTION 2

1. We, the assembled here, appeal to Secretary of State Dean Rusk to revise his negative policy toward the captive nations enslaved by Moscow, especially to revise his stand toward Ukraine and rectify the moral and political harm done to Ukraine by treating her as a traditional part of the Russian state.

2. We, the assembled, appeal to Secretary of State Dean Rusk to give his full support to the Flood resolution calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives—and prevail upon the President of the United States to issue a Captive Nations Week proclamation in accordance with the congressional resolution of July 17, 1959.

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## Competition Should Be the Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EARL WILSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, newspapers in the Midwest are strongly endorsing my campaign to save taxpayers money on defense expenditures. They feel, as I do, that competitive bidding is the American way to buy materials, rather than the sole source route which invariably costs the taxpayer much more money than necessary.

An editorial in the Thursday, July 26, 1962, edition of the Indianapolis Star, backs up my stand for wiser military procurement and I am happy to call the attention of my colleagues to this editorial:

ONE FOR THE TAXPAYERS

Somewhat like the *Monitor-Merrimac* duel, the fight between Representative EARL WILSON of Indiana, and the U.S. Navy has ended in a draw. Both contestants appear to have been shaken by the results, but both came away with part of a victory.

The Navy kept its contract for portable radio sets to be used by the Marines.

Representative WILSON got a report from the Subcommittee for Special Investigations which advised the Navy to change course on negotiated contracts.

If no one exactly won this squabble, at least the taxpayers are assured that their money was reasonably spent for the contested radio sets. In addition, there is the assurance that the Navy, and other Government agencies, may handle similar future purchases on a more competitive basis.

It would have been nice if Representative WILSON had been able to land a big Government contract for Arvin Industries which has a plant in Indiana, in WILSON'S district. No one can fault the Hoosier Congressman for wanting to steer some defense business to his constituents, particularly in an election year. It's good business. It's good politics.

However, in its findings and conclusions, the subcommittee under Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT, of Louisiana, said in so many words that Collins Radio Co., and not Arvin, should go ahead with the radios. Committee endorsement of Navy procedure was dry to the point of scarcasm. It said that selection of Collins "appears to have followed proper procedures. All of the required words were present."

The subcommittee also stated that "the atmosphere created about this procurement action was Navy made." It went further to detail a change in Navy policy which took place without notice, or without any public record, or without any change in the Armed Services Procurement Regulations. This altered policy was the armor which protected the Navy's vital position in the case of the radios. As the subcommittee added, "So the story is in the bottom drawer of the last desk in the Bureau of Ships."

It was this secret policy "of doubtful legality and irregular in its origin" that caused the Navy to be publicly criticized. The subcommittee pointed out that "such irregular actions invite, provoke, and encourage the reaction which inevitably follows. And the warning signals should always be up on sole source purchases."

The subcommittee refused to act upon other purchases referred to by Representative WILSON. It did say that a means of introducing "light and air" into development contracts should be found. It noted that too often the conclusion of a successful development coincided perfectly with an urgent requirement, leaving the developer to inherit production on the sole source basis. When the United States has paid about a million dollars for development of this radio set, for instance, it should be in a position to obtain a competitive bid. These committee sentiments will find wide support.

The subcomittee once more recommended the enactment of a bill to curtail the unlimited and unrestricted authorization to negotiate sole source procurement. Representative WILSON is all for this bill. The American people should like it, too.

In a country built upon competitive, free enterprise, competition in bidding for the biggest business in the Nation; namely, defense work, should be the rule rather than the exception.

## Begin Medical Care Study Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the House, a thoughtful editorial entitled "Begin Medical Care Study Now," which appeared in the July 23, 1962, edition of the Utica Daily Press.

The suggestion that personnel of nonprofit and commercial health insurance organizations be immediately consulted in the formulation of a new program is most constructive. The counsel of those exercising day-to-day responsibilities in the care and insuring of our senior citizens is indispensible to a proper resolution.

The editorial follows:

BEGIN MEDICAL CARE STUDY NOW

The defeat of medicare legislation last week should not be a signal for forgetting medical care until another congressional session is underway. Instead, immediate study of the problem is needed—not by Washington politicians but by men and women who have broad experience in the field of medicine and medical insurance.

The United State fortunately has an effective and efficient group of private carriers such as Blue Cross as well as the commercial insurance companies. Congress should solicit their counsel in writing future legislation. The medical profession, too, so vigorous in its opposition to the Kennedy administration's medicare program at this session, has broad responsibility to offer constructive help, not merely more opposition.

Here are some of the problems that face the Nation in medicare:

More than half of America's 17 million 65-or-over citizens earn less than $1,000 annually. Less than half have health insurance and many carry minimum policies that may pay $5 per day for hospitalization when room costs for semiprivate care may go as high as $30 to $40 daily. In other words, the seriousness of the problem is clear.

Inevitably a program must assist with both medical and surgical fees as well as hospitalization. The King-Anderson proposal, supported by the administration, provided only hospital assistance. This is important, of course, but some help with doctors' bills is much more vital to thousands of older people.

Social security taxation is now heavily burdened and the experience of other countries has shown that a system of payroll taxation for medical help is inadequate and that a system of general tax works better.

Whatever plan is adopted should (1) not bring another vast and far-reaching Federal program, open to abuses, and (2) insure high standards of care and not "assembly line" treatment.

Clearly this is a difficult problem. Clearly we have not come close to a solution—either with the King-Anderson bill or the Kerr-Mills legislation of 1960 that turns medicare over to public welfare.

The solution will lie in governmental participation and in greater public consciousness of the problem. Federal and State leaders have indicated they are willing to back programs and the American people, who spend a billion dollars a year on liquor, another billion on cigarettes and tobacco and another billion on cosmetics, should not balk at being taxed to meet a medical cost problem that most people face sooner or later.

## Public Access to Commission Dissents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN E. MOSS**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, as a result of an investigation by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information, the Federal Power Commission recently adopted a new procedure to disclose the views of any Commission member who files a dissent on Commission actions which affect the public. Previously the Commission had delayed the official issuance of the views of a dissenting Commission member concerning a Commission order until the majority opinion was prepared.

Last week the subcommittee investigated reports that another regulatory agency—the Federal Trade Commission—not only refused to issue a dissenting Commissioner's opinion following a Commission action but even voted against making public the fact that the vote was less than unanimous. Following meetings with Mr. Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, the subcommittee sent an official inquiry to determine whether the FTC would set up procedures to prevent the future muzzling of dissenting Commission members.

Hundreds of boards and commissions in the Federal Government exercise quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative powers to make important governmental decisions. These agencies are not monolithic; they are composed of three, or five, or more, decisionmaking officials so that many viewpoints are brought to bear upon each decision. The people who are affected by the decisions have a right and a need to know the various viewpoints. Each board or commission member has a duty—to the President or other official who has appointed him, to the courts and other reviewing authority, and to the public—to make known his views. The subcommittee plans a survey of all decisionmaking Government boards and commissions to determine procedures for disclosure of dissents.

Meanwhile, Chairman Dixon has stated he will recommend action by the Federal Trade Commission to set up a procedure for announcing dissenting votes and enabling Commission members to report their views along with the majority decision. Following is the sub-

committee's letter of inquiry on the matter.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SPECIAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
*Washington, D.C., July 23, 1962.*

Mr. PAUL RAND DIXON,
*Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. DIXON: The Bureau of National Affairs, in its Antitrust and Trade Regulation Report No. 53 (July 17, 1962) reported that the resolution adopted by the Federal Trade Commission to conduct certain milk-pricing hearings failed to mention the dissent of one Commissioner, and that the Commission had voted against noting the dissent on the resolution. I directed the staff of the Special Subcommittee on Government Information to immediately investigate this allegation that the Commission was muzzling a dissenting Commissioner.

On Friday, July 20, two subcommittee staff members met with you, Mr. John V. Buffington, your legal adviser and assistant, and Mr. John N. Wheelock, the Commission's Executive Director, to discuss these allegations. At that meeting, you and your aids indicated that the Bureau of National Affairs report is substantially correct and that the Commission has no regulations prescribing procedures to note dissents or to issue the opinions or views of dissenting Commissioners concerning matters affecting the public. The only statutory authority claimed for the Commission's action in this matter was the Commission's general authority "to make rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions" of the Federal Trade Commission Act (sec. 6(g); 15 U.S.C. 46(g)). No reference was made to section 6(f) of the act (15 U.S.C. 46(f)) which provides that the Commission's reports and decisions shall be published "in such form and manner as may be best adapted for public information and use."

The Federal Trade Commission is a multi-headed body with members appointed on a bipartisan basis. The Commission is not monolithic. Each member of the Commission, as a statutory officer appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, has a legal responsibility, as a member of the Commission, to make known his dissenting views whenever he believes that the Commission's action on any matter affecting the public is erroneous or improper and that the announcement of his dissenting views would be of interest to the public and to reviewing authorities (e.g., to the courts in cases that may be appealed, to Congress, etc.). There is no statutory foundation to assume that Congress ever intended to permit a majority of the Commission (or two Commissioners constituting a majority of a three-man quorum) to muzzle or delay the issuance of the views of dissenting members of the Commission with regard to Commission actions affecting the public.

When the Federal Trade Commission issues an order, or decision, or resolution, or takes any other definitive action, which affects the public (such as initiating a complaint, or ordering a public hearing, or issuing a subpena, or holding hearings, or issuing decisions in a case, etc.), the Commission cannot deprive any dissenting Commissioner of the right and duty to have his dissent noted and to have his views and opinions concerning the matter fully expressed. If the dissenting Commissioner desires, for whatever reasons, that his dissent be noted and/or his dissenting views or opinions made public, this should be done through official Commission channels accompanying the Commission's order, decision, resolution, or other document taking the definitive action.

The subcommittee staff members who met with you and your associates have informed me that you will recommend to the Commission, at its next meeting, a resolution to adopt a procedure for noting dissents and issuing dissenting opinions relating to all future Commission orders, decisions, resolutions, or other definitive actions affecting the general public, which would conform with the views expressed above.

Please advise the subcommittee when the next Commission meeting will be held. Also, after that meeting, please inform us of the Commission's action on your proposed recommendation.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. MOSS,
*Chairman.*

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## Statement of Senator Thomas J. Dodd on the Occasion of the Issuance of a Commemorative Postage Stamp Honoring the Late Senator Brien McMahon, Washington, D.C., July 27, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, several months ago I wrote the Post Office Department to urge that a special stamp be issued to honor the memory of the late Senator Brien McMahon, of Connecticut. This recommendation had the unanimous support of the Connecticut delegation. President Kennedy asked the Department to give this suggestion its consideration and I was pleased to learn that Members of the Senate who had known Senator McMahon and respected his accomplishments in public office had also urged General Day to issue such a stamp.

Senator McMahon died of cancer 10 years ago July 28, almost at the peak of his career and yet with much promise unfulfilled. He had demonstrated great capacity to recognize the importance of atomic energy to public policy and to international affairs, and had mastered its implications. His was a true example of the way in which the American system has nurtured men who have met decisive challenges of their times with intelligence, realism, and imagination.

I was pleased to attend the ceremony held by the Post Office Department on July 27 in Washington to dedicate this stamp. Among the speakers were Senator THOMAS J. DODD, long a friend and associate of Senator McMahon; and the Postmaster General.

Senator DODD struck a significant chord in recalling the contributions which Senator McMahon had made to atomic energy and to the cause of world peace. I believe his remarks are worthy of deep consideration by the House and I offer them for the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DODD

Attending this ceremony concerning the issuance of a commemorative stamp honoring the achievements of Senator Brien McMahon has a significance and a meaning for me that is difficult to describe.

It was my good fortune and privilege to know Brien McMahon as a personal friend for many, many years; to have shared experiences with him during his early years of public service in the Justice Department; to have taken part, by his side, in his political campaigns; to have watched his meteoric rise to national and then international prominence; and then to have visited at his bedside during the final days of his life.

I have known his family; his mother, who still lives in Norwalk; his brothers and sisters.

I remember him for all these reasons, and all of us have our own personal reasons for remembering him and for honoring his name.

This occasion today signifies that history, too, remembers and honors Brien McMahon. Of all the reasons for this, two stand foremost:

His contribution to the development, the harnessing, and the control of atomic energy, and his contribution to the cause of world peace.

Brien McMahon saw the specter of the world as it might be; a vast crater burned out by nuclear destruction. But he also saw a vision of the world as it could be; a world of peace, freedom, progress, and security, a world helped to these goals through the enlightened leadership of our country.

For some of us the mighty atomic blasts over Japan were really too awesome to contemplate. The explosive power that science had unleashed seemed too dreadful for comprehension, too vast to reduce within the familiar concepts of public policy. But for Brien McMahon, atomic energy was, for all its mystery, still only a creation of human genius and an instrument under human control.

It must be mastered, in all its implications, not just by scientists or by military men, but by statesmen, by the representatives of the people.

It must be developed lest our country throw away the mighty advantage for freedom and for peace which preeminence in nuclear energy gave to us.

It must be placed under civilian control, lest it become the fearful monopoly of a scientific or military elite, because large as atomic energy was, it was not too large for the American process of free government.

It must be harnessed, not just for destructive purposes, but for creative purposes in order that the potential for human progress inherent in unlocking the secrets of the sun might be fully realized for all peoples.

And finally, it must be made safe for the human race through a workable program of disarmament and control.

And so, while the first mushroom clouds of Alamogordo and Hiroshima and Nagasaki still hovered over the minds and imaginations of us all, Brien McMahon set to work.

In the months and years that followed, he developed the plans through which nuclear development was placed under civilian control and subjected to the governmental processes of a free people.

At his urging, a joint committee of the Congress was established to oversee the conduct of our atomic energy program, and he became its chairman.

Under his tireless, driving leadership, our atomic energy program moved forward to one discovery after another.

Through his blueprint, cooperation was achieved between scientists, the military, the Government, and private industry, in order that atomic science might develop, not as some unique monster, but rather as an integrated part of the traditional American system.

And what he brought forth, through his vision and his experience and his vigor, he

protected with all of his political sagacity and prestige.

He successfully fought off repeated attacks upon the concept of civilian leadership of the atomic energy field. At critical moments, his intervention had historic results, such as his famous visit to President Truman which many feel was instrumental in President Truman's decision to go full speed ahead on the program to develop an American hydrogen bomb ahead of the Russians.

But Brien McMahon was more than the man who mastered the public implications of atomic energy. He was, above all, a man of peace. It was Brien McMahon who first proposed a $50 billion Marshall plan for all the peoples of the world, to be accompanied by progressive stages of disarmament.

This proposal staggered the complacency of the day and invited the ridicule of those of little vision.

It is interesting to note that the total of our foreign aid has now reached twice the figure originally proposed by Brien McMahon. But it is sad to note that this huge expenditure has achieved only a fraction of the good it might have accomplished had it been brought forward and carried out with the imagination and the idealism and the vision advocated by Brien McMahon.

Peace, international friendship, practical disarmament and aid to less fortunate peoples—these were the causes with which Brien McMahon most wished to be identified, and these are the causes for which he will be remembered in history and for which we honor him today.

He was taken from us 10 years ago today, at the age of 48. He was stricken at the height of his rare power, in the midst of what surely would have been one of the most memorable public careers of our entire history.

The passage of years has served only to increase his stature. We see this in the tributes to his memory made by the statesmen of our day. We see it in the magnificent Brien McMahon High School, dedicated only recently in Norwalk. And we see a manifestation of this in the ceremony in which we participate today.

These remembrances, significant and worthy as they are, are just the outward signs.

Long ago, Abraham Lincoln, on being asked to comment on the proposal to raise a marble monument to his fallen friend and ally Congressman Owen Lovejoy, replied:

"Let him have the marble monument, along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty, unselfishly, for all men."

We rejoice in today's commemoration of Brien McMahon. We are pleased to see his name and his image enshrined in official public remembrance. But we know that the most lofty, the most lasting, the most significant monument to Brien McMahon is the memorial which will live in the hearts of all who knew him, in the minds of all who know of his deeds, and in the principles which he advanced, which shall go on and which shall triumph.

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## A Warped View of the United Nations

SPEECH

OF

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. ZABLOCKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week the press throughout the country carried a story about the report on the United Nations issued by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, a research affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations. The report is entitled "A Universal United Nations."

I was disturbed by the contents of that story. I was disturbed by it to the point that I obtained a copy of the report and read it myself to see whether it went as far as the newspaper stories suggested. The report substantiated my worst expectations.

The report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace in my view, consists of a peculiar blend of immature idealism and warped thinking. I am amazed and distressed to see the recommendations published under the auspices of a nationwide organization which has received the support of some of the most reputable and outstanding citizens of my State, and of other States.

I believe that this report is damaging to the United Nations, and to our participation in that organization. The damage it does is achieved in two ways: by what the report says, and by what it fails to say.

I would like to comment, first, on what the report says.

Briefly, the report wants to replace the cardinal rule of the United Nations Charter—the rule that membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving states—by the principle of universality. This means, in the words of the report, that "the admission to membership of all independent states, capable of fulfilling their responsibilities under the charter, is logically necessary and proper."

I am keenly aware—as I am certain are all other Members of this House—that in admitting new countries to membership, the United Nations has not been particularly diligent in applying the requirements of membership outlined in the charter. I am also aware that some United Nations members can hardly be termed "peace loving" on the strength of their actions.

The fact remains that current requirements of the charter provide at least some measure of restraint and protection against the United Nations being overrun by states whose governments are primarily interested in rendering that organization completely ineffectual.

But there is something else in the peculiar logic of the report that requires comment.

Consider, first, the substitute requirements for membership suggested in the report—the requirements that the state be independent and capable of fulfilling its responsibilities under the United Nations Charter. What do these requirements imply when they are considered within the context of the remainder of the report?

Consider, for example, the report's thinly veiled suggestion that the solution of the German problem, of the Chinese problem, of the Korean and Vietnamese problems, can best be pursued through the recognition, by the United Nations, of two Germanys, two Chinas, two Koreas, and two Vietnams.

Is East Germany an independent state? Is North Korea? Or North Vietnam? I shall refer to Red China later. But for the time being, are these to serve as examples of "independent states" that this study group would like to have admitted to the United Nations in order to make that organization stronger, more effecitve, more capable of fulfilling its purposes?

Can Communist puppet regimes, foisted upon the peoples of East Germany, North Korea, and North Vietnam, be expected to contribute to the advancement of peace, freedom, and justice in the world?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman say this is a report of the U.S. Commission for the United Nations? What report is this?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. This is a report of the Commission To Study the Organization of Peace, a research affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations. It is an organization composed of private citizens of the United States who are ostensibly interested in promoting better understanding of the United Nations. It is not a Government-sponsored organization.

Mr. GROSS. It is not a Government-sponsored organization?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. It is not.

Mr. GROSS. Nor is the Government providing any funds for it?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. None whatsoever.

Mr. GROSS. May I ask the gentleman another question? Has the report of the U.S. Citizens Commission—I may not have the title exactly right—U.S. Citizens Commission for NATO come to his attention?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. It has.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I hope the gentleman feels the same way about this report as I do.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I disagree with certain portions of that report, but not to the extent that I disagree with the recommendations of the report of this research affiliate of the American Association of the United Nations.

Mr. GROSS. Calling, as does this other commission, for the establishment of what they are pleased to call an Atlantic Community, with a lessening of our sovereignty or giving away the sovereignty of the citizens of this country. This commission is sustained by the taxpayers of this country, and I think the report published, by the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. As the gentleman knows, I supported authorizing legislation creating the Commission he has referred to, but in so doing I do not automatically underwrite all of its recommendations.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BRUCE. This is the report of the American Association of the United Nations, am I correct, that you referred to a moment ago?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. A report of its research affiliate, called the Commission To Study the Organization of Peace. The chairman of this particular group is Mr. Arthur N. Holcombe.

Mr. BRUCE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, to return to my statement. Let me pursue, for a moment, the report's reference to an independent state's capability to fulfill its responsibilities under the United Nations Charter.

It seems to me that the capacity of a state to do something, or to desist from a given course of action, is meaningless in the context of this discussion unless we first examine the motivations of that state's government.

What determines the actions of a state is not alone its capacity to act but also the will of its government. Capacity can be neutral. But will seldom is. And it is therefore not only relevant but also very important to determine whether a state, before being admitted to membership in the United Nations, is willing to fulfill its responsibilities under the charter of that organization.

Now what does the report say on this important subject of will or intent? Let me quote from it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I would be delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Who were some of the other citizen members of this association?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. It was not my intention to list the 75 signatories of this particular report. But I shall be pleased to let the gentleman, while I am continuing my remarks, read the list for his own information.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, to continue.

The Commission To Study the Organization of Peace appears to adhere to the position that willingness to apply for membership in the United Nations is, and I quote, "acceptable evidence of intent to abide by the obligations of membership."

I maintain that the United Nations' experience with the Soviet Union and with the Communist-dominated countries, does not support this conclusion.

As a matter of fact, the contrary is much closer to the truth.

I think it is absurd to expect the Communist regimes of Red China, of East Germany, of North Vietnam, and North Korea to be willing to abide by the obligations of United Nations membership simply because they apply for such membership.

Let me comment, now, on the report's findings and recommendations with regard to what it calls the problem of China.

This is what the report says:

> This Commission To Study the Organization of Peace recommends the recognition of an autonomous Taiwan, entitled to its own representatives in the General Assembly, in addition to the representatives of the Peking Government regarded as the effective Government of China.

This means, I presume, that the Republic of China's permanent seat on the Security Council, and veto power, are to be handed over to the Communist regime on the mainland of China.

Mr. Speaker, it is most disturbing to me that of the 75 signatories only 3 expressed reservation on this point. The Congress has repeatedly, clearly, and unequivocally expressed its opposition to the admission of Red China—the Congress overwhelmingly opposes recognition of the People's Republic of China—and its admission to the United Nations.

The report claims that, in the implementation of its recommendations regarding the admission of Red China to the U.N., "there is an excellent opportunity here for an imaginative act of creative statesmanship."

Since when does doublecrossing of an old ally constitute "an imaginative act of creative statesmanship?"

Since when does giving a permanent seat on the Security Council, and life-and-death power over the decisions of that Council, to a rapacious regime, branded an aggressor by the United Nations, constitute "an imaginative act of creative statesmanship?"

This is the first time that I have heard a proposal for abject surrender to a bully described in such glowing terms.

Before concluding, I want to say a few words about another shortcoming of the report that I referred to at the beginning of my remarks—the shortcoming of omission.

In presenting its case for universal membership in the United Nations, the report indicates, on page 14, that additional members may be expected from three sources. These are described as follows:

> The most productive sources is the crop of new states to be raised from the dependent territories of obsolete colonial empires. A second source of additional members is the group of divided states resulting from the failure of the principal victor nations to settle by suitable treaties of peace sundry troublesome problems growing out of the defeat of the German and Japanese forces in the Second World War. Finally, there is one member of the former League of Nations, Switzerland, which has refused up to now to accept membership in the United Nations.

In the discussion of the first source—"the dependent territories of obsolete colonial empires"—not one word is said about the biggest colonial empire of them all: the empire built by international communism.

Since World War II, the so-called colonial powers of the Western World have given independence to over 800 million people, currently constituting 43 independent countries.

During that same period, communism has imposed its rule on over 200 million peoples—or 875 million peoples if we include Red China—who formerly lived in a dozen of independent countries.

What about that Communist colonial empire? The report seems to imply that it should be ignored—that people forcibly subjugated by communism are to be written off—perhaps even that they should be satisfied with their present condition.

And what about the once-free countries of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania—countries which our Government still recognizes, but which Soviet Russia has forcibly incorporated in its empire?

Not a word is said in the report about these and other Communist-conquered countries.

I am happy that the people of our Nation are more perceptive and outspoken on this issue than the membership of the study group which approved this report—as evidenced by the many public statements and ceremonies which took place during the past week, proclaimed by President Kennedy as the Captive Nations Week.

Are those captive nations less entitled to admission to United Nations membership than East Germany, North Vietnam, North Korea, or Red China?

Truth can be distorted by omissions as much as by commissions. And this report, entitled "A Universal United Nations," presents a distorted view on both counts. I think that it does a disservice to the advancement of the cause of peace in the world through the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that more Members will voice their objection to this report and will insist that our representatives in the United Nations bring to the attention of the General Assembly the fact that Communist-dominated nations are truly captive nations denied proper representation in that organization; and that the colonialism which is being practiced today is being practiced by Communist Russia.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman for expressing his concern about the report to which he has referred. Is there not also reason for concern when we see as a followup of these annual reports policies that seem to follow right in line with them? For example, in the 1st session of the 87th Congress, early in the session, there was what I suppose some would call a trial balloon, that Outer Mongolia was going to be admitted to the United Nations as a legitimate member.

When the sparks from the Congress began to reflect a little bit farther downtown here a denial was forthcoming from the State Department, that certainly this was not what they had in mind. On the last day of the 1st session of the 87th Congress I went out to the news machine here and here it was on the wire, that our representative had acknowledged that indeed they had in effect agreed to the exchange of Mauretania and that Outer Mongolia would become a member of the United Nations. This is what con-

cerns me. What the gentleman is saying is so true. These reports came out. Some of us here realize what is being promoted here. Then only a short time later we hear things put into action as the official policy of the United States. Why is it we cannot get the same sense that the gentleman is talking about here into action as official policy.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I can assure the gentleman from Indiana he was not alone in his concern about the admission of Outer Mongolia to the U.N. My very dear friend and colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota, Dr. JUDD, as well as many other members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, also protested the admission of Outer Mongolia. We are still concerned about this matter. I can assure the gentleman there are many of us who are going to watch very carefully the efforts being exerted to make the United Nations a universal body.

Mr. BRUCE. Along this same line, I have been trying desperately, with some unpopularity, to persuade the Committee on Foreign Affairs to take a good, long, investigative look at what is happening in the Congo. I will tell you frankly, it is very disheartening. I have had two members of my staff working full time for the past 10 months on the Congo situation, ferreting things out, listening and talking to people who were there at the time of the Congo invasion. I cannot seem to get anybody interested in it or go into a full-scale, all-out, nonpartisan investigation as to who has done what and for what reason. We are playing with dynamite in the Congo, in the way of economic interests and political interests. One gentleman in the other body has done a very good job on the subject, but I cannot find a real investigation of this U.S. action today.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. The Committee on Foreign Affairs on this very day was making inquiries about the developments in the Congo. The Subcommittee on African Affairs has conducted continuing briefings and hearings on this subject. I can assure the gentleman that he can obtain from the Committee on Foreign Affairs the supporting evidence and information on our position in the Congo that will undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the events taking place in that country.

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## Remarks of J. Edward Day, Postmaster General, at the Ceremony Dedicating the Brien McMahon Commemorative Stamp, Washington, D.C., July 27, 1962

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to attend a ceremony at the Post Office Department to dedicate a commemorative stamp honoring the late Senator Brien McMahon, of Connecticut. I had written the Post Office Department to urge that such a stamp be issued and had received broad support from Connecticut and from the Connecticut delegation.

Among the speakers at the ceremony was Senator THOMAS J. DODD, a great and good friend of the late Senator. The keynote remarks at the dedication ceremony were delivered by the Postmaster General, J. Edward Day, and I offer them for the RECORD:

REMARKS OF J. EDWARD DAY, POSTMASTER GENERAL, AT THE CEREMONY DEDICATING THE BRIEN MCMAHON COMMEMORATIVE STAMP, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 27, 1962

At some prehistoric time, in some unknown place, a tribe of primitive people learned to kindle fire. This mysterious and awesome event was undoubtedly as astounding to them as the release of atomic energy was to us.

Let us assume that the tribal leaders met in council to debate the problems arising out of this weird new phenomenon. Fire, quite obviously, was a potent weapon: it could be used to destroy the village of your enemy.

So the military advisers of the day may have counseled that the secret for kindling it be retained under rigid controls. But, perhaps there were others on hand who saw in fire a great force for good. Warmth and well-being are the gifts of fire. The progress of civilization is based on the peaceful use of fire.

Fortunately for this Nation, Brien McMahon was a man who was able to see beyond the holocaust at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He saw potential good in the fire unleashed by the atom.

Brien McMahon was a man of vision—a visionary in the best sense. He was not a dreamer-visionary. He was a working-visionary.

Many of you ho are present today will remember the grueling work that went into obtaining passage of the MaMahon Act of 1946. That act led to creation of the Atomic Energy Commission and fostered the peaceful uses of atomic energy. There were moments when Senator McMahon stood virtually alone in his belief that military control of atomic energy was not in our best national interest.

Let me reset the stage for you. In those days, we were riding the tiger and did not know how to dismount. The atom bomb had created psychological and diplomatic problems of great magnitude. Few people realized the full significance of the release of atomic energy.

The force of an atomic blast could be measured in relation to explosion of a given number of tons of TNT. But the potential of nuclear energy for industrial or medical research was neither widely known nor well understood. Congress appeared disinclined to take the terrifying new weapon out of the hands of the military. The White House seemed lukewarm to Senator McMahon's proposal for civilian control.

Senator McMahon was then a relatively obscure, 42-year-old freshman Senator. But he became the first chairman of the special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, an assignment of unusual responsibility for a Senator serving his first term. He labored assiduously to qualify himself as a lay expert on nuclear problems. He took training courses at the U.S. Bureau of Standards, so as to better understand the unbounded new horizons opened by the atomic age. And slowly, through hard toil and patient persuasion, he was able to break down the barriers of opposition. The Congress, once almost solidly opposed, gradually came to agree with him. The Atomic Energy Act was passed and signed into law by President Truman on August 1, 1946.

The influence of Brien McMahon's work will be felt in the future even more than it is felt now. Each new application for good in atomic research in the decades to come will have had its origins, directly or indirectly, in the McMahon Act.

The benefits of his contribution will multiply over the years.

Were Brien McMahon alive today he would be gratified to see the atomic energy museum at Oak Ridge, Tenn. The museum displays examples of how atomic energy is being applied in medicine, in agriculture, and industry. There are examples of industrial research that have, for example, resulted in improved petroleum products. Certainly, these are things that Senator McMahon envisioned 16 years ago.

Under the policies pursued by the Atomic Energy Commission, many nations have shared and benefited from the peacetime uses of atomic energy.

Senator McMahon served the people of Connecticut in the U.S. Senate from 1945 until his premature death just 10 years ago at the age of 46.

President Truman said in eulogy: "Senator McMahon was one of the first to see the fantastic possibility for good in the wise use of atomic power. As he conceived it, the miracle of the release of atomic power was intended for man's everlasting benefit—not his destruction."

I hope that issuance of the Brien McMahon commemorative postage stamp will serve to highlight for millions of Americans the great contribution he made to our society. I hope it will serve to remind us that the best chapters of our history record the courage of men of vision.

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### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

# *Appendix*

## Statement on Communism by J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on communism issued by J. Edgar Hoover:

STATEMENT ON COMMUNISM BY J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO., JULY 15, 1962

We in America are today facing a grave danger—that of international communism—and you, as citizens, or potential citizens, play an increasingly important part in protecting our Nation.

Not long ago a student came to my office. He was an intelligent young man, well versed in the affairs of the world. I still remember one of his remarks. "I feel that most Americans," he said, "young and old alike, simply are not aware of the terrible danger which communism poses for us. We need to know more about this enemy."

These words reflect great practical wisdom. They recalled for me a statement made by Edward Gibbon, the English historian, in his famous book, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." "The Romans," Gibbon wrote, "were ignorant of the extent of their danger and the number of their enemies."

Do Americans today realize the dangers they face? Do they realize the number of their enemies? Are we willing to do our share to keep our Nation from going the way of the Roman Empire?

These are serious questions—questions which affect us as citizens.

Today our Nation is faced with an enemy as deadly, as dangerous, as ruthless as any enemy who pounded at the gates of the Roman Empire. This enemy is international communism. At this moment the Communists, spearheaded by Moscow, are attempting to destroy America and make us a province of a vast Communist empire. No barbarian tribe of old was as fiendishly led, as cruelly motivated, as cynically inclined as these barbarians of the 20th century.

Today a vast ideological battle is underway for the minds of men, women, and young people. Nothing less is at stake than the very existence of our Judaic-Christian civilization—the values which have given meaning to our democratic way of life over the years. For this reason, we in America simply cannot afford to have a future historian, like Edward Gibbon, write that America was ignorant of its dangers and the number of its enemies.

We must know the dangers. We must know the enemy. Most of all, we must know the values of American life we are defending.

Just what do the Communists desire? Communism dates back over 100 years when two German exiles in England, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, propounded the principles of what they called scientific socialism or communism. They viewed society in terms of classes and felt that a Communist society could come about only by means of class warfare. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions," proclaimed the Communist Manifesto of 1848.

This meant that Marx and Engels rejected any reform of society by democratic methods. To them, democratic reforms merely slowed the revolution, and hence should be opposed. Marx and Engels had no faith in free elections, in a democratic court system, in a free press, free speech—all the rights which symbolize our way of life. Communism, despite its high-sounding doubletalk phrases, is a system designed to enslave mankind.

Marx and Engels rejected God. Religion is the "opium of the people," Marx said. Hence, man, in their view, was merely a piece of living matter to be manipulated at the will of the state. He was not a child of God, capable of creative accomplishment under divine guidance. Man, to the Communists, must be controlled and directed. The ideas of Marx and Engels have cost the world untold misery, and remain today as the major threat to the very existence of our democratic way of life.

V. I. Lenin, a shrewd, crafty, sly Russian, took up the ideas of Marx and Engels. Lenin was a master organizer, propagandist and agitator. He took the philosophical concepts of Marx and Engels and gave them organizational form, creating the Communist Party. The party, under his influence, became a group of select, well-trained, hard-core members. They are the individuals upon whom the party depends to bring about the revolution. They are the bitter enemies of America.

We know the results. In November, 1917, Lenin and his small group of henchmen seized state power in Russia. Since that date, communism has been an extremely aggressive force. Today the Communists control one out of every three human beings in the world and one-quarter of the earth's land surface. Fifty years ago Lenin was living as an exile in Western Europe, in old boarding houses, eating cheap food, wearing shoddy clothes. Today he is hailed as the guiding genius of millions. Communism has been on the march. Its progress must be stopped or else we cannot live as a free nation.

The outcome will depend, in large measure, upon you—the citizen. Today the Communists are directing tremendous pressure to influence your thinking. The Communist Party of the United States is an integral arm of the international Communist movement. It is not a legitimate political party, but a conspiracy completely loyal to a foreign power, Russia.

The Communists in this country desire to overthrow our Government and establish a Soviet dictatorship. They scoff at the ideals of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. To them, Thomas Jefferson was a misguided individual whose writings on liberty and freedom are archaic documents. If the Communists were in control today in America, we would be studying such Communist organizations as the Third International and such individuals as John Reed, one of the first Communists in America, and William Z. Foster, former chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who died in Moscow. The whole history of our country would be written from a Communist point of view.

Why are the Communists today appealing so strongly to young people? Why are they encouraging high-level party officials to speak to student groups? Why are they organizing Communist youth organizations? Why do they publish periodicals designed for youth?

The Communists realize that the young people will be the leaders of tomorrow. They want to influence their thinking now, to convince them that communism is superior to free government. Many of the top officials of the Communist Party of the United States became party members in their teens or their early twenties. Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, was only 16 years of age when he became a party member. He is now the most powerful Communist in the United States.

When the young person is a teenager is the time he is forming his basic convictions in life—and the Communists know this. For that reason, they want to touch his thinking, to expose him to the deceitful doubletalk of their program. The Communists talk glibly of "peace," "justice," and "brotherhood." They claim that their system will bring a utopia where struggle, pain, and unhappiness will be abolished. These glittering promises are disproven by the harsh facts of reality. No nation has ever freely elected a Communist government. Millions of men, women, and children have fled the Iron Curtain—risking their lives that they might reach freedom. The Communist world is a world of walls, searchlights, and guards—a prison for the heart, mind, and soul. Communist theory and practice have both been exposed as fraudulent.

The very intensity of this Communist effort to reach young people, however, shows how the enemy can be defeated.

One of our best defenses against communism is the strong moral character of our young people. They are the young men and women who know the real meaning of our American heritage. They know the trials and tribulations of our forefathers in bringing forth a Nation conceived in liberty. They know that freedom is a precious commodity which must be rewon every day. They stand willing to do their share.

In this fight against communism, what are some of the qualities America expects from its young people? Let me mention a few:

1. High ideals: America was founded by men and women with high ideals, men and women whose daily lives were imbued with the vision of a great Nation yet to come. Young people should have lofty ideals. They are the guideposts to the future.

2. Courage: This is the courage to get a job done, to persevere despite adversity. Too often there is the temptation to do a job halfway, to give up, to let others carry on. Such an attitude is wrong. We need young people who say, "Count on me all the way. I will do my job for America."

3. Self-discipline: Young people must learn to discipline themselves, to make themselves useful to society. A mark of maturity is teaching ourselves the disciplines of hard work, loyalty, and dedication. Self-discipline

is not an easy task. There are many storms and stresses along life's way. Self-discipline requires personal sacrifice and determination. But it is most essential.

4. Enthusiasm: Nothing injures a great cause more quickly than a "wet blanket." Be willing to volunteer to do a job, and do it enthusiastically. Enthusiasm is highly infectious. If you are enthusiastic for America, others will be, also.

5. Integrity: To my mind, integrity is one of the most important words in our language. It sums up the quality of a man's character. Be honest in all of your dealings; be fair; be uncompromising in the pursuit of what is right. Stay loyal to your high ideals. Never sully them by dishonor, compromise, or expediency.

Nikita Khrushchev, the world's No. 1 Communist, has characterized the United States as a "wornout runner running on its past reputation." Mr. Khrushchev views the United States as a dying nation, a country which will fall of its own weight.

Mr. Khrushchev, however, does not understand the citizens of this great Nation. He does not realize that they will take up the banner of freedom, that they will hold aloft the torch of freedom given them by their forefathers. You represent America's answer to this atheistic menace stemming from the perverted minds of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and voiced today by the blatant Khrushchev.

In this worldwide ideological struggle, how can you now best aid your country:

1. Seek to know more about the evils of communism, its strategy and tactics, its false claims. Nothing can take the place of responsible knowledge. For too long the Communists have thrived on our lack of knowledge about their affairs.

2. Take the time to learn more about the values which have made this Nation great. Do you know how our Constitution was written? What was the role of Benjamin Franklin and James Madison? What is the Bill of Rights. How did Thomas Jefferson contribute to American political thinking? These are questions about which you should be thinking.

3. Take every opportunity to visit the historic shrines of America. We in this Nation can be proud of the efforts made by the Government and private groups to commemorate historic events. When you travel, make the effort to see them. Each shrine has a story of America to tell—Bunker Hill, Independence Hall, Valley Forge. The visits of Americans, especially young people, to Washington, D.C., are an excellent way to know your country better. We appreciate very much your coming to see our FBI headquarters.

4. Contrast what communism has to offer with our way of life. Think of the blessings we have and count them one by one: freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to worship God as we wish, free elections, trial by jury. Do these rights exist under communism? The answer is: "No." Communism means slavery of mind, body and soul.

5. Keep abreast of the news of the day, through your newspapers and on radio and television. What is occurring in your country, what are Communist nations doing? Ask yourself. Could you give a brief résumé today about the troubled areas of the world? America needs informed citizens.

6. Stand firm for your convictions. Today the Communists are trying to convince you that freedom is oldfashioned and that their way of life is superior. Know the strength of our institutions of Government. Be ready to defend them. Be able, if you were arguing with a hard-core Communist, to stand your ground. That is the challenge.

Nothing will take the place of responsible knowledge in our fight against communism—a knowledge anchored in faith in God. We can defeat communism because we have the superior values, the superior way of life. The task will not be easy. But we can win if each of us is willing to do his share. We must meet communism with facts, not hysteria. Never must we be guilty of witch hunts or vigilantism. Truth is our best weapon of attack.

Not long ago I talked with a special agent of the FBI who was facing a very difficult problem. I can still remember the intensity of his eyes and the determination in his face. "I can meet this problem," he said, "because I am not going to give up."

Yes, we in America are not going to give up. We are going to win this battle—and in winning it, we are protecting liberty for all the generations yet to come.

## The Welfare State Is the Best Security Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism.

Article No. 19 in the series concerns the cliche "The welfare state is the best security against communism."

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

CLICHES OF SOCIALISM—No. 19—THE WELFARE STATE IS THE BEST SECURITY AGAINST COMMUNISM

This proposed defense against communism is not new, though we hear it afresh in 1961. It has circulated in various shadings since "the cold war" began. A similar excuse was used to finance socialistic governments abroad with American earned income under the giveaway programs that by now aggregate more than $78 billion: "Socialism is a good cushion against communism."

Such terms as "communism, "socialism," "Fabianism," the "welfare state," "nazism," "fascism," "state interventionism," "egalitarianism," the "planned economy," the "New Deal," the "Fair Deal," the "New Frontier" are simply different labels for much the same thing. To think that there is any vital distinction between these so-called ideologies is to miss the really important characteristic which all of these labels have in common.

An ideology is a doctrinal concept, a way of thinking, a set of beliefs. Examine the above-mentioned labels and it will be found that each is identified with a belief common to all the others: Organized police force—government—should control the creative and productive actions of the people. Every one of these labels—no exceptions—stands for a philosophy that is opposed to the free market, private property, limited government way of life. The latter holds that the law and its police force should be limited to restraint of violence from within and without the nation, to restraint and punishment of fraud, misrepresentation, predation—in short, to invoke a common justice. According to this way of life—the libertarian ideal—men are free to act creatively as they please.

Under both the welfare state and communism, the responsibility for the welfare, security, and prosperity of the people is presumed to rest with the central government. Coercion is as much the tool of the welfare state as it is of communism. The programs and edicts of both are backed by the police force. All of us know this to be true under communism, but it is equally true under our own brand of welfare statism. Just try to avoid paying your "share" of a TVA deficit or of the farm subsidy program or of Federal urban renewal or of social security or of the Government's full employment program.

To appreciate the family likeness of the welfare state and communism, observe what happens to individual freedom of choice. Under either label (the ideology is the same) freedom of choice to individuals as to what they do with the fruits of their labor, how they employ themselves, what wages they receive, what and with whom they exchange their goods or services—such freedoms are forcibly stripped from individuals. The Central Government, it is claimed, will take over. Full responsibility for ourselves is denied in order to make us dependent on whatever political regime happens to be in control of the Government apparatus. Do these labels mean fundamentally the same thing? As an exercise, try to find any meaningful distinction.

Our planners are saying, "The welfare state is the best security against communism." The Russians could say, with as much sense, "Communism is the best security against the welfare state."

We call the Russian brand of governmental coercion communism. They, however, refer to their collective as the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The Russians call our brand of government coercion capitalism. In the interest of accuracy and clarity, we, also, should call ours socialist.

Socialism in Russia (communism, to our planners) and socialism in the United States (the welfare state, to our planners) have identical aims: the state ownership and control of the means of production. Further, one as much as the other rests on the use of police force. In Russia the force is more impetuously applied than here. There, they pull the trigger and think later, if at all. Here, the Government relies more on the threat of force and acquiescence of the citizen.

Alexis de Tocqueville predicted over a century ago the characteristics of the despotism (the welfare state) which might arise in America: "The will of man is not shattered but softened, bent, and guided; men are seldom forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. Such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd."

## George McGovern Completes Service as Director of Food for Peace

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the food-for-peace program is a leader in the campaign to help the peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe to break the bonds of mass misery.

Until very recently, the head of this vital program has been George Mc-

Govern of South Dakota. Upon this occasion, Mr. Speaker, I want to warmly commend him for his leadership in this responsible position.

I have known George McGovern for many years. It was my pleasure as it was the pleasure of others of my colleagues here today to serve with him while he was a member of this body. I am not surprised, therefore, at the outstanding job he performed while carrying out President Kennedy's mandate that the food-for-peace program share with the newly developing countries this Nation's agricultural abundance. However, Mr. McGovern did not see his task as merely one of disposing of surplus food. He saw that our surplus food could be used to aid the newly developing countries to provide a more adequate diet for their people and to promote the growth of their economies.

The food-for-peace program under George McGovern's direction has grown to manhood as one of the principal peacemaking activities of the U.S. Government.

In 1961, for example, Food for Peace distributed more than 60 billion pounds of food. In Peru, the school lunch program supplied by Food for Peace will by 1966 provide nourishment for 1 million children from among whom will come some of that country's leaders.

Another imaginative project authored by George McGovern has been the use of surplus food for the partial payment of wages earned by foreign workmen on public works programs. In Tunisia, nearly tens of thousands of workmen on such projects receive one-third of their wages in a cereal made from surplus American wheat.

During his stewardship, George McGovern traveled widely and wisely. At one point in his journeys he was stricken with hepatitis, but he continued his valiant work anyway.

This, in brief, is a profile of George McGovern's work as Food for Peace administrator. I think upon recitation of these facts it can be agreed that he is a dedicated, able and outstanding administrator. I extend my warmest congratulations to Mr. McGovern for a job well done.

## The 50th Anniversary of Elks Lodge No. 1279 of Trenton, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, on June 27, the Elks Lodge No. 1279 of Trenton, Tenn., celebrated their 50th anniversary.

They were honored by having 4 of the original 27 charter members of the lodge present: Abe Freed, retired merchant; John W. Jetton, landowner and member of the Gibson County court; Sylvane Freed, chairman, Bank of Trenton & Trust Co., and A. Booker Little, retired merchant and former member of the Tennessee House of Representatives. The other charter member, Hillsman Taylor, could not be present.

They had a very interesting program with members of the Elks lodges from all parts of Tennessee attending.

Frank J. Patterson, the president and exalted ruler of the lodge, brought greetings to members and guests. Mayor Dennis Page extended greetings from the town that has known the Elks so well and long. Ted Gee, lodge secretary, read the names of the 27 original members from the framed charter that is the prized possession of the lodge.

There were letters and telegrams of greetings and good will in great number. Leading the list that went into the handsome gold-stamped golden anniversary book were President Kennedy's greetings extended through his special assistant; a letter from Gov. Buford Ellington; letters and telegrams from Senators ESTES KEFAUVER and ALBERT GORE and Congressman CLIFF DAVIS, of Memphis.

Also a memorial tree was planted on that day.

In the Herald-Register of July 26, 1962, in a column called Around Our Town written by Conrad Frederick Smith, an outstanding writer and columnist of Trenton, Tenn., and New York City, wrote the Elks' "Memorial Tree," which follows:

THE MEMORIAL TREE

A tree is such a lovely thing, such a patient, uncomplaining, understanding, and appreciative creature of nature, that I like to plant one and watch it grow slowly through the years. Each one has its own personality, its own ways.

The planting of the memorial tree by Trenton Lodge of Elks No. 1279 on the golden anniversary day of the lodge's founding, June 27, was therefore a memorable event for me and the others who took part in the simple ceremony.

The hole had already been dug in the earth on the western edge of the Joe Freed Memorial Playground behind the elementary school. The slender silver maple tree, small in diameter, but tall and sturdy, stood at one side, the roots bundled up in a tight ball, as it had been brought from the nursery in Memphis at midnight to avoid traffic. It looked as though it were eager to thrust its roots into the ground again and be about its work of growing and providing shade for happy youngsters at play.

We lowered the tree into the waiting hole, set it just right and put back the dirt and smoothed it out. Sylvane and Julian Freed, two of the eight Trenton Freed boys who were or are Elks, helped with the planting, as did Frank Patterson, exalted ruler of the local lodge, and others. A little girl, Susie Lovelett, 3 years old, left off her playing on the swings to watch us.

After the final shovel pat on the earth around the tree, the silence hung heavily for a moment. A word or two seemed to be in order, and, seeing no one else at the ready, I started in. I thought of the long day, the bright sunshine that filtered through the oaks and hickories of Taylor's Woods, where the Trenton Elks and their visitors had gathered for their annual barbecue; of the five charter members, with memories of their first meeting 50 years ago as they gathered again in fraternal fellowship. I thought of the letters and telegrams from many parts of the country, among them one from one of our members, Congressman ROBERT A. EVERETT in Washington, expressing good will and best wishes for the future.

Then I said that the Elks had planted this little tree as a living memorial to all those men whose names had been on its rolls and had passed on. That we hope it would grow and thrive and prosper and lend its cooling shade to generations yet unborn. Thinking of the understanding love and charity contained in that wonderful creed of the Elks, I repeated it:

"The faults of our brothers we write upon the shifting sands;
Their virtues upon the tablets of love and memory."

The little silver maple tree stands today, bathed in the full sun of noonday and the mellow light of the moon by night. In its new home, it is growing slowly, even precariously, for it is yet among strangers in the larger trees around it. But it is getting along, as trees and people do.

It is a baby now, but in a few years it will be a teenager and after that a full-grown and sturdy tree with the mature charm and dignity that a maple possesses. The shade of a maple tree is different from that of other trees, or so it seems to me: deeper, cooler, more restful, and soothing from the heat of day.

When this now little tree stretches itself in its full strength and majesty to the blue sky above, scores of years from now, it will no doubt look down upon manmade marvels that are only dreams today. It will look up into the space where man will travel to the distant planets and communicate with them as easily as he speaks on earth today.

The Elks hope that their memorial tree will link in chains of friendship those who are living today and those who will live in Trenton a century hence. For a tree is a thing of steadfastness, stability, and dependability. Men may change and customs and manners may change, but this tree will not, except to partake of the sun, the rain, and the soil to grow and grow. May it long be a memorial and an inspiration and a blessing.

## Medicine: A Noble Walk of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the great services rendered to the public by any Government employee in recent years was that performed recently by Dr. Frances Oldham Kelsey, of the Food and Drug Administration, when she refused to approve the sale in this country of the drug thalidomide.

Thalidomide now has been revealed as the cause of the malformation of almost 10,000 babies in Europe.

I undertook to express my admiration for Dr. Kelsey in my latest newsletter, which follows:

MEDICINE: A NOBLE WALK OF LIFE

Physicians always have been heroes to me. Along with the sincere clergyman, a good doctor gives more of himself to others, I think, than almost anyone else, excepting mothers.

I never shall forget Dr. Lee Clanton, the smalltown doctor who used to treat the ills of the large family of which I am a member. The sight of his model T Ford chugging down the hill to our farmhouse when we were in

trouble is the most comforting memory of my childhood.

All I remember of Dr. Clanton's appearance are his strong hands and tired eyes. I used to marvel that hands so large—he was a big doctor, in every way—could be so gentle.

I knew the reason for the tired eyes, for Dr. Clanton ranged a vast farm countryside like a guardian angel, night and day. Looking back on it, I hardly can believe that he lived to a ripe old age (which he did, God bless him) so grueling were the physical burdens he imposed upon himself. I revere him as a sort of demigod, who gave himself selflessly to his friends and neighbors until the day he died.

As a dentist, I suspect now that he was only adequate; he took care of our teeth, too. I have some of his work in my mouth to this day.

I came to understand, too, that Dr. Clanton lived always with death. I had a fierce will to win and I was surrounded by brothers with spirits equally competitive, whether the contest was for checkers, baseball or the smiles of the pretty little girl on the next farm, 2 miles distant. (Where is Ethel now, I wonder?)

So I sorrowed with Dr. Clanton with every fight he lost to death, as all doctors must, all too often. And the great respect and affection I had for him has endured through all these years for the medical profession as a whole.

All of the foregoing is preliminary to a salute to another doctor—a woman, in this case. I refer to Dr. Frances Kelsey, a public servant and Government employee, which makes her a member of a much-maligned breed. She works for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In case you are wondering, she is a doctor of medicine, like Dr. Clanton.

I am sure you will recognize Dr. Kelsey's name. She is the gently stubborn lady who refused to approve the sale in this country of thalidomide, a sleeping pill and tranquilizer, until she was positive it had been proved out.

Thalidomide was being widely used in Europe, principally by expectant mothers. Dr. Kelsey was placed under tremendous pressure to approve its use in this country. True to her responsibility to the people she serves, she stood lonely and adamant, saying: "Wait until we can be sure."

Her inspired intuition and courage has been tragically vindicated. An estimated 6,000 babies in continental Europe and 3,500 in England have been or will be born without arms or legs—or with only 1 or 2 or 3—as the result of their mothers use of thalidomide during pregnancy.

Only God can know how many American babies Dr. Kelsey's devotion to duty has saved from being born with seal-like flippers instead of arms and legs.

I bow in grateful homage to a great and brave woman. But more than that, to a noble walk of life—the practice of medicine.

## War's Costs, Causes, and Cures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, all of us are familiar with the tireless efforts of Mr. Frederick Burdick, editor of Gist Research, in the great cause of peace in the world. He has given more than 20 years of his life to this most important endeavor. This is a high purpose which deserves the respect and gratitude of his fellow citizens.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include excerpts from World Peace editions No. 128 and 129 of Gist Research:

WAR'S COSTS, CAUSES, AND CURES

(Excerpts from World Peace Editions Nos. 128 and 129 of Gist Research, edited by Frederick Burdick)

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed"—United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The road to world peace is already open, it only needs to be followed. And it leads to intellectual light instead of darkness, happiness instead of sorrow, plenty instead of poverty. With world peace our planet can be transformed into a virtual paradise, as God intended it to be.

We have all the ingredients for creating a peaceful world—tolerance instead of intolerance, trust instead of distrust, honesty instead of duplicity, kindness instead of hatred—in short, just living one's religion instead of giving it mere lipservice. We are confronted with the choice of world law or world war.

The peace machinery of the U.N. is ready at hand. It only needs to be used—with patience. At least, it should be given a fair trial.—FREDERICK BURDICK.

AN ANALYSIS OF SOME VITAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS FOR PRESERVING PEACE

(Based upon exhaustive research)

A. A vital prerequisite is right thinking because: (1) As all actions result from thoughts, in order to insure world peace there must be a prevalence of peaceful over warlike thoughts; (2) right thinking encourages fair consideration of the viewpoints of others; (3) right thinking makes possible mutual understanding, a fundamental factor for preserving peace.

B. Foresight is of great importance in maintaining peace because: (1) It can prevent hasty, fatal missteps and mistakes; (2) "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure;" (3) foresight encourages patience, which has prevented wars while impatience has precipitated them.

C. Realistic thinking is desirable because: (1) It encourages visualizing the horrors, sufferings and consequences of modern war, such as burning to death mothers with babes in arms, killing millions of helpless children, noncombatants as well as combatants; destruction of millions of homes, thousands of towns and cities, and, in this age of scientific, modern weapons, possible world annihilation; (2) a U.S. general in World War II stated publicly that he wanted a certain number of thousands of "bodies," instead of thinking of the soldiers as, in reality, sons of loving, worrying parents, or husbands of fond wives or fathers, of frolicking children; (3) wars are less likely to occur when there is realistic and foresighted thinking.

D. Logical thinking makes it clear that starting wars for gaining world trade or other economic advantages is tragically illusive and self-defeating because: (1) History proves that wars don't solve economic problems but make new and worse ones; (2) wars nearly bankrupt combatant countries; (3) wars cause economic ruin and depressions while lasting peace could bring permanent progress and prosperity; (4) top scientists warn that a modern war could destroy all property, all world trade and all humanity, emphasizing that war now doesn't make any sense.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF CASUALTIES OF MAJOR COUNTRIES IN WORLD WAR I

World War I: Allied killed and died, 5,152,115; wounded, 12,831,004; prisoners and missing, 4,121,000. Total casualties, Russia, 9,150,000; France, 6,160,800; British, 3,190,135; Italy, 2,197,000; United States, 364,800.

World War I: Central Powers. Germany, 7,142,558; Austria-Hungary, 7,020,000. World War I debt owed United States, Britain, $8,846,059,301, (June 30, 1961); France, $6,109,027,899 (source: World Almanac).

President Kennedy: "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind."

General Eisenhower: "War is now utterly preposterous * * * a threat of death from the skies for all who inhabit the earth."

Sir Winston Churchill: "How many wars could have been avoided by patience."

Senator RUSSELL: "We must learn to live together or die together."

Senator Vandenberg: "Peace finally is a state of mind."

Longfellow: "* * * redeem the human mind from error."

Edward H. Kimball: "Thought committed all the murder, sins, anguish, woes, and wars."

Publilius Syrus: "That should be considered long which can be considered but once."

Pope John XIII: "Between the two words 'war' and 'peace' are entwined the anguish and hopes of the world, the anxieties and joy of millions of individuals."

Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president, National Council of Churches: "* * * a higher objective is the destruction of the enmity instead of the enemy."

President Kennedy: "I want above all else to be a President known as the one of whom history might well say he not only laid the foundation for peace in his time but for generations to come as well."

General Eisenhower: "War is not a natural evil; it is manmade. Veterans will work, sweat, and sacrifice to prevent the recurrence of such a tragedy as another world war."

Billy Graham recently asked millions of people all over the world listening on his radio and TV religious program to pray for world brotherhood as the foundation for universal peace.

Leigh Hunt: "The closeness of intercourse between nations [as a result of modern, fast travel] will assuredly render international war as absurd as it would be for Manchester [England] to fight Birmingham."

Albert Einstein: "Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding."

Bernard Baruch: "We must elect world peace or world destruction."

Iowa City Defender, editorial: "* * * what is sought is a mitigation of tensions, a diminution of cold war threats and counterthreats, a less poisonous atmosphere."

United Church of Canada: "The idea that war has no place in the settlement of international problems is an idea whose time has come; * * * emotions play a too great part in the decisions of men and nations."

Universalist Church of America: "Universalists deny that force and violence are desirable methods of attempting to resolve differences between nations."

United Lutheran Church of America: "Strive to overcome scorn, hatred, and bitterness toward other nations and people. Learn all we can about the people of other lands so that we may better understand and appreciate them."

Pope Pius XII: "Efforts toward peace * * * consist mostly not only of measures aimed at restricting the possibility of waging war, but even more in preventing, eliminating and lessening the quarrels between nations which might lead to war."

Pope John XXIII: "Why should not discords and disappointments be finally composed equitably? The people ask for tranquility and concord from which alone can arise a true prosperity."

Catholic Association for International Peace: "Basically what is needed is a realization by all men of god will of the necessity of bringing about a spiritual change in the

world. Our task is to strengthen the United Nations and to remove the obstacles to its success."

World Council of Churches: "Christians must pray more fervently for peace; • • • must seek out, analyze and help remold the psychological, social, political and economic causes of war. Man has tasted the fruit of war's insanity and found it bitter and poisonous. War and its evils are the consequences of lust for power. Men's hearts must be changed."

Methodist Church of Great Britain: "The causes of war are ultimately to be found in the unregenerated hearts and uncontrolled passions of mankind."

Union of Hebrew Congregations: "The voice of religion must be heard above the clatter of weapons of war."

Francis Cardinal Spellman: "A nation is fortified a millionfold by the faith and prayers of her citizens."

## What Income Tax Cut Would Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to call to the attention of the Members of Congress an article written by the able Peter B. Greenough that appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe. It covers a subject that is being discussed in governmental and business circles. I feel it is a very well written article and is thought-provoking. I happen to agree with a major part of his conclusions, particularly the two final paragraphs under subtitles "Timing Important" and "Stagnancy Means Idleness." I certainly hope that all the Members avail themselves of the information contained therein.

The article follows:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Sunday Globe, July 29, 1962]

WHAT INCOME TAX CUT WOULD DO—EVEN $7 BILLION SLASH WOULD STIMULATE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY—PARTINGS HAVEN'T ALWAYS BEEN DEPRESSION BLUNDERS—ARE WE AFRAID OF DAREDEVIL ACTION?

(By Peter B. Greenough)

Bay upon bay they stretch, in yawning, idle emptiness. These are the manufacturing facilities today of the Douglas Aircraft Co. at Santa Monica, Calif., where once Rosie the Riveter rode herd and plane upon plane edged steadily down the lines to war—and then to peace.

The void that now exists at Douglas symbolizes to a very real extent our current economy; a powerful instrument in being but one not tuned to its fullest refinement.

In Washington they are saying this gap is $30 billion, the difference between what American industry could and should be producing, but isn't.

That is, if we had full employment.

Then our gross national product (GNP) would be something like $580 billion, instead of the $550 billion plateau where is is now perched.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE SHOUTING?

Here is the key behind all the present clamor for an income tax cut.

How, you fairly may ask, can a tax slash of $7 billion (that's what President Kennedy apparently is considering), or $10 billion, or even $15 billion close a $30 billion canyon?

Because of what economists call the multiplier effect. The concept stems back to the 1920's and the theories of Lord John Maynard Keynes. Here is the reasoning:

If you provide the consumer with a $1 increase in disposable income, it will result in 2 to 2½ times as much economic activity.

First, the consumer will spend 93 cents of that dollar. He will save only 7 percent. Historical records dating back 70 years show this to be the average, give only a tiny point or two over the years.

In turn, this jazzing of consumer spending has a secondary effect. It enlarges the flow of income to business and its employees. That spins the wheel up to 2½ times.

You would stimulate total economic activity—using Mr. Kennedy's $7 billion base—by $17.5 billion.

NO BOOM IN 1948

Any losses to the Treasury would, in due course, be offset by greater tax returns from increased personal income and greater business profits.

Provided—and here is the kicker—there is no accompanying stimulation of Government spending.

So far, all theory. What about in practice? Does past history, either here or abroad, offer any clue as to how tax reduction acts as a stimulus?

In 1948 taxes were pared by $5 billion. Boom? Not at all. We went into a moderate recession. This, the economists argue, was more because of the Truman administration's policy of trying to check inflation via "hard money." Also, they say, once a recession has started, you don't stop it easily regardless of the hedge.

Again, in 1954, there was a tax cut. It came as we were reducing Korean war expenditures and was not considered a recession-blunter. So the recession developed anyhow but was quickly succeeded by the boom of 1955, greatest in all our peacetime years.

That surge was pushed by tremendous consumer spending and an enormous wave of industrial investment. A part, some economists think, can be attributed to the push provided by tax easing.

NO STIMULUS IN EUROPE

What about in Europe?

There they do not use the tax cut tool as a stimulus. Except for Great Britain, the income tax plays little importance in Western Europe, save as a fancy parlor game for avoiding same. On the Continent the major levy is indirect, a so-called turnover tax.

What they do use abroad as an economic tool is government spending. This is raised or lowered, as things move.

Only in Great Britain is manipulation of taxes employed during business cycles. There they use a purchase tax (like a sales tax over here). It is slapped on whenever they wish to control demand for certain items, such as luxury goods.

Or else, as one economist told me, they "fiddle around with finance charges" and change the interest rates on installment payments.

TIMING IMPORTANT

What we have, in sum, is not much in the way of history to back up a tax paring but a great deal of theory. Nevertheless, it is theory now heartily indorsed by business, labor, and the academic world. Only our lawmakers appear reluctant.

The timing is all important.

Most people who espouse tax reduction want it now, before another recession genuinely takes root. Their reasoning, with historical backing, is that a recession costs a government far more than a tax cut ever does. For example, the 1958 deficit was $12 billion because of a slump.

But what about gold?

Wouldn't further pressures on the Treasury, through decreased intake, create unbearable problems for our balance of payments deficit?

STAGNANCY MEANS IDLENESS

Officially, the feeling in Washington is that a tax cut would not shake faith in the dollar, where a serious recession would. Provided, again, that the reduction is followed up by commensurate cutbacks in unnecessary Government spending.

Perhaps it is fitting, at this very time, that the House Ways and Means Committee is debating, behind closed doors, how to walk this economic tightrope. Neither the ways nor the means have yet been tried.

Yet stagnancy, which comes from doing nothing, leaves us with silent factories. Are we scared, in America of all places, of the bold approach, of daredevil action?

## The North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, North Carolina is fortunate in having one of the finest orthopedic hospitals in the Nation. Forty-one years ago, in my hometown of Gastonia, the State opened the North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital. In the intervening years 13,000 children have received treatment without cost.

Many of the members of the staff at the hospital are close personal friends of mine. During the years I have followed the great work that the hospital is doing with particular interest. I was pleased, therefore, to read a recent Associated Press story describing the hospital and the magnificent work it is doing.

I feel that my colleagues would find the story very interesting, and under pervious order granted I request it be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ORTHOPEDIC HOSPITAL: A NEW LIFE FOR CHILDREN

(By Nathan Wegodsky)

GASTONIA.—Every child leaves the North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital in better shape physically than when he came in.

That's not an idle boast. The State-supported hospital here accepts only children it feels it can help.

This was true when its doors opened 41 years ago as a dream come true. And it's even truer today because the relatively young medical specialty of orthopedics has made such strides in correcting ailments of the bones and joints.

None of the parents of the 13,000 white and Negro children the hospital has treated has paid a penny. The State picks up the tab, which these days runs about half a million dollars a year, roughly one-sixteenth the cost of a B–52 bomber.

SOMEONE TO HELP

A Southern Bell Telephone Co. executive, the late Robert B. Babington, of Gastonia, said he dreamed that an orphan cried and there was no one to help him.

For a decade Babington urged the legislature to establish an orphanage-hospital. Finally the lawmakers agreed to appropriate

$25,000 for a hospital if an equal amount would be contributed by the public. Newspaper publicity helped raise the matching funds.

The hospital now cares for 140 children, preschoolers to the teens, from all sections of the State.

Since the average stay is 6 months, it's more than a hospital to the youngsters. It feeds them, schools them, and entertains them as well as corrects their bodily ills.

There are only ramps, no steps, in the hospital complex of single-story, red-brick buildings on a pleasant hillside location.

ROLLED TO CLASSES

All the beds have wheels. So they can be rolled to classes, either in each ward which houses about 20 children, or to the auditorium where movies are shown and where interdenominational services are held on Sundays.

Other children are not confined to beds, but get around either in walkers which are like a baby's stroller, or in braces. A bracemaker comes from Charlotte to fit the children. The hospital's chief surgeon, Dr. W. M. Roberts, and his associate, Dr. George R. Miller, make the plaster casts.

They are assisted by two resident physicians who spend a year at the hospital before opening their practice in orthopedics.

The hospital cares for patients at an average of $11 a day, cheaper than general hospitals. Economies are possible because young orthopedic patients don't need round-the-clock nursing or expensive medicines. Also, they are long-term patients who don't need private or semiprivate wards.

The hospital has had only two chief surgeons in its 41 years. The late Dr. O. L. Miller, of Charlotte, served from 1921 to 1928, and Dr. Roberts, a New York native, has served since then.

The associate surgeon, Dr. George R. Miller, is no relation to Dr. O. L. Miller.

Drs. Roberts and George R. Miller, also are in private partnership in Gastonia.

"Please don't write a sob story or a gushing story," said Miss Ellen Black, business manager who has been with the hospital for the past 30 years.

"We try to provide a home away from home for the children. This is really a happy place, as you can see."

A youngster in a brace passed her office door. "Hi there, Joe," she called out, and he smiled back. She knows them all, and so do many of the other staff members.

"And sometimes we even cry a little when they leave. And their parents do too—for joy.

"We get to see them again, however. They come back for periodic checkups."

Patients seek the hospital's help because of accidents, diseases such as polio, and defects at birth.

A staff of 125 cares for them. Some of the secretarial staff are former patients. Incidentally, the hospital has one position to fill, an arts and crafts and entertainment director.

VISITORS ALLOWED

Parents are allowed to visit from 1 to 3 p.m. Wednesdays and Sundays.

Friday is operating day, and parents can stay with their children that day and through Sunday.

Edward D. Latta, Charlotte real estate operator who developed a residential suburb in that city, willed the hospital about $300,000. He also made bequests to orphanages and churches in Charlotte.

The hospital has a nine-member board of directors, appointed by the Governor for staggered terms of 6 years. W. Frank Dowd, of Charlotte, is chairman of the board. Other members are W. L. Balthis, of Gastonia, J. Harold Lineberger, of Belmont, W. Frank Phillips, of Charlotte, Mrs. O. Max Gardner, of Shelby, Mrs. G. Gordon Maddrey, of Ahoskie, B. C. Trotter, Jr., of Charlotte, James E. McKnight, of Mooresville, and Dr. Dorothy Glenn, of Gastonia.

There are only a handful of State-operated orthopedic hospitals in the United States.

The Shriners, a Masonic organization, who support hospitals for crippled children, play Santa Claus to the children at the North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital. The Shriners supply presents for each child at Christmas, and send along a delegation of well wishers and Santa Claus himself.

Until he died a few years ago, Arthur Goodman, Charlotte lawyer, gave a party each year for the children. Ambulances would take them to Charlotte for the party. His family still continues the tradition. Goodman had been stricken by polio and wore a leg brace.

Private persons who wish to remain anonymous also contribute to the hospital annually.

## Kennedy Aid Fears Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, trends in the health of our national economy are of vital concern to all of us. They are perhaps of even greater concern to our close friends abroad because while they are affected by the strength of our economy, they have no control over it. The impressions that our own people make abroad, therefore, are extremely crucial. I want to share with my colleagues the following indication of what at least one spokesman for the Kennedy administration is saying in Europe. It is from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of July 25:

KENNEDY AID FEARS RECESSION

(NOTE.—The following analysis by B. H. Ridder, Sr., president of Northwest Publications, Inc., is based on firsthand observations during a current tour of Europe.)

VENICE.—There is published in London a financial newspaper of great authority with a wide European circulation among banks, bankers, and government authorities interested in treasury matters, called the Financial Times.

Prof. Paul A. Samuelson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, originally was one of President Kennedy's economic advisers during his election campaign and subsequently headed a special economic task force in conjunction with Professor Heller and others soon after the election. He is considered an unofficial counselor on matters connected with the difficult economic problems facing Kennedy.

It is perplexing that at a time when both the President and the astute Treasury Secretary Dillon have declared positively that there will be no tax cut this year, Professor Samuelson told the European financial world in an interview in the Financial Times, that the economy of the United States is on the way during 1962 to a "recession and stagnation," and that a tax cut on all levels should be applied at once.

He prophesied that the United States is about to enter a period of huge deficit spending, surpassing even the $12 billion of the first year of the Eisenhower administration. He guessed that the year of 1962 would be known, like that of 1929, as the "year of the great stock market decline." You are left to surmise if he expects another smash in the near future.

OUTLOOK WORSENS

The outlook, according to Professor Samuelson, is becoming significantly worse and the condition of our economy requires prompt action and suggests an immediate and sizable across-the-board reduction in tax rates, both for corporations as well as individuals, otherwise he opined we would face a severe recession in the immediate months ahead.

In view of his close relationship with the White House and his reference to a leading American economist, unnamed however, his words carry significant importance and they will be so interpreted by the Europeans who are jittery enough about the fate of the American dollar.

Professor Samuelson believes, like so many of the economists who advise the White House, that deficit spending is not necessarily harmful.

The professor ventured the prediction that the rate of growth of our economy might be as little as 2 percent instead of the 5 or 6 on which the Kennedy administration based their expectations to support their spending programs.

Bearing out his pessimistic view, he predicts that unemployment will rise in the next months from the present 5.4 percent. On the political field he does not expect the great Democratic victories in the fall elections that he had expected some months ago.

On the other hand, Britain is bouncing into a year of prosperity. The British Cabinet Ministers will report to Parliament their calculations for the future. Exports will rise by 5 to 6 percent. Personal spending will go up 3 to 4 percent. Invisible exports are up by 10 million pounds in the first quarter of 1962 over last year. Only a serious American recession could force emergency measures and the Cabinet already is preparing for that eventuality, should it arise. Tax cuts would play an important role in their future planning.

One of the factors working against the United States is the strange result of the magnificent Marshall plan in Europe. It cost us perhaps $7 or $8 billion. It put Europe on its feet to such an extent that the balance of payments in gold in drawing gold out of Fort Knox.

In 1958 we had, if I remember rightly, about 22 billion in gold and now we have 16 billion. I am told all this loss has gone to Europe and that the flow of gold is continuing in a steady stream to our Marshall plan benefited nations.

The article of Professor Samuelson in the Financial Times of London hardly can allay the fears of European bankers in the invulnerability of the dollar.

## Myrdal Terms United States "Stagnant"—Urges Wide Economic Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, Gunnar Myrdal is generally best known in this country as the author of a landmark book in American race relations entitled "The American Dilemma." However, he is by profession an econo-

mist, acknowledged both within his native Sweden and throughout the Western World as one of the foremost.

In an interview in the New York Times issue of July 22, 1962, Dr. Myrdal discusses his apprehensions about the state of the U.S. economy. Among his concerns is the lagging rate of growth in relation to our domestic and foreign requirements. I found the article informative. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include the news article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MYRDAL TERMS UNITED STATES "STAGNANT"—URGES WIDE ECONOMIC REFORM

(By Werner Wiskari)

STOCKHOLM, July 21.—The "stagnant" U.S. economy needs a drastic remedy that goes far beyond tax cuts, according to Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist and sociologist.

The situation is so serious, the 63-year-old Social Democrat believes, that it requires a mobilization of government, business and labor such as might occur in wartime.

What is more, he says, it requires that Americans abandon what he calls some of their favorite "superstitutions"—their insistence on balancing the budget and their fear of losing gold. Only by casting off these "self-imposed limitations," he declares, can the United States free itself for the actions he considers mandatory.

His prescription is a sweeping program of public works, private investment and tax cuts plus a pause in wage increases to give the economy a chance to "get going again."

PERIL TO WEST FEARED

Dr. Myrdal, whose "An American Dilemma," published in 1944, is a classic study of the U.S. Negro, asserted in an interview that what he regards as economic stagnation in the United States posed a danger to the entire non-Communist world.

Since the early fifties, he said, the strength of the United States in its dealings with both friends and adversaries has been eroded by an economy whose "short, weak rises" are periodically broken by recession. Failure to shake the economy into vigorous growth, he said, can spur this process of erosion.

Alternately lounging in an easy chair and striding up and down in his home in the old town, the centuries-old heart of Stockholm, the gray-haired economist discussed economic stagnation and the Negro.

He warned that economic stagnation, with its creeping unemployment, could menace the prospects for accelerating the American Negro's progress toward racial equality.

RECALLS PREDICTION

Dr. Myrdal recalled that he had said in "An American Dilemma" that the American Negro was then on the threshold of a great advance toward integration after six decades of no progress. He is convinced that the progress he foresaw will gain momentum provided that "economic stagnation" does not remain an American way of life.

Continued progress will serve to reduce the "dilemma," which he has described as the conflict between the practice of racial discrimination and the American ideals of liberty, justice and equality.

"I even believe," Dr. Myrdal said, "that the riots over integration in Little Rock and other sad incidents are a part of progress, which never follows a straight line. These stir up public opinion and help integration along."

Dr. Myrdal urged the Negro to continue "to fight for his rights in accordance with the Constitution and to take comfort in the fact that he will have more and more aid from American whites, especially from youths."

At the same time he warned, as he did in a speech last month at Howard University in Washington, that the Negro must be prepared for greater competition as he moves closer to racial equality. He declared:

"The American Negro will have to live up to the standards of the American whites and to the standards that prevail in the world in general. Opportunities will increase, but so will the competition.

"Negroes in the medical, dental, legal, and other professions will have to surrender the economic monopolies that they have held and are still holding on the basis of prejudice. They should not cry for the ending of discrimination and hope at the same time to retain economically comfortable monopoly preserves among a Negro clientele."

Dr. Myrdal said that as the Negro progressed toward equality the strictly Negro problems would disappear. He called on the Negro to join increasingly with whites in working for better housing, better health services, better education for all.

But he especially recommended a campaign for a national full employment policy, "which would give the Negro his best chance for achieving full integration."

PROGRAM FOR GROWTH

This brought Dr. Myrdal back to the topic that has increasing preoccupied him for 2 years—"the economic stagnation of America." Urging the United States to set its sights on achieving a steady growth rate of 5 to 6 percent a year, he declared:

"What America needs is a practical economic package program set forth by President Kennedy."

As visualized by Dr. Myrdal, such a program would include the following:

A massive increase in public investment. Dr. Myrdal considers it scandalous that the world's richest Nation should still be scarred by slums and many inferior schools. He also decries the failure of the United States to follow the example of countries like Britain and Sweden in providing hospital services as part of social security.

An agreement by industry to invest, and a big cut in taxes to spur such investment. Dr. Myrdal welcomes the $1,500 million tax cut given business last week by the Kennedy administration in the form of more liberal depreciation allowances, but calls it only a good beginning.

A tax cut for the lower and middle income brackets. "Purchasing power must be sustained and increased."

An agreement by labor to demand no wage increases for a year or a year and a half.

WAGE AND HOURS

Dr. Myrdal said he had advised his friends in the American labor movement that this was no time to press for higher wages. He told them that, considering the present state of the economy, the efforts of some labor unions to shorten the workweek constituted a "reactionary" move that could succeed only in spreading unemployment.

Criticizing the failure of the American labor movement to agitate constantly for a full employment policy, Dr. Myrdal said:

"If full employment is realized, there will be plenty of opportunities for higher wages and more leisure."

He said the United States owed it to itself and the entire non-Communist world to concentrate now on rejuvenating its economy even if it meant temporarily subordinating foreign aid and other important projects.

A booming economy, he went on, can better support the various U.S. aid programs and inspire universal confidence in the soundness of the dollar.

SPUR TO EXPORTS SEEN

Dr. Myrdal said a fuller use of industrial capacity would cut the real cost of production and increase industry's competitive ability in the export market.

As for the concern of both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations over achieving a favorable balance of payments and halting the flight of gold, he asked:

"What good is a gold reserve if you can't use it?"

The drain of gold, he said, will end once the entire world sees the United States has shaken itself out of the stagnation in which Dr. Myrdal believes it has been mired since the beginning of the Eisenhower administration.

In recent years the United States has had an unfavorable balance of payments—that is, the payments made to foreigners by the Government, business and individuals have exceeded similar payments coming into the country.

ECONOMISTS CRITICIZED

Dr. Myrdal charged American economists with "conspicuous failure" to alert the people to the dangers of stagnation. He said most of them had occupied themselves with trivia and used a jargon that the people could not understand. He said also that too many of the economists concerned themselves only with what they considered to be politically possible.

"The function of the economist," Dr. Myrdal declared, "is to describe the situation and to point out what must be done. It is up to the politician to find the means."

Dr. Myrdal criticized the failure of Americans "to do what we do in every European country—make an analytical forecast of what a greater growth rate for 5 to 10 years implies."

Only in this way, he said, can anyone tell what should be required of Government, business and labor, and which sectors of the economy should be stimulated. He said this forecast should be undertaken at least by the U.S. Government, which, heretofore, according to Dr. Myrdal, has invariably been occupied with "short-term developments."

Dr. Myrdal expressed the hope that the U.S. Government, business, and labor would dare to use emergency measures to end the "stagnation crisis" in the "daredevil spirit for which America has been noted."

He said this spirit was best expressed by the motto that Newton D. Baker, World War I Secretary of War, had on a wall in his office. The motto read:

"It can't be done, but here it is."

Dr. Myrdal took time out for the interview from writing a book on the underdeveloped countries of southern Asia. He has been engaged on this project under the sponsorship of the 20th Century Fund since 1957, when he completed a 10-year tour of duty as executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

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## J.F.K.: Is There a Doctor in the House?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, during his campaign for the Presidency, John F. Kennedy criticized the growth rate of this country and attacked President Eisenhower's economic and fiscal policies for not moving the Nation forward rapidly enough. He said in a speech in Detroit on September 5, 1960, that the Nation's economy was in bad health and "we had better call for a new doctor in Washington."

Today, Mr. Speaker, nearly 18 months after his inauguration, President Kennedy's economic and fiscal policies have brought America to a near halt. All of which promoted Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, to state in a National Press Club speech on July 26:

I think it's about time we ask if there is a doctor in the house.

Mr. Speaker, because the Senator from Arizona offers some pertinent comments about the state of the Nation's economy and where we are headed under the policies of the New Frontier, I would like to call the attention of the House to his remarks and I include his address in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, JULY 26, 1962

Mr. President, members and guests of the National Press Club, I am delighted to be here today and I want to thank your speakers committee for inviting me. I always feel a high degree of freedom when I speak before this club, and I think it is because nothing I say here ever gets into print. This imbues me with that wonderful off-the-record feeling so dear to Members of Congress who like to indulge in verbal freewheeling.

Now when I was first told about this invitation, I spent considerable time wondering what I should say here. I wondered, for example, whether I should lecture the press about its high responsibility in the life of the Nation, whether I should make a case for or against quoting Congressmen and Senators out of context, or whether I should merely announce the cancellation of my subscription to the New York Times.

But, I decided against shop talk. I decided that as long as I had this fine captive audience at my mercy, I might as well get a few things off my chest.

Let's start with the Congress of the United States. And here let me say that the handling of this Congress by the administration and its party leaders in the House and Senate is about the worst I have seen since being here. I suppose this is as it should be, since no one can expect the operation of Congress to exceed in excellence the subject matter it is given to work on. Since many of the legislative proposals sent up to the Hill from the White House are farfetched and ridiculous, it isn't surprising that the legislative machinery should break down in midsession under the weight of Democratic arguments and blunders.

But it certainly is a strange way to "get the Nation moving." When you recall the ringing campaign promises of the New Frontier and then look at the state of the economy and the record of President Kennedy's Democratic-controlled Congress, you begin to understand what a poor bill of goods has been sold to the American people.

If this Nation is moving under the guidance of the Democratic administration, it is moving in the wrong direction; it is moving toward complete chaos compounded by unemployment, recession, balance-of-payments deficits and a depleted gold reserve. It is moving in the wrong direction on all economic fronts, and the sorry part of it all is that no one in the White House seems to know what to do about the situation.

Maybe you will recall last year's antirecession program. It was sent up to Congress with many claims. It was to take the Nation out of the doldrums and spark a Kennedy recovery in 1962. It was to wipe out unemployment. It was to do a lot of things. And it was adopted. The Congress raised the minimum wage, provided help for depressed areas, and generally did about everything along this line that the President requested.

But it didn't work. We are today closer to a serious recession than we were when the New Frontier started its meaningless chant about getting America on the move. And we are presented with the spectacle of a government hemming and hawing over what to do to remedy the situation. Half of the White House brain trust seems to favor an immediate cut in taxes; the other half apparently wants to wait until next year. Former President Eisenhower used the word "floundering" to describe the present administration. And I believe he hit the nail right on the head. What we have today in the Federal Government is irresponsibility laced with indecision and uncertainty. The more you read today of what is known as "the economic debate," the more impressed you become with the feeling that the White House is adrift on the sea without a compass. You begin to get the frightening idea that those in charge of Federal fiscal and monetary policy actually don't know what to do. You begin to understand that the President and his economic advisers aren't sure what will help and what will hurt. And finally you come face to face with the inescapable conclusion that these are not the men who can get America moving in a way that will accelerate economic growth and quiet the fears of foreign governments about the stability of the American dollar.

All you have to do is look at the rate of economic growth today to realize that something is seriously wrong. The latest gross national product figures show an increase in the second quarter of 1962 of only 1.3 percent. After a year and a half of meddling by the New Frontier, we have slowed down to a snail's pace while Europe and the rest of the world continue to flourish.

According to the Government's figures, the gross national product stands at a yearly rate of $552 billion. This is $7 billion more than the rate established during the first quarter of 1962.

Now a $7 billion increase might seem like a sizable one if you don't stop to consider that the upward rate was nearly twice this amount last year on a quarter-to-quarter basis. And the rate last year was the one the Kennedy administration considered far too small to provide for the demands of a growing population in a nation with worldwide obligations.

To get an idea of how slow the economic rate actually is, it is important to remember that the Kennedy administration has been talking in terms of a gross national product total of $570 billion by the end of 1962.

And to get this problem into even better perspective, we might hark back to the 1960 presidential campaign and listen to what Candidate Kennedy had to say about proper economic growth. In those days, of course, the gross national product was growing at almost twice the rate announced for the second quarter of 1962. But Candidate Kennedy viewed the situation with alarm. Here is what he had to say about it in a speech delivered on September 5, 1960, in Detroit's Cadillac Square:

"Under Republican leadership, we have not been growing. The workers have noted it in unemployment and short workweeks. Businessmen have noted it in idle plant capacity and rising inventories. And Mr. Khrushchev noted it when he promised to 'bury' us.

"Three facts are indisputable:

"Fact No. 1: Between 1947 and 1953, under the administration of Harry Truman, our average annual rate of growth was 4½ percent. Between 1953 and 1959, under a Republican administration, the rate was only 2¼ percent—less than half as much. And today our key industries such as auto and steel are operating at much less than full capacity.

"Fact No. 2: While our economy is crawling forward at an average rate of only 2¼ percent, the Russian gross national product is annually increasing at 7 percent—three times as fast.

"Fact No. 3: Our rate of growth was surpassed by almost every major industrial nation during the past years of drift and indecision—including Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Japan. These are facts we must face. This is the record our opponents have described as a healthy rate of economic growth. And I defy them to find anything healthy about it."

And that's not all. Let me quote Candidate Kennedy's conclusion. Here's what he said:

"When this country, with all its potential, is growing at less than half the rate achieved by the Soviet Union, less than the rae of almost every major industrial nation on earth, then our health is obviously down and we had better call for a new doctor in Washington."

Thus spoke Mr. Kennedy when the Nation's economic growth stood at two and a quarter percent. Today I think it's about time we ask if there is a doctor in the house.

Now, we have heard a great deal about the administration's trade program. I won't go into details that you already know about this vast request for executive authority over the Nation's tariff and trade policies. What I want to emphasize is that this has been promoted as a cure-all for our outstanding economic difficulties. This is the legislation, we are told, which will increase American exports, which will enable American industry to better compete with foreign producers, which will ease the deficit in our international balance of payments, which will put us in harness with the European Common Market.

The trouble is going to set in if and when this program is passed and we find that it won't do what was promised. For I am convinced that it will not do all or any of these things for the American economy unless it is accompanied with other moves—unless it is welded into an overall plan of fiscal responsibility incorporating reduced Government spending, a balanced budget, tax reform and payments on the national debt.

Now, free trade is a worthy economic objective. And, of course, no one can or will argue with the desirability of a net increase in our exports over our imports. But it is wishful thinking to assume that the administration's trade program will accomplish this merely because the bill sets it forth as one of its purposes. No one can guarantee that unilateral tariff changes by the United States, no matter how sweeping, will bring about an increase in exports. This is because trade and tariffs are not one-way streets. And, if our drastic tariff reductions are not matched by foreign countries and not accompanied by acts of fiscal responsibility, this bill will get us into greater trouble than we are in at present. And I might remind you that the history of reciprocity is not particularly encouraging. At the present time, our industrial tariffs average about 11 percent; those of the Common Market countries average 14 percent; and only a few countries have an average any lower than ours.

What we desperately need in this country is a higher rate of capital investment. The rate today is about equal to what it was in 1957. And that's not enough to keep the economy expanding. We also need better plants and equipment to help us compete on a quality basis with foreign manufacturers. So, what can we do about it? I believe the President could solve much of the problem by recommending immediately a greatly liberalized treatment of deprecia-

tion in our tax laws. I mean something sizable enough to allow industry to begin replacing some of the $95 billion worth of aging and obsolete equipment with which it is presently saddled. The highly publicized moves he has recently made in this direction—that piddling 8-percent tax credit recommendation and the equally small $1.5 billion adjustment in depreciation allowance schedules—are too small to be counted. They won't make a dent in the overall problem.

But a proper recommendation on depreciation, accompanied by spending cuts to offset a resulting loss of revenue, would give a tremendous boost to the economy. It would do far more than the kind of tax cut the administration has been toying with on the theory that the need is for greater consumer purchasing power. Lack of purchasing power is not the problem.

What we're short of today is confidence. Purchasers and investors are frightened and unsure. And, in this, they are merely reflecting the attitude of the Federal Government which gives every sign of being frightened and unsure itself.

Perhaps the most important requirement for increased business activity and sound economic growth is a healthy climate. When optimism abounds, more people are eager and willing to invest in the future. When pessimism and uncertainty reign, they sit tight; their money remains idle and the wherewithal for business growth and expansion is not forthcoming.

In this context, I suggest, the whole argument over whether the Kennedy administration is antibusiness becomes largely academic. The thing that has slowed down the American economy and sent the stock market into the doldrums is the prevailing conviction that the Government is adamantly opposed to price increases and only weakly opposed to new wage increases.

At the very least, the New Frontiersmen are guilty of misunderstanding how the free enterprise system operates. They are guilty of letting the Government appear to be antagonistic, whether it actually is or not. And they are guilty of believing the business system can benefit from Government tampering.

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## Address of Rear Adm. W. B. Sieglaff to the ROTC Units of Harvard University at Joint Commissioning Exercises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, of the thousands of words spoken annually by commencement orators, some comprise such meaningful and worthwhile statements as to merit preservation and further consideration. One such address was delivered to members of the ROTC units of Harvard University at the joint commissioning exercises on June 13, 1962. The speaker was Rear Adm. W. B. Sieglaff, Director for Personnel of the Joint Staff.

Admiral Sieglaff's charge to these newly commissioned officers voices the highest aims and traditions of the military service. Perhaps more important, it contains sound advice for these future leaders which will prove applicable to any career or field of service. Under unanimous consent, I wish to insert in the RECORD the text of Admiral Sieglaff's address, commending it to the attention of my distinguished colleagues and congratulating the admiral for this fine statement of fundamental principles:

ADDRESS BY REAR ADM. W. B. SIEGLAFF

First. I am honored, privileged, and apprehensive at being here today. Honored, in that I have been asked to address the joint commissioning exercises of the ROTC graduates of the Harvard class of 1962. Privileged, in that I have a very personal interest in this group, an interest understood by all fathers. Apprehensive, in that the way you Harvard graduates have been going lately, I may wind up working for a number of you before I retire from the U.S. Navy.

Second. I relate my present predicament to the fact that, since I work for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it was deemed appropriate to have a representative of that joint body at a joint commissioning exercise. You gentlemen will soon be going your separate ways in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. Keep this joint picture in mind. You have one here today. In the discharge of your duties never lose sight of the fact that only through the joint effort of all the armed services can the Nation's defense be assured. In short, I have assumed that I was invited here because I represent that "joint" in which all this defense effort is combined.

Third. Procurement of commissioned officers for the armed services is not one of my responsibilities as Director for Personnel on the Joint Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

However, when I look at what we are gaining today, I could wish that it were, in order that I might take at least partial credit for the lift the military services will get from the contribution you gentleman are so well prepared to make. Harvard has long been known for the quality of its graduates, and many of the Nation's business and governmental institutions, as well as the Armed Forces, owe their continued growth and developement to the periodic infusion of new blood from this particular bank. To live up to Harvard's traditions in normal times is difficult enough. To live up to them under the present composition of the top echelons of the U.S. Government presents a special challenge to you. I would not go so far as to say that a certain former naval lieutenant will be watching you, but I'm sure he will be interested in the way you meet that challenge.

Fourth. No doubt you are wondering what kind of job you will get in the service and what you will be getting out of it in the years to come. We who are now in the service, on the other hand, are wondering what we can get out of you. Regarded separately, these two points of view may appear selfish and antithetic. Viewed in their proper context, however, they are a simple expression of the system which has made the Armed Forces operate effectively for many years. We can give you the benefit of hard-won experience derived from battlefields, sea and air engagements around the world. We want from you a new outlook, some fresh ideas, and a lot of help in doing our job better.

Fifth. We expect you first to become fully qualified professionals in the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, or the Air Force. You will be given a variety of jobs within those services and, in view of the vast complexity of modern arms, will tend toward specialization in the area for which you are best suited. Captain Redmayne, for example, is a destroyerman. Colonel Hennessey is an artilleryman. Lieutenant Colonel Lyman is a rated pilot. Most of my career has been spent in submarines, which, in Navy parlance, makes me a submariner. In your specialization and in becoming the best possible Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Air Force officer, however, you must always remember that the main mission, and ultimate objective, of all the Armed Forces is the national defense of the United States.

Sixth. The requirements of military service have undergone a subtle kind of change over the last few decades. Under present conditions of world affairs, the character of the change is becoming increasingly clear. It is no longer sufficient for an officer of the Armed Forces to know all there is to know about his own service, to be a superb tactician, or to be a superior troop leader, a plane commander, a ship captain, or an outstanding military planner.

We are in an era of total conflict which calls for the optimum combination of all the elements of national power and their concerted application to the solution of the problems which face the Nation in its struggle for survival in the international arena.

Seventh. Military strength is only one of these elements. With regard to a given international situation, the military element may predominate, it may form only a small portion of the total mix, or its use may be entirely inappropriate. The right combination of the military, economic, political, geographic, sociological, and psychological elements of national power is a determination which must be made by our civilian leadership in terms of the national objectives and interests involved in the particular situation at hand. Our job in the military is to see to it that we keep the military element at its greatest possible effectiveness and ready for use and application whenever and wherever needed and in the amount which is determined appropriate by the men who make those decisions.

Eighth. We have the corollary task of furnishing advice to the civilian leadership to assist them in determining the proper mix. It is this task which requires us to be more than the earlier stereotype of a military man. To do our job properly we must be cognizant of the world situation, of the other elements of national power, and of all the combinations and permutations of the various possible solutions. We must avoid proposing a military solution in every instance, and we must be ever ready to acknowledge that the other elements of national power may be more appropriate for a given situation.

Ninth. It is perhaps in this area that you gentlemen are particularly well endowed to give us the kind of help we need. Your broad background of training at Harvard has given you a unique kind of overview which can serve us well in the national defense. I would ask, therefore, that you continue to keep yourselves abreast of world developments and to carry on with the learning process which you have started here.

Tenth. Do not concentrate on the professional problems of your own service to the detriment of this continuation of the learning process. Save yourselves a little time to stand and stare. I have borrowed that expression from a British officer who in turn got it from an English hobo-poet who wrote:

> "What is this life, if full of care,
> We have no time to stand or stare?"

The British officer had served for 20 months with a large U.S. Army headquarters and was contrasting British with American attitudes in the officer corps. He admitted that the British officers regarded their profession as a "bit of a bore" and regarded themselves as amateurs. Perhaps that is a typical example of "English Harvardmanship."

His remarks on the U.S. Army apply equally well to all our Services. He said: "Now the U.S. Army is definitely professional; one's

profession should, and most often does, take precedence over all other pursuits. The officer most likely to succeed is he who is dedicated and forsaking all else cleaves only to the Army." I realize that to criticize the dedicated American outlook must sound akin to treason. But, do not misunderstand: I am not criticizing unswerving loyalty, nor am I criticizing the desire to be totally efficient. To give of one's best at all times is basic to any profession, military or otherwise.

What I do criticize is the assumption that, to achieve these aims, one must pursue his military education and career to the exclusion of all else. In war, yes; in peace, however hot the cold war flourishes, no. Man cannot and should not be expected to live by bread alone; to live in a military vacuum is not sufficient. The joys of family life, the pursuit of knowledge, the art of conversation, the appreciation of the arts, the proper enjoyment of leisure—these are some of the many attributes which go to make a balanced person. As in everything, there is a happy medium; where within the two extremes this lies is a matter of opinion.

The opinion, gentleman, and the judgment are yours. But do save yourselves some time to stand and stare.

Eleventh. On behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I extend their congratulations to each of you and may I add my own personal "Welcome aboard." And now, gentlemen, you have had your opportunity for the moment to stand and stare. There is a more important moment ahead for you, important for your families, important for your friends, and important for the Nation. It's time to get underway.

## The Swedish National Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to show to the Members of this House the worthy ends that a national lottery can serve. Properly channeled, the revenues from a national lottery can be a great aid to the people of the country in question.

Perhaps the wisest users of the national lottery scheme are the Scandinavians. Each of the four nations of Europe's north have seen the merits of a national lottery as a means with which to promote their highly developed cultures.

The largest of the Scandinavian lotteries is run by the Government of Sweden. Not only is the Swedish lottery the largest Scandinavian lottery, but it is the most profitable. In 1961, the gross receipts of the Swedish national came to almost $56 million. Total Government profit was over $31 million. A good portion of this money is set aside for cultural activities, and the rest is devoted to general budget purposes.

The Swedes are proud of the contribution that this lottery makes to the cultural attainment of their nation. They are well aware of the percentage profit made by the Government, but they realize the worth of the uses to which their money is put. Sweden is quite cognizant of the fact that a national lottery is a excellent tool with which to advance the public welfare.

Mr. Speaker, a national lottery in the United States can pump into our Treasury over $10 billion a year in additional revenue which can be used for tax cuts and reduction of our national debt.

## Unused Goodness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include a column by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, from last Sunday's Washington Star.

I was immensely impressed with the practical values set forth by Chaplain Harris.

The article follows:

UNUSED GOODNESS

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate)

Nothing concerns Americans more than the tragic contrast between our stored up food and the empty stomachs of most of the world. Unused grain, costing a million dollars a day just to store, does not make sense in a hungry world. But into that perplexing problem with all its moral and economic and cold-war overtones we cannot go, except to say that food means survival and that daily bread for all peoples is the most potent factor in making a peaceful world. There is no more damning indictment of the Communist system, than that with all its rosy promises it cannot adequately feed its deluded people who are taught to hate a system whose fruitage is food to spare.

But while unused food is a most challenging problem there is an ever greater question suggested by every place of divine worship whatever its name or sign. Churches and synagogues are symbols of righteousness, of moral integrity, of goodness. The question raised by every skyward spire has to do with unused goodness. While from our hearts we say, with Abraham Lincoln, "Thanks be unto God who in our great trial giveth us the churches," we are also forced to confess alas that the churches are so often spiritual granaries where so much unused goodness is stored.

Bliss Carman was thinking of the unused goodness to be found in chuches when he assured rampant evil it had little to fear from much that went on 1 day in 7 behind stained-glass windows as he wrote the cynical verse:

"They're praising God on Sunday,
They'll be all right on Monday.
It's just a little habit they've acquired."

Such a statement poses for everyone, whose passionate objective is to possess genuine goodness, the pertinent question, "What are you doing with the goodness you profess?" The one effective antidote for the rampant evil of today is goodness that is really used.

The chief hindrance to the progress of the race toward golden and shining goals is not the violently bad, but the passively good. Against such no just charges of venal culpability can be raised. These are not viciously bad, but neither are they aggressively good. The insidious temptation of even the prodigiously pious is to be good—for nothing. Those who yield to this temptation have been labeled "the vacillating, inconsistent good."

One of the greatest stories ever told is the narrative of the Good Samaritan. But did you ever notice that in it the matchless narrator uttered no tirade about the lack of police protection along the robber-infested Jericho road? He made no arraignment of the criminal who waylaid and wounded the traveler. What he did was to point to two good men on their way to church, who, witnessing dire need, callously passed by on the other side. The parable might well be called "the sin of unused goodness." That etching suggests church members content with just being respectable. Oh, yes, they are good. They have enough religion to be decent but not enough to be dynamic. They have some faith—enough to make them recoil from the grosser forms of sin but not enough to make them spiritual crusaders.

It was the realization of how much goodness is stored, instead of being poured, that led Maltbie Babcock to pen the verse in his hymn with the ringing exhortation:

"Be strong. Say not the days are evil—who's to blame?
And fold the hands and acquiesce—O shame.
Stand up, speak out, and bravely, in God's name,
Be strong, be strong."

That good minister, when he wrote those lines, had in his heart the thrill of the early church in which there was an oppressive sense of a desperate conflict, a fight to the death with malignant and powerful evil. The church of the New Testament never thought of itself as being in a rest camp; it was obviously on a battleline. An inspiring religious leader of our day, thinking of unused goodness, declares—"the weakness of some parts of the church today is the loss of that positive quality of its life. It lies in the fact that many people who ought to be struggling against social wrongs are not so much fighters as like dear old ladies in snowy-white caps sitting in rocking chairs, not really knowing that any fight is going on." The Communists know there is. The good people of America had better.

Too many have been brought up to think that goodness means repression; but goodness consists in living for those things which alone are worth living for. That vision often is not shared by those who are only negatively good. Recently a rather bored wife wrote to one whose column is a repository of worried people's peeves and problems. She said she had been married for many years to a man who did not swear, or drink, or smoke, or gamble, or carouse—but, she had become fed up with his impeccable goodness, a piety that was not harnessed to anything worthwhile and which consisted only of things that he did not do. From her complaint her life companion did not know the meaning of righteous indignation. Who has not encountered this brand of humanity whose motto is, "I am better than thou," whose main drive in life is "safety first," and whose favorite seat in any contest is the fence? When a fight is on, and the call is to stand up and be counted, such folks want to take their goodness up to a reserved seat in the balcony. They seem to choose the permanent role of being an inquiring neutral. That attitude has been diagnosed as "spectatoritis." Whatever virtues they have must be labeled "Unused Goodness."

## Big Endorsements for "Little People"

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. JOELSEN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from New Jersey last February 15 told us of the efforts of his 10-year-old son to start a children's crusade for world education. An education as to what America is, and does and stands for. An education which will help "to discredit and destroy the myth of communism in the minds of men throughout the world."

The project of young Peter Rodino III is known as the little-people-to-little-people program. And, as we realize from the comments of many of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle, it is well known throughout America. The program has been praised and endorsed by business, civic, political, and service leaders as well as by President Kennedy and his predecessor in office, General Eisenhower.

I have recently received communications from the New Jersey department headquarters of two of the major service organizations, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and AMVETS, which officially commend the lad for his idea and work with the little-people-to-little-people program. I know that my colleagues will be as pleased as I to see this fitting recognition of a young man who, in response to the President's exhortation, "Ask what you can do for your country," has not just asked, but has himself provided an answer and has translated that answer into dramatic, effective action.

The texts of the commendations follow:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF NEW JERSEY,
*July 27, 1692.*

To: Peter W. Rodino III.
Subject: Little-people-to-little-people program.

I desire to pay compliment to you for your inception of the above well worthwhile program.

As a State commander of a national veterans' organization that is dedicated to the principle of Americanism, I commend you highly for your interest in the welfare and well-being of our Nation.

In this age of diminishing distances it is heartening to note that the youth of our country, such as you, stride forward to meet tomorrow with sincerity and fixity of purpose.

I wish you success in your program. I wish you well in all your future endeavors.

EDWARD A. DUVA,
*Department of New Jersey Commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars.*

DEPARTMENT OF NEW JERSEY AMVETS
RESOLUTION, JULY 27, 1962

Whereas a "fallout of letters" was initiated through his efforts to Premier Khrushchev; and

Whereas through this program the children of America have pleaded with the Soviet Premier to discontinue atomic bomb explosions; and

Whereas we realize that because of efforts such as his leading to the proper thinking of the youth of America and throughout the world there is some hope that peace may be preserved; and

Whereas the ideals for which we fought might be preserved in an ever-changing world: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the American Veterans of World War II and Korea do honor and commend with a special award Mr. Peter Rodino III.

ANTHONY J. CAPRIGLIONE,
*State Commander.*
GEORGE H. SIEGEL,
*State Adjutant.*

New Jersey Department, AMVETS, American Veterans of World War II and Korea, special award to Mr. Peter Rodino III, 1962, in recognition of outstanding service to veterans and the community.

ANTHONY CAPRIGLIONE,
*State Commander.*
GEORGE H. SIEGEL,
*Adjutant.*

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.,
*June 15, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: For your information I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have forwarded to the Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH, chairman of the House Rules Committee, favoring the passage of the House Resolution 211.

Please accept my best wishes for success in your endeavor on behalf of mutual interests of the United States and captive nations behind the Iron Curtain.

Sincerely yours,
WOLODYMYR STOYKO.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.,
*June 15 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I take the liberty of asking your support in favor of House Resolution 211 which calls for the establishment of a special House Committee on Captive Nations. Current daily developments within the U.S.S.R. bring forth with increasing intensity the indispensability of the proposed committee. The following is an Associated Press dispatch of June 9, 1962, from Tiflis, the capital of Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has appeared recently in the American press:

"Angry Georgians hooted and whistled in resentment today, when Joya Sherrill, vocalist with Benny Goodman's band, sang a Russian song. She cut her performance short. Her rendition of 'Katiusha' was drowned by the clamor from the sellout crowd of 8,000.

"The Georgians, as one of the proud non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., disliked her singing in Russian.

"'I was frightened,' Miss Sherrill said afterward. 'They must really hate the Russians.' Asked if she would sing the song again, she replied: 'Oh, no. My purpose is to entertain. I don't want to rub them the wrong way. I am not pushing Russian.'

"The observers, who know that there is a strong antagonism between the Russians and the Georgians, were astonished at the violent outbursts."

The courageous Georgians deserve our respect for daring their Russian masters. At the same time one might question the judgment of those people who were responsible for including this number which produced resentment instead of good will. It is regrettable that this incident had to take place after numerous reports of anti-Russian feelings in the non-Russian Republics of the U.S.S.R. were made in the press. To recall just one of them let me quote our former Ambassador to Luxembourg, Madam Perle Mesta, who after her extensive visit to Ukraine came to the following conclusion: "There is hardly a greater offense than to mistake a Ukrainian for a Russian."

The function of the proposed Committee on Captive Nations would be to prevent such incidents in the future and to promote better policies in respect to the Soviet Union by taking into consideration the aspirations of various nations of the U.S.S.R.

Sincerely yours,
WOLODYMYR STOYKO.

PATERSON, N.J.,
*June 20, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Andrej Rewiva, a Cossack by origin, lawfully admitted to and residing presently in the United States, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of

the Flood resolution to create a House Special Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

ANDREJ REWRVA.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your proposition in House Resolution 211 to be the best and the most appropriate one at the present time, in the fight against the totalitarians of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

O. LEWCZENKO.

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PIEDMONT, CALIF.,
*June 17, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I just wish to briefly state my support of House Resolution 211 creating a House Captive Nations Committee.

I am in favor of taking a "win strategy" with regard to communism, and of having communism shown for the evil it is.

Sincerely,

DENTON DENKE.

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PATERSON, N.J.,
*June 19, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Wasiliej Klimenko, a Cossack by origin, respectfully urge you to support the Flood resolution to set up the House Special Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,

WASILIEJ KLIMENKO.

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## She's Off to the Congo To Organize a College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am extremely pleased to include a news article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Monday, July 30. This article tells of the departure of Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell, head of the home economics department at Howard University, for the Congo. At Léopoldville she will help to organize the Congo Polytechnic School of Home Economics. Dr. Kittrell is making her third trip to the Congo and is vastly familiar with the practical approaches needed to make this laudable venture a growing success.

The work she will do is under the auspices of the Methodist Church of the World whose women members have set up a $2 million grant to get the education program in the Congo started.

I think it significant to have some understanding of what our Nation spends abroad through the activities of our churches.

Last September Adelaide Figge of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress reported to me:

Protestant and Catholic missionaries spend approximately $200 million per year; there are about 33,000 missionaries abroad.

You will note that this does not include that which is spent by Americans of the Jewish faith.

I sometimes fear that we forget the great work that is here being done. Our drift has been to expect everything to be done by the Government and to ignore or forget the tremendous good that through the centuries has been so unselfishly accomplished through our spiritual forces from America.

They have heeded the admonitions of Isaiah 54: 2, to—

Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes.

They are carrying out, also, the clear mandate of the Saviour—Mark 15: 16:

Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

The article follows:

(By Elinor Lee)

Nothing sounds further from world politics than teaching home economics to women in the Congo, but a Howard University professor is convinced that the United States best plan for cementing international friendships is an enlarged teacher exchange program.

Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell, head of the home economics department at Howard University, left Friday for the Congo (Léopoldville) to help organize the Congo Polytechnic Institute's School of Home Economics.

This will be her third visit to the Congo as consultant for home economics schools. Her first two visits were devoted to surveying the needs and consulting with Congolese educators about the planned program of higher education for women.

"You have to 'sell' the men first on the need for women to be educated, and this applies to every country in the world," said Dr. Kittrell, whose work as an educator has taken her all over the world for the last 15 years. She has taken leaves from Howard to accept assignments overseas for the U.S. State Department and Government agencies since 1947.

She organized a home economics college at the University of Baroda in India in 1955; lectured before women's groups in Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria and Uganda under the auspices of the American Specialists of the State Department's International Educational Exchange Service in 1958, and joined the "Horizons Unlimited Tour" of Russia in 1959 after attending the XIV Triennial Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Stockholm, where she was a delegate from the U.S. section of the WILPF.

In 1947, Dr. Kittrell made the first nutrition survey in Liberia. She has made eight trips to Africa. Her current trip is under the auspices of the Methodist Church of the World whose women members have set up a $2 million grant to get the educational program in the Congo started. Methodist missions in the Congo have contributed to the educational fund, too.

The college program at the Congolese Polytechnic Institute will begin in 2 years, Dr. Kittrell said, and it is hoped they will have at least 30 students the first year. "It will take at least a year and a half to prepare students to enter college," she explained.

Her goal for the home economics college in the institute is for 200 students. The institute also will offer college courses in agriculture, nursing, medicine and business administration and will confer both bachelor of arts and of science degrees.

Dr. Kittrell has found 10 American teachers who will go to the Congo (some are there now) to help prepare students for college, and she has found a young Congolese woman who will come to Howard University this fall to take a 3-year crash program in home economics preparatory to heading the Home Economics College at the Polytechnic Institute.

The women of the Methodist Church of the World are underwriting the Congolese woman's educational training, including full tuition and living expenses for her, her husband and their two children for the 3 years they will be here. "It's an investment in living," said Dr. Kittrell.

She said the institute will be located near Léopoldville in already established mission buildings "so we won't have to start with bricks and mortar; they'll come later with our expansion."

Women of the Congo are eager for education, she said. "Until now, it's been customary for Congolese men to go to school while the women did the heavy work." This is why her first job was to get the male educators and chiefs interested in higher education for women.

She said that "by and large" she believes the Congo is not overly influenced by Communist propaganda. "The people are very friendly to the United States," she said.

When they question Dr. Kittrell about the status of the American Negro, "I tell them the truth," said the soft-spoken educator. "I tell them whatever our difficulties are, we work at the problem in a peaceful way and that we are all working for full democracy."

She said the Little Rock question always pops up. "I say we have a free press and we are glad to let the world know what goes on in our country."

Dr. Kittrell took off for the Congo the day after 10 African women, all students at American universities and colleges, completed a 6-week home economics workshop at Howard University. This was Howard's first Home Economics Workshop in African Life, a program sponsored by the African-American Institute of New York City and the U.S. State Department. The unique program was directed by Dr. Kittrell.

Adapting home economics courses for women of other countries is not difficult, Dr. Kittrell claims, because "home economics is a science and its basic rules of nutrition, health, and sanitation can be interpreted for any economic or educational level."

She believes the key to world peace lies in better understanding among people and nations. And it's up to the women of the world to help bring this about, she said, through enlarged teacher exchange programs and higher education for women.

Dr. Kittrell hopes to arrive in the Congo around August 10. She is flying by way of Rhodesia where she will stop off for several days. She plans to return to Howard University by September 10.

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## Veteran Groups Favor Payments to Filipinos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 9, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the defeat of the Philippine war damage rehabilitation bill by the House on May 9 has served one good purpose. It has brought the issue to the attention of the American people and has mobilized public opinion overwhelmingly in favor of the bill. Newspaper editorial writers, columnists, radio commentators, and

other citizens have seen the justice of this legislation and enthusiastically are throwing their support behind it. One segment of our population which has been vocal in urging the Congress to pay the outstanding Philippine war claims are World War II veterans. Many of these men fought side by side with the Filipinos in the battle to dislodge the Japanese from the Philippine Islands. They have seen the damage and economic hurt sustained by the brave Philippine people. These veterans believe as I do, that the United States should live up to its past agreement with these people and pay the $73 million still owed.

In this regard, it is significant to note that Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, commander of the American troops which liberated the Philippines in 1945, is supporting the Philippine war damage rehabilitation bill. His views and those of spokesmen for the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans were presented in an article in the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes of June 2, 1962. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include that article and commend it to the attention of my colleagues. I pray that they will keep the view it presents in mind when the amended Philippine war damage rehabilitation bill, H.R. 11721, is brought before the House.

The article follows:

[From the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes, June 2, 1962]

VETERAN GROUPS FAVOR PAYMENTS TO FILIPINOS

There appears to be strong sentiment throughout the Nation for reconsideration of the action taken by the House of Representatives in its refusal to vote some $73 million for the payment of Philippine war claims.

Stricken by a sudden economy wave, the House voted against payment and the motion was lost by about 30 votes. In the past few days, newspapers, radio commentators, and various civic, patriotic, and veterans organizations have lifted their voices in protest of threatening a loyal ally in such a shabby manner. The Scripps-Howard newspaper chain has been extremely vocal in its criticism.

Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, now retired, was the man in command of the American troops in 1945 when Manila was liberated.

Now a visiting lecturer in political science at the University of Houston, General Chase recalled entering the burning city on February 3, 1945. He told the Houston Press, a Scripps-Howard newspaper:

"It was a terrible sight. The whole town seemed to be on fire. These people took an awful beating from the Japanese. They helped us, fought with us, and remained loyal to us.

"It is up to our Government to see that this money goes to the right places, if that's involved in our failure to pay. I'm inclined to think Congress acted impetuously." General Chase was referring to the May 9 defeat of a bill which would have paid the final $73 million due, by U.S. promise, on Philippine property damage.

Expressions from leaders of veteran groups throughout the Nation echo General Chase's remarks.

In Houston, Tex., top officials of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, and Disabled American Veterans indignantly protested the House action on the claims bill.

Said William H. Dalton, Texas eighth district commander of the American Legion:

"This is something that has not been called to the attention of the public previously. I'm glad the Scripps-Howard newspapers are bringing it up. We have gone out of our way to give money to Socialist and Communist nations, whereas the Filipinos have been loyal allies."

VERY DISAPPOINTED

Peter Stack, Texas State commander of the VFW and a former Navy airman who served in the South Pacific, said:

"I was very disappointed in the congressional action. We [the VFW] have been interested in this matter and are familiar with the purpose of these payments. It comes as a complete surprise that they should be halted."

Durwood Bailey, Baytown, Tex., State commander of the DAV, said, "The Filipinos are the best friends we have in that area of the world."

Reaction in El Paso, as reported by the Scripps-Howard Herald Post, included these comments:

Mayor Ralph Seitsinger: "Certainly we owe this just debt to the Philippines. We fought a war in their land and they suffered because of it."

WANT IT PAID

In Memphis, Tenn., adjutant-treasurer of the DAV chapter No. 70, said a majority of the members polled favored prompt payment of the damage claims.

In Denver and Cincinnati, Scripps-Howard editors found editorials appealing to Congress to straighten out its unfortunate mixup and face up to a "moral obligation." Phone calls and letters came in in usual numbers.

Dale Schmidt, commandant of the Marine Corps League of Hamilton County, Ohio, said:

"We gave so much to our enemies we ought to at least pay back our friends who were so damaged in World War II. We owe a first obligation to such a good friend as the Philippines."

## I'm a Middle-of-the-Roader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism.

Article No. 17 in the series concerns the cliche "I'm a middle-of-the-roader."

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and, under unanimous consent, I place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

CLICHES OF SOCIALISM, NO. 17—"I'M A MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADER"

Aristotle, some 23 centuries ago, developed the idea of the middle way or, as he thought of it, "the golden mean." He used the term to describe certain virtues which consist of an intelligent moderation between the extremes of two opposite vices.

One concludes from his reflections that courage lies midway between cowardice and rashness; liberality between stinginess and extravagance; ambition between sloth and greed; modesty between the Milquetoast type of humility and the strutting dictator's kind of pride; frankness between secrecy and loquacity; friendship between quarrelsomeness and flattery; good humor between moroseness and buffoonery; self-control between indecisiveness and impulsiveness.

A century or so later the idea was given a perverse twist in Ecclesiastes—descending perilously close to the modern view.

"In my vain life I have seen everything; there is a righteous man who perishes in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man who prolongs life in his evil-doing. Be not righteous overmuch, and do not make yourself overwise; why should you destroy yourself? Be not wicked overmuch, neither be a fool; why should you die before your time?"

In the 12th century the eminent rabbi, Maimonides—again on the highroad—was counseling his followers to choose the golden mean. His middle way, like Aristotle's, was that ideal route which leads between two extremes of opposite vices.

In our day, "middle-of-the-road" is more an excuse for intellectual sloppiness than a guide to moral discipline. There is nothing golden about it and it does not qualify as a mean. For instance, there is no middle way, as George Schwartz put it, between monogamy and polygamy. Nor is there any golden mean that can be derived from subdividing a single vice. Halfway between the theft of a small amount and the theft of a large amount is robbery all the way, no matter how you slice it.

In the jargon of our times, "I'm a middle-of-the-roader," has only political connotations. It means, when the drift is socialistic, that its advocates waiver midway between a modicum of socialism and whatever extreme of socialism happens to be in popular favor. Thus, the middle-of-the-roader always finds himself wherever the currents of opinion dictate; he has no other basis for judging where his stand should be. The more extreme the socialistic view, the deeper will he be engulfed in socialism.

Quite obviously, there is no virtue in being a political middle-of-the-roader. This position sounds something like the golden mean, but there the resemblance ends. What we have is a confusion of sound with sense. The former is not even a reasonable facsimile of the latter. Middle-of-the-roadism is but a platitudinous position riding inexcusably on the reputation of a splendid philosophical conviction.

## Satellites and Folklore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I was one of nine Members in this body who voted against the Space Communications Satellite bill which was then supported by the vast majority of the House.

Mine was a rather lonesome-looking position, to be one of only nine. Yet, I did not really feel lonely in taking my stand.

However, any man is going to take another look at his position when the overwhelming majority of his colleagues go contrary to his position. I confess I have taken another look at my vote, and today I can say that I am more resolutely convinced than before that I did the right thing.

I voted against the creation of a corporation to be franchised by this body which would be favored by giving to it the biggest giveaway in our history. It was proposed that we give it the right to develop, manage, and exact profit from a system of space communication satellites.

I was appalled at this suggestion, for it struck me as highly inappropriate that this Government should approach the development of outer space in much the same way that the kingdoms of Europe conceived of the development of this continent 300 or 400 years ago. It seemed inappropriate that we should approach the potential of our space interests in the same forms as were used in creating the Hudson's Bay Trading Co. to exploit the continent, or John Jacob Astor's American Fur Co., or the British East India Co., the British Mahogany Co., or any of the others.

We have spent many years and undergone many trials in extricating ourselves from the involvement of private and Government-sponsored corporations that were once used to exploit undeveloped areas, and even to create nations where none had existed before. Our history has often been troubled as the result of our people being involved in commitments and actions on the part of corporate groups who did not necessarily have the same interest that the American people had.

Yet, there is strong feeling in this Congress that we should take a course that would lay ourselves open to repeating past errors on this score.

This is what I make of the communications satellite bill and I am heartened that under the deliberative processes of the other body this bill is receiving careful scrutiny. It should be scrutinized, for in addition to being an unwarranted giveaway it is latent with danger.

There is an additional comment that should be made to those who have argued that although A.T. & T. and its associated bodies would undoubtedly end up with effective control of this Government-sponsored corporation, this is not objectionable since, after all, A.T. & T. is itself owned and run by the people of the United States through widespread stock ownership and the election of managers by such stockowners.

This argument is more folklore than fact and this became ludicrously evident in a recent picture carried in the Washington Post. The picture was of a stockholders meeting of this giant corporation. It showed the few rows of filled seats in a veritable sea of empty auditorium chairs.

The empty chairs that spread out of the range of the camera lens were for the absent stockholders. And their very absence revealed the fiction of control by widespread ownership.

Let us not perpetuate this fiction further and use it to delude ourselves into thinking that the sheer number of stockholders provides any assurance of responsive or responsible control in the public interest.

It is wrong for this Congress to give the property and the sovereignty of the people to this private corporate body. We won this argument when the Atomic Energy Commission was established a few years ago and this new atomic power was held in trust for the people. Let us not lose it now with this latest technological breakthrough on communications.

I say it is good that the Senate is moving with caution on this measure. This is not the day and time to revive the Hudson Bay Co. America should speak for itself in dealing with other nations and not delegate this to private corporation executives.

Most important, we are the trustees of what belongs to the American people. We cannot fulfill our trust by franchising out the property and prerogatives of the people for private profit.

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## Admirals Call Missile-Armed Subs the Shock Force of Soviet Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, Soviet naval commanders announced yesterday at the Soviet naval day celebrations in Leningrad that the nuclear submarines equipped with Polaris-type missiles are "the main shock force" of the Soviet Navy capable of slipping under the Arctic ice to fire their rockets at an enemy. These facts are not new to us because of our own accomplishments in the development of the nuclear submarine and our own intelligence reports on the Soviet Navy. We are well aware of the fact that we live every day under the shadow of a Soviet submarine fleet of well over 400 vessels, a dangerous threat to many of our inland cities as well as all of our coastal centers. We are also aware of the fact that the U.S. Navy is on the alert 24 hours a day in a never-ending battle to minimize the threat of Soviet submarine attack.

The problem on the open seas, however, is far different from that under the Arctic ice. In the ocean we can use planes and surface ships in conjunction with our own submarines for detection and killing, but under the ice the burden is primarily up to the submarine. Outstanding progress in the fields of research, development, testing and evaluation, and invaluable training and coordination techniques are already proving to be effective in fleet maneuvers. These advances, however, are inadequate to cope with the submarine threat under polar ice and we must give all our support to enable the Navy to continue work to develop new detection equipment for use in submarines, and new techniques to enable the submarine to take an even more active role in antisubmarine warfare. The total aspect of antisubmarine warfare is constantly increasing and we must be prepared to combat the Soviet submarine under the ice as well as in the open seas. As our own subs take more and more part in the antisubmarine warfare teamwork picture, we must put increased emphasis on them alone to meet and overcome this further aspect of the silent Soviet threat.

The appended article from today's issue of the Washington Post describes further the activities of Sunday's celebration in Leningrad.

The article follows:

ADMIRALS CALL MISSILE-ARMED SUBS THE SHOCK FORCE OF SOVIET FLEET

LENINGRAD, July 29.—Soviet naval commanders said today that nuclear submarines equipped with Polaris-type missiles were "the main shock force" of the Soviet navy capable of slipping under the Arctic ice to fire their rockets at an enemy.

But none of the nuclear-powered submarines appeared at a 3-hour naval display on the Neva River marking the Soviet Union's annual Navy Day. The only ships seen were what Western observers called cruisers, destroyers, and other vessels 10 years old.

Vessels seen were the cruiser *Kirov*, three fleet destroyers, four fleet submarines, a coastal submarine, several minesweepers, and a half-dozen torpedo boats. The vessels displayed today were about half as many as shown last year.

Adm. Ivan I. Baikov, commander of the Leningrad Naval District, opened the celebration with a speech in which he repeated the Soviet claim to have Polaris-type submarines. The claim that it was "the main shock force of the Navy" was made by Adm. F. V. Zozulya in the army newspaper Red Star.

Zozulya also claimed rocket weapons had been generally introduced into naval practice.

Western observers said this year's display apparently contained no technical innovations, unlike last year when a missile-armed destroyer was exhibited for the first time.

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## The Eskimo Art Exhibit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, Traverse City, Mich., is not quite as close to the North Pole as some people may think. Nevertheless, the faculty and students at Northwestern Michigan College have taken a rather special interest in Eskimo art.

Eighty-three stone cut and sealskin prints of Baffin Island Eskimos are being assembled at the college for one of the finest exhibits ever offered of this truly American art form. The proceeds of the exhibit, which will last from August 1 through September 30, will be donated to the Mark Osterlin Library located on the campus of Northwestern Michigan College.

Last year, when a similar showing of Eskimo art was presented at the college, the library fund was enriched by about $900. All indications are that the exhibit this year will meet with even greater success than the one a year ago.

In addition to assisting the college library fund, the Eskimo art exhibit

should help greatly to interest students and townspeople in art, and to provide a cultural stimulus in northern Michigan. Because of these laudable objectives, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the activities of the faculty and students at Northwestern Michigan College on this project are worthy of special notice.

## Tips From the New Europe on Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLARK MacGREGOR**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the various ways of managing our national economy so as to produce maximum growth and economic strength have been widely discussed recently. Much of what we have seen is nonsense. The following editorial from Life magazine in my opinion is a sound and significant treatment of this vital matter:

TIPS FROM THE NEW EUROPE ON RECOVERY

"I thought the experience of Europe, which has had a decade of unequaled progress * * * had some lessons for us." President John F. Kennedy, June 14, 1962.

The U.S. economy is in a trauma. We have been making a painfully slow recovery from our fourth postwar recession. Housing prices last week were going soft (down 5 to 10 percent); the unemployment rate rose slightly in June. As administration economists debate the problem—and the pros and cons of a tax cut—they are also asking what the United States has to learn from European economic recovery in the 1950's. The President himself has been hinting that deficit spending may have been a bigger factor in European recovery than orthodox economists admit. He also proclaimed, in his eloquent Fourth of July speech, an age of transatlantic "interdependence."

We agree with the President that it is better to compete inside the Atlantic community than outside it. But even inside a unified Europe of 225 million people (counting Great Britain) U.S. industry is bound to get the hardest run for its money it has ever known, and we had better get ready.

About 1960, broadly speaking, European businessmen came to the end of a 10-year cycle in which they concentrated on learning and adapting the best of U.S. production and merchandising methods, helped in advance by the $12 billion in Marshall plan grants and loans. If the United States is now to look the other way to learn, we should make sure we read the lesson of Europe's recovery correctly—and completely. European deficit spending is by no means the primary reason for European prosperity, and to read European practice as a middle way between communism and U.S. capitalism is a specious interpretation of what happened. In the vital areas of monetary orthodoxy and taxation, continental European recovery achieved its greatest thrust from government policies more capitalistic than those of the United States. Here's why:

Hard money: Italy, Germany, and France all "took off" to prosperity only after Draconian currency reforms (initiated by Einaudi in Italy in 1947, Erhard in Germany in 1948, by Rueff in France in 1958). During the past 3 years all three nations' currencies have remained stable vis-a-vis the dollar; the West German mark was actually revalued upward in 1961. Today it is the soundness of the dollar, not the French franc or the Italian lira, which is worrying the central bankers of Europe.

Taxes: Although they differ in degree and execution, the tax policies of the continental Common Market countries have been generally probusiness to an extent that would make an American businessman weep in envy. These policies have two significant characteristics in common:

Less reliance on the income tax as a revenue producer—80 percent of U.S. Federal revenue comes from the corporate and personal income tax; the Bonn Central Government got only 45 percent of its revenue that way in 1961, Brussels only 39 percent. Even Britain, whose welfare-state structure is less capitalistic than that of continental countries, got only 55 percent of its revenue by direct income taxation. In these countries there is more reliance on consumer-borne levies like customs and excise duties. In Germany personal income taxation stops at a maximum of 53 percent as compared to the confiscatory figure of 91 percent in the United States.

Incentive depreciation allowances—here the difference between American and European approach is a fundamental one. In the United States depreciation allowances have been held unrealistically low; in Europe they have a definite and fixed goal to promote private investment. German recovery boomed with a 50-percent writeoff to manufacturers who replaced war-damaged plants. For certain new equipment with an arbitrarily short life of 3 years a French businessman can depreciate 50 percent of the cost in the first year. A German firm can depreciate a locomotive in 10 years, a kiln in 8 years. Under the U.S. Treasury's new depreciation schedules (the first thorough revision in 20 years) it will still take an American company 12 years to depreciate a locomotive, 15 years for a kiln, and 18 years for a blast furnace. The new schedules will free an estimated $1.5 billion a year for U.S. plant modernization. But American industry is already spending $5 billion more on modernization than it gets in tax depreciation allowances.

The most involved argument of all concerns budgets and deficits. Europeans owe much more of their recovery to U.S. deficit spending than to their own. Even when they practiced it, many European governments managed to sell the deficit back to the investing public. This siphoned off savings.

Comparing European fiscal practice to ours is dangerous business. When a nationalized airline loses money (Britain's BOAC lost $33.6 million last year), this shows up as part of the government's fiscal picture—not the case here. In capital expenditures, too, European budgets reflect greater government ownership of industry than is the case in the United States. But government ownership was a European characteristic more than a generation before we had reason to admire the European "growth rate."

More importantly, deficit financing, when practiced consistently by the United States, has peripheral effects it does not have when practiced by any one European country. Since the United States is the key currency area, the fact that its Federal budget has been in deficit 7 of the last 10 years actually contributed (through funneling hard currency to Europe) to European recovery.

It is precisely because the United States is the key currency area that our deficit financing has a point of diminishing return. The French and Swiss cashed another $137 million of dollar paper into gold 2 weeks ago, touching off another round of U.S. devaluation rumors in Europe. "The Americans," one European banker says, "have always believed in the soundness of the dollar. But gold is the only thing that we Europeans can put our trust in."

This is hard-money thinking with a vengeance. It may be significant that quantities of American investment money recently began to show up in Switzerland again. Confidence does matter. So do wage costs.

Right now organized labor is putting enormous pressure on the administration to cut taxes in lower income brackets to free more consumer buying power. At best this would be another "pep pill"—a kind of back-door wage increase. At worst it might compromise the more fundamental changes needed if American business is to compete with Europe's new lean, modern, full-speed-ahead economy. We need these to create an investment climate of profit expectation and expanding job opportunities. Only then can we claim to have learned from Europe in the 1960's as much as the Europeans learned from us in the 1950's.

## Fear and the Fed's Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with increased conversation within the inner sanctum of the executive branch of Government and congressional committees directed to the question of a possible tax cut, I deem it practical that we also consider the role that the Federal Reserve System has and will continue to have in the overall economic picture. I feel that the editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal, Friday, July 27, 1962, is an extremely timely and thoughtful analysis of the role of the Federal Reserve in our mounting economic crisis. I ask leave to insert it in the RECORD at this time.

The editorial follows:

FEAR AND THE FED'S DILEMMA

Since the early days of the Republic, politicians have declaimed against tight money on the ground that it hurts the little fellow and benefits only the bankers.

This fear of tight money led Americans of the 19th century to sanction issuance of currency by almost any bank, anywhere. Political campaigns were fought over issues such as free coinage of silver.

Today, the politicians are no less vocal, though this country, with few interruptions, has had easy money for decades. So the Federal Reserve System now finds itself in a real dilemma.

Should the System succumb to the politicians and keep money easy, in the vague hope of somehow revving up a sluggish economy? It hasn't worked in the past 18 months, but the pressure is strong.

Or should the System tighten money in an effort to cut our balance-of-payments deficit? Easy money has led to lower interest rates here than in other countries, and the result has been an outflow of capital. Higher rates here might at least slow the outflow.

How did the Federal Reserve get into this mess? What was so attractive about easy money? What can easy money accomplish, aside from boosting our balance-of-payments deficit?

Well, for one thing, it can certainly augment inflation. During World War II, the vast expansion of the Federal debt, financed

largely by selling bonds to the banks, greatly expanded the money supply. Consumer demand, held in check by wartime controls, grew enormously.

Thus in 1946 the stage was set for inflation. And the Federal Reserve, instead of combating it, began to fan the flames. Committed to supporting the prices of Government bonds—a holdover from wartime finance—the System kept money cheap and plentiful. Consumer and business demand, already oversized, was further inflated by a big expansion of bank credit. The result was predictable. By 1951, for example, the Consumer Price Index stood more than 40 percent above the 1945 level.

With or without its inflationary impact, artificially easy money is an economic distortion. In a recession the supply of money will usually exceed the demand, without any help from the monetary authorities. Business and consumer confidence is at low ebb, and people are simply more willing to save than invest.

As the economy begins to pick up, demand for money is likely to grow faster than the supply. If the monetary authorities then inject fresh supplies of money, the normal working of the market is thrown out of whack. Interest rates are kept down, all right, but this discourages savers from supplying the funds needed to fuel sound economic growth.

Moreover, artificially low interest rates do little to spur demand. No matter how cheap and plentiful money may be, no businessman will borrow it unless he thinks he can use it profitably. And profits expectations are based far more on sales forecasts than on interest rates. The businessman who builds a new plant primarily because interest rates are low provides a shaky basis for business expansion.

If, on the other hand, the normal workings of supply and demand begin to push up interest rates, everyone may benefit, even the little fellow. Aside from attracting greater quantities of savings, the rising rates limit the inflationary expansion of bank credit and discourage some speculative borrowers who have little to contribute to sound growth anyway. Inflation and speculation cause far more recessions than tight money.

But the politicians insist on labeling tight money a frightening villain. So now we have this curious situation where we are getting the bad effects of easy money but no zip.

There is no easy way out of this dilemma. But if Washington doesn't shake off its easy money bias pretty soon, the country really may have something to be frightened about.

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## A Man and a Bridge: Tribute to Late Senator Francis Case

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, in the weeks since his passing, many adjectives and superlatives have been used to describe the life and works of the Honorable Francis Case, late Senator from South Dakota.

Recently South Dakota officials held the ground-breaking ceremonies for a new bridge across the Missouri River between Platte and Winner. It will be a most unusual bridge and the story of how it came into being also is a most unusual one.

But even more, it is a tribute to the perseverance, determination and effectiveness of Senator Case whenever he tackled a project which he felt was justified.

I have just received word from the South Dakota Highway Commission that my suggestion to name this great bridge in Senator Case's honor has been accepted and this will be done upon its completion and dedication. In addition, I am hopeful that the Congress soon will complete action on the resolutions introduced to name in his honor the body of water which this bridge will span. The reservoir now is called Fort Randall Reservoir, after the dam which created the impoundment.

Senator Case had been scheduled to deliver the ground-breaking ceremony address for the new bridge. After his sudden passing, it was fitting that officials should call upon his chief South Dakota assistant, Mr. Harold Schuler, of Pierre. Mr. Schuler's remarks outlined the manner in which Senator Case fought for this project. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this address, "A Man and a Bridge," to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A MAN AND A BRIDGE

(Remarks by Harold Schuler, former assistant to the late Senator Francis Case, at the ground breaking of the Platte-Winner Bridge on July 17, 1962)

Through the years I occasionally have filled in for the Senator and was always happy to do so but today I find little happiness in filling in for him at his last scheduled appearance.

I have been asked to review what one man did to make the dream of this bridge come true. It is not my intention to overlook anyone who worked to obtain this bridge. I know that Francis Case would want to share the credit with many people.

Perhaps everyone's part best can be described by the teamwork of a football team. The guards, tackles, fullbacks, and all have to cooperate to execute a play properly in order for the quarterback to carry the ball across the line.

Senator Francis Case took the ball over the line and scored but with the help of numerous people, many of whom are here today.

This, then, is the story of a man and a bridge which they said couldn't be built.

It started years ago but Francis Case's determined part began in May of 1959 when he urged that the surplus bridges at Mobridge and Whitlocks Crossing be moved down to the Platte-Winner crossing. In his letter to General Itschner of the Corps of Engineers he said:

"It is not an adequate or satisfactory compensation to move a river crossing 15 miles downstream and thereby either feed traffic to out-of-State points or require the traveler to retrace many extra miles."

But in June, General Person of the Corps of Engineers said it was too costly to move the surplus bridge and that it would be cheaper to build a new one. However, the Corps of Engineers position throughout this whole struggle was that the South Dakota Highway Commission elected not to locate a crossing at Wheeler but to relocate the highway across the top of the Fort Randall Dam.

"It is our position that we have discharged our responsibility for providing a replacement at Wheeler and therefore we cannot recognize any responsibility for an additional bridge."

But when everybody said "No," that was usually when Francis Case really went to work. He began thinking about this agreement with the highway commission to which the corps often referred. In this file is a handwritten memorandum to a staff member in which he ordered that we must find and study this agreement.

In July of 1959 he wrote to Commissioner Armstrong of the Bureau of Public Roads that he would "like copies of the memorandum between the Bureau and the State highway commission and I would like to know what responsibility the Engineers felt they had for providing an adequate crossing." Armstrong replied that no such agreement was on file.

He also wrote to the State highway commission and the then Director McKellips replied that their files did not show a firm agreement and acceptance on this point.

Case examined the contract between the State and the Engineers in regard to their responsibilities to the State for building this dam which was signed April 5, 1959, by Governor Mickelson and Colonel Prentiss. Upon examination, Case said that this contract largely dealt with other highways and bridge modifications brought about by the flooding of the Fort Randall Reservoir, but did not specifically deal with the Wheeler crossing.

Armed with this new evidence, Case wrote H. R. Wright of the Platte Enterprise in September of 1959 and said, "I will bring up this matter next year in the Committee on Public Works when we consider the omnibus flood control bill."

In November of 1959, the State highway commission passed a resolution urging Federal funds to build the crossing.

On January 19, 1960, Case introduced a bill, S. 2860, to build a bridge at a cost of $6,375,000. The corps said a new one would cost this much but still maintained it had no responsibility to provide a replacement.

In a news release on this bill Case said:

"I have been unable to uncover any document indicating the former State highway commission had accepted the Fort Randall crossing as an adequate compensation for the loss of the Wheeler bridge."

Then came the massive challenge of leading and carrying a bill through the Congress. He called for supporting evidence for the need of the bridge from Platte, Winner, Parkston, Sioux Falls, and other places. All was going well, but on March 1, 1960, the bill was dealt a big blow.

The Bureau of the Budget gave an adverse report on his bill and said the crossing at Randall was adequate. Another heavy shell landed on March 25 when the Secretary of the Army Brucker announced that they, too, were opposed to the bill.

The legislative process in Washington is such that when the Bureau of the Budget and the Army say "No" it usually means positive death to a bill. But Francis Case began to work overtime on his committee and presented all the material you people gathered to persuade them on the need for this bridge. The first ray of hope shown through on June 6, 1960, when the Senate Public Works Committee on page 162 of the omnibus flood control bill report said:

"We, the committee, believe that a crossing at the Wheeler site is economically justified and the committee further believes that local interests should construct the necessary approaches."

It passed the Senate in this form. Case had won his first battle and praise poured in from this area.

The next massive obstacle was that his provision was not in the House flood control bill and their conference had been instructed not to go along with this bridge. Senator Case, however, was a Senate conferee so he began a big battle in the conference committee to hold this bridge from falling into the stream. For the next couple days while

the flood control bill was in conference to iron out the differences between the two Houses, he had conferences with Senator KERR, chairman of the committee; the Secretary of the Army; the Bureau of the Budget—gallantly trying to win his battle for this bridge, which the corps said would cost $6,375,000 to build.

Finally, he and the Senator KERR had a last-ditch conference with Maurice Stans, Director of the Budget under President Eisenhower. After a lengthy persuasion by Case, Maurice Stans finally said (and this was described by Case in a letter to H. A. Trevor and John Johnson, of Platte, in September 1960), "Can you build it for $4 or $4½ million?"

Case agreed to $4.5 million because he had read that South Dakota Highway Engineer Kenneth Scurr had designed a similar bridge at less than planned. He assumed that Scurr could design this one for less and he was right. He also felt that the $6,750,000 Corps of Engineers estimate was a safe figure and that it might not be their lowest. So, he gambled that it could be done and accepted Stans' offer.

On June 30, 1960, the conference committee announced that it inserted the $4.5 million figure but that the State must still agree to pay remaining costs and provide the approaches.

On July 14, 1960, it became the law of the land when President Eisenhower signed Public Law 86-645.

In 1961 Case urged through Senator ANDERSON that the approach roads be put on the State system so that Federal aid money could be used for the approaches and the legislature approved the bill of Senator Ramey and Representative Manning for this purpose,
corps—build the bridge and the corps agreed neers that the State—rather than the Corps—build the bridge and the Corps agreed to that.

A few months ago the highway commission under Governor Gubbrud and Director Don Haggar let this project to contract and here we are today,

As I said earlier, it takes many people to obtain and build a bridge like this, but I think that after this review that you will agree that it was Senator Francis Case who carried the ball across the line to score.

Now I wish that he could have been here today. He was proud of his work on this bridge. Naming it after him would be very appropriate. He would have liked that.

Let this bridge not only serve as a monument to him but let it also stand here as an example that the impossible can be done and that it takes this kind of determination to make South Dakota a better place in which to live.

## Uncle Sap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, very soon we expect the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to report the bill to authorize the purchase of United Nations bonds. Recent disclosures are beginning to cast more light on manipulation of funds within the U.N. I feel it is especially appropriate at this time to insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in today's edition of the Chicago Daily Tribune.

The editorial follows:

UNCLE SAP

State Department testimony in support of Mr. Kennedy's appeal for authority to buy $100 million in United Nations bonds to tide the organization over a financial crisis arising from its military intervention in the Congo discloses this:

1. Without waiting for any authorization to buy bonds, the U.S. Government has voluntarily given U.N. $215 million from foreign aid appropriations to keep it out of bankruptcy.

2. Upon pocketing these American funds, the U.N. then voted remission of a major share of assessments against a large number of member nations for support of the Congo operation.

3. The effect of this was to use the American handout to subsidize numerous U.N. members which are either hostile to the United States or indifferent to its foreign policy goals.

4. The total kicked back to these nations at the expense of the American taxpayer was $11,400,800. Thus Castro's Communist Cuba was provided with a gift of $140,800 at American expense; Poland, a Soviet satellite, with $512,000; Communist Yugoslavia with $243,000, and "neutralist" India with $140,800.

5. Some of the beneficiaries were deadbeats which had failed to pay their assessments of maintaining the U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Congo and the Gaza strip. Among them were Poland and India. Thus, in effect, they were rewarded for dodging their share of the burden.

This all but unbelievable story was confirmed in testimony before a panel of the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, who appeared in support of Mr. Kennedy's bond buying scheme. Cleveland did not volunteer the information. It was dragged out of him.

Even Democratic supporters of the Kennedy proposal were stunned. "That's enough to kill the bill right now," said Representative HAYS, of Ohio. "How can we vote for this bill now?" asked Representative ZABLOCKI, of Wisconsin. A Republican, Representative ADAIR, of Indiana, observed that the State Department seemed content that the United States should pick up the check for all comers.

Practices of this kind, which are on their face the height of irresponsibility, certainly should put Congress on guard not only against the bond buying device but against the whole reckless dissipation of tax money in foreign aid, for it is from this source that the money paid out by U.N. in gratuities to its delinquents came.

Cleveland's bland admission that the Government cheerfully allows itself to be played for a patsy puts in a stranger light than ever the charade enacted last week before the World Court. The United States had pressed this tribunal for an advisory opinion whether U.N. special assessments for the Congo were as binding upon the membership as the contributions for ordinary expenses of U.N. The Court decreed that they were.

This ruling was sought by the Kennedy administration as evidence that, with all members required to pay, the investment in bonds would be safe. But now we know that the U.N. has rewarded its deadbeats for not paying, so that the Court's opinion is reduced to mere window dressing. In addition, Cleveland kept referring to the bonds as "stopgap aid." What that means is that the State Department regards the bond purchase as the first drop in the bucket in a never-ending process to keep U.N. going, which will require, not buckets, but barrels of American cash.

## In Opposition to Bonus for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter addressed by Charles A. McCarthy, past national commander, 1959–60, of Veterans of World War I, USA, Inc., to the present National Commander John Bashara, Sr.

The text of the letter follows:

JULY 25, 1962.

JOHN BASHARA, Sr.,
*National Commander,*
*Washington, D.C.*

Commander BASHARA: It is as a past national commander of this organization congressionally chartered on July 18, 1959, that I address this letter to you.

It had been my hope that the organization of those who served in uniform in 1917–18, who had become a minority in the older established groups, would be of historical significance. It had been my belief that the objects and purposes, as specified in that charter, would be taken seriously and an organization comparable to the GAR or the United Spanish War Veterans, would be built to commemorate our services.

I believed in, and strived to fulfill, the pledges contained in that charter, that the organization was to be "patriotic, fraternal, historical, and educational," that it was to "provide for their mutual benefit, pleasure and amusement." That it was to "keep alive friendships and memories of World War I and venerate the memory of their honored dead. * * * To cooperate to the fullest extent and in a harmonious manner with all veterans organizations to the end that the best interests of all veterans of all wars * * * may best be served. To collate, preserve, and encourage the study of historical episodes, chronicles, memorabilia, and events pertaining to World War I. To uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States, * * * to fight unceasingly for our national security."

In prostitution of the fine pledge to cooperate to the fullest extent and in a harmonious manner with all veterans organizations, there has been a continuing bitter assault upon the older groups. In direct contrast with the pledge that it was to be "patriotic," the organization has developed into an outright "pension lobby" and is contributing nothing toward national welfare.

The claimed "fraternalism" is contradicted by the flood of abusive letters by members against members and upon the Veterans' Affairs Committee and its chairman.

As to "historical," the efforts that were directed toward this pledge was derisively condemned as "distracting from the pension drive" and the most derogatory demonstration obtains at the moment in the ruthless attempts to circumvent the regular committee procedure of the Congress.

The Pension Act of 1959, Public Law 86–211, is basic to all veterans benefits. Pressure lobbying, discharge petition, and the abusive letters to the Members of Congress, can preclude favorable action on promised amendments to that law, or increased benefits to service-connected disabled veterans. Furthermore, these ill-advised policies have incited adverse criticism and denouncement by the Nation's press and has alienated cooperation and friendship of the other veterans organizations.

As a member of the American Legion, DAV, VFW, and the Marine Corps League, it is my firm conviction that this organization of aged veterans of the First World War has failed in its objects and purposes. Therefore, if there is no proof that this organization will abide by its charter requirements, self-respect requires my ending all affiliation with an organization of those who deserve a finer memorial.

Patriotically yours,

CHARLES A. MCCARTHY,
*Past National Commander, 1959–60.*

## Progress Report of the White House Committee on Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, when President Kennedy was campaigning for the high office he now holds, he stated:

One of the great challenges of the sixties will be to strengthen the small independent businessman against the large business units which threaten to crowd him from the American economic scene—and to reverse the disastrous policies which are destroying this historic cornerstone of our free enterprise system.

Those of us who plead the cause of small business do not seek special privileges for that vital segment of our economy. Instead, we seek to have the Government balance the scales so that small business can compete on equal terms with all others. Inasmuch as small business comprises 95 percent of the entire business population, the importance of maintaining its economic health is readily apparent.

One year ago, President Kennedy created the White House Committee on Small Business to implement the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist, and protect, insofar as is possible, the interests of small business. We now have the benefit of its first efforts in the form of specific recommendations whereby the Federal Government can enhance the future growth and prosperity of small firms.

As chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives, I wish to most heartily endorse these recommendations and commend the President and the White House Committee for their efforts. Because of the importance of this Committee and the results thus far achieved by it, I wish to invite my colleagues' attention to its progress report which follows:

PROGRESS REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT—ACTIVITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, JUNE 1962

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
*Washington, D.C.*

THE PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am pleased to present to you a report of the White House Committee on Small Business. The report has the approval of all members of the Committee.

Respectfully,

JOHN E. HORNE,
*Chairman, White House Committee on Small Business.*

(Department of Commerce, Department of Defense, Department of Justice, Department of Labor, Department of the Treasury, Bureau of the Budget, Council of Economic Advisers, Federal Trade Commission, General Services Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Small Business Administration.)

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington.*

HON. JOHN E. HORNE,
*Chairman, White House Committee on Business, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: It is with great interest and deep gratitude that I have received and read this report on the studies, evaluations, and recommendations of the White House Committee on Small Business, summarizing the Committee's first year of activity. The Committee has carefully noted the historic contribution of small businesses to our economy and the serious obstacles which they now face, and has made a number of significant observations as to the areas in which the Federal Government can enhance the future growth and prosperity of these small firms.

This administration is determined to insure a strong, diversified foundation of healthy small firms; to expand the markets for American enterprises; to preserve a system of free and open competition, and to develop constructive policies and programs in behalf of the small business community. The deliberations of this Committee vividly demonstrate that determination.

The recommendations contained in this Committee report outline specific measures whereby the Federal Government can foster and encourage small business enterprises, thus strengthening the entire economy. You may be assured that these proposals will play a significant role in this administration's planning. At the same time, your report should encourage the small businessman to help provide the leadership and initiative for America's economic growth in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

### INTRODUCTION

One year ago, the President announced the creation of the White House Committee on Small Business. The membership of the Committee is comprised of representatives of those departments and agencies within the executive branch of the Federal Government whose activities most directly affect the small business community.

In his statement, the President left no doubt that the administration considers the role of small business a vital one in the national economy. The rate of economic growth essential to a sustained recovery can be achieved, he asserted, "only if the small business segment of the economy, which comprises 95 percent of all businesses in the United States, is vigorous and healthy."

The Committee was directed, first, to make a careful evaluation of existing programs of the Federal Government with the aim of strengthening and refining them. "Through the Committee," the President stated, "the Government's many efforts to foster and encourage small business enterprise should be closely coordinated to the end that they may be made as effective as possible."

Beyond this, the President made it clear that he looks "to the newly formed White House Committee on Small Business to provide the leadership in Government that is required to develop new, constructive policies and programs in behalf of small business." The Committee is expected, said the President, to "generate new ideas, new approaches to overcome obstacles that may impede small business growth."

In addition to offering guidance in the shaping of Federal policy, it was anticipated that the Committee would exercise a role in kindling the initiative and incentive of the small business community itself. As the President observed, "This Committee has great responsibility—and a corresponding great opportunity. From this Committee should come the leadership necessary to stir the imagination and reawaken the energy and daring of the individual small businessman."

For the past year, the Committee has engaged in a process of study and discussion, of evaluation and recommendation. This report summarizes the Committee's first year of activity.

### SMALL BUSINESS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

One of the first tasks which the Committee set for itself was to reexamine the contributions of small business to the American economy and to evaluate the policies of the Federal Government designed to enhance those contributions. In a study submitted to the President, the Committee has summarized its conclusions. In brief form, the study undertakes to review the contributions and values of small business, the obstacles it faces, and the areas in which the Federal Government can play a helpful and legitimate role in assisting small business to prosper. These are the highlights of the study.

#### *The social and economic value of small business*

The existence of a large number of small independent businesses helps to preserve competition, thus insuring increased efficiency and high quality and reasonable prices for consumers. As the Committee concluded, "If we accept as our objective a system in which the decisions of the marketplace are dictated by the selective mechanism of competition rather than by the exertion of economic power, our principal goal must be to preserve competition. It seems clear that the existence of a healthy small business community substantially increases the likelihood of maintaining a system in which free and open competition provides the basis for economic decisions."

A large number of small independent businesses decreases the likelihood of excessive economic and political control. The Committee observed, "A truly open society in which equality of opportunity is actively encouraged is characterized by the distribution of economic power among several elements of the business population and by the diffusion of political power to a broad range of the citizenry. A disproportionate amount of economic power leads with distressing regularity to a grossly unequal distribution of political power."

Small business offers opportunity for the expression and growth of personal initiative and individual judgment. The Justice Department succinctly summarized the conclusions of the study: "It is the theory of our society that the maximum degree of individual freedom to make choices and exercise judgment will afford the greatest opportunity for individual initiative and expression and, by those means, secure to society the maximum contribution of all. A system which limits the opportunities for economic activity or determination by the individual may very well be losing a good deal of ability and talent."

Small business is frequently the source of new products and new methods. The committee's examination of the major inventive contributions of this century led it to the conclusion that the small business community is "a vast seedbed for technological development and innovations." Finding the contribution of small business in the field of inventions to be of "overwhelming sig-

nificance," the study concluded that "the benefits to the Nation of retaining and expanding this inventive force are obvious."

Small business constitutes a large and diversified source of employment opportunities. Approximately one-half of total nonagricultural employment falls within the broad concept of small business in the United States. This broad range offers to a worker not only a depth, but also a considerable variety of employment opportunities. In addition, small business provides opportunities for continued contributions by those who may be unemployable under the rigid requirements of many large organizations. Further, in times of national emergency, the Nation benefits from the fact that small businesses constitute a vast and widely dispersed source of personnel, facilities, and materials.

Certain services essential to the economy can be performed best by small business. The committee concluded that in some instances small business has an actual advantage over large business in technical efficiency. "A number of factors—some inherent in the size aspect itself and others the result of fairly recent developments in technology—contribute to a peculiarly effective role which small business can play in the national economy," the committee noted. The particular attributes of small business which contribute to this role include its strength in personal service, specialization, adaptability, and inventiveness.

*The role of the Federal Government*

Despite the significant contributions of small business to the economy, the committee observed, "the balance between large and small business is, from the point of view of the small businessman, generally a precarious one. The Congress has wisely recognized this fact, and has attempted in several areas to guard against the possibility of an imbalance. The committee believes that the Federal Government has a legitimate concern in maintaining this balance in such a way as best to serve the national interest."

The committee therefore turned its attention to an analysis of the factors which tend to limit the role of small business in our economy, and to some suggested guidelines for the development of a positive policy toward small business.

The Committee asserted its "basic relief that the competitive market mechanism, if given a chance, will produce a socially desirable result in the long run in most markets. Our concern is that the competitive mechanism will not be allowed to work and, in particular, that the salutory competition of small firms and of new firms will be unduly restricted."

Two types of limitations on the participation of small business in our economic life are noted in the study. The first type is that arising from an inadequacy or inefficiency within the small firm itself. This may properly be referred to as a real cost disadvantage of small business—as, for example, those cases in which the actual resources to produce a particular product or service are greater in a small firm than in a large one. Another type of disadvantage of small business is the institutional barrier to the participation of small firms in our economic life. This may arise either through the intentional exclusion of small firms from some markets by the individual or collective action of other organizations, or through the routine conduct of affairs so as to favor large firms over small ones.

Based upon its analysis of the differing implications of these two forms of barriers to small business success, the Committee concluded: "An important element of a positive policy toward small business is the elimination of discrimination against the small firm."

A second element should be an effort to enable small firms to help themselves, both in the direction of better internal management and in group activities which will achieve some of the advantages of larger scale operations while maintaining the independence of the small firm.

In conclusion, the Committee affirmed that it is in the public interest to support policies which create equal opportunity in the market and which create a climate in which efficient small firms can be born and grow in activities to which they are well suited. As the Committee observed, "It is our opinion that there are a substantial number of ways in which the participation of small business in the economy can be significantly increased, and dynamic competition of the economy thereby strengthened, without incurring significant real or money costs. Let it be emphasized that we have no interest in increasing the number of uneconomic small firms in the economy. * * * Such an exercise would be futile and irresponsible. We do, however, have a strong interest in increasing the entrance opportunities and survival rates for small firms. We believe that in many instances this can be accomplished by the removal of institutional barriers to small business success and to the improvement of small business performance in an open, competitive economy."

"Small Business in the American Economy" White House Committee on Small Business, May 1962.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE

Based upon its studies during the past year, the Committee believes that these are the problem areas presently facing small business:

1. Market structure or competitive conditions as they affect equality of economic opportunity.

2. The adequacy of managerial ability and experience, and the awareness of information available to small business.

3. The ability of small business to obtain capital on reasonable terms.

4. A consideration of the place of small business in governmental programs and activities.

It is to these areas that the Committee has directed its attention during the past year.

The procedure which the Committee has used in studying these problems has varied. In some cases, ad hoc study groups were appointed to evaluate a problem and to make recommendations as to the most effective disposition. In other cases, authorities from other Government agencies or from outside sources have appeared before the Committee in a consultative capacity. In still other cases members, whose area of responsibility included the problem under discussion, were assigned primary responsibility for developing the material necessary for a decision by the Committee.

*1. Market structures or competitive conditions as they affect equality of economic opportunity*

A. Expediting the investigation of unfair trade practices: When faced with an unfair trade practice on the part of a competitor, the typical small businessman is likely to be uncertain as to the most effective means of redress. Since the Federal Trade Commission has only 10 field offices, he may well be at a considerable distance from the nearest representative of that agency. To expedite action on complaints of unfair trade practice, the Small Business Administration and the Federal Trade Commission, on the basis of a Committee recommendation, have entered into an agreement designed to make it more convenient for the small businessman to file his complaint and to speed the handling of such communications. SBA field offices located in 60 cities throughout the country will now accept such complaints and forward them directly to FTC headquarters in Washington for appropriate action.

This innovation, hailed in the House of Representatives as "a reform in the administration of unfair trade practice complaints," has already shown promise as a means of speeding and improving a process which in the past has frequently been slow and ineffective.

B. Authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to issue temporary cease-and-desist orders: Despite efforts on the part of the Federal Trade Commission to remedy the problem, law enforcement by the FTC has been frustrated by delays and by an increasing backlog of cases. The Committee concluded that "protection of the competitive system and the place of small business in that system requires that the inevitable delays in litigation shall not be employed to permit the continuance of the very practices against which the FTC Act and the antitrust laws have been enacted." Unless the practices which theh FTC alleges to be violative of the law can be stopped while their legality is finally determined, the litigation may prove futile. The small businessman who is the victim of the practices may well have been irreparably injured or destroyed during the course of the proceeding. As a measure to protect and assist small business, the Committee therefore recommended to the President that he give full support to the objectives of pending legislation providing for issuance of temporary cease-and-desist orders by the Federal Trade Commission.

Shortly thereafter the President expressed his strong support for such legislation. Noting that the White House Committee had studied the proposed measure and recommended its approval, the President concluded that such legislation "will provide essential protection for small businessmen and thus strengthen competition throughout the Nation's economy."

The Committee reaffirms its endorsement of this proposed legislation.

C. Strengthening the power of documentary demand: The Committee studied pending legislation empowering the Attorney General to compel the production of documentary evidence in civil antitrust investigations and concluded that such legislation would be a significant assistance to small business. The Committee advised the President that "it is frequently the case that remedial legal action comes too late to be of any assistance to the businessman who is the victim of anticompetitive practices. Legislation of this character would allow the Department of Justice to proceed with the speed which is necessary in order to enforce antitrust laws. In this regard, such legislation contributes to the welfare of small business."

The bill has now been passed in somewhat differing forms by both Houses of Congress, and has been referred to conference for the reconciliation of the differences.

*2. The adequacy of managerial ability and experience, and the awareness of information available to small business*

A. Increased liaison between the Small Business Administration and other Government agencies: One of the Committee's earliest recommendations was for the institution of more effective liaison between SBA and the other agencies represented on the Committee. Working relationships on a continuing basis have now been developed along the lines recommended by the Committee. Among the relationships established have been those with the Department of Commerce's Business and Defense Services Administration, Office of Distribution, and Office of Technical Services; the Department of Labor, to channel workers to small businesses and to make available to small business the facilities of the Bureau of Employment Security; the Department of Defense,

to encourage small firms to organize pools and joint ventures for the purpose of engaging in research and development; the Area Redevelopment Administration, to gear the programs of ARA to small business, and the Urban Renewal Administration, to encourage and assist local officers to extend technical relocation services to displaced businesses and to encourage local agencies to consider the impact on small business in the delineation of urban renewal areas.

B. Tax guidance for small businessmen: The Committee recommended that the Small Business Administration and the Internal Revenue Service jointly explore the feasibility of conducting tax clinics for small businessmen. The first two such clinics have now been conducted, in conjunction with Syracuse and Bradley Universities, and were enthusiastically received. The purpose of the clinics is to alert small businessmen to the tax aspects of managerial decisions. It is expected that the two agencies will expand the program considerably in the coming months.

C. Antitrust guidance for small businessmen: It is the belief of the Committee that many small businessmen are not adequately familiar with laws relating to antitrust violations and unfair trade practices. The Committee therefore recommends that the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission and the Small Business Administration explore the feasibility of conducting legal clinics devoted exclusively to an examination of these laws, the remedies provided thereunder, and the impact of these statutes upon small business.

D. Expanding the role of small business in foreign trade: The Committee recommended that the Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration devise a program for providing advisory assistance to individual small business firms, informing them of the possibilities in the field of foreign trade. The two agencies have now developed coordinated programs to avoid duplication of effort in this area. The Commerce Department is responsible for the actual servicing of the technical needs of business in the development of trade opportunities. The SBA's activities to increase interest in exporting include conferences, meetings, courses, publications, research, counseling and the stimulation of small business participation in trade fairs, centers, and missions.

In addition, SBA and FTC are examining the antitrust exemptions under the Webb-Pomerene Act and evaluating the adequacy of the existing provisions.

E. Managerial assistance to small business: The Committee examined the availability and use of managerial information and guidance for the small businessman. The Committee concluded that there is a need for more such information and guidance, and that the small business community is as yet largely unaware of the services which are available. The programs of the Small Business Administration in this regard were discussed and evaluated. The Committee endorses these management programs and recommends that they be given greater emphasis.

*3. The ability of small business to obtain capital on reasonable terms*

A. A program of guaranteed leases: A recurring complaint of small retailers is their inability to obtain leases in desirable locations. Small concerns are in many cases precluded from acquiring prime space in such areas as shopping centers, downtown locations, and industrial parks. It is asserted that in some cases financiers of such developments require that tenants have a credit rating beyond the potential of most small businesses. It is further alleged that other landlords or promoters are reluctant to make space available to small concerns, since such leases do not provide a basis for financing. One method proposed for overcoming this resistance is to guarantee the rental of a small business, thus enabling the promoter to obtain financing and thereby assisting small concerns in securing space. The Committee discussed the problem, considered the proposal of a guaranteed lease program by the Federal Government, and has taken the matter under advisement.

B. Tax proposals to facilitate expansion and modernization: Small business has traditionally found difficulty in obtaining outside capital to provide for expansion and modernization of facilities. This difficulty is aggravated by inadequate tax treatment of the use of internal funds for such purposes. The Committee studied a number of proposals, directed at the latter problem, including the investment tax credit contained in the proposed Revenue Act of 1962. The Committee endorses the credit as a particularly attractive means of stimulating the growth, stability, and vigor of small business in the American economy. A position paper, explaining the salutary effect the proposal would have upon small business, has been prepared and distributed by the Committee to appropriate sources.

C. A simplified method of financial assistance to small business: The Committee recommended, and the Small Business Administration subsequently adopted, a simplified bank loan participation plan. The plan is designed to encourage bank participation in SBA's lending program by minimizing the paperwork required in processing a loan and by relying on the bank itself for credit guidance. Use of the plan has resulted in a greater flow of private lending funds to small businesses, increasing and expediting assistance to a greater number of small businesses. The acceptance of the plan by banks was almost immediate, and has continued at a gratifyingly high rate.

*4. The place of small business in governmental programs and activities*

A. Familiarizing the small businessman with the services of the Federal Government: The Committee, together with the Senate Select Committee on Small Business and the Small Business Administration, has cosponsored a publication entitled "Federal Handbook for Small Business." Designed to bring together the various activities performed in behalf of small business by 13 Federal agencies, the book discusses financial and technical assistance, Government sales and procurement, foreign trade, labor-management relations, research and marketing assistance, taxes, unfair trade practices, and other matters of concern to the small business community. About 80,000 copies are being printed and will be distributed to small businessmen throughout the country.

B. Avoiding duplication of effort in providing services to small business: The Committee has studied the variety of services available to small businessmen and concludes that the Small Business Administration has come to be regarded by the small business community as its spokesman within the Government. It is the consensus of the Committee that the SBA, in accordance with the act creating it, should be encouraged to continue its educational programs and pursue vigorously its activities in behalf of small business. The Committee further concludes that the most direct way in which assistance to small business can be carried out with maximum effectiveness and a minimum of duplication is by a clear recognition of the SBA as the appropriate agency to serve as a center of information on Government services available to small business.

C. The place of small business in a program of Government procurement: The Committee is presently concluding a study of the impact of Government procurement programs upon small business. The particular focus of the Committee has been upon the weapons system method of procurement, but the implications of the study will extend beyond that subject. It is hoped that the study will result in a number of recommendations for revisions in the existing Government procurement programs. When he appointed the Committee, the President directed the organization "to devise means for assuring small business a larger share of Government contracts and subcontracts." It is hoped that the study now being completed will make a significant contribution toward that objective.

D. Small business set-asides. The set-aside program, authorized by the Small Business Act, provides in essence for limiting those who may bid on procurement contracts to small firms in cases where there is reasonable expectation that bids or proposals will be obtained from a sufficient number of responsible small business concerns so that awards will be made at reasonable prices. The Committee has studied the program and found it to be a useful tool in fulfilling the policy of Congress that "a fair proportion of the total * * * contracts and subcontracts for property and services for the Government" shall be placed with small business firms. The Committee feels that the present program should be continued substantially as it is, adding to it only through education and emphasis. Particular attention was devoted to the allegation that the cost to the Government under a set-aside program exceeds the price which would be paid if the program were not in effect. While acknowledging the possibility of a slightly higher price in a particular procurement, the Committee affirms its belief that the overall set-aside program contributes to the likelihood of continuing the small business competition which is essential in achieving substantially lower prices in the long run.

CONCLUSION

President Kennedy has said that "one of the great challenges of the 1960's will be to strengthen the small independent businessman." The last year has witnessed a number of significant steps to meet that challenge.

As is typically the case, the small businessman was the first to be hit and the last to recover from the 1960 downturn in the economy. The last several years have seen a steady increase in the rate of business failures recorded. The total number of business bankruptcy cases filed with the courts in the last fiscal year was well above the level during the last decade.

But, by the end of 1961, small business appeared to be making a recovery of its own. Growth of the business population, slowed during the recession, has accelerated in recent months. In the second and third quarters of 1961, the number of businesses in operation increased by 15,000 in each quarter compared with increases of 10,000 in the first quarter of the year and only 5,000 in the fourth quarter of 1960. By the end of the third quarter of 1961 the business population had reached a new high of 4,775,000 firms of which approximately 4½ million were small businesses. For the year 1962 to date, business failures have been about 5 percent lower than last year.

It will require concerted effort on the part of private industry as well as the Government to assure that small business retains its place in the American economy in the years ahead. The impact of the recessions of the 1950's has been most severe on small business. The problems connected with launching and operating a small business have become more difficult in the last several years. Mounting costs, intensified domestic and foreign competition, improved methods—all these have contributed to a need for high

levels of managerial and technical knowledge, as well as for sufficient funds.

In order to strengthen the competitive position of small businesses, the committee believes that it is necessary to insure free entry into the marketplace; to preserve equality of economic opportunity for those already established; to supply appropriate information and assistance to individuals who desire to establish new businesses; to augment existing sources of equity and long-term capital, and to preserve to small business a fair and equitable place in the programs and policies of the Federal Government.

In the past year several steps have been taken in this direction. An increase in the revolving fund authorization of the Small Business Administration was effected by an an amendment to the Small Business Act. That agency has virtually doubled its services, most notably in the field of business loans. The Small Business Investment Company program has made a significant contribution toward channeling the flow of private funds to small business. A small business subcontracting program provided for in the 1961 amendments to the Small Business Act has been developed cooperatively by the Small Business Administration, the Department of Defense and the General Services Administration with a view toward expanding the share of subcontracts under Government prime contracts received by small business. The President's order that the small business share of military purchases be increased by 10 percent is a promising beginning. The Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission have stepped up their efforts to deter and control anticompetitive practices.

But much remains to be done. In a society in which so many voices are raised in their own behalf, a continuing evaluation of the position of small business is essential. Certainly, no such appraisal can be complete without a careful study of the role of the Federal Government in assisting small business to grow and prosper. It is the committee's hope that its recommendations to date will make a significant contribution toward such an evaluation, and that its recommendations in the coming months will augment that contribution.

## Favorable Action Urged for World War I Veterans Pension Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the World War I veterans' pension bill, H.R. 3745, is still pending. Its discharge petition lacks a very few signatures. I want to see it get them.

World War I was a long time ago—an old-fashioned war in a bygone era fought by forgotten Americans. In short, a page of history vaguely remembered and no longer important. But those who do remember it, only too well, are very important to this country. They are the veterans who fought this war and who first graphically demonstrated American determination to resist aggression anywhere in the world, a determination that we continue to live by. They are now old men, many in need of help, but their reward is callous indifference.

Their reaction to the rebuff of their fellow citizens and Members of Congress is well expressed in the following letter from Capt. James R. Nichols, of the famed 82d Division, AEF. It is a worthy reminder to us all.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
*July 25, 1962.*

National Commander JOHN BASHARA,
*Veterans of World War I, USA, Inc.,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR COMMANDER BASHARA: Lately I have read editorials in a few newspapers by misguided and uninformed editors, viciously criticising World War I veterans who now average nearly 70 years of age, for applying for a pension. They also attempt to create the myth in the public mind that these old men are well to do, and are merely trying for a grab. For shame to them.

Combat veterans of World War I fought on some of the bloodiest battlefields in the history of the United States. Day after day for a month or more in the Argonne Woods alone, they fought day and night under poison gas, and perfectly hellish conditions. Two breaths of phosgene gas did the job. The gas masks were crude, uncomfortable things wherein the eye glasses fogged up in a couple of minutes, and then men stumbled along in the mud blind, sometimes fighting hand to hand, and deaf as well, because both sides threw everything they could throw, and there was a constant explosion and concussion.

We found American and German soldiers lying dead, each with their bayonets driven through the body of the other. The fields were covered with the dead, standing in holes, kneeling and some lying where they fell. The sweet sickening smell of death got into your hair, nose, and clothes, and overhung the fields like a pall. There was no blood plasma, no walkie-talkie radios. Men had to run back and across to carry messages through the bullets and shellfire. Many never made it. Where was Henry J. Taylor, columnist for United Features Syndicate, then? As our vilifier, what is his combat record?

The United States, through these men, brought victory to a war that Ludendorf had just about won. He got to within 18 miles of Paris. The French Government had moved to Bordeau ready to take it on the lam, and some of our infantry were rushed into Reserve at Amiens 10 days after they left New York. British officers told me on arrival that we were too late, and were just war prolongers. Now these same veterans are called grabbers and racketeers. The 82d Division, of which I was a member, had received full replacements after St. Mihell. We came out of the Argonne with less than 500 men per regiment in some cases, with lieutenants commanding battalions. Sergeant York was among them. The Germans fought like devils. Orders we captured, commanded them to stop the Americans right there at all costs—they really tried.

The men in my outfit were about 90 percent of Polish, Italian, Irish and other extractions. Bartenders, coal miners, mule drivers, and common laborers. They were, and usually are, the real battlefield fighting men. They learn quickly, and were soon converted into tough, efficient fighting men. They accepted the terrible hardships, the exposure, the food or lack of it, along with the fighting and dying as all in the day's work. The object was to win, and this they did.

These type of men, as a rule, don't become wealthy men. Wages were small in those days, and when they got home—those that did—they did well to make a living and raise their families. They also had to go through 4 or 5 years of the worst depression the United States ever encountered, when they had children to feed. Many of them today are old, and in need, and deserve the pension requested. Some of my own men have written to me, and some I have been able to help.

Veterans of the Spanish-American War have been drawing pensions of $100 a month for years. Before them, Civil War veterans received pensions. Nobody called them grabbers and racketeers. Men from World War II came home, and received assistance in buying a home, elimination of downpayments; they also were offered college educations which run into money. We received nothing but a ticket home. Later the Congress voted a bonus of $400, and a great many of us were opposed to that. We were young and able to work. At 70, it is different, very different. Some have suffered reverses, some have been sick, and getting a job is out of the question. Still these men would like to hold their head up rather than be kicked around, and that is why they need this pension.

Now as to cost. At present a great percentage of World War I vets are dead and 110,000 a year are now dying. Most men never live to be 80, and from now on the death rate increases at a rapid rate. We have been giving away billions of dollars in foreign aid for over 15 years. If the cost of this pension were deducted from foreign aid, for people who have never done anything for us, it would be spent much more properly and with greater immediate benefit to the United States in its present economic difficulty. Because, this pension would go to old and deserving men who need it to live on only meagerly, but—the money would go to every town, city, and State in the Union, and it would be spent immediately, and it would help the pump priming immensely. I cannot help but notice that of the billions we have spent on every nation on earth from Russia to the Congo, to Latin America, that in response, for the most part, we are about as popular as an illegitimate child at a family reunion.

Our old veterans are not wealthy men; most of them are dependent, but some of the editors and people who call us grabbers are well to do and drawing big salaries, big pensions, and in some cases, free medical and dental attention as well. A World War I veteran who fought on some of these battlefields, but was lucky enough not to get hit, today has to sign a paupers oath to even get into a veteran's hospital. This bill should come to the floor of Congress, be studied carefully, and amended if necessary. It should be handled generously and passed. Charity begins at home and it will be appreciated, and do a great deal of good.

In conclusion, the majority of war veterans need a pension such as this by the time they are old men. They don't need it as a rule at 45; they are then at their prime. That is the difference between World War I and World War II veterans. Let the younger men remember that. This country today is organized into many groups for security.

The time has come for all war veterans organizations to achieve unity. United they stand, divided they fall. They should vote for those who vote for them, and they should not support newspapers and magazines who castigate, and vilify them. United we have great potential strength. Let's remember it, and we will be respected.

Very truly yours,

JAMES R. NICHOLS,
*Captain, 82 Division, AEF, P.H.*

## Medical Care for Our Elder Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the

RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Weirton (W. Va.) Daily Times under date of July 26, 1962:

BATTLE WON, WAR YET TO BE FOUGHT

Defeat of the medicare bill by the Senate was, of course, a great victory for the American Medical Society. The doctors of the Nation will make a great mistake, however, if they fail to realize that this was but a battle. The war is yet to be fought.

The vote in the Senate reflected the attitude of the American people at this time concerning any step in the direction of socialized medicine. The fact remains that all programs of great social impact have as their base a recognized need of a large segment of our people. Medicare is no exception. The man with average income simply cannot afford these days to be sick. If the various medical associations fail to recognize this fact and fail to accept the drive for the medicare bill as a warning, they would have only themselves to blame if socialized medicine is finally adopted.

We are fully aware of the tremendous cost of the medical education. We know of the infinite service that is demanded in hospital care. But even so, we are convinced that with the cooperation of the medical fraternity, there can evolve some degree of relief.

In too many cases patients are sent to the hospital for the convenience of the doctor, rather than the need of the patient. While it is of great public benefit that a certain percentage of our doctors spend many years and large sums of money in specialization, still we fear that trend away from the general practitioner will, in the not too distant future, come back to haunt the medical profession.

Overcrowded, our hospitals increase the expense necessary for their operation. The age of medical specialization justifiably demands higher fees. But somewhere along the line there must be a happy medium. Unless the doctors of the Nation discover how this line may be drawn, legislation will do the drawing.

People who are sick must receive the very best of care no matter what may be their economic position in life. Medical and hospitalization insurance has been a long step in the right direction, but reputable physicians will be the first to admit that there are abuses which must be corrected. Who does the correcting is largely up to the doctors.

## Editorial Opinion Questions Wisdom of Aiding the Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 19, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the wisdom of voting a foreign aid bill which further depletes our gold supply and at the same time gives aid and comfort to our enemies is seriously questioned by many newspaper editorials. Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include two, one "Aiding the Enemy" from the Dallas Morning News and the other "An Opportunity Missed," from the Chicago Daily Tribune:

The editorials follow:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, July 28, 1962]

AIDING THE ENEMY

In the sixth chapter of Matthew, we are taught "Let not they left hand know what thy right hand doeth." This New Testament lesson was meant to apply to the giving of alms—not the conduct of foreign affairs. It is imperative today that those in charge of U.S. foreign affairs keep a careful watch on both hands; in too many instances we have been undoing with one hand what we have tried to do with the other.

Some months ago the United States imposed an economic embargo on Cuba. Though we could not force other nations to do the same, we urged them to halt aid and trade arrangements with the Castro regime. It was thought that, at least, no more U.S. money or goods would get through—directly or indirectly—to the Fidelistas.

It hasn't worked out that way. We've already seen how U.S. aid to Poland and Yugoslavia has been converted into military hardware and shipped to Cuba, for instance. And this week two more examples of how our money is being used to keep Fidel in power came to light.

The United States has just given $20 million to Mexico so that this neighbor to the south can expand its wheat production. But Mexico has been shipping 300,000 tons of wheat and corn to Cuba every year. Will our aid enable Mexico to increase its provisions for Castro? If it does, this will not only help Fidel to end the hunger riots in his land but will also take some of the pressure off the Soviet Union to send grain to Cuba. The U.S.S.R. has food shortage problems of its own.

The second example concerns the United Nations. Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland, testifying before a congressional committee a few days ago, admitted that U.S. funds have just been used by the U.N. to pay part of Castro's debt to the organization.

The U.N. has been moaning a lot about its own debts. In sympathy, President Kennedy recently authorized a special $215 million grant out of foreign aid funds to ease the U.N. emergency. Out of this amount, $11 million was earmarked for the cost of the U.N.'s Congo operation.

What was done with the $11 million? It was used to write off the assessments of other U.N. member nations for the Congo operation. Assessments were reduced by 50 to 80 percent, and Castro's bill was discounted by the maximum 80 percent. India, Poland, Yugoslavia and many other neutrals and enemies likewise benefited from our gift.

When are we going to start putting some strings on our foreign aid and other handouts? Congress missed the opportunity in its final vote on the foreign aid authorization bill. Let's hope it takes a harder look next time.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune]

AN OPPORTUNITY MISSED

By a vote of 221 to 162, the House of Representatives has passed the $4.6 billion foreign aid bill and has thereby forfeited the best chance it will have this year to put our national finances into some semblance of order.

By trimming $1 billion or more from the bill approved by the Senate, the House could have struck a double blow for fiscal integrity. It could have brought the national budget nearer to a balance and thus reduced the danger of inflation, and it could have brought our foreign payments into balance, or nearly so, and thus limited the ability of foreign countries to use surplus dollars to buy our gold.

Here was an unparalleled chance to serve the people at a critical moment, but the mental exertion necessary to recognize it was too much for 221 Members who prefer to let the White House and the foreign aid lobby in the State Department do their thinking for them. They took at face value Mr. Kennedy's soothing assertion at Monday's press conference that the United States can bring its foreign payments into balance any day it wants, if it wishes to withdraw its support of its defense expenditures overseas and our foreign aid."

The majority believed, as he intended them to believe, that there is no need to stop our foreign deficit today as long as we can stop it later if we want to.

Actually Mr. Kennedy's statement provided a persuasive argument against continuing foreign aid at the present rate. Isn't it more important to preserve the value of the dollar and with it the monetary strength of the free world, than to try to buy friends abroad with dollars which become progressively less attractive as more are sent abroad and which therefore have to be doled out in ever-increasing volume?

There can be only one answer to that question. It should have been obvious even if there had been no waste, inefficiency, and ineffectiveness in our foreign aid programs. It should be obvious, too, that if our European friends wanted to help us bear the foreign aid burden, they could easily afford to do so with the money they use to buy our gold.

By their poor judgment, the Members of the House who voted for the bill have done the country a disservice which will surely become more apparent as time goes on.

## Dr. "Mac" Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to make available to this body the contents of an article in Sunday's Washington Post, with a well-deserved tribute to a distinguished member of the medical profession and an able public servant, Dr. A. Magruder MacDonald.

Dr. MacDonald, beloved, respected, and admired by thousands who have followed his career as coroner for the District of Columbia, will shortly conclude 28 years of service. He will be missed in many ways.

The complete text of the article follows:

DR. "MAC" RELUCTANTLY RETIRING AS D.C. CORONER

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

Dr. A. Magruder MacDonald, dispenser of medical jurisprudence as District Coroner since 1934, is going to retire on September 1, but it isn't his idea.

The District Commissioners regretfully have reminded Dr. "Mac," as he is known to his legions of friends, that he will reach the compulsory retirement age of 70 on August 26 and that it's about time for him to take a well-earned rest.

As a result, Dr. MacDonald, to whom 16-hour working days are commonplace, will begin a month's leave on Tuesday before officially bowing out of office.

Dr. Mac's retirement may spell the end of the coroner's inquest system in the District in favor of the medical examiner plan, which eliminates possible duplication of grand jury functions in death investigations.

District Commissioner John B. Duncan said yesterday that city officials will confer with the U.S. attorney's office, the police department, legal societies, and members of the medical profession before naming a successor to Dr. MacDonald.

SYSTEM LONG UNDER FIRE

The coroner's jury system has long been under fire in legal and medical circles as outmoded and time consuming.

That it has survived in the District has been attributed to the prestige brought to the office by Dr. MacDonald, who twice in the last 20 years has successfully defended the system before Congress.

Dr. Mac, who has presided with unruffled judicial calm at more than 1,000 coroner's inquests, does not take too kindly to thoughts of his forthcoming retirement.

"It's hard for me to get used to the idea, but I'm gradually adjusting myself to the fact that I have to go," he said yesterday, adding hastily, "Not that I wouldn't stay if I could."

TO CONTINUE PRACTICE

To Dr. MacDonald, who said he will continue to maintain his extensive private practice, the job of District coroner was on the order of an around-the-clock hobby.

His questioning of witnesses at the inquests he conducted made those proceedings an unofficial training for young assistant U.S. attorneys.

Washington-born and a 1915 graduate of Georgetown University School of Medicine, Dr. MacDonald was steered for the medical profession even before he emerged from the old Central High School with a scholarship more than 50 years ago.

His father, the late Fraser J. MacDonald, was a druggist of the old school who dispensed advice and medicines from his Security Drug Store at 12th and H Streets NE. for 30 years.

Young Andrew Magruder MacDonald worked there as a boy. After World War I he set up his first Washington medical offices on the floor above his father's drugstore.

During the war, Dr. Mac served with both the British and American armies and wound up as chief of a base hospital in Rouen, France.

Branching out in the field of legal medicine, Dr. Mac served for several years in the District coroner's office before he was tapped for the job himself. From his home at 1020 Maryland Avenue NE., where he lived with his wife, Helen, Dr. Mac maintained an expanding private practice that often called him out of bed in the dead of night to rush to the bedside of a patient.

Dr. MacDonald, who now lives with his wife at 5115 Lowell Lane NW., became friend and counselor to his patients, many of whose grandchildren now consult him.

The stockily built little Scotsman is a three-time grandfather himself. His daughter, Andrea, is the wife of Dr. Robert E. Moran, Jr.

ANTIDOTES FOR IDLENESS

Dr. Mac hopes that his retirement will enable him to spend more time at his farm near Aquasco, Md., in southern Prince Georges County. His self-prescribed antidotes for idleness are bridge, fishing, and collecting antique silverware, but he says he may take a fling at writing a book about his experiences as the District coroner.

A former president of the District Medical Society, Dr. MacDonald was a lecturer for several years on medical jurisprudence at Georgetown University School of Medicine and the FBI's National Police Academy.

When Dr. Mac leaves his offices at the District Morgue, 19th and C Streets SE., he will leave behind three deputies he named during his long tenure as coroner.

Dr. Richard L. Whelton, senior deputy coroner, was named to the staff in 1959 as the first addition to the coroner's staff in 25 years. Dr. Jorge B. Morales, a pathologist, was named a deputy coroner 2 years ago to fill the vacancy left by the death of Dr. Christopher J. Murphy. Dr. Linwood L. Rayford, Jr., the most recent addition, was appointed in May 1961, after the retirement of Dr. Richard M. Rosenberg.

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## Fordham University Conference on Educational Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, Commissioner Robert E. Lee, of the Federal Communications Commission, has directed to my attention a speech delivered on July 19, 1962, by Seymour N. Siegel, director of radio communications at the Fordham University Conference on Educational Television.

Under the permission heretofore granted by unanimous consent of the House I include Mr. Siegel's speech:

Father Trivett, Commissioner Lee, ladies and gentlemen, the difference between educational television—the 10th anniversary of which we are marking with this 5-day conference—and show business as espoused by Variety and the industry, is very evident indeed in this morning's seminar. It is only in the context of a captive audience that I would dare with impunity to follow such a headliner as Commissioner Robert Lee.

Bob Weston will, I am sure, have even a greater battle to fight for your wavering attention before the morning is out.

Father Trivett told me with no exaggerated subtlety that educational television was going to be discussed by experts who were in the field but that I was the only one who could really talk about the Federal Communications Commission's UHF experiment in New York. This was a combination of traumatic experience and at the same time the first bit of viceral incitation that I have received from an educator in almost a decade. But Father Trivett was right.

The Municipal Broadcasting System of the city of New York is not an educational institution in the sense that it would be entitled to a reserved channel. We do have in common with educational television the fact that we operate on a noncommercial basis just as we have been operating WNYC and WNYC–FM for almost four decades on a noncommercial basis.

Before too many of you think it altogether presumptuous of me to be discussing the Federal Communications Commission's UHF experiment in New York, I ought to clarify some facts for you. The city had applied for and received a construction permit for UHF channel 31 as far back as 1953. Like so many other applicants throughout the country the problem of introducing UHF into a VHF-saturated market like New York City presented enough of a problem to preclude the implementation of an operating station, despite the continued affirmation by successive mayors and by board of estimate that we hold on to our construction permit. When Commissioner Lee announced the Commission's intent to proceed with a definitive test of UHF in New York City 2 years ago, he also made a suggestion which Mayor Wagner accepted, that channel 31 be utilized as the test channel.

An agreement was entered into whereby, the Municipal Broadcasting System would operate the transmitter for the FCC and the city would be reimbursed by the Federal Government. At the same time the city would have an opportunity of trying out many of the ideas that we had been talking about for many years; to ascertain whether television could be useful to various city departments for training, for administration, and for management improvement.

WUHF has been on the air since November 29, 1961, from 9 in the morning until 11 at night. Most of the programing has been simulcasting from channels 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11. The city itself has originated between 25 and 28 hours of programing every week.

While the Commission's experiment goes on and measurements are being taken in 5,000 homes within 25 miles of the Empire State Building, the Municipal Broadcasting System itself is experimenting with municipal television—what we call visual communication or MTV.

MTV has already been identified as civics plus culture. This is perhaps somewhat different from ETV but we have already identified areas where neither commercial stations nor educational stations will meet obvious needs. Communication between the city departments and the public brings about a better understanding of how local government functions and to make known the services available to our people is our prime responsibility. The presentation of educational, in-service training courses for the fire department, for example, has already opened up new vistas. We have equipped 260 firehouses throughout the city with converters and this enables all hands to participate in regular training sessions which has resulted in an increase within the past few months in the effectiveness of the department's training activities. Where it took a year for a single instructor to travel from firehouse to firehouse presenting his special training program at regular drill periods, today this can be done in a single half hour. As a supplement to skill training it is ideal in that specific application examples are easily portrayed to a large number of individuals. In attitude training, fire service philosophy is clearly expounded to 5,000 men at one time. Up until now this could only be done in a piecemeal fashion requiring years of effort. For administrative training, Fire Commissioner Thompson believes that it provides the answer to the present difficulty and problem of how to assemble desired candidates at one time with the minimum annoyance and inconvenience to the individual and the community concerned.

The oldest journal of fire protection, "Fire Engineering" has said this may well be "the long leap forward" which some educators believe is necessary if the fire service is to reach a comparable plane of training now found in business and industry. This training breakthrough has attracted the attention of small fire departments in surrounding areas and already more than 50 of the volunteer and paid fire departments in surrounding counties are tuning in on this exclusive source of fire training.

What has excited the firefighters themselves is that the public is becoming acquainted with the true picture of their work and is receiving additional insight into the problems that face our firemen.

The experiment on UHF has been described as "worthy of all the necessary time, effort, and expense that it will entail."

So far as the police department is concerned, we have already installed special receivers in 20 police precincts. The police academy presents a training program—"around the clock" three times a week—twice a day. The broadcast hours coincide with the hours of tour changes and we have already had training programs devoted to fingerprint identification, how to frisk suspects, how to control crowds, the rules of evidence, the enforcement of gambling laws, and the highly informative series on narcotics. Each program, in addition, features a description of 1 of the 13 most wanted criminals in New York City.

Four mornings a week, utilizing the teleglobe encoding system, we broadcast the police lineup from police headquarters on a scrambled basis in accordance with special experimental authority granted by the Communications Commission. The use of television for this purpose is saving many hours of valuable time for police personnel who do not have to leave their home precincts, and as a matter of fact is proving more effective than by personal attendance at the lineup.

In the area of nurse training, for example, WUHF presented a series of lectures on the lectures on the legal aspects of nursing. With 38 of our municipal hospitals equipped with converters we reached almost 3,000 nurses. Reports about the value of such use of television are highly enthusiastic. Our hospitals commissioner has urged an expansion of TV teaching not only to nurses but interns and hospital residents alike. We intend to provide this.

Our department of health has been presenting three programs a week just on the problems of nutrition. An additional monthly "Health Spectacular" has been utilising valuable public health film material and has featured the commissioner of health.

In the teacher-training area, the junior high school division of the board of education has experimented with a single course on teaching English composition. All of our 128 junior high schools are in the process of being equipped with converters.

The reports from the 25 pilot training centers which receive those past semester's training program are all in the positive column. I should note that one of the special aspects of this teacher-training program was the time at which it was presented. MTV is not necessarily tied down to the half-hour segments of commercial television. And this program was scheduled to accommodate the time requirements of teachers going from their own schools to the pilot projects.

We have, of course, offered the orthodox college lectures without credit but in the unorthodox area of advanced calculus and beginning German. These have been presented during prime evening hours.

Because there were a considerable number of engineers who were among the first to obtain converters we found a surprising interest on the part of our viewing audience in the advanced mathematics course.

Various other departments of city government have had an opportunity of presenting programs. "Spotlight on Housing" presented by the New York City Housing Authority enabled the world's largest landlord to talk to its tenants. Parenthetically this has been an encouraging factor in the institution of master antenna systems in housing projects.

Our experimental programing has also included specific special interest groups. The use of television for the benefit of the physically handicapped was intensively explored by Comeback, Inc., a nonprofit agency which arranged the installation of 200 converters in nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, and in individual homes.

We have not forgotten the Spanish-speaking population of New York and have initiated a 1-hour program in Spanish, including a news report in Spanish.

The communications center at Brandeis University conducted a survey in cooperation with the city administrator of the possible use of UHF as an instrument of municipal administration. So far as we know, this is the first exploration of its kind for any municipality and the sheer novelty of potential application of the medium make for exciting prospects. The information and the views assembled by Mr. Louis G. Cowan, the director of the center, who worked closely with the Institute of Public Administration and with various institutions of higher learning, indicated that New York City should engage in the fullest possible UHF program testing for at least 2 more years. This would provide a definitive indication of whether greater efficiency, speed, and economics for municipal management improvement can be achieved.

An important outside opinion concerning MTV potential was expressed by Col. Harold Riegelmann during the 1962–63 city budget hearings. Colonel Riegelmann reflected the views of the citizens budget commission and we rather like what he said: "We think the city is engaged in an enterprise here that offers great promise for the people of the city. We hope that ways can be found to at least find minimal financial requirements of the program. It seems desirable to hold on to the equipment and materials assembled in New York City for the experimental UHF–TV broadcasts. It may be that physical restrictions will restrain and perhaps even impair the programs of UHF but we think the city will be wise to hold and maintain its own UHF station even by sacrifice in other directions. We believe that the city's UHF station is necessary not only as a means of communication between the city and its residents but also as an instrument of administration. Nobody can today foresee the tremendous potentialities that seem to lie in the use of UHF television as a means of communication managed by the city for the betterment of the city. We think you have shown leadership in this field and we hope that you will continue to do so."

The preliminary reports which have been coming in from the measuring teams all seem to add up to a layman's conclusion that within the 25-mile radius from the Empire State Building there is no significant difference between UHF and VHF television. The detailed breakdown of contour measurement and comparative coverage distances by channels 2 and 7 compared to channel 31 are still to be released, but based on our own mail response and the reaction of our public, UHF works.

Now what about the experiment? We have learned a great deal. We have developed inhibitions like everyone else in ETV. We find ourselves preoccupied with the sheer physical requirements of presentation. We don't know whether the basis of our radio operation over four decades can continue in television. Many noncommercial television practitioners complain of small program budgets. We have no budget. Whether we can make brick without straw is still one of our problems. We are engaged in an experiment to determine whether a station so conceived can long endure.

While the atmosphere favors support of the arts with the Federal and State Governments doing more than ever before to support the arts and while the city itself has expanded itself to a higher point than ever to provide music and theater for its citizens, we have not yet reached a time where the request of funds for competitive television programing are available. And I am not yet convinced that a little appropriation will do more than compound the problem. It is too much like being a little pregnant.

We know that for our purposes of directionalized communication and to serve minority audiences, UHF works. We are not in competition with anyone, least of all channel 31.

The opportunities for service to the public, even if to small segments of it, are virtually limitless. The board of estimate has indicated that when the Communications Commission's experimental part is over, the city will continue the operation. We have only this morning completed the necessary application forms for WNYC–TV's license.

We must now look forward to preparing programing in full and on our own. We are preparing programs which will permit of local self-expression for example. With New York broken down into district neighborhoods and communities we have invited the editors of the local neighborhood press to meet with the borough presidents in a regular series of programs. We are planning with our dramatic, music, and dance schools, programs to develop and use local talent. The Child Study Association is considering the presentation of a children's program. Our public affairs programing will extend our coverage of city departments to present an equivalent of our 15-year coverage of United Nations meetings as well as some of the legislative bodies of the city. But it is in our service to the minority and specialty groups where ethnic, social, and racial problems will have available more air facilities than ever before that we propose to carve out the means of meeting the public interest needs of the inhabitants of New York.

While the history books may indicate that MTV began in the administration of Mayor Wagner who had the vision to take advantage of the opportunity and certainly a great many people have made great contributions to its conception and birth, I cannot close without emphasizing that in our view UHF-television and particularly UHF here in New York would never have had a chance, even as a proving ground, except and because of the foresight, tenacity, determination, diplomacy, skill, and dedication of one man. Flattery gets me nowhere with him and compliments do not always make for clarity. But if institutions are known by shadows cast by men, the shadow and substance of channel 31 in New York is due primarily to our first speaker of the morning—Robert E. Lee. It is easy to forget but the record must show that he has done more to lift the sight of people in this communications revolution which is upon us than any other single individual. I thank you.

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## Perhaps President Kennedy Should Reread the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 9, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how long it will be before the people will rise up in anger against a President whose disregard for the Constitution and its clearly defined separation of powers is becoming more and more evident with each passing day? It is a wonder, too, that Congress has not already rebelled against the unwarranted pressure tactics of President Kennedy who unashamedly demands that Congress transfer more and more power to him in violation of the oath we take to uphold the Constitu-

tion. Now the President wants to make this a campaign issue, I hope he does. I hope the people get a chance to vote on whether or not they want to continue this great Republic of ours with its guarantees of freedom or if they want to elect a Congress entirely submissive to President Kennedy. I know how the people of the Fifth District of Texas will react. I know how deeply they resent the President's unwarranted demands for power, of his use of the power of the Presidency to bend the businessmen of this country to his will, and by his use of the departments of Government to take away free speech and freedom of the press by threatening newspapers and news syndicates with antitrust suits if anything is printed uncomplimentary to the President or his family. We, in Texas, and I am sure the people throughout this land, want no dictator no matter how palatable he makes it sound through the clever use of fine language. I think the following editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune should serve notice on the President that the Congress and the people may have had enough of his pressure tactics:

ARM TWISTING

Among the 21 Democrats voting in the Senate to kill President Kennedy's health care bill was Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, of West Virginia. His was accounted the key vote in the administration defeat, for, if he had obeyed the White House lobbyists, a deal insuring that another Democrat would join him would have resulted in a tie vote, thus averting the tabling of the bill.

But Mr. RANDOLPH, although he favored the idea of health care through social security, objected to the administration's methods of bypassing the established committees and getting the measure before the Senate as a rider to a public welfare bill. He objected because the argument on this extraneous issue was holding up welfare payments to 60,000 West Virginians and because he thought the administration was less interested in helping elderly people than in fabricating a political issue.

When Mr. Kennedy's agents learned that Senator RANDOLPH could not be counted as a safe vote, he was subjected to a barrage of telephone calls. On the day before the issue was brought to a vote, he heard from almost all the heavy men in the administration.

His callers were President Kennedy; Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; William W. Barron, Governor of West Virginia; David L. Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania; Wilbur M. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Senator Mike Mansfield, majority leader of the Senate, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democratic whip. There were also numerous calls from influential Democrats in his State, some of whom were uninformed about the issue.

"It was one of the most distressing days I ever endured," the Senator told his colleagues.

Under the Constitution, of course, all legislative powers are vested in Congress. The President is merely to execute the laws. Yet here the executive branch was plainly trying to reduce the legislating branch to an assembly of rubberstamps. The Senators were to forget their powers of independent judgment and decision and to do what the President demanded.

That, as Senator RANDOLPH submits, and we submit, is a gross and offensive distortion of the processes of responsible government. It is a familiar administration practice, and it has occasioned much resentment in both Senate and House. Thus, when the weekly U.S. News & World Report interviewed numerous Members of Congress about their relationship with the White House, there was a common chord of complaint.

One committee chairman said, "People up here are coming to resent the horde of lobbyists the White House sends to the Capitol. A Member of Congress thinks he has a responsibility to his district or State to decide for himself. But now he encounters the President's people everywhere, pursuing him, demanding, some threatening—and all trying to tell him what he must do. Members talk about it more and more, and the resentment against such tactics is spreading."

A Democratic Member of the House remarked on "the strange misunderstanding at the White House on the way our Government is run. The White House," he said, "has a team of men that works to get the President's program through Congress. These men are called in the Capitol 'White House lobbyists' and 'the Irish Mafia.' Whatever you call them, they do not seem to understand that the Congress is an equal partner of the executive branch of government. They think that the President can dictate to Congress. * * * They are trying to transfer ward politics to the national level. It will not work."

When Mr. Kennedy threatens to take his case to the voters in this year's congressional elections, the people should know what he is asking of them. By the acknowledgment of his own party associates, he is asking for a submissive Congress, a Congress meekly vacating its own independence, and he is asking that the people endorse ward politics on the national level.

## Equal Pay for Equal Work: Justice and a Sound and Growing Economy

SPEECH
OF
## HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11677) to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by certain employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and to provide for the restitution of wages lost by employees by reason of any such discrimination.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, the equal pay bill, which passed this House last Wednesday, is a great landmark in American legislative history. For by supporting this measure, we have looked back and have reaffirmed our faith in the principles of the past upon which this Nation was founded; yet, at the same time, we have looked ahead to a sound and growing economy for the future.

H.R. 11677, like the equal pay legislation already passed by 22 States, declares that as a matter of national policy "work of comparable character on jobs requiring comparable skills should receive equal remuneration regardless of the sex of the worker." This concept of wage justice is firmly rooted in the principles of equality of the American political tradition.

By supporting this legislation, we have also taken an important step toward eliminating the double discrimination suffered by millions of our citizens. I refer to the women who are being subjected to wage discrimination as a result of their sex, while receiving an additional "deduction" in their paychecks because of their color, religion, or ethnic background.

Each year, more and more women are taking their place beside men in the labor force. Today, 24½ million women comprise about one-third of our working population. By 1970, that total is expected to increase to 30 million.

By granting these 24½ million women "equal pay for equal work," we will have made important progress toward a sound and growing economy. For it is vital that we make full use of their potential by giving them the same incentive that we grant to men to encourage them to increase their skills and productivity. Secondly, by eliminating an inducement for employers to replace men with lower salaried women workers, we will have destroyed a constant threat to millions of wage earners and a condition that acts as a depressant on general wage levels.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to praise the many private organizations and individuals who have diligently campaigned for "equal pay for equal work," both major political parties who advocated the same in their 1960 platforms, and my distinguished colleagues, under the skillful leadership of the gentleman from New York [Mr. ZELENKO], who have so zealously fought for this important and long-overdue legislation.

## Plain Talk on Regional Preference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, farmers are commonsense people who do not beat around the bush; they say what they think and usually they are right.

The July 21, 1962, issue of the California Farmer presents an example of straight thinking on a matter of significance to my area—H.R. 11264 and H.R. 11265, the regional preference bills.

In an article entitled "Secretary of Interior Udall Builds a Box," Editor Jack T. Pickett cuts through the sugar coating which has been placed on these bills by their proponents and exposes the legislation for what it really is: Unfair and discriminatory legislation.

The words of the California Farmer, a publication which reaches more than 104,000 California farms—the majority of which are family farms—merit the closest attention of all Members of Congress.

The article follows:

SECRETARY OF INTERIOR UDALL BUILDS A BOX; THE BOX HAS NO DOORS OR WINDOWS; GUESS WHO'S IN THE BOX—SECRETARY UDALL

(By Jack T. Pickett)

You have read of Commies that became rabid conservatives and far lefters who have switched to right field. Usually these are people who finally discover that the dictator

is far inferior to the management ability of a large number of individuals.

Another example of Government planners biting their own tail by mistake is coming out of the present public power melee in the Bonneville hassle.

A sickening swing to socialism is being planned by the huge powerful public power advocates. The Federal Government now controls about one-fifth of the power output of this country, and they have a neat scheme in the works to get control of the other four-fifths.

The Federal Government is bound and determined to develop power facilities even though private taxpaying utilities are ready, willing, and able to do the job.

If anybody in this big, wide world can explain to us why the Federal Government should fight, claw, and scratch to compete for jobs that private industry can do, then let them step forward and explain why this isn't socialism in the worst form.

In Bonneville, on the Columbia River, the Federal Government has a huge power system. This socialized power is peddled to "preferred customers." It is offered first co-ops like REA, to municipalities, to other public-owned agencies.

The preferred customers, strangely enough, are those that already have a tax advantage and, on top of that, they are provided with cheap Federal power which carries no part of the local tax burden. Of course, it is built with Federal tax dollars.

You would think that Federal power produced by Federal tax dollars taken from every working person in the United States would be spread to the maximum number of people, but just the reverse is true. The Federal power is reserved for the Federal agencies and tax-free public agencies whenever possible, and the planners feed the planners. The first rule of the bureaucracy is self-perpetuation and self-aggrandizement.

Well, the whole stinking mess backfired the other day when the planners unintentionally built themselves into a box. It seems that up at Bonneville they have such huge amounts of electrical power that the preferential customers can consume only 50 percent of it, and beyond that, they sell it to private industry.

Not only do they sell it to private industry but they sell it at a very low rate established way back in 1938. In fact, the Pacific Northwest, like the TVA area in Tennessee, advertises all over the United States the fact that power is cheap up there.

But at Bonneville, in their effort to spear private power, they have kept their rates so low that they lost $15 million last year and to get "well" they were scratching around for new customers. The new administration has as one of their planks the project of hooking up all the Federal powerplants scattered around the United States by federally built powerlines. This huge power grid would fix those dirty private power boys, but good.

As the first step in this power grid, they plan to connect Bonneville and Los Angeles. The original act that established "preference" said something about shooting this power to preferential customers as far as "economically transmissible."

OK, the next question was, is it economically feasible to send that power from Bonneville to Los Angeles? Let's get a feasibility report, says Secretary of the Interior Udall. So he choses a feasibility board composed of such outstanding unbiased sources as Charles F. Luce, Bonneville Power Administrator; Kenneth Holum, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Water and Power; Milton A. Chase, general engineer, office of the assistant secretary for water and power; Morgan Dubrow, assistant and chief engineering research adviser to Holum; Hugh P. Dungan, regional director, bureau of reclamation, Sacramento, and Bernard Goldhammer, Bonneville power manager at Portland.

Can you imagine what happens when the Secretary of the Interior asks his own employees if his pet project is feasible? They sat down to write it and being pretty intelligent men they began to see a box shaping up, but on the other hand, here was the boss demanding feasibility. So after due time they finally came out with the happy news that a transmission line from Bonneville to Los Angeles was feasible.

Well, all seemed to be going swimmingly until the "nonpreference" customers up around Bonneville began to think about the possible consequences of wheeling all this cheap power into California. According to the act, the power was supposed to go first to "preference" customers and then to private industry only if some was left over. California is full of cities and government agencies that would qualify for preference power, so the private firms and even the northwest chambers of commerce began to squeal about this "giveaway."

As a consequence of all this confusion, Secretary of Interior Udall sat down and built the fourth side of the box with no windows or doors. Udall wrote a bill that is numbered 3153 in the Senate and 11264–5 in the House.

In this bill, Udall tried to build a big wall around the Pacific Northwest. The idea was to give the Bonneville area a priority on the power produced in that area. True, he would allow some power to be exported, as over the proposed line to Los Angeles, but on 7 days' notice, they could recall that power if it were needed locally.

The idea of the wall was to make sure that everyone in the walled-in area got taken care of before they gave the cheap power to "outsiders." In other words, they wanted to make sure that both the preference and nonpreference customers in the Pacific Northwest got all the power they needed before they allowed any cheap power to escape. Of course, any power that they let slide under the wall could be jerked back on 7 days' notice.

Now all these years—in fact, dating back to the days of the Reclamation Act—the Federal Socialists have made "preference" a holy word. The main idea was to keep that power out of the hands of those lousy private enterprisers that were competing with bureaucracy.

Imagine how shocked the huge "preference fraternity" was when Udall wrote this bill which, true enough, protected local preference customers but also put private users behind the Bonneville wall above preference users outside the wall. As one editor put it, this was placing State, or regional socialism above national socialism.

Another weird thing happened when Udall wrote the bill under discussion. When he drew the line defining the area he called the Pacific Northwest, he drew a real crazy line that chops corners off States and divides States. There was a great deal of gerrymandering done with some pretty arbitrary lines being drawn.

In the 7-State area arbitrarily designated as the Bonneville area they include a lot of areas that are not in the Columbia River drainage basin. So they have set a precedent in this regard. Also to the far corners of the proposed walled-off area, the mileage or distance is greater than the proposed power line to Los Angeles.

The great danger that exists in this bill is that all other huge Federal power regions will want the same kind of a bill. They will want the same special privileges to retain power for sale to both preferential and nonpreferential customers. This will be just great if you happen to live within a wall, but everybody outside of that wall will not only be unable to buy tax-free power but they will be paying the Federal taxes to build the Federal power that competes unfairly with them.

To follow this idea just a little further, suppose they threw a wall around Hoover Dam that included Hoover Dam and Arizona. Los Angeles would then be in the position of trying to get power from Hoover and possibly from Bonneville but that power would and could be pulled away on 7 days' notice.

This very thing is now proposed in an amendment offered by Senator GOLDWATER of Arizona.

This Senate bill, No. 3153, and House bills, 11264 and 11265 give the Secretary of the Interior tremendous discretionary powers. The bill would make him power czar of the Nation. To federalize and socialize our power would be a tremendous mistake.

Why are we so opposed to socialized power? Well, for one thing this is really big business and when it is private business, it pays a big piece of our tax load.

For example P.G. & E. pays about $165 million a year taxes. About half of this goes for State, county and local district taxes. Almost $40 million goes to local school districts. My own selfish viewpoint on this matter is that I object, first of all, to the Federal Government scratching, clawing, kneeling and biting to take business away from private industry when private industry is ready, willing and able to assume all the construction and transmission of power needed to develop our country.

In the second place, I object to using my money to build Federal projects that do not benefit me and in fact bring tremendous and unfair advantage to a select group.

Third, I object to the Federal Government reaching out all over the United States to build this huge power grid that can have but one consequence—to destroy and assimilate all the private power facilities. When the private power facilities are gone, my taxes will go up.

Fourth, I object to making the Secretary of the Interior a power czar.

## The Record of a Dictator in Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, 10 years have passed since the rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the present dictator of Egypt. After a decade of his absolute rule, one is in a position to view his regime without bias and evaluate his impact upon that ancient land. I am not taking the familiar "I told you so" attitude in bringing this matter to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress. I am doing so for the purpose of showing that those who opposed Nasser were right and that those, like the former administration, who supported him were clearly wrong.

Nasser, Soviet Russia's friend, took the Suez Canal away from the British and is armed to the teeth with Red implements of war. He is ready and willing to use them against the free world while his subjects are ridden with hunger, disease, and poverty.

The Baltimore Sun, in an editorial which appeared on July 29, 1962, summarizes Nasser's decade. It should be

read by all who are interested in world affairs. I ask consent to have it inserted at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

NASSER'S DECADE

At this moment in the affairs of the world it is not the destiny of Egypt to become a major military power, but in the parade celebrating the 10th anniversary of the rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser the emphasis was upon arms. One of the accomplishments of President Nasser, one of the few, is that he converted a country which could ill afford it into the most heavily armed state in the Middle East.

Egypt was ripe for revolution a decade ago. The extravagant King Farouk too long had neglected the welfare of his people, and Nasser was the dedicated mastermind of the plot that dethroned him. Expediency has obscured the goal to which he was dedicated. When Mohammed Naguib, who refused to be a Nasser strawman, sought a return to a parliamentary system, Colonel Nasser deposed him. Since then, on a phantom charger he calls Arab socialism, Nasser has ruled Egypt as a dictator.

Beyond building an army on Iron Curtain supplies he has given Egypt little. The Suez Canal, wrested from the British almost at the cost of extinction; the hope of a great Aswan Dam, mortgaged to the Soviet Union; a brief dream of Arab unity, since shattered; land reform, with subsequent failures in agriculture. But with it all, no answers to the gnawing problems of his masses—hunger, disease, a spectacular increase in population.

Nasser's place in current history lies in his ability to play a courting East against an attentive West, to parlay hatred for Israel into support for his military machine, to pose as a neutral where neutrality has many shades, and to his credit, in an abiding desire to save his people. In these things, if inept, he is the strong man of the Middle East. But it is not enough.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 19, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of July 28, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas, July 28, 1962)

Intellectual honesty, practiced as political honesty, may be defined as speaking, acting, and voting as one believes to be right (vote one's convictions) rather than trying just to be politically smart. Since Members of Congress do not and cannot under House rules question the integrity or motives of other elected officials, that is their colleagues, it is up to the people to recognize, know, and label what is political honesty and what is not. This week's legislative events, or any week's, could be the appropriate vehicle for such critical evaluation.

Agricultural appropriations, costing taxpayers $5,475,842,500 provides the necessary wherewithal to continue for another year the farce of Federal handouts to and control of farmers—a large bloc of citizens and voters. Farmers' objections are partially silenced by Federal largesse. It's a high price to pay for control over their lives and what they may do with their property. The Dole amendment became the most famous part of the bill, an amendment that sought to bar the administration's use of taxpayers' money for propaganda purposes of influencing passage or rejection of legislation. It was rejected by a straight party line teller vote 172–118. Democrats for rejection of the amendment—Republicans against.

Mann Creek Federal reclamation project in Idaho passed 199 to 162. This relatively small project, costing $3,225,000, will provide water and irrigation for 5,000 acres of land to grow hay, barley, wheat, or for pasture. At the same time in hay alone 258,747 acres have been retired into the soil bank, costing the taxpayers $2,200,000 per year.

The Equal Pay Act of 1962 passed hurriedly (almost like sweeping something under the rug), with Members refusing to make a record vote. This bill seeks to make a Federal law, replacing State and local laws, forcing equal pay regardless of sex, wherever there is comparable work and comparable skills. "Equal work" became the language on amendment and made better the surface good sense of no discrimination in pay because of sex. I opposed it because this bill will result in women losing jobs. The reasoning, as I see it, is elementary. All States, in various forms and combinations have women labor laws related to hours of work, maximum and daily, meal and rest periods, night work, employment before and after childbirth, occupational limitations—seating and weightlifting requirements—all recognizing one thing women are different than men—not equal, unequal, better or worse—just different by design and function as the reproducers of the human race. So it is that women are not expected to be able to stand as long as men—therefore, seats are provided. (No, we don't treat our women as the Communists do—as equals in work and work conditions.) Whatever these differences, when the time comes that women cannot produce equal output, should this law pass an employer would be foolish not to wherever possible, replace her with a man. Most likely, he will hire men instead of women. The bill passed the House of course, mainly because of political pressure. Members feared that some constituents back home might construe their vote to indicate they thought women "not as good as men". I, too, believe that everyone ought to be paid the same for the same work output.

The foreign aid authorization conference agreement between House and Senate passed 221 to 162. I opposed it because the conferees struck out the House prohibition of the U.S. additional support of the U.N. when member nations refuse to pay up their delinquent just part (which is small enough to say the least), and because the House and Senate capitulated to White House pressure to permit the President greater latitude in giving away taxpayers' money abroad, including to Communist countries. The extent of the President's open-handed aid to the United Nations and Communists all during recent months only now has come to light in the June 25, 1962, Joint House-Senate report (Document 85–213) which shows the United States agreed to permit 78 nations to reduce their U.N. contributions because the United States volunteered to pay it for them to a total of $11.4 million (beyond our usual lion-share assessment) between November 1961 and June 30, 1962.

Texas, as a depressed area, which our Governor and Texas Members of Congress have stoutly denied to be the case was granted a $420,000 loan to build a 72-room motel in Woodville, Tex. "The project is part of an overall plan to expand the economy of eastern Texas. Seventy-five jobs will be created." That is an example of how the Federal Government Area Redevelopment Act is working.

News commentators are being forcibly suppressed by the Attorney General who has filed antitrust proceedings against King Features. Noted columnists are being told that any derogatory or noncomplimentary articles about the Kennedys will be reason for deletion of their stories. How is that for freedom of the press and speech in "the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

"Every honest man will suppose honest acts to flow from honest principles."—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

## Faith of Our Fathers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an article from Our Sunday Visitor, on July 8, entitled "Faith of Our Fathers." It is written by Mr. Dale Francis. It is a very fine summation of the need for religious belief in government. It was called to my attention by my friend, M. Sgt. Henry J. Lacour of Tyndall Air Force Base, Fla.

The article follows:

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

(By Dale Francis)

They looked up in surprise as the old man talked. He was a controversial figure with an opinion on almost everything. And some there were who called him an agnostic or even an atheist. Yet these were not the words of a man who did not believe in God. His voice rang out clearly through the hall: "I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men.

"If a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?

"We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord building the house they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this.

"And I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and byword down to future ages.

"And what is worse, mankind may hereafter from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war and conquest.

IMPLORES PRAYERS

"I therefore beg leave to move—that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business."

This was Benjamin Franklin, speaking at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention in 1787.

One hundred and seventy-five years later, six Supreme Court Justices, justifying their action by quoting the Constitution that came from these deliberations, ruled that any recognition of God in even voluntary prayers in a public school violated the principles enunciated by our Founding Fathers. Ironically, the men who made certain their official deliberations were preceded by prayer to Almighty God, were ruled to have decided

in their deliberations there should be no prayer to Almighty God.

This is the strange progression of events in a nation that in its beginnings paid humble acknowledgment to God and today is told by its Supreme Court Justices that such acknowledgment violates the Constitution. These Founding Fathers of ours, rightly concerned that no religion might gain domination over the Nation, provided what were to be the safeguards against this by an amendment that forbade establishment of one religion over others.

Yet today, using the very safeguards provided by the fathers of our country as an excuse, the religious convictions of a minority, the secularists, have been imposed upon the whole people.

Make no mistake, establishment of religion in the United States has been accomplished and its further delineation is promised. In his concurring decision, Justice William O. Douglas has made this plain.

"The point for decision is whether the Government can constitutionally finance a religious exercise. Our system at the Federal and State level is presently honeycombed with such financing. Nevertheless I think it is an unconstitutional undertaking whatever form it takes," said Justice Douglas.

These are ominous words and, so that no one could mistake what he meant, Justice Douglas went on to clarify his statement. He believes that the prayer which opens Congress, the prayer that opens the deliberations of the Supreme Court, are all unconstitutional.

What is plain is that we have seen only the beginning. The Justices have warned us clearly that all prayer sponsored by any Government agency is to be banned. Prayers before meetings of Congress, chaplains in the Armed Forces, all these are a part of what Justice Douglas calls a honeycombing of unconstitutionality.

The secularists say there must be no prayers, that there should be no recognition of the Supreme Being by any part of our Government. This is their creed. This is their creed as surely as it is the creed of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews that there is a Supreme Being whose "assistance" we should ask, whose "blessings" we should beg—to use the words of Benjamin Franklin.

A NEW CREED

No Catholic, no Protestant, no person of Jewish faith, wants his creed imposed on the whole people. But the secularists want their creed imposed upon the whole people. They do not believe the help of God should be asked. They do not believe God should be thanked for His blessings.

And the Supreme Court has established their creed in the land. By law—make no mistake about it, what the Supreme Court says is the law of the land—the religion of the secularists has been established in this Nation.

By the decision of the Supreme Court—especially this is apparent in the concurring decision of Justice Douglas—there are clear indications of what is to come.

Christmas can no longer be noticed in public schools; a day of thanksgiving can no longer be proclaimed by the President of the United States. I do not imagine these things—the implications could not have been more clearly stated if, one by one, they had been enumerated.

What must we do?

If the intent of our Founding Fathers has been, as most of us believe, perverted by the Supreme Court, then we must provide for a clarification of our national traditions. If the Constitution is made to say things the majority of the people believe it does not, and should not say, then the Constitution must be clarified by amendment.

This amendment must be carefully composed. It must preserve those principles of separation of church and state that were important to our Founding Fathers and are important to us. But it must provide protection against the tyranny of the minority that would impose upon all the people a concept that would ignore God.

George Washington in his first inaugural address, April 30, 1789, said that in his first official act he knew it would be improper to omit his "fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe." Said George Washington "in tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow citizens at large less than either. No people," said the Father of our Country, "can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States."

MAJORITY VIEW

I believe this. I am sure the vast majority of the people of the United States believe this. We have been so blessed by God we above all should acknowledge and express our gratitude to God.

So I ask you, I beg you, I implore you. Deluge your Congressmen, your Senators. Get your neighbors of all faiths to join you. Let them know we want to regain our priceless heritage, that we want to be freed from the shackles of the legal establishment of the creed of secularists. Ask that an amendment to the Constitution be framed that will state again what Benjamin Franklin said during the framing of the Constitution, what George Washington said in his first inaugural address. Then battle for it in your State. See that everywhere it is accepted.

Real freedom of religion is at stake.

## Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the attached material from the Miami newspapers merits a very careful study by the State Department. There is grave doubt that this organization realizes the seriousness of the state of affairs in the Dominican Republic:

DOMINICAN VIOLENCE FLARES UP

SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—Antigovernment violence flared in at least three cities Thursday as public servants and members of 26 unions went on strike against proposed tax hikes.

Leftist-inspired street demonstrations here and in Azua and San Pedro de Macoris, the country's second most important city, caused at least one death. Many were reported injured.

The massive walkout, which Council of State spokesmen said should not be considered a general strike, brought heavily armed and reinforced police patrols into the streets of Santo Domingo.

Police carried tommyguns, noise bombs, and tear gas grenades. Early Thursday, however mobs stoned downtown buildings and broke windows in the Chase Manhattan Bank building.

Police and demonstrators clashed in Azua and San Pedro de Macoris. Industry has been closed down in a general strike in the latter city since Wednesday because of announced government plans to put up a $10 million refinery in Santo Domingo instead of San Pedro.

To counter leftist propaganda, police distributed leaflets in the streets reaffirming the support of the armed forces for the Council of State government "against any attempt to alter public order and social peace."

LATINS SEE UNITED STATES AS LOSER

(By Hal Hendrix)

Looking over the crisis warning flags dotting the Latin American map these days, the Kennedy administration's New Frontiersmen should have reached the conclusion that neither they nor the Americas will start to move out of the trouble woods until Fidel Castro and his Communist blot are erased from Cuba.

Despite a reluctance in corners of the New Frontier to face inter-American reality, neither the United States nor Latin America is going to move ahead constructively in the 1960's with the Alliance for Progress unless the Castro-Communist axis is hammered out of the hemisphere.

In the last few years the Communists have scored steady gains in the Western Hemishere, especially since the takeover of Cuba under Castro.

The Kennedy administration's policy or lack of it with respect to Communist Cuba and the cold war battle for Latin America will be decisive in determining whether the sixties produce progress or frustration in the hemisphere.

If the United States is ever to regain the respect and merit the support of our remaining Latin American friends, it must soon replace platitudes with decisive action. Any doubts as to the strength and resolution of the United States in waging the cold war and in combating Castro-Communist aggression in Latin America must be removed without further delay.

In spite of far-reaching efforts of the Alliance for Progress development program, the United States in the last year has suffered a significant loss of prestige throughout the hemisphere as a result of what appears to onlookers as weakness and unwillingness to act decisively in combating bold and all-engulfing Communist aggression in Cuba.

Latin Americans simply don't understand why a strong nation like the United States can fail to use its strength in its own defense and allow itself to be insulted continuously by Cuba with impunity. The Latins have an inborn respect for strength and contempt for weakness. By tradition they look to the United States for leadership and strength.

Since the ill-fated Cuban invasion at the Bay of Pigs, which to Latin Americans was a humiliating defeat for the United States as well as the Cuban freedom fighters at the hands of the Castro Communists, there has been a disturbing increase in the number of Latins who entertain doubts as to who will be the ultimate victor on the inter-American cold war battleground. They comment that the United States hasn't looked much like a winner since Castro entered the arena.

Some of the sincerest friends of the United States in Latin America have questioned recently whether the Kennedy administration really is fully aware of the urgency of the problem of the Communist offensive in the Americas.

The New Frontier's belief that a long-range program of economic development can turn back the immediate Red threat is not shared by well-informed Latins or Americans long associated with inter-American affairs. Perhaps after Castro, but not before.

CUBA INCITES RIOTS, SAYS DOMINICAN

SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—The President of the Dominican Ruling Council said today his Government will formally accuse Cuba of "subversion and interference" in Dominican internal affairs.

President Rafael Bonnelly said powerful Havana shortwave radio broadcasts beamed at the Dominican Republic daily "incite violence and subversion."

He said Foreign Minister Jose Antonio Bonilla Atiles, who is in Washington, has been instructed to take the protest before appropriate international bodies.

Bonilla Atiles left Sunday to urge a meeting of the Organization of American States to take up last week's military coup in Peru.

Havana Radio, which claims to be airing a program for the Dominican "liberation movement in exile," for a week has been outlining steps to overthrow the Dominican Government and calling for concerted action by students, peasants and laborers.

The Dominican Government press office said such instigations are followed quickly by outbreaks of vandalism or terrorism by small gangs.

The press office said a strike at the largest privately owned sugar mill and a threatened strike by the Government workers union to protest higher income taxes can be attributed to the Cuban broadcasts.

One authority said the Government workers' strike, scheduled for tomorrow, falls on the anniversary of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's July 26 movement.

The most frequent charge heard on Cuban broadcasts has been that the 6-month-old Ruling Council is controlled by followers of the former Trujillo regime, backed by the United States.

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ALLIANCE NEARS A CRISIS

(By William L. Ryan)

Latin American events these days suggest that President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress is heading rapidly toward its moment of truth.

The Alliance is cast in the role of nervous mortician, waiting for the death rattle of a moribund system. But the patient is struggling desperately to survive. And the struggle is churning up revolutionary ferment.

The well-intentioned Yankees often can do little but stand on the sidelines and wring their hands in frustration. They are becoming painfully aware that democracy as it is known in the United States has little meaning in nations where the vast majority are impoverished and illiterate.

The Public Affairs Institute in Washington released a study Friday picturing the Alliance for Progress as engaged in "a life and death struggle with completely unscrupulous men who seek power through violent means."

The Alliance, it says, has failed to make itself believeable to key groups in Latin America which will determine whether change will be peaceful or violent. It urges the program to aim its benefits directly at those groups on a people-to-people rather than government-to-government basis.

"The odds against your success are so great," the institute tells the Alliance, "that unless you change direction of our aid and the methods of operation very quickly, you are likely to fail in your great task."

But there is danger in this approach, too. It implies and runs around existing governments which could, in the long run, undermine them. And whatever they may be, they are all the Alliance has at the present time to work with.

The struggle of military leaders and entrenched oligarchies to survive, spurs the battle-scarred old Argentine Socialist leader, Alfredo Palacios, to comment that the new military takeover in Peru was "one more example of the situation Latin America is going through."

"Some time ago," he said, "President Kennedy stated that Latin America was going through a revolution. I think the action by armed forces in the continent indicates they have resorted to violence at the service of reactionary revolution.

"It cannot be said chaos is coming. We live in chaos."

Palacios, hardly a keen admirer of the United States, nevertheless is fairly representative of a broad sector of popular Latin American opinion, reflecting impatience with the inability of the continent to tailor its systems to the 20th century.

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## The Big Space Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have watched with a great deal of interest the remarkable TV programs beamed to and from this country by the Telstar, the communications satellite. It is because this pioneering effort has been so successful that I want to applaud the brave band of Senators who are now fighting to keep future communications satellites in the hands of the people of the United States, as a public asset under public control, where they belong.

The May issue of the Progressive, now edited and printed by my good friend Morris Rubin, contained an excellent article by Michael Pandos entitled "The Big Space Giveaway." I want to associate myself with the views expressed in the Progressive article, and I firmly agree with Mr. Pandos that "turning over the Government-developed space communications system to any private corporation would represent an unprecedented giveaway; every private scheme which has been proposed would lead to domination by A.T. & T., an industrial monopoly already all but unregulable by the Government; and finally, only public ownership can guarantee that the management of this international communications system will not only be concerned with foreign policy considerations but will use the system as a dynamic instrument in the implementation of that policy. The essential fact is that no system of private ownership can be acceptable because all such systems are opposed to the public interest. They all result in public payment for private control; and increase in that industrial concentration which has already been described by experts as one of the prime causes of America's second-best status in space; and the abandonment to private interests of a technical marvel with incalculable potential for promoting the foreign policy of the United States."

I am proud to say that I was among the Congressmen who voted to retain for the people of this Nation the control of the future communications satellite system when this issue was before the House of Representatives. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD other pertinent excerpts from the article "The Big Giveaway," by Mr. Pandos:

In a few short years, worldwide television of excellent quality will be a reality; radio will reach clearly and static free halfway around the globe; a 10,000-mile telephone call will come through as distinctly as if it were from next door. This giant step forward in communications, with all its ramifications in international relations, is possible because of the Federal Government's multibillion dollar satellite program. The system will depend on a number of satellites endlessly orbiting the globe at a height of several hundred or several thousand miles, receiving radiomagnetic messages of all kinds, and relaying them directly to any point on earth.

No one seriously questions the need to build a communications satellite system. Not only would it be reassuring to beat the Soviet Union in an exciting and peaceable contest, but a satellite system would more effectively and efficiently replace costly earth-bound communications facilities and provide an economical means of opening up the large number of television, telephone, and data-processing channels essential to meet the vast expansion in international communications expected during the next few years.

From a technical point of view, the problems involved in building such a system are not overwhelming. The rocketry hurdles are largely surmounted, and an apparently feasible plan for the communications aspects has been sketched by Government and private experts who have worked together on the problem under Federal programs. The scientists describe the system as one in which two or three active satellites (i.e., containing equipment for receiving and transmitting, instead of merely passively reflecting, messages from earth) would orbit around the earth at the Equator high enough so that at least one would always be in line of sight from every point on the entire globe, thus permittnig the straight-line sending and receiving which is required for transmission of radio waves. The satellites would, ideally, be synchronized with the speed of the earth's rotation, to make them stationary in relation to the ground.

There is also general agreement that this approach is preferable, in terms of both the longrun economy and the potentially greater number of channels, to the alternative course advocated by American Telephone & Telegraph, which would require launching a large number (estimates vary from 30 to 400) of small satellites to circle the earth at a low (100 to 3,000 miles) altitude in random orbits; such a system is not favored because it would require costly ground stations to search the skies for the randomly flying satellites and many expensive launchings to mount the large number of artificial bodies.

The political questions, however, are more difficult to answer. They were first raised publicly in a report made to the Federal Communications Commission by an ad hoc committee of members of the communications carrier industry—telephone, telegraph, and other companies in the business of sending and receiving communications electronically.

Briefly, the industry committee's report recommended that the operation and management of a space communications system be turned over to a nonprofit corporation owned by those international communications carriers willing to put up at least $500,000 in equity. The corporation would have a board of directors composed of not more than two representatives from each company and three representatives from the public, the latter to be appointed by the President. Each carrier would be permitted to own its own ground stations and a certain number of communications channels, the channels to be allocated without charge

to the investors in ratio to the equity contributed to the corporation. If a carrier should wish to exceed its pro rata quota of channels, it would be assessed a rental fee which would then be redivided among the other carriers. Finally, the equity contributions to the new corporation would be made part of the rate base of the contributing companies so that the investment would be charged off against other services provided by the owners. In brief: 10 big international communications carriers proposed that they own, operate, and allocate channels used by the communications satellites, in return for which they agreed to contribute part of the cost of mounting the system. Their total promised contribution was and is $78 million; it should be noted that the Government has already $471 million on this program and a total of more than $25 billion on other relevant research and development.

Indeed, at first glance the administration's bill seemed a more public-spirited approach to the problem. That measure proposed to establish a private corporation with two classes of stock: a dividend-bearing voting stock class A, which was to be available to the general public (or at least those members of the public who could afford the stock at $1,000 a share), and class B stock which could be purchased only by the communications carriers. Any single company would have been able to own a maximum of 15 percent of the authorized or 25 percent of the outstanding class A shares, and ownership in class B stock, which presumably counted as a part of the investing company's rate base, would have been convertible to class A shares. Curiously, in the President's discussions of the bill, he has acknowledged that the $1,000 share price was specifically intended to exclude the general public.

But because the class A stock would be issued only at the discretion of the corporation and would be unattractive to the public because of the high unit price (plus the more important fact that it would pay no dividends for many years), the most probable result of this proposal would be that at least a controlling share of the stock would have been purchased by A.T. & T. and two or three other corporations it controls or dominates. Furthermore, A.T. & T. could also be expected to dominate the class B shares, because it is the only company with both the desire and sufficient resources—assets larger than General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Ford Motor Co. combined—to make the required large investment.

## Dallas Morning News on Rostow Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 9, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I would like to include two editorials from the Dallas Morning News dealing with the Department of State and in particular with the Rostow papers:

MR. ROSTOW TO THE STAND

Ever since somebody—we think it was Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina—first charged that the State Department was advocating a "no win" policy, various congressional committees and individual Members of Congress have been trying to unearth the basic elements of policy which guide the State Department in foreign affairs. Most of these attempts have met with limited success.

Now Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, has suggested that Walt W. Rostow be called to the stand to testify. Mr. Rostow is counselor of the State Department and chairman of its all-important policy planning council. If anyone can explain State's policy, he should be able to do it; Mr. Rostow, along with the President himself, has been a chief architect of that policy—whatever it might be.

The reason for Senator DIRKSEN's proposal that Congress call Rostow to the stand is that the State Department counselor is reported to be the author of a highly controversial document which has been making the rounds lately at the top levels of the administration. This document—286 pages long and entitled "Basic National Security Policy"—is said to be an outline of the administration's grand strategy for the conduct of foreign affairs over the next few years.

Three months ago the News reported the existence of this document. At that time all that was known of its contents was that it advocated the elimination of first-strike weapons in the U.S. arsenal.

For the past 3 months, the administration has refused to release the document—even to congressional committees which normally have access to such information. But in the past week several highly placed officials at the State Department and Pentagon who are displeased with the contents of the Rostow report have "leaked" its basic outlines to the press.

According to these reports and to the public revelation by Senator DIRKSEN, the core of Rostow's proposal is an assumption that the Communists are "mellowing" and will give us peace if we are nice to them. Specifically, the policy statement is supposed to include these startling recommendations:

Recognition of Red China by the United States and withdrawal of U.S. opposition to Peiping's admission to the United Nations.

De facto recognition of East Germany as a separate nation.

Pulling back armed opposition to the Communists along the borders of the Soviet empire.

Coercion of Nationalist China to give up the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

Unilateral deemphasis of nuclear weapons and reliance primarily on conventional weapons and forces.

Attempt to contain the spread of communism but do nothing to stir up trouble behind its borders.

These are not simply suggestions for change in the administration's foreign policy. Many of them have been put into effect already at least in part. Moreover, the mere fact that they are being considered should have far-reaching impact on our allies and enemies alike.

Mr. Rostow's influence on the administration cannot be doubted. It is said that he was responsible for the administration's opposition to the B-70 and Nike-Zeus programs, that he authored the proposal to appease the Communists in Berlin, that he had an important part in drafting the U.S. disarmament scheme which would have turned our arms over to a United Nations Peace Force.

Mr. Rostow should explain. The American people have a right to know exactly what the State Department is trying to do and who is responsible for its doings. And if they don't like what they find, the American people have a right to demand some changes.

THE WORLD IS FLAT

On this page yesterday, the News made a brief analysis of the foreign-policy proposals reportedly submitted to the President by State Department Counselor Walt W. Rostow in a secret 286-page report entitled "Basic National Security Policy." Since some believe that this report is an outline of the Kennedy administration's grand strategy for the conduct of foreign affairs, and since Mr. Rostow now occupies a position of great importance within the administration as chief of the State Department's policy planning council, we believe the Rostow report merits further editorial comment.

Willard Edwards, veteran Washington correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, has provided a detailed analysis of the proposals from which we have drawn most of the following information.

In addition to recommendations that we recognize Red China and East Germany, pull back our opposition to communism along the Soviet borders, force Nationalist China to give up its offshore islands, deemphasize nuclear weapons unilaterally and limit our opposition to communism to a general policy of containment (all of which were mentioned in yesterday's editorial), the following recommendations have also been made in the report, according to Edwards:

Our treatment of Soviet satellite nations should be gentle—we should refrain from criticizing them, continue to give them aid, open up trade channels with them and encourage our Western European Allies to be more cooperative.

In no event should we ever encourage or support armed uprisings against the Communist in the satellite nations.

If we can't come to an agreement with the Soviets over arms control or disarmament, we might advance a program which does not require negotiations.

American interests will be better served by leaning toward nations with modern ideas rather than sticking to old allies with outmoded ideas. The United States does not want allies; it wants only neutrals.

Foreign aid can be used as a weapon, but only against allies (with outmoded ideas). If they won't cooperate, take it away from them. (Rostow must have had more than a little influence over our Lao policy.)

"Rising tensions or pleas of our allies or of the American public must be ignored in any crisis with Russia. The temptation must be avoided to prolong or expand any crisis in an effort to degrade or embarrass the Soviets in the eyes of the world."

Our goal should not be victory over Russia ("no-win"?) but "victory of men and nations over the forces that wish to entrap and exploit their revolutionary aspirations." (That term "revolutionary" has always had an unpleasant connotation, as far as we're concerned.)

More than anything else, the United States must show the Communists that it has no aggressive intentions—that we only want peace.

What lies behind all of these incredible proposals? Apparently Mr. Rostow believes that the Communists have abandoned their longstanding goal of world conquest. Never mind that military and intelligence sources have been unable to find a shred of evidence to substantiate this conclusion. Mr. Rostow is sure.

In fact, he has been sure that the Communist world and its leaders have been changing—"mellowing" is the word he uses—for about 6 years. In 1956, Rostow expounded his theory concerning the Communist "evolution"—and he even included Red China.

In his latest report to the President, Rostow admits that there isn't any real evidence to back up his conclusions. Since this is true, he says, it will be hard to convince Congress and the American people that he is right. But it must be done, he says. And in order to do it, an educational campaign must be started.

So sit tight, friends, we may be barraged with a bevy of propaganda from Foggy Bottom designed to convince us that the world is flat again.

## ASW: What We Have—What We Need—Where We're Going

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which was written by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS], for Data, the magazine of research and development management. The gentleman is well qualified to write on the subject of antisubmarine warfare through his naval experience, his continued activity in the Naval Reserve, his personal interest in the subject and as a Member of Congress. I commend the reading of this article to all of my colleagues.

The article follows:

ASW: WHAT WE HAVE—WHAT WE NEED—WHERE WE'RE GOING

(By Congressman CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr., Republican Representative from the Sixth District of Maryland)

Since its advent as an effective military weapon in World War I, the submarine has presented the classic obstacle to free world control of the seas for commercial and military purposes. Near disastrous experience in two world wars indicates the potency of enemy submarine fleets in the face of an inadequate operational antisubmarine warfare system. Today the nuclear submarine and its marriage with the ballistic missile has changed the threat from one of primarily local defense aspects to one of a global and strategic nature. The challenge is formidable and is generally recognized to be among the most difficult technical problems facing the Navy. The new submarine has unlimited cruise capabilities and underwater operating speeds in excess of our ASW vessels. To combat this threat ASW must be able to concentrate all necessary resources and research, and control all phases of technology and implementation.

National security demands that the control of the seas be retained in the hands of the free world and that enemy forces be denied the use of these seas for mounting or supporting assaults they may plan against the United States or our allies anywhere. We must increase our capabilities in detection and localization of enemy submarines, and strengthen our potentiality in seeking out and killing these submarines.

As a member of the Naval Reserve, I have been impressed with the rapid advancements in the potentialities of our nuclear submarine; I am gravely concerned about the equally important problem concerning how best to combat the threat posed to our coastal centers and the rest of the free world by parallel Soviet advances. My concern deepened on a tour of active training duty last January during which I was assigned to Carrier Division 16, an ASW hunter/killer task group in the Atlantic Fleet.

The Soviet force of over 400 submarines is composed of a large number of the long-range snorkle types, equipped with torpedoes, and a small number of nuclear-powered submarines, some missile equipped, whose recent appearances may be expected to increase. Beyond question, the Soviets will soon have missiles greatly exceeding their present 350-mile range maximum.

ASW efforts to meet this challenge and to minimize Soviet advancements are a never-ending, around-the-clock, all-weather operation. Our ships and planes are on the watch 24 hours a day while men in the Pentagon continuously search for improvements in ASW defense and coordination. The Navy, however, has been overly modest concerning the tremendous effort it is making in this area, and I wish to make known some of the aspects of the ASW problem. It is the purpose of this article (1) to discuss the broad functions of ASW, (2) to outline current capabilities and development, pinpointing problem areas, and, finally, (3) to focus on the requirements and teamwork necessary for a fully effective ASW force.

### THE BROAD FUNCTIONS OF ASW

The primary functions of ASW operations are detection, classification, tracking, communications, command/control, and attack. It is relatively easy to locate a submarine today, but the real difficulty is the ability to identify nationality and intent. Most development efforts have been focused in these areas, and future progress may utilize space technology.

Detection and tracking data must be transmitted to those who must make evaluations and decisions. All ASW activities involve this command/control without which ASW forces and operations cannot be fully effective. Command/control integrates all functions supporting the ASW operations, from intelligence and warning to fleet readiness, from the correlation of pertinent environmental data to insuring the availability of navigational assistance. Its substance is the men and organization who, supported by information, procedures, and machines, make evaluations and decisions. It is this function which must solve the dilemma posed by the requirement for instantaneous reaction time as opposed to the need for positive control of any preemptive action which might be premature.

Finally, the execution of any order for ASW attack requires the availability of effective weapons. There has been promising development in this area, but technology has produced submarines whose performance characteristics outmode many available weapons.

### CURRENT CAPABILITIES AND PROBLEMS AREAS—DETECTION AND CLASSIFICATION

Overshadowing the entire ASW picture is the problem of submarine detection and classification. Steady advances in detection are promising, but the Navy has difficulties in distinguishing "friendlies" from enemy submarines, and snorkles from nuclear types. There are further problems in differentiating submarines from uncharted pinnacles rising from the ocean floor, schools of fish, and whales, all of which seem to conspire not only to sound like submarines but to act like them.

Sonar remains the primary solution to the area surveillance problem, and the sonar now going into our surface ships and submarines has given tenfold range improvements over those in the fleet 5 years ago. Helicopters now have sonar domes which dip into the ocean and give increased detection ranges. A new Lofar sonobuoy also gives increased detection ranges.

Experimental infrared gear has detected submerged submarines at night for a number of hours after passage, and new equipment is under development to provide lightweight sensitive infrared equipment for patrol and carrier-based aircraft.

Other exploratory projects include Artemis, consisting of a net of hydrophones on the ocean floor to take advantage of the quietness of deep waters, and Project Trident, directed at the development of new devices.

For surveillance of restricted waters, the Navy is developing active barrier equipment composed of transducers which can readily be deployed into areas of strategic or tactical interest. Tests conducted the past year showed excellent results by detecting a large percentage of the passages of submerged submarines over the barrier.

Aircraft surveillance is a very important supplement to sonar equipment. W–2F and P–3V aircraft are currently being tested. The W–2F early warning aircraft has been found effective in detecting surfacing and snorkle subs. The land-based P–3V, a long-range ASW surveillance aircraft similar in configuration to the commercial Electra, is the follow-on replacement for the P–2V series. The P–3V Orion has a better working environment for its crew and has room for incorporating new electronic and radar developments. The ability of this plane to get to the target area twice as fast as its predecessor is an obvious advantage.

Elusive deep-diving submarines can take advantage of such diverse conditions as faults in the ocean floor and deceptive oceanic thermal layers. Although most of our conventional devices are still stymied by these problems, development of the precision graphic recorder (ASPECT) for destroyers and helicopters has resulted in successful trials. Another item under development is MAD (magnetic anomaly detection), implemented through flying patterns which can sweep faster than any other system.

A major area of research and development is oceanography in which the monumental task of charting vast unknown areas of the ocean floor and the differing characteristics of the various oceans themselves must be undertaken and solved before any ASW program will be effective. A recently formulated 10-year Navy plan for oceanography, TENOC 1961, sets forth detailed plans for all phases of military oceanography, surveys, basic and applied research, ships, facilities, and instrumentation and training.

Also in TENOC are plans for the development of an ASW environment prediction system called ASWEPS by which the Hydrographic Office predicts oceanographic conditions for fleet commanders, giving accurate data and advice of the sonar conditions to be expected in any given area. Further plans include the nuclear propulsion programs, a quiet snorkle program, improved submarine communications, improved propulsion and hull design and structures, and submarine air defense capabilities.

### COMMUNICATIONS

The three fold problem of the communications area involves (1) communications between submarines, (2) shore-sub-shore communications, and (3) the collection and transmission of surveillance data. A most important aspect is the ability to communicate without enemy detection. It is possible to talk acoustically between submarines and surface ships but not without enemy detection. No communications development yet allows intersubmarine communication without the disclosure of their positions.

Current techniques do not permit communication from surface or shore to submarines below 14 fathoms, an indispensible type of communication in time of enemy attack. Blackouts caused by nuclear detonation and fallout add further complications. Developments in VLF transmission techniques and ocean floor netted communications provide a partial solution, but not complete answers.

### ATTACK

Tangible advances have been realized in the ASW attack in function. As a result of the Berlin crisis 40 destroyer-type ships and 18 aircraft squadrons were recalled from the Ready Reserve for augmentation of ASW forces. The ASW capability of these World War II vintage destroyers is being increased by fleet rehabilitation and modernization, including when possible the FRAM program.

Supplementing the procurement of new and improved vessels is a development program aimed at providing advanced vehicles

for detection, tracking, and the payoff—weapon delivery. This program includes hydrofoil vessels which provide increased speed and flexibility to arrive at the target area.

DASH, a destroyer-controlled drone helicopter carrying a torpedo or nuclear depth charge, is being installed on a number of ships. This small, lightweight, remotely controlled device was begun under the FRAM program but is now receiving top priority, and the current plan is to be able to install two such drones per destroyer this year.

Naturally, torpedoes are of primary importance. The development of the lightweight homing torpedo MK-46 for aircraft and destroyers and the wire guided torpedo EX-10 has led to increased production of these types, but they have not been widely implemented in the fleet. These new torpedoes and their successors are designed to overtake and destroy nuclear-powered subs which may in the future conceivably attain speeds of 60 knots and depths of 2,000 feet.

To give quick reaction standoff weapon deliveries compatible with the increasing sonar ranges, rocket-propelled asroc (antisubmarine rocket) has already appeared in the destroyer fleet while subroc is being developed for use by submarines.

In test and evaluation the Navy has found that present ranges and evaluation techniques are inadequate as new and expensive weapons become faster, go deeper, and frequently are irretrievable after firing. A new adequately instrumented test and evaluation range is contemplated under Project AUTEC in the Bahamas. It will contain accurate facilities for the plotting of new long-range antisubmarine warfare weapon trajectories, as well as an acoustic range for accurate noise measurement.

REQUIREMENTS AND NECESSARY TEAMWORK

The ASW problem necessitates a total approach incorporating research and development, requirements determination, system management, test and evaluation, and the development of operation procedures. Navy teamwork has produced significant advancements to date. First, the formation of the ASW advisory committee to bring together the best qualified individuals of the military and industrial communities is typical of the coordinated effort. Other examples of actions taken by the senior command echelons are the creation of an ASW Executive Readiness Office under CNO, and, third, the formation of the Undersea Warfare R. & D. Planning Council.

A fourth important area of executive action is the development of operation teamwork with the Nation's allies, which has led to the establishment of a much stronger strategic position for ASW with respect to potential enemies than existed relative to the Axis at the beginning of World War II. Geographical location of our allies allows us to maintain a ring around the Soviet Union. The advent of the deep-diving nuclear submarine, has reduced this tactical advantage for detection purposes. We must regain this advantage through implementation of advanced defensive techniques.

Both modernization and new construction are needed in proper balance to extend present ASW capabilities and overcome obsolescence of our forces. Necessary procurement to provide the products of research and development to our operating forces must be emphasized. Manpower levels must be increased to insure that trained maintenance and operational personnel are abroad to utilize these products. In fiscal year 1962, ASW research, development, testing and evaluation appropriations amount to $231 million of which approximately 26 percent is devoted to defense and surveillance measures. In fiscal year 1963, the budegt request will be increased to $286 million with the laregst increase, 35 percent, devoted to the 65 projects in detection, localization and classification. Such increases appear sufficient to support the research, development, test and evaluation (R.D.T. & E.) objective, but even greater increases should be considered for procurement and implementation, maintenance and operations, to attain an up-to-date ASW posture.

SUMMARY

Adm. George W. Anderson, Chief of Naval Operations, testifying before a House subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations summarized the current state of ASW in a manner with which I totally agree. "We have not yet developed any little black boxes that will infallibly pinpoint the location of their [Soviet] submarines in any particular area, positively identify them as enemy submarines and launch a lethal missile toward that spot within minutes after they have been located. There is no astounding breakthrough immediately expected, and we do not anticipate one in the immediate future, although our research efforts are certainly aimed toward that end. What is required is a most extensive team effort involving not only our forces but those very capable ones of our allies as well. There are no illusions that our answers will come easily, but I am confident that with the talents of industry and the abilities of our own navymen, we ultimately will solve this problem successfully."

Increasing support from Congress and the public is necessary to enable the Navy to keep pace with this silent Soviet threat. We, in the Congress, must recognize the gravity of the situation and provide the Navy and the public with the proper incentives and leadership and funds to close the ASW gap.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

Representative CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., Republican, of Maryland, is serving his 1st term in the 87th Congress. Previous to his election in November 1960, he had served in the Maryland House of Delegates; as assistant attorney general of Maryland; and as city attorney of Frederick. He presently serves on the House Committees on the Judiciary and the District of Columbia. He is also a member of the executive committee of the Republican Congressional Committee, being the only "freshman" Member of the 87th Congress to receive this distinction.

Mr. MATHIAS received his law degree in 1949 from the University of Maryland, having previously attended Yale and Haverford College where he received an A.B. degree as a member of the class of 1944.

Active in civic life, "MAC" MATHIAS, as he has been known since boyhood, has been president of the Historical Society of Frederick County, is on the executive committee of the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission, and an officer in the Maryland State Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Children's Aid Society of Frederick County, and a trustee of the Episcopal Free School and Orphan House. He serves as a vestryman of Frederick's All Saints' Church.

He served during World War II as gunnery officer on sea duty in the Pacific and is a lieutenant commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

Mr. MATHIAS was born July 24, 1922, in Frederick, Md., and is married to Ann H. Bradford of Cambridge, Mass. They have two sons, Charles Bradford and Robert Fiske.

## Law on the U.N.'s Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the most prominent civic leaders in my district, Mrs. Louis J. Reizenstein, has thoughtfully suggested that a recent editorial on a subject related to the proposed United Nations bond issue would be helpful information for my colleagues here. I agree entirely with Mrs. Reizenstein and I should like to insert into the RECORD the editorial which appeared on Tuesday, July 24, 1962, in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph.

The editorial follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 24, 1962]

LAW ON THE U.N.'S SIDE

In perhaps the most important action of its 17-year history the International Court of Justice has declared in an advisory opinion that all members of the United Nations are legally obligated to pay expenses of the international organization's peacekeeping forces in the Congo and the Middle East. Since the delinquent members cannot actually be compelled to pay, the decision does not transform the United Nations into a supergovernment with power to tax; it does not even insure the U.N. will become a solvent organization.

But the World Court's decision, which had been requested by the General Assembly, does supply a sharp instrument of moral suasion to be used against the 47 U.N. members that have never paid anything for the Congo operation and the 26 that have never paid anything for the Middle East police force. The court advised the General Assembly that outlays for the Congo and the Middle East are "expenses of the organization" within the meaning of article 17, paragraph 2 of the U.N. Charter. Thus the Assembly can invoke article 19 of the charter which provides:

"A member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding 2 full years."

Though only four small nations—Bolivia, Guatemala, Paraguay, and Yemen—are now more than 2 years in arrears, larger nations will in time come under the exclusionary provision if they continue to ignore the special assessments for the peacekeeping operations which are costing about $4 million a month. The Soviet Union, other members of the Communist bloc and most of the Arab States have refused to pay for the U.N. mission in the Gaza strip and the same nations, plus France, Belgium, Portugal, and South Africa, have balked at paying Congo assessments.

While the General Assembly may under the charter excuse delinquents if their failure to pay is held to be due to conditions beyond their control, the United States expects to press this fall for a strict application on the arrears formula in the hope of setting a precedent, beginning with the small nations,

for enforcing support of the U.N. Such a view is soundly based, since the U.N. can hardly have much effect if members can exercise a financial veto every time they do not agree with one of its operations.

Clearing up the $170 million U.N. deficit will not be easy. The Soviet Union indicated in advance that it would not consider itself bound by a World Court opinion. Yet Soviet bloc nations have also shown signs of wanting to avoid being the first to lose their votes. If the General Assembly when it meets again boldly endorses the Court's opinion (as it has others in the past), it will create a powerful stimulus for strengthening the U.N. and for building up an international order based on world law.

## Tenth Anniversary of Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JACOB H. GILBERT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 2, 1962*

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, our fellow citizens, Puerto Ricans in the island and in the United States, are celebrating the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Commonwealth. I extend to them my hearty congratulations and join with my colleagues in commending them upon their great accomplishments.

We respect and admire the Puerto Ricans who are demonstrating on their small island the best example in the Americas of how to develop an underdeveloped community in an atmosphere of democracy and freedom.

In the last 14 years the people of the island have become self-governing. A short time ago, there was almost no industry; now as a result of a remarkable program of industrial development, more than 100,000 jobs have been created. Puerto Rico is producing electric energy at a per capita rate higher than any country in Latin America. A generation ago, the island was poor and the people suffered from lack of educational opportunities. Now the literacy rate is 87 percent and every third Puerto Rican attends some form of school. It has made phenomenal strides in the areas of new housing, hospitals, vocational education, transportation, and roads.

The Puerto Rican people by their industry, their pride in their island, their aim for improved social and economic conditions, have more than doubled their per capita income since 1950. Puerto Rico, a land of beauty, warm beaches, and cool mountains is now attracting half a million tourists annually, adding millions to the income of the Commonwealth. Investment of U.S. tax dollars on the island, and exemption from payment of Federal taxes, helped Puerto Rico to achieve its present prosperity and growth, but the greatest credit must go to the people. Under the splendid leadership of Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín they have accomplished miracles. One of the most important developments is the better understanding which exists between the mainland and Puerto Rico. The citizens of Puerto Rico rely on us for protection; they have rendered outstanding service in our Armed Forces when called upon to help us. We are grateful to them for the contributions they have made in developing their land into the exemplary country it is today.

### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## No Profits Equals No Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE**
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, a popular practice today is that of branding business profits as an evil thing. Still, wages are profits to the working man, taxes are profits to the Federal Government, and both of these have, in turn, their origin in profits made by commercial enterprises. Why, then, should profits for business be singled out as a bad thing?

I insert into the RECORD a timely and penetrating article on profits, as it appeared in the editorial section of the July 26 issue of the Calais Advertiser, a prominent weekly publication in my congressional district:

NO PROFITS EQUALS NO JOBS

Routinely, the news release came in from the St. Croix Paper Co. pointing out the fact that production of the company during the first 6 months of this year was some 3 percent greater than in 1961. A cause for some slight jubilation until you read the next sentence: "However, continuing increases in operating costs without a price increase prevent a corresponding increase in profit."

In sad fact, stockholders actually suffered a slight loss in the face of the production increase.

Not that we make a habit of it, but we just recently read the annual report of the Sun Oil Co. and some comments which that huge outfit made about its efforts to expand and create more jobs in the face of smaller margins of profit. The interesting thing is that these comments seem to apply to every business, whether a paper company, an oil firm or a haberdashery and we pass them along.

Sun Oil Co., in its 1961 annual report admitted frankly that its business has not been rewarding stockholders nearly as well as employees, customers, and governments. The report pointed out that wages and taxes have been rising significantly while the return to stockholders has barely held its own despite a constant reinvestment of profits.

If there is anything unusual about this, it is only that Sun's management made a public confession of it. By all means Sun is not alone in suffering from a profit squeeze; most of American industry is in the same fix.

What is surprising, in a country that has been stimulated to world preeminence by the profit incentive, is that the American people show so little concern over the health of profits. Indeed, lack of concern is an inadequate description; there is an abysmal ignorance of the size and functions of profits at one extreme and hostility toward the very idea of profits at the other.

It is a situation that, unless corrected, foretells an ominous future for the American economic system.

The condition of profits is a measurable fact. While sales of corporations have more than doubled, corporate after-tax profits have steadily shrunk from a level exceeding 9 percent of total national income 15 years ago to less than 5½ percent in 1961. Corporations earned better than 5 percent on sales 15 years ago, but after years of steady profit deterioration they were struggling to earn 3 percent in 1961.

No matter how profits are measured, the truth is inescapable that doing business in America has been growing steadily less profitable. It is also clear beyond argument that while profits have been shrinking, wages and taxes have been rising. The fruits of higher productivity generated by plowing back profits and investing new capital have been siphoned off to cover higher employment costs and higher Government costs.

How these facts of declining profits and rising wages and taxes should be interpreted is not a question that can be settled by offering the same kind of incontrovertible proof; interpretation, after all, gets into the field of theory.

Everyone recognizes, however, that the bulk of taxes are not invested to produce goods and services that add to the national wealth. And most economists agree that money distributed as wages is most likely to be used for consumption, rather than for investment. At the same time, no less an authority than the U.S. Secretary of Labor has stated it would require as much as $90 billion to replace obsolete plants and equipment in this country and make them competitive with newer facilities abroad. Meanwhile, the most reliable estimates indicate that in addition to the present backlog of 4.5 million unemployed, a million people become jobseekers for the first time each year as the population expands. And it takes, on the average, a $20,000 investment to provide plants and tools for one new job in industry (in the oil industry, it takes $52,630).

Thus, all niceties of economic argument aside, the clear question is posed: If productivity gains go into wages for those now employed and into taxes for largely nonproductive Government expenditures, where is the money coming from to buy the tools that can improve the competitive position of American industry and provide new jobs? Sell stock to the public? If it were that simple, U.S. corporations wouldn't be struggling along with $90 billion worth of obsolete plants and equipment.

Those who scorn profits as an evil need to ask themselves: What prompted all the investment that gave the United States its supremacy in standard of living in the first place? Those who think a cut in profits would be just fine because they are too large already need to check their erroneous impressions with the facts.

Indeed, it is high time for all Americans, in their concern over unemployment, foreign competition, and a fistful of other problems, to take a hard look at the roots of their economic system. They need to consider the consequences of continuing to consume capital, and if they don't know what that means, they need to refresh themselves with such a simple primer on profits as this:

Every business needs capital, unless it expects its employees to scratch out the company products with their bare fingernails, and people haven't done that since the days of the caveman. Capital provides the tool of production.

Capital comes from savings, from not consuming immediately everything that is produced, but setting some aside which may be used for tools to produce still more goods and services in the future. People who save and make their savings available to increase production expect to be compensated for the risk and use of their savings.

When a business borrows from the savers, or sells back to the savers, it assumes obligation, either legal or moral, to attempt to operate profitably, for only profitable businesses can compensate the savers.

When savings invested in tools earn profits, the profits themselves also become a source of capital, for profits are essentially savings that have been expanded through performing a useful service.

Businesses that earn profits therefore enjoy the opportunity to use part of them as capital to provide still better tools of production. They also enjoy the willingness, if not eagerness, of savers to let them have still more capital, since the savers are either enjoying, or have reason to expect to enjoy later, a favorable rate of compensation compared with other ways they might use their savings.

The obverse side is that businesses that fail to earn profits find they cannot attract outside capital, and they are at the same time without profits as an internal source of capital.

From this develops a singularly uncomplicated concept: No profits equals no capital equals no tools equals no jobs.

## Kennedy the Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor, July 25, 1962, seems to be a proper and timely description of the current Washington political scene. It deserves to be called to the attention of the Congress and the American public:

KENNEDY THE POLITICIAN

Mr. Kennedy is now talking frankly partisan language about his stalled domestic legislative program. He blames the Republicans for his lack of success. There was a long series of statements to this effect in his latest press conference.

Mr. Kennedy respects both logic and objectivity but in this case he seems to be taking leave of both. Why should he blame members of the opposition party for predictably voting against bills with which they traditionally disagree? He could more logically blame the voters. The voters gave him an insufficient number of Democrats who agree.

And how can he shrug his shoulders so fatalistically about the conservative Democrats while pointing such an accusing finger at the Republicans? Where is consistency?

Mr. Kennedy also argues that because Republicans oppose his program they are for

inaction. He is for action. But in many cases enough Republicans agree with the broad aims of Kennedy domestic bills to pass them, if they had been drafted with more attention to the national need and less to Democratic politics and power.

But his frankly partisan approach to most of the major domestic bills provoked a frankly partisan answer. He knew that the conservative Democrats would vote with the opposition. Logic would suggest that his strategy was at fault, and not either the conservative Democrats or the Republicans. He misjudged the election returns.

This is all the more curious because at the start of his second year in the White House the President told reporters he was going to follow an entirely different strategy. He recognized the need for emphasizing national needs and deemphasizing party politics.

A few weeks thereafter he proposed a Department of Urban Affairs in a highly political manner. For whatever reason, perhaps a rising political self-confidence, his approach to Congress radically changed. With this more recent approach, Mr. Kennedy created his own frustration.

He has now explicitly described his plan for the coming congressional campaign. To the degree that it can be separated from recrimination over the past, it is a partial return to logic again. The President is tackling the real cause of his difficulty in the narrow decision of the voters. "The areas I'll be campaigning in are seats * * * where there will be a very clear choice between Republicans who oppose these programs and Democrats who support them. That's where I am going to go."

The voters will be there waiting. It remains to be seen whether they will consciously choose to base their vote on what kind of Congress they want to give Mr. Kennedy. (Many of them probably didn't, last time.) But they have this opportunity now and they should use it.

Meanwhile it is curious that Mr. Kennedy should be gauche about allocating blame for his plight, when he is supposed to excel at the political arts. It could be that he misjudges the future voting as well as the past. He may find that the same actions on his part which drove the moderate votes in Congress into opposition will cause the voters in November to prefer more conservative candidates.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 20, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I would like to thank you for sponsoring the House Resolution 211 and urge you to continue your great work in helping the dastardy condition of the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain. Please support your fellow Congressman to speed the passage of this resolution.

Gratefully yours,

MRS. K. MIKOLAITES.

PATERSON, N.J., *June 20, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Mary Suchenko, a Cossack by origin and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to create a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,

MARY SUCHENK.

(Copy to the Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.)

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your House Resolution 211 to be the best means at the present time to battle against the totalitarians of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

NIKOLAI TKOCOCHOO.

FARMINGDALE, N.J.,
*June 9, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: As an American citizen of Cossack descent, I would like to ask you for the support of the resolution, House Resolution 211, introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, on the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations.

I know that the creation of such a special committee would be a very important action taken by the U.S. Congress and keep alive the flame and hope and extend encouragement among all captive nations, including the Cossack nation.

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER JAKUSHOV.

NEW YORK, N.Y., *June 19, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Committee on Rules,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: As an American citizen of Cossack descent, and a veteran of the U.S. Army in World War II, I would like to ask for your support of House Resolution 211, introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, about the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations.

I am very glad that among the many nations oppressed by Communist Russia, my old homeland, Cossackia, has been included in the resolution.

With best wishes for your work.

Yours very truly,

V. LAZAREV.

## Communism Still a Tough Foe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Communism Still a Tough Foe" from the July 23, 1962, issue of the Glendale News-Press.

I believe the comments of the Glendale News-Press on the views held in some quarters that communism is no longer a serious threat to the free world, and the warning sounded in regard to such a policy will be of interest to many Members of Congress.

The editorial follows:

COMMUNISM STILL A TOUGH FOE

Washington is being swept by a wave of optimism that at long last the Communist tide has reached its high-water mark and is receding.

This belief must underlie the secret document on our new foreign policy drawn up by Walt W. Rostow, chairman of State Department planning. The administration has resisted all efforts of Congress to get a look at it.

The President himself, it is believed, has expressed his thoughts in off-the-record press interviews. Others, however, are talking out loud. Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, is the most optimistic of all. He sees thaws in all directions, and the approach of the open world.

Some of the reasons for all this optimism are obvious; others are puzzling. Among the reasons cited by administration spokesmen (mostly unidentified) are the growing military power of the United States, the differences between the Soviet Union and Red China; the failure of Communist agriculture; the prosperity of Western Europe, and the fact that none of the emerging countries of Africa have chosen communism.

All these stories have not been written in full. We always have had military superiority, but in the past few years communism has advanced, not retreated. What inch of territory has been given up? What single slave has been granted his freedom?

As a matter of fact communism has just gained its first real foothold in the Western Hemisphere and is moving steadily forward in southeast Asia. All Latin America is in turmoil. As for Africa, the new countries upon gaining independence merely continued the form of government introduced by the Western World, and they are ripe for dissension and subversion.

While probably all that has happened is that the Communists merely have changed tactics, as they often do to meet internal situations or family disagreements, the administration seems to believe that suddenly

the Reds have decided they do not want war and reluctantly have accepted the facts of life about nuclear power. Their aim all along has been to convince us of a nuclear stalemate and thus free themselves from military danger while pushing ahead by pressure, intimidation, bluff, subversion, and infiltration.

Have we accepted coexistence?

No one in the New Frontier has expressed it better than Mr. Stevenson. Commenting on the many cultural and scientific exchanges going on with the Soviet Union, and the lessening of mutual suspicions, he says it would seem that the spirit of openness is going to break some attitude records; and one day I think President Kennedy's plea will be answered: "Together let us explore the stars."

He calls for more understanding, more exchanges, and more instructions for schoolchildren about each others' countries free from politically inspired hate and distortion. "We have had enough of systems of thought," he says, "which cry, 'I alone have the key to truth.'"

## Dear Justice Douglas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, many House Members and those in the other body have been expressing themselves at great lengths on the subject of the recent Supreme Court school prayer decision. Deceptive commentary has been aimed at the views of Justice Douglas, who in addition to being an outspoken member of the Court, is an outspoken individual on many issues outside the realm of the judiciary branch of Government.

Our Sunday Visitor, a national Catholic weekly, contained a factual commentary on the views of Justice Douglas in its July 29 edition. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD at this time the following article written by Dale Francis:

DEAR JUSTICE DOUGLAS

(By Dale Francis)

You asked Americans a question not long ago. You asked it publicly, speaking at the Pacific Coast Branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Let me answer it in this open letter to you.

What you asked was this: "Are we sufficiently tolerant to permit our people and our aid to construct socialist societies in other nations?"

Of course, Mr. Justice, you load the question in the way you put it. If the answer is "No," then, as you state the question, it is because of intolerance.

My answer is "No," not stated quietly but firmly, not answered timidly but boldly and with sadness that you put the question to us.

You see, Mr. Justice, we don't have to imagine what a Socialist state is like. We have a close view of a Socialist state in Cuba. We have seen what socialism has done in East Germany and we have the long, black record of the Socialist state of the Soviet Union. We know what Socialist societies are like and we don't want to build more of them.

Ask us the question as it could honestly be stated, Mr. Justice, not in a way that would convict us of intolerance if we do not agree with your strange thesis.

Ask us if we are willing to give of the fruits of our freedom to build prisons for our neighbors.

You gave a rousing challenge to the idealism of young Americans in your speech, Mr. Douglas. You said:

"We must have brigades of doctors and nurses overseas to help establish medical schools, nurses training schools, first-aid centers and hospitals. Tens of thousands are needed at the agricultural level. Engineers and business managers are needed."

A challenge like that I like to see given to our young people and it is a challenge to which thousands have already responded.

But for what purpose? For the purpose of giving aid to struggling people, for the purpose of fighting those ancient enemies of hunger, disease, illiteracy, for these reasons certainly. These are worthwhile causes to which we, beneficiaries of a priceless heritage of freedom, should be dedicated.

But not to build societies that would destroy the very freedoms that have produced us, not for that, Mr. Douglas.

PRESERVE FREEDOMS

Maybe some might say I have only partially quoted you, that you do not really mean to say what you seem to be saying.

I have only partially quoted you, Mr. Justice. Let me quote you further so it will be clear exactly what you meant.

You said that our problem shouldn't be that of quelling revolutionaries, but to supply and support democratic cadres to direct the reforms.

All right, Mr. Douglas, we have close at hand a country in the process of a revolution. You say we shouldn't be seeking to end the regime of a man like Fidel Castro—that is your implication, at least—but we should be sending our people in to help him carry out his reforms.

Should we ignore the destruction of all freedom—freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of religion? Should we ignore the prisons or the ever-growing list of men murdered by firing squads? Should we instead send our finest talents, our trained men and women, so that we can make his government work and so solidify his regime? This is one of the Socialist states you say we should be tolerant enough to aid.

But maybe you didn't mean Cuba, Mr. Justice, maybe you meant some other sort of Socialist state, some idealized form of socialism. But, Mr. Douglas, we live in a world of reality, not a word of idealized forms but a world of facts, and Cuba, East Germany, and Russia are Socialist states we know. When you tell us we should help in the building of Socialist states, this is what we know Socialist states can be like.

But then, Mr. Justice, I suspect we don't even speak the same language. In your speech you said that we have become identified with dictators, kings, and feudal overlords. That is why, you say, "The tides of history are running against us."

We speak different languages, Mr. Douglas, we live in different worlds. You speak of kings and feudal lords and the words are meaningless to me. They sound like the manufactured phrases of propagandists. You say, "The tides of history are running against us," and I know we live in different worlds.

You have been busy, Mr. Justice, but have you been too busy to have heard of the wall in Berlin? It was not constructed to keep us out, Mr. Douglas, it was built to keep the prisoners of a Socialist state from escaping.

You think the tides of history are running against us, but everywhere I look I see the ordinary people trying to escape from the Socialist states, risking their possessions, their lives, everything, to come to us.

If you mean the tyrants are gaining control, that by force and intimidation, by conspiracy and deceit, they are forcing into their prison states more and more people, then I know there are statistics to back this up. But this is not the reality of history, Mr. Justice, the tyrants have never and will never determine the direction of the tides of history.

LOOK TO THE REFUGEES

If you would know which way the tides of history are running, Mr. Douglas, then never look to see which way the bayonets are moving, never follow the marching feet of armies, never walk in the direction the prisoners are being taken.

If you would know which way the tides of history are running then look to the refugees, see which direction those people who would risk their lives for freedom are moving. Stand at the wall of Berlin and see which direction the desperate go when they risk their lives to escape from tyranny.

You can know which way the tides of history are running when you know which direction free people take.

You know why I want our people to go out into the world, Mr. Douglas? I want them to go out into the world, carrying hope and help and with it the message of our own freedom.

But then you don't want that, do you, Mr. Justice? You cleared that up for us in your speech. You said:

"An attempt to remake a nation in the image of America might well be disastrous. What was needed for the genius of our people might be ill suited for others."

But an effort to remake them in the image of East Germany or Cuba or Russia, that would be good, would it, Mr. Justice, that would be the tolerant thing to do?

Mr. Justice, you hold one of the highest appointive offices this free country can offer to one of its citizens. You are a beneficiary of a dream of freedom that men have worked for, fought for and died for, and you don't want anyone to know about it. You say Americans shouldn't go out with the message of America but to make Socialist states—and, Mr. Justice, you give me a chill.

You see, Mr. Justice, this Nation not only gave you one of its highest honors—it placed in your care the Constitution, that great dream of freemen.

And, Mr. Justice, I don't think you believe in it. I don't see how you could believe in it and speak as you do.

So I return your question to us with a question for you. How can a man of integrity—one who believes the tides of history are running out on us, who believes we should not help others build on the same principles of freedom established for us, who thinks our free people should help build Socialist states—presume to preserve the dream he thinks has failed?

## Tell Me, Just What Liberties Have You Lost?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism.

Article No. 28 in the series concerns the cliche "Tell Me, Just What Liberties Have You Lost?"

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues, and, under unanimous consent, place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TELL ME, JUST WHAT LIBERTIES HAVE YOU LOST?

People who bemoan the loss of freedom have this cliche hurled at them repeatedly, not only by devotees of omnipotent government but by many so-called conservatives who think they are faring all right under the status quo.

Anyone sensitive to what's going on politically in this and other countries is aware of lost freedom. Indeed, it is axiomatic that freedom is lost in direct ratio to the imposition of governmental restraints on productive and creative efforts; the more political controls, the less freedom. But to proclaim this conviction is to invite the question, "Tell me, just what liberties have you lost?" Unless one can respond intelligently, he only lends credence to the fatal fallacy that we are suffering no loss of freedom.

Why is the question so difficult to answer? Because, for one thing, it is impossible to describe erosion in precise terms. It is like asking a sexagenarian, "Just what abilities have you lost?" "Well," he reflects, "I can see, hear, smell, taste, feel, remember, think, walk, run, play golf—why, there are no lost abilities. I can do everything I could do in my youth." Yet, further reflection will reveal an erosion of most abilities. He has to wear glasses; his false teeth aren't quite as efficient as the teeth he once had; his walk isn't as spry; if he runs, he runs out of breath; his golf swing takes more out of him but puts less on the ball; and, frankly, his memory has lost some of its keenness. But how to be precise in describing these erosions?

A rough—not precise—measure of eroded freedom may be observed in the growing take of the people's earned income by government. It has now reached the alltime high of 35 percent, and grows apace.

However innocently asked, "Just what liberties have you lost?" is a trick question. To devise a trick answer would only make this a contest in cleverness—no help in advancing an understanding of freedom. A logical and sensible response would be in the form of a rebuttal question, "Do you happen to have at the tip of your tongue a list of all the restraints to productive and creative action imposed by the Federal Government, the 50 State governments, and the more than 200,000 other units of government during the last 30 years? If you will recite these restraints, you will accurately answer your own question." The list, of course, is enormous.

While most of our lost freedom is in the form of a gradual and indefinable erosion, there are instances where the loss is already completed and, thus, can be specifically named. These instances, however, are not at all impressive or pesuasive except to the few individuals to whom a specific instance applies. Suppose, for example, one were to reply, "I have lost the freedom to plant all the tobacco I please on my own land." Who cares, except that infinitesimal part of the population who might want to grow tobacco? Or, "I have lost the freedom to work for anyone at less than $1.25 per hour." Again, who cares, except those unfortunate individuals whose services aren't worth this much? Or, "I have lost the freedom to pick up a passenger at the Greater Cincinnati Airport in my own taxicab." Who cares, except Cincinnati taxicab operators? Or, "I have lost the freedom to competitively price services rendered by my own railroad." Who cares, except the few owners of railroads? Or, "I have lost the freedom to raise whatever grain I please to feed my own chickens." Most voters don't raise chickens and, thus, have little concern for the plight of these few.

For a few more bits of lost freedom see reverse side, bearing in mind that no one in a lifetime could possibly put all the bits between covers. However, what is most important to any individual is not the freedom he personally has lost but the freedom someone else may need to do things beneficial for him and for others. This freedom we can assure to the unknown person only by giving it to everyone.[1]

LEONARD E. READ.

SAMPLE BITS IN THE ENDLESS LIST OF LOST FREEDOMS

You have lost the freedom of choice over that part of your property taken to pay farmers for not growing wheat, cotton, peanuts, corn, rice, tobacco; support prices of cheese, butter, and countless other items at levels beyond the reach of willing customers so that costly surpluses accumulate in storage; pay for urban renewal and other rehabilitation projects in communities across the Nation; provide power and light at less than market rates to residents of the Tennessee Valley; subsidize socialistic foreign governments and beam socialistic propaganda all over the world; cover the costs of other Government gifts and "loans" to politically selected beneficiaries at home and abroad.

For these and many other welfare state projects, you have no choice but to help pay.

If your wealth is in cash, you may decide to whom it will be loaned and at what price, but, if you are among certain manufacturers with your wealth in goods, you have lost your freedom to give customers quantity discounts.

If you run a railroad, you have lost your freedom to refuse to pay for work not done (featherbedding).

If your newspaper carries advertising and if the ads come in mats readied for press, you have lost your freedom to refuse to pay for useless setting and knocking down of duplicate type.

If you are among the large producers of packaged tobaccos, you have lost your freedom to become a member of the tobacco manufacturers' trade association. You are compelled not to belong.

If you are an employee, you have, in millions of instances, lost your freedom not to join a labor union. You are compelled to belong.

Whoever you are, you have lost your freedom to deliver first class mail for pay.

While foreign governments may obtain U.S. gold in exchange for their goods, you, as a citizen of the United States, have lost your freedom to do so and, with it, a measurable loss of control over governmental inflationary practices.

If you wish to set yourself up in the business of extracting teeth, prescribing for sore throats, gout, and other physical ailments, designing houses or bridges and so on, cutting hair and a host of other activities, you have lost your freedom to do so. You must first get a license from the Government.

Ownership without control is an empty term. Thus, you have lost the freedom to own property to the extent that Government forbids the sale of your business to certain others (prohibited mergers).

Most adult Americans have lost the freedom not to have Government take their property for such hazards as unemployment and old age.

Millions of employees have not only lost their freedom to bargain individually with their employer but also have lost their freedom to select their own bargaining unit.

Thousands of employers have lost their freedom to hire or fire their own workers.

Thousands of employers have lost the freedom to deal directly with their own employees.

Thousands of employers have lost their freedom to subcontract their work, even though they can get it done at a price lower than by their own employees.

Et cetera, et cetera, et cetera—ad infinitum.

[1] For a full explanation of this important idea, read point 5 (pp. 30–32) in F. A. Hayek's "The Constitution of Liberty" (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

## An Impractical Pragmatism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DON L. SHORT**
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, "pragmatism" is defined as being derived from the Latin word, "pragmaticus," meaning "busy, active, skilled in law and state affairs, systematic."

However the word "pragmatical" is defined as "officious or opinionated."

Since the Wall Street Journal editorial of July 30, 1962, mentions that the Kennedy administration is often described as "pragmatic," rather than "theoretical," I would like to ask how many of his advisers have actual experience as far as being "skilled in law and state affairs," and how many would be described as being "systematic." Perhaps it all depends on who his advisers actually are? Some of his Cabinet members, I am sure, would be honestly described as "pragmatic." On the other hand, some of his other advisers could be described as being "busy" and "active," as many Members of Congress could attest to since they have been repeatedly buttonholed on various legislative matters.

Would it be too caustic for me to suggest that perhaps these latter people could be labeled as "pragmatical pragmatists"? Officious they are, and opinionated they are, and busy and active they are. Even in some cases, they are systematic. But skilled in law and state affairs they are not.

I would like to ask that the editorial, "An Impractical Pragmatism," be included with my remarks today because I feel it contains many truths which should be considered. If considered thoughtfully, perhaps some of our worries over our economy would be alleviated, because we might be able to once again operate under a free enterprise system, instead of increased Government controls.

The article is included herewith, as follows:

AN IMPRACTICAL PRAGMATISM

The Kennedy administration is often described as pragmatic rather than theoretical. If so, let us put theories aside for the moment and look at its economic policy in coldly practical terms. How effective is it?

First of all, it is true the policy is an unfinished work, since Congress has neglected to enact parts of it. As one of President Kennedy's closest aids, Theodore Sorenson, expressed it on Howard K. Smith's television

show the other night, "We have submitted to the Congress last year and this year an extensive program to stimulate the economy."

The President's legislative program includes farm controls, medicare, depressed areas, manpower retraining, youth employment, and discretionary Presidential authority to boost public works spending.

Mr. Sorenson apparently feels that if Congress had passed every last bit of the program, instead of only parts of it, the economy would now be booming. As it is the officials regard the economy's blood as so tired that they are seriously thinking of asking Congress for tax cuts to build it up.

Yet if one examines the proposals to date, it is evident they have nothing to do with economic growth. Whatever else may be said of the farm plan that failed, its purpose was to regiment the farmer into producing less, not to stimulate more output. And whatever the pros and cons of medicare on other grounds, not even its advocates could very well claim it was a growth hypodermic.

Aid to depressed areas, unemployed youth, manpower retraining, public works—all these are by definition palliatives designed at most to soothe sore spots. They have no more connection with economic growth than did similar programs in the thirties when all the considerable efforts of Government, year after year, were unable to significantly alleviate mass unemployment, much less lift the whole economy out of the mire of depression.

So, as a practical matter, blaming Congress for inaction doesn't get the administration far. Anyway, Congress has cooperated handsomely in the higher Federal spending and deficits which appear to be a key part of the administration's growth policy.

Spending has gone up many billions, and not just for defense and space, if even all those increases are justified. An imposing deficit was piled up last fiscal year, and another is in store this year. And yet the economy is said to be stagnating.

Since all this Federal medicine hasn't done the trick, the President is being urged to try much more of it, which seems rather curious advice. Outstanding liberal economists like Truman adviser Leon Keyserling want him to quit temporizing and embark on a truly expansionary program.

That means the greatest possible spending Government officials can conceive, for any purpose anyone can dream up. The whole point, which is not without political overtones, is to spend, so as to put more people to work and put more dollars in people's pockets.

Assuming a willing Congress, such a program would certainly mean Government growth. But it could not mean economic growth because its premise is uneconomic.

A policy with the avowed objective of maximum Federal spending, directed from Washington, must cause a monstrous misallocation of resources. This defect has characterized every so-called planned economy in history and is glaringly plain in every one today from Socialist India to Communist Russia. Inevitably the wrong things are built and produced in the wrong places for the wrong needs.

The free-market economy's success is due above all to its practicality; it is simply the most effective means of channeling resources to productive and prosperous ends. The more its mechanisms are interfered with, the more impractical an economy is.

It would seem, then, that the administration and its advisers in and out of Government are barking up the wrong policy tree. The key to real economic growth lies where it always has, in lifting rather than increasing the burden of Government and so releasing the energies of a free people in a free market.

To figure it all out otherwise requires, we suggest, an extremely peculiar kind of pragmatism.

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## Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12711) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I renew the point of order to this language appearing on page 25, lines 1 and 2, in regard to the sale of pieces of critical material.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the gentleman's point of order?

Mr. EDMONDSON. The point of order is, under the explanation which is given by the Chairman, this is very clearly legislation that could be unfortunate legislation unless clarified. I reserve the point of order in order to question the Chairman again. As I understand the process of rotation, you only rotate critical and strategic materials on which you have deterioration and on which you are going to lose your value unless you do exchange. Some of those include materials which are not in substantial surplus.

Mr. THOMAS. Name one of them.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I think if I had a list of the critical and strategic materials I could name several. I think some of them have been pretty highly classified recently.

Mr. THOMAS. I hope the gentleman will not insist upon his point of order. I realize what he is driving at. He has always been a strong advocate of stockpiling, and so perhaps have all of the rest of us. We have too much in here. Let us not go back to the Treasury and draw out fresh money when we do not need to. Let us use this money to pay overhead expenses. We already owe enough money without dipping in a little bit deeper. We are not doing anything wrong.

Mr. EDMONDSON. The gentleman by this destroys the ability to rotate.

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. EDMONDSON. That I understand is the effect of it if you cannot rotate it.

Mr. THOMAS. That is not the intention. It will not affect it. You can rotate 7 days out of the week anything that could be administered. There is no limitation on the ability to rotate.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I think there are some items on which we are very close to our requirements. We destroy the ability to rotate on them.

Mr. THOMAS. No, it does not affect that.

Mr. EDMONDSON. With that correction I withdraw my point of order, Mr. Chairman.

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## Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH
OF
## HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12711) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I believe this amendment will save lives. It will mean the safety of thousands of air passengers. It simply means that something should be looked into as a matter of imperative necessity in this moving about and consolidation and abolition of air route traffic control centers. The proposal to remove the air traffic control center from San Antonio and New Orleans and consolidate it in Houston will cost an estimated $7½ million. The San Antonio center involves a 10-year contract at $162,000 a year. This contract was entered into in the early part of 1959. The FAA now proposes to pay $162,000 until 1969 for a building that will not be occupied and which was constructed less than 3 years ago for occupancy by the FAA for an air route traffic control center.

The FAA Administrator admits that he did not go before the subcommittee to seek the necessary appropriations for this consolidation. He must juggle his available appropriated funds and knock out 136 safety installations that he said were necessary in February. In other words, in order to bring about the elimination of the air traffic control center in San Antonio and New Orleans, it will be necessary to knock out or dispense with 136 safety installations which the same director told the committee, as recently as February of this year, would be necessary for the safety and protection of air travelers in the United States and its possessions. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, this amendment merely says that this tendency toward capricious action which results in the abolition of these air traffic control centers will be dispensed with at least for the time being until this entire matter can be looked into. We know that 136 installations will not be provided for. I cannot tell you which installations they are because the director says that this is privileged information and it is not available to ordinary Members of the House. He says, it is

privileged information and you have to have some kind of permission or something from the committee to get it. I believe each one of us has a responsibility to carry out, and each one of us is charged with the knowledge that there are safety angles that have to be considered which, if they go unheeded, can conceivably result in serious air mishaps and accidents with the consequent loss of human life and otherwise great danger to air travelers.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I very respectfully, and I hope the committee does not think it is presumptuous for me to do so, ask you to seriously consider the adoption of this amendment.

## Employment Losses Are Due to the Uncontrolled Imports of Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, with millions of unemployed in the United States seemingly accepted as a normal liability by the doctrinaires of a planned economy, and with countless others condemned to the rolls of the unemployed by the Trade Expansion Act now before the Senate, Pennsylvania's economic distress can hardly be expected to make much of a stir hereabouts. The decline and fall of my State's coal industry was evident from the moment that the State Department hierarchy adopted a policy of encouraging international oil companies to dump foreign residual oil into the fuel markets of our Atlantic seaboard without respect to its effect on American workingmen.

Pennsylvania's mines have had it. It is doubtful that they will ever return to normal operating levels unless proper cutbacks are made in the residual oil import control program.

What about the injury inflicted upon Pennsylvania's mines by foreign residual oil? Through the courtesy of Mr. Harvey Younker, vice president of District 2, United Mine Workers of America, I have received employment data which I include in the RECORD at this point:

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA,
*Ebensburg, Pa., July 17, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN P. SAYLOR,
*Congress of the United States,*
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SAYLOR: Since you have been so active in the campaign to bring the importation of residual fuel oil to this country to an absolute minimum, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed employment chart showing the reduction in the employment rolls of the mines in District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, which we are sure is mostly due to the almost uncontrolled import of this waste material of the oil industry.

I hope you and your colleagues who are interested in saving the coal industry in central Pennsylvania will be able to make good use of the manpower information contained herewith.

Sincerely yours,
HARVEY YOUNKER,
*Vice President, District No. 2.*

*Bituminous coal employment statistics, district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, from Jan. 1, 1950, to Dec. 31, 1961, inclusive*

| County | 1950 | 1961 | Change | Approximate percentage of loss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Armstrong | 2,780 | 1,008 | −1,722 | −61.9 |
| Bedford | 490 | 198 | −292 | −59.5 |
| Blair | 242 | 47 | −195 | −80.6 |
| Bradford | 7 | 6 | −1 | −14.3 |
| Cambria | 13,970 | 4,314 | −9,656 | −69.1 |
| Cameron | 38 | 21 | −17 | −44.7 |
| Centre | 763 | 303 | −460 | −60.3 |
| Clarion | 975 | 715 | −250 | −27.7 |
| Clearfield | 4,968 | 2,612 | −2,256 | −46.3 |
| Clinton | 319 | 136 | −183 | −57.3 |
| Elk | 699 | 192 | −507 | −72.8 |
| Fayette | 220 | 35 | −185 | −84.1 |
| Fulton | 20 | 0 | −20 | −100.0 |
| Huntingdon | 459 | 54 | −405 | −88.0 |
| Indiana | 5,979 | 2,240 | −3,739 | −62.5 |
| Jefferson | 1,861 | 691 | −1,170 | −63.0 |
| Lycoming | 19 | 34 | +15 | +18.1 |
| McKean | 19 | 3 | −16 | −84.1 |
| Somerset | 6,309 | 1,609 | −4,700 | −74.7 |
| Tioga | 156 | 86 | −70 | −44.9 |
| Total | 40,193 | 14,304 | 25,889 | 64.4 |

Mr. Younker's explanation for this employment loss is "which we are sure is mostly due to the almost uncontrolled import of this waste material of the oil industry."

Mr. Speaker, from those 54 million barrels of residual oil which entered U.S. markets in 1948, the intake rose to 233 million barrels last year. There is no question but that a preponderance of the 25,889 lost jobs in the coal mines of district 2 can be attributed directly to the imports. Mine after mine has closed because traditional markets were taken over by shippers promising energy at whatever price was necessary to get beneath that of coal. In addition, new plants, factories, and utilities that would otherwise have gone to coal were approached with clandestine price offers that dissuaded management from installing coal boilers. Brazen importers now allege that these consumers have not impinged upon coal customers because they could not use coal under any circumstances; yet if a sane foreign trade policy had been observed over the past years American coal would be moving into those installations and most of the 25,000 unemployed miners in district 2 would be drawing paychecks today. With them would be thousands of railroad workers and employees of other industries who depend upon coal for their livelihood.

Mr. Speaker, the befuddled thinking of policymakers in the State Department has somehow conned Members of Congress into going along year after year with their strange philosophy, on the theory that eventually—by making America the goat—they can transform a savage bear into an amiable lamb.

It has long been established that the base of this country's present foreign policy was designed and constructed by such notorious individuals as Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, David Niles, and others of their ilk. We hope and pray that all cellmates have been smoked from offices of authority, yet it is unfortunate that so many non-Communists who remain in policymaking positions are not, in fact, anti-Communists. It is unfortunate that so many representatives of the State Department are so unsympathetic, so disinterested toward America's workingman and his problems.

The answer is obvious: Congress, sooner or later, is going to have to reaffirm its authority in the field of foreign trade. No better start could be made than to impose a definite quota limitation—not to be exceeded regardless of the extent of State Department entreaty—as the one medium of enabling coal miners in Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky to get back to the jobs that have been purloined by alien oil interests.

## The U.S. Constitution Was Designed for an Agrarian Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism. Article No. 25 in the series concerns the cliche, "The U.S. Constitution Was Designed for an Agrarian Society." I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and, under unanimous consent, place it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION WAS DESIGNED FOR AN AGRARIAN SOCIETY

(By Leonard E. Read)

"The President is hobbled in his task of leading the American people to consensus and concerted action by the restrictions of power imposed on him by a constitutional system designed for an 18th-century agrarian society far removed from the centers of world power."[1]

What is meant by "consensus" in this context? It means the shaping of a unified, common collective by Executive action in order that the Nation can speak with one voice—the voice of the President. This project, if successful, would put an end to freedom of speech and freedom of the press, for obviously there can be no nationwide "consensus" when everyone is free to advance his own opinions.

What is meant by "concerted action" in this context? It means, among other things, that the United States of America shall act as a disciplined body under centralized direction. Economically, the President would determine where, in the markets of the world, our largess would be bestowed and withheld and under what conditions. This would substitute a single, arbitrary exchange mechanism for untold millions of exchanges. How can there be a "concerted action" of

[1] From a prerecorded speech by Senator FULBRIGHT to the Cubberly Conference on Education, Stanford University, July 28, 1961.

a whole nation when anyone is free to buy and sell whatever and wherever and to whomever he chooses? This would spell an end to what is left of the free market in this country. Further, it would sound the death knell to private property, for an individual must be in control of a good or a service before he can be said to own it. The call for "concerted action" is the call for all-out Federal control.

The best instance of "consensus" and "concerted action" among the nations of the world today is Russia. There the Premier of the Supreme Soviet is not "hobbled in his task of leading the people to consensus and concerted action by the restrictions of a constitutional system designed for an 18th century agrarian society." In Russia—still substantially agrarian[2]—both the consensus and the action are whatever Premier Khrushchev dictates. Freedom of choice as to how one employs himself, what he does with the fruits of his own labor, and what and with whom he exchanges is not for each one to decide; it is a decision of the one. There, indeed, is consensus and concerted action.

The Constitution was not designed for an agrarian society. Rather, it was designed by those who lived in an agrarian society for the purpose of securing individual justice and individual rights regardless of technological changes. The Constitution more severely limited the scope and powers of Government than had ever before been the case, and this curbing of coercive measures largely explains why our 18th-century agrarian economy developed into today's industrial economy.[3] Limiting political power to the inhibition and the penalizing of fraud, violence, misrepresentation, and predation—in short, to the invoking of a common justice—left no organized force standing against the release of creative energy. As a result, creative human energy was released here on an unprecedented scale and, thus, our industrial economy.

Asking for arbitrary political power here at home as a means of combating arbitrary political power elsewhere is not commended by the historical record. In industrial or market competition it is the free nation which excels. No nation ever came close to approaching our position in international competition. Only recently, as arbitrary controls increase, are we finding it more difficult to compete.

Militarily, the record is similar. History books, for the most part, are accounts of authoritarianism, one authoritarian battling another authoritarian. Then came the freest nation of all time—authoritarianism held in check by the Constitution. A free people became an economically strong people. An economically strong and thus a versatile people have had a record from Bunker Hill onward of making the authoritarians hand over their swords.

The Constitution was definitely and specifically designed to hobble all people who are so foolish as to think themselves capable of leading others by compulsion. It so functions today to an extent exasperating to the authoritarians—which is why they want to get rid of it. Blessings on the agrarians who designed it. Let us hope we have sense enough, not only to keep what we have left of it, but to restore to it the restrictions against incompetence which already have been taken from it.

[2] See "The Hard Core of the Farm Problem" by Dr. Karl Brandt. The Freeman, April 1961, p. 31.

[3] There are 46 specific restraints against governmental action in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

## No Bargaining With Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the current discussions in regard to U.S. policy on a nuclear test ban involve considerations of the utmost significance to every American citizen and to many future generations.

I view with greatest concern any move by the United States, as reported, calling for an abandonment of our firm position with regard to a test ban agreement. It seems all too clear that this could amount to another instance of foreign policy based on the belief that we must try to accommodate the Soviets.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the July 26, 1962, issue of the Los Angeles Times entitled "No Bargaining With Security." I believe the editorial contains a very noteworthy discussion of the issues involved and the dangers in making any unwarranted concessions to the Soviets on a test ban agreement.

The editorial follows:

NO BARGAINING WITH SECURITY

Decision is expected soon on new terms the United States is prepared to offer in the Geneva dickering for a ban on all nuclear testing.

Americans should be concerned. There is the possibility that we might bargain away essential elements of our security to break the impasse at Geneva.

For a decade now, the United States has been seeking an accord with Russia to end nuclear testing.

The Russians have blocked progress, insisting that the United States must withdraw its minimum requirements for mutual inspection to insure compliance with the pact terms. They have turned down suggestions that inspection be performed by neutral teams.

The word is going around Washington now that analysis of the latest series of U.S. nuclear explosions has eliminated the need for inside-Russia inspections. It is reported that new detection devices can pinpoint nuclear tests underground or in the atmosphere.

Consequently, it is argued in trial balloon leaks in the Capital, we can afford to yield in our insistence on inspection inside Russia without sacrificing our security.

This may be true. But no prudent man would approve concessions to Russia unless there were categorical assurance from the President and the military responsible for defense that detection systems are fully adequate.

The desirability of some accord with Russia to end the nuclear threat is universally recognized. But with survival at stake, the wish for an accord should not color our judgment. One mistake can be the last mistake in this game.

We have, and can maintain, a nuclear deterrent that has kept Russia in bounds. No concession which contains the slightest possibility of upsetting this balance should be thought of. Our well-meaning negotiators must not be permitted to baragin with our security.

## If We Need Big Business, Why Don't We Need Big Government?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, Leonard E. Read has written a series of articles in which he discusses cliches of socialism.

Article No. 21 in the series concerns the cliche "If We Need Big Business, Why Don't We Need Big Government?"

I believe this article will be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

IF WE NEED BIG BUSINESS, WHY DON'T WE NEED BIG GOVERNMENT?

This question not only has cliche characteristics; it is also a non sequitur—that is, the second part does not follow from the first.

This loaded question is precisely like asking, "If we need big farms, why don't we need a big police force?" Obviously, the size of the farms has nothing to do with the size of the police force required.

That government is organized police force is clear enough: The thing that distinguishes the private citizen from an agent of government is that the latter has the backing of the police force. Remove this backing from any agent of government and he is automatically restored to private citizenship.

Organized police force—that is, government—can only restrain, inhibit, penalize, destroy. Its sole worthy purpose—its only competence—is to minimize fraud, violence, misrepresentation, predation; which is to say, to invoke a common justice.

The fact that an individual is 7 feet tall and weighs 300 pounds is not the fact that determines how much police force should be used against him. Perhaps more should be used against a midget. Size, however, should not be the determing factor.

What distinguishes a small from a big business? These terms are but vague generalities based on number of employees or invested capital or sales or site space or purchasing power—handy simplifications having to do with economic girth, so to speak.

A half dozen gangsters pool their resources to engage in robbing banks. Theirs might be called a small business. Yet, the amount of police force required to destroy the operation and to penalize the participants would be considerable.

A half million citizens pool their resources and employ a quarter million workers to make automobiles. This is a big business. Yet, assuming no fraud or violence—all transactions on the basis of willing exchange—the amount of police force required would be nil.

The bigness of government is properly determined by the bigness of the fraud, the violence, the misrepresentation, the predation that has to be put down in a society, regardless of where it exists.

If the size of businesses were to determine the size of government—heaven forbid—no doubt it could be demonstrated that there would be more work for John Law among 10,000 tiny businesses, employing a hundred thousand workers than in the case of a corporation employing the same number. Workers, customers, suppliers, stockhold-

ers—by the thousands—keep the large corporation under constant and searching surveillance, so brightly spotlighted that the slightest misstep becomes a national scandal.

We need businesses of the size best suited to efficiency. We need government limited to the efficient protection of our rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—and its appropriate size will vary inversely with the degree to which we behave responsibly as individuals and through voluntary organizations, be they large or small.

LEONARD E. READ.

## Modernizing Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RALPH HARVEY**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of July 31, 1962:

MODERNIZING CONGRESS

The House Rules Committee forms one wing of the legislative mortuary where a bill can be killed even if it has been reported out favorably by another House committee. The best cure for this, we argued in a previous editorial, is the readoption of the 21-day rule setting limits on the obstructionism of the committee. But this would not touch another wing of the necropolis, the standing committees themselves. For example, the District Home Rule bill has for years been sealed in a coffin by the House District Committee although it has been repeatedly approved by the Senate.

In order to provide some safeguard against arbitrary committee government, the House in 1910 adopted its first discharge rule, which was modified in 1924 to enable 150 Members to petition for the release of a bill. This reasonable palliative, however, was virtually made inoperative in 1935 when the number of names required on a discharge petition was raised to 218, or a majority of the House.

Under the most favorable circumstances, it takes widespread support for any bill before even 150 signatures can be enrolled on a petition. Of the 790 petitions filed from 1924 through 1956, only 29 obtained the required minimum of signatures. In the entire history of the rule, a mere two bills have been enacted into law through the discharge system: the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and the Federal Pay Raise Act of 1960. Hence at best the discharge device is a method of tempering and not curing the abuses of committee government.

But it can be an important device. Washington would have won home rule years ago if only 150 signatures were required to dislodge the needed legislation from its committee tomb. Any overall reform of the rules of Congress could properly include a return to the 150-signature requirement that prevailed until 1935. As to the argument that this would open the gates to demagogic bills, the best and sufficient answer is that Congress already has enough practices that reflect a distrust of the commonsense of the majority; it does not also need an unreasonable discharge rule to protect the House from itself.

## The Illiberal Liberalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DON L. SHORT**
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, one of the great puzzles to me and many others these days is the insistence of certain people on adopting discredited approaches to Government and our economy. From what I have read in history, socialism has been discredited many times in the past. Further, we see the results of socialism as practiced in the U.S.S.R. and Red China and Cuba, with reference to their agricultural economy, not to speak of other aspects of their economy.

On the other hand, we have seen the progress of the United States under a republican form of government, and under a free enterprise system. This progress cannot be denied; neither can it be shunted aside as actually emanating from the fact that the United States is rich in raw materials, because other countries of the world are just as rich and have not made the progress so evident here.

An editorial appearing in the July 30, 1962, issue of the National Observer, entitled "Key to the Coercive State" presents, to my mind, a very succinct analysis of the growth of Government as opposed to individual responsibilities and freedom of our citizens. Therefore I would like to comemnd it to the Members of Congress for careful reading and thoughtful discussion, and include it with my remarks in the RECORD:

KEY TO THE COERCIVE STATE

Not so many years ago the word "liberal" was still applied to a man who stood for individual rights against the encroachments of State authority. Today it usually means one who is primarily concerned with what he considers the general welfare—which he usually wishes to see expanded through exanded activities of the Federal Government.

Much of the current political and economic debate in this country revolves around those two views. As President Kennedy implied at his press conference last week, the choice between "sailing" or "anchoring" is really the choice between extending the scope and compulsion of the Federal Government or holding the Government in check.

Now the modern liberal's longing for ever more Government is not necessarily a totalitarian urge; in fact, it could be argued that his attitude toward and aspirations for people in general are idealistic and even noble. Yet if we look a little more closely, it is plain that a connection between contemporary liberalism and totalitarianism not only exists but is inescapable.

The world is full of problems and unhappiness of all sorts (and the liberal's vision does not end at our shores but embraces the downtrodden elsewhere). In this country most human problems are traditionally handled by individuals, families, communities and, in important degree, private philanthropic money. Among other things, such money has spurred the medical research that has done so much to conquer disease and lengthen life.

It is all very well to say that more must be done. But the point is that if you turn all human woes into affairs of state, you radically alter the Nation's political framework. What happens is succinctly described by K. R. Minogue, a political science lecturer at the London School of Economics, writing in the American Scholar magazine.

"Liberalism," he explains, "has come more and more to see politics simply as a technical activitity like any other. We first decide what it is that we want, how we think our society ought to be organized, and then we seek the means to our end. The politician must be an expert skilled in political means, and his ends must be democratically supplied to him by popular demand.

"This view of politics introduces a novel inflexibility both into the actual work of politicians, and into the hopes we have of it. It means, for example, that all widespread problems turn into political problems, inviting a solution by State activity. It follows logically that peoples commit themselves to long-term planned objectives roughly as individuals commit themselves to New Year resolutions. But while individuals may break their resolutions if they change their minds, peoples cannot be flexible in this way.

"Faced with backsliding, governments must coerce. They must control the climate of thought in which people live, and if necessary they must engage in large-scale and protracted repression to keep a populace consistent with what it seemed to want sometime in the past."

Plainly enough, we have not yet gone that far in the United States. Yet the signs are equally plain and multiplying, that we are far along the road. There is scarcely a problem, no matter how local or personal, that the officials in Washington do not consider to be their proper province—juvenile delinquency, medical aid for old folks, smoking. At the same time we have seen the thunderous force of Presidential power used to reverse a price decision, followed by more than a few hints that direct wage and price controls may be in the offing. For the long-subsidized farmer, the planners would tighten the Federal leash.

And since the essence of liberalism is this assertion of Federal responsibility for everyone and everything, it is difficult indeed to see what is ultimately to prevent the full flowering of the all-encompassing, coercive State.

This trend puts two basic questions squarely before the country. If unlimited expansion of Government is what we the people really want, how do we propose to pay the enormous cost? It can only be done by much higher taxes or inflation or the two in tandem. However done, we suffocate the drive and ingenuity and progress that come from the free play of individual decisions.

The second question is why, in the land of liberty, we should want it. Why trade individual responsibilities and freedoms for the stale regulations of bureaucracy and the faceless conformity of collectivism? Why tear, and perhaps ultimately destroy, the precious fabric of our economic and political institutions that has clothed us so warmly? What kind of response is that to the threat of international communism?

It is not as though there were no alternative, that we are willy-nilly propelled along liberalism's illiberal road. The alternative is to check the headlong rush of Government, just as Jefferson and the others intended, and release into the Nation the powerful

energies that lower Federal spending and lower taxation and greater freedom bring.

Admittedly, for the alternative to be practical it would have to be espoused by one of the parties or at least an important section of one of them. Perhaps most of all, it requires the ordinary commonsense to see through the intellectual and moral pretensions of contemporary liberalism and perceive its inevitable political destination.

## Physical Fitness in Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, on July 9, 1962, our President reported the results of studies made to determine the status of the physical fitness of our Nation. This report indicated that one-fourth of 40 million schoolchildren are unable to pass a simple screening test of physical performance, and further, among other things, that 60 percent of our children do not participate in some form of physical fitness activities. These results are quite frightening and should be of great concern to all of us.

The studies that were conducted did, however, provide a ray of hope, for they also indicated that this state of affairs could be improved with help. Accordingly, President Kennedy called for leadership in schools and communities to institute programs which would promote the physical fitness of our Nation.

In the State of Hawaii we are fortunately blessed with a climate that is most conducive to year-round participation in physical activities of all kinds. Not only the young but also the old can, if they so desire, actively engage in either team or individual events at any time of the year. Among the many popular sports in Hawaii, surfboarding is one of the favorite year-round sports.

A number of surfboard enthusiasts in Hawaii, calling themselves the Kamaaina Paddlers, undertook on July 4 an effort to show the youngsters of Hawaii what can be accomplished by keeping physically fit and active. They organized an around-the-island safari—by surfboard—which they completed in 38½ hours. The feat in itself is not, perhaps, extraordinary. It was extraordinary, however, in view of the fact that those who participated in the safari ranged in ages from 42 to 72.

I recently received a letter from Mr. Lawson Butt, Jr., an architect who was the organizer and participant in the safari. His letter describes the events as they occurred, and I would like to submit it for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hope that it may similarly serve to inspire the children of our Nation.

The letter follows:

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
*July 23, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL K. INOUYE,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Your interest in the Kamaaina Paddlers' around-the-island surfboard safari which was successfully completed this past Fourth of July was most gratifying and we are pleased to write you about its purpose and provide you with the details as requested.

As Hawaii's answer to President Kennedy's call for youth physical fitness, a group of men ranking in age from 42 to 72 years who have enjoyed the Hawaiian sport or surfboard riding since their early days have shown the youngsters of Hawaii and the Nation what can be accomplished by keeping physically fit and active.

These men, calling themselves the Kamaaina Paddlers, started off from Waikiki Beach at 6 in the morning of June 29, 1962, and working in relays paddled their surfboards completely around the island of Oahu—a total distance of 168 miles. Despite the unusually rough seas encountered on the first day which broke up one of their small escort boats and caused another to run onto the reef, and the unfriendly waters around the several points of Oahu's irregular coastline, they managed to accomplish this unprecedented feat in 38½ hours of actual paddling time (an average speed of 4½ miles per hour). As a matter of fact, having reached Keehi Lagoon more than a day ahead of schedule, the paddlers spent July 3 fishing in Honolulu Harbor in order to come in at Waikiki on the Fourth of July as planned.

The Kamaaina Paddlers are Louis (Brownie) Barnes, Allan Chang, Fred Cordes, Dr. Fred I. Gilbert, Joseph Kukea, Benjamin Whittle, and Lawson (Bill) Butt, Honolulu architect who promoted and organized the event. The paddlers of course were not alone out there; they were guided at all times by their course master and coach, Mud Werner, and his crew of five young surfers, and through the cooperation of the 14th Coast Guard district, the safari was escorted by the U.S. Coast Guard auxiliary cruiser *Hula Girl Too* skippered by her owner, Comdr. Bert Souza.

In tribute to one of America's greatest watermen of all times, the Kamaaina Paddlers chose to name this event "The Duke Kahanamoku Surfboard Safari." A maili lei was carried with them as a symbol of the course and this lei was presented in Duke's honor before the huge crowd assembled on the beach at the finish by the senior paddler of the group, 72-year-old Fred Cordes.

As I am sure you will appreciate, the people of Hawaii are acutely aware of the privilege of being citizens of a great State of this Nation, and the cause which had inspired this endeavor caught the imagination and patriotic fervor of the community. The spirit of aloha, ever present in Hawaii, was brought out to the fullest in the kokua offered by a great many local business firms and individuals who provided food, lodging, transportation, and every assistance for its success.

It is therefore all Hawaii's hope that the achievement of this group of senior citizens will be made known to the youth of America as an example of the fact that there is no age limit to the lasting benefits derived from being and remaining physically fit.

Aloha,

LAWSON BUTT, JR.,
*Chairman, Kamaaina Paddlers; the Duke Kahanamoku Surfboard Safari.*

## Black and White Show

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the many things that the people of my district and the State of Washington take pride in are their dairy herds. We have many fine dairy farms, particularly in the northwest corner of the State that I represent. In quality and quantity of milk, these herds are hard to equal.

One of the reasons for these excellent herds is the constant care our dairy farmers take to improve each generation of milkers. Selection of additions to improve the herds is done when the owners attend sales such as the one scheduled at Mount Vernon, Wash., this week. This sale is a "Century 21 sale," sponsored by the Washington State Holstein Association, and offers an opportunity to Holstein breeders who visit the great Seattle World's Fair the opportunity to buy the best Holstein cattle in the Pacific Northwest.

In the tradition of American dairymen and cattlemen, the sale will also offer a chance to make new friends and renew old acquaintances. Yesterday there was a salmon barbecue following the "black and white" show. The sale is scheduled for today and the annual Washington State Holstein picnic will be held tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I use this opportunity to tell about our great dairy herds and dairy industry, because of their importance to the Second District and the State of Washington, and because of the vital part the dairymen play in our community life.

## In Case of War, Keep Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the New York Times today which illustrates some of the lack of sense in civil defense. It seems that Chautauqua County, N.Y., has just built a $50,000 fallout shelter for the exclusive use of the county's jail prisoners and employees and civil defense employees. It does not explain why the civil defense employees should be hiding in shelters instead of helping the civilian population outside. According to the newspaper account, if other citizens attempt to gain entrance, "machine guns and other weapons" will be used as a last resort. This would be laughable if it were not so serious. The officials of Chautauqua County have already begun to throw away some of the precious American values which we are trying to protect. This is just another example of the need to work for peace under international law so that all values and all lives will be preserved.

The article follows:

CHAUTAUQUA SHELTER READY

MAYVILLE, N.Y., July 30.—Chautauqua County's new $50,000 fallout shelter is just about finished, but users will have to have a special gate pass to get in, even in a disaster.

The Chautauqua County government and civil defense emergency operating center is armed with weapons to enforce the shelter's security.

The shelter is for 40 county jail prisoners, 60 to 70 county employees, and 60 civil defense workers.

Robert Tanner, the county civil defense director, said private shelters and proposed Federal shelters would take care of the general populace.

"As a means of last resort we've got machineguns and other weapons," he said.

## Captive Nations Week Observance in Rochester, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JESSICA McC. WEIS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mrs. WEIS. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the observance of Captive Nations Week during the week of July 15, Rochester representatives of Ukrainian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian ethnic groups met together in that city and adopted a resolution which, I believe, merits reading by every Member of Congress who is sincerely concerned about the plight of the millions of freedom-loving people who today live in bondage behind the Iron Curtain. I should like to insert in the RECORD at this point the resolution adopted by this group at their meeting in Rochester:

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCE IN ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Whereas in accordance with the congressional resolution designating the third week of July as Captive Nations Week and the proclamation of President Kennedy proclaiming the week beginning July 15 as Captive Nations Week, the people of this country believe that the subjugation of any nation, state, or municipality under rule of dictatorship or tyranny is evil; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Commust Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Aberbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such people through appropriate means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Rochester representatives of the Ukrainian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian ethnic groups assembled on July 15, 1962, at 292 Hudson Avenue, Rochester, N.Y.,* That the U.S. Government encourage the national independence movements of all subjugated people under the yoke of Russian imperialist communism; that the U.S. Government help these national independence movements behind the Iron Curtain in the direction of the text of the American Declaration of Independence: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," that the establishment of a House of Representatives Committee on the Captive Nations be enacted; that the U.S. Government investigate Russian Communist imperialism and its genocidal policies in the non-Russian countries behind the Iron Curtain.

WILLIAM ANDRUSHIN,
*Ukrainian Representative.*
LOUIS L. LOTE,
*Hungarian Representative.*
VALERIAN VITKUS,
*Lithuanian Representative.*
E. KERA,
*Estonian Representative.*
IMANTS TIMROTS,
*Latvian Representative.*

ROCHESTER, N.Y., *July 15, 1962.*

## The National Lottery of Portugal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House the national lottery of Portugal. It provides yet another example of how the urge to gamble may be utilized on behalf of charitable organizations.

Portugal is a land of only 9 million persons, but is able to gather over $30 million from lotteries. Of this sum, roughly one-fourth is retained by the Government as profit. The bulk of this money is applied by the Government to the general budget, but over $2½ million is earmarked for charitable institutions.

The lesson to be drawn from the example of Portugal and other nations is that a national lottery can be of great benefit to a country. This is not merely a case of the ends justifying the means, for if we were not so steeped in moral hypocrisy, we would realize that a national lottery is a time-honored and tested financial device.

Mr. Speaker, a national lottery in the United States can produce over $10 billion in new revenue which can be used to reduce our high taxes and growing national debt.

## Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials from the Syracuse Post Standard of July 22, and the Syracuse Herald-Journal of July 20:

[From the Syracuse Herald-Journal, July 20, 1962]

JIM FARLEY
(By Alexander F. Jones)

Jim Farley is today, as he has been for more than 30 years, one of the most remarkable men on the American scene.

Here he is 74 years old and some of his friends are talking about him as the Democratic candidate for Governor.

I don't know how many delegates he could command—not many I would guess—but if his personal friends in this State were given the job of selecting a man to head the Democratic State ticket he would register the biggest vote ever given any man.

I feel Jim Farley knows very well he has had his day in the sun and that he really does not care about running for public office. He just loves politics, which was his life for 30 years and, like everyone, he still enjoys the applause and the well-deserved attention that that enticing old game entails.

Friends here gave him a luncheon yestertoday and there were almost as many Republican notables there as members of his own party.

What is there about this man that is so enduring? To me it is his integrity, his honesty. As a newspaperman I have watched Jim Farley operate for 30 years. It is just that, almost to the day, since he put over Franklin D. Roosevelt in Chicago and started the most spectacular White House period in American history.

For it was the Farley genius for organization and his political acumen that put the New York Governor in the White House.

The day after Governor Roosevelt was reelected in 1930, Jim Farley issued a statement, without F.D.R.'s knowledge, that he would be the Democratic candidate for President in 1932 and that he would be overwhelmingly elected. For the next 2 years he worked incessantly for Governor Roosevelt. He came to know every political leader in his party and went into the 1932 convention with some 600 votes out of approximately a thousand. Agreements with Sam Rayburn and John Nance Garner, of Texas, put the New Yorker over.

Later as Postmaster General Jim Farley became known to the newspaper corps as one man who never dodged a question he could honorably answer, who always was scrupulous in telling the truth, and who would not bow to any policy he believed against the best interests of this country. His break with Roosevelt in 1940 was over the third-term issue. Jim Farley did not believe in more than two terms for any President. Neither did the Congress later for there is now a two-term limitation.

There are many honest men in politics, of course. But there are very few who will not sidestep a ticklish issue if they feel it will affect their status.

Of those who are known for their courage in fearlessly facing any tough problem I think James Aloysius Farley stands at the top.

He may not even have a handful of votes in the September convention here in Syra-

cuse, but there will not be a delegate there who does not feel in his heart that here is a man among men and one who in spite of his many political battles does not have the slightest sign of a stain on his long public service record.

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[From the Syracuse Post Standard, July 22, 1962]

FARLEY CAN GET IN

Farley, though undoubtedly privately deeply hurt by the refusal of political enemies to name him as a delegate from his home district to the Democratic State convention here September 17–19, publicly makes light of it.

He told Syracusans here last week he plans to attend the convention. "I feel I do know, or will know the sergeant at arms and can find my way in," he asserted.

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[From the Syracuse Post Standard, July 22, 1962]

FARLEY PRAISES PRESS

Genial Jim Farley paid the newspaper profession a high compliment here last week.

Some politicians and public officials are prone to accuse reporters of violating confidences, misquoting them, and generally giving them a rough time.

Farley claims, however, that "in the 35 or 40 years I've been doing business with reporters, there were only two cases where a confidence was misplaced." And, Farley added, "in both cases it was nonintentional."

In each instance, Farley said, the miscue involved quotation of a remark he made off the record. In one case, Farley said, the reporter who violated the off-the-record provision was hard of hearing and didn't hear Farley say his remark was off the record. In the other instance a substitute reporter, unused to Farley's sometimes not attributable facetious remarks, thought he was speaking for quotation.

Farley still wears a watch the political press corps presented to him at the conclusion of a Democratic National Convention in Chicago. He recalls it was a sentimental occasion.

"We all got emotional and sentimental and even [Westbrook] Pegler cried, believe it or not," Farley chuckled.

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## Tips From the New Europe on Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I wish to include in the RECORD the editorial "Tips From the New Europe on Recovery," which appeared in the July 27 issue of Life. I believe that this editorial will be of interest to my colleagues:

TIPS FROM THE NEW EUROPE ON RECOVERY

"I thought the experience of Europe, which has had a decade of unequaled progress * * * had some lessons for us."—President John F. Kennedy, June 14, 1962.

The U.S. economy is in a trauma. We have been making a painfully slow recovery from our fourth postwar recession. Housing prices last week were going soft (down 5 to 10 percent); the unemployment rate rose slightly in June. As administration economists debate the problem—and the pros and cons of a tax cut—they are also asking what the United States has to learn from European economic recovery in the 1950's. The President himself has been hinting that deficit spending may have been a bigger factor in European recovery than orthodox economists admit. He also proclaimed, in his eloquent Fourth of July speech, an age of transatlantic "interdependence."

We agree with the President that it is better to compete inside the Atlantic community than outside it. But even inside a unified Europe of 225 million people (counting Great Britain) U.S. industry is bound to get the hardest run for its money it has ever known, and we had better get ready.

About 1960, broadly speaking, European businessmen came to the end of a 10-year cycle in which they concentrated on learning and adapting the best of U.S. production and merchandising methods, helped in advance by the $12 billion in Marshall plan grants and loans. If the United States is now to look the other way to learn, we should make sure we read the lesson of Europe's recovery correctly—and completely. European deficit spending is by no means the primary reason for European prosperity, and to read European practice as a middly way between communism and U.S. capitalism is a specious interpretation of what happened. In the vital areas of monetary orthodoxy and taxation, continental European recovery achieved its greatest thrust from government policies more capitalistic than those of the United States. Here is why:

Hard Money: Italy, Germany, and France all took off to prosperity only after Draconian currency reforms (initiated by Einaudi in Italy in 1947, by Erhard in Germany in 1948, by Rueff in France in 1958). During the past 3 years all three nations' currencies have remained stable vis-a-vis the dollar; the West German mark was actually revalued upward in 1961. Today it is the soundness of the dollar, not the French franc or the Italian lira, which is worrying the central bankers of Europe.

Taxes: Although they differ in degree and execution, the tax policies of the continental Common Market countries have been generally pro-business to an extent that would make an American businessman weep in envy. These policies have two significant characteristics in common:

Less reliance on the income tax as a revenue producer: Eighty percent of U.S. Federal revenue comes from the corporate and personal income tax; the Bonn central government got only 45 percent of its revenue that way in 1961, Brussels only 39 percent. Even Britain, whose welfare-state structure is less capitalistic than that of continental countries, got only 55 percent of its revenue by direct income taxation. In these countries there is more reliance on consumer-borne levies like customs and excise duties. In Germany personal income taxation stops at a maximum of 53 percent as compared to the confiscatory figure of 91 percent in the United States.

Incentive depreciation allowances: Here the difference between American and European approach is a fundamental one. In the United States depreciation allowances have been held unrealistically low; in Europe they have a definite and fixed goal to promote private investment. German recovery boomed with a 50-percent writeoff to manufacturers who replaced war-damaged plants. For certain new equipment with an arbitrarily short life of 3 years a French businessman can depreciate 50 percent of the cost in the first year. A German firm can depreciate a locomotive in 10 years, a kiln in 8 years. Under the U.S. Treasury's new depreciation schedules (the first thorough revision in 20 years) it will still take an American company 12 years to depreciate a locomotive, 15 years for a kiln, and 18 years for a blast furnace. The new schedules will free an estimated $1.5 billion a year for U.S. plant modernization. But American industry is already spending $5 billion more on modernization than it gets in tax depreciation allowances.

The most involved argument of all concerns budgets and deficits. Europeans owe much more of their recovery to U.S. deficit spending than to their own. Even when they practiced it, many European governments managed to sell the deficit back to the investing public. This siphoned off savings.

Comparing European fiscal practice to ours is dangerous business. When a nationalized airline loses money (Britain's BOAC lost $33.6 million last year), this shows up as part of the government's fiscal picture—not the case here. In capital expenditures, too, European budgets reflect greater government ownership of industry than is the case in the United States. But government ownership was a European characteristic more than a generation before we had reason to admire the European growth rate.

More importantly, deficit financing, when practiced consistently by the United States has peripheral effects it does not have when practiced by any one European country. Since the United States is the key-currency area, the fact that its Federal budget has been in deficit 7 of the last 10 years actually contributed (through funneling hard currency to Europe) to European recovery.

It is precisely because the United States is the key-currency area that our deficit financing has a point of diminishing return. The French and Swiss cashed another $137 million of dollar paper into gold 2 weeks ago, touching off another round of U.S. devaluation rumors in Europe. "The Americans," one European banker says, "have always believed in the soundness of the dollar. But gold is the only thing that we Europeans can put our trust in."

This is hard-money thinking with a vengeance. It may be significant that quantities of American investment money recently began to show up in Switzerland again. Confidence does matter. So do wage costs.

Right now organized labor is putting enormous pressure on the administration to cut taxes in lower income brackets to free more consumer buying power. At best this would be another "pep pill"—a kind of back-door wage increase. At worst it might compromise the more fundamental changes needed if American business is to compete with Europe's new lean, modern, full-speed-ahead economy. We need these to create an investment climate of profit expectation and expanding job opportunities. Only then can we claim to have learned from Europe in the 1960's as much as the Europeans learned from us in the 1950's. Not in 20 years had a British Government—or Madame Tussaud's London waxworks—been so shaken up. Scarcely had Prime Minister Harold Macmillan lopped seven senior Ministers from his cabinet than the waxen heads of four of them lay on Tussaud's cabinet room table: Sir David Eccles (Education), Selwyn Lloyd (Exchequer), the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Kilmuir, Dr. Charles Hill (Housing). Two other Ministers—Ernest Marples (Transport) and newly promoted Reginald Maulding (Exchequer)—survived the beheadings. Macmillan's move was an attempt to bolster the fading popularity of the Conservatives who have lost heavily in recent byelections. A Tory admirer, whose comment could refer as much to Tussaud's as to real life, congratulated the Prime Minister "for having kept his head while all about him were losing theirs." Responded the imperturbable Macmillan: "A rather morbid allusion."

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district and a native of Pittston, has written a lengthy series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River. I have found this series to be extremely interesting and highly informative and as part of my remarks today I include the latest installment which appeared in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch of July 29, 1962.

The article follows:

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

The Susquehanna River in the Pittston area was a focal point for swimmers dating as far back as colonial days.

As early as Saturday, July 9, 1881, it was advocated that a bathing beach be established between the two bridges, on the west side of the river.

Plans were made on June 13, 1919, for a bathing beach to be established on the west side of the river, between the bridges.

When the beach was opened on Tuesday, June 15, 1920, through the good offices of Pittston city officials, Charles Kuschel and Edward Kearney were placed in charge. A supervised area 120 feet long was roped off for the protection of the swimmers. The hours during which the beach was supervised were: 10 a.m. to noon, 2 p.m. to 4 p.m., and from 6:30 p.m. until 8 p.m.

BATHHOUSE

On July 1, 1920, Contractor David English, of Pittston, completed construction of a new bathhouse on the Edwards property for the use of those attending the beach. On that particular day, a total of 400 youngsters was seen in the water.

Edward Kearney, of 146 Mill Street, one of the lifeguards, was a star athlete at Lafayette College.

Kuschel and Kearney were also the lifeguards during the 1921 season, which closed on September 8.

DEMONSTRATED

During this period William "Billy" Jims, of 16 Carroll Street, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, the Mexican Border, and World War I, who was known as one of the strongest swimmers in the region, gave demonstrations of his skill. He is reputed to have saved dozens of persons from drowning at various lakes and other swimming places in Pennsylvania.

Leo "Mike" Kane, of Pittston Junction, and Irwin Schlosser, of 123 Broad Street, two of the region's leading athletes, were the lifeguards during the beach's third season. The official opening took place on Saturday, July 15, 1922.

Frank McCanna, of Mill Street, near George Street, volunteered at this time to teach the youngsters how to swim at the west side bathing beach. Widely known as "the gentleman farmer," McCanna was considered to be one of the community's best swimmers.

ONE-DOLLAR-A-YEAR LEASE

In the third season of the beach, the hours scheduled were from 10 a.m. until 8 p.m. Bathing was not permitted on Sundays. The land on which the beach was situated was leased from its owner for $1 per year by Pittston city officials.

For the convenience of bathers, a boardwalk was constructed from the dressing area to the edge of the river. Dressing facilities consisted of six tents loaned to the city by Company B, of the CTAU Regiment. On July 28, 1922, one of these tents was stolen.

It was announced on July 20, 1922, that a bathing beach would be opened by the borough of West Pittston at the northern end of Washington Street. The beach was to be known as the Endless Chain Beach. Frank McCanna, of Pittston, was in charge.

JOINT ACTION

By a joint action of the city of Pittston and the borough of West Pittston a bathing beach was established on the west side between the two bridges, commencing on July 26, 1929. Francis McCanna, Jr., of Pittston, and Alpheus Brittain, of West Pittston, were named lifeguards. The guards patrolled the swimming area in rowboats which municipal officials secured at Ransom. The beach was scheduled to be open 12 hours daily, 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.

TENTS LOANED

Two tents, used as dressing space, were loaned by the Pittston chapter of the American Red Cross. Wires, to mark the bathing limitations in the river, were installed on iron markers sunk in the bed of the river.

On July 6, 1931, the West Pittston Borough Council announced its intention to change the location of the beach from between the two bridges to the area in front of 900 Susquehanna Avenue. The borough council named Charles Crowther as lifeguard. Francis McCanna was named lifeguard by Pittston City Council.

MINE SILT

A complaint was lodged with Pittston Borough officials on St. Patrick's Day, Thursday, March 17, 1864, against mine silt polluting the Susquehanna River.

To prevent further damage in that particular section, a culvert was erected near the intersection of Carbondale Road and Thomas Street, under the canal bed, to prevent sand and silt from washing into the canal.

On January 27, 1917, it was noted that sulfur entering the Susquehanna River from the Lackawanna River melted the ice on the river.

Damage to the river and the fish which inhabited it continued unabated until the clean stream program was passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature, during the regime of Gov. James H. Duff, who held office between 1947 and 1951.

THE RIVER COMMON

On September 9, 1937, the River Common on the west side between Luzerne and Montgomery Avenues, was being graded and leveled, to prevent further washing away of the soil by high water. Henry J. Swartz, the contractor, removed the gravel from the shore and hauled it up the riverbank in a wheelbarrow, pulled by a horse.

Lot owners on River Street (Susquehanna Avenue) who joined in underwriting this project included R. J. Wisner, Thomas E. Grier, L. W. Peck, Mrs. M. E. Ball, Mrs. Joseph Knapp, Miss Sarah Tedrick, and Benjamin G. Cooper. South of Montgomery Avenue, H. P. Messenger was having the riverbank riprapped.

IMPROVEMENTS

Improvements were being made to the River Common on Monday, April 9, 1900. Lot owners responsible for this included G. B. Thompson, John Ball, and C. L. McMillan. By May 1, 1900, the area was plowed, seeded, and rolled.

The Borough of West Pittston made improvements on the riverbank, on May 4, 1906.

In late years, Roy Stauffer has led the way in improving the riverbank and the River Common.

## Speaker McCormack Is Rated Success in Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, it is with genuine pride and profound respect for you, both as Speaker of this House and leader of the Massachusetts congressional delegation, that I call to the attention of my colleagues a most objective appraisal of your successful record as Speaker during the last 6 months. The article was written by Leslie Carpenter, a great and respected Washington correspondent, and appeared in the Springfield, Mass., Daily News on July 16, 1962. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Carpenter's appraisal in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SPEAKER MCCORMACK IS RATED SUCCESS IN POST

(By Leslie Carpenter)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—After 6 months in one of politics' most powerful and most frenetic jobs, House Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK is rated as a success.

His fellow Congressmen, many of whom had honest apprehension about his abilities to fill the big and awesome office at the time of his election, are now, virtually to a man, solidly on his side. There is no one today with a harpoon out for him.

POPULAR SPEAKER

MCCORMACK is definitely a popular Speaker, despite the fact that he has a few spectacular failures.

But he has had more spectacular successes. The latest of these was House action a few days ago restoring foreign aid to Poland and Yugoslavia. The Senate had eliminated it while tears flowed at the State Department. The Kennedy administration made House reversal of the Senate action a major issue. Bystanders didn't think MCCORMACK could deliver that for the administration, but he did.

THE PERSONAL SETBACK

MCCORMACK'S greatest personal setback was his shocking defeat in an effort to increase the size of the House by three Members and thereby reduce Massachusetts two-seat loss in the House to one seat. MCCORMACK'S maneuver failed.

He hasn't been able to get two of the administration's favorite bills—medicare and Federal school aid—to the House for a vote. But the big failure, as far as the administration is concerned, was the House defeat of the new farm bill.

PARTISANS EXCUSE HIM

MCCORMACK partisans don't blame the demise of farm legislation on his leadership. They note that MCCORMACK wanted more time to round up vote before bringing the farm bill to rollcall. But Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman insisted upon rushing it to a House verdict right away.

MCCORMACK knew the bill might fail, but Freeman's position was that the new planting season was too near to delay action on the bill.

HAS PLUS ITEMS

On the plus side MCCORMACK showed skill in getting the tax revision bill through the House without significant change. The Senate, without leadership of similar strength, has been massacring the legislation in com-

mittee. The bill authorizing a new concept in foreign trade sailed through the House with McCORMACK at the helm and was classed as the greatest victory to date of the Kennedy administration on Capitol Hill.

McCORMACK was also the pilot for the controversial hike in the national debt ceiling as it passed the House.

A massive handicap hovers daily over McCORMACK. It is the accident of timing that has resulted in his following the most personally popular Speaker the House ever had. He is necessarily compared continually to the late Sam Rayburn, of Texas, a man gifted with remarkable strength, political know-how, integrity and what seemed to be extrasensory perception.

Rayburn's greatness compounded the problems for his successor. It's tough to follow Babe Ruth at bat.

From the standpoint of personality, there has been a marked change in Boston's JOHN W. McCORMACK since he climbed the steps to the House Speaker's chair. For many years, he has been known best in Washington as a vigorous, hard-hitting Democratic partisan, starved for the hides of Republicans.

But since he has been Speaker, McCORMACK has transformed into a gentle soul who looks at himself as the top officer of a legislative body with both Democratic and Republican membership, rather than as a street-fighting Democrat.

He is today highly regarded and personally liked by the GOP of the House because he is fair to both parties.

ALWAYS ACCESSIBLE

McCORMACK has made himself uniquely accessible at all times. His office door is always open to any Congressman who needs to talk to him. It is easy to get him to pose for a picture with a group of important constituents who are visiting a Congressman, be he a Democrat or Republican.

McCORMACK, despite the irritation of worry about the Democratic primary back home in Massachusetts, where his nephew and President Kennedy's brother are pitted in the U.S. Senate contest, is enjoying his job. And he is getting pleasure out of doing favors for his colleagues from his House summit. It's a good way to win friends and influence people—that's exactly what he is doing.

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## Our Foreign Policy Needs a Thorough Inspection and Careful Analysis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the administration's contumelious attitude toward Peru is another indication that our foreign policy needs a thorough inspection and careful analysis. Perhaps a good number of our citizenry, after many years of U.S. misfortunes in foreign affairs, are resigned to international failure. Certainly no news from Washington in recent months has contained any basis of hope for improvement along the global front. Lengthy hearings were held in an attempt to determine why the State Department was allowed to call the tune so that McNamara's ban was invoked to prevent any mention of victory over communism among military personnel.

So far as I can determine, the answer was never forthcoming.

Meanwhile the United States has been a part of international episodes which we know will never be appreciated by future generations. Instead of following tradition and principle, our State Department has succumbed to the demands of enemy forces and has participated unconscionably in international intrigue that would never have been tolerated in the past. The withdrawal of American aid from the Lao Government until it accepted communism's principals as a part of its governing body was a disgraceful episode. So was our part in the attempt to strangulate the Katanga force through United Nations intervention. That issue still remains undecided, although President Kennedy demonstrated briefly his contempt for the U.N. type of law and order when he sent a special emissary to meet with Tshombe in defiance of the motley mercenaries in the big house on the East River.

In this regard, it might be suggested that the President again take individual action to prevent U Thant from carrying out his latest plans to compel the president of the Katanga Province to accede to the demands of the Congolese Central Government. The U Thant remark about the clowns in Katanga is in itself sufficient to withdraw his authority in the Congo. Past experience is irrefutable testimony that any manipulations satisfactory to the U.N. will ultimately lead to Red control of areas under dispute. This experience will, it is hoped but not expected, prompt Congress to reject attempts to take another $100 million from the U.S. taxpayers for the proposed bond purchase.

Many Americans have been interested in learning why, if the U.N. has any sympathy for free nations, it has not intervened on the side of South Vietnam in its struggle to defeat the forces of communism that have invaded that country. Why the U.N.'s failure to intervene in Goa never became a cause celebre due to the fact that no one actually expects the U.N. to assist nations that are besieged either by the Red enemy or by the so-called neutral nations.

But to get back to America and Peru. On what grounds was it suddenly decided to withdraw recognition and foreign aid? That question was put to the President at his press conference on Monday of this week. The question and his answer are inserted below:

SITUATION IN PERU

Question. Mr. President, some have criticized the administration for withholding aid from the military dictatorship which has taken over Peru, and at the same time is asking Congress for permission to give aid at your discretion to Communist dictatorships such as Yugoslavia and Poland. Do you feel free to discuss with us reasons for this distinction?

Answer. Well, at the present time the President of Peru is in prison. President Prado, who was a guest of this Government a short while ago, and who was a guest of Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II. He is in prison. We are anxious to see a return to constitutional forms in Peru, and therefore until we know what is going to happen in Peru, we are prudent in making our judgments as to what we shall do.

We think it is in our national interest, and I think the aid we are giving in the other areas is in our national interest, because we feel that this hemisphere can only be secure and free with democratic government. We wish that were true behind the Iron Curtain, and it is to encourage a trend in that direction that we have given some assistance in the past, and advocate it now.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it appears that the President, obviously acting upon the advice of the State Department, has been entirely too hasty in imposing diplomatic and economic sanctions against the Peruvian Government. Only this week the House accepted a conference report which rebuffed an attempt to withhold American aid from Communist countries. Thus Yugoslavia and Poland, among others, remain eligible for gifts from the U.S. Treasury on the dubious theory that they will sometime, somehow break with the Soviet Union. On this hypothesis, must Peru become subjected to heavy Communist pressures before it regains recognition and dollar aid? In retrospect, it is quite possible that the chaotic conditions which led to the seizure of the Government in Lima by the military junta were in part created by the imprudent and naive way in which the U.S. Government—here and in Peru—openly backed the candidacy of Haya and the APRA Party. The present U.S. attitude toward that South American country might very well be interpreted as dissatisfaction witht the election results, thus giving substance to the oft-heard charges that the United States is guilty of active interference in the government affairs of other nations.

The fact that the army organization—which so far has shown no inclination toward communism—is now in control of the Peruvian Government did not seem to be of such moment to bring retribution from the United States. Who overthrew Peron and restored democracy in Argentina? Answer: Army forces, who it will be recalled were hailed by us for their action.

If the President has made a mistake—if he has again been erroneously advised by the State Department—he should lose no time in making restitution. I voted against the foreign aid bill for many reasons. Although we have invested almost $100 billion in this program since its inception, no tangible beneficial results are on record. Under a tremendous debt burden which has already surpassed the $300 billion mark, the United States would be in no position to funnel more funds abroad even if it seemed the wise course from a diplomatic standpoint. Yet, so long as we are going to make this gratuity available for another year, then America should at least be circumspect in the handling of this tremendous fund.

Most of all, no nation should be deprived of diplomatic status with this country simply because we do not approve of the local government or its political party. How recognition can be accorded Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and other countries dominated by the hammer and sickle while being denied to a nation that has long dedicated itself in

opposition to communism is a matter that needs better interpretation.

In conclusion, I insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Evening Star, of Saturday, July 21, 1962:

CRACKDOWN ON PERU

We suppose the State Department and President Kennedy have good reason to believe that the real facts of the situation fully warrant our Government's stern reaction to the anti-Communist military junta that has seized power in Peru. At any rate, the coup has been staged in complete defiance of what appear to have been free and honest elections, and the White House has therefore felt moved to condemn it as "a serious setback" to democracy in the Americas.

More than that, in a very obvious effort to undermine the junta and hasten the restoration of constitutional civilian rule, our Government has suspended diplomatic relations with Lima and cut off all but a trickle of economic aid to the country. This can only be described an undisguised intervention in Peru's internal affairs, and nothing quite like it has ever before occurred in the relations of the United States with its neighbors to the south.

Presumably President Kennedy acted on the basis of solid information indicating that a do-nothing or noncommittal attitude on the part of Washington would play into the hands of the Castroite Communists. After all, the Reds can exploit any reverse experience by the President in connection with his hemispheric Alliance for Progress and its projected far-reaching social, economic, and political reforms—reforms not quite to the liking, apparently, of the men now in command of Peru.

Be that as it may, however, the average American layman may well take a rather reserve view of what our Government has done. Some questions suggest themselves. Why, for example, has the United States thus far refrained from cracking down on Argentina's current leaders, who have carried out essentially the same sort of coup as the one in Peru? And why should the anti-Communist junta in Lima be singled out for especially severe treatment—why should it be denied desperately needed economic asistance—at a time when the Kennedy administration has deplored congressional efforts to deny comparable aid to Red dictatorships like Poland's and Yugoslavia's?

These and kindred questions speak for themselves. Certainly, judging from all accounts, Peru's junta has far more to be said in its favor than Castro's tyranny in Havana, and it certainly is much less unattractive in many respects than Gomulka's regime in Warsaw or Tito's in Belgrade. Why, then, is it being dealt with in a peculiarly severe and discriminatory manner? Perhaps the President will clarify the matter at his globally televised Telstar news conference on Monday.

## Elementary Economics for the Benefit of President Kennedy's Advisers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, each day brings some new Alice-in-Wonderland theory from the big White House on Pennsylvania Avenue, headquarters for the Government-by-blunder specialists. The latest is that it is good economics when wholesale prices go down and retail prices go up. This classic reasoning is on the same level as President Kennedy's assertion that deficit spending is good for the economy, and the theory that prosperity can be brought about through big spending and high taxes. In order to help educate some of the key administration personnel, I include as a part of these remarks, the following editorial from the Chicago Sunday Tribune:

OF PRICES AND GOLD

The consumer price index is up again. It reached an alltime record in June, 5.3 percent higher than the average for 1957–59, and has risen more in the last 5 months than it did in all of 1961.

This doesn't sound like deflation.

But some Government economists are quick to belittle the significance of the increase. They point out that it is chiefly the result of higher prices for certain services and for used cars.

These categories are not reflected in the wholesale price index, which has been going down about as fast as the consumer price index is going up. And the wholesale price index, New Frontier economists argue, is the better measure of our competitiveness in foreign trade.

Stable wholesale prices will enable us to sell more abroad, their argument goes, and will soon and painlessly wipe out our deficit in foreign exchange. And since this deficit is responsible for our departing gold, we are informed we will soon have no worries at all.

Well, it sounds—and is—too good to be true. The notion that wholesale prices can keep on going down while the consumer prices go up is just as silly as the earlier New Frontier notion that long-term interest rates can go down while the short-term interest rates go up. One inevitably affects the other.

Wholesale prices affect consumer prices in the natural course of competition, and consumer prices affect wholesale prices because consumer prices often affect wage scales and wage scales affect wholesale prices.

The current rise in consumer prices will raise costs in the automobile and other industries where union contracts provide for cost-of-living increases. Either this increase will be passed on in the form of higher factory prices, or profits will suffer—and there are many industries in which profits could not bear this added cost.

If factory prices go up, our ability to sell goods abroad will deteriorate. If profits fall too low to attract investment, Mr. Kennedy may as well give up being hopeful that our economy will grow.

Now, the Government may not be directly to blame for each increase in consumer prices. But the consumer price index is the most accurate gage we have of the value of the dollar, and the value of the dollar does not decline over any extended period unless the Government is pursuing inflationary policies. When the price index is rising, therefore, it is hardly the time to invite more inflation, and this is precisely what a good many people are asking the Government to do by cutting taxes without cutting spending to match.

One of them is Walter Heller, Chairman of Mr. Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers. Mr. Heller recently went to Europe at his boss' suggestion to find out why the Europeans have been doing better than we.

One thing the Europeans have been doing is turning in dollars for gold. Last week foreigners withdrew $90 million of gold, bringing this year's total to $682 million, compared with only $240 million in the same period last year.

If Mr. Heller thinks inflation is a dead issue in this country, we wonder if he would care to explain why those wise Europeans so obviously disagree with him.

## Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH
OF
### HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12711) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, on June 12, 1962, I appeared before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices of the Committee on Appropriations to protest the uneconomical, unnecessary, and harmful removal of the San Antonio Federal Aviation Agency's air route traffic control center to Houston, Tex.

My appearance before that subcommittee was arranged at my request, and my full statement on this matter was duly received by the subcommittee. However, when the hearings on independent offices appropriations for 1963 was released, there was no record or mention of the testimony I gave. No supplemental report of these hearings has been made to date.

Because of this and pursuant to action taken yesterday granting permission to revise and extend remarks on the independent offices appropriation bill, I wish now to insert in the RECORD the testimony I gave to the subcommittee on June 12, 1962:

The Federal Aviation Agency proposes to reallocate funds it has requested from this subcommittee for an uneconomical, unnecessary, and harmful purposes; this purpose being to close down the air route traffic control center at San Antonio and relocating it at a new center to be built at Houston, Tex., where part of the present functions of the New Orleans air route traffic control center would be combined with it.

My statement of this may suggest that this is simply an issue over an administrative decision in which your constituency, Mr. Chairman, and mine might be expected to have a difference of opinion. But the issue here is not a simple contest between two congressional constituencies. It may seem to be such when first framed. But I think I can show that much more is involved. Indeed, I firmly believe that the issue here strikes at the heart of our philosophy about the role of a governmental agency in a democracy. I feel strongly on this subject and shall try to state this case with restraint.

My case against the proposed plan of FAA to remove the San Antonio center started routinely enough. Like all Congressmen I occasionally get letters from troubled constituents who hear a rumor of some pending move or decision by some governmental agency. They want confirmation or denial of the rumor. When I first heard there were discussions of this move from some FAA em-

ployees in San Antonio the latter part of March, I sought to inquire about it of the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, Mr. Najeeb Halaby.

We in San Antonio have a number of military establishments with many different units and these are in a constant state of change and movement. I inquire about them too so that I can explain to my constituents the reasons for these movements. I am not in the habit of protesting them because of some provincial greed to hold what we have. For instance, we recently had a permanent unit of over 1,100 men abolished which I helped to explain to my community because it made good sense economically and militarily and could be justified.

I add this comment because when I heard of the possibility of this FAA move, I simply wanted to know if there was any substance to the rumor. I instructed my office staff to contact Mr. Halaby by telephone. This they tried to do but were unable to do so. I then tried myself to no avail. Mr. Halaby was a very busy man and much on the go and I appreciated that fact. After more than a week of leaving my number for a return call that did not come, I wrote Mr. Halaby on April 4, 1962, inquiring when it would be convenient for me to visit him in his office.

On receipt of my letter, Mr. Halaby then began calling me unsuccessfully by telephone and we went through several days of seesawing: when he was in, I was out, and vice versa. By April 8, 1962, Mr. William Schulte of FAA's congressional liaison staff came by the office and held a cordial meeting with my administrative assistant. Mr. Schulte confirmed that FAA was considering closing the San Antonio center September 1, 1964, subject to getting appropriations from the subcommittee. He advised that the Agency would continue to pay $162,000 a year lease expense on its San Antonio building through the year 1969, when the lease would expire. He told how the employees would be given an opportunity to move to Houston. He explained that this consolidation would save $700,000 a year, and that the technical reason for doing all this was that maximum efficiency at these centers require about 400,000 air activities a year, and that such activities were declining at the San Antonio center. All of this was conveyed to me from notes taken at this meeting.

This explanation was not adequate. I wished a breakdown on how $700,000 could be saved by an agency that set out to build a new center, when in January of this year it had announced its plans to close seven similar centers elsewhere in the United States (of which San Antonio was not then listed). I wished to know how $700,000 a year could be saved after just building a reported $2 million building for its New Orleans center, which would not now be occupied, after paying $810,000 unused rental expense, after writing off telephone and electronic installation contracts, after moving 545 families to Houston from two distant cities, after making an undisclosed capital expenditure for a new building in Houston. This struck me as quite a feat in administration and I really wanted to know. I let Mr. Henry Wilson on the White House staff know of my interest in this proposal.

Two days later, Mr. Halaby sensed my interest and was gracious enough to come to the Capitol to meet with me. This was April 12, the day of the joint session, and I was not able to leave the floor and therefore ararnged for a ticket to the Gallery for Mr. Halaby so we could meet for lunch after the ceremonials. Unfortunately, this proved an abortive arrangement. A quorum call delayed me and Mr. Halaby's time was limited. We met for a few minutes standing up during which time he gave me a letter confirming that the San Antonio center would be closed September 1, 1964, because this move was "operationally, economically, and technically necessary," and it would result in savings of $400,000 a year. This loss of $300,000 in savings from April 8 to April 12 interested me. It also interested me that he styled San Antonio and New Orleans as "relatively low activity facilities," for I had already proudly noted that San Antonio, the 17th largest city in the United States, ranked 16th and 17th in air activities by FAA's own figures. Furthermore, with our several large Air Force bases we had the capacity of tremendous overnight increases in these activities in the event of national emergency.

Mr. Halaby's letter seemed inadequate and I told him I wished an opportunity to study his plan and present my objections and questions on it. He announced to me that if I wished to do this he would be pleased to consider them but that I should do so that same afternoon since certain irrevocable steps would be taken thereafter. I did not know what he meant but I later found out that on that very afternoon he had two representatives en route to San Antonio to announce the closing of the center.

Now this is not much notice on a purely civilian, nonemergency decision of this kind. Also, Mr. Halaby was less than forthright in all this. Nonetheless, I sent a telegram that same afternoon to advise him that I strongly objected to the closing and was sending him a letter stating my reasons, which I asked he consider before deciding.

Composing this letter took some study since his letter had referred to the Project Beacon which I had not read and needed to review. When I did, I found this had no reference to this particular consolidation and I pointed this out in my letter in which I raised some 12 points of objection to the move. That letter was dated April 13. That same afternoon at 5:03, I received his telegram advising me that the announcement was "irretrievably initiated."

On April 16, I received through the mail a copy of the press release given out that day for April 14 papers.

On May 18, 5 weeks after posting, I received a letter from Lt. Gen. Harold W. Grant, Acting Administrator, in reply to my April 13 letter. This I got only after insistence by telephone that I be given a reply to the 12 points I had raised. When I got it I was disappointed to find that it contained no economic data, nothing to support the alleged savings to come from the move. Four days later I received the first set of figures.

I have copies of all these letters and these and other figures I shall mention. I can submit all of these if it is the pleasure of the subcommittee.

I have drawn some conclusions from my study of FAA's vacillating justification of this proposed move. I am convinced that all they have produced by way of justification has been constructed after making the decision to move. It is a rationalization of something Mr. Halaby must have determined to do before he had the economic and technical facts before him. It is an argument after the fact.

In discussions between my office and several representatives of FAA, I find that I am caught up in a fluid argument in which there are few hard facts. Whenever an alleged fact is punched at to test its soundness, it shifts or gives way. The facts of FAA are spongy and based on speculations of things to happen, but which have not and may not happen.

For instance, I find that the only way FAA could arrive at figures giving annual savings of $400,000 annually was by making a 16-year projection and striking an average for that period. And in this projection it assumes the successful development by 1970 of a workable computer. It is in this one assumption that it can create a figure to give the impression of a saving. Take out the $5,154,000 saving on the cost of one computer rather than two and the figures on savings collapse. This is not the only gamble it proposes, but is a significant one considered against the broad dispute and past mismanagement in this Agency on this whole question of computers. I believe over $50 million has already been spent in an effort to secure workable computers since this Agency's research and development was picked up and moved from Indiana to Atlantic City, and I am told the prototype of a workable model has not yet been perfected.

I would hope that the subcommittee would inquire what computers Mr. Halaby has in mind: Are they like the ones the Agency developed and now proposes to transfer or sell to the Air Force; are they like the ones you authorized for Atlanta and Jacksonville centers whose funds were diverted and not purchased; are they like the one now in research stage at Atlantic City. These are pertinent questions for there should be some more definite assurance that use of a computer will be programed at Houston in 1970 than was assured in the case of Atlanta, Jacksonville, Chicago, and Kansas City. Without more information on this point no one here or in the Agency can show savings in the Houston move in the next 16 years. Along with information on the type of computer there should be some information on the peripheral equipment that is expected to be used with it. This too will affect the capital investment costs.

But Mr. Halaby should not be criticized for planning ahead. He may be right in his target date of 1970 for the introduction of this computer. But why should he be permitted to commit over $8,215,000 in capital investment to this move without at least producing some meaningful figures to support his decision? Does not this Agency have to show cause, if not to me, at least to this subcommittee, for spending its money in ways not prescribed by Congress?

When this Agency was before you a few months ago it did not tell you it was going to spend over $8 million on an investment on which no hearings were held. Where is the $8 million to come from?

I am told by FAA's budget officer that you, Mr. Chairman, have been orally advised that it plans to delete some 130 items from its 1963 fiscal year budget estimate in order to reallocate funds to make this move. I asked for and was denied access to FAA's justification for its 1963 budget. But you have it. I ask that you examine the justification submitted by FAA for the following items:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. 97 single channel VHF transmitters at FSS's | $2,322,000 |
| 2. Establish 3 ATC voice circuits (Balboa-Lima, Balboa-Miami, Guam-Okinawa) | 1,092,000 |
| 3. Establish 27 terminal VOR's | 3,750,000 |
| 4. Provide automatic error correction equipment | 411,000 |
| 5. Relocate VORTAC's: | |
| Minot, N. Dak | 109,600 |
| Victoria, Tex | 49,600 |
| Total | 7,734,200 |

I ask you to look at the budget justification for these items because I venture that in submitting them they asked for the $7,734,000 to do these things in the interest of air safety, efficiency, and economy. If so, then should not the Congress know that in building the Houston center for reasons of air safety, efficiency, and economy, this other $7¾ million of items will not be done for air safety, efficiency, and economy. I submit that in February FAA argued that are on this list. Sometime in March it changed its mind and decided that air safety does not require 27 terminal VOR's, a voice circuit from Guam to Okinawa and so on down the list. What changed the priorities between this list and the air route traffic control center at Houston? Is there going to

be any identification of the 27 airports that are seeking and now won't get VOR's?

I urge this subcommittee to dig deeply into the figures FAA has constructed to reflect its purported savings. I have some questions I feel need answering and the Comptroller General is now in the process of digging up those answers. I would hope you would await his report before agreeing to this request.

Look at how operational savings are tallied in these comparative cost sheets. Notice how the "loss on San Antonio lease" is held back until 1969 to avoid including it in the "net investment" column. This device means they avoid computing interest on their total investment in the years 1964–69. This one item alone reduces their investment figure by $460,000 in the year 1969. Yet, this is one item they are legally obligated to pay when due each year, and not surreptitiously write off in a lump sum when 1969 rolls around. FAA already hoodwinked the owner of its San Antonio building into making extensive alterations 3 years ago on the promise given by letter that it would be located there for many years because it said, "the cost of ever moving would be prohibitive."

I suggest if it was prohibitive in 1959 it will be no less prohibitive in 1964. And the man who gave that assurance then is still with this Agency and, I trust, now arguing that it is not so prohibitive as thought.

A key question in all of this that must be examined by the subcommittee is where are we going in the next 16 years in the number of centers to be operating in the continental United States? Mr. Halaby once made the statement that we may go down to four or five centers. If so, when? Is Houston to be one of these? Will it too be phased out within 16 years? If so, where are the savings on this consolidation and relocation? If this reduction in centers depends on the successful development of a workable model of the computer under development at Atlantic City would it not be well to await that technological development before basing this major administrative change on it? Can the Agency say how many centers it plans for 1970, or whether it may next start a second series of centers, one for low, altitude high-speed flights?

I have devoted myself to a few of the questions that seem appropriate with respect to a consolidation at Houston. In the discussions with FAA representatives, I raised the question of what would be the comparative economies of consolidating at the existing center in San Antonio as compared to Houston. FAA prepared for me a comparative cost comparison, a copy of which I can give you. This comparison was based on some unspecified and rather arbitrary figures on the value of recoverable equipment placed on each capital cost. I invite your examination of this, for despite the statement that this recoverable equipment "was required for other planned programs," it is apparent that the dollar value of recoverable items is fixed by a formula and not by an inventory of actual equipment that is needed for a planned program in the future. On the face of it, it should be apparent that there will be little need for existing center equipment at a time when we are reducing the number of centers and the technology itself is changing.

I suggest to you that the matter of examining alternative consolidation sites is one in which anyone concerned with governmental economies should be interested. And I suggest that a comparison of the figures should await some opinion from the General Accounting Office on the Agency's projected cost of the Houston move. At such time as this report is received, a basis will exist for making comparison.

I should interject here that in making the cost figures for Houston, no allowance is made for maintenance or upkeep on the Houston building. This cost, of course, is included in the rental figure in San Antonio, but FAA's figures are completely silent on this in the case of Houston. This simply illustrates what a cursory examination has been made of this matter and how inadequate are the figures the Agency is willing to share with this Congressman.

Mr. Chairman, there is much more that can be and should be said on this matter. Let me sum up my statement for the moment with this: I have consulted technical advisers and professional air traffic specialists and they have unequivocally assured me that there is no technological requirement of efficiency or safety that requires this Houston move.

This being the case, we are confronted with a situation that will cost this Government over $8 million to do what is now being done. Should future plans for air control safety require a consolidation, should this not be done with an eye to comparative costs at other sites or at least with some understanding of what is planned for the Fort Worth center, the Memphis center and the other midcontinent centers?

I ask the subcommittee to examine this specific proposal with care and, if possible, await the report of the Comptroller General. There must be a reason why this agency has been reticent to disclose its plans, why such plans are jumped up on short notice, why they are based on arbitrary and incomplete showings. But more important, I am curious to know what motivation there is behind this move that would compel the administrator of this agency to launch a personal attack on me in my hometown simply because I wished to ask him for the reasons behind his decision. I do not base my objections on this personal and insulting attack, but I think it underscores a degree of bureaucratic arrogance that should not be tolerated in a democracy. Mr. Halaby let the city officials and civic leaders of San Antonio know that he was not disposed to explain or justify his actions for this move. He is recorded on film and tape as striking a pose of a military commander who does not want to answer to citizens who are dazed at this blow to their economy.

Now I know Mr. Halaby is a busy, preoccupied man. But I do not want this kind of government where an appointed official is disdainful of their right of petition. I can handle the personalized attack from Mr. Halaby, but I call on this subcommittee to probe deeply into the motivation of a bureau head who feels citizens have no right to petition or question.

Lastly, I ask you to have a thought for 267 families who are being moved, abandoning their schools and homes as though they were part of the Regular Army subject to the decision of a commander who had authority to reallocate funds to effect this move. I say this is a bad thing and if you let it go unchallenged or even unquestioned we will have tolerated something that is foreign and evil in our Government.

## EEC Acts Against U.S. Tariff Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, recently the House passed legislation designed to lower U.S. trade barriers and to increase trade between the Common Market countries and the United States. A recent article from the Bulletin From the European Community shows what happens to relations between this country and our European Allies when our Government follows a policy opposite to that expressed in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

For the benefit of our colleagues, I am inserting this article into the RECORD in its entirety:

ECC ACTS AGAINST U.S. TARIFF INCREASES

The European Economic Community will raise import duties, effective August 1, on five products exported by the United States. This is retaliation for the U.S. increase in duties on sheet glass and carpets, announced in March.

The EEC Council of Ministers decided on June 5 to revoke concessions granted during the GATT negotiations to the United States on five items and to apply external tariff duties on these products as follows:

[In percent]

| Product | Prenegotiated tariff | GATT-negotiated concession to United States | Aug. 1 rate |
|---|---|---|---|
| Polyethylene | 20 | 20 | 40 |
| Polyatyrene | 20 | 20 | 40 |
| Synthetic cloth | 21 | 17 | 40 |
| Artificial cloth | 20 | 16 | 40 |
| Varnishes and paints | 19 | 15 | 19 |

As shown above, the tariff on varnishes and paints was restored to its level prior to the GATT negotiations, while the duty on the four other items was doubled or more than doubled.

The U.S. increase of duties affects a total volume of exports from the Community worth about $27 million and most severely affects Belgium, which is the main supplier of glass and carpets. The Community's action, in response, affects a total volume of U.S. exports of approximately the same value, $27 million.

The U.S. decision, announced March 17, raised duties on carpets from 21 percent of value to 40 percent, and on glass the increases varied from 73 percent to 150 percent according to size and thickness. Effective as of June 17, the increase was originally scheduled to be applied 2 months earlier but was postponed by the United States following a Belgian request.

The U.S. Government announced on June 5, the day of the Common Market Council decision, that it had made an offer amounting to partial compensation of the losses caused to foreign carpet and glass industries. This was done in response to a Common Market request for such compensation in the form of lower tariffs on other goods, in accordance with the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Both the United States, in its March tariff increase, recommended to the President by the U.S. Tariff Commission, and the Common Market, in taking its retaliatory measures, were acting in accordance with provisions of article XIX of the GATT.

## The Double Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the series of failures caused by the Kennedy administration foreign policy has be-

come apparent to all, and nowhere have we had greater disappointment than in Latin America. The tremendous fanfare attached to the Alliance for Progress program has served to double the disappointment at the failure of the United States to provide leadership so vitally needed in this hemisphere.

I have repeatedly urged a complete reappraisal of our foreign policy attitude toward Latin American countries in lieu of present State Department inconsistency and confusion.

This chaotic situation is very effectively described in an editorial in Friday's, June 27, edition of the Chicago Tribune, which, under previous leave, I insert into the RECORD:

THE DOUBLE STANDARD

When a military junta took over Peru after a stalemated election, President Kennedy reacted with indignation. He cut off all American aid and began lining up other Latin American countries in a hostile front. A White House statement said that the goal of the Alliance for Progress—"to improve and strengthen democratic institutions through the application of the principle of self-determination by the people"—had suffered "a serious setback."

Jule Dubois, the Latin American correspondent of this newspaper, reports that the President's reprisals are backfiring and can only result in a "hate America" campaign redounding to the advantage of the Communists in Peru. He says that the Peruvians have conspicuously refused to join Mr. Kennedy in his indignation, and that the President's task is how to back away without losing too much face.

In truth, the President's sensitivity to what has happened in Lima is in sharp contrast with his outlook on other matters. He has, for example, bent all his efforts to the production of a "neutralist" coalition regime in Laos which is weighted on the Communist side. This government of three princes is certainly no more "democratic" than the junta which has taken power in Peru, yet the signing of instruments at Geneva to give formal acknowledgment of the change in Laos was saluted by the President in joyous exchanges with Mr. Khrushchev.

The President in the last few days has also played host to another Latin American leader, President Carlos Julio Arosemena of Ecuador, and he did not seem at all disturbed that Arosemena got to the top after the Ecuadorian Army booted out his predecessor, Jose Velasco Ibarra.

Also, since the endorsement of "democratic institutions" in the declaration of the Alliance for Progress, the Argentine military also kicked out a constitutional President, nullified an election, declared that Peronists and Communists will not be allowed to offer candidates, and so far has had a sympathetic response from Washington.

It is odd that the administration can be so callous to some abuses of "democracy" and so outraged about others, for the Peruvian affair is practically standing operating procedure in Latin American countries.

## Devaluing the Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the value of the dollar has long been an important problem in our economy not only for business but for the garden variety consumer. The following editorial from the Middletown (Md.), Valley Register, containing commentary on the President's remarks about the dollar transmitted via Telstar, is indicative of the fact that the dollar has equally as much importance to the citizens of the United States as to the money market abroad:

DEVALUING THE DOLLAR

President Kennedy spoke out forcibly at his recent press conference via Telstar in defense of the Nation's currency and declared several times that under no circumstances would we devalue the dollar. Mr. Kennedy's remarks were directed more at European ears than American, in an effort to halt speculation abroad which has resulted in withdrawals of gold from the United States. He was speaking sincerely and probably has no intention of ever permitting such a disastrous move as the actual official devaluation of America's dollar in terms of gold.

What every American knows, however, is that the American dollar is already considerably devalued and that the process is continuing. It is devalued in terms of its purchasing power, and continued inflation can do no less than have a continuing depressing effect on its value. Only when the dollar once more purchases what it did some years ago, before the round of inflationary prices set in, can it be said that its devaluation has stopped and its former value recovered. The average citizen with money in his pocket is not nearly so much concerned with what foreigners have to pay in dollars for gold as they are in what they have to pay in dollars for food and clothing and the other necessities of life. For them a continual rise in prices is devaluation—nothing else—despite President Kennedy's positive assurances that the Government will have none of it.

## Rapid City Sets Fine Example in Refusing Federal Handout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Huron (S. Dak.) Plainsman which speaks for itself. Here is a city struck by disaster which does not come running to the Federal Government but handles its own disaster problem. This is a demonstration of the pioneer spirit of South Dakotans. It is a demonstration of the spirit of the old frontier, out where the West begins, rather than the philosophies we have seen demonstrated too much in the past few years of the New Frontier recognized in our country as out where the waste begins.

RAPID CITY SETS FINE EXAMPLE IN REFUSING FEDERAL HANDOUT

South Dakota's West River folk long have been reputed as a mighty proud clan.

A personal insult these friendly people are willing to brush off. But speak disparagingly of the Black Hills or its environs and pahdner, put up your dukes.

Great salesmen, too, these western South Dakotans. And never at a loss for words when expounding upon the natural beauty or wealth of the famed "banana belt."

Plenty of justification for this pride, too. Few, if any other sections of the United States, have more to offer the tourist than western South Dakota.

But with all its natural blessings, there have been adversities, too.

Last year drought laid a scorching hand on the beautiful Black Hills. This year came a shift, an overabundance of precipitation with resultant damaging flash floods.

Pride of another sort was brought out by these nature-inflicted woes. There was a suggestion recently that Rapid City be declared a disaster area, and that Federal funds be made available to restore the damage.

But the Rapid City Council said "No." The reaction was immediate and vigorous.

Rather than accept the Federal handout, and at the same time give the area nationwide adverse publicity that could be heavily damaging to its summer tourism, a city appropriation of $100,000 was set up by the council. And even in a city as flourishing as Rapid City, that isn't exactly small change.

So without delay Rapid City and the nearby Black Hills will be restored to full beauty, ready to welcome the steadily increasing, flow of midsummer tourist visitors.

"The city council's action could have a wholesome effect on other areas of the country in discouraging an appeal to Washington immediately after disaster," comments the Rapid City Journal editorially.

To which the Daily Plainsman adds an editorial "Amen."

## Everyone Agrees, Taxes Must Be Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the Winona Daily News recently expressed some definite ideas about the form that any future tax cuts should take. The Daily News has the desire to see a tax reduction that would stimulate the economy but not cause an increased deficit in the Federal budget. Certainly this is a goal which we would all like to reach and I am sure that all of our colleagues will find the editorial of great interest to them:

EVERYONE AGREES, TAXES MUST BE CUT

It became evident to a couple of Congressmen several years ago that income tax rate reform was necessary if the United States was to maintain a high rate of economic growth. So, Representatives A. S. HERLONG, Jr., Democrat, of Florida, and HOWARD H. BAKER, Republican, of Tennessee, introduced the Herlong-Baker bills.

Now nearly everyone is beginning to realize that our high tax rates are slowing down growth and causing continued unemployment. Administration spokesmen have been particularly vocal on this point lately.

To meet the needs for a beginning to tax rate reform that can be managed quickly by Congress, Representatives HERLONG and BAKER now have introduced a simplified version of their original proposal. It would carry out their original idea of 5 years of step-by-step lowering of personal and corporate tax rates, but would not in one bill adjust gift and estate and capital gains taxes, or depreciation treatment.

This new Herlong-Baker bill would give everyone at least a 25-percent reduction in

his personal taxes over 5 years, and top tax rates on individuals and corporations would be reduced in the same period to 42 percent.

One of the prime reasons that the Herlong-Baker approach to income tax rate reform is superior to other proposals is that it protects the Federal Government from sudden large losses of revenue, and resulting large deficits.

The Congressmen estimate that Federal tax collections would fall only about a billion dollars in 1963, and during 1964 the rate reductions would cost $3.7 billion—on paper. But the surge of economic growth that would happen, raising the taxable incomes of both individuals and corporations, would wipe out part of this paper loss quickly, and all of it eventually. In a few years, the Federal Government would receive more revenue under the new lower rates than it could have expected under the present high ones.

There is agreement that taxes must be cut. This is the way to reduce them.

## The People Will Have the Final Say on Foreign Aid Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the rising storm of public resentment against giving billions of dollars of the American taxpayers' money to our enemies may yet sweep through the Halls of Congress and many Members may regret their failure to heed the angry voice abroad in the land. I venture to predict that many of you will hear, in no uncertain terms, from your constituents before the mutual security appropriation bill is brought to the floor, for the people are tired of the failures, the mismanagement, the mistakes, the downright idiocy of a program which permits us to build and strengthen nations who have declared their intention to destroy us. The following editorial from the July 29, 1962, issue of the Dallas Morning News may serve to warn those Members who bow to administration pressure and neglect the sound and the fury from home:

IT'S ONLY ROUND 1

Let there be no doubt about it. President Kennedy clearly won the first round in the foreign-aid battle when the House and Senate adopted the so-called compromise authorization bill permitting the President to dole out up to $4.6 billion worth of aid this year.

Earlier action in both the House and Senate had placed a series of much-needed restrictions on the foreign-aid program. The Senate had voted to prohibit aid to Communist Poland and Yugoslavia and had sliced $88 million off the President's aid request for India. The House had voted to prohibit our purchase of U.N. bonds until all nations had paid off their debts to the world organization.

Both Houses of Congress voted to cut off aid to any nation which seizes American property without paying for it.

These sound restrictions were pitched out the window when White House pressure was applied during the House-Senate conference, and last week both Houses of Congress adopted the conference compromise.

But it is important to remember that this was the first round.

Millions of aroused and indignant people have protested and worked too hard to give up the fight. They have accomplished much. If they keep working, they can and will defeat the worst parts of this giveaway program.

In the first place, the actual foreign-aid money has not yet been approved by Congress. A separate appropriation bill must be passed before the President can send another dime to Poland, Yugoslavia, India, the United Nations or Brazil. This is round two, and it will be conducted principally in the House and Senate appropriations subcommittees.

House subcommittee Chairman OTTO E. PASSMAN, Democrat, of Louisiana, has already pledged to seek a $2 billion cut in the aid bill. Last year he was able to reduce the President's request by almost a billion dollars, and he did this at a time when Congress was in a much less rebellious mood.

If PASSMAN and others in Congress continue to receive support from the grassroots, in the form of letters and telegrams, the chances are good that sharp cuts will be made. And if total funds for the aid program are cut, surely the first item to be scratched from the list will be aid to Red nations.

Even if efforts to cut the appropriation bill fail, however, opponents of the giveaway program must not give up hope. They must remember that the matter will come up again next year and the next. They must recognize that, even though there have been setbacks and there may be more, they have actually been winning the long-term battle.

This year in Congress there was more opposition to the entire foreign-aid program than there has been for many years. Nobody expected the whole program to be defeated, so the surprisingly high number of votes against it is a sign of strength, not weakness.

Five or six years ago foreign-aid bills sailed through both Houses of Congress on voice votes, with only a minimum of pressure from the White House. In the last few years the opposition has grown strong enough to warrant recording of votes, and every year the number of nays has grown larger.

This year more than 42 percent of the House Members voted against the entire aid bill, and one-third of the Senators registered opposition. And don't forget that this opposition was expressed in spite of the strongest White House pressure ever exerted on behalf of a foreign-aid bill.

President Kennedy may have won the first round. It is not certain that he will win the fight—unless the people throw in the towel.

## Hon. L. Mendel Rivers Recipient of Honorary Life Membership in the Reserve Officers Association of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL VINSON
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, with reference to the honorary life membership presented to the Speaker by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, I should like the privilege of calling attention to the fact that another Member of this House, at the same time, received this honor.

The Honorable MENDEL RIVERS richly merits this recognition, just as does our Speaker.

I know that ROA and the Nation's reservists hold in deep and genuine affection this great man who has worked so hard over the years to give us a realistic and effective Reserve program in the military services.

We all applaud, I am sure, ROA's choice of MENDEL RIVERS for this unusual honor.

The presentation of this honorary life membership was made by Maj. Gen. John H. Foster, the national president of ROA. General Foster is an outstanding officer, a pilot who made a significant contribution to the U.S. victory in World War II, and who since that time has helped to build the great Reserve this Nation has in the Air Force. A native of Texas, General Foster lives there today as an outstanding citizen and a leader in San Antonio.

His brief address to an ROA group in the Speaker's dining room last Tuesday was a fitting tribute to one of our colleagues. I offer his remarks because I know we all share in the fine compliments he pays to MENDEL RIVERS:

REMARKS OF MAJ. GEN. JOHN H. FOSTER, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, CONFERRING HONORARY LIFE MEMBERSHIP UPON THE HONORABLE L. MENDEL RIVERS

Mr. Speaker, distinguished leaders of the House of Representatives, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a high privilege for me to appear here on behalf of our association to perform a mission which in itself brings honor to the Reserve officers of this Nation.

What Brig. Gen. Donald Dawson has said about the Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, and the manner in which his citizenship and his great service to our country exemplifies the minuteman tradition applies also to Mr. RIVERS. It also applied to the Honorable Paul Kilday, who is sitting at the Speaker's right, who is now on the Federal bench, but who for so many years labored in the Congress to maintain the esprit de corps and effectiveness of our military forces.

May I say in all sincerity that you gentlemen have contributed in a great measure to the strength of the United States—to make it possible for the military forces to protect and preserve our traditions, our freedoms, and our way of life. It is my purpose to talk specifically about one today—who, like the honorable Speaker and the honorable judge, Mr. Kilday, have been chosen by ROA to be honorary life members.

He is a native southerner, from the State of South Carolina, which has given so generously of her sons to high public service. He came to the Congress in 1940, from a successful law practice, to become a member of the Naval Affairs Committee. He continued his seniority when under the Reorganization Act the committee was merged with other committees to become the Armed Services Committee which we know today.

He had studied well under what I understand you gentlemen of the House know as the Carl Vinson school. I am informed that he is one of the most apt pupils in that exclusive academy. Even down in Texas, where we are proud to have him an occasional visitor, we know him as one of the scholars of the Congress who is among the best informed men in the Nation on military subjects.

He has the advantage of not being a military man himself, which provides him objectivity. He has the additional advantage of having lived with the military for many years, thus giving him intimate knowledge of the subject. His highest advantage, of course, has been his service in the House of Representatives.

The security of this Nation is built upon the minuteman tradition.

Just as surely as has ever been true in history, the security of this Nation rests upon the resoluteness of her citizens, and their commitment to give of their energy, their resources, and their lives, if necessary, to protect those things which we hold dear.

Our honor guest has understood this tradition—this concept of dedicated service to the Nation—this vision of citizenship responsibility as much as any man in the Congress.

The measures which this House has passed during the time when he worked with the Reserves, and with the staff of our association, are a monument to his patriotism, and evidence of his good judgment.

He has fought for recognition of those who have, and who will, fight our wars, if and whenever it becomes necessary—the citizen-reservist. He had a part in bringing into being what we call the Reserves "Magna Carta"—the Reserve Officer Personnel Act. He spent weeks just 3 years ago studying and revising this act in order to bring it up to date and to eliminate inequities which had developed during the first 5 years of the operation of ROPA. He fought for recognition of the service of members of the Nurse Corps, the WACS, and others who otherwise would have had no such recognition. He fought through the Congress a bill to give equal recognition to the SPARS. The crowning achievement of his fight for the Reserves this year is the new Reserve incentive law, which the President signed into law only on June 28—a bill which reached the White House because MENDEL RIVERS willed it, and persisted in his championing of a badly needed Reserve incentive system.

The man we are honoring today is one we admire, that we hold in esteem, that we hold in great affection. He is our friend.

I might tell you that the delegates at our national convention held just last month stood and cheered when the national executive committee offered its resolution electing to honorary life membership Speaker McCormack, Admiral Burke, and Representative Rivers. They did this not because of what he did, but because of what he is.

To us MENDEL RIVERS is a great citizen, and a great friend, because he is what he is. The Bible puts it this way:

"What doth the Lord require of thee, but that thou do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before thy God."

We are honored to have MENDEL RIVERS—for life—an honorary member of the Reserve Officers Association.

## Crime and Punishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from Roll Call:

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In April, as minor crimes increased on Capitol Hill, this newspaper editorialized that the criminal element was getting out of hand. Daily muggings, yokings, beatings, robbery, and vandalism are becoming commonplace, we editorialized, and something should be done about it.

In May, we again editorialized that if the reign of terror which is growing daily in intensity continues, this Capital is in danger of becoming an anarchy. We opined that the time has come for forceful and effective steps to be taken to protect the persons and possessions of citizens, workers, and employees from the ever-growing numbers of hoodlums, punks, maniacs, degenerates, and thrill-seekers apparently roaming the streets at will.

We suggested then that without delay a responsible crime commission should be established to make a thorough study of the crime situation before the incidents increase in intensity and seriousness.

As this is being written, some 40 detectives are combing Southeast Washington seeking a tall Negro youth who desecrated a holy sanctuary and ruthlessly and needlessly plunged a knife into the body of a pious congressional secretary at prayer.

At best, the assailant will be apprehended. He will, if past history is any criterion for the future, probably be freed. Maybe enough loopholes will be found in our criminal laws to have him incarcerated. Even so, in little time he will be free to commit bigger and more heinous crimes.

Representative FRANK BECKER, whom the victim served for the past 10 years as secretary, ran from the blood-drenched scene of the assault to the House floor to report the dastardly deed to his colleagues.

In an emotion-filled but uniquely fair and rational speech, Mr. BECKER graphically reported the assault, and told his colleagues, "It is a sad state of affairs, indeed, that in this great Capital City of ours, Washington, D.C., within three blocks of the Capitol itself, a citizen cannot even go into a church and pray in safety."

An indication of the response of the House may be garnered by the following reprint of the end of Mr. BECKER'S speech, and the ensuing dialog:

"Mr. BECKER. I certainly hope and pray, and I am sure the House joins me in prayer, for her recovery of this dastardly attempt on her life.

"Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California.

"Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill S. 476, creating the Point Reyes National Seashore."

In the six pages of wordage in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day, no further mention was made of the attack or the need for crime prevention.

How long can the Congress sit back and ignore a situation that well may develop into a state of Sodom and Gomorah? Does it have to be a Congressman's wife, or his secretary, or his child who is victimized before he will assume his responsibility to his fellow men?

The fact of the matter is that the Congress as a body is responsible for the Federal city—the District of Columbia. Certainly, the 537 elected Representives are responsible for the Capitol area.

How many bodies must spill blood before the Congress will rise to action to make this national area safe for its Members, their aids, the millions of visitors and relatives, and the residents?

Congressman BECKER nobly absolved the Metropolitan Police of guilt. He is partly right. Chief Murray is a dedicated and able man, trying to administer a police force in one of the worst areas in the Nation. Aside from operating in a goldfish bowl, he is hampered by a string of do-gooder organizations, an unrealistic liberal front which tends to coddle criminals at the expense of law-abiding citizens, too many patrolmen unfitted morally or mentally for the task at hand, public apathy, and legal restrictions proffered by the liberal front which hamper law enforcement and encourage criminality.

The Congress must take the lead in:

Insuring an adequate, well-trained, well-paid force of men possessed of good moral standards and a dedication to duty.

A change in the criminal laws to untie the hands of responsible law officers in apprehending and bringing to trial violators of the law.

A change of attitude in this District according protection to the innocent and not the guilty.

Establishment of a Crime Commission with power to recommend these and other sweeping revisions to the end that this Nation's Capital might realistically become a model city of responsible citizens where the visiting taxpayer, the lawmaker, the law-abiding resident, may feel secure and safe and proud to be an American.

We do not advocate the deprivation of any man's rights as a citizen. We do advocate the guarantee of every citizen's right to move about freely and to enjoy freedom from fear.

Perhaps there have been times when suspects have been unjustly interrogated, when an innocent man has been questioned or booked. This, indeed, is not to be condoned.

But the pendulum has been pushed too far. While we are bending over backward to protect the lawless, we are getting stabbed in the back. Let us equalize the procedure, so that neither the suspect nor the decent citizen gets hurt.

More important than home rule, more sewers, added Federal payments, or anything presently facing Congress and the District, is the prevention of further abuse of our citizens. Let's tighten up our laws and encourage the judges to mete out punishment to fit the crime.

Way back in 300 B.C. Aristotle said, "Even when laws are written down, they ought not always remain unaltered." And, "The generality of men are naturally apt to be swayed by fear rather than reverence, and to refrain from evil rather because of the punishment that it brings, than because of its own foulness."

## Bay City, Mich., Records Another "First" in Promoting International Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Bay City, Mich., has again made history with another "first" in a series of events designed to promote better mutual understanding among the peoples of the world.

Last Thursday evening Bay City communicated with its sister city, Mechlin, Belgium, in the first officially sched-

uled city-to-city international telephone hookup via Telstar. It was the only Michigan city and one of only four cities in the entire Midwest to participate in that historic event.

Bay City was recognized particularly because of the splendid work done by the local people-to-people council. This Bay City organization became the first of its kind to send a large civic delegation to a sister city in another land and the first city to have two Voice of America broadcasts concerning it sent to foreign lands in 1 week. Through a pupil-to-pupil program Bay City's schoolchildren sent composition books to the children of Burma and the city's Mercy Hospital heeded a plea of the Dr. Tom Dooley Foundation and sent medical books to south India.

Many citizens of the Bay City area had a personal part in the success of Telstar because their skills and workmanship contributed to its construction. Telstar's frame and antennas were manufactured in Bay City by the Dow Metal Products Co.

The account of Bay City's participation in the first city-to-city Telstar broadcast was published by the Bay City Times and follows:

Bay City exchanged greetings with its sister city, Mechlin, Belgium, last night in a historic 6½-minute Telstar satellite telephone call.

Despite reported failures and lost calls at several of the 23 American cities participating in the exchange with sister cities in Europe, Bay City's call went through as scheduled and actually ran 3½-minutes overtime.

There was one slight hitch when a Paris, France, overseas operator broke into the conversation after Mayor Pro Tempore Philip C. Dean and City Manager Casimer F. Jablonski had spoken here to announce she had temporarily lost the call.

But in later remarks from Mechlin, it appeared the audience there had heard Dean and Jablonski.

Michigan Bell Telephone Co. officials from Detroit, lauding the Bay City people-to-people program for having won "this historic first for Bay City, the State of Michigan, and Michigan Bell," announced that a colored photo of Bay City's three participants in the call, taken by their own photographers, will feature the cover of their next annual report to shareholders.

The call, starting at 6:44 p.m. Thursday, was received and amplified, including the Mechlin conversation, to some 50 invited guests of Michigan Bell Telephone Co. in the Empire Skyroom. A buffet dinner followed.

Dean, Jablonski and Leslie E. Arndt, president, Bay City People to People Council, Inc., spoke first on the historic call, then listened along with the rest of the Bay City audience as Mechlin city officials responded. There was no need for translation. The Belgians spoke English fluently.

Acting Mayor Josef DeSaeger, of Mechlin, commended the United States on its space program and success of its Telstar communications satellite. He also contributed a brief greeting in Flemish for "any Belgian-Americans in your area."

DeSaeger disclosed that negotiations had just been completed for another large American industry to locate a branch plant in the Mechlin new industrial area, known as "Little America." More than a dozen new industries from other countries, employing upward of 5,000, have built there in the past decade.

Also speaking from Mechlin were Town Secretary (city manager) Francois Geys, and two industrialists, Brian Smith and George Eddy, representing American industries that are located there. Eddy's remarks were cut short when the call ran overtime.

Dean told the Mechlin audience: "We feel that anything which can bring people closer together, such as the people-to-people program, or better communications via Telstar, will have a potent impact on our lives in the years ahead."

Jablonski pointed out that Telstar "inaugurates a new means of communication, which cannot help but serve to unite peoples throughout the free world."

Arndt addressed his remarks "to all the wonderful people in Mechlin, who hosted me and the 16 other Operation Friendship tourists from Bay City so royally last October on our tour of Europe. * * * Again we want to extend an invitation for a group from your city to make good on your promise to visit our city during 1963. Give us a chance to return the hospitality we found in Belgium."

Bay City was the only Michigan city participating in the call, while Mechelen was Belgium's lone representative. DeSaeger had disclosed that Belgian press, radio and television was covering the call there.

Arrangements for the call were made by American Telephone & Telegraph Co., along with U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C.

John S. Palmer, Bay City division manager, Michigan Bell Telephone Co., presided at a brief program which followed the luncheon. Guests were introduced, among them representatives of Dow Metal Products Co., which is manufacturing Telestar frames and antennas.

City official attending, besides Dean and Jablonski, included Commissioners Morgan J. Trudell, Floyd C. Fischer, Neil J. Meagher, J. Warren Wilson, and Attorney John X. Theiler.

Louis A. Vaupre and Ambrose J. Maxwell, president and manager, respectively, of Greater Bay City Chamber of Commerce, commended the active role of the Bay City people-to-people program.

Arndt disclosed that, at the precise moment of the Mechelen telephone call, "120 people from our other sister city of Ansbach, Germany, were boarding a chartered plane in Frankfurt, Germany, to fly to America. They will arrive in New York City Friday morning, and 40 will then board a bus to come to Bay City."

He said: "Mrs. Violet Kilgore, of U.S. Travel Service, Washington, D.C., who was here recently for our State convention, advises me it represents the largest group from one area of Europe to come to the United States under the new U.S. Travel Service 'vacation in the U.S.A.' promotion."

U.S. Travel Service is planning a recognition ceremony in Washington, D.C., following the group's tour of America and visit to Bay City.

Arndt also pointed to other Bay City "firsts" during the past year, such as sending the first large civic tour to another continent under the people-to-people banner (last October's airlift), and making Voice of America broadcasts to foreign lands twice in the same week.

Voice of America last May beamed a broadcast to Burma concerning composition books sent by Washington intermediate school pupils here to children of that nation under the pupil-to-pupil plan.

The next day another broadcast went to South India, relative to Mercy Hospital medical books shipped there to answer a critical need under a request from the late Dr. Tom Dooley Foundation.

## The Challenges and Opportunities of Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that my colleagues will find of great interest a thoughtful editorial which appeared recently in the Marathon Independent, a weekly newspaper published in Marathon, N.Y. I am sure all of us will find references in this fine article to our own experiences in political life, as well as a reminder of some of the things that make democracy strong and great here in America. The editorial was written by Editor Walter W. Grunfeld.

The editorial follows:

PUBLIC OFFICE: AT WHAT COST?

It takes a man of never-ending energy and saintly patience to be either the holder of a major political office—and a minor one too—or to be a candidate in an active race for a political post.

It has been the writer's good fortune to have very close contact during the past few weeks with several candidates whose names will appear on the ballot in September, at the primary election (September 6) and also in the November election and, in each case, not one of the candidates in this year's all-out campaign, is sitting back, hoping that his party label and those running with him on the same ticket, will carry him through to victory.

It is true, and we should admit it, that men and women in political office are in the firing line all the time, perhaps more so than they deserve. Whether a man is serving the public as a politician, as a clergyman, as a doctor or in any other capacity with which the public is closely connected, he is far too often the whipping post for those with complaints, with the armchair politicians and with the severe critics, as well as the press, which, at times, is far too critical of a man in public life.

However, to qualify the latter statement, the political leader deserves to be questioned if, in the opinion of the public, he is not doing his job. But we hope to think that there are still men and women in public office today, as is the farmer behind the plow, or the factory worker at the lathe, who are doing their very best.

It goes without saying, whether the political man or woman is efficient and devoted or not, his life is not one of serenity and smooth sailing all the way.

From the observations we have made, after we have studied those now running for public office, it seems to us that one might often ask whether the effort expended is really worth it. If the officeseeker is sincere in his convictions, surely he has the right to ask whether his sincere efforts are, and will be, appreciated by the electorate.

We have also come to the conclusion that politics is a hard life for anyone who has a deep regard for his family, for the little things in life which mean so much, and if he is interested either in serving his community and business well.

It seems that something has to give if an active political campaign is followed. The man who is serious about his convictions and wants to win badly and earnestly, surely

has little time for himself or for those close to him.

The candidates seeking office in our immediate area in the senatorial and congressional race, have a wide area to cover and if they wanted to, they could work steadily from now to primary day and still not meet half the people in the immense districts.

There are other problems too. How does a candidate know what the voters really want, other than a capable, freethinking and honest representative either in Albany or in Washington. The candidate cannot possibly meet the wishes of all, although he can try, and must, satisfy the majority, if possible.

He must be a man of tireless energy and enthusiasm because he has to smile as readily early in the morning as he does late at night. He cannot allow himself to show his public that he is all worn out, that he is fed up with meeting the public and would just like to crawl into a corner and take a well-deserved nap. That usually comes after the campaign is won, or lost, and after the pressure of the big date is over.

In addition to these pitfalls, the candidate, or officeholder, must be sincere and well meaning at all times because if his intentions are not sincere and well meaning, his true colors will soon show after the public gets to know him. And our experience has been that the average voter can usually detect a good candidate, or officeholder, from one with selfish motives.

Perhaps the negative factors account for the lack of interest on the part of well-qualified men and women to go through the grind of everyday political life. If the man with noble goals is found, regardless of political affiliation, he should be allowed to represent us. Voting for the party symbol alone can, in some cases, only bring us problems, poor representation, and also a hard public life for the official.

We urge our readers to study the candidates well, respect them for their efforts, regardless of political affiliation, and encourage them in their work, rather than make the campaign an unhappy experience.

The voter will find, if he takes just a little interest, that his study of the issues, of the man, his platform, his attitude, will guide him in the right direction. Furthermore, the voter should realize that he and his neighbors want the best representative.

We have such candidates in the field and we trust that they will be found before the current all-out, strenuous effort ends.

## Another Salute to AP's Haslet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday our Majority Leader CARL ALBERT and other Members of Congress paid tribute to a man whose friendship we have come to cherish and whose journalistic ability we have long respected. Of course, I am speaking of the salute given to Charlie Haslet, who last Saturday celebrated his 38th anniversary with the Associated Press wire service.

It is a privilege for me today to add my congratulations to Charlie Haslet for his many years of outstanding contributions to public enlightenment as a member of the fourth estate.

During my years in Congress, I have had the pleasure of becoming closely acquainted with Charlie Haslet since he is the Associated Press representative for the Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri region. Although Charlie's reporting beat cannot match the glamour of the metropolitan police reporter, I believe Mr. Haslet's contribution to public understanding of our Government's operations is unquestionably more noteworthy.

Charlie's cool detachment in approaching a news story and his year-in and year-out consistency in reporting the real facts from Washington have earned him the respect of his journalistic colleagues and the confidence of the Members of Congress with whom he deals. May the Associated Press be fortunate enough to have many more years of accurate stories come from the reliable typewriter of Charlie Haslet.

## Speaker McCormack Honored by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL VINSON
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, we all share a feeling of pride in the many recognitions and honors which have come to the leader of this great legislative body, the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

We all know him as one of the greatest Americans, and we know him for his great heart, for the vitality of his character, as well as for his enormous abilities as a legislator and a leader.

It was the privilege of some of us to join the president and the national staff of the Reserve Officers Association several days ago in seeing conferred upon our Speaker an honor which is most unusual—honorary life membership in the Reserve Officers Association of the United States.

The ROA is a voluntary association of members of the officer corps of the U.S. military services. ROA holds a charter from the Congress and is charged with working for "a military policy which will provide adequate national security."

The ROA is a sound patriotic organization. We in the Congress know it as such. It is an association whose representatives we trust, and whose spokesmen we rely upon.

I am told that previously in the past 3 years only one other honorary life member has been selected by ROA—and that also was a Member of this body, the Honorable Paul Joseph Kilday, now on the Federal bench.

Our Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, was pleased to accept this honor from ROA when it was presented by Brig Gen. Donald S. Dawson, a former key member of the staff of a President of the United States.

For the benefit of the Members of the Congress, I am privileged to offer a copy of the resolution from ROA's convention conferring this honorary life membership, together with the brief address made by General Dawson upon the occasion:

Whereas this association desires to recognize outstanding citizens and military leaders who have rendered extraordinary service to the cause of national defense and who have shared with this association its role in advancing a military policy which will provide adequate national security; and

Whereas particularly effective leadership in the national community has been evidenced in this field by the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House of Representatives; the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, a member of the House Armed Services Committee and for a critical and significant period chairman of its subcommittee dealing with the Reserves; and Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, a wartime hero of the sea wars who later served as Chief of Naval Operations: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States*, That the above-named citizen-leaders be invited to become, and are hereby designated as, honorary life members of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, and that appropriate ceremonies be arranged to confer this membership upon them.

ADDRESS BY BRIG. GEN. DONALD S. DAWSON

It is most appropriate that this award of an honorary life membership in the Reserve Officers Association is to be given to a man from the great State of Massachusetts, which in turn has given us the Minuteman. For it was the Provincial Congress on November 23, 1774, which enrolled the Minutemen in Massachusetts. These were the men who would leave their firesides and take up arms in the defense of their country on a minute's notice. They were the men who fought in the first engagement of the war for independence at Lexington.

Today the Minuteman has become the undying symbol of the Reserve Forces of the United States and the Reserve Officers Association who are the Minutemen of today and who, as history has so recently demonstrated, are the men who will leave their homes and families and take up arms in defense of what we believe is right.

But the man who is to receive this award is not a symbol—he is reality. He in reality has always stood on the firing line to protect and defend the American way of life.

He has risen to the leadership and the most powerful office in the legislative branch of our Government because he has fought every day for the rights of the common man.

He is a man, as those who know him will say, who never lets the sun set without having done something to better the lot of his fellow man, either through his personal and individual actions, or through his official actions.

He is a man who knows the reality of power. He knows what it means to speak from a position of strength. With the legislative reins in his hands we may be confident that our defenses will not become flabby and our military strength soft, but that we shall be provided with the sinews that will carry to all the world the conviction that we have the strength to deal with any force. We may be confident that he will give us the reality of power to take action on a minute's notice.

It is with great satisfaction that I present this plaque signifying honorary life membership in the Reserve Officers Association to the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, the modern-day Minuteman, JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

## "The Election Campaign Has Begun"; "Kennedy the Politician"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, recently the Christan Science Monitor applied all the keenness of insight and careful reasoning which we have come to expect of it to analyzing the rather thorny problem of why President Kennedy has been having so much trouble getting his legislative program through Congress. The result was two very noteworthy editorials which I would like to insert in the RECORD today.

I have been amazed that President Kennedy has continued, in all seriousness, to blame the failure of his more controversial and partisan proposals on the Republicans at a time when the statistics on the Democratic majority in Congress—"3 to 2 in the House; 2 to 1 in the Senate"—are so frequently cited as to have become a slogan. The flaws in the administration's handling of its program which the Christian Science Monitor points out have been apparent for some time now, but I am gratified to see such an articulate, incisive statement of them.

I commend both of these editorials to all of my colleagues, as well as to the administration and the voters:

KENNEDY THE POLITICIAN

Mr. Kennedy is now talking franking partisan language about his stalled domestic legislative program. He blames the Republicans for his lack of success. There was a long series of statements to this effect in his latest press conference.

Mr. Kennedy respects both logic and objectivity but in this case he seems to be taking leave of both. Why should he blame members of the opposition party for predictably voting against bills with which they traditionally disagree? He could more logically blame the voters. The voters gave him an insufficient number of Democrats who agree.

And how can he shrug his shoulders so fatalistically about the conservative Democrats while pointing such an accusing finger at the Republicans? Where is consistency?

Mr. Kennedy also argues that because Republicans oppose his program they are for inaction. He is for action. But in many cases enough Republicans agree with the broad aims of Kennedy domestic bills to pass them, if they had been drafted with more attention to the national need and less to Democratic politics and power.

But his frankly partisan approach to most of the major domestic bills provoked a frankly partisan answer. He knew that the conservative Democrats would vote with the opposition. Logic would suggest that his strategy was at fault, and not either the conservative Democrats or the Republicans. He misjudged the election returns.

This is all the more curious because at the start of his second year in the White House the President told reporters he was going to follow an entirely different strategy. He recognized the need for emphasizing national needs and deemphasizing party politics.

A few weeks thereafter he proposed a department of urban affairs in a highly political manner. For whatever reason, perhaps a rising political self-confidence, his approach to Congress radically changed. With this more recent approach Mr. Kennedy created his own frustration.

He has now explicitly described his plan for the coming congressional campaign. To the degree that it can be separated from recrimination over the past, it is a partial return to logic again. The President is tackling the real cause of his difficulty in the narrow decision of the voters. "The areas I'll be campaigning in are seats * * * where there will be a very clear choice between Republicans who oppose these programs and Democrats who support them. That's where I am going to go."

The voters will be there waiting. It remains to be seen whether they will consciously choose to base their vote on what kind of Congress they want to give Mr. Kennedy. (Many of them probably didn't, last time.) But they have this opportunity now and they should use it.

Meanwhile it is curious that Mr. Kennedy should be gauche about allocating blame for his plight, when he is supposed to excel at the political arts. It could be that he misjudges the future voting as well as the past. He may find that the same actions on his part which drove the moderate votes in Congress into opposition will cause the voters in November to prefer more conservative candidates.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAS BEGUN

President Kennedy is going to take his dissatisfaction with the makeup of Congress to the people. It will be the national election issue, over and above local contests, in November.

Just what is this issue?

The President was widely described as angry at the defeat of the medicare bill. Maybe so. Anger is an emotion most readily identified in a tone of voice and the color of the neck. It is seen and heard—or imagined—by those who are present and is not unknown to Presidents. What we read in the text of the President's comment, however, and what Mr. Kennedy has several times described in public recently, was something different.

It was a sense of deep frustration. Mr. Kennedy thinks it is not right that a President, elected by all the people, should be blocked from carrying out his program. The key comes in his use of the word "controversial" at a recent press conference. A noncontroversial bill gets through, he said. But one which is frankly partisan and subject to intense national debate does not.

We should like to put it a little differently.

There is a neat dividing line between those Kennedy bills which pass and those which do not. It separates bills which seek to accomplish a useful purpose but are drafted with a political eye to enlarging the partisan power of the President, from those which lack the second characteristic. The defeated farm bill was not an honest choice—it was stacked in favor of a vote for Federal production controls. The defeated urban affairs department bill had a high content of political maneuver. The medicare bill forced a solution on the doctors without taking careful account of their valid (as distinct from their partisan) concerns. The Kennedy victories now emerging in the fields of tariffs and foreign aid do not have this weakness.

In our judgment the mood of the American people today supports the actions of Congress more nearly than the sense of partisan frustration of the President. It is a mood of cautious, not radical reform, dubious about the exercise of political power for its own sake independently of the merits of a given issue. The defeated bills just weren't good enough. And the way they were conceived was a little too political.

If this is so, what will happen if the President takes his defeats to the country? The results may surprise him. We sympathize with his problem. We do not enjoy deadlock between Congress and the White House. We support two-party government and understand what that means in terms of partisan programs. We do not wish to denature the political process.

We want vigorous and original solutions to difficult national problems. But we are convinced that this is a period when the American people want broadly national solutions.

This could be a discipline and not a frustration. When the President has followed this pattern he has won, and earned, notable support from Congress.

## Judge C. Beverly Briley, of Davidson County, Tenn., Newly Elected President of the National Association of County Officials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of County Officials held its 27th annual conference at the Statler Hilton Hotel in New York City on July 8–11. It was an outstanding gathering of county officials from all parts of the United States.

Much progress has been made in the last few years by the National Association of County Officials. The president for the past year has been David W. Bird, of San Diego, Calif., who has made an excellent contribution to the association.

The executive director of the association is Bernard F. Hillenbrand, who in the past few years has really also made an outstanding contribution in the building of the association.

The president for the new year, who was elected on Wednesday, July 11, is Judge C. Beverly Briley, who is the county judge of Davidson County, Tenn.

I had the privilege and honor of working with Judge Briley from 1954 to 1958 when I was executive secretary of the Tennessee County Services Association, an organization composed of the county judges and county highway officials of Tennessee.

Judge Briley has made an outstanding contribution not only to Davidson County, Tenn., as a leader in county government, but to Tennessee as well. His keen insight into all types of county government, his alertness, his honesty and his energy have been superb.

Recently, through his work and that of other leaders in Davidson County, this county has adopted the metropolitan form of government, thereby combining governmental functions of the city of Nashville and Davidson County.

Judge Briley will make an outstanding contribution to the National Association of County Officials. In his acceptance speech as president of the association he made the point that counties in the recent years have been taking up the problems of local government in a realistic manner and that they are answering the challenges of the local problems.

He also stated that in his judgment, and the judgment of the most of the people who had studied government, that the suburban problem had arisen in the counties—or rather in the cities as such—and that this was true even in the rural areas, because the towns had been accepting more of the population of the counties and that the county governments had not had the opportunities to obtain the responsibilities and authority of rendering the services that were needed in this population migration.

He further stated that with the new concept of county government that they were moving ahead in the field of local government and in the forefront with the kind of leadership that was demonstrated in their meeting in New York and that certainly the problems of the people could be solved. That the association was going to assume a further leadership as they had done during the past decade of developing programs and cooperative understanding between all governmental agencies to achieve the best service at the most economical level of government for serving their people.

They all decided that they will have in Washington in February of 1963, as a tentative date, a second urban county congress, similar to the one they had some 4 years ago. And on this occasion they will attempt to bring up to date the activities that have been taking place in the field of local government toward solving the urban type of problems. And when they use the word "urban" they are not talking about just the big metropolitan centers, but the urban problems that are affecting every county seat, such as water supply, sewerage, and so forth; and that in this conference they expected to have a review of what had taken place prior to—rather since—the last urban county congress and project an additional future.

There were two editorials commending Judge Briley—one in the Nashville Tennessean which is the morning newspaper in Nashville, published by Amon C. Evans; and the other in the Nashville Banner which is the afternoon paper in Nashville, published by James G. Stahlman.

The editorials follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, July 12, 1962]

NATIONAL HONOR FOR JUDGE BRILEY

Davidson County Judge Beverly Briley was installed as president of the National Association of County Officials in New York last night. His elevation to the highest post in his chosen field is a compliment not only to him and his efforts, but to his community.

Judge Briley has been nationally recognized among his county official colleagues for a number of years. His election as national president was predestined by his selection last year as vice president.

Though he did not originate the idea of consolidated local government, adopted here June 28, Judge Briley certainly is due credit for proposing it as a solution to Nashville-Davidson County problems. He worked hard for its adoption. Its success in referendum was a testimonial not only to the commonsense of merged local governments, but to the public's confidence in Judge Briley's opinion. Public servants can receive no higher commendation.

[From the Nashville Banner, July 12, 1962]

CONGRATULATIONS, JUDGE BRILEY

Wednesday in New York, Davidson County Judge Beverly Briley was elected president of the National Association of County Officials (NACO), climaxing several years as an active member and officer of the organization.

Judge Briley who has headed the Tennessee organization, a counterpart to the national organization, was one of the prime movers in overhauling and modernizing NACO.

Since the reorganization which included retaining a capable executive administrator, the association has developed into a highly regarded organization, giving the Nation's counties a voice which is respected at every level.

This new approach was needed, Judge Briley and other progressive NACO members believed, because the face of the Nation's counties was changing. In many, many instances—as was the case of Davidson County—farmlands had become subdivisions and the new problems were urban and no longer rural.

To be elected the head of a national organization is a personal tribute to Judge Briley, but it also is an honor for Davidson County, Tenn., to get this recognition—something that we all can be proud of.

The Banner joins the judge's many other friends and associates in congratulating him on the honor bestowed.

## The Constitution and Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, this morning I was honored to be at Philadelphia, representing Gov. Gaylord Nelson and the State of Wisconsin, at ceremonies saluting the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution at Independence Hall.

It was my privilege to present Wisconsin's State flag which was raised over Independence Hall for the first time in history.

The following speech, prepared by Governor Nelson, will be of interest to the House. In presenting this speech at Philadelphia, and now in presenting it to the House, I am once more confirmed in my high opinion of the power, clarity and importance of Governor Nelson's message:

WHAT THE CONSTITUTION MEANS TO THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

(By Gov. Gaylord Nelson)

The American constitutional system is a Federal Union of equal States—in the language of the Supreme Court—"equal in power, dignity, and authority." It follows that the Constitution has the same basic meaning for Wisconsin that it has for any other State. There is nothing about Wisconsin's stake in the Constitution which is different from that of any other State. All of the States have precisely the same rights and the same obligations.

The Constitution reserves to the States, in the 10th amendment, the powers which are not delegated to the National Government. But the Constitution also imposes many limitations upon the States, such as those of the first section of the 14th amendment relating to due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, and in this respect, too, the States are in a condition of absolute equality of obligation. What Wisconsin is forbidden to do, no other State may do. What Wisconsin is permitted to do, any other State may do.

The States differ only in how well they live up to both the limitations and the obligations imposed upon them by the Constitution. Some have flouted the limitations they are sworn to uphold. Others have refused to meet the obligations which are clearly theirs. I am proud to say that Wisconsin has done neither. In more than a century of statehood, we have constantly striven to obey both the letter and the spirit of the U.S. Constitution.

In the magistral language of its sixth article, the Constitution is "the supreme law of the land." This means what it says, that Federal law is supreme in all of the States of the Union. It means that no State has a right to determine for itself, in any matter within Federal competence, the extent of its obligation to obey the supreme law of the land. Wisconsin vigorously repudiates any notion that a State has the right to pick and choose which provision of Federal law it will choose to obey. It regards the asserted doctrine of interposition as rank constitutional heresy.

The Constitution makes stern demands of the States. It requires them to refrain from meddling in foreign affairs. It forbids them to issue currencies of their own. It denies them the authority to interfere with interstate and foreign commerce, whether by taxation or regulation. It prohibits them from enacting bills of attainder, or ex post facto laws, or laws impairing the obligation of contract. No State may deny anyone the right to vote on account of race, color, or sex. Above all, each State is enjoined not to deprive any person "of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

These limitations are solemnly set forth in the supreme law of the land. If all the States were equally faithful in observing their constitutional obligations, the necessity for Federal intervention would not arise. Every State is endowed with ample authority to honor fully its constitutional obligations, if only it has the will to use this authority judiciously and firmly. The intervention of the national military authority is nothing less than a symbol of default upon the part of a State. If every State were always scrupulous to do its full duty under the Constitution, there would be no occasion for the exercise of national police power so far as the enjoyment of man's federally guaranteed rights is concerned.

Equality of status and of rights is the theme of the Constitution for all the citizens of the United States as well as for the States. In this respect, too, no one has a preferred position. The right to the equal protection of the laws is precisely the same on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. Since, in the words of the first Justice Harlan, "the Constitution is colorblind," the rights of our people do not and cannot depend upon the color of their skins. This equality of rights is the hallmark of true constitutional government. There is no place in our system of constitutional rights

for privileged characters, nor for underprivileged ones. All men in the eyes of the supreme law of the land have the same rights, and of course the same obligations. This is the measure of good government, and the seal of American patriotism and unity. For people care most for a government which treats them justly, and the theme of justice is equality of treatment.

Wisconsin has always honored its position as an equal partner in the American Federal Union. We recognize the American constitutional formula as the world's greatest and most successful enterprise in federalism, an enterprise which secures the blessings of unity without sacrificing the values in diversity. We recognize the Constitution as the central focus of American patriotism, because it is both the measure and the guarantor of indispensable human rights for all men of whatever condition or location. For the world, the Constitution is a symbol of freedom and of man's capacity for rational self-government.

On this occasion of the 175th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States, as Governor of the State of Wisconsin, and in behalf of its people, I proudly and gladly reaffirm our devotion to its principles. When Wisconsin entered the Union in 1848, we pledged ourselves to love, honor and obey the Constitution of the United States. These vows have not over the years lost their relevancy or potency. On the contrary, the net result of experience has been to make them ever more meaningful and precious. In a world of turmoil and great peril, the U.S. Constitution is the true beacon of national unity and national purpose.

## Education Leadership Institutes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Dr. Earl R. Boggs, dean, College of Education, West Virginia University:

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY,
*Morgantown, July 27, 1962.*

Hon. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY,
*Chairman, General Subcommittee on Education, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BAILEY: I have followed the progress of the proposed Quality Education Act which I hope will be passed in the near future. In my opinion, it has the possibility of giving aid to education in some very much needed areas.

For some time, I have been of the opinion that we need legislation to support institute programs of a broader nature than we have at present. Instead of institute programs being restricted to specific areas, I would like to propose the idea that the quality education bill be amended to include support for a broader aspect or a new bill which would provide for the broader aspects of educational services. I realize that this letter is far from a formal proposal, but perhaps it contains enough specifics to make the general idea clear.

We need an institute with a broad emphasis on recruitment for educational leadership. I suggest that approximately 100 academically talented college graduates of the preceding academic year who have been identified during the year as those who have interest in developing programs at the graduate level leading to leadership positions in education in the fields of elementary teaching, secondary teaching, principalships, supervision, reading specialists, counseling and guidance, special education, and general administration be selected. The basic foundation program of such an institute would be educational leadership training. With staff guidance in the institute, each enrollee would identify one major and one related area of educational leadership for study during the summer. For example, there is close enough relationship between the fields of counseling and guidance and supervision for these to be considered related areas. The basic plan of the institute, however, would include training in the development of competencies required for all educational leaders as the foundation for deep and specific study in one major and one related area. By the end of a 10- or 12-week session each one of these academically talented graduates of undergraduate institutions would be started toward a program of educational leadership and would have a graduate program specifically planned toward a graduate degree.

Many educational leaders today have probably drifted into leadership positions as a result of vacancies occurring which led to their promotions. I believe that the proposed type of institute program would encourage graduates to train for leadership positions for which they not only have a keen interest but also the kind of aptitude which predicts success for them in these positions.

I am deeply grateful to you for your fine leadership in education and the help you have been to us in West Virginia. I listened to your statements at the Jackson's Mill administrative conference with a great deal of interest and noted the warmth of feeling in the audience toward you as one of our great leaders on whom we can depend for help in the field of education.

Respectfully submitted.

EARL R. BOGGS,
*Dean.*

## Freedom as America Knows It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a stirring essay written by an eighth-grade pupil of the SS. Cyril and Methodius School in Hartford, Conn.

Miss Helen Blonski was awarded first prize by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Polish Legion of American Veterans in their fifth annual essay contest, and I think she deserves a great amount of praise for her achievement. This expression of patriotism appears especially meaningful in light of the pressing problems which the youth of today must face.

It is with great pleasure that I submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this essay and with it offer my personal congratulations:

FREEDOM AS AMERICA KNOWS IT

In America, our rights are beautifully summarized in the four freedoms—freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly. We are all very fortunate to have these thoughts in our minds in order to be strengthened in the face of the troubled world about us. The Soviet Union is rumbling such threats of violence and evil that a possibility of world peace seems almost impossible. It appears that the Communists are at war with God and with the image of God in man. In truth, I cannot conceive of such a terrifying evil, that man himself would want to destroy his own creator. Perhaps the reason of my uncertainty is due to the fact that life in the United States is almost entirely in accord with God's divine plan. The majority of Americans strive for perfection in justice, peace, and freedom for all.

Our Government has traveled a long tedious distance since the arrival of our forefathers. Their coming undoubtedly started a new and different type of nation, a nation which has never entirely overshadowed true democracy. All true Americans feel and know that in this war-threatened world, America's flame of freedom will someday spread throughout the entire universe, carrying with it America's principles of freedom, justice, peace, and, finally, love and respect of God.

## Grand Parlor, Native Daughters of the Golden West, Commend Work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call your attention to the following resolution by the Grand Parlor, Native Daughters of the Golden West, dated July 11, 1962, and my reply to them dated July 31, 1962:

GRAND PARLOR, NATIVE DAUGHTERS
OF THE GOLDEN WEST,
*San Francisco, Calif., July 11, 1962.*

*To the Honorable Members of the U.S. Congress and House of Representatives from the State of California and to the Honorable Members of the California Legislature.*

DEAR SIRS: At the recent annual convention of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, a fraternal and patriotic organization of California-born women dedicated to the principles of our order—love of home, devotion to the flag of the United States, veneration of the pioneers, and an abiding faith in the existence of God—the delegates in convention assembled unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas we vow allegiance to God and country and we seek to preserve and protect the concepts of liberty and freedom that are our American heritage enjoyed in our great Nation; and

"Whereas our Government, schools, and churches being vital to this achievement: Be it

"*Resolved*, That the Native Daughters of the Golden West in convention assembled do commend the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and recommend its continued support, that by its constant vigilance we may live free from all subversive forces of evil seeking to weaken and destroy our foundation of freedom and institutions of learning."

Respectfully yours,

IRMA S. MURRAY,
*Grand Secretary.*

JULY 31, 1962.

GRAND PARLOR, NATIVE DAUGHTERS OF THE GOLDEN WEST,
*San Francisco, Calif.*

MY DEAR FRIENDS: Your favor dated July 11, 1962, communicated to me and other Members of the U.S. Congress from the State of California the fact that at the recent annual convention of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, the delegates in that convention assembled, unanimously adopted a resolution comemnding the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and recommended its continued support. This was truly an inspiration to me. It is especially so for three reasons, to wit:

1. I am a Native Son of the Golden West. I was born in Oakland, Calif. I was formerly a president of the Grizzly Bear Parlor at Long Beach, Calif., and, therefore, it is a privilege to hear from you as Native Daughters of the Golden West in this important matter.

2. I have been an active member of the House Un-American Activities Committee for about 15 years, and it was this committee about which you made your substantial and vigorous resolution of support.

3. I cordially and emphatically agree with every word of your very pertinent resolution.

I shall shortly ask for unanimous authority to place your resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the U.S. Congress, and when it does appear I am going to obtain a copy and mail it to you.

With kind regards and best wishes.

Cordially,

CLYDE DOYLE,
*Member of Congress, 23d Congressional District, Los Angeles County.*

(Our beloved Nation deserves the best of whatever we are.)

## Some Difficulties With Relying on a Tax Cut Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the text of my radio-TV interview, July 31, 1962, on the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co. program. "Washington Viewpoint," in which I discussed the need for a broad economic program for domestic growth and to eliminate our balance-of-payments deficit:

WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT

Miss CORRICK. Good evening. This is Ann Corrick with Sid Davis in the House Radio-Television Gallery on Capitol Hill. Our guest on Washington Viewpoint this evening is Democratic Congressman HENRY REUSS, of Wisconsin. Congressman REUSS is a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Joint Congressional Economic Committee, and he is the regional vice chairman of the House Democratic study group, which is an informal group of Democrats organized to help push so-called liberal legislation through the House.

Congressman, the great debate in Washington these days is to cut or not to cut—taxes, that is. You have said that a tax cut at this time would be "politically risky and economically unsound unless it is coupled with other Government measures." Taking the first part, who would bear the greatest political risk in a tax cut?

Representative REUSS. Well, what I meant when I said politically risky was simply this. I think if the administration came forward within the next 2 or 3 days with a program that consisted of nothing but a naked tax-cut proposal, I would be very dubious indeed about the impact of this on Congress. I say this because I've talked to many many of my colleagues, and some are against a tax cut, think it will further unbalance the budget, some are for a tax cut in the lower brackets where it will help consumption, some are for a tax cut in the upper brackets where it will, so they say, stimulate investment; others want to counteract the effect of a tax cut by tightening money or by retrenching on expenditures. So that I just think that there is so great a contrariety of view that if all that is before the Congress is a tax cut, it might very well become a cropper.

Miss CORRICK. For whom? For the President and the Democrats?

Representative REUSS. For the administration, yes, and the Democrats, and for almost everybody, because I think that a tax cut from an economic standpoint, has to be merely part of a total program designed to get this country moving again. And I don't think we can view it as an isolated thing.

Miss CORRICK. What are some of the other measures that you believe should accompany a tax cut?

Representative REUSS. Well I think that we have to look at our markets in a very simple way as if we had suddenly arrived on this Earth from Mars, and ask ourselves, all right, where can we sell more goods and services. To be realistic, in the United States today we don't have—at least I can't see—anything like the big automobile building boom we had in the 1920's or the big home-building and the consumer durable home appliance selling boom of the early 1950's. So one asks, Well, where are there markets? Well, if you ask that question, you find that there are some simply stupendous markets lying around untapped, if we but had the wit to tap them. And I can suggest about three of those. For example, over in Western Europe they're having one of the biggest booms in history. The housewives of Germany, Italy, and France desperately want and don't have things like refrigerators and washing machines and dryers and disposal units and dishwashers, and other mechanical equipment which has become quite commonplace in the United States. At the same time that that is happening and at a time when European factories aren't geared up at all to produce this, we in America are having 5½ percent of our work force unemployed, a very laggard rate of growth, we desperately need to put idle men back to work in idle factories, and one of the ways we could do this would be to make just these consumer goods that Europeans want so much, but which they can't buy very largely as a result of the high Common Market tariff. So, instead of being lackadaisical about this, I would think that we ought to get off our haunches immediately and try to bargain down that Common Market tariff so that we can get our American consumer durables into the European Common Market. That would be one marvelous market. There are some others.

Miss CORRICK. So you believe then that as things stand now, that Congress wouldn't enact a tax cut?

Representative REUSS. I wouldn't go so far as to say that. It's just that I can't say with any real certainty how Congress would react to what I call a tax cut in isolation. Congress, after all, has—let's be honest about it—reacted in a disquieting manner to the administration on the medicare bill, on the farm bill, on the Urban Affairs Department proposal. And I don't think the administration wants to encourage political liabilities here.

Miss CORRICK. It would be a risk that you think the President would hate to take in this election year?

Representative REUSS. I should think so, but I don't want to overstress the politics of it. You picked up one-half of a two-part statement I made. I said it was politically risky and I thought economically unsound. I prefer to stress the latter. I think if all we do is have a tax cut, and then at the same time we allow the monetary authorities of this country—the Federal Reserve—to do what they said they would do—namely, tighten up the very money which has just been loosened up by a tax cut—then you would end up by not putting idle men to work, by not putting idle factories back to work, but simply by undergoing a great deficit in our budget, not appreciably helping the domestic economic picture, and, with a budget deficit of that size, if our economy continued to lag, I wouldn't feel a bit good about the future of the dollar abroad. I'd be afraid that some Europeans might take fright and take flight.

Miss CORRICK. Sid Davis.

Mr. DAVIS. Congressman, in this election year some rather formidable forces are in favor of the tax cut—namely, the chamber of commerce, and the AFL–CIO. How would Congress be reluctant to pass a tax cut prior to the November elections when something like that usually is a very nice thing to have before an election?

Representative REUSS. Well, so it is always said, and I'll admit that the chamber of commerce and the AFL–CIO are thought of as tremendously large and powerful forces. However, I notice that Congressmen take quite an independent view on these things. I notice that Senator HARRY BYRD, who is ordinarily alined with chamber of commerce thinking, vigorously opposes the tax cut. Never mind his reasons at the moment, but his opposition is quite clear. At the same time, a number of liberal legislators have also opposed the tax cut despite the fact that the AFL–CIO is backing it. My own position, which I'm trying to make clear, is that a carefully thought out tax cut, in conjunction with other measures, could be just the turn of the flywheel needed to get the economy going forward again. But, in my opinion, there is no good, and much harm, in just having a tax cut unaccompanied by other measures to open up some of these markets which I think we've got to open up if we're going to have the prosperity we ought to have at home and do our necessary part in world affairs.

Mr. DAVIS. While we're on the subject of the economy, there are two schools of thought on the economy right now. Are we headed into a recession, or are we not, in your opinion?

Representative REUSS. These are all relative things. I do not believe we are headed for a depression, and the reason I don't is because of the so-called built-in stabilizers—our progressive income tax, unemployment insurance, our social insurance and welfare programs generally, our bank deposit insurance, all of these things are sufficient, in my mind, to keep us from anything like a 1932-type depression. However, having said that, let me hasten to add that I'm not being Pollyanna about this. I've been deeply disturbed at the fact that we've had three recessions in the last 7 years, that each time we get out of the recession, we seem to stabilize unemployment at a somewhat higher level than it's been. For example, when we emerged from the 1960 recession, we got our unemployment level down from about 7 percent to the 5½ percent where it is now—5½ percent of the work force—but we don't seem to be able to do any better. We aren't improving matters, and I'm not content to sit idly by and say 5½ percent is a tolerable amount of unemployment. Similarly, our growth rate, which simply means the amount of goods and services we make each year as

compared to those we made in the last year, has not been going forward nearly as much as the growth rate in Western Europe, for example, or, particularly, not nearly as much as the growth rate in Soviet Russia. And since, among other things, we're engaged in a worldwide economic struggle with Communist Russia, it seems to me that it behooves the American people to get moving.

Mr. DAVIS. How do the American people get moving? How do we solve these problems of periodic recession and the 5½ percent figure of unemployment? Isn't there a period where we will arrive where we will have to accept a certain percentage figure of unemployment? Why can't it be 5½ percent, with automation and everything else?

Representative REUSS. I don't think that we are compelled to that position for several reasons: One is that there is a tremendous need in America for more goods and services of a certain type. One tremendous need is the fact that 20 percent of the Americans are still very, very poor. Their family income is under $4,000, if they're a family with children, or under $2,000 a year if they're single people. And this just isn't enough to live on by modern standards. So you've got one-fifth of America that is still darn poor and impoverished. Then you've got practically all of America which is very short on certain things. Those things are mainly local public improvements, better schools, more universities, more medical schools, hospitals, adequate sewage disposal plants, adequate methods of cleaning up our air and our polluted water, parks, playgrounds, cultural institutions, art galleries, symphony halls, all the good things of life, libraries. I'm not suggesting, please don't misunderstand me, that the Federal Government is supposed to build all these things. I am saying that somewhere in America, if we put on our thinking cap, we ought to be able to satisfy these needs. And I haven't mentioned the tremendous need throughout the whole world for our goods—the need of people of Europe who can pay hard convertible cash for them. This is a market I think we ought to get into, plus the need of the underdeveloped southern half of the world—the billion and a half people who are the real have-nots, who need some help by us and the other successful wealthy countries. So I'm not prepared to say today, well, let 5 to 10 percent of the American people remain unemployed. I don't think that's necessary. Furthermore, from the standpoint of American social life, people in this country do work. This is what you do by day, and I don't think that we're prepared yet for a system in which 80 percent of the people of working ability work, and the other 20 percent are somehow supported in idleness by the other 80. I don't think that the 80 percent want that and I'm very sure that the 20 percent don't want it. They'd sooner work by the sweat of their brow and make their contribution to their country.

Miss CORRICK. Congressman REUSS, one more point on this tax cut matter. President Kennedy has said that he will not make up his mind about recommending an immediate tax cut until around the middle of August after the July business figures have come in and he's had a chance to evaluate them.

Representative REUSS. I think that was a wise view on his part.

Miss CORRICK. And also reportedly he's waiting for some sign from Congress that Congress would enact a tax cut if he requested it. A Republican Senator, CLIFFORD CASE, of New Jersey, said the other day that this indicates a lack of confidence on the President's part in his own ability to lead Congress. Do you think that Mr. Kennedy is demonstrating a lack of leadership on this matter?

Representative REUSS. I think Mr. Kennedy generally is demonstrating excellent leadership. On this tax question, I wish he would take to the people the kind of broad-scale economic program which I've been trying to sketch out here in our little discussion, and I think if he did that, then the role of the tax cut in such a broad program would become apparent to people and would become apparent to Congress. The proper role of a tax cut, it seems to me, is the little spinning of the flywheel needed to get the economy going again. But a tax cut by itself is not enough. We've got to open up these new markets at home and abroad that I've described. And a tax cut in and of itself is not enough to do that. So I think we've got to move on all of these fronts and if the President tabled before the American people a program designed to produce at home full employment, maximum growth, and a stable dollar without inflation, and a broad program that over the next year or two could balance our international payments and keep us from shaking and trembling over the position of the dollar overseas, I think the American people would support it. I think the American people would support that kind of a program just as they supported two great Kennedy successes—I'll mention them—the Peace Corps, where America's idealism was aroused, where people everywhere I went saw the connection between what our young people wanted to do and what our mission out in the underdeveloped world was. Another such program where the President got marvelous public support and excellent congressional support too, at least in the House, was in the trade bill. Here, I think, Americans realized that we can't crawl into a isolationist hole, that we live in a world that is very much interconnected, and that the best defense is an offense, and that we ought to come out of our corner fighting. And I think they responded very well. And taking a lead from that, I should think it would be great stuff if President Kennedy on television, by speeches, and using all the great media at his comamnd, including radio, would get out there and sketch the kind of a program that I'm talking about.

Now I'm not suggesting that I've presented anything very new here, it's simply putting it into a new framework and relating a tax cut to that, rather than standing there transfixed by a tax cut as if it were the one and only panacea, when it isn't.

Mr. DAVIS. Congressman REUSS, you mentioned the President taking his case to the people, could his failure in taking his case to the people be one of the reasons for the trouble he's having here upon the Hill with Congress? Are you suggesting more fireside chats by going directly to the people to get Congress to move behind his programs?

Representative REUSS. Well, there are many reasons why, in recent weeks, at least, the administration has scored some defeats at the hands of Congress. The biggest single reason, of course, is the fact that Congress isn't really an administration-minded Congress at all, if you take the Republicans who, except for a few, oppose the President on almost everything he does, and take some of our Southern Democratic friends who are in coalition with the Republicans, you don't have an administration majority at all. You have an antiadministration majority, and the wonder of it is that President Kennedy has been able to get through what he has. I wouldn't have believed it possible. So that, I don't want to suggest that the trouble with Congress is anything other than the trouble with Congress. However, the experience with the Peace Corps and the experience with the Trade Expansion Act, and with several other measures which have aroused a good response in Congress, I think should lead one to the conclusion that where the President will evolve a program which is understandable, where he will show its connection between our world position, and our determination to keep the world at peace, and our domestic problems, and where he will take this issue to the public, then he'll win. Now maybe he won't win the first battle, but he's erected a standard to which the American people, and indeed the people of the free world, can repair and he'll just stay with it till he does win.

So, I think that kind of an economic program would have a great chance of political success, because the President could send out sparks to the American people and then these would reverberate back on Congress. That, to me, is how you get things done.

Mr. DAVIS. There's been some talk, though, that the President has not exerted his authority—the full powers of his office—on Congress to get things going, that he should use the stick as well as the carrot. Do you agree with that criticism?

Representative REUSS. Not really. I don't think you're going to achieve congressional success in any very marked degree by wheedling, cajoling, threatening. Oh, sure you need—any administration, Republican or Democratic—needs to maintain good liaison with Congress and smile upon its friends and give dirty looks occasionally to its foes. But by and large Congressmen aren't going to vote on the great national issues depending upon whether their back has been scratched by the administration or not. I think the way to get the big things done is to have the President, in conjunction with responsible people in Congress, work out programs, and then to have the President, as the leader of the American people, bounce those programs over to the American people in a process of cross-fertilization, and then I think Congress will do what the national interest requires.

## Roads to (Lumber) Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, July 13, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, on July 26 the President announced a program designed to assist the lumber industry and improve its competitive position. The announcement followed a 45-minute meeting with Senators and Congressmen from the Northwest who formed a delegation to discuss with the President all possible means to overcome the economic hardships being suffered by the lumber industry and those dependent upon it for employment.

One of the six steps included in the President's program is the submission of a request to the Congress for additional funds for forest development and road trail programs to assure prompt harvest of allocated national forest timber.

Our national forests are a great renewable asset. The investment in forest roads is returned many times over in the form of timber sales revenue and taxes to the Federal Treasury and local governments and in the form of salaries and profits to the local economy.

Moreover, our Federal timber resources represent an opportunity to advance economic growth and create employment in underdeveloped regions.

Yet, the national forests, deprived of adequate access roads, are not able to make the maximum contribution. The shortage of timber supplies is creating a critical degree of unemployment in many areas.

It is interesting to note that the private and State lands in the State of Washington have been made generally accessible. Private enterprise has recognized that for every dollar invested in access roads, several dollars in products, water development, recreation, and taxes are returned to the community and the Nation.

The Federal lands have not yet been adequately made accessible. Leaving these lands inaccessible means that the yield. and much of this land is highly productive, is going to waste every year.

We in Congress should see that these lands are managed to full potential production just as we would if we owned them ourselves. These lands are a valuable natural resource which should be making its full contribution to the economy of the Nation.

In Washington, almost 30 percent of the acreage is federally owned. In many Western States the Federal portion is greater.

Wise stewardship dictates that these Federal lands become as productive as the State, county, and private lands that surround them. Access is one important segment of management and development. Failure to provide sufficient access funds is a failure in wise management.

The President last week announced his intention to seek an additional $10 million for Forest Service roads and trails in an effort to increase the amount of Federal timber available for the Nation's lumber industry. I will support the President's request and will support all other measures designed to improve the management of our Federal lands.

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## Everybody Says He's for Education, but—

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD an excellent article which appeared in the New York Times magazine section on Sunday, July 22, 1962. In this article Fred M. Hechinger discussed one of the greatest legislative fiascoes of the past few years—the utter inability of Congress to reach a working agreement on Federal aid to education.

No one denies the importance of proper and adequate educational facilities for our children and yet few issues have stirred up such controversy in Congress. The time must come—and soon—when the critical need for both more schools and for a general upgrading of the quality of education will succeed in overriding the side issues which have blocked Federal aid to education up to now.

Education is too important a subject to be kicked around year after year while educational needs go unmet. For this reason, I commend Mr. Hechinger's article to the attention of my colleagues:

EVERYBODY SAYS HE'S FOR EDUCATION, BUT—

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

Year after year, Federal aid to education is proposed in Congress, but the outcome remains the same: No action. There have been times, of course, when Congress voted specific, pinpointed funds. Amid the panic created by the first Soviet sputnik, Congress was even moved to pass the National Defense Education Act, offering funds largely for the improvement of science, mathematics and language teaching. But no matter how urgent the demand for basic elementary- and high-school aid—or how nonpartisan the support—the answer has remained "No."

Nor is there any sign that Congress will act differently in the present session. On the contrary, although President Kennedy, in 1961, called Federal aid to the public schools "probably the most important piece of domestic legislation," and repeated, in February of this year, that "it is imperative that [such legislation] be enacted in this session," the matter has all but faded from the congressional calendar. Recent reviews in the press of remaining "must" legislation no longer even include any mention of the issue. Presidential press conferences skip the question, and even the administration's own staffs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appear to have dropped education in favor of health and welfare. More than in previous years, Federal aid to education is winding up as the forgotten, or at least the politically sidetracked, issue.

President Kennedy has emphasized that the issue has been discussed, without effect, for 40 years. Among the early supporters of Federal aid was the late Senator Robert A. Taft, a symbol of conservatism, who pointed out that "the youth of our country are not only citizens of the States in which they reside but also citizens of the entire Nation."

The White House Conference on Education, under President Eisenhower, voted better than 2 to 1 in favor of Federal aid. The National Education Association, in recent years, has been one of Washington's biggest lobbies. Labor has strongly supported aid to the schools.

With such support, why is pressure from the voters apparently too lukewarm to persuade the ear-to-the-ground House of Representatives to act?

Last October, Abraham A. Ribicoff, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, read the riot act to the assembled leaders of American colleges and universities. He charged that every group, "was looking out for a small piece of education * * *. None * * * was interested in doing something for education as a whole." Instead of grassroots support, he said, "there was a great void." He added that, while all mothers and fathers want the best education for their own children, the American people lacked "commitment" to education.

How just is this charge?

On the surface, everybody wants "an education." More than one-fourth of the Nation is now enrolled in school, college or university. Nearly 4 million students crowd the higher education campuses. Except for unskilled labor, a high school diploma has become almost as essential as working papers used to be, and a college degree is more common here than a high school certificate in many other countries.

The frenzy with which parents press for their offspring's admission to college speaks for itself. Something about education must be compelling if parents of 4-year-olds subject their infants to intelligence tests for admission to nursery school.

Where then is the lack of commitment? Why the reluctance to offer taxpayers' support?

There are many reasons. Underneath the talk about college, there remains a hankering for the days of the self-made man. The pioneers who made the country great—were they bookish? And if, like Abe Lincoln, they needed "book larnin'," didn't they get it in their log cabins? There remains, perhaps especially among the older generation (and, thanks to seniority rule, it is a strong generation in Congress), a suspicion of the new-fangled big-education business.

Closely related is the deep division between vocational training and, from the he-man point of view, the slightly effete idea of general education. Vocational education has long been getting Federal subsidies, without much opposition.

There is a widespread dislike of frills, with everybody considering an unnecessary waste of money the things related to that part of education he believes least important. It is quite possible to be at the same dinner party within earshot of a plea for more poetry and a harangue against it; a charge that children are being deprived of physical exercise and a violent attack on the waste of school money for a swimming pool; a case for mathematics in junior high school and a warning that pressures on young children are turning them into neurotic bookworms.

All this has made for fragmentation of aims, interests and support. And the effect is heightened by institutional fragmentation. Teachers' organizations, for example, lost considerable interest in Federal aid proposals the moment aid for teachers' salaries seemed to slip out of the bill. Even this year, after the Ribicoff lecture had been discussed and its pertinence, if not its tact, generally acknowledged, the higher education associations banded together only for the support of aid to higher education.

Passing the academic buck, with colleges blaming schools for low standards and schools complaining that graduate schools turn out incompetent teachers, is an old American parlor game. But while it may get each level of education off the hook of unfriendly criticism, it does little to further the impression that education as a whole requires and deserves support.

In some of the big cities, teachers are organized in dozens of splinter organizations, often fighting each other with greater energy than they are consolidating the interests of education. In contrast to the professional unity of such groups as the American Medical Association or the Bar Association, educators find it so difficult to make commonsense that in New York City, for example, school principals and assistant principals have separate organizations.

An outstanding demonstration of educators' readiness to fight for their piece of the whole was a recent attempt by the physical education teachers in New York State to have legislation passed that would reduce class sizes for physical education instruction.

Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., although chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor and therefore theoretically charged with passage of President Kennedy's program, has again hinted at a revival of the Powell amendment to prohibit aid to segregated schools. Integration, a vitally important issue, thus fragments education even further.

The classic example of division, of course, is the religious issue. Should aid go to private and parochial schools and, if it cannot, should the supporters of parochial education stop Federal aid to schools altogether? Would such aid, in Cardinal Spellman's words, be discriminatory?

This issue is classic because it involves the question of whether Federal money should be used to invite even greater fragmentation of interests and institutions. The supporters of aid to parochial schools admittedly want a place in such schools for every Catholic child. They not only argue that the cost to support so vast a separate school system is already high; they add that higher salaries for public school teachers would drive up the competitive price for lay teachers who now constitute the majority in many parochial schools.

On the other side of the argument—quite apart from the constitutional question, which has been obscured rather than clarified by a series of Supreme Court decisions—is the warning that, if Federal funds go to Roman Catholic schools, other churches will see themselves driven to greater stress on parochial schools of their own, and the national division will become even sharper.

At any rate, Mr. Ribicoff reported that his mail advocated: "Do something for parochial schools," or: "Don't do anything for parochial schools," but that nobody was writing: "Do something for education."

Equally troublesome is the lingering issue of "Federal control." Local and State control of education is considered by extremists a mandate for complete provincial isolationism. Less extreme opposition is based on traditional suspicion of big government, a healthy fear of bureaucracy and a peculiar myth that State government and local school authorities are somehow less bureaucratic, less political, more honest and more frugal than Federal officials.

Partly, this tradition may well be based on the sincere belief that education, because it is so important, needs to be protected against exploitation by potential tyrants. How else could one explain the readiness of the most outspoken opponents of Federal aid to education to rush to the Public Treasury the moment the railroads, airlines or highway builders find themselves in financial crises? Even the private-enterprise-minded AMA approves of Federal aid to hospitals.

Finally, there is a roadblock less tangible but more basic than any of the others: education is considered primarily as a means to an end, usually linked to economic or social advancement. This means that the public supports the right to a certificate rather than the process of learning.

This is why Congress appears willing to act in support of higher education but hesitant about aiding elementary and secondary schools. The apparent theory is that the public schools—no matter how inadequate they may be—are there, and everybody therefore is assured of a diploma, if he so desires. But across the country constituents are up in arms because there may not be a place in college—and therefore a chance for a degree—for their children.

In fact, it is quite likely that, were there enough openings in all the colleges to go around, the public would suddenly be as little concerned about supporting higher education as it now appears about aiding the schools.

Robert M. Hutchins, the former president of the University of Chicago, once said that the best way to solve the problem of American education would be to give every child a bachelor's degree at birth so that the schools could get on with the real business of learning. Actually, the result of such action would more likely be a complete loss of interest in education—below the master's or doctor's degree.

The danger of this lack of public concern for education as a whole is that aid comes, at best, in piecemeal fashion, without cohesive plan. It goes to those aspects of education which, for the moment, have the loudest voice through the most effective lobby.

Even the highly successful National Defense Education Act has suffered in effectiveness by being able to gain support only for the crisis subjects of the moment—science, mathematics, and foreign languages—instead of building up strength throughout the long-neglected curriculum. In fact, the very schools which needed help most could not really make effective use of National Defense Education Act aid: a truly poor and neglected school, without a science or a foreign-language teacher, has little to gain from new science equipment or an electronic language laboratory.

It is no secret that, in spite of the original good purpose, aid to federally impacted areas has in many places become no more than pork-barrel expenditure. Although Federal installations may take land off the tax rolls, the violent protests whenever an air base or a defense establishment is to be closed down offer some indication that their presence is hardly a drain on the local economy. While boomtowns get aid, the truly distressed regions, both in rural sections and in city slums, go without support.

Aid to the schools, in answer to Russia's sputniks, has actually been dramatically successful in the past four years. But it is already evident that the panic infusion of Federal dollars has revived the high schools without having similar influence on the rest of the system. The elementary schools are still lagging and the colleges find it increasingly difficult to keep up.

What, then, are the answers? President Kennedy has tried to urge Congress to take a look at the entire panorama of education: basic support for the elementary and high schools, special aid for the support of quality instruction, readying the colleges and universities for increased enrollment and wiping out pockets of complete lack of education and remnants of adult illiteracy.

If these various tasks are to be achieved piecemeal, at the mercy of shifting pressures and fluctuating public support, the result will be not only less effective, but vastly more expensive. Emergency crash programs always cost more. Next year's inflation will eat up more of the school funds. Yet there is little hope for any cohesive action unless the public can be made conscious of, and interested in, the essence of education rather than the trappings.

Teachers, college presidents and school board members ought to realize that they must steer the same boat together instead of rushing for separate life preservers. Congress will not listen to occasional academic voices, no matter how distinguished. But if, for example, the majority of the Nation's school board members were to support aid to education, the effect might be quite different. Yet, at this year's national convention of board members, a poll of the membership showed the majority still opposed to Federal aid. The well-to-do districts are outvoting the needy in such polls.

There are more than 150,000 such board members, and most of them are highly influential, and predominantly conservative, members of the community. To legislators, they are truly representative of the grassroots. They, together with parents' groups, teachers' organizations, university spokesmen and civic groups, would carry considerable weight. At present, however, there are only ineffective splinter groups, while the opposition is solidly organized.

In the final analysis, the problem is to make the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle fall into a meaningful picture. This is not uniquely a problem of education nor unprecedented as a national problem. When the country tried to find its way out of isolationism, the forces of sectionalism and special interests were also pulling in their many separate directions. What was required then was leadership on many levels—among the civic organizations in the local communities and from national political figures, such as the late Senator Vandenberg.

The Nation's needs and plans could and should not ever be determined by a unified popular voice. Special interests has often been turned into a slightly shady term, depicting the desire for personal or factional gain as against the general welfare. But special interests are the natural and essential prerogatives of the many parts of a country that is also a continent.

It is only on the occasions when, out of the chorus of separate voices, a new policy is to be shaped into a harmonious expression of national interest that the pluralistic desires must be unified, at least to the extent of providing a workable majority. This is the point at which Federal aid to education has failed, because too many voices have talked about their pieces of education without speaking for either the whole or the substance of education.

The essential element is the people's ability to see the entire picture, judge the Nation's needs and come to grips with their own and their children's future. Only if that exists will the forces of the grassroots coalesce to fill what Mr. Ribicoff called the "great void."

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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# Appendix

## Tribute to the Siskin Brothers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ESTES KEFAUVER**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I am always pleased when I read a new editorial tribute to the Siskin brothers, Mose and Garrison, of Chattanooga, Tenn.

For years, the Siskin brothers have been literally giving away their fortune to help their fellow men. As Garrison Siskin says, "We invest in people—we invest in miracles."

Recently there was opened in Chattanooga a new $4 million rehabilitation center which the Siskins built and to which the general public has been given the opportunity to contribute through Operations Crossroads. I had the pleasure of attending the dedication of this fine new institution a few months ago.

On July 29, the Nashville Tennessean magazine published an excellent article about the Siskin brothers and their good works, and I ask unanimous consent that the article, by George Barker, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BROTHERS SISKIN

(By George Barker)

"For goodness sake," Garrison Siskin said, "how much money does a man need, anyway?"

Siskin was being pressed to explain his bizarre attitude toward money. He and his brother, Mose, give it away—so far about $3 million worth.

"Look at it this way," he explained. "Some people with more money than they need pour it into yachts and airplanes and big homes. Or they invest it in other businesses to make still more money.

"Mose and I, we don't see it that way. We live well and our families are taken care of—but we invest the rest in people—we invest in miracles."

The brothers Siskin are a couple of plain-clothed, unpretentious steel dealers who worked their way up from the poverty of Chattanooga's West Side.

Most of their miracles happen within a crisp and gleaming new $4 million rehabilitation center the Siskins built in the heart of Chattanooga's hospital district.

There, abetted by sophisticated medical care, love, and the most modern therapeutic devices the Siskin money could buy, the lame learn to walk. The mute are made to talk. The blind learn to "see" and the deaf to hear.

Patients are carried to the place from farms and cities within a 50-mile radius of Chattanooga. Most are referred there by doctors or public health nurses. Some just up and come.

They pay what they can. There are no bills. Last year the Siskins picked up the tab for about 70 percent of the overhead.

"Look at that little doll, there," Garrison cooed, nodding at a 5-year-old blond who looks like Shirley Temple used to, except that her legs seemed too small and withered. "That little angel—she was headed for the scrap heap. But not now, by golly, not now."

Garrison's allusion to scrap is more than poetry. He and Mose started as junk dealers. Today they sell scrap steel to the big steel mills and structural steel to southern contractors.

In 1942, when the business was just starting to show profit, Garrison was critically hurt while riding on a train to New York. A big steel grid that covers the steps on railroad passenger cars crashed down on his right leg. A blood clot formed, like the one that had caused his father's death. Surgeons told him they would have to amputate and gave him only a 50–50 chance of recovery.

Garrison doesn't like to talk about it now. He's afraid that what followed the accident sounds too melodramatic.

"Well, I prayed," he says. "I promised God if I recovered I would devote the rest of my life to helping people. I consider this a contract."

Garrison spent a long, trying year in a wheelchair. And as he recovered he talked with Mose about the contract he had made. Mose decided ("since I'm my brother's partner") to get in on the deal.

It started simply enough.

He would hear about somebody in trouble and he would help.

A family dispossessed by fire. A sick child. A repentant drunk who wanted a fresh start. Inmates at State prison who needed someone to sponsor their parole. Strangers in town living in a car. Hunger. Anguish. Loneliness.

He gave wheelchairs to the crippled and paid to have ramps built at their homes and at certain public buildings downtown.

"It got so anytime we ran a story about tough luck Garrison would call," says Marion Peck, reporter for the Chattanooga Times. "He would say, 'Is that family really in trouble? Would you give them something from me?'

"I would stop by the junkyard and Garrison would give me a plain white envelope with money inside. I had to promise not to tell who the sender was."

One December the brothers heard of a war bride with an unemployed husband and four children, one of whom was blind. They were being helped but Garrison worried about what sort of Christmas the kids would have. He gave Miss Peck $350. The only stipulation was that each child would get whatever Christmas present he most desired.

The mother stared at the envelope and cried, "Why is he doing this?"

On another day Garrison happened to be in the courthouse during the bankruptcy auction of a hardware store. He won it with a bid of $40,000. The owner, who had worked long and unsuccessfully to make the store pay, approached Garrison.

"I'm just curious," he said bitterly. "What do you intend to do with that store?"

"I don't intend to do anything with it. But I intend for you to get back in that store and start running it right. I'll help you. You've got to succeed this time. You owe me 40,000 bucks."

Strange thing was, Garrison didn't have the $40,000 when he made the bid. But he knew where he could borrow it.

"We inherited two things from our parents more valuable than money," says Mose, who at age 63 is slightly the older of the brothers. "They gave us an understanding of human values and a good name."

Their parents, Robert and Anna Trumpehofsky Siskin, came to Chattanooga from Russia in 1890.

The elder Siskin was a tall, strong redhead who started his life in America as a pack peddler. He would shoulder a load of household supplies and set off, walking, across the countryside, sleeping in fields and haylofts.

After a few years of this Papa Siskin bought a horse and wagon and went into the junk business. Mose and Garrison helped by building a rickety wagon which they used to collect junk after school. They also sold milk, cheese and eggs produced by the two cows and a flock of chickens their mother kept in the backyard.

The old man is still remembered by Chattanooga oldtimers for his stringent sense of honesty. Banks never asked for endorsers when he borrowed money. When he was hit by a taxi in 1926 (and when he died a few months later following the amputation of his leg) Papa Siskin didn't have much money. But he didn't owe a dime.

Mose and Garrison took over the junkyard.

Today, about half of their 100 or so employees are people whom the brothers "helped out" during a critical period.

Most notable of these is a pretty 24-year-old woman, Joyce Rominger, who runs the switchboard. The switchboard is keyed to Braille system because Joyce is blind. When the brothers installed the switchboard it was the second one of its type in the country.

"Talk about courage," Garrison says, referring to Joyce, "she lost one eye in an accident, but always hoped she would someday regain use of the other one. Well, doctors finally decided the second eye would have to be removed. I was asked to break the news to her.

"When I told her, Joyce was quiet for a minute. Then she said, 'They make artificial eyes in blue, don't they? I'll take 'em. I always wanted to be blue eyed, anyway.'"

A big part of the Siskin office and sales force is made up of men whose drinking days are behind them. The brothers found most of them in Chattanooga gutters.

For all their good deeds there is nothing monastic or patronizing in the way the brothers look, talk or act. Mose, who spends most of his working hours in the yard, seldom wears a tie, always wears a worn, floppy hat.

Garrison is a low-voiced, fast talker—sort of hard to understand under normal circumstances. His speech grows in emphasis and volume when he is aroused. When confronted by heartlessness he is easily aroused.

Recently, after repeated attempts to have a railroad worker transferred to another city where he could be closer to his son who was hospitalized there, Garrison's patience gave out. He called the president of the line and chewed him out. It worked.

Both brothers are married; each has two grown children and a burgeoning crop of

grandchildren. They are devout Orthodox Jews and start each day (at 5 a.m.) with prayer.

They get to work at 5:30 and try to get most of their business done by noon, so as to allow the rest of the day for work at the rehab center.

For kicks, they play a poor game of golf, semiregularly. Garrison sings an enthusiastic baritone with any barbershop quartet he can find and plays a kazoo at parties.

In recognition of his interest in music and his rehabilitation of former convicts, a prison vocal group called the "The Prisonaires" headed by Songwriter Johnny Bragg recently recorded a song for Garrison. It's a calypso thing called "Meestah Siskin."

Until a few years ago, the brothers managed to keep their philanthropy anonymous in accordance with the scriptural demand to "give silently."

Their efforts were forced into public attention, however, when in 1955 they became aware of the plight of Chattanooga's Orange Grove School for mentally retarded children. The school, operated mainly by the parents, was in severe financial trouble and patrons were struggling to patch up and enlarge a decrepit old building the school occupied.

The situation sent Garrison's blood pressure up.

He and Mose provided steel, wheedled other building material from companies with which they do business, supplied engineering supervision, and helped talk the Chattanooga building trades unions into providing free labor. Today, the Orange Grove School is recognized as the best school of its type in the State.

The Siskin Foundation and the rehabilitation center actually got started as a brick, steel, and chrome reality in 1955 after Garrison visited the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Speech and Hearing Center. The place was inadequate, the Siskins agreed. They went to work.

Three new buildings now occupy adjacent sites near Oak and Vine Streets near downtown Chattanooga. They are referred to as the Siskin Center, although Garrison has dubbed the complex "Operation Crossroad."

One building, the smallest, is a chapel dedicated to the memory of their parents. It is nondenominational, open 7 days a week.

Next to it stands the 3-story education building; it houses a 300-seat auditorium and smaller meeting rooms which civic, educational, cultural, and religious groups use without charge. Provided, too, is free permanent office space for such organizations as Big Brothers, the Chattanooga Adult Education Council, the Chattanooga Literacy Movement, and other groups which aid sufferers of muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy, blindness, speech and hearing defects, and other mental and physical handicaps.

But the heart of the Siskin Center is the big, three-story rehabilitation building, completed 3 years ago.

This is where last year some 1,100 children and adults who had serious speech or hearing problems were treated and, in most cases, helped. Where 500 children and old folks, crippled by birth, age or accident, were put back "on their feet." Where some 100 preschool children with mental and emotional problems were treated toward achieving for them as nearly a normal life as possible.

This is where 52 volunteer dentists made more than 2,000 appointments for needy persons in need of dental care. Where last year 105 amputees were treated and fitted with artificial arms or hands, legs and feet.

Garry gets damp eyed as he walks through the center, watching the work done by his physical therapists and by the scores of volunteers who have flocked to help out.

"The wonderful thing here is the fact that so much can be done under one roof," he says. "So often children born with a handicap do not have just one. Other places might treat the speech problem and send the parents somewhere else to treat the lack of coordination. We do not send anybody anywhere else. We take everybody in trouble * * *."

The Siskins have a board of medical advisers to help formulate medical policy, and a full-time rehabilitation center administrator, Miss Gladys E. Post.

The five-man board of trustees includes Bill Spears, former Vanderbilt football great who is now an attorney in Chattanooga.

But all practices must fall within broad policy laid down by Mose and Garrison: No one shall be turned away for lack of funds; whisky and partisan political discussion are off limits at the community center; Jewish dietary laws are observed in the rehabilitation center kitchen and it is closed on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath.

But the brothers, themselves, operate within another restriction, slowly becoming more apparent. It involves money.

The Siskin Center includes about $4 million worth of real estate and equipment. Of this amount the brothers have contributed almost $3 million in cash, endowment insurance, and stock in the Siskin Steel & Supply Co. Another million or so has been donated.

But the brothers' openhandedness has become the despair of their accountants and attorneys who insist the money is pouring out almost as fast as the Siskins can earn it.

"Actually, we could stand pat with what we are doing and there would be no problem," Garrison says. "But we want to take more patients—and we want to make sure this place will be helping people long after we're gone."

To help solve both problems, the foundation recently launched a drive for funds. It's called the "365 Club" and asks for a "penny a day."

The campaign, while going well, has met resistance in some quarters. For one thing, some leaders of Chattanooga's United Fund have long insisted that the Siskin money would be more properly spent if it were donated to the United Fund and spent through United Fund channels.

Then, too, a certain amount of anti-Semitism has hurt the drive.

"There is a very small minority in this town who has worked against the Siskin Center because of the brothers' religion," says one Baptist minister, who was treated for a partial paralysis. "I say the spirit of Christ is more evident here than in most places I know of."

Garrison is reluctant to discuss religious prejudice. He says, "We do the very best we can. If others want to downgrade the work being done here because of our religion, there's little more we can do about it."

The Siskins turned down a chance to get a half-million dollars of Government funds a few years back because they didn't want "Government restrictions" involved in the operation of the center.

"Most centers of this type have to operate within a set of restrictions that would make your head swim," Garrison says. "Some won't take you if you have no money—others won't take people with too much money. Some have age requirements. Others say they can't attempt to educate any retarded child with an IQ less than 75.

"I guess they have to do what they do. But I can't go along. That contract I made didn't specify age or ability to pay or IQ.

"I just promised to help everyone I could. That's the way it is."

## Creating Jobs: Federal Role Should Be To Smooth Way for Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following study from the Wall Street Journal of July 30 is an extremely well done commentary on the role of the Federal Government in creating jobs. It is by Mr. Harley L. Lutz, professor emeritus of public finance at Princeton University:

CREATING JOBS: FEDERAL ROLE SHOULD BE TO SMOOTH WAY FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

(By Harley L. Lutz)

The persistence in recent years of a substantial amount of unemployment, whether measured in absolute terms or as a percentage of the civilian labor force, should have demonstrated, by this time, the error of the typical political diagnosis and prescription. The diagnosis is that demand is not sufficient to absorb the goods that the unemployed might have produced had they been at work and the prescription is that more Government spending will overcome the deficiency of demand and thus provide jobs.

In its report of January 1962 the Council of Economic Advisers stated that inadequate demand had been in recent years a major cause of unemployment and excess capacity. This report strongly supported the President's request for standby authority to inaugurate a $2 billion public works program when a specified increase of unemployment had occurred. It also endorsed the proposals to extend and strengthen the unemployment compensation system and to permit the President to order a temporary reduction of personal income tax rates. The Depressed Area Act of 1961, which provided for $400 million of loans and grants, was followed, this year, by a bill to authorize an additional $600 million of public works in these areas.

Underlying these spending plans is the theory that more Government spending will automatically cause those now unemployed to be put to work. This theory ignores both the true nature of the problem and the proper remedial action.

There are wide differences in the relative amount of unemployment, depending on age, sex, race, education, occupation, degree of previously acquired skill and geography. Despite these differences, all unemployed persons have one thing in common, which is that no employer has, or is willing to provide, a place for them in his establishment and on his payroll.

This is not because of prejudice or hardheartedness on his part. Rather, it is the outcome of two elementary but fundamental factors in our economic system of things. These are: The value of the worker's product in relation to the wage which the employer must pay; and, the amount of capital available for putting people to work. What we define as unemployment could be quickly ended by putting on the public payroll all who now have no job—provided that Government were to waive the wage-value of service test. However, if that test were applied, Government would encounter the same barrier as now confronts private employers.

Product value and wage cost: Any employer who expects to stay in business must

continue to realize a return that covers both his out-of-pocket costs and a yield on the capital invested sufficient to induce investors to keep their money in the business and to provide additional funds as needed. The costs are determined not only by the employer's direct expenditure for wages, but also by the costs of those who supply his materials, plant, equipment, and the like. These "upstream" costs are in turn determined by the wages and other expenses incurred by the suppliers.

At any given stage in the productive process, wage levels involving production costs higher than can be recovered in the price of the product lead to unemployment of those whose productivity falls below their wage cost. At the bottom, this wage cost is set by the Federal minimum wage law and at top it is set by union wage scales plus fringe benefits. At both ends of the employment scale job opportunities are squeezed by these arbitrary rules relating to the "price of labor." A considerable, though statistically indeterminate, amount of unemployment is caused by this pricing of labor out of the market.

Capital and unemployment: The need for more capital in the private economy is obvious, first to avoid capital dilution and lower productivity per worker as the labor force increases and second, to permit increased productivity per worker by utilizing the improved quality of capital which comes about with technological advance. Increasing productivity per worker is the only economically justifiable basis for wage increases. The appropriate measure of productivity would be the overall national average rather than the particular industry or plant result. Also, in the long run, wage increases should be held somewhat below even the national average productivity in the interest of all consumers and to keep the prices of export products effectively competitive in foreign markets.

The flow of new capital and the combination of labor and capital in private productive operations are alike dependent on the prospect of profit. The health of the economy requires that new capital funds be provided from the savings of individuals as well as from the retained earnings of operations that are already profitable. There must be many new business ventures and not solely an increase of business size through internal financing, however useful and important this course may be.

The frequent references to excess plant capacity in recent discussions have been taken to imply that there is no present need for more capital since we are not making full use of what we have. Unused capital and unused labor have at times been linked together, the idea being, apparently, that both excess capacity and unemployment would disappear if the unemployed were moved into the excess capacity plants and put to work.

This overlooks the fact that many of the unemployed are in that situation because the value of their product would not cover the wage demanded, whether by reason of Federal law or union wage scales. While this condition prevailed, they could not get jobs even if there were idle plants.

Moreover, the concept of excess capacity is hazy and indefinite. The standard of measurement is never clear. It varies depending on whether it relates to one, two, or three shifts, or to comparatively obsolete plant and equipment that could be put into service if needed, or to given plant and equipment in a declining industry. Even if there could be general agreement on the meaning of excess capacity, its existence would not necessarily indicate a defective allocation of resources.

On the contrary, the economy needs some margin of capacity to meet variable or emergency needs and to permit flexible adaptation of output to the market. If there were absolutely no excess capacity in the economy, it would not be possible to meet a sudden, increased demand for defense material, or medical, housing, or education facilities. It would not even be possible to supply additional quantities of the materials that would be required for the sudden implementation of a public works program without diverting them from existing construction projects.

Demand and unemployment: A popular explanation of unemployment, endorsed by the Council of Economic Advisers, is that overall demand is insufficient.

It is beyond dispute that business cannot continue without sales, including both consumer goods and the tools and materials used in further production. Too often, in this phase of the discussion, there is inadequate consideration of the source of the income which makes demand effective in the market. Obviously, this income must be generated, initially, through production. The benefits paid to retired or unemployed persons, known as transfer payments, are derived from income siphoned off in various ways from the productive factors.

The unemployed can contribute to total demand only by spending income paid to them for productive services. But this brings us back again to the basic fact that no employer can afford to pay a wage in excess of the value of the worker's product. Here is the fundamental imbalance which must be corrected if those now unemployed are to receive income and thus contribute their quota to the total demand for goods and services.

The lines of remedial action have been indicated above. They involve: Measures affecting the unemployed as persons not presently employable, and measures affecting the economic climate.

Improving worker skills: If a person cannot get or hold a job because of low productivity, the obvious course is, if possible, to make him more productive. New or improved worker skills are always required to keep up with changing methods of production and the different kinds of equipment made available by general progress as well as technological advance. From the standpoint of these ever-changing requirements, those counted as unemployed fall into two groups:

Persons capable through training to become eligible for employment under the new conditions.

Persons so lacking in mental capacity, dexterity, emotional stability or determination as to be incapable of acquiring the proficiency through training to hold a job at good wages. Some, perhaps many, of these are kept out of jobs which they could perform because neither special skill nor intensive training is required, by the Federal minimum wage law.

The training, or retraining, of workers in the new skills and occupations requires extensive collaborative action but it does not call for Federal programing or underwriting. It must begin with those individuals who are energetic and ambitious enough to want such improvement. Collaborative action includes industry cooperation such as is now being provided on an increasing scale, because in-plant training is no doubt the most efficient way of inculcating new or different skills.

Non-Federal collaboration requires, also, educational programs which offer sound vocational guidance and training for those who do not want to enter college, and some of the brightest high school graduates do not. State and community employment services must be so organized and managed as to establish the best possible contacts between those seeking work and those employers needing more workers.

In all this there is no real, constructive place for Federal action. It would be more costly than beneficial. The unemployed are individuals, people living in specific communities, not statistical units in a total. Most of them must find jobs in or near their home communities since, for many reasons, wholesale migrations to and from across the country are neither feasible nor functional. The local businesses and industries, the local schools, and the local employment services are best equipped to discover the facts and are more competent than a Federal bureau to deal with them effectively.

A better economic climate: Neither a bird nor an airplane can fly on one wing. The most highly skilled workers would be out of a job if there were no tools to work with, and no amount of retraining will put people into jobs if capital is lacking. There must be, also, a prospect of profitable use of capital. Basically, therefore, there must be a better climate for the profit motive, which is the main driving force in a private enterprise economy.

This is what the Employment Act of 1946 intends as the Government's role. It is not for the Government to provide employment and prosperity, but to promote the conditions under which the free private enterprise system can best achieve the objectives of high-level production, employment and income. The efforts to realize profit or avoid loss—since ours is a profit and loss economy—lead to new products, new plants, new processes and new jobs. The quest for profit and the need to avoid loss, in combination, allocate the available productive resources of the Nation into the channels where these results appear to be most fully attainable.

Areas for action: The principal areas in which Government policy can do most to improve the economic climate are taxation, labor, the budget, and business regulation.

The most sensible approach to tax rate reform and to the correction of other features of the Federal tax system is not to "tax Peter to subsidize Paul," as the pending bill does, but rather to reduce tax burdens for all taxpayers, both individual and corporate. Bills to accomplish this result are before the tax-writing committees of both House and Senate. They should be considered and approved as a substitute for the administration's tax program.

Federal labor policy permits actions by unions which, if engaged in by employers, would be subject to prosecution as conspiracies in restraint of trade. Collective bargaining, as now generally practiced, is not an effort by both sides to ascertain what wages would be in a free labor market, but rather a process of pressuring employers to choose between union demands and an industry-wide strike.

Federal budget policy has been characterized, especially in recent years, by a steady increase of spending for purposes not connected with national defense. This policy has carried the expenditure estimates for 1963 to the third highest level in our history, being exceeded only by the war years 1944 and 1945. The justifications offered for the expansion of nondefense spending are that we can afford it and that urgent needs require it—such as, in this case, the unemployed.

The doctrine underlying social-benefit spending is that Government spending induces economic growth. The argument runs: Public spending increases demand for economic product and the greater the demand, the greater the product; and to complete the circle, the greater the product, the more we can afford to spend.

The fallacy of this lies in equating demand with the wherewithal for the creation of product. Government spending in itself is demand spending; it is a kind of consumption expenditure. As such it comprises the acquisition of goods and services produced in the private economy. Government purchase orders could not be filled unless

there existed, somewhere, plant, equipment, inventory, and personnel capable of producing the goods specified. Thus, Government spending is dependent upon already created capital; it does not generate new capital. And further, the taxes required to support a high-level budget prevent the private saving and investment essential to the creation of more private enterprise capital.

The constitutional authorization to regulate interstate commerce and the common law doctrine that monopoly is inimical to the public interest have been expanded from their proper scope into a policy of "governmental business" which has already had a chilling effect on management initiative. Unless this trend is reversed, the time is not far distant when no important business decision can be made without first getting the consent of some Federal official.

The private economy is the source of jobs for the people and income for the Government. The growth of Government through ever-expanding activities and spending does not promote, but rather impedes, the capacity of the private economy to support the people and the Government. The road to greater economic growth is not greater Government consumption of resources but greater private application of resources to profitable use.

## Mr. Thoreau: May He Rest in Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it appears that it is not sufficient for this administration to continually harass business but they seem to want to harass individuals. For years a number of permittees have built cabins and enjoyed their vacations at Pinecrest in the High Sierras.

Now the Government comes along and wants to recover all of this land and force the permittees to tear down their cabins when, as a matter of fact, the Government owns thousands of acres which they could very well use as public campsites.

Recently Art Hoppe, of the San Francisco Chronicle, wrote an article on this matter which appeared in the July 30 issue of the Chronicle and which is reproduced here:

MR. THOREAU: MAY HE REST IN PEACE
(By Art Hoppe)

I don't wish to bore you with an account of my vacation. But it looks as though I've got to. You see, the reason I took a vacation was much the same as everybody else's: I wanted to get away from it all.

What I wanted to get away from, naturally, was politics, wrangling, redtape, bureaucracy and all the ills that arise from overwhelming Government. Like Thoreau, I said, I will return to unspoiled nature. So I rented a little cabin made of hand-hewn logs on the shores of a small blue lake 5,500 feet up in the High Sierra and miles from nowhere. There, like Thoreau at Walden Pond, I would meditate in peace on the essential realities, forgotten for once by the omnipresent forces of a busybody Government.

So on my very first day at the lake, we had a mass meeting to pass a resolution registering our strong protest, objection and opposition to the inequitable and confiscatory policies of our Federal bureaucracy. I thought of shooting myself.

The meeting was held in a clearing among the fir, pine and cedar. Several hundred were present—all members of the Pinecrest Permittees Association, "permittees" being what our Government calls those who own cabins around the lake.

It turns out the lake and the land around it is all owned by our Federal Government, which I should have thought of in the first place. Some 40 years ago, the Government, seeing it wasn't using the land for anything, invited people to come build cabins along the lake's shores. Because of technicalities, the Government couldn't sell the people the land. But, it explained, it would give each cabin builder an indefinite lease.

So, in what seems to me a remnant of the old pioneer spirit, those with initiative and foresight came and built their cabins. They bulldosed their own roads, installed their own water system, paid their own water system, paid their leasehold fees and their taxes and were left pretty much alone.

At one end of the lake, for the benefit of those without either the initiative, the cash or the desire to build cabins, the Government provided a large campgrounds with community toilets, water taps and little numbered stalls for each camper. The campers strung old blankets and sheets from between the trees for a modicum of privacy and the whole thing, if you ask me, looks like a well-organized slum. But the campers like it and it's good it's there. So, all in all, everybody was happy.

But then the U.S. Forest Service which runs the land, remembered its motto: "The Greatest Good for the Greatest Number." Which sounds nice. And it announced plans to tear down anywhere from 10 to several hundred of the cabins. Because it could get two numbered camping stalls on each cabin site. And eventually, it said happily, it might be able to squeeze 40,000 people into the little lake.

Of course, the Government won't pay the cabin owners a nickel for the homes they built, maintained, and improved over the years. In fact, the cabin owners will have to tear down their cabins and cart them to the dump at their own expense. That's in the terms of the lease. In the fine print.

So this confiscation is all perfectly legal. But you can see why I've been pretty busy attending mass protest meetings during my vacation. Well, I will say it was nice to have them in the open air for a change.

But I begin to wonder whether the proper function of Government is "the greatest good for the greatest number." Or whether it's to leave everybody alone as much as possible. The two aren't compatible. This seems to be the burning domestic issue of our times. I'd give you my opinion only I can't make up my mind. I think I could if I could get a little peace and quiet somewhere.

That Thoreau, he's lucky he's dead.

## Profit Plateau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article from the Wall Street Journal of today entitled "Profit Plateau—Earnings Hold Near Peacetime Record, Rise 15 Percent From 1961 Quarter."

I wish to quote a few sentences from the article. It relates to a survey made by the Wall Street Journal all over the country. The articles states, in part:

The results are those of the first 478 companies to report for the second quarter. They show net profits after taxes aggregating $2,719,344,000, a gain of 15.5 percent over the profits of the same companies in the second 3 months of 1961.

In the opening paragraph of the article it is stated:

Corporate profits in the second quarter held close to the record peacetime rate achieved in the two preceding quarters and seem likely to remain close to the same rate in the current 3 months.

The facts and figures set forth are quite pertinent in connection with all the discussion at the present time of lowered profit margins, the need for income tax reduction, and indications which seem to predict a recession. A part of the article consists of a very interesting table. I ask that it also be included.

There being no objection, the article and table were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROFIT PLATEAU—EARNINGS HOLD NEAR PEACETIME RECORD, RISE 15 PERCENT FROM 1961 QUARTER—MOST FIRMS EXPECT TO RETAIN GAINS IN CURRENT PERIOD—EXCEPTIONS: STEEL, DRUGS—HOW 478 CORPORATIONS FARED

Corporate profits in the second quarter held close to the record peacetime rate achieved in the two preceding quarters, and seem likely to remain close to the same rate in the current 3 months.

These are the conclusions from the Wall Street Journal's quarterly survey of earnings results and prospects.

The results are those of the first 478 companies to report for the second quarter. They show net profits after taxes aggregating $2,719,344,000, a gain of 15.5 percent over the profits of the same companies in the second 3 months of 1961. (See table accompanying the end of this story.)

If this gain approximates that of all corporations in the United States, as has been the case in previous quarters, the Nation's total corporate profits for the quarter would be at an annual rate of $26.2 billion. This would compare with a rate of $25.9 billion estimated by the Government for the first quarter of this year, and with a rate of $26.5 billion in the final 3 months of 1961. That late 1961 figure was the largest on record except for that of one quarter early in the Korean war, when the annual net rose above $27 billion; and the average rate for 6 months to March 31, at $26.2 billion, was the largest for any peacetime half year.

THIRD-QUARTER GAIN INDICATED

The expectation that profits will remain somewhere around the $26 billion a year rate in the third quarter is based on the prospect that a majority of important industries will again earn more than they did in the corresponding 1961 quarter. The gain for all industries together may not be up to the 15.5-percent improvement shown in the second quarter, because a few industries are likely to show substantial declines. But the annual rate estimated by the Government for last year's third quarter was $23.8 billion. A year-to-year increase of only 10 percent would be needed to produce a rate of $26 billion in the current quarter.

The second-quarter gain of 15.5 percent for 478 companies was not as large as the 28.3 percent gain from 1961 turned in by a similar group of 472 companies in the first quarter. But that was merely because this year's first quarter was compared with the 3 months when the 1960–61 general business recession was at its deepest. The Government put the rate of profits in that period at only $20 billion a year.

The second-quarter gains reflected general increases in sales. A second compilation, covering 146 companies which reported sales as well as earnings, shows profits up 17 percent—not far different from the results of the 478—and sales up 11.6 percent.

GAINS WIDESPREAD

Most industries shared in the second-quarter betterment over 1961. Out of 37 industries or groups into which the 478 companies may be divided, only 6 reported declines, and only 3 of these showed declines exceeding 5 percent.

These three were the moving picture group, with earnings down 7.6 percent because the new pictures of some companies attracted the public in smaller numbers than did last year's releases; the tobacco group, with net profits down 5.5 percent as a result of the expense of introducing new cigarettes by two producers; and the steel group, with earnings down 19.6 percent because of cost increases large enough to overcome the benefits of larger sales.

The steel mills may show an even greater decline from 1961 in the current quarter. An important factor in the second quarter's reduced earnings from a year earlier was a wage increase effective October 1. On top of that, further increases in costs as a result of this year's new labor contract took effect July 1. Thus, labor costs in the current 3 months will reflect a double increase over those of a year ago.

In addition, shipments of steel to customers probably will be lower, around 16 to 16.5 million tons as against 17.3 million in the 1961 third quarter. "If shipments are down, you can expect that earnings will be down too," says Alfred S. Glossbrenner, president of Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. By contrast, second-quarter shipments were up a bit from a year earlier, between 17.5 and 18 million tons against 17.3 million.

Other industries which see the possibility of lower earnings in the current quarter than a year ago include building materials makers and drug producers. On the other hand, gains are indicated for automakers, chemical companies, oil companies, and makers of electrical and farm equipment, among others. Expectations for some of these and for additional industries are set forth below:

All five auto producers reported better earnings for the second quarter than a year earlier, principally because retail sales of cars for the quarter were up 22 percent. Makers of automobile equipment naturally shared in the prosperity, and the two groups combined reported net income up a wide 42.9 percent. Another big gain is likely for the group as a whole in the present quarter, with the car manufacturers planning unit sales to dealers for the quarter as follows:

| | 1962 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|
| General Motors | 650,000 | 370,000 |
| Ford | 425,000 | 374,000 |
| Chrysler | 110,000 | 123,000 |
| American Motors | 70,000 | 68,000 |
| Studebaker | 12,000 | 16,000 |

Suppliers of building materials reported earnings up 11.6 percent from a year earlier in the second quarter, mainly as a result of a higher level of construction activity. Officials of most companies, however, are cautious for the current quarter. They foresee a tapering of home building from the second quarter rate, which would bring such activity down to or below that of a year ago. And they also are worried by weakness of materials prices because productive capacity exceeds demand. "Demand is there but people are giving products away," complains D. C. Fabiani, president of Crane Co., maker of plumbing ware.

The chemical group had increased sales and reported a 9.9-percent gain in earnings in the quarter. And it expects similar gains in the present quarter. Volume of business being done is greater than last year and, while the prices of some chemicals show weakness, others are strong. Allied Chemical, for example, recently raised the price of some grades of polyethylene, a big-volume plastic used in such things as squeeze bottles and utility wastebaskets.

Makers of drugs, which reported second-quarter earnings down 2.9 percent from 1961, say there's little reason for expecting gains in the current quarter. A special factor in the second quarter was that currencies of some countries where drugs are sold in large volume, principally Argentina and Brazil, were devalued. This action reduced the dollar worth of profits and bank deposits there. The makers also complain of recent price weakness in antibiotics, increased foreign competition and a dearth of major new drugs. The companies depend heavily on bringing out new drugs to keep their sales rising. One executive says: "Like most companies, we're now awaiting Food and Drug Administration approval of an important new drug, but we can't be sure it will come in the third quarter."

Electrical manufacturers reported a combined increase of 25.2 percent in earnings for the second quarter, and seem likely to show an increase this quarter also, though it may not be as big in percentage because business strengthened substantially in the third quarter last year. Ralph J. Cordiner, chairman of General Electric Co., said recently the company "expects 1962 to continue to be a good business year."

Producers of aluminum earned 36.7 percent more in the second quarter than a year earlier and, with production up from a year ago and still rising, seem likely to show another wide gain in the current quarter. At the start of this quarter the primary aluminum industry was operating at 87 percent of capacity against 78 percent a year earlier, and Aluminum Co. of America is planning to start up a new production line, which would raise the industry's rate to 89 percent. The one possibility of trouble in sight at present is that Alcoa and Reynolds Aluminum are negotiating with the Aluminum Workers International Union, but the companies have already signed agreements with the United Steel workers, representing a larger number of employees.

The outlook for the domestic oil industry is for somewhat higher earnings during the third quarter than in the like period of 1961, if prices for refined products hold fairly steady. If prices decline, as they did last summer in some areas, earnings gains would be reduced or eliminated. Demand for petroleum products in the second quarter was 3 percent higher than a year earlier, and this pace is being maintained. The outlook for international oil companies with large marketing facilities abroad is even better, with demand abroad strong and prices firm. Earnings of the oil group as a whole in the second quarter were up 4.5 percent from 1961.

In the paper and paperboard industry second-quarter earnings were up 12.5 percent. Alexander Calder, Jr., president of Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp., attributes his company's second-quarter gain to "generally better prices and improved product mix," that is, good demand for high-profit items. The third quarter he expects to be "substantially improved" over the 1961 period.

Rubber companies reported a gain of 2.4 percent from 1961 in second quarter earnings. Foreign currency devaluations were costly to some of the group. In the third quarter, earnings are expected to be above those of last year, benefiting, as in the second quarter, from demand for tires on the larger number of new cars that will be produced.

Profits of 478 firms in second quarter rose 15.5 percent from those of the 1961 period. The columns below show earnings for the second quarter of 1962 as compared with those of 1961, with percentage increases or declines by groups. Where individual company reports cover 3-month periods other than calendar quarters, the nearest comparable periods have been used:

| | 2d quarter 1962 | 2d quarter 1961 | Change from year ago |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9 aircraft makers | $20,506,000 | $17,072,000 | +20.1 |
| 22 autos and equipment | 595,367,000 | 416,629,000 | +42.9 |
| 18 building materials | 45,350,000 | 40,643,000 | +11.6 |
| 10 building supplies | 27,047,000 | 24,527,000 | +10.3 |
| 8 cement companies | 18,303,000 | 16,116,000 | +13.6 |
| 12 chain stores | 41,683,000 | 40,566,000 | +2.8 |
| 4 apparel and clothing | 9,399,000 | 7,789,000 | +20.7 |
| 8 chain grocers | 32,284,000 | 32,777,000 | −1.5 |
| 22 chemicals | 249,610,000 | 227,047,000 | +9.9 |
| 16 department stores | 50,172,000 | 38,808,000 | +29.3 |
| 5 distillers | 16,434,000 | 16,109,000 | +2.0 |
| 13 drug manufacturers | 37,255,000 | 38,383,000 | −2.9 |
| 23 electrical equipment-electronics | 114,352,000 | 91,334,000 | +25.2 |
| 11 broad-line companies | 106,175,000 | 84,246,000 | +26.0 |
| 12 specialty companies | 8,177,000 | 7,088,000 | +15.4 |
| 8 farm equipment | 59,767,000 | 55,439,000 | +7.8 |
| 18 food products | 59,185,000 | 56,517,000 | +4.7 |
| 5 bakery products | 10,287,000 | 10,305,000 | −.2 |
| 3 dairy products | 5,146,000 | 4,928,000 | +4.4 |
| 10 general food products | 43,752,000 | 41,284,000 | +6.0 |
| 11 mining and metals | 46,205,000 | 36,095,000 | +28.0 |
| 3 aluminum companies | 33,899,000 | 24,802,000 | +36.7 |
| 8 copper and other metals | 12,306,000 | 11,293,000 | +9.0 |
| 6 movies and movie theaters | 8,928,000 | 9,663,000 | −7.6 |
| 12 office equipment | 67,450,000 | 56,351,000 | +19.7 |
| 14 petroleum products | 601,374,000 | 575,328,000 | +4.5 |
| 5 publishing companies | 4,140,000 | 3,706,000 | +11.7 |
| 23 pulp and paper products | 62,721,000 | 55,753,000 | +12.5 |
| 7 railway equipment | 9,210,000 | 7,661,000 | +20.2 |
| 6 rubber companies | 24,604,000 | 24,026,000 | +2.4 |
| 18 steel manufacturers | 71,107,000 | 88,400,000 | −19.6 |
| 10 textiles | 30,405,000 | 19,694,000 | +54.4 |
| 7 tobaccos | 64,334,000 | 67,971,000 | −5.4 |
| 23 tools and machinery | 28,810,000 | 26,401,000 | +9.1 |
| 124 other companies | 228,454,000 | 192,832,000 | +18.5 |
| Total (434 industrials) | 2,537,423,000 | 2,202,428,000 | +15.2 |
| 21 railroads | 49,331,000 | 21,537,000 | +79.1 |
| 23 utilities | 132,590,000 | 124,301,000 | +6.7 |
| Total (478 concerns) | 2,719,344,000 | 2,354,266,000 | +15.5 |

## Talented Author and Columnist, Sam T. Mallison, Offers Enlightened and Entertaining Comment on the Subject of Dinners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the pressures and responsibilities of public office are a constant challenge to every Member of Congress, and become especially evident as we attempt to complete our official business and to reach adjournment.

It is appropriate, therefore, that the attention of my colleagues should periodically be drawn to matters which offer a pleasant relaxation.

If anyone can provide such a respite with his words of wit and meaning it is Sam T. Mallison, the noted and joyfully read author and columnist.

In the late twenties it was my privilege as a cub reporter to serve under Mr. Mallison's experienced tutelage when he was city editor of the Clarksburg (W. Va.) Daily Telegram. He has also acted as secretary to the late Governor of West Virginia, Hon. Howard M. Gore, and is a past State auditor. Throughout the years he has been a keen student of people and events, and has acquired an apparently endless supply of anecdotes and stories guaranteed to amuse, entertain, and inspire through his writing and lecturing.

A frequent contributor to newspapers and author of a number of magazine articles, he has also written two books "The Great Wildcatter," and "Let's Set a Spell," the latter being a collection of West Virginia yarns.

Typical of his work is a story appearing in a recent issue of the Rocky Mount, N.C., Evening Telegram, a newspaper for which Sam covered the sporting scene in days gone by. It is a pertinent and all-too-familiar situation that he describes, and in reading the article I am confident that each of my colleagues will call to mind a similar experience from his own past.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "On the Subject of Dinners," written by Sam T. Mallison, and appearing in the Rocky Mount Evening Telegram, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON SUBJECT OF DINNERS

(By an old reporter)

If and when I should ever become sufficiently wealthy and otherwise have the excuse or opportunity, I shall indulge myself a luxury which has been a dream of mine for many years. I shall put on a dinner, at which the guests will be seated and the food served at precisely the announced hour (those who aren't seated will get no food): and the oratory will be strictly confined to the speaker of the evening. These dinners have been one of the banes of my existence. In the course of my work as a public relations adviser, it has been my obligation but certainly not my pleasure to attend hundreds of dinners, and I can count upon the fingers of my two hands the number that have departed from the same moronic pattern.

The invitation says that the dinner is to be in the Colonial Room at 7 p.m., and you are sufficiently idiotic to believe that it means what it says. So you go to the named hotel or club at the appointed hour and you are dismayed to find the Colonial Room completely deserted save for a few bus boys, who, in between small talk about their romantic adventures, lazily engage themselves in placing the china and silverware on the tables. Through experience you will learn that one-half the guests have not yet begun to dress at their respective homes, while the other half is scattered in various rooms at the club or hotel, attending predinner cocktail parties.

It is always 7:30 to 7:45 before the first stragglers put in appearance in the dining hall and generally, it is 8:15 before the waiters begin serving the food. That part is endurable, but only those possessed of a Buddhic serenity can endure what follows.

First, when the dinner is over, the chairman of the program committee raps his gavel and talks for 10 minutes in introducing Charlie Whoosit, who, in turn, will introduce the master of ceremonies, and that simpleton can always be depended upon to present each of the two dozen moochers at the speaker's table; and, not content with that, he never fails also to introduce each of the members of the banquet committee "who did a remarkable job of arranging this magnificent dinner," when actually nine-tenths of them never knew until their names were called that they had been members of this or any other committee; and of course, Mrs. Busybody, who was chairman of the decorations committee, has to be recognized, and she, in turn, necessarily must pay tribute to her associates on that committee.

You would think this would dispose of the preliminaries, but the old boy with the gavel is just getting warmed up. He never fails to note the presence of "good old Danny," who he describes, as the modest, humble fellow who is really the backbone of the organization and who is always giving his very best for dear old Rutgers. And, of course, Danny has to pretend to be surprised and then deliver a few words of appreciation which he prepared a week in advance and committed to memory. Of course, Danny does not have to say anything, but it is not of record that any Danny ever failed to respond.

It is now 9:30 and certainly we are ready for the speaker of the evening, Senator Clapsaddle, who has been expectantly and hopefully straightening his tie for half an hour. But, no, our genial master of ceremonies has some things up his sleeve. It would never, never, never do for him to introduce the speaker. And, besides, he must first present "our able and distinguished chairman, who has a delightful task to perform." It turns out that the chairman is to present a plaque or certificate to Eddie Noteshaver in recognition of the latter's boundless charity and community leadership. Of course, Eddie takes the floor and makes one of his rare departures from falsehood by protesting that he doesn't deserve the award "because there are so many others here tonight who are far more deserving."

We are now ready for the principal speaker. Or are we? Don't be silly. The toastmaster must first present the chairman of the committee on prehistoric mounds, who, in turn, introduces the organization's "silvery-tongued orator," whose pleasant assignment it is to present Senator Clapsaddle. All this with the result that it is nigh onto 11 o'clock before the weary Senator strides to the podium to read a 17-page thesis of doubletalk.

There are main reasons why I had a great affection for the late Matthew Mansfield Neely, of West Virginia, who served that State for 50 years as Congressman, Senator, and Governor, but the one thing that locked him in my heart was his performance at a dinner of the kind I have described. He was Governor at the time, and was scheduled to be the only speaker at a large dinner scheduled for 7 p.m. In view of the importance of the occasion, he had spent a great deal of time and effort in the preparation of his speech. Although knowing from experience of the inevitable preliminaries, he was an incorrigible optimist and somehow had the idea that at this particular affair he would get the floor not later than 8:30.

But Neely failed to reckon with the talents of the master of ceremonies, who introduced almost half these in attendance with flattering remarks about each, before presenting the fellow who was to introduce the Governor. This worthy was a local windbag, who undoubtedly aspired to some appointment at the hands of the Governor, because he delivered a 30-minute peroration, in which he compared Neely not unfavorably with Caesar, Napoleon, Aristotle, and St. Francis.

The result was that it was 10:40 when he finally wound up with an eloquent flourish. Neely, tightlipped and boiling inwardly, stepped to the microphone. "Ladies and gentlemen," he said, "according to the program I am now expected to give you my address, and I shall do so. My address is 1701 Kanawha Boulevard, Charleston, W. Va." Whereupon, to my delight and the consternation of the others, he strode out of the room.

It is my profound conviction that when Neely arrived at the Pearly Gates, 4 years ago, St. Peter, remembering this historic occasion, spread the red carpet for his entrance.

S.T.M.

## Castro Has a New Weapon—Dope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, a most significant article by Jack Anderson appeared in the July 29, 1962, issue of Parade magazine, one of America's leading weekly periodicals. This article again points up one of the main reasons for the increase in the illegal narcotics traffic in the United States. The smuggling of narcotics with the consequent ruination of many of our youth and their families is but another facet of the Communist attack on our democracy. The cooperation between Red China and Communist Cuba in this nefarious conspiracy is a disgrace to the civilized world. The article follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Fidel Castro is trying to give Uncle Sam the needle. Not merely sharp words—but a hypodermic needle. His aim is to insert it into the body of American society and to inject demoralizing drugs: cocaine from his native Cuba and opium from Red China.

By dealing in dope, Castro is grabbing up dollars which he sorely needs to bolster the Cuban economy. He is also encouraging drug addiction among Cuban refugees in the United States to discredit them in the eyes of their hosts. But most of all, perhaps, he hopes to undermine the character of the American people themselves.

From Government files opened for the first time and from sources both official

and unofficial, Parade has been able to secure exclusive and undeniable evidence of this insidious racket in slow death. It is a story of back-alley smuggling that ranges from the poppyfields of Burma and China through the wide-open ports of Hong Kong and Macao, thence to Havana, Miami, and New York. It is also a story of undercover agents and gunplay.

Most shocking fact of all is Castro's cynical disregard of appeals to clamp down on the drug traffic, which is as harmful to his own people as to those he is trying to subvert.

Only 12 days after Castro seized power, Commissioner Harry Anslinger, the blunt boss of the U.S. Narcotics Bureau, sent one of his top agents, Charles Siragusa, to Cuba to seek cooperation in the worldwide fight against narcotics. Siragusa went straight to the rebel leader and delivered a secret, 18-page report entitled "Illicit Narcotics, Traffic in Cuba."

It pulled no punches, listed 32 international and 25 Cuban gangsters deeply involved in drug smuggling. Additional names and details were furnished to the Cuban authorities on January 16, January 20, January 21, and February 2, 1959. To make it easier for Castro's police, the Narcotics Bureau included the Havana addresses and telephone numbers of most mobsters on the list.

But nothing happened. From the Bureau's battered, eighth-floor headquarters here came audible grumbling from the impatient Anslinger.

Stung by Anslinger's criticism, Castro on March 17, 1959, replied: "We are disposed not only to deport the gangsters but to shoot them. Send us that list and you will see how we will capture them and send them away."

The Cuban dictator ignored the fact that his police had been in possession of the list since January 12. Anslinger wearily provided Castro with another copy on April 7. Shamed into action, Castro grudgingly rounded up five gangsters on the list.

DEPORTATION URGED

The Narcotics Bureau continued to urge Castro to crack down on all drug violators and to deport the interntaional mobsters. The Cuban authorities finally got rid of a few big-name racketeers but did nothing to halt the drug traffic. Sadly Siragusa reported to his chief:

"Some months ago I prepared descriptive sheets on known and suspected gangsters who were prominent in Cuban gambling and narcotics trafficking. Our purpose was to provide these sheets to the new Cuban regime toward the prosecution or expulsion from Cuba of American, Italian, French, and Canadian gangsters. Subsequent developments indicated the lack of cooperation by Cuban authorities, and we stopped supplying the sheets to Cuba."

The lack of cooperation was no ordinary government "fix." Agents, working under cover at the risk of their lives, began to learn the real reason the Castro government was doing nothing about the illegal drug traffic. It had gone into the smuggling business itself.

Castro can claim his police arrested two American racketeers, Frank Cammarata and an accomplice, for possessing cocaine. But their real crime was smuggling drugs as a private enterprise without giving the Cuban Government a cut.

FBI files contain a fantastic account of how Castro tried to take over Cammarata's smuggling operations. He used two renegade American hoodlums to try to trick Cammarata into disclosing where he got his drugs and how he disposed of them in the United States. One of the hoodlums actually was planted in Cammarata's cell to win his confidence. But the wily Cammarata kept his mouth shut.

Next, the renegades were encouraged to make their own contacts for peddling Castro's drugs in the United States. They set up a Havana import-export company as a front, then got in touch with an underworld contact in Rochester, N.Y.

Eventually, a shady character known only as "Nicky" showed up in Havana. He was taken aboard a 70-foot yacht and reportedly was shown 500 pounds of marihuana, plus some 200 pounds of cocaine.

The renegades worked for a time under Juan Feranadez de Castro of the Cuban National Revolutionary Police. When he defected last October, he confirmed many details of the FBI report.

Meanwhile, narcotics agents began keeping close watch on drug smugglers posing as Cuban refugees. In New York City's Harlem, an undercover man won the confidence of Pablo Guerra, who showed him a sample of cocaine and arranged to sell him some last January. As Guerra was about to make delivery, agents closed in on him.

He whipped out a loaded revolver. But before he could get off a shot, Agent George Rahas jumped him, stunned him with a blow from his own gun and disarmed him. They found Guerra's apartment decked with pictures of Castro and the Cuban flag.

In Florida, the Narcotics Bureau used a Cuban defector to infiltrate a smuggling ring. This significant report was submitted to headquarters by the Miami agent in charge:

DEFECTOR'S EVIDENCE

"An interesting sidelight to this investigation is information received from several sources. These sources, including the special employee the undercover defector, allege that the four defendants are actually agents of the Castro government in Cuba and their sales of cocaine are not primarily for their own monetary gain but (1) to obtain money for the Castro regime, and (2) to induce Cuban refugees in the Miami area and elsewhere to use cocaine and discredit those refugees in the eyes of the American people."

Charles Siragusa personally took charge of the case, and on March 14, five Cubans were arrested. The ringleader, a man named Rodriguez, had 40 grams of cocaine. But far more significant, a search also produced a half a pound of opium from Red China's Yunnan Province, probably the produce of poppyfields along the Burmese border.

In a private report to the Treasury Department, the Narcotics Bureau declared: "Rodriguez stated at the time of his arrest that the opium seized from him had been obtained from the Red Chinese in Havana and transported by him to the United States. The flow of cocaine from Cuba to the United States has increased tremendously over the past few years. However, this was the first investigation which established that opium of Communist China origin was also being smuggled from Cuba to the United States."

But perhaps the strangest story of all goes back to Castro's visit to the United Nations. After he and his party had stormed out of their New York hotel, where they had plucked and cooked chickens in their rooms, agents found among the debris empty gelatin capsules—the kind used to hold vitamins.

Had the capsules contained only vitamins, they should have been swallowed whole; for the gelatin dissolves in the stomach. The suspicion; They may have contained either heroin or cocaine which cannot be taken in such large doses. Could it be that some members of Castro's own entourage were drug addicts?

The crackdown on Cuban smugglers has brought an official protest, delivered by the Czech Embassy, that the Cuban Government is not engaged in drug smuggling. The State Department, in rejecting the note, pointed out that no such accusation had ever been officially made by our Government.

However, Castro would not be the first to convict himself in the public mind by protesting too much.

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## Tribute to the Late Dr. Conrad A. Elvehjem, President of the University of Wisconsin

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation, on July 27, lost one of its great scientists and educators, Dr. Conrad A. Elvehjem, president of the University of Wisconsin.

The world—particularly, my home State of Wisconsin, of which he was a native son—suffers the great loss.

During his lifetime of dedicated service to humanity, Dr. Elvehjem graduated—step by step, honor by honor—from a farm boy to becoming one of the Nation's great educators and internationally known biochemists.

The sorrow of his passing can only be moderated by deep gratification for the contribution which he made to bettering human life.

As scientist, educator, outstanding citizen, warmly loved human being, he leaves to his fellow men—whom he served continuously—and to the Nation, and the world, an invaluable legacy.

From Wisconsin's great outflow of respect, esteem, and love for Dr. Elvehjem, I ask unanimous consent to have articles from the Milwaukee Journal and the Wisconsin State Journal—reflecting upon his dedicated, creative life—printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal]

CONRAD A. ELVEHJEM

The University of Wisconsin has suffered a severe loss in the death of Dr. Conrad A. Elvehjem, its president. So have the people of Wisconsin. So has the field of science.

It was as a biochemist and nutritionist that Dr. Elvehjem was most widely known and honored. His research findings in the use of niacin to cure pellagra were by themselves enough to win worldwide acclaim.

Distinction upon international distinction was heaped on him for achievements in the nutritional field. Quite as significant, he won the lasting respect and confidence of his fellow faculty members at Madison. As dean of the graduate school and then as president, since 1958, this has stood him in excellent stead.

Dr. Elvehjem tackled duties of the demanding office of university president with characteristic determination and energy. He realized the magnitude of his responsibilities. He established the reputation, in his brief term, of a strong-minded, indefatigible and absolutely fair, conscientious administrator.

He faced up to great problems in connection with the rapid expansion of the university. No University of Wisconsin president has faced greater. He had to deal with vexatious, embarrassing internal eruptions

involving university staff in which any decision would be severely criticised. There was never the slightest suspicion that he would substitute the easy course for what he believed to be the proper one.

Dr. Elvehjem was Wisconsin born, Wisconsin trained. The University of Wisconsin was his life. He never doubted its high destiny and his contributions to its achievement are beyond present measure.

Wisconsin will forever be in his debt.

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[From the Wisconsin State Journal]

CONRAD A. ELVEHJEM

Wisconsin and its university were proud to call Conrad A. Elvehjem one of their own, and this native son who rose to head a great university made the pride a mutual thing.

Today the Nation and the world share Wisconsin's sense of loss at his sudden death.

The scientific world owed him much for the discoveries that studded his greatest research years as a young teacher and later the chairman of a famed biochemistry department.

Untold thousands who never knew his name escaped one of man's ancient scourges because Connie Elvehjem had probed pellagra's secrets and pointed to a cure.

And two generations of students, from all the States and every walk of life, will remember him not only as a great teacher but as a warm friend and adviser.

The academic world has many fine researchers these days, and Conrad Elvehjem was one of the great ones. More important, his restless curiosity and his dedication to knowledge were matched by a burning desire to help others learn.

Under his encouragement as instructor, chairman, dean of the graduate school, even as a busy president, young men and women here never could ignore his demand for excellence. It was his own standard and he made it contagious.

"We shouldn't ask for more," said a Wisconsin Governor in 1958 as Dr. Elvehjem was inaugurated, citing his long service to the university and to learning. "But we must."

Connie Elvehjem plunged into his new job at the speed he felt its many-sided problems demanded. There was so much to do, with enrollments rising as fast as the breathtaking pace of new discovery.

He was everywhere: a new lab's opening, a student function, faculty and staff meetings, budget hearings, the mounting load of administrative detail.

And wherever he went or spoke, always he spread the message of excellence coupled with zing. Early in his administration he said, "I do not tolerate the inference that size must mean mediocrity."

Hard work he found a delight and a challenge.

"Give us, then, the hills to climb and the strength to climb them," he said as he took on the presidency.

Conrad Elvehjem's strength gave out this week. His years and example have left others the strength to carry on.

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[From the Milwaukee Journal]

THE STUDENT WHO BECAME PREXY—DEATH OF CONRAD A. ELVEHJEM RECALLS HIS RISE FROM A WISCONSIN FARM BOY TO HEAD OF STATE UNIVERSITY; FRIENDS REMEMBER HIS MODESTY, HUMOR, AND LOVE OF DEMOCRACY

(This profile, written by Robert Eskew, appeared in the September 1961 issue of Let's See magazine.)

When he was a boy jouncing aboard a one row cultivator in the cornfields of his father's farm in McFarland, Wis., he began to develop what he now describes as his "endless fascination for living, growing things."

Later, in the coiled-glass labyrinth of the University of Wisconsin's now famed biochemistry department, he transformed this fascination into a personal reputation as one of the giants in the field of human nutrition.

Now, as president of that same university, Dr. Conrad A. Elvehjem can view from the high windows of his expansive office in Bascom Hall much of the heart of the 250-acre main campus, or walk beneath its forest of maples, oaks, and elms among the nearly 20,000 students who graze the greening "hill," feeling more than ever before that same "endless fascination for living, growing things."

And this he does—7 days a week—as he begins his fourth year as executive administrator of one of the Nation's leading universities.

Dr. Elvehjem, a lean, pokerfaced Norwegian, is an easy man to meet although not a particularly easy man to know. His handshake is reserved. His voice is low, resonant, vaguely warm, yet his rock-chinned face is a mask of dead seriousness. He stands erect, near the 6-foot mark, but not rigidly, for there is composure and a natural grace to his manner. From his straight, neatly trimmed hair down to his two-toned summer shoes he is dressed entirely in shades of gray; even the wide-set, shadowed eyes are gray by midafternoon office light.

You sit opposite him as he sits poised, waiting for your questions. There is no small talk. To vital statistic-type inquiries his answers form bare equations: Where were you born?—McFarland, Wis. When?—May 27, 1901. Or he might formulate: "With the exception of 1 year which I spent in England, all of my academic life has been lived at the university." Or, "I received all three of my degrees at Wisconsin, beginning with my bachelor's in 1923."

TALK OF VITAMINS STRIKES A SPARK

Pure statements of fact which might mislead anyone to believe that the rise from farm boy to internationally eminent biochemist to university president in 57 years amounts to anything more than a half column of "Who's Who" statistics. This then was the rarified scientist speaking and at the first mention of his field his talk began to warm noticeably, its pace quickened.

Initially, though, he described his specialty during his long career as a biochemist as simply "vitamins." Did he discover them? "No, no—certainly not," he exclaimed, and as he spoke a sudden, incandescent smile shattered the dour mask, then vanished quickly as he hastened to explain that prior to his research in the field there had been positive development regarding vitamins; however, up to that time there had been no isolation or identification of specific vitamins.

Reluctant as Dr. Elvehjem is to discuss his personal accomplishments, the world-famous nutritionist has sharp comments to offer on several timely subjects:

On modern nutrition: "We're overnourished in America today. We're simply overeating. Too many rich foods. Too much fat, cholesterol. Too much heart disease, hypertension. Too much food, that's it."

On his taking vitamins: "Every time I eat, yes—but never out of a bottle." A rare share of that unpredictable smile lighted his face again as he said this.

On the status of higher education:

"I think there has been a remarkable increase in public awareness and interest at this level," he answered, shifting smoothly into academic gear.

"And never has education been in a more favored position. The only handicap is that nobody wants to pay for it. Parents want the best for their children but it becomes more and more difficult to translate this desire into dollars. The public seems willing enough to build new high schools and grade schools because of a pressing local need. But higher education is so much more remote. It suffers more as a result.

"The odd thing, though, is that in recent years a reverse has taken place in the way private and public institutions derive much of their financing. Private schools are coming to depend more on Federal assistance while the public ones receive more and more private gifts. But either way, there's never enough."

BALANCED EDUCATION WAS HIS GOAL

"I believe in a strict emphasis on balance in all areas of education. I just can't get excited about science versus the humanities. We're all human beings and we all have the same broad needs in our education as we do in our everyday lives. I've tried to deemphasize this conflict and push for as liberal an education as possible.

"Of course, specialization is necessary. But ideally undergraduate work should involve liberal arts only, with specialization beginning at the graduate level. This might never be fully realized but at least some of the sciences and professions are tending to lean more heavily in this direction."

As for the proper role of athletics in higher education, he says, "I never was an athlete myself [he later confessed to a dribble or two of basketball during high school, a splash of swimming, and a broken-oared attempt to crew for the university] but I enjoy athletics. I definitely feel they have their place in university life, but again this must be balanced. I think we achieve it here. Our boys are students first, athletes second. Only students with good academic records achieved on their own ever make a Wisconsin team."

With typical understatement Dr. Elvehjem explained that the "biggest single factor in the role of a college president is variety. So many things happen at the same time."

A typical working day would go something like this—in at 8 a.m. to read mail until 9; then a cabinet meeting with the vice-presidents of academics and finance, plus the special budget consultant, for an hour and a half; then back to his desk for dictation (he answers 50 to 100 letters per week) mixed with visitations from faculty members and various other callers until lunchtime.

The afternoon is devoted to a meeting with one of the many university committees for an hour or two, then back to the mail, phone calls, a cursory reading of field journals (his only reading other than newspapers), visitors again, or perhaps one of the many speeches he is called upon to make throughout the year. (He speaks to at least 10 student groups and as many alumni chapters each school year, as well to numerous outside organizations.)

He is usually out of his office and on his way home by 6 p.m. But the clincher is this—he occupies that office 7 days a week most of the year, a habit he developed during his research years when a day never happened that there wasn't something to observe or attend to "down at the lab."

It has been said that work flows across Dr. Elvehjem's desk like a wild spring thaw, or as one associate put it, "There can't possibly be enough hours in the day for the man." Yet despite his overwhelming workload, he is visibly a relaxed individual. His only detectable nervous habits (if they can be called that) are a sometimes frequent clearing of the throat and an unconscious jingling of pocket change whenever he is called upon to speak in the rough.

His secret, according to Mrs. Elvehjem, is that he can slip to sleep in 5 seconds, any time, any place, and often does. Rumor runs that he once dozed during a dean's meeting, said she, adding that fortunately no one was awake to prove it.

It is this immense capacity for work without strain, this "grace under pressure" that everyone mentions when they begin to speak of him. As a president he is already considered by many to have proved himself one of the best the school has ever had.

He is widely praised as "a man who knows what he wants and knows how to get things done." As one associate expressed it, "He runs a tight ship. He's damned exacting. But this makes it easier for the rest of us because we always know what is expected of us." He is praised, too, for his thoroughness, his fairness, his sympathetic understanding of other people's problems, and his humility. Dozens of illustrations of his "down to earthness" cropped up during conversations with friends and associates, such as this typical example.

HE WANTED NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES

It was a football Saturday in Madison, and University Avenue was filled with traffic churling its way toward turnoffs for the huge Camp Randall stadium. Sardined in the swarm was President Elvehjem inching his way along in the family Pontiac. Just as he reached a desirable exit the reigning traffic cop decided to give this particular avenue a respite, so unknowingly ordered the president's car to move along. Now, a quiet word or two whispered into the dutiful constable's ear by Dr. Elvehjem and it would have been as Moses before the Red Sea. But the president chose instead to move along with the herd and take his due as an ordinary citizen. "He wouldn't have had it any other way," a friend insisted.

This incident reveals why Dr. Elvehjem thoroughly understands and is dedicated to the democratic system as practiced at the University of Wisconsin.

About his sense of humor, a colleague explained it this way: "There are two kinds, you know. One has to do with gags and wisecracks and joke telling. The other is a deeper, more natural thing. It has to do with a balanced, considerate view of life. That's the kind of sense of humor Connie has."

Much emphasis is also placed on Connie's fondness for his home life, his pride in his wife and two children, all of whom, like himself, are graduates of the university. Daughter Peggy is now married and living in Minneapolis and son Robert is completing a stint in the Army, so President and Mrs. Elvehjem now live alone in the imposing four-story gabled brick president's home up on Prospect Hill.

CREATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE

Dr. Elvehjem excused himself and Mrs. Elvehjem remained to talk for a moment about her husband of 34 years. He is a fiercely punctual man, she confirmed, part of his drive toward self-discipline, and he is deeply emotional, although he mostly keeps it in check. "He's also very creative," she went on, "and very progressive. Once he found a student putting his foot into fresh cement and he just couldn't understand the impulse behind it. He's appalled by anything destructive."

She was silent a moment, then continued. "Is he happy as president? Yes—I think he is definitely happy. I'm sure he misses his research, still he never mentions it. But then he'd be the one to answer that one."

Dr. Elvehjem's answer was this: "Yes, I miss it constantly. This was one of the hardest decisions I ever had to make—to give up research. But I made it and I've since come to see that administrative work itself is an endless process of study and research. You're always searching for better, more intelligent ways to realize the significance of life. It's all important, no matter how you approach it."

## We Can See Now How Billie Sol Estes Got Away With It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the very able editor of the Rock County Star Herald, of Luverne, Minn., is properly disturbed by the apparent lack of action involving evidences of irregularities in the purchase by the Department of Agriculture of Federal grain bin aeration duct assemblies. Particularly upsetting to the editor, Alan C. McIntosh, is the lack of action in the Government departments many months after it was called to their attention.

A well-documented story describes the situation in such thorough fashion that I am sending copies to the Attorney General and the Secretary of Agriculture, requesting reports from them. Meanwhile, under unanimous consent request, I include Mr. McIntosh's editorial on the subject in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

WE CAN SEE NOW HOW BILLIE SOL ESTES GOT AWAY WITH IT

One of our close friends of our college days period in life accidentally got into the trucking business soon after his graduation.

It wasn't too long before this two-fisted, rugged individualist had made his first million. He has made a number of them since before selling out for a fabulous figure.

A few years ago he achieved the dubious distinction, of being charged by the State of Illinois with a gross violation—one of his trucks was found to be the heaviest overloaded truck in the history of law enforcement.

The fine was a big one. It didn't bother our friend one bit.

"We got caught on that one but think of the thousands that got through without a fine," he said.

That, unfortunately, seems to be the attitude of some business executives today.

Over a year ago A. R. Wood Manufacturing Co., bid on some aeration duct assemblies for Government grain bins.

The Luverne firm didn't get the contract which would have meant more jobs for more Luverne men during the slack period of the year.

Wood's were 46 cents higher per unit than Gate City Steel of Omaha who had the low bid.

Management here couldn't understand how they could have been high by that much.

Anybody can make money if he overloads a truck, if he is a trucker, or if he doesn't follow specifications if he is a manufacturer.

We had the belief that maybe lighter gage steel had been used on these assemblies by the Omaha manufacturer.

A check by inspectors showed that of the grain bins checked 60 percent of the assemblies were made of lighter gage steel than called for in the Government specifications and contract.

We think this was a fraud against the taxpayers. It was an injustice to other firms who bid on this contract in good faith and who planned to follow specifications.

The Star-Herald did not want to approach this on a political basis even though we do not have any personal regard for Secretary of Agriculture Freeman. We disagree bitterly with Senator HUMPHREY but like him personally and respect his integrity.

So—we wrote Senator HUMPHREY and told him the situation and said we didn't want to make political capital out of this matter but we wanted HUMPHREY to have the information and give Secretary Freeman a chance to put his house in order. (In the light of the dawdling, the coverups, and the bluffing done by Secretary Freeman in the Billie Sol Estes case we would have done the citizenry a favor in airing this matter nearly a year ago.)

The Senator secured the information and according to information given him the matter had been turned over to the authorities for quick disposition of the case.

What disturbed us greatly was a conversation we had with one of the Midwest's leading businessmen at the end of 1961. We told him about how the Omaha firm had substituted lighter gage steel and ventured the opinion that they might get into difficulty.

"They have too much political influence in Washington," said our friend dismissing the possibility that anything harmful to Gate City might come out of the matter.

We think he was right.

Pretty soon a year will have elapsed.

To the knowledge of the Star-Herald staff not one grain bin in this matter of 3,500 aerators has been repaired or brought up to specification standards.

No bond has been forfeited.

No charges have been brought.

The Department of Justice has brought no action, according to their own admission. (We will make no cracks about the head of the Department and his swimming pool parties and dunkings.)

We are disappointed for several reasons.

1. A Luverne manufacturer lost out on a contract and Luverne workmen lost out on employment.

2. There seemed to be no great alacrity or interest by the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Justice to "do anything" about the matter even though taxpayer dollars were involved.

3. There was seemingly no great indignation in Secretary Freeman's Department about the matter even through a newspaper was "blowing the whistle" about a matter that deserved investigation. Which makes one wonder at the indifference of our bureaucratic wasteland. Don't they care any more about the taxpayer getting his money's worth?

About the only conclusion we have reached in the whole matter is this—having watched the tortuous, tortoise slow, meanderings of the Department of Agriculture where it takes a month for a letter to get from one desk to another, we can surely say we now understand how Billie Sol Estes could get away with all he did in Washington.

## School-Age Americans Stir Pride

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in the days when we read so much about juvenile delinquency, it is

refreshing to read more about juvenile decency. The National Education Association report of 1962 has been released by Mr. Ewald Turner, president of the National Education Association. In it, Mr. Turner reported that we have every reason to rejoice over this year's 1,880,000 graduates; he speaks not only about the brightest and most favored children of our society but of all of them.

The Daily Journal, of Elizabeth, N.J., has brought this situation to my attention. I ask unanimous consent to have its July 12 editorial "School-Age Americans Stir Pride" printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHOOL-AGE AMERICANS STIR PRIDE

America has 1,880,000 good reasons this summer to feel pride in its present and faith in its future, says Ewald Turner, president of the National Education Association. That's the total of the Nation's 1962 high school graduating class. What this educator has to say further about today's school-age Americans in an open letter to parents is additional cause to feel proud.

Mr. Turner in his travels as NEA president saw boys and girls in action in and out of classrooms all over America last year. He found them completely at home in a complex modern world; he found them more knowledgeable; he found them imbued with a deep respect for intellectual achievement and for the sound value, material and spiritual, of education.

They are working harder—thousands are going to school on Saturdays and in the summer, Mr. Turner says. In Maine boys and girls will spend 10 weeks of summer receiving instruction in anatomy, physiology, psychology and genetics; in a rural California area whose schools do not provide this kind of teaching students are attending Saturday classes in mathematics, foreign languages, art, creative writing and science.

And another heartening aspect is the educator's emphasis that he is not talking about only the brightest and most favored children in our society. In a depressed area of St. Louis where families are large, both parents work and the average family income is about $3,100, boys and girls are turning out school work as good as that produced by more fortunate children because they realize the importance of learning.

One of the Nation's 1,200 merit scholars is a southern boy, son of a laborer who supports four on $2,000 a year. This boy maintained a straight-A average while working on a farm after school and during vacations. Another merit scholar, a girl, who earned all A's in school, lives with a grandmother; the family income is $1,200 a year. "She is the finest all-round student I have known in more than 30 years of teaching," was the accolate of her principal.

In these days of gangs and goons, vandalism, viciousness, and vapidity, the NEA president's report is a refreshing change.

## Getting Our Money's Worth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, historically, it has been our responsibility and privilege as Members of the House of Representatives, to serve as guardians of the Federal Treasury and as initiators of appropriations legislation.

In carrying out our constitutional responsibility in this regard, we, each year, consider the appropriation of billions of taxpayer dollars, and I am certain each Member does not need to be reminded of the weight of our duties. But, in dealing with appropriations legislation, at times, we might forget that fiscal responsibility is not our special province but extends also to the executive branch of government and specifically to those agencies for which we now are considering appropriations for fiscal year 1963.

It gave me great pleasure when I recently learned of an example of fiscal responsibility and public service demonstrated by one of our Federal agencies—the Public Housing Administration.

At an out-of-pocket cost of $5, the PHA developed a proven technique for the economical removal of multicoats of paint at potentially vast savings to local housing authorities, which plan, own, and operate the half-million dwellings developed with the assistance of the Federal agency.

I am sure my colleagues will agree that anytime our Government makes a material research contribution at such nominal cost, the Congress is vitally interested. I pursued this matter with officials of the Public Housing Administration and the National Paint, Varnish & Lacquer Association, which contributed to this project, in order to bring this to the attention of Congress and the public.

A major contribution of this nature, which answers longfelt health and economic needs, certainly requires commendation of Congress, and I believe it appropriate that we recognize this achievement in technical progress and particularly in light of the agency's economical prudence in its development.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the report furnished me by Commissioner Marie C. McGuire, of the Public Housing Administration:

JULY 31, 1962.

Hon. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. O'KONSKI: As you requested, I am submitting the following report on the progress of the steam paint remover technique developed by our maintenance engineering branch.

As you know, Mr. George A. Erickson, PHA paint engineering technician, worked very closely with Mr. Neil Garlock and Mr. Michael Grasso, of the National Paint, Varnish & Lacquer Association, in the perfection of this method for the economical and speedy removal of paint, utilizing a joint steam pressure and chemical remover process.

Public health officials of many communities throughout the country had requested research by the association to develop such a technique for several years. At the same time, PHA has foreseen a continuing and growing need for such a method.

We, therefore, realized a public need and service could be met through research in this field, even though in the absence of any research funds, per se, it would have to be accomplished at nominal expenditure and through staff work without drastically affecting the demands of this on-going program.

The fundamentals of the technique are, as with all proven innovations, seemingly quite obvious. It incorporates the application of a water-rinsable paint and varnish remover followed by that of steam under 1 pound of pressure. As you may know, steam application is a widely accepted method for removal of wallpaper, but, to our knowledge, had never before been used as an accelerator for the removal of paint.

Since our basic research, which was successfully proven approximately a year ago, demonstrations have been held at the request of local health officials, housing authorities, paint and chemical manufacturing concerns in Baltimore, New York City, and Philadelphia. Everywhere, it has been enthusiastically acclaimed. In fact, the National Paint, Varnish & Lacquer Association has recently published a technical circular describing the process and its development.

We, in the Public Housing Administration, feel justifiable pride in our contribution in this achievement, particularly since the cost to us was only $5 and some 100 man-hours of staff work.

I am glad to furnish this information to you. If I can help further, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

_____,
*Commissioner.*

Mr. Speaker, I believe this method described very effectively and yet clearly by Commissioner McGuire, indicates a substantial potential savings in labor and costs, and I intend to write the Administrator of the General Services Administration, urging that agency to look into the application of this method in its properties.

I am sure my colleagues will be further interested to learn that the Maritime Commission has inquired of PHA as to the potential of this method in removal of the coating used for preservation of our Reserve Fleet.

It is obvious that $5 wisely spent has bought a great deal for the taxpayers, and I warmly commend the PHA for this contribution.

## Nike Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Times and Democrat, of Orangeburg, S.C., has printed in its July 26, 1962, edition an excellent editorial on the recent Nike-Zeus antimissile success in scoring a kill against an intercontinental ballistic missile.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NIKE SUCCESS

Nikita Khrushchev has been boasting that the Russians have an antimissile missile for some time now. American officials have been reluctant to believe it or perhaps they have been publicly disbelieving it, for a purpose.

Be that as it may, we have now succeeded in hitting a missile with an advanced Nike antimissile missile, and this is a significant

step forward in the early stages of the development of a defense against missiles. If the development of antimissile missiles continue along the lines of traditional success for defense counterparts to offensive breakthroughs, then the day may come in the years not too far ahead when we have a defense against missile attack.

If an adequate defense against missile attack is ever achieved, the complexion of the war threat which necessarily hangs over the United States today will have changed radically. (It is dubious if ever there will be any foolproof defense against all means of delivery of nuclear weapons.)

The value of the current successful test is both military and psychological. Khrushchev and Russia might be ahead of us in the antimissile race, but at least now we are in the race. And there are signs that we have made some progress in rocket competition, in which we trail also.

All Americans can hope that the announcement of the successful performance of the Nike-Zeus means that we are on the road to perfecting at least some defense against missile attack. It is not a bit too early. In fact, we are perhaps late. But we are at last on the way, and this is heartening. The speed with which we now can utilize our knowledge and the new missile is all important.

## An Impractical Pragmatism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, much has been written recently about what constitutes the key to economic growth. The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of July 30 is as sound and responsible and constructive as anything I have seen:

AN IMPRACTICAL PRAGMATISM

The Kennedy administration is often described as pragmatic rather than theoretical. If so, let us put theories aside for the moment and look at its economic policy in coldly practical terms. How effective is it?

First of all, it is true the policy is an unfinished work, since Congress has neglected to enact parts of it. As one of President Kennedy's closest aids, Theodore Sorenson, expressed it on Howard K. Smith's television show the other night, "We have submitted to the Congress last year and this year an extensive program to stimulate the economy."

The President's legislative program includes farm controls, medicare, depressed areas, manpower retraining, youth employment, and discretionary Presidential authority to boost public works spending.

Mr. Sorenson apparently feels that if Congress had passed every last bit of the program, instead of only parts of it, the economy would now be booming. As it is, the officials regard the economy's blood as so tired that they are seriously thinking of asking Congress for tax cuts to build it up.

Yet if one examines the proposals to date, it is evident they have nothing to do with economic growth. Whatever else may be said of the farm plan that failed, its purpose was to regiment the farmer into producing less, not to stimulate more output. And whatever the pros and cons of medicare on other grounds, not even its advocates could very well claim it was a growth hypodermic.

Aid to depressed areas, unemployed youth, manpower retraining, public works—all these are by definition palliatives designed at most to soothe sore spots. They have no more connection with economic growth than did similar programs in the thirties, when all the considerable efforts of Government, year after year, were unable to significantly alleviate mass unemployment, much less lift the whole economy out of the mire of depression.

So, as a practical matter, blaming Congress for inaction doesn't get the administration far. Anyway, Congress has cooperated handsomely in the higher Federal spending and deficits which appear to be a key part of the administration's "growth" policy.

Spending has gone up many billions, and not just for defense and space, if even all those increases are justified. An imposing deficit was piled up last fiscal year, and another is in store this year. And yet the economy is said to be stagnating.

Since all this Federal medicine hasn't done the trick, the President is being urged to try much more of it, which seems rather curious advice. Outstanding liberal economists like Truman Adviser Leon Keyserling want him to quit temporizing and embark on a truly expansionary program.

That means the greatest possible spending Government officials can conceive, for any purpose anyone can dream up. The whole point, which is not without political overtones, is to spend, so as to put more people to work and put more dollars in people's pockets.

Assuming a willing Congress, such a program would certainly mean Government growth. But it could not mean economic growth because its premise is uneconomic.

A policy with the avowed objective of maximum Federal spending, directed from Washington, must cause a monstrous misallocation of resources. This defect has characterized every so-called planned economy in history and is glaringly plain in every one today from Socialist India to Communist Russia. Inevitably the wrong things are built and produced in the wrong places for the wrong needs.

The free-market economy's success is due above all to its practicality; it is simply the most effective means of channeling resources to productive and prosperous ends. The more its mechanisms are interfered with, the more impractical an economy is.

It would seem, then, that the administration and its advisers in and out of Government are barking up the wrong policy tree. The key to real economic growth lies where it always has, in lifting rather than increasing the burden of Government and so releasing the energies of a free people in a free market.

To figure it all out otherwise requires, we suggest, an extremely peculiar kind of pragmatism.

## No Aid for Anti-Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the latest issue of Prevent World War III—No. 60, summer of 1962—contains a forceful editorial dealing with the futility of granting U.S. aid to those countries which have displayed a dedicated hostility toward the United States. This editorial, entitled "Rewards of Anti-Americanism," cites facts and figures which show quite clearly that President Nasser's government in Egypt has received hundreds of millions of dollars worth of U.S. aid while it continues its nefarious practice of inciting hate toward the United States. The editorial also points out that some of our policymakers are under the impression that U.S. aid will mellow President Nasser's belligerent policies. This is sheer illusion. Under no circumstances should our foreign assistance programs be used to strengthen dictators and governments which flout the U.N. Charter and attempt to undermine our prestige.

I introduced an amendment which was approved by the Congress as part of the foreign aid bill, to try to concentrate U.S. aid in countries which share our view of the world crisis and do not divert their own resources to Communist-backed military or propaganda efforts. This editorial is a strong affirmation of that position.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial mentioned above printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REWARDS OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

In February of this year Chester Bowles, the President's adviser on African, Asian, and Latin American affairs, paid a short visit to Egypt. On arrival, he declared that it was his intention to observe developments there and to gain new insight into common problems. As noted by the London Times, February 16, 1962, Bowles' arrival had been immediately preceded by two more solid manifestations of American solicitude. Thus an agreement had been worked out to supply the Cairo Government with 200,000 tons of wheat and 50,000 tons of vegetable oil. The other generous gesture involved a U.S. grant amounting to $40 million for the construction of a system of silos throughout Egypt to store and conserve food supplies. The New York Times correspondent reporting from Cairo (February 12, 1962) asserted that the silo project was regarded by Egyptians (unnamed) as of major consequence for the future of the country's economy.

However, shortly before Mr. Bowles appeared in Egypt President Nasser described American aid in a Swiss television interview as unexceptional. As if to make this point stick in the minds of the Egyptian people, Radio Cairo, February 20, 1962, repeated the same line, stating that aid granted by America to the United Arab Republic is simple, ordinary, and insignificant. Moreover, the broadcast went on to say, U.S. aid serves more as a propaganda issue than a useful program. It should be noted that this gratuitous slur came on the heels of Mr. Bowles' departure from his brief sojourn in the land of the Pharaohs.

How do the facts square with President Nasser's snide reference to U.S. aid? We shall cite the essentials, not because we have pangs of conscience that American aid has been too little, but rather to alert Americans as to the futility of a policy which strengthens the hand of one of our country's most implacable enemies and dedicated foes.

American aid to the Nasser regime has almost doubled in the last 2 years, from $80 million to $150 million. Since 1959 about $292 million worth of American agricultural commodities have been supplied to Egypt. Total aid to the Cairo Government now approaches the $500 million mark, three-quarters of which have either been loaned

or donated in the last 3 years. As one recent report observes, even the total figure is misleading, because this aid has actually cost U.S. taxpayers an additional $200 million. This is due to the two-price system whereby U.S. taxpayers pay American farmers twice as much as Washington charges Nasser.

This is by no means the whole story. For example, whereas Nasser pays the United States virtually nothing, he is obliged to pay in valuable cotton for the military hardware which Egypt currently receives from the Soviet Union. It is also important to bear in mind that while Soviet aid is in the form of funds for the construction of the high Aswan Dam, whose long-range economic benefits are debatable, but serves to bolster Nasser's prestige, American aid literally helps to keep the impoverished Egyptian masses alive. Indeed, without the underpinning of aid from the U.S. imperialists, it is doubtful that Nasser would have been able to take even the first steps in his grandiose socialistic schemes or to foist upon the Egyptian masses the tremendous sacrifices involved in the construction of the highly touted Aswan Dam.

It has been authoritatively stated that 2 out of 5 loaves of the flat brown bread consumed by the Egyptian peasant, are derived from American surpluses which the Nasser regime sells at a good profit. These funds are used for other purposes, including the buildup of high military machine. Consequently, the sorry plight of the Egyptian masses remains a constant. Discussing this point the correspondent for the London Financial Times (Dec. 21, 1961) wrote: "The disparity in living standards between the countryside and the towns is so great that they remain virtually two different worlds. * * *" Under these circumstances Nasser finds U.S. aid indispensable. It prevents the rumblings of unrest and disillusionment from reaching the explosive point, while he continues to peddle his pie-in-the-sky projects.

In view of the foregoing, one can appreciate the caption of a recent press report which read: "U.S. Capitalism Aids Nasser's Socialist Rule" (New York Post, Apr. 10, 1962). Of immediate significance in the citation of facts is that the overwhelming majority of Egyptian masses are completely unaware that Nasser's welfare programs are financed, in a large measure, by the U.S. Treasury. Let it be understood that this is not an accidental failing on the part of the Cairo government, nor does it stem from the lack of public information media to inform the people about the true state of affairs. No, the ignorance of the Egyptian masses in this respect is carefully cultivated by a deliberate news blackout in Cairo's controlled press and radio. Nasser's studied effort to keep the people in the dark over the scope of U.S. aid is but the other side of Nasser's propaganda policy which portrays the United States as a deadly enemy of the Arab peoples.

Obviously Nasser's propaganda pitch would lose its impact if the people were told the truth. Therefore, the Cairo propaganda machine operates on two levels vis-a-vis the United States. On one level it virtually ignores the constant assistance rendered to the Egyptians by our Government over the past 10 years. On the other hand it conducts an unremitting propaganda attack against the West in general, and the United States in particular.

A few days before Mr. Bowles came to Egypt, Nasser's radio network carried a lurid report alleging that the United States and Britain had concocted a master plan to destroy the Arab peoples as a means of getting rid of Abd an-Nasir and the trend he champions. One week following this incendiary charge against the United States, Washington announced the agreement that would make $40 million available for the preservation of Egypt's food supply. Another point of contrast should be noted. Shortly after Mr. Bowles departed from Egypt with an air of optimism, the Cairo Radio made veiled references to the United States as an enemy of the Arab peoples.

Nevertheless, the U.S. decision to salvage Nasser, proceeds full steam ahead. In May, Nasser's Finance Minister Kaissouny came to Washington and had a series of talks with top officials in our Government. According to the press, the results of these talks were most satisfactory. The Christian Science Monitor, May 5, 1962, reported that the World Bank and a consortium of nations led by the United States, would underwrite a $500 million commitment intended to shore up Nasser's sagging socialism. This startling news needed a touch of public relations and so a spate of reports appeared in the press, assuring Americans that Nasser had turned over a new leaf. The discovery was made that the Nasser government, after all, wasn't so bad as their own pronouncements.

One columnist wrote that "Nasser is nobody's 'Yes' man." Another columnist described how Nasser had been able to keep his home-grown Communists under lock and key. Still another columnist whispered that there was evidence that Nasser has "cautioned some African leaders not to get in too deep with the Soviet Union." Another report mentioned that Nasser's propagandists "have gone light on anti-Israel war cries over the past 6 or 8 months." Still another "discovery" was reported, namely that Cairo broadcasts against the West were now in "low key." This rather clumsy attempt to prettify Nasser may admittedly fool the uninformed. However, to those who know the score, it is but another tragic indication of the widening gap between reality and U.S. policy in the Middle East.

It is true that Nasser's propaganda attack against the United States has been toned down, but its venom still persists. Thus, during the very days when Nasser's image was being recast for American consumption, the Cairo Radio attacked the worldwide imperialist objectives of NATO and charged that it was working to undermine the peoples of Africa (Cairo Radio, Apr. 29, 1962).

On May 2, Cairo radio broadcast a vicious attack against President Kennedy's brother, Edward Kennedy, as a Zionist propagandist. The previous day, May 1, Radio Cairo told its African listeners that the West had no other objective but to continue to bleed the African peoples. "The United Arab Republic," the broadcast boasted, "has given material proof that in 5 years the Africans can replace the Europeans, that those whose wealth is gained from stealing the African wealth should go and look for another continent." Another broadcast on May 2, this time to the Arab world, boasted that Nasser's navy "is lying in wait for Israel and its friends."

Whether these and other toned down attacks will assume a more virulent form in the days ahead, does not depend on Washington's projected grants to Cairo, but on Nasser's own evaluations of what tactics suit him best at a given moment.

When Mr. Bowles was in Cairo he told the press (although it was never reported to the Egyptian people), that the United States had given substantial sums to Egypt but that we (the United States) have never asked it (Egypt) to go along with us. This is a true statement but it is incomplete. U.S. aid should never be designed to turn other countries into satellites. But on the other hand, it should not strengthen those who would cut our throats at the first opportunity. That is why the society has consistently stressed the principle that "all recipients of American aid must demonstrate their responsibility and reciprocate our friendship and good will." This principle is simple in concept, but it is a fundamental necessity if U.S. aid is to truly protect the national interest.

The society has wholeheartedly supported American aid programs, but we have insisted that they should not be conditioned by the blackmail of other countries. This is not only good economics, it is prudent politics. Surely the American taxpayers are entitled to at least the same consideration which is shown to regimes which have made anti-Americanism a paying proposition. It is time to call a spade a spade. We can think of no more appropriate place to begin than in Cairo.

## Glaser and Workman: Future Leaders in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Kurt Glaser and Bill Workman will be carrying the Republican banner in the 24th Congressional District of Illinois and in the U.S. Senate race in South Carolina respectively in the elections this fall. In reviewing the backgrounds of the aforementioned, it was obvious that the Republican Party is most fortunate to have men of their caliber who have decided to make it their business to do whatever is possible to maintain the traditions of our great Republic.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Glaser received has A.B., M.A., and Ph. D. degrees in government and economics at Harvard.

In addition, Mr. Glaser has worked as a salesman and as a management analyst for Records Engineering, Inc., since 1952. He has conducted a research and consulting business, supplementing his other activities.

As a professional staff member of U.S. military government and later the State Department in Germany, Mr. Glaser acquired detailed knowledge of European politics. He has negotiated with officials in both Communist and friendly governments. After leaving Government service in 1950, Mr. Glaser returned to Europe briefly in 1954 as an investigator for the House Committee on Communist Aggression—Karsten committee.

Mr. Glaser has worked as a news writer and researcher in Germany and in Washington, D.C. He has supervised research on policy conducted by the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington under Department of the Army subcontract. In March 1962 he was coordinator of an international conference held by the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, Chicago, and the Herder Institute of Germany on Berlin and the Future of Eastern Europe.

From 1956 to 1959, Mr. Glaser taught history and government to American Armed Forces in Europe with the University of Maryland. Since 1959 he has been with Southern Illinois University at Alton, where he is now associate professor of government.

Mr. Speaker, William D. Workman, Jr. is a native South Carolinian, having been born in Greenwood, on August 10, 1914, and reared in Greenville.

Bill attended the public schools of Greenville, and was graduated from Greenville High School in 1931. He was graduated from The Citadel in 1935, after making a distinguished record in academic, military, athletic, and extracurricular activities. During the 1935–36 school year, he worked in Washington, D.C., and attended the George Washington University Law School at night.

In 1936, Bill entered newspaper work as a reporter on the Charleston News and Courier. He lived in Charleston from 1936 until January of 1941, when he was called to active duty as a reserve officer. While in Charleston, he worked both as a newspaperman and as manager of radio station WTMA, then owned by the Charleston newspapers.

He served for 5 years in the Army during World War II, with duty in the United States, England, north Africa, and the Pacific. He has retained his military Reserve status since 1935, and currently is a colonel in the Army Reserve.

At the end of World War II, he established a news and courier bureau in Columbia, and began an extended career as a capital correspondent, covering government, politics, and other significant aspects of South Carolina life. He later became correspondent also for the Greenville News. He has written principally for the Charleston and Greenville papers, although serving other publications on occasion. He has been the South Carolina correspondent for Southern School News since 1954, and for many years represented Newsweek magazine in this State. He has been a news commentator for radio stations in Charleston and Greenville, in addition to regular appearances on WIS and WIS–TV in Columbia.

Bill Workman's book, "The Case for the South," was hailed at its 1960 publication as a definitive statement of the southern position on States rights, constitutional government and racial integrity. He also participated in the writing of three other books during the 1957–60 period: "This Is the South," "With All Deliberate Speed," and "Southern School Progress and Problems."

Beginning in June of 1960, he began a three-times-weekly column for the Hall Syndicate of New York City. The column is published in a number of newspapers throughout the South and East.

Bill Workman's writings have brought him the Distinguished Service Award of the Southern Association of Science and Industry in 1955; a special citation and letter of commendation from the South Carolina Forest Industries Committee in 1956; and a certificate of achievement from the Chief of Civil Affairs, Military Government, U.S. Army, 1956.

He is married to the former Rhea Thomas, of Walterboro. She is a Winthrop graduate, and obtained her master's and Ph. D. degrees from the University of South Carolina. Mrs. Workman has been a teacher for many years in South Carolina schools, and she is currently an associate professor of English at Columbia College, a South Carolina Methodist Church college. The Workmans are charter members of Trenholm Road Methodist Church, and Bill is a member of the official board.

The Workmans have two children. Bill III, is a 1961 graduate of The Citadel, and is currently doing teaching and graduate work at the University of South Carolina. Their daughter, Dee, is a sophomore at Columbia College.

Bill Workman was officially nominated by the South Carolina Republican Party at its March 17, 1962, State convention as its official candidate in the November general election for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON.

Bill Workman is a staunch conservative and a dedicated South Carolinian, southerner, and American.

Mr. Speaker, the qualifications of Mr. Glaser and Mr. Workman have not gone unnoticed by the press throughout the country. To point up this fact I include at this time an editorial from the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier, dated July 21, 1962. The article follows:

LEADERS FOR CONGRESS

In the person of W. D. Workman the South Carolina Republican Party has chosen a quality candidate as the standard-bearer for the State's conservatives. But this is not the only State where the GOP is finding the best kind of new political blood for the fall campaign.

Typical of the able, outspoken Republican candidates of 1962 is Prof. Kurt Glaser, candidate for Congress in the 24th District of Illinois. Indeed this candidacy exposes as an untruth the silly charge that conservatives are antiintellectual. Professor Glaser is a scholar of international note. His recent history of Czechoslovakia is considered the outstanding work on that subject.

But Professor Glaser is a scholar who is thoroughly grounded in the political and economic traditions of this country. He is an articulate anti-Communist and defender of national sovereignty. He is one of that brave band of scholars that has battled the orthodoxies of liberalism. His campaign platform includes opposition to the U.N. bonds. If elected, he promises to seek membership on the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Workmans and the Glasers of America are a promise of better days to come in the United States. But they need all-out support from their fellow conservatives.

## Interfaith Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the United States has been the leader of the free world in a continuing struggle against tyranny of both the Communist and the Nazi-Fascist varieties. The totalitarian countries do not believe, as we do, in the essential worth of each individual and his right to equality of opportunity with every other individual without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. There are difficulties that we must face up to, but we must demonstrate to the world that we understand the nature of the human problem of prejudice and discrimination, and that we are acting in every conceivable way to solve it.

The interfaith movement, with which I am associated, was organized in New York City 25 years ago to dramatize this effort by the celebration of Interfaith Day on the fourth Sunday of September of each year. My distinguished colleague Senator KEATING has recently been signally honored by this movement. Sidney Z. Searles, president of the interfaith movement, has named Dr. Raphael M. Dansker, vice president of the Investors Funding Corp., of New York, to be the national chairman of Interfaith Day, which occurs this year on September 23.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the announcement of the celebration of Interfaith Day as released on July 31, 1962.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERFAITH DAY

Interfaith Day is celebrated nationally by resolution of the U.S. Senate and proclamations will be issued by the President of the United States as well as the Governors of the various States. In many States where interfaith has established chapters appropriate ceremonies will be held to commemorate this occasion.

The Governor of Virgin Islands, Ralph Paiewonsky, has recently organized an interfaith chapter and has advised that a proclamation will be issued as well as ceremonies on Interfaith Day.

In New York City ceremonies will be held at the Mall in Central Park on Sunday, September 23, starting at 1 p.m. An attendance of 25,000 is expected. On this occasion awards and citations will be presented to 112 high school seniors of the 56 high schools in New York City, who during the 4 years of their attendance at their respective high schools have been selected by their student body and teachers as having done the most to promote mutual respect and understanding.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner is honorary chairman of this celebration and will personally present these awards and citations to the high school students. Invitations have been issued to the Governors of the States, the Mayors of New York State, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, as well as invitations to members of the House of Representatives, U.S. Senate, Cabinet members, representatives of the United Nations, and other public officials, educators, scientists, etc., who are members of interfaith and who are interested in advancing the cause of interfaith movement.

Dr. Dansker as national chairman of Interfaith Day has formed a committee of 500 prominent people in all walks of life, to serve with him on an honorary committee. Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., will serve as honorary cochairman, representing the field of education.

Chairmen of the various committees appointed by Dr. Dansker are as follows: Coordinating committee, Dr. John J. Theobold, chairman; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Paul Haverty, cochairman. Program committee, Harry Herschfield, chairman. Educators committee, Dr. Herman P. Mantell, chairman; Charles H. Silver, cochairman. Radio and television committee, Ted Cott, chairman; Seymour N. Siegel, cochairman.

Public relations committee, Capt. Maurice M. Witherspoon, chairman. Finance committee, John A. Murphy, chairman. Veterans committee, Lt. Col. Emanuel Targum, chairman. Park arrangements, Hon. Newbold Morris, chairman; Tom Geraghty, cochairman. Labor and management, Hon. Jay Kramer, chairman. Entertainment and music, Harry Hershfield, chairman. Special committee, Hon. Edward R. Dudley, president, borough of Manhattan; Hon. Louis Lefkowitz, attorney general, State of New York; Emil K. Ellis, Dr. O. L. Friedman, Albert Godwin, John O'Reilly. Interfaith Friendship Clubs in the public schools, Dr. Abraham Kroll, chairman. Scholastic awards, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, chairman. Interfaith scholarship committee, Senator Kenneth B. Keating, chairman; Harry Rabinowitz, cochairman. Awards and citations committee, Dr. Raphael M. Danaker, chairman.

The following persons have been selected to be the recipient of the Interfaith Day citations for having rendered distinguished service in the field of human equality, fellowship and brotherhood. All of these people have been invited to appear personally at the Interfaith Day ceremonies in Central Park to receive their awards from the chairman of the award committee, Dr. Dansker and Mayor Wagner.

Religion, fraternal, and the humanities: Francis Cardinal Spellman, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Rt. Rev. Horace B. Donegan, Rev. Billy Graham, and Rabbi William Stern.

Publishing, broadcasting, and communications: Henry Luce, Gardner Cowles, Spyrous Skouras, Buddy Adler, and Edward Bernays.

Music and entertainment: Bing Crosby, Danny Kaye, Frank Sinatra, Marian Anderson, Lucille Ball, Shirley Booth, Joe E. Brown, Mahalia Jackson, and Irving Berlin.

Private enterprise: Jerry Dansker, Jennie Grossinger, Henry Ford II, David Rockefeller, Bernard Baruch, William Benton, Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., Huntington Hartford, Conrad Hilton, Crawford H. Greenewalt, and Elizabeth Arden.

Labor: George Meany, Harry Van Arsdale, Jacob Potofsky, and David Dubinsky.

International affairs: Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Senator William Fulbright, Gen. Omar D. Bradley, Mayor Willy Brandt, Gov. Michael Di Salle, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, Lewis Strauss, James A. Farley, Paul J. Getty, Eric Johnston, Paul Hoffman, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Congressman Emanuel Celler, and Gen. Lucius D. Clay.

Education, judicial, natural science: Judge Felix Frankfurter, Judge Louis Kaplan, Robert Frost, and Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.

## NATO Isn't Happy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following comment appearing in the St. Paul Pioneer Press July 27, by Walter T. Ridder, is important to us in the Congress who are concerned about America's future attitude toward our NATO alliance:

NATO Isn't Happy

(By Walter T. Ridder)

WASHINGTON.—The recent appointment of Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer as new commander of the American forces in Europe and also as military head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been received with something less than enthusiasm by our NATO Allies.

Despite official statements to the contrary, the European nations are not happy over the Lemnitzer choice. Reduced to its essence, they think Kennedy fobbed off on them someone whom he didn't like. "If the President thinks he's a second-rater," grumbled one European diplomat, "why does he send him to the most important alliance you've got?"

At his most recent press conference, President Kennedy had a lot of nice words to say about Lemnitzer, but it has long been an open secret in Washington that the President didn't have much use for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The antipathy apparently was rooted somewhere in the different personalities of the men. Lemnitzer is quiet, unostentatious and personally unaggressive. Those who have worked with him say he is brilliant, but that he tends to be self-effacing. The later is not a characteristic notably admired by Kennedy.

Relations between the men, apparently guarded at first, became stiffly strained after the Cuban disaster. The President felt—and in view of the result of that operation perhaps rightly—that he had been the recipient of some pretty bad military advice. He held Lemnitzer responsible. Shortly after the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy installed Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor as his White House military adviser. Taylor watched carefully his lines of authority and didn't make like a substitute Chief of Staff, but in the nature of things his presence was an embarrassment to Lemnitzer and emphasized the President's dissatisfaction with General Lemnitzer.

All of the foregoing was well known here and Kennedy's appointment of Taylor as new Chairman of the Joint Chiefs to succeed Lemnitzer merely served to underline his confidence in the former and lack of confidence in the latter.

This is why the Europeans aren't so happy about the whole thing. In the past, they've gotten what they considered the best American military talent. NATO's first military boss was a not-too-obscure American general by the name of Dwight D. Eisenhower. When he left to run for the Presidency, he was succeeded by his close personal friend, Gen. Alfred Gruenther, whose reputation as a military "brain" was exceeded by none. After him came Gen. Lauris Norstad who was regarded as a young man on the way up and who did so outstanding a job that he stayed at his post far longer than anyone had anticipated. Now Norstad is gone and Lemnitzer replaces him.

There is no reason to believe that Lemnitzer will not do a good job. He has had a conspicuously good record throughout his soldiering career. It's just that everyone knows the President doesn't like him and that's why the European members of NATO are inquiring rather petulantly: "What's going on here?"

## Defeat Points Way to Final Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, an adaptation of an old expression which appropriately fits the recent medicare vote is that medicare's opponents have won the battle but will lose the war. Such is the belief of the Courier-Post, Camden, N.J., with which I concur.

Their editorial "Defeat Points Way to Final Victory", highlights some of the crucial consequences of the last week's vote. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD and to commend it highly to the attention of the membership of this body.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFEAT POINTS WAY TO FINAL VICTORY

Death of the compromise bill to provide medical care for the aged through social security is very likely to prove a Pyrrhic victory for those who scuttled the administration's proposal.

Even without one more such victory, the coalition against the plan stands to lose the medicare war. Proponents now can renew the issue with redoubled determination next year and in all probability will succeed.

Elderly citizens, we feel, suffered a worse setback than President Kennedy as a result of the Senate's decision. But it should only be temporary, and the President's earlier prediction should come true that if defeated this year medicare surely will pass next.

An overwhelming majority of Congressmen have acknowledged the need for extending America's program of social insurance to help the aged pay their health bills, and it won't be too long before they hit an acceptable method. The medicare plan holds a wide appeal for millions of persons past 65 and for millions of younger persons weighed downed by the impact on their budgets of heavy hospital and nursing-home charges for ailing parents.

Soaring costs of Blue Cross-financed hospital services, caused by increased use and in some cases misuse, are likely to drive others to support the medicare philosophy.

And people somehow are no longer frightened by the expression "socialized medicine," which the American Medical Association hangs its case on.

The temporary victory over the plan has caused some jubilation among the medical profession, including the Point Pleasant doctor who led the New Jersey revolt recently. He wishes the Government "would realize that any so-called medicare program can only lead to complete socialized medicine in this country."

But the worst fears conjured up years ago about social security itself have been proven unfounded, and it is probable the socialized medicine scare will prove just as unworthy.

The AMA's antediluvian, unswerving opposition to any health plan but one of its own—while changing its own—only serves to discredit the organization and harm the medical profession itself. Fortunately, that attitude isn't representative of every doctor by any manner of means.

President Kennedy's call for what amounts to retaliation at the polls for the plan's current defeat may or may not have any bearing on the outcome of any individual election. It may be noted in this connection that both Senators CASE and WILLIAMS of New Jersey supported the plan. WILLIAMS' vote was cast with most Democrats, while CASE was one of only five Republicans who went down the line for medicare.

However, the President is playing partisan politics in blaming the plan's defeat solely on the Republicans. If the Democrats had given him anything like solid support it would have won. They did not; 21 voted against him.

And while it's difficult to assess the President's observation that defeat of the plan

was a setback for "every American family," all nevertheless can take cognizance of the British Medical Journal's rap at the AMA's attack against medicare generally.

The Journal, publication of the British Medical Association, blasts the AMA's attempt to depict England's National Health Service as socialized medicine, calling this "vulgar, cheap, and nonsense."

The British dismay is at what the Journal called mushrooming growth of the AMA public relations activities and the colossal sums expended on misrepresentation of what is happening in Britain.

Regardless of the description, the AMA's momentary victory has been costly in both money and prestige and serves to point toward victory for medicare next year.

## Activities of Dr. Martin Luther King

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Americans have had sufficient opportunity now to witness on television and to read in the various magazines of the agitation antics of Dr. Martin Luther King and his followers in the racial disturbances they have created in Albany, Ga. Dr. King has repeatedly sought to make a martyr of himself even to the extent of having another member of agitation party set free on bail in order to fulfill Dr. King's scheduled appearance on "Meet the Press" last Sunday. He has made a mockery of religion in seeking publicity through use of publicly staged prayers in the manner of the Pharisees who, in the days of Jesus, erroneously thought that public prayer on the street corner for publicity purposes would win a better and quicker response than the sincere, humble prayer uttered in the quiet of a bedroom or other appropriate place.

From the reaction I have noticed, it seems apparent that Dr. King's main support lies with politicians who seek political advantage with Negro voters in pleading for Dr. King through public statements and more recently by a telegram made public by the Governor of New York urging that the Federal Government intervene in the situation in Albany, Ga., to give protection to Dr. King. There has been little indication of any other sympathy for Dr. King's actions in provoking racial disturbances in an area where he is not himself a resident.

I have been pleased to read in the July 30, 1962, issue of the Augusta Chronicle, of Augusta, Ga., a report of an editorial in the Pittsburgh Courier which in effect renounces the actions of Dr. King. The report of these editorial remarks is contained in an editorial in the Chronicle entitled "'Lunatic Fringe' Is Exposed." I ask unanimous consent that this article be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"LUNATIC FRINGE" IS EXPOSED

Dr. Martin Luther King, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, and others of their ilk, apparently have succeeded in convincing many persons that their actions in Albany speak for a majority of the city's Negro residents. But the Negro editors of one of the Nation's leading Negro newspapers are not deceived. They recognize the Albany agitators for what they really are—representatives of only the "lunatic fringe."

The Pittsburgh Courier, in its Georgia edition of July 28, deplored the tactics of the so-called Negro "leaders" in both Albany and New York City. In a editorial captioned "Midsummer Madness," the newspaper commented:

"Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., released from the Albany (Ga.) jail when some unknown Negro paid his and Rev. Mr. Abernathy's bail, threatens a new drive of mass demonstrations in violation of local ordinances.

"Since there are already some 700 young local Negroes awaiting fines which they cannot pay for previous demonstrations, it would seem to be time to take stock of where we are going and who is going to pay for it.

"The Albany authorities have indicated no disposition to countenance these demonstrations, so it appears that if Dr. King is successful in mobilizing demonstrators to violate the law, there will be many more fines to pay, which will probably impoverish Negro Albany.

"Meanwhile, in New York City the minuscule Negro nationalist movement has launched a picketing campaign against a white man (who employs scores of Negroes outside the black community) who plans to open a steak house in Harlem.

"Because Jackie Robinson denounced this nonsense, he was denounced and the company of which he is vice president had one of its Harlem lunch counters picketed.

"The protestors were offered an opportunity to buy out the white man or to buy into his corporation, but, of course, they did not have the money nor the credit, so nothing happened, except that these fanatics vented their spleen on successful Negroes.

"It is a tragedy that these elements get unwanted publicity as Negro leaders when they represent nobody except the lunatic fringe."

On the same day the Pittsburgh paper was published, the "lunatic fringe" representatives in Albany resumed their violation of city ordinances, and Dr. King got himself jailed again. Thus there is no reason to believe that the Courier's sound advice against further costly lawbreaking will be heeded by the outside agitators and publicity seekers who are fomenting strife and discord among Albany residents.

But the paper's editorial will have served a worthwhile purpose if its only effect is to emphasize the rejection by responsible Negro citizens of the kind of "leadership" offered by King and his band of troublemakers.

## Ducks Find a Champion in Reuss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington (D.C.) Star of July 22, 1962, by Mr. John McKelway, entitled "Ducks Find a Champion in Reuss."

Having served with my good friend and colleague, the Honorable HENRY REUSS, of Milwaukee, Wis., I can testify not only to his vigor, courage, and integrity but also to his devotion to conservation of all natural resources.

Recently, the House saw the Honorable HENRY REUSS take another licking in his courageous and stubborn endeavors to secure enactment of legislation to restore some commonsense to the wetlands drainage program in the Department of Agriculture.

Persistence and courage, however, saw a still more recent and well-deserved victory by the Honorable HENRY REUSS in regard to this same subject of wetlands drainage. Our colleague's last victory will perhaps go as far to save migratory waterfowl as any other single piece of legislative action here in the Congress and he deserves indeed a real tribute, not only from conservationists but from all citizens, for his courageous and industrious endeavor in this and in many other capacities in the conservation and other legislative fields.

The article referred to follows:

THE HILL PEOPLE—DUCKS FIND A CHAMPION IN REUSS

(By John McKelway)

I saw a duck, a wild duck, and thought of HENRY S. REUSS.

Representative REUSS, a Democrat from Milwaukee, Wis., bears no resemblance to a duck. He is a handsome 50 with a mind that hurries along—usually on the left—and a smile that flashes.

For the last 5 years, Mr. REUSS (pronounced Royce) has been trying to get a comparatively small piece of legislation off the ground. Ducks are deeply involved, mainly mallard but also black ducks and pintail ducks and the teal.

For a variety of reasons—which may or may not be adequately explained herein—Mr. REUSS has been forced to play a sort of chess game with his duck legislation each session of Congress. He is just as adamant as ever about it—even ebullient when he talks about it and for it.

There is in the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota what is known as a "duck factory."

This simply means that approximately 3 million ducks are hatched and taught to fly there each year. Only a few years ago, however, the area produced close to 15 million ducks.

The things ducks like about the land are potholes. Potholes, at least in the two Dakotas and Minnesota, are shallow ponds about the size of your living room or the backyard of the White House. Thin reeds and cattails grow at the edges of the potholes and ducks feel comfortable and safe there, resting up for the long trip south, laying eggs and dreaming of that sanctuary in the sky.

LESS POTHOLES AND DUCKS

But lately ducks, as well as Mr. REUSS, have noticed there are fewer and fewer potholes each year. And, of course, there are fewer and fewer ducks.

It's idiotic, said Mr. REUSS, explaining what's been going on. Conservationists, duck hunters, and those who can't understand agriculture programs agree with him.

"If you're a farmer," begins Mr. REUSS, "and you have a pothole on your land, somebody from Agriculture will be around and try to talk you into draining it.

"If you decide to have it drained, Agriculture, free of charge, will handle all the engineering studies, where to drain it and so

forth. Then, they will pay 50 percent of the cost of having it drained. Now you can plant, say wheat, on what was once the pothole and get a subsidy on the crop," Mr. REUSS barked.

"In the past 20 years," said the Congressman, as he has said for a number of years, "the indiscriminate drainage of wet lands, spurred by Federal subsidies under the agriculture program, has been responsible for destroying almost 6 million acres of valuable wet land in the Dakotas and Minnesota alone."

There have been cases, Mr. REUSS said, where a farmer has had his pothole drained and then sold the land to the Interior Department which has dammed the pothole back up in hopes of encouraging wildlife to return.

The substance of Mr. REUSS' legislation would put a stop to all this. He would remove the subsidy paid the farmer for the drainage which would, in the opinion of the Interior Department, harm waterfowl.

The Congressman and others have been able to get such a bill through the House. It then sinks in the Senate.

So, each time a farm bill comes along, Mr. REUSS can be found working to slip in his duck amendment. Since, apparently, farm bills must be passed, Mr. REUSS can see a vehicle for his amendment rolling down to the White House.

But, then, the antiduck element knocks out the amendment in conference.

The antiduck people, or the anti-duck-amendment people, are made up of farmers who want to make money, people who make machinery to drain potholes, and Agriculture employees who have the job of going around telling farmers they ought to drain their pothole.

As someone once said, there's much more to a duck than meets the eye. Even, as the thoughtful Mr. REUSS would say, a dead duck.

## Prof. Charles S. Collier Holds No Brief for Court's Prayer Ruling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, in all the hue and cry surrounding the Supreme Court decision in the Engle against Vitale school prayer case, many pro and con arguments have been offered. I suspect in the years to come we will see many more cases brought before the Supreme Court dealing with the issue of religious practices being unconstitutional.

Therefore a statement by Prof. Charles S. Collier, professor emeritus of law of the George Washington University, is a refreshing and timely—and to my mind, legally sound—argument against the recent Supreme Court decision. It deserves wide attention. I hope no Member of Congress has missed this statement, which appeared in the July 30, 1962, issue of the Evening Star on the editorial page.

For this reason, I ask unanimous consent that the article be included with my remarks today, and I sincerely hope if any Member fails to see it, that some staff member or other reader will see that it is brought to his or her attention.

HOLDS NO BRIEF FOR COURT'S PRAYER RULING

One troublesome aspect of the Supreme Court decision in the school prayer case (*Engle* v. *Vitale*) is the complete disregard therein manifested by the Court of the historic doctrine that parties who seek to obtain judicial restraining orders against the enforcement of legislation, State or National, must establish and demonstrate that they have sustained or will sustain peculiar and substantial harm or injury from the actual enforcement of such legislation.

This pervasive judicial doctrine has been plainly declared and unmistakably acted upon by the Supreme Court itself in many leading decisions.

This vital and practical doctrine applies with particular force to constitutional issues arising under the 14th amendment. Some Supreme Court Justices are fond of quoting the first amendment in cases arising under State or local laws that have been alleged to interfere with freedom of speech or with religious freedom. But the actual relevant language of the first amendment reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *."

It is Congress which is explicitly restrained by this provision. It seems impossible to read this provision as applying of its own force to State legislatures or to the Board of Regents of New York.

The majority opinion in the Engle case gives us no articulate or helpful explanation of this supposed mysterious amalgamation or confluence of the 1st and the 14th amendments. Even if the 14th amendment can be treated as incorporating in some way the principles of the 1st amendment, this incorporation must be on terms that preserve all the essential juristic elements of the 14th amendment itself. The 14th amendment alone is directly operative on the States by its express terms and by its historical origin.

The 14th amendment is actually founded on the conception that the States are thereby prohibited only from actions that actually damage or wrongfully interfere directly with citizens or other persons. The purpose is simply to protect specific legal rights against concrete damage or actual harmful interference.

The central meaning of the 14th amendment lies in the following key passage:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The true prohibitions intended here are exposed in the active verbs that are used in the prohibiting clauses, namely, "abridge," "deprive," "deny."

There is nothing in the 14th amendment equivalent in form or substance to the first amendment language "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion * * *." The prohibitions of the 14th amendment are not defined with reference to the general subject matter or general classification of the laws themselves, that are under examination, but they are aimed against actual abridgment of the privileges of citizens; against actual deprivation of liberty such as violates due process of law, and against the actual denial of equal protection of the laws.

Now in the New York school prayer case, what harm or injury was done or threatened to anyone? Who was deprived of liberty or property in any substantial or realistic sense? Who was really denied the equal protection of the laws? What privileges or immunities that belong to citizens of the United States as such were abridged? In answering these questions it must be constantly kept in mind that no school child was required under the New York rules to repeat the prayer recommended by the board of regents, or even to be present at all on the occasion thereof.

The opinion of the trial judge in New York in this case well illustrated and described the precautions taken by the New York administrative authorities in this matter of possible wrongful pressure on school pupils or others. This opinion by the judge, who heard all the evidence at first hand and who could himself interrogate the witnesses states:

"It is enough on this score, however, that regulations such as were adopted by New York City's Board of Education in connection with its released time program be adopted (elsewhere), making clear that neither teachers nor any other school authority may comment on participation or non-participation in the exercise nor suggest or require that any posture or language be used or dress be worn or be not used or worn. Non-participation may take the form either of remaining silent during the exercise, or if the parent or child so desires, of being executed entirely from its exercise. Such regulations must also make provision for those non-participants who are to be excused from the prayer exercise. The exact provision to be made is a matter for decision by the board rather than the court, within the framework of constitutional requirements."

All of this conscientious and sensitive preparation and intelligent study by the New York administrative authorities and by the New York courts, is held to be for naught by the Supreme Court majority which proceeds toward its monolithic and exaggerated conclusions in this historic decision with proud defiance of the actual key facts.

God save the United States and this Honorable Court.

CHARLES S. COLLIER,
*Professor Emeritus of Law, George Washington University.*

## Farm Safety Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation has observed Farm Safety Week, July 22–28. Generally, the Nation is surging forward toward ever-better living for our people. Unfortunately, however, we are also crashing toward ever-greater tolls of accidents, damage to property, and, yes, to human life.

In a weekend broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations, I was privileged to discuss some ideas which—if adopted—would, I believe, reduce the tragic toll of accidents.

I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY URGES MORE EFFECTIVE SAFETY PROGRAM

Friends, the Nation has just observed Farm Safety Week, July 22–28.

For rural—as all America—safety should be a byword: On the farm, in the home, on

the roadways, everywhere people work, play, and live.

As a nation, surging forward toward ever-better living for our people, we are also crashing toward ever-greater tolls of accidents, damage to property, and, yes, to human life.

Annually, the National Safety Council estimates the loss of life at about 91,500 resulting from car accidents, drownings, falls, fires, and other causes. The property losses of over $14½ billion exceed U.S. annual expenditures for: private education and research; religious and welfare activities; and other constructive purposes.

Now, what can be done?

SAFETY AROUND THE FARM

Briefly, now, let's look at the need for safety in working around the farm. To prevent accidents, there is a need for:

Greater care in operating tractors and other machinery;

Good judgment in handling farm animals;

Cautious use of chemicals for weedkilling and other purposes; and

Skillful use of electrical tools, and other safety measures.

SAFETY IN THE HOME

In the home, the following things should be done:

Extreme care in guarding limb and life of all members of the family;

Care in handling firearms;

Careful use and storage of medicines, insecticides, and other chemicals (particularly in keeping them out of the reach of youngsters);

Caution in utilizing electrical, or heating systems; and

Be sure that ladders, stairways, and similar things that may cause dangerous falls are in good shape.

CAUTION ON THE HIGHWAYS

Now, what about on the highways?

In operating any kind of vehicle—car, tractor, bicycle, or any other conveyance—there is a great need to observe the two "C's": carefulness and courtesy.

Among other things, this means:

Careful observance of caution, directional, and speed signs;

Courtesy to other drivers;

Watchfulness for pedestrians; and

If farm vehicles, such as tractors, are used on the roadways, great care is necessary in having them properly equipped with front lights, and rear lights or reflectors in case of after-dark travel.

All cars should be kept in tip-top shape—including good lights and brakes. Also, all drivers should assure that they are mentally alert. As the old adage says, the most dangerous part of a vehicle—car or tractor—can be a careless "nut" behind a steering-wheel.

To help promote greater safety, our Nation is constructing and attempting to control traffic by safer super-highways, realistic speed limits, safer curve-grading and directional-and-caution signs. In addition, States and local communities are making greater efforts to enact and enforce measures to promote greater safety on rural and farm-to-city roads—as well as other roadways.

CONCLUSION

In Wisconsin and across the country, splendid efforts by radio, television, newspapers, government, farm, or fraternal and other groups, and many other civicly oriented individuals and organizations, have been made to create a greater safety consciousness among our citizens. This is a most commendable public service.

However, greater safety is a target not just for a week, but all year round.

The watchwords should be: "Work safely, play safely, live safely." If we all do this, thousands of folks will enjoy longer, happiers lives.

## Delaware Is an Ideal Location for Defense and Other Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the business community in Delaware—leaders of the large corporations and owners of the hundreds of small businesses in the First State—linking efforts with Delaware's State officials, its congressional delegation, and organized labor, can, with the united support of all of its citizens, play a major role in stimulating and raising the economic level of Delaware and Delawareans.

This step is vitally necessary, since the Defense Department, in carrying out recommendations of the Eisenhower administration, has declared several Delaware military installations, including the Lenape Ordnance Modification Center at Newark, Del.—a plant which used the output of scores of factories in many States—excess to the defense needs of the United States.

The deactivation of these military installations and production facilities in Delaware has adversely affected the State's economy and has created difficult problems for Delaware in maintaining high employment for the State's expanding population. The loss of millions of dollars in defense contracts has meant necessarily the loss of thousands of jobs for Delawareans.

It is clear that a new and concentrated drive must be made now by Delaware's political and industrial leaders to bring to the attention of the Federal Government, President Kennedy, and to industry in general that Delaware is an ideal location for industries which could concentrate on the manufacture of essential components of the new weapons of defense and of space exploration.

Delaware possesses an exceptional pool of highly skilled technicians and an excellent labor force, abundant water supplies, cheap transportation and power, and corporate hospitality, and tax economy.

The New York Times, in its Delaware supplement of May 7, 1961, pointed out that:

Tax economy is, of course, one of the most attractive features of all. There is no corporation income tax in Delaware for companies not doing business in Delaware. There is no taxation upon shares of stock held by nonresidents and no inheritance tax upon nonresident holders. The organization and annual franchise taxes are comparatively low, being based upon authorized capital and not upon income. There is no State stamp tax on stock issues or transfers and the constitution of the State guarantees continuance of the exemption from taxation of shares of capital stock of a Delaware corporation held by persons and corporations outside the State. Clearly, a warm Delaware welcome awaits the young corporation and its stockholders seeking a friendly tax climate.

I include as part of my remarks an editorial published in the Delaware State News, Dover, Del., July 26, 1962, entitled "The Time To Act Is Now" which enlarges on my remarks. I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues.

THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW

(By Congressman HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR., U.S. Representative-at-Large, Delaware)

The business community in Delaware—leaders of the large corporations and owners of the hundreds of small businesses in the First State—linking its efforts with political leaders in Congress and in the State, organized labor, and citizens as well, can play a major role in stimulating and raising the economic level of Delaware and Delawareans. The time to act is now.

In the last 18 months, the Defense Department has declared several Delaware military installations, including the Lenape Ordnance Modification Center at Newark, Del., excess to the defense needs of the United States. The deactivation of these various military installations and production facilities in Delaware has adversely affected the State's economy and has created difficult problems for Delaware in maintaining high employment for the State's expanding population.

The Secretary of Defense recently published an interesting analysis which pointed to the changing patterns of defense procurement. This study clearly reveals the vast changes which have taken place in the past 20 years, both in the nature of items purchased by the Department of Defense, and in the States and regions where prime contracts have been placed—and displaced. While the Secretary's report is limited to a picture of military prime contracts, which are generally placed with the manufacturing giants, it is known that about half of all hard goods prime contract funds are subcontracted to other suppliers, many of which are part of the country's 4.5 million small businesses.

The most dramatic geographic adjustments of the past 10 years are found in the heavy prime contract losses of States in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic areas and in the large net gains of West Coast and Mountain States. It is difficult to translate dollar prime contract awards into employment figures, but it is plainly evident that the drop in annual prime awards in Delaware from $541 million during the Korean conflict (1951–53) to $71 million in fiscal 1961 has had a depressing economic impact on the Delaware economy. Under any translation, the loss of millions per year in defense contracts has meant the loss of thousands of jobs for Delawareans.

The rapid rise in missiles and electronics is reflected in the 1962 defense contracts. The Department of Defense has shown a strong tendency to concentrate these contracts in California and with suppliers located along the coastal strip from Boston to Washington, D.C., as well as in certain Mountain and Southern States. Certainly, Delaware is situated in the main stream of this great research and development effort but unfortunately, the Defense Department has been inclined, by and large, to ignore the first State where defense contracts are concerned.

It is my strong feeling that Delaware's industrial leaders, those representing large corporations and those representing small businesses, should seriously consider entering the new and expanding field of defense procurement. The first State possesses an exceptional pool of highly skilled technicians and an excellent labor force, abundant water supplies, cheap transportation and power and corporate hospitality. The spacecraft and other missile systems launched from Cape Canaveral, Fla., are the products of men and machines located in several large States along the eastern seaboard. In the

intermediate fabrication of these missile and space systems, Delaware is in an ideal location for industries which could concentrate on the manufacture of specific components which are essential to the proper functioning of these systems. To this end, a new and concentrated drive must be made now by Delaware's political and industrial leaders. It is high time that the factors favoring Delaware for a part in the country's defense effort be forcefully called to the attention of high defense officials in Washington.

There is no question that local initiative in Delaware, which seeks not only defense business, but domestic and foreign markets as well, must direct itself vigorously to the exacting needs of the so-called space age. Communities which fail to energize and mobilize their institutions to adjust to this new age cannot reasonably anticipate playing a major role in our domestic economy and foreign markets.

Several weeks ago, I wrote to Administrator John Horne of the Small Business Administration urging him to consider establishing a small branch office in Delaware so that small business concerns in the State could receive immediate counsel on their financial, management, production, and distribution problems and to assist Delaware firms in obtaining a fair share of contracts and orders for both supplies and services used by the Federal Government. The Small Business Administration could also be effective in fostering the entry of small business in the foreign trade field, a field largely neglected by small firms in the past. Moreover, the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 which was enacted to encourage new industry to establish, and existing industry to expand, should be examined and perhaps implemented by the appropriate State agencies, both in the industrial areas of the State which have high unemployment and in underdeveloped rural and nonurban areas which require a better balance of industry and agriculture. The resources and technical assistance which are available to other communities in the Nation must be open to Delawareans to enable them to plan their economic development intelligently and to explore methods of expanding their industrial resources.

I will continue to vigorously work for all programs, including a fair share of defense contracts, which will advance the industrial development of the Diamond State.

## The National Lottery of Paraguay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out to the Members of this House the national lottery of a nation that makes the gambling urge work for the benefit of health and social welfare—Paraguay.

Paraguay is a small and impoverished nation of less than 2 million people. Revenue sources are few and far between, but public needs are great. Luckily, Paraguay is smart enough to take advantage of a national lottery. Gross receipts in 1961 came to almost a million dollars, and the profit to the Government was earmarked for the mother-child care plan of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Paraguay is not an affluent nation, but they make what they have go a long way. It is most unfortunate that we in the United States have not yet seen to it that we receive the benefits of a national lottery.

Mr. Speaker, if we took advantage of a national lottery in the United States we could raise over $10 billion a year in added income which could be used for tax relief and reduction of our national debt.

## Broadened Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, July 11, 1962, served as a double victory for those interested in better television. First, Telstar was orbited; this event has unfortunately eclipsed the second victory: President Kennedy's signature on a bill which enacts into law a provision requiring television set builders to put 82 channels, instead of 12, on their new machines. The second victory is important in terms of ultimate programing. It affords almost unlimited horizons for new and creative ideas in the TV media; it affords great opportunity for educational TV; and it affords tremendous growth potential.

The Jersey Journal of July 13 has commented on this historic act and I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BROADENED TELEVISION

The dazzling accomplishments of the Telstar satellite have eclipsed another major development in television, perhaps one which will have even greater impact on the viewing habits of the world.

President Kennedy signed the bill which makes set builders put 82 channels instead of 12 into their machines. To the very high frequency channels which are best known, must now be added receiving facilities for the 70 ultrahigh frequency channels. Thus, the bottleneck in television's expansion is broken. There were only 12 channels in broad use solely because most machines would receive but 12 of the 82.

Thus, the way is opened for many more networks and even specialized channels. The tight network control over programing will be dissipated as it was in radio by the extension to frequency modulation. The hope is that there now will be more channels than cowboy pictures, more channels than dreary tableaux of pitcher-batter-catcher-ump. Now, perhaps, the educational features will be available at times more civilized than 6 in the morning.

July 11, 1962, may become a red letter day in television quite as much for the bill the President signed as for Telstar's first, and brilliantly successful, broadcast, of a live program from England and a taped one from France.

## Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 Called Realistic as Well as Helpful—Newark Evening News Praises Emphasis on Rehabilitation Contained in Act Recently Signed by President Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is gratifying to note the degree of approval and public acceptance of the new Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 which became public law when signed by the President last week.

It was especially satisfying to read in an editorial in the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, Saturday, July 28, 1962, the comment that "for the first time since the Federal-State-local system of relief was enacted in 1935, the Nation has a new approach to welfare that promises to be realistic as well as helpful."

In West Virginia, where the rate of chronic unemployment—particularly among men over 40 years of age—has been inordinately high, we are especially gratified that the useful program of aid to dependent children of unemployed parents has been extended 5 years. It is helpful, too, that the Congress passed and the President approved the legislation authorizing community work and training under the ADCU program.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial "Welfare's New Look," which appeared in the July 28 issue of the Newark Evening News be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELFARE'S NEW LOOK

The welfare reform bill signed by President Kennedy received little public notice as it passed quietly through Congress. Practically all the attention was centered on an amendment, the administration's medicare program, which went down in crashing defeat.

Nonetheless, the new law marks what Mr. Kennedy called a "real turning point" in the Nation's effort to cope with a problem that threatened to get out of hand. For the first time since the Federal-State-local system of relief was enacted in 1935, the Nation has a new approach to welfare that promises to be realistic as well as helpful.

The new law emphasizes rehabilitation of the destitute, thereby removing as many persons as possible from relief rolls; it stresses services rather than support, and training for useful work instead of perpetuating dependency.

A major innovation in the law, which embodies most of the administration's recommendations, provides Federal grants to help local communities establish care centers for children of working mothers. Other provisions would allow relief officials to withhold welfare checks from able-bodied men who refuse to work on community projects and also from irresponsible parents. In the latter case, relief checks would be given to a third party to provide for the children.

While former Welfare Secretary Ribicoff criticized the manner in which Newburgh, N.Y., handled its welfare problems as "ruth-

less and demagogic," events there undoubtedly spurred congressional action.

Yet even before Newburgh, it was quite clear that legislators at all levels of government were dissatisfied with relief frauds, wasted funds, and the general drift in welfare administration. It is little wonder, then, that the White House had much less trouble in Congress with welfare than with other major Kennedy legislation.

## Views on the School-Prayer Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letters from my friend, Judge Henry Hirschberg, of Newburgh, are of interest at this time.

Judge Hirschberg in his letter to me points out that I do not agree with his thinking on the first amendment or on the Supreme Court's recent decision. The judge does me the honor of saying that while he disagrees with me on this matter he respects my opinion. May I say that I reciprocate this sentiment 100 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I also include a part of my reply to Judge Hirschberg's letter:

NEWBURGH, N.Y., *July 27, 1962.*

Hon. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE,
*Representative in Congress,*
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. ST. GEORGE: You and I agree on so many things that I assume we can differ with reference to the recent so-called prayer decision of the Supreme Court of the United States with mutual respect as to each other's position.

I noted from the papers that you intend to introduce a proposed constitutional amendment and when and if that occurs I would be interested in having a copy.

Being interested I started cutting out and reading all of the various comments of the Members of Congress and their constituents published in the appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. When I realized from said reading how widespread and almost universal among your associates was (1) complete lack of knowledge with reference to the organization of our Government and the establishment of its Constitution, and, (2) apparently very little knowledge with reference to the history and evolution of Christianity, I became naturally depressed and threw the accumulated pages in the wastebasket.

Possibly, however, that a little light may burn in the Appendix, I am enclosing two of my letters with the expressed hope that you may stick them and this letter into the Appendix, of course accompanied by a statement upon your part that you disapprove completely of the sentiments expressed.

In 1797 the U.S. Government entered into a treaty with Tripoli and a paragraph in the text of said treaty read as follows:

"The Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion."

That treaty was confirmed by the Senate.

Jefferson, as pointed out, was an unbeliever in Christianity and what was in his day called a Deist, and I believe he went so far as to refuse to issue a thanks proclamation.

Those things, of course, are in the past and now apparently the question of amending the Constitution is under consideration.

I note from the Appendix that one of your fellow representatives, Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING (A5369), has introduced such an amendment as far back as February 17, 1961. The first section states that the Nation devoutly recognizes the authority and law of Jesus Christ, and so forth. The second and third sections seem to attempt to destroy any authority given the Government by the first section by stating it shall not be interpreted as establishing any particular ecclesiastical organization or destroying the right of free speech, and that Congress shall have the power to provide different and suitable form of oath or affirmation for us citizens without the law.

The thought that occurs to me is the following: If the state should be granted the power to recognize and enforce any particular religion, then it has the power and authority to do the opposite and declare against any and all religions as the Russian Government has done. I think once you put in the Constitution a recognition of any religion you are going to open the door for every other religion and every free thinker, atheist, or agnostic societies trying to get their particular position in the Constitution. Personally, of course, it probably makes very little difference because no matter what our Constitution may say about this subject matter and no matter what the Russian Government may say, the individuals are not going to change their viewpoint and are going to govern their lives with supreme indifference to the constitutional provision or any law that is passed.

In conclusion, however, I would suggest that any of your associates in Congress who desire knowledge with reference to the present position of advanced scholarship in connection with religion might buy and study the following works. (1) "Ancient Medieval and Modern Christianity," by Charles Guignebert, who was for 31 years lecturer at the Sorbonne on the history of Christianity. Also a book by the same professor entitled "Jesus" and another entitled "The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus." I would also recommend for study a work entitled "Origins of Christianity," by Frederick C. Conybeare, M.A.

These books are published by University Books, Inc., New Hyde Park, N.Y. I have no commission for their sale.

So far as the legal proposition is concerned and the amending of our Constitution and the reason for not changing it, I can only recommend that most of your associates arrange to take some course in the subject of our constitutional history and the record of what has happened in past history when church and state have been united, such course to be either under the guidance of some competent teacher or by an adequate course of reading.

With best wishes for you and for the continuing survival of our Republic, I am

Yours very truly,

HENRY HIRSCHBERG.

### HIRSCHBERG FAVORS COURT DECISIONS

Here is another note in favor of the recent U.S. Supreme Court discussion on the New York school prayer.

The Founding Fathers of our Government established a purely secular government, perhaps the first in human history.

They did not rely upon or place in the Constitution any god, goddess, or religious sanction. Their reason was the long previous history of intolerance and persecution by any religious sect when it had obtained power and the role of government.

May our Government continue entirely secular. May the various other present nonsecular expressions on our coins, in our pledge to the flag, etc., be eliminated.

In conclusion, I think President Kennedy has in his recent press conference made one of the best comments on the situation; namely, that this prayer business and religion is the private affair of the citizens in the home, church, etc., and no business of the Government.

HENRY HIRSCHBERG.

NEWBURGH.

### HIRSCHBERG CITES PLEDGE CHANGE AS MOVE TOWARD CHURCH, STATE

TO THE EDITOR:

Regarding the letter of Mrs. Rhuback on the U.S. Supreme Court school prayer decision:

If she is to be appalled, it should be not at me, but at those who drew and adopted our Constitution creating a completely secular government.

The reason they adopted such a Constitution was to protect minority opinion groups, including atheistic, agnostic and unbelievers. The majority needs no constitutional protection.

The fact that the Founding Fathers sang hymns, that the poets used the word "God," does not make our present constitutional Government a religious government. I assume the majority were Protestant Christians; and, anyway, logic is not one of mankind's strong points.

Incidentally, deism was also a widespread belief at that time. It was a denial of the truth of the Christian and Jewish faiths and of revelation, but a belief in some God or power, creator of the universe and provable by a study of nature. Thomas Paine was of that faith (see his Age of Reason, purchasable from Thomas Paine Foundation, Inc., 370 West 35th Street, New York City).

Some historians claim Jefferson was a deist and used the term "God" in that sense in the Declaration of Independence.

This subject is too extensive to be covered in any letter. If the believers in the majority religion desire a religious government, their method should be by constitutional amendment. Indirectly, however, they are having much success.

Take, for instance, the so-called "Pledge to the Flag." They have made that a religious pledge which no self-respecting unbeliever, atheist, or agnostic can now take or join in.

The danger of a union of religion and state is shown in the Dreyfus case, where in France certain religious and political powers joined to save the religious criminals by "framing" the Jew, Dreyfus. After the exposure, France separated church and state.

I respect Mrs. Rhuback and her fair and frank expression of opinion and intend no personal criticism. It would be better if we expressed our real views more often on this important subject.

HENRY HIRSCHBERG.

NEWBURGH.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., July 31, 1962.*

Hon. HENRY HIRSCHBERG,
*Newburgh, N.Y.*

DEAR JUDGE HIRSCHBERG: Thank you for your good letter of July 27. You are quite right in taking for granted my respect for your opinion. As you know, I have always admired your great legal knowledge and talents.

On June 29, I introduced House Joint Resolution 790, a copy of which I enclose as per your request. You will note that this resolution has nothing to do with religion and that the word is not even mentioned.

I will admit, however, that the introduction of this amendment was prompted by

the recent Supreme Court decision. In discussing this matter in my newsletter I made the following statement: "A great deal of indignation has been aroused by the Supreme Court decision on the question of prayer in the public schools. The prayer in question is a very simple nonsectarian petition to the Almighty and it seems as though even an atheist would not object to it. Again the Warren court seems to be making mountains of legal sophistry over the first amendment to the Constitution: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *.' Of course, this in no way establishes a religion because it is nonsectarian. The fact is that it seems more as though it were 'prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' The amendment I have introduced is simple and reads as follows: 'The Congress shall have power, by resolution passed by two-thirds of each House of Congress, to override any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.' The reasoning behind it is that the three branches of Government are coequal and that if the Congress can override a Presidential veto, thereby curbing the Executive, there is no reason why they should not also have the power to curb the Supreme Court."

## S O S: Save Our Streams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the May–June 1962 issue of Audubon magazine, published by the National Audubon Society, cites examples of the "tyranny" that is occurring when disregard and apathy supply the criteria for roadbuilding through some of the Nation's most scenic preserves.

My bill, S. 2767, which I introduced on January 30, 1962, would necessitate taking into consideration destruction to our natural resource and help to check the "tyranny" of which the Audubon magazine speaks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an editorial entitled "Highway High-Handedness," from the May–June 1962 issue of Audubon magazine.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The New York Times recently carried an editorial entitled "The Tyranny of Roads." The Times editor deplored a threat to beautiful pioneer buildings in Sacramento, Calif., and asked why highway planners must bulldoze their routes through irreplaceable parks, scenic preserves, and archeological treasures.

In New York the State department of public works insists on building a superhighway down the narrow valley of the Beaverkill, which is perhaps the most storied trout stream in America.

Such examples of "tyranny" are occurring, in many places. With vast sums of Federal money to distribute, and emboldened by the economic and political leverage that accompanies such spending authority, the highway agencies have assumed an arrogant posture. But public concern is growing.

## Retirement of the Public Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DONALD D. CLANCY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, on June 13, 1962, I introduced legislation providing that a percentage of the net budget receipts of the United States shall be devoted exclusively to the retirement of the public debt. In this connection I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues a letter received from Mr. Wellington J. Griffith, Jr., 102 Burns Avenue, Cinicinnati 15, Ohio, who has organized a citizens' Committee for a Balanced Budget, the purpose of which is to petition the Congress to maintain a balanced budget and to provide for a systematic reduction of our national debt. Mr. Griffith's letter follows:

JUNE 14, 1962.

Hon. DONALD D. CLANCY,
*Old House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CLANCY: We are alarmed that the present Congress a few short weeks ago approved an increase in the interest-bearing debt from $298 to $300 billion and that there is now before the Congress a bill to authorize by June 30, 1962, a further increase from $300 to $308 billion. Thus, it is proposed to increase the interest-bearing debt by $10 billion in a few short weeks.

We have today transmitted to your Cincinnati office more than 2,000 petitions requesting the Congress to authorize no further increases in the national debt and to definitely budget an amount each year to reduce the present $300 billion debt. We shall submit further petitions from time to time. In submitting these petitions I think that we should give you a short history of the inception and use of the petition.

In the elections last November, voters across the Nation generally refused to approve bond issues for many and various purposes. As recently as a few weeks ago the voters in Chicago turned down several bond issues. Taken as a whole, the voters are disapproving deficit spending when the issue is presented to them. However, in the case of the Federal Government the citizens never have an opportunity to register approval or disapproval of financial measures. In order to give the voters the opportunity of expressing their opinion on national finances, a few months ago we drafted the petition which we have forwarded to you. After the petition had been drafted, Mrs. Griffith and I had several thousand printed and gave them to a few friends of ours for the purpose of securing signatures from their friends. Though the majority of the petitioners reside in this area, they have been sending petitions to friends across the Nation and we are receiving signed petitions from many places, together with requests for blank petitions. This is truly a grassroots movement, or, if you prefer, a voter-to-voter movement.

Those of us who have discussed the petition with our friends and neighbors are amazed at the interest of the average citizen in the finances of this National Government and his desire for the preservation and strengthening of our form of government. We find that this is true among all classes of our society, with the blue collar and the white collar joining together in the mandate to the Congress to effect economy wherever possible in any fields which will not jeopardize our military or economic strength. While the citizens do not expect any curtailment of spending for military and space programs, they definitely want these programs to be carried on in a prudent manner and without waste.

By means of these petitions the signers are telling you and through you the Congress of the United States that the United States of America must be invincible in arms, solvent in its finances, and invincible in spirit.

In closing, we once more express to you our admiration of the wisdom which prompted this bill and we assure you that we will do everything possible to back your forthright and realistic stand.

We are prepared to forward blank petitions to interested citizens across the Nation.

With the fervent hope that a majority of the Congress will join in enacting your bill, I am,

Sincerely,
WELLINGTON J. GRIFFITH, JR.,
*Cochairman.*
PAULINE F. GRIFFITH,
*Cochairman.*

## Distinguished Son of Distinguished Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of Monday, July 30, 1962, published an editorial on the late Bruce Bedford, who died last Saturday in Princeton, N.J. He was a native of my hometown of Wilkes-Barre and a member of a most distinguished family. Mr. Bedford had an outstanding career as a manufacturer, banker, railroad executive and civic leader. He was the brother of one of the most outstanding lawyers in my congressional district, Attorney Paul Bedford.

As part of my remarks today, I include the aforementioned editorial from last Monday's Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader:

DISTINGUISHED SON OF DISTINGUISHED FAMILY

Bruce Bedford, who died Saturday in Princeton, N.J., constituted, with his brother, Attorney Paul Bedford, Wilkes-Barre, the fourth generation of his family in Wyoming Valley.

Of old English stock, the Bedfords settled in New Jersey and later moved to Ulster County, N.Y., where they were residing at the time of the Revolution.

Jacob Bedford, son of Stephen Bedford, joined the struggle for independence at the age of 14 and in 1792 came here to carve a career as a public official and launch a family that was to play a prominent role in the community for 170 years.

Andrew Bedford, son of Jacob Bedford, became a doctor of medicine, but, like his father, who held the office of sheriff among others, he went in for public service and became prothonotary of Luzerne County.

George Reynolds Bedford, the sixth child of Dr. Bedford, was the third generation of the family to serve his community and country with distinction. A Civil War veteran, banker, churchman, and civic leader, he was a lawyer by profession, and his clients included railroads, coal companies, and utilities. Among the distinctions that came to

him was the presidency of the Pennsylvania Bar Association.

Such was the heritage of Bruce Bedford when he first saw the light of day in Wilkes-Barre in 1876 as a son of George Reynolds Bedford. Reared in this city, he launched his business career here before transferring to Trenton, N.J., where he became widely known as a manufacturer, banker, rail executive, and civic leader. During the past decade he made his home at Princeton, not far from his old alma mater to which he was so devoted.

Bruce Bedford's success was easy to understand on the basis of character, ability, and personality. The president and most popular man in his class at Princeton, as well as the manager of the university's baseball team, he applied similar techniques to the game of life with comparable results. A respected figure, he had friends everywhere.

That he had a warm spot for his birthplace which he visited frequently was attested by the fact that his manufacturing business in Trenton was named the Luzerne Rubber Co. It was one of many links this outstanding native son had with the past.

## Middle-of-the-Road Congress: Rejects Kennedy's Welfare Measures but Backs His Foreign Policy Ideas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following article, appearing in the Evening Star of Washington, D.C., July 30, makes more sense than most recent analyses of the Congress:

MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD CONGRESS: REJECTS KENNEDY'S WELFARE MEASURES BUT BACKS HIS FOREIGN POLICY IDEAS

Two more really big legislative decisions—and two only—may be expected of this Congress no matter how late into the fall its session may struggle on.

Congress will decide whether the economic outlook justifies a tax cut to stimulate business. And Congress will complete action on the historic bill to grant President Kennedy unexampled authority to lower tariffs in order to associate this Nation with the new world of trade arising from the European Common Market.

It is curiously fitting that the remaining real program of this Congress as it draws toward the close should be confined to such hard practicalities. From the beginning the tone of the session has been to grant the President most of what he has wanted in foreign policy, and to some extent in economic policy, but to deny to him most of what he has asked in the field of welfare legislation.

And that tone is being maintained to the end. Dead, for illustration, are the President's requests for a Federal Department of Urban Affairs, for a new medical plan, and for large-scale Federal aid to public education.

Very much alive, however, is his foreign aid program, and very much alive is his world trade program. Congress has just sent to the White House a very good foreign aid bill which will strengthen the President's hand in the cold war. And the House has already approved—with Senate approval still to come—a strong world trade measure which involves perhaps the most important legislative achievement since the Second World War.

It is against all this background that this Congress must be measured. Has it really been an unexpectedly obstructive and difficult Congress, as some of the President's liberal advisers keep insisting, in their disappointment at the rejection of welfarist measures? No. Instead, it has really been just the kind of Congress that should have been foreseen all along.

It has been moderate-minded, middle-of-the-road in political complexion and cooperative toward the President on the great survival issues but on little else.

If Congress has very often checked the President on proposed domestic innovations, it has—to the great credit of the minority Republicans—given him high bipartisan support on cold war matters.

The only puzzling thing is why anybody ever supposed that it would be any other kind of Congress than it has been. Mr. Kennedy himself, after all, ran an essentially moderate campaign in 1960. It was not wildly "liberal" any more than Richard Nixon's was wildly "conservative."

The people, in narrowly electing Mr. Kennedy, spoke in tones of moderation. For in choosing him, as only a moderately liberal man, they chose a Congress which was moderately conservative.

Nothing in that election and nothing since has suggested that the people want domestic reforms and innovations so much as they want strong leadership against the Soviet menace.

This Congress—both the Democratic and Republican sides of it—has helped to give them that leadership by its bipartisan support, in this area, of the President.

There never was the slightest reason to suppose that Congress would come charging in here to duplicate the New Deal of the 1930's in a decade, the 1960's, where the true national problem is not depression but rather the oppressive danger of international communism.

And those who lament the failure of this or that reform measure in Congress should comfort themselves a bit. The time has not been ripe for them. For this is an hour in history in which Congress had preferred, and rightly so, to do what is absolutely necessary at the expense of what is not really necessary but rather only desirable—and even desirable only in a debatable way.

## National Foundation for Neuromuscular Diseases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, "A Force for the Forgotten" is the rallying cry of the National Foundation for Neuromuscular Diseases, Inc.

A few days ago I had the privilege of attending a gathering of the Essex County chapter of this eleemosynary organization, and observed there first hand that there is truly a force in action for the forgotten sufferers of neuromuscular diseases.

The Essex County chapter is in existence for one major purpose—to help wipe out neuromuscular diseases—which run the gamut from muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, muscular atrophy to little-known but also fatal diseases like myasthenia gravis.

Seventy percent of any money that the Essex County chapter raises goes to the national organization who invests it in research programs at places like the Children's Hospital Center in Boston, Rutgers-New Brunswick, Oxford University in England, Cornell University Medical College, and so on.

The remaining 30 percent of the funds that the Essex County chapter raise go to afflicted patients.

I have observed the work of this fine organization, and the relief they have brought to the agonized and afflicted patients. I urge all, who wish to help mankind, to contribute generously to this cause in hopes that someday neuromuscular diseases and the terrible aftermath of those who are forgotten may be eradicated.

## Seattle World's Fair Sensational Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, most of my colleagues in the House voted for Federal participation in the Seattle World's Fair, now more than 3 months in progress.

So that my colleagues may know that their favorable votes were justified, I include the following comments on the fair, describing its sensational success to date, by the well-known columnist, Marquis Childs:

(By Marquis Childs)

SEATTLE, WASH., July 30.—With an average of more than 60,000 visitors daily, Seattle's Century 21 Exposition is already in the black only a few days past the halfway mark. It is the principal reason the Pacific Northwest is booming, with department store sales up 20 percent as compared to 3 to 4 percent in most of the country.

There is no evidence that the stock market jolt and the uncertainty over the growth of the economy have had any effect on the big show Seattle is putting on. Attendance is running slightly ahead of expectation and the fair management has just repaid $4,500,000 advanced by Seattle business firms.

Under a brilliant sun that has finally provided perfect exposition weather after a long cloudy, rainy siege, this is the affluent society in full bloom. In every shape, form and age and every variety of costume, from the shortest shorts to the dressiest costume with full parure of costume jewelry, traveling America is milling over the fair's 74 acres. And if anyone doubted the population explosion, it is manifest in the legion of children swarming everywhere—children sound asleep in strollers, children fastened in strings to their parents, children guzzling tons of hot dogs, ice cream and soft drinks.

The chief criticism of the fair derives in fact from its very success. Long lines must wait patiently to get into the most popular features, which are the U.S. science exhibit, the Ford Co.'s pavilion with its simulated space trip, the coliseum with a free water skiing show, and the 606-feet-high space needle with its restaurant on top.

Beginning from the moment the gates open until 10:30 or 11 at night, 15,000 peo-

ple on the average wait in line through the day for one of the elevators that look like big yellow bugs hustling up the steel spine of the needle. They pay $1 a head, and the private firm that financed the needle is well on the way to amortizing its investment.

On a clear night, the view from the dining and observation platforms, which make one complete revolution every hour, is superb. To the west the Olympic Range of mountains is etched against the setting sun. On the opposite horizon is the brooding presence of the great white cone of 14,000-foot Mount Rainier. In the northern distance is Mount Baker.

The atmosphere of the fair is closely related to the scenic splendors of this Northwest country. The feeling is strong that this coastal slope, with its mild climate, is in for the same kind of growth that California is seeing. It will be part of the new empire of the West that is regarded jealously by other regions. While the booster spirit, epitomized by Ewen C. Dingwall, general manager and chief promoter of the exposition through 5 difficult years, may lag in long-settled parts of the country, it flourishes here.

With full capacity of 2,000 passengers each, two Canadian Pacific ferries make the day's round trip to Victoria, British Columbia, passing among the beautiful, relatively untouched San Juan de Fuca Islands. Half a day's motor trip away is Olympic National Park and its unique rain forest, where 100 inches of rainfall a year produce a fantastic range of vegetation. On the slopes of Mount Baker an important ski meet, drawing contestants from a wide area, is held on July 4.

Local pride in the achievement of the fair, and in the conviction that the glories of this region have not been sufficiently appreciated, is strong. Dingwall speaks warmly of the fact that the designer of the U.S. science pavilion, the only really distinguished building in the exposition, was Minoru Yamasaki, born and brought up here.

When Alistair Cooke came here shortly after the opening of the fair and wrote in the Manchester (England) Guardian a persnickety article, saying that the exposition was really a trade fair overlaid with Coney Island, Seattle seethed with indignation.

No such thing, the newspaper said, pointing to the high quality of the scientific exhibits and the instructive value of such displays as the pavilion put up by the European Economic Community where, with remarkable ingenuity in pictures and recordings, the story of the development of the Common Market and what it can mean for Europe and the world is told.

It may be significant that the only phase of the fair not doing well is the girlie show and honky tonk section. The fair visitors seem for the most part to be serious searchers after knowledge with a characteristically American thirst to find out what makes it run—whether a new computer or the universe—and why.

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(By Marquis Childs)

SEATTLE, WASH.—Among the 4,753,817 people who have visited the Seattle Century 21 Exposition in the first half of its life have been delegations from a half dozen cities planning future world's fairs. They hope to learn what to do and what not to do in the light of Seattle's success.

New York has scarcely a year and a half to go before opening a fair that is to cover a space nearly 10 times the 74 acres of the Seattle exposition. One criticism here has been the crowding of the site, the lack of spacious vistas that characterized the Brussels fair of 4 years ago covering more than 500 acres.

Atlanta is planning a fair in 1967, and the city hopes to obtain the seal of approval of the Bureau of International Expositions. Seattle got that seal while New York was denied it because its exposition was to come too soon after Century 21.

Philadelphia has sent emissaries here in contemplation of an exposition in 1976 commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. And Chicago, whose Century of Progress in 1933–34 was the last fair to make money, is thinking of another exposition.

One lesson from Seattle may be the economy of size. Another equally important is the fact that the core of the exposition was built as a permanent cultural and sports center for the city, including an art gallery, opera and concert halls, and sports stadium.

City and State together put up nearly $26 million. Congress appropriated $9 million for the science pavilion, and the National Aeronautics and Space Agency came through with another million for a special space exhibit. The capsule in which John Glenn made his three orbits of the earth will shortly be flown here and included in the display.

It is a measure of the up-and-coming spirit of this region that the intention is to maintain the science pavilion after the fair closes as what Ewen C. Dingwall, general manager of the exposition, calls a "kind of west coast Smithsonian Institution." The idea is to join with the University of Washington and other centers to foster research that will, in turn, mean the development of industries in new fields such as electronics and space.

Foreign governments, private exhibitors and others put in about $30 million. Thus of the $100 million which the exposition cost, more than two-thirds was paid for from sources outside of the bookkeeping of profit and loss.

While the theme of the space age is incidental and even irrelevant to much of what goes on in this exposition's teeming 74 acres, a high-and-mighty theme is essential to any self-respecting and successful World's Fair. It is a cloak of good intent covering everything from the strippers to the Uday Shankar dancers from India. The space needle, which will be a permanent feature of the Seattle skyline, comparable to the Eiffel Tower in Paris that came out of another fair, might just as well have been called by any other name.

An essential ingredient in the recipe for an exposition that attracts the customers is an art exhibit. Seattle scores conspicuously in this department. The show is divided into three sections, Masterpieces of Art, Art after 1950, and Northwest Coast Indian Art, with a small corollary exhibit of oriental art. Galleries all over the world have loaned art objects.

The Pacific Northwest exhibit is unique. The sculptured masks and the ceremonial figures compare favorably with the best of the African sculpture that had such a vogue. Some of the objects loaned by museums in London and Berlin were acquired in the middle of the 18th century when Captain Cook and his expedition came to these shores. For the first time in more than 150 years they have been returned to their place of origin, although to a setting somewhat changed in the intervening century and a half.

But when all is said and done, painstaking, persistent promotion had a lot to do with Seattle's success. As early as last Christmas a drive was put on to sell regular $2 admission tickets in advance at a discount price of $1.60. Advance tickets to amusement rides and other fair attractions were also sold.

And regional pride has been the spur. When visitors write glowing letters to the papers praising the fair and the splendors of the Northwest countryside, the sense of reward for the citizen is as great as his satisfaction in knowing that the project is paying off in dollars and cents.

## A Noted Leader of Delaware's Polish-Americans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, a noted leader of Polish-Americans in Delaware died recently, and his passing was mourned by all who knew him.

Mr. Vincent J. Kowalewski was a citizen of Wilmington, Del., for 50 years. He spent his life developing Americanism among Polish immigrants, fighting communism, heading patriotic and civic causes for Polish-American residents in the city, and rurturing Polish culture and folkways.

As the Wilmington Morning News recently pointed out, more than 600 persons attended a testimonial given in his honor last November at the Hotel Du Pont. Mr. Kowalewski was presented with a plaque during the ceremonies which put into words the love Delawareans had for him. The plaque read:

This testimonial award is presented to Vincent J. Kowalewski in recognition of his zeal in augmenting the Polish spirit by keeping the torch high and the flame alive.

Mr. Kowalewski served as president and secretary of the Council of Polish Societies and Clubs of Delaware, and he was a national director of the Polish-American Congress. He was a member of the Polish National Alliance, the Kosciuszko Foundation, the Men of Malvern, the Polish Falcons of America, the Polish American Civic Association, and he was chairman of the Polish War Relief Committee.

Mr. Kowalewski served as director of the Delaware chapter of the American Red Cross and as chairman of fundraising drives for the Cancer Society, retarded children, heart fund, and others.

I include the following article from the Wilmington Morning News of July 20, 1962.

POLISH-AMERICAN CHAMPION VINCENT KOWALEWSKI DIES

A noted leader of Polish-Americans in the Wilmington area, Vincent J. Kowalewski, died yesterday at his home, 1205 Beech Street. He was 68.

Mr. Kowalewski, born in Chester County, Pa., spent 50 years in Wilmington developing Americanism among Polish immigrants, fighting communism, heading patriotic and civic causes for Polish-American residents in the city and nurturing the continuation of Polish folkways in Delaware.

He attended St. Hedwig's Parochial School and was graduated from Goldey College in 1913.

More than 600 persons attended a testimonial given in his honor last November at the Hotel Du Pont's Gold Ballroom.

Mr. Kowalewski was presented with a plaque during the ceremonies which bore the message:

"This testimonial award is presented to Vincent J. Kowalewski in recognition of his zeal in augmenting the Polish spirit by keeping the torch high and the flame alive."

Solemn requiem Mass will be offered in St. Hedwig's Catholic Church Tuesday at 10:30 a.m. Interment will be in Cathedral

Cemetery. Friends may call at the Karpinski Funeral Home, 741 South Broom Street, Monday evening.

He served as president and secretary of the Council of Polish Societies and Clubs of Delaware. He was a national director of the Polish-American Congress.

Mr. Kowalewski served as director of the Delaware chapter of the American Red Cross and as chairman of fundraising drives for the Cancer Society, retarded children, heart fund and others.

He organized the Polish Cultural Society and more recently was instrumental in organizing a room at Fort Delaware honoring a Polish commander of the fort.

Mr. Kowalewski had been a chairman of the Polish War Relief Committee. He was a member of the Polish National Alliance, the Kosciuszko Foundation, the Men of Malvern, the Polish Falcons of America and the Polish American Civic Association.

Until his illness, he was a Polish radio announcer for station WTUX. He had served as editor and publisher of the now defunct Polish newspaper, Wiadomosci.

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Josephine S. Kowalewski; six daughters, Mrs. Florence McCorkle, Mrs. Felecia Talarowski, Mrs. Joanne Taylor, Sister Mary Vincent, OSFS, Misses Christine and Theodosia Kowalewski; two sons, the Reverend Vincent J. Kowalewski, Jr., OSFS, and John Kowalewski, all of Wilmington.

Also surviving are eight grandchildren; two brothers, John and Anthony Kowalewski, Wilmington, and four sisters, Miss Stella Kowalewski and Mrs. Loretta Jaworowski, both of Wilmington, Mrs. Josephine Stecki, Camden, N.J., and Mrs. Carrie Hopkins, New Castle.

## Address by District of Columbia Commissioner Duncan at Democratic Rally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to call to the attention of the Senate an address by Hon. John B. Duncan, Commissioner of District of Columbia, delivered at a Democratic rally on Monday, June 25.

Commissioner Duncan has summarized the record and achievements of the Kennedy administration and the Democratic Party in these past 18 months. His speech represents a basic outline of the progress of the New Frontier.

Commissioner John Duncan has earned the respect and admiration of the people of the District of Columbia by his dedication to the needs of the District and his outstanding record of public service.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, when requested to speak to you tonight, I was given just about the widest latitude that any speaker could be given by your chairman of this assembly. While that degree of latitude may or may not be necessary, I do want to commend your chairman for his kindness, his cooperation, and his consideration. I suppose I should also admit that when given numerous subjects for a discussion, it is also difficult to choose the best one. Fortunately, one of the questions that ran through each of the suggested topics was "What can we do?"

I would like, therefore, to talk about two things that we can do here in the District of Columbia. One pertains to individual effort to organize and the other pertains to the creation of a correct image of the Democratic Party.

With regard to the matter of individual effort, I might hasten to say that I believe that all of our friends and ourselves will find it necessary to put forth greater individual effort to fully organize and build our party in this city. Now, let no one conclude that this is a criticism, for it isn't. The fact is, that regardless of the organization or its purposes, the people of the District of Columbia never really rally around any group or idea unless there is a red hot issue of one kind or another. I am not therefore discouraged or disappointed by any apparent slow pace with which people have rallied around our party or any other party. On the other hand, this is probably the earliest period during which we can now expect to persuade people (more easily) to become active and interested in the Democratic Party. And I think this will be the case from this day on and until the 1964 elections are over. Even here, we should realize that in the absence of real and meaningful home rule, it will not be as easy to attract people as may be the case in other cities where the people have a mayor and city council of their own choice. It is important therefore that we understand our city so that we will not become discouraged by the difference between the obvious interest and activity of our citizens as compared to other cities who have good reasons to be active.

Nevertheless, we must obviously make the best of what we do have; and to that end, we must devise a means of reaching more and more people through the effort of every individual commited to the principles of the Democratic Party. From a practical point of view, and specifically, I mean that each of us (at every opportunity) must meet with very small groups across the city and discuss the potential of the Democratic Party (its worth, its progress, and its successes). This would envision no great expense and no great formalities. In fact, the smaller the groups the greater the warmth and therefore the greater the success in the end.

Now, this is not the only approach to increasing our numbers. My colleagues and I on the Board of Commissioners can, and are I believe, directing our attention to several things that we must do. For example, meeting with small groups is one thing we can do. Another is focusing greater and greater attention on new and additional personalities to assume civic responsibility with the city government on boards, councils and commissioners—and I include those commissions that pay various sums for attendance at meetings.

A third thing that we can do, is to help raise funds that will be sorely needed in the 1964 campaign. While I do not propose the specifics for this, I believe that a contribution can be made toward raising such funds. In any event, now would seem to be the time to start.

Now, with regard to the matter of creating a correct image of the Democratic Party, I think I see an organized effort by the opposition to discredit this administration at every turn of the road. And the sad part about all of this is that Democrats have always been so completely honest that sometimes they quite unintentionally and unwittingly add fuel to a fire actually started by the opposition.

The fact is, that this administration has fought and is fighting for the most forward looking programs this country has ever known. I challenge anyone to pick the field of endeavor and there you will find every conceivable effort of this administration to render that which is good for the masses of people of America. I challenge anyone to choose any office of the President's Cabinet, for there he will find the greatest of effort behind programs from which America as a whole can profit so very much. It may be Labor, and there you will find one of the greatest and most effective men of our time in Secretary Goldberg. Look to Commerce and you will find Secretary Hodges at work 16 to 18 hours per day and demonstrating foresight, dedication, and imagination. Look to HEW, and you will find the same dedication, foresight and imagination. Look to State and you will see a kind of cooperation and building of international good will as never before witnessed in America. Yes; look then to Agriculture, to Interior, or to any of the scores of agencies of this Government today and you will see the New Frontiersmen at work.

Look at the social reforms which our President is fighting so hard to inaugurate these days, and you will find that in spite of the dogged opposition there is still great hope and accomplishment.

And let me not omit the progress made in the field of civil rights, for this, too, will greatly influence the vote in the District of Columbia in 1964. Here, too, the image must be correctly created. The only correct image is the image of great progress and success. So great is that progress and success that we are now witnessing the greatest change that we have seen for 100 years. In spite of any misfortunes of our past as a Nation, I see an obviously changing America; an America now facing up to its greatest challenge—an America looking back on its history, yet looking forward—forward to the future for its role among the freedom-loving peoples of this new world.

This is to become a new day of good will among men everywhere. This is the beginning of the era of emancipation of all peoples everywhere; and certainly emancipation for Americans—emancipation in the sense that it is full freedom from bias, and from prejudice, both of which we believe, basically, to be un-American. Certainly, this is the hope of our largest minority group.

To be more specific, I venture to say, for example, that the greatest success that we have experienced in the field of civil rights has resulted from the effort of the President and his administration in the field of equal job opportunity; and most of this has occurred with the two biggest employers in the Nation, namely, private industry and the Federal Government.

In fact, no clearer example of progress in private industry need be mentioned than that made by Western Electric. And following them, there are others in private industry for whom this corporation has set the example. As you may know, on the side of private industry, as distinguished from Government, the nine largest Government contractors, with 800,000 workers, have long ago signed detailed agreements to equalize Negro job opportunities. As a specific example, the Lockheed Co., has opened its apprentice program, in Marietta, Ga., to Negroes; and it picked 1,000 Negroes out of 5,000 new employees hired in Burbank, Calif.

A similarly aggressive policy has been followed as to Government employment. Those agencies that are shown in surveys to have but few or no Negro employees have been ordered to recruit some. And they are doing it.

A classic example of this progress in Government is found in the experience of the U.S. Post Office Department where, during each and every month since March of 1961 numerous steps have been taken to guarantee equal job opportunity; for example, in March 1961 a Negro was appointed Deputy

Assistant Postmaster General (Bureau of Transportation), the highest post ever held by a member of his race in the postal service. Add to this the Department's new promotion policy prohibiting discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

In April, the Department appointed a compliance officer on civil rights; in May, Richard J. Murphy, Assistant Postmaster General was designated the Department's employment policy officer, and in each of the months of June, July, August, September, and October, numerous and similar steps were taken to provide equal job opportunity throughout the U.S. Post Office Department. To guarantee the success of its policies on equal opportunity, the Post Office Department placed several Negroes in policy-making positions and countless ones were promoted to positions commensurate with their abilities. For example, among the policy-makers are such as: a Deputy Assistant Postmaster General; a Regional Personnel Manager in Chicago; an Assistant General Superintendent of Mails in Detroit; a postmaster at Magazine, Ala.; an acting postmaster in California; an employee relations officer in the District of Columbia; a superintendent in Memphis, Tenn., and a station superintendent and his assistant in the same city, with other assistant station superintendents in the city of Nashville; and let me add that in your National Capital City, we have an assistant postmaster.

I repeat, therefore, that a classic example of real progress in Government is found in the U.S. Post Office Department. Parenthetically, I might also say that irrespective of any individual employment problem, and however overpublicized an individual case may become, the record of the Post Office Department stands on its own. In fact, I suggest that in all our relationships, and comments, we remember those who are our friends and whose records are so overwhelmingly commendable in the field of equal job opportunity.

In any event, a continuation of the achievements of both Government and industry will stand for a long time as an ideal example for others to follow. This is the way it ought to be, for these are the two most likely institutions that will determine the destiny of this great Nation, insofar as its destiny relates to the equal opportunity afforded its citizens.

My friends, what is more important than the record of accomplishment of this great party is: that first, we tell this story over and over again to those who need it, and to those whose minds have been and are being poisoned by the opposition. Let us now concentrate more on supporting the administration openly and more frequently. The job done by every New Frontiersman is hard enough in itself. Each one needs less criticisms and more encouragement. As Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy told a publishers meeting in Baltimore last week—and I quote:

"This progress doesn't come about with the wave of a magic wand. It takes work." In one voting case, he said, 36,000 voting records were examined and testimony taken from 180 witnesses. Parenthetically, he pointed out, that in recent months (and of course as a result of the effort of the administration), 14 airports have voluntarily abolished segregation. Six of these are in the deep southern States. This is but one of countless successes of this administration.

My friends, the image which I now picture in the field of civil rights is the image that we must develop once and for all in our city. It is no longer a question as to whether our goods and wares sell themselves. We must sell them before others distort them.

## Use of Foreign-Built Vessels in Domestic Coastwise Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in connection with a bill now pending in Congress, an interesting and informative editorial was published in the Fairbanks, Alaska, News-Miner of July 27, 1962, dealing with the use of foreign-built vessels in domestic coastwise trade. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRAIN-SHIP PURCHASE WARRANTED

Bills are now pending in Congress to allow Alaska Steamship Co. to use a Japanese-built ferry carrying railroad cars from Seattle to the Alaska railbelt. Arguments favoring this legislation are convincing.

The Senate measure, by Senator E. L. (BOB) BARTLETT, would waive merchant marine law forbidding use of foreign-built vessels in domestic coastwise trade in this one instance.

Shipping interests protesting the half-price purchase of the Japanese-built *City of New Orleans* apparently are not remembering that they are using vessels bought from the United States at less than 50 cents on the dollar.

Railroads, airlines, and truckers purchase foreign equipment from time to time, so extending this practice into another field of transportation is hardly setting any wild precedent.

Furthermore, unless this transfer is allowed or some other development occurs right out of the blue, surface transportation to and from Alaska is certain to shift more and more toward the Canadian route, thus bypassing American ports.

How can Seattle compete with railcar barges out of Prince Rupert, 600 miles closer to the railbelt? One answer would seem to be the train-ship since it is faster. The barges from Prince Rupert to Whittier take about 5 days. The train-ship, with 56-railcar capacity, can go from Seattle to the railbelt in about 72 hours.

The new mode of transportation, together with the fact that competition should have a favorable effect on freight rates, diminishes the argument of some opponents that the Canadian sea train and Alaska Steam's proposed venture would hurt the economy of Seward and Valdez.

A charge that the national railroads have a four-fifths interest in the *City of New Orleans* and Alaska Steam only one-fifth is flatly denied by D. E. Skinner of the company.

"I should like to make it clear that no railroad or group of railroads has any financial interest in the proposed purchase of the *City of New Orleans* by the Alaska Steamship Co.," Skinner declared this week. "If, as we hope, the proposed legislation currently pending before Congress is enacted, the purchase of this vessel will be financed entirely by us without any participation direct or indirect on the part of the railroads."

On July 11 the Senate Commerce Committee reported favorably on the bill allowing transfer of the vessel. With this substantial progress, it is to be hoped there will be favorable action in the House. Hearings on the companion bill started yesterday in the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

We do not say this particular trainship acquisition is the sole and only hope of the U.S. port of Seattle to retain its role as Alaska's principal supplier.

We do say that unless a trainship goes into operation between Puget Sound and Alaska in the near future, logistics and economics will soon divert the majority of Alaska's surface transportation through Canadian ports.

If the Congress wants to keep freight moving to the 49th State in American carriers from American ports, prompt affirmative action to allow Alaska Steam to consumate the trainship purchase is indicated.

## The Space Communications Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GALE W. McGEE
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in the never ending race that the free world's technology runs with that of the Communist empire, it is essential that we have the best available scientific and managerial talent. The way to obtain such talent is to combine private enterprise and public service. A recent editorial in the Powell Tribune, an excellent semiweekly published in Powell, Wyo., makes just such a suggestion. This editorial gives a lucid account of the problems present in the space communications race and offers a concrete approach to them.

Another editorial on this subject appeared August 1 in the Washington Post. This editorial presents a constructive appraisal of the oft repeated charge that the communications satellite bill would create a monopoly injurious to the national welfare. There is no doubt that the very nature of modern communications systems limits participation to one company in one area. But, as this editorial points out, there are already in existence adequate safeguards to protect the public.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have these two editorials printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Powell (Wyo.) Tribune of July 27, 1962]

PUN LIVING TODAY

We live in a tremendous age, a most vital, fast-moving era of world history.

It is the age of infinity with nations attempting to explore space.

It is still the age of colonization with leading nations of man's world attempting to be the first to place humans on the Moon and on Venus, or any other solar planet one might name.

It is the age of education with the best minds of the Nation testing methods and procedures for upgrading the education of our youth so vital in this age of expensive college costs, expanding school building needs and skyrocketing needs for intensive technical information.

Every new invention, each technical achievement—opens a new window on the future. This multiplies the questions about the life of man in this dawning age of infinity. We marvel, though we do not fully comprehend, the promises of Telstar, the plans for the trip to the Moon, to Venus, the Gemini vehicle or the Apollo lunar spacecraft.

Rotarians were challenged by Elven Royer Wednesday in his talk on "cybernation", which is the process of automation and computer phrases, when he predicted the next 100 years would see present labor masses cut by 75 to 80 percent as those employed in agriculture have been cut during the past 100 years.

This does not mean that there would be any more unemployed than today, although it may mean that. It does mean that there would be many more employed in the future in personal services, recreation and other fields tied to the satisfactions of man than at present, such as music, drama, etc.

Our Nation has no choice but to be in the space race. We must choose wisely and use our resources wisely. We are now spending about $4 billion a year on this race.

It was a wise choice that prompted our Government to give to the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. the Telstar responsibility.

This should teach a lesson. Private companies, risking money for profit, play a significant role in space. The Government should encourage private enterprise to exploit these space opportunities. It is not the Government's role to take over the project when private business can do it.

It is the role of Government to exercise such supervision as is needed upon private enterprise for the common good.

Today as never before we need the best in leadership as well as the finest minds in technical fields.

In our race to conquer space, we so far have been able to create a stalemate with our enemies—they dare not attack us. We do want to check carefully in all decisions that space does not conquer man.

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[From the Washington Post of Aug. 1, 1962]

BEHIND THE TELSTAR DEBATE

The filibuster in the Senate has almost obscured the merits and demerits of the administration's plan to create a satellite communications system through a private corporation under Federal regulation. The furor over unlimited debate and the proposed cloture petition have claimed the headlines. A mere squandering of time has taken the place of serious deliberations on the basis of the national interest.

Much of the opposition is centered in the word "monopoly." It is always safe to assail monopoly on the basis of general principles, but the fact remains that the satellite communications system will have to be a monopoly. This is not a sphere in which competitive systems could be rationally created. Rather, the major problem is to bring many countries together in creating and maintaining a satellite communications monopoly that will serve all mankind.

The administration and Congress might have decided that the Government should own and operate the so-called Telstars and ground stations that will be necessary to this new system. The President decided against that course for many reasons. Our present communications system is privately owned. It is natural to take advantage of its facilities and know-how in extending the system into space. No doubt the President and the House, which passed the bill by an overwhelming vote, concluded that this would be the fastest way to acquire a new communications system in space. They may also have concluded that a private corporation would operate more efficiently than a public body.

With the White House and the House firmly committed to a private corporation, having three public members on the board and subject to regulation by the FCC, the handful of opponents in the Senate could do nothing more, if their filibuster should succeed, than to defeat the bill and thus cause serious delay in this peaceful use of space. If any great principle were involved, perhaps even this drastic method might be justified. But the Congress is merely trying to follow what has long been established national policy in extending our communications system to a new field.

It is true, of course, that the Government would remain in the picture at many different points. It would continue research in the field. It would control the launching of all United States spacecraft. It would conduct or supervise all international negotiations in regard to space communications. Does this mean a gigantic "giveaway" of public facilities to a private monopoly, as opponents of the bill charge? Undoubtedly it will aid the communications companies, but the chief motivation lies in the aid it will give to the public and the country. If the rates are properly regulated, moreover, there will be no "giveaway." Opponents of the bill might better concentrate their efforts on providing the FCC with the funds it will need to make regulation of the new system effective.

Nor does it appear that there are any insuperable obstacles in negotiating with other countries because of private ownership of these satellites. In all matters touching our foreign policy the State Department will be in control. The problems of working with other governments for international control of a satellite system will not be essentially different from the problems arising out of existing cable systems.

These aspects of the bill need to be seriously debated in terms of practical advantages and basic national interests. The country would be greatly relieved if the minority in the Senate would concentrate on the real issues and then let the majority will prevail.

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## The Declaration of Paris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, earlier this year, the Atlantic Citizens Convention—comprised of delegates from member nations of NATO—met in Paris to discuss mutual problems and challenges.

The convention adopted a series of recommendations, entitled "The Declaration of Paris."

The U.S. delegates to the convention were headed by the distinguished Christian A. Herter, former Secretary of State; and William L. Clayton, former Under Secretary of State.

The recommendations, I believe, deserve the consideration of Congress. I ask unanimous consent to have a brief résumé of the declaration printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the résumé was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DECLARATION OF PARIS

The 92 delegates voted in favor of the organization of a true Atlantic community. Not one spoke against it. The 2 weeks of discussion and debate related solely to timing—when the organization could be brought into being. The convention in the Declaration of Paris overwhelmingly supported the following specific proposals, among others:

(a) That the NATO governments promptly establish a special governmental commission to draw up plans within 3 years for the creation of an Atlantic community organized to meet the political, military and economic challenges of this era.

(b) That a permanent high council at the highest political level be created to concert and plan and, in agreed cases, to decide policy on matters of concern to the community as a whole.

(c) That an Atlantic High Court of Justice be established to decide specified legal controversies.

(d) That the NATO Parliamentarians Conference be developed into a consultative assembly.

(e) That a trade partnership be formed between the United States and the European Economic Community, the basis of an Atlantic economic community, open to other nations of the free world.

(f) That the Atlantic nations cooperate on a larger scale with the developing nations in their economic progress, through direct and multilateral action, through the acceleration of investments and through measures which would increase both the volume and value of their exports.

(g) That, in view of the hundreds of millions of hungry people alive today and the prospect that there will be three billion more persons in the next generation, the Atlantic community be requested to address itself forthwith to the population problem.

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## Jerseymen Can Be Proud of Records at Age 300

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we of New Jersey are preparing for our tercentenary in 1964. In almost 300 years, New Jersey has scored an unbelievable record of achievement and accomplishment both in the rural and urban areas of our State.

In the July 24 issue of the Camden Courier-Post, John O. Davies, Jr., a skilled journalist, has proclaimed that as a State New Jersey is a "big little bantam." His article is further testimony to the undeniable fact that the Garden State has far more in it than many persons realize. In terms of industry and farming, transportation, retail purchasing power, cultural opportunities and all other facets of life, New Jersey possesses one of the most amazing diversities in the country. For example, the most urbanized State in the Union also has within its boundaries Hunterdon County, among the most rural counties in the United States, with 67 percent of its lands being farmed. Mr. Davies' keen insight and skillful handling of the State's records allows one to see that New Jersey offers much to everyone who lives or visits within her borders.

I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Davies' article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD so that the information contained therein can receive greater attention.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JERSEYMEN CAN BE PROUD OF RECORDS AT AGE 300

(By John O. Davies, Jr.)

TRENTON.—You can be proud you're a Jerseyman. You live in one of the smallest States of the Nation—but it's among the biggest and the best in many fields.

You've got a lot to talk about because you're the mostest. In almost 300 years, you've scored many firsts, achieved many records. You can stand eye to eye with New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, Californians, even Texans.

As a State, you're a big little bantam.

Even your nickname is justified. The Garden State boasts more farm income per acre than any other State. A larger percentage of your farms have electrical service. Your dairy cows are the third most productive.

You're an industrial giant-killer. You're 1st in the Nation in chemicals, 3d in the manufacture of clothing and clocks, 4th in electrical machinery, 6th in food, stone, clay, glass, and tobacco, 7th in metal fabrication and in printing and publishing, 8th in transport equipment, 9th in machinery, 10th in leather goods.

More motor vehicles roll on your highways than anywhere else. With almost 2,000 line miles of railroad, you've got the most concentrated trackage per square mile in the United States.

You're richer than you think. Your retail purchases amount to $8 billion. Yet you've more than $14 billion to spend. Your average household has a spending power of close to $6,000. Each year you make close to 14 million calls on more than 3 million telephones.

Your industrial growing pains began in 1676, when an ironworks was established in Shrewsbury. Since then you've demonstrated an inventiveness that still is attracting factories big and small.

The first steamboats were produced here. So was the first steam locomotive, the first practical electric light, the first usable submarine, the first smokeless powder.

In cultural circles, you can hold your own with the eggheads. Yours was the only colony with two colleges, Princeton and Rutgers. The third oldest high school in the Nation was built in Newark. Now you have close to 40 colleges and universities of all types, more than 356 high schools, close to 2,000 elementary schools, more than 300 libraries.

You're third highest in the Nation in educational expenditures per pupil.

You can look into the mirror with pride. You've got many striking features, unusual characteristics.

Your Atlantic City is the Nation's convention capitol. In Burlington, your largest county, you touch ocean in the east and river in the west. Your Camden County is known for its industrial diversification. Your Cumberland County is among the leading producers of clay, glass, and stone. Your Gloucester County is noted for agricultural advancements.

Your youngest county, Union, is the second smallest in land area, third largest in industrial output. Your Hunterdon is among the most rural counties, with 67 percent of its land being farmed. Your Middlesex County, home of Rutgers, is noted for both industry and agriculture. Your Somerset, while a rural paradise, boasts some of the Nation's leading industries.

As a Jerseyman you can stand up straight and walk with a strut. That's not your nature, of course, but when you're 300 years old in 1964, you'll surely be forgiven for swaggering a bit.

## The Davis-Bacon Act and Its Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, as you know the Special Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am chairman, has been holding hearings on the Davis-Bacon Act and its administration.

There has been no full-scale congressional review of the Davis-Bacon Act since it was enacted into law in 1931.

The hearings are now coming to a close. Thirty-eight witnesses have testified and 15 statements have been filed by persons who did not testify.

The subcommittee has provided an opportunity to all who wished to testify whether or not they were critical of the Davis-Bacon Act and its administration. I wish to insert at this point in my remarks a letter which I recently sent to one of our witnesses, Mrs. Bessie Slautterback, who was interested in a small housing project for the elderly. The letter indicates that not only did the subcommittee welcome testimony from representatives of large labor organizations, construction, and aircraft industries, but from interested individual citizens as well.

As a result of Mrs. Slautterback's testimony, the Solicitor of Labor, in his recent testimony before our subcommittee, acknowledged that the interpretations and procedures of his office could be improved. I wish to submit the pertinent excerpts from the Solicitor's testimony:

Mr. DONAHUE. Now, I personally, Mr. Chairman, took the time to read her testimony in detail, to look into the matter in detail, and I have satisfied myself that the Department of Labor stopped somewhere short of where it should have in its efforts to ascertain the proper prevailing rates in her case, and I have every sympathy for the position in which she was placed.

I believe that we did not fully carry the burden and the responsibility of moving forward to find out what the rates were when Mrs. Slautterback suggested to us that housing and residential wage rates in Fremont were at a different and lower scale from those which were determined.

If at any time Mrs. Slautterback would desire to make a reapplication to the Department of Labor, we will assure her, and I will assure the chairman personally, that the wages in Fremont, Mich., will receive a very careful survey in order to find out what are the true facts concerning residential and housing rates in that area.

From Mrs. Slautterback's testimony the subcommittee received a better appreciation of various problems relating to the Davis-Bacon Act and its administration. She and individuals like her are to be commended for exercising their privilege as citizens in helping to improve our laws.

JULY 31, 1962.

Mrs. BESSIE B. SLAUTTERBACK,
*Executive Secretary, Fremont Foundation, Fremont, Mich.*

DEAR MRS. SLAUTTERBACK: I want personally to thank you for your assistance to the Special Subcommittee on Labor in bringing certain matters to its attention.

As a result of your efforts in testifying before our subcommittee during the hearings on the administration of the Davis-Bacon Act, the subcommittee will study ways to eliminate such problems as you brought out in your testimony.

Because of your interest in this matter I am enclosing a copy of the testimony of the Solicitor of Labor relating to the Fremont Foundation.

It is only through the individual efforts of citizens such as you that laws are improved. I know I speak on behalf of the members of the subcommittee when I compliment you on your coming forward to provide the subcommittee with your experience with the Davis-Bacon Act.

Thank you again for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES ROOSEVELT,
*Chairman.*

## Restoring Business Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able article written by the noted writer, Mr. David Lawrence, for whose views I have a great respect.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESTORING BUSINESS CONFIDENCE—SIX MOVES TO IMPROVE PSYCHOLOGY OFFERED AS TAX-CUT ALTERNATIVES

(By David Lawrence)

The spectacle of a President of the United States watching over the country's business mechanism as if it were a sick patient, and waiting for the opportune moment to administer or withhold an economic hypodermic, is psychologically at least, a strange one. It could prolong rather than cure the illness.

For the argument about whether to ask Congress to grant a tax cut now or next January ignores the realities. The theory back of a tax reduction is that the money saved by the taxpayer would be used to spur spending. But the truth is that people in the aggregate have plenty of money today which they could spend if they weren't scared—lots of it in savings banks and lots of it in surpluses in corporations. The real trouble is a widespread fear that savings will be depleted and cash accumulations drained if business gets worse and if what's ailing business isn't soon remedied.

The Nation doesn't really need a general tax cut, either for individuals or corporations, though there are some glaring inequities that should be promptly removed.

A business making $1 million a year today pays the Treasury $520,000 in taxes and re-

tains $480,000. If, by the cut in tax rates now being suggested for corporations, the rate was to go from 52 percent to 48 percent, it would mean that the same business would retain $520,000, and the Government would get $480,000. This represents a net gain for the above business of exactly $40,000. Ask any businessman which he would rather have—a gain of only $40,000, or a rise of about $240,000 in net profits—and he will quickly choose the larger sum. How could he get that extra $240,000? If business conditions improved and his sales rose so that his profits were $1.5 million a year, he would have an additional net after taxes of $240,000 without any change whatsoever in tax rates.

Increased volume of sales, therefore, is a much more important factor than a tax cut. For the latter could conceivably diminish public confidence because of the big Treasury deficit that would be incurred. It could bring an array of new and perhaps more acute problems as the finances of the United States come under the sharp scrutiny of the outside world, especially since the dollar is in serious trouble anyway.

What, then, is the alternative if there isn't to be a general tax cut? The answer is for the Kennedy administration and factional groups in Congress to stop doing the things that have undermined confidence and to give some assurance that such a reversal would not be temporary but permanent. What are some of the things that need to be done? Here are a few:

1. Stop tampering with the normal and natural processes of the free-enterprise system and leave it to Moscow to argue for government ownership or the suppression of private incentive as a way of life. Recent speeches by so-called "liberal" Democrats during the filibuster in the Senate, espousing Government ownership of communications projects in the air, have alarmed investors, who see this as a movement hostile to private business.

2. Stop asking for the election of more such "liberals," who want the Government to take over and run the country.

3. Stop the flow of gobbledygook on "guidelines" for wage and price increases. If prices or wages are to be regulated by the Government, it's better to set up a wage-price board under Federal law.

4. Stop using the antitrust laws to harass business, and start getting laws that will do away with monopolistic power exercised by either big unionism or big business.

5. Stop interfering with the operations of American businesses in Europe which are bringing back hundreds of millions of dollars a year in tax revenue, and stop telling them they cannot use their earnings for reinvestment. Competing businesses owned by the British and other Europeans are permitted to do so by their respective governments.

6. Stop scaring the promoters of free enterprise. Make them feel they have a future and that investors have a better-than-even chance of getting their money back at a profit if they now lay long-range plans based on the natural growth of America's population and the inevitable triumphs that efficiency can bring in a self-stabilizing economy.

There is nothing wrong with the economic situation currently that can't be corrected by a change in business psychology—brought about by a conservative-minded President and a conservative-minded Congress, elected in November. For conservatism today primarily means to conserve the free enterprise system as against those who would undermine it and perhaps unwittingly destroy it.

## Tribute to Senator Gruening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, on June 2 last in Alaska's largest city friends of Senator ERNEST GRUENING gathered at a dinner to do him honor. It was a heart-warming occasion, and the tributes paid were as strong and as vigorous and as sincere as the man himself. The address of Senator WAYNE MORSE led the many tributes, both written and verbal.

I ask unanimous consent that the Anchorage speech of Oregon's senior Senator be printed in the RECORD, as well as a few of the many messages received, together with the capsule account, reproduced from the dinner program, of an outstanding public service career.

There being no objection, the address and other items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR WAYNE MORSE

Stanley McCutcheon, ERNEST GRUENING, all you wonderful friends of ERNEST GRUENING, you have paid me a great honor and great compliment by inviting me to come here tonight and join you in paying homage and honor to this great American statesman, ERNEST GRUENING.

I want to say that Stanley McCutcheon flattered me far beyond any possibility of relating what he said to prove I am a friend of Alaska, but there were many of us in the Congress of the United States who joined in battling for the right of Alaska to cease being an American colony and proceed to be an American State. And for all those that helped in that great cause in behalf of you I express here tonight on this public record our thanks and deep appreciation. There were many of us. But, let me say that Alaska in my judgment would not be a State tonight if it were not for the man that we honor and his colleague, BOB BARTLETT, who now also is in the Senate and at that time was your Delegate to the Congress and many, many here in Alaska who gave us the facts and the information that we needed to prove our case.

I well remember, Stanley, when I came here in 1949 as chairman of the subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate and we traveled throughout Alaska up to Nome. And we went back and made our report. It is true that in that report I used the phrase that Alaska was a colony and that America should not join the colonial powers by maintaining colonies and we ought to give Alaska not only her independence but we ought to see to it that Alaska became the 49th State of the Union. And you proved how right we were in that battle. But I turn now to the dedicated purpose of this great meeting, as we come here to rededicate our friendship with ERNEST GRUENING. I want to refer to him as a statesman in what I consider to be the true sense of the word. You ask me what I mean by a statesman. I'll tell you what I mean. You give me a man of courage. You give me a man of unquestioned integrity. You give me a man who understands that the purpose of this Republic of ours as our constitutional fathers laid down when they gave birth to this Republic is to promote the general welfare of the people of this country. You give me a man dedicated to the welfare of the people and the fighting heart to battle for them and I'll give you a statesman, and I give you tonight ERNEST GRUENING as a personification, of my definition of a statesman.

I come to you tonight—and he can close his ears while I speak about him personally because I know him to be a modest man—I come to you tonight to tell you of some of my observations of this man's statesmanship. When I was a very young man ERNEST GRUENING was a great journalist in this country who was a source of inspiration to me. His liberal writing—when I refer to "liberal" I want you to know that I always put the word "constitutional" before liberalism—ERNEST GRUENING is a great constitutional liberal. What do I mean by a constitutional liberal? A constitutional liberal seeks to translate into legislation the two fundamental guarantees of the Constitution, namely the guarantee of economic freedom of choice for the individual, made possible—and made possible only—through a private enterprise economy on the great human rights guarantees of the Constitution epitomized principally in the 14th and 15th amendments and the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. A constitutional liberal seeks to translate into legislation those great guarantees. And ERNEST GRUENING in every activity that is performed throughout his great life and statesmanship as an editor, as a Governor of Alaska now as a U.S. Senator has performed as a constitutional liberal should perform. But I want to stress this above all else that I may say about ERNEST's life. He is on the threshold of a greater service than any service he has yet rendered the American people. His Senate career is really just beginning. He's completed the pledgeship. He's been a freshman for 3½ years. Now ERNEST GRUENING moves into the inner sanctum, so to speak, with great power in the Senate, with great respect in the Senate.

I want to say that in my judgment Alaska couldn't afford not to have the service of ERNEST GRUENING in the Senate of the United States for the next 6 years, and it's up to you, the people of Alaska, to see to it that we're not deprived of the leadership of ERNEST GRUENING.

I want to talk about some of the contributions that he's already made. I want to point out to you what I consider to be some of this legislative philosophy that is vital to Alaska and vital to the Nation. But probably as a preface to commenting on that, I ought to lay down this basic tenet of political philosophy of mine. I happen to believe it's the basic tenet of all constitutional liberals. You will see immediately that I'm Burkian, that I do not think anyone has ever improved upon that basic philosophy of Edmund Burke enunciated in 1774 when he discussed the primary obligation of an elected representative of the free people in any parliamentary body. In essence, what Burke said was that those who have the trust given to a parliamentarian is to follow where the facts lead, testing those facts against the question, "What do these facts show the public interest to be in respect to this issue?"

And I submit to you that if you'll study the legislative record, the record of this statesman also as a Governor, the record of this statesman in every public position that he's held, you will find that ERNEST GRUENING always asks the question, "What are the facts about this issue and what do these facts show the public interest to be?" And once he's decided on his answer to that question, ERNEST GRUENING's answer is automatic, as it should be. For here is a man that puts the public interest as after all the determining factor in his own action.

All I'm saying really is it not true that the constitutional liberal recognizes that after all the only value that counts when all is said and done is the human value.

For I think the second tenet I would stress tonight as I honor ERNEST GRUENING is to point out to you that as representatives in the Congress of the United States we sit there to promote human value. For the only wealth Alaska has, the only wealth Oregon has, the only wealth the United States has happens to be the wealth of our people. Human values are what count and this system of economic freedom of ours is designed to promote human value.

The third tenet, I think, of political philosophy I would present here tonight in honoring ERNEST GRUENING is to have you refresh your memory that there would be no political freedom unless there is first economic freedom of choice of the individual. Take a look at your knowledge of history for a moment. Show me any society, will you, in which the people do not have economic freedom of choice for the individual but do have political freedom of choice. You can't recall one, for no such society has ever existed.

Some way, somehow, we've got to get the American people to recognize whenever they're confronted with any one of these great issues that trouble us to never forget that our economic freedom of choice is basic to our political freedom of choice. Do you ever stop to realize that after all our basic struggle with the British Crown was not in the first instance a political struggle but an economic struggle? Our colonial fathers insisted on the right to be economically free. You give me a political seedbed of economic freedom and I'll give you a political seedbed in which political freedom will automatically sprout and grow.

Now I want to take this tenet and apply it to American foreign policy because there sits in front of me here tonight the man we honor who has become already one of the leaders in the Senate in the whole field of foreign policy and when all is said and done the one issue that pales all the others into insignificance is the issue of foreign policy. What we do in foreign policy in the next 10 to 20 years will determine whether or not you and I leave a heritage of freedom to our grandchildren. Note my time bracket. I am not talking about great-grandchildren—I'm talking about a time bracket that involves our grandchildren. Unless the cause of freedom is won in that time bracket, there will be no heritage of freedom left for our grandchildren. That's why foreign policy pales all the others into insignificance and here is one of the best scholars, one of the best informed men in the whole Congress of the United States in this field of foreign policy.

If BOB BARTLETT were here tonight and Congressman RIVERS were here tonight, both of them would support what I have just said, for we look to ERNEST GRUENING for leadership in the field of foreign policy. I happen to be chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin America and I want to say that the writings of ERNEST GRUENING have been a source of education and inspiration to me for many, many years. I referred to his writings when I was a young man and he was editor of The Nation. I want to call your attention to the great book that he wrote on Mexico that is still a standard reference book for my Committee on Latin America. You'd be surprised the number of times each year that we go back to a point raised by ERNEST GRUENING in that book.

You know the various positions that he's held in regard to Latin America since. You know the appointment, as is brought out in the biographical material in your program tonight, of Franklin Roosevelt who looked to him for leadership also in respect to American foreign policy in Latin America. The Roosevelt good neighbor policy was a policy based upon the advice that Roosevelt got from ERNEST GRUENING. I can testify here tonight that my Committee on Latin America consults with him frequently regarding Latin American problems. More recently, he has served as one of our Senate delegates for interparliamentary conference with Mexico, both last year and again just last month.

So I say to the people in Alaska, if you will only appreciate the importance of this general issue problem of foreign policy, you'll not deny the future generations of American boys and girls the services of this great American in the Senate of the United States during the next 6 years because it's vital to that issue.

There's about to open in the Senate of the United States, in fact just this next week, a great historic debate on American foreign aid. Our ERNEST GRUENING has made perfectly clear that he recognizes that we have to assume our share of responsibility of helping underdeveloped countries, that we have to assume our share of responsibility in seeing that this seedbed of economic freedom is cultivated so that we can develop great strength in the plants of political freedom in the underdeveloped areas of the world, but he also recognizes, and I want to stress this point because I have been battering away on this point now as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee for a good many years, that the greatest defense weapon the United States has, important as all our nuclear weapons are, the greatest defense weapon the United States has happens to be our own economy. And unless we keep that economy strong, we're going to weaken, in my judgment, our sphere of influence around the world, and we're going to make ourselves succeptible to successful attack against us.

All ERNEST GRUENING has been doing in these debates of the last 3 years on foreign policy in relation to foreign aid is to present the facts. And he pointed out what we have done in the underdeveloped countries in developing roads and schools and dams, what we have done in pouring into those countries the resources of America, pointing out, for example, that the national debt of the United States now has become greater than the debt of all these countries, including our allies and the underdeveloped countries that we've aided. Why? Because you and I, the taxpayers of the United States, paid off their debts while our debt has mounted.

And so ERNEST GRUENING has said the time has come for us to look at the balance sheet: We're going to continue to be of reasonable assistance to them but we've got roads to build. We have natural resources to develop. We have schools to build. We have our own economy to strengthen; and I have pledged to him on the floor of the Senate, I pledge to him in Anchorage, Alaska, tonight, that I'll stand shoulder to shoulder with him as we seek to strengthen and improve, ERNEST, this foreign aid bill this next week in the Senate of the United States.

Now, may I say in closing because, let me point out that the flicking of those lights means that my time is about up because we're on television, you really didn't need me in view of this program that you have here tonight because this program sets out the salient facts about the statesmanship of this great American; then when you turn to the back of the program and you read those wonderful commendations he deserves from great leaders of our country starting with the courageous and great President of the United States and the Vice President, what more could one say. But in closing I want to say this. I've given you my definition of a statesman. I now want to say I shall forever be grateful of the fact that ERNEST GRUENING is my friend. Thank you very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*June 1, 1962.*

I am delighted to send a word of greeting to all of you gathering to honor Senator ERNEST GRUENING this Saturday. During his long term as Governor of the Territory of Alaska and as a U.S. Senator ERNEST GRUENING has served Alaska and the Nation well. His work on the Interior and Insular Affairs, Public Works, and Government Operations Committees is diligent and constructive. You have sent to Washington an articulate spokesman for our 49th State. His whole career has been characterized by extraordinary vigor and vision.

To ERNEST GRUENING, to his colleague, BOB BARTLETT, and to all Alaska Democrats I send cordial regards and warmest wishes.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

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Hon. ERNEST GRUENING,
*Care of Senator Gruening's Testimonial Dinner, Elks Hall, Anchorage, Alaska.*

DEAR SENATOR: I appreciate most highly the invitation to join in a testimonial dinner, honoring you for the distinguished service you have given the Territory and the State of Alaska, 14 years as Governor and 4 years as U.S. Senator.

I am as sorry as I can be that I will not be able to be with you because you are too far away for me to make the trip at that time.

I wish to extend congratulations to you on this honor and I certainly wish I could be present for this occasion. Kindest regards to you and I sincerely hope that everything will continue to work out with you as it should.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY TRUMAN.

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MAY 31, 1962.

Mrs. HELEN M. FISHER,
*Democratic National Committee Woman for Alaska:*

The high regard in which you hold Senator ERNEST GRUENING in Alaska is echoed here in the hallowed Halls and Chamber of the U.S. Capitol. In the Senate we value his advice highly and are proud to have his friendship. Please extend my personal congratulations to him.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

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STATE OF MICHIGAN,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
*Lansing, May 18, 1962.*

Senator ERNEST GRUENING,
*U.S. Senator,*
*Anchorage, Alaska.*

DEAR SENATOR GRUENING: It is a real pleasure to join with your many friends in paying tribute for your many years of devoted service to your beloved Alaska.

For 14 years you gave outstanding service as Governor of the Territory of Alaska and with the achieving of statehood, you continued your service as a distinguished Senator from our 49th State.

Your devotion to the progress and development of Alaska merits for you a lasting place in the history of that territory and State.

Senator WAYNE MORSE speaks for all of us as he pays tribute to your outstanding public career.

May your work in the interest of an even greater Alaska meet with the same success as your efforts in the past.

With sincere best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN B. SWAINSON, *Governor.*

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JOHN ALCANTRA,
*Special Assistant to the Governor,*
*Department of Revenue:*

Twenty-one years ago, as a freshman member of the Alaska Territorial Legislature, I first met ERNEST GRUENING, who was then in

his freshman year as Governor of Alaska. That first encounter was a memorable one for me. I was confident that in ERNEST GRUENING Alaska had a brilliant, courageous Governor with a keen sense of public interest and dynamic ideas for furthering the growth and development of Alaska. But I could not foresee—and I suspect no one else at that time could either—the tremendous impact this man would have on our territory and ultimately our State. Rarely does one man influence the course of history, but in ERNEST GRUENING Alaska has met such a man and has become a far better place from the encounter. Words can scarcely express my admiration for him. Likewise, it is difficult for Alaska to begin to repay the debt it owes him for what he has accomplished during two decades of dedicated service. My fondest wishes are with you tonight, ERNEST, tempered only by the regret of Neva and I that we cannot be with you to extend them in person.

Your friend,

BILL EGAN,
*Governor of Alaska.*

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Hon. ERNEST GRUENING,
*Senator Gruening Testimonial Dinner,*
*Elks Hall, Anchorage, Alaska:*

I would like to take this means to join with our colleague, Senator WAYNE MORSE, and the other distinguished guests and friends who are honoring you on this occasion, in sending my personal greetings and best wishes to you. You have been a strong right arm in the Senate. Your conscientious attention to duty, and the needs of your State, our country, and our party have been outstanding and the effectiveness of your efforts has been a tribute to your career in the U.S. Senate.

Sincerely,

MIKE MANSFIELD,
*Majority Leader, U.S. Senate.*

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Senator ERNEST GRUENING,
*Testimonial Dinner,*
*Elks Hall, Anchorage, Alaska:*

I wish I could join many of your friends Saturday night to honor and salute you. You are truly one of the outstanding statesmen of our time. I know of no one with a more impressive record and productive career. Your experience and wisdom have served your State and the country magnificently. We need you. We respect you. We look forward to your continued contributions to the Senate and the Nation.

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

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U.S. SENATE,
*May 16, 1962.*

Mr. STANLEY J. MCCUTCHEON,
*Gruening Campaign Chairman,*
*Anchorage, Alaska.*

DEAR MR. MCCUTCHEON: I have known Governor GRUENING during his period of service as one of Alaska's great Governors and have worked closely with him as a colleague in the U.S. Senate. We also serve on two committees together. I can say that the people of Alaska are fortunate in having a man who is such an able and effective advocate to represent them. I am happy to join in sending congratulations and all good wishes on this important occasion.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY M. JACKSON,
*U.S. Senator.*

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DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
*Washington, D.C., May 29, 1962.*

Hon. ERNEST GRUENING,
*Elks Hall,*
*Anchorage, Alaska.*

DEAR ERNEST: I regret I will be unable to make the long trip to Anchorage. I had hoped to find some way to join your many other friends in paying tribute to your long, able, and faithful service to the people of your State and our Nation. I enjoy a deep sense of pride knowing I am serving in the Senate along side such a distinguished and deciated public servant as yourself.

As a new State, Alaska can well be proud of the record you have achieved over the years as Territorial Governor and now as a member of the U.S. Senate's Interior Committee, the Committee on Government Operations, and the Committee on Public Works—all vital to the progress of your State.

My best wishes and the best wishes of my wife, Martha, are with you and Mrs. Gruening tonight.

Sincerely,

VANCE HARTKE,
*U. S. Senator.*

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U.S. SENATE,
*Washington, D.C., May 22, 1962.*

Mr. STANLEY J. MCCUTCHEON,
*Chairman, Senator Ernest Gruening Testimonial Dinner, Anchorage, Alaska.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN: I am happy to learn that the Alaskan admirers of the Honorable ERNEST GRUENING plan a testimonial dinner in his honor at Anchorage on June 2.

Regretfully, circumstances prevent me from joining with the Senator's friends on the soil that he loves so deeply and serves so faithfully; but I would like to register my sentiments of esteem for my good friend and colleague.

It seemed most appropriate that with the admission of Alaska to statehood that ERNEST GRUENING should come to Washington as her Senator. He had been the arduous and able advocate of whose pleas and persistence there came this recognition of our great frontier territory.

A lifetime of many skills and talents found their flower in his dedication to Alaska through a score of years. Eloquent, energetic, informed—genial to win friends—dynamic to win causes—he holds Alaska as the land of his heart's desire and its gains are his goals. Quick to defend—loyal to protect—ERNEST GRUENING has helped to make Alaska a meaningful partner of all the States and a front line bulwark in our country's world responsibilities.

I extend my felicitations to all who honor themselves in honoring him.

Most sincerely yours,

JOHN O. PASTORE,
*U. S. Senator.*

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U.S. SENATE,
*Washington, D.C., June 2, 1962.*

Mr. STANLEY J. MCCUTCHEON,
*Chairman, Gruening Testimonial Dinner Committee, Anchorage, Alaska:*

As a citizen of Maine, I have more than a passing interest in the State of Alaska. Both of our States are noted for cold winters and warm-hearted people.

I have long valued my association with your two good Senators, BOB BARTLETT and ERNEST GRUENING. Tonight, I am pleased to extend particular greetings to SENATOR GRUENING.

You know, better than I, his record of devoted service to your State and the gallant role he played in bringing Alaska to statehood. I like to think that part of his ability in achieving success, under difficult circumstances, stems from his career as a liberal and progressive newspaper publisher in the State of Maine. There is hardly a day that passes when I do not wish that he were still publishing a paper in Maine, but I must confess that whatever advantages there might be in that situation, they are more than balanced by his contribution to Alaska and the Nation, as your Senator.

I congratulate you on your good luck in having him as a citizen of Alaska, and on your good sense in electing him the U.S. Senate.

EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
*U.S. Senator.*

U.S. SENATE,
*Washington, D.C., May 22, 1962.*

Mr. STANLEY J. MCCUTCHEON,
*Chairman, Gruening Testimonial Dinner Committee, Anchorage, Alaska:*

MY DEAR FRIENDS: Alaska is rightfully proud of ERNEST GRUENING. He serves the Senate with honorable distinction and his work reflects credit to the great State of Alaska. I join his legion of friends in honoring him for his distinguished service, and I congratulate ERNEST GRUENING upon the high place of respect and affection he holds in the hearts of his friends everywhere.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
*U.S. Senator.*

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Hon. ERNEST GRUENING,
*Care Chairman Stanley J. McCutcheon,*
*Elks Hall, Anchorage:*

Your able leadership, and dedicated scholarly service to your great State commends the admiration of your colleagues in the Senate. I join your friends in paying tribute for one has done so much.

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
*U.S. Senator.*

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Mrs. E. A. FISCHER,
*Chairman, Senator Ernest Gruening Testimonial Dinner, Anchorage, Alaska:*

Please extend fond good wishes to ERNEST GRUENING, a colleague whose friendship and counsel I have cherished for many years. We in the Senate have a debt to the people of Alaska for giving us the benefit of his talents and wisdom. Best regards.

MAURINE B. NEUBERGER,
*U.S. Senator.*

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GRUENING TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMMITTEE,
*Anchorage, Alaska:*

Senator ERNEST GRUENING is one of the finest friends and ablest supports of the rural electrification program on the U.S. Senate. We are happy to join with all of you in doing him this great honor. I personally wish for him many more years of successful service in the interest of his country.

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
*General Manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Washington, D.C.*

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CHARLO, MONT., *May 19, 1962.*

Mrs. HELEN M. FISCHER,
*Cochairman, Gruening Testimonial Dinner Committee, Anchorage, Alaska.*

DEAR HELEN: It would be a real pleasure to attend a testimonial dinner for Senator GRUENING. I wish I could.

I shall never forget his courtesy in writing me at length about his book, "The Public Pays," when I, a plain stranger, not holding any party office at the time, inquired about it. Nor shall I ever forget the courteous, fair, and skillful manner in which he conducted the hearing in Missoula on Senator Murray's Knowles bill. I wish he could return right now to advise us. The issue has come up and is being fought with relentless bitterness by Montana Power Co.

You will understand, because you are so busy in your own State, why it is impossible for me to leave mine. Nor can Rae and I contribute to your campaign as we would like to because our resources are being strained to the limit on Montana's own campaigns.

Will you give Senator GRUENING our warmest greetings? We wish him well in November and in his endeavors during his next term in the Senate.

Sincerely,

FRANCIS LOGAN.

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TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ERNEST GRUENING

In 1957, 87 Boy Scouts and leaders from Alaska, attended the national jamboree at Valley Forge, Pa.

They departed from Anchorage by train to Whittier and from there boarded an Army transport the MSTS *Frederick Funston* for Seattle.

The boys and leaders boarded a chartered Great Northern Railway train from Seattle. Their trip covered Chicago, Detroit, Niagara Falls, New York, and Valley Forge. The boys were at the jamboree for 7 days during which time they were required to cook their own meals.

At the close of the jamboree, the boys and leaders proceeded to Washington, D.C., and were met by the Alaska delegation under the Tennessee plan, Senator and Mrs. Ernest Gruening, Congressman Ralph J. Rivers, and Gov. William A. Egan. The Scouts were escorted to their hotel by the delegates. Senator BARTLETT was out of town and was unable to meet the group. Senator and Mrs. Ernest Gruening invited all 87 Scouts and leaders out to their home for dinner the next day.

Upon arriving at the Senator's home, the Scouts were ushered to the back yard and served all the broiled hamburgers, hot dogs, assorted flavors of cold drinks, mountains of potato salad, pickles, olives, and relishes. After eating their own cooking for 7 days at the jamboree and several unsatisfactory meals en route, this meal was outstanding.

Senator and Mrs. Gruening had their television set carried out to the lawn for the Scouts' enjoyment. Some of the boys had never watched television before. In fact, one Eskimo boy, Allen Alowa, from Savoonga, Alaska, had never seen a tree, cow, horse, train, car, or bus. I might add that of all the different things Allen saw, the thing he wanted most to take back to Savoonga was a cow. He really liked the milk he drank. It was noticed that all extra milk the boys in his patrol did not want was consumed by Allen.

During the evening, Senator GRUENING was asked to say a few words to the Scouts. He went to great length to inform the Scouts as to his purpose of being in Washington fighting for statehood and how important it was for Alaska to win that fight. It was most inspiring and was received by the Scouts with a great deal of enthusiasm.

I can honestly say that the inspiration received from Senator GRUENING's reception made the burden of responsibility for the return trip to Alaska much easier for the Scouts and their leaders. From the many comments by the Scouts and leaders, it was the most enjoyable highlight of the entire 30 days.

I should like to add that Senator GRUENING has accepted the nomination and has been elected to serve as vice president of the Western Alaska Council, Boy Scouts of America for the Scout year April 1962 to April 1963.

ROBERT RISLEY,
*Jamboree Scout Leader, Council Commissioner, Western Alaska Council, Boy Scouts of America.*

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In his vigor and strength, ERNEST GRUENING will continue to give all that one life can give to one State. He needs no eulogy from me, or from any other man. He has written his own history and written it boldly.

E. L. "BOB" BARTLETT,
*U.S. Senator.*

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[From the dinner program]

ALL HISTORY BEGINS WITH A MINORITY OF ONE

In the beginning there was Alaska. The vibrant history of this great land, when traced back through the years, begins to emerge following the life of one man representing his Emperor. Then another statesman representing his Nation fought for the purchase of the land. Another lonely man on a nameless stream found gold, and somewhere in the passage of time a fisherman marked a page in history by taking salmon from the land to send to the market places of the Nation.

In 1935 another man came. His name: ERNEST GRUENING.

Within the pages of "Who's Who in America" can be found the name of ERNEST GRUENING followed by a long paragraph of honors and achievements. The first four words of this biographical listing read: "Government official, editor, author."

To know ERNEST GRUENING is to know the history of Alaska over the past three decades. As the 49th member of the United States, the State of Alaska owes a great share of its partnership in the Nation to this man with the accolade "The Original Minority of One."

Born in New York, the son of an internationally acclaimed physician, he graduated from Harvard University as a doctor. He elected as a chosen career the field of journalism and served the fourth estate in various editorships on Boston Traveler, Boston Journal, and the New York Evening Post, climaxing his journalistic career as the crusading editor of the Nation, a New York magazine.

For more than 35 years ERNEST GRUENING has been a contemporary and associate of our Nation's greatest leaders, but it was President Franklin D. Roosevelt who launched him into the field of public service and administration by naming him as advisor to the Inter-American Conference of Latin American Affairs in 1938. This was followed by appointment as the first Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior.

In 1939 President Roosevelt appointed him Governor of Alaska, and he was twice reappointed; the last time by President Harry Truman.

He was to wait and fight for another generation. It was not until he was the Alaska-Tennessee plan Senator from the Territory were the pages of Alaska history inked with the sovereign and majestic word "statehood."

During the long and hard fought years before statehood it was he who said, "To develop this great, raw and vast land we must harvest the power of one of the world's greatest rivers—the legendary and powerful Yukon."

It was Governor GRUENING who said, "The destiny of Alaska will never be set until the equality of statehood is achieved," and to back his belief he appointed the first statehood committee. As Governor he argued for and built Alaska's airfields to meet the needs of a dawning air age. Expansion of major power plant facilities at Eklutna were authorized under his administration and full-scale hydroelectric power came to Alaska. And, if the pages of history could be rewritten, the city of Palmer, Alaska, should rightly be called Grueningburg, because it was he who first reported to President Roosevelt that the Matanuska Valley had a future in the field of agriculture.

And so the ledger is thusly written: Statesman, Senator, Governor, public servant, author, journalist, editor, historian, father and grandfather, Phi Beta Kappa, friend and adviser, but always the record will read: Alaskan U.S. Senator ERNEST GRUENING.

During the past 2 years—a short span in a man's total lifetime—Senator GRUENING has fought for equality of Alaska on all fronts; hydroelectric power development; foreign trade, expansion of air, highway, and ocean trade routes; the defense preparedness of Alaska, and the recognition of our strategic role in the global affairs of tomorrow's world, but in the words of a poet, perhaps the best biography was written:

"You cannot choose your battlefield,
The gods do that for you,
But you can plant a standard
Where a standard never flew."

## Independence Day of Dahomey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Dahomey, Hubert Maga; and His Excellency the Ambassador of Dahomey to the United States, Louis Ignacio Pinto, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Dahomey's independence.

A narrow land between Togo and Nigeria on the west coast of Africa became the independent republic of Dahomey on August 1, 1960. Roughly the size of our State of Pennsylvania, Dahomey is one-fifth as large as France and is the smallest of the now independent countries of former French West Africa. But its size is no gage of its importance, for its current history is an interesting document of African political development and inter-African relations, while its past history is a colorful tale of regal rivalry and intense warfare.

Dahomey's earliest history seems to date to the 12th and 13th centuries. Internal rivalries and migrations resulted in the establishment of several chieftaincies, but by the 17th century one kingdom, Dahomey, had become all powerful with smaller principalities tributary to it. The 18th century marked the arrival of European traders, and by the 19th century Dahomey had become a French protectorate.

Then in the mid-20th century began the process which culminated in the reassertion of Dahomey's independence, this time as a modern democratic state in a world community. In 1946 Dahomey became an oversea territory of the French Union. In 1952 the first territorial assembly was elected. In 1956 universal suffrage was initiated. In 1958 Dahomey voted to adopt the new constitution of the French Union and became a self-governing member of the French community. The final stage of political evolution was Dahomey's proclamation of independence on August 1, 1960, and its admission soon afterwards under French sponsorship to the United Nations.

In the field of inter-African cooperation Dahomey has also played a not insignificant role, for along with the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, and Niger, it is a member of the Conseil de l'Entente, a cooperative venture unique among the former French west African territories. The four states have adopted similar constitutions. They have set up a customs union and a solidarity fund for financial assistance. They have decided to coordinate development plans and policies in the fields of labor legislation, public administration, taxation, transportation, communications, and public works. The success of the Conseil is confirmed by the very real amount of cooperation already achieved among the four member states.

On a larger inter-African scale Dahomey has become a member of the Brazzaville group of French-speaking African states which adopted a charter of union in September 1961 providing for coordination of foreign policy, for the creation of committees aimed at harmonization of economic and fiscal policies, and for mutual defense. The Brazzaville group has very wisely recognized the principle of noninterference in each others affairs while nonetheless working toward real coordination on matters of mutual interest.

Finally, on a worldwide scale, Dahomey is a respected member of the United Nations. It is a peace-loving state dedicated to strengthening the world organization as man's best hope in a divided world. Dahomey is a most welcome addition to the community of nations—a democratic state whose constitution is based on the principle of popular sovereignty, a creative supporter of African unity, a useful member of the United Nations. On this second anniversary of independence we commend the Government and people of Dahomey for the accomplishments of the past 2 years and wish them every success in the future.

## A Statesman Speaks on Zionism and Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I was most interested to read a recent article by Rabbi Jacob Freedman of Springfield, Mass., giving an account of an interview he had with my distinguished colleague and good friend from Massachusetts, JOE MARTIN. Congressman MARTIN and Rabbi Freedman discuss Zionism and the State of Israel, and the ideas expressed once again reveal the great statesmanship of our beloved former Speaker.

In view of the turmoil and unrest which exists in the Middle East today, it is imperative that the United States exercise its leadership in every effort to create an atmosphere in which nations can be brought together to seek a settlement to their problems. This calls for the kind of creative and imaginative thinking which JOE MARTIN exhibited in an instance related in the article.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Rabbi Jacob Freedman from the Jewish Advocate published in Boston, Mass., on Thursday, July 19, 1962:

CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH MARTIN ON ISRAEL

(By Rabbi Jacob Freedman, of Springfield, Mass.)

As I took my seat facing Congressman JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., across his spacious, well-ordered desk there flashed across my mind the many times previously that I had visited him in Washington before, during, and subsequent to his speakership. On every occasion I was promptly and courteously received. His sincere friendship and his spontaneous cordiality were always manifest under all circumstances. I recalled, too, the instances when he graciously sought to be of help to a variety of people who had come to me for aid through his intercession. His affability and kindliness were unfailing.

"When did you first become interested in Zionism?" I asked. "Well, let me see," he replied, as he leaned back and relaxed in his chair to reminisce. "Did you know Dave Radovsky of Fall River?" he queried. "Of course, I did. He was a fine man, a good citizen, devoted Zionist, and communal leader." "It was more than 30 years ago, 1924, to be exact. It was early in my political career. Dave came to me and asked me to be the main speaker at a Zionist meeting to be held in his cottage on the Cape. It was shortly after I had been elected to my first term in Congress. He wanted me to speak about the homeland in Palestine. I told him that I did not have too many facts about it at the time. But Dave said that he would do all the research. And he did. So I gave the talk. I remember that it was called 'The Palestine of the Future.' In it I emphasized the transformation of the desert into a veritable Garden of Eden. That was the main theme. And that was my initial contact with Zionists and Zionism.

"I have maintained my interest and positive attitude toward Zionism and the State of Israel to the present day. I supported the resolution in favor of the Balfour Declaration and helped get it through Congress. Subsequently I supported aid bills for Israel and introduced several myself. I visited Israel at my own expense. I was deeply impressed. I observed that the country needed more help to 'put it over.' For example, they needed copper mines and oil—and ultimately they were discovered."

"In 1948–49 I tried to help adjudicate the Arab refugee problem. I spoke to the Israeli Foreign Minister about it. He said, facetiously, that 'maybe it could be adjusted by locking the Arabs and the Jews in one room and having them stay there until they arrived at a solution.'

"I had a good look at their air force. The women were serving along with the men. I observed how great was their need for help when I saw that the center of their air fields were ploughed for planting in order to provide food for both the armed forces and the general populace.

"I visited the kibbutzim. I was impressed by their zeal to achieve their objectives. There were no shirkers. Everybody worked. It was to be a long struggle," Congressman MARTIN earnestly emphasized. "But all nations must go through a long struggle to become truly independent."

"Yes, it does take a long time. In the meantime Israel needs friends and help along the way," I interjected. To nudge his memory I continued, "Do you remember the time that Senator Vandenberg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, much to our chagrin and disappointment, took an intransigent stand about our position in Palestine? I came to you on a lone mission. I was the emissary of no organization or group. I came out of my own great concern and the knowledge of your own sincere and favorable commitment to our cause. I had hoped that you could intercede with the Senator and soften his opposition."

"Indeed, I do remember. But nothing could be done. As I told you at the time: 'once Vandenberg makes up his mind, no one can budge him.' Nonetheless, through the years I have been helpful with others, speaking to my colleagues in the House and to Senators, too."

"By the way," he volunteered, "do you know who have been my chief contacts through the years among your people for the cause of Zion and Israel? Besides the late Dave Radovsky and the late Elihu Stone, of Boston, there have been, since the thirties, Dewey D. Stone of Brockton and yourself."

"Talking of New England," I said, "Weren't Mrs. Roosevelt and you among those especially honored by the Israel bond organization in New Bedford?"

"Yes. It was a very fine event. I met many of our friends there. By the way," he continued, with a note of great satisfaction, "at a recent bond dinner in Chicago, where I was the speaker, a young lady rose from the audience to explain. 'I'll buy a $10,000 bond if Mr. Martin will give me his autograph.' Turning to the chairman I said, 'Tell her I'll give her five autographs, if she'll buy that bond.'"

I turned the conversation to the current situation anent Israel, the Arabs and the United States. I recalled his statement to me during the Suez crisis when we discussed the critical situation in the House cloakroom. "'Nasser won't bluff us,' you said. But he did bluff us just the same, didn't he," I now added. I asked him what he thought of the action taken by President Eisenhower and the administration. He averred that in his judgment it was doubtful that the U.S. action in re the Suez Canal and the Suez invasion was the right course to have taken. "You don't run out on friends," he emphasized, "because you don't know about the future."

With this I interjected, "By the way, Congressman, what do you think about the activities of the John Birch Society?" To this he replied, "This country has always had 'Know Nothings' of one kind or another. Don't pay any attention to them. Hate organizations never flourish in America. If the Birchers stick to ultraconservatism only, they may 'do well.' But if it is nothing but a hate organization, then it has no future."

We reverted to the consideration of the Arab refugee problem.

"The settlement of the problem of the Arab refugees is a 'ticklish one.' It has now become a political weapon for the Arab leaders," he said. "If you could only get the groups together in the spirit of give and take, real progress could be made toward a definitive solution. The Western countries and the United Nations should be of greater help. If the Western countries would open their gates, the 'new' and younger ones would emigrate to them. It is not impossible. Let's explore it. The sheiks and the other Arab leaders who are insecure would benefit by it. The United Nations must 'steer' toward the solution, with each country taking some refugees. The many threats in the Near East give an opening to the Communists. Certainly Israel stands to gain a great deal if there were peace and harmony. The investment of Western funds not only in Israel, but in Arab countries and other parts of the Near and Middle East, too, would benefit everyone involved. There should be an easy transfer of goods between Israel and the Arab States. Israel doesn't have enough land to produce sufficient agricultural products for a large population. The Arab countries have vast areas available for cultivation. So Israel could call upon these Arab countries for food and by this action help make the Arab countries prosper. Israel has well-trained and well-equipped personnel who could also help the Arab countries make progress. If Israel and the Arabs, as well as the Turks and Greeks, were on good terms, it would automatically eliminate the threat of Russian intrusion. To achieve this would require strong agreement on all points. This takes time. If they were on good terms, the situations would work out of themselves."

"I believe that a leader of the Western Powers should take the initiative," he con-

tinued, "Premier McMillan is too soft. President de Gaulle is too stubborn. Chancellor Adenauer, among other things, is too old. That leaves it up to President Kennedy. President Kennedy is the only one to seize the lead to bring about a solution. Whoever conducts the negotiations must be very careful. But, of course, if Nasser wants to continue to act in the spirit of vindictiveness then nothing can be done. Nobody wants war. Under modern conditions war is hell, literally. The Arabs must be made to see that their life, individually and collectively, will be better without war. The trouble is that it is all enmeshed in politics. There are too many men in power who are afraid to alter their positions for fear of being overthrown in their own countries. So the leaders must be expert in handling the situation for the good of the world. Peace in the Near and Middle East would bring peace to the world.

With considerable satisfaction he then gave an example of how political leaders in positions of influence and trust can mediate, even settle, crises. He recalled the situation at the time of the coal strike when he was Speaker of the House. "Even the President couldn't stop the strike. There was an impasse because there was no agreement on the third member of the panel who was to represent the public to help mediate the strike. John L. Lewis didn't like the Democrats and he wouldn't make an agreement through a Government agency. I received a 'tip' from a newspaper that Lewis thought highly of me and that Lewis might agree to mediation if I could come up with a third member of the panel who would be satisfactory to him. So I telephoned John Lewis and invited him to meet with me in the Speaker's office at 11 o'clock the next morning. I also called Mr. Moses, head of the coal mines faction, and invited him to come at the same time. He said he would attend. I tried to get Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire. I finally located him at the Waldorf in New York City that night. I told him that a strike would be averted if 'you, Styles, would accept the appointment as the third member of the panel of referees.' He said that he would think it over. I took a chance that he would accept it by the next morning, when I was to meet with Lewis and Moses. The next morning I did get his call, accepting. Promptly at 11 that morning both Lewis and Moses were in my office. I told them that it was my understanding that if they would both agree on the third man to be a referee in behalf of the public, then the panel could meet to mediate the strike. They affirmed that it was so. I therefore suggested Senator Styles Bridges as the man. Lewis quickly OK'd it. Moses also agreed, 'if you can get him.' So when they both had expressed their satisfaction with Bridges, I immediately spoke up, taking them somewhat by surprise. 'Fine. I've got him. He has accepted.' It happened so fast that Mr. Moses, taken somewhat aback, queried, as he turned to me, 'it's on the level, isn't it?' 'Indeed, it is,' I replied. John Lewis looked up at the clock in the office. It was exactly 11 minutes past 11. The meeting was over in those 11 minutes. The basic fact was that neither of them wanted a strike, but neither wanted to give in to the other, or to the Democrats. And yet in only 11 minutes we initiated the settlement of that strike.

"So, I say, you always need a good and strategic mediator," he continued. "The same is true in the current differences between the Arabs and the State of Israel. If we had a good mediator now, we would get much further ahead in the adjudication. The United States is the logical choice for this role. The initiative should come from President Kennedy. Even if you don't succeed, you haven't lost anything.

"As I see it, there are close ties between Israel and the United States. We ought to keep the ties even closer. I agree with former President Truman in this. Israel should not be neutral. It should stand with the West. Even India will find out ultimately that strict neutrality isn't right. Even if they think it is OK with reference to the Russians, what about the Chinese?

"I had lunch with Premier Ben-Gurion in Jerusalem. I spent considerable time with him both in Israel and on his visits to the United States. The former Ambassador to the United States, Abba Eban is a brilliant young man. I don't yet know the new Ambassador Harman. I will say that, watching the progress of the State of Israel through the years, there is no reason for Israel to feel discouraged. On the contrary, they should be very optimistic about their future. I believe that it is necessary for American Jews to continue to give to the United Jewish Appeal and to purchase Israel bonds until after the Israelis and the State of Israel learn to walk and stand firmly and squarely on their own feet. Until that time American Jews should continue to contribute."

## H.R. 3745: Pensions for Veterans of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am pleased to include numerous newspaper announcements and resolutions by veterans posts and organizations and certain State official bodies, expressing their support of H.R. 3745, the bill which provides a modest, deserved pension for veterans of World War I, as follows:

VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I
OF THE U.S.A., INC.,
*Soldier, Iowa, July 29, 1962.*

Whereas the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., have reached an age where many are now disabled and unemployable; and

Whereas the average age of the World War I veteran is approximately 67 years; and

Whereas the organization of the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A. has been sponsoring legislation to secure a just pension for the aging veterans of World War I with no success; and

Whereas the veterans of World War I, have had a suitable bill, H.R. 3745, introduced in the House, and now tied up in the House Veterans' Affairs Committee; and

Whereas the veterans of all wars on the grassroot level, do not take the same stand that some national leaders do: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the veterans of World War I here assembled in regular session of the Seventh District, go on record humbly requesting the Seventh District Congressman, Hon. BEN F. JENSEN, to have recorded the attached resolutions, statements, etc., in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the earliest possible date, in their entirety.

Adopted this July 29, 1962.

OSCAR P. JORGENSEN,
*Seventh District Commander, Council Bluffs, Iowa.*

Attest:

CLARENCE W. JOHNSON,
*Seventh District Adjutant.*

ANOTHER LEGION POST COMES OUT FOR H.R. 3745

At a regular meeting of Capt. Harry B. Doremus Post No. 55, of the New Jersey American Legion at Hackensack, N.J., a resolution was adopted asking support of the New Jersey Department, American Legion, for legislation which would grant added benefits for veterans of the First World War.

The full text of the post resolution reads:

"Whereas the American Legion, an organization of honorable discharged service men who defended their country in times of war; organized in the year 1919; and among its purposes so eloquently phrased in its "Preamble to the Constitution" pledges itself to "mutual helpfulness" and "rehabilitation" of the veterans; and

Whereas the veterans of World War I sought to get the American Legion's support of H.R. 3745, providing increased monthly pension benefits without success thus far, and

"Whereas other major veteran organizations in the United States of America are rallying to the cause of the older veterans, even many component units of the American Legion throughout the land, including the Department of Indiana, the State in which the national organization of the American Legion is situated: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That Capt. Harry B. Doremus Post No. 55, the American Legion, New Jersey, go on record as approving the American Legion's support of H.R. 3745 or any other legislation that will accomplish the purposes; and be it further

*Resolved*, That upon passage of this resolution, it be referred to the Bergen County Committee of the American Legion for action and dissemination among all posts under their jurisdiction, with a view to ultimately presenting it to the delegates at the next Department convention in Wildwood for their consideration and action.

MARSHALL F. WYMAN,
*Commander.*

Attest:

JOHN LICHSTIN,
*Acting Adjutant.*

LEGION POSTS SUPPORTING H.R. 3745

American Legion posts all over the Nation are falling in line to put their posts, districts and departments on record as supporting H.R. 3745, the official pension bill of the veterans of World War I.

The Department of Florida took official action at its department convention held just 2 weeks ago. The Florida veterans came out flat footed for H.R. 3745.

From the 29th District of the Legion, Department of California, comes information that that group, consisting of several Legion posts, has voted to support the pension bill.

CALIFORNIA LEGION POSTS ARE GIVING SUPPORT TO H.R. 3745

EDITOR, NATIONAL TRIBUNE: The delegates to the monthly meeting of the 20th District, American Legion, Department of California, which met at the Highland Park Post No. 206 in Highland Park, Los Angeles, April 23, 1962, adopted a resolution which had earlier been adopted by the North Hollywood Post No. 307 and also the Sun Valley Post No. 520, the American Legion.

The original resolution was initiated by Allied Post No. 369, American Legion, East Chicago, Ind., supporting Congressman WINFIELD DENTON's pension bill, H.R. 3745.

Prior to this on March 2, 1962, the 26th District, American Legion of Northern California, adopted this same resolution which had been approved by the Redwood City Post No. 105, in Redwood City, Calif.

This 26th district represents 17 posts with over 3,000 members and the 20th district represents 42 posts and over 7,000 members. Now, that makes in the two districts a total

of 59 posts and over 10,000 members who have approved this resolution.

A letter is being prepared to send to each member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee informing that body of this action.—Clyde E. Kimball, 6433 Ben Avenue, North Hollywood, Calif.

### Legion Post Asks Benefits

Post No. 76, American Legion, of Port Orford, Oreg., has adopted a resolution urging the Department of Oregon in convention to press for enactment of legislation "more in keeping with the needs of World War I veterans, namely: $100 per month, social security not counting against pension, with $3,600 income limitation."

Adjutant A. Windmaiser of Port Orford Post noted that the average age of veterans of World War I is "about 68, and many are not covered by social security. Most are past the employable age."

### Iowa VFW Post Backs H.R. 3745

Rank-and-file members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion are increasingly becoming more insistent that some action be taken by their organizations to assist the veterans of the First World War in their determined efforts to secure pension benefits for the men who fought in 1917–18.

Printed below is a copy of the resolution adopted by members of VFW Post No. 9663, Dubuque, Iowa.

### Another Legion Post Acts Upon Legislation for World War I Vets

Editor, National Tribune: Enclosed herewith is a copy of a resolution regarding H.R. 3745 and H.R. 4611, which was adopted and unanimously approved by the membership of Rotterdam Post No. 1091, American Legion, Schenectady, N.Y., at the regular meeting held by the post on Thursday, May 3, 1962, which might be of interest to other posts of the American Legion.

### Legion Posts Supporting H.R. 3745

American Legion posts all over the Nation are falling in line to put their posts, districts, and departments on record as supporting H.R. 3745, the official pension bill of the Veterans of World War I.

The Department of Florida took official action at its department convention held just 2 weeks ago. The Florida veterans came out flatfooted for H.R. 3745.

From the 29th District of the Legion, Department of California, comes information that that group, consisting of several Legion posts, has voted to support the pension bill.

At a regular meeting of Palomar Post No. 531 the post members voted to support the bill and also declared that the 24th California District, meeting on May 22, had voted unanimously in support of the proposed legislation.

The Henry Teigler Post No. 20 at Fremont, Nebr., had adopted a similar resolution in support of H.R. 3745 as had been previously passed at a meeting of Capt. Harry B. Doremus Post No. 55, of the Legion, at Hackensack, N.J. Copies of the resolution were sent by the Fremont Post to the State Department of the American Legion at Lincoln, Nebr., and also to each Member of Congress.

### Texas Legion District Comes Out for H.R. 3745

Last month, Frederick R. Undritz, second vice commander of Alamo Post No. 2, of the American Legion at San Antonio, Tex., submitted a resolution favoring World War I pensions to the 20th District of the Legion in the State of Texas.

This district consists of 25 posts and has over 4,000 members. Alamo Post has over 1,700 members. The resolution strongly endorses the World War I pension bill, H.R. 3745, and asks other veterans' organizations to support it.

### Two Legion Posts Urge Passage of H.R. 3745

Two widely separated American Legion posts have adopted resolutions calling for the Congress to support pension legislation for the Veterans of World War I.

Legion Post No. 361, Ennis, Tex., with a membership of 437, adopted the following resolution.

### Missouri Legion Post Asks Help for Vets of World War I

Buchholtz-Kiefer Post No. 150, American Legion, Ste. Genevieve, Mo., has passed a resolution endorsing H.R. 3745, the pension bill sponsored by the Veterans of World War I. This Legion post has a membership of 565.

### Arkansas Legion District Goes on Record for 3745

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the 15th district, the American Legion, Department of Arkansas, in annual district convention assembled on the 27th day of May, 1962, at Benton, Saline County, Ark.

### Florida Backs Pension Bill

The Florida department of the American Legion on Sunday went on record as supporting legislation which would provide pensions of at least $100 per month to the veterans of the First World War.

According to Past National Commander Fred Hollenbeck, who with National Chaplain Lewis Parker spearheaded the drive to secure recognition from the Florida department, the resolution was brought to the floor of the convention over the protests of the Department Rehabilitation Committee.

The resolution is almost similar to the provisions of H.R. 3745 and calls for income limitations of $2,400 for a person with no dependents and $3,600 if with dependents. Social security and pension income to which the veteran has contributed are also exempt in computing eligibility for pension.

### Tennessee Legion Post Asks Aid From Other Posts on Pensions

The Lester Harris Post of the American Legion at Mountain Home, Tenn., is the latest Legion post to join in the effort to secure pension benefits for World War I veterans.

### California Legislature Asks Congress To Approve H.R. 3745

Both Houses of the California Legislature have approved a resolution calling upon the Congress of the United States to enact pension legislation for the benefit of the World War I veterans. The resolution specifically calls for the passage of H.R. 3745, the official pension bill sponsored by the Veterans of World War I.

### VFW Post Moves To Aid Veterans of World War I

Recently a memorandum regarding pensions for World War I veterans was presented to Post No. 4588 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars located at Bossier City, La. The memo was written and prepared by A. G. Boldridge, of Shreveport, supported by Harry L. Clark, quartermaster of the post.

The membership of the post voted wholeheartedly to support the memo and Boldridge and Clark have mailed out over 1,000 copies of it to veterans in Louisiana.

## Who Should Operate Telstar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appearing in the Long Beach Independent Press Telegram July 31 states a coherent and logical position on the operation of international communications satellites:

Telstars: Federal or Private Operation?

Telstar, which carried television into the space age, has opened a new chapter in the mundane debate between free enterprise and the advocates of government ownership.

The issue is whether the projected satellite communications network, whose marvelous possibilities were demonstrated by Telstar, should be operated by a private corporation or by Uncle Sam.

Advocates of Federal ownership argue that the private corporation which produced Telstar enjoyed the benefit of money (one hears figures ranging from $175 million to $25 billion) which the taxpayers invested in scientific research for Government operations. Therefore, they assert, the Government should operate the satellite network and get its money back.

Actually, Telstar was produced by a private corporation at no expense to the Government and was placed in orbit by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which billed the corporation for all the costs of launching. From this standpoint, Telstar was an operation of private enterprise. It is true that the achievement was made possible through technology developed by the Government and hardware owned and operated by the Government. From this standpoint, it was a partnership operation.

Does it necessarily follow that the proposed satellite network should be owned and operated by the Government?

Dr. I. M. Levitt, director of Fels Planetarium of the Franklin Institute, notes:

"While it is true that the scientific developments and research for Government operations have gone into Telstar, this is also true of most of the devices we use today. The transistors in our radios, our TV tubes, even our TV dinners resulted from Government-supported research. The new glues, plastics, metals, and building materials have in most part resulted from research sponsored and paid for by Government funds. It would be manifestly unfair to penalize one industry because through its vigor and drive it has been successful in establishing a communications satellite."

Dr. Levitt's theme can be elaborated. Over the years, the U.S. Government has spent multimillions of dollars on agricultural research and direct help to the farming industry. Nobody has suggested that the Government try to get those dollars back from the farmers. Corporations, however, are always fine targets for the demagogs.

Neither President Kennedy nor Chairman Minow of the Federal Communications Commission can be accused of scratching the back of big business. The President, however, has said: "Our studies have convinced us that the national objectives * * * can best be achieved in the framework of a privately owned corporation, properly chartered by the Congress." Chairman Minow is of the opinion that Federal operation of the satellite system would be impossible because of civil service restraints.

What they are saying is that private industry can do the job more efficiently because it has the necessary background, knowledge, and skilled personnel and is not fettered with costly redtape. They know that if Government operated the network, there wouldn't be any profits.

With a private industry in charge, Government will get 52 percent of any profit by way of corporation taxes. The indirect return of money in the form of taxes and the creation of an efficient service for Americans will provide Uncle Sam his most practical reward for helping to produce Telstar.

## Statement in Support of H.R. 11625, to Bring the District of Columbia Under the Impacted Areas Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a statement that I presented to the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on General Education in support of my bill H.R. 11625, to bring the District of Columbia under the impacted areas program, on July 24, 1962:

Mr. Chairman, I very much appreciate the opportunity to present to this committee this statement in support of my bill, H.R. 11625, to bring the District of Columbia under the provisions of the impacted areas law.

At the present time Public Law 874, which provides financial assistance for educational agencies in areas affected by Federal activities, includes under its eligibility clause every governmental jurisdiction in the United States—including the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico—except the District of Columbia.

It is hard to realize why this is so when we consider that Washington is certainly one of the most federally impacted areas that one can find.

The District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers has noted that 30 percent of the District's school children are a result of Federal impaction. This means that out of an elementary and secondary school population of nearly 115,000 approximately 34,650 are children of Federal employees living in the District. In every case where Federal funds are contributed as a result of Federal impaction, the percentage of impaction is less than that of Washington, with one exception.

There is no question that the District badly needs these funds. They have always needed additional funds for schools and they will continue to need additional funds for schools. There is no question, of course, that even with home rule the District will require a Federal contribution because the large proportion of its land is owned by the Federal Government.

I believe that we must bring the District under the impacted areas program. Its inhabitants are justly entitled to these funds, and it is time to amend the law so that they will receive them. Therefore, I strongly urge that this committee report out this bill at the earliest opportunity. It is estimated that under present school enrollment, the District would be eligible for a payment of $104 for each of the children of Federal employees living in the city. This amount, during the current year, would be about $3.6 million. I might point out that this $3.6 million is slightly more than the remaining balance of the authorized appropriation for the District of Columbia of $32 million. As we all know, Congress has appropriated only $30 million of this authorized amount.

Thank you.

## Spend, Tax, and Borrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I include for the Appendix the following article:

SPEND, TAX, AND BORROW

It was with seeming complacency that the Treasury recently announced it had closed the fiscal year ended June 30 with a deficit of $6.3 billion. Rather than the size of the deficit, considerable stress was placed upon the fact that it was about $700 million below earlier estimates.

The fact remains, however, that it was the country's second largest peacetime deficit except for the year 1953 which reflected the carryover costs of the Korean war. And it was the 25th time in the past 31 years that the Nation operated in the red.

These deficits naturally reflect the tremendous increase in Government spending which has rocketed from $4.6 billion in 1932 to $87.6 billion in the fiscal year just closed. And budget experts freely predict we will have $100 billion budgets during this decade. Defense expenditures, of course, account for a considerable share of the increase. But not all of it, by a long shot. Nondefense spending, in fact, has been growing by leaps and bounds.

In the first 7 months of the fiscal year just closed, for instance, nonmilitary expenditures ran 10-percent higher than during the same period in the previous year. Total Federal expenditures in that period were up $3.9 billion and of this increase $2.4 billion were for nonmilitary purposes as compared with $1.5 billion in the military area.

This led to a new warning by Senator HARRY BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, against the continuing increase in unnecessary Government spending.

'We have been the policeman, the banker, and the Santa Claus for the free world more than 15 years," Senator BYRD declared. "Recent figures showed U.S. foreign aid has totaled more than $100 billion and it is continuing.

"Meanwhile we are faced with a menacing deficit in the balance of international payments between the United States and nations we have assisted. It has run as high as $4 billion a year. This situation has resulted in a drain on our gold supply. We have lost 30 percent of our gold.

"In addition to $300 billion in direct debt, we have assumed contingent liabilities at home and abroad amounting to untold billions more. Now we propose to underwrite the debts of the United Nations.

"As the situation stands now, this will be the year of the highest revenue and the highest debt in history.

"Neither our form of Government nor our system of enterprise can survive insolvency. All of us know that we cannot continue much longer to spend and spend, and tax and tax, and borrow and borrow."

There's little anyone can add to that.

## Business Is Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, as one Member that represents part of the metropolitan area appropriately described as "Greater Kansas City," it is my privilege to insert in the RECORD the content of an editorial appearing in the Kansas City Times for Monday, July 30, 1962.

As one representing part of this area in the Congress, we are proud of this editorial summary. It is most reassuring and even something of an inspiration for such a reliable source to predict that there is a bright economic outlook for Mid-America and that there is nothing on the horizon that should substantially alter this picture in the foreseeable months ahead.

This is in sharp contrast to the pessimism expressed by many persons of our area in the wake of the stock market decline near the end of May. Of course we are mindful that pessimistic talk alone cannot lead to a business slump, nor can the repetition of words of optimism taken alone always cause a change of pace from a business lag into brisk business activity. On the other hand, we clearly recall that some years ago, in Kansas City, there was a firm of oil jobbers whose policy it was to associate with their name on every signboard, in every newspaper ad, on company stationery, and in every way possible, the slogan "Business Is Good." In talking with the officials of this company we were told that the repetition of the words, "business is good" created a psychology that was a stimulus to their salesmen and served as a magnet to attract business to their company.

We want to spread the good news about the Kansas City area and at the same time compliment our Kansas City paper for accurate appraisal and for its contribution to the "business is good" way of thinking. The editorial follows:

AREA ECONOMIC OUTLOOK IS BRIGHT

At midsummer, Greater Kansas City is enjoying something of a boom.

Despite the dire predictions that followed the stock market crash and the general fear that business activity would sag dangerously, this metropolitan area is moving along at a very encouraging pace. Gains have been registered in most important economic categories.

The big news of the moment is the strong showing of the department stores. In the week before last area sales were 12 percent ahead of a year ago. Last week they were up an impressive 21 percent. The figures fluctuate, often erratically, and there is no way to predict next week's volume. However, summertime business is brisk. There is nothing, now foreseeable, that should substantially alter the pattern.

Motor car purchases this year have been at a near-record pace, with 1962 destined to be the second biggest year in the history of the industry since Henry Ford put together his first model T. This strength in both

motor cars and department store sales is significant because of the very nature of both types of merchandise.

During times of business uncertainty, many people defer the purchase of so-called durable goods. Unless a crisis presents itself, the old jalopy will generally go a few more miles. It is also easy to put off buying the new rug, or sofa, or the automatic dishwasher. But people are buying these and many other items this summer in Kansas City. It is a good sign.

Digging deeper, one finds several items of special significance to the welfare of the area. Farm incomes are relatively high, although no records either in production or dollar sales are in the picture. Summer rains have wiped out the drought of April and May.

But the big plus factor comes from employment. Ever since last winter's slump, the Kansas City area has shown moderate increases in employment. Additional modest gains are expected from now until the preholiday season when the big buildup will begin.

In the year ending June 30, the Missouri side of the metropolitan area registered a 1½-percent employment increase. The net gain was 5,600 jobs. The main advances were in motor car assembling and electrical equipment, where, of course, Western Electric has made the big impact.

For the area the disappointment has come in homebuilding. Volume has dipped from 10 to 17 percent below a year ago. To make matters worse, 1961 was a poor year. Happily, other segments of the economy have more than taken up this slack.

Accumulated savings offer another excellent economic barometer, and midsummer reading is impressive. At the end of last month, time deposits in Kansas City banks stood at $222 million, for a gain of $43 million over the year before. Also the amount of money being held by savings and loan associations was at an all-time high. People have money and they are willing to spend it.

Unless some completely unpredictable element disrupts the Kansas City picture, business should remain good throughout the remainder of the year. After the scares of last spring, such news is good indeed.

## Missionaries and the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, it is always stimulating to know that our young people are taking an active interest in the affairs of our Government. A group of young men and women who are history students at Eastern High School, Greentown, Ind., recently raised an interesting question concerning the cost of maintaining a missionary as compared to the cost of maintaining a Peace Corps volunteer. The group's letter follows:

EASTERN HIGH SCHOOL,
*Greentown, Ind., July 16, 1962.*

Representative J. EDWARD ROUSH,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ROUSH: We, the students of American history in the summer school at Eastern High School, have read about the Peace Corps in the July 15 issue of the Indianapolis Star. We have also found information on the missionaries who are engaged in a similar enterprise.

We have discussed this matter with a Methodist minister and have arrived at the following points:

1. The Methodist denomination has sent missionaries to 44 different foreign countries.

2. The total number of missionaries is approximately 1,460.

3. The organization that sponsors these missionaries is called the board of missions, and approximately 4 percent of all church charity is used to build missions, an amount which is about $2,100.

4. Most of the married missionaries take their families with them. A missionary is paid according to his particular needs in a particular country.

We believe that there are too many unnecessary Government workers in Washington. In connection with the Peace Corps they are averaging $1,811,250 per year in salary, while the Peace Corps members overseas only get $75 per month, or a total approximately equal to that of those "upstairs." In comparing the amount recently asked, an increase of $33 million over the last requested expenditure for this program, we are concerned with the reason for the increased spending. Are the overhead expenses increasing over that of those in the field?

We would appreciate any information you could send as to the breakdown of expenses for the program, as well as results of the program after a year of operation.

Yours very truly,

CAROLYN GOLDING,
*Chairman.*
PEGGY FAWCETT.
LINDA WILLIAMS.
KEITH BADGLEY.
DENNY CONDON.

Robert Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, answered with a very interesting and informative letter which follows:

PEACE CORPS,
*Washington, D.C., July 23, 1962.*

Hon. J. EDWARD ROUSH,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. ROUSH: Thank you for your letter of July 19 giving me an opportunity to answer questions raised by Miss Carolyn Golding in her July 16 letter to you.

Miss Golding states that her source of information is a Methodist minister who reported the cost of a Methodist missionary to be $2,100.

Earlier this year we had requested this kind of information from the National Council of Churches in New York City. The Reverend Theodore A. Braun, codirector of the Peace Corps desk at the council, reported the following:

A Presbyterian missionary costs $6,000 annually, but this does not include administration.

A Methodist missionary costs $7,500 annually, but this does not include administration.

A United Church of Christ missionary costs $8,000 to $9,000 annually, but this does not include administration.

(Miss Golding can write directly to Reverend Braun if she would like to do so. His address is National Council of the Churches of Christ, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.)

A member of my staff, who is also an ordained Southern Baptist minister, called the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board and was told that their budget for 1,480 missionaries this year is $12,892,472—or $8,711 per missionary. This figure does not include administration.

The annual cost of one Peace Corps volunteer is $9,000 and this does include administration. When you include the administrative costs of the mission programs, there is often little difference in the figures for a missionary and a volunteer.

The $9,000 includes all training costs, medical examinations and care, transportation, termination payment reserved during service at the rate of $75 per month, living allowance (food, clothing, housing, etc.), project equipment and materials, and all administrative costs.

It has been our purpose from the very beginning to hold the administrative staff of the Peace Corps to the minimum level necessary for effective work. Our ratio is 1 administrative person to every 10 volunteers.

Congress has authorized an appropriation of $63,750,000 for the Peace Corps in fiscal year 1963. This amount was requested not because overhead expenses are increasing but because those funds will make it possible for us to send more volunteers overseas. They will permit us to continue in service the 5,100 volunteers, brought aboard with funds from fiscal year 1962 and to add another 5,000 or more in the next 12 months. The average cost of the volunteers, including administration, will in our opinion continue to be approximately $9,000.

Please let me know if you have any additional questions or if I can be of further service.

Sincerely,

ROBERT SARGENT SHRIVER,
*Director.*

Mr. Speaker, I commend this group of students for their interest and diligence. I believe they have performed a worthy act involving research which has in turn stimulated interest on the part of others. I trust that this information will be of interest to my colleagues.

## The Flight of Small Investments Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the July 24, 1962, edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

WORRYING THE DOLLAR—FLIGHT OF SMALL INVESTMENTS ABROAD

(By John Quirt)

The transfer of funds to Europe by small investors searching for a hedge against devaluation has become widespread enough to rank as a major factor in the dollar crisis. Wall Street brokers specializing in foreign investments made this point yesterday in the wake of President Kennedy's warning that "those who speculate against the dollar are going to lose."

The President's warning clearly was directed at professionals, both in New York and abroad, who have been snapping up gold stocks and fanning rumors of impending devaluation in hopes of turning a quick, speculative profit.

The concern in the street is that the urge to find a hedge against a cheaper dollar is prompting otherwise prudent investors to switch $5,000 and $10,000 accounts into European securities and currencies that may, in fact, afford no dollar protection at all.

Few brokers go so far as to term this small-scale hedging the principal cause of the crisis. Most feel it is a byproduct, inspired by the professional speculating and reinforced by the vague fear that an income tax cut would lead to a bigger budget deficit and, inevitably, to cheaper money.

COMPLEX MECHANICS

The experts hold that hedging among small investors can never reach the dimensions of an "attack" on the dollar, partly because the mechanics of European investing are too complex for most man-in-the-street investors to fathom, and partly because this sort of account-switching does not appear to stand up well when subjected to what the pros like to call cold investment analysis.

But there is equal agreement that small investor hedging is becoming more prevalent, and, misdirected or not, is resulting in a physical outflow of dollars at a time when American currency has taken a pounding in other quarters. Precisely how much of an outflow is guesswork, since brokerage firms do not keep separate figures on this type of money movement.

Much of the interest now appears to have shifted from gold-mining stocks to Swiss francs and to low-interest foreign securities payable in francs. The comments of a few foreign securities experts afford some measure of the flow:

At Carl Marks & Co., a big foreign securities firm that deals exclusively with other brokers, a European specialist observed:

"I get four or five inquiries a day concerning bonds of one concern—where I used to get one a week 6 months ago. These are bonds of the Bank for International Reconstruction and Development—one of the most popular investments among those looking for a hedge.

"There also is new interest in foreign bonds that are issued in Swiss francs and payable in francs. IBM, California-Texas Corp., and British Aluminum Co. issues in francs are attracting attention. So are several others that were put out between 1955 and 1960.

SMALL AMOUNTS

"It is strange for us, in that the calls we get are not for $100,000-or-so amounts, but for $1,000 and $10,000 worth. It's pretty apparent that small investors are involved."

A German securities specialist at another firm commented:

"I get calls from customers who ask for guidance. How can I hedge against devaluation, they ask me. I suggest to them that if the price of gold is raised, it will be done globally, so that American securities will be as valuable as Swiss. But he says, 'No, and the President is going to spend and spend and cheapen the dollar and I want to find a sanctuary.'

"So he buys German Government issues paying about 5¾ percent to maturity rather than Swiss bonds paying 3 percent. Has he found himself a hedge? It's hard to say. Personally, I doubt it. Our contacts in European banks assure us that nearly every free world country would act on gold in concert with the United States as a show of force against the Communist bloc."

Lacey Kux, a foreign securities specialist at Vanden Broeck, Lieber & Co., noted:

"Customers call and ask, 'What kind of a hedge do I have against a cheaper dollar?' They want to put funds into Switzerland, but Swiss bankers have agreed not to take new accounts. Some of them read about the strength of the Swiss franc, so they buy francs. Others buy bonds payable in francs. It's small investors, who are doing this—those with a few thousand dollars. But you multiply it thousands of times over and it becomes a big part of the dollar crisis. It has been going on this way for 6 or 7 weeks, but I don't see that it will grow into a dangerous attack on the dollar."

WENT THROUGH HEDGING

"Some of the more sophisticated investors went through this hedging against the dollar a year and a half ago. I know one who bought a certain German bank issue for $100 then, and I can't sell it for $49 for him now. Among these more experienced types, there is less hedging. They recognize that if there is a change, it would probably take the form of an increase in International Monetary Fund parity rates. That is, the relationship of the currencies would remain unchanged. I believe as more realize this, the hedging will subside."

A customer's man at a large wire house spoke for several when he said:

"I have just a few people who used to be content with A.T. & T. or some other blue chip, but who now ask me where they can stash their money to guard against devaluation. They started talking this way a couple of months ago, when it first appeared the Federal budget was getting out of control.

"Most of them are just thinking about transferring funds to Europe. A few have actually done it, explaining they figure the Government is bent on spending more than it takes in and that's that.

"They feel it's a matter of confidence, or a lack of confidence, and not one of fundamentals or international cooperation. But there are so few places that afford a really safe hedge against the dollar and it becomes a little complicated for the average investor to switch money to Europe. I really don't think this sort of hedging is going to snowball."

## U.S. Buying Will Aid Anthracite Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as the following article from the Wilkes-Barre Record of Thursday, July 26, 1962, indicates, the Defense Department's purchase of 450,000 tons of anthracite coal for use in West Germany will represent roughly 2¼ weeks work for the industry. It will benefit the depressed anthracite industry as well as the railroads and a number of other segments of our economy. Such an order at this time is indeed good news. We in the anthracite area of northeastern Pennsylvania know the full meaning of such an order as this and we trust that further such orders will be forthcoming in the future because our major industry, anthracite coal, has been seriously depressed for a number of years. As part of my remarks today, I include the announcement of the contract award as it appeared in last Thursday's Wilkes-Barre Record:

U.S. BUYING WILL AID COAL INDUSTRY—450,000-TON ORDER TO PROVIDE WORK FOR ROUGHLY 2¼ WEEKS

Defense Department's purchase of 450,000 tons of hard coal for use in West Germany will represent roughly 2¼ weeks work for the industry.

More companies will participate in this year's tonnage and the schedule of shipments of the egg, stove, and chestnut sizes will not interfere with the industry's ability to meet the demand for these sizes in the United States and Canadian markets, according to the Anthracite Institute.

The export business will be produced by more participants this year than last, among which are Gilberton Coal Co., Glen Alden Coal Co., Greenwood Mining Co., Honeybrook Mines, Inc., Jeddo-Highland Coal Co., Lehigh Navigation-Dodson Co., Lehigh Valley Anthracite, Inc., Moffat Coal Co., Reading Anthracite Co., and Susquehanna Coal Co. Shipments will begin in August and will continue in each month through July 1963.

The benefits of the new order extend beyond the anthracite producing industry and area to include supplying, servicing, and transportation industries and their employees. The railroads will haul over 8,800 additional carloads of anthracite to tidewater piers, as well as additional incoming carloads of colliery materials and supplies. The freight bill to tidewater will approximate $1,500,000, of which $800,000 represents additional railroad employees' wages, or jobs for 120 men.

Other industries to be similarly benefited include cement, lumber, explosives, steel, lubricants, electricity, and local merchants whose sales will increase with higher payrolls. U.S.-flag vessels and their crews which participate in the ocean transportation of the export tonnage will also benefit.

## Congressman Charles A. Buckley: His Plea for Justice for Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACOB H. GILBERT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 2, 1962*

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1962, Mr. Carl Fell, a distinguished writer in the field of Jewish affairs, wrote a very interesting and informative article concerning Hon. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY. This article appeared in the American Examiner, which is America's largest independent Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper.

I recall that Congressman BUCKLEY was in the forefront in rallying support for the creation of the State of Israel. He was one of the earliest friends of this just cause. His untiring efforts in the Halls of Congress, at the White House and elsewhere played an important and vital part in the creation of the State of Israel in 1948.

Thereafter, he consistently sought full economic assistance for the young State of Israel, as exemplified by his bill in Congress—H.R. 6660—providing for $150 million aid to Israel.

It is interesting to note that the Jewish community leaders of Bronx County honored Congressman BUCKLEY at a dinner on behalf of Israel bonds. Due to his efforts the greatest sum of money ever raised was made available for the State of Israel.

I herewith include Mr. Fell's article as part of my remarks:

A LEADER'S POWERFUL PLEA FOR JUSTICE

(By Carl Fell)

Congressman CHARLES BUCKLEY, county leader of the Bronx, the only survivor of the Wagner steamroller, will be honored on May 21 with a testimonial dinner at the Waldorf. The event will serve a double pur-

pose: to honor a man to whom principles are important and to demonstrate the confidence which Democratic leaders of Bronx County have in their leader.

From this reporter's point of view, it is worth noting that Mr. BUCKLEY was one of the few Congressmen who took the floor of the House of Represenatives in Washington to criticize this country's U.N. delegation for its role in the recent Security Council censure of Israel. At that time he also made public a telegram he had sent to Dean Rusk, our Secretary of State, declaring that he was "appalled at the action of the American delegation's sponsorship of the resolution."

Mr. BUCKLEY made the important point, in his wire to Dean Rusk, that the U.N. censure had "completely failed to reflect the facts of persistent Syrian provocations, the constant Arab threats to liquidate Israel, boycott its commerce, trespass on Israel's territory, and threaten the peace-loving citizens of that democracy."

Mr. BUCKLEY's message to the Secretary of State is, in fact, one of the most forceful presentations of the justice of Israel's case that this reporter has seen. I believe it should have received much more attention in the press than it did, and I hope that by citing passages from it here, I will do my small share to give it the circulation it vastly merits.

Congressman BUCKLEY made the vital point, for example, that if Syria, "by persistent attacks on Israel's sovereignty, denies to that democracy the plenitude of its U.N. Charter rights, then it inflicts deep injury on Israel." Furthermore, the competence of the Jewish State in invoking Security Council action against Syria is "seriously compromised and reduced."

Particularly effective, in my view, is this passage from the Bronx Congressman's wire:

"Mr. Secretary, I find it incomprehensible that the American delegation failed to distinguish between acts of aggression and self-defense. Not for one single moment through out the entire period of its national existence has Israel enjoyed that minimal physical security which the United Nations confers on all member states and which all other member states have been able to command."

Mr. BUCKLEY's message to Secretary Rusk goes right to the heart of the matter when he says, "Our Government must surely choose between two candidates for its confidence; on the one hand, the men, women, and children of Israel building a democratic society and culture in its renascent homeland; and on the other, the warlike Arabs who have set their armed might upon Israel in an attempt to wipe it off the face of the earth—by armed intervention, by murder and plunder."

To us, the choice is only too plain, but of course we are partisan; however, when a renowned national legislator makes the vigorous assertion that the Arabs' violent threats against Israel is "aggression * * * belligerency * * * and Israel has been its victim, not its author," he is calling for justice based on fair and honest and even pained observation. If Mr. BUCKLEY sounds pro-Israel, it is the Arabs who have made him so.

The region in which the Israel and the Arab states exist, Mr. BUCKLEY notes, stands at the crossroads of its history. "Our signpost," he declares, "is not to back aggression and belligerency, but to favor peace * * * peace by agreement, peace without blockades, peace without frontier provocation, peace without threats to the integrity and independence of Israel."

Mr. BUCKLEY, this reporter believes you have made a significant and highly quotable contribution to this most vital issue. You have a record of public service going back to the year 1918, when you were elected to the old New York City Board of Aldermen for the first of three terms. Subsequently, you served as State tax appraiser for the State of New York—a 5½-year term of service, and you followed that with service as city chamberlain of New York City for close to 5 years.

In Congress, which you entered in 1935, you have fought vigorously to have humanitarian principles apply to all peoples—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews alike. I recall that it was you who introduced legislation to lift the arms embargo which was seriously hampering the people of then Palestine, and that you then and always supported generous economic aid to the young State of Israel.

Mr. BUCKLEY, you were elected to the 74th Congress on November 6, 1934, and have subsequently been sent back to Congress by your constituency—the 24th Congressional District in the Bronx—in every election since that date. It is the hope and the confidence of this reporter, Sir, that the story will be the same in the congressional elections this coming fall. And I am certain that when you do return, your voice will continue to be heard in behalf of truth, justice, and humanitarianism.

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## The Symbolic Gold Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article written by Isaac Witkin president of the General Cocoa Co., Inc.

Mr. Witkin's comments on gold are particularly germane to H.R. 6900 which I introduced last year. H.R. 6900 would remove the 25-percent gold reserve requirement.

The article, which is dated July 11, 1962, follows:

OUR GOLD PROBLEM FOR A SYMBOLIC GOLD STANDARD

APOLOGIA

The price of gold, of course, affects the price of cocoa. Although the cocoa price level is but an infinitesmal part of the world economy, I use it as an excuse to air my views on gold with my cocoa audience. I do so in the hope that my excursion into "gold" will provoke thinking among economists, bankers, and lawmakers along the lines that oppose the orthodox views to which the financial world has been wedded in the long past.

If 1 in 20 of my readers agrees with my views, I shall be gratified in having made at least a small breach into the wall of what I consider outworn thinking on gold as it affects man's economic life.

The U.S. Treasury's gold stock has declined to below $16½ billions. Under existing law, approximately $11½ billions of gold are earmarked as reserves against Federal Reserve notes in circulation and certain other demand obligations. This leaves approximately $5 billions available against potential demands of foreign central banks totaling over $23 billions of gold if such foreign holders of dollars demand conversion of their billions into gold.

Obviously the Treasury's position is untenable. Even if we take for granted the continued willingness of the leading European central banks to cooperate with our Treasury to check continued reduction of our gold reserve, our position is intolerable. The Treasury must be independently in position to defend itself.

I propose two steps to achieve an adequate defense:

1. Repeal by Congress of the requirement of a 25-percent gold reserve against outstanding Federal Reserve notes and certain other deposit liabilities. (It is believed that the Federal Reserve Bank now has the power to suspend this requirement). Since no holder of a Federal Reserve note can obtain a single gold dollar in redemption thereof, the reserve of gold is a myth. The gold standard disappeared long ago. The gold backing of currency is at best token or symbolic. For weaning gradually those enslaved to the idea of a gold standard, let us continue some gold backing to our currency on a really token basis—say, 1 percent. When complete emancipation will have become possible at last, then a single ounce of gold can be framed in the Treasury office or the Smithsonian Institute as the theoretic token gold reserve. If my proposal is adopted, the Treasury will have $16 billion of gold to meet potential claims for redemption of over $23 billion held by foreign claimants.

2. Amend the present rule of buying and selling gold at the fixed price of $35 per ounce (subject to minute fractional charges to cover the cost of handling). Continue to pay gold to foreign central banks on demand at $35 per ounce. Continue to buy at the fixed price of $35 per ounce only certified newly mined gold, preferably excluding Russian and other Iron Country production, and gold now held by friendly central banks. Thus current production of gold in the United States and friendly nations could continue undisturbed. Buy all other gold at less than $35 per ounce. At the outset, let the Treasury announce that as of a certain date, say, August 15, it will pay $34 per ounce for gold. Later, perhaps as of September 15, set the buying price at $33 per ounce. Thus the present incentive to the private hoarder or speculator to buy gold in the knowledge that he can always resell it to the U.S. Treasury without loss is removed.

Naturally, the above program ideally would promise greatest effectiveness if foreign central banks of all our allies would act in concert with our Government in adopting this plan.

The old "gold standard" disappeared early this century. The existing "gold exchange standard" is teetering. In the current age of technological explosion, the gold and gold exchange standards are as outmoded as the crystal set and the biwing planes.

For 5,000 years or so, mankind has regarded gold as the acme of material wealth. We grant gold's excellent physical qualifications as a universal hard money. But when the annual production of gold, even though it increases arithmetically each year, cannot keep pace with the relatively geometric increase in the world's production of usable goods, shall we constrict production of real wealth, or shall we make the available supply of gold for currency backing serve the latter on a reduced ratio basis? Gold at best must be the servant of production and commerce, not their master.

In time, man will be completely liberated from his fetish for gold as real wealth. Gold has few intrinsic values for mankind. It has limited uses in industry. Its greatest use is in the arts and for jewelry. It no longer leads even as a material for filling teeth. But admittedly it cannot be dethroned completely overnight in the minds of men. In time, economists will devise better backing for a nation's currency than precious metals. It may be a commodity-backed dollar. It may be the horsepower production of a nation or its kilowatt-hour production. But it should be something that is immediately useful to man and some-

thing which in itself "grows." Gold does not grow in value except by government fiat.

How few of us realize that an ounce of gold acquired at $35 in January 1934 is still valued at $35, whereas the same $35 deposited in a savings bank at 3 percent per annum, compounded, would today be worth about $70. I am not unmindful of the fact that peasants in France who buried gold saved some of their substance when paper money became relatively worthless; however, investment in securities, real estate, machinery, and commodities would have given the peasant more productive protection.

Naturally, of late, there has been agitation for devaluation of the dollar and/or increase in the price of gold, although, interestingly enough, not nearly so general as in former years, when our gold reserves were threatened. This may be a result of the arrangements made by our Government and the leading central banks of Europe to work in unison to prevent a run on the dollar and the pound sterling. The heavy purchases by our Federal Reserve Bank of hard foreign currencies, such as the Swiss franc, the French franc, the mark, the guilder, and the Belgian franc to defend the dollar may largely account for the relative absence of agitation to raise the price of gold.

It is my considered opinion that if private gold hoarders would learn that they cannot count upon the $35 per ounce price for their gold; that $35 would be a ceiling; and that the American Treasury—and it is to be hoped also the leading European central banks—would pay progressively reduced prices for gold; large stocks of gold would be thrown on the world central banks by private hoarders. This would bring about a replenishment of gold supplies, possibly even in excess of what the world central banks would consider necessary for increasing reserves against bank notes, etc., in the light of revised thinking as to the need of large gold reserves.

Offhand, it is contradictory to favor an increase in the supply of gold in the vaults of central banks when arguments are adduced such as mine for the lack of need of a large gold supply. However, as stated above, complete elimination of the fetish for gold will take time. It will be a gradual process to wean the world from its enslavement to a gold standard or a gold exchange standard and to effect a transition to what I would suggest be called a "symbolic gold standard."

No one knows how much gold is buried in the ground in France and India, countries notorious for gold hoarding, and elsewhere. But it could reach billions of dollars worth on the basis of $35 per ounce. Certainly countries such as India would be far better off to have factories and machinery making capital and consumer goods to having gold buried in the ground. If such hoards of gold are brought to market for fear of continued lowering of the minimum purchasing price by the United States, the world's central banks would have a problem, not of seeing how much gold each could get, but of encouraging their counterparts to take on more of the share of carrying this costly unfertile evidence of wealth.

In any case, there is no reason why the Central Banks of the world, in buying and selling gold, should limit themselves to charging merely cost of handling. They should be entitled to a profit of, say, one, two, or more percent in the spread between buying and selling.

If hoarders of gold de-hoarded and converted their gold into bank accounts, they would have money ready for investment at a profit to make capital and consuming goods, for which there is a crying need, especially in underdeveloped countries.

If the "symbolic gold standard" be adopted, I can visualize dehoarding of gold on such a scale as to drive its price down to even $25 an ounce, without resulting in deflation, so long as the ratio of gold as a reserve against currency and/or deposits is regulated pari passu in relation to the fall in the price of gold. A symbolic gold standard relegates gold to its proper position as the servant of the world's economy.

## The Reverend Father Clement H. Kern, the Saint of the Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues and with the readership of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a brief glimpse of a man who graces with honor the community in which he lives, the people—whatever their race, creed, or station in life—whose lives he touches. The people who have the privilege of just knowing him personally and the people who have the privilege of just knowing of him are graced by the honor he does to mankind in being what he is. He is a gentle man and a strong man. He is a man of charismatic power and impact. We, of the 13th Congressional District of Michigan, are deeply privileged that Father Clement H. Kern, the Saint of the Slums, was directed to make his home and the center of his ministry in our midst.

The glimpse of him is beautifully provided by Harry Golden, Jr., in an article published in the July 8 edition of the Detroit Free Press.

THE SAINT OF THE SLUMS

(By Harry Golden, Jr.)

The mild-mannered little priest was inquiring about a homeless family.

On the other end of the telephone line, the lady investigator with the social agency reported firmly that the people were found to be "undeserving."

"Well, send them down here then," said the Rev. Father Clement H. Kern. "All our people are undeserving."

It was a typical flippancy of the slight, 53-year-old man with the gray brush-cut and the bluish eyes, alert behind horn-rimmed glasses.

This is Father Kern, pastor of the historic Most Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church at 1050 Porter.

How far the little candle of that church throws its beams.

Its spire rises majestically over the west side of the John Lodge Freeway, whose roaring stampede of cars marks a boundary of two downtown slums.

Now, these slums are to be gone. But Father Kern, who lit the candle of good deeds at Holy Trinity a generation ago, is staying behind * * * there's still work to be done.

To the south and west of his church lie the 77 acres of something recorded in the files of the Detroit Housing Commission's Urban Renewal Division as "Redevelopment Project (West Side Industrial) Mich. 1-4."

But, familiarly, it's Old Corktown—the Irish community served by the mother church of Detroit's English-speaking Catholics.

Through the decades the Irish were replaced by the Negroes, the Maltese, the Mexicans, the Cubans, the Pakistanis—23 nationalities in all.

At the end, when the lead balls of the wreckers lunged at the tenements, there were 864 families.

They're selling the cleared land to developers of light industry now, and soon neat rows of shops and plants will preempt the ghosts of Corktown.

Eastward across the lodge lie the 59 acres of CBD (for Central Business District) No. 1, Mich. R-3.

Its other name is Skid Row.

The total relocation problem involved a mere 77 families and 1,478 "single people." No one added up the broken yesterdays and lost shallow hopes.

But, long, long after the proposed International Village—a tourist mecca of fine restaurants, motels and entertainment facilities—and retail establishments, office buildings, parking developments and utilities replace the shabby complex of flophouses, bars and pawnshops, the "boys from the Avenue" will remember Father Kern and Holy Trinity.

It was a place where you could always get "bed money."

And there seemed to be an inexhaustible supply of second-hand overcoats at the rectory.

No one was turned away from the church's Mother Cabrini Clinic, where volunteer doctors and nurses, with donated equipment and medicines, care for the sick, and where on Alcoholics Anonymous Thursdays they have had as many as three doctors and six nurses giving shots practically by the gallon, of vitamin $B_{12}$.

Father Kern also established a reading room—a place, as he put it, "where the lads can come in out of the rain and where they can snooze if they like, or listen to a ball game; and, if they happen to want to read books, why, they're there."

Then there is Alexandrine House, a relatively new experimental home for parolees. The men are released from prison on the promise of this facility's directors that they will be provided jobs and a place to live.

One of Father Kern's talents is being evasive if he suspects someone is going to dwell upon his works at Holy Trinity, which he first joined as assistant pastor in 1943.

But as an example of the peculiar kind of fame that he has earned, an associate in the priesthood tells the story of the night a poor derelict suffered an attack of some illness in one of the 50-cent-a-bed flophouses that line Michigan.

For a moment in the dimness of the second-floor lodging house, the ailing man's roommates were at a loss as to how to get aid.

Then the message was passed down the beds of the dormitory—"Get a-hold of Father Kern."

A car quickly brought Father Kern and a fellow clergyman.

"We carried the poor fellow down the stairs," the latter recalled. "And when we got back to the car the policemen were there wondering why we were parked in the middle of Michigan Avenue.

"No, he wasn't a Catholic. We got him over to Receiving Hospital. But it was one of those hopeless cases. He only had a few hours to live. Perhaps we can say, though, that his last moments were given a bit more dignity."

Associates report that Father Kern, a native of Adrian and the son of an autoworker who was one of the first stewards of the UAW, rises about 7 a.m. each day to offer mass and turns in at the rectory just any time between 1 and 2 o'clock the next morning.

The final hour of the work day usually finds him alone in his office replying to the heavy volume of inquiries from sociologists, fellow priests and others interested in service of the people of rundown neighborhoods throughout the world.

They want to know about such projects as "Corktown College"—which really isn't a college at all, but a night school where volunteers teach subjects like citizenship and

folk dancing and sewing and, if you're of Latin-American extraction, enough English so that you can hold down a job (Father Kern speaks fluent Spanish).

They ask about the cooperative homes established for elderly people—one for men, the other women—both recently moved further out in the city.

The final hour of the day's tasks might find Father, too, strolling alone with his flashlight down some dark alley on some mission of his faith—or work of charity not confined to any single faith.

The boys on night duty at fire engine house No. 8, Sixth and Bagley, or the officers in the passing scout car will wave him a greeting.

The homeless men he encounters will say, "Hey, Father."

Friends have asked if he's not too blase about touring the area.

And the little man in the white collar, ordained in 1933, laughs and says, "I wear a uniform, you know."

In the daytime there are always people on the three dark-stained benches in the brown-tiled foyer outside Father Kern's office. They're waiting to see the man who's proud that his church has served as "a port of entry."

The urban renewal that is going on about him will bring a loss of about 200 families. But his parish, which stretches beyond the limits of the projects, still has 750 families.

So his work goes on.

He beams as he shows off the site of his parish's new school (the old one has been condemned as unsafe). By September, the kindergarten will be ready on the new site at Labrosse and Sixth, and the rest of the classrooms are promised for February.

Many sights and sounds of Father Kern's domain are changing.

The transition is reflected in the signs.

"This urban renewal project is being undertaken with Federal financial aid (two-thirds Federal, one-third city), under title I of the Housing Act of 1949 as amended," the new signs proclaim. "For sale, industrial parcels."

Many a building stands vacant now with its windows smashed out, awaiting the wrecker to take it down brick by brick.

At 632 Michigan the Detroit Housing Commission has set up a relocation office to assist the business proprietors and residents. A stream of small shop proprietors comes in with their three estimates of moving expenses.

But the "single people" come in, too. For the word has gone down the avenue that the Government pays the people who have to leave.

The relocation allowance prescribed by law for "single person without furniture" is $3.50.

In the meantime, the humble but honest families that populate the parish of Most Holy Trinity know where to go for a bit of help.

They can go to the church of Father Kern, in whose philosophy every man, woman, and child has an immortal soul and meanwhile should have a chance at a better life.

Especially the undeserving.

## Civil Defense and Civil Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on June 16, 1962, Maj. Gen. William J. Verbeck, commanding general, XIII U.S. Army Corps, delivered an excellent address before the 14th Annual Conference of the Military Government Association at Hartford, Conn., on the subject, "Civil Defense and Civil Affairs."

The information contained in the address by this distinguished soldier on such a pertinent subject should be of general interest, and I ask unanimous consent that this address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL DEFENSE AND CIVIL AFFAIRS

The 20th century has been called the "Century of Conflict." It has seen world wars; limited wars; brush-fire wars, proxy wars, and police actions; international military forces employed to restrain aggressors, restore seized territory, prevent hostilities, and take protective custody; invited occupations and protective missions, political and military alliances under combined commands; guerrilla and counterguerrilla actions; containment of international incidents involving shooting; externally sponsored political and military subversion, threats, and coup d'etats; espionage, sabotage, kidnaping, poisoning and assassination; trade, monetary and economic pressures; propagandan campaigns and psychological warfare.

The requirements for modern warfare are visualized as a spectrum ranging from a low extreme of operations conducted against lightly irregular forces to total nuclear warfare. The Army, as the organization for land warfare, is prepared to meet either extreme. This Army doctrine is based on factual concepts presuming either the use or nonuse of nuclear weapons, and its organization is founded on the basic proposition that it can conduct land operations in either a nuclear or non-nuclear environment in combat zones, any place, any time, whether of the brush-fire type or a total general conflagration.

Historically, the Army's primary mission has been to engage and defeat the land forces of an enemy nation, but the dimensions of cold war as a continuing conflict have required mobilization and maintenance of a peacetime Army in the present magnitude not to fight a war but to prevent a war.

The avoidance of a shooting war has become the cornerstone of our international policy and although the deliberate instigation of a general war by an enemy nation does not appear likely, the establishment of deterrents to such a decision to wage war on the United States appears the only way to prevent such an involvement.

However, there does exist the possibility of a general war by miscalculation or inadvertence or through the expansion of limited hostilities and to survive, this Nation must not only be victorious in the cold war but also must be prepared to defeat an enemy in a shooting war.

In addition to the spiritual and human values that make up our way of life, the basic elements of our national strength are (1) a healthy economy, (2) a strong military posture, and (3) a sound civil defense.

The Nation must be strong economically to support an adequate defense effort. Military strength, both defensive and offensive, is of course a major deterrent to enemy attack. But of greater importance as a deterrent to enemy attack, when the opposing forces are of equal strength, is civil defense, as measured by the ability of the country's productive capacity, both men and machines, to survive a nuclear attack.

It is not possible to predict the character or pattern of possible attack against any individual target or specific area of this country, but survival under conditions of modern warfare is solely dependent on what each individual can do for himself.

Accomplishments under the Civil Defense Act of 1950 have been greater than generally realized. Good plans have been drawn up under the joint State and Federal arrangement and large numbers of key personnel, public officials and civil defense auxiliaries stand ready to perform vital work in an emergency.

Although civil defense plans, measures and operations are primarily a responsibility and a task of civil governments at all levels, it is the function of the Army to complement the efforts of civilian agencies with a view toward strengthening their capabilities.

The term complement is used advisedly, because it is the task of the Army to support civil authorities, not substitute for them.

In this respect, Army support of civil defense authorities in a civil defense emergency is considered a responsibility secondary only to combat operations.

The availability of military resources for support of civil defense operations during the initial critical phase of a civil defense emergency is dictated by the existing conditions and the degree to which military resources have been employed or are actively engaged in the defense of the United States; are engaged in offensive combat operations; or are required for the direct support of essential military operations.

It is recognized that Army forces surviving a thermonuclear attack and available for support will represent only a small portion of the total effort required for survival and recovery; and that the timing and degree of military response will be directly proportional to the efforts required for the military forces themselves to recover.

Thus, aside from preparing passive defense plans and measures for Department of Army installations, the Army has prepared plans for support of civil defense operations under each of the following contingencies:

(1) Providing military support to a civil defense organization which is in being and capable of using military resources;

(2) Taking over civil defense operations where civil control or leadership is destroyed or overwhelmed for the limited period until civilian agencies are reestablished and operating in the local area concerned.

Military support is synonymous with military assistance and includes the use of any resources of the Department of Defense such as personnel, material, services and facilities, or the use of any nonmilitary resources obtained by contract, hire, or other means which might be necessary to deal with the immediate emergency conditions which would be created by a thermonuclear attack.

Military support may require medical supplies, equipment, food, fuel, power, water, sanitation, building materials and transportation to minimize the effects of an attack. Military support may also require the maintenance and/or support of the reestablishment of law and order and the protection of life and property in the event civil control or leadership is destroyed or overwhelmed until such civilian agencies are reestablished and operating.

The problem of survival, both individual and national, in a thermonuclear war is becoming daily more acute and today's solution may have little practical effect tomorrow with new breakthroughs in the development of future missiles and delivery systems.

The dreadful arithmetic of hydrogen bomb casualties may stun many persons to the point of horrified apathy and an attitude of "it's no use."

It might be that an enemy attack on the United States would kill 5 million or 35 million or 70 million Americans but our atten-

tion should be focused not only on the number of people who can be saved by proper civil defense measures, but also on those who survive.

In the postattack period, military assistance is planned for the care of casualties, protection against radiation hazards, and the feeding, housing, and clothing of displaced persons. Then the military assistance would be directed to the restoration of communication and transportation systems throughout the country and the rehabilitation or reconstruction of vital facilities necessary for the support of the war effort and military combat operations.

In the event of such an emergency, the role of civil affairs will be to enable the Army to accomplish its mission of supplementing and assisting civil defense. During this critical early period normal civilian facilities will probably be destroyed: communications will not be functioning; rail and motor transport will break down; public health and safety will be endangered. A complete breakdown of all governmental functions is not unlikely. Therefore, although the civilian authorities are responsible for the ultimate resoration of normal functions, their ability to act will be impaired and will, in all likelihood, have to be assisted by the Army.

The Active Army does not have the capability of providing such supplementary services directly; but, through its Reserve civil affairs units—such as area headquarters, civil affairs groups, and civil affairs companies—it can give substantial and quick assistance where it will be most needed. Normal government organization may be overwhelmed or destroyed in the catastrophe; but specialized Army units will be ready to step into the breach and prevent a total breakdown.

Plans are now being drawn up ot use civil affairs units most effectively by giving each one a specific target complex and alternate target complexes for which each will be responsible. Present thinking is to require the individual unit to make area studies, detailed operations plans, and operating procedures for accomplishing these tasks in addition to its normal mission. One of the units which the Army has to do such tasks is in the Reserve Forces; the civil affairs unit. They would be working at the same kind of tasks as they are called upon to do in occupied areas around the world: restoring order, rebuilding the economy, and making normal government possible once again. They are in a position to assume, without major readjustment, the relief and rehabilitation of areas disorganized by a major air strike. They have the capability of providing invaluable services to the stricken civilian economy: restoring supplies of food, rebuilding community facilities, provision of emergency housing, restoration of communications and transportation facilities, reestablishment of public health and safety services. Without such help the civilian government would be overwhelmed and perhaps destroyed. With such help the restoration of normal conditions is difficult, but feasible.

Civil affairs has, in the past, accomplished outstanding work. It can look with pride on the record make in World War II and the postwar years in Germany, Japan, and the Ryuku Islands. Again, it can be proud of its record in Korea and in the transfer of Hungarian refugees to the United States. Should the need arise, civil affairs will have a tremendous task. Its units, its officers, and its men will be there to accomplish the apparently impossible.

## Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH

OF

## HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12711) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, nothing is more essential to a legislative body than having ready access to information on the functioning of Government. Congress over the years has made great efforts to see that we have such access.

But from time to time there are those who try to frustrate this process.

For instance, I have had great difficulty in getting information from the Federal Aviation Agency and its Administrator, Mr. Najeeb Halaby. I have related some of the difficulties I have had on this score.

At first, I thought that all my difficulties might have come about because Mr. Halaby and I got off to a rather poor start in our relationship with each other. I suspect there are some Members in this House who have assumed the same about this situation. But this is not the case, as I will show.

Mr. Halaby's reluctance to give information about his Agency is symptomatic of a generally unhealthy situation that permeates his entire Agency. This reluctance and its causes are matters that every Member here will be concerned with before many more weeks pass. They will concern and disturb you whether or not you find any cause for concern in my particular argument with Mr. Halaby over the capricious movement of the San Antonio air route traffic control center to Houston.

What you regard as my individual grievance today is going to be your catastrophic problem tomorrow. It is going to be your problem when the air passengers in your district learn of the game of Russian roulette that is going on in our airways. It is a game that this Administrator has been impotent in handling.

When the information that Mr. Halaby now has becomes known to the public, as it will, you will then recall that this is the same Mr. Halaby who tells Congressmen to go "fly their kite" when they inquire about his activities and the work of his Agency. This attitude of treating FAA like it was part of CIA is of far more serious concern to me than the removal of a traffic route control center from one city to another.

More and more people today are asking, How safe is flying today? The general public is understandably confused by the endless flow of soothing reports from the FAA concerning the high level of safety in the traffic control system and the comparison of these statements with the actual number of instances of unsafe operation which crop up almost daily.

How safe is a system, for example, which permits two airliners to hold in the same race track pattern over the Washington area, each at 7,000 feet for a period of 42 minutes; each pilot oblivious to the presence of the other, and the traffic control system operating under the assumption that the two aircraft in question are adequately separated?

The implications of this particular incident are far more grave than the circumstances leading to the flaming midair collision over New York, December 16, 1960. In the New York incident, there was only 1 second in time in which these two aircraft could collide, and they did. In the example over Washington, the aircraft could have collided at any instant, for an entire 42-minute period.

Apart from actual battlefield exposure to enemy gunfire, few individuals have ever been exposed for such a sustained period to imminent death. That they might have gone to their death in utter composure, sipping a martini or reading a sugar-coated FAA press release dealing with the improvements in the air traffic control system, does not alter the gravity of the situation at all. What are the facts in the matter?

Is it true, as stated by the FAA, that there have been only 544 such incidents during the past year? Is it true that, as stated by the FAA Administrator, an en route controller makes only one such mistake every 14 years and that an airport tower controller makes only one such mistake every 45 years; or is it true that a secret report entitled "Project Scan" shows more than double the number of serious incidents as reported by the Administrator during the past year; or is it true that as privately confided by any air traffic controller, these incidents of unsafe separation occur daily in all air traffic control centers and in most of the active air traffic control towers? It is clear that most of these incidents go unreported because of fear of reprisal on the part of the controller. Pilot and controller alike are reluctant to report these hazardous incidents because of the policy of the FAA to discipline first and investigate later. These incidents occur not through negligence but because of deficiencies in our air navigation system and deficiencies in our air traffic control system. In most instances and particularly during instrument weather the aircraft pass each other undetected by the pilots and observed only by the traffic controller. If the incident is officially reported by the

traffic controller, he faces suspension, demotion, transfer or loss of pay prior to any investigation of the circumstances. It is clear that we can never hope to arrive at an adequate and safe system of air traffic control until we have a machinery to report and analyze each breakdown in the present system.

But this is only part of the problem in FAA. As I said at the outset, the propensity to conceal is merely symptomatic of more grievous faults. I have prepared some additional materials on this which I shall lay before you in the course of the next few days.

## A Salute to the Marriner Wood Merrill Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH R. HARDING
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, this is the time of the year that many of our western pioneer families are holding their annual family reunion.

A few weeks ago my own Harding family held their reunion at Brigham City, Utah. I was unable to attend the reunion due to the fact that Congress is still in session. However, Hardings from throughout Utah and Idaho and other Western States met to pay tribute to George Harding who made the long trek west by covered wagon and settled at Willard, Utah.

I further understand that the descendants of one of the greatest of western pioneers, Marriner Wood Merrill, will be gathering together this weekend to commemorate his life and works. Although this family will meet in Richmond, Utah, the city he helped found and build, we in Idaho, with many of his descendants among us, look to his life as an example of one man's great devotion to his God and his fellow man.

One of his choicest descendants was my mission mother, Mrs. Annie Merrill Elsworth. I can honestly say that next to my own mother and wife, any achievement or accomplishment that I have been able to make thus far in life has been influenced by this great and good lady who, with her devoted husband, J. Orval Elsworth, presided over the Central States Mission when I was laboring there. I am especially grateful for the descendants of Marriner Wood Merrill.

Marriner W. Merrill migrated from eastern Canada where he was born, to Utah, in 1853—a scant 6 years after Brigham Young's famous arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Even so, he had some difficulty in locating a 100-acre tract of land. When the territorial surveyor and Governor Young had agreed on the piece of land he should have, he then shared his good fortune by dividing the land in three equal parts, one for his father-in-law, one for a poor Danish brother, and the third for himself.

As his consideration for his fellow men controlled, so did his ability to help them develop. Today, his descendants can remember with pride large farming and dairy operations, the creamery, condensed milk factory, flour mill, railroad, mercantile and other pioneer enterprises which he successfully launched. He encouraged and directed the building of many church structures including the Richmond Tabernacle. And, in addition to all this, Marriner W. Merrill was a leader in public affairs, serving two terms in the Utah Territorial Legislature, and being a trustee of both the Utah State Agricultural College and of the Brigham Young College at Logan.

Not having had the advantage of formal education himself, Mr. Merrill provided diligently for the education of his children, to the end that many of his some 2,000 descendants have distinguished themselves in all phases of American life: church, education, public service, medicine, law, science, and other professions, business, and farming. Many of his family have been or are now listed in "Who's Who in America."

As I humbly regard the accomplishments of this great westerner, I cannot help observe that first and last he was an active member and a leader in his church. At one time, as the result of extraordinary kindness to his fellow men at a moment of great hardship, he was promised that neither he nor his children, nor his children's children, would want for bread. His descendants testify that the following years brought many poor harvests but nonetheless, the promise was realized then as in years of prosperity.

I salute the Marriner Wood Merrill family with the hope that the examples of his life will continue to be a controlling influence on their lives and on the communities in which they labor.

## Adm. George W. Anderson, Jr., U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, at the 36th Annual Convention of the Reserve Officers Association, Discussed the Role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Some of the Criticism Directed Toward Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, in view of the frequent references heard recently to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the recent address by the Chief of Naval Operations at the 36th Annual Convention of the Reserve Officers Association proved significant as well as interesting.

Adm. George W. Anderson, Jr., is one of the Nation's outstanding military leaders. He has risen to his present position as the top officer in the U.S. Navy because of his skill, his wisdom, and his great capacity for leadership among men. Admiral Anderson's address deals with some of the aspects of military leadership we hear all too little.

It is my privilege to call to the attention of the Congress the text of this address, given before ROA at its convention at Las Vegas. Those of us who read and understand this message will not be surprised to know that the assembled Reserve leaders from throughout the world, to whom Admiral Anderson addressed his remarks, repeatedly applauded him and gave him a prolonged standing ovation at the conclusion.

His address follows:

I think the Reserve Officers Association has shown remarkable wisdom in selecting Las Vegas as the site of this convention. There will always be a need for officers who are well versed in calculating odds, and it was a pleasure for me to learn that so many of you here have been undergoing intensive training in this art. We also need men who can operate around the clock—when I commanded the great 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean it was our pride that we could do so. I am told that many of you have voluntarily undertaken research projects in this vital area of endurance.

And so I feel justified in thinking of this convention as having important training overtones; indeed, it should be most educational.

We need a lot of confidence to live in today's world. The complexities of our modern society have required us to develop an unusually high degree of reliability in those matters which are essential to our way of life. We have perfect confidence that the water will flow when we turn the tap, that the car will start when we engage the starter, and that we will have light when the switch is thrown. All of us exhibit perfect confidence literally dozens of times daily—using the telephone—the banking system—the public highways.

Those activities which must be successfully accomplished dozens of times daily by millions of our people have been so systematized and refined and further refined until it is the exception—and sometimes a disaster—when they unexpectedly fail to perform. The frequency of their occurrence has forced us to build a high reliability—and therefore a high confidence—that the services and functions vital to our well-being will be provided when they are needed.

A high degree of confidence may be placed in a system only when it is justified by repeated successful performances. I would like to tell you this morning that your armed services are daily and hourly successfully completing many varied and difficult missions, and that you may justifiably place a high degree of confidence in the Nation's military power.

We consider that our primary responsibility is to preserve peace, and that in order to do so we must be ready to wage war—war of any kind, large or small. The single word "ready" encompasses a staggering range of activities—from research into exotic areas to the preparation of reports and analyses of exercises. Between the conception of a weapons system and its sucessful operation lie the myriad activities of recruiting, training, and supporting our men; designing, procuring, and testing their equipment; conceiving, planning, and executing hundreds of sorties, flights, exercises, and drills designed to demonstrate and prove the reliability of our weapons systems—reliability essential to confidence.

The Strategic Air Command, for example, has acquired the capability to launch its aircraft on short notice, to fly long distances, penetrate defenses, and to find and hit with carefully selected weapons targets deep in enemy territory. SAC is ready, and typifies the high standards of readiness which pervade all the services. At the same time, SAC is in transition as more and more long range missiles are brought into its inventory.

The readiness of our Navy is illustrated most dramatically by the Polaris system. These submarines are at sea on station, the crews are fully trained, and each ship's 16 missiles have been ready to fire on instant notice 95 percent of the time. Fifteen of the missiles have been ready 99.9 percent of the time the submarines were on patrol. We have confidence in Polaris today, even as we prepare to increase Polaris submarines in number and the range and potential of the missiles.

Our Marine Corps is ready, with a strong and spirited force based on each coast, and with battalion landing teams continuously embarked in amphibious ships in both Atlantic and Pacific. Our Nation has confidence in our Marine Corps because its current performance is in keeping with its glorious traditions.

Troops of the Strike command can be airborne in 60 minutes—supported by transport and tactical aircraft capable of transoceanic flight—to reinforce our Army and Air Forces overseas with highly skilled combat units trained to fight together.

These few examples illustrate the very high level of readiness of all of our forces. The intensive training being done by all services has resulted in a level of alertness and smartness which has seldom been attained by any organization. You may, and should, have great confidence in the ability of each of our units successfully to carry out its assigned mission.

Readiness has not been attained without leadership, direction, and a high degree of professional competence over many decades. What we have in the services today is the result of the magnificent contributions of those who have preceded us. Our military commitments are being met throughout the world by forces from all services organized into unified commands. The unified commanders are, in turn, under the command of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, responsible to our civilian Secretary of Defense and to the President.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have been the subject of much comment and discussion, as indeed they should be. Any agency with such responsibility to the Nation should properly be under continuous scrutiny in order to seek ways and means of improving its performance.

But not all of the criticisms are well understood, whether they be well-founded ones or not. I would like to discuss some of them so that you can consider them in a new perspective.

One of the most frequently heard criticisms is that the uniformed services forfeit their decision-making responsibilities when the Chiefs of Staff differ in their judgments or recommendations—when they are unable to agree on a decision. The split decision must be forwarded to the Secretary of Defense for resolution, and the criticism is that the decision therefore must be made by civilian authorities who may very well not have the military knowledge and experience of the Chiefs of Staff themselves.

Less than 1 percent of the judgments made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff are split decisions; and the term "split decision" is misleading in that it suggests only disagreement. Actually, a split decision most often results in alternate solutions being presented to the Secretary of Defense and the Commander in Chief. The advantages and disadvantages of each of the differing courses of action have been studied and set forth by the Joint Chiefs, and by their joint staff, composed of officers with highly specialized knowledge and broad experience. There are decisions of such national importance that they should properly be made by civilian authorities, and the alternatives should be presented only after thoughtful consideration of differing opinions, of dissenting views, and, consequently, after maximum assurance that critical factors have not been overlooked or underestimated. The present system meets this requirement admirably.

The Joint Chiefs have been described as too slow in making decisions, the inference being that a single Chief of Staff could move into action faster. Many of our problems include unprecedented complexities, and it is only prudent to gather as many facts as possible before reaching mature judgments which may have profound, long-range implications. Whether or not the Joint Chiefs do respond quickly is dictated by the urgency of the situation. The system is designed for, and capable of, instantaneous response when necessary. This issue must be viewed not from the standpoint of speed alone, but from the point of view of the Joint Chiefs' ability to act quickly, decisively, and correctly in an emergency situation. It is illogical to conclude that deliberate action on complex peacetime problems is indicative of slow response to future emergency requirements. The Joint Chiefs must have, and do have, the ability to react quickly, but their first responsibility—no matter what the second and third are—is to arrive at sound solutions in the interest of national security. The present system provides the maximum assurance that this responsibility is indeed fulfilled.

There is also the issue of whether or not the dual role of Service Chief and member of the Joint Chiefs is a practical arrangement. I believe this issue should be viewed this way: from a theoretical point of view, a Service Chief member of the JCS might not be able to act dispassionately as a member of the Joint Chiefs—whose function is to review the proposals of the Service Chiefs—one of which is of course himself. But we are, after all, in a very practical business, and the job is being done. It gets done because the Chiefs and their staff represent a pool of talent, experience, and specialized knowledge which is irreplaceable. Because of their great ability, the work of the Joint Chiefs is successfully accomplished, much like the bee which continues to fly in spite of the fact that some engineers might assert that his wingloading is too high.

In fact, I know I do a better job as a member of the Joint Chiefs because I am also the Chief of Naval Operations, not in spite of it. Conversely, I do a better job as the uniformed head of my service by virtue of my experience as a member of the JCS. Each Service Chief is responsible for the performance of his Service. The importance of this fact is that authority and responsibility are not divorced. The Joint Chiefs have a collective authority to make decisions and an individual responsibility for their execution. Separation of authority and responsibility is a sure road to chaos.

The Secretary of Defense, for example, has both broad authority and responsibility, which also covers some matters not within the statutory responsibility of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—matters inherent in the administration of the largest single organization in the world. His access to information and advice is equally broad. His Assistant Secretaries, and his staff, and the Service Secretaries, are each required and authorized to make recommendations to him. In exercising his own best judgment, he normally refers information or proposals from other sources to the Joint Chiefs for comment or recommendation. Under this procedure it is hardly conceivable that any Secretary of Defense would not consult the Joint Chiefs of Staff on matters which are included in their statutory responsibilities.

In a nutshell, whatever system we use must be unfailingly responsive to the needs of the Nation, not always in speed of decision, or in theoretical performance, but in soundness of decision and actual performance. I believe the present system has demonstrated advantages which far outweigh any hypothetical disadvantages about which some criticism centers. I believe that, in the best interests of the Nation, the present Joint Chiefs of Staff organization should be retained, and that the confidence we have in our Armed Forces should also be accorded to the command arrangement under which the Armed Forces have achieved their outstanding readiness. The Joint Chiefs of Staff system, despite the criticisms it has been exposed to, fully warrants the confidence that it is and will be the most reliable and responsive arrangement for handling national military matters.

I must make one qualification here with respect to confidence in the Nation's military strength. The reliability and capability of our forces and our systems must not be taken for granted. Our accomplishments have been achieved through hard work, sacrifice, and dedication, which are qualities possessed by the people who compose our forces—not by the weapons. But "forces" is a sterile term with respect to describing the people involved, and it is in this area that I feel the Nation could profit from greater understanding. It is one thing to speak of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean—it is another to speak of the men who man the carriers from whose decks fly supersonic aircraft; of the crews of destroyers; of marines embarked in our amphibious ships. The extent of our commitments and the degree of personal sacrifice which many of our men make are not sufficiently understood, and consequently the respect accorded to military men is not proportionate to their contribution to the welfare of our Nation.

Respect in our society is too often associated with income, and no one would deny that many of our men are at a disadvantage here. It is important to appreciate that our most highly trained and skilled personnel—both officers and enlisted—are career men, and therefore volunteers. There is no provision of law, comparable to the draft, which compels a man to make the military a career. Our career men are therefore voluntarily making a double contribution—they suffer by relative pay standards, and they make personal sacrifices far beyond the norm.

But "sacrifice" is another word which is too general to convey the intensely personal nature of the experiences our men undergo. The bitter cold and snow of Antarctica is not a general weather phenomenon—it is very personal to the men who must fly, and live, and build in support of our polar research. The heat and jungle and mud of Thailand are not abstractions, but realities forming the backdrop against which our men stand watch in the farflung picket line of freedom. A ship deployed for 8 months means America's great power is being projected overseas, but it also means loneliness for wives and families; babies born while father is in Antarctica, or on Polaris patrol, or steaming in the Formosa Strait; many small things—the uncut lawn—the leaky faucet, the unfixed bike. Indeed, the sacrifices of our men are matched in full by their families—there is no pay which will replace Dad's help in homework, in sports, or in just growing up—except the respect of his fellow citizens. Our men and their families have earned and deserve that respect many times over. There is, in my mind, a

real dignity in men who serve steadfastly during cold war and who are knowingly committed to the rigors of a cold war turned hot.

In addition to our commitments involving units in specific places, we have broad continuing commitments which we must also meet. These are to attain and increase our combat readiness, to get best performance from our weapons systems, and to maintain mental, moral, and physical fitness. Indeed these commitments apply to you as well.

Over half of the officers and men in our Navy are attached to afloat or mobile units. Our records show that out of 285 of our ships which were away from their home ports last Christmas, 47 were also away at Christmas in 1960, and 14 were absent during Christmas 1959. This is a kind of sacrifice many men were not called upon to make during World War II, and it is being duplicated by the men of the Air Force, and of the Army, and of our incomparable Marine Corps. Marines are customarily deployed to Okinawa for periods of 13 months—without their dependents—in order to meet such commitments as we have in Thailand. Our deployed fleets and units are only part of the picture. When a ship is in its home port, a crew competent to get the ship underway must remain aboard at all times. Thus even though the ship may be at home, the crew must spend one out of three or four nights and weekends on board. The Marines, Air Force, and Army also have training and readiness commitments which must be met whether the unit is deployed overseas or based in the United States.

The rigors of service life should be worthy of respect, even if the men didn't do anything. But this is not the case. The men who make these sacrifices must also have the ability and skill and training to master the complex weapons systems we now employ. Such systems as the Polaris, Hound Dog, Bullpup, Asroc, Sparrow, and Nike are but today's manifestations of weapons systems growing more and more to depend on computers, electronics, nuclear power, and rocketry. Obviously, we must have good men to perform these duties.

Our men are doing a magnificent job, for little material reward, at substantial personal sacrifice. But we are living in a split-level society, in which part of our population values material reward over public service. The degree to which our people value the material over the spiritual is one measure of the degree of danger facing our Nation. This is not a new idea. The 18th century philosopher Rousseau wrote: "As soon as the public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens, and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the state is not far from its fall." It should be our common purpose to promote the reputation and respect accorded to public service, as opposed to that fallacious worship now accorded the acquisition of goods. It is indeed unfortunate for the Nation that the contributions of our dedicated service people may be contrasted with the pernicious activities of that part of the populace whose principles seem to be composed of equal parts of evasion, corruption, and unethical practice.

I cannot make this kind of contrast without emphasizing that the vast majority of our citizens are wonderful people—the finest in the world. I believe that we in the services have a collective realization of the fundamental integrity of our people. Indeed, it is this faith in the ultimate virtue of our Nation which sustains us in the face of long hours, low pay, and difficult work. When small groups, or individuals, do seem to obstruct, or debase, or dilute our progress, we believe that the majority of our great citizenry will rise and react and correct these defects to produce an even better America.

In the meantime, our career uniformed citizens ought to be recognized, not for what they get, but for what they are, and what they do, and what they give.

They are volunteers.

They do a magnificent and difficult job.

The give the rest of our citizens their time and talent, that the freedom all have inherited will continue to survive.

Your dual status as civilians and Reserve officers puts you in both camps, as are the retired officers of our services. As officers, we look to you to complement the Regular forces when necessary, and you have proven more than once that you are equal to the task. As civilians you are an important link between the services and the populace. We in the services respect you as military men, and we have faith that you will, in your civilian role, keep the United States always on the move upward.

In 1937, I was in the USS *Yorktown* as a landing signal officer. In that peacetime year we had a veteran and experienced crew—all Regulars—and the ship operated to her full potential. Six years later in 1943, I was in the new *Yorktown*, as navigator, with a crew 90 percent new to the ship, drawn from the Reserve and the civilian world. The new *Yorktown* did just as well as the old, even though she was not in action until the war was almost 2 years old.

During Korea we learned again of the great value of a trained and ready Reserve, and during the past year we have once again seen the Reserve step forward into national prominence.

I have mentioned the actions of the Reserve in three situations of varying violence. The Reserve has had a role in general war, in a limited war of the Korean kind, and in the cold war—as we have recently seen.

But as I have said in outlining our military commitments, there are continuing and important roles in addition to the purely military. There is a responsibility on your part to improve your own capabilities, and to keep your services informed as to your best qualifications. Your support of legislation which you consider to be in the best interest of the Nation is an important contribution. When you support patriotic ceremonies, you are improving the image of the Armed Forces in the civilian community. Many of you have firsthand knowledge of ROTC programs and the opportunities open to officers both on active duty and in the Reserve, which admirably qualify you to publicize the services in their best light, and to influence talented young men to make the services a career. The services all need more public recognition for the contributions which are being made daily by our men and their families throughout the world. There is no group better qualified to meet such a need than the Reserve Officers Association.

There are today, soldiers of the Special Forces, marines, seamen, and airmen in Thailand. They arrived quietly and quickly because of the ability of our armed services to perform their missions day in and day out, year after year. The magnificence of our daily accomplishments frequently goes unnoticed while attention is focused on an occasional failure. We need an awareness and an appreciation of the difficult jobs which are being done so superbly around the world by all the services and, close to my own heart—our Navy and marines, deployed in four great fleets—and the swift silent Polaris submarines at sea continuously. These are great accomplishments, and they deserve full recognition.

We are always aware of the great numbers of Reserve officers on active duty who contribute so much to today's defense posture, and of those in Reserve components who contribute so much to our defense potential. Your services, as military officers, are invaluable to us throughout the spectrum of conflict. In addition, you possess the special characteristic of both having firsthand knowledge of military affairs, and of being in positions to meet and convince our young citizens of the value and opportunities of officership—on active duty and in the Reserve. Just as we rely on you to augment our combat strength, we rely on you to maintain and improve your own mental, physical, and professional capabilities, to publicize the very real achievements of all of the services, and to foster the idea that the man, in the final analysis, is the sine qua non of military power, and that he who devotes his skill, his time, and his treasure to the defense of the Nation is deserving of the highest respect from all of us.

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## Let the Right Hand Know What the Left Hand Knows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, on Tuesday, July 31, 1962, in opposition to bills H.R. 10205, H.R. 10344, H.R. 10347, H.R. 10441, H.R. 10569, and H.R. 12323, which would prevent law-enforcement agencies from obtaining copies of census reports retained by reporting companies. My statement follows:

These bills espouse the philosophy of "what you don't know won't hurt you." Ignorance, we are told, if not bliss, is preferable to disclosure of business statistics to law-enforcement agencies. Today when free access to information is more important than ever before, it is disturbing indeed to find the Congress being asked to enact a law to promote ignorance on the part of its own Government.

These bills are designed to keep agencies of the Government, directed by the Congress to enforce laws within their jurisdiction, ignorant of data necessary for such enforcement, merely because a copy of such data is in the possession of another agency of the same Government.

An ignorant executive agency is expected to achieve a high degree of performance. Freedom of information is to be denied to Government agencies because such information might disclose a violation of law.

The Supreme Court is to be rebuffed for holding that relevant data in the possession of a corporate defendant in an antitrust suit can be used by a Government agency to prove the violation.

Congress has the duty, I believe, to enact legislation to promote interagency exchange of information rather than legislation promoting secret closets of information in every agency. Very recently the headline of a story in the New York Times was: "ICC Withholds Data on Rail Loan." From whom was this agency withholding information? From the General Accounting Office.

The bills before this committee are designed to nullify the recent decision by the Supreme Court in *St. Regis Paper Co.* v. *United States* (368 U.S. 208 (1961)). The Court there held that the Federal Trade Commission could compel the production by a company of its file copies of its census reports.

These bills would gravely prejudice the effective enforcement of the antitrust laws. This is particularly true of monopoly cases

under section 2 of the Sherman Act and merger cases under the Celler-Kefauver Act. The St. Regis case, incidentally, involves a number of merger acquisitions.

In monopoly cases and in merger cases the question of the market, and the relative positions of the defendants and others in that market, are crucial. The determination of these intricate economic factors is difficult at best. The Government's figures are challenged at every step by the defense. Census data furnishes the most readily available and widely acceptable figures upon which such crucial determinations may be made. The published data are often inadequate. This may be becaues the line of commerce involved is included in the published figures as part of a larger classification or because it is necessary to know, as a measure of concentration, the position of the four largest and the eight largest companies in an industry and the position of the particular defendant or defendants in that context.

Whatever may be said of the policy of the Bureau of Census, operating under its particular laws, to keep the original returns secret, the Supreme Court has held in the St. Regis case that no such policy obtains with respect to copies of the returns to Census which are retained by reporting companies. Significantly, original income tax returns, as well as the taxpayer's copy, are available to Government agencies enforcing our laws.

In a recent speech before the Senate, Senator HUMPHREY said: "Secrecy is an enemy of democracy * * *. The trouble with secrecy is that it begets more secrecy." These bills illustrate the truth of Senator HUMPHREY'S wise words. These bills would extend the secrecy of information in a Government agency's files to secrecy of information in the files of a corporation.

As a general rule, information in the files of one agency of the Government should be available to other agencies of the executive branch in the enforcement of the laws. The administration of justice should not be reduced to the level of a game of blind man's buff, played between different departments of the same Government.

If the Bureau of the Census has in its files information relevant to a violation of the antitrust laws, it seems to me as a general proposition that such information should be available to the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission—the agencies charged with antitrust enforcement.

It would be more appropriate, therefore, to repeal the secrecy presently accorded the original census returns in the possession of the Bureau of the Census than to extend the shroud of secrecy to file copies of the census returns retained by the reporting companies.

I say this, because it seems to me that secrecy should be the exception and not the rule, certainly with respect to business statistics in the possession of Government agencies.

Judge Learned Hand remarked in *United States* v. *Coplon*, 2 Cir. 185 F. 2d 289 at p. 638: "* * * there may be evidence—'state secrets'—to divulge which will imperil 'national security'; and which the Government cannot, and should not be, required to divulge. Salus rei publicae suprema lex."

But even this ultimate privilege, founded on the "supreme law" of national self-preservation "is not to be lightly invoked," by the executive branch of the Government, as the Supreme Court held in *United States* v. *Reynolds* (345 U.S. at p. 7).

If this ultimate privilege may be interposed only as a last resort at the expense of the administration of justice, I fail to see any comparable urgent necessity for enveloping in secrecy business statistics needed for the enforcement of our laws.

Two main arguments are made for nondisclosure. First, it is said that census reports of statistical data are made on a voluntary basis, and knowledge that copies are subject to disclosure would deter companies from reporting voluntarily. Secondly, it is said that companies might not furnish accurate information if compelled to give such information with knowledge that some other agency might make use of it.

As to the first argument, Congress has imposed a legal duty to make such reports by imposing penalties for failure to furnish information to the Bureau of the Census (see 13 U.S.C. 224, 226). If the taxpayer's copy of his compulsory income tax return is subject to disclosure, I fail to see why a company's file copy of its compulsory census return should be privileged from disclosure.

The second argument—that companies would deliberately falsify their census returns—would put reputable businessmen in the class of criminals and racketeers, busily engaged in falsifying records. I refuse to accept any such conception of businessmen as a class.

Furthermore, the census statutes provide penalties for false or misleading statements, and other penal statutes also stand as a deterrence. These provisions should insure the accuracy of census returns, as they do income-tax returns.

Indeed, it seems to me that statistical data subject to the observation of more than one Government agency is more likely to be accurate and reliable than data not subjected to such observation. One may be able to fool one agency all of the time much more readily than several agencies with additional information in hand.

This argument—that compulsory census returns will be less reliable if subject to disclosure—flies in the face of daily experience in our courts. Until the advent of these bills, I never heard it suggested that documentary evidence was less reliable because it was subject to disclosure by subpena.

If the courts were to adopt the novel argument here for the first time asserted and mistrust documentary evidence merely because it was subject to subpena, I daresay the administration of justice would suffer with a vengeance. By the same token, I see no reason to suppose that compulsory business statistics will be less reliable because subject to disclosure. To conceal them in a veil of secrecy would cause a comparable breakdown in antitrust enforcement.

The statement filed with this subcommittee by the Department of Commerce is a model of inconsistency. On the one hand, the attempt is made to impress the subcommittee with the assertion that the Bureau of the Census is the "factfinder for the Nation," and is such by virtue of collecting information from business companies. On the other hand, the Commerce statement asserts that Census figures are not reliable because much of them are based upon "estimates" of business companies.

The subcommittee is told in the same statement that confidentiality insures that the companies will send statistical information without any delay caused by legal review. I suggest that a little delay by a company for more complete review might well improve the accuracy of the statistics compiled by Census.

It should be our objective to protect the innocent and to expose the wrongdoer. Secrecy of information may bring about a result contrary to right and justice. A recent decision provides a striking case in point. In *Klein* v. *American Luggage Works, Inc.* (D. Del. 1962) (CCH Trade Cases, par. 70355), excise tax returns proved indispensable in demonstrating the error in plausible but fallacious economic evidence. Had these excise tax returns been immune from disclosure a miscarriage of justice might well have resulted.[1]

This argument of secrecy has an additional air of unreality. There is nothing inherently confidential about business statistics, and when legitimate business secrets are at stake, existing law provides ample means for their protection from disclosure to competitors. Even in a private lawsuit, a court may compel disclosure of relevant confidential business data under appropriate safeguards where disclosure is essential to a proper determination of the case. By the same token, business statistics, even if confidential, should be similarly subject to disclosure, likewise under appropriate safeguards, where needed by the Government for the due enforcement of the law. These bills would make it difficult or impossible for the Government enforcement agencies to procure the most reliable form of business data.

These bills would have the further extraordinary effect of discouraging cooperation by law-abiding companies, otherwise willing to cooperate with the Government. I am reliably informed both by the Federal Trade Commission and by the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice that generally companeis contacted have been willing to make such returns available. Their willingness often extends to informing the Bureau of the Census that they would have no objection to such agencies looking at their original census returns in the possession of the Bureau. Surely such wholly desirable cooperation should be encouraged.

What are the alternatives?

Agencies of the Government would have to spend an enormous amount of time, at substantial cost to the taxpayers and substantial drain upon their own appropriations, if they must make their own economic survey of an industry. They may not have the expertise of the Census Bureau, born of long experience with that industry. Moreover, on the basis of past experience a "homegrown" industry survey by an antitrust agency is subject to attack as incomplete, or inaccurate, or not the best evidence, and it may be excluded from evidence on such grounds.

Further, the Government might have no alternative, where such material is not available in the course of an investigation, to filing suit without the necessary facts in hand, if a probable violation of the antitrust laws is to be remedied.

Once a suit has been filed, a company may be required to reconstruct all over again the figures embodied in its census return. In that event, the company would either use the figures from its return or go through a painful, lengthy, and expensive process of reconstructing those figures. The difficulty

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[1] In the Court's opinion, Judge Wright stated:

"During cross-examination of plaintiff's expert accounting witness, counsel for Wanamaker called attention to Klein's Federal excise tax returns for the same years, which indicate the dollar volumes of gross sales of all brands of luggage marketed. These figures are tabulated in the margin to facilitate comparison. In the face of Klein's testimony that he sold American luggage at a profit, it is readily apparent that the two sets of figures are hopelessly irreconcilable. If anything, they infer plaintiff consistently sold American luggage below cost. Nor may resort be had to the gross sales reflected in the tax return for computation of profits derived from sales of American luggage. Assuming the accuracy of these figures, they fail to show what portion of the gross sales in each year were derived from American luggage products. The record is thus devoid of any reliable evidence of Klein's profits from the sale of American luggage in the years prior to the refusal to deal."

of such reconstruction on the part of the company, or on the part of the Government attempting to make a survey of its own,[3] becomes magnified where, as often happens, market statistical data for more than a single year are required. The sheer delay thus entailed would often frustrate enforcement of the antitrust laws where enforcement is most urgently needed.

I am informed that attempts by the antitrust agencies to secure equivalent data are often unsatisfactory because such equivalent data is often compiled on a different basis from the industrywide census universe figures. In such cases, defendants, as well as the Government, may face the arduous, if not impossible task of reconciling the defendant's equivalent figures with the census universe. In such a comparison, the parties and the court become inextricably enmeshed in a morass of disputed statistics.

In many instances, moreover, the data compiled by Census is simply not available from other sources, so that antitrust enforcement becomes, not tortuous, but impossible.

Obviously, a company under suspicion of an antitrust violation will not make an all-out effort to cooperate with the Government if it is guilty. The St. Regis case itself is one long history of frustrating attempts by the FTC to obtain information from St. Regis dating back to 1956, and the end is not yet in sight.

Two of these bills—H.R. 10344 and H.R. 10441—prohibit agencies other than the Department of Commerce from obtaining by compulsory process copies of census reports retained by "respondents."

One bill—H.R. 10205—immunizes not only copies of reports but copies of "any such information" from legal process and prohibits its use in a judicial or administrative proceeding. This would not only preclude use of a copy of such report, even though voluntarily given; it might also be construed to prevent antitrust and other agencies from having similar information reconstructed.

Two bills—H.R. 10569 and H.R. 12323—prevent the use of census reports and information as evidence or for any other purpose unless consented to. Worse, they seem to forbid even a reconstruction of necessary information. This would not only repeal the St. Regis case but would repeal pro tanto the discovery procedure of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

Of course, once it becomes well known that there is no way to compel disclosure of such reports and information, voluntary disclosure will be greatly lessened.

These bills are symptomatic of a dangerous climate of secrecy among Government agencies. Among the worst offenders, I am told, are the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Mines and the Bureau of the Budget. Census, I am reliably informed, in addition to refusing to give antitrust agencies individual statistics, has refused information even as to the names or the number of companies it has used to construct total industry figures. Even despite the consent of the reporting company, Census has refused to allow representatives of antitrust agencies to examine the company's reports in Washington.

My files contain many examples of this "don't inform" attitude on the part of Government agencies. I attach as an appendix to this statement a glaring example of the sort of run-around whereby the Census Bureau obstructs the enforcement of the antitrust laws and fastens Herculean labors on antitrust agencies and defendants alike.

In view of the recalcitrance of the Bureau of the Census to furnish information to other agencies, I think it only fair to point out that the Secretary of Commerce sought and obtained statutory authority to call upon other Government agencies to furnish information for Census work (13 U.S.C. 6).

To sum up, as a matter of commonsense I fail to see why information which has been obtained at considerable expense by one agency of the Government should not be made available to other agencies of the Government in the enforcement of our laws, except in cases of national security.

The right of the people to know what their Government knows is indispensable to that informed public opinion which alone can make our democracy work.

As chairman of the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary I have had my share of frustrating experiences, attempting unsuccessfully to obtain from uncooperative Government agencies information to which the people and their elected representatives in Congress were legitimately entitled.[3]

We pay a high price for ignorance. We can indulge a bureaucratic desire for secrecy only at the expense of a less enlightened electorate, less effective enforcement of our laws, and prodigal waste of the taxpayers' money. As a rule, I believe Macy's should tell Gimbel's, for Congress may justly complain where one agency lavishes the taxpayers' money for something readily available from another agency.

These bills promote an abuse of secrecy. Secrecy so abused in this instance is a threat to our free enterprise system—a system whose freedom depends upon the ability of our Government to enforce the antitrust laws.

Accordingly, I earnestly urge that these bills be rejected. Indeed, I suggest that this distinguished committee might well consider lifting the shroud of secrecy from original census returns centrally located in the files of the Census Bureau right here in Washington. Thereby we could at once effect a substantial saving of public funds and foster effective administration of the laws.

APPENDIX [4]

On January 19, 1962, the X company made formal request of the Bureau of the Census for duplicate certified photostatic copies of MC–20C reports filed with the Bureau in connection with the 1954 and 1958 Census of Manufacturers, and of the MC–20C Reports filed by companies which had been acquired by X since 1954.

By letter of January 31, 1962, the Bureau of the Census outlined certain procedures to be followed in determining whether the reports filed by subsequently acquired companies would be made available to the parent corporation. It further advised that the estimated cost for searching its records and preparing copies was $500. From the general tenor of this letter, there was no indication that the Bureau would refuse to comply with the company's request for copies. However, on February 2, the Bureau wrote a brief letter to X, stating that it was the policy of the Census Bureau not to make copies of original company returns available to survey respondents except when it was administratively determined that such action was necessary to the efficient conduct of the statistical program of the Bureau. It further stated that certain statements in the company's letter of January 19 were not necessarily consistent with such policy.

On February 19, the X company renewed its request, stating that it intended to use the form in its own interest and for its own purposes. The company also stated that without such schedules, the company would suffer irreparable harm since it was virtually impossible to reconstruct and reproduce the information from its own files.

On March 5, the Bureau replied that it had reexamined the situation but had concluded that the policy outlined in its letter of February 7 should stand. The letter continued by outlining the difficulties which would be involved in conducting a search of its records and concluded by expressing regret for the difficulties which confronted the company as the result of its decision.

In an effort to obtain information substantially similar to that contained in the reports, a Commission attorney and an accountant visited the offices of the X company in Chicago to assure themselves that copies of the reports were not available and to discuss other means of securing the desired information. Officials agreed to and did make available the X company's departmental annual reports for each processing plant for the years in question as a means of reconstructing the data contained on the missing forms. These departmental reports, however, do not reflect the detail that is asked for on the census forms so that it is impossible to reconstruct the data in the same detail as was originally filed by the numerous processing plant managers. Consequently, the acceptance of this material either by respondent or by the hearing examiner is questionable.

This refusal by the Bureau of the Census to provide X company with copies of its own reports has materially increased the burden of counsel in support of the complaint and may in the end jeopardize, by invalidation of the industry survey, the entire lawsuit. The additional cost burden to the Commission can only be measured as of certain dates but will increase materially as the case progresses. The increment to manpower

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[3] These difficulties include identifying the firms to be surveyed, obtaining Bureau of the Budget approval for proposed questionnaires, obtaining answers from reluctant respondents, and correlating and presenting the data in a manner admissible in court. To undertake such a survey in a preliminary investigation, with no process available to compel answers, would be virtually impossible.

[3] See, e.g., *U.S.* v. *Tobin*, 195 F. Supp. 588, rev'd, D.C. Cir., — F. 2d — (June 7, 1962). The Antitrust Subcommittee's report on "The Consent Decree Program of the Department of Justice" (1959) states (pp. XI, XIII):

"Early in the course of the committee's study it became apparent that wholehearted cooperation would not be forthcoming from the Department of Justice. * * *

"The uncooperative attitude displayed by the Department of Justice throughout this investigation hampered the committee in its work. * * *

"Faced with the intransigent attitude of the Department, the committee turned to, and obtained from, affected private parties the type of specific information that the committee needed. Defendants subject to the provisions of certain consent decrees were requested to supply documents which had been withheld by the Department of Justice. The committee recognizes that these requests were burdensome, but, in view of the Department's position, it had no alternative. It is clear that most of the necessary information was readily available in the files in the Department of Justice, one centralized location. The committee, however, was required to search out corporations all over the country and, at great trouble and expense to these companies, obtain documents in a piecemeal fashion. The committee regrets that the circumtances required it to impose these hardships in order to complete its investigation."

It is as wrong today for the Census Bureau to withhold business statistics from the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission as it was wrong, in 1959, for the Department of Justice to withhold relevant documents from the Antitrust Subcommittee.

[4] I have deleted the name of the company.

cost over and above the normal cost incurred has already amounted to several thousand dollars and applying the same criteria to cases of the present and future, the additional manpower costs could well cost the Commission very substantial sums of money in excess of the normal expenditures for such actions.

## Who Keeps the Nickels?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, this world of ours sometimes takes on a sort of Alice in Wonderland appearance and I find there are few better places to observe this fact than right here in this Congress.

Perhaps it is to be expected that with ideas from as many quarters as we have represented here there should develop from our synthesis of these some rather weird and misshapen public policies. But I venture that few policies have been hammered together in such odd, contradictory form as the space communication satellite bill which passed recently from this House.

Alice saw nothing like it in her dreamworld wonderland. Apparently the Senate has never seen anything like it. Little wonder that it is laboring with such difficulty trying to find some means to lay hold of this bill.

But it is well for our country and for the reputation of this Congress that the Senate is looking before it touches. Were the Senate to do otherwise and perhaps lend its approval to the bill, as did the House, the American people might well ask what kind of dreamworld we have here.

Because the Senate has held up a cautionary hand, we have time in which to consider the conflicts embedded in this bill. There are several.

The basic conflict is one of trying to pay obeisance to the symbols and forms of private enterprise despite the uniqueness of purpose the satellite system has in serving our whole national interest and policy. What I mean is that the bill itself fully recognizes that the system must serve our own national objectives and contribute to world peace and understanding but then it seeks to pour these worthy objectives into a vessel of commercialism. It wants to rig these objectives so profit can be gained from working toward these ends.

One does not have to look beyond the terms of the bill itself to see that its authors were not quite sure that the promotion of peace and profit are always compatible.

Consider for a moment how the bill details for many pages all the responsibilities a variety of Federal offices, from the President down, are required to assume to insure that the private corporation to be created performs its appointed tasks.

The President must aid in development and foster the execution of this commercial system. He must continuously review both the development and operation of the system; he must coordinate all activities of Government agencies in this field; he must exercise supervision of relationships of the corporation with other governments; he must insure arrangements for foreign participation; he must take all necessary steps to insure availability of the system; he must exercise authority to protect the electromagnetic spectrum.

Now, with the President given mandates to "aid," to "foster," to "review," to "coordinate," to "supervise," to "insure," to "take all necessary steps" and to "exercise authority" over the corporation, one is tempted to ask, "What is the corporation responsible for doing?" What verbs are left to describe its functions.

But, wait, despite the bill's charges to the President, it is still not satisfied that our national objectives and the cause of world peace and understanding can be turned over to the corporation. There are further guarantees to be erected.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration must get into the act and "advise," "coordinate," "furnish," "consult" on things ranging from research and launchings to a catchall "other services."

But the bill does not stop yet. There are more chores for the Government to do for this corporation. The Federal Communications Commission must "prescribe" the bookkeeping system, must "approve the technical operations," must "grant" a license for construction, must "insure" the technical compatibility of the system, and then must "insure" that this monopoly does not destroy effective competition or result in discrimination.

As though all of these were not enough, there is yet one other Federal department with a stake in this system: The Secretary of State can move in to require commercial communications to a particular foreign point.

After detailing all the functions of the President and others and adding three Presidentially appointed members of the board of directors, one would think the bill had done enough to get us an operational communication satellite system. And, actually it has. But it is at this point that the bill says "now let's do all this in the name of good ole private enterprise."

Private enterprise indeed. With all the governmental involvement required in this system, why do we delude ourselves by thinking there is any enterprise left for private persons. The bill erects a superstructure of governmental responsibilities and then calls in "private enterprise." For what purpose?

The only purpose I can see is to permit private persons to profit from something government must and should do. The function of the private corporation is to fill the role of the organ grinder's monkey which appeals to the crowd.

It is important, however, that the American people understand that in this case the monkey is going to keep the nickels he collects. And this is what I think some Members of the Senate are trying now to tell the people.

## American Missionary Defends U.N. in Congo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, an American missionary with first-hand personal experience in the Congo has just given Oklahomans an illuminating report on United Nations peace-keeping activities in that strife-torn land.

In a speech before the Stillwater, Okla., Lions Club, the Presbyterian Church's William E. Pruitt gave the United Nations major credit for blocking Russian efforts to take over the Katanga and Congo governments.

"If U.N. action had not stopped the troop movements, the Congo would now be Communist," Mr. Pruitt asserted.

The full text of the report on the Pruitt report, as carried by the Stillwater Daily News Press on April 18, 1962, follows:

MISSIONARY DEFENDS U.N.

"We need the United Nations and we need America."

William E. Pruitt, Presbyterian missionary to the Congo, told members of the Stillwater Lions Club that this is the cry coming from political leaders and Congolese tribal leaders in Africa.

Pruitt spoke at the club's regular meeting Tuesday night.

"The Communists want the Congo because of its wealth, but they are more interested in its potential as a lever with which to apply pressure," the missionary said.

Pruitt said that the United Nations had been responsible for blocking Russian efforts to take over the Katangan and Congo governments.

He told of an incident in which Communist troop carrier planes were flying Lumumba's troops into the Kasai capitol.

"A United Nations order blocked runways in the capitol city and in Léopoldville," Pruitt said.

"I firmly believe that if U.N. action had not stopped the troop movements, the Congo would now be Communist," he added.

According to Pruitt, the United Nations is doing an excellent job in the Congo, and has been instrumental in stopping Communist aggression.

"That's why Russia wants the U.N. out of the Congo," he said. "If the U.N. were gone, chaos would result—and chaos is exactly what the Russians need to operate."

Pruitt also told of surplus American food, flown in by the United Nations and distributed by Protestant missionaries.

"The food we helped distribute saved an entire Congolese tribe from starvation," Pruitt said. He said that the surplus food carried markings in capital letters, "Donated by the people of America."

"The people see this and appreciate it," he commented.

He also told of Congolese requests for a Protestant university. He said that the Protestant missions are now operating schools through junior college level and that the government wants a university as soon as possible.

"I know that there is a great deal of anti-U.N. feeling in America," he said. "But every time I get a chance I emphasize that the U.N. is doing a wonderful job in the Congo. It is the only thing keeping the plans of the Communist leaders from becoming reality."

He said that the Congo people realize what the U.N. and America are doing for them. He said that they are beginning to realize that their future lies with the West. "We must continue to help," he emphasized.

Pruitt, who has served 11 years in the Congo, is the brother of Mrs. Robert Firebaugh. Following his appearance at the Lions Club, the missionary spoke to members of the First Presbyterian Church.

He told of several occasions on which he had miraculously escaped death. He told the Presbyterians that when these things happened, he had an awareness of people praying for him at that minute.

"I tell you these things to let you know your prayers are not in vain," he said. "You must continue to pray for and support your missionaries. You should support the United Nations."

Pruitt will return to the Congo in October to resume his missionary work.

## Communism and Commonsense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 19, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a large question in American public life today is what we can and should do to bring about a fuller and more accurate understanding of the danger of imperial Russian communism to the existence of our free society. Various approaches have been advocated and used by a large number of organizations throughout the United States. There is disagreement on the methods most suitable to this end.

Cleveland, Ohio, is fortunate in having a group of farsighted and very knowledgeable individuals who have taken the initiative to organize the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc. This council is performing a genuine educational service in the Cleveland community, approaching this vital issue in an objective and scholarly fashion. The members of the board of control of this council are outstanding citizens of Cleveland who give freely of their time to make sure that the truth and nothing but the truth is used in their community education program. Members of that board are: Very Rev. Msgr. Lawrence P. Cahill, president; Dr. Michael S. Pap, vice president; A. George Hauer, vice president; James B. Naylor, secretary; Robert T. Hexter, treasurer; Dr. George Baird; Judge John V. Corrigan; Frank Farrell; Hudson Hyatt; Mrs. Mazzilee Jackson; Chester Koch; James B. Mooney; Wesley G. Schmidt; Anthony J. Suster; Beatrice Vincent; Rita Vincent; and Rev. B. Bruce Whittemore.

A series of resolutions were adopted by the board of control of the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., on February 7, 1962. Those resolutions serve as guideposts for the work of the council. I commend these resolutions to all organizations and groups throughout the United States who are interested in examining the facts on the threat of Russian communism and in doing something positive about it.

Under leave granted, I insert the resolutions in the RECORD:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF CONTROL OF THE CLEVELAND COUNCIL FOR INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM, INC., FEBRUARY 7, 1962

ALLIANCES

It is the judgment of the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., that the United States is in no position to protect its own national interests without an alliance with the other nations which desire to remain free. Thus, alliances must be based on mutual trust, common interest, trade and cultural ties, and—most of all—on a determination to remain free and advance the cause of liberty on a worldwide scale.

It is imperative that the primary objective of our foreign policy should be the preservation of the traditional concept of the indivisibility of freedom. The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., would welcome an alliance not only with the nations still living in freedom but also an alliance with the oppressed nations through their national and freedom-seeking representatives abroad who are dedicated to the reestablishment of individual liberties within a democratic society. Such an alliance would hasten the inevitable process of disintegration of the Russian Communist empire.

THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., welcomes and wholeheartedly supports U.S. Public Law 86-90 which was passed by the 86th Congress on July 17, 1959. This law initiated an ideological reorientation of American policy toward the Soviet Russian empire, recognizing unconditionally the right of nations under Communist domination to liberty and independence.

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., calls to the attention of the American public that the free world's best friends and allies are the oppressed nations of the Soviet colonial empire who know the difference between freedom and slavery. A positive stand taken by the United States on their behalf gives these nations a new hope of regaining their liberties and of joining the community of free nations. This public law reestablishes the confidence of all captive nations in the United States of America.

COLONIALISM

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., expresses a strong desire to seek an end to all forms of colonialism wherever they may exist today. It advocates the implementation of the principle of national self-determination not only for those Afro-Asian lands which, until recently, have been wards of the European nations, but also for those nations which continue to be dominated by Soviet Russia.

Toward this end, the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., urges the formation of a special congressional committee which will investigate in depth Russian colonial practices. The findings of such a committee would realistically identify the propagandized and overblown image of Russia as an anticolonialist power, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. A special congressional committee on Russian colonial practices would, moreover, instill greater hope in and provide Russia's colonies with just and prudent leverage in their cold war against the colonial master.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., endorses the final decision of the U.S. Supreme Court declaring the Communist Party, U.S.A., an agency of a foreign power. Ever since the meeting of the Second International in Moscow during 1920, the Communist Party in foreign countries was obliged to pledge allegiance to Moscow as a center of the Communist conspiracy. During and after World War II the Communist Party, U.S.A., repeatedly made known its intentions of destroying the accumulated values of the free societies. The documents presented at congressional hearings prove even to the skeptics and the well-meaning that in times of crises the Communists would use any means whatsoever to force us into submission.

For this reason the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., takes an attitude of no compromise with those elements in our society who knowingly and willingly support an enemy who seeks to destroy our freedom.

EXTREME RIGHTWING AND LEFTWING MOVEMENTS

While the extreme leftwing organizations in the United States are utilized by the Communists to propagate Soviet lines and thus to undermine the very foundation of our free society by offering comfort and services to the enemy, the extreme rightwing groups are diverting our Nation from the real problem of communism.

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., is aware of the fact that in the fight against communism and Russian imperialism there will never be too many persons dedicated to freedom. The Council must insist, however, on time-tested American methods to meet the Communist challenge. Our enemy is in Moscow and not in Washington; our economic system is a by-product of our liberty and not vice versa.

All Americans, bequeathed a heritage of freedom, have the responsibility to strengthen our free institutions by becoming better informed about the threat of communism in order to cope with it without panic, frustration, denunciation, and hopelessness.

THE FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., voices its approval and energetically supports the measure pending in the Congress to establish the Freedom Academy. The Honorable THOMAS J. DODD, Senator from Connecticut, arguing for the Academy, stated in the U.S. Senate on August 26, 1960:

"We have been losing the cold war partly because we have failed to understand its total character, partly because we have been amateurs fighting against professionals. The Soviets have been winning the cold war because they have from the beginning accepted it as a total war, to be waged with all their resources and on every plane and, second, because they have through their specialized training institutions developed scores of thousands of practitioners in the art of political warfare" (quoted from Vital Speeches, vol. XXVII, No. 4, Dec. 1, 1960, p. 115).

The Freedom Academy would develop systematic knowledge about all aspects of the Communist conspiracy, develop a science of counteraction against Communist subversion and train Americans and nationals of other countries in the art of total warfare.

NUCLEAR TESTING

It is the position of the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., that to permit this Nation to lose its nuclear weapon equality would be an immoral act. It would be a violation of the trust charged to the citizens of the United States by the men who have died to gain and preserve freedom. It would be a betrayal of all people who seek their freedom from Communist tyranny or hold that they have the right of self-determination.

If it is necessary for the United States to resume testing of nuclear devices in order to maintain national security and meet the Communist threat, then such testing must be done.

TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM IN OUR SCHOOLS

The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., strongly suggests that the best way to meet the Communist challenge is through education. Any effort on the part of school administrators and teachers to offer our youngsters a better knowledge and understanding of the Communist conspiracy will be endorsed by the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc.

It is for this reason that the Board is gratified to learn of the establishment of a special Institute for Soviet and East European Studies at John Carroll University, designed to retrain teachers in the field of communism and the Russian empire. The Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., also greets the efforts of Kent State University to offer a compresenhive program in this area.

Our school superintendents are urged to adjust our educational system to the requirements of the times and to include in the curriculum at the earliest practical school level studies on communism versus freedom. Our young citizens must be informed by our schools on this vital problem in order to fulfill their duties as responsible citizens in a free society.

UNITED NATIONS

While it is true that the United Nations has not been in a position to settle all disputes peacefully, to prevent the unjustified use of force and to promote the welfare and freedom of all peoples it has become, in a very real sense, the nerve center of the world. Over 100 governments make use of its facilities. The Soviet Government has used the forum of the United Nations for its own obstruction and propaganda purposes.

With the elimination of colonialism—Western style—the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism, Inc., firmly believes the United Nations capable of turning its attention to colonialism—Soviet Russian style. We support President Kennedy's declaration in the United Nations to this effect. The declaration of the American representative to the United Nations on Soviet colonial practices (on November 25, 1961) deserves our undivided attention and endorsement.

The United Nations may yet play a positive role or it will fail—not because of a lack of American support but because of a Soviet decision not to heed world opinion on their own colonial practices.

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## Summer Intern Seminar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy has recently established a summer internship program in Government agencies. This program has brought several thousand students to Washington for the summer and has given them a valuable practical experience in the workings of the Federal Government.

As part of the program, the White House has set up a seminar series so that the students may hear leaders of all the branches of Government. Last month the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, spoke at one of these seminars and gave a remarkable insight into the nature of Congress. Mr. MANSFIELD's address follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD BEFORE THE SUMMER SEMINAR OF COLLEGE STUDENTS, CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 10, 1962

A textbook will reveal how our system of government operates in theory. Only a direct contact such as you are now undergoing can provide the beginnings of an insight into its operation in practice. I say, the beginnings of an insight on the basis of personal experience. Twenty years in the legislative branch, roughly divided between House and Senate have given me, I believe, some understanding of that branch as well as the executive branch and the Court. Yet hardly a day passes even now without additional awareness—some new appreciation of the vitality of the Constitution or some new apprehension at the fearful complexity of the system which has developed under it.

I am delighted, therefore, that the President has seen fit to introduce a formal summer internship in government for students. It is typical, may I say, of his dedication to the cultivation of excellence in the public service. You may or may not choose to pursue a career in government in the future. Whether you do or not, I have no doubt that the experiences which you and future groups obtain by firsthand practice will act as a leaven throughout the Nation for improvement in the public service. For that reason, if for no other, I am delighted to try to contribute to your understanding of the legislative branch, particularly its Senate wing.

The Senate has been called many things—some flattering, some not so flattering. But whatever it has been called, in practice, it is a coequal half of the legislative branch of the Government. It is neither an upper body, nor a lower body. It is, with the House, a coequal body. I stress that point because popular interpretations of the Constitution tend to emphasize the differences between the two wings of the Capitol. Thus, the House is sometimes interpreted as being the more popularly responsive body and the Senate as the upper and the more deliberative and dispassionate body. History indicates, I believe, that the Senate is at least as responsive as the House. And I assure you that the Senate can be at least as passionate as the House. If the Senate is senior to the House in any significant way, it is in the average age of membership; we are undoubtedly a little more decrepit. If it is junior in any significant way, it is in total membership; there are five in Mr. McCORMACK's organization for each one in ours.

So I repeat, the two wings of the Congress are coequal, except in certain unique functions which are stipulated in the Constitution. The reason is clear. The basic function of the Congress is to consider and to pass the legislation which becomes the basic law of the land. Congress has exercised powers which are quasi-judicial and powers which are quasi-executive, just as the other branches have exercised quasi-legislative functions. But, basically, Congress exists to legislate and the Congress, as we know it, has no ultimate validity except in the light of that basic function.

Neither the House alone nor the Senate alone can perform that basic function. The Congress cannot fly on one wing. Only both the Senate and the House, acting together, can perform the basic constitutional function of the Congress.

We hear much of the importance of divided power in our system of government. But even though we hear much less of it, cooperation and restraint among the elements is of at least equal importance. This importance is starkly revealed when the interplay between the House and Senate breaks down even temporarily as it has done recently between the two Appropriations Committees.

The importance of cooperation and restraint is not confined to relations between the Senate and the House. It applies equally in the relationships between the executive branch and the Congress and, even to the relationship of each with the Court. And it applies, too, even within each body. I am sure that many of you have already had some inkling of its importance as among the agencies and offices of the executive branch. Within the Senate, in the inner operations of the Senate, it is of the greatest importance. You may be surprised to learn, for example, that by far the greater part of the Senate's day-to-day business is conducted by unanimous consent or at least without objection of any Member. This is the case despite the fact that the Senate is composed of some of the most highly individualistic men and women in the Nation—100 Senators of varied personal outlooks and predilection, representing many shades of political opinion and 50 States of varied interests and concerns. This body of great diversity moves as one far more often than not.

The rules of the Senate are such, moreover, that there exists the greatest latitude for individual assertion and maximum safeguards for the rights of each individual Member to make his assertion. With rules so designed, there is a possibility of abuse by any Member or group of Members. Yet, this abuse is so rare an occurrence that it is newsworthy. It is rare because Members of the Senate, however much they may disagree on specific issues, recognize that the operations of the body—indeed, the survival of the body as a vital element in our constitutional system—depends, in the last analysis, on a basic cooperation and restraint within the body. How else would the Senate have been able to handle 46,581 confirmations of Presidential appointments, 7 treaties and 570 legislative bills which, at the last count, was the total of completed work since this session of the 87th Congress convened in January?

In terms of the problems of leadership in the Senate, this same element of cooperation and restraint is fundamental. There is, as you know, a majority leader and a minority leader, as well as assistants to both who are known as the whips and the secretaries for each party organization in the Senate. But do not let the word "leadership" deceive you. The Senate is not an army with the leader giving orders and the rest of the troops carrying them out. It is not the executive branch whose basic source of power is the President and whose chief personnel serve at his pleasure. Each Senator draws his constitutional powers directly from the people of his State and is responsible only to those people and to his conscience.

Each Senator, in effect, is a party member; but he is also an independent leader in his own right and is coequal in rights with every other Senator including the majority leader. Each Senator has one vote and in the last analysis it is that vote which counts—not a title.

As I have already pointed out, the rules of the Senate are designed to provide maximum protection for the equal rights of all Senators. Yet if all Senators asserted those rights to the maximum at all times, the body as a whole could not function. Again, therefore, the factor of cooperation and restraint is fundamental to carrying out the responsibilities of leadership in the Senate.

In general, Members recognize this fact and defer to the leadership most of the time on procedural and routine matters.

In the present situation, with the executive branch and the legislative branch controlled by the same party, I view the principal function of leadership in the Senate as interpreting the President's program to my colleagues, interpreting to the President the attitudes of the Senate with respect to his program and obtaining action—a vote, a decision—on the legislative elements of his program.

There is no guarantee that any particular part of the President's program will be approved by the Senate. There is no magic wand in the hands of the leader. There is no party discipline to insure that the 64 Democratic Members will invariably vote the President's wishes. Indeed, many measures depend for passage on the vote of Republican Members. I am not dismayed by this lack of rigidity in the party structure. Obviously any President, any majority leader would prefer the support rather than the opposition of his own party members. But we must recognize the reality that we are a vast land of contrasting interests and concerns and party labels have different meanings in different regions. In this setting, legislative action, it seems to me, is best sought by the interplay of these concerns and interests by those who know and represent them most intimately regardless of party labels.

Nevertheless, there is a minimum party role in the Senate which must be sustained or the labels lose all meaning. The majority party role in present circumstances is to bring about at least that measure of cooperation and restraint on the part of individual Members which permits decision one way or the other on legislative elements of the President's program in the Senate and the day-to-day disposal of routine business. By the same token, the basic minority party role is to see to it, that this legislation, along with alternatives, is considered fully but without obstructing the taking of timely decisions. By and large, there has been that cooperation and restraint on the part of the individual Members in both parties in the present Senate. If you have been led to believe otherwise by press reports, I would note again that that which divides tends to receive the popular stress over that which unites. I have already alluded, for example, to the sheer numbers of Presidential appointments confirmed, the treaties and the bills on which the Senate has acted during the present session. Add to these huge numbers, the totals from the previous session which were 48,961 Presidential appointments, 10 treaties and 1,183 legislative bills. You will gain from these figures some sense of the sheer volume of activity of the Senate, a volume which could not begin to be sustained without the highest degree of cooperation and restraint on the part of the individual Members.

Or look at the record in the light, alone, of the highly significant proposals which the President has advanced since assuming office. During the present Congress—both sessions—perhaps in excess of 275 proposals of this kind have been sent to the Congress by the President. Any one of these represents a major undertaking which properly calls for the most careful and extensive consideration by the Congress. Yet, the Senate has actually passed about 60 of these proposals this session, and during the last session, enacted 124 of them into law. You hear much of the defeat in the Senate of a Presidential proposal to establish an Urban Affairs Department or the rejection of a farm bill in the House. But you hear little of the passage of a manpower retraining bill or of an aid to higher education bill or an extension of unemployment compensation bill or dozens of other highly significant measures.

Whether or not legislation passes in the Senate in response to the President's program is a question which goes, not to the operation of the Senate or the House as such. Rather it goes to the social, economic, and political forces continuously at work throughout the Nation and the manner in which these forces are reflected in the representation in the Senate at any given time. In these forces there is much that conflicts, much that divides. It is the essence of the legislative function to deal with these forces in terms of the enactment of laws for the common good. And in the exercise of this function, I do want to impress upon you the importance of elements of cooperation and restraint.

It is as important to the internal operations of the Senate and the Congress as it is to the inter-relations of the separate branches in the effective operation of the Federal Government. It is this element which makes possible agreement to act even where there is strong disagreement among strong men and women as to the proper course of action. It is this element which permits orderly and peaceful change in the structure of our society to meet the ever-changing of our people. It is this element which, though unexpressed in a constitutional cause, nevertheless, is a major source of the validity and vitality of our constitutional system.

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## A Mission of Peace: A Nigerian Student Evaluates the Peace Corps, by John Ojo

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, this summer I have had the good fortune to have as a summer intern in my office Mr. John Ojo, a student from Nigeria. Mr. Ojo, who is here under the African scholarship program of American universities, has been most helpful to me in a number of ways. Most importantly, he has given me a penetrating evaluation of the Peace Corps from the point of view of a citizen of one of the nations to which the corps is sending its teams.

I include his evaluation and should like to call particular attention to his statements of support for a reverse Peace Corps—a reciprocal exchange program—which would bring more young people to our shores. He points out that this was originally included as part of the recommendations of the Colorado University study in 1961:

A MISSION OF PEACE: A NIGERIAN STUDENT EVALUATES THE PEACE CORPS

A few years ago, Dr. Palyi in his "Dollar Dilemma" declared that "the U.S. financial sacrifices did not result in success either in making friends or influencing people." Today, Dr. Palyi and those who shared his view cannot but rejoice at the huge success of the new form of foreign aid program to the underdeveloped countries—the Peace Corps.

The Corps, in its 1 year of operation, has worked at the grassroots level with the average men of the countries who need their help, rather than with the governments of those countries. This has two major advantages. First, the humanitarian ideals of the American people to help the poor citizens of the globe are gradually being realized. Second, the majority of the citizens who live on farms and in villages and have known nothing about America's desire to liberate mankind from bondage have now begun to appreciate these ideals. In fact, those who, hitherto, did not know the distinction between the French, the British, the Germans, the Americans or the Russians have begun to realize the distinction and are no longer ready to blame America for every bad thing that happens.

The Peace Corps, in addition to helping other countries to a better life, also corrects the mass ignorance of these people about Americans. An intelligent but handicapped farmer in western Nigeria was taught the use of fertilizers on his farm by a Peace Corps boy who teaches in the town. After seeing the improvement of his crops, the farmer came to the boy and asked, "I thought they said the Americans will destroy us soon? Why do you help us to be more prosperous before you bomb us?" As a missionary of peace the Peace Corps boy explained that the world situation was a result of lack of knowledge about nations and their motivations and culture; one of the aims of the Peace Corps is to be a forum for cultural exchange that by an understanding and mutual respect for the ideals and institutions of other nations peace may be brought into the world.

There is an additional advantage. Because the Peace Corps works at the grassroots level, and because the Volunteers live under the same conditions as their foreign hosts, Americans, for the first time, are coming into direct contact with the masses and, of course, are doing this as humble men in no way the same as the white man of yore who alienated himself from the society and culture of the nonwhite and who "emasculated the will of the latter to live as a human being and enjoy his fair share of the bounties of the good earth." There is a reciprocal response from the people who now are beginning to like the Americans, teaching them and learning from them many valuable things. This is the basis of a constructive friendship. Congressman HENRY REUSS once quoted the farewell speech of the Akugbene Community of Nigeria to the 1960 Operation Crossroads participants, viz:

"We deeply appreciate your association with us in which our foreshore wall embankment has been completed. * * * During your stay you so identified yourself with us that we regard you as members of our Akugbene Community. You have, since your stay, endured to put up with the uncomfortable lodgings we provided you. You submitted yourselves to care for the health of our children. You took the trouble to conduct outdoor classes with our children. * * * How lonesome shall we feel your absence from our town, Akugbene, when we shall no more cast our eyes upon American dances and ways of life."

I dare quote this same message in appreciation of the works of the more elaborate Peace Corps, a gigantic crossroad. Nor is the realization of this worth of the American peculiar to the Akugbene community. Tom Scanlon, a Peace Corps volunteer in Chile, writing for the Peace Corps congressional

presentation fiscal year 1963, said that Chileans were usually flattered that U.S. citizens had come to work with them. This observation is true in Tanganyika, Ghana, St. Lucia, and other African and Asian countries where the Peace Corps operates currently. The people of these countries have come to appreciate:

(a) That the United States is helping them socially, technically, educationally, and economically.

(b) That the United States identifies herself with all nations having common goals for the purpose of achieving world peace.

(c) That the United States has something to offer to the rest of the world aside from their economic and technical assistance—the dignity of labor and the dignity of man.

It is not surprising therefore that all these countries have asked for more volunteers. For example, by August 31, 1962, West Indies wants the number of volunteers raised from 15 to 128; Philippines from 182 to 999; Ghana from 51 to 236; Malaya from 36 to 232, and Sierra Leone 37 to 172.

By August 31, 1962, the number overseas will be 4,879 instead of 698 initially sent out and it is expected that 230 more will join before the end of the year. This unceasing demand for more points out the fact that the Peace Corps is a huge success. It also removes the scepticism of many Americans who feared that the foreign governments will oppose the idea of a Peace Corps. People do not ask for more of what they oppose or hate. So much is the demand that the Peace Corps officials report that the total 5,100 volunteers as of now "does not meet the demand for Peace Corps volunteers on the part of other countries. Many of these countries have requested far more volunteers than the Peace Corps is able to provide at the present time."

But the demand is itself not the sole yardstick of success. A more important criterion is how far the chief aims of the Corps have been achieved viz:

1. Accelerate economic and social development of the less developed areas and transmit technical skills and organizational ability.

2. Demonstrate the dignity of labor.

3. Foster mutual understanding and increase United States understanding of world affairs and prepare for future oversea service.

4. Provide an opportunity for personal fulfillment.

The agricultural projects in India, Colombia and Dominician Republic; health projects in Bolivia and Honduras; the Community development schemes in Malaya and Chile; and the educational expansion and social services in many parts of Africa coupled with the participation of the indigenous people of those countries in the type of job they will otherwise not engage in, demonstrate the achievement of the first two objectives. The vast number of volunteers together with their numerous letters expressing their satisfaction at being instrumental in the improvement of the lot of the less fortunate people, proves that the third and fourth objectives are being achieved. A volunteer in Chile writes: "I have learned enough to fill books and deepened my understanding of things I thought I knew before." From Nigeria: There is joy in giving help where help is desperately needed.

President Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia has labeled the Peace Corps as "* * * the finest way in which the United States could prove to the humble people of this and other lands that the primary purpose of its international aid program is to build a better life in all of the free world's villages and neighborhoods."

Despite these successes, the Peace Corps cannot and should not be complacent. The Corps will be much more effective if its activities are not limited to a particular social group in any country; all classes or social groups in the countries requesting volunteers should participate in this person to person aid program. The effects of the Peace Corps should not be transient, but permanent. To this end the intellectuals of most emerging nations need to be oriented toward the Corps.

Beyond the grassroots level, technical aids are desperately needed for more advanced economic needs. If possible, a senior specialist Corps, such as that proposed by J. Peter Grace should be started to run simultaneously with the grassroots level Corps. This branch need not be as elaborate as the junior corps, but it is desired even at the expense of cutting down the number of volunteers for the junior corps. It is one of the best means not only of accelerating economic and technical progress of these countries but also of reeducating the leaders of such countries on the first essentials in the building of a nation.

Another factor which the Peace Corps should note is the mass ignorance on the part of the vast majority of the peoples of the underdeveloped areas of the good intentions of the American people. This ignorance has jeopardized the Afro-American relationship in the past and, no doubt, will do so in the future. The antagonism stems from the intellectual youth who are neither the "have's" nor the "have not's." They are usually the university students. Today they are regarded as forces to reckon with for they are capable, if their studies leave them enough time, of a revolution. A notable politician once described them as "bearded men who want to seize power." These are the people the Peace Corps cannot neglect, particularly in Africa.

To the United States, because she is ignorant of the beliefs and aspirations of these students, these students are "Communists." To the students, because of their ignorance of the good will and friendliness of the United States, the latter is "an imperialist in disguise." This state of affairs is rather unfortunate because the U.S. people and such students invariably have the same ideals. For example these students have always been the watchdog of parliamentary democracy in the sense it is known throughout the world, championing the cause of the common man and making sure that they do not fall a prey to oligarchy or anarchy and that the people have their fair share of the bounties of their fatherland.

In the past these students have revolted for their ideals, but foreigners branded them Communists whereas the authorities were in fact the oppressors hidden under the cloak of democracy. The disdain for the appellation, "Communists," coupled with the fact that they hardly understood the world situation made this new elite seem anti-American. Even now they hardly understand why Americans are so much worried about the Soviet Union; they cannot see the humanitarian blood which runs in the American veins. They interpret every thought, every word, every action of the Americans in terms of "insipid propaganda."

An African student who was nearly stranded in the U.S. was rescued from his misery by an American family. The student wrote to his supposedly well-informed parents asking them to write a letter of thanks to the generous family. Amazingly, his parents saw in this hospitality one more example of American propaganda. With this mass ignorance, with this shocking interpretation of genuine attempts to foster friendship in the world, the Peace Corps is faced with some problems which are aggravated by the financial support it receives from the American government.

The post card incident in Nigeria was an outward expression of the accumulated hatred for the U.S. Government. The hatred for the Americans was not new on the University campus where the card was picked up. Members of that university have led demonstrations, sometimes peaceful, sometimes violent, against the U.S. Embassy in Nigeria for incidents with which the United States might or might not have had any connection. The demonstration at the death of nationalist Patrice Lumumba of Congo (Leopoldville) is a case in point. So these students are the people in the public eyes and their views, soon or late, will determine the views of the masses. Moreover the future depends on these young men who are bound to hold the reins of government. These students are found every where in the underdeveloped countries and it is only with their cooperation that peace and friendship can be built. It is also through these men that the United States can learn the motives and aspirations of modern underdeveloped countries which she desperately needs if she will avoid international blunders such as she has made in the past in many parts of the world, including Africa. It is for this reason that the Colorado University's recommendation for a reciprocal exchange program ought to be taken seriously. It is a sine qua non to mutual understanding and friendship between the United States and the uninformed world.

Such an exchange will bring as many as 1,000 students to the United States and about the same number from the United States to the underdeveloped countries. The students may study for only 1 year. The writer, himself a desperate anti-American for no reason save limited understanding, discovered his folly after 10 months of study in the United States and he regrets his participation in anti-American demonstrations in his home country. More such students need to live among Americans or Americans among them.

The most probable causes of rejecting this idea will be (a) Cost of tuition, room and board, and transportation; (b) too few universities in the underdeveloped areas. Other causes are not as important as these. Whatever these causes are, they constitute no insoluble problems. At the moment, the Agency for International Development, in cooperation with almost 1,000 American universities, awards a 4-year scholarship to about 300 African students annually. The program, called African Scholarship Program of American Universities, is starting its third year of operation. By simple mathematics, it will cost the same amount to bring to United States 1,200 students for 1 year as will 300 for 4 years. In 1 year the youth will be able to imbibe those nonacademic virtues which the underdeveloped countries need more desperately than anything else. Technical personnel is secondary in their needs; an understanding of what they are and a radical modification of their present sense of values are primary prerequisites in the race to raise their own standard of living. The realization of the need for these prerequisites usually comes by living among the more advanced people. Therefore the more the people who participate in this exchange program the better for Afro-American relationship.

However, the program this time should include India, Pakistan, Colombia, Philippines, and St. Lucia. It should be emphasized that 300 undergraduate students constitute a microsmall percentage of the need

of the underdeveloped countries whereas 300 graduate students mean a great deal. Perhaps it will be more profitable to replace the present AID 4-year scholarships with graduate scholarships while the Peace Corps takes care of the undergraduate education through the 1-year exchange program.

If the exchange program becomes a reality, it may be wise to have on the campuses of the participating universities Peace Corps clubs, members of which will be special friends to the foreigners who will not only insulate them from bitter experiences but also orientate them on the path to lasting friendship.

The Peace Corps is a unique undertaking. All nations of the world should rally round in its support for world peace and solidarity, for the eradication of ignorance, famine, disease and untimely death. It is hoped that all other nations will emulate the good example of the United States to maintain a Peace Corps, a mission of peace.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Herbert Hoover: Great of Mind, Heart, and Character

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an editorial by Wilbur D. Matson, famous editor of the Morgan County Herald, McConnelsville, Ohio, entitled "Herbert Hoover: Great of Mind, Heart, and Character," in which he pays tribute to Herbert Hoover, who, on the 10th of August, will celebrate his 88th birthday.

The editorial follows:

[From the Morgan County Herald, McConnelsville, Ohio]

HERBERT HOOVER: GREAT OF MIND, HEART, AND CHARACTER

(By Wilbur D. Matson)

The 10th of August will mark the birthday anniversary of one of America's alltime great and most distinguished sons. On that date Herbert Hoover will reach his 88th milestone. The event will be especially marked by the dedication of his West Branch, Iowa, birthplace, as a library and museum. A program befitting the occasion will be observed.

The story of the life of this great American, is, or should be, an inspiration to every youth in the land. A poor boy, he battled his way upward and climbed the heights—struggling to earn his way through college—then as a mining engineer who directed important projects about the round globe. At 40, he had achieved affluence. Thereafter, he gave his great abilities to his fellow countrymen. As a humanitarian, through his compassion and high organizing abilities the lives of millions of helpless children and the innocent victims of World War I were saved. He never charged for, but even contributed to his public services; said he owed them to his country which had done so much for him.

No American statesman in our time has figured in so many mighty world events or played a role of higher distinction to himself and honor to his country. An intimate friend of Woodrow Wilson, he was entrusted with assignments of grave import in the conduct of World War I and at the Treaty of Versailles. His conspicuous abilities as an administrator of public affairs were again evidenced as Secretary of Commerce. As President, he was cruelly wronged by a political conspiracy which sought to fasten upon him responsibility for the great financial collapse of the thirties—a tragedy which had traveled about the world before it reached America's shores and for which he was no more accountable than are you or I.

Readers of this column are, no doubt, aware of the fact that we have long held an abiding love and admiration for Herbert Hoover. To the writer's mind, he is America's greatest and noblest figure of our time. Through chance we became acquainted with him while in attendance at Republican National Conventions where he was the keynoter and easily the principal figure. As is said of most truly great men, he is modest and unassuming, democratic and unaffected, likes people and is easy to meet. With a real sense for the true values of life, gleaned through many years of world experience and in meeting countless thousands of people about the globe, he is keenly cognizant of Bobbie Burns' great truth—

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
A Man's the gowd for a'that."

In the July 28 issue of the Saturday Evening Post is a splendid article on Mr. Hoover, written by Ben Hibbs, former editor of that publication. It is well worth the reading. Happy birthday, Herbert Hoover. In the galaxy of all American statesmen and patriots, past and present, your name will rank among the highest on the list. Freemen and lovers of liberty throughout the world and all who appreciate high ideals and the finest and best in humanity, owe you an undying debt of gratitude.

## Civil Defense in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in these war-threatened times, a sound civil defense program play a vital role in our national defense.

National in scope, a program as broad and costly as civil defense cannot be administered on an erratic, "slowdown, speedup" schedule.

If this is to happen, it will: retard progress; discourage the leadership and support necessary at the State and community levels; and create greater financial burdens—and perhaps losses.

Today, I received a letter from William K. Chipman, director of the Bureau of Civil Defense of Wisconsin.

Director Chipman outlines, for example, the way in which civil defense projects in Wisconsin would be adversely affected by recent cuts in appropriations, made by the House of Representatives.

As of now, hearings, I believe, are scheduled in the Senate committee for August 6.

Believing the views of Director Chipman deserve the attention not only of the Senate, but particularly of the committee, I ask unanimous consent to have this communication, together with a letter from Mr. Chipman to Hon. Steuart L. Pittman, Assistant Secretary of Defense, printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 1, 1962.

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: I am writing to ask your aid in a matter of critical importance to Watertown and to Brown County, relating to the Office of Civil Defense appropriations for fiscal year 1963. As set forth in the enclosed letter to Assistant Secretary of Defense Pittman, in fiscal year 1962 Watertown commenced a project to construct in the new city hall a civil defense emergency seat of government (an "emergency operating center" or EOC).

The Office of Civil Defense approved a project application providing for $10,000 of Federal fiscal year 1962 funds for the design of the EOC, to be matched by $10,000 of local funds. The actual construction, however, would involve a further sum of some $150,000 of OCD matching funds on a fiscal year 1963 project application.

As you undoubtedly know, the House deleted $8 million requested by OCD for fiscal year 1963 EOC projects. If at least some of these funds are not restored by Senate action, Watertown will have lost $15,000 to $20,000, plus approximately a month of time, by proceeding with the EOC project in reliance on fiscal year 1963 funds being available for actual construction. (Watertown would have to foot half the bill for the wasted detailed design of the EOC plus the added cost of completely redesigning the city hall structure without the EOC.)

Brown County is also in an extended position with regard to an EOC to be built under the new county jail in Green Bay. A project application is in the final approval stage at the Pentagon for $12,000 for EOC design, with the requested Federal share being $6,000. (This initial stage was to have been funded out of fiscal year 1962 funds, but OCD requested they be changed to fiscal year 1963.)

The best solution would of course be a Senate restoration of at least some of the EOC moneys for fiscal year 1963. It would appear that in fairness to the cities in Wisconsin and elsewhere which have EOC projects in process, and thus stand to lose by their cancellation, a sum sufficient to complete these pending projects should be made available by Senate and conference committee action.

I understand that the Senate Subcommittee on Independent Offices Appropriations will be hearing the OCD fiscal year 1963 request on Monday, August 6. I should therefore deeply appreciate your doing everything possible to secure favorable consideration of the OCD request for EOC funds for fiscal year 1963.

As little as $1 million might serve to complete the EOC projects pending in the country, though I, of course, do not have the exact figures on pending projects. A much smaller sum, probably on the order of $250,000, would suffice to complete the in-process Watertown and Brown County projects.

In view of the crucial importance of this EOC funding matter to Watertown and to Brown County, I know that Mayor Robert White, of Watertown, and Mr. Arthur Norgaard, of Green Bay, Brown County CD director (Brown County Courthouse), would appreciate hearing from you as to Senate appropriation action.

In more general terms, the Nation must look to the Senate for restoration of other House cuts in the OCD requests for 1963. Secretary McNamara has testified that DOD regards a balanced, effective civil defense program as essential in the 1960's. With increasing numbers of thermonuclear weapons in existence, there is always the possibility of the great powers slipping over the brink into war, perhaps largely unintended, as in 1914. It would be grossly imprudent not to have taken the modest steps which could save scores of millions in the unhappy event of a war so occurring.

With thanks for your help in these matters, I am,

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM K. CHIPMAN,
*Director.*

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JULY 31, 1962.

Re Emergency Operating Center, Watertown, Wis. Project WIS 400-6-62.

Hon. STEUART L. PITTMAN,
*Assistant Secretary of Defense, Civil Defense, Office of Civil Defense, Department of Defense, the Pentagon, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SECRETARY PITTMAN: This letter will be further to our telephone conversation today, relating to the emergency operating center (EOC) now in process at Watertown, Wis. The situation is that a "phase I" project application (WIS 400-6-62) was approved by OCD on June 27, 1962, in the total sum of $20,000, the Federal share being $10,000. This initial project covers architect-engineer fees for feasibility studies and for detailed architectural drawings. At this time the detailed drawings are within a few weeks of completion.

The problem posed at this time, as we know, is that the House has stricken the $8 million requested for EOC's in fiscal 1963. You told me that the Senate will hear the OCD appropriation bill on Monday, August 6, and that you are hopeful that all or part of the moneys requested for EOC's will be restored by Senate action, plus conference committee resolution of House-Senate differences.

Watertown's problem is that the EOC design will be half funded by fiscal year 1962 Federal matching funds of about $10,000. The actual construction, however, would have to be funded by a fiscal year 1963 project in the total sum of some $300,000, with the Federal share being about $150,000.

If fiscal year 1963 moneys were not made available by Senate restoration of at least some EOC moneys, Watertown would be in a very difficult position. It would be necessary to pay for, and to wait for, a complete redesign of the projected city hall, to eliminate the EOC features. This would involve the loss of perhaps $15,000 to $20,000 to Watertown plus the loss of perhaps a month of time. (Time, especially, is critical, since the city council have been pressing all summer for an early start on construction.)

Watertown, in short, would have proceeded with the fiscal year 1962 design stages in good faith reliance on fiscal year 1963 moneys being available for construction. In view of Watertown's position, I should like to ask that every effort be made to secure, at a minimum, fiscal year 1963 moneys to complete the in-process Watertown EOC, as well as any others which may be in a similar split between fiscal years 1962 and 1963 funding. (I imagine that only a few projected EOC's in the country fall into this category.)

We both hope and expect that at least these moneys may be secured, though the final answer will of course not be known until the Senate has acted and a conference committee has adjusted House and Senate differences. In the event, however, that no EOC moneys whatever are approved, are there any fiscal year 1962 OCD moneys which might be used to fund the balance of the Watertown EOC project, roughly $150,000?

I plan to meet with the mayor of Watertown, Mr. Robert White, on Monday, August 6, on his return to his office. The mayor, I understand, has scheduled a council meeting for that evening. I should therefore deeply appreciate your having one of your staff call me on Friday, August 3, with regard to the foregoing question as to whether the Watertown project might be salvaged even in the event no EOC moneys are approved for 1963.

I am sorry to be obliged to raise this matter at this extremely busy time, but as you will appreciate, the matter is of the most critical importance to Watertown, and of course to the whole civil defense program in Wisconsin. I might add that the cooperation of the region 4 staff has been magnificent throughout this whole EOC project; region engineers have made a number of trips to Wisconsin to give on-the-spot assistance.

We shall deeply appreciate whatever you can do to help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM K. CHIPMAN,
*Director.*

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## Hon. W. J. Bryan Dorn's Outstanding Record of Service to Veterans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Congressman WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN has served in Congress for 16 years and has served on the Veterans' Affairs Committee for 10 years.

He has been a great friend of the veterans' hospital and medical program and has fought incessantly for better treatment for service-connected disabled veterans. It was Congressman DORN's subcommittee that developed and reported the bill, now pending in the Senate, which would provide a cost-of-living increase in compensation for service-connected disabled veterans. Congressman DORN's subcommittee has reported a bill which would increase payments to dependent parents, who lost a son in the war. His subcommittee has also passed out bills aimed at aiding paralyzed and blind veterans. Through his many years of outstanding service, Congressman DORN has unfailingly supported the cause of the service-connected disabled.

The Greenville, S.C., News, has published an editorial entitled "Flagrant Grabs at Public Funds," in which they have given recognition to the efforts of Congressman DORN in behalf of a sensible veterans' program.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News]

FLAGRANT GRABS AT PUBLIC FUNDS

We join with Representative W. J. BRYAN DORN of South Carolina's Third Congressional District and many others in opposition to the bill which would provide pensions for all veterans of World War I below a certain income bracket.

Amid all the discussion of high spending which the Nation can't afford and the many bills which would unbalance the budget further, this one has almost escaped public attention. Yet it is about the most flagrant and inexcusable grab at the Public Treasury we've seen in many a year.

The surprising thing is that there is a strong possibility that it may actually get to the floor of the House for debate when it deserves no better fate than to be buried in committee as unworthy of general consideration. As of a few days ago, a discharge petition which would force Mr. DORN's House Veterans Subcommittee to bring it out, had been signed by 205 of the required 219 Members. Voicing opposition, Mr. DORN who is himself a veteran of World War II, says the cost would be about $1 billion the first year and ultimately would cost the taxpayers $11 billion.

The country is about broke, Mr. DORN said, and can't afford it. He didn't have to say that the bill was without justification and would discriminate against all other veterans even if it were economically and otherwise feasible.

The bill, H.R. 3746, was introduced by Representative WINFIELD K. DENTON, of Indiana. It would provide for every veteran of World War I who spent as much as 90 days in uniform a monthly pension of $102.37, provided only that his annual income is less than $2,400 a year if single or $3,600 a year if he has dependents.

It also provides that any income from social security or any public or private retirement plan would be excluded from the income requirement. The pension would be over and above any retirement income the veteran already is receiving.

It should be noted that it is restricted to World War I veterans, and holds regardless of whether they were in combat and disabled or spend 3 months shuffling papers or on KP. All veterans of World War II, the Korean war and those who are in combat in hotspots of the global cold war would be excluded.

The bill is being pushed by an outfit called Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., which is conducting what Chairman OLIN TEAGUE of the Veterans' Affairs Committee calls a "vitriolic and abusive campaign" in its behalf.

Mr. TEAGUE says there are 168 bills pending before his committee with proposals to expand non-service-connected pensions and benefits for veterans and that, of all of them, this one has the least merit.

The Denton bill is a conscienceless grab for the taxpayers' dollar which would add 631,000 to the national dole. Many of them already have incomes higher than some of those who would be taxed to give them a free ride.

The Nation owes no debt to any man merely because he wore the Nation's uniform for a few weeks.

It owes a vast debt to the dependents of those who have been killed in combat in all of its wars and of those who are being killed in jungle warfare in Vietnam and elsewhere. It is obligated to the widows and orphans of the men who have died in the line of duty in aircraft crashes and those who have been shot down by the Communists who accused them of violating their airspace.

It owes a great debt to the wounded and the totally or partially disabled veterans. It should offer some assistance to those who spend from one to several years in active service as they try to establish or reestablish themselves in civilian life.

But the whole concept of non-service-connected pensions and benefits is unsound and unfair to the rest of the population. Putting the thing in perspective, a large proportion if not a majority of the men, and many women, who are at the peak of their earning power now and who, therefore, pay most of the taxes, are themselves veterans.

So, the lobbies for the organized special interest veterans groups actually are setting out to pick the pockets of all veterans to line the pockets of the favored few.

That is patently wrong.

But even more disturbing is the underlying fact that these periodic flagrant grabs at the public pocketbook are symptomatic of the widespread idea that whatever an individual or a group can get out of the Federal Government is something for nothing and morally right.

## Consider the Accident and H.R. 133

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker; the horror of the heavy toll of highway accidents in the United States is intensified by the failure to do something about it.

Pending in this Congress is a bill which would help reduce this mountain of misery and suffering.

I call the attention of the House to an editorial which appeared in the June issue of Health News, a publication of the New York State Department of Health.

I offer the article for two reasons. First, the arguments are cogent. Second, the author is a man for whom I have deep respect.

The article, written by Dr. Herman E. Hillsboe, New York State commissioner of health follows:

CONSIDER THE ACCIDENT AND H.R. 133

A car careens down a rain-slickened highway at night, suddenly spins out of control and rams into a tree with a sickening grind of metal; a 3-year-old toddles along an upstairs hallway, stumbles and topples headlong down a flight of stairs; a retired stone mason walks across a living room, trips over a light cord and hurtles sprawling to the floor.

Accidents. What could have prevented them? Multiply such scenes by thousands every year and they add up to the fourth leading cause of death in our Nation. Recent figures of the National Health Survey list 90,000 a year killed and 46 million injured. At a time when we are trying to increase our national productivity, we are losing almost 110 million workdays a year because of accidents.

These figures show that we do not yet have all the answers to the problem and those we do have are not being widely applied. Motor vehicle accidents offer a case in point. Each year we lose about 21 of every 100,000 Americans in this type of accident. We began losing this many as early as 1927. Improvement? Some, but not enough. There has been significant progress in highway design and vehicle safety but very little understanding of the human factors. This last is conceded by all to be of major importance in most such accidents.

In other accident areas there is scant evidence that we are making substantial progress in understanding the sources of the problem. We know too little about childhood accidents, falls among the elderly, drownings and sports injuries.

The modest accident research now underway on medical and human factors is almost totally uncoordinated. Research facilities and competent scientific personnel in this field are scarce. A generous estimate would be that no more than 50 such scientifically trained and experienced research workers exist.

There is not even a scientific journal devoted to accident research. The handful of small groups now engaged in accident research is insufficiently funded, short of professional personnel and without long-range support. These conditions hint at the gross inadequacy of our existing national resources for understanding and dealing with the problem of accidents.

Congress has before it a bill, H.R. 133. It calls for the establishment of a National Accident Prevention Center. The bill would set up an agency in the U.S. Public Health Service that would coordinate research in accident prevention. This agency would promote wider effort by public and private agencies in this field.

The Center would also: Make the research facilities of the Public Health Service available for accident studies; authorize research grants to public and private agencies; become a clearinghouse for pertinent information; get advice from experts in the field; and set up an Accident Prevention Advisory Board in the Public Health Service.

If H.R. 133 becomes law, it will represent a long stride forward in controlling the death, disability, and human misery caused by accidents. We heartily support the objectives of this legislation.

## Commonwealth of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellently written editorial published in the Washington Post relative to the progress which has recently been made in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The editorial is entitled "Commonwealth of Hope," and I commend it to the attention of Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF HOPE

Remember when Puerto Rico was called the slum of the Caribbean, a stricken land and Uncle Sam's problem child? These descriptions seem remote and implausible as the island of Puerto Rico marks its 10th anniversary today as a Commonwealth freely associated with the United States. Thanks to the ingenuity of a gifted leader, Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, and the hard work and commonsense of the Puerto Rican people, the island serves as a living demonstration that an area without resources can lift itself by its bootstraps and become a billion-dollar market.

In 1961, within a decade after Congress passed th legislation permitting Commonwealth status Puerto Rico imported a total of $1 billion in goods. Of this, $833 million came from the United States, making Puerto Rico the fifth largest market for American exports—trailing only Canada, Japan, Great Britain, and West Germany. And Puerto Rico has a population of 2.3 million.

The Puerto Rican miracle is reflected in the current growth rate of 9 percent—one of the highest in the world. This growth rate has made it possible for the island to double its per capita income (now $621) and to increase industrial exports tenfold (from $33 to $391 million) in a decade. And all this has been accompanied by social reform measures that have given the islanders increasing self-respect.

Doubtless Puerto Rico has some special advantages (it is exempt from Federal taxes) but these must be measured against the island's distance from mainland markets and its lack of any real resources except manpower. As the United States touches the threshold of an Atlantic trading and political community, Puerto Rico's progress suggests the potential of liberal trade and the feasibility of close collaboration between markedly different ethnic communities.

Ten years ago, in adopting Commonwealth status, Puerto Rico declared its interdependence, exchanging certain political rights for mutual economic benefits. More may yet arise from the experiment than either Puerto Rico or the United States expected; felicitations are wholly in order.

## The John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Creed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Creed" which appeared in the Elkhart Truth of Elkhart, Ind., on Thursday, July 26, 1962.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE JOHN D. ROCKFELLER, JR., CREED

The Nation—indeed the world—owes a debt of gratitude to the late John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who devoted his life to giving away some of the money his father had received through oil.

As the National Observer points out this week, Rockefeller's philanthropy benefited several foundations and institutions, conservation projects and historic restorations.

Mr. Rockefeller on May 3, 1941, explained the creed by which he lived.

In our judgment, that creed is as pertinent today—and will be as pertinent in the future—as when Rockefeller enunciated it in a speech at Fisk University.

THIS IS WHAT HE SAID

"I believe in the supreme worth of the individual and in his right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"I believe that every right implies a responsibility; every opportunity, an obligation; every possession, a duty.

"I believe that the law was made for man and not man for the law; that government is the servant of the people and not their master.

"I believe in the dignity of labor, whether with head or hand; that the world owes no man a living but that it owes every man an opportunity to make a living.

"I believe that thrift is essential to well-ordered living and that economy is a prime requisite of a sound financial structure whether in government, business, or personal affairs.

"I believe that truth and justice are fundamental to an enduring social order.

"I believe in the sacredness of a promise, that a man's word should be as good as his bond; that character—not wealth or power or position—is of supreme worth.

"I believe that the rendering of useful service is the common duty of mankind and that only in the purifying fire of sacrifice is the dross of selfishness consumed and the greatness of the human soul set free.

"I believe in the all-wise and all-loving God, named by whatever name, and that the individual's highest fulfillment, greatest happiness, and widest usefulness are to be found in living in harmony with His will.

"I believe that love is the greatest thing in the world; that it alone can overcome hate; that right can and will triumph over might."

Where tyrannies have existed, where people have been persecuted, where there has been injustice, unhappiness, and needless suffering, it is because—in our opinion—governments and people have ignored at least some, if not all, of those principles.

People do not—and need not—all think alike. The spirit of freedom properly provides for differences of opinion. Yet a general consensus of opinion on some vital, basic principles is necessary if people are to live in peace with one another—and if individuals are to be at peace with their inner selves.

## Johnson Puts Space Effort on Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a very timely editorial which appeared in the Fort Worth Star Telegram on July 25.

The editorial calls attention to our recent successes in the space effort and to the part played by Vice President JOHNSON in that effort.

The editorial follows:

JOHNSON PUTS SPACE EFFORT ON TARGET

On April 25, 1961, President Kennedy signed his name to a congressional act handing to Vice President JOHNSON one of the biggest and most important jobs in the country—the chairmanship of the National Aeronautics and Space Council. At that point, the burden of responsibility for America's gigantic civilian space program was thrust upon the Texan's shoulders.

That responsibility originally had been assigned to the President himself, in the 1958 Space Age which created the Council. It charged him to develop a comprehensive program of aeronautical and space activities, allocate responsibility for major projects, provide for effective cooperation among the various projects, and resolve the differences among the departments and agencies. In short, the assignment was to end the chaos that had prevailed in the national space effort ever since the Russians launched their first sputnik and to develop an orderly, smooth-functioning and broad-based space program.

Vice President JOHNSON's experience in space matters as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, not to mention the political skill that enables him to get things done in Washington, apparently has served him and the country well. For the frustrating indecision that characterized our space effort in its early days has all but vanished. So have the starts and stops, the delays, and the interagency bickering.

In the conquest of space, however, the real proof of the pudding is the pie in the sky. And since Vice President JOHNSON took over, the United States has put plenty of it up there. The pace of development has been so rapid and the projects so numerous, in fact, that a mere listing of all of them, with descriptions of their nature and purpose, would alone require more space than these columns allow. However, some accomplishments stand out as milestones in space exploration.

Among the 15 successful civilian satellite launchings in 1961, for instance, were explorers X and XII, soaring radiation and magnetism laboratories; Explorer XI, an orbiting observatory that delighted astronomers, 2 transit navigation satellites, and Tiros III, the weather-watching satellite that proved the value of such moonlets as storm-warning devices.

Most spectacular of all the space undertakings, however, has been the Mercury project. After a dramatic buildup with capsule tests, animal flights, the suborbital hops of Astronauts Shepard and Grissom and the orbiting of Enos the chimpanzee, the United States fired a man around the earth and returned him safely after three orbits. This flight by Astronaut John Glenn was followed in only 3 months by that of Astronaut Scott Carpenter.

The quickened pace in the Mercury program reflects some schedule tightening done under the direction of Vice President JOHNSON, but the rest of the space program also is moving forward at a much faster clip. The 1962 timetable calls for the launching of 200 sounding rockets and 20 instrumented satellites to explore such space mysteries as magnetism, meterorite concentration and radiation, plus 2 deep space probes. Already in orbit are the fourth and fifth Tiros weather satellites and the spectacularly successful TV communications moonlet, Telstar, the latter a demonstration of Government and private cooperation in space.

The primary objective of virtually all U.S. civilian space activity, of course, is to put men on the moon ahead of the Russians. Thanks largely to Mr. JOHNSON's guiding hand, evidence of a concerted effort to achieve that objective is beginning to appear.

The big obstacle, technologically, was the lack of sufficient booster rocket power. Tremendous strides have been made in rocket research, however, and monsters producing more than a million pounds thrust are coming to the fore. Saturn, a 1.3-million-pound-thrust giant, will be followed by Nova, producing some 6 million pounds.

But planning, coordination of research and development, and decisionmaking play a terrifically important part in the moon race. The smoothness with which the moon program operates under Mr. JOHNSON is demonstrated in the rapid order decisions on the rocket booster to be used in the moon shot, Nova; the type spacecraft, Apollo, and the technique, a direct thrust to the moon and a descent of two men in a "ferry capsule" to the surface.

From Texas point of view, a most important decision made under Mr. JOHNSON's influence was the choice of Houston as the site for the $90 million manned spacecraft center. There the Apollo mooncraft will be designed and tested and the three-man crew will be trained. It will be the hub of manned space flight. Since its operations will involve many thousands of firms, it doubtless will serve as a magnet drawing new industries to Texas.

There have been failures due to technical difficulties, of course—the misfire of the recent Venus probe, to name one. But even in this case, the rapid preparation of a second try is evidence of the sound planning and calm persistence of the space program.

Vice President JOHNSON deserves nationwide commendation for his role in getting the U.S. space program off its launching pad. From Texans he merits praise as a fellow-Texan doing his job well.

## The Russian Mirage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Herald-Examiner, of Los Angeles, publishes daily an editorial column by Mr. George Todt, a dedicated American and a very able writer. I have been impressed with many of his columns, particularly one entitled "The Russian Mirage" dated July 18, 1962.

I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, July 18, 1962]

THE RUSSIAN MIRAGE

(By George Todt)

"COMMONSENSE IS INSTINCT AND ENOUGH OF IT IS GENIUS."—H. W. SHAW

Not long ago Secretary of State Dean Rusk emphasized that the main obstacle to disarmament and control of nuclear arms is Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's continued identification of inspection teams with espionage.

Actually, this makes sense when viewed from the perspective of Mr. K.—and perhaps he is wise to take this position.

For there is considerable doubt in the mind of this writer—and some down-to-earth military experts I know—that the Communist warlord has anything approaching the overall strength of which he boasts. Is he bluffing us?

There is a large amount of evidence that this is true.

And if such should be the case, then it explains in one easy lesson why Khrushchev cannot permit inspection teams to see what he has really got in military hardware.

TROOPS ARE GUARDS

Like the little man who wasn't there.

Sure, the Reds have lots of ground forces. But they are mainly useful to intimidate their own enslaved masses and those of the subjugated satellite nations of central Europe.

What good would they be in an aerospace-nuclear war that would likely be over in 2 or 3 days at most?

The real question here is how much nuclear hardware—and the means to deliver it—does Mr. K. have in reserve after test shots have been fired?

It is highly probable, in view of his phobia for denying inspection teams access to his nuclear stores, that he may not have much to show them. That could account for his reluctance. What else?

WHO CAN TRUST HIM?

Even Mr. K. must be realistic enough to know that he ought to expect none except those with holes in their heads to trust their national security to Communist promises.

A couple of years ago, a study was made by then Vice President Richard Nixon as to the correct amount of good faith reasonable persons might attribute to Red pledges over the long haul.

This study, which was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, indicated that the Kremlin had broken its word on major treaties made with the West since Lenin's takeover in 1917 exactly 50 out of 52 times.

What realistic, practical American would say, in view of such facts: "We are now about to entrust our country's fate to your false promises?"

Is there any sane person among us who would keep on taking worthless checks from a man whose notes bounced 50 of 52 times?

Let's quit kidding ourselves.

Red propaganda has apparently convinced some of our noted biologists, Hollywood entertainers, Fabian Socialist philosophers—and others unaware of the elementary military facts of life—that the Soviets are as powerful as we are now.

Some of these impractical people would like us to disarm unilaterally, since the Communists show little likelihood of doing so.

In reality, we may have three or four times the aerospace-nuclear strength of our enemies—and they would run backward furiously if we took a tough approach.

Why don't we get hard boiled for a change, then?

Some experts have told me the Fabian planners want an apparent "stalemate"—so that "world government appears to be our only solution." This is a dangerous game to play. Let's wake up.

## Students Sought for Communist World Youth Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, many of us in California have been disturbed for some time over the agitation on our college campuses by Communists, Communist sympathizers, or collectivists, who find ways to dupe well-meaning and dedicated American students into believing that Communists and their fellow travelers are "good people." One tactic utilized by Communists and Communist sympathizers to accomplish this has been international and regional youth festivals. Communist sympathizers on campuses have agitated to have philosophically uncommitted students attend these festivals so that they will have a "balanced" point of view or a "willingness to see the Communist point of view."

The majority of the students on our campuses are not taken in by these sugar-coated offers because they realize that one does not have to travel to these international festivals to learn that the Communist conspiracy in any form is not a desirable movement with which to work or coexist. One such alert student is Ross Hermann, of Stanford University. A former associate editor of the Stanford Daily, Ross became very disturbed at the quiet efforts by collectivist-minded groups to encourage Stanford students to attend the Communist World Youth Festival being held in Helsinki, Finland, during August 1962. Disappointed that some administrative officials did not recognize the cleverness of these programs, Ross decided to distribute a simple handbill to his fellow students, alerting them to the basic purpose of the Communist-sponsored World Youth Festival. It was not Ross' intention to try to prevent people from attending the festival, but merely to help them realize what its purposes are and why there are more worthwhile projects in which students can participate during the summer months. This is the kind of individual initiative on the part of our constitutionally minded students on the campus that I believe is to be commended.

At the time this handbill was distributed among the students, the administration of Stanford University had taken "no position" as to whether or not this would be a university-sponsored activity. Stanford University is to be congratulated for its decision to take no part in the sponsorship of this type of activity, and Ross is to be congratulated for his efforts to see that students and others on the campus were alert to the full meaning and purpose of the festival.

I believe Ross Hermann's handbill, the title of which is "Students Sought for Communist World Youth Festival," should be brought to the attention of my colleagues. Under unanimous consent, I place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

STUDENTS SOUGHT FOR COMMUNIST WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

(By Ross Hermann)

A quiet campaign has been carried on here at Stanford University for more than a week to recruit students to attend the Communist-sponsored World Youth Festival in Helsinki, Finland, this summer.

The official student newspaper, the Stanford Daily, traditionally an aggressive agent in the reporting of student affairs, has been silent on the matter, except for two small announcements buried on the back page. One told of the opportunity to sign up for interviews; the other announced the time and place of a meeting for interested students.

Neither article described the nature of the local project, gave details concerning the festival, nor mentioned that it is Communist sponsored.

There can be no doubt concerning Communist control of the event, as the festival is cosponsored by the International Union of Students, with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with headquarters in Budapest, Hungary.

Other signs of secrecy:

The application form, which students were to fill out and turn in, carried no mention of the International Youth Festival by name; the event was referred to only as "the festival."

Signup sheets posted in the ASSU office carried only the euphemism: "Special IIR Project."

Because the Daily has failed in its obligation to provide its readers with adequate information on a subject of considerable interest and because leaders of the project have sought to keep it out of the public eye, an interpretive article is presented here to answer some important questions which have been raised.

The leaders of the campus drive to send students to the festival are W. Scott Thompson, former president of Political Union and newly elected president of the Institute of International Relations; Joel Meister, outgoing president of IIR and an organizer of campus peace demonstrations, and Peter Grothe, an aid to Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY and author of the Peace Corps legislation, who recently resigned as a recruiting officer for the Peace Corps.

To interview applicants for the project, they constituted a 20-member screening board, representing most of the political spectrum. The majority of its members, however, would probably place themselves somewhere to the left of Adlai Stevenson. Notable among these are Sandra Levinson, former chairman of the Socialist Caucus, and Dale Johnson, local organizer for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a recognized Communist front. (Documentation: Hearings of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, April 1961, "Communist Appeal to Youth.")

The project Thompson and Meister have initiated entails sending a group of between 25 and 100 Stanford students to the Helsinki festival as official delegates to explain U.S. foreign policy and hopefully to persuade anyone who might be as yet uncommitted in the East-West struggle. Beyond that broad purpose, no specific plan of action has been formulated.

The Americans would participate in many of the festival activities and try to counteract the barrage of Communist propaganda aimed at the "neutrals."

When questioned concerning the hush-hush nature of the campus operation, Grothe replied that publicity would alert the Communists and put the whole project in jeopardy.

Like so many American liberals, he seems to underestimate the effectiveness of the Communist intelligence apparatus in this country.

What is more absurd is his implicit contention that the Communists will have something to fear from a group consisting largely of leftwingers, except for the one or two conservatives who will be placed on the delegation for the sake of "fairness."

Actually, the lack of publicity has harmed rather than helped the project, as it has caused considerable suspicion in many quarters.

In the last week, action on the project has been so swift that it has even confused its leaders. Interviews were conducted last weekend and completed Sunday night, the administration was asked to approve the project and up to the time of this printing was still considering the matter, and the delegates have been chosen but their names not released.

As the drive, known as the Helsinki project, is an official IIR function, its leaders have appealed to Dean of Students H. Donald Winbigler, who has investigated the plan to determine if it is something the university can and should support.

If the project is approved, an excellent possibility exists that it will receive financial support from the university.

Funds will probably be donated by a "friend of the university" to be administered to the project, said Grothe.

All gifts, however, must be approved by the board of trustees. This fact may cause the project to be referred to the board for consideration at its next meeting on May 17.

Holding up the project that long causes considerable problems for the leaders of the drive, as applications from the persons chosen must be submitted to the U.S. Festival Committee by May 14, said Nancy Sherwood, a spokesman for IIR.

The sending of American students to a Communist-sponsored festival raises important questions which, having been overlooked by the student leaders involved, should be considered by the administration.

These questions concern the vital interests of the United States and the Western World and how these interests can be best served.

The purpose of the Helsinki project—to send students to the festival to argue for this country—is well intended and deserves serious consideration. Perhaps it can be best evaluated by compiling a score card of

pros and cons oriented to the interests of the West.

Pro: A few uncommitted persons from "neutral" nations might be swayed to Western ways of thinking. The assumption here is that delegates chosen to represent this country will be articulate and also loyal to the political, economic, and cultural traditions of the West. (There is no assurance that this will be the case.)

The persons attending would receive an education in the nature of communism and its methods and then be able to impart this knowledge to their colleagues back home. The previous assumptions also apply here; otherwise students returning from the festival would be a positive detriment to this country.

Con: The chicanery that always accompanies such occasions would largely prevent American students from being effective. In a telephone interview Wednesday night with this reporter, Herbert Romerstein, a former Communist who attended the 1959 Vienna youth festival told of the trouble encountered by the non-Communist American delegates. These persons comprised the majority of the delegation, and Communist strength was restricted to a small but determined faction. When the non-Communists elected one of their own number to head the American delegation, the festival committee removed their credentials and installed a Communist delegation chairman. The Americans protested, but were told that democracy could be carried too far.

The presence of an American delegation would enhance the prestige of the festival, thereby promoting its overall effectiveness in gaining the allegiance of young people all over the world.

By giving added prestige to the occasion, American participation would tend to undermine and alienate the non-Communist and anti-Communist student movements in Finland, a country which is trying desperately to maintain its political independence and free itself from economic servitude to the Soviet Union.

The National Union of Students and the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations (which includes all shades of political opinion except Communist) have told the committee arranging the event that the festival is not welcome on Finnish soil. The only Finnish student organization that favors holding the festival in their country is the young Communists.

The position taken by the majority of the Finnish youth organizations is understandable in view of their nation's struggle with the Soviet Union, beginning with the invasion by the Red army in 1939 and continuing today in the form of economic oppression.

Where their elders have acquiesced in letting the festival come to Finland, these students have had the courage to say, "No."

In a few years, these Finnish student leaders will guide the political life of their nation; acts of support now from the Western World may give them the courage to break their unnatural ties with the Soviet Union and once again aline themselves with the West.

Is it too much to expect that they should receive a sympathetic ear from students in the United States? Perhaps it is, for the West seems to recognize neither its enemy nor its mission.

In comparing the pros and cons, I think we must conclude that the friendship of the vast majority of Finnish students is far more important than the possible conversion of a handful of uncommitted students (something that the Communists can easily prevent through their command of superior manpower and resources) or the benefits in terms of education and enjoyment accruing to a small number of Americans attending the festival.

Persons interested in doing something for their country, and not just in enjoying a free trip, should withdraw from the project and voice their support for the stand taken by the Finnish students.

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## Wisconsin's 32d Division Comes Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, during the year ago Berlin crises, the Nation mustered thousands of its National Guard and other Reserves for a show of strength and firmness in the face of aggressive communism.

Now, a great many of these units are coming home, including Wisconsin's famed 32d and other defenders of freedom.

For their contribution to the cause of freedom—at great personal sacrifice—these freedom fighters deserve the gratitude of America and all the free world.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal published an article by Richard C. Kienitz on the demobilization of Wisconsin's Red Arrow Division as an elite fighting force. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, July 22, 1962]

RED ARROW DIVISION WILL HEAD HOME AS AN ELITE FORCE

(By Richard C. Kienitz)

"These are the men I would want to serve with in combat."

This is a supreme military compliment. It was made of the men of Wisconsin's 32d Infantry Division by their commander, Maj. Gen. Herbert A. Smith, of Oshkosh, for a job well done in 9 months of active duty at Fort Lewis, Wash.

Three times in 45 years, National Guardsmen wearing the red arrow shoulder patch of the division have been called upon to serve the Nation in crisis. They helped defeat the German Kaiser's military machine in one world war and to clear the South Pacific of Japanese invaders in another. There was no fighting this time, but they helped President Kennedy call an ominous Communist bluff in Germany.

Next month, the division will be coming home with their general's compliment and the satisfaction of a job well done.

ONE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED WERE COLLEGE STUDENTS

The 32d is 13,748 men. But what else are they? Their commander is assistant postmaster at Oshkosh. Col. Donald Radde published a newspaper at Sparta. Maj. Richard E. Peterson is a State assemblyman from Waupaca.

They are citizen-soldiers—1,300 college students, 450 teachers, 2,000 professional or businessmen, 1,200 farmers, 4,800 skilled workers.

Most of them—9,767—were National Guardsmen. The others came from the Army's Reserve manpower pools. Wisconsin is home to 10,450.

The division is a "family" of 20,000—including the wives and children that 3,686 of its 7,458 married members took to Washington with them. And in the family are 514 sets of brothers.

There were no end of hardships. Some farms and businesses had to be left in the hands of relatives or caretakers. Others had to be disposed of. New homes had to be found for many dependents—parents, wives, and children.

Out of 33 members of a Reedsburg Reserve unit, 17 were farmers and 1 had a milk route.

There will be additional problems of readjustment. These citizens turned soldiers left behind nearly 10,000 job vacancies which had to be temporarily filled. Some employers will absorb the returnees without discharging fill-ins. Others will not be able to. Trade and factory apprentices may have to make way for some.

The call to active duty last October, while not unbelievable, was a shock. Only two Guard divisions were summoned—the 32d and Texas 45th, chosen largely on the basis of readiness.

The men reported to their various armories with the confidence of trained men. But the tangled ways of logistics are never quite smooth. Their equipment was, in many cases, not adequate. There were gripes—an old Army custom—largely from the "fillers" from the Reserve pool.

Politicians reared their disturbing voices. Hard-pressed complaints by Representative O'KONSKI smudged the Red Arrow name and brought the division the label of "crybaby."

CRYBABY SLUR FADES

To be sure, quarters were not good at first—in a long-unused section of the Regular Army fort. But they improved when the Regular Army division there moved out and made room for them in better buildings. Better weapons arrived, and better clothes and better spirit.

Setting their jaws in determination, officers and men wiped out the crybaby slur with hard training. The division did the job it was called to do.

It takes weeks to put a fighting unit in proper order—to run through physical examinations, set records in order, fit clothing. The 32d did this while it trained.

Meanwhile, the Department of the Army learned some lessons in mobilization. Regulations even now are being rewritten because of them and Army Secretary McNamara has decided to put into play some new ideas about the National Guard.

At the outset, the division was what its function implied—a National Guard. Then it plunged into the first phase of a new role—intensified combat training for readiness to carry out a combat mission.

Individuals became teams, teams became units, units became a self-sustaining Army force.

Infantry squads began to dart through the escape and evasion courses of wet Fort Lewis forests. Artillerymen manned their guns endlessly. They trained at night, in the wet and through the winter. They sat in bleachers and watched the military manual explained to them on everything from first aid to hand grenades.

For some it was retraining. There were 941 veterans of World War II and the Korean war, 3,614 graduates of service schools.

The men learned to use modern weapons. Artillerymen fired huge Honest John rockets.

Teams became companies. Every company was thrown against an aggressor to determine operation readiness. Companies became battle groups and battalions and they were tested.

In March, a brigade task force went into California's uninviting Mojave Desert for the 7-day Exercise Bristle Cone. For the first time, part of the group was airlifted.

April brought counterinsurgency training against guerrilla operations in Exercise Mesa Drive. Mesa Drive at the Yakima firing center involved 26,000 troops on both sides, the largest Army exercise since World War II. It was the division's first battle situation since the fighting in the Philippines in 1945.

FIRST OF EXERCISES

Exercise Sherwod Forest in June was more of the same in Washington's rain-forested Olympic Peninsula. The foe was a band of 200 guerrillas. It was the first training exercise of its type for an Army division and special forces.

The Red Arrow went to Fort Lewis with two tasks assigned to it: To become combat ready as fast as possible, and to determine what kinks could be ironed out of mobilization.

It became combat ready in less than 3 months. General Smith called this extremely significant. He said: "Never before had an activated unit reached such a high state of readiness in such a short time."

In recognition of this, the 32d was named a component of the Strategic Army Corps on February 15. It was placed on the list of troop units available to the strike command, ready for joint Army-Air Force deployment to any trouble spot in the world. This is the Nation's elite force.

Last Wednesday, the division passed full strength in a farewell review before Army Secretary Cyrus R. Vance at the Gray Army Airfield at Fort Lewis. He hailed the Red Arrow Division's contribution to the defense effort and presented General Smith with the Legion of Merit medal. Thirty-one other division soldiers were honored with citations.

Next week, advance units will head home to prepare for the arrival of the National Guardsmen at their 72 communities.

This will only add to the all-embracing compliment of General Smith:

"These are the men I would want to serve with in combat."

## Not Stalemate, Not Containment, but Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, on July 27 I had the privilege of speaking at the State convention of the American Legion, meeting in Austin, Tex.

To this group I attempted to present a statement of our purpose, our progress and our problems in the cold war.

Because of a number of requests I have received for copies of this statement, I am including a copy here for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NOT STALEMATE, NOT CONTAINMENT, BUT VICTORY

(Remarks of Hon. JIM WRIGHT, State Convention, American Legion July 27, 1962)

There could be no greater honor than to speak today to this organization born of war but dedicated to peace.

My father was present in the American Expeditionary Force in France when the American Legion was born.

In the years between the wars, when it was stylish in some quarters to debunk our effort in that conflict and popular for women to say, "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier", more than once did I hear my mother reply:

"Neither did I, but I surely didn't raise my boy to be a slacker."

Today I would honor their memory, as jointly we honor the memories of those by whose sacrifice we have come to this hour.

World War I was fought by brave men with Springfield rifles and fixed bayonets in the slimy trenches of France.

World War II was fought with M–1's, flame throwers and 500-pound bombs all over the globe—in steamy jungles, blazing deserts, forbidding seas—and in the eerie blue nothingness on the fringe of the stratosphere.

Today we are engaged in what has been called a cold war. It is being fought as no other war ever was. Its offensive weapons are words, ideas and dollars. Their objective is to capture not merely territory but the hearts and minds of men.

In this conflict, our costly arsenal of military hardware plays only the defensive role of a holding tactic. Losses and gains are measured in terms of ideological offensives, economic growth rates, and political stability.

This war has been in progress for 15 years. It may last for another decade or another generation. But have no doubt that it is every bit as final and every bit as historically significant as any war that was ever waged. Upon its outcome will hang the fate of our children, and of generations yet unborn the world over. And the prize at stake is no less than the freedom of man.

Since nothing we do as a government or as a people can be considered apart from its effect upon this one overpowering central issue of our time, today I want to bring to you as one Member of the Congress of the United States a frank and candid appraisal of our purpose, of our progress, and of our problems.

I. OUR PURPOSE

At the very outset, I think we need to define our national purpose in this titanic worldwide ideological competition. Let us not mince words about our aim but declare it in the clearest possible terms.

Let the word go out that we have but one goal. It is not stalemate. It is not containment. It is not passive coexistence. Our national goal is nothing less than the ultimate and final triumph of freedom.

Just as Mr. Khrushchev was wholly candid with us in stating his aim and expectation that our grandchildren would live under communism, let us be equally candid with him in stating our hope and intent that his grandchildren and those of his people may someday know the blessings of freedom * * * to walk in the world without hatred or fear, to speak their own minds without terror, to shudder not at the knock on the door, nor cringe at the sight of police.

The Russian Premier has thrown down the challenge for a duel to the death between our political systems, by every means short of the weapons of war which he knows could destroy the human race. He believes in the inevitability of his philosophy. And so we accept the challenge, true to our past and with faith in our future.

We know that we could not long survive as an isolated island of freedom with only 5 percent of the world's population if we were surrounded by hostile forces bent upon our burial. We have seen that a potential aggressor can never be satisfied with half, or even 95 percent, a loaf. We know that the cells of cancer if merely left alone will spread.

And so we launch our own offensive. We seek to hold none in subjection, but we ask the aid of all who love their own liberty and wish to be masters of their own houses. For we cannot do it alone.

And these are our clear purposes: First, to strengthen freedom by weapon and will where it exists in the world and make it more secure from attack and subversion; next, to win the wavering and uncommitted more firmly to its side; and finally to pierce the Iron Curtain with infectious truth, that the menace of communism with its cruel repressions may disappear from the earth and oppress man no more.

This cannot be done in a day, nor in a year, nor in a decade, but it will be done because it must. Just as this Nation in Lincoln's time could not exist half slave and half free, this shrunken world of rapid change and awesome weaponry, in which we stand today less than 40 minutes by missile from Vladivostok, cannot indefinitely exist half slave and half free.

There may be those who would say that such a statement is too provocative. Lest we be accused of saber rattling, let us make it abundantly clear that what we brandish is not a saber but a torch. Ours is not the closed fist of threat, but the open hand of promise.

We shall never force freedom upon any unwilling person or nation by power of arms, for freedom forced is not freedom. To any who honestly doubt, if any there be, let us reiterate plainly that we shall never strike the first blow of sneak aggression. Were we to do so, we would cease to be America; and it would profit us naught if we should gain the whole world and lose our own soul.

But let any potential aggressor know that in our U.S.-based Strategic Air Command and in the 200 forward bases of NATO, the free world has the never-sleeping capacity to destroy him and his warmaking potential utterly and within minutes if he should be so foolish as to attack us—and knowing this, let him stay his hand.

We are spending 62 cents out of every Federal tax dollar this Nation collects to make sure that our arms are sufficient beyond doubt, for only then, as President Kennedy so well said, "can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed."

Thus far, it has cost $1.2 billion to develop the Nike-Zeus which last week intercepted and destroyed an ICBM in midocean. Its mission is not to destroy but to save human life. It is worth the price, and worth many times more if, because we have it, we never have to use it.

We know that military might alone will never win the cold war. We do these things because we would rather spend dollars than lives. We carry the sword in order that we may carry the word.

And this is the ultimte weapon with which we shall win the final victory—the word, the word of truth, backed by the deeds of truth—on the promise of Him who said "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

This is our purpose. And this is our policy. And this is our program.

II. OUR PROGRESS

Now, what of our progress toward this goal?

In the political and economic offensive which launched this cold war, we started out behind. We did not realize, in fact, what ruthless competition had been thrust upon us until the struggle was already well along.

During the first 2 years after Germany surrendered in World War II, Russia took over 9 countries with a total of 100 million people by economic and military pressures and through rigged elections supervised by the Red army. These are the captive nations, imprisoned today behind a barrier which seeks to shut out contact with the rest of the world.

We discovered too late that the agrarian reformers in China were not simple peasants, wanting a better life for their people,

but hardened Communists, intent on overpowering all of Asia.

We awakened to the European threat only when Greece and Turkey were on the verge of falling before military onslaught and Italy tottered beneath political bombardment. We made some mistakes, let's not deny it. But let's not magnify our every error and minimize our own successes. For that would be selling America short. And we have in truth made some measurable progress.

Since those days, a striking change has taken place. Since NATO was organized 14 years ago, not a single inch of European soil has fallen to the Soviet. Look back and mark the changes of these 14 years, and we shall see that freedom in Europe has more than held its own, a direct result of our policies applied in the nick of time.

As the war ended, Europe lay in ruins, stalked by the specter of ravaging hunger, ruinous inflation and political turmoil * * * weary with war, devoid of hope, torn by mutual suspicion, lacking the economic foundation on which to rebuild * * * an overripe plum almost ready to fall.

In France and Italy, the strongest single political parties in the first postwar years were the Communists. In the 1948 elections, Italy almost slipped into the trap whose steel jaws were sprung open to receive them.

Then came the Marshall plan, the Greek and Turkish aid plan, NATO, the Benelux Pact, the Coal and Steel Community, and now the Common Market.

Look at Western Europe today—a modern miracle of economic rebirth. United as never before, prosperous beyond its fondest expectation, its Communist Parties steadily dwindling in numbers and influence. Western Europe has emerged as the third great center of power in the world * * * committed today as never before to the cause of freedom.

Not many of us realize it, but the last trickle of our economic aid money to the democracies of Western Europe ended 4 years ago. Today France, West Germany and England are not receiving foreign aid, but giving it—giving it to the underdeveloped countries of the world. A little-known fact is that West Germany today devotes just as big a percentage of its gross national product to economic aid as we do.

A few weeks ago, Italy repaid $180 million of Marshall plan loans. Early this month, De Gaulle and Adenauer, whose two countries twice in this century have been locked in mortal combat, conferred together in Paris about the future of freedom. Last month, in the Italian elections, the Communist Party took the worst political defeat it has suffered in that country since the war.

Or look elsewhere in the world. This month in Japan, the elections strengthened the hand of the pro-American Prime Minister who opposes communism.

In Bolivia, where we had been apprehensive of the outcome, the election results were better than we had dared to hope.

The Organization of American States, meeting this year in Punta del Este, voted unanimous condemnation of Castro. Just a few days ago, the Presidents of Costa Rica and Venezuela, two countries about which we had serious doubts only a few years back, jointly agreed to impose additional sanctions against Cuba.

None of these things could have brought much joy to the moon-faced man who sits in the Kremlin, especially coming as they have on top of the humiliation he suffered in the eyes of the world when we forced him to back down on his blustery ultimatum to throw us out of Berlin.

We all remember his threat. The Soviet Union was going to conclude a peace treaty with the puppet state of East Germany, and the Western Powers would be forced out of Berlin by January 1.

We all remember, too, the way the United States responded to the challenge. We sent a battle group to reinforce our garrison in Berlin. Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON flew to the beleaguered city, and as Germans stood in the street with tears streaming down their cheeks, he promised them that America would defend their city, the forward bastion of freedom, with our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor.

At home we increased our Army by 125,000 men, our Navy by 29,000 and our Air Force by 63,000. We doubled and tripled our draft calls. We called up some of our Reserve and National Guard units—including Texas own 49th Armored Division * * * and Khrushchev backed down from his rash ultimatum. How humiliating this must have been for the brash masters of the Kremlin in the eyes of all the world.

How humiliating it must have been, too, that they had to build the Berlin wall in the first place to keep their enslaved people from fleeing to the island of freedom that is West Berlin.

For these captive peoples had sampled the Communist utopia and were voting against it * * * voting the only way they were permitted to vote—with their feet. With their feet they strode in ever-increasing numbers across the border to freedom until finally the stream of refugees grew so large the Communists were forced to erect a hideous gray wall to halt the flow.

Ugly as it is, this wall speaks eloquently of our progress in the cold war. For passengers do not abandon a seaworthy ship, nor citizens a just and prosperous homeland.

Almost everywhere we look, we see a similar exodus of refugees wherever the Reds rule. Nearly 2,000 Cubans flee Castro's rule each week. In Hungary, Red China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Tibet, wherever the border is not securely sealed, the verdict is being made and the flow continues.

This is a crack in their armor, and the wavering nations are beginning to ask: "If communism were worth while, why do so many people want out?"

### III. OUR PROBLEMS

So this is where we stand today. We have made some progress. There are signs of unrest behind the wall which separates the slave world from the free. Food shortages and growing dissatisfaction beset the satellites.

But it would be a grave mistake to conclude that the tide had turned in such a decisive way as to permit our relaxation. For the outcome is far from resolved.

The Russian leaders are still firmly convinced that they ride the wave of the future. Theirs is the self-assurance of men who have no doubt that communism is destined to supplant capitalism just as capitalism replaced feudalism.

They have made enormous strides technologically. In only 40 years they have come from an adult literacy rate of less than 30 percent to better than 90 percent today.

They have shown extremely impressive growth in heavy industry. While they cannot even begin to match us in consumer goods, and do not try, their people have never known a comfortable life, and the leadership is free to concentrate more and more of the national effort upon those things on which it places a premium. This is how a nation which rode oxcarts one generation ago could be the first in space 5 years ago and can today send rockets to the moon.

They spend almost twice the percentage of their national income on their military as we spend on ours. They spend at least 10 times as much on worldwide propaganda to spread hate slogans against our country and to portray us falsely as imperialists as we spend to tell the truth.

Russia, in fact spends more on jamming equipment just to prevent the Voice of America broadcasts from being heard in Eastern Europe than we invest in the entire worldwide effort. And this betrays their weakness.

They are deathly afraid of the free interchange of ideas.

Yet the amounts of money they devote to this global effort portray both their weakness and their strength. There has been a lot of loose talk about Russia spending us into bankruptcy. Yet economically we are far better able to sustain the prolonged effort than they.

With only one-fourth our per capita product and less than one-fourth our per capita income, the average Russian family pays proportionately about four times as heavy a tax as the typical American family, and has only a fraction of the buying power left after taxes with which to generate an economy. If any nations are being spent into bankruptcy, they would be Russia and Red China.

The difference is that their people do not know it. You never hear of the Russian populace crying for a tax cut * * * or a Russian steel mill demanding increased prices * * * or of workers in the Russian missile plants threatening to strike for higher wages.

Another advantage they possess is that of initiative and surprise. Look back over the past 10 years and repeat the geographic names that shattered our repose and punctuate the pages of recent history. Formosa, Suez, Lebanon, Tibet, Quemoy, Berlin. And now Vietnam, Laos, the Indian border.

It is a deliberate war of nerves in which their objective is painfully clear. They hope that our nerve will crack, our resolve will weaken, that we will lose faith in our own policy and purposes, fall to quarreling among ourselves, and withdraw from the continuing contest.

There was a time when international diplomacy could be played slowly and deliberately like a game of chess. Today it has the tempo of table tennis.

We have speeded up our reaction time in the military by unification. We need to do the same in our diplomacy.

We need to get our diplomacy out of the drawing rooms and into the streets and country roads—for that is where the people are.

We need to contrive our economic aid in such a way that it gets to the people themselves, and not just to governments. In most of Latin America, the average people are still mired in the futility of a 20th-century feudalism. The vast, preponderant majority have no land, no money, no source of credit, no hope. This is what gave rise to Castro. Change of one sort or another is inevitable, and soon. They believe in the Alliance for Progress. It has captured their imaginations. But if we don't make it reach the grassroots, we will be in trouble in our own backyard.

To see the problem in its total prospective, just take a look at who will populate tomorrow's world. There are 940 million people on earth between the ages of 5 and 20—the coming generation. Take a cross section of 100, and here is where they live: 56 in Asia, 15 in Western Europe, 9 in Africa, 8 in Latin America, 6 in the Soviet Union, and only 4 in the United States.

The great preponderance of them live in lands which are today awakening from a long slumber, stirring and stretching and reaching out for self-expression. Most of these people have never seen a doctor, never had enough to eat, never been able to read or write. But they know that there is a better way, and they are determined to get it—by the Russian route or by ours. This, in a nutshell, is our problem.

Having said something about our purpose, our progress, and our problem, I should like to say a very few words about our prospects.

I am convinced that we shall win this cold war. For there is in all men everywhere an innate desire for freedom which, if given the chance, will come to the fore.

We shall not win it by growing weary of the fray. We shall not win it by listening to the shrill voices of division, becoming suspicious of our neighbors, and dissipating our energies fighting one another.

We shall win it by being true to our own best traditions.

President Kennedy said: "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty".

May we leave no doubt in our words or our deeds that we stand together, that the United States of America and its Congress, its total resources and its 180 million people stand behind him in that pledge.

## New Steam Electric Plant Marks End of Hydro Dominance in Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following article, appearing in the July 19, 1962, edition of News Digest issued for the information of the members of the staff of the Federal Power Commission, discloses that the Northwest, no longer fat with undeveloped cheap waterpower sites, will begin turning to coal mined in central Washington with the cost of the power being competitive with the generation of most water-produced power. The article follows:

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, July 13, 1962]

NEW STEAM ELECTRIC PLANT MARKS END OF HYDRO DOMINANCE IN NORTHWEST

(By Harold Hughes)

CLE ELUM, WASH.—The construction here during the next 3 years of the largest steam electric generation plant on the west coast marks the beginning of the end of hydroelectric dominance in the Pacific Northwest. The region, no longer fat with undeveloped cheap waterpower sites, will begin turning to fuels to solve its power problems, power engineers have pointed out. A beginning is being made at Cle Elum in central Washington. Bituminous coal mined here will be burned to produce power which will firm up enough production to equal the installation of a major Columbia River hydroelectric project. And the cost of this power will be competitive with most water-produced generation now going on the line. Washington and Montana, both far richer in coal deposits than Oregon, are expected to provide the bulk of future coal-fired steam generation plants as the end of the hydroelectric road is reached.

The Cle Elum steam generation plant is a joint project of the Grant County Public Utility District at Ephrata and the Kittitas County Public Utility District at Ellensburg. Kittitas will handle the coal mining end of the operation and Grant Public Utility District will dispatch the power. Construction of a 500,0000-kilowatt generation plant by the end of 1965 is now in the design stage. This plant, generating steam from pulverized coal burning like a gas flame, will be capable of firming up 700,000 kilowatts of power, nearly equal to the entire firm power output of the new Priest Dam built by the Grant County Public Utility District. Generation from the Cle Elum plant will be used specifically to firm up secondary power from Priest Rapids and Wanapum Dams, the latter still under construction. This is power that is for surplus and for the most part unsalable throughout the Pacific Northwest.

In order to build the steamplant, a bond issue of $90 million will be undertaken. The Priest Rapids bond issue was for $166 million or nearly 1.8 times as much. Exact cost of the steamplant will not be known until Sergent & Lundy engineers (who have built more than 70 steamplants in the Nation) complete their design. Bids on major components are expected to be asked in about 90 days. The Grant County Public Utility District said actual construction would begin by the middle of next year and that completion is scheduled by the fall of 1965. The revenue bonds, being handled by Chapman & Cutler, Chicago, will be retired from sale of power over a 30-year period. Coal source for the plant is the Northern Pacific Railroad fields at Lake Cle Elum which are being leased from the railroad by the public utility districts. The railroad, which mined the coal until the diesel locomotive replaced its coal-fired steam engines, will receive a royalty of about 25 cents a ton. Cost of the coal at the mine is about $4 a ton, which is about half present coal-using projects in Washington, such as the Hanford atomic plant, spend for coal.

The coal reserves in the Cle Elum field are estimated at 281.8 million tons, of which 91 million tons have actually been measured or blocked out and the balance is inferred from geological studies. H. Zinder & Associates, Seattle, engineering consulting firm for the public utility districts, report the coal rates high grade, up to 13,000 British thermal units per pound, and is of the nonslaking variety, which means it can be stockpiled above ground. In fact, stockpiling will be a key part of the operation, since mining will be continuous at an economical rate although power demands from the generation plant may be interrupted during good water periods on the hydroelectric system. The public utility districts estimate the coal mining operation will keep 400 to 500 miners employed year around, compared to some 115 now working in the mines.

Some 1,000 workers will be employed during the peak of steamplant construction, the public utility district estimates. In addition to the payrolls for the region, adjoining counties will receive substantial tax windfalls, amounting to some $1 million annually spread out among Grant, Yakima and Kittitas Counties by 1967 when Wanapum Dam is completed. This revenue comes from a 5-percent gross State electric revenue tax, levied against power producers under a formula in which the State keeps 4 percent of the total and returns 96 percent to the county where the generating plant is located and the rest is divided among bordering counties, but by law, 35 percent of each county's take must go to the school districts. Power costs at the busbar will be surprisingly low, ranging from less than 2 mills when the plant is integrated in a power system, to less than 4 mills when operated independently, Zinder & Associates report.

Explanation of these figures is important, a spokesman for Zinder reports. Secondary power, which the steamplant will firm up, has no value at all if it is being dumped or cannot be sold. Thus where a steamplant can firm this up as part of an integrated system, the cost of producing power is quite low. Also, capital costs of steamplants generally go up if fuel costs are high as engineers buy more hardware to increase efficiency in an effort to offset the high fuel costs. The Cle Elum plant will be, however, a high-performance steamplant, using only 9,000 British thermal units per kilowatt-hour, nearly equal to any plant in the Nation and far below the 15,000 British thermal units needed for such proposed steam generation plants as the Hanford atomic project. The plant will also operate at high pressures and temperatures, ranging up to 1,000 degrees at steam throttle and 240 pounds pressure per square inch at throttle.

During periods of "good water," the steamplant will be shut down, but coal will continue to be mined, available for periods of high intensity operations when secondary power must be firmed up by steam generation. Only during the great "brownout" of power in 1952 has there been much steam generation in the Pacific Northwest, a region that has depended in modern times upon the "white coal" from its great rivers. But this era is ending as the last damsites are developed. Fuels other than coal, such as oil, gas, and nuclear elements, are in the wings, waiting their day to satisfy the need for low cost electrical energy.

## Foreign Procurement Ban May Adversely Affect Our Exports, Article Reveals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the space scientists and physicists impress on us the law of motion that to every action there is an equal and opposite reaction.

In the conduct of foreign trade and in worldwide procurement for the Defense Establishment we can be assured of a reaction—but frequently the reaction is not "equal and opposite."

This comment is not intended to be sweepingly critical of either our foreign trade management or those procurements by Defense which are intended to be in consonance with the Buy American Act. It does, however, underscore the fact that whereas in the field of science there can be brought about precise balances this condition is extremely difficult to achieve in dealing with problems in international economics.

A case in point has been developed commendably by Newsman Allen M. Smythe, a specialist writer in the field of defense economics who has been an enlightened and successful journalist in this complicated area of activity for many years. I refer especially to Mr. Smythe's article in the business section of the July 18, 1962, issue of the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star under the headline "McNamara's Foreign Buying Curb Cramps Efforts To Export Area Coal," and, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 18, 1962]

McNAMARA'S FOREIGN BUYING CURB CRAMPS EFFORT TO EXPORT AREA COAL

(By Allen M. Smythe)

Defense Secretary McNamara's reported decision to restrict naval steel buying from Japan and Germany stunned the West Virginia congressional delegation who, with State officials, were in the midst of delicate negotiations with German and Japanese steel firms to increase their purchases of American coal.

The group thought Mr. McNamara should consult with the Commerce and State Departments before he took any drastic action.

"Let's not get emotional about the Navy occasionally buying a few hundred tons of steel from Japan and Germany when the sale of many millions of tons of coal is at stake," said Senator RANDOLPH, Democrat, of West Virginia. "After all, the Navy was carefully and properly obeying the Buy American Act. And, percentagewise, there have been substantial savings to the taxpayer."

Japanese steel mills have been buying their coking coal from neutralist India. Governor Barron and other West Virginia officials, climaxing a 3-year effort, visited Japan in April in an effort to increase West Virginia coal sales there. A trial order of 50,000 tons has been shipped from West Virginia to Hampton Roads and loaded on the SS *Nini* for Japan.

Virginia's Congressmen are strongly supporting their West Virginia brothers. Representative DOWNING, of Newport News, stated that "if Japan shifts her coal buying to America, it will also mean a great deal to the State's railroads and the Hampton Roads area."

State officials of Virginia and West Virginia, together with leaders from the miners, railwaymen, and dockworkers unions attended a ceremony Monday to mark the loading of a record tonnage of coal which might prove to be the initial order for many millions of tons.

The Commerce Department reports that Germany will buy this year over 5 million U.S. tons of coal, mostly coking coal from West Virginia, for their steel mills out of an import quota of 6 million tons. This will cost $70 million. In 1958, the Germans bought over $300 million worth of American coal.

Senator RANDOLPH noted that a recent statement in Congress complained that 300 steelworkers would lose a month's work because the Navy gave 4 orders totaling 3,600 tons of steel to Germany. "It takes 40,000 miners 1 month to produce the 5 million tons of coal Germany will buy from us this year. We are trying desperately to get back to the 1958 level," said Senator RANDOLPH. "If Japan decides to buy the best coal in the world and Germany increases her purchases, then we can celebrate."

Mr. McNamara's action took a number of high Pentagon procurement officials by surprise. One pointed out that Germany pays "hundreds of millions of dollars" for American-built weapons for her new army. Among these are the F-104 fighter aircraft, and the Bullpup and Sidewinder missiles. There are many other weapons bought that are in the classified category.

A Navy official said that the 3,600 tons of steel bought for three new frigates to be built on the west coast cost less than $500,000. This was 20 percent less than the lowest U.S. bid and included duty and transportation to the west coast. Some 5,100 tons of West Virginia coal were used to smelt the steel.

## Prayer in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the Supreme Court decision with regard to the banning of prayer in our public schools is receiving more and more attention, and is arousing greater and greater concern among the thoughtful people of the Nation. It has been the subject of many fine editorials throughout the Nation, an outstanding one being the editorial which appeared in the Staunton, Va., Leader on July 31, 1962. This constructive editorial also refers to the work of the Senator from Virginia, Mr. ROBERTSON, who is very active and most effective in focusing the attention of the Nation to this problem, and in suggesting remedies.

As an additional related thought on this same subject, recently brought to my attention have been excerpts from the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1915–18, and an article therein entitled, "Religion in Early Ohio," by Margaret J. Mitchell, from which I quote the following:

We usually say the church and school go hand in hand but in the case of Ohio one would rather say the church was the power behind the earlier educational enterprises. From the very inception of the plan to colonize Ohio, Manasseh Cutler (a Congregationalist minister and chief officer of the Ohio Co.) had planned to found a great institution of learning in which morality and religion should be a part of the curriculum since, as he puts it in his sermon, "that was the only way to make citizens conform to law."

At every meeting of the Ohio Co. they considered the expedience of some religious person as a public teacher. When the settlers came they brought the schoolmaster, often he was the minister, with them and the school building of the week day served as the place of worship upon the Sabbath.

The curriculums of the elementary schools of southern Ohio included the New Testament, Bunyan, and the American Preceptor, a Congregational magazine.

I cite this article because it shows so clearly that in the development of the entire country, our schools and religious training have gone hand in hand, one with the other. They have not been antagonistic to each other, but have, in fact, been supplemental, and each has helped the other and played an important role in the history of our Nation.

Mr. President, I think this valuable editorial should have the widest circulation and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Leader, Staunton, Va., July 31, 1962, be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Staunton (Va.) Leader, July 31, 1962]

ROBERTSON ASKS ACTION

Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, Democrat, of Virginia, who has made strong appeals to Congress to reverse the Supreme Court ruling against prayer in schools, had the full text of the Pike address inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 27. He advises that the bishop has agreed to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee concerning his proposed amendment.

Senator ROBERTSON says the Pike amendment would "make it crystal clear" that the constitutional provision against "an establishment of religion" means "the separation of church and state and nothing more." He doubts Congress will act at this session. The session should be nearing adjournment but has a heavy load of unfinished business.

"Among those who think something should be done, there is no agreement," Senator ROBERTSON advises the Leader. "There are others who think the decision is right. That apparently includes the President of the United States. There are a large number of congressional Members who reflect a large segment of this constituency who don't give a kitty about the matter one way or the other."

It remains for the God-fearing people of this Nation, which was founded as a Christian republic and has acknowledged its dependence upon and trust in God throughout its history, to exert the power which is theirs. Those who think the Court was right in outlawing the school prayer because its text was written by an official body, and those who are indifferent to the ruling and think it strictly limited in effect, should join in the fight for a clarifying amendment to the Constitution. They should do so if only because the Supreme Court has again arrogated the lawmaking functions of Congress and the supposedly sovereign people.

Every candidate for Congress in the November elections should be put on record as to his support or nonsupport of the Pike amendment or one to the same effect. Those in favor of an amendment which in this case at least would smack down the Supreme Court for lawmaking should if necessary ignore party lines on this issue. Keeping God in the American Government and moving to stop juridical arrogation of the legislative function are far more important than a party label.

## The National Lottery of Norway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Members of this House about the national lottery of Norway. In addition to the lottery, Norway also benefits from semiofficial football pools, which I would like to mention.

In 1961, the gross receipts of the national lottery came to over $16 million. The Government is obliged to pay out about two-thirds of the gross receipts in prizes, so that the Government's net profit in 1961 was over $5 million.

Norway's football pools are controlled by the Government. They are operated by a semipublic company. The football pools are not an end in themselves but a means for benefiting science and sport.

Interestingly enough, the football pools are supervised by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs. In Norway, it is recognized that the best way to control gambling is to admit its existence and seek to channel it. Are we too firmly in the clutches of hypocrites to escape the same realization?

Mr. Speaker, if we could only wipe out hypocrisy we could raise over $10 billion a year in new income to our Treasury which could help bring tax relief to our wage earners and start reducing our ever-growing national debt.

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## What You Can Do for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following address by Mrs. George N. Crocker, a very prominent individual in San Mateo County, is not only good partisanship but embodies the best of Americanism.

It is a real pleasure to insert this speech in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The speech follows:

WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR AMERICA

(An address by Mrs. George N. Crocker befor the San Mateo County Federation of Republican Women, May 22, 1962)

My subject, "What You Can Do for America," instantly calls to mind the oft-quoted words of our President, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," a statement which he followed by going to Congress with 93 proposals of things their Government could "do" for them.

It is this very trend, the ever-increasing power of Government, which I feel should concern us most today. This subtle increase in our citizens does, in equally subtle and indirect ways, reduce our freedom. I am convinced that this gradual transformation in our system of government cannot be reversed, it can only be halted, and it is incumbent upon us Republicans to do it.

Now why can't it be reversed? Because in a democracy, a people who have become accustomed to the favors of a paternalistic government are not likely to vote for the candidate who proposes to withdraw them. Others put it more simply by saying, "You can't unscramble the egg." And because such demagogic governments have a tendency to perpetuate themselves in power, to become entrenched, it becomes increasingly difficult to defeat them. Remember, after 20 years of Democratic rule it took the most popular candidate since George Washington to put a Republican in the White House. We weren't so successful with Congress. So it is encumbent upon the Republicans to halt this process before it's put into effect, and yet we sit, disorganized, unsure, divided. The Democratic Party with the liberal-labor coalition behind it, is the recognized advocate of increasing State control, all in the name of human welfare, and so far the Republican Party has failed effectively to oppose it. This lack of effective opposition not only demoralizes our party, but by giving freer reign to the Democratic administration, makes it possible for them to create this monster which we will never be able to slay even if we gain the power, and with which we will be unable to cope because it is contrary to our basic concepts. We must, therefore, halt it now.

So, what can we, you and I, do about it? First and foremost we must learn what it means. We must study the various aspects of different forms of government; the many ways in which society has been ruled. We must acquire a really sophisticated knowledge of both economies and the nature of man. It simply will not do to point to a bit of social legislation and call it Communist inspired, or resort to cliches about our traditions. We must "get the facts" and evaluate them. For example, what is constitutional republicanism? What is socialism? What is communism, both in theory and in practice. What are their methods, what are they trying to achieve; how have they succeeded and how have they failed? Now you may wonder what communism and socialism have to do with our immediate problems in Washington. Well, for one thing, they are systems which have become increasingly prevalent in this world. Secondly, they have been, in one form or another, our avowed enemies for 45 years and have made frightening gains. Third, Khrushchev said to us 5 years ago "your grandchildren will live under socialism," and, not that I put much faith in his predictions, I am at least willing to heed the danger. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, conceded to a group of newspaper reporters that communism would not be possible here until we had first accepted socialism.

Khrushchev said much the same thing when he declared "we cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their leaders in giving Americans small doses of socialism, until they suddenly awake to find they have communism."

Now, although we don't call social welfare legislation socialism in the country—the electorate wouldn't tolerate it—there is something of the same end in view. And that is a perfectly natural, humanistic aim of a more equitable distribution of goods among the citizens. It aims not just for equality of opportunity, but greater equality in the economic results of that opportunity. Now, there is no conceivable society in which man can be both economically equal and free. Economic freedom obviously reveals the natural inequality of our abilities or our energies. We are not all equally able. It takes rigid Government control to counteract this natural inequality; Government must be given the authority to tell us what we can and cannot do. This is big business, and just as in industry where management must have the power to tell the employees what and how to produce, so must Government have such power in a controlled economy. Thus, in the name of social welfare, we destroy the foundations of our freedom.

Now, traditionally, we felt that freedom fostered the maximum productivity in the individual, he was free to produce whatever he could sell, and because of it we achieved the highest standard of living in the world. Contrast this result with the failure of socialism for the last 150 years. Back to our Pilgram fathers who had a communal system where they produce was distributed from a warehouse "according to need." After 3 years of disease and starvation, Governor Bradford said "we will now adopt the system of 'each according to merit,'" and they prospered. Or take the dismal failure of Robert Owen's "New Harmony," or the 41 other Socialist experiments in this country. Or present-day Russia; after 45 years and it still has one of the lowest standards of living in Europe, with rigid Government control, and not a pretense of having achieved equality. Or take China, facing famine. We could go on and on describing he materialistic failure of that economic system, but it would leave out the most important point, and that is the tragic shortsightedness of these advocates of economic reform in confusing the "abundant life" for the "good life." Because greater economic equality, or even a high standard of living, is not alone sufficient for man's happiness. Man needs more than just his material welfare. He most needs the things of which these reformers must deprive him: His freedom, his self-respect, his sense of individual worth. Their cure for our economic ills is to amputate our soul.

Now, you're saying to yourself, "Oh, come now, we needn't go that far. We can create a little more social justice without losing our freedom." Well, I hope you're right. I merely ask you to study so you can determine how far taxation can go without destroying incentives, just how much social welfare will undermine our integrity, and at what point man will lose his moral autonomy, and at what moment will the power of Government tend to become corrupt.

That was my first point: To study and learn. The second point is to care. Today it is so fashionable to act as though nothing matters. It's not only impolite to express our convictions, but awfully "square" to have them. Today's philosophic relativism precludes thinking in terms of black and white, right or wrong; good or bad. Everything is somewhere in between. This fashion has had a noticeable effect upon our morals, but more importantly, it has robbed us of a sense of resolution, of purpose. We were shocked to learn that over one-third of our boys taken prisoner in Korea were brainwashed into cooperating with the enemy. But we should be more shocked to learn that, upon investigation, it was discovered that it wasn't the techniques of brainwashing that were so remarkable, it was the absence of any convictions, and consequent lack of moral stamina on the part of our boys that caused their defection. Any country's survival depends upon the motivating convictions of its citizens. If one has no devotion to one's way of life, obviously one is not willing to make any sacrifice on its behalf.

Yet here we have an economic system so superior that we, 6 percent of the earth's population, have been able to produce nearly 50 percent of the earth's goods and services; yet we apologize for capitalism here and throughout the world. And we, who have achieved greater freedom for our people for a longer period of time than any nation in history, discredit "patriotism or national pride as the embarrassing hallmark of the extremist." We not only fail to "sell" our system with the contagious enthusiasm it deserves, most of us can't even explain it.

And that brings me to the third point: The necessity of discussing with young people the merits of a free versus a collectivist state, the connection of freedom and private property, of liberty and responsibility—the whole unique nature of the American system. Our students today are often lured by the idea of security, planned production, and universal welfare. And I fear they are getting this rather warped picture in our schools.

Which brings me to point 4—know your schools, the curriculum, the teacher's competence, the content of the textbooks. I don't mean just those of you who have children in school, but all of you who have

an alma mater, or who are taxpayers for this public education system. My husband recently discovered that all the required and recommended reading in the economics department of the University of California at Berkeley were books advancing at Keynesian concepts of increased Federal power; that nowhere were the students ever hearing the opposing views of noted economists such as Hayek, Von Mises, or Hazlett. This is an example of indoctrination, not education, and it abounds. The State of California has a law that all schools will teach, among other things, the concepts of our American political tradition. So there is a book of that name, "The American Political Tradition" being widely used in our public schools which disposes of the Founding Fathers in the first chapter by contending that they believed, erroneously, that man was by nature competitive and suited to free enterprise. It states that modern humanistic belief denies this and, I quote, "can expect no answer in the philosophy of balanced government as it was set down by the Constitution makers of 1787." So much for the Constitution. Then it continues to "explode" other myths, such as Lincoln's failure to realize that this free system would build "oppressive business corporations," and that his own party would become "the jackal of vested interests, placing the dollar far, far ahead of the man." So much for the Republican Party. This is what your children are being taught.

Point 5 is to encourage religious faith, whether it be Christian or Jewish or Mohammedan. Religion teaches us that our rights have been endowed by our Creator, not by our Government. It gives us a greater sense of our own dignity, of our individual worth, and helps counteract an unscientific but popular notion that man is merely a pawn of his environment. This idea was originally propounded by Karl Marx, but is held today by many liberals here and abroad; that the only reason why these Socialist schemes don't work out as planned is because human nature isn't ready for it. So human nature must be changed. They've been working on this for 45 years in Russia, by constant indoctrination, by eliminating religion, by refusing to admit any foreign books, papers, movies, or radio programs which would undermine their propaganda, by removing children from their parents and boarding them in state schools, so like Pavlov's dog they will learn the proper responses to the proper stimuli. All this, and more, in an effort to change human beings into satisfied machines for the state. Two noted psychiatrists, the Overstreets, call this "the most colossal trespass upon the human mind the world has ever witnessed," and does it work? They still have to post tommyguns at the borders, and permeate their society with secret police.

And this brings me to point 6: In the Soviet-controlled society no one dares to speak out against the basic tenets of the system. But in our free society it's fundamental that we speak out. Our philosophy of subordinating government to the consent of the governed makes our fate dependent upon our active concern with it. We are the molders of public opinion. We have a free marketplace of ideas where the best ones are snapped up; and the poor ones are left on the shelf. So make your opinions known. Talk with the taxi driver, the grocer, the hairdresser. Discuss issues with friends and acquaintances. But first, learn how to do it effectively. It isn't enough to rely on epithets and slogans, or to resort to emotion. Even mere opinion, alone, doesn't carry much weight. Arm yourself with facts and prepare a logical presentation. It takes work and practice to become an articulate spokesman for your views. It requires a certain awareness of psychology to keep from alienating your listener, or putting him on the defensive. And particularly important is developing an approach suited to younger people who feel our ideas are outdated. They like to think of themselves as "liberals" or "progressives," and fail to realize that many of their proposals demand a strong centralization of authority which is actually a regression from true "liberalism." The constant accretion of power in government is what the true "liberals" who founded this country so strongly opposed and so effectively prevented in the framing of our Constitution. This can be explained, but it must be explained wisely and dispassionately.

Then, once you've developed this knack of expression, start writing letters. This is the seventh point in the list. Write letters to the newspapers and magazines; did they leave out or distort an important fact? Write to radio or TV stations; was a panel debate balanced, or was it 3 to 1? Were the debaters of equal caliber, or was your side represented by an unfortunately incompetent spokesman? Write the sponsor, not just the station, and be sure to give praise where it's due. Thank a company for a public service, or recommend one if you have a good idea. Write to friends, and give a little less detail on who wore what where, and more on what you're thinking about these days. Enclose a clipping that interested you. And most important, write your Congressman. Have you told him how you felt about all these bills he's voting on as your representative? You think that your wee voice doesn't count among all the others, and that's so wrong. It may be an unfortunate fact, but so few of us are actively concerned with our Government that each letter or telegram has an effect totally out of proportion to the number it represents.

Point eight continues on the subject of your personal influence on the affairs of state. Most of you belong to clubs or organizations which have speaker's programs. Are you active in their selection? Another unfortunate truth today is that liberal spokesmen far outnumber the moderates and conservatives. So program chairmen who follow the path of least resistance obviously end up with a preponderance of "liberals" on the platform. Work for a better balance, and then, when a speaker representing your views is selected, phone your friends and drum up a good audience. Or perhaps you belong to a club which is suffering from lack of purpose. Lack of challenge to the membership. Start a study group to research and report on national or foreign affairs, urge discussion groups. So much of our apathy today stems from lack of information, and a study group is an easy "fun" way to get it.

Furthermore, bring young people into your organizations. Political activity must not be the exclusive domain of those of us over 40, yet so many of our clubs have a mere sprinkling of members in their twenties and thirties. Yet this is the age group which can be inspired into dynamic participation for a cause. It's up to us to find ways to arouse that interest. .Not only do our present goals require their assistance, our future depends upon them.

Now, my last point, but certainly not least to this audience, is vote. And work to get out the vote. I needn't remind you of the preponderance of Democratic registrations in most of our areas. Fortunately for us there are a lot of fence sitters and people ready to be swayed. Now, we can't put all the burden of influencing these "undecided" folk on the shoulders of our charming candidates. It has been statistically proven that the number of votes cast in any precinct is in direct proportion to the number of precinct workers volunteering to get out the vote. And it's a shocking percentage. The most successful precinct in a certain area was found to have one worker for every five votes cast. And the proportion never gets too much better than that. Fifteen to one is average. So find out how many Republican votes you will have to get in your district to beat the Democrats. Divide by 15, and you will have the number of volunteer workers necessary to win the election. A colossal job? Yes, but it's a colossal cause and worth every bit of effort it takes to win.

And that's a pretty good summary of these nine points on what you can do for America. You can put your heart and mind and your muscle into this great cause—a cause which today surpasses the preservation of our Nation, and has become essential to the future of human liberty.

I thank you.

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## Address by Senator Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, Before National Waterways Conference

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, on July 24 I had the extreme pleasure of being present when the able and distinguished senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] delivered an excellent address at the second annual meeting of the National Waterways Conference relating to the effects of a proposed user charge on inland waterways.

Since I believe that the penetrating analysis of Senator ELLENDER's address merits the consideration of all of us, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ALLEN J. ELLENDER, OF LOUISIANA, BEFORE NATIONAL WATERWAYS CONFERENCE, TUESDAY, JULY 24, 1962, AT MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, I am delighted to address the National Waterways Conference, for I know your organization shares my dedication to the promotion of efficient and economical water transportation, and the necessary public works which that promotion calls for.

Before moving on to my main topic, which will be the question of waterway user charges in the form of a fuel tax, let me express my appreciation of the effective work accomplished by your predecessor. That small, informal group was ever alert to the danger of any serious proposal to impose some form of service charge or toll on the Nation's waterways. Because that nucleus organization was already in being, the National Waterways Conference as we know it today is able to be effective in its current program of educating the public, and the Government, on the evil effects of waterway tolls.

As all of you know, my home State of Louisiana can be said to be a product of the Mississippi River. Our productive delta land—a great part of the State itself—is the accumulation of soil from Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, Wisconsin—in fact, almost every State between the Appalachians and the Rockies has given some of its best topsoil to make what is now Louisiana. But we Louisianians are a generous people, and for the last 25 years I have been working to keep that land upriver where it belongs. I can

only hope my efforts are appreciated, but I fear that sometimes they are not.

Be that as it may, the fate of Louisiana and of its Queen City, New Orleans, have always been bound closely to the Mississippi River. Even today, when people from other sections of the country think of New Orleans, they think of the river; when they think of the river, they think of New Orleans. Indeed, many Yankees are often surprised to find that New Orleans is not the only city in the State, and that people who live in Louisiana do not necessarily either live in New Orleans or have webfeet.

But to return to my main topic, it may interest you to know that a form of user tax or toll, was in no small way responsible for the Louisiana Purchase, back in 1803. Even then, the Mississippi was the main highway of the Nation, and even then Mr. Jefferson realized that whoever controlled New Orleans controlled the river and a great part of the American destiny.

You may recall that both the Spanish and French Governments had talked of taxing the boatloads of merchandise—mostly corn, in one form or another—that floated down from Tennessee and Kentucky. At one time, the French did attempt to collect such a user tax, which caused a small war to break out. It was about this time that Jefferson began negotiations for the purchase of New Orleans, and when Napoleon offered to throw in the whole of Louisiana, the bargain was simply too good to be passed up.

I do not know how many miles of navigable waterway that purchase gave the Nation, but today we have more than 22,200 miles of inland waterway, without counting the Great Lakes. Since 1824, about 85 percent of those water routes have been improved and maintained by the Corps of Engineers, and they are in constant use in carrying commercial freight.

An outstanding example of industrial expansion resulting from this network of navigable waterways is found in the lower Mississippi Valley, where a vast complex of petrochemical plants has developed in the area from Baton Rouge to New Orleans. Another example is the spectacular growth of industry in the Ohio River Valley, where since 1950 more than $17 billion have been invested in new industrial developments. Such growth was largely the result, of course, of the presence of the waterways. These few examples show, therefore, that modern waterways give rise to industrial development which in turn creates traffic for all modes of transportation.

A recent report by the corps revealed that intercity freight transportation is expected to double between now and 1980, and to reach four times what it is now by the year 2000. This increase will require enlargement of capacity of railway systems, additional pipelines, increases in truck transportation, and further improvement and extension of the inland waterway system. Improvement and enlargement of existing waterways will undoubtedly be needed if the increase in traffic is to be handled in the most efficient way.

THREEFOLD WATERWAYS PROBLEM

This current review of our navigation facilities clearly shows the need of appropriating adequate funds to reestablish the original concept of knitting the Nation together through a system of waterways. Today, however, the problem is threefold: (1) We must develop new arteries of waterborne transportation; (2) we must redevelop obsolete waterways; and (3) we must properly maintain existing works.

My record in the Congress, in support of the free use of our waterways, as well as in support of adequate appropriations for water resource projects, speaks for itself. I believe it is a fairly good record.

USER CHARGE ON WATERWAYS

For the past 6 or 8 years, as you know, the waterway operators have been faced with the threat of tolls or of a destructive user charge on the waterways. I have consistently been in the forefront of those who oppose tolls or user charges in any form. Two years ago the Democratic nominee for President, John F. Kennedy, took a forthright position in opposition to tolls. His statement at that time included the following:

"The national interest demands adherence to established national policy for waterways maintenance and improvement, a continuing responsibility of the Federal Government. We must reject all proposals such as those of the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Budget."

This was a very positive statement. And he continued:

"* * * for imposition of burdens upon the use of the waterways—including tolls, toll equivalent taxes, and the so-called user charges—which would destroy the values of investments heretofore made in such facilities.

"Such restrictive policies could not fail to increase the Nation's transportation cost burden and to deprive shippers of the advantages and economies of low-cost water transportation of basic commodities as an important element of a coordinated national transportation system."

I supported that position then, and I support it now.

In his early days as President, his concern for the decline in the common carrier inland waterway traffic was clearly expressed in his message to the Congress on regulatory commissions in April of 1961. The President at that time stated in part:

"The Transportation Act of 1940 sought, so far as surface transportation was concerned, to describe as a goal a national policy that would give each method of transpotration its appropriate role in our economy. It is disturbing, however, to note that, for example, our common carrier inland waterway traffic, our Great Lakes traffic, our intracoastal and coastal traffic, have been withering away at a pace far more rapid than appears desirable, in the light of the low-cost nature of this method of transportation and its potential role in the event of war."

In view of these statements I was surprised at the change in the President's attitude as reflected in his budget message for fiscal year 1963, at which time he proposed, in discussing tax reforms to be recommended for the consideration of Congress:

"To extend the principle of user charges to inland waterways, a tax of 2 cents per gallon should be applied to all fuels used in transportation on these waterways, effective January 1, 1963."

Until April 5, when the President submitted his message on transportation to the Congress, it was not too clear exactly what he had in mind.

In the meantime, on January 30, 1962, I addressed the Wabash Valley Association in Lafayette, Ind. It was expected that I would comment on the President's proposal for a fuel tax on waterways. At that time, I made the following statement:

"The President's program contemplates extending to the waterways a fuel tax now imposed on the use of highways and airways. So long as this is a general tax on fuels, the amount of the tax is reasonable and it is equitably apportioned among the various modes of transportation. I think it would be unrealistic for the waterway operators to take the position that they and they alone should be excluded from the general application of a fuels tax.

"If, on the other hand, when the details of the President's recommendations are made public we find that coastal ports, the Great Lakes, and pleasure craft are excluded from the tax, we are faced with a different situation. The gas tax would then become a toll on our inland waterways in the form of a user charge. This would destroy our time-honored principle of toll-free waterways. At this point, regardless of the amount, I will oppose the measure in principle."

I was criticized by some of the navigation interests for the statement I made in Lafayette, but I desired to make my position clear.

The proponents of water transportation could hardly expect their friends in Congress to secure an exemption for them from a general tax on fuels for the purpose of raising revenue. At that time it was inconceivable to me that the President would actually recommend a toll in the form of a user charge.

In a period of 2 short years, what occurred to induce him to reverse himself completely? I have never received an answer to that question.

RECOMMENDED TOLL WOULD BE UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Let us now consider what was actually recommended in the President's message on transportation. In the section on inland waterways he stated:

"Also in the interest of equality of treatment and opportunity, the principle of user charges should be extended to the inland waterways. A tax of 2 cents per gallon should be applied to all fuels in transportation on the waterways."

In other words, this was a toll in the form of a user charge which would be limited to commercial transportation and would exclude recreational use of the waterways. The President went on to state that the new tax should include an exemption similar to the current exemption from taxation accorded to gasoline and ship supplies for vessels employed in the fisheries, foreign trade or trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, or between the United States and any of its possessions. Vessels in domestic trade using facilities and routes similar to those engaged in foreign trade and vessels in coastal trade which are too large to use the intracoastal waterways should also be exempt. In other words, the exemption would also apply to all shipping on the Great Lakes.

When we pause to reflect on the implications of the President's recommendations we find that there are not only some rather weird conclusions to be drawn, but that they contravene, first, the covenants of the Northwest Ordinance, approved on July 13, 1787, which proclaimed the freedom of our inland waterways, in these words:

"The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well as to the inhabitants of said territory as to citizens of the United States, and those of other States that may be admitted into the Confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor."

The first part of that ordinance deals with certain administrative matters; the second part, articles I through VI, are by virtue of section 14 established as a solemn compact:

"It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable except by common consent."

Here was the cornerstone of our waterway policy.

Second, the President's recommendations violate the organic acts of the various territories, and the acts of Congress admitting the various States to the Union, which contained declarations that the navigable

waters should be common highways and forever free (Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, California, Oregon, Ohio, Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Alabama).

Third, the President's recommendations violate the Constitution itself. The restrictions in section 9 of article I of the Constitution, for instance, declare that "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State." Further, that "No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another."

How would the President's proposal be applied on the Mississippi River? Take, for instance, an oil refinery located on the river in the general vicinity of New Orleans. A barge loaded at the refinery and proceeding up the Mississippi River and Ohio River would have to pay a tax on the fuel it used; however, if that same barge were dispatched in the opposite direction, down the Mississippi, through the gulf, and across to, say, Tampa, there would be no tax on the fuel used.

The unconstitutional implications of the proposed user charge are further exemplified by the fact that the export of grains from the upper Mississippi Valley through New Orleans is in direct competition with the movement of grain through Duluth and Chicago via the St. Lawrence Seaway. Prior to the opening of the seaway in 1959 the lake ports shipped very little grain for export to oversea destinations, as most of this movement was out of New Orleans. In just three seasons the tonnage through the St. Lawrence grew to well over half the New Orleans export tonnage. It is obvious that tolls imposed on the inland waterways which carry that grain to New Orleans but exclude the Great Lakes would handicap New Orleans very seriously in its competition for this tonnage.

In its impact on domestic commerce the President's proposal would be essentially the same in its economic effect as a system of internal tariff barriers which the Constitution specifically forbids.

I suppose we have an equally incongruous situation when you consider the major ports along the Texas coast. For instance, foreign ships or large coastal vessels utilizing 50 miles of the deep-draft portion of the Intracoastal Waterway in entering the port of Houston would not have to pay a tax on the fuel they use; however, a shallow-draft barge traversing this same portion of the waterway in operating on the intracoastal canal would have to pay a fuels tax on the fuel it utilizes.

WHY EXCLUDE THE GREAT LAKES OR COASTAL HARBORS?

The present proposal is submitted as a user charge—if such be the real intent, what possible justification can there be for excluding the Great Lakes?

We are currently completing a major project for the connecting channels of the Great Lakes at a cost of some $110 million to provide 27-foot channels comparable to the depth of the St. Lawrence Seaway. In order to utilize these channels to the 27-foot depth, substantially all of the major ports of the Great Lakes will have to be deepened.

So far we have received the price tag for only a few of these; namely, the 18 projects authorized in the 1960 authorization act at an estimated cost of $77 million. Since that time the Board of Engineers has acted favorably on a report recommending the improvement of 17 other harbors at an estimated cost of $75 million. Presumably, authorization for these harbors will be included in the next omnibus authorization bill. Reports on three additional harbors are under study at the present time, so it is apparent that the Federal Government will expend in excess of $260 million in order that the connecting channels and major Great Lakes ports may accommodate the larger vessels that utilize the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Again I ask, can there be any justification for excluding the Great Lakes and coastal harbors from the proposed fuels tax?

Nor can I see any sound reason for imposing tolls on waterways and excluding harbors. The former are used exclusively by American commerce and industry which pay taxes and return benefits to the general economy of the country. On the other hand, coastal harbors are used to a large extent by foreign ships which, aside from nominal port charges, pay no taxes to the United States.

TOLL WOULD BE BACKWARD STEP

The proposed imposition of a toll in the form of a user charge would be a backward step, especially serious at this time of heightened international competition of our industry for the markets of the free world. We must recognize as a fact that the European Common Market is booming. The cost of labor in many countries in Europe is roughly one-third of the cost in this country. Those countries have plants of modern design built with our assistance under the foreign aid program, many of which are located on the waterways of the Old World to take advantage of low-cost water transportation. I need not tell you that we as a Nation must do all we can to meet the ever-increasing competition from foreign manufacturers. Make no mistake about it, transportation costs are a part of any selling price, and to the degree that American industry is assisted in its competition for business, to that degree we assist in providing jobs for the American people and taxes for the Government. That this is a practical problem facing us today is best illustrated by the following headline in the financial section of the New York Times of Wednesday, July 18, 1962:

"Imports of Steel Advance Sharply—May Level Is Highest in More Than 2 Years; Reduced Prices Noted; Western European Groups Planning Brussels Plant."

When you consider some of the implications of the proposed user charge, it is no wonder that the House Committee on Ways and Means decided not to consider the proposal during this session of the Congress. In my opinion, it was a sound decision to make at this session and I sincerely hope that the committee will be consistent and will arrive at the same conclusion in the next and in succeeding sessions of the Congress.

It is important that you do not consider this action of the Committee on Ways and Means as a victory, or as a signal to relax your campaign against this measure. Actually, it is an opportunity for you to inform yourselves, the rank and file of the people in your area, and your Congressmen further of the evils of this proposal.

You can depend upon those of us in Congress who have previously fought for the principle of free waterways to continue the fight. I must caution you that a final victory is dependent upon the extent to which this and other similar organizations can arouse the general public to the inherent dangers involved in the abandonment of the principle of the free use of our waterways. It is important for both management and labor to be alert to the great economic disadvantage which will accrue to industry in the heartland of our country, in contrast to the coastal areas and the Great Lakes.

Again let me say that it was a pleasure to speak to you, and to tell you that I expect to continue my efforts to assist you in every way possible.

## Use of the Mails for Communist Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CUNNINGHAM], and his amendment to ban free or subsidized delivery of Communist propaganda were the subject of a column in the New York Daily News on Sunday, July 29.

Richard McGowan wrote of this amendment in his column "Capital Circus," a regular feature of the Daily News, which has a circulation of nearly 2 million or twice that of any other newspaper in the country.

I think our colleagues will find this review of interest. Mr. McGowan has summed up the issues exceptionally well and points out that the basic principle behind the action taken by this House last January is simply this—if we are going to raise postage rates for the American people, is there any reason why we should not charge the Russians more postage, too?

The McGowan column follows:

USE OF THE MAILS FOR COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

(By Richard McGowan)

WASHINGTON, July 28.—The first piece of Kennedy legislation to clear the House—the bill to boost postal rates—has been bottled up in the Senate ever since and will soon touch off a Donnybrook because it carries a provision that Communist propaganda cannot be mailed at the taxpayer's expense.

The provision was the brainchild of Representative GLENN CUNNINGHAM, Republican, of Nebraska, a rugged battler against Commies, particularly when the taxpayer's money is involved. But oddly, the amendment was generally distasteful to the Kennedy administration.

CUNNINGHAM says that opponents of his proposal "fail to understand or choose not to understand the basic principle that if we are going to raise postage rates for the American people, is there any reason why we should not charge the Russians more postage too?"

He points out that his amendment does not deny Communist propaganda to anyone; it merely ends the subsidy and free delivery given such propaganda.

The Commies refuse to allow free circulation and sale of American publications on their side of the fence. Yet pro-Red groups spend an estimated $2 billion a year spreading their doctrines in magazines and newspapers in this country. A Customs Bureau official estimates that Commie literature flows in at the rate of 20 million pieces a year.

The controversy started just before adjournment a year ago, when the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported out the new rate bill. First class mail would go up a penny to 5 cents; second class mail would get a 5-percent hike in each of the next 3 years, a total of 15 percent. Third class would be upped in about the same ratio as second class.

The committee bill also carried the Cunningham amendment—and the battle was on. In early 1961 Kennedy had eliminated a Truman administration order controlling delivery of Commie literature within the United States. Cunningham's amendment was a substitute for the order Kennedy revoked.

IT SEEMED LIKE A SIMPLE OPERATION

The postal bill was the first test for new House Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK. It all seemed fairly simple until CUNNINGHAM offered his amendment. Republicans opposed to the bill declared they would not support a postal rate increase as long as the Communists mailed below cost.

The bill was taken up by the House January 23. Chairman TOM MURRAY, Democrat, of Tennessee, of the Post Office Committee proposed an amendment which would sharply increase second- and third-class rates.

Second-class profit publications would have to pay a 1-cent surcharge on all copies mailed outside the country. This provision supposedly eliminated the committee's heavy increases for weekly newspapers, which have the most political influence on House Members.

Third class mail was jumped a penny-a-piece minimum, from 2½ to 3½ cents. But the surprise of the Murray substitute was that it includes the Cunningham ban on Commie propaganda. The bill sailed through the House by voice vote.

MAGAZINES AND SMALL PAPERS CLAIM HARDSHIP

When Senate hearings began, publishers protested the increases in second- and third-class mail would drive many of them out of business. One magazine said its profits over 3 years would not pay for 1 year of postal increases under the House-passed bill. Other so-called cultural magazines joined the fray and the administration embarrassingly found it was threatening the existence of the very publications that normally supported it.

Then oversea circulation of the weekly and small daily newspapers proved to be substantial. In the face of 100 to 150 percent increases in postage, the smaller newspapers poured on pressure. A few weeks after the hearings got underway, most Senators on the committee agreed the 1-cent surcharge would not be retained by the Senate.

Staff members report a heavy volume of mail, most of it against the Red prohibition. It comes largely from college professors, according to one source. And one Senate Democrat said he would fight to kill the bill entirely if the anti-Red provision is kept.

SENATE'S TIME IS GETTING SHORT

Liberal publications have editorialized against it. Those editors, and the administration, argue that the amendment shows a complete lack of faith in the American people, who can digest or reject propaganda intelligently.

But CUNNINGHAM argues that the critics miss the point.

"My constituents," he said, "just can't understand why the U.S. Government should pay to deliver Communist propaganda."

He suggested that the Commies use fourth-class mail, which pays its way.

Time is beginning to run out on the Senate committee in the rush for adjournment. In addition, a postal rate increase and a tax cut—now under study—at the same time just doesn't make sense, according to some critics.

But one thing is certain, CUNNINGHAM is prepared to fight for his amendment and he will testify before the Senate committee.

The administration may have to decide how badly it wants the rate bill. The wage hike for postal workers is a popular proposal on the Hill, so the bill should get passed if the administration accepts the Cunningham amendment.

Sources said the best estimate now is that the new rate bill, if it gets out, will have the 1-cent increase in first class; three 10-percent hikes over 3 years in second class, and probably a half-cent increase in the minimums for third class from 2½ to 3 cents.

## Darrington's Community Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, there are many small towns in America whose residents have at one time or another wanted to improve their community centers or to build a medical clinic. Darrington, a logging town in my district is one of these, but it differs from most because its citizens decided to do something about needed improvements instead of just talking about them.

Today, Darrington has a new community center and a clinic with a total assessed value of about $100,000. The people of Darrington built these facilities with their own hands and their own money. Their spirit, desire, willingness to work, and their resourcefulness make them stand head and shoulders above others in less spirited places.

In this day when many communities look to the State or Federal Government to finance improvements, it is refreshing to learn about Darrington and how its citizens financed its community center and its clinic.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article by Mr. Larry Mull which tells the story of Darrington. This article appeared in the June 21, 1962, issue of the Everett, Wash., Daily Herald. I am sure that Members of Congress who read it will understand why I am proud that Darrington is in my district and that I have the privilege of representing its 1,275 industrious citizens.

The article follows:

COMMUNITY SPIRIT BUILT NEW CENTER AND CLINIC

(By Larry Mull)

DARRINGTON.—Darrington's new community center and the Darrington Clinic, together assessed at nearly $100,000 are examples of what a community can do when a cooperative spirit exists among its population.

When the new high school was completed recently and the grammar school was enlarged to meet the increasing demands, citizens in this little logging town became concerned over athletic activities for the two schools.

A survey was made and the new community center was engineered by Bob Jones of Three Rivers Lumber & Plywood Co. Sauk River Lumber Co. donated $2,000 in cash and gave 20 acres of land. The Darrington Loggers came to the rescue and staged a giant timber sale which netted $35,000 and business establishments and individuals made contributions.

There was not a man, woman, boy or girl in the community who did not take part in the construction of the building. As many as 90 women were working at a time, laying shingles, driving nails, sawing lumber and cooking for those who contributed their time and labor.

Lt. Gov. John A. Cherberg, in the absence of Gov. Albert D. Rosellini, dedicated the center following its completion.

The school system pays a rental fee of $5,000 a year which helps pay upkeep of the building. It is a four-part center which serves the purpose of all conventions and meetings of the area.

The women of Darrington also sensed the need of better medical facilities. They decided to do something about it.

Mrs. Ed Hunter, Jr., and Mrs. Helen Lemmon first conceived the idea of a modern clinic and another physician to service the medical needs of the community.

They next contacted the Arlington Clinic and asked for help in organizing a guild. Mrs. Helen Berger, Marylyn McClure and Marianne Forsythe came to their assistance and outlined the details.

On August 22, 1957, with Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Lemmon, Mrs. Clara Heil, Mrs. Ruth Jones and many other women present, the Darrington Hospital Guild was founded. Letters were sent to physicians and universities throughout the country outlining the needs.

Mrs. Helen Lemmon became the first president, followed by Mrs. Ed Hunter, Jr., now of California, Mrs. Clara Heil, Mrs. Ruth Jones, and the present president, Mrs. Marjorie Merritt.

Dr. N. C. Riddle broke ground for the new clinic April 27, 1960. Dr. Robert Koop became the new physician while attending Doctor's Hospital in Seattle.

The Darrington Gyppo Loggers could never be thanked enough for the tremendous help they gave in raising thousands of dollars through a giant timber sale. Several more thousand dollars were raised through bond subscriptions and business and individual donations.

Governor Rosellini was a visitor just before the dedication August 20, 1960. Mrs. Roy Loughnan presided and Dr. E. Raymond McKeon of Coos Bay, Oreg., a member of the Board of American Medical Association, gave the dedicatory address for the nonprofit organization.

The clinic has a board of five trustees and five advisers who are responsible for the money being returned to the bondholders.

The clinic is assessed at more than $35,000.

Other members of the hospital guild include Lillian Neff, Helen Caley, Florence Woodward, Audrey Jones, Kathryn Bates, Helen Johnson, Gloria Hunter, Irene Larsen, Betty Irelan, Alice Forrester, Marney Betty, Shirley Smith, Annetta Bodthe, Clara Boyd, Priscillo Simmons, Anne Wilburn, Lois Romaneski, Eva Dickson, Evelyn Hansman, Alberta Saxton, Katherine Vivig, Helga Edwards, Alta Gilbert, and Mildred Koop.

## Charles Haslet

SPEECH
OF
### HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to a very outstanding member of the Washington press corps, Charlie Haslet, who hails from my congressional district, the First Oklahoma District.

On Saturday, July 28, Charlie celebrated his 38th anniversary with the

Associated Press, he is the AP's representative for the Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma region.

It has been my privilege to know Charlie for many years. I have never in all this time ever known Charlie to take advantage of any friendship. He has always been fair and honest and has a great dedication to reporting the actual facts to the people. I consider Charlie Haslet a wonderful Christian gentleman, a great reporter, and a credit to his profession.

Charlie, please accept my sincere congratulations and best wishes for a job well done and many more years of service.

## The Real Liberal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to your attention and the attention of my colleagues, Dave Heyler's column appearing in the Hollywood Citizen News, July 27, 1962. Dave Heyler is the Citizen News' publisher and has done a remarkable job of giving Los Angeles a third metropolitan newspaper. His analysis exposes a myth that many liberals in our society continually try to promote. I recommend that every Member of the House study its contents.

The article follows:

THE REAL LIBERAL

It is amazing how leftwing elements try to tag every conservative, from middle of the road to John Birch members, with the title "Fascist" or "Nazi."

Actually communism, fascism and naziism are one and the same thing: A totalitarian government dedicated to the destruction of the freedom of the individual and the regimentation of all manpower and materiel for the benefit of the state.

Each, in its own way, tries to conquer the world through its own ideology and even each other. The dictatorship is the modern version of emperor-dictators of old, such as Napoleon, etc.

Most of the time, the "for the state" is for the dictator and his select henchmen. Still, power is the overall aim of such men.

Fortunately for the world, these dictators have to keep going; neither the conditions they have wrought, nor their own egos will permit them to rest on their laurels, thus they pyramid until their "empire" cracks up under its own weight.

Don't be fooled by this carping. Actually the conservative is the real liberal and not the pseudo one so much in the news and so popular today.

All he insists on is that we live by our Constitution and our Bill of Rights.

He doesn't want anything else.

He doesn't want to be saddled with the responsibilities of other people and he is willing to be taxed on a pay-as-you-go basis but objects to saddling his children and grandchildren with huge debts in the name of social advances or taking care of everyone from the womb to the tomb.

He is willing to pay his way but expects everyone else to do likewise.

He is willing to help the down and out, but doesn't want to help someone able to help himself.

He is more interested in a sound and strong America than he is in helping Yugoslavia.

He believes in a sound dollar, a balanced budget, and as little Government interference with private enterprise consistent with commonsense.

He doesn't believe it is bad to become rich honestly and diligently, and believes a man should give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.

He believes he should respect the rights of his neighbors and they should respect his, and he doesn't want a world government or our Armed Forces turned over to the U.N. or any similar organization.

His only crime is he is old fashioned and believes the standards which made America the greatest power in the world and the mecca for all downtrodden peoples everywhere are good enough for him, his children, and theirs.

## Key to the Coercive State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy says the voters in November must choose between sailing or anchoring. An editorial in the National Observer suggests that the choice, instead, is between extending the scope and compulsion of the Federal Government or holding the Government in check.

Under leave to extend and revise my remarks the editorial follows:

[From the National Observer, July 30, 1962]

KEY TO THE COERCIVE STATE

Not so many years ago the word "liberal" was still applied to a man who stood for individual rights against the encroachments of state authority. Today it usually means one who is primarily concerned with what he considers the general welfare—which he usually wishes to see expanded through expanded activities of the Federal Government.

Much of the current political and economic debate in this country revolves around those two views. As President Kennedy implied at his press conference last week, the choice between sailing or anchoring is really the choice between extending the scope and compulsion of the Federal Government or holding the Government in check.

Now the modern liberal's longing for ever more government is not necessarily a totalitarian urge; in fact, it could be argued that his attitude toward and aspirations for people in general are idealistic and even noble. Yet if we look a little more closely, it is plain that a connection between contemporary liberalism and totalitarianism not only exists but is inescapable.

The world is full of problems and unhappiness of all sorts (and the liberal's vision does not end at our shores but embraces the downtrodden elsewhere). In this country most human problems are traditionally handled by individuals, families, communities, and, in important degree, private philanthropic money. Among other things, such money has spurred the medical research that has done so much to conquer disease and lengthen life.

It is all very well to say that more must be done. But the point is that if you turn all human woes into affairs of state, you radically alter the nation's political framework. What happens is succinctly described by K. R. Minogue, a political science lecturer at the London School of Economics, writing in the American Scholar Magazine.

Liberalism, he explains, "has come more and more to see politics simply as a technical activity like any other. We first decide what it is that we want, how we think our society ought to be organized, and then we seek the means to our end. The politician must be an expert skilled in political means, and his ends must be democratically supplied to him by popular demand.

"This view of politics introduces a novel inflexibility both into the actual work of politicians, and into the hopes we have of it. It means, for example, that all widespread problems turn into political problems, inviting a solution by state activity. It follows logically that peoples commit themselves to long-term planned objectives roughly as individuals commit themselves to New Year resolutions. But while individuals may break their resolutions if they change their minds, peoples cannot be flexible this way.

"Faced with backsliding, governments must coerce. They must control the climate of thought in which people live, and if necessary they must engage in large-scale and protracted repression to keep a populace consistent with what it seemed to want sometime in the past."

Plainly enough, we have not yet gone that far in the United States. Yet the signs are equally plain and multiplying, that we are far along the road. There is scarcely a problem, no matter how local or personal, that the officials in Washington do not consider to be their proper province—juvenile delinquency, medical aid for old folks, smoking. At the same time we have seen the thunderous force of Presidential power used to reverse a price decision, followed by more than a few hints that direct wage and price controls may be in the offing. For the long-subsidized farmer, the planners would tighten the Federal leash.

And since the essence of liberalism is the assertion of Federal responsibility for everyone and everything, it is difficult indeed to see what is ultimately to prevent the full flowering of the all-encompassing, coercive state.

This trend puts two basic questions squarely before the country. If unlimited expansion of Government is what we the people really want, how do we propose to pay the enormous cost? It can only be done by much higher taxes or inflation or the two in tandem. However done, we suffocate the drive and ingenuity and progress that come from the free play of individual decisions.

The second question is why, in the land of liberty, we should want it. Why trade individual responsibilities and freedoms for the stale regulations of bureaucracy and the faceless conformity of collectivism? Why tear, and perhaps ultimately destroy, the precious fabric of our economic and political institutions that has clothed us so warmly? What kind of response is that to the threat of international communism?

It is not as though there were no alternative, that we are willy-nilly propelled along liberalism's illiberal road. The alternative is to check the headlong rush of Government, just as Jefferson and the others intended, and release into the Nation the powerful energies that lower Federal spending and lower taxation and greater freedom bring.

Admittedly, for the alternative to be practical it would have to be espoused by one of the parties or at least an important

section of one of them. Perhaps most of all, it requires the ordinary commonsense to see through the intellectual and moral pretensions of contemporary liberalism and perceive its inevitable political destination.

## Is There a Need for Medicare for the Aged?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, medicare for the aged has been of grave concern to me in all of my years in Congress. Truthfully, it has been uppermost in my work, my thoughts and my wishes. When I first came to Congress in 1943 my efforts succeeded in getting allotments from the Government for parents of sons and daughters in service. There were thousands of such cases. From these cases I learned of the sad condition facing many aged mothers and fathers and about their inability to afford proper medical care because of lack of money. Way back then I wondered what would happen to these mothers and fathers when these allotment checks stopped coming.

Whenever I toured the highways and byways of northern Wisconsin, the elderly were always among the first in the community to meet me. I have been in hundreds of their homes by invitation. They would talk over with me their problems. They would particularly mention how difficult it was for them financially whenever serious sickness struck them and they needed medicine, a doctor or a hospital bed. They worried about how they could hang on to their last possession—their home. Two out of every three of these elderly people had no income outside of social security or old age pension. These are the people who really made our Nation great. When I left their homes, I wondered why this should be in a Nation that plays Santa Claus to the rest of the world.

I know from seeing that many present State laws for help for the aged are old fashioned and just plain heartless. Nobody likes to be classed as a pauper. Yet, many of our State laws—Wisconsin has about the worst—compel the aged to become paupers before they can get an old-age pension or money for medicare. Yes, in a country that dishes out billions of so-called foreign aid to every Hottentot in the world our own aged must become paupers before they can get financial help. I have hundreds of cases in my files from the elderly which read something like this:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'KONSKI: We are elderly people. We have a jalopy worth about $200. We have a home worth about $2,000. We have a garden for ourselves. This is all we have.

My wife is ill and needs an operation. The doctor bill and hospital bill will be about $400. We applied for aid but they told us that unless we sell the jalopy and give up our home we cannot get any help.

Tragically, this is the law in about one-third of the States. We compel them to give up their last possessions—a home and a jalopy—before they can get financial assistance for medicare. To get medicare help the aged must become paupers in these States. Thus, they lose their last possessions; namely, their home, their dignity and their self-respect. Why should this be in a nation that gave away more than $130 billion in the last 17 years to bums, politicians, and plain grafters all over the world? Yes, even Communists all over the world got many of these billions of dollars. Just a few days ago Congress passed a foreign aid bill that provides money for Communists.

From personal experience I know of the need of medicare for the aged. My wife and I did not inherit any money. The fact is we had to pay the medicare bills of our mothers and fathers. We were lucky that we were able to do so. But as I paid those bills I often wondered what happened to mothers and fathers whose children had a hard time taking care of themselves and their own young children. So I know from personal experience how rough the cost of medicare for the aged is, not only on the elderly but on their children who themselves are having a rough time of making things go with taxes being what they are.

The average aged couple who retire find that the first operation, doctor and hospitals usually use up their savings. The second operation, doctor and hospital, usually uses up their insurance. The third operation, doctor, and hospital, usually uses up their home, their pride and their dignity, and they are wiped out completely and become wards of charity from then on. Medicare is expensive and the better it gets the more expensive it gets. Something must be done and done at once to meet these medicare costs for our aged people.

This country of ours which plays Santa Claus to the world is the only modern country in the world that doesn't have a complete plan of medicare for the aged. In fact our country has given billions of dollars to help other countries finance a medicare plan for the aged. Yet, our own country is backward in providing for our own aged. Is this not ridiculous? Yet it is the truth, sad as it seems.

In 1947 I gave my first speeches in Congress advocating a system of financing a medicare plan for the aged. That is 15 years ago. The Milwaukee newspapers labeled me as a socialist, a fanatic, a dreamer and a rabble rouser. Today, every Congressman, and Senator and the President realize that something must be done. In the last 2 years, more than 50 bills have been introduced in the House and Senate to bring medicare to the aged. This is a far cry from 15 years ago. Yes, it took 15 years for the Nation to wake up to the fact that there is a "must be done" on the problem of medicare for the aged. And, it will be done if the people separate the sheep from the goats—namely, those who really want medicare for the aged—from those who want to use the aged as a political football year after year.

WHAT ABOUT THE KING-ANDERSON BILL?

The most discussed plan has been the President's King-Anderson bill. This is the bill most publicized and the most discussed. Let us examine the President's King-Anderson bill.

Who would be covered? All those over 65 who are under social security; all those over 65 who are under railroad retirement.

These are the only people who would be covered by the President's King-Anderson bill. The King-Anderson bill would not help one iota where the help is needed most.

There are about 4 million over 65 who are in the worst financial shape who are not under social security or railroad retirement. These are the people who are the worst off of any people. Their only misfortune is that they were born too soon. None of these people would be covered by the President's King-Anderson bill. I feel that those over 65, not under social security or railroad retirement who are the worst off of any aged people should be included in whatever medicare plan that is passed.

WHAT BENEFITS WOULD THE PRESIDENT'S KING-ANDERSON BILL PROVIDE?

First. Hospital care up to 90 days. But the patient must pay $10 for every day of the first 9 days or $90. If patient stays in hospital 1 day he must pay the minimum of $20.

Second. Nursing home care, 120 days.

Third. Home health service, 240 visits a year.

Fourth. Outpatient diagnostic service, but patient must pay first $20 of every diagnostic study.

These are the only benefits that would be available under the President's King-Anderson bill. That is all. There are no other benefits in the bill whatever and anyone who says otherwise is deceiving the people. Doctors, dentists, surgeons, physicians' costs are not covered by the King-Anderson bill. Not one penny of King-Anderson money would be available for a doctor, dentist, surgeon, or physician. The patient would have to pay that, every penny of it. If the patient did not have the money the King-Anderson bill would not help him with these bills one iota.

Not one penny of King-Anderson bill money would be available for medicine and drugs outside of the hospital. Medicine and drugs used at home are not covered by this bill. The only medicine and drugs that would be paid for under this bill are the medicine and drugs used while you are in the hospital. After you leave the hospital you pay for medicine and drugs yourself under this bill.

To give you an idea of just what the President's King-Anderson bill would do for the aged, let us take an average elderly person. Based on the best figures available, here is what today's average

medicare costs are for the aged each year and how much the President's King-Anderson bill would pay.

| | Average each year | King-Anderson bill would pay |
|---|---|---|
| The average elderly person spends each year for— | | |
| Physicians | $75 | 0 |
| Hospital care | 65 | $40 |
| Medicine | 50 | 0 |
| Dental | 15 | 0 |
| Diagnostic and other | 20 | 0 |
| Total | 225 | 40 |

From a study of these figures one can see that the average elderly person over 65 who spends about $235 a year for medicare would be reimbursed by the King-Anderson bill to the tune of about $40. That is all. Even in the most catastrophic cases where there is a year-round patient and in need of medicare the year around under the King-Anderson bill only about 25 percent of the costs would be reimbursed by the King-Anderson bill. People who have studied the bill found it disappointing. Several who first wrote me thought that all their medicare costs would be taken care of. They were disappointed when I sent them a copy of the bill with proper explanation. It is interesting to note that those who actually studied the bill all wrote me that they were disappointed in the bill after hearing so much about what it would do. The King-Anderson is not a medicare bill at all. It is merely a partial hospital bill and nothing more.

WHO WOULD PAY THE COST OF MEDICARE UNDER THE KING-ANDERSON BILL?

Under this bill there would be a half-cent increase in railroad retirement and social security taxes. That is one-fourth of a cent payroll tax would be paid by the employee and one-fourth of a cent payroll tax would be paid by the employer.

Under the King-Anderson bill, 90 percent of the almost $2 billion needed would be paid by the working people of our country. Ninety percent of this $2 billion would be paid by those whose salaries are below $12,000 a year. The poorest people would pay the lion's share. The rich would escape completely. The following people would not pay a dime in taxes for this program under the King-Anderson bill:

One. Those who inherit fortunes.

Two. Those who clip coupons and live on big, fat dividends.

Three. Those who make thousands in tax-exempt Government bonds.

Four. Three million Federal Government employees including Congressmen and Senators, Cabinet members and other high paying officers, including the President.

Five. Those who make millions on the stock market.

Six. Speculators and manipulators.

Seven. Those who make fortunes on appreciation of holdings and hundreds of thousands of others, most able to pay.

In short, only the poorest people of our country would be taxed. The richest people would go scot free. Only those workers under social security and railroad retirement would be taxed for this program. Everyone else gets by for free.

WHAT WOULD TAXES BE LIKE

Here is what the taxes on the working people would be like if the King-Anderson bill were to become law:

*If the King-Anderson is enacted*

[$5,200 earnings base]

| Year | Total rate per employee | Tax paid by employee | Tax paid by employer | Total tax per employee |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | | | |
| 1962 | 6¾ | $175.50 | $175.50 | $351 |
| 1963 | 7¾ | 201.50 | 201.50 | 403 |
| 1966 | 8¾ | 227.50 | 227.50 | 455 |
| 1968 | 9¾ | 253.50 | 253.50 | 507 |

In an interview published recently in U.S. News & World Report, Secretary Ribicoff was quoted as follows:

Under the tax schedule of the present Social Security Act you will get up to 9¼ percent for the employer and the employee combined in 1968. You add to this one-half of 1 percent for medical care for the aging under social security, and you've about hit the top of 10 percent. I don't think people will go for more than 10 percent.

The railroad retirement tax would be increased on the working people from 14½ to 15 percent—7½ percent to be paid by the worker and 7½ percent to be paid by the employer.

Few people realize that social security tax and railroad retirement taxes are the most undemocratic taxes in America. A workingman with four children who earns $4,000 a year pays no Federal income tax. Under the King-Anderson bill, this same workingman in 1968 will be paying $190 as his share of social security taxes. The social security tax would be levied upon the first $5,200 of worker's earnings. The social security tax allows no deductions or exemptions. Social security taxes in 1968 for a workingman will be far more than his income taxes. A workingman making $5,200 a year will pay the same amount of social security taxes, namely $253.50, as a Ford, a Rockefeller, or a millionaire making a million dollars a year. The social security tax is a tax on those least able to pay and a bonanza for those most able to pay. Yet, the King-Anderson bill would load the cost of medicare on the backs of these same working people in order that the rich and those who inherit fortunes can "steal home" free again.

MEDICARE SHOULD BE PAID BY ALL

Medicare for the aged is a national problem, a problem of all the people. Medicare for the aged to me is as important as national defense or education. Yet, we do not tax just the working people to pay for national defense or education. Of course not. We tax everybody for these purposes and tax them on a real democratic basis—the ability to pay. Medicare for the aged should be put on the same basis and not forced on the backs of just the working people of our country.

SOCIAL SECURITY SHOULD BE PRESERVED FOR RETIREMENT ONLY

There is a serious question if the social security program can be harnessed with medicare. Just for the inadequate retirement benefits under present social security program, the social security taxes by 1968 will reach 9¼ percent of wages earned. Yet, everyone who knows wants to be honest about it, that there must be increases in social security benefits to keep up with the cost of living. Present minimum social security benefits of $40 per month are ridiculous. Who can retire on $40 a month? Yes, many wives, survivors and dependents are getting even less than $40 a month. Some social security checks are so small they are hardly worth the cost of issuance and cashing.

There is no question whatever that benefits under social security should and must be increased to really make it a retirement program. To be anywhere near adequate social security benefits should be raised to $75 a month minimum. If we look ahead we also know that soon social security retirement eligibility with full benefits will be reduced to 62 years for men and 60 years for women. Also, we must realize that disability benefits under social security are too strict. One must be almost three-quarters dead and call the undertaker before you qualify for social security disability benefits under the present law.

Just these improvements under social security retirement will mean increased social security taxes. In the near future to make social security a really and truly retirement program, these things must and will be done. To accomplish this social security taxes just for retirement purposes are going to be raised to 10 percent of wages earned. This is the maximum tax that social security can stand. Every expert agrees that if social security taxes exceed 10 percent the system is in danger of breaking down completely and will meet with strong resistance from workers under social security system.

The truth is that our social security system must be preserved for retirement purposes only. If we saddle the social security program with medicare and other things we are endangering the whole retirement system. If we leave politics out and really examine our conscience these are truths that are so clear that only the stubborn and selfish politician will deny.

MEDICARE MUST BE FINANCED OUTSIDE SOCIAL SECURITY

Medicare, therefore, must be financed separately from our social security program. It can be done and it must be done. Only the stubborn and selfish politicians will deny this. And if reasonable people whose true interest is medicare and not selfish politics will demand honest effort in this direction, this can be accomplished without delay. Under all considerations, it should not take longer than next spring of 1963 to adopt an honest, all-coverage plan of medicare for our elderly citizens.

And we can do it, for the most part, by reducing taxes and not increasing taxes. Everyone is now talking about tax reduction. There is no question but what there will be a program of tax reduction. There is no better time to consider medicare than now. Tax reduction and medicare for the aged can be

accomplished in the same bill. And it will be adopted if the people get busy and demand it. Now is the time for you who really believe in honest medicare—not politics—to hit and hit hard.

MEDICARE FOR THE AGED MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED IN SEVERAL WAYS

Here are just a few of the ways it can be accomplished:

First, give tax exemption to sons and daughters for every dollar they spend for medicine, hospital, nurses, dental care, or doctors for their parents. Right now I have in my files more than a hundred cases where the Internal Revenue Service is denying tax exemption to sons and daughters who paid medicare bills for their parents and demanding additional taxpayments. Under present law, unless a son or daughter provides at least 51 percent of the living costs of a parent they cannot deduct such payments as deductions. If a son or daughter pays a parent's doctor bill or a hospital bill of $400, they cannot deduct this for tax purposes unless they prove they contributed at least 51 percent to the support of that parent. Therefore, if that parent gets an old-age pension or social security check of $40 a month, the son or daughter must pay income taxes on the $400 they pay on the parent's medicare bills. While we are now in the process of reducing taxes a change in the law giving sons and daughters a tax reduction for every dollar they spend for medicare for their parents; it will go a long way in helping aged parents in getting help for medical expenses. There are many sons and daughters who want to help their parents. The least the Government can do is to give these people proper tax deduction for these payments. Presently these sons and daughters are harassed by the taxmen for helping their parents. That is the injustice in the present law.

Second, why not permit aged parents to deduct cost of hospital and medical insurance from their tax due the Federal Government? Under present law it can be used as a deduction on income. Why not change the law to give a deduction from income taxes due? This will go a long way in enabling the aged to pay for their own hospital and medical insurance. This can be done in the present tax reduction bill now being considered.

Third, why not permit sons and daughters to deduct cost of hospital and medical insurance for their parents from their tax due the Federal Government? Under present law, they cannot even deduct it from their income unless they contribute at least 51 percent to the support of their parents. Why not change the law to give a tax deduction from income taxes due to all children who buy a hospital and medical insurance policy for their parents? Any son or daughter worth his or her salt would rather buy a good medical and hospital insurance policy for their parents than give it to Uncle Sam who fritters money all over the world like a drunken sailor.. This can be done in the present tax reduction bill now being considered.

Fourth, there are too many shyster insurance companies in existence that should not be in existence. I have several score cases in my files where aged people carried a hospital and medical insurance policy for years. Then when they reach 65 and need it most these companies raise the rates beyond reason hoping the policy will be dropped and if not dropped, these insurance companies cancel the policy. These insurance companies should be closed for the good of all the people. The Federal Government should take a hand in this and weed out these insurance companies who are in business not to serve the public but only to make money. Any insurance company in business that insures only people who they think a safe risk medically should not be permitted to bamboozle the aged people.

Fifth, why limit aged people to earning only $1,200 a year above social security or other retirement benefits. Some of these aged people could and want to earn more so that they can pay for their own medical and hospital expenses. If we would raise the limit to $1,800 for single people and $2,400 for a married couple, there would be a great number of aged people who could and want very much to pay their own way. There is no reason under the sun why these limits should not be raised to enable these aged people to earn more. It is sheer foolishness for the Government to limit the income of the aged to a point where they cannot afford to pay their own way. There is no reason under the sun why these limits should not be raised to enable these aged people to earn more. It is sheer foolishness for the Government to limit the income of the aged to a point where they cannot afford to pay for their own medicare. It just does not make sense.

Sixth, present minimum social security benefits are not adequate. Who can live on $40 a month minimum? Many wives of elderly people receive even less. In fact so much less that it is hardly worthwhile. These low payments are a sad reflection on our social security system. Minimum social security benefits should be near $75 a month. If this were done, many of the elderly would be glad to pay for medicare and most of all they could afford to pay for their own insurance. If we made a truly adequate retirement plan out of our social security system and railroad retirement system it would go a long way in enabling many of our elderly to buy medical insurance and meet the costs of medicare. We are going to have to raise these minimum benefits eventually—why not do it now to help the aged. This would have an immediate and instant effect in enabling the elderly to meet the costs of medicare. These benefits could be immediate and direct without setting up another bureaucracy.

Seventh, all States should repeal the pauper law or what they call the lien law. Wisconsin has about the worst law of this kind on its books. This is a hangover from the poor farm days. Congress should withhold every dollar of aid from any State until they repeal these vicious and Judas regulations. I am glad that Congress has started in this direction. In 1960 Congress passed a law giving additional millions to States for medicare for the aged. Wisconsin could get many millions of dollars from the Federal Government to help aged people with medicare. But Wisconsin would have to repeal its vicious lien law in order to get their money. If Wisconsin would repeal its lien law—or pauper law—Wisconsin could get 55 percent of every dollar they spend for medicare for the aged as a free grant from the Federal Government. The State of Wisconsin has done nothing to get these Federal grants. Millions of dollars are waiting in Washington for Wisconsin. But Wisconsin fiddles and faddles while their State officers shed crocodile tears for the aged.

Eighth, many States have liberalized minimum standards so that aged people need not become paupers to get medicare financing. Some States permit the aged to keep a $7,000 home; another $2,500 in personal possessions such as furniture and a car; a $1,000 insurance policy for burial purposes; and an income of $1,200 per year if single and $1,800 a year if married and still get State help for medicare. This is a humane pattern that more and more States are switching to. Every State in the Union should work in this direction. If Wisconsin does this, the Federal Government stands ready to pay 55 percent of the cost of such a program. That money has been available in Washington, D.C., since September 1960. But the State of Wisconsin has not lifted a finger in this direction. People of Wisconsin better do something about this and the sooner the better.

Ninth, the State of Colorado has a medicare system for the aged that has worked wonders. The State insures those aged who cannot afford medical and hospital insurance. This insurance covers, medicine, hospital, doctors and nurses and dental expenses. The State of Colorado insures with a nonprofit insurance company. The entire cost of the insurance is paid by the State. Under this program 53 percent of the money spent is a grant from the Federal Government. Wisconsin can and should do the same. If Colorado can do it, Wisconsin can if the citizens demand that it be done. Wisconsin used to be a progressive State. Wisconsin usually took the lead in humane treatment of all its people. But the past few years Wisconsin has been on the tail end of progressive laws. Colorado gets 53 percent of the cost from Washington. Wisconsin can get 55 percent of the cost from Washington.

Why tax retirement benefits, annuities and pensions the way we do? Present Federal tax laws are so high that aged people must pay income taxes on retirement benefits, annuities, and pensions. After these taxes there is little left for the aged to live on let alone pay medical bills. Why not permit the aged a tax exemption on pensions, annuities, and retirement benefits of $2,000 if single and $3,000 if married beginning with age 65. If we did that many millions of our aged would be left with enough money to buy real medicare insurance and pay the rest of their medicare ex-

penses. Why not do this in the tax reduction bill now being considered?

There is no reason in existence why every aged person who needs medical or hospital insurance should not be provided with that insurance if they are not in a position to finance it. And they should not give up their last possessions such as a home, a jalopy or their meager life insurance to get it. Since September 1960 the Federal Government has been ready to foot 55 percent of the cost of such a program for Wisconsin. The leaders of some States who shout loud and long about the needs of the aged have done nothing about it. It is time they did something besides talk.

IT'S A SIN TO DECEIVE THE AGED

But the thing to remember most is this: it is a sin and a shame to mislead aged people to believe that if the King-Anderson bill is passed all of their troubles are over and all their medicine, doctors, hospital, nurses and dental bills will be paid. It is the worst kind of deceit preying upon the miseries of the aged. It is deceit that is not worthy of men in public office. Because it just is not true. At best the King-Anderson bill would pay only 25 percent of the hospital expenses of the most catastrophic cases—and not one penny for home medicine or doctor's or dental services. And even for these meager benefits the King-Anderson bill would not cover in any way the 4 million elderly who need help the most. Their sin is they were born too soon to get under social security or railroad retirement.

Medicare for the aged must be approached from all sides as outlined above. Any politician who stubbornly says you take the King-Anderson bill or you get nothing is putting politics first and the welfare of the aged last. Any politician who is not willing to change the King-Anderson bill so that all aged people are covered is playing politics and has no real concern for the aged. Any politician who is not willing to change the King-Anderson bill so that all people pay taxes for the program, not just those under social security and railroad retirement, is thinking of politics—not the aged. Any politician who does not want the King-Anderson bill changed so that doctor bills and medicine will be paid, not just part of the hospital bill, is likewise thinking more of deceiving the aged rather than helping them.

Why should just working people be taxed to pay for 90 percent of the cost of medicare? How about the rich? Is it not their responsibility too? Any politician who is not willing to compromise in order to get all the aged covered, in order to get wider benefits, in order to get those who can afford taxes to pay taxes to support the program is really not interested in medicare. Such people are interested only in creating a political issue, a political football, so that they can prey upon the miseries of the aged because there are 20 million of them and that is a lot of votes. Their hearts would be broken if a real plan of medicare for the aged really became law. What would there be to talk about in the coming election?

I say medicare for the aged is a must. It is long overdue. I have been advocating such since 1947. I want medicare for the aged. I do not want the politics behind it. No one single plan or bill is going to do the job and do it right. It must be achieved by a combination of plans as I outlined above. If the people stop being fooled and insist that the job be done, it will be done. Make no mistake about that.

## Multer, Martin, and Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have had the privilege of serving with him on the House Committee on Banking and Currency are aware that, on the subject of money, few men are as knowledgeable as our distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. MULTER]. I believe the recent article which appeared in the Weekly Bond Buyer presents a searching and balanced review of a contentious problem on which Mr. MULTER is especially well informed. I am pleased to insert it for the information of the membership:

[From the Weekly Bond Buyer, July 30, 1962]

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE—THE RESERVE RATIO: A MONETARY GNAT

(By John Gerrity)

WASHINGTON.—For the past 3 years—since gold and its undulations achieved a point of primacy in the concerns of money managers here and abroad—omnipresent has been the knowledge that sooner or later changes in the rules governing the gold cover were inevitable.

Like youngsters hard at play but ever watchful for that inescapable curfew that marks the end of a day, monetary experts have known that their "day," as it now exists, must also come to an end.

In the case of gold and the professional money managers who deal in it, one "curfew" is the reserve ratio—the relatively obscure statistic that reflects this Nation's gold stocks in relation to Federal Reserve note and deposit liabilities—that by law is now set at 25 percent.

Today that ratio is 33.9 percent—some 8.9 percentage points above the legal limit, and presumed by many to be still a safe and comfortable margin.

A year ago, however, the ratio was 37.9 percent, and the cushion then of 12.9 percentage points was even more comfortable and reassuring.

THREE AND ONE-HALF POINT SHORTFALL

Two months ago, it was 34.4 percent, a shortfall in comfort, in a manner of speaking, of 3.5 percentage points in the space of less than a year.

In the last 2 months—and during a period when for 7 consecutive weeks the Nation's gold stocks remained virtually unchanged—the ratio has declined by 0.8 percentage point, or roughly two-tenths of a percentage point each week if proper allowance is made for the nearly 2 months during which the United States lost no gold.

If a rate of decline of two-tenths of a point each week were to continue for, say, a year, the actual ratio between gold stocks and Federal note and deposit liabilities would pierce the legal limits, sliding to a level of 23.8 percent, or roughly a full percentage point below the legal limit.

If, on the other hand, this same rate of decline were to continue only for 6 months, the ratio would inch so close to the legal limit that an alarm, in effect, would be automatically sounded.

Here at home, monetary officials would be constrained to act, either by suspending temporarily the legal ratio, as the Federal Reserve Board is empowered to do, or by banishing the ratio entirely through act of Congress.

DECLINE TO CONTINUE

That the ratio will continue its inexorable downward march, which began just about a decade ago, is virtually an absolute certainty.

The reserve ratio declines when gold stocks decline. It also declines when Federal Reserve liabilities rise. When both forces are at play, the rate of decline in the ratio is, of course, accelerated.

Even if gold losses were to cease entirely, a pleasant but implausible possibility should the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit be supplanted by a balance or a small surplus, the decline in the reserve ratio would continue, though doubtless at a slower rate.

For there is no gainsaying the fact that, in secular terms, it may be assumed the Nation's economy will continue to grow. And, with that growth, there is bound to be an increase in the magnitude of Federal Reserve note and deposit liabilities against gold reserves, which, though not static, are added to by new supplies at a very slow rate.

Consequently, there has arisen among knowledgeable experts in the domestic and foreign money markets considerable discussion over how long the ratio, as it now stands, will continue to exist.

CHANGE IN SIGHT?

They are convinced that by one method or another the United States will change the present legal requirement well in advance of the actual time of arrival of the 25-percent limit. In short, they contend that the United States cannot wait until the absolute final moment before adopting some alternative.

Some conjectures place this moment of action at the time when the reserve ratio reaches 30 percent—a scant 3.9 percent distant from today's ratio of 33.9 percent—or, said another way, about 4½ months from now, if the rate of decline of 0.2 percentage point per week continues unabated.

Others say that the United States may safely wait until the ratio reaches 28 percent. And still more, others say that the time to act is now, particularly if the rate of decline were to be accelerated for any reason, with the result that the so-called danger zone might be entered at a time when Congress was not in session.

Several weeks ago, in one of his press conferences, President Kennedy called for vigorous dialog among disputants on the major issues of the day. Of itself the reserve ratio, a mere statistic in a welter of others, and its ultimate fate, is not a major issue.

But the implications and conclusions that would be drawn from changing or eliminating the reserve ratio, both at home and abroad, do constitute major issues.

To many foreigners, and to many domestic money managers, alterations in the legal requirement would tend to sustain other reasonings that bespeak a lack of confidence in the dollar.

MANAGED MONEY STANDARDS

To Americans primarily, the total abrogation of the reserve ratio would be the final fillip of a movement started nearly three decades ago, when the United States went off the gold standard. To them it would mean the unclouded dawn of the day of managed

money, albeit that day has, in fact, long since dawned in many respects.

Every American official of notable stature—the President, his Secretary of the Treasury, his principal economic advisers, the Governors of the Federal Reserve Board, and Members of Congress who devote much of their energies to money matters—are in general agreement that the reserve ratio is not very useful and that in time it should be abolished.

When and how to abolish it, however, is quite a different matter.

Until recently, the Treasury has gingerly sidestepped the question whenever it arose, saying, in effect, "This is not the appropriate time to consider this reserve ratio; it doesn't enter our current planning; and at another time, when other more pressing matters relating to gold movements and the balance of payments are resolved, then the question of the reserve ratio may be considered.

MARTIN-MULTER COLLOQUY

Two weeks ago, at a hearing of the House Banking Committee, a brief colloquy sprang up between Chairman William McChesney Martin, of the Federal Reserve Board, and New York's ABRAHAM MULTER, one of most respected students of finance in Congress.

Under discussion was a bill to permit commercial banks to pay higher interest rates on the time and savings deposits of foreign central banks and foreign governments.

"I don't suppose," said Representative MULTER, "that you would care to recommend enlarging this present bill by the inclusion of the provisions relating to the reserve ratio, now contained in H.R. 6900."

"No," said Mr. Martin, "this is not the time, nor are other related conditions such that it would be wise to take up the reserve ratio now."

With that brief exchange the colloquy ended. Talk turned to the bill at hand, and neither Mr. MULTER explained why he raised his question, nor did Mr. Martin volunteer any more information as to why he did not think this was the proper time to consider the reserve ratio.

Accordingly, what follows below represents what President Kennedy might call a useful dialog—a continuation of the colloquy that met a swift elliptical hiatus at the hearings:

MULTER'S VIEWS

To Mr. MULTER, the reserve ratio is little more than a fiction—a needless fiction that serves more to confuse than it does to safeguard the domestic currency and economy from manipulation, or as an effective brake on the outflows of gold.

"Once," he says, "U.S. gold reserve laws had meaning when the Nation operated under the gold standard, and individuals could own gold. Actual boxes of physical gold were shipped in and out of the country, depending on prices offered for the gold in the various markets.

"This movement, in turn, affected bank reserves, the volume of currency, and the country's economic position.

"But for years, we have not operated under the gold standard," he continues, "and today our gold reserve laws are a meaningless economic fiction.

"Today, there are outstanding Federal Reserve bank obligations, exclusive of capital accounts, of $29.8 billion against which the Federal Reserve banks have a gold reserve of $16.3 billion. Under existing law, the Federal Reserve System could run the total of currency and deposits up to more than $65 billion on the basis of the $16.3 billion gold reserve.

"In other words," he says, "the Federal Reserve notes could be increased from $29.8 billion to $65.2 billion.

"No one has suggested that that be done. I am certain that there is no intention to do so. Imagine what would happen to the value of capital and labor if we suddenly increased the quantity of currency in circulation by $35.5 billion.

"This, then, is the case against requiring a gold reserve on the domestic scene, and in favor of repealing the law requiring it."

FOREIGN CLAIMS

As for foreign claims against the dollar and a possible adverse effect on the balance of payments, Mr. MULTER says categorically that repeal of the reserve ratio law would "neither affect the balance of payments nor cause a run on our gold."

He points out that no individual and no corporation—American or foreign—can demand gold from the United States.

"Foreign governments and foreign central banks, that is, government banks, have a right to demand settlement of their claims against the United States in gold.

"We can satisfy such claims with gold or with the currency of that country making the claim," he says. "By repealing a sterile and useless domestic gold reserve requirement, we have available to meet foreign claims a total of about $16.298 billion.

"The total amount, private and government, of foreign claims," he adds, "is only $20 billion, and not more than half of it is foreign government. Our gold stock is almost double that amount. In addition, we have a right to call on the International Monetary Fund for the use of $4.125 billion in gold.

"That much we can get as of right now. We can borrow as much more, if necessary. But how could we possibly need it? And for what?"

Mr. MULTER contends that the current obsession in respect to gold movements has completely obscured other factors relating to the balance of payments and to our economy that are of far greater significance.

"Over and above foreign claims against the United States," he says, "Americans own investments in foreign countries in excess of $50 billion. All of it is earning profits for Americans. Some of the earnings and of the capital is being repatriated every year.

"Those who argue we must have a gold reserve to prevent printing excessive quantities of paper money, completely ignore the fact that it is the law, as made by Congress and approved by the President, and not the quantity or quality or fineness of gold, which determines how much and what kind of paper money should be issued in this country."

SCOFFS AT GOLD STANDARDISTS

He scoffs at those who argue that the United States should return to the gold standard and devalue the dollar; "that is, increase the price of gold from $35 to $70 an ounce, or to any other figure." And, if this were tried, he says, it could not be done unilaterally but only in accord with the major "hard currency" nations of the world "else we upset the world currencies."

"If that is what we must do, why waste time with such mathematical gymnastics?" he asks.

"If we double the value of gold and thereby cut the dollar in half, and do the same to the British pound sterling, and the German mark, and the French franc, and the Italian lira, what have we accomplished?

"Look at the windfall we create for the country that will not enter into so foolish an international agreement—'fiasco' would be a better word.

"Would the Swiss bankers join us in such a move? I doubt it," he states.

"Would the Russians? You can bet your last dollar they would not.

"Half the world's gold is owned by the Russians. For every dollar we add to the price of gold, we add a dollar to the value of the Russian hoard.

"Double the world price of gold, and the Russians can buy or destroy the economy of the free world with the gold they now have on hand."

REPEAL LONG OVERDUE

Mr. MULTER says that the time for repealing the gold reserve ratio law is long overdue. Not now, nor in the future, he says, does the economic stability of the United States depend upon so fragile a device as the reserve ratio, or indeed, gold itself.

"Our economy, every sound economy," he says, "must depend upon the production of our farms and our factories. The dollar protects itself, when we protect our economy."

Accordingly, he disputes the contention of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System that the United States should bide its time and delay abolishing the reserve ratio, until a happier picture in the balance of payments is at hand.

He points out that last year, when hearings on his bill, H.R. 6900, were postponed because the "balance-of-payments deficit and the factors affecting it were too sensitive" to permit any tampering with the reserve ratio, the deficit was running at an annual rate of $2.5 billion.

"Now," he says, "we have about halved that annual rate. Yet the time is still not ripe to abolish the fiction of the ratio."

Mr. MULTER echoes President Kennedy when he says, as he did at his latest press conference, "We can end our balance-of-payments deficit any time we choose, simply by cutting back the outlays for military and foreign aid to the point where they don't exceed our trade surplus."

In fact, Mr. MULTER goes even further: "We hold now—and will continue to hold—total control of our balance of payments. We can exercise that control whenever we choose to. We are the most powerful, the healthiest economy in the world. No single nation in the world today nor any likely concert of nations would be willing—or able—to deny us whatever reasonable course we decide to adopt.

"To discuss the importance and usefulness of the reserve ratio in the same breath as we discuss the power and real strength of the U.S. economy is to speak of giants and pygmies.

"They are incompatible."

MARTIN'S VIEWS

So far as the general strength of the economy is concerned, and as for the relative unimportance of the gold "cover," Mr. Martin is substantially en rapport with Mr. MULTER.

In only two areas does he disagree sharply with the New York legislator. One has to do with the actual timing of the repealer for the reserve ratio law. The other—and here Mr. Martin speaks mainly as a technician—relates to the probable size of future gold movements and what their overall import may be.

He, too, dismisses any talk of devaluation or reevaluation as being nonsense. Similarly, he agrees with the President and with Mr. MULTER that the balance-of-payments problem, as it is now understood, could be erased almost overnight, should the United States decide to do so.

He also agrees that vast improvements have been made in the past year in eliminating the illiquidity in U.S. accounts, although he retains some reservations as to whether the deficit at the end of 1962 will be something less than $1.5 billion, as the President, Mr. MULTER, Treasury Under Secretary Robert V. Roosa, and other experts now confidently predict.

TIMING THE REPEALER

As for the timing of the repealer, the Chairman says: "Under our present system, of our total gold stocks of some $16 billion plus, roughly $11 billion is earmarked as cover for Federal Reserve notes and deposits.

"The balance, or about $5 billion, is several times more than we would require un-

der the most strained circumstances we can foresee or imagine now that would arise if foreign claimants were to demand gold.

"I think," the Chairman says, "we would be remiss, if we were to permit ourselves to become overly optimistic, however, over the results of our performance in respect to gold in the past 2 months.

"After all, we owe a good deal of the robustness of our current gold situation to the fact that earlier in the year we acquired $300 million in gold from Canada. We exchanged dollars for that gold for the simple reason Canada at the time preferred U.S. dollars to gold, and so we bought it.

"Now, however, it would be worse than naive to ignore the strong probability that the reverse will soon be the order of things. U.S. tourists by the thousands will be visiting and spending in Canada. The number of Canadian tourists visiting the United States will be meager by comparison.

"U.S. exports to Canada will certainly dwindle, while Canadian exports to the United States will increase tremendously. The movement of capital will be reversed—and all the factors that heretofore tended to build a surplus for the United States, in United States-Canadian trade and transactions, will now work in favor of building a Canadian surplus."

REVIVAL OF GOLD OUTFLOWS

Mr. Martin points out that the next 6 weeks—"and this is invariably the case before International Monetary Fund and World Bank meetings"—will most certainly produce a revival of gold outflows, and in very sizable proportions.

"I'm not anticipating a run, but I would most certainly be derelict in my present job here," he says, "if I were to rule out the possibility of a gold run on the United States within the next couple of months or so.

"While dollar conversions will be large, particularly by the Swiss, Belgians, and very possibly the Germans and the French, they will not be so large as to force us to change our present calculations to cover the probable losses."

Mr. Martin contends that the question of when the gold "cover" should be abolished by law can only be a matter of "judgment." He concedes that time may prove Mr. MULTER's judgment of today to be better than his.

But, by the gentlest of implication, he suggests that if Mr. MULTER were to enjoy the same technical advantages that are his solely by virtue of being the head of America's central bank, Mr. MULTER's judgment might veer closer to Mr. Martin's than his would toward Mr. MULTER.

"Suppose," says Mr. Martin, "that the committee decides to tack on to the bill making higher interest rates on foreign deposits permissive, the repeal of the reserve ratio at a time when the demands on our gold stocks are heaviest.

"To propose such legislation at such a time, with its certain adverse effects on foreign confidence in the dollar, would be little short of being irresponsible.

"I have no doubt," he adds, "that to propose a repealer for the reserve ratio at that time would add greatly to the confusion and do much to generate a new wave of lack of confidence.

REPEAL NEXT SPRING?

"This is especially true," he continues, "in light of the fact that we certainly have ample gold stocks to withstand virtually any sort of drain until such time as we can take up the repealer in an orderly, deliberative manner—say, next April or May, when the temper of Congress will be far different than it is now at the tail end of a session."

He makes another point, a rather unusual one from a professional banker, who, without batting an eye, disavows solemnly any real awareness of the fine art of politics.

"Suppose again," he says, "the President were to send up a request 3 weeks or a month from now for the repealer, and then consider the way this Congress has been behaving.

"They have set him back on his heels on several occasions. This is an election year. No matter the merits of any issue, there is always the possibility that a balky, noncooperative Congress might just seize upon the President's request as another fine opportunity to rough him up a little.

"Then, imagine the results, especially from the perspective of foreigners. The risks and difficulties would be more than doubled. They would be compounded.

"Not only would the President's request be interpreted in many quarters as being tantamount to an admission of the growing weakness of the dollar, but a refusal by Congress to go along with his request would be further interpreted to mean that Congress lacked faith in his custodianship of the economy and the worth of the dollar.

"This is not merely a matter of Republicans opposing a Democratic administration, although there would be a large element of that in it, if only for political reasons now," he says.

TAFT'S LEADERSHIP

"In less tense political times, when the climate on the Hill is more serene than it is today, I have no doubt that many Republicans will support the President in this. After all, you must remember, it was Senator Bob Taft who led the fight to cut the reserve ratio from 40 to 25 percent.

"Given the best possible circumstances—and they can be attained—Congress, I am sure, will approach this issue largely in a nonpartisan way."

Mr. Martin adds another observation, so obvious that it is often overlooked.

EUROPEAN PRESS HOSTILITY

He points out that the hostility of the European press—"not just the London press, in Paris, in Rome, in Brussels, in fact everywhere"—to American efforts to right their financial difficulties is "downright rampant."

He has every confidence that "our educational efforts in the past few years" have convinced the central bankers of Europe that the United States is following the right course.

But, Mr. Martin is not so naive, nor are his thoughts disguised when he talks of this, to assume that the central bankers of Europe are any less impregnable to domestic internal pressures than are bankers anywhere.

Try as they will and do to remain aloof from such pressures, "the almost constant drumming," as he says, "of the assertion that the United States is going to devalue in 90 days or 100 days or in 180 days is bound to have some effect.

"We would do ourselves little good and much harm if we were to help feed those propaganda fires now by so unwise an act as to try to eliminate the reserve ratio at this untimely moment.

"This is not the time, nor is the atmosphere favorable to run the risk of a storm that will most certainly result if we strive for a repealer of the reserve ratio now."

## Philippine Rehabilitation Act

SPEECH

OF

## HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11721) to authorize the payment of the balance of awards for war damage compensation made by the Philippine War Damage Commission under the terms of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of April 30, 1946, and to authorize the appropriation of $73 million for that purpose.

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Chairman, I voted in favor of H.R. 11721 and I am pleased that the House passed this bill that would discharge a moral obligation under the terms of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of April 30, 1946.

The previous legislation, H.R. 8617, could well have provided an unjustified windfall and might not have accomplished the purpose for which it was intended.

H.R. 11721, on the other hand, overcomes this objection and requires that the beneficiaries must give proof that they already have or intend to use it in the rehabilitation of the Philippines. This is the heart of the problem.

We are fortunate to have the friendship of the people of the Philippines, who supported us so valiantly in the recent world conflict and this action on the part of the House will convey to them, in some small measure, our feeling of friendship and an example of our adherence to right moral principles.

## Mexico and the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent request previously granted, I am including an article which appeared in the News of Mexico City on July 18. This newspaper is an English-language daily published in Mexico City. The author of the article, Mr. Romero, comments upon our recent agreements with Mexico under the Alliance for Progress program.

UN MOMENTITO WITH PEPE ROMERO

MEXICO CITY.—Despite the time that has elapsed and despite the confusion which has arisen from the many different versions of the true nature of the supervised agricultural credit $20 million loan to Mexico by the United States, recently signed during President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's official visit to this country—the real story is still to be told.

It is that medium and long-range loans will be made to the agricultural sector in Mexico, and very important that Mexico will contribute one to one point five billion pesos, as its contribution to this program.

Published reports as far as I have been able to notice have made no mention whatsoever of Mexico's tremendous contribution to this program. Nor is it true that this important loan is simply routine. It is actually the result of many months of work between specialists of the United States and Mexico, to bring about an impact and immediate project under the Alianza Para el Progreso Pact—which Mexico and the United States signed at Punta del Este. The true spirit of the loan itself was lost in the shuffle of

the varied interpretations. The truth is that it was inspired by the desire of the United States to put into effect a much needed project which will benefit the small Mexican farmer, and if I may say so, to provide work to thousands of hands who for so long have had to cross into the United States as wetbacks in search of harvesting employment. With this kind of spirit of cooperation under J.F.K.'s Alliance for Progress in reality and not in words alone, the $20 million U.S. agricultural loan and Mexico's cash participation will be an example to the free world of what such international teamwork can accomplish.

It seems also that the true nature of the Alliance for Progress has also been misunderstood. Each country which signed the Punta del Este agreement is called to mobilize every possible resource within its own country combined with external financing in order to complete the economic development plan of each Latin American country. Therefore, those who believe the Alliance for Progress is an all-year-round Christmas present from Uncle Sam—are distorting the facts and throwing a monkey wrench into the understanding of public opinion, which harms the dedicated efforts of specialists of the two countries who are working around the clock to crystalize the Alliance for Progress projects already on the march.

It is a source of pride that in this case, Mexico is in a position to provide part of the financing and the technical know-how, which will undoubtedly help make this venture a mutually successful completed action.

The realization of this agricultural endeavor—means that the authentic yet small Mexican farmer will be in a position to not only obtain credit to improve his farm but also for loans to harvest his crops. This farmer will be able to bring in irrigation and drainage; secure new equipment; obtain fertilizers and insecticides, etc., etc., etc., etc.—many dreams come true.

But hold your horses. Stop that tractor and listen: The great big thing about this loan is that it will get to the Mexican farmer at the low interest rate of 6 percent, a luxury which he has never been able to obtain before. Arriba the Alliance for Progress.

UN MOMENTITO.

## Profits Are Not Bad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, it has been my opinion that to get our economy growing and to improve the overall well-being of everyone, a better appreciation of our economic system would be helpful.

The Delaware State News, Dover, Del., on July 31, 1962, carried a guest editorial by Mr. Charles G. Mortimer, chairman of the General Foods Corp. This editorial was entitled "Profits Are Not Bad." I believe this editorial makes a valuable contribution to a better understanding of our economic system and the significance of profits.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROFITS ARE NOT BAD

(By Charles G. Mortimer, chairman, General Foods Corp.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following is a collection of statements made by Charles G. Mortimer, chairman of the board of General Foods, during his address at the annual General Foods stockholders meeting. The statements were chosen out of context to form this guest editorial. General Foods has proposed a 1,200 employee, multimillion-dollar plant just west of Dover, but no final decision has been made by the company as yet. Mr. Mortimer's remarks:)

What I want to talk to you about today transcends the interest we share as stockholders of General Foods in our own company's well-being. It is the stake we all have—186 million Americans—in bringing about a prompt turnabout in the widespread fallacious notion which persists that while our American profit system is good, the profits which make it possible are, somehow, bad if they exceed a bare minimum.

My remarks are dictated by my considered conviction that this misunderstanding and the consequent stigmatization of adequate profits constitute a grave and growing threat to the entire economic structure of our country and, therefore, to our very survival as a nation. This concern is by no means unshared. My point is that it needs to be shared much more widely and with more conviction by the American public.

It should be clear that I am not indulging in a lament about our own company's profit situation. Rather, I want to delineate the indispensable function of profits—and I use function in the most active sense of the word—in helping our national economy retain its outstanding and traditional characteristic of consistently being a rising economy. There can be no standing still—for nations any more than for individuals or businesses. Our national economy must move ahead or it will fall behind.

We need to dispel the most harmful of all the myths that have been handed down from the past—the myth which holds that conflict must exist between economic groups under capitalism. This belief is founded on another century's concept of capitalism. It utterly ignores the simple fact that what we have in the United States today is what has been aptly called a people's capitalism. Ours is a system in which the savings of millions of men and women in all walks of life provide the capital for investment in the various industries and businesses of America.

Like it or not, our profit system is on trial before the world today. To prove it is successful, we must shake our economy out of its current sluggishness. This will be a do-it-yourself job, and it begins with understanding.

We can do it if each of us will see clearly that he plays more than one role in our economy. I invite every American—regardless of his economic status—to look into what I visualize as a three-way mirror of good citizenship in which our over-all well-being is reflected.

The consumer is primarily interested in prices. He lives by them.

To the worker, wages are all-important. He lives on them.

The investor looks to profits. He lives because of them.

Business must live with, on, and by all three—prices, wages and profits.

Despite the fact that profits are generally regarded as merely something left over after consumption has been taken care of by production, that's not the way our economy works. Profits are vital to investment, and we must invest before we can produce and we must produce before we can consume.

Our economy moves forward only when both the investors' money and the workers' labor are combined efficiently to produce profitably what the consumer wants. This combination must provide:

Prices that represent value to the consumer.

The wherewithal for good wages for the worker.

An adequate reward for the investor for risking his funds.

And—of great importance—the capital so necessary for business expansion.

The simple truth, as we all know, is that profits—and only profits—provide the incentive for investors to continue investing and that undistributed earnings must be available for plowing back in the interests of keeping business modern and growing.

Unfortunately, John Q. Public is far more concerned about holding prices down and getting more wages for himself. He is not at all concerned about the level of corporate profits because he is looking into only one panel of the citizenship mirror. He does not understand that the favorable level of price he pays for a wanted item has frequently been made possible by the efficiency of the machines which made it. Nor does he grasp that it is only a sufficient profit which has made it possible to buy modern machines to replace obsolete ones.

Loose thinking about America's economy—especially with respect to the profit picture as it has deteriorated in the last 10 years—is as dangerous to our Nation's well-being as loose talk was during World War II.

For a short and long pull revival of the desired rate of economic growth, attended by growth in jobs and a better state of economic health, we need, of course, the currently promised fundamental revision of our tax laws. Such a revision will stimulate consumer confidence and spending on the one hand, and business confidence and investment for both the short and the long term. But this alone won't do the job. Combined with tax reform, we must also have an administration-sponsored drive to reduce Government spending in a sincere effort to cut costs.

In addition—and I think of transcendent importance—it is essential to accomplish a turnabout through understanding in the American public's attitude toward the essential function of profits in a growing economy.

Only through such an understanding can we bring about a lasting change in political policies, thus enabling us to end the profit anemia which has sapped our corporate vigor. A changed public attitude on this score will provide a turning point from which we can resume the lusty economic growth of which this Nation is entirely capable—beginning right now.

I would like to close with an analogy from our own food industry. We all know that the food the human body requires must contain a balance of certain basic nutrients if good health is to be maintained. When we fail to get enough of any important one, the result is ill health.

The economic body cannot survive without a balance of nutrients any more than the human body can. Profits are the protein of our national economy. Profits revitalize our economic body and insure its future growth.

We must bring about public understanding that a healthy, growing economy requires a balanced diet of competitive prices, good wages, fair profits, and sound investment.

To get our economy rolling, all we have to do is free profits from the isolation ward of American economic thinking.

## Independence Day of Niger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Niger, Hamani Diori; and His Excellency the Nigerian Ambassador to the United States, Issoutou Saidou Djermakoye, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Niger's independence.

On August 3 we celebrate the second anniversary of the independence of Niger, a country south of the Sahara Desert which has been known to history since Roman times. Many peoples have lived in Niger during the past thousand years, forming great empires and kingdoms in a territory which extends from present-day Nigeria to the new state of Algeria. In the 17th century the Djerma migrated to Niger from the north, to mention only one of the illustrious tribes which successively inhabited the region. In the 19th century Europeans arrived on the scene, and the French civil administration was established in the 1890's. The combination of many different peoples who inhabit Niger is typical of the newly independent nations of Africa. The new nation is striving to preserve the identity of its peoples within the framework of a modern democratic state.

The final process leading to Niger independence started on September 28, 1958, when the peoples of Niger voted in favor of the constitution which offered it a choice of statuses. The political representatives of Niger chose to become a state in the French community, under the leadership of Mr. Hamani Diori. After the French community was transformed into a contractual association in 1960, the leaders of Niger signed agreements with the French Republic providing for its unconditional international sovereignty, and on August 3, 1960, the Republic of Niger proclaimed its independence. Niger took its place in the United Nations on September 20, 1960.

During the last 2 years this immense country in the heart of the African Continent has been striving hard to achieve political unity and national consciousness, to strengthen in its diverse peoples the idea of nationhood and a sense of common destiny. At the same time, spectacular progress has been made in social and cultural development. Elementary education has been made available to an increasing number of children who never before enjoyed the benefits of school. Medical facilities are being expanded, the battle against famine and malnutrition is pursued with vigor, and special attention is devoted to the agriculture and stockraising from which 94 percent of the people of Niger derive their income. Thus the difficult problems of industrialization are gradually being overcome.

The Republic of Niger is demonstrating to the world how a colonial administration can be succeeded by a modern democratic state. The Constitution of Niger reaffirms the Republic's attachment to the principle of democracy, human rights, and civil liberties. We in the United States welcomed the establishment of independence in Niger and we congratulate the young Republic on the second anniversary of its independence.

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## Independent Offices Appropriations Bill, 1963

SPEECH
OF
**HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12711) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, let us look at another aspect of FAA management.

The flying public has become quite accustomed to the commercial jetliner, and accepts as routine the fact that a passenger can have breakfast in New York and lunch in Los Angeles, with time to spare. We would feel inconvenienced to make such a trip in a DC–3, for example.

Yet, the air traffic control system, which grew like topsy around the DC–3, is still clumsily trying to grope with the problems introduced by modern jets—using DC–3 era equipment and procedures, and guided by unimaginative and stultifying DC–3 type management.

It is true that radar is being extensively used in air traffic control, thanks to the development efforts of our military services. However, the end product of radar is the display, and controllers today must attempt to track aircraft and avoid collisions using radar display equipment that was discarded by the Navy in 1945 as obsolete. Why? What has happened to the hundreds of millions of dollars appropriated by Congress since 1957 to improve and provide ATC equipment? Why does FAA spend $3 million to build radiation proof, bomb proof showplaces—one of which was abandoned before they moved in—to house ATC centers, and then equip these centers with radar display equipment which was declared obsolete in 1945? What are we getting for our research dollars in air safety? Is there nothing better available? I think there is. I have personally visited military radar installations on land and sea, and observed vastly superior displays. Duplication by FAA of the research which went into this superior military equipment would not be so bad, if FAA had anything to show for their R. & D. efforts over the past 5 years.

I cite as another example of obsolete ATC equipment a device known as a mechanical interlock, used to provide coordination between traffic control centers and towers. This equipment first appeared in 1948, and was still in use as a means of passing information between the New York center and the Idlewild tower in December 1960. Indeed, this obsolete equipment appears to have played a key role in the midair collision between the DC–8 and Constellation over New York, December 16, 1960. The mechanical interlock equipment failed—but the failure was not apparent to the controller. As a result, valuable seconds were lost by the Idlewild tower controller, as he attempted to verify by telephone what the mechanical interlock equipment had failed to provide. What difference those precious seconds might have meant in the course of the ill-fated DC–8's flight must be left to history. The accident report, issued by the Civil Aeronautics Board, leaves much to be desired, in the treatment of FAA's responsibility. Curiously enough, CAB permitted FAA to conduct its own investigation of the air traffic control role in this accident. The report dismisses the failure of the mechanical interlock as unimportant. Equally curious was the subsequent action of FAA in quietly removing this particular piece of obsolete equipment from service.

The approach of present FAA management seems to be one of insuring air safety by providing one FAA employee for each aircraft in the United States using the air traffic control system. In fiscal year 1963, FAA requested a total personnel strength of 47,751. Recent figures show that the commercial airline fleet now numbers approximately 1,800. We know that there are thousands of pleasure aircraft that never use the services of air traffic control. We also know that the commercial airline fleet comprises the majority of the workload in ATC. Does it really require 25 FAA employees for each commercial airline aircraft in this country?

The attitude of FAA management seems to be that aviation problems can be solved best by brute force. We know that FAA's research program, involving hundreds of millions over the past 5 years, is conspicuous by its lack of achievement. But is it not just possible that there are tried and proven equipments, developed by the military, which can be used in lieu of sheer manpower? Must FAA persist in clinging to outdated procedures and antiquated equipment?

In an effort to add more and more personnel, FAA has added to the terrific burden of the controller by increasing the coordination workload. The process of attempting to keep an excess number of controllers informed on the progress of flights, utilizing obsolete procedures and equipments, breaks down daily. Near misses are occurring daily as a result of this overstaffing—and yet the management of these 47,000 FAA employees is so inept that many controllers are still required to put in a full 8-hour day, without benefit of a scheduled lunch period.

I propose to continue my examination and discussion of this Agency in the hope that it can receive some much-needed attention in the interest of improving the development and safety of air travel in the United States.

## The Long Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Post of July 31. The editorial wisely distinguishes the Senate communications satellite bill filibuster from the Southern intransigence on civil rights. The New York Post points out that the real purpose of the satellite debate is to obtain "reasonable time on a measure that deserves far wider national understanding and debate."

THE FUTURE OF THE SKY

The case made by a lonely bloc of liberal Senators in favor of public ownership of the communications satellite system is a compelling one. It has received far too little national attention.

Their effort to delay a vote on the issue raises other questions. The indignantly uninformed, some newspapermen among them, charge that they are engaged in an old-fashioned filibuster, manipulating Dixiecrat means to their own ends. If one looks at the record, and particularly that part of it not chronicled widely in most of the press, that issue becomes much more complicated. More about that in a moment.

We find no great complexity in dealing with the substantive issue. We agree with the liberal holdouts that a publicly developed and financed technology should not be used to orbit a private monopoly into space. Our earlier convictions have been reinforced by the report that there is already a cold war dispute over the assignment of satellite frequencies. Shall the profit position of A.T. & T. be a major element in delicate international negotiations on such problems? (The suggestion of A.T. & T. influence is not far-fetched; there are already reports that one Government program was canceled because it did not fit into the private plans of the corporate giant.)

Despite our commitment to public ownership of the system, we would not gaily support a conventional filibuster to win the point. When a minority paralyzes the democratic process, that is bad news, whether the willful band is Dixiecrat or liberal. But the tactical issue in this case is not a simple matter of filibuster and the true details have been widely unreported.

Senator MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, a leader of the liberal dissenters, has consistently made it plain that he and his colleagues are not seeking to block a vote indefinitely on the administration bill. They want time for public debate. They see no rational argument for a legislative stampede on so great a question. They have promised that they will make no move to avert action on the measure immediately after the fall elections. This is something less than Dixiecrat-style intransigence.

MORSE also contrasts the leisurely bankers' hours observed during the debate over discriminatory voting literacy tests with the current frenzy of the Democratic leadership. Whether Negroes would be deprived of the vote this fall was a question which could not legitimately wait. But it did. The shape of the sky to come is a matter for serious legislative reflection. The Senate is treating it as if the heavens might vanish during the night.

Finally, perhaps most important, the liberals have repeatedly offered to join an effort to change the filibuster rule right now. They declare they would be willing to undercut their own parliamentary position if this would result in the long-sought democratization of Senate procedure. Again, this is hardly the usual attitude of a diehard, obstructionist minority resolved to rule or ruin.

We hope the real point of the liberals' case does not get lost in the course of pious and often ignorant denunciation of their tactics. The Senate is determining the human and political dimensions of the vastness of space. We are making decisions which concern light years of time. We dare not rush; we must think, with utmost seriousness. And that is very different from saying that the bill must be talked to death, now and tomorrow and tomorrow.

This filibuster can be stopped by the simple administration gesture of allowing for a little more debate or by a general Senate agreement to revise the rules. The liberal design is not an attempt to kill a bill for all foreseeable time. It is a fight for reasonable time on a measure that deserves far wider national understanding and debate. What is the pressure that gives this legislation so high a priority? Is there some fear that the country will begin to glimpse the real nature of the giveaway?

## City of Bell, 23d Congressional District, Los Angeles County, Calif., Resolves Supporting Voluntary Public Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call your attention to the following resolution of the city of Bell, Calif. This is one of the very important municipalities incorporated under the laws of the State of California in the great 23d Congressional District, Los Angeles County, Calif.

RESOLUTION 1811

Resolution relative to the Supreme Court's decision on prayer in public schools

The City Council of the City of Bell does resolve as follows:

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States of America has recently decided that the use of prayers in the public school program in the State of New York by State legislation is unconstitutional; and

Whereas the City Council of the City of Bell is concerned lest this decision may affect the present attitude of the city council with reference to the use of prayer in public meetings:

Now, therefore, in order to clarify the position of City Council of the City of Bell on this subject, it is hereby resolved:

1. That divine guidance in our governmental affairs be invoked by public prayer in which any person may participate or join, as he desires.

2. That the recognition of the basic American way of life under God, as set forth in the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, be continued.

Adopted and approved this 16th day of July 1962.

JAY B. PRICE.

Attest:

WM. H. POOLE,
*City Clerk of the City of Bell.*

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
*County of Los Angeles,*
*City of Bell,* ss:

I, Wm. H. Poole, city clerk of the city of Bell, do hereby certify that the foregoing Resolution 1811 was duly adopted by the City Council of the City of Bell, signed by the mayor of said city, and attested by the city clerk, at a regular meeting thereof held on the 16th day of July 1962, by the following vote, to wit:

Ayes: Councilmen French, McKnight, Simmons, Treder, and Mayor Price.

Nays: None.

Absent: None.

WM. H. POOLE,
*City Clerk of the City of Bell.*

## Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the Lowell Sun, one of Massachusetts' leading newspapers, has taken note editorially of the 10th anniversary of Puerto Rico's commonwealth status with the United States. The editorial, appropriately entitled "Success Story," gives expression to the feelings of all Americans on this significant occasion. In order that I may share it with my colleagues in the Congress, I am pleased to include it in the RECORD.

SUCCESS STORY

Hearty congratulations are going out to the people of Puerto Rico on the 10th anniversary of the island's association with the United States as a commonwealth.

Puerto Rico's democratically chosen status is not that of an independent nation, nor yet a state but something unique. It has been, both economically and politically, a highly successful experiment.

Twenty years ago the island was an American scandal. That is, it would have been had more people been aware of conditions there. At the time, it seemed to be drifting aimlessly in the backwaters of administrative neglect.

After World War II, thousands of Puerto Ricans streamed to America, particularly New York, in search of a better life. Puerto Ricans are American citizens and subject to military service, but do not pay Federal taxes and cannot vote for President unless they move to the mainland.

Today, people the world over know the story of the commonwealth's rapid rise in living standards from an average $121 per capita a year in 1942 to $622 in 1962.

Much of the credit goes to Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, who has held office as Governor continuously since 1948. He has spurred the new housing, schools, industries, and improved sanitation that are remaking the island.

The job is far from over, of course, and many still emigrate to the mainland, for

$622 a year still classifies the land as underdeveloped in American terms. But Puerto Rico has already become a bigger market for American goods than Argentina and Brazil combined.

More important, it has become an impressive example to the millions of Latin Americans still struggling under the twin burdens of poverty and tyranny.

## Politics of Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, there is not a Member of this House and, I dare say, an individual in this Nation who does not realize that the State of West Virginia and bituminous coal are synonymous. Much has been said from time to time about the depressed economic condition of my State and the poverty which exists. Much could be done about our economy, if there would be some action in the field of curbing the residual oil imports. If a carefully administered program were in effect, my State of West Virginia would not be the No. 1 welfare State of our Nation, but it would prosper, along with its sister States, if this flow of residual oil were curbed. This not only adversely affects the coal miner and his family, the coal industry, but, also, touches very definitely the railroads and their employees in our State, as well as a number of other industries and their workers that are identified with our coal industry.

Very recently at the Governor's Conference in Hersey, Pa., there was a joint release by the Governors of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia, citing the threat of residual oil to the coal industry. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include that release with my remarks.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit along with these remarks, an article appearing in the Grafton Sentinel, Grafton, W. Va., which is entitled "Politics of Coal."

GOVERNORS AT HERSHEY CONFERENCE WARN THAT RESIDUAL OIL IMPORTS THREATEN THE COAL INDUSTRY

WASHINGTON, July 8, 1962.—Governors from three coal States have issued a warning that residual oil imports pose a serious threat to the U.S. coal industry.

The warning came in a joint statement issued at the Governors' conference in Hershey, Pa., last week by Gov. Bert Combs, of Kentucky; Gov. David L. Lawrence, of Pennsylvania; and Gov. William Wallace Brown, of West Virginia.

Their statement said: "The resolution on world trade will be most helpful to our efforts to restrict the importation of residual oil which is a serious threat to the prosperity of the coal industry of our States."

The statement was issued after the full conference of Governors passed a resolution pointing out that "the employment, security, and job opportunities of America had been seriously affected by excessive imports." It urged President Kennedy and the Congress to give full effect to provisions of trade acts designed to prevent excessive imports of any goods or commodities which would endanger the national security or the domestic economy of the United States.

Joseph L. Moody, president of the National Coal Policy Conference, said that the fact that the coal State Governors took the lead in drafting and supporting the resolution, and that it was approved by the Governors' conference, is indicative of the Governors concern of the flood of residual waste oil from abroad.

"The Governors are close to the severe economic and social problems which excessive imports create," Mr. Moody declared. "It is, therefore, not surprising that they should take the lead in pressing for the protection which domestic industry must have to exist in the fact of mounting imports from low-production cost areas.

"If the administration would take such action as requested in the resolution, the coal industry could be relieved of the residual oil import threat within a matter of minutes."

The coal industry has repeatedly appealed to the administration to stabilize the importation of residual oil for 5 years which would permit the coal industry a chance to orderly develop its resources.

POLITICS OF COAL

When Senator WALLACE F. BENNETT, Utah Republican, attacks President Kennedy's indifference to the plight of jobless coal miners, it is political news in at least 10 States where coal is a dominant economic factor. And when John L. Lewis declares that Kennedy did not honor his promise to "put some commonsense in the way this country handles its fuel supply" then the miners may be expected to show their displeasure at the polls this fall.

Utah is 10th among the States producing coal. Key States that might have raised the question even before BENNETT are Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. Defection in these States could be costly to the Democrats. Instead of doing anything to restore coal to its place of preeminence as fuel, as the President promised in his primary fight in West Virginia, his administration has twice raised the residual oil quota. The last increase was 10 percent of 507,000 barrels a day, equivalent to 44 million tons of bituminous coal on an annual basis.

The residual oil is a low-cost fuel that comes mostly from Venezuela. It is used mostly in New England, in place of coal. With 150,000 miners out of work, and their leader blaming their idleness on the residual oil policy of the Kennedy administration, the election in the 8 or 10 coal-producing States can be strongly affected by their disaffection. Kennedy will have to take the consequences this fall for favoring his own region of New England against these coal-producing States.

## Aircraft Noise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill that would require the Federal Aviation Agency to conduct or support scientific research into problems associated with aircraft noise.

The problem of aircraft noise, especially the unearthly racket often produced by jet-type engines, is a continuously serious one in the district I have the honor to represent. Many of my constituents live in the immediate vicinity of La Guardia Airport. The volume of air traffic through this airport is so great that the noise level frequently approaches the unbearable at many residential locations.

Now I am aware that there is a definite relationship between the flight pattern followed by the aircraft and the noise level that results. I recognize also that the primary consideration in determining the flight pattern is safety, and I agree that safety should be the paramount consideration at all times. It is for this reason, for example, that I recently insisted that the Federal Aviation Agency and the New York Port Authority investigate complaints of helicopters flying in and out of LaGuardia Airport at altitudes reported to be unsafe and dangerous to residents in the vicinity.

But I have come to the conclusion that aircraft can be constructed so that they are less noisy and they can be operated in flight patterns that are both safe and relatively quite. However, at the public hearings held by the Federal Aviation Agency at La Guardia Airport and elsewhere, and in the course of private conferences with officials of the Agency, it has become apparent, to me at least, that FAA simply does not assign a sufficiently high priority to the problem of what I would term "racket research."

Only today the FAA announced that it is allocating $3,500,000 for extensions to certain runways at La Guardia Airport. These improvements will make it possible for La Guardia to handle heavier aircraft, and perhaps jets as well. While we welcome FAA's interest in improving and maintaining La Guardia, we recognize also that today's action makes it likely that the racket around La Guardia Airport will in all likelihood increase in the coming years, rather than diminish.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I propose that Congress make it plain to the FAA that this problem—which the FAA itself admits affects "thousands of families in hundreds of communities"—should be given a higher priority in the FAA research program. The FAA contends that legislation of this type is unnecessary, that it already possesses ample power to conduct research into aircraft noise and that it is in fact presently conducting and supporting a variety of research on this problem.

However, it seems to me that the Federal Aviation Agency is perhaps not best qualified to judge which legislation is necessary and which unnecessary. Those Members of Congress who, like myself, have received numerous valid complaints from sleepless citizens, might perhaps have a better opinion of the desirability of legislation such as I am proposing. Certainly, it is of significance that the U.S. Conference of Mayors believes that a bill such as I have introduced should be enacted because, in the words of its spokesman, "we believe it will clarify the authority of the Federal Aviation Agency to continue and expand

its research for the solution of noise abatement."

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the Members of Congress and the mayors of our large cities are perhaps in a better position to judge the effectiveness and scope of the FAA's racket research than the Agency itself. I therefore commend my bill to the attention of my colleagues and urge their support in bringing about its enactment.

## The Supreme Court Prayer Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS**
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Paul Revere Ladies of Mississippi. The resolution follows:

The Paul Revere Ladies of Mississippi, noting with consternation and deep concern the nefarious Supreme Court decision revoking the right of the American schoolchildren to verbally acknowledge, in the schoolroom, their dependence on Almighty God, and recognizing this decision as the "handwriting on the wall" warning us that the next decision of the Supreme Court may order that Lenin's Manifesto declaring that "Christianity must be destroyed" is the law of the land, we Christian women of the Paul Revere Ladies of Mississippi, offer the following resolution:

"Whereas the Constitution of this Nation, founded on the principles of religious freedom, has for more than a decade been sabotaged piece by piece by the ungodly decisions of the apparently godless Supreme Court of these United States; and

"Whereas by their recent decision of June 26, 1962—with the exception of one number—children of this Nation are denied the right simply to voice their dependence on God in the schoolroom, and the privilege of asking His protection for themselves, their parents, teachers, and their Nation; and

"Whereas the President of the United States has gone on record as stating that since the Supreme Court has made their decision, "it should be respected whether we believe in it or not"; and

"Whereas by the same token we must assume that, should the Supreme Court decide to abolish free enterprise and order this Nation to adopt communism, the President would again say that, since this was the decision of the Supreme Court, "it should be respected whether we believe in it or not"; and

"Whereas numerous pro-Communist decisions of the Supreme Court have dangerously subverted our Constitution and imperiled our Nation; this blasphemeous one offers an insult to Almighty God and invites His wrath upon the people of this Nation; and

"Whereas by two late decisions, one barring prayer, the other allowing free distribution of obscene literature, the Supreme Court of the United States of America has declared two of the major strategies of the Communist conspiracy for the overthrow of the U.S. Government—destruction of Christianity, and the debasement of moral character—the law of the land in America and the President of these United States has said that these decisions "should be respected": Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Paul Revere Ladies of Mississippi*, That we do hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to institute legislation to salvage the Constitution of this Republic, to restore to America her religious freedom, and to erase the stain the Supreme Court has placed upon her face; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we do hereby beseech the Congress of the United States—in which the power is vested—that they enact legislation to take from the Supreme Court, the President of the United States, and the Attorney General (the troika), the powers they are utilizing to debase this Nation and to destroy the God-given liberties of the American people."

## Voters Want First Things First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER**
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Roscoe Drummond entitled "Voters Want First Things First," which appeared in the Washington Post on July 27.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON FALLACIES—VOTERS WANT FIRST THINGS FIRST

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Two of the fashionable political opinions now sprouting in Washington need to be questioned.

One such opinion is that the American people are indifferent to social reform and that this is the reason President Kennedy is having such a hard time getting his domestic program through Congress.

The other is that the President has made the great mistake of trying to twist the arms of Congressmen.

I wonder if much of this isn't just conversational fluff. Anyway, I would like to look at some counteropinions and examine the other side of the coin.

It strikes me that the controlling reason the great body of American voters do not leap to the typewriter to tell Congress they want what Mr. Kennedy says they should want is not that they are indifferent to new social legislation, but that they are applying a sense of priorities to the legislative timetable, while the White House seems to be asking for everything at once.

In due course there will be a medicare program for the aging which Congress can approve. There will be new farm legislation which the country would like to have cost less than $7 billion a year. There may very well be a Federal Department of Urban Affairs.

But there is no evidence that the voters are either desirous or demanding that these things happen over night or that they are annoyed at Congress for indicating to the President that he ought to slow down.

Is this because the American people are indifferent to social reform?

I suggest that the answer may well be that instinctively the voters—and the taxpayers—are intent upon putting first things first.

The thing they put first is the military, economic, and political conduct of the cold war. In this field, public opinion strongly backs everything the President has asked Congress to provide and Congress has provided the President with just about everything he has asked. These include very sizable economic-aid funds, substantial increase in the defense budget, support for U.S. cooperation with the European Common Market, whatever is needed to draw even with and, if possible, pass the Soviets in outer space.

Nothing is being held back where it is most needed. But on controversial domestic matters, such as the medical care bill, public opinion is not demanding hurry-up action, and by refusing to push at Congress it is applying a sense of priority different from that of the President.

The suggestion that Mr. Kennedy ought to go to the country to generate heat under Congress implies that he hasn't been doing so. If he hasn't been doing just that, I don't know what he has been doing. If he has failed, it isn't from lack of trying. He has been steadily using his weekly press conferences for this very purpose. He is the most fully reported, most widely, and frequently TV-exposed President in American history. He doesn't limit his press conference to questions. He initiates a veritable stream of statements dealing with issues before Congress. To galvanize congressional support for medicare, the President addressed a massive rally in Madison Square Garden and it was nationally televised.

Can President Kennedy make Democratic votes this fall by attacking the Democratic Congress for not passing the medicare bill? President Truman made votes for himself by attacking Congress in 1948. But he was attacking a Republican Congress, not a Democratic Congress. When he did help elect a Democratic Congress, it did not pass any more of his controversial domestic bills (like a compulsory FEPC and repeal of Tart-Hartley law) than the previous Republican Congress.

Mr. Kennedy's dilemma is this: How can he persuade voters to defeat Republican opponents of medicare without simultaneously persuading them to defeat Democratic opponents of medicare?

I think the country broadly supports some kind of medicare and other social reforms, but the priorities of the cold war unquestionably come first.

## Lost Continent of Mu—Current Oceanographic Studies Bear Out Ancient Pacific Legends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including herewith an article, "Lost Continent of Mu—Current Oceanographic Studies Bear Out Ancient Pacific Legends," by Comdr. Wendell Phillips Dodge, explorer-ethnologist who sailed the Pacific Ocean aboard the square-rigger *Alexander Gibson* as a very young man, at the beginning of this century. In his study of Eastern religious and legendary beliefs he was aware that he might be sailing over a vast

sunken continent of the past, and throughout his lifetime the thought of it has fascinated him.

A constituent of mine, Commander Dodge did pass within sight of Christmas Island, one of the Line Islands in the central Pacific Ocean south of Hawaii and 160 miles southeast of Fanning Island, in about 1°57′ N. latitude and 157°27′ W. longitude. This largest atoll in the Pacific, 234 square miles of land, was discovered by Capt. James Cook in 1777. Long a British possession, the United States in 1936–38 looked upon it as being an important airbase. But Commander Dodge only dreamed that he must be passing over a great sunken continent of the past.

The article, which appeared in the company magazine, the Compass, published by the marine sales department of the Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., Socony Mobil Building, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y., for March–April 1962, edited by Mr. K. V. W. Lawrence, follows:

LOST CONTINENT OF MU—CURRENT OCEANOGRAPHIC STUDIES BEAR OUT ANCIENT PACIFIC LEGENDS

Was there ever a vast, lost continent known as the Land of Mu, the Motherland, locale of the original Garden of Eden? This is a question which has captured man's imagination since the dawn of recorded history, a question which is currently far along the road to solution. The major difficulty faced by man in seeking a positive answer has always been, where does fable end and fact begin? Now, through fantastic advances made by oceanography and related sciences, both fables and facts are being reevaluated and more in the way of solid information added to the overall picture. A pattern is forming which seems to indicate there was such a land.

Some of the legends handed down for thousands of years among the different peoples of the Pacific's myriad islands have strains running through them which indicate there once was a vast land out on the "Great Sea." More than this, ancient stone and clay tablets, carved with decipherable drawings and attributed to the early sagas of the East, known as Naacals, even bear maps strangely like very recent ocean bottom profiles made by oceanographers with modern sounding devices. These Naacal tablets, inscribed by an unknown scientist some 70,000 or more years ago, provide what appears to be far more definite information than as yet has been brought up and sifted from the ocean bed ooze or from the sands of time.

Classic Greek literature has also added a speculative item or two. For example, Homer provided us with a casual phrase about the "Ocean being the origin of all," while other Greek philosophers and historians continually refer to the origin of Elysium with much concerning the doings of the sun god. These writings might well have had the Lost Continent of Mu in mind, the same continent mentioned on numerous stone tablets found in various parts of the world as the "Empire of the Sun." One such tablet from Central America even goes so far as to state: "Mu, the Motherland, the Lands of the West."

And one must not overlook the Bible. Topographical data in Genesis 11, verses 10–14 which has supplied material for countless unsuccessful attempts to locate the Garden of Eden, may well be describing a land long since engulfed by the all-powerful sea. This could also be true of Hindu writings in the Rig-Veda and the Vishnu Purana. No one knows how much is fact, how much is accepted belief. One thing is certain, the traditional preoccupation of writers, both known and unkown, with the location of a "lost land," a "paradise on earth," has kept the mystery alive; but the possibility of scientific agreement as to where, or if, such a land existed, is still as far away as the stars.

There is much on the side of fact to support the contention that a lost continent did actually exist. So much so that it moved one of the world's outstanding oceanographers, Dr. Ferdinand C. Lane, to write ("The Mysterious Sea," Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York, 1947): "So as we sail along the coast we may be passing over scenes that excel in grandeur our wildest mountain gorges * * *. The most arresting features are vast submerged plateaus * * *. Popular fancy has long pictured these immense areas as the graves of drowned continents. Thus the Azores have been called the mountain peaks of a lost Atlantis * * *. In the Pacific Ocean the vanished world of Mu has intrigued even such hardheaded scientists as Charles Darwin. Coral atolls may fringe subsiding mountain peaks, while the weird stone faces of Easter Island, called the strangest skyline in the world, hint at a larger population than could have been supported on isolated islets * * *. Easter Island's forest of stone faces, sometimes 20 feet high, staring across an empty sea, have hinted at more extensive populations and territories."

W. J. Thomson's deciphered translations of two of seven carved stone tablets found on the same island state: "When this island was first created as part of the great Motherland of Mu, the land was crossed with broad roads beautifully paved with flat stones * * *. Remains of these roads are to be seen on Easter and many other of the South Sea Islands."

What about these roads? Where did they go, what area did they cover? This is far from easy to determine but small sections of the one referred to in the Easter Island tablets have also been located on Rarotonga Island and on Mangaia Island, southernmost of the Cook group. As Prof. J. Macmillan Brown, of Christchurch, New Zealand, eminent authority on the Pacific Ocean observes ("The Riddle of the Pacific," Small, Maynard & Co., Boston): "The immense dry-stone monuments of Easter Island could not have been raised by an insular people, but must have taxed the capacity of a great contiguous archipelagic empire, maintaining thousands of people." To which might well be added, nor could an island people have been well enough equipped either technically or mechanically to build such remarkable interconnecting highways. These monuments seem to point up the fact that there was indeed a "Lost Continent of Mu."

He goes on to say, "Other mysterious cyclopean ruins besides those of Easter Island are encountered in the widely scattered archipelagoes of the Pacific, and equally important are the theories of submergence with them at Ponape in the Caroline Islands."

Professor Brown devotes a full chapter to "A Hypothetical Pacific Ocean Continent," saying: "Most geologists who study the whole surface and crust of the earth assume a hypothetical Pacific continent from the latter part of the primary period to the end of the secondary, ringed round by an ocean that communicates to the north with the ancient Arctic Ocean and on its east and west with the narrow and shallow Mesogean Sea, the Tethys of Suess * * *. By the end of the secondary period the Pacific continent is in process of foundering * * *. Polynesian cosmology is not without consciousness of such great areas of land: for example, in the Tahitian Ru, the god of the winds broke up the fenua nui, or single continent, into existing islands."

On Tonga-Tabu, a coral atoll of the Tonga Islands group, without a particle of natural stone upon it, nothing but coral, is an immense stone monument set in the form of an arch. Its two huge uprights must weigh around 70 tons each, with the top stone of the arch weighing about 25 tons. It is unlikely that such enormous stones were transported and landed on the island in the light of what is presently known about the size, shape, and carrying capacity of prehistoric boats. Hence it is reasonable to assume that a good part of the vast Pacific was indeed a continent or if this was an island empire, it had a merchant marine the like of which we are presently unaware. Then, too, the civilization must have really been advanced since it had to have machines or contrivances to lift these giant stone blocks into place.

Present-day scientists probing the Pacific's floor for answers to these perplexing questions will surely be indebted to a lone-wolf geologist-explorer, Col. James Churchward, for some vital historical and scientific information that he felt proved a vast continent called the Motherland of Mu actually did exist. It was during his service with the British Army in Central India, 1868, that he discovered the first clue that eventually led him to study man's most ancient civilization. Through a close association with a high priest, a Rishii, he learned how to decipher and interpret ancient stone tablets long believed indecipherable. Armed with the forgotten language, he spent many years in the South Seas, Tibet, Central Asia, Siberia, Australia, and Polynesia, in search of further proof of the existence of "the Lost Continent of Mu." As a result, years later he wrote a series of books, published by Ives Washburn, New York, during the early 1930's entitled "The Lost Continent of Mu," "The Sacred Symbols of Mu," "The Children of Mu," and "The Cosmic Forces of Mu," the latter in two volumes.

In his "The Children of Mu" (pp. 108ff) Col. Churchward wrote, "I will first take you to one of the most inaccessible valleys of central Asia. In this valley springs one of the headwaters of the Brahmaputra River. On a large spur from the main range of mountains there is a large secluded monastery. In this monastery there are a great number of ancient tablets of clay. These tablets have been divided into sections, one of them being on geology and history, going back to the time before the foot of man trod the earth * * * with a queer map on a tablet about 2 feet square."

On the accompanying map is shown what Colonel Churchward termed "the Great Central Gas Belt," running from "the Lost Continent of Mu," called the Motherland, to Asia Minor. Says Churchward, "Two parallels or divisions proceed in an easterly direction under the Pacific Ocean until Yucatan and Central America are reached. Then both divisions split into parallels before passing under America. The northern passes under Yucatan, the southern under Guatemala and Honduras. From America they pass out under the West Indies and close in together again to form two trunklines. The northern division passes under the Atlantic Ocean to the Azores. There it splits into seven parallels. Leaving the Azores, these parallels pass on to enter Europe under Spain and Portugal. From the West Indies the southern division proceeds under the Atlantic until it reaches the Canary Islands, where it splits into parallels and enters Africa near Morocco, forming the Atlas Mountains. The two divisions of the Great Central Gas Belt evidently were not forged at the same time, the southern being formed later than the northern. Neither are they at the same depth from the surface of the earth. The southern is thousands of feet farther down in the bowels of the earth and possibly miles. This difference in their depth is confirmed by the fact that when Atlantis was first submerged she only went down deep enough to be awash at low tide so that at low tide,

mud banks appeared with masses of seaweed which made the northern Atlantic Ocean impassable to shipping. This fact is recorded in the temple histories of Egypt. It was only after the southern division had been forged, which sank her to her present level, that ships could again cross the Atlantic."

What seems to confirm Colonel Churchward's description of "the Great Central Gas Belt," a drawing of which he discovered on one of the ancient Naacal clay tablets of 70,000 or more years ago, appeared in the Scientific American of October 1960. In an article entitled "The Rift in the Ocean Floor," Dr. Bruce C. Heezen, assistant professor of geology at Columbia University and a senior research scientist of Columbia's Lamont Geological Observatory, wrote, in part: "Deep earthquakes * * * are associated almost exclusively with the area of the highly seismic submarine trenches and island chains that surround the Pacific Ocean. By the mid-1950's, however, seismograph recordings traced a 40,000-mile-long belt of mid-ocean earthquake epicenters along the bottom of the Atlantic, Indian, South Pacific, and Arctic Oceans, with branches reaching into the western Pacific and into the continents at several places * * * Maurice Ewing (professor of geology at Columbia University) director of the Lamont Geological Observatory and I predicted in 1956 that a continuous rifted ridge would be found to coincide with the midoceanic epicenter belt and its branches throughout the world. * * *"

Dr. Ewing and Dr. Heezen made their startlingly important announcement of finding a huge crack in the earth's crust at the bottom of these great oceans early in February 1957. They stated that it ran around the earth in a continuous line for some 40,000 to 45,000 miles, extending southward along the Atlantic from 0° longitude in the Arctic, bisecting Iceland, and running approximately midway between North and South America on the west and Europe and Africa on the east. The great trench rounds the southern tip of Africa, then forks into two branches. The northern branch runs into the Arabian Sea and loops sharply south through the Belgian Congo, Northern Rhodesia, and other areas of Africa. The southern branch continues eastward through the Indian Ocean, passes south of New Zealand and crosses the Southern Pacific, forking into two branches near Easter Island. The northern branch of this fork runs up the Gulf of California, passing Cape Mendocino toward Lynn Channel, Alaska. The southern curves down past the Straits of Magellan, passing between Antarctica and New Zealand, running toward the Marquaine Islands into the Pacific Ocean.

Both scientists theorized that the rift was caused by a series of earthquakes which pulled apart the earth's crust. They based their theory upon data compiled from seismic activity in various parts of the world which shows that practically 100 percent of the earthquake shocks along this 40,000 to 45,000 mile rift valley line occur exactly within the limits of the rifts.

In the first chapter of his third book, "The Children of Mu," Colonel Churchward sets forth that the land of Mu was a large continent situated in the Pacific Ocean between America and Asia, its center lying somewhere south of the Equator, stating: "Basing its area on the remains which are still above water, it would have been about 6,000 miles from east to west and about 3,000 miles from north to south. All the rocky islands, individually and in groups, scattered over the Pacific Ocean were once part of the continent of Mu—Easter Island, Tahiti, the Samoas, Cook, the Tongas, Marshall, Gilbert, Caroline, Marianas, Hawaii, and the Marquesas are the pathetic fingers of the great land, standing today as sentinels to a silent grave * * * At the time of Mu's destruction her people were in an exceedingly high state of civilization; as regards science, far ahead of the present time."

While Colonel Churchward was writing his first books on the "Lost Continent of Mu," the U.S. Navy made an extensive series of sonic soundings of the North Pacific Ocean. Between the years of 1928–33, the U.S.S. *Ramapo* crisscrossed the ocean about 28 times from the west coast of the United States to the Philippine Islands, taking depth readings at 5-mile intervals. A total of some 17,369 soundings were made, enough to provide a fairly accurate idea of the bottom contours in the area between 10° and 50° north latitude.

All hands aboard took part in this first mapping of the floor of the Pacific Ocean, which seems to substantiate all that Colonel Churchward had written about "The Lost Continent of Mu." Capt. Claude B. Mayo, U.S.N., in command of the U.S.S. *Ramapo* on these extensive ocean surveys, contributed a signed article entitled "The Portrayal of the Floor of the North Pacific Ocean" to the Hydrographic Review (vol. XII, No. 1), published at the Oceanographic Museum in the principality of Monaco, France, May 1935 (pp. 30–32), describing how a bas-relief map of the Pacific sea floor was made to scale: depth 1 inch equals 1,000 fathoms, horizontal 1 inch equals 50 miles. Captain Mayo told of great mountain ranges with peaks higher than Mount Everest taking form and canyons of such profound depths as to almost awe the imagination—"a new and gigantic world" he wrote, "was being brought to our eyes by the echoes of our sonic depth finder; a submerged continent of enormous extent with high mountains, great valleys, plateaus and plains, a submarine continent whose width is twice as great as that of North America and whose infinitely varied contour was even more striking than that of our own land above the sea."

Continuing in his report the late Captain Mayo further stated: "An inspection of the accompanying illustration will readily show the general aspect of the North Pacific floor. Its eastern half is a great plain covered by water of some 3,000 fathoms in depth and with few ridges or peaks. The central portion of this vast stretch is broken by the Hawaiian-Laysan ridge running northwestward all the way to Midway Island and indeed reaching the Kuriles in the extreme northwest. But it is in the western portion, from Marcus Island to the Philippines and Japan, that occurs so impressive and interesting a terrain. There is nothing so grand yet visible to the eyes of men that compare with these enormous heights and profound abysses."

Such is the evidence which, though still quite controversial, is beginning to fit together piece by piece and point up the fact that there more likely was a Land of Mu. What was it like? What sort of people lived there? How did they live? How advanced was their civilization? These and hundreds of similar questions, intriguing to the layman, are a source of continuing frustration to scientists sifting evidence to find positive answers. If a scientist was able to obtain the proper equipment which would make it possible for him to descend 3,000 or more fathoms to the Pacific floor he might well find the answer. Naturally he would have to make the descent in many different places and be able to light up a considerable area of the Stygian blackness in order to conduct a thorough search. If he did succeed in locating some evidence of civilization the questions would all be answered. Until that day comes, and it will come sometime in the future, only scientific guesswork based on the evidence in hand will answer the biggest question of all—was there ever a vast, lost continent known as the Land of Mu?

This article was beautifully illustrated in full colors by Rockwell Brank, based upon sketches by Col. James Churchward, and Capt. Claude B. Mayo's series of sonic soundings made aboard the U.S.S. *Ramapo*, 1928–33, and his descriptions of an official U.S. Navy bas-relief map that was exhibited at the San Diego World's Fair in 1937.

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## Address by Hon. T. Graydon Upton, Executive Vice President, Inter-American Development Bank, May 24, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address of the Honorable T. Graydon Upton, executive vice president, Inter-American Development Bank, before the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, on May 24, 1962.

Mr. Upton spoke about the Alliance for Progress and the relationship of this important program to the American citizen of every community.

The address follows:

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS AND THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA

Members of the World Affairs Council, distinguished citizens of Philadelphia, let me tell you what a distinct pleasure it is for me to return again to this city. Although I have now lived in Washington for almost 4 years, I still remember with pride the common efforts of many of us here to develop the Delaware River ports, and I still keenly miss Philadelphia.

I would like to speak to you today on a subject which is not only of vital importance to Latin America and to the United States, but to each citizen of Philadelphia here today. I speak of that bold program called the Alliance for Progress announced by President Kennedy on March 13, 1961, to bring about the economic and social transformation of Latin America. This vast 10-year effort is not just a concept enunciated in the White House and agreed to by the American Republics at the Conference of Punta del Este, Uruguay, last year. It is a program which calls for unwavering dedication and prolonged hard work not only on the part of the Latin American governments and the U.S. Government, but a profound participation by the peoples of the Americas. Its success will affect every person in this room. Its failure would be a catastrophe.

I would like to review briefly our relations with Latin America since World War II, in order to place the Alliance for Progress in proper perspective. Latin America emerged from World War II with substantial reserves of gold and dollars, because while it was able to sell raw materials during the war, since industrialized nations were rationing their productive output, it was unable to buy the goods it needed.

The immediate postwar era therefore was one of apparent well-being in Latin America. Western Europe was undertaking its reconstruction, and pent-up consumer needs, both in the United States and in Europe, created a favorable demand situation for such Latin American primary products as coffee, petroleum, cotton, copper, and tin. However, the

exchange reserves which Latin America had built up were dissipated more rapidly than anticipated. In addition, these reserves brought less physical goods, because prices rose rapidly in the United States after the postwar decontrol. Latin Americans were thus not only hurt financially, but were seriously offended. They felt that during the war when they enjoyed a suppliers' market they had agreed in the common interest to subject themselves to the price control regime of the United States, and that the subsequent postwar price rise had cheated them. They also felt that they were the victims of pressure salesmen who encouraged them to buy goods which were not needed, were inappropriate, or were obsolete. Despite these adverse psychological and terms of trade factors, the immediate postwar years were ones of relatively rapid growth for Latin American economies, as they increased their imports of both consumer and capital goods.

This growth, however, was not accompanied by any basic structural improvement and the large majority of the people continued to live on the ragged fringes of the 20th century. The economy of Latin America continued to be managed by the fortunate few who controlled the best areas of fertile land, to which now was added the pockets of individual wealth of an incipient industrial revolution. Taxes were seldom well collected, and those that were paid were at such inadequate rates that the state could not carry out its function of providing economic infrastructure and supplying fundamental services. Thus the benefits of education, low-cost housing, potable water, and other social facilities did not filter down to the many least able to pay. In some measure, indeed, even this period of relative prosperity increased the rigidity and structural deformities of these economies, and increased social and political tensions.

Although the Korean war gave a temporary boost to Latin American purchasing power as the price of raw materials climbed toward new highs, in the second half of the decade of the fiftys, prices of primary products began a descent which is still continuing. On the other hand, prices of manufactured goods have steadily continued upward. These deteriorating terms of trade on the one hand, and on the other a strong demand for imports to meet expanding industrial economies, have caused frequent balance of payments and political crises and a sharp decrease in the rate of growth for most Latin American countries. In this connection, I should mention that the rapid increase of population averaging 2.5 percent for the area as a whole, but as high as 3½ percent in some countries, places a tremendous burden on the national governments and municipalities of these countries. It means that all types of social services, such as schools, roads, water, sewage facilities, and housing, must be provided rapidly at a time when not only industrial and agricultural expansion must be pressed, but when a decreasing proportion of the population is in its productive years. For example, 40 percent of the population of Latin America is less than 15 years of age. This in itself would be a serious burden, even if there were an absence of the structural deficiencies to which I have alluded, and even if these economies were more highly developed.

In the face of these growing adverse factors, and during the decade of the fifties, Latin American governments asked the United States for a change in lending policies which would permit the financing of social overhead projects such as schools and water systems; they asked for an inter-American financial institution in whose policies they would have a strong voice, they asked for techniques to stabilize their falling commodity prices, they asked for greater emphasis on public loans, and finally they asked, for the acceptance by the United States, of goals for Latin American development, and for acceptance of the necessity of planning. All of these requests were repeated in inter-American conferences of the fifties, and in the meetings of the Committee of Twenty-one established under the impact of Brazil's Operation Pan America—a spiritual predecessor of Alianza. These pleas had little impact on U.S. policy until the American people were awakened to the deep problems of Latin America by the riots which marked Mr. Nixon's trip to Latin America in 1958 and subsequently by the fall of Cuba into the hands of communism.

The first notable change in U.S. policy occurred in August of 1958, when Mr. Douglas Dillon, then Under Secretary of State, announced that the United States was prepared to consider favorably the longstanding Latin American request for establishment of an inter-American financial institution. The negotiations to establish the Inter-American Bank, in which I had the privilege of heading the U.S. delegation, began in January of 1959 and by December 30, 1959, the agreement establishing the new institution had been ratified by the necessary number of governments. In 1960 this new expression of U.S.-Latin American cooperation began operations, and the first of the policy objectives of Latin America was achieved.

The second major step in the transition of U.S. policy toward Latin America occurred in July 1960, when President Eisenhower issued his famous "Newport declaration," in which he declared that the United States was prepared to give financial assistance for social development programs if the Latin American countries would in turn undertake certain necessary institutional reforms. This declaration was crystallized in September in the negotiations for the Act of Bogotá, a historic document in which the signatory Latin American countries pledged to undertake institutional reforms in land structures, tax systems, housing, and education; and the United States formally promised definite financial assistance for the social progress of the area. This agreement was reconfirmed in the first months of President Kennedy's administration by a congressional appropriation of $500 million and the establishment of the special Inter-American Fund for Social Progress, to assist in financing projects for better land use, housing for low-income groups, water, sanitary and other community facilities and education. Of this sum, $394 million was turned over to the Inter-American Bank for administration on a multilateral basis. Thus was achieved the second of Latin America's policy objectives—funds to provide loans for social improvements.

On March 13, 1961, President Kennedy, keenly aware of the need for even bolder steps, issued his dramatic call for an "Alliance for Progress." At a White House reception for Latin American diplomats, the President proposed that the American Republics unite on a great 10-year plan to transform the 1960's into an historic decade of democratic progress for the hemisphere. Only the most determined efforts of the American nations themselves—he said—would make the program succeed. The Latin American nations, and they alone, could mobilize their own resources and modify their own social patterns so that all the people, and not just a privileged few, might share in the fruits of this undertaking. But if the Latin Americans did their part—the President said—the United States would help to provide resources of such scope and magnitude that the success of the plan would be assured, just as the United States had helped Western Europe to rebuild its economy after World War II.

This noble promise lifted hope in Latin America. After months of planning and preparation by specialists, in August 1961, at the Conference of Punta del Este, the details of the famous charter were negotiated. Latin America agreed to program its development to assure the most efficient use of resources, and a development goal rate of per capita economic growth in every country of Latin America of not less than 2.5 percent, per annum, was established. The Conference emphasized such social goals as a more equitable distribution of national income, encouragement of agrarian reform leading to the effective transformation of unjust systems of land tenure, the elimination of adult illiteracy by 1970, an increase in life expectancy at birth by a minimum of 5 years, and an increase in the construction of low-cost houses for low-income families. It also established an economic council of "nine wise men" to approve, and assist in preparing national development plans.

The United States for its part promised to assure a flow of $20 billion in outside capital to Latin America during the 10-year period. The United States also agreed to join Latin America in studying methods design to ease fluctuations in the prices of basic raw materials, if the producing countries undertook reasonable measures to reduce surpluses over the long term. Subsequently, I might mention the United States embarked on negotiations with the Latin Americans seeking the establishment of a fund of compensatory financing to assure a flow of additional resources to countries which suffer balance-of-payments difficulties as a result of the fall in prices of the basic commodities which they export. Thus, with the Charter of Punta del Este, the United States accepted the other principal policy objectives of Latin America, which had been sought so intensively for a decade or more.

It is now more than a year since President Kennedy made his dramatic appeal in the White House and it is evident that there is some disappointment with the Alliance for Progress, particularly by those who saw it originally as a panacea which would in a short period of time solve all of Latin America's problems. Let me make it clear that I do not share this disappointment. The new edifice of Alianza has not been constructed but the foundations are solidly in place. And to a group of citizens which have wrestled for more than a decade to transform Philadelphia into one of the Nation's great examples of successful community redevelopment I need hardly point out the struggles of the first years of such a vast undertaking, are inevitable.

The social requirements alone in this program are staggering. Latin America needs 1.2 million new homes each year to meet new family formations, and even this will not touch the accumulated housing deficit. The number of 5- to 14-year-old children without schooling is 22.5 million. Some 562,000 classrooms must be built if they are to gain a minimum elementary education. The rapid growth in population means that each year an additional 31,000 classrooms must be built, and the same arithmetic extends to many phases of human needs. As the cities mushroom, their water and sewerage systems become inadequate; new streets must be built, and social facilities of all types must be provided. And even more important, new agricultural land must be opened up, and new industry must be created to provide locally produced goods for exchange short nations, and jobs for the many coming to manhood.

Despite the staggering dimensions of the problem, the foundations of progress have been laid. A number of countries have initiated the land, tax, and administrative reforms which they pledged at Punta del Este. In others the public support needed to bring about such programs is at work. Three countries—Colombia, Bolivia, and Chile—have already presented national development plans to the "Committee of Nine Wise Men."

In half a dozen others the plans are well under way. Citizens of Philadelphia who have overcome so much inertia and opposition to redevelopment will understand how difficult it is to bring about changes overnight. You can appreciate what an uphill struggle it is to get legislative bodies to approve laws which will brings about significant changes in the relationships between different economic and social groups and which will curtail, in many instances, the privileges of the few in the interest of the whole. And what a psychological problem is involved in doing this in a way which will maintain the confidence of private capital, domestic and foreign. Even when the laws are approved, their implementation requires administrative skills and techniques which are in serious short supply in Latin America.

Programs must be studied for feasibility. These must be transformed into specific projects, requiring finance, blueprints, engineers, and a trained body of workers. This takes time and meanwhile the skeptics and an impatient people ask: Where are our houses, our schools, our water, and our jobs? There are admittedly very serious difficulties to be overcome, rooted in human shortcomings of many kinds in developing a program of this magnitude and complexity. But they will be overcome, with patience and with time. However, there is a more fundamental problem which I wish to bring before you today. The great leader of Puerto Rico, Luis Munoz Marin, said recently: "What troubles me, is the seeming lack of emotional commitment in Latin America towards this great and historical venture. The economic body is being gradually nourished, but the heart is not." And this is a failing for which government cannot provide a solution.

The fact is that the emotional and intellectual acceptance in Latin America of "Alianza" as true partnership has been circumscribed. Too many of our Latin friends look upon it in terms of a new Government-to-Government aid program, perhaps suspecting some of the features of long past U.S. policy, the old wounds of which are kept raw by Communist propaganda. Too few recognize the mutual responsibilities of "Alianza." One of the reasons for this is that many of our Latin American friends do not yet realize that Alianza is an expression of partnership by the people of the United States and with the people of the United States.

In my opinion, "Alianza" cannot truly succeed unless it awakens in Latin America a profound dedication of the spirit, in all classes, and among all interests, political, economic, and social. It cannot truly flower, unless it can deeply touch well springs of human effort, and sublimate local disagreement and social frustration in an intensive common effort for the common cause. And this in turn will be given a vital new impetus if the people of the United States, not through their Government, but as individuals, as civic leaders, as municipal officers, and as company executives, themselves recognize that "Alianza" action must be not only in the governmental sphere, but as a partnership of the spirit, and in individual and group action between the peoples of the Americas. "Alianza" needs the support, the warmth, and the human feeling which can only flow from one people to another, through a multitude of specific individual and group activities.

We have seen a beginning of this in such programs, for example, as the joint meeting of representatives of the United States and Mexican Congresses, in "Action in Venezuela" a private, imaginative, community development program, in "Operation Amigos," a project of the Miami Herald where young people from Latin America spend a period of time in Miami schools, community activities, and homes.

We have seen an awakening of corporate imagination and participation, in the Creole Petroleum Venezuelan industrial financing operation, in the Whirlpool Corp.'s establishment with a Colombian group of a training project in Bogotá for technical middle management, and more recently in the formation of Comap—the Commerce Committee for Alliance for Progress—a group of outstanding representatives of top U.S. industry, dedicated to lending their imagination, and hopefully some resources, to breaking some of the bottlenecks of Latin American development. And the work of our individual foundations, like Ford and Rockefeller, have long been in the van of such initiative. But this is only the beginning. Alianza must take new vitality from the peoples of the United States. It must awaken a response in individuals and in the civic organization of our country, which will call forth a response in the individuals of Latin America.

It is in the context of this deeply felt need, and in response to the President's challenge in his inaugural address, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," that I make the following suggestion:

Let Philadelphia carry the spirit of the City of Brotherly Love to a new and broader concept of Alianza. Let the imagination, the ingenuity, and the practical commonsense typified by Benjamin Franklin, find a way of group participation in Alianza. I ask the World Affairs Council, and the people of Philadelphia, to find ways of significantly increasing individual action programs on the part of a number of municipal, civic, and business groups, each one modest, yet specific, but within a broad coordinated framework, so that the sum of these individual efforts will form the first broadly based municipal program in direct support of the Alliance for Progress. Programs, for example, like that of the American Field Service, or of Drexel Institute.

For example, Philadelphia has an outstanding housing association which mobilizes public support for housing in the city. It has a great redevelopment authority which has helped transform slum areas into model industrial commercial and housing development. It has a housing authority for effective public housing projects. It has a notable city planning commission, and a university preeminent in the field of city planning. Each one of these groups could lend a selected city in Latin America a measure of coordinated cooperation, in helping to train housing specialists, and solve housing problems and city development problems. The Inter-American Development Bank through its housing section would be prepared to cooperate closely with you in this endeavor. In an allied field, some of your savings and loan associations might lend technical and training assistance in helping establish some of the savings programs being actively carried forward in Latin America. Port specialists of Philadelphia could give invaluable assistance in the modern reorganization of a port of a Latin American city. Several of the leading Philadelphia foreign banks could invite volunteers at the same time, and for the same period, from their banking correspondents in a Latin American city, each benefiting from the presence of a fellow Latin American worker in another bank. Likewise, for example, through the Foreign Traders Association, and through the chamber of commerce, your leading industrial exporting companies working in Latin America could examine what project, or group of projects might be undertaken to make a practical contribution to the development of a true partnership with some Latin American industrial group—within the broad spirit of Alianza rather than solely within the narrower framework of commercial relationships.

One could develop this concept selectively in the field of the arts, of sport, of educational programs like that of St. Joseph's College. And finally the climax of such an intensive program could be demonstrated in the Festival of the Americas proposed by the Commercial Museum for early 1963. Imaginative ways could be found for dramatizing the various steps in these individual activities, and their achievements, so that the example given by Philadelphia could prove an inspiration for similar broad civic programs throughout many parts of the United States.

May I make clear that I am not recommending a onetime red-carpet treatment of Latin American officials, or a single official mission of distinguished citizens. I am recommending a practical, working program, of a number of limited, specific carefully selected activities, each one corresponding to the daily operation of an individual civic, educational, professional, municipal, business, labor, or allied group, coordinated to the extent necessary for practical efficiency, and to bring all of the projects within the recognition of Philadelphia's participation in Alianza.

This will involve giving time and effort to this vital undertaking, in a day when there are many pressing demands on all of you, but your greater participation in this effort will be rewarding. You will take municipal leadership in consolidating a dynamic democratic system in Latin America—and unless such a system is consolidated in Latin America, unless the Alliance for Progress fulfills its destiny, then democracy cannot be maintained indefinitely in the United States. This is a challenge to the people of Philadelphia, which I hope you will ponder deeply, and accept.

Thank you.

## Arthur Burns Speaks on Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, as is well known to all Members of this body, the Ways and Means Committee is now hearing testimony behind closed doors—over my objection, I might add—on the state of the economy with special interest in the area of possible tax rate changes. Although it is not possible for the members of this committee to reveal the testimony of the witnesses we have heard, a recent witness, Prof. Arthur Burns, of the Economics Department of Columbia University and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, included with his testimony a speech he had made at DePauw University as part of that institution's series on political economics.

The importance of the question under discussion and the prominence of Dr. Burns in economic circles make this speech especially relevant at this time. Although included in his testimony, this speech is public and can well be read and digested by all who are interested in economic growth and national tax policy. The speech of Dr. Burns follows:

PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES

(Address by Arthur F. Burns, John Bates Clark professor of economics at Columbia University and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research)

(The Dr. Paul L. Morrison Fund in Political Economy was established in 1961 in honor of Dr. Morrison. It is designed to bring

to DePauw University political economists of international prominence to conduct seminars and to lecture to students and faculty. Dr. Burns is the first visiting professor to appear at DePauw under this program.)

I

In recent years, considerable dissatisfaction has been felt over the rate of growth of our Nation's economy. There are several reasons for this dissatisfaction and concern.

First, the human effects of automation and other aspects of technological progress are receiving wider attention. Clearly, if the United States is to avoid sizable unemployment, our economy must be able to absorb the workers displaced by technological advances as well as the million or more men and women who are added each year to the labor force.

Second, the rate of economic growth is nowadays connected in the minds of many citizens with a nation's prestige, if not also its international influence and military prowess. Thus, the failure of our economy to grow as rapidly as that of West Germany or Japan in the postwar period is frequently cited as a threat to our Nation's prestige, while the rapid economic growth of Russia is frequently viewed as a threat to our national security.

Third, many Americans are not only eager to improve their own standard of living and that of their neighbors, but also see a need to overcome what they regard as great deficiencies in our schools, roads, hospitals and other public programs. Clearly, a more rapid rate of economic growth would make it possible to satisfy to a fuller degree both private public needs.

The recent and keen concern about our Nation's rate of economic growth has led many thoughtful citizens to conclude that we cannot afford to practice "business as usual" in an age of rapidly advancing technology and international crisis. The view is therefore spreading that the powers of the Federal Government must be mobilized in the interest of raising the rate of growth of our economy, and that programs directed toward economic growth need to be organized around a governmental plan which, among other things, will set specific numerical targets for our economy.

If this type of prescription is followed, the pattern and mode of our economic life may be radically changed. Whether that is necessary or desirable has already become a subject of extensive public discussion. I shall try this evening to contribute to this discussion, first, by recalling the manner in which planning for economic growth has hitherto been conducted in the United States, second, by appraising the performance and prospects of our economy, third, by commenting on how the objective of more rapid economic growth might best be pursued in our times.

II

At first glance, it may appear that under peacetime conditions there has been no such thing as economic planning—or planning for economic growth—in the United States. Surely, the American people have traditionally been strong individualists. By and large, anyone in our midst has been free to choose his occupation, to work for himself or for an employer of his choice, to produce whatever he chose, to trade as he wished, and to spend or to save or to invest as he deemed proper.

We have conducted our economic activities without setting national targets for the output of specific products or for output as a whole. With rare exceptions, our Government has not resorted to controls over prices, wages, or profits. We have generally avoided the allocation of raw materials to business firms by governmental authority, or official certification of private investment projects, or the rationing of foreign exchange. In short, the very institutions and practices that are commonly associated in other countries with economic planning have been largely absent in the United States.

Yet, it is important to recognize that economic planning has been steadily practiced by the American people.

The most vital feature of our economy is that it has grown persistently and cumulatively for many decades—indeed, since colonial times. In a nation in which economic growth has become a firm tradition, the natural thing for individuals and business firms to do is to plan ahead, so as to be in a position to take advantage of new opportunities.

American business firms have therefore become accustomed to planning with some care their investments in plant, in machinery, and in equipment. The timespan of these investment plans varies a good deal. Some businessmen plan ahead for only the next year or two, while others make capital budgets for the next 5 years, 10 years, or even longer. Not only do businessmen plan their investment programs. They also plan their inventories, their advertising programs, their labor policies, their financing requirements.

More important still, businessmen have recently begun to plan on a vast scale the development of new products and to prepare for the future by conducting extensive research programs. Indeed, research and development work has become one of our major economic activities and one that is growing at a remarkable rate. In 1950, research and development expenditures in the United States amounted to about $3 billion. In 1955 they reached $8 billion. This year they will probably exceed $15 billion. Although a large part of this sum is financed by the Federal Government, the privately financed part has itself been enormous.

It goes without saying that research and development programs require careful planning. The progress of this activity has made American businessmen plan minded in numerous directions, and it has helped to make systematic planning a normal part of every major business.

Economic planning in our country has not been confined to the business sector. A second ingredient of planning for economic growth is the planning that goes on in our households.

American youngsters differ considerably, as they do everywhere. Some are ambitious, industrious, and alert, while other are not. But I think it is fair to say that our boys and girls typically begin planning their careers at an early age, drawing as they can on the advice of their families and teachers.

A typical American family is eager to make progress, to live better, and to provide for a better life in the future. Hence, it is characteristic of families to plan for a new home, or a new automobile, or a summer vacation, or a college education for the children, and so on. It is likewise characteristic of the head of a family to work hard, so that his family may live comfortably. Not only that, but he is often enterprising enough to search out or to create new opportunities.

Thus, in our individual homes, just as in individual businesses and farms, economic planning is being conducted incessantly. To be sure, much of this planning has been and is haphazard. To be sure, some of the planning has been hardly different from daydreaming. Yet, all of it has been directed to improving the economic position of the individual, that of his family, that of his business, or that of his community.

Planning for economic growth in the United States, unlike that of socialistic countries, has therefore been a mass activity—an activity pursued by millions of producing or consuming units, each looking to a better future and each striving more or less energetically to attain it.

Among the economic units engaged in planning for the future are to be found, of course, many thousands of public or quasi-public units—not only the Federal Government, on which I will comment later, but also State governments, local development corporations, churches, fraternal lodges, school districts, and municipal governments. Besides being concerned with the maintenance of law and order, which is prerequisite for any kind of economic development, many of our governmental units plan extensively for the educational and recreational needs of their communities, for maintaining good health, for better medical facilities, for improving or enlarging transportation systems, and doing whatever else seems desirable to make our communities a good place in which to live and work.

In short, planning has been a pervasive feature of economic life in our Nation. Planning has gone on steadily in many millions of economic units. Our planning for economic growth, therefore, has been a widely shared activity, not a special or exclusive perogative of the Central Government. The planning so conducted has served to mobilise the energies of people in all walks of life. And it has become traditional in our country to regard economic growth itself as being not merely a goal of an abstract entity called a nation, but as a goal of individual households, individual businesses, and individual communities.

III

When economic planning is decentralized, when it is conducted by many millions of independent economic units, it is natural to expect that the individual plans may at times, if not frequently, be in conflict with one another. This problem has been recognized throughout our Nation's history. Indeed, much of what is most distinctive about the American economy is the culmination of efforts to devise a workable scheme for reconciling and coordinating individual economic plans.

One part of our traditional scheme for reconciling individual economic plans is as old as free and competitive enterprise itself. When supply and demand in a competitive market are out of balance, something is bound to happen to prices, to inventories, or to both.

For example, if the demand for radios is smaller than the supply at the ruling price, then the price will come down or inventories will exceed the level desired by merchants. In either case, there will be pressure to lower the volume of production. Similarly, if the demand for services of a particular sort—let us say, the services of engineers—increases, the salaries paid to engineers will tend to go up. The rise in salaries will stimulate young men to seek a career in engineering rather than in medicine or law or teaching.

Open and competitive markets in American society have thus served as regulators of occupational choice and of production. In so doing, they have promoted a type of economic growth which is adjusted to the Nation's stock of resources and to the desires and preferences of people.

It is precisely because open and competitive markets perform the essential function of harmonizing and coordinating the economic plans of households, business firms, and governmental units that the American people have resorted to stringent legislative measures to preserve competition. Where monopoly is inevitable, as in the provision of electricity or telephone service, we have attempted to regulate it.

American experience over many years has demonstrated that the coordination of individual plans through open and competitive markets enables economic life and economic development to proceed, on the whole, in satisfactory fashion. It is undeniable, however, that competition sometimes produces results that are harsh, or that appear inequitable or otherwise undesirable. To deal with such matters, the Government has not infrequently resorted to protective devices—for example, inspection of foods and drugs,

price supports, interest rate ceilings, minimum wages, and import quotas.

Furthermore, although competition is a good cure for overproduction in a specific market, experience has taught us that competition is a very inadequate cure when a shortage of demand develops in many markets simultaneously. When that happens, business activity as a whole will slump, production will drop, the flow of incomes will be checked, and unemployment will spread. In short, the Nation will experience a business recession.

On the other hand, when demand becomes excessive not in just one or a few markets but in many markets simultaneously, the general level of prices will rise and this may bring hardship to recipients of fixed incomes and salaried workers.

Recession and inflation were a familiar feature of the American scene during the 19th century and during the early decades of this century. These periodic disturbances of economic life gave rise to urgent demands for reform, the upshot of which has been the assumption by the Federal Government of a responsibility to use its great powers to moderate the business cycle and to foster a high and expanding volume of overall production and employment.

In recent years, therefore, the Federal Government has played a much more active roll in economic affairs than in the past. But the Government has done this primarily by stimulating at certain times, and by restraining at other times, the general level of economic activity. Apart from agricultural pursuits, our Government has rarely attempted to regulate the volume of production of individual firms or of individual industries.

When private business activity falls off, it is generally expected nowadays that the Federal Government will move fairly promptly to ease credit conditions, or to lower taxes, or to raise its own expenditures. On the other hand, when business activity becomes so exuberant that it may mainly serve to bid up prices, it is expected that the Government will adopt monetary or fiscal measures to restrain the expansion of overall demand.

In these ways, then, the American people have sought to preserve the spontaneity and enterprise of individual economic planning, and yet assure that the plans of individual economic units are sufficiently coordinated to result in a reasonably steady use of the Nation's resources and in a reasonably stable price level.

The essential features of economic planning, as it has developed in the United States, can therefore be summed up in three broad propositions. First, our planning for economic growth has been a widespread activity in which many millions of people actively participate. Second, the plans of individual economic units have been coordinated by the maintenance of competition and by a flexible use of the monetary and fiscal powers of the Federal Government. Third, despite an increasing array of protective devices that circumscribe individual planning, our economy has continued to be largely characterized by free and competitive enterprise.

IV

The success that we have had through our kind of economic planning, while far from perfect, has been substantial in recent times, just as it has been substantial over the long stretch of history.

We have preserved economic and political freedom in a revolutionary age, when many other nations have lost or destroyed their freedom. Our economy has continued to grow—although it has grown less rapidly than many of us would like. We have made some progress in checking the inflation which has marred our prosperity in the postwar period. The fruits of enterprise have been widely distributed among the people, so that poverty—as understood a generation ago—has been nearly eliminated in our country. And we have had striking success in moderating the business cycle and in reducing the impact of recessions on the lives of individuals.

To be sure, the United States has experienced several recessions since the end of World War II, but they have been less severe on the average than earlier economic contractions. Not only have they been short, not only have they involved relatively small declines in production and employment, but the close link that once existed between cyclical declines in production and changes of personal income has been broken.

Partly as a result of the introduction of unemployment insurance and the development of public and private pension plans, partly as a result of the growth of service industries and of white-collar jobs, partly as a result of stable dividend policies on the part of corporations, total personal income has remained remarkably stable during the postwar period in the face of cyclical drops in production. What is more, the size of the income-receiving population has continued to grow during recessions as well as during the expansions of economic activity throughout this period.

All in all, therefore, while we have had no shortage of economic problems, the kind of economic planning on which our Nation has relied has worked tolerably well. Even now, the American economy—despite excessive unemployment and numerous other shortcomings—is the marvel of the rest of the world.

To be sure, our Nation's economic growth has recently been less rapid than that of some other nations—notably, Russia, West Germany, France, and Japan. We must be careful, however, in making international comparisons.

In the first place, each of these foreign countries suffered devastation during the war. Under such circumstances, the mere rebuilding of a factory or a railway connection can often lead to spectacular increases of production. This source of growth, which was extremely important in the years immediately following the war, has lately waned in significance.

On the other hand, the stage of economic development reached by the United States continues to differ from that of other nations. The American people are abundantly supplied with material goods—not only with food and clothing, but also with washing machines, refrigerators, television sets, automobiles, and countless other expensive goods. To an increasing degree, therefore, we spend our incomes on services rather than commodities—on such things as health, education, and travel.

It is far more difficult to improve the productivity of physicians, teachers, artists, or hairdressers than the productivity of those engaged in manufacturing steel or textiles or automobiles. As other nations continue to develop their economies, services are likely to become a larger part of their endeavor. Their rate of economic growth will tend to become lower for this reason, as well as because the opportunities for adopting American technologies will already have been largely exhausted. The discrepancy between our Nation's rate of economic growth and that of other industrial countries is therefore likely to diminish in the natural course of events.

We may, however, both help to assure and hasten the improvement of our Nation's position on the international scale of growth rates by recognizing the importance of strengthening economic incentives to enterprise and investment, as other industrial countries have done in recent times. Even Communist Russia has seen fit to reward rather handsomely its managers, scientists, teachers, and the more skilled workers in order to elicit their industry and enterprise.

V

As we look to the future, it seems clear that the impulses to economic growth and improvement remains strong in our Nation. In the first place, Americans are generally willing to work hard to obtain the income they need to live as they feel they should. This willingness to work is reflected in the continuing increase of the proportion of women in the labor force. It is reflected in the large and increasing number of men who hold down more than one job. It is reflected in the slackening of the long-term decline of the average workweek in manufacturing despite the increased power of trade unions.

This willingness to work, the evidence of which is all around us, stems from a desire of the American people for a higher standard of living. We can reasonably count on this factor to continue driving our economy toward steadily higher levels of activity.

Another reason for optimism about the economic future is the tremendous effort being devoted to research and development—an activity on which I have already commented. This activity results in a constant flow of new products, new materials, and new technical processes. To exploit these opportunities, huge investments in plant and equipment will be necessary in the years ahead.

Still another reason for optimism about the economic future is the rapid growth of population in the United States. A growing population in an affluent nation is an important psychological factor in business planning. Knowing that population will continue to grow rapidly, businessmen can look forward to larger markets and they are therefore likely to prepare for them.

With such fundamental forces driving our economy forward, it would seem that the continuation of our Nation's economic growth and improvement is assured. A cloud over the future is cast, however, by a perceptible weakening of faith on the part of a substantial number of Americans in the capacity of free and competitive enterprise to extend our economic blessings. Surely, the belief is growing that heavy reliance on the planning of individual economic units is poorly suited to the needs of a swiftly changing world.

One school of though, which has gained considerable influence, holds that an increase in the rate of economic growth of the United States is urgently needed, that this need can be met by enlarging the role of Government in economic activities, and that larger governmental expenditure is an essential device for speeding economic growth.

According to this school of thought, the Federal Government should set a high numerical target for the Nation's output and then proceed, with due regard to its other economic policies, to spend whatever may be needed to assure the desired level of output.

According to this school of thought, the Federal Government should increase outlays not only for defense, but also on foreign economic aid, on social security, on housing programs, on medical care, on agricultural programs, on education, on research, on highways, on retraining or relocating workers, on subsidies for ailing industries, on subsidies for industries feeling the pinch of foreign competition, on depressed areas, on local transit—indeed, on an ever-increasing list of programs that imaginative men, dreaming of a better society, keep suggesting, and contriving.

This school of thought is predisposed to value the benefits of public spending more highly than the benefits of private spending. This school of thought finds it natural to suppose that Federal officials are peculiarly capable of determining what the interests of the American people require. This school therefore keeps urging an expansion of executive power over activities that have traditionally been the province of private citizens.

If the teachings of this school of thought prevail, the governmental sector of our economic life is bound to expand while the private sector will shrink. In the process, unbalanced governmental budgets may remain troublesome even if taxes rise. Inflationary pressures are not likely to fade away in such an environment. Nor is the balance-of-payments deficit likely to be cured easily or quickly.

When the Government is reluctant to deal with inflationary pressures and the balance-of-payments problem by practicing monetary and fiscal restraints, it may drift into a policy of imposing direct controls over prices, wages, and profits. Such controls may start with a basic commodity like steel, but they are not likely to end there.

The spread of governmental regulations of economic life would severely limit the economic freedom that Americans have enjoyed. To be sure, if the scope of private business decisions is curtailed, businessmen will make fewer mistakes. That does not mean, however, that Government officials will make better decisions than would the businessmen immediately concerned. Nor does it mean that economic mistakes, when once made, will be corrected as promptly by Government officials as they would be by businessmen subject to competitive market pressures.

An unavoidable effect of a proliferation of governmental controls over economic life would be a redirection of the energy of business executives. More and more of their finest hours would be devoted to cajoling Government officials or to contesting or circumventing governmental edicts, instead of to developing new markets or to experimenting with improved products or new processes—activities which alone serve to build a nation's economic strength. Efficiency, therefore, would suffer, and the higher rate of economic growth—which was so urgently being sought through governmental initiative and spending—might well remain an elusive objective.

VI

In emphasizing this danger, I do not mean to minimize the importance of a higher rate of economic growth or the role that the Government can play in fostering economic growth. My point is only that governmental spending cannot be the sole or even a large part of the answer to the problem of achieving a higher rate of growth in our Nation's economy.

If governmental economic policy is to be successful, a simple but basic principle must be respected—namely, that a nation's prosperity depends on the energy and skill with which people apply themselves to production. A corollary of this principle is that governmental actions to spur economic growth are likely to be most effective when they increase confidence in the economic future, thereby stimulating people to use their brains, their energy, their money, and their credit in building today for a better tomorrow.

Of the many governmental actions that are currently needed to foster a higher rate of economic growth, perhaps the most important is a reform of our tax system. When tax rates on personal income become nearly confiscatory, as is the case for upper income brackets, the injury to economic incentives of individuals in the middle and upper brackets is serious. When corporations need to pay over half of their profits in taxes, there is a heavy drain on the resources available for new investments. When tax rules governing depreciation fail to take account of the revolution in technology or of inflation, business firms may be required to pay taxes on income they never earned and they may therefore lack the funds needed to maintain their capital intact.

Unlike other industrial countries, which in recent times have kept redesigning their tax laws in the interest of stimulating enterprise, innovation, and investment, our country has continued to function with a tax system that largely grew up under wartime conditions. Surely, the time has come for a basic reform in the structure of Federal taxation.

It is also highly important that the Government at all levels should interest itself to a greater degree in fostering efficiency. Monopoly power, whether of business or labor, needs to be suppressed. Restrictive work practices, which abound in railroading, construction work, and other branches of industry, need to be strongly discouraged. Local building codes need to be modernized and urban traffic congestion relieved. Research in the physical, biological, and social sciences needs to be promoted. Expenditures on education need to be redirected so that the opportunities of poor but able youngsters may be enhanced. And governmental roadblocks to efficiency, of which the farm program is only the most notorious example, need to be reduced or removed.

It would also be constructive if smaller firms, which lack the resources to undertake research and development programs of their own, were aided in adapting to the rapidly changing technology of industry and finance. With some stimulation by the Federal Government, our colleges of business administration should be able to render much the same kind of assistance to small businesses that our agricultural colleges have over many years rendered to farmers. A similar function might be served by local productivity councils, which would bring together businessmen, bankers, local officials, and trade union leaders to explore ways of reducing waste and improving efficiency.

In planning for the future, it is also well to recognize that the growth of our economy will almost certainly not proceed at a uniform pace. Recessions are likely to occur from time to time, and we should therefore seek ways of stiffening the resistance of our economy to these setbacks. It would be helpful if temporary extensions of unemployment insurance, such as the Congress tardily improvised in 1958 and again in 1961, were no longer needed in the future. When the next recession strikes, as in time it almost certainly will, our country should already be equipped with an unemployment insurance system that covers practically all wage earners, that automatically provides for extended benefits during periods of abnormally large unemployment, and that guards against existing abuses.

Once we achieve such a system of unemployment insurance, it will become possible to develop policies for stimulating economic activity in a calmer atmosphere than has ruled in past recessions. This should give us some protection against inflationary adventures that in the end may undermine economic freedom.

These agenda of public policies for promoting economic growth need to be both expanded and elaborated. But perhaps I have said enough to suggest that although larger governmental spending in some directions can be highly constructive, so also may the curtailment of some governmental activities that are currently being practiced. Larger total spending on the part of the Government is not the only way, nor is it often the best way, of raising a nation's rate of economic growth. If we accept uncritically a rapid expansion of governmental budgets, we may easily end up by having a closely regulated economy, but it is less clear that we will also have a higher rate of economic growth. Let us not be hasty, therefore, in accepting alluring promises of a higher growth rate at the price of policies that may seriously change the character of our economic organization.

Much has of late been said and written about the economic miracles of West Germany and Japan—the two nations whose rate of economic growth has led the rest of the world in the postwar period. As I have previously observed, international comparisons can be misleading. Yet, if I understand correctly what has happened in Germany and Japan, one major factor in their outstanding success has been a deliberate and energetic policy of fostering a market economy in which individuals and business firms can conduct their economic planning in an atmosphere of confidence. This has also been the major source of our own great economic achievements in the past. We cannot afford to lose sight of this fact as we struggle with the new and baffling problems of our generation.

## Seventy-five Historians Rate Effectiveness of American Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, a constant factor in the growth and prosperity of this Nation has been the high degree of effectiveness displayed by the men elected to the Presidency of the United States. Students of history have expressed amazement in the undeniable fact that America has usually produced a Chief Executive capable and fitted to accept the challenges of the times, and to guide our citizens in the building of a better country.

An interesting and provocative article by Arthur M. Schlesinger in the July 28 New York Times magazine discusses this subject and publishes the findings of a poll conducted among 75 experts of American history, including two in English universities. Mr. Schlesinger points out that results showed a considerable agreement as to the "great and near-great", but some difference of opinion was evident in selecting those Presidents whose performance in office was "average."

The total picture, however, was seen as an enviable record of dedication and success in the public service, as Mr. Schlesinger concludes that:

Taking the entire span from Washington to the exit of Eisenhower, the historical consultants find that great men occupied the chair during 40 of the 172 years and, if their near-great associates be added, the grand total approaches 80 years, or nearly half the lifetime of the Republic. Can any other nation display a better record?

I ask unanimous consent that Arthur M. Schlesinger's article entitled "Our Presidents: A Rating by 75 Historians" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR PRESIDENTS: A RATING BY 75 HISTORIANS—A POLL OF EXPERTS CONCERNING OUR CHIEF EXECUTIVES SHOWS AT LEAST 5 WHO MAY BE CONSIDERED GREAT AND, OVERALL, A NOTEWORTHY LEVEL OF COMPETENCE

(By Arthur M. Schlesinger)

How good have America's Presidents been? Which ones have left an enduring mark? Who were the failures? Where do the others rank? Seventy-five students of American history, including two in English universities, have undertaken to answer these questions.

Had they been appraising the total careers of the men, the results in some cases might have been quite different. Madison, John Quincy Adams, Grant, and Eisenhower, for instance, were great Americans, though not, according to the panel, great Presidents.

Their title to fame rests on contributions made before and after holding the office.

The present inquiry, however, has to do with a single point—achievement in the Executive chair. Omitted from consideration—besides, of course, Mr. Kennedy—are two Presidents who were too briefly at the helm to permit a fair evaluation: William Henry Harrison, who died within a month of his inauguration, and James A. Garfield, who served little more than half a year.

Each participant in the poll applied his measuring rod in accordance with the relative importance he attached to the complex factors that helped make or break the particular administration. Did the President head the Nation in sunny or stormy times? Did he exhibit a creative approach to the problems of statecraft? Was he the master or servant of events? Did he use the prestige and potentialities of the position to advance the public welfare? Did he effectively staff his key Government posts? Did he properly safeguard the country's interest in relation to the rest of the world? How significantly did he affect the future destinies of the Nation?

Admittedly, the judgment of the historians is not necessarily the judgment of history, but it is the best we can have without waiting for the sifting process of time. The members of the panel agreed with little dissent on the great and near-great and, at the opposite extreme, on those who made the poorest records. The principal differences involved the comparative ranking of the Presidents regarded as average and of those below average but not failures. Even in these cases, however, the preponderance of opinion was conclusive.

Lincoln, Washington, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Wilson, and Jefferson receive the accolade of greatness in the order given. The reasons for their preeminence will be examined later; but since the inclusion of Roosevelt may surprise persons still smarting from memories of New Deal times, it should be noted now that his place reaffirms the view of 55 historians, most of them overlapping on the present panel, whose findings were published in 1948. The longer perspective adds weight to the previous judgment.

After the top group come the half-dozen figures who, while eclipsing the majority of White House residents, yet fall of the foremost rating. Beginning with Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt, the near-great Presidents continue with Polk, Truman, John Adams, and Cleveland.

Old Hickory marked the advent of the common man to national power and, in particular, distinguished himself by defeating South Carolina's attempt at nullification and by destroying the monopolistic second United States Bank. The 1948 poll, indeed, placed him among the great Presidents, but the present one, by a narrow margin, lowers him one degree. Theodore Roosevelt, responding to similar impulses, taught the electorate the danger to the public weal of consolidated business, and against entrenched opposition he instituted a program of Federal regulation as well as of the conservation of natural resources.

Polk, for his part, extended the national borders until they embraced what is now the great Southwest and all the country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Added to Jefferson's acquisition of France's Louisiana territory, these accessions from Mexico and England gave the United States its continental breadth. Though Polk's conduct toward Mexico violated international ethics, it is noteworthy that his critics, neither then nor later, have ever proposed that the conquests be returned.

Truman, the only one in the near-great class still with us, discharged impressively the awesome obligations devolving on the United States as the leader of the free world in the cold war with Soviet imperialism. The Truman doctrine for the protection of Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan for the restoration of Western Europe, the Berlin airlift, the Point Four program for backward countries, NATO (our first peacetime military alliance), and the intervention in Korea in support of the United Nations—all these constituted landmarks in an assumption of global responsibilities undreamed of only a few years before.

Of the last two in the near-great group, the case for John Adams rests primarily on his successful resistance to his own party's demand for changing a limited conflict with France into an all-out war, while the inclusion of Cleveland recognizes his stubborn championship of tariff reform and of honesty and efficiency in the civil service.

Then follow the Presidents—more than a third of the whole number—who fall in the average or mediocre class. By and large these 12 believed in negative government, in self-subordination to the legislative power. They were content to let well enough alone or, when not were unwilling to fight for their programs or inept at doing so. In descending scale they are Madison, John Quincy Adams, Hayes, McKinley, Taft, Van Buren, Monroe, Hoover, Benjamin Harrison, Arthur, Eisenhower and Johnson.

Johnson was the principal exception to a passive role, but his prolonged contest with Congress over Southern reconstruction brought him the ignominy of impeachment and a narrow escape from dismissal from office. Eisenhower, the most recent and, consequently, the hardest of the Presidents to evaluate, received a few votes in the near-great category but many more for beneath the average and failure. A two-thirds majority, however, placed him toward the bottom of the average incumbents.

Of the executives of still less stature, six of the eight qualify as below average; Taylor, Tyler, Fillmore, Coolidge, Pierce, and Buchannn in that order. By ill chance, Pierce and Buchanan headed the Government in the years of mounting crisis which precipitated the Civil War. Had more statesmanlike hands directed affairs, that tragic failure of the democratic process might have been avoided. A sizable number of the historians, indeed, rated the two as failures.

The verdict of total unfitness, however, was, by the overwhelming majority, reserved alone for Grant and Harding. Both were postwar Presidents who, by their moral obtuseness, promoted a low tone in official life, conducting administrations scarred with shame and corruption.

Under Grant the wrongdoing reached as high as his private secretary, the Postmaster General, and the Secretaries of War and the Treasury. In Harding's case, three members of the Cabinet were, for like reasons, forced out, one of them going to prison along with several other important executive officials. Harding, who could not plead Grant's political inexperience, worked intimately with the notorious Ohio gang which had accompanied him to Washington. His belated qualms at betraying the public interest probably helped bring on his death after two and a half years in the White House.

A comparison of the findings of the 75 historians in 1962 with those of the 55 in 1948 shows no significant change except for the reduction of Jackson one notch to the rank of near great. Otherwise the choices in the five major classes hold good, though the earlier survey, of course, necessarily omitted Truman and Eisenhower. Within each of the intermediate categories—near great, average, and short of average—occurs, however, some rearrangement of the order, notably the lowering somewhat of the positions of Cleveland, Monroe, and Coolidge, and the upgrading of Polk, Madison, and McKinley.

What qualities and achievements elevated five Presidents over all their fellows? Was there a pattern of greatness which distinguished these men who otherwise varied so widely in education, personality, and political style and who, moreover, faced problems special to their eras? The answer lies in the nature, direction, and permanent effect of their accomplishments. A quick review will reveal the common elements.

Each held the stage at a critical moment in American history and by timely action attained timeless results. Washington converted the paper Constitution into a practical and enduring instrument of government. Jefferson expanded the original area of the United States to include the huge region stretching westward from the Mississippi to the Rockies. Lincoln saved the Union from internal destruction. Wilson tightened the restraints on big business and finance and carried the Nation successfully through World War I. Franklin Roosevelt preserved the country in the face of its worst depression and marshaled its resources for victory in World War II. Lincoln excepted, all effected profound domestic changes peaceably within the democratic framework—revolutions by popular consent.

By the same token, each took the side of liberalism and the general welfare against the status quo. Washington, to be sure, today seems a staid conservative to persons forgetful of his historical context. In truth, however, this director of a people's war of emancipation from colonialism devoted all his prestige and ability as their civilian head to justifying the daring new "republican model of government," the fate of which, he told his countrymen, was "deeply," yes, "finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Jefferson, standing on Washington's shoulders, widened the concept of popular rule by word and example, and in acquiring the vast trans-Mississippi domain, he sought, among other things, to check the growing power of the eastern business interests with an expanding agrarian West. Lincoln, given no choice in the matter, settled on the battlefield the question of "whether, in a free government, the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose," and while doing so he advanced the cause of human rights by outlawing the anachronism of slavery.

And in our own century the New Freedom of Wilson and the New Deal of Roosevelt have, in turn, enlarged momentously the Government's responsibility for the social and economic well-being of the people.

These towering figures, moreover, acted masterfully and farsightedly in foreign affairs. All cared profoundly about keeping the country out of war, though over the years circumstances beyond American control necessitated differences as to the means. When the Republic was young and craved time to build up its strength, Washington instituted, and Jefferson perfected, the policy of isolationism or neutralism toward the chronic power struggles embroiling Europe; and Lincoln, in the dark days of the Civil War, averted, through consummate diplomacy, the calamity of British intervention on behalf of the South.

But with America's coming fully of age the situation changed. As Washington had foretold in his "Farewell Address," the United States now could take "command of its own fortunes"; and the shrinkage of global distances plus the modern weaponry of destruction obliged a departure from the past. The goal of peace remained unaltered, but the method devised by Wilson and Roosevelt to achieve it was through an international structure for collective security. Under this sign, Wilson pioneered the League of Nations; and Roosevelt, succeeding where Wilson had not in winning senatorial approval, helped reshape that body into the more potent United Nations.

The members of this group were not only constructive statesmen but realistic politicians. Washington apart, none of them waited for the office to seek the man; they pursued it with all their might and main. And upon winning it, they functioned as chiefs of their parties as well as Chiefs of State. Washington, it is true, as the first to occupy

the position, endeavored to shun political ties; he even appointed the contending party leaders, Jefferson and Hamilton to his Cabinet; but, taught by experience, he presently abandoned his nonpartisanship as "a sort of political suicide." His successors followed this course from the outset.

The arts of the politician were, of course, indispensable to gain the needed congressional support for their policies. With unconvinced Members they knew when to reason and to browbeat, to bargain, and stand firm, to concede what was relatively unimportant in order to obtain what was essential. If occasion demanded, they used such means as bestowing or withholding Federal patronage, employing or threatening to employ the veto and, when all else failed, they appealed over the heads of the lawmakers to the people.

Every one of these men left the executive branch stronger and more influential than he found it. As a matter of course they magnified the powers expressly granted them by the Constitution and assumed others not expressly denied by it. They acted on the conviction that when the framers of the document provided for a chief magistrate chosen periodically by and responsible to all the people they had intended that he should always be equal to the widening needs of society.

Inevitably, these Presidents encountered trouble with the Supreme Court, for its members, enjoying lifetime tenure of office and, moreover, restrained by the tribunal's past decisions, tended to speak for times gone by. Only Washington, the one President to name the entire body, escaped the dilemma.

Jefferson, alarmed lest the judiciary he had inherited from the political opposition would strike down "all the works of republicanism," got Congress to abolish a series of lower judgeships which the outgoing administration had prepared for its adherents, and he induced the House to impeach a grossly partisan member of the Supreme Court. Had the attempt at ouster succeeded, Chief Justice Marshall almost certainly would have been the next quarry.

Over and over again Lincoln, under plea of military necessity, ignored or defied judicial decrees. On one occasion he even disregarded a writ of habeas corpus of Chief Justice Taney himself. Wilson, though managing to avoid open strife, nonetheless viewed the Court's conservative bent as the Nation's "most obvious and immediate danger." And Franklin Roosevelt, when thwarted by the high bench in expanding his New Deal program, sought to correct its "horse and buggy" mentality by the addition of younger and more progressive Justices. Although Congress did not consent, the tribunal, in alarm, hastily changed its attitude. In all these affairs, moreover, the verdict of time has upheld the Presidents' underlying purposes, if not always their methods.

Being strong executives, the five also offended vested economic interests and long-standing popular prejudices. Furthermore, their sins of commission and omission, though small in the backward view of history, looked enormous to critical contemporaries. Each, in turn, met with charges of subverting the Constitution, of lusting to be king or dictator, and of knuckling under on occasion to some foreign power.

The "arrows of malevolence" so wounded Washington that he exclaimed to a friend that he "had never repented but once having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since." Jefferson was pelted with such epithets as "Mad Tom," "contemptible hypocrite," "a man without religion" and a "ravening wolf." Lincoln suffered abuse, even from northerners, as "the baboon in the White House," "a usurper" and "a perjured traitor." He said it was in his heart to pity Satan if "to be head of Hell is as hard as what I have to undergo." Wilson and Roosevelt, as many today will still remember, came off no better, both being reviled for wanton personal ambition and seeking to rule or ruin. In the case of each of the greats, the newspaper press added fuel to the flames when, indeed, it did not start them.

Yet, notwithstanding all the sound and fury, these Presidents were more deeply loved than they were hated. The rank and file of Americans reelected every one of them to a second term and Roosevelt to a third and fourth.

Another factor marking the group was that, but for the selfmade Lincoln, they came from an upper level of society (and, indeed, even Lincoln, before reaching the White House, had surmounted his humble beginnings to become a leader of the Illinois bar). This willingness of the voter to accept patrician leadership sheds an interesting light on the flexibility of U.S. democracy. Washington, Jefferson, and Roosevelt, alike in being well-to-do, landed proprietors, believed, as a matter of course, in the importance of preserving or recovering for the mass of people the kind of values and human advantages traditional to a rural way of life; and Wilson growing up in a highly cultured but not affluent atmosphere, arrived at pretty much the same outlook on the basis of extensive reading.

But, superior though these personages were, only two, Washington and Wilson, excelled as administrators. The rest either lacked the ability or else believed the ends of public policy more important than the machinery for achieving them. On balance, moreover, their inattention served to unfreeze official routine and inject vitality and a readiness to innovate into the Government ranks. Franklin Roosevelt in fact went so far as to declare, "The Presidency is not merely an administrative office. That is the least of it." If he overstated the matter, all the others would have heartily endorsed his further view: "It is preeminently a place of moral leadership."

Moral leadership meant a commitment to maintain and transmit to future generations the liberal and humane ideals of the past. It involved the capacity to fit the national purpose to the constantly changing requirements of a dynamic people. In brief, the foremost Presidents possessed a profound sense of history, a rooted dedication to time-sanctioned principles which each, in his own day and way, succeeded in reinvigorating and extending. Essential as it was to win approval at the polls, they looked as well to the regard of posterity.

James Bryce, assessing the United States' Chief Magistrates down to 1900 in his book, "The American Commonwealth," entitled a famous chapter, "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents"; but he erred even for those years. Taking the entire span from Washington to the exit of Eisenhower, the historical consultants find that great men occupied the chair during 40 of the 172 years and, if their near-great associates be added, the grand total approaches 80 years, or nearly half the lifetime of the Republic. Can any other nation display a better record?

Moreover, even the do-nothing stretches in the White House did not lack value, since, as a rule, they provided breathing spells for the country to digest the achievements of the forceful Executives.

All in all, the historical picture offers the present-day defenders of democracy against totalitarianism reassuring evidence that Jefferson's—and America's—reliance on the people as "the safest depository of power" is the cure for mankind's ills.

THE 75 PARTICIPANTS IN THE POLL

Lewis E. Atherton, University of Missouri.
James P. Baxter, III, former president of Williams College.
Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University.
Wilfred E. Binkley, Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio.
Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minn.
John M. Blum, Yale University.
Denis W. Brogan, Peterhouse, Cambridge University, England.
Paul H. Buck, Harvard University.
Solon J. Buck, former National Archivist, Washington, D.C.
James M. Burns, Williams College.
Francis W. Coker, Yale University.
Henry S. Commager, Amherst College.
James B. Conant, former president of Harvard University.
Marcus Cunliffe, University of Manchester, Manchester, England.
Richard N. Current, University of Wis.
Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin.
Virginius Dabney, editor, the Richmond Times-Dispatch.
Chester M. Destler, Connecticut College, New London.
David Donald, Princeton University.
Dwight L. Dumond, University of Mich.
Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky.
Harold O. Faulkner, Smith College.
Gilbert C. Fite, University of Oklahoma.
Felix Frankfurter, U.S. Supreme Court.
John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College.
Frank Freidel, Harvard University.
Ralph H. Gabriel, American University, Washington, D.C.
Paul W. Gates, Cornell University.
Norman A. Graebner, University of Illinois.
Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina.
Oscar Handlin, Harvard University.
James B. Hedges, Brown University.
Pendleton Herring, president, Social Science Research Council.
John D. Hicks, University of California at Berkeley.
John Higham, University of Michigan.
Richard Hofstadter, Columbia University.
Arthur N. Holcombe, Harvard University.
Sidney Hyman, political analyst, Washington, D.C.
Gerald W. Johnson, journalist and historian, Baltimore.
Walter Johnson, University of Chicago.
Arthur S. Link, Princeton University.
Dumas Malone, University of Virginia.
Asa E. Martin, Pennsylvania State University.
Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati.
Frederick Merk, Harvard University.
Elting E. Morison, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Samuel E. Morison, Harvard University.
George E. Mowry, University of California at Los Angeles.
Curtis Nettels, Cornell University.
Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania.
Russell B. Nye, Michigan State College.
John W. Oliver, University of Pittsburgh.
Bradford Perkins, University of Michigan.
Dexter Perkins, Cornell University.
Stow Persons, University of Iowa.
Earl Pomeroy, University of Oregon.
David M. Potter, Stanford University.
Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University.
Lindsay Rogers, Columbia University.
Eugene H. Roseboom, Ohio State University.
Clinton Rossiter, Cornell University.
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard University.
Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California at Berkeley.
Fred A. Shannon, University of Illinois.
James W. Silver, University of Mississippi.
Henry Nash Smith, University of California at Berkeley.
Kenneth M. Stampp, University of California at Berkeley.
Irving Stone, biographer and historian.
Glyndon G. Van Deusen, University of Rochester.
Richard C. Wade, University of Chicago.
Walter P. Webb, University of Texas.
Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton University.
T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University.
Harvey Wish, Western Reserve University.
C. Vann Woodward, Yale University.

# Appendix

## Mrs. J. Mitch Johnson "Mrs. Democrat of San Saba County" Received 50-Year Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH**
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mrs. J. Mitch Johnson, of San Saba, San Saba County, Tex., generally referred to as "Mrs. Democrat of San Saba County," a Gold Star Mother and winner of many awards and honors, is known to people throughout the central Texas area and in the State capital city of Austin.

Mrs. Johnson has received a 50-year membership pin in the San Saba Chapter of the Eastern Star. She has won many other honors in her life and has organized parent-teachers' associations in schools all over San Saba County, and was the first person in San Saba County, Tex., to ever receive a life membership in the PTA.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article from the San Angelo Standard Times of June 15, 1962, under the title, "Mrs. Johnson Awarded Pin at San Saba," and an article from the Brownwood Bulletin of June 18, 1962, under the title, "50-Year Award Goes to Mrs. J. M. Johnson."

Mrs. Johnson's life of political, religious, and civic leadership has endeared her to all who know her and has ennobled all of the activities which she has touched. We honor ourselves when we honor her.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times, June 15, 1962]

MRS. JOHNSON AWARDED PIN AT SAN SABA

SAN SABA (SC).—In a ceremony in her home recently Mrs. J. Mitch Johnson was awarded a 50-year membership pin in the San Saba Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star.

The presentation was made by Mrs. Cecil Brown, worthy matron of the chapter.

Mrs. Johnson has served twice as worthy matron of the chapter and also has held district offices.

A Gold Star mother, and a lifelong resident of the county, she is the former Miss Lillie Alice Hamrick, daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Joe Hamrick, early pioneers who helped organize the county. In 1901, she married J. Mitch Johnson, a native of Mississippi. Her lawyer husband, a former mayor of San Saba and county tax assessor, died in 1946.

The couple's family has included three daughters and two sons. The daughters are Mrs. Inez Garrett, of San Saba, Mrs. Carlos Ashley of Llano and Mrs. Neff Manor of San Antonio. Mrs. Ashley and Mrs. Manor are twins. One son, Edward Johnson, is an attorney of Brownwood and Dallas.

Dr. John Mitchell Johnson, Jr., of Longview, lost his life in World War II. Mrs. Garrett and Edward Johnson are graduates of Baylor University and Dr. Johnson graduated from Tulane University, New Orleans.

Mrs. Johnson is often referred to as "Mrs. Democrat of San Saba County." She was cochairman of the women's division of the county Democratic party, a member of the First Methodist Church, and was given a life membership in the Women's Society of Christian Service. She helped organize the parent-teachers' associations in schools over the county, and was the first person in the county to receive a life membership in the PTA.

She is a charter member of the San Saba Study Club, and past president of the San Saba Garden Club.

Living with Mrs. Johnson are her daughter, Mrs. Garrett and teenage Jonibeth Garrett, one of her 10 grandchildren.

[From the Brownwood (Tex.) Bulletin, June 18, 1962]

FIFTY-YEAR AWARD GOES TO MRS. J. M. JOHNSON

SAN SABA (BBC).—Mrs. J. Mitch Johnson has been awarded a 50-year membership pin in the San Saba Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star.

Mrs. Johnson has served twice as worthy matron of the chapter and has also held district offices.

This Gold Star mother, a lifelong resident of the county, is the former Miss Lillie Alice Hamrick, daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Joe Hamrick, early pioneers who helped organize the county.

After attending San Saba school, she married J. Mitch Johnson December 22, 1901, a native of Mississippi. Her lawyer husband, a former mayor of San Saba and county tax assessor-collector, died in 1946.

The couple's family has included three daughters and two sons. The daughters are Mrs. Inez Garrett of San Saba, Mrs. Carlos Ashley of Llano and Mrs. Neff Manor of San Antonio. Mrs. Ashley and Mrs. Manor are twins. One son, J. Edward Johnson, is an attorney in Brownwood and Dallas. Another son, Dr. John Mitchell Johnson, Jr., died during World War II.

Mrs. Johnson is often referred to as "Mrs. Democrat of San Saba County." She was cochairman of the women's division of the county Democratic Party.

A member of the First Methodist Church, she has taught Sunday school classes in almost every department and was given a life membership in the Woman's Society of Christian Service. She helped organize the parent-teachers' association in schools over the county and was the first person in the county to receive a life membership in the PTA.

She is a charter member of the San Saba Study Club and past president of the San Saba Garden Club.

Living in the home with Mrs. Johnson are her daughter, Mrs. Garrett and daughter, Jonibeth, one of 10 grandchildren.

## Let's Give the Boys Something We Never Had

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 9, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article concerning Our Lady of Czestochowa Junior Baseball League of Jersey City. It is my hope that the accomplishments of this league will provide a model which can be followed by other groups who wish to contribute to the sound growth of our Nation's children by providing adequate recreational facilities.

The article follows:

LET'S GIVE THE BOYS SOMETHING WE NEVER HAD

Located in the heart of historic old first ward of Jersey City, within the shadow of the lady in the harbor, Miss Liberty, and but a country mile from Ellis Island, stands the Our Lady of Czestochowa Junior Baseball League Field, on Grand and Henderson Streets.

The field is the property of the parish of Our Lady of Czestochowa. The Reverend Father Martin Piasecki, pastor of Our Lady of Czestochowa, turned the vacant lot over to a group of private citizens whose ancestors passed through Ellis Island from a then glorious and free Poland.

These men, who continue to reside and do business in a neighborhood that is a history of America's Revolution—Essex, Morris, Warren, Wayne, Henderson, Montgomery, Green, York, Sussex, Mercer, etc., Streets—donated their own money and sacrificed their time to convert an empty lot into a regulation junior league baseball field.

Six hundred feet of outer cyclone fence, 180 feet wooden inner, outfield regulation fence, two cinder-block dugouts, two sets of grandstand, spectator seats, 300 yards of topsoil, a 15-foot backdrop screen, grass-seeded and white-chalk-lined infield complete the physical field.

The Our Lady of Czestochowa league was founded in 1960. Its motto: "Let's give the boys something we never had." Four teams of boys between the ages of 8 and 12, are fully equipped with uniforms, baseball equipment, bubble gum, scoreboard, good "umps" and bad "umps," comprise the league.

Sponsors of the teams are four downtown businessmen: Edward Bromirski, funeral director; Eugene Brauczewski, plumber contractor; Ben Pienkowski, pharmacist, and Mitch Stepuch, godfather of the league, Anchor Inn keeper.

Adult advisory council members of the league are: Henry Goscienski, Stanley Lewandowski, Paul Kowalczyk, Joe Goscienski, Ziggy Zdrowski, Jack Konkolewski, and Rev. Father Edward Gubernat, moderator.

Adult coaches and managers are: Ben Kowalczyk, Bill Journitz, Ziggy Kowalski, Chet Tomaszewski, Joe Liszewski, John Gornicz, Butch Szelwach, Hank Goscienski, Sam Gnyra, Wally Switay, Richie Kowalczyk, and Hank Legowski.

During the past few weeks much has been written about Poland and other captive nations. These men by their silent words and loud actions have set an example in the living proof of the value of freedom and liberty and a sincere and prayerful desire that their children and their neighbors' children will live the lives of decent juveniles with the hope that the shout of clean sports and good fun will someday enter the hearts of the children of the captive nations throughout the world, and may these captive boys someday have what our boys have.

## The National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the U.S. conference of Governors, earlier this year, adopted a resolution relating to the role of the National Guard in our defense and national life.

In my home State of Wisconsin—as throughout the Nation—the National Guard plays a significant role both in war and in peacetime.

Reflecting the consensus of the Governors' views, I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution published in the National Guardsman printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY VOICE VOTE, WITHOUT DISSENT, BY THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS, AT HERSHEY, PA., JULY 3, 1962

Whereas international communism by aggressive military action and subversion continues efforts to gain control over free world areas and thus to threaten the security of the United States; and

Whereas the unrelenting pressures of the Soviet Union in Berlin and the current military offensives of Communist forces in southeast Asia forecast the shape and intensity of aggressions we must expect in the years ahead; and

Whereas in addition to the capability for waging conventional war and other forms of harassment, the Soviet Union possesses a large stockpile of nuclear weapons and delivery system capable of placing such weapons on targets in the continental United States; and

Whereas because of the war potential of Communist nations, the United States must maintain defense forces of such strength and diversity as to deter or contain aggression by conventional forces and to deter nuclear attack, and, should deterence fail, have the ability and the strength to recover and retaliate; and

Whereas to fulfill increasing demands for forces in troubled areas overseas, to have adequate strategic reserves in the United States, to provide for a rapid general mobilization, and to be prepared to achieve recovery from nuclear attack, it is necessary that we have a large, flexible defense force, both Active and Reserve; and

Whereas little more than half of our conventional forces are located in the United States and much of this could be lost in a nuclear attack; and

Whereas to have a depth in defense necessary to sustain military operations and to assure a capability to recover from nuclear attack, the United States must have a large and ready reserve force widely dispersed; and

Whereas the National Guard has consistently furnished the Department of Army and the Department of Air Force with the types of organizations requested and has maintained these organizations at high levels of readiness, as evidenced by the speed with which the State forces responded in the Berlin crisis and the manner in which they carried out assigned missions; and

Whereas the determination of the Army National Guard to maintain and increase the professional competence of its organizations and individual members is evidenced by acceptance of active defense missions and by organizing special forces units and operating State officer candidate schools; and

Whereas the several States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia are prepared to furnish the Department of Defense the type of units requested at desired levels of readiness: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the 1962 Governor's Conference that*—

1. The Army National Guard be continued at an average strength of 400,000;

2. The existing units of the Army National Guard be retained, including its 27 combat divisions, and that new type units required by the Active Army to assure a properly balanced and modern force be achieved by conversion of existing units to combat and combat support types required and be comparable in size to units converted;

3. The strength of nonpriority divisions and nondivisional units of the ARNG be manned at levels sufficient to permit effective training and thus assure the maintenance of all divisions and nondivisional units at reasonably high levels of mobilization readiness, in general 60 percent;

4. The Secretary of Defense be urged to direct a restudy of the proposed reorganization of the Army National Guard and that such a restudy be undertaken with a view to effecting changes in the Army National Guard structure at the same time as the conversion to the road concept is implemented, and, further, that the requirement in every State for an adequate, organized, trained and equipped recovery force be given due consideration; be it further

*Resolved*, That the Governors support the principle of greater readiness in the Nation's Reserve Forces, but oppose firmly and plan the implementation of which would drastically reduce the size and effectiveness of the National Guard in many States and overall reduce the capability of the Army National Guard to fulfill its historic role as the first line reserve; and be it further

*Resolved*, That no action be taken in any State with respect to proposals made to the individual States until the advisory committee on the National Guard has had further opportunity to study the details of the proposals and to confer again with the Secretary of Defense.

## A Letter to Secretary Rusk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Byelorussian nation, known to learned historians as White Ruthenia, is one of the captive nations held by force within the present-day Russian Communist empire. While the Byelorussian nation is identified as one of the members of the United Nations, relatively little is known on the American scene, in a popular sense, about the history, the customs, the traditions, and the aspirations of the people of this ancient land. They are known as the people between the marshes because their nation was inaccessible to the hordes of Genghis Khan when those forces swept the Eurasian lands and reached deep into the heart of Western civilization. The marshes of Byelorussia served as a natural barrier against the rapidly moving, horse borne forces of the golden horde which made Genghis Khan the spectre of fear in his generation. The people of Byelorussia are very proud of the fact that they have resisted the influences of the princes of Muscovy, the tzars and the commissars of Moscow just as they resisted the conquering waves of the golden hordes.

The people of Byelorussia fight on today for the realization of their ideals of freedom and self-government against the new menace of Moscow, which takes the form of imperial Russian communism. History tells us that the people of Byelorussia seized the opportunity to proclaim their national independence and won complete separation from Russian tyranny with the collapse of the Russian tzarist empire in 1917. That was the golden age of national independence so far as the nations now held captive within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are concerned. It was golden because the refreshing air of freedom, the stimulating spirit of self-government, the compelling force of liberty prevailed everywhere throughout the broken empire of the princes of Muscovy, except among the Muscovites who alone were untouched by this powerful current in the affairs of man. But Byelorussia's national independence was short lived. It became the first victim of imperial Russian communism as the Red commissars who replaced the oppressive czars launched a campaign of aggression to reconstruct the broken empire. This interruption in the national aspirations of the Byelorussian people is a temporary one because the spirit of liberty, of self-government, and of national independence serves as a unifying force among all Byelorussians worthy of the name.

To assist the people of Byelorussia in their struggle against the imperialism of Moscow, the Byelorussian Liberation Front, with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, serves a very useful, constructive, and determined purpose. The members of this organization seek nothing more than understanding for the aspirations of their people and support for their objective of national independence.

On July 21, 1962, the Byelorussian Liberation Front sent a communication to the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, presenting their views on the worldwide struggle between the forces of freedom and the evil forces of imperial Russian communism. Their views are very impressive. They include a warning that a change of control within the Russian empire from Communist to

non-Communist hands will not remove the threat to freedom which weighs so heavily upon the world of our time. The Russian czars long maintained that nations such as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and the other captive nations within the Soviet Union did not exist as a historical fact. The commissars of Moscow have been compelled by the driving force of nationalism—the power factor of national independence—to not only admit the existence of these nations, but to plead for their admission into the United Nations. It is a tragedy beyond description that current policy of our State Department refuses to recognize the political existence of these non-Russian nations and, worse, supports the reactionary propaganda of the former Russian czars by maintaining that such nations are nothing but traditional parts of the Russian state.

The conclusion of the Byelorussian Liberation Front, with which I concur, is that a Russian non-Communist empire, if permitted to exist will be as much of a threat to the world as was czarist Russia at one time and as Red Russia is today.

Under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD the letter of July 21 to Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State:

BYELORUSSIAN LIBERATION FRONT,
*Cleveland, Ohio, July 21, 1962.*

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
*Secretary of State*
*Washington, D.C.*

SIR: On the occasion of the observance of the Captive Nations Week, which has been enacted by the Congress of the United States last 3 years and approved by the President in the issuance of a special proclamation, the national headquarters of the Byelorussian Liberation Front participating in the nationwide ceremonies along with other submerged nations, tenders hereby to the Government of the United States its sincere appreciation and thanks for the moral support thus extended to these enslaved peoples in their continued struggle to liberate themselves from the Russian Communist imperialism.

In this connection, we desire to reemphasize the following recognized facts:

The Russian communism today menaces the free nations of Europe, Asia and other parts of the world. Sooner or later they will be faced with the same fate which met the captive nations unless international communism is destroyed at its source—in Moscow.

In view of the threat represented by Russian Communist imperialism, a threat menacing the freedom and indeed the very existence of the free world, we declare that—

The Communist peace offensive has been launched in order to paralyze the free world and to disarm it, thus to achieve world domination without bloodshed as boasted by Khrushchev;

Communist offers of trade and cultural exchange are merely bait to lure the democracies and to break up the security systems of the free nations;

In the present Berlin crisis provoked by Khrushchev, America must make no concessions for the making of the slightest concession to the Kremlin in the solution of the German problem will be used by the Communists to make further provocative demands;

Every effort must be made to further the liquidation of the Communist regime in Cuba by giving the necessary help to the Cuban people for carrying on the struggle to free their country from Communist slavery, for a further extension of the Communist system on the American continent would mean the spreading of the cancer cell in a healthy organism;

The Soviet campaign for the recognition of Red China, and the satellites for seating them in the United Nations is a dangerous trap for the free world;

America and the other free states must pay great attention to the present unendurably hard living conditions among the Chinese people living under the Communist regime and must give the necessary help to the Government of Nationalist China to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the entire Chinese people.

The free world is obliged to help the oppressed peoples in Europe and Asia in their struggle against the Communist conspiracy. By their struggle against communism these oppressed peoples have prevented Russian communism from consolidating for further conquests;

The threat to the peace and security of the free world will disappear only after the source and root of the Communist conspiracy—the Russian Soviet Empire—is divided into its parts, separating the non-Russian peoples from their Russian oppressors and helping them build their own national states;

To check dictator Khrushchev who is openly avowing his aggressive intention by methods of force, terror and deceit of imposing the Communist system on our children and of raising in triumph his bloody and slavish hammer and sickle banner over the free world—to check this Communist tyrant, America and the other nations of the free world must give moral and material support to all those nations who for years have been carrying on the struggle for liberation from Khrushchev's banner and his slave system;

The preservation of the U.S.S.R. intact after the fall of communism without the dissolution of the Russian Empire into its component parts, will neither terminate the Russian Imperialistic threat to the world nor satisfy the just aspirations of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. for a free life of their own. A Russian non-Communist empire if permitted to exist will be as much of a threat to the world as was tsarist Russia at one time and as Red Russia is today;

Freedom is indivisible. The world cannot forever remain half free and half slave.

May God guide the free nations in arriving at their decision and may He grant wisdom in having it properly implemented.

Respectfully yours,

Capt. JOHN SHIKCHIK,
*Chairman of the Byelorussian Liberation Front.*

ARKADZI SACEWICH,
*Chairman, American-Byelorussian Cultural Relief Association.*

Eng. LEONID HARTANOWICH,
*Chairman, Byelorussian Orthodox Church Committee.*

KONSTANT MATYLICKI,
*Representative American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations.*

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## The New Un-Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on March 26, 1962, Miss Harriet Miller, superintendent of public instruction for the State of Montana, made a significant address to the Conference of School Administrators of Montana. Her address, which is titled "The New Un-Americanism," has just been published and covers subject matters and issues that merit wider circulation than was given the original message. I commend Miss Miller's speech to all friends of education. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW UN-AMERICANISM

(By Harriet Miller)

Today I want to talk with you about something that is so fundamental that we seldom find ourselves discussing it—the protection and preservation of American education.

When we speak of American education, we usually take for granted two important premises—again, so fundamental that to point them out may seem unnecessary. These premises are first, that American education, by its very essence, is education for American life and citizenship; and second, that education for individual freedom demands freedom of thought and inquiry to the end that the educated individual is competent to act responsibly and intelligently from free choice.

These premises we take for granted and, until fairly recently, there seemed to be no reason for doing otherwise. But recently a new threat to American education has appeared on the scene—a threat that endangers not only education but our way of life since it is no exaggeration to predicate the survival of our free society on the survival of American education. Today schools everywhere—Montana schools included—are threatened seriously enough to give us pause.

Without naming names, I think it is enough to say that there are forces at work today whose business is fear and suspicion. These forces masquerade in a wide array of disguises, some apparently quite respectable, and their work does not suffer from the disguise as they go about planting the seeds of distrust among Americans. By inference and innuendo, by oversimplification to the point of falsehood, by shameless appeals to emotion and ignorance and prejudice, these forces are working to destroy the fabric of America by turning us against each other. Their method: create deadly suspicion. Their goal: divide and conquer. This has become the new un-Americanism.

Once, you know, we Americans believed that we could recognize such forces. Typically, we believed, their spokesmen came among us in something resembling beatnik attire, wearing shaggy beards, suffering from lack of a bath, and waving pamphlets bearing red covers with the hammer and sickle prominently displayed. But times have changed, and today the forces which would destroy us are much more sophisticated; they see to it that their representatives look and act and sound very much like the rest of us. And, unfortunately, these forces sometimes are aided by well-meaning people who have no intention of being anything but patriotic. But how much more effective these forces are when the voice among us spreading fear and suspicion is the voice of a neighbor, perhaps a local businessman, or a well-known rancher, a community leader, a hometown newspaper or radio station, serving, usually unwittingly, the cause of those who would divide us as Americans.

This characteristic of the new un-Americanism is perhaps its most dangerous aspect—the phenomenon we are witnessing today where well-meaning citizens, who are honestly devoted to our way of life, are being persuaded by clever appeals to their very

patriotism to serve the forces which would destroy us.

For the schools, the problem is real, for the fact is well known to everyone, friend and foe alike, that there is nothing more important to the preservation of our way of life than our educational system. The schools, then, become a special target, in ways not always easy to recognize. Let's look at some of the ways.

One is the subtle turning of natural interest and concern into distrust and suspicion. The forces behind the new un-Americanism are aware of the sincere interest which many a citizen takes in the schools. It is also well known that nearly everybody has some fault to find, some bone to pick, about the way the schools today do, or do not do, something or other. Now this is natural, and to be expected, but here the point of departure comes, because from this point, unfortunately, it seems to be not very difficult to persuade some well-meaning citizens that whatever it is they don't like about the schools today is indicative of nothing less than deliberate subversion.

Perhaps Citizen Jones disapproves of the way his first-grade son is being taught to read. Suppose Citizen Brown thinks the questionnaire which the guidance director sends home is too personal. Suppose Citizen Smith objects to a book assigned as outside reading in a high school English course. Suppose Citizen Green disagrees politically with the civics teacher. Surely in America there is room for the opinions of all of these citizens, and surely proper attention is due the honest questions which citizens and parents normally raise. But it is at this point that the new un-Americanism attempts to seize upon the citizen's natural, normal interest, and by emotion, not by logic, seeks to develop a conviction that there are dark and dangerous reasons behind whatever it is the school is doing which displeases the citizen. Thus, we hear of everything from investigations of school library books, to condemnation of guidance as brainwashing, to the charge that Johnnie is deliberately not being taught to read so that in his future ignorance he will be a pushover for communism. These are sypmtomatic of the fear ond distrust which, by devious emotional appeals, the forces of the new un-Americanism have succeeded in implanting in some susceptible minds.

Let us not confuse this kind of activity with the constructive efforts of thinking citizens to improve education. Questioning and criticism certainly are the right and the responsibility of the thinking citizen. The difference, which menaces the schools, is the misuse of the citizen's normal questioning, turning it from a desire for the facts to a subtle accusation that there must be something subversive behind the scene, with an inferred condemnation of those directly associated with the schools; and, as a result, an implication that, no matter what the schools are doing, their motivation is suspect.

Perhaps the most obvious instance of this dangerous development is the question that we in education are encountering today with increasing frequency—"Why are the schools not teaching Americanism?" The phrasing of this question, it seems to me, is the most alarming aspect of the current problem.

The question itself is not alarming, because, for any citizen honestly concerned about Americanism in the schools, there are ready answers—very good, very positive, very enlightening answers.

It is rather the way in which the forces of the new un-Americanism have succeeded in having the question phrased that is the reason for concern: "Why are you not teaching Americanism in the school?"

You see the distrust there—the implied acceptance of an idea that the schools today are devoid of Americanism; that the schools now do nothing to develop an appreciation of our American heritage; that they now do not instruct pupils in American history and government; that they now do not work to foster respect for American principles and devotion to our American way of life.

Surely citizens have the right to ask for reassurance about what the schools are doing—but of the queries I have heard, I cannot recall a single one which asked, as a person would ask for other information, "What are the schools doing to teach Americanism?" or even "Are the schools teaching Americanism?" No. The question is always phrased negatively—"Why can't we have Americanism taught in the schools?"—showing the conviction that the schools purposely are not teaching Americanism, that there are people—impliedly educators—who deliberately are keeping it out.

This strange conviction, I believe, did not just happen to develop. There is no doubt in my mind that it has been cultivated and carefully nurtured by those who want our people to suspect and distrust each other, which means also suspecting and distrusting the schools. If there were not a planned effort in this direction, the current wave of popular concern about Americanism in the schools would find expression, at least occasionally, in something other than the negative, which inevitably suggests that those who raise the question in this negative way are using phrases deliberately implanted in their minds.

For us in education, I think it is important to recognize what is going on, because I believe for many of us it is hard to take seriously the questioning of Americanism in the schools.

After all, we may say, American education is, by its very being, education for American life and citizenship, is it not? Are not our schools the essence of Americanism? If the schools are not doing any of these things which are necessary to develop good American citizens, then we had better close the schools tomorrow, for anything else they are doing is totally meaningless.

Yes, we in education may say this, and for us it may well be sufficient, for it is on this premise that we have based our work and hence our lives. But I do not believe that any of us here has a deep-rooted doubt about the truly American orientation of our schools; I do not believe that any of us here is deeply suspicious of our schools; I do not believe that we here are lacking in trust in American education; I do not believe that we are fearful of some dark shadow lurking in the schools clutching at young minds, luring—even forcing—innocent pupils to turn their loyalties away from our country and our way of life.

But make no mistake. Merely because these suspicions and doubts are not ours—merely because the shadows are not real to us—does not mean that, for some people, they do not exist. And because some people are thus distrustful and afraid, we, too, have cause to be alarmed—not because of what they fear, but rather of the fact that they have become fearful, and suspicious, and lacking in confidence, victimized by the new un-Americanism.

To the extent, then, that such people are in a position to encourage a general loss of confidence in American education, the schools, and our way of life, are jeopardized.

Now it may be submitted that these current expressions of a lack of confidence in the motivation of education are just normally developing reactions which might be reasonably expected at this point in our history. Could this be the explanation? The facts, I think, convince us otherwise.

Historically, the schools have performed a magnificent task. From the beginnings of free education in America, accomplishments have far outweighed shortcomings. Consider what our Nation's history might have been without our educational system, and it will be unequivocally clear that the schools have made this country strong and great. From a struggling young Nation striving to weld together the many peoples who came to our shores, to the vital America we know today, the history of national growth has been the history of success of the American dream of free education for all.

With this proud history, is it reasonable to expect dark doubt today about the motivation of our schools? Is it reasonable to expect suspicion about what is really guiding American education? Or can these reactions be explained only as a deliberate effort to strike at the very roots of our way of life?

I know of no one who claims that education today is perfect. I know of no one who claims that, in all America, there is not a single teacher of un-American persuasion. I know of no one who claims that the schools could not do a better job than they are doing, whether it be in science or physical education or American history or whatever. Faults have always been with us; they are not new. Traditionally, however, Americans are accustomed to working constructively to correct faults by seeking the facts, proposing possible solutions, experimenting objectively, and adopting the changes needed for improvement. Until recently, Americans have not been accustomed to emotionally charged searchings for the "reason behind" the faults, accompanied by the fearful inference that only treachery could be the explanation. This, then, is the situation in which schools today find themselves.

What can we do about it? What must we do?

First, I believe, we in education must recognize that, because of our profession, it is to be our lot to be on the firing line perhaps more than any other single group. We must recognize that the problem is not going to go away, and although we may expect it to diminish from time to time before approaching new crests, we must convince ourselves that there is nothing to be gained by hiding our heads in the sand. We cannot ignore the challenge; we must face it head on.

We in education, of course, are not alone. There are other targets of particular interest to the forces of the new un-Americanism, such as the clergy, the employees and officials of the various levels of government, those in the communications media—the press, radio and television—and, occasionally, those in various learned professions. All of these, along wtih the schools and colleges, are subject to more than the usual proportion of unsubstantiated charges of being infiltrated with communism or of having "sold out" to the Communists. But locally, on the home front, the schools and the educators make the handiest targets.

Some of you already have experienced what I am talking about; chances are that within the next few months more of you will become personally and painfully aware of the problem. And this is precisely the reason why I am discussing this with you today at this conference. It's a lot easier to keep your perspective the first time somebody calls you a Communist if, instead of taking it personally, you realize that it is a part of an overall program, and that you as a person just happen to be one of those in the line of fire. It also helps, I think, to know that you are far from being alone.

What you do in those circumstances, of course, is up to you. The important thing is to keep your dedication to the schools, keep your determination to work for the principles of American education as you know them, and to trust in the good intentions and good sense of the majority of the people. You, as an educator, must not wilt because, if you do, you leave your school defenseless, and that, of course, is exactly the intended result.

Now, in addition to being prepared personally for innuendos and inferences, and even outright accusations, there are other things that we as educators can do to combat the new un-Americanism.

First of all, of course, we must be able to recognize it. In the current age of labels, recognition involves something more than identification by name. In fact, names and labels have become about as unreliable a guide as we can imagine. Liberal, conservative, radical, extremist, left, right, middle-of-the-road—what do these mean? Because these terms have been used so loosely, and because they have been misused deliberately to induce fear and suspicion, it seems to me better to avoid relying on them at all.

When the schools are criticized other than constructively, let us not label the critic, but rather let us recognize the true source of the criticism, remembering always that most of our critics are well-meaning citizens and that a certain amount of criticism actually is based on misinformation and misunderstanding. Surely it will do our schools no good to react to criticism by hanging one of the popular labels on the critic, and such action may obscure the real source of the problem.

True Americanism, after all, has its basis in individual freedom. Its antithesis is totalitarianism. America is founded on the principles of liberty with responsibility, and justice for all. Totalitarianism tolerates no diversity; it recognizes no rights; it guarantees no justice; it relies on enforced conformity. It is the objective of dictatorship, and not of American education, to produce generations of youth guaranteed to think alike. Free education, American education, derives its strength from freedom of thought and inquiry; our free America derives its strength from the diversity of our people. To recognize the new un-Americanism, we do not need labels; all we need is a clear understanding of these basic differences between our way of life and totalitarianism.

Next to recognizing the characteristics of the new un-Americanism, we should be prepared to enlighten those who are honestly misguided. Remember, this deliberate program of spreading fear about what our schools are doing has been designed to raise doubts in many minds, and as a result there are today more than a few citizens who would benefit by a bit of solid reassurance. Why not give it to them? Why not prepare a brief review of what the schools have been doing all along, quietly, routinely, to foster appreciation and true understanding of America? Many of the things are so obvious that it may seem unnecessary to list them, but let's list some of them anyway: the salute to the flag; the patriotic songs and music; the drawings of George Washington's cherry tree and Abe Lincoln's log cabin; the Gettysburg Address; the observances of national holidays; the courses in history and civics and American Government—even the little exercises in written expression of American principles and patriotism. The list can go on and on.

In the past several years, as many of you know, I have visited hundreds of Montana schools, large and small, city and rural, and I have seen an impressive number of the everyday activities that come under the heading of teaching Americanism, although no one had intended such a specific classification. One typical example which I recall dates back 2 or 3 years. It happened to be in Livingston, and it happened to be a fifth-grade classroom. When I walked in, unannounced, I noticed a display of well-written statements on American citizenship. These were done as an assignment in English. I mentioned them to Superintendent Haines, and later he sent them to me.

Just for a moment, I'd like you to hear some of these fifth grade statements—not because they are unusual, but because they are so typical:

This one is called, "What Does My American Citizenship Mean To Me?" by Kamla. She says:

"I means to me to be loyal, to help others, to be thrifty, to do our best, to love God, to help build a better nation and to do our share."

This one, by Diane, says:

"I am glad I am an American because I am free. I can go to the church I want. I can be what I want when I grow up. I am glad that when I grow up I can vote on the things I think are best for my country. I can go to a free school. I can say anything I want about my Government. My family and I are not forced into doing anything we do not want to do."

This one, by Mike, says:

"I am glad that I do not live in a foreign country for I would have to belong to a military group instead of Boy Scouts. Every boy in America has the chance to become President; maybe someday I may be that boy."

And Kerry said:

"Americans have responsibilities to do what is right—responsibilities to help his neighbor and his neighbor should help him."

And one last statement, by Ellen:

"As I see the flag in school or anywhere, it gives me all the heart to say the pledge with everything I got. I love my free country and I am going to help keep it free. This is what my American citizenship means to me."

It seems to me that this sort of thing should help to reassure some of the honestly apprehensive, especially in view of the fact that it hadn't occurred to the school administration to publicize this activity because it is such a commonplace part of the school program. After all, we don't send up rockets or put ads in the newspaper whenever we teach arithmetic; somehow we just expect people to know that's what we're doing, since that's one of the things that schools are for. But today, to combat the new un-Americanism, a review of all the commonly accepted aspects of Americanism in the regular school program might be a very useful thing.

Next, don't overlook the support of the people who know what you're up against. If possible, before it becomes a problem in your community, enlist the help of citizens and groups whose substance and integrity are unquestioned. The very existence of a substantial group of informed citizens whose purpose it is to protect the schools from unwise pressures can serve to deter those who otherwise might conclude it would be easy to pressure the local administration.

Above all, we must keep an open mind about constructive criticism. One of the greatest pitfalls resulting from the situation existing today is the tendency to react by condemning all criticism as stemming from the sources of the new un-Americanism. This is a natural reaction, and it is a trap we must studiously avoid. After all, we know the schools are not perfect. We know there is room for improvement. We must remain open to constructive suggestions and be willing to make changes that are soundly reasoned and objectively necessary, whether these changes involve improvement in the teaching of American history and government, or English, or mathematics, or the elementary reading program.

Certainly now, as always, is a good time to place renewed emphasis on American ideals—our American heritage—our American way of life, as long as the motives behind the action are good, and there is no underlying attempt to use the schools to promote a doctrinnaire viewpoint.

The important point, I think, is that any renewed emphasis on Americanism be recognized as just exactly that—renewed—and not be turned into an apparent victory for those who profit by promoting the notion that the schools are devoid of Americanism because pupils do not carry around a book with a red, white, and blue cover bearing the title, "My Americanism Course." Such superficial devices are scarcely necessary for renewing the emphasis on those basic aspects of Americanism which all along have been an intrinsic part of the school program.

These have been some suggestions for meeting the problems created for the schools by the new un-Americanism. It is tragic that we should have to devote so much precious time and energy to this task, when the needs of our schools are as great as they are today. Still, this is one battle we cannot lose, for only as long as the schools remain free can our American way of life continue. Protection of the kind of education that we as Americans cherish is every citizen's responsibility, but to us as educators fall the special tasks of fighting and winning the skirmishes to keep the schools from becoming institutions of indoctrination, rather than of education, and of helping people regain and retain confidence in the schools.

It will do us no good to put the first man on the moon if we fail in preserving the tradition of American education for the American way of life.

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## Charles H. Nehf Writes of Waterfowl and Wetlands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Charles H. Nehf, the widely known outdoors editor of the Allentown (Pa.) Call-Chronicle, recently wrote an interesting report on the status of our national waterfowl resources which I commend to the attention of all Members.

DUCKS DEGRADED TO "PORK BARREL" STATUS

(By Charles H. Nehf)

The innocent wild duck, by a strange set of circumstances, is now on the verge of joining the long list of legislative characters in the Federal "pork barrel" gallery. It's indeed pathetic, but recent congressional action (maneuvering) on a program to implement waterfowl restoration on a national scale puts more value on "what local areas can get out of the duck stamp money" than "the great benefits—economic and natural—which a waterfowl refuge contributes to the immediate land around such sanctuary."

It all started in a very innocent way. In order to get a brief idea of what has transpired let us review a four-act play:

ACT I, DRAINAGE FOR MORE CROPLANDS

As America pushed its great agricultural frontier into the upper Plains States it finally reached the pothole section of northern Nebraska and Iowa, western Wisconsin, and the States of North and South Dakota. This section produces about 55 to 70 percent of all the ducks in the United States. From here they fan out, in fall and winter migrations, down the Mississippi, Central and Atlantic flyways. The greater portion of all wild ducks flying through Pennsylvania are produced in the pothole section of the country.

World War II brought great demands upon American agriculture. We not only fed our own people well, but also supplied the greater bulk of foodstuffs to the Allies. Naturally more land was needed to grow these crops so drainage of the potholes, begun in the early 30's, was pushed more than ever.

In the challenge to meet a world food crisis, we continued to drain the natural water reservoirs of the plains. Wetlands shrunk and our national supply of waterfowl came tumbling down.

ACT II, DRAINAGE CONTINUED, IN SPITE OF OVERPRODUCTION

Following World War II as our world food market declined, we continued to hang onto our stupid program of paying subsidies to drain more and more land to burst more and more storage bins of surplus grain.

Every Federal taxpayer; whether interested in water conservation, farming, or wildlife, is a part of this vicious shakedown. On the one hand we all pay for the drainage of wetlands to provide more croplands. Then when the surplus grains come along we get taken for the second pocket wringer in paying for storage.

Believe me, it isn't funny any more.

ACT III—DRAINAGE AND DROUGHT REDUCES WATER TABLES

The vast pothole sections of the prairie country are nature's water reservoirs. What precipitations fall on the flatland are then retained, later released or held to maintain the valuable water tables for the immediate areas.

In order to get some idea as to the harmful effect of Federal subsidy on drainage, Field Sports submits to its readers the recent testimony made by Congressman HENRY S. REUSS of Wisconsin before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations—

"As a result of the subsidized farm drainage in the prairie pothole area of Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota, almost half of the area's 1,350,000 acres of wetlands have been drained in the past 10 years.

"During the first 6-months period, Department of Agriculture subsidies for draining wetlands were given in 77 percent of the 553 cases where the Interior Department has recommended that financial assistance be denied * * * Thus the disregard of wildlife conservation appears to be getting worse," REUSS concluded.

In addition to the vicious tenacles of drainage tile which are being placed throughout the great plains, continued droughts over the past several years has added more havoc with water tables.

ACT IV—CHALLENGE PARTIALLY MET

Conservationists across the country, realizing the situation, pushed for the passage of a bill which would initiate a crash program for the purchase of wetlands. A core of sympathetic Congressmen provided the leadership and a very practical bill was passed during the last session of Congress.

Basically, as now visioned by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, they are setting their sights for the acquisition of 3.7 million acres of additional wetlands. As pointed out by Frank P. Briggs, Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, the accelerated program should purchase 2.9 acres of this land by 1970. Total cost of this needed conservation program is set at $140 million.

From 1971 to the year 2007 it is anticipated a very small program, only 750,000 acres are contemplated for purchase in that 36-year period. All of these lands must be purchased by duck stamp funds.

Congress has given the Fish and Wildlife Service permission to borrow $105 million for use over the next 7 years; at the end of the 7-year period repayments of the borrowed funds must be made from the sale of the duck stamps.

The master plan outlines the purchase of 270,000 acres for refuges in the Atlantic flyway; 400,000 acres for refuges and 189,000 acres for production in the Mississippi flyway; 260,000 acres for refuges and 1,561,000 acres for production in the central flyway; and 270,000 acres for refugees in the Pacific flyway.

LOGROLLING BEGINS

Now that the program has been announced and the sportsmen will be paying the traffic, the professional politicians have now started their logrolling contests. The staves for the pork barrels are being planed, let's hope the binding rings are weak.

Under present law, counties in which a refuge is domiciled get 25 percent of net preserve revenues from grazing, oil and gas leases issued by the United States, from concessions, etc., on that particular refuge.

In spite of the fact that a waterfowl refuge in any given area is a great economic asset since it attracts tourists, sportsmen, bird watchers, and greatly hikes the private land values immediately adjacent to the refuge we now have Congressman who would: (a) Increase to 75 percent revenues returned to counties (S. 2138); (b) up the return to 100 percent (S. 2678); (c) direct appropriations to pay counties 1 percent of current value of refuge lands therein (S. 2270); and (d) direct payment in the amount of three-fourths of 1 percent of the appraised value of the land.

Waterfowl refuges, as pointed out 2 weeks ago in Field Sports, are on the same status as an industry. Once they are established and developed they provide terrific economic advantages to any given area. The land on which such a refuge is located is taken from the local tax roll, so the sacrifice in this small area is no different than the inducements given to industry by some communities. The overall benefits, if the judgments are fair, greatly exceed the minor loss of local real estate tax revenues when marginal lands are turned into a refuge.

RAY OF HOPE

In this great contest of manipulation, there appears one great ray of hope. Congressman LESTER R. JOHNSON, of Wisconsin, authored H.R. 8520, which would limit further Federal stimulation of the destruction of wetlands essential to the national waterfowl restoration program in North and South Dakota and Minnesota.

The first hurdle was cleared as this measure passed the House last September. Unfortunately it is now in deadlock in the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Several compromises have been advanced, but all hinged on phases of the big farm bill which was knocked down the other week.

Passage of H.R. 8250 in the Senate is now essential if the water conservation and waterfowl preservation program is to move forward. Pennsylvania is only a small part of the total program, yet each of us must be aware of what is happening on the national conservation scene.

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## American Red Cross—Home Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in our American life, there are many "unsung" individuals who serve unstintingly the needs of humanity.

The Red Cross, for example, has created one of the great, great stories of human service in history. Nationally and internationally, this work is performed by a nucleus career staff and about 2 million volunteers.

Recently, the Red Cross published a handbook on its home service for servicemen, veterans, their dependents, and others.

Reflecting upon how this great organization continues to serve humanity—in service and out of service—I ask unanimous consent to have the bulletin printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE JOB OF THE RED CROSS

The American Red Cross is a nationwide voluntary organization through which all people may serve in the American tradition of neighbor helping neighbor.

Organized under the Congress and directed by a volunteer board of governors broadly representative of the people and the Government, the Red Cross performs its work through 2 million volunteers and a small career staff serving across the Nation and overseas where U.S. Armed Forces members are stationed. It is an organization deriving its support from over 44 million adult and junior members. The local unit is the chapter.

Under Federal laws and regulations, the Red Cross sets up disaster preparedness plans and, when disaster occurs, puts them into operation to provide emergency relief for disaster victims and long-term assistance in restoring them to normal living, assists members of the Armed Forces, veterans, and their families, fulfills America's obligations under certain international treaties and, along with other Red Cross societies, conducts an international relief programs.

To carry out these charter responsibilities and to perform other health, safety, and welfare functions in the community and the Nation, the Red Cross has 10 service programs. Chapters fulfill Red Cross obligations by providing disaster services, services to the Armed Forces, and, by natural extension, services to veterans. Local needs and resources determine the extent to which other programs are conducted. This is your Red Cross.

THE HOME SERVICE PROGRAM STATEMENT INCLUDING EXPLANATION OF TERMS

Under Federal statute and regulations of the Armed Forces, the American Red Cross furnishes volunteer aid to the sick and wounded of the Armed Forces, and acts in matters of voluntary relief and as a medium of communication between the people of the United States and their Armed Forces.

Home service is the program through which the American Red Cross carries out in communities this responsibility to servicemen and veterans and their dependents and to the dependents of deceased servicemen and veterans.

*I. Home service program for members of the Armed Forces and their dependents*

The American Red Cross national organization and chapters have a primary responsibility to provide home service as a well-rounded program of family service to members of the Armed Forces and their families, which includes the following specific functions:

1. Counseling in personal and family problems. This service is an integral part of all other functions of home service.

2. Reporting and communications service, including (a) assistance to servicemen and their dependents by providing reports and social histories needed by the military authorities; (f) guidance concerning direct communications between servicemen and their dependents; (c) information transmitted or requested through Red Cross channels when direct communication will not meet the need.

3. Assistance in applying for Government benefits, including supplying information concerning Government regulations and legislation.

4. Referral service, through which applicants to the Red Cross may be informed of and assisted in the utilization of other available resources.

5. Financial assistance, on the basis of need, will be provided—

(a) By the use of chapter funds for basic maintenance needed by wives and children of members of the Armed Forces during the period pending first receipt of family allotment, and during periods when such payments as may be due are delayed or interrupted.

"Basic maintenance" includes such regularly needed essentials as food, shelter, fuel, clothing, household utilities, and necessities, and incidental medical supplies and services.

"The period pending the first receipt of family allotment" refers to the period between the submission of the first application for such benefit and either the receipt of the benefit following favorable action or notice of disallowance of the application by the military departments.

"Periods when such payments as may be due are delayed or interrupted" refers to delays or interruptions incidental to the processing of applications for allotments by the military departments, and does not apply to situations that result from failure of the applicant to submit such required information as change of address.

(b) By the use of chapter funds or by referral to other local resources for basic maintenance needed by other dependents of members of the Armed Forces during such periods.

(c) The use of chapter funds or by referral to other resources for emergency needs of wives and children of members of the Armed Forces, which arise at any time during the period of military service.

"Emergency needs" covers needs such as medical and hospital care, transportation, burial, and others essential to health and welfare, that are urgent and require immediate attention as distinguished from those that are desirable but do not require immediate attention.

(d) After responsibility has been assumed for a program of assistance for dependents of members of the Armed Forces, as defined above, and for disabled veterans and their dependents, and the dependents of deceased servicemen and veterans, as defined in the next section, each chapter, within its own resources and with due regard for all other resources and for local needs, may develop a program of financial assistance on the basis of need for members of the Armed Forces and any of their dependents, under circumstances other than those defined above.

*II. Home service program for veterans and their dependents*

The American Red Cross provides to former members of the Armed Forces and their dependents specific services as set forth in this program statement. These services are given through the combined efforts of chapters and the national organization to assure a nationwide service that is unified and effective.

1. Assistance will be given by chapters to veterans and their dependents in the preparation and development of applications for Federal and State benefits and in supplying information concerning benefits available.

This service will be given on the basis of the applicant's request and need for assistance, and will be terminated when reasonable efforts have been made to establish eligibility for the benefits sought. Activity may be renewed upon the applicant's request in a given case when a change affecting eligibility has occurred, such as the enactment of new legislation or an increase in a veteran's disability.

2. To enable chapters to carry out the program of assistance with applications for Government benefits, the national organization has either a resident or an itinerant field director covering each Veterans' Administration office to review claims folders and inform chapter home service workers that evidence is a matter of record and what evidence is needed; guide home service workers in the preparation and development of individual claims cases, and on behalf of chapters; represent veterans and, when necessary, appear in person on their behalf at personal hearings when it seems that the veteran cannot well represent himself; and assemble and prepare for presentation the evidence necessary to support an appeal from an adverse decision of a regional, district, or central office rating board.

3. Chapters will cooperate with the Veterans' Administration on behalf of veterans and their dependents by providing reports such as those regarding the families of hospitalized veterans needed in relation to the rehabilitation of the patient, social histories needed in diagnosis and treatment, and reports of home conditions required in deciding questions of leave from hospitals.

4. All service given to veterans and their dependents by home service in chapters involves counseling in personal and family problems, which may include referral to other resources.

When the problem arises from military service, counseling may be given for a limited period of time even though no other service is being given, but sustained or repeated counseling will not be undertaken when other resources exist.

The service of referral, through which veterans and their dependents may be informed of and assisted in utilizing other available resources, will be given at any time and whether or not the problem is related to military service.

5. Chapters are responsible for seeing that the needs of disabled veterans and their dependents for financial assistance, as defined in this item, are met either by referral to other resources or by the use of chapter funds.

In this way basic maintenance and emergency needs will be met during the period between the submission of the first application to the Federal Government for service-connected disability or service-connected death benefits and either the receipt of the first payment following a favorable decision or notice of the disallowance of that application.

Veterans awaiting the first decision under the retirement provisions of the Career Compensation Act will be given the same consideration.

6. After carefully considering the availability of other resources and after having fulfilled their responsibility for service and assistance to members of the Armed Forces and their families, and to disabled veterans and their families as defined above, chapters may give financial assistance to other veterans and their dependents on a limited and temporary basis.

*III. Emergency relief to civilians*

Emergency relief to civilians (other than disaster relief and relief to members of the Armed Forces, veterans, and their families) should be undertaken by American Red Cross chapters only in conformity with the following principles:

Priority of those needs of members of the Armed Forces and veterans and their dependents that the American Red Cross has undertaken to meet and of disaster preparedness and disaster relief shall be observed.

Duplication of existing activities in the community shall be avoided.

The chapter shall be competent to finance the service and to conduct it with credit to the American Red Cross.

There shall be observance of the standards of work prescribed by the national organization.

Chapters should transfer responsibility for such emergency relief services to other agencies whenever it becomes apparent that the interests of the beneficiaries and of the community, and the future of the activity, will be best served by such action. When such transfers involve a temporary continuing expenditure of Red Cross chapter funds, the chapter shall participate directly in the administration of the activity as long as such expenditure is continued.

Red Cross emergency relief to civilians may include financial assistance, the providing of medical care, food, clothing, and shelter, and such related services not otherwise available.

*IV. Foreign location inquiry service*

The American Red Cross, through home service, will process inquiries from persons in the United States about the location of persons in other countries with whom contact has been lost because of dislocations of peoples caused by changing world conditions.

Red Cross societies throughout the world engage in a similar service with which the American Red Cross cooperates when persons sought are thought to be in the United States.

## National High School Orchestra To Perform at White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, with considerable pride, I rise to advise my colleagues about a cultural invasion of Washington scheduled for next Monday, August 6, which has been launched from Interlochen, Mich., in the congressional district I represent.

At the invitation of the First Lady, Mrs. Kennedy, Dr. Joseph E. Maddy is bringing the National High School Symphony Orchestra and a ballet corps from the world-famous National Music Camp to perform a concert from the White House lawn.

Many Americans are already aware of the fact that the National Music Camp, at Interlochen, founded and developed by Dr. Maddy, is a unique educational institution. Michigan's great Senator, Arthur Vandenberg once described it as "the greatest center of youth culture in the world."

The group that will perform Monday morning at 10:30 is not just an ordinary orchestra. This is a complete symphony orchestra of 102 high school students from 24 States and 2 foreign countries. They represent but a small fraction of the cultural explosion of some 2,000 high school students from all over the United States and the world who flock to Interlochen, in northern Michigan, each summer to study music and fine arts at this great music camp.

Anyone who has assumed that the Midwest is a vast cultural wasteland has not been to Interlochen. The National Music Camp, at Interlochen, is strictly an American institution, built by Midwest-American ingenuity and ideals yet, its strong influence is being felt all over the world.

Dr. Joseph E. Maddy started the National Music Camp 35 years ago—in 1928. He began with a borrowed shoestring of $15,000 and only 115 students. With little more than a dream—and his shoestring—he has built the camp into the world's largest music school, a $5 million institution which spreads over acres and occupies 400 buildings—to accommodate more than 2,000 students each summer.

More recently, Dr. Maddy has added at Interlochen a year-round boarding school to provide appropriate training for talented young musicians, artists, actors, and dancers, right along with a college preparatory high school course. The Interlochen Arts Academy, as it is called, will open its doors on September 10, and it promises to become one of the Nation's foremost centers for leadership training in the arts.

Dr. Maddy began his musical career as a violin player in Wellington, Kans., at the age of 5. When he was 9, he played the piccolo in the Wellington Boys' Band. From there he went on to the Wichita College of Music, the Minneapolis Symphony Orthestra, and then into music education.

Dr. Maddy organized the first high school symphony orchestra in Richmond, Ind., in 1924. He started the symphony orchestra movement in our public schools. Dr. Maddy organized the first national high school symphony orchestra—composed of youngsters from all over the United States—in 1926, and another in 1927. Finally, in 1928, he located his camp at Interlochen as a summer home for his national high school orchestras. In time, the National Music Camp became affiliated with the University of Michigan, and Dr. Maddy served as professor of music at the university.

Dr. Joseph E. Maddy has probably done more to stimulate the cultural training of the youth of our country than any other one man. He is largely responsible for the instrumental class teaching methods in use today which have developed thousands and thousands of young musicians. In fact, no other man is more directly responsible for the fact that 1,400 symphony orchestras are now organized in this country—more than in any other nation in the world.

Dr. Maddy refers to his young musicians as world missionaries of peace, and he is right. Former Interlochen campers now hold first-chair places not only in the major symphony orchestras of our own country but in other countries as well. The conductor of the Munich Youth Symphony was a former student at Interlochen, and the conductor of the Vienna Youth Symphony attended the camp. Interlochen's musical organizations are heard each week over nearly 100 network stations in this country as well as on Voice of America worldwide network.

Someday soon Dr. Maddy hopes to be able to take his national high school symphony orchestra on a tour of countries behind the Iron Curtain. Such an orchestra of talented youngsters, speaking the universal language of music, would serve as an impressive force for peace and understanding.

Van Cliburn, who has been acclaimed by music critics as the world's greatest concert pianist, has paid the National Music Camp the tribute of returning for two successive seasons to play a benefit concert, turning over all proceeds to the camp for scholarships. He has referred to Interlochen as the country's Cape Canaveral for Musicians.

I am proud to have this cultural center located in my congressional district. On behalf of the camp, and Dr. Maddy, I am pleased to extend to my colleagues in the Congress an invitation to come soon to Interlochen and visit this great institution.

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## Tax Reduction and the Need for Reduction of Federal Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two statements I have made concerning tax reduction, and the need for reduction of Federal expenditures in this fiscal year; and to postpone proposals for new spending programs.

The first statement was made on July 1, in the course of the television and radio program "Let's Look at Congress," of Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, my distinguished Republican colleague from New York.

The second statement was made on July 9. This statement amplifies the necessity of reducing current appropriations for fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and postponing administration requests for new spending programs.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERVIEW OF HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, REPUBLICAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY BY SENATOR KENNETH B. KEATING, REPUBLICAN, NEW YORK, ON TELEVISION AND RADIO PROGRAM "LET'S LOOK AT CONGRESS," SUNDAY, JULY 1, 1962

Senator KEATING. This is Senator KEN KEATING welcoming you to another "Let's Look at Congress" program. My guest today is a distinguished colleague who in 1960 was voted by a poll of newsmen the ablest Republican in the Senate. He is former Ambassador to India and my dear friend, the Honorable JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky. JOHN, it's nice to have you here to talk to the people of New York.

Senator COOPER. KEN, I'm glad to be with you.

Senator KEATING. You have a lot of friends in New York?

Senator COOPER. Well, I like New York. I have friends there—yes.

Senator KEATING. What do you think will be the biggest campaign issue this fall?

Senator COOPER. I think the biggest campaign issue—the one that will have more influence than any other—is the state of the economy. People out of work are going to continue to wonder how long they are going to be out of work. Businessmen are going to wonder about their business. Consumers and everyone will wonder about continued high prices but generally, whether our economy is going to pick up or whether it's going to stagnate. If it stagnates, it must go down, I think.

Senator KEATING. How do you feel about a tax cut at the time?

Senator COOPER. KEN, this is what I believe. We know there is great uncertainty in the country today. A part of that uncertainty grows out of the uncertainty of the administration about its fiscal policy. It's evident from the record that we will have had three deficits—in 1961 about $4 billion (of course, part of that might be attributed to the Eisenhower administration), a deficit in 1962 of, I think, $7 billion, and now it's agreed we'll have a deficit in 1963, unless something is done, of $4 to $5 billion.

It seems to me deficit financing has failed as a measure to spur the economy. If we must have a deficit, it is preferable to have it come about as the result of a tax cut, because a tax cut will stimulate the economy. I believe that the Congress should enact a tax cut this year. If the administration doesn't propose it, I think at least the Republican Party ought to agree on one and urge it in the Finance Committee and in the Ways and Means Committee and if they're not successful, at least off and on the floor. I remember in 1954, and you do too because you were in the Congress, that there had been deficits for 2 or 3 years. There was a deficit in 1954 anticipated of about $4 billion and yet President Eisenhower had the courage to propose a tax bill. It was a tax cut of about $7½ billion annually. I assume today that it would be $10 or $12 billion. I think that we forgot that we've had a continuing tax savings for the people since 1954 of $8 to $12 billion a year. Now what happened after the tax cut? The next year there was a slight deficit, but in the following year there was a considerable surplus. You had the largest investment then, after that tax cut, there had been since World War II, and even before World War II. I believe that if we enact a tax cut this year, that it would have that same stimulating effect.

Senator KEATING. What kind of a tax cut did you have in mind?

Senator COOPER. I would just say that it would have to be something on the order of the one we enacted in 1954. Not the same, because you had other problems then—excess profits and other matters. But I would say, to reduce the corporate tax maximum from 52 to 47 percent, and then have corresponding decreases in the tax rates of all classifications—both the corporations and to individuals. I would point out that if this should be done—assuming that there was a reduction of about $8 or $9 billion—that about $2½ to $3 billion of this would go to the corporations. The remainder would go to the individual income taxpayer. I think it would give a tremendous spur to the economy. Also, I think that it would have an effect upon confidence abroad and would tend to halt the outflow of gold. But, KEN, I think it ought to be accompanied by reductions in spending, too.

Senator KEATING. How would you go about that?

Senator COOPER. Well, that's been one of the problems up here, as you know. Some of us in the Congress—and I'm one of them—favor what are called liberal programs.

I would call them human programs. But they are based upon our ability to pay for them. I would say that, this year, to make

a tax cut creditable—to give confidence to the people and abroad—that the administration should itself cut back all our programs, except defense, by a reasonable amount. If they will not do it, then I believe that the Republicans in the Congress should offer amendments to every appropriation bill, other than defense. A reasonable cutback, of say just 5 or 6 percent, wouldn't disturb any agency and it would show that you really meant business. Now a lot of people say, "well that's unscientific." But all members can't agree on every bill. Everybody could agree upon a reasonable cutback, because they know it would not hurt any agencies. So I think that is the second thing that should be done.

Senator KEATING. You travel around the country a great deal. What general reactions do you find to the President and his policies?

Senator COOPER. Well, at the beginning, and for a long time, the President has enjoyed a great deal of personal popularity. I think he does now. But, I just have to say what all of us know, and what we are talking about now—that there is this basic uncertainty about the state of the economy. I think it grows from this conflict of whether we are going to depend upon deficit spending to spur the economy; or whether we will have a tax cut and some sacrifice in spending.

Now, I'd like to make one other point. I do agree with the administration on one proposal and I don't know that I have much support from my colleagues on the Republican side. But I do support the proposal for withholding of interest and dividends, because we are losing about a billion dollars a year of unpaid taxes on dividends and interest that have been payable under law since 1913. Really, I think this is where businessmen could contribute something. I think instead of opposing this they should support it, because if they believe in fiscal integrity, I do not see how they can oppose an effort to collect a billion dollars of unpaid taxes. Now that, too, would help create confidence, would help reduce these spending proposals and expenditures; and I think it would help accomplish what I have been talking about—that is a tax cut, plus reduction of spending, to spur the economy.

Senator KEATING. Recently, you criticized what you termed the "administration's obsessive drive for power"—that is the phrase you used. Is President Kennedy acting any differently in that regard from Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower?

Senator COOPER. Someone has said that when one has power there is a natural tendency, to believe that your policies are right and to seek the means to achieve your ends. But I must say that President Eisenhower was very conscious of the separation of powers between the Congress and the Executive. I think he observed that very carefully. And President Roosevelt, on at least one of the most famous historical occasions, attempted to secure his aims by packing the Supreme Court. There was a tremendous outburst of resentment against it. President Truman attempted to seize the steel industry. There was an outburst against it and, of course, the Supreme Court denied him that power.

This administration has asked, again and again, for the Congress to transfer to the Executive the power to write the specifics of legislation. Now what does that mean? In the first place, we may not do the best job always, but I see no reason to believe that some people over in the administration are not subject to public criticism and debate, or can do any better job. I certainly wouldn't think so. But the basic proposition involved in this is that there is a means given under the Constitution to examine, to debate, to accept, to reject, to modify any proposal, and it seems to me if we give that up, then we have denied a very basic essential of our form of government. I am rather surprised—and it's not very good to be critical of newspapers—but some newspapers seem to believe that just because the President submits a program, there's some duty on the part of the Congress to accept it without debate or criticism. Debate and criticism—they are in my view the distinguishing factor—one of them—between a free country and a totalitarian system.

Senator KEATING. That's a very eloquent statement, JOHN.

Senator COOPER. Well, I feel this and I've always felt it.

Senator KEATING. To change the subject now for a moment, you were our U.S. Ambassador to India and you have, this last week, been critical of Mr. Nehru's proposed purchase of Mig airplanes from Russia. In your judgment, has India's unfriendly Defense Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, any chance of becoming successor to Mr. Nehru?

Senator COOPER. Yes. Of course, I cannot try to talk about what might happen in another country but I must say that in my experience in India, I recognized that Mr. Menon was a very forceful man, that he is a very determined man and a very able man. I thought from the very beginning that he had the possibility of becoming Prime Minister of India. Now whether that is going to occur or not I don't know, but I would certainly say that it's not beyond the realm of possibility.

Senator KEATING. Do you see any decline in American support for the United Nations?

Senator COOPER. Well there's been a great debate raised on it this year, as you know. I don't think there's a decline. What I think is happening is this. Under the administration of President Eisenhower, there was a certain quietness on the part of a great many people in this country who didn't feel too kindly about the United Nations. I think because of President Eisenhower's influence and support, there wasn't much talk about it. But I believe in the last year, with certain reverses and also with dangers becoming quite apparent—in Berlin, Laos and other places—that many people have sought to find a reason for these reverses in the United Nations. I do not agree with that viewpoint, KEN.

Senator KEATING. Do you support the administration's position on Cuba and Laos?

Senator COOPER. Cuba is, to me, a matter which has passed. At the time I felt that the administration should have made a choice. One choice would have been not to support the invasion; but if it did support the invasion, then I think it was bound to support it fully. But it did not do either. So that was a failure. But it's past now, and frankly I do not see anything we can do now except to let Castro stew in his own juice. I wish we had not paid as much attention to him—give him as much importance. He is not that important. He's having great troubles and it's possible that he'll fail.

Senator KEATING. Let me ask you a political question to close the program. How do you assess Republican prospects for next November?

Senator COOPER. I believe the Republicans will win the House and I think that we can gain seats in the Senate. I cannot tell you how many, but I believe that is correct.

Senator KEATING. You are a very cultivated gentleman and still they tell us you wear red suspenders when you campaign all over Kentucky. Do you have a split personality?

Senator COOPER. Well, I suppose all of us have a split personality, in different senses. Thank you for you compliment about being cultivated, but I come from a small town and from a country community. They still call me JOHN and Judge. They are fine people. I don't wear suspenders, though. I do the same at home as I do here. But I always remember one fellow: After looking me over, after I had been up there, he just told me flatly. He said, "JOHN, you don't impress me at all."

Senator KEATING. Thank you very much Senator JOHN COOPER, of Kentucky.

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STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, OF KENTUCKY

I have urged that the administration recommend and the Congress enact a tax cut during this session of Congress. I am not a member of the Senate Finance Committee, but all of us in the Congress know of the uncertainty which prevails in the country about the economy, and the debate over administration policy which contributes to this uncertainty.

I renew my argument for the enactment of a tax cut during this session of the Congress for the following reasons:

1. A tax cut is needed to give the country assurance concerning the administration's fiscal policy. For this uncertainty is undoubtedly contributing to the stagnation which prevails today. Evidently, there are those in the administration who want large budget deficits—even in this time when economic factors are generally sound—claiming that they are necessary to counteract the downturn in the business cycle. I am sure that others in the administration hold the view that a tax cut, accompanied by positive efforts to reduce spending and to apply priorities among administration requests for spending, is the best means of stimulating the economy. I am sure that the great majority of the people of this country support the latter view, and that they are frightened by the former. They believe, and I agree, that deficit spending cannot get our economy moving again.

2. A tax cut will have the effect of reducing or curing the deficits which continue to plague the Federal Government. For, spurring business activity, it would increase revenues. In 1954 a deficit of about $4 billion was anticipated. Yet, President Eisenhower proposed a tax bill, which released to taxpayers an estimated $7½ billion in the first year. In the following year there was a slight deficit, but the next year the Government achieved a considerable surplus. As a consequence of the tax cut, the country experienced the largest nivestment that had taken place since World War II. Taking into account the advances in gross national product and individual income since 1954, it is probable that $75 to $100 billion have been released since 1954 to corporations and individuals.

3. A tax reduction which will enable business to modernize, and which will enlarge consumer demand—if accompanied by restraints in spending—will remove the uncertainty about administration policy, and provide the confidence needed to move the economy, which is basically sound.

But I emphasize again the conditions for a tax cut which I believe are necessary to make it effective:

1. A tax cut should be accompanied by reductions in all current appropriations for fiscal year 1963, except defense spending, on the order of 5 to 6 percent. Such reduction would amount to $1 to $2 billion. Many will contend that across-the-board reductions are unscientific, but we in the Congress know that any agency of the Government, other than the Defense Department, can get along with a 5- to 6-percent reduction.

2. The administration should postpone requests that entail additional spending, unless critically essential. As an example the request for a billion-dollar raise in the pay of Federal employees could certainly be postponed for a year—until we know that it can be afforded.

3. The Congress should act upon provisions of the tax bill now before the Senate Finance Committee, which would revise justly a part of the tax structure, and provide additional revenue. I refer to revisions of taxes on mutual fire and casualty insurance companies, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, and co-ops.

4. I support also the revision which is designed to secure the payment (through the means of withholding 20 percent of dividends and interest) of $1 billion annually lost to the Treasury. Taxes are now withheld on wages and salaries, and means are provided in the tax bill to reduce the burdens on persons with low income. These provisions are particularly helpful to persons over 65 years of age. Business should support this proposal. I do not see how one can oppose logically a proposal to collect a billion dollars in taxes annually lost on dividends and interest, which either through inadvertance or purpose are not paid, although they have been taxable since 1913.

With international conditions of danger being what they are, there is now, and will continue to be a need for large Federal revenues. It would be irresponsible to propose a tax cut which would drastically and permanently reduce needed revenues, and which enlarge yearly deficits. But if the administration proposes a tax cut, and at the same time makes a conscientious attempt to reduce nonessential Federal expenditures, the effect will be to greatly improve economic conditions, and help correct the Government's fiscal position both nationally and internationally.

If the administration will not take the initiative, I hope very much that the Republican minority will work together for a program of tax reduction and reduction of spending.

## Senator Harry Byrd Totals the Costs of Paternalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, in the Appendix of the RECORD, I herewith insert an editorial from the Jeffersonian Democrat of Brookville, Pa.:

SENATOR HARRY BYRD TOTALS THE COSTS OF PATERNALISM

Senator HARRY BYRD of Virginia, a good Democrat, in the first of what he promises to be a continuing series of reports on Federal finances, has reported that the Government is in hock to the tune of almost $1¼ trillion. Trillion, repeat, not billion. And a trillion is $1,000 billion, not that that fact will enable you to comprehend the concept much better.

This fantastic mortgage on the country, the Senator says, is the price of "paternalism, intervention, and control which have been allowed to develop in this country." These conditions, it is true enough, have been "allowed" to develop by the taxpayers, but taxpayers, except as they push their own interests through pressure group greed, don't create the conditions. The politicians do that, and they are forever at it.

There is hardly a piece of legislation now before Congress which isn't calculated to buy political favor by giving something to somebody. The new farm bill, medical aid under social security, aid to education, job retraining, public works, matching funds to the States—you name it, and it is always something that the politicians profess to be extending out of their own generosity.

But, of course, all these things cost. They eat up all of the available taxes, and the Government is always reaching out to grab a little more. And so, with budgets now running at the rate of $93 billion, there is never enough, and year after year we are exposed to further deficits, which contribute that much more to the lien Senator BYRD already finds upon existing property and upon the future hopes of the people to get out from beneath this monstrous burden.

It is not any coincidence that the Kennedy administration, having already raised the "temporary" statutory limit on the national debt to $300 billion, is now seeking a further increase to $308 billion. For, of course, this fictitious limit must always be pushed farther ahead in the race with Federal spending.

This external urge of government to erase even an artificial restraint upon spending by periodically extending the debt limit is a deliberate fraud upon the citizens. It is like lining up the taxpayer at a track meet and informing him that he is to run a 100-yard dash. Then, as he approaches the supposed finish line, he finds the tape retreating before him, so that his race is never run. After he has run a quarter of a mile, a half mile, a mile, he finds that he is condemned to a marathon.

As Mr. BYRD states, even this fiction of a debt limit is a deceit, for a figure of $300 billion, or $308 billion, does not hint even remotely at the truth. The truth is that the actual and contingent liabilities of the Washington Government, the legal and moral commitments which the Government is pledged to redeem, are of such astounding magnitude that they exceed by four times the assessed value of all real and tangible property in the country.

If every citizen surrendered every penny he made in a year to Washington in order to redeem the existing and developing debt, he could not achieve that end in less than 3 years.

We have heard a prediction that the inevitable course of government will be to tax the entire earnings of the people away from them, so that they never actually handle a cent of their own money. And after that, so the prophecy runs, the Government will give them coupons to be exchanged for food, lodging, clothing, and such other minimal needs. The system would be a refinement even on the communism practiced in Russia and the mainland China.

Is this just fantasy? Contemplating that trillion-and-a-quarter billion-dollar mortgage, it would be hardihood to say that it is.—The Chicago Tribune.

## Uncle Sam Abuses Copyright

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Uncle Sam Abuses Copyright," published in the Wausau, Wis., Record-Herald of July 11, 1962, relating to the copyrighting of Government publications.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNCLE SAM ABUSES COPYRIGHT

Government can assume new powers in many ways, some of them comparatively minor and seemingly insignificant, but yet with harmful implications for the future. Such a case is the copyrighting of the new White House guidebook, which is called the "Official Guide to the White House."

The book was written by the White House curator, copies are to be sold by employees of the National Park Service and income will go for refurbishing the White House. The copyright owner is the White House Historical Association.

Because it is copyrighted, the material about the White House is restricted and cannot be used or reproduced without permission of the copyrighter.

Editor and Publisher magazine asks two good questions about the case: "If it (the historical society) is an official body of the Government or of the White House then the law expressly prohibits such copyright. If it is a private organization, then what right does the Government have to grant a restrictive copyright on material that belongs to the people at large?"

It is traditional in free America that government institutions belong to the people, because this is a government of, by and for the people. Facts about official Washington, including the White House, therefore belong to all the people and Uncle Sam has no right, we would think, to assign exclusive use of facts about the White House to anyone.

## Go Home, Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, August 1, I reported to the House on the Albany, Ga., situation. My report was based on a trip I made at the request of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article about that tense and turbulent town by Murray Kempton, one of the country's ablest reporters. The article which appeared in the New York Post on August 1 provides a keen insight into the Albany, Ga., situation:

GO HOME, FREEDOM

(By Murray Kempton)

ALBANY, GA.—This puzzled city, after 3 days of decorous attention to adult matters like courts and motions and countermotions, is once again at the unpredictable mercy of teenagers.

There are still more than 200 Albany Negroes scattered in jails from here to Americans for prayers, pilgrimages, and other disturbances of the peace and the number grew yesterday. The most conspicuous is Martin Luther King, but the most consequential may be the children.

Albany let 10 teenagers out last night on their simple promise to picket no longer. But 15 more went to jail for congregating on the steps of the city library, to the disappointment of a community that opened a new colored library just 3 weeks ago. Six adults were arrested praying in front of city hall this afternoon, and a little before 9 last night, Alice Porter led 17 other persons in prayer before the Albany police force, all of them bowed on their knees on the sidewalks

with the police looking down upon them with expressions mixing embarrassment and wonder. "All right, now," said the officer in charge, "you've had your prayer. Now will you move on?" They stood singing that they would overcome and, having finished one chorus, marched off to be booked. One of them said he was 12.

The other night, Police Chief Laurie Pritchett was arresting a group in prayer. One of the demonstrators was no more than 3 feet tall. "How old are you, son?" said the chief, peeking over the booking window. "Nine," said the boy. "What's your name?" said the chief. "Freedom, Freedom," said the boy. Chief Pritchett put his hand on this criminal's head. "Go home, Freedom," he said. The rule by now is that you throw back Albany movement soldiers when they're younger than 12.

In sum, the jails of southwest Georgia had gotten rid of 10 of these unexpected and unwanted tenants and picked up 39 more. One of these released was Willie C. Lovett, who is 16, and had been in the Americus jail for 7 days. His mother had asked him to come out. "I promised the chief I wouldn't picket, so I'll just march for a week," he said. He spoke from what was plainly a sense of honor, and he will keep his promise. But he will be back before long in any case, because by day, he spends his time escorting country Negroes into voters' registrar offices to try and qualify them for the rolls.

He has been in jail seven times.

"I think jail's easier," he reported. "In jail they just try to scarce you. In communities, they beat you up."

He was on his way back to Mount Zion Church, where the cooks and maids of the Albany movement were singing that "All God's children got a race to run" and waiting to hear a message from the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., who follows his son to spare little churches like this one, less than 2 years after the political scientists credited him with carrying two States for President Kennedy.

Other kids came up in the light outside the church and asked Willie Lovett and his three friends when they had gotten out. They stood talking in the yard of one of the houses and its mistress came to the door and smiled at these children and said, "Welcome home, gentlemen."

Roosevelt Matthews, who is 13, is still in jail in Americus.

His mother, Annie Pearl Matthews, is a maid. Roosevelt went in 2 weeks ago for picketing city hall after the arrest of Martin Luther King. The police sent word the other day that Roosevelt wanted to get out, and she went to talk to him and was about to give her word for his bond when she was struck with mistrust. "How do I know he wants to get out?" she asked. "If he did, one of the boys there would have brougfht me a message when he came out. I don't think it's fair to bond him out if he don't want to come. He's strong; as long as he gets a little something to eat and a little water, he'll be allright."

Annie Pearl Matthews spent a week in jail as a demonstrator last December.

"The people I worked for never mentioned it until yesterday. She paid me my $15 a week right along while I was in jail. She mentioned it the first time yesterday. She said she didn't understand why we listened to that Martin Luther King. I said, 'Miss Allison, you don't know how mean some of these white people are. You all are nice; you pay me $15 a week. But I got neighbors who work from 7 to 7 and get only $12 a week.'"

In the post office, Judge J. Roland Elliott listened sympathetically most of the day while the city of Albany and the State of Georgia tried to enjoin Annie Pearl Matthews and her son, Roosevelt, from continued mischief. It is not a case with much future; the Court of Appeals seems likely to throw out any order Judge Elliott writes. The South spends most of its time these days getting decisions in its favor from new Kennedy judges which are promptly reversed by old Eisenhower ones.

The court was full of Negroes who had the pleasure of watching Donald Holloway, an Atlanta Negro lawyer, brashly cross-examining their police chief. It was not a unmixed pleasure; they have a certain affection for Laurie Pritchett. He is a large man, proud, as he deserves to be, of his city's record in maintaining order. He was especially gratified yesterday at being able to tell the court that he had kept what he called the "Kluckers" in hand. He spoke, perhaps from policy, perhaps from a certain respect of the difficulties of dealing with "the Reverend Martin Luther King and these other Nee-gro leaders" who kept telling him that the city laws affronted their consciences. "Go back," he had kept saying to the demonstrators, "to your, uh, way of life."

King, as a defendant in the suit, was out of jail to sit in the courtroom, in short-sleeved shirt, his eyes patient, a mysterious mixture of indifference and endurance on his face. To counsel for Albany, he represented the incalculable force of the humble which has laid their city under siege. They made him sound like an awful presence indeed. His real strength, however, may be simply that he is led by children.

## Patron Saint of the Birds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, a recent editorial in the Norfolk Ledger-Star entitled "The Patron Saint of the Birds," provides an excellent illustration of an assertion made on yesterday by Bishop Pike. He said that our Supreme Court in misconstruing the meaning of the first amendment in the New York prayer case, had made a ruling which, if carried to its ultimate conclusion, would destroy what he described as our historic middle way of life, namely a government in which there could be official recognition of the fact that there is a God and that our Government is based upon the teachings of the Bible without having laws that either promoted or hindered a religious sect or prevented the free exercise of religion. Students of the Constitution well know that the first amendment was designed to outlaw tax support for any organized church and that the words "establishment of religion" refer to a religious sect or organization commonly called a church.

A citizen of Norfolk has objected to a life-like statue of St. Francis of Assisi being maintained in the Norfolk Botanical Gardens. It was placed there because St. Francis of Assisi is known as the Patron Saint of the Birds. But he was such a well-known figure of the early Catholic church that he is regarded by some as a religious symbol. A Mr. Sawyer, of Norfolk, regards the statue as a religious symbol and claims it has been outlawed by the decision of the Supreme Court in the New York prayer case, because if a 22-word nonsectarian prayer for voluntary use constitutes the establishment of a religious sect or organization so would a statue of a prominent leader of a religious organization even though he died more than 300 years before the first settlement was made at Jamestown.

The editor of the Norfolk Ledger-Star replies:

> Religious symbols represent part of man's highest accomplishments in the arts. * * * Clearly, it would seem to us that this whole tempest in the tree grove is a question not of religion but of art.

But, the contention of Mr. Sawyer cannot be so lightly dismissed. Pending before the Supreme Court for decision at its October term is a case where atheists of Dade County, Fla., claim that religious art, hymns and the celebration of the religious holidays of Christmas and Easter are all illegal in public schools. In a clear and pungent decision, the Supreme Court of Florida definitely turned that claim down. But the U.S. Supreme Court had doubts about the correctness of the decision of the Florida court and agreed to hear the case at its October term. Therefore, until the Supreme Court hands down its ruling on the Florida case, the distinguished editor of the Norfolk Ledger-Star cannot be too sure that the issue raised by Mr. Sawyer concerning the statue of St. Francis of Assisi is just a "tempest in the tree grove."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Norfolk Ledger-Star editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PATRON SAINT OF THE BIRDS

The controversy over the 6-foot statue of St. Francis of Assisi—is it a religious symbol? Is it sectarian propaganda? Is it constitutional? Is it art? Seems to us to be just the sort of subject reasonable people can well spend a few moments thinking about.

Maybe we all ought to be grateful to Mr. Sawyer for bringing it up. For the Constitution does forbid the Congress to make no law respecting an establishment of religion, though we doubt that the early Americans had in mind banning the gift of a statue to the city government for use in the Norfolk Botanical Gardens.

First of all, if it was placed there as sectarian propaganda to lure Jews from their religion and to make Protestant forget Martin Luther and John Knox and turn to catholicism, we'd say it ought to go. But that could hardly have been the purpose. For there are five members on the botanical garden committee, which has the final word on such matters as garden statues, and two of them are Jews and three of them are Protestants.

Is the statue of St. Francis of Assisi a religious symbol? It is. But it is also something else. For many religious symbols belong not to one sect or to one religion but to all mankind. Museums supported by public funds across the country are full of religious art. Religious symbols represent part of man's highest accomplishments in the arts; music poetry, painting, sculpture. Da Vinci's "Last Supper" is a religious symbol and so is Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel

ceiling. Are they any the less great as art because of their religious symbolism? Or are they the greater because of it?

Clearly, it would seem to us that this whole tempest in the tree grove is a question not of religion but of art. The statue honors a man who lived more than 700 years ago and when he died he probably had no idea his church would call him a saint. He was known as Francis, a man from Assisi, who lived in the fields and doubtless was judged something of a crackpot by some of his contemporaries; after all he once preached a sermon to the birds.

It would be interesting to see this case go, as Mr. Sawyer says he intends, to the courts for determination. We know that the courts have long ago upheld the proposition of separation of church and state. We have little doubt that they will have commonsense enough to recognize the separation between religion and art.

## Problems of Potato Growers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 3, 1962*

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, potatoes are an integral part of Colorado's economy. In 1960 my State ranked seventh in the Nation so far as production of potatoes is concerned. During that year Colorado farmers harvested a crop amounting to 11,922,000 hundredweight, from 11,800 acres. An informative publication, the Colorado Potato Grower is published monthly by the Colorado Potato Growers Exchange and covers the broad range of matters concerning this vital industry. I note that the Colorado Potato Growers Exchange of Denver goes into its 40th year early next month, having been organized in 1923. The exchange was originally established to provide orderly marketing of Colorado potatoes, and over the years it has handled anywhere from 20 to 40 percent of the total Colorado crop. L. B. Waters, president of the exchange has written a thoughtful article in the July issue of the Colorado Potato Grower, dealing with several subjects of immediate and national concern. Mr. Waters gives his views with respect to our problem in agriculture generally, as well as the alternatives which potato growers face with respect to a national marketing order for their crop. Mr. Waters' views should be given consideration.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT ABOUT OUR FARMING, GOVERNMENT, AND POTATOES?

(By L. B. Waters)

This was written on July 4, Independence Day, and it makes one wonder sometimes if we really have the independence our forefathers fought so valiantly for. Our destinies are being planned by young and inexperienced people, often from the universities, who are trying to put over idealistic ideas that are not practical. Thank goodness, Congress tends to be more down to earth.

FARMING AND GOVERNMENT

Farming is still the biggest business in the United States, but it is operated by some 8 million people with probably 8 million different ideas of how it should be done. We are a minority group and have lost a lot of our political power. The livestock and dairy industries comprise approximately half of our agricultural income, and last week Congress came within inches of giving dictatorial powers to the Secretary of Agriculture over this segment of our industry. If the farm bill had passed with the so-called supply management section of feed grain intact it would have given the Secretary this power.

The Department of Agriculture is such a sprawling giant with so many subdivisions, branches, and committees that it can't possibly be coordinated and supervised. They have such a multiplicity of rules and regulations and overlapping committees that it makes such a case as the Billy Sol Estes fiasco possible. It also makes our metropolitan Congressman very critical and suspicious of any and all farm legislation.

The Government is supposedly spending billions on farm relief and the city taxpayers are up in arms about it and we can't blame them. There is nothing, however, said in these reports about the amount of income tax paid by the farmers on these Federal payments, it can't amount to less than 25 percent and is probably considerably more. There is seldom any mention of the amount received from the resale of farm commodities and never any mention of the real estate tax paid on farmer-owned granaries storing Government grain.

What really costs the taxpayer is the salaries of the army of employees necessary to administrate the huge Government programs. As I see it, all farm programs do is create a lot of jobs and buy a lot of votes. If the Government is really interested in saving money, they should do away with all farm subsidies and farm supports and exempt the farmer from income tax to the extent of one-half of the present cost of the farm program. This would benefit all farmers far more than any subsidies they now get, and it would leave them far more independent.

NATIONAL MARKETING ORDER

There is an inelastic demand throughout the United States for potatoes. It amounts to nearly 105 pounds per person and we consistently produce more than this demand justifies. Price has little bearing on consumption but it has a terrific bearing on the amount the grower received. One percent change in production is accompanied by a 4- or 5-percent change in price to the grower.

We have three possible courses of action to try to correct the situation. We can ask for Government support to remove the surplus. This we do not want, as it is never satisfactory, it casts a stain on the potato industry and since Billy Sol Estes, we probably could not get it anyway. Secondly, we can continue as we are, let dog eat dog, and try to remain in business at present prices. With our increasing costs and larger outlay for equipment, this is becoming more and more difficult to do. Or thirdly, we, the potato growers of the United States, can initiate a national marketing order designed to remove the surplus through grade regulations, volume control, or both. This order would be grower initiated, grower financed, and grower controlled. It would have to be enforced by the Department of Agriculture We are somewhat reluctant to let them have even that much authority, but they are the only body in position to, or with the legal authority to enforce it.

Our area marketing orders are only partially effective. They can upgrade the quality and increase the demand for potatoes from a certain area or they can go too far and lose markets to competing areas. Transportation is becoming so efficient and so competitive that practically all markets are vulnerable to all areas. Maine is probably the only State in the union with sufficient market isolation to benefit materially from a State or area marketing order. We do not know yet what the final draft of the order will be or if it will ever come to a referendum. We do not know if it will pass or if we can approve of it when we see it.

Here are some things we do know: We know that if we are to continue to grow potatoes something must be done to control the relatively small margin of surplus that means the difference between profit and loss. We know that we do not want Government subsidies or Government controls dictated by Washington bureaucrats. We know that a Federal marketing order will contain inequities and faults, especially on the first draft, but it can be amended or at the end of 3 years, it can be voted out entirely.

There has never been a perfect set of rules passed since the Ten Commandments.

## Nat Howard Examines the Permanent Purge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, two very significant articles related to teaching the truth about Russian communism in our secondary public school system were written by Mr. Nat Howard, the able and widely known newspaperman, and which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Mr. Howard makes the point that in teaching our high school students the facts of life about Russian communism, special attention should be paid to the Russian technique of the routine mass purge. Those mass purges are an essential part of imperial communism and no one is able to escape this system of terror when the Moscow regime feels opposition to their total power is being generated anywhere within their empire.

Mr. Howard concludes his very thoughtful and timely article on the note that the permanent purge is the significant Red donation to history. By leave previously obtained, I insert these two articles in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 7, 1962]

U.S.S.R. INTRODUCED ROUTINE MASS PURGE

(By N. R. Howard)

Now that teaching about Russian communism is being accepted in our secondary public education, it is, in my estimate, of importance that this factual instruction reveal in fullest detail the most novel and terrible historic invention of the Kremlin regimes, the regularized mass purge. The best history and interpretation of the purge is by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia, ("The Permanent Purge," Harvard University Press, 1956), one of the valuable products of the Harvard Russian Research Center.

Purges (meaning mass arrests, executions and imprisonment) are not new to history; the terror of the French revolution ran more than a year to maniacal proportions, and Hitler twice purged his ruling party and people. But not until the Soviet regimes had the wave of mass terrorism and punishment been taken out of the psychology of the impulsive and the desperate and fitted into a routinely-used catharsis.

For all students of Russian communism, this will distinguish purpose and performance as nothing in Red economics, enslavement, world posture, or militarism will do; which is why I think it of significance to be examined in lasting detail.

To employ understatement ominously, this is what the Kremlin chiefly has given to the world's annals.

Lenin was the author. Confronted with outside war and inner reluctance as early as 1921, he induced the central Communist committee to organize a weeding out of "class enemies" and "unreliable elements," built the CHEKA, the first secret police, to be the committee's weapon, and 2 years later (after how many liquidations no one will ever know) advised a periodic weeding out to insure the success of the first 5 year plan.

But it took Stalin to see the real effectiveness, first to himself and then to his party, of the repeated and—greatest novelty of the national terrorism—the advertised purge.

It did not take a purge to rid Stalin's government of Trotzky, Zinoviev, and Bukharin, Stalin's three principal domestic opponents. Possibly Stalin thought their banishment and imprisonment would dispel their danger to his regime. It is probable he then found their following greater than he had calculated—and the regularized purge began.

These were announced in advance in the controlled press, though there is much evidence that particular individual targets already had been grabbed (and even shot) by the NKVD, Stalin's expansion of the secret police.

First formal command in 1933—this was after the second Lenin-advised screening of party members in 1929—was that every Communist cell and state party organization should call in all membership cards, get a full biography from every member, and invite public criticism of every Communist.

Russian newspaper "box scores" indicate this indicted and deducted 10 to 12 percent of the nearly 3 million party membership. Of these, tens of thousands were executed, other tens of thousands imprisoned, others reprimanded and cast from the party, others warned but not molested.

What sharply stimulated and cemented the purges was the assassination in 1934 of Kirov, one of the four-man top purge commission. Stalin used the event to highlight his and Lenin's admonition as to purge necessity. The 1934 purge was broadened beyond the party membership, under the aggressive network operated by Yezhov, NKVD chief, who appealed for public accusations.

Stalin then added to classes of public enemies the managers of agricultural and industrial program failures; the Ukrainian, Byelo, Georgian, and other "narrowly nationalistic" state party operations, "Old Bolsheviks" (including the Trotzky-Bukharin following); and all communicationists with the capitalistic world.

Following this broad targeting, terrified men and women began accusing each other. Men accused their brothers and sisters; deputy managers accused their top bosses in order to get their jobs; the frightened babbled indiscriminately before they might be put on the spot. Local, state, and national purges caught up so many the prosecuting committees and police were swamped under the hundreds of thousands of cases.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 9, 1962]

STUDY OF PURGE BASIC TO COURSE ON SOVIETS

(By N. R. Howard)

In appealing for the close examination of the Soviet Russian periodic mass purges, in our public school teachings of what communism is, I am bearing down on the originality in world history of purges in cycle as devised by the Moscow governments. Nothing else seems so characteristic or so full of possibilities for real understanding of the Soviet purposes.

No other absolutism ever produced a regularity of population flushing by liquidation and imprisonment—almost as regular as, say, the sessions of Congress in our country.

Stalin's greatly broadened purge of 1934, the fourth since the Red revolution of 1918, may have involved as many as a million accused, and might indicate how uneasy the dictator felt at that hour. The overwhelming number of individual accusations produced by Yezhov's secret police surely convinced the boss that the Russian people could be terrified.

So he glorified, by throwing open to the world with full publicity, the 1936–37 trials of 33 top "criminals" from his half dozen classifications of public enemies. All but one were executed after "confessions" which are psychological monuments to an adventurer's last wild fling at being a hero.

Radek saved his life by testimony incriminating top army people. Stalin had wished desperately to purge the army. Scores of officers including generals went to the firing squads.

What was not publicized until long after was that similar trials by the hundreds went on in separate U.S.S.R. states. These liquidated the largest proportion of operators who had not fulfilled agricultural and industrial goals, and provincial Communist Party secretaries accused of building up their personal powers.

Incidentally, a plump Communist named Nikita Khrushchev moved into the Ukraine party secretaryship thus forcibly vacated. He had been skillful in not saying too much or too little.

Ravages in party membership were considerable by 1938 and natural popular reaction from the terror more than visible; so Stalin turned on his NKVD, removed Yezhov and named Beria, freed wholesale lots of untried accused, and tightened up the rules for individual accusations. He demanded that party cells now go after new, less-bullied members. In 1939, he even supported a congress resolution against further nationwide purges—it was very helpful to a quiet purging of the NKVD Stalin deemed necessary.

Needless to say, there were no purges during World War II when, during the Nazi occupation of western Russia, Communist authority disappeared from the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and east Poland. But in 1946 there was nothing in the records to prevent Stalin from regional purges, and the Ukraine and Byelo cadres were weeded by secret police and individual accusations in the accepted technique—and widely reported.

During the next 4 years came broad purges of the industrial, communications, and agricultural areas (carefully kept from resembling a nationwide movement). Beria was almost wholly in charge of the purges by 1950, armed with a new law making criticism of Stalin treason with the death penalty.

Stalin died in the throes of his only apparently uncalculated attempted at a purge, aimed at Moscow physicians, families, and friends. The struggle to succed him was between Beria and a Malenkov-Bulganin-Khrushchev opposition. It cost Beria his life.

Under a new secret police administration, Malenkov extended the regional purges to Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, and other states, and shot seven principal rivals in high office in Moscow.

Malenkov, however, restricted his purge punishments largely to exile and prison; and Khrushchev, taking over in 1956 and repudiating the blood baths of the Stalin government, has followed this example in what minor purges his government has applied. But he has several times, in speeches, indicated understanding that he rules a nation which has been hardened into some form of unity by the purge system.

To repeat, this is the significant Red donation to history.

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

# Appendix

## Law and Order in Albany and the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STROM THURMOND**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville News of Greenville, S.C., is noted for its eloquent editorial comments. On August 2, 1962, the Greenville News has lived up to this reputation in printing an outstanding editorial which points up a great difference between the preservation of law and order in Albany, Ga., and Washington, D.C., and makes the point that perhaps the administration should give more of its attention toward preserving law and order in Washington, D.C., before it attempts to support by public words or deeds the irresponsible agitation antics of Dr. Martin Luther King and his hypocritical Albany movement.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAW AND ORDER IN ALBANY AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Seen in the wrong light and taken in the wrong spirit, this editorial could be considered inflammatory. It is written close to the edge of anger and even closer to the edge of sadness.

But it has to be written because it deals with frightening facts pertaining to law enforcement in two cities.

One is the once peaceful city of Albany, Ga., where hundreds and even thousands of Negro demonstrators are almost daily threatening peace and good order in the name of rights and freedom. They have attracted national attention and sympathy, Cabinet officers, northern Governors, and thousands of do-gooders encourage them.

They have defied a Federal court injunction to continue their marches. Their mob assemblies have been applauded while the TV cameras rolled to record their antics.

The administration has either overlooked the danger or intimated that it may intervene in their behalf.

The other city is Washington, D.C., the Capital of the United States and one of the most heavily policed areas of its size in the world.

But it has become unsafe for a white woman to venture out of doors within a stone's throw of the Capitol building (or even on the Capitol steps) even in broad daylight and even with an escort.

Physical assaults and the ultimate in heinous crimes—rape—are becoming more and more commonplace, along with muggings and purse snatching. And the combined forces of the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police and the Capitol guards haven't been able to stop it.

Most of the assailants and violators of the lesser laws on crime against the person are Negroes. But the suspects or persons arrested and charged are seldom if ever identified by race except by newsmen representing southern newspapers.

It seems to be bad taste or a violation of some sort of civil right to call a Negro criminal a Negro in print in Washington or in the big northern cities.

The situation has been getting worse for years as the percentage of Negroes among the population has risen. Members of Congress have protested before. They are crying out now in anger and in fear for the safety of their staff members, their families and visitors. They have attracted little attention.

Not all of the perpetrators of these crimes are Negroes, of course. But Washington has become the largest of the Nation's cities where Negroes outnumber whites, and Negroes account for a percentage of the criminal offenses higher even than their proportionate number among the total population.

Capitol Hill has replaced New York's Central Park as the most dangerous place in any metropolis for anyone to move about at night without an armed guard.

The administration seems to be looking the other way—toward Albany perhaps.

Let's go back a little further into the facts and merits of the problems in the two cities.

First Albany: The city has been turned into a racial battleground by Negro citizens who have been aroused by professional racebaiters from other States. Chief among them is Martin Luther King, the darling of the liberal integrationists and a pet of the administration.

It started with the familiar sit-ins and freedom-ride activities. It has developed into something much bigger and more sinister. Mobs of Negroes gather in rallies, sing hymns, pray, listen to promised-land speeches by leaders who know just how to work them up.

They march through the streets, they congregate in public places. They call their methods Christian and nonviolent and speak of peaceful aims. They say, or are told by their leaders, that the object is to win their rights and their freedom.

But the threat of violence looms over every such gathering. There have been reports of jeering at police officers and the throwing of brickbats.

The rights and freedom these people talk about boils down to one thing only: It is not the right to equal treatment by the law (if the demonstrators were white, they would be treated the same way) nor to own property; it is not freedom of movement to go where they will nor to meet in peaceful assembly to petition for the redress of wrongs; their primary and sole purpose is to try to force an end to segregation, to be integrated with whites in any and every place of their own choosing.

But are they proving themselves prepared for racially mixed society?

The remarkable thing is that serious injury and wholesale riots have been prevented. That it has is due to local law enforcement and not to Federal policy or action; quite the contrary.

Now Washington: Rampant Negro hoodlums have created a reign of terror around the Capitol so intense that the Congressional Secretaries Club has called for drastic action. These women work on Capitol Hill and many of them live nearby. Women caught in the vicinity have been the victims of rape, murderous assault, and violent robbery.

The recent meeting of the secretaries was called after a white woman, a congressional secretary, was attacked in a church adjacent to the Capitol grounds while kneeling in prayer and stabbed nine times. The initial reports said only that the assailant was a man. Southern newsmen have learned and reported that he was a Negro. He has not been caught.

Soon after this incident, a visiting Ohio housewife was beaten by two Negro girls in an unprovoked daylight assault on the Capitol steps. When the woman's husband tried to run down the two girls, a Negro boy tripped him up. By the time a few of the scores of policemen who patrol the place arrived, the three were gone. They have not been caught.

In the last 3 weeks or so, they have been five or more rapes committed within a few blocks of the Capitol; each victim described the attacker as a Negro. A Negro man has been arrested and charged.

The situation became so bad that police officers issued a broadside urging secretaries who had to go home after dark to call for a police escort to their homes.

The thugs then started making attacks in daylight.

In a speech before the House last week, Representative MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, said that Washington has become "the jungle of the civilized world." He noted that Attorney General Bobby Kennedy had been quoted as saying that such incidents would continue unless "wider opportunities are offered to permit young people to live differently than they do now."

This RIVERS took to mean a demand for passage of administration legislation on juvenile delinquency and others of its proposals. However, said RIVERS, the Attorney General "moans about the criminal and not the victim" and "has said nothing about better police protection and sterner punishment."

Despite all the provocation, violence thus far has been prevented in Albany. State, county, and city officials have seen to that.

Hoodlums seem to roam and attack at will in Washington. The Federal Government is responsible for governing the District of Columbia and enforcing the law.

## Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. E. Y. BERRY**
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to insert in the RECORD a letter from a reader to the Rapid City, S. Dak., Journal which I am sure many Members of Congress will find very interesting. This policy of providing everything free to all people is spelling the death knell to many industries, including those industries engaged in pro-

viding recreational facilities for people wanting to see nature at its best and tour through the great open spaces of America.

The letter is as follows:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

May I take this means of sharing with you and your readers a bit of history in the making? Several recent articles published in your newspaper may have escaped their notice, yet the articles are of vital importance and demand the immediate attention of every citizen who is interested in holding the line against the Federal Government's inroads into private enterprise.

The U.S. Forest Service has asked that 473 acres of national forest land in the Black Hills be withdrawn from operation of the general mining laws, so that this land may be used by the Forest Service for expansion of their campgrounds and the construction of new ones. This proposal was announced recently by the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, 1245 North 29th Street, in Billings, Mont.

Privately owned and operated campgrounds in and near the Black Hills already compete with the Forest Service's 41 campgrounds and 26 picnic sites. Now it is proposed to build another 473 acres of federally operated campgrounds. As a matter of fact, the Forest Service has already started on their construction program, having allowed $56,544 for the building of five comfort stations, camptender's residence, and office, etc., at the Wind Cave National Park and another $136,400 contract for the construction of roads and parking, fence, and utilities systems in the new Elk Mountain Campground at Wind Cave National Park.

This is a glaring example of how the Federal Government eliminates private enterprise and certainly the program should be renounced and abandoned. When the demand for more camping facilities justifies the need for more development of campgrounds, then we intend to meet the demand; just as other privately owned campground operators intend to expand and enlarge as the need arises.

It seems inconsistent with commonsense that we must pay taxes to assist the Federal Government in their efforts to run us out of business. Frankly, we don't mind competition but it is intolerable that we are placed in a position where we are forced to patronize our competition.

We ask that citizens who believe in the system of private enterprise help us and other campground operators by writing to their Congressmen so that the noise we are making will be heard in Washington and will not become the death rattle in the throats of privately owned campground operators.

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT NOELLER.
FISH 'N' FRY, DEADWOOD.

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## Foreign Visitors and Our Democratic Posture: Address by Commissioner Bernard Katzen

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, it is sometimes difficult in meeting with foreign visitors in the United States to place in proper perspective the civil rights problems facing our Nation. Our country has been nourished by a tradition of freedom and equality under the law. Americans are justly proud of our heritage of liberty and justice and consider the maintenance of these principles a solemn obligation. At the same time, we cannot hide the ugly scars of intolerance and discrimination which exist or deny the examples of oppression and lawlessness which appear in our newspapers daily.

Recently, Commissioner Bernard Katzen, the vice chairman of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, delivered an address dealing with this subject at a conference of commissions against discrimination in Seattle, Wash. His address, entitled "Foreign Visitors and Our Democratic Posture" contains some excellent guidelines for discussions of civil rights problems with foreign visitors. Commissioner Katzen points out that the struggle between communism and freedom provides an added exigency for realizing, in actual practice, the principles reflected in our Constitution and Bill of Rights. At the same time he emphasizes that the "concept of equality of opportunity was woven into the very structure of our Nation long before there was a Soviet Russia."

Mr. President, I know that Commissioner Katzen's eloquent and incisive remarks will be of interest to many Members and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the text of his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN VISITORS AND OUR DEMOCRATIC POSTURE: AN ADDRESS BY COMMISSIONER BERNARD KATZEN, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, TO BE DELIVERED TO THE CONFERENCE OF COMMISSIONS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, JULY 1962, SEATTLE, WASH.

The introduction to the report of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals aptly describes the sense of my address this evening: "The way to observe freedom is to live it. Our enduring aim is to build a nation and help build a world in which every human being shall be free to develop his capacities to the fullest. We must rededicate ourselves to this principle and thereby strengthen its appeal to a world in political, social, economic, and technological revolution."

May I, at the outset, set forth what I believe to be some fundamental premises for my remarks this evening.

It is an acknowledged fact that the rapidly shrinking globe is having a tremendous impact upon the economic, political, and scientific segments of the world society.

It is equally acknowledged that it also makes the favorable resolution of conflicts because of race, color, creed, or national origin the imperative of our age.

It is well known that Caucasians make up only one-third of the world population today. It is not so well known that the three major faiths in this country (Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant), together account for only about 900 million people throughout the world, which is less than one-third of the world population. Moslems, Hindus, Confucians, Buddhists, Taoists, Shintos, Zoroastrians, and primitive religionists together number about 1,500 million, or approximately half the world's population. Another half-billion people throughout the world belong to other small religious sects or to none.

It is against this background that those of us who work in the field of human relations and human rights see, in new perspective, the inescapable fact that human rights have no boundaries—that human dignity is indivisible. No state, indeed no nation, can be an island unto itself. We all share in the global responsibility for peace and freedom.

We have been accustomed to viewing our respective jurisdictions as rigidly circumscribed by state and local boundaries. In global terms, this fragmentation of our functions and our energies is no longer possible. True, our enforcement jurisdiction is still limited, but the effect of what we do is limitless. Any concept that we can do a job without regard to the surge of events throughout the world would be as unrealistic as King Canute's command to the tides to stay away from his feet. Whether we like it or not, our feet are wet already. The time has come to ride the wave of the future with all the vision and the courage we can call forth.

But, as we advance toward equality of opportunity, we encounter resistance of those who cling to outmoded privilege. This resistance frequently finds expression in acts of discrimination—which in their impact, cannot be localized. Through modern communication media the story is piped into the stream of world consciousness, within a matter of hours, with no lurid detail missing.

Our role of leadership toward freedom and democracy is weakened and our failures not only exposed but blown up out of all proportion to our actual total situation. It is this image abroad that lends profound significance to our task at home.

When I express concern over our posture before the world, I do not mean that we should eliminate the ugly facts of discrimination in this country merely so as to win the East-West clash. Instead, I am saying the cold war provides an added exigency to the need for realizing, in actual practice, those principles which were fundamental to our country at its inception. America came into being because of the yearning for freedom by oppressed people. The concept of equality of opportunity was woven into the very structure of our Nation long before there was a Soviet Russia. However, today, looking at ourselves in the mirror of world opinion, we see the lag in the implementation of our principles in a new light. We have too long been apathetic, albeit with a twinge of guilt. Today, we are being put to the test. It does not matter whether our self-appraisal is agonizing as long as it is honest. This is the time for facing up to ourselves, for learning what we believe by the actual living out of our beliefs. Only in this way can we prove ourselves worthy of our role of leadership of the free world.

In this context, our task is twofold: First to step up our progress toward the realization of our goals at home; and second to correct the unbalanced and completely negative image of America which has, in part, been created by outside forces, both hostile and uninformed.

Throughout this conference, sensitive awareness of the first part of our task has been apparent. I have perceived a ready acceptance of the supreme importance of what each of us has been doing within our State and local boundaries to protect human rights, and, moreover, a determination to carry forth this great work more effectively and more rapidly than ever. Our drive for true equality within our respective areas of jurisdiction must take on a new tempo and a new impetus in relation to the global dimensions of our common task.

However, even while we are facing old problems with a new vigor at home, we can and must correct the distortions and one-sidedness of our image abroad. We would

be the first to deny that discrimination based on race, creed, color and national origin has been eliminated from American life. However, we must make sure that both sides of the picture are presented fairly, when we are tested in the crucible of world opinion. The surprise and gratification of foreign visitors as they learn about our work and the breakthroughs that have been made are eloquent testimony to the need for presenting to the world a balanced picture of our race relations—a picture which puts the whole matter of race relations in perspective. I can say to you from personal experience that an honest presentation of race relations in America is appreciated by foreign visitors, whose preconceived ideas unfortunately, are sometimes reinforced by experiences they have here.

This brings me to the link we, in State commissions, have with our posture before the world.

There is a steady stream of short-and-long-term foreign visitors to this country: diplomats, government officials, educators, businessmen, labor leaders, civic leaders, and students. The students who come here are often mature and experienced graduate students who come to America to sharpen their skills and add to their knowledge so that they can make a greater contribution to their own countries when they return. They are the leaders of the future in a very real sense.

These are the people to whom their countrymen will listen when they return and tell about what they have actually seen, heard, and felt in America. Their experiences in this country mean more than a thousand words piped in by radio or by ambassadors of good will. These may, indeed, be the people who will be called upon to make crucial decisions about East-West relations and they are all concerned with the problem of race relations, those from the Asian and African countries intensely so.

The extent of our challenge and responsibility is indicated by the results of six surveys conducted by the Institute of International Education during the academic year 1960–61. It was found that of approximately 70,000 foreign citizens reported in the United States that year, approximately 50,000 (76 percent) were students. There were also approximately 10,000 interns and residents affiliated with U.S. hospitals; approximately 4,000 scholars, lecturers, or advanced researchers appointed to U.S. facilities; and approximately 3,000 trainees with U.S. business and industrial firms.

It was found that these foreign citizens in the United States during 1960–61 came from every major geographic and political area in the world, but the largest number (35 percent of the total) came from the Far East. The greatest increase in the numbers of students in the United States was reported for Africa—an increase of from 2,314 in 1959–60 to 3,241 in 1960–61, representing an increase of 40 percent in 1 year. Since a constructive approach to the emerging countries of Africa and Asia is essential to a free and democratic world of the future, these figures have special significance for our Commissions.

Significant also is the way in which foreign students fanned out all over the country. According to the Institute of International Education, institutions of higher learning in 49 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and Guam reported foreign students on their campuses during the academic year 1960–61. Thirteen States and the District of Columbia reported more than 1,000 foreign students during that year, of which 10 are represented in our Conference of Commissions Against Discrimination: California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin. The States of California and New York each had nearly 7,000 foreign students during that same academic year.

However, the dimensions of our job are not limited by the areas in which foreign students studied. The image of America is a total impression.

When two Sengalese dignitaries were allegedly refused admission to a nightclub, as was the case recently in the North, or when a delegate from India was humiliated in a railroad terminal, as happened in the South, the effect cannot be contained within any geographical boundaries. These things happened in the United States of America; that is their only meaning to the world. When a Nigerian diplomat was refused table service at a restaurant located on U.S. Route 40, just as in the case of the Indian delegates, the implications are even more serious because of the indirect connection with a public service.

The extent of the indignities suffered by foreign visitors to this country was vividly presented in one of the surveys conducted by the Institute of International Education. When more than 1,000 African students were polled, it was discovered that three out of every four of these African students in the United States reported suffering some discrimination since their arrival here. We, in the New York State commission, located as we are close to the United Nations, have been alerted to this challenge in a very special way. We have seen it as an integral part of our work to contact these foreign visitors and to devote the time of our top echelon to discussions with them. Governor Rockefeller has set up a special bureau in the executive department known as the New York State International Official Visitors Office to cooperate with our commission in this respect and to coordinate this effort throughout all the departments, divisions, and bureaus of the State government.

I have had the privilege of serving as chairman of the foreign visitors and foreign students program within our commisson. This has been a most illuminating experience. The extent to which our talks with foreign visitors from literally dozens of countries has had a real impact upon their image of America is, of course, impossible to say. We have not yet devised and I doubt that we can ever devise a valid and reliable instrument for precise measurement of the impact of our work in this field.

I can, however, give you my firm impression that some new insights resulted. We cannot expect a reorganization of attitudes in depth in one interview. However, we were heartened by the numerous expressions of surprise and interest and by the frequent repetition of the phrase: "I had never seen your country in this light before."

Time does not permit a detailed description of our program for foreign visitors, but I believe that its salient objectives are relevant here.

First, we try to put the development of race relations in this country in historical perspective, pointing out the tragic influence of slavery, as well as the benign influence of our Founding Fathers who viewed this country as a haven for the oppressed. We do not deny that the flourishing of slavery within such a framework is one of the supreme ironies of history, and the cause of deeply rooted conflict within the fabric of our society.

Second, we try to bring to the awareness of our visitors the fact that bigotry is not indigenous to America alone—that it has plagued mankind through the ages, in many forms and in many lands.

Third, we point out the clashes at Jackson, Montgomery, Little Rock, New Orleans, and the resultant concentration of moral, legal, and even police power, to preserve peace, order and to eliminate abuses, in themselves demonstrate dedication to basic human values.

Fourth, without denying the obvious and inescapable disgrace of discriminatory acts in this country, we point out what is being done by our commission, a score of other State commissions and numerous local commissions, and the progress that has been achieved to date. Almost invariably, the breakthroughs we describe are greeted with surprise and gratification by our visitors.

Fifth, we acknowledge and appreciate contributions of all cultures to world progress. We ask our visitors about conditions in their own countries and give them some new light upon conditions in our own. We try to look at world problems in a spirit of teamwork, in a common search for answers, instead of giving answers.

Sixth, we attempt to leave no question unanswered, no matter how hostile it may be in content and in the manner of its presentation.

Seventh, we are as completely honest and frank as it is possible for mere human beings to be under conditions of sharp challenge.

Eighth, we try to create an unhurried atmosphere and we devote great care to preparing for these visits, both of which factors express more vividly than gracious words, the importance we attach to this opportunity for an interchange of ideas and information with our new neighbors.

There are two comments I would like to make in connection with the above points:

First, our approach is not cast in an apologetic mold. Central to our posture in these conferences is a firmness of conviction that our Nation leads in the fight for true equality among men and the recognition of the primacy of the individual.

Second, no inference should be drawn that we consider the format we employ as the most effective or comprehensive. The fact is that when we explored the methods and techniques used by various groups concerned with the problem of race relations and the foreign visitor, it became as clear as it was distressing to discover that there was a vacuum in certain areas, no standardized methodology in others and a definite lack of coordination in dealing with the many ramifications of this subject among the many governmental and lay groups, agencies and committees in this field. Techniques should be improved, their utilization extended and effected.

Perhaps a few actual experiences will show the need for different techniques and orientation in this area. Recently, I had the privilege of addressing a group of 300 university students who, under private auspices and with Government blessing, were headed for 14 African countries. Their program called for a 2 months' visit. Their objective was to establish a rapport as Americans with local communities via assistance in various construction projects, such as building of roads, libraries, schools, recreational centers, etc. I talked to one of the students who was going to the Ivory Coast and asked this question, "If you are asked, 'How do you explain discrimination in the United States?', what would you say?" Her answer was, "I would have to tell the truth. Our country is suffering from a disease."

During the question-and-answer period, I was asked these two questions:

1. "Mr. Commissioner, how do you explain the persecution of Communists in the State of New York?"

2. Another question, "As long as you're talking about government of the people, by the people and for the people, why shouldn't the people of each State have the right to decide what to do about discrimination in their own States?"

I suggest that the training and approach of these students, as they may present American ideals abroad, leaves something to be desired.

I recently visited Washington to discuss with informed persons the possibility of

standardizing techniques. I turned to a professor, who is a lecturer to foreign visitors on race relations of democracy in our country. His reply was astounding. "I tell my class that democracy will come to the United States because the pressure of outside world forces will compel us to become democratic."

I spoke to a director of a volunteer hospital committee, which is engaged in finding homes for foreign students during their stay in this country. I asked that the hostess of a foreign student would answer if questioned about race relations. "I cannot tell you," she replied. She had never considered the problem. She felt that the fact that the student was taken into her home was sufficient to establish understanding and goodwill. While I believe that the hospitality program may be of tremendous assistance in making friends of foreign visitors, I am confident it still leaves unanswered in the mind of the visitor questions oftentimes not expressed.

Some months ago, a group of youth leaders from several of the African nations visited with our commission. I spoke to them for fundamental truths inherent in our Nation's democratic purpose and traced historically our emergence from colonialism with its inheritance of slavery. I spoke of the Declaration of Independence with its enduring philosophy: "All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." I got to Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, then to the Gettysburg Address with its memorable quotation, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth," and I also quoted from Lincoln, "Freedom is indivisible; when it is denied to some, it is diminished for all." In the question-and-answer period that followed, one of the young men quite serenely but pointedly inquired: "Mr. Commissioner, wasn't it also Abraham Lincoln who said, 'You can fool some of the people some of the time, some of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time.'" There was no mistaking his point. He was asking in effect, "How do you square your vaunted leadership in democracy with discrimination?"

The most frequent attack on the United States with which we have been confronted in these discussions is the accusation that we say one thing about democracy and do another. When I speak of democracy as a hope—a goal—a fundamental truth—rather than as a total actuality in any country or at any time, the rejoinder usually is, "But why should this be so? Isn't the United States supposed to be the leader and set an example in democratic practice?"

Let me say to you at this point that some of these questions are not easy to answer. The word "why" reverberates in my mind and in my heart as I search not for just the right answer but for the real answer. It was only 100 years ago that by the stroke of a pen, Lincoln changed the status of American Negroes from that of chattels into men. However, the stroke of a pen does not immediately remove an image that has become imbedded in the consciousness of both white men and black men, inescapably warping the outlook of both. An image both reflects and reinforces the reality situation. Gradually, as people in some parts of the country began to work, play, and live together in equality, a new image of the Negro emerged in the minds of both white and black men. It took a century for the black man to throw off the shackles of slavery. More slowly, but inevitably the imprisoned moral and spiritual values of his white brother who maintained the system of slavery are being liberated. This does not excuse the slow rate of speed so apparent in reaching our goals. It partially explains it.

Another frequently voiced complaint against America is that even in the North, where progress has been made, laws against discrimination appear to be necessary. Our visitors ask whether this means that Northerners, too, are bigoted. The answer to this comes more readily to mind. There are laws against murder and stealing, too, but this does not mean that we are a country of murderers and thieves. It means only that public policy through laws reflects the community mores and that any who infringe upon our precepts are punished.

You can readily see that the task before us is not an easy one, nor is it one that can be accomplished within the confines of one State.

I therefore urge that this gathering give consideration to the development of specific guidelines for a program of communicating the work of our commissions to foreign visitors. Undoubtedly other commissions as well as my own have developed programs and experiences in this field which we can share together. I would suggest that such an interchange be directed to four points:

1. To what extent should our State commissions devote program time to the foreign visitor program of the United States?

2. What points about America's way of life do we wish to communicate in such programs? How?

3. What are some caveats in our conduct of such programs?

4. What program procedures can we work out in cooperation with those Federal and private agencies whose primary work is in the foreign visitor field?

To this end, I recommend that we, the State and local commissions against discrimination and for human rights, develop a coordinated program for foreign visitors and foreign students in the field of race relations.

This is one concrete and constructive move which we can take toward removing the concept of boundaries as we face up together to the global dimensions of our responsibility. Through our action, we may help to protect and foster the economic, intellectual and spiritual fulfillment of all people, not only in our own States, but in the world; not only in our own time, but for all time. This, in part, can be our answer to the demands of our age.

## Appeasement in New Guinea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

APPEASEMENT IN NEW GUINEA

The compromise plan for New Guinea, still to be sold to President Sukarno, permits Indonesia to take over from the Dutch next year instead of this year. After 5 years the natives would vote whether they want the Indonesians to stay.

Does anyone seriously believe that the Indonesians, after their brazen anschluss of this primitive half island, would move out if the vote went against them

Like the recent accommodation in Laos, this is a face-saving deal—for the Dutch who don't mind leaving but don't want to be chased; for Sukarno and his Indonesians who won't have to back up their bluff to take the place by force.

Economically West New Guinea is worthless, costing the Dutch administrators some $30 million a year. It is of no economic use to the Indonesians which, moreover, have no honest claim to it, in history, tradition, or race.

Military strategy could be another story. New Guinea lies between the Philippines and Australia. The Soviet Union, for its devious purposes, has backed Indonesia, extending hundreds of millions in aid, mainly military aid.

Throughout this whole controversy there has been no decent consideration of the rights of the native, primitive, black Papuans, living in naked and illiterate ignorance of the stir their ragged homeland is causing in the world. No world organization has suggested that neither the Dutch nor the Indonesians have any business there. No great power has urged that the Papuans be let alone.

This Indonesian takeover is the rankest kind of colonialism which, if attempted in Africa by a Western nation, would burn the lights far into the night at the United Nations. But this is Communist-backed colonialism. It is the Communist camp which is promoting this aggression. And the United Nations is going along on the specious theory that it is helping avoid a war.

Included in appeasement forces at the U.N. is the U.S. Government. An American diplomat is given credit for mediating the dispute and devising the plan. Neither in ethics nor in long-range regard for the defenses of the free world does this make any sense.

## Transfer of Foreign-Built Vessels to Alaska Steamship Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the Anchorage Daily News on July 31 editorially endorsed S. 3115 and the companion bill in the House of Representatives to permit the transfer to American registry of the train ship *City of New Orleans*. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS SHOULD ACT ON TRAIN SHIP BILL

A bill in Congress by Senator BARTLETT to transfer a foreign-built vessel to operation by the Alaska Steamship Co. is making progress. It has now come out of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and is ready for final congressional action.

A natural reaction is: Why should the Senate or the U.S. Congress, for that matter, help Alaska Steam out of a jam?

Actually, the transfer of the *City of New Orleans* from Liberian to American registry, will add to the Alaska Steamship Co.'s freighter fleet at about one-half the cost it would require to build a new ship, that is true. But it is also true that the addition of the *City of New Orleans* to the fleet will mean a substantial saving in freight to Alaskans. This end result is what we are interested it.

It is hoped Congress will not dally too long in enacting the statute which actually is a special amendment to the Merchant Marine Act.

This act, among other things, restricts American coastwise trade to vessels built in the United States and operated under the

American flag. The *City of New Orleans* is neither of these. It was built in Japan and it was operated under Liberian registry in trade with Cuba. That's a pretty black record for any steamboat, but still in all, it is a very modern, very fast, and very excellent ship for the use it will be put to. It is a trainship with a capacity of 56 loaded boxcars or flatcars. It is the only vessel of its kind available and can be bought for less than one-half of what a similar vessel could be built for in American yards.

The vessel would operate between Seattle and Whittier and would be the counterpart of the Canadian Pacific trainships already plying the waters between Prince Rupert or Vancouver and Whittier. Cheaper labor, cheaper vessel cost, and cheaper operation has allowed the Canadians to get a head-start on this new concept of freighting to Alaska. While Alaska Steam perhaps should be reprimanded for its long postponement of such service to Alaska, there is nevertheless no reason why Alaskans should not be able to enjoy the advantage of two-line competition.

That was the essence of Senator BARLETT'S remarks last April when the bill was introduced. "There can be no mistaking my primary concern that Alaskans should enjoy reduced freight costs," he said in his preliminary remarks.

What these reductions will be has not yet been revealed in a published tariff but in some carload items it will be as much as $10 per ton.

BARTLETT'S bill is backed up by similar one by Congressman PELLY, of Washington State. The bills are now out of their respective committees and it is to be hoped Congress will act with dispatch in authorizing this direct connection between Anchorage and the major railroads of the United States.

High freight rates have been anathema to Alaskans from time immemorable but at last we are beginning to see daylight.

## Tribute to Federal District Judge George Bell Timmerman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on August 3, 1962, Federal District Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr., announced that he will soon retire after approximately 22 years of distinguished service on the Federal bench. During this record of service as a Federal judge, Judge Timmerman earned wide applause and praise as a dedicated constitutionalist and an eminent student of the law. The announcement of his forthcoming retirement has already drawn editorial comments from three of South Carolina's leading daily newspapers commending Judge Timmerman for his distinguished service and for standing by his convictions so strongly in a long record of public service which also includes service in the State house of representatives and as chairman of the State highway commission.

Mr. President, I have known Judge Timmerman for many years. He practiced law with my father, the late John William Thurmond, and I have stood before his bench as a practicing attorney just as he has practiced law before me when I was a State circuit judge. I value his friendship and his dedicated service to his State and Nation, and I concur in the laudatory remarks as published in the editorials which I now offer for insertion in the Appendix to the RECORD. They are from the State of August 3, the Charleston News & Courier of August 3, and the Spartanburg Herald-Journal of August 5. I also ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an Associated Press article dated August 3 as published in the State announcing Judge Timmerman's retirement plans.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Aug. 3, 1962]

ENTITLED TO SOME REST: JUDGE TIMMERMAN ANNOUNCES HE'LL RETIRE WITHIN 6 MONTHS

BATESBURG.—U.S. District Judge George Bell Timmerman said Thursday that he plans to retire from the bench by the end of the year.

The 81-year-old jurist told the Associated Press he has delayed plans to step down because of a vacancy on the Federal bench in South Carolina. The vacancy was caused by the recent death of Judge Ashton Williams, of Charleston.

"I owe it to the people to hold on as long as I can," said Judge Timmerman from his Batesburg home. "I think I'm now entitled to some rest."

He said two-thirds of the work handled by Federal judges in South Carolina is done in the eastern district of the State which he principally serves.

Judge Timmerman complimented the State's two other Federal judges—C. C. Wyche and J. Robert Martin—for their dedication in handling extra loads of cases.

Judge Timmerman was appointed to the bench by President Roosevelt on January 23, 1941. Prior to that he had practiced law in Lexington. He was a former law partner of J. William Thurmond, father of STROM THURMOND, now U.S. Senator from South Carolina and the States' Rights presidential candidate in 1948.

Judge Timmerman was one of three Federal judges who ruled unanimously for separate but equal schools in the Clarendon County Summerton School District case. The ruling was later reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court has been a frequent target of the judge.

He once charged that the High Court "has been reading meanings into the Constitution and out of it that discriminate against white citizens, especially those of the so-called Deep South."

Judge Timmerman is the father of former Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., with whom he now lives.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, August 3, 1962]

A STRONG JUDGE

Announcement that Judge George Bell Timmerman of Columbia will retire before the end of the year brings closer the inevitable but regrettable departure from the Federal bench of a strong and fair jurist.

Now 81 and in poor health, Judge Timmerman surely has earned retirement. He deserves the thanks of the public for his honorable service and we wish him many more years of life and happiness. The public deserves the same caliber of service from a successor, whoever he may be. We hope that the appointing authorities reflect carefully on the needs of the people in picking a new judge for the roving assignment serving both eastern and western districts.

[From the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald-Journal, Aug. 5, 1962]

OUR STATE IS LOSING A STALWART PROPONENT

South Carolina—and the Nation—will lose from public service one of its most stalwart defenders of fundamental rights upon the retirement of Federal Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr.

The venerable jurist has been an anchor of reason in a long and storm-tossed period. He has not swayed with the political temper of the moment, nor in the face of what appeared to be inexorable trends.

Because of the strength of his convictions and his unfaltering devotion to constitutional principle, Judge Timmerman has been a protector of the South.

A few months ago, he gave this definition of his personal philosophy:

"I am opposed to the liquidation of our constitutional Republic.

"I am opposed to the installation of socialism, or despotism, or totalitarianism, or communism in favor of our Government, which is the best man ever devised.

"The closer we stick to our American system the farther away we will be from the worst forms of government."

The record shows Judge Timmerman's fearless adherence to his high creed.

As the State newspaper says: "He would be the first to concede, sadly, that his philosophy of the law and his concept of the clearly defined intentions for government in the United States are often pushed aside and trampled upon."

Aside from his notable career on the Federal bench, Judge Timmerman has been a progressive force in South Carolina government.

His friends claim for him the title of "Father of the State Highway System," a symbol of South Carolina's faith in the future. As a member of the house of representatives in 1924, Judge Timmerman wrote the bill which authorized the first real start in highway building. Later he served as chairman of the State highway commission.

George Bell Timmerman, Sr., is an eminent jurist whose steadfastness has been a comfort to his people. Let us hope—and expect—that those who will determine the selection of a successor will search for a man with the character and concept closest resembling those of Judge Timmerman.

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Aug. 4, 1962]

A JUDGE AND THE REPUBLIC

The forthcoming retirement of Judge George Bell Timmerman will be more than the retirement of a man; it will be another step in the retirement of an era, or, indeed, a series of eras.

With this, the judge himself would immediately agree. He would be the first to concede, sadly, that his philosophy of the law and his concept of the clearly defined intentions for Government in the United States are now often pushed aside and trampled upon.

As recently as October 1961 in an interview for the State, Judge Timmerman said: "I am opposed to the liquidation of our constitutional republic. I am opposed to the installation of socialism, or despotism, or totalitarianism or communism in favor of our Government, which is the best man ever devised. The closer we stick to our American system the further away we will be from the worst forms of government."

Many Americans, throughout the land, would say "amen" to the fidelity and statesmanship of these words, which take on a warming nobility in these times.

With constitutional devastation going on all around him in the country to which he is devoted, Judge Timmerman has adhered

unbreakably and fearlessly to his own assessment of the Constitution. It could not have been otherwise with such a man. Those who agree are indebted to him for the part he has had, in his Federal jurisdiction, in efforts to check the erosion of the fundamental doctrine of America.

Those who choose in these times to distort or even relegate the Constitution would be quick to say a man holding Judge Timmerman's views must be classified as a reactionary. This they would say even while under compulsion to recognise his sincerity.

But the judge is not a reactionary. He had perhaps most to do with one phase of the introduction of his State to the future. He was a father of our great highway system, which has been an essential to progress. While a member of the house of representatives in 1924, he wrote and introduced the bill which authorized the real start in highway building in South Carolina. Later he served as chairman of a State highway commission which was progressive and constructive. Its policies and practices were the opposites of reaction.

As an attorney, a solicitor, a member of the general assembly and citizen, Mr. Timmerman entertained, and implemented, ideas and ideals for the advancement, not the holding back, of the people of South Carolina.

As a U.S. district judge, his clinging to the Constitution reflected (1) his absolute convictions, (2) his sense of certainty as to the best route for the ongoing and safety of his country, and (3) his loyalty to his oath.

Do we face a future in which there will be a catastrophic paucity of men who oppose the liquidation of our constitutional republic? We can ill afford the loss of men of Judge Timmerman's unswerving convictions.

## FHA Mortgage Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today a bill to authorize payment of certain claims for major defects in homes protected by Federal Housing Administration insured mortgages, and to require indemnification bonds in the case of certain new construction under such mortgages. The scope of this bill is confined to one- to four-family dwellings covered by FHA mortgage insurance, so it deals with the family resident or the small piece of investment property.

In the case of such dwellings previously or subsequently covered by FHA mortgage insurance, this bill would permit the Commissioner to reimburse the mortgagor, within 3 years after issuance of the insured mortgage, for the reasonable costs of correcting structural or other defects in the dwelling that are necessary to bring it into substantial conformity with the Commissioner's plans and specifications, or to make the dwelling safe and habitable. The bill would confer a maximum of administrative latitude upon the Commissioner, who would be empowered to prescribe the terms and conditions under which he would honor mortgagors' claims.

With respect to dwellings on which the mortgage is insured by FHA after enactment of this measure, the Commissioner would be empowered to require that a bond be posted, by the builder or seller, for example, to indemnify the Commissioner in the event that he is subsequently required to reimburse the mortgagor for correction of structural or other defects.

I believe that this bill will provide a workable and economical procedure for correcting what often are tragic and sometimes unavoidable situations which leave a helpless homeowner saddled with a defective dwelling and without a legal or financial remedy. I urge its favorable consideration and enactment.

## Gleason's Train Trip Recalls Late "Butch" McDevitt's New York Visit in 1912

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Tuesday, July 31, 1962, carried a most enjoyable and amusing feature article on Comedian Jackie Gleason's proposed private train trip from Hollywood to New York and that taken a half-century ago by one of the most colorful personages ever to reside in my congressional district, the late John J. "Butch" McDevitt. I knew "Butch" McDevitt well and it, therefore, gives me added pleasure to insert in the RECORD the aforementioned article from last Tuesday's Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader.

The article follows:

GLEASON'S TRAIN TRIP RECALLS LATE "BUTCH" MCDEVITT'S NEW YORK VISIT IN 1912

Comedian Jackie Gleason's plans to travel to New York from Hollywood by private train next week harks back to the days when people did things in style.

And a late Wilkes-Barre resident would applaud the move. For he did the same thing more than 50 years ago, though Gleason's jaunt will be longer and much more costlier.

Wilkes-Barre and the Lehigh Valley Railroad commanded the spotlight in January 1912, when John J. "Butch" McDevitt hired a train for a trip to New York City.

McDevitt, known as the "millionaire-for-a-day," spent $316 for his 4¼ hours' trip, while Gleason will put out $90,000. McDevitt's entire sojourn cost him about $600.

Local newspapers, in reporting McDevitt's antics, described him in the accounts as "pink-haired town jester of Wilkes-Barre."

When "Butch" made the trip, the only ones he permitted on his private train were his physician, secretary, valet, and a host of newspapermen, including representatives of six of New York's big dailies.

Gleason, the high-living comedian, said his private train will depart from Union Station, Hollywood, on August 9 and will follow a zigzag course making layovers along the way to Gotham City. His entourage will include dancing girls and a six-piece Dixieland band.

Describing how the "millionaire-for-a-day" spent the day before his trip making final preparations, a newspaper report at the time stated: "He was also busy explaining to visiting newspapermen that he did not make his money in the coal mines, but that he was simply lucky in politics, that all he did was to register as a candidate at the primaries, spend a dollar for campaign expenses, and then woke up the day after election to find that he had been nominated on the Democratic ticket for the county treasurership.

"He retired from the ticket for a consideration, so he says. Now he is having his fling with his dollars."

A story datelined New York gave this account of "Butch's" arrival in that city: "'Millionaire-for-a-day' McDevitt flashed into town from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., tonight on his special, dined amid the gilt and gorgeousness of the Waldorf-Astoria, saw 'The Little Millionaire,' thrust back a cruel policeman who had pushed with a club an old beggar woman who was tottering in the snow outside of the theater (beautiful real life drama stuff), gave her $5 of what he had left, toured in a taxi to Stanley's, Rector's, and the Friar's Club; returned to the Waldorf-Astoria, where he purchased a $30 a night suite for himself, his doctor, his secretary, and his valet, and said over the telephone to a reporter last night that he thought by hard conniving he would be able to buy bacon and eggs and coffee for his entire retinue in the morning, but was not what you would call sure of it."

At the Broadway play, McDevitt spoke for half an hour between acts and gave George M. Cohan a baton of coal.

"Butch" took a bath in milk and wine, explaining he understood it was a practice of millionaires and he did not want them to have anything on him. He also took a trip to New Haven to see Sylvester Poli, the theater owner. McDevitt said the only reason he went to see Poli was "I have been paying an average of 20 cents a week for the past year for the privilege of sitting in the "coop" in his Wilkes-Barre theater. Altogether this has cost me $13.60. I was entitled to see the man who got the money."

Wilkes-Barre's town jester received a number of contract offers, all of which he refused. They included one from Poli and one from Hammerstein for 2 weeks at $1,000 a week for an engagement in his New York theater. McDevitt told Hammerstein: "The reason I won't accept your offer is that this stunt is the extreme in high art and must not be tainted with commercialism."

He returned home with exactly 10 cents in his pocket.

## Recreation Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the appended article by Louis Cassels from the Washington Post for August 5, 1962, points up the deficiencies in our national park system at a time when the citizens of the United States are making a concerted effort to enjoy the recreational facilities that are available in this country. Edward C. Crafts, director of the Interior Department's new Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, notes that most of the public land for State and National parks is where the people are not. Fortunately there are public lands adjacent to the District of Columbia and accessible to all the residents of several great metropolitan areas. I believe that the

87th Congress should act without delay in establishing a C. & O. Canal National Historical Park. This can be done with no immediate cost. It will help to right the balance between parks and people. This park of unusual historical significance to the development of our Nation and others like it must be provided to the citizens of the United States, investing against the future and providing a permanent contract with the heritage of the past and the out of doors.

The article follows:

MOST OF OUR RECREATION LAND IS WHERE THE PEOPLE AREN'T

(By Louis Cassels)

America's outdoor playgrounds are desperately overcrowded this summer.

The situation will get progressively worse unless the Nation moves swiftly to provide more parks, picnic grounds and swimming holes for a growing population with a growing amount of leisure time.

So says Edward C. Crafts, Director of the Interior Department's new Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

Crafts' bureau was established for the express purpose of promoting more and better facilities for recreation, hiking, fishing, swimming, boating and other outdoor recreation.

Crafts said in an interview that Americans, who now live mostly in cities, are becoming more avid every year in their pursuit of a patch of nature in which to picnic, swim, take a walk or just look at the scenery. During the 1950's, while the U.S. population grew 15 percent, visits to national parks rose 86 percent.

The result, said Crafts, is that "some of our more popular parks now look like Times Square at the peak of the tourist season."

On paper, it looks as though America should have abundant space for outdoor recreation. More than 250 million acres are publicly designated for that purpose, including 26 million acres of national parks, 6 million acres of State parks and 180 million acres of national forests.

But, Crafts pointed out, "most of this land is where the people are not." Specifically, 72 percent of the public recreational acreage is in Western States, where 15 percent of the population lives. The Northeastern States, with 15 percent of the people, have only 2 percent of the park lands.

Providing more outdoor recreation opportunities within easy reach of major population centers in the East is the major goal of the new bureau.

It will not build or operate any facilities itself. Its main jobs are (1) to coordinate the activities of the 20 or more Federal agencies which are already involved directly or incidentally in the management of lands which can be used for outdoor recreation; and (2) to stimulate greater efforts by State and local governments, and private enterprise, to meet the rising demand for open-air playgrounds.

Crafts expressed hope that Congress will complete action soon on a bill authorizing his bureau to distribute $50 million in matching grants to encourage States to develop plans for outdoor recreation programs. Most States are dragging their feet.

Another bill before Congress would set up a land acquisition fund to be financed by proceeds from admission fees at Federal recreation areas, motorboat gasoline taxes and other charges. This money would be used to buy new lands for national parks and seashores.

Expenditures for new recreation facilities are not frivolous, Crafts said, but an overdue national investment in assuring all Americans "permanent access to their outdoor heritage."

## Mr. Tshombe's Red Flirtations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, Miss Marguerite Higgins, correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, has recently written a column which I think will be of great interest to Members of the House who will shortly be called upon to vote on the President's request for authority to purchase $100 million in United Nations bonds.

The point of Miss Higgin's column, Mr. Speaker, is that a frightening alliance against the United Nations has developed in the Congo: an alliance between rightist Premier Moise Tshombe, secessionist leader of Katanga Province, and pro-Communist Antoine Gizenga, leader of the faction formerly dominated by Patrice Lumumba.

It goes without saying that the interests of the United States are diametrically opposed to those of any far-right Communist coalition. We have had enough experience with the Communists to know that the minute their support permits Tshombe to come to power they will devote every effort—not stopping short of murder—to replace their right-wing puppet with a dictator whose fidelity to the party line is more dependable. And should a Communist ever come to power in the Congo, the United States and the rest of the free world will have suffered a major international defeat.

Mr. Speaker, the United Nations has been waging a courageous battle for at least a year to prevent an armed East-West encounter in the Congo. To date, that effort under the most trying circumstances has met with success. If any Member of the House believes that United Nations support for Premier Adoula is sufficient reason for a vote against U.N. bonds I urge a careful reading of the shocking and revealing facts presented by Marguerite Higgins in the timely article reprinted below:

MR. TSHOMBE'S RED FLIRTATIONS

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—The Congolese time bomb is largely forgotten by the general public, but last week Western capitals were put on notice that it is not only far from gone but likely to blow up at any time.

Why? Because the moderate government of Premier Adoula—the last, best hope of fending off the Communists, chaos, or another military dictatorship—last Thursday escaped by an eyelash being overthrown, and the next time could be fatal. For Adoula's main opponent, the Lumumba Party under the dominance of pro-Communist Antoine Gizenga (now under house arrest), is being strengthened in the Congolese Parliament by an unholy alliance with the Conakat Party. And what is the Conakat Party? It is—please take careful note—the party of secessionist Premier Moise Tshombe of Katanga—the same Tshombe who was once accused of having murdered Patrice Lumumba.

And in this age of images, the weird alliance between the Communist-prone Lumumbists and the Katangan Conakat brings up the question of how in the world secessionist Moise Tshombe has managed to hold onto the utterly false picture of himself as the friend of freedom, right-wing conservatism, and free-enterprise philosophies.

The answer seems to be threefold. First, the slick public relations job done on Katanga's behalf by the Belgian lobbyist, Michael Struelens. Second, Katanga's possession of enormous financial resources resulting from taxes on the British and Belgian-owned Union Miniere, the disposition of whose revenues is a main bone of contention between the Tshombe regime and the Congo Central Government. And, third, the New Frontier's silence—so far—about the hard facts at its disposal (and they are detailed, documented, and irrefutable) about Tshombe's cynical flirtations with the Reds and other shenanigans, including his scandalous bribe attempts with respect to several Latin American countries in an effort to buy diplomatic recognition of Katanga as an independent country.

The New Frontier's silence has been predicated on the belief that discretion was the best tactic so long as there was any hope that Tshombe would conduct in good faith his negotiations for federating with the Central Government and for sharing revenues from the giant Union Miniere company. That hope is gone. And since Tshombe's "good, dependable fellow" image is an impediment to imposing the only thing that can bring him to reason—economic sanctions—Washington has decided that the time has come to wash some of the Tshombe dirty linen in public. President Kennedy has been strongly urged to start the process at his press conference next Tuesday.

The President has plenty of embarrassing questions to ask that ought to make a particularly large dent on those rightwing Congressmen to whom Tshombe is a hero.

For example, how is it that Tshombe thinks so badly of American financial circles (sometimes classed as rightwing) that in a speech to the Katangese Assembly last February 15 he declared: "Washington is under the thumb of voracious financiers who will not rest as long as the Congo is not a colony under its domination and as long as Katangese copper is not eliminated from world competition"?

Why on March 6 did "anti-Communist" Tshombe instruct his deputies to join with pro-Communist Lumumbists to demand the release of pro-Communist Gizenga? And what about the joint press conference on July 17 of the Tshombe parliamentary whip and the Lumumbist acting chief in which they called for the overthrow of Adoula?

Mr. Tshombe's cynicism is not confined to ideological matters. When the time comes, it can be shown, for example, that in the past 2 weeks terrorists and assassins of the French OAS, who have fled from Algeria, have received jobs from Tshombe.

Mr. Tshombe's most spectacular attempt to buy international favors was in the attempted bribe of Costa Rica, which was offered nearly $2 million to grant recognition of Katanga as a separate country. Tshombe had this huge sum placed in a Swiss bank.

There are a number of other odd happenings under investigation by interested countries. How is it in the case of the Katangan riot against U.N. forces that newsmen were taken through a hospital at 10:35 of that day to witness surgery on a "wounded" Katangese boy when the shooting (nine shots into the air) did not occur till after 11? And why did Katangan agents inquire of certain Congressmen 2 weeks before the "riot" if American public opinion would be influenced against the U.N. bond issue if U.N. troops beat up Katangan women and children?

Reluctantly, Washington has concluded that Tshombe's intransigeance is the greatest present evil facing the Congo and that is

why steps will shortly be invoked to compel him to change—or go. And if Washington finally reveals the real reasons why, hardly anybody will be sorry.

## Ordeal at Albany, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the News and Courier of Charleston, S.C., one of the most outstanding and outspoken daily newspapers in this country, has published an excellent front page editorial on August 4 entitled "Ordeal at Albany, Ga." These eidtorial comments are very strong and I commend them to the attention of the membership of this body, the President of the United States, the Attorney General, and to everyone interested in preserving respect for law and order. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ORDEAL AT ALBANY, GA.

At his press conference Wednesday, President Kennedy chided city authorities of Albany, Ga., for refusing to negotiate racial problems with agitators who have plagued the town with constant turmoil. He commented that the United States would negotiate with Russia, and he found it "wholly inexplicable" that the Albany City Commission would not sit down with Negro American citizens to correct "a completely unsatisfactory" situation.

Whether he so intended, the President correctly stated the relationship between Albany and the Negro agitators engaged in incitement to riot. Just as Russia is the enemy of the United States, Martin Luther King and the rest are enemies of law and order in Albany.

If anyone doubts it, the record is being spelled out by witnesses in U.S. district court at Albany. They were testifying in the city's plea for an injunction to prohibit further mass demonstrations.

Negroes have used vile language, the witnesses testified, in defying police. They have thrown rocks and bottles. Even as the witnesses described the potentially explosive conditions inspired by the agitators, demonstrations continued in the streets. In jail, Negro demonstrators prayed, sang, and clapped their hands in jungle rhythm. The whole atmosphere is reminiscent of African preliminaries for barbaric rites.

These are the conditions that President Kennedy ought to find "unsatisfactory."

He ought to know how rewarding are negotiations with the Russians. All over the world his emissaries are finding that the only way to appease the Russians is to surrender.

Surrender to mass movements such as Albany has undergone is racial suicide.

"We are going to attempt," the President said, "as we have in the past, to try to provide a satisfactory solution for the protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and we will continue to do so."

When will the Federal Government start providing for the constitutional rights of all peace-loving people, both white and Negro? The majority of Negro citizens in Albany are abstaining from tribal rites led by King and his allies. Their safety and the safety of white citizens are endangered by constant agitation. The patience of all is being strained to the breaking point.

If no incident occurs to create an explosion, somebody may manufacture one. The President's comment is virtually an invitation for further trouble.

## Allan P. Kirby at 70 Is a Distinguished Son

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Wednesday, August 1, 1962, carried an editorial tribute to the Honorable Allan P. Kirby, who observed his 70th birthday on Tuesday, July 31. Mr. Kirby is a distinguished son of a distinguished father and the Kirby name is of historic significance in Wyoming Valley where Fred M. Kirby began his outstanding business career many decades ago. Allan Kirby, in his own right, has made an outstanding career in the fields of finance and business and is one of the leading philanthropists in the Nation. The district which I have the honor of representing in Congress is indeed most proud of the career of Allan P. Kirby, a native son, who has more than sustained the honored name of Kirby in the community and throughout the Nation. I am, therefore, especially happy to include the editorial tribute, made by the largest newspaper in my congressional district, as part of my remarks today. Editorial follows:

ALLAN KIRBY AT 70 IS A DISTINGUISHED SON

There are five milestones in the average life that stand out more than others, no matter what the individual's station. First, of course, is the date of birth. Next is the 21st birthday anniversary when he (or she) comes of age. Then follows the wedding anniversary, 70th birthday, and 100th birthday, if one's luck does not run out.

Allan P. Kirby, native son of Wilkes-Barre, who continues to summer at Glen Summit, although he is a legal resident of Morristown, N.J., attained the dignity of three score and ten yesterday. While the observance was noted at a family gathering, the occasion was of public interest because of the role Mr. Kirby has played and continues to play in the community and country as a financier, businessman, and philanthropist.

As a son of Fred Morgan Kirby, who, incidentally, would have been 101 in October if he were alive, Allan P. Kirby was heir to wealth and position. But he was not satisfied to rest on his father's laurels. He struck out on his own to carve a career that parallels, in many respects that of his distinguished parent.

Allan Kirby today is nationally known on the basis of his own achievements, not just as his father's son. At 70, we do not think of him as an elder statesman of business, but as a vigorous practitioner. And that he is and will continue to be, his old neighbors in Wilkes-Barre hope, for years to come. On this auspicious occassion, Wilkes-Barre extends congratulations and best wishes.

## Top o' Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Pampa, Tex., is my hometown and I am very proud of it. It is populated by a fiercely independent group of people who believe in the United States of America and our Constitution. They strive daily to measure up to their full responsibilities as individual citizens and free people and are highly successful. Like all other cities they believe in growing and they want that growth to be a sound and healthy growth on a permanent basis.

In keeping with their general feelings on the subject a splendid editorial was printed in the Pampa Daily News of Sunday, July 29, 1962. I place that editorial in the RECORD today so that our people in other sections of this great country may have an opportunity to read about our city and to interest themselves in doing business with it:

EVERYTHING A-OK IN PAMPA—BUT SOME NEW INDUSTRY WOULD HELP

"Top o' Texas" residents have been hearing plenty of late concerning the Pampa Chamber of Commerce drive to bring new industry to this area.

The chamber of commerce is raising money for an advertising campaign in the Wall Street Journal and to finance followup activities when and if prospects are found.

The drive for industry can be an expensive thing, as witness costs of the campaign indicated at the outset. A series of 24 1-column-by-4-inch ads in the East, Midwest and Southwest editions of the Wall Street Journal, plus one full-page ad in the official State magazine, Texas Parade, will return statements to the chamber of commerce for approximately $3,000.

Add to this the additional advertising that is planned and contact work with prospects, and you can see that no small amount of money will be needed to do an effective job for Pampa.

And how is the chamber going to raise such amounts?

They hope to get it from you, Mr. Businessman, you, Mr. Professional Man, and you Mr. Individual.

This is an outstanding opportunity to make an investment in the future of Pampa, and we can do it in the good old Texas way sans Federal, State or local government assistance.

Here's a chance for local private enterprise to assert itself and finance its own improvement project. Let's not let the opportunity slip through our hands.

The fruits of the labor can be rewarding indeed.

New industry is the nucleus of an economic cycle healthy for all in the town. One industry, employing maybe 50, can send up to 400 payroll-filled pockets to town regularly, and, who knows, maybe some of them would wander into your front door to buy what you have to sell.

Pampa needs new industry. All of Texas and the great Southwest is out to get its share of the industrial growth the Nation is enjoying and if we don't answer this challenge with dollars, and right now, we could be left out in the cold. The competition from neighboring communities is fierce.

And why shouldn't Pampa have new industries? We have all it takes to feed them.

plenty of raw materials like gas, oil, petrochemicals, helium, gasoline, butane, propane, grain sorghums, wheat, cotton, cattle, manpower, low taxes, and, perhaps best of all, an abundance of water now, and more to come through the Canadian River Dam project.

We have housing, fine educational, cultural, medical, and recreational facilities, hospitable, self-reliant people, money, technical know-how and a buoyant Texas spirit.

And before someone declares the "Top O' Texas" a disaster area because we want some more industry, let us point out some evidence to the contrary.

Pampa has enjoyed a steady growth for over 30 years. Our population increase has nearly doubled every 10 years since 1930 and the trend apparently is still in effect.

In 1930 we had 10,470 people; in 1940 it was 12,895; in 1950 we hit 16,583 and in 1960 we counted 24,664 human-type heads within the city limits.

We haven't counted ourselves since 1960, but the utility companies have some figures which would indicate we still are multiplying.

For instance: gas meters, 1960, 7,992 meters; yesterday 1962, 8,038; electricity meters, 1960, 9,136; yesterday, 9,394; telephones, 1960, 11,935; yesterday 12,778; water meters, 1960, 7,645; yesterday, 8,038; deposits in banks and savings and loan companies, 1960, $48,271,286; yesterday $61,383,368; scholastics, 1960, 6,257; currently, 6,630.

And to top it off, Pampa has been given a very high rating as a quality market in a nationwide business survey just completed by Sales Management magazine.

Sales Management reports that net income in Pampa last year after deducting personal taxes was $53,934,000. Net income per household was $6,827, an average obtained by dividing the overall income by the number of households.

This is more than was available to people in most parts of the West South Central States, where the average was $5,562, and more than the average in the State of Texas, which was $5,937.

Total retail sales in Pampa last year were $41,900,000.

Each community is rated by Sales Management to show its relative standing as a market, based on such factors as income, spending volume, population and growth potential. This is called Sales Management's quality of market index. Pampa was given an index rating of 116, or 16 percent higher than the national average.

And we want it to continue, don't we? It will take money to keep us on top so dig down in that lefthand hip pocket today, pull out some hard, U.S.-type cash and go stuff it in the front door of the Pampa Chamber of Commerce, located in City Hall.

Your grandchildren will be glad you did and so will you.

## Fort Detrick Scientist Doubts U.S. Germ Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, recent stories of the death of a microbiology worker in England have naturally raised questions about the safety of our own program in this area. The appended news story from the Washington Post of Sunday, August 5, 1962, will answer many of these questions.

FORT DETRICK SCIENTIST DOUBTS U.S. GERM PERIL

(By Paul Healy)

The type of accident which fatally felled a British scientist with the pneumonic plague this week could happen here at U.S. germ headquarters but it is unlikely because of safety precautions.

Dr. Arnold G. Wedum, safety director of the biological laboratories at Fort Detrick in nearby Frederick, Md., recalled that the installation had a nonfatal case of pneumonic plague in August 1959, similar to the one believed to have killed Geoffrey Bacon, a 40-year-old laboratory worker in England.

Dr. Wedum said this was one of the very few instances of recovery from the dreaded disease, which is a variation of the bubonic plague or "black death," that decimated England's population in the 14th century.

TWO ANTHRAX FATALITIES

"We knew the man had been working with the pneumonic plague organism," he related. "so he was treated for it very promptly with tetracycline, a new antibiotic." The man suffered no ill effects afterward.

Dr. Wedum said the Fort Detrick laboratories in 1951 and 1958 had two fatal cases of pulmonary anthrax, a disease usually brought in on foreign hides and wool used in textile mills. (Anthrax is one of a score of diseases which the Fort Detrick laboratories are studying for possible use in germ warfare.)

During 1950–59 inclusive, he said, the labs had 249 other illnesses—all nonfatal—caused by the organisms studied there.

In 1958 Fort Detrick began to use a sealed-in cabinet system to protect scientists engaged in the more dangerous kinds of bacteriological research, Dr. Wedum said. This consists of a long sequence of nonleakable cabinets tested for absolute tightness with freon gas.

The researchers put their hands in the cabinets wearing rubber gloves that are attached to the cabinets; thus no part of the skin comes in contact with the organism. Similar cabinets are used by radioisotope workers.

Dr. Wedum said the excellent progress made in developing new vaccines during 1958–59 was another factor in the decline of the work-connected illness rate at Fort Detrick. All Fort Detrick workers were promptly vaccinated with the new vaccines.

"We are strong advocates of using living vaccines where available," Dr. Wedum said.

SAFETY PROGRAM CITED

The third factor in cutting the illness rate, he went on, was the whole safety program itself. It now has 32 civilians and 5 Army enlisted men working full time to promote safety consciousness among Fort Detrick's 1,750 civilian employees and 400 military personnel.

The result, Dr. Wedum said, is that for the fiscal year ending last June 30 Fort Detrick "had only six lost-time accidents, two of them being caused by laboratory illnesses, from which the men recovered."

Dr. Wedum pooh-poohed the concern expressed by inhabitants of the area in England where Dr. Bacon was struck with the plague.

"Such excitement * * * is not justified," he commented. "People fail to realize what great advances we have made in sanitary practices since the bubonic plague in the Middle Ages."

No "significant concern" of this sort has ever been heard in the Fort Detrick locality, he said, adding: "After all, we have a better safety record than most of the industrial towns."

## The School Prayer Decision of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the July 1962 issue of a publication by the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order entitled "The Blessings of Liberty" has come to my attention, and I have been very impressed with an editorial contained therein entitled "School Prayer Decision of the Supreme Court."

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCHOOL PRAYER DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT

June 25, 1962, was a black day for Americans who believe in God after the manner of the Old and New Testaments and who have ever prized the unique relations between religion and government worked out in American institutions and traditions.

The legal cornerstone of the American church-state synthesis, which had endured for 173 years, is the first amendment. This amendment—article I of our Bill of Rights—reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The supreme aim of this primary formulation of individual rights, over against the Federal sovereignty of the United States, is in the free exercise clause. The aim is the preservation of freedom of religion.

It was to worship God according to the dictates of conscience that a large number of colonial Americans came to these shores. Others were satisfied with the established church of England. Still others—exemplifying the Puritan or Presbyterian tradition—had no objection to an establishment of religion, provided it was neither Anglican nor Roman Catholic. Gradually however and with a consensus that was impressive in its growing extent, the American Founding Fathers reached the view that liberty of religion required the rejection of any established or preferred church.

This is the background of the first amendment. Its main weight is on the free exercise of religion, and this is understood positively—as freedom of religious worship and practice, not as freedom from religion.

The authors of our Constitution and Bill of Rights were interested in equal rights for all religious denominations and for individuals in the matter of religious opinion and practice. They were not thinking of atheism and immorality as against theism and the moral law, for they took it for granted that God and morality were foundations of good government. If there were no God, there could be no inalienable rights. Reason itself would be overthrown.

These self-evident truths are the key to the rich combination in American history and tradition of religious liberty, separation of church and state, and national affirmation of trust in God.

This is the distinctive American position on church and state, religion and government. It is to be compared and contrasted with the ancient, preprophetic position of

identification or totalism. On this view religion is a department of the state, an arm of rule and authority. Within Christian history this view reappears, mitigated by going through the motions of baptism, but in essence unchanged. We see it in the Byzantine Empire and later in czarist Moscow, self-appointed as the Third Rome. Nor is it absent in the West, in the post-Reformation advent of the dogma of the divine right of kings.

In between ancient identification and American cooperative plurality, there is the classic western Christian doctrine of the two swords, one temporal, the other spiritual. Each power is sovereign in its own sphere; yet the two spheres are not completely separate. Rather they are but different modes or dimensions of authority in the city of man or human society.

The French Revolution brought in, more as the vision of an apocalypse than in immediate reality, the fourth type of church-state relationship. This type represents the triumph and dominance of the spirit of secularity. Religion, the moving impress of eternity, is rejected and dismissed as something purely private. It is no concern of the state and has no business putting its fingers into public affairs.

The final term of secularism is the situation under communism. Here the intent is the abolition of religion, but the interim period is characterized by the reduction ruthlessly of religion to a private status. This is compatible with constitutional provisions announcing the complete separation of church and state and guaranteeing freedom of religious worship.

This background is absolutely necessary if we are to understand and assess the most recent decision of the Supreme Court respecting religion and public education. The earnest and undoubtedly well-intentioned Justices—six of them, one a Roman Catholic layman and another a Presbyterian elder—who struck down a simple prayer designed not by State officials but by Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish consultants anxious to rise to the tolerance demanded in a plural society, may be unaware of the road we are on. This very fact, the fact that rational and even devout men in a position of such grave responsibility proceed like sleepwalkers on a clearly marked path, is the thing that is frightening.

This is not mere assertion. Any student of the landmark decisions in the school field since World War II—Everson, McCollum, and Zorach—could be fairly sure that something more drastic and more of a reversal of previous precedents was coming. It has come and both the country and the Court are caught in a vast "judicial thicket"—Mr. Justice Frankfurter's phrase—with the whole distinctive American church-state position placed in jeopardy.

What shall ordinary, devout Americans do?

First, they must not panic and they must not be intimidated either by Court prestige or by the range and volume of contrary liberal opinion among intellectuals, including a surprising number of Protestant clergy.

Second, they must mobilize for education as to the real American tradition and for the formation of informed and militant public opinion. The Supreme Court ought not to be affected by intellectual and ideological fashions. Unfortunately the Justices are but men and the fashionable tide among intelligentsia in the United States has been for long a strong one and it has been secular liberalism. This is the ideology which has been in the ascendant in educated circles for two generations, but it by no means reflects the views of the great majority of Americans. The time is ripe for a sharp and sustained counterattack on secularism at all levels of our society, including the universities and the theological seminaries.

Third, there is the one sovereign remedy—a constitutional amendment clarifying the intent and limits of the first amendment. Forty-nine State Governors have come out for this. If there is no other way to stem the current, pellmell radicalism and reformism of judicial opinion at the highest level, we must secure such an amendment. But it is a drastic medicine. It opens up a course that is long and full of pitfalls. It will be much better if the Court, under the stimulus of vigorous discussion and a new rising tide of pronounced and reasoned opinion, recognizes the peril of overextending the judicial function and itself switches on to a more parsimonious and temperate course.

Meantime, let every American, including every high court justice in our State capitals as well as in Washington, D.C., hear and ponder the words of Abraham Lincoln, uttered 101 years ago in his first inaugural: "At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that of the policy of the Government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made * * * the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned the Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

## White House Tour High Spot of Washington Trip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a most thoughtful letter from one of my constituents, Mrs. Frederick R. May, of Kingston, in which she highly commends the White House Police and tour personnel for the kind and courteous treatment which they extended to her and her family on a White House visit several weeks ago. The May family had a special problem—a youngster in a wheelchair and, as she states in her letter to me, "everyone was so courteous, the guards arranged for special parking, and once in the White House, they arranged for him to go upstairs in the elevator." I am happy to submit Mrs. May's letter for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as, additionally, she makes some very good suggestions for the future consideration and convenience of all visiting Washington who have special problems. The letter follows:

KINGSTON, PA., *July 27, 1962.*

DEAR SIR: Several weeks ago, I wrote you requesting passes to tour the White House which you graciously arranged. I wanted to tell you how very much we enjoyed the visit. You probably don't remember, but we had a special problem—a youngster in a wheelchair. Everyone was so courteous, the guards arranged for special parking, and once in the White House, they arranged for him to go upstairs in the elevator. The tour was really the high spot of our whole trip, I can't tell you how much we enjoyed it. We toured all the historic shrines and went to the House and Senate and came away with an impression of awe and pride. Washington is such a lovely, clean, well-kept city. We were very proud and delighted to have the opportunity to visit—indeed it should be a must on every American family's vacation.

I read in the paper recently that there is a motion being considered to eliminate architectural bars for handicapped people—if you have anything at all to do with this, please, do what you can. When architects are designing buildings, they never consider the handicapped people of the country—steps are too steep, there are too many steps—doorways aren't wide enough for wheelchairs to pass through or else there are revolving doors which are really impossible—even elevator doors are a problem—we know.

Again, thank you for your kindness, we appreciate it greatly. We are so glad to hear that you are well again and hope you will continue that way.

Sincerely,

NANCY MAY
(MRS. Frederick R.)

## GOP Offensive for a Better Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the noted colmunist, Roscoe Drummond, continues to perform a great public service in his objective writings on the merits of the two-party system and what can be done to make it more effective in the common interest. He has done a magnificent series on the danger to the American voters in having the committee staffs in Congress so heavily weighted in favor of the majority party. One of his most recent columns, "GOP Offensive for a Better Campaign," is an apprisal he has made of Senator KENNETH KEATING'S statement on how to elect a Republican Congress. I agree about the value of this document and in order to encourage more Americans to read it, I wish to place in the RECORD at this point the Roscoe Drummond column which should make every determined candidate and his supporters seek out the Keating blueprint for victory and put it in operation.

The column follows:

GOP OFFENSIVE FOR A BETTER CAMPAIGN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Not often does a Washington reporter come onto a political document which he feels is constructive, must reading for every voter in the country—Republican, Democratic, Independent, and those who may be tempted to think they aren't going to vote in the fall elections.

Such a document comes from the typewriter of New York State's moderate-conservative Senator KENNETH B. KEATING. It is neither a bland promise of a little something for everybody nor a partisan exhortation that all right and all virtue reside on one side.

It is a thoughtful, direct, lucid, meaty statement of what Senator KEATING feels ought to be "the new Republican offensive." It sets out more clearly than usual the differences between the two parties.

I am not advocating its wide distribution and reading in order to elect a Republican Congress.

In order to provoke a national debate on the real issues which separate the parties as one method of helping elect the best possible Congress, I hope that the Republican National Committee will blanket the Nation with it. I would hope that the Democratic National Committee would pro-

duce its own version of "a new Democratic offensive" so that both sides of the argument can be fully heard.

Since the Keating statement is political, he cannot mail it by Government frank to those who ask for it. Therefore, if you want to read it, the best thing to do is to write the Republican National Chairman, Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C., and ask for it. The new all-Republican conference, recently created under the aegis of General Eisenhower, couldn't do a more useful thing than to find the money to equip every party precinct worker with all the copies they can use.

What are the credentials of the Republican Party? That is the central question Senator KEATING raises and, in part, his answer is that:

1. "Republicans have no cleavage on the great concept of equal rights for all citizens."

2. "Republicans support Government thrift to avoid saddling those to come with debt and taxes."

3. "Republicans have shown understanding and know-how in programs of health care, social security, and education." (He points out that the only Republican Congress during the Eisenhower administrations established the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, passed the St. Lawrence Seaway law, brought peace in Korea, extended social security to 10 million persons and unemployment compensation to 4 million.)

4. "Republicans have kept the Nation at peace."

5. "Two-thirds of the tax cuts since 1913 have been granted by Republicans."

I do not suggest that there are not fair arguments in rebuttal; there are. I am not urging a one-sided political debate, but I am urging a better national debate on national issues in order that the Congress which is elected this year will be equipped to transact the national business.

Senator KEATING himself makes two valuable suggestions to this end.

He proposes a series of debates between the Democratic and Republican National Chairmen, Representatives MILLER and JOHN BAILEY, patterned after the NIXON-Kennedy debates in 1960.

He urges that his own party recruit 500 intelligent young men and women, train them in Republican principles and public speaking and then assign them to the States to train in turn new party leaders—this to make up in part for the political manpower the labor unions contribute to the Democratic Party.

These suggestions stake out for the Republican National Committee some useful lines of political activity.

Their special value is that they tend to center attention on the national issues which, as they are better and more fully debated at the local level, will help a more nationally minded Congress.

## Deficit Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Pickens Sentinel, Pickens, S.C., August 2. This editorial will be of interest to the Congress.

NEVER TOO OLD TO LEARN

Presidential Economic Adviser Walter W. Heller, who declared 18 months ago that budget deficits in the next 12 to 18 months would stimulate recovery, is not so confident of his crystal ball today. In briefing 100 Democratic candidates for Congress, he was requested to predict an upturn in the stock market, but declined. He thought, he said, it would be "the better part of valor, wisdom, and honesty" not to.

Washington keeps "a dear school" (in the Franklin phrase), but even college professors do learn.

## Belated Thanks to Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I wish to commend favorably an article written by David Lawrence and published on June 30 of this year.

For over 11 years ago now, Mr. President, one of the greatest Americans who has ever lived, and one of its greatest soldiers and heroes, has been living in almost complete seclusion without having received, in my estimation, proper recognition by the Congress.

Recently there passed through both Houses a measure calling the attention of the country to the gratitude of both of these bodies to Gen. Douglas MacArthur. David Lawrence has written of it so well that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BELATED ACT OF GRATITUDE: MORE THAN A DECADE LATER, CONGRESS TENDERS THANKS TO GENERAL MACARTHUR

(By David Lawrence)

At last, in American history, a sad chapter of seeming ingratitude has been superseded by an act of gratitude. Congress now has passed a resolution tendering to Gen. Douglas MacArthur the thanks of the Nation for his distinguished military service to the American people.

So far as the official record is concerned, General MacArthur has been listed since 1951 as an officer removed from all command for alleged insubordination. A committee of Congress investigated at the time, but did not come to any formal conclusion, as obviously a Democratic Congress hesitated to censure the impulsive act of a Democratic President who was miffed by something that could have been handled more gracefully.

It happened that General MacArthur answered a letter of inquiry from the Republican leader in the House of Representatives, Joseph W. Martin, of Massachusetts, who had asked the general for his opinion on Far Eastern questions. Military officers can testify freely before congressional committees as long as they do not disclose military secrets. Yet a letter, which amounted to the same thing as testimony on broad policy problems, prompted the punishment that was meted out. The letter, incidentally, was never intended for publication.

General MacArthur had two commands at the time. He was commander of the Allied occupation of Japan, and to this day it is universally agreed he did a wonderful job. He was also commander of the United Nations forces in Korea. Had the American President wished, he could have changed commanders in Korea without disturbing the position of command which General MacArthur held in Japan. Mr. Truman was urged to do so by his own military chiefs in Washington and by some of his Cabinet officers but, apparently still resentful over the letter to former House Speaker Martin, chose to strip General MacArthur of all command and bring him home with a public repudiation.

For 11 years now the distinguished general has lived in retirement. Many of the men who served under him have not forgotten his remarkable acts of personal bravery and skillful command, and have felt that the Nation should be reminded in a formal way of those contributions. It has been a delicate subject to raise because of the old political controversy. But Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, never gave up. He succeeded a few years ago in getting a resolution before a committee of Congress but couldn't somehow get it to the floor for action. This time, however, he was successful. Chairman CARL VINSON, of the House Armed Services Committee, and Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK gave permission to have the resolution brought up. It passed unanimously. Mr. RIVERS also had the aid of the Democratic majority leader, Representative CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma, who had served on General MacArthur's staff during World War II. Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, of Florida, Democrat, brought up the measure in the Senate, where it was also unanimously adopted. The resolution reads as follows:

*"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That the thanks and appreciation of the Congress and the American people are hereby tendered to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur in recognition of his outstanding devotion to the American people, his brilliant leadership during and following World War II, and the unsurpassed affection held for him by the people of the Republic of the Philippines which has done so much to strengthen the ties of friendship between the people of that nation and the people of the United States."

In the formal report of the House Armed Services Committee submitted by Representative RIVERS to the House, a detailed account of General MacArthur's record was given from the time he graduated from West Point in 1903 at the head of his class. He was the son of Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, who also had a distinguished military career.

This correspondent, along with other newsmen covering the War Department early in 1917, thought Douglas MacArthur, then a major, was one of the most brilliant public relations officers the Government had ever had and expressed professional regret when he suddenly announced that he was applying for oversea duty. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War in the Wilson administration, said to his news conference:

"Watch that young man. He'll be a general soon, and some day he will be Chief of Staff of the Army."

The prophecy came true. Major MacArthur was wounded in the war and, as commander of an infantry brigade, won a string of medals for his bravery in action. Later he did become Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army. What he did in liberating the Philippines from the Japanese in 1945, together with his remarkable service in the Korean war, are events recent enough for most people in this country to recall.

It does seem unfortunate, however, that a political incident has caused such a long delay in giving full recognition to a brave man who performed a brilliant service for

his country in many command posts. At last the record has been set straight, and, fortunately, this comes during the lifetime of the 82-year-old veteran, who said in his farewell address to Congress in 1951: "Old soldiers never die—they just fade away."

Congress apparently is not willing that in official history the memory of what Douglas MacArthur did for his country should fade away but wants it to remain instead an enduring example of devotion to the Nation's service.

## President Kennedy Hails Representative Farbstein's Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include an article which appeared in the New York Times, Thursday, July 26, 1962. The article, which follows, reports President Kennedy's appreciation of Representative FARBSTEIN's support of his program:

LETTER MAY BE FIRST IN PLEDGE BY PRESIDENT TO HELP THE SUPPORTERS OF PROGRAM

(By Richard P. Hunt)

Representative LEONARD FARBSTEIN, of Manhattan, who is running for reelection, made public yesterday a letter from President Kennedy praising him for his work in Congress.

The letter, dated July 20 and addressed to "Dear Congressman," was the first of its kind to come to light here since the President said on Monday that he was "going to help elect Democrats" who supported his legislative program.

Although the President did not specifically endorse Mr. FARBSTEIN for reelection, he praised the Representative for "clear judgment, wisdom, dedication, and energy." Mr. FARBSTEIN left no doubt that he considered it an endorsement.

BACKED KENNEDY BILLS

Although the Representative has voted consistently for administration bills, he faces a contest for the Democratic nomination in the 19th Congressional District. The winner will run against Richard S. Aldrich, a cousin of Governor Rockefeller, who is unopposed for the Republican nomination.

The letter, written on White House stationery, said:

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for sending me a copy of your bill which would provide for a Domestic Peace Corps to aid in combating juvenile delinquency. I shall be watching its progress with interest.

"I would like to take this opportunity, at this point late in the second session, to express my personal appreciation for your sustained support of our legislative program. In the important Foreign Affairs Committee and on the floor, your clear judgment, wisdom, dedication, and energy have significantly furthered our advancement toward our common goal of greater progress at home and the attainment of a peaceful world of free and independent nations.

"With warm regards and best wishes,
Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY."

The 19th Congressional District includes most of the area between the southern tip of Manhattan and 14th Street on the East Side and 86th Street on the West Side.

I hope that Representative FARBSTEIN will be successful in his endeavors. He has been a most loyal supporter of the Kennedy administration and President Kennedy's letter signifies his appreciation.

## One Nation Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of the Senate an excellent sermon entitled "One Nation Under God," which was delivered by Dr. J. Frank Alexander in the First Presbyterian Church of Charleston, S.C., on July 15, 1962. I have been impressed by these eloquent remarks by an outstanding minister on such an important subject.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that this sermon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE NATION UNDER GOD

(Sermon written by the Rev. J. Frank Alexander, Ph. D., and delivered in the First (Scots) Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C., on Sunday, July 15, 1962)

Text: Psalm 46: 1 "God is our refuge and strength."

On June 14, 1954, Congress approved a bill inserting the phrase "under God" in the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States. This action was applauded by the American people who recognized the insertion to be in harmony with their personal faith and the religious tradition of our land. The phrase "under God" declared our national trust in almighty God as already expressed on our coins, in the Constitution of the United States, in the constitutions of a number of our States, our national anthem, the openings of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, the U.S. Supreme Court, the State legislatures, the inaugural ceremonies of our Presidents and Governors. There was no objection to the inclusion of the words "under God" in the pledge of allegiance to the American flag, for it was a further expression of our national orientation to Almighty God and of our acknowledged dependence upon Him.

On June 25, 1962, the Supreme Court of the United States by a vote of 6 to 1 declared the recitation of the following prayer unconstitutional in the schools of New York State: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country." Justice Hugo L. Black in his majority opinion states that the prayer prescribed by the State of New York violates that part of the first amendment which reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of a religion." Justice Black goes on to say, "We think that by using its public school system to encourage recitation of the regents prayer the State of New York has adopted a practice wholly inconsistent with the establishment clause." This decision surprised and shocked the American people. The present moderator of the Presbyterian Church, United States, Dr. Edward D. Grant, in a letter addressed to me dated July 6, 1962, says: "Like yourself I am very distressed over the Supreme Court decision. This, it appears to me, is a setback not only to the church and to church people, but to the state. It contradicts our history and I believe the wishes of our American people."

Justice Potter Stewart, the one dissenting judge, states: "The Court today decides that in permitting this brief nondenominational prayer the school board has violated the Constitution of the United States. I think this decision is wrong. With all respect, I think the Court has misapplied a great constitutional principle. I cannot see how 'an official religion' is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it. On the contrary, I think that to deny the wish of these schoolchildren to join in reciting this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation."

Despite Justice Stewart's dissent, the Supreme Court's decision is that the regents prayer is unconstitutional. We wonder what the decision protends for the future. Some citizens, more optimistic than others, say that the Supreme Court has not outlawed God from the public schools, but has outlawed prescribed prayers; they reason that this is as far as the matter will go and that schools will be free to practice religious exercises in the future as in the past. I would like to think that this is the case, but if the Court is consistent with its June 25, 1962, decision, our national public professions of faith in God are in jeopardy. The words of Justice William O. Douglas foreshadow for me an intention to change many of our national practices which have to do with the recognition of God. In the first paragraph of his opinion he writes: "The point for decision is whether the Government can constitutionally finance a religious exercise. Our system at the Federal and State level is presently honeycombed with such financing. Nevertheless, I think it is unconstitutional whatever form it takes.

I am deeply disturbed by the Court's decision, for I fear that a number of religious customs and references to God will be lost in the course of time in our national life. Today when secularism and materialism are rampant in the world God-fearing people have the responsibility of declaring themselves for something more than "a loaf of bread, a jug of wine, and thou." This is the day when whatever else we may be saying to the world we ought to say "This, our beloved Nation, believes in God, depends upon God, is sustained by God, and exists under God." I believe this to be the sentiment of the vast majority of Americans and I do not believe that they will long tolerate a dictum that will destroy our faith.

I cannot imagine any American citizen, except militant agnostics and atheists, petitioning our courts to strike down any current religious practice of our Federal Government. As for myself, I find great comfort in the fact that we imprint on our coins "In God We Trust" and we confess to the world that our Nation exists "under God." Whether we acknowledge it or not, the awesome fact is that we are a people "under God."

I. WE ARE UNDER GOD'S DIRECTION

From the beginning our Nation had a strong sense of purpose and destiny; the Founding Fathers felt that God had led them, had directed them to establish this Nation. They felt that "unless the Lord build a house they labor in vain to build it." The very first Congress, which wrote the first amendment, provided for chaplains in both Houses and in the armed services.

Our Nation has not only acknowledged God, but has sought His Divine guidance. For the most part our attitude toward God has been "Show me Thy way, O Lord; teach

me Thy paths, lead me in Thy truth, and teach me"—Psalm 25: 4–5a. As we look back across the years, we know that God has surely directed us as a people through joy and sorrow, through war and peace, through sunshine and shadow. We are therefore led to confession and prayer:

"Thy love divine has led us in the past,
In this free land by Thee our lot is cast,
Be Thou our ruler, guardian, guide, and stay,
Thy word our law, Thy paths our chosen way."

II. WE ARE UNDER GOD'S GRACE

Americans are born in a land of spiritual freedom and material abundance. We are a privileged people. If Canaan could be called a land flowing with milk and honey, how much more apt it is to call the United States the promised land. We are the temporal possessors of this land, this beauty, this abundance, this liberty. Truly "the lines have fallen unto us in pleasant places." Yet we did not earn these privileges, nor do we deserve them; they are the gift of God to us and we possess them by His grace.

Americans are born in a land which to this day has been protected from invasion in a remarkable manner. Some say that the two great oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, have insured our safety and protection from the destructive forces of war. Our geographical location has undoubtedly been to our advantage in this regard. But this does not fully account for our good fortune. We believe that right will always ultimately prevail over wrong and that God's cause will finally triumph. We feel that our Nation has in the past fought for freedom against tyranny, for liberty against totalitarianism, for truth against falsehood. Even as we have girded ourselves for battle, we have known that in the final analysis the victory would be determined by God.

Americans are born in a land that claims God's forgiveness. Our national life has much to its credit; it also has much to deplore. We like to dream of our Nation free from avarice, pride, immodesty, and intemperance, yet we know that as a people we have too often fallen short of such an ideal. We acknowledge our need for forgiveness and we claim the forgiveness promised by God: "If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness"—I John 1:9.

III. WE ARE UNDER GOD'S INSPIRATION

The Genesis account of creation beautifully describes God's forming man from the dust of the earth and then breathing into him the breath of life so that man became a living soul. Just as God breathed into a physical form and gave life, vitality, drive, purpose, and destiny to man, so God must inspire (breathe into) our Nation His ideal, purpose, and destiny for us. Without this inspiration there is no vision, and "where there is no vision the people perish."

If the American public is to be quickened and alerted to fulfill a worthy role of leadership in the world today, it must come by God's inspiration. I don't believe for a moment that a materialistic philosophy will be strong enough to motivate us to accomplish the colossal task to be done. This is the day of opportunity for Americans to lead the world in friendship, cooperation, righteousness, and reverence.

Many are asking what must we do at this critical juncture when our religious customs as manifested in schools, in Government, and in the Armed Forces appear to be threatened.

First of all, we must take whatever steps are necessary to guarantee the continuation of our religious traditions in Federal and State Governments. I agree with Justice Potter Stewart's decision, especially where he says: "I think the Court has misapplied a great constitutional principle." Nevertheless, the Court has rendered its decision and unless there is a reconsideration we should proceed, I believe, to amend the Constitution so that it will be made crystal clear, both for us and the world, that our religious customs are to be respected and continued.

Second, we need to reinforce private instruction in our religious faith. The teaching of religion in the home is either ignored or deprecated by an alarming number of people. The home, which was the center of the early Christian church, is still a place of rare opportunity to instruct the young and to nourish the old. There is also an unfortunate attitude toward religious instruction offered in church schools. Many parents have a casual attitude as regards their children's attendance for weekly instruction. Too many parents and grandparents send their children to church schools instead of accompanying them there. No adult should ever stop searching, learning, and growing, and no one ever outgrows his need for spiritual food. It behooves all who are concerned about the Supreme Court decision to witness to their faith by attending their church, church school, and maintaining religious instruction in their homes.

In conclusion, let us recall that God works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. The Court decision which troubles us may serve as the catalyst needed to precipitate the turning to God by the masses of Americans. This whole matter could shake us out of lethargy and indifference and awaken us to the instant claim of God. As we acknowledge Him as our refuge and strength, we pray His will may be done in this, our beloved land.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, delivers a ringing challenge for a spiritual renaissance in the following words: "Throughout the entire earth today, powerful atheistic forces are striving to destroy every form of worship of God. In the Western World, these forces seek to substitute materialism for Christianity and the extent of their progress can be measured in terms of crime and communism—the twin offspring of materialism.

"Do men imbued with spiritual values betray their country? We know they do not, just as we know that children reared in morally sound homes rarely become delinquent.

"What, then, is the answer?

"I believe that the answer lies in a spiritual renaissance—a vigorous, new look at the age-old principles which are the foundation of our civilization and which alone guarantee the dignity of man. The key to such a renaissance is the Bible."

## The National Lottery of Bolivia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Members of this House about the national lottery of Bolivia. This lottery is operated solely for the benefit of health and welfare agencies in the country.

In 1961, the gross receipts of the Bolivian lottery came to over $1 million. The profits in that year amounted to over $400,000. This income was not retained by the Government but was distributed to several welfare and charitable organizations. Half of the money went to the Bolivian Red Cross.

Bolivia is not a rich country by any means, and a national lottery offers needed revenues. These moneys are well used. America, with all its affluence, could derive tremendous financial benefits from a lottery. Why are we holding back?

Mr. Speaker, if we could operate a national lottery in the United States we would raise over $10 billion a year in additional revenue. This needed income could bring happiness to our overtaxed wage earners.

## Mukwonago, Wis., Picnic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an address prepared by me for delivery at the Mukwonago, Wis., picnic, on August 5, 1962.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Friends: The "happy air" of a picnic—wonderful in itself—does not provide an atmosphere in which to easily discuss the great, solemn and sometimes grave, challenges of the times. For you might rather be eating another hotdog; the children might rather be scampering around the playgrounds; and I, too, might rather be slicing another delicious piece of the watermelon.

Even at such a festive time, however, perhaps we justifiably could pause to think of a few of the achievements which make possible our freely picknicking here; some of the wonders around us in our national life and the world; the challenges of the times in which we live.

Through the ingenuity, creativity, imagination and hard work and sweat of a forward-striding people, we: Agriculturally, feed more and more people on less and less land than ever before; industrially, turn out millions of types and kinds of products and goods to provide the best standards of living in the history of humanity; scientifically, too, we are literally "reaching for the stars"—talking and televising through satellites such as Telstar—traveling almost at supersonic speeds in jet planes—rocket-powering manned X-15's upward into space—orbiting the earth—planning trips to the moon, and perhaps ultimately, to the other planets of the universe. On earth, too, we enjoy ever-better homes, food, clothing, schools, cars, and other good things of life.

In such a miraculous age then, our heads, at times, may be in the stars; however, we must "keep our feet on the ground." Why? Despite great benefit—much still unknown—from such progress, there are also serious built-in problems. These must be resolved: If we are to adequately meet the needs of our people; if we are to maintain a strong, forward-striding nation; and if we are to create and preserve peace in the world.

AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK

First, let us take a look at agriculture. According to the Secretary of Agriculture, we—in the next 20 years—will be feeding 77 million more people on 50 million acres less land than is now in production.

Normally, high efficiency and productivity would—and should—be considered a great

national asset—not a liability—as, indeed, for the most part, it is. Unfortunately, however, inadequate consumption, lack of effective distribution channels, and too little effort to utilize farm commodities for commerce—industrial purposes have resulted in:

A national surplus stockpile of about $9 billion worth of farm commodities, including now about 93 million pounds of cheese, 376 million pounds of butter, and 472 million pounds of dry milk.

Too-low returns to farmers for the sale of produce—even though the farmer, himself, has to meet ever-higher taxes and costs of labor, machinery and equipment, and general operations of the farm; and for the future, other serious readjustments in farm life itself.

Now, what can be done?

In Congress, the outlook for miracle-type, problem-solving legislation is extremely dim.

Recently, the House of Representatives passed its version of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962.

As of now, the Senate bill is still pending.

In general, the Senate Agriculture Committee recommended legislation to create a revised land-use program, including: Permanent agricultural conservation programs on a national basis; assistance to producers under long-term agreements (not to exceed 15 years) to conserve and develop soil, water, forest, wildlife, and recreational resources; appropriations would be restricted to $10 million annually. A loan program to State and local public agencies for carrying out more effective land utilization programs; special assistance for Federal participation in installation costs of recreation projects and in land costs for fish, wildlife and other purposes.

The committee also recomended extension of the existing law relating to feed grains; a modified wheat program; revised laws for shipping surplus food abroad; liberalization of farm credit; and expanding research for industrial uses of agricultural products.

The pending bill, then, contains some highly controversial provisions—particularly those relating to extending Federal control.

Consequently, the outcome at this point is unpredictable.

Regrettably, the outlook for price improving legislation for dairying—of major interest to Wisconsin—however, is extremely poor. To the contrary, the existing policies have resulted in (a) greater surpluses, and (b) lower prices. As things stand now, there is little hope for immediate legislative action for improving the dairy farm income—significant, of course, not only to the farmer, but to the whole economy, particularly that depending upon farm buying power.

For the days ahead, we need, then, a more realistic, imaginative and creative effort to improve the outlook in agriculture. Among the proposals I included the following:

1. Expanding rsearch, as I mentioned, for greater industrial-commercial utilization of dairly and other farm commodities.

2. Greater utilization of food, as a strategic weapon in the cold war.

3. Establishment of an Advisory Production Board within the Department of Agriculture—utilizing existing, not hiring new, personnel. The purpose would be to provide better guidance to farmers in long-range production planning.

4. Promoting greater efforts to sell, not just give away—food elsewhere in the world. As of now, about two-thirds of the world is hungry. During World War II, you—the Wisconsin and American farmer—produced food for the people of many nations. Why can't we try this now? The idea would be to explore for contracts—by individuals, organizations, and government—for the sale of food to nations that have an inadequate food supply. Wisconsin, for example, could well supply a whole country with high-quality milk and other dairy products, for 1, 2, 5 or 10 years. Unfortunately, a great many of the food deficient countries are poor. Nevertheless, the available resources could be invested in no better way than providing healthful food for their people.

5. Finally, early completion of the family farm study—now underway by the Department of Agriculture—is essential. The purpose would be to help solve some of the great problems, particularly those confronting the farm family in the years ahead.

MUTUAL FARM-CITY INTERESTS

As a nation, we—after a long time, perhaps too long—are also realizing that farm-city interests are mutual—not conflicting. Realistically, a dynamic, forward-moving economy depends upon: Greater town-farm cooperation on community-wide development projects; stimulating greater industrial growth in both city and rural communities; expanding rural development programs for improving the economic outlook in chronically low-income areas; improvement in rural buying power, of course, affects the growth and development of local villages and towns; and improving town planning, development and administration to better meet the needs of the citizens.

GETTING OUT OF THE RUT

Unfortunately, we, as citizens, farmers, businessmen, professionals, teachers, conservationists, sportsmen: all of us—often get into a rut—adhering to, and practicing, outworn and outmoded ideas.

For this reason, we need, from time to time, to take a new look at ourselves; to reevaluate our progress; to reassess our potential; and to determine whether or not we are best utilizing our citizen and community resources to serve the well-being of our people and promoting progress.

How could this be done? Possibly by:

First. Reestablish the town-meeting-type council—for farm; for city; for farm-city groups and then appoint special community committees to undertake the following action: Study economic problems and trends; reevaluate the pace, and direction, of progress; consider alternative steps for solving problems and getting ahead faster; and encourage local citizens to pool efforts, material, and finances to undertake needed projects.

Second. In attempting to speed up progress, obtain guidance and assistance from the available outside sources, such as: State agencies, educational institutions, bureaus of business research; bureaus of economic research; etc.; the Area Redevelopment Administration of the Department of Commerce; the Small Business Administration; agricultural or conservation programs that may be applicable to local problems; and rural development programs, particularly in developing farm-village projects for mutual benefit.

Third. After determining the needs of the community, and establishing plans to promote progress, there must be efforts to mobilize the people, in spirit and action, as well as resources, for promoting economic and other types of progress.

ECONOMIC ILLITERACY

Historically, free enterprise—the establishing and successful operation of business—has represented a fundamental working principle of action, of progress, of our way of life.

Over the years, however, we have gradually diminished our appreciation of the significance of our economic system to our progress and security.

How then, can we better understand and strengthen free enterprise?

This can, I believe, be done by the following steps:

1. By better educating our citizens, adult, and in school, of the significance and working principles of our economic system.

2. By encouraging more people, not only to understand and appreciate—but also confidently invest in—enterprises, small and large, serving as a hub of economic life for a community.

3. By undertaking renewed efforts to brighten the economic prospects for enterprise, over 95 percent of which fall into the category of small business, such as: by encouraging community support of community development corporations to provide financing for necessary projects; formation of farm, small business and other type pools—to undertake research, tackle production problems too large for single operations, or shoot for higher goals; cooperative efforts to foster new enterprises under the area redevelopment program—now beginning to get underway in Wisconsin and elsewhere; by reawakening our citizens' enterprising spirit, full of faith and confidence, to improve the economic status of existing, and creating new enterprises for a strong, free economy.

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## The Albany Struggle for Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on August 1, I returned from Albany, Ga., and reported my findings to the House. I went to Albany at the request of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. One of the most impressive persons I met in Albany was Dr. William G. Anderson, the leader of the Albany movement. The aims of this movement and the real meaning of the events in Albany were eloquently explained by Dr. Anderson in a "Meet the Press" interview on July 29. Excerpts from this interview were reprinted on August 5, 1962, in the New York Post. I wish to bring these excerpts to the attention of my colleagues with the hope that they will recognize the immense importance of the Albany struggle for liberty:

SOME ANSWERS FROM ALBANY, GA.

(Because Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was jailed in Albany, Ga., shortly before he was to appear on NBC's "Meet the Press" last Sunday, he was replaced by Dr. William G. Anderson, leader of the Albany movement for desegregation. Questioning Dr. Anderson were James A. Wechsler, editor of the Post's editorial page; James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond, Va., News Leader; Edwin Newman, of NBC News, and regular panelist Lawrence E. Spivak. Excerpts from the discussion follow.)

SPIVAK. Dr. Anderson, you have made very little progress toward desegregation in Albany with these demonstrations. Have you accomplished anything at all, in your judgment?

ANDERSON. I think we have accomplished a good deal, not so much materially, but we have accomplished a good deal so far as the individual Negro is concerned. He has a new sense of dignity and respect that heretofore has not been made manifest, and this, I believe, will be the ultimate salvation of the Negro in the South.

SPIVAK. Governor Vandiver of Georgia recently blamed the trouble in Albany on Reverend King and what he called outsiders.

What do you think would happen to your movement if Dr. King went back to Atlanta and the other outsiders left?

ANDERSON. Well, in the first place we do not consider Dr. King and Dr. Abernathy and the other civil rights fighters who have come into our midst as being outsiders. They are disciples of peace; they are disciples of freedom and liberty and justice, and they go wherever there is a need, and we certainly feel as though there was such a need in the city of Albany.

SPIVAK. What do you think would happen though, if they left Albany?

ANDERSON. I think that the Albany nonviolent movement would be further frustrated, because Dr. King and his advocates of nonviolent resistance have kept it on a nonviolent plane.

SPIVAK. You and the other Negro leaders of Albany keep saying that all you want is negotiation. Is that really so? Is it negotiation you want or are you seeking acceptance of your demands for desegreation?

ANDERSON. We recognize the fact that complete desegregation cannot occur overnight? There has to be a starting place, and certainly we feel that an opportunity to talk face to face with the city commission concerning the issues would be a reasonable starting place. We seek to desegregrate all of the public facilities in the city of Albany and we feel that this is essential if we are to maintain the democratic status for the United States.

SPIVAK. The late William Faulkner once said this to the Negroes of the South: "Stop now for a moment. You have shown the southerner what you can do and what you will do if necessary. Give him a space in which to get his breath and assimilate that knowledge." What do you think will happen in Albany if you take that advice now?

ANDERSON. I think the Negro has been patient long enough. It has been nearly a hundred years since the Emancipation Proclamation. The Negro has been afforded few of the rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution. Why should he wait any longer for these constitutionally guaranteed rights?

WECHSLER. There have been many suggestions by your associates and supporters that the Kennedy administration ought to be doing something about the situation in Albany. But could you tell us what in your view the concrete measures are that the administration can take without total and capricious intervention in the affairs of a State?

ANDERSON. I feel there has been sufficient indication of violation of constitutional law that the President could delegate the responsibility to a member of his Cabinet to go to Albany and investigate firsthand just where constitutional law has been violated. Moreover, I feel the President can make a firm statement himself as regards the matter.

WECHSLER. Do you mean to suggest that there has been no investigative apparatus there? It was at least 2 or 3 weeks ago that the President announced that he was notifying the Attorney General to conduct such an investigation at the time Dr. King was imprisoned on a previous occasion. Have you not been conscious of the presence of investigative representatives? Has the FBI not been functioning?

ANDERSON. The FBI has been present and they have been conducting investigations as directed by the Attorney General, I do believe. However, as a result of their investigations I see nothing concrete that has been done. I have not heard of a report being made to the President and any directed action coming from the President as a result.

WECHSLER. How do you explain the conduct of the local law enforcement officials if they feel that they are under the surveillance of the FBI?

ANDERSON. I believe that the power structure in Albany is more determined now than ever to stop the civil rights movement. It has been demonstrated most vividly that the power structure in Albany, as is demonstrated throughout the South, carries very little respect for constitutional law so far as the application is concerned in the just treatment for Negroes.

KILPATRICK. Let me ask about the events of the past few days. Can you tell us something about the incident Friday afternoon when you and Dr. King and others were arrested?

ANDERSON. We were immediately in front of the city hall near the curb on the sidewalk. We were standing there in silent prayer with our heads bowed. We were seeking to get an audience with the city commission that had repeatedly and consistently denied us an audience.

KILPATRICK. Didn't they tell you they would give you an audience at the proper time and under the proper circumstances, that sort of response?

ANDERSON. We feel that the proper time and the proper place should be predicated upon the circumstances which exist. And we certainly feel the circumstances surrounding our necessity to go before city hall and pray were of sufficient moment that they should have called an emergency session.

KILPATRICK. Were you in fact disturbing the peace, blocking the sidewalk?

ANDERSON. Absolutely not. As a matter of fact we were merely exercising a constitutionally guaranteed right, that to carry our protest to the source.

KILPATRICK. But don't you agree that the right of petition can in some way be regulated as, for example, not to block the sidewalks?

ANDERSON. I agree with you wholeheartedly. That is why we put forth an effort not to block the sidewalks, not to create any disturbance.

KILPATRICK. You had, in fact, invited the arrest, had you not? Didn't Dr. King want to get back in jail?

ANDERSON. Well, if exercising a constitutionally guaranteed right was inviting arrest, yes, we invited arrest.

KILPATRICK. But as a matter of showmanship he wanted to get back to jail. Didn't he resent being released from jail earlier this year? So he is there by his own choice.

ANDERSON. Out of conscience, he is there.

KILPATRICK. And out of showmanship, also.

ANDERSON. Not showmanship; he has a sincere desire to make the sacrifice in the name of freedom.

NEWMAN. What proportion of the Negro population of Albany would you say is interested in this matter?

ANDERSON. I would say 100 percent of the Negroes are interested in this civil rights revolt.

NEWMAN. How many are actively interested? How many do anything about it?

ANDERSON. Well, if you are to judge by the attendance at our mass meetings, there are as many as 2,000 to 3,000 people regularly attending, and if they represent as many families we would say safely as many as 10,000 to 12,000 Negroes are actively participating.

NEWMAN. Among these people what would you say the frame of mind is? For example, is there any inclination in Albany among Negroes to join the Black Muslim movement?

ANDERSON. Absolutely not. And as long Dr. Martin Luther King and the other advocates of nonviolent resistance stay in Albany there will be no tendency or leaning toward the Black Muslim movement.

SPIVAK. Suppose the city officials did negotiate with you and came to the conclusion, wrong or right, that they felt your minimum demands were too much and they did not want to grant any of them. Would you stop your demonstrations? Are you really asking for negotiations or are you making demands of desegregatin?

ANDERSON. We are asking for meaningful negotiations and I think the conditions surrounding the initiation of negotiations would determine whether or not these negotiations would be in good faith and whether they would be sufficient to warrant a cessation of the demonstrations at this time.

WECHSLER. Dr. Anderson, would you tell us approximately when you first sought the meetings with the city commission on this point?

ANDERSON. We sought to meet with the city commission as early as February 1961, before there was any Albany movement, and before there were any "outside agitators."

WECHSLER. Have you ever obtained any such meetings in that period?

ANDERSON. No. As a matter of fact when I first went before the city commission asking for the establishment of a biracial commission to study means of peacefully desegregating public facilities I was told flatly there was no common ground for agreement.

KILPATRICK. Let me ask about some aspects of the nonviolence. The Associated Press reported on July 25 a sullen, jeering crowd of 2,000 Negroes blocked the street Tuesday night following the arrest of 40 demonstrators who had sought to march on city hall. The Negroes hooted, laughed and threw bottles, bricks and rocks. One policeman was struck by a rock and another missile hit a State trooper on the jaw, knocking out two teeth. It isn't altogether nonviolent.

ANDERSON. So far as the Albany movement itself is concerned, it is nonviolent.

KILPATRICK. Having sown the wind, are you a little surprised to have reaped any sort of whirlwind in return?

ANDERSON. Well, it is not surprising that there would be an element of violence within a community the size of Albany when there are this many people participating.

SPIVAK. Dr. Anderson, Governor Rockefeller, in a telegram to the Justice Department yesterday, asked the Federal Government to insure the safety of Dr. King. Is Dr. King in any danger at all? Is he being mistreated or is his life in danger or is this just a political telegram?

ANDERSON. Dr. King has not been mistreated as an individual, and it may be satisfying to some to know that he is afforded all the forces of the police department in protecting him. But other prisoners have been mistreated. A prisoner was beaten just yesterday. He was beaten very badly in the jail. One of the white persons who was participating in our protest demonstrations was put in a cell with other white prisoners and the police officers allegedly stated when they were placing him in the cell. "Here is a nigger lover." And this provoked the beating of this demonstrator.

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## The Washington World Presents Comprehensive Report on Committee Staffing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the July 31 edition of the Washington World carried a comprehensive roundup of

articles on all phases of the issue of committe staffing in the Congress with the emphasis upon the imbalance which exists between the number of minority and majority staff members.

Those of us who are concerned about this issue and are making an effort to bring about a better balance, are particularly indebted to James R. Galbraith and the World editors for this objective study. The articles in the July 31 edition were carried under these headlines: "Committee Staffs Too Democratic, GOP Says"; "Leaders Loaf, Democrats Laugh at Plight of GOP"; "Constant Harassment Plagues Republicans"; "Resolutions Aim at Cure of Committee Imbalances"; "Republican Life Depends on Adjustment of Committee Staffs, ALGER Declares"; "Democrats Fared Fine in 1953–54."

Under unanimous consent I insert all of the articles at this point in the RECORD:

COMMITTEE STAFFS TOO DEMOCRATIC, GOP SAYS: LACK OF PARTISAN PERSONNEL RESTRICTS REPUBLICAN EFFORTS, MEMBERS CHARGE

(By James R. Galbraith)

"Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, whilst Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work."—WOODROW WILSON.

(NOTE.—Three tables—appearing with the stories on congressional committee staff representation—were prepared by two Members of Congress. Senator CARL T. CURTIS, Republican of Nebraska, compiled the Senate committee figures through a committee-by-committee search. Similarly, Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, Republican of Iowa, compiled figures for the House and Joint committees.)

A handful of Republicans are fighting a bitter war in Congress—and openly wondering why nobody seems to care.

Cause for the agitation is simple enough: these Republicans, realizing their party is in a minority in both the House and Senate, believe the GOP is not receiving adequate numbers or aid on professional committee staffs.

This imbalance of congressional committee staffing—the overwhelming number of Democratic experts as opposed to Republican staffers—is viewed by Senator KENNETH KEATING, Republican of New York, as the "No 1 issue" facing his party. "Cut off its professional aids and a party can be rendered mute," says Senator KEATING.

SENATOR PROUTY ASKS ABOUT ABUSES

Senator WINSTON PROUTY, Republican of Vermont, asks, "If the committee system—the backbone of our operation—is to have ribs (that is, adequate professional staff) on only one side, do we not abuse the greatest body in the world?"

On the House side of Capitol Hill—where the struggle is even more intense—Representative TOM CURTIS, Republican of Missouri, declares, "We're playing with loaded dice."

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, Republican of Iowa, claims Republicans are faced with "an almost impossible and intolerable situation." He's introduced a resolution to provide more minority staff help.

Here's the story on the inside-Congress fight, largely ignored by the Nation's press:

In the House, Representative SCHWENGEL, leading a band of researchers, conducted a committee-by-committee study. He learned that GOP staffmen are outnumbered 461 to 43.

In the Senate, CARL T. CURTIS, Republican, of Nebraska, supplied the rundown—462 Democrats to 39 Republicans.

Democrats outnumbered Republicans, 70 to 2, on joint committee staffs, Representative SCHWENGEL learned.

It adds up to a total of 993 Democrats compared to 84 Republicans—more than 10 to 1—despite the much closer proportion of elected Members to both Houses. In the Senate, Democrats hold the edge, 64 to 36. In the House, it's 262 to 174. Yet, the imbalance on committee staffs jumps as high as 35 to 1.

In the House Education and Labor Committee, there are 45 Democratic staffers. Of the two minority employees, one is a secretary and the other is a labor expert. "It means," says committee member Representative EDGAR W. HIESTAND, Republican, of California, "that the minority must function without an education aid, someone who can help us in preparing for hearings, writing reports and researching the raft of Federal aid-to-education bills swamping our committee."

In the Senate Judiciary Committee, Democratic staffers outnumber Republicans, 146 to 11.

The House Agriculture Committee has only 1 Republican staff aid, compared to 10 for the majority.

The House Ways and Means Committee—the busiest on Capitol Hill with tax, trade and medical care for the aged proposals—has but 4 minority employees while the majority has 17.

The full impact of the imbalance may be seen in the accompanying charts. Republicans, lacking adequate help, are having a tough time presenting their case.

"It's an issue of fairplay," says Representative CURTIS, prime mover of the fight for more minority manpower. "I've told my Democratic friends that even if we Republicans gain control in the November elections, I'll still be in their corner. It's important to the Congress. It isn't healthy the way it is now. The minority must have a voice."

Representative CURTIS and other Republicans are often faced with writing their own minority reports—and, somewhere in their jam-packed schedules, find the research time required to present a solid minority view. This is a task which should be performed by professional staff members.

As Representative CURTIS sees it, the majority-minority imbalance is only one aspect of the problem.

"The major problem is for Congress to hold its head up in conflict with the executive branch," he says. "The Congress must remain independent of the executive. We must have adequate staffs to weigh and appraise executive proposals."

The Missouri Congressman favors better staffs for everybody. On his Ways and Means Committee, Representative CURTIS found that not one staff person covers social security or unemployment insurance programs on a full-time basis. It means that technical information must be obtained from the executive branch, "the people who are pleading for the legislation."

Interlocked in the struggle to correct the staff imbalance is the struggle to get the Republican leadership in Congress to take bold actioh.

"CHARLIE HALLECK in the House and EV DIRKSEN in the Senate just won't budge," says one disappointed freshman Republican Congressman. "We can't build a fire under them. We can't correct this horrible staff problem unless the leadership seizes some initiative."

One of the reasons the leadership hasn't grabbed the ball is because of a column by syndicated Columnist Roscoe Drummond, which appeared early last year. In pointing to the staff imbalance, Drummond wrote, "They (the Republicans) are permitting the majority to rule them off the course."

House Minority Leader HALLECK was sore. "His first reaction was resentful," one of his aids admitted. "He thought Drummond's article reflected on his (poor) leadership."

Senator DIRKSEN, too, was upset over the article by Drummond who is the only national reporter who has interested himself in this backstage congressional struggle.

Drummond, writing in a vacuum of media silence, calls the representation problem a scandal of national proportions which goes to the very vitals of our two-party system.

Some Republican Congressmen are becoming keenly disappointed with Leader HALLECK. "He apparently just wants to trade Cadillacs rather than come face to face with a serious threat to our party," one Republican said.

Meantime, Representative CURTIS and others are whipping up comment. Representative SCHWENGEL and Senator CURTIS hope for broad support for their resolutions to allow for more minority staff representation.

All concede that a chance for corrective action this session of Congress looks bleak, but they hope to lay the groundwork for a major revamping when the Congress reshapes itself in January.

*Joint committee staffs*

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| Atomic Energy | 20 | 0 |
| Defense Production | 5 | 0 |
| Disposition of Executive Papers | 0 | 0 |
| Economic | 16 | 1 |
| Internal Revenue Taxation | 19 | 0 |
| Library | 0 | 0 |
| Printing | 8 | 1 |
| Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures | 2 | 0 |
| Total | 70 | 2 |

LEADERS LOAF, DEMOCRATS LAUGH AT PLIGHT OF GOP

Just what the leadership's role is in the squabble over adequate minority staff representation on congressional committees has been the center of much comment in the cloakrooms on Capitol Hill.

Republicans anxious to see some changes say the Republican leadership is dragging its feet. And they say the Democrats, obviously elated over a 10 to 1 staff majority, aren't about to make any changes—at least, not without considerable pressure.

Representative HALLECK, Republican, of Indiana, House minority leader, prefers to work "behind the scenes." So does the Republican's Senate leader, EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois. Other Republicans want them to move to the forefront.

NO EFFORT MADE TO CORRECT IMBALANCE

Representative HALLECK says he is not making any general attempts to correct present imbalances. He wants ranking Republican members on committee to effect their own changes.

Senator DIRKSEN recently took a more direct look-see into the problem. He and Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, Democratic floor leader, have asked the Library of Congress' Legislative Reference Service to compile a listing of majority-minority staffing on Senate committee. They apparently are unwilling to accept Senator CURTIS' study, which showed Democrats outnumbering the Republican staffers by 462 to 39. On the Hill, the Library of Congress would like to get off the hook. The issue is becoming sensitive and Library insiders do not want to damage the independent status the Library has retained through changing administrations. The leaders set a deadline on the study for January, which indicates any action is probably months away.

The leaders of the fight for change, however, are unhappy with the leadership's apparent lack of concern. They feel the Republican leadership must step boldly before decisive action is taken. Things are done through channels in Congress and the

most important channel is the leadership route.

Former President Eisenhower recognizes this. Here is what he recently wrote to one Republican House Member, who is upset over the party leadership:

"I am very much in sympathy with your hope of securing adequate Republican staff help on congressional committees." Eisenhower added, however, "I suspect that anything constructive to be done in this field would have to be done through the leadership."

Several Republican Congressmen view the issue as going a step beyond simple partisanship. It is both Republican views in general and conservative views in particular that are stunted and shunted by the staff imbalance. Affected, they say, are both Congressmen and all groups or persons who might try to place conservative views before committees.

In the House, where several Congressmen are pressing for swift remedial action, Democrats are reluctant to even admit there is an imbalance.

In what could be called a recent test case, however, Democrats in the Senate turned back a bid by Senator CARL CURTIS, Republican, of Nebraska, to provide more minority staffing. Senator CURTIS offered an amendment to a money resolution providing that for every 10 employees of Senate investigating committees the minority party would be entitled to 1. After debate, his amendment was rejected by a straight party line vote of 55 to 30.

*Senate committee staffs*

| | Democrats | Republicans |
|---|---|---|
| Astronautics and Science | 11 | 1 |
| Agriculture and Forestry | 6 | 1 |
| Appropriations | 33 | 3 |
| Armed Services | 25 | 1 |
| Banking and Currency | 17 | 3 |
| Commerce | 27 | 3 |
| District of Columbia | 7 | 1 |
| Finance | 5 | 1 |
| Foreign Affairs | 28 | 0 |
| Government Operations | 44 | 4 |
| Interior and Insular Affairs | 17 | 1 |
| Judiciary | 146 | 11 |
| Labor and Public Welfare | 28 | 4 |
| Post Office and Civil Service | 10 | 1 |
| Public Works | 11 | 2 |
| Rules and Administration | 10 | 1 |
| Small Business | 18 | 0 |
| Aging | 19 | 1 |
| Total | 462 | 39 |

*House committee staffs*

| | Democrats | Republicans |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 10 | 1 |
| Appropriations | 48 | 13 |
| Armed Services | 15 | 0 |
| Banking and Currency | 12 | 2 |
| District of Columbia | 8 | 1 |
| Education and Labor | 45 | 2 |
| Foreign Affairs | 15 | 0 |
| Government Operations | 46 | 3 |
| House Administration | 4 | 2 |
| Interior and Insular Affairs | 7 | 2 |
| Interstate and Foreign Commerce | 25 | 0 |
| Judiciary | 42 | 1 |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries | 8 | 1 |
| Post Office and Civil Service | 16 | 0 |
| Public Works | 40 | 5 |
| Rules | 2 | 1 |
| Science and Astronautics | 16 | 0 |
| Un-American Activities | 15 | 1 |
| Veterans' Affairs | 12 | 2 |
| Ways and Means | 17 | 4 |
| Select—Small Business | 18 | 2 |
| Select—Export Control | 4 | 0 |
| Total | 461 | 43 |

### CONSTANT HARASSMENT PLAGUES REPUBLICANS

Some of the uproar over committee staffing has been precipitated by harassments.

Representative TOM CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, says, "This harassment is continual." He cited the example on the Joint Economic Committee, of which he is a member.

"First, a partisan Democract was hired, who is incompetent and unqualified. After considerable argument, we finally succeeded in getting a minority staffman. But what happened? It took us 2 weeks to get him an office.

"Then, we acquired a secretary and it was a problem of telephones. Furthermore, information has been concealed from the minority personnel."

An example of almost overpowering harassment can be found with the House Education and Labor Committee, chaired by Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York.

Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, Republican, of New Jersey, a committee member, says the staff has been enlarged to twice its size a year ago. He adds, "Unfortunately, the increase in the size of the committee staff has not resulted in any additional strength for the benefit of the minority members of the committee."

The Education and Labor Committee has almost 50 employees, with an authorization to spend $633,000. All of the employees, except two, owe their jobs and loyalty to the majority.

Representative FRELINGHUYSEN said Chairman POWELL advised the minority that unless long-distance calls were approved in writing by the chief clerk, the calls would be charged to the individual making the call. The chairman also advised the minority that if the chief clerk was not notified, the charges would then be doubled. Copies of wires and cablegrams also must be filed with the majority.

Then, Representative POWELL advised the minority that it would have to yield the rooms which it had held since 1949; the swelling majority staff needed more space. Ranking Republican member CARROLL KEARNS promptly staged a sitdown strike. He won a battle, but not the war.

Representative POWELL advised Representative KEARNS that a minority clerk would be released. Although protested, one of the minority's two experts then on the payroll was of necessity, not by the desire of the minority, transferred to the majority payroll in lieu of having his services terminated. The Republicans had lost their education staffman on the Education Committee and they haven't been given one yet.

Representative CURTIS believes there are nonpartisan or bipartisan staff people, but says much of the trouble is caused by the fact that these people are directed by majority staff directors.

"If a staffman is paid by the majority, it obviously follows that he owes allegiance to the people who provide his pay."

### RESOLUTIONS AIM AT CURE OF COMMITTEE IMBALANCES

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, Republican, of Iowa, is quick to point out that there are some committees that are "truly bipartisan or nonpartisan and where the minority is very well satisfied."

He says it is why he has written into his bill, House Resolution 570, a provision so that those staffs and arrangements would not be altered.

"My resolution proposes that when a minority, by a majority vote of the minority, is dissatisfied they may call for arrangements whereby they will be given 40 percent of the professional staff and 40 percent of the clerical staff," he explained.

Senator WINSTON L. PROUTY, Republican, of Vermont, took a different approach with his Senate Resolution 309. It seeks an expression by the full Senate that the rights of the minority should be fairly recognized.

Following the passage of such precedent-setting resolutions, the Rules and Appropriations Committees—in apportioning funds for staff personnel—would presumably recognize that the minority was entitled to "fair representation."

### REPUBLICAN LIFE DEPENDS ON ADJUSTMENT OF COMMITTEE STAFFS, ALGER DECLARES

Representative BRUCE ALGER, Republican, of Texas, believes that an adjustment in the imbalance of congressional committee staffing is vital to the preservation of the Republican Party.

"If we do not have a loyal opposition providing a viewpoint, we're going to see the demise of the party out of power," he says. "The preservation of the two-party system hinges on the correction of staff imbalance. We can't present a viewpoint without a staff."

Former Speaker of the House, Representative JOE MARTIN, Republican, of Massachusetts, takes a similar view. He says his support of more minority representation is "not based on partisanship but because I believe it is in the interest of efficient government and would be helpful to the welfare of the country and would improve the standing of Congress."

Representative MARTIN adds, "Both parties should be adequately prepared to present their views to Congress. The minority should be given an equal chance so that all Members of the House can have available all the facts when they make the decisions.

"The United States is spending huge sums abroad to promote popular government and must not err here at home in failing to spend necessary money to maintain both parties in their work in Congress," Representative MARTIN says.

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who served in the House and Senate, says the staff situation "is as dangerous to responsible democratic government as it is a roadblock to effective party representation."

Nixon claims the issue is not partisan at all. "The shoe, after all, may well be on the other foot as early as January 1963," he wrote to Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, Republican, of Iowa, sponsor of a resolution to gain more minority staff help. Nixon said, "The overriding consideration, all political preferences aside, is simply that democratic governmental processes demand an informed and responsible opposition."

Representative WALTER L. MCVEY, Republican, of Kansas, says: "Constructive and honest opposition is a healthy balance preventing one-sided rule and also preventing any tendency toward improprieties; however, this type of opposition is very difficult to maintain in the Congress where the rights of the minority party are not adequately protected in the committees, which are the workshops of this great body."

Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER, chairman of the Republican National Committee, says: "This is a matter of extreme urgency because the condition is so serious it can undermine the very effectiveness and even routine functions of Republican Members of the House. I am sure we all realize that under our two-party system this wide disparity between Republican and Democratic staff operations is not good for the Nation as a whole."

At its recent meeting in Seattle, the national committee unanimously supported the House resolution which would increase minority staff.

### DEMOCRATS FARED FINE IN 1953–54

How did the Democrats fare on committee staff representation when Republicans were in control of Congress in 1953–54?

Figures are scattered, but most Congressmen and Senators recall that there was not the imbalance which exists today. In 83d Congress (1953–54), for example, the House Education and Labor Committee had a budget of $50,000 and 10 employees, 2 of whom were assigned to the then minority,

the Democrats. Today, that committee has a budget of $633,000 and 17 employees, 2 of whom are assigned to the minority, the Republicans.

The situation of the past, however, is framed in memory.

One Congressman recalls, "When the Republicans had control, they were unbelievably naive. They should have cleaned out the staffs before the Democrats won control again."

## Our Crazy Foreign Giveaway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, many words have been used to describe our crazy foreign giveaway program. About the most accurate description is that it be called Operation Rathole. Unfortunately, the damage this program is doing to us as a nation is not being publicized. Few people realize how many billions of dollars of our money has gone down this "rathole." If the people knew they would become more concerned.

No program has demoralized the whole world more than this program. No program has resulted in hardship and disaster to many of our areas as has this program. We have bled our people with taxes to a breaking point. Our industrial growth is dwarfed because of taxes. The rank and file of our people have little left after taxes to eke out a living. We have almost a thousand communities in our Nation called depressed areas while the money in taxes from these communities builds industry in foreign lands. We have over 5 million unemployed in our Nation while our jobs are being transferred overseas to people who burn down our embassies and spit at our Nation's leaders and call us vile names.

Even the Communists get their share of billions of these dollars while our own people are taxed to death. Just about one-fourth of our billions under this program winds up in Communists' hands. Yet, we are spending almost $50 billion to defend ourselves against communism. When one really knows how the foreign aid program works, you wonder if we are really trying to help the Communists or stop them.

Do you want to take over a country for the Communists? If you do, just apply for foreign aid. Castro did it that way. The money and guns he used to take over Cuba he got from our foreign giveaway program. He got far more than he needed. We paid the cost of the Communist take over in Cuba.

Do you want to serve Khrushchev in the United Nations, among the neutrals, and all over the world? If you do, apply for foreign aid. Tito did and still does just that. He got over $3 billion from our foreign giveaway program. Whenever Khrushchev needs a friend, Tito always speaks up for him, be it the Hungarian massacre or excusing Khrushchev for violating the nuclear testing moratorium.

Do you want to buy a wife or several wives? If you do, move to Africa and apply for foreign aid. To soothe the leaders our foreign-aid money has actually been used for that purpose.

Do you want air-conditioned Cadillacs for your harem? If you do, move to the Middle East and apply for foreign aid. This has happened in nations receiving money from our foreign giveaway program.

Do you want to stash away millions in a Swiss bank so that you can be secure for the rest of your life? If you do, move to South America, take over a country and apply for foreign aid. Even if you last a few days as ruler, from our foreign aid program you can stash away millions in a Swiss bank under a number so that no one will ever find out. About half the money we gave South America under this crazy program has wound up in a Swiss bank.

Do you want to sleep in an $18,000 gold-plated bed? If you do, move to Africa and apply for foreign aid. This has happened in one of the new African nations, now friendly with Khrushchev. There is no limit to the demoralization that this foreign giveaway program has inspired.

Do you want to buy $700 million of jet planes from Russia? If you do, go to India and apply for foreign aid. Nehru is getting more than $800 million in the current foreign aid program. At the same time he is negotiating the purchase of $700 million of jetplanes from Russia. This way our money winds up in Khrushchev's hands so that he can get bigger and stronger and make us dance to his music.

Do you want to go to the United Nations and ridicule and insult the United States? Then move to Cuba, Yugoslavia, or any Communist nation and our country will foot the bill. Yes, our Nation has paid the delinquent dues of many Communists nations. We even paid the expenses of Castro's chickens—human and fowl—at that sorry exhibition when he and Khrushchev embraced each other.

I could go on but what's the use. I shall merely point out how we have drained our people of money for a program of the biggest giveaway of all times. Maybe this will help awaken the conscience of our people when they learn the extent of this waste of money.

As a nation, our growth industrially and economically is behind that of every industrial nation on earth. We are way on the bottom in this respect. Even little countries like Denmark and Belgium have surpassed our annual growth. How can we grow when taxes drain our gold and earnings so that there is nothing left to grow with? No wonder we have 5 million unemployed and almost a thousand depressed communities. Our Government has spent 10 times more for industrial development and jobs in foreign lands than it has spent at home for the past 16 years.

We are only 5 percent of the population of the world. Yet we try to carry the whole world on our backs. Our Government owes twice as much as all the nations of the world put together. Yet the giveaway goes on and on.

### SUMMARY OF U.S. GIVEAWAY

In order that the people might know here is a list of the biggest and grandest giveaway in the entire history of all mankind:

TOTAL MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND NONMUTUAL SECURITY

Afghanistan, $275,600,000; Argentina, $1,027,300,000; Austria, $1,618,300,000.

Belgium-Luxembourg $2,166,700,000; Berlin $143,900,000; Bolivia, $286,400,000; Brazil, $3,193,400,000; British-Guiana, $2,600,000; British Honduras, $2,600,000; Burma, $138,900,000.

Cambodia, $298,000,000; Cameroon, $2,400,000; CENTO, $25,000,000; Ceylon, $124,100,000; Chad, $100,000; Chile $904,700,000; China (Republic of), $4,789,600,000; Columbia, $576,100,000; Congo (Brazzaville), $100,000; Congo (Léopoldville), $24,100,000; Costa Rica, $136,700,000; Cuba, $90,500,000; Cyprus, $19,000,000.

Dahomey, $4,200,000; Denmark, $887,400,000; Dominican Republic, $9,400,000.

Ecuador, $139,000,000; El Salvador, $23,400,000; Ethiopia, $228,400,000; France, $11,397,300,000.

Gabon, $100,000; Germany $7,576,900,000; Ghana, $28,700,000; Greece, $3,943,200,000; Guatemala, $207,900,000; Guinea, $5,700,000.

Haiti, $127,700,000; Honduras, $54,300,000.

Iceland, $78,800,000; India, $5,208,300,000; Indochina, $1,535,200,000; Indonesia, $976,100,000; Iraq, $69,900,000; Iran, $1,340,700,000; Ireland, $146,200,000; Israel, $1,211,400,000; Italy, $7,466,800,000; Ivory Coast, $2,100,000.

Jamaica, $11,200,000; Japan, $6,146,800,000; Jordan, $349,500,000.

Kenya $9,500,000; Korea, $6,143 million.

Laos, $372,700,000; Lebanon, $110,500,000; Liberia, $199,200,000; Libya, $243,600,000.

Malagasy, $500,000; Malaya, $24,400,000; Mali, Republic of, $3,100,000; Mauritania, $1,700,000; Mexico, $1,246,500,000; Morocco, $395,500,000.

Nepal, $64,800,000; Netherlands, $2,687,400,000; Nicaragua, $98,400,000; Niger, $2 million; Nigeria, $19,800,000; Norway, $1,159,700,000.

Other British territories, $1,110,000; other French possessions $6 million; other Portuguese possessions, $25,300,000.

Pakistan, $1,982,100,000; Panama, $121,100,000; Paraguay, $68,600,000; Peru, $630,600,000; Philippines, $2,683,700,000; Poland, $967,900,000; Portugal, $436,800,000.

Regional African countries, $22,300,000; regional European, $2,641,500,000; regional Far East, $427,800,000; regional Latin American, $240,500,000; regional south Asia, $773,500,000; Rhodesia and Nyasaland, $55,700,000.

Saudi Arabia, $65,800,000; Senégal, $3,600,000; Sierra Leone, $1,300,000; Somali Republic, $13,400,000; Soviet Union, $500 million; Spain $2,195,600,000; Sudan, $51,200,000; Surinam, $3,400,000; Sweden, $110 million; Syria, $100 million.

Tanganyika, $6,300,000; Thailand, $676,800,000; Togo, $2,700,000; Tunisia, $372 million; Turkey, $3,741,400,000.

Uganda, $1,200,000; United Arab Republic, $684,300,000; United Kingdom, $12,528,300,000; Upper Volta, $2 million; Uruguay, $120,400,000.

Venezuela, $333,600,000; Vietnam, $2,214,200,000.

West Indies, $12,600,000.

Yemen, $25,900,000; Yugoslavia, $3,290,300,000.

Total $121,400,000,000.

And there is $8 billion in the pipeline now being dished out which brings the giveaway close to $130 billion. Even the Soviet Union has not been neglected since 1946 in this greatest giveaway of all time. Note this is after the war since 1946. But remember we gave Russia $13 billion during the war on which she has not paid back one dime. There is $13 billion due us on loans we made during World War I and World War II. Russia will not even sit down and talk about the money due.

UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTES TO WORLD BANKS

Besides our crazy giveaway program, to play the part of a real Santa Claus, the United States has participated in the establishment of seven world banks. By a world bank is meant that the United States puts in the money and the other countries and the people of other countries can borrow. In other words we put the money and the others borrow from it.

To give an idea of the extent of U.S. money involved in the seven world banks, here is the list in order that the people might know.

U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD BANKS

| | *U.S. contribution* |
|---|---|
| Export-Import Bank | $1,000,000,000 |
| International Bank for Reconstruction and Development | 635,000,000 |
| International Monetary Fund | 4,125,000,000 |
| International Finance Corporation | 35,168,000 |
| International Development Association | 320,300,000 |
| Inter-American Development Bank | 450,000,000 |
| Inter-American Social Progress Fund | 394,000,000 |
| Total | 6,959,468,000 |

By way of summary, since 1946, the end of World War II, the United States of America has given away more than $137 billion. If it were not for our building up Communist Russia the way we have, this amount would pay all the expenses of the U.S. Government for almost 5 years. We have spent on an average of $23,500,000 per day for our foreign giveaway program. Every day that has passed since 1946, $23,500,000 of our money has gone into "Operation Rathole."

I NEVER VOTED FOR THIS GIVEAWAY PROGRAM

The people should also know that I have been one of the very few Members of Congress who has never voted for this greatest and grandest giveaway of all time. In fact, if it hadn't been for a strong minority including myself, this program would have cost the taxpayers an additional $20 billion. This is the amount of money that I and a strong minority in Congress have saved the taxpayers of America. By our constant exposure of the waste in this program, this strong minority including myself has been able to cut the requests for our foreign aid applicants. The bright spot is that the people back home must be awakening because just a few weeks ago there were 169 votes against this grandest giveaway. This is a far cry from 18 Congressmen, including myself, who voted against it from 1946 to 1950.

I predict that if the American people learn the facts, this waste of taxpayers money will be ended in the next session of Congress. It's up to the people—they alone can end it. Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev said, "The United States will spend itself into destruction. We will make them pay our bills." Look at the 1,000 depressed communities in our land and it makes one shudder.

CAN WE AFFORD IT?

We can afford it. As explained above, half the problem can be solved by an honest tax-reduction program. One-fourth can be solved by increasing social security and retirement benefits. More can be solved by increasing the limits the retired can earn. The balance can be solved by the State buying nonprofit or private insurance for the aged as is done in Colorado for those who cannot afford it. No one in our Nation should be a pauper or give up his last possession such as house and self-respect to get medicare.

With loss of tax revenue from tax deduction and Federal grants to States, it will total about one and a half billion dollars ($1,500,000,000). I say deduct this one and a half billion from our crazy foreign aid giveaway program. We cannot afford not to do it. If we do this, the actual cost to the taxpayers will be nothing. It will be spent for the good of our own people—not our enemies.

## Israel: Bulwark of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the State of Israel stands out as a shining bulwark of enlightened democracy in the Near East and the one great hope of advancing the future development of this entire area.

Contrast this with Egypt and its President Gamal Abdul Nasser. The people of Egypt today still lie under the throes of economic chaos and misery and the United Arab Republic is struggling to lift itself from a background of poverty and disease that has kept its people living in almost medieval squalor.

We have poured countless millions of dollars into Nasser's Egypt with the hope of aiding his stricken people but most of these funds have gone to develop his military dictatorship. Egypt as the so-called leader of the Arab nations in the Near East area has refused to recognize the existence of the State of Israel and it, along with its other allies, maintain a state of war with this tiny nation. Nasser's latest outburst comes in connection with the announcement that his country now has rocket power to attack the State of Israel.

It seems to me that General Nassar would do well to recognize the facts of life in his region, particularly since in his last attempt to overwhelm the State of Israel, he suffered a crushing defeat. It further seems to me that our State Department would do well to take a good long look at its entire Near Eastern policy, particularly as it concerns our dealing with Mr. Nasser and do all that they can not only to bring about a much-needed peaceful settlement in the Near East but to see to it that the American millions that are poured into Nasser's Egypt are used for the proper purposes.

Israel exists and is here to stay. The sooner Mr. Nasser and his allies recognize this fact the sooner we will finally have peaceful settlement in the Near East and the full benefit of Israel's knowledge and abilities can then be made available to its neighbors for the proper development of this area. Under leave to extend my remarks I include a recent editorial from the New York Journal-American which story points up the remarks I have made.

WHERE AID GOES

Egypt's President Nasser has rattled some new rockets and again indicated he plans—some day—to march on Israel.

Hundreds of millions in U.S. aid have gone to Egypt in recent years and more is on the way. Nasser's latest outburst shows where he spent a lot of it.

This should emphasize, even to the State Department, the fallacy and moral bankruptcy of aiding a government like Nasser's. American policy is apparently dedicated to maintaining peace in the Middle East, yet we continue to assist a dictator who openly proclaims he seeks war.

Nasser bragged his rockets can reach to "just south of Beirut," meaning in Israel. In our opinion he's asking for trouble. He got it once in 1948 and again in 1956, when on both occasions the tough Israelis inflicted a humiliating rout on the Egyptian Army. Nasser could find himself up the Nile without a rocket.

Israel has repeatedly urged the Arabs to sit down and negotiate a settlement, but Nasser, Inc., has vowed some vague day to invade Israel in a war of extermination.

Nasser is not rattling his rockets for defense. He is doing so for aggression—as he openly boasts. When will the State Department realize it cannot buy good will from such a character?

## One Hundred and Seventy-second Anniversary of U.S. Coast Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on August 4, the U.S. Coast Guard observed its 172d anniversary. In 1790, President George Washington, following approval of a bill by Congress, authorized the

construction of "10 boats" to guard the coast against smugglers. Since then, the Coast Guard has grown to 30,000 officers and men, and now comprises a worldwide military service.

To these officers and men—from Wisconsin and across the Nation—and to the great traditions of the Coast Guard, the Nation extends a warm "happy birthday" in gratitude for outstanding performance of unique services.

Recently, the Superior Telegram published an article on the Guard's 172d birthday. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Superior (Wis.) Evening Telegram, July 31, 1962]

U.S. COAST GUARD TO NOTE 172D BIRTHDAY

On Saturday, the U.S. Coast Guard will mark its 172d anniversary as the oldest of the Nation's seagoing armed forces. The Coast Guard, now a worldwide military service with some 30,000 officers and men, was born August 4, 1790, after Congress passed and President George Washington signed a bill authorizing the construction of 10 boats to guard the coast against smugglers.

The Coast Guard received its present famous name in 1915. Prior to that time, this service was known as the Revenue Marine and the Revenue Cutter Service. Despite name changes, the Coast Guard has kept its identity as an organization, and in point of continuous service is considered the oldest of the Nation's seagoing armed forces.

Search and rescue, law enforcement, and military readiness are the primary activities of the modern-day Coast Guard. This service, smallest of the armed forces, is recognized as the world's foremost search and rescue agency. The Coast Guard as a part of the U.S. Treasury Department is the only armed force that has the authority to enforce all Federal laws. In reality, the Coast Guard is the Nation's seagoing police force. Coastguardsmen at all times maintain a state of military readiness. In time of war, or at the direction of the President, the Coast Guard becomes an integral part of the U.S. Navy. During World War II some 170,000 coastguardsmen served their country.

Today many persons are unaware of the many complex duties of the Coast Guard. Many realize that this service operates various lifeboat stations throughout the country ready to assist merchant seamen and pleaseur-boat men in distress. But few are aware that the Coast Guard operates some of the biggest icebreakers in the world, that the Coast Guard has charge of the various navigation aids and lighthouses maintained by the United States. Most persons are grossly unaware that the Coast Guard is a worldwide service. The 30,000 coastguardsmen are stretched from stations in Korea and Japan, across the Pacific Ocean, throughout the United States, across the Atlantic Ocean, and even into the Mediterranean. Various patrols are sent to the Arctic and the Antarctic. Yet, this worldwide service would be unable to completely fill the seats at the Milwaukee County Stadium.

Other activities of the Coast Guard include port security, merchant marine inspections, ocean, weather, and ice patrols, and loran navigation systems used by the Armed Forces and maritime and air commerce of the United States.

Persons interested in the history of the Coast Guard are invited to write for a free 32-page public information booklet. Copies of the booklet may be obtained by writing Coast Guard History, in care of U.S. Coast Guard, 777 North Plankinton Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

## Scotland's John Paul Jones Made Naval History—Became Hero of American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting article by Anthony Cama of Lynn, Mass., in my congressional district, which appeared in the Lynn Sunday Post on July 29, 1962:

SCOTLAND'S JOHN PAUL JONES MADE NAVAL HISTORY—BECAME HERO OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(By Anthony Cama)

(This is another of a series of patriotic articles which have been appearing in the pages of the duty-conscious Lynn Sunday Post. This writer has the solemn responsibility constantly to present to the younger generation of this most unique Nation of ours facts about great men of the past who courageously and unselfishly gave of their lives, health, and possessions to bring freedom to a young, virile, liberty-loving land.)

John Paul Jones, a Revolutionary War hero, was born July 6, 1747, in the parish of Kirkbean, stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Scotland, on the estate of Arbigland, belonging to Robert Craik, a prominent Member of Parliament. His mother was the child of a Highlander, and his father worked as a landscape gardener in Craik's household.

At the age of 12, when most American boys are still going to school and enjoying the fun of sports and TV, John was apprenticed to a shipmaster and taken away to Virginia. From that day on Jones seemed to be a part of the very ocean waves which sang him to sleep or whipped his rugged growing body into a frame of lean muscles and unflinching nerves. He was a third mate on a slaveship, making two profitable but disgusting trips between Jamaica and the Guinea coastal areas of Africa.

BOUGHT OWN SHIP

But he soon became sick of the revolting trade in human lives and took passage aboard the *John* to return to England. On the trip both the captain and first mate died of fever, Jones took over command of the vessel and brought it safely to its destined port. For this splendid act the owners made him master and supercargo. After two voyages to Tobago he purchased a ship, the *Betsy*. He had much trouble with the crew and, when they mutinied, managed to survive and be victorious by killing the ringleader in a battle. Then, according to history, Jones vanished from the island and finally appeared in Philadelphia, holding in his possession a commission as a senior lieutenant in the new Continental Navy.

It is said that in Virginia he met the influential Joseph Hewes, a member of the Marine Committee of Congress, who, overwhelmed by Jones' nautical skill and courageous reputation, procured for him his Navy commission in 1775.

CANNY ABILITY

The first assignment for Jones was to arm and man the ship *Alfred*, which he commanded in an expedition under the able Commander Hopkins. This naval force attacked New Providence in the Bahama Islands, and here Jones' canny familiarity with the waters and reefs thereabout proved to be a major reason for the success of the attack. This dauntless man of Scotland was to prove a most audacious and valiant navigator and seafighter.

In May, 1776, Jones received command of the *Providence*, handling his responsible convoy duty with great nautical skill to bring supplies to the defense of the battle area of New York. After this tour of duty he was given his captain's commission and allowed to sail on his own initiative between Bermuda and Nova Scotia, attacking any worthwhile craft. In 48 days of seeking and searching with the *Providence*, six brigantines, one ship, and one sloop were taken, and six schooners, one ship, and one brigantine destroyed. This was an amazing feat by the redoubtable Scot.

MASSES OF ICE

Again, in November, this amazing man sailed for Newfoundland in the *Alfred*, overcoming obstacles of ice and fog. One of his unhappy periods was the failure to release Americans imprisoned on the Isle Royale. Time and time again he was forced to retreat from the crushing, slashing masses of floating ice.

In anger and frustration he sailed aggressively in those waters, burning fish warehouses along the Arcadian coast and overpowering four important enemy transports, one of which was loaded with valuable clothing, and supplies for Burgoyne's army. On the way home he charged directly at a 16-gun privateer out of Liverpool and captured it with minimum losses to his crew. Out of Boston Harbor he was in great danger from the British frigate *Milford* but in the rapidly descending darkness lured her away from his string of prizes and then very cleverly outsailed her.

Jones was given a wonderful welcome and reception by the American people for these deeds of courage and distinction, but this was dampened by the pathetic attempt of Congress to apportion Navy commanders for each colony. In the shuffling about of the names Jones found himself 18th and on the lower end of the list.

"BON HOMME RICHARD"

Finally, after many political maneuvers, he was given command of the *Ranger*, which he altered into a fast ship. On November 1, 1777, he sailed for France with dispatches for the American commissioners, announcing the surrender of Burgoyne. In France he was stymied for months, since France was not yet ready to make a clean break with Britain.

At last, the great diplomat and patriot, Benjamin Franklin, procured for him the command of an old French ship, which Jones rehabilitated and named *"Bon Homme Richard"* in honor of the author of "Poor Richard's Almanac." On the way back to France later a large fleet of British merchantmen was discovered, escorted by the powerfully armed *Serapis* and the sloop *Countess of Scarborough*. The *Alliance* deserted abandoning the fuming Jones to what appeared to be a sure trap of destruction. It was a clear night, with a brilliant moon illuminating the ocean and the vessels so clearly that men could be counted in the crow's nests.

TOOK "SERAPIS"

For three hours and a half the thunderous roar of guns shook the ocean waves September 23, 1779. Flashes spit out serpent tongues of flame through the night. Here more than ever this magnificient Scot, a Hercules of the sea, showed his superior fighting ability, for the desperate battle soon ended with the English commander asking for quarter. The *Bon Homme Richard* was so severely damaged and gutted that she sank the next day. Jones and his men took the *Serapis* and brought it to France, where the French nation went wild with acclaim and festive receptions.

Jones was brought to the court of Louis XVI, who made him a chevalier of France and gave him a gold sword. In 1787 he returned to America and was cheered and hon-

ored by Congress, where he also received a gold medal in recognition of his distinguished service.

In 1781, upon request of Catherine the Great and upon the advice of Jefferson, he went to Russia to help that powerful queen build a stronger and more modern navy. He was made an admiral and fought victorious sea battles in the Black Sea against the Turks. Credit for these victories were taken by his subordinates, who sent in false reports. Soon jealous officers managed to have him transferred out of that area by maliciously assailing his character and private life.

BODY BROUGHT HERE

He returned to France, disappointed and in ill health. On July 19, 1792, at the age of 45, the splendid, unforgettable Scotsman died. He was buried in the St. Louis Cemetery for foreign Protestants in Paris and was forgotten until Ambassador Porter in 1905 instituted a systematic search for the body. It was found, and, when identified beyond any doubt, a fleet of U.S. warships escorted it home with great ceremonial pomp. In 1913 it was placed in a crypt of the beautiful Navy chapel at Annapolis in belated recognition of this Scot's invaluable services for the preservation of liberty and freedom in his beloved adopted land.

This is the story to remember of a young lad from Scotland, who, in his unswerving love of human dignity and human rights, fought constantly against the titanic might of the British Navy. He made great sacrifices of personal gain and aggrandizement and finally gave his very health and life that this glorious land of ours could be preserved and endure as the inviolate shelter of all the hungry, hopeful, courageous peoples languishing under the despotism of the Old World.

## Welcome to Jamaica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, we citizens of the United States welcome our new sister republic Jamaica, which becomes our newest Western Hemisphere nation today.

Best wishes to Jamaica and her fine people for peace and progress. I hope for continued friendship and mutual good will with our people of the United States. Three cheers for Jamaica.

I include the following article from the Washington Star of August 6, 1962:

JAMAICA BECOMES NATION

Jamaica became the newest nation of the Western Hemisphere today to the thunderous cheers of Jamaicans in a ceremony watched by Princess Margaret and Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

The petite princess, in dazzling icy white gown and tiara, was solemn as Britain's Union Jack came fluttering down and another of the empire's colonies broke away.

As 25,000 stood in National Stadium, massed bands played "God Save the Queen," a reminder that this calypso island remains a member of the British Commonwealth after 307 years of British rule.

Jamaica's gold, green, and black standard was run up.

EMOTIONAL MOMENTS

These were emotional moments for Britons who long had lived on this Caribbean Island. The Jamaica Regiment's tattered banner was lowered in royal salute to Princess Margaret.

Massed Commonwealth military units were drawn up on the grass infield of the stadium.

The Princess seemed to sense the feelings of her fellow countrymen. When the massed bands began playing, she arose and slowly moved over to her husband, Lord Snowden, who was standing on the platform several chairs away. She stared straight ahead.

This is a national holiday and no work is being done, but tomorrow the 50-member Parliament meets for the first time to begin the work of an independent nation.

Mr. JOHNSON, who was accompanied here by his wife, told cheering Jamaicans yesterday afternoon President Kennedy had sent him "because of friendship which will grow and prosper with our independence." Earlier he announced a $75,000 U.S. Government scholarship fund had been set up for Jamaican students.

UNION LEADERS CHEERED

The crowd also cheered when William C. Daugherty, vice president of the AFL–CIO, told them the labor movement pays no attention to the color of a man's skin. It also reacted enthusiastically when Serafino Romualdi, special envoy of the AFL–CIO, said the union would press for quota-free immigration from Jamaica to the United States.

Jamaica has long had a wide degree of autonomy, except over international relations and defense. Now it will assume these responsibilities.

Its government is headed by 6-foot-2 Sir William Alexander Bustamante, 78-year-old veteran of island politics, who became Prime Minister after an upset election victory last spring over his cousin, Norman Manley.

Sir William has proclaimed his new nation to be pro-American, Christian, and anti-Communist, and hopes to gain entry into the Organization of American States as well as the United Nations.

## Insight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, as the Members are aware, California has the most productive agriculture in the United States and the most informed and alert farm organizations. One of these is the Council of California Growers, which has recently undertaken the publication of a report called Insight, which comments on various aspects of California agriculture. One of such reports is dated July 10, 1962, and deals with five myths relating to agriculture. I submit this worthy document for the consideration of the membership.

The article follows:

INSIGHT

SAN FRANCISCO.—What city dwellers think about the people who grow their foods and fibers has been the object of continuing research by the Council of California Growers.

Today, the Council listed five major "myths" revealed in a statewide opinion survey, and compared them with facts developed independently and by such organizations as Stanford Research Institute and the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics at the University of California, Berkeley.

Myth No. 1: That agriculture no longer is an important part of the State's economy.

Fact: California farmers last year produced $3.2 billion in new wealth—greater than the value of all gold mined in California since 1849—and bought $2.2 billion worth of manufactured products and services. The added value generated by the processing, transporting, distributing, and selling of California's farm products last year is estimated by the Giannini Foundation at well above $10 billion.

Myth No. 2: That all California farmers are subsidized.

Fact: More than 95 percent of the 200 or more crops grown commercially in California receive no subsidy at all. Subsidies represented only 2.2 percent of the $3.2 gross value of California farm production in 1961.

Myth No. 3. That large, corporate farming is replacing the family-type farm and that bigness is bad.

Fact: California farms are growing larger, but at a slower rate than throughout the Nation. Average size farm in California grew from 250 acres in 1920 to 371 acres in 1959, according to the U.S. Census of Agriculture. Census also shows family operated farms remain at about the same ratio as 50 years ago—roughly 97 percent.

Since farm sizes are determined by many factors, including the nature of the crops grown and the degree of mechanization required by the various crops, there is bound to be a wide variety in farm sizes throughout the State. As a consequence, farms—like other business—often must increase in size because of economic necessity.

Farm costs are up, prices paid for farm products are down. To keep ahead of this cost-price squeeze, farmers have been forced to increase unit production with larger acreages.

Myth No. 4: That farmers employ national farmworkers to drive down wages for citizen workers.

Fact: Farm wages in California, highest in the Nation, have continued to rise despite the hiring of supplemental Mexican workers for peak harvest times. Under terms of Public Law 78, Mexican workers must be paid the same wages as one paid domestic workers for similar tasks. Farmers, furthermore, are not permitted to hire nationals unless there is a shortage of domestic workers—a determination made by the California Department of Employment and reaffirmed by the U.S. Department of Labor. And a farm employer is required, by law, to hire a domestic worker at any time Mexican nations are on the job—even if it means replacing a national.

Myth No. 5: That farmers are responsible for the high cost of food.

Fact: Average family's annual food bill in 1949 was $769; in 1959 it was $1,010. But the farmer's added share was only $3. Farmer's share of the retail food dollar in 1961 was 38 cents, compared with 41 cents in 1955. In relation to earnings, Americans today spend 20 percent of their disposable income on food, compared with 26 percent 12 years ago.

Concluding, the council pointed out that farmers are responsible for thousands upon thousands of jobs for city people—in food processing, handling and selling; in transporting the raw and finished products of the farm; in manufacturing the hundreds of items used on the farm, such as petroleum and tires; and in providing numerous services for agriculture.

"It is abundantly evident that the interests of farmers and city dwellers are joined at many places," said Council President Keith Meta. "Therefore, we believe it is important that mutual understanding is maintained. To that end, the council will continue to perform its educational work."

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of August 4, 1962:

THE REPUBLIC WITHIN A DEMOCRACY

(Washington Report, by Congressman BRUCE ALGER of Texas)

A Republic is representative government, wherein at all levels the people (the components of the democracy) are represented by elected officials—the Republic in action. Elected officials must exercise their judgment based on the facts as they see them and then subject their decisions and the facts as they know them to the electorate for acceptance or rejection—every 2 years for House Members and 6 years for the Senate. Naturally, the Representatives are expected to be knowledgeable. To the extent their knowledge exceeds the knowledge of the electorate collectively the Representatives at any time on any issue may seem to be out of step. At that point, they must explain satisfactorily their conduct. So the element of choice is present always in each of these (1) to get the facts, (2) to act judiciously, (3) to explain. The danger (and politics encourages such weakness) is to take the easy way: (1) be loose with (not be bound by) facts, (2) act expediently and politically, (3) dodge or curtail explanation. The question unanswered—at least satisfactorily by our generation—will elected officials pursue courses not politically popular even though facts and moral rightness dictate the proper course? As a result deficit financing, debt, and staggering taxes have grown, wartime programs have not been terminated, and politically expedient (not commonsense) programs have been the rule. Without study and self-discipline by elected officials and constituents representative government will fail. Is this to be our course? I say not, but I cannot now prove when or how we'll take the right course to prevent it. In my own case, I make every endeavor to relate my conduct and votes to facts, use my best judgment, and do my best to report to the people of Dallas by newsletter, radio, and television, beyond the normal correspondence in soliciting of views and answering inquiries. The time is ripe for constituents throughout the United States to subject our Government (the body politic) to scrutiny, to determine how the Republic is functioning, just as we submit our physical body to the doctor for examination to restore good health, or our car to a trained mechanic for a tuneup.

The independent offices appropriations bill 1963 passed overwhelmingly (ALGER against). This bill involved appropriations totaling $11,501 million for 26 executive agencies and is approximately $2 billion more than appropriations for similar purposes last year, which is approximately $1 billion less than the President asked in the budget. (Note: Increased expenditures over last year but reduced expenditures below the budget request permit any Member of Congress to be for increased spending or reduced spending while voting for the bill). For my part, I disapprove the increase in size of the Federal Government which has averaged 6,500 people per month since President Kennedy came into office. Also the bill contained $155 million for 38 new public buildings, which, as I see it, is downright immoral in a period of deficit financing. Funds for the Dallas Federal Building are lacking in the bill. This is a glaring omission from any listing of new Federal buildings and makes it obvious that some projects have been included for reasons other than meritorious. Some new buildings approved in the bill, such as a Federal building in Boston, Mass., home of the President, and Austin, Tex., the political headquarters of the Vice President, seem to be far less necessary and far less carefully considered than the Dallas project.

The Department of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill 1963 conference report between House and Senate compromising differences passed 348 to 35. Disagreement centered around an increase of $120 million above the budget of the National Institutes of Health which by the testimony of responsible leaders was more money than was necessary to accomplish the task. Once again, it is obvious that the only solution for the liberals is to throw money into all the programs, a solution which has failed so many times as to have taught many of us the lesson that money alone will not solve problems confronting us.

The payment of balance of awards under Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 provoked sharp differences of viewpoint on the floor during debate. Admittedly the United States has repaid war claims for Philippine war damage and this bill was in the nature of gifts for rehabilitation to specific companies and individual groups. Many of those opposing this bill are not against further aid to the Philippines for rehabilitation but strongly object to financially aiding other countries when the United States itself is borrowing the money in order to give it away (through deficit financing). It's time we thought about strengthening the economy of our own country.

The Public Relations Society of America is composed of leading executives of large corporations in public relations and members of public relations organizations who meet annually to be informed on and to discuss isues of the day in all fields of our domestic economy. It was my pleasure to address this group at Cornell University this week. It was a most rewarding experience for me and, I hope, for them.

## J. Craig Smith Article Cites Need for Effective Textile Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I know that all of my colleagues here in the House will be very interested in the article which my good friend and constituent, Mr. J. Craig Smith, has prepared for publication in the Avondale Sun. Mr. Smith is the president of Avondale Mills and has been most concerned that efforts to control cotton textile imports have not brought an effective solution to the problem.

The article is as follows:

GOOD FAITH IS AT STAKE

Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, Assistant to the President Myer Feldman, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Hickman Price, Jr., and other representatives of the Kennedy administration have repeatedly told our industry that under the long-term Geneva arrangement cotton textile imports would be held for 3 years to what came in during the Government's fiscal year which ended June 30, 1961, and that for the remaining 2 years of the arrangement there would be an increase of 5 percent per year. A rereading of the letter that President Kennedy wrote Congressman CARL VINSON dated February 26, 1962 would bring any reasonable person to the conclusion that the members of the Kennedy administration who made statements to our industry were speaking with the knowledge and authority of the President.

During the Government's fiscal year which ended June 30, 1961, total textile imports came in equivalent to 430,000 bales of cotton. During the first 5 months of 1962, the equivalent of 295,000 bales of cotton has come in. Preliminary figures indicate that the relentless tide of cotton textile imports continued to rise during June and July. If imports continue at this rate, more than 700,000 bales will be imported during 1962 instead of the 430,000-bale ceiling we were promised.

The major reason for this all-time high in textile imports is due to the tremendous windfall that comes to the importer because of the difference in price paid for cotton by the U.S. mill and the foreign mill. So long as an extra profit of $42.50 a bale can be made on cotton textile imports, the incentive to violate the Geneva arrangement makes it almost impossible to enforce that arrangement. This fact is apparent to any thinking person.

In point four of President Kennedy's program for the textile industry, he recognized the need for eliminating or offsetting the disadvantage the U.S. mill is in in respect to its raw material cost. In November of 1961, he asked the Tariff Commission to investigate whether or not an 8½-cent offset fee should be imposed on textile imports. He asked for this investigation in November of 1961. It is now August 3, 1962 and no action has been taken. This same Tariff Commission took less than 60 days to determine that more than two bales of imported cotton in the form of picker lap was hurtful to the cotton price support program and must be stopped. How much longer is needed to determine that imports at the rate of 700,000 bales are breaking the back of the American cotton industry and negating the raw cotton price support program? What action does President Kennedy have in mind to implement has commitments to the cotton industry?

## A Blow to Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned over the action recently taken by this body in drastically reducing the amount to be budgeted for civil defense. Only time will tell whether civil defense measures were a necessity for our Nation's population or whether nuclear war will ever come. We all hope and pray that no citizen will ever have need for a bomb shelter. However, the decision to slash this year's civil defense appropriation will surely have been a disastrous mistake if war should come in the next several years. Representing, as I do, one of the cities being ringed by intercontinental ballistic missiles, I have a special concern about this Nation's responsibilities to civilian populations in the event of enemy attack. In the city

of Tucson we have a livewire group of top-level planners who have started one of the best civil defense efforts in the Nation. The drastic reduction in our civil defense appropriation is likely to impair Tucson's program substantially.

The chairman of the Tucson-Pima County Civil Defense Commission has written me a letter in which he states better than I can the importance of considering anew this budgetary reduction. His letter follows:

TUCSON-PIMA COUNTY
CIVIL DEFENSE AGENCY,
*Tucson, Ariz., July 30, 1962.*

Hon. MORRIS K. UDALL,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: The Tucson-Pima County Civil Defense Commission (TPCCDC) was alarmed to read of the reduction of the Federal civil defense budget from $695 million to $65 million for the coming fiscal year by the House Appropriations Subcommittee. The reduction of the civil defense operating budget to half the expenditures for last year will mean a drastic reduction in administration staffs across the country. The efficiency and morale of such reduced staffs would be so low that very little productive work will be accomplished. If the appropriations cut is not restored civil defense in this country will be dead for a long time, which may be fatally long. The proposal of Representative ALBERT THOMAS, of Texas, that the entire civil defense effort must be suspended for another year while additional basic research is carried out is not in line with the facts. Sufficient technical information is available now to give this Nation any degree of protection it wishes. Basic research should be continued in civil defense but the primary objectives here should be to develop new shelter designs that will lower building costs. The problems are not technical but are financial and lack of national leadership. The Nation needs leaders who have the capacity to analyze the technical aspects of our time and then have the courage to act decisively. Since many of our leaders have not bothered to do their homework and prepare themselves to handle the technical problems, when faced with a difficult decision, they evade the issue by asking for another study.

As you know from the progress report sent to you several weeks ago, Tucson is developing a new civil defense program that is much further advanced technically than the programs in most other parts of the country. Our program is designed to fit the needs of Tucson and is not based on conditions determined from national averages. Civil defense programs must be tailored to the needs of each community. The present civil defense statutes and regulations are having the effect of forcing the same "national average" solution on all communities, although this may not be the intention of OCD.

For example, school district No. 1 in Tucson recently applied for Federal matching funds for a study for school shelters to protect Tucson schoolchildren. The Corps of Engineers, which is administering the program for Arizona, those to make a very narrow interpretation of civil defense regulations for this study that was contrary to an earlier agreement reached with the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense. Negotiations were dropped because the engineering firm wanted $13,000 for the study, while the Corps of Engineers would allow only $10,000. The commission advised dropping further negotiations because the restrictions that the Corps of Engineers wished to place on the study would have resulted in unsuitable plans for Tucson. This is an excellent example of the folly of blindly applying a program developed for "national average" conditions to a specific locality such as Tucson which has different problems.

You may wonder why we have criticized the national civil defense program and at the same time are urging that the entire budget request be restored. We have done this to show that the defects of the civil defense programs can be corrected by proper administration and a few changes in policy. Civil defense is not so sick that we should kill the patient.

The TPCCDC believes that Tucson will make an important contribution to the National Civil Defense Program. We have an outstanding group of engineers working on the program that has been obtained from the University of Arizona, Hughes Aircraft Co., Radio Corp. of America, and other engineering firms located in Tucson. This is the first attempt by a community (at least that we know of) to develop a civil defense system that will adequately protect the civil population from a number of near thermonuclear hits. One of the shelters we have designed will be able to survive 10-megaton weapons bursts only 2.1 miles away. We are working on shelter designs that will provide this type of protection at greatly reduced costs when compared to previous conventional methods of construction.

The "national average" program being promoted by the Office of Civil Defense has been concerned with radiation protection factors of 100, whereas Tucson requires factors of 10,000 to 100,000, which have been provided at an economical cost in our designs. Radiation protection factors of 100 may be adequate for places 100 miles or more from target areas but in Tucson they would keep the shelter occupant alive for about 1 hour.

It should be clear that a "national average" solution is not satisfactory for all areas. Since Tucson is one of the first cities that is attempting to come up with a CD system adequate for prime target areas, it would be tragic if the Congress, because of budget considerations, were to stop this work. The Tucson work will be applicable to other prime target areas which may be found in almost every State.

Assuming there is a thermonuclear war in the next 5 years, which is a possibility, an adequate civil defense system could mean the survival of roughly 120 million Americans, whereas with the present state of civil defense preparations it is impossible that only about 20 million Americans would survive.

In general terms we are talking about the chances of survival of about 100 million Americans, which is more than merely saving 100 million lives. The question is whether Western civilization will have the capacity to survive. The TPCCDC believes that this Nation can fight a thermonuclear war and survive, if and only if we are willing to develop adequate civil defense. In our opinion, this is necessary for the success of military deterrence, which is the only practical means we have at the present time for preventing another world war. The record $48 billion appropriated for active military defense will be a waste of money unless it is matched by at least the $695 million requested for civil defense. Once the Communist world realizes that the American public would not be willing, under any circumstances, to accept the risks of a thermonuclear war, then communism will continue to take over the free world and surrender of the United States to communism is only a matter of time. In order to make deterrence work, it is necessary for Russia and China to believe that the United States is willing to risk thermonuclear war if sufficiently provoked. This we cannot do without adequate civil defense. It can be shown (space forbids here) that certain multilateral disarmament systems could be safe national policies only with adequate civil defense. However, we are not recommending that disarmament be tried in the foreseeable future.

In our opinion, the success of military deterrence and the preservation of the peace is dependent on the United States developing an adequate civil defense system. We strongly urge that every possible means be taken to see that (a) the national civil defense budget be restored to at least $695 million; (b) the civil defense program be expanded to include provision for protecting prime target areas such as Tucson; (c) that the Tucson-Pima County civil defense program be supported financially and continued as presently conceived.

Very truly yours,
ROBERT H. MARSH,
*Chairman, Tucson-Pima County*
*Civil Defense Commission.*

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## "This Problem Is Much More Serious With Drugs"—Testimony in Opposition to Bills To Relax Delaney Clause on Animal Feeds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I appeared this morning as the first witness before the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on legislation to relax some of the provisions of the Delaney anticancer clause in the Food Additives and Color Additives Acts as it applies to animal feeds. While the legislation has one important redeeming feature—that is, in authorizing the Government to remove quickly from the market any previously approved animal feed ingredient if there should arise substantial doubt as to safety—primarily, it is legislation to aid some feed manufacturers to overcome a competitive and technical business problem, and is not, in any sense, consumer legislation.

It seems to me that in view of the urgent need for strengthening our laws to protect the consumer, we should get to that task quickly and not diffuse our efforts and energies by selecting out for special attention at this time just one obscure provision of the administration bills to amend the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

In my testimony, I tried to outline the vital areas of the law which require corrective action at this time, including changes intended to strengthen the hand of Dr. Kelsey and her associates in the FDA in evaluating new drug applications. Because of the widespread interest in this whole issue as a result of the thalidomide incident, I am submitting my testimony this morning for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD. It stresses the need for action on H.R. 1235, which I introduced 19 months ago, or on H.R. 11581 and H. 11582, the two administration bills introduced recently to cover some of the same ground in-

cluded in H.R. 1235. I do not think we should be diverted into consideration of a minor amendment of interest primarily to only one inudstry when so many major changes are needed in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act—and needed urgently.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN OF MISSOURI

Chairman ROBERTS and members of the subcommittee, I have mixed feeling about appearing this morning to oppose a bill introduced by the chairman of this subcommittee, whom I regard not only as a good friend and an outstanding Member of Congress but as one who has probably done more than any single American to protect the safety of the American people on the highways of this Nation. The attack on exhaust fumes and the increasing use of seat belts in automobiles can be attributed largely to the work of this subcommittee and its chairmen. And in the general field of health legislation, hospital construction, and health professions education, this subcommittee has a proud record.

Thus, I would never take the position that this subcommittee, under Congressman KENNETH A. ROBERTS, is interested in weakening the protections of the American consumer from dangerous food products, or that it is interested in undermining, in any way, the effectiveness of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. On the contrary, I am sure the subcommittee joins me in wishing to see the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act 1938 brought up to date and made much more effective in protecting our lives and health and safety.

Nevertheless, I feel I must go on record here that I believe strongly that we should not enact as a separate piece of legislation H.R. 12437 by Chairman ROBERTS or H.R. 12420, the bill introduced by Congressman NELSEN, even though the language of these bills was taken out of one of the administration bills to amend and strengthen provisions of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. When I testified before the full Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in June on H.R. 11581, the administration bill on drugs, and H.R. 11582, the bill dealing with cosmetics and therapeutic devices, containing together most of the major provisions of my own bill introduced 19 months ago—H.R. 1235—I raised some questions about the validity and the justification for this particular provision of H.R. 11582, the feed additives amendment, which hos now been reintroduced as a separate bill. After mentioning approvingly some of the few provisions of H.R. 11581 and H.R. 11582 which are not in H.R. 1235 but which I would be willing to see added on to my bill, I turned to this particular provision on feed additives, relaxing the Delaney clause, and said:

"However, I have strong doubts, I must admit, over the retreat on the Delaney anticancer clause on feed additives, as contained in H.R. 11582, particularly in view of the Government's experience several years ago with the hormone-treated chickens. It cost us $10 million to remove from the market the fowl treated with a drug considered safe for the purpose—after it was learned that there were residues of the cancer-inducing substance in the skin of the chicken. Too often for complacency, new testing methods disclose the existence of harmful residues which had not shown up in earlier tests, but by then the damage is done."

NOT INCLUDED IN PRESIDENT'S CONSUMER MESSAGE

Mr. Chairman, it will be noted that my comments at the time on this particular provision of one of the administration bills were mild indeed. I thought I recognized why this provision had been included in the package of administration proposals making drastic changes to close loopholes and eliminate unsafe features in the 24-year-old Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Most of the administration proposals, like nearly all of those in H.R. 1235, are tough changes in the law—necessarily so—to cope with increasing evidences of danger to the consumer. The President touched on some of these in his March 14 message to Congress on consumer protection, but there was not a single word in the President's message about relaxing or changing the Delaney anticancer clause in either the food additives or color additives sections of the law.

On the other hand, he strongly endorsed proposals—all of them in H.R. 1235—for requiring pretesting for safety of all cosmetics; for requiring proof of efficacy as well as safety of all new drugs; for requiring proof of safety and efficacy for all new therapeutic devices; for tightening up drastically our powers to cope with the illicit sale of pep pills and sleeping pills; for rewriting the factory inspection authorization to enable the Food and Drug Administration inspectors to ferret out dangerous conditions in the manufacture, distribution, warehousing and sale of foods, drugs, and cosmetics; for promoting the feasibility of having doctors prescribe by generic terms instead of trade names as a means of bringing down the cost of prescription drugs, and, for enabling the Government to move quickly—immediately—in taking off the market any previously approved drug about which serious doubts have developed after the drug has gone on sale.

These are the major provisions of H.R. 1235 and of those sections of H.R. 11581 and H.R. 11582 which amend the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. None of these purposes would be accomplished by passage of either of the two bills now before you this morning.

LEGISLATION BENEFITS ONLY SOME BUSINESS FIRMS

Instead, you propose in this legislation to take out of the administration package of proposals to strengthen the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act one obscure provision which does nothing whatsoever for the consumer, but puts profits into the pockets of some businesses making animal feeds.

Perhaps there are inequities in the feed additives "grandfather" clause which permit some feed manufacturers to continue to use cancer-inducing substances or coloring matter in their animal feed products if the particular firms were permitted to do so prior to the passage of the Food Additives Act of 1958 and the Color Additives Act of 1960, and as long as the Government cannot prove danger to the consumer on the other hand, a feed manufacturer not authorized before 1958 to use cancer-inducing chemical substances and not authorized before 1960 to use cancer-inducing coloring matter in animal feed cannot use them now, because of the Delaney clause, contained in both the 1958 and 1960 acts. So it is a competitive inequity.

But, gentlemen, let us look at it from the consumer standpoint. There is no value whatsoever to the consumer—none—in having our meat and poultry supply fattened for market with the aid of feed additives containing materials which could cause cancer. Some of the hormones are of economic value to the producer—fattening his livestock quicker with less feed.

I don't believe it means a single cent's difference in the consumer price of the meat, and it could endanger the consumer's health. That is why the stilbestrol-treated chickens had to be taken off the market several years ago at huge cost to the taxpayers. The Government had sanctioned the use of the stilbestrol pellets on the basis of evidence that no residue was found in the edible portions of the meat. Later—much later—with better testing methods, traces of this dangerous and cancer-inducing substance were found in the skins, and also in the livers and kidneys of the chickens. Who among us can guarantee that the further improvement of tasting methods in the near future—or the distance future—will not demonstrate similar consequences from use of the cancer-inducing materials now permitted in some animal feeds under the "grandfather's" clause?

PROBLEM MUCH MORE SERIOUS IN NEW DRUGS

I did not come here to be obstructive. I know there is a competitive problem among feed manufacturers based on when a particular firm happened to begin marketing a particular feed additive which competitors later going into the field could not legally use. But the problem goes much deeper than the competitive situation in the animal feed industry.

Our present law on new drugs requires very stringent proof of the safety of a new drug before it can be marketed. Thalidomide could not be marketed in this country because the manufacturer was not able to convince Dr. Frances Kelsey of FDA that such beyond-a-doubt proof existed. She has testified that, for a long time, she could not put her finger on the exact danger.

If she had approved the drug, based on what appeared to be very convincing proof of safety as a result of widespread usage abroad, she would not have been the heroine she is now, but I am sure she would not have been criticized for accepting the scientific proof presented to her as sufficient. This is a terribly complex scientific problem in the clearing of new drugs, since, as we know, any new drug carries dangers with it and the question is whether the good it can do—under proper medical supervision—outdoes the potential danger. Think how long it took before researchers connected this drug to the sudden increase in the birth of malformed infants.

But here is my point: If Dr. Kelsey had approved the application for sale of this drug, the Food and Drug Administration would then have had to wait for legal and incontrovertible proof of its danger before it could then have removed it from the market. The "tingling sensation" Dr. Kelsey had read about in a letter to the editor of the British Medical Journal—a piece of information which alerted her suspicions—would hardly have been the proof necessary to stop sale of the drug if it had already been approved for sale in this country.

That is the big loophole in our new drug law. The bills you are considering this morning seek to meet this problem as it involves feed additives by providing that the Secretary can quickly move to withdraw from sale any feed additive containing a chemical or color additive which he has once approved, if later he has substantial doubt of its safety. That part of the Roberts-Nelsen bill is all to the good.

OTHER CHANGES NEEDED IN DRUG LAW

But this problem is much more serious with drugs than it is with feed additives. We should not call forth a mouse when we need a massive solution to this problem of removing from the market drugs once approved but later found to be dangerous. Thus, if we are going to do anything on this, we should change all of the appropriate provisions of the food, drug, and cosmetic law to cover not only feed additives, but all drugs—in fact, I believe the feed additives involved in this matter are technically drugs under the act, and the safety feature of H.R. 12437 would be accomplished by H.R. 1235 or the administration bills.

Dr. Kelsey's experience points up the need for another important change in the drug laws: extending the period during which the Government has to act on a new drug application, as H.R. 1235 and H.R. 11581 both provide. Secretary Ribicoff and Commissioner Larrick testified on this during the

full committee hearings in June. Dr. Kelsey herself has said that such a change in the law is needed to give her and other FDA scientists sufficient time for evaluating new drug applications. We don't need legislation to tighten up on experimental testing of drugs—FDA can now do that. But we need legislation to close other loopholes in the drug laws and it is urgent that we pass such legislation as I have proposed and the President has called for.

I know the present jurisdiction of the subcommittee is somewhat limited by the fact that H.R. 11581, H.R. 11582 and H.R. 1235 are pending before the full committee, and that this feed additives amendment alone, rather than any of the omnibus bills, is all that is before you right now.

But I think it would be most unfortunate if, out of all of the truly vital, urgent—changes needed in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act right now, the Congress should rush to pass only a bill giving profits to feed manufacturers who happened to have run into a technicality in the law which prevents them from marketing feeds containing cancer-inducing substances, while other firms may still do so.

Furthermore, I refer you to the information I supplied this committee 2 years ago in connection with the color additives bill—information from experts at the NIH—that there is no such thing as a harmless portion of a cancer-inducing substance in food or in drugs or in anything which might be ingested. Tests so far have shown that small quantities of some cancer-inducing substances fed to or injected in some classifications of meat animals, notably beef cattle, in animal feed, to speed the fattening process or for similar economic purposes, do not show up in the edible meat and apparently also do not harm the animal. But please keep in mind that the same "proof" existed on the use of stilbestrol pellets in chickens. That "proof" was faulty, just as the "proof" of the safety of thalidomide was faulty.

GIVE THE CONSUMER "SOMETHING FOR SOMETHING"

I ask that you put this legislation aside as a separate bill. If the Food and Drug Administration can give you incontrovertible evidence that this proposed change in the law is important or necessary, then—even then—I would say, make it part of an omnibus bill which also does something for the consumer. This is one of the few sections of any of the omnibus bills which any industry will enthusiastically support. I say: If you're going to go out of your way to provide relief, as this bill would, to some feed manufacturing companies, make it, to use the Latin, a quid pro quo—something for something—in other words, as part of the price the consumer must pay for getting a whole lot more consumer protection in the law. Otherwise, the industry gets what it wants, and the consumer gets nothing.

Mr. Chairman, I have the whole story of what happened on the stilbestrol pellets case involving chickens several years ago. This consists of a statement by former HEW Secretary Flemming, at a news conference December 10, 1959, when HEW announced its agreement with Agriculture that stilbestrol would not be used in chickens and that the Government would then buy up all fowl which had been treated with this previously approved drug. Also, at the same time, Mr. Flemming released a chronological report on how the crisis had developed. This is my only copy. I believe it should be part of the hearing record on this legislation. I ask that you include this material—that you obtain copies from HEW and insert this information in your hearings. It shows what happened when it was discovered that this harmless use of stilbestrol in chickens was not harmless after all—and why the Government could not move quickly on its own authority when the evidence indicated substantial doubt as to safety. The lesson we should learn from it is this: We should be extremely wary about authorizing any cancer-inducing substance under any circumstances in food, drugs or cosmetics, as the Delaney clause provides. I do not believe the Delaney clause should now be weakened. We fought too hard to get it into law to see it weakened merely to help some animal feed manufacturers improve their competitive situation.

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## Kastenmeier of Wisconsin: A Profile in Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, few newspapermen have done as admirable a job of catching the quality of a man as has Ivan Kaye, in his recent feature report "KASTENMEIER of Wisconsin: A Profile in Courage."

In printing this article on July 30, 1962, the Capital Times, of Madison, Wis., has done a service to many Wisconsin people. I firmly believe that we must remain true to our finest traditions. I think that the Members of the House of Representatives will benefit from this article and will agree that the United States cannot condone brutality in any fashion in any part of the world.

After reading this article, Mr. Speaker, I asked Congressman KASTENMEIER for a copy of the letter he sent to the President which I believe will be of interest to the Members of the House. I include the article and letter under leave granted me so to do:

KASTENMEIER: A PROFILE IN COURAGE—YOUNG CONGRESSMAN FROM WATERTOWN ASKS UNITED STATES TO BE TRUE TO ITS FINEST TRADITIONS

(By Ivan Kaye)

WASHINGTON.—The capacity for true moral outrage is about as rare in this city as a balanced budget.

There are any number of Congressmen who can work themselves into oratorical tantrums over trivia, but there are only a few, who can focus an arounsed conscience on those issues that must be brought to the national attention if Americans are to be able to look themselves in the eye.

One of the few is ROBERT WILLIAM KASTENMEIER, of Watertown, Wis., and last week he applied his unyielding moral sensitivity to one of the real dilemmas of the cold war.

It all started when he opened a copy of Time magazine and found a picture of an American soldier standing by while a couple of good Vietnamese exhibited a little patriotic brutality toward a couple of bad Vietnamese.

The bad Vietnamese were two teenage boys who had some Communist songbooks in their possession. The good, or pro-American, Vietnamese wanted their captives to tell them certain things, and when they refused, several gallons of water were poured down one boy's throat as a way of inducing cooperation.

The fact that the boys survived the ordeal, and the fact that there are admittedly worse ways to torture a prioner were beside the point, as far as KASTENMEIER was concerned. So was the suspicion that there may be worse brutalities that have not yet come to light.

What he was really concerned about was the American in the picture, and the well-known fact that the Vietnamese are under the influence of our military advisory group there.

The question KASTENMEIER would now like answered, and it is perhaps the fundamental question about American posture in the cold war, is: How far are we willing to go?

To what extent, that is, are we as a nation willing to look away from these and other similar acts, and to rationalize them as a necessary aspect of the confrontation with Russia and China?

KASTENMEIER wants to know whether our complicity in such practices will be justified in official quarters on the basic of expediency.

He has fired off a letter to President Kennedy and a copy to Defense Secretary McNamara urging an immediate end to such goings-on as the water episode.

In the letter, written with a bright and burning eloquence, he left no doubt that if such acts could be justified officially as part of cold war policy, we would then have lost something of our essence as people dedicated to fair play—something that no totalitarian ever could have taken from us.

If brutality to children were to be accepted as a component of our foreign policy, KASTENMEIER wondered, how long would it be before the United States were called before the bar of world opinion as France was for its inhuman treatment of the Algerian rebels?

"It matters not whether the men are Algerian or Vietnamese, young or old; nor indeed how hostile may be their political views," KASTENMEIER wrote, "they are human beings and should not be treated in this way."

What he was asking, in essence, was for Americans to make a judgment.

They must decide whether there are some acts that cannot be justified under any circumstances, or whether, in a time of national peril, there are some otherwise reprehensible practices that will now be tolerated.

Wiretapping is another example, and KASTENMEIER has come out completely against it in every case.

It takes a kind of courage even to ask the question. It is so much easier to paint the Nation's enemies as devils, and thus to justify any inhumanity toward them.

It also takes a rare kind of fortitude to remind one's countrymen that they cannot evade responsibility when an American soldier—a representative of the Government, and thus of the people themselves—supervises the sadistic treatment of prisoners.

Since a great many citizens may not want to accept this responsibility, and since the electorate has never exactly idolized those who reminded it of its obligations, this is not an issue that has what the professionals here call political mileage.

Yet, if it does not have political mileage, KASTENMEIER obviously feels that it has moral mileage.

It is the sort of issue that may reveal only too well the real composition of the American conscience.

The way litmus paper tells a chemist when there is acid present, the public attitude on this may tell a sensitive Congressman the temper of the society he represents. And, more important, it may also tell the people something about themselves.

KASTENMEIER has a reassuring faith in his countrymen. He is certain that a great many of them have not been raised in this civilization to accept sadism as a means to any end.

There are those here who would disagree with him—who would say that we have become so progressively brutalized over the past generation, and so dedicated to creature comforts, that practically nobody is going to be

willing to put himself out over the water torture of a couple of pink Vietnamese.

If some would call KASTENMEIER naive for expecting any better conduct from American soldiers in southeast Asia, it could be said in his defense that he is also naive enough to take American ideals seriously.

"There is no room for indifference to the value of the individual in American history, tradition, or mortality," he wrote to the President.

If KASTENMEIER turns out to be wrong—if there is now room for indifference to the value of the individual in a new American cold war morality—then he may have to ask one more question: If we must become brutalized in order to save our way of life, what have we saved?

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JULY 20, 1962.

THE PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: A picture in the July 20, 1962 issue of Time (p. 29) shows two young Vietnamese boys being led off to be tortured under the watchful gaze of an American adviser.

The story explains that the youths, who are said to be 15 and 19 (but look no older than 11 and 13) were captured with Communist songbooks in their possession: "The older boy was pinned to the ground and—as the Rangers call it—'taken for a swim.' His jaw was forced open and five gallons of water from a rusty old can gradually poured into his mouth. The youth gagged and screamed, but refused to talk, even when prodded with a rifle butt."

The fact that this scene took place under the eyes and camera of an American newsman indicates a callous indifference to the opinion of the world. It also indicates a strange insensitivity to the inhumanity of the actions, for these are men who do not seem to care who is watching as they supervise the brutal treatment of youths. To what depths must men sink before they feel shame and the fear of other men's judgments? And if we are permitted to witness these acts, we might well ask what is now being done that may be hidden from our view.

The U.S. soldiers advising the Vietnam soldirs represent both the Government and the people of this country. I am shocked to see them associated with these practices. There is no place for our help or cooperation, or even our complacency in the face of such facts. The world is fully aware of our deep involvement in Vietnamese affairs. We publicly proclaim that we are advising, training and, indeed, supervising the actions of the Vietnamese forces. We cannot escape responsibility for our participation in these less than human acts.

It was not long ago that we read with disgust of the tortures of Algerians by the French Army. Then the French clergy and men of conscience throughout the world joined in the protest against inhuman acts done in the name of necessity. I would hope our country will not be the next to be called before the judgment of the world. For it matters not whether the men are Algerian or Vietnamese, young or old; nor, indeed, how hostile may be their political views: they are human beings and should not be treated in this way.

In the past our men have been criticized for their lack of morale and fighting spirit in Korea and elsewhere. I have never doubted the courage or dedication of our soldiers. But these recent stories force me to question whether or not some really understand what they are fighting for. I do not understand how men brought up in America can condone the practice of torture in Vietnam or elsewhere. There is no room for indifference to the value of the individual in American history, tradition, or morality. And I am forced to the conclusion that these men must be instructed once more in the real meanings and demands of democracy.

I need not point out that the ends cannot justify the means in this situation. Nor need I say that the excuse of necessity or expediency should not be offered, and cannot be accepted in America. I can only ask that, before we begin the slow descent to a moral level where men pass off reports of torture with indifference and impatience, actions be taken to halt our complicity in these inhuman practices.

Mr. President, I respectfully request your response on this matter.

Yours respectfully,
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER.

CC.: Secretary of Defense.

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Hon. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA,
*Secretary of Defense,*
*The Pentagon,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am enclosing a copy of a letter describing the brutal treatment of prisoners in Vietnam which I sent to the President today. I hope that on your trip to Vietnam you will have an opportunity to fix responsibility for these practices and call a halt to them.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
*Member of Congress.*

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## Fantastic Ignorance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is unbelievable but apparently true that many of our officials administering foreign aid do not know where and how the money is being spent.

The following Associated Press story appeared in newspapers throughout the country. This eposide indicates the utter fallacy of our foreign aid program.

On the record, the foreign aid program warrants a negative vote in this House. This ridiculous program should be terminated.

The Associated Press article follows:

PASSMAN DEPLORES LAG IN INFORMATION AID

"This is a hell of a way to run a railroad," commented Representative PASSMAN, Democrat, of Louisiana, today as he accused foreign aid officials of not knowing which nations are not receiving aid.

"They had to go to a congressional source to find out," Mr. PASSMAN complained. "They don't even know to whom they are giving the billions of dollars we appropriate every year for foreign aid."

Mr. PASSMAN, who heads an Appropriations Subcommittee in charge of aid funds, cited an incident that occurred at a committee session last Monday.

He told a reporter he asked officials of the Agency for International Development to supply a list of nations that have not received U.S. aid since World War II and are not scheduled to receive any this year.

SEEK INFORMATION

The officials, he said, didn't have the information with them but agreed to get it.

"Subsequently," he said, "I got an inquiry from the Library of Congress saying the aid agency had asked them for a list of countries that had not received aid since World War II and for which none was programed through 1963."

The Library, Mr. PASSMAN assumed, did not know that it was Mr. PASSMAN'S request that produced the inquiry but did assume that he knew the answer. Also, he assumed, the foreign aid officials didn't expect the Library to go to Mr. PASSMAN for the information.

At a subsequent hearing, he said, "I told them it was a rather sad state of affairs that when I ask you for information, you go to the Library of Congress and they come to me to get it."

OFFICIALS EXPLAIN

He said the officials explained that they use all available sources of information when they seek data for Congress.

"The truth of the matter is," he commented, "that they probably don't know who is getting our money and who is not."

In response to Mr. PASSMAN'S original query, the officials reported that at one time or another 101 nations have received United States financial aid.

He smilingly declined to answer when asked if the AID officials came up with the answer by way of the Library of Congress with some help from Mr. PASSMAN himself.

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## More Than 80 Million Slavonic Christians Observed Millennium of Slavic Apostles a Century Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I submit an article written by Mr. John C. Sciranka, an editor and journalist from Passaic, N.J., which appeared in the Katolicky Sokol, Wednesday, August 1, as well as several other newspapers, on the 11th centennial of the arrival of apostles SS. Cyril and Methodius to Slovakia.

The article follows:

MORE THAN 80 MILLION SLAVONIC CHRISTIANS OBSERVED MILLENNIUM OF SLAVIC APOSTLES A CENTURY AGO

(By John C. Sciranka)

Now that the 11th centenntial of the arrival of apostles SS. Cyril and Methodius to Slovakia was inaugurated with their feast on July 7 and will be observed until September 15, 1963, throughout the world, we recall with pride that a century ago (1862), the thousandth anniversary of these great apostles of eastern Europe was celebrated with a deep and sacred enthusiasm "by more than 80 million Slavonic Christions, without distinction of sect or denomination, from Prague to the Pacific, and from Baltic to Salonica."

This is recorded by Lady Muir Mackenzie and Miss Kirby, who have visited the Slavic provinces in Europe, then under Turkish domain, which they described in their travelogue. And in 1878 Edison L. Clark, quoted them in his History of Turkey, who also recalls two historical episodes, which were considered more or less as a legend by the Slovaks and other Slavic nations in connection with the missionary labors of these two brothers. One is about the "captives," which this writer mentioned recently in connection with the observance of the Captive Nations Week, in which it was stated that the two apostles, instead of accepting

rich gifts of gold, silver and other precious gems, they begged for captives from their rulers and succeeded in two instances to free some 900 of them.

To substantiate this, we recall with above historian and travelers that the passes of the Balkans were the channels through which flowed the rich and extensive traffic between Constantinople and the vast regions of Central Europe; and of this source of wealth the Bulgarians soon learned to avail themselves. This social progress prepared the way for Christianity; and, strange as it may appear, the frequent cruel wars between Bulgarian kingdom and the Greek Empire, where SS. Cyril and Methodius were born and educated, had much to do in conveying the first knowledge of the gospel to the Bulgarians and other Slavonic nations. In every war, the historians claim, numerous captives were taken on both sides; and these captives of either party, proved efficient propagators of Christianity among the Slavonic nations. The Greek captives were rarely wanting in zeal for their faith; and not infrequently the Slav men and women, living in captivity for years among a Christian people, embraced Christianity, and returned to communicate their new religion to their brethren at home, as described in the Maclear's History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages.

Historians claim, that Christianity was first actively preached in Bulgaria about the year A.D. 813, by a captive bishop, whose labors met with little success, and won him a martyr's crown. But in the year 861, a sister of King Bogoris who had been detained at Constantinople as a captive or a hostage, and had there embraced Christianity, returned to her brother's court and set herself with great earnestness to secure his conversion. At first, the story goes, her efforts were vain; but softened by trouble and famine, the King began at length to listen more thoughtfully to his sister's instructions, and even to call for help from the Christians' God. At this time there appeared at the Bulgarian court—purposely sent for, according to some accounts, by the King's sister—a monk named Methodius, who was a skillful painter. This monk was employed by the King to paint for him the walls of a hunting lodge; but instead of depicting the scenes and incidents of the chase, he improved the opportunity to paint a vivid representation of the Day of Judgment. The King and his attendants are said to have been greatly impressed by this painting and, by earnestly asking its meaning, to have given the artist what he desired—an opportunity to preach Christ and Him crucified. Soon afterward the King avowed himself a Christian and was baptized * * * and thus it was about the year 865 the Bulgarians became nominally a Christian people and the highest decoration in Bulgaria, until the present Communist regime, was the Order of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

I mention this, because the story about "captives" during the ninth century and applied to the present captive nations, may have seemed like a new innovation. But we can see that it was referred to by historians a long time ago. Also that the story I heard from my parents and teachers in my boyhood about the painting of the Day of Judgment by St. Methodius, was accepted not only by the Slovaks, but other Slavonic nations, who have in 1862, during the thousandth anniversary of these two great apostles paid them tribute with a deep and sacred enthusiasm "by more than 80 millions of Slavonic Christians without distinction of sect or denomination, from Prague to the Pacific, and from the Baltic to Salonica."

Considering that the Slavs are prolific and in spite of the world wars and famines, as well as Nazi and Communist persecution, they still number some 300 million in the world, we, therefore, hope and pray that during this 11th centennial of SS. Cyril and Methodius, at least half of them will pay them tribute with a deep and sacred enthusiasm. And having some 30 million Americans of Slavonic origin and descent in all our 50 States, when we consider that the heritage of SS. Cyril and Methodius is the only weapon, which can destroy communism, let us here in America be the first to lead the way in this sacred enthusiasm.

## Beware of Handouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, many seemingly good things have been the trap by which people have lost their freedom and tyrants have come to power. This is the point of a little story by Dr. J. G. McDaniel, which appeared in the March 1962 issue of the Freeman:

WHOSE BREAD I EAT HIS SONG I SING

(By J. G. McDaniel, M.D.)

I remember, as a small boy in knee britches, going with my father to hear an address given by the Honorable Stephen Pace, then Congressman from the old Georgia 12th District. It was on the banks of the Ocmulgee River. There was a barbecue, and citizens, especially farmers, from all the counties gathered. This was before the First World War.

It seemed that someone in the Congress had introduced a bill that would give the farmers some money provided they did something. The Congressman vigorously opposed it. I have no idea what it was, because I was watching a dirt dobber making a ball of mud. The Congressman snapped me back to attention, however, when he said, "I'm going to tell you a true story about the wild hogs that once lived about 40 miles down the river."

"Years ago," the Congressman said, "in a great horseshoe bend down the river, there lived a drove of wild hogs. Where they came from no one knows, but they survived floods, fires, freezes, droughts, and hunters. The greatest compliment a man could pay to a dog was to say that he had fought the hogs in Horseshoe Bend and returned alive. Occasionally a pig was killed either by dogs or a gun—a conversation piece for years to come.

"Finally a one-gallused man came by the country store on the river road and asked the whereabouts of these wild hogs. He drove a one-horse wagon, had an ax, some quilts, a lantern, some corn, and a single barrel shotgun. He was a slender, slow-moving, patient man—he chewed his tobacco deliberately and spat very seldom.

"Several months later he came back to the same store and asked for help to bring out the wild hogs. He stated that he had them all in a pen over in the swamp.

"Bewildered farmers, dubious hunters, and storekeepers all gathered in the heart of Horseshoe Bend to view the captive hogs.

"'It was all very simple,' said the one-gallused man. 'First I put out some corn. For three weeks they would not eat it. Then some of the young ones grabbed an ear and ran off into the thicket. Soon they were all eating it; then I commenced building a pen around the corn, a little higher each day. When I noticed that they were all waiting for me to bring the corn and had stopped grubbing for acorns and roots, I built the trap door. Naturally,' said the patient man, 'they raised quite a ruckus when they seen they was trapped, but I can pen any animal on the face of the earth if I can jist get him to depend on me for a free handout.'"

We have had patient men in our Central Government in Washington for years. They are using our own dollars instead of corn. I still think about the trap door and the slender, stooped man who chewed his tobacco deliberately, when he spat and turned to the gathered citizens many years ago and said, "I can pen any animal on the face of the earth if I can jist get him to depend on me for a free handout."

## Cultural Explosion: A Bandwagon Without Wheels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a timely article, "Cultural Explosion: A Bandwagon Without Wheels," on the problems of the arts in America. The authors, Ellen Straus and Polly Cowan, are distinguished constituents. I am happy to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

The text of the article follows:

CULTURAL EXPLOSION—A BANDWAGON WITHOUT WHEELS

(By Ellen S. Straus and Polly Cowan)

At a luncheon meeting last January the ladies of the Washington press corps seemed particularly pleased when Labor Secretary Arthur J. Goldberg reassured them that: "* * * This is the first time that any administration has raised the condition of the arts. * * *" A meeting of historians would have been less impressed. George Washington, reporting for the first time in his state of the Union message said, "* * * this will be worthy of a place in the deliberations of our Congress. The Arts * * * have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his country and mankind."

American Presidents have been acknowledging the need for the encouragement of the arts ever since, yet there is still no systematic program of understanding by or support from the Government. The political appeal seems to be clearer than the cultural need, at least to politicians. A leader of the U.S. Senate put it this way: "I don't know anything about culture—but there's a lot of mileage in it."

Journalists, by the same token, feel that art helps circulation. The newspapers lead us to believe that we are the living witnesses to a cultural explosion—the artistic counterpart of Hiroshima. "Symphony, Opera Pace U.S. Culture," says the National Observer. "U.S. Goes on Culture Kick," reported the New York World Telegram & Sun. "We're Cultured, Too," commented the Saturday Evening Post.

Culture, in the large economy-size package, is a must for every home. No pine-paneled rumpus room can be without it. America is climbing onto a bandwagon. Has the wagon any wheels?

In the 1960's, there are more bodies filling concert halls, more homes playing classical records, more children taking music lessons, and more people attending art schools than ever before. So, obviously, there is a cultural explosion." Or is there? Might it be a

population explosion—substituting score for skill? In any case, the glamour of culture seduces us every day, in newspapers and magazines.

Mrs. Average American, reading these stories, thrills at the thought of the new, rich life of the spirit. But then she remembers the third installment on the children's TV. She realizes, a little sadly, that if she is to ride the crest of the new cultural wave, she has to find a new budget and make a new time schedule. Concerts are expensive and hard to fit among PTA meetings, Community Chest drives, Cub Scout Dens and Saturday night bridge games.

There is much impressive factual material: Americans last year spent $3 on musical instruments for every man, woman, and child in the country. There are as many symphony orchestras in the United States as there are TV stations; and there are 35 million Americans actively interested in some form of concert music.

Yet, the sugar-covered cultural doughnut has an outsized hole. In every season for the past 10 years, New York's Carnegie Hall has presented fewer musical evenings, and the opening of Lincoln Center's Philharmonic Hall this fall is hardly calculated to improve the situation. Kansas City's Music Hall is dark more nights than it plays music, drama, or dance performances. Of the 1,200 symphony orchestras in the United States, only 5 have seasons long enough to pay the musicians a living wage. Many of our finest composers and performers are forced to work as salesmen or cab drivers in order to eat.

Where does the young musical artist go after he wins his degree from Juilliard, the University of Kansas, the University of Nebraska, Curtis, Peabody or the Eastman School of Music? Van Cliburn had to compete behind the Iron Curtain in order to become an American hero. Who knows how many other Van Cliburns are forced by simple economics to sit behind the wheel of a taxicab, when they should be in front of a keyboard?

Advocates of the "cultural explosion" theory tell us that halls for the performing arts are mushrooming all over the United States. Lincoln Center is well on the way toward its goal of raising $142 million "in order to bring together a beautiful and spacious setting for America's leading institutions of opera, music, drama, and the dance, and to give our Nation a symbol of cultural maturity." When Philharmonic Hall is completed, who will wash its "three sides of clear glass rising 70 feet from street level to roof?" Who will sweep the "4,600,000 feet," three-quarters of which is devoted to: 'foyers, promenades, dressing-rooms, and offices'? Who will recover its seats in fabrics of harmonizing shades of gold?'

In fact, Philharmonic Hall presents a perfect if discouraging example of the architectural operation which is a success, while the music patient dies. Of what use is a beautiful hospital if the patient cannot pay the bill? Without Government assistance by city, State, or Nation, ticket sales and private philanthropic support are not sufficient. From these must come enough revenue to pay overhead costs, provide maintenance of the building, musicians' salaries, and travel expenses.

The costs of supporting musical creativity have found small place in the elaborate budgets for Lincoln Center in New York, the National Culture Center in Washington, D.C., Music Center in Los Angeles, and the Cultural Center in Detroit. Each of these has provided millions for buildings to please the eye, but very little for music to please the ear.

And where, in all this, do we encourage the developing young artist? New talent is caught squarely between the seats. One seat stands in the new, larger auditoriums. The other rocks with economic demands so high that management dares to rely only on the artist with solid box-office appeal. We have talented performers with no place to perform, and potentially large audiences with tickets priced beyond their means.

Culture has been the subject matter for speeches by American statesmen since George Washington's Inaugural Address; yet, almost two centuries later, Serge Koussevitzky said: "Our world is hungry for spiritual food. But what has been done by the Government to satisfy this hunger? Is there a law preventing Governments from supporting the fine arts? We artists are the living pulse of art; the State is the ground upon which art finds stability and security. It is imperative for the State to realize and acknowledge the signal need of our time. Art needs the support of the State, and demands a department of fine arts."

To the U.S. Department of State, the significance of culture has long been obvious. The Department regularly sends performing groups abroad with the dual mission of playing music and at the same time convincing the emerging nations that we're cultured, too. Less than 2 years ago the Government recognized the importance of this foreign policy aspect of U.S. culture by establishing the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Educational Affairs.

But the emerging nations, older allies, and less friendly countries, might be surprised at the disclosure that American symphony orchestras are essentially part-time organizations, playing for less than half of every year. Dismaying as this fact may be to the "cultural explosive proponents, or indeed, to most U.S. citizens, it is hardly a secret to the musicians in these orchestras. They know full well that colleagues of the Los Angeles philharmonic line up regularly for unemployment insurance when their performing season ends; members of the New York philharmonic lay carpets and sell insurance; and musicians of the Chicago symphony appear as door-to-door salesmen.

For any country in Western Europe this would be unthinkable. There, an orchestra stays together and plays together throughout the year. In France $4 million in French francs annually goes to support the opera and the opera comique. In Great Britain, the Arts Council spends $1 million in British pounds, for its grant-in-aid program, for the yearly support of the Royal Opera, Sadler's Wells Ballet, and the Old Vic theater. Nearly every city in Germany has an opera company, financed by government grants. Austria pays off the deficit of the Vienna State Opera. And so it goes. In Denmark, Italy, Sweden, Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Turkey, the fine arts have support from government grants. While the U.S. Government has recognized art as part of the foreign policy effort, its acceptance of domestic responsibility for culture puts it in the class of underdeveloped nations.

A few public officials have acted with foresight and effectiveness. In 1935, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, of New York, sponsored a bill proposing an American National Theater and Academy (ANTA). Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Republican, of New York, recently created a State Council of the Arts. In commenting on the completion of the council's first year, Brooks Atkinson called it: "A remarkable success." The council, with a budget of $450,000 sent professional opera, ballet, and theater, into more than 50 communities throughout New York.

Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, initiated the farsighted Fulbright program in 1946. It is now one of the largest cooperative programs in the world for the exchange of students, teachers and scholars. The student has the double advantage of studying in the country of his choice while performing in numerous concerts. When the Fulbright scholar returns to the United States after his excellent training, he is faced with the common problem of the American artist. Where will he perform? How will he eat? When he reluctantly accepts a job outside of his profession, he knows he is back home.

The attitude today toward the arts in Washington, D.C., is perplexing. A new Cultural Center in the Capital has been endorsed by the President and supported by the Congress. The legislative "support" takes the form of a gift to the people of an unused, 13-acre swamp, known as "Foggy Bottom." Private efforts are required to raise the funds for the construction and operation of the center, since the legislation was uncontaminated by money. A millionaire-to-millionaire moneyraising campaign is in progress, to be followed in the fall, by a dollar-to-dollar telethon. Because the project is subject to cancellation by the Congress if sufficient funds are not available by September, 1962, the fundraisers have already faced reality by cutting their goal from 70 million to less than half that amount.

On the executive side, Pablo Casals played in the White House, and August Heckscher arrived on the scene as Cultural Coordinator for the United States. Long before this recent appointment, Mr. Heckscher recognized the dimensions of the problem when he wrote in the report of the President's Commission on National Goals: "A people caring about dignity and excellence in its private lives may be expected to care also about the embodiment of these quantities in the public environment. The American scene today is not reassuring in this regard.

Recent congressional testimony would substantiate this point. At a hearing on a bill before the Committee on Rules in the House of Representatives, one Congressman asked, "What are the arts?" It was obviously a rhetorical question, for he immediately proceeded to answer: "I do not know. I suppose fiddleplayers would be in the arts, and the painting of pictures would be in the arts. It was suggested that pokerplaying is an artful occupation. Is this bill going to subsidize the pokerplayers that get into trouble?"

The debate ranged from poker and levity to budget and parsimony. Said another Congressman: "I am sure the spending of $100 thousand a year for culture can very well wait until we have a balanced budget in this country and start retiring the Federal debt. I just do not see any necessity for this kind of business at this time."

"This kind of business" is a description of some half dozen different bills which have been introduced in the Congress this year by a dozen different Congressmen who want aid for the arts. Some politicians say that the only bills which pass Congress, are those that involve large expenditures of funds. If this is true, then the aids to the arts bill, introduced by JOHN V. LINDSAY, Republican, of New York, and FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democrat, of New Jersey, will remain bottled up in one of the house committees where it has rested for the past 7 years.

The Lindsay-Thompson bill would establish a Federal Advisory Council for the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the fine arts in the Nation's Capital and elsewhere in the United States. The council would be authorized to spend up to $100,000 a year. The sum is not munificent—the State of New York has been four times more generous.

Other bills call for: (1) the formation of a U.S. foundation to promote the study and advancement of the performing and visual arts throughout the country; (2) the creation of a department of culture, with its head at Cabinet level; and (3) a program of grants to States for the development of the arts. Many of the dozen sponsors admit privately that chances for a passage at this time are dubious.

Evidently then, a handful of elected officials and a prodigious amount of local ac-

tivity, though deserving of high acclaim, does not add up to the violence of a cultural explosion. It would seem to take more than supportive words and homemade efforts to "explode" the United States. Culture must have quality; quantity adds up only to computation.

On March 4, 1962, Philharmonic Hall in Lincoln Center announced its first week's program, to begin next September. Harold C. Schonberg commented in the New York Times: "* * * it would seem that commercial considerations have prevailed over artistic ones and that all the ideals that we have been reading about have been set to a singing commercial.

"There are many things that Lincoln Center could have done. If the enterprise is to be looked on as an American cultural dream come true, the American elements could, and should have been played up. The best of our composers should have been commissioned to write music for the occasion and the best of world music appropriate to the occasion also could have played a part * * * but what actually has been announced is a long way from the great vision that Lincoln Center has been talking about. * * * The opening program is an extravaganza, a big patchwork quilt that has neither the virtue of consistency nor taste, a gaudy affair that rings as hollow as a broken drum."

When the piano strikes the tuning "a" for the first time in Lincoln Center next fall, we may well discover that the "culture explosion" makes no more noise than the sound that rings from "a broken drum." More Americans are spending more time listening to good music, yet local orchestral boards continue to set up job placement committees to find off-season work for musicians. New structures are rising to house cultural institutions, yet the quality of the programs which are performed in the buildings will be the true measure of their validity.

Are we witnesses to a "cultural explosion," or is there none to witness?

## Strike Losses Increase Under Kennedy Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the big campaign cry of Candidate Kennedy was that we had to get the country moving again. Well, he has succeeded in some areas—we now have a record deficit, a record public debt, some of the biggest Federal spending programs in history and, now we learn, a 60-percent increase in man-hours lost due to strikes over the last year. In spite of the tragic effect upon our economy of such work stoppages as the current strike of flight engineers against Eastern Airlines, and the strikes at defense and missile bases such as the one now tieing up the nuclear ship *Savannah*, we hear no word from the White House. The President has not lost his temper, in fact it appears he is not even aware of the tremendous losses labor disputes under his administration are costing individual workers and the country. There is no evidence that President Kennedy will make any recommendations to curb the unlawful power of certain labor leaders, nor make any effort to hold labor unions responsible for actions which are detrimental to the rest of our society. There is only one way to improve labor relations and that is to make labor unions subject to antitrust law as called for in my bill, H.R. 8407. This legislation would insure that labor organizations played by the same rules that apply to all the rest of us and would protect union members against overambitious and dictatorial labor bosses.

In concluding these remarks I would like to insert two articles from the Washington Evening Star of August 4, 1962. One relates to a 60-percent increase in man-hours lost to strikes and the other to the shameful tieup of the *Savannah*:

STRIKE IDLENESS IN 1962 60 PERCENT ABOVE 1961 PERIOD

Strikes cost U.S. industry and workers 9.8 million man-days during the first half of 1962—a 60-percent jump over last year's January-to-June figure, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said today.

Strike time losses this June hit a 2-year high of 2.88 million man-days, the bureau said.

The Bureau said there were 1,920 work stoppages involving 800,000 workers during the first 6 months of 1962. Both totals were well above the year-ago figures.

Strike idleness during the corresponding 1961 period was estimated at 6.1 million man-days—a postwar low.

This year, the Bureau said, the ratio of time lost to time worked—17 strike-idled hours to every 10,000 hours worked—was below the level for corresponding periods of all but 4 postwar years.

The Bureau said 410 strikes involving 155,000 workers began during June, about two-thirds of them in manufacturing industries. Both those figures were down from the levels reported for May. Another 240 work stoppages that started in May continued into June.

The Bureau blamed about half the working time losses in June on 9 major walkouts, each involving more than 5,000 workers.

Among them, the Bureau said, were strikes at Republic Aviation Corp., Farmingdale, N.Y.; construction strikes along the west coast and in Idaho and Detroit, and walkouts against Eastern Air Lines and the New York Telephone Co.

LABOR DISPUTE FOILS SAILING OF NUCLEAR SHIP "SAVANNAH"

YORKTOWN, VA., August 4.—The nuclear ship *Savannah*, designed to sail for thousands of miles without refueling, remained fast to her pier today, stymied by a labor dispute.

Twice within the week dissident crewmen have refused to man their stations to move the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship to Norfolk for a final fitting before she sets out on her maiden voyage.

How much longer the dispute will hold up the sailing is undetermined. But what is certain is that her maiden voyage—to New York, Savannah, Ga., and then to the World's Fair at Seattle—will be delayed.

When she does get into the shipyard, she will be there for 10 days.

For the men aboard the *Savannah*, the period of idleness is filled by watching television, fishing, and standing about in small groups chatting. Their labor dispute is now under negotiation in New York, and a special Government factfinding panel has been appointed.

The dispute was touched off by pay raises given the nuclear ship's engineering officers. The 70 to 80 deck officers and unlicensed crewmen are demanding similar raises for themselves.

The Government panel named yesterday is to submit its findings within 10 days.

Negotiations between the States-Marine Lines, which operates the *Savannah* for the Maritime Administration, and the unions have been without success in New York. The company has asked that the dispute be sent to arbitration.

The balking crewmen are represented by the Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots, the American Radio Association, and the National Maritime Union, all AFL–CIO unions.

Union officials and crewmen decline to answer most questions at the *Savannah*. One source, however, said the crewmen have been paid off by the company but have not left the ship.

One crewman said they had not been paid off but said the ship's galley has been shut down.

"They're not giving us any food, but then we're not working," he said. "We elected a committee which goes into town and buys food. That's no problem."

## Area Needs Fighting Spirit of Oriskany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, today is the 185th anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany—the turning point of the Burgoyne campaign and of the American Revolution. This event has been appropriately described as the "Thermopylae of America." In hand-to-hand combat near the frontier village of Oriskany, N.Y., the valiant resistance of American farmers and militia under the command of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer prevented British and Indian forces from subduing the entire Mohawk Valley and reinforcing Burgoyne, who met defeat at Saratoga.

That such an event in our country's history should be refused official national recognition is astonishing—to say the least. But such is the case. This paradox is the subject of the following editorial, written by Mr. William J. Woods, which appeared in the Sunday, July 1, 1962, edition of the Utica, N.Y., Observer-Dispatch. I commend its contents to the House in the hope it will inspire new recruits for the growing ranks of those who are fighting to obtain Federal recognition for the site of the bloodiest battle of the American Revolution—Oriskany. Official commemoration will serve to instill the spirit so needed today as we wage our protracted struggle against the Communist foe.

The editorial follows:

NOTES OFF THE EDITOR'S SPINDLE: AREA NEEDS FIGHTING SPIRIT OF ORISKANY

(By William J. Woods)

It's time for a new Battle of Oriskany.

The shot and shell will be verbal and legal, but almost as hot as any exchanged on the bluffs on that humid August 6, 1777, about 8 miles west of Utica.

The targets will not be Indians skulking behind trees but the so-called experts of the

National Park Service who hid behind anonymity in last Sunday's Washington dispatch giving alleged reasons for downgrading the bloodiest battle of the Revolution.

If you read the story a week ago today you know these specialists of the Park Service had praise enough for the "brave and courageous stand" made by Gen. Nicholas Herkimer and his embattled Palatine German farmers to halt British Gen. Barry St. Leger's march to join General Burgoyne in eastern New York State and cut the colonial Nation in half.

But, say these interpreters of their bosses' decisions, Herkimer was a failure because he didn't do what he set out to do—relieve the siege of Fort Stanwix, where the city of Rome now stands.

That's bureaucracy for you.

Herkimer's orders were to relieve Stanwix and he didn't do it. All he did was give his life, as did many of his compatriots, breaking up a force of British and Indians. Most of the Indians fled into the wilds; the British still able got back to their forces near the fort and soon started northward for Canada; there was no St. Leger army to join Burgoyne.

But, say these nameless specialists, the disruption of the campaign of the British does not count; General Herkimer did not relieve Fort Stanwix. It does not count so much that because of the Mohawk Valley men's dash into the jaws of death at Oriskany St. Leger hesitated, heard General Arnold was coming with reinforcements and ran away to Canada and safety.

Benedict Arnold, the Washington experts say, was really the lad who saved Fort Stanwix. It's probably the only time in history that a general 250 miles away relieved a siege while the 200 killed and 200 wounded American farmers are dismissed as part of an expedition that failed.

If Herkimer's forces hadn't disrupted St. Leger's plan with Joseph Brant, storied Indian chief, to march eastward the whole central part of the State might have been laid waste by the enemy. Defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga might not have been so easy, if accomplished at all.

Let's see some of the real history of Oriskany.

Says the World Book Encyclopedia: "St. Leger's defeat at the Battle of Oriskany in 1777 and his retreat to Canada were instrumental in upsetting the British campaign plan, and contributed to Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga." No mention there about Benedict Arnold being the real savior of Fort Stanwix and our valley. Contributor of the comment is W. B. Willcox, University of Michigan professor of history.

In the classic Encyclopedia Britannica about a half page is devoted to describing this failure, and it is conceded "the battle, although indecisive, had an important influence in preventing St. Leger from affecting a junction with General Burgoyne."

In a report to this paper last March, A. K. Cunningham, supervisor of historic sites in the office of the State historian, wrote: "The battle greatly crippled the British forces of St. Leger who soon afterward, alarmed at the approach of Gen. Benedict Arnold, gave up his effort to capture Fort Stanwix and retreated into Canada. This, together with the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga, thwarted Britain's carefully laid strategy, and the conquest of New York for the purpose of dividing the Colonies was averted."

A glowing tribute was printed in the New York Times in 1925. Stuart M. Emery wrote under the title, "Saving Three Fields of Glory."

"The musket shots of Lexington and Concord have rung around the world; the horrors of Valley Forge are a part of America's fiber; the sword of Cornwallis, yielded at Yorktown, stands as the symbol of liberty achieved through years of wracking struggle," he wrote.

"But how widely is it known that in the smiling stretch of the Mohawk Valley, at Hoosick and on the heights near Saratoga were fought the battles that proved the turning point of the Revolution?

"Without them there would be no 48 States today, reaching from ocean to ocean in a single united country. Without these victories the cause of the Colonies would have gone to ruin. Oriskany, Bennington, Saratoga—the three battles that smashed Burgoyne's crucial drive at the heart of the new America contribution of New York to the land of which it is a part.

"In the dense forests that bordered a certain historic ravine at Oriskany, 8 miles away, the Mohawk Valley settlers, headed by gray-haired, phlegmatic Nicholas Herkimer, inflicted such punishment on the Indians who had ambuscaded them that the power of the red man as a British fighting force never recovered. It was the bloodiest battle of the Revolution, but it saved Fort Stanwix and the valley.

"Oriskany, Bennington and Saratoga turned the tide. Is the Nation to know their real significance?"

Alas, if the National Park Service has its way, the Nation will have to dig out the information for itself.

National officials have made a "big thing" out of Bennington and Saratoga. Why is Oriskany alone of this triumvirate of national shrines denied the accolade of being designated a "national historic site"?

Is it for the same reason the whole Oriskany-central New York area has never received the same attention and political and fiscal nourishment from Washington and Albany that other sections have?

Are we, to put it bluntly, too darned "nice" about demanding things in the Capital to which we sent plenty of tax money? Do officials regard us as in their political pockets or a bunch of quarreling handicaps to whichever party's in power or the kind of people that can be given an easy brushoff?

Right here and now, in the Independence Day Week of 1962, is a good time to start howling for more than lame excuses for delays on arterials; on that promised State office building, on giving Oriskany Battlefield its rightful place in the Federal system. Nicholas Herkimer would never have stood being walked on the way we are.

## One-Way Street

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very timely article which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on August 3, titled "One-Way Street":

ONE-WAY STREET

The Soviet Union recently bought two-page advertisements in three large American metropolitan newspapers to publish the text of Premier Khrushchev's 13,000-word speech before the so-called World Peace Congress on July 10.

The thinking behind the move, one suspects, was to try to convince gullible Americans that it was necessary to buy an advertisement to get a peaceful message across; that the Soviet Union is truly the disciple of peace, and that all who oppose the Reds are warmongers.

Unfortunately for Mr. Khrushchev, another American newspaper called the turn. The Washington Post offered to print without charge the text of Mr. Khrushchev's speech provided the Soviet press would do the same with a disarmament speech by President Kennedy.

The Post's offer was turned down.

Why?

Because Mr. Khrushchev, intent on selling the people of Russia on the idea that we are attempting to whip up a war, simply cannot permit them to know that we don't want a war, and will do everything consistent with national honor, to keep out of one. For if they knew the true state of affairs, Mr. K.'s warlike posturing and his demands for more and more sacrifices from the Russian people would come back in his face, and his scare technique would be valueless.

Actions, not words, are what count—a thing it would be well to remember if you ever read any of Mr. Khrushchev's speeches.

## Mel Ellis Writes About "Dust or Ducks?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include the thoughtful article about our national resources of waterfowl in the August 1962 issue of Field and Stream, by Mel Ellis, the nationally famous outdoor editor of the Milwaukee Journal:

DUST OR DUCKS?

(By Mel Ellis)

Wet lands are oases for all forms of wildlife. Find one, and there will be mink and muskrats, herons and blackbirds, raccoons and deer, fish and frogs. And of primary importance in this era of disappearing waterfowl, there will be ducks.

For half a century Americans have been talking about the preservation of wet lands. But just talking. While dismayed sportsmen protested, farmers were paid Government bonuses to drain marshes and dry up potholes. Now the earth is scarred with ditches, and dust devils dance where water once shimmered in the sun.

In a monumental game of puss-in-the-corner, the Department of Agriculture pays farmers to destroy wetlands, while the Department of the Interior begs Congress for money to preserve them. You foot the bill—and it runs into the billions. Through farm subsidies, you pay to bring more land into production—and create greater surpluses. You pay to buy and store surplus grain. And you pay, though only a pittance, to save these same wet lands from drainage or to reconstruct them as oases for wildlife.

Where will this ruinous nonsense get us? The outlook is bleak. Drainage—and recently drought—have the wild duck population heading for a new low. The recent winter survey showed ducks down as much as 23 percent in some flyways—almost a quarter off the previous low population of 1961.

What is the answer? Certainly Congress hasn't found it. And at this writing there is little hope that it will. It makes gestures. Recently it advanced $105 million against future duck-stamp revenue to speed up wetlands acquisition. But this is merely a loan, not a grant. What will we do when all duck-stamp revenue is being applied against

the mortgage? And the grant was insignificant. Wisconsin alone has a cigarette tax which will in 10 years bring in $50 million for wetland purchases and other conservation projects. Even this is inadequate for the State.

What to do? Where to turn? Must we let the wet lands go and see the dust bowls come back? Must many Americans flee from the floods of spring? Shall we write off the ducks as we have the passenger pigeon?

No, says one militant group of sportsmen, which has organized and is acting. It has already made its first contribution toward the purchase of wet lands. Wet lands for Wildlife is the name of this group, which grew from a handful of Milwaukee men into a nationwide organization. It aims to do for the United States what Ducks Unlimited has been doing in Canada—preserving and resurrecting wetlands. Wetlands for Wildlife will concentrate on purchasing wet lands in this country where there is danger of losing them to agriculture or to the promoters and developers.

Frank P. Briggs, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife, has said that some 4½ million acres of wet lands must be obtained now in order to maintain present waterfowl populations, not to mention building flocks. This acreage, says Briggs, would cost $150 million. "Using duck-stamp money on a pay-as-you-go basis, it will take from 38 to 45 years to complete this job," he explains. "Time has become our enemy—we cannot wait that long. The entire resource will be depleted."

Wet lands for Wildlife doesn't intend to wait. Its aim is magnificent in scope, but exceedingly simple in principal. It wants to provide this country with such a wealth of oases that wildlife will have no worries. Financing would be simple—and dramatic. Every man, woman, and child who thrills to th sight of wildlife on the wing would be asked to contribute dimes and dollars on a local basis. Then the thousands of organizations that Wetlands for Wildlife envisions would buy wet lands through a central board of directors and turn them over to Government agencies for development and management.

This, the founders emphasize, is not an organization solely for waterfowl hunters; it will embrace bird lovers, botanists, fishermen, trappers, minnow dealers—anyone truly interested in the problem. You and me and the man down the street, doctors, truck drivers, kids in school. In their hands will be the future of water—nature's greatest miracle worker.

Probably nowhere in this country is there a better example of the miracles that water has wrought than Wisconsin's Horicon Marsh. When I was a boy, this was a vast grass desert that was swept by raging fires each fall, their smoke hanging a pall over cities 20 and 30 miles away. It produced some packing hay, but otherwise its thousands of acres were as useless as the Sahara. Then a dam was thrown across the Rock River, and water seeped into even the most remote corners of the dry marsh.

Take a look at Horicon today. It has a big deer herd. It attracts as many as 80,000 Canada geese each fall. Special hunts are held for pheasants. Hound dogs run cottontails on its islands and along its perimeter. Tens of thousands of ducks use it. Tens of thousands of dollars worth of fur are taken from it. Raccoons bring off litters in old heron nests. Coots, gallinules, and a wealth of songbirds live amidst its vegetation. It is a paradise that was once a wasteland.

True, this is what water can do in a big way. But think of the tens of thousands of miniature Horicon Marshes scattered across the country. In Wisconsin alone there are 200,000 acres of wet lands in danger of drainage. Perhaps another 200,000 acres have been drained and then deserted. Their aridity could be transformed into lush, life-giving greenery.

But we can't wait. As Briggs puts it, "Definitely, this is the time for action. What we save now may be all that we will ever save."

Land prices continue to soar. In time, wet lands will be priced out of the wildlife market. There is a limit to what the public will pay to save or reclaim a marsh.

One thing is certain: Subsidies for farm drainage must be stopped. Federal spending for such drainage rose from $7 million in 1954 to $18 million in 1961, and much of the drained land was so inferior it couldn't raise a crop. Now permits are issued for drainage projects after they have been fully explored.

Important are small water areas of from 1 to 10 acres. Usually overlooked, they are in the aggregate the insurance we need against drought and floods. They are the oases that Wetlands for Wildlife can rescue immediately. They are the lifeblood of a stable water table in any State.

In this country there are tens of thousands of sportsmen's clubs. Each can launch a local branch of Wetlands for Wildlife. Lacking a wildlife organization to stimulate interest, community leaders should start the ball rolling. And for the millions who may not get an opportunity to join, there is the privilege of contributing to the future of wildlife in America.

Which brings us down to specifics. Just what is this new organization and what are its objectives? Here are questions answered by Ben Boalt, president of the Milwaukee chapter:

What is the purpose of Wetlands for Wildlife?

"To preserve wet lands by buying land that will be transfered to Federal or State agencies for management and maintenance; to provide breeding, raising, and growing areas for waterfowl, birds, fish, deer, and fur-bearing animals, flowers, trees, shrubs, and aquatic vegetation."

Why save wet lands?

"Suitable wet lands, acre for acre, are the most productive and beneficial type of habitat for wildlife. They store ground water, provide stabilization of runoff, create natural firebreaks, and provide excellent wildlife refuges."

Is an organization of this type needed?

"Yes. There is no other movement of this type in the United States. Wet lands are being exploited and destroyed at many times the rate they are being acquired for wildlife use."

Can't State and Federal agencies carry out the program alone?

"History has shown that they cannot. The maintenance cost of wet lands is much greater than the cost of acquisition. Most of the funds allocated by Federal and State sources is used in maintenance."

What do State and Federal agencies think of this movement?

"Both have provided staff members as advisers. Frank Briggs personally appeared at the kickoff meeting."

Where do membership moneys go?

"Solely for the acquisition of wet lands."

How does Wetlands for Wildlife get funds for operation and administration?

"Through a separate operating fund supplied by its trustees and through special donations from industry and foundations."

Is the organization nonprofit?

"Yes. It is registered as such."

Are donations tax deductible?

"Yes."

Who owns the land after it has been purchased?

"It becomes public land managed by State or Federal agencies."

Who may become members?

"Corporations, individuals, foundations, and any organization. The minimum membership donation is $3. Wetlands for Wildlife has spread to 17 States. Anyone interested should write to Wetlands for Wildlife, Inc., 3500 North Holton Street, Milwaukee, Wis."

Remember: Now is the time for action. What we save now may be all that we will ever save.

## Independence Day of Upper Volta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Upper Volta, Maurice Yameogo; and His Excellency the Ambassador of Upper Volta to the United States, Frédéric Fernand Guirma, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Upper Volta's independence.

On August 5, 1960, the former French West African Territory of Upper Volta became the independent Republic of Upper Volta. Like the other now independent states of former French Africa, its Government is based on the principle of popular sovereignty, and legislative power is exercised by an assembly elected by direct universal suffrage. In 1959 Upper Volta joined with three other French West African territories—Ivory Coast, Niger, and Dahomey—to form the Conseil de l'Entente, a loose cooperative association which was continued after independence and which has resulted in the coordination of development plans and of various social, fiscal, and economic policies. The Conseil has set up a customs union providing for free trade among the four members and a solidarity fund for financial assistance. Thus, in political development the Republic of Upper Volta has not only become a modern democratic state but with three of its sister states has formed a unique cooperative association especially adapted to the African scene where economic and social development is of prime importance.

The land itself, which has no outlet to the sea, is a vast plateau rising from a low of 650 to a high of 1,000 feet. It is a land of wooded hills and harsh desert, of cattle-grazing savannahs and lowland rice paddies. Its history before the advent of the European is the tale of the empire-building Mossi, a people believed to have come from East Africa sometime in the 11th century and gradually to have created feudal empires throughout Upper Volta. In the 19th century it became a French protectorate, and later a territory of French West Africa. Now as an independent state and a member of the United Nations it is a respected participant in the world community.

Since the economy of Upper Volta is based on agriculture and animal husbandry, the increase of agricultural and livestock production has been one of the main goals of the country's economic development plans. The new republic has made concentrated efforts to inten-

sify production through the adoption of soil conservation measures, the initiation of agricultural research programs, and the establishment of animal breeding centers. These measures attest to the clear sightedness of Upper Volta's economic planners.

And in the fields of health, education, and welfare Upper Volta has also exerted intensive efforts since independence. A program aimed at expanding primary and secondary education is underway, and it is hoped that full enrollment will be achieved within 15 years. Health conditions are steadily improving, and through the introduction of compulsory innoculations epidemics of infectious diseases such as yellow fever and the plague have been checked. Social welfare programs have been developed in urban areas. A workingman's compensation fund handles accident compensation and allowances to families of incapacitated workmen.

Thus, Upper Volta has quickly assumed the responsibilities of a sovereign state. In foreign relations it is peace loving and trustworthy. In domestic affairs the Government has willingly accepted its obligations toward its citizens and is devoting its every effort toward raising their standard of living as quickly as possible. We congratulate the Government and people of Upper Volta on the second anniversary of their independence.

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## Walt W. Rostow on How To Fight Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 9, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, over the weekend I had occasion to read a fine publication entitled "Special Warfare," prepared by the U.S. Army, which describes in detail the new program in our Defense Department to meet the Communist challenge in guerrilla warfare.

In his message to Congress last year, President Kennedy stated:

> We need a greater ability to deal with guerrilla forces, insurrection, and subversion. We must be ready now to deal with any size of force, including small externally supported bands of men, and we must help train local forces to be equally effective.

During this past year, a tremendous effort has been made by our Government to train specially selected American troops in guerrilla warfare. I believe even our most severe critics must admit that an outstanding job is being done in this field.

This whole American effort is designed to meet Khrushchev's publicly stated objective that his primary tactic is the use of so-called wars of liberation and popular uprisings. By this he actually means wars of subversion and covert aggression. Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam provide examples of Communist or Communist-inspired wars of liberation with the familiar ingredients of insurgency, subversion, guerrilla warfare, and psychological warfare. The threat is not imaginary. It is real and present.

I was very pleased to read in this "Special Warfare" publication, an address by Dr. Walt W. Rostow, now Chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, delivered on June 28, 1961, to the graduating class at the U.S. Army Special Warfare Center.

I would like to call Dr. Rostow's excellent address to the attention of those who have been quick to criticize him and who have on occasion even suggested that he might be in some way contributing to a "no win" policy by this Government.

Dr. Rostow demonstrates a deep understanding of the Communist menace, and in this speech which I am including in the RECORD today, he analyzes the extensive changes now underway in the underdeveloped areas of the world. After describing the danger that communism holds for these newly emerging nations, he outlines the actions the United States must take.

In this speech, Dr. Rostow in fact spells out a "do win" policy for meeting the challenge of international communism.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Rostow's speech follows:

### COUNTERING GUERRILLA ATTACK

(By Walt W. Rostow)

When the Kennedy administration accepted the responsibility of government, it faced four major crises: Cuba, the Congo, Laos, and Vietnam. Each represented a successful Communist breaching—over the previous years—of the cold war truce lines which had emerged from the Second World War and its aftermath. In different ways each had arisen from the efforts of the international Communist movement to exploit the inherent instabilities of the underdeveloped areas of the non-Communist world; and each had a guerrilla warfare component.

Cuba, of course, differed from the other cases. The Cuban revolution against Batista was a broad-based national insurrection. But that revolution was tragically captured from within by the Communist apparatus; and now Latin America faces the danger of Cuba's being used as the base for training, supply, and direction of guerrilla warfare in the hemisphere.

More than that, Mr. Khrushchev, in his report to the Moscow conference of Communist parties (published January 6, 1961), had explained at great length that the Communists fully support what he called wars of national liberation and would march in the front rank with the peoples waging such struggles. The military arm of Mr. Khrushchev's January 1961 doctrine is clearly guerrilla warfare.

### COUNTERING GUERRILLA ATTACK

Faced with these four crises, pressing in on the President from day to day, and faced with the candidly stated position of Mr. Khrushchev, we have indeed begun to take the problem of guerrilla warfare seriously.

To understand this problem, however, one must begin with the great revolutionary process that is going forward in the southern half of the world; for the guerrilla warfare problem in these regions is a product of that revolutionary process and the Communist effort and intent to exploit it.

### THE OLD ORDER CHANGES

What is happening throughout Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia is this: Old societies are changing their ways in order to create and maintain a national personality on the world scene and to bring to their peoples the benefits modern technology can offer. This process is truly revolutionary. It touches every aspect of the traditional life: economic, social, and political. The introduction of modern technology brings about not merely new methods of production but a new style of family life, new links between the villages and the cities, the beginnings of national politics, and a new relationship to the world outside.

Like all revolutions, the revolution of modernization is disturbing. Individual men are torn between the commitment to the old and familiar way of life and the attractions of a modern way of life. The power of old social groups—notably the landlord who usually dominates the traditional society—is reduced. Power moves toward those who can command the tools of modern technology including modern weapons. Men and women in the villages and the cities, feeling that the old ways of life are shaken and that new possibilities are open to them, express old resentments and new hopes.

This is the grand arena of revolutionary change which the Communists are exploiting with great energy. They believe that their techniques of organization—based on small disciplined cadres of conspirators—are ideally suited to grasp and to hold power in these turbulent settings. They believe that the weak transitional governments that one is likely to find during this modernization process are highly vulnerable to subversion and to guerrilla warfare. And whatever Communist doctrines of historical inevitability may be, Communists know that their time to seize power in the underdeveloped areas is limited. They know that as momentum takes hold in an underdeveloped area—and the fundamental social problems inherited from the traditional society are solved—their chances to seize power decline. It is on the weakest nations—facing their most difficult transitional moments—that the Communists concentrate their attention. They are the scavengers of the modernization process.

### SCAVENGERS OF MODERNIZATION

They believe that the techniques of political centralization under dictatorial control—and the projected image of Soviet and Chinese Communist economic progress—will persuade hesitant men faced by great transitional problems that the Communist model should be adopted for modernization, even at the cost of surrendering human liberty. They believe that they can exploit effectively the resentments built up in many of these areas against colonial rule and that they can associate themselves effectively with the desire of the emerging nations for independence, for status on the world scene, and for material progress.

This is a formidable program, for the history of this century teaches us that Communism is not the longrun wave of the future toward which societies are naturally drawn. On the contrary. But it is one particular form of modern society to which a nation may fall prey during the transitional process. Communism is best understood as a disease of the transition to modernization.

What is our reply to this historical conception and strategy? What is the American purpose and the American strategy? We too recognize that a revolutionary process is underway. We are dedicated to the proposition that this revolutionary process of modernization shall be permitted to go forward in independence with increasing degrees of human freedom.

We seek two results: First, that truly independent nations shall emerge on the world scene; and, second, that each nation will be permitted to fashion out of its own culture and its own ambitions the kind of modern society it wants. The same religious and philosophical beliefs which decree that we respect the uniqueness of each individual make it natural that we respect the unique-

ness of each national society. Moreover, we Americans are confident that, if the independence of this process can be maintained over the coming years and decades, these societies will choose their own version of what we would recognize as a democratic, open society.

COMMITMENTS TO FREEDOM

These are our commitments of policy and of faith. The United States has no interest in political satellites. Where we have military pacts, we have them because governments feel directly endangered by outside military action, and we are prepared to help protect their independence against such military action. But, to use Mao Tse-tung's famous phrase, we do not seek nations which shall stand up straight. And we do so for a reason: because we are deeply confident that nations which stand up straight will protect their independence and move in their own time toward human freedom and political democracy.

Thus our central task in the underdeveloped areas, as we see it, is to protect the independence of the revolutionary process now going forward. This is our mission and it is our ultimate strength. For this is not—and cannot be—the mission of communism. And in time, through the fog of propaganda and the honest confusions of men caught up in the business of making new nations, this fundamental difference will become increasingly clear in the southern half of the world. The American interest will be served if our children live in an environment of strong, assertive, independent nations, capable, because they are strong, of assuming collective responsibility for the peace. The diffusion of power is the basis for freedom within our own society, and we have no reason to fear it on the world scene. But this outcome would be a defeat for communism—not for Russia as a national state but for communism. Despite all the Communist talk of aiding the movement of national independence, they are driven in the end by the nature of their system to violate the independence of nations. Despite all the Communist talk of American imperialism, we are committed by the nature of our system to support the cause of national independence. And the truth will out.

THE VITALS OF VICTORY

The victory we seek will see no ticker tape parades down Broadway—no climactic battles nor great American celebrations of victory. It is a victory which will take many years and decades of hard work and dedication—by many peoples—to bring about. This will not be a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union. It will not be a victory of capitalism over socialism. It will be a victory of men and nations which aim to stand up straight over the forces which wish to entrap and to exploit their revolutionary aspirations of modernization. What this victory involves—in the end—is the assertion by nations of their right to independence and by men and women of their right to freedom as they understand it. And we deeply believe this victory will come—on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

If Americans do not seek victory in the usual sense, what do they seek? What is the national interest of the United States? Why do we Americans expend our treasure and assume the risks of modern war in this global struggle? For Americans the reward of victory will be simply this: It will permit American society to continue to develop along the old humane lines which go back to our birth as a Nation—and which reach deeper into history than that—back to the Mediterranean roots of Western life. We are struggling to maintain an environment on the world scene which will permit our open society to survive and to flourish.

THE DIMENSIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

To make this vision come true places a great burden on the United States at this phase of history. The preservation of independence has many dimensions. The United States has the primary responsibility for deterring the use of nuclear weapons in the pursuit of Communist ambitions. The United States has a major responsibility to deter the kind of overt aggression with conventional forces that was launched in June 1950 in Korea. The United States has the primary responsibility for assisting the economies of those hard-pressed states on the periphery of the Communist bloc which are under acute military or quasi-military pressure which they cannot bear from their own resources; for example, South Korea, Vietnam, Taiwan, Pakistan, Iran. The United States has a special responsibility of leadership in bringing not merely its own resources but the resources of all the free world to bear in aiding the longrun development of those nations which are serious about modernizing their economy and their social life. And, as President Kennedy has made clear, he regards no program of his administration as more important than his program for long-term economic development, dramatized, for example, by the Alliance for Progress in Latin America. Independence cannot be maintained by military measures alone. Modern societies must be built, and we are prepared to help build them.

Finally, the United States has a role to play in learning to deter guerrilla warfare if possible, and to deal with it if necessary.

A BATTLE FOR THE MIND AND SPIRIT

I do not need to tell you that the primary responsibility for dealing with guerrilla warfare in the underdeveloped areas cannot be American. There are many ways in which we can help—and we are searching our minds and our imaginations to learn better how to help; but a guerrilla war must be fought primarily by those on the spot. This is so for a quite particular reason. A guerrilla war is an intimate affair, fought not merely with weapons but fought in the minds of the men who live in the villages and in the hills; fought by the spirit and policy of those who run the local government. An outsider cannot by himself win a guerrilla war; he can help create conditions in which it can be won; and he can directly assist those prepared to fight for their independence. We are determined to help destroy this international disease; that is, guerrilla war designed, initiated, supplied, and led from outside an independent nation.

Although as leader of the free world, the United States has special responsibilities which it accepts in this common venture of deterrence, it is important that the whole international community begin to accept its responsibility for dealing with this form of aggression. It is important that the world become clear in mind, for example, that the operation run from Hanoi against Vietnam is as clear a form of aggression as the violation of the 38th parallel by the North Korean armies in June 1950.

In my conversations with representatives of foreign governments, I am sometimes lectured that this or that government within the free world is not popular; they tell me that guerrilla warfare cannot be won unless the peoples are dissatisfied. These are at best half truths. The truth is that guerrilla warfare mounted from external bases—with rights of sanctuary—is a terrible burden to carry for any government in a society making its way toward modernization. As you know, it takes somewhere between 10 and 20 soldiers to control 1 guerrilla in an organized operation. Moreover, the guerrilla force has this advantage: its task is merely to destroy, while the government must build and protect what it is building. A guerrilla war mounted from outside a transitional nation is a crude act of international vandalism. There will be no peace in the world if the international community accepts the outcome of a guerrilla war mounted from outside a nation as tantamount to a free election.

The sending of men and arms across international boundaries and the direction of guerrilla war from outside a sovereign nation is aggression, and this is a fact which the whole international community must confront and whose consequent responsibilities it must accept. Without such international action those against whom aggression is mounted will be driven inevitably to seek out and engage the ultimate source of the aggression they confront.

ALTERNATIVES TO GUERRILLA AGGRESION

I suspect that, in the end, the real meaning of the conference on Laos at Geneva will hinge on this question: It will depend on whether or not the international community is prepared to mount an International Control Commission which has the will and the capacity to control the borders it was designed to control.

In facing the problem of guerrilla war, I have one observation to make as an historian. It is now fashionable—and I daresay for you it was compulsory—to read the learned works of Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on guerrilla warfare. This is indeed proper. One should read it with care and without passion into the minds of one's enemies. But it is historically inaccurate and psychologically dangerous to think that these men created the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war to which we are now responding. Guerrilla warfare is not a form of military and psychological magic created by the Communist. There is no rule or parable in the Communist texts which was not known at an earlier time in history. The operation of Marion's men in relation to the Battle of Cowpens in the American Revolution was, for example, governed by rules which Mao merely echoes; Che Guevara knows nothing of this business that T. E. Lawrence did not know or was not practiced, for example, in the Peninsular Campaign during the Napoleonic wars, a century earlier. The orchestration of professional troops, militia, and guerrilla fighters is an old game whose rules can be studied and learned.

My point is that we are up against a form of warfare which is powerful and effective only when we do not put our minds clearly to work on how to deal with it. I, for one, believe that with purposeful efforts most nations which might now be susceptible to guerrilla warfare could handle their border areas in ways which would make them very unattractive to the initiation of this ugly game. We can learn to prevent the emergence of the famous sea in which Mao Tse-tung taught his men to swim. This requires, of course, not merely a proper military program of deterrence, but programs of village development, communications, and indoctrination. The best way to fight a guerrilla war is to prevent it from happening. And this can be done.

Similarly, I am confident that we can deal with the kind of operation now under way in Vietnam. It is an extremely dangerous operation, and it could overwhelm Vietnam if the Vietnamese—aided by the free world—do not deal with it. But it is an unsubtle operation, by the book, based more on murder than on political or psychological appeal. When Communists speak of wars of national liberation and of their support for "progressive forces," I think of the systematic program of assassination now going forward in which the principal victims are the health, agriculture, and education officers in the Vietnam villages. The Viet Cong are not trying to persuade the peasants of Vietnam that communism is good: they are trying to persuade them that their lives are insecure unless they cooperate with them. With resolution and confidence on all sides and with the assumption of international responsibility for the frontier problem, I believe we are going to bring this threat to the independence of Vietnam under control.

ASSASSINATION OF A RISING CULTURE

My view is, then, that we confront in guerrilla warfare in the underdeveloped areas a systematic attempt by the Communists to impose a serious disease on those societies attempting the transition to modernization. This attempt is a present danger in southeast Asia. It could quickly become a major danger in Africa and Latin America. I salute in particular those among you whose duty it is—along with others—to prevent that disease if possible and to eliminate it where it is imposed. As I understand the course you are now completing, it is designed to impress on you this truth: You are not merely soldiers in the old sense. Your job is not merely to accept the risks of war and to master its skills. Your job is to work with understanding, with your fellow citizens, in the whole creative process of modernization.

From our perspective in Washington you take your place side by side with those others who are committed to help fashion independent, modern societies out of the revolutionary process now going forward. I salute you as I would a group of doctors, teachers, economic planners, agricultural experts, civil servants, or those who are now leading the way in the whole southern half of the globe in fashioning new nations and societies that will stand up straight and assume in time their rightful place of dignity and responsibility in the world community; for this is our common mission.

Each of us must carry into his day-to-day work an equal understanding of the military and the creative dimensions of the job.

I can tell you that those with whom I have the privilege to work are dedicated to that mission with every resource of mind and spirit at our command.

## Metropolitan Water District Urges Defeat of Power Preference Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on August 3 the Los Angeles Enterprise carried the story of the rejection of regional power preference bills by the directors of the Metropolitan Water District of California. The reasons for the board's action were cogently set forth in the Enterprise article as follows:

SHARPLY ADVERSE: METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT URGES CONGRESS TO REJECT REGIONAL POWER PREFERENCES

Directors of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California have urged Congress to reject the regional power preference bills for the Pacific Northwest.

"We are convinced that this proposed legislation is sharply adverse to the long-range welfare of the people of the metropolitan water district," Joseph Jensen, chairman of the metropolitan water district board, said in letters to U.S. Senators THOMAS H. KUCHEL and CLAIR ENGLE and the southern California Members of the House of Representatives.

"It would, to our mind, set a precedent that could cost our taxpayers and water users very heavily in years ahead," said Jensen.

The preference bills, which would give Pacific Northwest users first call on Federal hydroelectric energy produced in that area, are an outgrowth of plans of the Department of Interior for a 1,000-mile transmission line connecting the Bonneville Power Administration with California.

Pointing out that the Metropolitan Water District is already spending $7 million a year for power to bring water from the Colorado River and will pay the major share of the great cost of pumping Feather River water to southern California, Jensen stated: "At first glance, it might seem, therefore, that we should favor the idea underlying these bills of bringing relatively cheap Federal hydroelectric power from the Pacific Northwest, where it is presently in surplus, to areas such as California and that we should perhaps be willing to take a chance on how long it might remain in surplus.

"To our view, however, this no longer is the pivotal consideration, if it ever was.

"All our information indicates that many, if not all, of the areas of the origin of Federal hydroelectric power will be seeking amendments to this proposed legislation giving regional preference to their utilities, private as well as public, over contractors located outside that region.

"We, therefore, believe that these bills endanger our present supply of power from at least Hoover Dam and jeopardize our hopes for a share of the energy to be produced at Glen Canyon Dam.

* * * * *

"We believe further that their passage could result in restricting or even cutting off entirely Federal hydroelectric power generated in central and northern California and needed to pump water through the State aqueduct to southern California."

## Fiscal Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Walterboro Radiocasting Co. of Walterboro, S.C., which operates station WALD has recently broadcast an excellent editorial which I am pleased to call to the attention of the Senate. It is concerned with fiscal responsibility and the importance of supporting rather than tearing down our capitalistic free enterprise system. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

Fortunately there seems lately to be quite a bit of interest by the average fellow in such subjects as Government fiscal policy, American capitalism, and the health and well-being of our economy. The interest is being shown by the average fellow like you and me. Such subjects were once the exclusive preserve of the economists, bankers, and Federal officials. There seems to be a genuine concern about which way this country is going. A recent column entitled "New Frontier: Tired Retread of New Deal," by Henry J. Taylor restates some basic truths about our capitalistic system that bear repeating. Taylor's opening premise is "Why don't we just double the spending and double the debt and really get the country going again?" He follows this by stating that a government is only a spender, not an earner. It cannot create prosperity. Before the politicians can give, they must first take. So, to take, they raise taxes and thus drain off capital investment.

Taylor says that capitalism is a condition that requires encouragement. Capitalism is a social condition as well as an economic matter. It takes more than just printing money to create prosperity, paper money being but a receipt in the exchange of goods. It is noted that excessive Government spending encourages a choking off process that slows the inertia of capitalism. Witness the various spending schemes of the New Deal and the New Frontier that usually end up failing to do the job. For instance, unemployment has not been substantially reduced. Taylor then makes this interesting observation concerning a basic economic fact regarding public confidence in our economy: "for every dollar's increase in the annual product of manufacture, disregarding price changes, someone must be willing to invest a dollar in the capital." For 150 years the value of products and the amount of capital employed have seen a parallel rise. Then, in a 7-year period beginning in 1932 private capital actually decreased $1 billion. In other words those with the capital to risk refused to do so because of no confidence in Government. We are now apparently witnessing a rerun of this unhappy state of affairs with the New Frontier calling the shots. The first misfire being the Government's intervention in the steel price rise. United States Steel incidentally, wanted a boost in prices to gain expansion and new machinery capital. At this point they had confidence in Government. Even if they could obtain this needed capital it is doubtful if they would now use it, as steel has no reason for confidence. This reflects right down the line. Few will argue that the ensuing stock market gyrations had nothing to do with a general loss of confidence. In the following weeks various schemes have been advanced to artificially raise confidence, the latest proposal being to cut taxes. This has practical political considerations involved since this is an election year. But how can we cut taxes to increase confidence and not cut spending. I would have more confidence from a spending cut, but we've heard no such proposals as yet. What we need in taxes is a general overhaul, not a minor tax concession, but that is a separate subject that we'll deal with later.

In the past few weeks some foreign countries have been cashing in their dollars for gold, thus showing European concern over our economy. Although most of the world's currency is still tied to the dollar, don't think for a moment that other countries will hesitate replacing the dollar with a more stable currency in which they have confidence. The German mark is a good example of a stable currency. It has become stable because the Germans and the rest of Europe have confidence in it. German Government rejected a policy of high taxation and more controls after World War II and their current prosperity is the happy result. Our Government has sent teams of "experts" to study European prosperity but don't look for any application of their findings right away for, just as a good Communist is one who never deviates from their written dogma, so to a good New Frontiersman is one who cannot deviate far from the preachings of its high priests.

There is no question that America has an obligation to improve itself; to provide a better material life for our citizens. America has a mandate to help countries and peoples less fortunate than we to a better life. We have a costly obligation to maintain a strong and ready military. Few will argue with that. But these things must be accomplished within the framework of our capitalistic economy. We can do only what we can afford.

We cannot afford to continue our gigantic foreign giveaways. Let's scale them down to what we can afford and still remain strong. We cannot afford in this period of history our gigantic giveaways to ourselves such as the $11 billion veterans pension under consideration. It would be nice, but we can't afford it. We cannot even afford the annual $11 billion interest on the national debt. As Henry Taylor says: "It's time for the New Frontier to make peace not with businessmen but with capitalism itself."

We don't pose for a moment as experts in matters economic, but we are certainly willing to listen and learn and these things seem reasonable to us. This is more than we can say for the New Frontier.

## America's Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the East Side News, a publication with wide circulation in my congressional district. I commend my good friend, Abraham Schlacht, publisher of the paper, for this editorial dedicated in memory of his late brother, Harry H. Schlacht, in that it recalls to mind yet another East Sider who fought for freedom of expression in this country:

AMERICA'S FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE HONORABLE HARRY H. SCHLACHT, NOTED EAST SIDE NEW YORK NEWSPAPERMAN, CITY OFFICIAL, AND OUTSTANDING CITIZEN: JOHN PETER ZENGER, 1697–1746

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

July 28 marks the 216th anniversary of the death of John Peter Zenger, famous East Sider and New Yorker, printer and publisher, and America's first defender of the freedom of the press.

"Freedom is not a heritage, but a fresh conquest for each generation and freedom of expression must be vigilantly protected whenever and wherever it is in danger—today as in 1735 when Zenger was the pioneer in this battle.—ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, board chairman, New York Times.

John Peter Zenger, a German immigrant, came to this city at the age of 13. His father died on shipboard and his mother, Johanna Zenger, with her three little children moved into a house on Cherry Street.

When he was 14, John was apprenticed to William Bradford, pioneer printer for the Colonies, for 8 years. After his apprenticeship, he was married to Mary White for a short time, and 3 years later, he married (September 11, 1722) Anna Catherina Maulin, of Cherry Street. When he was 23 years old, he was made a freeman of the city.

In 1725, John Peter Zenger formed a partnership with William Bradford, but in the following year he set up shop for himself on Smith Street. Eight years later, he moved to Broad Street. The first arithmetic text in the colony, Peter Venema's "Arithmetica," was brought out by Printer Zenger in 1730.

In 1733, he became editor and publisher of the New York Weekly Journal, set up by him and some prominent New Yorkers. The Weekly Journal, unlike Bradford's Gazette, was highly critical of the then Gov. William Cosby's administration.

One of the articles asserted in general terms that the liberties and properties of the people of New York were in danger. Governor Cosby, on November 17, 1734, had Zenger arrested and imprisoned for 9 months for criminal libel.

The court proceedings were conducted with the greatest unfairness and Zenger's attorneys were expelled from the bar. His ever faithful wife, Anna, ran the Journal during his stay in jail.

Brought to trial on August 4, 1735, John Peter Zenger was ably defended by a famous lawyer, Andrew Hamilton. He demanded: "Shall not the oppressed have the right to complain? Shall the press be silenced that evil government may have their way?" "Not guilty," said the jury.

This was the first successful assertion of the liberty of the press at a time when thought and speech were severely restricted. It led the future Founding Fathers to the free press guarantee in our first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which became effective on December 15, 1791.

In 1737, John Peter Zenger became Public Printer for the Colony of New York and 1 year later of the Colony of New Jersey. He remained the editor of the Weekly Journal until his death in 1746.

"Zenger the Printer—his work is done;
Soft be his slumber. Through storm and stress
Guard we the prize of the fight he won—
Bulwark of Freedom, a fearless press."

This legal case is a landmark in the history of the freedom of the press in this country. Today, this great historic event is depicted with murals, dioramas, historical documents, and exhibits in the Zenger Memorial (started in 1953), on the second floor of the Federal Hall, in the old Subtreasury Building at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, on the site of Zenger's jail.

East Siders, New Yorkers, and Americans everywhere salute the memory of that honest and courageous citizen pioneer publisher, John Peter Zenger, and his wife, Anna, who led a crusade for freedom of the press. Their names are permanently emblazoned on the roster of heroes in mankind's struggle against oppression.

## Subsidy Will Not Make Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 23, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Henry J. Taylor from the News-Herald, Franklin and Oil City, Pa.:

SUBSIDY WILL NOT MAKE PROSPERITY

(By Henry J. Taylor)

If Government spending and debt can create economic development and make us prosperous, why don't we just double the spending and double the debt and really "get this country going"?

In simple truth, a government is only a spender, not an earner. It cannot create prosperity. It can only supply the conditions; the people must supply the prosperity. For anything politicians say they will give the people, they must first take away from the people. And if they seize so much in taxes that capital investment suffers or is discouraged ("What's the use?"), the jig is up.

Capitalism is a condition. It requires certain encouraging factors that center in human nature and free thought—including thoughts about risks, profits, and the future—for capitalism is a social condition as well as an economic matter.

The mere presence of "money" is not enough; and surely the distribution of mere pieces of paper popped out by a printing press and covered with ink are not enough. Any government can go this route, and all would be prosperous if this were possible.

But prosperity comes harder than that. Actually, paper money is merely a receipt acting as an agent in the exchange of goods and services and, as such, is not even one of the basic structural elements comprising tangible wealth.

That a dole, or subsidy, can be given which benefits certain individuals is undeniable. Some are needed. But as this expands unduly, a choking-off process occurs underneath which slows the flywheel of the whole system. Aside from the dole benefits, why did the enormous New Deal spending and debt program fail to reduce unemployment, and why must the New Frontier fail in the same way?

The answer is that both choke off and discourage individual investment and the capital flow at the root of our system on a much larger scale than the Government can "circulate money" at the top. This is the terrible leak in the discredited idea.

The politicians face a basic phenomenon of economic life, little understood but beyond dispute. For every dollar's increase in the annual product of manufacture, disregarding price changes, someone must be willing to invest a dollar in the capital.

In fact, the annual adjusted value of all manufactured products and the amount of capital employed in American industry have risen together in absolute parallel throughout 150 years, as the late Carl Snyder, famous statistician for the Federal Reserve, documented year by year in his monumental book, "Capitalism, the Creator."

Until 1930 earlier interruptions had little effect on our long-term rate of growth. But after our 1930 depression the New Deal took steps—some needed, some not; some wise, some unwise—which had an incredibly profound influence on the fundamentals of capitalism itself. An enforced redistribution of wealth took the place of an expansion of capital investment. The Government diverted the capital flow.

One result was no increase in capital investment by our citizens or the rest of the world. Accordingly, there was no increase in output in the United States in these 7 years before World War II saved—in an economic sense—the New Deal. In fact, these 7 years, 1932–39, reversed the pattern of the past 150 years and private capital investment actually decreased $31 billion.

Those who had nest eggs laid aside and other capitalists remained, but capitalism stagnated. For the stimulus for the capital flow has always been, of course, that it is worthwhile to risk one's savings and that if all turns out well, the proceeds will be protected. Capital contracts and prosperity does not expand when jobmakers see any government display unbridled power and a disregard for thrift, risk and the profit incentive.

The New Deal displayed much such disregard, and even the patient New York Times recently described the New Frontier as "a tired retread of F.D.R.'s New Deal measures." This is why President Kennedy's TV treatment of the complex steel issue confirmed earlier anxieties and was immediately reflected by the stock market. What was shown at once by this sensitive barometer must likewise affect the capital flow. And neither Mr. Kennedy nor our Nation can afford that.

It's time for the New Frontier to make peace not with businessmen but with capitalism itself.

# Appendix

## Greek-American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. SILVIO O. CONTE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the good relations which have existed for the past several years between the United States and Greece is indeed a bright spot in today's troubled world. The following editorial is an excellent summary of our relations with Greece.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Greek-American Relations" which appeared in the Hellenic Chronicle of Boston, Mass., on July 12, 1962:

GREEK-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Relations between the American and Greek Governments were never better than they are at present and the same may be said of the friendship between the two peoples. This friendship is the most sincere conceivable between nations today.

If we tried to analyze the reasons for this friendship we would find that in the first place common interests, common ideals, and common dangers are the chief factors that unite our countries. Both Americans and Greeks are true democrats and cannot conceive of existence without liberty and equality.

America needs allies in this part of the world. She knows that Greece, though a small country may be fully relied upon as a loyal and trusted ally.

During World Wars I and II the Greeks fought on the side of the Western nations. The Americans no doubt remember that during World War II when Greece was attacked simultaneously and without any provocation by two mighty armies, the Greeks did not stop to think of the consequences but immediately put up a stiff resistance and fought to the end, almost singlehanded. America, therefore, knows very well that we would do it again if and when the hour of crisis arises again.

For the Greeks, if that hour ever comes, we need the support of a powerful ally to be able to withstand an aggressive attack from our western and northern borders.

Besides common interests, however, there is another quite strong reason why we should be unhesitatingly supporting the objectives of America. We Greeks are not an ungrateful nation and we will never forget that, if we are today an orderly nation, with government and financial stability, communication networks, airports, harbors, busy factories, we are indebted for all this to the generosity and devotion of our great ally.

World War II and the subsequent guerrilla war had laid our country prostrate, in complete ruins, and only a miracle could have restored it to its present condition. This miracle came from America in the form of UNRRA, Truman plan and Marshall plan and later the Public Power Corporation. Were it not for these aids, we should now certainly be on the other side of the Iron Curtain struggling for economic survival and longing for our beloved freedom and liberty.

America should not be influenced in any way by a very small minority of Greeks who criticize American policy. These form only quite a negligible minority belonging to the Leftist party and receiving orders from Moscow. They no longer can be considered as Greeks, because they often act against the interests of their own country and have repeatedly taken arms against their brothers, seeking to impose upon them a minority government similar to that of the Kremlin. Unfortunately these minorities are found in all countries throughout the world.

One thing is certain, that if the Kremlin authorities ever become foolish as to launch an unprovoked attack upon the Western Nations, Greece will again perform its righteous duty in the cause of justice and freedom, without hesitation and without any fear, as she did so in ancient times against the Persian hordes and during the War of Independence against the Turkish Empire and in recent times against the Italians and Germans.

We know that owing to our geographic position, we have to be the shock troop of the Western Nations. May that hour never come, but whatever is our destiny, we shall know that the ideals of democracy will always prevail against tyranny and brute force and "peace on earth" will become a reality.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The above was written by a pupil of Ernest Coulouras, of Lowell, who recently completed a year's teaching at Volos High School in Greece as a Fulbright exchange teacher. The youth is Byron Altintop, 17, arriving in this country this month as a Fulbright grant student to study at Bowdoin College for 1 year. Bowdoin is offering tuition free and Beta Theta Pi fraternity is providing room and board.

## Thank You, NEA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a high honor was bestowed upon the Asbury Park Evening Press recently. They were selected by the National Editorial Association as the recipient of its annual award for community service. In being so chosen they won out over a large field of contestants including the winners of the Pulitzer Prize.

The Press has accepted the award with humility and on June 22 wrote an editorial "Thank You, NEA," for their great honor. I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD so that another accolade can be added to this fine newspaper.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THANK YOU, NEA

It is unnecessary to say that the Press is delighted to have been selected by the National Editorial Association as the recipient of its annual award for community service. The NEA is an old and honored journalistic association and any newspaper would be proud to receive its accolade. The Press won out over a large field of contestants including this year's winners of the Pulitzer Prize.

The newspaper service which won the NEA award involved the reapportionment of the New Jersey House of Assembly. This newspaper had long contended that reapportionment of the lower house of the legislature was overdue and that it was unfair for counties with a declining population to retain their old representation at the expense of the more rapidly growing areas. The Press contended in a suit that the legislature had no right to ignore the constitutional prescription for decennial reapportionment. The newspaper further argued that it was the duty of the supreme court to order legislative action to protect the citizen's constitutional rights. In a precedent-setting decision the court took jurisdiction in the case and announced it would act if the legislature failed to do so. A few hours before the deadline set by the court the legislature passed a bill reapportioning the seats in the assembly.

In its more than 80 years of life the Press has waged a continuing battle for what it deemed to be the public good. It regards such crusading as a vital element in the operation of a progressive newspaper. A newspaper that is loyally supported by its readers, as is the Press, owes something to those readers. It owes them an impartial news report, honest editorial comment, and a willingness to act as their spokesman in matters requiring a collective voice. The Press deems this to be its obligation to its readers and the public and it pledges itself to discharge this responsibility, in sincerity, to the best of its ability.

## The Irish Brigade of Civil War Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS J. LANE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 11, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact recognized by historians that men and women of Irish origin, in proportion to the relatively small population of the Irish among the peoples of this world, have fought and sacrificed more for freedom, than any other group. During the Civil War, they ranked after the Yankees and the Germans, in the number of men who served the Union cause.

Believing in the right of self-determination, many other Irishmen fought for

the Confederacy and their beloved leader, Gen. Robert E. Lee.

In that conflict no unit distinguished itself more than the Irish Brigade of New York, commanded by Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher. On June 2, 1962, the Irish Brigade Memorial Committee of New York City conducted patriotic exercises at the scene of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Mr. Patrick J. Hogan, national president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America and Canada, delivered the oration. I bring you his inspiring message, originally published in the July–August edition of the National Hibernian Digest:

ORATION DELIVERED BY NATIONAL PRESIDENT PATRICK J. HOGAN AT GETTYSBURG

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I want to thank the Irish Brigade Memorial Committee of New York City for giving me the privilege of representing the Ancient Order of Hibernians at these patriotic exercises.

This beautiful Celtic Cross, whose base is moistened by the tears of relatives and friends, was erected through the generosity of admiring sympathizers, to honor the men of the Irish Brigade, Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher their undaunted leader, and through them to perpetuate the memory of all those gallant Irishmen who fought and died in the American Civil War.

We, the Irish, of a later generation remember them with pride, and while we believe they have long ago passed to their eternal reward, we nevertheless offer a prayer, not only for them, but for all those who gave their lives for their conception of liberty and justice.

Paradoxical as it may seem, those of our race who fought for the Confederacy as well as for the Union, were inspired by the same lofty motives, and sustained by the same ideals and principles, and to their everlasting glory, all gave their last full measure of devotion to the cause which they served and in which they implicitly believed. That is our answer to the cynics and the critics who taunt us by saying that they were either unscrupulous adventurers or cold calculating soldiers of fortune. We are far removed from the tragic events of those times, but in view of the fact that some historians have found elements of justification in the southern cause, we reiterate with emphasis and in tones of finality, that they willingly and cheerfully gave their loyalty and their allegiance to that section of America which they called home.

We especially recognize that in their own way and in their own time, they were motivated by the doctrine of self-determination, but without bitterness, hatred, or animosity toward each other. Had it been otherwise, they could never have been brothers, and comrades in arms in the Fenian movement, whether here or in Ireland. With a little luck and even with a little help from the North and the South which they perhaps unconsciously helped to unite and solidify, they could also have been successful in securing the complete freedom of the land of their birth and the home of their forefathers.

Those brave men whose mortal remains hallow this historic battlefield, were lovers of liberty and they shed their blood to prove it, and in an inverted sense, they were crusaders for democracy and they gave their lives in vindication of their beliefs, their hopes, and their patriotic instincts.

Left here to sleep in oblivion and obscurity, those ideals and ambitions would in all probability have perished with them. But while the Irish of the present time treasure their memory and cherish the spirit which animated and sustained them in the pursuit of their lofty principles, there is still hope that a grateful Nation will at last and at least, give its moral and diplomatic support to bring to fruition in their island home the hopes and aspirations of the Irish people.

While Thomas Francis Meagher from Waterford, perhaps more than any other Irish hero, personifies and typifies the spirit and is representative of all the Irish soldiers whose deeds we celebrate and whose memories we honor here today, it is indeed tragic that his mortal remains are not commingled with theirs. If the Missouri River showed him neither mercy nor gratitude, it is our hope that his ardent soul is in peaceful communion with all his patriotic associates.

Far beyond the eloquence of words, their deeds, their sufferings, their supreme sacrifice should ennoble our lives and strengthen our determination to proclaim aloud for all to hear, "While our hearts are with our country, we love old Ireland still."

May their souls and all the souls of the faithful departed rest in peace.

## Tribute to Ellsworth Bunker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, in the Brattleboro Daily Reformer of August 3, 1962, there was published an editorial written by the editor, John S. Hooper, paying tribute to an esteemed citizen of my county, Ellsworth Bunker. Mr. Bunker is a near neighbor of mine. He might perhaps be claimed by the county, and he is connected with three towns, in that his residence is in the town of Dummerston, his telephone line comes out of Brattleboro, and his mail goes to Putney, Vt.

We are all proud of the work of Mr. Bunker as Ambassador to Argentina, to Italy, and to India, and we are also proud of his more recent achievement—what appears to be a settlement of the Indonesian-Dutch controversy.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER "BUNKER" HILL

(By John S. Hooper)

Ellsworth Bunker, of Dummerston, former Ambassador in Argentina, Italy, and India, has again successfully come out on top of what appeared to be an insurmountable mountain of international dissensions. Early this week in the quiet surroundings of a Virginia estate, this mild but firm negotiator brought Holland and Indonesia together in an agreement that restores peace where an ugly little war seemed about to erupt. He had been asked by President Kennedy to represent the United States in the negotiations, after Holland and Indonesia had accepted the U.S. role as intermediary.

It was the first time the United States can take the credit for terminating a war since President Theodore Roosevelt was the intermediary in ending the Russo-Japanese war of 1905.

Ellsworth Bunker's victory in obtaining peace where war threatened between Holland and Indonesia over West New Guinea rises high as one of the major achievements in the use of negotiation and diplomacy, rather than force, in effecting peaceful settlement of an international dispute. Had it not been successful, the possible extension of the conflict into Russia and United States spheres is all to apparent.

Now, again, this southeast corner of Vermont makes its contribution to international relations. Those of us who live here have reason to be proud of the link for good between us and the rest of the world that has been forged by our fellow citizens and neighboring institutions engaged in the great work of creating better international understanding. It can be especially happy about Ellsworth Bunker's latest achievement. This mild man with nerves of steel—a Democrat who has served both Republican and Democratic administrations in the field of foreign service—will doubtless now return to his Dummerston farm to tend his flowers and get some needed relaxation.

Where he will go next to serve his country we do not know. But wherever and whatever it is, he will do it with the quiet determination of a man who believes in mankind's capacity for thinking through its problems—and who so often has proved this point.

## A High School Student Asks for Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a letter received from a high school student in California. I feel that the letter indicates a deep concern on the part of many students in America who have a desire to see their beloved country remain strong and independent. They are appalled at the lack of understanding of the international Communist conspiracy by many citizens who should know better. Young people in primary and secondary schools are in the most formative period of their life, and if their minds can be captured and directed to socialistic thinking, America will be faced with a generation of collectivists. This student asks for help. What are we, as Congressmen, doing to give them the assistance and guidance which they need? I have deleted the writer's name for fear that recognition would bring retribution.

The letter follows:

DEAR SIR: I am scared—scared to death. At least, I am if the people of my area are any indication of the feelings of the rest of the people in the United States of America. It seems that in this region, it is "quite fashionable to be a 'little pink,'" to quote a liberal. I am only a high school student, and by popular definition should be liberal, and then get more conservative as I grow older. I am anything but liberal, and support the conservative theories quite strongly. It seems there are not too many "older people" in this area, as most are quite liberal.

Perhaps you are wondering why I am so frightened. These are but a few of the reasons that have been said to me by liberals and have cause this fear:

"You know, the Communists have done so much for the people of Russia, and of course, China. I really don't think that they want a democratic form of government or

any other Western kind. The Communists have done so much for them."

"Why give the people of China a democratic government? After all, they have always looked up to some strong leader, and any democratic government would fail miserably. Why, it couldn't have accomplished any of the things that the Communist government has done."

"You are taking an awfully American viewpoint. After all, you should look at it from a neutral point of view. That is not going to accomplish anything. The Communists will consider the matter from a Communist viewpoint, and if you (as an American) consider it from an American viewpoint, well, we won't get anything accomplished."

"It's ridiculous to stand up and defend your country to that extent. That's being too American."

"I'm for peace—total peace. And since peace cannot coexist between Russia and the United States, well, I'm for total peace."

"No, I wouldn't mind giving up the United States if it meant peace. After all, a Communist peace is better than none at all."

"Sure, we basically believe in the same thing—fight communism. But we believe in fighting it by different methods. You can't fight Communists by denying them the rights of this country. Let them alone—they will destroy themselves."

"Are you going to join the Junior Statesmen of America?" That'll be the day. Look, we are all liberals and leftists in that club. It's open to all, but the conservatives—you know, Dr. Schwarz and Barry Goldwater followers—joined at first, but we ridiculed them so that they finally had to resign out of sheer humiliation."

"The Junior Statesman of America. Don't join that. Your ideas are too American. You can't get anything done in there unless you are completely left and radical."

"Conservatives, radicals, John Birchers, all the same thing."

"You want to start a pro-American or anticommunism organization here at high school? No, I don't recommend it, that organization could turn into a Fascist one.

"Yes, I believe in the United States, but if there is ever a real threat of war, I say 'let's surrender.' After all, 'Better Red than dead.'"

"Who me? Of course I'll stand up for what the United States is based on—after all, I'm an American citizen."

With citizens like this for Americans, who needs Communists for enemies?

A great number of these were said by high school students—the future leaders. They had to be influenced somewhere, at home, at schools? Or have they fallen to Communist propaganda. Do they say this out of fear, when in a group? I know from experience that when you stand up and defend your country—the United States of America—and criticize the Soviet Union and communism, you are immediately tagged as a "John Bircher" or "radical." A few may say, "I completely agree with you," but are scared to come out in public or in a classroom and defend you or their country.

Do you have any information or anything that could help me to try to show others the evils of communism and try to reconvert these ignorant Americans to good American citizens? It is in the high schools, especially, where the future leaders form their pro-Communist opinions.

Please, sir, what can be done to stop this?

Sincerely,

——— ———.

## Independence Day of the Ivory Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouet-Boigny; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Ivory Coast to the United States, Konan Bédié, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Ivory Coast's independence.

The Ivory Coast, which first became known to Europeans as a result of exploratory voyages by the Portuguese in the 14th and 15th centuries, was administered by France from the end of the 19th century until 1958. At that time its people voted in favor of the constitution of the Fifth French Republic, thus making the Ivory Coast an autonomous state in the French Community. On August 7, 1960, the Ivory Coast became an independent republic, while remaining in the French Community. Today its 3 million citizens, many descendants of ancient kingdoms, are striving to consolidate their young nation.

We are recently privileged to welcome the President of the Ivory Coast, M. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who came on a state visit. President Houphouet-Boigny, formerly a physician, has become known to the world for his efforts to achieve freedom for the Ivory Coast and for his faith in cooperation with other nations. After the Second World War he was a founder and leader of the African Democratic Rally—R.D.A.—an interterritorial political party which assumed the lead in the movement for independence of the French-African territories. For many years he represented the Ivory Coast in the French National Assembly. President Kennedy has praised his extraordinary efforts in promoting African unity and cooperation within the Council of the Entente, the Union of African and Malagasy States, and through a conference of 20 African nations held recently at Lagos, Nigeria. We trust that President Houphouet-Boigny's visit to the United States and the conversations between the two Presidents have strengthened the friendly relations between our two countries. President Houphouet-Boigny's visit followed a trip by Attorney General Robert Kennedy to the Ivory Coast, where he represented the United States at the first anniversary of that nation's independence last August.

The Ivory Coast has cooperated closely with France in its economic and social development. Attractive housing is being vastly expanded. The proportion of children receiving elementary education has increased ninefold during the last few years. Until 1958, higher education was available only in the universities of France or nearby Senegal; now a university is being established in Abidjan, the capital city of the Ivory Coast. Public health services are being strengthened both at Abidjan and in the interior administrative subdivisions. Meanwhile, an economic boom is in progress, and President Houphouet-Boigny, who successfully led the struggle for African emancipation, is now embarked on a bold experiment of cooperating with foreign governments and investors. We salute the Ivory Coast on the second anniversary of its independence.

## Philadelphia: Policing the Police

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the July 19, 1962, issue of the Reporter magazine contains an article by free-lance writers Ruth Marossi and Gerald Krefetz entitled "Philadelphia: Policing the Police."

The article points out that in 1958, Mayor Richardson Dilworth established a police advisory board composed of prominent Philadelphians to hear complaints of alleged police mistreatment of citizens.

The Civil Rights Commission in its 1961 report on the administration of justice noted the Philadelphia policy advisory board "is apparently the first such agency created in this country." The Commission commented that—

The general consensus is that the Philadelphia board has met with some success. Demands are now being made in other cities that similar boards be established.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article published in the Reporter on this subject, which tells how well the board has been working.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA: POLICING THE POLICE
(By Ruth Marossi and Gerald Krefetz)

"Police brutality in the United States today is a serious and continuing problem in many parts of the country." This was the finding of a recent report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, a body created by Congress. Though most police departments work in a decent and lawful manner, the Commission was "concerned about the number of unconstitutional and criminal acts committed by agents of American justice who are sworn to uphold the law and apply it impartially."

If the third degree is the most flagrant violation, it is by no means the only one. Harassment, illegal search and seizure, refusal of permission for an arrested person to telephone his family or lawyer, discrimina-

tion based on race, religion, or national origin, shakedowns, destruction of property—all these, the report indicates, are common.

The United States has a rapidly growing crime rate. In the decade ending in 1960 the number of serious crimes rose four times as fast as the population. The last 2 years witnessed an increase of 16 percent, though lately this precipitous rise has shown signs of abating. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that both official and public pressure are brought to bear on police departments to solve and if possible prevent criminal acts. Unfortunately, the result is sometimes overzealous law enforcement.

Many cities have internal police boards presided over by police officials who are primarily concerned with breaches of regulations within the force. Their makeup, viewpoint, and normal obligation all tend to favor the police. Even if the board should find in the complainant's favor, there is little it can do for him. The offending officer may be disciplined, but the victim receives little more than psychological compensation, for only in rare and extraordinary circumstances is a police record destroyed by the authorities. Consequently, after a run-in with the law, one must forever admit to an arrest record on applications for employment, naturalization, passports, and on other legal forms. Qualifying the answer with lengthy explanations often merely serves to arouse and increase suspicion.

Philadelphia has been making a noteworthy effort to find a solution to this state of affairs. An experiment has been carried on there that guarantees an impartial hearing to victims of police mistreatment. In 1958, Mayor Richardson Dilworth established a police advisory board composed of civilians to hear complaints. In cases of false arrest the citizen is guaranteed not only a written apology by the police but also the privilege of having his arrest record destroyed before his eyes.

For a number of years several Philadelphia civil organizations—the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, the Civil Rights Committee of the Philadelphia Bar Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the American Friends Service Committee, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews—had discussed the need for such a board. The incident that finally shocked Philadelphia into action concerned a patrolman who assaulted a superior and who on two separate occasions committed brutal attacks on private citizens. The police department board charged him only with insubordination. This led councilman Henry W. Sawyer, III to observe that such departmental inquiries were "a farce when it comes to hearing civilian cases."

On September 30, 1958, the mayor appointed five prominent Philadelphians who were willing to serve the city in a unique experiment, among them Clarence Pickett, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and executive secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee. Because of increased caseloads, the board has recently been enlarged, and two panels of four members each will hear cases alternately.

The procedures are simple and direct: anyone with a complaint against the police who files a statement within 90 days can have his case reviewed. If in the opinion of a member of the board the complaint warrants investigation, it will be thoroughly examined by a special police investigator. A public hearing is scheduled after complainants, police, and respective counsel have been given sufficient notice. Strict rules of evidence are not followed; the board attempts to keep the proceedings as informal as possible. The civilian board in no way conflicts or interferes with the jurisdiction of the police disciplinary body. It is purely advisory and its recommendations are not binding.

Here is how the board operated in one difficult case. Shortly after 3 o'clock on a Monday morning, a car was stopped by the police. A white clergyman was on his way home after lecturing at a university some distance away. The other occupant of the car was a Negro student, a girl. When the clergyman asked why he had been stopped, the officer first replied that it was a "routine check," but then hinted at prostitution. At the station house, the officer in charge said that seeing a racially mixed couple was reason enough to suspect prostitution. The clergyman requested a hearing by the civilian board "because of the embarrassment caused us * * * the arbitrary and unwarranted detention * * * and perhaps illegal arrest." After investigating, the board found that the car had been stopped and its occupants taken to the station house merely because the couple were of different races. It recommended that the officer involved be suspended for 2 days and given a departmental reprimand; he was also asked to write a letter of apology. Moreover, the board requested that a departmental directive clarify policy and prevent such incidents in the future. Here, as in other cases, police officials cooperated fully with the board and acted on its suggestions.

Within the last year, increasing publicity has doubled the number of cases brought before the board. More than half are settled amicably without hearings, and the board has found in favor of the police as often as against them. Indeed, in some cases the board has praised the "self-control and restraint as exemplary and befitting a professional police officer" in the face of civilian abuse and insults.

As one might expect, many cases presented to the board involve Negroes, who now make up nearly a fourth of Philadelphia's population. As James Barker, former head of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP, has said, "Police violence has always been the lot of the Negro. It seldom receives much notice, nor have the maltreated complained very loudly." At least the new arrangement makes it more possible for those who feel they have been mistreated to rgister their complaints. But actually, complaints from Negroes, while numerous, have not been disproportionate. And the board's records indicate that cases come from all racial groups and classes, white as well as colored, businessmen as well as laborers.

The Philadelphia experiment has been in operation for only about 4 years—still rather a short time as municipal institutions go. Nevertheless, it has already made its mark despite meager funds and a small staff. There has, of course, been opposition to the board. It has been accused of existing merely to protect the rights of a small part of the population. "Minority groups are handled with kid gloves, given every advantage far beyond what is due. You call them 'minority groups,' I call them high-pressure groups," remarked Bernard Lemisch, a leading attorney for Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police. "The board is a kangaroo court. No outsider should sit in judgment on the police. Civilians don't understand police procedures."

The main criticism from the police association, however, really lies elsewhere: it complains that the police cannot do an effective job if someone is looking over their shoulder. The 1960 meeting of the National Conference of Police Associations declared that police review boards were subverting and undermining law enforcement. Since then, patrolmen's benevolent associations have taken strong stands against the establishment of review boards in a number of other cities where Philadelphia's example is being studied or is already being followed. It must be noted, however, that Philadelphia's crime index, as reported to the FBI, has decreased although the national average has risen in recent years. This would not seem to indicate that Philadelphia's police force has been either demoralized or undermined by the board's efforts to protect citizens against police brutality.

## The Failure of the Kennedy Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Ramona, Calif., Sentinal:

THE FAILURE OF THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

President Kennedy's 49-plus-percent popular vote in 1960 did not constitute a mandate of the people. The new President was inclined to disregard the fact that not even one-half of the country was with him, and launched into vigorous radical programs of welfare-statism and power grabbing. He has run into the proverbial stone wall. The present situation, although clear to some, is an enigma to the political scientists.

Former Presidents can point with irritation and place the blame on a Congress dominated by another political party—Mr. Eisenhower to a Democratic Congress and Harry Truman to a GOP Congress. Not so, Mr. Kennedy. His programs have suffered defeat at the hands of a Democratic Congress—some of the opposing Congressmen having been seated by the Kennedy machine. It can be truthfully stated that the Democratic Congress has stubbornly resisted the Kennedy programs. This resistance has been blamed on the southern Democratic bloc. The facts belie the allegations. It must be difficult for the administration to reconcile this argument with the present filibuster (at Sunday's writing) by a stubborn element of the Democratic Party, NEUBERGER, GORE, KEFAUVER and others, against the Kennedy plan to place the authority of the Telstar satellite in the hands of A.T. & T.

The Kennedy record of legislation is a dismal one this year. Of his must legislation, civil defense, literacy tests, foreign aid, job retraining, urban affairs, farm controls, aid to education, foreign trade, medicare, and tax revision; only job retraining, foreign aid, and foreign trade are to his credit, while he lost the big ones, medicare, urban affairs, aid to education, literacy tests. His tax revision and farm controls are being watered down.

Despite the administration's talk of better times, many economists now believe the Nation will enter another recession. Other economists are now publicly scoring his almost total failure of domestic welfare and reform programs. As it appears today, the President's promise of a half-billion-dollar surplus in 1963, will in reality exceed $7 billion deficit, possibly extending to a $10 or $12 billion deficit. If tax cuts are adopted, or emergency spending programs are necessary, the largest peacetime deficit in history may result. Labor officials are of the opinion that a 6-percent unemployment rate may result this fall, and even that will be difficult to maintain.

Much of the lack of confidence in the country today can be traced to the mailed fist attack of Kennedy upon the steel industry, and his chronic antibusiness thinking.

The records of the steel industry are in Government hands at present, and there is little wonder that there is a reluctance to invest money in corporations who can be subject to administration manipulation.

More lack of confidence in investment is developing by the national pressures of unions on the administration for a shorter workweek, which to an investor means less production and plummeting profits. Until the attitudes toward business change, Mr. Kennedy cannot expect a return of confidence.

Some lack of confidence is developing among thinking people who will not accept the strange economy policies of an administration which raises the debt ceiling, promotes immense welfare programs and still talks of reducing taxes at the same time. Who invites industrialists to the Capital as his guests, while his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, conducts massive antitrust and monopoly probes simultaneously. Thinking people can easily see through the ruse of the administration withholding results of tax reduction studies until fall, just before the November elections. And San Diego people, for example, are awaiting and are aware of the inevitable fact that San Diego will receive some defense contracts in time for elections in the fall, to prove that the President holds the economy of this and other areas in his hands. His party stalwarts are shaken by his angry denunciation of his own party congressional members, and his demagogic appeal to the public to replace them with men more amenable to his programs.

The President has been severely rebuffed this year, not because he is not personally popular, but because his programs are not. He would do well, as the American citizen's chief representative, not to stage a lone battle against the people he represents. And not to abuse the stand of the sectional representatives of the citizenry, the State's elected representatives to Congress.

"They do abuse the King that flatter him,
For flattery is the bellows that blows up sin;
The thing which is flatter'd, but a spark
To which that blast gives heat and stronger glowing;
Whereas reproof, obedient and in order,
Fits kings, as they are men, for they may err."

—Shakespeare's "Pericles."

## Custer Battlefield, Little Big Horn River, Mont.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the August 6, 1962, edition of the New York Herald Tribune includes a column by John K. Hutchens describing the Montana literary scene as exhilarating. Hutchens traveled to the Custer Battlefield near the Little Big Horn River in Montana to write "Literary Montana," in his daily book review column.

In describing Montana as the State with the highest per capita book-use rate among all Western and Midwestern States, Hutchens writes, "Wherever you look out here, or so it seems, someone is writing a book, or is planning to, or has just finished one."

I remember when Hutchens' father, Martin Hutchens, was editor of the Daily Missoulian and Missoula Sentinel when I was growing up in western Montana. The elder Hutchens edited the two Missoula dailies from 1917 to 1926, and was himself a literary Montanan, who wrote a lively column that his readers avidly followed. Martin Hutchens was a Montana pioneer, having arrived in the territory in November 1889 on the day before statehood. He worked there for the old Helena Independent until 1893 when he moved to New York. When he came back to Montana in 1917, he had a wife and two children, one of whom was John Hutchens, aged 12 at the time.

John Hutchens returned to Montana this June for the first time in 30 years, and was so impressed by the cultural climate of the State that he ended his "Literary Montana" column with the declaration, "any other place containing only 600,000-odd citizens should be so lucky."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hutchens' column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAILY BOOK REVIEW—LITERARY MONTANA: "CUSTER BATTLEFIELD, LITTLE BIG HORN RIVER, MONT."

(By John K. Hutchens)

As every American Indian schoolboy knows, reversals suffered by Gen. George Armstrong Custer at this place on Sunday afternoon, June 25, 1876, left only two survivors on the non-Indian side, (1) the U.S. Army horse Comanche, now to be seen in a Kansas museum, finely stuffed and very lifelike but incontestably dead, and (2) your correspondent, who, stuffed finely with Montana steak, for a reasonable fee will disclose to any student of General Custer's misadventure the definitive story thereof.

No takers? Your correspondent had feared as much, and accordingly has occupied his holiday time hereabouts with a once-over-lightly survey of the literary scene in this State that he last observed too many years ago.

THINGS HAPPEN

The Montana literary scene, strikes him as exhilarating. Oddly, there are Montanans who would reject that salute. Montana, this faction declares, has retreated into a cultural as well as political isolationism; at the very least, a kind of stultifying indifference.

Here it is, the Republic's fourth largest State, about 3½ times the size of Pennsylvania, but with a population only a bit larger than Pittsburgh's. That is to say, about 675,000 souls, thanks to huge stretches of Rocky Mountains and far-reaching plains which those souls justly cherish but do not find exactly habitable.

THEY WRITE

This enormous, thinly populated area, even when a territory on the way to statehood, had its writers and readers. Its first published book, Thomas J. Dimsdale's "The Vigilantes of Montana" (1865), was hailed by no less a one than Mark Twain as the "blood-thirstily interesting" classic it turned out to be.

Wherever you look out here, or so it seems, someone is writing a book, or is planning to, or has just finished one. Up in Great Falls is A. B. Guthrie, Jr., Pulitzer Prize-winning author of "The Big Sky," "The Way West," "These Thousand Hills." The same town harbors Dan Cushman, of "Stay Away, Joe!" renown. Over in Missoula are the greatly talented Dorothy M. Johnson, who wrote "Indian Country" and "The Hanging Tree"; that professorial firecracker, Montana State University's Leslie A. Fiedler ("Pull Down Vanity"); Marion T. Place, a topflight writer for teenagers ("Wild Horse Trap," "The Copper Kings of Montana"); and a newcomer to the bookstalls, Virginia Weisel Johnson, granddaughter of a noted Montana pioneer, John R. Toole, who will make her debut soon with the first full-fledged biography of Gen. Nelson A. Miles, "The Unregimented General."

Bozeman has its Naomi Lane Babson, who wrote the fine frontier novel, "I Am Lidian" (1951), Cut Bank its wise, salty Dan Whetstone ("Frontier Editor," 1956), Kalispell its mystery-writing Margaret Scherf, the Bitter Root Valley its ageless poet and tireless newspaper woman, Bessie K. Monroe.

THEY READ

But there shouldn't really be anything astonishing about all this. Statistics say that the printed word is esteemed out here. The State's total public library book stock (not including the State Historical Library) was 1,231,561 as of 1961, and these books were borrowed 3,067,457 times, giving Montana the highest per capita book use rate among all Western and Midwestern States. Three bookmobiles traveling 55,026 miles circulated 1,200,508 books to 150,756 readers in rural areas.

And what do Montanans like to read? About what Americans anywhere like to read, except that Montanans have a special liking for books about their own State history, says Susan Eaker, whose sparkling bookstore in Helena, the capital city, would adorn Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Ruth O. Longworth, librarian of the State library commission, agrees. High prices of hardcover novels, and the wealth of good paperbacks, have diminished the interest in new fiction, Miss Eaker adds, though she doesn't take much nonsense from customers who complain about those prices.

"Be quiet, Charlie," she said to one such patron in your correspondent's hearing. "I know what you pay for scotch."

But there is more to the local cultural life than this. There is the Montana Institute of the Arts, founded in 1948 by Harold G. Merriam, professor of English emeritus at Montana State University, who from 1920 to 1939 made American literary history as publisher of "The Frontier," later "Frontier and Midland," finest of western "little magazines." (Excerpts from the historical documents it carried will appear this fall as "Frontier Omnibus," to be presented by the Montana State University Press.)

NO IVORY TOWER, THANKS

In 14 cities and towns throughout the State the Montana Institute of the Arts brings together more than 700 people interested, as creators or audience, in the fine arts, music, drama, history, writing. It holds an annual festival, conducts story and poetry contests, sends exhibits of the arts on the road, publishes a lively quarterly. The mountains are tall here, but there are no ivory towers.

To many a Montanan and out-of-stater Montana's chief literary glory is the library of the State Historical Society, a superb collection of some 50,000 items—rare books, documents, manuscripts, newspapers, and other published and microfilmed material—available to any serious student under the auspices of the knowledgeable, gracious Miss Mary K. Dempsey, chief librarian. How many writers have used this treasurehouse there is no telling, but it's quite certain at least 50 books have been written that would not have existed without this source that their authors drew on, together with the historical society's 11-year-old Montana:

The Magazine of Western History, which under Michael S. Kennedy's editorship has few peers as a regional periodical.

Pittsburgh, or any other place containing only 600,000-odd citizens, should be so lucky.

## Harmful Effects of Smoking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on smoking which calls attention to the harmful effects of tobacco. The article was first published in the New Republic, and subsequently has been reprinted in many, many newspapers. Recently the Wallowa County Chieftan has reprinted the article, for the purpose of giving this information to its many, many readers in northeastern Oregon.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wallowa (Oreg.) County Chieftan, July 6, 1962]

IN OUR OPINION

Last year tobacco companies spent $114.5 million on television advertising for a product which disinterested scientific observers regard as a proven carcinogenic agent. Senator MAURINE NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon, widow of her cancer-stricken predecessor and herself a recent sufferer from the disease, has been asking how such advertising affects the public interest which TV is required by law to serve. An associate director of the National Cancer Institute has called for Federal control of tobacco products on the ground that they are a hazard to health. Britain's Royal College of Physicians has recommended Government action toward cutting the consumption of tobacco.

The average American over 14 years of age smokes 4,000 cigarettes a year, and this produces a Federal and State tax yield (exclusive of purchase taxes) of more than $3 billion. Though the processing industry is dominated by a handful of giant corporations, tobacco farming is incredibly fragmented. Most growers of burley, the distinctive American cigarette tobacco, are licensed to grow less than 1 acre of it, and allotments of a tenth of an acre are common. Another branch of the Federal Government protects raw tobacco prices so rigidly that gross returns to these farmers, in relation to their costs, are maintained at a level over 40 percent higher than for a common crop such as corn. 1962 tobacco acreage is 4 percent ahead of last year, and yields have been rising, too.

No farm organization has said a word about the astronomically higher incidence of lung cancer among smokers over nonsmokers. It is left to the corporations to deny they have any interest in attracting younger adolescents by advertising which insistently suggests that cigarette smoking is a prerequisite for sexual prowess and professional success. And it is the industry which has set up a board of hired scientists to point out that the only cancer which cigarette tar has ever been observed to produce was on the nonhuman tissues of a laboratory animal's skin. On evidence less conclusive than this, however, the Government ordered the destruction of a chemically sprayed crop of cranberries a few years ago.

## The Neglected Area of Management Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing to find one of our outstanding corporation officials taking a position that it is the responsibility of management to take leadership in politics.

An address by William C. Stolk, chairman, American Can Co., at the general management course, American Management Association, on May 23, 1962, and a summary of discussion follow:

THE NEGLECTED AREA OF MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY—REMARKS BY WILLIAM C. STOLK, CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN CAN CO., AND SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION AT THE GENERAL MANAGEMENT COURSE, AMERICAN MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION, HOTEL SHERATON-ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 23, 1962

It is a pleasure to be here today, as any meeting or discussion pertaining to management is one in which I am tremendously interested. I hope that the few remarks I make will stimulate your thinking about this important subject and that during the question and answer period we may pursue it further.

Recently I read the synopsis of a newly published book entitled "What Makes a Good Manager?" (I have not read the book—the synopsis says it is 937 pages long.) It outlined 12 requisites of good management—from "the art of delegation" to "knowing how to budget."

But missing from the summary of 937 pages on how to be a good manager was any reference at all to what I have chosen to call "The Neglected Area of Management Responsibility."

What I am really troubled about is that too many managers are limiting the application of the basic and sound principles of leadership to their own business operations.

For the past 30 years American business has been on the defensive and business management, particularly top management, has ben almost apologetic about its performance and leadership in helping to build the greatest industrial Nation in the world. I think one of the reasons for this defensive attitude has been the aggressive tactics of the Government. The results indicate very clearly that while we have been "sticking to our knitting" and thinking only of our own business, the politicians have been wooing and winning the loyalty of the man on the street—the voters—many of whom, unfortunately, still look on business with suspicion and distrust.

We have been too willing to believe that politics is for the politician, which is almost as naive and unrealistic as saying that our country is protected from enemy attack by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Let's face it; the politicians and the union bosses have done a better selling job, and what makes it worse is that we are losing the sale by default.

*A problem still unsolved*

I do not want to get involved in the steel issue, but for the sake of emphasis, I want to call your attention to the first paragraph of an editorial entitled "Steel: A Problem That Is Still Unsolved," which appeared in the April 21 issue of Business Week:

"When the chairman of United States Steel Corp. told his press conference last week, 'I do not know anything about politics,' he made one of the classic understatements of all time. But he was only reflecting an attitude that has been voiced, often with pride, by a great many American businessmen."

In my opinion, this attitude has to change because industry's only hope is to educate the voter to the true nature of our free market economy, the system of competitive enterprise. We can't win him by printing high sounding phrases on economics, which even some economists don't understand.

Nor do we make the right impression by having the voter believe that management is selfish, is only interested in personal gain, is out to destroy unionism, and lives in an ivory tower which is very exclusive and expensive. We can win him by encouraging management at all levels to become interested in and take an active part in public affairs at the community, county, and State levels.

In the past several years hundreds of companies have instituted programs in public affairs; our company is one of those. We have clearly stated the responsibility for public affairs as part of the job of managers at all levels. More than 3,000 of our people have taken courses, which we and others have made available, in the art of practical politics and many of them are now working actively in the parties of their own choice.

*Needed: Creative leadership*

These things are necessary and good, but the job cannot stop there. In discharging his public affairs responsibility, a manager must initiate constructive change, just as he must in managing his own business operations. The failure has been, in too many cases, reacting to events instead of exercising creative leadership in the improvement of our way of life. By reacting instead of leading, too many business managers have been creating a negative image of business as being against everything except the status quo.

I would not want to give you the impression that we think we have completely solved this problem in our own company. We have not, and we know we still have a long way to go in both learning how to do it and then motivating all managers to want to do it. But two specific examples will help demonstrate the opportunity to do the job better.

*A community success story*

We are proud of the success story recently demonstrated by the managers and employees of our large papermill in Alabama. In order to have access to the essential raw materials—trees and water—it was necessary to locate this mill in an area where there were not any large modern schools. To operate the mill, it was necessary to transfer skilled technicians and managers to the Alabama woodlands from other parts of the country. The educational opportunity for their children was severely limited. So on their own initiative they joined with local people in a political campaign which won the election necessary to increase their own taxes to pay for better school facilities and teachers. Result: All local people benefited.

To get such problems solved requires willingness to devote time and leadership in areas outside the manager's direct business responsibility both at the local and national level.

*An industry success story*

The story of "Keep America Beautiful" is, I believe, an example of how businessmen can take constructive action in these areas when it is required.

All of us agree that litter along the highways of America is a serious problem brought about, of course, by the millions of cars carrying Americans on wheels in all sections of the country. The solution in our opinion is education of the public. To this end,

industry established the Keep America Beautiful organization, financed by industry and dedicated to the proposition that the public must be educated not to throw litter and deface our beautiful countryside.

When the service clubs of America realized that industry was serious about their willingness to finance this venture, they undertook the job of educating the communities and were instrumental in having every State in the Union pass laws against litter and fine people who get caught carelessly distributing it. The momentum and interest of the public has been a tribute to America. Walt Disney has recently prepared a film called "The Litterbug," which will be shown in theaters throughout the United States and, beginning with the fall semester, will be shown, I hope, in all the schools in America. Industry will finance such distribution.

On most of the political issues on which Americans are divided today, the difference of opinion concerns not the goals, but the best means of achieving them.

Business and industrial managers should be qualified by their knowledge and experience to help make the right choice.

*Leapfrog into the future*

The technologies developed in business and industry have made it possible for us to leapfrog into the future. We have the opportunity to solve our own domestic problems and to assist in the less developed areas of the world in all of the essentials of modern living.

What took decades to accomplish by the pioneers of America can now be done in a matter of years. In place of covered wagons and railways carved through the wilderness, we have airplanes and soon may have rockets. The occasional little red schoolhouse has been replaced by radio and television. Instead of having to string power cables over hundreds of miles to remote areas, we can now place atomic reactors for electric power in the midst of jungles and deserts. Instead of the letter and newspaper by packet ship, we will soon have round-the-world instantaneous communications by space satellites.

Advances in agriculture, food processing, and packaging have made it possible to insure not only adequate nutrition but a high standard of living all over the world.

These are opportunities on a national and global scale. But the same leadership qualities are requisite in every community in which we live and work. Don't you agree this is a golden opportunity for management? I hope that you will seriously consider the application of the basic principles of management to this so far "neglected area of management responsibility."

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

Question. Mr. Stolk, you stated that participation in public affairs should be a part of management responsibility at all levels. How much time can your executives take away from their direct responsibilities to spend in this political area?

Answer. Well, our plan is to have the individual make that decision himself. Our experience has been that the time an individual spends on this work is not at corporate expense or sacrifice. Usually the time they put in on this is after hours, or weekends, or at lunch time. I doubt very much if many would take time off their jobs. Their good judgment is the best insurance that the interest of the company will not suffer.

Question. Mine is a followup question on that. Would you give a leave of absence if a man were elected to Congress?

Answer. I sure would. We couldn't pay him, but he would not lose any of his service years if he did. I wouldn't be at all surprised if one of our enthusiastic young men would be running for Congress one of these days and we would welcome the fact. I think it would be proof positive that our program is sound.

Question. I understand that you are associated with the Committee for Economic Development. Could you tell me what kind of acceptance you have had on the CED's school education program and what are your plans for the future with respect to economic education?

Answer. Well, the acceptance has been, in my opinion, very favorable. For example, there are only five newspapers across the United States who came out against the program. I believe that we have got to have better economic education. And I think we will have to start in the high school. We cannot wait and start in college. This, of course, means that we have a tremendous need to educate teachers because there are not enough teachers in the United States to do the kind of job that needs to be done. It is surprising to me how many schools do not have any semblance of economic education in their curriculum. Incidentally, I heard a president of a college talk on this subject last week and he said that trying to change the curriculum in a school or college was about as practical and emotional as moving a cemetery.

Question. I understand the point that you are making that management has this responsibility to the community. You are saying community participation is in reality part of their job and you encourage them in that direction. Do you provide them any recognition if they do that portion of their job well?

Answer. Yes, sir. We do consider it part of their job. If they do that portion of their job well, it is recognized. In one case I am thinking of, it gave an individual an opportunity to show how good he was outside of the plant. He moved from a plant managership to an assistant general manager of his particular division. Nobody in the company knew that he had the talent for creating enthusiasm in people. He had never before had the opportunity. This fellow had been doing an excellent job of running a plant. Nobody ever dreamed that he had the talent of going outside of the plant and organizing people to become interested in political campaigns.

It is an educational job. I know some people are still reluctant. They don't understand how we in the general office can be quite as enthusiastic as we appear to be. But we are not asking them to follow any set pattern. We just ask that they take an interest in the community and do what they think is right for the community. We will be satisfied with that. It is people in the field who have demonstrated how effective this can be.

Question. Would you add that in employing people for executive positions you would consider an aptitude for activities political and otherwise as a prerequisite?

Answer. I am going to have to answer your question in two ways. First of all so far we have not, as a company, gone outside for executive talent. We have been very fortunate in building from within so that that question has not been asked yet. I for one would be in favor of asking such a person—especially if he were going to be a top executive of the company—how he felt about this. I think it is very important that the American Can Co. continue this policy.

Question. Should not there be more effort in each of our respective companies to educate the employees, to point out the mutual interests that management and labor have in their particular own bailiwick? The profit motive—in other words—when the stockholders of a corporation earn a profit on their investment, this also is an advantage to the individual employees. Isn't it a case of starting the job at home?

Answer. You have to start it a home. Of course, I am assuming that the job is underway. We have in our company, for example, a very serious problem, in that most of the can factories have contracts with the Steelworkers' Union which is the same union the steel industry and the aluminum industry have. We have been trying for the last 3 years to educate all employees through our supervisors, and in group meetings, that you can't compare the steel industry with the can industry. That's like comparing pineapples with bananas. The problems of the industries are different. The competitive conditions are different. We have been conducting educational programs so that all employees can understand the competitive problems that we are facing. But that's a job that has to be going on at all times.

Question. In line with your policy of encouraging management to take leadership in community and political affairs, do you also advocate that individual companies take a position on issues as a company?

Answer. We do. Of course, we point out why a position we take is good for the country. And, if it is good for the country, it is good for the company. If we stick to the areas of public welfare, we don't think we can be wrong. If we get people to believe the facts that are in the public interest, the American Can Co.'s interests will be taken care of.

Question. Can you give us an example of what you consider a noncontroversial problem?

Answer. Well, the cost of government. We think that the cost of government is entirely too high. We think that the tax structure is too high as a result of the high cost of government. We think the expansion of business is retarded by the high cost of government and the high taxes. We also think that depreciation policies should be changed because this too would be in the public interest.

Question. Do you care to comment on the present method of reporting profits? What can we do so that the unions cannot misconstrue and point out the millions of dollars you have made?

Answer. I think the area that needs lots of explaining is the amount of investment that is needed to produce a profit. Now we have been talking for the last few years about the tremendous amount of money that we have been putting into our business to enable us to stay in business. I don't think the problem is so much explaining the profits but explaining what it takes in the way of investment to make the profits.

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## Ready Reference Guide to Senate Press Aids

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the National Editorial Association, publisher of the National Publisher, has compiled for the first time a ready reference guide to Senate press aids. This guide appeared in the July 1962 National Publisher, which is distributed to newspapers nationwide.

I believe that publication of this list in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be helpful to the many fine reporters who work in the Senate and House press,

radio-TV, and periodical galleries, as well as to the many newspaper editors around the country who receive the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by mail.

Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the "Ready Reference Guide to Senate Press Aids."

There being no objection, the guide was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

READY REFERENCE GUIDE TO SENATE PRESS AIDS

(Revised through July 20, 1962)

President of the Senate, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; press secretary, George Reedy

| State | Senator | Press contact |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama | Lister Hill, Democrat | Bob Smith. |
| | John Sparkman, Democrat | Grover C. Smith. |
| Alaska | E. L. (Bob) Bartlett, Democrat | Miss Mary Lee Council. |
| | Ernest Gruening, Democrat | George Sundborg. |
| Arizona | Carl Hayden, Democrat | Fritz Kessinger. |
| | Barry M. Goldwater, Republican | Tony S. Smith. |
| Arkansas | John L. McClellan, Democrat | Ralph Matthews. |
| | J. W. Fulbright, Democrat | Pat Fleming. |
| California | Thomas H. Kuchel, Republican | Warren Francis. |
| | Clair Engle, Democrat | Charles Bosley. |
| Colorado | Gordon L. Allott, Republican | Jack Ware. |
| | John A. Carroll, Democrat | Harmon Kallman. |
| Connecticut | Prescott Bush, Republican | David S. Clarke. |
| | Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat | James P. Boyd. |
| Delaware | John J. Williams, Republican | Miss Eleanor R. Lenhart. |
| | J. Caleb Boggs, Republican | William Hildenbrand. |
| Florida | Spessard L. Holland, Democrat | Oscar Elder. |
| | George A. Smathers, Democrat | William McHale. |
| Georgia | Richard B. Russell, Democrat | Earl Leonard. |
| | Herman Talmadge, Democrat | William H. Burson. |
| Hawaii | Hiram L. Fong, Republican | Miss Lelia Villada. |
| | Oren E. Long, Democrat | Paul Southwick. |
| Idaho | Henry C. Dworshak, Republican | Edward Woosley. |
| | Frank Church, Democrat | Porter Ward. |
| Illinois | Paul H. Douglas, Democrat | Howard E. Shuman. |
| | Everett Dirkson, Republican | Harold E. Rainville. |
| Indiana | Homer E. Capehart, Republican | Gene Dawson. |
| | Vance Hartke, Democrat | John Munger. |
| Iowa | B. B. Hickenlooper, Republican | Dan O'Brien. |
| | Jack Miller, Republican | Loyal Meek. |
| Kansas | Frank Carlson, Republican | Miss Betty Rosnegs. |
| | James B. Pearson, Republican | John Conard. |
| Kentucky | John S. Cooper, Republican | Bailey Guard. |
| | Thruston B. Morton, Republican | Albert B. Brooke, Jr. |
| Louisiana | Allen J. Ellender, Democrat | C. B. Morrison. |
| | Russell B. Long, Democrat | William E. Leonard. |
| Maine | Margaret C. Smith, Republican | Bill Lewis. |
| | Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat | Donald Nicoll. |
| Maryland | J. Marshall Butler, Republican | Lee Edwards. |
| | J. Glenn Beall, Republican | Ben Whitehurst. |
| Massachusetts | Leverett Saltonstall, Republican | Charles Clapp. |
| | Benj. A. Smith II, Democrat | Robin L. Pell. |
| Michigan | Pat McNamara, Democrat | Edwin N. Winge. |
| | Philip A. Hart, Democrat | William B. Welch. |
| Minnesota | Hubert Humphrey, Democrat | Winthrop G. Griffith. |
| | Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat | Clinton Boo. |
| Mississippi | James O. Eastland, Democrat | Courtney Pace. |
| | John Stennis, Democrat | Phil Stroupe. |
| Missouri | Stuart Symington, Democrat | Fred McGhee. |
| | Edward V. Long, Democrat | S. William Brown, Jr. |
| Montana | Mike Mansfield, Democrat | Raymond Dockstadter. |
| | Lee Metcalf, Democrat | Merrill Englund. |
| Nebraska | Roman L. Hruska, Republican | Dean Pohlenz. |
| | Carl T. Curtis, Republican | Lynn Mote. |
| Nevada | Alan Bible, Democrat | Alan Jarlson. |
| | Howard W. Cannon, Democrat | Chester B. Sobsey. |
| New Hampshire | Norris Cotton, Republican | Kenneth Roberts. |
| | Maurice Murphy, Jr., Republican | Norman E. Bailey. |
| New Jersey | Clifford P. Case, Republican | Sam Zagoria. |
| | H. A. Williams, Jr., Democrat | William E. Oriel. |
| New Mexico | Dennis Chavez, Democrat | Henry R. Smith. |
| | Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat | Howard Bray. |
| New York | Jacob K. Javits, Republican | Richard Aurelio. |
| | Kenneth B. Keating, Republican | Mrs. Vera R. Glaser. |
| North Carolina | Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Democrat | W. Hall Smith, Jr. |
| | B. Everett Jordan, Democrat | William B. Whitley. |
| North Dakota | Milton R. Young, Republican | Bill Wright. |
| | Quentin N. Burdick, Democrat | William O. Scouton. |
| Ohio | Frank J. Lausche, Democrat | Ray M. White. |
| | Stephen M. Young, Democrat | Herbert Jolovitz. |
| Oklahoma | Robert S. Kerr, Democrat | John Meek. |
| | A. S. Monroney, Democrat | Mrs. Beth Short. |
| Oregon | Wayne Morse, Democrat | Miss Phyllis Rock. |
| | M. B. Neuberger, Democrat | Lloyd Tupling. |
| Pennsylvania | Joseph S. Clark, Democrat | Bernard E. Norwitch. |
| | Hugh Scott, Republican | Eugene S. Cowen. |
| Rhode Island | John O. Pastore, Democrat | C. J. Malsano. |
| | Claiborne Pell, Democrat | Raymond N. Nelson. |
| South Carolina | Olin D. Johnston, Democrat | Thomas W. Chadwick. |
| | Strom Thurmond, Democrat | Harry S. Dent. |
| South Dakota | Karl E. Mundt, Republican | Walter Conahan. |
| | Joseph H. Bottum, Jr., Republican | John S. Arnold. |
| Tennessee | Estes Kefauver, Democrat | Charles Caldwell. |
| | Albert Gore, Democrat | Jack W. Robinson. |
| Texas | R. W. Yarborough, Democrat | Louie E. Mathis. |
| | John G. Tower, Republican | C. Herschel Schooley. |
| Utah | Wallace F. Bennett, Republican | Edwin C. Bliss. |
| | Frank E. Moss, Democrat | Grant W. Midgley. |
| Vermont | George D. Aiken, Republican | Charles Weaver. |
| | Winston L. Prouty, Republican | Robert Donihi. |
| Virginia | Harry Flood Byrd, Democrat | J. Heywood Bell. |
| | A. Willis Robertson, Democrat | William Foster. |
| Washington | W. G. Magnuson, Democrat | Carl Downing. |
| | Henry M. Jackson, Democrat | Brian Corcoran. |
| West Virginia | Jennings Randolph, Democrat | James W. Harris. |
| | Robert C. Byrd, Democrat | Louis I. Freed. |
| Wisconsin | Alexander Wiley, Republican | Herbert Kirstein. |
| | William Proxmire, Democrat | Jerry P. Clark. |
| Wyoming | Gale W. McGee, Democrat | Richard Cook. |
| | J. J. Hickey, Democrat | Miss Louise Love. |

## Assignment for the Sixties: To Strengthen the Arm of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, at its recent national convention the General Federation of Women's Clubs installed Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, of Concord, N.H., as president. The people of New Hampshire are particularly proud of Mrs. Arnold, who is an exceedingly brilliant woman with outstanding qualities of leadership.

In assuming the presidency of the general federation, Mrs. Arnold gave a challenging address entitled, "Assignment for the Sixties: To Strengthen the Arm of Liberty."

I ask unanimous consent that this address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSIGNMENT FOR THE SIXTIES: TO STRENGTHEN THE ARM OF LIBERTY

(By Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, of New Hampshire, president, General Federation of Women's Clubs)

With deep humility and great appreciation I accept the heavy responsibilities and the great honor of this assignment. This is the second greatest honor that has come to me. The first, I am certain you suspect, since you know of the Arnold partnership, was to be invited and to have been Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold.

At this moment you may expect me to say something earth shaking and electrifying, but the greatness if there may be any on this occasion, and I believe there will be, will not be in me or in what I say. The distinction lies instead in you, in your being here and in what you will do in your communities in the days that are ahead. From the bottom of my grateful heart, I appreciate your standing to honor not me but the General Federation of Women's Clubs and those who have served in this office. This is as it should be, for this is the largest, most vital force of organized womanhood in the world with a long history of dedication to the highest of purposes, the improvement of mankind.

Seventy-five years ago last October 28 New York City was filled with 70 bands, and flags with 38 stars flew high. The big event of the day took place on Bedloe's Island. As the enormous veil was pulled away, a tremendous roar echoed across the harbor. Everyone agreed that the Statue of Liberty was magnificent. The lady had come to the United States as a gift from the people of France. She was placed at the entrance to the harbor to welcome the millions who would follow her to the new world. How fitting that liberty should be represented by a proud woman for women are sensitively concerned for husband, children, friends, home, and community. The Statue of Liberty's torch is held high by a strong arm. She represents the dream of freedom nurtured in the human mind almost since time began. She serves as a symbol of freedom for men and women to worship as they choose—freedom from tyranny and oppression, and freedom to say or write what is on our minds and in our hearts. Our purpose, then in this organization for the next 2 years will be "to strengthen the arm of liberty" to reinforce the spirit of freedom so that this torch may never flicker but glow with greater brightness in an atmosphere of faith, not fear, in a new dedication to moral courage

and humanitarian ideals and with a new concern for spiritual values and the sanctities of life that our godless adversaries can never destroy.

How do we plan to do this? It's a matter of our motto, Unity in Diversity, and of making our club collect a vital and fulfilled promise. Nor will one department be more important than another. The age old classic "the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of you," aptly applies here. The importance of all departments, all divisions should be clear as they supplement each other and are important to each other. For example, safety is a matter of public affairs, of the home, of education, of fine arts, of conservation and of international affairs. Citizenship works with the new citizen, the young citizen, the mentally disturbed or ill citizen, the vacationing citizen, the voting citizen. All departments will be separate packages yet interlocking units working toward a common goal without sharp definition where one department's work begins and the other ends. This is a dynamic concept that the greatness of our age lies not only in the choosing of important work to do but lies in the care and perfection of all work that is done. It discourages trivia and self-importance. No chairman will be exalted above another. To broaden our scope, our programs will be translated into the native languages of our clubs in the Council of International Clubs.

Questionnaires were sent to more than 100 business, civic, and government leaders including the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet, asking them to indicate their thinking as to the greatest need and challenge to the women of this organization during the next 2 years. In their opinion the greatest challenge to the General Federation of Women's Clubs is, first, to be completely and thoroughly informed on current affairs; secondly, to spend more time in studying the tax system and our economic structure; thirdly, to recognize a need for a better literacy program, both at home and abroad; and fourthly, a complete understanding of the problems of education and its financing, as well as the dangers of the present dropout crisis. Quite naturally the businessman was interested in business problems and the conservationist in conservation problems, but what is important is that in our diversified program for this administration we meet all these challenges and recognize the needs with our program "to strengthen the arm of liberty."

Our collect begins: "Keep us, Oh God, from pettiness, let us be large in thought, in word, in deed."

To me this is our international affairs development with study programs in every division. Believing that history has imposed on the United States the task of helping to shape a world order in new dimensions—that is spiritually, socially, politically and economically—the international affairs department will emphasize that collective security is a concept of the free world and the most important factor in the defense of free nations against the menace of communism. NATO, OAS, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS will get special attention in relation to the area which is being studied. The divisions of this department will be Europe, the Americas, Africa, Near East, Asia, Far East and the United Nations. A workshop at the United Nations for the Board of the General Federation of Women's Clubs has been planned under the direction of the U.S. mission to the United Nations and with the personal interest of the U.S. representative to the United Nations.

Study engenders action. The realization that millions of people abroad are unable to take advantage of the fundamental freedoms because they cannot read the words which civilization has taken 20 centuries to transcribe is frustrating and tragic. To establish a literacy program abroad requires not only materials and equipment, but also trained teachers and technicians. Several private and government agencies were contacted concerning this problem. Everyone said it was the greatest need abroad but the "how to do it" loomed too large for any one organization. Assurance was essential that publications and materials would be suitable and that teachers and technicians were well educated and loyal to the free world and our democratic society. Over a 10-year period we have had a happy relationship with CARE. We presented our proposals to them and with them we venture forth in the first literacy program of its kind in eight countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, and Turkey. No organization has ever attempted a project of this variety and magnitude. The preliminary work has been an enormous task. I contacted teachers and technicians. Workers in the field checked and rechecked the practicality of proposals. The State Department encouraged and complimented us on this effort. No stone has been left unturned to make certain of the most forceful use of our resources. The limitation of eight countries was heartbreaking, for the need is so great in so many corners of the globe. Other possibilities and areas were considered but, feeling a great sense of the need for concentrating for perfection, we limited our efforts to these countries. We believe this will be a giant step in eliminating illiteracy from the face of this earth. My recommendation for at least a part-time secretary for the Council of International Clubs is to provide a focal point of exchange. In connection with the program to encourage travelers to our country from abroad, our hostesses in the Council of International Clubs will serve as special ambassadors for the General Federation of Women's Clubs for women from other countries. Many of our State federations will be active in the international scholarship program which has special emphasis on Latin America.

The club collect says "let us be done with fault-finding and leave off self-seeking."

Before we start fault-finding we need to do some fact-finding. Each State president will be asked to find the greatest challenge in her State and work in that single area and to encourage club presidents to follow the same pattern in their communities. The community achievement program and contest should be a part of every community—urban and rural—with all women's clubs uniting toward one single goal and purpose, since the axis of the world breaks through at the community level. Six leadership mobilization seminars will be held in October in connection with the community achievement program. As the military needs more guided missiles, the community needs more guided leaders. Leadership mobilization should be incorporated in department work to assure coordination and to direct specific attention to this need. Community improvement might well include more adult education sponsored by our clubs and we will vitalize the ESC reading for credit program. Two prizes of $500 each will be given to the two clubs in each State which prove themselves most outstanding in promoting a scholarship program. A three-dimensional study of the problems of school finance at the local, State and national level will be prepared, and there must be increased determination to assist education in meeting its tremendous challenges. School dropouts are potential losses. In these days of specialization and automation, the unskilled person is a waste of manpower and young people who ought to be our greatest resource become our greatest liability.

Have you thought of the 1 out of 10 adults in the United States who has not completed more than 4 years of education, and of the 3½ million who are condemned to a life of anonymity because they cannot write their names, and of the 3 million who cannot read and are easy victims of the unscrupulous? The statistics concerning the illiterate in your State will startle you. My pride has been boundless in the realization of the desire of the members of this organization to "strengthen the arm of liberty" by taking the lead in providing literacy workshops where volunteers will learn how to teach the fundamentals. Also, in this connection, we will work to "strengthen the arm of liberty" by extending a helping hand to the foreign born, the newcomers to our shores. We will help them to understand life in America with an organized program of orientation in the community—visiting the library, the supermarket, the bus station and inviting them to our homes. We should remember that no small part of America's vitality and strength is rooted in the blood and sinew of those who had vigor and courage to reject oppression by an act of individual faith in the free world to leave their own soil. They, too, must be given an opportunity to "strengthen the arm of liberty." Our clubwomen must provide a helping hand.

Our club collect says: "May we put away all pretense and meet each other face to face, without self-pity and without prejudice."

Our convention in Milwaukee, June 10-14, 1963, will be followed by an international conference in Munich. A large group of carefully selected representative women from the NATO countries will have arrived in this country 2 weeks before and traveled by way of Washington to Milwaukee with daily meetings with our clubwomen en route. They will attend our convention in Milwaukee for 3 days and return to New York. The women from our country en route to Munich will fly to New York from Milwaukee to meet them. Paired according to interests, a doctor's wife with a doctor's wife, a teacher with a teacher, the women from America will have personal understanding as well as friendship by close personal contact even before we arrive in Europe. We will visit eight NATO countries in 25 days with an international conference and with meetings with clubwomen in every country. Such a tour will accommodate the busy clubwomen with limited time and money but with a desire to understand the world on the powerful basis of woman to woman and neighbor to neighbor.

A 3-day American heritage pilgrimage to Washington during the Easter weekend will, of course, feature an open house at the General Federation of Women's Clubs headquarters. This will provide an incentive to see the functional and practical conveniences of our home on N Street. It will serve as a get-acquainted meeting for those who want to visit for only a 7- or 9-day period the Caribbean and to see our clubs in action there and participate in an exchange of understanding of problems and friendships in the Western Hemisphere.

The next words of the collect are: "May we never be hasty in judgment and always generous."

The fine arts will serve as our bonus in beauty with the activities geared toward renewing pride in and love of country, through a knowledge of its culture; inspiring art work in the very young, as well as in those who desire to use this knowledge for serious purpose or for relaxing recreation; and inspiring art for those who may find in it therapy for these turbulent times. Above all, the people in my town and your town must be made aware of the important role in interpreting the meaning of democracy as living creatively by encouraging the best in the performing arts.

In the past the General Federation of Women's Clubs has been a leader in the attack on obscene literature. It's time we hit the sawdust trail again. This time let us

inform the consumer and the merchant of the excellence of paperbacks that are available and replace the revolting with the splendid. Let's blow the whistle on dramas that make us blush and let's commend the television station that presents a never-to-be-forgotten documentary. Let's encourage the newspapers and magazines which present the names of decent people who are performing worthwhile activities and let's not spend that dime for the newspaper with the cesspool pictures and headlines.

The collect says, "Let us take time for all things. Make us grow calm, serene, and gentle."

The child's first experience with democracy comes in the home where he learns the meaning of teamwork by agreement and of individual responsibility. With exceptional program material, we have streamlined the home program with the hope that it may have special appeal for the young homemaker. With divisions involving family living and child development, family economics and home management, house improvement, and modern food trends we are certain that America's upright homes will keep this Nation from falling. Religion and spiritual values penetrating into all departments with an attitude of brotherly love will give proof that democracy has its firm foundation in truth and its lofty roof the will of the people for freedom and justice in accordance with the will of God. The spiritual ideal is not a luxury but an absolute necessity, for to us human life is sacred and inviolate.

The collect says, "Teach us to put into action our better impulses straight-forward and unafraid."

That is exactly what we will do in public affairs. Freedom is something that has been won in a few places by a few people through ingenuity, self-discipline and effort. The desire for freedom of choice grows with education, economic growth and political responsibility. Because of the Communist challenge, America has found itself both guardian and protagonist of free civilization. We need to look at America. We need to determine what to expect of America. Every clubwoman in America will be a participant in a study course based either on the Rockefeller panel report, "Prospect for America," or on the report of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals, "Goals for Americans." With America placed in a position of leadership, we need to know our values, our goals, our mistakes, our faults. A leader, however, be it individual or nation, is always a target for criticism. Our democracy was founded by those with conflicting points of view, but needling criticism can become a dangerous habit and an undermining force. The seeds of doubt—doubt of ourselves—can become too strong whether they come from extremists on the right or extremists on the left. American women must feel sincere, sophisticated pride in our country in exactly the same way we admire women with similar pride in their country. We are proud of what we will do to coordinate health work. We will ask our women to wear medical identification tags for their own protection. To study and act in the field of gerontology is to bring hope and comfort and intelligent understanding in an area where misunderstanding flourishes. New campaigns to make certain that voters use their privilege to the greatest advantage will be initiated as we encourage our members to participate actively in government at the local, State, and national levels. There will be special concern for youth in crime prevention, in juvenile court, in proper street lighting and in community center facilities. Safety will emphasize driver training clinics, use of seat belts, and for the first time in this country will conduct a workshop for leaders and editors of many nationality groups to assist in familiarizing visitors and newcomers to our land with American traffic regulations. Concerns of home safey will include poisons and fire hazards. A publicity workshop will be available for every State. A complete kit for study of the tax system and our economic structure has also been prepared and will help to meet the challenge of being informed.

And the collect states: "Grant that we may realize it is the little things that create differences. That in the big things of life we are at one."

A drop of water, a small clod of earth, our oil, gas, iron, fissionable fuels, animals, mountains, forests, lakes—unity in diversity—the glories of America under the name of conservation with the need for deep realization of our veritable survival in that work, conservation. Based on the premise that conservation is the wise use of renewable and nonrenewable natural resources, conservation becomes not just a term, but a way of life. We will strive for multiple use in resource development with private enterprise and government assistance in an effort for the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest possible time. Because of the tremendous difference in conservation problems and needs in this country and after careful study with officials of the Department of Agriculture and Department of Interior as well as private interests, States will be grouped according to similar conservation needs and problems with five regional conservation chairmen. Our natural resources are interdependent and interrelated and they need to be considered and understood in this perspective. By studying the area conservation problems, experiencing special conservation days in every State and becoming acquainted with a telescoped conservation program, an interest in comparative concerns may be more fully developed and better understood for a more forceful and effective program. Conservation concerns our economy, our nutrition, our recreation, and our very way of life.

The collect concludes: "And may we strive to touch and to know the great common human heart of us all. And, oh, Lord God, let us forget not to be kind."

We have only sketched our program. There are several conferences in the planning stage that will be announced at an appropriate time. This will not be a one-woman administration, nor will any effort be spared to give credit to the States, to the districts, to the clubs, to their leaders, and to the members. Organization should serve as laboratories for democracy. Our program will be prepared entirely by our own club members. There must be free and open discussion and friendly agreement and disagreement. We hope to develop within our program constructive, consistent compelling values around which the very life of any community—urban or rural—may revolve. We will call for a week in February when we will ask each club to have some cherry pie and to think of the Founding Fathers and of their challenge to us. We will ask our members to think of the challenges of America today. We will ask them to evaluate and count the ways in which their club, and they as individual members have strengthened the arm of liberty during the year.

Since liberty frees man from outside authority and places the obligation on his own mind and conscience, there are the weak and fearful who shy away from responsibility. When we are free, we can choose. To the uneducated and the dull the power of choice appears like a tremendous responsibility. Yet those who let others do their thinking for them cease to be free. To think effectively is to think carefully, intelligently and honestly. We believe this program will encourage clear thinking, provide something in which to believe, and will turn ideas into reality. Freedom is a basic human right, but it is a right to be gained only by working for it—by making sacrifices to keep it. Freedom has a soul that must be defended. Freedom is an idea that must be made secure. Our worst security risks may not be subversive groups but those who would corrupt our free institutions for personal gain; those who have lost their faith in democracy and would by panic or fear blindly undermine; those who think themselves so clever that they can shackle and exploit our way of life and the people in it.

Freedom does not foster easy solutions. What irony that the way toward arms control is by an arms race. And yet our attitude cannot be one of softness but of sanity. The struggle is for the minds and souls of men. We are not going to convince the Communists and they are not going to convert us. The struggle will be determined by what goes on in the heart of each of the two societies. The cold war becomes more agonizing with time. Women must represent the thoughtful in complete opposition to those who would allow self-indulgence in emotionalism.

Plato once said, "Those having torches will pass them on to others." The founders and leaders of this organization have had torches which have been passed through each administration and now to us. Tonight I can see torches of enthusiasm that will be passed on to State federation and to clubs.

Ours is a world that talks quits casually of interplanetary missiles and the launching of men into space. Ours is a globle where Peiping and New Delhi are almost as close as the corner store. Ours is a world in which a cold war directed toward reaching and capturing men's minds and emotions is raging. Ours is a torch of commitment and action as women "to strengthen the arms of liberty" in my neighborhood and your neighborhood, in my city or town and your city or town, in my State and your State, and above all, in our country.

Here are the women—
In them you see sincerity
Of purpose, action, mind, and heart,
Willing to work, to play their part.
No questions do they ask concerning credit,
Where help is needed, they are there to give it.
No task too large, no task too small
The burdens of mankind to shoulder—
They, in a diminishing world, stand tall.

Here are the clubs—
Diverse in size and interest,
Yet bound by fellowship as is a team,
They do not simply eat, and chat and dream
Of a better world—but in Home, Education,
Public Affairs, seek areas to improve,
In International Affairs, Fine Arts, Conservation
Consider better ways to move
Theirs is the community outlook, point of view,
The very axis of the world in our communities breaks through
"To Strengthen the Arm of Liberty," we so often say
Determining the privileges and responsibilities of our democratic way.

Here is the General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Its motto round the world is known
Unity in Diversity encircles, challenges, sets the tone,
No test for religion, political party, creed,
Yet knowing man cannot survive where there is greed
They only ask that freedom and God be ever in our minds,
Seeking the truth and better paths toward peace to find
Realizing that the talents and joys of active living
Are vitalized through unselfish unified giving.

The women, the clubs, the General Federation of Women's Clubs
To these we look with faith that knows no fear,
Who daily work to make the world aware
Of the opportunities, the challenges, the need,
The dangers of blithe apathy to heed,
To extend, to strengthen the arm that holds the torch of freedom now.
Our task, our organization, our clubs, our women,
Dedicate themselves and make a solemn vow.

## The Worthy "Know America" Project of the Gerald V. Carroll Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pride to bring to the attention of the U.S. Congress the meritorious work being done by the Gerald V. Carroll Post of the American Legion in Passaic, N.J., and its commander, Sam Martinique. The article which follows was printed in the August 3, 1962, edition of the Passaic Herald-News and points up the worthwhile and important work that can be accomplished by a group of dedicated citizens.

The article follows:

LEGION POST TO LAUNCH "KNOW AMERICA" PROJECT

PASSAIC.—The Gerald V. Carroll Post, American Legion, headed by Commander Sam Martinique, has selected V–J Day, August 14, for the start of a campaign to broaden the knowledge of students, aliens, and citizens of the subject of "America."

"It is a fact," Martinique said today, "that most native-born Americans today would be unable to pass the examination required of every alien applicant for U.S. citizenship. It is the objective of Carroll Post to set in the minds of everyone what every alien must know to become a citizen and what every citizen should know to become a better American."

The method to be used is a two-record album entitled "This Is America." The set has been approved by the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service for use over its stations and by the Los Angeles Board of Education for use in its adult education program for classes in citizenship, government, and history.

The album explains in simple, understandable terms, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the flag, American history and the setup of Federal, State, county, and city governments. A "talking book" without any propaganda, it is ideal for children in grammar and high school, adults studying for citizenship, and is especially appropriate for use by the blind.

Of this album, Nikita Khrushchev has written: "Our hopes lie with the youth of America, through the apathy of their parents. We hope that your program to have this album reach every home is a complete failure."

The album sells for $5.98 and may be obtained only by ordering through Carroll Post, American Legion, 127 Prospect Street, Passaic. Interested in obtaining the widest possible circulation of this important documentary, the Legion is seeking the assistance of Scout troops, organizations of aliens studying for citizenship, boys' clubs, and other groups.

The "Know America" committee includes Marvin Martinique, chairman; former Representative Gordon Canfield, Assemblyman Joseph M. Keegan, Dr. Joseph Rubinstein, Kenneth Peterson, Nathan Hugo, William Bryne, Thomas E. Duffy, Aaron Troast, George Coronato, Max Marquardt, Robert Hartfiel, Raymond Pickett, Matthew Super, Clarence Frederickson, Paul DeVries, John Karl, Richard Henneberry, August Hovorka, Frank Auerbach, Alphonse Vasile, Stanley Baily, Stan Briggs, Henry Welling, Joe Gluck, and Gerald Butterworth.

## Supreme Court Decision on Prayer in New York Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, at the request of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh, I ask unanimous consent that the council's thoughtful statement on the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the New York school regents' case be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER PITTSBURGH,

*Pittsburgh, Pa., June 26, 1962.*

Re Statement on Supreme Court decision on regents' prayer.

We are gratified that the decision of the Supreme Court on school prayer is clear and unequivocal. Although we recognize that American democracy is founded in large part upon ethical and moral concepts derived from the great religions of mankind, we believe that religious liberty is an indispensable aspect of democratic freedom. We believe that the growth of democracy in the United States is in large measure a product of that unique principle in our basic law that puts religion outside the jurisdiction of the state. Any impairment of that principle threatens religious liberty and brings other basic freedoms into jeopardy. The maintenance and furtherance of religion are the responsibility of synagogue, church and home, and not of the public school system. The utilization, in any manner, of time, facilities, personnel or funds of the public schools system for purposes of religious instruction should not be permitted.

The Supreme Court decision will oblige those who desire to promote religious understanding and practice to do so within the framework of their homes and churches. At the same time, it will relieve school administrators of the responsibility for carrying out practices which are unconstitutional and which do not contribute to better intergroup relations among the pupils of varied faiths in the schools.

The fact that the Supreme Court opinion is based on a case involving the regents' prayer confirms our belief that the attempt to neutralize religious differences by attaining a so-called common core religion or nonsectarian prayer is futile and cannot be depended upon for the solution of this problem without violating the American principle of separation of church and state.

SYLVAN LIBSON,
*Chairman, Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh.*

## Unique Jewish Farm Colony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MILTON W. GLENN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a very excellent article by Mr. Gary Shenfeld in the Atlantic City Press about a unique farm colony founded by Jewish refugees in south Jersey 80 years ago. One hundred refugee families from Russia settled a few miles west of Vineland and founded the first colony of Jewish farmers in this country. The area later developed into the three towns of Alliance, Norma, and Brotmanville.

These people persevered over almost indescribable hardships. Originally they lived in a large barracks under the worst of conditions when they arrived at Alliance, which is on the Maurice River in the southeast corner of Salem County, about 5 miles northwest of Vineland. The area was covered with woodland over its thousands of acres. The owners, the Leach brothers, cut off timber, sawed it into lumber and sold the land to the Alliance Land Trust for $15 an acre.

From the lumber the people erected shanties 14 feet square and 14 feet high, lined with one thin board and plastered inside. In the winter the settlers suffered from cold and in the summer they sweltered in the heat. Each shanty sold at $150.

The refugees chose the Alliance area because it was located on the Jersey Central Railroad, about 100 miles from New York and about 40 miles from Philadelphia. In the early days, in addition to farming, the settlers opened a cigar factory which operated only briefly, and also went into the tailoring of cheap summer coats and vests which proved profitable. Then berries and grapes came into bearing.

In the meanwhile, A. Brotman, of New York, took over the Gartman farm and built a large shop, eventually building up Brotmanville. While the farms were being cleared of stumps, the settlers were learning the rudiments of farming with the help of books and the advice of neighbors. Mostly they learned through experience. A major problem was education of the children. To get their children into Vineland High School, the immigrants had to pay the tuition personally. The youngsters usually rode their bicycles to school and when that was impossible a wagon had to be hired.

Originally there were four synagogues, and a Sabbath school was inaugurated. Later there were Friday night gatherings at the hall of the big synagogue where also was conducted a pub-

lic library. There was a night school for adults.

Brushland was still being cleared as late as 1900. The farmers had no running water or electric lights. The "richer" homes might have a kitchen pump, but the water usually came from an outside well. Homes were heated with a wood range. Bathing was done in a homely washtub. Kolman Krassenstein ran a general store and post office, but the bulk of the shopping was done on the weekly horse-and-buggy trip to Vineland every Saturday.

Herman Eisenberg, raised in Norma and graduated from Rutgers and the University of Pennsylvania Law School, is now a Philadelphia lawyer. He recalls his early education in "the little red schoolhouse of Union Grove which consisted of two rooms housing all eight grades." There were four classes in each of the two rooms.

Jacob D. Spiegel, better known as "Jake," was the organizer of the Norma Athletic Association in 1904. In later years, according to Mr. Eisenberg, Jake was to be the guiding spirit of almost everything that took place in Norma. The NAA included residents of Norma, Alliance, and Brotmanville, with its main activity the baseball team.

Only two of the original settlers are left, William H. Levin, about 88, who lives across from the Alliance Cemetery, and Isaac Helig, about 86, who lives on Garden Road.

Mr. Spiegel said:

Normally, the Jewish people are industrialists, businessmen, and tradesmen. Here, the only thing they had was a piece of land and a home. They worked in neighboring towns to supplement their incomes; in Vineland, Deerfield, and Sharptown's canneries to support themselves.

Elizabeth Rudnick Levin, daughter of one of the original settlers, married Dr. Samuel F. Levin. She was born in Alliance and graduated from Vineland High School. On the 50th anniversary of the immigrants' coming, Mrs. Levin wrote about the prematurely old women who plodded along, day after day through the hot summer, doing the work of man and beast. During the strawberry season, children trudged along with their mothers going from farm to farm under the blazing sun to pick the perishable berries for an insatiable market.

The only recreation of these women was the Saturday morning service at the synagogues and they made yearly contributions toward beautifying the interiors of the "schule."

Sam Berkowitz, who runs the Berkowitz Feed Mill in Norma, says that in the three little villages poultry and general farming are still the biggest industry although the poultry industry is going sour. There are three poultry dressing plants in the area, a pearl button factory and two feed mills.

Mrs. Herman Spector, a Norma resident, says that conditions have changed in the area but the land remains fertile. Many of the old farms have disappeared, replaced by poultry farms now threatened with extinction. New scientific methods of farming have proved that the sweet potato is not profitable enough for the farmer so the basic crops have changed to more garden vegetables.

The spirit of these settlers was summed up on their 50th anniversary when they wrote:

Our farms are all paid for; we have a good name and credit in the bank, befitting industrious and thrifty people. We feel prosperous and can keep our heads up; we are employed steadily; we are our own bosses.

We are well and fairly comfortable and happy. Even the crisis which played such havoc in the cities with our brethren who were gambling in real estate and in stocks and bonds didn't hurt us very much.

We lost neither our heads nor our homes. Indeed, we have less temptations, albeit less luxuries. We lead a natural life.

Sermons could be written on that last sentence, "We lead a natural life." If every human being could say that, I am sure most of the worlds' ills would disappear and we could all enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

## World Government: United States Outnumbered, Outgunned, and Outvoted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, many citizens are disturbed by the policies of the Kennedy administration. A constituent sent me Jack Moffitt's column "The Cracker Barrel." It outlines very clearly many of the most important administration mistakes. The newly announced policy of interdependence for example. Jack Moffitt reflects the growing disgust of our people when he concludes the column by saying, "you-know-who would pay for lifting 'the weight from the shoulders of all'."

I submit it for the information of the House:

THE CRACKER BARREL
(By Jack Moffitt)

EAGLE ROCK, July 21.—Unless Congress puts a halter on him, President John F. Kennedy will commit the lives, the fortunes, and the sacred honor of the citizens of the United States to formation of a world government in which we will be outnumbered, outgunned, and outvoted. Mr. Kennedy made his intentions clear in his July 4 speech when he made crystal clear his willingness to trade American independence for what he called interdependence. He suggested an alliance with the presently forming European Economic Community, made up of six European nations. The new United States-European alliance would "look outward to cooperation with all nations in meeting their common concerns," he said.

For 17 years, Americans have given billions of dollars to help the rest of the world. Our gold supplies have been sucked away. Our national wealth has been scattered across jungles and deserts and down international ratholes. Our national economy, depressed by debt and unbalanced budgets and confiscatory taxes, could slide any time into an abyss that would make the depression of the thirties look like a Sunday-school picnic. And yet our President, who never met a payroll or turned a lathe or depended for his livelihood upon a weekly paycheck, talks glibly about surrendering our country to a regional and eventually to a world government where you-know-who would pay for lifting "the weight from the shoulders of all."

## The Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Alliance for Progress" which appeared recently in the quarterly publication of the Chase Manhattan Bank, Latin American Business Highlights.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

A little over a year ago, on March 13, 1961, President Kennedy announced the Alliance for Progress, a program designed to speed economic growth in the Latin Americann nations, more firmly establish democratic institutions in this hemisphere, and enhance the unity and security of the Americas.

There is little new in the large outline of the program, for it had all been said at various times in the past. For instance, large parts of the Treaty of Bogotá, signed a year and a half earlier, reappeared in it. Thus the Alliance was a continuation of policies that had been taking shape for several years.

But the program was announced with a new urgency, against a backdrop of increasing political ferment in Latin America. Thus, the U.S. commitment was made firmer than ever before, and the goals of a development program were made more concrete.

Although the program was announced by the President of the United States, it quickly acquired inter-American backing. The basic program was endorsed and amplified by 20 member countries at a meeting of the Organization of American States at Punta del Este, in Uruguay, in August 1961. At that meeting the U.S. representative committed this country to make large financial outlays in the coming decade to support the program, while the Latin American representatives committed their countries to sweeping changes, where needed, in such fields as taxation, land reform, education, and housing.

With only little over a year in which to judge the results, it is still too early to say whether the program will achieve its original aims. To be sure, during the first full year of operations under the Alliance, the United States has committed even more funds than promised at Punta del Este, enabling numerous important projects scattered throughout the area to get underway. Furthermore, Latin American legislators have stepped up the tempo of reform efforts in the areas set out in the charter of Punta del Este. In addition, the U.S. foreign aid machinery has been overhauled in a way that should make it more sensitive to the needs of the Latin American nations.

PROGRAM UNDER ATTACK

But the program has been under heavy attack by responsible people in the United

States and in Latin America. On this side, critics point to influential segments in Latin America who resist reforms the critics regard as an essential counterpart to U.S. financial assistance. Others claims that much of the U.S. aid has been administered recklessly, without proper regard for how productive the use of the funds will be, simply in order to meet the dollar commitment made at Punta del Este. Perhaps the most telling criticism—and the one stressed in this report—is that the Alliance effort is too heavily biased toward social reforms, and gives inadequate weight to the role of private capital.

On the other side, many Latin Americans have criticized U.S. Alliance administrators for moving too slowly to help finance projects and offset balance-of-payments deficits they say should have high priority. Also, a substantial number of Latin Americans—particularly among the wealthier—believe the U.S. attitude toward reforms in such delicate areas as land tenure and taxation is meddlesome, at best, and possibly a danger to political stability.

What can one say about these complaints? It is clear that to a large extent they result from frustrations that are almost bound to exist during the early stage of any ambitious and complex project. In order to get public support for a program that is costly and involves important social and political changes it has been thought necessary to stress the bright vision of the future. In the language of President Kennedy: "And if we are successful—if our effort is bold enough and determined enough—then the close of this decade will mark the beginning of a new era in the American experience. The living standards of every American family will be on the rise, basic education will be available to all, hunger will be a forgotten experience, the need for massive outside help will have passed, most nations will have entered a period of self-sustaining growth."

Such words, though surrounded by cautious phrases, are generally read out of context and tend to raise unrealistic hopes among those who have come to desire swift improvement in their living standards.

Frustration is also due in no small part to the relatively slow economic advance that most Latin American countries have experienced in recent years. While under the best circumstances the Alliance could not have produced a large economic boost in so short a time, it provides a convenient scapegoat for other economic ills.

Even after making full allowance for these frustrations, we have no arithmetic by which to weigh the criticisms mentioned above. However, a start can be made by first looking at the overall foreign aid picture, in which the Alliance plays a new and important role. We can then look more closely at what has been accomplished during the past year and attempt to evaluate the program in terms of its stated goals.

### THE BROADER PROGRAM

The Alliance for Progress is not merely a U.S. foreign aid program. It is a joint inter-American effort involving major commitments by the nations of Latin America. This is what gives meaning to the name and substance to the program.

Nevertheless a large dollar expenditure by the U.S. Government is involved, so it is useful to look at the Alliance in terms of the broader program of which it is part.

In the whole postwar period the United States has made loans and grants totaling over $86 billion, of which $30 billion was in the form of military supplies and services and about $56 billion in the form of economic and technical aid. Nearly 85 percent of this aid has been as grants, though the ratio of loans to grants has been rising in recent years. This massive program, averaging more than $5 billion a year, has played a key role in U.S. foreign policy.

The goal of this policy has been to achieve a peaceful world order in which the rights and obligations of each nation are understood and respected. However, as world conditions have changed, U.S. policies to achieve this overall purpose have changed—sometimes belatedly—to meet them. In very broad terms, the postwar period can be divided into two major phases we have experienced, and a third phase we now appear to be entering. The first of these, from 1946 to about 1952, was the reconstruction phase, in which the United States spent nearly $40 billion for economic and military goods and services—most of it in Europe—to help rebuild war-damaged economies that stood in danger of being absorbed in the postwar Soviet expansion. This program, which encompassed the Marshall plan, was most successful and was largely finished—except for continued military support—by the early 1950's.

The second major phase, which overlapped the reconstruction period and is still important, is the defense phase. This phase coincides with the rising Communist military threat in the 1950's, highlighted by Soviet nuclear and rocket technology and by the aggressive moves of Communist China. About two-fifths of all postwar aid has been military, and during the 1950's this military aid, coupled with the so-called defense support, constitutd the most important element in the aid program. Thus, countries on the periphery of the Communist world—Taiwan, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, India, Pakistan, tended to receive the bulk of U.S. aid. This kind of assistance from the United States is likely to continue to be important for quite a while. But it may give way in time to aid that is more directly aimed at economic developmnt itself.

Throughout the past 15 years the United States has provided assistance to promote economic growth in less developed nations. The point 4 program was of this type. Moreover, the Export-Import Bank made numerous economic development loans—especially before 1953—and several of these went to Latin America. The Development Loan Fund, established in 1957, has been making loans to help meet the longrun development needs of many nations. All these efforts may well appear, some years hence, as forerunners of a new type of aid program—a program to attack underdevelopment on a large scale, and on a broad economic, social and political front. The Alliance for Progress, if carried through, will be the first effort of this kind.

### THE ALLIANCE AIMS

In reviewing the main elements of the Alliance it is useful to remember that many of them were reflected in the Act of Bogotá signed by 19 representatives of the OAS in 1960 during the Eisenhower administration (see LABH, vol. 11, No. 2).

After the Act of Bogotá considerable progress was made in defining the development goals of the Latin American countries. Thus, when the ministerial meeting of the OAS took place in August 1961, the delegates were prepared to put into the charter of Punta del Este a rather concrete set of proposals and development targets. Because these targets are quite explicit it may be well to enumerate some of the more important of them:

A minimum average rate of growth in income of 2½ percent per person in each country.

Elimination of illiteracy, and 6 years of primary education for each school age child, by 1970.

An increas of life expectancy through specific health measures and improved water supply and drainage for at least 70 percent of the urban population and 50 percent of the rural population.

Agrarian reform—where required—to improve systems of land tenure and agriculture techniques.

Tax reform to reduce evasion and bring the principle of ability to pay more in operation.

Construction of low-cost housing for low-income families.

Elimination of inflation where it exists and the maintenance of price stability.

Strengthening existing agreements on economic integration such as the Latin American Free Trade Area and the Central American Common Market.

To implement these aims the United States agreed to provide a major share of the minimum of $20 billion over a 10-year period indicated as needed from sources outside Latin America and to contribute $1 billion for Latin American development during the 12 months beginning March 13, 1961.

### THE U.S. SHARE

The crucial question about the Alliance targets is whether the minimum growth in per capita income of 2½ percent a year is likely to be met, if current trends persist. But before examing this question, it may be well to indicate how well the United States has met its commitment to the Alliance, and how the Latin American nations have fared in making institutional changes set out in the charter.

From March 13, 1961, through February 28, 1962, the U.S. Government made commitments under the alliance program for a total of $1.06 billion—not including $305 million of Export-Import Bank refinancing for Brazil. Some 87 percent of the total was in the form of long term development loans, with only 13 percent in the form of grants. The Export-Import Bank supplied $361 million; the AID, $402 million; the Social Progress Trust Fund administered by the IADB, $130 million; the food for peace program, $136 million.

This represent a considerable stepup in our foreign aid program in Latin America despite the fact that several of the loans, particularly the $100 million Chile loan and the social progress trust fund, had been authorized by Congress before the alliance was announced.

However, the task of finding worthy and well planned projects is a very large one, and it is unlikely that more funds could have been committed without damage to the credit standards of the lending agencies and a resultant waste of resources. As it was, about $400 million of the total U.S. commitments were in the form of export refinancing or outright balance of payments loans. Since one of the major problems in Latin America is to use capital resources as efficiently as possible, and since balance of payments loans tend not to do this, such loans will hopefully play a smaller role in the future.

All in all, the United States, by providing financial, technical, and material assistance on an expanded scale, has fulfilled its part of the bargain struck at Punta del Este. At the same time, it should be recognized that the role of the United States, though crucial—even central—to the success of the Alliance, is not the most difficult. In effect, the United States is contributing a small fraction of its annual production, in return for which it hopes to achieve a more satisfactory world order. The Latin American nations, on the other hand, have a more difficult task. They must mobilize their resources on a far larger scale and have promised to undertake major economic and social reforms.

### AMBITIOUS REFORMS

The undertaking on the part of the Latin American countries to modify land tenure and tax systems where these appear necessary is certainly one of the most difficult, contentious and ambiguous aspects of the Alli-

ance for Progress. No reasonable observer would deny that in many areas of Latin America a more broadly based land tenure system and improved tax system, if they can be achieved without undue social and political stress, would strengthen the foundations of democratic government and reduce social tensions.

Regarding land reforms, however, there has been a tendency in this country to overestimate the amount of good land that could thus be redistributed, to overestimate the improvement in farm technology and production that would result, to underestimate the amount of political unrest that would be created by large land-reform efforts, and to gloss over the immense differences that exist between countries and regions within countries, where the problem of farm productivity requires different solutions

Because the amount of good land to be redistributed is small, the number of individuals that could become members of the class of independent farmers is quite small from a political point of view. Yet land reform on a substantial scale invariably raises hopes too high. This, plus the conflicting interests of those now holding land, make such reforms potentially explosive. Nevertheless, in a number of countries, particularly in Colombia and Venezuela, moderate and well-conceived land reform programs have been under way or under serious study for some years. Probably reform measures will eventually be enacted in Chile and Peru, though the net social and economic benefit in these countries will be severely limited by the availability of arable land.

The point is that for some time land reform has been taking place or is being prepared for in a number of countries. While the Alliance may usefully speed the process somewhat, great care should be taken not to press it too hard, for the social costs could far outweigh the meager social and economic gains.

TAX reform is also a difficult matter in any country. Here the problem of evasion is perhaps more important than that of tax structure. Improvement in the tax field is needed in most nations—and is increasingly accepted as necessary by responsible Latin Americans. Hopefully, the pressure of the Alliance can be used to streamline tax collections. But it would be a mistake to assume that a substantial increase in tax rates on the higher incomes would greatly improve matters, even if easily implemented. Although it would provide more resources for government investment programs, it would also reduce business incentives needed to draw out private savings and investments.

NEW KIND OF REFORM

Latin America clearly stands in need of reforms that promote economic growth. But such reforms are not necessarily the same as those which redistribute and reduce discrepancies in income. Indeed, if Latin America is not to become wedded to doctrines which give central governments authority over most of the nation's resources—and this involves loss of freedom and great coercive power of the government—then incentives must play an important role in a free market economy. In many Latin American countries, due to a web of government controls, unpredictable shifts in government policies, inflation and low standards of civic rectitude, incentives exist only in distorted form. Thus, so-called free economies are often very far from free. The reforms that are needed are those that make them freer and more stable.

This is the crux of a fundamental criticism that might be levelled at the Alliance for Progress. The Alliance seeks to follow what appear to be two basically contrary lines of approach. On the one hand, a minimum target of fairly rapid economic growth is set, with the hope that growth can be even more rapid. Moreover, in the overall planning for the Alliance, private investments—both foreign and domestic—play the dominant role. At least a third of the capital from outside the region, and two-thirds of the capital generated domestically, are expected to be private.

Yet the Alliance is negotiated and worked out by people close to the levers of government control and their programs deal with government action. But in concentrating on the government sector, and dealing with elements of the economy which can most directly be affected by it, they have tended to emphasize reform movements which cannot be implemented rapidly without great social unrest and political uncertainty—the conditions least likely to provide a healthy climate for savings and investments.

The U.S. Government has taken a number of steps to help encourage the flow of U.S. private investments—improvement in the investment guarantee program, better economic intelligence services through the Department of Commerce, the setting up of the Commerce Committee for the Alliance for Progress (COMAP), a committee of U.S. businessmen to work out ways for private funds to be channeled into Alliance projects.

But important as these moves are, they do not strike at the heart of the problem, which is to improve the investment climate in Latin America for private investments, both foreign and domestic. This is not an easy thing to do. It may even be impossible. What is certain is that we—the U.S. Government and the U.S. business community—have not done all we can to persuade the people and governments of Latin America of either the importance or the requirements for such an investment climate. This is an area urgently requiring study.

THE PIE

The Alliance is struggling with the old problem of the pie. It is desired to have both a bigger pie, and to cut the slices more evenly. But the very process of evening out the slices may preclude making the pie much larger. In deciding where the emphasis should lie it seems clear that in the long run the smaller slices will grow more rapidly if the major effort is devoted to enlarging the whole pie, even though substantial differences continue to exist between the largest and the smallest slices.

ENDS AND MEANS

The problem of the Alliance is not that it seeks too much. The task of raising the general standard of living in Latin America is as immense as it is vital. It requires great vision, and the courage to state the need and the goal clearly. The problem, rather, concerns the means for achieving these goals that are either spelled out or implied in the Alliance program—tax and land reform, better housing, education, health programs. These are partly means to economic growth. But mainly they are the social ends, the fruits enjoyed by nations advancing rapidly. The real means—and the overriding need in Latin America—is an increased flow of capital from domestic and foreign sources, and improvement in the efficiency with which all resources—particularly the human resources—are used. To develop these means does involve large expenditures on such social projects as schools, hospitals, roads, and farm extension services, all of which generally require the direct attention of governments.

But the services of such projects cannot be fully productive unless there is a friendly attitude on the part of the government and the public toward private business. In the face of the barrage of propaganda against free enterprise such attitudes are unlikely to emerge by themselves. And if public spokesmen for the United States—the country where it has paid off most handsomely—do not defend and endorse a free-enterprise system, then policies which weaken it are likely to predominate, and the ultimate goal of the Alliance will be put off further into the future.

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## Student Summer Corps Assists New Jersey Migrants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, recently I read of a summer corps project which has been set up in New Jersey to aid migratory farmworkers and their families. Students from Douglass College in New Brunswick are working with migrants, operating day-care centers for migratory children, arranging for visits of mobile health units to labor camps, and organizing civic groups to help these deprived Americans.

I would like to call attention to this project for two reasons. The first is that it demonstrates that our American youth are living up to a very high standard indeed; in an age in which we hear almost daily of the threat of communism and of the threat of juvenile delinquency, it is reassuring to find this proof that our American youngsters are second to none in high-minded public spirit. I commend these girls from Douglass College.

The second reason is that this article calls our attention to the fine work being done to aid our migratory farmworkers by Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I know that Senator WILLIAMS was very interested in this project; indeed, I even understand that he was instrumental in getting it started. I would like, therefore, to take this occasion to commend the Senator for the wonderful efforts he is making to bring to our migratory workers the same standards of decency, the same standard of living that are enjoyed by all other citizens of our rich and prosperous country.

I therefore insert under unanimous consent, the article from the July 24 New York Times entitled "Students Assist Jersey Migrants" at this point in the RECORD:

STUDENTS ASSIST JERSEY MIGRANTS: DOUGLASS COLLEGE GIRLS SET UP CHILD DAY CARE CENTERS

(By George Cable Wright)

WHITESBOG, N.J., July 23.—Susan Jo Shill bent over six little children squatting on the splintery floor of the brown-shingled saltbox structure this morning. She was trying to teach the somewhat bewildered youngsters, from 1 to 4 years old, to model with clay.

Outside, Elizabeth Ferrar was coaching a baseball game.

The scene was a clearing on the J. J. White blueberry and cranberry farm in the heart of Burlington County's pine belt. The occasion was the opening of a day-care center for the children of migrant farm workers.

Miss Shill, 22, and Miss Ferrar, 20 are 2 of the 16 present and former Douglas College

students primarily responsible for the creation of day-care centers being set up in Burlington, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, and Cumberland Counties.

Under the direction of two Douglass faculty members, the girls are organizing local officials and other residents to take over the centers and run them permanently.

Their project, 4 weeks old, is being sponsored and financed by State and Federal agencies.

Miss Shill, a June graduate of Rutgers, will attend the University of London this fall as a Fulbright scholar.

"We want to take a census of Spanish-speaking migrants and set up a system by which a Spanish interpreter is available when needed," she said. "We want to get lawyers to provide legal aid to migrants, organize groups for paint-up, clean-up tasks and explore the feasibility of an adult education program."

Miss Ferrar, a junior, stressed that "no farmers have turned us away yet. They have cooperated wonderfully. The migrants seem as enthusiastic as we are."

Today, the girls, led by the head of the Sociology Department at Douglass College, and Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr., Democrat, of New Jersey, led reporters and cameramen on a tour of the centers.

Raymond H. Male, New Jersey Commissioner of Labor and Industry, and other State and county officials joined in the tour.

Private organizations have contributed $1,500 to the project.

## The Basic Flaw in Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I ask permission to include a speech made by one of my constituents, Mr. Sydney Houston, of Dade City, Fla., to the Kiwanis Club of Dade City, entitled "The Basic Flaw in Socialism." I commend this to the Members for their consideration:

THE BASIC FLAW IN SOCIALISM

Socialism, like all forms of collectivism, is full of flaws and inconsistencies, but the basic flaw is its deluded acceptance of the vicious doctrine that the end justifies the means.

This is just as true of the so-called Fabian socialism, presently popular in English-speaking countries, which advocates a gradual and allegedly legal approach to collectivism, as it is true of the starkly brutal and revolutionary Marxian socialism, or communism, as it is more often called by others, although the Reds usually refer to themselves as Socialists.

The end does not justify the means. All religions, and all systems of ethics worthy of the name, teach that it does not. But that it does is taught by all forms of socialism and that is where they first go astray.

Law is force, resting upon policemen, judges, jails, and gallows. Therefore, law is justified only where force is justified. Force is justified only defensively, to protect person and property, and for no other purpose. Therefore, law is justified only defensively, to protect person and property, and for no other purpose.

Force is not justified to compel one man to turn over his pocketbook, or any part of it, to another (that is highway robbery) or to compel one man to contribute to the causes favored by another, however apparently stupid the one or sophisticated the other. Therefore, law is not justified for any such purpose.

You will note our President calls for "sophisticated" solutions to current problems. My dictionary defines "sophisticate" as "to deprive of genuineness." It has been my experience that only the immature are concerned with sophistication; the mature and balanced adult attaches no importance to it, preferring genuineness.

If the chairman of your local Red Cross Drive should place a pistol at your head and forcibly extort a contribution, he would be guilty of a crime, despite the fact that nearly all would agree the cause a most worthy one and deserving of generous support. But, the end does not justify the means.

By the same token it is equally criminal for a majority (large or small) to place a tax pistol at the head of the minority and forcibly extort contributions to projects the minority does not believe in.

That which is criminal in man individually can not be right for man collectively. All the sophisticated sophistry of all the sophomoric Socialists in the world can not make it right. All the tears of the sobsisters and all the blood of the bleeding hearts can not erase the truth of that statement.

Man has the right to defend his person, property and liberties; that is obvious. Therefore, he can delegate that right to government with the powers necessary to enforcement.

He can not delegate to government rights he does not have himself, and he does not have the right to open his neighbor's pocketbook at will, however desirable it may seem to him.

Thus, the basic issue is a moral one. Shall we obey or defy the strict injunctions in the Ten Commandments, viz: "Thou shalt not steal" and "thou shalt not covet."

Those prohibitions very effectively dispose of any moral pretensions of socialism and expose it for what it is; unchristian and unethical legalized larceny.

Yet there are some so benighted and misguided as to prate of Christian socialism. To me that makes no more sense than Christian cancer. It is a contradiction in terms.

Christianity is a free-will religion. It is offered but it is not forced. Socialism is force; the force of perverted law by which a misguided majority violates the natural rights of the minority, the Ten Commandments and the Constitution of the United States.

There is nothing sacred about the momentary will of the majority. It was a majority that crucified Christ, permitted the reign of terror in the French Revolution, and voted Hitler into power in Germany. Majorities will at times do wicked and shameful things; therefore, there are some actions that the constitution of a free government must forbid to a majority, just as the Ten Commandments forbid certain acts to individuals.

It was implicit recognition of this fact that impelled our Founding Fathers to draw and ratify a Constitution that stressed the rights of the individual and restricted the power of the majority to coerce the individual, to the end that we might be truly free.

Love, compassion, and charity are invoked to justify the practice of socialism. They are wonderful virtues.

But they are only a smokescreen to cover the real sales pitch of socialism which is something for nothing. Any sane and honest man knows you can't get that—at least not for long.

Man's duty is to practice those virtues himself. It is wrong for him to compel others at pistol point to a forced compliance with his ideas of what is proper in that respect.

The end does not justify the means. If the means are evil, so is the end, no matter how seductively disguised by hypocritically pious words.

The Constitution of the United States, which is the political corollary of the great moral prohibitions handed to Moses on Sinai, guarantees no one any security except that which he can obtain by his own efforts. That is just, moral, and practical.

Under the principles established by that document, we became the wonder, envy, and hope of the world. Who could be so criminal or so stupid as to replace those noble precepts and sound practices with socialistic folly, thoroughly discredited by all previous experience?

To ask that question is to answer it: Our last four national administrations and the Supreme Court of the United States, among others.

Patriotic and well-meaning friends, including members of this club, tell me that no man can be elected to office who does not compromise his principles and offer at least enough government bounty to swing a majority of the voters in his district.

If that is true we are hopelessly lost, and your children and grandchildren will be grovelling slaves of totalitarian communism (the ultimate end of Fabian socialism) in the most hideous and galling bondage yet seen.

But I do not believe that for a moment. I am constitutionally incapable of such defeatism, and the pages of history are full of apparently hopeless causes that were carried to eventual victory by the courage, honesty and persistence of a handful of resolute men. Our American Revolution is a case in point.

I also pay the American people the compliment of not believing them as stupid and unprincipled as this defeatist belief would imply.

It is true they have been bemused and seduced for 30 years, but I believe when they are offered a clear-cut choice between the freedom of constitutionalism and free enterprise and the slavery of socialism that they will make the right choice. Bear in mind that they have had little real choice for a long time; only the lesser of two evils.

Recall that Landon offered a cheap New Deal, Willkie an efficient one, and generous Mr. Dewey one that was both cheap and efficient but it was still a new deal if, indeed, retrogression to practices thoroughly discredited by all previous history may be called new.

If only someone had had the sense and courage to get up on his hind legs and say "this demagog is selling (and collecting for) a bill of goods he can't deliver, and here is why," there might have been a very different situation today. The fault has been in our leadership, as well as in ourselves.

Two other points must be forcefully driven home, besides the fact that the end does not justify the means.

1. The politician who will steal for you, will also steal from you. This is pointed up by a minimum income tax rate of 20 percent which is double the contribution asked, but not compelled, by a wise and just God. What a commentary that is on our government.

2. When government does something for you, it takes something from you. And when government does everything for you, it takes everything from you, and you have become a robot slave groveling in hopeless despair, with the temporary security of a pig in his sty, but without mind, soul or hope.

Gentlemen, if you, and others like you, will stop lolling complacently on your expanding posteriors, and galvanize into action, this country can be saved from the gathering darkness of Socialist night. If you get busy soon enough.

Surely, your own self-respect, and the love you bear your children, will impel you to do so.

Let's refute the basic flaw of socialism. Let's establish that "the end does not justify the means." Let's preach it so consistently and forcefully that it will penetrate the thick skulls of the politicians.

## The Cardinal Principles of the Conservative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PETER H. DOMINICK**
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of Colorado Daily, which is published by the students at the University of Colorado, Mr. Charles Adams, who appears as city editor for the Daily, and also signs himself as editor, the New Conservative, sets forth the cardinal principles of the conservative as sharply and as understandably as I have ever seen them stated. Mr. Adams is to be highly commended for having captured both the spirit and the essence of the basic philosophy of serious-minded Americans who are concerned about the future course of this Nation.

I include Mr. Adams' analysis as part of my remarks, and recommend its study by my colleagues:

Your editorial "To the Rescue" is by far the most humorous column to have appeared recently in the Daily, an honor you have preempted from Max Lerner. However, you have revealed that you have done a great deal less research on the basic tenets of conservatism than on the intricacies of digital dialing.

The new conservative does indeed have certain cardinal principles which are not at all unknowable as you infer, even to the liberal mind.

The new conservative holds:

That the individual has and should exercise full freedom of thought, speech, enterprise, and association, limited only to the extent that he endangers the freedom of others.

That the right of private property is a basic human right.

That objective standards of truth, right, and justice do exist.

That all human beings are equal in dignity and in rights, but not in character or in ability, in personality or in achievement; that the constructive achievements and successes of the individual are contributions to society rather than threats to it; and that all measures must be opposed which compel an artificial equality, enforce mediocrity, penalize our best for the benefit of our worst, or deprive any individual of his rightful earnings through any theory of a ceiling on permissible individual success.

That our foreign policy as a nation should be characterized by courage rather than fear, daring rather than compromise, decision rather than negotiations, initiative rather than reaction, advance rather than retreat.

That our destiny as individuals and as a nation is in our own hands; that neither our enemy nor any uncommitted areas will determine our future unless we permit them to do so; that America, as a nation, and every American citizen can and should attain more freedom in the future rather than less; that we intend to do all in our power to attain such greater freedom for ourselves and for our country.

The new conservative seeks to check his own philosophical premises, identify his convictions, integrate his ideas into coherency and consistency, take the initiative and the responsibility, and to offer the country a view of existence to which the wise and honest can subscribe. He knows that ideas divorced from consequent action are fraudulent, and that action divorced from ideas is disastrous.

Should you, Editor Danish, with a mind either to spread this philosophy or oppose it, care to spearhead the movement to tap liberal reservoirs of wealth ("dirty old men," "Bakuninists," and "White House Squirrels" notwithstanding), your every effort will be appreciated.

CHARLES ADAMS,
*Editor, the New Conservative.*

## What Kind of Electoral College Reform?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. SILVIO O. CONTE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the question of electoral college reform does not revolve around whether or not reforms should be made, but rather the nature and extent of reform. The following editorial emphasizes some of the most important points which must be kept in the forefront of any discussion of this crucial problem. It also points out a source of information for those of our people who are interested in finding additional information on this subject.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Electoral College Reform," which appeared in the Union Leader of Manchester, N.H., on June 23, 1962:

ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

In any discussion of the electoral college system there is one point on which there seems to be nearly universal agreement: the need for reform in our current method of choosing presidential electors.

But the proposals range from those that would make the current system even more unfair to those that would bring about its outright abolition. We might be inclined to go along with the latter if it were not for the almost inevitable results: the loss of State control of presidential elections, a violation of the principle of a Federal union of States and the Federal principle of representation. The office of elector keeps presidential elections free from congressional control.

Senate liberals, such as Senators MCGEE, CASE, of New Jersey, and KEFAUVER, have advanced proposals which would guarantee that the unfairness of the present system will continue. The constitutional amendments they propose would simply abolish the office and person of the presidential elector but leave the present system otherwise unchanged.

The unfairness of the present system was underscored by the Kennedy-Nixon presidential election results in 1960 when, by extremely narrow margins, entire States went—as a bloc—for Kennedy or Nixon. Thus, although the popular vote was extremely close, Kennedy's vote in the electoral college was 303 and Nixon's only 219. (Even though each State's delegation in the electoral college is equal in number to its congressional delegation, the "winner take all" theory prevails in our presidential elections.)

As a result of this system of en bloc voting for the electoral college, organized pressure groups in the Nation's largest cities are permitted to wield political influence far in excess of their limited membership. As in the case of New York, they can determine the outcome of the election in the entire State and swing a large number of electoral votes (in New York, 45 in 1960; 43 in 1964) to one of the candidates. Thus, in 1960, although the GOP tallied 3,446,419 votes for Nixon to the Democrats' 3,423,909 votes for Kennedy, the Liberal Party electoral slate polled 406,176 votes and swung the entire State to Kennedy. And 70 percent of the Liberal Party's votes were cast in New York City alone.

Of the several proposals currently before the Senate, this newspaper favors the State-district plan sponsored by Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota, and five other Senators representing both political parties. Senate Joint Resolution 12 is the only proposal that would retain the office of presidential elector. It would require, however, that the electors who correspond to Representatives be elected in individual, nongerrymandered districts, while the electors who correspond to the U.S. Senators are elected statewide.

But this newspaper will be the first to admit that a good case can be made for other of the proportional plans, under which each State's electoral votes simply would be divided among the candidates according to popular vote. (We favor S.J. Res. 12 because it retains the office of elector and guarantees State control).

As one source of reliable information on the various proposals now before the Senate we recommend that readers write to the Committee on Electoral College Reform of the American Good Government Society, 810 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D.C., whose distinguished board of trustees is headed by Dr. John S. Mills, of Western Reserve University.

## The National Charity Lottery of Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL A. FINO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, in this country, it is all too often true that gambling is a pillar of organized crime. I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House the example of Panama in order to show that gambling does not have to serve such evil ends. The national charity lottery of Panama functions, as its name would indicate, to provide funds for the support of hospitals, welfare institutions and orphanages.

The national charity lottery plays quite an important role in the everyday life of Panama, and although that nation has a population of only 1 million, gross receipts from the national charity lottery were over $34 million in 1961. In that year, the profit to the Government was close to $6 million.

In Panama, the gambling urge is centralized and channeled so as to achieve beneficial ends. Gambling dollars in

Panama are not used to shore up racketeers as in the United States. Instead, they are used to promote the public welfare. When we realize the merits of a national lottery, we too will be able to siphon funds from the pockets of gangsters into the pockets of hard-pressed taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, how much longer must the American taxpayer continue to be the victim of hypocrisy?

## Uncle Sap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES B. UTT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune:

UNCLE SAP

State Department testimony in support of Mr. Kennedy's appeal for authority to buy $100 million in United Nations bonds to tide the organization over a financial crisis arising from its military intervention in the Congo discloses this:

1. Without waiting for any authorization to buy bonds, the U.S. Government has voluntarily given U.N. $215 million from foreign aid appropriations to keep it out of bankruptcy.

2. Upon pocketing these American funds, the U.N. then voted remission of a major share of assessments against a large number of member nations for support of the Congo operation.

3. The effect of this was to use the American handout to subsidize numerous U.N. members which are either hostile to the United States or indifferent to its foreign policy goals.

4. The total kicked back to these nations at the expense of the American taxpayer was $11,400,800. Thus Castro's Communist Cuba was provided with a gift of $140,800 at American expense; Poland, a Soviet satellite, with $512,000; Communist Yugoslavia with $243,000, and neutralist India with $140,800.

5. Some of the beneficiaries were deadbeats which had failed to pay their assessments for maintaining the U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Congo and the Gaza strip. Among them were Poland and India. Thus, in effect, they were rewarded for dodging their share of the burden.

This all but unbelievable story was confirmed in testimony before a panel of the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, who appeared in support of Mr. Kennedy's bond-buying scheme. Cleveland did not volunteer the information. It was dragged out of him.

Even Democratic supporters of the Kennedy proposal were stunned. "That's enough to kill the bill right now," said Representative HAYS, of Ohio. "How can we vote for this bill now?" asked Representative ZABLOCKI, of Wisconsin. A Republican, Representative ADAIR, of Indiana, observed that the State Department seemed content that the United States should pick up the check for all comers.

Practices of this kind, which are on their face the height of irresponsibility, certainly should put Congress on guard not only against the bond buying device but against the whole reckless dissipation of tax money in foreign aid, for it is from this source that the money paid out by U.N. in gratuities to its delinquents came.

Cleveland's bland admission that the Government cheerfully allows itself to be played for a patsy puts in a stranger light than ever the charade enacted last week before the World Court. The United States had pressed this tribunal for an advisory opinion whether U.N. special assessments for the Congo were as binding upon the membership as the contributions for ordinary expenses of U.N. The Court decreed that they were.

This ruling was sought by the Kennedy administration as evidence that, with all members required to pay, the investment in bonds would be safe. But now we know that the U.N. has rewarded its deadbeats for not paying, so that the Court's opinion is reduced to mere window dressing. In addition, Cleveland kept referring to the bonds as "stopgap aid." What that means is that the State Department regards the bond purchase as the first drop in the bucket in a never-ending process to keep U.N. going, which will require, not buckets, but barrels of American cash.

## Key Targets of the Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, no Members of this House regret more deeply than do his colleagues on the Committee on Un-American Activities the decision of Hon. GORDON H. SCHERER, of Ohio, to retire from office at the end of his present term.

As an extremely valuable addition to his uniformly useful service on this committee for the past 10 years, Congressman SCHERER has authored an informative article on current Communist activities in the United States which was published in the August 1962 issue of the American Legion magazine.

Because of the value of this article to Members of Congress and the American people, I include it in full under permission to extend and revise my remarks.

The article follows:

KEY TARGETS OF THE COMMUNISTS

(By Hon. GORDON H. SCHERER, Member of Congress)

A short time ago a professor in one of our midwestern universities was lecturing to his class in political science. After a few sarcastic references to the Committee on Un-American Activities, J. Edgar Hoover, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he smirkingly said: "This fellow Hoover talks out of both sides of his mouth. One day he admits that the membership of the Communist Party has reached an alltime low in this country. The next day, when he is before the Appropriations Committee of Congress asking for more money for the FBI, Hoover charges that the threat from internal communism in this country is greater than ever."

The professor then continued to parrot the Communist line. He said: "Since there are so few Communists in this country, why should we become so excited over them? What possible harm can 10,000 Communists do in a Nation of 180 million people?"

This professor was not a Communist although he belonged to some Communist-front organizations. Of course, his students did not know that. But here we have a man who, because of his position of influence—and there are thousands more like him in the United States—is doing more harm to this country than many in that group of 10,000 Communists.

In evaluating the extent of the danger of the threat from within, we must multiply this 10,000 many times because of synthetic Americans like the professor. We must be ever cognizant of the fact that most Communists operate from key and strategic positions where their subversive activities have the maximum effect on the greatest number.

Let me cite just a few of hundreds of examples from hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities in order to prove the point which the professor either did not understand or did not want to understand.

Edward Yellin, a rather brilliant young man, while in college and most likely under the influence of a man like our professor, became a dedicated, fanatical Communist. Let's see how the Communist Party used him in its colonization program. First, we must understand what colonization is. It is a highly developed, successful technique of the Communist conspiracy. As an example, a well-educated young Communist with one or more university degrees makes application to a basic industry for a menial job in an industrial plant. In his application for employment he misrepresents his educational attainments by downgrading them. His job application shows only 1 year's attendance at high school whereas he has a master's degree. A person operating as a colonizer obtains a job on the assembly line where his Communist connections are unknown. He is then in a position to indoctrinate fellow workers and stir up strife and dissension in the plant, at the direction of the Communist apparatus.

It does not take much imagination to see that one red colonizer might be the cause of a slowdown, a strike, and even espionage and sabotage in a vital defense plant. Again, who can say that a single professor such as I have mentioned did not start a chain reaction like this in many directions over the years?

Getting back to Edward Yellin. When he was called before the Committee on Un-American Activities in Gary, Ind., in 1958, he defied the committee and refused to answer questions about his activities as a Communist colonizer in the Chicago area. He was subsequently convicted in the Federal court for contempt of Congress. (Mr. Yellin's appeal from same will be reargued in the Supreme Court in the new term beginning next October 1.) During the litigation; he went back to college as a graduate student at the University of Illinois on a Ford Foundation scholarship. The following year—believe it or not—the National Science Foundation which was set up by the Congress in the interest of national defense gave Yellin a fellowship from taxpayers' money to continue his research.

This however was revoked after the Committee on Un-American Activities investigated the National Science Foundation's policies in granting fellowships.

During this investigation it was disclosed that one of the great universities in this country—some people refer to it as one of the more liberal—received from the Federal Treasury, through the National Science Foundation, over a 3-year period, $235,500 for scientific research projects. These projects were requested by and were under the supervision and direction of a professor who, when before our committee not too long ago, invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning his membership in the Communist Party.

In another case, one Lee Lorch, a brilliant mathematician—but also an identified, hard-core Communist, who was fired from three

universities, subsequently received a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Now the National Science Foundation has been set up by your Government primarily in the interests of national defense—and note I say in the interests of national defense—to advance scientific study and research in this country. Its action in granting a fellowship to Yellin seemed incomprehensible.

Professors in the university who knew about Yellin's conviction and Communist Party activities and who recommended him to the National Science Foundation for the fellowship, failed to disclose his conviction in their recommendations. Their excuse was that they were only interested in his proficiency as a scientist.

This same attitude was expressed by people with whom I discussed the award in the National Science Foundation. They said in substance that they were concerned only about Yellin's ability and suitability as a scientist; that some scientists were a different breed of cats than the rest of us, and that they would not give the Government the benefit of their scientific knowledge and research if we inquired too closely into their backgrounds and political beliefs.

To those who continue to peddle the Communist line that 10,000 Communists in this country are of little or no consequence, may I remind them that at the time Russia was taken over, less than one-seventh of 1 percent of the people in that unhappy country were Communists. Poland had only 4 percent. When Castro seized Cuba and took it behind the Iron Curtain, there were only a handful of Communists pulling the strings. Even today in Czechoslovakia, which has the largest percentage of Communists in any country in the world, we find it with only 11 percent.

It should be obvious to the least informed that, if the Communists had attempted to take Cuba by outward or military aggression, they would have failed miserably because we would have moved in with everything we had. Yet today, Havana is as Communist-dominated and controlled as are Peiping and Moscow. Why? Because a corporal's guard of Communists in key positions were able to enlist the help of thousands of Cubans and many Americans by concealing their identity and their real objective. Cuba was taken by internal subversion. Its people and their possessions were taken intact and put to use by international communism. It is now the base of operations for more takeovers in Central and South America.

There are other instances where a relatively few Communists in strategic positions in government were able to flip a country from the Western into the Communist orbit after just a few murders and assassinations. This is what happened in Iraq.

I'm sure that if one of the leftwing crowd accidentally got hold of this American Legion magazine and read this article in the dark of night where none of his ADA friends would catch him, he would say: "Well, none of these things can happen in these United States."

The leftwing crowd in England said the same thing. We all know that England has just completed a penetrating and extensive investigation of Communist infiltration into its Government agencies (called in England, the civil service). The results rocked the British Isles and shocked them out of their complacency. Even Prime Minister Macmillan who, like many people in this country, had heretofore not been too concerned about the Communist internal threat, did a rightabout-face.

Since the United States is the prime target in the current struggle with international communism, is anyone so naive as to believe that only the British are the targets of internal subversion?

In order to prove the tremendous danger of only a few Communists in Government, I am not going to beat an old bag of bones by dragging out the Hiss, Remington, Judith Coplon, Rosenberg, and Abel cases, etc. Instead, let's take a look at the dire results of one of the most recent penetrations of the Government service by just two security risks.

Not too many months ago Bernon Mitchell and William Martin, two brilliant young mathematicians, from good American homes, educated in our best universities, obtained highly sensitive jobs in the top-secret, hush-hush National Security Agency. They defected to the Soviet Union and revealed to the Kremlin that we had broken the Russians' secret code and that of other satellite nations. Of course, these countries immediately changed their codes. This meant months and perhaps years when the United States would be deprived of valuable intelligence information, since it might take that long to decipher their new codes.

In addition to their traitorous act, Mitchell and Martin went on radio and television in the Soviet Union and bitterly attacked and condemned the United States. Yes, they were only two men, but they did incalculable harm to the security of the United States and furnished volumes of effective, insidious propaganda to the Communists in the cold war.

Because the matter is still under investigation, I cannot name names at this time, but I do know that a disreputable character who for many years was, to say the least, closely associated with Communist causes, occupies a position today where he has high-level influence in agencies of this Government.

I am convinced in my own mind that not all of the failures in our missile launchings are due to oversights by our scientists and technicians. Recently, I listened to witnesses under oath who charged that defects found in a highly complex weapon resulted from sabotage in a plant where Communist activity is under investigation. The actual saboteur has not been found.

J. Edgar Hoover, who is perhaps the outstanding authority in this country on Communist objectives and techniques, said:

"Soviet espionage activities in this country expose the fallacy of so-called peaceful coexistence. In recent years, pseudoappeals for peace by Communists have been more than matched by intensified Communist espionage efforts in the United States. Using blackmail, bribery, and similar techniques, Communist agents, many with diplomatic immunity, are stepping up their efforts to obtain our military, scientific, and industrial secrets for use against us. * * * Foremost in the present battle plans of the Communist Party, U.S.A., are well-calculated efforts to embarrass the American economic system; to infiltrate and gain control in our labor organizations; and to secure footholds in basic American industries, such as transportation, manufacturing, communications, and chemicals. Success of these Red objectives will be destruction for our way of life."

The Defense Department, in requesting legislation to help it combat espionage and possible sabotage in defense plants, told the Committee on Un-American Activities:

"U.S. industry is a prime target of the Communist movement in the United States. It is a primary concern to the Communist movement that it obtain from American industry information concerning the defense structure of the United States, particularly with reference to modern weapons of war. To this extent, the Communist Party has been consistently interested in penetrating defense industries where classified work is being performed and also basic industries which, while not engaged in classified work, may be in support of industries performing modern weapons' manufacture.

"The potential for bringing defense production to a halt by sabotage of power facilities is enormous and the repercussions would be, I think, disastrous because, if the power itself is cut off, defense plants cannot produce, and we would thus be denying ourselves the weapons which are so essential to our national defense effort."

Here the Defense Department among other things makes the point that it is possible for one Communist in a key position in an electric powerplant in time of crisis to put out of commission not only defense plants but an entire city.

In connection with the Defense Department's request to give it legislative tools to enable it to deal with security risks in defense plants, the Committee on Un-American Activities conducted extensive hearings. I was told by representatives of the Defense Department that there are 2,000 potential espionage agents and potential saboteurs working in defense plants today.

The committee found that in the Pittsburgh area alone there were five plants which had vital defense contracts and in which the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, known as UE, had bargaining rights for employees. UE was expelled from the CIO because it was Communist dominated and controlled. Numerous officials of this organization were identified as members of the Communist apparatus.

Then again, let us look at Michael Mignon who at one time was an official of the American Communications Association. At the same time he was a functionary of the Community Party. The American Communications Association has also been expelled from the CIO, because it was Communist dominated and controlled. Michael Mignon, who later broke with the Communists, testified that the Communist apparatus wanted Communists working on our communications system so that in time of internal or external conflict with the Soviet Union, tielines and cables could be sabotaged in a matter of minutes.

Today this American Communications Association has bargaining rights for some of the employees of Western Union and Radio Corp. of America and of course this is because under provisions of the Labor Relations Act the companies have no alternative but to employ such people. These are the companies that operate and maintain the tielines coming out of the Pentagon and the nine transatlantic cables to Europe. Persons have been identified as Communists who are members of the American Communications Association, who are employed by Radio Corp. of America and Western Union, and whose job it is to maintain and operate these vital lines of communications.

Recently, the committee developed evidence to show that there are Communists who have radio operators' licenses from the Federal Communications Commission. These operators—whether working on ship or shore installations—are in a position to disrupt our whole Conelrad warning system should this country be attacked.

The Communists want the American people to believe that their party in this country is fading and dying. That is part of their current strategy.

To those who consider themselves loyal Americans yet continue to parrot this line—to those who argue that there are so few Communists left that we should abolish the committee on Un-American Activities and weaken the Federal Bureau of Investigation—let me continue to present some additional cogent evidence.

The overwhelming majority of the men who serve in the merchant marine are hard-working, dedicated, loyal Americans, but the evidence is clear that a few are not. The

question arises: How dangerous to our security are these very few?

When the courts held (due to a deficiency in the law) that the Coast Guard lacked authority to screen security risks off merchant vessels, hundreds who had been denied seamen's papers were again permitted on our ships. When the Committee on Un-American Activities started to correct or plug this loophole in the law the Communists and the leftwing sobsisters cried loudly. They charged the committee with trying to prevent men from earning a living because of their political beliefs.

It developed at the hearings just how dangerous a Communist could be aboard a merchant vessel. It was shown that we are building extremely costly and highly complex mechanisms and weapons to protect this Nation from potential Soviet aggression. Some of these are being shipped to various parts of the world. In a crisis one saboteur, with or without modern electronic devices, could sabotage these weapons on board a ship. In fact, he could sink the ship in the Panama Canal, the St. Lawrence Seaway, or one of our harbors, putting them out of commission for many, many months. There are still those, I repeat, who want to equate danger with numbers.

I can hear some diehards charge that very few of these 10,000 Communists in the United States hold key positions. Let me just give you one example of how effective a so-called "average Joe" Communist can be. Some 20 million pieces of vicious Communist propaganda are coming into this country each year through the U.S. mail.

One of the many techniques used in connection with Communist propaganda is to get nationality groups in this country to take a position on a current political issue involving the Soviet Union.

This nationality group is then flooded with propaganda directed to this issue. It is printed in the language of that group. It is addressed and mailed from Iron Curtain countries directly to individuals in this country.

"Average Joe" Communist is given the job of getting the names and current addresses of individuals belonging to their specific group. When he transmits such a list to his superiors, "average Joe" Communist completes one of his assignments and then eagerly waits for another.

Another key target of the Communists is the field of entertainment. It is a means by which they can reach millions of people with propaganda that subtly and cleverly presents the Communist program. The Communist Party line may be found in a lengthy soliloquy on social injustice. It may be presented in a movie which will be shown around the world, or it may be only a snide crack about patriotism delivered by a "sick" comedian in a popular night club. No detail or opportunity is missed by the Communists to use the play or movie for their purposes.

The script for a scene in a satire called for Stalin and Hitler to dance together, each holding a knife in the back of the other. The director of the play was a Communist. He removed the knife from the Communist leader's hand.

Of course, the Communists over the years also had a practical reason for snaring show people into the Communist apparatus. Show people made unusually good dupes for Communist-front activities within the entertainment field. Their talents were used to bring large sums of money into the coffers of the Communist Party. Many of them with sizable incomes contributed substantially to the Communist treasury. Robert Rossen, a prominent Hollywood director, for a time was a member of the Communist movie set. Eventually he became disenchanted and disillusioned with the Communist offensive. He testified that out of his salary he contributed $40,000 to Communist causes.

Again, we can see that, while only a comparatively few people in the entertainment field served Communist causes, yet the total effect of such service was tremendous.

Let me give you just one more example of the point I have been trying to make in this article before I close.

Two years ago the Committee on Un-American Activities was holding hearings in San Francisco. A substantial number of students, although a handful compared to the student body in the San Francisco Bay area, picketed the hearings. Most of them honestly felt hostile to the committee, largely as the result of some clever brainwashing by some leftwing professors and a few clergymen. The student picketing and demonstrations were turned into riots and mob violence by a handful of hardcore, trained Communist agents. These are the facts, in spite of what some of the "soft-on communism" clique contend. These demonstrations, like the ones against Eisenhower in Tokyo and against Nixon in Caracas were used by the Communist propaganda machine around the world in an effort to show that all students were opposed to the American Government and its activities. They were used to create hatred and ill will toward the United States. These demonstrations were effective propaganda battles in the cold war.

They were instigated and directed by an unbelievably few trained Communists who cleverly used others to do the job. The victory for international communism's propaganda assault throughout the world was tremendous.

We must never forget that big oaks from little acorns grow.

Don't plant or nurture any of those acorns unwittingly. Don't permit yourself to be used by the Communists in any way to advance Communist-inspired projects. To avoid being so used, you should be very careful about the organizations you join, the meetings you attend, the petitions you sign, contributions you make, and the use of your name.

More than one person has been embarrassed to learn, too late, that his name, his prestige, or his money was used to help push a cause that had its origin in top Communist circles. Before you become involved, check carefully the organization that wants your help and the people who are tied up with it. And if you have any doubts whatsoever, stay clear of it.

Many Red-inspired projects look innocent on the surface, some of them with expressed goals that are highly commendable. The party line in some cases will be so skillfully camouflaged that it hardly shows. However, some manifestations will always be apparent to the vigilant, and you have a responsibility to be vigilant about such things.

So that you can exercise intelligent vigilance, learn everything you can about communism, and get your education from qualified sources, not from people who are ill informed or who may be exploiting legitimate fears of communism for ulterior purposes. The more you know about communism, its history, and the way it operates, the easier it will be for you to spot organizations and individuals who do the bidding of the Communist Party.

To avoid giving any sort of help to Communist promotions, a negative approach is necessary. If the 10,000 Reds in this country want to call for things desired by the Kremlin, let it be clear that they speak for themselves. Since most Americans are by now aware that these people are determined to bury us, why should we assist in our own interment?

However, more than a negative approach is necessary if we are to turn the Red tide and win out in this struggle. There is one area in which we have to give due credit to the Communists, and that is their utter dedication to the cause represented by the Red conspiracy. Obviously it is a wrong cause and an evil one, but we cannot deny that Communists work at promoting it in a way that, to most of us, is absolutely incredible.

The time has come when Americans are going to have to show some of the same kind of dedication. We have a nation and a way of life that should inspire such dedication.

We must understand that we are engaged in a life-or-death struggle for survival with the international Communist apparatus; that we cannot hope to prevail in this struggle unless all Americans in every field of endeavor are absolutely convinced beyond any doubt that we are not engaged in a popularity contest with a competing economic system; that we are not faced merely with certain annoying adjustments which should be made so that we may coexist with a different system of government; but that we are now in a death grip with an enemy the like of which, for debasement and inhumanity, the world has not seen since the time of the Dark Ages. We can ignore, appease, and negotiate with this enemy only at the cost of our survival.

This is the challenge of our day to all patriots of this Republic. We must accept this challenge. We shall either dedicate ourselves to it or, like the countries already behind the Iron Curtain, face slavery and eventual destruction.

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## Release of Virginia High-Grade Tobacco Import and Its Effects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Philippine war damage bill the other day, reference was made to the restriction on the importation of American tobacco into the Philippines. Recently, the Philippine Supreme Court, interpreting the Philippine tobacco law, has ruled that high-grade Virginia leaf tobacco may be legally imported into the Philippines to maintain the level of production of locally manufactured cigarettes.

An article by Dr. Urbano A. Zafra, formerly Minister Counselor in the Philippine Embassy and Consul General in New York, analyzed the ruling of the supreme court of the Philippines and I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The article follows:

[From the Manila (Philippines) Herald, May 12, 1962]

RELEASE OF VIRGINIA HIGH-GRADE TOBACCO IMPORT AND ITS EFFECTS

(By Urbano A. Zafra)

The hotly debated controversial tobacco question was finally clarified and settled by the supreme court in its decision of April 18, 1962, upholding the mandatory injunction issued by Judge Higinio B. Macadaeg of the Court of First Instance of Manila for the release of the Virginia tobacco imported by the Agro-Industrial Products, Inc. The case was brought about by the Presidential authority granted to the Agro-Industrial

Products, Inc., in July 1961 to import 4.5 million kilos of foreign Virginia tobacco for blending purposes against the purchase of ACCFA stock of low-grade Virginia tobacco amounting to four times the quantity of imported tobacco (ratio of 4 to 1) and of sun-dried or filler tobacco from the PACOMAS equal to twice the quantity of imported tobacco (ratio of 2 to 1).

FOUR BASIC ISSUES DECIDED

In its decision the supreme court reviewed and considered the pertinent facts and circumstances surrounding the proposal for the importation of Virginia tobacco and the disposal of the ACCFA stock of low-grade tobacco and concluded on four basic issues as follows:

1. That the Presidential directive of July 1961 is in pursuance of the intents and purposes and in accordance with the objectives of Republic Act 698, as amended by Republic Act 1194;

2. That there is no provision in the law giving the cigarette manufacturers the right to import the Virginia tobacco; hence, inferentially, such importation may be made by anyone authorized by the President;

3. That the test upon which importation of Virginia tobacco may legally be allowed is the maintenance of the level of production of manufactured cigarettes and not the level of the annual production of tobacco; and

4. That the courts may not interfere with the President in the exercise of his discretionary power and authority provided by law.

Referring to the aims and objectives of Republic Act 698, as amended by Republic Act 1194, the Supreme Court declared:

"As we see it, the above laws were enacted for three principal reasons; namely (1) to prevent a drain on the dollar resources of the country or its money, occasioned by the importation of big quantities of Virginia type cigarettes; (2) to provide means of livelihood to farmers in the Ilocos provinces, as Virginia leaf tobacco is planted on higher land from which rice has already been harvested; and (3) to provide a continuous source of revenue, taxes on high-grade cigarettes being much higher than others. There are also two concommitant objectives resulting from the adoption of the law; namely, to develop the cigarette industry and provide work for women labor and to minimize smuggling of cigarettes."

On the claim that only the manufacturers of cigarettes have the right to import, the Court said, "We have found no such provision in the law. What we have found is that imported tobacco shall be allocated among the manufacturers of tobacco products."

With respect to the basic requirement for importation of Virginia tobacco, the Supreme Court declared:

"It should also be noted that the test, upon which an importation may legally be allowed, is the possibility of maintaining the level of production of manufactured tobacco (cigarettes), not the level of the yearly harvest of tobacco. That is the immediate and important requirement that the law demands before the President may authorize importation of high-grade Virginia leaf tobacco. Said requirement was complied with when the Commissioner of Internal Revenue issued the certificate stating that there were only a stock of Virginia leaf tobacco for the purpose of cigarette manufacture enough to last 4 months."

Regarding the President's discretionary directive, the Court stated that "following the well-established principle of separation of powers and the rule that courts may not interfere with the executive, especially the President, in the exercise of the discretion expressly vested in him by the law, we are forced to declare that there are no justifiable reasons or grounds for declaring the Presidential directive invalid."

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY

Notwithstanding the prophecies of doom and ruin for the tobacco industry by opponents of the entry of high-grade Virginia tobacco for blending purposes, the Supreme Court decision may well usher in a new era of progress and prosperity for not only the Virginia tobacco industry but also for the native tobacco growers of northern Luzon. For one thing 18 million kilos of the 47 million kilos of ACCFA low grade Virginia tobacco stock will be disposed of and some million kilos of sun-dried Virginia low-grade tobacco will be purchased from the PACOMAS to be exported as cigar filler. A total of 27 million kilos of low-grade tobacco will thus be taken out of the total supply of Virginia tobacco, thereby improving the tobacco supply situation. Under the Presidential directive 5 to 10 percent of the net profit from the imported tobacco would be channeled to research work toward the improvement of the industry. This should afford the industry the use of scientific means of utilizing the byproducts of tobacco that are wasted today. For instance, the tobacco stems could be processed as materials for the manufacture of fertilizers and chemicals for pest control. Finally, with the availability of high-grade imported Virginia tobacco the manufacturers could increase their production of aromatic cigarettes and thereby decrease the smuggling of "blue seal" cigarettes.

The native tobacco industry will also stand to benefit from the Agro proposal, through increased market for filler tobacco, particularly in the United States, where the demand for such tobacco is increasing in view of the ban against Cuban tobacco from entry into the United States. With the favorable atmosphere created in the United States as a result of the entry of U.S. Virginia tobacco into the Philippines, the chances are greater for the establishment of a quid pro quo between Philippine tobacco and U.S. Virginia tobacco. Since under the Agro proposal some 10 million pounds of U.S. Virginia tobacco are allowed entry into the Philippines, the Philippine quota of filler tobacco, which at present amounts to only 5,200,000 pounds, should be increased by 10 million pounds. This can be effected by a unilateral action by the United States through legislation without the necessity of amending the Laurel-Langley agreement.

PHILIPPINE ECONOMY STRENGTHENED

The disposal of the ACCFA stock of low grade Virginia tobacco will enable that agency to liquidate its outstanding indebtedness to the Central Bank and to the planters, amounting to 155 million pesos. The customs duties and compensating taxes collected on the imported tobacco alone will enhance the government revenue by over 100 million pesos. Moreover, the increased production of high grade aromatic cigarettes will further provide additional taxes to the government. More people will be employed resulting from the expanded operation of the cigarette factories to meet the increased demand for high grade cigarettes not only because of their acceptability to the smokers but also of the increasing smoking population. On the whole Philippine economy will be strengthened.

IMPROVED PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The decision of the Supreme Court on the tobacco question should improve Philippine-American relations by removing an irritant therein that has prejudiced Philippine interests from favorable action on the part of the U.S. Congress. However, the recent negative action by the U.S. House of Representatives on the War Damage bill has been a great disappointment to those of us who expected a greater chance of its passage as a result of the solution of the tobacco question. The statement made by President Kennedy, immediately following the disapproval of the bill, that the measure will be reintroduced next year, should revive hope that the United States will ultimately redeem its legal and moral obligation.

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## Statement of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies With Reference to the Purchase of U.N. Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include a statement of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc., with reference to the purchase of U.N. bonds, together with a list of the member societies of this organization.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT RE PURCHASE OF U.N. BONDS PRESENTED TO HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE JULY 24, 1962, BY LT. GEN. PEDRO DEL VALLE, ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER OF AMERICAN COALITION

The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc., of about 100 patriotic, civic, and fraternal organizations, at its 33d annual convention meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 1, 1962, unanimously adopted the following resolution in opposition to the purchase of United Nations bonds by the United States:

"UNITED NATIONS BONDS

"Whereas, the United Nations proposes to issue bonds in the amount of $200 million; and

"Whereas the President of the United States has declared himself in favor of the purchase by the U.S. Government of at least one-half of the aforesaid bond issue and has stated his intention to recommend to the Congress that this purchase be approved; and

"Whereas the soundness of such an investment has been questioned by many informed citizens, including the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who has declared that the purchase of these U.N. bonds 'would be unsound under any and all tests for prudent financial investment'; and

"Whereas the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies is convinced that the United Nations, having failed to adhere to the principles set forth in its charter, should receive no further financial aid in any form from the American people whose interests it has so badly served;

"*Resolved*, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies petitions the Congress of the United States to reject the recommendation of the President to purchase United Nations bonds."

In our financial system bonds are only issued when there are assets to back them. The United Nations has no assets. For it to issue bonds is a fraud. For the Congress of the United States to agree to buy these bonds of the United Nations would be compounding a fraud on the American people by the representatives of the sovereign people who must earn every dollar that the Congress loans or gives away. Our debts and obligations are already enormous as the committee and the Congress well know. The United Nations is a failure on the record.

The United Nations is already bankrupt morally as well as financially. Let us not try to rebuilt it on the same old sand foundation on which the leagues of history have failed. Only a free, solvent United States can hope to light the way for ourselves, our posterity, and the world's oppressed people.

For these and other reasons that have already been brought out in debate and by other witnesses, the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies opposes the purchase of United Nations bonds by the United States.

MILTON M. LORY,
*President.*

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SOCIETIES COOPERATING WITH THE AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES, INC., 1025 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NW., WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Alliance, Inc.
American Coalition of New York.
The American Institute.
American Public Relations Forum, Inc.
American War Mothers.
Anti-Subversive League of South Dakota.
Associated Farmers of California, Inc.
Better Government Forum.
Catholic War Veterans of the U.S.A., Queens County chapter.
Constitutional Study Group of South Dakota, Inc.
Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States.
Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States, District of Columbia.
Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Pennsylvania.
Daughters of America, National Council.
Daughters of America, Clara Barton Council No. 71.
Daughters of America, Pride of Baltimore Council No. 14.
Daughters of America, District of Columbia Council.
Daughters of America, New Jersey Council.
Daughters of the Revolution, National Society.
Daughters of the Revolution, New Jersey Society.
Daughters of the Revolution, New York Society.
Daughters of the Revolution, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Daughters of the Revolution, Ex-Officers Club.
Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc.
Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, Arlington Chapter.
Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, Virginia.
Delaware Defenders of the Republic, Inc.
Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.
Farmers Liberty League.
Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies.
Fraternal Patriotic Americans, State of Pennsylvania, Inc.
General Society of the War of 1812.
General Society of the War of 1812, D.C. Division.
General Society of the War of 1812, New York Division.
Grass Roots League, Inc.
Junior Order United American Mechanics, New Jersey.
Junior Order United American Mechanics, New York.
Junior Order United American Mechanics, Pennsylvania.
Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic.
Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of the Potomac.
Louisiana Committee of Correspondence.
Marine Corps League Auxiliary, Inc.
Massachusetts and Rhode Island Committees of Correspondence.
Michigan Coalition of Constitutionalists.
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery in Chief.
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the District of Columbia.
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of New York.
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania.
Military Order of the World Wars.
Minnesota Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc.
The National Huguenot Society.
National Service Star Legion, Inc.
National Society, Congress of State Societies.
National Society for Constitutional Security.
National Society for Constitutional Security, Chapter I.
National Society for Constitutional Security, Chapter II.
National Society for Constitutional Security, Chapter III.
National Society, Daughters of the Union, 1861–65.
National Society, Magna Carta Dames.
National Society of New England Women.
National Society of New England Women, New York City Colony.
National Society, Patriotic Women of America, Inc.
National Society, Patriotic Women of America, District of Columbia Council.
National Society, Patriotic Women of America, New York Council.
National Society, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims.
National Society, United States Daughters of 1812, State of New York.
National Society, Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co.
National Sojourners, Inc.
National Women's Relief Corps.
National Women's Relief Corps, Department of Potomac.
Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War, National Commandery.
Network of Patriotic Letter Writers.
New Jersey Coalition, Inc.
Ohio Coalition of Patriotic Societies.
Order of Fraternal Americans, Grand Council.
Order of Independent Americans, Inc., State Council of Pennsylvania.
Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, California.
Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, District of Columbia.
Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, Massachusetts.
Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, New Jersey.
Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, New York.
Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, Rhode Island.
Order of Washington.
Patriotic Order Sons of America, National Camp.
Patriotic Order Sons of America, State Camp of Pennsylvania.
Philadelphia Chapter, Council for Individual Freedom.
Society of Old Plymouth Colony Descendants.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, National Council.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, Connecticut.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, District of Columbia.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, Maryland.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, Massachusetts.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, New Hampshire.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, Pennsylvania.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, Rhode Island.
Sons and Daughters of Liberty, State Council, Virginia.
Sons of the American Revolution, National Society.
Sons of the American Revolution, California Society.
Sons of the American Revolution, Empire State Society.
Sons of the American Revolution, Iowa Society.
Sons of the American Revolution, New Jersey Society.
Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War Commandery in Chief.
Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Massachusetts Department.
South Dakota Antisubversive League.
Sovereignty Preservation Council of Delaware.
Taxpayers, Inc.
Texas Voters for the Constitution.
United States Day Committee, Inc.
United States Flag Committee.
Watch Washington Club.
The Wheel of Progress.
William Thaw Council of Americans, Inc.
Women of Army and Navy Legion of Valor, U.S.A.
Women's National Defense Committee of Philadelphia.
Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Inc.

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## Government Hurts Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to your attention an editorial which appeared in the Burbank Daily Review Friday, July 27, 1962. It points up the very great danger created by the administrations action in the threatened aerospace industry strike. It is imperative that collective bargaining remain free of government domination. This editorial clearly points out that compulsory unionism or "agency shop" is the major issue. I am pleased to insert this for the information of the House:

GOVERNMENTS HURTS NEGOTIATIONS

The Federal Government is so entangled in the current aerospace industry negotiations that it is in danger of becoming its own worst enemy.

Obviously, Uncle Sam cannot afford a strike in the plants which make the weapons which form our first line of defense in the cold war.

The Government knows this. Yet, administration spokesmen persist in statements and pressure tactics that can only impede a quick settlement.

There is one central issue in the present negotiations. It is the so-called agency shop, a form of union shop whereby employees would be required to join a union or pay a sum equal to union dues. The legality of this type of organization is being challenged in a Federal court at this time.

Douglas Aircraft Co. accepted labor's demands for the agency shop. It is significant that the company acted less than 24 hours after Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg said he would not hesitate to ask Congress for

special legislation to forestall an aerospace industry strike.

The Douglas settlement could have been the result of administration pressure as was the steel industry's reaction to President Kennedy's tough tactics.

However, other aerospace manufacturers are holding firm against the union shop demands of the International Association of Machinists and United Auto Workers.

We find it hard to visualize general public support for a strike in this vital industry merely because a handful of labor bosses want to strengthen their own position.

Compulsory unionism is not a popular issue among the rank-and-file workers at many plants.

An aerospace strike would seriously strain America's missile muscle at this critical period of the cold war.

This is no time for an argument over compulsory unionism. Nor is it an opportunity for big government to dominate the bargaining table. It is instead a moment when both sides must sit down in good faith and work out a solution that will serve the community and the Nation.

## Must State Aid Be Fatal to Art?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CATHERINE D. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mrs. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, in an article which appeared in the Washington Post, August 2, 1962, a statement of excerpts from an address by Mr. August Heckscher before the convention of the American Library Association in Miami might well be considered a poignant reminder of our need for renewed and continued efforts on the part of our Government to aid cultural development and see that the institutions of the arts become a significant national interest. I, therefore, include the complete column as it appeared in the Post:

MUST STATE AID BE FATAL TO ART?

(By August Heckscher)

(NOTE.—These excerpts are taken from a recent address by Mr. Heckscher, special consultant on the arts to the President, before the convention of the American Library Association in Miami.)

When I consider the role that Government will play in the next stage of our cultural development as a nation, I find a most suggestive precedent in the Library Services Act of 1956. Here, for the support of a cultural institution, was invoked a long-established American practice, the giving of grants-in-aid.

Since 1862, we have found this an effective and satisfactory way of encouraging and stimulating activities deemed important to the national interest. We have used this principle to stimulate qualified applicants both public and private; we have used it to help set standards and to improve administration as well as to give substantial financial support on the basis of matching funds. The Library Services Act aimed particularly to help libraries in communities under 10,000 population.

It might have had a severe defect in that it spread the available funds thin, but in its administration the act was wisely used to strengthen state library agencies and to organize and coordinate services rather than merely to scatter them.

No one has talked about the libraries being subverted—nor, for that matter, has it appeared that the Nation was going through dangerous fiscal waters as a result of these expenditures. The experience is sobering to the alarmists, and encouraging to those who would like to believe that the Government can act in the field of culture without harming the ends it seeks to serve.

It was right that we should have recognized the development of libraries as demonstrably related to the broad national interest. One day, not too far off, we may come to recognize that the development of certain other institutions is also a matter for national concern. We may decide that the growth of theater groups in states across the country is connected with our capacity as a people to perceive the deeper issues of man's fate, to realize the strange admixture of good and evil in the world, and in general to become more confident and mature as individuals.

The theater, or poetry, or music, may seem as significant as libraries were recognized to be in 1956—or as educational television was recognized through similar legislation in the current session of Congress. I hardly want to predict that so wonderful a thing will happen. But I think we can argue, on the basis of experience derived from the libraries, that when such a day comes we shall have methods and precedents which will permit us to put the Government safely in the service of these new cultural goals.

I say I connot predict when the day will come which will see the American people consciously affirming that the institutions of the arts represent a significant national interest—that they embody resources which we waste at our peril and answer to needs which cannot safely be ignored. Yet I will predict, after all, I believe such a day will come sooner than many now think—especially those who have been disheartened and wearied by a long struggle for the arts which has seemed to face insurmountable obstacles. When things begin to change in this country, they sometimes change very rapidly. And there has been a change in the way people look upon the resources of their cultural life.

Why there should be this fresh burgeoning of hope and desire it would be complex to analyze. When we are in a position to look back upon these times we shall see, I believe, that the development of the arts was linked with all the principal developments—political, economic and social—taking place within the great modern community.

Technology has brought new leisure; and the people are coming to know that leisure will be a debasing force except as it is animated by the pursuit of beauty and excellence.

Finally I suggest that in the development of our civilization as a whole a new determination has been formed: the determination not to be a lopsided people, excelling only in material benefits. For the individual we want the fullness of life which comes from enjoyment of the arts in all their guises. For the Nation as a whole we want the richness and diversity of cultural activities, combined with an outward scene—a landscape both natural and manmade—which reflects the inner qualities we strive to attain.

## Capt. Chester Chastek

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include an editorial from the July 26 issue of the Cashmere Valley Record, published in Cashmere, Wash.

It is the pleasure of Mrs. Horan and I to know Captain Chastek as a true friend since 1940. A great portion of that time he has been a most capable State director of the selective service of the State of Washington. He has performed that difficult function with courtesy, good judgment, justice, and distinction.

We are pleased to join Editor Charlie Heard in this editorial:

At the Cashmere Rotary Club the other day, Rotarians and guests were privileged to hear Navy Capt. Chester Chastek, State director, Selective Service, with headquarters in Tacoma.

Captain Chastek, in "leave" status and at his own expense was a member this spring of the American Legion's National Security Commission factfinding tour to NATO and SHAPE Headquarters, Paris, France, and to U.S. military installations in France, West Germany, West Berlin, and Italy in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Defense and the U.S. Department of State.

Ye editor was impressed by the speaking ability of this fine and splendid representative of the American Legion who made those present feel they were rejuvenated in the holy cause of freedom.

The American Legion may well be proud of the dedicated type of leadership manifested by Chester Chastek. He knows his subject and he knows how to present it. The Rotary Club of Cashmere deserves praise for having brought this fine speaker to our fair city.

## Count Your Freedoms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article written by our distinguished Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Luther H. Hodges.

Secretary Hodges has reminded us of one of the most important freedoms we have under a democratic form of government: the freedom of choice.

The article, which appeared in the July 1, 1962, issue of This Week magazine, follows:

COUNT YOUR FREEDOMS

(By Luther H. Hodges, U.S. Secretary of Commerce)

(NOTE.—One of our most exciting American freedoms is one we seldom discuss: Freedom of choice. In a new kind of Fourth of July message, the Secretary of Commerce talks about its meanings for you.)

WASHINGTON.—When I was a boy in North Carolina, the Fourth of July was the most exciting holiday of the year. The whole town turned out for the races in the morning—sack races, three-legged races, and the wild race to capture a greased pig. Then we ate picnic lunches, bought lemonade at the refreshment stands and settled down for the speeches.

Thundering oratory was much admired in that pre-World War I time. We listened, entranced, to the rolling phrases celebrating the glorious declaration of liberation from

tyranny and despotism which took place on July 4, 1776. The inspiring words still echoed in our minds hours later when brilliant fireworks exploded in the night sky.

The years passed and the Fourth of July emphasis gradually shifted from the independence as a Nation, won for us by our forefathers, to the precious individual freedoms that we ourselves must guard constantly against attack and erosion. The four freedoms of Franklin D. Roosevelt—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear—became the focus of our celebration.

This year I'd like to bring up a fifth freedom—a freedom we enjoy every minute of every day of our lives, yet one we rarely mention—freedom of choice.

What does this fifth freedom mean? Simply that in our personal, our business, and our community lives, we Americans have a range of free choices unmatched and almost undreamed of in many other parts of the world. For example:

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: WHERE WE LIVE

Americans are free to live wherever they please. One family moves from the city to a suburb. Another goes from a rented apartment to a house of its own. Still another heads west or north to a different State—in pursuit of a new job, a better school, fresher air, or merely a change of scene. People in many countries today do not have this freedom.

When I visited the Soviet Union in 1959 as one of nine State Governors, a man working in a factory told me, through an interpreter, that he came from a very beautiful, distant part of Russia where there were many vineyards.

"Would you like to work in the vineyards?" I asked.

"Oh yes," his face lit up.

"Then why don't you?" I inquired.

He shook his head. Later someone explained to me that in order to buy a railroad ticket to that distant place, the man would be required to show proof that he had a job there. But to obtain a job, he would have to be there. So the idea was hopeless, because he had no choice as to his location or his job.

Last fall in Berlin I noticed a dozen West Berliners standing on a mound near the East-West dividing line waving their handkerchiefs—some occasionally wiping away tears. I asked a woman to whom she was waving.

"To my daughter and her baby and my elderly mother," she told me.

I looked and saw another group of people 500 feet away in East Berlin—imprisoned behind the 7-foot wall topped by barbed wire and broken glass. The divided members of this family had written to each other making a date to wave at that particular time on that Sunday morning.

By contrast, our freedom to move about and live wherever we please is illustrated by a delightful letter received recently at the Department of Commerce census field office in Kansas City. A young woman, licensed to teach school anywhere in the State of Nebraska, asked the census people a simple and sensible question before accepting a job offer: "What city in Nebraska has the highest proportion of unmarried men between 30 and 40?"

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: WHAT WE BUY

The abundance of goods in our supermarkets and department stores is so overwhelming that we tend not to be aware of it until we travel to a place where scarcity prevails. In many parts of the Communist world there is outright famine today—no food to be had at any price. Even the poorest of our people, choosing an ice cream cone for a child from numerous flavors, has difficulty imagining mass starvation striking a country like a Biblical plague.

In East Germany, where the shops are nearly empty, a woman goes from queue to queue and spends half a day assembling the barest necessities for the next 24 hours. In the Soviet Union, everyone I saw appeared to be healthy and well-fed, but the diet is about 60 percent bread and 10 percent potatoes. Not much choice there. In fact, nearly everything of a luxury nature seemed to be pretty much out of reach of the average person.

But let us not be fat, dumb and happy about our good fortune. The graveyard of history is filled with the bones of people who became too complacent, and were overrun by the lean and hungry have-nots. We must help other nations, some of whose citizens exist on as little as $50 each year, to improve their lot. In so doing we will also help ourselves, because some day they will be able to buy automobiles and television sets from us.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: HOW WE RUN A BUSINESS

The Americans who make and sell all those automobiles, desks, radios, and bicycles enjoy broad freedoms of choice which we call free enterprise. Of course, our commercial society is complex today and sometimes red tape and collisions of public and private interest tend to confuse us. I find this true in Government work, but the fundamental freedoms are always there and the goals are worth all our impatience and inconvenience.

An industrialist can make up his mind at lunch, "I'll build a front-wheel drive car that goes 150 miles an hour." A storekeeper can abruptly decide, "I'm bored with children's clothes—I'd rather sell hobby kits." A salesman can walk out of his job at an appliance company and look for work in the soft drink field. All three can set about their new projects that very afternoon, without the slightest thought of clearances, permits or authorizations.

The one person who exercises an ultimate veto over them is the consumer. He must freely choose to buy what they offer, or they'll soon have no factory, no store, no job. Essentially, ours is a consumer-controlled economy.

When I traveled in Communist countries, it took effort of will to grasp the idea that all business, trades, and industries are run and owned by the State. A workingman cannot casually change jobs. Neither can a factory operator make shirts instead of skirts, replace machinery or open new branches. These are official, not individual, choices.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: THE WAY WE ADVERTISE

An important free choice of the American businessman is how he sells his product. He can put a sign in his window and hope the neighbors will see it. Or he can buy space in a publication or time on the air and, with the unique sales tool called advertising, try to sell to millions of people.

Of course this freedom is sometimes abused, but blanket criticism of advertising reflects a profound ignorance of its essential role in our economy. Without advertising to stimulate a constantly expanding demand for goods and services, we wouldn't be the wealthiest nation that has ever existed.

Under our system, profits make possible the investments that create jobs and increase production. To keep this cycle spiraling upward, potential demand must be transformed into actual sales. Advertising does this by informing purchasers of the choices offered them.

A single example will show the service rendered to our whole economy by the right kind of advertising. When the first man-made fabrics came out, they were referred to slightingly as "artificial silk" or "synthetic." The word "synthetic" was equivalent of "fake" and the public was disposed to think of the new materials as worthless.

But carefully thought-out advertising informed buyers of the special merits of each of the new fibers. The goods lived up to the promises made for them, and today the production of manmade fibers has reached an astonishing 2 billion pounds a year.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: WHERE WE SELL

The American businessman can freely choose to sell locally or to faraway markets. Since the Department of Commerce began its current drive to raise our level of exports from 4 percent of our gross national product (Belgium-Luxembourg exports over 31 percent), many smaller businessmen have been amazed to learn that this choice is, as a practical matter, open to them.

One Midwest manufacturer of work clothes asked us if he really could sell his garments abroad. We put him in touch with agents in the United Kingdom and Germany. The salesman he sent to England wrote enough orders to swamp the factory and saved Germany for a later trip.

The 10 American exhibitors at our London Trade Center's lamps and home-lighting show this March wrote $125,000 in initial orders. The hit of the show was the three-way light bulb and switch, an everyday item for us, but a novelty in Britain. American factories are now rushing three-way units for shipment abroad.

I feel that far too few of our businessmen are taking advantage of their freedom to sell overseas. A recent U.S. trade mission to eight new West African Republics ran into many German and French salesmen, wide awake to the commercial potential of these new markets, but not a single American. Yet a 10-percent increase in our exports would virtually eliminate the deficit in our international accounts and create new jobs and profits.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: WHAT KIND OF TOWN

Finally, I want to talk about the choices a community can make. As citizens you are free to decide what kind of town yours will be—residential or industrial, fast growing or slow to change, a place where people come to study, retire, get rich or kick up their heels.

And when things go wrong, you can choose remedies. Certain areas today are sorely depressed because resources have been depleted, industries have moved away, or leaders of the community have grown careless and indifferent. When this happens, people can simply bemoan their fate and accept relief, or they can leave and start somewhere else. Or they can act in concert to improve their condition.

I think particularly of a Maryland city with a real can-do spirit. In 1960, Cambridge, on the Eastern Shore, was in a decline after the closing of a major food plant. More than 12 percent of the labor force was idle. Stores were failing. The prospects were indeed bleak when four young businessmen formed an industrial committee and by ringing doorbells collected $15,000, partly in $1 and $5 bills.

With this money, hard work, and enthusiasm, they "sold Cambridge" to a manufacturing company, two boat companies and a publishing house. Later, a new sewage system was needed to serve expanding industry. The new area redevelopment program of the Department of Commerce assisted the city with a $68,000 loan and a $204,000 grant, and 875 more new jobs came into being. The people of Cambridge are taxpayers again instead of tax users—because they chose to do something about their problems. They made their choice.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE: LET'S KEEP IT

I get impatient with people who say we Americans have lost our freedoms, lost our

momentum, lost our way. We have not. Sometimes I wish for a little of that rousing Fourth of July oratory of my boyhood so we could feel again the heady excitement and throbing sense of our destiny.

I think we need to remind ourselves that we are not forced to go where we are sent, do what we are told, or eat what we are given—because 186 years ago, we declared for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

And as we exercise our freedom of choice in scores of ways, we can, by the unselfishness and the farsightedness of our choices, assure the continuation of the freedoms we cherish and their extension to others.

## Agree, Mrs. Peterson?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the Members of the House an editorial which recently appeared in the Daytona Beach Evening News. The nursing profession is an honored and a dedicated one and the rewards, in service to mankind are great. The monetary rewards are quite another thing and there is real food for thought in this editorial:

AGREE, MRS. PETERSON?

Recently, in the Evening News, there was an account of the work of Mrs. Esther Peterson, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, and her thinking on the problems of women who work. Those here who are fans of the Open Forum, held during the winter months, will remember Mrs. Peterson as a dynamic speaker at one of the Peabody Auditorium programs this year.

She talked then of many things in American life that are good or that need correcting. But then she talked but little on her favorite subject—the status of the working woman.

She believes it should be raised. She believes that when women do the same work as men, they should be paid what a man would command. And she believes that when a woman works and pays taxes to the Government, she should have the same privilege as any taxpaying business—the privilege of writing off the help she must hire to run her home or care for her children.

But she also believes that women should be willing to pay that domestic help adequately—not downgrade a very important job by rewarding it niggardly.

Working women are raising their voices in many areas of the country about the universal objection to being considered less qualified on the job because of their sex. In the years when the teaching profession in elementary grades largely was considered a feminine field, the pattern of low salaries for schoolteachers was set, and now both men and women struggle against it.

Another profession is making its voice heard on the subject of low salaries for women.

These are the nurses.

While doctors earn from $15,000 to $25,000 or more a year, these feminine members of the medical profession earn a median salary in nonfederal hospitals of $3,900 a year.

Even those who enjoy the distinction of being director of nurses get only about $6,000 a year.

Yet, a nurse on general duty in any hospital is performing a vital service. Without her, the doctors on the staff simply would not be able to earn the $200 fee he gets for performing surgery—while the nurse gets about $2 as his assistant.

She must be on the run all day performing the chores the males disdain.

In a recent survey, the Wall Street Journal found that discontent over their status as wage earners is running high among the nurses. In Illinois, a 23-nurse staff resigned en masse after an unsuccessful 2-year fight to obtain more pay. In another town in the same State, 24 of the 46-member staff at a privately supported local hospital walked off the job when they reached an impasse in trying to bargain with the administrator—and they still refuse to return to their jobs.

In Oregon, a powerful State nurses association became so riled over their situation that they went into politics. They succeeded in getting candidates for the legislature elected who would heed their anger, and they got a law passed that requires nonprofit hospitals to bargain collectively with nurses.

These were real departures from tradition. The American Nurses Association is on record as opposed to strikes by nurses. And nonprofit hospitals are exempt under the Taft-Hartley Act, which sets Federal rules for collective bargaining in other fields of labor.

Nonetheless, some nurses are too fed up with the way their plight is ignored to abide by the idealism attached to their profession and the rules Congress set which exclude them.

Vacancies in the profession reflect their anger. The ANA claims that poor pay in private or community supported hospitals is the cause for the fact that 20 percent of the budgeted jobs in hospitals go unfilled. Some 200,000 trained nurses on record in 1960 were not practicing.

The financial journal's survey showed that the lack is becoming serious. It told of a Florida nurse who related that one night a baby had a heart attack in a ward where no nurse was on duty. It wasn't until morning that the tragedy was discovered—had a nurse been there, she could have administered treatment at once.

She can perform this service because she is trained for it. Like doctors, nurses must go to school for a long time. The training requires 3 years of concentrated study almost as rigorous as that of doctors.

The reward ought to be almost the same when she goes to work.

Agree, Mrs. Peterson?

## Youth Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our law-enforcement agencies desperately need the cooperation of parents, citizens, and every civic organization to curb juvenile crime. Unless halted, the increasing crime rate among young people could mushroom into complete destruction of our society.

J. Edgar Hoover has warned us for many years about this trend. Mr. Hoover recommends that our parents and the public provide more Sunday school, sports, and discipline for our young people.

The following Associated Press story appeared in the Washington Post, August 2:

HOOVER HITS BIG RISE IN YOUTH CRIME

A "massive avalanche of crime"—triggered by young criminals—is rolling over the Nation, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said yesterday.

"This problem boils down to the simple fact that in our land today the average man, woman, and child is in greater danger than ever before of becoming a victim of this criminal onslaught," Hoover said in an editorial in the FBI law enforcement bulletin.

He noted that the recent uniform crime reports showed a 4-percent increase last year in arrests of persons under 18.

Of 37 law-enforcement officers killed by criminals last year, Hoover said, 12 were slain by assailants 21 or younger.

Referring to reports of almost 2 million serious crimes committed in 1961, the FBI chief said:

"The massive avalanche of crime sweeping our Nation is a shocking disgrace and a broad indictment of the American people."

He said there is no single answer to the problem, adding there will be "no abatement in widespread lawlessness as long as there is wholesale disrespect for law and order in our Nation."

But community authorities and civic leaders "should lead the fight to halt the lawless hordes who prey on society," Hoover said.

## Labor Dumps Baring for Stand Against Socialized Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a reprint of a speech I made which was reprinted and circulated by friends who have the same belief as I do regarding medicare under the social security system, which appears to me to be the start of socialized medicine.

This speech was made at the AFL–CIO convention in Las Vegas, Nev., which endorsed my opponent after I had been told in advance that such endorsement would be mine if I would vote for the King-Andersen bill:

NEVADA LABOR BOSSES DUMP CONGRESSMAN BARING FOR HIS COURAGEOUS STAND AGAINST SOCIALIZED MEDICINE PLAN

This will be the eighth time in 16 years that it has been my pleasure to appear before your group and seek labor's support for my candidacy for the Congress of the United States.

Seven times over a period of 14 years your group has overwhelmingly supported my candidacy. Labor has always joined with me and I with them in facing our common foe at election time. The results generally have been quite favorable but we have always had a pretty rough road to travel. The record of that 14 years speaks for itself.

Your national representatives have been high in their acclaim of my stand on matters affecting organized labor. Within the State itself, your leaders and members of the various locals have from time to time contacted me and have expressed their satisfaction with my representation not only of the State of Nevada, but of organized labor itself.

I have journeyed here for the purpose of receiving my eighth consecutive endorsement. I have read and heard of criticism in some quarters as to my standing on some present matters of legislation. Frankly, I was not too concerned. I attributed the apparent misunderstandings to an unfavorable press.

However, shortly after arriving in town I had a visit from two of the leaders of this State organization, and was advised by them that unless I came forward and made an out-and-out commitment to be in favor of the King-Anderson bill, otherwise known as medicare, my continuing support by your organization would be in jeopardy.

Let's see what my stand on this matter is.

The King-Anderson bill was introduced in both the House and the Senate, and in neither body were the proponents of the bill able to get it out of committee. (For your information, I did not serve on the House committee which had the bill under consideration. At the time the King-Anderson bill was introduced, it contained certain language and methods which I did not feel were in the interest of the majority of the people in either the State of Nevada or the United States of America. I therefore announced to the press that I was opposed to the King-Anderson bill in its original form. Let's see what happened.)

The proponents of the bill, who had the strong support of President Kennedy, and after consultation with him themselves decided that the bill in its original form had no chance of passing.

They amended and watered down the King-Anderson bill substantially through legislative maneuver, and put it on as a rider to the welfare bill in the Senate. The Senate defeated the measure by a narrow margin. Those voting against were 21 Democratic Senators, constituting a third of the Democrats in the Senate, and 31 Republican Senators. This bill has never been voted on in the House and will not be presented until the next session of the Congress.

I am as compassionate as anybody living for the fine elderly and needy people in our country who are now in the golden years of their life, and I am very cognizant that we do have quite a problem in this sphere. Something must be worked out to help them, but the manner in which we act is the deciding point.

The King-Anderson bill wants to put medicare under the Social Security Act, which makes the whole program one of compulsory health insurance. This is not in line with the American way of life and while, as I have said, we must have something to help, it must be on a voluntary basis or else the whole program is labeled as socialized medicine.

Having served on the scene for 10 years, I have lived with this situation, for the subject matter is not a new one. It started under President Truman's administration, continued through President Eisenhower's administration, and the same forces are still fighting to pass this compulsory health insurance under this administration.

I want to point out to you that in each successive Congress from and including Truman's administration until now the majority of the legislators in the National Congress have turned compulsory health insurance down because of the fear of socialized medicine.

I want to say that I know the proponents of the King-Anderson bill personally, and that their intention is to have a public law passed and signed so that it is on the books, and then they will remove the age limit of 65 so that the bill will encompass everyone of all ages. This is unconstitutional, for it would become a direct change in our American way of life.

The bill itself, as it stands today, only covers those people who are presently under the social security system. Those who have never had any social security do not get the benefits, and I think a much more appropriate plan would be to perhaps cut down our budget on some unnecessary foreign aid spending and make outright grants to those people who actually are in need of medical care, then it would not be compulsory insurance.

It would answer the problem and, surely in view of the light that we are taking care of foreigners all over the globe, we could take care of our own elderly people.

Now, one of my Democratic opponents has openly stated that he will be a rubber stamp to the administration, and has stated that I talk as a Republicn. My Republican opponent has publicly stated that I vote as a New Dealer. This is an unusual situation, and I'm telling you right here and now that both men are wrong.

I talk and vote an an American who believes in the Constitution of the United States, and I have stated publicly that I will conduct my campaign on an Americanism platform in defense of the Constitution.

How can anyone challenge this if he is a real American, unless he himself is a rubber stamp?

Where does loyalty start, to your country or to your party?

My party background is one of Jeffersonian Democracy, believing in States' rights. I do not like to see centralized government become so strong that it is only a hop, skip, and a jump from socialism, and we all know what the next step is after socialism.

Thomas Jefferson said: "The best government is the least government." He also said: "I place economy among the first and foremost virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. If we run into such debts we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and in our comforts, in our labor and our amusements. If we can prevent the government from wasting the labor of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy." I repeat, under the pretense of caring for them—for I think this to be a most important thought.

This country has become most lethargic, and most people have gone along over the past two decades thinking that Uncle Sam is a magician and can do this and that at will via the public expense method. Somebody has to pay these bills, and that somebody is you, or you and me.

The national debt is now $308 billion, and this makes our financial system a very lopsided and dangerous state of affairs. Yet, there is a group of very powerful thinkers who are now in high Government places—in fact, some 33 in number—who are left of center and are all members of the ADA, a group which propounds Fabian socialism.

They are mixed into both parties, so I am critical of this group as it exists in both parties. This is not political, it is bipartisan. They have almost discarded American patriotism and to their way of thinking, such great Americans as Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, Thomas Jefferson become nothing but "bums" or, if you please, modern-day John Birchers. And yet, since I was a boy I was taught that patriotism for my country was the highest and greatest thing that one could show.

You have heard this same group label me and other good Americans with some fantastic name such as McCarthyites, Birchers or anything else fantastic, so as to throw the blame and suspicion of what they are actually doing, stating that these ultra-ultra rightists are bad for the country.

Somebody has to challenge them and show how bad this group of leftists is for our country, for they are not Americans at heart but are power hungry and are desirous of creating a one-world welfare state. Instead of trying to keep America sound the way it grew up, on supply and demand, free enterprise, and labor, they have thoroughly brainwashed many unsuspecting citizens into thinking that the Government should take care of them.

Let me remind you what Abraham Lincoln said: "You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves." While Lincoln was a Republican, and I have now quoted Jefferson and Lincoln, I want you to know that I stand firm in both men's beliefs. They were good Americans.

Delegates to this convention, I made an open stand to the people I represent in Nevada, which means all the people. I am frankly alarmed at this sudden turn to the left in government, and I want to leave this thought with you today—that a government that is big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take everything you've got.

I am not McCarthy reborn, as was expressed in one of our local morning newspapers. I am not a John Bircher, or any other fantastic name. I am a legislator who studies cause and effect, and I vote what I think will do the best good for the majority of the people.

Above all, let me state to you here today that I am not a rubberstamp, for if we had a rubberstamp Congress you would not need a Congress. You would be under a dictatorship form of government.

Men have disagreed, parties have disagreed, over the last 200 years, and this is a healthy condition if we want to preserve our American way of life.

During the 10 years that I have represented you in the Congress, I can proudly say that I have always represented you with dignity and honesty.

If after 10 years I cannot get your support, with you knowing how I have worked for the working people of America, then I cannot come into your convention and ask your support under the provision that I must vote for one particular piece of legislation, or else.

I repeat, delegates, that I am not a rubberstamp—I am a representative of all the people.

I thank you for allowing me to appear before you today and make my position known to you. Thank you again.

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## Port of Philadelphia: First Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, last year I called to the attention of the Congress the fact that Philadelphia was the top port in the country in shipping tonnage in 1960.

Now I am pleased to report that Philadelphia leads the Nation in foreign trade tonnage in 1961.

I attach an editorial contained in the Philadelphia Inquirer of Monday, August 6, and hope that Members will agree that trade expansion can be accomplished even in these competitive days:

PORT OF PHILADELPHIA: FIRST AGAIN

Now that it's official—Philadelphia led the Nation in foreign trade tonnage in 1961, for

the second consecutive year—promoters of commerce and industry throughout the Delaware Valley should be sure the facts and figures get into appropriate hands at home and abroad, along with the reasons underlying this area's continuing progress.

Philadelphia has been the No. 1 port in the country on import tonnage for 3 straight years. The city's emergence to leadership in both exports and imports is the result of a growing realization that cargo in either direction can be routed through Philadelphia at considerable savings in time and cost, and with many conveniences.

It's a record to be proud of. And it's a record to build on.

## Who Wants War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN**
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, in the Brattleboro Daily Reformer of Thursday, August 2, 1962, the very able editor, John S. Hooper, devotes his attention to a small but highly organized and intensely vocal group of self-styled pacifists who seem to feel that the fate of the world rests in their hands and in their hands exclusively, and that anyone who disagrees with them must be in favor of a third world war and the extermination of the human race.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hooper's editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO WANTS WAR?

(By John S. Hooper)

We are getting a little tired of the holier-than-thou pamphlets that come to a newspaper editor's desk with the bland assumption that neither he nor the newspaper's readers ever heard of (1) the atomic threat to survival of the human race (2) the futility of atomic warfare in which both sides face extinction or (3) the danger of nuclear fallout from bomb tests. We are tired of the intellectual snobbery, of the selfish possessiveness of these pamphlet writers and the organizations they represent—who so obobviously believe that only they possess the information already held by millions of Americans, only they possess a solution to the terrible dilemmas posed by the A-bomb, only they are working to avoid the war that would unleash the A-bomb's horrors.

We won't classify them as pacifists, because they are so aggressive. We do classify them as proponents of appeasement, in the name of negotiation and compromise. We do say it is impossible to avoid the implication that those who disagree with their solutions do so because they do not want peace. By implication they accuse those who not agree with them of wanting war.

What a tragic approach to the world's problems. Within this writer's rather wide acquaintance, both direct and indirect, he knows of nobody who wants war. He knows of nobody who wants to see the A-bomb unleased. But he knows of many, and many, who have learned from history the terrible folly of appeasement—at Munich, in North Korea—the terrible folly of unpoliced disarmament following the Kellogg Pact, the results of onesided agreements at Yalta and Potsdam. He knows the overwhelming faith the great majority of Americans who had in the United Nations, in the Marshall plan and the hope they once had that from Geneva would come at last some show of concern for humanity from the Communist bloc.

Who wants war? Certainly there are only a few troubled minds that want war. The vast majority don't want war. They do want peace—an honest, honorable, indestructible peace that preserves freedom and human dignity. This they want—and they are tired of being told they don't want it by small but articulate groups of fearmongers, some of them appeasers.

## James P. Warburg Discusses the "Bonn-Paris Axis"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HENRY S. REUSS**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished writer on foreign affairs, James P. Warburg, has contributed a thoughtful argument on free world relationship in a recent issue of the Milwaukee Journal:

IS NEW "BONN-PARIS AXIS" A DANGER TO PEACE AND WIDER UNITY OF WEST?

(By James P. Warburg)

The happy achievement of Franco-German reconciliation has unhappily resulted in a Franco-German policy which at present blocks almost every conceivable road to peace. Unconditional support of each other by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and President Charles de Gaulle, in spite of often wholly disparate objectives, arises from the fears of one partner and the romantic ambitions of the other, as well as from a common desire to re-create and dominate the Europe of Charlemagne.

Adenauer has sacrificed all realistic hope of reunifying Germany for the sake of anchoring at least a part of his restless people to the west. Unable to admit this, he has evolved with De Gaulle, who clearly does not want Germany to be reunified, the cynical and dangerous fiction that utter intransigence toward Moscow will eventually bring about not only German unification but the reunification of Europe "from the Urals to the Atlantic."

Hence the Bonn-Paris axis opposes all efforts to relax East-West tensions and objects even to the discussion of the major tension causing problems.

Both partners are reluctant to dilute their hoped for dominance of a Carolingian Europe by admitting Britain. In addition, De Gaulle fears that British membership would bring the United States into what he considers strictly European affairs.

Adenauer shares De Gaulle's coolness toward Britain but not his apprehensions concerning the United States, recognizing that Europe cannot ask for America's military presence without accepting its diplomatic interest.

Recently, however, knowing that he can no longer mesmerize Washington as he did in the Acheson-Dulles era, Adenauer has thrown in his lot with De Gaulle's distrust of "les Anglo-Saxons," joining the French leader in making the difficult British decision to join even more difficult.

Beyond cooperating with De Gaulle in thus blocking the roads toward Atlantic partnership and a relaxation of east-west tensions, Adenauer tacitly supports his partner's contemptuous treatment of the United Nations—treatment which obstructs the creation of an effective world organization. He supports De Gaulle's nuclear policy which greatly hinders the achievement of a test ban treaty.

Is it no time to make clear to the leaders and to the people of France and Germany that, while we would welcome their helpful cooperation, we are not dependent upon it—that we cannot and will not permit a Bonn-Paris axis to stand athwart the roads to peace?

If a number of west European nations wish to create an independent bloc under Franco-German leadership, neither they nor the rest of western Europe nor the other free nations of the world can escape the very serious consequences. But the fact remains that common defense and common diplomacy can rest only upon common purpose.

"Les Anglo-Saxons" are by no means alone in their determination to create a partnership of those free nations which are dedicated to the easing of tensions, to ending the arms race, to the alleviation of poverty, injustice and discontent, and to the ultimate creation of a world in which all men may live in peace.

Such a partnership can, if necessary, be created without Germany and France. It might include—beside "les Anglo-Saxons"—the like-minded free nations of Latin America, Asia, and Africa as well as those free nations of Europe, such as the low countries and Scandinavia, which may prefer a wider international community to a Franco-German dominated Carolingia.

The United States has twice been drawn into war by Franco-German quarrels. It welcomes Franco-German reconciliation, but in this observer's opinion, it must not permit these two newly reconciled ancient enemies to gang up in blocking a wider reconciliation leading toward wider freedom and world peace.

## The Making of Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been an admirer of Senator KERR, of Oklahoma. I met him first in Oklahoma City when he was Governor of Oklahoma; at that time I was a Member of Congress serving on a House Newsprint Subcommittee which was studying newsprint problems of publishers throughout the Nation.

Later when Senator KERR came to the U.S. Senate, I renewed my acquaintance with him and have watched his work with appreciation and respect. We all know he is an unusually capable and outstanding man.

In the month of October 1960 during the presidential race, Senator KERR spoke in Longview, Tex., in behalf of the Democratic ticket. It was my privilege to introduce him in Longview, Tex., I am pleased to present for the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and others the enclosed editorial which appeared in

the Longview Daily News. Indeed, the editorial is a splendid one. The editor in chief of the Longview News Journal is Mr. Ellie Hopkins and the publisher is Hon. Carl Estes.

THE MAKINGS OF OPPORTUNITY

It is seldom that more than once during a lifetime does the opportunity present itself for a man to achieve true national greatness. U.S. Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, stands on the fiery threshold of such an opportunity today.

Senator KERR is no novice, nor is he without high personal achievement. He is today nationally recognized as one of the most distinguished products of a State renowned for its distinguished citizen leaders.

Now at the peak of a career that has included oversea military service in the field artillery, successful business, and industrial operations, Governor of his State and Democratic national committeeman, Senator KERR today occupies a strategic position in the senior body of the national administration.

It is precisely this position of trust and honor and high responsibility that affords Senator KERR his unusual opportunity. For, standing as he does in a key position of senatorial power and influence in the high councils of the administration, the Oklahoman in the next several days can give enlightened direction to policy for an administration which has been sadly lacking in understanding and responsible direction toward the business and industrial community—the basis on which American strength and progress rests.

Senator KERR's unusual opportunity arises by virtue of his key position concerning the major questions of national policy affecting the vital extractive industries—oil and gas, other minerals, and commercial earth elements of an exhaustible nature.

One of the major questions is the necessity for greater protection for oil and other mineral industries in President Kennedy's trade expansion bill. Senator KERR believes, as do most of the domestic leaders of these industries, that the national security section of this bill must be strengthened. He is reported in news dispatches to believe that technical changes in the wording of the security section can achieve the desired security, and he has wisely said that any language in the bill must be broad enough to cover all domestic industry.

The Oklahoma Senator, one of the most knowledgeable men in the U.S. Senate concerning the minerals industries by reason of his own successful personal experience, believes the domestic oil industry is entitled to and should be assured its rightful and proportionate share of the domestic market. This objective he hopes to achieve through negotiation. He makes it clear he is going to support the trade bill, recognizing national needs and interests in this direction.

The other major issue—which is not officially before the Congress but which is being broadly considered in Government agency circles and widely discussed in national news media—is that of Federal tax treatment of the minerals industries.

The whole complicated field of taxation is under study and consideration. News and opinion column theorists and comic pundits are attacking the time-proved principle of depletion credit as a tax loophole which they say must be closed before any tax reform can be worked out. Other liberal self-anointed social reformers vie for hearing in the rising din of attack on depletion. Some even suggest that depletion be replaced by a system of Federal subsidies at taxpayer expense—a la the Federal agricultural program.

President Kennedy wisely has not called for abandonment of the depletion principle. Congress instituted this principle long ago and has stood by it for more than a generation—while domestic industry has given this Nation the greatest abundance of low-cost fuel and energy the world has ever known, and at no cost to the taxpayer.

Without a doubt, the President wants the Nation to go forward. One of his chief aims has been to increase the rate of economic growth. He has made some unfortunate blunders. He cannot now afford and would not knowingly adopt a course that would halt the progress of nearly 100 minerals industries which provide the basic employment, payrolls and economic backbone of some 35 States.

This is where Senator KERR faces his great opportunity. Out of his broad personal experience in business and industry, he can render the administration most valuable advice and counsel. By his skill as a legislator, he can properly represent the legitimate interests of business and industry. Through his knowledge of economics, gained in both private business and in government, he can serve the consumer interests of the Nation in an enlightened and effective manner.

This is a complicated and difficult assignment. But we believe Senator KERR has the experience and the judgment to realize that—politics and social reform to the contrary notwithstanding—any solution of these problems that does not strengthen and safeguard the vital minerals industries is in neither the short-term nor long-term public and national interest, and that which is not in the public and national interest surely is not and never can be in the best interest of good politics or good reform.

It is under just such trying circumstances and such great pressures as Senator KERR faces today that men of courage and faith and dedication down through the ages have forged these characteristics into the stalwart stature of statesmen. The valiant-hearted Oklahoman can seize in these makings the opportunity of a lifetime to confirm for historians and posterity his right to the eminent honor of true statesmanship.

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## Address of Harllee Branch, Jr., President of the Southern Co., Atlanta, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune a few days ago to read a speech which Mr. Harllee Branch, Jr., made on July 8, at the homecoming exercises of Davisboro Baptist Church, Davisboro, Ga.

Mr. Branch, although a young man, has, through his own ability, energy, and integrity, reached a top position in the Nation's business world. He is president of the Southern Co., and a director and strong influence in some of the Nation's leading business organizations.

Mr. Branch is an eloquent and gifted speaker, not given to bombast, slogans, and verbose nothings. His speech delivered on the above-mentioned occasion gives wise counsel to those who are striving to solve the problems of our day and time.

His speech emphasizes important truths which need to be kept constantly before us.

I have asked unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and pursuant to that consent I insert it herewith:

ADDRESS BY HARLLEE BRANCH, JR.

The past week marked the 186th anniversary of our Nation's birth.

The event, as usual, was celebrated with parades, picnics, and pageantry. Politicians seized the occasion to advance their candidacies; merchants and hucksters to promote their sales. There was roistering in the taverns and slaughter on the highways. Unfortunately, there were few Americans—even among those who spent the Fourth of July with their families—who bothered to ask: "What is there about America, its institutions and traditions, that is of especial significance to mankind? What are the real foundations of this Nation? Do these foundation principles still have validity and, if so, what are we doing to preserve them?"

It is still not too late for us to ponder these questions, nor is it inappropriate, in my opinion, to ponder them in this holy sanctuary. For it was out of religious exercises, out of the devotion to religious commitments, and the application of religious truths to human affairs that our forefathers derived the principles and gained the convictions upon which this Nation was founded.

"Religion and morality are our indispensable supports," the Founding Fathers declared, "and whoever shall subvert these great pillars of human happiness shall not be entitled to claim the tribute of patriotism."

George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson—all of them—acknowledged that religion alone can establish the principles upon which freedom and popular government may stand and that "the liberties of a nation cannot be thought secure when we have removed the only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God."

The oldest, and in many ways the wisest, of the men who formulated our Declaration of Independence and national Constitution was Benjamin Franklin, journalist, scientist, philosopher, and statesman. Dr. Franklin was not a denominationalist, perhaps not even a churchman, in the usual sense of the word; but he had an abiding faith in God, and this faith was strengthened by a long life of study and of contact with men and affairs. When he arose in Philadelphia to counsel his younger colleagues, he said:

"I have lived, sirs, a long time and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sirs, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and byword to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war and conquest."

It is no longer fashionable to talk in words such as those of Dr. Franklin. Virtue and faith and commitment to principle—even patriotism itself—are scoffed at in too many quarters. We have become soft and smug and self-satisfied. We speak of ours as an age of sophistication. We are beguiled by politicians and professors who exhort us to abandon the cliches of our political, social and economic pasts, forgetting that sophis-

tication is frequently the product of conceit, cynicism and shallowness; and that a new cliche may be even more dangerous than an older one.

Our forefathers were not afraid of cliches nor were they afraid to be called unsophisticated. They were completely willing to embrace change where change was warranted—indeed, they risked their lives in one of the most dramatic assaults on the status quo the world has ever witnessed. But they never sneered at the tried and the true merely because it was old. The idea which inspired the American revolution and which has guided our national life, and is still the most powerful force in the world today, is itself an old idea as Secretary of State Rusk has pointed out in an article published only a few days ago.

The Founding Fathers, says Secretary Rusk, "did not pretend to have invented anything new." The burden of complaint in our Declaration of Independence was that a tyrannical king was depriving the people of the American Colonies of the unalienable rights and liberties by which they had been endowed by God. The idea of man's individual sovereignty—of his right to be secure from the domination of an all-powerful, all-pervasive government—was not set forth as a novel doctrine. It was based on a principle older than the earth itself, on the principle of divine law, no less. It was presented as a universal, unchanging truth, arising out of a discourse on the nature and purpose of man which began in Greece nearly 2,000 years ago.

This is a fact we need to remember as we are called upon to reappraise the foundations of our Republic.

We are vastly more knowledgeable than the Founding Fathers, even the most educated of them. Indeed, the sum total of man's knowledge has doubled in the last 10 years alone, and it is estimated that it will double again in the next 5.

But knowledge is not wisdom, and one of the greatest threats to our way of life is that we may rely for leadership upon men who know more than they understand. Knowledge—mere factual knowledge, unleavened by spiritual truths—can be a snare and a delusion, as we should have already realised. For we have now penetrated many of the innermost secrets of the universe, we have learned to release the vast energies of the atom, yet we have not learned to live together in peace and helpfulness.

We have developed the ability to project ourselves into outer space yet our spirits do not soar. We have surrounded ourselves with machines capable of doing our work and even doing our thinking, and with processes which can increase our productivity, cure our bodily ailments and even extend our lives, yet our mood is alternately one of boredom, of frustration, and finally of terror lest these very machines and processes be used to destroy us and the puny terrestrial sphere we inhabit.

The great threat to our way of life is posed by atheistic, materialistic men, symbolized by the communistic hordes of the East and typified by the Soviet astronaut, Titov, who declared on his recent visit to our country: "Some people say there is a God out there but, in my travels around the earth all day long, I looked around and did not see him. I saw no God or angels—I do not believe in God. I believe in man, his strength, his possibilities, and his reason."

How silly can man get? Who ever suggested that God was such an entity as could be seen by an earthling such as Titov?

But, we must not become bemused by the idea that the Titovs of this world are men of ignorance. They are as knowledgeable as we in the purely physical aspects of the universe and, in some areas, their technology is believed to exceed our own. The one—the only—resource we have that the Soviet man does not possess is the resource of spiritual strength which is derived from our recognition of the fatherhood and supremacy of God and our dependence upon Him. Abandon this resource, allow it to become tarnished by sophistication and by conceit over our own assumed prowess, and we lose our individual freedoms and our dignity as surely as have the slaves of the Soviet superstate.

"Know the truth," said Jesus, "and the truth will make you free." Not facts, not scientific formulas, not physical abstractions, not beguiling theories—but the truth as revealed by God in the creation of the world and the incarnation of His Son.

This was the truth to which the Founding Fathers repaired in a period of national and individual crisis—this was the source of the principles upon which they founded this Nation—notwithstanding the sneers of those who called themselves "rationalists."

Now again the rationalists and the materialists are clamoring for acceptance—in America and elsewhere. Only a few weeks ago, a prominent American scholar suggested that, since science has reduced the area of the unknown and since technology has increased our ability to use our environment, the relationship between God and man no longer applies. This is sheer philosophical poppycock, the sort of poppycock that is responsible for much of the sickness of our times.

Mankind, with all his knowledge, has not replaced God, nor will he do so. The greatest of our scientific discoveries, properly correlated and evaluated, confirm rather than deny the existence of a divine order and man's dependence upon it.

Those who founded this Republic sought, with God's guidance, to create here a governmental system built on confidence in divine law and the principles of individual freedom, dignity and responsibility which depend upon that law and not upon human actions and assurances.

It is a tragic thing that their progeny, if enrolled in a public school, may no longer invoke, in voluntary classroom prayer, the guidance and blessings of the very God upon whom the founders of the Nation so singularly relied. Religious freedom is a cherished heritage of all Americans, but it does seem strange that the principle of separation of church and state should now be tortured into a separation of the state from God—for the two principles are certainly not the same. What we need to do is bring God more vividly into our school exercises, and into our governmental and private affairs as well for, as Justice Frankfurter has himself observed: "The ultimate foundation of a free society is the binding tie of cohesive sentiment. Such a sentiment is fostered by all those agencies of the mind and spirit which may serve to gather up the traditions of a people, transmit them from generation to generation, and thereby create that continuity of a treasured common life which constitutes a civilization." It is not enough to say that the Court has still left the individual the right to pray in private and outside the precincts of his state-supported institutions. The individual has that right in Russia, too. But religion cannot be just personal. If it is real, it must be present in all we do in public and in private, and if we take God from our public institutions, we are left with no foundation upon which to build.

We may produce as many and as excellent gadgets as we will (automobiles, missiles, telephones, radios, television sets, electronic computers, and what have you) but, America and the Western World will not survive unless it also develops excellent men—men of faith, of humility, of truth, of moral stature, of strength and resourcefulness of mind (of pregnant ideas), of courtesy, of universal sympathy and friendship and love. Men such as these can not be produced in a laboratory. They are produced only in good homes, good churches, good schools where the presence of God is ever apparent.

In closing, I would like to pass on to you a word of kindly caution from one who, although not a native of the Western World, has shown an extraordinary regard for its institutions. He is Dr. Charles Malik, distinguished teacher and philosopher and former Lebanese Minister to the United States. Dr. Malik has warned that: "If the West thinks that it is going to win or even hold its own without the living God who made it and has sustained its excellence, it is simply mistaken. * * * Not by cleverness, nor by humanism, nor by sentimentalism, nor by the manipulation of force, nor by reliance on reason and genius, nor by the supplying of loaves and the giving of machines—not by any or all of these things alone—is the West going to succeed in defending and extending truth and light and freedom, but by the humble return to the living Source of all truth, all light, and all freedom."

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## Seniority System Aids the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CATHERINE D. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mrs. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, two of my distinguished colleagues who are serving in the Congress from Arkansas are mentioned in Mr. William S. White's column, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star, August 3, 1962. The State may well take pride in such representation and in the seniority of Senator FULBRIGHT and Congressman MILLS. The article in its entirety is attached for inclusion in the RECORD:

SENIORITY SYSTEM AIDS THE SOUTH—DIXIE'S POWER IN CONGRESS ATTRIBUTED TO LONG SERVICE BY ITS LAWMAKERS

(By William S. White)

The Southern Democratic primaries are returning more than familiar faces for the next Congress. They are also returning men whose already great power—gained through the congressional seniority system, plus high Southern personal political talent—is now being still more increased through the sheer fact that again they have survived.

Dixie, thus far in its primaries, is in no mood for much change in its congressional delegations. Senior Members are being renominated with little opposition or none. And in the South, still a one-party region so far as Congress is concerned, renomination is equivalent in nearly every case to reelection.

For Dixie understands what no other section understands half so well. To have really potent representation it is necessary to let your representatives stay in Congress long enough to accumulate real seniority.

So, the meaning of the South's primary mood this year is that the already deep entrenchments of southern power in Congress are being dug yet deeper and wider. Thus it is that southern primaries have a national significance not to be found in any other part of the Nation.

This is so because no one man's vote automatically equals another man's vote in Congress. The true decision rests in the legislative committees—and the kernel of the true decision rests within the chairmen. These chairmanships do not fall mostly to southerners through dark conspiracy. They

fall that way because seniority of service is the route to chairmanship and the southern fellows have a way of coming back and back here to become incredibly "seniors."

Thus, little Arkansas, in reelecting Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, except for the formalities of the November election, has sent back a man whose voice in the great affairs of the world will easily surpass those of all the six Senators from our three biggest States—New York, California, and Pennsylvania.

For Senator FULBRIGHT is chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. As such his views on the proper conduct of foreign policy are more nearly decisive, in the vital, inside stages, than those, say, of Senators KEATING and JAVITS, of New York; KUCHEL and ENGLE, of California; and SCOTT and CLARK, of Pennsylvania, all put together.

Similarly, in reelecting Representative WILBUR MILLS—again, except for the November formalities—an even smaller number of Arkansas voters has returned a man whose influence over the economic affairs of this Nation is greater than that of all the junior Congressmen from several States. For Mr. MILLS is chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means.

Apart from largely determining who shall pay what tax and what tariff and what welfare payroll deductions, Ways and Means has one other little function. It helps determine what new Congressman shall have what assignment to any other committee of the House.

Again, look at Louisiana. The thumping return there of two moderate veterans, Senator RUSSELL LONG and Representative HALE BOGGS, is presented as a victory over right-wing challengers. But it is something else, too. Again, it shows that Dixie savvies how congressional power is arrived at—and kept. LONG has been here 14 years; BOGGS 16.

These are but a few examples from this primary season which support a central point: Those trying to raise northern big-city power in Congress and reduce southern rural power think they can do it by forcing congressional reapportionment. But given even the most extreme kind of reapportionment, they still will confront a basic fact. The urbanites will never make it unless they can persuade Congress to abandon the seniority system (which is quite hopeless) or learn to let their congressional people stay here long enough to learn what it is all about and to gather seniority to be able to do something about what it is all about.

## Praise for Boys State Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, every year the American Legion in New Jersey sponsors a Boys State and a Girls State in order to give high school students a practical lesson in democracy. This year George T. Hayum, of Livingston, N.J., was elected governor of Boys State while Nancy Donohue of Collingswood, N.J., was named Girls State president.

The teaching of the mechanics of democracy in such a practical way is one of the finest contributions the American Legion has made to our country, for here is where our youth learn some of the political realities that help guide the fundamental decisions of our Government.

The Herald-News, of Passaic, N.J., has commented on this invaluable service of the American Legion. I, therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the Herald-News' June 29 editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRAISE FOR BOYS STATE PROGRAM

A speaker at a New Jersey Boys State session at Rutgers was greatly impressed by the intense interest of the teenagers in public affairs. He observed afterward that this project of the American Legion provides an invaluable education in an important subject for a group of intelligent, alert youngsters.

His comment was deeply felt because in his work he constantly runs up against a shocking ignorance of Government and its operations. In a country like ours, where the voters must make fundamental decisions, the lack of knowledge can be dangerous.

There is hope that the youth programs such as New Jersey Boys State will help to turn out a better informed crop of voters than were produced in the past.

## Credit Unions Recognized as Valuable Instrument of Assistance to Developing Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, credit unions have long been a part of our way of life in America, and people in many areas of the world today are learning what we have learned about them: that they are useful tools for stimulating personal savings and creating a source of low-cost credit where neither existed before. A credit union is a democratically controlled association, designed just for this purpose.

Several agencies of this Government have recognized the value of credit unions for spurring economic development abroad. The Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps both are working with the Credit Union National Association—CUNA—to encourage the growth of credit unions abroad.

As Franklin H. Williams, director of the Division of Private Organizations for the Peace Corps, has stated:

We have long realized that basic to the needs of the underdeveloped nations are self-help programs, and that credit unions and co-ops are uniquely suited economically and socially to these needs.

Other governments, along with several agencies of the United Nations, have recognized the value of the credit union movement in developing areas of the world and have cooperated in varying degrees with CUNA's world extension department.

At a time when so many of the world's people are offered cure-alls for the overnight solution of their dire social and economic problems, the CUNA program is refreshing. CUNA's offer of sharing credit union expirence in self-help is more realistic and more compatible with the democratic goals of this Government.

CUNA's international program, then, should be of real interest to us in the Government. For that reason, I should like to place a copy of the annual report of CUNA's world extension department in the RECORD:

ANNUAL REPORT, 1961, CUNA WORLD EXTENSION DEPARTMENT

INTRODUCTION

The events of the past year mark an important milestone in the history of the credit union movement. During 1961, recognition of CUNA's program as a valuable instrument of assistance to developing nations has been definitely established. This recognition has come from leaders of many South American and Asian countries, officials from various voluntary agencies, the United Nations and its affiliates, and from the Canadian and United States Governments.

CUNA-AID PROGRAM

CUNA world extension department has been in contact with the Agency for International Development (AID), and its predecessor (ICA), since September 1960 when we were requested for the first time to present a project proposal for credit union development in Nigeria. Here are some of the most important recent events related to our contact with this Agency.

1. The department prepared two 5-year programs for credit union development: a worldwide 5-year credit union development program, submitted August 24, 1961, and the 5-year aid-CUNA credit union development program for South America, submitted December 13, 1961. Both of these proposals have been under study and consideration by AID.

2. In October, the director of the world extension department was appointed by the Department of State, Agency for International Development, as a member of a cooperative study team for South America. From November 4 to December 1, 1961, the group surveyed the cooperative movement in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. It also acquainted USOM missions with the new emphasis on cooperatives and credit unions in government programs for technical and economic assistance. The cooperative study team reported its findings and recommendations at a meeting with Mr. Fowler Hamilton, Administrator of AID, and other members of his staff. These recommendations included stress on the development of credit unions and farmer cooperatives.

3. World extension department staff presented a paper at the Inter-American Conference on Cooperation in Bogotá, Colombia, November 5–11, 1961. This conference was called by a number of agencies and organizations with CUNA cosponsorship.

4. As of the present date, AID has approved an appropriation of $160,000 to be used by CUNA's world extension department for credit union development in South America during the next 12 months. This appropriation will enable the department to carry out a program concentrated in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru, which will result in approximately 500 additional credit unions in South America. An additional amount of $150,000 for 1963 has been requested.

5. Another measure recently approved by AID, which will have an important effect on the overseas credit union program, is the approval of an International Cooperative Training Center. CUNA is represented by the managing director on the Board for International Training, which has been in charge of planning the center. The center will be established at the University of Wisconsin and CUNA will take an active part in its activities.

SIGNIFICANCE OF AID ASSISTANCE

The credit union program will be carried out directly by the world extension department as a CUNA program, with the obligation of a periodic report to AID regarding progress and allocation of funds. The economic assistance provided will give great impetus to credit union development in the selected countries and will continue to enhance CUNA's reputation in South America as a people-to-people agency, making a significant contribution to the welfare and economic and social development of the South American nations.

The need for assistance for credit union development around the world is enormous. The recently approved government program is limited to one area, and it is also of a temporary nature. However, one important result of the government assistance program is that it will permit us to do more with our regular budget in areas as yet untouched, such as Africa.

UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations Social and Economic Council has granted consultative status to CUNA in recognition of our contributions as an international organization in the field of economic and social development.

During 1961, the CUNA world extension department also continued to work closely with FAO and ILO, specialized agencies of the United Nations. We cooperated extensively with their field offices in various parts of the world, and a staff member lectured at the Inter-Regional Seminar on Cooperation, sponsored by these organizations and the Danish government, in Copenhagen, in July and August. The seminar brought 35 participants from 18 African and Asian countries.

REGIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Asia: CUNA opened an office in Manila, the Philippines, in June, and Jack L. Kent, of California, was hired as the Asia representative. Mr. Kent, so far, has concentrated on assisting the Philippine Credit Union League, but he has also worked in Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan.

Philippines: The Asian Regional Training Conference was held in Baguio City, Philippines, October 29—November 11, with 62 trainees in attendance, as follows: Ceylon, 2; Hong Kong, 3; Japan, 1; Korea, 6; Malay, 5; Thailand, 1; Vietnam, 3; and the Philippines, 41. The Asia Foundation contributed approximately $6,000 to this conference.

*Pacific*

Fiji: World extension department staff attended the annual meeting of the Fiji Credit Union League. A survey of the Fijian movement and its future influence in the South Pacific was made. There are now 257 credit unions in the islands. Through the Pacific Credit Union School, under the direction of Father Marion Ganey, S.J., and partly financed by CUNA, credit union leaders from other Pacific islands are being brought to Fiji for training. Substantial growth has been recorded in Samoa and Tonga.

*Australia*

New South Wales: World extension department staff attended the annual meeting of the New South Wales Credit Union League. As a result of this participation, a special meeting of members will be held during spring of 1962 to step up the league program. Staff participated in educational programs for the delegates to the annual meeting and several credit unions were visited. A special meeting was held in the office of the registrar of cooperatives to discuss problems of the credit union movement and a visit was paid to the minister of housing and cooperatives.

The credit union movement is gradually spreading to other states in Australia, with substantial gains in Victoria, Queensland, and western Australia.

*Mexico*

Staff continued its work of reorganization of the Mexican movement, based on the establishment of federations at the state level and on the establishment of a strong chapter program. By the end of this year, the state federations will have formed the first confederation of credit unions in Latin America. The reorganization program was accepted at a recent meeting organized by world extension staff. It is expected that the new program will be approved at the national annual meeting to be held in early 1962. There are 325 credit unions in Mexico at the present time, with 33,000 members.

*Honduras*

The "conversion" of Honduras multiple-service cooperatives to credit unions has made considerable progress and there were 20 such credit unions in operation at the end of the year. It is expected that a credit union league will be established in 1962.

*Panama*

The Credit Union Federation of Panama was organized with the help of world extension department staff. At the end of the year there were 48 credit unions in Panama.

*Bolivia*

A credit union league was organized by this country's 18 credit unions.

*Colombia*

UCONAL, the Colombian league of credit unions, has applied for membership in CUNA and its application will be submitted to the executive committee in May. Colombia will be headquarters for our South American program because of its central location. There are 60 credit unions in Colombia and a great potential for 1962.

*Venezuela*

The Venezuelan credit union movement has continued its rapid growth. There are now 20 chartered credit unions and 35 in various stages of organization. Two former trainees who attended the Fourth International Training Conference in Caracas in 1960 have, between them, organized 12 credit unions in the past year.

A league has been set up and a supply department has been established. Our Latin America representative has given assistance to the movement in Venezuela throughout the year, at the expense of that government.

*Caribbean*

World extension department activities during the past year in the Caribbean were centered mainly in Jamaica and Haiti. Our Caribbean fieldman concentrated his activities in laying the groundwork for the establishment of a permanent fulltime league office for the West Indian Confederation of Credit Societies (WICCS), generating services for the Caribbean area.

*Brazil*

A 2-week school attended by 34 leaders from nine different Brazilian states was conducted in Rio de Janeiro by world extension staff. Fifteen of the students were sent by industrial establishments where credit unions are already organized or where there is intention of organizing.

With the assistance of the world extension staff, the Brazilian Credit Union League was organized on June 22, 1961.

A 5-year credit union development program was prepared and submitted to the local AID office in Rio de Janeiro at the request of AID.

There are now 25 credit unions in Brazil, all organized under a program financed by the Illinois Credit Union League.

*Europe*

Eire: The movement in Eire continues to grow and the Credit Union League of Ireland was admitted to membership in CUNA during the year.

*Africa*

Credit union organization is taking place in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya. The department has received numerous requests for credit union information from these countries and has provided a great deal of material for a training center in Mwanza, Tanganyika, including a copy of the film "The People of Kolevu" to which a tape in Swahili has been added.

TRAINEES

Trainees from the following countries visited CUNA during 1961: Japan, the West Indies, British Guiana, Fiji, New South Wales, Nyasaland, Iraq, Venezuela, Vietnam, Peru, Tanganyika, British Honduras, Mexico, Basutoland, Guatemala, Indonesia, Ireland, Formosa, Nigeria, Uganda, Southern Rhodesia, Jordan, Liberia, Korea, Egypt, Canada, the Republic of the Philippines, and El Salvador.

PLANS FOR 1962

1. To a great extent, department personnel will be occupied with implementing and carrying out the CUNA–AID program in Latin America. However, this will not be done at the expense of the regular CUNA world extension program, as the staff will be expanded and compensated for under the government contract.

2. Closer cooperation will be sought with the Peace Corps. Preliminary discussions have already taken place in Washington, D.C., in regard to CUNA-Peace Corps projects for Tanganyika, Bolivia, and the Philippines, and CUNA has promised to help in the recruitment and training of Peace Corps volunteers who may be assigned to credit unions or similar work.

3. An African program, which we have been planning for a number of years, but which has had to be shelved because of lack of funds, has been initiated. A. A. Bailey, our Caribbean fieldman, left for Africa on March 5 to visit Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Uganda, with the following objectives in mind:

(a) To evaluate existing credit unions and cooperatives in cooperation with Government and cooperative officials.

(b) To recommend to local leaders procedures for the promotion, development and supervision of credit unions and credit cooperatives.

(c) To seek possible candidates for credit union training in the United States.

(d) To look for a possible location for an Inter-Africa conference and seminar on credit unions and credit cooperatives, and governments and institutions which would be willing and able to cosponsor such a conference with CUNA.

An East African program will be carried out later in the year with funds contributed by the Credit Union League of Saskatchewan.

4. Preliminary investigation will be conducted to determine how a credit union program would fit into the new European economic image created by the Common Market.

5. International credit union training conferences are planned for Africa and possibly Australia.

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## Supreme Court's Prayer Ruling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor of the Washington Star should be of interest to the en-

tire country. This letter was written by Charles S. Collier, distinguished professor of law, George Washington University:

HOLDS NO BRIEF FOR COURT'S PRAYER RULING

One troublesome aspect of the Supreme Court decision in the school prayer case (*Engle* v. *Vitale*) is the complete disregard therein manifested by the Court of the historic doctrine that parties who seek to obtain judicial restraining orders against the enforcement of legislation, State or National, must establish and demonstrate that they have sustained or will sustain peculiar and substantial harm or injury from the actual enforcement of such legislation.

This pervasive judicial doctrine has been plainly declared and unmistakably acted upon by the Supreme Court itself in many leading decisions.

This vital and practical doctrine applies with particular force to constitutional issues arising under the 14th amendment. Some Supreme Court Justices are fond of quoting the first amendment in cases arising under State or local laws that have been alleged to interfere with freedom of speech or with religious freedom. But the actual relevant language of the first amendment reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

It is Congress which is explicitly restrained by this provision. It seems impossible to read this provision as applying of its own force to State legislatures or to the Board of Regents of New York.

The majority opinion in the Engle case gives us no articulate or helpful explanation of this supposed mysterious amalgamation or confluence of the 1st and 14th amendments. Even if the 14th amendment can be treated as incorporating in some way the principle of the 1st amendment; this incorporation must be on terms that preserve all the essential juristic elements of the 14th amendment itself. The 14th amendment alone is directly operative on the States by its express terms and by its historical origin.

The 14th amendment is actually founded on the conception that the States are thereby prohibited only from actions that actually damage or wrongfully interfere directly with citizens or other persons. The purpose is simply to protect specific legal rights against concrete damage or actual harmful interference.

The central meaning of the 14th amendment lies in the following key passage:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The true prohibitions intended here are exposed in the active verbs that are used in the prohibiting clauses; namely, "abridge," "deprive," "deny."

There is nothing in the 14th amendment equivalent in form or substance to the 1st amendment language "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." The prohibitions of the 14th amendment are not defined with reference to the general subject matter of general classification of the laws themselves, that are under examination, but they are aimed against actual abridgment of the privileges of citizens; against actual deprivation of liberty such as violates due process of law, and against the actual denial of equal protection of the laws.

Now in the New York school prayer case, what harm or injury was done or threatened to anyone? Who was deprived of liberty or property in any substantial or realistic sense? Who was really denied the equal protection of the laws? What privileges or immunities that belong to citizens of the United States as such were abridged? In answering these questions it must be constantly kept in mind that no schoolchild was required under the New York rules to repeat the prayer recommended by the board of regents, or even to be present at all on the occasion thereof.

The opinion of the trial judge in New York in this case well illustrated and described the precautions taken by the New York administrative authorities in this matter of possible wrongful pressure on school pupils or others. This opinion by the judge, who heard all the evidence at first hand and who could himself interrogate the witnesses, states:

"It is enough on this score, however, that regulations such as were adopted by New York City's Board of Education in connection with its released time program be adopted (elsewhere), making clear that neither teachers nor any other school authority may comment on participation or nonparticipation in the exercise nor suggest or require that any posture or language be used or dress be worn or be not used or worn. Nonparticipation may take the form of either of remaining silent during the exercise or, if the parent or child so desires, of being excused entirely from its exercise. Such regulations must also make provision for those nonparticipants who are to be excused from the prayer exercise. The exact provision to be made is a matter for decision by the board rather than the court, within the framework of constitutional requirements."

All of this conscientious and sensitive preparation and intelligent study by the New York administrative authorities and by the New York courts, is held to be for naught by the Supreme Court majority which proceeds toward its monolithic and exaggerated conclusions in this historic decision with proud defiance of the actual key facts.

God save the United States and this honorable Court.

CHARLES S. COLLIER,
*Professor Emeritus of Law, George Washington University.*

## Needed: A Reappraisal of the Veterans Pension Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in recent months the Members of Congress have been the target of an effective, well-organized campaign by veterans of World War I to obtain signatures on a discharge petition which would bring their special pension bill, H.R. 3745, to the House floor. While I have many fine friends who endorse this legislation, I cannot in good conscience sign this discharge petition. Since I know many of my colleagues have wrestled with this same decision, I want to share with them my thoughts contained in a letter addressed to a veterans' barracks in my hometown.

The letter follows:

AUGUST 6, 1962.

Mr. ALFRED B. MILLER,
*Public Relations Officer, Veterans of World War I, Tucson, Ariz.*

DEAR MR. MILLER: Thank you for your letter of July 28 in response to my letter of July 18 addressed Mr. Paul Russell.

I am sure you appreciate the fact that at any time I am under pressure from conflicting groups on dozens of matters before the Congress. Those on one side are just as vigorous in presenting their views as those on the other. Your fine organization has been doing a good job of making its views known to the Congress, and I must commend your national officers for their effectiveness. Nevertheless, I must say that, as in all other matters, I would be fulfilling less than my public trust if I simply listened to their arguments and ignored what others are saying or failed to make a study of the broad implications involved in H.R. 3745.

A question that concerns me greatly is the premise on which non-service-connected veterans' pensions are based. I understand that veterans of the Civil War and Spanish-American War received pensions. Some of their widows are still living, and they are continuing to receive pensions. Now World War I veterans seek a special pension of their own, and they base their claim on the fact that veterans of previous wars received them. I say this is not sufficient reason and that it is time as a Nation we took a second look at the veterans' pension concept. Because we did a thing once doesn't mean that we must or should go on doing it forever.

The principle your organization advocates is this: A minimum of 3 months of military service in one particular war entitles a man to a special tax-free pension when he reaches 65 years of age. Does this make sense? I am not persuaded that it does.

Just to put this request in perspective, consider this fact: When World War I ended, most of its participants left the service and returned to civilian life. But a few remained and made a career of military service. In 1947 some of those who enlisted in 1917 retired after 30 years of active duty and service in two wars. Those who had risen to the rating of master sergeant retired with pensions of $185.63 per month. Now your organization is asking $102.37—or 55 percent of a 30-year pension—for those of their fellow servicemen who left the service 29 years earlier. What kind of sense does this make?

I have refused to sign the discharge petition for these reasons:

I don't believe this is the way to enact legislation unless there is clear evidence of bad faith on the part of a committee and its chairman. While some of the members of this committee have signed the discharge petition under great pressure from this veterans' group, a majority have not, and the chairman is firmly opposed to this legislation. I have a high regard for these colleagues of mine, I think they have served the veterans of this country exceedingly well, and I do not believe other Members of Congress have the specialized knowledge of veterans' legislation possessed by members of this committee.

2. I fail to see how one can justify paying veterans of one particular war (and not other wars) a pension merely for having served 90 days or more during that war (the average service in World War I was 12 months). If there were a way to compensate the men who died in that war, the sky would be the limit; but the men who came back from camp or overseas hale and hearty clearly have not earned the right to pensions for which other people must work all their lives.

3. There already is a law providing non-service-connected old-age benefits to veterans (of all wars) who are in need.

There already are laws providing benefits to veterans with service-connected disabilities.

5. Veterans of the First World War comprise 15 percent of all U.S. veterans and have received 28 percent ($30 billion) of all expenditures for all veterans. In spite of the GI bill of World War II, veterans of World War I have received nearly twice as much

per capita ($7,000 compared to $3,700) as veterans of the Second World War.

6. If the principle of pensions for war service is right, then there can be no logical ground for refusing pensions to veterans of World War II and the Korean war who now or in the future are of retirement age. If this bill passed, American taxpayers would pay out an additional $4.3 billion by 1966 and $11.6 billion by the year 2000. If World War II and Korean war veterans were to receive the same pension (and passage of this bill would certainly make this a likely possibility), the additional cost might ultimately exceed $100 billion, or more than half the total debt this Nation incurred fighting a war on two fronts from 1941 to 1945.

7. The American Legion, Amvets and other veterans' groups oppose this kind of veterans' pension and rightly believe the enormous cost of such a program (an extra $1 billion the first year alone) would incur the wrath of taxpayers and hurt other necessary veterans' legislation.

8. If improvements are needed in benefits for needy veterans or those with service-connected disabilities, this is the wrong way to make them.

In the past few months I have received hundreds of letters and petitions urging me to sign the discharge petition for H.R. 3745, the pension bill. Various arguments are used by sincere people who believe wartime service gives a man a right to a lifetime pension. Perhaps the main argument is that veterans of World War I were badly treated, that they never received anything like the generous educational opportunities received by veterans of World War II. In part, this is true. In the years between the two great wars this country came to recognize more of an obligation to the men who risk their lives in war. As a veteran of World War II, I know that this country was most generous in helping veterans complete their interrupted education and to find places for themselves once again in society. I can understand the regret of World War I veterans that they had not received similar opportunities.

However, these facts should be recalled:

1. The average length of service in World War II was 2½ years, compared to 12 months for World War I.

2. Seventy-seven percent of World War II veterans served overseas, compared with 50 percent of World War I veterans.

3. Educating a man to reenter normal civilian life is a proper function of a nation that has taken years out of that man's life; providing him a lifetime pension when he retires is a very different kind of thing having no direct relationship to his military service.

I am sorry to see you citing my support of foreign aid as a vote against World War veterans. I voted for foreign aid, most of which is military assistance, because I believe this program is a positive way to prevent another war and to protect our country—not to engage in free handouts or meaningless generosity to unappreciative people, which is the usual senseless charge made against this program. My vote for foreign aid was cast along with the votes of the patriotic leaders of both political parties, and I am somewhat displeased to have you suggest that I was placing the interests of our country second to the interests of nameless foreigners.

With regard to the American Legion position I am enclosing a statement that is self-explanatory. I recognize that some Legion chapters and departments support the bill, but the position of the organization nationally is very much in opposition.

The statement is made so often that the chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee is single-handedly holding up H.R. 3745 that I decided to look into this claim. I find, in the newspaper of your own organization, a list of Congressmen who reportedly have signed the discharge petition. Ten of them and only seven, are members of the Veterans' Affairs Committee. The ranking Republican member, Congressman WILLIAM H. AYRES, of Ohio, not only has refused to sign the petition but has been outspoken in opposing the bill. Of the 25 Congressmen on the committee 18 have refused to sign the petition. This is not evidence of one-man dictatorial rule.

In addition, I might comment that I have talked personally and privately with members of this committee, and I can assure you that their unwillingness to bring this bill out stems from their own judgment, and not from dictatorial pressure from the chairman.

H.R. 3745 would not give pensions to every World War I veteran, but it would to most. There are limitations, to be sure. To receive a pension a veteran must have annual income of less than $2,400, if single, or $3,600 if married. However, he can exclude from his income all pensions, annuities, social security payments and the like—the cources of most retirement income. Thus, this bill would provide a penion of $102.37 per month to a married veteran already receiving $5,000 of income, provided only that $1,401 of that income came from social security and other public or private annuity plans (including insurance policies).

I greatly regret that I cannot justify signing this discharge petition. Nothing would please me more than to be able to comply with the wishes of many good friends who have asked me to do so. Unfortunately, a sound case has not been made for this bill. There are no adequate answers yet provided to the qeustions that arise concerning such legislation. It doesn't make sense to enact pensions for one set of retired war veterans and not another. Extending the pension principle to yet another war, with demands of World War II and Korean war veterans around the corner, makes very little sense. Giving a man a tax-free pension because he served 3 months or more during wartime is a concept that needs far more complete study than this discharge procedure would permit. For these and other reasons I must repeat that I am not ready to throw over the standard committee processes of this Congress in order to pass H.R. 3745.

Sincerely,

MORRIS K. UDALL.

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## Red Anti-Semitism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the organized schemes of anti-Semitism launched by the Moscow regime have been a matter of growing concern to students of imperial Russian communism. These programs are official in character, organized by the leaders in the Kremlin and carried out by their agents in various parts of the Russian empire. Little has been reported in the free press about these evil developments. The full facts on these pogroms should be put before the people of the free world for judgment because they constitute another Russian breach of human rights and another violation of the principles of the U.N. charter.

Roscoe Drummond has exposed this evil hand of imperial Russia in an article entitled "Red Anti-Semitism," which appeared in the Washington Post on August 4, 1962. Mr. Drummond points out that a major propaganda effort has been launched against the Jews of the Soviet Union with the objective of fomenting public hostility. All the state-controlled press are turned loose in this program of incitement against the Jews.

Several weeks ago, in an address delivered in connection with the Cleveland observance of Captive Nations Week, I made reference to these pogroms. At that time I made the point that these latest campaigns of anti-Semitism were among the signs of mounting unrest within the U.S.S.R. Khrushchev, like Hitler, needs a scapegoat for the profound failures of the system he presides over. Like the Russian czars of the past, Khrushchev and company are encouraging the oppressed peoples of their empire to exhaust their pent-up feelings against the Jews. But this scheme must fail. We can help it to fail through programs on the Voice of America beamed to the people in the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R., exposing Khrushchev and company for what they are—modern day Hitlers.

Under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD the article of Roscoe Drummond and commend it to the reading of all who believe in human rights:

RED ANTI-SEMITISM: PERSECUTIONS INCREASE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The mounting anti-Semitism, practiced officially by the Soviet Government against the 1½ million orthodox Jews in the U.S.S.R., is causing acute anxiety to Jewish leaders in many countries.

The Rabbinical Council of America has appealed to the religious leaders of all faiths "to arouse and mobilize the peoples and governments of the world in a vigorous campaign to reverse the anti-Semitic outbursts" in the Soviet Union.

There's good reason for this appeal. It rests upon the most detailed and documented evidence of Kremlin-sanctioned anti-Semitic acts carried out in the press and in the courts in many parts of the Soviet Union. These practices are directed against Jews individually, against the Jewish faith.

This is what has come out into the open in recent months:

A total of 17 Jewish citizens have been sentenced to death for alleged "economic offenses." Others have been sent to jail.

Six Jewish lay religious leaders in Leningrad and Moscow have been arrested.

The Jewish congregational chairmen in Minsk, Riga, Kiev, Vilna and Tashkent have been deposed by the Government.

Anti-Semitic articles are appearing in the major newspapers of the large provincial cities—often in the same version.

These articles, together with the unusually detailed reports of the alleged "economic crimes" and the unprecedented death sentences, disclose a major propaganda offensive directed against the Jews of the Soviet Union by the Soviet Government.

The articles, which are clearly aimed to foment public hostility, appear almost exclusively in the cities which have large Jewish populations numbering many hundreds of thousands.

The substance of the articles, many of which I have examined in translation, seek to confirm or bolster all the old anti-Jewish stereotypes; they attack the Jewish religion and Jewish religious practices and practitioners; they viciously try to portray Jews as naturally and almost unanimously "money

grubbers," "thieves," "deceivers," and either potentially or actually "subversives."

These featured "educational pieces" carry awesome and mystery-laden titles. One is called "Under the Dark Vaults of the Synagogue"; another "Under the Synagogue Vaults." A central theme is that "Jews are money worshipers." Rabbis and lay leaders are portrayed as exhorting money from the faithful for ostensibly religious purposes but really to feather their own nests. Drunkenness is suggested as a frequent incident in the synagogues and Jewish believers are described as devoted to drink, as tipsy guzzlers who "mix up their prayers while under the influence of alcohol." (Alcoholism is notably low among Jews throughout the world.)

The Russian Orthodox religion is allowed 1 church per 1,800 believers and 1 priest per 1,100 believers. Jews in Russia are allowed only 1 synagogue and 1 rabbi per 22,000 believers.

A Russian-language Bible was reprinted in 1957 for the Orthodox Church and for Baptists in 1958. The Koran was published for Moslems the same year. No Hebrew Bible has been permitted for Jews since 1917.

Thus another Soviet promise to its own people is torn and tattered—the promise of the Soviet Constitution that it would guarantee freedom of religious propaganda.

## Statement on Supreme Court Decision on Regents' Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and statement:

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER PITTSBURGH
*Pittsburgh, Pa., July 23, 1962.*

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
*House Office Building*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: Because of the widespread interest in the Supreme Court's decision on the regents' prayer, I believe it important to bring to your attention the position taken by the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh, of which Sylvan Libson is chairman. Mr. Libson made his statement on behalf of the council on June 26, 1962.

We believe this view represents the position taken by the vast majority of the Jews of this community, and we request that the statement be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. LILLIAN A. FRIEDBERG,
*Executive Director.*

JUNE 26, 1962.

From Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh 234 McKee Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Re statement on Supreme Court decision on Regents' Prayer.

We are gratified that the decision of the Supreme Court on school prayer is clear and unequivocal. Although we recognize that American democracy is founded in large part upon ethical and moral concepts derived from the great religions of mankind, we believe that religious liberty is an indispensable aspect of democratic freedom. We believe that the growth of democracy in the United States is in large measure a product of that unique principle in our basic law that puts religion outside the jurisdiction of the state. Any impairment of that principle threatens religious liberty and brings other basic freedoms into jeopardy. The maintenance and furtherance of religion are the responsibility of synagogue, church and home, and not of the public school system. The utilization, in any manner, of time, facilities, personnel or funds of the public school system for purposes of religious instruction should not be permitted.

The Supreme Court decision will oblige those who desire to promote religious understanding and practice to do so within the framework of their homes and churches. At the same time, it will relieve school administrators of the responsibility for carrying out practices which are unconstitutional and which do not contribute to better intergroup relations among the pupils of varied faiths in the schools.

The fact that the Supreme Court opinion is based on a case involving the Regents' prayer confirms our belief that the attempt to neutralize religious differences by attaining a so-called common core religion or nonsectarian prayer is futile and cannot be depended upon for the solution of this problem without violating the American principle of separation of church and state.

SYLVAN LIBSON,
*Chairman, Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh.*

## Uncle Sap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert the following editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune. It relates some facts, which I feel are most important, regarding the proposed purchase of United Nations bonds by this country. I am pleased to bring it to the attention of the House:

UNCLE SAP

State Department testimony in support of Mr. Kennedy's appeal for authority to buy $100 million in United Nations bonds to tide the organization over a financial crisis arising from its military intervention in the Congo discloses this:

1. Without waiting for any authorization to buy bonds, the U.S. Government has voluntarily given the U.N. $215 million from foreign aid appropriations to keep it out of bankruptcy.

2. Upon pocketing these American funds, the U.N. then voted remission of a major share of assessments against a large number of member nations for support of the Congo operation.

3. The effect of this was to use the American handout to subsidize numerous U.N. members which are either hostile to the United States or indifferent to its foreign policy goals.

4. The total kicked back to these nations at the expense of the American taxpayer was $11,400,800. Thus Castro's Communist Cuba was provided with a gift of $140,800 at American expense; Poland, a Soviet satellite, with $512,000; Communist Yugoslavia with $243,000, and neutralist India with $140,800.

5. Some of the beneficiaries were deadbeats which had failed to pay their assessments for maintaining the U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Congo and Gaza strip. Among them were Poland and India. Thus, in effect, they were rewarded for dodging their share of the burden.

This all but unbelievable story was confirmed in testimony before a panel of the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, who appeared in support of Mr. Kennedy's bond-buying scheme. Cleveland did not volunteer the information. It was dragged out of him.

Even Democratic supporters of the Kennedy proposal were stunned. "That's enough to kill the bill right now," said Representative HAYS, of Ohio. "How can we vote for this bill now?" asked Representative ZABLOCKI, of Wisconsin. A Republican, Representative ADAIR, of Indiana, observed that the State Department seemed content that the United States should pick up check for all comers.

Practices of this kind, which are on their face the height of irresponsibility, certainly should put Congress on guard not only against the bond-buying device but against the whole reckless dissipation of tax money in foreign aid, for it is from this source that the money paid out by U.N. in gratuities to its delinquents came.

Cleveland's bland admission that the Government cheerfully allows itself to be played for a patsy puts in a stranger light than ever the charade enacted last week before the World Court. The United States had pressed this tribunal for an advisory opinion whether U.N. special assessments for the Congo were as binding upon the membership as the contributions for ordinary expenses of the U.N. The Court decreed that they were.

This ruling was sought by the Kennedy administration as evidence that, with all members required to pay, the investment in bonds would be safe. But now we know that the U.N. has rewarded its deadbeats for not paying, so that the Court's opinion is reduced to mere window dressing. In addition, Cleveland kept referring to the bonds as "stopgap aid." What that means is that the State Department regards the bond purchase as the first drop in the bucket in a never-ending process to keep the U.N. going, which will require, not buckets, but barrels of American cash.

## Our Nation's Medical Societies Are Taking Positive Action To Insure Medical Care for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, over the past months America's doctors have been subjected to every kind of abusive attack by the proponents of medical aid and socialized medicine. From the President, from labor leaders, from all those who would change the finest medical system in the world for something untried or already proven failures in other countries, our doctors have been accused of selfishness, of putting greed ahead of their dedication to heal the sick. They have been maligned in the public press and have been vilified by

Cabinet members and in the Halls of Congress because they insisted upon their right to practice their noble profession as freemen without Federal control or Federal dictation.

I have always maintained that the doctors have done a poor job of public relations. In most part they have ignored the false charges against them and unfortunately too many people believed the charges. I think it is about time the doctors, and the friends of the doctors, and those who owe life and health to the doctors speak up in their defense. In the good old American sense of fairplay, we should set the record straight.

In all the hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, even though I, along with several of my colleagues, challenged witness after witness to bring in proof of one case where anyone in America had been denied medical aid because of inability to pay, no such proof was ever produced. On the other side of the coin there are thousands of people today who are alive and in good health because of the skill and the effort of some doctor whose services were freely given because the patient was unable to pay. As a small sample of what is being done by the medical profession in many areas of our country, I would like to include the following article from the July 1962 issue of the magazine Today's Health. In all fairness those who have been so critical of the medical profession should make every effort to publicize this story to offset the slander and the downright falsifications which these critics have engendered.

The article follows:

HOW MEDICAL CARE IS GUARANTEED TO ALL—ACROSS THE NATION, LOCAL MEDICAL SOCIETIES HAVE SET UP FORMAL AND INFORMAL PROGRAMS TO ASSURE ADEQUATE CARE FOR ALL, REGARDLESS OF ABILITY TO PAY

(By Howard Earle)

One afternoon last July a man walked into the offices of the St. Louis County Medical Society in Clayton, Mo., a St. Louis suburb. His voice and his manner denoted extreme nervousness as he explained he was in need of immediate medical attention but could not afford it.

"I know you have a plan to help those 65 and over," said the man. "I thought maybe there was some way you could help me even though I'm not half of 65."

Edgar J. Mothershead, executive secretary of the St. Louis County Medical Society, explained that the "past 65 plan" did not hold rigidly to age limitations.

"Our purpose," said Mothershead, "is to make certain that no one needing medical care goes without it because of inability to pay. I'm sure we can help you."

Last fall, a mother came to the offices of the Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Association in Oakland, Calif., across the bay from San Francisco. She asked to see Mrs. Muriel Hunter, a qualified social worker employed full time by the association.

"My husband and I moved to Berkeley recently," the woman explained. "I was told by the doctor who attended me when I had my last baby back East that I should have a hysterectomy, but I delayed it. Now I'm in a great deal of misery. Things haven't been going well with my husband and we just can't afford my operation now. The pastor at our church said you folks here could help me."

"No one has ever come to us needing medical attention and not received it—regardless of their ability to pay," answered Mrs. Hunter. "I'm sure you will be no exception."

The man in Clayton and the woman in Berkeley are not isolated cases of guaranteed medical care by the medical profession. Across the Nation, county and city medical societies have established formal and informal programs to assure adequate medical care for all regardless of their ability to pay. Some societies have inserted advertisements in local newspapers pointing out that no one need go without medical attention because of inability to pay. Some societies depend upon the Kerr-Mills law to supplement their own programs to care for those who need help. The American Medical Association, while supporting all the programs, also is cooperating with the Blue Shield plan to set up a special inexpensive medical and surgical care insurance program for those 65 and over.

The past-65 plan of the St. Louis County Medical Society is unique in that it establishes something similar to a discount card which a qualifying member presents to the physician upon each visit. The card specifies the percent of reduction from regular fees the patient is to receive. For instance, if the card calls for a 50-percent reduction, then a $4 office visit would cost the cardholder only $2. Similarly, a 75-percent reduction would reduce the cost of the visit to only $1. Discounts as high as 90 percent have been authorized by the society.

Establishing the discount rates to patients is the responsibility of Mrs. Robert Opal, who was trained by the St. Louis Credit Bureau to check credit records and determine, through interviews with the patients, their ability to pay. There is no embarrassment or uneasy moments. Actually, Mrs. Opal completes an interview in little more than half an hour, but many applicants feel so relaxed they turn the sessions into reminiscences of their histories.

"I had dreaded coming to see you," one elderly woman told Mrs. Opal as her interview neared an end. "But, my gracious, in the short time I've been here I feel like you are an old family friend."

Sometimes a patient is referred to the society by member doctors. The county society includes physicians in both the county and city of St. Louis. Some patients are referred by their pastors or friends, or have read about the work in their local newspaper. When referrals are made by those other than physicians, the applicant is given his choice of doctors. If he has none, Mrs. Opal refers him to a physician in his own neighborhood.

The plan was put into effect in the latter part of 1960 after Dr. Charles Miller headed a committee which originated the procedure. The program came as a result of a preponderance of the doctors in the society desiring to offer those past 65 low-cost medical care while preserving the right of the patient to choose his own doctor.

"We thought we would be swamped with requests for rate reduction cards," said Mothershed, "but surprisingly only 108 cards were issued during 1961, the plan's first full year of operation."

A card is issued for 12 months, after which the case is reviewed by Mrs. Opal. If the financial status of the patient has remained unchanged, the card is renewed for another year. If there has been a change, the percentage of reduction is lowered or increased as the change dictates. Sometimes the patient's situation is so improved that renewal of the card is not requested.

"We find our plan is proof that the medical profession does not knowingly permit anyone needing medical care to go without it," emphasized Mothershead. "More than 400 of the county's 450 physicians are members, along with most of the druggists, who fill prescriptions at reduced rates when cards are exhibited by the customers. The great majority of our cardholders are those past 65, so those in the medical profession not participating are mostly the obstetricians and pediatricians."

The St. Louis County Medical Society has received inquiries about its past-65 plan from more than 60 other medical societies throughout most of the States. Mothershead is not certain whether any other societies have inaugurated the St. Louis County plan but many, he says, have made rather exhaustive studies of the entire program.

It would be misleading to hail the past-65 plan as an entirely new idea. The society recognizes this fact, pointing out that "doctors, for years, have been charging undisclosed 'less than regular' fees when patients are unable to pay regular charges." In fact, a majority of physicians, especially specialists, set aside a certain amount of their time for charity practice. However, under the past-65 plan the patient will be told how much less he is paying than the physician's regular fee, and he carries a card enabling him to receive the same reduction from all physicians and druggists participating in the program.

Although they achieve the same objectives, there is little similarity between the St. Louis County Medical Society's past-65 plan and the Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Association's program.

"Nobody in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties goes without medical care because of inability to pay," declared William K. Scheuber, executive secretary of the association. "Our program is geared to guarantee adequate medical care to all, and it does."

In the case of the woman needing a hysterectomy, Mrs. Hunter interviewed her to determine if she would be eligible for surgery in the county hospital at county expense or could be cared for at State expense, or through some other welfare agency. The interview brought out that the woman and her husband were practically without funds and unable to pay even a portion of the cost of her needed surgery. Unfortunately, she did not qualify for any kind of welfare or other aid.

"We certainly will not let you go without the medical attention you need," Mrs. Hunter explained to the woman. "You go home and I will call you later. He prepared for immediate entry in the hospital when I call."

After the woman left, Mrs. Hunter contacted the county hospital and made arrangements for a bed, use of the operating room, and other facilities. Then she called one of the area's outstanding surgeons and cited the need. There were no questions. The surgeon gladly volunteered his services.

"She has never had the County Hospital or any physician turn her down," explained Scheuber. "We have 100-percent cooperation from everyone in the medical profession. We're proud of our record in bringing adequate medical care to all, without regard for their financial status."

The Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Association has an impressive record of keeping the patients' needs the foremost objective of the medical profession. In the early 1950's, the association set up a day-and-night telephone-answering service and an emergency doctor-dispatching program. Once these twin projects were in operation, the association advertised in the local newspaper that medical service would be provided around the clock and made available to anyone, regardless of ability to pay.

Many medical societies do not find it necessary to set up any special program to care for the indigent. "We have an understanding among our members whereby anyone unable to pay, or anyone without means of paying the regular fee, either is attended without charge or at a fee based upon ability to pay. But we just don't talk about our Good Samaritan work. We know there are some less fortunate than others, and our doctors take care of them without fanfare," reported

the chairman of a county medical society in downstate Illinois.

Last year, the American Medical Association submitted a questionnaire to local medical societies throughout the Nation, asking what type of medical programs the societies have to provide care for the needy. The survey revealed that as of the first of this year more than 70 percent of the societies had some specific program to assure medical services to all. Some were specified as formal and others as informal programs. Many didn't claim an actual program existed but pointed out that individual society members gave medical care to the indigent with no thought of remuneration.

"We have always handled this problem individually," wrote one society chairman. "It is handled quietly. We do not feel a need to do it otherwise. No individual in this county has been denied medical care because of his inability to pay."

Another society chairman wrote: "Every one of us sees patients every day for whom we know we will not receive pay. We don't talk about it—we just do it. That is and always will be part of the doctor's job."

Finally, this terse reply: "In small communities this is no problem, except to the doctor. We take care of people who are sick whether they can pay or not."

Results of the survey emphasized that doctors are reticent to publicize guarantees of service, fearing they will be flooded with requests from freeloaders. However, societies with formal programs report requests were about the same as expected, and more often less than expected.

The survey also disclosed that some doctors are unaware that some people feel they are denied care because of lack of funds. They show a blithe unconcern about the problem, feeling quite convinced nobody goes without care who needs it because they take care of the indigents among their own patients. Some societies have sought to rectify this veneer of indifference by advertisement in local newspapers.

In Ohio, the Jefferson County Medical Society inserted an advertisement in the Steubenville Herald-Star stating that the society knew of no one who had been denied needed medical care because the person could not afford it. An expression of opinion was asked. The advertisement brought two replies, neither asking for medical care and neither citing any cases where needed medical care had not been adequately provided.

In Illinois, the Belvidere Republican published a statement last March 8 by the Boone County Medical Society. The statement asserted, "If you have a misunderstanding with your doctor that you can't resolve in discussion with him, you can take the problem to our county medical grievance committee.

"Because this grievance committee exists, you never have to feel alone or helpless or without recourse in a dispute with your doctor. Our grievance committee is your grievance committee—set up to hear both sides of a doctor-patient dispute and to settle it as fairly as possible.

"If you have what you think is an honest complaint against a doctor, don't just tell your neighbors about it, tell our grievance committee. Contact either the president or secretary of the Boone County Medical Society by writing him. Give him as much detailed information as possible and give him your name and address."

The grievance committees of medical societies were originally established to investigate and rectify complaints of overcharges and any injustices which might be proved against society members. They also have been active in guaranteeing medical care to all regardless of ability to pay.

Clifton Reeder, M.D., chairman of the grievance committee of the Chicago Medical Society, says the committee learned of only one case last year of a physician refusing to care for a patient.

"The only case that came to our attention," said Dr. Reeder, "was that of a patient who collapsed in front of a clinic door and the doctor refused to care for him. It is safe to say that doctor will not pull such a stunt again."

Dr. Reeder pointed out that even with Chicago's increasing population, complaints are much fewer than they used to be. He interprets the decrease in complaints as a demonstration of the effectiveness of the grievance committee.

The Chicago Medical Society has one of the best emergency call services in the country. Its emergency medical service was established to guarantee the availability of doctors anytime, day or night. There are 275 doctors on the Chicago and Cook County emergency panel. They serviced more than 13,500 patients in 1960. Another 2,500 patients called but before the emergency doctor arrived the patients had contacted their own doctors who arrived to provide the needed medical care.

The emergency medical service telephone number is listed on the inside front cover of the Chicago telephone directory under "Doctor," along with the police and fire department numbers. The medical society maintains personnel at the answering service 24 hours a day. When an emergency call is received, the name and address of the caller is recorded and the doctor on the panel living nearest the caller is dispatched to the emergency. The emergency medical service eliminates complaints against the medical profession that "You can't get a doctor when you want one. It also is a part of the machinery across the country which guarantees medical care to anyone.

It is becoming customary throughout the country now for doctors to display plaques in their offices asking patients to discuss fees so the patient will know in advance what fees for various services will be. Both doctors and patients are urged by the American Medical Association to discuss cost where sizable amounts are involved. The program is another facet in the medical profession's guarantee that anyone neding medical attention will receive it, although the main purpose of fee discussion is to insure a continued happy relationship between patient and doctor when medical bills pile up. The contention is that by knowing costs in advance the patient is less likely to complain later.

The New York County Medical Society has no formal program for reduction of fees to the indigent such as developed in St. Louis County or Alameda-Contra Costa Counties. A spokesman for the New York County Society said that, aside from the large amount of work the individual doctor does for which he receives no fee, care of the indigent is well provided for under public assistance, the city hospitals, and through the Kerr-Mills law.

The Kerr-Mills bill became a law October 1, 1960, and as of January 1, 1962, 38 States had availed themselves of the advantages of the medical care measure. The bill provides Federal funds to those States which want to establish medical assistance to the aged (MAA) programs. The purpose is to provide care for those aged persons who are able to meet all normal living expenses except the cost of a major or prolonged illness.

The second part of the Kerr-Mills law provides matching funds to States desiring to improve the scope of medical benefits for aged persons who are on the State's old-age assistance (OAA) rolls. In addition to those States taking advantage of the measure, nine others had OAA medical programs which they considered adequate to provide necessary health care for those over 65. Two other States, before enactment of the Kerr-Mills legislation, had assistance programs at the local level which included medical care. And Alaska, while presently developing State medical care programs, had much of the medical care provided by the U.S. Public Health Service prior to statehood.

Shortly after the first of the year the President of the American Medical Association, Leonard W. Larson, M.D., pointed out that the quick acceptance of the Kerr-Mills legislation by the States contradicts statements by the measure's critics to the effect that the program can't and won't work.

Briefly summarized, the Kerr-Mills law authorizes the States, with Federal funds added to their own, to furnish medical care to all needy and near-needy citizens over 65. The medical care provided includes hospital and home nursing care, services of physicians and specialists, and practically everything else necessary for adequate health care.

Meanwhile, surgical and medical care benefits for persons over 65 are wrapped up in a new low-cost health insurance plan offered by Blue Shield. The plan was developed by Blue Shield and approved by the American Medical Association. It must be accepted by the State medical societies before becoming effective. However, State societies are approving the plan.

To qualify, a person must be over 65 with an annual income not exceeding $2,500. The combined yearly income of husband and wife must not be over $4,500. There is no limit on the net worth of each person. The premium is $3.20 a month per person and $6.10 monthly for husband and wife. There is a 180-day waiting period before the policy becomes effective.

The policy provides for: surgery, wherever performed, including multiple procedures and oral surgery; anesthesia service when ordered by and administered by a physician, other than the attending physician or his assistant; inhospital medical care covering physicians' visits to hospitalized patients for 70 days per admission—there must be a 90-day interval between discharge and readmission; medical care in nursing homes, covering physicians' visits in a licensed nursing home at one visit a week for 13 weeks following discharge from an acute hospital; radiation thereapy, including treatment for all conditions requiring use of X-ray, radium, and radioisotopes; X-ray examinations for hospitalized bed patients and for outpatients if needed in the initial diagnosis and treatment of injury; laboratory and pathological examinations for hospital patients, and prolonged detention, when constant and prolonged bedside attendance by a physician is necessary.

Commenting on the plan, U.S. Senator JOHN TOWER, Republican, of Texas, said: "I am delighted to know that the medical profession and hospital administrators have suggested a voluntary rather than a compulsory plan to attack whatever problem exists among our aged in meeting their medical care costs."

The plan constitutes another of the programs either sponsored directly or cosponsored by the medical profession to make certain that no one in need of medical care goes without it because of inability to pay medical costs.

## Surrender in Laos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the piecemeal surrender of the free world to the Communists is accelerating and the American public is fed an endless dosage of palliatives and propaganda in an at-

tempt to make the administration's vacillation more palatable. No more glaring example of the New Frontier's self-styled "accommodation" of communism could be found than the recent sacrifices of the pro-Western and strongly anti-Communist Royal Lao Government to a Red-dominatted coalition. The State Department officials who engineered this backdown are attempting to rationalize their actions by insisting that the new rulers of Laos are neither Communists nor pro-Communists, but simply are intent upon maintaining true neutrality in a troubled area.

If these administration spokesmen know better, they are guilty of gross misrepresentation of fact to the American people who must finance their calamitous official conduct. If they do not know better, their naivete certainly must be viewed as a quality equally as dangerous as Russian missiles. But that they obviously are either completely ignorant of the consequences of their actions or are knowingly weakening America's principles was borne out recently by the gentleman from Minnesota, the Honorable CLARK MACGREGOR, during a radio broadcast at station KEVE in Minneapolis. Under unanimous consent, I include the following statement, made by the gentleman at that time, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF HON. CLARK MACGREGOR, OF MINNESOTA

During the past year the American taxpayers have financed the construction of a Communist "Trojan Horse" in the heart of southeast Asia. The architect and chief builder of this "Trojan Horse" has been Averell Harriman, our Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

Why do I say this? I spent almost half an hour on Thursday night of this week talking with Prince Souvanna Phouma, the new Prime Minister of the supposedly neutralist government of Laos, and his Foreign Minister, pro-Communist Quinim Pholsena. They say "pro-Communist"; my observations from talking to him for 25 minutes through an interpreter—he speaks only French and Lao—is that he is a dedicated Communist. He is identified, this new foreign minister of Laos, as Prince Souphanouvong's right arm. Sophanouvong is the Communist leader in this troika government in Laos to which we have given our approval. You have heard me speak of Laos before. Many people say to me, "Can this be so important, really? Cuba is much more important to us—it's only 90 miles off our shores." Cuba is important, but Laos is an area of change; it's a time bomb for the future insofar as the policy of this country is concerned—insofar as our efforts are concerned to advance the cause of freedom throughout the world.

Why is this so? Well, let me go back a moment to remind you of what Tom Dooley said. Tom Dooley, you know, was the heroic young American doctor who sought to bring better medical opportunities—better medical practice—to Northern Laos. Tom Dooley, who unfortunately died of cancer a short while ago, used to refer to Laos as "the keystone of the arch of freedom in Southeast Asia—if Laos goes, all southeast Asia must necessarily follow."

From my experiences in World War II in the immediate area of northwestern Laos, I would refer to Laos as the hub of a wheel. From Laos there are critical supply lines that go to South Vietnam where we have American forces now; south into Cambodia which is a neutralist government which in my opinion has been moving closer to the Communist bloc; lines of supply directly to the southwest and to the west into Thailand where we have substantial American troops; and to the northwest into Burma where I served for about a year and a half in Burma itself in World War II. Laos is a small country—about the size of Utah; it is mountainous, to be sure, and it is heavily affected in its lower regions by the monsoon rains. It has 2½ to 3 million people. Perhaps it isn't, at first blush, so very important, but when you consider its strategic location in southeast Asia, its importance takes on new meaning. Also, from a psychological standpoint, if America can be shown by the Communists to be, in fact, a paper tiger in Laos, that impression will radiate in waves throughout southeast Asia and substantially damage our position. This comes down right to reality, to many American homes who have marines and soldier sons who are actually serving in South Vietnam and in Thailand at the present time.

Let's come up to date more recently and see what has happened in the last week. Early this week in Geneva, there was finally concluded a 14-power agreement, supposedly guaranteeing the neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos and its population. Prince Souvanna Phouma, the new Prime Minister of this Kingdom, arrived in Washington on Thursday of this week, late in the afternoon. Accompanying him from Geneva and from Vientiane, the capital of Laos, was a tough-minded little man called Quinim Pholsena. He is the man with whom I spent about 25 minutes in conversation last night through a State Department interpreter. I asked him several specific questions about the future of this country and about its prospects for being truly neutral. There are four questions that were of vital importance to me.

First, "Will there be a true integration into one military force of the three armies in Laos?" You know, over the past year and a half—a little more than that—there has been fighting in Laos between the military forces, first, which were pro-Western, fighting for the retention of the government that we recognized; secondly, there were the Communist forces under the leadership of Souphanouvong; third, there were the supposedly neutralist forces under the leadership of a paratroop captain, who is probably now a general or soon will be, named Kong Le. I wanted to know whether or not the reports were true that we had heard, that the pro-Communist and neutralist military forces in the last month or so have been moving into areas formerly held by the pro-Western military forces, but that the military forces of the elements favorable to freedom were not accorded a similar right. The foreign minister, when I put this direct question to him, explained that I must be talking about primarily the areas of northern Laos and he was from the southern part of the country and, therefore, couldn't speak about that, but he said that many of the newspaper reports were exaggerated and were designed to sell papers. His response reflected typical oriental evasiveness.

Secondly, I asked him about that part of the 14-power agreement providing for the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Laos during the course of the next 75 days—the next 2½ months. He answered very quickly that it was imperative for the future neutrality of Laos that the American forces be immediately withdrawn. I then asked him about the reported 10,000 Communist forces from North Vietnam and perhaps from Communist China that are in northern Laos. He started to shake his head back and forth and his answer was, "No, there are no such forces." Well, quite obviously, that is a flat falsehood, but perhaps he would say, since he was from southern Laos, he wasn't familiar with the situation of the Communist infiltration by foreign troops in northern Laos, but quite obviously all of the reports from our State Department and our newspapers cannot be wrong on that point.

Next I asked him about the Ho Chi Minh trail. I asked specifically about that jungle approach down the southeastern spine of Laos. This is now in country in which he said he was very familiar and in which he had been born and raised. I asked the pro-Communist Foreign Minister of Laos whether or not it wasn't true that the Viet Cong, the Communist troops from North Vietnam, were using this avenue through Laos to pour men and material into South Vietnam to subvert and overthrow the pro-Western government there to which this country is committed. He indicated—and this was, I thought, a significant answer—that the new government has many more pressing problems, more immediate problems, more vital problems than to be concerned about a remote area in southeastern Laos.

Then I asked him the question whose answer was already apparent to me—the item No. 4. "What are your intentions with respect to aid from foreign nations toward building a truly neutral Laos?" And this answer of his, I think, is most significant for those of us who are concerned about the future of freedom in southeast Asia. He said, "I hope you will understand that it is important for us to get aid from Peiping and Moscow, from Communist China and from Russia, before we balance that aid from America—before we look to America to get a balance of aid." Then he went on to say, "You see, it is important that throughout the world we show that we equally favor the best of communism and the best of the West."

This has not been a particularly pleasant report, but it indicates to me that what I heard Averell Harriman say about 2 or 2½ months ago is truly indicative of the way the Kennedy administration's foreign policy is to be carried out in southeast Asia. What Averell Harriman said was simply this—that it didn't matter too much to us, to America, one way or the other what happened to Laos. Unfortunately, that sort of attitude, to my judgment, will serve to bring down the cause of freedom and free peoples in southeast Asia.

More important than that, it will directly threaten the safety of the American forces now aiding the cause of freedom in Thailand and South Vietnam. I think that this attitude strengthens the hand of the Communists. It is significant, I believe, that Averell Harriman was making these statements 2½ months ago at the same time that there were delicate negotiations going on in Laos as to whether the Communists of the pro-Western elements would get the key positions in the new Government. One of those key positions, of course, in any government is the minister of foreign affairs, a position that is comparable to the position held by Secretary of State Dean Rusk in our Government. Last night at the Embassy of Laos, where I was privileged to be the only Member of the Congress who is not a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be included at the reception and conference, I was told by the State Department that we in this country had worked our hardest to prevent the post of foreign affairs of the new Government from falling into pro-Communist hands. We were unsuccessful. I see now how serious that failure will be in the future. To have as the Foreign Minister of the new Government of Laos a man such as Quinim Pholsena with whom I talked last night—an admitted pro-Communist, in my judgment a dedicated Communist—is disastrous.

Bear in mind, we have been for the past 2 months, giving almost $3 million a month to sustain this new, supposedly neutralist Government. You know for the 6-month period before that we were withholding that same $3 million a month from the pro-Western Government so as to force it into a coalition

under the leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma in order to destroy the pro-Western Government and to create this neutralist Government.

Now, one more thing about this agreement that has been signed in Geneva. It gives to a three-power, a three-state International Control Commission—Canada, Poland, India—the right to supervise the terms of the agreement. Well, the agreement itself doesn't sound too bad. If it were, in fact, lived up to by the Communist elements in Laos, there might be some hope for a truly neutral Laos, but here is one thing that hasn't been given much attention in the press. Each one of these 3 members, each one of the 3 member countries supervising this new 14-nation agreement to guarantee the neutrality of Laos has a veto, has a veto over any decisions that the other 2 want to make—to inspect any violations of the agreement, any violations of the truce, to see if the Communist forces are indeed leaving the country—the foreign military forces of North Vietnam and Communist China are, in fact, leaving the country. There is a veto, and you can be sure that the representative of Poland on that Control Commission will veto any decision made which will be at all inimicable to the interests of communism and to the takeover of Laos by Communists. It is a situation again where, as I said to the pro-Communist Foreign Minister of Laos, "Will the Communists treat this agreement with the same good faith and live up to it with the same good faith that we in this country will urge the elements pro-Western and favorable to us to take?" His answer, "We expect, naturally, all parties to approach the difficult problems of Laos and of enforcing this treaty in good faith." And I said to the Communist Foreign Minister of Laos, "But specifically, will you and the forces under Souphanouvong live up to this agreement in good faith as we intend to do?" His answer was a smile and a pretending on his part that he didn't fully understand my question.

In view of recent events and attitudes such as those expressed above, I have made these positive and constructive suggestions, publicly, in the last week:

First. Through our SEATO allies, we should station observers on the South Vietnam and Thailand sides of the Laos borders.

Second. An infiltration of Communist military forces through Laos should be promptly publicized, principally by Adlai Stevenson in the United Nations.

Third. If observation and publicity are insufficient to halt the flow of Communist men and material, we should convene an emergency meeting of our SEATO allies to consider the stationing of indigenous southeast Asian forces just beyond the Laotian borders so as to frustrate Communist efforts to infiltrate, subvert, and overthrow the remaining free government in that area.

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## A Reply to the Extreme Right

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the June 1962 issue of the bulletin of the Anti-Defamation League.

A rational plea for sane anticommunism, this article by Father Nevins is an important contribution to the thinking on this subject. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

REPLY TO THE EXTREME RIGHT—THERE ARE FAR BETTER WAYS OF FIGHTING COMMUNISM THAN NAME CALLING OR THE TEACHING OF SUSPICION AND HATE; WAYS AS OLD AS THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION, AS DYNAMIC AS DEMOCRACY

(By Albert J. Nevins)

(Father Nevins is president of the Catholic Press Association and editor of Maryknoll magazine. This article is adapted from his address at the How To Combat Communism Session, sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League, at the 89th annual forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare.)

There is a phenomenon peculiar to the Catholic Church which happens every spring. It is the ritual known as the communion breakfast. How many cups of coffee are drunk, how many rolls are broken, and how many eggs are consumed would make an interesting statistic. But more staggering would be the number of words poured forth at these gatherings. And I am willing to wager that if some record were kept of these communion breakfast talks, you would find 7 out of 10 of them are on the single subject of communism.

The Catholic's preoccupation with communism is nothing new. It has been going on as long as I can remember. We have been conditioned to it from our youth. It has taken on the nature of a 20th-century crusade—a crusade of words, but a crusade nonetheless. It has some very surprising results. All of us are against communism, but too many of us are for anyone who is opposed to communism; we adopt them 100 percent. It may not matter that some other of his ideas are wrong or dangerous; he is anti-Communist and that is enough to give him the stamp of approval. And reversely, if the Communist is for something, no matter how good, we are against it.

Please do not misunderstand me. Communism is an evil and godless system that seeks to subvert the world through propaganda; infiltration, subversion, false fronts, sabotage, terror, civil strife and treacherous diplomacy. As the late Justice Robert Jackson wrote in one of his Supreme Court opinions, "This Communist movement is a counterrevolution to the American Revolution, designed to undo the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and our Bill of Rights, and overturn our system of free, representative self-government."

The fact is that the Soviet Union challenges us in every field of endeavor. In 40 years, a once backward nation has become our leading competitor. The Soviets challenge us in education. They challenge us in missiles and in space. The Soviets challenge us in industrial superiority. They challenge us in economic competition for the underdeveloped areas of the world. They challenge us in fields of pure research. They challenge us in world propaganda.

There is an increasing tendency among the American people to think that we have arrived. We talk about new frontiers but we ride to them in air-conditioned autos to the sound of FM radio. Dr. Grayson Kirk remarked recently, "Somewhere along the line we have become fat, smug, and spiritually anemic. We interpret the 'pursuit of happiness' to mean the pursuit of leisure. * * * Other people before us have been wrecked by indolence, self-seeking and a decay in national ideals."

One of the disturbing indications of this indolence has been the violent reaction of increasing numbers of our young people who are adopting extremely conservative positions. This anomaly plays havoc with many fixed ideas.

Conservatism was formerly the prerogative of age, associated with the time when one began to carry an umbrella and wear arch supports. It was a state of mind induced by satisfaction with one's life and opposed to any change in the modus vivendi. Youth on the other hand was the age for tilting lances at windmills. It was the area in life set aside for altruism—the time of promise, the moment for joy. There was a positive dedication to youth, perhaps not always mature, not always sensible, but ever challenging and inspiring.

Today we find youth retreating from the world of reality, withdrawing from any personal commitment with the problems of their times. There is an attempt to turn the clock back, to resurrect principles no longer valid in a nuclear world. How is this denial of youth's essential being to be explained? What forces create this metamorphosis? The answer, I think, lies in the world in which today's youth finds itself.

Our youth today is dwelling in what is the most hypocritical society of history. We profess equality and practice segregation. We proclaim our belief in good government but are apathetic to graft and corruption. We ban bingo and proscribe bookies but ignore extensive gambling controlled by racketeers or legalized at the track. College basketball fixes, scales that give short weight, disk jockey payola, fixed quiz programs, substitute hired brains to write one's thesis, mink coats and shakedowns, double standards, political platitudes that are meaningless—these and many, many more are enough to cause any integral idealist to want to turn away from the world in which he finds himself.

Add to this the intercontinental ballistic missile aimed at our shores, international betrayals and broken promises, brush-fire wars starting anywhere at the whim of the Communists, enslaved peoples, cosmonauts piloting sputniks over our heads, the insidious and never really challenged world perversions of the Reds, the infiltration of materialism and sublimated atheism into the bloodstream of the West, the hesitation and compromise of free nations when faced with a basic international moral problem—consider these and you will know why youth searches for principles of abiding value. Youth has not lost its idealism. It merely wishes to reject and withdraw from its present environment.

Today's youth looks for a vigorous answer to the problems of its times. Weary of evasions, compromises, words without meaning, the search of youth is a search for candor. Youth looks for leaders who will face up to the modern world without qualms, free of pressure, honestly. Youth is tired of talk, weary of platitudes, disgusted by the mess made by its elders. Its Holy Grail is that which is brave, bold, new. It searches for the voice of truth crying out in a 20th-century atomic wilderness.

And, in its inexperience, what does it find? Reeds shaken by the wind. Retailers of phrases, and dealers in remnants of remnants. Mossbacks who do not realize that a century ago the Civil War decided once and for all time the issue of States rights, and that World War II ended any possibility of American isolation.

This insecurity of youth in an even more insecure world causes a double flip that lands it in the ring of conservatism. Here is the new philosophy of idealism, the intellectual purification, the moral purge. Here is the reaction to the liberalism of the past. "Let us conserve the little good that is left to us," says the youthful conservative. "Let us return to those principles that made America great. Free enterprise. Climb high, climb

far. Carry a big stick. The best governed is the least governed. America first, last, and always. Business is business. Safe for democracy. Let the chips fall where they may."

Modern conservatism is a series of slogans—some without meaning, most negative. It is the adoption of a philosophy without any basic ideology, for if one follows the conservative arguments, it is quickly apparent that it is inconsistent, varying from issue to issue. Modern conservatism is color blind—everything is black and white, with no in-between shades; one is either for or against something wholeheartedly, there is no such thing as neutrality or distinctions; there are only extremes—left and right, liberal and conservative, Communist, anti-Communist.

What is particularly frightening in the new conservatism is that sections of it breed hate for fellow humans and contempt for authority. Accuse the Catholic liberal of what you will but I for one can find no instance where a Catholic liberal has contravened ecclesiastical authority. But one can cite many instances where Catholic conservatives have defied their bishops, ranging from New Orleans to Lafayette to Pittsburgh. I challenge Catholic conservatives to justify their positions from Catholic theology and social teachings as expounded by papal encyclicals. I recall an instance where a reader of a magazine I edit objected to an editorial I wrote. I answered her with Catholic teaching. She replied that I was wrong. I then spent many hours getting quotations from papal teaching on the subject. But the correspondence came to an end when she replied that if the Holy Father had said that he also was wrong.

The extreme right refuses to admit the social doctrine of the church. When "Mater et Magistra" (Christianity and Social Progress) was published last year, the opinion of the radical right was epitomized by the National Review in its very clever headline, "Mater, Si. Magistra, No." When Father John Cronin of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference published an objective study called "Communism: Threat to Freedom," he was vigorously attacked. Why? Because he contradicted the first principle of the extreme right which declares: "The danger is almost entirely internal, from Communist influence right in our midst and treason right in our Government." Father Cronin had the temerity to suggest that the strong reaction sweeping our country against domestic communism should be turned toward the far greater danger of Communist subversion in Asia, Africa and Latin America. To the conservative extreme this is heresy.

With conservatives of this type reasonable discussion becomes impossible. They will not move from fixed positions. Their leaders carry more weight than the Pope. Their publications are more authoritative than the New Testament. When Dwight D. Eisenhower is labeled a Communist, they offer no dissent. When the Foreign Policy Association is called a Communist front, the statement becomes infallible, to be accepted without question. This lunacy of the extreme right is just as dangerous to freedom as the subversion of the extreme left.

We are not going to overcome evil with evil, but only with good. Lies, distortions, suspicions passed off as fact, slanders—this is the character of a great deal of conservative literature. No one is going to convince me that hate and the division of the American people are the answers to today's problems. There can be no respect in any mind for a leading conservative magazine that prints an article ridiculing the Christian virtue of love or an article in praise of Machiavelli. There can be no respect for another magazine which brands prominent Americans who have contributed much to this country as "Communists." These mouthpieces for the conservative position are founded on negative principles, they are opposed to change on principle, they are intolerant of the principles of others and ready to damn by ridicule anyone who fails to agree with them. We will not defeat communism by fighting among ourselves.

The conservative extreme has its platform—a platform which makes anything of a social nature suspect as communistic. Articles of this platform include these, among others: Repeal the income tax; get out of the United Nations; withdraw from NATO; end foreign aid; fight fluoridation of water; decentralize the National Government; and stop Government interference with segregation.

It was Gerard Sherry, managing editor of the Central California Register, who observed that, "Fundamentally the conservative is sensitive to dangers, and the liberal is sensitive to opportunities." The conservative constructs defenses to maintain his position and he pushes the barricades out as far as possible. He tends to make absolutes out of relatives and to blur the distinctions between essentials and accidentals.

If we are going to succeed in our struggle against communism, we must reject all labels. We must maintain our independence to decide each issue on its own merits. We must know what we believe and the principles by which we are to live.

This is what I believe—I believe in the natural rights of man; I believe in the quality of men before God; I believe in human brotherhood; I believe in the eminent dignity of the human person, and the right of every man to lead his life in dignity; I believe in the Judeo-Christian concept of private property; I believe in the moral obligation to love one's country; I believe in the primacy of the common good; I believe in the liberty of men, opposed to totalitarianism, I believe in justice as a necessary basis for international life; I believe that charity is the keystone of life.

On the practical point of our defense against communism, a distinction must be made between external and internal subversion. We already have the organizations necessary to handle internal subversion—the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, the FBI. We do not need the witch-hunting committees that have appeared in the last few years. To meet the threat of external subversion, we must educate every American to understand the Communist ideology; we must maintain the military strength of our country and see to it that our allies remain strong, too. Foreign aid is not Communist doctrine—it is sound American policy.

We must see communism for what it is—an evil and godless system that seeks to subvert the world through propaganda, infiltration, subversion, false fronts, sabotage, terror, civil strife, and treacherous diplomacy. But while we see it for what it is we must not apply its label to things and people indiscriminately.

Our people must know why they should be opposed to communism, not how to falsely brand prominent Americans who have contributed much to this country as Communists. Our people must grasp the ideological reasons why they must be opposed to communism, that fundamentally the dichotomy between Marxism and our democracy involves the Communist's basic opposition to God and that the annihilation of the fundamental Judeo-Christian traditions which founded our country.

Each of us must seek to awaken the conscience of America. Our community is our world. Start there—not by dividing and hating your neighbors, but by loving them. It is only love that has the power to recreate.

We will love our neighbors and those far away. We will love our friends and we will love our enemies. We will love Catholics, Jews, Protestants, the indifferent, Moslems, pagans, atheists. We will love all social classes, but especially those more in need of assistance. We will love those who scoff at us, those who despise us, those who persecute us. We will love those who deserve to be loved and those who do not deserve it. We will love as we try to understand, to sympathize, to esteem, to serve.

We will love with the fullness of God.

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## Moses Meets the Press Head On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, how long have we waited, anesthetized by trivia, submerged in rhetorical molasses, for one man to hoist the banner once proudly displayed by the assemblage of great American humorists? Where is a Woolcott from Weehawken, a Twain from Tuxedo Park, a Lewis from Larchmont, a Mencken from Manhasset, a Benchley from Valhalla? What quixotic knight comes in our time to thrust his lance through the thick mist of weighty, cliche-laden prose?

At last one has appeared. His shafts are dipped in the curare of insight and irony. Gratefully, we are spared the pomp of lofty indignation.

Who is this metropolitan mountebank? None other that Robert Moses, a colossus rising out of the city planning commission, who now suddenly bestrides the small world of intelligent humor and truthful criticism.

Here is a splendid article which I commend to my colleagues and those members of the fourth estate with a taste for humor.

MOSES MEETS THE PRESS HEAD ON

(By Robert Moses)

(Drawing upon his years of experience, one of our town's best known public servants describes the oft-tangled relations of his colleagues and their journalistic chroniclers.)

Every now and then, on a dead day in the news, I am asked to comment about the press and government—that is, on the relations of the happy, articulate reporter to the hapless, smarting, tongue-tied bureaucrat. I could write with comparative immunity about parks, St. Lawrence and Niagara power, conservation, preservaton of the shore front, arterial construction or the World's Fair of 1964–65 and duck controversy, but regardless of consequences, I shall proceed with this dangerous topic in the hope that the press may be disarmed by frankness and encouraged to enlarge the not inconsiderable area of common ground.

The newspapers which dish it out every day should have the stomach to take it. I do not hand reporters a copy of Milton's "Areopagitica" and tell them to be guided by it and, by the same token, expect them to give me Dale Carnegie's "How To Win Friends and Influence People" with the expectation that I might be a much nicer character if I patterned my life on it. I have been asked for frankness. Here it is. It comes from one who does not claim to have been angel of

grace, who attributes what little he has been able to accomplish to stubbornness rather than innate nobility, and has never found it worth his while to lie.

At the very start I shall make an admission against interest. The journalist is by definition the creature of a day. He can't be an overnight expert on everything. He has to meet the news more than halfway and indeed, if we are to accept the proud boast of the profession, to anticipate it. By some strange instinct, as mysterious and imperious as the flight of birds and the leap of fishes upstream, he has to be on hand where and when it happens.

There is still another consideration. The commuters seek more than coverage of the news with their breakfast. There are legions who can't touch their scrambled eggs until they have absorbed the oracular Grapenuts of Walter Lippmann, and won't take a swallow of coffee until they have looked at the Dick Tracy strip for B.O. Plenty and Vitamin Flintheart, so long and unaccountably absent (can they, God forbid, be dead like Breathless Mahoney?), and for Sparkle Plenty, by now perhaps married and herself a mother, or skimmed through the columns for the latest antics of that Serpent of Old Nile, Elizabeth Taylor. The notion that we are essentially a nation of serious readers is one of the delightful and harmless fantasies of our civilization.

I make no extravagant charges or claims. I simply challenge the theory that a currently informed world, fed the raw, uncooked products of journalism every hour, will necessarily be a highly intelligent and friendly one, and I question equally the assumption of the little grubbing insects of bureaucracy that their daily labors, endlessly multiplied, will produce giant coral reefs to which nameless birds will bring verdure and civilization.

No newspaper, not even the justly famous New York Times, has the resources in men and facilities to employ genuine experts on every conceivable subject to convert spot news into the language and reliability of an encyclopedia. Those of us who demand space and objectivity for what we conceive to be important must realize that we are in competition with all the multifarious doings of mankind, that space is limited, that objectivity is for philosophers and that all that is fit to print is not necessarily news.

The recent practice of government to draw on capitol, city hall, and political reporters for secretaries to elected and other officials, and to incorporate them as public-relations counselors in the permanent bureaucracy, is supposed to protect the splayfooted honorables, smooth the rough road of the commissar, and bridge the yawning gap between government and the press. The trouble with this device is that the reporter alumnus has much less influence at Old Siwash than he is supposed to have. Access by back doors is barred because the press simply changes the locks, and the old, blind, private telephone number doesn't answer because the editor got himself a new one.

One thing is sure—that the graduates of journalism who have become the press representatives of bureaucracy have done little to counteract the justified disgust of reporters and city editors with the stream of turgid current releases, graceless handouts, and dull, statistical, and unreasonable reports of the average government agency. The cynicism and ribald amusement of the old press pros over official pronouncements account in considerable measure for the present low estate of those described as feeding at the public trough.

The power of the press, radio, and television to make or break any man in public life sufficiently prominent to be featured is awesome and often grossly unfair from the point of view of impartial presentation and the weighing of the ultimate verities. The press, for the ostensible purpose of keeping it honest, has done much to make public employment dangerous and unattractive. Certainly, decent, timid officials have been too often subject to the crushing weight of gratuitous derision and undeserved public obloquy. Detraction becomes a habit, and no one has yet found a cure for the common scold.

Many a good official has been frightened or flattened by idle gossip, random criticism or attack, lost to initiative and reduced to automation and contemplation of retirement. He lifts his eyes to the hills and there is no answering light. Aaron and Hur do not hold up his arms so that his side may gain the victory. He is no longer capable of indignation. He gives up.

Many a decent deputy has become paralyzed by a dart from a blowgun thoughtfully dipped in curare. After casting a roving, romantic eye on Hawaii, Papeete, the Windward Islands, Minorca and other distant tropical islands in the sun, he settles for a bungalow near a municipal fishing pier on the west coast of Florida where he rocks on the porch, exchanges gossip, reads a local paper or home weekly, keeps the radio going, looks at television in the nearest tavern, pities the poor devils up North and placidly awaits what the municipal departments of sanitation call final disposal.

Reporters who turn in factual and therefore unexciting stories are often sent back to get an "angle." If this is not readily found, they invent one. An eye-catching headline is added. Pretty soon the anthill has become a mountain. Then they look around for some reluctant Mahomet and demand that he stop being so damn arrogant and come to it.

There is a type, fortunately, rare, which is indifferent to the ordinary decencies and proprieties, skilled in eavesdropping, glued to keyholes, willing to embarrass families and friends, a species to whom nothing is sacred. Such reporters, if they could, would wire and violate the confessional. The photographer who cleverly strapped a camera to his leg and snapped Ruth Snyder in her death convulsion got a prize for it, persumably for vindicating the freedom of the press.

Engineering difficulties did not inhibit the building of the Panama Canal. It was stymied by mosquitoes and the yellow fever they carried with them. The battle for the Canal was won in a side engagement by a great sanitarian, Colonel Gorgas, who analyzed, trenched and oiled out the mosquitoes. I sometimes wish we had a few Gorgases to keep yellow journalists off our necks so that we would be free to do our work.

Admittedly, there are plenty of cases of insolence, incompetence, abracadabra, cowardice, equivocation and sheer ignorance in public office. Yet too much of the press builds up and tears down the same people—with an appalling indifference to both logic and human considerations. How often we have witnessed some sappy little fellow played up as a giant on the printed page and over the air, and then dropped like a hot cake. The poor fellow, beefed up by indigestible publicity, becomes an addict dependent on a drug he can no longer get.

Perceptive journalists sense that the public has tired of hearing Aristides called "The Just," and therefore yell for his ostracism. It may be that the crafty Greeks of old anticipated the Greek shipping magnates of today and aimed at tourism rather than exile. To keep public figures sane, balanced, and modest, there is something to be said for frequent vacations, cruises, and disappearances into foreign parts as distinguished from exile.

There is a notable tendency in the press to cut officials to one size in a sort of bed of Procrustes, to put on spiked shoes and cleats and to jump on victims when they are down, like the mob at the fights shouting with glee when an aging champion is beaten up and dethroned. There is also a potent minority of jackals and vultures who hang around the outskirts and hover over trouble spots to discover a wound or blood and then close in or swoop down for the kill. You may not altogether relish such metaphors, but remember that they were old when the Old Testament was written: "For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together."

I speak feelingly, not for myself, but for sensitive second-string officials who lack rhinoceros hides, shrivel and get ulcers and coronaries when they feel the full impact of a slanted story, a snotty editorial, a caricature cartoon and selected poison-pen letters, all in one issue of a sensational newspaper. Any morning, the victim may discover a candid-camera thug hiding in the bushes to snap a quick picture of the vaguely accused kissing his family goodby, leaving his home probably for the last time, like John Brown of Osawatomie on the way to the gallows. Or he may be pictured as riding insolently in a big, 7-passenger, maroon chauffeur-driven limousine owned by the lame and threadbare taxpayers. If the truth finally comes out, it is in small type next to the stockyard quotations. There are, to be sure, laws of libel, but cynical counsel will tell you that invoking them is exactly like throwing mud into a fan.

How many good men have been frightened out of or away from public office by warnings of conflict of interests so bizarre that no one with experience, investments, friends and the remotest relations with any corporation doing business with the Government is safe from suspicion, smear and innuendo? Yes, there are heels in Government, high and low. You must weigh the insolence of office against the proud man's contumely.

You may say that the beleaguered bureaucrat should hear the applause of his conscience, not the jeers of the crowd. But how many have that much self-confidence? And what of the telephone calls at midnight from reporters who have wangled a private number and demand to know if the accused is an ape or an angel? And what of the children whose classmates have read that Pop is in contempt of the Senate or House of Representatives and vaguely associate him with Benedict Arnold and John Wilkes Booth? No wonder the bureaucrat decides he should have been a savings-bank president or a walking delegate for Pretzel Varnishers Union No. 2.

Cleverly and dramatically reflecting public opinion is one thing. Planting suspicion, poisoning minds, rousing the mob spirit, quoting out of context—these are cute tricks far removed from straight honest reporting. The captious critic, masquerading as an honest observer, as Bernard Shaw once said, leaves no turn unstoned. Critics build nothing. The only excuse for a critic is to toughen the hides of his victims. The private, as well as the corporate, image is easily distorted. It took the genius of an Ivy Lee to turn the accepted caricature of the original John D. Rockefeller as "Oily John" into an appealing figure of benevolence and philanthropy.

Cultivation of the press has become one of the major courses in the teaching of the black art of public relations. It is an art which reaches beyond contacts, personal acquaintances, convention, club and bistro friendships, and the Tinker-to-Evers-to-Chance double plays, right into the countingrooms where advertising reigns and 15 percent is the standard rate of interest.

I would not insinuate that advertising always, or even usually, controls news. It has, however, been known to influence it. On the whole, the independence of news and editorials has been a bright page in journalism but it is an independence which every hon-

est publisher will admit needs constant watching. The Bible says that "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." It is an adage which should be a constant warning.

Success in elective office is often dependent on skill in promising anything and everything to sensitive and easily influenced groups. The arithmetic of demagoguery is simple indeed: the sum of minorities is a majority in the election. It is not unnatural that the metropolitan press should seek the good will of the same minorities which add up to a big circulation, and therefore back the demogogs. The candidate who scrupulously avoids guady promises and insincere gestures and is unwilling to descend into gutter politics is a pretty lonesome character, not likely to be appreciated until he is retired, becomes an elder statesman or is dead. In this process both politicians and the press lose public respect, and pretty soon the electorate believes neither of them.

Let me turn now to what I believe to be one of the most reprehensible practices of public officials in their handouts and releases the great organs of communication—namely, ambitious pronouncements. In every department of government you can hear the syncopated music of duplicating machines ceaselessly grinding out official releases advertising "Be Kind to Cats Week," serums, antibiotics, aphrodisiacs, pharmaceuticals, lotions, specifics and surefire remedies to cure all the ills of mankind, recipes for rebuilding cities, committees to have, restore and enhance this and that, quaint devices to lift tabernacles in wildernesses, to whisk travelers back and forth and here and there by magic carpets, to control climate, seed clouds, stop storms, cultivate arts and amenities and make two blades grow where one grew before. Add the felicitous remarks of political shills and barkers on the daises at lunches and dinners and you have all the makings of what the press bluntly characterizes as bull.

When you come to think of it, the main objective of all this boilerplate, wadding and propaganda is to have everything run from Washington, the State capitol, the county seat or city hall—or by some scheme of super-duper regional government. I wish I knew how far beyond the framework of living the eager bureaucrats should be allowed to go. The Good Samaritan, having helped and given first aid to the man from Jerusalem and put him up at an inn, did not adopt him, and become responsible for the remainder of his life. And he surely did not ask the government to do so. Because the Communists overwhelm their millions with massive all-embracing plans, we need not necessarily imitate them.

Maybe liberty lies in the discovery of the precise limits where paternalism ends and tyranny begins. Maybe freedom is the right to make mistakes with impunity provided others are not injured in the process. Maybe home rule is better than all-embracing central government. The exiled geniuses who were driven out of central Europe by the dictators carried with them to democracy the secrets of ultimate victory. There may be a subtle lesson in this for those who believe that everything can be regimented.

The journalists have their role, so have we. At best, both are honorable. Let us concede that nobody can suppress the press and that quite a few public officials are equally irrepressible. We cannot live without each other and must learn to get along.

If I were to ask of newsmen any special favor or dispensation for my side, it would be to give a break to those in public office who try to get things done in their time with the instruments at hand, with the skill and courage they can muster, with perhaps an occasional vista of a better world, and, if possible, with a touch of humor. Some of us like to think that we, like Scaramouche, were born with the gift of laughter and a sense that the world is mad.

Go easy on those who have not yet succumbed to security and the pressure to please everybody. I know what you are thinking—that my next effort will be a recitation of "Invictus" with violin music. Well, it may be sophomoric, but I proclaim that there are those who under the bludgeonings of chance may not be masters of their fate but try at least to be captains of their souls.

The press finds it easiest to lump together and label all irritating public officials as controversial, uncooperative, pugnacious, and generally obnoxious, without any nice distinctions and qualifications and regardless of motivation and human chemistry. This makes for simplicity. The man is either a good guy or a bastard. As a matter of fact, there is quite a gap between a battler and a fanatic. The former goes after immediate objectives in which he honestly believes. The latter is an intolerant lout who confuses his cruelties with divine will.

The battler has a short memory. He believes in a periodic audit of fights, striking a balance, wiping the slate clean, canceling old debts and looking ahead to better times. The difficulty, of course, is to fix the exact date of the audit. He can't stop right in the middle of a fight.

If you observe the battler smiling privately, you will know he is laughing at himself. The fanatic never laughs. The warrior is happy much of the time. The fanatic is in a chronic state of gloom and rage, wrath, and tears.

I am duly grateful for the decency and forbearance of the press in the past, no doubt in the face of considerable provocation, and for the sportsmanship of the Times in giving me space with no Marquis of Queensberry rules and no holds barred. In the lodge, off the record, sub the rose, I've led a most interesting life, to which the press has contributed, usually most generously and sometime unintentionally. At best, the press keeps us of the Government on our toes and makes it possible for little officials to repay some of the immense debt we owe to our wonderful country for the opportunity to be forthright and independent.

## Educational Milestone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Morning Call, Paterson, N.J., and the Washington Post have editorially commented on the anniversary of the Morrill Act that was signed into law on July 2, 1862, by President Abraham Lincoln.

The Morrill Act was one of the most progressive pieces of legislation in its day. It is because of this act and the tenacity and vision of Senator Justin Smith Morrill, of Vermont, that 68 flourishing colleges and universities receive substantial Federal support, among them Rutgers, Cornell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, California, Wisconsin, the University of Maryland, and Virginia State College. One in every five college students attends an institution that gratefully remembers Senator Morrill.

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of this great act, it is well for us to remember that we are honoring a man whose parents could not afford to send to college; that we are honoring a man for his long fight to sell Federal land in order to support "people's colleges" for "those at the bottom of the ladder who want to climb up." Few people today dispute the wisdom of this act of Federal aid to education. Yet, the Call said:

All Justin Morrill had to go on was unsubstantiated foresight that the Nation in the future would require the services of a trained citizenry to aid in its role as world leader—a destiny which was not at all clear in 1862.

In 1962 we also have men of vision, men like our President who has asked for further Federal support to aid in our great educational effort in the years ahead. The Post commented that Morrill's bill of vision "has done more for higher education in America than any other single act of government."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the Call's June 29 editorial, "Educational Milestone," and the Post's July 3 editorial, "The Land's Great Dream."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Paterson (N.J.) Morning Call, June 29, 1962]

EDUCATIONAL MILESTONE

President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act into law July 2, 1862, and in the century that has since elapsed millions of Americans have been provided an education which otherwise might have been denied them. The Land Grant Act of 1862 was an offer to each State of 30,000 acres of Federal land or land scrip for each Member of Congress.

This land was then sold to provide a permanent endownment for one or more State colleges. This provision of a subsidiary source of income, a bold and imaginative idea for its time, has enabled countless Americans to obtain a good education for one-third its cost.

Justin S. Morrill, sponsor of the Land Grant Act, spent 44 years in Congress, but none of his achievements has served his name better than the 68 land-grant colleges now located in every section of the country. More than 700,000 students annually attend these institutions. This is one of every five college students.

Endowments have become a traditional source of funds for almost every college today, including private schools. The rising cost of education, has made the search for income other than tuition mandatory. Even with multi-million-dollar endowments, many of the larger schools today are operating in deficits. They are attempting to meet the burden of mushrooming building and faculty costs by increasing endowment funds through public subscription and alumni donation.

In 1862, colleges were rare, small, and inexpensive. The proposal to promote higher education by multiplying the number of institutions and underwriting part of the students' costs must have seemed a strange move to many citizens in the Civil War period. Grammar school educations were not common in those days, and the predominantly agricultural economy found little time for prolonged schooling.

It is possible to look back upon the Land Grant Act with the hindsight that State colleges have made a substantial contribution to the American high standard of living. All Justin Morrill had to go on was unsub-

stantiated foresight that the Nation in the future would require the services of a trained citizenry to aid in its role as world leader—a destiny which was not at all clear in 1862.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 3, 1962]

THE LAND-GRANT DREAM

Just 100 years ago yesterday, President Lincoln signed the bill that has done more for higher education in America than any other single act of Government. The Land-Grant Act of 1862 was based on a simple yet inspired idea advanced by a blacksmith's son, Senator Justin Smith Morrill, of Vermont. Under its terms, 30,000 acres were provided to each Senator and Representative; the land was to be sold and the money invested in at least one college in each State. From this seed grew 68 schools, including the great State universities that are an ornament to American learning.

The land-grant campuses that stretch from Puerto Rico to Hawaii are the best monument to Senator Morrill, who devoted 33 years to fostering his vision. Vetoed by President Buchanan as a dangerous novelty, the bill was warmly approved by Lincoln, who saw its virtue as an emancipating force. The land-grant colleges are more than academies of enlightenment; they are also practical instruments as Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN remarked in a memorial address, "designed to teach people how to do for themselves."

Hence it is wholly fitting that the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges has appointed a special committee to work with the Alliance for Progress. The idea that our State agricultural schools could play a unique role in the Alliance was suggested last February by an editorial in this newspaper. Now the association has agreed to play "an expanded role" in the Alliance with special emphasis on aiding rural development programs in Latin America. This, too, is a seed that can yield bountiful fruit; the land-grant colleges are to be congratulated both on their anniversary and on this first step into a challenging frontier.

## Little People to Little People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago Peter Rodino III, the 10-year-old son of the gentleman from New Jersey, Congressman PETER RODINO, JR., organized with the help of his father the little-people-to-little-people program through which youths of America correspond with the children of the world and especially with those behind the Iron Curtain. This program will undoubtedly increase understanding between nations thereby enhancing the chances for ultimate peace.

Recently the Lido Civic Club selected Pete Rodino to receive the Boy-of-the-Year Award. The Lido Civic Club is comprised of leading Americans of Italian ancestry residing in Washington, D.C. In addition to its civic and charitable activities, this organization seeks to honor persons who have distinguished themselves in the fields of government, sports, and so forth. Senator JOHN O. Pastore and the outstanding American jockey, Eddie Arcaro, have been recipients of the club's awards. The receive such an award is a true honor and few are more deserving of such an honor than Peter Rodino III.

I would like to insert the following letter from the club's president, Michael Vitale, to Peter, for I feel that it gives an accurate account of Peter's meritorious character of which his father and all can be genuinely proud:

JULY 30, 1962.

Mr. PETER W. RODINO III,
*Newark, N.J.*

DEAR PETER: We wish to thank you for accepting, in the name of the little people, an award commending you for the-little-people-to-little-people program.

It is regretted, however, that you feel unable to appear and accept the citation at an offical gathering. Your withdrawal from any personal glory so as to not ever shadow the idea conceived by you again demonstrates your sincerity to accomplish the objective of such a program—peace. We admire the humility shown by you in avoiding personal publicity.

We understand and appreciate your feeling in this matter; however, at a later date we would like to present to your father, Congressman PETER W. RODINO, JR., a plaque recognizing your efforts in this program. The inscription on the plaque reads as follows:

"LIDO CIVIC CLUB BOY-OF-THE-YEAR AWARD TO PETER W. RODINO III

"In recognition of his efforts to serve his country and humanity through his little-people-to-little-people program—a program conceived by him to achieve a lasting peace by promoting better understanding and friendship among the children of the world."

We trust that our interest in your commendable undertaking will serve as an inspiration to you and your friends, and we offer the services of our club and membership to assist you in any manner you feel would help to promote the little-people-to-little-people program. If you are ever in Washington, we would feel honored to have you visit us.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL J. VITALE.

## Undermining the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK KOWALSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a major portion of an article that appears in the summer number of Prevent World War III:

UNDERMINING THE U.N.

Edmund Burke, the distinguished English parliamentarian, once remarked: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." Implicit in this wise observation is the fact that one cannot escape responsibilities by assuming a "do-nothing" posture. On the contrary, passivity can wreak as much damage as an active policy which is specifically designed for that purpose.

These thoughts come to mind as we reflect on the workings of U.S. policy in the Middle East. Several months ago the Saturday Evening Post published a series of articles on the Middle East, based on a 3-month on-the-spot survey by Harold Martin, one of its crack reporters. The articles are most informative, and the Saturday Evening Post deserves commendation for services rendered to its readers.

The conclusion of the first article bears a striking relevancy to Edmund Burke's judgment. Thus after pinpointing the dangers and bitter conflicts which have turned the Middle East into a cauldron of hatred, Mr. Martin writes: "The final question is: What should the United States do in the dangerous years ahead to try to keep the peace in the Middle East? The answer at the moment seems to be nothing." As if to emphasize this point, Mr. Martin quotes an unnamed American, presumably someone in authority, as stating: "If we can just keep them from fighting, maybe in a few years the old hatreds will begin to die down and some sort of stability will come."

Does Mr. Martin accurately describe the essence of U.S. policy in the Middle East? If we judge from recent performances by our policymakers, then we must come to the conclusion that "do-nothingism" is indeed the touchstone of the U.S. approach to the Middle East. Surely the strange, to say the least, position taken by Washington during the last session of the U.N. General Assembly leads us to no other conclusion. It is not generally known, for the press gave it little publicity, that 16 nations, including 9 African states, sponsored a resolution which called upon Israel and the Arab States "to undertake direct negotiations * * * with a view to finding a solution, acceptable to all the parties concerned, for all the questions and disputes between them, particularly the question of the Arab refugees."

This resolution envisaged direct negotiation under U.N. auspices. This was indeed a sensational and significant move. It was the first time since 1952 that member states of the U.N. had come forward to try to break the impasse and to put an end once and for all to the explosive situation which hovers over the Middle East.

It is interesting to note that nations proposing peaceful negotiations were not the large powers. On the contrary, they were relatively small states which have presumably recognized the validity of the late Dag Hammarskjold's assertion that in the last analysis the U.N. is more important to the small states than to the big powers who can take care of their own interests.

There is no question but that this fresh breeze calling for peace in the Middle East aroused the hopes of many member states. There is no doubt that if the big powers had shown that they too were anxious to dampen the dry tinder in the Middle East, the resolution would have been carried overwhelming. But just as quickly as hopes had risen, so were they defeated. When the U.S. delegation made it clear that it would have nothing to do with this resolution for peace, the result was a foregone conclusion. The resolution received 54 affirmative votes, but it failed to obtain a majority in the special U.N. Political Committee and it was thereby defeated with 20 abstentions. The fact that all of the big powers opposed the resolution tempts one to conclude that there was some sort of tacit agreement among them to continue their cold war maneuvers at the expense of the peoples living in the Middle East.

It is no wonder that the Arab States without exception also voted "no." The shocking performance of the U.S. delegation placed Washington in a rather embarrassing position. The excuses thought up by the U.S. delegation to justify the veto were quite transparent. They all boiled down to the contention that the 16 member states peace initiative was unrealistic at this time, be-

cause the Arabs show no inclination to sit down and talk peace.

On March 27, 16 U.S. Senators sent a joint wire to the Secretary of State calling upon our Government to encourage direct peace talks between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The State Department's reply may be summed up in this one sentence: "The Department is convinced that before the direct negotiations can become feasible, and in order to enhance the prospects for a fundamental improvement in Arab-Israel relations, considerable progress can and should be made on the most serious differences which divide the parties."

The most poignant commentary which we have seen on the State Department's explanation that peace talks are "premature" was contained in an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune December 22, 1961: "What is particularly distressing was that the U.S. delegation voted against it [the resolution]—on the ground that it did not seem 'practical' because the Arabs have always refused to negotiate with Israel. If there's any more practical way of settling a problem than of having the two disputants talk about it, we wish our delegation would let us in on the secret."

The net effect of the State Department's position is to bolster the sharp divisions which now exist in the Middle East. Needless to say, this can only play into the hands of the demagogs and firebrands who maintain their power by keeping the atmosphere in the Middle East at fever pitch. It is no wonder that Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, labeled the State Department's alibi as the "most pro-Arab statement I have seen from the State Department in all my years in Congress." Here was the "do-nothingism" in action and at its worst. It also underlies the prophetic quality of Edmund Burke's wisdom, for within 2 months after this peace resolution was rejected, the border between Israel and Syria became the scene of a series of armed clashes.

This is not to imply that the failure to carry the resolution, was the direct cause of this armed outbreak. However, it is part and parcel of the "do nothing" policy which permits aggressive forces to play havoc with the lives and welfare of the peoples of the Middle East. Basically the clash between Israel and Syria is but one manifestation of the differences which can only be solved through negotiations as contemplated by the defeated resolution.

The terrible danger of war in the Middle East can no longer permit the pursuance of a policy of passivity. The United States must develop positive actions that will root out the war-breeding forces in that area of the world.

The present administration in Washington has a particular responsibility to meet this challenge head on. In the platform adopted by the Democratic Party at its convention in 1960, it was clearly stated that "In the Middle East we will work for guarantees to insure independence for all states. We will encourage Arab-Israel peace negotiations, the resettlement of the Arab refugees, in land where there is room and opportunity for them, an end to boycotts and blockades, and unrestricted use of the Suez Canal by all nations." Here is a clear-cut program for a policy of "live and let live" for all of the states in the Middle East.

Has this program been sacrificed for illusory advantage? If this be the case, then Middle East peace, so essential to the national interest, becomes a fleeting mirage.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Report of Supreme Governor of the Loyal Order of Moose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the report of the supreme governor of the Loyal Order of Moose to the 1962 convention of that estimable fraternal organization.

I believe that Supreme Governor Byrd's remarks are especially worthy of note in these times of international conflict and tension because of the emphasis they place on the Moose ideal of brotherhood and on the obligations of man to man.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF SUPREME GOVERNOR HARRY C. BYRD TO THE 1962 CONVENTION OF LOYAL ORDER OF MOOSE

As members of the supreme lodge, we, who are here this morning, have a one great basic duty to perform; namely, to go back to our lodges prepared for the job of educating our people to a full understanding of the Moose order, dedicated to helping all our lodges to profit from what the best of our lodges have accomplished. Then, too, we should inspire each of our members to become a salesman to spread everywhere knowledge of the principles and objectives of our fraternity. What these principles and objectives are may be briefly stated by you to all:

First. We are building a great organization on the basic principle of brotherhood. That man does not live by bread alone, but by a high spiritual concept of man's duty to man.

Second. That the Moose provides protection through the maintenance of Mooseheart for a member's wife and children such as none of us could afford to buy. That if we become delinquent in dues we forfeit this precious protection for our families.

Third. That protection through Moosehaven is provided for the old who can no longer look after themselves.

Fourth. A social program is maintained which brings together families and creates recreational opportunities for a better social life.

Fifth. The civic affairs program offers advantages for service in and to a community which are not offered in any other fraternity and which make a community better because the Moose lodge is there.

Sixth. The Moose ritual teaches not only the brotherhood of man, but that true spirit of brotherhood stems from religious worship, a confidence in the mercy of an everlasting God.

Seventh. We teach, nay, expect and demand, loyalty to our country; and dedicate ourselves to perpetuation of those freedoms and liberties given to us. And we should emphasize the strategic position, and duty of every Moose lodge to meet as a unit in its community whatever crises may confront us as a nation.

Yes, we have a magnificent concept of our order to present to our friends, but this presentation will not get done of itself, we must do it. As I've traveled many thousands of miles, come in contact with people everywhere, seen indications of willingness to sacrifice, my term as supreme governor has become an inspiration.

I've learned that the hearts of our members are warm with appreciation of the high principles of our order and what we are trying to accomplish.

More and more has it become evident to me that the women of the Moose are playing a vital part in developing the order, in maintaining high ideals, and in all kinds of cooperative efforts. Let us foster this great group of dedicated women. They are of incalculable value and a needed part of our organization.

I've come to understand that the potentialities of the Moose are virtually unlimited; that the order is accomplishing much for the communities in which lodges exist; that members generally believe in the principle of helpfulness to others, and understand the real meaning of brotherhood.

Over and above all, though, I've learned that we are one nation, all with the same basic ideals. And our British brothers are no different. They believe as we believe. Lithuanian, French, or English brothers in Canada; Georgians, New Yorkers, the Pacific coast, the Middle West, all are a conscious part of our great brotherhood. All will unite to defend the freedoms and liberties on which the two nations were founded and in which the Moose order believes. We know of no borderlines when it comes to the ideal of mutual helpfulness, all for one and one for all. I know that all the good works of the Moose have their basis in the deep-seated religious conceptions of our membership and that what we do in helping others is God's will.

So today, I say these things to you because they are the standards by which I've come to know you. Thus do I state my estimate of your potentialities. May God give you grace, vision, understanding, and determination to realize them.

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## The Breadth of Civil Liberties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important functions in our society—a function that is as much a job of the private sector as it is of the governmental and perhaps more so—is the preservation of civil liberties. The concept of our Government is that, through a common effort, the rights of the individual can more fully flourish. These civil liberties are central to our national philosophy.

The increasing complexity of our society brings greater tests for the individuals and groups seeking to uphold civil liberties. It is for this reason that I wish to take this opportunity to commend, although somewhat belatedly, the actions of the American Civil Liberties Union in its statement calling attention to the infringements upon the rights of interested parties in investigatory hearings by the Federal Trade Commission.

We must, in fighting for the preservation of civil liberties, make sure we cover the full range of these liberties. I think the American Civil Liberties Union has done a fine thing in helping those truly interested in civil liberties to remember how broad they really are.

I am placing in the RECORD the news release of the American Civil Liberties Union and its letter to the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. I am also placing in the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of June 2–3 commenting on the action of the American Civil Liberties Union and praising the American Civil Liberties Union for it:

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 6.—The procedures of the Federal Trade Commission's investigatory hearings came in for sharp criticism today from the American Civil Liberties Union.

The civil liberties organization said that the FTC policy of conducting an investigatory hearing in public and not permitting counsel for companies under investigation to participate fully in the hearing infringed on due process of law.

The American Civil Liberties Union's executive director, John de J. Pemberton, Jr., made public a letter sent to FTC Chairman Paul Rand Dixon which called on the Federal regulatory agency to revise its rules and regulations to provide greater due process safeguards. "In the absence of such action," the American Civil Liberties Union said, it "will offer support to any individual or company that declines to produce documentary evidence at a public investigatory hearing of the Commission."

The union's review of the FTC procedures was prompted by a March 14 hearing in Indianapolis into the pricing and sale of milk at which the Kroger Co. and other food chains were called to testify.

"There are two civil liberties aspects of this controversy which gravely disturbs the union," Pemberton wrote. "One is the holding of an investigatory hearing, analogous to a grand jury investigation, in public. The second concerns the failure to allow counsel for companies under investigation adequate participation in the hearing in behalf of their clients. Both combine to create a breach of the safeguards embodied in the idea of due process of law, the touchstone of our democratic system which should be especially respected in the relationship between the Government and the citizen."

Emphasizing the parallel between an administrative investigative proceeding and a grand jury investigation, the American Civil

Liberties Union said that the "standards and protections governing the latter should apply equally to the former. High on the list of these guarantees is the nonpublic character of investigatory proceedings. This right to privacy is one of the integral elements of due process because it assures the individual—or the company—that they are not considered to have engaged in a wrongful act until sufficient evidence has been accumulated to warrant a specific indictment—until they know the charges and can prepare to defend themselves at a subsequent trial."

A public factfinding investigation, "by its very nature," the American Civil Liberties Union said, "can't offer this protection; indeed it places the individual—or company—in a position where the search for information about them is secondary and primarily they are regarded as having been charged with committing an offense. The experience of congressional investigating committees probing Communist influence in the last 15 years amply illustrates this. These inquiries made crystal clear that in a hostile, accusatory atmosphere created by such hearings, persons brought publicly into the investigation are stigmatized and regarded as having been involved in some kind of wrongdoing."

Asserting that because the FTC serves as investigator, grand jury, and judge, it should take special pains to afford all the due process protections of a judicial proceedings, the American Civil Liberties Union noted that at the March 14 hearing, counsel for the Kroger Co. was not allowed to object to questions on grounds of relevance, competence, or materiality, to introduce evidence or cross-examine, or to make any statement for the record. Moreover, the American Civil Liberties Union said, the FTC's rules (sec. 1.40) reinforces this burden on the company under investigation by providing: "Any party compelled to testify or to produce documentary evidence may be accompanied and advised by counsel, but counsel may not as a matter of right, otherwise participate in the investigation."

This, the union continued, "is a severe restriction of legal representation which deprives a party of his due process rights to full representation. If any public investigation hearings are to be permitted, the person or party under investigation must have the opportunity to be confronted by his accusers, if any, and an opportunity to cross-examine them. He must also have the opportunity and right to object to the introduction of material that is irrelevant or otherwise improper. In addition he must have the right to introduce such material and testimony as he and his counsel deem fit in his own defense. If these procedural safeguards are abused by counsel, steps should be taken to curb such abuses—but only after, not before, the problem arises."

The full text of the letter is attached:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
*New York, N.Y., April 20, 1962.*

Mr. PAUL RAND DIXON,
*Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. DIXON: The American Civil Liberties Union has studied with great care the current controversy concerning the Federal Trade Commission's new policy of conducting investigatory hearings in public. We refer particularly to the March 14 hearing in Indianapolis, whose alleged purpose was to determine if the Kroger Co. and other food chains violated the law concerning the pricing and sale of milk.

There are two civil liberties aspects of this controversy which gravely disturbs the union and which we urge the Commission seriously to consider. One is the holding of an investigatory hearing, analagous to a grand jury investigation, in public. The second concerns the failure to allow counsel for companies under investigation adequate participation in the hearing in behalf of their clients. Both combine to create a breach of the safeguards embodied in the idea of due process of law, the touchstone of our democratic system which should be especially respected in the relationship between the Government and the citizen.

The analogy between an administrative investigatory proceeding and a grand jury investigation has been often made. One of the more emphatic statements on the subject was made by the late Justice Jackson of the U.S. Supreme Court in *U.S.* v. *Morton Salt Co.*, 338 U.S. 632 (1950): It [the administrative agency] has a power of inquisition, if one chooses to call it that, which is not derived from the judicial function. It is more analogous to the grand jury, which does not depend on a case or controversy for power to get evidence but can investigate merely on suspicion that the law is being violated, or even just because it wants assurance that it is not. When investigative and accusatory duties are delegated by statute to an administrative body, it too, may take steps to inform itself as to whether there is probably violation of the law.'

If an administrative investigatory proceeding is, as we agree with Justice Jackson, directly parallel to a grand jury investigation, it follows that the standards and protections governing the latter should apply equally to the former. High on the list of these guarantees is the nonpublic character of investigatory proceedings. This right to privacy is one of the integral elements of due process because it assures the individual—or the company—that they are not considered to have engaged in a wrongful act until sufficient evidence has been accumulated to warrant a specific indictment—until they know the charges and can prepare to defend themselves at a subsequent trial.

A public factfinding investigation, by its very nature, can't offer this protection; indeed it places the individual—or company—in a position where the search for information about them is secondary and primarily they are regarded as having been charged with committing an offense. The experience of congressional investigating committees probing Communist influence in the last 15 years amply illustrates this. These inquiries made crystal clear that in an hostile, accusatory atmosphere created by such hearings persons brought publicly into the investigation are stigmatized and regarded as having been involved in some kind of wrongdoings. The American Civil Liberties Union has protested congressional inquiries concerned mainly with 'exposure for exposure's sake,' and the U.S. Supreme Court in *Watkins* v. *U.S.*, 354 U.S. 178, concluded that such investigations are improper.

We refer to the congressional committee investigation because we read in the March 25 Washington Star that the FTC's public investigatory hearings are following the form of congressional hearings. But we submit there is a significant difference between these two kinds of hearings, a difference which places a greater responsibility on the FTC to adhere scrupulously to fair procedures. Unlike the congressional committee whose authority rests on obtaining information on which the Congress can act to write new laws, the FTC itself can use the information it gathers in investigatory hearings in a later adjudicatory hearing which can result in an order or the imposing of sanctions where a violation is found to exist. As the Commission serves as investigator, grand jury, and judge, it should take special pains to afford all the due process protections of a judicial proceeding.

The failure to provide such protection was demonstrated in the recent hearing in Indianapolis concerning the Kroger Co., as described in this statement by the company:

"The investigation is being conducted in public, although the Commission concedes that it has no reason to believe that Kroger has committed any violation of law. It is therefore a public adversary proceeding in which Kroger is for practical purposes in the position of a defendant.

"Yet the presiding attorney insists that Kroger's counsel may not participate in this public proceeding except to the limited extent of advising Kroger witnesses, off the record. He insists that Kroger's counsel may not object to questions on grounds of relevance, competence, or materiality; he may not cross-examine or introduce evidence; and may not even make any statements of any kind on the record. On the contrary, when Kroger's counsel has attempted to speak, the presiding attorney has directed the reporter to go off the record, while directing that the response of Commission's counsel shall be taken down on the record.

* * * * *

"It is totally incompatible with the American judicial system to allow charges to be hurled in public against anyone who is simultaneously denied any opportunity for self-defense in public. Such a procedure is characteristic of the police state. It is totally in conflict with the democratic and representative form of free government symbolized in principle and practice by our great Nation."

We are aware of section 1.40 of the Commission's rules which states: 'Any party compelled to testify or to produce documentary evidence may be accompanied and advised by counsel, but counsel may not as a matter of right, otherwise participate in the investigation.'

We also read in the March 25 Washington Star story your comment that if lawyers were allowed to intervene, the hearing would become an endless 'rhubarb' and the basic facts would not be obtained.

We believe section 1.40 and your comment, especially in the context of a public investigatory proceeding, is a severe restriction of legal representation which deprives a party of his due process right to full representation. If any public investigation hearings are to be permitted, the person or party under investigation must have an opportunity to be confronted by his accusers, if any, and an opportunity to cross-examine them. He must also have the opportunity and right to object to the introduction of material that is irrelevant or otherwise improper. In addition, he must have the right to introduce such material and testimony as he and his counsel deem fit in his own defense. If these procedural safeguards are abused by counsel, steps should be taken to curb such abuses—but only after, not before, the problem arises.

Because of the growth and size of Government agencies required to deal with the complexity of today's economic and social problems, there is inherent danger to individual rights whenever the power of Government is employed. The experience of the 1950's, when the constitutional freedoms of persons caught in the toils of the Federal employee security program were frequently infringed presents dramatic proof of this problem. As the need for Government involvement in the lives of citizens increases, as it appears to be doing, agencies of a Government based on respect for democratic standards should be particularly alert to invasions of individual rights. We therefore urge that the Commission consider changes in its rules and regulations that will provide a greater measure of due process. In the absence of such action the American Civil Liberties Union will offer support to any individual or company that declines to produce documentary evidence at a public investigatory hearing of the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, Jr.,
*Executive Director.*

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, June 2-3, 1962]

RIGHTS FOR REDS, NOT BUSINESS

If an American Communist is asked to tell a congressional committee about his activities, or the party's, he is treated with kid gloves. The rules of the House Un-American Activities Committee, for example, provide that:

1. Any witness may "make a prepared or written statement for the record."

2. At every hearing, public or otherwise, the witness "shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing."

3. The subject of the investigation must be outlined in an opening statement and "the information sought" must be "relevant and germane."

Of course, the House committee has been bitterly castigated by leftwing foes, including the American Civil Liberties Union, for alleged unfairness to witnesses. That, of course, is false.

Now the American Civil Liberties Union has discovered that American business firms get shorter shrift from the Federal Trade Commission than Communists get from congressional committees.

Recently, the FTC hailed the Kroger Co. and some other food chains to a public hearing in Indianapolis. Although this was "analogous to a grand jury investigation," the American Civil Liberties Union charges, the business firms were denied many of the rights due them under our system of law.

For example, it said, they were not allowed to make any statement for the record. Nor were their lawyers permitted to object to questions on the grounds that they were irrelevant or immaterial.

The American Civil Liberties Union also criticized the Federal agency for holding a public hearing, until the witnesses "know the charges and can prepare to defend themselves."

Not one American in a thousand is aware of the fact that a reputable American business firm brought before the FTC is denied legal advantages which the House Un-American Activities Committee accords even to members of Moscow's American fifth column.

On the contrary, Communists, fellow-travelers and the leftwing claque have managed to deceive many into believing this House committee is an inquisition complete with rack and screw.

More than 10 years ago, a subcommittee of the American Bar Association made a close study of the committee's proceedings. It issued this verdict: "We are satisfied that the witnesses called to testify before the committee are being treated fairly and properly in all respects, and we also feel satisfied that each witness is accorded full protection so far as his constitutional or other legal rights are involved; moreover, the confidential communications between attorneys and clients have been fully respected."

Apparently the FTC can't make the same boast.

## The Right To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, it is often said that Americans take too lightly their right to vote. That, however, is not the case with at least one voter in Tennessee, Mr. Herrick Brown.

Mr. Brown's attitude toward the voting privilege—an attitude that all Americans would do well to adopt—is simply told in an Associated Press story from Gatlinburg, Tenn., which appeared in the Knoxville Journal on August 3. I ask unanimous consent that this story be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESIDENT WALKS 13 MILES TO VOTE

GATLINBURG, August 2.—Herrick Brown walked more than 13 miles to vote today.

Brown, operator of a lodge atop Mount Le Conte in the Great Smoky Mountains, walked down to Gatlinburg to cast his ballot and then hiked back up the mountain—5,593 feet high.

## The Lesson of the Preamble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in the June–July issue of Highway Highlights there is carried the text of an address given by our colleague, Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, before the National Highway Users Conference earlier this year. This address is a splendid presentation and an excellent warning to all Americans. It urges them to guard the sovereignty of the individual States and the individual authorities against further encroachments by the Federal Government.

I ask unanimous consent to have the remarks of Senator MUNDT printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of all my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LESSON OF THE PREAMBLE—AMERICANS ARE URGED TO GUARD STATE SOVEREIGNTY, INDIVIDUAL AUTHORITIES AGAINST FEDERAL ENCROACHMENT

(By Senator KARL E. MUNDT)

Back on the third day of July 1776, the day before the Declaration of Independence was signed, a great American wrote a letter to his wife, Abigail. This American was John Adams, and he wrote his wife and said, "Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater problem will probably never be debated. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting colony, that these united Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."

That sentiment was found in the Declaration of Independence, too: "these united Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."

From that early beginning, there has been a continuing controversy in America as to what is the rightful position of the individual citizen; as to what is the individual position of the individual State, and as to what are the proper responsibilities and authorities to be delegated to the central state and to our Federal Government.

ONLY IN THE UNITED STATES

While we have sought to encourage other lands and other areas to follow our example in that regard, it is only in the United States where it is specifically put down in the charter of freedom that the rights of people in jobs like mine, your Federal politicians, shall be limited solely to those rights and authorities specifically delegated to us by the States or by the people.

While I am normally described as a Midwestern conservative, I am an advocate of a constitutional formula which is the greatest liberal document of government ever written or employed anywhere. Because down through history the liberal has always been opposed to a concentration of authority; that was the liberalism of Woodrow Wilson, that was the liberalism of Thomas Jefferson. That to me is the only kind of liberalism which is genuine, and anybody who describes liberalism as a device for giving fewer men more power over additional people is describing a synthetic form of liberalism and an error of semanticism. Because, as a liberal who believes that the functions should lie with the people in States and in individual offices and shops and businesses, and that Federal politicians in jobs like mine should be circumscribed in the powers we exercise over the average citizen, I submit that this is a concept which is, in fact, genuine liberalism.

That being true, I speak, as one who believes that instead of trying to delegate more power and more authority and more responsibility to the central state, somehow or other, we should learn as States and as individuals, as groups and as organizations and as entities, to assume the responsibilities and exercise the authorities which are essential to progress.

HIGHWAY PROBLEMS

I think that is true in the field of safety legislation, for example, in highways; I think it is true in the controversial problem of reciprocity. I think it is true in the field of uniform highway traffic signals. These are all important to all Americans. Somebody will have to solve the problem. Wherever a problem gets too tough, or remains unsolved, or the situation becomes too odious, a clamor arises at once for the Federal Government to step in, and pass a whole family of bills.

I think nobody will quarrel with the fact that reciprocity is desirable, that safety is desirable, that uniformity in traffic signals is desirable; but I don't think you have to go to the Federal Government to achieve these desirable objectives, because, when we pass legislation, we have to exercise controls. Inevitably, we have to do something to you when we are doing something for you. We can't just by a magic wand create utopia in a painless fashion.

I happen to be the owner of a nice new 1962 automobile. It is a mighty fine automobile. It is the best automobile I have ever driven, but some engineer, if you please, hid the signal lever, which indicates whether you are going to turn right or left, some place down on the dashboard, where I guarantee even an FBI agent couldn't find it.

A colleague in the Senate bought the same kind of car I had. He wants to have a Federal law making it illegal to hide the signal lever in that car, but I don't think it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to nurse these automobile manufacturers along and tell them how much horsepower they have to have and what is the maximum and minimum speed on the highway and how many layers of nylon or whatever to put in automobile tires.

UNIFORMITY

The matter of uniformity of traffic law happens to be a special fetish of mine, because on at least three occasions I have been privileged to visit in virtually all of the countries of Europe and on two occasions all of them. I was impressed, most of all, by something which I suppose escapes the eyes of many tourists, but the one lasting impact made upon me was the fact that throughout Europe with all its diversity of languages and flags and nationalities and passports and

currencies and border controls, they have been able to develop a uniformity of traffic signals far exceeding anything we have in the United States.

I think it is a very desirable objective. In a part of the world that can agree on virtually nothing else, where you have a wall between East Berlin and West Berlin, the only thing the same on both sides of Germany today are the traffic signals on the highway.

I don't know how they did it, but I am glad they did it because that demonstrates to me that there certainly must be some way that in America we can develop a degree of uniformity in traffic signals without having Uncle Sam do the job, because they haven't any central government there. They did it somehow through conferences, somehow through private people working through their respective government to say, "This is a good idea." And they said, "Ja," or "Oui," or "Da-Da," or whatever the language happened to be, and they succeeded.

We can do that in our country. If we can do that in highways, we can do it in a great many other areas of activities, I think. Therefore, it is important that you guard your State sovereignties, that you guard your individual authorities, that you question with a jaundiced eye any—any—additional suggestion to expand the power of people in jobs like mine over people in jobs like yours, because, if you don't, we find this increased power to be a kind of heady and intoxicating wine. It is kind of enjoyable to be able to push a lot of people around and pass a lot of legislation and make everybody call you on the telephone to see whether they can buy a new automobile or whether they can do this or that. And the thing tends to grow.

It has been seriously suggested, and so far not acted upon either affirmatively or negatively by this session of Congress, that we should deliver to the Executive power by his own decree and his own decision to modify the tax structure of America, to reduce, to change, to modify. This is a pretty serious encroachment to my way of thinking on the powers of the people and the powers of the Congress.

Another great controversy raging in this country involves tariffs, which would propose to give to the Executive the entire authority to levy tariffs, to increase them, to decrease them, to abolish them, or to impose them on any segment of the economy. Just as the power to tax is the power to destroy, the power to decide which industry has a tariff and which does not also is the power to compel or to coerce and to destroy.

TARIFF VIEW

Now, I say this as one who believes that our tariff legislation in operation is hopelessly out of date. I say that as one who was appointed to serve as a delegate to the NATO conference in Paris this last year, and served my good friend Lyndon Johnson.

Lyndon came to me and he said, "KARL, we have to have some Republicans among the delegates to the NATO Conference, and as long as I have an appointment, I might as well appoint a black one. How would you like to go?"

So I went. I visited for a long time with the members of the countries who are going into the Common Market. I think it is a wise decision on their part. I think Britain in self-defense is going to be compelled to go in. I think this faces us up to a whole new economic challenge in America.

That far I go along. Where I disagree is the fact that, having confronted this great serious new challenge, we ought to delegate its solution to a group of nameless, faceless individuals over whom you have no control at all.

I would like to do it by empowering the Tariff Commission, which is a branch of the Congress, with additional flexibility and authority, so when the thing goes wrong, you can still hold the people responsible closest to you and look to them for correction.

These are areas, it seems to me, in which highway users should be interested, because a drift or a drive or a tendency to build up this much concentrated power in the hands of people in Washington cannot possibly overlook for long the various particular aspects of freedom in which they are essentially interested. This age-old controversy about which John Adams wrote his wife in 1776 is still with us. It is still being decided.

We are an impatient group of people, sometimes in our impatience to get something done fast, we fail to recognize the damage that we are doing to a formula which has enabled us to get things done enduringly and successfully down through the ages.

THE DIFFERENCE

I think those who wrote the Constitution put it all pretty well in the preamble when they spelled out the eternal underlying difference between our concept of a private economy and individual responsibility and a division of powers between the Central Government and the States. When they wrote out the preamble as a reason for having a Constitution and a government, as justification of the Revolutionary War, as a lodestar toward which to move in this new Republic, along with talking about domestic tranquillity and many other things, they got around to the functions of the Federal state and part of the function of the Federal state, they rightly said, was to provide the common defense. And what is the next statement in the preamble? "In order to provide the common defense, promote the general welfare." Have you ever stopped to reflect how easy it would have been for those fellows at Philadelphia to have said "in order to provide the common defense and the general welfare," just a simple little conjunction, but those meticulous men and those linguistic masters, to whom every syllable meant a sermon in its own, carefully used a different word. The one that will provide is the central state; when it comes to the general welfare, our responsibilities are to promote the conditions, the environment, the opportunities for people and for States to help themselves.

I hope we don't forget the lesson of the preamble to the greatest Constitution ever written.

## Cooperative Forestry Research

SPEECH
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the dramatic advances in agricultural technology underscore the importance of Federal leadership in stimulating expanded research. The proposed bill would assure for forestry research comparable recognition and progress. The program would be administered on a cooperative basis with emphasis on the role of land-grant colleges which have constituted a major force in the scientific development of our land and forestry resources. Increasing demands upon wood products by our growing population require proper preservation and efficient utilization of our Nation's forests.

The concern of my State of New York in such matters spans the entire history of the conservation movement. The contribution of Theodore Roosevelt in this field is well known as well as the leadership of our great land-grant college, Cornell University at Ithaca, N.Y.

Especially commendable is the dedicated, capable leadership provided by our distinguished colleague, CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE, whose close association I enjoyed while serving as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture. I wish to congratulate him for his untiring effort in behalf of this bill.

## Red Cuba in Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of August 6, 1962:

RED CUBA IN TROUBLE

Dictator Fidel Castro's Red tyranny in Havana is making such a desperate mess of things in Cuba that serious and potentially explosive discontent is increasing everywhere throughout that sorely betrayed land. As one result, according to official admission, major acts of sabotage are on the rise and Communist militiamen are being shot down, in ever-growing numbers, by so-called counterrevolutionaries.

The mess is clear enough. The captive Cuban people have not only been robbed of all their fundamental liberties—such as a free press and free elections—but they also have had imposed upon them drastic rationing programs taking food out of their mouths and making it exceedingly hard for them to get things like shoes and clothing. Quite obviously everything has gone from bad to worse since the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista and the subsequent communization of the country as carried out by Fidel and his coconspirators—with the enthusiastic help of Moscow and Peiping.

Havana itself, of course, once gay, once thriving, has become a grim and relatively dead city whose former tourist business (highly profitable) has been quite thoroughly killed off by the Castro dictatorship. As for Cuba's economy as a whole, it has undergone a steady deterioration—to the point of catastrophe—ever since the Communist seizure, confiscation, and "collectivization" of the sugarcane fields and a wide variety of formerly efficient and booming industries (many of them directed by some of our own country's best corporations). These have been so shockingly mismanaged under Fidel that they are in a state of near-chaos.

This is one of the major findings set forth in what appears to be an authentic copy of a special study made for the Castro regime by a group of Communist experts (including some from Czechoslovakia). The study, according to a Cuban exile group in Miami, is not the invention of propagandists seeking to discredit the Havana regime, but is actually the work of Red economists. It is doubly significant for that reason—a Marxist-Leninist document that condemns, in effect, the way Fidel, Ernesto Guevara, and Havana's other bearded comrades are running Cuba's economy.

In any case, the study released by the Miami group leaves no room for doubt that

Castro and his colleagues are caught up in an economic shambles of the first magnitude—a shambles of their own making. As doctrinaire Communists, they have swept away private enterprise and substituted in its place an absolutely disorderly situation resulting primarily from party-line mismanagement of a kind that has led in turn to almost unbelievable stupidities.

So it is that Red Cuba today is in the deepest kind of trouble. The people of the country have been outrageously misled by the insufferably loquacious Fidel. Worse still, they have been dragged and dragooned along a politico-economic road that will lead them to disaster unless somehow, someday, before it is too late, they liberate themselves from the Castro incubus.

## Tribute to Edward L. Rogers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, one of Minnesota's distinguished and capable public servants, Edward L. Rogers, county attorney of Cass County, Minn., has been selected as the outstanding county attorney in the Nation. He will be honored by the National County Attorneys Association in Philadelphia on August 15.

A football hero of the early 1900's, Mr. Rogers was captain of the Golden Gophers and kicked the tieing point in the famous Minnesota-Michigan game which began the traditional Little Brown Jug rivalry.

His 46 years of elective office in Cass County attest to the respect he has earned among his fellow citizens. We congratulate them and Mr. Rogers on the national recognition given to his record of conscientious public service.

I ask unanimous consent that a news account of the award which appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press on August 6 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATTORNEYS WILL HONOR EDWARD L. ROGERS

WALKER, MINN.—National recognition will come to Edward L. Rogers August 16 in Philadelphia when he is honored by the National County Attorneys Association as the outstanding county attorney in the Nation.

Rogers, 86, has served 46 years as county attorney for Cass County, Minn. He plans to retire next January when his term expires but will continue a private practice here.

Ed Rogers is perhaps best known for his football exploits around the turn of the century when he starred for the famed Carlisle Indians and the University of Minnesota. He succeeded "Pop" Warner as Carlisle coach in 1904 after ending his playing career.

Rogers, son of a Chippewa Indian medicine woman and a Scotch lumber mill operator, went to Walker in 1906 and established a law office.

He ran for county attorney for the first time in 1912 and was elected. He has been reelected regularly since, except for a 4-year period from 1930 to 1934.

Rogers, who still plays a round of golf nearly every day, enjoyed one of his proudest moments in the 1908 football season when he kicked the point that tied Minnesota and Michigan in the game that touched off the traditional "little brown jug" rivalry.

Rogers captained the Gophers that year, and earlier had been captain of the Carlisle team.

## Migratory Farmworkers Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, the economic and social deprivation which are characteristic of the migratory farmworker's life and work are not a new phenomenon within our affluent society. Of recent origin, however, are the current efforts within the Congress to extend to migratory farmworkers through Federal legislation the benefits and protections long available to other groups of workers generally.

Under the able leadership of the junior Senator from New Jersey, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, five migratory farmworker bills have come to the House of Representatives with the approval of the full Senate and the Kennedy administration. This accomplishment is highly significant because it represents the first real opportunity for the Congress to enact practical legislation which will bring material improvement not only in the lives of migratory farm families but also the overall economy.

The Senate-passed bills would provide improved educational opportunities for migratory farm children and adults, prohibitions against agricultural child labor, Federal registration of crew leaders, improved health services for migratory farm families, and the establishment of a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor.

In evaluating the need for this legislation, I would agree with an editorial published by the New York Post on July 19:

We have an excellent catalog of the scandal in the fields; it is high time we act on our grim knowledge.

With Senate approval and administration support of these bills, the responsibility for their enactment rests solely with the House of Representatives. It is, I believe, a responsibility which we, as enlightened legislators and as representatives of the people, cannot ignore.

Rules have been requested for the four Senate passed migratory labor bills which have been reported to the House by the Committee on Education and Labor. Another bill, the health bill, is pending before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I would, therefore, urge prompt and favorable committee action on these bills so that we may fulfill some of our responsibility to our migratory farm citizens before adjournment.

Mr. Speaker, because the New York Post editorial is an incisive reminder of our duty in this important area, under unanimous consent I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

CHILDREN OF THE FIELDS

In a recent speech on migrant labor, Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS said he would not "flog the obvious facts or call forth the usual parade of horribles."

We agree with his restraint. The misery of agricultural labor has been televised, surveyed, charted, and analyzed. We have an excellent catalog of the scandal in the fields; it is high time we act on our grim knowledge.

There are three bills which WILLIAMS singled out for comment. Incredible as it may sound in the most advanced society in the world, they are designed to deal with the evils of child labor.

One proposal would give the migrant children a real chance for schooling. Another would provide Federal funds to local school boards facing a seasonal influx of migrant pupils. Both have been passed by the Senate and are up for House consideration.

The third proposal is part of the welfare bill passed by the Senate a few days ago. It would grant day-care facilities to migrant children.

We are almost embarrassed to have to comment on such desperately needed and modest bills. Yet, after the defeat of medicare and other recent congressional antics, one cannot take simple humanity for granted on the Hill. These minimal proposals must be passed and we must proceed on to a more massive assault on the scandal of migrant misery.

## Uniform Voting Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the Honorable Walter P. Armstrong, Jr., of Memphis, Tenn., has the honor of serving as president of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. It was in this capacity on August 4, 1962, that he announced important action by the conference in approving two proposed uniform State laws concerned with voting. One proposal deals with absentee voting by members of the military service and the other deals with residence requirements for voting in presidential elections.

The disfranchisement of voters merely because they have moved across State lines is an important problem which last year received the attention of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments in its hearings on the Federal elections system. I have the honor to be a cosponsor with the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING] of a proposed constitutional amendment which would deal with this problem. This is Senate Joint Resolution 128, which was approved by the subcommittee and is now pending before the full Committee on the Judiciary.

Uniform State laws is a different method of dealing with the problem but thus far only eight States have made any effort to handle the matter by State legislation. The action of the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws should add great impetus to the movement for corrective State legislation and I commend them for this step forward.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a press release issued from Monterey, Calif., on August 4, 1962, concerning the action of the conference, be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Walter P. Armstrong, Jr., of Memphis, Tenn., president of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws today announced that yesterday by an overwhelming majority the conference at its meeting in Monterey, approved for submission to the house of delegates of the American Bar Association at its annual meeting in San Francisco next week, the uniform act for voting by new residents in presidential elections and also the Uniform Federal Services Absentee Ballot Act. If approved by the American Bar Association, the proposals will be submitted to State legislatures at their 1963 and 1964 sessions.

The purposes of the Uniform Federal Services Absentee Ballot Act is to simplify and standardize the procedures for absentee voting in all types of elections for members of the Armed Forces of the United States, certain civilian employees of the Federal Government and members of their families.

The uniform act for voting by new residents in presidential elections is the result of several years of efforts by various national organizations to eliminate disenfranchisement in presidential elections of a large number of voters who move from one State to another and who through no fault of their own are not qualified to vote in their new State of residence. After the 1960 presidential election it was estimated that from 5 to 6 million American citizens lost their right to vote due to strict residence requirements in all but a few States. A recent report of the Senate Judiciary Commmittee Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments states in this regard:

"Apart from the possible effects upon election results, this produces apathy and bitterness in such people toward governments which cheat them of their democratic birthright merely because they change their residence."

The uniform act for voting by new residents in presidential elections would eliminate the requirement of a definite period of residence so that new residents will be allowed to vote if they would otherwise be qualified by filing an application to vote in ample time to enable election officials to process the application and to take safeguards against fraudulent and double voting.

The philosophy underlying this proposal is that residence in a State for a reasonable period of time might be essential to enable a voter to pass upon State and local candidates and issues, but that since the President is the representative of the entire Nation, a change of residence from one State to another should not in any way detract from a voter's ability to make a choice for President.

Constitutional amendments to accomplish the objectives of the uniform act for voting by new residents have been introduced in Congress, but such proposals would require the approval of three-fourths of the States.

Only eight States, Wisconsin, Oregon, California, Missouri, Ohio, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont have made any effort to deal with the problem of disenfranchisement of migratory voters in presidential elections.

Louis A. Kohn of Chicago is chairman of the conference committee which prepared both uniform acts, and Judge Harry H. Lugg of Rockville, Conn., is chairman of the subcommittees which prepared the Uniform Federal Services Absentee Ballot Act.

The other members are: John M. Bailey, national chairman, Hartford, Conn., Democrat; John B. Breckinridge, attorney general of Kentucky, Frankfurt, Ky.; Henry S. Fraser, Syracuse, N.Y.; Bernard Hellring, Newark, N.J.; George Longmire, Grand Forks, N. Dak.; Senator Fred S. Farr, Carmel, Calif., who presided at the sessions of the conference considering these acts; Commissioner Joseph McKeown, Coos Bay, Oreg., who as chairman of one of the conference sections coordinated the work of the drafting committees.

Mr. Kohn stated: "It is hoped that between now and the 1964 presidential election, all of the States will have adopted laws of the types suggested in order to minimize disenfranchisement of voters. The widespread dissatisfaction with the State laws, which impose strict residence requirements for voting in presidential elections, makes the early enactment of remedial legislation imperative. We believe the uniform act for voting by new residents in presidential elections which is based on years of study and actual experience in a number of States having similar legislation is carefully designed to accomplish this purpose.

"We hope both acts will be well received by the State legislatures to the end that there be assurance to voters in all the States one of the most priceless heritages of a democracy."

## Why Am I a Republican?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Margaret Hopkins Worrell, a former national president of the Ladies of GAR and a patriot, has sent me a dissertation entitled "Why Am I a Republican?" She has asked me to place this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where it can be made a part of the permanent RECORD and where it can be read and noted by Americans everywhere.

I am glad to respond to this request because I have some fundamental beliefs which are reflected in this article and further I feel the clear thinking of the dynamic action implied and the understanding of the author will serve the public interest by developing the interest in the Government and a better understanding of its objectives under freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know Mr. John Lupton, the author of this dissertation, except by reputation. I believe that reputation to be a good one. In serving his country through his political party he is performing in a manner which would be applauded by the early pioneers and should be applauded by party leaders of both major parties and all who are interested in promoting government at every level. I am glad to have this opportunity to place this item in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and urge all the Members and all subscribers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to read it and think on the important observations made by this keen young American.

WHY AM I A REPUBLICAN?

What things do I believe in? What things lead me to be a Republican?

I believe in the people. All of the people. Not just the little people, or the forgotten people; not the laborer; not the farmer; not the consumer; not the capitalist; not the Negro nor the Jew nor the Old Yankee; not the statistical nonentity of the bureaucrat. I believe in the people. All of the people.

And because I believe in the people I believe in the republican form of government in which all ultimate power is vested in the people, who in turn give to designated officials a limited power to act for them. And I believe, too, that the faith of the people is not to be abused; and the trust of the people is not lightly to be considered; and the heritage of the people is not to be traded, nor, like the property of a bankrupt businessman, sold to the highest bidder.

I believe the people want honesty, integrity, realistic sincerity. I believe the people want to be treated forthrightly, and I believe the people can take the bad along with the good. To treat the people in any other way is stupid. More, it represents a cynical regard for the basis of our whole structure of representative government. It is worship of the consequences rather than of the causes of our freedoms.

I believe, too, in a constitutional government. I believe that such a government has made America strong because it has provided succeeding generations with unmistakable guideposts, and has at the same time established an orderly system of detours when detours became necessary. I believe that our Constitution is not something to be ridiculed, nor ignored. It is not something to be chnaged by legislative default or executive usurpation or judicial fiat.

I believe in all honesty in our capitalistic system. I believe in it because I have seen the greatness of the country which it has helped to produce; because I know that time and time again its strength has been called on to save the free world.

And, finally, I believe that there is a power greater in world history than that of any man, or, of all the people themselves. I believe that no government, no nation, no people can long survive in disregard of that power.

These beliefs I hold. They rest on principles which seem to me to be self-evident. Their implications for me, at least, are clear. As an American I want to held my head high at home and abroad. I want to live in a country ruled ultimately by people who are self-reliant, whose integrity and character have not been vitiated by the blandishments of even the most benignly paternal government, whose futures and the power to shape them remain still primarily in their own hands, who live in harmony at home, who deal honestly abroad, who seek no special favors and make no shoddy deals, and who, most importantly, look unashamedly for guidance to God.

Such an America is in the traditions of its founding. Such an America can face any task before it. Such an American is worthy of the best that we can dream for, work for, and love. Such an America we can achieve.

That is why I call myself—and proudly so—a Republican.

(From a speech delivered by John Mather Lupton, State chairman of the Connecticut Young Republicans, before the Norwalk Woman's Republican Club and the Westport Young Republican Club.)

## Myths and Legends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial appeared in the Wednesday, June 13, 1962 edition of the Columbus Citizen-Journal entitled "Myths and Legends." It pierces the mirage of words in the President's Yale address and includes some very good thinking.

I commend this article to the reading of the Members of the House.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

"Then the gods of the market tumbled, and their smooth-tongued wizards withdrew,
And the hearts of the meanest were humbled and began to believe it was true
That all is not gold that glitters and two and two make four—
And the gods of the copybook headings limped up
To explain it once more."

These lines by the late Rudyard Kipling, deploring the fact that we never learn, come to mind while reading the speech of President Kennedy, Monday at Yale.

He referred to the "cliches of our forebears" which distract us from action. The worlds of Calhoun and Taft, he said, were quite different from this one. Such issues as the disposal of public lands, nullification or union, freedom or slavery, gold or silver "have largely disappeared."

We submit that only the names have changed. The issues are with us yet under such designations as farm relief, desegregation, communism, and inflation. And the fundamental principles which underlie them all have not changed.

No one any longer argues seriously for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. William Jennings Bryan's political fortunes ebbed with boredom over that particular phrasing of the question.

But those who thought they could create money by passing a law as to silver are succeeded by a generation of economic theorists who would pass the same kind of miracles without even the silver.

It is a myth, the President insisted, that Federal deficits create inflation. He should tell that to the Germans who remember when a million marks wouldn't buy a sausage. Or the French, whose 20-cent francs finally were worth two-tenths of a cent. Or the Italians, the Greeks, the Romans or anyone else who ever resorted to the printing press to pay the public bills, as we have in effect been doing off and on for the last generation.

None of these governments, which are still in existence, will try it again, at least not until new generations have had time to forget as in Kipling's words, "the burnt fool's bandaged finger goes wobbling back to the fire."

Sizable budget surpluses after World War II did not prevent inflation, President Kennedy said. These surpluses were minute compared to vast wartime debts. The prewar dollar now buys less than 50 cents' worth.

Persistent deficits for the last several years have not upset our basic price stability, the President continued. Yet prices still are headed up, according to the Government's own figures.

And that, by no means, is all. The mere interest on our $300 billion debt amounts to $9 billion a year, increasing by $30 million or more with each added billion of debt. If we had that $9 billion back it would be enough to cut income taxes 15 percent, or corporation taxes almost in half.

Times have changed, but not that much. Anyone who habitually spends more than his income is headed for trouble, maybe sooner, maybe later. If the President thinks it is different for governments, let him reflect on the experiences of some of the countries mentioned above.

Once it was the royal alchemists who labored to make gold out of base metals. Even here times haven't changed materially. The presidential economists still are at it, substituting paper for lead and charts for cauldrons. The objective still is something for nothing. It is no great credit to Mr. Kennedy that he pays them so much mind.

## Northwest Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter by Mr. Alex Radin, having to do with the power supply in the Northwest, which was published in the New York Times for August 4, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTRICITY FOR NORTHWEST: HOUSE REJECTION OF PLAN TO USE WASTE STEAM CRITICIZED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I wish to commend you for your editorial support (July 17) of the proposal by local public agencies in the Pacific Northwest to pay the Federal Government for the privilege of putting waste heat to use to produce electricity at the Atomic Energy Commission's new plutonium-production reactor at Hanford, Wash.

The House's refusal to authorize this arrangement will prove very costly to the Government, which already has an investment of $25 million previously approved by Congress for features which would permit the reactor to produce both plutonium and power. The action of the House was costly because it rejected up to $125 million in revenues to the Federal Treasury from sale of steam; costly because it prevented the Federal Bonneville Power Administration from "firming up" presently unsalable power and thus increasing its income; costly because it put a stamp of approval on the permanent waste of this natural resource.

Neither the private power companies nor the coal industry—both of whom opposed the proposal—would be injured. Private power companies were offered half of the output of the powerplant.

Not a single miner will go back to work as a result of the House action and not a solitary mine would be adversely affected by approval of the plan. The Northwest is dependent upon hydropower for 96 percent of its electricity and no coal is imported for thermal generation. Plans for use of limited local coal resources are complementary, not competitive with the Hanford project, in view of the region's rapidly growing loads.

Testimony by experts indicated that national defense alone would justify the Hanford powerplant. Yet these selfish interests opposed, and the House defeated, a proposal which would have cost the Government nothing, which would have produced revenue for the Government, and which would have given this country the world's largest atomic powerplant—and a striking example of peaceful use of atomic energy.

Your support of this project was based on unassailable logic. It will be tragic if the Nation loses the benefits of this development. I seriously doubt whether any country—even one as wealthy as the United States—can afford the luxury of such profligate waste of its resources.

ALEX RADIN,
*General Manager, American Public Power Association.*
WASHINGTON, *July 31, 1962.*

## Prayer in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, Rev. E. Warren Rust is pastor of the First Baptist Church of Cleveland, Tenn., and also has the honor of holding the office of president of the Tennessee Baptist Convention.

On July 15, Reverend Rust delivered in his church an important sermon under the title "Prayer, the Bible, and the Public Schools."

This sermon is a thoughtful and persuasive statement in support of the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court concerning the school prayer prescribed by the Board of Regents of the State of New York. This sermon is worthy of the consideration of all who are concerned with this issue, regardless of their viewpoint, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRAYER, THE BIBLE, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Public indignation, regret, and disgust have been deeply aroused by the recent decision of the highest Court in our land. The Supreme Court ruled that the prayer recommended by the New York Board of Regents for use in the public schools is unconstitutional. The prayer recommended by the board and required by local school boards for use in the public schools reads: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

The prayer was held to be constitutional by the high court of New York State but was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in a 6 to 1 decision. Two of the members of the High Court did not vote on this decision.

The State Board of Regents in New York is a governmental agency created by the constitutional processes of that State. It has broad supervisory, executive and legislative powers over the public school system. In 1951 this board composed the prayer for use in the public schools every morning along with the pledge of allegiance to the

flag of the United States. Under the instructions of the board, the teacher was obligated to conduct this opening exercise, but the pupils participated or refused to participate voluntarily.

The Supreme Court presented a 15-page opinion read by Mr. Justice Black. Mr. Justice Stewart presented a 6-page dissent. On the surface, it seems the Court has laid down a ruling in opposition to prayer. The ruling insists that (1) The regulation of religion or "establishment" of religion by the State is a breach of the vital principle of separation of church and State; (2) composition of prayers by a legislative body is an imposition of religion upon some people who might not want it; (3) the State has no business composing official prayers for any group of American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by the Government.

The pro and con of this decision will be discussed for months and years. It is a tragedy and a bad commentary upon our forebears, our liberties and our religious fundamentals when a right ruling is set in the backdrop of antireligious intentions. While the Court was deciding essentially on the question of composition of prayers directed by an agency of the government, the common understanding and interpretation of the judgment of this Court is that they have ruled it wrong to pray. It is common knowledge that the pressure on this issue was placed by irreligious people. The plaintiffs are from minority groups and atheists who feel that their rights and liberties are being violated by majority pressures and compulsions. Their children were not required to recite the prayer, participation was voluntary. This definite minority group will, no doubt, persist with this encouragement to further use the public school system as a whipping boy for their persistent attack upon religion in our Nation. They seem to be shooting at the tearing down of every form or symbol which would give evidence of the religious roots of our Nation by using the legislative process through our public schools. They have a dedication to eliminate all hymns, poems, religious paintings, and special events, as Christmas, Thanksgiving, and Easter, which have spiritual significance.

This is not the only issue. In Maryland, the court of appeals ruled 4 to 3 that required reading and/or recitation of the Lord's Prayer was constitutional. This case is headed to the Supreme Court. In Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, District of Columbia, and in Virginia, the school officials are struggling over religious practices in the public schools.

Our Nation had deep religious roots. If we understand the intention of the sentences of our Bill of Rights we must understand at least three things: (1) The setting in which they were framed; (2) the men who participated in their construction; (3) the purposes our forebears saw in government relations to the basic institutions of the home, the school, and the church.

These are all a matter of 186 years of history. In the home, the schools and the churches of 1776 the Bible and prayer were conspicuous and experiential. It was never the intention of our forebears to eliminate either prayer or the Bible from the roots of any or all of these institutions. Rather, it seems evident, they intended that they stay and be used.

Through this almost two-century period strange conceptions and ideas have now developed. Some good people feel that the Christian faith should be formally written into our Constitution, a kind of European state-churchism, and some Baptists are buying the idea.

Some would turn Christian citizenship into a quasi-political party, a type of Christian front like the European Roman Catholic political thrusts. Some would organize Protestants against the Roman Catholics, or against the Jews, or against Democrats or against Republicans. Some would organize the church against labor and some against management. "Freedom" tends to be the cry raised against government when it serves the other fellow. Anyone who doesn't see things exactly according to the warped design of some minds is a "Communist."

There are some questions which must be answered, and Baptists must accept their part in bringing forth the answers.

Our Nation has rolled over in our beds of passive response and after 186 years of nominal acceptance that ours is a great religious heritage yet we wake now to try to find out what this heritage means. We must rethink our principles and premises in terms of current revelance. It is like writing some statements hundreds of years ago and letting them grow cold from misuse or no use, and then, reading them back to ourselves, we ask, "What did we mean?" We keep running head on into situations which call to focus our modern dilemma: What is the place of religion in public education, in tax policies, where the church is concerned, the place of our denomination's institutions in relation to government, the role of the Christian in politics, the monopoly of radio and television where religion or irreligion is flashed before millions of homes in America daily—Supreme Court has solved only one dilemma. They have said that government has not right to write prayers and these prayers become a part of the academic setting in our public schools. They have said that government agencies should be out of the business of directing the prayers of American people.

I concur enthusiastically in this decision. The Court could have ruled no other way without doing an injustice to the fundamental concept of our Constitution. When I first heard of this decision, I felt as many others. I got the impression through the press that our highest Court had outlawed prayer. I was fit to be tied. I felt that this was the last straw. I even questioned when it would become unlawful to pray about anything. However, upon further investigation and consideration of the Court ruling, I feel that it is, and will prove to be, a fundamental decision upon which many areas of our religious liberties can be determined. Historically, it reads like a Baptist document out of our yesterdays. It is filled with concepts and history which Baptists of a hundred years would thoroughly concur.

But more questions have to be answered. What is the relationship of this decision to a previous decision (*Everson* v. *Board of Education*) in which the Court ruled it constitutional to transport parochial school children to parochial schools? Is it constitutional to pay part of the bill for private schools to indoctrinate children for the benefit of one religious group and unconstitutional to make prayers to be read in the public schools? Does this ruling mean that no parochial school should ever constitutionally receive tax money? In a neighboring State a judgment was given by their high court that garbed nuns dedicated to just one religious group can teach in the public schools. How can a nonsectarian prayer be out and garbed nuns be in? Is the Government right in outlawing nonsectarian prayer in public schools and at the same time picking up part of the check for parochial school systems across our country which teach a regular religious catechism? Is our constituency going to keep peace with ourselves when we outlaw nonsectarian prayer, the Lord's Prayer, and the reading of the Bible, while many teachers persist in using their classroom for denouncing religious truth? Is it wrong to represent religious truth in our schools and right to denounce them? These seem to be pertinent questions in the light of this recent and right decision.

What is the obligation of the church in these complex matters? The current problem of the church is similar to the family that pulled the old clock from the attic to grace their living room. It had been so long since used that they couldn't find the way to make it run. Therefore, it became only a piece of furniture in the living room. We have written in our past a fundamental concept of relation of the church and the state, but we are having difficulty determining how to apply it.

Baptists have never been institutionalists. We do not stake God's ultimate purpose in one of two institutions. Rather, we have depended on a gospel preached and Christian witness to proclaim that "Christ is the Way, the Truth and the Life." In this preaching of the gospel we have not depended on church to establish a fundamental concept of the mind of Christ. We have not depended on state to establish Christianity. We have tenaciously held to the autonomy of the individual and the priesthood of the believer as basic tenets in the propagation of the Gospel.

We have established institutions for healing, teaching, training, and extending the purposes of the local church, beyond our immediate communities. Yet, because of our understanding of how God deals with men, we have continuously insisted on separation of church and state. But as Baptists, we do not run the Nation. Nor should any other religious group.

In the 186 years since the establishment of this country we have grown, but so has our Nation. And with its growth has come a heterogeneous population. Across this population has come the fundamental concept of separation of church and state and we have made the mistake of allowing others to define our position. We must come to do our own thinking on the current issues of religious liberty. Our forebears did well in their day, but they did not deal with our questions in our day. They stated the answers in general terms. We have suffered more confusion by accepting the instruction of legalistic, non-Baptists, and even, in many instances, non-Christian minds regarding the positions we should hold. It is urgent that we accept our own responsibilities and representations. We need to find ways and means of several things: We need to find ways and means of establishing principles and policies that enable our institutions to be representative of our ideas and commitments. Correlation of policy is so necessary where hospitals, homes for the aged, homes for children, colleges and all other institutions are implicated. Institutional policies as well as the local church policies should represent our commitment to Him who is "the Life."

We need to exchange thought and information between areas where Baptist policy is determined. Various State conventions need to avoid confusing the Nation and the political leadership as to what Baptists mean in the separation of church and state.

We need to educate our own people in the principle that adheres to our faith. The public press and mass media cannot do it. They are limited by compromise of political interests, and political pressures. The promotional efforts of civil liberty organizations can help make us good citizens but hardly good Baptists. We must, in this sense find a process of cultivating civil competence and experience of our people. They have a responsibility for the Christian use of stewardship of influence.

We need to find ways and means of correlating our Christian influence, conviction and witness with other religious groups who advocate and defend this fundamental American and Christian concept.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

1. With regard to prayer in our public schools: The nonsectarian prayer composed by the officials of New York would be no advantage to a Baptist who believes in fashioning his own prayers and saying them from his heart. True prayers are not written or composed by others and read as a ritual. Our Lord gave us the fundamental in prayer when He said, "Ask, and ye shall receive, seek, and ye shall find, knock and the door shall be opened." The Court has not said, "No prayer." It has said that government has no business in composing prayer. Prayer must never be legalistic and ritual. It must be personal and sincere, from the heart. Our children can be taught prayer in our homes and in their churches and can have the example of lives of parents and teachers whose practices of prayer are evidenced in their moral conduct.

2. A Christian constituency can permeate our schools and can undergird public school education by a spirit of prayer for every child, every school administrator, and every teacher. If ours is a Christian Nation, we have a right to assume that every facet of it will be permeated by a spirit of prayer in our homes and in our churches and in the lives of public school personnel.

3. While our schools cannot promote any one church, it is inconceivable that public interest and concern could not be expressed pertaining to administrators and teachers who use their classroom to denounce religion and advocate atheistic ideas and immoral and unchristian conduct and behavior. The same interpretation which says, "Do not advocate or promote" must also be interpreted "do not denounce or oppose."

4. There is no law, or even any suggestion of any law that prohibits the prayer life of the church. Christian people can pray. They can pray anywhere. In Acts, chapter 4, two preachers, Peter and John, were forbidden to preach. The church gathered for prayer. The outcome was a complete dedication of themselves to carry God's message through their testimony and commitment. They prayed with such effectiveness that they brought their personal possessions and laid them down at the feet of the Apostles. They were men of one heart and one mind and one purpose. This is as God would want it.

Three men had a leadership position in the formulation of the Declaration of Independence. Drafted by Thomas Jefferson, a Virginia landowner, and edited by John Adams from Massachusetts, it came to the hands of Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. Where Jefferson had written, "We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable", Franklin has penned out "sacred and undeniable" and wrote in "self-evident". This was the religious consciousness of those who formulated the document around which our Nation was founded. It was self-evident that this Nation's identity was wrapped up in religious truths. We must not chisel the inscription "In God We Trust" from our coins, nor delete "one nation under God, indivisible" from the pledge to our flag. On the contrary we must go back and find those roots and water them and nurture them and cultivate them. It is as true today as it was a long time ago that God waits to find the response of a people upon whom He has laid His hand to influencethis world for Him.

"If My people, which are called by My name, will humble themselves, and pray, and seek My face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and will heal their land."

## The Farmer's Market Is Worldwide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, we who represent the Midwest in Congress have a great responsibility to agriculture. One of the ablest spokesmen for the farmer is my colleague from Minnesota, Congressman ANCHER NELSEN. On August 6 Mr. NELSEN addressed the silver anniversary of soybean processing at Mankato, Minn., and I believe his remarks on that occasion will be of interest to all Members of Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include his speech herewith:

THE FARMER'S MARKET IS WORLDWIDE

Some months ago, when the idea for this meeting began to take shape, I was intrigued with the proposal and delighted that I should be asked to participate. And, as I thought about it, it seemed to me to be a fine opportunity for all of us to talk awhile about the things that bring us together rather than the things that divide us. I've made this special trip from Washington in the midst of much turmoil, political and economic, where the angry heat of a Washington summer and the hot winds of campaign argument sometimes warp the judgments of the sanest man.

So in this atmosphere of southern Minnesota perhaps we can look at some of these matters with more objectivity, as we join in celebrating the silver anniversary of an industry which was nothing 30 years ago, and which now represents America's fifth biggest cash crop—a billion dollar soybean product with its countless ramifications in farm income, in industrial employment and in foreign trade.

I come to you, therefore, knowing that though we may differ sharply on matters which are close to us, we have a number of substantial common interests. Suppose, for my text, I recite some of these common interests:

First. I'm certain that I shall have no argument when I say that every person in this room is interested in a prosperous and successful agriculture.

Second. I am equally certain that every one of us accepts the fact that foreign trade is of vital importance to us all.

Third. There can be no argument, I know, that every one of us is for a strong, healthy, peaceful America.

And finally—you can argue this one with me if you like, but I offer it regardless—every last one of us is interested in his own personal well-being.

Now, suppose we take each of these points and look at the facts. First, that we agree we want a prosperous agriculture. Sometimes, I suppose, it doesn't look that way as we quarrel about how to achieve it, but I think it's fair to say that as you look back over the years, there has never been any program dealing with agriculture that has stabilized in any one pattern long enough to establish its worth as far as achievements are concerned. You don't have to dig very deeply into the record of farm programs for 30 years or more to find a bewildering maze of actions which range from plowing under corn to crusading for big production for war, to bemoaning the billion dollar surplus stocks of wheat.

And you don't have to dig very deep to find puzzlement in shifting proposals of high supports, low supports, flexible supports; of controlled production and freedom; of penalties and incentives.

And right on the surface are the obvious facts of political parties and farm organizations alike fighting perennial contests to prove that you're wrong and I'm right; of Farm Bureau with one story, Farmers Union with another, and the Grange frequently in the middle. Pity the poor city Congressman who tries to referee between these arguments, while he seeks to protect his consumers; while we who represent the farmers watch with constant concern as we strive for badly needed increases in farm income.

I do not propose to add to the turmoil in this discussion, because I am hopeful that we are getting a farm program at least for next year which will be good for most of us. That is, we may get an acceptable program, although the maneuvers between Senate and House the last week or two leave plenty of room for doubt. The feed grain bill of last year had many desirable features, actually very much like the bill which I and some of my Midwest colleagues introduced in the previous session. I, however, did not like the feature of the bill which was designed to interfere with the free marketing of grain. I do not believe the Secretary of Agriculture should have power to dump grain on the market at will, at prices of his choosing, setting aside normal marketing procedures to the injury of private trade and farmers alike. Similarly, I support extension of the law for the next year—a matter still pending between the two Houses—in the hope that sooner or later we could get earnestly to work on a long-range program.

I'd like to talk a little about my view of such a long-range program, but first it might be well to review briefly a few of the factors which have made this year's debate so involved.

In the first place, in considering the proposals presented by the administration, let's recall that Secretaries of Agriculture for many years had the right under the law to include corn in a controlled program. And yet, whether the Secretary was Henry Wallace or Claude Wickard or Clinton Anderson or Charles Brannan or Ezra Benson, never did he at any time submit corn and feed grains to a program of controls, and you must admit that this was indeed a diverse series of Secretaries of Agriculture.

So when the GTA Digest said as long ago as last February that "This may be too much for Congress to swallow in one gulp—it may even be more than farmers are ready right now to approve at the ballot boxes," it was, to say the least, prophetic. Because not only did Members of Congress find it impossible to swallow, but my mail and the mail of every Member with whom I talked ran tremendously against the compulsions of the program. And I want to tell you with all honesty that Farmers Union members showed very little more interest in the proposals than did their Farm Bureau friends down the road.

So by May of this year the GTA Digest was able to say, without shedding a visible tear, that the alternative is continuation of this year's program, and added simply, "It makes good sense."

Statements like this could be made because we farmers are, at least in small measure, learning to curtail production, and to make some adjustment to the realities of life. And we are demonstrating that we can

do it if we are handed a workable combination of incentives and supports which we can buy of our own free will.

Perhaps the lessons of deals which developed when the House considered the administration bill should not quickly be forgotten. When it came before us after months of deliberation in committee, and when its sponsors accepted amendment after amendment simply to garner votes, the product was a measure which bore little resemblance to the bill they started with. Areas that were considered feed grain deficit areas were granted exemption from strict compliance features; producers having 40 acres or less of feed grain base were granted special treatment; then, to top it all off came the cynical offer to permit cottongrowers to plant feed grain when a cotton crop failed. When we were all through it was evident that some 13 Midwest States would bear the brunt of reduction in production, along with a phasing out of payments for retired acres.

Not only was it evident that the result would be discrimination against farmers of this area, but it would not produce the desired result in the way of a farm program. It seems to me that total participation as well as cross compliance are essential for an effective program.

At the same time we all know that as far as wheat is concerned, the United States is the only country in the world which is curtailing its production. We know, too, that it is Hard Winter wheat which is responsible for virtually all of the surplus, that most of the Government holdings are less than the best in quality, and that yields in recent years have increased sharply due to better varieties and methods. It, of course, was demonstrated sharply in the feed grains last year—and undoubtedly will this year—when fertilizer sales jumped upward to offset in some degree the decline in acreage.

What I've been trying to say is that your chances of being right when you attempt to draft farm legislation are next to nothing—at least, in the minds of some of our friends. If my friend Bill over here thinks I'm right, then the chances are my friend Tom over there will violently disagree. So I suggest, among other things, a bit of patience by all of us.

So with all that, I propose that the following be the basic ingredients of a farm program which I believe will work, which will be acceptable, and which will be good for the Nation, and which I would hope would be necessary only so long as we do not have the markets for the tremendous production and handling capabilities of American agriculture:

First. All farmers participate in a land retirement program. If a farmer refuses to take land out on a voluntary basis, he forfeits any and all payments and supports that come from the Federal Government.

Second. In dealing with land retirement we have in mind that each farm has individual characteristics adapted to different types of family-farm operation and that instead of dealing with separate commodities as we now are doing, we deal with total cultivated acres on each individual farm, requiring a certain percentage of reduction.

Third. The payment could be a modest one per acre if the farmer wishes to receive cash, and if the farmer operates a livestock farm where all of his feed is used on the farm, make a liberal payment out of surplus feed to replace the feed that he would have raised on his own acres. The requirement in this case would, of course, be that these commodities be not thrown back into the competitive market.

Fourth. Supports should be adjustable to meet requirements either of surplus or of deficit. I am sure we have all seen examples of supports set at such a level that surplus results; on the other hand, low supports can reduce surpluses but sharply reduce farm income as well. But an adjustable system without a vast army of policemen to enforce it should certainly be possible. You would have the wholesome attitude of voluntary participation which could be stimulated tremendously under a tillable acre approach. It would provide some flexibility of operation that could accommodate the individual characteristics of every farm in the country.

Fifth. Commodity Credit surpluses should not be dumped as permitted under the present program. We should revert to the previous level at 105 percent of supports—higher would be better.

Sixth. I recommend an on-the-farm storage program, liberalized over the present procedure and made more acceptable, reducing the redtape involved, where the farmer by signing proper agreements with the local ASC committee would build storage on the farm which could be amortized out of storage fees. This facility when fully amortized by fees collected becomes the property of the farmer but would be available for surplus grain on the farm at no cost to the Government. This could be a long-range program that would not violently disrupt commercial facilities but would progressively move toward a proper location of the stored grain; right on the farm where in many cases the farmer would buy it back at a later date. I have no objections to a reasonable commercial storage participation, but we have seen the extremes come about which is not good even for the grain trade.

Part of the acceptable and essential business of assuring a prosperous agriculture is undoubtedly a good system of farmer cooperatives. I don't suppose there is really any difference of opinion here, although the argument waxes heavy on equality, on taxes, on allegations of competitive advantage. I can recall that in my days in the Minnesota Legislature we did many things to encourage marketing cooperatives as part of the continuing task of assuring the farmer adequate access to markets and some measure of control over his markets.

I think most of us can agree that there is room in our great economy for both the cooperative method and private industry; that competition between them must be fair; that the middle ground requires that there be no monopoly on either side. It is out of this philosophy, of course, that the battle has been waged over the taxation of cooperatives, and out of it has come a proposal which would tax cooperative dividends—wholly satisfying neither side and therefore a compromise which is rather typical of the legislative process.

You will recall, of course, that President Kennedy has urged such a tax. He said in his tax message last year:

"Contrary to the intention of Congress substantial income from certain cooperative enterprises, reflecting business operations, is not being taxed either to the cooperative organization itself or its members. This situation must be corrected in a manner that is fair and just to both the cooperatives and competing businesses."

Of course, here too we remain in a state of uncertainty, because the proposed tax on cooperative dividends has become an incidental item in a protracted argument over the general tax bill—a bill which has already suffered defeat of withholding on dividends and interest, a bill which is getting extensive argument in the Senate while we wait to see what the President is going to ask for in the way of tax reductions—a bill which could yet wind up in the wastebasket. Whatever happens, it is apparent that if a tax bill is enacted, it will include a revision of the tax treatment of cooperatives.

I want to discuss foreign trade in a minute, but first a comment or two about this amazing soybean industry which we are celebrating tonight. When you stop to think of it, it's as glamorous as any other of the new ventures which spring up, whether it be television or space flight or whatever. Because here is a billion-dollar product which has sprung up in a quarter of a century, and which is a tremendous item in our foreign trade. We supply 75 percent of the soybean, soy oil, and cotton oil in world trade, so it is certainly a mighty factor. And I understand that 40 percent of the product of this Honeymead plant in Mankato goes abroad.

I voted for the Trade Extension Act a few weeks ago, but I did so with some hesitation because I am not at all sure that the United States will do such a good job of trading abroad that our farmers won't be left holding the sack. GTA Digest, for example, said just 5 months ago, with reference to negotiations of the last year and a half with Common Market countries, that "U.S. agriculture came out on the short end of the stick."

Yet, we have no choice but to gamble that we'll come out all right. Because, after all, one-fourth of our agricultural products are exported; American farmers have a market in Western Europe of nearly $3 billion—wheat, soybeans, and soy oil, dairy products, meats, cotton, and many other products; during the past decade Japan has bought more of our farm products than any other country; last year alone, for example, Japan bought $100 million worth of soybeans from the United States.

So we must protect what we have, develop marketing and trading arrangements with these good customers of ours, bargain to the best of our ability so that we don't run into the equivalent of a customs union in the Common Market which could shut us out. We must get our production and our costs in such shape that we can deal, and work toward a selling job that will give us an expanding market rather than one that might well decline.

The choices are not easy. We could develop domestic programs designed to achieve a higher unit price for our farm products, by curtailing production, and in the process flirt with the possibility of losing foreign markets because we would be unable to compete. Or we can let costs and prices drop for competitive purposes, making it easier to sell abroad, but endangering the income of our farmers—which certainly none of us want to do. Let's hope the happy medium will be our answer.

But let's not forget that virtually every other country in the world, from our Canadian neighbor to the primitive farms of Asia, is expanding production and encouraging farmers to raise more, while we alone are fighting to cut back. Let's not forget that some of our best friends are free to sell vast quantities of wheat to Red China—a market which we cannot touch. Let's keep in mind, too, that the loss of our foreign markets for farm products could cut our farm income by 40 percent and be disastrous to our entire economy.

So the great international game is full of hazards, aggravated, I must confess, by our domestic tendency to be careless with our own monetary policies, to be always willing to give until it hurts—and too often until it hurts us—and affected by the fact, which we must never forget, that every last one of these nations is developing its plans for their own sake, just as we must never forget our own interest.

And our own interest demands that we step up our own selling abroad, particularly of our agricultural products, in spite of the handicaps which confront us. Food for Peace, through Government channels, is most helpful in disposing of some of our surpluses, but if we leave it to Government to function for us in the world market, we are courting disaster. Here is indeed a selling job such as some of you in this room are familiar with and doing well at. But let's pool all the best brains in all branches of marketing so that we can bring out the best ideas for the good of all, so that we can really dig into our surplus problem, so

that we can make our food and our influence felt with the needy of the world.

I want to add another point: I said earlier that we might find ourselves out-traded in the quest for markets under trade agreements. I suggest that those in positions of power whose responsibility the negotiations will be, make full use of the skills and the knowledge of men in the business of marketing so that we can really progress.

This leads me to my last two points which are not too unrelated. Certainly I know we all agree that our great nation must be strong—economically, spiritually, militarily—yet peaceful in our aims and determined to prove our honorable intentions even to those who suspect us. To be these things, our agriculture must be healthy, our industry must be successful, our economic and fiscal structure in such fine shape that we can hold our heads high and serve both ourselves and the world. Therein lies our self-interest.

And similarly, I do not believe we need to be ashamed of the fact that every last one of us, as individuals, as companies, as organizations, are devoted to our own interest. We want success, we want progress for ourselves, whatever our occupation. Our problem always is to make that self-interest a mutual one in that we allow ourselves the luxury of believing that the other fellow has rights too; that it is possible to work together for the common goals which I have enumerated, while defending our own rights and positions.

I found in my tour of duty as head of the REA that it is possible by patience and reason, by convincing people that each point of view is deserving of consideration, that partnership is possible even between competitors. Despite the antagonisms, I found that utilities, REA cooperatives, municipalities, public-power groups could be brought together if an atmosphere of confidence could be developed, if it became possible to convince men that reason should prevail. We found it possible to provide the people with service, to reduce power costs, to reduce the burden on Government. I must confess, however, that this atmosphere could be developed only if those in positions of power were willing to be the umpires rather than the dictators.

So my plea tonight is that we think in terms of developing an atmosphere and an attitude of confidence, based on these things which we all are for, so that we can sit around together and consider how best to improve America, how best to assure that we perform wisely and well in the world in which we must lead, how best to serve agriculture in which we all are interested, and how best to reduce some of the suspicions and animosities which make progress so difficult.

This atmosphere of teamwork and dedication to common goals will put us in the position to meet the challenge which should be facing American agriculture today—that of finding and selling the markets to feed the hungry people in other nations of the world. The result then has to be a strong, prosperous agriculture in a greater, more prosperous America.

## Ins and Outs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, there is great concern among those who live by grace of the New Frontier to assure that they are always on the right—or perhaps I should say correct—side of the line that marks the New Frontier ins and outs. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] has done great service for those who must watch their step along these lines by devoting a part of his August 2 newsletter to an in-and-out guide of the New Frontier. The New York Herald Tribune, having learned the importance of knowing the ins and outs of the New Frontier, reprinted the gentleman's sage advice and, since those most interested in staying on the "in" side might not be on the gentleman's mailing list or might not be readers of the Herald Tribune, I am placing this handy guide in the RECORD to help separate the ins and outs.

THE INS AND OUTS OF THE NEW FRONTIER

(By Congressman PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.)

(This is the newsletter sent to his constituents today by Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Republican, of Morristown, N.J.)

On the New Frontier you are either in or out.

Some of the people who are in are Robert Frost, Pablo Casals, and Harry Truman. Roger Blough was out but he is now in. Senator SMATHERS was in but he may now be out. Bobby is so in he is way out. Teddy will soon be in, they hope.

Pool parties in Bobby's backyard are in, as are many of the guests. Harvard professors are in. Princeton professors are out. MIT, Minnesota, and Dartmouth are in. Rutgers, Columbia, Purdue, and Cornell are out.

Twisting on the New Frontier is obviously in, the mashed potato is out. Antiques are in, modern out.

Everyone thinks the ADA is in but it is really out. Needless to say, the AMA is out.

The white tie is out. At the Justice Department shirtsleeves are in.

Talk about the stock market is out. Africa is in. Spain is out. So are France, Belguim, the Netherlands, and Peru. Italy is in. Chiang Kai-shek is so far out that he is in. The United Nations is in.

Chester Bowles was in. Now he is out.

Testifying before congressional committees is out.

Pat Brown thinks he is in. Secretary Freeman has a feeling he is out.

It is in to refer to the New Frontier hospitalization bill as medicare. No one knows yet whether a tax cut is in or out. It is out to watch the "Ev and Charlie Show." It is in to make fun of it.

The Washington Post is so far in that it is almost out. The New York Herald Tribune is coming back in. To be mentioned in Reston's column is in but the New York Times may be on the way out.

Senators who want to be in are out. Only their votes are in. Southern Democrats are in. Doris Fleeson is out. Roscoe Drummond doesn't care whether he is in or out, so he is in.

Drew Pearson is out. But a Drew Pearson column is in.

Membership in the Metropolitan Club is out. The Capitol Hill Club can never be in. Neither can Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, or Nelson Rockefeller.

To be seen with one of the astronauts is in. Traveling with J.F.K. on the Presidential plane the *Caroline*, is in. It is better than a junket.

Nehru is in. Souvanna Phouma is in. So are two-button suits.

Touch football is going out but Bobby hasn't been told yet. Water skiing is in, for the summer. Golf is an enigma.

LYNDON JOHNSON is out. He always was.

Texas is out.

Billie Sol almost got in. Now even mention of him is out.

Remarking that the New Deal was grand is out.

The phrase "one term" is out. Because of Adlai Stevenson, New York is out.

Newport, Hyannis Port, Squaw Island, and Palm Beach are in. Glen Ora is going out fast. Pecos, Newark, and Gettysburg are out.

The fireside chat is out. The press conference is in. Reporters are in. Publishers are out. No exceptions.

Television is out, except when J.F.K. is on.

Sinatra is out for all time. Peter Lawford took care of that. Morton Downey may be taking his place.

Among Republicans it is fashionable to be out. Among Democrats it is fatal, unless they live south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Superpatriots are out.

Congress is out.

The watchword: Sophistication.

(With apologies to "The In and the Out Book," Viking, 1959, which you should read. If it is not in, it ought to be.)

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district, has written a very interesting and informative series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River, especially in the Pittston area. This series has been appearing each week in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch and as part of my remarks today I include the latest installment of last Sunday, August 5, 1962.

The article follows:

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—FLOODS, ICE GORGES HIT REGION MANY TIMES; ONE PULLED DOWN THREE BRIDGES

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

Because of its topography, Pittston has generally been spared from the devastating aftermath of floods which ravaged the Susquehanna River since the earliest days of the settlement.

Constructed on high ground, Pittston has never suffered the tremendous property damage and loss of lives which other less fortunate communities have had to endure.

There have been instances of inconvenience in the lives of some Pittstonians, such as the period following the flood which occurred on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1875, when the three Pittston bridges were swept away: the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad bridge (D.L. & W.) at Pittston Junction; and the Ferry and Water Street bridges in Pittston.

Generally speaking, the city's losses in flood times have been rather slim as compared to neighboring areas.

West Pittston Borough suffered from several of the inundations on the Susquehanna River. A large segment of Duryea Borough was damaged by the roaring waters of the Lackawanna River in June 1942, and after the Hurricane Diane in 1955.

Among the more important flood or high-water conditions which occurred in this section of Wyoming Valley were: February 25, 1772; 1783, a very high flood after a most

severe winter inundated the entire valley causing inhabitants to flee to the mountains, from which point many watched as their homesteads were washed away; March 15, 1784, when 15 buildings in Pittston were swept away in an ice flood which buried inhabitants in their homes; October 5, 1786, the Great Pumpkin Flood.

PUMPKIN FLOOD

The pumpkin flood of 1786 was one of the Susquehanna River's rarest sights. Freshets caused an overflow to lowlands where farmers had planted pumpkins. Thousands of these were carried off by the rushing waters, which rose 6 feet in 24 hours. Accredited reports state the river was covered from bank to bank with pumpkins.

The Blanchard cabin, erected prior to the Revolutionary War by Jeremiah Blanchard, at the present site of 1650 River Road, in the Port Blanchard section of Jenkins Township, was washed down the river to Monockonock Island during the flood.

Later, the Blanchard cabin was retrieved and was removed to its original site where it was used as a dwelling for a short period, being later owned by John and Sarah Blanchard.

KILLED BY INDIAN

In its early days, the Blanchard cabin was occupied by an elderly couple, relatives of the Blanchards. They befriended a young Indian boy by taking him in to live with them. Later, he killed them both.

Floods also occurred on April 1807, May 14, 1833, and March 13, 1846.

CARRIES AWAY BRIDGES

The 1846 flood was a great and disasterous one. It carried away bridges constructed over the river, below Pittston.

In September 1860 there was a destructive flood, caused by continual heavy rains in the early portion of the month, which accounted for loss of lives and much property damage, in many parts of Wyoming Valley.

In the spring of 1861, occurred the highest ice flood in 50 years. It caused immense damage.

On St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1865, occurred the greatest flood to ravage this region up to that time. Places presumed to be safe for refuge were inundated. Other floods occurred on May 10, 1867, and on May 10, 1869.

The flood of St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1875, which resulted when an ice gorge at Ransom gave way, is reported to have caused the highest recording ever reached at the river-measuring station, 35.6 feet.

SUDDEN AND SEVERE

The 1875 flood was as sudden as it was severe. Coxton Yards of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, and the adjacent village, were completely covered with ice. Over 500 railroad cars in Coxton Yards had to be dug out by pick and axe. The Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad bridge at Pittston Junction was lifted from its moorings and carried downstream.

When the wreckage of the railroad bridge hit the Ferry Bridge it lifted it from its piers as a tenpin is bowled over by the pin in front of it. The double amount of wreckage traveled down the turbulent stream where it folded under the Water Street Bridge which it lifted from its piers. The wreckage of the three bridges was later found on the riverbank, 3 miles north of Wilkes-Barre.

All that remained of the Water Street Bridge after the storm was one span on the east side of the bridge and the pier which supported it.

DESCRIBES IT

In recalling the 1875 flood an oldtimer said: "The ice broke up with a noise resembling the roar of artillery. Huge pieces of ice rose high above the riverbank. Yet, as destructive and terrible as it was, the sight was as grand as it was terrible." Not in the memory of the oldest inhabitant had such an appalling sight occurred. Communication between Pittston and the west side of the river was maintained by steamers, flats, and rowboats. There was lively competition for this business, with the fare charged being 10 cents each way.

On April 1, the traditional moving day, some residents moved their belongings across the river on the ice.

Additional floods took place on January 24, 1891, and on March 11, 1893, when an ice blockade occurred.

In the flood of 1893, West Pittston suffered much damage. Susquehanna Avenue was flooded from York Avenue to Montgomery Avenue. Huge cakes of ice were carried as far as Wyoming Avenue. Fifteen minutes after the ice blockade had broken, the water began to recede. In 1 hour the water was 3 feet below the top of the river bank.

LIKE ESKIMO VILLAGE

During this period West Pittston looked like an Eskimo village. Susquehanna Avenue was filled with huge cakes of ice, and the region from York Avenue to Exeter Avenue was completely blocked. The Eagle Hose Co. steamer, was pressed into service pumping water out of the cellers along Susquehanna Avenue where the water reached even to the first floor of some homes. The town was in darkness, as the electric wires had been broken by the heavy ice and sleet. It is stated that in West Pittston this flood reached a point 1 inch higher than the flood of 1865 and 6 inches higher than the 1875 flood.

An ice gorge took place on March 3, 1895, a flood on April 1, 1896, an ice gorge on January 7, 1899, an ice gorge on December 15, 1901, and a flood on March 2, 1902.

On March 9, 1904, West Pittston again was hit by flood waters. It is reported the water reached as far as Linden Street, and caused grave concern to the inhabitants. Many regarded this as the biggest flood in the borough's history, up to that time.

Other floods took place on March 3, 1910, March 28, 1913, March 29, 1914, March 1916, and in the spring of 1920. In addition floods were reported in October 1927, April 1929, July 1935, and on Saint Patrick's Day, March 17, 1936.

The 1936 flood inundated anthracite mines in this region throwing several thousand men out of work. The State administration, under Gov. George H. Earle, was prompt in sending in pumps to dewater the mines.

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## The Pacific Northwest Regional Power Preference Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a telegram and a letter from the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. The regional power preference like that proposed in H.R. 11264 and H.R. 11265, threatens to cut off Federal power vitally needed to pump water to large water-deficient areas in the Western States. Southern California now depends on power from Hoover and Parker Dams to supply water for domestic irrigation and industrial uses. The water needs of 8 million people in southern California are served by the Metropolitan Water District. The district pays $7 million a year for Federal power to pump Colorado River water over the mountains and into the southern California coastal plain.

Our population, increasing at the rate of 1,500 a day, needs water which can be made available by using Federal power from the Colorado River project, from the California Central Valley project, and from the Columbia River projects. The Northwest regional power preference bill, as well as the amendments proposed by Senator GOLDWATER and Congressman GUBSER, would isolate southern California from all Federal power. Therefore, the Metropolitan Water District in a telegram and a letter sent to the California Senators, Senators ENGLE and KUCHEL, and to Members of the congressional delegation from southern California, has urged us on behalf of the board of directors of the district to assist to our utmost in defeating this proposed legislation. I have responded to their call and pledged to do everything in my power to carry out the wishes of this great public agency and the millions they serve and we represent in Congress. The telegram and letter are as follows:

METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT,
*July 25, 1962.*

Hon. JAMES B. UTT,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

Respectfully wish to inform you board of directors of Metropolitan Water District of Southern California went on record yesterday in opposition to S. 3153, H.R. 11264 and H.R. 11265, the Pacific Northwest regional power preference bills. Board is deeply concerned that such legislation would establish precedent which could result in eventual loss of hydroelectric power to district from Colorado River facilities such as Hoover Dam and from other facilities to be built on the Colorado River and in other areas. This power urgently needed to pump water over Tehachapis from northern and central California to MWD areas in southern California. Hoover energy alone helps pump 1 billion gallons a day of supplemental water for 8 million people within district's boundaries on southern California coastal plain. Strongly urge you exert every effort to prevent passage of this proposed legislation.

JOSEPH JENSEN,
*Chairman, Board of Directors, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.*

THE METROPOLITAN WATER DISTRICT
OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA,
*Los Angeles, Calif., July 30, 1962.*

Hon. JAMES B. UTT,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UTT: You will perhaps remember that we sent you a telegram on July 25 informing you that the board of directors of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California had gone on record opposing S. 3153 and H.R. 11264 and H.R. 11265, the Pacific Northwest regional power preference bills. The purpose of this letter is to explain more fully the reason why the board took this stand.

It seems to come as a surprise to most people to learn how great an amount of electrical power the Metropolitan Water District requires to transport water from the

Colorado River to the coastal plain of southern California. The amount is simply enormous—enough to meet all the needs of a city the size of Pittsburgh, Pa. Our expenditures for electrical energy are currently running to approximately $7 million a year.

We obtain this power from several sources. We buy 36 percent of all the power generated at Hoover Dam; our contract with the Federal Government to purchase this energy whether we used it or not was a key element in assuring the construction of Hoover. We also have the right to, and are using, one-half of the power generated at Parker Dam on the Colorado River, 150 miles below Hoover; Parker Dam was constructed by the Federal Government with funds provided by the Metropolitan Water District. Finally, because there is not enough energy available to use from these two Federal facilities to serve our needs, we buy power from the Southern California Edison Co.

Now then, as you know, we have contracted with the State of California to purchase 1,500,000 acre-feet of so-called Feather River water. This is roughly 25 percent greater than the quantity we are now getting from the Colorado. This Feather River supply will have to be boosted a total height of more than 3,000 feet to surmount the Tehachapis. What we pay for this water—and, in any even, the cost will be high—will be determined to a large degree by the cost of the power for these pumps.

At first glance, it might seem, therefore, that we should favor the idea underlying these bills of bringing relatively cheap Federal hydroelectric power from the Pacific Northwest where it is presently in surplus to areas such as California and that we should perhaps be willing to take a chance on how long it might remain in surplus.

To our view, however, this no longer is the pivotal consideration, if it ever was. All our information from Washington, D.C., indicates that many, if not all, of the areas of origin of Federal hydroelectric power will be seeking amendments to this proposed legislation giving regional preference to their utilities, private as well as public, over contractors located outside that region. You are aware, of course, that virtually no hydroelectric energy—which is much less expensive than that derived from other sources—is generated in southern California.

We, therefore, believe that these bills endanger our present supply of power from at least Hoover Dam and jeopardize our hopes for a share of the energy to be produced at Glen Canyon Dam even though hydrologically the pumping plants for our aqueduct are within the Colorado River Basin. We believe further that their passage could result in restricting or oven cutting off entirely Federal hydroelectric power generated in central and northern California and needed to pump water through the State aqueduct to southern California.

It is conceded that these strong possibilities we are pointing out would lie some years away. However, in planning and building and keeping in operation a water supply system such as our Colorado River aqueduct and the State's California aqueduct, we must always be looking far, far ahead and making the most accurate assessment we can of future risks. Forty years passed, for example, between the time of the first field studies for the Colorado River aqueduct and the day it was in operation to its full designed capacity. Upon examining this proposed regional preference legislation from this standpoint, we are convinced that it is sharply adverse to the long-range welfare of the people of the Metropolitan Water District. It would, to our mind, set a precedent that could cost our taxpayers and water users very heavily in years ahead.

I write this letter at the direction of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Water District and, in so doing, I again urge you, on behalf of the board, to assist to your utmost in defeating this proposed legislation.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH JENSEN, *Chairman.*

## A Proposed Constitutional Amendment To Restore the True Intention of the Framers of the Bill of Rights Regarding the Establishment of a State Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a proposed amendment to the Constitution that is designed to restore to the Constitution the true intention of the framers of the Bill of Rights with regard to the establishment of a state religion. This proposed amendment would be completely unnecessary if the Supreme Court had only adhered to the philosophy of the Founding Fathers, instead of being beguiled and confused by slogans such as "a wall of separation between church and state."

Nothing could have been further from the minds of the godly statesmen of the 18th century than the setting up of a godless state, and I am sure that they would be horrified and scandalized if they could see how grossly their intentions have been twisted in recent years. Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, the Protestant Episcopal bishop of California, has discerningly said that the actual effect of the Court's decision in the New York State regent's prayer case was to establish a state religion, "namely, that of secularism." His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman has asserted:

> The Supreme Court's decision to declare unconstitutional a simple and voluntary expression of dependence on God by our public school children is a tragic misreading of the prayerfully weighed words of our Founding Fathers, and strikes at the very heart of the godly tradition in which America's children have for so long been nurtured.

Now can the recent Court decision be reconciled with the language of article III of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which stated:

> Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

This was drafted at the same time that our Founding Fathers were gathered in Philadelphia and, in fact, represented a statutory bill of rights for residents of the Northwest Territory of the United States.

When practically every other provision of the Constitution is being interpreted "liberally" by the Court with the result that many of our freedoms are being turned into licenses, the one provision that is receiving a rigid and stultifying interpretation "according to the letter" is that relating to the freedom of religion. The epistle to the Corinthians in which it was said "not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, and the spirit giveth life" is still sound today and is the basis of a canon of constitutional construction that certainly should be applied to the first amendment—that each clause of the Constitution must be construed according to the spirit of the entire document.

If the Constitution prohibits the Congress from establishing a state religion—and property so—by what right and authority does the Court now do so, as Cardinal Spellman and Bishop Pike have suggested? In setting a precedent by which future courts may bar any mention of the Almighty from our public schools and facilities, the Court is, in effects, establishing a state religion, for secularism is a creed espousing material and temporal values.

Mr. Speaker, my proposed amendment simply reaffirms and strengthens the original meaning of the first amendment in language that will clearly guide any present or future Court. This is precisely the reason why my resolution is designed specifically to amend the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to read as follows:

> Congress may not make any law establishing secularism or any religious denomination or sect, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

By eliminating the broad phrase "respecting the establishment of religion" my proposed amendment more clearly gives effect to the intention of the Founding Fathers to prohibit the establishment of a state church, while at the same time permitting the Congress to implement that intention by legislation should the need to do so ever arise. This the Congress could not do if the phrase were given a literal construction, because any law on the subject could be construed as a law "respecting the establishment of a religion."

Just as I deplore those who would destroy the Supreme Court because of this decision, so, too, do I hold no brief for those who regard the proposal of a constitutional amendment as a disparagement of the Court. In establishing the system of checks and balances our Founding Fathers saw clearly the need for orderly public veto over the judicial as well as the legislative and executive branches. To completely isolate one from the pulse of society would be to destroy the delicate balance of that system.

Yet, I do not offer my amendment in order to override the recent decision in the New York State regents prayer case alone. Rather, I do so because I fear the future judicial pronouncements emanating from it. Under similar misinterpretations of the intent of the first amendment's establishment clause, I fear for the future legality of such traditions as baccalaureate services in public schools and tax exemption for religious properties.

Indeed, I fear for the very survival of the spiritual and moral values which set

our and other nations so far apart from the sterile materialism of our Communist enemies. While our Constitution properly forbids the promotion of any one form of worship, it likewise was never meant to preside over the decline of religion, for as Moses warned the people of Israel in the ancient Book of Deuteronomy:

Beware lest you say in your heart my power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth. And if you forget the Lord your God I solemnly warn you this day that you shall surely perish. Like the nations that the Lord made to perish before you, you shall surely perish.—Deuteronomy 8: 11–20.

## New Haven Railroad's First Half Deficit Was Smaller Than in 1961

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, it has been a year since the New Haven Railroad went into bankruptcy and its operations were assigned to a three-man board of trustees. The fate of this key facility serving such a highly industrialized, urban, and suburban section of the country, is being watched by all of us who are seeking answers to the problems of mass transportation.

The Federal Government is deeply involved in the affairs of the New Haven, as the guarantor of millions of dollars of loans authorized for the railroad.

It is with great gratification that we read the trustees' latest financial report in which they indicate that further borrowings under this Federal authority may not be needed.

The trustees, Mr. Richard J. Smith, Mr. William J. Kirk, and Mr. Harry W. Dorigan, are to be commended for their excellent administration. I know every Member will be pleased at the signs of hope they offer for the future of the railroad and will wish them continued success.

So that all Members may see the details of this success, I submit the following account of their achievement which appeared in the Wall Street Journal:

NEW HAVEN RAILROAD'S FIRST HALF DEFICIT WAS SMALLER THAN IN 1961—TRUSTEES SAY CONCERN MAY AVOID NEW BORROWING; GAINS ARE LAID TO LOWER OPERATING EXPENSES

NEW YORK.—The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad may be able to avoid once-expected extra borrowings because of financial improvements in the first half of this year.

The road, which relies heavily on commuter traffic for business, had a half year deficit of $6,843,721, but this was $4,933,342 less than for the 1961 period, which saw the New Haven undergo reorganization proceedings under the bankruptcy act.

After R. J. Smith, W. J. Kirk, and H. W. Dorigan became trustees of the carrier a year ago today, they borrowed $5 million through a trustee certificate issue to take care of overdue obligations and for working capital.

They borrowed another $3 million last December and then estimated an additional $4.5 million would have to be borrowed before the carrier reached a cash break-even point. "It now appears," said the trustees, "that such * * * borrowings will not be necessary to provide operating funds."

The New Haven's improvement was "primarily accomplished by reductions in operating expenses," the trustees said. Operating revenues increased by $886,839, while operating expenses in the first half were chopped by $3,248,514 from the 1961 period.

The trustees said they were checking the excess of cash outflow over cash inflow. In the first 6 months this year, cash loss was $210,000, compared with a cash loss of $5,873,000 in the last 5 months of 1961. During the 1961 period the highest cash loss was in August, when outflow exceeded inflow by $3,271,000. This was due, the trustees said, "primarily to payment of pressing obligations such as payrolls and taxes left unpaid by the previous management."

But the trustees cautioned: "Additional cash losses will occur during the coming months, but with the repeal of the 10-percent Federal excise tax on passenger tickets, effective November 15, and the increasing cumulative effect of economy measures, continuing cash attrition should be halted before the end of the year." Cash as of June 30 was $6,629,000, up from $3,849,385 on July 7 last year, when the management filed with the Federal district court in New Haven for reorganization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. But at the end of 1961 the cash on hand was $6,901,206, or more than on June 30, 1962.

The trustees hedged a bit on the prospect of not needing new borrowings. They said: "An unforeseen catastrophe, such as a major strike or the need for some extraordinary expenditure to provide necessary additional facilities might, however, involve a new loan."

## The Venezuelan Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, while we in Congress persist in refusing to capitalize on the natural gambling spirit of the American people and while we stubbornly continue to ignore the tremendous revenue-producing features of a national lottery in the United States, most of the countries throughout the world continue to treat and respect gambling as an instinctive and universal human trait which brings pleasure to the people and financial benefits to government treasuries.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, to bring to the attention of the Members of this House some interesting facts and figures which I have gathered from some of these countries where the wheels of fortune spin on behalf of the public welfare.

VENEZUELA

This small South American nation, with a population of less than 7 million, last year took in over $48 million, of which over $30 million was given out in prizes leaving about $19 million as revenue for the treasury.

Venezuela uses this income from gambling wisely. The great bulk of this revenue was used for the benefit of hospitals and schools, and the remainder was devoted to other government purposes.

Mr. Speaker, with our taxes rapidly rising and with the need for new sources of revenue to meet our public demands becoming more pressing, is there a more painless or sensible way of raising Government revenue than a national lottery? Venezuela does not think so.

## Who Conserves Our Resources?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the word "conservation" has many connotations, and takes on different forms for many people, but certainly few will disagree with the dictionary definition. It says, "Official maintenance and supervision of our natural resources."

Just who—the Government or private enterprise—should conserve our natural resources hits at the very basis of our problems of providing for the future. So, whatever connotations or personal ideas we may have for the academicians to mull over, the fact remains that the problems of providing the most for the greatest number of people for the longest period of time is everyone's concern.

Dr. Ruth Shallcross Maynard is assistant professor of economics at Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio, and has written an article on this subject. Lake Erie is a very fine college for which I have the honor to serve as a trustee and it is in my neighboring congressional district. Dr. Maynard is a learned scholar in her professional field of economics and is well qualified to discuss the subject, "Who Conserves Our Resources?"

Because it so well answers the question paramount in the minds of those of us interested in doing what we can to assure the most for the future, I have asked permission to have her article inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for my colleagues to read. It appeared initially in the July issue of the Freeman, a publication of the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. The article follows:

WHO CONSERVES OUR RESOURCES?
(By Ruth Shallcross Maynard)

"Who should conserve our resources?" If a poll were taken, a large majority probably would answer: "Our Federal and State governments." And if one were to ask why this view is so widely held, the would find among other reasons the following:

(1) that the free market is chaotic, gives profits to the few, and is unmindful of the great waste of our diminishing limited resources;

(2) that people's rights are above private or special interests and only the Government can properly serve the public interest;

(3) that Government has access to more funds;

(4) that Government has the power and facilities to obtain all the necessary data and to do the research needed for the best scientific decisions on resource conservation;

(5) that the price system does not operate in the interests of conservation because of the unrestrained pursuit of self-interest;

(6) that the concentration of power in some corporations further threatens our dwindling resources and must be regulated by Government.

REFUTING THE REASONS

These reasons, of course, do not indicate how a Government agency would go about attempting a solution to the conservation problems—this is always just assumed—but consider them briefly:

(1a) The free market is anything but chaotic. Competing natural market forces reflect in prices the wishes of both buyers and sellers—millions of individuals, separately accountable and responsible for their own actions in their own field of economic activity. All persons seek their own advantage when allowed a choice, but in the free market a producer cannot profit unless he pleases consumers better than his competitor does.

(2a) Can there be people's rights superior to the rights of individuals? All individuals have special and private interests and rights. Therefore, the people cannot have rights except individually; and the right of life carries with it the right to maintain it by private and special means.

(3a) The Government has no funds that have not been taken from the people by force, whereas many a large private undertaking has come forth from voluntarily contributed funds. In fact, the entire industrial development in this country has been a continuous example of this voluntary way of creating the facilities for production by giving the consumer what he wants at the price he is willing to pay in competition.

(4a) Offhand it would seem that a government might have access to more data about scarce resources than would a private enterpriser. But government cannot bring forth the detailed information so vital to sound decision. The kind of detailed knowledge needed simply isn't given to anyone in its totality, as Hayek has pointed out. "Knowledge of the circumstances of which we must make use never exists in concentrated or integrated form," he states, "but solely as dispersed bits of incomplete and frequently contradictory knowledge which all the separate individuals possess." If the price of a given resource continues upward, this tells producers all they need to know about its increasing scarcity and signals them to conserve it, to use it sparingly and for the most valuable products. Advocates of Government planning never seem to grasp how this works, for they are constantly tampering with market forces, distorting the delicate price signals that could otherwise guide them.

(5a) The role that prices play in the free economy is so little understood that many people believe government must set prices lest they reflect only the "selfish interests" of the producers. The price system not only tells producers and consumers when scarcity of a product exists (prices rise) or when it has become more plentiful (prices drop); it also supplies the incentive to act in the interests of conservation by seeking a substitute for the high-priced scarce material.

(6a) If concentration of power in corporations is too great to be permitted, what about the ultimate concentration of power in a government institution beyond the regulation of market forces? Goverment is unaccountable in the sense that it is not obliged to please consumers in order to stay in business. If it does not show a profit, its losses can be covered by tax money.

WHEN GOVERNMENT CONTROLS

The foregoing arguments, however, do not touch upon the basic problem involved in the conservation of resources. Let us assume that Congress passes a conservation law setting up the Federal Bureau of Conservation. Tax money must then be appropriated for this Bureau. The Director, a political appointee, must find a building and hire a staff large enough to justify his salary. To investigate and collect data on what is being done is a time and tax-consuming job.

The Government system is based on arbitrary decisions of man over man, with strong probability of political influence; the free market system is influenced by nonpolitical and nonpersonal forces. There is no other alternative. The first system leads to static conditions which cannot meet the changing needs and desires of consumers, the people most involved and presumably those whom a conservation agency ought to protect. The business way encourages search for substitutes when price rises indicate growing scarcity. This not only aids conservation but also affords the consuming public more reasonably priced alternatives in times of scarcity.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISERS CONSERVE WHAT IS WORTH SAVING

Until someone discovers that a resource has a specific use, it has no value for which it should be conserved. Private enterprisers are constantly trying to find new materials and new uses for known resources, always looking ahead to see which ones will be available and how efficiently they can be utilized. Pick up any trade journal and note the articles on how to cut costs, utilize waste materials, be more efficient. Because the Government told them to? No. The hope of profits acts as a powerful compulsion to be efficient, to improve, to conserve.

In the lumber and pulp-paper industries, uses have been found for virtually all of a tree, including the bark, branches, and sawdust which were formerly wasted. The waste legnin, after removal of the carbohydrates, has been the concern of many a pulp company as well as scientists at the Institute of Paper Chemistry, who have yet to find a use that will meet adequately the competitive market test of consumer choice.

When wood became scarce in Wisconsin, the trees-for-tomorrow program was instigated, encouraging farmers to grow trees as an added cash crop. As salt cake from Saskatchewan grew scarce, the southern kraft-pulp mills learned how to reclaim it and cut the amount needed per ton of pulp by two-thirds or more. Could such a conservation measure have been forced by Government decree? It is most doubtful.

INDIVIDUAL IMPROVEMENT

Improvement of the well-being of individuals, rather than conservation, is the chief goal in the utilization of resources. Absolute conservation could lead to the absurdity of not utilizing our resources at all, and thus conserving to no purpose—no freedom and no improvement of our lives. J. S. Mill has expressed it thus: "The only unfailing and permanent source of improvement is liberty, since by it there are as many possible independent centers of improvement as there are individuals."

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WASTE?

The real waste in resources comes from Government policies. It is seen especially in wartime, but more and more in peacetime programs. The Government farm program has encouraged waste of land, seeds, fertilizers, labor, and capital by subsidizing the production of surpluses to be stored in bins that dot the countryside. The foreign aid program has wasted various resources, sending them to countries where little if any use has been or could be made of them.

Rising taxes also promote waste. The corporate income tax of 52 percent of earnings, for example, encourages industrialists to engage in questionable and wasteful projects which appear justified only when purchased with a 48-cent dollar. This is not in the interests of conservation.

A private individual stands to lose personally if he wastes resources in his field of economic activity, and has a built-in motivation for attempting to correct his mistakes as soon as they are reflected in rising costs or decreasing demand. A Government agent, however, risks no personal loss when he misuses resources, he cannot recognize mistakes by rising costs when prices are fixed arbitrarily, nor is he motivated to correct his mistakes even when recognized.

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## National Chiropractic Association Sponsors Chiropractic Day, September 18, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BEN REIFEL
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, may I call the attention of my colleagues in Congress to a special observance which will occur in America next month. For in September, the chiropractic profession—the Nation's second largest profession of healing—will observe its annual Chiropractic Day.

On that day—September 18, 1962—chiropractors throughout the United States, Canada, and many foreign countries, will celebrate the 67th anniversary of the discovery of chiropractic.

In connection with this observance, I wish to submit for the RECORD a statement by Dr. Emmett J. Murphy, director of industrial relations, National Chiropractic Association, Washington, D.C.:

STATEMENT BY DR. EMMETT J. MURPHY

Throughout the Nation and the world, chiropractors will hold observance of Chiropractic Day on September 18, with the fullest understanding that because of the freedom enjoyed in the Western World, a new profession can gain public acceptance on its merits as has the profession of chiropractic in a short 67 years.

A fresh concept in the art of healing based upon the neurological, physical, and mechanical approach, was given to the world 67 years ago.

The progress of chiropractic was forcefully illustrated a few years ago when the profession became the subject of an objective factfinding study conducted by the Public Affairs Institute of Washington, D.C., a nationally known nonprofit research organization.

This study has been compiled under the title of "The Present-Day Doctor of Chiropractic" and it represents the latest facts of the profession as gathered by Dr. Dewey Anderson (A.B., M.A., Ph. D., Leland Stanford University).

I think that a statement from this scientific study of our profession is particularly pertinent as an explanation of our contribution to the general health and welfare of all Americans. This is the statement from the "Present-Day Doctor of Chiropractic":

"In these modern days of our high-speed nerve-exhausting living, chiropractic is fast becoming an indispensable element in helping people maintain good health."

Dr. Anderson correctly appraises chiropractic in the light of certain concepts which are regarded as well accepted by the public at large.

This rapid growth of chiropractic—and its far-reaching effects on our national well-being—is dramatized by Dr. Anderson himself. In one phase of his study of chiropractic, he said:

"From a handful of patients somewhat more than a half a century ago who came to Dr. Daniel David Palmer (chiropractic's discoverer) and got relief, those being cared for by today's chiropractors number many millions. And every year the number swells as chiropractors become more proficient and as their satisfied and healthy patients spread the word. Here is the best and final test of an emerging profession seriously serving the public."

The rapid acceptance of this science of healing in the past 67 years leads us to inquire of the standards in use today. And extremely exacting standards they are found to be.

Chiropractic colleges are required to give 4,000 academic hours in a standard 4-year course to obtain accredited ratings. A basic course of 4,400 hours is recommended. Up to 2 years of preprofessional (college) education is required by 26 State chiropractic laws of licensure.

The following salient facts concerning public acceptance of chiropractic need to be considered:

1. Chiropractic is the second largest healing profession in America. It is classified as one of the four major healing professions, along with medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy, by the Executive Office of the President of the United States, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

2. More than 600 insurance companies recognize claims for services rendered by the chiropractors.

3. The U.S. Civil Service Commission recognizes certificates of illness for leave purposes signed by doctors of chiropractic, which means that all Federal agencies are directed to recognize such certificates.

4. Chiropractic care for veterans has been endorsed by the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans.

5. Major unions of Federal employees have endorsed legislation to widen the use of chiropractic in Federal compensation work.

6. Scores of employers provide regular chiropractic treatment for their employees.

7. The Railroad Retirement Board accepts statements of sickness signed by chiropractors.

8. Physicians in West Germany (a country noted for thoroughness in research) have been investigating chiropractic and are giving it warm acceptance.

9. The Kerr-Mills Act providing medical assistance to the aged passed by the last U.S. Congress makes provision for payments to doctors of chiropractic.

The remarkable effectiveness of chiropractic methods in health care has won for chiropractic a permanent place in the family of health sciences, and in the hearts and homes of suffering humanity.

## The Soviet Union Resumes Atmospheric Testing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK KOWALSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker I read with profound regret the grim news that the Soviet Union has once again resumed nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

It is now nearly a year since the dialog of terror was begun again, with the breaking of the test moratorium by the Soviet Union. It is difficult to believe the world, through testing, has moved closer to disarmament and peace.

It is estimated that the latest Soviet nuclear explosion was in the 40-megaton range, a size calculated to appall anyone who entertains doubts about the massive power of the Soviet Union. In this respect, the Soviets have failed. No one seems to care very much.

A year ago the Soviet resumption of testing was greeted with shock and violent protest in this country and throughout the world. Today I hear very little protest in the United States. The newspaper editorials for the most part seem content to observe smugly that the tests are being kept secret from the Russian people.

It appears that in the space of a few months, conditioned by our own testing, we have become insensible to what we once branded as a crime against humanity. The terror bombs cease to hold any terror for us. We have stopped trying to think about the unthinkable prospect before us, the annihilation of the human race. We have become the victims of our own propaganda.

Many like to think this round of testing is the last round, and greet the latest news with a sense of relief. Each series is the last series and each war is the last war.

The widespread apathy among the American people toward Soviet testing and our own is an ominous as the tests themselves. It is as dangerous for our survival.

Continued testing by either side brings us closer to material and spiritual disaster.

## An Open Letter to President Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to one of my constitutents, Mr. E. D. Gordon, of Rockford, Ill., for his thoughtfulness in bringing to my attention the following timely and thought-provoking article from Economic News, which is in the form of an open letter to President Kennedy.

I am terribly impressed with its clear and concise analysis with its inherent warning as to the utter folly and dire consequences of pursuing the false ideologies such as those proposed by the Keynesian inflationists.

Mr. Speaker, I highly commend the message in the following article to the entire membership of the House:

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: A little more than a year ago we wrote to you an open letter in which we said: "In your book, 'Profiles in Courage,' you reveal admiration of Senator Lamar's political courage. As one example you cite his stand in the mid-1870's on the question of more inflation as a supposed remedy for a depression versus deflation and restoration of a currency redeemable in gold. By an interesting coincidence, unless we are seriously mistaken, you are or soon will be in a situation similar to that in which Senator Lamar found himself."

Few people seemed to realize a year ago how soon the Nation might be confronted with the prospect of a severe recession. In view of recent developments in the financial markets, however, the significance of the sentences quoted above presumably will be more apparent.

We hope you will understand that this message is not a boastful "we told you so." The situation is far too serious, the threat to the very survival of our Nation is much too great for such considerations to be entertained. We do not exult in the serious losses already incurred by many, nor do we find satisfaction in the disasters that a depression would bring, regardless of how fully such developments confirm the usefulness of our earlier analyses. And we feel sure that you would not disparage these efforts to bring to your attention useful results of research that has extended over four decades. Therefore, we reproduce below some additional paragraphs from the earlier open letter to you.

"As was the situation in 1873, the United States is beginning to experience the aftermath of prolonged inflation begun in time of depression, greatly augmented during World War II, and continued in postwar years. In Senator Lamar's day the proponents of still more inflation were clamoring for the 'easy money' way out of depression problems. Today the Keynesian economists are providing the rationalization for similar pleas that the Government attempt to restore prosperity by still more inflating.

"The panacea proposed by the Keynesians is a continuation of policies followed for two decades, policies directly responsible for the situation in which we now find ourselves. The monetizing of Government debt during World War II created a huge amount of inflationary purchasing media, much of which was hoarded at first by the early recipients, because the things they wanted to buy were not available.

"During the postwar years, the inflationary purchasing media have been dishoarded gradually, and some of the increasing private noncommercial debt has been monetized, thereby creating more inflationary purchasing media. Each successive postwar recession has been cut short by the continued dishoarding of inflationary purchase media created during World War II and by further inflation derived from monetizing Treasury deficits and increasing private noncommercial debt.

"In each instance, the short-run consequence, quick recovery to boom levels, has been what the Keynesians and many of the Nation's best informed economists have expected. However, the Keynesians have been blind to the longer run consequences, whereas many leading money-credit economists and our own organization have correctly foreseen those consequences, which now confront the Nation.

"The great inflation of the past two decades has shifted about $200 billion worth of assets from the Nation's thrifty citizens and from endowed institutions in addition to an incalculable but perhaps even larger amount from all whose incomes have been relatively fixed (such as retired individuals and teachers) to those who have benefited from inflation's progress. One of the chief beneficiaries has been the Government, whose tax revenues have increased greatly; other beneficiaries have been the holders of mo-

nopoly privileges including some elements of organized labor as well as numerous others.

"Thus have been fostered dreams of an affluent society able to afford global foreign aid, costly Government intervention in agriculture with accompanying waste of resources, and expansion of business enterprises without sufficient consideration of cost costs here compared with those abroad. * * * In these and other ways too numerous to list, economic growth has been retarded and the Nation's economy has been seriously distorted.

"Now the consequences of past money-credit follies confront us.

"Some Keynesian economists urge that the disciplinary warnings of the gold outflow be disregarded; a few even urge that gold be discarded from the Nation's money-credit system. They recommend more inflation by monetizing more Government debt. Although some Keynesians favor more spending, others favor tax reductions; but the basic notion is the same, i.e., that Government deficits should be monetized to restore prosperity.

"For the educated person who has not been trained as an economic scientist, the situation must indeed be puzzling. Among the Keynesians are some of the Nation's best known economists whose academic positions and professional offices seem almost to be a guarantee of their competence. How is one to decide when the doctors disagree, especially when one finds on the side of the inflationists several economists in one of the Nation's most venerable and respected universities as well as others in a leading scientific institution?

"No doubt, you will be subjected to great pressure to foster more inflation. In addition to the dedicated Keynesians convinced that their nostrum is a useful remedy, various pressure groups will clamor for what they think will promote their interest. Labor leaders who can see only the short-run benefits of more increases in wages instead of decreased wage rates in some industries, speculators in real estate and stocks (especially those speculating on thin margins), bankers whose investment-type assets are excessive and largely frozen, and others who hope to gain from more inflation or fear to lose if deflation occurs will join in the clamor. And adding their not inconsiderable bit will be many intellectuals whose education cultivated verbal facility but failed to make them wary of perpetual-motion schemes such as those proposed by the Keynesian inflationists.

"To resist the pressures that will be brought to bear on you will require political courage of a high order.

"We do not imply that on you rests the sole responsibility for choosing a wise course of action. Congress has a responsibility even greater than yours, because Congress makes the laws you are to enforce. And in the background, carrying the final and inescapable responsibility, stand the independent, informed minority of citizens who constitute the balance of political power in a republic such as the United States.

* * * * *

"The Institute's responsibility is to continue research such as that which has provided the scientific warranty for the assertions herein and to inform every citizen who will trouble to read what we publish. We propose to increase the number thus educated as rapidly as possible beyond the half-million present readers of our principal publications. Research and the widest possible dissemination of the results thereof comprise the extent of our responsibility. On thoughtful, informed citizens will rest the responsibility for indicating to professional politicans the direction chosen by the Nation's independent balance-of-power minority."

Turning now from our earlier letter, at this time we should emphasize that the Keynesian economists evidently have been seriously mistaken. Your Council of Economic Advisers predicted in their Annual Economic Report last January that the Nation would experience "strong and sustained expansion" of business activity in the months ahead. That has not occurred. Moreover, more than a decade ago, the Chairman of the Council participated in preparing recommendations to West Germany that fortunately were discarded in favor of a diametrically opposite course of action that accounted for the "miracle" of West Germany's recovery and economic growth.

The situation is similar to one that occurred in the practice of medicine. Decades after Dr. Semmelweiss' research had revealed the cause of puerperal fever, mothers were still dying in childbirth because of the delayed acceptance of the results of scientific inquiry. For the many families involved those were great personal tragedies, but they are insignificant in comparison to the consequences that must follow failure to apply scientific inquiry to economic problems. Even before the Great Depression of the 1930's the results of extensive scientific research were available. Many published articles not only correctly analyzed the situation before the panic of 1929 but also predicted the consequences of unsound fiscal and monetary panaceas intended to restore prosperity during the 1930's.

During and since World War II the worst economic blunders made during World War I and in the 1920's have been repeated, some on an even larger scale. The obvious consequences are numerous economic distortions that hinder economic growth and are reflected in the gold problem, excessive unemployment, and the recent panic in the stock markets. Again the Institute's continued research has revealed the nature and extent of the principal economic blunders.

To disregard the work of economic scientists and rely instead on the outmoded notion of Keynesian economists, regardless of how impressive their academic credentials may seem, would be to repeat the fatuous blundering of the 1930's that left nearly 10 million still unemployed in 1939. Such action would parallel that of the medical doctors who, in the pride of their academic and professional distinctions, refused to learn from the scientific inquiry that revealed the cause of puerperal fever. But in the present instance, instead of death for a relatively few individuals, the consequences could be catastrophic for millions of people and perhaps would imperil survival of our Nation, or survival of those aspects of our Nation that once made the United States the hope of the world.

Yours very truly,

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH,
E. C. HARWOOD, *Director*.

## Report on Blue Cross and Blue Shield in Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, Ohio continues to make good records—this time in health care.

In this connection, I am pleased to call to the attention of the members of the House a part of Report No. 1 of Blue Cross and Blue Shield in Ohio.

The part of particular interest is as follows:

OHIOANS ARE HEALTH CARE CONSCIOUS

According to the 1960 Source Book of Health Insurance Data, practically every self-supporting person in the State had some form of health care coverage.

Actually, better than 86 percent of Ohio's 9,706,397 civilian residents—or a total of 8,456,000 men, women, and children—had adopted some type of voluntary budget plan whereby they could pay in advance for certain types of health care.

Ohio is well above the national average of 73 percent, standing fourth in this regard, and Ohioans are spending lots of dollars for health coverage.

The nearly 8½ million Ohioans who in 1960 had some form of health insurance (even more are covered today) spent a total of $438,620,000 in membership fees and premiums.

The source book further indicates that Ohioans are getting a varied return for their money. Their benefits totaled $353,539,000 for that year—or 81 percent of the total money charged for fees and premiums.

## Pensions for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. George Dreisbach, of Freeland, has sent me a letter together with a statement regarding pensions for veterans of World War I. As requested, I am submitting them for the Appendix of today's RECORD.

Letter and statement follow:

FREELAND, PA.,
*August 6, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I shall appreciate it very much if you will insert the inclosed statement in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The armistice ending World War I was signed over 43 years ago, and if action is not taken soon on pensions and benefits for the veterans of that conflict, there will not be any of them left to legislate for.

Thanking you very much for this, and past favors, and with all good wishes, I remain, sincerely,

GEORGE DREISBACH.

STATEMENT AND SUGGESTION REGARDING PENSIONS FOR WORLD WAR I VETERANS

*To all Members of the Senate Committee on Finance; and to all Members of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs:*

When a civilian was summoned to appear before a draft board, his income, for instance, was not considered. He was inducted into the Army, at $50 per month. Whether soldiers served more than 90 days, or less than 90 days, all of them were in the same army, under the same flag, fighting for the same cause; and all of them took the same oath of allegiance to the United States of America. Therefore, all of them are veterans.

Grant each veteran a pension as an earned right, for military service, and base each pension only on length of service, and honorable discharge. Please keep in mind that the less-than-90-days-of-service veterans would have served 90 days, and more, if the war had continued beyond November 11, 1918.

Part of the titles of bills read: "To provide for the payment of pensions to veterans of World War I." Yet the restrictions, the limitations, the conditions, imposed, prevents many veterans from getting pensions. May I offer this suggestion: Eliminate the restrictions, the limitations, the conditions, such as: the marital status; the incomes; the ages; of veterans; and add a clause covering the less-than-90-days-of-service veterans.

I think veterans should modify their request for pensions, and in this connection may I offer the following suggestion for your consideration:

Veterans with service-connected disabilities, $80 per month.

Veterans with 90 days, or more, of service, $60 per month.

Veterans with 89 days, or less, of service, $40 per month.

If any veteran of World War I is getting a pension, or benefits, under existing law, in excess of the above scale, no reduction shall be made in his pension or benefits.

Under this plan all veterans would get pensions. This is proper, just, fair, right. Keep in mind that many veterans are in, or getting near, the higher age brackets, and, to be frank about it, the death rate, in their ranks, will greatly reduce the financial outlay each year.

Example under the $75 per month plan: A veteran with 90 days or more of service has an income of $2,900 per year. His pension would amount to $900 per year, a total of $3,800 annually. Another veteran, in the same category, with an income of $3,100, would not get a pension; his income would stay at $3,100 annually. The less-than-90-days-of-service-veterans would not get pensions, either. The discrimination, the inconsistency, is obvious.

Respectfully submittee.

GEORGE DREISBACH.

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## Investors Union of America, Inc.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the well-known Washington newsletter, Human Events, of July 14.

It seems that at long last the investors and stockholders of our land are beginning to stir, and that they may throw off their lethargy and use their great strength to protect their own interest.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, there are 17,100,000 of these people and if they unite and organize, as they should, their voice will be heard and their power will be felt in the halls of Government.

This new union is called "Investors Union of America, Inc." and judging by the many letters of endorsement, extracts from which follow the article, it is evident that the new union is known all over our country and in many congressional districts.

New grassroots: A new organization is being readied this week that bears promise of transforming the political landscape of the country. The facts which suggest the reason for creating such an organization have been inspiring lively discussion among political pros and writers in Washington for some weeks. They are:

(1) The New York Stock Exchange announced after a census that about 17,100,000 Americans over 21 own stock in publicly held corporations—"nearly one of every six Americans is a shareowner."

(2) This statistic suggests the obvious reason why President Kennedy has lost the confidence so necessary to the healthy functioning of the economic body of the Nation.

(3) This statistic also—and significantly—compares closely with another: The total number of labor union members is approximately 16 million. Their bosses, notably Walter Reuther, have the ear of the President and their own men are installed in high positions in the Kennedy regime. J.F.K. clearly defers to their every wish.

(4) On June 27, Lyle Wilson, veteran columnist for the United Press International, articulated the prevailing conclusion in Washington, drawn from the above facts when he wrote: "There is no other multi-million category of voters [than the 17,100,000 individual investors] lying around loose for the conservative leaders to cultivate. * * * The Republican Party might improve its minority position in the United States if the party leadership had the wit and ability to rally the faceless millions of American stockholders."

Indeed, for some time before Wilson's remark, such a conclusion had been drawn by Steve Stahl, director of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council and a contributor to Human Events, who began laying plans for "The Investors' Union of America, Inc.", a nonprofit organization which has applied for a charter from Oklahoma.

The principal objective of the union is to secure "a fair and reasonable return on the money invested by more than 17 million Americans in the tools of production," and the "primary purpose is the protection of small investors and particularly those who have retired or are nearing retirement."

Stahl comments: "These are the people who have been hurt the most by the present market decline resulting from the Government's unfriendly attitude toward business and the free market economy."

Characteristic are the first selections for the board of governors: Miss Martha Veal, retired schoolteacher; Tim Blaney, small farmer; H. Merle Woods, weekly newspaper publisher. No "economic royalists" here, nor representatives of big business. (For information write: Steve Stahl, Investors Union of America, Inc., 207 Commerce Exchange Building, Oklahoma City 2, Okla.)

The political potential of such a union, if it succeeds in assembling a substantial fraction of the 17,100,000 investors, impresses Capitol Hill. One of its first points of attack is, of course, the grossly unfair double taxation of investors—a challenge which chills the entrenched parasitic bureaucracy of the Federal Government.

Another thought arises among observers: If the AFL–CIO has its political action battalions in COPE (Committee on Political Education), why not a similar lever for the investors to insure the election of fiscally sound candidates in congressional elections?

In any case, many in the Nation's Capital wait to see how the new union goes at its task.

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So far it is not known how many business leaders have accepted or, if any have, whether they know the proceeds will go to elect more Democrats to the next Congress.

Rocky on prayer: Did Nelson Rockefeller make a wrong political move last week at the annual Governors' conference? The New York Governor stood out against all the others as the only State executive who didn't support a resolution in favor of a constitutional amendment which would clarify the Supreme Court's recent decision by permitting "the free and voluntary participation in prayer in our public schools."

Few doubt that Nelson had an eye on the big liberal vote in the State, a vote he cultivated to a large extent in his 1958 gubernatorial campaign. But if he is opposed by strong candidate Mayor Robert F. Wagner (rather than weak candidate Averell Harriman, as he was the last time) he can hope for little liberal support.

He must therefore count on the large Roman Catholic and upstate Protestant vote, which is largely up in arms over the Warren Court's verdict. It is believed voters' memories will not be short on this burning issue and Nelson may suffer for abstaining on the resolution.

Doctor's strike: It is no secret that champions of the administration's medicare bill on Capitol Hill wince at the mention of Saskatchewan, the Canadian Province which has been the scene of a dramatic strike of doctors against a socialized medical program.

In the first days of the strike, an infant boy died of meningitis during a 90-mile race for medical attention. His father, Peter Derhousoss blames the Government (according to UPI): "If we could have gotten him to a doctor sooner, well. * * * I think the Government is more responsible than anything. There is no use having a scheme if you can't have doctors."

Capitol Hill observers attach considerable weight to the Virginian's words as he is not one to shoot from the hip. As BYRD himself put it: "I make this statement deliberately and out of deep concern."

BYRD said the record reveals Bell is "addicted to 'planned deficits.'" Before the Senate Finance Committee, stated BYRD, Bell admitted this year's deficit was "deliberately planned." The Budget Director, charged BYRD, regards the budget as a tool for "testing economic theories." (Human Events reported December 15, 1960, that Bell thought the budget was a device to achieve "social ends, not simply sound dollars.")

BYRD warned, however, that we are "faced with a fiscal situation which is deadly serious. It is a situation demanding fiscal guidance of strong men of the highest caliber who are dedicated to sound financing." Bell, continued BYRD, "seems to be a pleasant man. There is simply no evidence that he is a strong fiscal officer."

Trick to pass medicare: As has been repeatedly predicted by Human Events, the New Frontier has now come forward with (1) a compromise medicare bill and (2) a legislative tactic bespeaking desperation. They both came last week in the form of a rider which Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, seeks to attach to a welfare bill already passed by the House (H.R. 10606).

The compromise is designed to attract more voter support. Part of its bait is the inclusion of the 4 million elderly not covered by social security. The new proposal also authorizes the use of private groups, such as Blue Cross, to administer the plan and medical associations will be permitted to select the hospitals.

But the major objectionable feature, financing through social security—the principal political objective of the administration—remains intact. As Human Events has pointed out, President Kennedy will accept a compromise on any part of the bill except this method of financing.

A reason for further objections: The technique of bringing up the "compromise" as a rider—thus bypassing the Senate Finance Committee and avoiding a wait for the medicare bill to come from the House—smacks of White House high pressure.

Even Democrats who favor medicare look with distaste upon this procedure. Therefore, the welfare measure and its rider may be plagued by amendments to amendments, as was the ill-fated Freeman farm bill in the House.

The administration believes it has enough votes to pass the compromise proposal; nevertheless, conservatives on Capitol Hill say the bill can be defeated if the Senators hear from the country. Indications are the vote will be called for late in the week of July 9, therefore there is still time for constituents to wire both of their Senators urging a negative vote on Federal medicare.

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PROGRESS REPORT: PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE

(These few quotations from hundreds of unsolicited letters received by the Investors Union of America during its first week as an organization prove moral soundness of American citizens)

"My husband and I are very much interested in the Investors Union. As retired teachers, we are facing the same problem of many other retired people in seeing our savings frittered away under the liberal tendencies of our Government administrators."—Cape May Court House, N.J.

"The idea of organizing small investors is excellent. I earn my livelihood as a truck driver, have six children and belong to a mutual fund, which qualifies me as a small investor."—Laconia, N.H.

"I never thought the day would arrive when I would join a 'union' * * * but this is it. Send me an application blank—in fact send several."—Louisville, Ky.

"I am a small investor, just a $6,000-a-year government employee. However, I have great interest in our free enterprise system which is being swiftly eroded by the tremendous growth of Government and public debt."—Garnerville, N.Y.

"The July 14 issue of Human Events indicates you have started a movement we hope to see grow to ultimate proportions of such enormity as to encompass more than the 17 million stockholders in the country. You are to be congratulated."—San Antonio, Tex.

"As a veteran newspaper executive, I'm a bit shy about propaganda groups, but I do believe that you have hit on a sound idea which appeals to me both as a person who has substantial investments and as an American who is getting fed up on what is being done to us."—Glendale, Calif.

"I am enclosing $20 as a contribution to the Investors Union of America. Please send printed material which I can use to interest new members."—Seattle, Wash.

"An organization whose principal purpose is the conservation of investments, should be welcomed by many people, investors of record such as those on the stock market as well as others."—Washington, D.C.

"At long last the unorganized average American should be heard through your organization. This plan will also benefit the retired people who have no protection or representation."—Oklahoma City, Okla.

"I have been angry—downright mad for so many years that it is hard to believe that investors can at last join forces and act in unison. Let us try. I'm waiting to learn what I can do."—Seattle, Wash.

"We are very glad to know about this and most heartily congratulate you for putting the idea into concrete action. It certainly is needed and without doubt can secure results."—Chicago, Ill.

"Your program is the first action program I have seen that makes real sense."—Portland, Oreg.

"My investment in the stock market is through a mutual fund and I am not anywhere near retirement age. But, I am just as interested as our senior citizens."—Phoenix, Ariz.

"I am a department head in a local high school. I am interested in doing all I can to further the conservative cause, but I am conservative, and I want to know the details about an organization before I lend it my support."—Long Beach, Calif.

"My son and I are interested in more information on the Investors Union. We read about your fine objective of securing a fair and reasonable return on the money invested by more than 17 million Americans in the tools of production."—Salt Lake City, Utah.

"At long last. Count me in. Will you send me a bill for my membership dues airmail? Wishing you every success."—Antigua, West Indies.

"As a voting citizen and a stockholder intensely interested in the socialistic trend of our present and past administrations, the idea of unified political force in the person of the stockholders of our nation has often intrigued me. I was subsequently quite pleased when I learned of the existence of your organization."—Solana Beach, Calif.

"It's about time someone did something about the downtrodden investors."—Dayton, Ohio.

"As a retiree and stockholder who was badly mauled by the stockmarket's recent collapse I am greatly interested in your movement."—Vero Beach, Fla.

"I think your organization has possibilities of doing a great deal of good so far as our free enterprise system is concerned and our free enterprise system is the backbone of America."—Huntington, W. Va.

"My husband is a stockbroker and I'm sure he and many of his fellow workers would be interested in promoting this new union."—San Gabriel, Calif.

"I am very much interested in the announcement of your organization to represent the investors of America, and consider it a most important development which is long overdue."—Logan, Utah.

"Congratulations on your worthy venture. Let us hope you can alert and enlighten many of the 17 million stockholders. You have alerted me, even though I'm not a stockholder."—New York, N.Y.

"Hallelujah! Reading about your organization in Human Events was certainly happy news."—Grosse Pointe, Mich.

"I hope that something effective will come out of this organization, to help eliminate the unfair taxing of dividends."—Phoenix, Ariz.

"I am delighted to hear of this organization and I am of the opinion that it will bear considerable political weight."—Roanoke, Va.

"Have just been reading about your plans to form an Investors Union. This certainly is a most constructive idea and there is no reason why it shouldn't be a tremendous success."—Bakersfield, Calif.

"I just read in Human Events about your new organization and it interests me very much. Neither my partner nor I own any stock but since we are in business for ourselves anything good for stockholders would be good for us."—Tilden, Tex.

"I am writing to congratulate you on this most useful idea and on your initiative in its organization. The political and economic possibilities for doing a great deal of good in work of this kind are tremendous."—New York, N.Y.

"Congratulations! Every thinking American should be elated at the formation of such a union. Such an organization has tremendous potential to counteract the cancerous growth of bureaucracy in our land."—Livonia, Mich.

"Congratulations on the establishment of the Investors Union of America. Such a union is long overdue."—Manitowoc, Wis.

"I am an accounting clerk and I do not have any funds invested in stocks, bonds, or other securities at this time, but I do believe that I have an investment in the future of our Nation. I have two small sons, and I hope that they may grow up and live under a free enterprise system."—Wichita Falls, Tex.

"The Investors Union could be a very potent political force—and I want to help to make it so, though I own no stocks or bonds."—New York, N.Y.

"I am happy to hear that you are beginning to get together the 17 million Americans who own stock in the various corporations of our great country. I think you have a very potent source of public opinion, and I believe it will become loud enough so that it cannot be ignored in Washington."—Long Beach, Calif.

"Certainly the potential here is greater than to be found among the principal labor unions, and I am hopeful that the need for organization will be recognized by the vast majority."—Philadelphia, Pa.

"Human Events says you are getting ready to supply a voice to all us small stockholders. I go for this. What is the dope?"—St. Petersburg, Fla.

"Please count me in on the Investors Union of America. After reading the account of your undertaking in the current issue of Human Events, I am convinced that this is a big step in the right direction."—Falls Church, Va.

"Count me in as a charter member of Investors Union. This is the organizing job America is most in need of today."—Dallas, Tex.

"I commend you for this action. I am happy that your organization has seen the potential for united effort toward conservatism. * * * It's time my voice, as an investor, is heard."—Topeka, Kans.

"I find a great deal of interest in this idea both here and among my associates in various parts of the country."—San Diego, Calif.

"I wish to congratulate you for putting a wonderful idea into operation. May I help in organizing a Pennsylvania office or charter of the union?"—Plymouth, Pa.

"Such an organization could be of great value and I would be interested in further information, both for myself and several customers."—Vero Beach, Fla.

"I have just read about your brilliant idea in the current issue of Human Events. More power to you."—Santa Barbara, Calif.

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## Gavin and U.S. Policy on France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Crosby S. Noyes, foreign correspondent of the Washington Star, wrote an excellent column on Gen. James M. Gavin which appeared in the Star on Friday, August 3, 1962. General Gavin has resigned as our Ambassador to France, a position which he has performed with distinction, and is returning to private life. I know we all wish him well as he has been truly one of America's most outstanding soldiers and public servants.

Mr. Noyes' column follows:

WATCHING THE WORLD—GAVIN AND U.S. POLICY ON FRANCE

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

PARIS.—President Kennedy will have no easy job in finding an Ambassador who will serve him better in Paris than James M. Gavin. Whatever differences may have existed between General Gavin and policymakers in Washington they did not com-

promise his effectiveness. After a rather slow start he has won many admirers here as an intelligent and conscientious Ambassador whose judgment about France has been uncommonly shrewd.

There also is considerable sympathy for his successor, whoever he may be. The problems that have grown up between France and the United States over the last 18 months have nothing to do with personalities. And despite the optimistic tone of General Gavin's letter of resignation, things are likely to get worse before they get better.

To an observer in Europe, it seems as though these problems have been caused at least in part by a change of attitude by the administration, itself. After starting off on a note of profuse affability toward Gen. Charles de Gaulle the tone of most administration leaders has become progressively colder, at times almost reaching the point of open hostility. And since this tone has been heartily reciprocated by the French it is not entirely surprising that Ambassador Gavin's job here has not been an easy one.

Nor is it simply a matter of diplomatic cordiality. With all due respect, it is not easy to accept Mr. Kennedy's judgment that the differences between France and the United States are really "at the margin of the international scene" while agreement at the center remains firm. Indeed, in many important areas the differences are great enough to strain the most settled alliance.

THE CENTRAL CHALLENGE

It is hard, for instance, to get nearer to the center of things than President de Gaulle's direct challenge to the hegemony that the United States has enjoyed in Europe since the end of the war. In every vital field—from nuclear strategy to cold war diplomacy, from the organization of the free world to the problem of dealing with neutrals—General de Gaulle has strong and peculiar views of his own. These views are making themselves felt with increasing force in Europe—often inevitably in direct conflict with policy being promoted in Washington.

The problem on which most attention has been lavished—that of France's national nuclear deterrent—is closely tied up with these broader conflicts.

General de Gaulle is determined to have his bomb, mainly because he believes that it will increase the independence, stature and influence of France as a world power. Washington has steadfastly opposed the project, mainly because it will result in a further weakening of American control over the very central issue of peace and war.

GAVIN MISREPRESENTED

General Ravin has not been, as he is sometimes represented, champion of French nuclear power. He has not been blind to the important conflicts of interest in many areas of the international scene. And he has never believed that these conflicts could be resolved by buying off General de Gaulle with nuclear aid.

If there has been a difference between General Gavin and the policymakers in Washington it has been in his reading of the future of France and Europe. He has seen that General de Gaulle's ambitions—dismissed in some quarters as mere pretension—are well on their way to being fulfilled. He has seen, too, that they have become in a large measure national ambitions which are unlikely to lose their force with General de Gaulle's disappearance from the scene.

This has led logically to a suggestion that American policy toward France should be shaped to conform with what is going to happen, instead of what certain policy planners in Washington would like to see happen. In the case of a nuclear deterrent, it seemed reasonable to suppose that a weapons system built with American cooperation could be more easily integrated into the overall Western defense than one built in defiance of Canute-like protests from Washington.

This point of view may well have caused irritation in some quarters of the administration. At the same time there are signs that the sense of what General Gavin has been saying is making some headway. And it is hard to see how his successor can do better than to report the situation as it exists.

## We Are Running Out of Money So We Are Now Sending Our Jobs Overseas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, at one time we had $30 billion worth of gold in our Nation. Because of our giveaway program, we now have about $16 billion left. If the nations of the world called in the gold that is due them, the United States of America would be "broke" with not a dollar's worth of gold; in fact, we would owe $7 billion in gold that we do not have.

Running out of money, we are now in the process of giving away the jobs of American workers. Iron ore mines are closing, one by one, and our ore is coming in from Liberia, Africa, Venezuela, and Canada.

Our plywood plants have closed and our plywood is coming in from Japan.

Our mink farmers are losing money and closing out while furs are shipped in from Red China and Russia.

Our shoe factories are closing and we are importing shoes from Czechoslovakia and Italy.

Our steel mills are running at 50 percent of capacity, and our Government is buying steel from Germany.

Our fishermen on the Great Lakes are going broke and we are importing fish from Canada.

Our farmers are barely making a living, yet we import a billion pounds of meat from Australia, Argentina, and Canada.

Our dairy farmers are going out of business and we are importing millions of dollars of dairy products.

Our shipbuilding on the Great Lakes is merely hanging on, while our Government pays subsidies to foreign shippers. American shippers are going broke, while our Government gives and loans money to countries so that can subsidize foreign ships.

All of this is part of our foreign aid program where we have run out of money and now we are giving away the jobs of American workers.

This is the cost and the penalty that the American people are paying for giving their money in building factories all over the world except within the borders of our own Nation. Just how much more are the American people going to stand of this greatest and grandest giveaway of all time?

The American people are going to get unemployment compensation and dole. The American people are going to get retraining for other jobs already in surplus. The American people are going to get $200 to move out of town. While the American people are going to get this, our jobs are going to be given all over the world. The giveaway in America has been transferred from money to the giveaway of American jobs.

I have never voted for this type of giveaway just as I never voted for the money giveaway.

## New Mexico Heritage and the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to call attention to an article appearing Thursday, June 28, in a newspaper from Puerto Rico, the San Juan Star. It concerns the Peace Corps representative to the Dominican Republic, Andres Hernandez, a New Mexican of Spanish ancestry. It tells of a man of humble beginning who has dedicated his life to helping his fellow man, a man with a mission and an example for those who follow. I think it is indicative of the aims of the Peace Corps, when it chooses men like Andres Hernandez to lead its projects.

The article follows:

There are a lot of people who are alive today and tolerably independent because of Andres Hernandez. He must be 60 now. And this is to say that he approaches an age for looking back. He has no wealth, and not much of a pension coming. He does have a wife—Navajo—and he has a son in college, back in the States, in whom he has appropriate pride. His home now, as it has been since he was a young man, is a few rooms wherever his work takes him. But he is seldom in it anyway. He is out by 6, often 5, and quits work only when exhaustion compels.

He has the gift of helping people to help themselves. When they catch on and begin to have the momentum that comes from getting ahead, it has always been his habit to withdraw gradually and turn to helping others. This involves more ingenuity than the casual observer can possibly imagine, because he often has to bring his clients out of the most primitive situations and show them what available techniques can do for them.

This involves the whole family, and usually the environment is rural. If productivity is raised, the most ought to be made of it, Andres feels, for getting on toward new levels. If the fields yield better, it ought to show in the house; the children ought to be better nourished and educated; and they ought to grow up literally into a new world.

It has been a long time since Andres has been able to do what he most likes, which is to work with individual families. There are many of them and few to help. So it has become his special job to recruit younger people, and teach them what he feels and knows, watch them pick up knowledge, con-

quer discouragement, and accept the responsibility of their mission.

For Andres, it all began back before the Great Depression. As a young man in the late twenties he wanted to be a forester. He was a New Mexican of Spanish ancestry; and in that country the forest lands were always in sight, always abused by cattlemen and sheepmen, eroding, becoming every year a less valuable public property. Foresters, working against local sentiment, harassed guardians of a public resource, seemed to have the dedication he craved.

On the high lands in northwest New Mexico, there were settlers who had been deceived by a few good years, but when the droughts returned, had found themselves in a desert made worse because they had broken the land and allowed it to blow. Besides, there came the paralysis of depression, when credit was not to be found and no relief was in sight.

But the depression created its own cure. In Washington, there was set up something called the Resettlement Administration and presently it had a southwestern office. A regional director naturally knew about the distressed farmers out on the high plains, and he borrowed Andres to see what could be done for them. Andres said, after looking into it, that there was nothing to do but give them a new start. But where? He had an idea. Down along the Rio Grande, there were rich flats grown to scrub. Using big machinery, they could be cleared and water from the river could be diverted.

The regional director approved, Washington approved, and Andres was given the job. The reconditioning took some time, and meanwhile, the families involved were taken care of where they were; but when the engineers were finished, Andres shepherded his charges into the river lands, and helped them learn irrigation farming—quite different from the dry-land cultivation they were used to. He himself learned as he went, always consulting books and experts and feeling his way. The best lesson was this—that someone could always be found who knew and some agency that would help—with a grant, a loan, with intervention higher up, or with counsel.

His families in business and on their own, there was another project for him to do, then another, and so it went. He changed agencies, as the Government reorganized itself; but he could always find people to be rehabilitated and some agency anxious to help.

When the Peace Corps first began to be talked about by Kennedy, he regarded it as hopelessly unpractical, just the wrong way to go about the job he knew so well. But when the Democrats won, it did seem to him that foreign aid would now become what he had been hoping it would. He went to Washington to see. But the same people seemed to be running it with the same ineptness as before, and he gave up the idea. But when, somewhat later, the Alliance for Progress was announced, he tried again.

He was a man of experience in Latin America, a gifted teacher and leader, as many old associates were ready to testify. So, after investigating and hesitating, the AID offered him a post in Iran. He went to the Peace Corps reluctantly; but they were new; and their bureaucracy was not yet hardened and suspicious. They sent him to Santo Domingo.

And there he is now, a man with a mission, and if anything good is done in that confused country with American funds, Andres Hernandez will very likely be the one who has persuaded someone to do it that way. They probably will not want to; but he will gently insist; if necessary, he will go over their heads. In his regard, they are unimportant. It is the people who need help that he is investing the rest of his life in. When the medals are given out, Andres ought to have one. But it is not often that they go to the quiet heroes. And those of us who know him have none to award. Still, he lives in a thousand renewed lives; and that seems to be all he wants.

Whose history does this remind you of? Yes, it reminds me of the same one.

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## VA's Chief: He Does Business With 22 Million Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Sunday Star of August 5, 1962, carried a very interesting feature article on Mr. John S. Gleason, Jr., head of the Veterans' Administration, written by Mr. Emerson Beauchamp, a contributing writer for the Star. The article takes us through a day in the life of the VA's chief executive and I am sure it is agreed that Mr. Gleason's schedule, like many in Washington, is a vigorous one but rewarding in the sense of important accomplishments.

The article follows:

VA's CHIEF: HE DOES BUSINESS WITH 22 MILLION VETERANS

(By Emerson Beauchamp)

The biggest businessman in the country is pro-Kennedy. The President gave him his job.

He is John S. Gleason, Jr., head of the Federal Government's largest independent agency, the Veterans' Administration.

As Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Mr. Gleason is boss of:

1. The largest medical program in the country, with 171 hospitals and 92 clinics.

2. The third largest life insurance program, with 6 million policyholders carrying $40 billion in coverage.

3. An educational program which has helped put 10.2 million veterans through school; a compensation and pension program that pays out $3.5 billion a year, and home, farm and business loans which have totaled $53 billion.

All told, Mr. Gleason and his 170,000 employees do business with 22.3 million veterans and their dependents—45 percent of the Nation's population.

HE'S AN ELBOW-GRABBER

The VA Chief, a Chicago banker on leave, is 47 years old. Short and stocky, he has white hair with only a few streaks of black left, a ruddy face and the bearing of a general, which he is. When he reads, he wears halfmoon-shaped glasses over a pair of piercing eyes. When he talks at close range, he's an arm puncher and an elbow grabber.

Spending a day with him is a grueling experience. The pace is swift and the timing tends to be split-second.

One recent day, Mr. Gleason left his house in nearby Maryland at 8:15 a.m., bounded into his air-conditioned, chauffeur-driven Cadillac and unfolded a morning paper as the car slipped out of the neighborhood and into the rush-hour traffic on East-West Highway.

The chauffeur, a good one, fought the battle of Sixteenth Street skillfully, and at 8:45 the Cadillac rolled up in front of the VA building at Vermont Avenue and H Street NW.

Mr. Gleason walked swiftly inside, took the elevator to the 10th floor, and pushed open an unmarked door. He nodded to his two secretaries and marched into his office, a large, softly lighted and carpeted room with a sweeping penthouse view of Lafayette Park, the White House, and the Washington Monument.

COFFEE FIRST, THEN WORK

Sitting down in the deep leather chair behind his glass-topped desk, he swung around, punched an intercom button and asked for a cup of coffee. Then he went to work.

On the desk was a folder full of photoreproductions of letters received the day before from Members of Congress and the White House. The originals had gone to the appropriate VA sections, where replies would be prepared for the Administrator's signature.

"I have intercom buttons for all 21 section heads," Mr. Gleason explained. "I call a few every morning as I go through the congressional mail. Nobody knows whether or not he's going to be called." In other words, it keeps the boys on the ball.

He proceeded to punch buttons and ask questions. A Senator was putting in a good word for a constituent to fill a rumored VA vacancy in his State. Another Senator was relaying a complaint about the treatment a veteran had received at a field office. The White House had a query with a deadline 3 days hence for a reply.

At 9 o'clock, four top aids came in for a daily briefing. The day's topics included a proposed land swap with a city where the VA wants to build a hospital, the burial contracts the VA makes with undertakers and the reaction of a newspaper on the matter of a hospital the VA wants to close.

In between, there was more intercom button pushing: A call to the information director to tell him not to mail out an unflattering picture ("I look like I'm crocked"), a half-serious opinion from the general counsel that the prayer that opens the Administrator's weekly staff meeting was legal, a query to a section chief about an official in the field who had attacked a veterans' organization ("Is he cracking up down there?").

At 10 o'clock, since it was Wednesday, it was time for the hour-long weekly staff meeting. Mr. Gleason and the four aids trooped into a conference room and sat down at a big table with the heads of the 21 VA sections. Some of them had things to talk about, others kept silent. The agenda included legislation to give a pension to World War I veterans, VA research on lung cancer ("I see everybody's stopped smoking," Mr. Gleason remarked), plans for new hospitals, and drug purchases (the VA is the world's biggest buyer).

A BRIEFING SESSION

Promptly at 11, Mr. Gleason was back in his office to receive a model-and-blueprint briefing on another new hospital. Then he hopped once more into the elevator and went down to meet the waiting Cadillac for a trip to Capitol Hill and one of his frequent meetings with Chairman Teague of the House Veterans Affairs Committee at his office in the Old House Office Building.

The conference broke up shortly after 12, just in time for a 12:15 luncheon date with Representative MACK, Democrat, of Illinois. Lunch wasn't over until nearly 1:30, and another congressional appointment was scheduled at 2, but Mr. Gleason headed back to his office anyway. "Time for a couple of phone calls," he explained.

At 1:55 Mr. Gleason jumped back into the Cadillac and rode off to see Representative FOGARTY, Democrat, of Rhode Island, in the new House Office Building.

By 3 o'clock Mr. Gleason was back in his office, buzzing for the next caller on his

schedule, a VA chaplain. At 3:30 Mr. Gleason buzzed his secretary and called, "How about the mail?" Right on schedule.

The 9 a.m. delegation reappeared and the mail signing began. The Administrator, all business now, scanned some letters, read others more carefully and asked a question from time to time between signatures.

BOSS OF 85TH DIVISION

Mr. Gleason had a 4:30 appointment with a White House aid, but he was told that this man had been delayed at the Capitol. So when mail signing ended at 4:25, the group moved into an adjoining room to watch the last 5 minutes of the President's press conference on TV. Then it was time to be off to the White House.

After that, Mr. Gleason went back to his office and mopped up odds and ends until his wife, Mary Jane, arrived from home to join him at a Disabled American Veterans reception that evening.

Every 2 weeks the schedule gets a little more frenetic when Mr. Gleason becomes Maj. Gen. Gleason, commander of the 85th Infantry Division, Army Reserve, in Illinois. ("When the President asked me if I wanted this job I told him I did, provided I didn't have to give up my Army command.")

Every other Tuesday night, Mr. Gleason boards a plane for Chicago at 5:30 p.m., has dinner aboard, and arrives in Chicago in time to be met by a staff car and to attend drill with one of his division's units. He spends Wednesday on VA business (the VA's Hines Hospital, one of the largest, and electronic data processing headquarters are in Chicago) and holds a Wednesday night meeting with his division headquarters staff. He's back on a plane at 11 o'clock, arriving in Washington about 2 a.m. Thursday.

HIS "FRONTIER" CREDENTIALS

Mr. Gleason is on leave from the First National Bank of Chicago where he has been a vice president since 1955. A native of Chicago, he started at the bank as a messenger after attending the University of Notre Dame and the Harvard Graduate School of Business. His father was a vice president of the same bank.

He interrupted his banking career in 1940 to enlist in the Army as a private and finished the war as a lieutenant colonel after combat duty in the Pacific.

Mr. Gleason was national commander of the American Legion in 1957–58. He was head of veterans' affairs for the Kennedy presidential campaign in 1960.

Despite his banker background, Mr. Gleason's New Frontier credentials are formidable. He's young as bureaucrats go, he went to Harvard and he's hooked on touch football, which he plays in the backyard with his six sons (6 to 18 years) when the weather's suitable.

## The Improved Philippine War Damage Claims Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, on May 9 of this year I regretted that I had no alternative but to join my colleagues in defeating H.R. 8617 which aimed at completing payments due on outstanding war damage claims in the Philippines. I opposed H.R. 8617 not because it would have benefited some Filipinos, but rather because it was a weak bill and did not include sufficient safeguards against large windfall profits accruing to undeserving claimants.

The Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946, which initiated the payment of these war claims, contained very specific requirements that the funds we provided would either compensate those who had already rehabilitated their damaged property or else—when such previous investment was not feasible—those who committed themselves to reinvesting the amount they received in such a way as to benefit the Philippine economy. Section 104(c) of the 1946 act reads:

All of the provisions of this title shall be subject to the requirement that, to the fullest extent practicable, the Commission shall require that the lost or damaged property be rebuilt, replaced, or repaired before payments of money are actually made to claimants under this title: *Provided*, That if the Commission determines it is impossible for any reason beyond the control of the claimant, or is impractical to rebuild, replace, or repair the lost or damaged property, the Commission may make payment to the claimant without making said requirement; *Provided, however*, That as a condition to the making of such payment, the Commission shall require that the whole of such payment shall be reinvested in such manner as will further the rehabilitation or economic development of the Philippines; *And provided further*, That nothing in this subsection shall preclude the partial payment of claims as the rebuilding, replacing, or repairing of the property progresses.

The basic weakness of H.R. 8617 was that it waived this requirement, except for those now living outside the Philippines. By not assuring that the funds actually were related to the development of the Philippine economy, the way was left open for certain interests to obtain windfall cash payments.

The new Philippine war claims bill, H.R. 11721, corrects this deficiency and requires that "all payments under this act in amounts over 25,000 pesos—about $6,400—or equivalent value in dollars shall be subject to the provisions of section 104(c) of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946." This amendment assures that the larger claimants have invested or will invest sums equal to the amount they will receive under this act in the rehabilitation and economic development of the islands.

Another way that the bill has been strengthened has been by a reduction in the time allowed the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission for the completion of the payments. In the earlier debate some of the Members feared that its affairs might drag on indefinitely. H.R. 11721 requires that the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission wind up its operations under this legislation within 2 years and 60 days after final passage of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that the Foreign Affairs Committee took the trouble to bring out an improved bill during this session, particularly since some misunderstandings resulted from our earlier action. Passage of H.R. 11721 gives us an opportunity to demonstrate to the Filipinos that our previous defeat of H.R. 8617 was in no way a manifestation of any ill-will or lack of appreciation of our just debt to them. Because this new bill answers the reservations I held concerning the poorly conceived H.R. 8617, I am happy to add my support to H.R. 11721.

## Consumers in the Free Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am happy to include for the benefit of the Members of this body an editorial, "Consumers in the Free Market," appearing in the Federation News of August 4, 1962, edited by my good friend, Irwin E. Klass and published in Illinois by the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council.

I am sure every consumer at times feels more like a victim than a victor in the so-called free market. The philosophy of "caveat emptor" has not yet been extinguished and until such time as it is there will be the necessity to protect the consumer's interest by rules and regulations.

CONSUMERS IN THE FREE MARKET

We have been bombarded lately by parcels of literature pointing to the free, untrammeled market as the way to the good life. The theme of these works is "individualism." The sovereign in this kingdom is the consumer, whose taste and judgment is supposed to rule the productive system.

The theory goes something like this: the economic system is designed to meet people's needs. Demands for goods and services encouraged their production. The consumer makes a choice from competing products on the basis of price and quality. If an industry is very profitable it will attract labor and investment. Competition will then bring the price down.

The State is supposed to keep out of this tussle.

One sympathetic book reviewer, writing in the Wall Street Journal, says the "consumer is anything but passive, wooden, susceptible to the commands and wiles of the hidden persuaders and wastemakers. * * * The consumer is the director of production, deciding what shall be made and who shall make it, designating which corporations shall survive and which shall perish."

Feel strong, fellow consumer? We don't. This theory is based on complete rejection of any action by the state to regulate the economy, except to act as some kind of an umpire in the competitive struggle to satisfy consumer demand, without the referee's authority to throw violators of the rules out of the game. Chastisement must be exercised with caution, in the form of speeches on business ethics, but let the law do nothing to hamper what's called the dynamics of economic growth, namely, big and bigger business.

In what stage in history did we have "perfect" competition? And why should all forms of direct or indirect intervention in the economic process be labeled by economists as the "nemesis of productivity and freedom"?

Yes—consumers have some power of choice, but do they have the knowledge to distinguish between the pill that cures and the

prescription that maims? The tragic story of the drug that mutilates the unborn results from an attempt by a firm to get its product in use ahead of the competition without proper testing. Only the "intrusion" of a skilled and knowledgeable doctor in a Government agency brought the terrible story to public attention. There's a frantic search for and count of pills, with no penalties to the firm that channeled its product into the market.

The consumer is king? Not yet. We'll feel that our choices are meaningful after the newly formed President's Consumers' Advisory Council has been tested in action. Will this unit be drowned before it grows to maturity by the flood of attacks from spokesmen for the "free" market—where the consumer reigns—provided he doesn't ask too many questions?

## Netherlands, Indonesia Agree To End West New Guinea Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the recent news of the Netherlands-Indonesian preliminary agreement which amicably resolves the West New Guinea controversy heartens all peace-loving peoples in the world and reaffirms the valuable role played by the United Nations as an agency for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The following article from the Washington Post summarizes this important agreement:

NETHERLANDS, INDONESIA AGREE TO END WEST NEW GUINEA FIGHT

(By Warren Unna)

The Netherlands and Indonesia have reached a preliminary agreement on a peacefull settlement of their long-festering dispute over West New Guinea, Acting U.N. Secretary General U Thant announced last night at the United Nations.

The agreement, and the end of the threat of a serious war between the two nations, granted Indonesia her desire to take over administration of West New Guinea from the Dutch and the Netherlands her desire to give West New Guinea's 700,000 Papuans a chance to decide some day on their own whom they want to belong to.

The agreement also marked a personal triumph for Ellsworth Bunker, former U.S. Ambassador to India. Bunker served as special moderator for U Thant in the dispute.

PERSUADED RIVALS TO TALK

Bunker first persuaded Indonesia and the Netherlands to sit down and talk things out last March; watched them quickly disperse and step up military skirmishes against each other; and then got them back into the serious negotiations which began July 12 and finally reached an amicable climax yesterday.

The agreement, the outgrowth of a formula originally proposed by Bunker, provides that:

U.N. administrators, perhaps 80 to 100, will begin replacing the Dutch as soon as the agreement is formally signed.

Indonesian administrators will begin replacing those from the United Nations next May 1.

In 1969, the Indonesians, under tight U.N. supervision, will give West New Guinea's Papuan population a plebiscite in which they will be allowed to decide whether they want to stay with the Netherlands, join Indonesia, or become independent.

The agreement also paves the way for a resumption of the long-broken diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands and for the working out of future currency problems, credits and outside financial assistance to a territory which now sops up some $30 million a year in Dutch administrative funds.

INDONESIA FIRST TO AGREE

Under the original Bunker formula, there was to be a 12-month transition from Dutch to U.N. administration; a 12-month transition from U.N. to Indonesian administration; and a plebiscite within a reasonable time—perhaps 5 to 10 years.

The Indonesians agreed to the Bunker formula when it was first put forth last March. The Dutch, thwarted by domestic political opposition, didn't come around until last month. Then Indonesia raised the ante and demanded that the Indonesian flag be hoisted over West New Guinea "by the time the cock crows next January 1."

The Dutch then compromised on the length of the transition periods while the Indonesians compromised on their original demand that the U.N. role—both as transition administrators and plebiscite supervisors—be only a symbolic one.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, who took part in the final sessions at their hideaway site on a Middleburg, Va., estate, flew up to the United Nations headquarters yesterday afternoon for a talk with U Thant and then departed for Djakarta to report back to Indonesian President Sukarno.

Netherlands Ambassador to the United States J. T. van Roijen conferred with Secretary of State Dean Rusk yesterday afternoon and is preparing to fly back to the Netherlands today to brief his government.

SIGNING IN 2 WEEKS

Van Roijen and Indonesian Ambassador to the Soviet Union Adam Malik, his country's chief negotiator in the discussions, are expected to get together again to work out financial and technical details before Subandrio returns to the United Nations for the formal signing, perhaps in another 2 weeks.

For Indonesia, the ousting of the Dutch from West New Guinea brings a victory to President Sukarno, who had used the issue as a rallying cry as his country struggled with its many political and economic difficulties.

For the Netherlands, the settlement brings a chance to resume profitable economic relations with their old East Indies colony, and perhaps compensation for the estimated $1 billion in Dutch assets which Sukarno's government seized.

For the United States and the United Nations, the settlement avoids a military skirmish which might eventually have drawn in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

## Spain's Struggle Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the mid-1930's Spain was in political, economic, and social turmoil. In this confusion a leftwing, Communist-oriented group under the name Popular Front came into power early in 1936. This popular front government seemed determined to rule Spain with an iron hand, and in many of its moves, aims, and tactics the people detected the hands of Moscow-trained and Kremlin-oriented communism. In the course of a few months many churches, seminaries, monastic establishments and other public institutions were set on fire. General and partial strikes were rampant, and a veritable chaos broke loose. The country was in a serious crisis while Communist elements were working feverishly for securing a firm foothold there. Great numbers of the people, and certain key leaders became aware of the serious situation, and began their fight against their government, which turned out to be their long and successful fight against the agents of communism.

This historic and epoch-making revolt, this beginning of the Spanish Civil War in July of 1936, was the first real fight of a people in Western Europe against communism. This was not just a civil war in which Spaniards fighting Spaniards, but it was an ideological war in which great world forces were arrayed against each other. Today, 26 years after the beginning of that fight, and on the 23d year after its successful conclusion, we salute the freedom-loving and gallant people of Spain.

## Long Historic Friendship Between American and Spanish Peoples

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, ancient Spain, occupied for 800 years by the Moors, was a land where Moslem and Jewish philosophers transmitted to Christian Europe the heritage of the ancient world. The cities of Granada, Cordoba, and Seville are known today as symbols of the intellectual and cultural heritage of their country. The Christian reconquest of Spain at the turn of the 16th century marked the start of an era in which the Spanish nation played a remarkably important part in the growth of Christian belief. The attachment to catholicism provided the basis for the historic unity of a great nation. This was also the era of discovery and exploration, in which Spain became known as the discoverer of new worlds, the ruler of an imperial domain the like of which the world had never seen, the symbol of a civilization which at one time was a world civilization. The exploits of Spain's explorers, like the philosophical and religious contributions of its thinkers, demonstrated the greatness of Spain to the world. Art and architecture unmatched anywhere contributed to the splendor of Spanish culture during the Middle Ages.

Spain was among the first of the European states to develop a modern army and administrative system. During the last two centuries, it has been a land in flux, a land in which abrupt changes in governments and forms of government contrasted with the historic continuity of the Spanish nation. This process reached a tragic climax during the thirties, when internal differences resulted in civil war. The Spanish Civil War of 26 years ago marked the first great setback to international communism.

In recent years, relations between Spain and the United States have been based on close cooperation between the two Governments. Negotiations between representatives of the two countries resulted in arrangements, concluded in 1953, for the building of U.S. Air Force and naval bases on Spanish soil, for the granting of economic aid to Spain, and for the modernization of the Spanish armed forces with American help. The American policy of seeking close relations with our Spanish ally is not a question of party politics. When Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking during a recent visit to Madrid, praised the Spanish Government for its efforts in defense of the Western alliance, he was reaffirming a policy which had been stated many times by the late John Foster Dulles. We are now in a period in which both Spain and the United States are deeply engaged in rising to the challenges of the modern world. The historic friendship between the Spanish and American peoples will ease the burden facing both nations.

## The Facts and Fannie Mae

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, for 7 years the Special Subcommittee on Government Information has been criticizing unjustifiable restrictions on Government information. For 7 years newspapermen, scientists, Members of Congress, and Government employees have brought their complaints about excessive secrecy to the subcommittee. During that period the subcommittee has reported its successes and failures regularly to the House Government Operations Committee under the guidance of Chairman WILLIAM L. DAWSON, of Illinois. Our reports have criticized continuing restrictions and complimented those Government officials who cut down excessive secrecy.

Too often, those in the press who brought us complaints about restrictions did nothing to record the actions of the Government officials who put into practice a belief that the people have a right to know the facts of Government. News stories, after all, are made up of controversy—the bad is criticized, the good ignored. Such is not the case, however, with David Kraslow, an award-winning member of the Knight newspapers Washington staff.

Reporter Kraslow was refused the facts about foreclosure fees paid to local lawyers by the Federal National Mortgage Association. He demanded to know the legal authority for the refusal, and he went over the head of FNMA to Dr. Robert Weaver, the Director of the Housing and Home Finance Agency which is the parent organization of FNMA. He also informed the subcommittee of his problems, but before the subcommittee could act Dr. Weaver acted.

The moment he learned of the refusal, Dr. Weaver reversed the lower level decision. He ordered the facts spread on the record. Dr. Weaver's action is symptomatic of the top-level attitude in Washington today—an attitude that public business is the public's business. Unfortunately, it seems difficult for that attitude to trickle down through the middle Government levels. Dave Kraslow's insistence on going to the top, and his decision to write the story of Dr. Weaver's decision, are the kind of actions which will speed the trickle. Following is Dave Kraslow's story.

A MATTER OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

J. Stanley Baughman is an important official. He is President and a member of the Board of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Fannie Mae, as the FNMA is known, is a big business. It handles billions of dollars' worth of mortgages, the bulk of them on FHA and VA-financed homes.

Fannie Mae is not a private business. It is a Corporation of the U.S. Government. This makes Fannie Mae public business.

These are not profound observations, but somehow they seem beyond the grasp of Mr. Baughman.

He believes the public is not entitled to know how much Fannie Mae pays individual lawyers to process mortgage foreclosures on Government-financed homes.

"That is a private matter," says this public official.

The Miami Herald asked Baughman for the names of the attorneys now representing Fannie Mae in Miami on foreclosures and for the amounts paid them since their appointments.

Baughman identified the lawyers and gave the dates of their appointments, but would not budge on disclosing the fees.

Fannie Mae employs private attorneys on its foreclosure cases throughout the country. They are selected, usually in automatic rotation, from an approved list in Fannie Mae headquarters.

This is a little known area of political patronage. The list changes with each administration.

When Baughman was asked to cite the legal grounds on which he based his refusal, he referred the reporter to Fannie Mae's full-time legal advisers.

One of them said the refusal was based on a criminal statute and on "general policy" of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. (Other authorities later said the cited law was designed to prevent disclosure by Government employees of income tax returns and trade secrets.)

The HHFA is Fannie Mae's parent organization. It is headed by Dr. Robert Weaver, who also is Chairman of the Board of Fannie Mae.

Weaver differs with Baughman on the distinction between private and public business. Fortunately, Weaver is Baughman's boss.

The reporter's appeal to Weaver's office brought quick results. The requested information was ordered released.

"There's no reason in the world why it shouldn't be available to the public," a spokesman for Weaver said.

And that is the story behind the publication of the following information:

Henry Arrington, appointed by Fannie Mae on May 5, 1961, received $3,550 in fees during the fiscal year ending June 30.

The law firm of Pallott, Marks, Lundeen, Pappell & Horwich, appointed May 5, 1961, received $8,340.

Arthur Macey, July 27, 1961, $8,191.48.

Marvin S. Cassel, May 11, 1961, $9,800.

Leon Levin, May 10, 1961, $11,950.

Julius I. Friedman, August 24, 1961, $7,010.

Ernest N. Stamey, May 21, 1962, no fees received during the remaining 6 weeks of the fiscal year.

The standard Fannie Mae fee in Miami for a routine court foreclosure is $250.

There were 15,500 Fannie Mae foreclosures in the Nation in fiscal 1962 and the legal fees totaled more than $1,400,000.

Of that, $617,489.47 went to Florida lawyers. This was the highest amount of all States.

Thank you, Dr. Weaver.

## Aid to Depressed Parents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Grace S. Cesario, of Derby, Conn., one of my constituents, has written a letter to the Ladies' Home Journal which the Journal has considered important enough to print. I agree with the judgment of the editors of this national magazine, and I wish to include herewith Mrs. Cesario's letter because it states succinctly and graphically the problem which a great number of our American families face in financing a college education for their children.

JUNE 5, 1962.

"OUR READERS WRITE US,"
*Ladies' Home Journal,*
*Curtis Publishing Co.,*
*Philadelphia, Pa.*

DEAR EDITOR: Sidney Margolius' "The Cheapest Way To Go to College" in the June Journal states that three groups—girls, minorities, and low-income families—are threatened with being barred from a college education. I think Mr. Margolius has overlooked the group that is threatened more than any other—the middle income group.

It has become the same with higher education as with medical care; you can get the best if you're either very rich or very poor. It's the in-betweens who must settle for second- or third-best, or nothing at all.

These families have incomes too high to qualify for scholarships based on need; yet they are not high enough to accommodate the phenomenal costs of a college education. My husband and I have a combined income before taxes of $12,000, and are paying $145 per month (it was $175 until last February) to cover tuition, board, and room for our son under an installment loan from a Boston bank. This does not include transportation costs, laundry, or spending money for him.

Last year we applied for a loan under the National Defense Act, and after laying our souls open to inspection (it felt like applying for relief) we were granted $200. This year we're not going to apply at all; it isn't worth it when the total cost is $2,500 per year.

Another point to keep in mind is this: Many of us in our forties and fifties are also burdened with the support of aging parents who worked for the most part before the advent of social security benefits; thus we're in the middle of an economic bind with the money running out both ends.

There is a form of practical assistance which is both workable and based on ratio to income. Under its provisions, parents who are putting children through college would be given an additional income tax exemption to cover costs of tuition. There are several such proposals now before the House Ways and Means Committee, but nothing seems to come of them.

Why not?

Mrs. James Cesario.
(Mrs. J. C.)

DERBY, CONN.

## Col. Marvin L. Jacobs, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, Retired

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, Col. Marvin L. Jacobs, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, who served as district engineer at Memphis for 3 years beginning August 1, 1959, retired from military service on July 31.

Colonel Jacobs, who was born March 15, 1915, at Hagerstown, Md., entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., in June of 1936, graduating in the class of 1940. He was commissioned in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and served his first assignment at Fort Belvoir, Va. During World War II he served in the European theater of operations where he was wounded and for which he received the Purple Heart. In 1945, he attended the Army's Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. His next assignment was as executive officer and later training publications officer at Manhattan Engineer District, Sandia Base, N. Mex. He received his master's degree in civil engineering at the University of Illinois in 1949. Colonel Jacobs served in the Canal Zone, first as executive officer to the assistant engineer of maintenance, and then as military assistant to the Governor of the Canal Zone. From 1952 to 1955, he served as professor of military science and tactics at Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute, Ind. In 1955 he was assigned as an engineer brigade commander in Japan, and in 1957 as strategic planner on the Pacific Joint Staff in Hawaii. He began his last military assignment in 1959 as district engineer, U.S. Army Engineer District, Memphis.

It was as district engineer at Memphis that I met Colonel Jacobs and came to recognize him as one of the finest officers and gentlemen it has ever been my pleasure to know. I worked closely with him in the development of flood control and drainage improvement work along the Mississippi River and along the West Tennessee tributaries. I saw him in action in his own office, in public hearings before the Mississippi River Commission and in meetings with groups concerned with and interested in flood control and drainage matters, and I speak from my own knowledge and observation when I say that Colonel Jacobs did an outstanding service to his country, the U.S. Army and the Corps of Engineers during his tenure as district engineer at Memphis, where his stature as an engineer, his purposefulness, his sincerity, and his integrity won a host of friends for the Corps of Engineers, as well as highest respect for their work. The fact that he will remain in Memphis as director of development for Memphis State University is further testimony to his qualities of character and person. I pay tribute, too, to Colonel Jacobs' wonderful family—his wife, the former Mary Ryerson of Highland Park, N.Y.; his daughter, Miss Anne Jacobs; and his fine young son, Roy.

Colonel Jacobs' retirement is a loss to the military service he served so long and so faithfully, and he well merits the Army's Certificate of Appreciation and the Commendation Ribbon presented to him on his retirement by Maj. Gen. Ellsworth I. Davis, president of the Mississippi River Commission and division engineer, U.S. Army Engineer Division, Lower Mississippi Valley, Vicksburg, Miss.

On May 18 there appeared an editorial in the Commercial Appeal, an outstanding newspaper of the Nation, the following editorial:

JACOBS AND GROWING MSU

Facing the necessities of the present and looking ahead to the problems of future expansion, Memphis State University President C. C. Humphreys has created a new position: director of development.

It is pleasing to note that the man chosen to fill this job from the start is Col. Marvin L. Jacobs. Colonel Jacobs, district engineer for the U.S. Army Engineer district, Memphis, already is a highly respected figure in the community. We are happy that in his retirement from the Army he will remain here to contribute further to the mushrooming growth of MSU.

Only 47, his outlook is youthfully vigorous and progressive. But as background he has many years of valuable experience in the administration of project developments. This is experience which should redound to the benefit of MSU in the busy years ahead.

Paul Flowers is an outstanding columnist of the Commercial Appeal. We in the Midsouth look forward to reading his column every day. He has done and is continuing to do an outstanding job in writing such a fine column. His August 3 column on Colonel Jacobs follows:

PAUL FLOWERS' GREENHOUSE

Here are tardy, but none the less sincere, words of hail and farewell to Col. Marvin L. Jacobs, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, retired as of July 31, now professor.

As he has commanded operations designed to guide and keep the Mississippi in paths of righteousness (no floods and an always 9-foot channel for great cargoes), now he turns to another challenging task, that of guiding young human minds into constructive channels.

Colonel-Professor Jacobs' new job is the bigger one. Mighty as the river is, the human intellect is mightier, and one brain—remember Eads—can harness nature's wildest power for the use and benefit of mankind.

May you always have plenty of water under your bottom in this second career, Marvin; may reference points and lines always be precise; may your charts be accurate and your computations to the last final decimal up to infinity.

May you leave your imprint on the human heart and spirit even as you have on the Father of Waters.

## Tribute to an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, so often the newspapers fail to note the good works of this Congress and are eager to print criticism.

I was most heartened this past Sunday, August 5, 1962, in reading the fine editorial of the Tablet, praising a great man, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and including therein the House resolution expressing the thanks and the appreciation of the Congress and the American people to General MacArthur.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial entitled "Tribute to an American":

TRIBUTE TO AN AMERICAN

There has never been any doubt in the mind of the average citizen of either Gen. Douglas MacArthur's great achievements or of the debt the Nation owes to him.

Yet, as far as the official record is concerned, it was only last week that the hero of war and postwar periods in the Far East was taken off what some have called a Government blacklist. The official record had this distinguished military leader listed ever since 1951 as an officer removed from all command for alleged insubordination. President Truman had relieved him from active command because he sought to win the Korean war by direct attack on the Chinese Reds who were killing his—our—soldiers. The brilliant general was called home and a committee of Congress held an investigation but came to no final conclusion. Yet the stigma against his name remained.

Ever since, General MacArthur has lived in retirement. Many of those who served under him, distinguished leaders as well as the patriotic press have not forgotten his remarkable acts of personal bravery and skillful command and have felt that the Nation should be reminded in a formal way of those contributions. It had been a delicate subject to raise with some because of the old political controversy. But Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, never gave up. He succeeded a few years ago in getting a resolution before a committee of Congress but could not get it to the floor for action. This time, however, he was successful. Chairman CARL VINSON, of the House Armed Services Committee, and Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, gave permission to have

the resolution brought up. Passed unanimously, it reads as follows:

*"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That the thanks and appreciation of the Congress and the American people are hereby tendered to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur in recognition of his outstanding devotion to the American people, his brilliant leadership during and following World War II, and the unsurpassed affection held for him by the people of the Republic of the Philippines which has done so much to strengthen the ties of friendship between the people of that nation and the people of the United States."

In the formal report of the House Armed Services Committee submitted by Representative RIVERS to the House, a detailed account of General MacArthur's record was given from the time he graduated from West Point in 1903 at the head of his class, paying an eloquent tribute to his character and achievements.

Congress does well in revealing, officially, what Douglas MacArthur did for his country. His record is one of devotion to America a record that will not die nor fade away.

## Frank Xavier Veit, Alameda County, Calif., Superior Court Chief Clerk Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding public servant, Mr. Frank Xavier Veit, of Alameda County, Calif., recently retired as chief clerk of the superior courts of the county.

Mr. Veit has an outstanding record of nearly 36 years of service in the public interest including a distinguished tour of duty with the Army in France during World War I. Frank Veit was the recipient of numerous congratulatory messages and comments.

Since I feel we too often take for granted the loyal service of public employees, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD articles exemplary of the recognition being extended to this faithful county employee.

[From the International Molders' and Allied Workers' Journal, May 1962]

WEST COAST MEMBER RETIRES FROM COUNTY POSITION

(By Edward F. Wulf, editor)

Those of you who are ardent readers of the Journal will recall that back in 1957 a couple of articles appeared in our publication written by that genius with a pen—Frank X. Veit, member of local union No. 164, San Francisco, Calif.

In particular, his stirring article in Februrary 1957, "Thoughts on Labor, 1861–1957," is unsurpassed for its truth and straightforwardness. His comments on the phony stand by the proponents of the Taft-Hartley Act are worth repeating. In it he said, "The right to join or not to join a labor union is not the real issue. They (sponsors and advocates of Taft-Hartley) wish participation of the nonmembers equally with the membership of organized labor in the benefits, working conditions, wages and other compensations established by the membership of labor unions through collective bargaining, without the nonmembers sharing equally with the members in maintaining the obligations and burdens which are necessary to maintain labor unions. In this way, they feel that eventually, enough of the people will quit the unions to cause them to disintegrate.

"In numbers there is strength and security. * * * Without 100 percent organization in a plant, there is no real effective collective bargaining power. There is a fundamental and sound principle of law that says, 'all laws must be equally applicable and obligatory upon all, and he that takes the benefit shall bear the burden.' In accordance with that fundamental and sound principle of law, it follows with, 'no person has the right to participate in the benefits, working conditions, wages and compensation established by collective bargaining, without also participation equally in the obligations as a member of a labor union.'"

We only wish more workers in America had the same vision Frank Veit has carried with him down through the years.

Brother Veit was born in Erie, Pa., and went to work when he was only 10 years old. He educated himself by putting in many hours of study each day following many hours of manual labor and, in a few years, the "book learning" he gained through his thirst for knowledge paid off in a job that kept him in the Alameda County (Calif.) courthouse for 35 years. We're getting a little ahead of our story, so let's go back a bit.

At the age of 16, Frank arrived in Newark, Calif., and went to work as an apprentice in the Wedgewood Stove Foundry. He became a journeyman molder and in February 1913, was initiated into Local Union No. 164, I.M. & A.W.U., San Francisco, Calif. He worked at the trade for 18 years before taking a county civil service examination for court clerk.

It was while both were employed by the Wedgewood Stove Foundry that our International President William A. Lazzerini became acquainted with Brother Veit—an acquaintanceship which has been long and sincere.

As a delegate from his local union he attended the convention of the international union, held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1923; he represented our union several times at the stove and heater conferences, and he served his local union in many other capacities during his 18 years of active service. We say "active service" because his membership in the I.M. & A.W.U. is still very "active," with more than 49 years of active dues-paying membership. He could have drawn a life membership card 4 years ago but preferred to continue paying his monthly dues.

On December 13, 1926, with pen in hand, Brother Veit took up the duties of county court clerk of Alameda County, Calif. He became its chief court clerk in 1946. Through these years, it is reported, Frank Veit has inscribed the fullest, smooth minutes on record in Alameda County. They include court adjournments on memorable occasions such as the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, on April 12, 1945, and the appointment of Earl Warren as Justice of the Supreme Court, on October 5, 1953, by President Dwight Eisenhower.

Brother Veit's many records include the county's longest civil trial, the longest will in local history, and the court's most unique will—a block of pavement upon which an architect scrawled his testament in builder's chalk when he was suddenly stricken by a heart attack.

During the First World War, Brother Veit served in the field artillery, in France. Being a charter member of Washington Township Post 195, American Legion, he has served in various State and local positions. For 39 years he has been post adjutant-finance officer.

Frank has reached the compulsory retirement age, 70, and must lay down his pen, as far as the courthouse in Alameda County is concerned. But we hope he never loses the art of conveying his thoughts to our readers through the pages of the Journal. His approach to and his personal convictions on the needs of labor are echoed by each one who has distinguished himself as a union member and has his fellow worker's needs at heart. Brother Veit's ability to capture these thoughts and put them on paper is something which everyone would like to be capable of doing.

Frank, a bachelor, makes his home with his sister, Mrs. Josephine Doorley, in Newark, Calif. We wish him many years of happy retirement and good health. Keep the letters and articles coming, Frank. We know now that you are retired, you'll have more time to correspond.

SUPERIOR COURT, STATE OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF ALAMEDA,
*Oakland, March 29, 1962.*

Mr. FRANK X. VEIT,
*Deputy County Clerk,*
*Courthouse, Oakland, Calif.*

DEAR FRANK: The judges of the superior court of Alameda County wish to congratulate you upon your retirement after 36 years of faithful service to the county and its citizens.

You have served for a longer time than any of us and your conduct and zeal have not only been exemplary but have served as an inspiration to all who are, like you, devoted to the service of the public. We will indeed miss your wisdom and counsel and we join in wishing you many happy years of the leisure which you so well deserve.

Cordially yours,

Folger Emerson, Presiding Superior Court Judge; Superior Court Judges: S. Victor Wagler, A. J. Woolsey, Charles Wade Snook, Donald K. Quayle, Thomas J. Ledvich, Cecil Mosbacher (Lady Judge), Marvin Sherwin, Richard H. Chamberlain, Allen G. Norris, Thomas W. Caldecott, William J. McGuiness, Monroe Friedman, Leonard Dieden, Lewis E. Lercara, John J. Purchio, Lyle E. Cook, Redmond C. Staats, Jr.

[From the Oakland Tribune, Apr. 1, 1962]

FRANK VEIT, CHIEF COURT CLERK, ENDS 35 YEARS IN COUNTY JOB

(By Havelock Hunter)

Frank Xavier Veit's courthouse friends swear that he was born with a fountain pen in his hand.

They point to the rack upon rack of superior court minutes in the clerk's office as evidence that Veit started writing at an early age in the modern era of the court.

Even his chief, County Clerk Jack G. Blue, attested at Veit's retirement dinner Friday that the veteran chief clerk had posted minutes of all 18 departments. Veit reached the compulsory retirement of 70 last month.

Veit himself protested that he laid down a foundry puddler's ladle to take up pen and ink duties with the county on December 13, 1926.

MOMENTS OF HISTORY

And since that date Veit has been inscribing the fullest smooth minutes on record in Alameda County. They even include adjournments of court at great moments of history: Such as the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, the death of Judge Leon Gray on December 6, 1948, the appointment by President Dwight Eisenhower of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on October 5, 1953.

Veit clerked for Judge Gray for 12 years and for Judge Thomas J. Ledwich, retiring himself this year, for 7 years. And Veit kept up the records for other noted jurists: John J. Allen, J. D. Murphey, T. W. Harris and Frank Ogden.

WILL IN PAVEMENT

Veit's records are many, including the county's longest civil trial, a 2-month condemnation hearing on the Ocean Shore Railway ,the right-of-way which ran from San Francisco to Santa Cruz.

And Veit produced a stepladder for his judge for the longest will in local history, a continuous scroll 9 feet, 7 inches long. And he carted into court the most unique will: A block of pavement upon which an architect, stricken by a heart attack on the street, scrawled his testament in builder's chalk.

Veit also received for probate a will which was torn in half. He entered the two halves as separate documents and the court ordered them reassembled for court ruling.

During his off-duty hours Veit, a bachelor living at 36946 Magnolia Street, Newark, combed his court records for cryptic and fitting surnames of litigants to explain, for his own amusement, the reason for divorces: "Early love. Argue long. Loose reason. Goodby."

MOVE RECALLED

Veit spanned the court's transition in the 1930's from the old courthouse on Broadway to the new one on Lake Merritt's shore. He clerked for the first official session in the new building. He became chief court clerk in 1946.

A native of Erie, Pa., Frank went to work at the age of 10. He educated himself by studying after work, and he was 16 when he arrived in Newark to work as an apprentice in the Wedgewood stove foundry. He became a journeyman molder and an officer in his union in his 18 years at the craft before he took the county civil service examinations.

During World I he served in France in the Field Artillery. He became a charter member of Washington Township Post 195, American Legion, and has served in various State and local positions. For 39 years he has served as post adjutant-finance officer.

Veit lives in Newark with his sister, Mrs. Josephine Doorley, a member of the county library staff.

## United Nations Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix, by unanimous consent, a letter which I have received from Ambassador James Wadsworth, whose opinions I hold in high respect, regarding the possible purchase of United Nations bonds by the United States.

Ambassador Wadsworth's dedicated service to this country has covered many years, including the years of 1953 to 1960 when he served as Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations. Following his distinguished service in this capacity, Ambassador Wadsworth was appointed the permanent U.S. Representative to the United States. Having been appointed by President Eisenhower to serve as a U.S. delegate to the 14th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1959 myself, I had the pleasure of serving with Ambassador Wadsworth, and know personally of his dedicated service and high qualifications.

As I believe that Ambassador Wadsworth's views should be of interest to all Americans, I am placing his letter in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that it might be called to the attention of the Congress and the American people.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
*August 7, 1962.*

The Honorable JAMES G. FULTON,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR JIM: My concern for the United Nations and for its bipartisan support in our country prompts this letter. I have just returned from a brief vacation and am disturbed to learn of the opposition to the U.N. loan in the House. As my absence made it impossible for me to testify before the Foreign Affairs Committee, I would like to reaffirm several of the points I made before the Foreign Relations Committee.

First, the financial plan approved by the General Assembly attacks directly the major elements of the financial crisis of the U.N.

Second, the plan is designed to reinforce the sound principle of collective responsibility of the entire membership for all operations voted by a two-thirds majority of the members.

Third, the $200 million which the bond issue seeks to raise is needed to restore sound planning and responsible financial management for a reasonable period ahead.

Fourth, the successful execution of the plan will lead to a reduction in the abnormally large share of peacekeeping operations which has been borne by the United States and which is unhealthy for both the U.N. and the United States.

I can assure you from my recent travels around this country that there is great and widespread support for the U.N. and its peace forces. Such organizations as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the AFL–CIO, the American Legion, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, B'nai B'rith, the Catholic Association for International Peace and many others are on record in favor of this loan to the United Nations. Despite the favorable advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the United Nations needs the money now. I therefore hope that you will be able to contribute to its overwhelming approval by the House.

Sincerely,

JAMES J. WADSWORTH.

## The Kefauver Drug Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the June 1962 edition of Pulp and Paper Worker a monthly newspaper published by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. The article, by Cynthia A. Jessup, is particularly timely as it analyzes the Kefauver drug proposals. Recent events have borne out Miss Jessup's conclusion that "it is time that the victims—the consumer—took the reins in hand through passage of adequate and swift legislation."

The article follows:

THE DRUG INDUSTRY

(By Cynthia A. Jessup)

(Miss Jessup, research assistant of the Research and Education Department, received her B.S. degree from Ithaca College.)

Since early 1961 concern over the conduct of the drug industry has been spreading throughout the Nation. At that time Senator ESTES KEFAUVER led a full investigation of the industry, consequently introducing a bill intended to correct many abuses. The move prompted one drug executive to predict that the long reign of comparative freedom enjoyed by manufacturers was over. The past year has shown the prediction to be quite accurate although just how permanently interrupted it will be only time, and the passage or defeat of proposed measures, will determine.

While drug companies were violently shaken by the threat of KEFAUVER's proposals (which have yet to pass through Congress), several direct rulings by the Food and Drug Administration had a more immediate impact. The drug manufacturers were ordered to follow a policy of full disclosure on each drug label and in the promotional literature sent to doctors. This included side effects and a batch control number in case of contamination. Color additives in cosmetics were barred. In addition, the FDA began to test many more drugs than previously. The annual average cleared by the Agency now stands at approximately 400.

PRICES FIXED

The Kefauver investigations also resulted in a Federal indictment of three major pharmaceutical firms and their top officers for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The companies, American Cyanamid, Bristol-Myers, and Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., had monopolized the market in broad spectrum antibiotics (highly effective drugs widely relied upon by many doctors) for over 10 years, pushing prices on these items to fantastic proportions. Sales on these three drugs rose steadily from $86 million in 1954 to over $165 million by 1959.

Another indictment was issued against Northern Pharmaceutical Association in California for price fixing. The association was fined $40,000 and the officers responsible were fined $1,000.

When the AMA rushed to the defense of the drug industry, the Kefauver subcommittee pointed out that the medical organization could not be expected to be impartial since much of their revenue came from drug advertising. In 1955 the advertising brought $4,184,000 to AMA pockets. By 1960 this figure rose to half the income of the organization at $7,997,000.

These figures take on added meaning when it is noted that the AMA relieved their own council on drugs of any direct responsibility over drug ads and abandoned their seal of approval in 1955. Their listing of "new and official drugs," which they began publishing in 1956, is of dubious value since over 20 percent of the drugs listed have been shown incapable of sustaining their sponsors' claims.

The necessity for action in the drug field was emphasized by President Kennedy's consumers' protection message in March. The President called attention to the inadequacy of existing drug laws and the inefficiency of the administrative program established to enforce the laws. He stressed the necessity for fast and drastic improvement in the areas of safety, efficacy, and the use of drugs today.

Brought together for purposes of comparison, the Kefauver bill, the ruling of the FDA, and the administration's proposals are quite uniform in their aims. The Kefauver bill made an additional request for a drug patent limitation of 3 years as opposed to the present one of 14 years. After the 3 years, the company would be forced to license the drug, for a royalty, to other companies. This amendment was ruled out by Congress last

month, permitting the continuation of patent monopolies.

Other proposals would enable the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to withdraw approval of any drug which cannot prove sufficient safety or efficacy. Manufacturers would be required to report on such standards and to maintain facilities and controls insuring the reliability of their product. Antibiotics would be tested batch by batch. Simple names would be given all drugs. Enforcible steps would be provided against the illegal sale of habit-forming barbiturates and amphetamines. Cosmetics would have to be proved safe and useful before marketing. More efficient inspection of drug, cosmetics, and therapeutic devices would be made. The FTC would be authorized to see that the promotional material directed to doctors is clear and complete.

The reaction of the drug industry is, of course, one of indignation and protestation. They claim that costs would be prohibitive. Research would be stifled. Improvement in drugs would halt. Officials cried that it is degrading to the profession and implies a lack of faith in the companies' honesty and reliability. It means the Government would once again be interfering in the business of big business.

The question is, Is such interference justified? Is it really interference or just assuring the public that in the future the cure won't be worse than the disease? Let us look at the record.

As with many other areas of business, the drug industry has been left to its own devices for many years, guided by its own professional organizations and ethical standards. The effect of such control was clearly demonstrated in the scandals over price fixing. It is shown monthly in the reports issued by the FDA on actions taken against pharmaceutical companies, druggists, and distributors of drugs. The practices which have been revealed in these reports could hardly be called ethical.

Price rigging of drugs is inexcusable. Medicine being something we must have, we are left with no choice but to pay the price demanded. Going without because of expense may prove more expensive in the long run. While no one can object to profits, unreasonable profits gained at the expense of our health cannot be justified.

To illustrate: Tetracycline, one of the "miracle" drugs, costs the druggist 30 cents apiece, the consumer—50 cents. The company produces it for 3 cents. Tranquilizers sell for 10 cents to the customer, 6.5 cents to the druggist, and cost 0.7 cent to make.

A drug official remarked that many drugs entering the market today are "potentially dangerous" and reduce medications from "prescription status to candy-bar status."

The Labor Review has stated that often drugs are designed for sales appeal more than medical value. Such accusations put doubts on the value of drug companies' research which they claim takes such a large part of their profits. It has been discovered that in 1958 the amount actually spent on research came to 6.2 percent of the dollar.

In October of 1961 the FDA discovered a mild tranquilizer sold by 1 firm for over a year had been the cause of 11 illnesses and 3 deaths. Another firm collected reports on the adverse effects of one of its drugs for over 5 years before notifying the FDA. The drug had caused 54 cases of hepatitis and jaundice, 15 of which resulted in death. In both cases the drugs were recalled from the market by the FDA and their application for reissue was denied.

Such cases are only a sampling of those uncovered by the limited staff and budget of the FDA. One wonders how many others go undetected.

WHAT PRICE BEAUTY

Cosmetics pose a special problem. Most are sold over the counter without prescription or restrictions. In hair preparations, color additives were allowed until it was discovered that the simple warnings and the suggested patch test before use were inadequate. Some women suffered severe burns; some were even blinded.

In the happy pursuit of the elusive "fountain of youth" women are inclined to try many strange things. Recently the FDA seized 95 jars of a youth-regaining "Imperial Bee Cream With Royal Jelly," charging the company with making unsubstantiated claims. No one has yet proven royal jelly is of use for anything but bees. In some cases, the use of estrogens in youth preparations is dangerous, particularly if they contain hormones.

The need for safeguards against the illegal resale of doctor's samples and counterfeit drugs is very great. The consumer is helpless to know what he is buying in medicines. Often instructions are missing, the contents and warnings changed or eliminated. Even experts have trouble telling counterfeit drugs from the originals; a customer would have no chance at all.

It is not enough to wring our hands and moan over the necessity for stronger laws and improved enforcement. As a nation with the highest standard of living in the world, with more potentially available to everyone, we have allowed flagrant disregard for our very well-being to become an integral part of our society. This, in a time when our prestige is on trial before the world, is a disgrace.

In the days of early trade guilds anyone caught cheating the people was publicly denounced and disgraced. Today we meekly and naively pay out more and more for a product which gives less satisfaction and often endangers our health. While the drug industry protests that their costs will rise beyond reason, the record shows that 1961 brought the highest profits in history. Even with the drop in antibiotic prices as a result of the price scandals, sales reached $3,330 million. Estimates for 1962 are even better with a promise somewhere in the neighborhood of $3,500 million.

It is hard, too, to believe that any industry would be hampered in research and competition by honesty. It is more plausible that such rulings would give us an expanding competition in which human lives were no longer gambled.

It has yet to be explained what any drug manufacturer has to fear if he is doing an honest job. A show of faith is fine, but blind faith is foolish. No faith is deserved by an industry which fixes prices. It is not due when the newspapers carry daily items of illness or death from laxity, carelessness or deliberate cheating in providing medicines for the public. Obviously the record of the drug industry speaks for itself.

If, after all the years of freedom from outside influence, the drug manufacturers cannot control their greed for profits at any cost, it is time that the victims—the consumer—took the reins in hand through passage of adequate and swift legislation.

## Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, Joseph F. Barr, the able and beloved national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, sent me the following note calling to my attention a most interesting article on a most fascinating American.

Mr. Barr is so right in suggesting that this article be brought to the attention of my colleagues in this House. Under leave extended to me I submit the note from Mr. Barr and the intriguing article on Judah Touro.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
*Washington, D.C., July 31, 1962.*

Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HALPERN: This article on Judah Touro came across my desk the other day. Having been in both Newport, R.I., and New Orleans, La., and having seen the living exhibits mentioned in this article, I think it would be of extreme interest to insert this into the RECORD. Nothing that I can add to what is said here about Judah Touro could possibly exceed in interest the simple statements in this article.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH F. BARR,
*National Executive Director.*

JUDAH TOURO

Judah Touro was born of Orthodox Jewish parents, on or about June 17, 1775, the day of the Battle of Bunker Hill, at Newport, R.I. His parents and forefathers originally came from Spain, from which they emigrated to the West Indies, and thence to Newport. For his 50th birthday, June 17, 1825, Judah Touro gave to the United States Bunker Hill Monument for which he paid more than half, the balance being subscribed for and paid by the schoolchildren of United States.

Judah Touro was brought up in the banking business, at Newport, and was associated with an uncle, Moses Michael Hays. Mr. Hays had an excellent reputation as an international banker, both in the United States and several countries in Europe, and he was the founder of the Massachusetts Bank, probably the first bank in Massachusetts and the forerunner of the First National Bank of Boston, the present largest bank in New England. Moses Michael Hays was very active in Freemasonry, and at one time was the grand master of Masons in Massachusetts, probably the only Jew to hold that office. There is, today, a Masonic lodge in Boston with the identical name. Mr. Hays had a daughter, of whom Judah Touro was very fond and wished to marry. The uncle, Mr. Hays, objected to this, and as a result Judah Touro went to New Orleans, La.

At both Newport, R.I., and New Orleans, La., there are streets named Touro Street. Further, at Newport, there is also a Touro Park. These named places did not happen as accidents, but were due to the philanthropical and charitable actions of Judah Touro.

At New Orleans, Judah Touro frequently responded to public auctions. One day a client of his called at his office to see Mr. Touro, and the clerk said that Mr. Touro was out. As the client stated that it was very important that he see him, the clerk then went into Mr. Touro's private office, where he found an advertisement of a church to be sold at auction. Whereupon, the clerk then advised the client to go to the scene of the auction, where he would probably find Mr. Touro. Just as the client arrived at the auction, he overheard the minister say to Judah Touro, "I'm glad you bought it Judah, it will be in good hands." After which he heard Mr. Touro say, "Come to my office later, and I shall give you a deed to the church," which was done within a few days.

There are a number of other details, which I do not remember about Judah Touro, but more information can be obtained at the Newport Historical Society, Newport, R.I., and probably from the New Orleans Historical Society.

The synagogue at Newport, which had been attended by several generations of the Touro families as well as others, is one of the oldest synagogues in the United States, and has been used daily, until about 12 to 15 years ago, at which time it became a national shrine, open several days each week. This building was originally built, not parallel with the street or sidewalks, but is located on an angle, facing exactly east to west, and contains a secret exit, underneath the "Bimah" as a reminder of the escape hatches in synagogues in Spain, during the bad times there. This "Touro" synagogue was visited by George Washington and other officers during the Revolutionary War. I understand that the building is still used for religious services, at certain times, and there still is a rabbi associated with it.

Summarizing all of the above, there is no question that Judah Touro was a patriot, that he was charitable, philanthropic, of an excellent family, and subject matter of a love affair, all of which should make excellent material for a movie picture or television program, and as such would provide some excellent legitimate and satisfying propaganda on behalf of Jewish people throughout the United States.

## Tuesday, Purple Heart Day, Honors Vets Who Shed Blood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Anthony Cama, of Lynn, Mass., which appeared in the Lynn Sunday Post, on August 5, 1962:

TUESDAY, PURPLE HEART DAY, HONORS VETS WHO SHED BLOOD

(By Anthony Cama)

The purple dye of the ancients was procured at a great cost from shellfish (purpura) in the land of the Tyrian people. It was considered to be as valuable as gold or jewels. This made the purple dye a color used only by imperial or royal ranks, and thus was created the phrase "born to the purple." In the Roman Catholic Church "promotion to the purple" signifies elevation to the high state of a cardinal.

This writing's purpose is to explain the Purple Heart, which 180 years ago was selected and awarded by Gen. George Washington to honor the brave soldiers who fought under his command in the Revolutionary War. It also was intended to bestow upon the rank and file of soldiers regal recognition for outstanding dedication and supreme sacrifice in battle.

In 1932 the award, discontinued after the Revolution, was revived by the then President Hoover and his chief of staff, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and it is accorded only to war wounded or dead. This purple decoration is now, as in Washington's time, a sign of the U.S. Government's recognition of the valor and sacrifice of our fighting men and expresses, in a necessarily incomplete way, the gratitude felt by all citizens toward those who have suffered and died in wars fought by this Nation.

This article is a humble tribute to the hundreds of thousands of U.S. war dead, the servicemen who died of wounds, and the wounded who lived with their shattered bodies until death released them and the ones who are living today trying their best to adjust themselves to the peaceful civilian life of the country they fought to defend and preserve.

This writing is not an attempt, however, to number all of the recipients of the Purple Heart award. It is intended to reach the reading public of the Lynn Sunday Post and return again and again the price tag which is and shall forever be attached to that glorious star spangled banner waving above one of the greatest and most wonderful forms of democratic government the world has ever known.

Since nearly all Congressional Medal of Honor winners are also holders of the Purple Heart, because of wounds received, the writer quotes some remarks from an article by Luther Skaggs, president of the Congressional Medal or Honor society. Skaggs, minus his left leg, lives in Washington, D.C., with his wife, Rose, serves the CMH society without pay, and works as a budget analyst with the Defense Supply Agency.

"Today there are 293 living Americans, 46 of whom served in World War I, who hold this treasured decoration" he wrote, "More than half of the 644 Medal of Honor winners of World War II and the Korean conflict received their awards posthumously. They came from all walks of life. They had one thing in common. They loved their country.

"Courage is not restricted to those who have been honored for deeds performed in the field of battle. In all of America's wars many men have fallen, unseen, and unsung, with no one to witness their courage. So, too, there are countless unsung heroes in civilian life."

It is for the future citizens, both men and women, to remember that the Purple Heart has been bestowed on men and women of all races, colors and creeds. In this vast rich land of hope and dignity of human right the blood which has poured upon this soil and upon many parts of foreign countries was not created by God to be any better than any other mortal's blood. The Purple Heart awards have not shown any discrimination.

We must never forget the sacrifice and the sufferings of those who shed their blood that this land of ours would stay free. The Governor's proclamation designating "Purple Heart Day" as Tuesday, August 7, is highly commendable, and this writer is proud of the fact that the government of this State has deemed it important enough to bring it to the attention of our people.

Here are some of the Medal of Honor winners and holders of the Purple Heart award:

Robert Eugene Bush, a native of Tacoma, Wash., in the Navy as a medical corpsman in World War II; Eli Whitely of Texas, in the Army in World War II; William R. Lawley, Jr., a native of Alabama, in the Army Air Forces as a B–17 bomber pilot; Robert S. Kennemore, born in Greenville, S.C., in the Marines; Lloyd L. Burke, a native of Ticknor, Ark., in the infantry in Korea; Gino J. Merli, born in Scranton, Pa., a machine gunner; Donald M. Call, New York City born, in France; Edward V. Rickenbacker, born in Columbus, Ohio, World War I airman; Benjamin Kaufman of Buffalo, N.Y., infantry in Argonne forest; Hershel W. Williams, a native of West Virginia, Marine Corps, World War II; Harold Consalves, USMCR, Alameda, Calif.; and Capt. Sam Glenn Fuqua, Navy, Laddonia, Mo.; Gunnery Sgt. John Basilone, USMC of Raritan, N.J., in World War II. Sherrod Skinner, USMC of Detroit, Mich.; Staff Sgt. Arthur De Franzo, USA, of Saugus, Mass., killed in action and Joseph Vittori, USMC, of Beverly, Mass., killed in action in Korea.

This writing is also dedicated to the thousands who fell in battle, shattered, smashed, burned beyond recovery and to those entombed in the hulks of the gutted, twisted steel walls of the ships disappearing forever into the ocean depths. For these "lost" ones of the unspeakable conditions of war the Purple Heart is forever theirs. It is for us, the living; it is for the youth surging forward into the wonderful future, a young manhood free and strong only because "many were the purple hearts and the mute tombstones that formed the wall of shelter and protection against the onslaughts of the enemy."

When, on Tuesday, we may see that glorious banner of our country waving proud and free, in dignity and honor for this Nation of ours, somewhere in that spangled standard of stars and stripes there is a most precious shade of purple. It shall be there indelible, forever a mark of supreme sacrifice for the men who went forth to war ready to fight and to die; ready to shed their blood that this God-blessed country of ours stay free.

In these crucial days of ominous threats and the nightmarish clouds of nuclear bomb attacks it is for us, both the young and the old, to stand together, firm, indivisible, a determined American family. Let us, the adults, show our respect for "Purple Heart Day," that youth may be inspired by our respect and example. And let us obey the call of the Governor, who says: "Now, therefore, I, John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, urge all our citizens to observe this day by displaying the American flag and by taking part in ceremonies which do honor to the veterans of the Order of the Purple Heart."

## Sugar Import-Export

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have been very disturbed as have so many other Members over the continuing problems that beset the sugar import-export and subsidy policies of our Nation.

We have had conflicting reports and much discussion pro and con on this subject for many years.

We must admit that at best our present act is only a stopgap until we can resolve this problem on a more realistic basis. Keeping in mind our own interest as well as the problems of the sugar-exporting countries we find ourselves ofttimes on the horns of a dilemma.

The whole problem can stand more discussion. I was extremely pleased, lately, when I received a copy of an address delivered by the Costa Rican Ambassador, Dr. Gonzalo J. Facio on July 3, 1962, to the Council of the OAS.

The address touches upon other phases of the relationship of the sugar-exporting nations with the economics of trade, both with each other as well as with the United States.

I believe this address is a real contribution to a better understanding of our mutual problems and with the unanimous permission of the House, I present it as it was delivered by the Ambassador Dr. Gonzalo J. Facio:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE AMBASSADOR, REPRESENTATIVE OF COSTA RICA, DR. GONZALO J. FACIO

Mr. Chairman, a few days ago, when I resumed my work in the council, I proclaimed my Government's faith, and my own, in the Alliance for Progress.

I maintained that if President Kennedy's broad concept of this Alliance were carried out with boldness and enthusiasm, it would constitute the best reply that the Americas could give to the Communist challenge.

But I conveyed a warning that the high hopes engendered by the Alliance in the impoverished masses of Latin America demanded immediate practical achievements to alleviate, speedily and directly, the difficult economic situation that most of our countries are facing.

FAIR AND STABLE PRICES

Of all the measures proposed and accepted at Punta del Este, none can meet this objective as effectively as the stabilization, at a fair price, of the agricultural and mineral products that the Latin American countries export to the industrialized nations. When better prices are paid for our basic products, private enterprises will flourish, salaries will go higher, fiscal revenue will increase, and the state will be in a position to finance, with its own resources, a considerable part of the essential works that are needed to reform its economic and social structure.

On the other hand, when the product of the national effort consisting of primary export articles, is not purchased at a fair price, economic stagnation and social injustice are unavoidable consequences.

This is precisely what has happened in Latin America. To give an idea of the serious consequences that low prices produce on the economy of the Latin American nations, it will suffice to mention the following data: In 1950 Latin American exports reached a total value of $4.311 billion. In 1960 the same exports, almost doubled in volume, amounted to only $3.268 billion.

Our countries, therefore, through a decline in the prices of their export products, have lost an annual income that now reaches $1 billion per year, which is a far larger amount than they have received in loans and aid during the same period. And at the same time that this phenomenon was taking place, the prices of industrial goods that Latin America must import have been continually rising.

Naturally, this formidable imbalance in international trade has caused serious economic crises in all the Latin American countries. If it is not corrected within a short time, with titanic decision, it threatens to wipe out all the plans for economic and social development that our countries are carrying out, notwithstanding the encouragement they may receive through other measures contemplated in the Charter of Punta del Este.

TRADITION OF AVARICE

Man lived in a world of scarcity for thousands of years, because he had no other energy for the process of production than the muscular strength of man or beast. Consequently, for thousands of years the human brain was geared to a presumption of poverty, to the advisability of holding on to the point of greed, to the need for exploiting fellow creatures.

But the immense development of modern technology has put an end to the curse of scarcity. Machinery and chemical products work without error and without pause to create abundance. Nevertheless, man remains tied to the old routine of voracious appropriation of the scarce fruit.

Internally, the industrial nations have been obliged to adapt their system for the distribution of wealth to their new system of mass production. They had to learn, through economic crises, that modern industry could not subsist if the consuming power of their own peoples was not increased steadily. But they have not freed themselves of the old prejudices in the international field.

Henry Ford was the first to break the barrier of avarice, which recommends selling as high as possible and paying the lowest possible salaries. He raised the wages of his workers and lowered the price of his automobiles. The result was excellent. Ford increased his sales at an incredible rate and increased his profits. He proved that wealth is like a good seed. If it is hoarded, if it is not distributed by sowing, there is no harvest and scarcity follows. On the other hand, if it is scattered over the fields, the earth will generously multiply it in fruits that produce abundance.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW DEAL

The lesson taught by Ford, nevertheless, was not applied in its entirety. The great economic crisis of 1929 was caused principally by a continual increase in the industrial production, which was not matched by the increases in wages or in the prices of agricultural products.

The Keynes formula, with which President Roosevelt met the crisis, consisted of raising and stabilizing the prices of agricultural products and increasing industrial wages. The New Deal programs, instead of bringing ruin to the urban population and to the industrialists, as its opponents claimed, actually enabled the United States to overcome its most serious crisis and made the entire Nation more prosperous.

The prosperous countries have in fact stabilized their industrial products, such as steel, automobiles, and machinery, at prices that represent a high standard of living for their workers. Agricultural products are not excluded from that protection. Wheat and sugar have good systems for the stabilization of their prices at a high level. Only the poor nations are obliged to sell the product of their labor at the price they can obtain in the "free market." This is the main reason why they are poor.

The time has come for the world economy to demand that the industrialized nations, which have already broken the barrier of avarice in their domestic economy, resolve to break it in the world economy. The underdeveloped nations constitute the proletariat of the world today, and agricultural and mineral exports their wages. Only by having their wages raised will the developing nations be able to purchase the surplus industrial products that the prosperous nations must sell in our markets in ever-increasing amounts. Otherwise, economic crises will recur through a lack of equity in international trade—economic crises such as those that were formerly produced by a lack of equity in the distribution of national income.

TITLE IV OF THE CHARTER OF PUNTA DEL ESTE

All these ideas regarding the need and advisability of fair and stable remunerations for exporters of basic products, were stated very clearly in title IV of the Charter of Punta del Este.

The measures recommended therein are in the process of being studied and "implemented." President Kennedy stressed the importance of the Alliance for Progress and gave it his enthusiastic support in his speech of March 13, 1962, on the occasion of the first anniversary of its proclamation.

INCONSISTENT ATTITUDE IN THE MATTER OF SUGAR

For these reasons, we who believe in the Alliance for Progress and in the sincerity and statesmanlike vision of President Kennedy are surprised at the stand taken by the present administration regarding the importation of sugar into the U.S. market.

We realize that this is a highly complicated matter. We sympathize with the Government's eagerness to solve the problems of domestic and international policy raised by the distribution of import quotas for sugar at a price equal to that paid to local producers and hence higher than that of the world market. But we cannot help but regret that the solution decided upon implies lowering the price of the only article of Latin American export that is not on the wane in the U.S. market.

I do not wish at this time to enter into a discussion as to the economic soundness, either from a domestic or an international standpoint, of the system for fixing import quotas on sugar, and the distribution of these among the various producing countries, at a price equal to that paid to U.S. producers. Neither do I wish to discuss the question of the sovereign right of the U.S. Government to decide whether this system is to be maintained, changed, or eliminated.

What I do take the liberty of discussing with all due respect to the Government of this great Nation, which has given so much evidence of its determination to cooperate in the economic and social development of our countries, is the time it has chosen to try out a new system, the direct result of which can only be, I repeat, to reduce the price of the one basic export commodity that the Latin American countries have been selling at adequate prices in the U.S. market.

We should make it clear that the exporting countries of Latin America are not asking the U.S. Government to make an added sacrifice in order to remunerate them adequately for the sugar they supply. The system of quotas and of so-called premium prices was established in 1934. It was one of the measures, to which I previously referred, taken by the government of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to cope with the economic crisis that began in 1929. Through that system, domestic producers were guaranteed a stable price, which was to cover their production costs and give them a reasonable profit.

Since those domestic producers were unable to satisfy fully the market needs of the United States, other countries were granted a quota to export to that nation, at the U.S. market price, the amounts necessary to meet the local demand. The largest quota was given to Cuba.

When Cuba fell into the hands of the bloody Communist dictatorship that today oppresses it and it became impossible for that sister country to continue supplying the sugar needed by U.S. consumers, other Latin American countries made an effort to fill the void.

Thus, owing to circumstances that all of us deplore, a more equitable distribution was made among all Latin American producers of the quotas to export sugar for the U.S. market.

In that new assignment of quotas, the Government of the United States has always retained a considerable reserve. This has been distributed among the other countries on a temporary basis only, in order that, at the happy moment of Cuba's liberation, the United States might be in a position to reallocate a considerable quota to that country, as an aid to its economic recovery from the ravages of the Castro regime.

But the sugar program presented to Congress by the administration implied reducing not only the prices paid to Latin American countries now supplying sugar to the U.S. market, but also those of Cuba's potential quota. The new formula approved by Congress does not go so far. It does, however, limit the program to a period of 2½ years; it reduces the quotas of the Latin American countries; and, what is even worse, it progressively reduces prices by 10, 20, and 30 percent.

THE RESOLUTION UNDER DISCUSSION

These, Mr. Chairman, are some of the reasons that prompted my delegation to take part in drawing up the draft resolution now being discussed. Its aim is entirely clear. It asks the Council of the Organization of American States to resolve that the Commit-

tee on Basic Products of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, with the immediacy that the situation requires, study the negative effects that this new sugar program of the United States is bound to have on the economies of the sugar-exporting countries of Latin America. The resolution also asks that the Committee, on the basis of its studies and taking into special account the agreements contained in title IV of the Charter of Punta del Este, recommend the measures that should be adopted to prevent or compensate for this new deterioration of the terms of trade of our countries.

POLITICAL DAMAGE

However serious the economic damage to the producing countries of lower prices for sugar exported to the United States, this, unfortunately, is not the worst harm that will come from the new U.S. sugar program.

Much more serious are the political repercussions that the administration's stand, and even that of the Congress, will have upon our countries. Because our countries are so involved in their desperate struggle to escape from misery, and because they have not yet felt the benefits to be gained from the Alliance for Progress, it will be impossible for them to understand how the promoters of this great Alliance can reduce the prices of sugar—an action that for thousands of Latin Americans means such painful and real deprivations as a few cents less in each day's wage, one less opportunity to renovate the hovels in which they live, less money to improve their lands or to buy the farm equipment they so greatly long for.

The enemies of the Alliance for Progress must therefore be rejoicing. The proposed new U.S. sugar program has provided them with abundant material for their underhanded work. It is to be hoped that, if our draft resolution is approved, the Committee on Basic Products will find fitting solutions to the problem that has been created. May these solutions be quickly effective, so that the faith that our countries have lost in the agreements of Punta del Este will be fully restored.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

## Address by Henry T. Bodman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a longtime friend, and one of the foremost banking experts in the Nation, Mr. Henry T. Bodman, president of the National Bank of Detroit, recently addressed a Kiwanis Club picnic in Rochester, Mich.

What Mr. Bodman had to say about our economy and the position of the dollar abroad, based upon visits to some 40 commercial and central banks in Europe, is of considerable significance to our future.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I am including Mr. Bodman's remarks, and his analysis of the problems we will face as trade and competition increase between Europe and the United States, which appeared in a recent edition of Enbeedee magazine:

ADDRESS BY HENRY T. BODMAN

I have just returned from a 7-week business trip to Europe during which Gerry O'Neill and I visited with officials of some 40 commercial and central banks—central banks correspond to our U.S. Federal Reserve Banks—in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and England.

On all sides we saw evidence of the great prosperity being enjoyed in Europe which was apparent in many new buildings, new plants and new enthusiasm in the people we talked to.

Just to give you a few figures on this prosperity—since 1953 the gross national product in Germany is up 70 percent, in Italy 60 percent, and in France 45 percent. This compares to an increase of about 25 percent for the United Kingdom and the United States.

Industrial production, another measure of economic activity, in the same period is up 80 percent in the Common Market against 30 percent in the United Kingdom and 20 percent in the United States.

Although you might expect that a large part of these dramatic percentage gains are due to the low base from which Europe started following the devastation during the war, the recorded gains are even more impressive when it is realized that economic activity in Western Europe had attained prewar levels by 1950.

HIGH RATE OF INVESTMENT

The high rate of output in Europe has been brought about by the tremendous investment in new plant and equipment in the period 1953 to 1961. The annual rate of capital investment in this period increased almost 100 percent in Germany, 80 percent in Italy, and 60 percent in France. In the United States the comparable figure is only about 17 percent.

This high rate of investment has brought about some of the most remarkable employment records ever known. Even in Italy, where unemployment has traditionally been very high, particularly in the southern part of the country, this spectacular economic expansion has reduced unemployment from 17 percent of the working force to 11 percent between 1954 and 1960.

In West Germany and France today unemployment averages about 1 to 2 percent whereas in the United States we have 4 million unemployed or about 5½ percent of our labor force.

With the advent of freer trade and the installation of the most modern plant and equipment in Western Europe and Japan, and now that their immediate postwar demands are largely filled, the United States can expect the keenest kind of foreign competition from the other major production centers of the world.

We get some idea of the size of Europe's industrial plant when we contemplate that about as many cars are being built in Western Europe as in the United States.

Under these circumstances, we have the problem of keeping ourselves on a competitive basis—that is, our costs have to be competitive in world markets. Generally we have been and are still competitive in most markets since our balance of trade—that is the amount by which our exports exceed our imports—is favorable. Last year our surplus on trade account was $5.4 billion.

Unfortunately, however, it is not favorable enough to offset certain other foreign expenditures such as foreign aid, and the cost of supporting our military forces abroad.

UNITED STATES SPENDING MORE ABROAD THAN WE ARE EARNING

Since 1957 we have spent abroad $14 billion more than we have earned abroad. This deficit has been met by a loss of $6 billion of gold and by an increase of $8 billion in foreign holdings of short-term claims on our gold.

Today net short-term claims on U.S. gold amount to about $18 billion which is more than our entire gold stock, $11 billion of which is required by law as backing for our Federal Reserve currency and liabilities.

Since the war it has been the policy of both administrations to fight economic recessions in this country with easy money policies. But in the next recession we will face the dilemma of continuing the easy money policy or of having to maintain an interest rate structure high enough to induce foreign holders not to demand gold in settlement of their dollar claims.

The attitude of foreign bankers and businessmen is the determining factor here. After all, since it is their money, it is going to be their decision as to whether they will hold their dollar claims or whether they will convert those claims into gold.

In discussing the gold and the balance-of-payments problem with our banker friends, we always got down to the question of our Federal budget and of deficit financing.

FOREIGN BANKERS CONCERNED ABOUT U.S. BUDGET

It was clear that the foreign bankers are vitally concerned as to whether we will make a determined effort to balance our budget, because they know that deficit financing sooner or later leads to a reduction in the value of the currency—in this case, the dollar.

In summary, we learned that because we are so much more involved in world trade than ever before, and because the dollar has assumed the position of a key world currency, we must protect its integrity in the eyes of foreigners—and we can only do this through sound domestic policies which will enable us to compete on equal terms with the other great manufacturing areas of the world.

While some of these problems may seem a little remote to us in Detroit, we are living in a time when our local businesses here are as much in competition with Milan, Paris or Frankfurt as they are in competition with firms in New York or California.

This means that our costs and methods must be competitive, and these costs must be low enough to enable us to earn good profits if we are to have sufficient capital with which to maintain our industrial plant on a competitively efficient basis. Most of the funds for new capital investment come from retained earnings so profits are essential to our success as a trading nation.

Our banker friends abroad are watching us and they are concerned about how we are going to handle our domestic fiscal and monetary problems. They have their claims on us, and their eyes on us, and they are going to be the ones who count when it comes to a decision on whether we are doing a good job of protecting the value of our currency.

## The Developing Dialog on Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the Ways and Means Committee has been considering the question of a tax cut, prompted no doubt by a desire to create a rapid economic growth, it seems to me that the following article by Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier is important and timely. This is a speech which was delivered by Dr. Saulnier as a commencement address at the Babson Institute of Business Administration.

Dr. Saulnier was Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers from

1956 to 1961 under President Eisenhower and has served this country in many other capacities as an adviser on economic affairs.

[From Tax Review, July 1962]

THE DEVELOPING DIALOG ON ECONOMIC GROWTH

(By Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, professor of economics, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City)

The question of the adequacy or inadequacy of our rate of economic growth is not a new subject. There was a lively discussion of it in 1959 and 1960, especially in the latter year, but for some months now it has had relatively little public attention. The reason for this is that we have been in a phase of recovery and expansion, and it is only natural that under such conditions interest in the growth question should tend to recede.

Suddenly all this has changed. There is now a fairly wide recognition of the fact that the expansion has not been a vigorous one. Not only has it failed by a wide margin to come up to the Federal Government's expectations, but it has been barely up to the standard of the last two recoveries. This was evident as early as last fall and winter but for a variety of reasons the mood of determined optimism persisted. The spell was broken by the stock market. The danger now is that we develop an excessive pessimism and in an effort to stimulate the economy rush into ill-considered measures which in the end may prove to do more harm than good.

In any case, the debate is on, and it promises to be an interesting discourse. Indeed, we are entering into what may well be the most searching reexamination of economic beliefs that our country has ever experienced. We will be talking about some very critical questions of economic policy. Parmount among these is the question of taxes and of fiscal responsibility. Specifically, would it help, in seeking to spruce up the economy, to cut taxes when our balance of international payments is showing a substantial and continuing deficit, when we are losing gold with almost no interruption, and when the Federal budget is already deep in the red? This is, indeed, a very intricate technical question. To draw again on the current idiom, it is a very sophisticated question. But not so sophisticated that it is exempt from commonsense consideration.

And there are other questions that will be dealt with in this dialog just as important and just as intricate. They are questions that go to the bottom of our understanding of what makes our enterprise economy work. More than that, if we think about them deeply enough, as we must, we shall see that they go to the roots of our economic and political philosophy.

NEED STRATEGY FOR UNITED STATES TODAY

How can we put the question to which the dialog will be directed? I think we can put it this way: what strategy of public policy will serve us best in achieving a better economic performance within the framework of our preferred and traditional institutions?

When we consider this question we must realize that we do not have an entirely free hand in shaping a strategy for improving our economic performance. No government ever has an entirely free hand in such matters, any more than a business enterprise has a free hand in selecting a strategy for improving its own performance. What we need is a strategy that makes sense for us, here and now, not for somebody else, somewhere else in the world, or even for ourselves at some other time. And the strategy we choose must be consistent with the constraints on policy that inhere in our present posture. Let me briefly describe the major constraints, as I see them.

Chief among them is the limitation that is imposed on us by our international financial position. We must accommodate ourselves to the fact that we have a chronic balance-of-payments problem. It is not a short-term problem caused by special nonrecurring circumstances, nor is it a problem that can be easily or quickly corrected. It is anything but that. The deficit has totaled more than $14 billion in the last 4 years; efforts to correct it were well underway in 1959 and were intensified in 1960, but it has continued.

The first question to ask about any proposal for accelerating growth is what effect it will have on our balance of payments. There are good economic reasons for this, but there are political reasons that are even more important. All the elements of our national strength—financial, economic, military, and moral—together constitute the foundation on which the structure of the free world is built. Our leadership responsibilities in the free world derive from this fact. In the unwelcome but nevertheless continuing struggle with the Communist bloc, which is a struggle for no less than man's freedom, a weakening of our national strength and of our international financial prestige would erode the foundation of our international leadership.

MUST MAINTAIN VIGOR ABROAD

I have had occasion recently to see something of the Soviet world and I believe we are winning the struggle against totalitarianism. But if we are to consolidate and extend our successes we must preserve and strengthen our international economic posture. Anything else is unthinkable. It would be the worst kind of folly for us to try to solve our domestic economic problems by means that would weaken our international financial and economic position and prestige.

You will hear some sensible words on this subject, of course; but you will also hear some things that make little if any sense, ranging all the way from assertions that there really isn't any balance-of-payments problem at all, which is totally incorrect, to statements that a given policy will help reduce the deficit when, on examination, it will be seen that the result is just as likely, or even more likely, to be the opposite. You must insist on verifiable facts, whenever these can be had, and keep your logic straight. And whatever else you do, don't make up your mind on the basis of assertions that some things are myths and other things are realities. Let me give you one piece of advice, if I may. You will learn that one man's myth is another man's reality. If your thinking on a problem leads you to a truth that is new, don't reject it because it is jarring to your preconceptions. Equally, if it leads you to a truth that is as old as the hills don't dismiss it on the ground that it is old fashioned and, for this reason, is probably a myth.

As long as a balance-of-payments deficit persists we shall be hampered in dealing with the problem of achieved adequate economic growth at home. A balance-of-payments deficit can prevent us from following an aggressive policy of credit ease when such a policy is called for. It is doing that right now, in my judgment. Blocking full use of credit policy, a balance-of-payments deficit invites a heavier reliance on fiscal policy for countering recessionary tendencies than would otherwise be contemplated. Unfortunately, it also enhances the hazards involved in budgetary deficits. In short, when it comes to the strategy of economic policy, a chronic balance-of-payments deficit is nothing less than a total nuisance. Top priority in our national economic strategy must be given to its elimination.

The second current constraint on public policy derives from the fact that our Federal Government's budget is even now running a heavy deficit. In the first 10 months of the current fiscal year, that is, in the 10 months through April 1962, there was a deficit of $9.7 billion in the conventional budget. This compares with a deficit of $6 billion in the comparable period of fiscal 1961. In the first 9 months of fiscal 1962 there was a deficit, seasonally adjusted, of $6.2 billion in the cash budget. There are, to my knowledge, no published official estimates of Federal income and product accounts for 1962, but these were running deficits of $3.1 and $2.0 billion on a seasonally adjusted annual rate basis in the third and fourth quarters respectively, of the calendar year 1961.

DEFICIT PILED ON DEFICIT

In fact, our current budgetary deficit is a very large one, and has persisted throughout the current cycle. Should it be even larger? It is one thing to consider the impact of a deficit that follows a surplus. It is another thing to appraise the economic effects, domestic and international, of piling one deficit on another.

A budget deficit in recession and a surplus in recovery can be called a countercyclical fiscal policy. But a deficit every year, in good times and in bad, is not a policy; it is a failure of policy. It is not a strategy; it is a simple case of fiscal inadequacy and it requires correction.

There are certain additional standards that must be met by public policy. It goes without saying that the only acceptable economic policy is one that is good for all Americans. Beyond that, an acceptable policy must be one that makes sense for the long run as well as for the short run. And most important of all, the only acceptable strategy of economic policy is one that will strengthen the free, democratic institutions of our country, including the institutions of free private enterprise. There is nothing but misery in store for Americans if we try to solve our economic problems by methods which in the long run will shrink and weaken our enterprise system.

Let me turn now to some of the principal substantive points in the dialog.

BUDGET ROLE IN GROWTH

First, let us consider the belief that increases in Federal spending and deficits in the Federal budget will promote economic growth.

What recent history tells us about the effect of increases in Federal spending is not very favorable to the view that an economy such as ours can spend itself into prosperity via the Federal budget. In the first 10 months of the fiscal year 1962 net budget expenditures were $6.1 billion higher than in the comparable 10 months of the previous fiscal year. If questioned on this point in advance of the events, most people would have said that the result of such an increase in spending, coming at an early stage in the cycle, would be a recovery far more rapid than would be expected on normal cyclical grounds. But that isn't what happened. Federal spending increased, but it did not stimulate a faster than normal pickup. If it had, we wouldn't be talking about the merits of additional increases in spending or cuts in taxes, and consequent increases in budget deficits, as methods of stimulating an economy that threatens, as the saying goes, "to run out of gas." What this experience tells us is that if the environment is not favorable to an increase in private spending, an increase in Federal spending, even a large increase, is a well-nigh futile exercise. Something must be done to encourage private spending.

Recent experience has also dealt rather harshly with the theory that budgetary deficits will accelerate economic growth.

What are the facts in this case? In the first 4 months of this calendar year, the cash budget of the United States ran a deficit of close to $10 billion, on a seasonally adjusted annual rate basis. In the comparable 4 months of the 1958–59 recovery the Federal cash budget showed a surplus of $4.6 billion, on an annual rate basis. Yet the unemployment rate has actually been somewhat higher under the recent deficit than it was under the earlier surplus. There were clouds on the economic horizon in those months of surplus in 1960, but it must be conceded that the economic sky in 1962, under very large deficits, is far from entirely clear.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS VITAL

Recent experience certainly provides ground for skepticism as to the restorative and energizing qualities of Federal budgetary deficits, but nowadays there are special reasons for rejecting the deliberate use of them as an instrument for promoting economic growth. These reasons have to do with our balance of international payments. It is one thing to run a budgetary deficit when a recession automatically cuts revenues, or even to create a deficit through emergency tax cuts in order to prevent or reverse a recession. But it is a very different matter deliberately to deepen a deficit by tax reductions when the economy is still in an expansion phase. How could it do anything but undermine confidence here and abroad in the effectiveness of our national economic policies? And if it does this, is there not a chance that it will worsen our balance-of-payments situation?

We must make it quite clear to the world that we know how to run our financial affairs. The last thing we want to do is to give the impression that we suffer from a kind of fear of orthodoxy. It must be clear that we both understand the dynamics of our economy and that we are willing to let this understanding guide our policy. If there is a need to cut taxes in the expansion phase of a cycle, when we already have a large deficit, then there is equally a need to consider whether we are now spending too much money on programs that make no contribution whatever to our capacity for growth and to consider whether we are doing other things, entirely outside of the tax field, that are tending to suppress private investment spending. If this is what we are doing, and I think it is, then we cannot retrieve the situation with governmental red ink, and very few really sophisticated people will believe that we can.

GROWTH VIA WAGE INCREASES

Let me turn to a second point. It has not entered the dialog so far, but it is always in the wings, so to speak, and we may hear of it yet. It is the theory that economic growth can be accelerated by raising wages. It is the purchasing power theory of prosperity, that higher wage rates mean higher incomes, that higher incomes mean higher demand, and that higher demand, in turn, means higher production and higher rates of growth.

What does recent experience tell us about this? What it tells us is that since the end of World War II average hourly compensation in private nonagricultural industries, including supplements to wages and salaries, increased, on the average, by 5.1 percent a year. Yet the growth of our economy in this period is regarded by the advocates of still faster wage advances as being inadequate. Furthermore, while wages were rising 5 percent a year, on the average, the purchasing power of the consumer's dollar was reduced by roughly 25 percent.

It is hard to believe that anyone would wish deliberately to experiment further with this inflationary policy. Whatever other damage such an experiment might do, it would wreck our capacity to compete in world markets, and make well-night impossible the elimination of our international balance-of-payments deficit. I hope we can say that this bit of mythology is dead, not just for the moment, but for good.

The third and last of the points in the dialog on growth on which I want to comment briefly has to do with business profits.

No one would deny that the expansion of our base of physical capital is an essential condition for the achievement of rapid growth. If this is the case, then we must concede that we have done very badly in recent years. In a period in which spending on capital goods in foreign industrial economies, in terms of constant dollars, has been going ahead by leaps and bounds, capital goods spending in our own economy has actually failed to increase at all. In the years 1953–59 the constant dollar amount of capital goods spending rose anywhere from 30 to 80 percent in most Western European countries; in sharp contrast, there was actually a small decline in the United States. Spending on new plant and equipment in the second quarter of 1962 was not as large in dollar amount, at current prices, as it was in 1957, 5 years ago. Obviously, there is no dynamism here. We are not even holding our own.

PROFITS HAVE NOT GROWN

It would be a mistake to argue that the volume of capital goods spending depends exclusively on the level of corporate profits. But I think we could agree that profits are a major element, probably the major element, in determining the level of capital goods spending. Is it not important, then, that while wage payments, production, and sales have been rising, corporate profits have remained roughly unchanged? Corporate profits in 1961 were only very little larger, before taxes, than they were in 1955, 6 years earlier, and corporate profits after taxes were actually lower. And this is in current, not constant, dollars. In these years there was an increase of $3.2 billion in the dividends paid annually by corporations, but the amount of income retained by corporations fell by $3 billion or by about 25 percent. This is the point that must not be overlooked in the dialog on growth. We cannot get our economy moving as it should be moving unless we restore some dynamism to business profits.

If this profit deflation, and that is what it is, is to be corrected we must understand its causes. I have no wish to oversimplify this complex question, but if I were to state the cause in one sentence I would say that the squeeze on business profits results from the fact that, whereas price inflation has for the moment at least been largely checked, cost inflation continues.

How can we escape from this condition? An escape cannot be found in a resumption of price inflation. Few people would prescribe this. There are some still unreconciled to price stability as an essential condition to the achievement of sustainable economic growth, but inflation is such a thoroughly disreputable idea nowadays that the remaining inflationists are largely silent. They have been silenced, if not entirely persuaded, by the deficit in our balance of payments. Indeed, one of the great mass conversions of history has taken place on the question of inflation. And the steel industry episode of this spring showed that the executive branch of our Government, from the President on down, is unreservedly committed to a policy of price stability. Circumstances have checked price inflation, but we have not succeeded in stopping cost inflation and therein lies the rub or the squeeze, or whatever you want to call it.

There are a number of avenues by which we must approach the task of easing this squeeze. Individual businessmen will find that one way to do it is by practicing complete economy in managing the affairs of business. We shall also have to do that as a nation. We must remember that the cost of government—Federal, State, and local—is to a very large extent borne by American business as a business cost and it is a rising cost. I hope that the dialog on growth, in which we have all been invited to participate, will lead to a thorough reexamination of governmental expenditures at the State and local as well as Federal level, the elimination of those expenditures that are not essential, and the passing of these economies, dollar for dollar, as reductions in business taxes.

GUIDELINE CALLED INADEQUATE

There are other avenues to a solution of the problem of cost inflation. One of these is to stabilize, or better still to reduce unit production costs by achieving a better relationship between advances in wages and improvements in productivity.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers recently advanced a general guideline on this matter in which they stated that wage advances, on the average, should equal productivity improvements, on the average. I think we must conclude that this guideline is inadequate in the present situation. If we agree that there has been a lag in profits, then the guideline should provide for a catchup in profits. Wage increases that will use up labor's full proportionate amount of productivity improvements, which is what the guidelines call for, will leave profits where they are relative to everything else. But the point is that we need to improve the relative position of profits. Consequently, what would be best for our economy at this time would be wage advances that are actually less than the improvements in productivity. This would reverse the trend in cost-price relationships that has been suppressing business profits and stifling investment expenditures. It would give profits a chance to catch up. It would also provide opportunities for price reductions which would be enormously helpful in strengthening our international competitive capability, and thus in eliminating our balance-of-payments deficit. A revision of the guidelines to this end is urgently needed.

ONE OF SIX WORKS FOR GOVERNMENT

In addition to a redefinition of the wage guidelines, there are other things that government can do to help prevent cost inflation. For one thing the Federal Government is the largest single employer in the United States. Over 2 million persons are employed by the Federal Government in civilian jobs and around 6 million by State and local governments. About one out of every six persons in the United States employed in a nonfarm job is working for government. You can see from this that there is an enormous influence that could be brought to bear on the cost structure of our economy if Federal, State, and local governments were to adhere to wage and salary policies consistent with a proper guideline principle.

Second, the Federal Government is an enormous indirect user of labor services through the procurement of supplies and in its contracting for construction. It has been alleged time and again that the pace of cost advances in some regions, such as the west coast where Government procurement is the major element in the economy, is set by the wages paid by Government contractors and subcontractors. Would it not be possible for the Federal Government, through its procurement agencies, to exercise restraints on cost that are consistent with those it wishes to have exercised by the business community generally?

Third, consideration should be given to the impact on production costs of the determination of prevailing wages under the Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healey Acts. Under these laws, the Federal Government sets what are in effect minimum wages for labor performed

in a great variety of employments. And these minimum wages are well above the level of the minimum wage with which we are most familiar; namely, the minimum set under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Certainly the Federal Government should have its own guidelines in mind when it sets minimum wages to be adhered to by its contractors.

I have said little or nothing about tax cuts because these other matters are more basic. Let me comment on the current tax discussions very briefly.

We can dispose of the question of the "quickie" tax cut; that is, the temporary cut in individual income taxes very quickly. This is an antirecession measure. But so far as I know, no one is saying that we are in a recession already, and I am not prepared at this time to say that the outlook is so bleak that we need to have recourse to emergency tax cuts. We do need a basic restructuring of our tax system and it would be enormously helpful to reduce the tax load. But that is another matter. We should get started on it as soon as we can but we must do it within the framework of a fiscal policy that will give us a fair chance of balancing the budget over the cycle. Neither our domestic nor our international affairs will permit us to go for very long on a spree of higher spending, lower taxes, and bigger deficits. This would be a totally unworkable economic policy and it wouldn't even be good politics, believe me.

One last word on taxes. Of all the potentially mischievous ideas I have heard recently, none is more discouraging than the notion that tax cuts for business would make it possible to give larger wage increases. But to give wage increases on this basis would totally eliminate the beneficial effects of tax reform. If the dialog does nothing else, I hope it will expose and eliminate that idea before it goes any further.

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## The Peace Corps

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, as there has been considerable questioning as to the number of job opportunities on the Peace Corps for skilled craftsmen and other noncollege graduates, I would like to include an article from the United Association Journal on this subject:

THE PEACE CORPS

President John F. Kennedy, to departing Peace Corps men, the White House: "The great impression of what kind of country we have and what kind of people we are will depend on their judgment of you."

One day in March, a young United Association apprentice said goodby to his family and started on a journey which will take him from his Los Angeles home and friends on a strange and adventuresome trip to Bolivia. As the first United Association member to be accepted for the Peace Corps, 26-year-old Ray Morris faces a tough and exacting task.

"I was impressed by the Peace Corps idea when Mr. Kennedy first brought it up," says Morris. "But I never figured that noncollege people would be a part of it. Then I read in the union paper that the Peace Corps was considering sending building trades craftsmen overseas, and I applied. It's pretty wonderful. And when you come right down to it, I think we can do a lot to help the program. From what I understand, there's a lot of building from scratch needed, and we can work right with them."

In his Washington office of the Peace Corps, one block from the White House, Mr. Jules Pagano, Chief of the Technical and Labor Division of the Peace Corps, feels the same way. It was Mr. Pagano's appeal for Peace Corps recruits to General President Peter T. Schoemann, which started the fourth-year apprentice on his way.

"The Peace Corps has a big job to do," says Mr. Pagano, "and all of us have nothing but praise for the United Association's cooperation and help in this program. Being a Peace Corps man requires a lot of work, hard work. Skilled craftsmen such as Ray Morris, trained in the exacting standards of the United Association, are pretty hard to come by."

UNITED ASSOCIATION COOPERATION

"Mr. Schoemann, Mr. O'Neill, all of the officers of the United Association deserve a lot of praise for helping us on this program. The skills that young Morris learned in the United Association will be invaluable to our work. We're something new in foreign relations. We're trying to show the world America's true face. People like Ray Morris reflect that picture."

A tall, spare individual who minces no words, Mr. Pagano's dedication to the Peace Corps and its goals is evident. In relating how Apprentice Morris came into the program, he told of how Washington received the young man's application. Written into the section which asks the volunteers' preference of foreign assignment, Morris had written "Wherever Mr. Pagano says I should go."

"Isn't that the spirit?" commented Mr. Pagano. "He's ready to go anyplace we need him."

In Bolivia, Ray Morris will need all his skill and stamina. He will be living at the village level, working day to day with the people of that South American land, improving water supply and sanitation systems in a land which is a far cry from his California home. Six plumbers and pipefitters will be used by the Peace Corps on this Bolivian project, and young Morris' training will include an intensive study of the Bolivian language and culture.

Joseph A. Walsh, business manager of United Association Local 78, of which Ray Morris is a member, said the Peace Corps decision to recruit skilled U.S. workers with know-how and the ability to "show how" should pay off in grassroots good will for the United States and the cause for freedom abroad. "We're mighty proud that Ray was accepted for training," Mr. Walsh says, "and we think it shows that the Peace Corps is taking a practical approach to real foreign aid and is building from the ground up, where it counts, among the village working people."

Conditions which Brother Morris will face in his Bolivian assignment may roughly approximate those of Chile, another South American nation where Peace Corps Volunteer Tom Scanlon penned these words in a report:

"Oxen pull their plows [peasant farms] when workhorses would do twice as much in the same amount of time. Their trees are unpruned and the crops go unthinned and pastures aren't fenced off so that some sections can grow or even be improved while others are being used. The pigs, chickens, turkeys, and dogs run wild in the front yard, and flowers grow alongside vegetables in the garden. They have no idea of farm finances. They will raise a turkey or two and sell them for less money than they invested in labor and feed. In the rural areas of Chile, the average child has 4 years of schooling. A successful educational system in the rural areas would diminish every difficulty I have mentioned. If they were taught that an egg is more nutritious than a potato, though the same size, they might spare more chickens and use their land for green vegetables instead of putting them all in potatoes."

BOX SCORE

At present, some 984 Peace Corps volunteers are serving on oversea projects or are in training or scheduled for training. Oversea projects at this time include Chile, Colombia, Ghana, Nigeria, East Pakistan, West Pakistan, Philippines, St. Lucia (British West Indies), Tanganyika, India, Sierra Leone, Malaya, Thailand, Philippines (in training), Brazil (in training), El Salvador (in training), and Colombia (in training).

Although the Peace Corps needs a variety of skills, no work is more important than Brother Ray Morris' future task—helping through his United Association learned skills to improve the sanitation standards of Bolivia.

It is no accident that the newly emerging nations of the world have given high priority to their sanitation programs. The economic health of the nation is directly dependent on the physical health of its citizens. Many of these new countries have asked the Peace Corps for volunteers like Ray Morris, trained in the plumbing and pipefitting trades, to help with their new programs.

Peace Corps service makes a real "first" for the American union worker. Teachers and doctors can take advantage of exchange programs. Students can compete for scholarships abroad. With the establishment of the Peace Corps, the AFL–CIO has realized one of its international objectives—to provide manpower in key projects planned by the U.S. Government overseas. Organized labor has traditionally been a supporter of American policy on aid to underdeveloped areas. Peace Corps projects are part of this broad picture. Here is the opportunity for the American worker to share his specialized skills, providing a valid demonstration of organized labor in action.

IN 31 COUNTRIES

In Peace Corps projects now opening in 31 countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the United Association plumber and pipefitter can play a vital role.

A union craftsman teaching and training his coworkers is a man who is making a positive impact on the future economic development of these nations, and at the same time he encourages the growth of the labor movement abroad.

A typical Peace Corps request comes from a certain Latin American government which has an urgent need for trained sanitation journeymen to work throughout its country.

In this country, one out of every three babies die during the first year of life. The average lifespan is 50 years. Disease, infection, and pollution are rampant. The need for efficient water supplies and healthful equipment is urgent. Peace Corps sanitary engineers, journeymen, and apprentices will work with local counterparts to conduct the study, design, and construction of water supply and distribution systems for rural communities. Some 100 communities have already asked for help in this underdeveloped nation.

In Africa and Asia, similar projects will be underway. Housing and construction projects, to be partially staffed and supervised by Peace Corps volunteers, are now being planned in Somalia, Tunisia, Gabon, and Liberia. Plumbing and pipefitting will of course be an important part of this work. Community development projects in Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Thailand will also need technicians with a background in the plumbing and pipefitting industry.

Age is no bar to service in the Peace Corps. Jeanne Dumas of Reno, Nev., young in heart and spirit, is at 62 the oldest Peace Corps volunteer. She is now serving in East Pakistan. Retired United Association men may find a new life in Peace Corps work—bringing their years of experience and skill to an important endeavor.

In all Peace Corps projects, volunteers are provided with allowances for food, housing, transportation, medical care, clothing and other expenses. Oversea volunteers who are union members have withdrawal cards. A Peace Corps volunteer receives $75 a month for service, with a total of $1,800 at the end of a 2-year tour of duty. If married, both husband and wife must qualify for the same project and they may not have dependents under 18 years of age. A person must be 18 years old to qualify for the Peace Corps.

One of the Peace Corps most strongly emphasized points is that a person does not have to have a college background to apply and be assigned to a Peace Corps project. People with practical experience like Ray Morris are urgently needed, as much as those with academic qualifications. In some teaching assignments a degree is needed, in others it is not.

Until a few months ago, James Patrick McKay was a bricklayer in Hornell, N.Y. He wanted to share his knowledge with others in a personal and direct way to serve his country.

Today, Jim McKay is working in Lahore, Pakistan, helping to build a hospital. The average Pakistani bricklayer lays 225 bricks per day. Jim's average is 750. His energy and skill are being used to help his Pakistani coworkers improve their own speed and know-how.

PEACE CORPS TRAINING

People like Jim and United Association Apprentice Morris have to go through a grueling period of training before receiving an assignment to represent America abroad. The selection process continues through the entire training period. Each program has its own selection board, made up of representatives from the Peace Corps, the embassy of the host nation and the training institution where the volunteers are receiving instruction. Prior to the last week of training, a résumé is prepared on each candidate. It includes information from the questionnaire, letters of reference, the Peace Corps entrance test, a full field investigation by the Civil Service Commission, ratings by supervisors in the training program and medical records.

On the basis of this entire record the selection board recommends to the Peace Corps those candidates it believes should be assigned to the specific oversea project. Some of those not selected may be invited for training on a later project more appropriate to their skills. It should be noted that volunteers are judged qualified or unqualified only with respect to the needs of a specific project.

In every project thus far, training has been divided into two phases—one in the United States, the other in the host country. The first phase is usually conducted in a college or university and lasts approximately 3 months. Ray Morris is receiving his training at the University of Oklahoma, in Norman, Okla. The curriculum or course of study includes the culture, people, and policies of the host nation; U.S. history, institutions, and values; international relations; such language training as is needed; physical training, health instruction, and refresher courses in the skills required for the project.

Additionally, the U.S. training may include attendance for a month at the Peace Corps training center in Puerto Rico. At the conclusion of this training, the volunteers selected usually receive a brief home leave, to reassemble at the gateway city and travel to the host country.

During their training, Peace Corps volunteers receive meals, housing, medical care, and all necessary training materials plus $2 a day for expense money. The Peace Corps pays for all official travel, both in the United States and abroad. Under present regulations, volunteers accumulate leave at the rate of 2½ calendar days for each month of satisfactory service. In addition to other alowances, volunteers receive a special allowance of $5 a day while on leave. A Peace Corps doctor is assigned to each nation where volunteers are working, to provide them with special periodical medical checks and care.

Created by Presidential order on March 1, 1961, with Sargent Shriver as Director, the Peace Corps has made great strides in its first year of operation. By June 30 of this year, some 2,300 volunteers will be in training or overseas working on projects.

Apprentice Ray Morris, of United Association Local 78, Los Angeles, is stepping into a big job. As a Peace Corps volunteer, he will gain invaluable knowledge to last through a lifetime, the respect of his fellow craftsmen of the union, and the admiration of his community for striving to meet the Peace Corps standards while advancing America's interests abroad.

The United Association is proud of this fine young brother, and wishes him a good journey and success in his mission of bringing his skill to others less fortunate and at the same time holding high the banner of the union movement.

"Already we have received urgent requests for plumbers and pipefitters, electricians, carpenters, and teachers for technical trade schools. Can we meet these requests? Only if the American labor movement can provide the skilled manpower from its ranks to serve abroad".—Robert Sargent Shriver, Director, Peace Corps.

PEACE CORPS HUMOR

Peace Corps Volunteer Roger Hord, a bricklayer, was working on the roof of a house where Pakistani Peace Corps men will live. He saw a group of men installing a pump in a yard across the way and came down to give them a hand. When he got finished, he found out he was in a jailyard—the workers were inmates. He did some fast explaining—in broken Bengali—and the guard let him out.

When East Pakistani volunteers arrived in Karachi, India, on their way to Dacca, they were met at the airport by the U.S. Ambassador. Bashir Ahmed, the Pakistani cameldriver and friend of Vice President JOHNSON, was on the same plane on his way from the United States. The cameldriver was traveling first class, the Peace Corps men were traveling tourist—no frills.

PLEASANT VIEW FROM CAPITOL HILL

Bipartisan support for the Peace Corps is indicated in comments made by Senators and Congressmen concerning the work of the Peace Corps:

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat: "Its nearly 1,000 volunteers are speaking the language of common concern to peoples all too unused to hearing it."

Senator PHILIP A. HART, Democrat: "Nothing has served better to carry the message of America's New Frontier to the world than the Peace Corps."

Congressman RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat: "My early hopes for the Peace Corps have been realized."

Congressman LAURENCE CURTIS, Republican: "I supported the Peace Corps from the start, and the rightness of the decision has been confirmed by its fine record of achievement."

Senator JACOB JAVITS, Republican: "I applaud the Peace Corps and all the corpsmen for this kind of dedicated national service."

PEACE CORPS,
*Washington, D.C., March 20, 1962.*

Mr. WILLIAM G. O'NEILL,
*General Secretary-Treasurer, United Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipe Fitting Industry Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. O'NEILL: Again it is my pleasure to write to you concerning a new development that has grown out of our cooperation. In response to President Schoemann's request for members of your organization to consider Peace Corps service, one of your fine members from local 78 has applied. His name is Ray Morris, 3855 West 59th Place, Los Angeles 43, Calif. We have processed his full papers and find him to be the kind of person that we wish to have in the Peace Corps. We have invited him to join the Bolivian project which goes into training on April 1 at the University of Oklahoma.

Sincerely,

JULES PAGANO,
*Office of Public Affairs.*

PEACE CORPS,
*Washington, D.C., April 24, 1962.*

Mr. WILLIAM G. O'NEILL,
*General Secretary-Treasurer, United Association, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. O'NEILL: Enclosed please find a map that you requested which outlines in black all of the countries where plumbers and pipefitters, who would be engaged in plumbing, pipefitting and refrigeration work will be utilized in Peace Corps projects.

Again, thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

JULES PAGANO,
*Office of Public Affairs, Chief, Professional, Labor and Technical Division.*

## More Navy Horseplay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, we Members of the Congress owe a great debt of gratitude to reporters who work diligently to ferret out the facts and report them honestly and truthfully without fear or favor to our millions of constituents. Good reporting takes hard work, long hours, and great understanding. Many of them cannot be taken on junkets, *Sequoia* river cruises, or brainwashed. The American taxpayer is the great beneficiary of this type of reporting.

As a part of my remarks I am including a letter in answer to one addressed to Secretary McNamara, and written by H. J. Goldberg, rear admiral, U.S. Navy, Vice Chief of Naval Material. From the reply in behalf of Mr. McNamara's letter by Mr. Goldberg one can readily draw the conclusion that any task Mr. Goldberg is qualified to fulfill could and should readily be dispensed with. Therefore, I insert Mr. Goldberg's letter and in answer thereto, I am inserting a feature story from King Features Syndicate, 235 East 45th Street, New York, N.Y., released on Saturday, August 4. This story was written by one of our foremost reporters who reports all news

fit to print with no whitewashing or slanting to please or appease anyone.

Mr. Ralph de Toledano did the reporting, headlined "The Navy Fools the Taxpayers." I recommend that you read Mr. Goldberg's letter and then read Mr. De Toledano's report, after which you may draw your own conclusions:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
OFFICE OF NAVAL MATERIAL,
*Washington, D.C., July 18, 1962.*

Mrs. M. K. M. MURPHY,
*Rutherford, N.J.*

DEAR MRS. MURPHY: I have your letter of June 21 to Secretary McNamara expressing your concern over Congressman EARL WILSON's charges regarding the procurement of military hardware.

I appreciate your having taken the time to write. It appears to me that you have been misinformed in this instance, and I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to tell you what I believe are the correct facts.

The Subcommittee for Special Investigations of the House Armed Services Committee recently investigated the charges made by Congressman WILSON with respect to the procurement of AN/PRC-41 radio sets by the Navy. It was brought out at this hearing that neither the Navy, the General Accounting Office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation nor the subcommittee itself had any evidence of wrongdoing by Navy personnel in connection with this matter. Although he was given an opportunity to testify in person, Congressman WILSON did not testify or otherwise give the committee any evidence to support his charges of wrongdoing.

I am enclosing a copy of the concluding statement made by Assistant Secretary of the Navy BeLieu at this hearing, summarizing the proposed procurement of the AN/PRC-41 radio sets. I hope that you will have the time to read it as I believe that it will show you that the proposed procurement is in the best interests of the United States.

Sincerely yours.

H. J. GOLDBERG,
*Rear Admiral, SC, U.S. Navy,*
*Vice Chief of Naval Material.*

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THE NAVY FOOLS THE TAXPAYERS

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Recently, in a series of columns, I pointed out that wasteful procurement practices at the Pentagon were costing the American taxpayers an estimated $12 billion a year. The response from readers was immediate. Some wrote to me, some to Representative EARL WILSON who had lifted the lid on this shocking condition, and some to Defense Secretary McNamara. The Navy, which has been particularly remiss in this matter, has now been answering some of that mail, stating that I am misinformed and suggesting that it was cleared at hearings before a House Armed Services subcommittee late last June.

Nothing could be further from the truth, and those who took the trouble to write to Secretary McNamara should resent being brushed off in this manner.

To begin with, even Mr. McNamara publicly admits that at least $3 billion a year could be saved by proper procurement methods. Secondly, the Navy admitted at the subcommittee hearings that it had secretly "amended" procurement rules to give it even wider latitude to negotiate sole-source contracts without the competitive bidding which protects the Treasury from being overcharged.

It's all on the record. The subcommittee's report on Navy practices shows that far from being "cleared," it was roundly criticized. This report, from which I quote, was signed by all five members:

"The subcommittee denounces the action of the Bureau of Ships in attempting to set up this new policy and for following it without notice to anyone, including the Secretary of Defense and the other military Secretaries. These officials are charged, under the law, with the content of the procurement regulations.

"This Bureau policy, in our opinion, is contrary to regulations. We can only condemn it. * * * A secret policy of doubtful legality and irregular in its origins, has caused the Navy to be publicly criticized. * * * The eight purchases referred to by Representative WILSON on June 7, 1962, and submitted by him to the subcommittee are matters in which the purchase has been complete. Therefore, the subcommittee regards the disclosures therein as cumulative. Eacch points to abuses because of the use of negotiated sole-source procurement."

The House Armed Services Subcommittee recommended legislation to curtail the unlimited and unrestricted authorization to negotiate sole-source procurement which, Mr. Wilson has charged, makes up 80 percent of Pentagon contracting. It also called for administrative action by the Secretary of Defense to prevent the unauthorized enactment of procedures affecting the process of competitive bidding on defense contracts.

How the Navy could interpret these very sharp statements as any kind of vindication is difficult to understand. It is even more difficult to find justification for the Navy's insistence on the right to shut out competent companies which offer to do the work for less money—something which continues despite the investigation. The Navy, obviously, feels that it can ride out the storm by pouring oil on the troubled waters stirred up by Representative WILSON's documented charges and by my columns which reported the story.

This is, of course, a typical bureaucratic reaction. The coverup and the whitewash are standard operating procedure in all Federal departments and agencies which find themselves under unpleasant scrutiny. In this case, it is not a question of this or that official being put on the hot seat. The subcommittee was dealing here with millions and billions of dollars, at a time when a ballooning Federal deficit is hurting the American economy. The military budget exceeds $50 billion—and if just $5 billion were saved by proper management, it would give the President and Congress leeway to put through the tax cut so badly needed by the country.

In cases of real emergency, the Pentagon is permitted to bypass competitive bidding. But as the subcommittee report states: "Over the years the words 'urgency' and 'emergency' have been so overworked that they have almost lost their meaning."

The Pentagon now claims that it has reorganized procurement so as to eliminate the practices placed on the record by the subcommittee. But if Secretary McNamara is kept in ignorance of what the lower echelons are doing, all the directives in the world will not help. Mr. McNamara is a hard-working executive, but he cannot police the vast acres of the Pentagon. It's up to an aroused public to say: "$3 billion or $12 billion, the waste must stop—now."

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## Tax Credit Incentive: Another Penalty for Efficiency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the recent letter from my good friend William Witte, of Pittsburgh, Pa., and an article from the July 15, 1962, issue of the New York Herald Tribune by Donald I. Rogers entitled "Tax Credit Incentive: Another Penalty for Efficiency."

As I believe that this excellent article and Mr. Witte's letter should be called to the attention of the Congress and the American people, I am placing it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that it may have wider circulation.

Mr. Witte lives at 694 Valleyview Road, Pittsburgh, Pa., and at present is an executive with the James H. Matthews Co.—dies, rubber dies, and box dies. He has been with the company since 1928.

AUGUST 2, 1962.

HON. JAMES G. FULTON,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR JIM: Attached is a copy of an article from the New York Herald Tribune, Inc., on the tax credit of 7 percent for new plant and better equipment. This article could have been written for us, as we have consistently improved our plant and equipment and would not qualify.

To encourage investment, some other method of tax relief is in order, partially met by the new depreciation allowances set up by the Treasury Department. I am certainly not in favor of general tax reduction, without corresponding reduction in expenditures.

Please let me know to whom I should write on an exchange of ideas.

Cordially,

WILLIAM WITTE.

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[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 15, 1962]

TAX CREDIT INCENTIVE: ANOTHER PENALTY FOR EFFICIENCY

(By Donald I. Rogers)

The Senate Finance Committee has approved the administration's plan for a tax credit incentive designed to spur businesses to modernize themselves with new plants and better equipment, even though a great many business leaders have said they do not want this kind of Government help.

The committee pegged the amount of tax credit at 7 percent, which, it is estimated would cost the Federal Government about $1.1 billion in revenues.

American business men, having observed Government subsidies in such areas as the shipping industry, small business and farming, are not anxious to have the administration embark on still another subsidy, and many business leaders contend that this proposed tax credit incentive system is exactly that—a subsidy.

It would provide a tax benefit to a company that responds to the Government's wishes, in this case by building a new plant or buying a new machine, and deny any benefit to a company that does not comply with the Government's current desires. Since the benefit is denied, it then becomes a penalty.

A company which has been efficient and well-operated might at this very moment be in a fine new plant and operating the best and newest machinery.

This company could get no tax credit incentive.

Yet a competitor, poorly managed, less efficient, housed in a poor plant and running inefficient machinery, would get the tax benefit of a 7 percent credit incentive.

Because the efficient company would be denied any tax relief and the inefficient company would be given tax relief, it means, in effect, that the efficient company would be taxed to remedy the inefficiency of its lagging competitor.

There is no way, under the proposed measure, that this preposterous arrangement could be avoided. It is silly to assume that

a great many poorly managed companies will not take advantage of this.

The taxpayers, then, will be again in the position of subsidizing poor business men and keeping alive many businesses that, in the normal competitive world, would have perished, and should have perished.

Take the case of a department store, for instance, located in a declining area such as in some parts of West Virginia. Perhaps that store is as "modernized" as it should be, considering the condition of its marketing area. Yet, there would be nothing to prevent its owners from foolishly spending money to overhaul the entire store in the futile hope of getting more business, and then taking a tax credit of 7 percent because it has responded to the Government's "incentive." The taxpayers would foot the bill for this nonsense.

Members of the administration have referred to this program as a subsidy for American business and that is indeed precisely what it is.

American business doesn't need to be subsidized and most American business leaders don't want to be subsidized. They prefer to do their modernizing when they can afford it and when it will be the most practical and most effective under competitive conditions.

Because of the Government's benevolent attitude toward small businesses, many have been kept afloat which should have been permitted to sink. They are kept in competition at the expense of the successful small business men who get no tax benefits.

This would be the same treatment, except broadened to cover all business in the country, no matter its size and irrespective of its importance.

Subsidized farming over the last 30 years has brought worldwide ridicule to America's redtape-inundated agricultural program in spite of the fact that the U.S. Department of Agriculture has brought about some of the most spectacular improvements in foods, in horticulture and in animal husbandry in the history of man.

At the present time a battle is raging in the Southern peach-growing districts as orchard owners debate whether to accept a Government subsidy which would result in a large portion of the crop being put into Government storage to spoil, or whether to accept competitive challenges and sell the peaches on the open market, either as fresh fruit or as canned and frozen products. The point is that stored, spoiled peaches are of value to no one, representing neither food nor money.

In shipping, the Government's subsidization of payrolls to make up the wage differentials has led to absolute indifference on the part of managements, which see no reason to fight the demands of labor unions.

After these experiences with subsidies, American business should try to avoid further subsidization. In this tax provision, the consumer will be the loser, both as a consumer and as a taxpayer.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

# Appendix

## Vacation Sensation: Wisconsin Chippewa Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the New York Times recently described the beautiful and exciting dances and art of the Wisconsin Chippewa Indians. I ask unanimous consent that an excellent article by David Binder, of the New York Times, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWICE-A-WEEK CHIPPEWA DANCES SHOW VACATIONERS AN INDIAN ART

(By David Binder)

LAC DU FLAMBEAU, WIS., July 30.—Twice a week, when the sun dips behind the white pines fringing the Lake of the Torch, a troupe of Chippewas file into the Indian Bowl Amphitheater here to stage a homemade pow-pow for a thousand white vacationers.

To the two-beat boom, boom, boom, boom, boom, boom of a deerskin drum the size of a manhole cover they perform tribal dances, resume local legends, and demonstrate bits of Indian lore such as the uses of blankets while walking, riding, wooing, and hitchhiking.

Four elderly Indians beat the brightly painted drum throughout the 2-hour show, keeping up the monotonous though compelling rhythm while the moccasined feet of the performers aged 2 to 22, thump through such traditional Chippewa numbers as the Fish Dance, South Wind Dance, and Feather Dance.

The crowd, mostly Middle Western youngsters, loves it. And if the Indians smuggle in a few non-Cheppewa steps, such as a southwestern bean dance or snake dance, nobody minds. Nor does anyone take exception to the occasional dancer who wears sunglasses or bobby socks.

CLOTHES ARE CEREMONIAL

For the most part the Chippewas wear colorful ceremonial clothing for the pow-wows—buckskin tunics and leggings embroidered with shell beads, and headdresses of bright feathers and stiffened horsehair. The men and women have dozens of little bells sewed to their tunics to emphasize the dancing rhythms.

According to Bob (the Missing) Link, a 58-year-old Chippewa storyteller, the tribe has been holding public pow-wows for about 40 years—at first in the old tribal village west of the present town of Lac du Flambeau, and in recent years in the Indian Bowl.

Mr. Link's part in the pow-wow is to translate some Chippewa expressions and to tell a few tales in his thick northwoods accent. He explains, for instance, that "migwech" means "thank you," that "wagawa" means "walleyed pike," and that "mushkehameninboshkeminsaygenwe eeswegedisiganbahkweshegan" means "cranberry pie."

He also relates that Chicago got its name from a Chippewa word, "chicagons," meaning "little skunk."

Chief among the Chippewa dances is the pow-wow, or festive council dance. George (Kicking Horse) Brown, master of ceremonies, explains that it can also be a war dance, but that "we do it now as a friendship dance."

This is an exhausting heel-and-toe maneuver executed with arms swinging back and forth in long chopping motions. The drummers mute the beat every 2 or 3 minutes, to give the dancers a respite then resume the insistent pounding.

Another fascinating number is the feather dance, in which performers vie to pick up a feather from the ground with their mouths, without letting their knees touch the turf. Most of the agile Chippewas seem to be able to do this.

The high point for the crowd is the brave man dance in which two Chippewa males track and scalp an "enemy" who has bedded down for the night.

The final act is convincingly savage and provides an appropriate number of screams from the stands.

If the performers appear to grow tired, Mr. Brown calls for another pow-wow dance "to loosen up the bones."

As a final number the Chippewas invite the onlookers to join them around the drum in an "Indian two-step." Then scores of children and adults in T-shirts and baseball caps rush down the aisles to try their skill on the arm of an Indian man or maiden.

PLENTY OF COMPANY

Dancing along with them in ordinary street clothes are dozens of Chippewas from the Flambeau Reservation, who seem to enjoy the pow-wows as much as the whites.

The present pow-wows are run by the Indian Bowl Association, a nonprofit group that pays the dancers a small fee and turns over the rest of its gate money to local charities.

Mr. Brown, secretary of the Chippewa Tribal Council, said there were about 700 Indians living on the reservation and perhaps 700 more enrolled but living and working elsewhere.

Lac du Flambeau was and is the capital of the Chippewa Nation, which once ruled the river and lake country from here to Lake Superior. The name, Flambeau, comes from the pine resin torches used by the Chippewas for night fishing. It is said to have been bestowed by a French voyageur who traveled this part of the country 300 years ago.

During the pow-wows, a Chippewa paddles out on the lake with a torch to set the atmosphere. That, along with the incessant two-beat drumming and the chanting of the dancers carries even the most skeptical spectator back for a moment to the days of Winebosho, who, according to Mr. Link, was the Hiawatha of the Chippewas.

## The Need for Additional Forest Research

SPEECH
OF
**HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Second Congressional District of California, which I am proud to represent, contains some 12½ million acres of national forest lands plus several other millions of acres of forest administered by the Bureau of Land Management and in private ownership. I, therefore, have had an excellent opportunity to see firsthand the great need for expanded research in the field of forestry. This legislation would authorize the appropriation of funds which can be made available to land-grant colleges or agricultural experiment stations and to other State-supported colleges and universities offering graduate training in the sciences basic to forestry and having a forestry school. The Federal contribution must be matched by other forestry research funds obtained from State and non-Federal sources. All of the various fields of forestry research are eligible for support, including timber management research, watershed management research, range and wildlife management research, forest recreation research, forest protection research, and research in forest products utilization and marketing.

This legislation has great significance to my State. Most of our water comes from forests and related rangelands. Many of our people are dependent upon the timber and range resources and all of us, as well as many visitors from other States, enjoy the wonderful opportunities for outdoor recreation that are to be found in our forested regions.

Our land-grant college is the University of California at Berkeley, one of the foremost universities in the world. Its school of forestry, its forest products laboratory, its wildlands research center and its other scientific schools and departments offer numerous and varied opportunities for research in the sciences basic to forestry. The capabilities and willingness to expand forestry research at the University of California are excellent. Such an expansion is needed and this bill will help to stimulate it.

Finally, I would like to mention the close working relationships in forestry research that have long existed between the University of California and the U.S. Forest Service. For some 25 years the

Forest Service maintained an experiment station on the campus at Berkeley in quarters provided by the university. A few years ago, the Forest Service Experiment Station moved into its new laboratory-office building, two blocks away from the campus, but cooperative research relationships with the university are carried on as before. Some 50 different research projects are being carried on, or have been completed jointly by the Federal Forest Experiment Station and the university. Many university students, particularly graduate students training for careers in forestry research, find part-time and summer employment with the Forest Service Experiment Station. This bill will make this coordination even more effective, it will promote the training of more research scientists who are badly needed in forestry and it will benefit my entire State by expanding the fine program of forestry research at the University of California.

## The 32d Division Comes Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the year-ago Berlin crisis resulted in a callup of National Guard and other Reserve Forces—including Wisconsin's 32d National Guard and other State Reserve units.

Now these defenders of freedom are returning home.

In a weekend broadcast over Wisconsin stations, I was privileged to discuss the significance—as well as the problems—involved in the callup of Reserve forces.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY, REPUBLICAN, OF CHIPPEWA FALLS, OVER WISCONSIN RADIO STATIONS, AUGUST 4–5, 1962

In a world of crises, we—particularly here in Wisconsin—are day by day witnessing personally that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, yes; but also eternal readiness to defend freedom.

Almost a year ago, Wisconsin's famed 32d Division—and other fighting units—were called up "to the colors" as a result of the Berlin crisis. The majority of these men are scheduled to return home in August.

A cross section of Wisconsin, these soldier-citizens include teachers, students, farmers, engineers, laborers, businessmen, industrialists, and other trades and professions.

The reintegration of these sacrificing citizens, despite the best kind of help by all of us, will, nevertheless, be difficult and require maximum effort and cooperation by all segments of our society. Fortunately, a statewide survey has indicated that, for the most part, employers will honor reemployment rights of reservists and Guard members.

Our challenge, then, is to assure that these defenders of freedom, rather than being unduly penalized for emergency service, should be accorded every assistance, in act and spirit, commensurate with the significance of their sacrifices for our national security, and the difficulties of reestablishing themselves in civilian life.

MISSION: DEFENSE

In these critical times, the mission of our military forces includes: (1) serving as a deterrent force to any would-be aggressors, capable of striking a death-dealing blow to any attacking enemy; and (2) a protective shield—holding the Reds "at bay"—while we strengthen the free and non-Communist world; and seek solution or accommodation of East-West differences on diplomatic, economic or ideological fronts.

MAJOR GOALS OF U.S. DEFENSE POLICY

As a leader of the free world, and major obstacle to the Communist effort to control the globe, the United States must continue to: Maintain powerfully manned ground, air, and naval forces capable of defense, and of striking back against an attacking enemy; create an ever-stronger economy to support the skyrocketing costs of defense, as well as meet the fast-growing needs of an ever-increasing 186-million population; and mobilize our citizens in 'spirit' as well as militarily, to meet the challenge to survival by communism.

REVIEW OF RESERVE POLICY

After the call of the 32d—and similar units around the State and Nation—patriotic citizens and their families, and others concerned with national policy, asked: "Was this necessary?" "Did a callup, resulting in serious disruption of civilian life, serve our national security?"

In the Congress, the Armed Services Committee scheduled hearings to find answers to such questions. There were tremendous amounts of testimony. As yet, unfortunately, there has still been no clarification of national policy.

In the best traditions of America, however, Wisconsin's 32d, and other units', rise to the call enabled America to more strongly "flex its muscles," at a critical time in history. Once again, a show of strength discouraged aggression by demonstrating to the Communists that we stand ready and willing to protect the rights of freedom. For this contribution to the cause of freedom—at considerable personal sacrifice—you, and your families—deserve the gratitude of all America. Now, we are happy that you are home. Along with all fellow citizens, I, as your Senator, stand ready to do everything possible to make less difficult the problems of readjustment to day-to-day life in Wisconsin.

## We'd All Like To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two editorials that appeared Tuesday and Wednesday, August 7 and 8, in the Allentown, Pa., Morning Call, written by the associate editor, Mr. Gordon B. Fister.

The editorials follow:

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, Aug. 7, 1962]

PROPER RETALIATION

If the Israel Government cannot understand the language of friends, then it's time this Nation speaks in the terms suggested yesterday by Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER.

The Easton Representative called on the U.S. State Department to immediately cancel landing privileges in this country for Israel's El Al or any other airline involved in blocking the return of Robert Soblen to serve his life sentence for espionage. To be effective, the action must be prompt enough to prevent him from slipping into a Red haven.

Entirely too much consideration has been given this criminal, convicted of one of the most serious and dangerous offenses on the statute books of every nation. Too much leniency was shown him in this country after he was convicted and sentenced.

Technically, this spy who betrayed his nation to the Soviets is still a passenger of El Al, en route from Israel, which he entered improperly, to the United States, which he fled illegally. His trip was interrupted when he stabbed himself lightly enough to make a bid for the refuge England has quite properly denied him. Under its own laws, Britain cannot ask another airline to take him out unless El Al agrees.

Short of the methods the Israel Government used when it kidnaped Adolph Eichmann in Argentina and spirited him to its own courts for trial and deserved punishment, the Walter proposal seems like the most reasonable means of ending the impasse and blocking Soblen's escape. It has precedent in the action taken when docking privileges were lifted for the Polish liner on which Gerhard Eisler, another Soviet agent, made his getaway.

Notice should be served promptly that it will be invoked again.

We don't like the term "retaliation" when speaking of Israel and other nations we have reason to hope will continue to be our friends. Neither, however, do we like some of the tissue-thin excuses they offer for all-but-inexplicable actions like this one.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, Aug. 8, 1962]

WE'D ALL LIKE TO KNOW

It wouldn't be healthy for anyone to hold their breath while waiting for the U.S. State Department to announce cancellation of landing privileges for any foreign airline blocking the return of Robert Soblen to serve the life sentence awaiting him for selling his country's secrets to the Russians.

Neither should anyone stop breathing until someone in authority tells Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER and the rest of us why Soblen was permitted the freedom that made his escape possible in the first place.

He had, after all, been convicted of a capital offense and narrowly escaped the death penalty. His appeal had been denied and he was free under $100,000 bond while his case was carried to the U.S. Supreme Court. Even when the final decision went against him, evidently no steps were taken to prevent his escape.

Representative WALTER isn't likely to be satisfied simply by asking why there wasn't adequate surveillance to prevent this convicted spy from jumping his bail, perhaps with more secrets he may have stored away to pay his final ransom. After all, this isn't the first time a Soviet agent has been permitted to get away.

We hope that in his characteristic way the Easton representative keeps probing for the answer until he gets it, if only to make reasonably certain the same thing doesn't happen again.

## Progress in American Samoa Under Governor Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, it is with genuine pleasure that I bring to the attention of our colleagues a news item taken from the August 4, 1962, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin regarding the progress being made in American Samoa under the leadership of Gov. H. Rex Lee. During the past 15 months since his inauguration, Governor Lee has shown remarkable initiative and leadership in getting our South Pacific territory on its feet, economically and socially, and has demonstrated what a well-trained and experienced civil servant can accomplish when ability is coupled with sympathetic understanding and cooperation of the Congress and the Department of the Interior.

My friend of long standing, Mr. Riley H. Allen, spent 2 weeks in American Samoa covering the South Pacific Commission Conference for the Star-Bulletin, of which he is the retired editor.

Mr. Allen's report follows:

LEE PERFORMS WONDERS IN AMERICAN SAMOA

(By Riley H. Allen)

(NOTE.—Mr. Allen, retired editor of the Star-Bulletin, has just returned from covering the South Pacific Conference held in American Samoa.)

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA.—What oldtimers in Samoa call a modern miracle has been achieved in just over a year of the driving administration of Gov. H. Rex Lee.

But Rex Lee calls it "just the start" in construction, education, hospital and general medical care, and making American Samoa a thriving territory of the United States and a demonstration of what American care does for dependent people.

Governor Lee was installed at Pago Pago on May 27, 1961. Within weeks he was starting a campaign at Washington, D.C., for greatly increased appropriations—and for awareness at the National Capital of its inescapable responsibility for the Samoans.

For years American Samoa has been dragging along on a budget of $1.5 million to $2 million annually.

DRAMATIC CHANGE

Now the financial picture has been dramatically changed.

For the fiscal year 1961 the appropriation was $2,486,000.

For the fiscal year 1962 it was $9,500,000.

For the fiscal year 1963 Lee is assured of $13,272,000.

This money of the U.S. taxpayers is going into urgently needed improvements in every phase of community life.

Among the dramatic achievements is a new jet airstrip—and on that strip the U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and his official party landed early on the morning of July 18 to join in the opening of the 5th triennial conference of the South Pacific Commission.

For the first time the jetplanes speeding down from Hawaii, or up from Australia and New Zealand, or westward from Tahiti, can land safely and indeed easily.

STRIP IS 9,000 FEET LONG

Observers who know "old Pago Pago," were amazed at the speed and scope of constructing the airstrip at Tafuna. The old airstrip was abandoned, for good reasons.

Building the new one involved cutting out 200,000 cubic yards of rock and an immense amount of filling and paving. The new strip is 9,000 feet long—ample for the biggest airliners now flying.

Another dramatic addition is the new auditorium—designed by George (Pete) Wimberly of Honolulu—costing less than $280,000 with sound and movie equipment. It was done in less than 3 months, even with a delay in getting some materials.

Not less spectacular is the achievement in roadbuilding in less than a year—14 miles of 20-foot roadway with ample shoulders. And this is only the start of the road system which will eventually connect every village on this island of Tutuila with Pago Pago, the capital.

Seven more miles of good road are to be completed from the airport junction to the large village of Leone—long isolated except by trails and a road that even a jeep could scarcely navigate.

Construction of strong seawalls and a new terminal building complex at the airport are also planned. The terminal will be ample but not fancy.

Modern school buildings and modernly-trained teachers early got the Governor's attention.

In 1 year three high schools have been built. This will add space for 800 new high school pupils. And engineering and architectural plans are under way for 5 new junior high schools and 20 elementary schools.

FORTY TEACHERS SELECTED

The Government has arranged to bring more than 40 teachers—mostly from California and Hawaii—on a minimum 2-year term of service. All have been carefully selected.

For these elementary schools, which will be built on every island in the American Samoan group, the American Samoa Government will provide materials and supervision and the Samoans will contribute the labor free.

Governor Lee, who is imaginative as well as practical and pushing, early envisioned educational television as a need for the widely scattered people of American Samoa. He and his fellow planners are putting $1,600,000 into an educational TV plant and transmitters that will cover the main island, Tutuila. Distant Manu-a (also American Samoa) and Western Samoa, where there are many more people, will be able to pick up the telecasts.

Western Samoa, which for many years has been under New Zealand mandate and administration, on January 1 became an independent nation.

IDENTICAL RACIAL BACKGROUND

Its racial background is identical with that of American Samoa but the governments are completely separate and independent of each other.

The TV lessons will be transmitted from a set high in the mountains near Pago Pago. On Manu-a, a generator will be installed to make possible reception of TV by residents.

For the coming year also the minimum age for schoolchildren will be lowered from 7 to 6 years—this because more buildings and teachers will be available.

Health and sanitation have a high place on the Lee program. A team from the University of Southern California has been here studying the dread disease filiarisis (mosquito borne) at Lee's urgent invitation. One has returned to California. Two others are remaining for a while.

HOSPITAL PLANNED

A new hospital is in the planning stage, and a general sanitation survey to cost $25,000 will be made to help even the remotest village. Plans for the hospital will be completed by this fall, and the request for the needed appropriation will then go immediately to the Bureau of the Budget in Washington, D.C.

Lee with characteristic sportsmanship gives credit to others for American Samoa's advancement in the little more than a year since he was sworn into office.

He pays tribute first to the Samoan people—women as well as men. He says that they are quick to grasp techniques and to develop leaders of their own race. He adds that they are enthusiastically industrious—"they are willing to work day and night."

He adds that the American Samoan Government officers on duty here when he came responded with alacrity when he laid before them the need for vastly expanded plans and the work necessary to get the job done.

NAVY HELP LAUDED

And he is warm in praise of the civilian engineers and others whom he borrowed from the 14th Naval District and the Pearl Harbor shipyard.

Among these is Al Pratt, civilian engineer at Pearl Harbor with long experience in Pacific construction jobs; and Richard Webb. He got them in November 1961, and they reorganized and built up the local work force.

Lee emphasizes that they continue to rely on Samoan labor. Pratt has just retired, as director and manager, operation and maintenance division of public works. He returned to Honolulu and his Pearl Harbor duties July 29.

Pratt and Webb devoted themselves primarily to the colossal job of building the jet airstrip and their righthand men are two Samoan high chiefs. They are Chiefs Lutu, of Fagatogo, and Fano, of Fagalu—villages near Pago Pago. Fano is half Samoan and half Japanese. His father, a fisherman, sailed to Samoa many years ago, married there and remained.

GETTING JOB DONE

"None of these men, or the Samoans who worked with them, worried about long hours. All they thought of was getting the job done," says the Governor.

So when the South Pacific Commission came here for its triennial conference there were not only an excellent airstrip and good roads. There were ample quarters for the visitors—more than 150 people altogether. Most were put up in the new school buildings—finished, except for minor details, only a few days before. This is in the village of Utulei about a mile from the Governor's office and the legislative building.

American Samoa was committed to the South Pacific Conference long before Lee was appointed.

INVITATION ISSUED

The American Samoan delegates to the fourth Pacific conference at Rabaul in 1959—Rabaul is the administrative center of New Britain, a group of several islands—issued the invitation.

As Pago Pago and its nearby villages then existed, the Commission and its scores of advisers, observers and staffs, could not possibly have been housed.

Now the South Pacific Conference members and staffs are cordial in their praise. They have been well cared for, with modern, businesslike arrangements mingled with the unaffected and friendly hospitality of the Samoans.

## The 26th Anniversary of the Spanish Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in commemorating this important anniversary in the history of modern Spain.

I used the term "modern Spain" in order to contrast the relatively short time that has elapsed since the memorable defeat that international communism suffered on the Iberian Peninsula, with the much older ties of friendship that have existed between our people and the people of Spain.

All of us are conscious, I am certain, of the contribution which Spain has made over the centuries to the establishment and development of Western civilization in the Western Hemisphere. In the United States alone, many of our areas, towns and cities clearly reflect the influence of Spanish culture. Those contributions have enriched our own lives in many ways.

But what is more relevant to the anniversary which we are observing today, is the extent to which Spain of today—modern Spain—can help us in enlarging the area of freedom and in establishing the foundation for lasting peace in the world. This is the task which confronts us today. And I am happy to say that Spain has contributed—and continues to contribute in many ways—to the achievement of those goals.

Our bases in Spain serve as vital links in the chain of free world defenses.

Spain's strategic position, and historic links with millions of peoples living in the developing countries, help our common cause.

And, even more recently, Spain's decision to apply for membership in the European Economic Community, to move into the mainstream of economic life of Western Europe, can result in an important contribution by enhancing the strength, unity, and economic viability of the so-called Atlantic Community.

I am very pleased that, during this time of change and challenge, Spain is so ably represented in Washington by His Excellency, Ambassador Antonio Garrigues. Ambassador Garrigues' friendship for our country, and his extensive experience in many areas of human endeavor, will serve him in good stead in his present assignment.

In concluding my remarks I would like to echo the sentiments expressed by President Kennedy when he accepted Ambassador Garrigues' credentials.

"The continuing cooperation of our two countries in defense of the West," he said, "has been of mutual benefit in many fields and I am confident that the benefits of this collaboration will continue."

I, too, am hopeful and confident that our two countries will continue to cooperate in the interest of freedom and peace in the world.

In conclusion, I want to compliment the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER], a distinguished members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for his eloquent remarks. I further wish to extend my congratulations to the Spanish nation and its leaders on their important anniversary. It marks, as we all know, one of the serious reverses suffered by the Communist movement in its drive to extend its dominion over the free peoples of the world.

## A Rebuke to the Cynics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest new programs upon which the United States has embarked as the leader of the free world is that of the Peace Corps. Under the able direction of Sargent Shriver, it is making an enviable record around the world.

On June 16, 1962, the Baton Rouge Advocate saluted this splendid organization in an editorial which I commend to my colleagues:

A REBUKE TO THE CYNICS

Rather astonishingly to some of us, the Peace Corps, at first the object of so much suspicion, cynicism, and sour humor, has completed slightly more than a year of activity with an enviable record of public and congressional support. It has the strong endorsement of such conservatives as Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, chairman of the House Rules Committee, and Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona. Its appropriation has just been more than doubled without a dissenting vote in the Senate and with only 70 votes against in the House.

Though for a time interest appeared to be lagging among the young people constituting the best candidates for Peace Corps work, as of May 1 there were 1,399 volunteers at work on or in training for projects in 32 countries. More than 2,200 are expected to enter training this month for 44 projects in 28 countries. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Corps, says that all of the first 15 countries to receive Peace volunteers have asked that the number be doubled, tripled, or quadrupled.

The amount of actual work done by the Peace Corps always will be relatively small. It never will operate on a large enough scale to rebuild nations or to replace other forms of technical or economic assistance. But its members, working hand in hand with the people of many different nations to do simple but essential tasks and teach simple but essential skills, are in a position to accomplish important long-range results and make major contribution to understanding among peoples.

The Peace Corps originally was denounced by some critics as an "idealistic" and "do-gooder" project. It is a bit of both. And we are glad to see it succeed and provide rebuke to those who, in the hard-headedness and realism of which they boast, are in danger of forgetting that without ideals and a sincere desire on the part of some of us to do good, the world would be, at best, a rather miserable place, and at worst, a jungle in which not even the strongest long could survive.

## Capt. William C. Hushing Cited for Polaris Submarine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, Capt. William C. Hushing, U.S. Navy, presently serving as supervisor of shipbuilding and naval inspector of ordnance, Groton, Conn., whose hometown of Litchfield, Ill., within my congressional district, was on July 13, 1962, presented the award of a Navy Commendation Medal. Such outstanding service is of great interest to all of us and for the benefit of my colleagues who wish information concerning the award, I include an article which appeared in the Litchfield, Ill., News-Herald on July 18, 1962:

HUSHING CITED FOR POLARIS SUBMARINE

Navy Capt. William C. Hushing, supervisor of shipbuilding and naval inspector of ordnance at Groton, Conn., who considers Litchfield his home, was presented with the Navy commendation medal by Rear Adm. George H. Wales, commandant, 3d Naval District, New York, in a recent ceremony.

The citation signed by Secretary of the Navy Fred Korth cited Captain Hushing follows:

"For meritorious service from February 1960 to February 1962, as supervisor of shipbuilding and naval inspector of ordnance, Groton, Conn. Recognizing the extraordinary national contribution which lay in the deployment of the Polaris system, Captain Hushing responded admirably to the tremendous challenge of matching the complex weapons system, as it developed, with construction of an equally complex nuclear-powered submarine. The milestones achieved in the production of the first group of Polaris submarines can be attributed, in large measures, to his aggressive leadership, sound judgment, and marked ability to direct and utilize proficient military and civilian shipbuilding engineers and craftsmen in an unusual team effort. His enthusiastic and inspiring devotion to the fulfillment of an extremely important project reflects great credit upon himself and the U.S. naval service."

Captain Hushing has served in his present position since February 1960. Prior to this assignment he was comptroller and industrial engineering officer, Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Vallejo, Calif.; from March 1955 to June 1957, he served in the Bureau of Ships at Washington as assistant head of the machine design branch, and as administrative aide and special assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Ships, Rear Adm. A. G. Mumma. During World War II he served aboard the light cruiser *Detroit*.

Captain Hushing attended the U.S. Naval Academy, graduating in 1939. He later attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, receiving an advanced degree in naval engineering in 1944. Captain Hushing presently resides with his wife and two daughters at 205 Shore Avenue, Groton, Conn.

He is a nephew of Miss Ota May Hushing and William Hushing, of North State Street.

## Two Pastors From Plains, Pa., Made Domestic Prelates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of Thursday, August 2, 1962, carried an editorial tribute to two outstanding clergymen in my congressional district who were recently elevated by Pope John XXIII to the rank of domestic prelates in the Roman Catholic Church. I have known Monsignor Pilny and Monsignor McNulty for some years and I was personally delighted when I learned of their respective elevations to their present rank. In each instance, it is well-deserved recognition for outstanding performances over a period of years and deep dedication to the well-being of their parishioners and the progress of their respective parishes and the diocese of Scranton. I extend to each my warmest congratulations and very best wishes for continued service to the church.

The editorial follows:

TWO PLAINS PASTORS DOMESTIC PRELATES

Elevation of the Reverend Joseph B. Pilny, pastor of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, Plains, for 31 years, and the Reverend Francis G. McNulty, S.T.D., J.C.D., pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Plains, for 16 years, by Pope John XXIII to the rank of domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor is recognition that is richly deserved on the basis of their achievements and service to the Roman Catholic Church. It is an unusual coincidence that two churchmen in the diocese of Scranton who are neighbors should be singled out by the Holy See for distinction the same day.

With their new rank, Monsignors Pilny and McNulty become members of the papal household for life, continuing through changes in the Pontificate. As ecclesiastical dignitaries, they will have special dress and privileges, including the right to be present when the Pope celebrates solemn mass and to participate in all public papal celebrations.

The honor that has come to Monsignor Pilny is the second for SS. Peter and Paul's parish, the other being the elevation of a native son, the Most Reverened Stephen S. Woznicki, D.D., bishop of Saginaw, Mich., to the hierarchy of the United States.

A $2 million plant, among other things, attest to the administrative zeal and spiritual leadership of Monsignor Pilny during the three decades he has labored there and explains the acclaim of the Holy See.

Monsignor McNulty, a Pittston native, who has an impressive record as an administrator, scholar, and diocesan official, is the second pastor from Sacred Heart parish to be elevated, the other being the Right Reverend Monsignor Dennis J. Kane, P.A., who was designated both a domestic prelate and prothomotary apostolic, and is now serving at Hazleton. As chairman of the Diocesan Liturgical Commission, prosynodal judge of the diocesan matrimonial court, member of the examining board of junior clergy, and diocesan director of St. Ives Guild of Catholic Lawyers, Monsignor McNulty has demonstrated his competence in many fields.

Plains Township, according to the 1960 census, has a population of 10,995. The fact that it has provided the Diocese of Scranton with two Domestic Prelates in 1962 is proof of the axiom that if a man builds a better mousetrap fame will seek him out, no matter where he is and what his modesty.

## Radio-TV as Seen From Capitol Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.**
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I call attention of the House to the fact that on August 6, 1962, the Honorable OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, the distinguished chairman of the Committee of the House on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, addressed the Georgia Association of Broadcasters, Inc., at its annual convention at Jekyll Island, one of Georgia's fine State parks.

This 1962 convention, presided over by H. Randolph Holder, of Athens, Ga., president of the Georgia Association of Broadcasters, Inc., and owner of radio WGAU, and guided by the quietly efficient executive secretary, Jack Williams, was unusual in at least three respects. First, under President Holder's leadership the Georgia Association of Broadcasters has achieved the enviable position of being the largest in the United States. Second, as stated by Frank Harden, president of the South Carolina Broadcasters Association, it was "the first occasion when our members have had the pleasure of officially meeting in joint session with our fellow broadcasters in the neighboring State of Georgia." And, third, it was the first time so outstanding a national figure as Representative OREN HARRIS had appeared before the annual convention.

It was my honor to present Mr. HARRIS to the assemblage and his speech was so well given and so vital to the radio and television industry, I requested that I be permitted to insert the following text in the RECORD:

RADIO-TV AS SEEN FROM CAPITOL HILL

(Address by Representative OREN HARRIS, Democrat of Arkansas, chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege and pleasure for me to be with you here today. The subject which you have suggested gives me an opportunity of sharing with you some thoughts about the actions taken by our committee and the Congress during the 87th Congress in the field of radio and television.

Radio and television legislation has assumed a very prominent place among the many subjects over which our committee has jurisdiction.

We have been more active during the 87th Congress with respect to radio and television legislation than perhaps any of the numerous other subjects within our committee's jurisdiction.

Let me be more specific and give you some illustrations.

As of July 4, 1962, a total of 783 bills were referred to our committee. Of this total, 91 bills fell into the category of radio and television. This constitutes a very large percentage considering the fact that our committee jurisdiction includes, among others, subjects such as railroads, aviation, motor transportation, securities and exchanges, trade regulations, public health, food and drug regulation, oil and gas, and electric power, and so forth.

The large number of radio and television bills is only one of several yardsticks by which one can measure the awareness on the part of Congress with respect to radio and television matters.

Another yardstick is the close attention which the Congress is giving to the agency to which is assigned the responsibility of regulating radio and television—the Federal Communications Commission. When, in April of 1961, President Kennedy submitted to the Congress a reorganization plan affecting the organization and procedures of that Commission, Congress disapproved the plan. It was felt that the plan would concentrate too much power in the hands of the Commission Chairman by giving him authority to assign fellow Commissioners and Commission personnel to specific tasks.

Congress realized, however, that the steadily increasing workload of the Commission required some changes in the law governing the Commission's procedures. Also, in order to promote efficiency and to speed up the handling of applications and other cases by the Commission, it was felt that Congress would have to permit the delegation of some functions to qualified and experienced Commission personnel, subject, however, to review and final decision by the Commission itself.

Our committee gave careful consideration to this legislation which passed both Houses of the Congress and was signed into law on August 31, 1961. I believe, and certainly it is my sincere hope, that provisions of the legislation will be used by the Commission to reduce the large backlog of cases pending before it.

Two other measures on which our committee acted and which have become law attest to the interest of the Congress in an expanding broadcasting industry. I have reference to the all-channel television receiver and the educational television legislation.

The purpose of these two acts of Congress is to eliminate a great waste of one of our most valuable natural resources—the radio spectrum. As all of you well know, in 1952 the Federal Communications Commission adopted a nationwide intermixed UHF–VHF allocation structure for television and set aside a number of television channels for noncommercial educational television. Out of a total of 2,225 television assignments, 681 are VHF stations and 1,544 are UHF stations. Ninety-two of the VHF and one hundred and eighty-nine of the UHF station assignments are reserved for educational television. However, only 103 commercial and 16 educational UHF stations are actually on the air.

The principal reason why UHF commercial and educational broadcasting have not been able to develop successfully thus far has been the scarcity of television receivers which are capable of receiving stations operating on UHF channels. In addition, educators interested in operating educational broadcasting facilities have been confronted with a lack of funds to pay for the installation of educational television facilities.

The all-channel television receiver legislation and the legislation providing for Federal matching grants to assist States, local communities, and private nonprofit agencies in the construction of educational television facilities are designed to overcome these difficulties. The enactment of these two measures should, in my opinion, contribute to a vast expansion of UHF television—both commercial and noncommercial. Of course, this expansion will not come overnight, but it is my hope that the growth will be steady

and that it will contribute greatly to making available to the American people television service to the fullest degree.

With all the attention which is given these days to television, our committee still has found time to go into certain complex and controversial questions of radio broadcasting.

The character of radio broadcasting has changed very much over the years. Radio has become preponderantly a local service and many persons have come to depend on radio for local news and information.

Our committee held extensive hearings on two subjects which have been of intense interest to radio broadcasters: daytime operations and clear-channel operations. As a result of these hearings and extensive consideration of the problems involved, our committee decided on a course of action with regard to each of these problems.

As you well know, the daytime stations have been asking for years for authority to broadcast at least from 5 a.m. until 7 p.m., and subsequently revised their request downward so that they would be permitted to broadcast at least from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m.

The Commission turned down both of these requests. In spite of repeated urgings on the part of our committee to authorize the conducting of actual limited tests with presunrise and postsunset operations, the Commission has failed to do so.

Our committee decided that the public interest requires that daytime stations located in communities which are not served by full-time stations be authorized to operate presunrise. At present, many persons in the United States residing in areas not served by full-time community radio stations have to do without early morning local news and information programs in wintertime because many daytime stations may not begin operations until after sunrise. In northern localities, which are not as fortunate as we are here down South, sunrise occurs rather late in the morning.

In order to make available to such persons in wintertime vitally needed local news and information programs, under the bill reported by the committee and passed by the House, presunrise operations would be authorized under certain conditions. Such presunrise operations would have to be discontinued or modified if the Commission finds that such operations cause harmful interference to a substantial portion of the area or population in the primary service area of another radio station.

The committee did not find on the basis of the hearings conducted by it that it would be in the public interest to authorize postsunset operations by daytime stations. During the evening hours there is not the same urgent need for local information and news programs which exists in the early morning hours. Furthermore, postsunset operations would cause a greater amount of interference to other stations since during the late afternoon hours more stations are on the air than during the early morning hours.

In view of the fact that we are rapidly approaching the end of this session, it is not at all certain that there will be enough time for the Senate to take up this legislation. It is my judgment, however, that the Federal Communications Commission will make a real effort to work out the problems relating to daytime broadcasting stations along the guidelines laid down in this legislation.

A somewhat related problem was involved in the case of the operations of class I–A clear-channel stations. The Senate adopted in 1938 a resolution to the effect that operations with power in excess of 50 kilowatts would be against the public interest. Relying in part on the Senate resolution, the Federal Communications Commission decided to duplicate 13 of the presently existing class I–A clear channel stations.

Our committee felt after extended hearings that the Commission's decision should be stayed for 1 year and that the Commission should review its decision in the light of a policy declaration passed by the House which would leave the Commission free to authorize operations with power in excess of 50 kilowatts if operation with such higher power is found to be in the public interest. The information given to our committee indicates that better radio service can be rendered to many persons in the United States by several of the clear channel stations if they are authorized to operate with power in excess of 50 kilowatts.

Finally, our committee reported and the House passed a bill providing for the establishment of a Communications Satellite Corporation. This bill, in my opinion, is one of the most important pieces of legislation which has come before the 87th Congress and it is likely to revolutionize the international communications industry. When we considered this legislation it was not thought of as being of primary interest to broadcasters. The outstanding success of Telstar, however, as a relay station for broadcasts demonstrates the terrific impact which communications satellites may have on broadcasting.

Shortly before Telstar was launched one of the technically most experienced Commissioners of the FCC gave a talk in which he pointed out several reasons why, in his opinion, communications satellites would not be used to any considerable extent for international radio and television broadcasting. He mentioned the great cost involved in using satellites for this purpose and the fact that time differentials would make simultaneous broadcasts impractical.

The Commissioner may well be right for ordinary day-by-day television fare, and Telstar was certainly not conceived by the A.T. & T. primarily for use as an international television relay station.

It is a fact, however, that Telstar caught the imagination of the people in the United States and Europe, not because it might some day replace undersea cables in international telephone or telegraph service. Telstar won the tremendous popular acclaim which it received because it has enabled millions of television viewers to participate in their own homes in events taking place thousands of miles away on other continents.

As a matter of fact, there have been reports that Soviet Russia is planning to use four satellites to transmit television programs from Moscow throughout the Russian nation instead of using cables or microwave relays. Of course, these Russian satellites will also relay programs to other captive nations behind the Iron Curtain and thus tie these nations together even more closely.

For that reason alone we should under no circumstances jeopardize the lead which our Nation has achieved with the successful launching of Telstar. It is my fervent hope that the Congress will complete action promptly on the communications satellite legislation so that we may go forward with the organization of the corporation which is expected to be the U.S. instrument through which we will participate in a worldwide international communications satellite system.

Apart from making available increased telephone and telegraph facilities, Telstar or its successor satellites, in my opinion, may before long become the medium by when television will expand into an important international force.

Since the end of World War II, developments in the broadcasting field have certainly left a tremendous impact on our present-day lives. They have transformed the leisure habits of a majority of our citizens. They are effectuating important changes in our educational practices. Educational television plays an ever-growing role in the education of our school and college age children in the sciences, in languages, and in the arts.

Television is affecting our political lives. The televising of the political conventions of our major parties, for example, has led to an insistent demand that convention proceedings be modified to fit them better for television. The televised debates of the two presidential candidates during the 1960 campaign perhaps created a precedent which may be followed in future presidential campaigns.

On-the-spot news coverage of important events has given millions of our citizens an opportunity to be present when these events occur. I need only mention such outstanding events as the space shots of our astronauts and the White House tour conducted by Mrs. Kennedy.

These outstanding events may not be the bread and butter of broadcasters—they may actually cost the broadcasters dearly in dollars and cents—but these are the events which make broadcasting the powerful medium which it has become in this Nation. And now our horizons may be broadened still further by the advent of Telstar which may permit the televising of such newsworthy events on an intercontinental scale.

What do all of these developments mean for you—the broadcasters? They mean that you are holding in your hands tremendous power and with that power must go a growing sense of responsibility.

As broadcasters you constitute a profession and not just a trade. Therefore, you must conduct yourself at all times as members of a profession.

As members of a profession you must deal with problems affecting your industry not only from the point of view of businessmen but also from the point of view of the public whom you serve.

As professional men and women you require a sense of unity. In the marketplace you may compete with one another. Individual television broadcasters may compete with individual radio broadcasters. Individual VHF broadcasters may compete with individual UHF broadcasters. Individual daytimers may compete with full-timers. individual clear channel stations may compete with individual regional stations.

However, this competition among individual broadcasters in the marketplace should not let you forget that in dealing with the public and those who represent the public you are broadcasters and professionals together. If I may suggest, do not permit yourself to become divided into subgroups with one group fighting another group to the detriment of your profession and to the detriment of the public whom you serve.

I am saying these things advisedly on the basis of my legislative experience particularly during the 87th Congress. As broadcasters you will always have the sympathetic ear of the Members of Congress. As groups of broadcasters fighting for advantages over other groups of broadcasters without being mindful to the public interest, you are likely to jeopardize your professional standing and to exhaust in a very short time the tremendous reservoir of good will which you have created over the years.

I wish all of you a successful convention. I am happy to have been with you today. I am glad to say in conclusion that the future looks exceedingly bright for the broadcasting profession and I want to congratulate you for it.

## Independence Day of Chad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Council of Ministers of Chad, Francois Tombalbaye; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of Chad to the United States, Adam Malick Sow, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Chad's independence.

Formerly part of French Equatorial Africa, Chad is a landlocked country in central Africa about twice the size of France. But in spite of the fact that it has no outlet to the sea, it has long been an active crossroads of trade since it lays on the main routes between east and tropical Africa. Its location has also made it a meeting place of various ethnic groups and has been a determining factor in its interesting history.

Nomads from the north and sedentary populations from the south mingled in Chad. In pre-European times African empires flourished until Islamic conquerors penetrated in the 14th century. Accounts of European voyagers in the 19th century sound like a tale from the "Arabian Nights" in their descriptions of sultans who displayed their wealth in slaves, ostrich plumes, and ivory. Its people today are as varied as in the past: Arab nomads, Negroid herdsmen, primitive villagers and fishermen, Muslims, Christians, Animists.

Its topography matches its population in variety, for Chad is a land of desert, savannah and forest, mountains, rivers, and plains. The north is a sahara, while vegetation and rainfall increase as one travels southward to actual jungle areas in the far south near the border. One of the most rewarding aspects of the country to the current voyager is that the bird and animal life so rapidly disappearing in other parts of Africa still abound in Chad. There are still hunting areas where herds of antelope, buffalo, elephant, and giraffe are plentiful.

But Chad, like the rest of independent Africa, is engaged in a determined campaign to catch up with the 20th century in political and economic development, and its swift progress forms a striking contrast to the background just painted. To trace briefly its political development since World War II, in 1946 Chad acquired the status of oversea territory of the French Republic. A territorial assembly was created whose powers were gradually broadened. Then, in August 1960 Chad became an independent Republic. Executive power is exercised by the President of the Republic assisted by an appointed Council of Ministers. Legislative authority rests in the National Assembly whose Members are elected by direct universal suffrage for a 5-year term. Soon after independence Chad became a member of the United Nations. Thus, in a few short years Chad has successfully made the political leap to the 20th century and joined the world community of sovereign states.

In the economic field Chad has also moved forward. The year 1961 saw a record cotton crop—Chad's chief export—increased construction activity, and an increment in the national budget. Chad's second largest export is meat, and Chad is encouraging the development of tanneries, meat-processing plants, and cottonseed oil presses.

Thus, on this anniversary of independence we congratulate the Republic of Chad for its successes of the past and extend our very best wishes for its future development.

## The President Should Back Up His Words With Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, occasionally we hear some hopeful utterances from the White House with respect to the Nation's dollar but the sad fact is that words alone will not solve our problem.

For example, in a recent press conference the President reiterated that the United States would not devalue the dollar, but with the statement came no indication the administration would change its ideas with respect to deficits and cheap money. As a matter of fact, not long after the statement was made the Nation's supply of monetary gold fell to the lowest point in 23 years.

Newsweek's Henry Hazlitt on August 13 reviews the situation in a column headed "Assurance Versus Acts."

It follows:

ASSURANCE VERSUS ACTS

(By Henry Hazlitt)

In his press conference of July 23 the President announced that "those who speculate against the dollar are going to lose. The United States will not devalue its dollar." The effect was dramatic. Gold-mining shares fell. The dollar was stronger on the foreign exchanges.

It was gratifying to have this assurance reiterated. But Mr. Kennedy gave the same assurance in his first month in office and it is necessary to point out once more that the dollar cannot be defended merely by uttering the right phrases. These must be followed by actions and policies which will convince the world that such pledges can and will be kept.

The right policies have not followed the right words. The administration has been pursuing a policy of deficits and cheap money. The outward flow of gold has continued. Three days after the President's pledge of July 23 the Treasury announced a further weekly loss of $90 million, bringing the Nation's supply of monetary gold down to $16.2 billion, the lowest in 23 years. Against this our short-term liabilities to foreigners and international institutions total $23 billion.

Yet in the same week in which Mr. Kennedy made his renewed assurance he let it be known that he favored a tax cut of "at least $7 billion a year." As a deficit of some $3 billion to $6 billion is already in prospect, this could mean a total deficit of $10 billion to $13 billion.

INFLATION THE CAUSE

Now the blunt truth, as I pointed out in this column of December 4, 1961, and on other occasions, is that our balance-of-payments deficit is simply the consequence of our internal inflation. No matter what solution we adopt for our dollar problem, the first and indispensable step is to halt this inflation. Yet not only the administration, but the greater part of the business and banking community, has been treating this problem either with astonishing lack of understanding or with disturbing levity. One of the country's outstanding business organizations has been advocating a big slash in taxes without a corresponding slash in expenditures.

Two exceptions to this irresponsible attitude deserve honorable mention. Last November Hans A. Widenmann, a partner in Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co., pointed out that the only solution to the dollar problem was to "balance our budget and put an end to inflationary trends." Anything else was a mere "gimmick." He listed 11 such gimmicks that the administration had already tried or suggested—from reducing tourist duty-free imports to $100 and the proposal to eliminate the 25 percent gold-reserve requirement to attempts to "improve liquidity" through the International Monetary Fund. And he showed that each of these gimmicks was at best a stopgap, and that some would mean dangerous steps in the direction of more world inflation.

UNDERMINING THE DOLLAR

In May of this year, John Exter, senior vice president of the First National City Bank of New York, made a brilliant analysis of the cause of the dollar crisis. He stated his conclusions bluntly: "A balance-of-payments deficit is caused by monetary policy alone. It is a question of creating too much money * * * of running the printing presses. If one country runs its printing presses faster than other countries run theirs—remember Gresham's law—then that country is going to have a balance-of-payments deficit." He went on, like Widenmann, to list the gimmicks to which the administration had resorted to solve the problem, and pointed out that they enabled us at best to postpone it. "Why do we continue easy money when it becomes clearer day by day that it is relentlessly undermining the dollar?"

If I may presume to answer his question, I should say: Because we are still under the delusions of Keynesianism and inflationism. Because we still think that economic salvation lies in government spending, in deficits, and in cheap money. Because many of us hold the insane belief that balanced budgets and sound money cause depression and unemployment. Because we have not stopped to ask ourselves how irreparable the damage would be if confidence were once undermined in the world's anchor currency—the dollar.

## M.D. Supports Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES A. BYRNE**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the leaders of the medical profession in Philadelphia has

written a letter to the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin regarding the medicare legislation. He observed that one-third of the medical profession approved the King-Anderson bill.

His statement is so interesting that I have included it in my remarks so that all Members can read it:

MEDICARE DEFEAT SCORED

Now that the sounding fury has subsided and the Congress has defeated medicare, the truth of the manner in which this defeat was brought about is gradually becoming known to the people. It sheds no luster on the heirarchy of the American Medical Association or of its hidden allies. It is only a Pyrrhic victory.

That the defeat preserved the integrity of medical practice, the physician-patient relationship, the freedom of choice of physician or hospital to the ill, or that it warded off socialized medicine is an absurdity. Because all of these consequences were imaginary. Only Congress can legislate socialized medicine, and I doubt if it ever would.

To deny justice is to perpetuate injustice. The right to health and well-being is as necessary to a segment of our population as are the four freedoms. To say to the aging population "get rich or go broke in order to receive or to afford the excessive costs of adequate medical care" is to be deprecated. That is why one-third of the medical profession, though mostly silent, approved the King-Anderson legislation. The Kerr-Mills bill, approved by the American Medical Association, is definitely socialistic. According to published statistics, 50 percent of the practicing physicians in the United States are salaried and under the social security program. We are the only nation without a national health service. That one can be developed without the taint so strongly objected to, is possible through conference and conciliation. Peace, prosperity, and strength as well as freedom from anxiety of the elderly citizens with regard to medicare is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

LEON SOLIS-COHEN, M.D.

## Thomas B. Curtis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most respected Members of this body is the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS]. A diligent and hard-working member of the Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee, Representative CURTIS has been a credit to his country, his party, and the Second District of Missouri.

It gives me real pleasure to place in the RECORD a recent editorial carried by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. It proves, I believe, that back home, his neighbors and constitutents know that they have an excellent spokesman here in Washington. His overwhelming renomination last Tuesday emphasizes this point.

Because the Globe-Democrat sums up his career so well, I insert the July 28–29 editorial in full in today's RECORD:

REELECT CONGRESSMAN CURTIS

On the basis of ability, achievement, and a national stature of statesmanship in the House of Representatives, THOMAS B. CURTIS should be renominated and reelected to Congress from the Second District of Missouri. Mr. CURTIS is one of the most effective, distinguished Congressmen this State ever sent to Washington.

The senior Republican member of the House Ways and Means Committee—probably the most influential committee of his Chamber—and ranking Republican member of the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee, Mr. CURTIS is seeking his seventh consecutive term in Congress.

During his dozen years' service in Congress, TOM CURTIS has shown an unrivaled devotion to his country and his State. It has been a dedicated record of intelligence, courage and hard-digging work.

He has grown in his career until his voice is respected in Washington, his judgment quoted throughout the country. If Republicans should win the House, he will be in line to head a major committee.

If diligent, sound devotion to his job is a criterion of high political service, Mr. CURTIS abundantly merits reelection. Regardless of party fealties, we believe the people of his second district and of the whole area recognize this.

Congressman CURTIS is an outspoken critic of many fiscal and social welfare programs of the administration. With him this is not blind partisanship, routine carping from across the aisle.

He is sincerely convinced of the fallacy of Government poking its nose into almost every phase of American life, subsidizing, dominating, and spending like a drunken prodigal.

He has facts and figures to show how deeply we are plunging into deficit bogs. He has counterproposals, constructive and blueprinted to show a saner way of Government.

Mr. CURTIS is not a GOP Jeremiah, heralding brimstone and doom upon the Democratic establishment. He is an exponent of rational opposition, an outstanding Capitol Hill figure to prove the wisdom and virility of the two-party system.

He can lay into the administration with rifling articulateness. He also has a vote for White House proposals he finds good, and kind words for Democratic executives whose work he admires.

He was a chief foe of the President's medicare scheme, because of its limited coverage, compulsory nature, and wedge for socialized medicine. He sturdily and properly fought aid to Communist nations, potential enemies we continue to bolster in a delusion of statescraft.

He constantly demands a reduction in Federal spending and derides the Kennedy proposal for a tax cut without slashing Government's steadily mounting deficits.

Congressman CURTIS conceives no sanity in the President's policy of maintaining an unbalanced budget as a Federal way of life. This CURTIS criticism makes tremendous sense to us and must to every householder, who has never been able to keep out of trouble by adding endlessly to rising debt.

Yet TOM CURTIS is strongly in favor of the Kennedy trade bill to put the United States in a position to compete with the Common Market. He has been generous in praise of Defense Secretary McNamara for doing an excellent job.

And he has helped enormously at home, giving impressive aid to the Riverfront Memorial and realization of Plaza housing. He was chosen the Globe-Democrat Man of the Year in 1960.

In short THOMAS B. CURTIS has chalked up a splendid career of vital, expanding public service in Washington.

Democrats as well as Republicans of his district know this, and we have every confidence they will send him back to Congress.

His integrity, proved ability and fine record have earned him solid indorsement by his constituents.

## Economics at the School Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, the World magazine of August 7 points out the alarming fact that but 2.5 percent of the U.S. student body now takes an economics course of any kind, and only 23 percent of the country's high school social science educators have ever had a single economics course. This situation is frequently called to our attention through our daily office correspondence.

I am pleased to note that Boston University has recognized this serious deficiency in our educational system and reportedly is doing something about it. The interesting World article is submitted herewith:

ECONOMIC FACTS MAY SOON HUM ON CLASSROOM TYPEWRITER KEYS

The "quick brown fox" typing exercise in public schools may give way to such economic maxims as "bad money drives out good."

If it does, it will be in some part due to the efforts of the Center for Economic Education at Boston University.

The center is dedicated to promoting more economic instruction at all levels of public schools, according to Prof. Kenneth Sheldon, director of the center and assistant professor of education at the School of Education.

"One of our recent studies revealed that the majority of our public school teachers have received little or no economic education," Professor Sheldon said. "As a result most students receive little formal economics before the last year of high school, if at all. This fact bodes ill for the economic health of the Nation."

TEACHERS TAKE CENTER'S INSERVICE COURSES

Some 250 teachers have participated in tuition-free inservice courses offered by the center, and financed by The New England Economic Education Council.

The teachers are taught some of the critical principles of economics and the techniques, visual aids and source material available for instruction in economics. A great deal of this material is supplied by the Boston University Center.

A requirement of these courses is preparation by each teacher of a lesson plan which introduces economics to the classroom.

One typing teacher substituted epigrammatic economic principles for the usual meaningless typing phrases.

She tested her group against one that had practiced the standard typing drills and found that her students had absorbed a considerable amount of economic knowledge.

Another teacher conveyed basic economic principles to her pupils by having them manufacture and sell pastries.

A first-grade teacher launched into an introduction of mass-production economics when a pupil remarked on the similarity of suspender buckles.

SPECIAL CONCERN FOR HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL

"Although the incidents occurring in the lower grades are of particular interest," Professor Sheldon said, "the Center is especially concerned with increasing economic instruction at the high school level."

In addition, the center sponsors a series of educators seminars at Boston College on current economic problems and issues.

Professor Sheldon said, "The idea was so successful that on the suggestion of the teachers we opened the seminars to their high school students in 1960 and now the educators junior seminars are a regular part of our program. Each year they are focused around one specific economic area. This year the area was taxation."

The problem of stimulating more student involvement in economic instruction on the junior high school level through the use of actual business case histories is now being investigated.

## Better To Pass No Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor dated July 27, 1962, had a very interesting editorial entitled "Another Snag for Farm Controls." This publication is, in my judgment, one of the responsible papers in this country. This particular editorial points up a very significant fact to which all of us in Congress should be alerted: If no new farm bill passes in this session of Congress, we probaly would be better off than to have the kind of a bill that can pass.

I would like to insert in the RECORD this editoral from the Christian Science Monitor because it does state so well this simple fact:

ANOTHER SNAG FOR FARM CONTROLS

Congress is not buying the Kennedy administration program of rigid crop control or "supply management" in agriculture. By a switch of votes in the Senate Agriculture Committee, the committee will not recommend strict controls on grain marketing when the House-approved compromise farm measure comes up again before the Senate.

The House bill proposes continuance of the current emergency programs for support of wheat, corn, and feed grain prices with provisions aimed only at reducing acreage, not at putting limits on producers' sales. Secretary Freeman estimates the annual cost of these programs at $2,400 million.

Against such extravagance the administration has legitimate complaint. To keep paying high support prices with only ineffective acreage controls is like pouring fuel into a locomotive that's running with an open throttle. The Freeman program of strict controls would try to set the engine brakes but would still pour on the fuel.

That is not the only way of doing it. The American Farm Bureau Federation points out that it would be no disaster if even the emergency programs of last year were allowed to lapse. The laws which then would apply would be the Agricultural Acts of 1949 and 1958.

Under the latter act the Secretary of Agriculture would be required to reduce the support price of corn from $1.20 to $1.05, with corresponding cuts on soybeans, grain sorghums, and other feed grains. And under the 1949 act he could and should reduce the support price of wheat from $2 to $1.82.

These changes would take some of the fire out from under the agricultural boiler. They would reduce the likelihood of explosions like the Billie Sol Estes case, they would reduce the evidently unneeded incentives for piling up surplus production, and they would reduce the demands on the taxpayer to buy and store that surplus.

## Spending Makes Taxes Higher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Adrian, Mich., Daily Telegram of July 27, 1962:

SPENDING MAKES TAXES HIGHER

About 2 months ago Secretary of Commerce Hodges testified before a Congressional committee that 10 percent of the jobholders in his Department are performing jobs started 40 years ago that "now are just not needed." What's been done about that? Nothing.

Actually the Federal payroll continued to gain. More than 2½ million people are to be in the Federal agencies in the current fiscal year that started July 1. That's 40,065 more than are on the payroll now, and 131,361 more than a year ago. Federal agencies always grow. None ever seems to get smaller. The Government undertakes new services—and hires new employees. Meanwhile it keeps on those already employed. Some of them, nobody knows how many, must, as Secretary Hodges said of his Department, be performing jobs that "now are just not needed."

Meanwhile the cost of the Federal Government goes up; meanwhile deficits pile up; and meanwhile the national debt increases. The cost of all government—Federal; State and local—increased from 15 percent of the National income in the early twenties to 27 percent in the forties and it's now close to 35 percent. That increased cost of government—the amount taken out of the national income by taxes—is the basic reason why the national economy is not expanding as fast as it should. Money paid to government does not go for consumer goods nor into investments in industry to create new jobs.

And it is not true, as the administration says, that the principal reason for the increased cost of the Federal Government is for defense. Defense costs certainly are high but nondefense costs also are high. In his 18 months in the White House President Kennedy has sent to Congress some 300 proposals for bigger Federal obligations. He has urged spending, not economy. Of the $3.5 billion spending increase for the 1963 fiscal year 57 percent has nothing to do with national defense.

The spending advocates in the administration have declared that spending will spur the economy. But the impetus to the economy did not come as expected; instead the stockmarket went into a decline. Now a tax cut is being talked about. That is fine. A tax cut would help. What would help much more would be a reduction in spending to justify the tax cut on sound economic grounds.

## Needed: Simplified Handbook of Farm Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation regrettably has not yet found any "magic formula" for solving the problems in agriculture.

For this year, the outlook is also problematical.

In a broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations, I was privileged to discuss highlights of pending legislation and, as well, make some suggestions which if adopted, would help make existing programs more effective in meeting the challenges of agriculture.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of the address printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEEDED: SIMPLIFIED HANDBOOK OF FARM LAWS

Friends, this is your senior Senator, ALEX WILEY. I welcome the opportunity once again to discuss some of the problems confronting us in agriculture.

On the legislative front, the House of Representatives recently passed a bill called the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. Currently, the measure,, after some "surgery" by the Senate Agriculture Committee, is pending before the Senate.

Generally, the provisions relate to: extending the existing law on feed grains; a modified wheat program; revising Public Law 480 for shipping food abroad; liberalized farm credit; expanding research for industrial uses of farm commodities; and revised land-use programs.

Realistically, the bill, similar to a major measure defeated earlier in the session, is highly controversial. On the positive side, there are two features which, if adopted, would be of significance to us here in Wisconsin:

1. Expansion of research for industrial uses of agricultural products, including milk and other dairy products. (Earlier this session, I recommended the establishment of a special laboratory here in Wisconsin for expanding research for commercial—industrial uses of dairy products.)

2. Secondly, the land-use recommendations could prove of value. These include: permanent agricultural conservation programs on a national basis; assistance to producers under long-term agreements (not to exceed 15 years) to conserve and develop soil, water, forest, wildlife and recreational resources; appropriations would be restricted to $10 million annually; a loan program to State and local public agencies for carrying out more effective land utilization programs; and special assistance for Federal participation in installation costs of recreation projects and in land costs for fish, wildlife and other purposes.

Tourism increasingly is an aspect of Wisconsin's economy. The creation of close-by, on-the-farm vacation spots could provide more citizens—about two-thirds of whom now live in urban areas—with greater opportunities to: get either weekend, or vacation "breaths of fresh air" in the country; acquaint children with nature and animal life; and generally provide an opportunity

for improving the health of our citizens—mentally, spiritually, and physically, through the enjoyment of our out-of-door heritage.

Fundamentally, however, the bill contains seriously controversial provisions—particularly relating to the degree of Federal control over farmers. Consequently, the outlook is problematical on this or any other major legislation this session.

Over the years, the Nation has adopted, if in somewhat "patchwork" fashion, an extensive, complex system of laws relating to agriculture.

Unfortunately, these laws too often, are wrapped or entangled in legalistic redtape and obscured by bureaucratic language.

As a result, programs that might be of assistance often may not be known to farmers; or, if known, the requirement may be too complicated to encourage wide participation. Consequently, these do not adequately serve their originally intended purposes.

For this reason, I am recommending that the Secretary of Agriculture prepare for farmers in clear, not bureaucratic language, a "Handbook of Farm Laws and Programs." The handbook, I believe, could well include: a summary of existing laws and programs; a clear definition of their purposes; illustrations of how these can effectively help the farmer; and simplified ways for participating in such programs.

If this were done, I believe that: (1) many of the existing programs being carried along at the taxpayers' expenses administratively could be of greater help to the farm economy; and (2) the handbook would provide a useful guide for review, revision, and, if necessary, repeal of existing or adoption of new programs to improve the economic outlook of agriculture.

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## A Pro-American Address by Col. Fred D. Stevers, U.S. Air Force, Retired, to the Rough Riders Rally, Disneyland Hotel, California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an address by Col. Fred D. Stevers, U.S. Air Force, retired, given at the Rough Riders Rally at Disneyland Hotel, California, on July 17, 1962.

Here is an address that every American should read in order to be informed as to the Cuban fiasco. Colonel Stevers was the last military attaché to leave the American Embassy in Havana, and he warns the people that the same State Department clique responsible for Castro's takeover is now being moved into strategic positions to simplify the Communist takeover of other Latin American countries.

The address follows:

Captain Barnes, Dr. Del Junco, Mr. Lyons, Spanish-American War Veterans, members of the American Committee to Free Cuba, ladies and gentlemen, tonight, we are here to honor the heroes of the Spanish-American War. Then, the United States, with a conscience, and with compassion for the sufferings of others, liberated the Cuban people from a cruel foreign oppressor.

From the stirring events of the summer of 1898 in Santiago de Cuba—from our heritage of the past, when the United States, as a "nation under God" was successful in her undertakings—from that heritage, perhaps today, we can draw the strength we so desperately need to cope with the mounting dangers that face us.

I am sure I express the feelings of everyone present as we render our salute to the veterans of 1898.

As the last air attaché to Cuba, I saw our country deceived, insulted, dispossessed, defeated, and our flag hauled down at the American Embassy in Havana. This is an experience one cannot forget. It is why I find myself here, this evening, in this unfamiliar role.

I saw a monstrous process called communism, fasten itself onto the Cuban people; the total eradication of all freedom; the destruction of wealth and industry; the studied dismemberment of the Cuban family; and the poisoning of minds of young and old, to the degree where mountainous hatreds have been deliberately instilled into the hearts of the people.

Despite these realities, the stated policy of our Government today is that Cuba is only an island; it is not important to the security of the United States; we had better forget about it and get on with "more important business."

But the world knows that the Communist onslaught on Cuba was not an attack on "just an island." It was, and continues to be, a direct attack on the United States of America. It is imperative that we, the citizens of the United States, come to realize that this Communist invasion of Cuba is a deadly dagger, pointed straight at the heart of this country.

Lenin's dream has come one step closer to reality: "We shall surround the United States without having to fire a shot. It will drop into our hands like a ripe fruit."

Why did all this happen? Who allowed it to happen? How is it possible that one of the most prosperous nations in Latin America should become infected by the dread Communist plague?

If you had listened to Communist propaganda emanating from Cuba, there was a pat answer to all these questions. The eternal broken record of Castro propaganda that Cuba was a poor country, that its peasants were starving wretches who groaned under the tyranny of Batista, that Cubans were living in a feudal state before Fidel Castro rescued them.

The picture is false, and the lie deliberate. Cuban labor enjoyed the protection of the most advanced social legislation in this hemisphere. Cuban industries boomed. The currency was as hard as the dollar. Cuba owed not a cent, and asked for no loans.

This points out the fallacy in our assuming that Communists can only win in a country that is desperately poor, and that foreign aid is the cure-all.

Before Castro appeared on the scene, Cuba appeared the least likely of any of the Latin American countries to fall to communism. In Cuba, there existed good will dating back to the era when the United States assisted the Cubans in winning their freedom, and setting up a constitutional government. Through the years, we gave Cuba large-scale economic support through the Sugar Act, paying premium prices for her principle product. And, while neither Cubans nor Americans would voice it openly, Cuba has looked to the United States for leadership.

The fall of Cuba, despite all these favorable factors, emphasizes the falsity of many of our U.S. programs for combating communism.

If we want to give aid for humanitarian purposes, fine, but let's not delude ourselves that this, in itself, is going to save the world for democracy. No country in the world will follow a nation which refuses to lead.

Cuba was taken over by Communist subversion just as other victims of communism have been taken over. As has been said, "the audacious few can take over from the apathetic many." Castro subverted the Cuban nation, and gained U.S. Government support while so-doing, by calling for a program of "socialistic reforms".

The conquest of Cuba had little to do with prosperity, or the lack of it.

A myth that should be exploded once and for all, if we are to fight communism effectively is the importance given to the so-called rising of the masses.

A few pseudointellectual liberals, college trained and Communist trained, were the people who subverted Cuba through conspiratorial action, namely; Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, Che Guevarra, Vilma Espin, and a few others.

When are we going to learn something of the true nature of communism and how to fight it?

I mentioned that Castro came to power with a good deal of assistance from the United States. This assistance came from liberal-minded Foreign Service Officers in the State Department in Washington, and the career officers in the political section of the Embassy of Havana.

During this crucial time, the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs was Roy Rubottom, and his assistant was William Weiland.

The day before Castro took over power in Havana, Mr. Rubottom reassured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that there was no organized communism in the Castro movement.

It is inconceivable that such an opinion could have been given by Mr. Rubottom, who was with General Marshall in Colombia, at the time of the Bogotazo—the Communists, first great blow against the United States in the Western Hemisphere. During that uprising in Bogotá, Fidel came on the radio 1 hour after the murder of Guitan, and exhorted the people of Colombia to join in and support this Communist insurrection. The Colombian police files contained irrefutable evidence concerning Castro's Communist connections. The FBI reports on the Bogatazo pointed up his Communist connections.

Mr. Rubottom and Mr. Weiland were in the key positions on the Latin American Desk to determine what information was to be used by our Government in the development of Cuba-American policy. They apparently shelved the reports of Ambassador to Cuba, Arthur Gardener, and later, Ambassador Earl Smith, who waved red caution flags to the effect that Castro was going to put in a Communist government if he came to power. Also, Ambassador Hill, at Mexico City, made the strongest of representations concerning communism in the Castro revolution.

The U.S. military attachés and mission chiefs reported on the strong Communist direction of the revolution, as did the FBI reports.

However, at this time, the mutual support between the New York Times and the State Department came into play on this issue. Herbert Matthews of the Times was sent to interview Castro in the Sierra Maestra. Castro only had a handful of followers, and was making little progress. Matthews' subsequent articles praising Castro's program of social reform, aroused great interest in the United States. The articles systematically reported the revolution as a high-minded experiment in social justice, agrarian reform, and emphasized Castro's promises that he would not seek political position for himself.

Other news mediums, including leading church magazines, and certain organizations now picked up the pro-Castro line. The sentiment within state grew so pro-Castro that an interview with Herbert Mathews of the Times was required of all key Foreign Service officers before going on station in Havana. (Later, I want to touch more on this mutual supporting of liberal ideas between state and the Times. This is important to you because I understand in the near future there will be a Los Angeles edition of the New York Times.)

How was it that professional Foreign Service officers could be so deceived on a matter of such importance to the security of the United States? Perhaps it can be explained by the fact that to the liberal minded, the appeal of a Socialist Cuba, 90 miles from the United States, displaying all manner of agrarian and urban reforms conforming to Liberal-Socialist goals, held such fascination as to result in impaired judgment in making vital assessments. And here is the thesis of my talk: That the affinity between the goals of socialism and communism is so strong, that it is impossible for a state moving toward socialism; namely, the United States, to fight Communist subversion effectively.

What are the remedies?

A return to American traditions of free enterprise. Renewed belief in the superiority of the American way. And forthright, pro-American leaders.

Castro's victory did not come as a result of success in battle. There was never any significant military involvement. When U.S. military assistance was withdrawn from Batista in March of 1958, it effectively "pulled the rug" from under his regime, and passed the blessing of the United States to Castro. From then on, the easy victory of the 26th of July movement was assured. Our officials saw fit to close their eyes to the arms and supplies being shipped to Castro by sympathizers in this country.

After Castro's entry into Havana, and assumption of power in January 1959, another glaring error of American policy allowed him to consolidate his power. One of his first hostile acts was to "throw out" the American military mission, and denounce the military assistance agreement between the United States and the Cuban Government. At this point, the military mission chiefs forwarded urgent recommendations that all U.S. military planes and other equipment, provided under the agreement, should be returned to U.S. control. Here, again, the State Department did not agree, stating it was best "not to antagonize the revolutionary leader at this time." As it turned out, it was this very equipment which enabled Castro to subjugate the Cuban people, and hold all resistance elements in check—until the arrival of arms purchased in Europe, and later, the massive shipments of Communist arms. Also, it was these same American military planes which were used so decisively by Castro in the defeat of the April invasion.

Think how different the situation in Cuba might be today, if a forthright and adamant stand had been taken for the return of this U.S. military equipment to U.S. control, as provided for in the assistance agreement.

Another act by Castro immediately following his assumption of power was the destruction of the former Government's extensive files on Communists and their activities. Here was another indication of the direction the revolution was taking.

Now, the communization of Cuba proceeded at an increasing tempo.

The almost complete destruction of the regular military services was pushed ruthlessly. Executions were particularly heavy amongst the officers of the Air Force and Army and in their place, a people's militia was formed. The Communists had learned their lesson in Guatemala, and were not going to leave any nucleus for organized resistance in the military.

These executions have not gone unobserved by the military in other Latin American countries, as evidenced by the strong stand which is taken in country after country to thwart Communist takeovers.

The revolutionary government next imposed its will over all unions by placing selected Communist leaders in the top positions. This was done in spite of the violent resistance of the membership.

As harsh police state controls were imposed, the resistance of the Cuban people began to grow. Dedicated, patriotic Cubans who were being forced to choose between submission to communism or their freedom, began joining counterrevolutionary groups. They set up several fronts in the mountains. Fellow Cubans flocked to these areas.

Now, the only limiting factor was the amount of U.S. support available. Castro threw everything he had at the principle front in the Escambray: Paul went there and failed; Che stated he would never return to Havana until every counterrevolutionary was dead. But, he, too, failed. The insurgency grew. Castro was scared. I firmly believe that at this point, in the fall of 1960, if the policy of our government had been to vigorously support the insurgency within Cuba, that Castro would have been defeated by the Cubans, themselves.

But our support failed. The counterrevolutionaries in the mountains were dependent on supplies delivered by air drop. At the camp of the Cuban Liberation Air Force in Guatamala, aircraft crews and supplies were available, but the American officials in charge would allow only occasional missions. The briefings were so bad, and the means for identifying the drop zones were so poor, that most of the supplies were lost. The Cuban flyers at the camps told me later that they felt there was no interest in succeeding with the aerial resupply.

As the Communist complexion of the Castro regime now was apparent to all, the United States, as a nation, certainly had every moral right and obligation to support the resistance within Cuba.

Foreign Communists, in the guise of advisers, technicians, military instructors, were arriving in alarming nunbers, in addition to the arrival of massive shipments of Communist arms. In this first Soviet arms package, $100 million worth of weapons were delivered. Incidentally, Raul Castro and the same defense ministry officials are in Moscow again negotiating the second arms shipment. This shipment undoubtedly will include missiles and the latest jet aircraft.

The Air Attaché Office was successful in reporting the first shipload of Soviet arms arriving in Cuba. It came at the time of Hurricane Donna in September of 1960. When we evacuated the Embassy aircraft from Havana, we spotted the Soviet cargo ship being unloaded in the Casa Blanca navy drydock. As evidenced by the elaborate security precautions taken, the Russians expected a severe reaction from the United States. Here was the time we should have stated that the Monroe Doctrine was not dead and we were not going to stand idly by while the Western Hemisphere was invaded by a foreign power. But instead, we did nothing.

The U.S. policy of trying to placate Castro was carried to a ridiculous degree. Despite the wholesale confiscation of American property, including U.S. Government property, all strictly on the Communist timetable, abuses to American citizens, insults to the American Ambassador, and torrents of anti-American propaganda, we continued to try to appease Castro in the hope he could be won over to the democratic viewpoint.

In October of 1960, purchases under the Sugar Act were finally canceled, but not before most of that year's production had been purchased at premium prices.

Castro now felt that he had received about all the help he needed from the United States to bridge the gap from the former economy to the new state socialism. He increased pressure to try and get the United States to initiate a break in diplomatic relations. He achieved this when he stipulated that the American Embassy would have to be reduced to a total of seven people.

At that New Year's, when the American Embassy closed and the flag came down, the United States suffered another major defeat in the cold war.

After the break in relations, the military attachés moved to Miami. It was soon apparent that all was not well in the training camps of the Cuban Liberation Forces in Guatemala. Cubans were defecting from the camps and returning to Miami in increasing numbers, stating that morale was breaking because of lack of confidence in their leaders, and the growing realization that they were not being allowed to do the job for which they had volunteered; namely, to liberate their country. Relations between the Cuban Revolutionary Council in Miami and the C.I.A. became very strained. The Cuban exiles' only contacts were through "nameless" C.I.A. agents, who dictated all terms. Many able Cubans resigned from the council. Martin Elena, the capable and experienced officer who was slated to be in command of the military operation, resigned when he was not allowed to inspect his men at the camp.

The results of the Cuban invasion on April 17, 1961, are generally known. By the time of the belated decision to go, the Castro forces had been brought up to 300,000 trained and equipped troops. A liberation landing force of only 1,300 men seems pitifully small for the task they were expected to perform. The liberation air unit in Guatemala was given the impossible task of flying close support missions for the invasion landings. The long round trip necessitated removal of all defensive armament from the B-26's.

The weak and vascillating U.S. support, which, at the last moment stopped the preinvasion bombing of the Castro Air Force, and canceled the planned use of U.S. fighter support, doomed the operation to failure.

Although there was a U.S. Naval Task Force in the area, it was not allowed to either support the operation, or rescue the landing force when it was pushed back to the beach. Never had the United States been involved in such a weak and callous operation as this.

The invasion was, in fact, so short lived, that it was no test of whether the people inside Cuba would have actually supported the liberation army to depose Castro. The numbers of Castro's militiamen in the beachhead area, who, in the initial stages did defect, gives some indication of what might have been expected in a larger scale, better supported, operation.

Civil disturbance was certainly anticipated by Castro, as evidenced by the massive roundup and detention of Americans and Cubans throughout the land. But the invasion effort was so marginal in size, and the element of surprise deemed so necessary by the U.S. invasion leaders, that the keymen of the resistance within Cuba were not informed, and the entire underground was caught up in the mass arrests by the government.

Here, again, U.S. action proved to be much too timid.

The returning Cuban flyers, after the invasion attempt, found none of their former U.S. contacts in Miami. They turned to my office for information on their casualties, on their future, and to register their disgust with those who had lied to them about the promised U.S. air support.

I did advise the U.S. Air Force headquarters that the Cuban liberation air force should be held together, and constituted

the most important asset left to us; that it was the key to any future steps to free Cuba. There was agreement on this within the Air Force, but the action was frozen while future U.S. policy toward Cuba was being reformulated.

That policy decision was soon apparent. The local CIA man called me and said he had received word from Washington for our office to stop interviewing Cuban air force personnel immediately.

The defeat in Cuba was to be made permanent.

In the dismal aftermath of the invasion failure, this subject became so distasteful, that all official discussion of it was suppressed. This suppression extended into the military, in areas, where, in my opinion, there was a need and a right to know for the proper performance of duty. At the Latin American Conference of Air Attachés and Mission Chiefs in Panama in June of 1961, I was scheduled to talk on Cuba. At the last minute, the subject of the invasion was not allowed to be mentioned on orders of Richard Goodwin, the presidential adviser for Latin American Affairs. The explanation given was that President Kennedy had ordered an investigation of the debacle by General Taylor, and that pertinent information would be released at the proper time. More than a year has now passed and no announcement of the results of that investigation have been forthcoming.

The same people who were in positions of influence around the President still remain. Mr. Rubottom's name is up before the Senate for promotion. The charges of the former Ambassadors that our policy toward Cuba involved serious questions of judgment and loyalty, should be answered. It would seem to me that now is the time for a thorough investigation of our entire United States-Cuba policy.

I mentioned the New York Times earlier, and now I am going to relate a personal experience concerning the disproportionate influence of the Times in Government policy formation. At a conference in Panama in 1960, 2 years after Castro had come to power, my superior officer said to me: "Stevers, be sure and read the New York Times every day and send me the answers to any articles on Cuba, because on my morning intelligence briefing for the Air Staff, the questions I get are those posed by the Times." Imagine that. After the Times was one of the principal influences in the loss of Cuba. But, the Air Staff in Washington were being questioned by the civilian Secretaries concerning the Times articles, many of which were inspired by Government officials on subjects they would hesitate to put in memorandums.

In this way, the brainwashing of the military continues.

What has happened to President Kennedy's stated policy, in his speech after the invasion failure, in which he said: "Should it ever appear that the inter-American doctrine of noninterference merely conceals or excuses a policy of nonaction, if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist pentration, then I want it clearly understood that this Government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are the security of this Nation."

The President referred to the commitments contained in the Rio Pact of 1947, and the Caracas Declaration of 1954, which provide the collective teeth to oust communism.

Contrast our President's statement with the present administration policy stated recently by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY during a TV interview in Miami after his return from a Presidential factfinding tour of Latin America, I heard him state that Cuba is just a small island constituting no threat to the United States, and that the way to fight communism in Latin America is to "speed up our economic aid under the Alliance for Progress." This same attitude has also been more recently expressed by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, as he recommends "that we get on with more important business."

My feeling is, that if we cannot work out policies and actions which can gain freedom for Cuba, with its proximity and other elements favorable to the United States, how can we hope to do so in remote areas all over the world?

My contact with the Cuban disaster, and subsequent events, have raised serious doubts in my mind as to the effectiveness of our U.S. programs in combating the spread of communism. If Cuba were the only country affected by our ineffectiveness against the Communist advance, we might allow ourselves the calloused luxury of "passing it off" as unimportant. But the Red tide is seriously threatening the rest of Latin America, and our attitude of tolerance, and solitary weapon of economic aid is sorely inadequate.

Arms shipments are arriving regularly at remote places of the South American coasts. Czech machineguns have been shipped to Red elements in Colombia where they control large sections of the interior of that country with total impunity. The Cuban radio periodically announces the graduation of classes from a school for saboteurs.

Guerrillas are being trained in Cuba to infiltrate Venezuela from the friendly borders of the Communists in British Guiana. Northeastern Brazil is blazing with the Communist torch. Chilean military and educational circles are hotbeds of communism. An enormous segment of the student body and faculty of the University of Mexico is all for the Soviet and the Red Chinese. And so it goes, in every single country of Latin America. The whole of the southern continent is being rapidly undermined by the Red termites.

Our public information program has been almost completely lacking in these areas. There has been no effective news medium reaching the people in Cuba to counter the incessant anti-Americanism preached by the Castro Government beamed at both Cubans and the rest of Latin America.

The urgent need has always been for hard-hitting U.S. information programs on the broadcast band, as few Cubans can receive the 1-hour USIS broadcast via short wave. Without U.S. rebuttal, it must appear to all of Latin America that we have no answer for Castro's many charges against us.

As stated previously, despite serious provocations, the United States was slow to apply economic pressures to Cuba. The suspension of the United States-Cuban Sugar Act was not effective before the revolutionary government had sold much of the 1960 crop to us at premium prices. And even as late as November 1961, less than a year ago, we were still authorizing the shipment of millions of dollars worth of food and drugs. Stringent trade restrictions in the initial stages of Castro's regime could have been a decisive weapon.

In the political field, we showed the most incredible weakness. Despite our experience with tactics used by the Communists in the subjugation of the Chinese, we were again taken in by the same old slogans of "Agrarian and social reforms". When the Communists find a successful formula, they use it over and over again. Of course, Fidel Castro continuously denied his intentions of setting up a Communist dictatorship until success was assured. This is a Trojan horse gambit, which is now being repeated in a number of other Latin American countries.

In looking back on the stages of the communization of Cuba, a successful solution could have been achieved in the early stages merely by making the correct assessment of Castro's intentions. The information was available for a correct assessment to have been made.

Through the middle and latter stages, courses of action open to us became more and more limited, costly, and dangerous.

But now, let's take a look into the future.

With the ever-increasing numbers of Communists pouring into Cuba from Red China, the European satellites, and from the Soviet Union, it is probable that the Soviet Union will be in complete control of Cuba in the near future. Massive modern weaponry will then be installed on this small island capable of dominating and blackmailing all of the Western Hemisphere. This is certainly in line with the nature and past performance of this enemy and must be expected.

At some point, we, as a Nation, must turn and take a stand.

To understand the defeat in Cuba, it is necessary to know "defeat in Washington." The fiasco at the Bay of Cochinos was only the outward manifestation of the lack of faith in ourselves as a nation and in the justice of our cause. We have become so entangled in our commitments to the internationalist organizations at the U.N. and the OAS, that we can no longer act in our own national interest, nor in that of the free world. Our enemies, with no moral or spiritual restraints are not so affected.

This defeatism is finding expression in new policies that compound our ineffectiveness. One such is the so-called no-win policy. This holds that victory over the Soviet Union must be avoided; that by making massive concessions in unilateral disarmament and on cold war issues, we hope that the Soviet Union will reciprocate. Dr. Rostow, who authored the plan, is Chairman of the State Department Planning Council.

Some of our recent concessions have been: (1) A slow-down in the B–70 bomber program; (2) insistence on a Communist-dominated coalition government for Laos, and agreeing to pay for its upkeep; (3) a pledge that we will not cross international boundaries in guerrilla warfare, even though our enemies do; (4) that in future conflicts we will bomb only military targets; (5) and, during the last few days, our offer to enter into an uninspected test ban.

So far, there has not been much evidence of the hoped for reciprocation. Mr. Khrushchev appeared to be delighted and encouraged with the concessions in Laos, and immediately afterwards stated that some day the hammer and sickle was going to fly over our Capitol, and that the Americans themselves would haul it up.

There is really nothing new to Mr. Rostow's no-win policy. Since the 1930's, when we closed our eyes to the brutality of the regime and recognized Russia, providing technical assistance to restore her shattered economy, we have been making massive concessions and contributions, and it has only assisted the Communist drive for world domination, not altered it.

Socialism is the first stage leading to communism.

How strong is the drive toward socialism within the present administration. Special Presidential Assistant, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. is in the key spot within the administration.

In the May 1947 issue of a periodical, the Partisan Review, an article by Mr. Schlesinger states this opinion: "There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of new deals * * *. The classical argument against gradualism was that the capitalist ruling class would resort to violence rather than surrender its prerogatives * * *. Here, as elsewhere, the Marxists enormously overestimated the political courage and will of the capitalists. There is no sign that the capitalists are putting up a really determined fight. The active agents in effecting the transition will prob-

ably be, not the working class, but some combination of lawyers, business, and labor managers, politicians, and intellectuals, in the manner of the first New Deal. Moreover, workers, as a mass have rarely had the impulses attributed to them by Marxism. They too often believe in patriotism or religion. Thus they are rarely swept by the proper mass emotions."

In a recent memorandum by Mr. Schlesinger entitled "The Big Decision: Private Indulgence or National Power?", I quote: "We will have to abandon the illusion that the free choices of millions of individual consumers can solve all our problems * * *. We shall have to begin purposefully to focus our national energies in ways which will give us the things a great Nation must have—defense, foreign assistance, education, medical care, scientific research, elimination of private property, and so on, even if these things don't make profits for private business in the market."

I wish I had time to read all of this article by Mr. Schlesinger, but do so for yourselves. Recently, when asked if he had changed his mind about these views, his reply was "I neither apologize nor withdraw."

These views are quoted to help us understand the current trends in Washington. This is socialism.

Getting back to Cuba, the loss of one skirmish at the Bay of Cochinos is no reason to make defeat in Cuba permanent, for us to assist in the maintenance of a Communist tyranny 90 miles from the United States.

There is real hunger in Cuba today. Daily the rumblings of rebellion grow louder. On June 16 the people of Cardenas surged into the streets beating their pots and pans and shouting: "We're hungry," at the tops of their voices. This small edition of Budapest was not quelled until tanks forced their way into the town, and Russian Migs roared overhead threatening annihilation.

There have been defections amongst the militia units. There will be larger ones. Let us be prepared to free Cuba when the opportunity comes.

We should support the underground. We should allow the Cubans to reactivate their liberation forces; form a government in exile; allow them to maintain their patriotism and their resolve to free their enslaved and suffering countrymen.

If we believe in ourselves; if we believe in the justice of the liberation of the Communist enslaved peoples, Cuba will be free in the near future.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us free Cuba and release a wave of pro-Americanism and anti-communism that will sweep the hemisphere.

Let us win our first great victory of the cold war.

## Leading Doctor Favors Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I read a very interesting letter on the editorial page of the Philadelphia Bulletin of August 8. It was written by one of the leading physicians of Philadelphia. His views refer to the position of one-third of the medical profession as favoring the King-Anderson bill.

I have known Dr. Leon Solis-Cohen for a great many years and have observed his outstanding contributions to the public welfare. He has been very active in civic and fraternal affairs and has frequently participated in matters affecting the welfare of the people.

His observations are contained in the remarks by the Honorable JAMES A. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, who has included the newspaper report. I wish to commend Dr. Solis-Cohen for his views and for his strong statement in favor of medical care for the aged under social security.

## James A. Farley: Rainmaker in Elmira Bustling in Batavia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, with the refreshing effervescence associated with the product for which he has won world-wide acceptance, former Postmaster General James A. Farley is receiving a glad hand wherever he travels in New York State. In Elmira, the general, who has credit due him for many great gains, is now attributed a power to affect the elements. In Batavia the general walked in the sunlight of many old friendships. Sun and rain germinate good growth and the State of New York would welcome more of that. There is no question that General Farley could make an immense contribution in that direction.

I submit herewith two editorials from the Batavia Daily News of July 20, 1962, and the Elmira Star-Gazette, of July 21, 1962, attesting to the continuing high regard our communities have for this great American:

[From the Batavia (N.Y.) Daily News, July 20, 1962]

MR. FARLEY HERE

Although a bit further from the limelight than in the bustling days of the early Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations, James A. Farley remains a striking figure.

Mr. Farley made his first official visit to Batavia Downs as a member of the New York State Harness Racing Commission and was well pleased with what he saw.

Long known for his excellent memory of people and places, the former Postmaster General recalled the late Albert F. Kleps, longtime Democratic political leader here and a personal friend of Mr. Farley for many years.

Mr. Farley, who for years was "Mr. Democrat," still is highly regarded in his party, and in the State. His declining to talk politics seemed to indicate strategy of the moment. For a man of his stature with politics in his veins, he is certain to have something to say later.

[From the Elmira Star-Gazette, July 21, 1962]

FARLEY AND RAIN—BOTH WELCOME

Jim Farley always brings something welcome to town on his all-too-rare visits. That's a warmth and glow of a man who counts friends across the world and in every station in life.

Wednesday's flying visit was true to form, for Jim's thoroughly at home in Chemung County and has friends here by the score.

Wednesday Jim brought something more than his welcome presence. A badly needed shower rode into town with him, and friends stood gladly in the rain to greet him and a token gift from the skies.

## CAP Dinner for International Air Cadets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 6, I had the great honor and pleasure of attending a dinner at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington by invitation of my good friend Col. Barnee Breeskin, special assistant to Col. Paul Ashworth, national commander of the Civil Air Patrol.

This dinner is an annual event sponsored by the Pan American World Airways for the air cadets and their escorts from 21 foreign countries. These cadets visit Washington each year, after having been guests of the United States, touring most of the States in groups of 5 and in several instances even as many as 25.

On this particular occasion, at the dinner on August 6, Colonel Ashworth presented a plaque award to Adm. Harold Miller, retired, vice president of Pan American World Airways, for meritorious service in the international air cadet exchange program.

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, the Senate majority whip, made a wonderful address on the merits of the cadet exchange program. I, too, had occasion to express some views regarding this program which I consider very important to the free world.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Pan American World Airways on their great contribution to this worthwhile exchange program. For the past 10 years this company has consistently sponsored projects of great benefit to this program and thereby was instrumental in bringing together many fine citizens of this country in the common bond of brotherhood, thus resulting in a successful exchange of ideas and a better understanding of problems. Mr. Juan Trippe, president of Pan American World Airways, has long been known for his efforts in the cause of international good will.

We, of New York, are very proud of the fine work being done by the Civil Air Patrol and we are particularly proud that our fair city of New York is one of the host cities, just as is Washington, for these foreign cadets visiting the United States under the exchange program.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to list the States that have served as hosts to the foreign cadets. They are as follows:

Alabama, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The following is a list of the countries that participated in the program: Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

Finally, I want to include also the names of the distinguished guests at the head table at the dinner given by the Pan American World Airways:

HEAD TABLE SEATING ARRANGEMENT, CIVIL AIR PATROL DINNER, STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., AUGUST 6, 1962

1. Mr. Ira D. Mackler, Wilson Co.
2. Col. Dan Evans, wing commander, National Capitol Wing.
3. Col. Edward F. McGinnis, American Legion.
4. Col. Daniel F. Boone, deputy regional commander, Civil Air Patrol.
5. Mr. C. William Martin, Jr., president, Pepsi Cola Bottling Co. of Washington.
6. Maj. Gen. Walter Agee, former national commander.
7. Mr. John R. O'Brien, vice president, Touchdown Club.
8. Mr. Robert G. Baker, secretary to the majority, U.S. Senate.
9. Representative JAMES MORRISON, Louisiana.
10. Col. Paul Ashworth, U.S. Air Force, national commander, Civil Air Patrol.
11. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, majority whip, U.S. Senate.
12. Adm. Harold Miller, vice president, Pan American World Airways.
13. Commissioner John B. Duncan, District of Columbia.
14. Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, New York.
15. Mr. Fred Black, Blyco Corp.
16. Representative CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, Jr., Maryland.
17. Mr. Glen B. Eastburn, New York Airways.
18. Maj. Gen. Lucas V. Beau, former national commander.
19. Mayor Frank Mann, Alexandria, Va.
20. Col. Milton Kronheim, old friend of Civil Air Patrol.
21. Col. A. Paul Fonda, office, Assistant Chief of Staff of Reserved Forces.
22. Lt. Col. Wm. H. Schulle, special assistant to the national commander, New York phase.
23. Col. Barnee Breeskin, special assistant to the national commander, Washington, D.C.
24. Mr. Lincoln White, press officer, State Department.

## The Colombian Lotteries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to apprize the Members of this House about the Colombian lotteries.

Colombia is a small and poor country, yet, it realizes the worth of lotteries. The gross receipts from said lotteries in 1961 amounted to over $12 million of which about $3 million went to the Government.

The income received is used for hospital development, homes for the poor, the blind, deaf mutes, the aged and other charitable institutions.

Mr. Speaker, is it not time that we stopped being reckless and careless with the tax and revenue advantages offered by a national lottery? If we would have the courage to wipe out hypocrisy, we could raise over $10 billion in additional revenue which would help to cut our high taxes and reduce our mounting national debt.

## Farley for Governor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, one of our "greats" in the Democratic Party is the Honorable James A. Farley of New York. He is not only considered "great" by the membership of the Democratic Party, but he is considered "great" by the people of his community, his State, and this Nation. He has set an exemplary example as an American, as a public servant, as a businessman, and in all phases of civic and social life. For these reasons, he has received acclaim all over the country.

As an illustration of the high respect in which he is held, I insert the following article from the Chemung Valley Reporter:

[From the Horseheads, N.Y. Chemung Valley Reporter, July 12, 1962]

FARLEY FOR GOVERNOR

(By Jim Smith)

A few days ago a letter to the editor of another newspaper from William J. Murtaugh of Elmira proposing Jim Farley as the Democratic candidate for Governor of the State of New York was published. We are extremely happy to second that proposal.

James A. Farley, former postmaster general and now chairman of the board of Coca-Cola Export Corp., is without a question, the best known Democrat in the State and, we do not hesitate to say one of the most popular.

Mr. Farley is a man of oustanding qualifications: an administrator of proven ability, a man of keen judgment, a man admired by both Democrats and Republicans, and we predict that, should he be nominated, he would be elected by an overwhelming majority.

He has always championed the rights of the common man; he is of unimpeachable honesty and integrity, the type of man needed in the Governor's chair during these difficult and perilous times.

It has been our privilege to meet Mr. Farley personality on several occasions and we have always found him to be the same congenial, down-to-earth gentleman, whom it is a pleasure to meet.

A true friend to all mankind, to business, to labor and all others of the commonwealth, James A. Farley is our favored candidate for Governor of New York State.

## Fitting Tribute to George P. Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my distinct honor to share the representation of Alameda County, Calif., in the House of Representatives with a truly dedicated public servant and a great American, the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, the Honorable GEORGE P. MILLER.

Chairman MILLER has received many deserved and glowing tributes during his 18 years in Congress but none, I am sure, more gratifying than the very appropriate editorial which appeared in his hometown newspaper, the Alameda Times Star, on August 3 of this year.

Mr. Speaker, every Member will vicariously enjoy this editorial which lauds the quiet and effective work of a dedicated Member of the House of Representatives.

WHY CONGRESSMAN MILLER HAS WON HIGH PRAISE BY GOP PAPER

When a political figure draws praise from a publication whose editorial viewpoint is that of the opposite political party—and especially when that publication happens to be the Chicago Tribune—one may be assured that he has more than partisan political actions to his credit.

Such a man is GEORGE P. MILLER. On page 5 of today's Times-Star is a feature story, reprinted from the Chicago Tribune, dealing with the career of the Alameda Congressman. The story traces his career from his employment as an Alameda streetsweeper during the days of the depression to his present distinguished position as Chairman of the House Space and Astronautics Committee.

The chairmanship of such an important committee, while awarded on the basis of seniority, is held only by ability, and MILLER, in effect chairman during the final illness of the former chairman, has both then and since he took formal possession of that post, repeatedly demonstrated a tremendous grasp of what the job requires, plus an extraordinary ability to carry out the work the job entails.

What that work consists of is not generally known to the great majority of the public, but the heart of it is concerned with determining what is the best legislation for our space program and then proceeding to make that proposed legislation into law. In other words, any man who does this job so well as MILLER must have not only a vast fund of advanced knowledge, but he must also possess both political know-how and executive ability. Needless to say, such an extraordinary combination is rare indeed.

But quite aside from these all-important points is the fact that during his long tenure in the House, Congressman MILLER has never forgotten that he has been chosen by his constituents of the Eighth Congressional District as their personal representative in Washington, D.C. A request to MILLER's office always brings an immediate reply, and action, whether the request comes from Democrat or Republican.

And as one might suspect he has given ample evidence of the courage of his convictions. For example, during the height of the hysteria fomented by the late Senator

Joe McCarthy, a man whose vicious lies and calumnies finally won him the distinction of the censure of the Senate, MILLER did not give in to fear, as so many other Members of Congress did. On the contrary, he did not hesitate to speak his contempt for the Wisconsinite. And lately, despite the powerful opposition of organized medicine, along with threats made against those who supported the proposed medicare program, MILLER has again demonstrated that his political courage has in no wise diminished.

Such a man as this, whom not even the crustily Republican Chicago Tribune can keep from praising, clearly must remain in office for the good of all the people.

## Representative Griffin's Farm Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in today's Washington Daily News delved into history in regard to an amendment offered by our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN].

In this article, it was pointed out that farm subsidies, surplus grain storage and a growing army of Government overseers to keep the farmer poor, goes back to Kublai Khan.

The gentleman from Michigan's amendment to the farm bill would have prevented the Agriculture Department from hiring more employees than there are farmers.

The amendment was finally rejected, it is interesting to note.

For the edification of my colleagues, the editorial about this amendment and its place in history follows:

REPRESENTATIVE GRIFFIN'S FARM AMENDMENTS

They laughed when Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN of Michigan got up recently to offer his amendment providing that "employes of the Agriculture Department shall at no time exceed the number of farmers in America."

They thought Mr. GRIFFIN was just having his sly little joke at the expense of the administration's hardluck farm bill.

Maybe so. Probably it couldn't happen, but it could come close enough for discomfort and already has. And recent emphasis on the cliches of our forefathers prompts reminder that statesmen have been working on the problem for a long time.

One such was Kublai, Great Khan of China. He invented paper money and when he ran out he just printed more, thus proving that, as an economist, he was away ahead of his times. His method of storing surplus grain first was reported to the Western world, about 750 years ago, by Marco Polo, Venetian businessman.

Historian Harold Lamb records in his "March of the Barbarians" that Kublai, observing how deep the farmers had to scratch for a living, ordered his mandarins to get the economy moving.

Later, seeing little change, he asked why, when the peasants worked so constantly and were given so much aid by the state, they remained so poor.

"Because the state," the mandarins answered, "encouraging the workers in the soil, draws its chief wealth from them. The laborers themselves have little left because the greater part of their earnings goes to pay overseers and taxes, with the cost of collecting the taxes."

That is the historic problem of Government help to industry. It tends to cost more than it brings home and only the well-off can afford it.

But we digress.

At last count there were 98,500 employees in the Agriculture Department. That is roughly one Government helper for each 37½ of our 3.7 million farms. Or one for each 70 of our 7 million farmers, counting family and hired hands. The Department of Agriculture has $5.8 billion in the budget for next year.

Farmers are moving to the city while the Government is continuing to hire. On the charts of the economists one curve is ascending, the other descending. These unparallel lines could meet somewhere short of infinity.

Maybe Representative GRIFFIN's amendment isn't so funny at that. Maybe he's not, as they say in the larger towns of the corn-hog country, just "bumping his gums."

## Tax Cuts and Fiscal Sanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as comments and opinions are expressed on the subject of tax cuts, it is becoming increasingly evident that the public is aware of the detrimental role and fiscal irresponsibility that the Federal Government is contributing to these economic complications.

An illustration of grassroots thinking on this subject is contained in an editorial in the Chicago Heights Star, an outstanding semiweekly publication in one of the major towns in the Chicago metropolitan area, in its editorial of Thursday, August 2, which I am pleased to submit for the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Chicago Heights (Ill.) Star, Aug. 2, 1962]

TAX CUTS AND FISCAL SANITY

Few would deny that current talk in Washington about an income tax reduction is pleasant conversation. The burden of the annual levy has undoubtedly denied many families a number of good things they would like to enjoy.

Considered in conjunction with other activities in the Capital, however, there arises the suggestion that some restraint is in order with respect to our optimism.

The theory is that a tax reduction will spur the economy—ideally to the point where a fatter gross product will completely offset the loss of Federal revenue and perhaps do even better than that. The reasoning certainly is not without foundation.

Discretion being the better part of valor, we think it is essential to prune nonessential expenditures to the greatest possible degree as a counterpart of tax reduction. There is substantial reason to believe that the combination of Government frugality and increased payrolls would provide sufficient income at lower income tax rates to forestall endless deficits.

While practically all of us contemplate with enthusiasm the possibility of handing over a little less money to Uncle Sam each year, few want to enjoy the privilege at the expense of earmarking the tab for future generations.

Meanwhile, there gnaws away the uneasy feeling that we have people in Government who want to be all things to all men. For while the talk from one side of the mouth dealt with spurring the economy by cutting income taxes, the talk from the other side concerned increasing the social security tax to buy yet more things with Government money.

Proponents of the social security tax increase said it was needed to guarantee hospitalization costs for the elderly, what with advances in medical science having developed the ranks of senior citizens into a voting bloc.

Yet it can be vigorously disputed that anyone who stands for increasing deficits, Federal aid to everything, inflation and further devaluation of the dollar is sincerely interested in the plight of the elderly. More than anyone else, the senior citizen on a fixed income is the sufferer.

Unless sane fiscal habits can be substituted for careless Government spending, then, even the joy of a highly desirable tax cut can be had only at the expense of making retirement a day of reckoning.

## The Soblen Case—Why Blame Israel?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it is quite astonishing, and more than a little irrational, that there should be people who have picked upon Israel as the "culprit" of the whole sad Soblen affairs. A simple recapitulation of the cold facts shows how completely illogical, and unfair, this attitude is:

When Soblen attempted to enter Israel illegally, the Government of Israel reacted in the most speedy and efficient manner and to the utmost extent compatible with Israel's own laws; indeed, some persons have criticized the Government of Israel for having allegedly stretched the framework of its laws rather widely in acting as it did on the 1st of July, when it placed Soblen on the first outgoing El Al Airlines plane in spite of the attempts of his lawyer to prevent this.

The Government of Israel has defined this step as an act of expulsion; there is no reason to quibble about legal terminology—it is in any case clear that what the Government of Israel did on that day did not, to say the very least, make it at all difficult for Soblen to find himself back in this country. Whoever may have "goofed" in not keeping an eagle eye on Soblen either in New York or upon that plane, it is surely not the Israelis whom we can blame for that.

Since that time, and purely because of such lack of vigilance, Soblen has found himself in Britain for several weeks now, and it seems rather amazing that no one here has lost patience with British legalistic quibbling as to methods of disposing of this case. After all, surely the real problem does not concern legalism

in the purely formal sense of the word. Is it not the case that Soblen arrived in Israel too upon a foreign carrier—Air France—and, yet, I do not recall that the Government of Israel made any attempt to force Air France to deal with Soblen, although it too could very easily have sheltered behind such excuses. No, the Government of Israel expelled Soblen and placed him upon one of El Al's own aircraft. One hears a great deal concerning friends and friendship, but such words are apparently used lightly and freely. I can think of few examples of acts by a foreign government which would prove the spirit of friendship more indisputably than the action of the Government of Israel on the first of July.

Yet, Britain, in a similar situation, did not do the quick and straightforward thing, but found no more gallant way of dealing with the matter than to pick upon Israel to act on its behalf. If Israel did not ask Air France to take Soblen out, and Israel, after all, did not want Soblen on its soil any more than Britain does, why then does Britain require El Al to act on its behalf? If Israel sent Soblen out on an El Al plane could not Britain have sent him out quickly on BOAC? Or upon an American airplane? Or, indeed, have handed him over to the nearest American consul?

Israel's actions right at the very beginning left no doubt whatsoever that, as far as was compatible with the widest possible interpretation of its own laws, Israel would help this country. Of course, no one expects even one's very best friends to break their own laws, and I understand that this fact has been stressed by the State Department's spokesman. I believe that the Secretary of State explained to a Member of this House the problems connected with the fact that this offense is not internationally recognized as extraditable. We have, of course, no ratified extradition treaty with Israel, and as for Britain, she claims that her extradition treaty with the United States does not cover such cases as this. Yet why could Israel find a swift way of action on the first of July, and why does Britain apparently expect Israel to do twice what Britain is clearly not prepared to do even once? If Britain has any intention whatsoever of seeing Soblen returned to the United States, why then does she insist on forcing him back into Israel's hands, after Israel has done the decent thing once, and after the Israel authorities have stressed for over a month that their hands are now entirely tied by the developments which have arisen out of several weeks' legalistic quibbling in Britain.

Israel is a country of law, and surely we would not wish her to be otherwise. She has already done the utmost compatible with such a framework of law; she has gone out of her way to stress that her laws would make it quite impossible for her to take Soblen to New York, since under the changed conditions prevailing because of the delay in Britain, such action would now clearly amount to extradition, whereas Israel law permits no more than expulsion. If Britain realizes this, and Israel left her in no doubt on this matter during the whole time, why then does she persist again and again in her attempt to force Soblen upon the Israelis knowing full well that this is not the most likely way of returning him to the United States? Indeed, I might ask why so little was done—apparently, by both the Government of this country and of Great Britain to obviate this eventuality, after Israel had served clear notice that her hands were now tied? It is almost incomprehensible that under such clear circumstances we should be blaming neither ourselves nor the British, but, of all people, the Israelis. Are we by any chance "picking on the little guy?" Is it easier to press small countries than large ones? Could it not be clearly proved that if Israel is in trouble at all now, it is because she was overly eager to be helpful to us on the first of July? Is this the kind of lesson we want to teach the world? Maybe if we sit a little and think a little and permit irrationality and illogic to pass, we may feel just a little ashamed.

I do not think that there is a single country in the whole free world which has less to "prove" as to where it stands than the democracy of Israel. There is no single country, including those formally allied to us, whose stand over 14 years has been more consistently, unequivocally, and single-mindedly on the side of freedom. Is it enough to get a little annoyed—and, moreover, over a secondary issue in which the Israelis are less at fault than anyone else—in order to simply forget all this, to sweep it aside, to drop it overboard and abuse and bully our sincerest and most genuine friend?

In conclusion, I should like to cite a few excerpts from one of the very rare, sane, and balanced pieces of writing to have appeared so far on this sad matter. I am referring to yesterday's editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer, which says:

> There is a feasible way for the British to cut the legalistic knot that has kept the unwanted Robert Soblen in their hands: simply place the Soviet spy on a plane that will return him to the United States.
>
> The British have denied Soblen political asylum and they want the El Al airline, which brought the fugitive to England, to take him off their hands and carry him to New York.
>
> Israel has had its own troubles with the spy when he fled there after jumping $100,000 bail in New York. The Israeli Government charged him with illegal entry and promptly sent him off on the flight intended to return him to this country. Now that the problem has become Britain's, the Israelis are disinclined to take orders from the British Government on Soblen's disposal.
>
> It would be unfortunate if a byproduct of his maneuvering should be friction between the United States and our friends in Britain and Israel.
>
> El Al Air is not the only airline available for passage. The spy could be flown back on an American airliner, thus ending the bizarre case as far as both Britain and Israel are concerned.
>
> If the British quibblers consider that it would not be cricket for them to place the fugitive bodily in a U.S. airliner, some other arrangement could surely be made. * * * Possibly the British would be agreeable to transfer Soblen, as a fugitive illegally in England, to the custody of the American Embassy, from where he could be taken to a U.S.-bound plane.
>
> All that is needed to defeat his plan and get him to prison is a simple act of redtape cutting by the British—making sure, this time, that he makes it all the way to New York.

## Parallelism, Kennanism, and Confusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago Members of the House debated the issue of continuing aid in any form to Yugoslavia and other Communist-occupied nations. At that time argument was advanced that Tito's Yugoslavia was not part of the Russian bloc and that by helping Tito we encouraged other Communist countries to take an independent attitude toward Moscow. I did not agree with that argument. I opposed it. My argument was that Tito was Moscow's Trojan horse, Moscow's weapon of economic warfare against the United States and other free nations. As an agent of imperial Russian communism Tito should be judged for what he is.

The noted labor columnist, Victor Riesel, who has the happy faculty of reducing complex issues to their naked simplicities, has undertaken a long and careful examination of Tito from the vantage point of inside Europe. In a recent column he exposes the new Communist tactic of "parallelism." By this he means the parallel positions taken by Tito and Moscow—parallel actions which have no other purpose but to strengthen the international Communist conspiracy.

Victor Riesel concludes his analysis of this tactic of the international Communist conspiracy with a well-deserved mention of Ambassador George Kennan "Shame on George."

By leave previously granted, I insert this article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

TREND OF TITO POLICY IS CALLED PARALLEL TO RUSS

(By Victor Riesel)

ATHENS.—A mystery plane streaked across Greece on March 30. It refused to identify itself. In a few minutes, Greek fliers forced it down. The strange plane, it developed, had been in the control of the personal pilot of Egypt's dictator Gamal Nasser. It was strange indeed—for it had some $2 million in gold bullion aboard. And it was headed for Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

The Egyptian pilot was returned to Cairo. Later, my informant tells me, the plane and the gold followed. Why this bullion was headed for Tito's capital no one quite knows. The point is that Nasser, an outspoken critic and international opponent of the United States and a neo-Socialist, trusted his friend Tito sufficiently to place the gold in his care.

Aid debate: I report this because of the controversy back home over aid to Communist Yugoslavia. Some of Tito's champions owe us critics of Tito's communism here in the Balkans, an explanation. How does it happen that Yugoslavia is constantly dealing with our enemies and gets our aid, while

such lands as Greece, whose peoples' blood drenched the countryside during the Communist invasion a decade ago, get their U.S. aid slashed?

There are many instances of Tito's wooing the Iron Curtain bloc up north. Shortly after I flew into central Europe, I learned of the visit to Moscow of a topside Yugoslavian delegation.

That was on the afternoon of July 2. The delegation was headed by none other than Yugoslavian Vice President Mijalko Todorovic. With Tito spending more and more time away from his administrative offices, Todorovic is mighty topside. He runs much of the nation. He is philosophically, intellectually, politically, and in any other fashion, anti-United States.

Big hello: His mission to Moscow was to negotiate with the Russians for the expansion of economic cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. Obviously the Kremlin placed high priority on all this. For, at the Vnukovo Airport to greet Todorovic were none other than First Deputy Premier Mikoyan, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Arkhipov, Deputy Foreign Minister Firyubin, and the rest of the Soviet economic delegation to the negotiations. Mikoyan will head this negotiating committee.

It can positively be reported that during their talks, the Russians found considerable sympathy among the Yugoslavs on one point the Khrushchev people believe most important: The Russians want the Belgrade government to fight the Common Market. The Kremlin wants the Yugoslavs to come into the "Comecon"—the Soviet counterpart of our Common Market.

Economic clash: Todorovic indicated he was for it and would try to prevail on his people to take such a stand. Such a move would mean open economic warfare with us and our allies—even while we are pouring millions into Yugoslavia.

Nor is this the only sign of alinement between Belgrade and the Communist International. The Soviets have given tanks to the Yugoslavs. Why? Certainly not because they expect the Tito government to use them against the Sino-Soviet bloc in an emergency.

The Belgrade government now has drawn closer to the tough Communist Government in Sofia, Bulgaria. Thus there is a tightening of the lines between Moscow and Belgrade and the satellites.

Parallelism: Certainly the Yugoslavs will not become one of the Soviet's satellites. But the sentiment in many foreign diplomatic circles is the Belgrade will parallel Moscow. Parallelism is as dangerous to us as satelliteism. Many of our friends among the free nations see us supporting parallelism. And they say to themselves that the United States really doesn't know what it is doing with its money and support. So we lose face and considerable prestige.

There also is another Belgrade export which few back home know anything about. The Yugoslav export is invisible. It is the spreading of the doctrine of a type of national socialism and "works councils" to run factories. This means that a shop or factory committee really decides how a plant shall operate, how its produce shall be distributed, what wages shall be paid and whether there should be profits to the state, or to some private investor.

Shame on George: This philosophy of production is being shipped to such lands as Algeria, Ghana, and even far-off Dahomey, where the United States and our allies have considerable investments. Those investments will be worth nothing if Yugoslavia succeeds in spreading its form of works-councils socialism and controlled production throughout Africa.

Our Ambassador to Belgrade, George Kennan, has said that criticism of aid to Yugoslavia is "vindictive" action. That hardly seems fair on Mr. Kennan's part.

Is it vindictive to oppose the spread of Tito's type of communism and to object strenuously to his constant cooperation with the enemies of the United States?

## Program for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the problems facing America's rural communities is the fate of our agriculture. The 1960 Federal census disclosed a dropping of population in many rural areas. This affects the business community. Since Mr. DuBois has had much experience in banking and thoroughly understands this problem, the following statement is pertinent and worthy of consideration:

STATEMENT OF PAT DUBOIS, CHAIRMAN OF THE INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, AUGUST 7, 1962, RE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN "AN ADAPTIVE PROGRAM FOR AGRICULTURE"

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Pat DuBois. I am executive vice president of the First State Bank of Sauk Centre, Minn., and appear here as chairman of the Independent Bankers Association Agriculture Committee. The association, with a membership of more than 6,000 banks, mostly smaller banks in rural communities, maintains its headquarters in Sauk Centre.

Our association is vitally interested in the economy of rural America. We are close to farm people. We are fully aware that the farmer's problems are ours, for we deal with these problems each day.

The Independent Bankers Association, and our committee, wish to place on the record here our emphatic opposition to the Committee for Economic Development's proposal. It would move 2 million farmworkers off the land in the next 5 years and would adjust commodity prices downward. For the most part, when we speak of farmworkers, we are referring to married men with families. The proposal for migration out of farming would, as I see it, mean the departure of at least 6 million persons from rural America within 5 years.

The CED report containing this recommendation, titled, "An Adaptive Program for Agriculture," says that agriculture is, and I quote, "using too many resources." My reaction to this is the same as that recorded in a dissenting footnote by Fred C. Foy, chairman of the Koppers Co., and a member of CED's Research and Policy Committee. The footnote, on page 9 of the report, says, and I quote, "* * * who is the CED to say that in this situation 'too many resources' are being used?" On that, I'm with Mr. Foy.

As I read the report, my reaction was that it demonstrated a highhanded, arbitrary attitude toward a sizable and vital segment of our population. What's the real objective here? To further depress the already low price level of food and fiber and to secure even lower farm labor costs by having available a large pool of unemployed farmworkers?

The CED report affirms what we all know—that agriculture is ailing—then offers a prescription that would make it much sicker than it is now. The report acknowledges that the farmer has achieved a high degree of efficiency, then proposes that as a reward he be kicked off his land.

The CED concedes, on page 27 of its report, that, and I quote, "* * * there are uncertainties in the course we recommend." I might add there also is hardship and degradation for the farmer in the CED course. If the recommendations of the report were followed, hundreds of thousands of farm people who now are on employment rolls in agriculture would stand a good chance of being transferred to relief rolls in urban areas.

In view of the uncertainties that the CED itself admits are in its plan, I submit there is no wisdom in trying it on American agriculture.

It is not difficult to visualize what would happen to rural communities if the migration of 2 million farm families to metropolitan and industrial centers is hastened in the manner proposed by the CED report. Fewer farm families mean fewer people to buy shoes and groceries and overalls and shirts. Remove one farm family and you have taken away the financial resources to support one town "service family." Remove 20 farm and rural town service families and you have lost the people who spend the income that will sustain one substantial rural business.

The proposed migration would trigger a drop in our rural communities that challenges comprehension. Further, the serious dislocation of our Nation's rural economy would so greatly reduce the buying power of rural America that the ability of nonfarm industries to absorb the displaced farmers would be further diminished. We would be dumping an additional 2 million workers on a labor market that already has more than 4 million unemployed.

Who is to hire the displaced farmer? Not steel, which already is operating at only a fraction of its productive capacity. The electronics industry has sufficient employees. The auto industry is not operating at full plant capacity. Farm implement production is down.

Here again I wish to refer to a dissenting footnote appearing on page 33 of the report. Frederick R. Kappel, chairman of the board, American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and a member of the CED Research and Policy Committee, says, and I quote, "The problem of absorbing the increased flow of labor out of agriculture under these proposals will be formidable in view of the prospective increases in the total labor force." While the seriousness of the problem is understated by Mr. Kappel, it is a recognition of one of the numerous "bugs" in the report.

I am sure that all of you on the committee are even more familiar than I with what has been happening in rural America for a number of years. All across the land are rural communities whose economic level has been depressed by the inadequate prices farmers receive for their products. The depressed condition of agriculture already has prompted millions of farm people to leave the soil. There is no merit, no benefit to anyone, in attempting to accelerate this movement.

Our committee's position is that the producer, the rural community and the country banker, are so interdependent that they must be considered as one. All are completely dependent on farm income. The withdrawal of human and financial resources from agriculture does not answer the agricultural problem.

Presently, country bank loans, earnings—and expenses—are at an alltime high. As one of the members of our committee put it recently, and I quote, "On the surface, we never had it so good, but expanded credit cannot much longer serve as a substitute for adequate earnings in agriculture." Our committee believes that a higher price level for agriculture's production is the key factor in any attempted solution of the farm problem.

Let's project a bit on the basis of today's price trends in agriculture and other segments of the economy. A U.S. Department of Agriculture official estimates that gross farm income in 1975 will be $41 billion, compared to an estimated $39.6 billion in 1961. The increase, then, in the next 13 years, is estimated to total $1.4 billion.

Now let's look for a moment at a projection of gross national product, the value of all goods and services produced annually. The 1960 total was $504.4 billion. It's estimated the total will be $787.8 billion in 1970, and increase of $283.4 billion. It's evident that agriculture's increase of $1.4 billion is a pitifully small portion of the total.

I mention these projections to emphasize my conviction that agriculture must have better prices for its products.

We country bankers can see the handwriting on the wall. The depression in agriculture has forced farmers to increase their borrowing. The borrowing always is in anticipation of future profits, but the sad fact is that repayment often is made from liquidation of assets accumulated in prior years. I know this is happening every time a farmer brings in savings bonds to pay off a loan.

The declining farm population and depressed condition in agriculture is today's problem but it can be closely related, if the condition continues, to the big banking problem of the 1970's, which is the threatened disapearance of hundreds of small independent banks in the poorer farm communities. Move the people from the farms and you also remove the banks and other service institutions. There is no need for them then.

If the CED proposal became reality, it's likely that country banks would be little more than service stations for the large city banks by 1970. In fact, it is probable that many customers would bypass the local bank. They would go directly to the larger centers where a larger number of service institutions is located.

Recently a noted agricultural economist warned, and I quote, "The farmers came to the prairies before the towns and when the farmers are gone there will be no further need for the towns."

Pushing farmers off the land at the rate of 400,000 a year to take jobs in manufacturing doesn't make good sense. There are 1½ million fewer jobs in industry today than there were just 7 years ago. The CED recommendations would produce a net economic loss to the total economy. Our economy cannot afford to go backwards.

We in the Independent Bankers Association ask ourselves, "Can the erosion of 2 million farm families in a period of 5 years as projected by CED be considered anything but abnormal attrition by any stretch of the imagination." The proposal creates a dangerous and difficult condition, one that it seems our economy is incapable of coping with.

Is it possible that this report sees an opportunity of flooding the labor market, making it easier for the managers of our large industries to deal with organized labor.

Up to now in rural America, the county seat towns and those ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 population have suffered only moderately. This is primarily because of the decline of the relatively smaller communities. Their loss has been the larger communities gain. This loss has been going on almost unnoticed but the drop in farm income over the past several years has made shoppers out of farmers and they are ranging out to the larger communities to spend their money. From now on the larger rural communities in the 1,000 to 5,000 population bracket will begin to lose important service organizations. The erosion on Main Street will no longer be insidious and in small pieces. As these towns lose a major implement dealer or a drugstore or a doctor or a bank, and become less efficient than the neighboring small cities in providing goods and services to farmers, the distintegration will become glaringly obvious and the loss will be in chunks. Our organization takes the position that the CED proposal is both economically and socially wrong and that it will ultimately plague the Nation with its most severe economic problem.

It has been demonstrated in the past that when agriculture is sick for a long period, its ailment infects all other segments of the economy. Unless agriculture can be put into a better economic condition this country is in for the worst depression that it has ever seen. The CED proposals would further depress agriculture.

This association has stood strong over the years in opposition to the merging or branching of banks. It now is apparent that it must stand as the strong friend of the farmer in a fight for survival of not only the farm family but of our independent banking system, which is in danger of losing its lifeblood, the people it serves.

In concluding my remarks, let me urge that you reject the CED report. It is morally, socially, and economically unfair to the people in rural America, and unworkable in this country.

Let us develop an agriculture, working shoulder to shoulder as an indispensable part of a dynamic and fully employed and fully operating national economy with relative prosperity for every segment. Let us devise means whereby our economy does not cheat the true producer of wealth in this country. Let us develop price and profit for farm commodities and farm production.

By doing this we can achieve a huge bonus of output and income by making full use of all our resources, raw material, human and financial. We can provide full employment, full plant capacity, balance the budget, and commence retirement of some of the national debt.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee for the privilege of appearing before you.

## Liberia's 115 Years—"Here We Will Remain"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 115th birthday of the founding of the Republic of Liberia, Ambassador Peal welcomed over 600 guests at a reception given at the Embassy. During the festivities, the Ambassador stated that:

It has been a great pleasure for Mrs. Peal and me to have you with us to help celebrate our national day. I need hardly tell you the great significance all Liberians attach to this day. But I do want to say that we are particularly happy to celebrate today as we reflect on the frontier of freedom extended in Africa since our own was declared 115 years ago—long years in which by dint of courage and perseverance, we held the lone torch of freedom that glowed in Africa.

Ambassador Peal expressed the hope that those assembled had enjoyed the Liberian music and the Liberian national anthem, sung by the Peace Corps trainees at Pittsburgh University who are to take up their duties in Liberia later this year.

The Ambassador then introduced the following poem by explaining:

In 1822, when our Founding Fathers, after much fruitless voyaging along the west coast of Africa reached Providence Island—Liberia's Plymouth Rock—there was a moment of doubt and hesitation as to whether this was indeed the place where their settlement should be established. One of the little band, Elijah Johnson, rallied the rest of the group by saying, "I have sought a home in vain for 2 years. Here I have found one and here I shall remain."

The poem follows:

They dragged their precious cargo up the beach
They waded through the breakers for the shore.
Here was the prize, at last within their reach,
The guerdon they had prayed and voyaged for.

The sea's wild music echoed their refrain:
"For two long years we sought a home in vain.
Here found we one, and here we will remain."

On the wet rocks, their sodden bales they laid,
Before them, which their hands must hew and hack,
The towering forest's tangled barricade
And the Gulf's league-long thunder at their back.

Yet still the wild wind echoed their refrain:
"For two long years we sought a home in vain.
Here found we one, and here we will remain."

And now the lone ship's glinting sails are gone.
A nation's history wavers at its start.
Naught is there now for hope to build upon.
Naught but the strong arm and the sturdy heart,

Naught but the grim resolve of that refrain:
"For two long years we sought a home in vain.
Here found we one, and here we will remain."

Firm against phantom terrors they must stand,
Ghost adversaries, nameless and unknown,
The sudden, secret fevers of the land
Which shrank the flesh and agonized the bone.

From dying lips there died not the refrain:
"For two long years we sought a home in vain.
Here found we one, and here we will remain."

From leaf-built shelters which the wind threw down
And huts the midnight deluge washed away
Grew, mortised with their sufferings, a town.
Out of their yesterdays grew our today.

Louder and stronger swells that old refrain:
"Too long our fathers sought a home in vain.
Here found they one, and here we will remain."

## Representative Fulton's Stand on H.R. 12580

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 20, 1962, I left for Patrick Air

Force Base at Cape Canaveral, Fla., on official business of the House Science and Astronautics Committee. This was in connection with the Mariner I Venus launch, and a meeting with Pratt & Whitney executive and research organization in regard to the difficulties encountered on the Centaur hydrogen engine program.

Had I been able to be present, I would have voted "aye" on rollcall No. 169 on the passage of H.R. 12580, the State, Justice, Commerce appropriations bill.

## Support for the Wilderness Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, in its issue of August 8, the Courier-News, of Plainfield, N.J., a Gannett newspaper, included an editorial expressing strong support for the wilderness bill. In straightforward and unequivocal language, the editorial makes an effective presentation of the principal reasons this legislation is needed. It is a position shared, I believe, by the great majority of our people who understand the principles of conservation.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial and I join the editors of this outstanding New Jersey newspaper in calling upon our colleagues of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to bring this important bill to the floor for action:

WILDERNESS BILL

Among the major bills pending in Congress is the Wilderness Act which was passed by the Senate in a 78-to-8 vote last September. The proposed act, which would "establish a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people," is still in the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. There is opposition to the bill from diehard commercial interests. There is strong support for the bill on the part of those who know that once the remaining wilderness is invaded, the trees are cut and roads are built, it can never again be restored to its primary state.

The bill would erect statutory barriers to the commercial exploitation of the tracts now designated by administrative ruling as "'wilderness," "wild," "canoe" and "primitive" within the national forests. Most of such remaining land is in the Western States. Some of those opposed to the bill feel that its provisions are too protective and would exclude great numbers of persons from the use and enjoyment of the land.

In support of the bill, Idaho's Senator FRANK CHURCH made this statement regarding its purpose: "I think the wilderness bill will go down as one of the great conservation measures * * *. If it becomes law, we will have preserved, for now and for generations unborn, areas of unspoiled, pristine wilderness, accessible by a system of trails, unmarred by roads or buildings, but open to the considerate use and enjoyment of hikers, mountain climbers, hunters, fishermen, and trail riders ,and of all those who find in high and lonely places, a refreshment of the spirit, and life's closest communion with God."

There is a poetic appeal in Senator CHURCH'S words. There is a practical side too. We have seen what happens when trails are widened into highways and commercial interests and people move in. The area simply isn't wilderness any more.

We favor the wilderness bill. We would like to see the House get it out of committee and act on it favorably.

## Address of Chairman Swidler of the Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Joseph C. Swidler, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, recently addressed the American Bar Association meeting in San Francisco on "The Challenge of Natural Gas Regulations."

Chairman Swidler who has made significant improvements in the operations of this very important Commission presented to the bar association a strong case for further improvement in hearing procedures before the Commission. In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I insert Chairman Swidler's remarks at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE CHALLENGE OF NATURAL GAS REGULATION

(By Joseph C. Swidler, Chairman, Federal Power Commission)

The title announced for this talk, which I selected months before I knew I was going to say, is broad enough to cover anything remotely touching upon the Federal Power Commission's functions in natural gas regulation. Perhaps I should disclose to you now that the corner of this very large field which I shall dwell upon today is the need for improvement in hearing procedures before the Commission.

The current interest in improving administration procedures represents a healthy reaction to the increasingly apparent need for administrative reform. On all sides there are demands that the procedures in each agency be reviewed critically and objectively with a view to putting into effect whatever reforms may be required to enable them to do their jobs in their particular areas of activities. The establishment by President Kennedy of the Administrative Conference, under the leadership of Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, is perhaps the most important and potentially useful of the many current approaches to administrative improvement. Through the Administrative Conference it is possible to bring to bear upon the problems of Federal administrative agencies the insights and talents of practitioners, judges, and scholars as well as of the responsible officials of administrative agencies.

I do not mean to slight the study and effort which were devoted in the middle 1940's to the problem of insuring an impartial disposition of cases before administrative tribunals. As a result of this effort, Congress passed the Administrative Procedure Act, which dealt primarily with the problem of the fairness of the administrative process, and particularly with insulating the administrative process in contested proceedings from external pressures.

The present focus is on the efficiency of the administrative process. There need be nothing inconsistent between the objective of fairness in administrative adjudication and the objective of conducting the proceeding in such a way as to make the best possible use of agency staff and of the counsel and witnesses of the litigants, and to bring the case to a conclusion as soon as the nature of the case permits. On the contrary, a speedy trial is a basic element of fairness in any proceeding and in many types of administrative hearings it is just as true as in judicial hearings that justice delayed is justice denied.

Delays feeds on itself. After a segmented and protracted hearing the facts which were proven are likely to be out of date by the time the case is ready for decision. The "test year" upon which the case has been tried has become ancient history. According to their interests, counsel will urge disposition on a stale record or holding further hearing to consider later operating periods. The hearing examiner, or the Commission itself, is faced with the dilemma of making a decision on a record which is out of date or of starting the case on a new round of hearings.

The natural gas cases before the Federal Power Commission are too important to be permitted to drag on over the years. They are among the most important cases decided before any adjudicative tribunal in the country, judicial or administrative, except for courts of review. Natural gas rate cases involve the gas bills of 34 million consumers throughout the country. The sums of money at stake in rate suspensions in individual cases may accumulate with time so as to be the controlling factor in the financial strength of interstate pipelines and may strongly affect the value of the securities of the many thousands of stockholders in these companies. In the past year, there have been disposed of over a dozen pipeline rate cases each of which involved rate increases of more than $5 million annually collected subject to possible refund. We have still pending before the Commission one pipeline rate case in which the sums collected subject to refund over a period of years approaches the staggering figure of $400 million, and the amount increases at the rate of $9 million a month.

It is obvious that extended delay in these proceedings may cause great damage to all concerned. A company cannot plan its future with assurance and investors cannot determine the value of its securities when the potential refund obligation is equal to a large part of the equity capital. Consumers who have been forced to pay inflated gas bills for many years find little comfort in refund prospects which are hedged with contingencies, including the ability of the consumer to survive until the refunds are ordered and paid.

The aggregate of money collected by the interstate natural gas pipelines subject to refund in cases pending before the Federal Power Commission is still over $900 million, despite the success of the Commission's settlement program, because the accretion of additional amounts in the remaining cases almost offsets the large amounts involved in the cases which have been settled or decided. There are also pending certificate applications for a billion dollars of pipeline construction. This figure has smaller significance than the refund figure because much of the pipeline construction is covered by temporary authorizations, and some of the rest may represent duplicate facilities or may be disallowed for other reasons. There can be no doubt, however, as to the necessity for speedy disposition of FPC rate and certificate proceedings which have such a broad impact on a basic industry and the consumers it serves.

I am happy to be able to report that we are moving steadily to dispose of the mountain of pending pipeline rate cases and have in recent months ordered refunds of approximately $150 million including one individual case in which the refunds exceeded $40 million. The Commission is determined to clear up its existing backlog of cases and to revise its hearing procedures to insure that future cases are handled with dispatch.

I had the pleasure a few months ago of speaking to the members of the Federal Power Bar Association to which many of you here belong. In my talk I spoke of the vital role of the examiners in moving our cases along with dispatch. The handful of men in the Office of Examiners of the Federal Power Commission are basic to the discharge of the Commission's work.

I take this occasion to say that one of the most important contributions which Congress could make to the improvement in the administrative process would be to provide for adequate compensation to examiners in agencies such as the Federal Power Commission where the responsibilities of the examiners are so great and the benefits of improvement would mean so much to the public and to the great industries under FPC regulation. All of the suggestions for administrative reform assume an even greater degree of control of administrative proceedings by the examiner. Implicit in these recommendations is a basis of compensation which will make it possible to hold the excellent examiners already on our staff, and to attract candidates for examiner positions in whom the Commission could safely lodge broad additional responsibilities.

In my talk before the Federal Power bar I also spoke of the need for the cooperation of the bar in eliminating wasted time and inflated transcripts in proceedings before the Commission. I urge practitioners to exercise restraint in introducing cumulative testimony and proof of limited or doubtful probative value. I urged a double dose of restraint in cross-examination, and especially with respect to evidence which might better have been dispensed with in the first place, pointing out that there was no point to loading a record with a mountain of material which a detached appraisal by counsel at the outset would have convinced him was most unlikely to be of controlling importance in winning his case, whether before the Commission or the courts.

Let me add on this score that cases before the Federal Power Commission are not likely to be won on technicalities. The Commission is just as much impressed with a solid point of law or of administrative policy whether it is based on 10 pages of record or a thousand and its conclusions of law and findings on the facts are not likely to be swayed by cumulative testimony no matter how elaborately developed. Extended arguments with expert witnesses in an effort to persuade them of the falseness of the theories upon which they have built their professional lives add bulk but not light to a transcript. Cross-examination of an expert witness on his qualifications or his testimony, of the kind used in attempting to sway a jury to discount what he says, is wasted in an FPC proceeding.

Sometimes the Commission finds in cases which have been in hearing for many months that basic issues have not been raised and important factual areas have not been touched upon, so that the Commission is required to send the case back for further hearings. We have been forced to conclude that mass cannot be equated with thoroughness or completeness and may in fact represent a poor alternative for a carefully thought-out presentation of a complete basic case.

Let me describe for you the tortuous hearing course of one of our rate cases. The original filing was made in February of 1957. The first hearings were held in April of 1957, recessed to July and continued off and on through the remainder of 1957. Hearings were held in January and February of 1958. The hearings then recessed again to October when a further recess until December was granted, and then yet another recess was granted until January and then further postponed to March, April, and May of 1959. Hearings were finally resumed during May of 1959 and then recessed until September.

Three days of hearings were held in September and then the case was recessed until November, at which time it was further postponed to December. In December of 1959 the record was closed on one issue and an examiner's decision on this issue was rendered in May of 1961. The Commission twice heard oral argument on this one issue and issued its final decision in February of 1962. The rest of this case, I regret to say, is still with us.

There is something radically wrong with this way of conducting a rate case. This was a complex case, true enough, but it was not that difficult, nor is its history unique. No one who participated has great reason for pride in the way the case has been handled thus far. I say this although all the counsel involved were able and dedicated and the examiner dealt skillfully with many issues in an elaborate record. The fault was not the fault of the individuals but of the system, or rather lack of system.

Our staff made a recent study of rate investigations, rate filings and abandonment applications. This study showed that from the date of filing to a final decision, it has taken an average of 1,782 days on rate investigations initiated by the Commission, 1,865 days on filings by pipelines for increased rates, and even in abandonment cases, which should be reasonably simple, it has taken an average of 493 days. The average rate investigation has accumulated 3,172 pages of transcript and 868 pages of exhibits. Any system which requires so much time for decision and such voluminous records must contain ample room for improvement.

What happened in these and similar proceedings is water over the dam, or perhaps to this audience I should say gas flared to the atmosphere. It becomes now our responsibility to distill the lesson from what has happened, and to avoid additional administrative monstrosities in the future.

The first conclusion one reaches from a study of the lugubrious record of the case whose 5-year history I have just reviewed, and of many similar cases, is that they were not planned that way; they just drifted. There was no early definition of the issues; there was no broad stipulation of the readily provable facts; there was no collaboration among the parties on the presentation of proof; there was no schedule of the presentation of testimony; there was no target date for each of the steps and for completion. Without such advance planning and preparation and without advance arrangements for cooperation in the presentation of the case, it is inevitable that there will be waste motion, confusion and delay, most of which could have been avoided by a well organized prehearing conference at the inception of the case.

The Commission has long recognized the need for improvement in prehearing conference procedure. In November 1959, the Commission promulgated its Order No. 217 providing for the use of prehearing conferences and the early designation of the presiding examiner. However, Order No. 217 has not been invoked and the attempts to use prehearing conferences have been without great success. I do not know every factor which militated against successful use of such conferences, but I can point out some of the reasons they did not work.

In the first place, I am told that the parties who attended the few conferences that were held went into them with little preparation. Few of the parties were well enough prepared to be willing to agree to the undisputed facts, to identify the issues, or even to plan for an orderly hearing. Moreover, some of the participating counsel seemed to think of an administrative proceeding as a contest in the courtroom skills of counsel. They wanted to save their ammunition to ambush the opposition at the hearing, rather than to lay their forensic guns on the conference table and devote themselves to simplifying and expediting the process of bringing out all the relevant facts.

In addition, examiners were compelled to supervise the prehearing conference with little or no knowledge of the case and, being saddled with a predetermined hearing date, no room in which to operate with the degree of flexibility which I believe is the very essence of a successful use of the prehearing procedure. The prehearing conference was thus merely the anteroom to the hearing maze.

The Commission now proposes to revitalize the prehearing conference procedure. We are impressed by the fact that almost every group that has sought for ways to improve administrative procedures has agreed not only that the prehearing conference can be made a valuable part of the decisional process, but that it is essential to the prompt and effective disposition of complex cases, the kind which abound in the work of the Federal Power Commission. Order No. 217 was adopted as a result of suggestions by the American Bar Association and the Federal Power bar. The House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight strongly recommended that agencies make use of this procedure. Senator CARROLL's Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practices and Procedure also recommended it and the existing Administrative Conference, on which I am serving as a member, has under consideration strong proposals for more effective use of prehearing conferences.

It appears, therefore, that there is general agreement that prehearing conferences should be beneficial if we can make use of them properly. In order to make a prehearing conference procedure work we must first understand its objectives and then determine precisely how to achieve them.

I believe the first objective of a prehearing conference is to give every party an opportunity to know and evaluate the positions of the other parties. Its purpose is to eliminate the surprise element, which, I submit, has no place in administrative proceedings, and which is being progressively restricted even in Federal court proceedings under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, as well as in the courts of many of the States. The obligation of the parties in a prehearing conference is to identify the genuine and substantial issues, to reject the spurious ones at the outset, to stipulate all the relevant facts which cannot honestly be controverted, to arrange for the reconciliation of factual differences where this is feasible, and to list the key matters in factual dispute which can only be resolved in a hearing.

Matters which can be fully investigated and resolved without open trial should be eliminated from the hearing.

As a basic step to attaining these objectives, Prof. A. J. G. Priest, of the University of Virginia Law School, in his report to the Administrative Conference, emphasizes the importance of identifying the big case at the outset, and of the use of the prehearing conference device in these cases. His advice is especially pertinent to the FPC because we have so many big cases and also because we have already perfected techniques for disposing of the routine cases expeditiously. The big cases, once identified, must be assigned to the examiner at once so as to enable him to provide the necessary control

of the proceedings. With the examiner in control, Professor Priest suggests that there must be early definitions of the issues, confinement of discovery within the boundaries of the defined issues, and careful procedural planning.

These are excellent suggestions and I agree with all of them, but to make them work the pleadings must be adequate to permit detailed case analysis when the prehearing conference is held. This has not been required in the past in FPC proceedings, and this defect we propose to remedy. The Federal Power Commission, with the advice of all interested parties, is revising its regulations to provide that original pipeline rate filings shall contain sufficient information to allow all parties to a proceeding to identify the difficult cases, the issues therein, and to prepare their own cases with dispatch. As many of you know, our proposed new rules provide that pipeline rate filings must be so complete as to provide in substance the pipeline's case-in-chief, should suspension of the filing prove necessary. On the basis of the applicant's exhibits and the supporting testimony, our staff and all interveners should at an early date prepare and file their own rebuttal exhibits and testimony.

As soon as our staff is ready to present its answer to the filed information of the applicant, an examiner should be assigned but no hearing date should be set.

The examiner could then call a prehearing conference, confident that an analysis of all the submitted evidence will refine and reduce to a minimum the issues which he must decide. Once assigned, the examiner would be in control. If it appeared at the first prehearing conference that some necessary evidence was missing, he could call a short recess to obtain that evidence and then resume the conference. As soon as he felt the issues and evidence had been refined as far as possible, he could set a date for a hearing confined to those matters on which cross-examination appeared to be necessary.

Where analysis of the issues and comparison of the testimony revealed that the differences were small, or lent themselves to compromise, there would be no point to proceeding to trial. The exercise of complete control of the proceedings by a competent examiner who fully understands the unresolved issues is extremely important in deciding for the parties whether a trial or settlement conference is more appropriate as a next step.

I make a final suggestion for expediting hearings which may come as a shock to those of you who have become accustomed to recesses as a way of life in FPC hearings. I suggest a single continuous hearing directed to full cross-examination of all witnesses presented by all parties. Of course, the examiner would have wide discretion in handling the hearing and he might, where circumstances warranted, make use of during-the-hearing conferences. In general, however, once the prehearing conference has been concluded and the hearing scheduled and begun, counsel would be expected to present their entire case without substantial interruption for the preparation of testimony or cross-examination.

It seems to me that the use of continuous hearings is a logical outgrowth of the full filings now required by our regulations and of a revitalized and flexible prehearing conference procedure. Following a full presentation of a written case and an exploration of all issues in a prehearing conference, a continuous hearing should be less burdensome than in a court trial, where a continuous hearing is taken as a matter of course.

It should be clear that the procedure in which all parties will prepare their direct case in advance of a single continuous hearing will greatly de-emphasize the role of cross-examination in the proceedings before the Federal Power Commission. This, in my judgment, will be all to the good. I do not mean to say that cross-examination is not an important part of the adversary process but I believe there has been far too much reliance by counsel on the use of cross-examination for making their own case. The new procedures will also have the salutary effect of forcing counsel for all parties to present their facts in a more orderly and concise manner.

Improvement in administrative adjudication means a constant search for improvement at every step of a proceeding. All who participate in a proceeding must be alert to take advantage of opportunities large or small to do a quicker or better job than we are now doing. The small improvements are important in total, but we cannot rely on them alone. We must also be willing to consider and adopt such major and radical changes as I have proposed.

Administrative reform cannot be achieved by any one device or strategem. It can only result from an unremitting drive for excellence in every phase of the administrative process. An administrative agency is a unit. If the agency as a whole is deeply motivated to achieve a high standard of performance the results will show at every stage of its work including the conduct of its hearings. Conversely an agency operating on slack standards is not likely to be a model in the handling of its caseload. The Federal Power Commission is aiming at a high quality of administrative performance in every aspect of its work.

I do not doubt that the practitioners before the Federal Power Commission will have their problems of adjusting to the new procedures and quickened pace, many of which they themselves have long advocated. The bar which practices before the Commission is an integral part of the machinery for the discharge of the Commission's adjudicative functions. The bar and the Commission must now help each other in the quest for a system of administrative justice in natural gas cases of which we can all be proud.

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## Remarks of Rev. John J. Jakubielski, 30th Anniversary of the General Joseph Haller Post 125, Polish Army Veterans Association of America, South Bend, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts of an address delivered recently by an outstanding citizen of my State, the Reverend John J. Jakubielski, pastor of the Sacred Heart Church of South Bend, Ind.

Father Jakubielski's address was delievered on the occasion of a banquet marking the 30th anniversary of the General Joseph Haller Post 125, Polish Army Veterans Association of America.

Father Jakubielski is a priest who serves his own parish well. He is also a man who has contributed to the life of the entire community by his fine work with young people. It was because of his experience in working with youth that I was pleased this year to recommend that Father Jakubielski be named a member of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. On April 18, 1962, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, as Chairman, announced that Father Jakubielski was appointed a special adviser to the President's Committee which was established under the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act of 1961, of which I was sponsor in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, Father Jakubielski's remarks follow:

REMARKS OF REV. JOHN J. JAKUBIELSKI TO POLISH ARMY VETERANS ASSOCIATION, SOUTH BEND, IND.

January 20, 1961, was one of those historic days in the annals of American history. It was the occasion when in the Capital City of our great country a new President officially took office, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. In his historic inaugural address the President made this pointed remark as a challenge to his fellow Americans and to citizens of every nation in the world, "Fellow Americans: Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country. Fellow citizens of the world: Ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man."

Truly the occasion of today's festivities lends itself to this challenging admonition of a great American, our Commander in Chief. In the very year that our youthful President was born, nearly 45 years ago, a group of courageous Americans of Polish extraction took up, literally, this challenge of our President to seek "what together we can do for the freedom of man." At a time of gravest need and opportunity, these men sprang forward in the noble traditions of their forefathers, seeking to obtain and to defend the cause of freedom with their lives. These soldiers, impressed with our American way of life and firm in their conviction of the freedom of man, banded together as an army under Gen. Jozef Haller to fight for a free and independent Poland on the side of the Allies in World War I in France. And though their efforts met with a measure of success, today, unfortunately, this Poland, much against her will, finds herself a satellite under a godless dictatorship.

GENERAL HALLER'S ARMY

These veterans of General Haller's army are particularly close to my heart because two of my favorite uncles, having lived prosperously in this country for several years, volunteered to fight for the cause of freedom for their native Poland. One of them remained in Poland after the First World War and became a successful farmer. When 4 years ago I had the privilege to visit him in Poland he told me in words that will forever ring in my ears his appreciation of the blessings of America, "Of my 65 years I truly lived only 5 years." Of course, he meant the 5 years spent in America.

This wasn't an indictment of Poland but it was to me a convincing and sincere admission that ours, the United States of America, is the greatest country, the greatest republic in the history of mankind. Our Nation holds in trust the last hope of a free civilization—and it is your task and mine to keep it so.

TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE FREEDOM

As we recount the noble deeds and sacrifices of the volunteers in General Haller's army, we must realize our sacred responsibility to protect and preserve the sacred heritage of freedom. History bears out the truth that liberty once won must constantly be defended.

We salute our heroes who paid for every inch of ground with their courage and their lives. We salute those who left all they held dear in life to make the world a better place to live in.

In spirit the honored dead seem to say to us, "It was not easy thus to die, to feel the loneliness of pain, but O tell us, won't you, that it was not in vain?"

We fought two major wars in the last generation, World War I to make the world safe for democracy; then the tragic event of Pearl Harbor in 1941 which brought America's entry into World War II and cost the lives of 400,000 courageous Americans fired up with the ideal to once and for all end all wars.

Yet, today we are not safe and cannot afford to be complacent. Deadly enemies continue to challenge the right of Americans to live in freedom and dignity under God. The enemy that plagues us from within is the serious weakening of moral and spiritual fiber in our society, and from without we are at war with the Communists.

DOUBLING OF CRIME IN UNITED STATES

I spoke of the enemy ffom within. During the past decade a recent report shows that crime has nearly doubled across the United States, outpacing the growth of our population at the rate of 4 to 1. Crime is no respector of age, race or creed. America's juvenile lawlessness is directly traceable to the failure of parents and adults to meet their moral obligations. Let us never forget that a loose state of morals, a corrupted conscience is incompatible with true freedom. It destroys the American traditions of honesty, integrity, and fairplay. Is it any wonder that the Father of our Country, George Washington, gave as advice that we "ever keep alive in our breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience."

The founders of our country were men of faith and trust in God. The Declaration of Independence which we cherish contains within itself another document, a declaration of dependence—for it affirms that this country trusts in God.

From without the deadly menace to our way of life is the hammer and sickle and the United States is its prize target. Communism is more than just an economic, political, social, or philosophical doctrine. It is another way of life, it is 20th-century slavery, stripping man of his belief in God, his heritage of freedom, his trust in love, justice and mercy.

The picture of a Communist America cannot be overdrawn. It could happen here and there are people in this country even working to make it happen here. When the Communist Party was at its peak in the United States (80,000 in 1944), it was stronger in numbers than the Soviet Party was at the time it seized power in Russia. Each of the Soviet satellites disclose how a well-organized band of revolutionaries can impose its rule over the majority population. William Z. Foster, former national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States in dedicating his book said, "To my great-grandson, who will live in a Communist United States." And who hasn't heard that favorite boast, "We will bury you"?

More than 20 years ago Bishop Sheen, then a monsignor, not a prophet but an excellent student of history, declared in a radio address: "Mark these words: the enemy of the world in the near future is going to be Russia, which is playing democracies against dictators and dictators against democracies; which is using peace when it can and war when it must; and is preparing when Europe is exhausted from war, to sweep over it like a vulture, to drink its blood and make away with the spoils."

PRICE OF LIBERTY

I don't like to be an alarmist but someone once said, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." In this hour of grim challenge, in this age of national peril, a struggle between freedom and enslavement, we must want peace but not peace at any price. We must say with J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, "I would rather be dead than Red."

Our great American patriots would have us know that fear, apologies, defeatism are alien to the thinking of true Americans. That is why Patrick Henry asks the searching question: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?"

Or, as Benjamin Franklin declared, "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty, nor safety."

Men like these we honor today, these veterans and all our war dead, say to us in spirit, keep your heads up, looking for honorable solutions and selling America rather than keeping your heads down, looking for shelters and the compromise of human rights. It means buckling down to some serious business. The famous boast, "We will bury you," shouldn't cause us to tremble. We need fear only fear itself.

THE CHALLENGE OF SURVIVAL

If we are strong enough morally and physically, if we care enough, we will meet the challenge of survival. Let us put God more and better into our daily way of life if we hope to heal our moral illness. You can't preach morality and practice inmorality. You can't just follow the line of least resistance or make a cafeteria style selection of God's laws. I'll obey only if it suits me, if it doesn't rub against my grain. It means to do more than just use slogans like "In God We Trust," as our coins state, and then to place our vote of confidence in everyone and everything else but God. It means that we will better appreciate living in the greatest Republic in the history of mankind, that we will exhibit in more positive ways the value and superiority of our form of government over any foreign ideology.

It means that we accept the challenge of survival, that each of us to his fullest capacity will shoulder the burden.

One American hero said something all of us could remember: "We cannot do more than our duty; we would not wish to do less."

Please God, give us the courage to accept the unselfish admonition of our First Citizen—"Fellow Americans. Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country."

## Regulations Run Riot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that the public is alarmed with the expansion of regulatory power of the Government over an increasing number of areas that have operated in a free and effective fashion.

The public is beginning to understand that Government regulations, even under the guise of benevolence, bring controls that are detrimental, costly, cumbersome and, in the end, develop conditions that are contrary to the expressed expansion offered by proponents of good government.

This type of opinion is excellently illustrated in an editorial which appeared in the Blue Island Sun-Standard of Thursday, August 2, entitled "Regulations Run Riot" which I place into the RECORD at this point, as a concise, clear-cut commentary that deserves attention.

The editorial follows:

REGULATIONS RUN RIOT

There are influential groups in this country, numbering among their ranks men in high office, whose major goal is to interject the regulatory power of the Government more and more into the affairs of citizens. The philosophy back of this would seem to be that many, perhaps most, consumers are incompetents who don't know what they want or whether the're being stung or not.

Take, as an example, the proposal to establish a Department of Consumers. This new Cabinet-level authority would investigate production, distribution, prices for goods and services, the quality and suitability of goods, and "the degree to which the trade and commerce of the United Stats succeeds in satisfying consumer needs for goods and services."

In other words, practically the whole economy of the country would be under investigation—and, unless past precedent is meaningless, this would be followed by demands for regulations of every conceivable kind. The end result would be that producers and sellers would no longer be free to make and distribute what they felt consumers wanted, and consumers would no longer be free to buy what they wanted, unless a Government bureau agreed with their judgment.

Freedom of choice is a fundamental freedom. Excessive, needless regulation is its eternal enemy.

## Medford's Amelia Earhart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, on July 24, 1962, I introduced H.R. 12678, legislation which directs the Postmaster General to issue a special postage stamp in commemoration of the memory of Amelia Earhart. In a recent resolution addressed to the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee, the Medford City Council stated:

All the citizens of Medford join in a united effort to pay due homage to Miss Earhart's memory. Medford was the home of Miss Earhart and members of her family are among this community's most respected citizens. Medford is proud of the brilliant record she compiled as a true pioneer of the air age.

The city of Medford, which I am honored to represent in the Congress, has claim to Amelia Earhart as she made her home there. However, all Americans may claim Amelia Earhart as a national symbol of the American pioneering spirit and aviation heritage. The mystery of Amelia Earhart's death has led to important discoveries and new procedures in air-sea rescues. The following excerpts are from an article by Macon Reed which was printed in the July 14, 1962, edition of Navy Times, concerns a heretofore unpublished report by the Coast Guard officers whose ship was sent to the island where Miss Earhart was to have landed. After reading the article, one gains greater under-

standing as to how much a breakdown in communications between those working on the flight led to her disaster:

COAST GUARD REPORT—SECRET FOR 25 YEARS—ADDS TO EARHART MYSTERY

(By Macon Reed)

In 1937, the age of the heroic airplane flight was coming to an end. It was 10 years since Lindbergh had flown the Atlantic. Byrd's pilots had long since flown him over both North and South Poles. The exploits of Post and Gatty were deep in the pages of history.

But Amelia Earhart was still going. She, too, had flown the Atlantic and brought off other achievements. She was a world figure and a national hero in the waning age of pioneer aeronautics.

The era was not quite over. There was room in it for just about one more first-class, top-headline stunt flight, around-the-world flight by Amelia Earhart, who had married a book publisher, George Palmer Putnam.

Only now, 25 years after one of aviation's most written about tragedies, is the story of this tragedy as seen by Thompson being made public. He found himself suddenly thrown into the most intimate connection with the event.

While still at sea a few days afterward, he wrote his story. It was stamped confidential and shut away from public view.

In connection with the 25th anniversary (July 2) of the Earhart tragedy, the file and associated papers were made available to Navy Times.

The story contains no senational new theories about Miss Earhart's fate. But it conveys a sensation, a feeling of a buildup of uncertainty and confusion, building up from that first uncertain message from division about her communication plans, building upand up to the last climatic uncertainty that came out of the morning sky over Howland, a message putting Miss Earhart either northwest or southeast of Howland, with nobody knowing which nor how far out.

The responsibility for guessing landed squarely on the shoulders of the late Warner Keith Thompson. Whether he guessed right or wrong, nobody can ever know. But he could not sail *Itasca* both northwest and southeast at the same time.

And no ship but *Itasca* was within 1,000 miles.

Thompson let his communications log tell his story. Messages to and from the ship, day by day, hour by hour.

Any number of questions arise from the *Itasca* story. Why were Miss Earhart's transmissions so infrequent and fragmentary? Why did she never at any point give *Itasca* a position? There's indication that her transmitters were working but her receivers were not. If so, curious that she didn't say so early in the game.

Why didn't she come up on 500? If she had, *Itasca* might have been able to give her a homing on that one message she is known to have got from the ship.

*Itasca*, by the way, was being heard all over the Pacific all night; no question of any transmission failure on that end.

Why was the Thompson story sealed up for 25 years?

It had a couple of caustic comments, one directed at Miss Earhart, a mild one at Black and Hampton and Putnam, as we have noted, and some pretty sharp ones about ham radio operators, whom he believed had confused him with "criminally false transmissions."

At this distance the report looks harmless, but perhaps in the excitement of the times his comments could have been explosive.

To what extent was the report really confidential?

There's evidence that every one of its 106 pages at some time was photographed with the "Confidential" label covered.

One Paul Mantz, an associate of Miss Earhart, asked Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940 to get him permission to look at the report.

She interceded with the Coast Guard and the permission was given.

There were some pencil marks in the margins, with the word "include" written several times.

At one place the word "omit" was penciled, and the marked sentence was:

"The Navy direction finder on Howland was powered by Itasca's gun batteries, which ran down during the night."

Did Miss Earhart know the Navy direction finder was on Howland?

The San Francisco Division as late as March 1938, said she did not know it was there. How could the Coast Guard, which wasn't being kept very well informed, have known whether she knew or not?

One thing is sure: A failure of communications cost Amelia Earhart her life. There was radio failure on the spot, and perhaps a failure of communications in the larger sense that people didn't know what other people were doing.

For a long time there's been a story around the Coast Guard that Amelia Earhart died because she jettisoned a low-frequency transmitter at Lae. She gambled radio equipment against gasoline and lost.

Thompson's report made no such statement, but he did say this:

"Viewed from the fact that Miss Earhart's flight was largely dependent on radio communications, her attitude toward arrangements was most casual, to say the least."

The report on the affair made 6 months later by the San Francisco Division said that even then nobody had been able to find out what radio equipment Miss Earhart had aboard.

It was pointed out that she knew about the low frequency direction finder. Why didn't she come in on 500 for a bearing? She never did so, and, as the division report added, "did not choose to explain why not."

But put yourself in her position.

Your flight is a success. You are poised on the brink of its climax. But you are doubtful whether you have quite enough gasoline capacity to make it to Howland. You are, as you wrote in your last words at Lae, stripping your plane of everything "unessential." You have a corking good navigator who can probably bring you to Howland blindfolded. You have a direction finder loop, and the *Itasca* will play A's to it, a beacon for you to come home on.

And if all that fails, there's a Navy high-frequency direction finder that—despite the Coast Guard's distrust of it—can get a bearing on you by listening to your normal broadcasting frequencies.

Would you not then see it as a good gamble that you would not need the low-frequency part of your gear, could jettison it and take aboard more gas?

Even without knowledge of the backup high-frequency direction finder, the gamble might have seemed a pretty safe one. And remember, Amelia Earhart was not one to be daunted by risk. There was risk in everything those early aviators did.

So one can adopt the theory of the junking of the low frequency gear—though for all the record shows it is only a guess—and still feel nothing but sympathy for Miss Earhart. She bet. She lost. She paid. All of her flying life she had been well aware, on 1,000 bets before, that it might some day come out that way.

But you can sympathize with the Thompson point of view, and the Coast Guard point of view. If the theory was correct—if there ever was a low-frequency transmitter aboard the plane and if she dropped it at Lae—then she pulled Thompson out into the middle of the Pacific only to tie his hands, leaving him helpless to help her.

This old file is, of course, just one side of a complex story. There were other radio logs—Navy logs, and Pan-American Airways logs, particularly. She did lots of her communicating through Pan-Am.

In March of 1938, Pan-American made some statements that evidently criticized the Coast Guard's handling of the affair. The statements were in a "Pan American Airways System Report on Proposed Joint Rescue Procedures." That report is not in the file, but an answer to it is.

The answer is from Capt. Stanley Parker in San Francisco to the commander of the Hawaiian section, with instructions to show the letter to Pan-Am.

Point 7 of the Parker letter said:

"The statement regarding 'regrettable lack of coordination' might possibly have arisen from differences of opinion between the two civilians and the Itasca's officers, but it is apparent that the entire flight lacked coordination between the assisting vessels and Miss Earhart, and that this was due in a large measure to the fact that the Coast Guard was not consulted by the civilians in charge of the flight.

"This last was due possibly to their own lack of information, as even Mr. Putnam at San Francisco was very poorly informed of flight schedules and actual conditions on the plane.

"The lack of coordination existed from the beginning of the flight between the principals, not the assisting agencies. Had persons who know the meteorological and radio conditions in the Tropics been consulted, and the assisting agencies been given an opportunity to meet personally around the conference table, instead of doing everything half way round the world with extremely poor communications facilities, the chances for a happy ending for the flight would have been infinitely greater."

But, in a sense, there was a happy ending. It was occurring in this very exchange between Pan American and Parker. It was building up a set of agreed procedures for future emergencies.

Agreement came immediately that in future air-sea rescue cases all dates should be given in Greenwich Mean Time.

And more gradually the lessons and the mistakes of this flight and this search became the basis of much of the procedure in air-sea rescues that have saved many lives since then and that are still evolving toward more effective measures.

Miss Earhart flew to advance the interests of aviation. That was her mission. She may not have advanced them, on this last flight, in the manner in which she had envisioned, but advance them she did.

However she came down, she was not a failure.

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

# Appendix

## Retraining Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART**
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 10, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Retraining Farmers" which appeared in the July 29 edition of the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RETRAINING FARMERS

Claude R. Wickard, former Secretary of Agriculture, is right in opposing the retraining of farmers for city jobs.

He believes that such procedure would be "difficult and even inhuman" in the face of unemployment in urban centers.

The agricultural industry is a basic one in our economic setup. It requires specialists, men trained for the task, landowners and employees who like to till the soil and harvest the crops.

The men on our farms are not casual workers that have no fixed residences. They are landowners, permanent residents, in their own way, professionals, experts in their calling.

To uproot them and transplant them in cities and towns to learn new trades and engage in new vocations is nonsensical.

The farmer and his helpers do more than drop seeds in the ground and then let nature take its course. They cope with soil conditions and weather vagaries, they study seeding and cultivating procedures, they acquaint themselves with harvesting methods, and marketing techniques.

Huge crops raised on American farms as a part of our great agricultural industry are the result of the combined efforts of men who have made farming and its allied industries a life's work. They did not result from haphazard and random operations.

The plan of the Committee for Economic Development to train 2 million American farmers for factory and commercial jobs to cure farm problems caused by overproduction is impractical.

It simply amounts to a mass shifting of the population.

Conditions in the farming industry should be remedied to keep the farmer on the land. To transplant him to the city will neither solve his problem nor help him.

Former Secretary Wickard also pointed to a threat to the future farm industry in moving 2 million farmers to the city, namely, the effect which the removal will have on the farm boys and girls who wish "to establish themselves as farm owners and operators."

What incentive is there for them to train themselves for this vocation if the Government proposes to move them to cities and train them to operate lathes and to be clerks and stenographers?

Where will be the source of future farmers? Admittedly, they cannot learn farming on cement streets, in city parks, on parking lots, or in crowded factories.

Russia faces a different predicament. There townspeople have flocked to the farms in such numbers in summer that the Soviet Government and the Communist Party have called on local officials to stop the exodus.

The Soviet decree said the diversion of city workers reduced production in the factories; that the seasonal manpower shifts were "very expensive," and that the use of city workers "resulted in low labor productivity and high production costs."

## West Virginia Glassware Finds Favor With Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson—President of Morgantown (W. Va.) Glassware Guild, Samuel K. Haden, Praises Industry's Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 10, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the glass products industry of West Virginia is a valued and rapidly growing enterprise which contributes toward increased prosperity and opportunity among our citizens. In an area where the hardships of unemployment have been keenly felt, success of the glassware industry provides not only an economic boost, but brings optimism and confidence to the hearts of many.

Some months ago, the Nation's First Lady, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, added significant impetus to the rising popularity of West Virginia glass products during her television tour of the White House. She called attention, in her meaningful explanations, to the beautiful tableware which is used at White House state luncheons and dinners, and which was produced by glassworkers of West Virginia's Monongahela Valley, at Morgantown. Immediately, the demand soared upward.

More recently, still another meaningful recognition has come to the skilled craftsmen of the Mountain State. The wife of the Vice President, Ladybird Johnson, has revealed that she too uses West Virginia glassware in her home.

An article appearing in the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star of August 5 reports that Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson not only adorns her table with West Virginia glass products, but also employs them frequently as gifts. Since the Vice President's wife is widely respected as a lady of charm and taste, her endorsement of West Virginia glass is an added boon.

The Star article quotes Samuel K. Haden, energetic president of the Morgantown (W. Va.) Glassware Guild, and explores effects of the popularity of West Virginia glass products on another progressive State industry: Tourism.

Mr. Haden commented and praised the glass-producing factories for the part they play in drawing increased numbers of tourists to the Upper Monongahela Valley. He said that, "people drive hundreds of miles out of their way to visit the sample rooms in our glass plants."

Mr. President, clearly, the patronage of the land's "First" and "Second" Ladies is showing to good effect in West Virginia.

I request that the article entitled "Mrs. Johnson Also Likes This Glass" appearing in the Sunday Star of August 5 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. JOHNSON ALSO LIKES THIS GLASS

It has not been generally known, but the Nation's "Second Lady," Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, also uses glass tableware produced in West Virginia's Upper Monongahela Valley.

First Lady Mrs. Kennedy's selection of glass tableware from the Morgantown Glassware Guild for use in the White House focused global attention last year on the widespread handcrafted glass industry in West Virginia's Upper Monongahela Valley.

The company producing the simple, beautiful glassware used at White House state luncheons and dinners is only one of nearly 20 firms in the valley. All specialize in the production of hand-pressed, hand-cut, or hand-decorated glass products.

SIMPLE STEWS

Mrs. Johnson uses simple stem goblets and wine glasses from three separate West Virginia firms at her home, the Elms. A prime example of the fine workmanship of the glassmakers is a beautiful heavy crystal ashtray with the Vice Presidential seal that is often given as a wedding gift by Vice President and Mrs. Johnson.

President Samuel K. Haden, of the Morgantown Glassware Guild, reports that thousands of women from throughout the Nation have been swamping the industry with orders for the same tableware being used in the White House. Locally, it is carried at Charles Schwartz & Son on F Street NW.

West Virginia's area plants—located mainly in Morgantown, Weston, and Salem, are generally small. They employ skilled craftsmen whose families have been in the glass-blowing or glass-cutting business for many years. "They have their roots down in West Virginia," Mr. Haden observes.

TOURIST ATTRACTION

Mr. Haden said the plants represent one of northern West Virginia's principal tourist attractions. "People drive hundreds of miles out of their way to visit the sample rooms in our glass plants," he said. And, due to Mrs. Kennedy's efforts, he adds, the flow of visitors has increased appreciably.

Although the West Virginia glass industry has been producing glass tableware for years for use in prominent surroundings such as U.S. Embassies, leading hotels, steamship lines, and executive mansion of the Republic of Liberia, it was relatively unknown to the public.

It became noted, nationwide, the day Mrs. Kennedy waved her television wand in the direction of a table setting in the White House state dining room.

## Compensation for Certain World War II Losses

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7283) to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to provide compensation for certain World War II losses.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY].

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, I listened to the statements of the various members of the committee who have discussed this legislation. Repeatedly, I hear the expression that this is to be the final legislative action having to do with the War Claims Commission. If that is true, Mr. Chairman, I would be remiss in my duty if I failed to call the attention of the committee handling this legislation to a rather unusual situation that occurred at the close of World War II. It has to do with the husband of a constitutent of mine from Sutton, W. Va., who was serving as a member of the Air Force and who was a pilot in one of our fighter planes.

On the morning of the cessation of hostilities which ended the war between the United States and Japan, he was aboard a carrier in Tokyo Bay. They received orders to bomb a certain Japanese objective. His squadron left for that purpose, but before reaching the point where they were to begin their bombing operations, they received notice that we had arranged an armistice with Japan. However, the Japanese Government failed to notify the leader of a Japanese air squadron that such an armistice had been agreed to. On their way back to their carrier in the harbor, the American planes which were flying out of their regular squadron formation, the pilots and crew enjoying the thought that the war was over, were attacked by a Japanese squadron. Four planes were shot down and 16 airmen drowned, including the husband of my constituent. The situation was such at the time that the widow had to go back to teaching to support their two young boys. She had been a schoolteacher prior to her marriage. The effect of the tragedy was such that the wife became ill, and only after considerable time was she able to go back to teaching. Throughout the intervening years she educated those two youngsters. I think she has a valid claim against the Japanese Government for their failure to notify their squadron commanders that there had been a cessation of hostilities. The negligence of the Japanese Government caused the death of this young American flier and I think there is compensation due from the Japanese Government. However, I am at a loss to know just where to start to amend this bill. This is a rather intricate bill and I am at a loss to know how to amend it to make it broad enough to cover such a deserving case as this.

Might I say, Mr. Chairman, this claim has been filed with the War Claims Commission, and they advise me that that act is not broad enough to cover this type of claim. Surely we are not going to close this out and leave out a deserving case of this kind. It seems to me we are committed to make it broad enough to cover such a claim.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to place this matter before you.

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## Address by the Honorable Herbert Hoover at the Dedication of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library at West Branch, Iowa, August 10, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 10, 1962*

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

HERBERT HOOVER ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE HERBERT HOOVER PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AT WEST BRANCH, IOWA, AUGUST 10, 1962

A PROPOSAL FOR GREATER SAFETY FOR AMERICA—THE ASSURANCE THAT WE ARE NOT IN THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

When the Members of the Congress created these Presidential libraries they did a great public service. They made available for research the records of vital periods in American history—and they planted these records in the countryside instead of allowing their concentration on the seaboard.

Already the three libraries of President Roosevelt, President Truman, and President Eisenhower, by their unique documentation, serve this purpose, and today we dedicate a fourth—my own.

Within them are thrilling records of supreme action by the American people, their devotion and sacrifice to their ideals.

Santayana rightly said: "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it." These institutions are the repositories of such experience—hot off the griddle.

In these records there are, no doubt, unfavorable remarks made by our political opponents, as well as expressions of appreciation and affection by our friends.

We may hope that future students will rely upon our friends. In any event, when they become sleepy they may be awakened by the lightning flashes of American political humor.

A PROPOSAL FOR GREATER SAFETY FOR AMERICA

It is exactly 88 years since I first came to Iowa. Since that visit, I have seen much of peoples, of governments, of their institutions, and of human woes. I can count 50 nations with which I had something to do. I was not a tourist; I worked with their people. In my professional years I brought to them American technology with its train of greater productivity and better living. In two wars I served amidst famine. And in the war-shattered aftermath, I directed reconstruction in many nations. I have worked with great spiritual leaders and with great statesmen. I have lived under governments of free men, of kings and dictators, and under fascism and communism.

Uppermost in the minds and prayers of the plain people everywhere was that war should cease and that peace would come to the world. They treasured a confidence that America would maintain freedom and that we would cooperate to bring peace to all mankind.

During my long years, I have participated in many world negotiations, which we hoped would promote peace. Today we have no peace.

From all this experience and now as the shadows gather around me, I may be permitted to make an observation and to offer a course of action.

Leaders of mankind have for centuries sought some form of organization which would assure lasting peace. The last of many efforts is the United Nations.

The time has come in our national life when we must make a new appraisal of this organization.

But, first, let me say that I have, in all my official life believed in a world organization for peace. I supported the League of Nations when it was unpopular. I went down to defeat when, as President, I urged the Senate to join the World Court. I urged the ratification of the United Nations Charter by the Senate. But I stated at that time, "The American people should be under no illusions that the charter assures lasting peace."

But now we must realize that the United Nations has failed to give us even a remote hope of lasting peace. Instead, it adds to the dangers of wars which now surround us.

The disintegrating forces in the United Nations are the Communist nations in its membership.

The Communist leaders, for 40 years, have repeatedly asserted that no peace can come to the world until they have overcome the free nations. One of their fundamental methods of expanding communism over the earth is to provoke conflict, hostility, and hate among other nations. One of the proofs that they have never departed from these ideas is that they have, about one hundred times, vetoed proposals in the Security Council which would have lessened international conflict. They daily threaten free nations with war and destruction.

In sum, they have destroyed the usefulness of the United Nations to preserve peace.

When Woodrow Wilson launched the League of Nations, he said:

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants."

More unity among free nations has been urged by President Truman, President Eisenhower, and President Kennedy. In cooperation with far-seeing statesmen in other free nations, five regional treaties or pacts have been set up for mutual defense. And there are bilateral agreements among other free nations to give military support to each other in case of attack. Within these agreements are more than 40 free nations who have pledged themselves to fight against aggression.

Today, the menace of communism has become worldwide.

The time is here when, if the free nations are to survive, they must have a new and stronger worldwide organization. For purposes of this discussion I may call it the "Council of Free Nations." It should include only those who are willing to stand up and fight for their freedom.

The foundations for this organization have already been laid by the 40 nations who have taken pledges in the five regional pacts to support each other against aggression. And there are others who should join.

I do not suggest that the council of free nations replace the U.N. When the U.N. is prevented from taking action, or if it fails to

act to preserve peace, then the Council of Free Nations should step in.

Some may inquire where the offices of such an organization should be. Fortunately, there are ample buildings in the world's most accepted neutral nation. Geneva has been the scene of great accomplishments in peace until poisoned by the Communists and the Fascists.

Although the analogy of the Concert of Europe formed in 1814 is not perfect yet, with much less unity and authority, it fended off world war for 100 years.

Some organized Council of Free Nations is the remaining hope for peace in the world.

THE ASSURANCE THAT WE ARE NOT IN THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Another subject lies heavily on American minds today. Our people are deeply troubled, not only about the turbulent world around us but also with internal problems which haunt our days and nights. There are many despairing voices. There are many undertones of discouragement. The press headlines imply that corruption, crime, divorce, youthful delinquency and Hollywood love trysts are our national occupations.

And amid all these voices there is a cry that the American way of life is on its way to decline and fall.

I do not believe it.

Perhaps amid this din of voices and headlines of gloom, I may say something about the inner forces from which come the strengths of America. They assure its future and its continued service to mankind.

The mightiest assurances of our future are the intangible spiritual and intellectual forces in our people, which we express, not by the words "the United States," but by the word "America." That word "America" carries meanings which lie deep in the soul of our people. It reaches far beyond the size of cities and factories. It springs from our religious faith, our ideals of individual freedom and equal opportunity, which have come in the centuries since we landed on these shores. It rises from our pride in great accomplishments of our Nation and from the sacrifices and devotion of those who have passed on. It lifts us above the ugliness of the day. It has guided us through even greater crises in our past. And from these forces, solutions will come again.

This representative government, with its 186 years of life, has lasted longer than any other republic in history.

If you look about, you will see the steeples of tens of thousands of places of worship. Each week a hundred million people come to reaffirm their faith.

If you will look, you will find that the Bill of Rights is an enforced law of the land; that the dignity of man and equality of opportunity more nearly survive in this land than in any other on earth.

If you look, you will also find that from our educational system there comes every year a host of stimulated minds. They bring new scientific discoveries, new inventions, and new ideas. It is true that they revolutionize our daily lives. But we can readily adjust ourselves and our Government to them without the assistance of Karl Marx.

I could go on and on reciting the mighty forces in American life which assure its progress and its durability.

Perhaps on this occasion it would not be immodest or inappropriate for me to cite my own life as proof of what America brings to her children.

As a boy of 10, I was taken from this village to the Far West 78 years ago. My only material assets were two dimes in my pocket, the suit of clothes I wore. I had some extra underpinnings provided by loving aunts.

But I carried from here something more precious.

I had a certificate of the fourth or fifth grade of higher learning.

I had a stern grounding of religious faith.

I carried with me recollections of a joyous childhood, where the winter snows and the growing crops of Iowa were an especial provision for kids.

And I carried with me the family disciplines of hard work. That included picking potato bugs at 10 cents a hundred. Incidentally, that money was used for the serious purpose of buying firecrackers to applaud the Founding Fathers on each Fourth of July.

And in conclusion, may I say to the boys and girls of America that the doors of opportunity are still open to you. Today the durability of freedom is more secure in America than in any place in the world.

May God bring you even more great blessings.

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## Forces Shaping Business Future—Public Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 10, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the national economy—despite a strong foundation—exists today under an aura of uncertainty.

Among the varied analysts, there are various theories on cause and remedy.

With a relatively sound, economic base, however, national attitude—optimistic or pessimistic—can be a tremendously forceful factor in determining the direction and pace of trends in the economy.

Recently, the Nation's Business published an article by Emerson E. Mead, the president of Smith-Corona Marchant, Inc.

Reflecting thoughtfully upon influencing factors in today's economy, including a warning against talking ourselves into recession, I ask unanimous consent to have an excerpt of the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORCES SHAPING BUSINESS FUTURE—PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

What can Washington do to improve uneasy relations between Government and business?

Here are some specific recommendations by a leading business executive, Emerson E. Mead, president of Smith-Corona Marchant, Inc., who also describes what he thinks businessmen can do.

In this interview, Mr. Mead tells why he thinks businessmen are deeply concerned about antibusiness attitudes of Washington officials. He denies that businessmen are hobbled by obsolete economic theories and explains that he believes Washington can benefit from discussing economic policies with businessmen.

"Businessmen are progressive thinkers and planners," Mr. Mead explains. "If they weren't they wouldn't be running businesses."

Mr. Mead, how do you size up the relations between business and Government at this time?

I should say first of all that I believe some officials in Washington recognize the importance of encouraging business and industry. Yet statements that come out of Washington seem to be consistently antibusiness.

After all, business is the backbone of our country and it seems to me that there has to be a meeting of the minds about both Government and business. Until we get this I think we are going to have a lack of confidence in the economy in general.

What do you think is needed to restore business confidence?

What's needed is for the administration to assume a different attitude and a different role, at least as far as business is concerned. I believe they have to reverse their stand on certain issues so that there is a closer relationship between Government and business. Washington has to realize that businessmen are not hobbled by out-of-date myths but are standing up realistically to basic economic facts of life.

What else do you think is needed?

Perhaps the President would benefit by consulting more with businessmen on their theories of economics. I don't believe that he has done enough of this.

A little more bipartisanship between business and Government is needed. I think the President should consult with representative businessmen at all levels, not just a few major corporations. This would have a significant, favorable reaction.

For Government and business to have a better understanding, Government officials need a better understanding of industry's basic problems.

What can businessmen do to help restore confidence?

There's probably too much discussion about the wrong things. We can talk ourselves into business troubles and a recession. If we talk less about this possibility and do more to promote good sound business, the economy would improve.

If we all panic and start curtailing our activities, it could have a serious psychological impact. Businessmen have to take a positive, optimistic attitude. At the same time it's wise to watch every move of the economy carefully, and be ready for whatever comes along. By talking with confidence and optimism, we can curtail pessimism, besides.

Will a tax cut help restore confidence?

Yes, but I don't think a tax cut alone is going to provide a foundation for economic stability and growth. There are many things the Government can do. The administration should consider everything possible to stimulate business.

What specific things would you have Government do?

No. 1, the Government could encourage business by actually adopting a policy of noninterference. No. 2, I think there has to be some incentive for industry to continue to expand plants and facilities, creating more employment and the development of new products.

We don't have sufficient incentive today.

If we look at what is happening in some of the foreign countries, Germany being a prime example, we see liberal depreciation schedules to give businessmen the incentive to modernize their plants, build additional plants, and install new equipment. The new depreciation schedules announced last month are a hopeful indication.

Do you consider expansion of public works a stimulant to business?

This is no real economic stimulant. I think this approach is overrated and too long range a solution.

Do you see any virtue in a Government deficit?

No. There has to be a way, eventually, of balancing the budget. Most of our deficit is due to high expenditures, such as foreign subsidies.

Do you see anything in this year's tax proposals that would stimulate business?

The passage of this present tax bill would have an effect on business, but I wouldn't say it would prove an adequate stimulus. It includes some minor incentives, but it doesn't go far enough as presently constituted. The taxation of profits in foreign countries is questionable. If it hadn't been for profits earned abroad, our economy would have been adversely affected in the past.

As for the tax-credit plan, I don't think it is enough of an incentive for plant expansion. It's a one-shot thing. What we really need is a continuing program.

Do you think companies are being driven to invest in oversea manufacturing because of high wages in this country?

Yes, I think so. It largely depends on the industry and particularly the product line. If you are in a proprietary position you would have no problem because, even with increased labor costs, you are able to increase your prices. But when you are in a highly competitive industry, particularly with foreign manufacturers, your costs go up but you can't raise your prices and remain competitive. So there is a real squeeze on profits. Many such industries are being forced overseas, taking jobs out of the United States into foreign countries.

A number of manufacturers have gone overseas and are importing substantial amounts of equipment back to the United States for distribution. They are taking advantage of labor rates which are about 25 to 30 percent of what they are in this country. And productivity abroad is just as good, if not better, in certain areas.

How is your own business doing?

Our sales are running ahead of last year by about 10 percent. We had earnings per share of 16 cents in 1961. In our fiscal year which has just ended we had a substantial increase. We are projecting a further rise for the year ahead.

Do you think business in general will follow the pattern of your company?

I don't believe that business in general is following that pattern. Our pattern has been established by the changes we have made in our operations. Now we are looking for products or developing products that will have higher profit margins and getting away from the conventional high labor content products of our industry.

Do you think the stock market is forecasting a business slump?

According to some studies, the stock market tends to lead general business turns by 6 to 9 months. But I don't think what's happening now is really indicative of what is going to happen in 6 to 9 months.

You think that, rather than forecasting the future, it is reflecting things that happened in the past?

That is part of it, yes. I think we're seeing an adjustment.

Is there a chance the stock market situation might have a serious impact on consumer buying?

It could, particularly where smaller investors start taking a beating.

The stock market is perhaps reflecting the future less than it has at other times. But these gyrations are serious because they could lead to a serious lack of confidence in the economy.

Do you think a business recession is developing?

I think we can talk too much about a recession. We can convince ourselves that something is going wrong with the economy. If the fear becomes widespread then people begin to retrench. If it reaches a point where they stop spending, then you are bound to get a downward curve in business.

Actually I think we can probably talk ourselves out of a recession as quickly as we can talk ourselves into one.

You talk with many corporate executives. How would you sum up their attitudes about business?

The feeling of most businessmen today is one of optimism. We are and will continue to move ahead, to grow and expand, to do everything that will lead to further progress. We are assuming the same progressive and aggressive role that enabled business and industry to make this country the great world leader it is today. We face the future with optimistic expectations.

The executives I talk with are all optimistic.

## Civic Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 10, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the annual conference of the Military Government Association was held at Hartford, Conn., on Saturday, June 15, 1962. An interesting and helpful program was presented. One of the outstanding presentations was an address by Col. William R. Swarm, commandant of the U.S. Army Civil Affairs School, Fort Gordon, Ga. Colonel Swarm is one of the Army's most experienced officers in civil affairs, and one of the most knowledgeable officers in the Defense Department's program in civic action, which has come into such prominence within the past few years.

On account of the important role of civic action in the program of our Defense Department, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Colonel Swarm's address be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIC ACTION

(By Col. William R. Swarm)

Distinguished guests and members of the Military Government Association, I am honored to appear again before this important association containing so many old friends and comrades in arms.

There is some quirk in American nature which makes us peculiarly receptive and adaptive to slogans and catchwords. Often their origin is unknown or forgotten and, not infrequently, the same words mean different things to different people.

I am going to discuss one of these expressions and its concept, not because it is new but because it represents one of the most emphasized programs in the Defense Department today and still is subject to frequent misinterpretation. The term is "civic action." It is of particular interest and significance to civil affairs officers and enjoys a place of special prominence in the lexicon of cold war.

At our meeting last year Col. Bob Slover, who is one of the most knowledgeable exponents of civic action, gave a talk on the same subject which was scholarly and to the point. At the Civil Affairs School we developed a section in the new operations manual, FM 41–10, on civic action organization and operations. Only recently Department of Army issued a new definition. In spite of all this, I find officers differing occasionally on what civic action actually entails.

Part of the confusion stems from the fact that, while the activity per se is as old as warfare, the specific designation, "civic action," is of relatively recent vintage and is a coined term.

Actually, civic action, from the first, has been nothing more than one aspect of civil affairs operations as practiced within the U.S. Army. It has its historical counterpart in our military history, most notably in the opening of the West when Army units surveyed and mapped, constructed roads, strung telegraph wires, assisted in building railroads, worked on river and harbor developments, raised public health standards, and maintained order and security.

Because the term civic action is relatively new and because its exponents and practitioners have adopted considerable latitude in scope, a certain amount of diffusion in meaning cannot be avoided. There are, however, some common criteria:

1. Civic action is performed by military forces.

2. It is used in joint cooperation and coordination with civil authorities, agencies, or groups.

3. It uses military manpower, equipment, facilities, and resources.

4. It is used with a view toward securing direct economic improvements and social advances in the civilian community.

5. And, it promotes mutuality of military-civil respect, understanding, and rapport and develops concomitant national consciousness and political-economic stability.

In most of the new and developing countries, the military forces may represent the cornerstone of political stability. In several of them, in fact, government actually is administered to a considerable extent by the military. Regardless of the degree of military participation in political matters, the defense establishments in the less well developed areas possess latent capabilities for internal development of greater real value than the more conventional role of defense against external hostile encroachment. They have trained administrators, technical specialists, and a reservoir of disciplined manpower. They have transportation, engineering, and communications equipment, hand tools, stockpiles of supplies, and control over land and facilities, all adaptable to civil as well as military support.

Civic action operations may either be directed by central governments, be voluntary organizational efforts on a local basis, or a combination of both. The techniques are substantially the same. Primary dissimilarity rests with the origin of the activity. Operations predicated upon a national plan usually entail specific projects, central funding, authorization to use available resources, and joint participation with other governmental agencies. Voluntary activities on the local level, while perhaps encouraged by national governments, are conducted with minimal expenditure of funds and supplies. In both cases, interference with combat missions is avoided, but, in some of the developing nations, these constructive projects are more important to internal security and stability than finesse in fire and maneuver.

The fundamental tenet of any successful civic action program is civilian self-help. The military organization may have a proportionately higher share of trained manpower, equipment, and funds, but the civilian base in any country has vast numerical superiority and greater overall resources in land, raw materials, facilities, machines, and equipment. Security forces can provide

incentive, guidance, training, and support from organizational resources. They can undertake specified projects, beyond the capabilities of civilian agencies, and can assist in selected civic ventures, but the greatest accomplishments will be achieved where military planning, administrative ability, and technical know-how are used as the primer to stimulate self-aid programs in the civilian communities.

Because of the nature of civic action activities, civil affairs units with their complement of functional specialists, who cover the gamut of political, economic, and social experience and education, are best qualified either to conduct civic action operations or to provide professional guidance for host country agencies. Within the limitations of their areas of specialization, technical service personnel are also adapted to action or advisory roles.

I don't wish to overemphasize the potentialities of combat troops in the civic action field, however. Because counterinsurgency is being strongly stressed throughout our Defense Establishment, there is a tendency to oversimplify in the rush to get on the bandwagon. It is generally accepted doctrine now that insurgency can be prevented, or at least the possibility of it reduced, by economic reforms, social progress, and political equity. Where insurrection is present, the best method of securing population fealty and control necessary to separate populations from insurgents is to place greater emphasis on the general public welfare. Bear in mind, though, that civic action is far more than mere "do goodism." An essential part of every civic action program is the tying of projects together into a logical and effective plan that can be exploited through media of civil information. The citizen must believe that his military forces and the government they represent are in his public service and are, consequently, worthy of his support.

Unskilled military personnel have a marked relative competence to undertake low level projects in such matters as public health, public works, and food production in primitive societies, but realistic analysis will demonstrate the superficiality of an approach which leans too heavily on these low level skills.

For instance, a medical corpsman can dress simple wounds, act as a midwife, promote sanitation methods, eradicate disease vectors, or pull a tooth. I would be the last to deny the value of this type of aid, as long as it is recognized that it is not a patent cureall. Sole reliance on limited technical proficiency courts the danger of adverse propaganda and a boomerang of ill will.

In the superstitious atmosphere of primitive societies, technical practitioners work in a mixed atmosphere of guileless native skepticism and a reputation for endowed magical talents. If competency is proved wanting, the skepticism turns to scorn and the credit to anger.

Perhaps one of the most effective means of spreading the gospel of civic action is through mobile training teams. In the past couple of years civil affairs teams have been dispatched to Indochina, South America, and the Far East. Similar teams are scheduled or are being considered for utilization in other countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Wherever these teams are sent they work with host military forces and other agencies of Government in planning activities, organizing operating staffs and units, and setting up training programs. They make recommendations regarding coordination with the various indigenous agencies of Government and between U.S. advisory groups and representatives of other U.S. governmental bureaus.

The program has not been completely lacking in problems. A number of MAAG's and missions have shown some reluctance in requesting teams. The Active Army has a shortage of personnel possessing requisite functional ability and desired knowledge of languages. In spite of these problems, achievements have been outstanding, particularly in recent months when the two CA USAR groups and four companies, called to active duty last October, have been available as a source of personnel. Those units possess personnel with both language and functional qualifications. I sincerely hope that some provision is made at an early date to authorize the use of individuals on a voluntary basis for these teams from the civil affairs reserve structure.

I won't go into details on team operations. Perhaps a few words about the activities of one team will be illustrative. In January a team composed of one 8104 generalist, Maj. Ben Safar from the 95th CA group, a public works, and a public health officer went to a South American country for a 3-month tour of duty. The team was received enthusiastically and had little difficulty in discovering areas for a recommended program of initial projects. Although the emphasis in civic action is on "low cost, no cost" operations, the team members found that any plan for that country would be handicapped from the onset without modest funding assistance, because of the general economic straits of the country. Fortuitously, Secretary of Defense McNamara visited Headquarters Cincarib at the same time the team was in the area. He was so highly impressed with the team's activities and recommendations that not only will some U.S. assistance funding be made available, but Major Safar has been assigned to the MAAG in the country on a permanent change of station to continue and expand the program developed by the team.

We at the Civil Affairs School have been supporting civic action to the maximum. Although our staff and faculty have been continually understrength, six officers from the school have participated on teams in the past 2 years. It was the result of a recommendation by the mobile training team headed by Lt. Col. Russ Jones, now on the Conarc staff, that a G–5 staff position was established on the Military Assistance Command in Vietnam. That position is now filled by Lt. Col. John Beebe, who, himself, earlier had played a big part in setting up a civil affairs school on Taiwan and was my assistant commandant at the school. Maj. Loyal Swick, who still is at the school, set up a program in Guatemala which was so outstandingly successful that it is considered something of a model for other Latin American areas.

All the teams except one have had intensive briefing and orientation seminars at the school before their departure. These briefing periods reflect the pooled experience of other similar teams and the latest information we possess on the areas in question. While they are on the ground, the teams maintain contact with the school, and we fill any requests they make upon us for information and guidance. Upon their return, they are debriefed to add to our reservoir of cumulative experience.

Although my remarks have been concentrated primarily on civic action operations, I would be remiss if I didn't touch briefly upon some of our recent accomplishments at the school and in the civil affairs area B headquarters, which I also command. They back up the civil action and counterinsurgency programs.

The six USAR CA units all passed their Army training test and attained a deployment readiness posture. They have participated with distinction in Logex, maneuvers, and field exercises of joint proportions. A number of personnel from these units, some of whom have voluntarily extended beyond their August release date, have been assisting with the preparation of lesson plans and the conduct of instruction. They have turned out over 30 area studies, are carrying on a language training program, and have assisted the 95th Civil Affairs Group in its revision of contingency plans. In field operation, they have been used on several mobile training teams, are assisting with counterinsurgency instruction at Fort Bragg, and are filling various augmentation staff slots.

A new TD recently was approved for the school which raises its authorized officer strength from 22 to 57. When those spaces are filled, the school will be able to accomplish its mission properly and independently for the first time in its history.

We take some modest pride in our accomplishments in the school during the past year. Our new operations manual, FM 41–10, has just arrived from the printer. The first draft of a revised joint manual, FM 41–5, has been written. Student input trebled over last year's quota. Our career course has been radically modified to meet the requirements of the cold war. We have conducted special courses for the civil affairs detachments of the recently organized counterinsurgency forces. One such organization now is on Okinawa. A second is being readied for Latin America, and additional units, oriented toward other areas, will be developed.

We have scored a resounding first by developing the initial cold war course in the Armed Forces and have graduated one class. Besides an assist from the reserves, we were aided in the course preparation by the international relations department of the University of South Carolina, which is headed up by Dr. Dick Walker, well-known cold war lecturer and writer.

With respect to this course, I might mention it was the subject of a laudatory editorial in the Atlanta Constitution, which, however, chided the Army somewhat for being dilatory in developing instruction of this nature. As you all well know, the civil affairs organization and civil affairs operations occasionally encounter strongholds of resistance both within the Army and among civilian agencies.

Within the Armed Forces there are some dedicated and influential officers who feel that military forces are intended for combat and related functions only and that civil affairs activities should be reserved for occupation duty during a general war. It is interesting to note that this school of thought overlooks both the history of our own Army and the urgent press of current events. We are faced with an astute opponent. Most of the Communist victories have been achieved by political and economic warfare propaganda, subversion, and insurgency. Our rockets, bombers, artillery, tanks, and conventional forces and tactics provide a reasonable deterrent to general conflict, but we can lose this contest through piecemeal erosion if we don't exercise our potential to meet his subtleties with tactics and operations suited to the politico-economic nature and environment of the struggle.

New nations and emerging countries with old problems of hunger, disease, inadequate housing, undeveloped resources, administrative inefficiency, political rivalry and opportunism, and emotional international hatreds represent nearly two-thirds of the world. That is the battleground, and the warfare being conducted today demands constructive emphasis on the civil affairs functions. President Kennedy has taken cognizance of this on several occasions by urging the armed forces to stress utilization of their latent talents to work with local populations in social, economic, and political efforts necessary to reduce the causes of insurgency and counter Communist subversion. At the same time, the pattern of conflict in Laos and Vietnam has tended to reorient the thinking of some of our detractors.

Resistance to military participation in matters which smack of politics and policy are not confined to internal opposition. Despite the fact that we have demonstrated our ability to present instruction on U.S. policy and Communist techniques, and the fact that our military forces throughout their history have been involved in national policy implementation, we still meet opposition among some representatives of civilian agencies. They question our competency, fear a weakening of civilian preeminence over the military, and foresee duplication in assistance efforts, proliferation of funding, and threatened employment tenure. Their fears are unfounded. No one in our Defense Establishment desires any reduction in civilian primacy. I have not encountered anyone who took that position in my varied 30 years in the civil affairs field. The primary role of the State Department to conduct foreign policy, including the administration of assistance programs, is clearcut. Civic action and, more broadly, civil affairs in the cold war are collateral efforts which take advantage of inherent capabilities of military organizations which are not available, or available to lesser degrees, in civilian agencies.

Military forces possess administrative ability, technical skills, dual-capacity equipment and facilities, and manpower. They are dispersed in cantonments located in grassroots locales and are more heavily concentrated where real or incipient insurgency is present. Furthermore, any military organization has a built-in capability for field subsistence and self-security not possessed by civilian organizations. In a word, the civil affairs of the military combats the Communist weapons of political subversion and economic instability.

I hope I have reduced the smoke content of the atmosphere somewhat in this consideration of civic action. The activity is here to stay, whatever its designation. The debate may run on for some time over organization, mission, and proponency, but this much I want to reemphasize—civic action is an aspect of civil affairs operations, the same type of operations for which we have made ready, functionally and directionally, for the past 20 years— always fully supported by the MGA.

Thank you.

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## Statement by Mrs. Gordon B. Desmond, Secretary of Federation of Homemakers, Before Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare Appropriations of the Senate Appropriations Committee

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Gordon B. Desmond of Arlington, Va., the secretary and one of the charter members of an organization known as the Federation of Homemakers, dedicated to protecting the homes of our American citizens, appeared before the Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare Appropriations of the Senate Appropriations Committee on May 15, 1962, to present her organization's position on the need for appropriations for the Food and Drug Administration.

As I believe Mrs. Desmond's statement may be of vital concern to our fellow Americans throughout the Nation, I welcome this opportunity to insert it in full in this RECORD so that it may be thus available to all:

STATEMENT BY MRS. GORDON B. DESMOND, SECRETARY OF FEDERATION OF HOMEMAKERS, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Ruth Desmond, secretary of the Federation of Homemakers, a nationwide organization of public-spirited housewives. The federation's officers welcome this opportunity to present the views of a representative group of housewives on behalf of an adequate appropriation for the consumers' agency—the Food and Drug Administration.

This federation was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia as a nonprofit organization by concerned homemakers who previously had attended hearings on both the Food Additives and the Chemical Preservatives Acts. These founders were convinced housewives must be informed of the chemical treatment virtually all foods now receive and of the potentially harmful cumulative and synergistic effects which might result from ingesting residues of economic poisons, preservatives, additives, dyes and other synthetic substances in and on food. These informed housewives could then communicate their views on the need for better food legislation and its enforcement to their congressional representatives.

It is the finding of our members that housewives have the right to knowledge of the risks their families may be taking because of modern developments in farming and processing foods since it is the responsibility of homemakers to make decisions and selections when marketing. Without knowledge of treatment and without accurate, specific, and informative labeling of processed food items—housewives are unable to make intelligent selections at the grocery stores.

Therefore, it seems necessary that housewives have information about the responsibilities and financial needs of FDA in enforcing food, drug, and cosmetic legislation. Federation members are aware that although budget appropriations for this agency have increased greatly these past 5 years—so that the recommendations of the 1955 Citizens Advisory Committee have been substantially fulfilled—these increases have not been substantial enough to carry out effectively the new duties placed upon it by recently passed food legislation.

The passage of the Miller Pesticide Act in 1954 placed a heavy burden upon FDA. This agency has to decide, as a result, whether tolerances are to be permitted or denied newly developed farm poisons certified by the Department of Agriculture. Then FDA must develop methods of detecting said residues on farm produce and fruits. It is a matter of record that FDA has not always a means of detecting residues of new economic poisons for which it establishes tolerances. The Cranberry case is an excellent illustration of this strange situation which presently still exists. Federation officers attended and participated in the public hearing on the cranberry crisis where it was brought out by representatives of the cranberry industry that Aminotriazole had been used on many other crops—such as apples and pears. Testimony disclosed that until a month before the public hearing FDA scientists had no way of detecting residues of this weedkiller so extensively used. Testimony also revealed that research by its manufacturers proved only 10 parts per million could cause thyroid cancers in rats fed Aminotriazole. At the time of this public hearing Aminotriazole had been used at least 2 years by farmers. A frightening realization. It is our understanding that subsequent research by Russian scientists has shown that Aminotriazole is also capable of causing liver cancers in test animals. At the Cranberry hearing, Federation officers urged that the Department of Agriculture exercise greater caution in the future in certifying farm poisons. It was evident to federation members that the thousands of combinations of certified poisons places an impossible inspection burden upon FDA.

A study of the records of the Aramite case was not reassuring to Federation officers. This miticide was given a zero tolerance by FDA scientists The developer protested and a scientific committee was appointed to study the controversy. Although this first committee to study Aramite realized that long-term animal tests of this miticide must be carried out and recommended same—it nevertheless established a tolerance of 1 part per million for Aramite over the continued protests of FDA. Two years later a second scientific panel decided that there should be no tolerance at all for Aramite—since animal tests proved it caused cancers of the bile duct in dogs and liver tumors in rats. Aramite, the only effective miticide at that time, had been used extensively on a wide variety of fruits and vegetables. This is not a conforting reflection for consumers—that a miticide capable of causing cancers in dogs and liver tumors in rats was permitted to be used on a wide variety of farm products for more than 2 years. We ask, Did the first scientific committee exercise judgment and responsibility when they permitted a tolerance for this miticide over the protests of FDA and before the required long-term animal tests had been made?

Because of the foregoing, federation members are hopeful that Congress will restudy the Miller Pesticide Act in the light of its record. We think it appropriate to point out that 8 years after passage of this Pesticide Act certain district offices of FDA are still without the delicate equipment required to detect residues of pesticides. Why? Eight years after passage of this Pesticide Act, FDA is able to check only one-third of 1 percent of interstate shipments of produce and fruits for excess residues of pesticides—even when most pesticides are regarded as dangerous and some are known to be lethal. This federation has recently inquired of the director of the State Department of Agriculture for California, Mr. Paul, what percentage of produce and fruits California checks for excess pesticide residues and learned that no such records are made. Too bad, when California employs thousands of tons annually of economic poisons on its commercial farms. Mr. Ward Ross, managing director, Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation of Madison, Wis., when testifying before Chairman FOGARTY and his committee this year reported that the State of Wisconsin has no facilities for testing for pesticide residues. It is to be presumed that many States still do not have this expensive but necessary equipment and the facilities and trained men to determine if pesticide residues are present in foodstuffs in excess amounts (and in many instances in unpermitted and decidedly dangerous amounts). This is not a reassuring situation for the captive consumer to ponder.

Many federation members are conscientious wives, mothers, and grandmothers. They wonder if it is possible to guarantee (because of unpredictable weather conditions, application problems, and the human element) that insecticide sprays and powders will spread evenly and remain only in the permitted tolerance levels on harvested crops, even if directions are followed exactly. Such a guarantee that tolerances have not been exceeded would be most re-

assuring to anxious housewives. Should not baby foods, canned goods, frozen vegetables and fruits, milk, cream and butter, and no doubt many other food items not listed here, carry guarantees that pesticide tolerances for these products have not been exceeded? If this guarantee is impracticable—perhaps impossible to carry out—then it seems wise to drastically reduce the number or types of farm poisons certified by the Department of Agriculture—in the best interests of consumers. Despite the lack of FDA inspectors and scarcity of equipment and facilities for carrying out detection—the practice seems to be to increase the amounts and varieties of economic poisons used in farming. Who ultimately profits?

If FDA's 1962 budget had not received an administrative cut of more than $1 million in the interests of governmental economy, this agency had expected to check 1 percent of the annual 2,500,000 interstate shipments of farm goods by mid-1962. This specific budget slash meant that 58 new men were not hired and trained by FDA for this critically needed inspection of farm goods. If this proposed budget request for FDA is approved by the Congress, then the agency hopes to realize its goal of inspecting 1 percent of our Nation's interstate shipments of farm produce by mid-1964. Such dangerous poisons are now being used in farming that one would expect the Congress to demand that FDA check at least 10 percent of these interstate shipments. Most Congressmen have families taking these risks, too.

We wish to praise FDA for a magnificent job of seizing and destroying filthy, decomposed, unfit foods annually—and also foods processed under unsanitary conditions. Many individuals are spared serious illness because of this alertness by FDA. The March 1962 Report on Enforcement and Compliance noted 1¼ tons of California lettuce were found to bear residues of DDT and toxaphene in amounts exceeding the safe tolerance set by Federal regulation. This makes consumers wonder if additional contaminated shipments of this commodity escaped detection. FDA reports seizures of celery with parathion residues from several States. Cabbage has been discovered to contain excess residues of DDT. Once tons of frozen spinach, also contaminated with DDT, were seized by alert FDA inspectors before it reached the retail markets. We feel much like Representative FOGARTY who is quoted as saying: "When I eat vegetables and fruits, I wonder if I am lucky in getting a bite of that one-fifth of 1 percent the FDA had money and manpower to inspect."

It is appropriate here to remind this committee that the Chemical Preservatives Act of 1959 placed an additional burden upon FDA inspectors since it permits the postharvest treatment of farm produce and fruits with pesticides, fungicides, fungistats, and so forth, to increase shelf life. If the crates containing such farm products are not labeled as to such postharvest chemical preservative treatment—FDA inspectors face an almost impossible task in discovering the chemicals used. This was brought out at the public hearing on this bill through questions by Representative DINGELL of Michigan.

In 1958 Congress passed the Food Additives Act which added to the responsibilities of FDA. Although certain responsible scientists, among them Dr. William Smith of Englewood, N.J., a cancer researcher, advised limiting to a minimum the additives needed for processing foods and then giving these few permitted additives and preservatives exhaustive scrutiny to determine their safety for use in foods for humans—this advice was not heeded. The result of this Food Additives Act is that several thousand additives are now used in and on foods—and Congress has generously extended the time of many manufacturers to prove these frequently unnecessary additives are safe in the amounts used. Some of these new additives appear to be used solely to replace nutritious food items in processed foods. This type of substitution increases our surpluses of certain food products—especially dairy goods.

The late Sir Edward Mellanby, who proved Agene, at that time used to mature and bleach flour, caused convulsive fits which killed when fed to dogs in bread, pointed out in his Sanderson Weil Lecture "On the Chemical Manipulation of Food," appearing in the British Medical Journal of October 13, 1951, that it is relatively simple for chemists to develop processed foods but that possibly there were only 12 persons in the world with the background and experience to evaluate the effect of such food fabrication upon humans when ingested over a period of years. He, therefore, urged great caution in adding newly invented chemicals to food supplies.

No doubt many more housewives would be disturbed and protest at the risks we are presently taking as a result of our Food Additives Act of 1958 which permits so many additives not yet proved safe to be used in processed foods and would not have embraced so wholeheartedly convenience food items were it not for the assurances in women's magazines that all is fine in the areas dealing with this Nation's food supplies. Sometimes physicians and Government officials reply to questions addressed to these magazines—that all is well—no need for concern because an adequately equipped and staffed FDA is watching out for consumers' safety. These trusting readers have no idea of the cramped quarters and lack of modern equipment some FDA scientists endure. One eminent physician and nutritionist in an article appearing in the Farm Journal, February 1961, stated the poisons are not in the food or water but in the pens and tongues of food faddists. The record of FDA seizures certainly discredits this particular article.

When Federation officers appeared at the color additives hearing before Chairman OREN HARRIS of House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, their statement pointed out customary animal tests for chemicals and dyes used healthy, mature animals who were fed a bland diet in which the chemical was usually incorporated. This did not appear to be a satisfactory way of determining the safety of a substance to be eaten by people young and old, sick, well, and pregnant—some taking medication. We felt this manner of testing inconclusive since the total impact upon living creatures or potentialism was not considered. Later at a hearing before this same House committee on the merits of the Delaney anticancer clause, Dr. Harold L. Stewart, of the National Cancer Institute, raised this same issue—the need to test additives and dyes upon animals using the conditions humans cope with.

The need to test chemicals with pregnant animals was brought out when Time, February 23, 1962, carried a harrowing account of grotesquely malformed newborn babies—the result of use of a supposedly harmless sleeping pill by women in their early stages of pregnancy. Kevadon previously had been regarded as being completely innocuous and in many countries was sold over the counter. Fortunately here, FDA scientists permitted this sleeping pill tranquilizer to be used only experimentally. This sleeping pill tragedy is an excellent corroboration of the theory of the late Sir Edward Mellanby and we quote from his previously mentioned lecture:

"Even when such chemical substances have passed through a battery of tests from the point of view of toxicology, unexpected harmful results have often ultimately been demonstrated."

Less than 2 years ago nearly a hundred thousand people in the Netherlands were stricken and many hospitalized as the result of eating margarine contafning a new additive. Federation officers read the full account in a report by the Migros Co-Op of Switzerland. This illness was also mentioned in our local co-op newsletter. Strangely, local newspapers never even mentioned this remarkable news story.

During the Eisenhower administration, great concern was expressed at the lack of muscular coordination of many American children. Youngsters were encouraged to participate in games and sports events. President Kennedy has encouraged greatly accelerated physical fitness programs in the public schools. Now all citizens are exhorted to be more active physically. Some of us wonder if it is also hoped that strenuous exercise will help burn up the toxins caused by eating so many food chemicals.

When the U.S. Senate administered a punitive cut in FDA's meager 1962 budget, it was impossible for this agency to hire and train additional personnel to ascertain if food processors were using only the specified amounts permitted for the various new additives. This was a great loss healthwise, we believe, for the public. We ask—was FDA injured by this punishment or were consumers the ultimate victims?

Federation officers and members attended and participated in the public hearings conducted by FDA to establish label regulations for hazardous household products. Early in the hearings it became evident that certain segments of this industry were unwilling to comply with a strict interpretation of this new act. Federation members were shocked at the uncooperative, defiant, and finally threatening attitude of certain representatives. Even when the report of the Suburban Hospital Poison Control Center of Bethesda, Md., was read to these industry representatives they disputed the figures and refused to regard turpentine or kerosene as lethal substances when swallowed by children. The Washington Post, in covering this rebellion in its Sunday edition, August 6, 1961, by Warren Kornberg, said this: "Turpentine, in doses down to half an ounce, have been known to be fatal. * * * Once it gets into the bloodstream, it does its deadliest work through damaging the brain, causing coma and convulsions; entering the lungs—causing chemical pneumonia; entering the kidneys where it can produce blood in the urine."

Only last October the Washington Post carried an account of the tragic and unnecessary death of a 15-month-old girl from drinking liquid floor wax. Later FDA issued two releases of deaths of small children. The first, a girl of 6, died in awful agony from drinking soldering compound—the second from drinking Thinner. Grief-stricken parents state none of these products carried warning labels of "Danger—keep out of the reach of children"—otherwise they would have exercised greater caution and probably avoided these dreadful deaths. A federation member mailed in a clipping from the Monticello, Ind., weekly newspaper about the death of a 16-month-old boy from drinking furniture polish. He swallowed the polish on Monday and died in a hospital on Thursday.

At the public hearing on labeling regulations for dangerous household products—this federation went on record that the first objective of FDA should be consumer protection. This should be its paramount concern. If this consumer agency is to fulfill its role as protector of consumers—it seems obvious that church organizations, veterans' groups, women's clubs and housewives must be informed of its vital duties, financial needs and obstacles to carrying out its responsibilities in order to give it moral support.

An editorial in Chemical Week, December 2, 1961, exhorts businessmen and captains of industry to start at the grassroots to educate political candidates to the needs of industry. Business executives were encouraged to make at least one annual trip to consult their Congressmen. It seems only fair that Members of Congress should also hear the side of wives and mothers—the

housewives of this country. This is why we are here today to express our concern about the ultimate effect of recently passed food legislation and to plead for a substantial increase in the 1963 budget for FDA.

Before concluding—this federation wishes to state that it hopes the plans for the proposed new Institute of Environmental Research progresses smoothly. Even with smooth sailing financially—it will be many years before the building is completed and functioning at top efficiency. In the meantime consumers and especially small children are being subjected to grave risks from environmental cancer hazards due to a great extent to our modern way of life. It seems sensible to us that the Congress earmark a substantial increase now for environmental cancer research. We also suggest that an acknowledged authority of the causes of environmental cancers, Dr. Wilhelm C. Hueper, Chief, Environmental Cancer Section, National Institute of Cancer, head this vastly expanded program. Dr. Hueper's superior education and remarkable experience admirably suit him to capably fill such a responsible position. Further, Dr. Hueper is on record that people should be shielded from the effects of carcinogens whenever it is humanly possible to do so. It was Dr. Hueper who proved through tests on dogs that beta-naphthylamine causes bladder cancer. For this humanity owes him gratitude. Many lives have been spared as a result of such proof. In the opinion of this federation Dr. Hueper is worthy of being included in the exclusive list of 12 scientists able to evaluate and appraise the effects of residues of additives, pesticides, dyes and industrial wastes and pollutions on humans.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving us this oportunity to be heard.

(NOTE.—After presenting this statement, federation officers have learned that as of this date scientists have not been able to produce malformations on experimental animals who have ingested Kevadon, the sleeping pill capable of producing grossly malformed new born babies. Varieties of pregnant animals have been tested but so far their offspring has been normal. The warnings of Sir Edward Mellanby should be heeded.)

## Young Birmingham Woman Overcomes Family Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, I have been most disturbed to read in our Washington, D.C., papers extensive accounts of crimes and criminals. The widespread criminal activity in the District is indeed appalling. But Mr. Speaker, equally appalling and, I believe, one of the causes for this high crime rate, is the penchant many have for blaming society for the crimes committed. It is an old story now to read accounts of the difficulties and the hard life that a murderer or rapist has had. He was poor, underprivileged, and he had trouble in school. Society is responsible for this situation; thus, society is to blame for the crimes committed, the argument goes. This argument and attitude is nonsense.

There are people in our society who have limited opportunities and that is undeniable but it appears to me that the evidence that people can rise above family and social situations they are placed in is well established. There are many startling historical examples of this. On the same day that the Washington papers were filled with accounts of the difficulties and hard times of a rapist, with a criminal record spanning many years, there appeared in the Birmingham Post-Herald, a newspaper published in my district, the account of a promise Geraldine Dillashaw made nearly 2 years ago. In January of 1961, when Geraldine was 22 years old, her mother and father were killed when a freight train crashed into a pick-up truck. Nine children were orphaned by this wreck and Geraldine, the oldest, pledged at that time:

We are going to stay together, definitely.

I should like to point out that although the responsibility of a large family was thrust upon her, she did not seek aid from public agencies nor did she put up the younger children for adoption, as she could easily have done. She went on with her work and she has kept her family together. It shows, Mr. Speaker, the importance of individual responsibility and individual initiative.

Geraldine has since married and is now Mrs. Charles Naish.

I think the Members will be interested in the Post-Herald article, which is as follows:

SISTER KEEPS HER PROMISE, FAMILY STILL LIVING TOGETHER

(By Tom Dygard)

Geraldine Dillashaw is keeping the promise she made the day her mother and father were killed.

"We're going to stay together, definitely," she said.

She meant herself, then 22, and her four younger brothers and four younger sisters—all orphaned when a freight train crashed into a pickup truck near here in January 1961.

Another brother, 2-year-old John David, died in the crash with his parents.

SHE MOTHERS EIGHT

Geraldine made the promise to keep the children together while she stood in the corridor of a hospital, not far from rooms where two brothers and a sister lay injured—the survivors of the accident.

Geraldine is now Mrs. Charles Naish, wife of her high school sweetheart, expectant mother—and mother to her four brothers and four sisters.

They live together, the 10 of them, in the small frame house that Geraldine and her husband bought when they were married a year ago.

"It's a little crowded with all of us living here," says Geraldine, "but when you come from a family of 10 children, you're used to being crowded a little bit now and then."

ONLY ONE BATHROOM

Charles, her fiance at the time of the accident and her bridegroom 6 months later, takes the built-in family in stride.

"He bears up better than I do," says Geraldine. "He's more patient with the children than I am."

Geraldine and her husband sleep in one of the bedrooms. The four boys—Edward, 21; Sammy, 19; Larry 14, and Freddie, 9—sleep in another. And the four girls—Annie, 18; Brenda, 16; Judy, 11, and Debra, 5—sleep in the other bedroom.

There's only one bathroom, "but it's not really so bad," Geraldine explains. "I get some of them up earlier than the others in the morning."

A large table, big enough for all 10 members of the family, is jammed into the kitchen.

"We've only got eight chairs," Geraldine says, "but it doesn't matter because Edward and Sammy usually aren't home in time for dinner, and they eat later."

BILLS MOUNT UP

Edward and Sammy, the older boys, add a couple of paychecks to the one brought home by Geraldine's husband, an offset press operator. Edward is a routeman for a dairy and Sammy works in a gasoline station.

Although it's not as bad as it might be, the bills mount up for a young couple starting married life with eight children.

Most of the immediate financial benefits of the accident—a little life insurance and some accrued vacation pay from the father's job as a millwright—went to keep the family together at the old Dillashaw home in the 6 months before Geraldine and Charles were married.

A settlement with the railroad also helps with the upkeep of the children.

The washing and the house cleaning, the shopping and the cooking, and the loving care for eight children make a full-time job—and then some—for a girl barely out of her teens and married only a year.

But the weight of keeping the family together doesn't show in Geraldine's face.

ASKS NO HELP

She's an attractive blonde, cheerful, and self-confident, reigning over a houseful of well-behaved children. She's looking forward to adding another child—her own—to the household in December.

And she's obviously more than a little proud of the way she and her brothers and sisters have stood shoulder to shoulder—together—in the wake of the family tragedy.

"Nobody's helped us, and we haven't asked anybody for help," she says. "I figure that what I can't do for them can just go undone. I don't think we ought to be obligated to anybody."

Right after the accident, when Larry, Freddie, and Judy still were in the hospital, a young couple offered to adopt Judy and Freddie.

"I didn't listen to them," says Geraldine. "We had to stick together."

## Series of Enlightening Articles on State History and Heritage Is Continued by Respected West Virginia Author and Historian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 10, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, West Virginia historian and publisher Phil Conley is the author of a series of enlightening articles which have created among our citizens an increased interest in significant events of the past.

In his writings, Mr. Conley discusses important personalities, meaningful dates, and historical points of interest to be found in the Mountain State. The series, which has been well received in

our State has also attracted the favorable attention of citizens in other areas, and has brought richly deserved recognition to the author.

I request that the four most recent installments of the series "Know Your State" by Phil Conley, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the installments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BEGINNING OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

(By Phil Conley)

The schoolmaster made his influence felt early in the pioneer settlements of West Virginia. George Washington, at the age of 16, on his first surveying trip into what is now West Virginia, noted in his journal that on August 18, 1748, he established a mark at the "schoolhouse old field." This was in the South Branch Valley, possibly Pendleton County. The time was 22 years after Morgan Morgan, the first white settler in the State, had built his home at Bunker Hill.

The early schools were crude affairs. Classes were held in homes, abandoned buildings and churches. They were taught by itinerant pedagogs who charged a small sum for each pupil and who usually "boarded" free with the parents.

The first school of higher learning was established at Shepherdstown in 1785. What is claimed to have been the first college founded west of the Alleghenies was Randolph Academy. It was located at Clarksburg in 1787, the year the Constitution of the United States was drafted in Philadelphia.

Soon after West Virginia became a State on June 20, 1863, the people began making plans for a free school system. On Wednesday, January 27, 1864, the West Virginia Legislature being in session at the temporary State capitol at Wheeling, the senate passed a resolution requesting the house to concur in the election of a State Superintendent of Free Schools at 11 o'clock on Tuesday, February 16, 1864. On the date agreed upon, the house nominated Prof. Andrew F. Ross, of Ohio County and Prof. William R. White, of Marion County. Mr. White was elected for a term which was to begin June 1, 1864. He continued in office until 1869.

On January 13, 1866, Mr. White made a report to the Governor in which he claimed there were 133 schoolhouses in the State which had an average value of $303, or a total value of $40,299. The salary of the State superintendent of schools was $1,250 annually. The average monthly salary of male teachers in Wheeling was $139 and of female teachers, $42. In other districts the average salary for male teachers was $34 and for female teachers, $22. In the first school year which began on June 1, 1864, the State distributed to counties for local schools $67,350. That year there were 431 school teachers and 15,972 pupils. At that time the population of the State was 396,000.

William K. Pendleton, the fifth State superintendent of free schools, served 1 year, 1873, and summed up the progress of the school system under the first constitution as follows:

"Reviewing our progress in the noble efforts of the State to provide for the free education of the whole people, we have reason for our profound gratitude at our comparative success. With a million and a quarter invested in school property; 3,000 schools in actual operation, and three-quarters of a million annually contributed to run them; 90,000 children under intellectual and moral training; a number of graded and high schools; 4 normal schools in vigorous operation, for which we are annually expending, out of the State treasury, over $8,000; a university on which we bestow over $16,000; and other private and corporate institutions, among them 1 college largely endowed, and through its 400 graduates enjoying a national reputation. West Virginia may well be proud of her position in this highest expression of a people's patriotism and enterprise. Within less than a single decade there was, outside of Wheeling, scarcely a free school in the State."

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MINERAL SPRINGS

(By Phil Conley)

There are many medicinal springs in West Virginia. They constitute one of the State's most valuable natural resources.

White Sulphur Springs, 140 miles east of Charleston, is the greatest inland watering place on the North American continent. The acreage comprising this resort was patented by Nathan Carpenter in 1774. But prior to that time Indians, as well as white people, had bathed and drunk the medicinal waters found there. Many of this country's most noted people have visited White Sulphur, among them Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Webster, Calhoun, and Patrick Henry. Gen. Robert E. Lee once had a cottage there, where he lived part of the summer. People from all over the world have visited this noted spa.

Berkeley Springs is about 3 miles from the Potomac River in Morgan County. This place was first known as Warm Springs, then Bath, and later the present name. Washington wrote in his Journal on March 18, 1747, that he had visited the "famed Warm Springs." These springs were in the large tract of land owned by Lord Fairfax who gave the property to the Colony of Virginia so that the waters might be free to the public. When West Virginia became a separate State, she came into possession of the springs. After the Revolution, Washington built a cottage there and his brother Lawrence spent nearly a year there on account of his health. The springs have a capacity of 2,000 gallons a minute, with a uniform temperature of 74°. The State has a 5-acre park which surrounds the springs. It also maintains a sanatorium there.

Pence Springs are located 12 miles east of Hinton. The waters have curative properties for kidney, stomach, and liver disorders. Some years ago a commercial company began bottling the water and shipping it to distant markets. The old hotel was acquired by the State and is now a female penal institution.

Webster Springs were discovered by J. E. Hall before the Civil War. The town is the county seat of Webster County and is 63 miles southwest of Elkins on the Elk River. It is 2,000 feet above sea level and has long been known as a health resort.

Old Sweet Springs is in Monroe County. James Moss built the first house there in 1760. The first patent for the land was granted to William Lewis, brother of General Andrew Lewis for whom Lewisburg was named. The springs flow from the base of Potts Mountain. The water has a temperature of 72° to 76° and is described as "of a tonic character, mildly cathartic and alterative, valuable in cases of debility and in many forms of dyspepsia and functional diseases of the stomach and bowels." At one time this place was visited by prominent people from this country and abroad. Some years ago, during the administration of Gov. M. M. Neely, the State acquired the hotel and converted it into an old folks' home.

Salt Sulphur Springs is on Indian Creek in Monroe County, about 14 miles from Fort Springs.

Red Sulphur Springs is also on Indian Creek in Monroe County, about 12 miles from Lowell.

Capon Springs is on the east side of Cacapon River in Hampshire County. The Indians called it "Kakapon-se-pe," meaning "a river of medicine waters."

Shannondale Springs are about 5 miles east of Charles Town in Jefferson County.

Green Sulphur Springs are in Summers County. Blue Sulphur Springs are in Greenbrier County.

There are a number of other springs in West Virginia which are not as well known, as the ones listed here.

The springs may be classified as alum springs, iron springs, magnesia springs, salt springs, sulphur springs, and lime springs.

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THE BEGINNING OF OIL PRODUCTION

(By Phil Conley)

The North American Indians found oil seeping up through cracks in the earth. They used it for medicinal purposes long before the white man came to this country. The early white settlers also used oil for rheumatic and other muscular pains.

In 1849, Samuel M. Kier, a salt merchant, began marketing medicinal oil as a sideline. Ten years later the Petroleum Rock Oil Co. was formed in New York. It hired E. L. Drake to drill an oil well near Titusville, Pa. He struck oil on August 28, 1859, at a depth of 69½ feet. This well is credited with being the first oil well drilled in this country.

Just 59 days after the Drake well came in, a well was struck at Burning Springs in Wirt County, W. Va. It was called the "Eternal Center" because it was thought the oil pool of the world had been found.

The oil industry actually began in West Virginia about 1810. Bushrod Creel owned a farm on Hughes River. He found oil exuding from the sands. He collected some of it and took it to Marietta, Ohio, where he found a company that would sell it for him. It was labeled bank oil. It was recommended as a cure for all pains and aches. His oil sold for 33 cents a gallon. Creel soon found the demand was greater than his supply. He dug deeper into the river banks. These diggings were carried on for about 45 years.

During the Civil War, 100,000 barrels of oil were stored in barges in the Little Kanawha River at Burning Springs in Wirt County. On May 9, 1863, 6 weeks before West Virginia became a separate State, Gen. William E. Jones, commanding a Confederate army of about 1,500 men, raided the Burning Springs oilfield and burned the barges. That night the light of the burning oil was seen at Parkersburg, 40 miles away. General Jones also destroyed the machinery around the wells.

Very little was done in the oil field after the Jones raid until after the Civil War. But after Appomattox, there began a scramble for leases. In April 1876, former Gov. William E. Stevenson, of Parkersburg, reported to the West Virginia Commissioners to the Centennial Exposition that there were 292 oil wells in the State that produced on the average of 3 barrels a day or a total of nearly 900 barrels.

Parkersburg was the chief oil market. Here was erected the largest refinery in the United States at that time—named for Johnson N. Camden. When John D. Rockefeller was organizing the Standard Oil Co., he dealt with Camden, John V. Rathbone, and others who had taken an active part in producing oil in Wirt and other nearby counties. The refinery at Parkersburg was the largest one owned by the Standard Oil Co. at that time. It had a capacity of refining 200 barrels a day.

In 1878, the production of oil in West Virginia was 180,000 barrels. Six years later the production had declined to 90,000 barrels. The early facilities for drilling wells limited the depth to possibly 300 or 400 feet. This was not deep enough to reach the large pools of oil.

Near the close of the century many fields had been opened—Mannington, Sistersville, Monongalia, Harrision, Doddridge, etc. The initial well drilled in the Sand Fork field in Lewis County was completed in 1900, the largest oil well ever drilled in West Virginia. It was known as the Copley Well No. 1.

The peak of oil production in West Virginia was in 1901 when 14,177,126 barrels of oil were sent to market.

The development of the oilfields in West Virginia was a boon to farmers who received millions of dollars in royalties. This industry also added to the economy of the State by supplying work for drillers, pipeline workers, taxes, and in hundreds of other ways.

The quality of the oil found in West Virginia is rated as the best produced in the world and commands the highest market price.

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THE BEGINNING OF NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION

(By Phil Conley)

One of the most valuable natural resources found in West Virginia is natural gas. The earliest explorers and settlers came upon gas escaping from fissures of rocks and in some instances bubbling up in stream beds.

What is said to be the first reference to gas was made by a traveler in Tucker County about 1750 who related that he had discovered one of the curiosities of the Western World. He said that he came upon a stream "four poles wide and knee deep."

In the middle of this stream "there was a constant bubbling of water as if a blowpipe was at work at the bottom. The wind came up with a smell similar to that of stonecoal fire. The guide waded in, held the lock of his rifle near the bubbling part of the surface, and pulled the trigger. It flashed, and that instant a fire was blazing on the surface of the water as large as a yard square and 2 feet high."

The most noted "burning spring" was on the bank of the Kanawha River about 6 miles east of Charleston. One of the first explorers in this State, Matthew Arbuckle, reported seeing it in 1773. The following year John Floyd and a group of other surveyors came upon this spring, and Thomas Hanson wrote in his Journal, "April 15, 1774. We proceeded 14 miles down the river, passing by the burning springs—which is one of the wonders of the world."

In 1775 Samuel Lewis, surveyor of Augusta County together with Leonard Morris, surveyed the tract of land on which the springs were located for George Washington and Gen. Andrew Lewis. A patent was granted for the land which was signed by Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia.

Washington referred to this tract of land in his last will, "The tract of which 123 acres is a moiety was taken up by Andrew Lewis and myself, for and on account of a bituminous spring, which it contains, of so flammable a nature as to burn freely as spirits, and nearly as difficult to extinguish."

There have been many stories told about Washington's travels in West Virginia. He never visited these springs. When he came down the Ohio River in 1770 to Point Pleasant, he traveled a short distance up the Kanawha and then returned. When he died he owned about 33,000 acres of land in this State. This he received for services in the Indian wars.

There were other "burning springs" located near Elizabeth in Wirt County on the Little Kanawha and Hughes Rivers. This territory was rich in oil and gas reserves.

The first great flow of gas in the Kanawha Valley was struck in the city of Charleston near the end of the present Brooks Street in 1815. Capt. James Wilson drilled a well here in an effort to obtain salt. When he did not find brine at the usual depth, he swore he would drill until he got salt or the infernal region. Soon after this the driller struck a gas well that caught fire from an open grate. It burned to a great height and was put out with great difficulty.

It seems strange that Charleston was in the midest of a great natural gas field and yet a large plant was erected to produce artificial gas. When the writer was a small boy his father worked at this place which was located on the site where the Appalachian Electric Power Company's office building now stands.

In 1841 William Tompkins, in drilling a salt well a short distance above the "burning spring," struck a large gas well. Up to that time wood and coal had been used as fuel to evaporate the water in the production of salt. But Tompkins, without any precedent to go by, used pipes to carry gas to his furnaces. This was the first time natural gas was used for manufacturing purposes, not only in West Virginia, but in the United States. It was not long until Dr. John P. Hale and others followed the example set by Tompkins.

The writer's father was a cooper who made barrels for a salt company at Salines (now Malden). He said that before the Civil War, slaves were used to mine coal for fuel in the furnaces. A large man would get down on his hands and knees, place his head against a car and push it in and out of the mine.

Starting from the incidental development of gas wells in the Kanawha Valley, wells have been drilled in more than half of the counties in the State. In recent years deep wells have been drilled with exceptionally good results. They sometimes are drilled as deep as 5 miles.

A handy man, Billy Morris, invented a bit that made deep drilling possible. This bit was called "jars." It was a link that prevented the bit from becoming stuck in the rock formation. Morris Street in Charleston was named for him.

The peak of production of natural gas was in 1917, with 308,617,101,000 cubic feet. This may be exceeded when more deep wells are drilled.

For many years West Virginia produced more natural gas than any State in the Union. This natural resource has been a valuable asset to the economy of the State.

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

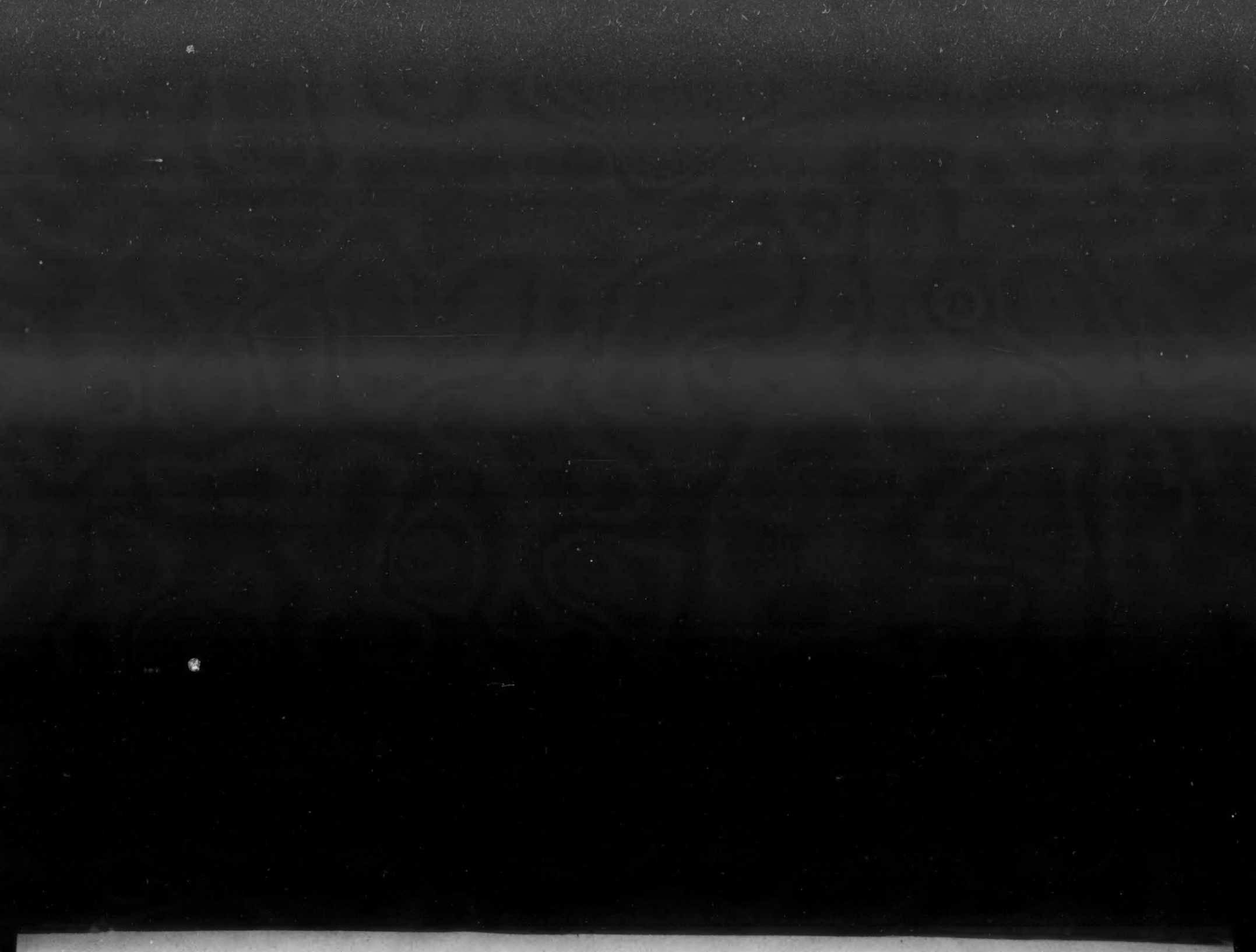

# Appendix

## Minnesota Weekly Irks A.T. & T.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ESTES KEFAUVER**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, August 11, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article—published on August 10 in the Washington Post—entitled "Minnesota Weekly Irks A.T. & T." The article was written by Jack Anderson.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNESOTA WEEKLY IRKS A.T. & T.

(By Jack Anderson)

(NOTE.—Drew Pearson is touring the Balkans. In his absence, his column is written by his associate.)

Apparently no critic is too small, no opposition too trifling to escape the ire of the communications goliath, American Telephone & Telegraph, which has its eye simultaneously on outer space and Circle Pines, Minn. (population, 2,789).

The object of A.T. & T.'s irritation in Circle Pines is gentle Andy Gibas, who publishes a weekly newspaper called Circulating Pines. By his own count, he has 1,100 subscribers, gives away another 400 copies free.

But Andy discovered what a great howl a small pinprick can cause when he printed an anti-A.T. & T. editorial.

"In the past 7 years," the editorial began, "American Telephone & Telegraph Co. (the Bell System) has overcharged the long-distance phone users a billion dollars. But this is going to look like peanuts if A.T. & T. succeeds in getting the Government to hand over its communications satellites."

This brought swift retaliation from Northwestern Bell, the local A.T. & T. subsidiary, which sent representatives into Circle Pines to talk to the town's business, civic, and religious leaders about their weekly newspaper.

The Bell task force was led by tall, genial Joe Cervenka, the company's public relations chief for Minnesota, who explained to this column: "We have a right to state our case to others in the community."

Cervenka acknowledged that he had put Andy's editorial on the teletype to Northwestern Bell's headquarters in Omaha and A.T. & T.'s headquarters in New York City.

DAVID AND GOLIATH

Here is the amazing sequence of A.T. & T.'s pressure on little Andy Gibas, a tale of a modern David and Goliath:

Shortly after the offending editorial appeared, Cervenka phoned the Circulating Pines office and ordered the telephone ad dropped from the next edition. He must have thought better of this, for he showed up later with a substitute ad and explained that he had merely wanted to make a change.

Cervenka also phoned Andy and suggested that, if he were interested in his newspaper, they had better have a talk. At this confrontation, Cervenka accused Andy of printing untrue and libelous statements about A.T. & T.

What particularly upset Cervenka was the claim that A.T. & T. had overcharged its long-distance users a billion dollars.

Andy's spitfire wife, Grace, later supplied the source of this information. It had been taken, she said, from a House speech by Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, New York Democrat.

"Congressman CELLER is not a friend of ours," replied Cervenka. "Now I understand. The trouble is you read the wrong things."

The Bell man's next step was to check at the Minnesota Newspaper Association for information on possible backers who might own an interest in Andy's paper. Somehow, he came up with the name of Ernest Madsen, and promptly made contact.

"We were curious to know whether this financial backer felt like the Gibases did," Cervenka explained to this column.

But it turned out that Madsen owned no part of the paper, that it belonged totally to the Gibases. (To keep it solvent, Andy is obliged to work by day as a chemist while his wife gathers the news.)

A.T. & T. INVASION

Finally, A.T. & T. launched its invasion of Circle Pines. Cervenka called upon Mayor Gerald Pehl, former Mayor Carl Eck, town councilmen, and other leaders. His assistants interviewed Andy's friends and neighbors.

Altogether, Cervenka insists they saw no more than 15 people. But reports reaching Gibas indicate the whole community must have been canvassed.

One who didn't like Cervenka's insinuations was the Reverend Harris Jesperson, pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran Church in Circle Pines. He told this column that Cervenka went so far as to imply the Gibases were pro-Communist in their attitude.

"If you are insinuating the Gibases are Communists and all that rot," the pastor lectured Cervenka, "you had better forget about it right now."

More easily influenced were Mildred Huse and her son, Gordon, who run one of the town's two leading grocery stores, Gordon's Market. They stopped advertising in the Circulating Pines after Cervenka's visit.

Gordon Huse, who answers to the nickname "Buz," assured this column that Cervenka hadn't suggested an economic boycott.

"We didn't want to get involved, so we dropped our advertising," explained Buz.

But Andy and Grace Gibas aren't easily intimidated. They struck back in a front-page editorial.

The questioning of friends and neighbors "gives us a very uneasy feeling," they wrote. "Something like the Russians must feel when they discover the secret police are making inquiries * * *.

"But the real puzzler is this: Why doesn't A.T. & T. want the satellite giveaway talked about? Why is it afraid of criticism?"

## A Proposal To Increase Job Training Opportunities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, August 11, 1962*

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, a few months ago, a workshop on equal opportunities for minority groups was held in Los Angeles, Calif., as part of the second biennial California Conference on Apprenticeship. Mr. Eddy S. Feldman, managing director of the Los Angeles Home Furnishings Mart, presented a paper entitled "A Proposal To Increase Job Training Opportunities."

Congress this year, as in previous years, has been greatly concerned about the manpower problems which face our Nation in the decade ahead. We have sought to fashion progressive legislation, such as the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Our committees have been concerned with the operations of the Department of Labor's apprenticeship and training program. With this background, I commend Mr. Feldman's perceptive comments to the attention of my colleagues and others who are interested in this problem. I ask unanimous consent that the paper be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROPOSAL TO INCREASE JOB TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

(By Eddy S. Feldman)

We cannot any longer be complacent about discrimination in training opportunities wherever it may exist. Nor can we any longer be complacent about discriminatory practices in the selection of applicants for training if, in fact, these do exist. But if these discriminations do exist—as we must agree they do—then we must probably review our attitudes about the voluntary nature of the participation in apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs.

I should like to suggest here that such a review is in order and to present a proposal which could, if endorsed by this conference and if ultimately adopted by it, lead to the effective expansion of training programs and provide so many training opportunities that discrimination would not be the serious matter that it is now.

At the outset, it seems clear that in order to increase apprenticeship and on-the-job training opportunities for minority groups there must be an increase in the total of all job training opportunities for those who qualify.

There are plenty of laws on the books these day, both Federal and State, which are designed to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the apprentice and industry, improve the working conditions of apprentices, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment."[1] That is to say, there are numerous training programs, or at least provisions for programs. For example, at the Federal level we have the Fitzgerald Act[2] and at the California State level the just-quoted Shelley-Maloney Act.

And there are laws by which government, Federal and State, has attempted to develop on-the-job training programs for nonapprenticeable occupations. Illustrations are the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962,[3] and the recently enacted California Labor Code, section 3093, which provides that the California Apprenticeship Council in cooperation with the department of education and employment "may foster and promote on-the-job programs other than apprenticeship." Furthermore, both Federal and California law provide subsidies through the payment of unemployment insurance benefits while training is being accomplished.[4]

Besides the training program and subsidies while training, government has contemplated that the apprentices and trainees may even be put to work—on a voluntary basis—on government projects.

On public works and defense projects the laws provide that apprentices must be in training under appropriate apprenticeship standards under written agreements. References to legislation contemplating the hiring of apprentices and trainees are cited in the footnotes.[5]

The trouble is that in terms of our discrimination problem (and, indeed, of the employment of more trainees) none of these provisions, comprehensive, urgently needed and well financed as they may be, goes to the heart of the problem of discrimination in training opportunities. The reason they do not is because the problem is misconceived. The problem is not so much to dream up ways to combat discrimination as it is to create adequate numbers of on-the-job training opportunities for the trainees. When the job opportunities are competing for the applicants because there are so many openings as contrasted with the applicants competing for the opportunities, we shall see that discrimination will quickly enough subside. The problem, I repeat, is the creation of job opportunities.

Now the depressing fact is that employers—government and private—actually use only the minimum number of apprentices, if they use any at all. This is the situation which must be changed. Yet, how is this to be accomplished when it appears that government itself has failed to assume leadership in the employment of apprentices and trainees in the letting of public works, public service and defense contracts? Is it not absurd for government on the one hand to promote apprenticeship and on-the-job training for private industry, while, on the other hand it fails to engage in apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs itself?

I suggest, therefore, that there can be created more on-the-job training opportunities by making the utilization of apprentices and on-the-job trainees in public works, public service and defense projects mandatory.

More precisely, I suggest that there should be mandatory hiring of one apprentice or on-the-job trainee to every five journeymen employed in any given occupation used in the completion of any government contract for public works, public service or defense projects.

I appreciate that this suggested change will transform the voluntary character of apprenticeship and other on-the-job training to a mandatory system. It is quite true that this change does some violence to our traditional attitudes concerning apprenticeship and on-the-job training. But I submit that tradition is not helpful in this instance. The case for altering tradition is pressing and the price is right. (Incidentally, the monetary cost of implementing this proposal is zero.) And the effect will be to initiate immediately the training of people to work and live in this increasingly automated society requiring special skills.[6] At the same time the creation of thousands of new apprenticeship and on-the-job training opportunities will reduce the occasions for discrimination.

A 1-to-5 ratio is suggested because it seems to be in line with actual practice throughout the United States where effective apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs exist. Collective bargaining agreements could permit a smaller ratio of trainee to journeyman, or even a larger one,[7] but the law would be binding if there is no collective bargaining agreement or if the agreement is silent on the matter. The matter of ratio is not the crucial one. It will only become so when there are more apprenticeship and on-the-job training opportunities available.

The phrase "in any given occupation" is used because the change must not be limited to apprenticeable jobs. It must cover the whole spectrum of job classifications including nonapprenticeable occupations and, say, "blue collar" positions under civil service systems.

Perhaps these suggestions might be effectuated by executive order[8] which would direct the training conditions which are to be inserted into government purchase orders and subsequent contracts. However, because there may be some question as to the validity of such executive order it would seem that legislation at both Federal and State levels is appropriate.

Government is the object of the suggested changes because, not only will its own practices be changed thereby, but the example which government furnishes will have a profound effect on the practices of all other employers, either unilaterally or through collective bargaining.

The mandatory widening of training opportunities in the field of public works, public service and defense projects goes to the heart of the discrimination problem by expanding the number of training opportunities. Thus there is swiftly accomplished the reduction of discrimination in placement for training, and the reduction of discrimination in selection of applicants for training.

Of course, there will have to be joint labor management and apprentice training committees established to administer the immensely enlarged training programs which would be created by adoption of these suggestions. We should have no trouble in making up or expanding these committees, however, in view of the vast body of experience and experienced personnel which has been developed in the long history of apprenticeship training in this country.

The principle of a mandatory ratio of trainee to journeyman is recognition in the field of training of the inadequacy of present practices to cope with the fantastic technical and social changes taking place in the structure of our economy, and of the need to replace the skilled personnel leaving their skills through death and retirement. Admittedly the transition from a voluntary system to a mandatory one is a sharp transition. Nevertheless, the problem is a vast one which demands not simply more lip-service, but positive, forthright, vigorous and appropriately directed action.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] California Labor Code, sec. 3071. This quotation is taken from the California Apprenticeship Labor Standards Act, ch. 4, division 3 of the California Labor Code. It is also known as the Shelley-Maloney Apprentice Labor Standards Act of 1939. (See California Labor Code, sec. 3089.)

[2] 29 U.S.C.A. 50–50b.

[3] Public Law 87-415, Mar. 15, 1962, approved Mar. 16, 1962. Sec. 204(a) of this shall encourage, develop, and secure the adoption of programs for on-the-job training needed to equip persons selected for training with the appropriate skills. The Secretary shall, to the maximum extent possible, secure the adoption by the States, and by private and public agencies, employers, trade associations, labor organizations and other industrial and community groups which he determines are qualified to conduct effective training programs under this title of such programs as he approves, and for this purpose he is authorized to enter into appropriate agreements with them." (Under this law, it should be noted here, we are about to embark on a monumental training and retraining program which will be turned into a dreadful waste of public funds and national energy if a creative program of establishing job opportunities is not pursued.) (See also the Area Redevelopment Act, Public Law 87-27, May 1, 1961, 42 U.S.C.A., ch. 28, sec. 2513 et seq.) Par. (d) of this section provides: "The Secretary of Labor shall arrange to provide any necessary assistance for setting up apprenticeships, and to promote journeyman and other on-the-job training."

[4] California Unemployment Insurance Code, secs. 1266–1273 (1961). Sec. 1266 declares: "Experience has shown that the ability of a large number of the population of California to compete for jobs in the labor market is impaired by advancement in technological improvements and the widespread effects of automation and relocation in our economy. It is the policy of this State to assist such individuals by providing unemployment compensation or extended duration benefits during a period of retraining to fit them for new jobs and thus avoid their being forced to remain in a job classification where work opportunities no longer exist or are diminishing." The related Federal provisions are fund in the Area Redevelopment Act, cited in footnote 3, above, at sec. 2514. (See also the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 cited in footnote 3, above, at sec. 203.)

[5] At the Federal level the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended, 40 U.S.C.A. 276a et seq., applies to every contract in excess of $2,000 to which the United States is a party in the construction, alteration or repair of public buildings or public works. The Davis-Bacon Act was extended to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, 23 U.S.C.A. 101 note, by 23 U.S.C.A. 113. (See also the National Housing Act, as amended, 12 U.S.C.A., 170 et seq; the Hospital and Construction Act, as amended, 42 U.S.C.A. 291 et seq. (providing Federal grants to the States to be used in construction of public and private hospital projects); the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, 42 U.S.C.A. 1401 et seq; School Construction in Areas Affected by Federal Activities, 20 U.S.C.A. 631 et seq. (authorizing the sharing by the Federal Government with the States of the cost of constructing, remodeling or improving school facilities under a grant-in-aid program); the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act, 1951, 42 U.S.C.A. 1591 et seq. (providing for housing in certain areas for defense workers and military personnel); the Federal Defense Act of 1950, 50 U.S.C.A. App. 2551; and the

Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, 41 U.S.C.A. 35–45 (providing maximum hours and minimum wages in contracts between any U.S. agency and suppliers in any amount exceeding $10,000).) California public works projects are covered by the California Labor Code, sec. 1777.5: "Nothing in this chapter shall prevent the employment of properly indentured apprentices upon public works. Every such apprentice shall be paid the standard wage paid to apprentices under the regulations of the trade at which he is employed, and shall be employed only at the work of the trade to which he is indentured."

[6] Michael, Donald N., "Cybernation, the Silent Conquest," Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962.

[7] See, for example, the collective bargaining agreement between General Motors Corp. and the United Auto Workers, AFL–CIO dated Sept. 20, 1961; 140 of this master agreement provides for a ratio of 1 apprentice to every 8 journeymen, allowing variations of up to 1 to 5 at local facilities under certain circumstances.

[8] See Executive Order No. 10925, signed by the President, Mar. 6, 1961, 25 F.R. 1977, effective Apr. 5, 1961, which directs that all Government (Federal) contracts shall include a clause which provides that the contractor may not discriminate against any employee or applicant because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## Democracy and Wisdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal recently took the chance to show the danger of a democracy undermining itself, quoting the words of Lord Macaulay who foresaw in the experiment of American democracy a self-degenerating process which would, in striving for its lofty goals, fall short through its very effort. The Journal editorially pointed to the shortcomings of Macaulay's thoughts along these lines, examining in some detail the strength which our society derives from the free enterprise economy which we follow; it also noted the points at which our experiment seems to have given Macaulay's theory some credence, where we have injected into our society unnecessarily the hand of government. The editorial deals, as an example, with the current veterans' pension fight. No one in the Congress opposes giving the veterans of World War I or of any war in which the future of America was at stake the help they need. But need must be the key and although this editorial does not spell this out—chiefly because it turns to other subjects—I am sure that this is the sense of its message. I should like to place this editorial in the RECORD at this point:

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: THE SPREADING ROT

"I have long been convinced," wrote Lord Macaulay more than a hundred years ago, "that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty, or civilization, or both." He had in mind specifically American democracy, which he was sure would go under in our century if not in his own.

Macaulay is neither the first nor will he be the last to indulge in headshaking about democracy as a political system. There is a good deal of headshaking going on in this country right now. For our part, though we are congenitally skeptical of either predictions or pat historical analogies, we must confess we too sometimes wonder.

Several circumstances have thus far combined to confound Macaulay's prophecy. The most obvious is that this country has never been a pure democracy, as the fact that it is a republic plainly announces. Popular but representative government, with the ingenious checks and balances of our own system, is a powerful deterrent to mob rule and ruin, just as it was meant to be.

Moreover, American capitalism functioning in political liberty has worked a miracle Macaulay did not foresee. It has brought an unprecedented degree of material well-being to the people generally. And not only material; it has produced a highly literate, intelligent and civilized electorate—something never even attempted in the democracies of antiquity.

Yet, despite such bulwarks, disturbing echoes of Macaulay's forebodings can be heard plainly enough today—not least in the Congress of the United States.

What is one to make, for instance, of the proposed additional pension for veterans of World War I? This subsidy would total $11 billion over the years and benefit chiefly the veteran who doesn't need it. It is so cynical a grab that it is opposed by all the major veterans' organizations, by the chairman of the House Veterans' Committee and by almost all Congressmen in their hearts. But the fear of offending veterans is so great in Congress that it may quite possibly be enacted.

This in microcosm is what has been happening on a vastly expanded scale. Big and little groups of people have concluded that the Federal Government is, after all, a free lunch; that the Treasury of all the people can be plundered, seemingly without end, for the presumed enrichment of this or that interest. And the thises and thats are multiplying like rabbits. Almost nobody any more goes without a subsidy.

Now the undeniable degeneration of America's political and economic institutions is not, in our view, primarily the fault of the public at large. Plenty of local governments are corrupt, but in their own communities people continue to behave responsibly, building their hospitals and churches and schools and, even more important, raising their educational sights for the sake of their children.

The trouble is that it becomes increasingly difficult to act responsibly as the Federal Government encroaches more and more on all local governments, communities and individuals. We personally have talked with many farmers who would like to see the whole Federal subsidy-control apparatus scrapped, but as long as other farmers are taking their handouts they will take theirs too.

Strictly speaking, that is not a very admirable moral attitude, but it is understandably human in circumstances that seem beyond the individual's control. And so the rot spreads through the land until almost everybody figures, Who can stop Washington? And if it insists on pouring it out, why not get in on the gravy?

For it is the Federal Government that not only makes it possible for the rot to spread but actively and, these days, increasingly encourages it. Whether it is the White House demanding that the people submit to compulsion for yet another handout, or the Congress passing yet another boondoggle, there is only one word for it. The word is "demagogy."

And when demagogy finally combines with a general willingness to be bought, things may get beyond the power of even our powerful political and economic institutions to check. The danger today arises not from those democratic institutions but from their perversion.

The people and their institutions are resilient and capable of withstanding much abuse; as we say, they have until now defied Macaulay's words of doom, and we hope they will go right on doing so. But that is no reason for anyone, from Washington to the last subsidized farm and business and household, to be complacent about his warning:

"When a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the 5th;—with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your "Huns" and "Vandals" will have been engendered within your own country."

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## Support Developing for Herbert Hoover's Proposal for a Council of Free Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. KARL E. MUNDT**
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, ever since Herbert Hoover, speaking on his 88th birthday at his birthplace in West Branch, Iowa, originated the proposal for a Council of Free Nations, to achieve those results which the United Nations appears unable to accomplish, support for this imaginative new proposal has been rapidly developing. Former President Hoover has indeed presented a constructive challenge to free world leaders who are weary of endless debate, successive vetoes, and timid retreats and who are determined that freedom shall not perish through neglect.

Among the many who are commenting favorably on the Hoover proposal is Ralph De Toledano in his King Syndicate column on August 11. For the information of the country and the Congress, I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HERBERT HOOVER AT 88

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Herbert Hoover celebrated his 88th birthday on Friday at his birthplace in West Branch, Iowa—a town he left at the age of 10 with "two dimes in my pocket" and "the suit of clothes I wore." Today, long past the travail of an unconscionable political campaign against him, he is perhaps the most loved man in America. And he can look back at a remarkable career of distinguished service to his country. His contributions over the years have been many and invaluable to the common good.

But Mr. Hoover is not one to look back. In a birthday speech at the dedication of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, he looked ahead to the Nation's—and the free world's—future, proposing a way to maintain peace with honor. And he offered wise words of encouragement to those Americans who look at the state of the world and despair. Mr. Hoover has never had the rhetorical flash of some of his Presidential successors. But in his words there is an eloquence in simplicity which flows from the sincerity in which they are uttered.

Noting that "the Communist leaders, for 40 years, have repeatedly asserted that no peace can come to the world until they have overcome the free nations," Mr. Hoover stated with justice that they have used the United Nations to "provoke conflict"—thereby destroying its usefulness as a vehicle for keeping the peace.

He quotes Woodrow Wilson, a President he served and admired, at the time the League of Nations was launched. "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations," Wilson warned. "No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith with it or observe its covenants." The League of Nations foundered on Fascist duplicity just as the United Nations is being made important by Communist subversion.

Mr. Hoover offers an alternative—and one to which most Americans would subscribe were they given the chance:

"The time is here when, if the free nations are to survive, they must have a new and stronger worldwide organization. For purposes of this discussion, I may call it the Council of Free Nations. It should include only those who are willing to stand up and fight for their freedom. * * * When the United Nations is prevented from taking action, or if it fails to act to preserve the peace, then the Council of Free Nations should step in." This, Mr. Hoover believes, "is the remaining hope for peace in the world."

Then, turning to those who foresee a decline and fall of American civilization, Mr. Hoover said: "The mightiest assurances of our future are the intangible spiritual and intellectual forces in our people, which we express not by the words 'United States' but by the word 'America' * * *. It reaches far beyond the size of cities and factories. It springs from our religious faith, our ideals of individual freedom and equal opportunity * * *. It rises from our pride in great accomplishments of our Nation and from the sacrifices and devotion of those who have passed on. It lifts us above the ugliness of the day. It has guided us through even greater crises in our past. And from these forces, solutions will come again."

The Council of Nations Mr. Hoover proposes is one of those solutions, and it should be heeded by those who have hitched their wagons to the sputtering star of the United Nations. There would be differences of opinion in that Council, for free men will never agree on everything. But it would still be a unified force, solidly based on a consensus of freedom and rid of the dead weight of neutralism and the subversion of Communist diplomacy. The Council could speak with a voice that would make the Kremlin tremble. It would have behind it the moral and military power which Communists understand.

But such a Council cannot be created without the strong and persistent demand of the American people. Many hands must beat at the doors of Congress and the White House before Mr. Hoover's proposal is given even the most cursory consideration. It will take an organized effort before the men of Washington lay it before the leaders of the free world and urge its implementation. The demand for the Council would in itself have a salutary effect on the bickering members of the U.N. General Assembly.

My own proposal is the creation of an organization to be called Americans for a Council of Free Nations. If enough Americans wrote to Mr. Hoover offering their support, that organization could become a reality.

## Regents' Prayers in New York Schools—Resolution Adopted by the American Legion Auxiliary Department of Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted by the American Legion Auxiliary, Department of Mississippi, during its convention on July 7, 1962.

This resolution expresses sentiments and views with which I am in full agreement regarding the recent opinion of the Court on the regent's prayer in New York State. I commend it to the consideration of all Members of the House of Representatives:

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States by it's decision of June 26, 1962, ruled that use of the regent's prayer by the public schools of New York was a violation of the U.S. Constitution; and

Whereas the President of the United States has expressed his agreement with the Court decision, admonishing the people of America to respect it; and

Whereas the vast publicity regarding this decision has created the impression in the minds of our citizens that the schoolchildren of this Nation will be prohibited in the public schools of our land, from interceding to the Supreme Being for protection for themselves, for their parents, for their teachers, and for America, and that it will deny them the privilege of publicly acknowledging within their school group their belief in, and their dependence on God; and

Whereas the United States of America is a Christian Nation and such a decision is completely foreign to their customs and beliefs and is repugnant to them; and

Whereas thousands of America's stalwart sons have given their lives for "God and country": Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Mississippi Department, American Legion Auxiliary, join the Mississippi Department, American Legion, in their protest of such an un-Godly environment which could dangerously imperil our Nation and, that we memorialize the Congress of the United States of America to enact legislation that will rescue the Constitution of our Republic; and be it further

*Resolved*, That legislation be enacted by Congress that will confine the Supreme Court to act only in the judicial field and not take unto itself legislative authority; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Congress enact laws restraining the executive division from usurping powers not assigned to it by the Constitution of the United States of America: Thereby assuring the citizens of this Republic that they have a government: "Of the people, for the people and by the people" that it may not perish from this earth; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be mailed to the Governor of the sovereign State of Mississippi, the president of the senate, and the speaker of the house of representatives with a request that at the next session of the legislature, be it special or regular, a request be made by them to the Congress of the United States for legislation to be enacted that will forever keep the judicial and executive departments confined to their own fields; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be mailed to the officials of both branches of the U.S. Congress, to Senator JIM EASTLAND, Senator JOHN STENNIS, to the six Representatives of Mississippi, and to the press.

## Legislative Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Congress—at this late stage in its session—still has a tremendous amount of work to accomplish.

In a weekend broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations, I was privileged to discuss some of the issues still confronting us.

I ask unanimous consent to have certain excerpts from my text printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY, REPUBLICAN, OF WISCONSIN, OVER WISCONSIN RADIO STATIONS, WEEKEND OF AUGUST 11 AND 12

Friends, this is your senior Senator ALEX WILEY.

I welcome this opportunity to report to you once again from Washington.

Unfortunately, the legislative wheels of Congress have been grinding exceedingly slow. Consulting their crystal balls, the political diagnosticians are offering differing excuses for the slow progress.

Realistically, however, there is still legislation pending in major fields, which require the consideration of Congress, including: Revision of U.S. international trade policy; changes in our tax laws; consideration of the farm bill; and a variety of other bills.

In recent days, progress oflegislation in the Senate has been jammed by the talkathon on the U.S. communications satellite program.

This legislation, if enacted, would establish a private corporation—subject to appropriate governmental regulation—for a satellite communications system.

What would this mean to Mr. and Mrs. Wisconsin—and to all America? A broadening of our news-education-cultural horizons (as reflected in early United States-Europe television exchanges via Telstar); including possible direct home reception from Telstar-type satellites (now being explored by the television-communications industries); opportunity to shift the overheavy traffic on existing radio, telegraph, telephone, and other conventional channels to the satellite system; and ultimately, dramatically improved—and perhaps less costly—telephone, radio, television and other communications at home, as well as around the globe.

Recognizing the significance of this program, the Senate—in my judgment—should move ahead on this legislation.

Fundamentally, there is a responsibility for careful and thorough analysis and evaluation. Blockading even consideration of the proposal by talkathons, however, results: In a serious roadblock in establishing of the communications satellite system; and a holdup of consideration of the great backlog of important legislation still pending in Congress.

To attempt to break the deadlock, the bill is committeed for a 10-day period to the Foreign Relations Committee—where it is now under consideration.

In the interests of moving ahead on the satellite program—of significance nationally, internationally, and as a U.S. triumph in the cold war—the Senate, in my judgment, should speedily, and expeditiously, get this consideration of the bill underway.

Normally, the Congress—at mid-August—is winding up this session. As things look now, however, this workload may require the session to extend into early fall.

Naturally, there will be some Members—1962 being an election year—eager to get back to political hustings. However, the challenges are too great—and the times too critical—for just politically expedient consideration of the agenda of significant legislation. Consequently, we will need to stay on the job until the work of the Congress is effectively finished.

## Merit Pay for Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Commercial Appeal, of Memphis, Tenn., an outstanding newspaper of the Nation, on Wednesday morning, July 25, an editorial entitled "Merit Pay for Teachers."

As a former teacher I believe that this would be a great step forward to the educational system of this Nation should this plan be adopted. This editorial is so timely I would like to bring it to the attention of the membership of the Congress.

The editorial follows:

MERIT PAY FOR TEACHERS

Almost all public school teachers are paid on formula of two factors, the degrees they have earned, and the number of years they have taught. After several years of experience they use up all the steps there are and thereafter it is a one-factor formula, increasing their pay only when another degree is obtained.

Every person who has attained the age of 10 knows there are ordinary teachers and good teachers, but most efforts to pay extra for extra good teaching have been defeated. Organizations of teachers are strongly opposed to any increase unless it is equally shared by all under the degree-experience formula. There are some difficulties in getting impartial rulings on who is entitled to merit pay raises.

For one reason or another, there are very few merit pay plans for teachers in operation after years of talking about it. And that is what puts Midland, Tex., in the news.

Midland is a city of about 70,000, over the hills north of the Pecos River. There are 650 school teachers. They begin at $4,180 with a college degree, and have been adding $100 a year for experience. Experience will add $125 this fall.

Last year 65 of these teachers were paid an additional $100 to $300 for merit. The merit increases will be $125 to $500 this fall.

Most interesting of all, the Midland merit plan has demonstrated a working method for 3 years.

## George McGovern and Food for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY**
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished former colleague in the House of Representatives, Hon. George McGovern, has resigned as director of food for peace, to offer his service directly to the people of his native State that he loves so dearly, South Dakota.

He seeks to become the U.S. Senator from that great State, and in this I wish him well.

But my purpose now in addressing the House is not to explore the new horizons that lie ahead for George McGovern and for his friends and neighbors back in South Dakota, but, instead, to praise the quality of this young man and deeds already accomplished. I am certain that my feelings in this are shared by other Members of this body.

George McGovern's name now is known around the world. His name is associated with food for hungry people.

Soon after John F. Kennedy took the oath as President of the United States some 18 months ago, he appointed this son of South Dakota as the food for peace administrator. In this limited span of time he has brought world attention to the purpose and meaning of this program. He has spread the gospel that America's great abundance—surplus, if you will—of food is not a curse, but a blessing. He has dedicated himself to the proposition that by using our great abundance to feed the hungry around the world we can strengthen the prospect and the assurances of world peace.

George McGovern was our colleague here in the House for a number of years. He served with distinction on the Committee on Agriculture, of which it is my privilege and honor to serve as chairman. He impressed all of us as a forward-looking, careful-thinking young man with great energy, and he dedicated his exceptional abilities to the people he represented in South Dakota, particularly to the farm families of that great agricultural State.

In this service with the Committee on Agriculture he became aware of the problems related to our accumulating food and fiber stores, which are beyond our needs in the United States, and he saw clearly the opportunity for the use of this abundance to promote the cause of peace around the world.

President Kennedy made a natural and fortunate choice when he appointed him as Director of food for peace.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my object here to deliver a campaign oration for our former colleague, in his new undertaking, but I do want to say this:

By his leadership in alleviating hunger and misery abroad, contributing to economic development in underdeveloped countries, and in winning America millions of friends across the seas, backed by the ingenuity and industry of our farmers, George McGovern has served his country well.

I think that we may confidently expect to rely upon him for leadership in other great undertakings for many years ahead.

George McGovern is a devoted and dedicated public servant. By the splendid manner in which he discharged the duties of his high office while serving here in Congress he endeared himself to his colleagues and to his countrymen.

## Let Us Put First Things First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. W. R. HULL, JR.**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the persuasive case for corn as our national floral emblem has had an eloquent spokesman over the years in Miss Margo Cairns.

Miss Cairns, in the following article, gives new evidence of the enduring contributions which corn makes to our national welfare.

The article follows:

LET US PUT FIRST THINGS FIRST

Four nations in Europe and two in Africa have issued stamps honoring maize or corn, our priceless American native plant. These foreign stamps point glaringly to the fact that the United States—conceived, nourished, and prospered by corn—has overlooked history and gratitude by not commemorating our true heritage.

Jamestown: Three attempts were made by the English to colonize in that virgin paradise. Then, in 1607, reliance on the native grain was learned and led to success.

Plymouth: Every schoolchild knows the story of the Pilgrims—blown far off their course, landing on a bleak coast at the beginning of a rigorous northern winter—and their survival due primarily to Indian corn.

The Revolutionary War: It was to reach the rich cornlands beyond the Appalachian Mountains, denied them by King George's decree of 1763, that forced the struggle between the colonists and England.

Today State after State is being honored with a commemorative stamp, but which came first—the States or the life-sustaining grain that gave them birth? And the patriots, immortalized in marble and assembled in Statuary Hall in the Nation's Capitol, were not all these fed and nourished by the grain from our native American plant? There would have been no United States of American as we know it today had it not been for maize, Indian corn.

Russia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, San Marino, Egypt, and the Republic of South Africa have each issued a handsome stamp

in praise of maize, the Creator's gift to the Western Hemisphere and found nowhere else before 1492. To Asia Minor, now almost a desert, and the lands watered by the Nile, was given wheat. To the vast lands of Asia went rice. But to the Americas came the gift supreme—maize.

Maize, Indian corn, is the foundation of our history, traditions, economy. Today, in many forms it enriches the lives of every American. To it is credited our high standard of living. Maize may well be called the stone which the builders rejected and now has become the head of the corner.

President Kennedy recently said: "I consider history to be a source of strength to us here in the White House and to all the American people and anything which dramatizes the great history of the United States is worthy of the closest attention and respect by Americans."

In this spirit, let us put first things first.

Let a commemorative stamp honor the original American, maize—corn, acknowledging that it is woven through the warp and woof of our history and our national life.

## Health Care in St. Louis County: How Medical Care Is Guaranteed to All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the article I am placing in the RECORD under unanimous consent contains information which should be widely disseminated throughout our land, and indeed abroad. But it will not be. Why will it not be? Because it is untrue? Because it is not news? No. It is true. It is real news because it tells a story almost diametrically opposed to the story that many Americans uninformed, or worse still, propagandized on the subject, have never heard.

Why will it not be told? Because powerful people in this land are determined that people shall believe differently on this subject. Powerful people in the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are determined that the American people shall not know the truth of what is going on in the field of health care for the aged. Not one iota of publicity has been given out by the Department of HEW on the great advancements in recent years in the field of health insurance or what has been done by private groups, local and county governments and State governments. If the Department pleads innocent to charges that they have denigrated the Kerr-Mills Act, the Department cannot plead innocent to the charge that it has done nothing to dispel the false and vicious charges leveled against the Kerr-Mills Act by the COPE of the CIO–AFL and the Forand committee and by its silence lent weight to these charges.

At least by placing this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD it will have some additional readership. It is an encouraging sign to see the truth finally reaching the people on the subject of health care for the aged in spite of the powerful efforts to suppress it.

The article follows:

[From Today's Health, July 1962]

HOW MEDICAL CARE IS GUARANTEED TO ALL

(By Howard Earle)

One afternoon last July a man walked into the offices of the St. Louis County Medical Society in Clayton, Mo., a St. Louis suburb. His voice and his manner denoted extreme nervousness as he explained he was in need of immediate medical attention but could not afford it.

"I know you have a plan to help those 65 and over," said the man. "I thought maybe there was some way you could help me even though I'm not half of 65."

Edgar J. Mothershead, executive secretary of the St. Louis County Medical Society, explained that the past 65 plan did not hold rigidly to age limitations.

"Our purpose," said Mothershead, "is to make certain that no one needing medical care goes without it because of inability to pay. I'm sure we can help you."

Last fall, a mother came to the offices of the Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Association in Oakland, Calif., across the bay from San Francisco. She asked to see Mrs. Muriel Hunter, a qualified social worker employed full time by the association.

"My husband and I moved to Berkeley recently," the woman explained. "I was told by the doctor who attended me when I had my last baby back East that I should have a hysterectomy, but I delayed it. Now I'm in a great deal of misery. Things haven't been going well with my husband and we just can't afford my operation now. The pastor at our church said you folks here could help me."

"No one has ever come to us needing medical attention and not received it—regardless of their ability to pay," answered Mrs. Hunter. "I'm sure you will be no exception."

The man in Clayton and the woman in Berkeley are not isolated cases of guaranteed medical care by the medical profession. Across the Nation, county and city medical societies have established formal and informal programs to assure adequate medical care for all regardless of their ability to pay. Some societies have inserted advertisements in local newspapers pointing out that no one need go without medical attention because of inability to pay. Some societies depend upon the Kerr-Mills law to supplement their own programs to care for those who need help. The American Medical Association, while supporting all the programs, also is cooperating with the Blue Shield Plan to set up a special inexpensive medical and surgical care insurance program for those 65 and over.

The past 65 plan of the St. Louis County Medical Society is unique in that it establishes something similar to a discount card which a qualifying member presents to the physician upon each visit. The card specifies the percent of reduction from regular fees the patient is to receive. For instance, if the card calls for a 50 percent reduction, then a $4 office visit would cost the card holder only $2. Similarly, a 75 percent reduction would reduce the cost of the visit to only $1. Discounts as high as 90 percent have been authorized by the Society.

Establishing the discount rates to patients is the responsibility of Mrs. Robert Opal, who was trained by the St. Louis Credit Bureau to check credit records and determine, through interviews with the patients, their ability to pay. There is no embarrassment or uneasy moments. Actually, Mrs. Opal completes an interview in little more than half an hour, but many applicants feel so relaxed they turn the sessions into reminiscences of their histories.

"I had dreaded coming to see you," one elderly woman told Mrs. Opal as her interview neared an end. "But, my gracious, in the short time I've been here I feel like you are an old family friend."

Sometimes a patient is referred to the society by member doctors. The county society includes physicians in both the county and city of St. Louis. Some patients are referred by their pastors or friends, or have read about the work in their local newspaper. When referrals are made by those other than physicians, the applicant is given his choice of doctors. If he has none, Mrs. Opal refers him to a physician in his own neighborhood.

The plan was put into effect in the latter part of 1960 after Dr. Charles Miller headed a committee which originated the procedure. The program came as a result of a preponderance of the doctors in the society desiring to offer those past 65 low-cost medical care while preserving the right of the patient to choose his own doctor.

"We though we would be swamped with requests for rate reduction cards," said Mothershed, "but surprisingly only 108 cards were issued during 1961, the plan's first full year of operation."

A card is issued for 12 months, after which the case is reviewed by Mrs. Opal. If the financial status of the patient has remained unchanged, the card is renewed for another year. If there has been a change, the percentage of reduction is lowered or increased as the change dictates. Sometimes the patient's situation is so improved that renewal of the card is not requested.

"We find our plan is proof that the medical profession does not knowingly permit anyone needing medical care to go without it," emphasized Mothershead. "More than 400 of the county's 450 physicians are members, along with most of the druggists, who fill prescriptions at reduced rates when cards are exhibited by the customers. The great majority of our card holders are those past 65, so those in the medical profession not participating are mostly the obstretricians and pediatricians."

The St. Louis County Medical Society has received inquiries about its past 65 plan from more than 60 other medical societies throughout most of the States. Mothershead is not certain whether any other societies have inaugurated the St. Louis County plan but many, he says, have made rather exhaustive studies of the entire program.

It would be misleading to hail the past 65 plan as an entirely new idea. The society recognizes this fact, pointing out that "doctors, for years, have been charging undisclosed 'less than regular' fees when patients are unable to pay regular charges." In fact, a majority of physicians, especially specialists, set aside a certain amount of their time for charity practice. However, under the past 65 plan the patient will be told how much less he is paying than the physician's regular fee, and he carries a card enabling him to receive the same reduction from all physicians and druggists participating in the program.

Although they achieve the same objectives, there is little similarity between the St. Louis County Medical Society's past 65 plan and the Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Association's program.

"Nobody in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties goes without medical care because of inability to pay," declared William K. Scheuber, executive secretary of the association. "Our program is geared to guarantee adequate medical care to all, and it does."

In the case of the woman needing a hysterectomy, Mrs. Hunter interviewed her to determine if she would be eligible for surgery in the county hospital at county expense or could be cared for at State expense, or through some other welfare agency. The interview brought out that the woman and her husband were practically without funds

and unable to pay even a portion of the cost of her needed surgery. Unfortunately, she did not qualify for any kind of welfare or other aid.

"We certainly will not let you go without the medical attention you need," Mrs. Hunter explained to the woman. "You go home and I will call you later. Be prepared for immediate entry in the hospital when I call."

After the woman left, Mrs. Hunter contacted the county hospital and made arrangements for a bed, use of the operating room, and other facilities. Then she called one of the area's outstanding surgeons and cited the need. There were no questions. The surgeon gladly volunteered his services.

"She has never had the county hospital or any physician turn her down," explained Scheuber. "We have 100-percent cooperation from everyone in the medical profession. We're proud of our record in bringing adequate medical care to all, without regard for their financial status."

The Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Association has an impressive record of keeping the patients' needs the foremost objective of the medical profession. In the early 1950's, the association set up a day-and-night telephone-answering service and an emergency doctor-dispatching program. Once these twin projects were in operation, the association advertised in the local newspaper that medical service would be provided around the clock and made available to anyone, regardless of ability to pay.

Many medical societies do not find it necessary to set up any special program to care for the indigent. "We have an understanding among our members whereby anyone unable to pay, or anyone without means of paying the regular fee, either is attended without charge or at a fee based upon ability to pay. But we just don't talk about our good samaritan work. We know there are some less fortunate than others, and our doctors take care of them without fanfare," reported the chairman of a county medical society in downstate Illinois.

Last year, the American Medical Association submitted a questionnaire to local medical societies throughout the Nation, asking what type of medical programs the societies have to provide care for the needy. The survey revealed that as of the first of this year more than 70 percent of the societies had some "specific" program to assure medical services to all. Some were specified as formal and others as informal programs. Many didn't claim an actual program existed but pointed out that individual society members gave medical care to the indigent with no thought of remuneration.

"We have always handled this problem individually," wrote one society chairman. "It is handled quietly. We do not feel a need to do it otherwise. No individual in this county has been denied medical care because of his inability to pay."

Another society chairman wrote: "Every one of us sees patients every day for whom we know we will not receive pay. We don't talk about it—we just do it. That is and always will be part of the doctor's job."

Finally, this terse reply: "In small communities this is no problem, except to the doctor. We take care of people who are sick whether they can pay or not."

Results of the survey emphasized that doctors are reticent to publicize guarantees of service, fearing they will be flooded with requests from free-loaders. However, societies with formal programs report requests were about the same as expected, and more often less than expected.

The survey also disclosed that some doctors are unaware that some people feel they are denied care because of lack of funds. They show a blithe unconcern about the problem, feeling quite convinced nobody goes without care who needs it because they take care of the indigents among their own patients. Some societies have sought to rectify this veneer of indifference by advertisement in local newspapers.

In Ohio, the Jefferson County Medical Society inserted an advertisement in the Steubenville Herald-Star stating that the Society knew of no one who had been denied needed medical care because the person could not afford it. An expression of opinion was asked. The advertisement brought two replies, neither asking for medical care and neither citing any cases where needed medical care had not been adequately provided.

In Illinois, the Belvidere Republican published a statement last March 8 by the Boone County Medical Society. The statement asserted, "If you have a misunderstanding with your doctor that you can't resolve in discussion with him, you can take the problem to our county medical grievance committee.

"Because this grievance committee exists, you never have to feel alone or helpless or without recourse in a dispute with your doctor. Our grievance committee is your grievance committee—set up to hear both sides of a doctor-patient dispute and to settle it as fairly as possible.

"If you have what you think is an honest complaint against a doctor, don't just tell your neighbors about it, tell our grievance committee. Contact either the president or secretary of the Boone County Medical Society by writing him. Give him as much detailed information as possible and give him your name and address."

The grievance committees of medical societies were originally established to investigate and rectify complaints of overcharges and any injustices which might be proved against society members. They also have been active in guaranteeing medical care to all regardless of ability to pay.

Clifton Reeder, M.D., chairman of the grievance committee of the Chicago Medical Society, says the committee learned of only one case last year of a physician refusing to care for a patient.

"The only case that came to our attention," said Dr. Reeder, "was that of a patient who collapsed in front of a clinic door and the doctor refused to care for him. It is safe to say that doctor will not pull such a stunt again."

Dr. Reeder pointed out that even with Chicago's increasing population, complaints are much fewer than they used to be. He interprets the decrease in complaints as a demonstration of the effectiveness of the grievance committee.

The Chicago Medical Society has one of the best emergency call services in the country. Its emergency medical service was established to guarantee the availability of doctors any time day or night. There are 275 doctors on the Chicago and Cook County Emergency Panel. They serviced more than 13,500 patients in 1960. Another 2,500 patients called but before the emergency doctor arrived the patients had contacted their own doctors who arrived to provide the needed medical care.

The Emergency Medical Service telephone number is listed on the inside front cover of the Chicago telephone directory under "Doctor," along with the police and fire department numbers. The medical society maintains personnel at the answering service 24 hours a day. When an emergency call is received, the name and address of the caller is recorded and the doctor on the panel living nearest the caller is dispatched to the emergency. The Emergency Medical Service eliminates complaints against the medical profession that "you can't get a doctor when you want one." It also is a part of the machinery across the country which guarantees medical care to anyone.

It is becoming customary throughout the country now for doctors to display plaques in their offices asking patients to discuss fees so the patient will know in advance what fees for various services will be. Both doctors and patients are urged by the American Medical Association to discuss cost where sizable amounts are involved. The program is another facet in the medical profession's guarantee that anyone needing medical attention will receive it, although the main purpose of fee discussion is to insure a continued happy relationship between patient and doctor when medical bills pile up. The contention is that by knowing costs in advance the patient is less likely to complain later.

The New York County Medical Society has no formal program for reduction of fees to the indigent such as developed in St. Louis County or Alameda-Contra Costa Counties. A spokesman for the New York County Society said that, aside from the large amount of work the individual doctor does for which he receives no fee, care of the indigent is well provided for under public assistance, the city hospitals, and through the Kerr-Mills law.

The Kerr-Mills bill became a law October 1, 1960, and as of January 1, 1962, 35 States had availed themselves of the advantages of the medical care measure. The bill provides Federal funds to those States which want to establish medical assistance to the aged (MAA) programs. The purpose is to provide care for those aged persons who are able to meet all normal living expenses except the cost of a major or prolonged illness.

The second part of the Kerr-Mills law provides matching funds to States desiring to improve the scope of medical benefits for aged persons who are on the State's old-age assistance (OAA) rolls. In addition to those States taking advantage of the measure, nine others had OAA medical programs which they considered adequate to provide necessary health care for those over 65. Two other States, before enactment of the Kerr-Mills legislation, had assistance programs at the local level which included medical care. And Alaska, while presently developing State medical care programs, had much of the medical care provided by the U.S. Public Health Service prior to statehood.

Shortly after the first of the year the president of the American Medical Association, Leonard W. Larson, M.D., pointed out that the quick acceptance of the Kerr-Mills legislation by the States contradicts statements by the measure's critics to the effect that the program can't and won't work.

Briefly summarized, the Kerr-Mills law authorizes the States, with Federal funds added to their own, to furnish medical care to all needy and near-needy citizens over 65. The medical care provided includes hospital and home nursing care, services of physicians and specialists, and practically everything else necessary for adequate health care.

Meanwhile, surgical and medical care benefits for persons over 65 are wrapped up in a new low-cost health insurance plan offered by Blue Shield. The plan was developed by Blue Shield and approved by the American Medical Association. It must be accepted by the State medical societies before becoming effective. However, State societies are approving the plan.

To qualify, a person must be over 65 with an annual income not exceeding $2,500. The combined yearly income of husband and wife must not be over $4,500. There is no limit on the net worth of each person. The premium is $3.20 a month per person and $6.10 monthly for husband and wife. There is a 180-day waiting period before the policy becomes effective.

The policy provides for surgery, wherever performed, including multiple procedures and oral surgery; anesthesia service when ordered by and administered by a physician, other than the attending physician or his assistant; in-hospital medical care covering physicians' visits to hospitalized patients for

70 days per admission. There must be a 90-day interval between discharge and readmission; medical care in nursing homes, covering physicians' visits in a licensed nursing home at one visit a week for 13 weeks following discharge from an acute hospital; radiation therapy, including treatment for all conditions requiring use of X-ray, radium, and radioisotopes; X-ray examinations for hospitalized bed patients and for outpatients if needed in the initial diagnosis and treatment of injury; laboratory and pathological examinations for hospital patients; and prolonged detention, when constant and prolonged bedside attendance by a physician is necessary.

Commenting on the plan, U.S. Senator JOHN TOWER, Republican, of Texas, said: "I am delighted to know that the medical profession and hospital administrators have suggested a voluntary rather than a compulsory plan to attack whatever problem exists among our aged in meeting their medical care costs."

The plan constitutes another of the programs either sponsored directly or cosponsored by the medical profession to make certain that no one in need of medical care goes without it because of inability to pay medical costs.

## Economic Change Affects Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Greensburg, Ind., Daily News:

ECONOMIC CHANGE AFFECTS INDIANA

During the 10 years ending in 1960 Indiana has experienced a definite change.

In 1950, the population of the Hoosier State was 59.5 percent urban and 40.1 percent rural.

The percentage figures had changed by 1960 to 62.4 percent urban and 37.6 percent rural.

In part, this has been due to expanded job opportunity in Indiana, which now has approximately 11,000 manufacturers, processors, and wholesalers.

Another contributing factor has been mechanization of farming, which has brought about larger agricultural operations and increased output per farmer.

Rural counties, as a whole, have tended to decline in population, whereas urban counties have gained. This trend may be changed to some extent through the development of more industry in Indiana county-seat cities. The number of nonfarmers, those living on 10 acres or less, has increased during the past 10 years.

In 1960, Indiana ranked eighth in the Nation in the field of manufacturing.

In area, Indiana is 38th in size in the Nation. However, the strong agricultural economy of the State is reflected in the fact that Indiana placed eighth in recipts from farm marketings.

In total income, the Hoosier State ranked 11th in the Nation, the same as its rank in population. In per capita income, Indiana ranked 22d in the Nation. Its per capita income of $2,198 in 1960 compares with a national per capita of $2,242.

Illustrative of the growth of the Indiana economy is the fact that in 1962 the State has 1,400 more manufacturers, wholesalers, and processors than in 1958.

The rating of the Hoosier State in several industrial fields is: First in musical instruments, prefabricated buildings, biological products and morticians' goods which include caskets; second in veneer mills, book printing, storage batteries, and wood office furniture, and third in steel production aircraft equipment, pharmaceutical preparations, refrigeration machinery, and motors and generators.

It is a major manufacturer, too, of mobile homes, radios and television sets and their parts, household furniture, automobiles and trucks and their parts, railway equipment, structural clay products, and metalworking.

In line with new manufacturing technology, the 10th directory of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, captioned the "Indiana Industrial Directory," includes for the first time such special product classifications as missile components with 18 companies, automation equipment with 8 companies, and propellants with 1 company. It also reflects significant expansions in the electronic and plastics industries.

Recent statistics all underscore the point that the present era in Indiana is one of dramatic economic and social change. Expansion in industry is closely paralleled by progress on the part of the agricultural segment of the State's economy.

## Independence Day of the Central African Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of the Central African Republic, David Dacko; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Central African Republic to the United States, Jean-Pierre Kombet, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Central African Republic's independence.

On August 13, 1962, in the heart of the African Continent, 1 million citizens of the Central African Republic celebrate the anniversary of their national independence. Slightly larger in area than France, this country covers a vast rolling plateau between the Congo and Chad Basins. The area, formerly known as Ubangi-Shari after its two principal rivers, became a French territory in 1894 and a half-century later its peoples became citizens of France. During the summer of 1960 the Central African Republic became a free and independent nation, as did several other former French territories. Its Constitution proclaims the nation's "attachment to the rights of man, to the principles of democracy and of the self-determination of peoples."

President David Dacko, a former teacher and one of the world's youngest heads of state, is leading his people on the road to economic and social development. Increasing recognition of the significance of this newly independent nation is indicated by the fact that the Heads of State Conference of the Afro-Malagasy Union convened in Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic, this past March. The Afro-Malagasy Union includes the Central African Republic and 11 other French-speaking African nations.

President Dacko and a national development committee are striving to coordinate the industrial growth of their country, whose beginnings include the building of a cement factory, plans for a railroad, and programs for the development of hydroelectric power. Efforts are also being made to strengthen the cultivation of cotton, which along with coffee and peanuts provide the main bases for the nation's economy. The educational system of the country is being broadened. We congratulate the people of the Central African Republic on the second anniversary of their independence and salute them for the great tasks in which they are engaged.

## REA's 5-Millionth Hookup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege, early last month, to be present when a miracle happened, and to participate in a ceremony which symbolized one of the most constructive accomplishments of the American people and their Federal Government.

Out in my State of New Mexico there lives a rancher named John McGuffin. John, and his wife Margaret, and her 87-year-old mother, Mrs. Margaretha Walter, have lived, for the last 20 years on a 12-section spread in a remote red sandhill area of blue sage and broomweed. John McGuffin runs about 90 head of cattle. His place is 30 miles from the nearest town—Tatum—and his nearest neighbor is nearly 5 miles away.

Until last July 2 these three sturdy people lived a life which would shock a good many average Americans. For the most part they went to bed with the chickens, because their only means of illumination after dark was kerosense lamps and lanterns. They used water sparingly, because it was pumped for them by a none-too-reliable windmill. Television was something they had heard about but could not use, because they did not have electricity. Refrigeration was not for them. They kept some beef and fryers in a locker plant at Tatum, and when they wanted to indulge in these delicacies, John McGuffin had to make a 60-mile round trip. Despite crippling arthritis, Mrs. McGuffin scrubbed the family laundry clean on an old-fashioned washboard, and smoothed it with sadirons heated on wood-burning stoves. Their means of communication were negligible, because they had no telephone, and their participation in the broader life of the country and the State was minimal.

The McGuffins and Mrs. Walter are proud, substantial, even heroic American citizens. Independent and resourceful, they met and mastered the challenges of their isolated life, and accepted its special burdens without complaint.

Last July 2 a miracle happened on the McGuffin ranch. The Lea County Electric Cooperative, of Lovington, N. Mex., ran a line 3½ miles out to the McGuffin ranch, and its was electrified. This was the 5-millionth electric hookup to be made by REA-financed rural electric systems. At the same time the Leaco Rural Telephone Cooperative—another REA borrower—installed modern dial equipment in the McGuffin home. Within minutes the McGuffins found a whole new way of life, and I was proud to be present, along with REA Administrator Norman M. Clapp and others, at the happy ceremony which marked this occasion. Today, for the first time in their lives, the McGuffins have abundant light and power. They have refrigeration. They have modern kitchen and laundry equipment and appliances. They can communicate. They live safer lives. Their horizons have broadened enormously.

To me, the electrification of the McGuffin ranch is a symbol of governmental responsibility and private initiative at their very best. Back in the philosophy of the Rural Electrification Administration is the principle of area coverage. And it was through the application of this principle of area coverage that the McGuffins finally were able to get electricity. The Lea County Electric Cooperative serves the town of Lovington. In such a populous area the consumer density is relatively high. For some distributors in the electric industry this would mean attractive profits. But REA-financed rural electric cooperatives do not work on the profit principle. They use the relatively high revenues from the populous areas to help offset the cost of extending electric service to the more remote sections. That's what area coverage means. John McGuffin will not have to dip down into his own pocket to pay for those lines which reached out to his remote ranch. He will pay only a modest bill each month.

I believe it will be a source of considerable satisfaction to many of us in Government to know that this 5-millionth hookup of a rural consumer by an REA-financed rural electric cooperative is a symbol of far more substantial achievement. It is a curious fact that, when the REA program first got underway some 27 years ago, many people thought there was no need for it. They said that all the farmers who needed electricity were getting it. At that time only about 11 percent of U.S. farms enjoyed central-station electric service. Today over 97 percent of U.S. farms receive central-station electric light and power, and systems financed by REA furnish service to more than 50 percent of the Nation's farm and other rural establishments.

This service is made possible through self-liquidating Government loans, and in the fall of last year the U.S. Treasury received the billionth dollar in repayment of the principal of these loans. Not only did this represent $172 million in principal payments ahead of due dates, but it was in addition to nearly a half-billion dollars paid in interest.

It should not surprise us to know—but I think that we should note—that the dimensions of the rural electrification challenge are changing. With 97 percent of the Nation's farms electrified the problem is no longer the simple business of running in a line and turning on the lights. The farm and rural resident has learned to live with electricity, and to rely upon electricity in doing his job. The power demands of farm and rural consumers double about every 7 years. This increasing consumer demand for power is a direct reflection not only of the substantial progress of farm and rural people in the United States, but of their attainment of ever-higher standards of living. The pressure of rural electrification is liquidating underprivilege in the remote sections of the Nation, and releasing a constructive dynamic into the economy and the culture of our land, in which we all share.

A quarter-century ago those who said this job did not need doing, were wrong. Today, those who say it is done are equally wrong. It is not done; it is only begun. Certainly the Rural Electrification Administration stands well up among those felicitous mechanisms of Government which contribute simultaneously, importantly, and consistently both to the economic and cultural stability and progress of our Nation.

## Economy or Servitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the wording on the cover of the Virginia Masonic Herald.

I am glad to do this at the suggestion of Mr. C. E. Copley, of Richmond, Va., who is desirous of having the quotation from Thomas Jefferson brought to the attention of all of the Members of the Congress.

There being no objection, the wording was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(The Virginia Masonic Herald, official organ, Grand Lodge A.F. & A.M. of Virginia, July-August 1962)

ECONOMY OR SERVITUDE

"I place economy among the first and the most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest dangers to be feared. * * * To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with prepetual debt. * * * We must make our choice between economy and liberty or profusion and servitude. * * *

"If we run into such debts, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and in our amusements. * * * If we can prevent the Government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy."

—Thomas Jefferson.

## Supreme Court Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Leon Macon, editor of the Alabama Baptist, published by the Alabama Baptist State Convention, wrote several editorials regarding the decision of the Supreme Court. These articles appeared in the Alabama Baptist under dates of July 5 and July 12.

I believe that Mr. Macon's articles are of such importance and are written with such an objective viewpoint that I would like to insert them in the RECORD at this point as I feel that they are very enlightening and certainly do much to enable one to better understand the situation with respect to the separation of church and state and how the Court's decision reflects upon it:

SCHOOL PRAYER DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The New York Board of Regents had ruled that the following prayer be uttered at the start of each schoolday: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

Any pupils who did not want to join in the prayer could abstain.

A group of Unitarians, Jews, a member of the Society for Ethical Culture, and one nonbeliever, had appealed to the Supreme Court the New York State court's ruling upholding the prayer. The Supreme Court declared that the Constitution is violated by any legal requirement that a public school teacher lead her pupils in prayer.

Those Supreme Court Justices voting in favor of this decision declared that it is no part of the business of the Government to compose official prayers for any group of American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the Government. It was argued that any such legislation which requires students to recite a prayer, although undenominational in napower, prestige, and financial support of the Constitution. It was argued that "When the power, prestige and financial support of the Government is placed behind a particular religious belief, indirect coercive pressure is placed on religious minorities."

We should all thank the Supreme Court for this decision simply because such a required prayer is using the Government to establish religion in our public schools. This is in direct conflict with the first amendment which guarantees that there shall be no laws passed regarding the establishment of religion.

We do not believe this ruling forbids prayer in any of our public institutions, the House or the Senate in Washington, or in any of our schools, however, it could lead to this. It is a ruling against the State's requiring a legal prayer to be prayed in our schools and if this stood, then the Federal Government could come in and take over all of our public schools and enforce its will on what is now a State and local prerogative.

For the sake of the separation of church and state, we should all be very happy that this legal requirement for a religious observance in public schools was not upheld.

If we ever have Government-established prayers, this will be used as a precedent by those who want the Government to support their schools with tax moneys. Any emotional reaction against this Supreme Court decision is ill-founded for there is by far more danger to the separation of church and state than any other consideration.

We have our churches in which to teach our children their religious practices and beliefs, and trying to use some State agency to accomplish what the church ought to be doing is a confession that one's particular church program is ineffective. This is a warning for all of our churches to become vitally concerned about all the people and, therefore, to strengthen their program of reaching people for Christ and spreading the gospel among all the people.

There are forces today which would like to see our public schools forced by law to practice religious rites. (Prayer is a religious rite). This would give them precedence to appeal to in order to get Government moneys for their parochial schools. This ruling will do more than anything else to thwart the efforts of those who believe their religious schools should be supported by tax moneys.

RELIGION IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Baptists have always been stanch supporters of our public school system and of the separation of church and state. The public schools grew out of church schools in the early part of our country's history. The task got so large the churches could not handle it and it was turned over to the state.

The prayer required by the New York Regent's office was a written prayer and as far as Southern Baptists are concerned they have not supported this manner of praying. Then, it is not a Christian prayer because Christ's name is not mentioned in it and this is one of the reasons we should not be alarmed over the action of the Supreme Court in declaring this written prayer unconstitutional. Baptists believe in a clean separation of church and state and have endorsed and practiced the policy of training our young people, in the things of religion, at home and in the churches. We must continue to endorse this principle, for any breach of the separation of church and state only acts as a precedent for a wider breakthrough.

President Kennedy has stated that we would have to do more praying in our homes and churches and he is exactly right. If all of our people would be as consistent in their religious life at home and in the churches as they are in seeing that their children go to school, we would have no problem whatsoever in the matter of our young people being trained in the godly concepts.

This decision by the Supreme Court was not antireligion at all but was for the separation of church and state. Its decision applies only to this case and does not involve other cases where religion is involved. The American Civil Liberty Union is a small group of Americans composed of deists, atheists, and others who are taking a major role in trying to eliminate any mention of religion from our public schools. Although we do not believe any kind of religious practice should be required by law, it certainly has become a practice in America to mention the fact of God and relate learning to Him. We do not believe any legislation should be passed eliminating any mention of God in our schools. If Christmas observances, Bible readings, the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and baccalaureate services in our schools are declared illegal, this may be the greatest boon to our churches that has happened recently. There has been too much of a tendency to turn over to some organized secular group the religious observances, teachings and practices of our society. These things can be handled simply and effectively and, at the same time, observe a complete separation of church and state, by the churches inviting graduating classes to one of their services and have them as honored guests. No mention of the school needs to be made, but the occasion would have a better effect because it would be linked with the church. Many of our Baptist churches are honoring their graduates and any of the other graduates who would like to attend, by having some special service in their churches for them. We are supposed to get our religious training and practices in our churches and then go out as individuals into all areas of secular life and permeate it with our Christian living. We frankly state that our people have not been impressed enough about taking their religion into their businesses, social life, politices and other secular areas. At no time should we use the state as a crutch to hold the churches up and to perform their duties.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND LEGALLY REQUIRED PRAYERS

Now that the emotional reaction to the act of the Supreme Court which declared unconstitutional a New York City law requiring a written prayer to be rendered in the public schools each day has ebbed somewhat, we can look more clearly at this decision. In commenting on this decision at a press conference President Kennedy pointed out that this was in violation of the first amendment and that people had their homes and churches in which to pray and that this was the place where the children should be taught to pray. He agreed with the Supreme Court by stating that this required prayer was an establishment of religion in a public institution and that our Constitution forbade this kind of law.

We commend President Kennedy for his loyalty to our way of life in America which is safeguarded by the Constitution. He is showing more intelligence toward the principle of separation of church and state than some other Presidents who have preceded him. From all the positions he has taken in office thus far, he has proved himself to be a loyal American Catholic, which means he is loyal to his church in its religious functions and loyal to the American Constitution. This same thing is true in other countries. Since about 1880, until De Gaulle came to office, the majority of Frenchmen were loyal French Catholics. This meant they were loyal to their church, but wanted the hierarchy kept out of politics and its function limited to religious duties. We believe there are many American Catholics and we would not hesitate to vote for any American Catholic. It is the Roman Catholic we have to beware of for they are extremely loyal to Rome and its claims concerning its rights to be supported by the state and to receive special favors from it.

We believe all of our people should express their appreciation to President Kennedy for his loyal American stand.

There is evidence that those who want to have financial support from the state desired to have this prayer left legal in order that they might point to it as a precedent for getting tax moneys for their own parochial schools and other institutional work.

Any further efforts to reestablish such a law as the New York Board of Regents had will be a mistake. Any efforts to add amendments to the Constitution to overrule the Supreme Court's decision will be a very fatal step toward destroying separation of church and state and eventually religious liberty.

The very fact that two Cardinals and many publications of their group have condemned the Supreme Court's action in this vital area creates a suspicion that they wanted this prayer kept legal for some reason of their own, for they certainly do not believe in public schools or in the prayers non-Catholics might pray. All of us will be better off if we continue to oppose any kind of legal requirement regarding religion in our public agencies.

This was a decision which involved only one case and does not prohibit voluntary prayer in any of our schools, legislatures, or public hospitals, nor does it forbid using inscriptions which refer to God on legal tender.

Let us not be blinded to the efforts of others to achieve their goal of destroying the separation of church and state by making our position indefensible in other areas.

This decision makes it very clear that neither Federal nor State funds may constitutionally be used for the support of parochial schools. We should be very thankful for this decision for it will act as a bulwark against the efforts of religious leaders to get tax moneys to support their church school programs.

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## The Crime Problem in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I share with my colleague, Representative FRANK BECKER and, I am sure, the other Members of Congress, the feeling of concern for the crime problem here in the District.

I do not share, however, the feelings of the Washington Post that the sex offender, housebreaker, and three-time rapist who attacked Representative BECKER's aid while she prayed in her church, is the "unfortunate" victim of that tragic event.

Last Friday, I sent them the attached letter and I look forward to their reply with great interest. When I receive it, I will make it available to all the Members.

The letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., August 10, 1962.*

THE EDITOR,
*Washington Post*
*1515 L Street NW.,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I have read with both interest and a growing sense of confusion, your recent editorial, "Community Failure."

Prior to that time, my heart and sympathies had gone out to the young secretary of my colleague, Representative BECKER, as the unfortunate victim in the recent stabbing in her church. Your editorial, however, describes the three-time rapist and housebreaker as the "unfortunate" party and, like Niobe, you weep for him and not for her.

If there is, indeed, a misfortune here, it is that this animal who has failed in his role as a social being has been allowed to vent his perversions on at least three women and the misfortune is theirs, not his.

You have, in your ultimate sentence, called for the "kind of constructive program that

is needed" without defining the program you have in mind. I would like to know the details, with specific reference to your stand on allowing the police to do their job of making Washington clean and putting it in order before it becomes, even more explicitly the Casbah of America.

Sincerely yours,

JOE D. WAGGONNER, Jr.

## Resolution Urging Federal Authorities To Require Northeast Airlines To Continue Its Scheduled Flight Services in and Out of the Municipal Airport of the City of Lawrence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, airline service in New England, as it affects the smaller communities, has steadily deteriorated year by year until we have reached the point where the city of Lawrence, Mass., with some 71,000 inhabitants in the city proper and several thousands in the suburbs, finds itself in danger of losing service altogether.

This important manufacturing center at one time enjoyed through, nonstop service to and from New York City. That service has been removed and once-a-day shuttle service that makes several stops in Massachusetts and Maine has been substituted. In fact, earlier this year Northeast tried to even eliminate the shuttle service.

This, incidentally, is the same airline company that is seeking the support of the New England delegation in Congress in its bid to be permanently awarded air routes between New York and Boston and Florida.

Mr. Speaker, the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, recognizing the great danger to the economy and welfare of the Commonwealth should air transportation further dry up, has asked the Congress and the Civil Aeronautics Board, through a formal resolution, to take appropriate action to require Northeast to continue serving the Lawrence area, and I insert a copy of the resolution herewith:

RESOLUTION URGING FEDERAL AUTHORITIES TO REQUIRE NORTHEAST AIRLINES TO CONTINUE ITS SCHEDULED FLIGHT SERVICES IN AND OUT OF THE MUNICIPAL AIRPORT OF THE CITY OF LAWRENCE

Whereas the Northeast Airlines has submitted a petition to the Civil Aeronautics Board requesting permission to terminate certain scheduled flights in and out of Richard F. Condon Airport in North Andover, the municipal airport of the city of Lawrence, thereby terminating service for the Lawrence area; and

Whereas hundreds of thousands of dollars of city, State, and Federal funds have been expended in recent years in the enlargement and improvement of said airport, and the Federal Aviation Administration has approved recent expenditures for the development of the airport; and

Whereas the record of airline passengers served from 1952 to 1958 justifies a longer trial period of service by the Northeast Airlines, which company has not fairly tried to promote business in the Lawrence area, particularly in promoting air mail and air freight, nor tried to evaluate the potential of air passenger business in the Lawrence area, notwithstanding the fact that over $2 million has been invested in new facilities at the Lawrence airport during the years 1958–61 on the basis of the resumption of services at said airport by the Northeast Airlines; and

Whereas the suspension of service requested by Northeast Airlines was tentatively allowed by order of the Civil Aeronautics Board, which order was later withdrawn, at which time the Civil Aeronautics Board stated that Northeast Airlines should resume its original schedule of service out of and into the Lawrence airport until the entire matter of Northeast Airline service in the New England area, including Lawrence, be reviewed at a regional airport meeting to be held in August of the current year; and

Whereas it is not in the public interest to allow Northeast Airlines to discontinue flight service at the Lawrence airport, no other substitute service being available: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate of Massachusetts respectfully urges the Congress of the United States and the Civil Aeronautics Board to take such action as may protect the interests of the people of the Lawrence area, and to require Northeast Airlines to continue its services at the Lawrence airport; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the secretary of the Commonwealth transmit forthwith copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, to each Member of the Congress from the Commonwealth, and to each member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Senate, adopted, July 26, 1962.

THOMAS A. CHADWICK,
*Clerk.*

A true copy.
Attest:

KEVIN H. WHITE,
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

## Philadelphians Defend America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of attending the commissioning ceremony of the U.S. ship *Barney*—DDG–6—on August 11, 1962, at the Philadelphia Naval Base. The commanding officer, Comdr. Joseph J. Doak, Jr., U.S. Navy, is a Philadelphia native who was appointed to the Naval Academy by former Congressman Leon Sacks from the First District of Pennsylvania. The executive officer, Lt. Comdr. Ralph J. Reeder, U.S. Navy, is also a Philadelphian who lives in the present Fifth Congressional District represented by the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr., of Philadelphia. This district has been changed by reapportionment and is the new Fourth Congressional District in which I am a candidate for reelection to the 88th Congress. The ship was built by the New York Shipbuilding Corp. of Camden, N.J., which is right across the Delaware River from the Philadelphia Naval Base.

The show was therefore run by Philadelphia, starting a Philadelphia commanding officer, a Philadelphia executive officer, a commission at the Philadelphia Naval Base and a construction across the Delaware River.

I wish to extend my best wishes to the Philadelphians who will defend America and work to keep the world at peace.

## Family Financing Discussed in Terms of Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal about fiscal myths, real or imaginary. Myths, old or new, are often fascinating in contemplation but may produce dire consequences in operation.

The following parody on some myths, theories, and fundamentals relative to governmental fiscal policy amused me immensely. I woud like to share with my colleagues this piece written by Harry Ferguson and distributed by United Press International.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article as it appeared in the Holland, Mich., Evening Sentinel:

FAMILY FINANCING DISCUSSED IN TERMS OF FEDERAL BUDGET

(By Harry Ferguson)

(NOTE.—Here is a light-hearted discussion of family financing in terms of the Federal budget.)

WASHINGTON.—So OK, I shouldn't have socked her in the eye us being married 10 years with almost no trouble but she's off on this kick about running our budget the way the Government does and when she says I gotta ask for a pay cut to pump money into the economy I let her have it.

She's reading this magazine where it says a woman called Elizabeth Rudel Smith is Treasurer of the United States and signs her name on dollar bills and she says she always knew women was smarter than men and from now on she is going to run our budget.

I got the Yankees at Cleveland on the TV and Donovan has this three and two count on Maris in the top of the fifth with no score and two on so I don't pay much attention when she sticks this piece of paper in front of me and says sign here.

Soon as I sign I can see we're in hock to the building and loan for a thousand bucks and she says, "this is deficit financing and what is good for Uncle Samuel is good for us." I says "what's wrong with our budget now, hundred a week take-home pay which takes care of the mortgage and the installments on the TV and the car and even $5 bucks a week for the savings bank, but she says, "its a balanced budget and under some conditions it's a 'clesshay' to say a balanced budget is good." I says "'clesshay' or no 'cleeshay' what's the sense of borrowing

dough when you're doing OK as is," and she says "make up your mind whether you want to drop anchor or sail on."

So Saturday I'm out in the yard to look at the vegetable garden and nothing ain't been planted and I asked her about it and she says she paid the Elliott boy next door $5 smackers not to plant our vegetables and I says "that's crazy," and she says, "if you don't take acreage out of production you have uncontrollable surpluses and who do you think you are Orville Freeman or Ezra Taft Benson maybe?"

So I'm in front of the TV Thursday night having a beer and humming along with Mitch when she turns it off and says, "We got to talk about balances of payment and it can't wait for the program to finish," I says, "What the hell is balance of payments?" And she says, "It's money going out of the country and coming in and am I just going to sit there listening to Mitch while the U.S. stock of gold is drained away?"

I says, "She and I ain't got no gold to be drained away," and she says, "Ha, ha, that's what you think," and she opens up this box and pulls out a bracelet and necklace and I says, "'Migawd,' how much did you pay for them?" She says, "420 smackers," and I starts yelling bloody murder and she says, "Shut up, I suppose you would rather see this gold drained away to the Bank of England or one of them Swiss places." I says, "I got just one question to ask," and she says, "Ask not what your country can do for you but what can you do for your country," and slams the door on the way to bed.

So couple days later I'm thinking about going fishing and maybe spending a week of the vacation up in Canada. She says, "No dice on Canada," and I says, "Why not," and she looks at me like I'm a dumb cluck and says something about the external flow of funds. I says, "I don't know what that is but I'm going fishing in Canada." And she says, "You can't spend money in Canada. What we got to do is get people from Canada to come down here and spend money."

I says, "Whose fishing trip is this and who says I can't go to Canada?" and she says, "Shut up, I already spent the fishing trip money," and I says, "For what?" She says, "I sent it to Yugoslavia as part of our foreign aid budget and here you want to go upsetting the balance of payments by running off to Canada when the Commies got to be stopped." I says sarcasticlike, "Sure women is smarter than men but it has been my feebleminded impression that you can't stop the Commies in Yugoslavia because they already own it, and how about that, Madam President?" You can tell she has been reading some books or magazines or papers because she gets a dreamy look in her eye and says, "Who knows when a tiny crack in the Iron Curtain will grow into a gateway to freedom?"

Come the first of the month I says to her, "What about the bills?" and she says, "Everything is OK and taken care of," and I says, "I am not a nosey man but I happen to be the guy earning this money and how's about me seeing the budget?" She says, "There's no use you looking at it because it ain't one of them 'cleeshay' budgets and you wouldn't understand." I says, "Maybe so, but I got a bad feeling we're in the hole what with paying off the building and loan at $96 bucks a month and keeping our gold away from the Swiss yodelers and not planting vegetables and looking for tiny cracks in the Iron Curtain."

She says, "I'll betcha never heard of lifting the debt ceiling," and I says "No" and she says, "well the great United States of America does it all the time and borrows some more money and right now the debt ceiling is $300 umpteen billion if you would like to put that in your pipe and smoke it."

I says, "Thank God you can't get your hands on the withholding or I would have tax trouble with the great United States of America and anyway what has $300 umpteen billion got to do with us?"

She says, "I went to the building and loan and told the man what Mr. Dillon said to Congress about raising the debt ceiling and then I says to the man how about a little raising of the debt ceiling for me and he says why certainly madam would another thousand be all right and just have your husband sign here."

I says, "I ain't gonna sign," and she says, "You better if you know what's good for you because you're going to ask for a pay cut and we gotta have a higher debt ceiling."

I screams, "I ain't going to ask for a pay cut and has she gone clear off her rocker," and she says, "calm down because the Government is thinking about cutting taxes to pump some more money into the economy and that's just like the Government asking for a pay cut." I says, "the only thing I'm going to pump is my fist into your kisser," and that's the true story of why I let her have it after 10 years of matrimony.

## Taxes Going Up or Down?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of discussion has been centered recently on the subject of a tax cut—and I believe this evening we find out what decision the administration has reached after launching this discussion. Unnoticed in this discussion is the fact that while there may be a tax cut in the offing, there is certainly a tax increase coming, in fact it has been scheduled.

The Washington Daily News of August 9 reported on this increase. This increase is due in the social security tax and, as the article notes, the increase will be a dollar a month.

I am placing this article, explaining the tax increase that is sure to come, in the RECORD:

TAXES GOING UP, BUT DEFINITELY—REASON: SOCIAL SECURITY

(By Robert Dietsch)

It was during still another congressional discussion on the economy and the effects of a tax cut that Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, brought up an unpleasant reminder: Taxes may not go down next year. But they definitely are going up.

What the gentleman from Missouri was saying—and he is among the majority who will have to be shown the desirability of a quickie tax reduction—is that social security taxes are going up an additional $12 a year.

HOW

This is how the increase works out:

We now pay on the first $4,800 of income. Present rate is 3⅛ percent for employed persons (paid both by employer and employee). This has meant a maximum tax bill of $150 a year for a jobholder.

On January 1, this rate goes up to 3⅝ percent, for a maximum tax bill of $162. As in the past, payments will be withheld.

Self-employed persons now pay 4.7 percent on the first $4,800 they paid themselves, or a maximum of $225.60. This rate goes up to 5.4 percent, or a maximum of $259.20.

It was only last January 1 that social security taxes had their latest rise. The rates are geared to building up adequate reserves.

## People-to-People Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of Tuesday, August 7, 1962, includes a report on the university people-to-people movement, originated by my good friend Bill Dawson, a student at the University of Kansas.

Bill Dawson, together with Rick Barnes and Rafer Johnson, have done an outstanding worldwide job of organizing a massive student exchange. I have had independent reports from personal friends of mine in Western Europe of the impact this program is making, and am pleased to include the Christian Science Monitor feature, by Bodfrey Sperling, Jr., at this point, for the benefit of my colleagues here in the Congress:

REPORT FROM THE MIDWEST: PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FRIENDS

(By Godfrey Sperling, Jr.)

KANSAS CITY, MO.—A little more than a year ago a young man at the University of Kansas became concerned over the way foreign students were treated on his campus. As he saw it, both the university and the campus community (Lawrence) should do much more to bring these visitors into the everyday flow of life in America.

This column has previously contained some references to that Kansas University student, young William Dawson: How he and some other students banded together as a welcome committee for the foreign students at Kansas University; how they combed both Lawrence and the State for summer jobs for these visitors, how they found people in Lawrence who would open their homes to the foreign students, how they put in motion all sorts of activities (discussion groups, trips to farms and factories, etc.) as a means for ending the ghetto life of many of these students.

Other students on other campuses have been conscious of the needs of the so-called international student. What makes Bill Dawson unique is that he soon envisioned this as a national program, one in which every college would see to it that the most is made of this great opportunity to mix and make friends with these students from many lands.

Dawson's first step was to sell this as a national project to the people-to-people program, chairmaned by Dwight D. Eisenhower and headquartered here in Kansas City. Under people-to-people auspices Dawson and fellow Kansas University student Rick Barnes, together with Olympic decathon champion Rafer Johnson, have been carrying on a great organizational drive throughout the country. In 6 months' time these are the results:

The program is now operating in 23 States with more than 600 colleges and universities participating. As a secondary part of the

activity 350 "student ambassadors" from 14 Midwestern colleges are currently touring Europe, calling on European graduates of American colleges and spending much time in the homes of European families.

How did this happen so fast? Letters to the Governor of a State, signed by Eisenhower, preceded the visit of Dawson, Barnes, or Johnson. The letter asks the Governor to invite a student representative to attend an organizing conference at the State capitol—the invitations to go to every college and university president in the State. These presidents are asked by the Governor to select a campus leader as the college representative. Then, at the conference, each representative is given a detailed plan for action on his campus.

Thus, very quickly, progress is being made to integrate the some 70,000 foreign students now on American college campuses.

Already these college representatives have reported 4,800 invitations from families to visiting students for weekends, dinners, parties, etc. And there have been 1,000 invitations to visiting students to live with families, free of charge, as "members of the family."

A restaurant owner "adopted" two Philippine students. A fire chief arranged for two students to live at the fire house at no cost. At the University of Kansas 24 fraternities and sororities supplied either free rooms or free meals to at least one visiting student each. And so it goes.

Writes Demitrius Papageorgiou, a student from Greece: "Before people-to-people came to my school, I had never been in an American home. I spent all my vacations on the campus. Now I can go home and tell my friends how Americans really live instead of how I imagined they live."

Another visiting student, Wael Kahaleh, from Syria, writes: "Without my summer job I could not have stayed in school. I shall never forget the kindness of my people-to-people friends."

And a Cyprus student, Costas Kleanthous: "Talking with my people-to-people friends helped me learn and understand the attitudes and customs of all kinds of Americans. It also gave me a chance to explain the culture, customs, and problems of my country to them."

## The New Deal-Fair Deal Tradition Versus the Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on August 12 the New York Post published a brief but important editorial which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues. This editorial included the statement of former President Harry S. Truman concerning the proposed giveaway of our communications satellite system. The former President has once again, with characteristic frankness, raised his voice to protect the interests of millions of American taxpayers.

I commend the following editorial to my colleagues in both bodies.

MR. TRUMAN COMMENTS

Harry S. Truman is a master of the American idiom. The other day he put his talents to good use in an extraordinarily succinct summary of what is involved in the administration's proposal to give the communications satellite system to the big corporations:

"I don't think the President understands the bill. The damned Republicans and some Democrats are trying to give away public property. The public spent $25 billion or $30 billion developing satellites and the communications system ought to be publicly owned.

"The Republicans will give away everything if you don't watch them."

## Progress in Government Financial Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, two separate items lead to the conclusion that at long last some progress is being made in the fight to bring about more businesslike practices into Government operations. The resulting savings to the American taxpayers will be felt for years to come as we benefit more and more from these improved methods of accounting and Government purchasing.

Elimination of overlapping waste and duplication in defense supply operations has for years been of great concern to the Congress. Since World War II and the passage of the National Security Act in 1947, committees and individual Members of both the House and Senate have repeatedly stressed the need for integrating the procurement and supply activities of our military services so as to put an end to the needless and inexcusable waste and duplication in this area of defense spending.

The House and Senate Appropriations Committees, and the House Government Operations Committee and the Joint Economic Committee have all noted that not only was there a failure to correct duplication of functions and activities in the existing organization structures of the military services, but a more serious failure to recognize that the structure of the military departments had not kept pace with the vastly increased importance of support—supply—activities.

The Hoover Commission was keenly aware of this as reflected in the opening comments of its report on "Business Organization of the Department of Defense" which also pointed out that inadequate recognition was given to the impact of new military support demands on the resources of the Nation, industrial and natural as well as available labor force. The Hoover Commission recommended several programs to reduce costs and to increase efficiency including compliance with congressional mandate to integrate common supply and service activities of the military departments, and improvement of financial management and control.

Under Public Law 84–863, which I introduced in the House of Representatives, major progress has been made to implement this last program, not only in the Department of Defense but throughout the Government.

The Bureau of the Budget has informed me that following the enactment of Public Law 84–863, they initiated a long-range financial management improvement program. This government-wide effort was directed toward effective implementation of the legislation. When the program began, the 1957 budget included cost budget presentations for just four appropriations. In contrast, over two-thirds of the appropriations items in the 1962 budget—representing 412 accounts—were presented in terms of cost. Those accounts covered programs involving about $35 billion in budget expenditures and $16 billion in trust fund expenditures. In the 1963 budget, about 25 more appropriations were converted to the cost basis. Good progress is continuing.

Looking just at the Department of the Army, we see that improved accounting systems have been put into effect to some degree in the accounts of the Corps of Engineers, operations and maintenance, military construction, and property accounting. Cost based budgeting is now complete for operations and maintenance, and military construction.

Similar improvements can be noted in the Departments of the Air Force and Navy.

During the past month, I have been more than pleased to read Secretary of Defense McNamara's report on the Defense Department's costs-reduction program and an article about the new single Defense Supply Agency which he established. The article appears in the Review, published by the National Defense Supply Association.

The Secretary's key to increased efficiency and economy is the reduction in operating costs through integration and standardization of supply operations and through this, the elimination of overlapping and duplication in existing supply systems of the military services. His chief means of accomplishing this was the establishment of a single Defense Supply Agency reporting directing to him.

What Secretary McNamara has done is in keeping with the often-expressed intent of the Congress, and almost exactly in line with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission.

The savings resulting directly from the Secretary's action is estimated at $750 million for fiscal year 1963 alone, and he has estimated that within 5 years the annual savings in the Department's supply operations will be at least $3 billion.

Certainly this program of the Secretary of Defense deserves the wholehearted support of the Congress and the American people.

Every effort must be continued to bring about further savings wherever possible so that our Defense Establishment, and every other agency of Government, will get the fullest value for each tax dollar spent and the American people, who must pay these bills, will know their money is being used wisely

and for the purposes for which the Congress directed.

Mr. Speaker, two recent editorials point to Secretary McNamara's actions, and I ask that they be printed at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 13, 1962]

TRIMMING OFF DEFENSE FAT

Much has been said and written about strengthening our defense posture through improvements which necessarily involve huge expenditures. Not enough has been said, however, about measures being taken to increase defense strength without adding a penny to the soaring military budgets. In fact, the miracle of more arms at less cost is being achieved by the simple process of ridding the Defense Department of budgetary fat in the form of administrative overlapping, conflict and other waste. President Kennedy's recent praise of Defense Secretary McNamara for this dollar-saving fitness program was thoroughly justified.

That the fat-trimming operations are of no mean proportions can be seen from the President's comment that within the next 5 years a total of $3 billion can be cut from the defense budgets, with savings of $750 million estimated for fiscal 1963. And these savings will be effected without touching any funds earmarked for missiles, ships, planes, or other military equipment. On the contrary, more dollars will be made available to put more muscle into America's defense structure.

The area in which the fat-slicing program will be concentrated is one in which the Hoover Commission found gross and senseless waste of Federal funds, namely, in the field of logistics. Carrying out an authorization by Congress under the Curtis-McCormack legislation, Secretary McNamara has taken steps to consolidate and coordinate defense buying, selling, and distribution of supplies. This move, recommended by the Hoover Commission, by the Controller General and by various public and private committees, already has eliminated much duplication of procurement among the military agencies.

Mr. Kennedy stressed that 70 percent of defense appropriations go for logistics, the military term for such varied activities as purchasing, construction, operating depots, and bases, maintenance, transportation and communications. This is indeed a fertile field for waste, as numerous congressional inquiries have shown, and consequently it is also a fertile field for effecting substantial economies. And Mr. McNamara is especially well qualified to put the sprawling Defense Establishment on a more efficient, business-like basis of operation.

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, July 9, 1962]

MCNAMARA'S STRONG HAND

Defense Secretary McNamara is making hay for the taxpayers.

After 17 months in office, he is managing the biggest military program in peacetime. Yet he now can account for $750 million which wasn't spent, but would have been spent under old pre-McNamara methods.

He thinks his new systems can save $3 billion a year within the next 5 years, without stinting. Judging by the long record of waste and mistakes which have been common in defense spending since the big war—and before—this probably is a modest guess.

Although the job of revamping the way the Pentagon is run is complex and no doubt frustrating, Mr. McNamara's policies are simple enough.

He doesn't think mere spending will make the country strong militarily. He thinks it is even stronger if it doesn't buy what it doesn't absolutely need. And what it buys should be obtained at "the lowest possible cost."

These are ordinarily used business practices, but they haven't exactly permeated the Defense Department, or any other part of the Government. Efficient practices are even more important in the Defense Department, because it spends the most, and because every wasted dollar and every man sitting on his haunches is the same as a dollar or a man surrendered to the enemy.

This is Charlie Wilson's old "more bang for a dollar" theory, at which some anti-Wilson partisans used to scoff. Only Mr. McNamara has refined it, put some punch in it, and apparently is making it stick.

It is indeed, as President Kennedy said, "vital" to maintain a military force competent to keep us secure. But also, he said, "it is vital to our economic health that we operate this force at the lowest cost possible." That second vital point has been too much neglected.

Elvis Stahr, who has just quit his job as Army Secretary (under Mr. McNamara) to get back to his earlier career as a university president, has given out a "now-that-I'm-out-of-office" interview. He said Mr. McNamara is the "ablest" but he feared the Defense Department was being overly centralized. His idea seemed to be that when Mr. McNamara is gone there won't be another like him to run the place.

We think this is a risk the country well can afford. Mr. McNamara is one of the best things that has happened to Washington since the national debt was small enough for all of us to understand. If he can get this sprawling apparatus to working right, it may become a habit—and we really will get "more bang for a buck."

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## Human Rights—What Are They?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we will soon be asked to vote on the proposal to permit the purchase of U.N. bonds.

It is well for us from time to time to examine the various facets of the U.N. and a recent editorial in the Chicago Tribune casts an interesting light on a matter which should be given considerable public attention.

I submit for the RECORD the editorial entitled "Human Rights—What Are They?" which appeared in the August 9 edition:

HUMAN RIGHTS—WHAT ARE THEY?

Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, who was Castro's first Premier but is now head of a Cuban revolutionary council in opposition to his onetime boss, thought to do something about the miserable conditions under which political prisoners are confined in Cuban dungeons. So he lodged an appeal with the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

That august body, which some years ago drew up an ambitious "declaration of human rights," answered Miro's plea with the staggering statement, "This Commission on Human Rights recognizes that it does not have the faculties to make any declaration in relation to human rights."

That could mean that the Commission does not have the ability, the power, or possibly the brains to say or do anything useful about human rights, and that any effort on its part to do so would be sterile and without result. If so, what is its reason for pretending to be in business at all?

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## Honors for Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been enriched from time to time in having among its leaders men who can, from any criterion, be called great. One of these is Herbert Hoover. No recognition can be too great for the work Hoover has done for his country and for the world. An editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of August 10 expresses the deep feelings which America feels for the former President and senior statesman. I wish to join with the Globe-Democrat, the two great universities of the St. Louis area and, indeed, with every American in honoring Herbert Hoover and celebrating the 88th birthday of this great man.

The editorial follows:

HERBERT HOOVER AT 88

Today, one of the truly great men in the history of the world, Herbert Hoover, humanitarian and former President of the United States, celebrates his 88th birthday at his birth place in West Branch, Iowa, where he will dedicate the Herbert Hoover Library which will house most of the papers of his Presidency.

Missouri will have at least a small part in honoring this great citizen when two great Missouri universities, Washington Universitiy and the University of Missouri, confer on President Hoover his 87th and 88th honorary degrees, part of the sum total of honors unequaled in history.

The two Missouri awards have special significance in that this is the first time either university has ever broken its ancient rule of conferring an honorary degree away from its own campus. Our State honors itself by honoring Mr. Hoover.

The Hoover Library is but one of many benefactions of the former President. Another is the justly famed Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace on the campus of Stanford University, which has the world's greatest collection of documents bearing on the seeds of war and revolution and the prospects for peace.

Perhaps President Hoover's greatest service is his work of unparalleled brilliance in feeding the starving nations of the world following the close of World War I and for several years thereafter, and his similar efforts following World War II.

There are literally hundreds of thousands of persons—perhaps millions—in friendly countries and enemy lands who are alive today because of Mr. Hoover's herculean aid programs in those periods of unparalleled crisis.

Of almost equal importance is the brilliant concept and administration of the

Hoover Commission, whose task forces have saved an estimated $5 billion over the past 15 years by making Government more economic and efficient.

For all of his services on behalf of his fellow man, Herbert Hoover has never accepted one cent of compensation and has turned all of his salaries over to charity.

At 88 the "Chief," as he is known to his legion of friends and admirers, is hale, hearty and vitally alive to the needs of his Nation and the world. He puts in a prodigious daily schedule of writing, editing and conveying his views—a routine which would tax the energies of far younger men.

The American people congratulate Herbert Hoover on this noteworthy birthday and wish him many, many more. Most of all, the Nation he has served so long and so well rejoices that the "Chief" has been spared to see the universal esteem and admiration of all mankind in which he is held today.

Never has one man been so unjustly accused in earlier times. Never has any man's wisdom and service been more fully recognized and hailed than that of Herbert Hoover.

## Nuclear Test Concessions and National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following statement, recently issued by Governor Rockefeller of New York, is of great import to all our people.

The nuclear test concessions made by this administration may be dangerous in the extreme.

The Governor asks many questions which are all deserving of an answer. It is well to remember that the U.S.S.R. has never been impressed by weakness, but does respond to strength. Every concession we have made has been met by further and harsher demands.

The Governor does well to bring all this to the attention of the American people now. Tomorrow may be too late.

NUCLEAR TEST CONCESSIONS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

(By Nelson A. Rockefeller)

With the Atomic Energy Commission's announcement on August 6 concerning the resumption of Soviet nuclear testing, I am compelled by conscience and a sense of public responsibility which is rooted in my deep concern for the national security to speak out at this time.

I feel all the more compelled to do so because our Government seems to be in the process of making decisions in regard to this matter, which may well prove to be irrevocable, with virtually no public discussion of the facts and issues involved. I feel a subject as important as this in terms of our national security deserves full discussion. To discuss the subject intelligently requires a detailed analysis.

On August 5, the Soviet Union exploded a nuclear device reported to be at least 40 megatons. This was preceded by a number of similar Soviet tests during the previous week, according to the AEC announcement, and these tests have since continued.

During the same time period, the United States concluded its own test series except for two or three high altitude tests which could not be carried out because of the failure of equipment. The President has announced that he would make a decision about holding these after the launching pad for the missiles has been repaired.

There have been persistent reports that the United States is preparing a new proposal for a test ban embodying substantial concessions. The President has said that instead of international control posts on Soviet territory, we are prepared to accept "national control posts" (which means Soviet-manned control posts) under some undefined form of international supervision on Soviet territory. He has indicated that we are prepared to reduce the number of inspections of suspicious events contained in our previous plan.

I must express my concern about these developments. Of course, our leaders must do everything in their power to explore all honorable means for bringing about a peaceful world. However, in doing so, it is well to keep in mind a few basic principles:

(a) Our nuclear power—awesome as it is—has assured the peace of the world for the past decade and a half. The survival of freedom depends on our maintaining our relative nuclear strength and capability. If we fall behind, the future of freedom would be in mortal peril.

(b) While we must at all times show respect and consideration for world opinion, we cannot risk our security for ephemeral propaganda victories. For the security of those nations that form world opinion depends on our unimpaired strength.

(c) An agreement to ease tensions is highly desirable. But agreement for the sake of agreement must never become an end in itself.

(d) Our leaders have an obligation to inform the people fully and frankly of the issues involved.

With this as a background, I am impelled to state my concerns with respect to nuclear testing.

In his speech of March 2, 1962, the President explained why continued testing is essential for the security and survival of the United States. Antimissile defenses are complicated. We know that the Soviets are working on them. We cannot risk falling behind in this field, for to do so could be as serious as if we lost our strategic striking power.

The development of more efficient warheads requires experimentation. The same is true for tactical nuclear weapons.

In the light of the President's own statement that the test series would be confined to those explosions which were absolutely necessary in the interests of national security, I cannot understand the hesitation about completing the high altitude tests which originally were scheduled but which could not be carried out because of the malfunction of the Thor missile. Why should the failure of an experiment make it less necessary? What new factors cause us to hesitate to conduct a test considered essential 2 months ago? Is it wise to show so much hesitation in completing a test series forced upon us by the brutal Soviet abrogation of a moratorium which we ourselves had observed?

Beyond this immediate problem, there is the more serious question raised by new U.S. concessions about the test ban treaty itself.

In the last 18 months, we have moved steadily towards the Soviet position. We used to demand 21 international inspection stations within the Soviet Union. This number was reduced to nineteen early in the Kennedy administration. The President has now indicated that we are prepared to accept national (Soviet-manned) inspection stations under some for of international supervision.

What exactly does this mean? What has happened to change our earlier view, consistently held for 4 years, that national control posts and international supervision are incompatible? The American people are entitled to know the full facts.

We used to demand the right to inspect an adequate number of unidentified seismic disturbances. Early in the Kennedy administration, we agreed to limit these inspections to 20 out of perhaps 100 unidentified events of a certain magnitude. (The number of unidentified events is, of course, much larger if muffling is used.) Now the President has indicated that we are ready to consider further reductions.

The Kennedy administration has already accepted a moratorium of 36 months on all explosions below the threshold of dection, modifying the earlier proposal of having the moratorium last only until the test ban went into effect (somewhat less than 27 months). It has agreed to parity on the proposed Control Commission and to a Soviet veto over the budget of this Commission. Thus, the Soviets could wreck the inspection system by the simple device of refusing to vote funds.

We used to demand a joint research program for detecting underground explosions of a magnitude for which existing seismic equipment is inadequate. Nothing has been said about this, nor about testing in outer space for which detection is immensely difficult and for which no concrete plan has ever been agreed upon during the 4 years of negotiation with the Soviet Union.

This continual weakening of our position has been accompanied by a growing Soviet intransigence which has seen the Soviets withdraw many points already agreed to. This is no accident. Why should the Soviets accept any U.S. proposal when every refusal elicits a new U.S. offer? What is the penalty for obduracy and deceit when even after the Soviets abrogated the moratorium last year, we have continued to move toward the Soviet position? How often do we have to pay for the same Soviet agreement? In 1958 the Soviets agreed to international inspection—indeed, this was the prerequisite for negotiations on the test ban. The principle was not challenged for 3 years. It was withdrawn by the Soviets after the first series of concessions by the Kennedy administration in March 1961. Now the President has said that we are considering making further concessions to obtain Soviet agreement to a provision they had accepted 4 years ago.

The Soviet abrogation of the moratorium should cause us to demand new safeguards for a test ban treaty instead of weakening already inadequate controls. We do not know whether the Soviets tested secretly during the period of the moratorium—because we had no certain means of finding out. We do know that they must have prepared their test series for at least a year, while continuing to profess to be interested in a treaty. We also know that their research program must have been pushed for longer than that. During that period we refrained from similar preparations. There is no question that the moratorium enabled the Soviets to reduce the margin of our nuclear superiority considerably. This is another way of saying that over the past few years, the Soviets have moved at a more rapid rate in their nuclear development than we.

All of this should cause thoughtful citizens to ask the following questions:

(a) With respect to our own test series:

In our short Pacific test series did we develop an adequate missile defense? Did we learn how to penetrate Russian defenses? Does the continued interplay between defense and countermeasure require continued

experimentation? Do we need more basic information concerning missile defense? Will the lessons of the last test series lead to an urgent need for new information? Can our defenses be adequate without continued operational tests? Did we in our test series experiment with decoupling—the muffling of underground explosions in large cavities—in order to learn how the Soviets might evade a test ban treaty? Do we know all the answers on the effect of high-altitude nuclear explosions on our communcations systems—maintenance of which is essential for our military defenses to work?

(b) With respect to the test ban treaty: Is it safe for us to stop testing completely? What guarantees do we have that the treaty we are now proposing will not result in the Soviets breaking it as they abrogated the moratorium? What is to prevent the Soviets from using a treaty, as they used the moratorium, to prepare a new series? What safeguards do we propose to prevent secret preparations for such contingencies? What do we propose to do about underground testing in the low kiloton range for which existing seismic equipment is inadequate even if no decoupling is used? What about tests in outer space?

There has been considerable public discussions of improved methods to detect underground shots. On the other hand, a release from the Department of Defense dated July 7 mentions factors both helping and impeding detection:

(a) There appear to be substantially fewer earthquakes that produce signals equivalent to an underground nuclear explosion of given yield than had heretofore been expected. This helps detection.

(b) Detection methods using instruments in abandoned cased oil wells, using surface arrays of seismic instruments or employing ocean-bottom seismometers at great depths, have been explored. These methods have been known for 3 years. There has been recently real, though small, progress.

(c) It became clear that uncertainties of seismic travel-times can cause the location of seismic or nuclear events to fall outside the 75 square mile area which had been considered the area of uncertainty. This complicates inspection.

(d) It was found that alluvial soil muffles the distant seismic signal 5 to 10 times over a similar shot in volcanic tuff (the substance in which most of our early underground shots were fired), while salt or granite increases the signal by a factor of two. This adds a new possibility of evasion which has not yet been studied.

The helpful factors in detection are yet to be confirmed. But even if one grants that smaller numbers of confusing earthquakes and better instruments increase detection efficiency by a factor of 10 or more, the decoupling in a big hole and the cheap decoupling in alluvial soil are likely to continue to frustrate detection of small explosions. It continues to be highly probable that shots under 10 kilotons can be hidden and shots under 1 kiloton will escape detection altogether.

In short, weakening the proposals of March 1961 by the Kennedy administration even further seems to me to run a high risk of endangering our national security.

The problems of the nuclear age are real and grim. We have a duty to deal with them earnestly and with an awareness of their gravity. We must not be governed by considerations of short-term popularity nor become the prisoners of our anxieties. We must distinguish between the tactical and the fundamental. We need the courage to face the hard realities of our problems and to do what is necessary to preserve the peace and security of all free peoples.

## For Some Times Have Changed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, in 1935 the California Medical Association, a constituent member of the American Medical Association, adopted a resolution favoring legislation "to establish a health insurance system, mandatory as to certain population groups and voluntary as to certain population groups." The health insurance recommended by the California doctors in 1935 was not limited to the aged but was to be available to all persons unable "to adequately finance the cost entailed by illness."

In 1962, however, the California Medical Association was obediently in step with its parent group in opposing the very moderate health insurance program proposed in the King-Anderson bill.

The citizens of California, and indeed the Nation, well might wonder what led to the change of heart of the California Medical Association. The reasons for the group's 1935 position are all the more compelling today with medical care costs zooming upward out of sight of an increasingly large number of Americans, particularly among the elderly.

The subject is discussed in the following recent editorial of the Sacramento Bee which I now would like to commend to my colleagues:

FOR SOME TIMES HAVE CHANGED

"Whereas studies have shown the inability of a certain percentage of our population to adequately finance the cost entailed by illness; and

"Whereas because of this economic situation proper medical care is beyond the reach of this population group; and

"Whereas it has been established that this problem can be alleviated by the utilization of the insurance principle: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That legislation be proposed seeking to establish a health insurance system, mandatory as to certain population groups and voluntary as to certain population groups * * *."

This resolution was adopted not by a Communist convention, by crackpots or by those who would destroy the hallowed doctor-patient relationship but by the California Medical Association on March 3, 1935.

What occasioned the resolution was a bill pending in the legislature setting up a State health insurance system financed by employer contributions amounting to 5 percent of the wages of each employee.

This was in the midst of the great depression and doctors were suffering economically as were all other citizens. The California Medical Association resolution stipulated that "the patient shall receive adequate treatment and his physician shall receive adequate compensation."

Times have changed considerably since 1935, in many respects. But as constant as the passage of time itself is the fact that, now, as then, proper medical care is beyond the reach of a certain percentage of our population. Apparently this truth which the doctors recognized in 1935 somehow has escaped them in 1962.

## J.F.K. Tries To Pack Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, an overwhelming majority of Americans believe in government of and by the people, as well as government for the people. Representative government is under attack today by a radical minority who would reduce the legislative branch to the status of a rubber stamp for nonelected bureaucrats. Our system of checks and balances is the most effective vehicle for advancing the cause of individual human freedom and opportunity.

The following article from a recent issue of the Minneapolis Star is a fine analysis of existing legislative-executive relationships in Washington:

J.F.K. TRIES TO PACK CONGRESS: HE PERSISTS IN REGARDING IT AN INSTRUMENT OF WHITE HOUSE

(By Richard Wilson)

WASHINGTON.—Congress lacks confidence in the methods and measures proposed by the Kennedy administration—entirely aside from its annoyance with what it considers juniors in the White House who are trying to rehash and rerun old ideas as if they were brilliant new conceptions.

The Kennedy people are doing their best to innovate. But they progress slowly through the various prenatal stages and have not yet arrived at a maturity of ideas which could be described as truly modern. It is all the more discouraging that they do not know this but think that the revival of 30-year-old Rooseveltian methods and Keynesian doctrine is innovation because they have attached some different words to it.

Now it is coming to be Kennedy doctrine that the U.S. Congress is not representative of the people, is overburdened with conservative and rural representation and stands in the way of progress because of a hateful combination of midwestern Republican and southern Democratic Members.

In some circles it is accepted as divine truth that if there were a square deal in congressional representation there would be a vast upsurge in liberal sentiment in Congress. A detailed and careful study by the private publication, Congressional Quarterly, has exploded this myth. Furthermore, it simply is not true that rural representatives are always conservative, and city representatives always liberal.

What seems to be nearer to the mark about Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, is that it is under the control of its senior Members who have had many years of experience. They have dealt with many Presidents, considered many reforms, survived many crises.

President Kennedy has adopted an insupportable attitude toward Congress on the issue he chooses for a big national test, the medicare question. It is his contention that the Republicans and a handful of Democrats killed the bill; therefore it is necessary to replace the Republicans.

However, Mr. Kennedy passes over as not worthy of comment the central fact that Senator ROBERT S. KERR, the wealthy Oklahoma Democrat, led the opposition to medicare. Mr. Kennedy has been showering KERR

with blandishments for a long time in an effort to charm the Oklahoman into support for Kennedy programs.

Nor does Mr. Kennedy comment on the opposition to medicare of the best man at his wedding, Senator SMATHERS, of Florida, of whom it is said that the only time he ever stood up for Mr. Kennedy was at his wedding. Incidentally, SMATHERS entered Congress as a young liberal and trod the ancient path onward to conservatism.

Mr. Kennedy's position is insupportable in other ways. He thinks that just a little swing toward the Democrats in the congressional election will change the whole atmosphere in Congress. This would change Senator BYRD or frighten Senator TALMADGE?

But, beyond all these contradictions, the most insupportable aspect of Mr. Kennedy's position is that he can impose party discipline, as in the House of Commons, to force Congress to adopt his programs.

Congress is not and never was intended to be the instrument of the political party in power in the White House. It is a separate branch of the Government. It is not like the British Parliament and was never intended to be like it. Mr. Kennedy knows this well enough.

Yet, it is the persistent tone of the Kennedy administration that Congress is or ought to be the instrument of the party in power. And so it can be heard here that the way Congress works is out of date, its old men obstruct progress, it is overburdened with rural representatives, and the opposition party has got to be reduced in strength so that the Kennedy Democrats can prevail over the conservative Democrats.

All this grows from a misconception of the function of Congress, and of its real makeup.

This should be borne in mind when President Kennedy starts to campaign this fall to defeat Republicans who opposed medicare and elect Democrats who will support it, presumably ignoring both the Republicans who support medicare and the Democrats who oppose it.

## West New Guinea Changes Hands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, certainly the problems that we continue to face in foreign affairs are magnified when action on the part of our State Department actually works against the best long-range interests of our citizens, our Nation, our allies, and the cause of freedom. I submit for the RECORD an editorial which I feel very effectively describes the circumstances surrounding the New Guinea controversy, "West New Guinea Changes Hands," which appeared in a recent edition of the Chicago Daily News:

WEST NEW GUINEA CHANGES HANDS

A plan has been worked out whereby Indonesia can take West New Guinea without fighting for it. But it was a near thing. President Sukarno of Indonesia seemed to prefer a fight.

There is no good reason why Indonesia should have West New Guinea except that Sukarno wants it to enlarge his misgoverened island empire. A transfer from Dutch administration to Indonesian merely puts a new face on colonialism. And in the long run the native Papuans will probably be worse off for the exchange.

The real gainers, in a materialistic sense, are the Dutch. New Guinea is no bonanza as a colony. It has cost the Dutch millions which can be more profitably used at home.

It is nonetheless a blow to Dutch pride to lose the last remnant of their East Indian empire. They were prepared to educate the stone age islanders, and eventually give them independence, rather than hand them over to Indonesia.

The compromise now worked out provides for a short period of United Nations trusteeship, followed by Indonesian administration beginning next May. Indonesia also guarantees a plebiscite by 1969 in which the Papuans can choose independence or annexation by Indonesia.

But it is too much to expect that Sukarno will consent to cut the primitive area loose once he has his hands on it. He is a rabid "anticolonialist" when the term applies to European nations, but is perfectly willing to acquire colonies of his own.

In any case, the Dutch are well out of it with a partial saving of face. And if Sukarno inherits more headaches than he bargained for, it couldn't happen to a more deserving guy.

## The Crisis in Our Girl Scout Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing in the Santa Ana, Calif., Register, Monday, July 2, 1962.

The article deals with the attempt to concentrate control of the Girl Scouts of America under one centralized organization, thus destroying the local control and authority heretofore governing the local Girl Scout councils. I think this movement is dangerous, and should be resisted by the local councils of the Girl Scouts of America.

The article follows:

BETWEEN THE LINES: THE CRISIS IN OUR GIRL SCOUT MOVEMENT

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

In its half century of life the Girl Scouts have become as sacred an image in our national life as motherhood or the flag.

Girl scouting offers a well-rounded program of activities for girls through high school age. Its national leaders proclaim the program rests on a foundation of dedicated workers. But the urge to collectivize and to wield arbitrary power which now characterizes our super-government has spread to this fine volunteer organization. It is leading to cases of bureaucratic mismanagement, a loss of local funds and even to walkouts by disgruntled local councils.

The "green umbrella" that is casting its shadow over girl scouting is council coverage, an obscure term which describes a scheme to consolidate the Girl Scout councils being aggressively promoted by the Girl Scouts' national board of directors.

The plan combines so-called small councils and lone troop councils into larger areas of jurisdiction—some of them embracing whole States, such as Wyoming and Utah. The national board has announced that the goal for "full coverage" is December 31, 1963, when it is hoped the number of councils will be reduced to 800.

How far the plan has progressed since 1945 when the "green umbrella" idea was first proposed can be seen by the fact that there were then more than 1,600 councils serving about half the present enrollment of more than 3 million Girl Scouts. Today, there are only 900 councils.

The national board has carefully smothered all publicity about the little spat between us girls. But communities all over the country—especially in the South and the West—are hot and bothered about what some Scout leaders call a "move to nationalize the country's youth movements."

In an outstanding series of articles in the Register, Mrs. Cora Ulrich gave a roundup of "green umbrella" battles taking place all over the Nation.

Councils with proposals to rescind "council coverage" include Scarsdale-Hartsdale in Westchester, N.Y., Oklahoma City and Oklahoma County, Stillwater, Okla., the Moore County Girl Scout Council Inc., Damas, Tex., and Glendale, Tioga, Anaheim and Newport Harbor in California. These councils have a deadline of July 2 if they wish their proposals to be placed on the agenda of the October 1963 Girl Scouts National Council meeting more than a year later.

What are some of the objections to "council coverage" voiced by local Scout leaders in Missouri, New Mexico, Florida, Illinois, Minnesota and elsewhere?

For one thing, there are distances involved in reporting to central offices.

Mrs. Harvey Walk, Girl Scout Council president in Anaheim, says that last year alone she ticked off 12,000 miles in her scouting activities, most of it just in Anaheim. Now they want to absorb Anaheim under a "green umbrella" which would embrace Whitter as well.

Secondly, under the plan local councils no longer will have boards of directors. The administration will be turned over almost entirely to paid trained professionals. But wasn't the Girl Scouts founded on the claim that scouting is voluntary?

In the past much of the scouting activities were financed by the sale of cookies and calendars, but a costly big central bureaucracy has changed all that. In 1960 the national budget figures reached $6,174,928.

The little troop treasuries are being drained to pay salaries for a professional staff and office expenses. In 1960 the National Council received $3,572,801 in membership dues. But of this sum $1,613,509 went for field services. Program planning and personnel training, which might be claimed to benefit troops, eventually amounted to $1,239,287.

Can those who oppose decisions by the national board make their views known? At present, the national council can only make recomendations to the national board of directors. When adult scouters all over the Nation question the policies central headquarters in New York send out the word they are being reactionary. The June issue of the Leader, official Girl Scout magazine, asks these loaded self-test queries: "Are you against change? How long since you tried a new flavor of ice cream?"

But some council leaders agree that "concentration of power kills liberty." A spokesman for the Camp Fire Girls Inc. in New York told this writer that 21 Girl Scout Councils in Oklahoma, Texas, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, and Kansas have transfered their programs to the Camp Fire Girls lock, stock, and barrel "because they wished local autonomy."

A constructive middle ground proposal has been initiated by the Ramsey, N.J., Girl Scouts Council, Mrs. Joseph Sage, council president, said her council had initiated a

proposal for consideration at the national meeting which would: Allow existing councils who meet traditional national criteria to keep their charters as long as they so desire; assure that no council should forcibly be required to join enlarged or changed jurisdictions unless the local voting membership wants to do so; provide that the national board create a plan for and encourage the establishment of voluntary intercouncil cooperation.

As Mrs. Sage expresses it: "Dissenting councils have no objection to making the Girl Scout program available to every girl in the United States. They do object to the enforced change of jurisdiction centralization of power, finance, communications, training, and services."

Do American parents believe that the green umbrella scheme will help their children develop the self reliance that has been a tradition in the Nation's scouting program?

## Taxes 162 Percent Higher Than in World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Greenfield, Ind., Daily Reporter:

TAXES 162 PERCENT HIGHER THAN IN WORLD WAR II

Congressman EARL WILSON, of the Indiana Ninth District, is among the most vocal of our current Washington Representatives, and, judging from what he says and writes, much that he sees doesn't please him.

This week he goes at quite a length concerning the increase in Federal taxes, particularly as they effect Hoosiers. He says in part:

"Your Federal taxes last year were 162 percent higher than during the peak World War II period 19 years ago, and they are going to go even higher next year. Think of it. Federal taxes have been raised an average of 8.5 percent every year for the past 19 years, and they're climbing higher every day.

"Despite the fact that the average Indiana family of three paid out $1,398 in Federal taxes last year, the Government ended that year almost $7 billion in the red. This simply means that your higher taxes still didn't pay all the bills. It also means higher taxes next year to pay higher interest on your constantly growing Federal debt, as well as more taxes for more socialistic programs.

"The facts of this taxation treadmill are these, and they are corroborated by the Internal Revenue Service: Indiana taxpayers last year paid Uncle Sam a total of $2,173,706,624.67—this was over $85 million more than was collected in the previous year and illustrates the constantly escalating tax bite taken out of your dollar.

"It is just as certain as 'death and taxes' that this Federal tax payment must be raised again next year. Hurried, prodded, whipped, and driven by the fuzzy-brained liberal thinkers of the New Frontier, the Government will spend more money this year than last. This means higher taxes. It is already estimated that the average family of three will pay $250 more in taxes next year as a result of this 'squandermania.'

"Where are we headed? To know where we are going we should first study where we have been. 'What is past is prologue' is written on the facade of the National Archives here in Washington, and it details the disgraceful squandering of tax money over the years. In 1944, the peak wartime year of World War II, a total of $807,012,292 was taken out of Indiana in Federal taxes. Last year's total Federal collection was $1,366,690,331 above that 1944 figure—an increase of 162 percent in 19 years. The enormity of the increase becomes even more apparent when you recall that in 1944 we were paying for the most expensive war in history. Yet while we are now ostensibly at peace, it costs 162 percent more to run the Federal Government. Back in 1944 the average Hoosier family paid Federal taxes of $230 per person. Compare that to today's peacetime load.

"This is the record of the past. The forecast for the future is clear. If taxes increase another 162 percent in the next 19 years, Indiana's Federal tax load will rise to $5.5 billion—over $3,600 per year in Federal taxes for the average family of three (based on current census figures).

"This will not happen because either national bankruptcy and ruin will have occurred or the people will have revolted at the polls and refuted the big spending policies of the ultraliberals.

"The only alternative to the financial chaos that is inevitable if we continue as at present is a tightening of the Federal budget and a return of fiscal sanity to Government administration. This will come about only when the people protest big spending to a degree sufficient to replace the big spenders with leaders of frugal fiscal temperament. Until that happens the Washington watchword will continue to be 'send more so we can spend more.'

"Thrifty legislators can halt this ever-growing, ever-demanding monstrosity I call Government by bureaucracy, but they must be men who will stand on principle, who will listen to the people back home, and who will not knuckle under to convenience or pressure. They must refuse to rubberstamp every socialistic idea that pops out of some intellectual's head."

## Dirksen Denies Ike Ate Evidence of Estes Gift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, the Billie Sol Estes case has again demonstrated that Texans do things in a big way whether it is name-dropping, kiting assets, storing grain, demonstrating the follies of the cotton law, bragging of political influence, or a multitude of other aspects of human behavior. The case has many strange and mysterious aspects but none more mysterious than the case of the Eisenhower cow.

I submit for your attention a newspaper story from the Bakersfield Californian of August 8, 1962, dealing with this incident:

HUMOR COLUMNIST'S STORY: DIRKSEN DENIES IKE ATE EVIDENCE OF ESTES GIFT

WASHINGTON.—Senate Republican leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN today read the Senate a denial of a humor columnist's report that Billie Sol Estes gave Former President Eisenhower a gift steer.

The Illinois Senator read the text of a letter from Bryce N. Harlow, an Eisenhower administration White House aid, denying there was any such gift.

The letter referred to columns by George Dixon on July 3 and July 18. Harlow said he thought Dixon "had tongue in cheek" when he referred to the gift and said the animal was slaughtered and eaten at the Eisenhower farm when Estes came under Senate scrutiny.

But Dixon stood by his columns.

"A congressional leader close to DIRKSEN was there when the steer was delivered to the Eisenhower farm," he said. "I'm denying the denial," the columnist told a reporter.

## Are We Headed in the Wrong Direction?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, many people today are concerned about our Nation's future.

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in the Saturday Evening Post, appeals to all Americans, regardless of their political affiliation, to give some thought to the road ahead. Because serious minded Americans are thinking about the years ahead for our country and because Mr. Eisenhower has drawn such a clear-cut picture, under unanimous consent I am making his remarks in this article a part of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

ARE WE HEADED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION?

(By Dwight D. Eisenhower)

In recent months some of the newspapers have at times referred to me as on the the spokesmen for the "loyal opposition." It is an ancient and honorable term, derived from the British, and I like it. I like it because it suggests that in a free political society—such as we have in this country—a citizen may be patriotic, sincerely loyal to his country and the Government, and at the same time oppose strongly many of the measures of the party in power.

On several occasions during the spring and early summer months—at press conferences and in speeches—I have voiced my doubts, and in some cases my acute unhappiness, about the direction the present administration is moving in its domestic programs. In this article for the Saturday Evening Post I hope to set down in orderly form some of my thoughts on these matters, to elaborate on them a bit and to explore a few points on which I have not spoken previously.

In the first place, may I say that this article is in no sense intended as a campaign speech—for anybody. Rather, it is an argument for what I believe to be good governmental policies. I believe deeply, of course, in the Republican doctrine, but I certainly do not insist that my party has a monopoly on sound ideas. There are some men in the Democratic Party who have a solid, healthy, commonsense political philosophy and frequently act accordingly. Consequently,

what I have to say here is directed to everyone who is concerned about the future of our country, regardless of party affiliation. It is an appeal to Americans to think long and hard about the road ahead.

One of the present trends which disturb me greatly is the apparent thirst of more and more power centered in the Federal Government—and particularly in the executive branch. At times it seems we are losing sight of a fundamental principle that the founders of this Nation built into our political institutions—a simple principle, basic to democracy. It is this: The leader of a democracy is not the source of power; he merely directs it. Power derives from, and must remain in, the people. Historically, when the power that belonged to the people was concentrated in the hands of one family, we had the absolute monarch; today, when political power is seized in any Nation by Communists, we have the totalitarian state such as Soviet Russia or Red China.

I would not for a moment suggest that we in America are approaching totalitarianism—the monolithic state; the extremists who shout that we are already teetering on that brink not only are being rather ridiculous but are also making it more difficult for sensible men to preach good Government. Yet one cannot help wondering how far down the present road we can go—constantly investing Washington with greater and more detailed power over the lives of people—without arriving at something quite different from the free society which for almost 200 years has been the bedrock of the American system.

Let us consider briefly, for example, the case of the crackdown on big steel this past spring. Millions of words have been written about that sorry episode, and I do not flatter myself that I can add anything that might increase public enlightenment on the subject. But this one thought occurs to me: In the end this arbitrary display of power by the executive branch might turn out to be a good thing. It might be the danger signal that this country needs. I suspect that it was an eye-opener for millions of citizens who had grown rather indifferent, if not complacent, about the mounting powers of Federal Government. And it could be that even some of the key people in the administration who had a hand in the punitive moves against the steel industry are now having long second thoughts about the propriety of the methods employed.

GOVERNMENT BY INTIMIDATION

Having no detailed knowledge about the economics of steel manufacturing, I am unable to say whether or not the companies were entitled to the 3.5-percent price increase, which brought down on their heads the wrath of the administration. It seems obvious that the timing of the announcement by big steel—coming almost immediately after a major labor settlement—was bad public relations. But it is also clear that no industry can forever hold a rigid line on prices when its costs continue to mount year after year.

In any event, when the administration angrily stepped into this matter with threats and penalties, thus forcing a cancellation of the price increase, it used intimidation—a method that I cannot believe is compatible with our free enterprise system, except in grave emergency. The result was a noticeable deterioration in the spirit of cooperation which for some years has been growing up between Government and industry.

It has been argued endlessly whether or not the Government's action brought on the precipitate stock market collapse of a few weeks later. However, I believe that by this time most economists—except those in the administration, who I suppose must have exercised a profound influence in the matter—are agreed that while there were other important elements in the general market situation presaging a decline in stock prices, the action against big steel did help trigger the near panic of selling, which was such a shock to our economy. Otherwise, the gradual readjustment of prices which had been in progress since January 1 might have continued in an orderly fashion, and the savings of many modest investors would not have been so severely damaged.

"PROFITS" NOT A DIRTY WORD

Once it became obvious that great damage had been done, the White House issued statements friendly to business and proposed measures to give the economy a shot in the arm—including an across-the-board tax cut next year. In any event, we can hope that the theorists, who seem to be so influential in the administration, have learned a harsh lesson about the dangers of excessive tinkering with our free economy.

While we are on the subject of business, I want to say a word about the American profit system—and about businessmen. Somehow during the past generation profits has become almost a dirty word. This has come about partly through demogoguery and partly through the planned economy doctrine, earnestly espoused by some of the theoreticians. As nearly as I can make out, the latter would have business operate in a vacuum of no strikes, no profits and no risks—forgetting that then there likewise would be no production.

Our system can function, and remain healthy, only through reasonable profits. The livelihood of most of us depends on them. The proprietor of the cleaning and pressing establishment, the corner delicatessen, the filling station, and millions of other small business operators—and their employees—depend just as much on a fair return on the money they have invested as do America's giants of industry. The little business which cannot make a profit is inevitably forced to the wall, and its employees are thrown out of work. The farmer cannot exist—cannot buy the modern machinery he must have and the fertilizers he needs to keep vigor in the soil—without profits.

In the area of big business the day is long since past when ownership was in the hands of a few large investors. Monopolies of financial power no longer exist in this country; wisely, the American people are just as unwilling to submit to financial monopoly as they are to political monopoly. Today our large corporations are owned by approximately 17 million individuals stockholders, and these people, too, expect and are entitled to profits on their investment. Furthermore, even those among us who own no stocks usually have an indirect, but nevertheless vital, stake in the prosperity of our corporations—through participation in company pension funds, savings accounts and life insurance policies.

And finally, when I hear some of the claptrap that theorists voice these days against our American profit system, I can't help indulging in a bit of sardonic amusement over their inconsistencies. For they are usually the same people who want larger and larger Government budgets to do more of everything for everybody. They seem to forget that profits are also a principal source of Federal Government income—that when profits diminish and unemployment increases, so does tax revenue diminish. At this moment, for example, the administration is worried because the gross national product this year may add up to only $555 billion instead of the $570 billion which it predicted earlier. That seems like a fairly minor lag in business—but even that much of a drop from forecasts can have a serious effect on projected tax revenues. And if the drop should become the forerunner of a more definite downturn, governmental revenues would decline drastically.

ENLIGHTENED BREED OF BUSINESSMEN

If our American profit system is not perfect—and it isn't—it is still the best system yet devised for progress and the well-being of people who value personal liberty. During the past 15 years I have come to know a great many of our business and industrial leaders rather well—some of the self-righteous pundits have said I know too many of them. In any event, I can testify that the men who run our vast business complex these days are for the most part an enlightened breed. To illustrate: Suppose we consider just one facet of the modern business world, the area of company-employee relations, in which, in the relatively short time since the end of World War II, the change for the better has been remarkable. Solid company pension plans, strongly funded; company insurance plans, both life and accident; medical-care plans, frequently paid for all or in part by the firm; expertly staffed company medical departments to supplement and aid the family doctor—all these and many other benefits have been instituted in profusion. Much of this advance has come voluntarily, with management taking the lead—and all of it comes out of profits.

One evening this past spring I visited the Union League of Philadelphia. Now there was a time, I am told, when the Union League, which is composed largely of the business and professional leaders of that area, was habitually labeled a fortress of reaction. If that accusation was ever justified, it is not today. I had a delightful evening with the gentlemen of that league. I heard no dreary complaints about such things as social security, unemployment insurance or the principle of the graduated income tax. What I heard mostly was in the form of exploratory discussion, the principal object being the good of the country. My own Republicanism felt at home with people who were clearly concerned, principally, with national progress and individual responsibility.

To be sure, there will always be some people in the business community who, for reasons of greed, take advantage of our system. When a Billie Sol Estes appears on the scene, he must be dealt with. When a group of manufacturing firms makes the error of stifling competition by fixing prices illegally, as happened recently, they should be brought up short—as they were. And when some labor leaders are found false to their trust, as happened some time ago, action should be taken against them—as it was. Vigilance is one of the duties of Government.

But it is also the function of our Government to create a favorable climate in which free enterprise can work at its best. Obviously that cannot be done merely by friendly words, by appeals for the cooperation of business. It cannot be done by giving the theorists free rein always to dream up bigger and more glittering Federal programs. And, most assuredly, it cannot be done by constantly seeking more governmental power over our economic life. On the other hand, it can be done by leadership—a leadership that deals not only in words but in action and example as well.

LESS, NOT MORE, FARM CONTROL

There are other directions in which the administration seems intent on reaching out for greater powers. One of the most objectionable of these is reflected in the farm bill developed by the Department of Agriculture. The bill passed the Senate after having been modified somewhat in committee. Shortly afterward, it was defeated by an almost unanimous vote of the Republicans in the House, assisted by 48 courageous and discerning Democrats. Possibly a substitute will soon be scheduled. But because the bill, as originally presented, reflects the purposes and aims of the administration, it deserves our attention.

For as long as most of us can remember, our Government has been engaged in trying to assure the farmers an income comparable to that of other occupational groups. At best, success has been spotty—and the cost to the taxpayers has been astronomical. During my administration, Secretary Benson tried hard to get the farmer started back on the road to fewer controls, to a freer agricultural economy, to a program that in the end would be far less costly and more profitable to the farmer because of expanded markets. His efforts reflected my own thinking, and I consistently stood behind him when various interests were after his scalp. He was not able to make much of a start in the right direction because too many Congressmen and some farm leaders were against him—the latter mostly from one of the more radical of the farmer organizations.

"I WOULD GO TO JAIL IF NECESSARY"

The administration bill that was defeated was one of the most repressive measures ever laid before our Congress. It had in it what has been colorfully called—and with some justice, I think—the "blackjack" provision. It said in effect that if the farmers involved did not accept the new controls by a two-thirds vote, the Government could punish them by dumping much of its huge farm surpluses on the market at will. So here again we have the use of naked threat. The dumping of surpluses, an almost inconceivably reckless thing to do, might well drive us into a major agricultural crisis—and worse.

Another provision of the bill, which Secretary Freeman later consented to have dropped, set up penalties involving jail sentences for farmers who failed to comply with certain regulations set forth in the measure. When I learned of this proposal, I rather explosively exclaimed that if these provisions were enacted into law and applied to a raiser of beef cattle (which I am), I would offer myself as a test case. I said that I would go to jail if necessary and conduct a public monolog on human rights from behind the bars.

Although these remarks were made only in conversations with friends, they were inevitably made public and were noted in the newspapers. Because this position had already been abandoned by the Agriculture Department, everybody had a good laugh, and that was that. However, as I then understood the matter, I meant what I said: I felt just that strongly about the use of threats and compulsion to control the lives of Americans.

Another startling section of the farm bill would have put the Department of Agriculture in the business of helping finance and plan such recreational facilities as bowling alleys, dance halls, motels, swimming pools and golf links. The alleged purpose of this provision was to take more land out of production and convert it into recreational areas with all the trimmings. It would be done through loans to farmers and to local units of government on federally planned and approved projects. The Federal Government would then step out of the picture and leave the operation of these playgrounds in the hands of the farmers or the local interests involved.

Most of us, I am sure, are in favor of recreation, and we do need more recreational areas in this country. But what a way to provide this kind of facility—with another vast bureaucracy in the already gigantic Department of Agriculture and another huge Federal spending program. Already we have taken a good many million acres of substandard farmland out of production through various conservation measures now on the books, and doubtless still more poor land should be retired. But does the Federal Government have to get into the bowling alley and motel business to accomplish this objective? As I travel about the country, I have not noted any apparent dearth of private capital for these types of enterprises.

ADMINISTRATION'S PUSH FOR POWER

There is not space in this article to list all the many proposals and actions which the administration has pushed for a greater concentration of Federal power but, merely as a sample, I mention a few of them:

1. Authority for the President to modify income taxes whenever he should so decide.

2. Authority for the President to finance, wherever and whenever he pleases, large-scale emergency public works by diversion of funds directed to other purposes by Congress.

3. Authority to dilute the independence of the Federal Reserve Board—one of the most vital agencies in Government—by making the term of its Chairman, who is appointed by the President, concurrent with that of the President. Thus the President, upon the assumption of office could appoint immediately a new Chairman whose economic philosophy coincided with his own. Yet, historically, the function of the Federal Reserve Board has been predicated on its independence, not only from financial interests of all kinds, but also from all political pressures and philosophies.

4. Authority for the Federal bureaucracy to take over a whole host of State and local responsibilities, including the proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs with a Secretary in the Cabinet. (The latter proposal was defeated, but we can never be sure that it won't come up again.)

5. Authority to federalize the unemployment compensation system of this country.

6. Authority to modify by Presidential edict virtually the entire tariff structure of this country. Now, I agree that we need an overhaul of trade policies and laws to enable us to compete successfully with the European Common Market, but whatever additional powers we give to the executive branch should be, I strongly believe, strictly limited by the Congress in time and scope.

In any event, my years in the White House convinced me that the office of the President, which is already one of the most powerful in the world, needs no bolstering with further prerogatives. Rather the problem is to use the existing power firmly, temperately and wisely.

Next let's take a look at Federal expenditures. A couple of months ago Senator HARRY F. BYRD, the highly respected Virginia Democrat who heads the powerful Senate Finance Committee, came up with a startling figure. After probing deeply into Government finance and applying the same accounting methods that any sound business institution would use in projecting its balance sheet into the future, the Senator stated that the Federal Government, just through the 1963 fiscal year, "will have current authority to obligate funds, outstanding Federal debt and other commitments of at least $1,242 billion." If you should try to carry forward the computation beyond 1963, he said, you would quickly find that Federal commitments for the future are beyond calculation. Most of us, I suppose, find such vast sums almost meaningless, but just for the record, Senator BYRD's figure, with all its zeroes, looks like this: $1,242,000,000,000.

WE HAVE MORTGAGED THE FUTURE

Our national debt alone—just the money the Government has already borrowed and must pay back—now stands at about $300 billion. Interest on the Federal debt during the coming year will rise to about $9,400 million annualy. It is futile to belabor the point with endless figures, but clearly we have already mortgaged the future of the country far into the coming decades.

As I look around me and see what a serious financial problem our young people are having today, I am forced to think sadly, how intolerable will be the plight of the young as the years roll on—unless we now begin to use enough commonsense to call a sharp halt on public spending for every bright new idea that the planners dream up. The tax burden imposed on young couples—who, of course, usually have modest incomes—is already so great that many of them find it almost impossible to start a home with even the minimum essentials.

Consider for a moment what they must pay before they even begin to live. Start with the minimum Federal income tax of 20 percent; add in social security which, for anyone who earns as much as $4,800, this year rose to $150 and is scheduled to go up to $222 by 1968; then tack on State income taxes, city wage taxes, school taxes, sales taxes in profusion, real estate and personal property taxes, and all the hidden taxes which are never seen.

Already we have reached the point where it is almost routine for parents—those who can manage to do so—to help young couples rather extensively during the early years of their married life. But should we ignore the millions whose parents cannot give financial assistance? Our planners ought to go into the homes of some of these youngsters and take a look; then ponder long and hard what their children a generation hence will face when they try to start their homes. I suggest that it is high time we think a bit about our young people, and the young people to come, instead of concentrating all our compassion on the indigent and the elderly.

OBLIGATIONS OF A MODERN NATION

Of course, society—including government at all levels—must take care of the needy in this country, the unemployed and the others who are down on their luck; we must see to it that the elderly have the essentials of life and comfort, including proper medical care. A modern nation can do no less.

But current spending plans go far, far beyond these proper humanitarian objectives. In his statement on debt, Senator BYRD said that there have been some 200 actions and proposals involving new and increased Federal spending and credit since this administration took over in January of 1961. In January of this year, the White House proposed a budget which called for $9 billion in increased spending, and it is still plugging hard for all its favorite schemes and measures—despite falling tax revenues. It now looks as if the Federal deficit this year will be around $7 billion.

Now, to give the national economy a push, to promote the much greater growth which we heard so much about in the 1960 political campaign—but which hasn't come—the administration is proposing across-the-board tax cuts for individuals and corporations. Of course we need a tax cut. Actually, what we need is a broad reform of our tax laws, which over the years have become a mishmash of inconsistencies. Yet I think it terribly dangerous, not only for the future but for the immediate present, to cut taxes while at the same time we go right ahead with all the increased spending plans that have been proposed. If we pile up further huge Government deficits, it is sure to set in motion again the sinister processes of inflation which robbed all of us of so much real income in the 1940's. The resumption of a sharp inflation could very quickly pick our pockets of all the extra spending money which tax cuts would put there. Here one is moved to ask a simple question: If promises to spend more are to provide the excuse for lowering taxes, why not go the whole way and have the Government spend so much we can eliminate taxes entirely?

And again we hear the old and shopworn shibboleths of the so-called "liberals" that deficits don't matter, that mounting debt

can be a good thing, that the very term "balanced budget" is obsolete. Some members of the party in power have even suggested that the Federal debt limit—which has been raised by a few billions at a time over the years, but which nonetheless has served as a brake on spending—now should be abolished altogether. In other words, let the sky be the limit.

LIBERAL CLICHES VERSUS COMMONSENSE

On matters of spending and debt, the President suggested in a speech at Yale that we all should be more sophisticated, that we should put aside the old cliches by which Americans so long lived and so hugely prospered. Well, possibly the shoe is on the other foot. It is the current crop of theoretical, and apparently influential, advisers now busily dragging out and trying to popularize the spurious liberal cliches of the 1930's, who should be putting them aside in favor of daily doses of commonsense.

So if we are to have tax cuts—and heaven knows we need them to give incentive to our economy—then we should not do it the easy way. We should face up to the hard and unpopular job of balancing off any such cuts through the elimination of unnecessary spending. It's more than good news to know that some of the most powerful congressional leaders of both parties have taken a public position for this sound procedure.

Speaking of cliches, I recently heard once again, in connection with a plea for more Federal money for medical research, the ancient one that "the saving of one child's life is far more important than a balanced budget." Such statements are meaningless; balanced budgets mean a continued solvency which in turn will support vast life-saving discoveries over the years; continued deficits could stop all this great work. Moreover, we know that money doesn't solve everything, although there are some people who think it can. Talent is often much harder to come by than is money! The growth of knowledge, including medical knowledge, comes slowly, little by little, like the growth of a tree; it must be nurtured and supported adequately, but astronomical sums of money are not going to change that principle of research any more than excessive amounts of water and fertilizer will suddenly produce a fully grown tree.

It is obvious that what we need in this country is to set up some sensible priorities on spending projects—to put first things first, do what we must do, and then do the other things we would like to do as the situation and our finances permit.

For example, no reasonable person wants to endanger national security by cutting defense spending below safe limits. The Red threat will be with us for a long time, and we must maintain a powerful Military Establishment—although, even here, money alone cannot solve the problem, and to spend more than necessary can damage our overall position as surely as spending too little.

By all means, we must carry on our explorations in space, but I frankly do not see the need for continuing this effort as such a fantastically expensive crash program. We learn that the space director is asking almost $4 billion this coming year for his agency alone—and future amounts are to go up progressively. Now I am just as proud as any other American of John Glenn and Scott Carpenter and our other astronauts. Indeed, I personally approved the project for selecting and training our future space explorers. But why the great hurry to get to the moon and the planets? We have already demonstrated that in everything except the power of our booster rockets we are leading the world in scientific space exploration. From here on, I think we should proceed in an orderly, scientific way, building one accomplishment on another, rather than engaging in a mad effort to win a stunt race.

COMPETING WITH RUSSIA FOR PRESTIGE

If we must compete with Soviet Russia for world prestige, why not channel the struggle more along the lines in which we excel—and which mean so much to the masses of ordinary citizens? Let's put some other items in this prestige race: our unique industrial accomplishments, our cars for almost everybody instead of just the favored few, our remarkable agricultural productivity, our supermarkets loaded with a profusion of appetizing foods. Let's ask the world: "What has Soviet Russia or Red China got to compare with these achievements?" Why let the Communists dictate the terms of all the contests?

As I said earlier, we must solve the problem of adequate medical care for the aged, but I am opposed to doing this under social security, not only because it is compulsory, but because it doesn't really solve the problem. Under that system, in the end we would be handing out benefits to many elder citizens who don't need them, inadequate benefits to many others and, to still many others, none at all. I believe we should give our rapidly growing private medical-insurance plans, supplemented by the Kerr-Mills Act to assist those older people in genuine need, a better chance to prove their worth. I think that the Kerr-Mills law, which was enacted during the closing months of my regime, should include some provision to cope with catastrophic illness among the aged; it is not too late to amend the law.

In the field of education I was, and still am, for Federal aid to needy localities in the construction of buildings and other permanent facilities. I am not for having the Federal Government pay normal operating costs. Once the need for buildings has been met, Federal assistance could be cut off. But once we start paying the administrators and teachers, we will have, imbedded in the budget, a vast new Federal spending program that can never be terminated and which will almost inevitably induce school officials to run to Washington for new favors—thus giving the Central Government, eventually, direct control over education.

The above are merely examples of dozens of spending proposals which we might examine. My real point is to urge that all of us take a hard look at all these programs—including those for which there is genuine need. Even a nation as rich as the United States of America cannot have everything it wants all at once. This I know: If our country does not show the world, through sound fiscal policies, that it can meet its obligations, we will be headed for deep trouble. Worldwide loss of faith in the dollar would be a catrastrophe of global proportions.

In other areas of activity, there are many things, both favorable and unfavorable, that could, with justice, be said about the present administration. I am astonished, of course, that after all the promises that were made during the 1960 campaign, the new regime has done precisely nothing about the vital matter of civil rights. On the other hand, I am delighted that the executive branch has stood behind its proposal to give private enterprise a healthy part in the development of communication by earth satellites—this despite determined opposition from the anti-business faction among its own party Members in Congress.

THE NECESSITY FOR HARD WORK

I am pleased also that the Secretary of Labor thus far has steadfastly taken the position that we are not ready for the 35-hour week in this country; that if we are to move ahead, if we are to meet growing foreign competition, we must work reasonable hours. I never forget the reason that an old and wise Frenchman gave me for the French defeat in 1940. He said: "We lost because we tried to oppose Hitler's 7-day workweek with a 4-day workweek." The Communists work hard too.

In the field of foreign affairs I have stated repeatedly my conviction that all good citizens should support the administration in its objectives and programs. In the first place, the goals of both parties in our relationships with other nations are pretty much the same: the containment of communism; informing the world—including, when possible, the people under Communist domination—of the blessings of liberty; protection of the rights of freemen everywhere; sound guidance and assistance to the underdeveloped nations. Party differences here are largely differences of method and procedure. And second, I know from my own experience in the White House that only the President and his closest advisers are in possession of all the facts in a given international situation; only they can assess the problem completely. Consequently, even if there are times when I have my doubts, I not only prefer to keep my own counsel, I shall stand definitely behind the President.

RUSK: CALM AND INFORMED COMPETENCE

Some have said, for example, that if we had gone in with our tanks and knocked over the Berlin wall in the very first hour the East Germans began to build it last August, on the grounds that they were closing our legal access routes, we could have ended that episode right there—and without getting into a war. Maybe so, maybe not so. Who really knows? Some of the military critics have said that in World War II we should have invaded the island of Sardinia, instead of invading Sicily, as our stepping-stone to Italy. Perhaps we should, but again, who knows? Even hindsight is not necessarily 20–20.

I do think that in recent months I have noted more firmness on the part of the administration in dealing with the aggressive ambitions of the Communists, and I am highly grateful if this assumption is correct. And I believe that most people are pleased that we have a man such as Dean Rusk as our Secretary of State. I think that in him the country sees a quality of calm and informed competence, needed in that crucial job.

In summary I believe that on the whole the administration is doing what it believes to be best for the country in its foreign relations. But I think it is on the wrong track in many of its domestic policies. As to this, only the people can decide. Quite obviously what we need in this country is a clearer understanding, by the people as a whole, of the principles of sound Government. Since, in a democracy, power by definition resides in the people, that power must be intelligently generated; and, on their behalf, it must be properly directed by our elected officials. More than this none of us can expect; with less than this we can never be fully satisfied.

## Let's Talk About Congressional Abdication of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an article written by Columnist Ines Robb entitled "Let's Talk About Congressional Abdication of Power," should merit special attention by the Congress, and since

it is self-explanatory and does not need elaboration on my part, I submit it for the RECORD.

LET'S TALK ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL ABDICATION OF POWER

(By Inez Robb)

Charges and countercharges of "a Presidential grab for power" and the "Supreme Court usurpation of power" often fill the air.

But so far I have heard no discussion of the congressional abdication of power.

The U.S. Government was designed to have three coequal branches: the Presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court.

It is one woman's opinion that if the Congress were strong, efficient, dedicated, intelligent, and forceful, there would be no power vacuum into which either the Chief Executive or the Supreme Court could move. Not even nature abhors a vacuum so belligerently as does politics.

As the office of the Chief Executive and the functions of the Supreme Court have moved steadily forward in the 20th century to keep attuned to the times in which they function, the Congress has clung to outmoded customs and prerogatives that should have disappeared with World War I and that became not only antiquated but dangerous with the advent of the atomic bomb.

The Congress is functioning today much as it did at the turn of the century. Its machinery is cumbersome and its legislative structure old and creaky. It is probable that our tax structure is as jerry built as the ancient web of custom and habit to which Congress clings.

In the face of a new world that, like it or lump it, moves with the speed of light, Congress, unheeding, plows along at a snail's pace—a pace not only dangerous to the Nation but to its own position in the triumverate of Presidency, Supreme Court, and Congress.

It seems to me that taxpayers get less and less mileage out of Congress with each passing year. I am weary of the time it wastes by refusing to face up to issues, and tireder still of the last-minute August rush to consider and pass or reject important legislation that was introduced the previous February.

It sometimes appears that no legislation would ever be passed by Congress if (1) it didn't feel impelled to get back home to mend its fences and (2) if it weren't fed up with the heat of a Washington summer and eager to get away to the golf courses in a cooler clime.

The selection of Washington, D.C., as the site of the Nation's Capital has often been criticized. But in view of its purgatory-patterned summers and the itch of legislators to be off to less-humid pastures, the site was probably a brilliant choice, since it does manage to get a little legislation passed annually.

The Senate is still the greatest debating society in the world. It refuses, in the face of threatening world crises, to change by jot or tittle its leisurely pace. Or to forgo a luxury the country can no longer afford: a talkathon that bores the voters as much as it is beginning to bore them.

Its committees can bottle up legislation on which the Nation is paying it to act, either pro or con. In its dilatory fashion, it can delay, from year to year, the consideration of bills on which the country has the right to a "yes" or "no" congressional answer.

Through sloth, inertia, and sheer unwillingness to face the present and break with the shackling rules of the past, through a refusal to streamline and modernize its machinery to deal with a new world, Congress is short-changing the Nation and short-selling itself.

It is doubtful if there would be any talk of "a presidential grab for power" or a "Supreme Court usurpation of power" if Congress were on its toes and exercising its powers as the Founding Fathers expected the legislative branch of government to do.

But if the Congress is content to be a chowder and debating society for most of the year, it—and the Nation—can expect a strong President and an energetic Supreme Court to move in to fill the vacuum that Congress deliberately creates by its outdated mores.

## A Job Well Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the fine job our National Guard did during the recent callup resulting from the international situation. These units are now being returned home, where they are being welcomed in a manner befitting their service to our Nation.

In an editorial dated August 8, the Palm Beach Post outlines the hardships many of these men had to undergo in the transition from civilian to military life and the vital duty they performed.

In tribute to all National Guardsmen, I insert this editorial at this point in the RECORD:

A JOB WELL DONE

National Guard units from all over the Nation soon will be returning to their home communities following 10 months of active duty. Our own quartermaster company will be released from active duty within the week.

We believe they deserve a hearty and unanimous "well done."

They were called, in the words of President Kennedy, "to prevent a war, not to fight a war." The fact that Premier Khrushchev's "deadline" over Berlin came and went without major incident is testimony not only to our overall military strength but to the effectiveness of these guardsmen as well.

In fact, Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany has said that, in his opinion, the prime factor influencing the Soviet slowdown on Berlin was the swift, decisive buildup of American forces.

It is difficult to recapture the emotions and tension of last fall, when the threat of war was a desperate reality. It seems clear, however, that we were confronted with the gravest crisis since Korea.

It is difficult, also, to put ourselves in the shoes of the 66,000 Army and Air Guardsmen who were suddenly called; all of them experienced some form of personal hardship and for many it was their second or third callup since 1940.

Some had to sell their cars, homes, or businesses. Some had to leave their families behind. Some had to drop out of school. There are no small sacrifices when you are involved in them.

There were some complaints, too. But they came from a small, vocal minority and in no way reflect on the Guard as a whole.

The fact is that the Army National Guard units which were mobilized brought 98.3 percent of their assigned strength on active duty and the Air National Guard 99 percent. In each case, this represented a sharp increase over the Korean mobilization. Thus the vast majority of guardsmen neither asked to be released nor complained after they were called up.

For 10 months these guardsmen provided essential strength in being for both the Army and Air Force. Now, even if the crisis hasn't entirely disappeared, the active forces have had time to build to more realistic levels and the immediate need for the guardsman is past.

And so they are returning home.

They have served America well. We salute them.

## Education's Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, August 9, 1962, I inserted in the RECORD my tribute to a distinguished public servant of the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, State Senator Ralph C. Mahar, whose untimely death was a shock to his host of friends and admirers. The attached editorial from the August 7, 1962, edition of the Greenfield, Mass., Recorder-Gazette salutes Ralph C. Mahar as the "father of regional schools" in Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Education's Friend," from the August 7, 1962, issue of the Greenfield, Mass., Recorder-Gazette:

EDUCATION'S FRIEND

Public schools lost their best friend in the Massachusetts Legislature when Senator Ralph C. Mahar, of Orange, died at his home Saturday.

Not without reason was Senator Mahar called "the father of regional schools." His efforts to improve public schools in the smaller communities are unparalleled in modern legislative history. Regionalization of facilities was one of the methods he most favored and he wrote laws that helped such combinations come into being.

Working to improve the teachers' lot is a popular electioneering device today. It was not when Ralph Mahar went to Beacon Hill 25 years ago. But from the start the man from Orange worked without rest for the betterment of the teaching profession.

When Mahar was a green young member of the house of representatives, the gap between city and rural schools was immense. Few small towns could afford adequately equipped laboratories, commercial and vocational training equipment, cafeterias, film projection paraphernalia, and the like. Faculty pay was so small that teacher turnover was constant with often a new staff each September.

Through State assistance bills written and supported by Mahar, first as a representative and then as a senator, a more equitable system has come into being. Regional schools can rival the cities in curriculum and equipment. Excellent teachers are attracted and are less inclined to move. Country children now can compete with their urban cousins in colleges or in trades.

Today's University of Massachusetts also owes much to Senator Mahar. It was he who introduced the bill that changed Massachusetts State College to a university. It was he also who helped it grow through appropriations and through legislation that helped

University of Massachusetts attract top-level educators.

Never in really good health, the veteran Orange legislator still was tireless in his efforts for better government, for fiscal responsibility and for work with the veterans of the wars that took place during his lifetime. Never was his interest confined to his own town or district. His mind and his physical efforts were always at the disposal of all the people of the Commonwealth.

Franklin-Hampshire District will miss Ralph Mahar. His home town of Orange will be a poorer community for his death. But, most of all, the cause of public school education is the loser. However, his example cannot but inspire others to follow the paths he blazed and to carry on the work he advanced so selflessly.

## Will Russia Bury Us at Sea?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 19, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, seapower is one of the great factors in the waging of warfare. Seapower is a vital factor, whether in a shooting war in an economic struggle to the death.

Mr. Walter E. Oates, editor of Marine Engineering Log, a technical maritime journal, has written an informative article entitled "Will Russia Bury Us at Sea?" This appeared in the June 15, 1962, issue of the journal.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I offer this article for the information of the Congress:

PRELUDE TO ECONOMIC SHOWDOWN OR WAR: WILL RUSSIA BURY US AT SEA?

(By Walter E. Oates)

Is Khrushchev currently buying time to build more strength for the ultimate armed conflict prescribed by Lenin? Or does he figure that the burgeoning industrial might of the U.S.S.R. eventually will cripple us by undercutting us in our world markets? Two things are certain:

1. A showdown is inevitable, Marxist-Leninist doctrine dictates that there be one.

2. Whether it's to be a war of trade or of military might, ships—merchant ships—and their supporting industries will play a major role in determining the ultimate outcome.

The massive maritime buildup currently underway by Russia soon will provide her with the fleet she will need to prosecute either war. Currently, Russia is at the midway point of its 7-year plan, which by 1965 will provide it with a merchant fleet double the size of the one it had in 1960.

This will be succeeded by a 5-year plan which is targeted to provide a fleet in 1970 that is 3 times the 1960 level. Its programed goal for 1980 is a fleet 5 to 6 times that of 1960.

This buildup of its fleet is being duplicated to a major degree in all major segments of its maritime industry. Its shipbuilding and repair industry is being expanded, and existing facilities are being modernized and enlarged. Its inland waterways are undergoing tremendous development to provide hydroelectric power and provide greater navigable depths for its fleet. The fleet itself is being rapidly upgraded with modern vessels including pusher towboats patterned after our river craft.

Seaport development is being accelerated, particularly in the Black Sea where draft limitations have prevented maximum use of today's larger vessels. Automation and mechanization of port cargo-handling equipment is being accomplished rapidly. Icebreaker construction is being pushed to provide a virtual armada that will permit nearly year-round access to its northern ports. Their oceanography projects are enormous.

In 1958, Russia ranked 21st in worldwide trade. In 1960 it ranked sixth. During the last decade its trade with non-Soviet bloc countries increased by 70 percent.

With its seaborne trade expanding—up 30 percent last year from the 1960 level—Russia also has made sure that its own ships carry the lion's share of this commerce. Whereas in 1958 Russian ships carried only 10 percent of its trade, this figure had risen to 58 percent by 1958. By 1965 U.S.S.R.'s fleet is expected to carry 75 percent of its waterborne trade.

These percentages are even more impressive in that total volume of seaborne trade has been rising sharply. (In 1959 Russian ships carried 11.3 percent more cargo tonnage than they did in 1958.) The chairman of the Soviet State Shipbuilding Committee last year stated that by 1965 Russia's fleet will be carrying three times the cargo volume it handled in 1958.

Currently, concerted efforts are being made to boost its trade with the free world. For example, a May 8, 1962, article in the New York Times reported on trade talk conducted in Rio de Janeiro in which Brazil and the U.S.S.R. were striving to double their current level of trade.

It is readily apparent that Russia recognizes the value of maritime power in all its aspects.

And it also should be emphasized that this huge maritime expansion program is being financed entirely by the state. It is in fact being accomplished with a 100-percent subsidy.

As will be noted in a subsequent section, the maritime buildup of the U.S.S.R. is being duplicated in significant degrees by other countries of the Soviet bloc. The combined programs of the Communist countries reach staggering proportions.

Here at home, we seem to have lost sight of the value of our maritime resources. For the most part they have been in a steady decline since the end of World War II. Temporary respites were experienced during the Korean war and Suez Canal closing. But the lessons to be learned from these experiences as to the value of shipping were soon forgotten.

Qualitatively and quantitatively, U.S.-flag shipping today is not even commensurate with our dominant role in world trade. Last year our exports represented 17.4 percent of the world's total exports. In addition we generated another 12 percent with our imports.

Despite this whopping 29.4 percent stake in world trade, our U.S.-flag shipping in 1961 handled less than 11 percent of our export-import cargoes. In 1946, U.S.-flag ships carried 60.3 percent of our trade. The decline has been steady and rapid—39.8 percent in 1951, 21.4 percent in 1956.

Our fleet's deficiencies when viewed against this country's extensive worldwide military commitments are even more apparent, as has been reiterated time and again by top brass in our Military Establishment.

At present our shipping and shipbuilding industry have contracted to an alarming level. Our active seagoing fleet has contracted by 245 ships in the past 7½ years. Nearly 92 percent of our dry-cargo fleet already is 15 to 19 years old. Only 1.9 percent is under 5 years of age and 1.7 percent is 5 to 9 years old.

U.S. yards engage in cutthroat competition for the limited work available. Profits are marginal at best. Some 20 yards have had to close their doors permanently in the past 15 years.

Our foreign tramp fleet currently consists of a handful of surviving vessels of World War II vintage. Their owners walk the perennial tightrope of insolvency, sustained solely by 50–50 Government aid cargoes.

The Russian fleet expansion is not the result of speculation by this writer. Her 1965 tonnage level was programed by the committee which drew up her current 7-year plan covering the years 1959–65. The U.S.S.R. tonnage goals for 1970 (triple the 1960 fleet) and 1980 (5 to 6 times the 1960 fleet) were set at the Communist Party Congress which was held in Moscow early this year.

The U.S.S.R. always has been reticent about the release of specific figures which would give a precise breakdown of its fleet's size and composition. The 7-year plan and the more recently projected goals for 1970 and 1980 used the 1960 fleet tonnage as the basic index of fleet expansion.

In our projections, we used official Maritime Administration data on the composition and tonnage of the U.S.S.R. fleet in 1960. This estimate reflects information compiled by our intelligence agencies in addition to MARAD's own research. From our own research which included review of the world's maritime press, including translations of Soviet-bloc journals, we feel MARAD's estimate of the U.S.S.R.'s 1960 fleet to be on the low, rather than high side.

ONE MILLION DEADWEIGHT TONS PER YEAR

The Russian fleet expansion goals require a net increase of nearly 1 million tons of shipping annually during the 1960–70 period. For the 1970–80 period the net increase of fleet size would be over 1.2 million deadweight tons annually. As projected in the accompanying bar chart, the Russian seagoing fleet would jump from 4.9 million deadweight tons in 1960 to 9.8 million deadweight tons in 1965 to 14.8 million deadweight tons in 1970 and 27.1 million deadweight tons in 1980.

There are many significant factors to be drawn from Russia's current building program. First and foremost is that Russia will be a formidable maritime power by 1965. Second, she will have elevated herself from an insignificant position to major status in the course of only a few years. Third, her fleet will be comprised predominantly of modern, efficient vessels. Fourth, her fleet expansion rate for the 1960–65 period is predicated on an average annual net growth of 20 percent. Great Britain and Norway, which rank first and second in world fleet standings, took delivery of new tonnage last year which would give an apparent fleet expansion rate of 8 and 10 percent, respectively. New tonnage delivered to U.S. owners last year would give an apparent fleet expansion rate of 3 percent. However, since the new tonnage replaced overage tonnage which was retired, the U.S. deliveries had no bearing on the actual net loss of tonnage actually experienced.

Tonnage building or on order for Russia as of January 1, 1962, comprises 226 seagoing ships, totaling 2,086,000 deadweight tons. These figures are from official data compiled by MARAD's Office of Statistics. This Office is quick to point out that because of the lack of sufficient information of construction activity within Russia these totals may be incomplete.

SOVIET-BLOC FLEETS AGGREGATED 7,603,000 DEADWEIGHT TONS ON JANUARY 1, 1962

The U.S.S.R.'s fleet expansion program is being duplicated in relative degrees by others

in the Red orbit. Each has its own equivalent 7-year plan. The following is a recap of the existing seagoing fleets as of January 1, 1962, in which only vessels of 1,000 gross tons and larger were tabulated, showing number and deadweight tons:

| | Number | Deadweight tons |
|---|---|---|
| U.S.S.R. | 895 | 5,294,000 |
| Poland | 134 | 960,000 |
| Red China | 150 | 760,000 |
| East Germany | 32 | 281,000 |
| Czechoslovakia | 10 | 102,000 |
| Bulgaria | 20 | 124,000 |
| Rumania | 8 | 46,000 |
| Hungary | 8 | 12,000 |
| Albania | 5 | 24,000 |
| Grand total | 1,262 | 7,603,000 |

Poland's 7-year plan calls for a 2-million deadweight-ton fleet by the end of 1965. While we have no specific tonnage goal for Red China, her current 5-year plan is to produce 54 ships averaging between 5,000 and 10,000 tons.

The fleet development programs of several of the satellite countries have been hindered by their commitments to supply ships to Russia.

The powers that be in Washington no longer can afford to discount appraisals that clearly show that our maritime industry is an irreplaceable asset that is essential to our Nation's welfare. Nor can it continue to rationalize this fact when maritime budgets are determined. Time is running out.

This country's greatest maritime disaster is already shaping up.

## Alameda County Leads Bay Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 17, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, in a time when much concern is being expressed about the national economy, it is heartening to know the outstanding strides being made by Alameda County in taking the leadership of the San Francisco Bay area in key indexes of economic growth. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a front page story from the Oakland Tribune of July 31, 1962, which highlights the progress in education, employment, industry, highways, assessed valuation, manufacturing, building, construction, retail sales, wholesale trade, and savings and loan activities in Alameda County. I think, after the facts concerning this development are read, every encouragement should be given to those responsible for these endeavors so that future years will show a continuation of such achievements.

COUNTY LEADS BAY ECONOMY—LEADERSHIP SHOWN ANEW IN 13 OF 21 HANDBOOK INDEXES

Alameda County has decisively reaffirmed its economic domination of the nine-county bay area by showing leadership in 13 of 21 key indexes according to Nils Eklund, Oakland Chamber of Commerce president. As proof, he points to the 1962 edition of the chamber's "Comparative Data Handbook."

The publication lists San Francisco as trailing in second place with six firsts and Santa Clara and Contra Costa Counties tied for third with one each. The 1961 comparison, which dealt with 25 factors instead of 21, showed Alameda County leading with 14 firsts to San Francisco County's nine, he said.

"This continued leadership by Alameda County conclusively confirms the tremendous and greater growth that is taking place on our side of the bay," Eklund said.

The chamber president cited the following comparisons in the 1962 handbook:

Population: Alemeda County, 970,600, continues the county's domination of northern California as well as the bay area. San Francisco County second with 741,200.

Future population: Recent surveys indicate and experts agree that Alameda County will continue to be the largest population center in northern California and by 1980 will reach 1,410,000. Forecasters pick Santa Clara County as second in 1980 with 1,285,000.

Education: Alameda County continues public school enrollment lead, from kindergarten through junior college, with 1961 October count of 195,555 to 180,147 for second place Santa Clara County. Alameda County second in the bay area in parochial school enrollment with 19,989 students as compared with San Francisco's 29,102.

Employment: Alameda County placed first in insured manufacturing employment for calendar year 1960 with an average of 75,000 manufacturing employees.

Industry: Alameda County led in industrial projects during the period 1947 through 1961 with a total of 3,146 to San Francisco County's 1,959. During the 15-year period, Alameda County accounted for 25 percent of all industrial investment in the bay area for a total of $607,837,080. This was second only to Contra Costa County's $875,931,500 during the same period.

Highways: With a need dictated by the heavy traffic of its growing commerce, Alameda County led in the allocation of State highway funds for the fiscal year 1962–63, heading all bay area counties and northern California, with a total appropriation of $23,488,000.

Transportation: Alameda County continued to lead the bay area in freight car movements from 1959 through 1961, a factor that reflects its importance as an industrial and distribution center. Last year's 264,070 carloads of freight compared with 174,569 for Contra Costa County, and 127,173 for third place San Francisco County, Alameda and Contra Costa Counties combined to record 61 percent of all freight car movements in the industrial bay area counties.

Trucking: Alameda County again led the bay area counties in 1961 with 551 for-hire trucking companies listed by the public utilities commission.

Vehicle registration: Alameda County again led the bay area and all northern California in both passenger car registrations and total motor vehicle registration with 386,065 registered passenger cars and 471,708 total vehicles. Second place Santa Clara County had 302,091 passenger cars and 374,127 total vehicles.

Assessed value: Assessed valuations in Alameda County passed San Francisco for the first time in fiscal year 1962—Alameda County, $1,495,295,166 and San Francisco County, $1,482,218,908.

Manufacturing: The final results of the 1958 Census of Manufacturers place Alameda County in first place in amount of value added by manufacturing process with a total value of $809,690,000 compared with second place Santa Clara County's $671,982,000.

Building: Alameda County placed second to Santa Clara County in valuation of all building construction permits with $177,849,542 to Santa Clara County's $288,179,378.

Retail sales: Final results of the 1958 Census of Business placed Alameda County in second place in total number of establishments and total retail sales volume. Alameda County's 8,245 establishments and $1,159,123,000 in sales were second only to San Francisco County's 9,098 establishments and sales of $1,253,977,000. In taxable retail sales Alameda County's volume of $1,499,273,000 was second only to San Francisco's $1,750,207,000. However, Alameda County's 1961 taxable sales showed a $44 million increase over 1960 while San Francisco figures showed a $3 million decrease.

Wholesale trade: 1958 Census of Business data on wholesale trade in Bay area counties placed Alameda County second to San Francisco County in number of establishments and total wholesale sales. Alameda County's volume of $1,724,212,000 compared with San Francisco's $4,876,605,000.

Savings and loan: In distribution of Bay area savings and loan association assets the eight associations headquartered in Alameda County totaled $402,374,704, placing Alameda County in third place to first place San Francisco's 16 associations with assets of $934,255,973 and Santa Clara's nine associations with assets of $647,233,077.

## Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors Unanimously Resolve Favoring Establishment of a National Flag Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, July 18, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of a letter to me from the Honorable Warren M. Dorn, supervisor, Fifth District, County of Los Angeles, State of California, together with copy of resolution which was unanimously approved by the full membership of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles.

Mr. Speaker, consistent with the high purposes of this resolution, I am pleased to tell you that I am promptly filing all appropriate legislation to carry forward the pertinent purposes of this said resolution.

The letter and resolution follow:

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
*Los Angeles, Calif., July 25, 1962.*

Congressman CLYDE DOYLE,
*House Office Building*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Because numerous individuals and organizations of the county of Los Angeles have expressed an interest in the establishment of a National Flag Week during the first week of July each year, I recently introduced a resolution calling for such observance, which was unanimously approved by members of the board. A copy of our resolution is enclosed.

As a result of the enthusiastic acceptance of such a program here recently, I respectfully request that you please introduce and support the necessary legislation to extend

the observance of National Flag Week to both State and Federal governmental jurisdictions.

Your cooperation on this important matter will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN M. DORN,
*Supervisor, Fifth District.*

RESOLUTION BY SUPERVISOR WARREN M. DORN

Whereas the flag, with its red and white stripes and 50 stars on a field of blue, represents a symbol of these United States of America through which men for generations have realized their greatest, noblest, and most sublime dream of personal accomplishment and freedom; and

Whereas the names of great men of the past, such as Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Paul Revere, Lincoln, Andrew Jackson, and others who helped lay the foundations of our cherished liberties are forever associated with our flag; and

Whereas the great events of our Nation's history from Valley Force to Gettysburg, to the Alamo, San Juan Hill, Flanders fields, Pearl Harbor, to Normandie and Korea, are all indelibly written with the same unfading colors of our national emblem; and

Whereas under the billowing folds of this great guardian of freedom the 13 Original Colonies have grown into the world's strongest nation, a giant of industry, commerce, and agriculture, a patron of education and the arts, with never ending opportunities for all, and more particularly into a nation of ideals, of justice, of freedom, offering a beacon light of hope to the oppressed and persecuted of the world; and

Whereas since June 19, 1962, the board of supervisors has been assisting individuals and organizations in the recognition of the first week of July as National Flag Week throughout the county; and

Whereas those same individuals and organizations have demonstrated great interest in the establishment of an entire week for the appropriate recognition of our flag and the rich heritage of history it represents: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles*, That in view of what our Nation's colors mean to us, the residents and citizens of the County of Los Angeles, be especially urged to display the flag each day during the week of July 1–7 in the initial observance of National Flag Day in America; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the affected officials and department heads of the County of Los Angeles be authorized and requested to initiate cooperative action among city, county, State, and Federal governments and affected organizations in an effort to bring about the ultimate observances of National Flag Week during the first week of July on an annual basis.

## Hospital and Medical Care for Service-Connected Peacetime Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, within the past 20 years, Congress has accomplished more for the benefit of those who served in the Armed Forces during a time of war, than all the previous Congresses of our history.

In going all out for war veterans we had the support of public opinion and the satisfaction of knowing that we were doing everything possible to care for our sick and disabled war veterans—helping their comrades to improve their job-skills, or complete their higher education, or to buy a home or a farm.

The far-reaching and constructive program of benefits that we provided for millions of these veterans, assisted them in making a successful adjustment to civilian life, and contributed to the progress and prosperity of the Nation.

It was proof of our everlasting gratitude to those who had defended our free society with their lives.

But in concentrating on legislation to benefit them, we overlooked the smaller group of peacetime veterans who also served the Nation because they were ready to defend it if war should come.

No one maintains that wartime and peacetime veterans should be treated alike because there are unbridgeable differences in the respective risks and sacrifices that they experienced. By the same reasoning, however, we should not carry this distinction to extremes by generously rewarding one group while denying the legitimate rights of the other group.

Every Member of Congress has found himself in the uncomfortable position of trying to explain to a peacetime veteran suffering from a noncompensable disability incurred or aggravated by his service that he was not eligible for hospital and medical care at a facility operated by the Veterans' Administration.

To excuse it as an oversight on the part of Congress was unconvincing because this unintentional discrimination has closed the Veterans' Administration medical doors to these veterans for many years.

War veterans now are entitled to hospital care and outpatient treatment for disabilities which they incurred in service even in those cases where they were not discharged for disability, or were not awarded compensation.

I believe that the same consideration should be extended to peacetime veterans who, at present, are entitled to treatment only if they were discharged for service-connected disability or are receiving compensation for such disabilities. If they fail to meet one of these eligibility conditions, they may not be granted hospitalization or outpatient treatment for a service-connected condition that is rated as less than 10 percent disabling.

Authorization of hospital and medical care for service-connected peacetime veterans is long overdue, and S. 3109, awaiting the President's action, will correct that neglect.

## Nonvoting: A Sad Commentary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, an excellent comment on the failure of many of our citizens to exercise the great privilege of voting is contained in a recent column, Observations and Comments, by Hon. L. S. Stegins, editor and manager of the Screven County News, a fine weekly newspaper published in my hometown of Sylvania, Ga.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend this excerpt from Mr. Stegins' column to the reading of the Members of the House:

NONVOTING: A SAD COMMENTARY

The other day I heard about a local man who has never voted in his life—and he is 60 years of age.

One of the reasons he gave was he is a friend of all candidates and doesn't want to make a choice, one against the other.

He may have other reasons, but I doubt if any of them would be any more valid than the one he gave.

Few if any of us have a perfect record when it comes to showing up at the polls in every election. But refusing to vote in all of them for 40 years is a sad commentary on the duties and obligations of American citizenship.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of August 11, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT: COMMONSENSE AND TAXES

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

A conservative and commonsense creed for many years has been that taxes directly affect the strength of the economy, that high taxes drain incentive capital from the economy and prevent growth by gradually strangling business activity and initiative. Today, at long last, it seems the liberals have recognized this basic economic truth and are advocating tax cuts as a spur to the economy. In logic then we know that liberals must now also give proper recognition to the basic ingredients of our economy—a freely competitive market and the all-important incentive which is the profit motive and profits, stemming from a society of free people. Without all of this there would not be an American economy, the marvel of the world. Here the liberal philosophy breaks down. How can a tax cut be a boost to the economy when the Federal Government's big and increasing expenditures both negates any benefit of a tax cut (and waters the value of our money) and progressively limits the economic freedom of individuals and businesses by Federal rules and regulations. The falsity of the contradictory logic of libernls is further exemplified by their adherence to Federal pumappriming, monetizing the debt (prosperity by printing money and floating bonds), the devastating effect of astronomical spending for liberal legislative proposals, involving government in business, including public housing, public food, urban renewal, TVA and other public power projects, farm subsidies, foreign aid, welfare programs, and many, many others. To summarize the Pres-

ident and the liberals' present dilemma, no tax cut can be beneficial without being matched by reductions in Federal spending, and the President and his advisors are not even considering reduced spending, on the contrary.

As to the discusion of taxes and tax cuts, there are two possibilities: (1) The "quickie" tax cut allegedly to prevent a recession; (2) tax reform (in structure and brackets) to correct basic inequities. The quickie approach is not good. It reduces revenue at a time when we are already deficit financing and increases inflationary pressures. This is the plan advocated by the President who wants flexible taxes, that is, he wants to be able to increase and lower taxes at will, a false ecomonic theory because the uncertainties acompanying fluctuating tax rates will further damage profits, risk and business investment.

Tax reform tackles the problem on a responsible basis. It removes inequities of the present improper bracket system which is too progressive, too confiscatory. Reform is proper at any time, regardless of revenue because it deals not directly with the amount but how it's produced. This brings us to the heart of the political argument on taxes: a flat percentage tax on one hand as against our present form, the Communist-Socialist dictum "from each according to his ability." The solution to imposing taxes in a free society, in my firm opinion, is the flat percentage tax.

Granted there must be a transition period and this is provided by the Alger-Baker-Herlong bill. This legislation reduces both individual and corporate tax rates over a 5-year period within a balanced budget; defers taxes for individuals on long-term capital gains as long as the taxpayer reinvests his holdings; reduces the rates of tax on estates and gifts, and establishes more realistic depreciation rules. This legislation strikes at the crux of the tax problem which is the sharp climb in the graduated rates in the middle income brackets. This is the bottleneck that has slowed the flow of investment funds, especially the risk venture variety, since our capital availability is firmly tied to the rate at which savings can be accumulated. This elementary economic truth is not recognized by the administration which holds that private savings are actually a liability and that economic strength is built through pumping Federal funds into the economy. President Kennedy's economic philosophies are buried in the gobbledygook of administration spokesmen such as in the following statement:

"If the economy were at full employment today, we estimate that total income and total output would be about $30 billion higher than at present. But Federal tax receipts would be about $9 billion above present levels, and private savings would be $5 or $6 billion higher than today. Thus, taxes and savings would be drawing $14 or $15 billion from the economy which would have to be offset by additional investment and Government expenditures for full employment to be maintained. This means that, at present levels of Government expenditures, our present tax system bars the way to full employment unless we are able to raise private investment about $14 or $15 billion above present levels."

The administration, if this statement can be unraveled, does not understand the role of savings and Government spending. Profits and savings provide the necessary investment capital. Federal spending takes away from this investment capital (in taxes) in order to replensh it—obviously self-defeating and contradictory. In conclusion: we have in proper tax reform (Alger-Baker-Herlong bill), the dual forces for impressive and lasting public betterment—the urgently needed tax rate reform and a checkrein on Government spending.

## Moscow's Peace Slogan a Cold War Tool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, Robert H. Estabrook, writing in the Washington Post on August 12, has made a thoughtful, lucid analysis of the Soviet Union's "peace and friendship" public relations campaign.

There can be no question that we must continue to exert every effort to make progress on such vital mutual problems as Berlin, nuclear testing, and disarmament. We must continue despite rebuffs and frustrations for these efforts to a considerable extent will determine the future course and shape of our world.

As we continue our efforts, however, it is important to recall, as Mr. Estabrook has pointed out, that:

What the Communists mean when they talk of peace and friendship is not what Americans understand or what most of their own people earnestly desire, but a monstrous perversion of the phrase."

Mr. Speaker, I commend this excellent article to our colleagues' attention:

MOSCOW'S PEACE SLOGAN IS A COLD WAR TOOL

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

LONDON.—Peace and friendship slogans dot the Soviet Union with the frequency of Coca-Cola signs in the United States. In virtually every city and along many country roads you see the phrase "mir i druzhba" plastered on posters and billboards. It is even in neon lights atop buildings.

Newspapers are full of it. At every official function with foreigners there are toasts to peace and friendship. Persons you meet on the street allude to it in casual conversation.

So far as the Soviet people in general are concerned, there is not the slightest question but that the sentiment is a sincere expression of a heartfelt wish.

But so far as the Soviet Communist Party and Government are concerned, peace and friendship is a weapon with which to attack the United States and its allies in the cold war.

There scarcely could be a better example of the duality, the two levels, on which the Soviet system operates. Many, perhaps most, of the people simply have no idea of the way in which a noble ideal is cynically twisted by their Government to serve Communist strategy.

Soviet citizens may not be very sophisticated in all the ramifications of nuclear destruction, but they know a great deal about the effects of war. Even to a people already accustomed to Stalin's terror, the Nazi invasion produced horrors still not fully appreciated elsewhere.

At least 20 million Soviet people, possibly many millions more, died in World War II. Some 600,000 died of starvation alone in the siege of Leningrad, a city that had 3 million population.

Stalingrad was virtually wiped off the map. No one who has encountered the chamber of commerce-type pride of the people in what has been built since in the successor city of Volgograd can have the faintest doubt that the popular repugnance for war is genuine.

KHRUSHCHEV'S CAMOUFLAGE

But as Stalin used the exigencies of war to accomplish his strategic purposes in eastern Europe, so the government of Nikita Khrushchev is using "peace and friendship" as camouflage for its ideological campaign against the West and disguise for its own unwillingness to reach workable agreements.

In fact, the campaign has aspects of a religious crusade. Soviet slogans never speak merely of the quest for peace; it is always the "fight" or "struggle" of the people against the wicked warmongers. Popular idealism is thus converted into a tool of Communist policy.

Last month in Moscow there was the Communist-sponsored World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, attended by delegates billed as representing the peace-loving elements in almost every country. The initial atmosphere, however, could hardly be described as peaceful.

The opening day was largely devoted to vehement condemnations of the American high-altitude nuclear test. By remarkable coincidence, the next morning letters denouncing the United States appeared in Pravda from readers in such remote points as Kiev, Tbilisi and Tashkent—although Soviet mail service is agonizingly slow, presumably because letters pile up awaiting spot-censorship.

Then came the speech by Chairman Khrushchev. Described by one Soviet journalist as "mild," it attacked virtually every aspect of American foreign policy.

Not all the delegates, however, were as compliant as the Communists might have wished. Some spoke out forthrightly, and in the end a resolution was approved condemning all nuclear tests. Several British nuclear disarmers staged an impromptu demonstration in Red Square against official wishes. Their banners were quickly taken away by what were described as "simple Soviet citizens."

But little of this dissent found its way into the Communist press. Distortion and public ignorance remain the instruments by which the government furthers its objectives in this area.

A Soviet citizen reading and listening only to what the Government has told him would think, for example, that the United States alone had frustrated all attempts to ban nuclear tests and control nuclear weapons, that the United States and its allies were using Berlin as a spearhead for revenge, that allied bases around the world were for the sole purpose of threatening the Soviet Union.

PATTERN OF DISTORTION

He also would think that the communization of Eastern Europe had represented the wishes of the people, that the United States had unleashed an attack on North Korea, that the Hungarian revolt had been a counterrevolution instigated by the imperialists, that the United States was preventing the "liberation" of Vietnam, and that Western policy was to repress colonial peoples around the world.

The attacks are so incessant that you sometimes wonder whether they do not have a counterproductive effect. But there is little evidence of this in conversations with people on the street.

They appear totally ignorant of the fact that the Soviet Union broke the nuclear test moratorium last fall, despite Khrushchev's categorical promise to the contrary. They were told in a small after-the-fact announcement that the Soviet Union had conducted a test series but were not told the number of explosions.

Similarly, people you meet seem not to have the remotest knowledge that the Soviet Union repudiated its own nuclear treaty proposal or refused to sign its own draft declaration against war propaganda. Instead they ask why the United States is encircling their country.

How much the higher Communist Party members come to believe their own propa-

ganda is always debatable. In private conversations, some of them are considerably more plausible than the official line.

They avoid mention of the Berlin crisis in this connection. They acknowledge, however, that Khrushchev was surprised when he did not obtain a concession from the new President at their meeting in Vienna last year.

You can believe what of this you wish. Seen from a Communist standpoint, certain Western actions undoubtedly have had the effect of increasing the suspicions of an already suspicious Soviet Government. But however much he may want to avoid war, Khrushchev is doing nothing at the moment to reduce tensions.

What opportunity there may be for a nuclear test agreement after the new Soviet series remains unknown. But there are many indications that East and West are heading for a new period of strain over Berlin.

Certainly Khrushchev spurned the chance to talk seriously during his interview with American editors on July 13. Instead of discussing methods of bridging the real differences with the United States, he chose to make more propaganda.

And this again serves to illustrate the fantastic duality of the system. The people want peace. The Russian Government probably want to avoid war, among other reasons because of the enormous number of uncompleted tasks at home. But it will do little or nothing at present to curtail its exercises in brinkmanship.

The reasons probably are two: First, tension is still considered necessary as an instrument of compulsion in Soviet domestic affairs. Second, Soviet officials retain undiminished the determinist belief that communism is the wave of the future. Tension, they believe, helps history along by keeping the capitalist countries off balance and hastening their disintegration.

In this sense, what the Communists mean when they talk of "peace and friendship" is not what Americans understand or what most of their own people earnestly desire, but a monstrous perversion of the phrase.

## You Can't Stay Strong in a Straitjacket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I have read many advertisements from all areas of business but Warner & Swasey specifically utilize their advertising to call attention to the United States rather than attention to their products.

I am certain they feel by this, that if the United States thrives, their business will thrive. With this thought I wholeheartedly agree.

Under unanimous consent I am inserting herewith one of their latest editorials, "You Can't Stay Strong in a Straitjacket." This certainly coincides with my own political and economic philosophy and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and all citizens of our great country.

The editorial follows:

YOU CAN'T STAY STRONG IN A STRAITJACKET

The United States is the most powerful Nation in the world, but every new tax, regulation, giveaway, bureau is one more cord tightened in the straitjacket that is weakening, destroying our strength—turning us into the welfare state so many seem to want.

The all-powerful welfare state does your thinking and worrying for you; there is no room in it for ambition—the ambition to make a name for yourself, to do better than your father and your neighbor, to build your family's prosperous future. Ambition and laws that encourage it are what drive men ahead; they are what made this country great, created millions of jobs, gave America the world's highest standard of living, built schools and hospitals, created the wealth we have given in billions to the free world.

Restrict rewards, destroy ambition—and you destroy those rich fruits; you destroy America.

Is being pampered and cared for by government worth that awful price?

## Observations and Comments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, my lifelong friend, Hon. L. S. Stegins, editor and manager of the Screven County News, Sylvania, Ga., who also has the honor of serving as a member of the city council of my hometown of Sylvania, expressed in an excellent manner his opinion concerning the prayer decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in his column, "Observations and Comments," in a recent issue of his newspaper.

Early in my life, Mr. Stegins and I were associated in the publishing business and, knowing his background of devotion to the Constitution of the United States and his strong belief in the fundamental principles upon which this Nation was founded, I feel that his comments will be of interest to my colleagues in the Congress and to all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD who share our feeling that the implications of this decision are deplorable.

Under leave to extend my remarks I insert the article, as follows:

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

(By L. S. Stegins)

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings on us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

This little prayer, recommended by the board of regents, the governing body of the New York public school system, led to a Supreme Court decision that is probably more far-reaching in the separation of religion from the state than any other.

By a six to one decision, the Court found this prayer to be unconstitutional.

However, the Court decision appears to continue to acknowledge that religion is a part of the life of this country. The decision appears to be based on the use of the official prayer of the board of regents. As Justice Hugo L. Black said in the decision, "Each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves."

Unfortunately, our hope and feeling about this case and the decision is not universal. Leo Pfeffer, general counsel of the American Jewish Congress, declared that the ruling "makes it quite clear that Bible readings, prayer recitations and religious holiday celebrations may not be constitutionally conducted in the public schools."

We sincerely hope that Mr. Pfeffer has read far too much into the Court decision. We would not like to see the very subject of religion made taboo in our public school system. The constitution of this State acknowledges Almighty God. Our entire culture is based on a solid foundation of religious faith.

We score denominationalism in public schools. We believe that tax funds should be withheld from purely parochial schools. But we do not believe that the name of God should be silent in the schoolroom.

## The Revere Journal, of Revere, Mass., Honored as the Best Weekly Newspaper of the 10,000 Circulation Class in the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time that the Revere Journal, published in Revere, Mass., has been found worthy of mention in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Journal is an independent and courageous weekly that is much closer to the heartbeat of its subscribers than the big city dailies. In an age where the trend toward centralization of power at the top is smothering the voice of the individual, the little Journal, loyally supported by subscribers who are better known as friends and neighbors, maintains the quality that reflects its New England character.

Being a weekly, it does not have to leap for the readers' attention with sensational headlines. The Journal has leisure to report some of the good things in community life, for it understands that true reporting must encompass more than the coverage of crime, corruption, disaster, and scandal.

Much of its modest success is due to the confidence it inspires in its readers. Most of them know the genial publisher, Sidney Curtis. When he stops to talk with them on the street, he asks about the boy who is serving with the Army in Germany, or the daughter's approaching marriage. Sidney's interest in people keeps him in touch with public opinion. He knows whether most of them favor or oppose the controversial motion that is coming up before the school committee at its next meeting. Because of his many personal contacts he knows where folks stand on the larger issues involving the State and the Nation. It is no wonder that the employees of the Journal are so proud of their paper and their publisher.

At the recent annual convention of the Accredited Home Newspapers of

America that was held in Washington, D.C., the Revere Journal won national recognition. Sidney Curtis was presented with the top award for general excellence of weekly newspapers in the under 10,0000 circulation class.

Congratulations to all who share in the accomplishments of the Revere Journal.

## Alabama Retail Firm Wins Recognition For Its Community Service Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 24, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following very interesting report concerning the work Loveman, Joseph & Loeb Department Store in Birmingham is doing to encourage an interest in theater and drama. The program they have instituted is being highly successful and all of the people in Birmingham familiar with it are most impressed with the fine results.

The Reader's Digest conducted a nationwide contest and selected Loveman, Joseph & Loeb as its winner in the community service field.

The article is as follows:

DEPARTMENT STORE DRAMA

Consultant Dorothy Schwartz, like the legendary Pied Piper of Hamelin Town, plays a tune that children listen to and joyfully follow. An authority on creative dramatics for children, she is the personal gift of Loveman, Joseph & Loeb of Birmingham to the youngsters of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. This gift has been well received. Not only parents, but an important thought-leading group, educators, have formed a favorable image of Loveman's.

Bringing Dorothy Schwartz to Loveman's—and her talents to these children—has brought Loveman's beyond its role as a business institution serving the community. In instituting this project, Loveman's has done its part in fulfilling a pledge made to the children of America a few years ago at a White House Conference on Children and Youth. It read in part: "We will respect your right to be yourself * * *. We will help you to develop initiative and imagination * * *. We will open the way to you to enjoy the arts and to use them for deepening your understanding of life."

Once Paul L. Dowd, president of Loveman's, got the approval of the Alabama State Department of Education, he hired Mrs. Schwartz, an experienced drama instructor, to work with teachers through an inservice training program in the State's school system. She joined Loveman's public relations staff in 1957. Loveman's had hired a personal ambassador, dedicated to a lofty goal which she puts in this way: "Provide children with an opportunity to grow in understanding people, give them the experience of thinking on their feet and expressing ideas clearly, show them how to control emotional release, give them an opportunity to grow in social cooperation, to get along with others and build fine attitudes and appreciations."

How Mrs. Schwartz accomplishes this is best shown by what she did with 35 pupils in the sixth grade class at Hueytown, near Birmingham. She wanted to make the youngsters' lessons in social studies, science and arts come alive, and mean more to them. Her technique: first teach simple pantomime and creative rhymes, dramatic play next, then characterization and dialog. The results: "High, Wide and Deep," an original play depicting man's exploration and mastery of the seas, written and produced, complete with colorful sets and costumes, original poems and pictures, by the sixth grade children.

Her method has also brought exceptional improvement in the four vital learning areas of paragraph comprehension, word meaning, spelling and reading ability. A leading educator says one of the reasons for the success of creative dramatics is that it utilizes a basic instinct in the child—"his innate play instinct."

Mrs. Schwartz has not been contained by State boundaries; she has advised both State and parochial school educators in Mississippi and Georgia as well as Alabama. It has been appreciated.

The Alabama Education Association cited Loveman's for "meritorious service in the field of public education." Virginia White James, professor of elementary education at the University of Alabama wrote: "We at the university are very much indebted to Loveman's. We deeply appreciate the significant contribution to education in Alabama which is made by your institution through the consultant services of this gifted lady," Maryland Wilson, head of the spech department of Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Ala. wrote: "We appreciate the courtesy and thoughtfulness of Loveman's and are most appreciative of the personal interest in the fine arts which normally one does not expect from an organization as impersonal as a store."

The community appreciates the service as expressed in this editorial in the Birmingham News: "Loveman's and Mrs. Schwartz are making a great educational contribution, particularly meaningful at this time when there is danger that individuality, creativity and sensitivity to the whole of life might be sacrificed on the altar of armament science, skimmed and packaged thinking, vicarious entertainment."

## The Advantages of the American Free Enterprise System Over Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the RECORD the prize-winning essay written by Miss Karen Bledsoe of Glendora, Calif.

The essay entitled "The Advantages of the American Free Enterprise System over Communism," was written for a contest sponsored by the American Medical Association. It was the winner at Glendora High School and at the San Gabriel Valley regional. It won the California State competition, and rated honorable mention in the national contest.

Miss Bledsoe, 17 years of age, was graduated this year from Glendora High School and plans to enter college this fall.

She shows a high degree of understanding of the free enterprise system and the fact that free enterprise has been an indispensable ingredient in the growth of our Nation and the freedom of our people.

I believe Miss Bledsoe's essay will be of interest to many Members of Congress:

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM OVER COMMUNISM

(By Karen Bledsoe)

The free enterprise system and communism have been conflicting forces for a number of years. In direct opposition to one another, they are now waging a deadly war of subversion and propaganda which affects us all. The outcome of this conflict will mean either liberty or slavery for our Nation. The free enterprise system has proven itself the best possible means of fulfilling man's material and spiritual needs, and it has given the great masses of people a prosperity that is yet unequaled. It is not, as the Communists would have it, a "greedy race to fleece the public", but rather a "contest in giving the best and most efficient service to the public".[1] With its emphasis on voluntary, individual action, free enterprise creates an atmosphere where men put into their efforts a devotion and enthusiasm no money can buy and no force compel. There is a constant pressure behind the drive for progress, and although it produces goods in surplus, it also creates and distributes purchasing power which absorbs this surplus. America's production and standard of living under the free enterprise system have increased nearly tenfold,[2] as has the standard of living in all capitalistic countries. At the same time, however, Russia's economic progress has been slow and uncertain. An American's output is 8½ times that of a Russian,[3] which explains in part why out standard of living is so much higher. The Communists, who believe that industrial development in a free economy leads to the impoverishment of the people, are straining their economy to try to equal the industrial potential of the United States—a most striking testimony "that the development of capital-using industry is now everywhere recognized by everyone as the chief source of national strength and of improved material well-being for people."[4]

Free enterprise is based on three fundamental principles: (1) Individuals have the right to use their talents, energy, and enterprise to further the circumstances of themselves and their families; (2) individuals are entitled to the "fruits of their labor"; (3) they have a right to possess and accumulate property in the interest of their own material welfare.[5]

Communism, however, is completely opposed to these basic principles, and has developed a totalitarian dictatorship in which the sole purpose is world dominion. In theory they advocate a classless society in which each contributes according to his ability, and is given according to his need. In actual practice, however, their society is far from classless, and the rewards of labor bear no relation to need.[6] Under communism man is reduced to a "mindless automation"; he is pushed toward a "nightmare world where men look upon one another, not as human beings, but as mechanical objects".[7]

Communism allows no private ownership of "the means of production, distribution, and exchange";[8] all property is publicly (or actually state) owned. When the state holds a great deal of power it becomes corrupt. In the free enterprise system no excessive

Footnotes at end of speech.

amount of power is given to the state, thus acting as a check on the government and preventing tyranny. The ownership of private property also adds to a great deal of security, by promoting liberty of thought, writing, and action. Income from rent, interest or profit is also prohibited, and can be derived only from wages and salaries, possibly professional fees, and state payments.

A central planning authority plans all economic activities of the country, whereas in a free enterprise system most of the planning is done by the producers with an aim to satisfy the wishes of the consumers. Communism has replaced consumer's choice by "planned production for consumption," [9] and instead of the individual deciding what he shall buy, the state decides for him.

Under the free enterprise system a man is allowed the free choice of a job, but this is not so under communism. He is forced to work where the state places him with little hope of change.

Perhaps the most significant, however, of the disadvantages of communism is its failure to understand human nature. Man is neither all good nor all evil. He will exert himself far more for himself and his family than for the state,[10] and the state expects him to do far more for the state than for himself or his family. In most cases man will work only as hard as necessary, and when he is receiving no reward for extra effort, he will usually not extend himself.

"The desire to own property is one of the most deeply rooted instincts in the human race," [11] and communism is denying this instinct to man. Communism's treatment of property satisfies only the basest of human emotions: envy, hatred, and malice. "It satisfies the desire of those who have no property themselves to drag down everyone to their level." [12]

Since human nature and communism cannot be reconciled, the Communists plan to change human nature, but that is where they have made their largest error, for human nature has not, nor will in the future, change. "Free enterprise has achieved its results because it cooperates with human nature; socialism is bound to lead to a retrogression because it flouts human nature." [13]

Although free enterprise has its problems, conflicts, hardships, and injustices, it also has its freedom, liberty, and the rights of the individual. No other system can even begin to equal the free enterprise system in "supplying an abundance of material needs, respecting individual differences and desire, and affording opportunity for achievement according to talent and merit." [14] The successes and failures of free enterprise are the successes and failures of men.

"Free enterprise is the mainspring of the mechanism that has made the United States the strongest nation industrially, and the most prosperous, in all the world." [15] It is up to us to keep it so.

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[1] Jacob Dolson Cox, "Material Human Progress," p. 38.
[2] Jacob Cox, op. cit., p. 24.
[3] Jacob Cox, op. cit., p. 20.
[4] Jacob Cox, op. cit., p. 26.
[5] Rev. Edward W. Greenfield, "Free Enterprises," p. 2.
[6] Ivor Thomas, "The Socialist Tragedy," p. 33.
[7] "Will America Ever Learn?", p. 10.
[8] Ivor Thomas, op. cit., p. 21.
[9] Ivor Thomas, op. cit., p. 130.
[10] Ivor Thomas, op. cit., p. 152.
[11] Ivor Thomas, op. cit., p. 156.
[12] Ivor Thomas, op. cit., p. 158.
[13] Ivor Thomas, op. cit., p. 204.
[14] Rev. Edward W. Greenfield, op. cit., p. 4.
[15] Jacob Cox, op. cit., p. 36.

## Cuba: The Growing Pains of a Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit two articles written by Mr. Jesse Gordon for the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily, which give an objective appraisal of the Cuban situation. Mr. Gordon recently returned from a Cuban tour for North American Newspaper Alliance and, I understand, was for a good part of his 3-month stay in Cuba the only American reporter there.

The articles follow:

[From the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily, July 19, 1962]

CUBA: THE GROWING PAINS OF A REVOLUTION

(By Jesse Gordon)

The Cuban Revolution rolls on. But the road is steep, and along the way Fidel Castro also finds it rough and bumpy, including some detours.

Not too long ago a friend asked Castro when, in a lifetime filled with nightmarish escapes, he had been the most frightened. Castro replied that he was most scared when he came down from the Sierra Maestra shortly before Jan. 1, 1959, and had to face the task of running a government.

It was a colossal undertaking for a man with little or no experience in administration, and little talent for it. In the Sierra Maestra he merely had to worry about a rag-tag guerrilla army numbering at most several hundreds, with logistic problems and supply lines involving a few score miles at most.

Now he has to worry about 6,500,000 men, women, and children—and his logistics include the whole world.

Let's look first at the distribution. Essential for orderly distribution is an efficient bureaucracy and an efficient bureaucracy requires experienced personnel.

The lack of trained personnel in Cuba is appalling. Practically all former civil service employees have been replaced—many of the replacements are youths in their early twenties, without either knowledge or experience. The shortage of qualified administrators and workers runs through all the Government bureaus. It makes for a lot of errors and even some disastrous ones.

During the past year, a big shortage in pharmaceuticals was noted. Persons with doctors' prescriptions were going from drugstore to drugstore unable to get them filled for lack of medicines.

LACKS THE DOLLARS

The embargo placed upon Cuba by the U.S. Government didn't include food or drugs, but the Cuban government lacks the dollars with which to buy either. Canada, too, was prepared to sell drugs, but again there was a lack of foreign exchange.

Things were reaching a crisis. Castro wanted to know why some one had not been farsighted enough to order medicines from the socialist countries before the supplies became dangerously low.

Some of Castro's subordinates explained to him that Cuban doctors, trained to American pharmaceutical standards, could not adjust quickly to drugs from other countries with varying potencies. Someone else discovered that lots of drugs had been ordered—and delivered—from Soviet-bloc countries. Moreover, it was pointed out for doctors to become accustomed to different labeling and potencies was not all that difficult.

The search began for the drugs that had been shipped in from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Even Communist China had sent medicines, including penicillin. But where were they?

Finally, they were located in out-of-the way warehouses and stores, stashed away in crates and boxes, unopened, unmarked, neither indexed nor catalogued. They included valuable antibiotics which by now were ruined because they had not been properly storaged.

A hue and cry went up with the discovery. A board of inquiry was appointed; accountants and other experts began the task of cataloging the various medicines. A fat report was prepared after the task force had worked around the clock for weeks sifting out the stuff.

In one of the warehouses, for example, the task force stumbled across more than 1 million glass ampule containers. An order had just been placed for them by someone who had not known they had already arrived.

At last report, the study with recommendations was on the desk of Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

The situation in the drug field is not the only mess uncovered by teams of experts searching out distribution bottlenecks. For a long time ships unloading at the docks piled their wares alongside the wharves and departed. There is a tremendous lack of storage facilities in Cuba.

The reason is simple: before the revolution, Cuba was buying mainly from the United States—frequently by mere phone calls. Deliveries were often made within 24 hours. There was no need for storage space.

NEED FOR WAREHOUSES

But now, with ships hauling freight long distances, there is a great need for warehouses of all kinds. Cargoes, left at piers,

have been finding their way to some building, somewhere; but nobody afterward seems to know what went where—or how much. There are still lots of needed food supplies and other materiel stashed away in unknown places, because Castro doesn't have the trained personnel in the fields of warehousing and distribution.

But progress is being made, slowly. One way Castro is trying to overcome the personnel deficiency is by sending students abroad to study and work, especially in countries such as the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia. But this takes time.

You may be sure Castro would give almost anything for someone to come down and straighten out the distribution mess. If it gets any worse, perhaps, he will even wish he were back up in the Sierra Maestra, handling only simple problems.

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[From the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily, July 26, 1962]

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AFTER 3 YEARS

(By Jesse Gordon)

A new type of cane-cutting machine, adapted from an earlier model but never before used, promises to revolutionize the Cuban sugar industry.

One of Castro's biggest headaches during the zafra, or sugar harvesting, was getting the workers to cut the cane. Lots of the campesinos wouldn't turn out.

Explanations are various. Whether or not Castro accepted any of them as valid, it is to be noted that he never appealed to the campesinos directly, nor cast any slurs on their lack of patriotism.

Instead, office workers, soldiers, professional people, students, even some foreigners, were drafted to do the work the campesinos wouldn't do. One could see the truckloads of "volunteers" driving out to the canefields, early mornings, especially on weekends.

Something had to be done quickly. Cuba's 1962 sugar harvest totaled 4,815,000 tons. Last year's harvest was 6,767,000 tons. Next year's sugar production could be even worse. So Cuban engineers, working together with Soviet and other technicians, developed a cane-cutting machine.

I watched a trial run of two such machines, one of them an early American model found abandoned in a canefield. It had been brought over some 15 years ago, but the sugar workers union then wouldn't allow it to be used. The machine required two operators and the Cuban-Soviet technicians suggested that it couldn't be produced in sufficient quantity for next year's harvest.

The second machine was a British model which had been brought over from South Africa. It required only one man to operate and could easily be manufactured at home. Some improvements and adaptations were made to suit the particular needs of the Cuban canefields, which are bumpy and uneven as compared to the South African fields.

As finally developed, the diesel machine, set on a Czechoslovak tractor, weighed about 3 tons. The original British model was capable of cutting between 7,000 and 14,000 arrobas a day (an arroba is equal to 25 pounds). A canecutter, working by hand, cuts an average of 225 arrobas daily.

Castro recently announced that 1,000 of the canecutting machines would be in the fields during the next zafra. He is betting on it.

CHINA BIG IMPORTER

The Government claims that the machine is necessary not only because of a labor shortage, but because, since the Agrarian Reform Act was passed, more intensive use of land has been made. Also, the Government expects an increased demand for sugar in the world market.

For example, the People's Republic of China used to import 75,000 tons of sugar yearly; in 1960, it purchased half a million tons; in 1961 a million tons. The Cuban Government expects that China's imports of Cuban sugar will reach even greater amounts in the near future.

Some technicians, however, doubt that the mechanized canecutters work efficiently on the typically rough, uneven Cuban canefields. It may be that the fields will have to be leveled out and replanted before the machines will work as anticipated.

If that should be the case, Castro will have a bigger headache in store. It would take many years to replant the canefields.

Meanwhile, one of the unforeseen problems, adding new headaches, was the severity of this year's drought. It has been described as the worst drought in Cuba during the past 40 years. It brought more economic woes.

While it is true that the island is far from suffering a famine, there is, nevertheless, a serious food shortage, especially in meat, lard, rice, and milk. Some Cuban officials claim this shortage is partly due to a greater and more equitable food distribution. More people are eating more, particularly in the rural areas. One Cuban official claimed that per capital food consumption in Cuba today is higher than that in Mexico.

However, the school and housing program is moving along at a slower pace than when I was there in the latter part of 1960. Dr. Armando Hart, the Minister of Education, stated that there are now 38,000 primary schools, 294 secondary schools, 27 preuniversity schools, and 14 technological institutes in Cuba. He told me that all Cuban children today attend classes, while before the revolution only half did. He added that illiteracy has been reduced to 1.5 percent.

Agriculture is going "fairly well," according to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, head of INRA. He was optimistic about the agricultural cadres soon to return from oversea farm training. "We need another year for the 'new look' in agriculture to develop," Rodriguez told me.

The obvious goal of the Cuban leaders is to get Cuba off its one-crop sugar economy, diversify agriculture, and develop basic industries. It is fairly safe to assert that without the extensive economic aid from the Communist-bloc nations the Cuban economy would have collapsed long ago.

Well-informed sources, including some astute Western diplomats in Cuba, predict privately that if the Castro regime holds out another 12 to 18 months, it will become economically invulnerable. Even today, some observers point out, Cuba has developed sufficiently to withstand the economic blows dealt by the United States embargo.

Castro's conflict with the Catholic Church has subsided, at least on the surface, and things are quiet today. The churches on Sundays are usually packed with worshipers.

There is an underground movement, although it remains an unknown quantity as to its size and strength. It appears to be, however, without leadership. The mention of Dr. Jose Miro Cardona or Manuel A. de-Varona—leaders of the Cuban anti-Castro movement in the United States—brings forth derisive remarks from the anti-Castro elements within Cuba.

NO EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION

It is fairly safe to assert that there is no effective opposition to Fidel Castro within Cuba today. However, a small clandestine newspaper, Rescate (Rescue), appears sporadically with a program calling for "civil war as the only way."

Although the Cuban Government has never acknowledged that it practices censorship, the censors are there, scanning newspapers, radio and TV, the cabled dispatches of foreign correspondents, and even extending to the mails. But I have reason to suspect that the U.S. post office at Miami keeps a similar watch over mail going into and coming out of Cuba.

Despite all problems and shortcomings, the zest behind the revolution has not disappeared, even though it has subsided somewhat—as one might expect in any revolution more than 3 years old. And Western diplomats in Cuba do not question the fact that Castro is a truly popular revolutionary leader.

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## Resolutions Urging Federal Authorities To Require Northeast Airlines To Continue Its Scheduled Flight Services In and Out of the Municipal Airport of the City of Lawrence

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts Senate:

RESOLUTIONS URGING FEDERAL AUTHORITIES TO REQUIRE NORTHEAST AIRLINES TO CONTINUE ITS SCHEDULED FLIGHT SERVICES IN AND OUT OF THE MUNICIPAL AIRPORT OF THE CITY OF LAWRENCE

Whereas the Northeast Airlines has submitted a petition to the Civil Aeronautics Board requesting permission to terminate certain scheduled flights in and out of Richard F. Condon Airport in North Andover, the municipal airport of the city of Lawrence, thereby terminating service for the Lawrence area; and

Whereas hundreds of thousands of dollars of city, State, and Federal funds have been expended in recent years in the enlargement and improvement of said airport, and the Federal Aviation Administration has approved recent expenditures for the development of the airport; and

Whereas the record of airline passengers served from 1952 to 1958 justifies a longer trial period of service by the Northeast Airlines, which company has not fairly tried to promote business in the Lawrence area, particularly in promoting air mail and air freight, nor tried to evaluate the potential of air passenger business in the Lawrence area, notwithstanding the fact that over $2 million has been invested in new facilities at the Lawrence airport during the years 1958–61 on the basis of the resumption of services at said airport by the Northeast Airlines; and

Whereas the suspension of service requested by Northeast Airlines was tentatively allowed by order of the Civil Aeronautics Board, which order was later withdrawn, at which time the Civil Aeronautics Board stated that Northeast Airlines should resume its original schedule of service out of and into the Lawrence airport until the entire matter of Northeast Airlines service in the New England area, including Lawrence, be reviewed at a regional airport meeting to be held in August of the current year; and

Whereas it is not in the public interest to allow Northeast Airlines to discontinue flight service at the Lawrence airport, no other substitute service being available: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate of Massachusetts respectfully urges the Congress of the United States and the Civil Aeronautics

Board to take such action as may protect the interests of the people of the Lawrence area, and to require Northeast Airlines to continue its services at the Lawrence airport; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the secretary of the Commonwealth transmit forthwith copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, to each Member of the Congress from the Commonwealth, and to each member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Senate, adopted, July 26, 1962.

THOMAS A. CHADWICK,
*Clerk.*

A true copy.
Attest:

KEVIN H. WHITE,
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

## A Visitor From New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to read into the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the August 3 edition of the Savannah Morning News. I agree wholeheartedly with the remarks contained herein and I appreciate this paper's pointing out the hypocrisy of criticizing the fine citizens of Albany, Ga., while overlooking the far more serious problem of crime here in our Nation's Capital.

The article follows:

A VISITOR FROM NEW YORK

These are strange times. A Congressman from New York journeys to Albany, Ga., to "study" the situation there and recommend solutions.

In the State from which this Congressman comes, violence stalks the streets of a great metropolis, crime runs rampant, racial troubles boil, and citizens are afraid to walk alone through some sections of the city even in daylight.

Despite this, the Congressman can spare the time to come to Georgia and tell Georgians how to solve their problems. Can it be that he is more interested in Georgia than in the State he represents, is he blind to what goes on in New York, or does he think a trip to Albany is a good way to win votes back home?

It would have been better, we think, for this Congressman to have stayed home and sought some solutions there. New York needs his services far more than Georgia. Perhaps New York would also appreciate them more.

Washington, D.C., is also in the need of help. A woman there was recently attacked and knifed as she prayed in a church. The Congressman for whom she worked angrily demanded that some action be taken to quell the wave of crime in the Nation's seat of government. Perhaps our New York friend could do something about that.

There is already too much outside interference in the affairs of Albany. Most of Albany's trouble is due to outside agitators who do not live there, who have no stake in the city's future, and who will eventually depart, perhaps to stir uprest somewhere else.

We place the Congressman from New York in this same category, except that he represents better than some the strange attitude that telling someone else how to clean their backyard is better than cleaning your own.

## It Takes a Jolt To Get New Drug Laws—Article by Miriam Ottenberg in the Washington Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, long before the thalidomide tragedy became an international issue, I began working on the problem of tightening our "new drug" laws to give the Food and Drug Administration far more power to act quickly in removing dangerous or doubtful drugs from the market. The stilbestrol incident involving hormone-treated chickens, which cost the Federal Government about $10 million several years ago—an incident I discussed in an insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 6—pointed up the fact that after the Government once approves the use of a new drug for commercial purposes, it must then prove the product dangerous in order to take it off the market. Proof of danger is difficult, and involves legal proof, not just substantial scientific doubt as to safety.

OMNIBUS BILL NEEDED TO CLOSE LOOPHOLES

This and other loopholes in the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act prompted me late in 1960—after we had enacted the Color Additives Act as an emergency piece-meal change in the 1938 act intended primarily to bail out the lipstick manufacturers—these things prompted me, I repeat, to develop an omnibus bill to cover not just one or two but all of the many loopholes in consumer protections under that act. I introduced H.R. 1235 on the first day of this Congress, January 3, 1961. It was, and is, I believe, the only omnibus bill which has been introduced since 1938 to close in one piece of legislation all of the gaps and loopholes in the 1938 act in order to protect the consumer in the purchase and use of nearly $100 billion a year of foods, drugs and cosmetics.

It would cover not only those shortcomings in the drug provisions of the act which have now come to blazing public attention as a result of the thalidomide incident, but would apply to a lot of other important things as well. For instance:

LABELING ABUSES

H.R. 1235 would crack down in the labeling abuses which make it difficult if not impossible for the housewife to figure out the comparative prices of different sizes of the same products.

H.R. 1235 would eliminate the special interest exemptions in the law for butter, ice cream and cheese, which exempt the producers from showing on the label the presence of artificial coloring matter.

PRETESTS COSMETICS, CURB PEP PILLS

H.R. 1235 would, for the first time, give the Food and Drug Administration power to require pretesting for safety of any new cosmetic item prior to public sale.

H.R. 1235 would strengthen our powers in combating the frightening increase in the bootlegging of pep pills and barbiturates—the former, one of the major causes of our worst highway disasters, the latter a very common cause of suicide and death.

SAFETY AND EFFICACY

H.R. 1235 would require for the first time pretesting for safety of all the therapeutic devices prior to sale.

H.R. 1235 would require for the first time proof of the efficacy of new drugs and new therapeutic devices, as well as of their safety.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN DRUGS

H.R. 1235 would make possible wider use by physicians in prescribing by generic rather than trade names of drugs, thus helping to bring down prices.

H.R. 1235 would bolster and make really effective the factory inspection authority of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

SAFE, ECONOMICAL FOODS AND DRUGS, SAFE COSMETICS

H.R. 1235 would help rid the market of fake cancer remedies, which not only victimize the pocketbooks of those who buy them but, more important, deter the patient from seeking medical help while there is still time to curb this disease.

H.R. 1235 would require the batch-by-batch testing of every antibiotic drug sold in this country, rather than just the five known at the time this special certification provision of the law was enacted more than 20 years ago.

H.R. 1235 would mean safer and more economical foods and drugs, and safe cosmetics; in addition, it would give the Government the most important powers it lacks in dealing with a situation such as confronted Dr. Kelsey and FDA on thalidomide. These include the power to study all research data of the manufacturer; the clear-cut authority to take as long as necessary in passing on a new drug application, instead of the maximum period of 180 days now available in a contested case; also the power to move instantly to take a new drug off the market in case later information or experience should prove the drug has unexpected or dangerous side effects which outweigh its advantages.

FDA REGULATIONS COVER EXPERIMENTAL TESTING

All of us who have spent years studying our food, drug, and cosmetic laws know that the changes we now need in the law would not have prevented the use of thalidomide on a test basis. Such testing is covered by FDA regulations and these regulations applying to experimental drugs in the research stage can and must be strengthened. That is now being done. The thalidomide tragedy precipitated these improvements in the regulations. It is too bad that

the price was so high—in terms of thousands of malformed babies in other countries. But this experience will henceforth improve the safety of all experimental testing of new drugs prior to public sale. Nevertheless, in addition to the tighter regulations now being drawn, we also need new laws to close the loopholes in those cases where a new drug has passed all tests and seems to be safe and efficacious prior to marketing, but then discloses dangerous side effects after going on commercial sale. The Government must be able to move in fast and remove the drug from sale instantly on the basis of substantial doubt. That is the minimum change needed in the law.

Let us not confuse the various aspects of this complex issue. Dr. Kelsey deserves all of the public acclaim she has received, but we will continue to need this same kind of stubborn insistence on proof of safety on the part of all of our FDA pharmacologists, no matter how much we strengthen the new drug laws, because in the final analysis, the experience and knowledge of the licensing officials are the crucial determinants. We can strengthen the hands of the Dr. Kelseys—and we should do so—but let us not sit back then and think all of the problems have been solved and all future crises averted.

OUTSTANDING ARTICLE IN WASHINGTON STAR

Mr. Speaker, the outstanding investigations reporter of the Washington Star, Miss Miriam Ottenberg, who has deservedly won many awards and much recognition for her work, yesterday had an excellent article in the Sunday Star giving the background of the adoption of the 1938 Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, a monumental piece of legislation for its time. She describes the crisis which occurred from the sale of an untested "wonder drug," Elixer Sulfanilamide. In my testimony before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee this year, on June 20, on H.R. 1235 and on the two administration bills to amend the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, I also cited this background. My testimony is in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix for June 20. Miss Ottenberg has presented the background much more dramatically. As the headline states, "It Takes a Jolt To Get New Drug Laws: A 1938 Parallel."

Mr. Speaker, we could go back to the fantastic exposure of the journalistic "muckrakers" of the early years of this century for similar stories about the "jolts" behind the original Pure Food Law of 1906, the Wiley Act, and its companion measure, the 1906 meat inspection law.

HOW THE COSMETIC LAW WAS ENACTED IN 1938

In 1938, we had cases of women being blinded by the use of eye beautifiers which had never been tested for safety. Out of this came the enactment as part of the new Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938 the first safe cosmetic law—but it is a law which had loopholes deliberately written into it then, and those loopholes are still in it.

Any enterpriser, regardless of ability or experience or knowledge of facilities, can make or market any cosmetic item he wants to without first proving it safe. Once it is on the market, the FDA can move against it if FDA can prove it is not safe to use. The only ingredient which must be pretested for safety is the coloring matter. That is the only one, for that is the only aspect of cosmetic safety covered in the 1960 law.

How many women must be scalped, denailed, burned, blinded, scarred or otherwise disfigured or injured before we can develop enough public concern, and congressional concern, to do something more about this terrible gap in the cosmetic laws? Apparently, we are going to have a chance this year to take up a new drug bill—but the other features of H.R. 1235 and the nondrug features of H.R. 11581 and H.R. 11582, the two administration bills based on H.R. 1235, are apparently not going to be considered this year.

HAVE WE BEEN JOLTED ENOUGH?

H.R. 1235 was introduced, as I said, on January 3, 1961. The two administration bills were sent up in May 1962, covering many of the same provisions. The jolt came late in July, in the thalidomide case, finally putting some urgency behind the drug changes proposed in H.R. 1235, H.R. 11581, and the original Kefauver bill.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include Miss Ottenberg's excellent article in yesterday's Sunday Star, giving the history of the 1938 act, and what it took to get it enacted. How often do we have to go through these crises before enacting the laws our good sense tells us are needed?

The article referred to follows:

IT TAKES A JOLT TO GET NEW DRUG LAWS: A 1938 PARALLEL

(By Miriam Ottenberg)

It takes a catastrophe—or a near miss—to get new drug control laws in this country.

Today, the name of the drug is thalidomide, blamed for thousands of deformed babies overseas. Only a hunch, a chance look at a letter in a British medical journal and one woman scientist's determined delaying action averted major disaster here.

In late 1937, the name of the drug was "Elixir Sulfanilamide." That time, tragedy was not averted. It took 108 deaths to jolt Congress into modernizing a 1906 law.

The drug situation in 1937 closely parallels today's story except for the deaths. Then, as now, the deficiencies in the law—as far as protecting the public was concerned—had been recognized and bills were before Congress.

But they weren't moving any faster then than they did this time before the thalidomide scare. A strong new measure had been drafted in 1933. Four years later, it was still there—cut to shreds by amendments and not yet enacted into law. Similarly, Senator KEFAUVER's bill with its combined effort to lower drug prices and increase drug safety had been gutted by the Senate Judiciary Committee just before the thalidomide near-miss became public.

THE NARROW ESCAPE

As Food and Drug Administration officials are called to Congress these days to shape new laws making certain that drugs are effective as well as safe and that the methods of controlling drugs keep abreast of new scientific discoveries, they can't help thinking how close they came to another "Elixir Sulfanilamide" episode before Congress woke up.

In the fall of 1937, sulfanilamide had been widely heralded as a new miracle drug, able to cope with a variety of infections and serious ailments which had previously resisted cures. Publicity that sulfanilamide could also cure gonorrhea in a hurry had contributed to the boom in sales of the drug.

In a small southern plant, a salesman suggested that if sufanilamide could be put in liquid form, it would have a ready sale among patients who couldn't swallow tablets and capsules.

The plant's chief chemist found that the drug wouldn't dissolve readily in the usual liquids used in medicines, but he found another answer—diethylene glycol, a product of the petroleum "cracking" process. Sulfanilamide would dissolve in that.

NO TEST FOR SAFETY

The chemist tested his pink liquid for taste and odor. He did not test for safety. Nor, presumably, was he aware of articles in medical journals reporting that diethylene glycol, during experiments, had killed frogs, mice, rabbits, and dogs.

His Elixir Sulfanilamide went on the market during September, 1937. The patients were to take two or three teaspoonsful every 4 hours, reducing the dosage in a day or two and continuing "until recovery."

The plant's 200 salesmen handed out sample bottles to druggists and doctors across the country and the orders poured in from almost every State.

Then, on October 11, 1937, the American Medical Association got two telegrams from physicians in Tulsa, Okla. Six of their patients had died after taking the "elixir" and they wanted more information about the drug. Analysis of the pink liquid as well as the drug manufacturer's answer to the AMA inquiry revealed the terrible truth. The "elixir" was not a life saver but a deadly poison.

TRYING TO CALL IN DRUG

The drug manufacturer by now was sending frantic telegrams to his salesmen frantic telegrams to his salesmen to pick up the drug and asking customers to send it back. But by that time, the Food and Drug Administration had embarked on its own operation elixir. Virtually every FDA chemist and inspector had embarked on a round-the-clock search for the bottles. State and local authorities and medical societies were mobilized to join the hunt and newspapers and radio stations sounded the alert.

With an unknown number of bottles still in public hands, the search for the elixir had turned into a race against certain death.

Despite the massive search, 107 men, women and children had fallen victim to the poisoned medicine. The toll went to 108 when the chemist who had conceived the "elixir" took his own life.

The deaths provided all the evidence Congress needed of at least one gaping hole in the law. In fact, even the bill then on Capitol Hill would not have filled it. The bill was hastily amended to forbid the marketing of any new drug product until the manufacturer persuaded the Food and Drug Administration, which might also make its own tests, that the drug was safe.

In June 1938 the bill sponsored by the late Senator Royal S. Copeland, himself a physician, cleared Congress. It met not only the emergency which had spurred its passage but broadened protection of foods and included cosmetics for the first time.

As the years passed, it became increasingly clear that the 1938 law, too, needed revision. New drugs had come on the market. Scientific discovery—here and abroad—had outdistanced the law.

In December 1959, when Chairman KEFAUVER of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee opened hearings on ways

to reduce the cost of drugs, it soon became apparent that health as well as price was involved. Many of his proposals, when he finally introduced his measure in April 1961, were double-barreled. While aiming for lower prices for vital prescription drugs, he specifically provided that drugs should be proven efficacious for their intended use as well as safe.

In March 1962 drug legislation then pending at the Capitol was given a push by President Kennedy in his first message in behalf of consumers. But the push didn't go very far. There were warnings that something could go drastically wrong if more controls weren't placed over the mass of new drugs—but nobody around the Capitol had heard of thalidomide.

PUSHED BY KENNEDY

On April 10, President Kennedy gave the legislation another push. He wrote Chairman EASTLAND of the Senate Judiciary Committee pointing out that Senator KEFAUVER's bill incorporated the major recommendations he had made in his consumer message, suggesting some amendments to strengthen the bill's controls and urging passage.

As Senator KEFAUVER told the Senate later, he was preparing to offer President Kennedy's proposals in the Judiciary Committee when the boom was lowered. At a secret meeting to which he was not invited, he told the Senate on June 11, an agreement was reached either to eliminate or water down virtually every feature of the bill.

One of the watered-down provisions concerned how much time the Food and Drug Administration would be given to appraise the possible side effects and efficacy of a new drug and no new drug application would automatically become effective. Senator KEFAUVER's bill imposed no time limit on FDA. The watered-down version would have increased the present 60-day time limit to 90 days.

It was that 60-day time limit that Dr. Frances Kelsey was sidestepping when she kept delaying approval of the application for sale of thalidomide in this country on the grounds that the application was incomplete and new information was required.

By the time Senator KEFAUVER wrote his minority report on his bill, he had heard about Dr. Kelsey and used the near-miss of the thalidomide story to illustrate one of his arguments for a bill strong enough to meet not only episodes like this but to get the rest of what he wanted—including price reduction.

THE HARRIS BILL

Meanwhile, on the House side, Chairman HARRIS of the House Commerce Committee on May 1 had introduced the administration's bill to improve the safety, efficacy, and reliability of drugs. The bill also provided for the factory inspections wanted by FDA and more control over barbiturates. Mr. HARRIS' committee held 4 days of hearings on the bill in June and then suspended hearings until further notice. There was no indication he would get back to the bill this session.

It was in that atmosphere of frustration, delay, and uncertainty that the thalidomide story snowballed. The impact of what could have happened here, combined with more details of what had happened abroad, the desperate efforts of an expectant mother to have an abortion for fear of a deformed child and the speculation on how many women of child-bearing age have taken the drug in this country—all contributed to spur action.

At President Kennedy's request, the Senate Judiciary Committee is now busy rewriting the rewritten Kefauver bill with amendments along the lines of the Harris bill. Chairman HARRIS' committee has announced it will resume hearings on his bill this month. Dr. Kelsey has gotten the highest civilian award the Government gives to its employees.

And out of it all, the chances are good that the parallel with the "Elixir Sufanilamide" story will become even closer—that, before the session ends, a new drug law will be on the books.

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## Bernardston, Mass., Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure today to call the attention of my colleagues to a birthday of considerable significance that is being celebrated this year—the 200th anniversary of the founding of the town of Bernardston, Mass. The celebration of the anniversary of any birthday is a joyous event, but this one is especially noteworthy since Bernardston's history dates back to pre-Revolutionary days.

Bernardston, located in Franklin County, in the western part of Massachusetts, borders on the State of Vermont. This beautiful little community is surrounded by attractive natural features, nestled comfortably in the valley through which Fall River tumbles. The mountainous regions to the east and west present a colorful and picturesque display of charming scenery. West Mountain overlooking Bernardston on the west, rises high above the village. The more towering Bald Mountain in the northwest, and Wildcat Mountain just to the north, give Bernardston a setting of majestic beauty.

It is difficult for many to realize that the western part of Massachusetts shares a background different from that of the eastern portion of our great Commonwealth. The first pioneer towns in western Massachusetts were founded by religious liberals who for reason of consicence had protested against the rigidity of Puritan doctrine. From the very beginning, these doughty pioneers lived in constant peril from marauding tribes of Indians. Many experienced the horror of seeing loved ones slain and homes burned. Yet they persevered in this battle for survival. One of the towns threatened with extinction was Bernardston, whose bicentennial celebration this year is the finest tribute we can pay to the tenacity and fighting spirit of its people which have made Massachusetts and these United States such formidable forces in freedom's fight against totalitarianism.

A review of its early history shows that Bernardston was originally called Falls Fight Township, in commemoration of an encounter between settlers and Indians in 1676. In November of 1734, a petition for a territory in which to establish a town, signed by surviving officers and soldiers that belonged to the company of Captain Turner, "and the representatives of them that are dead," was presented to the General Court, and confirmed by 1736. In October 1741, the town had changed its name to Fallstown, adopting its present name upon incorporation on March 6, 1762, in honor of Sir Francis Bernard, appointed in 1760 as Governor of the Province.

The settlement was seriously threatened during the period of Indian warfare between 1745 and 1750, and many of the settlers moved temporarily to towns with greater security. Those who remained worked feverishly to protect their families against the dreaded Indian attacks. The settlement was not extinguished at the hand of the savages. By 1750 the wanderers had returned, and the business of pushing the settlement forward was briskly resumed.

With the pacification of the frontier, the settlers were able to again turn to the needs of their community. From the very beginning, the citizens of Bernardston were strong adherents of the wisdom of worshiping God and educating their children. The first church was constructed by 1740, a roadhouse by 1760, and the first schoolhouse by 1770. Since then, progress has been steady. Today public buildings and small industries add their outlines to the horizon of this community serenely resting in a river valley surrounded by three mountains: Wildcat, West, and Bald.

The records show but vaguely the action of the town during the stirring years of the American Revolution, but they do show that Bernardston was prompt and patriotic in meeting the challenges of the day, and in devoting its energies to a noble contribution of men and means in behalf of the common cause.

Among the noted men to whom Bernardston has given birth, none holds so firm a place in the grateful remembrance of the town as the Honorable Henry W. Cushman. Mr. Cushman frequently represented Bernardston in the State legislature and was elected as a member of the State senate in 1844. He reached the peak of his political career when he served as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts from 1851 to 1852. Upon his death, Mr. Cushman bequeathed considerable sums of money for the establishment of a library and other projects for the benefit of the community. Cushman Library, Cushman Park, Cushman Hall, and Cushman Lyceum today are integral parts of this beautiful New England community.

Another of Bernardston's benefactors was Mr. Edward Powers, born in Columbus, Ga., but an adopted son of Bernardston. Mr. Powers bequeathed the sum of $20,000 in 1855 for the establishment of Powers Institute.

In 1862, the citizens of Bernardston were joined by their neighbors in celebrating their first centennial. This year, friends are joining in honoring this symbol of 200 years of unflinching devotion and contribution to our Nation's growth and defense against its enemies—from the Revolutionary, through the Civil War, as well as the two World Wars and the Korean war of our own century. We join together to praise progress and devotion to those ideals and traditions

which have made us the greatest Nation on earth: devotion to duty, endurance, sacrifice and the precepts of democracy, guided by principles of law and justice. Americans have shown their ability to meet and conquer adversity by squarely facing reality and having faith in God and the will to win. I am sure we all share in the pride of this fine community as it celebrates 200 years of devotion to the democratic way of life.

## Futility of Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the recent resignation of the Premier of a friendly country which has been receiving foreign aid assistance from us has pointed out once again that we cannot hope to support half the world. An editorial in the Palm Beach Post on July 31 pointed this problem out in clear terms.

Under unanimous consent I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

FUTILITY OF AID

Many observers have long contended that America's foreign-aid program was raising a crop of chronic dependents rather than helping other nations to help themselves and making lasting friends.

Comments of a resigning Premier of Iran seem to substantiate this view.

Said Premier Ali Amini, attacking the United States as the reason for his government's fall because of slowness in sending aid to Iran: "It is just not possible to run a country without funds. One must either get foreign aid or expenses must be cut. None of these was possible."

But records of the U.S. State Department show that the Amini regime received more U.S. aid than its predecessors. Within 14 months of his administration, the United States provided $67.3 million in economic assistance, in addition to $20 million for a development loan.

We just can't afford to support some of these nations in the manner to which we have accustomed them.

## America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the wisdom of President Herbert Hoover shone out for all our Nation to see the other day in the televised coverage of his address at the dedication of the Hoover Library at West Branch, Iowa. The Washington Daily News reprinted in its editorial columns one of the most beautiful portions of his address, which I insert herewith under leave to extend my remarks:

AMERICA

The mightiest assurances of our future are the intangible spiritual and intellectual forces in our people, which we express, not by the words "The United States," but by the word "America."

That word "America" carries meanings which lie deep in the soul of our people. It reaches far beyond the size of cities and factories.

It springs from our religious faith, our ideals of individual freedom, which have come in the centuries since we landed on these shores.

It rises from our pride in great accomplishments of our Nation and from the sacrifices and devotion of those who have passed on.

It lifts us above the ugliness of the day.

It has guided us through even greater crises in our past.

And from these forces, solutions will come again.—HERBERT HOOVER in his West Branch, Iowa, speech of August 10.

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

# Appendix

## Giveaway Blues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WAYNE MORSE**
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, the Max Lerner column entitled "Giveaway Blues" published in the August 1, 1962, issue of the New York Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Post, Aug. 1, 1962]

GIVEAWAY BLUES

(By Max Lerner)

I never thought I would be writing a column aiding and abetting a filibuster, but here I am doing it. There is a little band of Democratic Senators, including ESTES KEFAUVER, WAYNE MORSE, ALBERT GORE, and Mrs. MAURINE NEUBERGER, who are braving the solid phalanx of administration leaders, Republicans, and A.T. & T. to keep the Government from handing over the future of satellite communications to a single corporation.

Their weapon is talk, their position as former antifilibuster champions is vulnerable, and their chances of success are negligible. But they form a gallant little company, and aside from applauding their courage I have more than a suspicion that 10 years from now most of us will also be praising their vision, and that certain administration leaders who are now fighting them will kick themselves for not having been on their side.

Since the two issues of the substantive goal of the dissenting Senators and their method of the filibuster are getting scrambled, I want to start by separating them. First about the filibuster method. Just as it is a mistake to turn any means into an end, so it is a mistake to turn opposition to some particular means into a cult of opposition.

The segregationists have been using the filibuster against civil rights legislation to deprive human beings of their humanity. Their purpose is not to force more mature consideration of the civil rights issue: we have had years of waiting for that particular Godot. Their real purpose is to keep the people's will from ever being registered on that issue. The Kefauver-Morse-Gore group, on the other hand, is using the filibuster on a spanking new issue hardly out of the hamper that hardly anyone has had a chance to think about. By talking they are buying time for more people to do more thinking.

If a filibuster was ever justified, in this limited sense of an embattled delaying tactic, this one is. I wish that some of the Senators I care about on the other side—HUMPHREY and MANSFIELD especially—could clear their minds on the filibuster problems, and join their brothers, with whom they belong on the issue of substance itself.

The issue of substance is whether America will enter the last third of the 20th century, which can be glorious with the light of a great communications breakthrough, with a narrow commitment to harness that breakthrough to a private enterprise whose decisions, whatever the "partnership" composition of the governing board, have to be made with an eye to private profit. That's a long sentence and the problems for organizing the breakthrough industry are complex. But one thing can be said quite simply. There is no reason today why the Government should give away the space research technology for which the people have sweated and paid.

Beginnings are important. That is one of the things we should have learned from the history of the television industry, where a great cultural asset and potential was narrowed to the earthworm vision of commercial motive. What is opening now, with the communication satellite, is an era of even vaster potential not only for mass culture in any particular nation but for a global culture that will shrink all national boundaries. If we begin that era by handing its bright vistas over to A.T. & T. or any other corporation we will be saddled by that beginning all the years of our lives.

The danger is not just that A.T. & T. will in time get a monopoly advantage in the big new industry—perhaps one of the biggest of the future. The real danger is that we will be entering a future of incalculable possibility in world communication, where the stakes will be the high stakes of who and what will be reaching the minds of billions of men, and we will be putting that future in the hands of men not responsible to the people.

Worst of all, we will be cutting ourselves off from new ways of organizing the communications future, still unglimpsed today by any of us.

## Mount Carmel Centennial at Mount Carmel, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Mount Carmel, Pa., celebrated the centennial of the founding of their city on August 12. I was given the honor of delivering the Americanism address on this historic occasion.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the program and the text of my speech for insertion in the Appendix:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE MOUNT CARMEL CENTENNIAL ON AUGUST 12, 1962, AT MOUNT CARMEL, PA.

To be asked to speak at this historic centennial celebration is indeed a high honor. I want you to know I appreciate it. The record shows that Mount Carmel, Pa., was incorporated from Mount Carmel Township on November 3, 1862, and that both are named for the biblical mountain in Palestine.

Yours is a proud heritage. Local history further advises that the Cartright family was one of the first to settle here.

The Cartrights were closely followed by Lawrence Lamerson who made the first substantial improvements on a tract of 406 acres granted to him on September 18, 1792. This tract was called Mount Carmel.

Richard Yarnell was the next and then came Felix Lerch. The latter leased the Mount Carmel Inn, first opened in 1824.

The town sprang up around the King's Highway and grew rapidly. Nature had provided an excellent deposit of coal in this area and with the resources of the land and the industry of the pioneer we can now look back upon a proud history.

Yours was the first town in the world to be lighted exclusively by electricity. Thomas A. Edison completed some of his earliest experiments in Mount Carmel and the third plant of the Edison System was erected here November 17, 1883.

I say in deepest reverence that we should thank God for the heritage which is ours—not only in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—but throughout the entire United States. Thus it is indeed appropriate that today we discuss Americanism.

Americanism is a favorite subject of mine. I have an abiding faith in the heritage which is ours, but not ours to claim without self-discipline and hard work. It is our responsibility and privilege to keep alive the patriotic spirit that was the creed of our Founding Fathers. We are constantly reminded that the era in which we now live is a period of rapid social change. It is variously described as the power age, the empire of machines, the age of speed, the era of change, and the atomic age.

All these phrases aptly characterize our age, but one carries more significance perhaps than the rest, namely the era of change. Human society is now undergoing the most sweeping transformation in its history. Our entire pattern of living is being transformed at an unbelievably rapid rate. Our modern society is challenged by many serious social, economic, and political problems. This is a fact known to all of us.

However, do we realize that the problems we face today reflect the rapid transition which is all around us?

It is common belief that changes in our way of life come gradually; that life differs but little from one generation to another. This was true in earlier centuries. But today we find the world undergoing such rapid changes that perhaps a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln would be more at home in ancient Rome than in present day Washington, D.C.

A healthy nation requires that its citizens shall recognize the social and economic changes and make the best possible use of new mechanical advantages.

At the same time we are privileged to remember that the basic documents that shaped our Government will survive change. It is, therefore, for us to combine the heritage of the past with the changes of tomorrow to make for a stronger America.

Many forms of republics have been created by the peoples of many lands in the history

of the struggle for human rights. From a political point of view a republic has meant government by a majority of the people. The majority rule has been achieved by means of universal suffrage and representative government.

As an ideal it is more than a mere form of government. It not only means the participation of the people in public affairs through their elected representatives, it implies that there will emerge out of popular sovereignty a beneficial type of social organization. Our form of government places a responsibility upon the people to control public policy. It demands that they produce a social organization that will give every member of society an opportunity to develop his personal capabilities to the fullest extent.

Representative governments throughout the world have been facing serious crises. Nearly all European governments have been undermined or menaced by fascism, communism, and war.

America not only faced a serious international situation in the Second World War, it continued after the war to be challenged by complicated problems both abroad and at home. The end of World War II found terrible devastation and chaos in all the countries of Europe and Asia that had been engaged in conflict.

The Communists seized upon this situation and began waving the red banner, promising a better life for all those who followed the Communist pattern. But communism has been a world movement from its earliest days. Marx and Lenin in their thinking and planning divided the world into two irreconcilable camps.

The one camp was the Socialist or Communist group, the other the capitalist. They had forseen great conflicts between the two before communism would win out in the world.

Stalin realized it would require the entire productive capacity of the Soviet Union plus the cooperation of Communists everywhere to achieve world communism. He then united the people of the U.S.S.R. in a program to develop and maintain a war economy. He proclaimed the doctrine of "capitalist encirclement." He believed no Communist state could be safe from the influence of capitalist countries until all non-Communist countries had been destroyed.

He believed that any aggression, war, if need be, was justifiable if it extended communism in the world. The present Red empire represents the biggest "grab" in modern history. We know Russia has a way of life far different and far less desirable than our own.

While the Soviet constitution promises many personal liberties, they do not exist in actual practice. Soviet imperialism stands out today as the greatest menace to world peace.

Since 1939 the Communists have grabbed more than one-fourth of the inhabited land area of the world. The Communists control more than one-third of the world's people. The methods employed by the Soviet Union to seize control of defenseless countries include propaganda, sabotage, infiltration, and outright war.

America must be capable of dealing with these underhanded tactics. Our Government cannot be too loose, too slow, too inefficient.

But we must move with concentrated effort to face these problems. We must set definite goals, follow long-range plans, and exert united action for a concerted effort to achieve clearly formulated objectives.

America now faces the test of an era in which, as I have previously stated, the pace and scope of change are unprecedented. Devotion to Americanism rests on knowledge of our way of life, that the ultimate source of our strength is the devotion of Americans to our own heritage and the determination to preserve it.

"President Lincoln," according to Carl Sandburg, "enjoyed quoting the Irishman who said 'In this country every man is as good as the next one and for the matter of that a little better.'

"We are men, not angels, that is sure.

"Also we hope we are men and not mice.

"And sometimes we feel like worms of the dust, doing the best we can, moving a little soil of the earth from where it was to where it will be."

These words by Sandburg indicate that personal liberty to an American has a special significance.

We place great emphasis on our individual liberty, on such rights as freedom of speech, on the right to do and act as we please under laws which "we the people" have made.

Most important, we have access to the truth on all questions; we may hear all sides.

I would like to emphasize that we should have faith. We should understand that in a democracy we often move slowly, because legal processes must move slowly. Purges, lies and killings are quick.

The most effective way to fight communism is to be a true American. It has always been the way of Americans to risk the abuse of the privilege of freedom rather than suppress those who so abuse it. Our Bill of Rights, which guarantees our freedom, must be taken seriously.

Our American way of life thrives on the challenge of new ideas. Our enemies watch and weigh our every action, every incident of suppression, bigotry, and discrimination.

Soviet propagandists saturate billions of listeners with what they call the ruthlessness of American capitalists and the big American life.

The American heritage will survive if we bring to bear upon the solution of America's problems, informed intelligence, and convictions based on justice.

It is healthy that we should ask ourselves why our sacred national documents have survived the test of time. For example, the best test of the greatness of the Declaration of Independence, both in matter and in expression, lies in the terrific ordeal to which it has been put.

For more than a century and a half the Declaration has been read at gatherings of perspiring citizens at Independence Day observances amid fireworks and orations. Yet, even under those circumstances, when read intelligently the dignity, the lofty aspirations, and the marvelous style of the Declaration have triumphed.

They have triumphed, too, over the criticism which beginning with that of John Adams in the committee which framed it, has been leveled at its originality, its rhetorical structure, and its political philosophy.

What has saved the Declaration of Independence has been the realization that in a brief space Jefferson wrote the creed of a new political faith.

It is faith in humanity, not as members of a caste or an order, but as citizens of a republic. Representatives of every shade of religious belief were in that assemblage. The men who signed that document were in every sense the sponsors of our American way of life, sponsors of a new type of citizenship.

One of the usual mistakes in the consideration of Americans, especially by those who do not know our way of life, is to think of us as though we are all alike. They presume that our democracy has reduced us to complete uniformity.

As a matter of fact it has produced the most highly individualized race in the world's history. Our personal individuality in meeting the struggle for existence comes partially from the training of the pioneer. He had to meet conditions for which there were no precedents—and he met them through individual initiative.

The epic of our Nation with its liberty under law, its many different faiths and national origins, its schools and churches, its clubs and free associations, its rights and responsibilities, that epic is one which we proudly cherish. Many persons, unfortunately, forget that the blessings they receive have come down to them through the bitterness of several wars.

There has been a tendency on the part of some to shun their responsibilities as citizens and react indifferently to the vital needs of our country.

It is through the cracks of this forgetfulness and indifference that the elements seeking to destroy can infiltrate.

Our Nation, therefore, will measure its success in a distinctive way. In the last analysis it will judge itself by the character of the men and women who make it up and the goals they strive to achieve. In the end it is the individual, his self-awareness, his personal powers, his acceptance of the responsibilities of citizenship, that will nurture our American way of life for the generations who follow us.

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AMERICANISM PROGRAM, MOUNT CARMEL, PA., CENTENNIAL, SUNDAY, AUGUST 12, 1962

Master of ceremonies, Mr. Arthur A. Bressi.

Invocation, Rev. Robert G. Detwiler.

Greetings by the mayor, Hon. Lawrence R. Joyce.

Greetings by centennial chairman, Dr. Robert E. Allen.

Americanism address, Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT.

Concert, Miss Marie Powers, world famous opera star, accompanist, Mr. George Cory. Selections: "The Lord's Prayer," Maillot; "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Fair," Hopkinson (this was the first American song ever written on our shores, and was dedicated to our first President, Gen. George Washington); "Peace of Mind," Cross-Cory (composer at the piano); "Song for the Lonely," Willian Grant Still (America's first Negro composer of opera); "The Hero," Menotti; "O Mio Fernando" (from La Favorita), Donizetti; "Air of Dido," Purcell.

Benediction, Most Rev. Lawrence F. Schott, D.D., L.L.D.

"Battle Hymn of the Republic," Marie Powers, soloist; Mount Carmel High School Band and centennial chorus conducted by Edmund Nejaimey.

National anthem.

Organ and piano through the courtesy of Parenzan's, Shamokin.

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## World Food Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the United States, blessed with a relatively good food supply, still shortsightedly fails to utilize this resource, in my judgment, as an adequate adjunct to our national policy.

Around the globe, about 2 billion people live on inadequate diets.

According to experts, this "food gap," unless and until solved, will prove to be a serious threat to peace; and, as well, a jeopardy of human life.

For this reason, I believe that, as I recommended in the past, we need to

again reexamine our national food policy.

The purpose would be not only to better utilize this valuable resource for humanitarian, and possibly strategic, purposes; and also to find ways to lead more people in the world out of the "valley of the shadow of hunger."

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal published an article by Alton Blakeslee, entitled "World Food Shortage Called Worse Threat Than H-Bombs." Reflecting upon global challenges in the field of nutrition, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Aug. 12, 1962]

WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE CALLED WORSE THREAT THAN H-BOMBS—DESPITE U.S. SURPLUSES, EARTH'S PRESENT OUTPUT IS INSUFFICIENT TO FEED ALL 3 BILLION PEOPLE, SCIENTIST SAYS; 6 BILLION EXPECTED

(By Alton Blakeslee)

EAST LANSING, MICH.—Inspecting the world's scanty food cupboard, a scientist ominously warns: There's not enough food now to feed the world's 3 billion people—yet this population is expected to double in 40 years.

The United States and some other countries are lucky. But one reason they eat so well is they import food—including fish protein in meal to feed to chickens—from nations where many humans are malnourished and lack protein to keep them productive.

The food gap is a bigger threat to civilization and peace than H-bombs, germ warfare, and intercontinental missiles.

And, says Dr. Georg Borgstrom, of Michigan State University's department of food science, most proposals to solve the food shortage make only a small dent in the total problem.

More money is available to study how to feed future space travelers than on how to feed nearly 2 billion hungry people, he adds.

IF WE DIVIDED ALL FOOD

Dr. Borgstrom declares we ought to seek disarmament, but a greater, more urgent need is "for a gigantic rearmament to wage the basic war for human survival" by providing enough food "to give the human race a future."

From his analysis, he concludes:

"If all the food of the world—including surplus stores—were distributed equally and each human received identical quantities, we would all be malnourished.

"If the entire world were fed on the U.S. level, all available food would be only enough to feed less than half the human race.

"The world as a global household knows of no surpluses—merely enormous deficits.

"Yet every month we are adding to the world the population of a Los Angeles (4½ million) and every 4th year more than an entire United States (180 million)."

Swedish born Dr. Borgstrom has traveled on several continents studying food problems, and in five languages (Swedish, French, English, German, and Spanish) can assail what he calls the great calorie illusion.

This, he says, is the assertion that the world can produce enough calories from land and sea to feed everyone now, and for long in the future.

"But, if calories were all that counted, the U.S. corn acreage alone could supply enough calories for every American. And if the total U.S. tilled acreage were devoted to sugarbeets, there would be enough calories to feed everyone in the world.

FEED MUCH TO ANIMALS

"It is not that simple. People wouldn't get the protein and minerals they need, and millions don't, even now."

Americans individually not only eat more total calories than do, say, the people of India, but they also feed a huge amount of calories and protein to livestock and poultry to produce high quality protein. In this total expense of calories, each American accounts for 11,000 calories per day (about 7,500 or so fed to cattle and poultry) versus 3,000 for each Indian and all the livestock in that country.

Dr. Borgstrom worries about a "hunger curtain" dividing the world. The exclusive food club, he says, consists of Americans, New Zealanders, some 200 million well-fed Europeans, and some 15 million persons in Oceania. On the wrong side of the hunger curtain are 2 billion humans, with 600 millions perched on the fence. And "partly because of hunger, half of the 1 billion children alive right now throughout the world will never reach adulthood."

The United States, he adds, "won the prize of enormous resources, far greater than any nation in human history. We have at our disposal of 2.6 acres to feed each citizen. We can afford to keep cattle, hogs and poultry in quantities that consume an amount of protein sufficient to provide 1.2 billion humans with their food needs."

"The Japanese must manage on one-tenth that acreage. For protein needs, their agriculture feeds only 26 of their 96 million people. Fisheries take care of 44 million. Japan imports the protein needed for the other 27 million."

England imports half her protein needs, he adds. The United States imports about 1 billion pounds of meat a year, and more than half of all the fish and seafood Americans consume.

For health and productivity, "the world desperately needs high quality proteins, and at a cheap price."

Fisheries can be expanded, "but even doubling the ocean's production—which is about the limit—would not do all the job even for the present world population."

The Soviet Union has taken the lead in developing ocean resources for protein to feed her people, and Russia, despite her farm troubles, is on the right side of the hunger curtain, Dr. Borgstrom says. Red China is not—and some of the European satellite peoples are finding it hard to get proper food.

Food is being exported from African countries and South America "at the cost of the health and basic food needs of the working people, and when they become undernourished, the economy is sick."

NEED POPULATION CONTROL

One-fifth of the world's catch of fish, constituting an important protein source, now goes to feed poultry and livestock to give Americans high quality protein in eggs, broilers, and pork chops.

"One-sixth of the protein from the Pacific Ocean goes to feed broilers and livestock in North America and Western Europe," Dr. Borgstrom reports. "If it were consumed in Peru and other countries where the fish are caught, that would raise the animal protein intake of the whole of South America above that of people in the Mediterranean region."

Dr. Borgstrom says he sees no hope of conquering hunger unless world population is controlled, and "even then it will be a close thing."

Well fed countries had best realize how much they are dependent on food imports, and that their food standards can go down if imports are cut off, he warns.

The well fed world can't just count on fanciful foods of the future like soup from algae, grass pudding, or beefsteak processed from sawdust and wooden chips, he says.

"All of us have got to start realizing what things really cost in terms of the world's limited resources, the cost in terms of water, land, calories and proteins and soil depletion. We can't merely talk about how nice it would be if other countries became democratic like us, and became informed, and built up their own food supplies.

AMERICAS MAY BE DIVIDED

"For one thing, malnutrition makes people weak, unproductive, and kills ambition. And the world's total resources are too small for everyone to have our standards.

"Mankind is facing the alternatives of extinction or survival. Human solidarity or a class struggle between nations are the choices," Dr. Borgstrom says. "The Americas are caught right in the middle of this formidable wrestling. The northern and southern sections of this hemisphere threaten to land on different sides of the dividing fence."

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## Canadian Lumbermen Silent on Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, last month on the 26th, President Kennedy announced a six-point program which he said was designed to assist the lumber industry and to improve its competitive position.

Actually, Mr. Speaker, the President's program has many good points and could be effective if carried out. I believe, however, politics might be involved to the point that parts of this potential program may never be acted upon. Without going into details of the program as a whole, let me mention two things. First, the meat of the program was proposed over a 6-month period by both Republicans and Democrats from the Western States involved. But, when the announcement was presented, only the Democrat Representatives and Senators were invited to the White House. The second point is the fact that Republican Congressmen of Washington State introduced legislation requesting the President to negotiate with Canada on the matter of quotas and to impose quotas until an agreement is reached. Instead, the President asked for voluntary quotas.

What will be the result is unknown, but for sure the Canadian's probably will hedge. An article by Mr. Arnie Myers, which I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD, points out that Mr. Kennedy is asking Canada to take a dose of its own medicine. By this, the article means Canada persuaded Japan to set a voluntary quota on its imports to Canada. So far, I have not seen evidence the Canadian Government is willing to voluntarily limit British Columbia imports of lumber to our Atlantic market. By this, I mean, Canada is not in the mood to voluntarily set quotas for British Columbia even though it does not mind suggesting and accepting voluntary quotas on the part of Japan.

In addition to the article by Mr. Myers which the Vancouver, British Columbia, Sun carried on August 1, 1962, and to which I referred, I include under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD an editorial that appeared in the Seattle, Wash., Times on August 9, 1962.

Both the article and editorial follow:

[From the Vancouver (B.C.) Sun, Aug. 1, 1962]

GOVERNMENT KEEPS MUM ON LUMBER QUOTA

(By Arnie Myers)

OTTAWA.—The Federal Government is maintaining a silence on the question of possible cutbacks in Canadian lumber exports to the United States.

It was last Thursday that President Kennedy suggested negotiations between Ottawa and Washington aimed at persuading Canada voluntarily to restrict its exports.

Finance Minister Donald Fleming made it clear the next day that the Canadian Government regards the move as extremely disturbing. But so far the Government has taken no official stand on the question.

Federal Forestry Minister Hugh John Flemming had a natural forum to put forward the Government's view Tuesday, when he spoke to the National Wooden Box Council at Murray Bay, Quebec.

Flemming dealt at some length with Canada's lumber trade with the United States, but he never once mentioned the Kennedy proposals.

GREEN SILENT, TOO

Responsibility for replying to the Kennedy suggestion has been left with External Affairs Minister Howard Green. So far Green has said nothing.

It's difficult to believe Kennedy would announce such far-reaching proposals without first having informed the Canadian Government. But Green insists he has not yet received any formal proposal from the White House and that therefore he cannot state the Government's stand.

Perhaps Green is reserving his fire until he sees the whites of their eyes. He may feel that speaking out now would be taken as an admission that would prejudice its case when and if it comes to formal negotiation.

The Canadian Lumbermen's Association has also been preserving a discreet silence on the subject waiting for the Government to give a lead.

It may be that both the Government and the association feel somewhat handicapped by their awareness that Kennedy is merely asking Canada to take a dose of its own medicine.

Last year Japan—undoubtedly under Canadian persuasion—set a "voluntary" limit on her exports of hardwood plywood to Canada.

Even this did not satisfy Canadian lumbermen. Their association complains that the quota—51 million square feet per year—was set at the level of Japan's biggest ever export year and should have been set considerably lower, perhaps at a 10-year average.

And they say the quota did not sufficiently protect them from outside competition. Other nations which had seldom if ever sold plywood to Canada have moved into this market, and Canadian lumberyards now stock plywoods from the United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Israel, Gabon and other new competitors.

SURCHARGE PROTEST

The very day Kennedy's plan was announced, the association took the Federal Government to task for exempting these imported plywoods from the 5- to 15-percent tariff surcharge Diefenbaker slapped on a wide range of imports as part of his post-election austerity program.

In the face of this it is difficult for either the Government or the association to wave the banner of free trade and become convincingly indignant over Kennedy's "protectionist" attitude.

The Kennedy proposal is a significant indication of the vulnerability of Canada's dollar-strengthening austerity program to outside influences.

A mainstay of that program is the drive to reduce imports and increase exports to reduce the balance-of-trade deficit.

But without the cooperation or at least the tolerance of the Americans, the program is vitiated.

UNDER PRESSURE

President Kennedy undoubtedly wants to see Canada's economic situation strengthened. But despite his good will, it is clear that he is subject to economic and political pressures over which he has little control.

The lumber export situation is a case in point.

Kennedy's proposal was clearly a surrender to the lumber interests of the U.S. Pacific Northwest, who have been most hurt by increasing Canadian competition, and their lobbyists in and out of the U.S. Congress.

The lumber trade will be a political issue in the congressional elections in these States this fall, and Kennedy apparently felt strong measures were justified in his drive to strengthen his congressional position.

The interests of Canadian lumbermen—and, more important, Canada's austerity program—were obviously secondary.

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[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, Aug. 9, 1962]

CRUCIAL TIME FOR LUMBER AID

British Columbians, in their understandable concern with holding—and increasing—the inroads their lumber industry has made into the U.S, Atlantic Coast market at the expense of the American Pacific Northwest, have not been slow to recognize their principal ally.

That ally in the present circumstances is delay.

The aid-to-American-lumber effort announced 2 weeks ago by President Kennedy, plus new moves afoot in Congress, could do much to set right those U.S. Government policies and practices that have amounted to discrimination against American lumbermen in their own domestic markets.

But observers wise in congressional and executive agency procedures know well the validity of the ancient Greek adage, "There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

The Northwest congressional delegation has worked well in recent weeks to counter the combination of circumstances that has resulted in the closure of scores of mills and the loss of thousands of jobs in lumbering communities.

Only a continuing vigorous followthrough while the subject of lumber still is high on government priority lists, however, is likely to produce lasting results in saving Northwest jobs.

The next few weeks will be crucial in making practical politics work for the benefit of American lumber.

The Vancouver (British Columbia) Sun well recognized this when it stated editorially this week:

"If definite U.S. action against the British Columbia industry can be postponed until after the November elections, it is quite possible negotiations may be much less threatening to our prosperity and trade."

But it is not only the November elections that present a significant deadline in terms of the political realities that make the wheels turn in Washington, D.C.

An even more important deadline, perhaps, is the close or the present congressional session. The Pacific Northwest delegation—and its allies from the southern pine region—are in a position to pull considerable weight for lumber in view of the narrow balance of power that exists in regard to a number of key legislative issues.

It should be emphasized that the battle on behalf of lumber is entirely bipartisan. Lumber State Democrats and Republicans are working in harmony as to both objectives and tactics.

The Sun reported this week that British Columbia forest-product profits are up substantially over last year, and that 535 million board feet of British Columbia lumber was shipped to the U.S. Atlantic Coast in the first half of this year, compared to 432 million feet for the same period last year. Most of this increase is at the expense of Washington-Oregon mills.

The various countermoves outlined at the White House, in some Federal agencies and in Congress are aimed in the right direction. But whether they will hit the target effectively depends upon the maintenance of maximum pressure during the first few weeks.

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## What Took the Bloom Off?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, with the state of the United States economy currently a matter of high policy discussion, I insert, under unanimous consent, in the Appendix of the RECORD this informative account of why the economy has not shown greater recuperative powers. The article by economics writer Bernard Nossiter appeared in the Washington Post of August 5, 1962:

WHAT TOOK THE BLOOM OFF?

(By Bernard D. Nossiter)

An ambivalence about the economy that marks much public discussion was expressed by President Kennedy at his news conference last week.

The President pointed to the gains in output and income since he took office and said he would welcome a political debate over this record. But at the same time, he acknowledged with considerable frankness that the Nation wasn't doing as well as it should.

What has gone wrong? Why has the recovery that looked so healthy a year ago lost its vigor? What took the bloom off the boom?

The practitioners of economics, the dismal science, have no simple answer. Indeed, as usual, they disagree among themselves.

But for the most part, their disagreements are ones of emphasis. There is a consensus of sorts emerging on the main points, even if each expert would assign different weight to them.

In talks with professional economists, these are the points that are made again and again.

The economy has never fully recovered from the 1957–58 slump. Since the economy turned sour 5 years ago, business has been marked by abortive recoveries from shallow recessions. The gains in output, measured against the growth in population, have been slight.

Fiscal policy, the mix of spending and tax collection, has been too tight. The Federal

budget comes into balance at a point well below full employment. This very fact prevents the attainment of both a balance and full employment. That is, as the economy begins to rise, withdrawals from the income stream in the form of taxes rise much more rapidly than new additions to the income stream from Federal spending. The higher the economy gets, the more restrictive this clamp becomes. As a result, demand is held down and investment is discouraged.

Technological change, symbolized by the word "automation," transformed the economy at a much more rapid rate than is generally acknowledged. This undigested burst of technology has been capital-saving (i.e. greater output from the same investment input) as well as laborsaving. It has left industry with excess capacity in relation to consumers' ability to buy.

A great shift in tastes has taken place, reflecting the higher incomes of a large segment of the population. Consumers are spending relatively less on goods such as cars, clothing, washing machines and toasters; they are spending relatively more on services such as vacations, television repairs and doctors. In 1948 consumers spent 64 cents out of every dollar of income on goods; in 1961 they spent only 55 cents on goods. But expenditures for goods have a higher multiplier than those for services; that is, $1,000 spent on a car will have a greater effect in increasing jobs by increasing demand for parts, raw materials and the like than $1,000 spent on doctors' services.

The pricing policies of some concentrated industries, notably autos and steel, has been a curb. By maintaining relatively high prices, these industries break even when large portions of their productive capacity are idle. If they followed lower price, higher output policies, their demand and employment would rise and this would spread throughout the economy.

How alarming is all this? None of the experts can say with confidence that another slump is immediately ahead, that output will actually decline in the coming months. But there is a widespread belief, reinforced by the performance of the past 5 years, that rapid growth is unlikely without some major changes in policy.

The performance of this recovery has been typical. A quick way of illustrating this is to look at industrial production, a measure of the output of mines, mills, utilities and factories. Beginning in March of 1961, when the recovery began, the index of industrial output was spurting ahead 2 percent a month. But since July of 1961, the gains have averaged a quarter of this, with brief lulls followed by brief advances.

Much the same thing happened early in 1960. Indeed, if it had not been for the buildup of steel inventories in anticipation of the 1959 strike, the turndown would probably have come sooner than it did in mid-1960.

Much of the current discussion of possible remedies revolves around the budget. There is a wide area of agreement that taxes should be cut—although whose taxes should be reduced and at what point in time the reduction is needed is a source of dispute within and without the Kennedy administration.

Several authorities, concerned about the repressive effect of taxes, are now beginning to question whether the tax structure—as distinct from the level of taxes—does not bear too heavily on spending and encourage too much saving.

These experts recall that the present tax structure is largely an inheritance of World War II and Korea when the Nation was faced with inflationary pressures from the sudden burst in Government spending. Taxes then were designed appropriately to clamp down on spending and stimulate saving.

On the other side of the fiscal picture, changes in Government outlays also have dampened a business advance. The sudden cutback in military spending in early 1957 helped bring on the slump that summer; similarly, last year, defense outlays were rising about $2 billion every 3 months and this year the gains have been less than $1 billion.

In all of the soul searching about the current sluggishness, the lack of enlarged business spending for new equipment and plants is a recurring theme. The analysts agree that the corporations are liquid, that no shortage of funds is holding them back.

But the corporations are confronted now with unused capacity; their expectations of future demand and sales is clearly not high enough to justify stepping up the pace of their investment. And this weakness of future demand can be traced to the factors discussed above—taxes, Federal outlays, technological change, and the shift in tastes.

This does not exhaust the list of reasons for the economy's weakness. Among the points sometimes cited are the generally restrictive character of monetary policy, the rise of foreign competition for American producers, and the growing inequality of incomes.

The general sluggishness of the economy has stirred talk that has faint echoes of the 1930's, although the situation now is vastly different from that depressed era. More and more economists are using the expression "high level stagnation" to describe the unsatisfactory state of present affairs.

## Communist Party Praises UAW Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note that in the June 3 issue of the Worker, the Communist Party, U.S.A., expresses approval of a series of resolutions passed by the executive committee of the United Automobile Workers following their annual convention held May 4–10. These resolutions are included in an article which appeared in the July-August 1962 issue of Straight Talk, a publication issued by the Council for Labor's Rank and File. Because I believe many of my colleagues would be interested in reading this article entitled "Communist Party Praises UAW Resolutions," I insert it, under unanimous consent, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

COMMUNIST PARTY PRAISES UAW RESOLUTIONS

The Communist Party U.S.A., in its official publication The Worker (June 3 issue), expresses great elation over a series of resolutions adopted by the United Automobile Workers immediately following the big union's annual convention at Atlantic City May 4–10. Actually the UAW convention delegates were not granted the privilege by UAW President Walter Reuther of discussing and voting upon the resolutions so highly prized by the worldwide Communist apparatus. Reuther decided to withhold these proposed resolutions from the convention floor. His UAW Executive Committee approved them quickly in private session following the convention.

Reuther did not withhold from the delegates, however, the privilege of electing a UAW president and a secretary-treasurer. The candidates for the offices were Reuther and Emil Mazey, respectively. Both won—without opposition. Mazey gained even greater publicity later when, to the delight of the Communists, he led a parade in Detroit protesting resumption of nuclear bomb testing by the United States.

Some of the UAW resolutions which the Communists found so pleasing were:

1. "We urge Congress to reject the administration's wiretapping bill."

2. "We support clemency for Junius Scales who is imprisoned for the crime of membership in the Communist Party USA."

3. "We call for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee."

4. "We oppose deportation of anyone on account of past membership in the Communist Party."

5. "We oppose the governmental Subversive Activities Control Board report and findings that the Mine, Mill & Smelter's Union is 'substantially directed, dominated or controlled' by Communists."

6. "We oppose current efforts of the Government to suppress the mailing of foreign Communist propaganda." (Thousands of tons of this propaganda from Red China and Soviet Russia flow into the United States weekly, designed to brainwash the citizens, especially the youth.)

At the United Packinghouse, Food & Allied Workers (AFL–CIO) convention in Minneapolis on May 25, a number of these same resolutions strangely enough showed up and were adopted. The Communists were pleased by this action too.

## United States Supports Lotteries in 50 Countries—Why Not at Home?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "United States Supports Lotteries in 50 Countries—Why Not at Home?" which appeared in the Victoria Mirror of Texas on August 9, 1962.

As the sponsor of the national lottery bill in Congress, I urge the reading of this interesting article:

UNITED STATES SUPPORTS LOTTERIES IN 50 COUNTRIES—WHY NOT AT HOME?

Almost every week there are facts presented to the Congress of the United States in connection with national lotteries being operated by countries all over the world. Almost all of these lotteries are in countries the U.S. Government has been supplying with money and free gifts for many years.

It is pointed out to the Congress that these lotteries are producing much revenue for these countries, for the benefit of their schools, hospitals, etc. Many of the representations made to Congress upon behalf of these lotteries are presented by Congressman PAUL A. FINO, a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency and also a representative of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

A typical presentation of Congressman FINO on this highly controversial subject of which many residents of the United States are not too familiar is reproduced as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, while we persist in refusing to capitalize on the natural gambling spirit of the American people and while we stubbornly continue to ignore the tremendous revenue producing features of a national lottery in the United States, more and more of our American dollars leave our shore every day in support of foreign operated lotteries and other gambling activities.

"Mr. Speaker, Saturday, June 30, will be a very important day in the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans across this country. It will be important because the results of the Irish Hospitals Sweepstakes will be announced. It will also be important to the Irish Government because worldwide sales of tickets for this run brought in the net sum of $15,764,851. I venture to say that at least $13 million came from the pockets of our own citizens.

"Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for most of our American taxpayers to understand the double role played by our Government. While we assume a sanctimonious attitude about gambling, we continue to tax all sweepstake and gambling winnings; we impose taxes on admission to race tracks where parimutuel gambling is allowed; we insist that all professional gamblers purchase $50 tax stamps and pay 10 percent tax on gross receipts. Aren't we really engaged in a game of hypocrisy?

"Mr. Speaker, I believe the time has come to be sensible and realistic about our gambling problem. The time has come for us to remove the blinders and recognize the obvious—the fact that the urge to gamble is deeply ingrained in most human beings. The time has come for us to control and regulate this universal human trait for our own benefit.

"Mr. Speaker, a national lottery in the United States, under proper Government supervision and control, would not only stop the flow of money to foreign lotteries but would pump into our own Treasury over $10 billion a year in additional new revenue. Can we think of a more sensible and profitable solution to our problem of gambling and the Government's need for additional income? Let's rub the luck of the Irish on our American taxpayers."

Since this subject of national lotteries is receiving so much attention in our national Congress, some firsthand information on this matter should be informative and interesting.

In the first place, it is pointed out in the Congress that all of the foreign countries where lotteries are operated are legal and proper and under government supervision and regulation and controlled with no adverse effect on the economic, social, or moral standards. It has been stated that such legalized lotteries have improved their lot. In fact, it is claimed that gambling in these foreign countries is treated as an instinctive and universal human trait and not as an evil. They say that a realistic and sensible approach toward the human urge to gamble has been most profitable to these countries, and it has provided pleasure to the public and enhanced financial benefits to their respective government treasuries.

Further, it is suggested that if such a national lottery were conducted in the United States, millions of dollars would remain in this country and could be used to a good purpose rather than to have these dollars leaving the country to be used in lotteries of foreign nations where nothing is gained by the United States whatsoever and the foreign countries are the benefactors.

Information has been presented to the Congress that 50 countries in the world "spin the wheel of fortune" and that the gross receipts for the year 1959 amounted to many billions of dollars. The legislator who continues to bring facts and figures before the American Congress further points out that a national lottery in this country would not only regulate, check and control the gambling desire of American people but the country could with the additional revenue bring tax relief to the overburdened wage earners and help to reduce the mounting national debt.

A list of the countries showing the population in column 2, the annual gross receipts from lotteries in column 3, and the amount of U.S. Government foreign aid money in column 4 follows:

| Country | Population | Annual lottery gross receipts | Foreign aid from U.S. Government |
|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 20,613,000 | $25,000,000 | $460,500,000 |
| Australia | 10,166,000 | 78,000,000 | |
| Austria | 6,933,905 | 14,300,000 | 1,170,100,000 |
| Belgium | 9,144,000 | 16,800,000 | 1,935,200,000 |
| Bolivia | 3,416,000 | 1,000,000 | 191,700,000 |
| Brazil | 65,000,000 | 17,465,000 | 1,376,500,000 |
| Chile | 7,550,000 | 23,000,000 | 364,600,000 |
| Columbia | 14,000,000 | 3,506,283 | 249,500,000 |
| Costa Rica | 1,099,962 | 10,000,000 | 68,700,000 |
| Cuba | 6,300,000 | 35,420,000 | 52,000,000 |
| Cyprus | | 2,016,000 | |
| Czechoslovakia | 13,500,000 | 12,000,000 | |
| Denmark | 4,500,000 | 6,042,000 | 822,200,000 |
| Dominican Republic | 2,900,000 | 32,000,000 | 8,800,000 |
| Ecuador | 4,254,000 | 3,152,300 | 84,300,000 |
| Finland | 4,435,000 | 4,300,000 | |
| France | 45,400,000 | 132,800,000 | 9,423,600,000 |
| Germany | 54,798,000 | 240,000,000 | 4,933,900,000 |
| West Germany and West Berlin | | 250,000,000 | |
| Greece | 8,618,000 | 15,000,000 | 3,073,500,000 |
| Ghana | | 1,200,000 | 4,000,000 |
| Guatemala | 3,618,000 | 3,000,000 | 117,400,000 |
| Haiti | 3,500,000 | 3,000,000 | 80,400,000 |
| Honduras | 1,887,289 | 15,000,000 | 34,900,000 |
| India | | 35,000,000 | 2,383,900,000 |
| Ireland | 2,884,822 | 48,976,859 | 146,200,000 |
| Israel | 2,089,000 | $14,000,000 | $709,100,000 |
| Italy | 50,600,000 | 72,000,000 | 5,517,000,000 |
| Japan | 93,050,000 | 12,462,000 | 3,462,500,000 |
| Luxembourg | | 500,000 | |
| Mexico | 33,304,000 | 55,120,000 | 600,000,000 |
| Netherlands | 11,400,000 | 10,000,000 | 2,416,000,000 |
| New Zealand | 2,343,000 | 2,000,000 | |
| Norway | 3,572,000 | 14,000,000 | 1,024,500,000 |
| Panama | 1,000,000 | 28,000,000 | 58,600,000 |
| Paraguay | 1,728,000 | 1,363,934 | 39,500,000 |
| Peru | 10,000,000 | 2,460,800 | 334,300,000 |
| Philippines | 23,266,900 | 17,827,335 | 1,555,700,000 |
| Poland | 29,500,000 | 53,364,417 | 509,400,000 |
| Portugal | 8,980,682 | 24,000,000 | 370,609,000 |
| Puerto Rico | 2,300,000 | 52,500,000 | |
| Spain | 30,000,000 | 92,000,000 | 1,470,300,000 |
| Sweden | 7,475,000 | 51,200,000 | 108,900,000 |
| Switzerland | 4,714,929 | 5,916,353 | |
| Thailand | | 34,500,000 | 571,800,000 |
| Turkey | 26,000,000 | 8,400,000 | 3,094,900,000 |
| Uruguay | 3,600,000 | 23,400,000 | 72,300,000 |
| Venezuela | 6,500,000 | 67,300,000 | 73,300,000 |
| Yugoslavia | 18,530,000 | 20,000,000 | 2,132,400,000 |
| United Kingdom | | 2,000,000,000 | 8,668,300,000 |
| England | | | |

NOTE.—U.S. taxpayers in reading col. 4 figures, billions of tax dollars given to these countries, should bear in mind that Congress has increased the giveaway and more of your tax dollars will be sent to these and other foreign countries.

## The Land-Grant Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, this year we are observing an important anniversary, the significance of which has been widely recognized.

One hundred years ago President Abraham Lincoln, in spite of his crushing load of military decisions, found the time to give thought to quite another kind of document among those heaping his desk. The document he signed into law was the Morrill bill, creating the land-grant colleges. It may have been because of other pressing decisions that seemed so important at the time, but the President's action on that day passed almost without notice. The Morrill Act, however, has become the most important single piece of Federal legislation in the history of American education. It has led to the establishment of 68 unique land-grant colleges and universities including Washington State University, and such other honored and distinguished institutions as the Universities of California, Illinois, and Maryland, Rutgers, Purdue, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

My purpose in observing the 100th anniversary of the enactment of the Morrill Land-Grant Act is not merely to make passing reference to an anniversary, but to show that actions taken by the Federal Government today will oftentimes reach far into the future in shaping the lives of Americans yet unborn.

In 1862 only 1 young American in 1,500 went to college. Today one in three attend. The land-grant system has become the Nation's largest single source of trained and educated manpower. Today's land-grant colleges enroll 20 percent of all U.S. college students. They confer 40 percent of all the doctor's degrees awarded in this country. Through their ROTC programs, these institutions provide almost half of all the Regular and Reserve officers in the Armed Forces. Twenty-five of the forty-two living American Nobel Prize winners have earned degrees from land-grant institutions.

Research at these colleges and universities brought the development of the

first cyclotron, television tube, transistor, the production of pure uranium, and the discovery of such wonder drugs as streptomycin, stilbestrol, and dicumarol. The ceramics, soybean, and woodpulp industries all have their start in land-grant colleges.

But perhaps the greatest impact these institutions have had is in the field of agriculture. In 1862 the farmer produced enough for himself and only four others. Today he provides enough for 26 others. Land-grant college research provided the key that unlocked the technological advances that made American agriculture the envy of the world.

Certainly, in our State we have benefited from the fine work that has been done by our land-grant college, the Washington State University. On this 100-year anniversary I pay tribute to all land-grant colleges in general and to our own Washington State University in particular with these words of Jonathan Swift:

That whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.

## Homecoming Welcome for Combat Support Company, 2d Battle Group, 128th Infantry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. VERNON W. THOMSON**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in our history, the 32d Division, Wisconsin National Guard, was called to service during peacetime and returned to their homes in peacetime. These men were welcomed home through Wisconsin, and reservists and other guard divisions throughout the Nation by a proud and grateful people. In Wisconsin, the city of Platteville was chosen for the welcome home ceremony, a symbol representative of the feelings expressed in other communities.

Platteville has long been proud of old Company M of the 128th Infantry. These men of Combat Support Company, 2d Battle Group, 128th Infantry, have ranked as one of the top strength units of the Wisconsin National Guard and the 32d Division. It was a winner of the Eisenhower Trophy given for the overall excellence of the unit.

This significant ceremony was recognized by the presence of State leaders, Maj. Gen. Donald W. McGowan, chief of the National Guard Bureau in Washington; Maj. Gen. Clifton F. Von Kann, assistant chief of staff for operations in the U.S. Strike Command; Lt. Gen. J. K. Waters, Fifth Army Commandant; Maj. Gen. Ralph J. Olson, adjutant general, Wisconsin National Guard; and county and community leaders from the entire area.

The program, under the able direction of Mr. T. R. Given of the Community Action Council of Platteville, moved flawlessly under a brilliant sun to the cheering of tens of thousands of area residents.

This was an historic occasion for the National Guard, for the Platteville unit, and for America.

The welcome home program held in the Platteville downtown city park follows:

WELCOME HOME PROGRAM, PLATTEVILLE DOWNTOWN CITY PARK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1962, 11 A.M., ROBERT J. BODDEN, WSWW GENERAL MANAGER, MASTER OF CEREMONIES

Ladies and gentlemen, this is Platteville's great day. To your left on the street in front of the municipal building stands our honor company, Combat Support Company, 2d Battle Group, 128th Infantry. And now, after all the individual welcomes of the past week, we all shall say welcome to Platteville's pride as they march in with the band playing the "32d Division March."

[Band plays "32d Division March." Unit moves in in single file to seats before platform.]

The invocation to open our program today will be offered by the Reverend R. R. Doering, senior clergyman of Platteville, and pastor of the English Lutheran Church. Reverend Doering.

[Reverend Doering gives invocation.]

Our host today is our mayor, the Honorable Lawrence C. Kindschi. Mr. Kindschi, engineer, businessman, manufacturer, and public servant, has been mayor of the city since last spring. For this significant occasion, for Platteville, our neighbors, and all America, Mr. Kindschi will speak for all of us in this, our welcome home. Mr. Kindschi.

[Mayor gives short welcome message.]

Thank you, Mr. Mayor.

Platteville's great day to honor its National Guard company has brought us a distinguished group of guests. You will meet many of them during this program, but I wish to introduce members of this delegation now.

Gov. Gaylord Nelson is commander in chief of the Wisconsin National Guard. In another week, his command will be enlarged as the 32d Division resumes its National Guard status.

Governor Nelson, we are glad you could be with us today for this historic occasion in beautiful Platteville, Wis., in the United States. Governor Nelson.

[Band plays quick "On Wisconsin" as Governor approaches speaker's stand. Governor speaks.]

Thank you, Governor Nelson.

Joining our program is "Mr. Grant County" himself, Fred Parker of Fennimore, chairman of the Grant County Board. Mr. Parker.

[Mr. Parker stands.]

Maj. Gen. Ralph J. Olson, the Adjutant General of Wisconsin, heads the Wisconsin National Guard forces of the State as the chief of staff to the Governor. I introduce to you Major General Olson.

[General Olson stands.]

Men of the military in Platteville include a familiar name. Brig. Gen. Scott Cairy, now retired, who in 1942 organized the Wisconsin State Guard, a force of 5,000 men who served the State during World War II. General Cairy.

[General Cairy stands.]

The military organization in Wisconsin includes Regular Army advisers, and we want you to meet the senior Army adviser, Col. George Stump, Madison. Colonel Stump.

[Colonel Stump stands.]

Our next guest is a veteran of the 32d Division and now U.S. Property and Fiscal Officer. Col. Malvin P. Wang of Camp Douglas. Colonel Wang.

[Colonel Wang stands.]

Now a man who is familiar to Platteville, for he served nearly all of his military career with the 128th Infantry. The former commander of the Battle Group, now deputy brigade commander of the 32d Division, Col. Joseph Stehling.

[Colonel Stehling stands.]

The information officer of the 5th U.S. Army at Chicago, but still a Wisconsin resident, Colonel Hamele.

[Colonel Hamele stands.]

Another 32d Division leader joining us is Lt. Col. Arthur J. Kessenich, Milwaukee, who is another veteran of the 128th and now the division assistant chief of staff for operations, Colonel Kessenich.

[Colonel Kessenich stands.]

A veteran officer of Grant County, from Lancaster, Lt. Col. Newman Enloe, retired.

[Lieutenant Colonel Enloe stands.]

The American Legion Wisconsin department commander, Gil Stordock, Waupaca, joins us for this memorable occasion. Commander Stordock.

[Commander Stordock stands.]

You noticed in the parade that southern Wisconsin was amply represented, and this is a wonderful characteristic of the Platteville Guard unit, for it represents men from 18 communities in this area.

Now I want you to meet these mayors, village presidents, and civic representatives who join in welcoming "their boys" home, as we welcome the company.

I introduce to you Mayor J. Miles Thompson, Lancaster; Mayor Ervin Wiederholt, Dickeyville; Mayor George Branger, Mineral Point; Mayor Martin Kaster, Cuba City; Village President M. F. Olafson, Livingston; Village President C. O. Weittenhiller, Rewey; Village President C. M. Hughes, Bloomington; Village President Ray "Penny" Eckstein, Cassville; Village President Duane Donnil, Cobb; Village President Glen Beaumont, Belmont; Village President F. J. Mickus, Potosi; Village President Jerome Laufenberg, Highland; Village President C. A. Bainbridge, Benton; Village President Elmer Mueller, Montfort; City Council Representative James Azim, Muscoda, and City Attorney James Pope, Dodgeville.

This is another reason Platteville is proud these neighboring communities have meant a great deal for the National Guard unit.

We of Platteville greet them all. [Applause.]

There is a great amount of support that goes into a National Guard unit, support that we like to give. One of those area support considerations is the participation in this program today of the nine marching bands from high schools at Mineral Point, Shullsburg, Muscoda, Dodgeville, Hazel Green, Belmont, Cuba City, the Iowa-Grant area, and our own Plattsville High School. [Applause.]

But, the real planners for this day came from the businessmen of Platteville, who are in our various civic organizations such as the Platteville Businessmen's Association, the Kiwanis Club, and the Rotary Club.

A special word of thanks is due to the Community Action Council, the newly organized civic group that composes representatives of 18 civic and fraternal organizations.

May I ask Chairman Tom Given to stand and take a bow, and then have you meet all members of Given's committee.

[Given stands. Business group stands.]

The callup of the 32d Division for the Berlin crisis made these men of the combat support company veterans of a national emergency.

To recognize these veterans—many of whom are veterans of the U.S. forces, I call on the veterans' organization representatives: George Anton, VFW commander; Jack Eversoll, American Legion post commander, and Russell Carter, commander of the Vet- the commanding officer of the combat superans of World War I. To join them, I call port company, Capt. Frank Doescher.

[Veterans make plaque presentation.]

Congratulations to you, the men of the company, and to you, Captain Doescher. To give the response of the company, Platteville's pride, I call Captain Doescher.

The captain is a native of Platteville. He served with Platteville's old Company "M" of the 128th, in World War II, and was commissioned in 1949. His company has ranked as one of the top-strength units of the Wisconsin National Guard and the 32d Division. It was a winner of the Eisenhower trophy, given for the overall excellence of the unit.

Ladies and gentlemen, the company commander of combat support company, Capt. Frank Doescher.

[Captain Doescher speaks.]

Thank you, Captain Doescher.

The Platteville City Band, a 42-piece organization directed by Bernard Rosemeyer, will now play "March of Christianity" by Donald Moore.

[Band plays "March of Christianity".]

Thank you, Mr. Rosemeyer.

The National Guard of the United States is a far-reaching military organization. The callup of Reserve Force involved 44,371 Army National Guardsmen, of which the Platteville Company and the 32d Division were a part.

The Chief of the National Guard Bureau in Washington, D.C., is Maj. Gen. Donald W. McGowan, our guest here this morning.

General McGowan's military career goes back to 1916. He is a West Point graduate, but took his commission in the National Guard of New Jersey in 1922.

He participated in two campaigns in World War I and was on Omaha Beach on D-Day in World War II. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in 1947 and to major general in 1949, when he commanded the 50th Armored Division of the New Jersey National Guard.

He went to the National Guard Bureau in 1955 and was appointed Chief of the Bureau in 1959.

Ladies and gentlemen, Maj. Gen. Donald W. McGowan.

[McGowan speaks and presents certificates.]

Thank you, Maj. Gen. Donald McGowan.

This is our day for commanders in chief, for our next speaker also served as the head of the Wisconsin National Guard during his terms as Governor.

VERNON THOMPSON is a former mayor of Richland Center, his native city, and served as State attorney general in Wisconsin before being elected Governor.

Now in Congress, representing the Third Congressional District, we are pleased to welcome back to Platteville Congressman VERNON THOMSON.

[Congressman THOMSON speaks.]

During its period on active duty, the Red Arrow Division earned an important part in the composition of our military organization. They were a part of the U.S. Strategic Army Corps, known as STRAC.

The STRAC forces were the units that were available to the U.S. Strike Command, one of the newest commands in our Armed Forces.

We are most fortunate today to have with us a top member of that new command, Maj. Gen. Clifton F. Von Kann. General Von Kann is Assistant Chief of Staff for operations in the U.S. Strike Command.

He is a native of Boston, and a graduate, cum laude, of Harvard.

He was commissioned in the artillery and commanded both battalions of the 77th Field Artillery Regiment in the action in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, in World War II.

He has served as assistant division commander of supporting arms in the 82d Airborne Division, and his record includes 46 parachute jumps.

General Von Kann, it is a pleasure to have you in Platteville today, a home of a STRAC unit.

[Gen. Von Kann steps forward.]

General VON KANN. General, I would like to have General Dunlap join you for the return of the STRAC flag.

[General Dunlap steps forward; return of flag; General Von Kann speaks.]

The return to Wisconsin for the Platteville company and the 32d Division also meant a return to the 5th U.S. Army area.

This large midwest Army command includes Wisconsin, and it is the direct command from the U.S. Continental Army Command.

We are exceedingly happy to welcome to Platteville, the commanding general of the 5th Army, Lt. Gen. J. K. Waters.

General Waters, a veteran combat commander, took the 5th Army command this year. He has visited throughout this area and now, we'd like to extend our welcome program to include you, General Waters.

[General Waters speaks.]

The focus of attention has been on Platteville and the famed 32d.

The division is represented here today by Brig. Gen. John A. Dunlap, the assistant division commander.

It was 31 years ago that our speaker joined the division as a private.

He was a captain when called with the 32d in 1940. During World War II he went with those units of the 32d that were redesignated, and served in the campaigns of North Africa and Italy.

In 1959, General Dunlap was promoted to brigadier general.

He commanded the 32d Division Artillery before moving to division headquarters as assistant division commander.

General, we are as proud of the 32d as we are of Platteville's combat support company. It is a happy occasion to welcome you to Platteville.

[General Dunlap speaks.]

To bring our program to a close, we present to you one of the leading military men of Wisconsin, the Honorable Carlisle P. Runge.

Just last Monday, Mr. Runge completed his work as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower. He has returned from Washington, and is now a special assistant to the new president of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Fred Harrington.

Mr. Runge was born in Seymour, Wis., educated at the University of Wisconsin, which he also served as a professor of law. In World War II he was a major in the 3d U.S. Army, and wears the Bronze Star and four Campaign Medals.

In early 1961 he was appointed by President Kennedy for his Washington post.

He went to Washington as a real 32d man, having served the division and the Wisconsin National Guard since World War II.

Mr. Runge, welcome back to Wisconsin, and welcome to Platteville.

[Mr. Runge speaks.]

Thank you, Mr. Runge.

Ladies and gentlemen, that has been a Platteville welcome, Platteville's pride. Now we would like to make it a real Wisconsin welcome, and what finer way is there than with Alice in Dairyland, and cheese.

Sylvia Ann Lee of Colfax is an excellent representative of the State of Wisconsin. A sophomore at Eau Claire State College, she is 20 years old, a blue-eyed blond, and represents Wisconsin's finest.

Alice, we like cheese, dairyland, and you. [Alice speaks and presents box of cheese to Doescher.]

As your master of ceremonies, may I thank you for the privilege of serving and participating in your program today.

A special word of thanks is due the hundreds of radio, television, and newspaper representatives who have given such excellent coverage to this event.

In closing, may we express a word of deep appreciation to the more than 20,000 residents of the tristate area who came to join us for the colorful parade and this program in downtown city park.

Now may I ask you to rise while Reverend Doering offers the benediction, which will be followed by the Platteville City Band's rendition of the "Stars and Stripes Forever."

Reverend Doering will now offer the benediction. Reverend Doering.

[Benediction.]

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

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## On the Durability of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, one of our outstanding former Presidents, Herbert Clark Hoover, recently celebrated his 88th birthday. On that happy occasion, this statesman, who has weathered with sweetness and humility, some of the bitterest attacks ever made on a presidential candidate in any political campaign—and who has come to be acknowledged by all thinking people, as well as most of his former enemies, as one of the finest examples of an able and honorable American citizen—dedicated the Hoover Presidential Library.

We all need a hero of some kind. To many of us Herbert Clark Hoover exemplifies that hero. He is a man who seldom expresses himself publicly. When he does, his words deserve to be recorded in American history. His remarks, on the occasion of the dedication of his library, are a clear and eloquent expression of what America has meant to him, and what it should mean to each of us. The fact that he made these remarks, with humility and sincerity, proves what America can produce in the way of men.

Mr. Hoover will go down in history as one of our outstanding American citizens, well loved by many in foreign lands as well as in his homeland, a former President in whom we can take the utmost pride.

I would like to ask that Mr. Hoover's remarks, during the dedication ceremonies, "On the Durability of Freedom," be included with mine today. I commend them to the attention of each Member, and each American citizen.

Mr. Hoover's remarks follow:

[From the National Observer, Aug. 13, 1962]

MR. HOOVER: ON THE DURABILITY OF FREEDOM

(NOTE.—Former President Herbert Hoover returned last week to West Branch, Iowa, where he was born 88 years ago August 10. The occasion was the dedication of the

Hoover Presidential Library, a ceremony that former President Truman also attended. In his address, Mr. Hoover reaffirmed his faith in the future of America with these words.)

Our people are deeply troubled, not only about the turbulent world around us but also with internal problems which haunt our days and nights. There are many despairing voices. There are many undertones of discouragement. The press headlines imply that corruption, crime, divorce, youthful delinquency, and Hollywood love trysts are our national occupations.

And amid all these voices there is a cry that the American way of life is on its way to decline and fall.

I do not believe it.

Perhaps amid this din of voices and headlines of gloom, I may say something about the inner forces from which come the strengths of America. They assure its future and its continued service to mankind.

The mightest assurances of our future are the intangible spiritual and intellectual forces in our people, which we express, not by the words of the United States, but by the word America. That word America carries meanings which lie deep in the soul of our people. It reaches far beyond the size of cities and factories. It springs from our religious faith, our ideals of individual freedom and equal opportunity, which have come in the centuries since we landed on these shores. It rises from our pride in great accomplishments of our Nation and from the sacrifices and devotion of those who have passed on. It lifts us above the ugliness of the day. It has guided us through even greater crises in our past. And from these forces, solutions will come.

This representative Government, with its 186 years of life, has lasted longer than any other republic in history.

If you look about, you will see the steeples of tens of thousands of places to worship. Each week a hundred million people come to affirm their faith.

If you will look, you will find that the Bill of Rights is an enforced law of the land; that the dignity of man and equality of opportunity more nearly survive in this land than in any other on earth.

If you look, you will also find that from our educational system there comes every year a host of stimulated minds. They bring new scientific discoveries, new inventions, and new ideas. It is true that they revolutionize our daily lives. But we can readily adjust ourselves and our Government to them without the assistance of Karl Marx.

I could go on and on reciting the mighty forces in American life which assure its progress and its durability.

Perhaps on this occasion it would not be immodest or inappropriate for me to cite my own life as proof of what America brings to her children.

As a boy of 10, I was taken from this village to the Far West 78 years ago. My only material assets were two dimes in my pocket, the suit of clothes I wore. I had some extra underpinnings provided by loving aunts.

But I carried from here something more precious.

I had a certificate of the fourth or fifth grade of higher learning.

I had a stern grounding of religious faith.

I carried with me recollections of a joyous childhood, where the winter snows and the growing crops of Iowa were an especial provision for kids.

And I carried with me the family disciplines of hard work. That included picking potato bugs at 10 cents a hundred. Incidentally, that money was used for the serious purpose of buying firecrackers to applaud the Founding Fathers on each Fourth of July.

And in conclusion, may I say to the boys and girls of America that the doors of opportunity are still open to you. Today the durability of freedom is more secure in America than in any place in the world.

May God bring you even more great blessings.

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## Reservists Discharge Welcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, last night I had the privilege of participating in a program in which the city of Philadelphia welcome home the U.S. Army reservists, in a ceremony at Independence Hall Mall. The presiding officer was Arthur C. Kaufmann, civilian aid to the Secretary of the Army. He was chairman of the citizens welcome committee.

Greeting to the reservists were extended by the Honorable Paul D'Ortona, the president of the Philadelphia City Council.

The main speaker of the evening was the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Honorable David L. Lawrence.

His message to the men was so inspiring that I have set it forth in full in my remarks:

REMARKS OF GOV. DAVID L. LAWRENCE AT APPRECIATION DAY CEREMONIES HONORING THE HOMECOMING OF U.S. ARMY RESERVISTS, INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., MONDAY, AUGUST 13, 1962

I can think of no better place to hold this brief ceremony than this great, historic shrine. For in a very real sense, the spirit we honor in each of you is the same spirit that guided the men who met in this hall to set down the principles of freedom and self-government that have changed the world. They were men bound together by a common interest and a common ideal. They believed that mankind was born to be free, that God had given men the right to live their own lives and govern themselves without fear and without prejudice.

Perhaps we have come too far in the march of human progress to realize the greatness of the ideas Thomas Jefferson put down on paper those many years ago. If we are in danger of forgetting, we have you to thank for reminding us.

We can thank you, also, for reminding us, less than 1 year ago, that America has a vast reservoir of skilled and dedicated men in the Army Reserves who stand ready to defend man's freedom whenever and wherever it is threatened. There are not too many occasions, unfortunately, when we are able to express our appreciation for commendable performance of duty. I am delighted and proud that we have such an opportunity now.

To each of you, to your families, and to the dozens of communities from which you have come, whether they are in Pennsylvania or Delaware or New Jersey, the people of this State and the citizens of America express their wholehearted thanks. The job you have done has been an excellent one, and it has been carried out under the most difficult possible circumstances, short of a shooting war.

But the quality of your performance of duty in this time of international tension has been no accident. It has been the result of long hours of hard work in your local Reserve units here in Philadelphia, and it reflects the quality of mind, the dedication of heart and the patriotic spirit you have brought to your service as America's Reserves.

Today, as you prepare to return to your homes and your jobs and your families, it will be difficult for you to realize the magnitude of the assignment you are now completing.

The world, after all, looks only a little different, on the surface, than it did 10 months ago, when you responded to President Kennedy's courageous and immediate call to action in the face of Communist threats against Berlin. But the world has changed. It has changed significantly, and for the moment at least, it is changing for the better. In October 1961 the threat to free Berlin was ominous.

The thin line that separates the cold war from a potential hot war could have been obliterated by hesitation or indecision. It was imperative, at that point, that the United States of America answer this newest political and military threat with a strong demonstration of its position. It was imperative then, as it is now, that this country should show the world its determination to protect the frontiers of liberty.

In the face of this challenge, President Kennedy spoke for all Americans in a clear, firm voice that all men, no matter where they live, could understand.

There can be no doubt in anyone's mind, no matter how imprisoned that mind may be by tyranny or dictatorship, that the American people are united in their love for freedom and in their will to protect and preserve it. How can anyone, in these circumstances, find the words to tell you how much your service this past year has meant to America and to mankind?

I have given deep and serious thought to this question, and I confess that I have not found the right words or the proper phrases. I doubt that any man could do so.

For your response to this call to duty has been in the true tradition of American military greatness. It has been the same kind of unselfish devotion the Minutemen brought to their defense of a newborn America. It has been the same sacrifice freedom has demanded of those who enjoy its benefits throughout man's history from the dawn of civilization to the Battle of Shiloh, from the woods of the Argonne to the landing at Leyte, from the fight for freedom in South Korea to the day-by-day struggle to preserve liberty in Vietnam.

You have given up nearly a year of your lives at a time when no actual battleground existed, when few shots were fired and there were not many barbedwire entanglements to dramatize the need for your extraordinary service. It has not been an easy task, and if time and events conspire to make such service necessary once again, it shall be no easier.

But the truth is that the battleground of freedom is more broad and far-reaching today than it has ever been in man's history. Across the length and breadth of the world, greater learning has brought to countless millions for the first time the true concept of fredom and, having tasted its promise, they are determined they shall be free.

The essence of that dream had its roots in America, the America of Patrick Henry and Jefferson and Washington and Nathan Hale. It is still this country, today, that holds out the light of hope to the millions of human beings who see in it the greatest example of free, democratic government the world has ever known.

It is this America, the modern giant of technology and science, the America of John Kennedy and John Glenn, of yourselves and thousands of young men like you, for which you speak and act today.

I believe that you have spoken and acted affirmatively, and I know that the people of the world have listened and watched and understood.

If, in the remaining years of this century, our Nation, and the world can live in peace, it will be because thousands of men like yourselves were willing to respond to duty without selfish consideration.

Pennsylvania—and the people of America—applaud you for your service, for your love of country and your dedication to the ideals of liberty.

The duty you have performed was a national duty, for this Nation can only survive through the strength and the alertness of its citizens in this State and in all the others that are part of the Union.

Whatever part you have played—no matter how small it may have seemed to you, the fortress of freedom is stronger and mightier and more glorious tonight because you were there.

## How To Cut Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News of Saturday, August 11, carried a timely and constructive editorial on the subject of "How To Cut Taxes." The editorial emphasizes the increased spending "for civilian affairs" which amounted to $1.9 billion last year. Excerpts from the editorial are included herewith:

Tax reduction without Government economies is a delusion. It would be accomplished only at the cost of inflation. Dollars saved on the tax cut, and more, would be handed right back through higher prices at the grocery.

And economy hardly is the word for what is going on in Washington. The Government spent $87.7 billion in the fiscal year which ended June 30. That was $6.2 billion more than the year before. Estimated spending for the current fiscal year is $94 billion, up another $6.3 billion.

At this rate of growth we will pass $100 billion by 1964—more by billions than we spent at the peak of the Second World War with 12 million in uniform and our industrial plants engaged in war production.

Some of this spending is by design. Part of it has just grown. For instance President Kennedy, 10 months ago, urged Cabinet members and department heads to hold the number of Government employees "to the minimum consistent with getting the job done." But the Government payroll at the end of the fiscal year was nearly 2.5 million—up 77,000 in a year. The payroll cost is $14 billion. When it comes to saving a dollar, no one is tending the store.

Increased spending customarily is attributed to defense. That accounted for $3.7 billion of the extra spending last year. Even though there are frequent evidences of waste, this is no place to economize. But no effort is made to balance these extraordinary costs by economies elsewhere. In fact, spending for civilian affairs actually increased $1.9 billion during the year. This increase would have been far larger, had Congress not bucked at some administration spending proposals.

Severe shock treatment will be necessary to bring Washington back from this Never Never Land where money grows on trees and there always is more where that came from.

## Cultural Excellence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a valedictorian speech made by Miss Doris Ross at the graduation exercises of the Sparks High School this year.

I was very much impressed with this young lady's speech, and I feel it is a credit to her as well as to the public schools of Nevada. I am certain that Miss Ross will continue to be outstanding in her future undertakings:

CULTURAL EXCELLENCE

Of the many charges hurled at the United States one of the more frequent is the charge that we are cultural boors, that we lack cultural excellence. Is there any justification for this charge? Do we lack cultural excellence?

Before any answer can be arrived at, we should decide what culture means. Each person attaches a different meaning to culture. One says that culture is one of the products of man's attempt at self-perfection. Another says that culture may be described simply as that which makes life worth living, and there are many other definitions. Perhaps these definitions can be summed up by T. S. Eliot's statement that culture is the improvement of the human mind and spirit.

What does cultural excellence mean? Any definite statement would be, of course, somewhat arbitrary. But even with this limitation, some type of answer can be given that will be satisfactory. First of all, excellence must take into account at once all three senses of culture: that of the individual, that of the group or class, and that of a whole society. Each of these senses of culture depends on the other two. The excellence of one depends on the excellence of the other two. With a second thought also in mind, that there are as many levels of culture as there are levels of aptitudes for culture, we may say that cultural excellence means that every individual takes his place at the highest cultural level for which his natural aptitudes qualify him.

Let us examine further these three senses of culture which are so interdependent. An individual's culture should contain learning and close acquaintance with the accumulated wisdom of the past, refinement of manners, and an interest in and some ability to manipulate abstract ideas or the arts. As T. S. Eliot wrote, "Good manners, without education, intellect or sensibility to the arts, tends toward mere automatism; learning without good manners or sensibility is pendantry; intellectual ability wihout the more human attributes is admirable only the same way as the brilliance of a child chess-prodigy, and the arts without intellectual context are vanity." No perfection in any one of these fields to the exclusion of the others can confer culture on anybody. Does each individual in our society have an individual philosophy? Is he interested in art as well as science, and in science as well as religion and philosophy? Does he use his mind instead of vegetating and letting the world walk over him, or does he lack the strength to declare his own individual perceptions and feel that he must conform in his thinking to what is considered fashionable? Is his the ability of examining evidence and can he delay decisions? Have we achieved an individual excellence in culture?

By groups I mean the different groups which are concerned with each activity of culture. Does our society have cultural excellence in the group sense? Have we produced a great composer or conducter or a Picasso? Have we achieved in the literary field? Do we have great philosophers and scientific thinkers and religious leaders? Is there the overlapping and sharing of interests so essential to the cohesion of culture or are religious thought and practice, philosophy and art and science becoming isolated areas cultivated by groups in no communication with each other? Once the following was written: Never were the artistic sensibilities improved by divorce from the religious sense, religion by divorce from the artistic; and the same may be said for science. In the field of manners have we come to the place where the vestige of manners is left to a few survivors of a vanishing class, who, their sensibilities untrained by either religion or art and their minds unfurnished with material for witty conversation, have no context in their lives to give value to their behavior, and the rest of us follow little or no code for social behavior? Do we have cultural excellence at the group level?

A principle exists which states that literature and art, music and drama are as essential to the happiness and prosperity of a nation as any merely economic activity. Do the actions of our society follow this principle? We do have the Metropolitan Opera, the Fulbright Act, an Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, some theatrical companies and other cultural institutions, but is their existence really enough without the full support of our society? Don't we think that our businesses and labor unions and stock market are more important? Isn't the balance of material activities and cultural activities lopsided? There should be a balance between science and art, for art, in its broader sense, is a process coequally important with science for the life and progress of mankind, but don't we, instead of striving for this balance, make science much more important than art, and think that to know is more important than to create? A society should provide a means of training minds both to receive culture and to criticize and improve upon it. Formerly, education was this means to help transmit culture. However, is there any doubt that now, in our headlong rush to educate everybody, we are lowering our standards, and more and more abandoning the study of those subjects by which the essentials of our culture are transmitted? Schools can transmit only a part of culture, and they can transmit this part effectively only if the outside influences, not only of family and environment, but of work and play, of newspapers and TV, and entertainment and sports, are in harmony with them. Are these things in harmony with our schools?

Finally, have we been able to dissolve our cultural isolationism? Not only can an exchange of cultural products and a knowledge of other cultures enrich our social culture, it can build strong links between our country and other nations and join men in peace. Sir Herbert Read said, "Art has the unique function of uniting men in love of each other and of life itself." Are we, as a society, culturally broadminded?

Have we achieved cultural excellence?

## Trohan Looks Into Background of FBI Opponent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, for many years there has been a concerted effort by some people in this country to discount the danger of the Communist threat and to disparage those who made a serious, responsible effort to alert this country to the menace and to combat it.

In this connection the remarks of Mr. Wilbur H. Ferry before a conference of western Democrats last week is of interest. Here follows the comments of Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau, as broadcast over station WGN, Chicago:

REMARKS OF WALTER TROHAN, CHIEF OF CHICAGO TRIBUNE WASHINGTON BUREAU, OVER STATION WGN, CHICAGO

WASHINGTON, August 11.—The Federal Bureau of Investigation, under its director, J. Edgar Hoover, is regarded as public friend No. 1 by most Americans. But there are those who look at the Nation's first line of defense against Communist espionage and subversion with rose-colored glasses and assail the FBI as public enemy No. 1.

RIPS "SPY SWATTER"

The latest of these attacks came last Monday before a conference of western Democrats in Seattle. Wilbur H. (Ping) Ferry, vice president of the Fund for the Republic, an organization financed by the Ford Foundation, accused Hoover of "sententious poppycock" and building a false legend of communism's strength. He said Hoover was weaving "a mischief-making tapestry of legend and illusion if there ever was one," about Communist intrigue. He called Hoover the "indubitable mandarin of anti-communism in the United States" and "our official spy swatter."

Unfortunately the speech became involved in politics. Republic Chairman William E. Miller demanded that his Democratic counterpart, Chairman John M. Bailey, repudiate Ferry's remarks. Bailey retorted that Miller would do well to concern himself with the lunatic fringe in his own party.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the President, differed sharply with Ferry, saying communism is a serious threat and anyone who underestimates its danger "is doing the country a disservice." Still, there are rumors that Bobby would like to get Hoover out of the FBI. If these be true and if he should be successful, it would be a sad day for America.

LOOK INTO BACKGROUND

Concern here is not with the political ramifications of the attack on the FBI but with national security. It is fitting and proper to look into the man who leveled the attack on the FBI so as to judge his purpose and motives and consider what makes him tick.

Ferry was born on December 17, 1910, in Detroit. He attended Dartmouth College and was graduated in 1932. For a time he was employed as a teacher, publicity agent, and reporter. No doubt he found the depression years a bit rough and may have been inclined to think on the left. The outbreak of World War II found him not in uniform but in a draft-proof job as an enforcement officer for the Office of Price Stabilization, helping to tell his fellow Americans how much they could eat and what they could buy. He was 30 years old at the time of Pearl Harbor.

After the war he reportedly worked for the Ford Motor Co., allegedly ghost writing speeches for Henry Ford II, who launched the Fund for the Republic. His associates knew him as a shrewd and calculating public relations man. Early in his career he agitated for investigation of the FBI and the American Legion, of which he was not a member or eligible for membership because he did not serve in the Armed Forces during the war, apparently by choice.

SERVES CIO GROUP

Ferry also served as a publicity director for the CIO Political Action Committee. In this capacity he was a member of an advisory committee which met with officials of the joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist-front organization. This does not mean that Ferry was a member of the Red-front group, but that he helped it. On January 2, 1958, the Citizen Register of Ossining, N.Y., published a letter from Ferry criticizing the newspaper for publishing a report favorable to Hoover.

Ferry accused the paper of accepting Hoover's claims of accomplishment without asking him to prove them. He asked why more spies and saboteurs are not brought forth for trial if they constitute a great threat. He said the Communist Party "appears to be falling apart at the seams." He admitted law-enforcement agencies need information, but criticized the paper and Hoover for seeking to raise the status of informing to an accepted American avocation. He stressed the latent danger of a secret police in the FBI. In short, the letter to the paper was the germ of the speech Ferry made to the Democrats.

He has been sounding this record for years. In August 1960, Ferry published a pamphlet entitled "Alternatives to the Arms Race—Drastic but Thinkable." This pamphlet emphasized what he considers the evils of the arms race and wound up recommending total disarmament even though this might mean that the United States would be taken over by Russia. In his pamphlet, Ferry states that domination of America by Russia would be "thinkable" while nuclear war is "unthinkable." In short, Ferry is one who believes that it would be better to be Red than dead. Hoover has publicly stated he would rather be dead than Red.

REMARKS ARE QUOTED

The March 1962 issue of Militant, the official organ of the Trotskyites, carries a quotation by Ferry concerning current economic conditions. This does not mean that Ferry is a Trotskyite or a member of any branch of communism, but it does mean that they are interested in what he says and does.

## Hungry Horse News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ARNOLD OLSEN**
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to call the attention of the House to a man from the State of Montana who is a most promising phenomenon in this age of monopoly and bigness in everything. Mr. Mel Ruder, of Columbia Falls, Mont., is this year celebrating the 17th year of publication of the Hungry Horse News, an independent weekly journal of which he is the editor, publisher, chief reporter, and star cameraman. The Hungry Horse News is not simply a comprehensive and pertinent forum of local opinion and happenings, it also features some of the most exciting photography of the Pacific Northwest to be found in any publication. Mel Ruder is famed for his magnificent shorts of natural life and wilderness areas in this impressive part of the country. With camera in hand and groceries on his back, he often takes off into the wilderness in search of the natural beauty which abounds in northwestern Montana, and comes back with breathtaking shots which are enough to convince anyone of the rewards of living in our beautiful State of Montana. For myself, I know that no trip to Columbia Falls or the northwestern corner of our State is complete without a friendly visit with Mel Ruder, and if time permits, a short trip into the woods where Mel is always willing to give a clear and detailed briefing on river development, conservation, and lumbering activities, the evidence for all of which can be seen in the landscape around us. I feel that with his zeal for factual and full reporting and his firm roots in the life of the locale in which he lives and writes, Mel Ruder is one of the most outstanding newspapermen in the country. It is his type of imaginative and dedicated reporting which has established the enviable tradition of the American diversified and responsible press, and which will perpetuate that tradition.

I would urge each and every Member of the Congress to take the opportunity to visit northwestern Montana, and to call on Mel Ruder when there for a friendly and knowledgeable introduction to the beauty and excitment of life in the 20th century Pacific Northwest.

I would like at this time to insert in the RECORD two representative and currently pertinent editorials written by Mel, which appeared August 10, 1962, anniversary edition of the Hungary Horse News:

VOL. 17, No. 1

This issue marks the start of the 17th year of publishing the Hungry Horse News.

Story of the Hungry Horse News emerging with volume 1, No. 1, August 8, 1946, has been told. We started with a camera, a portable typewriter, $2.50 desk and Navy savings.

There's much personal satisfaction living in the Flathead, and we like the rustic log Hungry Horse News building with its large lawn, and our home with its view of the mountains. There are also six plaques from the National Editorial Association on the office wall. This weekly has been nationally recognized for picture use, and we are a past president of Montana State Press Association.

Another reward is the fine acceptance this weekly newspaper has. Paid circulation is tops among Montana weeklies, and we like our neighbors.

The Hungry Horse News has been favored with a good staff. Mrs. Al Shay, who is raising four youngsters and writes her social news at home, has been with us since August 1, 1946, a week before volume 1, No. 1 appeared. This newspaper is also fortunate in having Ralph Ammondson as the lead printer, and his crew also do a good job.

Columnists have also helped the Hungry Horse News. Newest is George Ostrom, Flathead resident living in Washington. What he writes should be published in more papers than the Hungry Horse News. Then, of course, there's John Tatsey, whose Heart Butte items we publish courtesy of the Glacier Reporter, and the ladies who report local items in the various communities—this is all part of a country newspaper.

It is a good life being editor-reporter-photographer of a picture newspaper in scenic America.

Of necessity our staff must continue small. Columbia Falls as a business community should only have a eight-page paper.

We do not seem to be able to solve the problem of employing an office assistant with some news-writing experience. This would not be mentioned or be a problem in a metropolitan center. It is here.

We like being editor of the Hungry Horse News. We'd like the job better were it 51 instead of 52 full weeks each year.

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This is a week that we are pleased in not being a daily newspaper.

The Hungry Horse News doesn't have to devote most of the front page to "Beautiful Marilyn Monroe Died Tragically" or "Question: Was It Suicide?"

Obviously Americans wanted to read of the last moments and past loves of the curvesome blonde actress. We wouldn't expect a city paper to feature a bear story:

Also taking front page space this week are continued pictures and stories of the 8,000 deformed babies born mostly in western Europe as a result of their mothers having taken a particular tranquilizer during pregnancy. The drug developed in West Germany resulted in babies deformed and armless.

The often berated Federal bureaucracy came in for well deserved praise with President Kennedy presenting a gold medal to Dr. Frances O. Kelsey for blocking the marketing of the drug thalidomide in the United States. She is a medical officer in the Food and Drug Administration.

The Hungry Horse News is also fortunate in not having to feature abortion attempts by Mrs. Sherri Finkbine of Phoenix, Ariz. The lady is in Sweden seeking a legal abortion. She had taken the drug.

Meanwhile people of the world are benefiting from experience of the past. For example wonder drugs can be dangerous and destructive, and all cures don't come as pills.

In the years ahead, the world's peoples are not going to handle birth control, abortion, and mercy killing by complete legal bans.

The flood of newspaper and magazine publicity during recent days certainly spotlights the problems.

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## What Delays Hanford Power?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the Pacific Northwest is still angrily reacting to the defeat in the House of the proposal by local public power districts to finance, with non-Federal funds, generating facilities to convert waste steam-power into electricity.

As examples of the continuing reaction, I ask unanimous consent to introduce three editorials—one from the August 3 issue of the Oregon Labor Press, a second from the August 6 issue of the daily Portland Reporter and the third from the August 10 edition of the Portland Oregonian. Each effectively reflects the overwhelming reaction of the public spirited citizens of my district, and the States of Oregon and Washington:

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Reporter, Aug. 6, 1962]

WHAT DELAYS HANFORD POWER?

No one is working harder to get this region the benefit of 800,000 kilowatts of power from harnessing wasted heat at the Hanford atomic project than Charles F. Luce, the Bonneville Power Administrator. He has more than plenty of kilowatts for today's needs, but is confronted with a serious power shortage of crippling economic impact in a few years simply because our power demands increase 15 percent every year.

If you doubt the power-shortage forecast made by all experts, including those serving private utilities, you can forecast the same result for yourself. The region's power demand is certain to keep on growing, perhaps even faster than 15 percent. For instance Sweden's load went up 24 percent in 1961.

We are in serious kilowatt trouble because forecasts of new power sources are fading into thin air. We will get no Canadian power from Columbia dams above the border for at least 8 years after the treaty is ratified by Canada. There is no definite likelihood of the treaty being approved by Canada in the near future. And there is no money dangling to build these tremendous projects.

We will get no power from Libby Dam because the United States will not be permitted to build this power and storage project until the treaty authorizes the Libby Reservoir to creep back into Canada. We may get no power from the Middle Snake River because of the fisheries opposition to developing the great Nez Perce site as well as the less kilowatt-rich Mountain Sheep site.

Two years ago the Northwest had high hopes that every one of these three big sources of power, plus imports from Canada's Peace River project, would be available by the time the predicted power pinch set in. All these hopes are gone now and here we are 2 years closer to the predicted power shortage—a prediction which the experts have not pushed 2 years back.

This situation looks grave to Mr. Luce, who takes his responsibilities seriously as administrator of a large segment of the region's power. He knows better than any one else what the prospects are for getting the Hanford project producing power for us under the last hope—U.S. Senate amendment of the Atomic Energy Commission's appropriation bill. The Senate came out unanimously for authorizing the Washington Public Power Supply System to hookup the wasted heat and turn over the 800,000 kilowatts to Bonneville for equal distribution between private and public utilities.

This would mean 1½ Bonneville dams in a hurry. Mr. Luce is saying that this 800,000-kilowatt prospect for our future well-being would receive the greatest boost from being recommended by the region's private utilities. There can be no doubt that Mr. Luce is right about this because all the opposition to this greatest atomic power project in America has come from private power. Mr. Luce has focused attention on what will make or break kilowatt abundance in the Northwest for some time to come. He has asked the region's private utilities to let the public know if they favor the public getting 800,000 kilowatts of power to fight off tomorrow's power shortage.

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[From the Oregon Labor Press, Aug. 3, 1962]

The Hanford power project, killed in the House of Representatives 2 weeks ago, would have provided 900,000 kilowatts of low-cost power—the equivalent of two Bonneville dams. It would have meant rapid industrial development and thousands of urgently needed new jobs for our region.

But the Hanford project is dead, murdered by the private utility companies in an outrageous and brazen betrayal of the public interest.

The back-alley knifing of the Hanford reactor power project by the private utility companies was so raw, so rotten that even the most conservative Republican newspapers could not stomach it.

For example, the ultraconservative, anti-union Tri-City Herald of Kennewick, Wash., which supported private power in the Hells Canyon fight, came out swinging in an editorial headlined "Private Utilities Killed It." Here are its words:

"Private power in the Northwest stands condemned today * * * for the death of the project. For personal reasons and for a private vendetta, they acted against the public interest.

"What is just as galling is the method private power used to forward its public-be-damned attitude.

"Private utility officials didn't have the personal integrity and fortitude to stand up and fight. Their strategy was to have their cake and eat it too—in other words to kill the project while adopting outwardly a pious our-hands-are-off-it attitude.

"But what they did and how they did it was and is no secret.

"These are the people who want the 'right to vote' in this State and also seek to build High Mountain Sheep Dam. Perish the thought."

Those are the words of one of the region's most conservative newspapers, a paper that has been strongly pro-private power in the past. These sentiments have been echoed in the conservative and liberal press throughout the region.

Underdevelopment of our resources, as in the case of Hells Canyon, is one thing. Apparently some people can tolerate that. But resource rape, as in the case of Hanford, is something else again—and even their newspaper friends can't stand the stench of what the private utilities have done.

Because they succeeded in killing the Hanford project, millions of dollars' worth of byproduct steam from the reactor cooling process will go to waste. The Northwest is denied 900,000 kilowatts of firm power at a time when we need it to make certain that there will not be an electric brownout 3 years hence.

The Government cannot recover any of its $25 million investment in the plutonium reactor for convertibility features that make possible the addition of power-generating facilities.

New industries will stay away from the Northwest for lack of power, and those already here will not be able to expand. Thousands of workers who could have had jobs will go unemployed.

Even the private power companies themselves will have to go without 450,000 new kilowatts they could have had from the reactor under the 50–50 compromise that was offered them in the hope of winning their support for the project.

This is the real irony. The private utility companies of the Pacific Northwest want to build High Mountain Sheep Dam, they say, because they need a large block of power as soon as possible. Here they had it from the

Hanford reactor—at a much earlier date than from Mountan Sheep, and at much lower cost. But they chose to be economic wreckers.

In the process they may have wrecked themselves.

The private companies have reopened the old wounds of private versus public power battles that were all but forgotten. The Hanford project may be dead. But its memory will live to haunt these betrayers of the public trust.

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[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, Aug. 10, 1962]

FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

The administration's bill to establish a preferential Northwest marketing area for Federal power produced in the Pacific Northwest, with only surplus power to be sold in California or elsewhere, faces uncertain prospects in the House of Representatives after being approved in the Senate 52 to 33.

In the present alinement of the House, with too many Republicans joining Southern Democrats in sullen opposition to administration programs, whether beneficial or not, and with any legislation dealing with "public power" a red flag instantly launching a stampede of bulls, the hope of passage there is not bright. On four occasions the House has defeated bills to allow the use of wasted steam at the new plutonium reactor at Hanford for production of 800,000 kilowatts of power, which by firming up nonfirm power would have added over 900,000 kilowatts to the Northwest Power Pool.

The arguments in the Senate against the Northwest regional preference bill were even more weird than those used against the Hanford project, which would not have cost the Government anything in its latest form providing revenue bond financing.

California utilities, public and private, want to buy power from the Columbia River Federal system. But they do not want to be restricted to buying surplus power, which the Northwest doesn't need. They would rather have that than nothing, for it would save a lot of money in present fuel costs. But if the proposed amendment to the Bonneville Project Act is not adopted, public agencies in California, could lay claim to Northwest firm power as well as nonfirm. And California private utilities could buy and transmit over their own lines as much power as Bonneville would sell them.

The Federal Bonneville Power Administration, marketing agency for the complex of hydroelectric generators in which Congress has invested $1½ billion, wants to sell surplus power, available only in offpeak periods, to California to improve its financial picture. But it recognizes a primary obligation to meet the needs of the Pacific Northwest, which double every 10 years, rather than those of other areas. Bonneville has $30 million worth of surplus energy for sale which is now being wasted. But it is short of firm power because it is wholly dependent upon hydroelectric generation. The Hanford nuclear project would have allowed the firming up of more power to meet an insatiable demand in the Northwest. So would a return of offpeak thermal power from California utilities in the Columbia low-water periods, in exchange for deliveries of surplus Northwest power to meet California's peak demands for summer irrigation and air conditioning.

The coordination of all Northwest utilities in the Northwest Power Pool adds 1,200,000 kilowatts to the generating capacity by integration, more than double the output of Bonneville Dam. We have seen no figures on the net gain which would be achieved both in the Northwest and in California by interconnection, but it would be substantial in both areas—and more substantial in California than in the Northwest. The mutual benefits are clearly apparent.

What has happened, essentially, is that technology has overtaken the Bonneville Power System. When the first transmission lines were built more than a quarter-century ago, the economic transmission distance was about 200 miles. Now it is more than 1,000 miles. If the Northwest is prevented from establishing a primary marketing area consisting of the Northwest, where the power can be used most economically, there will soon come a day when our sole energy resource is being drained into the Southwest and the Missouri Basin. The Northwest is not seeking a "power grab," as the hysterical and misinformed Los Angeles Herald-Examiner asserted. It is fighting for survival.

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## Are Not Puerto Ricans Americans?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, I am disturbed about the nationlistic attitude among some high officials in the Puerto Rican Government. Indication of this nationalistic and anti-American attitude has been brought to my attention by private citizens and by newspaper articles.

An example of this feeling which is being fostered by officials is a news item that appeared in the San Juan Star on June 26. In essence, the story quotes Secretary of Education Candido Oliveras as saying that the public schools of Puerto Rico should not be utilized as a means toward the Americanization of Puerto Rico. This statement was made during his announcement of a new policy designed to establish Spanish as the language in private schools.

Mr. Speaker, are not Puerto Ricans Americans? I always thought so, but apparently Mr. Oliveras thinks that if his people are, their children should not be exposed to Americanism nor speak English in school.

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico receives Federal funds the same as the 50 States, its share being about 12 percent of the total budget for elementary and secondary schools. I wonder what the reaction would be if a high official of Washington State made such a statement as Mr. Oliveras made?

Mr. Speaker, not all Puerto Ricans agree with their secretary of education. The San Juan Star published an editorial which I sincerely hope reflects not only its own thinking, but also the thinking of the majority whose home is in the Commonwealth.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial in the RECORD.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

Secretary of Education Candido Oliveras said yesterday he would implement, as far as possible, the objective of making Spanish the language of instruction in private schools.

Secretary Oliveros said he would recognize conditions that justified exemption from this policy. He listed them as (1) when the parents of children in a private school want them taught in English; (2) in schools primarily intended for continental children; and (3) in schools where Spanish teachers are not available.

We sincerely hope that implementation of this policy will be guided by a careful weighing of the possible consequences to many thousands of youngsters whose futures are involved. We hear every day that thousands of former citizens suffer hardship on the mainland, and are deprived of numerous opportunities for a better life, because they lack a knowledge of English. This would indicate a need for more English teaching, not for less.

We can look around us in Puerto Rico and see on all sides men and women of prominence, whose families enjoy better homes and better lives, and whose children receive better education, because the parents learned English in their youth. Secretary Oliveras is a shining example.

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## Land-Grant Act Has Had Immense Influence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, I would like to join my colleagues who have paid tribute to an act of Congress which is now more than 100 years old but whose influence is far greater than was dreamed of when the law was passed.

I refer to the Morrill, or Land-Grant Act of 1862. It was finally enacted after a 5-year legislative battle and signed into law by President Lincoln during the midst of the Civil War despite the fact that President Buchanan vetoed an earlier version which he called unconstitutional. While Senator Justin Smith Morrill was responsible for pushing the land-grant legislation through Congress, a Yale-educated teacher in Illinois, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, was the man who first aroused people to the necessity for public higher education and helped to draw up plans for achieving this ideal.

During the 100-year period, 1862 to 1962, the organization and scope of operations in this nationwide system of publicly supported higher education has developed to keep pace with the expanding Nation. Although the present 68 land-grant colleges and universities represent only 3.4 percent of the institutions of higher learning in the United States, they enroll nearly one-fifth of the Nation's college population, award 21 percent of all baccalaureate degrees, grant 25 percent of all master's degrees and confer 40 percent of all doctorate degrees.

In my home State of Washington our land-grant college, Washington State University at Pullman, is doing outstanding work in preparing the young people of the State for useful and productive lives. It is interesting that the first State legislature in Washington, in the year 1890 chartered the Washington State Agricultural College and School of Science, following receipt of 90,000 acres

of public land as an endowment for an agricultural college a year earlier.

Alumni bear witness to the quality of a university's education. Edward R. Murrow, Director of the U.S. Information Service, is a graduate of Washington State where he delivered the commencement address last June. Dr. Philip H. Abelson, director of the geophysical laboratory of the Carnegie Institution, is also on Washington State's roster of distinguished alumni. Henry Townley Heald, distinguished president of the Ford Foundation is still another well-known graduate. Washington State University is keeping step with the times in quality of instruction and facilities. Recently dedicated have been the E. C. Johnson Hall for the study of plant sciences; a new engineering building, Royal Sloan Hall; Fulmer Hall addition, dedicated to chemistry laboratories. Biological sciences also have a new home at Frederick D. Heald Hall.

The land-grant influence has spread overseas far beyond the shores of the United States. Washington State University has been working, under an AID contract, with the University of Punjab and others in Pakistan to help raise the quality of programs in agriculture, engineering, education, business administration, and home economics at the university level. To help this program, Pakistani faculty are studying for advanced degrees on the Pullman campus.

I will not attempt to describe the immense influence of the land-grant schools on the social and economic development of life in the United States. My colleagues have presented most of this information. But I am glad to add my voice to those raised in honor of this significant milestone in education and to say that we in Washington are proud of our land-grant university and its contributions to our State.

## Goldberg and Shorter Hours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, an effort is being made by certain segments of the labor movement to shorten the workweek in order to alleviate unemployment. The Washington Daily News of Saturday, August 11, with the title of "Goldberg and Shorter Hours" is recommended reading.

The editorial follows:

How much penetration he's achieving is difficult to say, but Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg keeps trying to get across the point that shorter workweeks aren't a cure for unemployment.

The added costs, he says, would make it all the more difficult to maintain stable prices.

His point is not hard to grasp.

It's one thing, of course, for a union to seek a shorter week as a contract improvement. In that context, it's the same as seeking raises and various fringe benefits. If it's economically feasible for the employer, so be it. But to propose a shorter week for the avowed purpose of reducing unemployment is something else again.

True, this would mean that more people would have to be hired to maintain the existing production pace. So far, OK. But if this isn't matched by greater productivity, up goes the cost of the product. Down goes its competitiveness. Down go sales. And, before long, down goes employment.

Not much of a cure.

During the great depression, there were a lot of shortened workweeks that did reduce unemployment. But that was only because with the shorter week went proportionately lower pay. The 3-day week meant 3 days' pay.

No one is proposing that, and certainly no one who remembers the thirties is eager to see a revival of that routine.

But the memory of it is useful as a lesson in elementary economics overlooked by economic magicians. As the saying goes, they do it with mirrors.

## More About Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger, Gaffney, S.C., of August 2, 1962:

MORE ABOUT MEDICARE

"How Europe Deals With Medical Care" in the July 30 issue of U.S. News & World Report is a report of a survey of "government medicine" in eight European countries.

The catastrophic results predicted for the United States by opponents of medicare, if the Kennedy plan should be adopted, have not developed in a single one of these eight countries. On the contrary, most of the people and a good many of the doctors are satisfied.

Public health insurance under a national system has been in operation in Germany for 77 years. The people like it so well it has been expanding ever since being started in 1885.

In Great Britain, which is most often pointed out here as a horrible example of socialized medicine, U.S. News & World Report found:

"Under Britain's 14-year-old National Health Service, no one here worries about medical or hospital bills, and almost everyone—including most doctors—want to keep it that way."

How does the situation in the United States compare with that?

Other countries operating government health services include Sweden, France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, and Denmark.

The plans vary from country to country in the services provided but practically all are supported by taxes, either of the social security or direct type or both.

In Germany, for instance, the health insurance tax ranges from 3.44 percent to 4.91 percent of the individual's pay. The services provided include fees of the family physician, cost of surgery if needed, hospitalization in a ward for as long as a year and a half, convalescent care and maternity aid. Charges for prescriptions are limited to 12 cents. Eyeglasses and dental plates are paid for if of average quality. Patients have a free choice of doctors.

Summing up the situation in Germany, U.S. News & World Report said:

"Doctors in recent years have voiced no objection in principle to the system of nationalized medicine. But there have been periods of dissatisfaction with the schedule of fees."

In England, which is so frequently cited by the opponents of medicare, the magazine says:

Anything from a minor cut to cancer is treated without charge by a general practitioner or specialist paid by the National Health Service. Unlimited hospital care also is provided, along with tax-paid accommodations in convalescent and rehabilitation centers."

People in Great Britain are required to pay a 28-cent fee for each drug prescription, approximately $5 for eyeglasses and charges running from 70 cents to $9 for such appliances as elastic hosiery, abdominal supports and wigs. Dental plates cost from $6 to $14.

Employed people pay from 30 to 50 cents per week, covering about 12 percent of the total cost, which last year was $2.5 billion. Most of the health-service cost is met out of local and national taxes.

England's general practitioners are paid an annual fee for each patient who signs up with them. Doctors are assured of an average income of about $6,800 per year. A specialist working full time at a state-run hospital may expect to earn from $10,000 to $15,000 annually at the age of about 50.

The French medicare system pays about 80 percent of all medical expenses of the majority of the people. Insurance costs are met by contributions from employees and employers and by the Government which owns a large network of hospitals.

In Italy the employers pay the entire cost of a compulsory health insurance plan.

In Austria all workers are covered by a national health insurance program, and all charges for the sick and injured are paid out of benefits.

In Holland elderly people may join health plans for 15 to 30 cents weekly. Care provided includes the services of family doctors, specialists and 70 days of hospitalization for any one illness. Some of the higher priced drugs are supplied. Patients choose their own doctors.

Most doctors and patients are enthusiastic about Denmark's plan which insures against the high cost of medical care while preserving the advantages of private medical practice.

President Kennedy's proposal for the United States was far short of the most limited of the European plans—and the cost would be far less.

## Police Officer Peter T. Lucas, of Stoughton, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress a story of courage, determination, and faith as displayed by a brave police officer in the town of Stoughton, Mass. Many times we are prone to forget the fine work done by policemen.

You and I depend on these men for the protection of our loved ones. Their compensation is not great. It is because they are dedicated and devoted men that they render the fine service they do.

I include the news story as written by Mr. Richard A. Powers that appeared in the Boston Globe, Monday, August 13, 1962, relating the experience of a plucky police officer:

LUCKY TO SURVIVE—POLICEMAN RETURNS FROM ALMOST CERTAIN DEATH

(By Richard A. Powers)

STOUGHTON.—Patrolman Peter T. Lucas, nearly killed by a hit-and-run driver 2 years ago, is back on the job.

The simple act of pinning on his badge again was one of the most important in his life.

Without tremendous determination and the help of fellow policement, doctors, and neighbors, Lucas might have never made it.

When he was brought to Goddard Memorial Hospital the night of September 7, 1960, doctors feared for Lucas' life.

He had been hit by a passing car as he talked to another driver and thrown 48 feet.

He had two broken bones in his right leg, a broken hip, three breaks of the pelvis, two fractures of the right arm, a fractured and cut skull, a puncture of the lower left leg, and multiple cuts and bruises.

For 4 days the 38-year-old patrolman's life hung in the balance as he was shuttled between the emergency room and the X-ray lab.

Lucas recalls that Dr. Edward B. Gray sat by his bedside 38 hours until the crisis passed. Fellow patrolmen joined the doctor on 2-hour shifts to hold the injured Lucas down.

LUCKY TO LIVE

"For some reason I kept swinging my right arm around," Lucas remembers. "It had a cast on it, and the other fellows felt the brunt of it more often than not."

Lucas was unconscious for 3 days and semiconscious for the first week. Hospital officials said he was lucky to be alive.

In his 6 months in the hospital, Lucas underwent three major operations, performed by Drs. Gray and Pierce Leavitt.

Then followed 3 months in bed at home at 97 Charles Avenue. Twice a week his friends on the force took him in the town ambulance to the hospital for treatment.

It was 6 months more before Lucas graduated to crutches.

Last August, Frank Dignan, a Stoughton resident and therapist at the Roxbury Veterans' Hosiptal, stopped by the Lucas residence and offered his services.

"For 3 months Dignan made me use muscles I thought I would never be able to use again," Lucas said.

Dignan worked over Lucas at no charge, "and I know he has helped others the same way," the patrolman said.

SHOOTS LEFTHANDED

By now the plucky officer was able to use a cane to get down to the Stoughton Fish & Game Club, where he began to learn to fire his service pistol lefthanded.

A fourth operation, at Peter Bent Brigham Hospital last January, enabled Lucas to rotate his right arm again.

Now he walks with a slight limp. He has a plate in his lower right leg and a pin in his right arm. A skin graft covers the hole in his left leg.

The 2 years were "quite a strain," especially on Lucas' wife, Marie, who had to depend on the neighbors to get around, since she does not have a driving license.

The town picked up all the hospital bills and kept the patrolman's earnings coming to the house each week.

His three sons—Paul, 15; David 13; and Wayne, 11; all pitched in to help. Paul even painted the house "and did a pretty good job at it, too," Lucas said.

Today Peter Lucas is back on desk duty at the central station. Soon he will be back on regular duties in the cruiser.

For him, at least, it is true that life begins at 40.

## Water Transportation in the National Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, is a dynamic speaker, and it is always worthwhile listening to or reading his speeches because they are pertinent to our times. I am happy to make part of these remarks a speech he recently delivered before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress on May 18 of this year, entitled "Water Transportation in the National Space Program":

WATER TRANSPORTATION IN THE NATIONAL SPACE PROGRAM

(Address by Hon. James E. Webb, of North Carolina, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, before the 49th national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, May 18, 1962)

Let me apologize first. Thank you very much, Bob, for those kind remarks. I apologize for being late. I didn't come by water. I had to come by air, and that's less certain, I guess.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know you have a very busy schedule. I have a very large subject, and I'll try to cover it very briefly. I'm not going to follow a text. I'm going to try to give you a picture of what this effort in space really means, the engines that make it possible, the organizational arrangements which make it possible, and some relationship to the importance of the work you have done in providing water transportation to this new program.

First, let me say, you all know that the Wright brothers made their first powered flight in 1903, you know it's been 59 years since that time. Of those 59 years, it took us about 40 to 45 to get to the modern jet airplane, a new form of engine. In the 10 years which have intervened since the jet engine permitted us to get up to about 700 miles an hour, supersonic, we have moved in that very brief period of time up to 4,000 miles an hour with the X–15. This is a very rapid rate of evolution in change. The X–15 breaks that gap between flight in the air and the high reaches of the atmosphere that are almost space. Now, some 36 years ago, Dr. Robert Goddard perfected the liquid-fuel rocket technique, proved that a rocket engine could deliver its power in a vacuum, as well as in the air, and thereby using oxygen in the rocket, carrying his oxidizer with him, developed an engine which had the capability of delivering its power out beyond the earth's atmosphere, not requiring the air to burn, not requiring the air as a working fluid, therefore liberated man from the confines of the immediate vicinity of the earth. This engine under development has proved to be capable of achieving both the power to reach out beyond the pull of gravity, and also to deliver the speeds which would permit orbital flight, speeds that must be as high as 17,500 miles an hour to achieve this.

Now, just as the jet engine has produced new and revolutionary aspects of air transportation, military aviation, so has the rocket produced revolutionary characteristics in the whole area of science and technology. I'd like to mention just a few. First of all, it is necessary in this program to build the kind of vehicle that can move through the air at speeds upward of 5,000 miles an hour before they leave the air and with only some 5 to 10 percent of their structure, of the weight represented in structure, with some 90 percent—we're always striving for 95 percent—in fuel. This means an entirely radically new type of vehicle, radically new type of materials, metals, fabrics, and beyond this, the handling of these very advanced light vehicles, using these very powerful engines, requires many applications of modern electronics for control, for integration of the facilities, for guidance systems, for telemetering the information back, and for receiving the scientific information back from the payloads that fly on these rockets. Now let me say also that in the program to utilize the area beyond the earth's atmosphere as a great resource of this Nation, just as the rivers and harbors of the Nation are a great resource, it has been determined as a matter of national policy that we can do a better job using men to perform work, to make observations, to understand what it means to accomplish the full understanding of the forces of nature as they exist in this new area. I'd like to mention very quickly for many, many years man was confined to observations made through the obscuring veil of the atmosphere in order to reach out for information about the universe in which he lived. This meant many, many observations, synthesis of these, development of a theory, and then the testing of that theory. In this way, we learned vast amounts of valuable information about the solar system, about the universe, about the ionsphere which surrounds the earth, and about the high reaches of the earth's atmosphere, where weather is generated, where the first impact of radiation from the sun and other sources in space begins to affect the earth. But it was only when we achieved the capability with the rocket to go outward from the earth, to look backward at the earth, to take measurements in space, did we escape from this system of observation, hypothesis, synthesis, and then a further testing, always having to do this at a distance. The rocket made it possible to send men and instruments out to the place where you needed to make the measurements to relay the information back. Now what are the tools that have been used here? First of all, we used the sounding rocket. There are some hundred sounding rocket flights a year by the United States. We cooperate with some 300 sounding rocket flights which we participate in with other nations. These are vehicles that go outward to about one earth's radius, about 4,000 miles or less, and take a direct measurement, take a photograph, or get the specific information that is needed by limited duration flight. They drop back into the earth's atmosphere after the flight. Some are recovered.

This generally permits measurements from about a hundred miles from the earth on outward to 4,000. But for longer duration flight, for measurements that take a longer period of time, we use scientific satellites, and then driven to speeds where they attain orbital flights so they continue to orbit the earth, either in circular orbits or in highly elliptical orbits going out to hundreds

of thousands of miles and then coming back near the earth, going out again, taking measurements as they pass through the various areas surrounding the earth and out into space.

There is another family of vehicles used for further distances in space. We call this the deep space probe. You know the Pioneer V, which was one of these types of vehicles, moved outward to some 22½ million miles where we lost contact with it something over a year ago. But in the process of being able to get the measurements back from Pioneer V, we learned a great deal about the earth-sun relationship because while Pioneer V was about 20 million miles from the earth there was a major solar eruption, a flare. There happened to also be a scientific satellite circling near the earth, and therefore we were able to measure the emanations from the sun as they passed Pioneer V 20 million miles out, measure them also when they passed the scientific satellite near the earth, measure then again at the surface of the earth. Now this gave us a great deal of information which I cannot take time here to go into, but I think it illustrates the process.

Now beyond this family of scientific unmanned vehicles, we have the manned space program. You know that man has been able to carry a workable environment out on the surface of the sea, under the sea, up into the air, and now he is endeavoring to carry it out beyond the air and into space. In every case before the space program, he was working within some atmospheric capability. He was working in the field of gravity. He was not subject to the high radiation fluxes which exist out in space. So here we have an extremely hostile environment which must be overcome if man is to live and work out in space flight. You know, the vacuum there is so much a vacuum there is so much a vacuum that many ordinary metals which get an oxidized finish within the earth's atmosphere, simply lose the molecules from their surface. They begin to evaporate. Aluminum slowly loses its molecules in the hard vacuum of space. Many of the normal materials which we use, like putty materials for electronic gear, the insulation on wires, the paints that are used, the lubricants that are used, simply will not work out in space because of this hard vacuum. Radiation is a subject of intense interest. It varies with the flares of the sun, with the solar activity, and it does accumulate trapped in the earth's magnetic field in the radiation belts, so we have the problem of overcoming radiation, of protecting against it, and of determining how much man can take and survive.

But now the weightless condition is the greatest unknown of all, because in flights in space the speed is such that the centrifugal forces just balance the gravitational pull and therefore you have no weight. The body functions normally with the one gravitational force. It can function effectively with less than that. We're quite sure of it. Whether it can function with none at all is a great unknown. In the manned space program, we are moving from the three-orbit Mercury mission to a 1-day mission using that same spacecraft. We'll be flying that mission within about a year. We will be moving then to a two-man spacecraft, the Gemini, which will fly on the Titan, which will give us from 1 to 2 weeks experience with weightlessness in orbit around the earth. And then we will be moving on to the Apollo, which will give us from 1 to 2 months experience and which will form the basic unit for flights outward to the moon and around the moon. Indeed, in later years, form a landing on the moon.

Now, let me move backward just a moment to trace quickly how we got this far. If Dr. Robert Goddard's work 36 years ago produced the flight of a man-made satellite in late 1957, think what has happened in this 4 years of space flight. We in this Nation, have launched over 70 satellites. The Russians have launched some 14—a tremendous capability in the area of space has been developed. The first efforts were to use conversions from military rockets. There came a second generation of rockets like the Atlas and the Titan, which gave greatly increased capability. The Thor, the Redstone, all of these became fairly sophisticated, capable, reliable, boosters. But now we find because of the large weights that need to be lifted, we must have a versatile family of rockets, sort of like a family of trucks, some of which can carry very heavy loads, some of which can carry lighter loads, some of which can move at a rapid rate, some can move slower but carry heavier loads. So we have a national launch vehicle program developed by the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. There are 10 vehicles in this approved program, ranging from the small Scout, a 4-stage solid rocket, costing about $1 million to fire, capable of lifting 150 pounds into a low earth orbit, through the Thor which can lift about 350 pounds, on to the Thor Delta, on to the Atlas, on to the Atlas Aegina, which can lift about 5,000 pounds into orbit, on to the Titan, which can lift 6,000 pounds, on to the Saturn, which can lift 10 tons, on to the advanced Saturn, which can lift 100 tons, on to the Nova, which can lift 200 tons into low earth orbit. Now here you see a tremendous development, utilizing in the smaller vehicles the technology that was developed for military purposes, utilizing the basic vehicles like the Thor, the Thor Delta, the Atlas, the Aegina, for the smaller rockets, but constructing a whole new family of very large boosters.

Let me give you again a couple of facts. The advanced Saturn will have 5-million-and-a-half-pound-thrust engines, each of these engines will have the thrust capability of all eight of those engines in the Saturn which you saw fly not too long ago and which carried these 95 tons of water up 65 miles and dumped them into the atmosphere to form the first manmade cloud. Now these new families of vehicles are so heavy, they are so large, they are so intricate, that as the Nation embarked, under President Kennedy's leadership last year, on this forward moving program, it was decided as a matter of policy, that the water transportation system of the Nation should be utilized to move these. Now, it's very important, I think, to recognize that with Cape Canaveral, the place where we expect to launch these large rockets, there's a good reason for this—namely, the fact that the earth turns east, means that you get the benefit of this additional power. It's like landing upwind, instead of landing downwind with an airplane. So with Cape Canaveral in its location and the best place in the world that we could find to launch these rockets, with Huntsville, Ala., being the place they were managed and the first big ones built, we were using water transportation of over 2,000 miles length to carry the Saturns down. If we had to bring one back from Cape Canaveral, it meant backtracking all the way up the Mississippi into Tennessee River to Huntsville. So we took over a vacant Government-owned plant near New Orleans at Michod. This is a large air-conditioned plant with about 4,000 feet of high bay area capable of making these large rockets for assembly. In order to test them before going to Cape Canaveral, because of the large investment in Cape Canaveral, we want to minimize the amount of time there on the pad with these large vehicles, and particularly since we're not moving from the experimental flight stage into operational flight stages, it was necessary to construct a test facility—a static test facility near the mouth of the Mississippi River. This is over in Mississippi about 35 miles from this large assembly plant. So you see now a pattern beginning to develop of compact facilities where once the assembly has been accomplished at Michod, the static test accomplished at the Mississippi test facility, the rockets can be mated with the spacecraft, which will be managed and fabricated around—which will be managed from the manned spacecraft center in Houston, but fabricated wherever needed, and this whole apparatus carried down to Cape Canaveral for the firing.

I'd like to point out that this compact capability accomplishes many purposes. First, it permits us to use water transportation. Second, it permits us to have short hauls for the large vehicles and to assemble three, four, or five of these large rockets for complicated missions where we expect to join two or more sections of this in orbit around the earth. In the case of rendezvous for the moon flight, we are now planning to launch a large engine weighing about 100 tons into low earth orbit, using an advance Saturn, to then launch the manned section of the spacecraft—namely, the Apollo, plus the service module, join the two in orbit around the earth, giving us the 200 tons necessary, and then take off for the moon. This means we've got to have four or five advanced Saturns at Cape Canaveral at the same time ready to fire and with very little capability of delaying flights because once you get the big engine in orbit, you must send the craft that is to rendezvous and join up with it at a very precise time interval. This, again, means a necessity for a compact setup for assembly, test and launching with water transportation carrying these vehicles and bringing them to the place where they'll be used. Now, let me mention also this fact, that if the kind of facilities required for static tests were constructed with Government money and plant of the first contract, who got the first contract, he'd be locked in and other companies would be locked out. This would deny other parts of the Nation the opportunity to participate in this program. The fact that this policy has been followed of having the large Government-owned assembly and static test facility in a central location, means that the desired work, the parts of assembly, the subassemblies, can be made anywhere in the Nation and brought together where they become these large, heavy vehicles at this central point. So it assures competition in each of the future stages of booster development. It insures that other parts of the Nation can contribute their part where they have specialized competence, where they can win the competitive contracts involved.

It does another thing. It permits the Government to do from 90 to 92 percent of this program with contracts to private industry and nongovernmental institutions with a minimum supervisory force to handle all of the supervision and the interphase problems between the stages of the rockets and the spacecraft would be very, very difficult if it had to be done in many locations throughout the country, changing locations if the contractors changed. Here this means that the Government capability will be great, with a very small investment in its own work force.

Let me point out another thing. If it should be necessary to depart from this peace-oriented civilian program and do a major military program using these large rockets in space, here is a compact, integrated tied together with water transportation complex which could be utilized very effectively by the military services. No one wants to overfly that beautiful State of Bob Sykes for these big boosters during peacetime, but if we had to overfly in wartime, we have the basic facilities in the Mississippi test facility to add to the capability of Cape Canaveral if for any reason Cape Canaveral should be, say, disabled or unable to func-

tion. So this policy that has been laid down is very important.

Now I was asked in Detroit about a week ago if this location, if these large installations around the Gulf Coast and in Florida was policy, politics or chance. Well, my answer was along the line I have given you. It is policy to do it for the good reason that the earth turns east, for the good reason that water transportation is available, for the good reason that these areas are reachable by water transportation and other means of transportation from all over the Nation, and because competition can be really effective even beyond the form of competitive bidding on contract.

Let me move again very quickly now to another factor that is very important. I'm sure most of you know that the National Aeronautics and Space Agency has asked the Corps of Engineers to undertake the main leadership in the construction of these facilities, again keeping within the military services of this government the engineering specialized corps, the capability to do whatever may be needed in peace or war. This competence for building large launching complexes, for building these large static test facilities, for handling the kind of transportation equipment necessary, is a very important competence which the Government needs to retain. The Corps of Engineers is doing a wonderful job. The Bureau of Yards and Docks of the Navy is also participating in Seal Harbor, Calif., where we are building a complex for the S–2 stage of the Saturn. But, also important in this regard is the fact that water transportation is going to play an important part of the economic development that will spring from this program. I think it is fair to say that this program, which must do the technology to build and fly large rockets and spacecraft, uses the most advanced and sophisticated forms of energy; civilization and economic growth depend upon efficient use of energy. We have to develop the kind of new material, metals, fabrics, lubricants, required for these very advanced applications. These have many industrial uses. The research to develop them is spread widely throughout the country through our contracting and subcontracting system. This energy, this new process and material type of research and thinking are both important ingredients of ongoing economic growth, but further than this, the marriage of these with the most modern forms of electronics, of systems management, and in this program, with the life sciences, since we are flying men, is a whole new range of relatively unclassified technology. The military research and development program must be classified for national security, the atomic energy programs are largely classified. Congress decided when it set up this agency for this purpose, it would endeavor to keep it in an unclassified area, and require the agency to spend off the benefits into economic growth.

I'm sure one of the most important means through which this science and technology can be applied is through such things as the communications satellite. We are developing four of them. Three of them are active. One is a passive reflector type of satellite. But as the use of these tools which are being developed for research and development programs move forward, a whole new supplement to the undersea cable communication system of the world will come into being. It's been estimated that these microwave relay stations in space can multiply by a factor of 10,000, the present total intercontinental communications system of the world. This is the kind of capability for growth, for knitting the world closer together that comes out of the specific application of a satellite.

In the case of weather, we've already had four successful flights with the Tyro satellite. We've taken over 100,000 pictures of the cloud cover of the earth, made many, many measurements of the heat or energy balance of the earth, how much it absorbs, how much is radiated outward from the earth, learned a great deal about weather, are not preparing an operational weather satellite system to be operated by the U.S. Weather Bureau, by inviting other nations to cooperate with us in putting in this international weather satellite system. Most of you know that we get measurements now under our worldwide weather reporting system from less than 25 percent of the surface of the earth. These satellites by their very nature must continue to orbit the earth. They will work anywhere around the earth. Therefore, we can now get 100 percent coverage.

One of the proposals made by President Kennedy for cooperation with Russia was that they would launch one weather satellite in a particular type of orbit. We would launch a second one in another type of orbit. We would both work with each other's satellites, getting back the weather information, utilizing it. This is possible. It may even be probable if the Russians really mean business about cooperation. But 28 nations have already joined with us in an international workshop to find out how they can learn to use weather. Beyond this, of course, is the possibility of weather modification.

Now I've spoken of the communications satellite and the weather satellite as specific applications where we have ongoing programs moving from the first generation spacecraft, on to second generation, on to third generation. The third generation weather satellite will be a satellite called Eros. It will orbit at 22,300 miles above the earth, which means that at that altitude with the proper speed to orbit, it will remain stationary over a point on the earth because its speed will exactly match the angular sweep of the earth as it rotates and it will stay there as a permanent location, to take continuous pictures of the development of storms and other types of weather phenomena over one-third of the earth's surface.

I want to emphasize, though that beyond these specific applications, which are revolutionary in their implications, is the economic spinoff. I am sure that you have not participated in the development of the water transportation system of this Nation without recognizing the tremendous importance of a developing Nation with a growing population, with an increasing urbanization, with an increasing specialization in division of work. I think it's a remarkable fact that our civilization has developed to the point that we spend one-fifth of our gross national product for moving people and things around—$100 billion a year for transportation. Now in this kind of complex economy with a construction investment for the next 10 years estimated by the Dodge reports of some $700 billion, with a maintenance and repair factor of some $300 to $400 billion in the 10 years, you have a trillion-dollar item for construction, plus maintenance and repair. If you look at the development of the most efficient sources of energy and users of energy, electronics, the vast new opening possibilities with metals, lubricants, and with the possibility of understanding the life sciences in the same sophisticated way we now understand the atom, the physical science side, I think you can see the leverage of a program that will spend $35 billion over the next 10 years while this construction, trillion.

In conclusion, I'd like to state that the image of the United States around the world as a leader in science and technology is very important. Who knows whether the Russians would have acted belligerently as they did in Berlin if they had not flown their sputnik, if they had not the Gagarin flight? I don't know, but I know that the 10-year investment in this program means that we will not be yielding to the Russians the opportunity to hold themselves out as the leader in science and technology. I also know that this is developing the kind of advanced technology, manned space flight particularly, the kind of joining of objects in flight which permits us also to go up and look over other objects that are orbiting the earth, means a military base of technology which may be the difference between the security of the Nation and an insecurity or a threat, and if the threat comes in an area which we do not understand, where we have not developed the technology, we will perhaps not be able to act with assurance.

I can only say that this Nation is cooperating. President Kennedy has said that each of the agencies of the Government should work together in this program, particularly the Atomic Energy Commission, where we are working to build a nuclear rocket, the Defense Department, which is intimately concerned with the whole process, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, because of the communications satellite, the Weather Bureau because we're moving toward the system of operational weather satellites. So I believe you can see here a new type of program. We are utilizing what you have built in the rivers and harbors congress, a water transportation system, because we believe it most appropriate. We are locating these facilities where they can be fed and utilized in a way that will greatly benefit this Nation, and I think economic growth, the applications of the science and technology which we are able to make is going to make a very rapid rate of exchange.

Thank you very much. I'm very happy to be here with you.

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## Failure To Understand Business Could Cost Us Our Freedoms

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by David Lawrence in the August 13, 1962 issue of U.S. News & World Report should be must reading for every freedom-loving American citizen. Mr. Lawrence reminds us of what should be crystal clear, that if we continue to make American business and the profit system the whipping boy for every economic problem, we may see the end of private enterprise in America and with it, the end of freedom for all of us.

The editorial follows:

WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND BUSINESS

(By David Lawrence)

We hear people speaking of various individuals as "probusiness" or "antibusiness."

We read of politicians attacking businessmen as hostile to the "public interest."

We read articles, especially in the labor press, by writers who foster the notion that businessmen as a class are undemocratic, shortsighted, illiberal, reactionary, and selfish. They are portrayed as rolling in wealth

or as enjoying fancy salaries that presumably are taxed only slightly, and such salaries are theoretically extorted at the expense of the impoverished workingman. Time was when a $5,000 a year salary was considered fancy, too, but today it is virtually a minimum wage for skilled labor.

Businessmen, weighed down by their responsibilities, yearn for an understanding press and an understanding Congress and an understanding President.

Anybody who is at all familiar with the operations of a business knows that price, for example, can make all the difference in the world between profit and loss at the end of the year. If a price is too high, it meets buyer resistance. If it's too low, it cuts or wipes out the profit. When a business sets its price and sends its salesmen out to get orders, the word sometimes comes back:

"I've just been told by the customer that our competitor has cut his price below ours. Shall I meet it?"

If the salesman is instructed to offer the same price, is this businessman unwittingly acting in concert with a competitor to fix a price?

There have been instances where some competitors have deliberately gotten together to monopolize a market as against other competitors, but such conspiracies today are the exception rather than the rule, and the Government rightly moves in on the basis of information furnished by aggrieved competitors.

The problem is complicated by ambiguous laws. Charles R. Sligh, Jr., executive vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers, said in a speech on November 20, 1961, before the Sales and Marketing Executives' Club in Washington:

"The most familiar marketing laws on the books today are the antitrust laws. I would be glad to tell you exactly what they mean, except that nobody knows. Lowell Mason, the former Federal Trade Commissioner, quotes a former U.S. Attorney General as say that, there's hardly a business in America that could not be prosecuted successfully under the antitrust laws,' and he cites the case of a businessman who was accused of uniform pricing under one antitrust law and of not pricing uniformly under another, and convicted of both in the same case.

"After having won its price-rigging case against 29 electrical equipment manufacturers, the Justice Department now is seeking assurance from those same companies that they will not lower their price sufficiently to make it hard for the least economical producers to stay in business. Each manufacturer seems to be expected to ignore market factors and set his prices according to what he thinks will satisfy the Justice Department. If this concept prevails, any price, no matter how it is arrived at, will be a potential source of litigation."

But price isn't the only factor that today troubles the mind of the business executive. He is faced every day with responsibility for other decisions that also involve risk. How much material should he buy? What estimate shall he make of probable sales? Can he plan ahead for 3 or 5 years? He is dealing with other people's money. It was made available to him either with a fixed-interest charge or in the confident expectation of a dividend income.

Then, in the midst of his burdens, after he has carefully calculated his costs, surveyed his market for sales and bought his materials, the businessman is suddenly presented with demands from a labor union which, if granted, will eat up most of his profit and make it doubtful whether he will have enough money to pay interest or dividends. If he turns down the demands he is pilloried in the press as antiunion and as illiberal and selfish. When the strike is called and his plant is shut down, the businessman has to weigh the cost of surrender as against the consequences of a diminished profit. This is sometimes called the "profit squeeze." So, as he resumes operations, he lays off some employees, cuts expenditures needed to get sales, and the chain reaction sets in that starts economic recessions in America.

The solution certainly does not lie in Government control or regulation. In some European countries public-spirited labor leaders are already sitting down with public-spirited businessmen to get the facts and to make agreements in the best interests of both sides.

Labor's demand for high wages is widely understood in America. But can it be said that there is any widespread understanding of the need for a higher profit in business? There is today a lack of understanding of what can make business successful and, by the same token, what really brings economic prosperity.

## Overhaul Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RALPH HARVEY**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the attached editorials. One is from the Rushville Daily Republican, August 6, 1962, and the other from the Muncie Star, August 4, 1962:

[From the Rushville (Ind.) Daily Republican, Aug. 6, 1962]

OVERHAUL OVERDUE

Major reforms, whether in a private business or in a governmental agency, seldom occur unless preceded by some kind of major scandal. It is human nature to coast along, hesitating to upset accepted ways of operating.

This is illustrated in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. For years many insiders have said and many outsiders have guessed that the Department was badly in need of overhaul. It has become a monstrous collection of agencies, offices, committees, bureaus, etc., tacked on as new problems arose.

Now the "major scandal" has occurred, and if the Department cannot be reorganized as a more effective unit in the wake of the Billie Sol Estes case, it never can be.

Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, pinpointed the place to start when he said "there has been a breakdown of the whole (supervisory) procedure; it has got to be tightened up."

Agriculture Secretary Freeman has shown less than eagerness to move into the situation and bring about the organizational reforms that appear to be necessary. Perhaps it is time for President Kennedy to hunt for that "new broom" that in the usual cliche can "sweep clean."

[From the Muncie (Ind.) Star, Aug. 4, 1962]

SURE AS DEBT AND TAXES

A Gallup poll report says that Americans are substantially more anxious to avoid further increase in the national debt than to enjoy a cut in their income taxes. But for more than 25 years Americans have permitted the Government to forbid their use of the instrument with which they could control the Government's debt policy.

That instrument is gold.

Since the beginning of the first Franklin D. Roosevelt administration monetary gold has been kept away from the American people.

It is in this period—the era of an irredeemable paper currency and the outlawry of personal possession of gold—that the national debt has got out of hand. There had been previous times of heavy debt. Major war always brought such a time. But always before this a warborn period of heavy debt had been followed by a period of persistent and effective debt reduction.

Not so since gold was taken out of the people's hands. During the twenties the debt had been declining, in conformity with the previous pattern, from the World War I peak of about 25 billions. In the thirties it began to rise again, and there has never since been any sustained period of debt reduction. There was never any significant recovery from the massive debt increase of World War II, nor from the smaller but nevertheless important increase of the Korean war.

A third had been trimmed from the World War I debt by 1930. But no more than about 6 percent was ever taken off the World War II peak, and that only briefly. The Korean war peak was scarcely dented before the rising trend was resumed. From the 1919 peak of 25 billions the debt has now been raised to more than 300 billions—more than 10 times from peak to peak in four decades, almost 20 times the low point reached by 1930.

Why blame the gold ban? The answer is in the money principles of classical economies—principles which are spurned by the adherents of a new philosophy that gold is obsolete, a meaningless shibboleth from an unenlightened past. Old-fashioned economists hold that the power of the people to choose for themselves between gold and currency is the power by which the people can hold control over the Government purse, because the Government then is forced to use nothing but sound money in its dealings. Without this restraint in the hands of the people, Government is enabled to make imitation money for its own use by forcing its credit into the currency system. This is just what our Government has been doing, persistently, since it took gold away from the people. That's how the debt got to be almost 20 times what it was when gold was called in.

The tie between debt and taxes is not as inflexible as the Gallup poll seems to suggest. Actually experience shows that a cut in the tax rate may lead to an increase in the Government's revenues, thus making the Government better able to reduce the debt rather than increasing it.

The important tie is between debt and spending. For the spending cannot be disciplined as long as it is possible for the Government to borrow whenever it wishes, whether or not people want to lend to it, by enforcing inflation of the supply of credit. While it can do this, Government continues to borrow for spending no matter how much it gets from taxes.

Maintaining a high level of taxes has not controlled the debt, and will not because it cannot. Unless some other means to check spending can be found, control of the debt rests on return to a currency which is freely redeemable in gold, and to the people's right to own and use gold if they wish.

## Compensation for Certain World War II Losses

SPEECH
OF
**HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under

consideration the bill (H.R. 7283) to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to provide compensation for certain World War II losses.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 7283. Passage of this legislation is a big step toward our goal of making just compensation to all Americans who suffered damage at the hands of our enemies during World War II.

I am seriously concerned, however, with our failure to adopt the amendments proposed by the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN]. We are still overlooking the very valid claims of other Americans who fought by our side during World War II and who suffered damages or injuries, but who were not then citizens of this country.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, I have long been fighting for a bill, H.R. 3178, which would not only provide the added coverage included in the amendments offered by my colleagues, Mr. RYAN and Mr. COHELAN, but which would also extend the provisions of the War Claims Act to any individual who is a citizen or national of the United States on the date of enactment, or to any individual who was lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence during or after World War II and who is a lawful resident on the date of enactment.

I believe this extension should be made as a matter of justice. I am hopeful that the other body, when considering this legislation, will adopt amendments along these lines so that full justice can be achieved on this subject.

## Will Russia Bury Us At Sea?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, in the mail the other day, I received a very startling analysis of Russia's growing merchant marine which suggests that this intense activity may be a "prelude to economic showdown or war." This analysis appeared in an article in the June issue of Marine Engineering/Log magazine, and I understand it has been sent to all Members of the Congress.

This carefully documented analysis should be required reading for those in Washington and elsewhere who are unaware of the importance of an adequate merchant marine in the struggle to preserve western civilization as we know it. The subtitles are of themselves most expressive, and as a means of perhaps stimulating my colleagues and others to study this amazing article let me read them:

"U.S.S.R.'s Big Fleet Expansion—Prelude to Economic Showdown or War?"

"Maritime Program Gets Priority in Russia, Lip Service in United States."

"U.S.S.R. Adopts Advance Design Concepts."

"Oil Key Weapon in Russia's Trade."

"United States Relying on Rust-Bucket Fleet."

To these, I need only add that this analysis dramatically projects the future of the U.S. merchant fleet versus that of the Russian merchant fleet—for us the curve is steadily downward, for them the curve is sharply upward. This massive maritime buildup on the part of the U.S.S.R. indeed foreshadows an inevitable economic or military showdown with us—a showdown we could lose by default.

Almost simultatneously with the receipt of this Marine Engineering/Log analysis and forecast, there crossed my desk another article from the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings for August 1962, entitled "The Coming Cold War on the Sea Lanes," which concludes that "there are unmistakable signs that the U.S.S.R. recognizes the international sealanes as an important future cold war battleground." It contains a timely footnote to the question "Will Russia Bury Us At Sea?"

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this presentation by the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings in the hope that my colleagues may also want to study an ominous warning from another authoritative source.

The article follows:

[From the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, August 1962]

THE COMING COLD WAR ON THE SEALANES

(The Soviet merchant fleet, which at present hauls only 1 percent of the world's tonnage, is not yet ready to challenge the Western bloc for a larger share of world trade. But there are unmistakable signs that the U.S.S.R. recognizes the international sealanes as an important future cold war battleground.)

(By Desmond Wettern)

The use of a merchant fleet to further political and economic ends is yet another phenomenon of postwar Russia—and a highly important one. Until a very few years ago the Russian Bear was regarded as essentially a land animal, but now, taking a leaf from the West's book, he has discovered that the ability to "swim" can do much to assist the spread of communism throughout the world.

Since 1945 the Soviet merchant fleet has doubled in size and is continuing to expand rapidly. On September 1, 1960, the last date for which figures are available, the Soviet merchant fleet numbered about 925 ships of over 1,000 tons, totaling more than 3½ million tons deadweight. Under the current 7-year plan, due to expire in 1965, new construction programs emphasize fast freighters, tankers, and fishing vessels. By the end of 1965 it is expected that the merchant fleet will be double the size it was in 1958.

In addition to the use of merchant ships to further political and economic aims, the existence of a modern force of freighters and tankers means that the Red Navy has a readily available source of auxiliaries in an emergency.

In all, the combined strength of the Sino-Soviet bloc is 1,175 ships totaling over 4.7 million tons gross. This represents about 3 percent of the total world tonnage and places the Red bloc 10th in size in the world's merchant fleets. Apart from Russia, only Poland and Red China have fleets of any significance. The former's fleet comprises 108 ships of 526,000 tons, while the latter boasts 142 ships of 393,000 tons.

The sixth 5-year plan of 1956–60, subsequently abandoned, called for a 1-million-ton expansion in the size of the Soviet merchant fleet. Two-thirds of this tonnage was to be built in Russian yards and the rest in the satellite countries. The shipbuilding industry was one of the few which in fact attained the target laid down under the 5-year plan.

The change in Soviet naval construction policy, which has resulted in the completion of some cruisers either being abandoned or postponed and the conversion of others for service as guided missile ships, as well as a dropping off in the construction of conventionally powered submarines in favor of a smaller number of nuclear boats, has had little effect on merchant shipbuilding programs. During the past 5 years the Nation's shipbuilding capacity has greatly increased. And in any case, if present resources became overloaded, the Soviets would turn more either to satellite countries' shipyards or to Western yards. Many of the latter would undoubtedly welcome Soviet orders in view of the present worldwide slump in the industry. Relaxation of Western trade controls now impose little restriction on the Soviet's choice of shipbuilding markets. Whether the former controls exercised much effect on the Reds either politically or, more important, economically is doubtful, since only a total ban on Soviet orders being placed in Western shipyards would have been effective. Clearly even Russia requires ships of a type which previous Western controls classed as having little military value and it was precisely such ships which the Soviets ordered from the West—thus leaving their domestic yards free to build ships of military value.

Nuclear power is undoubtedly playing its part in the buildup of Soviet seapower and despite evident delays in the completion of the nuclear-powered icebreaker *Lenin*, an order has now been placed for a 43,000-ton nuclear-powered whale factory ship. Intensive feasibility and economic studies have been carried out on designs and models for nuclear-powered tankers and dry cargo ships and some of these are believed to be on the drawing boards.

Like other sections of the Soviet merchant marine, the fishing fleet has expanded markedly. Today it is the largest and most modern in the world, numbering about 2,400 vessels ranging in size from 250 to 3,200 tons. Thanks to underway refueling and replenishment techniques and the use of modern vessels, Red fishermen are now able to penetrate areas formerly used solely by Western vessels. Soviet activity in the Grand Banks-Flemish Cap area is an example of this, as are the sightings of Red fishing fleets off the Aleutians and west coast of Africa.

Although the increase in the size of the merchant fleet has resulted in growing use of Red-flag ships for commercial operations, nevertheless there has also been an increase in the chartering of Western ships. This clearly reflects the importance the Soviets attach to trade and economic measures in their cold-war policy. Red-flag ships are used for the transportation of military aid cargoes and wherever the use of a ship flying the national flag helps to boost prestige. This growth of worldwide trading operations is also invaluable in that it helps to acquaint the large numbers of naval reserve officers and ratings aboard merchant ships with foreign ports, canals, and so on. These personnel together with some active naval personnel seconded for temporary duty with the merchant fleet can also obtain useful intelligence information.

All this indicates that the Soviets now regard the international sealanes as an im-

portant cold war battleground and they are making full use of sea power to boost their prestige in the uncommitted countries and thus further their plans for world domination. Their merchant fleet must therefore become increasingly important.

In the purely commercial field, the chartering of Red-flag tankers to British, Italian, and Western countries for the Persian Gulf petroleum trade continues. Besides earning valuable foreign exchange, it allows the Soviets to enter a trade that is one of the most vital lifelines of Western Europe. Chartering of Soviet tankers first began in October 1956. Soviet tankers have also carried petroleum products to Argentina, Finland, and Iceland under economic agreements signed with these countries. Soviet freighters have maintained a steady level of trading over Eastern Hemisphere routes, while on Western routes their operations have increased. The completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway, for example, has allowed them to load grain in inland Canadian ports. It is part of Soviet policy to gain acceptance as a nation of worldwide carriers.

In 1958, they carried out unsuccessful negotiations to obtain Lloyd's Register of Shipping's highest merchant ship classification. The 100A1 classification would undoubtedly have enhanced the reputation of their merchant ships in world markets. But, as sometimes happens in bureaucratic states, the right hand found itself in conflict with the left. To obtain the Lloyd's classification would have meant that capitalistic spies and saboteurs would have had to visit Soviet shipyards and ships—something which would have been too much for the internal security officials to stomach. Thus foreign policy suffered a setback thank to the little commissars at home. This is something which the West might well bear in mind to its advantage when dealing with the Reds.

Also in 1958, however, the Soviets sought and obtained membership of the Baltic and International Maritime Conference and the United Nations Intergovermental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO).

At present the Soviet dry cargo fleet is incapable of carrying more than half of the nation's seaborne foreign trade, while the balance is carried in chartered shipping—usually flying the flags of neutralist nations. Even now the Soviet Government has to charter a large amount of free world tonnage every year, for at least one or more voyages. This is something which can be expected to diminish gradually as their own merchant fleet improves in size and quality.

To what extent is Soviet shipping competing with that of the West? Mention has already been made of the chartering of Soviet tankers to lift Western petroleum cargoes. Nevertheless, the volume of this trade is minute compared with the annual total of world tanker operations. But while the Soviet fleet is not at present in a position to compete economically in an open market with Western shipping, the Reds are certainly well aware of the economic advantages to be gained by obtaining a strong foothold in the world freight market. But the day when they will be in that position is still someway off owing to the relatively small, though increasing, size of their fleet and the heavy demands for shipping on purely domestic routes. The West may be quite certain that wherever the political, economic and military objectives make it worthwhile, they will try to "inject" their shipping into world trade routes. In other words, they will try to skim the cream of the markets without having any of the responsibilities and obligations of most free world shipping companies. At least some comfort can momentarily be taken from the fact that at present Soviet ships carry a mere 1 percent of world trade.

To what extent has the relaxation of the embargo list and other forms of Western export control affected the development of the Soviet merchant fleet? Since the lifting of controls on the building and exporting of ships of various types to the Communist bloc dates only from August 15, 1958, it is still, perhaps, a little premature to try to assess the full impact of these derestrictions. While Soviet shipping has not been assisted very greatly, the shipbuilding industry has certainly been helped by the freeing of various forms of equipment and facilities of which floating docks are an example.

Under the 1958 revision of the Coordinating Committee (Cocom), member nations (which include most of the principal free world shipbuilding powers) are now permitted to build tankers with speeds not exceeding 18 knots for the Sino-Soviet bloc countries. They are also allowed to build dry cargo ships with speeds up to 20 knots; icebreakers up to 10,000 shaft horsepower and fishing vessels with speeds up to 17 knots. Whale factory ships (convertible for use as tankers) have had all restrictions removed and there are now no tonnage limitations imposed by Cocom regulations.

The Reds have no known fishing vessels capable of exceeding 17 knots and a very small number of tankers and dry cargo ships capable of exceeding the Cocom speed limitations. From this it may be deduced that such Cocom restrictions as remain will not restrict the Reds from improving their merchant fleet with ships built in Western yards which meet the kind of requirements needed for the implementation of their various commercial, political, and military policies.

In addition, while the Cocom controls imposed in 1950 encouraged the building of fast tankers suitable for use as naval auxiliaries in Soviet domestic shipyards; it would be foolish to assume that the relaxing of the same controls will slow down the building of merchant ships suitable for naval support duties. Furthermore, ships which for one reason or another are not provided for under current domestic programs will now be built in Western yards leaving domestic yards to concentrate on the types required to extend their economic and subversive activities. Ships likely to feature largely in Soviet orders for Western yards will be fast freighters and refrigerated cargo ships. The latter will be more important for the Soviet import rather than export trade and will help to raise the quality and quantity of perishable consumer goods for the Russian people.

During 1961, an ambitious program has been laid down to increase Soviet prestige in the eyes of the "neutralist" powers by using some of the more impressive units of the merchant fleet in "showboat" cruises. In the spring, the liner *Estonia* took a party of "tourists" from Riga in the Baltic around Europe to Odessa on the Black Sea. Here another party joined the ship for a cruise along the African coast taking in a number of ports including Tangier, Dakar, Abidjan, Casablanca, Tunis and, significantly, Conakry in the Communist African satellite of Guinea. As many of the places visited were in a part of the world once known as the White Man's Grave, the cruise can hardly have been for the health and recreation of the passengers. In March, *Estonia* sailed for India and was then placed in the regular service between Leningrad and the French Channel coast port of Le Havre, making calls at Stockholm, Gdynia, Copenhagen, and London.

The turboelectric ship *Abkhazia* is now making cruises for foreign tourists along the Soviet Black Sea ports while *Amur* and *Dunai* will take tourists on trips up the Danube.

In April, in collaboration with a French travel agency, *Mikhail Kalinin* took a party of tourists to Leningrad from Le Havre for the May Day celebrations.

*Baltika*, now on the regular service between London and Leningrad, has an additional port of call at Rostock.

A new ship on the Sochi (Black Sea) to Venice cruise route is *Litva*. Sochi has also become a new port of call for *Felix Dzerzhinsky*, which last year was on the Odessa-Beirut (Lebanon) service. This ship and *Litva* cater to "tourists" from the United Arab Republic, Turkey, Lebanon, Italy, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania visiting the Crimea and Caucasus areas. Flights to Moscow and Leningrad are timed to depart and return to coincide with the ships' arrival and sailing from various Black Sea ports.

Of vital importance to both Soviet naval and mercantile operations is the vast network of inland waterways. Using this system, ships can be transferred from one sea to another without foreign observation. It also allows them to carry out the construction of seagoing ships in inland ports. Routes of particular significance are the Baltic-White Sea Waterway which connects the Baltic Sea, via the Belomorsk (Stalin) Canal, with the White Sea and Arctic Ocean; and the Marlinsk Canal system which connects the Baltic-White Sea Waterway system with the Volga River. Reconstruction is now in progress on the Marlinsk Canal system and on the Baltic-White Sea Waterway. Work on the former is to be completed by 1962.

Though not strictly a part of the merchant fleet, some Soviet oceanographic research ships are civilian manned and carry out surveys in connection with deep sea fishing operations. The Soviets are now vigorously conducting oceanographic research in all the oceans and principal sea areas of the world. While all of this research is useful from a scientific standpoint, there is good evidence that much of it is in response to naval requirements. The commitment of a large number of naval ships to scientific work, and the close relations between the Red navy and the non-naval research ships are indications of this.

A large portion of the total Soviet oceanographic research effort is devoted not only to matters of particular significance to naval operations in general but to submarine operations especially. The type of information being collected is also of value for mine and antisubmarine warfare. For example, it throws light on the feasibility of mining certain waters; the behavior and effectiveness of mines, depth charges, and torpedoes; the sensitivity of sonar gear and the development of new underwater communication and detection techniques.

Though Soviet civilian-manned oceanographic research ships are more closely tied to naval operational requirements, it must not be forgotten that the entire Soviet merchant fleet is regarded by the leaders in the Kremlin as another weapon in their fight against the free world. Though commercial and economic considerations play some part in the operational programs of their merchant fleets, such considerations are very much secondary to anything which will help to spread the gospel of communism. This is the essential difference between the Communist and Western merchant fleets—the former are geared to meet political requirements, the latter to meet economic needs with political considerations coming a long way behind—if at all.

At present the West still has unquestioned sea power and the means to exploit the advantages to the full. Little or no attempt has been made to use the power vested in our merchant fleets to match the Reds at their own game. There is, so far, only one plan in existence in the West which seeks to deploy sea power to the full in peacetime and as such it needs every encouragement.

It is a sign of hope, therefore, that men on both sides of the Atlantic are rallying steadily to the support of the White Fleet project. But time does not stand still and there is no shadow of doubt that the Reds are making every effort to compete with and to surpass the West in the use of sea power to further their cause. But the sea, being neutral, can also be used by the West to bring their people, skills, resources, and supplies to those areas now desperately needing them. The West must use its genius for maritime operations born of war to meet the vital problems of peace in the underdeveloped and emerging countries.

## Blacklisting: The Faulk Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in the 1950's in this wonderful country of ours with its prized civil liberties there occurred a shameful period of political witchhunting that should provoke liberty loving Americans to shame.

A recounting of one painful episode in that period appeared in the July 14 issue of the Nation. It concerns the destructive activities of a self-appointed vigilante group in the entertainment industry which called itself Aware. I recommend the article both as a means of realizing the political nightmare of that decade and as a means of making us all resolve not to permit such devastating developments to happen again. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the article be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

BLACKLISTING: THE FAULK DECISION

(By David Cort)

(David Cort is a frequent contributor. A new collection of his essays and articles, many of which have appeared in The Nation, will be published later in the year by Macmillan under the title "Social Astonishments.")

One day the bill falls due for the wicked—sometimes, it is true, a lifetime or a thousand years late, but all morality and hope disappear when people cease to expect that day.

It came, for thousands of people ruined in the 1950's, in New York Supreme Court, when the libel case of *John Henry Faulk* v. *Vincent W. Hartnett, Laurence E. Johnson, and Aware, Inc.*, went to the jury on the evening of June 28, the 14th wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Faulk, and a bad 6 years since Faulk was cut down by the word "Communist," and brought suit. Since such maligners leave very faint tracks, the trial had dragged on, under Justice Abraham Geller, for 11 weeks, to pick up that sinister spoor. For Faulk, a man who was anything but a Communist, had been indelibly branded as one—and so ruined. As sensible people, we know that this is impossible; still, it happened.

Louis Nizer, author of the book, "My Life in Court," was counsel for the plaintiff. His case was than an inhuman, un-American and tragic wrong had been done. The defense was that its acts had been very American, and that personal tragedy is irrelevant and immaterial.

Around 1950, the defendants had discovered that close study of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and files of the House Un-American Activities Committee gave one a tool against thousands of people, especially in TV and radio, which are supported by conservative and easily scared advertisers. You just had to do the homework. If you made it known in the right quarters that a performer or writer had "a significant Communist-front record" (the standard incantation), he was through. If he defended himself, it would cost him at least $6,000 in the courts, and he was probably still through. Many of the accused therefore took the fifth amendment. In that case, they were through, too. This glorious business flourished most briskly against the members of the American Federation of Television & Radio Artists (AFTRA), to which all performers in TV and radio had to belong.

What sort of American would stoop to this work? Hartnett, whom I watched for some weeks in court, is the type of the eternal, meticulous snooper, and even has the sunken prissy mouth of the beldam gossip of caricature. Paul R. Milton, his associate in Aware, Inc., has a big, wholesale butcher's head from which peeps, now and then, a terrified little girl. Johnson, a Syracuse grocer who sold his chain of supermarkets in 1956, never appeared in court.

Hartnett profited by $25,000 a year for supplying the names of "Communists" to such clients as Borden's, Lever Brothers, American Broadcasting Co., Young & Rubicam, the Cutler Agency. Hartnett wrote a magazine article chiding Borden's for permitting "Communists" on its TV show, got himself hired by Borden's (for $10,000 that year), then added two paragraphs to his article, concluding that Borden's had now taken all appropriate steps to do better in the future. Milton accused a writer on the TV show, "Treasury Men in Action," of being pro-Communist, got him fired, and then took his job. Ah, those were the halcyon days.

Defense counsel described Hartnett as an "expert"—an expert on wicked people, like Bernard Guy or Torquemada, those masters of the question. Hartnett himself testified that he had never blacklisted anybody; he had merely done objective research on "significant Communist-front records." This dazzling new career was childishly, enviably easy: of course, one kept a file of "names," subscribed to the Daily Worker, got on all liberal and leftist mailing lists, saved old programs, eavesdropped on groups of actors with a microphone and hidden recorder, and corresponded with the House Un-American Activities Committee. None of his victims knew him, or remembered ever having seen him, but of course he knew them all, since they were performers, publicly visible or audible. Hartnett was, in effect, the invisible man, and he kept it that way.

The flood of names he garnered he sold to his clients at $5 a head, a price that must make the ruined men rage when they look at their wives and children. To find one's soul worth $5 must be terrible; the devil pays better. But they can be consoled to know that for the same name Hartnett collected $5 from each of a number of clients. Arthur Miller's name was worth $300. One joker got Hartnett to clear the name, Santa Claus, and he did so for $5. It all sounds as petty as a spinster's hobby in Keokuk, but it added up to $25,000 a year for Hartnett, the invisible man whom nobody ever remembered. And corporations worth a hundred billion dollars trembled on his telephone calls and jumped at his command. The thing is too ridiculous to be believed; still, it happened. It was proved in court. It was not even argued by the defense.

The defense emphasized that Hartnett's transcendent virtue was that he did not, repeat did not, add to this income by letting the accused buy their way off his lists. (But in some cases, e.g., the actress, Kim Hunter, he did coerce performers into expressing opinions they hated.) It is an interesting esthetic theory that because he might have been blacker, and was not, he must therefore be white. My observation is that he lacks the guts and tact to blackmail; this must be face to face. Lacking these, he convinces himself that he is filled with principle.

Hartnett's accusation was enough in the fifties, as everyone knows: the corporations immediately panicked and disavowed the individuals. "A sponsor is interested in selling goods; it is not interested in causes. Why buy a headache?" said a witness. But it is hard to prove this legally. Nizer had the utmost difficulty wringing any important admission out of the corporate witnesses, and we all understand why. The defense naturally counted on this.

In these matters, the Communists and the "anti-Communists" are agreed on destroying the only true anti-Communists, the decent people in the middle. Their very decency seems to enrage the two extremes.

The murderous arrogance of these "anti-Communists" was shown when a producer challenged the "nonclearance" of a woman entertainer who, he knew, had extremely conservative policies. He demanded at least an explanation, was refused, demanded it again, and found that the woman had been mistaken for another with a vaguely similar name; still, he was told to fire her anyway, because the public might confuse the two. He refused, and was informed, "Next time don't be so emphatic, or they say they might take an interest in you."

Looking back at Johnson, Hartnett and Aware, Inc. (the name itself is an understated threat), a historical memory comes to mind: the reign of terror of the French Revolution, Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety: accusations without accusers, cursory trials or no trials, the law of suspects, the "clearing," by the local committees of surveillance. "Not cleared" is an inscrutable tag Robespierre would have liked. And the American people were hardly conscience that this terror was in force. The American press did not report it; it was either sympathetic or too terrified.

And one mean little group of men were able to do this: Johnson combined with the grocery clerks' branch of the Syracuse American Legion, combined with Hartnett and Milton, whom we have seen, and the Aware, Inc., publications.

At the trial, Hartnett confessed that his alliance with Johnson, who could threaten any reluctant advertiser with the hostility of the retail grocers' association (maybe), "enhanced my value." That is, Johnson's operations could put teeth in Hartnett's most careless whims as to who had a "significant Communist-front record." Madison Avenue fell into line. If it did not, Johnson came roaring down from Syracuse, raging up and down Madison Avenue, to see to it.

The closet Government of the United States for some years, while Eisenhower thought he was running the country, was this savage little cabal of very small men without talent, distinction, or courage.

By 1955, however, the thing had grown overripe. The Robespierres had grown fat. And the decent Americans in AFTRA were ready to call a halt and crack down on both Communists and blacklisters. They voted to condemn Aware, Inc., and put up a middle-of-the-road slate of officers, including John Henry Faulk as second vice president.

Hartnett wrote Johnson, "We have already lost Equity. We may lose our control of AFTRA." What? Neither was a member of AFTRA. What control? But of course, AFTRA had been both their victim and their puppet.

This John Henry Faulk had become a radio and TV personality with a great following, on the basis of a rich personality of effortless Texas charm, a liberal humanism and a built-in affection for the whole American heritage. He was wholly unlike, and a better performer than, Godfrey, Linkletter, et al. He liked to talk, and he had a lot to say that America liked to hear. He was on the threshold of a $500,000-a-year career when he consented to try to impose some kind of peace on conflict-riven AFTRA, by running as a candidate. What a fool, I would say, but remember that he was a good-hearted, reasonable man from the country, who thought he was in a decent, reasonable world.

Hartnett, Milton, and Aware, Inc., cooked up a bulletin, exhibit 41 at the trial, purporting to show Faulk's "significant Communist-front record." In view of the sequel, I don't expect you to believe this, but five of the seven items were outright inventions, and the other two were absolutely insignificant. If they were "significant," your mother is an Albanian Communist spy.

For example, the bulletin represented an interview by the New York Herald Tribune with Faulk as an interview with him by the Daily Worker. For example, again, the bulletin stated that one "Communist affair" Faulk attended was a Salute to the United Nations, where the speakers were Secretary of State Stettinius and Trygve Lie (these latter facts, of course, not mentioned in the citation).

The intent to destroy Faulk professionally, and no other intent, was betrayed by the 12 categories of recipients to whom this masterpiece was mailed February 10, 1956; newspapers, radio, and TV companies, two national advertising associations, advertising agencies, association of retail grocers, motion picture studios, sponsoring corporations, law-enforcement agencies, four actors' unions, patriotic organizations, leading magazines, leading columnists. In this list, we can see the combined malevolences of Johnson, Hartnett, Milton, and the others plotting to corner a man.

From that day on, Faulk never appeared again on television, because he had no contract. But somehow the Committee of Public Safety had been unable to dislodge him from his 5 to 8 p.m. radio show. The people still loved him; and the Robespierres raged. What had happened was that Charles Collingwood, a CBS commentator and president of AFTRA, had told the president of CBS Radio that if Faulk were fired, AFTRA would subpena and examine the advertising agency executives whose clients had canceled from the Faulk show. (Twenty-nine did.) Ed Murrow backed up Collingwood. But 16 months later, Collingwood was no longer president of AFTRA, Murrow was no longer with CBS, and Faulk was on a Caribbean vacation; and now CBS fired Faulk, though his program had more listeners than any other CBS show.

However, the Terror had been defied, and was resolved to finish the execution. It followed Faulk to promises of jobs in Minneapolis, New York, and San Francisco—promises which then "mysteriously" fell through. That is, the warm, loving conversation suddenly turned distant and evasive. Faulk told his friends in business he would do anything, even to sweeping over the studio, for after all he had a wife and children. They tried not to tell him that the Terror had conveyed to them that Faulk was not to be hired in any capacity, or the terrible vengeance would fall on one and all. Behind the curtain, as this agony drew itself out, were Johnson, Hartnett, and the members of Aware, Inc., smiling in the various ways they knew how to smile, or even laugh. I saw several of their smiles and they were frightening.

Finally Faulk retreated to his hometown in Austin, Tex., where he and his wife, by both working, were able to bring in under $5,000 a year. In the industry he was a "walking corpse," but not in his own mind, for Louis Nizer had taken his case against the Terror. At the preliminary examinations Nizer, to his amazement, discovered that Faulk had never before laid eyes on Hartnett, who had so vengefully and wickedly chopped him down. Hartnett had indeed been "objective," as objective as Hitler or Stalin in their mass exterminations. Hartnett had not even paid Faulk the compliment of hating him viscerally. He had been far too busy with his little lists. The prim little mouth had bitten down on Faulk and spat him out.

I have in the above roughly synthesized the evidence at the trial with other information and "fair comment," a legal term. Now both sides rest. The defense attorney, Bolan, a partner of Roy Cohn (who else?), argued in summation that Faulk was a liar, Hartnett was a more truthful and honest man than anyone you will ever come across, Faulk did better after the libel than before, Faulk never was any good anyway, Faulk had no future on TV and was just a self-aggrandized disc jockey. So much for Bolan's dramatic criticism. He also advanced the social theory that though the courts cannot object to a man's taking the fifth amendment, his neighbors can and should. A neighborly lynching, he said, is right and proper. Blacklisting is simply splendid and purely patriotic. (This was not an issue in the trial: Faulk never took the fifth amendment on anything, and was never technically blacklisted.) Bolan was in fact arguing some other case that existed in the dream world of Johnson, Hartnett and Aware, Inc., where so many other nightmares had indeed come true; but this was not the case being argued before Justice Geller.

Nizer's summation pulled out of the mass of evidence an easily read trail of conspiracy against Faulk, as given above. A peculiar incident here should have alerted me. I could not get into the courtroom before the first recess, but was at the head of the overflow line when a yahoo type bulled his way through us and into the court attendants, snarling "I will not stand back. Tell the judge I'm here." He identified himself as from the New York Journal-American and was allowed in. He seated himself at the press table, glowering about as if he were banked in Communists. The Journal-American had not reported the case; why this?

Defendant Johnson, hiding out in a Bronx motel, had just died that morning. This for the first time made the trial news to most of the press (though for the Journal-American not good news).

Nizer asked for a minimum $1 million compensatory damages, and $1 million punitive damages from each of the three defendants. The judge, however, told the jury that Johnson was dead and could not be assessed punitive damages.

Before midnight on the Faulk's wedding anniversary, the jury came in with its verdict: $1 million compensatory damages, $1,250,000 punitive against Hartnett, $1,250,000 punitive against Aware. All 12 jurors agreed on the verdict, but one woman thought the amount too high. (In a civil suit, a 10-to-2 vote is enough.)

This story reached page 1, column 1, of the Times which alone had reported the whole trial. The Journal-American headlined its story: "Faulk May Never Get His Millions for Libel—$3,500,000 Phantom Award"—another way of saying "Yah. Yah."

In fact, lawyers agreed that Faulk and Nizer will get the $1 million from Johnson's estate, and part of Hartnett's income for the rest of his life. The liability of the Aware officers is speculative; Milton has a good deal of real estate. Nizer in 6 years had had costs of about $200,000 and will get them back at least. The income tax on Faulk's share of the compensatory damages is subject to various deductions and should properly be spread over the past 5 years. The punitive damages are nontaxable.

It is to be hoped that the defense will appeal so that this largest award in the history of libel cases will be built into the legal structure of the higher judiciary. Already that $3,500,000 award has washed out a lot of mouths. Paupers may continue to gibber, "Significant Communist-front record," but anybody with money had better not join in.

The second hope, which is already more than that, is that John Henry Faulk will now return to his talent for entertaining and instructing the American people.

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## Sylvester C. Smith: President of the American Bar Association

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last Friday in San Francisco a distinguished 45-year career was climaxed for one of my longtime and close personal friends, and one of New Jersey's outstanding lawyers: Sylvester C. Smith. Installation as president of the American Bar Association gave to my good friend a national recognition of personal qualities and professional competence that have been long and well known in our community of New Jersey. And it gives me a deep sense of pleasure to speak today, to point out to my fellow members of the bar who may not have had the privilege of knowing Sylvester just what a fine selection was made in elevating him to the presidency of the American Bar Association.

Sylvester Smith's contributions to civic life through his dedicated and inspiring efforts are, as I say, well appreciated in our native New Jersey. But in order that those who do not personally know him may at least know of him, I would like at this time to insert a news story that appeared in the Newark Evening News on the 10th. I shall add to the story only that in addition to gaining and holding an ever greater respect throughout New Jersey for his work, Sylvester Smith has gained and held the sincere admiration and affection of all who have come to know him.

SYLVESTER C. SMITH HEADS U.S. LAWYERS

SAN FRANCISCO.—Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., of West Orange, N.J., today took office as president of the American Bar Association.

Smith, general counsel of the Prudential Insurance Co. of Newark, N.J., succeeded Whitney North Seymour, of New York, as head of the 100,000 member association.

His installation as head of the Nation's lawyers represented for Smith the climatic event in a 45-year legal career.

BEGAN IN PHILLIPSBURG

His career had it genesis in a country law office in Phillipsburg in 1917, was highlighted by his appointment as one of the youngest prosecutors in the State in 1921,

and seemingly reached its apogee in 1948 when he was named general counsel of Prudential one of the most desirable private legal positions in the country.

Being head of the ABA places the 67-year-old Smith in a class with only two other New Jerseyites. The late Arthur T. Vanderbilt, chief justice of New Jersey, and Cortlandt Parker are the only other New Jerseyites to have held the ABA's presidency in its long history.

His election to the post was preceded by years of active service in the association, which he joined in the 1920's. He was chairman of the committee which in 1936 created the ABA's house of delegates as a representative body.

Smith served as president of the house of delegates in 1958–60 and last year was named president elect. He was president of the New Jersey State Bar Association in 1940.

A native of Phillipsburg, Smith attended high school there and Lafayette College before taking his law degree from New York Law School.

After his admittance to the bar, he went into private practice in Phillipsburg with his father, Sylvester C. Sr., a noted Warren County lawyer and prosecutor, as his son was to become. At 21 young Smith was named town attorney of Phillipsburg and at 26 prosecutor of Warren County.

SERVED 17 YEARS

He was prosecutor, either with that title or as an assistant attorney general from 1921 until 1938, when he withdrew from consideration for reappointment after being named to Prudential legal staff.

His first assignment with the mammoth insurance firm was as associate general solicitor. He became general solicitor 3 years later and was named to the company's top legal position in 1948. He directs a staff of more than 160 lawyers.

Since 1955 he has been a member of the New Jersey Highway Authority, which operates the Garden State Parkway, a position to which he was appointed by then Gov. Robert B. Meyner, who had once been his protege in law. He is also president of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research.

Smith lives at 1 Merrywood Drive in West Orange, with a daughter, Thalia Barbara Smith. Another daughter, Mrs. William S. Bigelow, lives in Maplewood. His wife, the former Thalia E. Graff, whom he married in 1922, died in 1958.

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## Young Milwaukeeans Report on East Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a moving story of four young people from Milwaukee who relate their feelings of shock and anger on seeing the plight of hungry people in East Berlin. The story, which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of August 12, 1962, is based on a letter written by Joy Schaleben to her father, Arville Schaleben, executive editor of the Milwaukee Journal. The text of the story follows:

YOUNG MILWAUKEEANS, POTATOES, AND EAST BERLIN

The story out of Berlin said, "Communist East Germany more than doubled the price of the basic item (potatoes) in its citizens' diet Friday." New food rationing measures also were announced last week.

Four Milwaukee youngsters, who thrice pierced the wall—the "sickening, revolting" wall, they said—anticipated the news by a few days in a letter describing their observations and experiences in both Berlins. The growing food shortage spurred them to their most adventurous crossing into the East sector.

The letter was written by Joy Schaleben, a University of Wisconsin medical technologist, to her father, Arville Schaleben, executive editor of the Milwaukee Journal. The Schaleben children have been in Europe since June.

Joy is 22, Susan, 21, Mary, 18, and Will, 14. They live at 8254 North Gray Log Lane, Fox Point.

WHERE ARE ALL THE PEOPLE?

About the wall, the potatoes and the Berlins.

After driving through East Germany "we stayed (in Berlin) a total of 5 nights and 4 days," Joy wrote.

"The first day we took a tour of East and West Berlin. Such a difference from our East and West Berlin tour of 3 years ago. (No wall then.) At first it made me so mad that they had turned something like the wall into a tourist attraction. However, I now think differently. It does not have a full impact until you have seen it. It's unbelievable, revolting—as Will says, 'It's sickening.' It's difficult to believe men could do that.

"Sue and I asked our East Berlin guide: 'Where are all the people; why are the streets so empty?' (It was Sunday.) Answer: 'Everyone is at their weekend cottages where, by the way, my family is also.'

"In West Berlin we drove along the wall and saw the East German guards sitting in the trees, on some of the houses * * * the crosses to mark where some had died trying to flee to freedom. By the end of the tour we were all silent in the bus, completely disgusted and so sad.

"The next day we went and got some very interesting information about the situation. ——— (a West Berliner) explained why East Germany was lacking food.

"FARMERS KILLED ANIMALS

"When the farmers lost their property, many killed their animals. If they could not own what had been theirs so long, they'd eat it. Also, they planted less grain, because they lacked desire to work land which did not belong to them. Winter came—not enough food for remaining animals, so they slaughtered them. Anyway, this whole cycle just kept repeating itself until now the situation is serious.

"The next day we decided to take the big plunge and drive back into East Berlin on our own, to see a friend in the ——— district. We were a bit afraid. We did not know what to expect. We took everything out of the Volkswagen and drove to checkpoint Charlie. No trouble at all, crossing the border.

"We had a wonderful time, talking to Hilda (a fictious name; real names of the East Berlin friends are withheld). I asked her what she could not get that she used to get in West Berlin, before the wall, but she said she was not allowed to say. Actually she would not open up at all until Ernst (a boy friend) came over. I'm telling you he's a regular daredevil.

"Mary and Will taught them the twist. They'd seen it on TV but that was all—western music is forbidden.

"Ernst also explained the money situation to us. One East German mark is worth about one-fourth of a West German mark; however, the East German exchange is one for one. We gave him some West German marks * * * for getting things * * * from West Berlin.

"MAIL IS SPOT CHECKED

"Gas is three times as expensive as in West Berlin. We know that because we'd forgotten to fill the tank before we left. Thank goodness Ernst had identification to buy gas. You need ID for everything. These kids never go anywhere without it.

"Also the mail situation. The mail is spot checked, we were told. They never know when a letter has been opened. You can't tell because they steam them open. Once they find something funny in a letter, they open all the mail to that person. Ernst said in his careless manner, 'Write whatever you wish to me.' Hilda, who is more practical in living under this government, said to write something nice about East Berlin.

"Last spring, you remember, they had a typhoid epidemic in East Berlin. Imagine, typhoid in an advanced country like Germany. It was due of all things to bad butter (from Red China). They had absolutely nothing to combat this. East Berlin refused the medicine from West Berlin. The medical students fought this with isolation and washing the rooms with disinfectant. No vaccine for the people.

"And now the food situation: Butter, one-half pound a person for 10 days. Very little meat, and no potatoes. Vegetables and fruit are still available. It's the meat, butter, and potatoes that really get them. Oh, coffee, too. They have coffee but it's terrible.

POTATO SHORTAGE

"The reason they don't have potatoes is this. The farmers planted them 2 feet apart instead of 1, and did not plant the whole field. (Now students are required, I was told, to go out in the fields and measure the distances.) Naturally, the yield has been very little. Much of the German diet consists of potatoes, so this is a real catastrophe for them. They love potatoes—and I know this only too well, having had 4 months of cooking in German schools.

"The food shortage got bad last April. They expect this winter to be the worst.

"We stayed talking to these two delightful kids about 3 hours, and then went to visit Ernst's mother, whom he has not seen, of course, since August 13 (when the wall went up). I can't tell you how excited she was to see us. She has a very nice apartment. She did not go to West Berlin when she could have because she did not want to leave her setup. Boy, does she regret it now. She has a gorgeous piano—locked since August 13. Made me feel so bad that she cannot even bear to play now.

"She also told us about the food. It is even worse in East Germany than in East Berlin, because East Berlin is the showplace for communism and foreigners are permitted there.

"The next morning, when we were preparing to leave West Berlin, Mary discovered Hilda's umbrella in the back seat of the car. She had ridden with us to the mother's.

"We had planned that day to drive to Cologne and take the Rhine River boat the following day. But there was the umbrella, and we knew they were expensive, and the weather was so bad, and, gee whiz, wouldn't it be neat to return the umbrella, and bring them some food, and they really wanted potatoes and-and-and.

PACKED FOOD IN PURSES

"And this is what we did:

"We unpacked the car, packed our luggage and left it with the owner of our pension (boardinghouse). Then, after we paid our

bill, we told her what we were going to do and asked her advice on the best kind of coffee to take over. She made a cup of coffee, had us taste it, and said this was the best German coffee.

"We went to the corner store and bought two bags of potatoes, 3 pounds of butter, 2 pounds of coffee, one huge long wurst, five lemons, two cauliflowers, and some chocolate.

"We then emptied our big travel purses completely. Mary put the potatoes in hers. Susan had the butter and wurst and coffee. Will had the lemons and chocolate in his pockets. Sorry to say, my purse was too small to be of any real value in this situation—the cauliflower was simply too big; we had to put it in a bag on the back floor of the car.

EXCITED TO HAVE POTATOES

"So this is how we traipsed through the border—passports and wallets in hands, stuffed purses over the shoulder, and all Will's pockets bulging. Mary and Susan were so funny, trying to pretend that their purses were light. At one point Mary dropped hers—klunk. Needless to say we were a bit nervous. I simply could not think of what I would say if they asked us what in H was in those purses. Boy, when we passed the last checkpoint we certainly were relieved.

"Luck was with us. Both Hilda and Ernst were at her home, studying for exams. It was about 1 p.m. They said they had been up all night, talking about us and hoping against hope we'd come back with the umbrella.

"They were simply thrilled about the food, and especially the potatoes. (I told you—these Germans really go for potatoes * * * ugh.) In fact, they were so excited to have the potatoes they wanted to cook them right away and serve them to us for lunch, with butter. Of course, we refused. Every last one of those lovelies was for them.

"We had planned to stay only a moment but ended staying till about 4 p.m. Oh, I forgot, we also gave them four rolls of American toilet paper we had in the car. We talked and danced the twist those 3 hours. When we finally decided to leave, they decided to accompany us to the border.

"They rode with us to the last street before the first checkpoint. That is as far as the East Berliners are allowed to travel in a car. We all kissed each other goodby and then they walked alongside our car as we drove up to the sidewalk gate which they are allowed to stand behind.

"This walk and drive affair was about one-half block long, and we had all those East German and Russian guards watching the procession. Then our friends stopped at the gate and waved to us as we got out of the car and walked into the checkpoint exist building.

TEARS STREAMING DOWN

"We entered with tears streaming down our faces. I looked at one of the East German checkers and I thought he'd cry, too. Anyway, it was terrible, and all this business of passports and how much money do you have, and counting it, was done in complete silence—that is, except for the sniffling.

"We walked out of the building and continued waving at Hilda and Ernst. Got into the car still waving and blowing kisses. A Russian looked at our passes for the last check at the gate. He said very sarcastically in German, 'Which one is Mary? Oh that one crying in the corner. Ha.'

"Such sick disgust we felt. And those kids kept saying, courageously and derisively for the guards, 'Or, can't you put us in your suitcases?'

"So that was that. We repacked our car in West Berlin and took off for Bamberg."

## Protection for Rainbow Bridge National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as passed by the Congress the upper Colorado storage project contained a special provision forbidding the construction of any reservoir in a national monument. In addition, as a part of the specific authority for the construction of Glen Canyon Dam, the Secretary of the Interior was obligated and required to undertake whatever steps were necessary for the protection of the Rainbow Bridge National Monument.

Inasmuch as the preservation of this world-famous national phenomenon is of vital concern to millions of our fellow citizens, I wrote the following letter under date of July 17 to Secretary Udall:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Under the Upper Colorado Storage Project Act, construction of any reservoir or national monument is forbidden. Also, as I recall, under the authority to construct Glen Canyon Dam, you, as Secretary of the Interior, are required to provide full protection from any physical damage to the Rainbow Bridge National Monument.

I am also advised that the Department of the Interior considers the appropriation for the Rainbow Bridge protective project a closed issue in this Congress.

In view of this fact, I shall appreciate being advised of how the Department of the Interior plans to meet its statutory obligation, if, as you predict, Congress fails to make the protective appropriation this year.

I am sure you have some plans in this connection, such as preventing storage in the Glen Canyon Reservoir until the protective appropriation is provided, and I shall be most interested in hearing what they are.

Sincerely,

THOMAS M. PELLY,
*Representative in Congress.*

So far the Secretary has failed to favor me with the courtesy of a reply.

Meanwhile I have come into possession of a well prepared and fully documented thesis on this whole matter by Dr. William R. Halliday, a national authority on conservation, residing in Seattle, Wash. Dr. Hallidays' thesis, generally speaking, is highly technical. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the Department of the Interior considers the appropriation for the Rainbow Bridge protective project a closed issue in this Congress, and in view of Mr. Udall's refusal to disclose whatever plans he has, if any, to provide protection for the Rainbow National Monument, as required by law, I think it appropriate to read certain portions of Dr. Halliday's statements into the RECORD at this point:

Like every feature of this planet, and probably of the universe, Rainbow Bridge is only a transient feature. At most, its life expectancy is measured in millions of years, and there is an infinitesimal chance that it might collapse at any time. However, its solid bases and the limitation of present forces of rapid erosion to the inner channel of the canyon, well away from the buttresses, strongly suggests that it is quite possible that under present conditions, Rainbow Bridge will outlast the human race, just as it undoubtedly predates human civilization. Rainbow Bridge is widely recognized as one of the world's greatest individual features. Any manmade interference with conditions now prevailing at the great span which might possibly shorten its longevity and reduce it to a period of time which can be measured appropriately in human lifetimes would be a matter of grave concern to every citizen.

In this connection, Dr. Halliday who has conducted a personal survey of the monument refers to studies that have been made and has this to say:

As nearly as can be determined, geological studies of Rainbow Bridge and Rainbow Bridge National Monument have been conducted by three bureaus of the Interior Department. Each has been the subject of an "administrative report", an intradepartmental format not normally released for public distribution. In this case, however, the Bureau of Reclamation has distributed copies of two of these "Administrative Reports" rather widely (Bu. of Rec., 1959; Hansen, n.d.). The third report, which expressed radically different conclusions, has not been released, and is known to the public only through a fragmentary quotation of the report of an unnamed National Park Service geologist by an Interior Department official. That quotation stated in part:

"However, by far the most serious effect of floodwaters reaching the bottom of the watercourse beneath the span would be the danger of undermining the buttresses of the bridge itself. Standing (sic) water would dissolve cementing materials in the rock causing the sides of the water (sic) to slough. It is conceivable that the water could be, in a relatively few years, sufficient to caues the weakening of the ledges beneath the ends of the bridge and the collapse of the bridge itself."

As a result, the concern of the National Park Service was sufficient that it formally requested a great reduction in the height of Glen Canyon Dam to preclude any such danger.

Details of this National Park Service study and report have never been made public. Nevertheless, in denying this request by the National Park Service, Congress took specific action to protect Rainbow Bridge and the national monument. Two sections of the Upper Colorado Storage Project Act specifically forbid any invasion of the national monument by the reservoir such as is now proposed (Halliday, 1961).

The administrative restriction of the National Park Service report is in striking contrast to the wide distribution by the Interior Department and especially its Bureau of Reclamation of the two administrative reports quoted so widely as support for the opposite viewpoint. One of these "geologic reports" is a Bureau of Reclamation report; the other, the "Hansen report." The Hansen reconnaissance report refers to a further report on "the geological setting of the Rainbow Bridge area," by a Lloyd Calder, "BuRec Report No. G–126," but no such report has been distributed to the public, and it cannot be stated whether or not this is partially or entirely identical to the "preliminary report" (BuRec, 1959).

That "preliminary report," devoted only 15 lines to the geology and 9½ lines to ground water conditions at Rainbow Bridge. It is a "brief presentation of the engineering analyses of field investigations of facili-

ties for protection of the monument. Other important nonengineering phases of the overall problem are not appraised in this report, and consequently no recommendations are made herein as to the final solution of the problem" (BuRec, 1959, p. 3). It contains no data by which a judgment can be made of the adequacy of the investigation of the geology and ground water conditions in question. As will be pointed out below, certain undocumented assertions in this "preliminary report" are not in accord with those of the "Hansen report." In any event, its 24½ lines of rather cursory text on geology and ground water do not constitute an intensive study of the ground water and geological situation at Rainbow Bridge.

The third governmental study, and the second widely quoted "geological report" was "a brief geological examination of Rainbow Bridge National Monument and vicinity," by Wallace R. Hansen, an engineering geologist of the U.S. Geological Survey. Hansen stated:

"The purpose of this examination was to obtain an independent opinion as to the geologic feasibility of various proposed measures intended to protect the monument, under the provisions of Public Law 485, from impairment by the waters of Glen Canyon Reservoir" (Hansen, n.d., p. 1).

In addition to his stated assignment, Hansen also conducted "examinations of Rainbow Bridge." It appears to be of some importance that although this was to be an "independent opinion," Hansen stated that "the sites of all proposed barrier dams described by the Bureau of Reclamation were visited, but only cursory examinations were made of sites A, C, and an additional site referred to as the "Narrows," inasmuch as these sites are discounted as impractical by both the National Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation." (It is site C which has been chiefly discussed as the most effective protective project (Halliday, 1961)). Hansen also referred repeatedly to Forbidden Canyon as Forbidding Canyon—a curious error.

Hansen spent only 3 days (Hansen, n.d., p. 1) in this reconnaissance of 8 well-separated areas: (1) Rainbow Bridge; (2) the intake portal site upstream from the National Monument; (3) the outlet portal site in upper Aztec Canyon; (4) damsite A; (5) damsite B; (6) damsite C; (7) damsite "Narrows" and (8) "the first major tributary downstream from Rainbow Bridge" (Hansen, n.d., p. 1 and p. 12).

Hansen did not state how much time was devoted to Rainbow Bridge and its immediate surroundings, but on the basis of three 12-hour workdays, it seems doubtful that Hansen spent as many hours in this "intensive" study as I did in my admittedly inadequate study. The present Director of the Geological Survey (Nolan, 1962a and b), and the Secretary of the Interior (Udall, 1962) have refused to make public the length of Hansen's study of this or any of the other seven areas. Since Hansen failed to mention the limestone member of the Navajo sandstone which I found so easily in 1953, it seems doubtful that this study termed "intensive" (Udall, 1962) by those concealing its actual length actually was an even more cursory reconnaissance than mine or that of the Bureau of Reclamation in 1959.

Further on in his report, Dr. Halliday outlines the four major threats to Rainbow Bridge as follows:

Proximity of the fluctuating reservoir to Rainbow Bridge would pose at least four major threats to the stability and continued existence of Rainbow Bridge:

1. Undercutting of one or both buttresses by the altered flow of Bridge Creek atop the deposits within the zone of fluctuation.

2. Development and collapse of solution cavities and other karstic or pseudokarstic phenomena in limestone units of the formations beneath or adjacent to Rainbow Bridge, as a result of alterations in ground water flow as a result of the fluctuating reservoir.

3. Leaching out of the natural cementing materials in the canyon walls by the fluctuating reservoir.

4. Effects of the weight of the reservoir, including earthquakes, differential subsidence and other movement, and collapse of karstic or pseudokarstic cavities in nonlimestone rocks.

Finally, Dr. Halliday comes to the following conclusions:

"Intensive" Interior Department studies supposedly assuring the safety of Rainbow Bridge in the presence of the fluctuating Glen Canyon Reservoir are inadequate and appear to have been distorted for political purposes. An additional Interior Department study with contrary conclusions has been suppressed except for a short quotation mentioned during a 1954 hearing. The present Secretary of the Interior and Director of the U.S. Geological Survey have refused to reveal the current status of Geological Survey knowledge on many vital matters pertaining to this problem. Contrary to widespread statements of political origin, there are at least four major reasons why the fluctuation of Glen Canyon Reservoir in Bridge Canyon would greatly expedite the collapse of Rainbow Bridge which otherwise may well outlast mankind.

Based on the above information, Mr. Speaker, and in view of the importance of preserving this world-famous geological phenomenon, it seems to me that Congress should call on the Secretary to disclose in detail his plans for the preservation of the Rainbow Bridge National Monument prior to the adjournment of this Congress and before undertaking water storage in the Glen Canyon Reservoir.

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## Dallas Trucker an Outstanding Example of American Success Story

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, we in Dallas and the great Southwest are proud of the heritage of individual initiative and the hustle and sweat and get-up-and-go which has made our part of the Nation a tribute to what freemen can accomplish in a free society. One of the finest examples of the success story in true American fashion is Henry E. English, founder and head of Red Ball Motor Freight, Inc., one of the outstanding transportation companies in the country. Nationwide tribute was recently paid Mr. English in the following article from the New York Times of August 5, 1962:

PERSONALITY: FARM YOUTH ROSE TO KING OF THE GEAR JAMMERS

(By Griff Singer)

DALLAS, TEX., August 4.—Henry English, a strapping oilfield worker, shuffled his feet impatiently while waiting for a train to take him from Greenville in eastern Texas to his job in southwestern Oklahoma.

His infrequent trips to the nearby family farm home were important. But so was his $7 a day job.

The "iron horse" was 2 hours late already. On a previous trip, the train was so slow he lost work time.

"How much will a cab ride cost to Dallas?" he asked an idle cab driver.

"Twenty-five dollars."

The young English whistled. That was big money in 1919.

But that gave him an idea that paid dividends to a farm-hardened, 18 year old and 40 years later made him the wheeler-dealer in the motor-freight industry, the head of Red Ball Motor Freight, Inc.

He took $150 cached in a money belt and $100 he borrowed and bought a used Cadillac touring car. The Red Ball Bus Line between Dallas and Greenville was established with three regularly scheduled trips a day.

"Why don't you wait until you get a load?" asked griping competitors. "You will ruin our business."

But Mr. English, then as now, would not be intimidated. His business philosophy had been formed: "You want to treat people right and give them good service."

The busline did fine. He repaid the $100 loan within 10 days and in 1927 sold his interest in the line for $65,000.

The next year Mr. English, who is now 62 and has bushy eyebrows that rival those of John L. Lewis, president emeritus of the United Mine Workers, moved to Lufkin in deep eastern Texas and founded Red Ball Motor Freight.

Roads were poor at best and most people did not believe the truck could be as dependable as the railroads. But Mr. English thought he could make the grade.

He put two trucks into service with a permit to haul freight between Lufkin and Houston—119 miles.

Today, Red Ball and its subsidiary company, Red Ball Motor Freight (Southeast), Inc., comprise a system of more than 10,000 miles of certified routes, annual payrolls approaching $10 million, 75 terminals scattered over 9 States, 1,700 pieces of equipment and 1,500 employees.

From general offices in Dallas, Red Ball serves points as distant as Denver, Houston, Shreveport, New Orleans, Mobile, Little Rock and Memphis.

It is regarded as one of the largest transportation systems owned and operated by an individual in the Nation.

ONE OF THREE HOLDERS

Mr. English is president and chairman and one of three stockholders. His son, O. B. English, formerly president of Red Ball and now head of Dixie Highway Express, of Meridian, Miss., and his daughter, Mrs. Fletcher Ward of Dallas, also hold shares in the company.

As the east Texas oilfields began to boom in the 1930's, Mr. English expanded his line. Deliveries were made to any point in the region, but an old reliable team of mules had to be used on occasion when trucks couldn't maneuver rutted trails into an oilfield.

Later in that decade, Mr. English moved the company to Dallas. Prosperity followed. A new terminal in Dallas can accommodate the loading of 100 diesel trucks simultaneously.

In the last 30 years, the big man has taken to working in community projects. He has served as an officer or director in virtually every major civic and charity organization in Dallas. He isn't a joiner; if Mr. English is out of town, one of his aids attends meetings and fills his chief in later.

Mr. English's leadership in the trucking industry has been recognized. In 1950 he became the first Texan to serve as president of the American Trucking Associations.

As his term came to a close, people from throughout the Nation gathered in Dallas to pay tribute to the "King of the Gear Jam-

mers." During the 12 months in office he crossed the country 15 times, dispensing Will Rogers-type philosophy and information about the trucking industry to more than 20,000 persons.

In Dallas, the rugged man looks every bit the part of an eastern executive in custom-fitted suits. But get him out of Texas and he is 100 percent cowboy.

EXPENSIVE WEAR

His wardrobe is fitted with expensive western wear that includes bright, expensive shirts. Western paintings dot his office. He doesn't hide multicarat diamond rings and tie pins that are part of his standard work uniform.

In recent years, Mr. English has been away from his Dallas headquarters much of the time, but the day rarely passes when he isn't in telephone contact several times.

Even when "stealing a little time off" for a Wyoming deer hunt or to take in a rodeo in Calgary, Alberta, or Cheyenne, he knows what is going on in Dallas.

Mr. English hasn't lost touch with the little man, basically because of his recollection of the family farm. He was the seventh of 11 children born to Mr. and Mrs. O. B. English at the place near Brashear in Hopkins County.

During a Dallas polio vaccine campaign Mr. English donated 25 radio-controlled trucks to deliver vaccine to 90 clinics in the county. In 1961, when Hurricane Carla ravished the State, he threw all equipment and personnel into emergency work.

As a young farm boy, he rode a horse constantly, except into the classroom of the Overland County School. He went through the sixth grade, when drought and depression forced him to go to work on the farm.

NO HOBBIES

"We raised everything—corn and corn bread, chickens, black-eye peas, hogs. Ate them all winter," he recalled.

Mr. English and his wife, the former Katheryn Hall of Greenville, live in a large early American home in plush Highland Park, a Dallas island city. They are grandparents six times.

He has no hobbies as such, but he likes baseball and good entertainment, whether opera or a nightclub act, in New York or Los Angeles.

"If I had a hobby, I guess it would be what a farmer would do. I mostly like horses and cattle," explains the gray-haired 6-footer, who could be rated as one of the Nation's top rodeo buffs.

In the style of a Renaissance art patron, he gave royalties from a producing east Texas oil well for 1 year to the world champion cowboy in 1960.

But with all of his love for the farm, Mr. English doesn't own one.

His philosophy of life is that "the man who sits and waits for things to happen usually finds he not only missed his chance in life for success, but also missed a lot of fun.

"Striving for a goal is almost spiritual in nature. Working to obtain a worthwhile objective means self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and self-discipline.

"These are the basic principles my parents taught me and they are guidelines my business and personal life has been based upon," said Mr. English, who is politically conservative.

INCIDENT RECALLED

He recalled one problem customer, a plumbing supply man in east Texas, who continually filed a $48 claim for damage on a single item. The lower echelon workers couldn't figure it out, but Mr. English smelled trouble—his company was being taken by a planted piece of broken merchandise.

The president became a driver's helper and donned work clothes for a delivery to the place. Before, the damaged merchandise had been found in the box—but after it was opened by the customer.

"I grabbed a hammer and started to rip the lid off and the man got mad. He said all sorts of things and wanted to know what I was doing," Mr. English said.

"I told him we wanted to see if the stuff was all right. We either had to open it then or take it back. We took it back.

"Then he called our agent in the town and demanded to know who that smart aleck was. When our man told him it was the president he hung up and we never had another damage claim."

Towering above the company's big Dallas terminal is a big red ball atop a flashing clock and thermometer. The derivation of the truck empire's name?

As a boy, he and his father loaded stock into cattle cars marked with big "red ball" stickers.

"This meant that the cars would go right through," he said thoughtfully. "That stuck with me for years, the idea of speeding right on through on a clear track."

## Hail to the Chiefs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the August 11 edition of the Little Falls Times pays eloquent tribute to the enduring and continuing contributions of our three living former Presidents and the system of government which has made this possible. I know the article will inspire a greater appreciation of America and I commend it to the attention of the Congress:

HAIL TO THE CHIEFS

It can happen only in a democracy:

One day he is the most important man in the world. The next, bowing to the dictates of the people or the Constitution, he is an ordinary citizen, suddenly stripped of his immense power and prerogatives.

He is no longer President of the United States.

Three living men have had that unique experience. A fourth has known the first part of it—the overnight elevation from the ranks to the pinnacle of political achievement.

Sadly, throughout our history, the termination of a President's power has too often meant the end of his usefulness to the country. Good enough to lead a nation of millions or tens of millions one day, the next he is relegated to the pages of history before his time.

Or is this no longer true?

By way of observing ex-President Herbert C. Hoover's 88th birthday on August 10, Parade magazine interviewed our living Presidents—Hoover, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

The four were asked for their opinions on the uses to which ex-Presidents could be put.

"Having helped to make history," Hoover suggested, "they might try writing it. That is a worthwhile pursuit for past Presidents, and," he adds humorously, "it is quite harmless."

Hoover at 88 is more active than some men half his age. He puts in 12 hours of work a day, mostly in connection with his Library on War, Revolution, and Peace which he founded at Stanford University.

Few ex-Presidents have contributed more to their country on leaving office than Hoover. President Truman made him coordinator of the European food program in 1947. He headed the two commissions on governmental reorganization in the forties and fifties that bore his name. He is on the advisory board of the World Bank.

Truman, now 77, recommends that President Kennedy, who will be only 51 if he serves two terms, try a postgraduate career in the Senate. (John Quincy Adams served nine distinguished terms in the House of Representatives following his presidency.)

Truman once joined Hoover in recommending that ex-Presidents be made honorary members of the Senate, wtihout a vote but with the right to speak. Both Kennedy and Eisenhower reject this idea, feeling that an ex-President's prestige gives him all the forum he needs to make his views heard.

Perhaps more than any other President before him, Kennedy has sought the advice of his predecessors. He briefed all three for instance, before announcing his decision to renew nuclear testing.

For 71-year-old Eisenhower, who urged his friends to call him "Ike" again after he left office, the adjustment to civilian life was difficult in one respect: "You have gotten so accustomed to facing decisions about Formosa or Laos that * * * there is a sort of a feeling of 'What can I do?' * * * Suddenly you realize you can't do anything about them."

But asked if he would really like to be President again, this still-effective leader of the Republican Party replied, "No, not really."

None of these former Presidents has retired. Each is still much sought out for advice and widely quoted. Each is still active, contributing valuable postscripts to his official career.

Not a one of them has been forgotten.

## University People-to-People Program Snowballs to Widespread Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, for many months I have emphasized the need for all Americans to contribute to the molding and propagation of a true image of America throughout the world. One of the more effective programs in achieving this is the student ambassadors of the people-to-people university program. During the past few days the first group of college students returned to our shores from a 2-month friendship tour of Europe. I know from the remarks of some of my young neighbors from New Jersey that the tour was truly a journey into international understanding.

An excellent summary of the operation appears in the initial issue of the People-to-People News, published by People-to-People, Inc., Kansas City, Mo., and edited by Jim Tice.

For those who may not be altogether familiar with this dedicated effort to promote good will, I would like here to insert that article, so that all our colleagues may know of this real contribution by young Americans to the cause of peace and understanding:

A journey to international understanding by 350 young American student ambassadors, who left June 4 from the base of Kansas City's famed Liberty Memorial—a monument dedicated to friendship among nations, is the high point thus far of the people-to-people university program.

It is directed by Bill Dawson and Rick Barnes, recent students at the University of Kansas, where the program was pioneered, and Rafer Johnson, 1960 olympic decathlon champion and UCLA graduate.

The pioneer campus operation was started at Kansas University by Dawson, Barnes and others. It caught on so quickly that within a year of its founding similar programs were being conducted at each of the Big Eight Conference midwestern universities.

The university program receives guidance and assistance in its initial organization from national headquarters of people to people, but is financed and operated by students. It is unaffiliated with any other student organizations.

CONTACT GOVERNORS

In addition to setting up the student ambassador program which sent 350 students from 14 midwestern colleges and universities to 19 European nations, Dawson, Barnes, and Johnson have been contacting Governors of all States to stimulate their support. The program directors intend to set up on-campus people-to-people movements in every in every State and in foreign countries. So far programs successfully have been arranged at colleges and universities in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Colorado, Iowa, California, Oregon, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

The Governors contact officials at colleges and universities in their States and meetings are arranged at State capitals. The representatives return to their campuses ready to begin the programs.

STUDENTS SCREENED

On each campus which has a people-to-people movement student ambassador candidates are carefully screened by a Student Abroad Committee. Those who wish to go on people-to-people tours must be interviewed and examined by the committee on their own campus. Those selected have orientation sessions, language study, briefings by natives of countries which are to be visited, and an itinerary of the desired tour must be filed with the committee.

Those selected go to Washington, D.C., for a 2-day briefing by the State Department, Commerce Department, Peace Corps, U.S. Information Agency, U.S. Travel Agency, and Civil Rights Commission.

This year the student ambassadors overseas are encouraging foreign university students to visit the United States next year.

STAFF MEMBERS IN EUROPE

Staff members of the university program have been working in Europe for several months and twice have contacted 48 student groups; set up 125 host families in Bonn, Germany, for a 3-day period; arranged 300 host families in Berlin for a 6-day period; arranged breakfast and dinner with German families for the student ambassadors while they were in Berlin, and arranged for 100 English-speaking German students to take out a week from classes to act as full-time hosts for American students in Berlin.

Berlin activities included a special luncheon at which West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt spoke, special orientation sessions held by German newspaper staffs and the USIA, workshops, industrial tours, a student mixer, bus tours, orientation, and discussion sessions at universities.

The university program staff made hosting arrangements with students in all European countries. A printed handbook of student contacts for 16 countries was prepared and distributed. One hundred European universities now are developing university people-to-people programs and an office has been set up in Brussels' Hotel Plaza.

The American end of the student ambassador program also is set up. An extremely low transatlantic roundtrip air fare has been arranged so that students of all countries, including the United States, may better afford to pay their own expenses, since the program is entirely student-financed and receives no U.S. Government or people-to-people funds.

## Medicare Is Not a Dead Issue: It Will Be Very Much Alive Until Congress Passes It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Robert Peterson which appeared in the New York Journal American of August 6, 1962.

The King-Anderson bill is still the good bill that it was before the Senate vote; it will continue to have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

The article follows:

LIFE BEGINS AT 40: MEDICAL COSTS ERASE ELDERS' DREAMS

(By Robert Peterson)

President Kennedy's proposed medicare bill has been shelved for the time being by the U.S. Senate. But I'm confident a majority of Americans favor better health care provisions than presently exist for our elder citizens.

My thoughts on the subject emerged in clear focus 3 years ago when I interviewed a retired sales clerk of 72 whose wife barely survived a terrible bout with cancer.

In the wake of long hospitalization, three sessions of surgery, private duty nurses and costly drugs and X-rays, the family nest egg of some $6,500 was completely wiped out.

Also wiped out were dreams of motor trips down South, and mountain vacations, and gifts for the grandchildren. Instead this couple faced the grim reality that the rainy day for which they saved had arrived with a vengeance and drowned the pleasures and security they had hoped to enjoy in their retirement years.

My column about that couple elicited a letter from financier Bernard Baruch who wrote me that he believed, "A form of compulsory health insurance can be devised, adequately safeguarded, without involving what has been termed 'socialized medicine.'"

Many righteously contend that existing Kerr-Mills legislation offers adequate protection to elders since it will pay medical expenses of elders who have no money. But what about those who have a little money saved up—a nest egg of perhaps $5,000 or $6,000 such as the couple mentioned. They are not eligible. Only after their nest egg is exhausted and they have taken a pauper's oath are they eligible for assistance from this legislation.

Some physicians and hospitals, of course, attempt to be lenient on hardship cases. They may work out arrangements "within the means" of the individual. But all too often this means they take what you've got. And I claim it's wrong.

It would be fine if private health insurance could be devised to insure elders against the costs of serious illness. But existing private plans suffer from one or more deficiencies; either they exclude some elders, or they offer limited benefits, or they cost more than most elders can afford to pay.

I hate taxes as much as anyone, but the one additional tax I would gladly pay is one earmarked to cover costs which arise when people—particularly older people—are so unfortunate as to be stricken with serious, costly illnesses.

Many are disturbed by the administration's proposal to offer medicare to all social security recipients—regardless of need. "It infuriates me," a woman wrote, "to think of any of my social security taxes going to pay the hospital bills of that rich old codger who lives next door to me."

But there aren't many rich old codgers to worry about. The statistics showing that more than two-thirds of our 17 million past 65 have incomes well under $2,000 a year should scotch any rumors of wealth among a majority of elders.

It would be fine if we could somehow screen out the rich old codgers and make them ineligible for medical benefits under the proposed bill. But the screening-out process would probably cost more than the end savings, and would automatically cast a stigma of charity on those who were eligible.

## Footing the Bill for Bureaucracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, many of us who are concerned with the continued growth and cost of our Federal Government structure have appreciated the determined, but aparently losing battle that the distinguished Member of the other body, Senator HARRY BYRD of Virginia, is waging in an effort to reduce nonessential Federal expenditures.

I believe that Senator BYRD is providing a great public service in alerting the American public to the tremendous waste of funds involved in this constantly growing bureaucracy.

Apparently, his efforts are meeting with at least some success since a growing number of people have become aware of the situation.

I was pleased to note that the Palos Regional, a weekly publication in my district, saw fit to comment editorially on the suggestions, and used as a basis for their comments the report of Senator BYRD's Committee on Nonessential Federal Expenditures.

Under permission previously granted, I insert the editorial entitled "Footing the Bill for Bureaucracy," into the RECORD at this point:

FOOTING THE BILL FOR BUREAUCRACY

It is evident from a congressional report released last week that the Federal Government is doing more than its part to combat unemployment.

The ranks of the Federal bureaucracy, the report stated, have swelled to 2,496,455, which is not an impressive figure. Not when it is compared to the more than $14 billion a year which American taxpayers shell out for Federal employees.

There were figures aplenty in the report of Senator HARRY F. BYRD of Virginia, chairman of the Joint Committee on Nonessential Federal Expenditures, and they were so astounding that Senator BYRD did not attempt to give a detailed account of the wasted tax dollars they imply.

Instead he said only "It is my duty to invite the attention of Congress and the public to the fact that numerous records have been broken."

It was, of course, an attempt by the Senator at humor through sarcasm. But there is little humor in a situation which takes money out of the layman's pocket to feather the nest of political appointees.

If you have not become immune to the astronomical figures which are associated with Federal programs, consider a few contained in this report.

The Federal payroll is now $6 billion higher than it was during World War II, when 3,500,000 persons worked for the Governemnt. Civilian employment increased 34,921 in June—a rate of more than 1,000 a day. The Department of Agriculture added 11,975 to its staff in June, bringing its total to more than 110,000.

Of every $100 collected from American taxpayers, $15 is used to pay a Government worker.

Where does it stop? It doesn't, according to the report. The Kennedy administration added 77,351 employees in the fiscal year ending July 1, and President Kennedy himself added 95 workers in June to the White House office staff, which now total 1,680 employees. The President recently announced plans to increase the staff of the Food and Drug Administration by 25 percent.

The first reaction to these figures would be to ask how many of these employees fill a necessary position, and how many of them are reaping the rewards of backing the right candidates.

The huge waste of money is not the most distressing aspects of the growing bureaucracy. The redtape, the obstructionism, that grows with the Federal payroll may prove more harmful in the end.

The bureaucracy is like a cancer. It grows persistently and as it does, the Government grows progressively weaker. At one time, for example, it took the State Department several weeks to formulate a foreign policy and get it to the President's desk. The reason for that was the number of times the policy had to be cleared by different desks before it could reach the White House.

There is the story of a letter written to a bureaucrat, thanking him for a particular courtesy. An order to write the appropriate note of acknowledgment traveled for several weeks from desk to desk until finally it reached the right person. By the time the order had been initialed the required number of times, the bureaucrat who was to write the bread-and-butter note had left for a vacation. Rather than wait several weeks for her boss to return, a secretary wrote the note and signed his name.

In spite of this sort of thing, it would strike the Government as brazen were someone to suggest that instead of expanding the bureaucracy, it be consolidated.

It is the obligation of the administration to eliminate from its payroll the useless bureaucrats who get fat on a diet of taxpayers' money.

## The Threat to the New Defense Supply Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by former Budget Director Maurice Stans which appeared in the Washington Post on August 12, 1962. The article is entitled "The Threat to the New Defense Supply Agency."

The article refers to an annual report issued by the House Government Operations Committee under the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, chairman, which shows that military inventories of equipment and supplies and I may add, so far as they know, amount to $122 billion.

Mr. Stans then goes on to indicate steps which have been taken to reduce inventories and develop much needed integration in areas which lend themselves to such treatment. The last and most important of these efforts, by Secretaries McNamara and Morris, under the McCormack-Curtis Act was the establishment of the Defense Supply Agency which became operational only January 1, 1962, and which already shows great promise in achieving economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in a field of the greatest of possibilities—military supply management.

The article gives well-deserved credit to Congressman TOM CURTIS of Missouri for his long-continued work in getting DSA established. I want to add to those deserving of great credit the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, our distinguished Speaker, who with Mr. CURTIS introduced the amendment to the Security Act which has made the creation of the DSA possible.

Mr. Stans correctly states that there are forces which, in the words of Congressman CURTIS, would "emasculate the new Defense Supply Agency before it gets off the ground." I agree that this would be a tragedy. Secretary McNamara needs all the encouragement and support that we can give him. We have recently seen that a section was added to the Military Authorization Construction Act—Public Law 87-554—designed to limit Secretary McNamara's authority. In my view, the Congress should reexamine this provision carefully next year.

Mr. Stans' full article follows:

OUR CHANGING ECONOMY—THE THREAT TO THE NEW DEFENSE SUPPLY AGENCY

(By Maurice Stans)

(Maurice Stans was Budget Director in the Eisenhower administration and is now president of Western Bancorporation.)

According to a recent report of the House Government Operations Committee, the inventories of equipment and supplies of the Armed Forces amount to a staggering $122 billion. Here is a fertile field for economy in the Federal Government.

In 1955, the second Hoover Commission, critical of the procedures for procurement, distribution and management of the growing military stockpiles, recommended the establishment of a single defense agency to supply "common-use" items to all the military services.

For years, many weaknesses and wastes had existed in the Pentagon's supply management, especially these:

There was a lack of uniformity in specifications and in identification of articles between the armed services. What was a "washer" to one was a "collar" to another and a "shim" to a third. A uniform catalog was needed.

Frequently, while one military service was purchasing large quantities of an article, another service was selling the same article as surplus for only a fraction of its cost. Central control was necessary.

Overbuying was a common occurrence, and heavy losses on disposition of surpluses were normal. Integrated supply management was required.

The Eisenhower administration, under Defense Secretaries Wilson, McElroy, and Gates, set out to bring order out of this chaos. The first step was the adoption of the single manager concept for common-supply items (those used by two or more of the military services) under which one service was to be responsible for buying, stocking, and distributing a specific commodity group for all the services.

In 1955 and 1956, four single manager responsibilities were assigned: food (Army), clothing and textiles (Army), medical supplies (Navy), and petroleum (Navy). This was a sharp break with the tradition of independent inventory control by each of the services.

In 1959 and 1960, the concept was extended by the establishment of single managers for four new commodities—industrial (Navy), general supplies (Army), construction (Army), and automotive supplies (Army).

By the end of the Eisenhower term, the single manager program was saving many millions of dollars each year, had materially reduced procurement of common supply items and had cut stocks a half billion dollars. Cataloging, standardization, and central warehousing were reducing requirements, and there were unmeasurable further economies resulting from the elimination of crosshauling and backhauling and cutting out concurrent buying and selling.

Another score for the taxpayers was the reduction of storage space by 6 million square feet and the dropping of 1,000 people from the payrolls. Procurement processing time was sharply cut, and delays in deliveries were dramatically reduced.

To his great credit, Defense Secretary McNamara, aided by able Assistant Secretary Tom Morris, has pursued this program aggressively since taking office. Leapfrogging the single manager concept for common-use commodities he has now established a Defense Supply Agency and merged into it all of the functions performed by the single managers. To it he has also transferred responsibilities in disposing of surplus property and some other functions and has added more categories of goods to be centrally managed.

DSA will procure annually more than $2.5 billion of supplies and materials and will manage a $21 billion inventory of peacetime and military requirements. It will provide a completely integrated control of 1.4 million of the 3.5 million items in military supply.

This can turn out to be a major step in holding down defense costs. Inventory reductions of from $2 to $4 billion are expected, and approximately 3,000 jobs are to be eliminated in the first year.

In this electronic era, even the vast inventories of defense and the military services can and should be kept under close surveillance.

Waste can be eliminated. Overbuying can be stopped. The spectacle of one service selling an overstock at junk prices at the same time another buys the same item at full cost can be ended.

But already the effort is threatened. Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, long an advocate of better supply management, recently sounded an alarm about attempts by the services to sabotage the new system.

He said, "I am sure that no one will dispute the fact that the operation of the Department of Defense presents the greatest challenge to scientific management that ever existed. But the problem is more than magnitude—it is also one of encrusted tradition, rampant bureaucracy, entrenched economic pork barrel with all its political overtones and the complicated industrial-military wedding of mutual interest."

Representative CURTIS praised Secretary McNamara for his efforts and continued, "It has been a shock to me, therefore, that a move seems to be under way to emasculate the new Defense Supply Agency before it gets off the ground."

That would be a tragedy. Secretary McNamara needs all the encouragement and support we can give him.

## Yonkers Through the Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, history, like charity, should begin at home. Our youngsters, as they pursue their studies in high school and college, are as a matter of course exposed to both world and national history. Far too often, however, the history of their own community remains to them—as to many of their elders—an almost total mystery.

Often the fault for this lack of local knowledge does not lie with the State or the school, but with the scarcity of appropriate study material. Such was, until recently, the case with Yonkers, N.Y., a city which it is my privilege to represent in the Congress. Although the Education Department of the State of New York requires that boys and girls study the history of their local countries in the seventh grade, most of the historical material at hand was beyond the reach of those in that age group. To remedy this situation, a group of teachers in the social studies department in the Yonkers secondary schools wrote an excellent booklet entitled "Yonkers Through the Years." This material was first run as a serial in the Yonkers Herald-Statesman, and the cost of printing it in booklet form was underwritten by the People Savings Bank of Yonkers.

Such cooperation between the schools, the press, and the business community is an excellent example of what local communities can accomplish by and for themselves, unaided by the intervention or assistance of any outside authority. I wish to commend all those whose joint efforts resulted in the publication of "Yonkers Through the Years," and to commend it to all of my colleagues in the Congress. I am sure that schoolchildren for many years to come will greatly benefit from their increased knowledge of the history of their own hometown.

## American Finance Conference, Inc., Replies to Letter of General Motors Acceptance Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a reply from the American Finance Conference, Inc., to a letter from the General Motors Acceptance Corp. to me, which I inserted in an earlier RECORD.

The reply from the American Finance Conference, Inc., follows:

AUGUST 1, 1962.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
*Chairman, House Judiciary Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: You have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 12 a letter from Mr. Charles G. Stradella which refers to my letter of May 3 relative to General Motors Acceptance Corp.'s change of auto financing rates in the States of Texas and Washington.

Mr. Stradella confirms my statement to you that a time buyer whose transaction is acquired by General Motors Acceptance Corp. does not thereby purchase a car at a cheaper rate of finance charge to him.

You will recall that at the hearings some members of the committee expressed concern that the car buyer would suffer a greater charge for financing his purchase if General Motors Acceptance Corp. was divested from General Motors. Mr. Stradella's letter should clear up this point because he carefully explains that "General Motors Acceptance Corp. does not set the dealer's charge to the customer. The dealer determines this himself." He states that the dealer may charge 6 percent or less, which is the general going rate for finance charge to new-car buyers, or he may charge a hiked-up rate of 7 percent, or a shocking rate of 8 percent, it makes no difference to General Motors Acceptance Corp. or General Motors. General Motors Acceptance Corp. will discount the deal at 4 percent and pay the dealer the excess of time finance charge which the customer promises to pay.

Why does Mr. Stradella expect the dealer to somehow pass his savings in discount along to the customer when the General Motors Acceptance Corp. plan announcing it, explained to the dealer that he may charge the customer under it as much as 8-percent discount per annum, thus inviting him not to pass the savings along?

Mr. Stradella takes pride in reporting to you that under this General Motors Acceptance Corp. plan, only 18 percent of the new car buyers get hit with a financing charge of more than 7 percent and only 49 percent pay a financing charge of more than 6 percent.

These statistics are of little comfort to those General Motors time buyers who are paying 8 percent or even more than the going rate of 6 percent.

Mr. Stradella denies that General Motors Acceptance Corp. does not buy the mine run of GM dealers' time sales. Since we are at issue on this point the American Finance Conference stands ready to present at any future hearing on this matter the statistics of General Motors Acceptance Corp. showing the downpayments and the term of months contracted for in contract purchases from dealers by General Motors Acceptance Corp., as shown by its annual reports, with a comparison of such downpayments and terms to contracts purchased from General Motors Acceptance Corp. dealers by independent finance companies. These statistics will convince you that generally General Motors Acceptance Corp. takes the GM dealers top-grade contracts "with recourse" while the independents can buy only the lower grade contracts "without recourse."

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that you insert this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at your convenience with an appropriate reference to your extension of remarks dated July 12, 1962.

Since Mr. Stradella's letter refers to H.R. 71 and was circularized to the other members of the House Judiciary Committee, we are also sending a copy of this letter to these other members of the committee.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL B. DEANE,
*Washington Counsel.*

## Poland: A Test Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the contents of a recent press interview with His Excellency H. E. August Zaleski, President of the Republic of Poland.

The views expressed by Mr. Zaleski, unfortunately, do not reflect much optimism for the early liberation of the brave, long-suffering Polish people. It is the ill-fated agreements at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam which consigned Poland and other nations desiring to be free, to cruel oppression behind the Iron Curtain, that are still working an unconscionable denial of their right to self-determination, self-government, and relief from oppression.

On moral grounds these decisions were entirely unjustifiable and shocking; on political grounds they have served only to perpetuate division and separation of the free world and cause this nation to lose valuable, loyal allies.

Any policy that penalizes friends and strengthens potential enemies is questionable, to say the least, and, of course, it is impossible to find any justification for it, moral, legal, political, economic, or humanitarian.

To the contrary, this policy is permeated with injustice and cries out to

Heaven for rectification, yet little, if anything, is being done by the free world to bring about this desirable result.

Hence, many small, weaker nations, in addition to those already enslaved, live in constant fear of aggression and conspiracy that may strip them of their rights, while powerful, free nations, and the United Nations, stand idly by.

Foreign relations and foreign agreements should be based upon principles of justice, equity and fair dealing between nations and peoples. Territorial aggrandizement by the strong of the territories and rights of the weak violate not only the United Nations Charter and the long-respected fundamentals of international law, but shamefully flout the conscience of mankind itself.

Until the United Nations and the associated free powers make up their minds to stand for the great principles of international and human justice, the plight of the weak, the oppressed and the tyrannized will continue to plague the whole world, divide the forces of freedom and give Marxist communism the power to thwart the hopes and dreams of mankind for peace, security, freedom, and a better life.

The press interview follows:

SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH H. E. AUGUST ZALESKI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

The June issue of the London Rzeczpospolita Polska (Republic of Poland), published by the Polish Government in exile, includes an exclusive interview with H. E. August Zaleski, legitimate President of the Republic of Poland, on the subject of current international affairs. The interview was granted by him to Mr. Jan Walewski, vice chairman of the Council of the Polish Republic (a parliamentary body in exile), whose recent article on the Katyn Forest massacre was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (Washington, D.C., May 14, 1962).

The text of the interview, with Mr. Walewski's introductory remarks, is given below:

"As a thoughtful American journalist describes it, the present free West is in a 'lost world.' And within such a lost world we encounter a ceaseless flow of public enunciations voiced by Western statesmen which unfortunately bring little that is positive. It seemed only right to us that the legitimate President of Poland should express his views on current international affairs in an interview for publication—and this he agreed to do. His statements and political formulations have always been noted for their maturity and precision of judgment backed up by Mr. Zaleski's vast fund of experience amassed during some 50 years of solid and meritorious service for the ideal of a really independent Poland. Moreover, President Zaleski's enunciations reflect two other most currently indispensable features: the courage of his convictions and the moral strength of his character.

"Asked to appraise the present international situation, President Zaleski stated the following:

" 'There can be no doubt that the present international situation on the whole provides no grounds for optimism. Lord Strang, that eminent expert on international relations and Permanent Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office for many years, wrote in his capital work on the history of Britain's foreign policy that this consists in muddling through every matter from one case to another. This perhaps oversevere judgment can in lesser or greater degree be applied to the policy of many of the great powers. Only, nobody wants to admit it so frankly as Lord Strang did.

" 'But even if this were not so, would the world situation be any different? The great powers are usually charged with identifying might with right. I think it is a far more serious error to identify might with wisdom, and this mistake is really the most characteristic feature of power policy.

" 'After all, Dr. Adenauer stated some time ago—on June 11th to be exact—that Belgium's opposition to certain proposals advanced at a conference on the European Common Market has no great significance. Once the Great Powers come to an understanding among themselves, the other ones will later have to reconcile themselves to this attitude. He was not concerned whether the smaller countries are right or not.

" 'The Big Three did the same at Yalta. The opinions of the lesser states, who protested and with absolute precision foresaw the outcome of this disastrous agreement, were not only excluded from consideration but the views of the smaller countries were not even sought—for "might is wisdom." It is needless to cite further examples of such an attitude. During the interwar years, did not some powers do all possible to strengthen Germany? Do we not remember all the obstacles raised to obstruct Poland's foreign policy during the first few years of her restored independence merely in order to enfeeble allied France? And, what was the reception given to Marshal Pilsudski's proposal that moderation be forced upon Nazi Germany by threatening her with a preventive war?

" 'But let us return to the present juncture. The situation today is nothing but an outcome of the Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam agreements. It is 17 years since the war ended, yet a peace treaty has yet to be signed, and in effect none of the matters stemming from the war has been definitively settled—from the primary question of frontier settlements to the secondary one of communications with West Berlin. Not only do these matters remain unsettled but nobody, literally no one, knows which approach will lead to their settlement. The only encouraging thing in this situation is the fact that nobody wants a great war since with modern weapons such a war might bring incalculable disasters. I have in mind, of course, a great war on the scale of the two World Wars—for minor wars are a virtually constant feature. Suffice it to mention that the hostilities in Laos came to an end because American and British troops landed in Thailand. But, who knows how long the understanding reached by the three Lao princes will last and how it will work in practice?'

"Question. The present fashion for Russia in the West and the cross-country run to Moscow by politicians, journalists, intellectuals and so on seems to me not only unwise and harmful but often even humiliating. What is your opinion on this point, Mr. President?

"Answer. I spoke just now about ascribing excessive rights to the mighty and the harm this brings to international relations. What can I say about this if it happens with regard to might erroneously evaluated? The Western world seems to be fascinated by Russia's power. This is reflected not only in the field of politics but also in a simply astounding adoration of all that is Russian. After all, communism has ruled Russia for the last 45 years and yet that country is not able even to feed her own population although she holds the Ukraine, that most fertile part of Europe, apart from huge areas in Asia. The very fact that in effect nearly all that happens in Russia is veiled in secrecy—that for a foreigner to show interest in even the most everyday features of life there is regarded as espionage by the Soviet Government—should be adequate proof that things in the Soviet Union are not so good as the West supposes. The West should, after all, remember that if not for the munitions supplied by the United States and Britain, Russia would have been unable to cope with the German invasion. Russia has certainly made some progress since then, but it cannot keep pace with the progress simultaneously made by the Western Powers: the tempo of Soviet progress is incomparably slower.

"Question. Mr. President, what are your views on the European Common Market?

"Answer. The successes of the Common Market to date and the harmonious cooperation of the member countries as also new strategical requirements have convinced Great Britain that she must take the fact into account that she is really an offshore island of Europe. Having taken cognizance of this fact, Britain has decided to accede to this Common Market. The decision was not easily made, the more so that at the beginning of the century England was proud she could follow a policy of splendid isolation while more or less disregarding happenings on the Continent. Britain must moreover allow for her commitments toward the British Commonwealth of Nations. But everything indicates that the difficulties will be overcome and that Great Britain will join the Common Market.

"So far, the Common Market primarily bears the character of an economic understanding, but there can be no doubt that such economic collaboration, if crowned with success, may lead to ever closer integration of the member countries likewise in the political field. It is not strange therefore that some circles in many countries fear their national character will be lost. But it seems to me the integration of Europe in the political sense will be a gradual process, whilst such strong national individualities as France, England, Italy, and Germany with their specific cultures and languages need fear no loss of individuality.

"Question. Mr. President, it seems to me that the endless small-talk at the Geneva Disarmament Conference should be described as more conversations and not as negotiations. It looks in fact as if the conference began at the wrong end. After all, there can be no word of real disarmament when no real international trust exists. What is your opinion, Mr. President?

"Answer. This is not the first disarmament conference nor the last, and we know from experience how great are the difficulties inherent in the problem. It suffices to review world history to acquire the conviction that it is most difficult to put ones trust on international commitments. In fact, the history of international relations can be treated as one long chain of broken treaties with new ones concluded in their place. To eliminate this danger, it would be necessary to establish very strict international inspection control over the execution of the commitments embodied in every disarmament treaty. In any case, such a country as Russia, which has the objective of establishing her rule over the world by spreading the Communist system everywhere through the recognition of the primacy of the Russian Communist Party over the other parties, cannot agree to real, effective inspection. It would undermine her principal purpose.

"Question. Mr. President, the Communist regime in Warsaw and its agents in other countries mendaciously and impudently charge us with not properly defending the Polish frontier on the Oder-Neisse.

"Answer. The legitimate authorities of the Polish Republic have never ceased to proclaim that they consider the Oder-Neisse frontier is the definitive western frontier of the Republic and they are making every possible effort to secure its definitive recognition by the Wester Powers. This is not our only solicitude with regard to frontiers. Our eastern frontier is also important for us, and the restoration of the frontier fixed by the Treaty of Riga is likewise one of our

aims. The question of both these frontiers is moreover bound up with the recovery of absolute independence by Poland, who now in reality remains under Russian occupation."

## Sharpen Safety, Prevent Injuries at Mowing Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, in the final months of this summer, the hazards to the weekend gardener have again been brought to my attention. One of the greatest hazards is the power mower, a tool which, when properly handled and dealt with is a great boon; but when carelessly or improperly worked with becomes a mechanical monster ready to wreak pain, suffering, and serious injury.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which lists simple rules which, if the home gardener will follow, will give him greater pleasure and free him from the dangers of the power mower:

SHARPEN SAFETY, PREVENT INJURIES AT MOWING TIME

(By Claire Cox)

NEW YORK.—Safety engineers would like a word with the Nation's weekend gardeners, now that it is time to start mowing the crabgrass.

Don't treat your power mower like a toy, they warned.

But handle it as carefully as you would maneuver your automobile.

The American Standards Association has established rigid requirements for manufacturers to follow in making mowers as safe as possible. Now, safety engineers wish a few safeguards could be built into the people who steer the mowers.

Simple rules do exist for operating power mowers and a new standard setting them forth has been approved by the association, providing for the following precautions:

All children, including teenagers, should be forbidden to operate a power mower under any circumstances and they should be banned from the area where a mower is in use. Children should be forbidden to ride as a passenger on a riding-type mower.

Debris must be cleared from a lawn before a mower is run over a single blade of grass. This includes toys, stones, clothespins, pieces of wire and glass and other objects, which should be raked up.

Operators must know how to stop a mower at a moment's notice.

Always stand behind a mower and move it forward, never pull it or guide it backward. Never run with the mower, but walk with it at an easy pace.

Never mow wet grass. One housewife did, and lost several toes when she slipped and her foot came in contact with the blade. The best time to mow is when the turf is dry, usually late in the day.

Never go barefoot.

When approached while mowing, shut the motor off.

Plan your mowing so the grass-discharge side of the mower never is aimed at passersby or neighbors. If the machine should pick up a stone, it will hurl it with the force of a bullet.

Operate the mower at the slowest speed that will cut satisfactorily.

When filling the tank, be careful not to spill gasoline on your clothing or the machine and never smoke while doing this job.

In other words, the American Standards Association says, treat your power mower with respect or it might turn against you.

## They Are Training To Train Others

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN BRADEMAS**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article from the Indianapolis Star of August 12, 1962, concerning the program for the training of Peace Corps volunteers at Indiana University.

These volunteers are completing their training to serve in Tunisia.

The article follows:

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Aug. 12, 1962]

THEY ARE TRAINING TO TRAIN OTHERS—A GROUP OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS, INCLUDING RECENT COLLEGE GRADUATES AND RETIRED PERSONS, HAVE JUST COMPLETED THEIR PREPARATIONS TO SERVE IN TUNISIA

(By Patricia Brogneaux)

The Peace Corps was 17 months old on August 1. It is still so new that no volunteer has completed his first 2-year tour of service, so new that no one has come up for reenlistment. And a great segment of the American public still looks somewhat askance at anyone who would toss aside 24 wage-earning months in the United States to go abroad and work with countries which boldly asked for his services.

Its training programs are still so flexible that a great deal of the instruction preceding the oversea tour is left to the universities where it is carried out. At Indiana University, for example, 77 Peace Corps trainees arrived in early June to begin 9 weeks of preparation for service in Tunisia. But before they did, the university's representatives and members of Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver's staff had to work out a training program.

By June 4, when IU was graduating its own seniors, the Peace Corps trainees had already completed one day of what would be an intensive program to prepare them for a weeding out process this month—and then 2 years in the North African nation of Tunisia.

Why Tunisia? Because the country, young in independence but ancient in history, had asked for help. It needed architects to help plan low-income housing and multistory public buildings and building construction supervisors to carry out the projects. It needed mechanics to supervise repair and upkeep of equipment and to train Tunisians in modern methods. And it asked for physical education instructors to help at the National Institute of Physical Education and Sports near Tunis and to set up physical education and recreation programs in 10 children's villages for homeless and abandoned youngsters.

According to a representative from the Tunisian Embassy in Washington, Ismail Khelil, "Tunisia is committed to a big job, to build up her dignity, consolidate her freedom, and assure her advancement." And the job isn't an easy one.

Under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba, the candidate of the notables and intellectuals who founded the Constitutionalist Liberal Party, Tunisia won a battle for independence from France in the spring of 1956. The French began to withdraw from the country, and as they did they left the young nation in a state of underdevelopment and economic chaos.

So, Tunisia was a new country with all the problems of survival in the modern world. Some 350,000 of its 4 million persons were unemployed. Its economy was and is handicapped by a shortage of skilled personnel, widespread illiteracy, technical backwardness. An agrarian nation, Tunisia is a country where 73 percent of the populace receives less than $120 yearly and 14 percent survives on an annual income of about $216.

Struggling under its new and heavy load, the Bourguiba Government asked for help. Mrs. Nan McEvoy, deputy assistant for the African program, recommended that Tunisia be given aid.

The Corps recruited 77 persons to fill the areas in which Tunisia needed help and chose Indiana University because of its excelelnce in language instruction and physical education. About half the volunteers were college graduates—some were late to the campus because of their own commencement exercises—but some had less than high school education. What mattered were the skills they possessed and their ability to help get Tunisia to its feet.

The volunteers (technically they were still trainees) moved into Ruby Mason Hall, a new limestone building at the east edge of the Bloomington campus. Their counselor was Harry Whitesell, who recently completed a year in Tunisia with the Foreign Service. Also living with them were two graduate students from Tunisia, Nouredine Faifoul and Abdelwahab M'Rabet, who were there for consultation.

The volunteers were provided housing, meals, medical care and an allowance of $3 weekly for laundry and $2 daily for incidentals. When they do go abroad, they will have a living allowance and will return hom to a bank account equivalent to $75 for each month of their service abroad.

All 77 were launched on an intensive 10-hour-a-day, 6-day-a-week program directed by Arthur Glover, who was responsible for a staff of instructors, medics and consultants of approximately 35 persons. The program was under the supervision of Indiana University's Dean Samuel E. Braden and Albert Meisel, Peace Corps training officer. By midway the trainees had been reduced by 3 due to problems outside the Peace Corps program, leaving a total of 5 girls and 68 men.

The largest group of trainees comprised 27 heavy roadbuilding equipment mechanics who got the jump on their fellow volunteers by attending 6 weeks of intensive technical training at the Caterpillar Tractor Co. in Peoria, Ill.

Among these was 69-year-old Oscar Haugen of Argyle, Minn., currently listed as the oldest member of the entire Peace Corps. With a life-time of work behind him as a mechanic and in the roadbuilding business, Haugen believes that "if you can do something good for other people, you should be willing to do it."

Nearly matching Haugen in age are Virgil Moore of Aurora, Nebr., a 62-year-old farmer who left his Arizona land, a year after his wife died, to teach operation and maintenance of heavy equipment in Tunisia, and Canadian-born Jean Begin, 66, of Kaysville, Utah, with a background in sales engineering and heavy equipment.

Why did they join? It was an older volunteer who explained it this way: "When somebody asks me why I joined the Peace Corps, I ask him: 'What are you working for?'"

But many of the younger members have a different attitude.

"We're not 100 percent humanitarians," one boy pointed out. "There's something in it for us."

What appears to be "in it" for younger trainees are first, a sense of accomplishment; second, a unique education; third perhaps a bridge between the idealism of college and the jobs they will take later.

Take the case of Judy Julian of New Britain, Conn. A design artist, she was absent from her drawing board for several days because of an injury suffered in a skiing accident. "Nobody even missed me. I could have stayed away all week, and no one would have cared. There isn't much sense of accomplishment in a job like that."

Joan Ware, a 22-year-old architect from Schenectady, N.Y., welcomed an opportunity to plan government housing for Tunisia after "sitting over a drawing board for 5 years." To train for her service, she joined the construction supervisors Saturday mornings at Bloomington High School where they worked in teams to build and tear down concrete block walls.

For Patricia Merritt, a 21-year-old college graduate from Bloomfield, Mich., the Peace Corps is a "practical education." She anticipates a better teaching position when she comes back from organizing physical education programs in Tunisian schools.

But some volunteers joined at the expense of their jobs and some at the risk of personal relationships. One young man was scheduled to be married the day he left for the Corps. He didn't desert his fiancee—instead, the couple will wait until she finished 2 years more of college, giving him time to serve in Tunisia.

Most employers will welcome back the volunteer who left. Some corpsmen will go to better jobs because of their experience. Those who left school, as some did, plan to return. Among them is David Fischer of Pocatello, Idaho, who was a college instructor. After he sent six students off to the Corps, he decided to join, himself.

One young man said, "If you believe in this thing, you can't not join."

If their attitudes were frankly dubious when they arrived (one boy was disappointed when he found so many older volunteers but later credited them with being among the most dedicated of the group), the volunteers were enthusiastic. They had to be to carry out a strenuous schedule which required 10 hours of technical training weekly, 22½ hours of French, 6 on Tunisian studies and 6 on American studies, 5 on world affairs, 3 on health, and 7½ on physical training. Under the instruction of Mrs. Marian Walter and with the aid of Indiana University's language laboratories, the trainees absorbed 202½ hours of French by the time they left.

In class, the trainees studied Tunisian history, government, culture, and role in world affairs; U.S. history, Government, and social institutions, the U.S. role in world affairs, and international problems. Additional special lectures on the U.S. role in world affairs since World War II were nongraded, but they emphasized international communism's technique and ideology.

When they get to their posts, the volunteers will be there specifically to help Tunisians, to train them to help themselves. They are not officially representatives of the U.S. Government, nor will they be required to explain policies and programs of their Government. Relationships with Tunisia will be handled by an official Peace Corps representative, responsible to the Ambassador in that country, and the volunteers, themselves, will be treated as any other foreign visitor. The volunteers do not see themselves as missionaries nor even particularly dedicated patriots. They are idealistic and they are practical.

Perhaps their attitudes are best expressed by 36-year-old Saliba Ansara, born in Jerusalem, fluent in Arabic, raised in the turbulent Mideast. Ansara, who recognizes the need for help in that part of the world, became a citizen of the United States last October. He joined the Peace Corps as soon as his services were called.

Says Ansara:

"The President said in a speech, 'Ask what you can do for your country.' That is what I have done."

## President Failed To Inspire the People in His Televised Tax Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 6, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the following statement I issued to the press expressing my views on President Kennedy's discussion of taxes and the economy:

The harm done to American economy and business men and women by the President can only be undone by him through knowledge of basic economics, leadership, and restoration of confidence. In this he failed. He dismissed the threat of inflation, yet he is accelerating spending and deficit financing. He took pride in the balance of payments, yet the world holds $22 billion in claims against our $16 billion gold and a run on the dollar is imminent when confidence is lacking. He announced an extraordinary record in labor peace, which the facts belie, and he overlooks the strikes against our defense missiles, nuclear, and space programs. He proclaimed our standing still compared to growth of Germany and Japan, which fallaciously overlooks our tremendously high economic base and the war devastation of those countries. He disclaims wild spending, overlooking the increased outlays outside defense, and the cost of many new programs, some of which he outlined—public works, food stamps, education aid, etc.—and then erroneously pictured fiscal responsibility as a percentage of GNP, overlooking the increased debt, heavier taxes ($1 billion increase in social security next January). He proclaimed the economic drag of present tax, but proposed no specific reforms, which he admits are overdue.

Indeed, this was a speech of alleged performances and promises, not matched by facts. It's time for Americans to ask how much better times would be and will be with less government, not more; less spending, not more; less debt, not more; and less tax, not more; in short, the plain unvarnished truth of capitalism and private enterprise, untrammeled by paternal government and the regimentation and planning of President Kennedy and the New Frontiersmen (like Schlesinger) who believe that "democratic socialism" must replace capitalism and freedom.

I concur with a statement issued by my colleague, TOM CURTIS of Missouri, in which he pointed out the rigged economic statistics contained in the speech. The American people deserve something better than the empty promises of the President's speech and hope for the future based on inaccuracies.

## Conditions on Railroads Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the Members of the Congress to the August 10, 1962, release of the Railway Labor Executives Association concerning the conditions which exist on the railroads today.

This release portrays quite well the workers' side of the story and I believe should be read by all the Members:

RAILROAD LABOR SAYS RECENT PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD WRECKS PROVE CARRIER IS ALREADY TOO LARGE FOR EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT AND SHOULD BAR MERGER WITH CENTRAL: RLEA ALSO DEMANDS CONGRESS ACT ON RAILROAD SAFETY BILL

The chief executives of the 24 standard railway labor organizations, convened at the August meeting of the Railway Labor Executives' Association this week in Washington, today adopted the following statement concerning recent wrecks on the Pennsylvania Railroad in which 19 persons were killed and over 100 injured:

Several immediate actions by Congress and the administration are clearly and urgently called for as the result of the recent wrecks on the Pennsylvania Railroad which caused 19 needless deaths, maimed and injured over 100 others and resulted in damages to freight and other property running into scores of millions of dollars.

Deferred and inadequate maintenance, the result of unwise policies on the part of railroad management, appear to be largely responsible for not only the fatal derailment of the baseball excursion train at Steelton, Pa., on July 28, but also a second wreck a few days later when 12 cars of a Pennsylvania mail train went off the rails at Vandalia, Ill., reportedly because of a broken rail. These accidents, and other recent ones which have sent railroad accident figures soaring, bear out the repeated warnings of the Railway Labor Executives' Association over the last few years that inadequate safety practices and dangerous undermaintenance of both track and equipment on the part of the Nation's railroads can only lead to a repetition and increase of such tragedies.

The toll of railroad accidents rose from a total of 12,910 railroad employees and 1,363 passengers killed and injured in 1959 to 13,441 workers and 1,495 passengers killed and injured in 1960, and preliminary figures, compiled on a more accurate basis, show 19,821 workers and 1,898 passengers killed and injured in 1961. This huge increase is all the more inexcusable in that while the number of injured workers was rising, average monthly railroad employment declined from 815,474 in 1959 to 718,352 last year. With still a further drop in employment, the number of employees and passengers killed and injured in the first 4 months of this year again showed a substantial increase over the same period last year.

What is particularly shocking is that, despite the soaring accident rate, railroad management has flatly turned down railroad labor's request for the establishment of a joint labor-management committee on safety, and the RLEA therefore has been compelled to establish its own Committee on Safety on a unilateral basis. Since the carriers have thus indicated that they are not properly concerned about safety matters, the American people must look to the administra-

tion and Congress to provide a much-needed remedy to the present intolerable situation.

The cost of these two wrecks on the Pennsylvania alone would have paid for many hundreds of miles of track maintenance which would have saved the many lives and prevented much human misery involved. Yet in recent weeks, despite the fact that in the second quarter of this year the railroad industry reported the highest percentage increase in net income of any American industry, many railroad managements have announced that they were curtailing their maintenance forces still further, allegedly to offset the costs of a wage increase won by the non-operating employees. The public can no longer afford to tolerate indifference to human welfare. It now must be clear to all thinking Americans that the statistical evidence shows each new cutback in rail employment is coincident with an increase in the accident rate with staggering resultant monetary losses to the railroads.

Moreover, the public surely must demand from the Interstate Commerce Commission more adequate action with respect to its responsibilities in the field of safety. Although railroad labor has constantly reminded the ICC of the unsafe conditions and deferred maintenance existing on many railroads in the United States, the Commission has failed and refused to undertake formal and extensive investigations of the various unsafe practices of the rail carriers and to ask Congress to enact remedial legislation. Instead of showing proper concern about the rising accident rate, however, the Commission right now is proposing by administrative action to virtually wipe out all of the protective safety requirements which Congress sought to provide when it adopted the Railroad Signal Inspection Act.

The unsafe conditions on the Pennsylvania Railroad, which resulted in two disastrous wrecks in less than a week as the result of faulty track as far apart as Pennsylvania and Indiana, also prove the validity of the recent testimony of the Nation's top transportation economists before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee that this carrier is already too large for efficient management and sound railroad operations, so that its proposed merger with the New York Central must be prevented. Thus the wrecks are another warning that Congress and the administration must act to halt the pending railroad merger movement which proposes to create many other similar giant rail monopolies, also too large for efficient management and safe operations.

For the foregoing reasons, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, speaking for substantially all railroad workers, urges the following immediate actions by Congress as essential to protect the American people from other similar rail tragedies in the future:

1. The immediate enactment of S. 3097 and H.R. 11841, sponsored by Senator KEFAUVER and a number of other Senators and Representatives, to call a temporary halt to certain railroad merger proposals which, through exemption from the antitrust laws, would not only create many other monopolistic giants like the Pennsylvania Railroad but would also even compound the present structural weaknesses and inefficiency of the Nation's largest railroad by permitting it to become even more unmanageable and less safe through merger with the New York Central. Hearings on this legislation have been completed and it has been favorably reported by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. Its enactment is essential at this session in order to give Congress time to draft new legislation to protect the public interest against the kind of harmful railroad mergers now being proposed.

2. The immediate enactment of the track and bridge inspection bill S. 1669 and H.R. 1220, which would give the ICC authority it does not now have to prescribe rules to require the railroads to properly maintain and inspect track, bridges and roadbeds. The need for such legislation is clearly demonstrated by the causes of the recent wrecks. All such safety legislation should provide fines or penalties on thec arriers for violations to such an extent that the carriers cannot afford to ignore the provisions and should require the ICC to impose such penalty in each and every instance and for each day the violation exists.

3. The launching by the House and Senate Commerce Committees of full scale investigations of the dangerous operating condition which has developed on many railroads as the result of improper safety practices and the grave undermaintenance situation which presently exists. Such investigations also should look into the present practices and policies of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the field of safety.

Finally, we ask President Kennedy to take whatever administrative actions are possible to insure more adequate concern for safety standards and enforcement by the Interstate Commerce Commission. We also urge him to support the legislative proposals outlined above.

## Why Not Listen to Khrushchev?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that the majority of the American people favor a firm foreign policy. The following editorial "Why Not Listen to Khrushchev?" which appeared in the Phoenix Gazette of July 31, does good service in calling to the attention of the American people some of the dangers inherent in a foreign policy based on the thesis that the Russians are "changing." It is to be hoped that people like Mr. Rostow will remember what happened to a world which did not believe a book written by an Austrian house-painter named Hitler.

WHY NOT LISTEN TO KHRUSHCHEV?

Much has been written and said in recent weeks about the foreign policy proposals of Presidential Adviser Walt Whitman Rostow.

As we know, Rostow has advanced the thesis that the Communist leaders are mellowing, that the Soviet Union is becoming a mature state and that the direction of communism is now toward a nonaggressive socialism. If, says Rostow, the United States acts friendly toward the Soviets, reduces its aggressive power and makes unilateral moves toward disarmament, the mellow Communists will respond by doing the same.

Well, instead of trying to answer that argument ourselves, let us let Mr. Khrushchev do it for us. Last March 16, when the "mellow" Mr. Khrushchev was in the midst of submitting his proposals for "universal and complete disarmament under strict international controls" he said this to the Supreme Soviet: "We have maintained, and still maintain, that the peoples which have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of colonialism can attain their liberation (become Communist) only through struggle and by relying on force. And those people which have already won their freedom (like Red China) can maintain their independence only through struggle, only by taking up arms in order to resist the colonialists and imperialists, who are armed to the teeth. Moreover, we do not merely talk about this but give considerable economic aid, including military aid, to those states which turn to us with requests for support in their struggle for the consolidation of their independence (the triumph of communism)."

As the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. points out, Khrushchev's disarmament proposal "contrasts strangely with his promises of continued military aid to the 'peoples fighting imperialism.' It is the sort of dual attitude which Lenin approved when he referred to the Communist attitude toward disarmament. Lenin stressed the idea that until the Socialist revolution triumphed throughout the world, the idea of disarmament was utopian.

"At the same time he advocated the advancement of radical and totally unrealistic Communist proposals (like Khrushchev's), purely for the purpose of 'unmasking the bourgeois pacifists' in the eyes of the masses.

"According to Lenin himself, 'Only after disarming the bourgeoisie can the proletariat, without betraying its universal and historic task (of winning world communism), scrap armaments altogether, and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only then and under no circumstances before.'"

This is why Khrushchev uses the time tested method of applying to us the "carrot and the stick." He holds out a dramatic offer of universal disarmament on the one hand and rattles his rockets and atomic bombs at us on the other. The idea is to scare and woo us into weakening our ability to destroy his military forces. If he can, by the policy of "peaceful coexistence," convince people like Rostow that we should begin a policy of unilateral disarmament—to prove we have no aggressive intentions—he will soon be able to embark on a whole series of Communist led "revolutions" without fear of attack by us. If he can get us to drop our nuclear guard, he can proceed to communize the world without fear of American nuclear retaliation.

That is what he himself tells us. At the 1960 meeting of the World Communist Parties he told his comrades that "revolutionary wars" for "national liberation," and guerrilla wars—like that in Vietnam—are both possible and legitimate as long as they are Communist led.

So if Mr. Rostow, and Mr. Rusk, and Mr. Kennedy are basing American policy toward Russia on Khrushchev and company being "mellow fellows" they are playing right into his bloody hands and laying the rest of the world open to rapid Communist domination.

Why don't they listen to Khrushchev—instead of to each other?

## Better Drug Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, events of the past few weeks have focused the attention of America and all the world on the problems of new drugs. Last

week, the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee—of which I am a member—met in executive session to consider legislation designed, among other purposes, to assure that new drugs are proven safe and effective before being placed on the market.

On Friday last week, in an editorial, the Newark Evening News, pointed up the need of the Congress to respond to the dangers that have been pointed out. I believe it appropriate that all our colleagues recognize this need, preparatory to consideration of the legislation that will come before the House. Certainly the newly appointed Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has done his bit to protect the public interest. We must no less do ours. The article follows:

BETTER DRUG CONTROL

The Government's new regulations for testing drugs must lead the public to wonder why such precautions had not before been exercised in its behalf.

The new provisions can neither damage free enterprise nor arbitrarily burden the medical profession. If there should arise complaints of needless paperwork that may easily be justified in the overriding consideration of safeguarding lives.

Certainly, in the light of thalidomide, MER-29, and others, there can be no quarrel with the requirement that henceforth the Food and Drug Administration be notified when doctors are given a new drug to test among their patients. Nor is it too much to ask that doctors meet high standards as investigators or employ strict clinical methods.

Progress reports would be required, with the FDA to be notified immediately if disturbing side effects from new drugs are detected. These provisions would repair weaknesses that have become evident in a voluntary system that lacked uniform testing, prompt communication of danger signs or quick withdrawal of suspect drugs. Quite fairly the drug industry has 60 days to present its objections to the changes.

Secretary Celebrezze has responded forthrightly to the danger signals. It now is up to Congress to do the same.

## Trade Bill and Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a very able article by Mr. Edson B. Smith, financial writer for the Boston Sunday Herald entitled "Lower Tariffs in United States Likely To Increase Unemployment."

I think Mr. Smith in his article makes several very good points which would appear to be virtually unanswerable, in fact, the first point that lower tariffs would increase unemployment is already admitted by the sponsors of the trade expansion bill who have provided business subsidies and unemployment roll benefits for the victims of cheap imports into this country.

The second point seems to be equally tenable and unanswerable and that seems to be that lower taxes have been largely responsible for increased business in the Common Market countries.

Since I have been urging lower taxes across the board for a long while now, naturally I am convinced that action to this end should have been taken a long time ago. I hope however, that it will soon be taken because time is running against us in the matter, indeed, in my opinion, it has already run so far with regard to development of recessionary forces and factors in our economy that perhaps even substantial tax cuts now might not completely serve to immediately revitalize the economy.

However, it is clear that this action should be taken now and that is what should be done, as Mr. Smith indicates, and as I have urged before—faster depreciation and reduced taxes, writeoffs to spur business.

I also think that the corporate rate should be substantially reduced. Small business has already been gravely affected throughout the country by a combination of oppressive taxation, extravagant and expensive bureaucratic regulations, labor troubles, and extremely difficult competition from big business and foreign imports in many instances, and also an unfair, picayune share of Government procurement as compared to big business. Unless these problems are tackled, and tackled vigorously, and soon, the prospects for adequate national growth, business prosperity, and full employment in this country could not be viewed with much optimism; in fact, the contrary would be the case, as I see it.

I hope that something will be done to tackle these various factors that are working out so adversely to our economic system and to spur adequate profits upon which it depends. I hope action will be taken at a very early date. The recent decision of our great President Kennedy to recommend tax revision and reduction at the next session should do much to improve our economic posture and I hope Congress will take appropriate action.

[From the Boston Sunday Herald, July 15, 1962]

LOWER TARIFFS IN UNITED STATES LIKELY TO INCREASE UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Edson B. Smith)

President Kennedy's trade bill has gone through the House with a margin or more than two votes to one. There is very little doubt that it will go through the Senate a few weeks hence and be signed into law by fall.

In a general way this measure gives the President wide latitude in adjusting tariffs. The basic theory seems to be that the European Common Market is the most important single economic fact in the world today and that we over here have some important adjustments to make to keep up with it. It is obviously President Kennedy's hope that he will be able to make some deals with the Common Market which will prove beneficial to the American economy.

We make no pretense of being able to understand just what it is which makes the Common Market click. And particularly do we not know whether this recent remarkable period of prosperity in Western Europe is due mainly to the fact of the Common Market or whether to the huge pent-up post-World War II demands.

Nearly everybody seems to assume that because of the Common Market working so well there will be more or less permanent prosperity from now on in Western Europe.

So far nobody has been able to explain to our satisfaction just how reducing tariffs by the United States is going to make more profits for American manufacturers. To a simple minded person such as we are the thought occurs that the most likely result from lower tariffs would be greater imports. And insomuch as wage costs in Western Europe are far and away below what they are in the United States we cannot see how a flood of European manufactured goods is going to do anything but increase unemployment over here.

BUSY BUILDING FALLOUT SHELTERS

It is interesting as one looks back, to note that a year ago the stock market was booming and we were all busily engaged in building fallout shelters. Kennedy had met Khrushchev in Vienna and came home wondering how war could be avoided. A year ago we were afraid Africa and South America would go Communist and we added hundreds of thousands of men to our Armed Forces and billions to our defense spending.

In the summer of 1961 the world looked as though it might be falling apart, and stocks boomed.

Of course, one never can be sure what lies around the corner, with half of the world's population governed by Communist dictatorships. But at the moment, at least, our world position looks a lot better than it did a year ago. South America has shown no disposition to follow Castro's Cuba. Africa is not Communist and it is quieting down. China is starving and Russia is having trouble raising the food it needs. And Moscow seems to be even less happy about the European Common Market than are we in the United States.

The big problem facing the United States today is how to get profit margins up to where they ought to be. The surest prediction is that until business in the United States becomes adequately profitable, there will be excessive unemployment and there will be frequent recessions of greater or less severity.

A year ago it appeared that our problems were mainly military and diplomatic. Today they seem to be mainly economic.

COMMON MARKET TAXES LOWER

Some of the reasons why Western Europe is doing so much better than we are businesswise is that the Common Market countries business taxes are lower, depreciation allowance much higher, and labor unions function more in harmony with the overall welfare. One way or another costs are kept down.

A lot of people talk a lot about how we must bring our economy into closed association with the Common Market and how this is going to be good for us. Former President Eisenhower was for Kennedy's free trade bill, so at the moment the matter is not likely to develop into a partisan political issue.

As we say, we do not know enough about the overall Common Market situation in respect to our own economy to know whether what President Kennedy wants to do is going to work out well or not. We can recall many occasions in the past when many very well informed people turned out to be very wrong about economic sequences.

Every day somebody asks us what the stock market is going to do over the months ahead. How can anybody answer such a question in the absence of a firm opinion as to what corporate earnings are going to be 6 months and year hence.

Our own idea at the moment is that something like 525 or a little over the Dow Jones industrials (which is where the market stopped going down in June) is low enough if the Dow earnings will in fact be $35 this

year and if they are not going lower in 1963. On the other hand if corporate earnings are going to decline substantially over the months ahead, it is close to a certainty that stock prices will be lower.

This Kennedy trade bill might turn out to be a bull argument. On the other hand, it might not.

## Port Authority of Allegheny County Urges Action on Mass Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on July 6, 1962, the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, with broad bipartisan support, reported favorably on H.R. 11158, the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1962.

The people of my congressional district and in Allegheny County recognize that passage of this bill during this session of Congress is vital to their economic welfare.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter from Harley L. Swift, executive director of the Port Authority of Allegheny County, urging congressional action on the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1962:

PORT AUTHORITY OF
ALLEGHENY COUNTY,
*Pittsburgh, Pa., August 10, 1962.*

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
*Representative, 28th District, Pennsylvania, Old House of Representatives Office Building, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: The passage of the the so-called Williams bills in the House and in the Senate, I think that the House bill is No. 11158, providing aid for mass transit throughout the United States, are in my opinion and in the opinion of others as well, so vitally important to the economic welfare and to the development and growth of cities and areas of even as low as 100,000 in population that even though I talked to you at length via long distance telephone this morning I am writing you tonight to again urge you to do everything in your power to get the bills out of committee and onto the floors of both the House and the Senate and passed.

You are familiar with the transit problem in Pittsburgh and what we are doing to solve, salve, and improve it. We have spent more than a year now attempting to acquire via purchase the properties and franchises of some 33 bus and street railway companies in Allegheny County and weld them into one coordinated, well-managed system. By the end of the year we will have agreements to sell from all of them. The sum of money required to accomplish this will be large, larger than the county can carry and larger than can be privately financed through revenue bonds. Under the previsions of the Williams bills this vital coordination of mass transit in Allegheny County can be accomplished.

The early passage of these bills is therefore vital to the economic welfare of the cities and communities in Allegheny County and to Pittsburgh proper.

While I am writing this letter as executive director of the Port Authority of Allegheny County, the agency charged with and responsible for coordinating mass transportation in the Pittsburgh area, I also as a director and general consultant of American Transportation Enterprises, Inc., who operate transit companies in Allentown, Bethlehem, Easton, Harrisburg, and Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Wilmington, Del.; Covington and Newport, Ky.; Omaha, Nebr.; Richmond and Portsmouth, Va.; Chattanooga and Nashville, Tenn.; Akron and Youngstown, Ohio; Springfield, Ill.; and Baton Rouge, La.; am authorized to speak for them as well in urging prompt passage of these bills as essential to metropolitan area welfare even though the assistance under the act may never be necessary in these cities.

Again, Bill, I urge you to please put forth all of the influence and power that you command to secure action on and passage of these bills very soon. If I can assist you by coming to Washington and telling our story, please call on me.

Most sincerely,

HARLEY L. SWIFT,
*Executive Director.*

## Tribute to Former U.S. Representative Lowell Stockman

SPEECH
OF
### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, last week I was greatly shocked to read of the death of Lowell Stockman who served in the House of Representatives in the 78th, 79th, 80th, and 81st and 82d Congresses.

Lowell Stockman represented the Second Congressional District of Oregon, having been raised in Pendleton, Oreg. After retiring voluntarily in 1952, he went into business as a wheat rancher and in 1958 moved his residence into my district in Washington State after buying the Eastgate Mobile Manor.

Mr. Speaker, Lowell Stockman never lost his keen interest in politics. He came back to Washington, D.C., regularly and always came and sat at the Republican roundtable in the House Restaurant and had lunch and visited with old friends. I first learned he had moved into my congressional district when I was making a speech in Bellevue and found he had done me the honor by coming to hear me. Just a few days before he died he had stopped by my office here in the Nation's Capital to visit.

The privilege of serving in Congress with Lowell was never mine because I came here the year he left, but I know of the respect which this tall, handsome Member of Congress enjoyed from his colleagues. He was modest, considerate, and unassuming but more than that he was of sound judgment and held in the highest esteem by all who knew him.

I feel, Mr. Speaker, better for my acquaintance with Lowell Stockman. I know he was a friend although he was always careful not to impose on my time.

His untimely death is a real loss. He was a conscientious and good citizen. He set a good example in his own character and way of life. Our country and the new neighborhood where he had been living of recent years need men like Lowell Stockman. Men in active political life like myself need well informed men of high integrity on the homefront. He was only 61 years of age and had much yet to contribute to the well-being of his fellow citizens.

I regret deeply his passing and extend to his son, two daughters, and wife my profound sympathy in their loss.

## The Russian People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, this week I read an excellent editorial which displayed so much understanding and which was so well written that I wanted my colleagues and the many other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to have the opportunity of seeing it also. The article, entitled "The Russian People," gives deep insight into the Russian mentality and helps to explain what must happen before the Russians will throw off their system of state slavery and adopt a form of government which allows its citizens some degree of individual freedom.

The editorial appeared in the Metter Advertiser, Metter, Ga., published by my constituent, the Honorable R. G. Daniell, outstanding newspaper publisher, farmer, businessman, civic leader, and former State legislator of progressive Candler County.

The article follows:

[From the Metter (Ga.) Advertiser, July 30, 1962]

THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

The people of the West, most of whom believe in both freedom of the individual and the democratic process, must understand the mentality of the Russian people if we are to exploit the limited chance of influencing those currently under the yoke of Communist totalitarianism.

It is often asked how the Russian people patiently put up with the evils and limitations of the Communist system. First of all, one must remember that these people have never known real personal freedom and democracy and know nothing better than what they have today.

The standard of living in Russia was lower under the Tsar than it is today under communism. The Communists, helped to power in 1917 by the Germans, to whom the Communists surrendered, have had 45 years now to indoctrinate the people and only the elderly can remember the times of the Tsar. And the last years of the Tsar's reign were years of terrible hardship.

So how much can we expect from the Russian people, blindfolded for all these years and knowing only that today, little as they have, they are better off than they were under the Tsar, materially? Our expectations must be reasonable.

We can expect the Russian people to eventually demand more freedom and democratic

process, and we must do everything we can to penetrate the Iron Curtain and tell the Russian people the true story of the free enterprise system. But it may be a slow development.

We cannot expect the Russian people to suddenly and immediately understand or desire our system. Nor can we assume that our system is so perfect that merely as an example to the world it will eventually win over everyone to its cause. That will have to come in good time, as we succeed in penetrating the censorship and Iron Curtain with our message, and improving our system.

Perhaps the germ we can spread which will do more good than any other is the germ of individual freedom we hold so dear. This spark has been the igniting force behind most of the world's great democratic movements, and in time, it will produce a ground swell of antitotalitarian sentiment which will overthrow repression.

It took the American colonists some years before they resolved to fight and die for independence. It is disappointing that the Russian people do not feel this way even as late as 1962. But then the Russian peasant has endured an incredibly hard existence for centuries and knows little of freedom. He has never enjoyed it.

He must learn about it from others, then, from abroad. This is why we must do our best to tell our story inside Russia and get the message to the people of Russia. Even if we do our best, it may take some time before the Russian people demand the freedoms and rights which many Western peoples have long enjoyed.

But, eventually, the Russian people will demand individual freedom, and overthrow dictatorship. That is the trend and history of the world. It could be a long time before this reaction is successful. Meanwhile, we can aggressively tell the story of the free enterprise system, to all the world, and do what we can to show the light to the people of the U.S.S.R. That is our hope since Communist Party leaders, in possession of the power of state, will not reform themselves. And they are not interested in a just solution to world problems or real democracy.

## No $280,000 for Brazilian Soccer Club From AID

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most foolish rumors which has appeared lately is one which states that the Agency for International Development, through the Alliance for Progress, has allocated $280,000 to a Brazilian soccer club. This particular information appeared in a syndicated column.

To kill this rumor I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter which I received from the Agency for International Development with reference thereto:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
*Washington, D.C., August 10, 1962.*

The Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: Thank you for your letter of August 2, requesting information concerning the statement quoted by Miss Kilgallen to the effect that the Alliance for Progress is about to allocate $280,000 to the Flamingo Soccer Club of Rio de Janeiro.

Obviously, there has been some misunderstanding, as there is absolutely no foundation to the statement made by the Brazilian newspaper, Diario de Noticias, which she quoted, that such an allocation would be made.

Ambassador Gordon did congratulate the national Brazilian soccer team on its winning the world championship, but no funds have been granted or even considered for any activity connected with the Brazilian soccer club.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN L. SALTER,
*Assistant Administrator, AID, Congressional Liaison.*

## Pharmaceuticals: Study of Industry a Boon to All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I quoted an editorial from one of the papers in my district that called upon the Congress to act in protecting the public interest with respect to the use of newly discovered drugs. From this it should not be inferred that the American pharmaceutical industry itself is working against that interest. To the contrary, leaders throughout this vitally important industry—so well represented in my own State of New Jersey—have consistently pledged themselves and acted in behalf of that public interest.

One of the most energetic and distinguished among the younger leaders of the pharmaceutical industry is Dr. V. D. Mattia, vice president and director, Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc., of Nutley, N.J. In addition to being one of my constituents, Dr. Barney Mattia is one of my dearest, most respected personal friends. Though he is an acknowledged leader in his industry, the doctor is first of all a dedicated citizen, who thinks and acts in terms of what he can to do to contribute to the citizens of our community, and of our whole Nation. How strongly Barney Mattia considers and respects his responsibility as a citizen is reflected in an article that he wrote which appeared on August 10 in John Soloway's column, "Jersey Business," a regular feature of the Newark Star-Ledger.

I am sure that when my colleagues read Dr. Mattia's piece, they will be heartened, as I am, that in our legislative actions, we have behind us in the search for the ultimate in protecting the public the actions of highly intelligent, completely ethical industrial leaders.

PHARMACEUTICAL: STUDY OF INDUSTRY A BOON TO ALL

(By Dr. V. D. Mattia)

Today, American medicine has reached crossroads in history. The whole system of medical care is under intense public scrutiny because people feel entitled to benefit from advances in medical sciences, no matter what their cost.

Progress in this field has been impressive. For example, during the period of 1900–60 the average life expectancy has increased from 47 to 69 years, today, 4.4 million Americans are alive who would have died if the 1937 death rate had continued at that level.

These figures show that the majority of the people in this country have benefited from medical advances. Yet we must acknowledge the existence of serious problems.

They may affect only a small number of people; but to the retired couple living on social security the cost of modern drugs may be a heavy burden. Granted that a $12 prescription for an antiobiotic may save a life and prevent expensive hospitalization, it is still beyond the means of a man who is rearing a large family on $90 a week. Obviously a workable solution to the cost of medication must be found in the near future.

It cannot be denied that those who develop, manufacture, dispense, and prescribe modern drugs hold a position of public trust. Understandably enough, the pharmaceutical industry has recently come under close scrutiny, especially by Senator KEFAUVER. His investigation has received extensive publicity, for the explosive growth of this relatively young industry has resulted in both benefits and problems for the patient and the physician in true democratic tradition, the policies and practices of the drug industry had to be analyzed and appraised. No doubt the industry has made some mistakes. In my opinion, their frank discussion has made it a better industry and the public is the beneficiary.

What was not made clear during the investigation is the importance of competition. The American public greatly benefits from this competition since it is the spur that leads to greater emphasis on research, resulting in the development of better, more effective drugs.

Another benefit of competition has been the shortened gap between scientific advances and their availability in medical practice. Formerly, major discoveries often shared the fate of penicillin which was found in 1929, prior to the growth of the pharmaceutical industry, but became available only in 1942. Today's relentless competitive pressure has minimized such delays.

Competition has also resulted in emphasis on greater efficiency, producing substantial savings for the American public. In spite of steep increases in the cost of raw materials and labor, the price of prescription drugs has increased less than the cost of living.

As may be expected, public attention has been focused on the economic aspects of medical care—a subject likely to arouse considerable passion. It would be a tragedy if this passion—frequently aggravated by political factors—were to drive a wedge between the various elements so essential to medical progress.

In a system like ours, confronted by serious problems, it is absolutely folly for any one group—be it the pharmaceutical industry, the medical profession or the Government—to "go it alone." The inescapable truth is that Government, industry, organized medicine and research institutions have a joint responsibility to the public. Fair solutions to the economic problems of medical care must be worked out; but other problems of equal magnitude remain to be solved if the all-out battle against cancer, heart attacks, arthritis and other serious scourges is to be won.

President Kennedy has expressed a desire to lower the cost of medical care and to promote medical research. This will best be accomplished only when each member of the team—Government, industry, the medical profession, and medical research centers—

takes a constructive approach to public scrutiny.

In particular, the pharmaceutical industry has to face the need for new legislation, for months of intensive inquiry leave little doubt about its desirability. In the public interest, it is to be hoped that Congress will pass a sound, reasonable law rather than listen to the advocates of punitive, restrictive measures. The public must be protected and the industry needs scope to intensify its search for better drugs.

Some brokers have become disillusioned with the pharmaceutical industry but most stockholders will in the long run reap satisfactory benefits from investment in progressive pharmaceutical companies. The unique responsibility of the pharmaceutical industry demands that these benefits be shared by the patient and the physician, as well as the stockholders.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

# Appendix

## Great and Hospitable Community of Mount Carmel, Pa., Is Gloriously Celebrating Its 100th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. IVOR D. FENTON**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday evening I had the honor and privilege of attending the opening of the centennial celebration at Mount Carmel, Pa., with the week's great activities opening with an Americanism program at the fine Catholic high school field.

My good friend and colleague, Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, for 3 consecutive years national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a leader in the activities of all veterans' organizations, was the principal speaker. In his usual forceful manner JIMMY delivered an excellent discourse.

Mr. Speaker, Mount Carmel and its people are among the most hospitable in the United States. I have many close and dear friends in Mount Carmel, and I certainly would have liked to be present for the entire week and renew acquaintances with those who came from far and near to join in the celebration.

However, Mr. Speaker, I was present at the opening program in Mount Carmel and I know the people of that fine American community realize it was more important for me to return to Washington to represent their interests in the busy schedule and important matters we are having this week both in committees and on the floor of the House.

The Mount Carmel Item, Mr. Speaker, estimated that more than 35,000 persons witnessed the great opening spectacle, fittingly designated as "Americanism Day." Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, the progressive and alert Mount Carmel Item published an excellent centennial edition on Monday which consisted of 40 pages and contains much information about good old Mount Carmel, which was incorporated as a borough on November 3, 1862.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, it was a wonderful opening for Mount Carmel's 100th anniversary celebration, and the many committees in charge, as well as all the citizens of Mount Carmel can well feel proud of their accomplishments during the past century.

Mount Carmel is a community of all nationalities. It is a real and typical American community whose sons and daughters have fought in many wars. Many of them went on to win national acclaim, and the list is so extensive that to mention them individually might result in some one being overlooked. However, suffice to say that many of these names have and will go down in history; for Mount Carmel has always stood ready to give its all under the Stars and Stripes.

Mount Carmel is a community that has also gone through many domestic battles to maintain its economy, but each time it emerges bigger and greater. From a onetime area who activities were almost confined to the production of anthracite, its citizens have forged forward and today are engaged in an expansion of industrial activities which will create greater advancement and progress for all the citizens of this fair community.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the opening centennial program having as its guest speaker, it had another star-studded attraction in the appearance and participation of its native-born daughter, Miss Marie Powers, internationally famous opera star.

Miss Powers, who has thrilled music lovers throughout the world, was brilliant and enchanting in her hometown appearance. The local folk will long remember their vocal pride for the great voice and fine renditions she give to opening her home community's centennial celebration.

In all, Mr. Speaker, it was a wonderful Americanism program to open Mount Carmel's centennial and was presented as follows: master of ceremonies, Mr. Arthur A. Bressi; invocation, the Reverend Robert G. Detwiler; greetings by the mayor, the Honorable Lawrence R. Joyce; greetings by centennial chairman, Dr. Robert E. Allen; Americanism address, Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT; concert, Miss Marie Powers, accompanied by Mr. George Corty, presenting "The Lord's Prayer," "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Fair," "Peace of Mind," "Song for the Lonely," "The Hero," "O Mio Fernando"—from "La Favorita"—and "Air Dido."

Benediction, Most Rev. Lawrence F. Schott, D.D., LL.D., "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," with soloist Marie Powers accompanied by the Mount Carmel High School Band and Centennial Chorus conducted by Mr. Edmund Nejaimey.

The great audience joined the program participants in singing "The Star-Spangled Banner," and it was a thrilling climax as music and voices reverberated throughout a community which is proudly proclaiming to the world this is our centennial, our community is 100 years old and ready to go forward with greater enthusiasm and spirit in the dawn and twilight of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Yes, these citizens and soldiers of Americanism in Mount Carmel are celebrating the 100th natal anniversary of the borough's birthday, and that they will go on to many more centennial and glorious celebrations I know is the wish of all the Members of this House.

## Independence Day of Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the Acting President of Korea, General Park Chung Hee; and His Excellency the Korean Ambassador to the United States, General Il Kwon Chung, on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of Korea's independence.

When on August 15, 1948, the U.S. administration of South Korea was terminated, a new era of Korean independence was inaugurated. It is the anniversary of this occasion that we celebrate today.

In fulfillment of pledges made at the 1943 Cairo Conference the United States and other nations set out at the conclusion of the Second World War to help Korea gain freedom and self-government. Although some 35 years of Japanese colonial rule was ended, the joy of Koreans was dampened by the separation of the two halves of their country. Originally designed merely to expedite the surrender of Japanese forces, this division of the country at the 38th parallel became fixed, because of Soviet recalcitrance. The elections which were to have reunited the country were never held, as the Communists in the north refused to allow the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea to enter the territory under their control. Consequently, the U.N.-supervised free election was held only in South Korea. This election led to the installation of the Republic of Korea's first independent government.

It has been Korea's fate to have had to provide the unhappy battlefield for one of the major confrontations between freedom and totalitarianism in the modern era. Tragically miscalculating free world willingness to deter Communist aggression, the North Korean puppet government mounted a fierce attack on the south in June 1950. Finally, after millions of casualties had been suffered, an armistice was reached in July 1953. Although the fighting has now been over for 9 years, South Korea still bears a heavy burden from the war's cruel legacy of misery. Millions of refugees poured into the country during the Ko-

rean war, thereby adding to the already considerable population pressure on the Nation's land resources. Furthermore, because of the ominous threat posed by the Communists to the north, South Korea has had to keep some 600,000 men in the military services, and now has the fourth largest standing army in the world. Half of the South Korean budget goes for defense, which necessarily puts great strains on Korea's attempts to achieve economic prosperity.

The first 5-year economic development program, which is now in progress, seeks to eliminate waste, usury, bribery, and corruption, and to lay the groundwork for broad economic advance. I believe that with the successful implementation of this plan, Korea's traditional dead hand of poverty can be replaced by the seeds of long-term national prosperity. Among its major exports, the South Korean Government has undertaken the construction of the great Ulsan industrial complex, about which Acting President Chung Hee Park has said:

It is no exaggeration to say that the development of Korean industry depends on the success of this project.

President Park has pledged that control of the country will be returned to civilian hands not later than the summer of 1963. While not detracting from the positive aspects of the present Government, most Americans will welcome this restoration.

I believe that the Korean people are today experiencing a new awakening and consolidation of their national spirit. I offer them my best wishes in this great effort, and I am pleased to extend my congratulations to the people of Korea on this 14th anniversary of Korean Independence Day.

## Dresden Nuclear Powerplant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an article which appeared in the Thursday, August 9, 1962, issue of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, of St. Louis, Mo.:

DRESDEN, ILL., NUCLEAR PLANT TOPS IN OUTPUT

WASHINGTON.—Dresden nuclear power station in Illinois has generated more electricity than any other nuclear powerplant in the Nation, Dresden's general superintendent said Wednesday.

From the beginning of its operation last December through August 1, the plant generated 898,540,600 kilowatt-hours of electrical power, Superintendent I. L. Wade said.

Furthermore, Mr. Wade told Examiner Samuel W. Jensch, of the Atomic Energy Commission, the reactor in Grundy County on the Illinois River has operated safely to date and is expected to continue to do so.

Mr. Wade's testimony came in a hearing on a request by the Commonwealth Edison Co., Chicago, to amend the operating license.

The amendment would permit an increase in the rated power of the reactor to about 200,000 electrical kilowatts from approximately 180,000.

## Private Enterprise Almost Ignored in Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the House will shortly be considering the foreign aid appropriation, the following suggestions by Dr. Salera are most timely:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ALMOST IGNORED IN ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS: DR. VIRGIL SALERA OF EISENHOWER ADVISERS REVIEWS LATIN SCENE

The Alliance for Progress program for Latin American development was seen as undoubtedly helpful—but far too costly for anticipated benefits, in a talk before the international relations section by Dr. Virgil Salera, professor of economics, Alameda County State College.

Dr. Salera, who has had extensive research experience in Argentina, Venezuela, and Peru, is a former senior staff member of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers.

DOUBTS 2½ PERCENT INCREASE AVAILABLE

"One of the key objectives of the Alliance for Progress," he pointed out, "is per capita increase in real income of 2½ percent per year for Latin American nations. It is highly doubtful that this objective will be achieved. The Alliance's prototype—the Marshall plan—faced a vastly different task—restoring an already advanced technology in a period when other countries were short of dollars. Today, in contrast, the U.S. balance of payments is wobbly and in Latin America we have to start from scratch."

Professor Salera stated that the Punta del Este agreement contained virtually nothing regarding the role of private enterprise—the first time in any inter-American economic agreement this most vital factor was almost completely ignored.

He said his four main criticisms of the program were, first, capitulation to the Latin American rationale in regard to the terms of trade—the belief that Latin American countries are entitled to virtual financial grants on the theory they have suffered a disadvantageous position over the years in regard to the products they sell as against the products they buy. What they seek is essentially an international farm parity program.

NO TRADE DISADVANTAGE FOR LATIN AMERICANS

Actually, the Latin American theory that terms of trade have been disadvantageous to them is based on faulty interpretation of almost totally inadequate statistics. If allowance were made for the transportation revolution and resulting price changes, the same data would show a sharp improvement in terms of trade. Also ignored is the relationship of product improvement to price.

Yet these questionable statistics have raised the pulse rate of millions, and were the basis for the demand for U.S. generosity.

Latin Americans are convinced that the U.S. left—and I don't mean Communists, but I do mean to be vague—will win in our internal contest over the generosity of our aid. To the extent that we capitulate to this viewpoint, we strongly discourage private investment by Latinos in their own countries.

NAIVE FAITH IN GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Professor Salera's second main criticism was the naive faith in government-to-government operations as the main vehicle for achieving economic development. "In the last analysis," he said, "we have to rely on the drive and initiative of millions of private individuals. With some exceptions, moreover, the quality of public administration in most Latin American countries is horrible."

Industrialization is easiest when a strong agriculture provides buying power.

JOKER IN KENNEDY COFFEE AGREEMENT

Third, Dr. Salera said, there is an enormous joker in the Kennedy commitment to a coffee agreement.

Coffee is the oldest commodity involving experimentation with so-called stabilization—dating back to São Paulo's attempt in 1902. Unlike the 1940 coffee agreement, the new one has a price provision, and if you use parity in coffee, you shell out big money fast in disregard of economic forces.

The Common Market will shake American habits to the roots, eventually in the best interest of American society.

## Incentive To Steal and Cheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Government controls over production of crops create a strange new property value, representing the right to grow. The price tag on what used to be a universal right varies with the degree to which the heavy hand of Government is laid upon the land.

In wheat, the right to grow is worth about $50 an acre. The tighter the controls, the greater the property value. Controls over wheat, for example, are relatively loose, and here the right to grow is worth about $50 an acre. In cotton, more tightly controlled, the right to grow is worth about $200 an acre. Tobacco is the most tightly controlled of all crops, and here the right to grow ranges as high as $3,000 an acre.

Here is an interesting comment on this topic published August 13 in the Washington D.C., News:

MORE OF SAME

And now a Texas farmer and a Texas employee of the Agriculture Department have pleaded guilty to participating in fraudulent sales of Federal rice-planting allotments.

The right to grow rice is so valuable the farmer had been bribing the Agriculture employee to let him sell illegally his rice allotments.

These two crooks had nothing to do with Billie Sol Estes and his cotton allotment shenanigans. But the case serves to underscore again, if any underscoring were needed, the sad state existing in the agri-

culture program which was set up years ago to save the so-called family-sized farm and ward off farm bankruptcy.

The family-size farm is fast disappearing and the billions poured out to maintain prices way above the cost of production are so lush they provide an incentive for many to steal and cheat. As Senator FULBRIGHT put it in the recent debate on the sugar bill: "Where there is sugar, there you will find the flies."

And, the way we see it, if Agriculture Secretary Freeman has his way, we can expect more of this sort of thing—because with increased curtailment of production and continued support of prices at well above the cost of production, the right to grow will become just that much more valuable and the skulduggery will increase.

The way out is, as a special panel of the privately financed and nonpartisan Committee for Economic Development recently recommended, a 5-year program to set American agriculture free, using almost every conceivable Federal tool and aid to help the farmer during the period of adjustment.

The American farmers, once they've taken off the federally administered narcotics, will do fine. And there'll be none going to jail for allotment shenanigans.

## Policy in Peru

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Lima, Peru, written presumably by two Americans residing there, appeared in this morning's Washington Post, August 15.

The letter is timely and brings out once again that we apparently have no policy, only a strong inclination to be soft on communism, while proclaiming the reverse, and of course very rough on anticommunism wherever it appears.

Why, for instance, is the policy toward Peru totally different to the policy toward Argentina? As is well said in the letter:

> Ironically, while today Frondizi remains a prisoner, Manuel Prado is a freeman.

Maybe this is due to the benign influence of Juan Peron and his Peronistas.

The letter follows:

POLICY IN PERU

As Americans living in Peru, who are deeply concerned about Peru's democratic evolution, we feel that the United States has taken an unrealistic approach toward recent events. Although we condemn the military coup in principle and deplore its overthrow of a democratic regime, we think we should look at the situation as it is and not as we think it ought to be.

The military junta is in firm control of the country, resting upon a broad base of popular support. It has restored all constitutional guarantees of civil liberties, and it has promised to discharge its international obligations. In addition, the junta, which is vigorously anti-Communist, has pledged to hold free elections within a year, and its leaders have disqualified themselves as candidates.

What makes the U.S. policy of drastic sanctions against the new Government even more untenable is its hypocrisy. Four months ago in Argentina, when the army deposed the constitutional ruler of the country, Arturo Frondizi, Uncle Sam never blinked an eyelash. The United States maintained diplomatic relations and continued intact its extensive aid program. Ironically, while today Frondizi remains a prisoner, Manuel Prado is a freeman.

Furthermore, by withholding recognition and all assistance, we run the risk of forcing the new Government into the arms of the Communists.

The final note of unrealism has been struck by the suspension of the Peace Corps program of Peru. The Peace Corps should not be primarily an instrument of U.S. foreign policy subject to the same contingencies as economic and military aid, but rather a humanitarian enterprise immune to political changes.

For all these reasons we urge recognition of the Perez Godoy regime and prompt renewal of all assistance.

LLOYD SYMINGTON, JR.
JOHN H. DAVIS.

LIMA, PERU.

## Independence Day of the Congo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Congo, the Abbe Fulbert Youlou, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Congo's independence.

The advent of the former French Congo as an independent nation has been far overshadowed by the more dramatic entrance of its sister republic, the former Belgian Congo, into the community of sovereign states. Thus, it would be well if, on this second anniversary of the independence of the Republic of the Congo—Brazzaville—we look a moment at its political structure and at its accomplishments since independence.

The Constitution of the Republic of the Congo rests on the principle of popular sovereignty and specifically states that the Republic is "indivisible, democratic, and social." It provides for a separation of powers and a parliamentary system whereby the President is elected by the National Assembly. Its preamble invokes the French declaration of the rights of man. Thus, the Republic of the Congo is undeniably a democracy in the Western sense, since it has evolved a political system which guarantees individual liberties and balanced parliamentary government.

In the economic sphere the Congo Government has shown wisdom and forethought. Recognizing the continuing need for foreign advisers in a number of technical fields, the newly independent government retained some 500 French technicians. The Congo has remained a member of the franc zone, an important factor in the stabilization of its currency. It has applied for membership in numerous international organizations interested in economic development programs, such as the U.N. specialized agencies and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. For the purpose of encouraging both domestic and foreign investment, the Government has adopted a code providing guarantees for qualified business ventures. A National Development Bank has been created in order to assist financially and technically in economic and social development projects. All of these actions are important and well reasoned steps for a country which is attempting to raise its standard of living to the maximum possible in a minimum amount of time.

But social programs have not been neglected. Education has improved at all levels, and approximately 31 percent of the 1961 budget was allocated to educational expansion. Nearly 80 percent of the elementary school age population was attending school, as compared with 75 percent in 1960 and 65 percent in 1959. A center offering university-level training was opened in Brazzaville in 1959, and there are now over 200 students attending it.

In the field of inter-African cooperation, too, the Congo has asserted its leadership and has been a moderating influence. The Brazzaville group of 12 French-speaking states takes its name from the capital of the Congo, where it met in December 1960 to discuss the situation in Léopoldville, across the river. The group endorsed U.N. technical assistance and rejected intervention by African states. Its decisions of later meetings, at which plans for economic and political coordination were formulated, were equally moderate.

The Congo has continued to maintain close economic links with France and has remained a member of the French community. Soon after its accession to independence it became a member of the United Nations under French sponsorship. Its domestic policy has been well reasoned. In foreign affairs it has been cooperative and constructive. We commend the Republic of the Congo and President Fulbert Youlou for a noteworthy record of accomplishment.

## The Power of Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, we are at present living in a period of turmoil and uncertainty. Our country's interests need the best thought and cooperation of all our citizens and our leaders.

In this crucial period it is fitting that all God-fearing peoples of the world, and particularly all our citizens and leaders, constantly remember the omnipotence of Almighty God and the need for His aid and guidance. We should, through fervent and earnest prayer, ask

Him to watch over the people of our great Nation, our local, State, and National leaders, and to grant us the wisdom and knowledge to steer us through this critical period in our Nation's history. All of us are aware that it is through God's blessing that our great country has made such progress and become the most powerful Nation on earth. We therefore should be anxious to express our gratefulness and thanks to God for these many blessings bestowed upon the people of our country, and ask through prayer for His continued guidance and blessings.

In this connection, I would like to include herewith an article which appeared in the November 1961 issue of the Masonic Messenger written by Chaplain Wilmer C. Tolleson of the Morningside Lodge No. 295, F. & A.M., Atlanta, Ga., on the subject of prayer:

PRAYER

(By Wilmer C. Tolleson, chaplain, Morningside Lodge No. 295, F. & A.M., Atlanta, Ga.)

My subject is "Prayer," the most valuable power that Almighty God has bestowed upon us. By the gift of prayer, we are enabled to communicate with our Creator immediately and without a time interval. Prayer travels with greater speed than any space vehicle that man will ever be able to create. Prayer is more valuable than all of the gold, rubies, and diamonds in all of this great universe which Almighty God created long ago. It seems to me that when a prayer has been answered we should give thanks right away for God's goodness in answering our pleas and supplications. Be thankful and He will bless thee. When we come into this world a prayer is on our mother's lips for her newborn babe. And when we pass out of this world and have served the days that God has blessed us with, a final prayer is offered for us by the minister at our graveside.

FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT

To quote the Holy Bible, Joe said of prayer, fifth chapter, 8th to 10th versus: "I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause, which doeth great things and unsearchable marvelous things without number, who giveth rain upon the earth and sendeth waters upon the fields."

FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT

Again quoting the Holy Bible in Revelation, 21st chapter: "I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, behold the tabernacle of God is with men * * * and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things have passed away."

All healing whether it is immediate or of long duration is done by divine power. Let us not be unmindful of the instruments that God uses to heal the sick. The power and skill that He gives to physicians and surgeons and how He opens the way to new discoveries in medicines, many of which are known as miracle drugs. But let us remember also that we also live and exist in miracles. The power of communication to each other by voice, the power of sight, the power of knowledge, the power of strength, and the power of God's love to us.

The heavens are telling the glory of God, the unweary sun from day to day does His creative power display. The beauties of the stars in the heavens, the moon with all of its beauty answers the atheist when he says that he does not believe in God. The almighty hands of God placed the stars and the planets in their positions and proved that Almighty God is divine and the greatest of all mathematicians. "All glory, laud, and honor to Thee, Redeemer King, to whom the lips of children make sweet hosannas ring."

## Cotton Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the full effect of Secretary Freeman's unwise action on cotton supports is just now coming to light. Mr. Freeman's action was away from competitive pricing, and it has invited use of synthetics and substitutes.

I invite attention to this article which appeared August 8 in the Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal:

COTTON COMMENT: LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE OF COTTON, BROUGHT ON BY FREEMAN'S POLICIES, TURNS MARKETS TO OTHER FIBERS, OTHER GROWTHS

(By Gerald L. Dearing)

The administration of the laws covering cotton have been administered in such a way by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman that customers of cotton at home and abroad have lost confidence in the staple and are turning to other growths and fibers abroad and other fibers at home.

Until Secretary Freeman undertook to wreck the cotton economy, there was a feeling of confidence that cotton was on the track toward competitive pricing in domestic and world markets; that crops would be of sufficient size to meet demands, and that there would be some measure of stability of price.

Since the start of the reign of Freeman, there has been no stability, no assurance, no confidence. His first action against cotton was to jack the price higher at a time when it was believed the trend would be gradually lower. To compound the confusion, he juggled the export subsidy in a manner to raise the price of cotton in foreign markets between 1 and 2 cents a pound.

In spite of dwindling exports, he maintained the same price levels and the same export subsidy for the current season. Registrations for export this season already are more than a million bales behind those of last year, and the season has barely started.

He has encouraged the use of rayon and other fibers in the place of cotton as no single man has ever done. New blends of rayon and cotton are being produced in increasing volume and with every blend the use of cotton suffers.

Already towels are being produced that are 30 percent rayon. Sheets will be available this fall that are 40 percent. Dress fabrics will have a 50–50 division between rayon and cotton.

The main reason is that mill after mill is losing confidence in the future availability of cotton as a competing fiber. To meet their competition they are being forced—because of pricing—to turn to rayon. Some do it reluctantly. Some welcome the change from uncertainty to assurance.

The price of cotton does not have to be lowered materially in the domestic market to restore it to its competitive position with rayon. The export subsidy can and should be maintained until farmers find that new practices, new methods permit the production of cotton in competition with the world.

The effect of the transition to rayon has not been noticeable to many because of the high textile production in recent months. The full impact will come with the current season, when the projects which have just been started get into full production.

Also of interest is this open letter to thinking farmers published in the May–June issue of Cotton Farming magazine:

MEMPHIS, TENN.,
*May 21, 1962.*

GENTLEMEN: I made my annual trip to the cotton mill area of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee April 15 to May 5. I drove 3,150 miles and saw 54 mills which will this year spin 5,905,500 bales of cotton.

I ran into a situation which is very disturbing. I found that 34 mills are blending some synthetics with cotton and trying to work out consumer acceptance of these products. This is at least three or four times as many mills as the number blending synthetics on my trip last year. Rayon staple fiber is selling on a basis of 26 cents per pound net weight delivered to mill.

I found one mill who could buy first-quality foreign staple fiber at 35 cents delivered to mill net weight. When you consider cotton at present prices and add the expense of bagging and ties (tare) and giving consideration to the waste factor in cotton, you can see how much higher cotton is at present prices than is rayon. I have found consistently that most cotton mills would rather spin cotton, but in their present situation, they are going to use fibers which will show them more profit, if the consumers will accept these blends.

It is a known fact that a towel manufacturer is making some towels for Sears, Roebuck, and you would do well to secure a copy of the summer catalog of Sears. You will see towels advertised on page 316, and the first 17 pages of this catalog features synthetic and cotton blends. If you will look through the catalog you will find various other advertisements of articles made from blends. Sears is not the type of organization that will invest its money in something unless they feel that they can develop consumer acceptance. If it were not for the labeling law, I am certain that we would be in much more serious trouble in domestic consumption this year. If, however, consumers accept the product at a cheaper price, we are in serious trouble down the road.

The present price of cotton is simply lending every encouragement to the development of blends. At one mill I found five men with doctors' degrees who were in the mill representing various synthetic companies, showing the mill how they could use synthetics to advantage. The present price of cotton, in my judgment, is giving just as much of an umbrella to synthetics in the domestic market as our foreign price of cotton did to foreign cotton production several years ago.

We will consume more bales of cotton this year than last season but our per capita consumption of cotton is going down. I do not feel that we can be satisfied with the consumption running from 8 to 9 million bales a year but that consumption should increase as the textile market increases. We can never have satisfactory acreage with small cotton consumption.

I am simply writing you the facts as I see them, and I can say to you very frankly that it is the most disturbing situation

that I have found in the mill area in the 10 years that I have made these trips to that area. I feel that you men, as leaders in the industry and thinking farmers, will want to be acquainted with the facts. It is true that as yet the percentage of consumption of synthetics at many mills is less than 5 percent of their total production but the fact remains that the "foot is in the door" and in a much larger way than any previous season.

Sincerely,

C. C. SMITH,
*Vice President,*
*National Bank of Commerce.*

## My Rating's Slipped, Start World War III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Art Hoppe, columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle, has the unique ability of approaching some of our problems by means of humorous satire.

I include the column published in the San Francisco Chronicle on Monday, August 13, 1962:

MY RATING'S SLIPPED, START WORLD WAR III

(By Art Hoppe)

I was about to warn you this morning to grit your teeth and gird your loins for another peace scare. Laos is over, Berlin is relatively quiet, Mr. Castro is likewise, there's some hope of a nuclear test ban, and the world is in pretty good shape. Comparatively speaking.

But then I saw where Mr. Kennedy's popularity is down to 69 percent. So we can all relax, peace scarewise.

Mr. Kennedy's popularity is terribly important. Particularly to Mr. Kennedy. When he took office, the polls showed his popularity was only 69 percent. Three points lower than Lassie. The other 31 percent said he was too young and inexperienced and would make some horrendous mistake.

This, obviously, was a challenge. Mr. Kennedy vigorously set about to meet it. He went and made a horrendous mistake.

Three months after taking office, he sponsored a little old invasion of Cuba. The liberals screamed he shouldn't have done it. The conservatives screamed he should have done it better. And everybody in the whole country, including Mr. Kennedy, agreed it was a horrendous mistake. Ranking with the worst any American President had ever made.

The following week his popularity zoomed up to a record 83 percent. Topping "I Love Lucy."

Mr. Kennedy naturally relaxed. He went to work on a rationally reasonable domestic program and a reasonably rational foreign affairs program. After 3 perfectly blameless months, his popularity had rocketed downward to 71 percent.

Something had to be done. So we had the Berlin crisis. The conservatives demanded Mr. Kennedy knock the wall down. The liberals demanded he back away from it. Mr. Kennedy did neither. War seemed imminent. Most Americans agreed he had made a horrendous mistake. One way or another. Not as horrendous as Cuba, but pretty horrendous.

So his popularity soared back up to 79 percent.

Then Mr. Kennedy made a real mistake. He got mad at Mr. Roger Blough. Stocks plummeted. And because the stock market, unlike world peace, affects people personally, a good many Americans got sore. And Mr. Kennedy today is right back where he started at a crumby 69 percent.

It's a challenge. Clearly he must capitalize on his maturity and experience and make some fantastically horrendous mistake in international affairs. Like invading Red China and thereby losing several divisions of Marines.

For it is obvious from the pollsters' findings that the more awful a mistake a President makes abroad, the more popular he is at home. And any President who achieved a lasting peace would promptly get impeached.

So, while it was touch and go there, I'm sure we don't have worry about a possible peace scare. Because Mr. Kennedy, above all, wishes to be loved by everybody. We should live so long.

## A Visit to Soviet Russia and Other Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, recently a constituent of our Eighth Congressional District, Mr. Horace C. Colvett, of Alamo, Tenn., visited Soviet Russia and other countries with a group of Tennesseans.

Mr. Colvett is an outstanding educator and is now with the Tennessee State Department of Education.

There appeared in the Crockett Times, an outstanding weekly newspaper of Alamo, Tenn., his observations of this trip. This article is so outstanding that I felt that I should bring it to the attention of the membership of hte Congress.

The article follows:

[From the Alamo (Tenn.) Crockett Times, July 26, 1962]

A VISIT TO SOVIET RUSSIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES

(By H. C. Colvett)

The question might be asked, Why would a man want to go to Russia and the satellite countries? Also if he did want to go, how could he get into Russia and these countries?

A few years ago President Eisenhower and his coworkers established a program called The people-to-people program. Through this program tours are established. These tours are primarily informative, educational good-will missions dedicated to improving relations and understanding between Americans and the people of Eastern Europe.

No Federal or State funds were provided. Each person going on these tours agrees to pay his own expenses or be sent by a sponsoring organization. My expenses were paid by the Tennessee Vocational Education Association, an organization made up of vocational education personnel in Tennessee, having an approximate membership of 1,200.

A group of 34 Tennesseans interested in studying the agricultural situations that exist, also the people and their customs in Belgium, Russia, Hungary, Poland, France, and England, left New York June 23 for a 3-week visit.

The group left New York on a Boeing 707 jet for Brussels, Belgium, and arrived in time for an early breakfast on June 24 after a 6½-hour flight. On a tour of Brussels Sunday afternoon we found the people extremely friendly and happy to see Americans. On Monday the group traveled into rural Belgium to visit a dairy farm. Again we found the people happy and proud; the kind of pride that goes with owning your own home and farm.

Before going on the farm tour we were briefed by American Ambassador to Belgium Douglas MacArthur II. He explained the Common Market and named the countries that are members. These countries are Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Holland, and Luxembourg. The U.S. businessmen no longer enjoy the virtual monopoly left by the destruction of industrial Germany, Japan, and other war-devasted countries. From now on we must get out and sell our products.

After a brief visit to Amsterdam, Holland, the next stop was Moscow, the seat of the Soviet Government. A 2-day tour of the city was on the agenda before traveling into the Russian interior.

A traveler should never limit his tour of Russia to a visit of Moscow, because the Soviets have gone to some lengths to make it and a few other cities a showplace for tourists and people they want to impress.

Once inside of Russia, the Intourist Bureau takes full control and unless the tourist specifically requests special side trips he will see exactly what the Soviets want him to see. The Intourist Bureau is a Government agency which takes care of every phase of the trip, including hotel and transportation reservations. The guides are highly indoctrinated party-line people, but not always members of the party.

One aspect of Moscow and everywhere else in Russia was the constant, well-organized propaganda, network. Wherever we went there were billboards and posters telling the Russian people what they had once had, what they have now, and what they are going to have.

The group stayed at the Ukraine Hotel, which has 26 floors, and over 2,000 rooms. This hotel was built in 1955, but looks much older.

Intourist had tours arranged for three showplaces of Moscow: the Kremlin, Lenin's tomb, and Moscow University. Within the Kremlin, which is really a walled city within the city of Moscow, was St. Basile's Church, now a museum, as are a great many of the Russian churches. Our guide proudly told us she did not believe in God, and that religion there is taught "as a part of history."

Moscow University, completed in 1953, is a massive building. Eighty percent of the 18,000 students enrolled at the university are Government subsidized. Several hard-to-believe statements were made by our guide. She said proudly that Russia has 18 doctors per 10,000 population. America has only 12, England, 10. A peculiar thing, however, is that with the exception of one of our group who got sick and was sent to a hospital, other members of the group did not see a single hospital. This one member states from his experience that socialized medicine has nothing to offer.

Propaganda, the constant selling of the people's paradise by the Soviets, was one important aspect of our visit by all members of the group. Unified efforts are always put forth in spreading their propaganda.

We have a far better system in the United States, but we've always lacked this type of unified salesmanship when it comes to our country. I believe with people from all walks of life benefiting from our free society, that all of us should become better salesmen for freedom and America.

The group went from Moscow to Krasnodar, which is 800 miles deeper into Russia. This city was selected by the Russians for the group to visit. It is south of Moscow near the Black Sea. This is one of the best agricultural sections of Russia. Here we saw firsthand the black-and-white difference of Soviet and U.S. agricultural policies.

During the 1930's, following the nationalization of all land in 1929, more than 20 million small peasant holdings were consolidated into collective or state farms.

Unlike Poland where collective and state farms account for only 14 percent, the Soviet Union has 95 percent of all sown acreage under their direct control (70 percent collective and 25 percent state farms). Today, there are 76,500 collective and 7,000 state farms, but all are government owned.

On the collective share of profits, the farmers have the status of factory workers, but do not receive a regular wage, only a share of the profits. The average family wage which they receive only after all other bills are paid, is reported to be $100 to $150 per month per family. But on this prize-winning farm we visited the average wage figured to be about $750 per year for the whole family.

The similarity between a factory job and working on a state farm is almost exact. Both receive a regular wage, which is roughly the same, with no profit sharing.

While the Soviet collective farm averages about 4,200 acres (the U.S. average farm acreage is 310) the state-owned farms average more than 20,000 acres.

Theoretically, management of the collective farm is done through worker-elected supervisors, but they are replaced at will by Communist Party administrators if they do not follow party dictates. Operation of the farm is carried out through appointed supervisors in control of work brigades of from 40 to 60 men and women.

One collective farm had an active work force of 1,900 workers (both men and women) drawn from the 1,400 families who live at the farm. They operated 68 tractors, 36 combines and 30 trucks. Numbers of horses are also being used.

The farm had 3,500 cattle of which 1,500 were milk cows, 8,000 pigs, and 90,000 poultry (so they said).

Everybody works in Soviet Russia. The women share physical tasks with the men. One collective farm had 3,200 in the fields and 1,700 were women. Women also sweep the streets with antiquated brush brooms. It is a common sight to see women driving trucks and tractors, along with working on highways handling blacktop mix with shovels.

The Russian farmer is some 40 years behind the American farmer. One U.S. farmer feeds 26 people; one Russian farmer feeds 3 people.

The people in Budapest were cordial and openly scorned the Russians. Conditions in Hungary are more like those in Russia than in Poland. The Soviets are controlling the Polish economy, but in my opinion, they cannot control the people. It is evident that their intense faith in tradition, heritage, and religion has saved the Polish people. Following an uprising in 1956 the Soviets moved to lessen some of the economic problems. They instituted a voluntary program for collective farms, and as a result the number of such farms dropped sharply. Today, only a small percentage of the farms are still Government collectivized. Less than 2,000 of the original 10,000 collective farms remain, and private farms outproduce the Government farms by 25 percent per unit of land.

We went from Warsaw to East Berlin. The East Germans moved in fear and showed little interest in our presence. We had a short trip through the East Berlin sector, sufficient enough to show us the poor conditions that exist.

A spontaneous cheer went up from the group when we finally wended our way through the redtape and the roadblocks separating the two Berlins. Even though the statement was not made at first, but it was evident from the expression on 34 Tennessee faces that it was a relief to know that we were out from behind the Iron Curtain after a 14-day visit. West Berlin, although surrounded by barbed wire on three sides and a horrible wall in front, was cheerful, hospitable and inspiring. In fact we felt like we were at home.

It has been said, and I believe truthfully so, that the Russians are a curious, suspicious, determined people. Suspicious of everyone, especially Americans and determined to dominate this country. I am thoroughly convinced that this is their major objective.

We visited Paris and London observing the people and their customs, along with sightseeing. We enjoyed our visits to these cities very much.

In analyzing our 25-day visit, 14 behind the Iron Curtain, on foreign soil, observing the people, their customs, and especially seeing firsthand how communism works, I feel that the trip was educational and that our time and money was well spent.

In conclusion, I feel that our No. 1 need in America is a sales force of 180 million American salesmen who will sell America to its citizens. Americans will profit with a greater America and continued freedoms which are offered by the American way of life. America will grow stronger as a fortress of freedom and a republic which will inspire freedom-seeking people throughout the world. Freedom will win over slavery.

We might ask ourselves the question: How can we sell Americanism?

1. Be aware of what you have.
2. Be alert to communism
3. Help the church to grow.
4. Be aware of your power.
5. Help with community and government affairs.
6. Think positively about tomorrow.
7. Be thankful that we are citizens of a free country.

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## Address by Theodore C. Sorensen, Special Counsel to the President, Before the Western States Democratic Conference, Seattle, Wash., August 6, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CARL ALBERT

OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose an address delivered by the very able, devoted, and articulate special counsel to the President, Theodore C. Sorensen, before the Western States Democratic Conference in Seattle, Wash., on August 6, 1962.

The address contains an excellent summary of the accomplishments and goals of the Democratic Party and the administration of President Kennedy.

Mr. Sorsensen's speech follows:

ADDRESS BY THEODORE C. SORENSEN, SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT, BEFORE THE WESTERN STATES DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, SEATTLE, WASH., AUGUST 6, 1962

We meet in a year of decision. The American people must choose whether this Nation is to "sail or anchor down"—whether we are to blaze new trails for century 21 or return to the well-worn paths of century 19.

The 21st century is but 38 years away. We who are here tonight know that we must educate our children to meet its challenges. We must conserve our resources to meet its needs. We must expand our economy to realize its promise. And we must preserve the human race to enjoy that century in freedom.

But while our eyes are on the century ahead, our opponents are looking back, increasingly united in the blindness of their opposition and in the bitterness of their abuse. They call for cuts in Federal spending, but they do not say where. They tell our older citizens to purchase health insurance, but they do not say how. They predict unemployment will dissolve without public action, but they do not say when.

They do say they are for balancing the budget, not by stating it more accurately, separating capital assets from current expenditures, not by closing tax loopholes or cutting farm surpluses, not by boosting the economy to boost tax revenues, but by blocking all efforts for education, for conservation, for public works and public health.

They do say they believe in free enterprise, and so do we all, but they mean freedom to pollute our air and our water, freedom to raid our forests and public lands, freedom to pay substandard wages, to make windfall profits on the national stockpile, and to cut people off of public welfare as inveterate frauds or loafers. Oh, to be sure, they are not always, hardhearted, all humans weep, but they weep for that 7 percent of the taxpayers who receive 80 percent of dividend income. They weep for those speculators who considered themselves geniuses when the stock market rose after Kennedy's election, and then blamed him when it fell back to the same level this year. They weep, not for the farmer or rancher who is struggling to make ends meet, but for the storage operator who enjoyed a threefold increase in surpluses under Mr. Benson and wants to keep it that way. They weep for the AMA, not those without funds for hospitalization. They weep for the billboard owners, not those who are denied our scenic beauties.

But too often, let us face the fact, their views have prevailed in the Congress. In neither House do we have a solid majority consistently supporting the policies of the Democratic Party and President Kennedy. We have lost important battles, often by a handful of votes, on the floor of both Houses and in most of the major committees. But by and large these are battles which have been lost before, in sessions with even larger Democratic proportions, they are the old familiar battles over education, health insurance, agriculture, and tax loopholes. And in no instance has the loss of any one of those battles meant the end of the war.

GAINS FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM

For whatever may be said about those Democrats who oppose us, the fact remains that every single seat gained by the Democratic Party in this fall's election will be a gain for the Democratic program. And I learned as a boy from the life and lips of George Norris that those "who sow in tears shall reap in joy", and that today's defeats often pave the way for tomorrow's victories.

There are some who attribute these defeats to the fact that the program is too extreme. And perhaps it is.

For we have proposed that human consumers receive the same protection against

worthless drugs that has been enjoyed by American hogs, sheep and cattle since 1913. That is rather extreme.

We have proposed that the special concerns of the 125 million people who live in our urban areas receive the same Cabinet-level representation as those of the 13 million who live on the farm. That is rather extreme.

We have proposed helping our public schools pay those to whom we entrust the minds of our children an annual income comparable to the income of those to whom we entrust the care of our plumbing.

We have proposed that Federal help should be available to those local systems of mass transportation that now convey us through the streets at speeds averaging slightly below the 12 miles per hour averaged by the public horsecars of 2 generations ago.

We have proposed investing in new national parks, forests and wildlife refuges an amount equal to one-fifth of our annual investment in chewing gum.

We have proposed that the corn farmer and the wheat rancher be treated with at least as much commonsense as our farm laws now accord the peanut grower.

And we have proposed that our working men and women contribute throughout their working careers to their own health insurance program under social security instead of being forced, once their jobs and their savings are gone, to seek help from public charity.

Perhaps these goals seem extreme to some, but to me they spell out the means of securing "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Others say: the program is not extreme, but the President's popularity has declined. There is no denying the increasing tempo of abuse, but I would refer you to the recent poll of historians evaluating all our previous Chief Executives. Every Democratic President since the Civil War was judged to rank in the "great" or "near great" category. And all of our greatest Presidents in their time were bitterly abused, and hated, and reelected. For no one gets this country moving again without disturbing the status quo, without stirring up the vested interests, and without doing what is necessary instead of what is popular.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S CONCERN

To be sure, President Kennedy is concerned; concerned, however, not about his critics but about his country; about the 1 million young Americans who are both out of school and out of work; about the 150,000 unemployed workers who every month exhaust their benefit rights before they can find a job; about the growing shortage of doctors and medical students, when nearly half of those students come from the wealthiest 12 percent of our families. He is concerned about the 8 million adults who are classified as functionally illiterate; about the thousands of migrant workers whose families lack the basic safeguards of decency; about those untold numbers of American consumers who have been scarred by untested cosmetics, misled by worthless drugs, or made ill by improper foods. So, criticism or no criticism, John Kennedy intends to "stick to his guns."

But when he looks ahead to the peaks that are yet to be scaled, the President is not unmindful of the distance already climbed. The 87th Congress, breaking a legislative stalemate, has thus far passed a score of key bills that could never be passed before, including bills for area redevelopment, higher minimum wages, better housing and urban renewal, new attacks on crime and delinquency and water pollution.

More was done by this Congress to combat the recession than by any Congress since the thirties. And today this Nation has achieved the highest GNP and the highest industrial production in its history. Our working men and women are earning $27 billion more a year. Our businessmen are netting $10 billion more a year. And these are not phony inflation dollars that cannot buy more groceries, but sound dollars, backed by our Nation's best postwar record of price stability in any comparable period of recovery, and backed by our best record of balancing our international accounts since they declined in 1958. The national debt is a smaller portion of our gross national product now than it was in 1960, after our predecessors had increased it by $27 billion. And the budget deficits caused by the recession they left us are far smaller now than the $12 billion deficit they ran up in 1959, one of the 5 deficits they incurred in 8 years of preaching fiscal solvency.

And in those areas where the Congress has not acted, the President has acted, particularly in civil rights. The man who broke down the walls of intolerance to enter the White House has been breaking them down ever since on behalf of Negro children who want a better education, on behalf of their parents who want to vote and to travel and to work. Those who stand up for their rights are being protected and so are those who sit down.

THE WINDS OF WAR HAVE NOT BEEN LOOSED

But if events on the domestic scene have confounded those critics who predicted disaster under Democratic rule, events around the world have junked their pessimistic prophecies even more. The foul winds of war have not been loosed; and the fair winds of peace have calmed the troubled land of Laos. Mr. Khrushchev has not taken over West Berlin. Mr. Castro has not taken over Latin America. Mr. Ho Chi Min has not taken over Vietnam. And Mr. Ginzenga has not taken over the Congo.

Those who once scoffed at the Peace Corps as a haven for misguided visionaries have been touched by the moving tributes to American idealism that come from dozens of far-off huts and villages. Those who once jeered at our efforts in space as a wasteful, useless science-fiction charade now hail our striking successes as symbols of American initiative, ingenuity and power. And those who once assailed the Alliance for Progress as part of a no-win policy this year joined in the applause when the 20 American Republics, in conference at Punta del Este, decreed unanimously to isolate the Castro-Communist offensive as a clear and present danger.

When President and Mrs. Kennedy twice toured Latin America, they were greeted with milling mobs. But this time the mobs were not jeering, they were cheering. They were not throwing stones but lifting banners, banners hailing the greatest new era in U.S.-Latin relations since the days of the good-neighbor policy, banners proclaiming the new hemispheric hope of the sixties: Alianza Para Progresso.

And, finally, it is increasingly recognized, at home and abroad, that this nation, for the first time, has a coherent, consistent effort to launch a peace race instead of an arms race to foster world law instead of world war.

TO FOSTER WORLD LAW INSTEAD OF WORLD WAR

For the first time we have a full-time full-scale Disarmament Agency working out ways and means of reaching this goal.

For the first time we are attending a disarmament conference with a specific, step-by-step plan for general and complete disarmament.

For the first time we are on record, along with the United Kingdom, with the actual draft of an effective treaty to ban all nuclear tests, a treaty which may yet be accepted now that the Soviets realize they can no longer prevent the West from testing by pretending to talk while preparing to test themselves.

For the first time we have a long-term foreign aid program, strengthening the basis for peace and freedom in those nations willing to help themselves.

For the first time we have an expanded, independent food for peace program, providing school lunches and famine relief and daily bread for the hungry and needy of many lands, shipping abroad more food in the last 18 months than Herbert Hoover and his associates shipped in 10 years of World War I relief efforts.

For the first time we have enough authority at the bargaining table to get an agreement on the disarmament of outer space because we are no longer second in outer space.

For the first time we have launched our own initiatives in the United Nations on disarmament, development and space and pledged our participation in a U.N. bond issue which will require those nations now trying to starve that organization to death to pay up or get out.

And, for the first time, we have an agency to encourage others to travel to this country and see what we are really like and an organized effort to secure better housing and better treatment for the diplomats of other countries and other colors and a new cultural exchange agreement with the Soviet Union and, of lasting importance, a program both to weld and to build the economies of the free world through increased tariff reduction and trade expansion.

THE WAR WE MUST DETER

This administration also knows that until all arms are abolished, we can preserve the peace, and convince others to parley for peace, only by preparing for war—the war we must deter. And I believe one reason the peace prevails today is the buildup we have undertaken to make certain no aggressor is ever tempted by our weakness. We have strengthened the missile power and the air power and the manpower of our Armed Forces. And the President knows that, if we are not only to survive but to prevail in the long run, we must strengthen our brainpower and our willpower, with all the measures he has proposed to build a bulwark of healthy minds, healthy bodies, and a healthy American economy.

It is in this spirit, bearing in mind both our achievements and our goals, that the people of Western America are called upon to fulfill their proud traditions and to send men of wisdom and vision to Washington this fall. No other group of 13 States will play so key a role in shaping our Nation's future with 12 Senate races, 10 Governors' races, and 69 House seats at stake. If our opponents are to gain in the Senate, it is here they will try hardest to gain. If we are to gain in the House, it is here that we must make those gains. And, moved by the enthusiasm and dedication I have seen here tonight, it is my prediction that when, in November next, the defenders of privilege and opponents of progress are swept from their seats of power, it will be a wind from the West that uproots them.

But our concern is not merely the future of our program, or our party, or even our Nation. Our concern is for the future of mankind. And when the youngest of my sons has grown to the cares of manhood, the world in which he lives will be shaped by what we do today. If men today are moved by greed and pride alone, if nations blind themselves with hatred and with habit, if we shrink back from the new and the untried and the unknown, then his world may well be a world of sorrow instead of hope. But if we can strive for the good society as well as the good life if "mercy and truth are met together," not only in the hearts of men but

in the seats of power, then surely my son in century 21 will be "neither Red nor dead but alive and free," in a world of peace and abundance.

## Independence Day of Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan; and His Excellency the Pakistani Ambassador to the United States, Aziz Ahmed, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of Pakistani independence.

Pakistan became an independent nation of Asia on August 15, 1947, 15 years ago today. Born in the strife-torn aftermath of World War II, Pakistan faced staggering problems of national consolidation. The tragic days of partition had uprooted whole communities, and some 10 million refugees had to be resettled in the new State. Conflicts with India over the status of Kashmir imposed further strains.

And finally, the young country had to overcome what appeared to be immense problems arising from the physical separation of the nation into two parts, divided by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Although over half of the population lives in East Pakistan, this region has only 15 percent of the land area. East Pakistan has a monsoon economy, while West Pakistan has a river economy. East speaks Bengali, while Urdu is used in the West. East grows jute and tea and eats rice and fish; West grows cotton and wool and eats wheat and meat. East Pakistan seems almost a part of southeast Asia, while West Pakistan is contiguous to the Middle East.

In 1947 many observers confidently predicted the imminent disintegration of the Pakistani nation. These observers have been proven wrong, for they did not realize that the Moslem heritage which unites 85 percent of the people of Pakistan would prove capable of overcoming the divisive forces arising from geographical separation. Furthermore, they did not understand that the experience of previous decades had aroused within the Pakistanis a common, living conviction that they were of one nation and one state.

Pakistan is truly a nation inspired by an idea, an idea of independence that led from the formation of the Moslem League in 1906, to the successful formation of the independent state in 1947. The ideal of a self-governing Pakistan found its greatest prophet in the person of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who consolidated the movement in its later stages and was the major architect of Pakistan's subsequent independence.

The Quaid-i-Azam once summarized the national goals of Pakistan by saying:

The people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world. We in Pakistan are determined that having won our long-lost freedom we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy state of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity.

Pakistan is not only an active member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations, but has also elected to join free nations of Asia and the West in two of the key defense pacts aimed at containing Sino-Soviet expansionism, CENTO and SEATO.

Having overcome many of the problems which plagued the early postpartition years, Pakistan is today a nation that looks proudly to a future which will bring even greater fulfillment to its people. It is encouraging among the people a greater political awareness and a sense of responsibility in representative institutions, through the medium of "basic democracies." Its new constitution, promulgated in March 1962, provides for the full restoration of civil liberties and representative government in Pakistan. The economy is also making impressive advances. It is estimated that the second 5-year plan, now in progress, will bring a 24-percent increase in gross national product by 1965. Also, by 1975, Pakistan will be providing all children of school age with an 8-year primary education.

It is with great pleasure that I extend my congratulations to President Mohammad Ayub Khan and the people of Pakistan on this the 15th anniversary of Pakistan's independence.

## Israel Foreign Ministry Statement on Soblen Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, I have received a copy of a statement from the Foreign Ministry of Israel dealing with the Soblen case, which sets forth reasons and background for its actions in the matter. In order that the American people may be apprised of the facts, I include this statement in the RECORD:

ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ON SOBLEN CASE

Attached hereto is a statement on the Soblen case issued last night in Jerusalem by the spokesman of the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs. A perusal of some of the main points in this document reveals the following facts:

(a) Britain's deportation order against Soblen shows that Israel's attitude during this period has, in fact, been correct: Steps can be taken toward finding a solution without requiring one of the governments to violate its own laws. It will be recalled that Israel has stressed throughout that its part in the Soblen case terminated with Soblen's resolute expulsion from Israel on July 1, and that, therefore, there was no basis for involving Israel or El Al in further steps in this matter; the action which Britain requested of Israel would have been obviously contrary to Israel law and thus barred to the Israel Government. Israel made this fact perfectly clear from the very beginning.

(b) It must be pointed out that at no stage did the United States ask Israel for action in violation of Israel law.

(c) Israel will not provide asylum for criminals; Soblen was not only refused permission to stay in Israel, but his subsequent application from London to be admitted to Israel under the law of return has been rejected by the Government of Israel.

It is hoped that these facts will serve finally to dispel an image which seems to have arisen and which falsely portrayed the solution of the Soblen problem as being in some way dependent upon a shotgun marriage between Soblen and Israel, or its carriers.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

1. On June 26, 1962, Dr. Robert Soblen arrived in Israel under an assumed name with false papers. When his true identity was discovered, he was immediately detained and an order for his expulsion from Israel was issued by the Minister of Interior in accordance with section 13 of the entry into Israel law.

2. On July 1, 1962, the order was carried out and Dr. Soblen was expelled from Israel.

3. The Government of Israel never intended that a person who was a fugitive from justice, who had been properly tried by the courts of the United States and found guilty of criminal acts, should enjoy the benefit of the law of return, and, therefore, Soblen was refused permission to stay in Israel. The Prime Minister of Israel expressed these views in the Knesset on July 11, 1962, when he said: "The law of return, and the concept on which it is based, do not only mean that we passed a law for ourselves. We are deeply interested first and foremost in the opinion of the Jewish people throughout the world, and in the opinion of the whole world. We are thinking of a refuge for Jews who do not wish, or are unable, to remain where they are, but not of an asylum for criminals."

This position of the Government of Israel was endorsed by a majority in the Knesset.

For the same reason Soblen's subsequent application, submitted in London, to be admitted into Israel under the law of return, was rejected.

4. Dr. Soblen has now been 6 weeks in the United Kingdom owing to circumstances over which the Government of Israel had no control and for which it has no responsibility.

5. Upon his expulsion from Israel, Israel's part in this case was terminated. Dr. Soblen is no longer under Israel's jurisdiction, and therefore, there was no basis for involving Israel or El Al in any further steps regarding Dr. Soblen. Any participation by the Government of Israel, or an Israel aircraft, or an Israel vessel in the removal or deportation of Dr. Soblen from the United Kingdom to the United States is contrary to Israel law, and, therefore, the Government of Israel cannot take any such action.

6. From the outset, this position has been made clear on various occasions to the Government of the United States and to the Government of the United Kingdom. The Government of Israel was entitled to assume that the Governments concerned would take this position into account in their dealings with the Soblen case.

7. The Government of Israel notes that at no stage was it asked by the United States

to take action which would not be in conformity with the laws of Israel. In this connection, the Government of Israel recalls the statement made by the official spokesman of the U.S. Department of State on June 28, 1962: "We are not asking them (Israel) to break their own laws, of course." He added: "The situation is that we and Israel do not have an extradition treaty. In January of this year, we negotiated such a treaty with Israel. But it has not been submitted to the Senate for ratification. One cautionary note: Even if we had such a treaty and it were in force, it would not cover extradition for espionage."

8. In the light of this situation, the Government of Israel, while fully sharing the concerns of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, could not see its way to authorize Et Al to comply with the direction issued by the British Government, since the laws of Israel do not permit it to do so.

9. The Government of Israel expresses its hope that it will now be possible for a solution to be reached. The procedure now initiated by the Government of the United Kingdom indicates the correctness of the assumption of the Israel Government, that a satisfactory solution can be found without any of the parties being required to act against its own laws.

## Yonkers Through the Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, history, like charity, should begin at home. Our youngsters, as they pursue their studies in high school and college, are as a matter of course exposed to both world and national history. Far too often, however, the history of their own community remains to them—as to many of their elders—an almost total mystery.

Often the fault for this lack of local knowledge does not lie with the State or the school, but with the scarcity of appropriate study material. Such was, until recently, the case with Yonkers, N.Y., a city which it is my privilege to represent in the Congress. Although the Education Department of the State of New York requires that boys and girls study the history of their local communities in the seventh grade, most of the historical material at hand was beyond the reach of those in that age group. To remedy this situation, a group of teachers in the social studies department in the Yonkers secondary schools wrote an excellent booklet entitled "Yonkers Through the Years." This material was first run as a serial in the Yonkers Herald-Statesman, and the cost of printing it in booklet form was underwritten by the Peoples Savings Bank of Yonkers.

Such cooperation between the schools, the press, and the business community is an excellent example of what local communities can accomplish by and for themselves, unaided by the intervention or assistance of any outside authority. I wish to commend all those whose joint efforts resulted in the publication of "Yonkers Through the Years," and to commend it to all of my colleagues in the Congress. I am sure that schoolchildren for many years to come will greatly benefit from their increased knowledge of the history of their own hometown.

## Immigration Official Sees Summer Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the people of western New York are indeed fortunate to have an outstanding man such as Mr. William J. King to head the Buffalo district office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Each year thousands and thousands of foreign visitors flow through this district which is one of the major gateways between Canada and the United States. The responsibility for the operation of this office is great and Mr. King has proven equal to the task.

Since my congressional district is in Buffalo, I have had numerous occasions to call upon Mr. King for assistance and advice on problems pertaining to immigration and naturalization matters. He has been among the most cooperative Federal officials it has been my privilege to contact. I have found him to be a sincere, conscientious, and dedicated public servant.

Miss H. Catherine Smith, the author of an article which appeared in Buffalo's only Sunday newspaper on August 12, is to be commended for her excellent portrayal of the magnitude and scope of the work of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in our area, and of the man who is doing such an excellent job as its Director.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Miss Smith's article which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express on August 12, 1962:

PROFILES IN GOVERNMENT: IMMIGRATION OFFICIAL SEES SUMMER INCREASE OF FOREIGN VISITORS

(By Katherine Smith)

During June, July, and August, a larger number of foreigners enter the United States through Niagara frontier ports than anywhere else in the country.

This statement was made by William J. King, Director of Immigration and Naturalization for District No. 7 which includes all of this State north of Ulster, Duchess, and Sullivan Counties.

FROM CANADA

The majority of the millions of foreigners who come here through local ports of entry are visitors, predominantly from Canada. White foreign-born residents of the Buffalo area registered at Immigration and Naturalization Headquarters in the U.S. Court Building number nearly three-quarters of a million. Buffalo has received no influx of refugees from Communist China, Mr. King reports.

Most of the Hungarian immigrants who settled here after the 1956 revolt have become U.S. citizens. Foreign-born children automatically become citizens through the naturalization of their parents. Only older immigrants do not apply for citizenship. Mr. King believes they are deterred by the difficulty of learning English and the literacy test that must be passed.

TEXTBOOK

Mr. King and his subordinates cooperate with the New York State Department of Adult Education to facilitate preparation for citizenship. The naturalization staff produced a textbook covering the subjects new citizens are required to know and a film on preparation for citizenship. Frank Pompi, an officer of Mr. King's district, plays a part in the motion picture.

"It is designed to aid teachers of the foreign born and to alleviate the latters' fear of that test that results in citizenship or disappointment," said Mr. King.

JOB PROMISE

The film is shown throughout this country. Half our quota of immigrants are persons proficient in skills of which the United States has a shortage. Several tailors from Italy have settled in western New York lately. Foreign physicists also find ready employment here.

Before entering the United States, these men must show a promise of employment from an American corporation or institution. Spouses of American citizens can come here to live without regard to quota.

ILLEGAL ENTRY

Thirty-four years ago, Mr. King joined the staff of the U.S. Immigration Service. Illegal entry into this country was attempted so frequently that border officers had to train their ears to detect the slightest foreign accent.

Today, Mr. King says Canada and other countries offer so many opportunities for employment to immigrants that this country has become merely one of several where the European can make a new start. Therefore, illegal entry attempts have been reduced greatly.

CHECK CREWS

In addition to the routine border inspection at bridges familiar to most western New Yorkers, local immigration officers check passengers and crews of ships and planes arriving from foreign ports. An office is maintained at the Toronto Airport for examination of persons flying from Canada to the United States. In June, 228 ships and 514 planes came under the watchful eye of our immigration officers.

Mr. King has lived in 26 American cities from Honolulu to New York, and also in London and several cities of West Germany. Shortly after moving to our Queen City, 5 years ago, he said:

"Buffalo is by far the friendliest place I have called home."

He and his wife still hold that opinion.

LAST OUTPOST

"The only place comparable to Buffalo in friendliness is Ireland," Mr. King says, adding, "Ireland is the last outpost of leisurely living and love of culture. The slightest good fortune is a reason for a party, and if no reason can be found, the party is given anyway."

The southern coast of Ireland, where palm trees and other semitropical verdure flourish, is the place to which Mr. King dreams of retiring. His progenitors came from Ireland to New England in 1812. If Mr. King fulfills his dream, he will reverse their procedure and, after decades of ministering to immigrants, become an immigrant himself. The lure of the British Isles is due in large measure to the residence in London of Mr. King's only daughter, Mrs. Peter Thwaites, and her three children. Her husband is a

member of the famed Grenadier Guards of England.

JOINED ARMY

Born in Springfield, Mass., Mr. King married his high school sweetheart, who has moved with him to cities circling half the world. A graduate of the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University, Washington, he speaks German fluently. During World War II he enlisted in the U.S. Army in which he served 14 years, attaining the rank of colonel.

He organized and commanded the Criminal Investigation Division of the U.S. Army in Europe. During several years in England, he was attached to Scotland Yard. His division investigated crimes of GI's all the way from petit larceny to homicide.

DICKENS FAN

In 1954, he returned to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Every day Mr. King swims at the Buffalo Athletic Club, of which he became a member shortly after arriving in Buffalo. He reads widely in the field of history and biography. While stationed in England, he joined the devotees of Dickens for the annual Christmas Eve walk from Scrooge's office to the vicinity of the home of Bob Cratchit of the immortal "Christmas Carol."

WIDE CIRCLE

Our District Director of Immigration and Naturalization has made several trips to England to renew friendships there. He plans to visit his daughter and friends in October.

He likes people and finds it a privilege to know a wide variety of them through his work. As District Director of Immigration, he has met the President of Finland and Queen Elizabeth of England. A longtime member of the International Association of Police Chiefs, he regularly attends that organization's conventions.

## Independence Day of India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; and His Excellency the Ambassador of India to the United States, Braj Kumar Nehru, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of India's independence.

On August 15, 1947, the world's largest democracy was born on the south Asian subcontinent. Nurtured by such world-renowned statesmen as Mohandas K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, the new nation promised a new birth of freedom. Americans in all walks of life cheered India's birth, and each of us welcomed its strong adherence to the ideals of human dignity. By bringing democracy to the village level, India has shown the world what inspired leadership can do to give the people of a less-developed country the reality of active participation in government. As its development program brings India greater prosperity, economic freedom and personal dignity will move ahead in firm alliance with political liberty. The spirit of Indian democracy was effectively expressed in these words of President Radhakrishnan, upon his recent assumption of office:

In our national concerns we adopt democracy not merely as a political arrangement but as a moral temper. It is of piece with our great traditional habits of behavior. We realize that freedom has no meaning save in the context of equality and there can be no equality without economic justice. These ideals of freedom, equality, and justice are not possessions to be defended but goals to be reached.

India's literary tradition extends back thousands of years, and has given India a rich cultural legacy of enormous range and depth. The spiritual resolve inherited from its past gives India great strength, and finds its noble embodiment in such present-day leaders as Prime Minister Nehru and President Radhakrishnan. With guidance from truly inspired men like these, India cannot help but continue along the road of idealism, enlightenment, and progress which is the treasure of Indian culture.

On the international level India has chosen to act as a positive, neutral exponent of the views of a large part of the Afro-Asian world. India aims at being a constructive mediator between the two major blocs in the cold war. Its goal of constructive service in the cause of world peace has been seen in its generous assistance to the United Nations operation in the Congo.

India seeks to provide a better life for its people through the successful execution of carefully drafted 5-year plans. The third 5-year plan, which will be completed in 1965–66, envisages a 30 percent increase in national income over the plan period. If this goal can be reached, India will show itself well on the way to overcoming the obstacles to economic growth. One of the most imposing of these problems is India's population, which is increasing at a yearly rate of over 2 percent. With its 438 million inhabitants, India is the second most populous nation in the world; within 35 years this number will reach some 900 million. To surmount these strains great efforts will be required. Fortunately for the people of India, the planning authorities have taken rational cognizance of the various barriers to development and have shown their ability to guide the nation along the path of progress. In the great tradition of its independence movement, India is today devoting its national energy to a social and economic revolution which promises a new threshold of liberty for the Indian people.

I am most pleased to offer my felicitations to the people of the Republic of India on the happy occasion of this 15th anniversary of India's independence.

## Address by Mayor Robert P. Wagner of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, Americans of Italian extraction have long been aware that the distinguished mayor of the city of New York, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, is one of their stanchest friends and a sincere supporter of their causes. Italian-Americans appreciate his loyalty and they have supported him in tremendous numbers on every occasion he ran for public office, and they will gladly do so again in the future.

Mayor Wagner is one of the ablest and most dedicated leaders of New York in the history of our great city. Under his administration, New York is making great progress in many respects, especially in the eradication of slums, the improvement of living conditions, and the conduct of municipal affairs. His job as mayor of New York is one of the most difficult and arduous tasks in the whole Nation, perhaps next to that of the Presidency, and Mayor Wagner has performed his duties magnificently. New Yorkers are very proud of him.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an address by Mayor Wagner at the national convention of the Order of Italian Sons and Daughters of America, held at the Commodore Hotel in New York, on Monday, August 13, 1962.

His address was as follows:

REMARKS BY MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE ORDER OF ITALIAN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA, COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, MONDAY, AUGUST 13, 1962

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, President Aldisert, officers, delegates, ladies and gentlemen: In the name of all the citizens of New York I am happy to greet you.

As you know, I have just recently returned from my first trip to Europe in 7 years. With my wife and sons I visited France, West Germany, Italy, England and Ireland. Nowhere did we receive more cordial and friendly receptions than in the cities of Italy.

In Rome, the Eternal City, we were received in audience by His Holiness Pope John, and that was the most moving single experience I had on my trip. While in Rome we were the guests of the acting mayor, the Honorable Gaetano Barbagallo. In Florence, we were received by Mayor Giorgio Lapira; and in Venice, by Mayor Giovanni Favoretto Fioca.

But pleasant as it is for me to tell about my trip, I am here this morning for another purpose. In extending the greetings of this city to the Order of Italian Sons and Daughters of America, I want to pay New York's tribute to this organization which was founded 32 years ago by first and second generation Italian-Americans. The purpose of your organization was to assist Americans of Italian origin with their many problems of adaptation as newcomers, while at the same time preserving the language and culture of the land of their birth. These are still, I understand, among the major aspects of your organizational activities.

Your organization has been one of those to show most clearly that there is no contradiction in combining pride in one's past with loyalty to one's present. It is perfectly consistent with the American way to play bocce on Monday and baseball on Tuesday.

I am aware of your philanthropic activities on behalf of the "Boys Town of Italy," and I have heard of your efforts to have Italian language courses introduced into high school curricula in our country. Both of these endeavors are worthy of notice: One involves concern for the less fortunate; the other involves raising our own country's cultural standards. Both are among this country's finest purposes.

As you may know, for many years I have been deeply concerned with the plight of many of the residents of our city who are sepafated from members of their families in foreign lands; these relatives are unable to come here because of our restrictive immigration laws and, specifically, the national origins quota system.

Some of you in this room are doubtless familiar with one or more families split in two by the Atlantic Ocean and by our needlessly cruel and outmoded immigration laws. At present, there is pending before Congress in Washington a bill introduced by Senator PHILIP HART, of Michigan, and cosponsored by legislators from both parties, which would do much to reunite divided families and reduce the inequities of the present quota system.

An important feature of this proposal woud give three out of every five immigration visas to the blood relatives of people already resident in the United States, whether or not they are American citizens. The bill is a humane and forthright attempt to deal intelligently with present immigration needs. I hope that all of you will support its passage.

Liberty, unity, and duty are the three principles of your order. They are principles of which all Americans are justly proud. On behalf of the city of New York, may I wish you wisdom in your deliberations at this convention, enjoyment in your fellowship, and again welcome to our city.

## Mayor Wagner, Our Good-Will Ambassador, Hits Communists' Wall of Shame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York City, recently visited West Germany and did an excellent job of creating good will between the United States and those people with whom he came into contact.

In a sense, it was somewhat of a sentimental journey, for Germany was the birthplace of Mayor Wagner's father, who left the small village of Nataetten to become a distinguished U.S. Senator and the author of the National Labor Relations Act.

The details of Mayor Wagner's visit are recorded in the news bulletin, Overseas Report, which is published by the Julius Klein public relations organization. General Klein, of course, is known and respected on both sides of the aisle as one of our most distinguished patriots.

Mayor Wagner visited Berlin and was tremendously impressed with the "wall of shame" which divides the people of that city. I think his remarks on that subject are certainly worthy of attention, and for that reason I should like to have the article from Overseas Report inserted in the RECORD:

WE CAN'T LOSE SYMBOL OF FREEDOM: WAGNER, NEW YORK'S MAYOR, VISITS DIVIDED CITY BERLIN—INTERVIEWED BY JULIUS KLEIN PUBLIC RELATIONS EDITORS

(By Eckardt F. Bechler and Don Henry)

FRANKFURT, GERMANY.—What was foreseen as a nostalgic vacation period turned into a dramatic lesson in democracy when New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner and his family visited Germany last month for 8 days.

Five of those days were spent in Berlin, where Mayor Wagner, whose German-born father later became a leading U.S. Senator, was inspired to comment, "You have to admire the people of West Berlin. They are very determined to carry on for democracy. They are in the frontline of the cold war struggle, yet their morale is very high."

BERLIN WALL POOREST ADVERTISEMENT FOR COMMUNISM

The 52-year-old mayor added that "the 'wall of shame' is the poorest advertisement communism could use. It is hard for us in the United States to visualize it. One has to see it to understand all its implications. The Communists are truly afraid to let the people of their sector come over and see the prosperity and freedom in a democracy where the individual dignity of each man is guaranteed."

The mayor of America's largest city continued: "Berlin is a symbol of democracy surrounded as it is by a way of life to which we are opposed. The United States has to maintain a strong position to support Berlin. We can't lose this symbol which is so obvious throughout the world."

The Gotham mayor noted that "Berlin means a great deal to the people of New York City where we have 74 different nationality groups who feel very strongly about things like this."

VISITS HIS FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE

"In fact," said the mayor, "some of our people appreciate such a situation more than the old families of the United States who have been in America generation after generation and can't comprehend; they're so far removed from the reality of it."

Wagner, in Frankfurt with his family on a sort of "homecoming" visit to the nearby birthplace of his father, previously had been praised by Julius Klein, retired major general and an international public relations counselor, for his public appearances in the divided city.

"Wagner did an excellent job in Berlin," Klein remarked. "The people of New York and America can be proud of him. His public and television appearances created a lot of good will for America with the people of West Berlin and the Federal Republic by reassuring them that America stands firmly behind Berlin."

TALKS WITH MEN ON THE STREET AND GI'S

Klein, who terms the "wall of shame" a "ghettomauer" (ghetto wall) because it "reminds me of Warsaw," noted that though West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt is accustomed to receiving officials from the United States, Wagner's visit gave him an added sense of value since Wagner is a mayoral colleague representing America's largest city and thus is close to the people.

Wagner spent 5 days in Berlin talking to German officials, men on the street and American soldiers, whose morale he said also was extremely high.

Nastaetten, a small village in the Taunus Mountains of Hesse not far from the Rhine River, didn't lose the opportunity to show the Wagner family what it thought of the descendants of the Nastaetten citizen who left Germany in 1885 to become a leading U.S. Senator and author of the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) which was later amended by the Taft-Hartley Act.

HONORARY CITIZEN OF NASTAETTEN

The entire population turned out to greet the Wagners, waving banners and bestowing honorary citizenships in a spirited display of cordiality and friendship.

On the way to Nastaetten and throughout his travels in Germany, Mayor Wagner had ample opportunity to view the economic progress of West Germany.

Having made periodic visits to the Federal Republic since the end of World War II, Wagner stated last week, "It's just fantastic what the years have brought in betterment for the people here. I can remember when Frankfurt was flat. Now it is a great city.

"In fact," the mayor remarked, "the housing developments of West Germany are excellent. They are attractive and utilitarian, and I hope that we can send some of our housing people over here to confer with the Germans to the benefit of future housing projects in both countries through an exchange of ideas."

Wagner also noted that the roadbuilding advances in Germany are remarkable. He specifically pointed to the backroads development in such areas as the Taunus Mountains of Hesse, where he said, American tourists would delight in off-the-beaten-path travel now made available by new thoroughfares.

"This trip has been especially valuable for my (teenage) sons," he commented. "It's their first visit to Europe and it has been very instructive."

Concluding his remarks, after stating that he hoped New York City and others would be able to institute a memorial celebration each August 12 to commemorate the erection of the "wall of shame" and subsequent shackling of freedom in the East, Wagner returned to the aspect of his trip which most fascinated him:

"I was talking to the president of the National Bricklayers Union," he related, "and he said that not only was the wall a blight on the progress of humanity, it was also poorly constructed."

The mayor of America's greatest city didn't laugh at this observation; he merely shook his head sadly. "It's hard for us in America to realize," he muttered, "awfully hard to realize. All of us should see it. Only then do we understand."

## Pastor of Our Lady Star of the Sea Delivers Opening Prayer Before House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on July 9, the beloved pastor of Our Lady Star of the Sea Church in Bayonne, N.J., the Right Reverend Monsignor Leo J. Martin, opened the daily session of the House of Representatives with a moving prayer. Our Lady Star of the Sea was the first Catholic Church established in Bayonne, and I am proud to say that Monsignor Martin has added greatly to the rich tradition that has been established by its former outstanding pastors. Monsignor Martin has been a lifelong friend and I take great pride in the fact that I graduated from Our Lady Star of the Sea grammar school. It is also with pride that I call to the attention of my colleagues the prayer offered by Monsignor Martin:

Almighty and most benevolent God, the plans of whose divine providence rest upon wisdom and love for the welfare of nations and peoples, look down with paternal kindness and goodness on this august assemblage of our Nation's rulers. Not by earthbound wisdom, but with the light of Thy infinite knowledge direct their minds, and strengthen with fortitude their delibera-

tions; for upon them rests the welfare and security of those over whom they rule, and to whose good they are committed.

Enlighten and bless with prudence and justice each Member of this assemblage. May they, by Thy help, faithfully keep the stewardship entrusted to them; so that through them in the faithful discharge of their office, our Nation and its people will continue to be blessed in the order of nature and of grace by Thee, who are in truth nature's God and the source of all strength. Amen.

## Veterans Rise Against Nazis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following material revealing the action of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. to combat the revival of nazism. It is heartening that the men who helped defeat nazism in World War II are alert to recent attemps in this country, England, and elsewhere to bring back nazism. I think that veterans, regardless of religion, will share the concern of the Jewish War Veterans at this obnoxious Nazi revival that mocks the martyrs of the Allied armies and undermines NATO. I commend this information to the attention of the Congress who, I am sure, feel as I do that the veterans who once crushed the scourge of nazism deserve the Government's full support in any new action required:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An international Nazi conclave in England and the recent movement of neo-Nazi agitators from country to country has evoked a plan for unified counteraction by American and British veterans, the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. made known today.

Seeking international cooperation by Allied veterans against Nazi resurgence, National Commander Theodore Brooks, of the Jewish War Veterans, wrote the national chairman of the British Association of Jewish Ex-Service Men and Women in London, the Association des Anciens Combattants et Engages Volontaires Juifs in Paris, and the Australian Federation of Jewish Ex-Service Associations in Australia. Mindful of the current presence in England of neo-Nazi agitators from the United States, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Argentina, and other countries, Commander Brooks offered the British veterans assistance and cooperation.

Commander Brooks said the time had come when "we must work together to assure that our comrades who fell in battle (against nazism) did not die in vain." He said that a Nazi virus has reappeared and Allied veterans "must unite and cooperate internationally to eradicate for all time the scourge we thought had been stamped out in 1945."

He called for an alert against "the Fascist rodents who gnaw at the foundations of our unity while we are preoccupied with the world crisis brought about by Communist totalitarianism."

The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. is the Nation's oldest active veterans organization.

MAJ. H. BERNSTEIN,
*National Chairman, Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen, London, England:*

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America respectfully greets its esteemed coreligionists and comrades in arms. We are shocked by the apparent resurgence of Nazi agitation. We agree that the forthcoming international conference of neo-Nazis in your country must not be permitted to pass unnoticed by the authorities of the countries concerned. We are shocked by the apparent laxity of the British authorities.

The editorial in the London Sunday Telegraph supporting the battle of Jewish ex-servicemen against the agitators gave hope that something may yet be done. It is ironic that England, the bastion against Hitler, has been selected as a conference site by the Nazis and neo-Nazis of Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Argentina, the United States, and other countries.

Our own organization has been in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle in the United States. If we may assist you in any manner, we stand ready and willing to cooperate.

It is our sincere belief that if the Nazi virus is again spreading from nation to nation, ex-soldiers of the Jewish faith and all other veterans of good will, must unite and cooperate internationally to eradicate for all time the scourge we thought had been stamped out in 1945.

The time has come for the Allied Nations, linked today through NATO, to be alerted to the Fascist rodents who gnaw at the foundations of our unity while we are preoccupied with the world crisis brought about by Communist machinations.

As veterans and Jews who abhor the totalitarianism of nazism as well as communism, we must work together to assure that our comrades who fell in battle did not die in vain.

Any suggestions you may offer on cooperation will be welcomed. Meanwhile, we assure you we stand with you in the conviction that mutual vigilance will once more smash nazism. At the forthcoming (Israeli) conference of veterans of the Jewish faith from all parts of the world we submit this as a priority.

THEODORE BROOKS,
*National Commander, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.*

## Republican Breakthrough in Political Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it has often been inferred that the Democratic Party has a monopoly on intellectuals and eggheads and that the Republican Party somehow manages to exist without the assistance of any detectable higher nervous system.

Yet, no less authority than Raymond Moley, a distinguished scholar and professor for many years at Columbia University and a top adviser to President Roosevelt in the 1930's, writes in his Newsweek column of August 13 that the Republican congressional committee has, in sponsoring the development of the precinct education program, achieved a third major educational breakthrough in the teaching of political science.

In arranging for this do-it-yourself course in how to win elections, our aim was to show people how to be effective in political campaigns. If it has intellectual and educational merit, Mr. Speaker, it is only because we Republicans, in seeking to produce high quality, effective material, just naturally turn to the best brains and research as well as the finest in practical experience. This is why the Republican Party has achieved so many outstanding breakthroughs in the art of government, and now, in the field of higher education.

Mr. Moley's column follows:

YOU WIN IN THE PRECINCTS
(By Raymond Moley)

In my years as a college teacher of what is called political science I attempted to get away from theory and history and help students learn some of the realities of everyday politics. I decided to have practical and successful politicians talk to my classes. But I discovered that while these were excellent practitioners and engaging speakers, they were unable to describe systematically how they did their job. Now and then there were bits of precious insight in what they said, but it was impossible to put these bits together in anything like a formula or text.

Thus there was need for a real educational breakthrough in an art which is as old as civilization and vitally important to millions. There was no way to provide schooling and training for practical political workers.

Political workers continued, as they had for generations, to learn by trial and costly error. Perceptive people have realized for a long time that lavish publicity and speeches of candidates, even with the help of mass meetings, radio, and television, are not only of questionable value but exceedingly wasteful. Voters are moved by persons who are close to them in their homes, offices, workshops, clubs, and saloons. Somebody must sell by personal contact.

LABOR'S HOW TO WIN

A few years ago there was an educational breakthrough unnoticed by the formal world of education. Organized labor got into politics, and in 1945 the CIO Political Action Committee wrote and published a small book called "How To Win." After the labor merger, the AFL-CIO COPE continued to publish this amazing text in various editions. Innumerable candidates who have been elected or defeated by labor can testify to the book's effectiveneses. For it brought an ancient art down to the level of American politics.

Labor's "How To Win" stimulated efforts by other organizations to train volunteers in practical politics. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce produced its well-known "Action Course in Practical Politics," composed of small texts and leaders' manuals. The latest figures show that 250,000 have taken the course in 1,800 communities under the sponsorship of local chambers and companies.

More recently, the Republican Associates in Los Angeles created a remarkable tool for training political workers. This material is specifically designed for Los Angeles County and California generally.

A major purpose of these courses was to change attitudes toward political activity and to provide for thousands of volunteers the know-how to participate in campaigns.

DO-IT-YOURSELF POLITICS

This year Biehl P. Clarke's Civic Affairs Associates in Washington published a new text and leaders' manual called the Precinct Education Program. This is restricted to personal operations at the grassroots and neighborhood level. It was prepared at the instance of Representative Bon WILSON's Republican congressional committee.

Clarke points out that this material "goes to the heart of political action by supplying a do-it-yourself program to be conducted by groups numbering as few as from 4 to 12 neighbors. It is equally usable by inexperienced people who need an understanding of what to do and how to do it, and also by experienced precinct workers who train volunteers. It combines formal instruction with on-the-job training. It changes attitudes and communicates knowledge at the same time."

In the past few years many political science teachers in colleges and some secondary schools have been enlarging their offerings of dry theory with some instruction in practical politics. Materials developed wholly outside the field of formal education would help every college and secondary school student to become a more useful citizen.

So, too, might those self-satisfied people profit who now talk a great deal about politics but never turn a hand to help make free institutions work. This applies to 99 of every 100 people I know. For unless they do something other than talk, someone else will care for politics. And what someone else does will not be to their liking. Politics needs a massive infusion of new blood.

## Dedication at Maynard, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, July 25, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, and include therein a speech that I made at the dedication of the beautiful new townhouse and library at Maynard, Mass., July 29, 1962:

REMARKS IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN AT DEDICATION OF TOWNHOUSE AND LIBRARY, MAYNARD, MASS., JULY 29, 1962

Reverend clergy, distinguished guests, and friends, it is a very great pleasure and privilege for me to join you in these historic exercises here this afternoon.

The town of Maynard is very close to my heart, and I rejoice with your officials and all your people upon the completion of this very beautiful new townhouse and library.

With great satisfaction, I compliment and congratulate the chairman and members of the committee who have been responsible for the conduct of this constructive work, the architect, the builders and all those who have had anything to do with the completion of this magnificent new facility.

Your community has long been noted for the high quality of its leadership and the industry, civic spirit, and partiotism of its people. Indeed, there are few, if any, communities anywhere that have given such a splendid example of courage and fortitude in times of adversity and discouragement as the town of Maynard.

Time and again you have shown your mettle, you have demonstrated your ability to stand together and join, intelligently and wholeheartedly, to overcome obstacles confronting you.

Time and again you have gladly responded to the call of our country when our liberties were at stake, and this memorable service goes back to the very earliest days of our Nation, and has continued up to this very moment.

You may well be proud, therefore, of the outstanding record which your fellow townspeople and your community as a whole has made throughout the years, and I may state without question that your unflinching loyalty and devotion to the principles of our great democracy is a source of great pride to me as it must be to you, and all our fellow Americans who have had the opportunity to observe your sterling contributions to our State and Nation.

The loyal spirit you have manifested in this community, and particularly your devotion to the cause of freedom, is needed as much, if not more, today, than ever before in our history.

Those who would destroy every vestige of freedom and democracy, not only here, but throughout the world, are striving with unceasing vigor and skill to achieve their nefarious purpose of enslaving mankind.

They do not hesitate to use threats, blandishments, and every tactic of deceit, artifice and falsehood to plant seeds of distrust and strife, and weaken the resolve of the free world to resist the tyranny and dictatorship of the Communist police state.

But they will not succeed in their evil aims, because the people of this Nation and this world will not be deluded by their trickery, will not be deceived by their insincere promises, and will not be intimidated by their dire threats.

This Nation, born in freedom, pledged to freedom, intends to preserve that freedom, and we will not allow any other nation, or group of nations, to steal away our hard-won liberties or to challenge the safety of our shores and the security of our homes.

Let every leader and conspirator seeking the destruction of freedom in this Nation and the world well understand that Americans propose to defend and preserve our great heritage, that we are unalterably pledged to the perpetuation of free government, just as we are resolutely committed to the cause of world peace.

It is for us to maintain our strength at every level, military, economic, and spiritual and, above all, to uphold at all times the moral precepts and spiritual truths upon which our great nation was founded.

It is for us to try to build and shape a greater and stronger and more prosperous nation, and to hold out the hand of friendship, amity and assistance to other nations who earnestly seek peace and who wish to live and develop under institutions of freedom.

Above all, it is for us to work for the holy cause of peace and human brotherhood as devoutly and vigorously as some other nations are working to spread hatred, instead of love, turmoil, instead of order, and tyranny and slavery, instead of good will, mutual helpfulness, and freedom.

The world can have peace, good will, and a golden age of brotherhood and prosperity for all, if the leaders of the Communist conspiracy would tomorrow agree to outlaw war, provide international control for nuclear weapons and substances, and divert them to the ways of peace rather than unspeakable violence, if they would agree to universal disarmament and world legal institutions to promote world cooperation, unity of the human family, and order and justice for all mankind.

To be sure, it is encouraging that, to no inconsiderable extent, we are moving toward these goals, slowly but perceptibly, and the Soviet Union, as well as all other nations, must come to realize—and I hope and pray that they will soon do so—that lasting peace must be assured, if the world is to be spared an unprecedented blood bath of destruction and devastation.

As we work for peace with all our hearts and energies, let us work with more vigor than ever before and with vigilance and resolution to build our own strength, preserve our great free system and carry out our commitments to the free peoples of the earth that we will not stand idly by while tyranny overruns the world.

This splendid new facility will serve your beautiful town and its devoted people for many years to come. It will do much to strengthen your municipal posture and to provide for the convenience of your people. Not only this generation, but future generations, will have reason to be grateful for the concern you have shown to conduct your town government with efficiency and effectiveness. I am very happy for you today.

May you continue to grow in strength, union, prosperity and the ways of freedom.

## Is the Gerrymandering in New York State Illegal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, recent decisions by the Supreme Court held that discrimination in reapportionment of districts electing Federal and State legislators are within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Several States have been ordered to equalize the vote under the threat of invalidating the reapportionment or the failure to reapportion. New York State is one of the worst offenders of the gerrymandering of congressional districts and the Republican-dominated State legislature has failed to reapportion the State legislative districts.

One of the enterprising citizens, Mr. Peter Strauss, the owner of station WMCA, has appealed to the courts in an effort to prove that discrimination exists in the present apportionment of legislative seats. The Democratic Party leadership in New York County and private citizens have also applied to the Federal court to eliminate the discriminatory congressional reapportionment. Two of the seats in Manhattan have been eliminated and inasmuch as the Republicans controlled the New York State Legislature, the apportionment of congressional seats was done in such a way as to favor the Republican incumbents or to make difficult the election of Democrats.

Mr. Speaker, the Democrats of the newly created 24th Congressional District have a very special job on their hands. It is to show the little man with the pencil up in Albany that it takes more than a Rockymandered district to keep Democratic candidates out of office.

When the reapportionment made necessary by the 1960 census was put into effect, new district lines had to be

drawn and the Republican Party gentlemen who drew them, under the tutelage of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, followed only two precepts: Where there is a Republican in office keep him there and create as many new "Republican districts" as you can. They never heard of symmetry. They seem not to have heard of identity of social and economic interests or for that matter, historical proximity. They just have heard of votes.

One of the worst aberrations of this current reapportionment is the newly created 24th Congressional District. Based on the old 25th Congressional District, it has been cleverly redrawn to keep many of our neighbors out—because they usually vote Democratic. The people of lower economic levels are eliminated, also those who normally vote Democratic were eliminated from the district. The New York Times in an editorial describes this district as a "slightly tattered gingham dog; except for a scrawny neck, its head is separated from its body by a narrow sliver of the adjoining 24th District. Its tail wags feebly in Long Island Sound and one ear juts into neighboring Westchester County."

The district lines try to ignore as the New York Times points out, the fact that in the last 10 years, this area has been the scene of a great deal of building activity. Not only have many new apartment houses been built, but a number of new Government-subsidized housing projects have been developed in this vicinity.

The Albany supporters of the Republican boss of Bronx County seemingly worked on the assumption that only Republicans own their own homes or perhaps that only Democrats like to live in apartments. It is up to us to show them that they are wrong to believe so strongly in their economic labels. Maybe only the rich are Republicans, but many respectably affluent homeowners, or maybe just hard-working people who own their own homes, can still stick to their principles and remain Democrats.

Over 100 years ago, Eldridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, brought the system of districting for political purposes to such a degree of infamy that it bears his name to this day. Many Americans who have heard of "gerrymandering" have forgotten that Elbridge Gerry was a member of the Constitutional Convention and one of the Ambassadors to France who upheld our honor during the X–Y–Z affair."

Today his name and memory is tainted by the stigma of political chicanery. Let those who have foisted the current districts on New York remember and beware. Meanwhile it is up to us to prove that crime does not pay, whether it is a political crime or a felony.

Meanwhile each one of us has a responsibility as well, and that is to prove that a man with a pencil cannot make us into a permanent minority vainly casting our votes in a Republican stronghold. We are not going to be forced into living under a one-party system in a Democratic city in a Democratic nation.

The Republican boss of Bronx County must indeed have little faith in his own abilities to feel that this is the only way he can win. Let us show him that while he may be right about his abilities, he is wrong about us. We are still living under a two-party system and no walls or artificial barriers can contain people yearning to be free and to choose their representatives freely.

## More Evidence of Economic Sloppiness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the following article from the Washington Evening Star inserted in the RECORD because it points up the sloppiness of the economic indicators used by the administration and the press in connection with the proposed tax cut. It also points out the oft-forgotten fact that the unemployment statistics are not lead indicators but the result of economic conditions.

Finally the article notes several new trends in the type of workers seeking employment. This is further evidence that unemployment is not a problem that can be solved merely by cutting taxes or increasing Federal expenditures, but must be met with further study and well-planned retraining programs. The article follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH—HOW WORKERS ARE DISAPPEARING

(By Sylvia Porter)

The reason for the recent decline in unemployment to about 5.3 percent of the labor force is not that the economy is gaining new strength. The reason is that fewer men and women have been looking for jobs than experts anticipated would be jobseekers at this time.

In July, the total labor force, including the Armed Forces, came to 76,437,000, about 500,000 above the level of summer, 1961.

According to the official projections there should be 1 million more men and women in the labor now than a year ago—and these year-to-year projections usually have been safe, because we know how many babies of the 1940's are reaching working age in the 1960's and we certainly can count our adult workers.

The latest employment-unemployment statistics have been woefully underanalyzed, a real drawback in view of their impact on policy.

DECLINE VERY SMALL

In the first place, the drop from June to July was not from 5.5 to 5.3 percent, as officially reported. It was in unrounded figures, from 5.46 to 5.35 percent, a decline of only 0.12 percent, so tiny that its statistically insignificant.

In the second place, any interpretation of this small decline as a signal that no new moves are needed to spur the economy ignores the fact that the unemployment rate does not forecast where the economy is going. It reflects where the economy is. This rate is not one of the so-called leading indicators of a business turn. It is one of the "coincident indicators" which show what is happening.

In the third place, many news stories have ignored the reasons for the extent of the unemployment. Here are three major reasons why.

1. The disappearance of many adult women—in the words of a Labor Department manpower expert I checked, "the most important deviation from what we expected." Abruptly, the persistent postwar return of women in the 35–54 age brackets to the labor force has slowed.

Why? Is it because they can't get jobs in this sluggish economy? Is it because the women haven't the skills to fill the jobs available? Is it because so many have gone back to work that the movement is slowing naturally. The answer I received repeatedly to the questions was "we don't know, we're puzzled we have to study this."

2. The disappearance of many young men in the 14–19 age group. The proportion in this group in the labor force was due to drop from 49 percent in 1955 to under 48 percent as of new; instead, it's down to 46.5 percent.

FASTER RETIREMENTS

Why? Is it because the youngsters are responding to pleas to stay in school, get the skills to fill the jobs? Is it because they've tried to get jobs, have found it impossible without training, have left the labor force to go back to school? The suspicion is "Yes" on both counts.

3. The disappearance of many men over 62 and over 65 at a rate "far faster than anyone foresaw." The projection was that by 1975, the over-65 would account for 31 percent of the labor force; the proportion is down to 31.7 percent now, already almost at the 1975 level.

Why? Is it because as the jobs of many of these older people have been erased, they have dropped out to live on whatever pensions and savings they have? Is it because the steady rise in social security and pension protection permits them to retire voluntarily? Probably both.

The unexpected shrinkage in the labor force has good and bad aspects, is part of the mixed bag of statistics of which President Kennedy and Labor Secretary Goldberg have been speaking. It's a befuddling picture, leaving an observer with a flat feeling. And that's what the economy is today—flat at a high level.

## New York City's Veterans Service Center a Guide to Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 11, 1962, I had the pleasure of interviewing on a radio program over WEVD a young man, Edward Papandrea, assistant director of the Veterans' Service Center of New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs. During my interrogation of Mr. Papandrea I learned in detail the services which the veterans' service center has been rendering to the veterans of the city and State of New York. I discussed with Mr. Papandrea the reasons why legislation authorizing the reinstatement of the lapsed life insurance policies was necessary, and also the reasons justifying

granting a pension to veterans of World War I. Mr. Papandrea pointed out that the veterans of World War I received only $30 per month in defending their country, whereas the veterans of World War II and the Korean war received a higher pay and, in addition, received GI benefits, medical care, life insurance at reduced premiums, and other opportunities. With certain limitations, Mr. Papandrea advised the audience and me that such a pension plan would equalize the benefits between the veterans of the different wars. At my request Mr. Papandrea set forth the services which the veterans' service center renders daily and annually. Following is the statement which Mr. Edward Papandrea made to me which I believe to be informative and of great interest:

DEAR MR. SANTANGELO: Pursuant to your request to summarize the activities of the New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs, I forward you this brief statement.

As you know, our office is a part of the municipal government of the city of New York under Mayor Wagner and Paul Ruttheiser, who is our director. The division has served over 2 million veterans of all wars, helping them to solve their problems and assisting them in the proper application of their veterans' benefits.

Our staff consists of 25 employees, most of whom are disabled veterans and veterans who are expert in their various counseling specialties. Every year, they assist over 50,000 veterans and their families.

The facilities available at the New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs include the following:

(a) Business and home counseling: This service is provided for veterans who are going into business or purchasing homes.

(b) Federal benefits counseling involving advice and applications for the various benefits available through the Veterans' Administration and insurance advice relative to conversion to permanent plans, change of beneficiary, etc.

(c) Claims service counseling: This unit advises veterans, widows and next of kin on their various rights and benefits and initiates correspondence for review of discharge.

(d) Personal service counseling: Counselors in this unit are available to discuss family and personal problems with the veteran.

(e) Employment counseling: This unit specializes in assisting veterans with employment problems and aiding them in seeking positions, especially those who are disabled.

(f) Educational counseling: Advice is rendered to veterans seeking to further their education. A complete listing of the major colleges and trade schools is maintained for this purpose.

(g) Health unit: This unit is staffed by doctors who give physical examinations to veterans for civil service. Premarital blood tests are also done by this unit.

Frequently, many veterans come to our agency as a last resort. The have been unable to solve their problems elsewhere and seek our assistance. In cases of this type, we have been remarkably successful. Many veterans seek us out as a place where they can receive sympathetic consideration. Our files are full of letters thanking us for the services we have rendered.

At this time, we are enthused about the bill now before Congress which would permit veterans of World War II and Korea to reinstate their National Service Life Insurance protection. At the time of their discharge from service, many of these men not realizing the value of this protection dropped it only to find after they had married and had a family that this insurance is a valuable protection. The New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs has conducted a campaign over a period of 5 years for enactment of this bill permitting reinstatement of G.I. insurance. Included with this reinstatement provision is a 9-percent increase in service-connected disability pensions which will assist disabled veterans in meeting the high cost of living. Our office will have full information and necessary insurance applications when this bill becomes law.

Another important benefit that is available to veterans of New York is the real estate tax exemption. Every year we strive to alert veterans to the money-saving features of this exemption which provides a reduction in real estate taxes for veterans. Veterans can save as much as $200 a year or more on their real estate taxes by taking advantage of this exemption. For full information, we would suggest veterans visit our office at 300 West 43d Street in Manhattan.

The New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs publishes a monthly newsletter for veterans and their families called the Veterans' Voice. The Voice provides an up-to-date account of what is happening in the field of veterans affairs and legislation and is widely read and commented on by veterans. The Voice is free to anyone wishing to receive it. Simply drop us a card at the New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs, 300 West 43d Street, New York 36, requesting that you be placed on the mailing list. We will be happy to see to it that you receive the Voice every month.

In conclusion, I would earnestly suggest to all veterans to come see us if they have a problem or seek assistance in filing for any veterans benefits. We will be glad to talk with them and do everything in our power to assist them. I want to thank you for the privilege of coming here this evening and describing the work done by the New York City Division of Veterans' Affairs.

## The Meaning of the Trade Expansion Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the Honorable George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State:

THE MEANING OF THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT

(Address by the Honorable George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State, before the American Bar Association, San Francisco, Calif., Tuesday, August 7, 1962)

Ever since I was admitted to the bar—sometime about the turn of the century, or so it seems—I have held firmly to a simple and straightforward thesis: Whatever anyone can do, lawyers can do better. You will be amazed to learn, however, that this is not universally accepted.

Within the past 18 months I have sought to demonstrate that this thesis is relevant not only to gaining votes or making money, but also to the esoteric business of diplomacy. If my demonstration has not wholly persuaded all of the critics of the State Department—whether in Congress or the press—that is presumably my fault; it does not reflect upon the inherent validity of the thesis.

Eighteen months is a long period, as we measure time on the New Frontier. During that time I must confress to occasional moments of nostalgia for the good life of the legal practitioner—in fact I feel that nostalgia seven mornings of the week when I arrive at the State Department at 8 o'clock. (An obscenely early hour, as any self-respecting barrister knows.) And so I am pleased and gratified to find myself—even as a transient emigre—back in the affluent society once more.

When I was asked to come here today I browbeat my staff into letting me accept your invitation. My motivations were complex. I always enjoy having an excuse to visit this beautiful city, particularly to meet old friends, and also the President's trade program—which was suggested as the subject for these remarks—is a matter dear to my heart. Not only do I regard it as an economic measure of epic consequence but it is a major beginning toward giving meaning and substance to the Atlantic partnership.

I

The proposed legislation, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, has both a brave future and a distinguished heritage. It is in the great tradition of the reciprocal trade agreements program first conceived by Cordell Hull almost 30 years ago. But it has been drafted to take account of the requirements of American policy in a world that has undergone, and is still undergoing, swift and pervasive change.

Since the end of the Second World War, the political and economic shape of the world has been altered more profoundly than in any two centuries in the past.

An Iron Curtain has dropped down to form a cage around one-third of the human population.

Relationships among the other two-thirds have been radically revised. The great colonial systems that controlled the destiny of more than half of the people in what we have come to call the free world have either disappeared or are on their way toward ultimate disappearance—to be replaced by a whole geography book of new independent nations (46 since 1943) that are shaping a new set of relations with the old colonial powers based on the principle of mutual self-respect.

These former colonial powers—our allies, the great industrial nations of Western Europe—far from being weakened or destroyed by the passing of this outmoded form of power relationship have instead turned their energies with remarkable success toward the monumental tasks of building a strong and united Europe.

By the mutual consent of peoples expressed in the Treaty of Rome—which is the organic document of the European Economic Community—six nations of Europe have achieved a greater unity today than could ever be imposed by military might in the past, and this new "Europe" may soon be expanded. Last August the United Kingdom applied for membership in the European Community. Since then, Denmark, Norway, and Ireland have made similar applications.

It would not be appropriate for me to comment today on the negotiations now in progress between the United Kingdom and the member states of the Community. But if those negotiations do lead to the accession of the United Kingdom to the Treaty of Rome—and I think they will—the Common Market will embrace a population of about one-quarter of a billion people with a gross national product, on the basis of 1961, exceeding $340 billion. It will be an expanding market. The creation of internal free trade within the area of the Community is unleashing strong forces that are giving a new energy both to industry and agriculture. As a result, the member nations today are experiencing a rate of growth half again

higher than that of the current growth rate of the United States.

Since the end of the Second World War, consistently through three administrations, the United States has encouraged and supported those forces in Europe pressing toward unity. Our interest in a united Europe, our interest in the European Economic Community, is primarily political. We recognize, as President Kennedy so eloquently said on the Fourth of July in Philadelphia, that the United States and the great nations that are forming the new Europe are interdependent, and that a united Europe can be a "partner with whom we can deal on a basis of full equality in all the great and burdensome task of building and defending a community of free nations."

II

In current discussions of the European Economic Community there is sometimes a tendency to think only of the most conspicuous of its achievements; to regard it merely as a customs union, a commercial arrangement for the advancement of the trading interests of the member nations. Yet the main driving force that has brought the Community into being has stemmed from larger aspirations—a relentless drive toward the ancient goal of a United States of Europe.

Signatory nations to the Treaty of Rome have taken far-reaching commitments. They have agreed not only to create a Common Market but also to undertake a wide spectrum of common action covering all aspects of economic integration—including the concerting of monetary and fiscal policy, the harmonization of social security systems, the development of a common antitrust law, common provisions for the regulation of transport, the free movement not only of goods but of labor, capital, and services, and so on.

Equally as important, they have created a set of institutions, comprising an executive in the form of a commission and a council of ministers, a parliamentary body in the form of an assembly, and a court—the Court of Justice of the Community—that by its decisions has already begun to build up a formidable body of European jurisprudence.

If we think of the European Community not as a static concept, but a living process, we can begin to comprehend its larger political implications. If the negotiations for British accession to the Community succeed, we shall have on either side of the Atlantic two enormous entities; on our side, a federation of states tied together by developed institutions and a century and a half of common experience to form a nation that is the world's leading power; on the other, a community of states, trading as a single market, and seeking among themselves to perfect the common policies and institutional arrangements that can lead toward increasing economic and political integration.

Between them these two entities will account for 90 percent of the free world's trade in industrial goods and almost as much of the free world's production of such goods. Between them they will represent the world's key currencies; they will provide the world's principal markets for raw materials; and they will constitute the world's principal source of capital to assist the less-developed countries to move toward decent living standards.

The degree of interdependence between the great economies flanking the Atlantic—the interdependence to which President Kennedy so eloquently adverted—has been demonstrated repeatedly in recent years. Imbalances within the trade or payments arrangements among the major economically advanced nations can create serious problems. Our own troubling and persistent balance-of-payments deficit is, in a very real sense, the mirror image of surpluses in the accounts of certain of our European friends.

We have been working to achieve the high degree of coordination of domestic economic policies through the OECD in order to minimize these imbalances just as we have been working with our European friends through NATO to achieve an effective defense of the free world or through the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD to coordinate national programs for aid to less developed countries.

III

If the growing partnership between the United States and the new Europe is to result in the strengthening of the free world, our pursuit of common policies on the two sides of the Atlantic must be extended to the construction of a new and more liberal set of commercial relationships.

We in the United States have much to gain by this. For many reasons the development of the European Common Market will provide an unparalleled opportunity for the sale of our products. Our trade with the nations of an expanded Community is today very much in our favor. Our exports of all products to the member nations are about 50 percent higher than our imports. Most Europeans are only just beginning to enjoy many of the consumer goods Americans have known for years—automobiles, electric refrigerators, air conditioning. Using automobile ownership as an index, one may say that the European market is about at the level of consumer demand which existed in the United States in the late twenties—and think of the expansion which has taken place in our market since that day.

We alone in the free world have fully developed the techniques of mass production, for we alone have had a great mass market open to us. If American industry invests the will and energy, and if access to the Common Market can be assured to it by the tools provided by the Trade Expansion Act, we should find in Europe new trading opportunities of a kind not dreamed of a few years ago.

I do not mean to suggest that the development of the European market for American products will be easy. It will require a considerable effort of merchandising of a kind few American firms have ever attempted in Europe because in the past the potential of limited national markets has never seemed to justify the trouble. It will require us to do much more than merely ship abroad the surplus of the goods we produce for Americans. It will mean far greater attention to the tailoring of products designed expressly for European tastes and European conditions.

But we are a creative nation, and there is every reason to suppose that we shall remain so. And we respond with vigor when the challenge is great enough. That we can turn turn our creative genius to use in this new and promising mass market of Europe, I have no doubt. The gains for the American economy will be extraordinary.

IV

From this you will understand that, when I said a few moments ago that America's primary interest in the European Economic Community was political, I did not at all underestimate its economic implications.

Consider the opportunities for us.

By the mid-1950's Europe had effectively completed the major task of postwar reconstruction—assisted, of course, by the Marshall plan. European production was back to the level of prewar days. Since that time, it has been given a prodigious impetus by the bright promise of a Common Market.

In spite of some signs of a slowing down, this extraordinary drive continues. As the full economic benefits of a mass market are progressively made available, Europe may be expected to continue its giant march toward a higher living standard.

But, you may ask, granted that the Common Market will mean a greatly enhanced consumption of goods, what are the chances for American suppliers who produce outside the walls of the common external tariff?

Notwithstanding a common belief to the contrary, the two great common markets of the Free World—the common market of Europe and that of the United States—enjoy with respect to industrial goods about the same level of protection from outside competition. This has been established by recent studies of the Tariff Commission and the Department of Commerce.

In suggesting that the average tariff rates on industrial imports are roughly similar in these two great common markets and that the median rates of duty are about the same, I do not mean to imply that the two areas have the same tariff structure. Our own tariff rates range from the very low to the very high. We admit nearly 1,000 of the 5,000 items on our tariff schedule on a duty-free basis. At the same time there are about 900 items on which we levy a duty of 30 percent or more. Products governed by such high rates are largely excluded from the American market, while the duty-free items to a considerable extent are products not suited to production in the United States.

The common external tariff of the European Community has a quite different structure, because it has developed under the provisions of the Rome Treaty by averaging the rates that existed at the beginning of 1957 in France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux Customs Union. As a result of this averaging process, practically all the high tariff rates existing in the individual countries have been greatly reduced. Whereas over one-sixth of the rates in the United States are above 30 percent, less than one-fiftieth of European rates are over 30 percent. There are few rates in the European Community as protective as are many rates in our own tariff schedule; at the same time there are fewer items on the free list.

These facts are significant for two reasons. In the first place, they show that in any new trade negotiation, the United States and the European Community would be starting at substantially the same levels of protection. It should be possible to phase down the levels of protection at roughly the same pace.

But these studies also demonstrate that, contrary to that prevailing mythology, our trade negotiators have effectively defended U.S. interests. There is a tendency in discussing these matters to cite rates that are markedly higher in Europe than in the United States—such as the current rate on automobiles, which is 22 percent under the common external tariff of the Common Market, and only 6½ percent under the U.S. tariff: But one should not ignore cases where the reverse is true, such as clocks and watches where our rate is 51 percent, and the Common Market rate is one-fourth as much—or such items as safety razors where our rates run from 85 to 255 percent and the Common Market rate is 17 percent.

The myth has somehow grown up that America has been foolishly improvident in past negotiations and that our negotiators have consistently gotten the worst of it. This attitude is, in part perhaps, the reflection of an ancient sense of inferiority—a hangover of colonial psychology; a feeling born of disillusion over early experiences, such as John Jay's superficially bad bargain with the British in 1794; a feeling that persisted during the 19th century throughout a rural America which mistrusted the city slickers—particularly those wearing striped pants and knee breeches in the chancelleries of Europe. We continually tell ourselves that when our diplomats go abroad they are too naive and too high principled to protect their country's interests. Regardless of his demonstrated hardheadedness in private life, it is a pervasive myth that when an American enters the service of

his Government he automatically becomes a foolish and dangerous fellow not worthy of being trusted in his dealings with other nations.

Such a view does more credit to our modesty than our judgment. Speaking for the Department of State, which has had the major responsibility for the actual negotiation of trade agreements, I can assure you quite categorically that this view is held nowhere outside of the United States. It is a myth that stops, so to speak, at the water's edge.

The officials of our Government, who over the years have participated in trade agreement negotiations, have served their country well. If this were not so, we could expect to find the tariff rates of Europe today well above those of the United States—and they are not.

With the advent of the European Common Market—and particularly if that market is expanded by the accession of Great Britain—future negotiations will depend to a large extent on the bargain that can be struck not between our representatives and those of a dozen smaller states, as has hitherto been the case, but between the negotiators who speak for our own large market and their European counterparts who speak for a market of almost comparable size. This, in itself, should greatly facilitate the achievement of deals that will be beneficial not only to the Europeans and ourselves but to the whole free world.

V

I have so far dealt primarily with the problem of trade in industrial goods. But we also have a vital interest in maintaining and expanding access for our agriculture products. Our commercial agricultural exports to the countries that would make up an enlarged Common Market are now around $1.6 billion annually and represent nearly half of our total commercial exports of U.S. agricultural products to all countries.

Two developments have an important effect on our position as a major supplier of farm commodities to Europe. One is the technological revolution in agriculture, which Europe is only now beginning to experience. Just as the United States has enjoyed a tremendous growth in agricultural productivity as a result of new scientific techniques, so is Europe now proceeding along the same path. Over the long pull we can expect Europe to produce more grains and other temperate zone products with fewer farmers. Though the vitality generated by the Common Market may accelerate this trend, it is one that would have existed even in the absence of the treaty of Rome.

Another factor affecting our position is the common agricultural policy developed by the Common Market countries early this year after the most intense and difficult negotiations. Those countries began on July 30 to put this common agricultural policy into effect. By 1970, there will be free trade in virtually all agricultural products among the member states.

These are the two factors that we must take into account in seeking to maintain the U.S. position as a principal supplier of agricultural production to the crucial markets of Western Europe—but there are also others of only slightly less significance. With the steady growth of personal income Europeans will tend to shift toward a greater consumption of protein and a reduced direct consumption of cereals. Since farm animals are relatively inefficient meat factories, this means a substantially increased requirement for certain cereal imports—but at the expense of others.

The extent to which an advancing agricultural technology will move Europe toward a higher degree of self-sufficiency in its food requirements—to the disadvantage of imports—will depend upon the price and access policies that the European Community may adopt. It is at this point that negotiations by the Trade Expansion Act can be of critical importance. At the same time it is clear that the major producing and consuming nations must face the hard necessity of achieving global solutions to the difficult problems that exist in certain agricultural sectors.

In insuring a bright future for our agricultural exports we shall need all the bargaining counters we can mobilize—and the Trade Expansion Act was drawn with this fact firmly in mind.

VI

I have up to this point dealt largely with our vital trading interests in Western Europe, but I have very much in mind the fact that our direct trading interests as well as our security interests are global in scope. We need to expand our exports to markets throughout the free world. We have important trading partners in many areas. I need only mention that our trade with Canada alone is of the same order of magnitude as our trade with the six member states of the Common Market. Across the Pacific, Japan is a major market for manufactured goods and the most important single customer anywhere in the world for our agricultural exports. Last year we sold to Japan nearly $700 million more in goods of every kind than we bought from Japan—to the great benefit of our balance of payments. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 will provide effective authority for negotiations with these countries—as well as with the less developed countries and the Common Market.

VII

Let me now return for a final moment to the proposition I put to you at the beginning of these observations: that the Trade Expansion Act should be viewed not merely as an instrument for expanding free world commerce and thus benefiting our own economy, but as a solemn political act taken in recognition of the interdependence of which President Kennedy has spoken and of the need for forging an effective Atlantic partnership if the free world is to be strong and secure.

With the progress of Europe toward unity we have for the first time the possibility of a partnership that can become, over the years, a common enterprise in which power and responsibility can be fully and freely shared. We have never been altogether happy with our postwar arrangements in which the preponderance, not only of power but of responsibility, has been so heavily on one side. Now with the prospects of a strong and united Europe we can, for the first time, see the possibility of a partnership of coequals.

Already we are making substantial progress within that partnership in tackling a broad spectrum of common problems: the coordination of economic policies to avoid persistent imbalances, the perfection of techniques for meeting our common responsibilities toward the less-developed areas of the world, the agreement on common objectives of economic growth. Through the Trade Expansion Act we should move rapidly ahead in a further vital area—the expansion of trade not only across the Atlantic but within the whole free world.

And by moving toward this great objective on a basis of agreements reached after patient bargaining we should establish a further strong link among those nations on whom the security of the free world largely depends.

## Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD two articles by Mr. George Todt which appeared in the August 8 and 9 issues of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.

I am sure these articles will be of interest to the many friends and admirers of former President Herbert Hoover, who has earned the heartfelt thanks and admiration of the Nation through his long years of distinguished public service.

The articles follow:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald Examiner, Aug. 8, 1962]

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: HOOVER'S WISDOM

"Not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."—11 Corinthians 3: 6.

We are floundering as a nation today. Scandal piles upon scandal, failure upon failure, defeat upon defeat.

With all the massive power at our command—enough to conquer the entire world if we desired to do so—we are being hurled from pillar to post on the world stage and at home.

Where lies the key to our problems?

Who will lead us out of the wilderness?

The thoughts of a great American citizen whose words are strong, brave, and true were spoken 11 years ago, are appropriate enough today.

Here are a few thought-provoking excerpts from an address made by Herbert Hoover Sr., former President of the United States.

"Something stronger than a new code of ethics is needed by America." "The issue is decency in public life against indecency.

"Without bitterness in our hearts, we are raising our eyes to the Creator of man who assured us that in American soil we can find the moral and spiritual forces which make free men and women. In His guidance, we shall find the fortitude to correct our errors, to straighten our courses, to resurrect the spirit that made our America so free and bountiful a nation."

VIRTUE ENTIRE

"No public man can be just a little crooked. There is no such thing as a no man's land between honesty and dishonesty. Our strength is not in politics—our strength lies in spiritual concepts. It lies in public sensitiveness to evil.

"There are already some old and tested codes of ethics. There are the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and the rules of the game which we learned at our mother's knee. Can a nation live if these are not the guides of public life?

"Dishonor in public life has a double poison. When people are dishonorable in private business, they injure only those with whom they deal or their own chances in the next world. But when there is a lack of honor in government, the morals of the whole people are poisoned."

FATAL ERROR

"I am less concerned at stealing public money than with all the more destructive forms of dishonor. What would the Found-

ing Fathers have thought of those who coquette with traitorship?

"We thus have a cancerous growth of intellectual dishonesty in public life which is mostly beyond the law.

"Debate founded on disclosure of the whole truth and free of propaganda gadgets and slogans is the stuff that can save freemen.

"The term 'liberalism' has turned pink inside. The term 'welfare' never before meant the welfare state with its red or pink colors. The Chinese Communists were not 'agrarian liberals.' From that perversion alone, we suffered a gigantic defeat of freemen in China."

I will give you more of Mr. Hoover's incorruptible and down-to-earth philosophy in my next column.

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald Examiner, Aug. 9, 1962]

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: MR. HOOVER'S CREDO

"Talent is nurtured in solitude; character is formed in the stormy billows of the world."—GOETHE, "Torquato Tasso."

We are losing on the world stage today because of a recent decadence and degradation of our national character.

To recapture the basic American character as it ought to be, I commenced certain excerpts chosen from a remarkable address by ex-President Herbert Hoover, Sr., 11 years ago in yesterday's column.

Let me continue the quotations:

"Our greatest danger is not from invasion by foreign armies. Our dangers are that we may commit suicide from within by complaisance with evil. Or by cynical acceptance of dishonor. These evils have defeated nations many times in human history."

"The redemption of mankind by America will depend upon our ability to cope with these evils right here at home."

DISCOVERIES

"All things in government which bear the prefix 'new' are not necessarily new. They may not all of them even be good. Truly every generation discovers the world all new again and knows it can improve it. It is a good thing that they do—or our race would shrink in vitality and grow senile.

"Each generation also wants to find out for itself that the stove is hot. A renewal of that information is invaluable.

"But we have overworked this word 'new' in trying to get out of this age of misery from our 37 years of cold and hot wars, with intervals of hot and cold peace.

"The practical thing we can do if we really want to make the world over again is to try out the word 'old' for awhile. There are some old things that made this country."

BASTIONS

"There is the old virtue of religious faith.

"There are the old virtues of integrity and the whole truth.

"There is the old virtue of incorruptible service and honor in public office.

"There are the old virtues of economy in government, of self-reliance, thrift and individual liberty.

"There are the old virtues of patriotism, real love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it.

"Our strength is in character and truth and decent living. And it will triumph.

"It will triumph because I know America is turning its face away from the maudlin left-isms and the spread of untruth of the last two decades. We sense the frauds on men's minds and morals.

"Moral indignation is on the march again."

These excerpts came from an address by Mr. Hoover at Des Moines, Iowa, August 30, 1951, on the occasion of his receiving the first Iowa Award created by the State legislature.

The message fits 1962. Can we absorb it?

## Porkbarrelling and Defense Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, July 30, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks the issue of the Defense Supply Agency and the immense savings it can offer the taxpayer has occupied a good deal of the time of this body and a substantial portion of the press coverage of national affairs. On June 6 there appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat an editorial which placed the debate concerning Secretary McNamara's efforts to reduce duplication and waste in Defense procurement in its clearest light. The question is, will we allow the Secretary to be stymied in his efforts by porkbarrelling and parochial interests. Because it does so much to clarify the current debate I place this editorial, entitled "Off McNamara's Back" in the RECORD at this point.

OFF MCNAMARA'S BACK

In Washington, the number of Cabinet officials who are devoting their efforts to cutting costs could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has brought more administrative ability, business sense, and determination to economize into Washington than probably any other member of the President's official family.

Now, it seems, he has done his job too well. He has made heroic efforts to bring order out of the chaos over which the Pentagon presides like a Colossus.

But in so doing, he has evidently stepped on tender toes.

The Defense Department spends almost half the national budget. It spends it in 50 States, and nearly every congressional district.

This means that any economies achieved come at the expense of some Congressman's constituents.

Mr. McNamara was grilled this week about his practice of setting up a single agency to buy for all of the Armed Forces. This is an overdue reform for which the Globe-Democrat has often called.

Representative TOM CURTIS has frequently exhorted the Defense Department to eliminate the staggering waste that results when Air Force, Army, Marine Corps, and Navy all run separate purchasing agencies for items of common use.

Congressional critics raked Mr. McNamara over the coals for the trend toward increased centralization in the Defense Department.

The Secretary replied that the Defense Department will save hundreds of millions of dollars by combining buying activities.

CARL VINSON, Georgia Democrat, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, called for the investigation. His State has 19 military installations. "One more base would sink the State," a brave general once testified.

PORTER HARDY, Virginia Democrat, charged the Defense Secretary with plotting to set up a single service, and thus do away with Air Force, Army, and Navy. This ridiculous accusation Mr. McNamara denied.

Doing away with the Navy would probably do away with Congressman HARDY. His district includes huge naval installations at Norfolk and Portsmouth, including an amphibious base, a fleet training center, a Marine barracks, a naval shipyard, and a naval supply center.

Obviously, if the Nation is to get the most out of its $48 billion defense budget, a fair-minded, able executive like Secretary McNamara must be allowed to make economies that are long overdue.

The Globe-Democrat thinks too much of men like Representative VINSON to believe that they would let selfish interests stand in the way of the Nation's welfare.

Others in Congress, who may be tempted, should remember that old slogan and be guided by it. Don't shoot the piano player, he's doing the best he can. Congressmen should get off Mr. McNamara's back and let him do a job of sensible economy.

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## World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, I intend to keep these remarks as short as possible for I would like them to be read by the Members of Congress rather than skipped over. To make a long story short, I, as one Member of Congress, am getting tired, disgusted, and a little sick of the way the World War I veterans are being ignored in regard to their pension. Since being elected to Congress 4 years ago, I have witnessed legislative sneaks, and the old bamboozle; but the action on H.R. 3745 beats anything I have seen yet. In 1958, there was a discharge petition filed and there were only 65 signers on this petition. In 1960, there were 145. In 1962, there were 199 signers. This interest shown by the Members who have signed this petition is a direct and clear mandate of the U.S. Congress wishes.

I disagree bitterly with the cost figures some people estimate is involved with this legislation. The cost of this program would only be a drop in the bucket compared to what we are throwing away overseas. As I understand the statistics, World War I veterans are now dying at the rate of 1 every 4 minutes. During the hour in which this statement is being given 15 World War I veterans will have passed on, and the World War I pension obligation will have been reduced by the amount of $1,500; by the amount of $36,000 per year; by the amount of $12,960,000 per year until the year of 1976, at which time only of 4 of 100 World War I veterans will be living and these at the average age of 82 years so that each year until 1976 the World War I pension obligation will be reduced 6 percent until the reduction has reached 96 percent; and thereafter, there will be left only a token amount to be paid out; and shortly thereafter, death will have permanently removed the governmental obligation to these defenders of our country entirely.

The World War I pension expense peak arrived before the year of 1960, and said expense is now fast receding toward the vanishing point.

These men suffered the tortures of hell in the trenches; some times belly deep in water, mud, filth, and blood, besides the other terrible rigors of war. It is not the will of the people that these veterans in their declining years be deprived of a little security long overdue. It is indeed a shame and an insult to these old veterans, to treat them as they have been treated in this and past sessions of Congress. I can tell you it surely leaves a bitter taste—not against their country or its citizens; but to those now in power. Did the big money interests fight against a $4 billion foreign aid bill to be doled out to Communist-controlled nations? No; and I am pleased to say I did not support or vote for the bill.

## Private Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in all the discussions of the Government's efforts abroad we all to often forget that nongovernmental efforts are usually more successful in this field. Private efforts are trusted more by the people abroad, they cost less, and they can be improved more easily through the experience of their operations than can the larger, centrally controlled Government programs. Recently—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 9, 1962, pages A5198–A5199—I inserted remarks in the RECORD concerning the fine work being done throughout the world by the Society of Friends, the Quakers. Now, Peter Edson, of the New York World Telegram & Sun, reports on the establishment by Rotary International of its own peace corps. I wish we would understand how much more effective are the results of the work of Rotary and the Quakers in this area than are those of our Government programs.

Mr. Edson's article follows:

PERSON-TO-PERSON PROJECT: ROTARY OPENS OWN PEACE CORPS

(By Peter Edson)

WASHINGTON, July 17.—Rotary International is establishing a peace corps of its own. The 57-year-old service organization is starting a new international small business clinics program for developing countries. It will be an adult educational aid program to help small merchants and manufacturers learn the ways of modern business in a free society.

This is the idea of Nitish C. Laharry, of Calcutta, India, newly installed as president of Rotary International. He is the first Asian to head Rotary, which now has 524,000 members in 11,279 service clubs of 128 countries.

In Washington for a courtesy call on President Kennedy and a speech to the Washington Rotary Club on its 50th anniversary, Mr. Laharry outlined his plans for developing world service on a person-to-person basis.

The idea grew out of a volunteer service by 15 Oklahoma doctors who last year gave 2 months of their time traveling abroad at their own expense to demonstrate modern medical practices for native doctors in their own clinics.

This service was so successful that Laharry, who had been designated this year's Rotary president at its Tokyo convention last year, began plans to spread the club's world community service to a larger field.

Educated as an economist, political scientist and lawyer in India, Laharry had served 32 years as southeast Asia distributor for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Columbia films.

He had traveled in many lands. He knew that in the developing countries there were thousands of small merchants and small manufacturers making and selling one part for an assembled machine—bicycle chains, wheels and pedals, for example. There were also cottage industries, often family affairs with no real knowledge of accounting, merchandising or modern business methods.

If he could get experts from the more developed countries to go into the new countries and hold business clinics for these native businessmen, Laharry reasoned, he would be developing the stature and dignity of freemen. This is one of Rotary's goals.

He thought it could be achieved best by person-to-person contacts, not through the regimented processes of some international government agency.

There are Rotary clubs in practically every country outside the Iron Curtain. There are nearly 1,000 Rotary clubs in Asia, from Iran to Japan, with 37,000 members. There are 300 Rotary clubs in India, with 11,000 members. These clubs provide a natural bridge between the developed and developing countries.

With the help of Harvard University's School of Business Administration, two case study booklets were prepared. They tell how local Rotary clubs can involve every member in worldwide business clinic service.

The new nation of Tanganyika has asked to have the first Rotary business clinic. Panama's Rotary has asked for business clinic service. Laharry wants to send two missions to India this year. A book of Rotary requests from the various countries is being compiled.

Laharry feels that if a dozen clinics are conducted in his year in office, it will be a good start.

## Power Preference Request

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the August 12, 1962, issue of the Los Angeles Times.

The editorial comments on a bill recently passed by the Senate proposing a public power preference for the Pacific Northwest. Similar legislation is pending in the House.

Since this proposal is a matter of concern to many of the Members of Congress, I believe the comments and observations of the Los Angeles Times on this legislation will be of interest:

CALIFORNIA UNPREFERRED

The problems of public power corkscrew among themselves like angleworms in a can. Pull at one and several come wriggling out along with it.

The U.S. Senate has just passed a bill about area preference for public power in the Northwest that is entwined with the interests of southern California, the Rocky Mountain States, even the Dakotas, which are in turn entangled with Senator GOLDWATER's section of the Southwest, and touches wriggling tentacles with the rest of the United States.

FIRST CALL ON POWER

The House of Representatives is still to be heard from, but the Senate is trying to throw away the half-century-old precedent of preference in federally developed waterpower. The tradition and statutory practice are that because a Federal power project is paid for by all the taxpayers of the United States, public power-consuming agencies should have first call on that power if they are within reaching distance of it. Such agencies are cooperative, municipally owned systems such as that of Los Angeles, and as another example, the Metropolitan Water District. After public claims are satisfied, the remaining Federal power may be sold to private distributing companies and industries—but, as the public claims increase, private sales are cut down.

The Senate would change this general public preference to what is called area preference. Some time ago Interior Secretary Udall, who desires a Federal power empire under his command to cover the whole United States with its grid, proposed that electricity from the Bonneville Power Administration be wired to southern California. There was a great row at the time because Mr. Udall wanted to transmit this power on new Federal lines which might have cost all American taxpayers upward of $500 million while the private distributing companies were contending they already had the grid to carry it. But this debate was lost in the uproar from the Northwest, which realized that if the Bonneville Administration could sell power in southern California at production and transmission costs, the competition might raise prices at home. Consumers in the area near Bonneville—public and private—have been getting their electricity at less than cost, and all the taxpayers of the United States are picking up the deficit.

The result of the Northwest pressure was the Senate bill, which would require the Bonneville Administration to serve nearby customers first, whether they are public or private despite the fact that California taxpayers, as well as those of a number of other States, paid a good deal more for the Bonneville installations than the taxpayers of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, who would have a corner on the power.

Secretary Udall sponsored the bill, even though the uproar was fulminated by his own proposal for the power intertie with California, for as power emperor he could still say who was and who was not to have the Bonneville power in the preferential area of the Northwest. The private power companies have no immediate involvement in the case, for it has nothing to do with the transmission lines. Their greedy enemies are quarreling among themselves for cutrate power at the national taxpayers' expense.

How much firm power southern California could get for pumping in the Feather River water system or for helping to carry the load of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power is a hard question. Perhaps the amounts would not be very much, even without area preference. But if the Senate's attempt to put Chinese walls around the dams that everybody has paid for were to succeed, the settled patterns of public power and water consumption could be upset everywhere in revolutionary fashion.

HOUSE STILL HAS TO ACT

Senator GOLDWATER said, perhaps only half seriously, that if the Northwest area preference bill became law, he would introduce another which would "prefer" nearby consumers (read Arizona's) in the use of the lower Colorado's water—and its power, excluding Hoover Dam—which is a special case. And Senator MUNDT said he would have a bill declaring the two Dakotas' area preference on Missouri developments. They have logic with them, if not commonsense; their technical cases are quite as good as that of the subsidized Bonneville area consumers.

The House of Representatives has still to act in this matter, and the Congressmen are closer to the taxpayers than their colleagues of the upper House. Moreover, they all face an election this fall. As the word of this Senate outrage gets around, the chance of the bill becoming law is bound to diminish.

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## Congo Crisis Underlines Needs for U.N. Loan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations loan bill will come before the House in the near future and I believe its approval is necessary to the security of the United States and of the free world. If the U.N. loan bill is not approved, it is quite likely that the U.N. peace forces in the Congo will be withdrawn. If this happens, the risks of Communist penetration in the Congo will increase a hundredfold.

The Congo is a politically underdeveloped nation, rent by tribal jealousies and by a long-continuing crisis provoked by Moise Tshombe, leader of the mineral-rich, secessionist Katanga Province. The United Nations, under the dedicated leadership of the late Dag Hammarskjold and Secretary General U Thant, has been able, so far, to maintain some semblance of order and harmony in the Congo. House passage of the U.N. loan bill will permit the United Nations, with the support of the United States, to continue its quest for sanity and peace in the Congo.

An excellent analysis of the Congo crisis, and of the problems it creates for the United States and the U.N., is contained in the following article from the Wall Street Journal of August 14, 1962:

CONGO TIME BOMBS: IT THREATENS TO EXPLODE BEFORE UNITED STATES PERSUADES KATANGA TO JOIN NATION—TSHOMBE RESISTS PRESSURE—BRITISH, BELGIANS RELUCTANT TO FORCE HIM FURTHER—ADOULA FACES LEFTIST THREAT

(By Phillip Geyelin)

WASHINGTON.—For a good many hard-pressed U.S. diplomats, the reviving Congo crisis is taking on the aspect of a bad dream.

Like a giant time bomb, the Congo is ticking alarmingly. But the very Congolese leaders who have most to lose from an explosion keep giving the mechanism an occasional kick. And some of this country's closest allies persist in jostling delicate U.S. efforts to defuse the bomb.

After more than 2 weeks of urgent backstage haggling with Britain, Belgium, France, the United Nations high command, and key Congo figures, the Kennedy administration has managed to assemble a quite elaborate package of progressively more stringent political and economic sanctions against the secessionist Congo Province of Katanga and its intransigent leader, Moise Tshombe.

The aim is to pressure him back into the Congo fold under the Central Government in Léopoldville. By starting with softer measures, such as international refusal to handle Katanga mail, U.S. authorities hope to avoid inflaming pro-Tshombe sympathies; by confronting the Katanga strongman with the ultimate prospect of rougher stuff, such as a boycott of Katanga's mineral wares, they hope to convince him there's no real future in his present course.

But Mr. Tshombe is already breathing defiance of this pressure campaign. Central Congo Government Leader Cyrille Adoula has jumped the gun by trying to impose his own economic sanctions on Katanga ahead of schedule. And Britain and Belgium have let it be known their heart isn't really in the scheme, at least so far as any coercive measures are concerned.

PRIVATE DOUBTS

Result: While U.S. authorities argue officially that their program had a good chance of bringing Mr. Tshombe around eventually, most experts in Washington and at the U.N. privately confess to serious doubts. They fear the new approach will not work quickly enough to head off a political upheaval in the rest of the Congo and prevent the collapse of the Adoula regime.

Katanga's continued cold-shouldering of the Central Government fans secessionist sentiment in other provinces, notably Katanga's neighbor, Kasai, which also boasts valuable mineral resources. Mr. Adoula, who lacks the tribal affiliations that are so important to Congo politics, is under increasing fire for failure to produce on his year-old promise to bring Katanga back into the Congo. His economic problems approach total chaos; experts calculate the budget deficit this year may triple total revenue. Only the presence of U.N. forces prevents wide-scale looting, rioting or tribal bloodletting by units of the unruly Congo army, observers report.

But perhaps the major threat is a curious parliamentary alliance between political heirs of the late Patrice Lumumba, onetime Premier and rallying point for the more extreme leftist and nationalist political forces, and so-called rightwing Tshombeites in the Congo legislature. This combine just recently succeeded in killing off two important Adoula measures aimed at reforming fiscal management and Government administration.

Already, Mr. Tshombe is citing the weakness of the Central Government as one reason why he shouldn't be asked to reach a political settlement with Mr. Adoula; and some experts suspect his real aim may be to tumble Mr. Adoula from power; if, as seems almost inevitable, a successor government proves much more violently leftist, Mr. Tshombe could argue still more persuasively that he ought not be expected to ally himself with it in a political settlement.

NO BOON FOR TSHOMBE

The consensus of most Washington officials, however, is that Mr. Adoula's downfall would be no boon for Mr. Tshombe. The upshot would be fresh turmoil and tribal scuffling, at the very least. But more ominous is the likelihood that a more leftsit government would try to shoulder the U.N. Congo peace force aside and attempt to reconquer Katanga by force, quite possibly with Communist help.

"Tshombe can't win in the long run," declares one top Kennedy aid. But he quickly adds: "This is a race against time, and there are an awful lot of ways for us to lose."

Already some U.N. officials are talking gloomily of withdrawing their organization's 15,000-man Congo peace force if headway hasn't been made on the crucial Katanga question by the end of this year. Even if the U.S. Congress finally OK's this country's purchases of up to $100 million in U.N. bonds, and the rest of the $200 million bond issue is sold elsewhere, officials of the world organization contend that shaky finances alone might force a U.N. pullout from the Congo. Intimates add that Burma's U Thant, Acting Secretary General of the world body, would lean heavily toward withdrawal rather than have his peacekeeping mission involved in actual fighting in the Congo again.

Not all the experts are quite so glum. Some administration planners insist the U.N. will have funds enough to carry on its Congo role until at least the middle of next year. Others argue that the new Congo package contains more than enough persuaders for Mr. Tshombe, even allowing for the British and Belgian dissents. Explaining his country's course, a British diplomat contends: "With any luck there won't be any need for resort to coercion at all."

A U.S. HOPE

U.S. officials emphasize that they, too, hope rougher measures against Katanga can be avoided. "We're not out to destroy Tshombe," says one U.S. official. "We simply are out to destroy his illusion that Katanga can survive for very long as an independent state." U.S. authorities figure that a lot can be accomplished toward this end by a whole series of "pinprick" measures, such as persuading travelers in and out of Katanga to apply for visas from the Léopoldville Government; encouraging international bodies having to do with postal matters or telecommunications to work through the Central Congolese Government, rather than dealing with the Katanga Government; soliciting general statements of support for a united Congo and disapproval for a separate Katanga from any nation willing to sound off on the subject.

But most experts in Washington and at U.N. headquarters remain skeptical that such measures will be effective quickly enough.

"Right now, Tshombe is riding the crest," says one U.S. diplomat. Like most others, he figures the Katanga leader has no real intention at the moment of negotiating a political settlement with the Central Congo Government. According to this view, Mr. Tshombe has been persuaded by key advisers, including white settlers in Katanga, Europeans with interests in the province and such aids as New York-based propagandist Michel Struelens, Belgian-born chief of the Katanga Information Service, that U.S. and Western European support will eventually swing solidly behind him if he simply plays a waiting game.

The Katanga chieftain is so sure of this shift in the view of some authorities that they even worry about the impact on him of this fall's U.S. congressional elections. "If the Republicans pick up some seats, Tshombe will be convinced it was at least partly because of popular discontent in this country with Kennedy's Congo policy," says one U.S. diplomat.

This analysis of Mr. Tshombe's game causes some experts to question whether it's even wise to exert new pressure on him without firm Allied support for such tough, last-resort measures as an economic boycott. "We might set out to demonstrate the strength of outside opposition to Katanga's separate status and wind up demonstrating our own weakness," warns one diplomat.

While some of President Kennedy's closest advisers concede this risk, they intend to

push ahead. Mild pressures will first be tried, coupled with promises of generous Western aid to a united Congo. If Mr. Tshombe resists this approach, the United States would seize on this resistance to prod its European allies for a go-ahead on tougher anti-Tshombe action.

TSHOMBE SUPPORT IN BRITAIN

This tactic, however, promises to encounter stiff opposition, particularly in Britain, where pro-Tshombe sentiment is strong within the Conservative Party's ranks. Britons, including some influential Tory figures, hold a big interest in the part-British, part-Belgian Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, the sprawling mining complex whose tax payments on mining of copper and other minerals amounted to over $41 million last year, the bulk of the Katanga Government's revenue.

Belgium, according to U.S. officials, has been somewhat more favorable to stern anti-Tshombe actions than Britain. But neither in Brussels nor in London is there much enthusiasm for economic boycotts against Katanga or even efforts to persuade Union Miniere to pay part of its taxes to Léopoldville, or place them in escrow pending a political settlement, a move the U.S. advocates as part of its progressive anti-Katanga squeeze.

Union Miniere officials have argued that refusal to pay taxes to the Elisabethville government in Katanga would invite reprisals.

Even the U.N.'s U Thant, who has promised to protect Union Miniere against such retaliation, has made it plain his U.N. troops could only protect the major facilities from damage.

U.S. officials argue Mr. Tshombe probably would not relish a closedown of mining operations and loss of needed revenue and so the risk of retaliating against Union Miniere isn't very great.

But putting the squeeze on Tshombe may turn out to be a long-drawn-out affair. And every day it drags on, U.S. officials feel, the danger of a political blowup in Léopoldville will grow. Says one top U.S. diplomat: "Adoula could be toppled almost any day."

## Outstanding Public Service to the Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the 29th of August will begin the 7th year of television broadcasting by WCKT from channel 7 in Miami, Fla. A few weeks later Biscayne Television Corp., which owns and operates WCKT, will also mark the sixth anniversary of radio station WCKR, on 610 kilocycles, in Miami.

During the past 6 years, both WCKT and WCKR have risen to places of distinction among the Nation's many broadcasting institutions and have been an outstanding source of news, entertainment, and public service to the community.

Television and radio broadcasting in the United States carries a responsibility exceeding that of any other enterprise operating in the public service. It means having clear objectives, taking meaningful action, and looking to growing achievements. WCKT and WCKR operate according to these precepts.

I would like to quote the broadcasting creed of WCKT, which was first announced on July 29, 1956, and applies to the entire activities of the staff and management of the Biscayne Television Corp.:

We pledge to inform with candor and fairness.

To entertain with dignity and good taste.

To serve with vigor the needs and welfare of the people of south Florida and our country.

And, above all, to conduct ourselves as befits an invited guest in the homes of our viewers.

## Racial Disturbances in Albany, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., is a newspaper noted for its sound and sensible editorial policies and comments. In the August 14, 1962, issue, the distinguished editor of this newspaper, Mr. Wayne W. Freeman, has done an excellent job of analyzing the tense situation in Albany, Ga., and the unnecessarily dangerous intervention into the affairs of this troubled city by the Federal Government on the pretense that to encourage a continuation of racial demonstrations is to help in the preservation of law and order.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADMINISTRATION INCITING NEGROES

As it did when it adopted the little used precedent by intervening in the school cases before the U.S. Supreme Court during 1952–54, the Justice Department made a mockery of the legal term "amicus curae" when it intervened before the Federal district judge considering the request of the city of Albany for an injunction to halt the distressing "demonstrations" by Negroes.

The term, translated from the Latin, means "friend of the court." This is a disinterested and unbiased third party which is allowed to come into a court to provide testimony, case histories, legal precedents and other information to assist the judge in arriving at a just decision.

But the Justice Department of John F. Kennedy and his brother Bobby intervened not as a friend of the court, but as a direct advocate of the Negro defendants in the injunction suit. It is aiding and abetting Negro agitators in their courting of disaster for a whole community.

The brief filed in the name of the U.S. Government said in effect that the laws under which the Albany city officials have acted to prevent disorder and frighteningly imminent violence or outright racial warfare are null and void and of no force and effect. But no competent court has declared these laws unconstitutional.

The city contends that the mob scenes called "marches" violate an ordinance prohibiting parades without a permit. Some Negroes have been arrested for disturbing the peace, and what else can one in good conscience call it?

The Justice Department said Albany officials have an obligation under Federal laws and the Constitution to end segregation practices. There are no specific laws enacted by Congress which impose such an obligation and there is no provision in the Constitution for any governing body to force the owners of any business establishment to accept the patronage of persons they do not want to serve.

The Negroes and the Federal Government can rely only on the Warren Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases, and its legal parentage is suspect, to say the least. It does not apply to the Albany situation.

But that wasn't enough. The Justice Department went on to say that the failure of the city officials to end segregation has brought on the demonstrations. In other words, the men sworn to enforce local and State laws are inviting violence by doing their duty.

If this is not an open invitation to the Negroes to continue their wild and provoking antics and to go even further, then what is it? Instead of trying to help create a climate in which the strife can be stilled (and the city officials have agreed to talk with bona fide leaders of the Negroes of Albany when peace is restored) the administration has added fuel to the flames.

It might as well say to the Negroes of Albany and everywhere else in the United States that if they don't like a local or State law they can ignore it and deliberately violate it. It may not have intended that, but that is the way it will be taken by the Drs. King and Anderson, and the word will spread. Less intelligent Negroes may soon consider themselves immune from laws made by white men.

It amounts to inciting to riot, no matter how the Kennedys may seek to disguise it.

If bloodshed is the result, the administration must bear the primary responsibility. The Albany police have done their duty without discrimination. They have arrested Negroes only when they have gotten completely out of hand and have endured insults and brickbats from the surging black masses.

When the members of the Ku Klux Klan arrived in town, the chief of police went to them and told them to leave, or they would be thrown in jail upon their first move to cause more trouble.

The next time it may not be so easy. Having in effect encouraged the Negroes to take the law into their own hands, the administration need not be surprised if the white citizens of Albany do the same thing. It would not be right, but it may be inevitable.

Human nature has its breaking point; the forbearance of the police officers and the white citizens has been strained; how much more can it take? The administration should have thought of this before it excused the behavior of the Negroes.

One of their self-appointed leaders already has advertised what he and his followers would do. He told the Federal district judge that he felt no compulsion to obey an "unjust law." He and others already had marched after another Federal judge issued a short-lived injunction.

He might as well have said he and his mobs would ignore an injunction if the judge issued it.

Yet, white southerners have been damned and pilloried for not accepting the nebulous 1954 Supreme Court decision as "the law of the land" and as an iron-bound edict, having the effect of an act of Congress or an

amendment to the Constitution. When they have overtly protested what they consider an "unjust law" they have been threatened with jail for contempt of court.

Heaven only knows what would happen if they formed mobs and started marching, congregating in public places and chanting their displeasure in jungle rhythms.

But, then, this is election year and the administration is playing the Albany situation for all it is worth to win the Negro vote in the big cities where it counts the most, even if it means a double standard of justice for the two races.

## Mexico, a Nation With a Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of an excellent article which contains a keen analysis of the present situation in Mexico, and its importance for United States-Mexican relations. In view of the current situation throughout Latin America, I am sure this article and the views expressed therein will be of great value to my colleagues and to all those interested in Latin American affairs.

The article, entitled, "Mexico, a Nation With a Future," is written by Mr. Fred A. Orleans, of San Antonio, Tex. He is an international lawyer of repute, a man who has spent many years in Mexico and in other Latin American countries, and is an expert on United States-Latin American relations. The article is not only interesting, but thought-provoking and makes a lot of sense.

Mr. Speaker, from the enclosed letter, to me it is clear that Mr. Orleans has spent considerable time in the preparation of this article. I have always been deeply interested in our relations with Latin America and I am, therefore, pleased that this article has come to my attention. I wish to insert it into the RECORD, together with the letter from the author, which are as follows:

MEXICO, A NATION WITH A FUTURE

(By Fred A. Orleans)

Those who wish to weaken United States-Mexican relations have tried many means to do so and most recently have attempted a "hate and fear" campaign against Mexico through reviving, dusting off, and bringing out again the myth that former President Cardenas can take over Mexico at will and that the nation would then be a bastion of communism, offering a far greater threat to the future of the United States than even Castro's Cuba. These peddlers of hate have chosen to ignore the fact that in a recent election in the home State of former President Cardenas, Michoacan, the candidate he supported for Governor was defeated.

It has been stated that Cardenas controls the army through his friendship with the leading generals and because of the deep bond that exists between them and him. While acknowledgedly there are many military leaders, as well as political leaders, who owe their present position in Mexico to their past friendship with Cardenas, and while it is equally true that they would not turn their back on him at home, they most emphatically would not aid and abet his taking over the country to serve the ends of international communism.

Domestic politics is one thing in Mexico, while interference from abroad with the governing of the country is another. The leaders of Mexico, both military and political, would be no means stand idly by and allow their country to be taken over by foreign interests. If patriotism or nationalism are not sufficient reasons for their fighting to protect their country, commonsense would dictate their fighting to preserve what they have and what they most certainly would lose if communism triumphed in Mexico.

For many years the Communists have been striving to build up Lazaro Cardenas as a great leader and rallying point for a Communist movement to spread throughout the hemisphere. Those who write inflammatory and sensational articles in the United States about Mexico and attack Cardenas, build his position out of true proportions, and play directly into the hands of the Communists by giving him the buildup the Communists seek for him.

The people of Mexico are by no means unaware of the threat which international communism poses to the future of their country and it may surprise many in the United States to learn that they are not as apathetic as many citizens in the United States think. The people of Mexico have turned out in substantial numbers to protest Marxism and Marxist attempts to infiltrate their educational system.

"Hate and fear the United States" campaigns have been conducted throughout Latin America for many years by the Communists and have greatly aided their overall cause. The "hate and fear" campaign in Cuba conducted against the United States was very useful to Castro when he originally took over that country, and it has served him well since that time. Another example of this type of program was begun in 1960, close to 2 years ago, and probably was originally instigated and kept alive by the Communists. This campaign, conducted both in the United States and Mexico, has included the following which were intended to disrupt United States-Mexican relations, and unfortunately many in the United States unwittingly have cooperated with this plan to divide and conquer.

The creation of incidents in Mexico were well publicized in the United States so that people would react the way the Communists intended for them to react and cease crossing the border to Mexico. This was an attempt to destroy an important source of income for Mexico which depends heavily on the tourist trade. These incidents also were used to discourage foreign capital investments. It is true that an insignificant number of individuals were responsible for the agitation and incidents which occurred in Mexico, but the resultant publicity tended to give the impression that the will of the majority was being expressed. It was unfortunate that the great percentage of the Mexican people who are pro-American, are not always as articulate as the small percentage of those who are anti-American.

The "hate and fear" bracero labor incidents were created, which resulted in the Mexican people being given the impression that the United States discriminated against braceros and did not want to provide employment for them, while on the other hand, the impression was given in the United States that bracero labor deprived American citizens of rightful employment. The attempts to bar braceros from working in the United States did not take into consideration the fact that perishable crops in many parts of the United States, not adaptable to mechanical harvest, could never be harvested without bracero labor.

Tariff increases on imports from Mexico were proposed for the ostensible purpose of protecting U.S. mining interests, but would have actually resulted in making it difficult for Mexico to continue the large volume of trade it effected with the United States. Mexico's international trade covering total imports and exports is approximately $2 billion a year, most of this trade being with the United States. An increase in U.S. import duties on raw materials from Mexico would have aided the Communists in their attempt to weaken the economic ties between Mexico and the United States and thereby would have enabled the Communist countries to establish greater volumes of trade with Mexico.

The salt water damage incident in Mexico from U.S. rivers actually represented a great amount of agitation about nothing at all. People in Mexico were persuaded to make substantial claims against the United States for damages resulting from salt contents of water originating from the U.S. side of the border. The propaganda on the U.S. side stressed the fact that Mexico was attempting to extort from the United States money to which they were not entitled. This matter developed into a two-headed monster which actually worked against the interests of the people on both sides of the border.

The Zapata movement incident resulted from tremendous publicity given in the United States to an organization with the declared intent to overthrow the Government of Mexico. The leader of this organization, who was originally a Mexican citizen, and subsequently a U.S. citizen, declared himself provisional President of Mexico and indicated that he intended to secure recognition of the United States that he was President of Mexico. Exposure of the background of this individual resulted in the prompt termination of this incident.

Regulation of border points of entry called for the bridges which link the United States and Mexico to be opened only for certain specific hours of the day, thereby limiting the hours of entry and egress. This caused consternation on both sides of the border and emphatic objections from Laredo and other border cities which resulted in this plan being shelved.

The buildup of Cardenas has been previously covered in this article, but at one time this buildup reached such a hysterical pitch that a group of leading Mexicans placed a full page ad in a newspaper in Mexico titled "Cardenas is not Mexico," and a book was written titled "Cardenas—the Man and the Myth."

The racist angle has been very much overworked in recent years and the Communists can find many in the United States to exploit this issue and many in Mexico willing to inflame the people.

The vilification of many of the "heroes" of the Mexican revolution through emphasizing that they were cruel or evil or brutal played into the hands of the Communists.

The stand which Mexico took on the Cuban situation and which caused much ill will among the people of the United States should be explained at this point. Mexico's stand on Cuba was brought about through a combination of the Doctrine of Nonintervention to which Mexico rigidly subscribes; an internal fear that Communist elements would seize upon a break with Cuba to accuse the Government of Mexico of having sold out to the United States and thereby bring about unnecessary agitation and demonstrations by the uninformed in that country; propaganda by the news media of the United States utilized by Mexican newspapers, which actually glorified Castro until very recent date.

Actually what has happened in Mexico is that the people are beginning to understand that Castro is not a great reformer, but

merely a tool of international communism; that food and other basic necessities are being rationed in Cuba; and, in brief, that Castro has not kept any of his promises to the Cuban people nor provided the utopia he so loudly offered. The Government of Mexico is very definitely not allowing Communist elements in that country as much freedom of activity as in the past and has quietly taken the steps necessary to restrict Communist and pro-Castro activities in their country.

This is a good time to take a careful look at Mexico. There have been many indications that Mexico, after reaching the fork in the road, is turning more and more to private enterprise, with the realization by many of its leaders that private enterprise will ultimately have to solve the problems of the country, which is in the process of industrialization and development. The following representative examples offer proof of this:

Secretary of Economy Raúl Salinas Lozano, during a recent tour of the United States, stressed the need in Mexico for private capital.

By Presidential decree, the Navy Department of Mexico will turn the naval shipyards at San Juan de Ulúa in Vera Cruz over to a private company composed of mixed capital, 64 percent Mexican and 36 percent foreign.

Mexico will soon have a fleet, independent of the Pemex Petroleum fleet, to transport oil and the majority of the capital will be supplied by private Mexican initiative and U.S. private capital with some government participation.

President Adolfo López-Matéos, in inaugurating the annual meeting of the National Confederation of Industrial Chambers, stated that "when the driving forces of development are on the wane, it becomes imperative that private initiative, responsible to a great degree for Mexico's progress, take action and intensify its efforts of productive investments." The President of Mexico further indicated that in recent years, the correlation between private and public investments has been to the country's benefit, with each stimulating the other to greater efforts. He called for this investment effort being preserved and bettered and indicated that there is ample room for both types of investments without the necessity of establishing contention or competition between them.

The Mexican Government-owned oil company, Petroleos Mexicanos, recently obtained its first loan from private U.S. investor sources. New York banks indicated that Petroleos Mexicanos was operating profitably; that oil reserves would justify loans up to $300 million and that Pemex had a good record for paying U.S. suppliers of machinery.

The President of Mexico has approved a new national program for economic development to be put into effect within 3 years which would accelerate the industrialization of the country. This program has the objectives of creating new work sources; acceleration of the rate of growth in the national economy; eliminate pressures on the balance of payments; and the more efficient utilization of existing industrial capacities through the production of new commodities. The Government of Mexico is offering private initiative, fiscal, and credit incentives, including taxation exemption, tariff protection, control of importation, export stimulation and credit facilities to obtain domestic and foreign financial resources. This new national program coupled with the reawakened interest of Mexican businessmen in investing in their nation's future; the confidence demonstrated by international financing organizations; the strength shown abroad in the Mexican peso, and the general improvement of the international political picture is bringing about a change in the business community's "psychological atmosphere" in Mexico.

In general, Mexico's investment climate is improving and it is beginning to look more attractive than other countries of Latin America. Various Government officials have publicly spoken of the need for foreign capital to accelerate economic growth and there appears to be more willingness now to modify regulations in order to encourage U.S. investors.

Consideration is being given to the need for international agreements to cope with the crises brought about by continuously lower prices for raw materials. The importance of maintaining price stability of basic commodites which Mexico exports cannot be overemphasized. Mexico as well as the countries of Latin America in general have lost more in the past year due to declining raw material prices on the world market than they have gained through loans obtained in the past 4 or 5 years. For the Alliance for Progress to succeed, it is essential that some method be evolved to stabilize the prices of raw materials which constitute the major export item of most Latin American countries.

The time has come to give less stress to negative aspects of United States-Mexican relations and more emphasis to the positive aspects. This will enable Mexico to assume that much sooner its place among the leading nations of the world, and the United States through a prosperous Mexico, will have a strong ally as well as a showcase to demonstrate what can be done in any country which is willing to work to attain an objective.

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SAN ANTONIO, TEX.,
*August 2, 1962.*

Hon. VICTOR ANFUSO,
*1641 New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANFUSO: For many months I have been working on the enclosed, "Mexico, a Nation With a Future." I am pleased to submit this to you in view of the fact that you have shown over the years such a tremendous interest in United States-Latin American relations, and have devoted so much effort in both attempting to improve same as well as make available to the many who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the viewpoints of Dr. Ezequiel Padilla of Mexico and myself.

Sincerely yours,

FRED A. ORLEANS.

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## U.S. Policy: Let Red China Stew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on the Far Eastern horizons, Communist China still poses a major threat to peace.

Fortunately, however, Red policy—though a danger to the free world—is, itself, creating many of its own problems to jeopardize its future.

Economically, for example, the Red Chinese literally stagger under a tremendous burden. With a populace of over 650 million, the gross national product—according to our State Department estimates—amounts to only about $79 billion annually. By comparison, the U.S. gross national product amounts to over $552 billion annually for a populace of 186 million.

Addicted to aggression, however, Chinese Communists still attempt to export conspirators, money and material elsewhere in the world to foment trouble. As a policy this is backfiring by creating ever-larger deficiencies in its domestic program.

Recently, the Wisconsin State Journal published an article by Donald May, entitled "U.S. Policy: Let Red China Stew." Reflecting upon this Communist threat to peace, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. POLICY: LET RED CHINA STEW
(By Donald May)

U.S. policy on Red China at the moment is to keep its own defenses up, to make clear that it would resist any Red Chinese military moves, and to continue to let China stew in its own juice.

This policy is the result of searching questions Western intelligence sources have been asking, such as:

How much more hunger and economic privation can the Red Chinese take before pressure under the lid of tight Communist control reaches a breaking point?

CONTINUING TROUBLES

If unrest does reach a critical point, what forms will a blowup take?

Although they foresee no dramatic developments very soon in China, U.S. analysts look at evidence of continuing Red Chinese troubles on almost every front.

Much thought has been given in the Kennedy administration to ways in which the United States might increase China's difficulties economically. But with trade already completely cut off, no one has come up with any very practical means.

The following summary is based on reports by U.S. officials specializing in Chinese affairs:

Red China has had 3 bad harvest years and it is unlikely that this year's crop, the bulk of which comes in October, will be much improved. The Chinese diet is estimated at from 1,500 to 1,800 calories a day, compared with the Far East average of 2,100.

SINO-SOVIET RIFT

China's political and ideological rift with the Soviet Union, in which Russia has withdrawn most of its aid, appears to be getting worse.

One of the latest incidents involved Chinese protests against Russian offers to provide jet fighters to India, with which China has a border dispute.

In London Tuesday the China Association, which represents British firms trading with Red China, reported that Chinese-Soviet trade is now half what it was in 1959 and is balanced against China.

Soviet exports to China in 1961 were placed at $366.8 million against $551.6 million which China shipped to Russia. Moscow has been pressing Peiping to begin this year repaying $300 million in old trade debts.

Red Chinese foreign exchange used to trade with the free world is believed near the dwindling point.

LEAP FALLS FLAT

China's great leap forward in which peasants were ordered from the farms to the cities several years ago in an attempt to build an industrial state has failed, and millions of peasants are now being ordered back to the farms. Last spring they arrived in the countryside in the season of greatest food shortage. This apparently was one fac-

tor which led to the flood of refugees to Hong Kong in May.

Various efforts to revive public spirit have been tried. More private sale of home-produced crafts was permitted. Peasant farmers recently were allowed to grow food in private plots for consumption or sale.

The army has been better fed than the peasants, and more content. But there have been indications army morale has suffered as soldiers receive letters describing how their families are faring.

RED LEADERS BLAMED

The central government appears to have publicly blamed local Communist leaders for national failure, and this has created friction between these officials and the people in some areas.

Although this adds up to a grim picture, U.S. officials do not believe the Peiping regime is in any immediate danger of overthrow. They feel evolution is more likely than revolution—that is, gradual changes in government policies which have brought about the plight.

But when this might begin to appear, no one will guess.

## Purple Heart Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to present my views on Purple Heart Day, dedicated to gallant American heroes, who, in various wars of our great Nation shed their blood to perpetuate our liberties.

The awarding of the Purple Heart is of greatest significance. It was originated 180 years ago by the Father of our Country; the immortal Gen. George Washington, to honor the brave, devoted men who fought with him in the Revolutionary War for outstanding dedication and supreme sacrifice in battle.

In 1932 this honored award was revived by President Hoover and that great fighting soldier, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and is accorded only to our wounded or dead veterans of the wars. The deep color of the Purple Heart decoration was once described by ancients as being as valuable as gold or jewels, fitting to the lofty stature of fighting men.

The award has been granted to very many of our hallowed war dead, those who died of wounds and those who, though wounded, yet lived in honor and glory. Nearly all of those possessing the Congressional Medal of Honor are holders of the Purple Heart Award, and there are 293 living Americans, 46 of whom served in World War I, who hold these treasured decorations. More than half of the 644 Medal of Honor winners of World War II and the Korean conflict received posthumous awards acknowledging their great sacrifices and their willingness to bleed or die for love and loyalty of country.

Not all heroic veterans of our wars were awarded this prized decoration, because in innumerable cases many gallant heroes fell in mortal combat or made other heroic sacrifices far beyond the call of duty only to live to tell of it. These are the unsung heroes who, while undecorated, live, like the great Washington, in the hearts of our countrymen.

The Purple Heart has been bestowed upon our heroes regardless of their national origin, regardless of their racial derivation, regardless of their religious faith.

It has been a decoration sparingly bestowed upon those who, to the knowledge of their commanding officers and comrades, spilled their blood while fighting for the cause of freedom.

It is most appropriate that a special day has been set aside to honor the gallant and the free who prized liberty so much that they were willing to die or bleed for it.

The sacrifices of these men and all our American heroes who paid the supreme price upon the sacred altar of American patriotism are permanently and deeply inscribed in the glorious annals of our country and in the grateful memory of the American people of every generation.

It is well for us, as representatives of the people, to remember to keep in our minds and in our hearts the noble, unselfish sacrifices of these men. It will be well for us to resolve again and again by voice and by vote in this great body to give practical effect to the national gratitude and our own gratitude to these heroes and their dear ones by making certain that the great programs which Congress has developed for their proper care will ever continue to be guarded, strengthened, and projected to do justice to all those who have served our Nation so loyally.

The cause of their dependents and their dear ones must also be our cause, because this Nation, if it endures through the ages, may the good Lord grant, it could never adequately pay its debt of gratitude to the heroes of the Purple Heart and their families.

Congress will continue for all time to recognize the Purple Heart and fellow comrades of every American war who gave or offered their all to sustain American liberty.

We have a solemn obligation never to forget these men but always to remember their devotion and loyalty in terms of wholehearted generosity and profound humane consideration for those, who by their heroic individual and collective sacrifice, have made security and ordered liberty possible in our day.

Mr. Speaker, in fitting recognition of the great sacrifices made by the heroes of all wars going back to the War of Independence when the first Purple Heart award was made, I recently introduced legislation, now before the Committee on the Judiciary, calling upon the President to proclaim August 7 of each year as Purple Heart Day.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my bill, House Joint Resolution 836, be printed in the RECORD.

The text follows:

To authorize the President to proclaim the 7th day of August of each year as Purple Heart Day.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue annually a proclamation designating the 7th day of August of each year as Purple Heart Day in commemoration of the deeds of those who have been awarded the Purple Heart, an award first made by George Washington on August 7, 1782, and calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

## The Kennedy Accomplishments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today, I had occasion to read an address delivered on August 6 to the Western States Democratic Conference by Mr. Ted Sorenson, Special Assistant to the President. His message to the conference so well enunciates the goals and accomplishments of the Democratic Party and of the Kennedy administration that I feel it should be brought to the attention of the Members of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Sorenson's direct and forceful address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE KENNEDY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

(Address of Theodore Sorenson, special assistant to the President, delivered to the Western States Democratic Conference Aug. 6, 1962)

We meet in a year of decision. The American people must choose whether this Nation is to "sail or anchor down"—whether we are to blaze new trails for century 21 or return to the well-worn paths of century 19.

The 21st century is but 38 years away. We who are here tonight know that we must educate our children to meet its challenges. We must conserve our resources to meet its needs. We must expand our economy to realize its promise. And we must preserve the human race to enjoy that century in freedom.

But while our eyes are on the century ahead, our opponents are looking back, increasingly united in the blindness of their opposition and in the bitterness of their abuse. They call for cuts in Federal spending but they do not say where. They tell our older citizens to purchase health insurance but they do not say how. They predict unemployment will dissolve without public action but they do not say when.

They do say they are for balancing the budget—not by stating it more accurately, separating capital assets from current expenditures, not by closing tax loopholes or cutting farm surpluses, not by boosting the economy to boost tax revenue, but by blocking all efforts for the education, for conservation, for public works and public health.

They do say they believe in free enterprise, and so do we all, but they mean freedom to pollute our air and our water, freedom to raid our forests and public lands, freedom to pay substandard wages, to make windfall profits on the national stockpile, and to cut people off of public welfare as inveterate frauds or loafers. Oh, to be sure, they are not always hardhearted, all humans weep,

but they weep for that 7 percent of the taxpayers who receive 80 percent of dividend income. They weep for those speculators who considered themselves geniuses when the stock market rose after Kennedy's election, and then blamed him when it fell back to the same level this year. They weep, not for the farmer or rancher who is struggling to make ends meet, but for the storage operator who enjoyed a threefold increase in surpluses under Mr. Benson and wants to keep it that way. They weep for the American Medical Association, not those without funds for hospitalization. They weep for the billboard owners, not those who are denied our scenic beauties.

But too often, let us face the fact, their views have prevailed in the Congress. In neither House do we have a solid majority consistently supporting the policies of the Democratic Party and President Kennedy. We have lost important battles, often by a handful of votes, on the floor of both Houses and in most of the major committees. But by and large these are battles which have been lost before, in sessions with even larger Democratic proportions. They are the old familiar battles over education, health insurance, agriculture, and tax loopholes. And in no instance has the loss of any one of these battles meant the end of the war.

For whatever may be said about those Democrats who oppose us, the fact remains that every single seat gained by the Democratic Party in this fall's election will be a gain for the Democratic program. And I learned as a boy from the life and lips of George Norris that those "who sow in tears shall reap in joy," and that today's defeats often pave the way for tomorrow's victories.

There are some who attribute these defeats to the fact that the program is too extreme. And perhaps it is. For we have proposed that human consumers receive the same protection against worthless drugs that has been enjoyed by American hogs, sheep, and cattle since 1913. That is rather extreme.

We have proposed that the special concerns of the 125 million people who live in our urban areas receive the same Cabinet-level representation as those of the 13 million who live on the farm. That is also rather extreme.

We have proposed helping our public schools pay those to whom we entrust the minds of our children an annual income comparable to the income of those to whom we entrust the care of our plumbing.

We have proposed that Federal help should be available to those local systems of mass transportation that now convey us thruogh the streets at speed averaging slightly below the 12 miles per hour averaged by public horsecars of two generations ago.

We have proposed investing in new national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges an amount equal to one-fifth of our annual investment in chewing gum.

We have proposed that the corn farmer and the wheat rancher be treated with at least as much commonsense as our farm laws now accord the peanut grower.

And we have proposed that our workingmen and women contribute throughout their working careers to their own health insurance program under social security instead of being forced—once their jobs and their savings are gone—to seek help from public charity.

Perhaps these goals seem extreme to some but to me they spell out the means of securing "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Others say: The program is not extreme, but the President's popularity has declined. There is no denying the increasing tempo of abuse but I would refer you to the recent poll of historians evaluating all our previous Chief Executives. Every Democratic President since the Civil War was judged to rank in the "great" or "near great" category. And all of our greatest Presidents in their time were bitterly abused—and hated—and reelected. For no one gets this country moving again without disturbing the status quo, without stirring up the vested interests, and without doing what is necessary instead of what is popular.

To be sure, President Kennedy is concerned—concerned, however, not about his critics but about his country, about the 1 million young Americans who are both out of school and out of work, about the 150,000 unemployed workers who every month exhaust their benefit rights before they can find a job, about the growing shortage of doctors and medical students, when nearly half of those students come from the wealthiest 12 percent of our families. He is concerned about the 8 million adults who are classified as functionally illiterate, about the decency, about those untold numbers of American consumers who have been scarred by untested cosmetics, misled by worthless drugs, or made ill by improper foods. So, criticism or no criticism, John Kennedy intends to "stick to his guns."

But when he looks ahead to the peaks that are yet to be scaled, the President is not unmindful of the distances already climbed. The 87th Congress, breaking a legislative stalemate, has passed a score of key bills that could never be passed before, including bills for area redevelopment, higher minimum wages, better housing and urban renewal, new attacks on crime and delinquency and water pollution.

More was done by this Congress to combat the recession than by any Congress since the thirties. And today this Nation has achieved the highest gross national product and the highest industrial production in its history. Our working men and women are earning $27 billion more a year. Our businessmen are netting $10 billion more a year. And these are not phony inflation dollars that cannot buy more groceries, but sound dollars, backed by our Nation's best postwar record of price stability in any comparable period of recovery, and backed by our best record of balancing our international accounts since they declined in 1958. The national debt is a smaller portion of our gross national product now than it was in 1960 after our predecessors had increased it by $27 billion. And the budget deficits caused by the recession they left us are far smaller now than the $12 billion deficit they ran up in 1959, one of the five deficits they incurred in 8 years of preaching fiscal solvency.

And in those areas where the Congress has not acted, the President has acted, particularly in civil rights. The man who broke down the walls of intolerance to enter the White House has been breaking them down ever since—on behalf of Negro children who want a better education, on behalf of their parents who want to vote and to travel and to work. Those who stand up for their rights are being protected and so are those who sit down.

But events on the domestic scene have confounded those critics who predicted disaster under Democratic rule, events around the world have junked their pessimistic prophecies even more. The foul winds of war have not been loosed; and the fair winds of peace have calmed the troubled land of Laos. Mr. Khrushchev has not taken over West Berlin. Mr. Castro has not taken over Latin America. Mr. Ho Chi Minh has not taken over Vietnam. And Mr. Gizenga has not taken over the Congo.

Those who once scoffed at the Peace Corps as a haven for misguided visionaries have been touched by the moving tributes to American idealism that come from dozens of far-off huts and villages. Those who once assailed the Alliance for Progress—as part of a "no win" policy—this year joined in the applause when the 20 American Republics, in conference at Punta del Este, decreed unanimously to isolate the Castro-Communist offensive as a clear and present danger.

When President and Mrs. Kennedy twice toured Latin America, they were greeted with milling mobs. But this time the mobs were not throwing stones but lifting banners, banners hailing the greatest new era in United States-Latin relations since the days of the good neighbor policy, banners proclaiming the new hemispheric hope of the sixties: Alianza Para Progresso.

And, finally, it is increasingly recognized, at home and abroad, that this Nation, for the first time, has a coherent, consistent effort to launch a peace race instead of an arms race, to foster world law instead of world war.

For the first time we have a full-time full-scale disarmament agency working out ways and means of reaching this goal.

For the first time we are attending a disarmament conference with a specific, step-by-step plan for general and complete disarmament.

For the first time we are on record, along with the United Kingdom, with the actual draft of an effective treaty to ban all nuclear tests—a treaty which may yet be accepted now that the Soviets realize they can no longer prevent the West from testing by pretending to talk while preparing to test themselves.

For the first time we have a long-term foreign aid program, strengthening the basis for peace and freedom in those nations willing to help themselves.

For the first time we have expanded the independent food-for-peace program, providing school lunches and famine relief and daily bread for the hungry and needy of many lands, shipping abroad more food in the last 18 months than Herbert Hoover and his associates shipped in 10 years of World War I relief efforts.

For the first time we have enough authority at the bargaining table to get an agreement on the disarmament of outer space because we are no longer second in outer space.

For the first time we have launched our own initiatives in the United Nations on disarmament, development, and space, and pledged our participation in a U.N. bond issue which will require those nations now trying to starve that organization to death to pay up or get out.

And, for the first time, we have an agency to encourage others to travel to this country and see what we are really like, and an organized effort to secure better housing and better treatment for the diplomats of other countries and other colors, and a new cultural exchange agreement with the Soviet Union and, of lasting importance, a program both to weld and to build the economies of the free world through increased tariff reduction and trade expansion.

This administration also knows that until all arms are abolished, we can preserve the peace, and convince others to parley for peace, only by preparing for war—the war we must deter. And I believe one reason the peace prevails today is the buildup we have undertaken to make certain no aggressor is ever tempted by our weakness. We have strengthened the missile power and the air power and the man power of our Armed Forces. And the President knows, if we are not only to survive but to prevail in the long run, we must strengthen our brainpower and our willpower, with all the measures he has proposed to build a bulwark of healthy minds, healthy bodies, and a healthy American economy.

It is in this spirit, bearing in mind both our achievements and our goals, that the people of western America are called upon to fulfill their proud traditions and to send men of wisdom and vision to Washington this fall. No other group of 13 States will

play so key a role in shaping our Nation's future—with 12 Senate races, 10 Governors' races, and 69 House seats at stake. If our opponents are to gain in the House, it is here that we must make those gains. And, moved by the enthusiasm and dedication I have seen here tonight, it is my prediction that when, in November next, the defenders of privilege and opponents of progress are swept from their seats of power, it will be a wind from the West that uproots them.

But our concern is not merely the future of our program, or our party, or even our Nation! Our concern is for the future of mankind. And when the youngest of my sons has grown to the cares of manhood, the world in which he lives will be shaped by what we do today. If men today are moved by greed and pride alone—if we shrink back from the new and the untried and the unknown—then his world may well be a world of sorrow instead of hope. But if we can strive for the good society as well as the good life, if "mercy and truth are met together," not only in the hearts of men but in the seats of power, then surely my son in century 21 will be "neither Red nor dead but alive and free," in a world of peace and abundance.

## Foreign Motion Picture Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, my attention was recently called to a pamphlet being sent to many Members of Congress dealing with the problem of production of motion pictures abroad by American companies. Since I have some familiarity with this matter, many of my colleagues asked my views about it.

It will be recalled that our subcommittee on the impact of imports and exports on American employment, in the course of its investigations and hearings, had also studied this particular motion picture situation. This was done at the behest of numerous union groups in California who complained that American workers were suffering from this new type of foreign competition.

Our subcommittee held 2 days of hearings and I personally conferred with both employee and employer leaders in California and Washington before and after the hearings. Subsequently, we issued a report in which we made specific findings and recommendations, chief of which was that the most effective way to meet this so-called runaway motion picture production was for closer cooperation between the producers and the craft unions and guilds in Hollywood. I may add, parenthetically, that we found that the greatest spur to foreign production was not basically the much lower labor costs abroad as it is large government subsidies by certain foreign governments who use their movies as a powerful propaganda and communications medium in a world in which three-fourths of the people still do not have the doubtful privilege of radio and television.

Subsequently, in the 3 months since the issuance of our committee report, I was pleased to learn of several concrete and specific steps that had been taken in an effort to reduce the amount of American production abroad and at the same time actually to increase production of films in the United States.

As an example, one of the most expensive films now scheduled, the biblical story entitled "The Greatest Story Ever Told," is to be shot almost in its entirety in the United States. The unions know that on spectacle type pictures employing thousands of persons substantial savings could be made abroad and therefore they modified certain union contract provisions. Similarly, the producers always have recognized that the efficiency and expertness of Hollywood artisans resulted in lower costs despite higher wage rates.

Thus, a realistic appraisal of facts and a sincere consideration of each other's problems by both employees and employers resulted not only in shifting some pictures back from foreign locale but more importantly gives promise of even greater benefits. It was this type of constructive labor-management discussion and consideration that our committee had recommended, along with a number of other points which the people of Hollywood are now pursuing in a six-point jointly adopted labor-management program.

I was, therefore, surprised and dismayed when I read the pamphlet, entitled "Awake America," currently being circulated through the efforts of the officials of three Hollywood local unions, the photographers, the electricians, and the grips. The pamphlet would have the reader believe that American motion picture producers are involved in some kind of a conspiracy to move their production abroad; that they are monopolists but ironically also perfectly willing to yield this lucrative monopoly to foreign producers; that the Government ought to do something about this; and finally they advocate that all foreign-produced movies ought to be boycotted.

Now, I yield to no man on this floor in fighting for the protection of American labor and American industry against unfair foreign competition. I think my colleagues know something of my efforts along this line. But I just could not understand some of the absurdities in the pamphlet and so I promptly wired Hollywood for the facts. I sent identical telegrams to the head of all Hollywood movie labor unions and to the principal spokesman for the producers, asking them bluntly to tell me the facts.

Here is the text of the telegram to George Flaherty, president of the American Federation of Labor Film Council, and to Charles Boren, executive vice president of the Association of Motion Picture Producers:

Are you aware that pamphlet entitled "Awake America" purporting to come from three Hollywood unions is being widely distributed here? The pamphlet is completely contrary to reports I have had that a series of joint labor-management conferences have been held with the object of finding ways and means to sharply reduce so-called runaway production. Has there been a change in the situation? In the light of our committee hearings and subsequent report and recomendations I would appreciate a progress report and your frank comments.

The next day I received a telegram signed by both Mr. Flaherty and Mr. Boren. This is what they said:

In reply to your telegraphic inquiry concerning pamphlet entitled "Awake America" and your request for progress report on our joint labor-management conference to reduce so-called runaway production please be advised as follows:

(1) Such pamphlet, signed by business agents of three local unions which are not affiliated with Hollywood AFL Film Council, was not authorized by and does not reflect the position or attitude of our joint labor-management committee representing 19 local unions of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, with 12,000 members; 7 local unions of the basic crafts, with 6,000 members: The Screen Actors Guild, Screen Extras Guild, Directors Guild of America, Writers Guild of America, West; and the member companies of the Association of Motion Picture Producers and the Alliance of Television Film Producers.

(2) Since February 1, 1962, frequent meetings of our joint labor-management committee representing these responsible elements in the motion picture industry have been held and additional meetings are scheduled to further implement this six-point program (with which you are familiar) adopted on April 17, 1962, to attack the principal causes of foreign runaway production and to encourage increased U.S. film production.

(3) There has been no lessening of our joint determination to do everything possible to solve these pressing economic problems. To the contrary, at the last two committee meetings a far-reaching and effective plan was developed to seek removal of unfair trade barriers and competitive disadvantages which handicap American domestic film production. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of American, Inc., and Ralph Hetzel, executive vice president of the Motion Picture Export Association, personally came to Hollywood to participate in the development of this plan with members of our joint committee.

(4) Our joint committee will continue to seek practical solutions of these difficult and complex problems, and will welcome the constructive assistance of the Congress and appropriate Government agencies along the lines of the six-point program referred to above.

Thank you for your continued interest in this cooperative effort of our joint labor-management committee.

Mr. Speaker, I think the answer is pretty obvious.

The answer is that the overwhelming majority of the Hollywood craft unions and guilds are engaged in a serious and constructive program of cooperation with the producers aimed at reducing foreign production and increasing domestic production.

The answer is that the sponsors of the pamphlets are the officials of three unions not members of the Hollywood Film Council and that views expressed therein are the views of the minority—and certainly they have a right, even if they are the expressed views of the full membership of the three unions involved.

The answer is that the participating union officials and the responsible studio

executives in Hollywood are equally concerned about the problem, are doing something about it together, and both are resolved that America shall remain, as it has been, the preeminent movie capital of the world.

Under the circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I believe that my colleagues should evaluate the pamphlet for what it is, not for what it seems, and not become unduly concerned. For myself, I prefer to await continuing reports of the progress made by those who are doing something about the problem instead of confusing the picture by hurling wild charges about it.

## Cloture on Communications Satellite Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Victory for Good Sense," published in the New York Times of today; also an editorial entitled "Busted Filibuster," published in the Washington Post on August 15, 1962, dealing with the imposition of cloture in connection with debate on the communications satellite bill.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 15, 1962]

VICTORY FOR GOOD SENSE

Yesterday's Senate vote of 63 to 27 for cloture of debate on the Kennedy adminstration's communications satellite bill may have been more important as a precedent than is the bill itself. The measure turns over to private corporations the function of developing and launching satellites such as the Telstar, to send words and pictures around the world. The Government can regulate the operation as tightly as it pleases. In any event, the intention of a filibuster is not to determine the merits of a proposal but to prevent a favorable majority from acting on it. This has always been the case with civil rights bills in the Senate, and it was the case with yesterday's very different legislation.

The last of the four previous occasions on which cloture was invoked was in 1927, when it was used to choke off eloquence about a bill involving prohibition. Cloture is obviously not an abused weapon. Southern Senators especially have hesitated to use it for fear it might enable the majority to grind democracy's grist in the field of civil rights. Yesterday some southerners stayed away with the apparent intention to establish no personal precedents. Ninety Senators did show up. Of these only 25 Democrats and 2 Republicans rallied against cloture, whereas 29 Democrats and 34 Republicans voted for it. This gave cloture three more votes than the two-thirds needed.

Majority Leader MANSFIELD called this "a victory for good sense." Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Ohio Democrat, "This entire proceeding has been turned into a circus; the Soviet is orbiting and we are filibustering."

Now any Senator who wants to talk on the bill may have an hour. The communications satellite bill, which has already passed the House, may get through the Senate before the week is over, and thus soon appear on the Presidential desk. That is majority rule. That is democracy.

The next test of cloture will probably come on one of the subjects involved in sectional disputes between North and South. Yesterday's precedent may just possibly make it a little easier to get a vote then on civil rights and unlawful segregation.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 15, 1962]

BUSTED FILIBUSTER

The Senate's approval of the Mansfield-Dirksen cloture motion by the substantial vote of 63 to 27 is a salutary stroke for responsible government. Over a period of 35 years the Senate rejected every proposal for limitation of debate. So consistent had been its toleration of filibusters that some Senators had come to believe that the cloture device was useless. At last the Senate has demonstrated that it can curtail extended talk designed to paralyze its operations and thwart the will of the majority. Incidentally, it is worthy of note that without the improvement in the rule effected in 1959 under the leadership of Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON, now Vice President, the cloture motion would have failed.

It is ironical that the Republicans in the Senate gave the administration the strongest support. Behind the cloture motion were 34 Republicans and 29 Democrats. Because of the traditional hostility of most Senators from the South to any limitation of debate, the Democratic ranks were split almost down the center. The hardcore supporters of unlimited debate, such as Senators EASTLAND, ELLENDER and THURMOND, were lined up with the liberals, including Senators MORSE and KEFAUVER, who are eager to abolish the filibuster but who did not hesitate to use that device in their fight for Government ownership of the satellite communications system.

To both these groups the Senate has taught an important lesson. No matter how passionately they may feel about a pending bill, no minority can be allowed indefinitely to thwart the will of the majority on matters of public policy. Now that the Senate has found the courage to limit debate over the opposition of both its most liberal wing and its Southern contingent, there is hope that cloture will be applied whenever necessary to let the will of the majority on an important issue prevail.

Another ironical note is the aid that the orbiting Soviet astronauts gave to the advocates of cloture. "The Soviet is orbiting," cried Senator LAUSCHE, "and we're filibustering." His taunt exposed one of the weakest spots in the armor of the Kefauver-Morse group. They were trying to delay, for reasons of domestic policy, the only aspect of the space race in which the United States is ahead of the Soviet Union. The Soviet's marathon in space left precious little sympathy with any move that might have opened the door to a Russian first in space communications.

Apparently the debate will continue in the Senate for the remainder of the week, but enactment of the administration's bill now seems assured. At the same time the way appears to have been cleared for action on numerous other important measures. The Senate has chosen to move ahead instead of merely floundering in oratory. Certainly this is a heartening decision so far as it goes.

## U.S. Coast Guard Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to your attention to the presence of a group of splendid young Americans who are visiting us today. They are cadets of the U.S. Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., an institution whose mission is to train young men "with sound bodies, stout hearts, and alert minds, with a liking for the sea and its lore, and with that high sense of honor, loyalty, and obedience which goes with trained initiative and leadership; well grounded in seamanship, the sciences, and the amenities and strong in the resolve to be worthy of the traditions of commissioned officers in the U.S. Coast Guard in the service of their country and humanity."

These young men are now completing the final phase of their annual summer cruise aboard the famous training bark *Eagle*, and comprise the sophomore and senior classes for the ensuing academic year. They are stopping over briefly in Washington prior to returning to New London where they will begin their summer leave. Two other cutters, the *Absecon* from Norfolk, Va., and the *Castle Rock* from Boston, Mass., accompanied the *Eagle* on the cruise. Of the 260 cadets embarked on this year's cruise, 153 presently serve aboard the *Eagle*. Each has spent two-thirds of the cruise on the *Eagle*, and one-third on one of the accompanying Coast Guard cutters.

These cadets have seen a good part of the world since they departed New London on June 8. They have visited such distant points as Edinburgh, Scotland; Antwerp, Belgium; and Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. During their stay in Edinburgh, His Royal Highness, Prince Philip made an official visit to the *Eagle*.

The purpose of these annual summer cruises is strictly professional. Aboard Coast Guard cutters, cadets of the first and third classes receive practical shipboard instruction in seagoing skills and other matters pertaining to their chosen profession. Combining the features of a sailing ship with a modern diesel engine, the *Eagle* is ideally suited to developing leadership potential and a capacity for teamwork so essential to a successful career as a commissioned officer in the Coast Guard. The *Eagle* also serves as an effective oceangoing classroom for third classmen where they may learn elements of ship maintenance, housekeeping, and shipboard routine.

In addition to its practical training aspects, the cruise is also intended to provide future Coast Guard officers with a broader understanding of foreign

countries and customs—an extremely important matter in this shrinking world.

## Cut Costs, Then Reduce Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STROM THURMOND**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., has printed in its August 13, 1962, edition an excellent editorial which makes much good economic sense. It is entitled "Cut Costs, Then Reduce Taxes." I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CUT COSTS, THEN REDUCE TAXES

Reduction of Federal taxes for citizens of all wage brackets is desirable, at the appropriate moment and with accompanying fiscal responsibility. Few Carolinians, however, would urge that the Kennedy administration reduce taxes if the Federal Government is to be pushed further in debt.

These wise Carolinians know that they, or their children, are going to have to pay the piper. And many are demanding a cut in nonessential Federal Government expenditures.

But expenses of Washington cannot be reduced without direction from the Nation's Chief Executive. Senator Harry Byrd recognized this recently when he declared that "despite all that some of us can do, it is extremely difficult to hold down expenses without leadership by the Chief Executive."

Instead of summoning Congress to slice costs and persuading Americans to be more self-reliant, Mr. Kennedy has done precisely the contrary. He has incessantly asked Congress to increase Federal spending.

Exemplary is the assertion last May by Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges that thousands and millions of tax dollars could be saved by sawing off the deadwood from the Federal tree. A month later, employment figures for his own Department disclosed that he had added 1,600 workers to the taxpayers' expenses. Total civilian employment in Government in that month rose by 34,921 to a total of 2,496,455—the biggest fiscal-year end level since 1952. Senator BYRD contends that the deadwood amounts to about 10 percent.

The frightening reality of increased Government employment is that if the number of Federal employees continues to grow at the rate of the last 30 years, by the year 2,058, all of us in the United States will be working for the Government.

(Republican Congressman ROBERT J. DOLE, of Kansas, observes cogently that "many taxpayers, who in effect work for the Government 1 or 2 days out of 5, probably figure that the time has already arrived.")

Instead of pruning the Federal tree, Mr. Kennedy has consistently proposed adding new and expensive branches. Indifferent to mounting costs and increased debits, the President—for political purposes—has sent 25 recommendations to Congress (Jan. 20 to July 26, 1961), each of which would spend more of the taxpayers' money, adding to the Federal debit.

Take the Senate-passed bill to provide about $900 million extra tax money for "emergency public works projects. The measure is a purely political bill.

Its announced purpose is to reduce unemployment. But only 3 percent of the jobless would get any work out of the $900 million.

The bill could and would be used by the President to coerce Members of Congress to support his programs. Coercion would come through the approval or withholding of funds for projects.

Has the President told the taxpayers about the works projects already underway? He should. Carolinians, and citizens of the other 49 States, right now are paying (and will be paying) for $11.5 billion of projects.

Other projects already authorized but not yet begun will cost another $12.6 billion.

Yet, the President wants Congress to surrender its duty and responsibility for spending, giving him a $900 million Treasury kitty.

Understandably, thus, three out of every four Americans are opposed to a tax cut if such a move means increasing the Federal debt. They would agree with Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky, who has said that "it would be irresponsible to propose a tax cut which would drastically and permanently reduce needed revenues, and which would enlarge yearly deficits."

If taxes are to be cut, let's not reduce them without dispensing with nonessential Government spending. The President should honestly tell the people that it's not defense spending that is creating deficits.

Fiscal 1962 was a red figure year for the Kennedys. And 1963 will be another. But nondefense spending for fiscal 1963 is $16 billion more than nondefense spending of fiscal 1955. Comparable defense outlays are up only $12 billion.

We hope the Kennedys catch up with the people in fiscal responsibility and determine to (1) cut nonessential Federal spending and then (2) give the people the tax relief they so desperately need.

## Address by Secretary of State Dean Rusk Before National Convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WALTER H. JUDD**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, last night the Honorable Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, made a major foreign policy statement before the 63d National Convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars, meeting in my congressional district in Minneapolis, Minn. Sometimes only announcements of new or changed policies are considered of major importance. But in a world where the hope of so many countries for survival depends so largely upon the strength and steadfastness of U.S. policy, no statement has greater significance to them and is more reassuring to our own people, than a calm and clear appraisal of the world situation we face, an assessment of both the forces against us and those for us, and a fresh declaration of firm commitment to defend, by peaceful solutions wherever possible, America's "basic principles and vital interests." These principles and interests do not change and steady adherence to them is the truly productive course to follow.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include also the fine statement made by the national commander in chief of the VFW—Mr. Robert E. Hansen of St. Paul, Minn., in introducing Secretary Rusk and presenting to him the Bernard M. Baruch Gold Medal for Distinguished Service.

The introduction and address follow:

INTRODUCTION OF HON. DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS BANQUET, BY COMMANDER IN CHIEF ROBERT E. HANSEN AT THE 63D NATIONAL CONVENTION, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AUGUST 13, 1962

The Veterans of Foreign Wars historically has taken a deep and continuing interest in the foreign policy of our Nation. All citizens should be interested in what goes on in the world beyond our geographic borders. However, the intense interest of our organization in world affairs stems, I believe, from the common background of each and every member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I refer, of course, to the fact that every member of our organization has served our Nation overseas.

Understandably, the VFW should have, as it does, a more than average interest in and understanding of the vital importance of foreign policy. It is, therefore, particularly fitting that it is our privilege at this distinguished guests banquet to have as our speaker the much-respected Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Rusk.

Our speaker has served as Secretary of State since January 21, 1961, when he was sworn into office as the 54th Secretary of State. Secretary Rusk comes to his present position of vast responsibility from a background of vast experience for such an assignment.

Born in Cherokee County, Ga., he graduated from Davidson College in North Carolina, where he achieved membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford in England, and following that he studied at the University of Berlin. Returning to the United States in 1934, he served as associate professor of government and dean of faculty at Mills College, Oakland, Calif. But this distinguished Scretary of State who works so constantly for the preservation of peace is certainly not unacquainted with the ways of war. In December of 1940 Dean Rusk began active Army duty as a captain. He participated in two campaigns in the Burma theater, rising to the position of deputy chief of staff. At the time of his return to inactive duty, he held the rank of colonel. He holds the Legion of Merit and Oak Leaf Cluster.

With such a background of campaign soldiering, he was well prepared to return to matters pertaining to international affairs. In 1946 he joined the State Department as Assistant Chief of the Division of International Security Affairs. After this he served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War. Rejoining the Department of State, he served as Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs and as Director of the Office of United Nations Affairs.

In 1949 he became the first Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs. After serving as Deputy Under Secretary of State, he became Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs in March of 1950. I believe that it is a commendable commentary on State Department personnel policy that one who served so extensively in war in the Far East should have become the Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs.

He was in charge of Far Eastern Affairs until March of 1952, when he became president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

As we members of the VFW are well aware, our Nation, together with the cause of freedom, is exposed to constant peril in these times of unrelenting Communist aggression. The international seas are treacherous and turbulent. If our Nation is to survive this era of continuing international storms, it will do so only if the course is well charted and the ship skillfully navigated.

Secretary Rusk's direction of our foreign policy has been impressive. His calm demeanor, his firm determination, and his broad intellect have gained for him respect at home and in other nations. The firm U.S. policy which our Nation has followed in the recurring crisis in Berlin has served notice to Europe that that vital citadel and symbol of freedom would be defended against all Red threats. This, indeed, has contributed to the strength of freedom's cause in the Western community of nations.

In the Far East the continuing support which our Government has given our loyal friend and vigorous anti-Communist leader, President Chiang Kai-shek, has paid vast dividends in national security in the western Pacific.

These are examples of sound policies which have been pursued under the direction of this man who honors us with his presence this evening.

It is in view of his devoted service, his skillful direction of foreign policy, and the personal qualities which have gained for him the profound respect of freedom-loving people, that I now have the privilege of presenting to the Honorable Dean Rusk on behalf of the 1,300,000 oversea combat veterans comprising the Veterans of Foreign Wars the highest award which our organization can bestow—the Bernard M. Baruch Gold Medal for Distinguished Service to our Nation.

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ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS CONVENTION, LEAMINGTON HOTEL, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., MONDAY, AUGUST 13, 1962

(Secretary Rusk's address was carried by the National Broadcasting Co. radio network and highlights broadcast by the Mutual Broadcasting System)

Commander Hansen, distinguished guests, fellow veterans, it is a great pleasure to be here in Minneapolis for this great convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. All of us, of course, are deeply concerned about our country's future; but there is something special about that concern among men and women who have worn the uniform of their country in times of trial. For us, words like war and peace have a special meaning. We know, as veterans, that foreign policy reaches into every home and every community. We know the price when statecraft fails. We know why it is important to seek peaceful solutions wherever possible, consistent with basic principles and vital interests.

I know I don't need to prove to you that we live in a world of turmoil and change. I know I don't need to emphasize to you that we live in a time of danger and that the primary cause of this danger is the existence of powerful forces which are determined to destroy our free way of life.

The global struggle for freedom and against Communist imperialism is our main business in the State Department. My colleagues and I give intensive attention, day by day, to Communist strategy and tactics.

No one has to convince us that when Khrushchev said communism will bury us he was proclaiming, not just an alleged historical inevitability, but an objective toward which Communists work relentlessly by all the means they deem effective. No one has to convince us that "peaceful coexistence" means to them a continuing attempt to spread their system over the earth by all means short of the great war which would be self-defeating. No one has to convince us that the contest between Communist imperialism and freedom is for keeps.

We have a simple but transcendent goal. It is, in President Kennedy's words, "a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system, so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others."

This goal of ours—and of most of the nations of the world—and the Communist goal are incompatible. This global struggle will continue until freedom prevails. It goes without saying that our purpose is to win.

One hears now and then that we have a "no win" purpose or policies. That is simply not so. Of course we intend to win. And we are going to win. Our objective is a victory for all mankind.

For let us be clear about what we mean when we say: "We are going to win." Who makes up the "we?" Not only 185 million Americans, but most of the rest of the people of the world. And what is the worldwide victory we work for? Not the victory of one nation over another or of one people over another, but a worldwide victory for freedom.

To win this worldwide victory we must achieve:

A world free of aggression—aggression by whatever means.

A world of independent nations, each with the institutions of its own choice, but cooperating with one another to their mutual advantage.

A world which yields continuing progress in economic and social justice for all people.

A world which provides sure and equitable means for the peaceful settlement of disputes and moves progressively toward a rule of law which lays down and enforces standards of conduct in relations between nations.

A world in which, in the great tradition shared by peoples in every continent, governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

A world in which the powers of the state over the individual are limited by law and practice—in which the personal freedoms essential to the dignity of man are secure.

Our hope and purpose is to win without a great war and the damage which the weapons of today would inflict upon the human race. We will defend our vital interests and those of the free world by whatever means may be necessary, but a military climax to this struggle is to be prevented if possible.

The primary purpose of our military forces is to make resort to force by our adversaries unprofitable and dangerous. Our forces have been greatly strengthened in the last 18 months. Our nuclear deterrent has been amplified, and a rising proportion of it is relatively invulnerable to attack. We have the capacity to inflict massive destruction upon any nation that would be so irrational as to attack us or our allies.

Our conventional forces, too, have been strengthened. They are being modernized and made more mobile—not as a substitute for our nuclear capacity but to cope with more limited requirements.

In addition, we have been improving our capacity to deal, and assist our allies in dealing, with guerrilla warfare—a form of aggression which the Communists, in their inverted jargon, call "wars of national liberation." This is the form of the present aggression against South Vietnam. It will not be allowed to succeed.

Thus, as my colleagues in the State Department and I go about our business, we have at our backs a formidable array of military strength under the command of a resolute President. This strength, with that of our many allies, is capable of defending the vital interests of the free world. When President Kennedy says that we and our allies have vital interests in West Berlin—vital interests which all free peoples share with the brave inhabitants of that city—"vital interests" means just that: interests to be protected as a matter of elementary safety for freemen. We are prepared to discuss ways and means for reducing tensions in central Europe and to search for more permanent solutions to those problems, but we will not be forced, harassed, or squeezed out of West Berlin. We are determined to see that West Berlin thrives in freedom. And we have other vital interests in common with the free peoples of Latin America, Europe, Asia, the Far East, and elsewhere, which we are resolved to maintain.

At the same time, despite bitter and far-reaching differences, we seek continually areas of common or overlapping interest—areas of potential concrete agreements. In June 1961, at Vienna, Mr. Khrushchev and President Kennedy agreed that both favored an independent and neutral Laos. Last month at Geneva an agreement was signed by 14 nations, providing for the independence and neutrality of Laos. If the agreement is faithfully executed, all foreign troops will leave Laos and the Laotians will be left alone to control their own affairs—and Laos will cease to be an avenue of supply and reinforcement for the Communist aggression against South Vietnam. I underline the need that the agreement be faithfully executed. We on our side shall do everything possible to see that it is. We believe the Government of Laos will do its best; we expect all others to do the same.

There is another matter in which, objectively examined, all the great powers have a genuine common interest. I refer to the problem of halting the upward spiral of the arms race. Let us be clear about what this means and what it does not mean. We have a security interest in turning the arms race downward; otherwise the path ahead means increasingly vast diversions of resources away from the unfinished business of mankind and increasing dangers for all concerned as weapons systems tax or exceed the capacities of the mind of man. But disarmament measures cannot be unilateral—surely the free world learned that lesson from the demobilization after World War II. Disarmament must be achieved by steps consistent with the security of all concerned and with fully adequate assurance that agreements are faithfully carried out. In today's world, such agreements cannot rest upon blind faith; but arrangements can be worked out under which confidence can rest upon knowledge and not mere trust. In limited fields, such as nuclear testing, improved techniques and instrumentation may permit more efficient and less costly arrangements. But the need for verification remains. We see no way in which the abolition of all nuclear testing can be achieved unless the Soviet Union is ready to abandon its obsession with secrecy. And the rest of the world cannot disarm without knowing what arms are being concealed in those vast and closely policed areas in the very heart of the Eurasian land mass. We hope that self-interest and the yearning of the Soviet peoples for a better life will cause the Soviet Government to reconsider and sit down with the rest of us to work out practical steps which will begin to reduce the burdens and dangers.

PROGRESS TOWARD OUR GOAL

How are we getting along in this great struggle for freedom? A Secretary of State, watching the daily flow of cables from a world in rapid and far-reaching change, cannot afford to be an easy optimist. But I believe that a measured appraisal leads to the conclusion that the historical forces of freedom are writing fresh chapters of achievement and confidence.

1. The vitality and growing strength of the economically advanced countries of the free world: A new industrial revolution has swept over the free countries of Europe in this postwar period. Everywhere there are new factories, new jobs, new buildings, growth and prosperity. Strong new economic and political links have been forged and still others are now taking shape.

The notion that we in America somehow resent or regret this new vitality and confidence in Europe is plain nonsense. This new era has been an objective of our own hopes and policy; it is, among other things, the rich harvest of the massive efforts which the Europeans and we made together through the Marshall plan. We applaud the result thus far and warmly support the prospects for an even stronger and more unified Europe.

Let us not underestimate the importance of these developments to the worldwide struggle for freedom. A vigorous Atlantic partnership will mean closer political consultation to build the strength and unity of the free world as a whole. It will mean an ability to share more broadly the larger economic responsibilities for development beyond the Atlantic Community. Already Europe is approaching the magnitude of effort of the United States in responding to the urgent needs of the developing countries.

And under the strenuous conditions of a still unsettled world, this partnership can provide the military strength, both conventional and nuclear, necessary to defend the peace and to sustain a steadily growing rule of law. In a period of lively discussion within the NATO alliance about next chapters in the organization of our common defense, it is inevitable that there would be speculation which misses the point. NATO is not a limited liability company. For us, and for our allies, the defense of NATO requires whatever means are necessary. We have taken important steps, through the sharing of information, the frank discussion of strategic problems, and consultation on multilateral NATO nuclear forces, to emphasize that we consider that the safety of NATO as a whole is critical to our own security. If there is a ferment of discussion within the alliance, this has nothing to do with the underlying commitments to which we all pledged ourselves when NATO was born. "What is past is prologue." The ferment comes out of the creative discussion of next steps—of which the Common Market negotiations are only the most immediate.

Beyond the Atlantic Community are others joining in similar efforts—nations such as Japan and Australia, whose contributions are large and growing.

The prospect among all these nations is for vigorous economic growth and the steady expansion of trade. Let me point out that according to Marxist-Leninist dogma this could not occur. Acocrding to that fanciful doctrine, the industrialized nations should be ripped by ever-deepening economic crises and by fighting among themselves. Instead, they are working together in ever closer cooperation and are enjoying levels of well-being undreamed of a generation ago.

2. Progress within the underdeveloped world: Equally dramatic changes are taking place in that vast portion of the non-Communist world that is less advanced industrially. Never before in history have so many new, independent states been born in so short a period of time. And all of them, as well as the older but still underdeveloped nations, are determined to modernize their societies and improve the standards of living of their people.

One by one, new nations and their leaders are experiencing the sobering influence of responsibility. They are learning, sometimes painfully, that independence is by itself no panacea for their ills, that it alone does not feed hungry mouths nor turn the wheels of industry, that it alone does not find markets for excess production nor automatically build schoolhouses, homes or communications.

Some have managed the transition from revolutionary struggle to peaceful construction with great skill and statesmanship. Within the last few years a number of underdeveloped countries have made solid economic and social advances. And many others have made promising starts.

Some are still floundering. Some are devoting time and energy and resources to questionable adventures. But, on the whole, there is progress within the underdeveloped areas of the non-Communist world. All the free nations have a vital interest in assisting this progress.

3. Growing understanding of our purposes and the developing partnership between the advanced and underdeveloped nations of the free world: We have rejoiced in the arrival of the peoples of Asia and Africa to the "separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." This is well understood in the new nations. Most of their leaders are familiar with our history and the great and enduring ideas expressed in our Declaration of Independence.

Nearly all of them also appreciate our readiness to assist them, and understand well that our only purpose is to help them maintain their independence and improve the well-being of their people. And nearly all understand that the United States stands not for a sterile status quo but for vigorous progress.

As President Kennedy said at La Morita, Venezuela, last December: "We do not merely talk of slogans, of democracy and freedom; it is our function here in this hemisphere in 1961 to make it possible not only for all the people to be free, but to have a home and educate their children, and have a job for themselves and in security. And that is what we are determined to do."

President Kennedy spoke of this hemisphere, but the goal he set applies to other regions as well.

New ties are being created almost daily between us and the new states of Asia and Africa. In Latin America, the Alliance for Progress has breathed new life and vigor into an old and valued relationship. We must expect change to create tension; but we and our Latin American partners must insure that change and tension mean movement toward a free society.

We are not interested in maintaining a dole or giveaway program. We are pledged to help most those who do most to help themselves bridge the wide gap between what they have and what they need to provide their people with a decent life.

For the most part, the transformation of the old empires into independent states has proceeded in an orderly manner. In some places, resentments still linger from the old colonial era. These the Communists try to inflame. But on the new and better basis of political and social equality, new partnerships are developing between the industrially advanced free nations and the underdeveloped areas.

4. Competitive coexistence: There are other reasons for quiet confidence, and these come out of the Communist world itself. The sterility of their original doctrine has long been exposed. Marxism first offered a fictitious debate between a communism rejected by its own disciples and a capitalism which has long since disappeared, if it ever existed at all. In recent decades the Communists themselves have, in a curious left-handed way, recognized the overwhelming strength of the great tradition of freedom throughout the world. They have done this by their insistent efforts to capture the great words of that tradition and turn them to their own ends.

They have spoken of "peace" to conceal the use of force; they have spoken of "liberation" to conceal an effort to capture; they speak of "peoples democracy" to avoid the free consultation of the people themselves. Conversely, the people of Germany who want self-determination are "revanchists." Free peoples determined to defend themselves are "militarists." And, oddly enough, those the Communists like to call "imperialists" or "colonialists" are exactly those who have ushered into the United Nations row upon row of independent nations since World War II.

This tactic is increasingly transparent all over the world. So too is the emptiness of such phrases as "classless society," workers paradise," and "great leap forward."

There is no question but that the Soviet Union has achieved some notable successes in certain directions, for example, in space science and technology, in mass education, in public health, and in selected sectors of industry. But it is interesting to note that their successes have come where they have permitted science and technology to move forward without doctrinal blinders and where substantial freedom of action is given to those responsible for the particular enterprise. In other sectors, for example in agriculture, there are serious difficulties throughout the bloc. from East Germany to North Vietnam. Nature itself has imposed certain limitations but this cannot be the answer throughout so vast an area. Limitations are imposed by organization, by official stultification of scientific freedom, and by failure to mobilize the most productive element in the history of agriculture, namely, the incentive and individual initiative of the farmer himself. The desperate situation in mainland China cannot advertise successfully the promised paradise of communism.

Other adjustments are having to be made within their bloc because of powerful ideas which long preceded the Communist revolution. A sense of national pride and desire for national independence, yearnings for more freedom for the individual himself, and the desire for higher standards of living and security for family and home have forced changes in the monolithic structure of an authoritarian system. These changes, in turn, have produced sharp differences within the bloc itself—differences of doctrine, organization, tactics, and priorities.

Successful societies do not have to build walls and string barbed wire against their own people. The Berlin wall, erected a year ago today, is a monument to failure—the failure of a "competitive coexistence" that dared not compete.

No quick or easy victory for freedom can be promised. But those who are committed to freedom have less to worry about than those who would reverse the centuries' old history of man. As I have said on another occasion:

"It is not for us to fear the great winds of change that are blowing today. They are the winds we have long known and sailed with, the winds which have carried man on his unending journey, the winds of freedom.

"America at her best is admired and trusted; and America is at her best when she is true to the commitments we made to ourselves and to history in the Declaration of Independence. These are the ideas and ideals which give us allies, spoken or silent, among men and women in every corner of the earth They are part of the unfinished business which is a part of our story. This is the basis of our confidence; this is the scope of our task.

"The revolution of freedom, which we have so proudly nurtured and fought for in the past and to which we pledge today, as in 1776, 'our lives, our fortunes, and our scared

honor,' is the true, enduring revolution, because it springs from the deepest, most persistent aspirations of men. History says this revolution will not fail."

## First Nuclear-Powered Merchant Ship: The Nuclear Ship "Savannah"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, many Members of the Senate, I am sure, have followed with deep interest the progress in the development and construction of this Nation's first nuclear-powered merchant ship, the nuclear ship *Savannah*.

The *Savannah* is now tied up at its dock in Yorktown, Va., as a result of a labor dispute which is delaying its maiden sea voyage.

With characteristic forthrightness, Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER has expressed his concern over this situation to President Kennedy and urged the President to act immediately.

I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, the text of his letter to the President, dated August 6, together with newspaper articles from the Baltimore Sun, the New York Times, and the New York Herald Tribune regarding it.

There being no objection, the letter and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 6, 1962.

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As you know, the nuclear ship *Savannah*—researched, developed and constructed at a cost of approximately $80 million of the taxpayers' money—is currently inoperative. Its future is uncertain as a result of the voracious appetite of the union members selected to man this precedent-setting vessel. I need only remind you that the nuclear ship *Savannah* is owned by the people of the United States, and that any reckless display of irresponsibility on the part of its crew members and their union bosses is thus a strike against the Federal Government.

I cannot imagine that you, as Commander in Chief, would tolerate for a moment a strike by the crew members of any vessel of the U.S. Navy, and in like manner, the situation affecting the nuclear ship *Savannah* has already gone beyond any face-saving devices on behalf of the unions and any time-consuming activities by an emergency advisory board. This incredible situation warrants your personal intervention and immediate action.

Your readiness and willingness to initiate corrective measures to curtail impetuous inflationary pressures is already historic. Surely, the potential destructive ramifications in the present nuclear ship *Savannah* impasse cannot be ignored, and failure of the Federal Government to face the issues head on can only undercut your efforts to curb inflation, and to protect the public's investment in this great ship.

The outcome of this situation will, in addition to all other factors, affect the future of the U.S. merchant marine. Should the group that is now striking against the Federal Government be successful in its unjustifiable demands for wage revisions, the upward spiral of wage demands throughout the entire maritime industry, both at sea and ashore, would create a further impediment to the competitive position of the U.S. merchant marine in seeking to assume its rightful place in the trade and commerce of the world.

It is regrettable that the actions of a few dictatorial union bosses can do more to destroy the symbol of freedom, characterized by the nuclear ship *Savannah*, than the entire Communist propaganda machine. Moreover, we who have dedicated our time and energies to a strong U.S. merchant marine have always looked to the nuclear ship *Savannah* as a shining example of government, labor, science, and industry working together to demonstrate how atomic power can be used for peaceful purposes. If these union bosses persist, the world will instead view the nuclear ship *Savannah* as a symbol of labor supremacy in the United States at the expense of the taxpayers and the public treasury. I am sure you do not want that to come to pass.

The Secretary of Commerce and the Maritime Administrator have spoken eloquently and widely about the attributes of the nuclear ship *Savannah*, and have suggested that the knowledge acquired through its construction and operation will be shared with the world. Surely, it would not be your wish to share with our friends and allies an incredible example of union effrontary.

With highest personal regards, I am,

Respectfully,

JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER,
*U.S. Senator.*

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[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Aug. 8, 1962]

BUTLER ASKS A-SHIP MOVE—SEES "SAVANNAH" AS SYMBOL OF LABOR SUPREMACY

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON, August 7.—The strikebound *Savannah* is becoming a "symbol of labor supremacy in the United States at the expense of the taxpayers and the public Treasury," President Kennedy was told today.

In a letter appealing to the President to intervene personally in the situation, Senator BUTLER, Republican of Maryland, said that unless the tieup of the $80 million vessel is halted now, the United States will be sharing "with our friends and allies an incredible example of union effrontery."

SENATOR PUTS COST UP

The $80 million figure used by the Senator is the highest ever cited as the cost of the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship.

An official of States Marine Lines, the company operating the ship for the Government, indicated that the Senator's figure was probably more accurate than the $50 million used since the ship's completion.

No comment on the amount was available from the Maritime Administration late yesterday.

Originally the estimate for the United States floating demonstration of the peaceful application of the atom was $30 million.

THREE UNIONS BALK SINCE JULY 31

The *Savannah* has been idle at her Coast Guard berth in Yorktown, Va., since July 31 when the crew members belonging to the three unions refused to assist in shifting the ship to a Norfolk shipyard where permanent ballast was to be put aboard.

When they refused a second time last Thursday, States Marine Lines attempted to pay the crew off—tantamount to firing them—but they refused to accept the money. They have continued to live aboard, although the company no longer is providing meals on the *Savannah*.

The unions involved in the sitdown are the American Radio Association, the International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots, and the National Maritime Union.

ENGINEERS GOT EXTRA PAY

They are demanding extra pay parallel with that granted to the engineers belonging to the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association who run the reactor of the vessel.

Senator BUTLER calls the future of the *Savannah* uncertain as a result of the voracious appetite of the union members selected to man this precedent-setting vessel.

"I need only remind you that the NS *Savannah* is owned by the people of the United States, and that any reckless display of irresponsibility on the part of its crew members and their union bosses is thus a strike against the Federal Government.

"I cannot imagine that you, as Commander in Chief, would tolerate for a moment a strike by the crew members of any vessel of the U.S. Navy and, in like manner, the situation affecting the NS *Savannah* has already gone beyond any face-saving devices on behalf of the unions and any time-consuming activities by an emergency advisory board.

"This incredible situation warrants your personal intervention and immediate action."

"Another reason the President should participate in the situation," he added, "is the inflationary ramifications, which 'cannot be ignored'." The Senator commented that "failure of the Federal Government to face the issue head on can only undercut any efforts to curb inflation, and to protect the public's investment in this great ship."

The outcome of the *Savannah* situation will affect the future of the U.S. merchant marine, in addition to all other considerations, BUTLER continued.

LIKENED TO NAVY CREW

"Should the group that is now striking against the Federal Government be successful in its unjustifiable demands for wage revision, the upward spiral of wage demands throughout the entire maritime industry, both at sea and at shore, would create a further impediment to the competitive position of the U.S. merchant marine in seeking to assume its rightful place in the trade and commerce of the world."

A FEW UNION BOSSES

"It is regrettable that the actions of a few dictatorial union bosses can do more to destroy the symbol of freedom, characterized by the NS *Savannah*, than the entire Communist propaganda machine.

"Moreover, we who had dedicated our time and energies to a strong U.S. merchant marine have always looked to the NS *Savannah* as a shining example of Government, labor, science and industry working together to demonstrate how atomic power can be used for peaceful purposes.

"If these union bosses persist, the world will instead view the NS *Savannah* as a symbol of labor supremacy in the United States at the expense of the taxpayers and the public treasury. I am sure you do not want that to come to pass."

PHRASES IN SHARING

In his closing paragraph, the Senator referred to the phrases spoke by Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce, and Donald W. Alexander, Maritime Administrator, about the *Savannah* and how the knowledge acquired through its construction and operation will be shared with the world.

"Surely, it would not be your wish to share with our friends and allies an incredible example of union effrontery," he concluded.

ADVISORY BOARD TODAY

As the strike aboard the ship entered its second week today, James J. Healey, the chairman of the emergency advisory board named to investigate the dispute, completed preliminary talks in New York and left for Washington, where the three-man body will convene formally at 1:30 p.m. tomorrow.

Although the board was requested to make a report within 10 days after its appointment last Friday, various arbitration meetings going on in connection with the *Savannah* dispute may make it difficult for the board to complete its work in time.

One of the arbitration sessions is scheduled for 3 p.m. tomorrow between the MMP and States Marine Lines in the presence of their permanent arbitrator, Walter Gelhorn, Columbia University professor and labor arbitrator.

UNION PLEADS NO CONTRACT

However, up to this afternoon, the union was denying that it was under obligation to adhere to its compulsory arbitration clause on the premise that it had no contract on the *Savannah*.

The ARA has taken the same position.

The company said the ARA was due for a meeting Sunday and again today, but failed to appear.

Officials of the NMU, representing the 79 unlicensed seamen aboard, showed up for a compulsory arbitration session last Saturday, but little was accomplished waiting on the progress of the other two unions.

The NMU arbitration is to be resumed Friday with W. Theodore Kheel, permanent arbitrator for that union.

At least 10 of States Marine's regular freighters are still suffering delays and setbacks in various ports as throwbacks by the unions on the *Savannah* matter.

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[From the New York Times, Aug. 8, 1962]

STRIKE STILL TIES UP "SAVANNAH": OWNERS AND FACTFINDER CONFER

(By George Horne)

Negotiating efforts in the strike of seamen on the NS *Savannah* remained on dead center yesterday.

James J. Healy, a Harvard University professor, chairman of a special labor panel named by the Maritime Administrator to obtain facts on the dispute conferred during the day with officials of the States Marine Lines, operating agents of the Federally owned ship.

A meeting has been scheduled for this afternoon between the company and striking deck officers. Meanwhile, radio officers ignored yesterday a company offer to arbitrate the dispute.

As the $50 million ship remained at her base in Yorktown, Va., Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER called the White House to act in what he called "an incredible act of union effrontery."

In a letter to President Kennedy, the Maryland Republican said the voracious appetites of the unionmen involved would transform the original concept of the *Savannah* as a shining example of Government, labor, science and industry working together to demonstrate peaceful application of atomic power.

If the union bosses persist, he warned, "the world will instead view the NS *Savannah* as a symbol of labor supremacy in the United States at the expense of the taxpayers and the public treasury."

EQUAL PAY SOUGHT

The unions are the International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots, representing deck officers, and the American Radio Association, and the National Maritime Union, representing unlicensed seamen.

The unions are demanding treatment equal to that accorded the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. Engineers on the ship, on the premise of special skills and training for this particular ship, are getting as much as 29 percent more in wages than the scale for conventionally powered vessels of this class.

The 13,559-ton *Savannah* is manned by 75 seamen, 16 engineers, 5 mates under Capt. Gaston R. DeGroote, 3 pursers, and 4 radio officers. She had been scheduled to go to Savannah, Ga., soon on the way to the west coast for her first "show ship" cruise.

The striking unions are also demanding improvements in benefits, including a higher manning scale and better accommodations.

Negotiators for the three labor groups have charged that the States Marine Lines has refused to negotiate the demands. On this basis, although the company has called for arbitration under the existing contract grievance procedure, the mates' union has declined to participate in arbitration.

KHEEL SLATES MEETING

Theodore W. Kheel, arbitrator for the NMU contract, will hold an arbitration meeting here on Friday.

A spokesman for the company said yesterday that some of the union's officials considered the refusal by the company to accept union demands equivalent to refusing to negotiate. He said the company had negotiated in good faith.

The *Savannah* received its official classification yesterday from the American Bureau of Shipping, this country's official classification society. The ship was given the society's top rating.

The *Savannah*, planned jointly by the Maritime Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission, is the first such commercial ship in the world, and required special standards under which the American Bureau carried out its tests and examinations.

Senator BUTLER reminded President Kennedy in his letter that the *Savannah* was owned by the people of the United States and that the men were striking against the Government.

"I cannot imagine that you as Commander in Chief would tolerate for a minute a strike by the crew of any vessel of the Navy," he said.

Last week, Representative HERBERT C. BONNER, Democrat, of North Carolina, proposed that the *Savannah* be laid up or transferred to the Navy, because of the intolerable labor situation.

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Aug. 8, 1962]

SENATOR BUTLER APPEALS TO KENNEDY: URGES INTERVENTION ON "SAVANNAH"

(By Walter Hamshar)

President Kennedy was urged yesterday to intervene in the dispute that has tied up the nuclear ship *Savannah*, the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship, for 2 weeks. The *Savannah* has been immobilized at her berth at Yorktown, Va., where she was being prepared for service as a showcase of peaceful uses of atomic power.

The President's intervention was urged by Senator JOHN M. BUTLER, of Maryland, ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Commerce Committee, who supported legislation to build the experimental ship.

Mr. BUTLER called the refusal by members of three maritime union to sail the ship until their demands are met a strike against the Federal Government, which owns the *Savannah*. This is an "incredible situation" that warrants "personal intervention and immediate action," Senator BUTLER declared.

SITTING ABOARD SHIP

Members of the Masters, Mates & Pilots, the American Radio Association and the National Maritime Union are sitting in abroad ship although they were removed from its payroll after refusing last Thursday to move the vessel to a Norfolk shipyard for minor repairs. The unions are demanding parity in wages, manning and quarters with the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, whose members are still employed abroad the ship.

In a letter to the White House, Senator BUTLER said "The action of a few dictorial union bosses can do more to destroy the symbol of freedom characterized by the nuclear ship *Savannah* than the entire Communist machine."

WARNS OF WAGE SPIRAL

Recalling the President's words, BUTLER warned that "should the group that is now striking against the Federal Government be successful in unjustifiable demands for wage revisions, the upward spiral of wage demands throughout the entire maritime industry both at sea and ashore would create a further impediment to the competitive position of the U.S. merchant marine."

The Government has "eloquently and wisely" offered to share with foreign nations the knowledge acquired in constructing and operating the $80 million *Savannah*, Mr. BUTLER reminded the President. "Surely it would not be your wish to share with our friends and allies an incredible example of union effrontery," he said.

Mr. BUTLER's letter was the second written by Congressmen disturbed by the *Savannah* work stoppage. Last week Representative HERBERT C. BONNER, Democrat, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Merchant Marine Committee, suggested in a letter to the Department of Commerce that it might be wise to turn the *Savannah* over to the Navy and remove it from the influence of maritime unions.

ARBITRATION DATE SET

Efforts to arbitrate the dispute advanced slightly yesterday when the Masters, Mates & Pilots and States Marine Lines, which acts as agent for the *Savannah*, agreed to meet at 2 p.m. today to turn the dispute over to Walter Gelhorn, arbiter. The NMU has already agreed to submit its part in the dispute to Theodore W. Kheel, permanent arbiter for the union's agreement. The ARA was considering similar action.

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## Visit U.S.A.: New Friends and Dollars for America

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in the first year of its existence the U.S. Travel Service has made a noteworthy record and has more than lived up to my expectations when I first suggested the idea of such an Office and then cosponsored the legislation with Senator MAGNUSON which established this Office. It may seem like an easy matter to outline extensive plans and goals for a travel office of this kind, but to convert those plans into action in such a short time is indeed a remarkable achievement. The U.S. Travel Office under the direction of Voit Gilmore for its activities this year is requesting an appropriation of $4.2 million, which is less than the amount authorized in the law. Because of the U.S. Travel Office's noteworthy accomplishments, I deeply believe that

there are few activities of greater benefit to our world leadership and international balance of payments that cost so little and produce so much. It is estimated that added tourism to the United States will produce $43 million in the first year of operation as an addition to U.S. income.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the address by Voit Gilmore entitled "Visit U.S.A.: New Friends and Dollars for America," listing the first year achievements of the Travel Office, which was delivered to the North Carolina Press Association Annual Convention, Morehead City, N.C., July 12.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VISIT U.S.A.: NEW FRIENDS AND DOLLARS FOR AMERICA

(Address by Voit Gilmore, Director, U.S. Travel Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, delivered to the North Carolina Press Association annual convention at Morehead City, N.C., July 12, 1962)

There is an exciting new way to win friends for the United States—and to earn dollars in the process. Both are high-priority objectives for helping our country, while contributing to world peace and prosperity.

The public—especially the press—has shown its eagerness to cooperate. Because of North Carolina's special interest, I particularly appreciate your invitation to be with you tonight.

The program is called Visit U.S.A. Very simply, it is a worldwide effort to attract visitors to the United States—people who will pay their own way; who want to share with us the beauty and excitement of our land; and who have a good chance of going home as friends of the United States after meeting our people, getting to know our ways, and after learning something of the principles and ideals on which our country is built.

Visit U.S.A. is a team effort of Government and private enterprise. It is a businesslike effort being directed by Americans with business experience who have studied the market, mapped the campaign and launched the product with time-tested merchandising techniques.

The U.S. Travel Service, an agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce, was created just a year ago to organize and operate our allout drive for the foreign tourist dollar. Here are some accomplishments of the first year:

USTS offices each staffed by multilingual travel experts, opened in London, Paris, Frankfurt, Rome, São Paulo, Bogotá, Mexico City, Tokyo, and Sydney.

Four and three-tenths million pieces of professionally produced Visit U.S.A. travel literature distributed abroad, most of it in seven major languages.

A half-million-dollar advertising campaign launched overseas, telling of the United State as a travel destination—easy to reach—friendly and hospitable—and less expensive than imagined.

Redtape at the U.S. border has been slashed, the visitors' entry made speedier and far more pleasant.

While dramatizing America's friendly new welcome to people abroad, the Visit U.S.A. program has helped the U.S. public realize that there now are millions who have both time and money to visit us and who need only to be persuaded that we are a desirable travel destination.

How about results? They are better thus far than we had dared to hope. In the first 4 months of 1962, visitors from Europe jumped 21 percent over the same period of 1961. France, up 52 percent. Switzerland, up 25 percent. Brazil, up 21 percent. Australia, up 19 percent.

We are using a combination of newspaper and magazine advertising with dramatic results. A series of unprecedented blockbuster full-page newspaper ads in Britain, France, and Germany shook up Western Europe this spring.

Three hundred people a day poured into our London office seeking more details on thrift trips to the United States. Paris pulled 250 inquiries a day; Frankfurt, 150. Surveys showed these ads achieved remarkably high readership, and the ad copy produced reader recall as high as any in the history of continental newspapers.

These spring inquiries are being converted to summer sales. Just last week our London Embassy reported it is working overtime to keep abreast of visa applicants. Perhaps the greatest tribute to the Visit U.S.A. program comes from Edinburgh, where the canny, thrifty Scots are queued up in unprecedented numbers for visas to pay us a visit.

And the truth is, the Scots are right. The United States is a great vacation bargain. Bob Considine's nationally syndicated column of June 16 told some of the reasons why:

"Private business is cooperating (with USTS). The two leading bus companies, Greyhound and Trailways, offer the foreign visitor 99 days of unlimited bus travel for only $99. U.S. railroads give a 15-percent discount on all coach tickets purchased by foreign visitors. TWA and Pan Am have set up attractive 'Visit U.S.A.' exhibits overseas. Air France, Scandinavian, BOAC and other foreign carriers conduct regular seminars abroad, attempting to quicken interest in visits to the United States. American Express has developed a series of low-cost group tours of the land.

"In New York, the rubberneck buses contain multilingual electronic translating devices. Three large hotel chains agreed recently to drop their prices for international visitors. The American Automobile Association recently set up a program designed to help visitors obtain driving licenses."

One of the country's foremost coast-to-coast hotel chains has just announced a $12-a-day for oversea visitors. This means $6 per day for three meals, tips and taxes included, plus $6 for room, based on two people per room.

It was my pleasure to be with the North Carolina Travel Mission in Europe recently when it told about travel bargains in this State. The U.S. Travel Service is pleased to be working with the North Carolina Travel Council and the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development in attracting international visitors. Market surveys show that these visitors want to get beyond our gateways and see the open country. We hope that your newspapers will help spread the word to some of your big-city colleagues who are still editorializing about the "prohibitive cost of travel in the United States."

Two matters should be set straight right here. First, 70 percent of a cross section of Europeans interviewed during a USTS market survey said the place they want most to visit is the United States; but of this group the great majority said they were resigned to never getting here because of the cost. For example, whereas more than half of all U.S. families have incomes in excess of $5,000, only 3 percent of the families in England have incomes of this size. Obviously it is better to make our product available to them at the lowest possible price. They can always spend more if they care to. It is better that middle-income Europeans visit the United States even if they have to economize than that they should not come at all. They bring badly needed foreign exchange and almost all of them go home with a more favorable attitude toward the United States.

The second point to clarify is what our international visitors actually enjoy. Some doleful writers have predicted that there would be disenchantment or even disgust among those who travel the United States on a low budget. But most of these predictions come from those who are accustomed to America, and who often take an expense-account view of things. Just as Europe, for us, has a glamour which Europeans do not see, so our new visitors are not seeing this country through our eyes. Even a prominent North Carolina daily last week revealed regrettable misinformation when it editorialized that "there is no such thing in the United States nowadays as convenient, low-priced transportation," then went on to say that "outside the fleabag hotel range it is getting next to impossible to find a good bed in a large city for under $12 a night."

Fortunately we now have travel experts around the world to offset this sort of excessive self-criticism by providing prospective visitors with facts that are often unknown or ignored here at home—such as the fact that air fares in the United States are lower than in Europe; that gasoline costs less here than in Europe; that deluxe hotels in the United States have a lower average cost than those in Europe, plus such "specials" being offered to our friends from overseas as the $12 rate for a quality hotel room including meals, and the world's greatest travel bargain—99 days of unlimited bus travel for only $99.

To get the actual facts about foreign reactions to the United States, we stood at Idlewild Airport last month and interviewed 300 random visitors returning to four continents after holidays here. We also talked with the 400 middle-income Swiss and the 700 small town French pharmacists and other groups who have come recently on Visit U.S.A. tours. What did this cross section of visitors say?

They loved our country and our people. Rather than being dismayed by our automats and coffee shops, as predicted, they found them unique and delightful. Besides, they hadn't come here expecting any gastronomical orgies. Quite accustomed to bus travel, they loved skimming our turnpikes on swift, air-conditioned express buses. Many of the things they liked are free—Mount Vernon, the New York Stock Exchange and Central Park, the French Quarter in New Orleans, the open road and American homes. The thrill of seeing our cities and our wide-open spaces and the novelty of meeting the amazing American far transcended any hardships involved in economizing.

But listen to Vincent Mulchrone, one of Britain's top feature writers. In May, the London Daily Mail "smuggled" him into the United States to test our travel claims without our knowing he was here. He wrote four enthusiastic full-page stories with more favorable adjectives than we would ever allow our own copy writers to use. In his first dispatch he cabled:

"At the same time as President Kennedy invited me—and all the other millions of Europe—to try the novelty of tourism in the United States, he issued a secret directive to 180 million Americans to be nice to us. How else to explain the embarrasing generosity, the overwhelming kindness, the extreme * * * courtesy at every turn?" * * * He concluded his last dispatch: "I can't wait to get back to the United States and I hope you'll come too."

Of course, travel can be expensive in the United States, just as it can be anywhere. One of this country's greatest features is its range of accommodations—from a chartered airplane to the 10-cent ferry ride at Staten Island—from the presidential suite to a clean

national park cabin at the rim of Grand Canyon for $3.50. The point is, along with the hundreds who can travel deluxe, we need to attract the thousands who, to get here, must economize. In the keen competition for the international tourist dollar, we must realize that for just the cost of his round trip economy ticket to the United States, an Englishman can have an all-expense 2-week Mediterranean holiday. Or, for only $10 a day he can enjoy a deluxe vacation holiday in an Iron Curtain country, with jet prop transportation to and from London plus a cruise on the Black Sea thrown in for good measure.

Fortunately USTS was able to help plan the London Women's Press Club trip to North Carolina during its U.S. visit last month. Wonderful stories are now coming back from Britain as a result, with much warmth reflected from the courtesies shown them by the people of Asheville and Charlotte, especially the newspapers of those cities.

More pro-North Carolina feeling will be generated by the tour of European travel agents from Manteo to Murphy next October. USTS is pleased to be working with C. & D. on these arrangements too, just as we will work with North Carolina in the future on any projects to stimulate more Visit U.S.A. travel.

In the new USTS directory of plant tours in the United States, there are listed 4½ solid pages of Tar Heel industries which welcome visitors. Overseas we are telling prospective industrial visitors about these opportunities for closer ties to North Carolina industry. For example, we are currently working with a Scandinavian furniture group which wants to visit this State's furniture manufacturing centers. There are Brazilian businessmen in the Sporting Club of Sao Paulo group here in North Carolina this week.

The economic significance of all this Visit U.S.A. effort was underscored in the recently published exchange of letters between President Kennedy and Mr. David Rockefeller. As the President wrote, "American travelers abroad (last year) spent roughly $1 billion more than foreign visitors to this country. The surplus of our exports over imports, added to the receipts earned by this country on foreign debts and private investment, fell more than half a billion dollars short of covering foreign payments. * * * Our new efforts to attract foreign visitors and foreign capital to these shores will be stepped up."

Last year with more of us going abroad than foreign visitors coming here, travel expenditures exceeded receipts by more than $1 billion. With present U.S. prosperity, augmented by our natural penchant for travel, the tourist dollar gap could continue to widen unless we work hard at attracting more visitors to our shore.

This is why Government and industry will increasingly collaborate to build our tourist income. Even in one short year, this cooperation has been one of the brightest spots in Washington. And the increase in U.S. oversea visitors is a small but important trend in our balance-of-payments picture.

North Carolina fits in the foreground of this picture. More than half of the United States 600,000 annual oversea visitors come from Europe and Latin America. This State is within the primary travel zone of these visitors. The proven zeal of North Carolina's travel industry—coupled with such built-in assets as two national parks, a Federal parkway, a unique seashore, and an internationally famous golf area—gives North Carolina assured tourist appeal.

There are millions of people around the world tonight who want to visit us, meet us, know us; wealthy people who will enjoy our deluxe resorts; people of moderate means who will travel modestly, but treasure their chance to taste the excitement of America; people who will mold opinions in a hundred countries and influence their government's choice between the way of free men and the way of captive men. Our greatest asset, our greatest opportunity, is having these potential friends meet Americans, meet North Carolinians from Bogue Sound to the Great Smokies, and learn that with them we share common aims, problems, and dreams.

In this exciting new program, the U.S. press has a clear opportunity. You can help us say "welcome" to all the world; welcome to rich and poor alike, as has always been America's watchword—come, repay to us all the visits we have so long been paying to you of other lands—see how big America's heart really is, and how it beats for all the world.

The press of America can encourage our people to give these visitors a warm, friendly reception. The Advertising Council thinks enough of the program to have sanctioned a $7-million public service ad campaign which begins this month with appearances by Helen Hayes and Danny Kaye, who tell their countrymen, "Visitors are coming—let's welcome them. Friendly Americans will win America friends."

Yes, Visit U.S.A. is an exciting venture for all of us. It emphasizes the best of our land and it can bring out the best in our people. We earn dollars as we win friends. Join us in telling the people of the United States about this great opportunity within our grasp, and together we can do something of real value for our country and for all the world.

## Financing of United Nations and Aid to Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have had called to my attention two radio editorials which were broadcast over radio station WOKE, Charleston, S.C., on August 9 and 10, 1962. These editorials were broadcast by Mr. Harry C. Weaver, owner and general manager of this station. Mr. Weaver is a dedicated patriot and is noted in South Carolina as an outstanding broadcaster. I take great pleasure in commending these two editorials to the Senate by asking unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITORIAL BY HARRY C. WEAVER, OWNER AND GENERAL MANAGER, RADIO STATION WOKE, CHARLESTON, S.C., AUGUST 10, 1962

Do you ever ask yourself "Whose side is the United States on?" This is why we ask this question today. A U.S. State Department officer revealed last week that the United States of America has been paying dues to the United Nations for India, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Cuba so that these Communist nations could maintain their voting rights in the U.N. Are we Americans foolish enough to think that India, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Cuba are on our side? Is it in the U.S. interest, of which our youthful and confused President speaks so often, for us to pay dues of Communist nations in that one-world organization—the U.N.—dominated by the Communist-bloc countries and so-called neutral nations?

This amazing misuse of U.S. citizens' tax moneys was revealed last week when the House Foreign Affairs Committee was investigating the $100 million bond bill for the United Nations—the bill which is scheduled to come up for House action soon, in fact, it might have happened since the writing of this editorial. The U.S. House members of the Foreign Affairs Committee were plying the State Department official, Harlan Cleveland, with questions when they drew from Mr. Cleveland this bombshell admission. Although there is a bill in the House, asking for $100 million in U.N. bonds, our beloved United States of America has already given voluntarily to the U.N.—get this amount—$215 million out of our foreign aid contingency fund. We now quote the Washington publication, Human Events, on this shocking admission by a member of the one-world group in our Federal Government who are out to sell out our country and our freedom to our known and sworn enemy, the Communists, if Americans do not put a stop to this action fast: "Then the U.N. proceeded to use part of this sum (the $215 million) to reduce India's assessed share of special U.N. expenses by $812,000, Poland's by $512,000, Yugoslavia's by $243,200, and Cuba's by $140,800. Under the U.N. Charter—those who do not pay dues, lose their voting rights.

"Thus, the U.S. funds given to the U.N. have been used to help Communist countries maintain their voting rights in the U.N."

The truth about the United Nations and our State Department deals with the U.N. is not known to the average American citizen. What the people of our beloved country have not been told is the reason that we are in a state of paralysis today. It is only when a congressional investigation permits a brief peak, into the way our affairs are being handled, that we get an understanding of why we keep on losing. This week's Washington Report concluded with this statement: "Committee members also gasped when the State Department officer, Harlan Cleveland, told them the $100 million bond bill was only a stopgap measure, and that the U.N. would have to continue to tap the U.S. taxpayer for most of its funds." So, reluctantly, this U.S. State Department official dropped this bombshell, during the course of the investigation into the $100 million bond issue by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Are you now asking yourself: "Whose side is our United States on?" There is a bill in Congress, buried in committee, if approved would authorize the Congress to investigate the U.S. State Department, its policies and its personnel. If ever the people of the United States of America are to learn what is the State Department's plan for our Nation's survival, it will only come through public demand for the passage of H.R. 512, the bill now in committee to investigate State Department policy and personnel. Have you written those letters to all six of South Carolina's Members in the House of Representatives? Have you written those letters to your friends and relatives in other States of our United States, asking them to write their Congressmen?

"Whose side is our United States on?" You'll find out fast with the passage of H.R. 512 and the resulting investigation of the U.S. State Department.

EDITORIAL BY HARRY C. WEAVER, OWNER AND GENERAL MANAGER, RADIO STATION WOKE, CHARLESTON, S.C., AUGUST 9, 1962

How can we Americans expect good to prevail, as long as we permit our leaders

to reward the evil doers? Internationally, as well as here at home, the forces of evil continue to win. The Director of the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, in his August "Bulletin to Law Enforcement Officials," refers to the "Massive avalanche of crime sweeping our country." And, we say, "Why not" The U.S. Supreme Court has made the job harder for the law and easier for the criminal in a series of decisions during the past 8 years that have rocked the FBI and the law right back on their heels.

It is no different on the international level. If you can free your mind of the emotional hogwash, that goes for truth these days from the national news mediums, and just look at the record, you could classify a world aggressor as the "bad" man and our United States as the "good" man. But, the truth is, the world criminals are winning. Not only the Communists, but all the international robbers are winning. And, why not? The one-world organization—the United Nations—and the one-world U.S. State Department reward the "bad" men and "penalize" the "good" men. You have to look no further than the current examples for proof of this strange truth: Laos, where the "good" man was forced into a Communist coalition; the Congo, where the "good" man is being forced into a "neutral" coalition; Angola, West New Guinea, and Goa where the aggressor is winning, with the support of the U.N. and our United States. Take a look at Brazil. The third attack this year on U.S. citizens' property now goes almost unnoticed. This occurrence is getting to be commonplace. Just this past Saturday, one of the national news wire services released the statement that "the Brazilian authorities have seized the American-owned power and transportation company. A company spokesman in Brazil, says the state authorities have deposited $8,500 in payment for the property which is valued at between $6 and $8 million. Authorities of other states are seeking permission in the Brazilian courts to seize power and transit companies owned by American and foreign interests." This important news to Americans was shelved by national news mediums in favor of putting their full and complete propaganda stories of the Albany, Ga. racial problems facing our South and created by outside agitators. Never a word of commendation to the majority of the Americans in that Southern city, only the injustices being experienced by the minorities. If there were ever any doubt as to where our one-world President stands it can be removed now from your minds for comic book hero Smilin' Jack Kennedy and his scooter-riding brother, Bobby, are up to their necks in the Albany, Ga. racial strife. So, regardless of whether it is in our United States, in South America, or in the various corners of the world, the "bad" men continue to win and the "good" men continue to lose.

The Brazilians take another $6 to $5 million in the U.S.-owned power and transportation company and offer American stockholders only $8,000 for it. Americans must not forget that we are rewarding them for their thievery. We permit our Congress and the administration leaders to provide over $200 million in foreign aid, in the Alliance for Progress program to Brazil. They are dishing out your tax dollars right now to Brazil.

How can good prevail when the people and the Government of the United States of America are obsessed with the idea that it is the "good" thing to indulge the criminal—both at home and abroad. Where is the penalty in our U.S. policy for the "bad" man? Indulgence erodes honesty and fair play, whether it be in the South, in America, in the Western Hemisphere, or in the world?

## Corn Is an American Original—Make Its Tassel Our National Floral Emblem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Miss Margo Cairns, "The Corn Tassel Lady" as an introduction to the remarkable cookbook of American dishes using corn, called "Corn From Soup to Nuts." Miss Cairns has worked tirelessly and selflessly for years to get the Nation and the Congress to choose the corn tassel as its national floral emblem, partly because no country has a plant so uniquely its own, and also to express its gratitude for the maize—meaning mother—which made its survival possible in the beginning and which has played such a vital and undispensable role in its economy and its development into the land we honor and love today.

At a time when the White House and so many in our country are searching for American "originals," surely Indian corn is the first original of them all.

The article follows:

AN AMERICAN ORIGINAL
(By Margo Cairns)

It was maize, Indian corn, that gave to the United States its novel cookery. The Atlantic Ocean was wide. Storms and pirate raids made shipping uncertain and perilous. Wives of the colonists were compelled through necessity to use native foods.

Taught by the Indians, the women acquired the skill of processing and grinding the kernels into meal. They learned that cornmeal porridge and hominy were satisfying and nourishing. From the Indians' ash cake, that primitive bread made of meal and water patted thin and baked on a hot flat rock, the women evolved corn pone, corndodger, cornbread, johnny cake. Indian pudding, sweetened with maple syrup, popcorn, and parched corn were highly prized.

When the harvest moon hung high was the perfect time for corn roasts. Husking corn was both business and pleasure. Done to the music of gay fiddling, there was excited laughter when a red ear was found entitling a man to claim a kiss from his sweetheart.

This was the way of life that was built upon the sturdy roots of the American plant, corn, giving health and strength, joy and prosperity, to the developing Nation.

Late in the 19th century more wealth was wrested from the fruit of our native plant. Corn flakes, crisp and nutritious, changed the breakfast habits of the people. Then it was, too, that corn on the cob, golden and tenderly sweet, was introduced and almost overnight became a national gastronomic joy.

Dedicated scientists, working in laboratories scattered widely through the great corn areas, began unlocking more of the treasures in the golden kernels. Already various forms of feed made from corn had developed vast meat, poultry, and dairy industries. Now more wealth came as scientists extracted syrup, sugar, starch, and oil, putting them in forms that went immediately into the kitchens of the Nation, adding infinite variety to menus.

The United States itself, as well as its distinctive cookery, is a product of the cornstalk. Had the settlements of Jamestown and Plymouth failed, as did the tragic colony on Roanoke Island, this land might never have been peopled by adherents of the Magna Carta and the ideas it embodied of personal and political liberty. Corn and courage conquered adversities.

Maize, Indian corn, is the American original. It was the builder of the United States. Today, in some of many forms, it is present at every meal from soup to nuts.

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### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## Strengthening of Vocational and Educational Training Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in these fast-changing, rapidly advancing times, we as citizens find more and more that completion of normally formal education—important, though it is—really only establishes a foundation for learning.

Upon this foundation, we must build—with almost day-to-day regularity—new knowledge to enable us to keep abreast of, and understanding—and as possible make a contribution to meeting—the challenges of the times.

Across the Nation, vocational and adult educational programs are making a tremendously significant contribution to fulfilling these needs in our national life.

Today, I was privileged to receive from C. L. Greiber, director of the Wisconsin State Board of Vocational and Adult Education, a copy of a letter to the House Committee on Agriculture urging a strengthening of the vocational and educational training program.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of the letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF
VOCATIONAL AND ADULT EDUCATION,
*Madison, Wis., August 8, 1962.*

The Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY,
*Chairman, House Committee on Agriculture, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I have just completed a review of the report issued by the Committee on Economic Development entitled "An Adaptive Program for Agriculture."

Despite the fact that there has been some industrial expansion in our State in recent years, agriculture continues to be an important segment of our economy. In view of the fact that agriculture will continue to play a large part in our future State economy, it is important that we continue to train young persons as competent farmers so that they may contribute to the well-being of the entire State.

Recent studies which have been made by this department indicate the need for replacement in farming in our State numbers of youth equivalent to those who are now being trained for this vocation. These studies also point up the need for an expansion of training opportunities for young and adult farmers so that they may keep abreast of new methods and techniques in their vocation.

We hope, therefore, that the needs of the States for a continuing supply of competent farmers will be taken into consideration when the recommendations made by the Committee on Economic Development are reviewed. Naturally we are taking steps to provide retraining opportunities to individuals who become displaced as farmers. We are also developing training programs which will enable farm youth to train for occupations in areas other than farming.

We hope that your committee will recognize the need for continuing support for this important vocational education training program. A reduction in the amount of Federal funds available for the program which would result in a deemphasis of instruction in vocational agriculture would be a serious blow to the basic economy of our State.

Sincerely yours,

C. L. GREIBER,
*State Director, Vocational and Adult Education.*

## To J.F.K.: Total Victory in the Cold War Is Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a series of five broadcasts which I believe capsulize and define our needed course in wininng total victory over the forces of communism in the cold war.

In these days when too much emphasis is being placed on "accommodation," on compromise, on regressive policies toward segments of communism, it is refreshing and stimulating to note that there are Americans who want to win, without war, our ideological struggle for the future of the world's citizens.

The broadcasts were prepared and delivered by David Wills, international affairs editor of "Three Star Extra." I urge my colleagues to read these brief but penetrating analyses of the urgency and the possibility of winning the cold war.

Text of the broadcasts is as follows:

THE FREE WORLD AND THE SOVIETS
(Broadcast of June 4, 1962)

Our enemy in the cold war is the international Communist conspiracy, irrevocably committed to the overthrow of the free world. The heart of that enemy is Soviet Russia. Even Red China's semi-independent threat would wither away if Soviet Russia's aggressive ambitions were permanently defeated.

While Soviet Russia has great strengths, she has even greater weaknesses. The Communist theories of human behavior, social evolution, and historical forces are false. The Communists continue to fail to meet the material, let alone the spiritual, needs of their own people. To their satellites, Red rule is not a liberating revolution of universal validity, but plain Soviet imperialism. As Khrushchev has admitted by his denunciation of Stalin's tyrannies, communism rules by deceit and force. Its own inherent weaknesses will prove communism's undoing.

The heart of the free world, which is the target of Communist attack, is the North Atlantic Community. If Khrushchev could control Western Europe his resources would decisively outweigh ours. But the combined economic, political, and moral resources of Western Europe and North America are so great that, if applied to the defeat of communism, Khrushchev's boast that he will bury us will be exposed as ludicrous.

It would be entirely consistent with the spirit and purpose of Western civilization that NATO proclaim its aim as total victory over the Communist conspiracy. Total victory involves: First, halting further expansion of the Communist empire; second, liberating the satellites; third, inducing the Russians to install a government whose foreign policies are confined to the legitimate peaceful, patriotic interests of Russia; and fourth, avoiding a third world atomic war which would shatter all civilization.

While it is undoubtedly true that total victory will involve the collapse of the Soviet dictatorship, this is not an essential element of a victory strategy. Unconditional surrender is not a realistic demand. But it is realistic to set total victory as NATO's aim, and conduct our policies so that the Russian rulers are progressively compelled to abandon their program of world conquest, liberate their satellites, and become good neighbors in the world community. If the Western Allies set their target any lower than this, they will not defeat the Communist conspiracy.

THE RUSSIANS AND THE SOVIETS
(Broadcast of June 5, 1962)

The Western Allies must maintain a shield of military superiority if total victory is to be won over the Soviets without world war. Khrushchev knows the damage atomic war would do to Russia and so rejects it as an effective means of advancing communism. But he uses force whenever the risks seem low, and he still works to acquire atomic dominance over the free world. The inescapable moral for us is that we must never permit the Soviets to gain such a military advantage over NATO. Not until the cold war has been won will there be any safe basis for disarmament, a ban on nuclear testing, or a United Nations force to maintain peace.

Nor can the West contemplate war as an effective means of liberating the satellites. This victory aim can be accomplished only by the defeat of communism within Russia itself. The best encouragement we can currently give the captive peoples is to convince them that we are committed to the complete defeat of their tyrants.

The Russian people themselves are the only force capable of securing the pacification of their Government. The conversion of Soviet Russia into a peaceful world neighbor without war is the nub of the whole conflict. Despite Khrushchev's confident boasts of Communist triumphs within Russia, the Russian people are steadily becoming more skeptical of such claims, and in-

creasingly aware of the inability of the Communist system to permit the full development of their qualities. Communism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

How can we best exert our influence to stimulate the Russian people to secure this end? By maintaining formidable obstacles to Communist expansion; by denying to the Communists the successes which they exploit to play upon the patriotic emotions of their people; by making the risks of destruction so great Khrushchev will find further gambles too dangerous; by confronting the Communists with a moral, political, and psychological opposition as unyielding as our military deterrent.

And at the same time, keeping wide open the door for the Russian people to enter into the full peaceful collaboration with the rest of the world that is their right. Khrushchev asserts that Russia will achieve full communism within the lives of Russians now living, and that he will bury us. Our determination must be that in that same period the Russian people, with our help, will liberate themselves, and bury the Communist tyranny.

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NEGOTIATION FOR VICTORY

(Broadcast of June 6, 1962)

Diplomatic negotiations have been converted by the Soviets into their principal field of combat against the West. To the Kremlin, "negotiation" is a cold war weapon with which they endeavor to shock us into accepting their demands after they have softened us up by a period of deliberately contrived crises. Any agreements reached are to be broken whenever the Kremlin judges the time is opportune for further Communist advance. However tortuous their path, the pursuit of total victory is the Red leaders undeviating purpose.

If the Western Allies make total victory their aim, then, while they will always be ready to meet the peaceful needs of the Russian people, they will steadfastly block every aggressive move by the Soviet Government. Guided by such a rule, negotiation with the Kremlin will become not an ordeal but an opportunity to carry the free world's campaign against the Red rulers to the Russian people themselves.

President Kennedy has said that while we will not negotiate from fear, we will never fear to negotiate. In the past we have hoped that negotiations would permanently change the Soviet Government's policies. Experience has proved that this is a vain expectation. The Soviet leaders are impervious to conversion. But we can turn negotiation into a weapon for our cause, if we adhere to the principle of no concessions to the Soviet Government, constant friendship toward the Russians.

Berlin is a classical example of Soviet technique. President de Gaulle rejects negotiations on Berlin because he rightly wishes to present an unyielding front to the Communists' dishonest demands. Prime Minister Macmillan favors negotiations because, while constantly opposing Soviet pressures, we should always be ready to meet the legitimate national interest of the Russian people, and maintain open communications with the Kremlin to avert accidental war.

There need be no contradiction between these positions if we treat diplomacy as a method of combat against the Communist conspiracy. The prospects are negligible at present that any agreement regarding Berlin can safely be reached. There is no reason to shrink from this conclusion, nor any reason to search around for a sop to keep the Kremlin quiet. We must always be prepared to go to the brink. After all, if we are to achieve total victory within a generation, Khruschev must soon be made to accustom himself to Communist retreat.

THE CHALLENGE TO NATO

(Broadcast of June 7, 1962)

The duty of the Western Allies to make total victory their aim is strongly emphasized when we consider the role in the cold war of the United Nations, the professing neutralists, and the undeveloped nations.

The United Nations has many passionate advocates, who see in it man's last best hope for peace on earth. This is wishful thinking. The sober reality is that the United Nations is now a doubtful ally of the West. It has been distorted by the Communists into a cockpit of the global struggle. The United Nations is an important theater of this combat, which we would neglect at our peril. But until the West has won the war against communism by actions taken outside its walls, the United Nations will not be able even to begin to play the role intended by its founders.

The neutralists claim to represent the conscience of mankind, but in fact, expediency and personal ambition are their principal guiding emotions, not devotion to the Western principles to which most of them owe their independence. As even Nehru has conceded, the great struggle between freedom and tyranny touches only the fringes of their minds. In these circumstances, the proper role we should assign to the neutralists in influencing our cold war aims and strategy is precisely zero. The Western Allies must follow their own conscience.

Western aid to the undeveloped nations is commonly described as the decisive weapon in the fight against Communist imperialism. But this is a long-range program that would remain with us even if communism had never been invented. It is important, but its significance in the cold war can be so exaggerated that it becomes a bottomless pit of profligate waste. If the Western Allies have a policy for total victory, the surrender of one or another undeveloped country to Communist temptation will not be a critical danger. It cannot be our responsibility to insure all fools against the consequences of their folly. But if we have no policy, we will not find one by rushing around the world trying to buy supporters.

We cannot delegate to the United Nations, the neutralists, or the undeveloped countries our responsibility to win the war against communism. Their contribution will be small; they will frequently indulge in irresponsible criticism of our actions, although their own survival, like ours, depends upon our victory. The Western Allies of the North Atlantic community must wage the fight, on behalf of all mankind, until victory is won.

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(Broadcast of June 8, 1962)

If we are to be true to our inheritance, and secure our own future, the Western Allies of the North Atlantic community cannot avoid making total victory over communism its driving purpose. That the alliance is not now completely united on this principle is obvious.

There is a history of nationalist rivalries between some of NATO's members which has not yet been completely replaced by confident habits of collaboration.

There is a tendency among Western peoples to underestimate the diabolic determination of the Communists, and to entertain the easier hope that, in time, the Reds will become civilized citizens, and the Communist threat will pass away.

There is a strong thread of pacifism in the West, which considers it immoral to marshal force, the Communists' chosen weapon, even to defend Western civilization.

Perhaps most serious of all is the difficulty of organizing an alliance in which proud European nations, busily developing unprecedented unity and strength, find their ultimate security dependent upon an American nuclear deterrent over which they have no control. Not all our European allies are happy to leave to Washington the key military and political decisions. This is a pressing problem needing urgent solution.

The NATO world has its troubles and its weaknesses. But these are not innate to our system, as the Communists' weaknesses are to theirs. And since the principles of freedom are the finest contribution of Western civilization to man's evolution, nothing could more stimulate the Western alliance than to make the total victory of those principles the inspiring purpose of NATO.

NATO was conceived as a military defense against Communist aggression. If it is to win the battle without war, it must take the offensive against communism in every other field, while maintaining whatever armed might is necessary to deter Communist military adventures.

The issue is far wider than the survival of the West European and North American members of NATO. For, upon the outcome of the cold war depends the future of the United Nations, and the continued independent existence of the neutralists and the undeveloped nations.

Unless freedom wins total victory, the whole world will lose for centuries the chance it now has to organize its governments and advance its well-being in freedom. At this stage of history fate and our own accomplishments impose upon the western NATO alliance the responsibility of defending all civilized man's past progress against the new Communist barbarian horde. We can only discharge that duty by making total victory our goal.

Far from being atomic warmongering, or a retreat to isolationism, this is the only road to freedom without war. We have no other choice.

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## Nuclear Test Ban and Disarmament Agreements With the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the August 2, 1962, issue of the Nashville Banner of Nashville, Tenn., contains an editorial on an important subject which has received little attention by the Congress. This subject, which is concerned with the disarming of our defense establishment, has come more into the news lately because of increased efforts on behalf of our State Department negotiators to conclude nuclear test ban and disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union by offering more concessions from our side.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial entitled "Time for Senate Quiz on Three-Phase Surrender" be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, Aug. 2, 1962]

WHAT IS STATUS OF 7277? TIME FOR SENATE QUIZ ON THREE-PHASE SURRENDER

Before the 87th Congress adjourns, appropriate committees should ask some pointed questions, and demand specific answers, con-

cerning State Department Publication No. 7277. That is the proposal, finally unveiled last April, for a three-phase disarmament program to dismantle security forces at the national level and replace them with a United Nations peace force.

Top military commanders, knowing the score, entertain no illusions concerning the peril of any suggestion to eventually turn over our nuclear armaments to that U.N. force. They must be equally unreceptive to the idea of supplanting our own Armed Forces with a conglomerate international military machine.

The authorship of this suggested adventure in folly still is obscure. When it was first cited as such by Senator STROM THURMOND, the disclouse that it actually was in the policyworks occasioned tentative denials. Even the Senate liberals closest to the Kennedy team expressed first incredulity and then amazement. But there it was.

As already has been stated, the surrender of arms to the United Nations—divesting ourselves of strength and authority to use it, and simultaneously committing both to an agency in which we and the free world are the minority—was a proposal of such fantastic stupidity as to be, indeed, almost beyond belief. Yet, again, there it was.

It is in order to ask—yea, as the representative public instrument with which all treaties must be cleared, it is mandatory for the Senate to be finding out by more than perfunctory investigation: What about State Department Publication No. 7277? What does the high command think of it? Who is advising the President?

The Banner would find it impossible to believe that such an idea originated with the men in uniform—or that any commanding officer shares, or would countenance it.

Mr. Kennedy's Pentagon shakeup is an occasion to ask some questions. Gen. Maxwell Taylor, who is to become Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is a distinguished combat officer and servant of his country. He will preside over organizational military decisions; simultaneously then as now he will be in an advisory position to the President, under whom the State Department and its several policy agencies function.

General Taylor should have some positive convictions on the suicidal course entertained as an idea in State Department Publication No. 7277. Just as concerned now as it was in April, Congress, including the Senate Armed Forces Committee, should make inquiry.

## Speaker McCormack Personally Conveys to General MacArthur Gratitude of the Congress and the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the honoring of General MacArthur today in the House of Representatives on the House side of the Capitol, our distinguished Speaker tendered this great American the thanks of the Congress and the American people for his everlasting devotion to duty, God, and country.

In words which came from the heart, our beloved Speaker paid an incomparable tribute to this magnificent citizen of America and of the world. In reviewing some of the highlights of his unparalleled military life, the Speaker painted innumerable acts of devotion, dedication, and service which General MacArthur has made for his beloved Nation. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith the tribute of Speaker MCCORMACK to General MacArthur:

A TRIBUTE TO GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

(By Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, August 16, 1962)

My remarks cannot express our deep feelings on this occasion; for this tribute of the Congress of the United States to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur comes not from me but from a grateful Nation. This great patriot is molded of those beliefs which most deeply penetrate the American historic experience; and as he cherishes those beliefs, so he has fought for them, and helped to preserve them for us all. Duty, honor, country—thus he eloquently expressed the essence of his beliefs in his farewell address to the corps of cadets at West Point this last May. By these principles he lives; by these principles he became an inspired military leader whose name shall always occupy prominent pages in American history.

He has served his country in three great armed conflicts in this country. Douglas MacArthur was chief of staff of the Rainbow Division that fought in the First World War. He it was who commanded the valiant defense of Bataan; he it was who led the final stand at Corregidor until ordered by President Roosevelt to Australia—that brave stand that electrified and rallied a nation shocked and reeling through one of its most tragic hours. For history had a place for Douglas MacArthur that his cleavage to principle and selfless dedication to his Nation's service had prepared him for. And—even as he promised to return to the Philippines to lift the crushing occupation from that land that he had grown to love and respect, so he fulfilled his pledge 3 years later as Supreme Commander of the South Pacific. Douglas MacArthur commanded the American forces which swept the Pacific island chain of the offending enemy and pursued him to his homeland where he was finally brought to bay in August 1945. President Truman appointed General MacArthur as Supreme Allied Commander, and it was fitting that he received the Japanese surrender in Tokyo Harbor on the 14th of August.

The defense of his country's honor to which duty called him was threatened again by the Communist invasion of South Korea, and again he responded. The brilliantly conceived and executed Inchon landings are a classic example of this man's inspired leadership. At the time of his relief in April 1951, General MacArthur was commander of the United Nations Command in the Far East, commander in chief of the Far East Command and supreme commander for the allied forces in Japan.

It is difficult to do justice here to this man's unparalleled military accomplishments, but the names of the places at which he has steadfastly served his country ring out in history: the Marne, Meuse-Argonne, St. Mihiel and Sedan; Bataan, Corregidor, New Guinea, Leyte, Lingayen Gulf, Manila and Borneo; Pusan and Inchon. Let the histories of our age tell of these places and of his deeds there; but his deeds and his name are inscribed far deeper in the hearts of grateful Americans than books have the power to do. These great military events, under his brave leadership, are what make General MacArthur a man of history. There are few men whose place in history is assured during one's lifetime, and General MacArthur is one of that select few. For his whole life has been dedicated to preserving and strengthening our beloved country by retaining a government of law, not only for Americans of this day and age but for generations to come.

No, General MacArthur, to explain your place in the history of this country is not to explain your place in its heart. Your place in the heart of this country must be explained by your incarnation of so many fundamental American ideals. You are the kind of a man to whom a father and mother can proudly point when asked—what does it mean to be an American?

What could words of mine add to the greatest of honors that you already hold? You are part of the living fabric of this country's historic greatness. This is an honor priceless beyond words. But may I quote from your address to the cadets of West Point, words which you meant to describe the American fighting man, but which I feel apply especially to you,

"Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that if you lose, the Nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country.

"Others will debate the controversial issues, national and international, which divide men's minds. But serene, calm, aloof, you stand as the Nation's war guardian, as its lifeguard from the raging tides of international conflict, as its gladiator in the arena of battle. For a century and a half you have defended, guarded, and protected its hallowed traditions of liberty and freedom, of right and justice."

And may I close, General MacArthur, in making the concise, but all-embracing observation, that you make all of us proud we are fellow Americans. For your lifetime of dedicated service to our beloved country is a symbol and an inspiration for all others to follow.

## New U.S. Test Ban Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a letter addressed to Speaker MCCORMACK from the Honorable William C. Foster, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, containing information of importance and of deep interest to Members of the Congress, and to people of the United tSates.

The letter follows:

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT AGENCY,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
*Washington, D.C., August 10, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCORMACK: In view of the discussion in the press of the new test ban proposals the United States is submitting to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, I thought you might be interested in hearing more about them.

There have been two key technical developments on which the new proposals are based. The first establishes a better capability for long-distance detection of earth tremors caused by nuclear explosions or earthquakes, and makes it possible to propose a simpler and more economical system of internationally supervised long-range de-

tection stations, manned largely by the country where located.

The second is that an earlier estimate of the number of tremors from earthquakes which might be confused with tremors from nuclear explosions has been shown by actual observation and research to be several times too large. Since there are fewer earthquakes which produce tremors similar to those of an explosion, the number of on-site inspections needed to identify the cause of the tremors is less. However, on-site inspections are still essential.

These developments have shown the way to a control system which would cost less to construct and run, which would be simpler to manage, which could begin operation in a matter of months from ratification of a treaty, and would in no way jeopardize our national security.

The new proposals were developed by this Agency in cooperation with other agencies. They were approved by the President on the unanimous recommendation of the Secretary of Defense, the AEC, the Director of CIA, and the Secretary of State as well as this Agency. The executive branch is strongly of the view that an adequately verified ban on all nuclear weapon tests is in the national interest.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. FOSTER.

## Problems of Legislated Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, most of the people I represent in the Second District of Minnesota, regardless of party affiliation, grow increasingly disturbed at the seemingly endless proliferation of spending and taxing programs on the part of the Federal Government. One of my constituents, Mr. Robert Voosen, of St. James, has brought my attention to excerpts from an address made some years ago by the late Mr. Samuel Gompers, great friend of the American workingman and president of the AFL from 1886 to 1924. Mr. Voosen has asked me to draw Mr. Gompers' statements on legislated security to the attention of my colleagues in Congress, which I am pleased to do. I ask unanimous consent to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD those portions of Mr. Gompers' speech which appeared in the September 1955 issue of the magazine Ideas on Liberty.

The speech follows:

LEGISLATED SECURITY IS BONDAGE

(By Samuel Gompers)

There has never yet come down from any government any substantial improvement in the conditions of the masses of the people, unless it found its own initiative in the mind, the heart, and the courage of the people. Take from the people of our country the source of initiative and the opportunity to aspire and to struggle in order that that aspiration may become a reality, and though you couch your action in any sympathetic terms, it will fail of its purpose and be the undoing of the vital forces that go to make up a virile people. Look over all the world where you will, and see those governments where the features of compulsory benevolence have been established, and you will find the initiative taken from the hearts of the people.

Social insurance cannot even undertake to remove or prevent poverty. It is not fundamental and does not get at the causes of social injustice.

The first step in establishing compulsory social insurance is to divide people into groups, those eligible for benefits and those considered capable of caring for themselves. The division is based upon earning capacity. This governmental regulation must tend to fix the citizens of the country into classes, and a long-established insurance system would tend to make those classes rigid.

Governmental power grows upon that on which it feeds. Give an agency power, and it at once tries to reach out after more. Its effectiveness depends upon increasing power.

Recently a gentleman of the highest standing stated to me that during the time he was in Germany, and in a position to know, German workmen came to him seeking aid to get out of that country to the United States. They told him that by reason of the taxes which they were compelled to pay into compulsory social insurance schemes, they had no money left except for absolute necessities of life, and were unable to secure sufficient funds to come to the United States even in the steerage. He said to me further that in Germany, where compulsory social insurance has been more extensively worked out than in any other country, the workmen of that country, by reason of their property interests in compulsory social insurance, have been compelled to remain in Germany and work under circumstances, wages, hours, and conditions of employment which forced them to endure conditions below standards of a living wage.

Is it not discernible that the payments required of workmen for this compulsory social insurance interfere very materially with mobility of labor, and constitute a very effectual barrier to the workers determining their whole lives?

Industrial freedom exists only when and where wage earners have complete control over their labor power. To delegate control over their labor power to an outside agency takes away from the economic power of those wage earners and creates another agency for power. Whoever has control of this new agency acquires some degree of control over the worker. There is nothing to guarantee control over that agency to employees. It may also be controlled by employers. In other words, giving the Government control over industrial relations creates a fulcrum which means great power for an unknown user.

The introduction of compulsory social insurance in cases of sickness, or compulsory social insurance in cases of unemployment, means that the workers must be subject to examinations, investigations, regulations, and limitations. Their activities must be regulated in accordance with the standards set by governmental agencies. To that we shall not stand idly by and give our assent.

Men and women, I trust I may not be sounding my warnings upon the empty air. I hope that they may find a lodgment in the minds and the hearts of my countrymen. I bid you have a care in all these attempts to regulate the personal relations and the normal personal activities of the citizenship of our country ere it be too late.

There is in the minds of many an absence of understanding of the fundamental essentials of freedom. They talk freedom, and yet would have bound upon their wrists the gyves that would tie them to everlasting bondage. And no matter how sympathetic or humanitarian is the gloss over the plan and the scheme, I again bid you beware. We know not "when" or "how" this great struggle going on in Europe will terminate, or what it shall mean for the future of those countries; but at least let the people of the United States hold their liberties in their own hands, for it may come to pass that America, the America whose institutions and ideals we so much revere, may be the one nation to hold the beacon light of freedom aloft, and thus aid in relighting the torch, rekindling the heart flame of the world's liberty.

For a mess of pottage, under the pretense of compulsory social insurance, let us not voluntarily surrender the fundamental principles of liberty and freedom, the hope of the Republic of the United States, the leader and teacher to the world of the significance of this great anthem chorus of humanity—liberty.

## The Two Grasshoppers: Russia and the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from a 9-year-old constituent, Jonathan Rolarcheck, who presented an allegory likening the United States and Russia to two grasshoppers who in mutual fear maintained a constant distrusting guard against each other. To the mind of this 9-year-old, readiness to protect or strike back in the event of attack, is a waste. I wonder how many more of the future possible leaders of our country think in a similar vein.

For the interest of my colleagues, I submit the letter sent to me by young Master Rolarcheck and my reply which I hope will teach him the worth of preparedness:

LETTER FROM JONATHAN ROLARCHECK

DEAR SIR: I think that the fear of war is a fear like the fear of the two grasshoppers. The two grasshoppers is a story where two grasshoppers met in a field. They both were afraid of the other one attacking him. So they always kept their claws up ready for an attack and after a while it wore away. Just think of say Russia and the United States as the two grasshoppers and how it will wear away is how every year citizens of our country pay money to do nothing. Nothing is making guns. See how the two grasshoppers just stayed there ready with all the power they had and did nothing. Now get sensible and think of what all this money can do if we use it for something. It's better schools, hospitals, housing projects, and many, many other things that are useful for a change. I hope you take this letter into consideration.

Very truly yours,

JONATHAN ROLARCHECK.

P.S.—Please excuse the mistakes as I am only 9 years old.

LETTER FROM CONGRESSMAN LEONARD FARBSTEIN

DEAR JONATHAN: Letters such as yours are among the best rewards a Congressman can receive. Indeed, if I were certain that all American youngsters were as bright, alert, and sensitive as you, I would have few fears of the future.

I want you to know that I am deeply concerned with that future. My fondest dream is that there will be a future for fine young people such as yourself to inherit.

Your story of the two grasshoppers was a delightful allegory—and certainly not without its point. But have you considered, Jonathan, what might have happened to one of the grasshoppers if he had not kept up his claws to protect himself? Without doubt, he would have been destroyed.

U.S. relationships with the Soviet Union are much like those of the two grasshoppers. We simply cannot put down our claws. We must continue to show our strength in the fervent hope that such action will serve to discourage war. If the Russian rulers are convinced of our strength, of our ability to strike back and defend ourselves, of the sharpness of our claws, they might have second thoughts about striking out in the first place.

That this is so is a tragic waste. The billions of dollars we have spent on armaments—which we hope and pray will never be used—could most certainly have been better spent on schools, hospitals, and more decent housing, as you suggest. But until the Russian leaders show more clearly evidence that they are genuinely interested in peaceful coexistence with us, we will continue to be faced with this sad alternative.

No one likes or wants an arms race, but until the Russian bear realizes that he has nothing to gain from attacking the American eagle—until he understands that the world is big enough for both of them—we must continue to show our strength.

If I have used some big words in replying to your letter, it is only because I was so carried away by the concepts you presented that I forgot you are only 9 years old. Perhaps mother or dad can explain some of them to you.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD FARBSTEIN,
*Member of Congress.*

## Professor Calls for Stop to Free Delivery of Red Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM**
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, among the many letters that have reached me on the matter of free delivery of Communist propaganda is one that speaks clearly of the issues and beliefs of the American people.

This letter is from a history professor at one of the Nation's leading Franciscan schools. He makes the point that—

Bona fide mail between the two countries is one thing; deliberate flooding of the United States with government propaganda is quite another.

I believe his other points will be of interest to the Members of the House. His letter follows:

Hon. GLENN CUNNINGHAM: You are to be highly commended for the amendment designed to prevent the delivery of Soviet propaganda within the United States at the expense of the United States. Bona fide mail between the two countries is one thing; deliberate flooding of the United States with government propaganda is quite another.

Bills to lower taxes and raise postal rates make no sense, when taken in conjunction and that is the manner in which they should be treated.

It is rather insulting to require the United States to subsidize Red propaganda to this land of ours. At least the administration might request that the deficit in the Post Office Department be made up from out of the foreign aid appropriation, which in this year of grace is almost $5 billion—a truly incredible sum, given out of mounting debt, etc.

I am a professor of American history and speak for myself alone. Yet I have some conception of the sentiments and attitude of our people. An overwhelming majority of them agree with your amendment. Would that a plebiscite might be conducted in regard to it.

## How Long Can the U.S. Press Remain Free?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the bastions of liberty—a free press—is under assault by the Kennedy administration. Distinguished Authoress Ayn Rand points out in the following article the dangers that the line of attack being pursued by the New Frontier create for the preservation of our system of government, or freedom of expression.

I urge my colleagues to read this article, to study carefully its implications, and to be alerted to the dangers which an unprincipled administration could generate by arbitrary and capricious interpretation of existing laws, aided and abetted by a rubberstamp Congress.

Text of the article follows:

HOW LONG CAN THE U.S. PRESS REMAIN FREE?

(By Ayn Rand)

"In the FCC and in the Antitrust Division the Government possesses the legal weapons it needs to transform this country into a totalitarian state—and if the conservatives do not know it, the present administration seems to know it."

When I wrote this, in the first number of the Objectivist Newsletter, in January 1961, I pointed out that these were the two crucially dangerous issues, which adovcates of freedom had to fight. I could not foresee how swiftly the administration would proceed on that course.

On July 15, the New York Times carried a story announcing: "An antitrust panel of the House Judiciary Committee is preparing a broad inquiry on the press and other news mediums."

NOT ORDINARY LAWS

To understand what this means, one must bear in mind that the antitrust laws are not laws in any normal, civilized sense of the word. They are an accumulation of nonobjective, undefinable, unjudiciable statutes, so contradictory and inconsistent that no two jurists can agree on their meaning, and any business practice can be construed as illegal. Thus the Government has the power to prosecute and to convict any business concern it chooses.

Consider what will happen to the freedom of the press when that sort of noose tightens about its necks and its typewriters.

(Ayn Rand is coeditor of the Objectivist Newsletter, a journal which deals with the application of her philosophy, objectivism, to current issues.)

Representative EMANUEL CELLER is in charge of the coming inquiry. The New York Times quotes him as declaring: "We are very much aware of the first amendment. We are also aware that the courts have said you can distinguish between the business practices and the editorial operations of newspapers."

SUFFICIENT COMPLIANCE

Apparently, Mr. CELLER regarded a declaration of his awareness as sufficient compliance with the Constitution—because he then proceeded to announce that the inquiry will deal with such (noneditorial) issues as the handling of news and the impact of syndicated columns on the gathering and presentation of local news.

Mr. CELLER will also investigate the fact that in some cities one man or company owns both the morning and evening newspapers.

"We shall endeavor to find out," he stated, "whether, in those cities, the news is slanted according to the prejudice or idiosyncrasies of those common owners; whether the editorial policy is consistently politically slanted." (A noneditorial issue?)

Does this mean that the owner of a newspaper has no right to hold consistent political convictions and that a newspaper is not entitled to a consistent editorial policy? If the owner of one newspaper possesses the right of free speech, does he lose it if he acquires two newspapers? Who determines what is slanted and which political views are prejudice or idosyncrasies? The Government?

LOCAL TALENT

The only mergers Mr. CELLER cited as under investigation are recent purchases of newspapers by S. I. Newhouse and by the Hearst Publishing Co. Both these newspaper chains are not exactly liberal in their political views nor overly friendly to the administration.

"Also," declared Mr. CELLER, "we are interested in seeing whether or to what extent the columnists might be drying up local talent in assaying the news of the day."

Well, it is incontestably certain that the talents of the local "High School Bugle" could not possibly compete with nationally syndicated columnists.

Here we see the essence of the antitrust doctrines—in so grotesque a form that no satirist would venture to offer it as a caricature. Yet it is not a caricature, it is the naked, brutal truth.

If it is right to sacrifice ability to incompetence, or success to failure, or achievement to envy—if it is right to break up giant industrial concerns because smaller companies cannot compete with them—then it is right to silence every man who has acquired a national audience and clear the field for those whose audience will never grow beyond the corner drugstore.

If it is right to deprive the small towns of the wider choice and lower prices offered by the big chain stores, and force them to support the little corner grocer—then it is right to deprive them of any intellectual contact with the Nation, or any famous voices, of any TV network programs, and confine them by law to the news of local rummage sales and ice cream socials, to the "assaying" of such news by cracker-barrel pundits, and to the poetry recitals of the "League of Mrs. Worthington's Daughters."

A SERVILE PRESS

Freedom speech? "Why, we don't deprive any man of his freedom of speech," the trustbusters would chorus, "provided he is not heard beyond the boundaries of his township or of his city block."

No, the Government would not establish any censorship; it would not need to. The threat of antitrust prosecutions will be sufficient. We have seen what it did to the steel industry. Rule by hidden, unprovable intimidation relies on the victims' "voluntary" self-enslavement. The result is worse than a censored press; it is a servile press.

Consider the significance of a curious contradiction. On the one hand, the Government hails the launching of Telstar as a means of uniting the whole world in a single network of global communication. On the other hand, the Government proposes to disintegrate national communications into local atoms, forbidding any private individual to acquire the means of addressing the Nation, and forbidding the separate atoms to know what the rest of the Nation is thinking.

TIME TO SPEAK UP

Do you grasp the possibilities?

President Kennedy is to broadcast his news conferences via Telstar. Which one of us will obtain equal time on that global medium? And if we do not, how will we make ourselves heard? It is not by means of the "High School Bugle" that one can protect one's rights or compete with a monopoly of that kind.

Gentlemen of the press, if any, now is the time to speak up.

## C. D. Kaier Co. of Mahanoy City, Pa., Receives the American Legion National Employ the Older Worker Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy and proud to announce to the House that the C. D. Kaier Co. of my home community of Mahanoy City, Pa., will receive tomorrow the American Legion National Employ the Older Worker Award.

On Monday, April 30 last, Mahanoy City Post 74, American Legion, presented its Employers Community Service Award to the C. D. Kaier Co. on the occasion of the company's 100th birthday. This occasion was fittingly observed and celebrated with a wonderful centennial program and dinner at the Legion Home in Mahanoy City with the presentation being made by the Honorable George F. Bruno, Pennsylvania department commander, the American Legion.

Accepting the award was John B. Lieberman, a grandson of the founder of the company, who tomorrow will also accept, the American Legion national award at headquarters in Washington. Mr. Lieberman is the present energetic and progressive president of the C. D. Kaier Co. and is carrying on and expanding the progressive employment policies instituted by his civic-minded grandfather, the late Charles D. Kaier.

The late Charles D. Kaier established the C. D. Kaier Co. at Mahanoy City in 1862 when it opened a plant for bottling ale and porter. In 1891 he erected a brewery which became known far and wide for its fine products. It was the beginning, the birth, the initial step in the long stairway of employment, economic growth, and community development through Mr. Kaier and his noted successors.

Kaier's has survived a Civil War, a Spanish-American War, two World Wars, and a Korean conflict. It lived, and helped many others live, through a depression and many recessions. With honors, it has passed the test of time. It is 1 year older than its own hometown, yet it is as new, as fresh, and as challenging as the advancing age we live in today.

Proper growth and development leads to a full maturity, and the Kaier brewing firm story is one of real maturity and real success.

The natural business ability of the late Charles D. Kaier was reflected also in the leadership of the brewery down through the years, by such executive personnel as Lloyd W. Fahler, the present board chairman, Margaret C. Kaier, Mrs. Mary Kaier Fahler, Charles A. Domson, and the present president and grandson of the founder, John B. Lieberman.

Mr. Speaker, tomorrow's recognition of the C. D. Kaier Co. by the American Legion is another tribute not only to outstanding business principles of the company throughout 100 years of progress, but to the company's civic-minded policies in employing our older citizens.

In recommending the C. D. Kaier Co. for national honors to the National Employment Committee of the American Legion, the Department of Pennsylvania of the American Legion through its employment chairman, Mr. Joseph A. Halka, stated in part:

This employer, who is currently celebrating its 100th anniversary, was cited for its outstanding voluntary employment policy based upon full consideration of skills and capabilities of older veterans.

Ninety percent of the company's work force are veterans. Seventy-four percent of the work force are veterans in the older worker program classification (past 45 years of age).

This company has consistently throughout the years given support in promoting and advocating acceptance of the Legion's basic employment policies and programs.

C. D. Kaier Co. is a community spirited and centered employer who gives freely of their time and money to all community sponsored projects for welfare and betterment.

Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the American Legion in giving this recognition to the C. D. Kaier Co. of my home community. I know that all the Members of the House join me in extending congratulations and best wishes to the C. D. Kaier Co. upon the occasion of its receiving the American Legion National Employ the Older Worker Award.

## Five-Year Tax Writeoffs in Depressed Areas

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, my State of Pennsylvania has, I believe, the unfortunate distinction of having more areas of substantial and persistent unemployment than any other in the Nation.

As of June of this year the major areas of substantial unemployment in Pennsylvania included Altoona, in my own district, Erie, Johnstown, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton, and Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton. Except for Philadelphia, all these areas were also areas of persistent unemployment, meeting the criteria for assistance with Federal procurement programs and under the Area Redevelopment Act. They would likewise be eligible for assistance under the Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act, now before us.

In addition to these major areas, Pennsylvania has no less than 24 smaller areas of substantial and persistent unemployment, including the Clearfield-Du Bois area, the greater part of which is in my own district.

"Substantial," Mr. Speaker, means that in each area unemployment is well above the average for the Nation. In Altoona the rate in June was 9.4 percent with 5,000 unemployed. This is up from the 4,200, 8.1 percent, reported in May. Clearfield-Du Bois has an even higher rate, around 12 percent, with about 4,000 unemployed. That is what "substantial" means. "Persistent" means it has been like this for a long, long time in the past, and, unless some action is taken, bodes to remain that way for a long, long time in the future.

Last year, Mr. Speaker, we passed the Area Redevelopment Act designed to have the Federal Government help us to help ourselves. In the closing hours of the House debate on the Area Redevelopment Act which I actively supported, I warned that it was not intended as an immediate remedy of unemployment but that it was a long-range program that would take time before its effects were felt on our economy.

The truth of my statement is revealed by the fact that during the 1962 fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, the Area Redevelopment Administration produced 17,436 direct jobs at a total cost of over $170 million, or approximately $9,800 per job. This year we sought additional Federal help by passing the Manpower Utilization and Training Act. Undoubtedly these Federal programs will help. But something further is needed.

For that reason, I wish to provide for a new sort of help from the Federal Government by letting business spend its own money and be allowed to write it off for tax purposes in only 5 years.

Therefore, I am urging the enactment of my bill, H.R. 274, which I introduced January 3, 1961, or at the beginning of the 87th Congress. For nearly 19 months this bill has been pending before the House Committee on Ways and Means. This bill would help American business to provide jobs by providing businessmen an incentive to step up investment in plants and machinery in areas of persistent labor surplus. My bill would allow businesses to write off their investment in such areas for tax purposes within a period of 5 years, if they so desired.

Despite my warning that the Area Redevelopment Act represents a long-range program, unfortunately many expected to witness an economic miracle once it became effective. In fact, the real barrier to consideration of my bill, H.R. 274, is revealed in a letter I received dated April 20, 1961, from Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon which reads in part:

> A bill which you have introduced, H.R. 274, would provide tax incentives to encourage the development and growth of commercial and industrial enterprise in economically depressed areas. It is the President's view that this problem can be met more effectively by other direct measures outside the tax field, such as the area redevelopment bill.

According to Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, President Kennedy believed, too, the unemployment problem could be met more effectively by other direct measures, such as the area redevelopment bill.

In view of the long-range objectives of the Area Redevelopment Act and the cost figures on the number of jobs during the fiscal year of 1962, I believe that my proposal for a fast tax writeoff in distressed areas is one of great merit.

This accelerated tax amortization program embodied in my bill, H.R. 274, introduced 19 months ago, is not a new or untried proposal. It was originally used in World War I to encourage investment in defense facilities. It was revived and used in World War II, for the same purpose. It may be found in section 124a of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939. During World War II certificates of necessity for over $7 billion of investment in productive facilities were issued under this program, of which nearly $6 billion were reported eligible for accelerated amortization.

A program for accelerated tax amortization was renewed after the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950. From the beginning of the program on November 1, 1950, through its termination on December 31, 1959, the estimated cost of defense facilities for which certificates of necessity were granted was over $39 billion. Over $23 billion of this amount was certified as eligible for the accelerated—5-year—depreciation. This shows clearly that rapid tax amortization does induce investment.

From November of 1953 a larger percentage of rapid tax amortization was allowed when the facilities were built in areas of chronic labor surplus. This program to aid such areas was adopted after the tax amortization program had passed its peak, which limited the opportunity it presented for such aid. Nonetheless, it had a definitely beneficial effect. The Office of Defense Mobilization estimated that a total investment of $277 million in defense facilties had provided 15,600 direct jobs in labor surplus areas down to March 1, 1957.

Talk of allowing accelerated depreciation on investments is frequently heard today. In July the revision of Internal Revenue's Bulletin F was released, making public new depreciation schedules and procedures. These guidelines will assist many firms to take a more rapid and realistic depreciation of their machinery and equipment. This much has been accomplished by administrative action alone. Now, indeed, it has been noted by some tax experts that revised Bulletin F does little more than to make public the rules on depreciation which Internal Revenue had already approved in many specific instances.

We hear, too, on all sides talk about a general further revision of depreciation allowances by Congress, as a means of encouraging greater investment and to provide more job opportunities. I am reluctant to see Congress adjourn without enacting my bill, H.R. 274, so that business and industry in distressed areas would through a fast tax writeoff have an incentive to increase investment in plant and machinery and, thereby, help provide jobs for American wage earners.

My bill would allow us to try out such an accelerated investment plan in labor surplus areas. It could be used in any area where the bill before us or the Area Redevelopment Act would apply. Any investment in new plants or any expansion of existing facilities, which would provide jobs in labor surplus areas, could be written off for tax purposes in 5 years. This would help such areas to put their people back to work on new jobs. It could not be used to pirate plants or jobs from other areas.

We may thus test out in such areas how well such an accelerated tax plan works to encourage investment. The knowledge we gain of its effect in providing jobs and investments and its effect on tax revenues will prove valuable should we next year wish to consider a general program of accelerated depreciation allowances.

But in the depressed areas and, unfortunately nearly all of the Members have such areas in their own States, we need to do all we can right now to provide work. My bill would do this. It would provide temporary tax cuts for investors who expand or locate plants in such areas. Past experience shows that it has this effect.

I urge, Mr. Speaker, its adoption.

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## Defense: The Margin of Superiority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have applied myself as a member of the Armed Services Committee from Philadelphia and have worked strenuously in the last four sessions of the U.S. Congress in favor of legislation which has increased the prestige and security of our country.

The margin of superiority which has been obtained is described by Under Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric in a statement which is included in these remarks:

DEFENSE: THE MARGIN OF SUPERIORITY
(By Roswell Gilpatric, Under Secretary of Defense)

When the Kennedy administration came into office 16 months ago, we found that the United States and its allies in the free world were facing three kinds of threats to our security. It was a curious thing that just a few days before the President was inaugurated, Khrushchev, in a speech which the President regarded as the most significant that has been made out of the Kremlin in the past several years, outlined very clearly for us what the threats were. He told us the kinds of conflicts that are going to exist in the world today.

First, of course, there is the threat of a thermonuclear war, a general world war.

Second was what he calls a "local war," that is a limited war, something less than all-out war.

And third, he talked about a form of conflict of which we have seen a good deal the past year or so and that is what he calls "wars of liberation," or popular uprisings, but which we know better as "counterinsurgency," "guerrilla warfare," "subversion," "insurrection," the sort of thing we see in southeast Asia, so virulent today, and which we may face elsewhere, Latin America, perhaps Africa, and the Middle East in the years ahead.

Therefore, the job of the Defense Department under Secretary McNamara and myself, and the President's leadership, has been to be sure that our Military Establishment, combined with those of our allies, is sufficient to cope with these three kinds of threats.

Now, what has been our program? Well, of course, this country has had for many years a very strong strategic retaliatory force sufficient, we hope, to deter the Soviets from ever attacking us with nuclear weapons. But if they should, we should be able to strike back with such devastating effect that this country would survive along with its allies. Now, that kind of a force, that kind of a strategic force is not a static one. You don't just build it and let it sit there and expect it will serve its purpose year after year.

This business of atomic weapons is a dynamic affair. As we all know the Soviets have built up tremendous strength in this area and since we have denied ourselves under our morality and ethics the privilege of striking first, we have denied ourselves the preemptive, preclusive type of attack. We always have to have a margin—a wide margin—of superiority. Therefore, the President and those of us who are working with him in this area, set out first of all to be sure that our margin of superiority was maintained. What we have today, of course, is the result of what others did before us. What we are doing today is making sure that in 1965–67 we have enough to maintain that margin of superiority.

Now we have done two types of things in the Defense Department to maintain this strategic force. One, we have improved it quantitatively; added Polaris submarines; added Minutemen, which are the principle type of hardened and dispersed land-based ICBM; and then we have increased the number of our bombers on alert, all toward gaining the three kinds of qualitative characteristics that are most important in the type of military equation we have today, vis-a-vis the Soviet. We must have a strategic force that will survive a surprise attack. We know the Soviets have manned bombers that can reach these shores; we know they have submarine-launched missiles, and we know they have land-based missiles that could reach the United States. Therefore, we must have a force which will survive a surprise attack. The Polarises meet that test because they

are mobile, they are concealed, they cannot be taken out in a surprise attack. The Russians don't know where they are.

As for as the Minutemen are concerned, when they are operational, they will be deep in silos, hardened and dispersed, and no megaton—high-megaton—weapons of the Russians could knock out a Minuteman; that is not true to the same degree of Atlas and Titans because they don't have the same hardened qualities that Minutemen will have.

We have hundreds and hundreds of B–52's and B–47's on alert today, which means they could be airborne in less than the amount of warning that we would get from our news of any Russian attack.

AIR-TO-GROUND MISSILES

We are also stressing in our qualitative advances, in our strategic forces today, the quality of penetrability. We know that the Russians have strong defenses rimming their country; they have surface-to-air missiles; they have interceptors, and they have all kinds of radar screens, and it would be very difficult for any kind of a manned vehicle to penetrate the Soviet heartland today. Therefore, besides missiles, which of course, can get in, until they have an anti-ICBM system of defense, we are also making sure that our bombers have air-to-ground missiles carried with them so they can stand off outside these defenses and penetrate through them. We have the Hound Dog today which has a range of about 400 miles and a few years from now we will have the Skybolt which would be able to stand off 1,000 miles and lob ballistic missiles through the Russian defense.

So that I feel confident that we will have and maintain this very strong strategic force giving us this margin of superiority we need to counter the first type of threat.

NONNUCLEAR FLEXIBILITY

Now Khrushchev recognizes this. He said himself that thermonuclear wars are too dangerous to fool around with, and he says the same thing about the second kind of conflict, what he calls "local wars." There the risk is that any local war, if we had a Korea-type war today, or if we had a war in Europe over Berlin, in defense of our vital interests in Berlin, the thing could escalate into a nuclear war very readily. Now, the reason that Khrushchev thinks it is dangerous is, because he believes that we would defend Europe, we would defend our vital interests wherever they might be, in Latin America, in southeast Asia—we have got to keep him in that state of mind. If we lower our conventional forces, he will no longer feel that sense of risk in pursuing this kind of a form of conflict.

Now, under the previous administration, we had, as you well know, the doctrine of "massive retaliation." That simply meant this: that if a platoon of East Germans, or Poles or Czechs or Soviets, or any form of bloc military power crossed over into free world territory on an aggressive mission and did not withdraw, we would hit them with nuclear weapons. That was the essence of the "massive retaliation" doctrine. That was the basis of the Eisenhower administration's military policy. Any move the Soviets made directly, or indirectly, would be hit with nuclear weapons. Now, that threat of a nuclear response to any kind of attack, no matter how low a level at the beginning, was all right when we had a much wider margin of superiority than we have today, but that kind of a threat didn't stop the erection of the Berlin wall; it hasn't stopped the Viet Cong from infiltrating into South Vietnam, and it simply is not, in our judgment, the judgment of the President, a sufficiently flexible response to meet the kinds of threats we face today. Therefore, one of the major decisions made by this administration in the past year has been to build up the nonnuclear forces of the United States, our so-called conventional arms to a point where we could do more than just threaten to hit them with nuclear weapons.

COMBAT FORCES UPPED

The past year has seen a very major buildup, first in our Army. A year ago we only had 11 combat-ready divisions. Today, we have 14 and by August, the 2 new divisions that have been added will be combat ready and we will have 16 divisions which is a 50-percent increase over what we had a year ago. That is 100,000 more men in our armies today.

In the Marines, we have also added the beginnings of a fourth division, 15,000 more men, and in the Navy we have stepped up the forces which today represent the most critical element in our naval posture—that is the ability to cope with the Russian submarines. The hardest task we have, is to detect, identify, and destroy Soviet submarines if they ever threaten these shores.

We have not made a major type of technical breakthrough in this area since World War II. Therefore, it is very important that we have large naval forces screening the vital areas of concern to the United States, and during this past year we have added about 40 ships, and a large number of aircraft which are doing antisubmarine patrol.

We have also increased the tactical area of the Air Force. You can't have bigger ground forces and not have more air cover, air support for those ground forces, and we have increased the armament of all the forces, because the emphasis as I said before was on nuclear weapons. We didn't have high explosive bombs and other kinds of conventional ordnance to equip this larger force of conventionally armed troops.

The combined effects of these changes which have taken place in the past 12 or 14 months, has been that now we have enough ground forces to meet the types of contingencies that we may be faced with whether it is sending troops into South Vietnam, or Thailand; if we ever had to send troops into Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, we have enough forces now to deploy, to more than one critical area at once. That is one kind of balance. Along with balancing of forces to meet the contingencies, we have the equipment for the forces. There is no use having 2,800,000 men under arms if you don't have enough arms for all those forces.

AIRLIFT INCREASED

Second, we need to bring the airlift, the ability to move these people, these forces wherever they might be needed. We have increased our airlift over 50 percent and today—thanks to jet transport—we can move platoons, brigades, battle teams, and larger units, divisional size units all over the world on very short notice.

Now, obviously we can't move the heavy equipment, the tanks, the personnel carriers, the heavy artillery that quickly. We can air transport a lot of things but the very heavy equipment has to move, and will continue to move by sea, but the way we have gotten around the time element there in order to have the quick reaction forces that we should have is that we have prepositioned the heavy equipment. We have two divisions worth of equipment in Europe today besides the equipment with the six divisions which we maintain there in the 7th Army. So, if the balloon went up, if we were faced with a crisis requiring military action in Europe today, we could fly over in a matter of hours, literally, two divisions of men to match up with the equipment, and we have actually tried this out in exercises in the past year. So we have much more mobility than we have ever had before, thanks to prepositioning of equipment. We also have a division's worth of equipment out in the Far East. We have on Okinawa another set of tanks, carriers and heavy artillery which could be used to equip a third division from the United States.

And then we also brought as I said, the air support, the tactical air elements of the Navy and the Air Force into balance with our ground forces. This is a true kind of balance, a balance among forces.

Now, for this third form of conflict, and the only form of conflict which today is actually going on, fortunately we have at the moment in Berlin as you know, a pause. The Russians are not pressing us there as hard as they did a year ago. Sure we get harassments, they stop our convoys on the autobahn but they are not harassing us in the air corridor and apparently they are not pressing us as hard as they did a year ago before we had the kind of buildup that I attempted to outline for you, with our conventional forces. They know we are stronger, they know that our allies are stronger and they are not pressing as hard there.

SPECIAL FORCES

In the past year we have gone back, retrained and reequipped, all of our forces to meet the kind of guerrilla warfare threat we encounter in southeast Asia. The Army has special forces that are trained down at Fort Bragg. We have hundreds of units of this kind out in southeast Asia today. We have the Marines—it is a basic, integral part of their training to deal with guerrilla situations. As far as the Air Force is concerned we have what they call Jungle Jim units, or commando units, that are not in combat but actually assisting the South Vietnamese in their struggle against the Communist infiltration. And then the Navy has what are called seal teams, sea, air, and land teams, specializing in underwater demolition and amphibious operations, and they too, can deal with this third type of conflict, which starts out with subversion, assassinations, all kinds of violence and they gradually build up to where there is a full-scale revolution.

DEPLOYMENT VARIES

So today, in the one area of the world where clashes of farms are occurring between the free world and the Communist world, American forces are deployed in several ways. In Laos, where we don't think the military solution is the best solution of the situation and the Soviets agree with us, our national policy at the moment is to treat Laos as a buffer.

In South Vietnam, we are training, assisting through transportation, intelligence, communications, and other forms of assistance, the South Vietnamese. The South Vietnamese have the will to resist, they have very large forces, they have 175,000 in their organized armies, air force, and naval units and they have another 125,000 in civil guards, self-defense corps, and in effect, home guard or militia, so that the Vietnamese are fighting for their own lives, for their own country and we are assisting them. But it is an area where the tempo of conflict, of exchange between the Communists and the government regimes are stepping up all the time, and while we feel quite comfortable compared to a year ago, when the scale was tilting against us, we recognize this is a long struggle and as Secretary McNamara said the other night on television, "It might be as long as 3 or 4 years." It is going to take great patience and endurance on the part of the American forces.

Then as you have seen in the past 2 weeks, when the Communist forces in northwest Laos moved down and across the river valley that separates Laos from Thailand on the west, and thereby brought Communist pressure for the first time directly against Thai borders, this country felt that it should respond to the request of its ally, Thailand, under its obligations in the SEATO Treaty. The SEATO Treaty, as the President pointed out, was overwhelmingly approved by Con-

gressional action several years ago when we went into that treaty organization. We have a definite internationally binding commitment there and in support of that we have sent out, as you know some 5,000 combat units, Marine battle landing teams, an Army battle group, and two squadrons of aircraft, Marine and Air Force, in addition to our military forces there.

So we have in southeast Asia today, perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 U.S. forces who are exposed on the periphery of the free world to this kind of a threat. Obviously, they are backed up by many, many tens and hundreds of thousands of forces throughout the Pacific. We have a very strong force stationed in the Pacific. In Okinawa, in the Philippines, in Guam, and in Japan, Korea, throughout that part of the world we could respond very quickly if we have to meet a heightened crisis.

Now, all of this has meant, as I am sure you sense, an increased burden on the American people, on the taxpayers, through a major step-up in the budget. Parts of the problems in raising taxes are compounded by the fact that the defense budget is running about 20 percent higher, $8 billion higher, for 1963—the fiscal year which is about to begin, than it did under the previous administration. The defense budget was running under the previous administration, about $42 billion a year; now it is over $50 billion and we see no prospect in the foreseeable future as long as the pressure remains on the free world from all the quarters that surround us, of which I have illustrated a few, that we can lower the size of the Military Establishment or the cost that it entails. Now, we are very conscious of the burden that this imposes on the American people. We are doing all we can to better manage the resources in the Military Establishment but one of the responsibilities of our administration and of our party, is to keep this added strength. We don't think we would be holding in southeast Asia, if all we had was the naked threat of a nuclear weapon. So that we believe that our policy is right and we hope that the American people and the Congress that represent it will bear with us in carrying out this obligation.

## The Refugee Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a very fine analysis of the Arab refugee problem which was written by Dr. Karl Baehr, a noted clergyman who is the executive director of the American Christian Palestine Committee and which appeared in the summer 1962 issue of Prevent World War III.

The article follows:

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

(By Karl Baehr, Congregational clergyman and executive director of the American Christian Palestine Committee)

The most discussed and most emotion-packed refugee problem in the Middle East is that of the Arabs from Palestine. The United Nations does not know how many bona fide refugees from Israel there are—best estimates are that in 1948 from 600,000 to 650,000 left what is present-day Israel—but the U.N. is taking care of over a million.

When the Arab nations rejected the United Nations partition decision of 1947 and took up arms against the infant state of Israel, Jews as well as Arabs were caught in the emotional, nationalist, and military upheaval that followed. Ancient Jewish communities, such as the one in Iraq, where they had lived at least since the days of the Babylonian captivity of 586 B.C., found their situation so intolerable that they abandoned all their possessions and fled to Israel.

We hear little about the million Jewish refugees in Israel because the Hitler era is long past and because the 500,000 from the Arab and Moslem lands are quietly being absorbed in a dynamic and developing Israel without U.N. assistance. The Israelis, fortunately, are not keeping these people in camps as proof of Arab hostility or as propaganda hostages.

In the Arab areas the propaganda mills grind a bitter meal and the bread of hostility is eaten not only by the refugees but also by those who visit the area.

Who is the villain of the story? Blame is not easily assigned. The British, the Nazis, the Communists, the Arabs and Jews, the U.N. are all involved.

It is important to recall that both Arabs and Jews were victimized peoples in the pre-World War I days. The Arabs had been exploited, especially through 400 years (1517–1917) as vassals under the Ottoman Empire. Their once high culture tended to disintegrate under Ottoman oppression. Disease, incredible poverty, and illiteracy took their toll.

World War I saw the collapse of Turkey. The newly created League of Nations, inheriting the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire, faced the task of disposing of these areas, honoring in the process the Woodrow Wilson principle of "self-determination" of populations. Promises of self-determination had been given before and during the war years to both Arabs and Jews.

The Jews, for centuries a persecuted people, faced increasing problems as the 19th century drew to a close. In the Middle East they too suffered under Ottoman oppression. In Europe discrimination and prejudice were rife. Indeed, a series of pogroms left terror and death in Jewish communities, especially in Russia. Thousands fled their homes in search of freedom. One refuge was America, the other was Palestine. Palestine was chosen despite the sands and the swamps because it had the association of a Biblical past and the hope, long deferred, of a Jewish community once again to be reconstructed upon the sacred soil.

Thus, pioneer Jewish communities were established upon the long-forgotten soil of the Holy Land before the 20th century dawned, almost four decades before the Balfour Declaration, issued by Britain in 1917, proclaimed in favor of "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." And these Jews came not as conquerors or exploiters, for they purchased the land they settled—often paying two prices, one to the absentee landowner and another to the peasant (fellah) on the land.

Woodrow Wilson, like David Lloyd George and Lord Balfour and many other Christian leaders, knew the successes of the pioneer Jewish settlements in the Holy Land and believed that the civilized world should grant freedom and self-determination to them as well as to the Arabs. The Bible itself seemed to call to the nations that the hour of fulfillment for the "great return" was at hand.

Fifty-two nations joined in 1922 in setting aside Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people. At the same time, under a system of mandates, these nations granted freedom to the Arab peoples in over a million square miles of the Ottoman Empire, and these are today, members of the U.N.

After World War II, the Jewish community entered upon a period of both passive and violent resistance to British rule. Finally, Britain surrendered her mandate to the newly established United Nations.

The United Nations undertook its responsibility by appointing a special committee to study the situation. As the facts were assembled and feelings assessed, it became apparent that the maximal claims of neither Jews nor Arabs could be accepted without doing violence to the rights of the other group. A compromise created an independent Arab state and an independent Jewish state in Palestine. This partition scheme included also a system of "economic union" whereby the two states were to be linked together in matters of customs, trade, and currency, and Jerusalem was to be set apart as an internationalized area.

The plan was finally accepted by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947, by more than the necessary two-thirds majority. But the Arabs rejected the partition decision and so the stage was set for inevitable conflict.

On May 14, 1948, Israel proclaimed herself a state; the Arab nations sent their armies to Palestine to prevent the birth of the new nation. Now the violence and terrorism of war caused a flood of refugees.

Finally armistice agreements were worked out by Ralph Bunche but peace did not follow.

In the 13 years since Israel's establishment, conflict has continued. Arab leadership has not reconciled itself to Israel's existence, indeed has insisted despite the armistice agreements with Israel, that a "state of war" continues.

Constructive programs for the rehabilitation of Arab refugees have been outlined by various United Nations agencies and by the United States. Perhaps the most hopeful development looking toward the settlement of the Arab refugees on land, unused today but capable of rich development, was the plan, outlined by Eric Johnston, former President Eisenhower's personal ambassador to the Middle East, for joint Arab and Israel utilization of Jordan River waters. An expenditure of $60 million would make possible a Jordan Valley Authority under the U.N. which could provide for the absorption of some 200,000 Arab refugees. Unfortunately, the opposition of Syria frustrated implementation of the Johnston plan.

In addition to both a United Nations and a U.S. program for the Arab refugees, Israel has offered to play her part by paying for lands abandoned by the Arab refugees. Scientists are now convinced that great stretches of the Middle East deserts and wastelands can be reclaimed. Great numbers of peoples—including refugees—can thus be absorbed. The desert is already blooming in Israel—a vivid demonstration as to what can be done with wasting lands and refugee people if there is a will to work, build, and redeem.

It is important to realize that we do not need to choose between refugee people—between Jews and Arabs. We can and must work for mutual understanding and good will. In the process refugees—and also the poverty stricken nonrefugees—will have a new birth of dignity and opportunity.

## Kennedy Collisions With Press Told

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the fol-

lowing article from the San Diego Union of August 14, 1962:

KENNEDY COLLISIONS WITH PRESS TOLD

NEW YORK.—The Kennedy administration has administered almost as many lumps to the Washington press corps in 19 months as did the three previous administrations combined, according to an article in Look magazine, issued yesterday.

"Kennedy officialdom is more concerned with its 'image' than any Washington regime in modern times," said the author of the article, Fletcher Knebel, of Look's Washington bureau.

AMAZEMENT

He quotes one veteran newsman as expressing amazement that Mr. Kennedy's official family, and his real family, are not only so hypersensitive but so diligent as readers of the press.

"How can they spot an obscure paragraph in a paper of 3,000 circulation 2,000 miles away?" the correspondent asked. "They must have a thousand little gnomes reading the papers for them."

In support of his thesis, Knebel cites these instances of "collisions":

Mr. Kennedy personally has called down at least six Washington correspondents.

Three Kennedy administration officials have threatened to sue newspapers.

REPORTERS REBUKED

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has reproved at least four newspapermen for stories he disliked. His wife, Ethel, has braced one correspondent for a story about dunkings in the Attorney General's swimming pool.

White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger has rebuked about a dozen reporters for their stories.

The FBI questioned six newspapermen in connection with stories about the administration.

Pentagon security officials quizzed three correspondents.

The White House canceled 22 subscriptions to the New York Herald Tribune.

White House Aid Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., called one columnist an "idiot" for asking about payments received for his movie reviews in Show magazine.

Of the 100 Washington magazine and newspaper people questioned by Look for the article on "Kennedy Versus the Press." Knebel says that "about half take a lighthearted view of the Kennedy administration's knuckle rapping of the press. The rest regard it more seriously as an attempt to pressure them."

## Texas Highway Engineer DeWitt C. Greer Honored for 35 Years of Distinguished Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, on July 24, 1962, the Texas State Highway Commission honored Hon. DeWitt C. Greer, State highway engineer of Texas, by presenting him a pin recognizing his 35 years of honorable service to his State and the Texas Highway Department.

DeWitt Greer is not only a distinguished public official but he is also a fine man of character and integrity. He deserves the tribute which was paid him at this public ceremony.

During the ceremony, tribute was paid to him by Senator John Redditt, who is highly qualified to recognize a man of DeWitt Greer's record. Senator Redditt is a former member of the Texas Senate, a former chairman of the Texas Highway Commission, a member of the Board of Regents, the University of Texas, and one of the outstanding citizens of his State and Nation.

The following is the tribute paid by Senator Redditt to DeWitt Greer:

This week, the Texas Highway Commission, in appropriate ceremonies, will present to DeWitt Greer a pin signifying 35 years of service to the Texas Highway Department. This is a great honor for any citizen of this State to receive. It is of greater importance on this occasion because it is being presented to a man who has served as chief engineer and chief executive officer longer than any other person. It is also a very special honor when given to DeWitt Greer because he has given all of his adult life to the planning, building and maintaining a highway system, second to none.

DeWitt Greer today is the image of an efficient and honest department of government. His own record symbolizes the records of many thousand faithful men and women who have given their very best to this great department.

This event should be of great importance to all of the people of this State who respect good government and who believe that public service is a public trust which should be discharged with loyalty, fidelity and integrity. His long service proves that in public life honesty is just as important as in personal business affairs.

The Texas Highway Department, under the leadership of DeWitt Greer, stands as a permanent monument to all the world, signifying what can be done when you have honest and intelligent direction.

Forty-two years ago some great Texans realized the importance and necessity of a system of State highways. For the past 35 years, DeWitt Greer has been one of the master planners and builders. His love and devotion to the ideals of the Texas Highway Department have been a guiding light to all of its employees. He has furnished unselfish and untarnished leadership because he has lived by the same righteous code of ethics he required of all of his employees.

What has made DeWitt Greer great? First and foremost, he is a God-fearing man who walks humbly before God and his fellowmen both in public and private life. He is a just man and he tempers all decisions with mercy. In his relations with the public, he is congenial, courteous and patient under trying conditions. These are superlative qualities.

As State highway engineer for over 20 years, he has come in contact with more individuals and groups than any other man in State government. Most of these groups are seeking things which would be of benefit to them or their communities. This is to be expected. However, these requests placed upon this man a very great burden. The fact that he has served so long is indicative of the fact that he has done a good job.

What is the secret of his success? In every problem he has to solve he never makes a decision until he has searched for the truth with great tenacity and with the integrity of a saint. In all official matters he does not make statements which are without merit and without being worthy of expression. He does not make official decisions based upon bias or prejudice. When integrity is involved, he must do the right thing and this applies to all persons. When he decides what is right to be done, he has the moral courage to stand by his convictions.

He is a man of great personal charm, has a keen sense of humor and above all possesses and utilizes to its fullest extent God's greatest gift, and that is, equanimity.

## Conservatives and Anticlericals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, under date of August 7, 1962, on page A6053, there was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a so-called "Reply to the Extreme Right" by Father Albert Nevins.

I am taking this opportunity to insert the following answer which appeared in the Tablet, the foremost Catholic newspaper in the United States, under date of June 9, 1962. I am sure that anyone reading this editorial must come to the conclusion that the facts and the position taken are sound. I commend this as an excellent answer.

The editorial follows:

CONSERVATIVES AND ANTICLERICALS

We have had occasion before (most recently, May 19) to doubt the calmness and objectivity of those who assert that liberal extremists are as bad as conservative extremists, but spend all their time attacking the latter.

We are not inclined to change our mind now, even though the latest offender is Rev. Albert J. Nevins, M.M., editor of Maryknoll magazine and past president of the Catholic Press Association.

In a speech to the Anti-Defamation League May 31, he said "the liberal left has as many faults as the conservative right." That was the sum total of his criticism of the liberals.

But the conservatives? "Mossbacks * * * negative * * * inconsistent * * * breed hate for fellow humans and contempt for authority * * * reasonable discussion becomes impossible * * * intolerant of the principles of others * * * ready to damn by ridicule anyone who fails to agree with them * * * refuses to admit the social doctrine of the church * * * lies, distortions, suspicions passed off as facts, slanders—this is the character of a great deal of conservative literature."

Shall we call that criticism calm and objective?

Father Nevins then expresses his belief that "charity is the keystone of life."

"Modern conservatism is a series of slogans—some without meaning, most negative," he says: "Let us conserve the little good that is left to us." "Let us return to those principles which made America great. Free enterprise. Climb high, climb far. Carry a big stick. The best governed is the least governed * * *." These are without meaning? These are negative?

He presents negative ideas in his version of the extreme conservative platform, e.g., "Get rid of all the Communists in government." But we assume that he endorses that plank, and therefore he too is negative.

Father Nevins also says "Accuse the Catholic liberal of what you will but I for one can find no instance where a Catholic liberal has contravened ecclesiastical authority. But one can find many instances where Catholic

conservatives have defied their bishops, ranging from New Orleans to Lafayette to Pittsburgh."

Of course, we endorse no contravention of authority or defiance of bishops. And we certainly don't accept the segregationist crackpots as responsible conservatives. But if there are anticlericals, who are they?

1. In a recent commencement address, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis discussed "symptoms that suggest an anticlerical sentiment." He emphasized that "I have in mind situations quite apart from the indefensible conduct of an insignificant minority of lay Catholics in New Orleans." He referred rather to certain educated laymen.

2. In a recent editorial disagreeing with the American hierarchy on Federal aid to education, Commonweal said the situation "demands * * * risking the displeasure and anger of one's bishop." Dale Francis in Our Sunday Visitor commented "Commonweal has been almost condescending in its criticism of the stand of the hierarchy. Never in their discussions have the editors of Commonweal given any suggestion that they might be wrong and the bishops right, never have they shown any awareness of the possibility the bishops might know better, or even as well, what is best for the church and the Nation."

3. A year ago this month, the apostolic delegate found it necessary to express his public concern "with the uneasiness and preoccupation of some Catholic intellectuals" who feel that "an excessive attachment to traditional positions appears to prevent the church from freely facing modern problems with adequate answers and assuring direction." (We commented editorially "it is obviously not the conservatives who digress from traditional positions.")

When a group of nine liberal Catholic intellectuals publicly criticized him, Archbishop Vagnozzi told them: "The layman has not been constituted as teacher of the magisterium nor as admonitor of the hierarchy * * *. We have not had in this country either a tradition of disregard for ecclesiastical authority or a spirit of anticlericalism. Let them not be fostered now."

Father Nevins "can find no instance where a Catholic liberal has contravened ecclesiastical authority." The Tablet can find no instance where a Catholic conservative has earned such an admonition from the apostolic delegate.

## A New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the New Leader of August 6 by Prof. Robert Lekachman which I believe all of us should read. Professor Lekachman's article is vitally important at this time when the President, the Congress, and the country are searching for ways to improve our economy. Of particular interest is the professor's analysis of our budgeting methods and of the budgeting practices of Western European countries.

I commend to all my colleagues the following article:

[From the New Leader, Aug. 6, 1962]

CUTTING TAXES AND BALANCING BUDGETS

(By Robert Lekachman)

For the professional student of the American economy, this is an unusual period. It is a time of growing public consensus about both the present condition and the general prospects of the Nation's business. Even more striking is the spectacle of labor and management spokesmen—the United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther and the Chamber of Commerce's Ladd Plumley—in broad agreement on the appropriate economic responses to the United States unsatisfactory rate of recovery from the 1960 recession.

Take economic diagnosis first. With only a few exceptions, leaders in business, labor, liberal opinion, and even Government have expressed public concern about the economy's failure to gather momentum. It is an unusual analyst indeed who is prepared to say the economy is acting satisfactorily. The statistical indicators of future trouble are far too numerous to encourage optimism. For some time now, the National Bureau of Economic Research's leading indicators of impending business cycle turns—among them new business orders, business failures, and stock market prices—have been flashing red.

Unemployment sticks stubbornly at about 5.5 percent. Worse still, the failure of the labor force to expand according to reasonable demographic expectations strongly implies that many young people, housewives, and elderly men and women have retired in despair from a job market which offers so little prospect of employment. When seasonal influences are eliminated, total employment in June gained only 43,000, which represents the smallest month-to-month increase of the year. Moreover, for the second consecutive month, average factory hours-per-week declined from 40.6 in May to 40.4 in June. And reduction in average factory hours worked is frequently seen as a prelude to layoffs and furloughs.

As for steel, output is little more than half of capacity. United States Steel, in an ironic footnote to the quarrel between Roger Blough and President Kennedy, has announced a reduction in the price of linepipe in the wake of its June decrease in the price of secondary sheet steel. Meanwhile, retail sales have slipped, and business investment has persistently failed to increase according to the projections of the President's advisers and other analysts.

About the only sensible question to ask right now is whether recession has already begun (as the stock market appears to have concluded) or whether it is fated to commence early in 1963. In either case, a new recession will be starting from the highest level of unemployment and the least convincing recovery of the postwar era.

Respectable economic theory—that is, Keynesian analysis—offers an alert government two alternative methods of handling an economy which is plagued by a persistent deficiency in aggregate demand. Political leaders can either increase Government expenditures on desirable social projects such as education, health, urban renewal, scientific research, and recreational amenities, or they can reduce taxes.

Both devices have the effect of placing larger sums of money in the hands of individuals and, if the tax cut extends to corporate income taxes, business. The happy recipients of these benefits will spend the bulk of their windfalls. Thus, the ultimate impact of the tax reduction or the expansion of Government spending will be some multiple of the budget deficit which is deliberately incurred.

There is no question that a great many liberals, not to mention all admirers of John Kenneth Galbraith, strongly prefer the first means of supporting aggregate demand. They do so on the familiar ground that the contemporary allocation of resources between public and private uses severely discriminates against Government functions. Walkers in large cities and readers of educational and social statistics are likely to concur in this preference. But while Government spending may be more desirable than tax reductions, there is little or no reason to believe that Congress will agree with this value judgment. On grounds of practical policy and political reality, even the AFL-CIO favors a tax cut.

What makes the possibility of a tax reduction infinitely more promising is the conversion of the chamber of commerce to a policy of deficit financing. Chamber President Plumley, in a letter to Senator HARRY BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, pointed out a good conservative's reasons for supporting immediate tax cuts. If, said he, something were not done quickly to stimulate the economy, then conditions would worsen and the Federal Government would be fatally tempted to undertake huge new spending programs. Tax cuts at least increased the degree of private discretion in the spending of income and recognized the advisability of reducing imposts which are "so burdensome to private initiative and accomplishment." Plumley's route to tax reduction was unusual, but at journey's end he was securely in the camp of the Keynesians.

Administration conservatives like Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon and Under Secretary Robert V. Roosa have used our balance-of-payments difficulties as an argument against larger deficits. These deficits, they maintain, promote inflation and frighten the foreign holders of American dollars and convertible assets. But even this not entirely convincing argument has now vanished. The May report of the Economic Policy Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development underlined the dangers of continued inadequate U.S. growth to European as well as American prosperity. The experts who unanimously endorsed the report agreed that larger deficits were now appropriate, and left wide open the door to their achievement by either tax cuts or increased public expenditures. These astute Europeans clearly prefer a strong U.S. economy to a balanced U.S. budget.

Naturally, the public consensus tends to break down in this country once one raises the practical question, whose taxes shall be reduced? On June 16 Business Week, usually a trifle to the left of its business constituency, came out formally for a $10 billion tax slash: $2.5 billion in the shape of a reduction of corporate income taxes from 52 to 47 percent, and the remainder in the form of reductions in personal income taxes now applied to all tax brackets. Liberal economists have tended to prefer an increase in tax exemptions—possibly from the present $600 to $1,000 per person—which has two advantages: People with low incomes, whose need is greatest, will get the bulk of the reduction. They will also spend a larger proportion of any increase in their incomes than their more fortunate fellow Americans.

But even upon this treacherous issue a measure of agreement appears probable. There is general recognition among realistic liberals that the only tax reduction which stands a chance of congressional approval will be one which offers benefits to corporations and wealthy individuals as well as other segments of the population. For once liberals and conservatives, unions and business groups concur on the desirability of a sensible economic response to possible recession. The price that liberals must pay for

business acceptance of elementary fiscal policy is a tax cut which more closely resembles the distribution of political and economic power than it does an optimum technical response to an economic contingency.

Although President Kennedy is still inexplicably watching the economic indicators and speaking wistfully of postponing action until next year, in this instance Congress may be more eager to move than the President appears to be. And now that the legislative logjam shows signs of breaking, a realistic look at our budget conventions is in order. These conventions have played a role in the creation of unrealistic public responses to fiscal policies. As we shall see, our way of keeping national accounts has the unfortunate effect of exaggerating public deficits and minimizing occasional surpluses.

There are three major varieties of national budget, the most familiar of which is the administrative or conventional budget. This is the set of numbers—bulking about as large as the Manhattan telephone directory—which the President presents each January to Congress. Despite its appearance of detailed precision, it actually cannot amount to more than the Bureau of the Budget's educated guesses about the size of the Treasury's cash receipts during the coming fiscal year, and the volume of its cash disbursements from congressional appropriations and other sources in the same period. What this budget omits, however, has become increasingly important: the income and the outgo of the gigantic trust funds through which we administer our social security program and huge highway construction program.

The second of these budget variants, the consolidated cash budget, is less misleading about the size of Government operations. In fact, it is deliberately designed to identify the entire flow of money between the Federal Government and the public at large, is free of the legal distinctions which impair the usefulness of the administrative budget, and does include the receipts and outlays of the social security and highway trust funds. The cash budget also covers the operations of such Government-sponsored institutions as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Federal land banks, the home loan banks and the intermediate credit banks. The inclusion of the trust funds enlarges the size of Federal Government accounts by something like $25 billion each year. Thus the cash budget is considerably more realistic as an economic measure of Government impact than the administrative budget.

But most economists prefer still a third variant, the national income accounts budget, to measure Federal impact upon the economy. Operating within the national income framework, this budget measures the direct influence of Federal taxing and spending on the flow of income and output. Trust funds are included. But since this budget includes only receipts and outlays which directly influence current income and output, Government transactions in loans and mortgages are excluded.

Perhaps this budget's principal advantage is one of timing. Though fairly technical, the point is extremely important. Conventional and cash budgets both record tax receipts as they are collected by the Treasury. But actual collection need not coincide with maximum impact upon the taxpayer. The national income accounts budget records business taxes as Treasury income when they are accrued as liabilities, and personal income taxes when they are withheld from wage and salary checks. Consequently, it gives a more accurate reflection of the financial effect of taxes upon those who pay them.

A businessman guides his actions by the current balance sheet on which tax accruals affect the figures. And since 6 months on the average elapse between the time a tax liability is incurred and when it is discharged, alterations in tax liabilities will not show up in the cash budget until some months after the onset of a recession. But they will be very speedily noted in the national income accounts budget. Obviously, the national income accounts budget is by far the best guide to the timing of fiscal policy.

Reliance on the administrative budget as the single measuring rod not only damages economic policy it also exaggerates the size of deficits. The point is readily made by a comparison of the 1961 deficit according to each of the budget concepts. (See chart.) The administrative budget, quite typically, portrays the deficit as being approximately 70 percent larger than it appears to be in the national income accounts budget.

Indeed, the national income accounts budget possesses at least three shining virtues: It more properly reflects the state of financial relations between the Federal Government and the remainder of the Nation; it is a far superior guide to the control of both inflation and recession; and it tends to diminish the fear of deficits which many people still retain. There is little doubt that President Eisenhower and his administration so reinforced the mythology of the budget that many earnest Americans have come to believe an unbalanced budget is a sign of national weakness and a certain invitation to inflation. An understanding of the three budget methods and an increasing use of the national income variant should contribute to public enlightenment and the recognition that budgets are only technical devices, subject to varying formulations and differing interpretations.

The point is worthy of emphasis. In a valuable study of European postwar fiscal experience, Andrew H. Gantt II, of Harvard University, carefully adjusted French, English, and German budget data for the period 1950–60 to make the information correspond to American administrative budget measures. What he discovered was illuminating.

Gantt first asked how often, according to American definitions, these three European nations and the United States incurred deficits. The United Kingdom ran a deficit 9 out of 11 years; France had a deficit for 10 consecutive years; Germany incurred a deficit 4 out of the 6 most recent years of the period. As for the United States, it had a deficit 6 of the 11 years, a smaller percentage of the time than any other country. Nor were our deficits particularly large. Consistently, American deficits were a much smaller percentage of American gross national product than were French deficits.

Now such evidence does not logically demonstrate that large budget deficits inevitably generate vigorous economic growth. Too many other elements have entered into the economic success of France and Germany. But, according to the data, at the least large deficits and rapid economic growth are mutually consistent. From the narrow standpoint of fiscal orthodoxy, the United States has been closer to the path of rectitude than France or Germany. Perhaps our financial managers will reap their reward in heaven. In this world, however, the French and the Germans have enjoyed impressive economic success and worried very little about balancing their budgets.

Currently, every economic justification favors an immediate tax cut of some $10 billion. There is at last hope that neither a misreading of European success, a confusion of thought on the meaning of national budgets, nor the opposition of fiscal primitives will obstruct reasonable technical reactions to economic stagnation.

*Budget comparisons, 1961*

[In millions]

| | Total receipts | Total expenditures | Surplus or deficit |
|---|---|---|---|
| National income accounts budget | $94,800 | $97,000 | −$2,200 |
| Consolidated cash budget | 97,242 | 99,528 | −2,286 |
| Administrative budget | 77,659 | 81,515 | −3,856 |

## Diamond Jubilee of Roaring Spring, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, this week the residents of Roaring Spring, Pa., are observing the 75th anniversary of the founding of their borough. On August 13, it was my privilege to attend the Founder's Day program and to deliver the following address:

FOUNDER'S DAY ADDRESS, BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF ROARING SPRING, PA., AS A BOROUGH, AUGUST 13, 1962

It is a pleasure to participate in your diamond jubilee program and to accept the invitation to address you on Founder's Day.

Here in Roaring Spring, local tradition has a way of reflecting the traditions of Pennsylvania itself. Founder's Day, and the diamond jubilee celebration currently in progress, make this visit all the more rewarding. Your pride in local achievement is wholly understandable—and your respect for tradition highly commendable.

It is all too seldom nowadays that the people of a community feel sufficiently in tune with the past to honor their forebears without the necessity of a national holiday.

It would seem that to many people the term "progress" is misinterpreted to mean that they should never look back as if, in looking back, they may somehow lose pace with the march of destiny, as if progress requires that they set their sights on the future—regardless of the past.

This, of course, is not the case. For the future is nothing but a repetition of the past, with the good parts retained, if possible, and the bad parts removed. Only through the study of the past can we clearly discern our future goals and needs.

Without progress, it is certainly true that tradition is wholly meaningless. On the other hand—it is equally true that without tradition—so-called progress becomes less than meaningless—indeed, it becomes a sham, a fraud, and a trip to nowhere in particular.

It is clear, however, that tradition is a vital force in this community. Even the town name, Roaring Spring, reflects a past condition rather than a present one.

The word "roaring" reminds us that at one time the fall of water at the spring could actually be heard a mile away from town.

Later, as a result of efforts to change the course of the spring, several large stones were removed from beneath the falls and the roaring stopped. The dramatic name

remains, however, in tribute to a dramatic past.

Situated here, at the southern end of Morrison's Cove, Roaring Spring was from the start a coveted land site in the minds of all who knew of its existence. Indians populated the area before the white man arrived in the late 1770's and from the fight they put up against the arrival of the newcomers, we can only conclude that they, too, recognized the magnificence of the place.

The first white settlers in the cove fully understood the great agricultural and industrial possibilities offered here.

Among the earliest settlers was Edward Sanders, who bought the mill seat property in 1776. This tract of land is now covered by the Borough of Roaring Spring.

Mr. Sanders in turn, sold small tracts to various individuals—particularly to one Daniel Ullery—who bought most of it in the year 1780. No permanent settlement developed in this period, however, and for the time being none but the most intrepid and independent pioneers could be induced to partake of the natural splendors in this area.

Indians were still numerous in the area at that point and there were few white settlers willing or ready to advance into Indian country alone.

There is a record however of the use of water power facilities here by one Jacob Neff who operated a grist mill in this district as early as 1777. Mr. Neff had plenty of trouble with the Indians who resented his presence and finally succeeded in driving him out. When the first two Indians appeared, Mr. Neff killed both of them with his musket and hurried off to the nearest fort in search of aid.

When he returned with reinforcements there was evidence that a whole tribe of red men had visited the mill in his absence for the buildings were burned to the ground. So ended the first commercial enterprise in this area. It had served however, as a harbinger of future commercial undertakings which appeared in great profusion when the community began to develop, full force, during the administration of President James Monroe.

The first real settlement on the site of Roaring Spring started with the coming of George B. Spang in 1821. Mr. Spang operated a grist mill in this locality and his son-in-law, Mr. Farquar, opened the first store in the settlement.

Finally, in 1854, the Government opened a post office in Mr. Farquar's store and gave the town the name of Spang's Mill.

During the Civil War period the Upper Maria Forges—Rodman and McKee—below Spang's Mill were put in operation. This aided the growth of Spang's Mill, for teamsters who hauled ore to the forges from the pits at ore hill stopped in the community and traded at the general store.

The true beginnings of Roaring Spring did not take place, however, until 1863. In that year Daniel Bare and his son, Daniel Mathias Bare, purchased a large part of the old Mill Seat tract. The exact purchase consisted of 90 acres of land, two small log houses, a frame house, and store building, and an old gristmill and sawmill.

In 1864 the Bare family moved to the community to engage in the milling and mercantile business. The history of the town, from that time on, is bound up with the history of its industries and the business activities of the Bare family. The new proprietors of the little village set about immediately to make many changes. The first of these affected the industrial life of the community, for in 1865 the Bare family built the first plant of the papermill.

This new industry was to attract many settlers and for many years the industrial life of the village centered around the production of paper. When the mill burned down in 1866, it was promptly rebuilt and production was soon at an alltime high. Production increased so rapidly in fact, that new additions were made to the plant in 1878 and again in 1912.

The Bare brothers, builders of the Roaring Spring papermill, were leaders in this industry throughout all of Blair County, for in 1880 they built the papermill at Tyrone.

Meanwhile other changes were taking place in the little community of Spang's Mill. Some of the inhabitants of the community had suggested that its name be changed to Baretown in honor of the family which played so vital a role in its industrial life. The honor was declined, however, by Daniel M. Bare, and in 1868, when he became postmaster, Mr. Bare petitioned that the name of the town be changed to Roaring Spring. The request was granted.

Although the papermill continued to prosper, Mr. Bare and his associates recognized the great need for a railroad connecting Roaring Spring with the metropolis of Altoona. Business activities were hindered because the nearest shipping point for the papermill was first at Hollidaysburg and then, a little later, at Newry.

Mr. Bare was interested in building a sister industry to the papermill—the composition or blankbook industry—but he refused to do so prior to the improvement of local transportation facilities.

Finally, in 1871, the Morrison's Cove branch railroad was extended to Roaring Spring after which Mr. Bare began construction of the blankbook factory, which was completed in 1886.

In keeping with the local history of industrial disaster, going back to the destruction of Mr. Neff's gristmill in 1777, the blankbook factory was twice destroyed by flames, in 1887 and 1888. Also in keeping with local tradition, the factory was twice rebuilt and new additions were made.

Since 1900, the growth of the blankbook factory has been rapid, to the point where today it services not only the educational facilities of this country, but also those of Canada, Puerto Rico, Brazil, and England.

While industry has prospered from the start in Roaring Spring, to such an extent as to dominate the history of local development, it cannot be said that the religious, educational, and cultural needs of the population have been forgotten or suffered from neglect. During the course of the town's expansion, from an isolated millsite to the thriving community it is today, religion has been served in a manner befitting the devout nature of the townspeople. The first settlers in the community; namely, Daniel Ullery and the Neff family, were of the Brethren faith.

Many Lutherans moved in with the first large-scale wave of local immigration and by 1857 a Lutheran church was standing, the first such structure in existence in these parts.

The Brethren, Methodist, Church of God, Reformed, and Mennonite faiths soon followed, in force, building churches of their own.

The educational system of the community has grown from the one-room schoolhouse of Spang's Mill, with an enrollment of 75 pupils, to the present large and flourishing grade and high school system of which the borough is so justly proud. We may note as landmarks in the educational progress of the community the beginning of a 2-year high school course in 1892, the change to a 3-year high school course in 1908, and the adoption of the present 4-year course in 1919.

Other advancements included the introduction of a business and commercial course in 1917, the construction of a gymnasium in 1932, the building of the present high school and the introduction of a vocational agriculture department, and a vocational homemaking department in 1937.

As a consequence of its beautiful scenic surroundings, Roaring Spring began attracting visitors as far back as 1865—when the first local hotel was put into operation. The first hotel originally was known as the Grant Hotel, later as the Barley Hotel.

This, in turn, was followed by construction of the Eldon Inn which has served for years as one of central Pennsylvania's finest hotels.

As of September 1887, the growing community of Roaring Spring, which then comprised about 800 people, was a part of Taylor Township. On October 3, 1887, the community petitioned the local courts for a charter and for the right to organize as an independent borough. Both charter and independence were granted and Roaring Spring emerged as a borough in its own right.

From that time forward the record of progress in this area has equaled that of many communities earlier organized and originally more wealthy. It is, therefore, only fitting that as residents of Roaring Spring you should, on this occasion, hail the history of this community as an example of positive achievement.

The founders of Roaring Spring arrived here originally with little in the way of wealth. But they brought with them some other properties: Hope, diligence, and courage, all of which have seemed to rub off on one generation after another to the great benefit of the borough as it stands today.

It is, therefore, a distinct pleasure to participate with you in your Founder's Day celebration and join in your diamond jubilee.

## Kennedy Versus the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Fletcher Knebel from the August 28, issue of Look. Mr. Knebel points out that Kennedy officialdom is more concerned with its "image" than any Washington regime in modern times. Twenty-two correspondents have been chastised by Kennedy and his aids because the writings of these able journalists were not to the liking of the administration. What has happened to the freedom of the press?

The article follows:

[From Look, Aug. 28, 1962]

KENNEDY VERSUS THE PRESS

(By Fletcher Knebel)

("Never before have so few bawled out so many so often for so little," as the Kennedys battle reporters.)

It will appear that John F. Kennedy's honeymoon with the press, probably the most affectionate in the long history of Presidential politics, is on the pebbles, if not the rocks. Contusions and abrasions are reported on all sides as reporters pat their wounds after an unusual number of collisions with the President himself, his aids or his family. The list is now a long one:

Kennedy personally has called down at least six Washington correspondents either for their writings or for their publications.

Three Kennedy administration officials have threatened to sue newspapers.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has reproved at least four newspapermen for stories he disliked.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation questioned six newspapermen in connection with stories concerning policies of the Kennedy administration.

Pentagon security officials quizzed three corespondents.

The White House canceled 22 subscriptions to the New York Herald Tribune.

Administration officials, reporters charge, put "the freeze" on some reporters who had offended them.

White House Special Counsel Theodore C. Sorensen has reprimanded some newspapermen.

White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger has rebuked about a dozen reporters for their stories.

White House Aid Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a Pultizer Prize historian, called one columnist "an idiot."

Even the Kennedy women have gotten into the act. Ethel Kennedy, wife of the Attorney General, and Mrs. Jean Smith, sister of the President, braced one correspondent for his story about dunkings in the Bob Kennedy swimming pool.

But there is another side to the story. While the President and those around him have been far more critical of the press than were Dwight D. Eisenhower and his official family, the Kennedys have also been quick to offer plaudits and "well dones" rarely heard by startled reporters since the days of the late Henry Fountain Ashurst, the first Senator from Arizona, who loved them all. A phone call from the office of bubbly Pierre Salinger, the rotund maestro of the press orchestration, is typical of many: "The President thought your piece on SEATO was superb, remarkably well put together. He just wanted you to know how he felt."

Personal phone calls of congratulations from a pleased President are no longer unusual in Washington news offices. President Kennedy occasionally dashes off a note of thanks to a writer. Holmes Alexander, the most conservative and anti-New Frontier of all Washington columnists, was amazed one morning to open his mail and find a note of praise from J.F.K. Alexander had written glowingly of the President's address at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Thomas G. Walker, White House reporter for the New York Times, suddenly confronted by J.F.K. in a pouring rain in Columbus, Ohio, was congratulated for "that splendid piece this morning." Wicker had come full circle; for only several weeks before, a White House aid had given him the woodshed treatment.

This praise-and-blame technique from an administration that pays closer attention to the press than any in modern times drums on the heads of the Washington press corps like a tatto; the downbeat alternates with the upbeat. The writer chastised for his choice of words in the morning may find himself embraced by sunset.

It is the downbeat, of course, that nettles the correspondents, although they would be the first to concede that Presidential displeasure with the press is nothing new. Within the close confines of the White House, the Government-press relationship is at its most intimate and vexing. The press is there to report the news, good or bad. A President, being human, prefers to accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative. Result: taut nerves.

Every President since George Washington has had cause to splutter over the headlines. Franklin D. Roosevelt awarded dunce caps and once even an Iron Cross at his press conferences. Harry S. Truman thundered "S.O.B." at Columnist Drew Pearson. In the Eisenhower administration, Columnist Joseph Alsop and his brother Stewart, now a magazine writer, were "disinvited" to a dinner by Central Intelligence Agency hosts because of Ike's ire over a column.

What amazes many in the huge Washington newspaper fraternity in the Kennedy era is not the fact of White House disenchantment, but the volume, extent and dexterity of its expression. Never before have so few bawled out so many so often for so little. Says Merriman Smith of United Press International, the senior White House correspondent, "Every administration develops Potomac sunburn sooner or later. The main difference with the Kennedy people is that their hypersensitivity developed so early. One reason is the close attention they pay to everything written about them. How they can spot an obscure paragraph in a paper of 3,000 circulation 2,000 miles away is beyond me. They must have a thousand little gnomes reading the papers for them."

Some of the trouble no doubt arises from President Kennedy's sharing of the universal desire to be liked. At a preelection party at the home of Senator CLAIR ENGLE (Democrat, of California) Kennedy asked the wife of George Dixon, humor columnist, "Why doesn't your husband like me?" Dixon was perplexed by the query, since he had never weighed his feelings about the then Senator from Massachusetts.

Ironically, Kennedy was, and is, liked by a goodly share of those who cover his activities. Indeed, it was his 1960 rival, Richard M. Nixon, who complained after the election that pro-Kennedy reporting made the difference in his narrow defeat.

Another cause may be Kennedy's own genius for public relations. Immediately after his election, he became the most accessible President since Teddy Roosevelt. He threw open his office to exclusive interviews by a parade of writers. Photographers penetrated inner rooms of the White House. Magazines flowered with Kennedy family pictures and chitchat. Mrs. Kennedy conducted an hour-long TV tour of the mansion, subjecting that structure to subsequent inundation by ceaseless waves of tourists. Having thrown the door wide, the President does not take kindly to those who cross the threshold armed with a harpoon instead of a bouquet.

Still another reason may be Kennedy's rapid (1,200 words a minute) reading talent. A President who devours newspapers, foreign and domestic, and who navigates through thousands of words about himself in books, magazines, and scholarly journals naturally sees more to complain about than a President like Eisenhower. Ike found newspapers a chore and rarely got around to the thick Sunday editions before twilight. Indeed, according to White House staffers, Ike once advised Kennedy not to read so many newspapers.

Some correspondents believe President Kennedy and his official family misunderstand the role of the press. "They want us as a cheering squad, as an arm of the executive branch of Government," says one White House reporter. Salinger disputes this, but says that, when the press "has been given unusual access to information, it has an added responsibility to get the facts straight."

Whatever the precise explanation, the Washington press corps has taken almost as many lumps in 19 months of Kennedy rule as during the three previous administrations put together.

Asked how he felt about the press at his May 9 press conference, Kennedy replied, "Well, I am reading more and enjoying it less and so on, but I have not complained, nor do I plan to make any general complaints. I read and talk to myself about it, but I don't plan to issue any general statement of the press. They are doing their task, as a critical branch, the fourth estate, and I am attempting to do mine, and we are going to live together for a period and then go our separate ways."

Before going his separate way, the President has had some sulfurous remarks to make to a number of writers. Hugh S. Sidey, White House correspondent for Time and Life magazines, has been scorched twice by J.F.K. After Time printed a story last summer on the appointment of Gen. Maxwell Taylor as military representative of the President in the aftermath of the Cuban invasion fiasco, Kennedy called Sidey on the phone and complained bitterly about the story. In the opinion of Sidey, a White House "freeze" against Time went into effect for about 2 weeks. His administration news sources found excuses not to talk to him. Salinger dismisses such "freezes" as fantasy and challenges newspapermen to "point to a single instance where there has been retaliation against a reporter.

Sidey received a second Presidential dressing down in February. Time reprinted a picture of Kennedy adorning the cover of Gentlemen's Quarterly, a male fashion publication. Sidey was summoned to the President's office to find J.F.K. ringed by 9 or 10 of his staff. Kennedy slammed the open magazine down on his desk and demanded to know what Time was trying to do to him.

Marianne Means, the fetching White House reporter for Hearst Headline Service, was astounded one evening to receive a call from the President reading her the riot act for a Hearst story on Kennedy family diets, a story written by another reporter.

Garnett D. Horner of the Washington Evening Star received his presidential rebuke in Salinger's office. He was summoned there to find J.F.K. in a wrathful mood over a story in the Star about the planting of leafy rhododendrons around the White House fence. At issue was whether the plants were intended to screen little Caroline from tourists' eyes or merely to improve the mansion's landscaping.

Art Buchwald, humor columnist of the New York Herald Tribune syndicate, called on the President, only to be greeted by a blistering remark about the Herald Tribune. John Sutherland of U.S. News & World Report may have been the first reporter to get the Presidential treatment aloft. He was summoned to the cabin of the President-elect's plane before the inauguration and criticized for a story he had done on the Kennedy team. J.F.K.'s language was somewhat more earthbound than the plane at that moment.

Even a good friend of the President, Benjamin C. Bradlee, Washington bureau chief of Newsweek, felt the Presidential fire. Kennedy phoned him to take him to task for a Newsweek story about an old Massachusetts aid of Kennedy's being considered for a Federal judgeship. Also ticked off later by Attorney General Kennedy for another story, Bradlee takes the rebukes philosophically and not too seriously.

"It's almost impossible," he says, "to write a story they like. Even if a story is quite favorable to their side, they'll find one paragraph to quibble with."

At least once in the columnist field, the President stalked his own big game. Last summer Walter Lippmann, the dean of Washington columnists, wrote a column critical of the administration's handling of the Berlin wall crisis. Later, at a state dinner, Lippmann was told the President wished to speak to him. While the two men sipped coffee, Kennedy went into considerable detail on the administration's position. Many columnists have obtained interviews with President Kennedy, but Lippmann holds the unique record of having the Nation's top news source self-delivered to his waiting ears.

Bob Kennedy lectured Earl Mazo, New York Herald Tribune writer, at great length

for his Billie Sol Estes stories. He telephoned Columnist Robert S. Allen three times to complain about columns Allen had done on the Teddy Kennedy-Edward McCormack battle for the Democratic senatorial nomination in Massachusetts. He called Columnist Roscoe Drummond (as did Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman) to protest a Drummond column on the Billie Sol Estes case.

Attorney General Kennedy says that it is only "blatant inaccuracies and dishonest reporting that cause irritation," and not columns of opinion. While his brother has called several editorial writers, he says, it was because "the editorials were based on inaccurate data."

"Perhaps we could just let inaccurate statements go by," he said. Then, he added, with a grin, "My father told us once that we shouldn't complain because so many of the inaccurate stories were the ones that praised us."

Of deeper significance is an incident on which the principals differ radically as to what happened. One leading Washington news bureau chief tells this story: Last winter his White House man was told by a White House official that if his newspaper persisted in an antiadministration editorial policy, relations with its White House man might grow "sour." The bureau chief called the official and declared that if such threats were to be made, he would feel justified in raising the issue at a Presidential press conference. He added that the Polish Government once took such a retaliatory stand against an American reporter, but no U.S. administration ever had.

The White House official concedes that he complained to the reporter about his paper's editorial stand, but denies he made any threats to choke off news. Fearing a "misinterpretation" of his remarks, he says, he called the bureau chief to set things straight. Since the two versions differ radically, the names of the two men are omitted. At any rate, the newspaper suffered no discrimination in its news coverage of the White House.

Threats of suits against newspapermen have been made several times. Thomas R. Hughes, executive assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, threatened to sue one correspondent for Texas newspapers. Kennedy spokesmen threatened suit last summer should any newspaper print one spectacular story about a high official. (This particular story, painstakingly checked by many newspapers, proved to be false and was never printed.)

Salinger once told Paul Martin, chief of the Washington bureau of the Gannett Newspapers, that, if Kennedy were not President, he would sue Martin for "invasion of privacy." This involved a story written January 31, 1961, by Martin, in which he described the treatment given Kennedy for an insufficiency of the adrenal glands. Martin had made a lengthy check of medical records and doctors before writing the story. In their subsequent phone conversation, Salinger took the position that this story was legally actionable because it invaded Kennedy's privacy. Martin took the position that the people had a right to know everything about a President's health. The issue remains deadlocked.

Reporters have been rebuked by such diverse administration functionaries as White House Aid Schlesinger; P. Kenneth O'Donnell, the President's appointments secretary; Pamela Turnure, Mrs. Kennedy's press secretary; and Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, but the chief disciplinarian is Salinger, who used to be a newspaperman himself. About a dozen writers, including David Wise, New York Herald Tribune, Dorothy B. McCardle, North American Newspaper Alliance, Jay G. Hayden, Detroit News, Merriman Smith, UPI, and Louis Heren, London Times, have been taken to the Salinger "woodshed." Salinger views the "woodshed" as a "great myth." "Every press secretary blows up once in a while," he said. "If he didn't, he'd go out of his mind. I'm not defensive about it. I have called in reporters and pointed out factual errors in their stories. Why is there any obligation on me to be perfectly speechless? The fact of the matter is that the press is getting too sensitive—and the press is the most sensitive group in the world anyway."

In addition to Lee Linder, Associated Press, John Lawrence, Wall Street Journal, and Jim Parks, Wilmington, Del., Journal, who were questioned in early morning hours by the FBI in connection with the steel price-rise controversy last spring, three Washington newspapermen have been quizzed by the FBI about stories emanating from the Pentagon. They are Richard Fryklund and Earl H. Voss of the Washington Evening Star, and Lloyd H. Norman of Newsweek. Fryklund and Norman also were targets of exhaustive investigations at the Pentagon by security officers. Objective: To try to pinpoint the sources that had provided them with information for news stories.

Of approximately 100 Washington magazine and newspaper people questioned by Look, about half take a lighthearted view of the Kennedy administration's knuckle rapping of the press. The rest regard it more seriously as an attempt to pressure them. In the former group is longtime Washington Reporter William H. Lawrence, now with the American Broadcasting Co., and formerly with the New York Times. One day, after Lawrence asked a question at a Presidential press conference that put Kennedy on something of a spot, O'Donnell called in Lawrence and handed him a dagger. "After that question," said O'Donnell, "the President wanted you to have this." Lawrence took it as a joke and continues to ply his trade as usual.

Among those who take the situation seriously are some who think the administration bends every effort to influence the news its way. "They remind me of the ballplayer who yells at the umpire after the strike call," says one veteran. "The batter has no hope of changing the ump's decision, but he hopes to soften him up on the next pitch." Says another, "They mean it when they take you to the woodshed. They're not Victorian in their choice of language when they get mad."

One thing is sure. Kennedy officialdom is more concerned with its "image" than any Washington regime in modern times. Furthermore, President Kennedy is adept, knowledgeable, and resourceful in the field of public relations. After all, like his press secretary, he used to be a newspaperman himself, however briefly. And that, when all is said and done, may be the rub.

## Trade: Our Problem Is One of Increasing Growth, Domestic and Import

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important bills to come out of the Ways and Means Committee in a good many years is the Trade Expansion Act.

I have supported and worked for the Trade Expansion Act because of its great value to our country and to our city.

Philadelphia had the good fortune to exceed New York in tonnage last year even though it is the second largest port in the Nation.

The employment of persons involved in our export and import activities amounts to 212,000. The bill passed the House by a vote of 298 to 125.

I include herewith the statement made by Under Secretary of Commerce Edward Gudeman, expanding on the trade bill and developing the arguments in favor of increasing growth, both domestic and export:

TRADE: OUR PROBLEM IS ONE OF INCREASING GROWTH, BOTH DOMESTIC AND EXPORT

(By Edward Gudeman, Under Secretary of Commerce)

I would like to talk to you about the trade problems that face our country, both domestic and international, with particular emphasis on the international and the trade bill. Now, the rise in our gross national product during the past year has been excellent, a rise from around $500 billion to $548 billion. This, however, has been insufficient to bring the unemployment rate down below 5½ percent, and unless we can get a greater growth than the 3 percent that we have been getting, we will never be able to bring the unemployment rate down to 4 percent, which is the target; or to absorb the over 1 million new people coming into the labor market each year and the 200,000 and more put out of work by automation.

So our problem is one of increasing growth, both domestic and export. At the same time, profits of corporations have not kept pace with the growth of sales. You might be interested to know that in the decade of 1950 to 1960, profits after taxes was just about even. No increase whatsoever. Sales increase during that time was approximately 70 percent. Now we know the present administration, as you know, believes in good corporate profits. Our defense budget requires profits because profits bring taxes. Secretary Fowler's problem would be greatly mitigated if our growth rate could be increased.

Now how do we accomplish greater growth? Well, new depreciation rates which Secretary Fowler talked about this morning through the revision of Bulletin F will give additional funds along with the investment credit to industry so that that can be placed back into new equipment and new plant to lower our costs and make us more competitive.

DEPRECIATION RATES

You might be interested to know that the first-year depreciation rate in Canada, Japan, and the seven leading Western European nations is 29 percent; ours at present is 13.3 percent. Now if new depreciation rates similar to those given the textile industry are put into effect through a revision of Bulletin F and if the 7 or 8 percent investment credit that Secretary Fowler talked about this morning is passed by the Congress, our first-year depreciation rate will be 29.3 percent as against the 29 percent for the countries that I mentioned. We must continue our efforts to lower our costs, the costs of production, the costs of distribution, in order to increase economic growth. And we must have continued stability in wages and prices, and wage increases must be held within the limits of productivity. Here I don't know whether Mr. Heller pointed out to you yesterday that when we talk about "wages" within the limits of productivity, we do not mean that all the gain in productivity can and should go to wages. Each

element in business will have its share of the increase in productivity, so that profits will have their share, overhead its share, prices their share, and in many cases, because of the application of increased productivity to prices, prices can be decreased at the same time that wages are increased if there is an increase in productivity.

We must continue our efforts for research and development in our country to produce greater economic growth, and I would like to point out to you that in the past 5 years, it is really questionable whether research and development, as great as it has been, has brought us the growth that we want. Think of the new things in consumer goods on the market, during the past year, and you will see what I am trying to say. There has been very little new in a refrigerator, a washing machine, a stove, a radio, a television, or an automobile, other than the compact car which is not a development coming from research. So our research and development must be put to better use than it has been to help our economic growth.

We must increase our exports. We must increase our exports to help our economic growth and also to help our balance-of-payments problem. Let me touch on that for a moment.

IMPROVED RATIO

From 1958 to 1960, the deficit of this country was more than $11 billion. That is, dollar earnings were $11 billion short of expenditures overseas. In 1961, the outflow of dollars was $29.9 billion. The inflow was $27.4 billion. Thus, there was a deficit of $2½ billion. This was a great improvement over the previous year of 1960, when the deficit was $3.9 billion. But still a huge deficit.

Now, where does this come from? In 1961, the United States had a net inflow of dollars from three categories of transactions. Trade produced $5 billion; investment income, $2.0 billion; and repayment of foreign debts on U.S. Government loans, $1.3 billion. The income to the United States from services such as transactions, royalties, insurance premiums, but excluding travel, was approximately equal to the payments that we made abroad for those same classifications. The above net receipts added up to $7.1 billion but against this, we had a dollar outflow of $9.6 billion making the $2½ billion deficit I mentioned before. The outflow came from expenditures for military abroad, of close to $3 billion. Foreign aid loans and grants, not spent in the United States, accounted for $1.3 billion; travel, $800 million; private investment, including short-term capital movements, $3.4 billion, and pensions, remittances, and so forth, $1.5 billion.

Now, the possibilities of reducing some of these expenditures is there. Secretary McNamara has said he believes that of the close to $3 billion spent abroad for military, about a billion can be taken out of that; and of the $1.3 billion spent for aid, perhaps a half a billion can be taken out of that. But the only way that we are going to improve our balance-of-payments problem is if we increase our exports, and at the same time, if we can increase our exports, we help our domestic growth.

POTENTIAL MARKET

So, we must do this, we must increase exports, and of course, as Secretary Ball has said, Western Europe is the big market for our goods. Here let me give you just a few figures. The six Common Market countries import from the United States $3.5 billion a year, and we import from those six countries, $2.2 billion. So we have a favorable balance here. Now, if we assume that the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, and Greece and Ireland go into the Common Market, and as Secretary Ball said this is very probable, then our exports to that expanded Common Market will be $4.9 billion against imports of $3.9 billion. And if we include, eventually, all of the OECD countries—Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Turkey—then our exports are $6 billion, $6 billion out of $20 billion, 30 percent, and our imports are $3.8 billion.

The Common Market has been lowering its tariffs within itself. This is a federation of six states just as we are a federation of 50 States, with free exchange of goods between all our 50 States. As yet, between the six Common Market countries there is not a free exchange of goods, but the tariffs between these countries are being lowered, very rapidly.

Let me give you an example. Before the Common Market was organized, American-French-Italian auto duty on shipments into Germany was 21 percent. Now the French and Italians can ship their cars into Germany at a rate of 12.5 percent, but the American car going into Germany carries a duty rate of 22 percent. Let me give you another example. Before the Common Market was organized, American and Italian manufacturers of TV and radio sets shipping into Germany paid a duty, depending upon the category of goods, of between 12 and 15 percent. The Italian now shipping into Germany pays a duty of 7 to 9 percent. The U.S. duty is now 12.8 to 17.6 percent.

LEGISLATION NEEDED

I don't think one can pinpoint the relationship between duty and amount of business exactly, but Germany's imports from the United States used to be 39 percent in this radio and television category, and at that time, 4 percent of German imports came from Italy. Now the U.S. percentage has dropped from 39 percent to 20 percent, and the Italian shipments have soared from the 4 percent to 25 percent. Thus, we must have new legislation in the Trade Expansion Act, in order to work out lower tariffs and tariffs that are comparable on American good into the Common Market that they are developing for shipments among the Common Market countries. This is very important, as you can see, from the quantity of goods we ship.

This is why the Trade Expansion Act has the complete backing of the President, and under that act, as you know, duties can be reduced to Common Market countries to zero on those classes of goods where the Common Market and the United States together are the dominant supplier to the world and duties to other countries and on other good can be reduced by 50 percent. The new bill also carries in it, a trade adjustment and adjustment assistance section so that those workers and those firms injured by increased imports, due to lowered duties coming into this country on merchandise from other countries, will be able to apply to the Government through the Tariff Commission for assistance. We believe that it is most essential for this trade legislation to be passed as now written and as you know it has gone through the Ways and Means Committee and will come up before the House shortly for a vote.

Let me tell you what we in the Commerce Department are doing to help both domestic and international growth but particularly on the international side. Obviously, greater growth must come from private industry. There is little that Government can do directly, but we can help and here is what we are doing. We have opened up a trade center which is like a merchandise mart, in London. It has been opened about 10 months. So far, 315 U.S. firms have displayed goods in various shows in that trade center. And of those, more than 30 percent of those firms, more than 30 percent have made marketing arrangements to sell their goods in the United Kingdom, and those firms never had such marketing arrangements before. We recently completed a toy show, where over a million dollars of initial orders were taken for American toys.

Next, we are going to open centers, and have opened one in Bangkok just a week ago, and will later this year in Tokyo, and in Frankfurt, Germany. Our 101st trade mission is going to leave in a few days for the State of Israel. A trade mission is a group of six men who visit a country for about a month, and talk to businessmen, government people, bankers, lawyers, and others developing trade for the United States. Each mission goes to a country and is integrated to those things which that country needs from the United States. For Israel, it is general consumer goods. A trade mission to Germany would have more people on it knowledgeable in the field of machinery and equipment. We will have about 18 trade fairs this year in various countries where we believe there are possibilities to increase our exports.

MORE TRADE EFFORT

We have changed, along with the State Department, the time that our commercial attachés give to developing business, and we are taking away from them much of the detail work they have had in the past so that they can concentrate through their embassy on developing trade for the United States.

Through all these efforts, through the passage of the trade bill, we believe that our balance of payments can be greatly improved, that our exports can be increased, and our target is a 10-percent increase or about $2 billion.

## Cheer Red Anthem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Mr. William D. Graff, publisher of the American Standard at Buena Park, Calif. The article points up how easy it is for cultural exchange and athletic exchange from the Soviet Union to brainwash the American people into believing that Russia is "mellowing."

The article follows:

CHEER RED ANTHEM

(By William D. Graff)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Last month, after the guise of "cultural exchange," Stanford University played host to the U.S.S.R. track team. Publisher Bill Graff went to Palo Alto to "see for himself" what effect this program had on the American people's will-to-resist the international onslaught.)

PALO ALTO, CALIF.—The Soviet agent in the traditional sweat suit of the track and field athlete stepped forward and held aloft the dreaded hammer and sickle of the fatherland of communism, the Soviet Union.

Throughout the vast Stanford University stadium, some 80,000 Americans stood motionless, almost as though enraptured by the dream of world "peace," and then applauded the banner which represented the enslavement of one-third of the world's peoples, and the murder of countless millions more.

Not one voice, out of the 80,000 assembled there, asked the question which should have been on the minds of every Stanford student, alumni, and fan. "Will you now, in

the spirit of peace which you claim to want, release our fellow Stanford student, Robert Mann, from your prison in East Germany?"

Perhaps the reason this was never asked, except by young Mann's sister afterward, was because the U.S. Government itself, never officially asked for the boy's release. It seems we now "officially" accept the Communist lie that helping another human being escape from slavery is a crime.

LACK UNDERSTANDING

I looked about me, sickened at the faces of those thousands of innocents, sublimely suckered into believing that perhaps the United States and the Soviet butchers have simply lacked understanding of what truly nice people the other guys really are.

I also looked down at the playing field where American amateurs were about to engage state-subsidized, state-trained, professional athletes who were in the United States for one reason—to assist in carrying out a phase of the phony "cultural exchange" program which would eventually place Uncle Sam at the losing end of the whole shebang.

Oh, the Soviet performers looked pleasant enough. There were no beards, bombs, or bullets. In fact, there was little to distinguish them in physical appearance from the American boys and girls with whom they were about to compete.

RECALLS WARNINGS

I thought of the warnings by Mr. Hoover of the FBI, and others familiar with Soviet planning, the warnings that Soviet agents visit the United States under many guises. They come in as scientists, diplomats, athletes, dancers, singers, farmers, doctors, professors, you name it, but underneath the Trojan horse exterior, it's a bunch of dedicated, mentally straitjacketed agents of the Communist global conquest.

Perhaps it wasn't quite hospitable for our men's team to trounce the Russian team the way it did that day. We're sure the appeasement corps in the State Department didn't like it a bit.

But we have a sneaking suspicion the Russians weren't too disappointed. For after all, they had won their real victory. It came when 80,000 Americans rose and paid homage to the hammer and sickle in the traditional display of respect for an honorable nation's flag.

WILL TO RESIST

American will to resist creeping, unrelenting, approaching slavery under communism had again moved downward.

When Nikita Khrushchev recently boasted in Bucharest that the hammer and sickle would fly over the United States, raised by the American people, perhaps he was talking about something that is not so far away.

For shame, America, that you cannot feel the hot breath upon your neck, nor smell the slavering monster as he waits for you without the stadium with his velvet glove that conceals the bloody hook.

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## Law and Order in Albany and the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, there is great danger of real trouble in Albany, Ga. Dr. Martin Luther King and his followers have precipitated numerous mob gatherings which could have easily erupted into racial riots.

The officials of Albany have done a remarkable job of preventing serious disorder and violence. These local law enforcement agencies are to be commended for their courage and sound judgment under the most trying circumstances.

It is most regrettable that some officials of the Federal Government have thought it wise to lend encouragement and support to Dr. King, or anyone else, who seeks publicity, financial enrichment, and martyrdom as a result of imprisonment for the violation of local and State laws.

A thorough analysis of this tragedy in Albany is revealed in a recent editorial in the Greenville, S.C., News. I am sure this editorial will be of interest to many Members of Congress, and I include it in the Appendix with my remarks:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, Aug. 2, 1962]

LAW AND ORDER IN ALBANY AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Seen in the wrong light and taken in the wrong spirit, this editorial could be considered inflammatory. It is written close to the edge of anger and even closer to the edge of sadness.

But it has to be written because it deals with frightening facts pertaining to law enforcement in two cities.

One is the once peaceful city of Albany, Ga., where hundreds and even thousands of Negro demonstrators are almost daily threatening peace and good order in the name of rights and freedom. They have attracted national attention and sympathy. Cabinet officers, northern Governors, and thousands of do-gooders encourage them.

They have defied a Federal court injunction to continue their marches. Their mob assemblies have been applauded while the TV cameras rolled to record their antics.

The administration has either overlooked the danger or intimated that it may intervene in their behalf.

The other city is Washington, D.C., the Capital of the United States and one of the most heavily policed areas of its size in the world.

But it has become unsafe for a white woman to venture out of doors within a stone's throw of the Capitol building (or even on the Capitol steps) even in broad daylight and even with an escort.

Physical assaults and the ultimate in heinous crimes, rape, are becoming more and more commonplace, along with muggings and purse snatching. And the combined forces of the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police and the Capitol guards haven't been able to stop it.

Most of the assailants and violators of the lesser laws on crime against the person are Negroes. But the suspects or persons arrested and charged are seldom if ever identified by race except by newsmen representing southern newspapers.

It seems to be bad taste or a violation of some sort of civil right to call a Negro criminal a Negro in print in Washington or in the big northern cities.

The situation has been getting worse for years as the percentage of Negroes among the population has risen. Members of Congress have protested before. They are crying out now in anger and in fear for the safety of their staff members, their families, and visitors. They have attracted little attention.

Not all of the perpetrators of these crimes are Negroes, of course. But Washington has become the largest of the Nation's cities where Negroes outnumber whites, and Negroes account for a percentage of the criminal offenses higher even than their proportionate number among the total population.

Capitol Hill has replaced New York's Central Park as the most dangerous place in any metropolis for anyone to move about at night without an armed guard.

The administration seems to be looking the other way—toward Albany perhaps.

Let's go back a little further into the facts and merits of the problems in the two cities.

First Albany: The city has been turned into a racial battleground by Negro citizens who have been aroused by professional racebaiters from other States. Chief among them is Martin Luther King, the darling of the liberal integrationists and a pet of the administration.

It started with the familiar sit-ins and freedom-ride activities. It has developed into something much bigger and more sinister. Mobs of Negroes gather in rallies, sing hymns, pray, listen to promised-land speeches by leaders who know just how to work them up.

They march through the streets, they congregate in public places. They call their methods Christian and nonviolent and speak of peaceful aims. They say, or are told by their leaders, that the object is to win their rights and their freedom.

But the threat of violence looms over every such gathering. There have been reports of jeering at police officers and the throwing of brickbats.

The rights and freedom these people talk about boils down to one thing only. It is not the right to equal treatment by the law (if the demonstrators were white, they would be treated the same way) nor to own property. It is not freedom of movement to go where they will nor to meet in peaceful assembly and to petition for the redress of wrongs.

Their primary and sole purpose is to try to force an end to segregation, to be integrated with whites in any and every place of their own choosing.

But are they proving themselves prepared for racially mixed society?

The remarkable thing is that serious injury and wholesale riots have been prevented. That it has is due to local law enforcement and not to Federal policy or action; quite the contrary.

Now Washington: Rampant Negro hoodlums have created a reign of terror around the Capitol so intense that the Congressional Secretaries Club has called for drastic action. These women work on Capitol Hill and many of them live nearby. Women caught in the vicinity have been the victims of rape, murderous assault, and violent robbery.

The recent meeting of the secretaries was called after a white woman, a congressional secretary, was attacked in a church adjacent to the Capitol Grounds while kneeling in prayer and stabbed nine times. The initial reports said only that the assailant was a man. Southern newsmen have learned and reported that he was a Negro. He has not been caught.

Soon after this incident, a visiting Ohio housewife was beaten by two Negro girls in an unprovoked daylight assault on the Capitol steps. When the woman's husband tried to run down the two girls, a Negro boy tripped him up. By the time a few of the scores of policemen who patrol the place arrived, the three were gone. They have not been caught.

In the last 3 weeks or so, there have been five or more rapes committed within a few blocks of the Capitol; each victim described the attacker as a Negro. A Negro man has been arrested and charged.

The situation became so bad that police officers issued a broadside urging secretaries who had to go home after dark to call for a police escort to their homes.

The thugs then started making attacks in daylight.

In a speech before the House last week, Representative MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, said that Washington has become "the jungle of the civilized world." He noted that Attorney General Bobby Kennedy had been quoted as saying that such incidents would continue unless "wider opportunities are offered to permit young people to live differently than they do now."

This RIVERS took to mean a demand for passage of administration legislation on juvenile delinquency and others of its proopsals. However, said RIVERS, the Attorney General "moans about the criminal and not the victim" and "has said nothing about better police protection and sterner punishment."

Despite all the provocation, violence thus far has been prevented in Albany. State, country, and city officers have seen to that.

Hoodlums seem to roam and attack at will in Washington. The Federal Government is responsible for governing the District of Columbia and enforcing the law.

## Essay of Miss Dianne Sanders, Hawaii Girls State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, during the week of July 29–August 4, 1962, representatives from 50 States gathered at the American University campus in Washington, D.C., to participate in a convention of Girls Nation to study discuss, and learn about our Federal Government. Representing Hawaii's Girls State as "U.S. Senators" were Miss Dianne Sanders, a student at Kailua High School and Miss Margaret Christian, a student at the Kamehameha School for Girls. I was privileged to meet both Dianne and Margaret in Washington, and was very much impressed by them. Both were charming and intelligent—excellent representatives of the State of Hawaii.

The Girls State is sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary, both in Hawaii and the Nation, in conjunction with its program of promoting citizenship and Americanism. In selecting the "Senators" from Hawaii, the candidates were required to submit an essay on the subject, "The Power of Education in a Republic." Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include Miss Dianne Sanders' winning essay, as follows:

THE POWER OF EDUCATION IN A REPUBLIC
(By Diane Sanders)

It has been said by every generation that the future of the United States rests in the hands of youth. This is self-evident and it can be seen that these youths have grown up and become leaders in every field to carry on the work of their forefathers. They have fought two great wars and won them only through the sacrifice of their lives and their ambitions. They have created new inventions to further industry in every stage of development. They have become scientists, doctors, lawyers, and stalwart leaders of this country's peoples. Aside from this they are happy and prosperous citizens. They have respect and loyalty for their country and its leaders, and they are able to appreciate what this country and these leaders have to offer them.

But let us stop and think for a moment. What has made all these advances possible? What gift do these persons have that has enabled them to be what they are?

There may be many contributing factors, but the most important of these is the right to an education. This education is one that they are able to choose for themselves. It is not dictated to them, nor is it denied them. There are the citizens of a republic and this is one of the most precious privileges that a person can have.

Their education, being gained in a republic, has a very great power. Not only does it allow them to become a member of the profession of their choice for the purpose fo advancing this profession, but it gives them a knowledge of their Government, a sense of duty to this Government, and a will to defend it against all enemies.

This education can save lives. It can make most lives safer, happier, and, above all, more meaningful. With the feelings and attitudes gained from an education free of restrictions, all citizens of a republic become much more useful in promoting the good things in life. There is no other privilege that has a greater effect or a greater power than education in a republic. May God keep it safe.

## Israel Foreign Ministry Statement on the Soblen Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement which was issued by the Israel Foreign Ministry with reference to the case of Dr. Robert Soblen.

A perusal of this statement, which was made on August 12, will show that the Israel Government has acted in a completely proper manner in this affair.

The statement follows:

1. On June 26, 1962, Dr. Robert Soblen arrived in Israel under an assumed name with false papers. When his true identity was discovered, he was immediately detained and an order for his expulsion from Israel was issued by the Minister of Interior in accordance with section 13 of the "Entry Into Israel Law."

2. On July 1, 1962, the order was carried out and Dr. Soblen was expelled from Israel.

3. The Government of Israel never intended that a person who was a fugitive from justice, who had been properly tried by the courts of the United States and found guilty of criminal acts, should enjoy the benefit of the "law of return," and therefore, Soblen was refused permission to stay in Israel. The Prime Minister of Israel expressed these views in the Knesset on July 11, 1962, when he said: "The law of return, and the concept on which it is based, do not only mean that we passed a law for ourselves. We are deeply interested first and foremost in the opinion of the Jewish people throughout the world, and in the opinion of the whole world. We are thinking of a refuge for Jews who do not wish, or are unable, to remain where they are, but not of an asylum for criminals."

This position of the Government of Israel was endorsed by a majority in the Knesset.

For the same reason Soblen's subsequent application submitted in London, to be admitted into Israel under the "law of return," was rejected.

4. Dr. Soblen has now been 6 weeks in the United Kingdom owing to circumstances over which the Government of Israel had no control and for which it has no responsibility.

5. Upon his expulsion from Israel, Israel's part in this case was terminated. Dr. Soblen is no longer under Israel's jurisdiction, and therefore there was no basis for involving Israel or El Al in any further steps regarding Dr. Soblen. Any participation by the Government of Israel, or an Israel aircraft, or an Israel vessel in the removal or deportation of Dr. Soblen from the United Kingdom to the United States is contrary to Israel law, and, therefore, the Government of Israel cannot take any such action.

6. From the outset, this position has been made clear on various occasions to the Government of the United States and to the Government of the United Kingdom. The Government of Israel was entitled to assume that the Governments concerned would take this position into account in their dealings with the Soblen case.

7. The Government of Israel notes that at no stage was it asked by the United States to take action which would not be in conformity with the laws of Israel. In this connection, the Government of Israel recalls the statement made by the official spokesman of the U.S. Department of State on June 28, 1962: "We are not asking them (Israel) to break their own laws, of course." He added: "The situation is that we and Israel do not have an extradition treaty. In January of this year, we negotiated such a treaty with Israel. But it has not been submitted to the Senate for ratification. One cautionary note: Even if we had such a treaty and it were in force, it would not cover extradition for espionage."

8. In the light of this situation, the Government of Israel, while fully sharing the concerns of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, could not see its way to authorize El Al to comply with the direction issued by the British Government, since the laws of Israel do not permit it to do so.

9. The Government of Israel expresses its hope that it will now be possible for a solution to be reached. The procedure now initiated by the Government of the United Kingdom indicates the correctness of the assumption of the Israel Government, that a satisfactory solution can be found without any of the parties being required to act against its own laws.

## Suicidal Extremists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Raymond Moley is one of the able and respected columnists of our time. He is a real student of political science, he writes well, makes a keen analysis and some very cogent observations from time to time. Recently he has written an article under the title of "Suicidal Extremists." Here again he has made

a very worthwhile contribution to the political thinking of our time. With the hope that my colleagues and others will have greater opportunity to read this very lucid and erudite dissertation on the subject, I take this opportunity to place this in the RECORD:

SUICIDAL EXTREMISTS

(By Raymond Moley)

A little group, in which Senator WAYNE MORSE is the most wordy, is creating great embarrassment for its party and its President by opposition to the communications satellite bill. But whether they win or lose, we may be sure that in the campaign to come these Senators will be out there shouting mealymouthed hosannas for their "great President" and the liberal Democratic Party. When the chips are down, they will support their party. They have nowhere else to go if they expect to stay in official life.

That sort of conformity is not found in certain individuals who are organizing to defeat Nixon in California and Rockefeller and Javits in New York.

In California, Nixon emerged successfully from a primary fight. But his opponents in that primary have now pledged themselves to support their party and its candidates.

However, a group in Sacramento which is a branch of a so-called party called Conservatives of America, with headquarters in New Orleans, have decided to attempt to destroy Nixon by supporting and voting for Governor Brown.

In New York a Conservative Party has selected candidates to help defeat Rockefeller and JAVITS and elect certain Democratic candidates who have not yet been chosen.

In California these alleged Conservatives do not like Brown or agree with what he stands for. Their purpose is to weaken the Republican Party and destroy its chosen leader, Richard Nixon.

In New York they ignore the fact that Rockefeller has been a competent and prudent Governor and a professed Republican. JAVITS' voting record is more liberal than that of the majority of his party, but a study of 115 rollcalls shows that his record is more conservative than that of 49 Democratic Senators.

It has been a habit of those who write for the public prints to call these dissidents and destroyers in California and New York "conservative extremists." I don't mind their being called extremists. But I resent their being called conservative.

During the last 3 years, during which we have heard so much about these extremists, I have carefully reviewed the history and policies of conservatism from Burke to the present—its mood, convictions, and methods. And I have formulated the following definition of a conservative:

The conservative puts his faith in freemen, unfettered, so far as is practicable, by state authority. He recognizes the human fallibility of man, but he believes he must learn through his errors. On the other hand, the liberal has no faith at all in the individual, but believes he must be subjected to the tyranny of an official elite. The conservative abhors violence and extremism. He believes neither in sudden salvation nor in instant damnation. His objective is progress by remedies for present problems achieved within the guidelines of successfully proved constitutional traditions. In achieving progress when confronted by a governing majority dedicated to liberalism, he believes in keeping things from getting worse.

Finally, he recognizes that to win a majority capable of reshaping National and State policies, he must work through the two-party system—an institution created in Anglo-American life by the great constitutionalists of the past. It is an institution which has been preserved in Britain and the United States, while other nations in the Western World have been destroyed by their multiple-party misgovernment. Their experience has shown that many parties end with one party, and a one-party system ends in a one-man system.

These alleged Conservatives in California and New York do not conform to the foregoing definition. Their reactionary suicidal methods would, if successful, lead us down to the tragedy of the multiple-party nations of continental Europe. They would destroy the very essence of conservative, moderate progress and deny freemen the power to grow and to achieve the general welfare through orderly change.

## Forty-second Anniversary of Polish Soldier's Day Observed at Eddington, Pa., August 12, 1962, by Post No. 12 of the Polish Army Veterans Association of Philadelphia and Their Ladies Auxiliary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit for insertion in the Appendix an address I had the honor to make on August 12 at Eddington, Pa. The occasion was the 42d anniversary of the establishment of Polish Soldier's Day and the event was under the sponsorship of Post No. 12 of the Polish Army Veterans Association of Philadelphia and their Ladies Auxiliary.

In addition, I am including a copy of the program and the text of a resolution unanimously adopted by the members of the association on this occasion honoring the memory of their departed comrades.

The address, program, and resolution follow:

A TRIBUTE TO THE POLISH SOLDIER ON THE 42D ANNIVERSARY OF POLISH SOLDIER'S DAY

(Address by Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, at the Polish Soldier's Day celebration, 42d anniversary, at Eddington, Pa., Aug. 12, 1962)

It is a pleasure to participate in this program observing the 42d anniversary of Polish Soldier's Day under the sponsorship of Post No. 12 of the Polish Army Veterans and its Ladies Auxiliary.

Having been invited to deliver the principal address on this occasion, not only do I want to congratulate the members of Post No. 12 and its auxiliary for sponsorship of this anniversary program, but I wish to stress the great contribution the Polish soldiers have made to their native land.

It is common knowledge that the fate and the destiny of all nations, from the most ancient times to our own day, are formed and fashioned by its soldiers.

Throughout the long and rather uneven course of human history soldiers of all nations, and especially those dauntless Polish soldiers serving in Poland's world-famed cavalry units, together with those gallant Polish soldiers of freedom fighting in our Revolutionary War, all have had an important share and have played a decisive role in the making of nations and in the shaping of their destiny and their fate.

The soldier's main task is his role in safeguarding and maintaining the independence and sovereign integrity of city, State, and Nation.

Thus the all-important task of soldiers is the making of nations—the shaping of their destiny and then serving as guardians of the fate of nations.

These broad generalizations may seem too sweeping—and perhaps as a combat veteran of two world wars I may be regarded as magnifying the role and importance of soldiers in national histories.

I find it hard to overemphasize or praise too highly the supreme importance of soldiers in the difficult task of nation making and nation guarding.

Down through the ages good soldiers have always deserved to be, both in time of war as well as in peacetime, the admired and honored citizens of a nation. This is particularly true in the case of the soldier of Poland.

The long, eventful, dramatic, and tragic history of the Polish people in their struggle for independence is universally known.

During the days of the grandeur and glory of the Polish nation, as well as in its decline and destruction by its foes, the Polish soldier has shared its glory and has suffered its misfortunes.

In glory and in misfortune he has steadfastly remained true to his calling, to serve to the best of his ability and to the limits of his physical power the righteous cause of the Polish people by fighting and dying for it.

During the infancy of their nation Polish soldiers learned this supremely important lesson 10 centuries ago in the days of their first national king, Mieszko I, the founder of the Polish kingdom.

This founding father of Poland, with the aid of a band of Polish soldiers, extended his reign northward to the Baltic shore and southward to the foothills of the western Carpathians.

On his death in 992 he was succeeded by his worthy son, the famous Boleslav the Brave, who as a courageous soldier and resourceful statesman is known in Poland's history as Boleslav the Great.

For more than 30 years this gallant knight, the first soldier and first servant of Poland, served Poland's cause by strengthening the Polish state and thus making it one of the best organized and most important countries in Eastern Europe.

Through his soldierly gallantry and astute statesmanship this warrior-king raised Poland to the rank of a leading European country.

In his almost miraculous success his ability as a soldier proved far more important than his statesmanship, for those were the days of warrior-kings of uncommon valor and extraordinary courage. And Poland was fortunate in having a good supply of such leaders, men of noble character and indomitable will.

And, as the whole world knows, these great sons of Poland, besides serving Poland's sacred cause, have also served the European causes, the American cause, and the cause of humanity.

But long before the fame of Polish soldiers was known in other parts of Europe, and many centuries before the discovery of America, they were guarding Europe against its non-European invaders.

For several centuries when Eastern Europe was under attack by Mongols and Tartars from Asia the fighting men of Poland often found themselves between Christian Europe and its non-Christian foes, the powerful

Asiatic hordes in their massive westward movement.

In this defense of Europe's Christian civilization these devoutly Christian Polish soldiers fought with doubled courage and with intense fervor because they knew that they were defending supreme causes, the sacred cause of the church and the righteous cause of Poland.

Centuries later—late in the 17th century—when the same Europe's sacred cause was under the attack of the Ottoman Turks—it was saved by the singularly swift mobilization of the Polish soldiers under their warrior-king, Sobieski the Great.

Yes, in the year 1683 the invincible forces of victorious Ottoman Sultan had besieged Vienna and this last citadel of central Europe was about to fall to its un-Christian foes, and it was saved by the gallantry of Poland's greatest king in modern times, Sobieski the Great; it was saved by his organizing genius, his supremely successful leadership in the field of battle and his unmatched mastery of the art of fighting a decisive and successful battle against a superior enemy.

So in the year 1683, on that fateful September 11 when King Sobieski's combined Polish and Austrian forces defeated the far superior Turkish forces at the gates of Vienna, the victorious armies not only saved Europe from the ravages of the Ottoman Turks, but by that decisive victory they brought an end to Turkish expansion in Europe.

Here again it is proverbial to talk and expand on the bravery and courage of Polish soldiers and also of their heroic king, Sobieski the Great.

We on this side of the Atlantic look upon this miraculous feat of Polish soliders as one of the finest services that these gallant fighters rendered to the cause of Christian civilization and to humanity.

About a century after the glorious fight of Polish soldiers against the Turks under the walls of Vienna, another great war was being fought in the British colonies on this side of the Atlantic.

Our Revolutionary War had attracted many gallant soldiers from many lands in the cause of freedom. But among all those who found means to secure passage to the New World where they hoped to have a chance to fight for a noble cause, none had any purer and unmixed motive than those Poles who rallied to our cause.

They enrolled in our fighting forces and then distinguished themselves as leaders and organizers of fighting units.

There were many Poles who thus fought and gave their lives for our freedom, thereby leaving us eternally in their debt.

Among these great and devoted Polish soldiers of freedom, two stand out:

Gen. Casimir Pulaski's name has long become a household word in all American homes as the military genius who organized our cavalry forces during the Revolutionary War. His fame is well established as the father of American cavalry.

Gen. Tadeusz Kosciuszko is equally well known as another great son of Poland who served with equal distinction in our Revolutionary War, and also subsequently in his native land in fighting for Poland's freedom.

When Poland's brave Polish soliders were fighting for freedom in other lands, Poland was having her most agonizing period in her long history.

Late in the 18th century her powerful and implacable foes—Austrians, Prussians, and Russians—partitioned her among themselves, put an end to independent Poland, and enslaved the Polish people.

Fortunately, however, these autocracies were unable to put an end to the living spirit of Poland. Patriotic and fighting Poles lived on it and they bred a caste of fighters who vowed to fight and die for Poland's freedom.

Poland's conqueror could not suppress Poland's fighting, soldierly spirit.

For more than 100 years these daring Poles carried on their underground fight against all three of their oppressors.

During the First World War, when Poland's historic foes were defeated and their regimes shattered, Poland regained her freedom. Poland's sons had fought in that war on the side of the allied and associated powers. And, just as Polish-Americans fought in our forces with gallantry and distinction, so Polish soldiers fighting in the armies of our allies gave a splendid account of themselves.

Their services were universally recognized. And as a reward for their contributions and for the immense sacrifices they had made for their freedom, they were assisted in regaining their independence at the end of that war.

During the next two decades the Poles rebuilt their war-ravaged country, established their own national institutions, organized a powerful army under the indomitable Marshal Pilsudski, and were quite content with their lot in their homeland.

But the course of politics in neighboring Russia and Germany, particularly in the late 1930's, ushered in tragedy to independent Poland, to free Europe, and to Western civilization.

Neither Poland's strong army by itself nor those of her allies in the west were able to prevent the outbreak of the last war.

Poland was the first victim of that war and the soldiers of Poland were the first to resist the far superior and brutal forces of Hitler's Germany.

It is to the credit of Poland's gallant and brave soldiers that under the most adverse and heartbreaking conditions they carried on their fight against their ruthless and immensely superior foes for more than 5 years.

Throughout these agonizing years the patriotic Pole's ingenuity and his readiness to give his life for his country's cause earned the free world's admiration and affection. Most glorious was their stand against the Nazis in the abortive but heroic mass rising in Warsaw in the summer of 1944.

In that epic fighting between the Polish underground and their Nazi oppressors, the Polish soldier's valor and bravery assured him a distinct place among the heroes of the last war.

Eighteen years have gone by since that epic struggle in Warsaw and the glory which the Polish soldiers earned by their gallantry and bravery there looms larger and grander today, even though they were treacherously abandoned and then betrayed by the Soviet Government.

In the face of the multitude of heroic services which Polish soldiers have rendered to their country and its people, to Europe and its civilization, and, of course, to the cause of freedom during our Revolutionary War, I find it difficult to praise too highly the fine and noble deeds of Polish soldiers.

I know I can hardly do justice in my comments to the descendants of Boleslav the Brave and Sobieski the Great or to the spiritual followers of Kosciuszko and Pulaski. Nor can I do justice in my remarks to the true disciples of Marshal Pilsudski and to all those who served under Generals Sikorski, Sosnkowski, and Komorowski.

Many great sons of Poland, yes, many of her gallant soldiers of freedom, find themselves far away from their native Poland today. Thousands of them are welcomed in this great Republic and many of them are among America's outstanding naturalized citizens.

These soldiers may rest assured that we in this country are fully aware and duly appreciative of their superb services to the cause of freedom.

As I conclude, let me again pay tribute to the members of Post No. 12 Polish Army Veterans and its auxiliary for their sponsorship of this annual Polish Soldiers Day.

Through such an observance you keep alive in the minds of the Polish people, as well as all Americans, the determination on the part of Poland as a nation to shake off the yoke of atheistic communism.

You give a ray of hope to the Polish people that Poland, as a nation protected by the courageous Polish soldier, may once more enjoy the liberty and freedom yearned for in the hearts of the Polish people.

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PROGRAM

10:30 A.M.

Holy Mass at St. Adalbert's Church.

2 P.M.

Presentation and review of color guards.

Introduction, Lt. Alexander Machowski, commander, Polish Army Veterans Post No. 12.

Toastmaster, Hon. Julian Zbytniewski, first national senior vice commander of Polish Army Veterans Association.

Invocation, Rev. Francis Palecki, pastor, St. Adalbert's Church.

American and Polish national anthems, Polish American Musicians Association Band.

Address, Hon. Theodore S. Gutowicz, insurance commissioner, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Musical selections, Polish American Musicians Association Band under the direction of Mr. Joseph Pudlinski.

Principal address, Hon. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member, U.S. House of Representatives.

Polish folk dances, St. Adalbert's Polish Language School.

Resolution, Lucian F. Pazulski, Esq., director, Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board.

Introduction of honored guests.

Taps in honor of deceased Polish soldiers, Rudy Meinhart, Horn-Ross-Weiss Post 861 VFW, officer of the day.

Benediction, Rev. John A. Naja, pastor, St. Ladislaus Church.

Finale, "Boze Cos Polske."

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The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the exercises commemorating the annual and 42d anniversary of the Polish Soldiers Day celebration, sponsored under the auspices of the Polish Army Veterans Association, Post No. 12, and its Ladies Auxiliary, in Philadelphia, Pa.

Assembled under the auspices of the Polish Army Veterans Association, Post No. 12, in Philadelphia, Pa., we veterans having paid tribute to the valiant Poles who fell on the battlefields of glory for their country, for Christianity, for freedom, and democracy, do hereby resolve as follows:

The Polish Soldiers Day, as decreed by the constitutional Polish Parliament in Warsaw, Poland, some 42 years ago, was chiefly designed as an observance of the heroic Polish defense in 1920 which resulted in the routing of the Bolshevist hordes that invaded the newly reborn country. Observance of the Polish Soldiers Day, August 15, in present-day Communist-ruled Poland is forbidden, as is Poland's Independence Day, November 11. It behooves us then to give all aid and comfort to those who are bent on observing Polish Soldiers Day in commemoration of the glorious deeds of all who made the supreme sacrifice in defense of Poland, including those of them who, like Kociuszko and Pulaski, also fought for our American independence.

Since most everybody of the natives in Poland truly became a soldier with the advent of Nazi and Soviet occupation of the country after Hitler and Stalin invaded Poland and divided it between themselves, Polish Soldiers Day became the occasion for the observance of a universal sacrifice of the Polish people, the first to fight in defense

against totalitarianism in World War II and, as one of our Presidents said, the inspiration for all the peoples of the earth. We, therefore, salute today not only the Polish soldiers here gathered, but also the one who fought so bravely side by side with our U.S. forces and our Western Allies on land, on the seas, and in the air, distinguishing himself in the battle of London; at Narvik, Norway; in Tobruk, Africa; on Monte Cassino, Italy; at La Falaise, France; at Arnhem, Holland, and on the high seas of the Atlantic.

We also resolve that this observance today is a fit occasion to renew the June 16, 1962, entreaties of the Supreme Council of the Polish American Congress at its sixth national meeting in Washington, D.C., directed to the White House and the Congress of the United States, that aid to the people of Poland be extended and not discontinued by our Government. We likewise renew our national body's representations to the effect that in a larger view of history, Poland, due to its geographic position, its national temper, and its thousand-year-old ties with Western culture and Christianity, is in fact, an invincible barrier in the path of pernicious Soviet designs for world conquest. Consequently, at this time, we also renew our hopes that our national administration, at an early date, will see fit to recognize Poland's western borders along the Odra-Nysa line, thereby removing the fears of the Polish people in their homeland, convincing them that German eastward aggression is definitely checked by the West. At this time we also repeat the stand taken by our national body in its statement of policy that we will accept no determination of Poland's boundaries which does not assure that nation not only her present Western boundary, but also the return to her of her territory on the east annexed by Soviet Russia.

And we finally resolve that the hereinabove described statements be forwarded in their entirety to the White House, to our Department of State, and our representatives in both Houses of the U.S. Congress.

ALEXANDER MACHOWSKI,
*Commander, Polish Army Veterans Post No. 12 and Chairman of the Polish Soldiers Day Celebration.*

LUCIAN F. PAZULSKI, Esq.,
*Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.*

## West Virginia's Wonderful Potential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the State of West Virginia, organizations within the State, and just plain ordinary citizens, have embarked upon a tremendous program of self-help.

This effort has been spurred by the climate of the Kennedy administration in Washington, where every cooperation has been afforded.

One of our self-help programs is an annual travel clinic. This year's clinic, conducted recently at Blackwater Falls State Park, was under the joint sponsorship of the upper Monongahela Valley Association and the Tucker County Development Association.

Three things became apparent as the clinic panelists unfolded their stories. They were:

First. West Virginia has a wonderful potential as the vacationland of the east-central United States.

Second. Private enterprise and public agencies are working together to provide more and better facilities for the tourist and to tell the story of West Virginia's vacationland features to an increasing number of prospects; and

Third. A wholesome attitude of State pride and confidence in the future grows as the date for the State's 100th birthday celebration comes nearer.

Many suggestions were made at the clinic. Some were outstanding. What is more to the point, those who attended the clinic are putting them into action.

Here is a list of the more outstanding suggestions:

First. Create some regional event—or attraction—that will hold the traveler in your area. Honey in the Rock and Civil War Showcase are two examples.

Second. Promote your festivals and fairs, not only in the area, but in the neighboring States and regions.

Third. Privately developed facilities can be successful. The need for good restaurants and for good lodgings will increase during the centennial year and in the years following.

Fourth. Search out the crafts people in your area. Well-designed items of ceramics, weaving, jewelry, woodworking, quilting, and other items are sought after by travelers. Help your handicraft people merchandise their products.

Fifth. Educate your own people, particularly those who have direct contact with the traveler. Special hospitality workshops can be arranged with the State department of vocational education.

Sixth. Push the cleanup campaign for 1962—the impression that West Virginia makes during 1963 will have a lasting effect on the State's future travel business.

Seventh. The tourist information center at Bluefield has proven worth while and the building of similar centers at other entry points in the State was urged.

Eighth. Good facilities and recreation areas not only attract tourists, but make the area an attractive one for industry. Industrial prospects consider recreational facilities as necessary.

Ninth. Local plants should be encouraged to arrange tours of their facilities for the tourist.

Tenth. Tour West Virginia yourself. Becoming familiar with the attractions that West Virginia has to offer will give you the enthusiasm to become a one-man chamber of commerce for the State.

## Hon. Victor E. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great shock that I heard yesterday of the untimely passing of former Gov. Victor Anderson, of Nebraska. He died at the age of 60 apparently from a heart attack. He had been in poor health for the past few weeks.

Vic Anderson was a friend of mine, as, indeed, he was a friend of most Nebraskans. He was a fine man, an outstanding civic leader, and an outstanding and scrupulously ethical businessman in Lincoln, Nebr.

Vic had a long and distinguished career as a political figure in Nebraska. This career dates back to 1937 when he first served as a trustee for a sanitary district in Lancaster County. In 1948 he served one term as a member of the Nebraska Unicameral Legislature and made an outstanding record as a legislator.

After his term ended Vic wanted to go back into private life and to devote himself to his business activities which were widely varied. But his fellow citizens would not permit Vic to retire from public life. Less than a year later he was called upon to become mayor of Lincoln and again he performed an outstanding service to his community and his fellow citizens.

The job of mayor at that time demanded nearly full-time service by Vic, and paid $20 a month. But Vic was more than glad to serve because it was ingrained in his nature and being to perform such service.

In 1956 Vic was elected Governor of Nebraska and once again he did an outstanding job during his two terms in office. He helped the State through the trying times of growing pains that new industrial development and a sagging farm economy forced upon the Midwest. His service was unselfish in this and other areas.

Since 1958 Vic has more or less retired from public life although he has been an active civic leader in Lincoln and Lancaster County.

The State of Nebraska will miss Vic Anderson. I know that I speak for all of his friend when I say that I will miss him a great deal. Mrs. Weaver joins me in extending our sympathy to his wife, Betty, and son, Roger.

## Multiple Use as a Concept of Land Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Second Congressional District which I am proud to represent in the Congress contains approximately 12½ million acres of national forest lands. This constitutes about half of the national forests in all of California. Mr. Charles A. Connaughton is the regional forester who is responsible for the vast national forest areas of California. Mr. Connaughton is highly respected as an outstanding administrator of our national forest resources.

The Forest Farmer, a national magazine devoted to forestry in practice and published by the Forest Farmers Association, has published an excellent article written by Mr. Connaughton entitled "Multiple Use as a Concept of Land Management."

I would like at this time to insert Mr. Conaughton's fine statement on the importance of multiple use to our national forests:

One of the earliest descriptions of multiple use as applied to American land management is attributed to Theodore Roosevelt. He said:

"All these various uses of our natural resources are so closely connected that they should be coordinated, and should be treated as a part of one coherent plan and not in haphazard and piecemeal fashion."

Multiple use is simply a concept of land use. It is not a system or method. As a concept, it is not subject to definitive description but when used it does indicate broad policy in terms of management direction. Within the concept of multiple use any one method or system of land use may be well and wisely employed.

The concept of multiple use involves the utilization of all the products and services of the land in such a way that realization of their combined value is obtained in a manner consistent with managerial objectives. This presupposes that the uses and services will be combined in a manner so that they are complementary insofar as attainable with concessions in the minor uses to the major ones where such action is necessary.

Multiple use is not intended to apply acre by acre. Instead, it applies to entire properties or at least to large units or blocks of individual properties. Nor does multiple use necessarily mean full use. Actually, the dominant or major value or use must be the primary guide to management, with subordinate uses developed to the maximum consistent with utilization of the main one. There often will be concessions on the part of all uses in order to work out the best combination of uses.

When conflicts arise, adjustments must take place in favor of the dominant use, at the same time securing maximum possible benefits from lesser uses. For example, in a forest primarily dedicated to timber production the yield of wildlife may need to be adjusted to something less than full potential to avoid adverse influence on timber. In turn, timber production may be adjusted somewhat in a downward direction to benefit some wildlife aspects. Multiple use, therefore, may be full use but also may be something considerably less.

This brief and oversimplified description of multiple use is presented to insure a common understanding of the concept. I regard this as basic to the development of the idea that the multiple-use concept demands strong consideration in applied forest management.

At this point, I want to say that good land management doesn't necessarily require application of this concept. In many situations, management objectives are such that multiple use isn't applicable. This can be a perfectly normal and desirable situation. For example, grazing of domestic livestock is incompatible with hardwood production in many situations.

However, when multiple use is consistent with management objectives, it is wise to practice it planwise. Where it is applicable it should be encouraged not only from the standpoint of being profitable to the landowner but also because it creates the best possible relations with the public.

With the foregoing explanation of multiple use at hand, I want to expand on why this concept should be applied. Particularly, I want to develop the relation of multiple use to public opinion and needed support for forestry meaanres.

The public at large doesn't feel that we are suitable stewards for the Nation's forest land. This applies to publicly and privately owned lands alike, and is manifest by the strong and growing desire to place land under dedications for special services.

To illustrate, a considerable acreage of land in the country, including hardwood areas, is in hunting reservations. There is nothing wrong with this use of land and in most areas reasonable timber production can be achieved along with the game production. This combined use isn't always adopted by landowners, as verified by data available from the Northeast.

The Federal Land Bank of Boston recently released the results of a study of the management of forest land held by groups for various recreational purposes, including hunting. These group ownerships are very significant in that area. This study showed that only 41 percent of the organization camps and 34 percent of the sportsmen groups permit any logging on their lands. I am sure data pointing in a similar direction could be collected in other areas of the Nation. These are sufficient, however, to point up the job at hand, namely, that of convincing landowners, along with the general public, that timber production can be carried out in manner consistent with production of wildlife and recreation.

We simply must demonstrate in the management of forest lands that wood production, wildlife production, and recreation can be made compatible. Regrettably, the public has seen too many examples in the past where the coordination of these uses was not achieved. As a result, they are determined to secure commitments of dedications of land which will insure the fulfillment of their desires, such as for recreation to the exclusion of all else, particularly to the exclusion of all uses involving timber cutting.

In short, I want to emphasize that even though multiple use management may not always be essential or even desirable, it is still wise to apply this concept if at all possible.

Multiple use may or may not yield the maximum in direct financial return. However, even if it actually reduces direct returns it may in the long run far offset the cost by indirect benefit. By this statement, I mean that if multiple use will assist in obtaining good will and public support, it may be wise to practice it. The desirability of practicing multiple use under conditions which engender public interest and support is apparent even if such a decision actually adds to direct costs.

The advantages of public support in carrying out land management objectives are perfectly clear. Yet we constantly encounter situations where land management practices neglect or overlook public reaction and response. These situations are common on public and privately owned land alike. Any one circumstance isn't too important but their effects are cumulative and many small points of view can generate into one big one. From a land-management standpoint, it is imperative that this "big one" be oriented to favor the purposes of the enlightened land manager. One way to direct this properly is to employ the multiple use concept to the maximum consistent with the basic management objective of the ownership involved.

I'd like to call attention to institutional advertising of Weyerhaeuser Timber Co. as an illustration of enlightened self-interest. At frequent intervals multicolor, full-page advertising in support of this company appears in the national magazines. Study this advertising carefully. You'll find it does little to feature a specific product.

Instead, much of the advertising is designed to create an image in the public mind that this company is a suitable steward for forest land. Incidentally, this is certainly a correct image.

This advertising features multiple use in developing this image. You'll usually find as backdrop to the advertisement a lovely forest scene from which forest products have been harvested. In this forest setting recreational and wildlife values will be featured. The net result is a picture of forest land being used in such a way that the interests of many people other than the stockholders are being served. This leading American company has decided that the public image must be created and shaped and that multiple use should be featured in the process. I regard this forward-looking action as one of the most impressive on the American forestry scene.

I selected Weyerhaeuser advertising to describe because it is good and effective, not because it is unique. There are other good examples reflecting the same approach. For instance, International Paper Co. recently issued a recreation guide to one of its tree farms. This is a fine job which shows that the company realizes that the public image needs to be shaped and one way to do this is by emphasizing the multiple use opportunities of forest land.

In applying multiple use, the management systems employed must result in high levels of achievement on the land. There is no point in adopting any management concept unless the evidence of its use doesn't react favorably on the land.

In this respect, I've no detailed, specific suggestions to make because of tremendous variations which are encountered on the land. As a generalization, however, I feel very strongly that regardless of what our standards of land management are today, they aren't high enough to meet the needs of tomorrow. Those of us responsible for land management results have the obligation, therefore, to raise our standards of land use and, preferably, in the multiple use pattern. This increase in standards can be expected to yield a proportionate increase in returns either direct or indirect.

Actually, raising standards isn't as difficult as it might seem. Our level of knowledge is constantly being raised. Slowly, but consistently, through the processes of research and experience, we are improving techniques of land management. An alertness to this new fund of knowledge makes adjustment of standards feasible and possible.

Thus, far, I've made the point that nationwide we are in a rather critical period in relation to shaping the public image of forest land use. I've indicated that one important way to do this is to apply the multiple use concept in forest land management. I've emphasized that in applying the multiple use concept that direct costs might exceed direct returns but that indirect returns can be expected to outweigh greatly any expenditures.

Incidentally, some secondary returns for forest land management can be quite substantial. I recently saw a quote from August issue of the Sport Fishing Institute Bulletin which stated that the sport fishing rights for salmon and trout from one bank of a stream in England sold for $59,552 for 1¼ miles.

There is no panacea, however, to meeting the problem of shaping the public image of forest management. Multiple use is just one approach. Where it will work it should be used and, furthermore, it should be featured. Where it is not applicable there is no point in trying to force it. The main point here is that there is a big job to do right away in shaping and directing public opinion either with or without multiple use.

Probably at no time in American history has the need for emphasis on this matter been greater. This is due to the fact that our population is increasing rapidly while our land base is static. This automatically places increasing public pressure on the land. Also, this increased population has more time than ever to become interested in the forest land whether or not they use it for recreational purposes. Actually, we've reached a point where the fit of the population to the land has become tight.

The decade of the 1960's therefore, will be a decade of decision for much forest land and many dedications of forest land will be requested and some will be made. We, as land managers, will be consulted when the decisions on these dedications are made only insofar as there is confidence in our ability as land managers to handle the forest so both its productivity and appearance is maintained.

## No Runs for Your Money: Runproof Nylon Stockings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN A. CARROLL
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I should like to draw the attention of the Senate today to run-proof nylon stockings. I am not an expert in this field. Indeed, it is a new experience for me to take an interest—in my official capacity—in women's stockings.

Several months ago, two Denver women wrote to me about stockings. They said that the very sheer stockings which women wear nowadays do not wear well. Runs and snags occur almost as soon as the stockings are put on.

I checked with my wife and with the women in my office and found that such complaints were general.

I took the matter up with the Federal Trade Commission. Its Chairman advised that action is possible only if the stockings had been advertised fraudulently. I made telephone calls. I talked with an expert at the National Bureau of Standards who had helped to develop the original machine which measures the strength of stockings by denier and gage. This gentleman told me that stockings were measured accurately and that the increase in the frequency of runs was due to the increased demand for lighter, sheerer stockings.

I am most pleased, therefore, to note that the Swiss have developed a process for making runproof nylon stockings. There have recently been two most interesting articles on the subject, one by Phyllis Nibling published in Empire, the magazine section of the Sunday Denver Post, and the other by Rosalind Massow, which was published in Parade magazine.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sunday Denver (Colo.) Post, July 8, 1962]

A RUNNING BATTLE WON?—NEW RUNPROOF HOSIERY GETS DISSENTERS' NOD

(By Phyllis Nibling)

Two Denver women who carried their runing battle with the nylon hosiery industry to the U.S. Senate are about ready to call a truce.

The industry has capitulated—or, at least, it has come out with a new process for making sheer mesh runproof stockings in 20 deniers which may mend matters with Mrs. Ruth Engstrom and Mrs. Vernie C. O'Grady—and the 64,607,000 other American women who wear stockings.

Mrs. Engstrom and Mrs. O'Grady, employees of the Denver U.S. National Bank, became spokesmen for runner-weary womanhood last winter when both wrote indignant letters to U.S. Senator JOHN A. CARROLL.

It must have been refreshing to Senator CARROLL to find letters that had nothing to do with the national debt, medicare, or atomic bomb testing.

Their subject was much closer to a woman's purse and good temper.

"What," demanded Mrs. O'Grady, "can we, as consumers do about this worldwide 'fraud' in ladies hosiery?"

Mrs. Engstrom's complaint was more poetic but no less emphatic. She wrote:

I'm mighty tired of working
And spending what I got
Just to keep my legs in
Some no-good-wearing socks * * *
Every night upon the shower rod
There hangs a lonely sock.
To see two hanging there
Would be a dreadful shock.

Senator CARROLL, "a man with three generations of girls in his immediate family," was sympathetic. His answer:

"Your poem is clear
And so my dear,
I'll send it to Rand Dixon
And ask that he
Alert for me
The Federal Trade Commission."

Mr. Dixon is FTC Chairman, and being used to scanning the rhymes of TV and radio commercials, was not taken aback by the meter in his mail. But, alas, he could only report that, so far as the FTC was concerned, the hosiery manufacturers were not consciously practicing "fraud" on the women of the United States.

"We feel that this Commission may not properly under existing legislation establish quality standards for ladies' hosiery or require hosiery manufacturers to label their products as conforming to any existing quality standards," he wrote.

"As a result of our experience with this industry it is our understanding that the wearability of hosiery is to a large extent determined by the denier and gage."

Senator CARROLL, meanwhile, talked to a National Bureau of Standards engineer who had helped develop a machine to measure the strength of stockings by denier and gage.

"He told me the industry was still giving fair measurements, but he said the women demand very light, flimsy stockings," the Senator reported. "That's what the man said."

And, although he felt the question was "legitimate and serious, affecting millions of working women and housewives," the Senator could go no further. The problem seemed to be that 70 percent of American women wanted sheer seamless stockings, and there was simply no way of making them runproof.

Well, the matter ended there. Mrs. Engstrom and Mrs. O'Grady each went back to washing out a single stocking at night—the other had usually been tossed into the wastebasket—and muttering about the fashion that dictated that they had to wear sheer nylons in this most impractical of worlds.

And then, miracle of miracles, the nylon hosiery industry came out with its new process.

Last week, Mrs. Engstrom and Mrs. O'Grady were both wearing the first of the new nonrun stockings to arrive in Denver, courtesy of the May-D. & F.

They were almost ecstatic. For the first time in many a moon, the ladies reported each had worn one pair of stockings for 3 days running, or rather, without running.

"You can't make them run," Mrs. O'Grady said. And, in a drastic demonstration for a Denver Post photographer, she took a sharpened wooden pencil and rammed it through one of her stockings.

Then she tugged at the hole in all directions: No runners appeared.

Naturally, though, there was that hole.

That the hosiery manufacturers warn, is the one problem with the new nylons. They won't run, but they certainly will snag, and if the snag, is rough enough, they'll get holes.

(The New York Times, sad to tell, reports that Macy's bureau of standards has made the runless hosiery run. However, they seem to have put it through much more stringent tests than the average woman ever will—unless she makes a habit of wading through bramble patches.)

Secret of the new hosiery is a micromesh technique developed by a German inventor 9 years ago. His patents had been tied up until last June when a Hanes official managed to get hold of them.

Other companies jumped on the bandwagon when word of the new stocking process got around and developed their own knitting machines. The result is that seamless mesh hosiery is now going on sale for the first time—or will be as soon as local stores get their stocks in.

The news of a runless stocking seems to have caused the biggest "run," pardon the word, on hosiery since nylons came back on the open market after World War II.

A survey of six Denver department stores last week showed that all had the new nylons on order if not in stock. Some had incoming stocks already accounted for in held orders.

"The quantities available in the new runless stockings are limited for the present time due to the manufacturers having to change over their machines," Bill Carsen, hosiery buyer for May-D. & F., said. "What sizes and colors we don't have will be available in 2 to 3 weeks, so we invite the customer to leave her order for later delivery."

Apparently many costumers are leaving orders, and most stores reported a "great many" inquiries.

"I think there's been a lot of publicity on them that people are interpreting wrong," Mrs. Inez Bolding of Fontius said. "They won't run, but they will snag. But even so, they should give very good wear."

Mrs. Bolding, incidentally, claims to have gotten up to 3 months' wear out of a single pair of ordinary 15-denier hose, wearing them daily and washing them out at night, which sounds like getting 100 miles to the gallon on an air-conditioned limousine. But she says it's not unusual for her.

"It's all in the way you take them off and put them on," Mrs. Bolding said. "Taking them off is when most people snag their stockings. And girdles that put a taut strain on stockings make them run more easily."

Most of the major hosiery companies are coming out with no-run, runproof, runless, or nonrun stockings, and at least four brands will be available in Denver within a month.

They will be available only in medium lengths in some brands and in a limited

color selection. Prices range from $1.65 to $1.95 a pair.

In appearance, they're hard to tell from regular sheers, although on close inspection the tiny mesh pattern does show up. But from an ordinary point of view, few people should be able to tell whether they're 15-denier sheers or 26-denier mesh.

Senator CARROLL, the man who got involved in this feminine furor, says he cheers the new stockings—but still has lingering doubts.

"All stockings wear out eventually," he cautioned. "But I certainly hope the ladies will like them. It will make life easier for a lot of people and save them money they can ill afford to waste."

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[From Parade magazine]

SOMETHING NEW IN STOCKINGS

(By Rosalind Massow)

Ladies, there's a new stocking in your future. It's runless, seamless and, what's more, it's here now.

Every woman who has ever known the frustration of a last minute rush to get dressed, only to find she's hooked a run in her last pair of nylons, will greet with a sigh of relief the announcement that the era of the runless stocking is about to begin.

So throw away the clear nail polish, girls, that snag is no longer always fatal.

Not since nylons emerged from the test tube in 1939 has anything so important been done for female legs and pocketbooks as these stockings. Conservative hosiery manufacturers predict that they'll outlast present hose four to one.

WHAT THEY LOOK LIKE

On the leg, runless hose looks like any other mesh stocking; in the hand, you can tell the weave is different. Because of a locked-stitch construction, the stocking has a thicker texture than regular seamless mesh and is a little heavier. In some respects it is similar to service-weight hose, but hosiery makers hope to produce a sheerer stocking.

While the new hose is being sold in some cities now, it won't be readily available until fall.

So anxious are women to try the new stocking that one store in San Francisco reports it ran out of 1,200 pairs of runless in 4 hours. Is all the hoopla justified? Just how good are these stockings?

Recognizing the possible significance of the new development but still preserving a natural skepticism, Parade recently sat in on several demonstrations given by competitive hosiery companies.

We saw stockings put through a testing hell, and we concluded that if you're the kind of person who likes to climb barbed wire fences, walk through fields of thorned wild roses, hang your hose up to dry on fish hooks or scratch your stockinged leg with a cheese grater—then these are definitely the stockings for you. They snag, but they don't ordinarily run.

Or if your daily routine calls for burning a hole in your hose with a cigarette, running a nail file through your nylons or maybe hooking them with big safety pins, you'll wind up with holes but no runs.

If, on the other hand, your routine is sort of normal, you'll get better wear from these stockings. They won't run, for example, on a dance floor when a clumsy oaf steps on your ankle, or when inadvertently you brush up against a rough chair or maybe even hook your hose on a charm bracelet.

The truth is that these no-runs don't carry a lifelong guarantee or anything like it. You can get holes in your hose and you can snag them, but they are more durable than regular seamless stockings and for that reason deserve a hearing. A Parade test showed that they will run if you make a hole in the leg part and then stretch them with all your might, as in a tug of war.

The average woman buys 12.4 pairs of stockings a year, and many women don't wear hose all the time because they can't afford to take the chance of tearing them. The runless will be more expensive, up to $1.95 a pair, but they'll last longer.

If these runless stockings do result in revolutionizing the manufacture of ladies' hose it won't be the first time. There have been many milestones in the long and interesting history of female leg gear.

Silk stockings caught the fancy of Queen Elizabeth in 1560, but it wasn't until the 18th century that they made their way over to this country. However, only wealthy women could afford them. Nylons kayoed the silk hose just before World War II and have been the champ ever since. It's still possible to buy silk stockings in the United States. One company says it sold 25,000 pairs of silk last year, compared to the industry's total sale of 804 million pairs of nylon.

FROM STOCKINGS TO PARACHUTES

The first nylons right before World War II were just as strong as the current runless hose. They weren't as sheer as silk, but they lasted. When the war came and nylons went to battle as parachutes and gunpowder bags, women couldn't buy them anymore. Nylon stockings were so coveted they became a medium of exchange for rare and expensive items. The story is told that Gen. Mark Clark took nylons with him to north Africa as a means of persuading an admiral there to help in the allied invasion.

When the war ended and nylons went back to ladies' legs, women accused manufacturers of producing inferior hose. One lady was so incensed by the fragility of her nylons that she wrote a letter to the editor of a New York newspaper suggesting that when the Army-McCarthy hearings were over the committee remain in session to investigate why nylon stockings ran so easily. Truth was, of course, that the stronger prewar stockings were much heavier and less flattering than the thin sheers now in vogue.

Probably that lady letterwriter, like millions of other women, is still worrying about the problem—and eager to get her first look at the new stockings. If so, there's sure to be a run on runless this fall.

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## Carded Yarn Association Tells Its Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have just received more information on still another U.S. industry that feels the serious injury being inflicted because of our trade policies.

I have tried repeatedly to warn of the dangers involved in the passage of any Trade Expansion Act that ignores the economic facts of life.

The Carded Yarn Association has a story to tell that ought to interest every Member:

THE CARDED YARN ASSOCIATION, INC.,
*Charlotte, N.C., August 13, 1962.*

Hon. J. H. DENT,
*Representative from Pennsylvania,*
*House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DENT: On Wednesday, August 8, 1962, the executive committee and the import task committee of the Carded Yarn Association met in a joint meeting at Charlotte, N.C. The purpose was to discuss the problems arising from the tremendous volume of carded yard being imported into the United States from foreign sources.

At this meeting Mr. W. R. Austin read the inclosed editorial written by Mr. J. Craig Smith, for the Avondale Sun and published as a guest editorial in the Birmingham, Ala., paper. The figures showing the import of yarn by individual countries, was also discussed in detail.

It was the unanimous opinion of the mill owners gathered at this meeting that each Member of Congress would appreciate the information presented and I was directed to forward this information to you. The members of both committees thought you would be interested in seeing how foreign countries are exporting textiles, whose greatest value lies in the raw material contained therein, to the United States to receive the advantage of the cotton differential.

If this association can be of assistance in keeping you informed of any yarn statistics please feel free to call upon us.

Yours very truly,

J. H. CAMPBELL,
*Executive Vice President.*

"GOOD FAITH IS AT STAKE

"(By J. Craig Smith)

"Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, Assistant to the President Myer Feldman, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Hickman Price, Jr., and other representatives of the Kennedy administration have repeatedly told our industry that under the long-term Geneva arrangement cotton textile imports would be held for 3 years to what came in during the Government's fiscal year which ended June 30, 1961, and that for the remaining 2 years of the arrangement there would be an increase of 5 percent per year. A rereading of the letter that President Kennedy wrote Congressman CARL VINSON dated February 26, 1962, would bring any reasonable person to the conclusion that the members of the Kennedy administration who made statements to our industry were speaking with the knowledge and authority of the President.

"During the Government's fiscal year which ended June 30, 1961, total textile imports came in equivalent to 430,000 bales of cotton. During the first 5 months of 1962, the equivalent of 295,000 bales of cotton has come in. Preliminary figures indicate that the relentless tide of cotton textile imports continued to rise during June and July. If imports continue at this rate, more than 700,000 bales will be imported during 1962 instead of the 430,000-bale ceiling we were promised.

"The major reason for this all-time high in textile imports is due to the tremendous windfall that comes to the importer because of the difference in price paid for cotton by the U.S. mill and the foreign mill. So long as an extra profit of $42.50 a bale can be made on cotton textile imports, the incentive to violate the Geneva arrangement makes it almost impossible to enforce that arrangement. This fact is apparent to any thinking person.

"In point four of President Kennedy's program for the textile industry, he recognized the need for eliminating or offsetting the disadvantage the U.S. mill is in in respect to its raw material cost. In November of 1961, he asked the Tariff Commission to investigate whether or not an 8½-cent offset fee should be imposed on textile imports. He asked for this investigation in November of 1961. It is now August 3, 1962 and no action has been taken. This same Tariff Commission took less than 60 days to determine that more than two bales of imported cotton in the form of picker lap was hurt-

ful to the cotton price support program and must be stopped. How much longer is needed to determine that imports at the rate of 700,000 bales are breaking the back of the American cotton industry and negating the raw cotton price support program? What action does President Kennedy have in mind to implement his commitments to the cotton industry?"

*The Carded Yarn Association, Inc., published import figures through June 30, 1962*

| Country | Short-term Geneva agreement quota versus actual imports, Oct. 1, 1961 through June 30, 1962 | |
|---|---|---|
| | Carded | Combed |
| Portugal: | | |
| Quota | 5,289,000 | 2,353,000 |
| Imports | 10,374,480 | 1,923,811 |
| Colombia: | | |
| Quota | 0 | 0 |
| Imports | 2,295,732 | 94,295 |
| Israel: | | |
| Quota | 419,000 | 0 |
| Imports | 1,543,310 | 169,119 |
| Egypt: | | |
| Quota | 849,000 | 44,000 |
| Imports | 2,086,015 | 401,390 |
| Mexico: | | |
| Quota | 408,000 | 0 |
| Imports | 1,178,629 | 0 |
| Taiwan: | | |
| Quota | 0 | 0 |
| Imports | 1,000,000 | 0 |
| France: | | |
| Quota | 816,000 | 25,000 |
| Imports | 733,678 | 4,836 |
| Spain: | | |
| Quota | 1,427,000 | 123,000 |
| Imports | 237,208 | 402,237 |
| Switzerland: | | |
| Quota | 85,000 | 113,000 |
| Imports | 22,095 | 181,047 |
| Italy: | | |
| Quota | 94,000 | 8,000 |
| Imports | 176,433 | 320 |
| United Kingdom: | | |
| Quota | 1,000 | 88,000 |
| Imports | 1,000 | 58,716 |
| Lebanon: | | |
| Quota | 4,000 | 0 |
| Imports | 50,809 | 0 |
| Belgium: | | |
| Quota | 2,000 | 1,000 |
| Imports | 200 | 17,546 |
| Greece: | | |
| Quota | 0 | 0 |
| Imports | 0 | 116,976 |
| West Germany: | | |
| Quota | 1,000 | 2,000 |
| Imports | 0 | 83,826 |
| East Germany: | | |
| Quota | 0 | 0 |
| Imports | 19,606 | 0 |
| Canada: | | |
| Quota | 0 | 0 |
| Imports | 33,930 | 0 |
| All others: | | |
| Quota | 411,000 | 34,000 |
| Imports | 6,000 | 2,693 |
| Total: | | |
| Quota | 9,776,000 | 2,791,000 |
| Imports | 19,759,125 | 3,456,812 |

THE CARDED YARN ASSOCIATION, INC.,
*Charlotte, N.C., August 8, 1962.*

The executive committee of the Carded Yarn Association, meeting in Charlotte, N.C., today to consider the problem created by the flood of imported yarns took note of the interim report of President Kennedy's Textile Advisory Committee, as quoted in the Charlotte Observer.

Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, Chairman, reporting to the President for the Committee noted that the Committee, "is as much as ever concerned to press forward with the full range of measures proposed in your program of May 2, 1961," and "in particular, we would wish to note that the differential in the price of cotton purchased by domestic producers and the price paid by foreign producers continues to result in severe import pressures on the American market."

Under present Government policies foreign spinners buy American cotton 8½ cents per pound or $42.50 per bale cheaper than can American spinners.

W. R. Austin, president of the Carded Yarn Association speaking for his committee, said that the impact of imports on the carded yarn industry is dramatically illustrated by published Department of Commerce figures which show that as of June 30, 1962, 19,759,125 pounds of carded yarn had been imported in the first 9 months of the short term international textile agreement against a 12-month quota of 9,776,000 pounds.

The executive committee is convinced that the import offset fee is the most effective means of restricting excessive imports of carded yarns and urges immediate and favorable action by the Tariff Commission and the President.

## Nebraska Farmer Speaks Out on the CED Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, recently the Committee on Economic Development, CED, issued a highly controversial report on agriculture. They produced what they call a solution to the farm problem.

In the August 4 issue of the Nebraska Farmer, a publication which reaches 9 out of every 10 farm families in Nebraska and is widely read and highly respected both in Nebraska and elsewhere in the Midwest, there appears a penetrating commentary on this program. I would like to point out that unlike some other journals devoted to agriculture, the Nebraska Farmer is published by a man who is himself a farmer.

Mr. Glenn Buck, publisher, is a farmer, a landowner and a man who personally supervises his operation. He is knowledgeable on the subject of farming and knows a good deal about agricultural economics, not only through reading about the problems and the possible solutions but also from practical and personal experience.

Because this editorial appears in a highly respected magazine published by a man who is thoroughly and competently conversant with farming and farm problems, I believe that it would be well for my colleagues in the House to read the editorial.

Under leave to extend my remarks, the editorial follows:

THIS FARM PROPOSAL A "GASSER"

"Apparently the way to solve the farm problem is to line up 2 million farmers and shoot them."

That's the way one farmer sized up the recent statement of a group called the Committee for Economic Development on its recommendations for farm economic adjustment.

The Committee recommended that 2 million workers be moved off farms in the next 5 years. It also recommended "immediate reduction of the prices of wheat, cotton, rice, and feed grains so that farmers will not be misled by high price supports into retaining excessive resources in agriculture."

The most charitable thing we can say about the Committee is that it is badly misinformed. There are three resources that go into agricultural production: (1) Land, (2) capital, (3) human labor. The record shows that removal of a portion of the people who supply the human labor has absolutely no effect on the surplus production that is at the core of agriculture's problems. For many years, people have been moving out of farming—and farm production has been increasing.

There are many other reasons why the Committee's proposals are repugnant. For instance, what would such a program do to the family farm? What would it do to unemployment in this country which already has a sizable unemployment problem? Where would displaced farmers go to earn their living? How much would the program speed the decay of small—even medium-sized—towns?

But again let's be charitable and analyze it as just a poorly informed proposal that would not work. And let's add that it certainly should not be given serious consideration by anyone as a solution to the problems of agriculture.

Perhaps a look at the connections of some of the men on the Committee may give a clue to why it got so far off the beam. On the research and policy subcommittee which formulated the recommendations are representatives of automobile manufacturers, an encyclopedia publisher, life insurance companies, department stores, a business machine manufacturer, and a number of other companies whose names do not automatically identify their types of business. Such folks are getting into a strange field when they attempt to become experts in agriculture.

The presence of representatives of a mail order house, a power company, an oil company and some others who likely do business with farmers is difficult to understand. However, it is encouraging to note that some of these submitted "memoranda of comment, reservation or dissent," according to the Committee's statement.

Less difficult to understand is that the Committee had professional assistance from economists from such institutions as Harvard University, Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago. An economist from Michigan State University is also listed, and it would seem he should be better informed since Michigan State is closely in touch with agriculture. But perhaps he was overpowered by other economists who could hardly be expected to be well informed about farming.

## The Triumph of Cloture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Triumph of Sense in the Senate," published in the New York Herald Tribune of August 15, 1962.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIUMPH OF SENSE IN THE SENATE

Yesterday, for the first time since 1927, the Senate voted to invoke cloture. It was a close thing, 63 to 27, just above two-thirds of those present and voting, but nevertheless convincing.

Thus the Senate, under bipartisan leadership, affirmed that it is overwhelmingly in favor of the administration measure to set up a privately owned, Government-regulated corporation for launching and operating satellites in a world communications system. Telstar, of course, is only the beginning.

No doubt there were plenty of Senators who voted against the filibuster reluctantly. For this is the weapon of the minority, and what Senator knows when the roadblock of interminable laryngeal exercise may not be useful to his lights and purposes?

Yet it has been often said that the Senate can always cut down the filibuster whenever it is strongly and genuinely of the mood for action. So the filibuster, when it succeeds, is evidence of the lack of united, overwhelming opinion. That is the theory, at least, for allowing this restrictive device.

But in the matter of the communications satellite bill, the plain fact is that the great majority wants it. The giveaway hobgoblin didn't frighten. Just as the House voted almost unanimously for the bill, argument after argument has piled up that there is nothing horrendous or revolutionary about extending the present setup in communications facilities. For this country has been served well so far, and the idea of Government and private industry collaborating in this part of the space program, with a monopoly for neither, sounds exciting and practical.

Certainly Government operation has been zealously avoided heretofore in the communications arts, and with excellent result. And for this reason the Senate decided that the Wayne Morse circus had run long enough.

In short, the filibuster can be overcome when the pressure of responsibility is great enough. The Senate is to be congratulated for this triumph of sense.

## Sacred Hall of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have obtained permission from the Reader's Digest to use an article which appeared in their July 1962 publication, entitled "Sacred Hall of Independence," and as the Representative of that part of Philadelphia in which Independence Hall is located I would like to share the recognition of this historic edifice with all of my colleagues. It is an extremely interesting and well written article and I commend it to all Americans:

SACRED HALL OF INDEPENDENCE

(By Paul Friggens)

Here, on July 4, 1776, was adopted the Declaration, from which flow all the blessings of our life and land.

Some time ago guards at Independence Hall in Philadelphia noticed that a graying, shabby little woman came in frequently to visit this national shrine. Then they discovered that on occasion she would leave a dollar bill beside the Liberty Bell. Questioned, the refugee from an Iron Curtain country explained in halting English, "Now I know what freedom mean to me, I give something back."

Every year more than 1,500,000 visitors, including 50,000 from abroad, make their pilgrimage to this spot marked simply by a tablet at the entrance: "Birthplace of the United States of America." A Wyoming ranch family, driving through Philadelphia late one night, wanted to see the shrine and asked a policeman for directions. After dark the Liberty Bell is spotlighted through glass-paneled doors, and the Wyoming couple and their youngsters stood in rapture. "They'd come so far that I opened the doors and let them in to touch the Bell," says Guard Joe Ostrowski. Equally inspired was a blind war veteran, as his wife guided his fingers over the raised inscription on the Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Today Independence Hall has come to symbolize the rights of free men everywhere. "Ah, the Bell," Premier David Ben-Gurion of Israel cried, and started to examine it. He stopped short. "But am I worthy to touch it?"

Historian Carl Van Doren points out that in Independence Hall the United States was created on July 4, 1776, with the framing of the Declaration of Independence, and perpetuated on September 17, 1787, with the adoption of our Constitution. Here also we created a Continental Army and Navy, adopted the Stars and Stripes as our Nation's flag and established the temporary capital of the United States.

In recent years Independence Hall was rundown and surrounded by slums. Now an eight-block jungle of firetraps and dilapidated shops has been razed to give it a dignified setting in a new Independence National Historical Park. Some 110 structures in the Federal park, including a 10-story office building, have already been leveled in a bold $30 million project first sparked by civic and patriotic organizations banded together as the Independence Hall Association. The park will preserve perhaps a score of other treasured buildings and sites in "America's most historic square mile." Eventually the shrine will be fully restored, with imposing mall, brick walls, wrought-iron fences and serpentine, shaded walks as in the late 18th century.

The noble old two-story Georgian building, erected between 1732 and 1753 as the Pennsylvania State House, is commencing to look fresh and prideful again. The National Park Service has peeled off some 60 coats of paint in places, and is carefully investigating the fabric and physical history of the edifice. Its researchers have pored over musty records here and abroad to piece together all that happened in this stately building. "There's no more stirring story," says Park Superintendent Melford O. Anderson, "and Americans ought to know it better."

Step into the historic assembly room with its high colonial windows, twin fireplaces, green-covered desks and quill pens, together with the commanding portrait of George Washington by Charles Willson Peale, and the American Revolution comes alive again.

The Revolution, said John Adams, occurred "in the minds and hearts of the people." King George III and his ministers provoked the people with harsh customs regulations and a stamp tax on everything from newspapers to playing cards. The crowning blow came with the British Parliament's insistence on legislating for the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

In September 1774, 12 of the 13 Colonies dispatched delegations of leading citizens to an assembly in Philadelphia to seek redress for their grievances. (Georgia did not participate until the next year.) Philadelphia was then a "greene towne" on the edge of the wilderness. It was plagued by insufferable summer heat, horseflies, and the dread yellow fever, but it boasted 35,000 inhabitants, cobbled streets, a thriving commerce, and culture. It was to become the center of American resistance.

From their hostels the delegates walked to Carpenters' Hall for their first meeting as the Continental Congress. They adopted a manifesto of grievances, pledged support to the beleaguered people of Boston, embargoed British goods, and petitioned the King to restore the "rights of Englishmen."

The following spring, on April 19, 1775, the thin line of embattled minutemen at Lexington and Concord stood fast against a detachment of redcoats sent to seize some military stores, and the Second Continental Congress convened under a cloud of war. Gathering for the first time in the State House, Congress chose George Washington as general and commander in chief of the ragtag Continental Army, and addressed a final olive-branch appeal to Britain.

The Revolution took a decisive turn on June 7, 1776. On instructions from his Virginia Convention, Richard Henry Lee rose in the State House to propose a dramatic resolution: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." The resolution loosed a torrent of debate.

After days of bitter argument delegates favoring independence won out, and a five-man committee, including Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, was selected to draft a declaration "setting forth the causes which impelled us to this mighty resolution." One of its members, 33-year-old Thomas Jefferson, was asked to write the document. So this lanky, redheaded Virginian toiled between June 11 and June 28 in a second-floor room of a German bricklayer's house, penning the finest statement of democratic principles in all history.

On July 3, Jefferson slipped into a rear seat in the Assembly Room and listened while Congress took up his draft of the Declaration. Written in Jefferson's neat, clear hand, it was an eloquent series of charges against the Crown, but what breathed eternal fire into it and stirred the Congress was this passage: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And again, the immutable principle that government derives its powers "from the consent of the governed." This is the heart of American democracy.

Congress spent nearly 2 days pruning and editing the document. But in the end the lofty sentiment, timeless philosophy and cadenced phrasing of the Declaration remained almost wholly Jefferson's—and wholly American. John Adams called it "the very essence of the American mind." It was afternoon, July 4, when Congress, mutually pledging "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour," unanimously adopted the Declaration, ordering it to be published and proclaimed.

Legend has it that on July 4, 1776, an old bellman stood in the steeple of Independence Hall, eagerly awaiting the signal from a boy stationed at the assembly room door. As the Congress jubilantly approved the Declaration, the boy shouted, "Ring, Grandfather, ring!" And so, it is said, our liberty was first proclaimed to the world.

Today, on rare state occasions, the Liberty Bell is tapped with a rubber mallet, and its muted tone has been recorded for posterity. But its real message is symbolic. As the guides tell tens of thousands of visitors to Independence Hall, "The Liberty Bell re-

minds each of us not only of our rights and privileges but also of our duties and responsibilities."

On July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams died within a few minutes of each other—first, 83-year-old Jefferson, at Monticello; then, in Quincy, Mass., hardy John Adams, at 91. Shortly before, when a group of citizens asked Adams for a watchword for the 50th-anniversary celebration, he had offered a toast that is meaningful to all liberty-loving people. "I give you," said the old patriot, "independence forever."

## Judicial Methods of Dealing With Juvenile Delinquents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLAIBORNE PELL
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I should like to bring to the attention of Senators an excellent editorial entitled "This Judge Talks the Right Language," published on August 3, 1962, in the Woonsocket Call.

Lately there has been on my mind—and I am sure it has been on the minds of many others—the problems of juvenile delinquency. Frankly, we hear from the law enforcement authorities that our judicial system has coddled those juvenile delinquents who willfully destroy and harm property and people. However, I am proud to say that in my home State of Rhode Island there has been initiated a family court which can best be summarized as a combination of the juvenile court and divorce calendar of the superior court system.

This court has functioned since its inception in an extremely effective manner. One of the most important reasons for this is because of the high caliber of the men who sit upon its bench. I am sure that you will agree with me, Mr. President, that some old-fashioned straight-from-the-shoulder talk to delinquent young men sometimes proves very effective. Therefore, I commend Judge DeCiantis, and ask that this editorial be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Woonsocket (R.I.) Call and Evening Reporter, Aug. 3, 1962]

THIS JUDGE TALKS THE RIGHT LANGUAGE

Recalcitrant teenagers would be better off if they were handled as judiciously as a quintet of young Warwick punks. Accused of harassing a residential neighborhood in the Buttonwoods section of the city, they found themselves before Judge Michael DeCiantis of the family court.

"If I sink my teeth into you, brother, they'll stay there," the judge warned the youths. "I'm going to break up this band and I'm going to do it my way."

That may seem like strong language, but it undoubtedly is language the youths can understand. The judge warned them that if they so much as see or speak to each other again they will be sent to the Rhode Island Training School for Boys.

What happened in Warwick is that a group of seven youths constantly harassed householders to the point where neighbors armed themselves with brooms and golf clubs in self-defense. Charges against two of the youngsters were dismissed, but the other five, one of whom is 15 and the other four 17, were brought before Judge DeCiantis.

We think the judge probably put them on the right path and it is significant that he pointed out the relationship between school dropouts, unemployment and delinquency. All five of the boys dropped out of school during the last year and none was employed when the trouble took place. The judge instructed them either to return to school or to get jobs.

The case involving Buttonwoods is not isolated, as we read of similar instances in other areas from time to time. When we do, we're always gratified to know that youngsters in this area are pretty sensible when it comes to living in a civilized society. In mentioning the case at Buttonwoods, therefore, we again happily point with pride to youngsters in Greater Woonsocket who, in general, appear to have their feet on the ground.

But those with any wild ideas may find themselves before Judge DeCiantis, who seems to know just how to handle such cases.

## The Quality Stabilization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, a number of distinguished Members of the House have introduced identical quality stabilization bills in the 87th Congress. It is my privilege to join them in so doing.

The quality stabilization bill, as enacted, will equalize certain rights and opportunities in the distribution of branded articles; it will further the advancement of independent retailing; it will help consumers to have a true standard of value combining both quality and fair price, for the things they buy; it will discourage monopoly by promoting competition; it will help the national economy.

The bill would give manufacturers of branded goods certain rights. For example, it would permit a brand owner to establish a price, or a range of prices, below or above which his branded product may not be resold.

This is a right that is already enjoyed by many brand owners—but not by the great majority of brand owners.

Some $30 billion of goods are sold at retail each year in the United States by brand owners who lawfully established the absolute price at which these goods could be resold at retail. These brand owners include the great retail chains of the country. They own private brands—private in the sense that these brands are sold only in the stores of the respective chains. In each case, the chain establishes a uniform price for a particular branded article, notwithstanding differences in operating cost among the various outlets of the chain. In the case of the chain, this is considered good business. There are other brand owners who lawfully establish the price at which their products are sold to the consumer. These include companies which sell brushes, perfume, electrical appliances, etc., house to house through canvassers, and the publishers of newspapers and magazines that sell on consignment. The list can be continued indefinitely. These brand owners have one thing in common: They not only own certain brands, they also own or control the means for distributing them.

The quality stabilization bill which I have introduced extends the same rights to individuals, partnerships, and corporations who are brand owners but who do not own or control the means for distributing their brands. They do not own the distribution system—which includes not only chains, supermarkets, and the like but also, and most importantly, the nearly 2 million independent retailers who make up the bulk of most business. These brand owners, and the members of their distribution systems, rightfully believe that they, too, should have the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of uniform but competitive pricing. I say competitive pricing because my bill requires that a branded product—to be eligible for application of the provisions of the bill—must be in free and open competition with articles of the same general class produced by others. This requirement, incidentally, need not be met by brand owners who also own or control the means for distributing their branded products. What this bill would promote is more competition—but fair competition. The small, independent retailer would have a better chance to compete effectively, and therefore, successfully because he would be given a better opportunity to sell, and at a reasonable profit, the bread and butter items on which his existence depends. I mean, of course, the big, popular, best-seller brands of the marketplace—the brands that some outlets like to sell at low, low prices—even at severe losses—in order to entice customers into their stores. In other words, quality stabilization would restore a real measure of integrity into the marketplace. And integrity of marketing practices is the American shopper's finest guarantee of fair dealing, of honest values.

There is a social as well as an economic aspect to the quality stabilization bill. I know something about independent merchants for I have been a director of the Community Chest in my own community. I know that the independent merchants of the community contribute substantially in time, talent, and money to all the good works of the community—including the Community Chest. They probably give 10 times as much as absentee-owned retail chains to the Community Chest in the community—when giving is compared on the basis of so many dollars contribution for every thousand dollars per year of sales. Who replaces the independent merchant when

he is driven out of business—largely because he does not have enough dollars in sales to compete against the tactics of price-juggling absentee operators?

I have never heard a customer complain that she cannot shop around for the lowest price of a particular chain brand because every chain outlet in her territory charges exactly the same price for that brand at a given time. A chain, however big it is, simply could not afford to charge various prices in its many outlets for the identical brand. It would lose its reputation for fair dealing at once. As a matter of fact, all the reputable stores in the United States have a one-price-to-every-customer policy. It is a policy in which mass distribution has developed more and more to keep pace with the advancing technologies that have made mass production possible. It is a policy that has assisted in making the United States the world's greatest consumer market.

The quality stabilization bill offers an extension of the one-price-to-every-customer policy. It promotes orderly marketing; it promotes more effective marketing; it promotes the economy. It will be good for our country.

## Secretary Rusk's Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I hope all Members of Congress will read the excellent address on American foreign policy delivered by the distinguished Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Rusk, at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention in Minneapolis, Minn., on August 13, 1962.

The text of the address was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 15, 1962, at page A6232, by the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota, the Honorable WALTER H. JUDD.

I should like to include in the RECORD an outstanding editorial concerning Secretary Rusk's address from the Washington Daily News of August 15, 1962.

The editorial follows:

SECRETARY RUSK'S JOB

Anyone fearful of U.S. appeasement of the Soviets should note the address of Secretary of State Rusk before the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Minneapolis:

"We are prepared to discuss ways and menas for reducing tensions in central Europe * * * but we will not be forced, harassed or squeezed out of West Berlin.

"Disarmament must be achieved * * * with fully adequate assurance that agreements are fully carried out. * * * We see no way in which the abolition of all nuclear testing can be achieved unless the Soviet Union is ready to abandon its obsession with secrecy."

The address was Secretary Rusk's answer to his "no win" critics in both parties who challenge all manner of negotiations with the Soviets.

"No one has to convince us," he said, "that the contest between Communist imperialism and freedom is for keeps. * * * Of course we intend to win. * * * Our hope and purpose is to win without a great war and the damage which the weapons of today would inflict upon the human race—a military climax to this struggle is to be prevented if possible."

Mr. Rusk's job, simply stated, is to protect our national interest without war. If he fails, then the military takes over. It is his duty to negotiate, even when the chances of progress are dim and the bad faith of the opposition is obvious.

Our superior arms are our best guarantee against attack and Secretary Rusk's most powerful, if unspoken, argument. But patient negotiation, seeking to reason away provocations, is another line of defense against war which, even though won, would case us vast suffering and material damage.

Mr. Rusk's "no win" critics, it seems to us, abandon all hope in diplomacy without giving it a chance. Their fears as to risky concessions should be calmed by Mr. Rusk's acts and statements, including his repetition of American principles before the veterans in Minneapolis. In our opinion American foreign affairs are in good hands.

## Minshall Traveling Office To Make Annual District Visit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, for the past 8 years it has been my privilege and honor to represent the people of the 23d Congressional District of Ohio in the Congress of the United States. As a Representative of this outstanding district, I have made every effort not only to be well informed of the opinions of the people through personal contact and use of opinion polls, but also to be of the greatest possible service to persons having problems dealing with Federal agencies and departments. To help accomplish this, I maintain on a year-round basis a congressional office in room 525 of the Federal Building in downtown Cleveland where I can meet with people personally during trips back to the district when my official duties permit. While I am in Washington, a competent staff is in charge of the Cleveland office.

A further service to the people of the 23d District is my Washington Report which, in newsletter form, periodically presents the major legislative activities of Congress, background information on the issues that confront the Nation, and Capitol Hill opinion.

During my service in the Congress, I have considered it of primary importance to be present at the Capitol whenever Congress is in session in order to participate in committee work and to vote on important legislation. This year with Congress in nearly continuous session, I have not been able, with intervening Appropriations Committee work, to return to Cleveland as much as I should have liked. Therefore, in accordance with the practice I initiated 8 years ago, I am bringing a traveling office to the various communities in the 23d District. This method of meeting with the public has been tremendously popular and it gives me an excellent opportunity to discuss and learn at firsthand the opinions and individual needs of the people.

With the expectation that Congress will not be in session during the early part of October, I will again this year, from October 8 through October 12, bring my traveling office to the people of the 23d District to make myself available to meet personally every resident of this suburban district who can conveniently arrange to visit me. These are not group meetings but office conferences for individuals which will enable them to discuss their views and problems directly. No appointments are necessary and I not only welcome, but I urge individuals to meet with me on the date and at the place most convenient. Every resident of the 23d District is cordially invited to talk over problems of national concern, to discuss personal problems with the Federal Government, or just to get better acquainted. The knowledge thus obtained will better enable me to represent the people of the 23d District in the Congress.

I am most thankful for the fine cooperation of the many officials who have made these meeting places available as an aid in rendering this public service.

Following is the schedule for these office conferences:

| Community | Location | Date | Time—p.m. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lakewood | Lakewood City Hall, 12650 Detroit Ave. | Monday, Oct. 8 | 2 to 4:30. |
| Westlake, Bay Village, North Olmsted | Westlake City Hall, 27216 Hilliard Blvd. | do | 6:30 to 9. |
| Berea, Olmsted Falls, Olmsted Township, Westview. | Berea City Hall, 57 East Bridge St | Tuesday, Oct. 9 | 2 to 4:30. |
| Rocky River, Fairview Park, Parkview | Rocky River City Hall, 21012 Hilliard Blvd. | do | 6:30 to 9. |
| Parma Heights, Brookpark, Linndale, Middleburgh Heights, North Royalton, Strongsville. | Parma Heights City Hall, 6281 Pearl Rd. | Wednesday, Oct. 10. | 2 to 4:30. |
| Independence, Brecksville, Broadview Heights, Brooklyn Heights, Cuyahoga Heights, Seven Hills. | Independence City Hall, 6675 Brecksville Rd. | do | 6:30 to 9. |
| Chagrin Falls, Bentleyville, Glenwillow, Moreland Hills, Solon. | Chagrin Falls Village Hall, 21 West Washington St. | Thursday, Oct. 11 | 2 to 4:30. |
| Warrensville Heights, North Randall, Orange, Warrensville Township, Woodmere. | Warrensville Heights City Hall, 4301 Warrensville Center Rd. | do | 6:30 to 9. |
| Shaker Heights, Beachwood, Hunting Valley, Pepper Pike, University Heights. | Shaker Heights City Hall, 3400 Lee Rd. | Friday, Oct. 12 | 2 to 4:30. |
| Maple Heights, Bedford, Bedford Heights, Oakwood, Valley View, Walton Hills. | Maple Heights City Hall, 5353 Lee Rd. | do | 6:30 to 9. |

## Coal Operations by FMC Corp. in Wyoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GALE W. McGEE**
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, several weeks ago I spoke before the Senate on the pioneer work done by the FMC Corp. on the development of a coking coal process from Western coal deposits at Kemmerer, Wyo. Today I should like to mention the work done by this fine organization in the Green River Basin in Wyoming.

This basin in ancient times was a gigantic lake. It is the residue which provides the trona deposits which are the formation of FMC's new mining and processing operation near Green River. From this plant flows a steady production of soda ash, which is used in many industries throughout the Nation.

The FMC Corp. recently published a very informative brochure on their Green River trona operation, which I think would be of great interest to anyone who is interested in how a modern American firm using the latest technological developments can successfully develop the mineral deposits found in the West.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have portions of this brochure printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(Excerpts from "In the Green River Basin of Wyoming," published in behalf of an area, a State, and an industry by FMC Corp., Intermountain Chemical Co., Green River, Wyo.)

The lake in which Wyoming trona was deposited, existed some 50 million years ago. It was a large, fresh water lake in its first million years, under a climate similar to that of today's Texas gulf coast. Later the climate became more arid, about as dry as that of Great Salt Lake, but with warmer winters, as a result of which it shrank to about 12,000 square miles in area and became saline, shrinking and expanding, a characteristic of salt lakes the world over. While at its smallest size, 1,000 square miles or even less, its brine became so concentrated that beds of trona deposited. In the intervals when not depositing trona, the lake expanded, grew deeper and instead, deposited layers of mud which became shale. At some of its higher water stages the lake was twofold, consisting of a brine lake with a lake of fresh water floating on top, the latter somewhat larger in extent. Microscopic plants and animals lived in great abundance in the fresh water part of the double lake. Their remains collected at the bottom of the lake and eventually became beds of oil shale. Thus, today there is found, not only below but also above and between the trona beds, thick and thin layers of oil shale and ordinary shale.

Eventually the climate changed back to its former more humid state; the lake expanded, grew fresher and, upon reaching the great size of 15,000 square miles, finally overflowed. For the rest of its life (about 2 million more years), it remained a fresh-water lake. The sediments which accumulated at its bottom buried the trona layers deeper and deeper. Still more sediment was piled on when the lake had disappeared. At length the trona layers lay buried nearly a mile below the earth's surface. Millions of years later this part of the earth was uplifted and partially eroded so that today the lakebeds are exposed and the trona beds, though still buried, can be mined economically. (Based on material furnished by Dr. Wilmott J. Bradley, U.S. Geological Survey.)

THE NEEDLE-SHAPED CRYSTALS WERE SOMETHING NEW IN THE WORLD

In the overall development of the trona project near Green River, two events transpired which will never be exactly duplicated. They were, first, sinking the mine shaft was not dissimilar from other such mining operations. But at length, when the mineral being sought was reached about 1,500 feet below the surface, that particular moment was an exceptional occurrence in history since no solid body of trona had ever been found before. The dry well John Hay No. 1, which had been abandoned 8 years before had, in reality, brought to man's attention the source of an important mineral which would prove the well a most remarkable and amazing success after all.

The second event connected with the project, which came only after many additional years of research and expense, was the form in which the trona was ultimately crystallized—a needle-shape crystal different from any other soda ash previously manufactured. This, in addition to its unprecedented purity, gave the final product these qualities: flowing more freely, better mixing characteristics and, a most desirable feature, a minimum of dust which ordinarily accompanied the handling of soda ash as previously manufactured.

In the years ahead these two fortuitous events were to become the factors which began a new era in the economic history and development of an historic area.

THE MINE

Two techniques—called conventional and continuous—are employed to mine the trona ore. Conventional mining, which has been in use since operations began in 1947, is a modification of typical coal-mining procedures. The face of the ore body is first undercut, and is then drilled for blasting. Following this latter operation the broken ore is swept up by mechanical loaders, dumped into trackless shuttle cars and moved to the belt conveying system which ultimately discharges the ore into a pocket at the bottom of the No. 2 shaft. From here, a skip hoist delivers the ore to the surface operations.

Within the past few years FMC has been instrumental in developing a continuous mining machine which eliminates many of the cumbersome operations of conventional mining. It also aids in improving general mining conditions.

This machine, in effect, bores out the trona directly, eliminating the need for cutting, drilling, and blasting.

THE PLANT AND THE PROCESS

Although trona ore is remarkably pure, it does contain impurities which must be removed before a suitably refined product can be produced. Fortunately, these contaminating impurities are almost all insoluble in hot water, while trona itself is quite soluble. Mined ore is first crushed to a powder so that it can be readily dissolved to form a concentrated solution. Most of the insoluble matter is removed in large settling tanks and is discarded to a waste pond. The remaining undissolved particles are completely removed by large filters. The clear, hot solution is then cooled under vacuum. This causes the dissolved trona to recrystallize in a needle-like form. The crystals are removed from the residual solution, and the excess water and carbon dioxide are driven off in long, rotary calciners which contain banks of pipes heated with high-pressure steam. It is at this step that the material becomes soda ash. After cooling it is shipped in bulk hopper cars or in 100-pound bags.

Located as it is away from any large center of population and the wide range of every type of service which populous areas possess, a mining operation such as FMC's has to be a completely integrated operation, not only as to skilled workmen, but also in equipment for maintenance and repair. Exacting schedules for operations below and above ground have to be maintained. Since the mining of trona had never been attempted previous to the development of the Wyoming trona, much had to be learned, many experiments made before a steady flow from mine to surface to treatment to shipment was perfected.

During the past decade the demand for soda ash had held relatively constant. The alltime record consumption of 5,650,000 tons occurred in 1956. Soda ash producers not only compete with one another but with other alkalis as well. This is one of the reasons that normal growth for this product has been retarded—and will be in the future. The burgeoning chlorine industry constantly generates additional quantities of soda ash's strongest competitor, caustic soda. However, in spite of this many pronged competition for consumers, the soda ash industry has continued to expand its total producing capacity. At the present time 7 million tons per year could be manufactured if the sales for this quantity existed.

Wyoming trona would still be a mineralogical curiosity rather than the extremely important economic raw material that it is today except for one fact: Men of vision and high scientific ability had the intelligence and courage to develop a process that overcame the natural disadvantages of geography.

Wyoming's trona is fairly centrally located in the country, but is relatively far from the concentrations of soda ash consumers. Only an efficient and economical operation combined with a competitively superior product and outstanding service would enable it to compete for soda ash markets. FMC's process does exactly this. A twofold gain for the intermountain area is thus accomplished. A naturally occurring raw material is used to supply distant markets while, at the same time, the nearby consumers receive the savings resulting from a local producer.

## Finds Stray Balloon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PHIL WEAVER**
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers and constituents of my district are maintaining their deserved reputation for alertness to threats of foreign invasions. The other day, a story appeared on the front page of the Public Mirror of Arapahoe, Nebr., reading as follows:

FINDS STRAY BALLOON

An unusual find was made in the watermelon patch at the I. L. Carskadon farm on the valley, southeast of Arapahoe, Sunday.

It was the remains of a small blue balloon, which from its fringed condition had suffered a peculiar explosion. Attached to the long string on it was part of another red balloon.

The advertising on it reads: "Vote for PETER H. DOMINICK for U.S. Senator."

Research shows that Mr. DOMINICK, of Englewood, Colo., was last year a Colorado U.S. Representative and it is guessed that he is now campaigning for the Senate.

How far and from where the balloons had traveled is a matter for conjecture.

Not only was the story interesting, and the detective work accurate, but the editor was even kind enough to send Congressman DOMINICK a copy of it. I had recognized that my able colleague and good friend, Congressman DOMINICK, of Colorado, was putting on a vigorous and high-flying campaign for the position of U.S. Senator, but I had not realized how high flying it was until I saw this article. It seems particularly appropriate that the balloons descended from orbit in Arapahoe, Nebr., as my good friend Congressman DOMINICK claims as his hometown Englewood, Colo., which lies comfortably and prosperously in Arapahoe County, Colo.

On behalf of the Public Mirror, the citizens of Arapahoe, and myself, we wish him well in his campaign for the Senate and assure him that he, as well as his balloons, are welcome in Arapahoe, Nebr.

## Happy Birthday, Bernard M. Baruch—Salute to Dr. Simon Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am happy to include an editorial which appeared in the East Side News of August 10. The East Side News is a weekly publication widely circulated in my congressional district under the guidance of its able editor and publisher, Abraham Schlacht.

The editorial follows:

AGE, 92: HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO YOU, BERNARD M. BARUCH—AND A SALUTE TO DR. SIMON BARUCH

August 19, East Siders, New Yorkers, Americans everywhere salute the great elder statesman, former star athlete, P.S. 69 and C.C.N.Y. graduate, financier, philanthropist, author, philosopher, humanitarian, faithful servant of the American people, adviser to U.S. Presidents, patriot, New Yorker, famed distinguished citizen, and one whose unselfish deeds have made him a living American legend, All-American Bernard Mannes Baruch, on his 92d birthday.

"We express our gratitude to the Baruch family for their noble contributions to the community, to their country and to all humanity."—Harry H. Schlacht, late famed East Sider, newspaperman, city official.

July 29 marked the 122d anniversary of the birth of one of East Side's and New York's brilliant physicians, war veteran, pioneer in the surgery of appendicitis, leading exponent of hydrotherapy, professor of hydrotherapy at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University, pioneer in free public baths, philanthropist, Dr. Simons Baruch.

The father of Statesman Bernard M. Baruch contributed much in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases. He founded the first free bathhouse on New York's Lower East Side. Today, this historic building has a gymnasium, game room, and a swimming pool. Dr. Simon Baruch contended that the physician's chief reliance should be on the agents which maintain health food, cleanliness, exercise, rest, water taken internally, and externally.

A salute to the memory of a famous New Yorker and public-spirited citizen to whom the profession and humanity owe much for the improvement of the health of the people.

## Unforgotten Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, our impoverished migratory farm citizens are the only identified group of workers in the Nation who have not shared in the prosperity characteristic of the American labor force generally. Consequently, the plight of the migratory farmworker and his family is an unfamiliar problem in our affluent society which has, for almost 30 years, appeared to defy solution. Within the last few years, however, the commendable efforts of the junior Senator from New Jersey, Senator WILLIAMS, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, have resulted in the practical legislative program for migratory labor currently pending in the Congress.

During the last session of the Congress, five of Senator WILLIAMS' migratory farmworker bills were passed by the Senate. This legislation, which has administration support, would provide improved educational opportunities for migratory farm children and adults, improved health services for migratory farm families, prohibitions against harmful agricultural child labor, Federal registration of crew leaders, and the establishment of a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor. These bills are pending before the Rules Committee.

That we have the opportunity to respond to an acknowledged need for remedial legislation in this neglected area is the subject of a succinct editorial in the Washington Post on August 6, entitled "Unforgotten Americans." The editorial is, I believe, deserving of our attention, and I therefore, under unanimous consent, include the editorial in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 6, 1962]

UNFORGOTTEN AMERICANS

The House Rules Committee now has before it four bills that ought not be left in limbo. These measures concern the 1 million migratory farmworkers whose lamentable lot has in the past stirred more words than deeds. This year, Congress has an opportunity to extend certain minimum standards to migrants by approving four bills that would broaden child-labor restrictions, provide Federal aid to the States for the education of migrants, require the registration of crew leaders and create a National Advisory Council on Migrant Workers.

All four bills have been favorably reported out by the House Education and Labor Committee; all have passed the Senate. They represent the first installment of a group of bills resulting from extensive hearings conducted by Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, of New Jersey. Their passage would oil the wheels for the remaining legislation and would begin to ease the sense of nagging guilt about workers whose plight has weighed on the American conscience. Congress owes it to itself and the country to see that these bills do not suffocate in committee.

## Good Politics—Bad Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, Newsday's economic analyst, Eugene Miller discusses some facts the President should have faced up to in his tax speech on August 13:

J.F.K.'S TALK JUST POLITICS TO ECONOMISTS

(By Eugene Miller)

President Kennedy's speech deferring plans for an immediate tax cut was a classic lesson in the political use of economic data. The President's performance, replete with charts, on TV Monday night was high-quality politics by any yardstick. However, to most businessmen and economists, it was pretty slipshod economics.

The major irritant to the professional economists were the several charts the President used to indicate how far the economy had traveled since he took office in January 1961. At that time, the economy was just starting to come back after a mild recession, and the charts showed the extent of the recovery in the 18 months Kennedy has been in office.

They showed, for example, that in the past 18 months:

The gross national product (the total of all goods and services produced) was up 10 percent.

Industrial production was up 16 percent.

Wages and salaries were up 10 percent.

Corporate profits were up 26 percent.

The unemployment rate was down 23 percent.

National debt as a percentage of national wealth had decreased sharply since 1945.

On the surface all this looks fine, but when you take a hard look at the figures and at the economy, some of the dazzle begins to wear off. For one thing, the periods selected provided maximum visual impact, painting the brightest picture possible. The 18-month period of the Kennedy administration actually ranged from the bottom of a recession to the top of a recovery period. And this, most economists would say, certainly stacks the figures to provide the sharpest gains. Secondly, the President chose as indicators those that looked most favorable. If he had used instead such economic barometers as stock prices, or new orders for machinery and equipment, or several other important economic yardsticks, the lines on the chart would be moving down instead of up.

More than that an 18-month period usually is too short a period to really indicate economic trends. Most economists use 5 years, 10 years, or even longer periods to really assess basic economic trends. For example, Kennedy pointed out that corporate profits were up 26 percent in the 18-month period. Yet the rate of long-term corporate profits is on the decline. And corporate profits for the current quarter are expected to be down, too.

Gross national product seems to be up sharply, but on a long-term basis it has been growing at a very modest rate—a rate that Kennedy himself has said on previous occasions is too low. And while Kennedy stressed the fact that the unemployment rate had been cut 23 percent in the 18-month period, the current unemployment rate is 5.5 percent, which Kennedy earlier had declared was too high.

As for our national debt, it is true that the debt was equal to 120 percent of national wealth in 1945 and now was only 60 percent of national wealth. However, this obscures the point that, despite promises to the contrary, the national debt in absolute terms has increased to a record high. Wages and salaries totals are up 10 percent, but a good part of this can be accounted for by the fact that population has increased in 18 months and so has the workforce.

It is true that the economy in the past 18 months has moved up from the recession low of January 1961. However, it has grown nowhere near as fast as Kennedy had advocated when he ran for office in 1960. The country's growth rate is still well below the 4 to 5 percent that he advocated; unemployment is still above the level he called "intolerable," and the country's productive facilities are far shy of being down to the point where even Walter Heller, the President's chief economic adviser, says it may be "warning us of an economic decline." Most of this was left unsaid in the speech.

## West Point Football

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, July 26, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, an interesting editorial on the so-called West Point football bill appeared in the Omaha World Herald of August 13, 1962. I commend it to my colleagues for reading:

WEST POINT FOOTBALL BILL

Louisiana's Senator RUSSELL LONG has failed in his one-man campaign to defeat what he calls the West Point football bill. But he made his point in so describing the measure. It permits the Army and Air Force Academies to select about 50 additional cadets to replace dropouts.

Mr. LONG cited figures to show that when the Academies do the appointing, 75 percent of the boys chosen are football players. Moreover, the Academies reportedly prevail upon some Congressmen to appoint football players from outside their States.

Over the years, appointment of cadets by Members of Congress has worked reasonably well and is doing better in these modern times. Most Senators and Representatives, including all those from Nebraska, make the appointment on a merit basis—scholarship merit, not football merit. Football ability is no substitute for the intelligence needed in the armed services officer corps in the missile age.

## Redirection of Mideast Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on the Middle East by the American Jewish Congress which was so widely endorsed by members of the New York congressional delegation. I feel this statement superbly reflects my own views on the need for a redirection of American policy to promote peace in the Middle East. It outlines the kind of positive action that deserves the attention of all the Members of the Congress:

STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

More than ever before in American history our Government is committed to the defense of freedom, the strengthening of democracy, and the establishment of peace throughout the world. It is increasingly clear, however, that our present policies in the Middle East have failed to promote these ends and that a fundamental reappraisal of those policies is imperative.

We are gratified at the frequently affirmed public commitment of the United States to the continued existence of Israel. Our recent Near East policies, however, do not effectively implement that commitment. We deplore the failure of the U.S. resolution adopted by the Security Council to note the profound moral distinction between those who commit aggression and those who react in their own self-defense.

Our foreign policy objectives cannot be achieved by continued accommodation to Arab intransigence. Episodes of violence will inevitably recur as long as there is no permanent peace between Israel and its neighbors.

We, therefore, earnestly urge a redirection of American Middle Eastern policy toward the following ends:

1. The initiation of direct negotiations for a settlement of all outstanding differences between Israel and the Arabs. Such negotiations are the only reasonable and feasible way of resolving present conflicts. In this connection, we profoundly regret the negative vote cast by our Government against the so-called Brazzaville Resolution during the last session fo the General Assembly. That resolution, introduced by 16 delegations, would have invoked the authority of the General Assembly in calling for direct negotiation between the states. For the first time it held out substantial hope of advancing toward a general settlement of differences.

Our Government's position, in direct contradiction of the concepts articulated by the President during his campaign, in large part precluded the adoption of the Brazzaville resolution. We call upon our Government to redeem the Middle East programs outlined by the President during his campaign by giving early and public support to any comparable multilateral effort that may be attempted in subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. We call upon our Government to exert all of its influence and authority to induce the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute to sit down together at peace tables where they can engage in direct negotiations with honor of all their outstanding differences.

2. The ending of Arab economic boycotts and blockades against Israel which not only seriously impair Israel's growth and development but thwart any significant improvement in the living standards and general welfare of the entire area.

3. The promotion of projects for the fullest utilization of the water, power, and other resources of the area for the common benefit of all groups. Israel has repeatedly expressed her eagerness to cooperate in such developments; the Arabs have repeatedly refused to consider any projects which, while benefiting them, might also benefit Israel. In particular, we call upon our Government to help resist Arab efforts to disrupt Israeli water development in the Galilee and to make known its belief in the legality of this project as developed thus far.

4. The achieving of a permanent solution to the troubling and tragic problem of the Arab refugees. We welcome as a first step the extension by the last General Assembly of the mandate of the Johnson mission. We are encouraged by the fact that the first preliminary Johnson report submitted this year, unlike some prior submissions by other U.N. agencies, examined in depth the arguments of both sides to this dispute. We are confident that objective examination of the plight and potential of the Arab refugee populations ultimately can disclose means of alleviating this difficult and complex problem. We note the continued willingness of the State of Israel to make appropriate financial payment for Arab properties that may have been lost and to assist in carrying out a program for economic assistance that will afford the Arab refugees a chance to build permanent and lasting homes and to live in peace with their neighbors. We believe that the offer made by the State of Israel provides a basis for negotiation and settlement of this obstacle to the attainment of tranquillity in this part of the world.

## Fishing Vessels in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation today to correct existing inequities in the construction of fishing vessels in Massachusetts. It is my belief that these bills will enable the depressed fishing industry of New England to regain a normal position in the Nation's economy and compete against the massive foreign fleets now fishing off American shores.

While I was pleased when my colleagues passed the Macdonald-Magnuson bill to give aid up to 33⅓ percent, events have proven that this amount should be increased. My legislation would increase the construction subsidy for wooden vessels to 35 percent, and steel vessels to 50 percent. A statute which dates back to 1792 requires American fishing vessels to be constructed in the United States. The price difference between American and foreign shipyard costs is as much as 48 percent. Forced to subsidize American boatyards, the fishing industry in Massachusetts and New England is fighting a losing battle against foreign competition.

Failure to provide sufficient construction differential payments for fishing vessels has subjected our fishing industry to unfair competition. Just 15 miles

off Cape Cod, Russian fishing vessels may be seen which are equipped with the latest technological gear. These ships can process their catches and freeze them on the spot and operate in all types of weather for many purposes, including aid in the latest Russian orbital flights. It seems very wrong to me that free world nations fishing off our Massachusetts shores have ships far superior to American vessels. The United States does not have any factory ships or refrigerated vessels. The New England fishing industry has had to compete not only with the lower wage costs of its competitors in Canada, Iceland, Britain, and elsewhere, but with the lower cost of vessel construction in those countries. Action to rectify this must be soon forthcoming.

I also introduced legislation today providing for the construction of two modern stern ramp trawlers, one for service on the east coast, one for the west coast. This legislation is designed to aid in the development of more modern methods in the production, preparation, processing and preservation of fish products. The two trawlers would serve as prototype vessels for future American fishing fleets.

## Recommendations of Traffic Safety Conference, Pennsylvania State Police Academy, Hershey, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable David Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania, has always exhibited a personal and material interest in programs for the promotion of safety on our highways.

As Governor, he has officially intensified that interest to assist in reducing the loss of life on the highways in the State of Pennsylvania. To that end, he scheduled a Special Traffic Safety Conference which took place on July 16 at the Pennsylvania State Police Academy in Hershey, Pa.

The conference was attended by State officials, the Honorable Park Martin, secretary of highways; O. D. Shipley, commissioner of traffic safety; Col. Frank G. McCartney, and 16 of his State police troop commanders; and police and safety officials representing some 19 of the Commonwealth's major cities.

It was a worthy contribution to the purpose and resolved in the submission of a series of recommendations that Governor Lawrence will endeavor to implement by presentation to the State legislature and other official means at his command.

May I now ask permission, Mr. Speaker, to extend my remarks and include in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the 15 recommendations of that safety conference. It is my hope and purpose in so doing that our other 49 States, our major cities and local communities, may have recourse to them for guidance and benefit in the saving of human life on their own highways.

The article follows:

SPECIAL TRAFFIC SAFETY CONFERENCE,
JULY 16, 1962

To Hon. David L. Lawrence, Governor, from Col. Frank G. McCartney, Pennsylvania State Police; Hon. Park Martin, secretary of highways, and O. D. Shipley, commissioner of traffic safety.

We have the honor to submit the attached list of recommendations presented at the special conference on traffic safety held at the Pennsylvania State Police Academy, Hershey, July 16, 1962, with police and safety officials representing some 19 of the Commonwealth's major cities:

(1) Continue periodic reevaluation of speed limits—The establishment of reasonable speed limits both on expressways and municipal streets must be sustained by periodic reevaluation of speed zones to maintain pace with changing traffic volume and flow. Reasonable speeds, as determined by modern engineering techniques, are more acceptable to the driver and allow police officers to concentrate more on selective enforcement.

(2) Request Congress to amend the interstate highway law to permit construction of roadside service areas—Under the interstate highway law, States are not permitted to construct services areas, forcing weary travelers to continue on their way and possibly into trouble. This recommendation asks liberalization of the Federal act to permit States to construct reasonable facilities to meet the problem.

(3) Request the Bureau of Public Roads to liberalize certain construction regulations—At present the Bureau of Public Roads will not approve stabilized highway berms in excess of 10 feet. It is felt that the additional berm width would provide an extra margin of safety in cases of disabled vehicles.

(4) Increased signing of highways through municipalities—This recommendation is intended to guide the motorist through municipalities more safely and more quickly.

(5) Intensify public safety information and education activities—Safety and police officials at the State and local level were requested to intensify current programs of education to create greater awareness to the problem, better understanding of rules of the road, etc.

(6) Development of better understanding between courts and local police—Cooperation and mutual respect in this area is vital to an effective traffic law enforcement program. The motorist will have more respect for the law and fair, impartial enforcement if the courts and the police authorities work in harmony toward the goal of safer streets and highways.

(7) Adoption of a hazard-reporting system by municipal police—Pennsylvania State Police currently fill out a hazard report form when they observe conditions hazardous to traffic. These forms are submitted to the highways department which then moves to correct the condition. Municipal police could use such a system to advantage while patroling thousands of miles of streets.

(8) Adoption of the uniform traffic arrest report by a greater number of municipal police departments—Also known as the "no fix" ticket, this report is currently used by the Pennsylvania State Police and the police of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and a number of other communities throughout the State. The uniform report or ticket provides insurance against "fixing." It also simplifies procedures for reporting arrests and convictions to the bureau of traffic safety for subsequent action.

(9) Legislation to permit the legalized use of radar in traffic law enforcement by the police departments of major Pennsylvania cities—Radar detection of speeders has proved its worth under State police operation. Operated by properly trained municipal police, it would permit more effective use of the personnel of generally undermanned and overworked local police departments. Radar is a scientific, impartial law enforcement weapon; police departments that can afford the equipment and the training of qualified operators should not be denied its use.

(10) Expansion and improvement of street and interchange lighting—Unlighted or inadequately lighted municipal streets, and expressway interchanges represent a major safety hazard.

(11) Further extend "arrest on view" authority to municipal police—It was recommended that the 1963 general assembly extend to municipal police the authority to execute sight arrests, that is, to be empowered to take certain violators to the nearest available magistrate for an immediate hearing if the officer has reason to believe the individual will fail to answer to a summons. At present, municipal police are empowered only to execute sight arrests with out-of-State operators. State police have authority to make such arrests with all violators.

(12) Institute wider use of chemical test devices—The 1961 general assembly authorized the use of chemical tests for intoxication. It is recommended that additional police departments avail themselves of this modern enforcement tool both as a deterrent to driving while intoxicated and as a prosecution aid in the apprehension of violators.

(13) Strengthen penalties for operating without a license—Present provisions in the vehicle code prescribe only a light fine for this offense, which is totally inadequate to deal with the type of persons who commit the offense. It is recommended that legislation be sought which would prescribe a higher fine and/or prison sentence for this violation.

(14) Step up routine traffic safety checks—Traffic checks on a routine basis are being used by most of the larger police departments in Pennsylvania as a means of detecting drivers operating without valid licenses and unsafe equipment. It is recommended that the routine traffic check be used by all police departments in the State.

(15) Strict, impartial enforcement—Participants in the conference were unanimous in stating that strict, impartial enforcement is the best means of attack on the traffic safety problem. Utilizing such devices as the uniform traffic arrest report form (the "no fix" traffic ticket), and with the cooperation of the courts, police officers are perhaps the best means of educating the public to the dangers of today's highway traffic and to the inevitability of punishment for violations.

## Lowell Stockman

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in expressing my most sincere regret at the passing of Lowell Stockman.

I knew Lowell casually prior to the time that I came to Congress but since being a Member of this body I had known him intimately. When I came to

Washington in January of 1946, Lowell immediately offered to be of assistance in every possible way to me as a freshman legislator. He did everything he could to assist me in learning the ropes here and I was most grateful to him.

During the years thereafter when we served together we worked as a team for the betterment of our State of Oregon and he was always cooperative in every possible way.

Lowell deserves a great deal of credit for the large upriver dams built on the Columbia River which have added so much to the prosperity of our State and of the Pacific Northwest.

I want to express my deepest sympathy to his wife Dorcas who was so extremely well liked both in Pendleton and here in Washington, D.C. A very charming and popular woman who was very helpful to Lowell's political career.

## Independence Day of Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios III; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of Cyprus to the United States, Zenon Rossides, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the independence of Cyprus.

Cyprus is the largest island in the eastern Mediterranean, and an important commercial and strategic spot for the entire Middle East area. It is perhaps the oldest inhabited and culturally historic island anywhere on the globe, for its ancient inhabitants created one of the oldest known civilizations. Yet today the 2-year-old Republic of Cyprus is one of the youngest independent, sovereign states in the Middle East.

This island of some 3,500 square miles, with its Greek-Turkish population of about 560,000, was for centuries part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1878 it was brought under the administration of the British, who in 1914 annexed it. Since the end of the First World War its majority Greeks and minority Turks have been fighting among themselves, the former advocating the union of the island to Greece with the Turks wanting to have it become part of the Turkish Republic. The British of course wanted to maintain its status quo, and they succeeded in doing so until 2 years ago. Particularly since the end of the last war, just as Greek leaders of the island have vowed to prevent the union of the island with Turkey, the Turks were equally determined to prevent its union with Greece. During the late 1950's a bitter struggle between the Greeks and Turks took on the proportions of a civil war, and the British seemed unable to put an end to this internal and destructive strife. Finally both Greek and Turkish leaders of the island realized the futility of continuing the fight among themselves, and agreed to a sensible solution. The British Government also encouraged such a move, and agreed to grant the people of the island independence under certain conditions. This statesmanlike move culminated on August 16 of 1960 in the birth of the Republic of Cyprus.

Today this tiny but important Republic is sovereign and independent. It is a member of the British Commonwealth, and a member of the United Nations. The industrious and brave people of the island have joined hands in repairing the loss caused during the civil war, and they are supremely confident that soon they will regain their former prosperity. On the second anniversary of their independence day, we all wish the people of the Republic of Cyprus prosperity and peace.

## Equal Rights Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, the Justice Department has reported favorable results in the field of civil rights, opposition to organized crime, and reduction of juvenile delinquency in the Kennedy administration activities.

I have contributed considerable time and effort on the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee which handles civil rights and Department of Justice legislation to support this favorable record.

The following talk by the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General of the United States, amply shows the results which have been obtained in the Kennedy administration in the important field of equal treatment, protection and proper development of our citizens:

MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED—MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE

(By Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States)

I want to talk today about what has happened in the Department of Justice, the areas of special interest, what we have been trying to do for the period of the last year.

I think three major areas where we have made some progress and where a good deal of attention has been given and which might come up during the course of your work over the period of the next 6 months, is the area of civil rights; organized crime; and juvenile delinquency.

I think that we have made a considerable amount of progress in the field of civil rights. First, in the field of employment. When I became Attorney General, there were only, out of some 900 lawyers in the Department of Justice—now realizing the Department of Justice is charged with the responsibility in the field of civil rights—there were only 10 Negro lawyers out of 900 in the whole Department.

I remember at the inaugural parade, the President was reviewing it, and he saw the Coast Guard march by and there wasn't one Negro in the Coast Guard. He came out shortly afterward to greet the President of one of the new African nations, and they marched down in front of the color guard, the honor guard, and there wasn't one Negro in the honor guard.

At one of the early Cabinet meetings he said a study should be made in all of our departments to determine whether more Negroes could be employed, not employed just because they were Negroes but because people of character and ability and integrity who could perform the jobs should not be denied the right of employment because they were Negroes.

This has been done in my Department as it has been done in every department of Government. There are now Negroes in the Coast Guard, at the Coast Guard Academy. There are now Negroes in the honor guard, and there are more Negroes holding important positions in Government than at any time in the history of the United States.

In our Department, there are at least five times as many Negroes employed there now as there were at the time the President was inaugurated.

Now, we have taken a tremendous amount of action in the field of voting, because it has been our feeling that once you gain the franchise, once an individual is allowed to register and to vote, many of these other rights that we are making an effort to secure for minority groups will come.

When I became Attorney General, there were some 10 cases under investigation and where the Department of Justice had gone to court in connection with voting matters. Since, in the last year, the last 14 months we have brought approximately 10 times that number. We now have over 100 cases throughout the United States in connection with investigations and in actual court cases in voting matters. I think this is extremely important because once we can get that right to vote, many of these other rights will be secured. I am sorry that we were not more successful in obtaining the legislation that the President requested as far as literacy tests are concerned because if we could have obtained that legislation—much of the denial of the right to register and to vote has come through registrars sitting across the table and looking at an individual with a darker skin than he might have and saying "You are not literate."

And we have had college professors, we have had those who have received scientific grants, we have had ministers, we have had writers, authors, come in and be told by a registrar that they were not literate and a white person come to the same registrar who hadn't finished the third grade, and be allowed to register and vote.

And when I became Attorney General, there were 16 counties in the United States where Negroes outnumbered white people and yet not one Negro was registered to vote. And we found many, many counties where only less than 5 percent of the Negro population had been registered. We are making a major effort in this field, and as I say, we brought more than 10 times the number of cases.

LOCAL EFFORT

And we also made another effort. We have not brought a case, we are not doing any of this just for publicity. There hasn't been one court case that we have brought—whether it be voting or in any other area, that we haven't gone to the local authority and said, "this is the situation we find. It appears to us to be a violation of the law. It appears to us that we should take some action in this field, and that to meet our responsibilities, we will have to move. But if you take action yourselves, then we will not take any action. If you remedy the situation at the local level." Because we feel that this is the most important thing.

We pointed out that this should be done by the local authorities, not by the Federal Government, and I might say that there have been many, many cases where the local authorities have taken action themselves, where it hasn't been necessary for the Federal Government to come in. So where we have taken court action, it has only been after we have made an effort, and made an attempt, drawn the matter to the attention of the local authorities, in the county and in the State to see if they would remedy the situation themselves.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

We have also taken a good deal of action in the field of transportation. Through the efforts of the Department of Justice, more than 100 bus terminals in the United States have been desegregated. That means virtually every bus terminal that handles interstate commerce has been desegregated. All of the railroad terminals in the United States that have handled interstate commerce have been desegregated, and that is more than 200 railroad terminals.

Many of the airport terminals have been desegregated and where they have not, we are preparing legal action. So these are important steps forward.

The Vice President's Committee on Employment dealing with Government contractors—which I am sure you will hear more about—has also made tremendous progress. So we have taken steps forward in this extremely crucial and critical area of civil rights. We have a great deal more to do and certainly the job is not done.

We have the problem of schools. We cannot initiate school cases, but we worked for 6 months before the schools were opened last September, around the United States, where it was anticipated that there would be difficulty and problems.

We went to Memphis; we went to Dallas; we went to Atlanta and we went down into Florida, and then we worked with the local school authorities, and we explained what had happened in Little Rock, and what had happened in some of these other communities, and what they could do in each one of those areas to prevent any mob violence or prevent any disorder. I think that you can look back to the papers last summer, where they anticipated that they would have all of these problems, and then when the schools opened up last September, there were no difficulties. All those schools were desegregated—and there wasn't any violence.

RESULTS OF TEAMWORK

Those things don't just happen. They are made to happen, and a large part of the credit goes to the local school authorities and the local authorities in the area, but there was a good deal of effort and work done by the Federal Government also, to help and assist in these efforts.

So I think that it is a good record and a great deal needs to be done. On my trip that I just completed around the world I don't think that there was any place, any press conference or any meeting that I had with students, with any other group where we were not asked about the question of civil rights. This is the great problem. Unless we make additional progress in this field over the period of the next 8 or 10 years, we are going to have a difficult time—not only here in the United States, because in my judgment, Negroes are just not going to be satisfied to move along small steps at a time—but we are going to have great difficulties and problems overseas.

U.S. RELATIONSHIP

Carlos Romulo (former Ambassador of the Philippines) when he left here from Washington, came to see me—he has long been a great friend of the United States—and he said that we were going to have great trouble maintaining our position of leadership around the world if we didn't really make major breakthroughs in the field of civil rights. He said that we cannot go to people in other parts of the world and say that we believe in the Constitution of the United States and we believe in the Declaration of Independence if we treat part of our country, part of our population, a minority, as inferiors. But we are going to continue to work at it, we believe that it is right; and it has such a tremendous effect in our position around the world.

In the area of "organized crime," at the time the President was inaugurated, back in January of 1961, the various investigative groups of the Federal Government worked on the bigtime gangsters and hoodlums—worked independently. The Internal Revenue Department did its work. The Federal Bureau of Investigation did its work. The Bureau of Narcotics did its work. The Intelligence Service did its work.

EFFORTS COORDINATED

There are approximately 26 investigative groups of the Federal Government and they all went their own separate ways. Eventually, in some cases they would work together, but it was the exception rather than the rule.

Well, the first thing that we did was to get all of them in together and say that we wanted a coordinated effort on the bigtime gangsters and hoodlums throughout the United States, and for the first time in the history of the United States these groups are working together.

We established a group within the Department of Justice, made up of approximately 40 lawyers who pool all the information and knowledge regarding the bigtime gangsters and hoodlums in the country. We are now treating organized crime as the Federal Bureau of Investigation has treated communism over the period of the last 30 years.

GATHERING INFORMATION

We have an intelligence group that obtains and brings in information regarding the bigtime gangsters and hoodlums. The information is filed so that it will be available; perhaps we are not going to be able to take action against the bigtime gangster this year or next year, but perhaps 4, or 5, or 6 or 7 years from now, action can be taken based on information which is obtained at the present time.

All of that information on about 700 of our biggest gangsters and hoodlums throughout the United States is now all being correlated in the Department of Justice. And we set up in some of the biggest cities across the United States smaller groups which work closely with the group here in the Department of Justice.

There hadn't been any new legislation in this field for the last 30 years. We are still living, really, on the reputation that was secured by Elliott Ness. And Al Capone was taken care of and that was really the end of it. The gangsters and the hoodlums in the meantime made great progress. They knew where they were going and they knew what they wanted to do, but there were no new tools that were given to the Federal Government, and so we asked for some new legislation, and more legislation was passed in the last year in Congress than has been passed by Congress for the last 30 years, since 1934, and they are extremely important bills.

THREE MAJOR BILLS

One bill deals with the travel for an illegal business and an illegal business is described as "gambling, narcotics, liquor." Another deals with the transmission of gambling information by phone or wire across State lines. Another deals with the transportation of gambling paraphernalia across State lines. Those are the three major bills.

And these are the ones that have really had a tremendous effect because they are aimed primarily at gambling and gambling provides the money for the bigtime operators in the United States and unless the bigtime hoodlums can deal interstate, they are in great difficulty because gambling is not gambling for them; it is business, and when they get the bets in, they have to lay off those bets and there are major layoff centers in about 10 sections of the United States. Now, they cannot telephone information across State lines because, regarding gambling, it would be a violation of Federal law. They cannot transport gambling paraphernalia; they can't bring gambling paraphernalia from Chicago into New York, or from New York into Ohio. That is all illegal now, so the result is, gambling has been cut down tremendously and I know that's true in the cities that all of you represent.

GAMBLING CUT DOWN

In the big football games they used to bet—the year before last—up to $70 million in the United States. Last year in the bigtime football games, it was down to $3 or $4 million, less than 10 percent of what it had been in the past. The bigtime hoodlums have been badly hurt by the passage of this legislation, and in addition to that, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is now conducting investigations in more than 4,000 cases based just on this legislation.

The head of the Royal Mounted Police in Canada said that they were having a tremendous problem in Canada now because of the fact that the bigtime gamblers—the bigtime gangsters in the United States—because of the effort that was being made in the United States, were now all coming into Canada and that they were having to deal with them.

We have convicted some major gangsters, such as Mickey Cohen on the west coast, who has now been sent away in a conviction that has been upheld by the Supreme Court; Frankie Carbo, who was the underworld king of boxing for so many years; and others all across the United States. If you are interested in details of some of these figures in your own comunities, in your own areas, in your own States, we would be glad to provide them to you.

There have been about more than four times as many hours of grand juries than before, and the convictions of people involved in organized crime have jumped tremendously.

Again, it is just the beginning, and it is too early to tell what the record is going to be. But certainly we have made a beginning.

And now just briefly on the last area which is juvenile delinquency—as you know I don't think there has probably been a subject which has been discussed more, written about more than juvenile delinquency. And less done about the juvenile delinquency.

AREA OF GREAT INTEREST

It has been an area that has been a great interest to the President and to the rest of us and we have made an effort, we were able to get some legislation passed last year, for the first time, legislation that has been discussed over the period of the last 10 years—we got laws that gave us $10 million a year for 3 years.

We have about 5,000 young people in our Federal prisons and we set up "halfway houses," one in Los Angeles, one in Chicago, and one in New York in an experimental operation. Young boys instead of being returned to the same environment, to the same friends, to the same home life that they came from, right out of prison, will go to this "halfway house." And we have special counselors there who will help them. They will spend about 3 months in this "halfway

house." They will be helped and assisted in getting a job. They will be told how to dress before they go to an employment agency. They will be told where they can go for recreation; they will be helped and assisted as far as friends and associates are concerned.

All of this effort will be made over a period of 2½ or 3 months. This program has been in existence now for about 9 months and has been tremendously successful, and I hope will be expanded.

We don't feel that juvenile delinquency is going to be solved by the Federal Government. It has got to be solved at the local level—but at the local level in New York, they solve it one way, they deal with it in one way; in Chicago in another way; in Los Angeles in another way; in North Carolina a different way; in Florida a different way.

What is the best system? Nobody really has known. Who are the foremost experts in this field? So we are going to establish a center where everybody can come who has a responsibility at the local level, local authorities, the voluntary organizations. There will be one place where they can come and find various methods to deal with juvenile delinquency.

LONG-RANGE PROGRAM

Also no statistics have ever been kept on young people who get into difficulty—and there are more than 2 million every year, the ones that actually go to prison. Where did they come from? How did they behave when they were in prison? What happened to them once they got out? There is nothing known about that at the present time. But what we are doing is correlating all of the information across the country and have that in one place, so that we follow these young people who get into difficulty, and find out what happens to them after they get out. We feel that in a period of 8 or 10 years a great deal can come from that.

We have also given grants in 8 or 10 cities for a study of juvenile delinquency. Juvenile delinquency is not just a matter of better prisons. It has to do with housing, it has to do with education, it has to do with home environment, it has to do with recreation.

What can be done in the city of Washington; what should be done in the city of Chicago, or the city of New York, or the city of Los Angeles, to deal with this problem?

Now, it doesn't do any good just giving them a million dollars—and then they continue the same programs that have been continued in the past. What we have done is given a number of these communities anywhere from $100,000 to $250,000 to make a study, to come in with a plan as to what they can do and what they might do in that local community to deal with this problem.

We have set up a group of experts to go around and to examine the various communities, to find out who has the best ideas to deal with the problem. Then a grant is given to make a more systematic study that should go on for anywhere from 6 months to a year. The study will be considered here in Washington, and we will then make a determination as to what should be done.

Again, this is a step forward. It is not going to answer the problem of juvenile delinquency, but at least something now is being done about it. We are not just talking about it; we are not just preaching about it. We have an organized plan to try to deal with the problem and try to help these young people who get into difficulties.

These are three areas where we have tried to take some steps. As I say, we haven't licked them, but in my judgment, we have taken some major steps forward.

## A Resolution To Establish a Select Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a resolution to establish a Select Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament to consist of 13 members chosen for their special knowledge of foreign affairs, armed services, atomic energy, science, and astronautics.

Under the provisions of the resolution, the committee would be authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of proposals for arms control and disarmament including, but not limited to, first, efforts made by the United Nations in seeking the control and reduction of military forces and armaments of all types; second, disarmament proposals developed by the United States and other governments as well as by private groups and individuals; third, methods by which the attitudes of the American people and their Government on the subject of disarmament and world peace may be communicated abroad; fourth, the relationship of armaments to the state of the world economy; fifth, the relationship of underlying international tension to the problems of disarmament; sixth, the dangers implicit in unilateral reduction of armaments; and, seventh, methods of assuring that plans for reduction of armaments shall not endanger the security of the United States.

This resolution is introduced, Mr. Speaker, in the hope that initially it will stimulate discussion and consideration. I am aware that, since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, only 2 standing committees have been added to the 34 committees then established. Both of these committees were created to deal with the new dimension of space.

In the House of Representatives, the new standing committee is known as the Committee on Science and Astronautics and was approved July 21, 1958. The corresponding committee in the other body is the Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences, created July 24, 1958.

Meeting the challenge of space by establishing these two new standing committees, seems to have had a broad appeal in both the Senate and the House. This factor undoubtedly facilitated amendment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. I submit that, as in the case of space, arms control is a new and growing field, highly technical in nature, that inevitably impinges on several related fields in which the House has long-established standing committees.

I do not propose, Mr. Speaker, that we create an additional standing committee. That would certainly be premature and perhaps ultimately unwise. I do believe, however, that the field of arms control is one of great significance that deserves and requires the attention of a committee of the House. Obviously, the quest for practical, effective, multilateral procedures by which arms control or disarmament can be achieved is a continuing concern of national policy at the highest levels.

We should recognize these developments by an appropriate committee of the House of Representatives. Since its membership probably would include key members of the Committees on Armed Services, Atomic Energy, Foreign Affairs, and Science and Astronautics, appearances before the proposed Select Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament would facilitate coordination of policies in these related fields and reconciliation of differing viewpoints in the interests of unity and achievement.

We should be mindful, also, of the continuing impact that the proposed Select Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament could have on world opinion. Let the whole world know that the Congress of the United States backs the President's efforts to achieve arms control. Establishment of a Select Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament would be telling evidence of the importance this House places on the massive effort the United States is making to prevent a nuclear holocaust. What other Nation has a comparable body in its legislative structure?

In my judgment, these are compelling reasons which should gain favorable consideration for this resolution. I do not, of course, anticipate action during the remainder of this session. However, I would hope that discussion would ensue in the coming months with respect to the resolution to create a Special Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament. As a further contribution to this discussion and consideration, I should like in conclusion to review the history of the Subcommittee on Disarmament created July 25, 1955, pursuant to the terms of Senate Resolution 93—84th Congress, as amended by Senate Resolution 185 and Senate Resolution 286—84th Congress, and Senate Resolution 61, Senate Resolution 151, Senate Resolution 192, and Senate Resolution 241—85th Congress. In August of 1958 this subcommittee published a final report—Senate Report 2501, 85th Congress—and merged with the full Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Three years after this subcommittee was created to make a "full and complete" study of the disarmament problem, Senate Resolution 241—85th Congress—approved by the Senate in January of 1958, dissolved the subcommittee as of July 31, 1958. This resolution gave the following reason for its discontinuance:

Inasmuch as the question of armaments reduction and control is primarily a problem

of foreign policy and a problem intimately related to many other foreign policy matters and in view further of the responsibilities of the Foreign Relations Committee over foreign policy matters, at the expiration of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, on July 31, 1958, all records, duties, and functions of the subcommittee should be turned over to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Another argument for the abandonment of the subcommittee was that the Disarmament Commission designated by the General Assembly of the United Nations should be the appropirate forum for conducting negotiations on the regulation of disarmament.

The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress has found no record of the establishment of such a subcommittee in the House of Representatives. Neither House has, to my knowledge, previously entertained a measure to create a Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament.

It is my hope that this proposal will receive the personal attention and consideration of each and every Member of this House.

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## Patriotism in Procurement Scandal Rewarded With Vicious Reprisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, in past reports to my colleagues on the shocking waste that goes on in military departments, I have mentioned the difficulty in securing the cooperation of American industrialists to ferret out wrongdoing and chicanery. I have said point blank that there is a scandal underneath military procurement that will make Teapot Dome look like a ladies tea party, and I have also said American business is afraid to speak up for fear of reprisals that could ruin any single business. These reprisals come swiftly when the inefficiency and duplicity of a military agency is unveiled for all to see.

Today I want to call the attention of the House—and the entire Nation—to a profoundly disturbing situation that illustrates what I have been contending throughout my own personal procurement study. There is a brazen, callous, and shocking attempt underway right now to retaliate and exact reprisals on a businessman who is a key witness in the Justice Department prosecution of men charged with accepting bribes in exchange for Government contracts. For reference purposes, Members may consult the RECORD for July 13, 1962, and get the full details. Suffice it to say that two of three men arrested were high-ranking civilian officers of the Signal Corps. They were caught with bribe money in their pockets after Electronic Manufacturer Robert Snoyer, cooperating with the Government, paid them bribes in a restaurant. Snoyer patriotically told the FBI about the bribe demand and cooperated to bring the men to justice.

Since the arrests, a preliminary hearing has been held on the case and the men have been ordered held by a U.S. grand jury. Also, since that time, I might inform my colleagues, the FBI has broadened its investigation into the Signal Corps considerably. I want to predict here today, before I proceed any more, that other shocking instances of corruption will soon come to light and will be presented to a grand jury.

This sort of practice, which leads to rigged contracts, fat prices, and fatter profits, is picking the taxpayers' pockets of billions of dollars each year. This is the idea I have been hammering away at for 18 months, and I am going to continue.

Within the past week I have received what to me is stunning information about a development in the FBI's investigation into Signal Corps procurement. It is a development that proves what I have said—the military conducts reprisals against anyone who dares expose its corruption. It is also a development which is outrageous and which threatens the success of any similar investigation in the future.

Mr. Snoyer's firm, which blew the whistle on corrupt Signal Corps officials, is called Consad Corp. of Santa Monica, Calif. I think the Members will agree this firm is entitled to the respect and gratitude of every Member of Congress and of every person in the country for helping uncover the first of the bad apples in the Signal Corps barrel. It should also be entitled to the gratitude of the Signal Corps for helping ferret out this corruption within its own ranks. Instead, Consad Corp. has been harassed repeatedly since the arrests were made. There seems to be a concerted effort to default Consad on a current Government contract and to drive it entirely out of military production.

I should like to take as much time as possible to explain just how these reprisals are being worked. To effect that I asked Mr. Snoyer to give me a complete memorandum on the pressures being exerted, and he has done that. I shall insert his memorandum to me at this point in my remarks, and I shall refer to it as I progress:

THE CONSAD CORP.,
*Santa Monica, Calif., August 8, 1962.*
Hon. EARL WILSON,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I pass along to you the detailed information relating to the pressures that have been exerted on the Consad Corp. and the undersigned since July 12, the day of the arrest of two U.S. Army Signal Corps employees at Fort Monmouth, N.J. The pressure which has been exerted relates mainly to four contracts held by this corporation: (1) Contract No. 19388–PP–62–C1–41, dated April 25, 1962; equipment description, cable assembly; (2) contract No. 19389–PP–62–C1–41, dated April 25, 1962; equipment description, cable assembly; (3) contract No. 19394–PP–62–C1–41, dated April 27, 1962; equipment description, cable assembly; (4) contract No. 19417–PP–62–C1–41, dated May 25, 1962, equipment description, cable assembly.

For your information, the reason most of these contracts were dated in April is that I visited the Philadelphia Signal Supply Agency and asked why these contracts had not been awarded, since the date of their bid opening, under competitive bid circumstances, had been at least 6 weeks earlier.

From date of award until July 15, 1962, only one communication was received from the Signal Corps. This was a request to change packaging, which resulted in a price increase of $0.04 per unit on one of the assemblies. On July 12, 1962, the arrest of the Signal Corps personnel occurred. On July 16, the Signal Corps requested I visit their facility; and they requested from me the status of these contracts. I advised them that Consad had closed its manufacturing facility and that it planned to subcontract performance of these contracts to a vendor, CleCal Corp., of Van Nuys, Calif. Mr. Weinfield, conracting officer, verbally agreed with this request; however, it was suggested by a Mr. Perkins and concurred in by Mr. Weinfield that they discuss this program with our proposed subcontractor.

On July 17, 1962, Mr. Kreiger, president of CleCal, and the undersigned visited the Signal Corps offices. At that time, several persons were brought into the meeting. They advised Mr. Kreiger that there were approximately 200 specifications that he must have in his possession and adhere to if he were to successfully complete performance of these contracts. They further indicated that it would take them at least 6 weeks to provide him with these initial specifications which were pertinent to the contracts. They further indicated that each of these 200 specifications could contain references to anywhere from 2 to 20 additional specifications; and that he was expected to adhere to all of these requirements. Then, they called in the packaging expert who, in great detail, pointed out the criticalness and complexity of packaging these products. They further indicated that the penalty for default under the contract was severe and that if this material were not produced in accordance with all of this data his future as a contractor could be jeopardized.

To put this into context, the above represented at least 3 solid hours for various Signal Corps personnel on these matters.

After this meeting, Mr. Kreiger indicated to me that he had decided to withdraw from the program in that: (a) It was impossible to obtain the specifications in the time necessary to meet delivery under the contracts; (b) "It was apparent that every rule and regulation would be carefully implemented"; (c) It would cost more "to review the specifications, contractual documentation, and satisfy the quality control personnel than the face value of the contracts."

On July 19, 1962, in accordance with terms of the contracts and a request made by the contracting officer, we submitted a technical action request to the contracting officer. We had, previously, advised him that preproduction assemblies and test data required by the contracts had been submitted directly to Fort Monmouth by one of our subcontractors. We were advised that it was necessary to submit the technical action request outlining this action that we had accomplished. At that point, and time, it was mutually agreed that a reproducible copy of this technical action request would be submitted directly to the western regional office of the Signal Corps, where all of these negotiations had taken place.

On July 19, 1962, this technical action request was submitted. On July 23, we received a telephone call from the production specialist, Mr. Perkins, stating that this technical action request was not adequate. Since I had submitted this type of paper to various agencies over the past 12 years, I was, naturally, surprised that this particular document which simply described the transmittal of preproduction samples was

not adequate. When I asked the reasons, I was informed by Mr. Perkins that he did not know but that a Mr. Levine who was the Fort Monmouth representative at the Western Regional Office would call me to tell me.

When I did not receive word the next morning, July 24, I again contacted Mr. Perkins, at which time he indicated that he did not know why Mr. Levine did not call me. Then, I contacted the contracting officer, Mr. Weinfield, who indicated he would look into the matter and advise me. On July 27, 1962, I received a letter dated July 25, 1962, signed by the contracting officer, that set forth four reasons for this rejection. These objections mainly concerned placing the same information into two areas of the technical action request, instead of indicating a lack of information in the technical action request.

On July 27, 1962, we resubmitted a reproducible copy to the Signal Corps, doing as requested in the original correspondence. We were then advised, upon receipt of this document, that it should not be sent by them but distribution should be made directly as indicated on the form itself. I reminded them of my correspondence of July 23, 1962, addressed to the contracting officer, which confirmed my understanding with them that this should be submitted directly to their office for distribution. They admitted that they had agreed to this verbally, but had changed their minds, indicating that contractually we were required to make this distribution. While I was unable to find this clause in the contract, we did make the distribution, as suggested.

On July 27, 1962, I received a certified letter, return receipt requested, signed by Mr. R. Weinfield, the contracting officer, basically referencing the contracts concerned, and containing the following statements: "Failure to make satisfactory progress may endanger the timely performance on the four following contracts: (These are the ones listed on the first page of this letter).

"It is accordingly requested that the undersigned contracting officer be kept concurrent with your progress in this problem area."

On July 23, 1962, I had advised the contracting officer of our intention to subcontract these contracts to the El-Tek Division of El-Tronics in Hawthorne, Calif., and specifying a change in place of performance of these contracts. This letter was based on confirmation of verbal conversations held betwen the undersigned and the contracting officer on July 23. On July 24, 1962, I was advised by the proposed new subcontractor, El-Tek, that they had received a call from an unspecified person in the Signal Corps; wherein they had been advised that these contracts were in jeopardy of default and that they should be careful in undertaking a program of this sort. On July 25 or July 26, a survey of El-Tek facilities was conducted by Mr. John Stritch of the Western Regional Office of the Signal Corps. I was advised by Mr. Jacobi, vice president and general manager of El-Tek, that he had never had such a tough survey and that he was told he had quality control problems, and certain other areas of his production department did not appear wholly adequate. On or about July 27, I was advsied by Mr. Jacobi that El-Tek had decided to withdraw from performance of these contracts. The stated reason was that he could not come to a satisfactory financial arrangement with us. This was even though he and I had visited Consad's bank and had received every assurance that funds adequate to cover the value of these contracts, plus $5,800 would be placed in escrow and paid to him upon the shipment of the material under the above-referenced contracts.

On July 30, I requested a very close friend who is a senior executive in the defense industry and who is very close to many personnel in the Western Regional Office of the Signal Corps to call some of his friends to find out what the attitude of that office was to our corporation. He indicated that their position was as follows: "Unless he can find a subcontractor who is so reputable that we can't possibly criticize him, it our intention to force a default. If he finds this level of subcontractor, it will cost him enough money, because of high overhead rates, that that payment will be sufficient for our purposes."

Additional correspondence was received on July 31, 1962, from the contracting officer, Mr. R. Weinfield, again indicating potential danger of default.

What we had done, in the meantime, was to seek another subcontractor who could fill the following conditions: (a) Primary business was with another service, other than U.S. Army Signal Corps; (b) cognizance and resident inspection was in the hands of another military department, other than Signal Corps; (c) price to perform said contracts would be in line with our corporation's bid; and (d) technical capability and facilities would be adequate for performance.

We contacted Glentron Systems, Inc., of Sun Valley, Calif., which agreed to undertake these subcontracts. We did not advise the Signal Corps of this action until a firm contract was signed. We did advise Glentron principals of our position with the Signal Corps. They advised us that, since the Air Force was cognizant over their activities and that they had built a considerable number of comparable assemblies for the Air Force, they foresaw little or no problem in harassment by Signal Corps personnel. On July 31, 1962, we formally advised the Signal Corps to change the place of performance from the El-Tek Division of El-Tronics to Glentron Systems, Inc.

Please bear in mind that these assembly jobs require labor which does not exceed more than 10 minutes per unit. At the time all of this correspondence was going back and forth, 90 percent of our material was on hand, and initial deliveries were not due until August 23, 1962. The preproduction samples required by our contracts had been submitted 4 days prior to the contractual due date.

We had not received an answer to our correspondence of June 26, 1962, relating to the packaging, which constituted a delay in the program. We had not received information as to certain inaccuracies in the blueprints and technical data supplied us, upon which performance of one of these contracts is contingent. We had not received any reply other than warnings of possible default to our correspondence of July 23, which requested a contract change for place of performance. As of this date, August 9, 1962, we have not received any information nor any correspondence relating to our request for changing place of performance to Glentron Systems, Inc. We have submitted technical action request relating to preproduction samples, together with the material, and have not received acknowledgment nor any information as to adequacy or inadequacy of these samples. Admittedly, the due date for final testing is August 24, 1962.

On July 30, 1962, I placed a call to Colonel Painter, commanding officer of the Western Regional Office of the Signal Corps, outlining to him the above problems. On July 31 1962, he called me back and stated he was unable to identify that any of these problems existed.

On July 30, 1962, I was subpenaed to appear at the preliminary hearing on August 1, 1962. I thereupon prepared a letter to General Cook, commanding officer of the U.S. Army Signal Corps, Pentagon, Washington, requesting an audience with him on August 2 or August 3, to state these problems to him; advising Colonel Painter of my intentions. I arrived in Washington on August 2, contacted General Cook's office, was advised that he tried to contact me on August 1 to tell me that he would be out of town on August 2 and 3, but that he would arrange for his deputy commander, Maj. Gen. Howard Scofield, to listen to my statement. I spent from 3 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. with General Scofield, with the following results: (a) He was very grateful and indicated a willingness to always be available to hear problems a contractor was encountering; (b) he had absolutely no command authority over the areas in which I was having my problem and suggested that I go to Philadelphia to discuss the problem; (c) he commented that perhaps I really did not have a problem and that this was mostly hearsay, evidences and documentation that I showed him which might be construed in another manner; (d) he suggested I not go to Philadelphia, but rather, attempt to work with Western Regional Office of the Signal Corps more closely; (e) he was very pleased to see that the contractor was willing to take the risks involved in reporting "alleged violations of the law by employees of the Government," but that he had seen cases wherein they had gone on for several years with the result that the personnel were vindicated; consequently, we could not be positive of guilt or lack of guilt at this time.

This about completes my discussion with the Signal Corps personnel to date on this subject. I must say that I have stated my case to Congressman BELL, Mr. Howard Williams, who is executive assistant to the head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and to the staff assistant of Senator TOM KUCHEL. They seemed to be more greatly concerned with this harassment and pressure than any of the Signal Corps personnel. Never before in my experience of over 13 years in the defense industry have I seen correspondence which promises contract default 30 days prior to any delivery date, when all material is on hand and a very simple assembly job is involved. Never before have I seen such a careless attitude on the part of senior management in a Department of Defense agency when such thoroughly documented information is presented. Admittedly, we are a very small company and, as such, may not be of great importance to the defense posture. However, we feel that our staff includes some the most competent technical personnel in the country, at the Ph. D. and subordinate technical levels. Each of us has enjoyed personal success in their endeavors to date, and our work in the past certainly has been accepted by those agencies with whom we have dealt. Never before have I received certified letters with this type of warning included. Never before have so many detailed specifications and obscure restrictions been relayed to me. At any rate, this corporation is presently ahead of schedule on all of these contracts. I continually advised the Signal Corps of the fact of this status. They have been requested to review this in detail, and we have indicated our willingness to cooperate with them in this review relating to internal financial data, production schedules and similar data, which would substantiate our position. The reaction to date to each of these suggestions, as you can see, has been another warning letter.

It is my hope, Congressman WILSON, that by publicizing incidences such as this, that some gain may be obtained by the Government of the United States and the Defense Department in avoiding situations of this type in the future. I fully recognize that this letter can possibly result in even greater

pressure being placed upon me by various lower level personnel within the Government agencies. It is my intention, if this happens, to fully exhaust every means at my disposition to bring these matters to light in the full knowledge that this is not representative of the truly dedicated Government executive; hoping that the result of this information will be to eliminate or minimize occurrences of this type in the future. It is my belief, after spending many years in procurement activities on the industry side, that corrective legislature and particularly the improvement of administrative procedure that truly reflect existing laws would be helpful in reducing the costs to the Government of procured equipment in the defense effort. The loopholes and inconsistencies that exist are indeed extensive.

Please consider that the undersigned and resources of our organization, small as they may be, are at your disposal in assisting with the correction of these matters. At your request, we will be more than happy to detail certain areas which appear to be most flagrant.

Thank you for your assistance and interest.

Sincerely yours,

THE CONSAD CORP,
ROBERT S. SNOYER,
*President.*

Now that is Mr. Snoyer's record of treatment his firm has received since he acted as a patriotic American. You will note when you read the memorandum that 2 weeks ago Mr. Snoyer came to Washington to complain to the Signal Corps about this treatment. He talked for 90 minutes with Gen. H. L. Scofield, after being diverted to that officer by the man with whom he actually had an appointment.

What action did he get from Scofield? Well, in my opinion, General Scofield said in effect, "Very interesting, if true. But your problem is outside my area of responsibility now. My main concern these days is with the new Defense Supply Agency. Take your problem up with Signal Supply Headquarters in Philadelphia."

This sort of statement was made by the head of the Signal Corps procurement division. It is an outrage that is absolutely incredible. You might ask why is it happening. I think there are several reasons:

First. Even the honest members of the Signal Corps procurement system apparently feel that this investigation is a blot on their record for they are a part of the procurement mechanism that this manufacturer has helped prove can be perverted for corrupt ends. Apparently honest members of the Signal Corps feel that as originators and administrators of this system, this investigation is a reflection on them. So they are doing everything possible to discredit this firm. It is the old story of "close ranks" and "protect one of your own"—even if your own is crooked.

Second. The stake that the remaining corrupt officials have in discrediting this firm is obvious. The entire electronics industry is watching to see what happens in this case. If this firm can be made an example, if it can be harassed out of the procurement field, it will stand as a lesson to all other contractors. If you blow the whistle on the Signal Corps—or on other corrupt procurement officials in any service—then "you'll get it in the neck." So keep your mouth shut and pay the shakedowns and kickbacks that are often necessary for smaller firms to get Government business.

Mr. Speaker, this situation cannot be permitted to continue. If Signal Corps officials from the chief signal officer, Gen. E. F. Cook, and the chief procurement officer, General Scofield, on down do not put a stop to this—immediately, without equivocation—then we may as well say goodby to all hopes for honesty—and equally important, for economy—in defense procurement. Such action is a blaring invitation for every procurement officer in every service to wheel and deal with impunity, to milk the taxpayers dry by selling defense contracts with under-the-table payments like they were being peddled on an auction block.

I understand that this situation has been brought to the attention of the Justice Department, and that the Attorney General is taking a personal interest in the matter. He is to be congratulated. Someone has to see to it that a firm which does its civic duty—and there are far too few firms willing to take such steps—is not penalized as a result.

I would like to make one thing clear at this point. I am not suggesting that this firm be rewarded for the brave action it took. Nor does this firm expect a reward. All I am asking—and all the Consad Corp. is asking—is that it be treated no differently than any other firm doing business with the Signal Corps. It is entitled to no more, but it is also entitled to no less.

Personally, I intend to demand from the Department of Defense and the Signal Corps a full report on this situation—an explanation why this was permitted to happen and a list of the names of the persons responsible. I also intend to recommend that the General Accounting Office, if possible, act as an impartial arbitrator in this situation to determine whether this firm is being subjected to discriminatory treatment by the Signal Corps' west coast office.

I hope that all other fellow Members of Congress interested in honesty and economy in procurement—and particularly my colleagues from this firm's home State of California—will join with me in calling the public's attention to this shocking situation and in urging the Defense Department to stop this disgraceful conduct on the part of the Army Signal Corps.

I am today directing a letter to Secretary of Defense McNamara asking for a full investigation of this outrage by the Defense Department Intelligence Agency. If the Secretary's performance in this case follows past patterns, do not look for any earthshaking developments. I say this because I have been denied information on military procurement by the Secretary of Defense himself.

To conduct a study such as mine it is necessary to have "before the fact" information on procurements. For some time I was receiving this information from several agencies. Since the findings began to come out, however, and since I have been proving that the taxpayers' money is being thrown to the winds, the Secretary of Defense himself has had me purged from lists to receive such information. He, too, follows the "close ranks against the foe" approach of all the rest of the military.

If this sort of action is typical of the man who has been called the "whiz kid" of the Defense Department, then I think it is time he went back to the Ford Motor Co. where he belongs and we got a Secretary of Defense who will cooperate with the Congress and who will work for the best interests of the American people.

The reason the Defense Department has shut off information to me is the same reason why reprisals are being taken against Consad and others. We are hitting the tender spots. We are uncovering the waste, the inefficiency, and the corruption. In short, Mr. Speaker, we are hitting them where they live, and they are trying to cut me off to stifle my work. I want to state here and now that the Secretary of Defense or no other person can do that, and I shall continue to investigate every example of abusive procurement I can uncover.

That, then, is the report on reprisals against Consad. What is Secretary McNamara going to do about it? Is he going to do anything? I think you will agree that it is indeed a shameful situation and one that should be corrected.

In closing, I want to inform my colleagues that I have just received a report on another phase of my study from the Comptroller General which shows that an American industry received a 100-percent larger profit for making a simple power supply than should have been the case. Next week I intend to spell out the facts in that case, and I think the Justice Department should proceed against the company, demanding return of the excess profits.

## Communists Critical of U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, those who oppose the U.N. loan bill will be very interested to know that the Communist world is also critical of the U.N. At the recent Soviet youth festival the Communists described the U.N. as "the most insidious, dangerous weapon available to the imperialist powers and a body completely subject to the evil Western colonialists."

Several American youths attended the world youth festival in Helsinki, Finland, and made an admirable attempt to counter Soviet propaganda and to advance the truth about United States and free world aims. One of these young

people, Barney Frank, I am proud to say, is a resident of my congressional district. Barney, who is a student at Harvard, told me of the work of the dedicated young Americans who attended the festival. He also drew my attention to the following letter, which was signed by young people who attended the Helsinki meeting. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The letters follow:

AUGUST 15, 1962.

Representative CORNELIUS GALLAGHER,
*Old House Office Building,,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GALLAGHER: Enclosed is a copy of the letter I spoke to you about on Tuesday. After my discussion with you, I learned that it had been reproduced and sent to all Members of the House. Since it was a mass mailing, however, I am sending a copy directly to you in the event there is any delay.

I am very glad that you will be able to read it into the RECORD, and I hope it will be of assistance to you in getting a positive vote on the issue. I will send you my thoughts on Helsinki in the near future. Thank you again for your assistance.

Sincerely,

BARNEY FRANK.

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INDEPENDENT RESEARCH SERVICE,
NEW YORK, N.Y.,
*August 13, 1962.*

GENTLEMEN: In the course of the past several weeks we, the undersigned, have heard the United Nations cursed, reviled, threatened, and implicated in every unjust cause in recent history. We have listened as it was called the most insidious, dangerous weapon available to the imperialist powers and a body completely subject to the evil, western colonialists. These insults have been hurled as a part of the Eighth World Youth Festival staged in Helsinki, Finland, backed by Soviet funds and organized by the Communist-dominated festival international preparatory committee.

We are Americans of all political persuasions who have attended this festival in an attempt to present both sides of the international struggle in which our country is enmeshed. Not strong in numbers ourselves, but well organized, purposeful, and prepared with foreign language abilities and information, we have combined the efforts of several groups, each financed and organized by private initiative, to stage a cultural exhibition better than that of the Soviets, to present Western views on disarmament, colonialism, the cold war, and other burning issues, and to counteract on a personal basis the propaganda issued by the Soviet bloc states participating. Now we learn that by refusing to purchase $100 million worth of U.N. bonds, the Congress of the United States may cripple the one organization in which all people in the world have hope.

A picture has emerged from the attacks on the United Nations which have been made here this week, largely by Africans from Friendship University in Moscow. It is this: The United Nations seems to be the one forum in which the neutral nations who have suffered from colonialism, real or imagined, can express their independence. This independence is a great hindrance to the local Communist Parties. Without a forum such as the United Nations, the claim that these countries have a sham independence would ring more true to Africans and Asians; Communist efforts to organize revolutions in these areas, therefore, would meet with much easier success than they have so far. The United Nations is also dangerous to them because of its successes in maintaining peace in the Congo and Israel. In both senses, it is in fact one of the best weapons available to the free world.

As we understand the issue now before the House, there are to be no more amendments to the bill to purchase United Nations bonds. The issue now is yes or no. The plan for bond purchases may or may not be perfect, but it is a plan and an adequate one. This issue shall determine the future existence of the United Nations and the continued free existence of that three-quarters of the world which is emerging from poverty and colonial rule in our era.

Once in every decade such an issue comes before the Congress of the United States. The League of Nations was weakened irreparably when such an issue was presented following the First World War. Western Europe was saved when the Marshall plan was passed following World War II. Now such an issue is before you once again. If it fails, history will condemn all our people. We argue now from our experience here meeting real, not paper, Communists.

We do not pose as experts on communism; no American should, for it is extremely difficult for one of us to grasp the circumstances in which the rest of the world finds itself. But the United Nations is made up largely of the very people it benefits—the uncommitted nations. It can be no danger for us to have a free tribunal of the nations of the world. On the contrary, it is dangerous to those with whom we have met this week. For the sake of us who will inherit the world from your hands, for the sake of us who have already begun to show our initiative in this struggle, gentlemen, save the United Nations. We will bear the cost.

Respectfully,

James R. Newcomber, Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee; Harold Swayze, Michigan; Wendy Goepel, New Jersey; Karen Orren, California; Samuel Reiken, New York; Timothy F. Harding, Betty Garman, California; Tom Burns, Maryland; Iaoid Baker, Michigan; Barney Frank, New Jersey; Arthur S. Monhan, New York; Rensselaer W. Lester, New Jersey; John Mansfield, Connecticut; R. James Woolsey, Oklahoma; Martin Oppenheimer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Christine Mansfield, Connecticut; John A. Butler, Michigan; Steven V. Roberts, New Jersey; Ann Garfinkle, Helen Krilzter, New York; Michael Zach, Massachusetts; Fred Notehelfer, California; Don Price, Massachusetts; James R. Newcomer, Oregon, Sally Oppenheimer, Pennsylvania; Matthew J. Iverson, Wisconsin; Rose Banke, New Mexico; Griffin Crump, Indianapolis, Ind., 11th District; Neil SS. Welsa, Idaho; Todd Jeffrey Lefko, Minnesota; Ronald D. Levin, Pennsylvania; Joseph Rubin, New York; Bary Lando, Canada; Susan Newcomer, United States of America; Elliott F. Keelick, Pennsylvania; Norman Uphoff, Minnesota; ——— Groche, California; Mack Leighin, New York; Marguerite McKay, Minnesota; John R. Rasen, John D. Owen, California; Thomas Cotton, Texas; James W. Roberts, California; P. Edward Haley, Michigan; Thomas J. O'Leary, Garnett D. Green, California; John F. Meigs, Pennsylvania; Thomas C. Grey, California; Elinore Schaffer, New York; Theodore W. Volckhausen, Redding, Conn.; William Bestor, A———— Bestor, Washington; and Fred Goff, California.

## Address by Hon. Theodore S. Gutowicz at Polish Soldiers Day Celebration, Philadelphia, Pa., August 12, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following address given by my very good friend, the Honorable Theodore S. Gutowicz, insurance commissioner of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the Polish Soldiers Day celebration, sponsored by the Polish Army Veterans Post No. 12 and its Ladies Auxiliary, in Philadelphia, on Sunday, August 12, 1962:

ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE S. GUTOWICZ AT SOLDIERS DAY CELEBRATION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., AUGUST 12, 1962

Mr. Toastmaster, reverend fathers, honored guests, officers and members of the Polish Army Veterans and Ladies Auxiliary, Post No. 12, and friends; I am deeply honored by the invitation to be your guest and speaker at this annual and memorable Polish Soldiers Day celebration.

I am also proud and privileged, as a member of the Governor's cabinet, to bring you a message from His Excellency, David L. Lawrence, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on this historically eventful day. The Governor wishes to express and extend his personal greetings, best wishes and congratulations to everyone gathered here for setting aside this day, in order to pay tribute to the heroism and valor of the Polish Army, not only in World War I but also in World War II.

People of Polish ethnic origin have ample reason to celebrate August 15 as Polish Soldiers' Day, so decreed 41 years ago by the Constitutional Parliament of Poland known as the SEYM. The reason is that 42 years ago, on August 15, 1920, the Polish people rose as one and routed the hateful aggressors from the East, the great Bolshevist hordes that invaded Poland practically at its rebirth to national independence, freedom, and liberty. The famous volunteer army, recruited hastily in the capital city of Warsaw, included young and old—from early teens to men past 70. It was a crucial period in the early life of a reconstituted and reunited land which, for more than a century, was divided by the three neighboring empires—Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. The enemy was practically at the gates of Warsaw.

The nation united, and with a combined effort, drove the invaders out of their country under the supreme command of Joseph Pilsudski, who awakened the fighting spirit of the Poles earlier in World War I when he organized his famous legions. Many volunteers from America, who in 1917 and 1918, sailed across the Atlantic, over 26,000 strong, to fight on the western front in France under the command of Gen. Joseph Haller, joined Pilsudski's volunteer army at Warsaw.

Polish Soldiers' Day is more than a remembrance here today. In this audience, there are many comparatively recent arrivals in our country, most of whom are now citizens, who have repeated the 1920 performance, insofar as the call to arms is con-

cerned, in World War II—but were defeated by treachery and a secret treaty, concluded earlier in Moscow, by Hitler's Ribbentrop and Stalin's Molotov. Coming from the East, 17 days after Hitler's armies invaded Poland from the West, Stalin's Communist hordes overran eastern Poland in execution of that secret treaty. The latter was in violation of all that is law, for Poland had nonaggression pacts with both Germany and Soviet Russia. While Adolf Hitler, with his usual effrontery and open "Greuel propaganda" started his "blitzkrieg" from the air, land and sea on September 1, 1939, first bombing hospitals, churches and Red Cross buildings, Joseph Stalin sent his armies westward into Poland on September 17, pretending to give aid to the Poles in their mortal struggle with the Germanic invader. And so today, we gather here to celebrate both Poland's 1920 effort which was compared to the ancient Greek heroic stand of Leonidas at Thermopylae, and the Polish peoples valiant stand in 1939, a stand which gradually, over the years, has changed the entire Polish nation of heroic fighters for liberty into soldiers of the famous underground and now spiritual resistance against the onslaughts of godless communism, imported from Moscow and ruling the country against the will of the governed.

This is indeed a great day to observe as we all pay homage and tribute to Poland's heroes and honor them in our midst here in America. The final battle of Warsaw has not been lost as yet. The spirit of Polish independence is still strong in the hearts of 30 million Poles in their homeland. We salute here today the Polish soldiers of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, who fought for Poland's and America's freedom in the 18th century—We salute the glorious fighters of 1830, 1863, 1905, 1920 and 1939 through 1944—those who fell during World War II fighting with our Western Allies and the United States at Narvik, Norway, at Tobruk in Africa, at La Falaise, in France, and Arnhem, in Holland, at Monte Cassino, in Italy. We salute them all. May their supreme sacrifice not be in vain. May Communist-ruled Poland again enjoy national renascence and for the second time in her history rise, again to full national independence and personal liberty of every one of her citizens.

Long live the glorious spirit of the Polish soldier.

And now, with your kind indulgence, I would like to make a few remarks in the native tongue of many present here.

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## Youth Thinks It Over: Political Comedy of Errors—To Be or Not To Be a Communist

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I had called to my attention, a very significant and refreshing article on the great public question of extending any economic assistance to Communist-occupied countries. This article, written by Joseph A. Eszterhas, appeared in the July 29 issue of the Catholic Hungarian Sunday Katolikus Magyarok Vasarnapja.

This article is significant because it was prepared by a young man of 17 years, who graduated from Cathedral Latin High School, Cleveland, this June, and is preparing to enter college this fall. Though, young in years, he has had considerable experience with the realities of Communist governments.

His family left Hungary because the Russian Communists occupied this unhappy land and they came to the United States to build a new life in freedom.

What Joseph A. Eszterhas has to say on this burning issue of the day provides clear evidence that our younger generation are thinking, studying, and anxious to break with the failures of the past and to get our country moving again in the worldwide struggle against imperial Russian communism.

By leave previously granted, I insert this article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Catholic Hungarian Sunday, Katolikus Magyarok Vasarnapja, July 29, 1962]

YOUTH THINKS IT OVER: POLITICAL COMEDY OF ERRORS—TO BE OR NOT TO BE A COMMUNIST

(By Joseph A. Eszterhas)

While Khrushchev was babysitting Moscow's Communist Youth Festival last week with the soothing, motherly tones of the Kremlin's doubletalking jargon of prevaricated sophistry: "There is now an ever-increasing possibility of a war of major proportions * * *. The Western bomb tests are a crime against humanity"; the youthful, vigorous, never-to-be-outdone President of the United States returned from the annual all-star baseball game and had a typically new-frontierish comeback: "I am confident," he clipped, "that the administration proposal to supply Yugoslavia and Poland with increased foreign aid will pass the House with ease."

Both comments from both sources had been expected in both Moscow and Washington, and no event of any major significance was expected to follow in either quarter. The result was that both quarters exploded.

In Moscow, some six members of that youth delegation, evidently not comforted by Mr. K's motherly tones, showed their dislike—by marching right smack into the middle of Red Square with banners of "Down With Soviet Testing" and "Let's Stop Red Tests Too," a fact which caused even the most deadpan Soviet bigwigs to inject a little red in the face.

The Washington occurrence, although certainly not as dramatic, was just as volatile. South Carolina's flamboyant Democrat, STROM THURMOND, who in 1957 held the Senate floor for a 24-hour filibuster, now followed the President's statement with his own: "The United States has been contributing, and contributing substantially to its own downfall by supporting economically a government whose leader reaffirms his dedication to the eventual overthrow of our way of life."

Like the shot in the dark, both statements were followed by a menacing quiet—in Moscow and in Washington. Moscow's events are insignificant compared to Washington's, since the youth festival will end this week, whereas Congress will reassemble and keep reassembling.

Very evidently, the "aid to Yugoslavia and Poland" question has been blown wide open, with chain reactions expected to follow when the actual vote on the question will be taken.

Since our money is involved, it is a very interesting though also a very old issue. So many charges and countercharges have been coined that it seems almost impossible to come up with new ones. And yet various critics in various corners of the globe manage to keep coming up with newer and newer ones.

It has been widely argued in columns and political features from coast to coast that aid to Yugoslavia will aid the people and not the government; that it would make the Yugoslav and Polish regimes less communistic; that the action really serves our purposes because it would ease Soviet strain on both nations. The longtime exponent of aid to Communist countries, George Kennan, describes aid as "the only humanitarian thing to do," while the Oregon Democrat and Mormon bishop, WAYNE MORSE, sticks to the Bible and claims "we should continue our Christian principles and give them (Yugoslavia and Poland) aid."

Indeed, the best way to answer arguments factually is by a good look at the record. In this case, it may be argued that the record here depends on where you're looking at it—from the West, or from behind the Iron Curtain. It seems only fair then that the record is to be looked at from both sides. First, to see why Yugoslavia and Poland are deserving of our aid, and then to see who the people are that we're giving aid to.

Since Tito was expelled from the Comiform in 1948, we've invested roughly $2 billion in aid, both military and economic, to Yugoslavia. For a number of years, our military aid program alone operated at the rate of $100 million per year. Our aid to Gomulka since Poznan's 1956 uprising has amounted to $1 billion.

In essence, our policy planners' reasoning is that the individual nations now under communism will become more and more independent of Moscow as the rising tide of nationalism takes hold. Each will eventually evolve into a peaceful, nonaggressive, socialist state. It is by this means that international communism is to be thwarted. Presumably, our policy planners are satisfied that the theory they have concocted is a valid one, but an examination of the facts forces a contrary conclusion.

Yugoslavia has been reputed in the past to be aiding in the export of the Communist revolution, through Cuba and into the whole of Latin America. Even Under Secretary George Ball has admitted in open hearing that Yugoslavia is supporting the export of the Communist conspiracy.

In 1961 the freighters *Troboville* and *Gundelec* left San Diego loaded for Yugoslavia with jet trainer planes. Mr. Ball admitted that at least one of the ships had a stopover in Havana. The fact that the Cuban Communist pilots have been trained in Yugoslavia lends credence to the belief that at least some of these trainer planes got no further than Cuba.

There is intelligence information indicating that Yugoslavia contributes substantially to Communist activities in areas of the world other than South America, including southeast Asia and Africa. For while we have been giving aid to "underprivileged" Yugoslavia, Tito has been carrying on a trade setup with India, Indonesia, Burma, Ghana, Ethiopia, and other Afro-Asian nations. In short, we have been underwriting, through American greenbacks, the extension of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev. The only question left unanswered is how the amount of money which Yugoslavia spends in these activities compares with the amount the United States contributes to Yugoslavia.

State Department officials have many times used the argument that Yugoslavia has very clearly shown, through its U.N. voting record, that it is not a stand-up-and-be-counted member of the Soviet bloc. But then how is it that on December 12, 1958 Yugoslavia voted "no" on the 37-power resolution condemning continued defiance of General Assembly resolutions on Hungary. Although the resolution was adopted by a vote of 54 to 10, the entire membership of

the Communist bloc voted against it—plus Yugoslavia.

Throughout the entire period of the Hungarian uprising, Yugoslavia lent taciturn approval to the slaughter of the freedom fighters by a total and obvious lack of criticism. If they maintain strict adherence to Communist line and unflinching loyalty to the Communist movement, then how can it be said that they are not a member of the Communist bloc?

In the 1961 session of the General Assembly, Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet Union and against the United States on 21 separate issues. These included the question of Tibet, the item of Hungary, against the U.S. resolution not to seat North Korea, and for the admission of Red China. On all questions of any importance to the Communist movement, Yugoslavia voted with the U.S.S.R.

In a 1956 interview with Edward R. Murrow, in response to the request that he describe the basic differences between Communism in Yugoslavia and Communism in the Soviet Union, Tito said:

"These are not big, ideological differences. They are not too big. We have the same aims—that is to say, the building of socialism and Communism."

On May 6 of this year, Tito announced a series of drastic new measures, destined to bring the Yugoslav economy under tight Communist control.

"Some will say the Communists have taken everything in their hands again," he said, "but we know what has to be done and what the people want."

He has already joined with Nasser in an attempt to direct their economies against the newly formed Common Market. He has again jailed Milovan Djilas for rejecting the tyranny of communism and finding little difference between Stalin's brand and Tito's. He has, through Ben Bella's own admission, taken a part in the Algerian crisis; taken part in a Sofia meeting of Bulgarians and Rumanians, and has recently announced his intention to visit the Soviet Union sometime this summer.

And finally, this past week, while aid to Yugoslavia was being voted on, he joined Khrushchev in condemning American testing by calling it "a danger to mankind."

In short, he has, through a hundred of different actions, shown where he stands. His stand is understandable, for Josip Broz Tito has been, ever since those early days, a diehard Communist guerrilla. What is not understandable is how a free nation, founded on the precepts of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, can believe in a Tito. And what is completely beyond reason, is how the citizens of that free nation can be expected to not only feed him, but his whole party breed as well.

That's the Western side of the argument.

The surest way to see how the Reds think is to check their press. Since it is a government enterprise, it will always reflect the party line. Not unexpectedly, their thinking mirrors itself in a double reflection. One is ideological, the other is social.

In Hungary, which is as Sovietized as the other satellite countries, ideological hocum is jammed into a compact 4 by 6 red and white monthly with coarse paper, coarse writing, and the even coarser, wornout Red slogan: "Proletarians of the World, Unite" plastered over the cover. It is called the Társadalmi Szemle (Social Review), and it terms itself the "intellectual and political magazine of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party."

Throughout the year, the Társadalmi Szemle has kept up a stinging, biting, knock-'em-dead barrage on American principles, politics, policies, and Presidents.

In its January 1962 edition it quotes Khrushchev: "It is undoubtable that in numerous capitalist nations where capitalism is still strong, and where gigantic military and police organs still exist, it is unavoidable that a class struggle will be intensified."

In its February edition, it goes even further: "The time is rapidly approaching," it says, "when the United States will lose its lead in its overall consumptive demand. The working class of the United States, if it achieves political mastery, will quickly adjust itself to the socialistic reorganization of its society; that is, the buildup period for socialism will be shorter."

Both statements call for open revolution of the working class. Both statements come from members of the bloc to which we will be giving aid.

And then, punchlining its message, the February 1962 edition of the Társadalmi Szemle builds up to an intensely frightening crescendo which reveals psychosis and deception, when it maintains, in an article by Dezso Nemes, that "the agricultural level of the United States is too low for communism."

Now there is quite a statement. The only reply possible, and the easiest reply to make, is that if what Mr. Nemes holds is true (U.S. agricultural level is too low for communism) then why are we giving them aid.

In April, the Társadalmi Szemle keeps right on rolling and rolling. "Revolution and a State in Cuba" is the article head, and Irene Komjat has some choice words to say about U.S. business and Cuban economy.

"It is true," she says, "that America businessmen have built roads, modern factories, and beautiful residential areas in Havana's outskirts, as well as grand hotels and department stores * * * but American business has made Cuba, which is rich in its natural resources, a poor nation."

Choice words, they are indeed. For they make one wonder if the distinguished writer of the Társadalmi Szemle has ever heard of the word "logic." From what she writes, the word isn't in the Communist terminology.

Applying itself to the newest Federal bid to register the U.S. Communist Party, the Társadalmi Szemle shows its true color most clearly in its June issue. On page 82 appears this statement from "the intellectual and political magazine of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party."

Throwing Soviet cliches around as if they were the mainstay of the Hungarian language, the Szemle makes this point: "But the American imperialists have failed in their attempt to liquidate the party. The Communist Party of the United States lives and is working today, and it is the leader of the American people's battles in the present, and in the future."

"Imperialists" and "liquidate" are terms we've heard before. But never before have we been so pleased to hear them as to shell out our money in gratitude. We've heard them tell us before about "U.S. levels being low" and "businessmen ruining Cuba" and "ripe for revolution." But never before have we paid them for it.

And yet this is only one side of their barrage. The other reflection—the social side rips up customs, traditions and personalities of America, with a coracity twice as vicious and twice as low. Their social attack is targeted to reach the working man through large, tabloid sized gossip—sheets or comic—type editions which are embarrassingly cheap in style and content.

These range from mocking, black and white shots of American Art (Ország-Világ, Dec. 1960) to an underhanded swipe at the Nation's legislators. The March 1962 Ország-Világ (The Nation and the World) comments beside a large picture of Charles Laughton playing the "typical American Senator" in "Advise and Consent," "that it seems that in America the actors play Senators and the Senators play actors." What makes it a little more than ironic is the fact that these very Senators whom the Ország-Világ says are "actors" will be the ones dispursing the aid.

There are other tidbits thrown in between: A reference to John F. Kennedy in Ország-Világ "Don't worry John, even if you wouldn't have won the election, you could've bought the whole Nation." A ridiculous statement that in the West, those people who don't have the finances to pay "dog tax" have their dogs torn from them. The canine caper story is of course spiced by a shot of a little boy playing tug-of-war with a mustached badman, with of course, a dog in the middle, and the caption: "Poor boy can't pay his dog tax."

In the April 1962 issue of Világ Ifjusága, The World's Youth (the paper in itself is a sight to behold-its is twice the length of Life, it's make up twice as poor as Mad) appears an article entitled "Ignorant Graduates." Spaking of American youth in general, the article says: "Much of the American youth's education doesn't exceed that of an illiterate. There is talk that the vast majority of college graduates are incapable of composing an everyday theme." The article is accompanied by a cartoon showing a college grad in cap and gown, learning his ABC's on a blackboard.

But if this be a false image of America and the American people, it rates a zero as compared to the depiction of the American in the May issue of Tábortüz (Campfire) the Hungarian Party's scrap-sheet for its "Pioneer" movement.

Featured attraction of the May issue is a set of comics entitled "The Heroic Island." The first two caricatures show a Cuban Communist hero, Jose, and his schoolteacher sweetheart, Juanita, who claims: "Within 1 year there will not be a single illiterate in Cuba." Continuing, the cartoon shows soldiers paratrooping into an invasion on Cuba. Immediately recognizable by their uniform as American GI's these "warmongers" land, and upon the invasion, are so dumb that they ask where they are. From there on they go to bigger things. One soldier asks Juanita: "Honey, what are you doing among so many dirty niggers?" And while this same soldier paws at the innocent schoolteacher, the other empties his machinegun into the "nigger." The last sequence shows them bawling: "After them, we'll get every one of them."

What the cartoon did was simple. In two pages, it managed to draw a razorblade image of the American as brutal and cannibalistic, a complete ignoramus, a prejudiced "nigger-hater," a rapacious animal, and finally, a cold-blooded murderer.

Indeed, their cartoon wasn't comical. In fact, the only comical thing about the whole grim affair is that we'll be giving our aid to these Communists. And that, indeed is very funny.

Well, that's the other side of the argument. What they think about us.

One wonders about the Congressman who will vote for giving the aid. He has been called an "imperialist," an "actor," "liquidator" and "a man learning his ABC's." He has been shown to be a merciless killer and a brutal, rapacious animal. The people whom the Congressman represents have been urged to revolt against him and have been told that "the time is ripe for a socialist revolution." The image of the American in uniform, the image the Congressman himself once shared, has been defiled to that of a nigger-hating merciless killer, pawing away at the innocent female.

And then one wonders of the aid they'll be getting. To call more Congressmen more names. To urge more people to newer revolts, to spread communism with more funds.

And then one really wonders: How is it that if we know all this, our Congress doesn't, our President doesn't.

And then again, maybe they do know.

But in all this controversy, we've lost someone. That youth—what does he think?

For an answer, we turn to the area's biggest concentration of teenage political opinion. It is a Mock Student Congress. Bills and resolutions are drawn up by high-schoolers, who for 1 day address each other as "distinguished Senator," and become legislators. Most resolutions are defeated. It takes either a very well worded resolution, or a resolution expressing the opinion of the vast majority to pass

At 1962's first Mock Student Congress in the Cleveland area, only one bill passed. It read thus:

"RESOLUTION TO RESTRICT FOREIGN AID TO YUGOSLAVIA

"Whereas American taxpayers have been losing money steadily in foreign aid programs to Yugoslavia and other Soviet satellites;

"Whereas these aid programs have directly helped the growth of the Communist conspiracy here and on other continents;

"Whereas the Communist conspiracy poses an unmatched danger to Western security: Be it

*"Resolved by the Northern Ohio Student Congress,* That (1) all aid to said countries (Yugoslavia and Soviet satellites) be immediately halted."

The resolution passed by an overwhelming majority. It meant that youth has its own opinions, and sometimes they are directly contrary to those of present day legislators. And it meant that at least there is hope for the future.

The resolution can be criticized on the grounds that the resolution's author is a very young man.

And so he is.

But then, President Kennedy is not a very old one.

## What the Public Works Acceleration Bill Will Do—Questions and Answers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the Public Works Acceleration and Coordination Act, H.R. 10113, has been granted a rule and will soon be brought to the floor of the House.

The Public Works Acceleration Act is one of the most important bills that the House will vote on this session. Its purpose is to combat the continuing high level of unemployment through the construction of urgently needed Federal, State, and local public works. This bill will give every Member an opportunity to show whether or not he is concerned over the plight of the unemployed, and whether or not he is willing to take constructive action to help the jobless.

The bill and the need for action are clearly set forth in the report of the Committee on Public Works—House Report No. 1756. To state emphatically just what the bill would do and what it would not do in the clearest possible terms, I am inserting in the RECORD an explanation of the bill in question-and-answer form:

Question. What would H.R. 10113 authorize?

Answer. First, the bill authorizes the appropriation of $900 million to expand employment through the construction of Federal, State, and local public works. Second, to meet the long run need of better planning and coordination of information on public works, the bill would establish the Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration.

THE IMMEDIATE PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

Question. Why do we need to spend this $900 million.

Answer. Unemployment has been above the 5 percent level continually for the past 5 years and there is nothing in recent statistics or business reports that indicates a rapid return to full employment. In fact, the present economic slack threatens to pull the entire economy into another recession unless something is done to stimulate business.

Question. Where would these public works projects be located?

Answer. To assure that the program will have its first and greatest impact in areas where unemployment is most serious, aided projects would have to be located in one of the cities or counties eligible under the Area Redevelopment Act or in one of the 122 other communities which have suffered from high unemployment—6 percent or more—for most of the past year. Altogether this comes to a little over 1,000 eligible places which are listed in the committee report.

Question. Will these eligible areas be the only ones to benefit by the bill?

Answer. Certainly not. The program will stimulate the entire economy through the purchase of construction materials and will have a multiplier effect as the incomes created are spent and respent.

Question. How many jobs would be created under the bill?

Answer. At least 150,000 man-years of employment would be created in on-site construction employment and in the factories and mills which produce construction material. As the incomes generated are spent and respent, at least 150,000 additional man-years of employment would be created through the country.

Question. What kind of Federal projects could be undertaken under the bill?

Answer. Only those Federal projects specifically authorized by the Congress and which meet the other requirements in H.R. 10113 could be built.

Question. What Federal agencies would get these funds?

Answer. The President could allocate the money to whichever Federal agencies could use the money most effectively. These would include the Corps of Engineers, the Forest Service, Soil Conservation, or any other Federal agency authorized to undertake construction.

Question. What kind of aid would be available for local public works?

Answer. The bill authorizes Federal grants to cover 50 percent of the cost of local projects.

Question. How large could these projects be?

Answer. The bill limits projects to small- and medium-sized ones through the requirement that a substantial part of a project must be completed within the first 12 months. This rules out any disproportionately large undertaking.

Question. Could a community get these grants for something which is merely a luxury, like a swimming pool?

Answer. That would be impossible under the bill which states that any project aided must "meet an essential need."

Question. How quickly could this program get underway?

Answer. Many projects could be started almost immediately and it is expected that most of the aid would be committed in a matter of 1, 2, or 3 months. Unlike some public works programs in the past, this aid would not be used for very large projects which have a long leadtime. There are a tremendous number of projects which would be eligible that are already fully planned and could be undertaken quickly if this aid were available. A list of about 500 projects in eligible areas, on which planning is completed but construction net yet started, was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 16, 1962, just as an indication of the backlog which exists.

Question. What kind of local public works could be aided?

Answer. Any local community facility for which Federal loan or grant aid is authorized under existing law, except schools which are not eligible. For example, the grants could be used to help finance water and sewer lines, public buildings, streets and sidewalks, and so forth.

Question. Could low-rent public housing be built with these funds?

Answer. Public housing would not be built under this bill because that program already has ample authorization to carry it for the next 3 years, and the assistance provided in the Housing Act is greater than that authorized in H.R. 10113.

Question. Is this another depressed areas bill?

Answer. While most of the eligible areas are those designated under the Area Redevelopment Act, there is a clear difference in purpose and in the assistance provided. The Area Redevelopment Act is a basic long-term effort to cure fundamental economic problems, by creating new private enterprises, or expansion and modernization of existing ones, and requires comprehensive planning as a first step. That law was never intended as a shot-in-the-arm for employment. The public works bill is designed to meet the immediate problem of high unemployment and at the same time build useful community public facilities which will make these communities better places in which to live and help their long-term growth. At the same time this bill will stimulate the entire economy and create jobs throughout the Nation.

Question. What is the difference between this bill and the public facility grant provision in the Area Redevelopment Act?

Answer. The aid for public facilities under Area Redevelopment Act is strictly

limited to those projects which are directly related to the creation of new permanent employment, such as a factory. The aid in this bill could be used for the whole range of public works—except schools—which are justified on their own merit.

Question. Won't this $900 million increase the Federal deficit?

Answer. The principal threat to a balanced budget is the danger of a recession. The largest peacetime deficit in our history—$12 billion—came as a result of the 1958 recession. About three-fourths of that resulted from the loss of revenue and most of the rest came from increased expenditures such as temporary unemployment compensation. The economic stimulation that this bill would give would increase Federal revenues. Also, it should be kept in mind that we are currently spending $4 billion a year for unemployment compensation.

Question. Why would this bill authorize matching grants for projects now eligible only for loans?

Answer. Loan assistance may be adequate to meet ordinary community facility needs, but the present circumstances of high unemployment and uncertain economic outlook call for a more direct and effective aid.

Question. Could not the President use the $2.5 billion of unobligated funds under existing programs, such as urban renewal, VA, home loans, farm home loans, and community facilities, so that this bill would not be needed?

Answer. None of these programs would provide the right aid at the right places to meet the present problem of unemployment. Half of that total is for the urban renewal program and urban renewal is necessarily a long and time-consuming undertaking. Moreover, the first object of urban renewal expenditures is the acquisition of land and existing structures, and this does not create employment. The highly successful community facility program authorizes only loans and carries an interest rate of approximately 3¾ percent which simply is not enough aid to stimulate enough additional construction promptly. The home loans for rural areas under the Farmers Home Administration and Veterans' Administration cover many areas which, while lacking sources of private mortgage money, are not necessarily those in which unemployment is serious. Moreover, two-thirds of the VA loans are made to purchase existing homes and thus generate no employment. In contrast, H.R. 10113 is carefully designed to stimulate construction promptly and in areas of greatest need.

THE PUBLIC WORKS COORDINATOR

Question. Is the Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration a new idea?

Answer. No; it has been advocated by the Morris-Cook Commission of the Truman administration, both Hoover Commissions, and the Committee on Government Organization in the Eisenhower administration.

Question. Does not some existing agency, such as the Bureau of the Budget, now do the kind of work which the Coordinator would do?

Answer. There is no existing agency charged with the responsibility of coordinating information on public works projects at all levels of Government. Under the previous administration a Presidential assistant was appointed to perform approximately the same function that the Coordinator would have.

Question. Would this Coordinator be some kind of a public works czar?

Answer. He would not. The bill would not give him any operating responsibilities whatsoever. His function would be simply informational and advisory.

Question. Would the Director of the Office of Public Works Coordination determine which projects would be accelerated under the immediate acceleration program?

Answer. He would not. Responsibility for approval of projects would rest with the Federal agencies responsible under existing law for the administration of the programs which construct or provide assistance for the construction of public works. The President would have the responsibility of allocating the funds appropriated under this bill among these operating agencies. The Director would only be an advisory and informational arm of the Congress and the President.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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# *Appendix*

## Address by Senator Goldwater Before American Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me on August 8, 1962, before the assembly session of the American Bar Association, in San Francisco, Calif.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF U.S. SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN, OF ARIZONA, BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY SESSION OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, AUDITORIUM OF THE CALIFORNIA MASONIC MEMORIAL TEMPLE, SAN FRANCISCO

Mr. President, members and guests of the American Bar Association, I am both delighted and honored to be here today to participate in this important session of your very fine organization. Of course, you know that the American Bar Association is one of those groups of which we poor laymen stand in some awe. Its high professional standing and the great legal knowledge of its members are such that those of us with no law training approach an engagement such as this with considerable trepidation.

But perhaps it is proper, now and then, for you who are skilled in the details of the law to hear from one whose primary job it is to participate in the writing of new laws or the alteration of old ones.

And today I should like to direct your attention primarily to one area of law—that area which deals with the problems of labor-management relations. This area is becoming increasingly important in the life of the Nation. It has a direct bearing on the Nation's economic future in a time of extreme uncertainty and hesitancy. And it is an area which, I believe, warrants the closest attention of all Americans who are interested in our concepts of freedom and in sound economic growth.

The newspapers have been filled with news of serious labor disputes during recent months. The problems of the flight engineers and the Eastern Air Lines have become familiar to many Americans. The labor troubles in the aerospace industry have found their way into many headlines. Here, in California, a strike in the construction industry has recently taken place. Other disputes have occurred or are occurring at missile sites, in the automobile industry, on the east coast docks, and on our railroads. The list goes on and on.

In addition, the Government figures for the first 5 months of this year show a 60-percent increase in the number of work days lost due to labor disputes. It should be clear that the process of collective bargaining and its effects upon the economy and national security pose a problem of transcendent importance to all Americans.

Concern about the current labor picture and the various problems surrounding it is not mine alone. It has been voiced recently by such diverse publications and political leaders as the Washington Post, Senator KARL MUNDT, Life magazine, Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN and even the New York Times. The Post calls "the need for additional law in this field clear and unmistakable." The Times refers to "a need for improved legal machinery to deal with emergency labor disputes." The Life article was titled "The Need for New Labor Laws."

Too frequently we attempt to find a cure without first acquiring a full and complete knowledge of the cause of the difficulty. The problem only becomes greater if we sweep the cause under the rug. This is particularly true where a problem has been created by actions of the Congress and continues to exist because the Congress refuses to recognize the cause and acknowledge the necessity for corrective action.

What I wish to discuss with this audience today is, in a broad sense, the subject of concentrated power. In my understanding of the Constitution the intent written into it by our Founding Fathers, was the prohibition against the gathering of power in any one branch of our tripartite system of government or any segment of our society. You gentlemen as lawyers are constantly aware of the dangers involved in such concentration and a good deal of your activities are directed against it. We are witnessing in our national Government today, and we have been for nearly three decades, the movement of more and more power away from the people and the States into the hands of the bureaucrats in Washington. And we have witnessed how this power can be used to benefit one segment of the economy, giving it monopolistic power.

I refer specifically to the concentration of power in the hands of labor leaders of today. This power came about as the result of Federal legislation. Its correction can only come through congressional action which would remove those portions of the labor-management act which confer a privileged status on labor unions. This exempt position is not related to the unions' bargaining power in legitimate labor-management disputes.

I would suggest the tremendous concentration of potential power in the hands of labor is contrary to the public interest and in the public I include the working union members.

Labor unions enjoy many special privileges and immunities under Federal law which are creative of power. By far the most important of these is the exclusive right to represent all the employees in the unit for purposes of collective bargaining, even if the union has been selected as bargaining agent by only a narrow majority, which in many circumstances under our existing law, in fact, constitutes only a minority. Under the law, those employees who do not wish to join, as well as those whom the union for whatever reason excludes from membership, can neither bargain for themselves nor select any person or agency other than the union so designated to bargain for them. They are, in reality, the involuntary principals of agents imposed upon them by law. In granting unions this right, the Government, in effect, has bestowed upon them the power of government itself. Although this provision of law has a certain usefulness in the area of collective bargaining, it results in the most serious injustice to those employees who wish to join the union but are excluded by the union itself. They have no voice in helping to determine the union's bargaining demands and policies, are not permitted to do their own bargaining, and they are compelled to accept and work under the terms and conditions of the agreements between the union and the employer, even if they find such terms and conditions highly unsatisfactory.

Moreover, in certain industries there is a widespread practice whereby employers recruit their labor force through the local unions in the particular area. This is particularly true in those industries where the most highly skilled, and consequently the most highly paid employees are needed to perform the work. It is precisely in these industries where union membership exclusionary policies are most widely and persistently applied. As a result, untold numbers of completely qualified workers, who for one reason or another are denied admission to union membership, are excluded not only from many jobs, but particularly from the most highly paid jobs as well.

There is an unconscious tendency on the part of many to regard labor-management relations as the exclusive concern of the parties directly involved; that is, of the union and employer.

Where a settlement is reached as the result of collective bargaining and without the intervention of a work stoppage resulting from either a strike or a lockout, it is safe to say, almost without exception, that in reaching the settlement none of the negotiating parties paid the slightest attention to its future impact on the economy of the Nation or its effect on the public interest.

The labor union representatives have a tendency to identify their own interests with those of the public—to believe, often in good faith, that what is good for the union and its members cannot possibly be bad for the public as a whole. Or, to put it another way, they have a tendency to regard the membership of the labor movement as constituting the general public itself. They do not usually think of themselves as the spokesmen for a special interest group.

Management on the other hand thinks in terms of the profitability of its operations, for in a free enterprise system, continued profitability is the basic condition for the survival of the enterprise. Unless the business is one enjoying a monopoly status which would enable it to share its profits directly with the public, it is the belief of a free enterprise economy that the natural forces of competition compel management to pass the results of economic and technical progress on to the public in the form of lower prices, improvements in quality, and new and theretofore unavailable products and services.

Unfortunately, even where an enterprise enjoys a temporary monopoly—and in a basically competitive economy most industrial and commercial monopolies are temporary—the greater profits of such an enterprise, where they are shared at all, are, as a result of union bargaining pressure, shared with the employees of the firm in the form

of higher wages and increased benefits, rather than with the general public.

The public itself, generally, remains largely unaware of these underlying considerations which characterize the collective bargaining scene. It is only when the bargaining negotiations break down in a major or nationwide industry, which is engaged in production essential to the national security or welfare, that there is a shocked realization on the part of the public that it too has an important, perhaps the most important, stake in the outcome of the controversy.

The public is the overlooked body in most of the legislation written in the Congress of late, particularly in the field of labor-management relations. There are protections written into the labor-management law, and while they are not adequate, they exist, but the tendency today is to ignore them and by this action to further ignore the important role the public plays in any labor-management dispute. The key to these actions is not just the seeking of more power to be used from a central position, but the actual adoption of this power in an ad hoc manner or, to put it more plainly, working around existing laws. To understand this we must review briefly the recent comments of Archibald Cox, the Solicitor General of the United States and a key labor adviser to the President. He stated that under present conditions, the public consequences of decisions made by labor and management are so wide and serious that "the Government must have the opportunity to bring those consequences to bear in the making of decision."

Cox went on to spell out the administration's contention that "the public is entitled to a voice" in labor-management decisions. Translated this means that the Federal Government should take an ever-increasing role in the settlement of labor-management problems. It means that we can look forward to more, not less, Government encroachment in the collective bargaining process.

This becomes understandable when you consider the three recent examples of the extralegal approach to labor matters.

First, of course, we have the Government acting as a full third party in the recent steel negotiations. Following the signing of the Government-induced contract in that industry, the President thought his work was done. But when the steel companies, acting upon the mistaken belief that they were free to manage their own affairs, raised their prices the President immediately reasserted the Government's role. The results of that episode in Government-business relations are too well known to require comment. I mention it merely to illustrate one point—that the entire chain of events took place without reference to the Taft-Hartley Act or any other law, with the notable exception of the antitrust laws which were trotted out as part of the attack on the steel companies.

Second, we have the prolonged dispute in the airlines industry concerning the flight engineers. In this, the President and Secretary of Labor Goldberg have seen fit to operate outside the restrictions of the applicable law, the Railway Labor Act, on a number of occasions. Once again, the use of ad hoc boards became a favorite device of the administration.

Finally, in an effort to stave off a strike in the vital aerospace industry, the President and his Secretary of Labor came up with what they called a board of distinguished citizens and a 60-day postponement of the walkout on the part of the unions. Once again, the solution was completely ad hoc and once again the established procedures found in the law—in this case the Taft-Hartley Act—were completely ignored. It is also evident that this administration is not disposed to request new labor legislation; a number of bills have been offered in the Congress to deal with problems created by work stoppages in vital industries.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, for example, recently introduced a bill to amend the Taft-Hartley Act's national emergency strike provisions. This proposal would compel workers to stay on the job in national emergency situations and require compulsory arbitration of the disputes involved. Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, with other Senators, has proposed legislation which would "prohibit strikes by employees employed in certain strategic defense facilities." This bill also requires compulsory arbitration. In addition, Senator MIKE MONRONEY and another group of Senators want to amend the Railway Labor Act as it pertains to the national airlines and introduce the element of compulsion to take care of the engineers' strike against two airlines.

Significantly enough, all of these proposed changes in existing labor laws involve important elements of coercion and compulsion. They seem definitely to be in keeping with the thinking of those who believe that only by action from Washington can any of our problems, social, economic, political, or labor be solved.

In this connection, it behooves us to examine the nature of the continually recurring labor crises in the United States. Even a cursory examination will reveal one obvious truth—that labor unions have access to far to much power for the good of the economy or the health of the Nation.

Now it surprises no one to realize the immense size and the great economic strength possessed by American unions today. It is worth noting, however, that big labor did not gain its present vital position in our society wholly, or even primarily, through its own efforts. The Federal Government, that ever-present arbiter, policeman and entrepreneur of American life, has made organized labor what it is today.

Just to give you an idea of the preferred position held by today's union in the economic scheme of things, I have compiled a list of special privileges, immunities and rights and powers enjoyed by labor unions under the Federal law. And let me emphasize at the outset that most of these special considerations may have been justified when they were initially given to the labor movement because of their weakness and lack of size. However, possible justification from an historical standpoint certainly doesn't justify their continued existence in today's era of monopolistic union power.

The list I refer to is as follows:

1. Almost total immunity under the antitrust laws.

2. Immunity from taxation.

3. Immunity from injunctions by Federal courts.

4. Authority to use union funds for purposes not related to collective bargaining even where union membership is compulsory.

5. Power to compel workers to join the union as a condition of continued employment.

6. The right of a union selected by a majority of the workers to bargain for all employees. This includes the right to bargain for those who were compelled to join the union as well as those who can be arbitrarily denied membership.

7. Power to compel the employer to bargain exclusively with the majority union.

8. Absolute authority to deny union membership to workers employed in the bargaining unit, on any grounds or for no reason at all.

9. The right, in some situations, to invade the privacy of workers, even against their wishes. This deprives them of a legal right enjoyed by all other members of society.

10. The right, in some situations, to compel employers to make available for union use the private property of the employer.

11. The right to compel the employer to provide protection against any physical violence on the part of workers who resist invasion of their privacy.

12. Unions are immune from the payment of damages for personal and property injuries inflicted on employers or others by unions members engaged in activities, such as strikes or picketing. And this stands even in situations where such activities have been officially authorized and directed by the union.

13. The right to strike for objectives wholly unrelated to any proper subject of collective bargaining. This is in contrast to the severely limited right of an employer to engage in a lockout.

14. The right, in some situations, to examine an employer's books and records—including those containing such confidential data as costs, profits, and prices.

15. And finally, the almost complete immunity of unions from any liability, penalty, or restriction under State law under the doctrine of Federal preemption.

Now, I'm sure you realize that no other private organization, institution, association or individual in the United States is the beneficiary of such a powerful combination of immunities, benefits, privileges, rights and powers—under either State or Federal law.

And in presenting this list I am not suggesting that all of these special grants, without exception, should be removed. I do it merely to suggest that the entire question of unlimited powers for labor unions should be reviewed carefully by the Congress. I am firm in my belief that the repeal or limitation of some of these privileges and immunities is required to restore a more reasonable and workable balance in the Nation's labor-management relations. In this way, and only in this way, can we prepare the way for the conduct of free and fair collective bargaining between management and labor without Government interference. It is true that we would still have interruptions in production, but they would be substantially reduced in number. The ones we would have would represent the inevitable price a just society must be willing to pay in order to preserve its freedom.

## United Press International Report on Stockpiling Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, last February, President Kennedy expressed some concern about the size of the Government's storehouse of strategic raw materials. In April, the Senate Stockpile Subcommittee scheduled hearings. Since then many grueling hours have been spent and a great deal of contentious testimony has been heard on the subject. I am confident that the investigation, under the capable and responsible leadership of Senator STUART SYMINGTON, will result in a full and objective assessment of our country's stockpile program.

An excellent report on the committee's hearings was written recently by Jerry Landauer of United Press International. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. ENGLE], I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STOCKPILE PROBE

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON, August 12, 1962.—For 5 months a Senate subcommittee has been digging diligently into the Government's vast storehouse of strategic raw materials. The digging has yielded assorted political skeletons. Some evidence of hanky-panky at the taxpayer's expense, and several instances of incredibly lax management.

The inquiry under Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat of Missouri, likely will last late into the fall. Its pace and progress have been as curious as the circumstances which kicked it off.

Already, some of the findings have been turned over to the Justice Department for more searching investigation.

On January 30 President Kennedy unexpectedly called attention to the secrecy shrouded war stockpiles. He told a press conference he was astonished that the Government had in stock $3.4 billion worth of metals and minerals not needed for defense mobilization.

He hinted at mismanagement and profiteering and called for a full-dress congressional investigation.

A Presidential call for a congressional inquiry is a rarity. Normally Chief Executives are more concerned about stopping investigations than sparking them. Republicans naturally assumed that the Democrats were seeking a foil to neutralize the political fallout from the Billie Sol Estes scandal.

As the investigation developed, GOP Senators suggested three further reasons for the administration's sudden interest: (1) A desire to nail ranking members of the Eisenhower administration; (2) the hope of obtaining authority to sell stockpile surpluses to help balance the Federal budget; and (3) the hope of wresting control of the stockpile from Congress.

Mostly in private, the Republicans went on to suggest that SYMINGTON's mission was to stir scandal and thus generate public support for authorizing the President to liquidate surpluses quickly. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower may have had the stockpiles among other things in mind when he lashed at Kennedy in the spring for seeking more power.

SYMINGTON sought to shut off these suggestions by hiring Richmond C. Coburn, a highly regarded corporation lawyer and leading Missouri Republican, as his chief counsel. Coburn, a 6-foot-3, whitemaned giant, is not the type to tolerate "going after" such Republican acquaintances as George M. Humphrey, Eisenhower's Secretary of the Treasury.

Humphrey quickly emerged as a central figure in the investigation and, of course, politics rapidly intruded. As Humphrey came under fire for a nickel stockpile contract, his M. A. Hanna Co., had signed with the Government after the 1952 presidential election—but before the Republicans took office—Eisenhower was moved to say that he would mount the cross if Humphrey had ever done anything dishonest.

When Humphrey appears before the subcommittee, perhaps later this month, he will be asked why he kept his Hanna stock while serving in the Cabinet and sitting on the Defense Mobilization Board, the Cabinet-level agency that framed stockpile policy.

Delaware's Republican Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS has been more critical of the Hanna contracts than any Democrat. WILLIAMS has observed that the terms practically eliminated risk to Humphrey's company, provided substantial tax concessions, and permitted Hanna to buy for $1.7 million a smelter which cost the Government $22 million to build.

The General Accounting Office, Congress watchdog agency, has been unable to examine the contracts fully because they did not contain the standard "right to audit" clause.

WILLIAMS also has flailed in other directions. He voiced astonishment at the President's "astonishment" about stockpile surpluses. According to WILLIAMS, Kennedy cast eight Senate votes for bigger stockpiles.

Former Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks and John Hay Whitney, Eisenhower's Ambassador to Great Britain and publisher of the New York Herald Tribune, are among other leading Republicans who probably will be called.

Weeks will be asked about documents indicating that he and Humphrey reserved to themselves a final decision about a disputed copper delivery contract which allegedly permitted a Chicago mining company to reap windfall profits of $5.5 million.

Among other things, SYMINGTON and Coburn want to know why busy Cabinet officers took a personal hand in relatively insignificant stockpile deals. All told, the Government has negotiated 30,000 stockpile or supply expansion contracts since 1946.

The investigators' interest in Whitney stems from a much-criticized 1957 nickel and cobalt contract with Freeport Sulphur Co., a firm in which Whitney once had major holdings. The stockpile target for nickel had been reached when the contract was negotiated.

Closed-session records of the Senate Armed Services Committee show that stockpile secrecy has worried SYMINGTON for years. On June 2, 1955, he pleaded for declassification of the facts, saying: "In the secretive approach to the stockpile, in my opinion we are costing the American taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars."

Today SYMINGTON believes the facts developed by the investigators amply confirm his suspicions. He said maladministration, inefficiency, and windfall profits to certain contractors contributed substantially to taxpayers' paper loss of possibly $1.3 billion on stockpile operations.

Examples of poor administration developed by the investigators range from the humorous to the allegedly illegal. They include:

Confidence men pretending to be Russian agents who nearly duped Government officials into parting with taxpayers' money for imaginery platinum.

A scrawled note indicating that the war need for $13 million worth of cryolite which nobody wants was reviewed only once in the last 5 years.

Tinkering with stockpile target figures to justify purchases of $204 million worth of lead and zinc to boost sagging domestic industry. (The stockpile now contains eight times more zinc than needed for mobilization.)

The loss of $3.6 million to a molybdenum supplier who "horse traded" the Government with the help of a Government consultant who worked simultaneously for the supplier.

Examples of allegedly lax administration were not confined to the Eisenhower administration. Kennedy men blocked the sale of minute quantities of deteriorating fluorspar, at the behest of domestic producers. And 3 months ago, when cadmium users complained of shortages, the administration did nothing to release any of its 11.7-million-pound surplus hoard.

From 1946 to 1958 the planners simply assumed that the next war would last 5 years, the duration of World War II. Then in June 1958 they lopped 2 years off the expected emergency period. That stroke of the pen elevated many materials to surplus status. Of 98 materials in storage, 65 are now overstocked.

Under existing law few surpluses can be sold without specific congressional approval. It took the legislators 18 months to approve selling a grab-bag list of items worth $160 million, 2 percent of all surpluses.

To speed the disposal machinery SYMINGTON has drafted legislation to grant the President power to sell surpluses any time he pleases, at prices he designates. The draft bill also would set up machinery to pay some Government contractors with surplus materials instead of all cash.

Control of the stockpiles would represent an enormous addition to Presidential power.

At home, the President could intervene in labor disputes merely by hinting at the possible release of surplus stocks to make up for the lapsed production of struck factories. He also could release surpluses to roll back price increases which, as, he did in steel, he might regard as excessive.

In foreign affairs, control of surpluses would give the President additional leverage to deal with governments which rely heavily on exports of raw materials at stable prices.

The President has assured producers that he would take no steps to disrupt commodity markets. Industry is jittery nevertheless. Except for the big three aluminum companies who agreed to negotiate long-term buy-back agreements, industry spokesmen resist stepped up disposal with might and main.

Meanwhile the stockpile grows and grows. In the last 3 months its cost value crept up by $26 million. Earlier purchase commitments will move more aluminum and nickel into bulging depots. And other materials will flow in through barter of surplus farm goods.

SYMINGTON's hearings have ranged somewhat indiscriminately from disposal policy to a 12-year-old Government bout with a tin cartel; from below-grade chrome ore piled high in Montana to variations in the price of lead; from routine barter arrangements to philosophical discussions about the propriety of the Government making money on commodity trading.

But in a sense the investigators have barely skimmed the surface.

They have undertaken no public review of the reasonableness of stockpile target objectives.

They have not sought to determine whether the Government really needs to stock goose feathers, castor oil, shellac, hog bristles and extra-long-staple cotton.

They have not sought explanations for the stubborn clinging to the 5-year conventional war concept through the heyday of massive retaliation.

Clearly the investigation must move into new, high ground if it is to have much impact on stockpile policy and planning. For the moment things are pretty much as they were.

In brief, the facts are these:

Since 1964 the Government has spent $8.7 billion for 46 million tons of strategic metals and minerals.

These hugh inventories are stored at 213 depots, plant sites, leased warehouses, and at ports of entry.

It costs the taxpayers $11 million a year just to store the stuff.

The inventories were built to provide reserves in an emergency for military, atomic energy, war industry, and essential civilian needs. But the target figures do not take into account materials needed to rehabilitate the economy following a nuclear attack.

For the most part they assume a conventional war.

## Tribute to Senator Dodd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. VANCE HARTKE**
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, not often does one of our colleagues receive such meritorious publicity, as has been done in the case of the Senator from Connecticut, Senator THOMAS J. DODD, who is noted for his work and devotion in the area of foreign relations. I, therefore, wish to call to the attention of all my colleagues, the fine tribute which the outstanding columnist, Mr. George E. Sokolsky, paid to Senator DODD in his syndicated and coyprighted column of August 16, 1962, as it appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald and therefore, ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR DODD'S CONTRIBUTION

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Perhaps for the first time since 1933, a genuine foreign policy debate has been continuous in the U.S. Senate. There was a possibility years ago, of such a debate when Senator Arthur Vandenberg, of Michigan, led the Republicans. But Vandenberg, an isolationist, with astounding suddenness joined the forces of the internationalists.

Curiously, in the present debate, it is a Democrat whose voice is most constantly raised against a foreign policy which has often produced marked failure. Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, a Democrat, has, in his first term in the Senate, made an astonishingly significant reputation for scholarship and profound penetration into foreign policy.

Recently, Lyle Munson, who runs The Bookmailer, Inc., edited and published a number of Senator DODD's speeches in a book which covers a wide range of subjects.

Describing our national purpose, Senator DODD said:

"To the peoples of Europe * * * patriotism has its roots in the past and represents a love of all the similarities and things shared in common with their countrymen. But we in America, in the early years of our Nation, had no past. We had more differences than similarities. Our people had no common history except that of escape from the histories of a score of other nations.

"We had no common religion except a heritage of seeking religious freedom. We had no common tongue, no common nationality, no national music or art, no folktales, no national literature except for the political writings of our Founding Fathers.

"All that we had in common with which to mold a united nation, was a new set of ideas, of attitudes, of institutions; untried, unproved, yet having the universality hopes and yearnings of mankind for a better and fuller life. And we shared together a new virgin continent upon which we could try out our experiment."

The question then is, What is this experiment to produce? Surely, if the American experiment is to mean nothing more than a high standard of living—more automobiles, more ice boxes, more steaks—the terrific cost in human effort was not worth while. Senator DODD answers:

"That the state exists to serve man and that man's liberty, his property, his family and his individual rights are above and beyond the reach of the state;

"That every man should have a fair chance to succeed or to fail on his own, a square deal, a clear field;

"That every man should be able to speak his peace without fear or reprisal;

"That every man should have an equal voice in choosing those who govern him."

Writing of our enemy, Senator DODD wrote:

"Perhaps the most popular phrases of those who minimize the evils of communism is that we cannot look at the world scene in terms 'black and white,' which, of course, carries the implication that both the free world and the Communist world are at fault for the present danger and that each side has its good points and its bad points. I willingly concede our bad points, but I have never been able to discover the good points of communism."

## FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, Warns of Communist Campaign To Capture the Minds of American Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it has become increasingly evident in recent years that the youth of America is considered a prime target for Communist propaganda and subversive tactics. Singled out because of their strategic value as the leaders of tomorrow, and because they are passing through formative years, the young people of our land have been the object of an intensified program of blandishment, persuasion, misrepresentation, and falsehood.

In the August issue of the Follow Up Reporter, published by the National Committee for Children and Youth, there appears a hard-hitting and informative article "Communist Youth Campaign." This enlightening and disturbing message comes from J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He is perhaps this Nation's foremost expert on the Communist menace.

Director Hoover writes that the Red drive for acceptance among younger citizens has been evident in universities, at social gatherings, reform groups, and particularly in a stepped up program of public addresses by known Communist leaders. He warns that young people must realize that communism is an active subversion force in America today, and that they should be on guard against its insidious inroads.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by J. Edgar Hoover in the August issue of the Follow Up Reporter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNIST YOUTH CAMPAIGN

(By John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice)

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is today engaged in an intensive campaign to capture the minds of the youth of this Nation.

Twenty-four centuries ago, Socrates, in a noble plea for reason, told the citizens of Athens, "Agree with me if I seem to speak the truth." Today the Communists are making a similar appeal to the young citizens of America, not from any ennobling regard for the truth, however, but as a means of furthering the international conspiracy of the party.

This campaign is a skillfully contrived charade which seems to speak of truth but which is in reality a masked attempt to subvert our young people. For the truth is not important to the Communist except as it may serve his needs; it is important to youth, however, and the Communist, knowing this, has made it the premise on which he is waging this campaign. He knows that youth is a time of seeking after truth, of weighing new concepts and forming ideas; that youthful energies are impatient to be tested against the world's challenges and are quick to respond to proposals that seem to meet these challenges. He, therefore, caters to this impatience with cunning programs which seem to strike at social ills and international problems.

These programs are presented at meetings, social events, or wherever a susceptible group of young people is gathered. The Communist discusses his party's concern for civil rights and civil liberties and speaks of its work to promote world peace and international disarmament. He portrays his organization as the defender of the underdog and the weak.

These are laudable objectives to which all Americans subscribe and so are particularly attractive to inexperienced young men and women who do not know of the sinister hypocrisy of the paryt's propaganda. When youthful interest is aroused by these programs to the point of supporting the party in its alleged espousal of humanitarian endeavors, then the stage is set for gradually bringing the deceived young people into other areas of the party's activities which are more directly concerned with its main objective of subversion.

This method of recruiting new members for the party or its front groups has long been used by the Communists, but the program was revitalized and furnished new impetus at the 17th national convention of the Communist Party, USA, at New York City in December 1959. It was recognized at this meeting that renewed emphasis on youth was necessary as the party was aging and insufficient new members were being recruited. Plans were drawn up for an aggressive campaign with particular emphasis on college students, the leaders of America in the years ahead.

The programs implemented since that convention have led to the establishment of a new Communist national publication entitled "New Horizons for Youth," organization of a special youth committee to win support for Communist activities on many of our college campuses and the initiation of a forceful campaign of speeches throughout the country by party leaders. The programs are being strongly supported by Communists at all levels, and they believe that substantial gains have been made. Party leaders are particularly impressed with the results of the speech campaign.

Many of these leaders have taken part in the speech campaign and college students have borne the brunt of their propaganda. The speakers have sought not only to win support for Communist activities but to sell

the party as a legitimate political organization, rather than a subversive conspiracy dedicated to the overthrow of our Government.

Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, recently completed an extensive speech tour on the west coast—37 speeches in 12 days—in which he appeared before large numbers of students at various colleges in California and Oregon. He was quoted in the Worker, official party newspaper, as having described the tour as "one of the most exciting experiences of my life." He explained the students' interest in his speeches by stating:

"This generation is faced with the most complex, life-and-death questions. * * * The right to probe fearlessly is a necessity for youth, if they are to achieve answers that will solve their problems, which are actually the problems of mankind. One problem which has been often posed for youth, in a false and hysterical way, is the problem of communism. Their response at these meetings show that they are no longer willing to accept a discussion on communism which does not include Communists in the debate."

With this intensive campaign of subversion in full swing, America's youth must be wary not only of the party, which shows itself openly, but of its many subterfuges in the form of front groups. These organizations generally do not bear the Communist label but have innocuous or patriotic names purposely contrived to deceive the unwary. They are Communist controlled, however, and have but one real function, the furthering of the Communist cause. It has been through the use of front groups exploiting the inexperienced and naive that the Communist Party has gained much of its strength in the United States.

Our young people then should be skeptical of the political blandishments of groups which they do not know and they should make penetrative inquiry into the background of such organizations before committing themselves. Youth must realize that the shadow of communism is stalking our land today and that it seeks to make them its prey.

## How Can You Hire the Handicapped if the ICC Won't License the Handicapped?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN A. CARROLL
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared concerning an ICC regulation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. JOHN A. CARROLL, OF COLORADO

Senators will remember that on August 13 I addressed the Senate, deploring the existence of an Interstate Commerce Commission regulation which denies absolutely to rehabilitated amputees the right to drive in interstate commerce.

As I have pointed out to the Senate, this unnecessary rule causes hardship and suffering to those whom it is this country's stated policy to encourage and assist—the physically handicapped.

This flatly dogmatic rule is totally unnecessary and unreasonable. If a doctor certifies that a man's loss of limb will not prevent him from safely operating a vehicle, the Interstate Commerce Commission should allow the man to drive in interstate commerce, assuming he is otherwise qualified.

Such is the system employed by the Federal Aviation Agency in certifying pilots. It works well.

The Interstate Commerce Commission regulation causes needless hardship to rehabilitated amputees. Interstate truckdrivers who lose a leg are denied the opportunity to return to their chosen profession.

This is not the only hardship which this rule causes. I am informed that Interstate Commerce Commission regulations for licensing commercial drivers are often taken as models by State and local authorities. I am informed that several of our States and communities have adopted this ban on amputees solely because it is an Interstate Commerce Commission regulation. Others are in the process of doing so.

This means that an ever-increasing number of perfectly capable drivers are losing their livelihood every day. In some areas able-bodied amputee drivers are actually denied a license to drive Good Will and Salvation Army trucks.

The Commission has said it intends to await the conclusion of a study undertaken by the Harvard School of Public Health before it reviews this regulation.

This study, which has been in process for over a year, will not be completed for at least 2 more years and perhaps not for 4 more years.

This wait is unnecessary. The Commission has available today all the facts it needs.

Let me bring to the attention of the Senate the concluding paragraph of an earlier study undertaken by Harvard entitled, "Statistical Study of 624 Pairs of Disabled Versus Nondisabled Drivers Listed in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Registry of Motor Vehicles":

"The date shows a decidedly lower absolute rate of involvement of disabled veteran and handicapped drivers versus their nondisabled counterparts if relative hazard criteria are ignored. The ratio was approximately 2 to 1. That is, the nondisabled controlled group drivers sustained approximately twice as many accidents and were charged with approximately twice as many nonaccident violations as the disabled. This ratio appeared to remain constant regardless of the variable considered.

These conclusions are borne out by other studies made of the safety records of the rehabilitated in heavy industries. The rehabilitated worker actually has a much better safety record than does the physically normal worker.

I believe—and I am sure many in Congress share this belief—that on the basis of the facts in hand and because of the obvious and continuing inequity involved, the Commission ought to proceed now to revise this regulation.

## Liberty and Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding address made by Dr. H. N. Young, director, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Blacksburg, Va., entitled "Liberty and Responsibility."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY

(By H. N. Young)

I am speaking to you today on the subject "Liberty and Responsibility," for the following major reasons:

1. Science and education in the United States operate within the framework of government established and maintained by the Federal Republic, including the National Government, the States, and the various units of local government. It is to the interest of all of us that the integrity of this system of government be maintained. The constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and of conscience can very quickly be destroyed by too much complacency on our part.

2. It is my firm conviction that America has grown great—economically, intellectually, and culturally primarily because of the maintenance of personal liberty in this country for more than 175 years. I am also convinced that the most important single problem facing the human race, at present, is the maintenance of human freedom—freedom of enterprise, freedom of thought and expression, and freedom of conscience.

The responsibility of carrying the torch of liberty throughout the world has been thrust upon the United States of America. If personal liberty is lost in the United States, for whatever reason, its death knell will be sounded throughout the entire world. To me this means that the maintenance of personal liberty is everybody's business.

3. The American system of personal liberty—freedom of enterprise, freedom of thought and expression, and liberty of conscience—is under violent attack by the Communist Party in the United States. While the party members live in the United States, they are supporters of a foreign power and are subject to directives from Moscow. This fact has been amply documented.

Communists are not reformers. Among their aims is the complete destruction of our form of government, our economic system, and our way of life. For the American system they intend to substitute a complete dictatorship.

It should be the responsibility of every American citizen to become thoroughly familiar with the aims, strategy, and tactics of communism. It is not our responsibility, however, to play the part of prosecuting attorney, judge, and jury. To participate in "witch hunts" or to accuse others of disloyalty in the absence of overwhelming evidence is contrary to the spirit of American liberty. The gathering, sifting, appraising, and documenting of the facts should be left to the legally constituted authorities—in most cases the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Final judgments, however, will need to be left to the courts.

Every American citizen has the definite responsibility of being sufficiently well enough informed about the Communist conspiracy so that he does not become a fellow traveler or an innocent dupe of the party line. The energetic ignorance of the well intentioned can be equally as disastrous as deliberate malice aforethought.

4. On the eve of the one hundreth anniversary of the establishment of the land-grant college system of America, it seems especially appropriate that we rededicate ourselves to the basic ideals on which this revolutionary system of science and education are based. One of these ideals is that of intellectual freedom supported by personal

responsibility. Freedom of inquiry or academic freedom has been maintained in our system of higher education throughout the past century with varying degrees of success. Those institutions which have been the major contributors to the economic, social, and intellectual life of the Nation have been the ones which have placed a high value on the intellectual freedom of its professional staff. In most instances, the faculties of these institutions have undoubtedly assumed voluntarily the responsibilities and the restraints which are normally expected of scientists and educators who have mature minds.

The idea of the close interdependence between individual responsibility and personal liberty is not new. It had its origin in Greece. In the great empires of the ancient world, Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, and Persia personal freedom was unknown, even unthought of. It was not until the foundations of these great empires were crumbling that the idea of personal liberty dawned in men's minds. The country where it was born was not in the East but in Greece, the mother of Western civilization.

"You do not know what freedom is," Herodotus reports a Greek as having said to a Persian. "If you did, you would fight for it, with bare hands if you had no weapons."

"The ancient civilizations were alike in one respect, in a refusal to recognize limits.

"Unlimited freedom is chaos. It would destroy mankind. Any order, by whatever means, is preferable. The East had an endless succession of despotisms because it never conceived of order in any other way. The West discovered a way of order through freedom. It was a Greek discovery. Why the idea came to a little country, poor and sparsely settled, and not to majestic Egypt or Babylon the Great may seem at first sight strange, but the reason is not hard to find. It lies in the very nature of freedom. Freedom was born in Greece because there men limited their own freedom."[1]

"We are free," says Pericles of the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., "because we obey the law—the written and the unwritten law. The latter we consider to be the more important. The unwritten law is comprised of those restraints which voluntarily we place upon ourselves."

For a little more than a century previous to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the world experienced what was perhaps the most productive period of art and intellectual adventure ever known to man. It was in this era that the idea was born and demonstrated that men are capable of self-government. In Athens, during a century or two, what was then produced in the fields of art and thought have never been surpassed and seldom equaled.

The idea that only those who hold themselves within reasonable and self-chosen limits can be free is one of the great legacies of Greece. This was the Athenian ideal previous to the Peloponnesian War which lasted 27 years.

The Peloponnesian War came to an end in 404 B.C. with the total defeat of Athens by Sparta. The Spartans, however, did not take revenge on their fallen adversaries. They allowed Athens political independence. The Athenian Navy was greatly reduced and she was stripped of her oversea possessions. That was all. The war had left the city untouched, but the people had changed.

"Socrates died soon after the war ended but, as he told his friends in the prison on his last day, it was only his body that died. He himself, the real part of him, lived on.

His death, truly heroic, was the culminating proof of the truth of what he taught and his influence after it was greater by far than before.

"He had watched the state deteriorate as Thucycides and others had, but he set himself, as they did not, to think out how it could be saved. The way he found was peculiar to himself, but not by any mass movements, not by putting an end to poverty or to war or to any gross evil. He saw the salvation of the state in terms of each separate Athenian. Every man's good was the source of good for the community; just as every man's good was dependent on the good of the community. The two could not be separated. Only a good man could be a citizen and a state could be good only when its citizens were good. The condition of the state was bound up with the condition of the souls of men who lived in it. Socrates' eyes were fixed on the individual, and on the most individual part of him, the inner realm where alone he could be absolute master. After the great defeat of the Peloponnesian War the Athensians were proud that they had again become politically free, but Socrates saw the vulnerable life of freedom, entirely dependent as it was on men's inner freedom. He saw the danger it was in, the danger that threatened it everywhere, at all times. The very men he talked to were yielding to what must be deadly to a free state, control by the uncontrolled. Socrates told them that the citizens of a democracy could be slaves. Men were free not when freed from this or that outside rule, but when they were masters of themselves.

"But while they were thinking and talking, always with Athen's great past before them, a change was going on. They could not arrest or even check it. It was something fundamental and of the utmost importance, a spiritual change, which penetrated the whole state and undermined the old foundation. What the people wanted was a government which would provide a comfortable life for them and with this as the foremost object, ideas of freedom and self-reliance and service to the community were obscured to the point of disappearing. Athens was more and more looked upon as a cooperative business possessed of great wealth in which all citizens had a right to share. The larger and larger funds demanded made heavier and heavier taxation necessary, but that troubled only the well-to-do, always a minority, and no one gave a thought to the possibility that the source might be taxed out of existence. Politics was now closely connected with money (economics), quite as much as with voting. Indeed, the one meant the other. Votes were for sale as well as officials.

"The whole process was clear to Plato. Athens had reached the point of rejecting independence, and the freedom she now wanted was freedom from responsibility. There could be only one result. 'The excess of liberty in states or individuals,' he said, 'seems to pass into excess of slavery.' If men insisted on being free from the burden of a life that was self-dependent and also responsible for the common good, they would cease to be free at all. Responsibility was the price every man must pay for freedom. It was to be had on no other terms.

"Plato gave up Athens, 'a lofty soul born in a mean city,' he wrote, knowing that, 'no politician is honest, nor is there any champion of justice at whose side to fight,' and that he can be of no use to the state, 'holds his peace and goes his way, content if he can be pure from evil and depart in peace, with bright hopes.' He does well, Plato says, and yet his goal is second-rate. Only in a state he can work for, only through loyalty and patriotic devotion can a man grow to his full stature. There speaks the true Athenian always keeping clear in his thoughts that the individual's good was the community's good, and that private life could be no more than a part of the fullness of life open to a man who could serve his country. This is Plato's farewell to the good state on earth. He turned away from freedom. He had seen the excess of it in irresponsible Athens, freedom without any compensating weight of responsibility, and he wanted none of it. By that time Athens had reached the end of freedom and was never to have it again."[2]

The American Republic was established at a time when in the Old World respect for human liberty was at a low ebb. The people who braved the Atlantic in small sailing vessels to establish homes in a virgin wilderness inhabited by hostile Indians must have placed a high value on personal liberty. The hardships which they endured and the sacrifices which they made are elegant testimony of their willingness to assume peronsal responsibility.

The persons who drew up the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States understood well the relationship between individual responsibility and personal liberty. In their study of Greek and Latin they became familiar with the Greek and Roman experiences. They were also well acquainted with the disastrous effects on human liberty of the planned economy of the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus Caesar through the reign of Constantine—a period of more than three centuries. Of more importance, however, was the system of government intervention in business and agriculture during the 300 years previous to the American Revolution. At the time the Declaration of Independence was written, the corn laws of Britain had been in effect for about 300 years. The planned economy in France had also been in existence for about three centuries. Andrew D. White in his book "Seven Great Statesmen," concludes his discussion of the French experience in government intervention in the economic affairs of private individuals with the following comment: "Underlying and permeating all this tangled mass of evil was the idea of paternal government—the idea that the duty of a good government is to do the thinking for its subjects on a vast number of matters and transactions on which the individuals concerned would far better think for themselves."

Our Founding Fathers were aware of the dangers of too much government. They, therefore, established a government of limited powers, and one of checks and balances. It was their firm intention that one branch of government should not have more power than either of the other two.

The Constitution of the United States provides for a federated type of government. Those powers of a general nature, which it was thought by the Founding Fathers could best be carried out by central authority, were delegated to the General Government and all powers not so delegated were reserved to the States and the people. There was established on this continent a system of government which has made it practical for each State and locality to assume local responsibility for the conduct and control over those affairs which are essentially local in nature. The degree of success which our federated system has achieved since its establishment has been conditioned to a large extent upon the effectiveness of local responsibility. The recent trend toward centralization of authority at the Capital City has been due in no small degree to a partial breakdown of responsibility at local and State levels. In numerous instances is the ever present illusion that money obtained from Washington comes without cost to the individual or locality which receives it.

[1] Hamilton, Edith, "The Echo of Greece." W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York.

[2] Hamilton, Edith, "The Echo of Greece." W. W. Norton & Co., New York.

Liberty and responsibility have been inseparably intertwined in all voluntary societies. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that personal freedom cannot long endure in the absence of appropriate individual responsibility. In those instances in which responsibility has been transferred from the individual to the state, the transfer has been accompanied, sooner or later, by a corresponding loss of personal liberty. This fact constitutes a historical axiom sustained throughout the ages.

The close interdependence between liberty and responsibility was perhaps most comprehensively demonstrated in the United States of America from 1776 to about 1933. Since the latter date, to a considerable degree, responsibility has been transferred in this country from the individual to the group and finally to the state. The loss of individual liberty which has resulted has been, it is assumed, in the interest of increased personal security. History may have yet to record the extent to which personal freedom may be exchanged for individual security without endangering both liberty and security and as a result, the strength of the entire Nation.

Greece invented democracy and Rome the representative republic. In these countries each form of government failed. In each instance, however, they were highly successful as long as the people obeyed the unwritten law, which is composed of those restraints which men voluntarily place upon themselves, and assumed what other responsibilities that were necessary to make those forms of government work. When men ceased to control their own actions, they abrogated their responsibility to the state and personal liberty came to an end, not abruptly but gradually. In fact, the process was so gradual that it was not discernible to the average citizen. The illusion that all was well was strengthened by the fact that the old forms were retained many years after they had ceased to function. The gradual development of the welfare state to fill the vacuum created by loss of personal liberty added to the illusion that all was well in Greece and Rome. This was the twilight zone between personal liberty conditioned by individual responsibility and restraint, and massive control by the state. This was the area in which an attempt was made to govern by the uncontrolled. In the past, all attempts to govern by the undisciplined have failed.

Clearly, he who is not master of himself cannot be trusted with the function of self-government. This is a truism which has been valid throughout history.

The fact that history repeats itself is a monument to human stupidity maintained through the ages. In the modern world the study of the experiences of the past is relegated largely to the scholar and the immature students in our classrooms. Many of those who are responsible for guiding the ship of state appear to have learned little from history, and all too often they have lost their perspective and sense of direction. This observation applies to those who elect men to public office as well as those who legislate our laws and make our court decisions.

The history of the past provides a chart for our guidance. Where men are now losing their way, others once did the same, and they left a record of the blind alleys down which they went. In many ways we are like children who appear never to learn from the experienced. We who are mature enough should not find it impossible to learn from the recorded experiences of past ages. Too often, however, our vision is obscured by the idea, "Things are different now." It is true that many conditions are different than at any previous time. This is one of the moving facts of history. That the world is shrinking is one of these moving facts and a very important one.

We very often fall into the error of assuming that because some things are different all things are. It is well known that men are about the same internally as they have been over the last several thousand years. Furthermore, the moral precepts upon which all enduring civilizations depend for their existence have been relatively the same throughout organized society. The destruction, by whatever means, of those moral standards which have sustained men through the ages would, I am sure, spell the doom of the American Republic.

The story of the Garden of Eden is more than a fable. Important segments of mankind have been there many times. In each instance, the breakdown of moral standards because of men's unwillingness to take the responsibility of maintaining them was one of the principal contributing factors limiting man's length of tenure in the garden.

In this brief discussion I have fallen far short of covering adequately the subject "Liberty and Responsibility." Time does not permit me to even begin to enumerate the numerous responsibilities which individuals owe their families, their communities, their State, and the Nation. In the modern world our responsibilities extend even beyond the boundaries of our country.

## Must God Get Out of Our Government?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 17, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an address by Dean Clarence E. Manion, of South Bend, Ind., one of the Nation's best constitutional lawyers, in which he points out the error of the Supreme Court in the New York School Prayer case when it held that the 14th amendment automatically extended the 1st amendment to the States.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUST GOD GET OUT OF OUR GOVERNMENT?

(By Dean Clarence E. Manion)

When the Supreme Court decided to take God out of the Government last June 25, I was tempted to have my say then and there—along with those thousands of other people, great and small, who expressed themselves at once. Now I am glad I waited until all or nearly all of the votes have been counted for and against the Court's startling conclusion.

Immediately after the decision was announced, the President of the United States told us to respect it and be glad that we can still pray in our homes. None of the newspaper reporters who were present made the obvious retort; namely, that Khrushchev could have said the same thing to the Russians, to the Poles, or to the Hungarians.

After all, cannot Cardinal Mindszenty still pray in the cubicle of the American Embassy in Budapest, where he has been confined for 6 years in protection against the Communist government?

The popular reaction to this unfortunate Supreme Court decision was like that of children who have just been told by the sad and wise old family doctor that their mother has cancer: "I am so very sorry, my dears, but it is so; all of the scientific tests prove it." The Supreme Court was like that in its decision and the American people were like sad and simple children in their reaction to it. What can the American people know about their Constitution? Theirs is not to reason why; theirs is but to listen to the bad news from the experts—the Supreme Court.

And so, school superintendents all over the country sorrowfully but nevertheless seriously, announced plans to reconsider time-honored customs such as invocations at high school football banquets, salutes to the flag (and, therefore, to God) at their morning convocations, and nondenominational sermons to their graduating classes on baccalaureate Sunday.

Recently someone published a book called "A Nation of Sheep." I have read only the title, but I know now that the author is referring to the people of the United States.

Our reaction to this Supreme Court decision indicates that his conclusion is correct. We have permitted the Federal Government to shear us to the skin and we are ready to respond, like sheep, when a Judas goat—in this case the Supreme Court—leads us up for the slaughter of our spiritual and constitutional heritage.

The decision brought a deluge of editorial criticism, of course, but for the most part the editorials ended up like this one: "Those of us who believe the ruling of the Court to be in error will, nevertheless, obey this decision since ours is a Government of laws." When we all slavishly obey a court decision that we know to be in error, we destroy our Government of liberty-protecting laws and substitute a government by arbitrary decree.

A court decision is not the law of the land; it is merely the law of the particular case in which the decision was rendered and, of course, the parties to that lawsuit will be forced to observe it unless and until they can get the decision reversed.

But when the decision obviously is in error, and particularly on a subject that is as vital to our civilization as the relationship of Almighty God to the Government of the United States, then all Americans who respect the great Author of liberty are under a moral and patriotic obligation to blast the decision for the error that it is, and for what one Justice of the Supreme Court itself declared it to be, namely, "a misapplication of a great constitutional principle" and an attempt to divorce our constitutional government from its official historic "reliance on the protection of divine providence."

The decision of the Court as read by Justice Black is unsupported by any judicial precedents except those that Justice Black himself has made out of legal whole cloth during his long tenure on the Supreme Bench.

I saw this error coming up 14 years ago and addressed myself to it then in a carefully documented criticism of one of Justice Black's 1948 opinions which now turns out to be a part of his foundation for this climatic sophistry. ("The Church, the State and Mrs. McCollum—Notre Dame Lawyer," vol. 23, p. 456.)

The entire case made by Justice Black and his concurring colleagues against the New York Board of Education in the June 25 decision is based upon the gratuitous assumption that the first amendment to the Constitution which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" must now be taken to read: "No State or any subdivision or agency of a State (such as a local school board) shall make any law or rule respecting an establishment of religion."

How does it happen that a plain constitutional prohibition against congressional action now turns out to be a prohibition against State action through the regulation of a local school board? By whose authority

is the unmistakable language of the first amendment thus turned around and transformed?

The answer is that the language has been changed by the repetitious insistence of Justice Black that the 1st amendment which was added to the Constitution in 1791, was made operative against the States by the adoption of the 14th amendment which was added to the Constitution 77 years later, namely, in 1868.

Remember, please, that for 69 years before Justice Black became a member of it, the Supreme Court in a great number of cases had construed the 1st amendment and the 14th amendment, respectively, as entirely separate and unrelated provisions of the Constitution. These repetitious constructions were in complete harmony with historical facts.

When the 14th amendment was ratified its authors and proponents had no idea that it would ever be construed to bring the provisions of the 1st amendment into operation against State governments.

On the contrary, in 1876, 8 years after the 14th amendment had been adopted, a new constitutional amendment was proposed in Congress which read, in part, as follows: "No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This proposed amendment was voted upon in the U.S. Senate on August 14, 1876, and the proposal failed because it did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority.

If the 14th amendment embraced the 1st amendment when it was adopted in 1868, as Justice Black says it did, why did Congress feel it necessary in 1876 to attempt to adopt another amendment specifically restricting the States in the terms that had been used to restrict Congress in the 1st amendment?

Since this specific prohibition against State established religions was expressly rejected by Congress in 1876, by what authority does Justice Black now assume to add such a prohibition to the Constitution in 1962? Justice Black does not cite any authority for this revolutionary transformation of the English language and of American history except his own judicial opinions.

The "wall of separation between church and state," to which Jefferson referred in a private letter written in 1802, has become an obsession with Justice Black, but he conveniently ignores what Jefferson said publicly 3 years later in his second inaugural address; namely, "In matters of religion I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the General (Federal) Government."

Jefferson realized that large areas of American life were expressly made independent of the powers of the Federal Government by the language of the 10th amendment and that religion was merely one of these areas are deliberately reserved for the exclusive operation of States rights.

Justice Black and most of the Justices associated with him on the Supreme Bench during the past 25 years, have been so preoccupied with the 1st amendment, the 5th amendment, and the 14th amendment—that they have never been able to consider the equally valid import of the 9th and 10th amendments which protect the immunities of the States and of the people in the States against the intrusion of unlawful Federal action.

Pursuant to the rulings of Justice Black and his associates, Federal judges are now taking over the constitutional duties of State legislatures in the field of reapportionment of representatives. (*Baker* v. *Carr*, 82 S.C.)

The constitution of Maryland provides that Maryland officeholders shall declare their belief in the existence of God, but that constitutional provision was swept aside last year by Justice Black's Supreme Court opinion that the 1st and 14th amendments will no longer permit the State to protect itself in this respect. (*Torcaso v. Watkins*, 81 S.C.)

It so happens that the constitution of the State of Maryland like that of New York begins with an expression of thanks for God's blessings, followed by an invocation of His continued protection; but all this will soon be changed by the Supreme Court under Justice Black's influence, and Justice Douglas, in his separate concurring opinion in the New York school case, confidently predicts that the change is coming.

If this Court has its way, God must get out of government—State and Federal. As a byproduct of this Court-made law, the States will have to disappear as self-governing units of our constitutionally established Federal system and become mere administrative agencies of the tightly centralized, absolute authority in Washington.

A constitutional amendment is now being considered to remedy the situation created by the Court's decision in the New York school case, but constitutional amendments cannot be proposed and ratified fast enough to protect the Constitution from the kind of a Supreme Court that we have now.

Its decisions have destroyed more established legal precedents in the last 20 years than were accomplished in the previous 133 years of Supreme Court history. What this Court will do next is anybody's guess.

The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is determined by Congress. Article III, section 2 of the Constitution of the United States, empowers Congress to regulate and limit the questions of law and fact that may be appealed to the Supreme Court from State and inferior Federal courts. Using this authority, Congress should withdraw all appellate jurisdiction from this Supreme Court now and thus leave final determination of constitutional questions with State courts and Federal circuit courts of appeal.

Unless this is done, and done quickly, the Supreme Court as presently constituted will make a shambles of our republican form of government. If this Nation under God is to have a new birth of freedom, then it is up to Congress to get the present Supreme Court out of the delivery room.

## Balanced Power for a Balanced Arsenal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following, a very fine article by Maj. Gen. Marshall Stubbs on chemical and biological weapons, which appeared in the Army Information Digest for August 1962:

WHILE NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR OTHER SYSTEMS OF DEFENSE, C–B WEAPONS OFFER ONE IMPORTANT MEANS FOR ACHIEVING BALANCED POWER FOR A BALANCED ARSENAL

(By Maj. Gen. Marshall Stubbs)

Armed conflict in the second half of the 20th century need not be a matter of holocaust or surrender. In addition to the possibilities of nuclear war, the free world is now faced with gradual encroachment through protracted, limited conflicts in scattered areas of the world. This range of hostility, from gradual encroachment through all phases of political and military engagement to nuclear war, has been called the spectrum of conflict. The very breadth of this spectrum necessitates a broad choice of response.

It is in this realm that chemical and biological (C–B) agents and weapons can play an important part. Not only are C–B weapons applicable to the concept of measured and restrained response; the possession of such weapons also serves as a possible deterrent to their use by an aggressor. And even if this deterrent fails, they provide the ability to engage in conflict on an equal footing. A measured response such as chemical and biological weapons can provide, may avoid employment of stronger methods and the risk of escalating the form of conflict.

There is another aspect to C–B which deserves serious consideration; namely, the Soviet attitude toward these weapons systems. Soviet officials have frequently stated that toxic weapons will be used in the next war. Marshal Zhukov, while Soviet Minister of Defense, told a Communist Party Congress that Soviet armed forces were built on the assumption that future wars would differ greatly from those of the past. "Future war," he said, "will be characterized by the massive use of air forces, various rocket weapons, and various means of mass destruction such as atomic weapons, chemical and bacteriological weapons." Other high Soviet leaders, including Khrushchev, have made similar statements.

As a result, in recent years there has been a marked change in American attitudes toward chemical and biological weapons and defense systems. A greater awareness of the national security implications of these weapons systems has evolved, along with an increasing willingness to examine the implications without the emotional involvement associated with the term "gas" and "germ warfare."

Even the old expression "gas" is somewhat inaccurate today. Most war chemicals are now dispersed as aerosols, rather than as a true gas, and so the term "chemical agent" has come into use.

TOXIC AGENTS

Modern toxic chemical agents may be divided into two broad categories: lethal and incapacitating. Lethal war chemicals are few in number. The nerve agents—discovered by German chemists just prior to World War II—head the list.

In their natural liquid state, or as an aerosol, the nerve agents are colorless, odorless, tasteless—and thus cannot be detected by the senses. Extremely toxic, they will cause death after entry into the respiratory tract, or even by penetrating exposed skin surfaces. Under certain conditions, inhalation can be fatal within 4 minutes. Even microscopic quantities will cause impairment of vision, nausea and muscular incoordination. The major difference between the nerve agents and chemicals used in World War I is the comparatively small amount of the nerve agent required to produce casualties.

Effectiveness of the nerve agents derives from their unique physiological action. The human body produces a substance called acetylcholine, which, when released at a nerve ending, causes muscular contraction. Acetylcholine must be neutralized before the muscle can relax again. An enzyme called cholinesterase does this automatically. When a nerve agent is introduced into the body, it cancels out the neutralizing effects of cholinesterase. The result is runaway muscular contraction, which can bring death if not checked immediately.

NONLETHAL TYPES

Just as the discovery of the nerve agents has increased the scope of lethal chemicals, so has research increased the potential of the nonlethal, or incapacitating agents. Recent developments may signify a revolution in the role of these chemicals in war.

Like the nerve agents, the incapacitants are colorless, odorless and tasteless, and effective in very small concentrations.

There are two types—both of moderate to relatively short term effectiveness, producing no permanent after effects, and allowing complete recovery without medical aid. The first type are the psychochemicals, which disrupt the mental processes. The second are the physiochemicals, which inhibit various bodily functions.

Pyschochemicals produce incapitation by stimulation, tranquilization and sedation, or by causing effects that mimic psychosis. One such compound, for example, produces a considerable degree of confusion and uncertainty with regard to time and space relationships. A man whose ability to integrate time and distance is impaired would lack the coordination to fly a plane, drive a tank, or even dial a phone properly.

The physiochemicals appear to offer just as great a variety of effects as do the psychochemicals. Some will cause temporary physical incapacitation by producing respiratory irritation, low blood pressure, disturbance in body temperature, impairment of vision, laxation, anesthesia, deafness and paralysis. One compound, repeatedly tested on laboratory animals, produces temporary paralysis of the skeletal muscles, but does not effect respiration or heart rate. There are no discernible after effects.

BIOLOGICAL AGENTS

The target of biological weapons is man, but he can also be attacked indirectly through his animals and his crops. Among the many thousands of biological micro-organisms known, most are harmless, many are distinctly beneficial, and only a relatively few are pathogenic for man. Still, there are about 160 serious diseases, caused by a variety of microorganisms, that could be considered for use as biological agents.

The soldier in the field, and the civilian populace as well, must be prepared for the possibility of assault by biological weapons systems which can deliver protozoa, which cause malaria, African sleeping sickness and amoebic dysentery; fungi, which cause San Joaquin fever (coccidioidomycosis) and histoplasmosis; bacteria, which can cause anthrax, brucellosis, cholera, glanders, typhoid fever, bubonic plague, and tularemia; rickettsia, which can cause typhus, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, and Q fever; and viruses, which can cause influenza, smallpox, yellow fever, hepatitis, parrot fever (psittacosis), and various encephalitic diseases.

In addition, there are the microbial toxins, which include several types of botulinum, the most potent toxin known. It has been associated with improperly canned foods. In addition, there is the staphylococcus, the most common cause of food poisoning.

Like some of the toxic chemical agents, biological agents cannot be detected by the unaided senses. They can be produced in very concentrated liquid suspensions or dry powders, making it possible to deliver effective dosages with a minimum of logistic effort. And they have a delayed casualty effect. The incubation period varies with the agent chosen; consequently there is no immediate warning of exposure.

Biological agents also possess another important characteristic—the ability to cover extensive target areas, in the order of thousands of square miles. This coverage is obtained by disseminating the agent in the form of an aerosol.

ON THE DEFENSIVE

Defensive measures against chemical and biological agents may be divided into three major categories: agent detection and identification, individual and collective protection, and decontamination. To these three may be added a fourth which is perhaps the most important of all—a high degree of training in defensive measures and discipline in using them.

Protection and identification: A number of chemical kits have been developed which react to a variety of toxic agents. One Chemical Corps development for field use is an automatic detector alarm that is activated by the presence of very slight traces of nerve agent.

Because they are more complex, and may be employed over relatively large areas, separate detection devices are required to indicate the presence of biological agents. Coupled with the problem of detection is that of identification. This may require laboratory techniques akin to those used to identify microbial organisms that cause naturally occurring diseases. Recent developments in this field have materially reduced the time required for positive identification of some disease organisms. This, treatment might be initiated before the symptoms of the disease appear.

Individual defense: The primary item of individual defense against C–B agents is the protective gas mask. The newest military type, the M–17, not only provides complete respiratory protection against chemical agents but against biological agents as well. The mask does not require a canister; instead, a protective filter is built into the front of the facepiece. A lighter weight civilian version, now in final stages of development, carries the filtering device in the facepiece.

Individual medical protection against toxic chemicals starts with the antidote for nerve agent poisoning. Atropine, long known to the medical profession, is issued in syrettes designed for self-injection. This drug neutralizes the effect of nerve agents in the body, but it must be administered immediately after exposure to the agent. In most cases, it is necessary to administer artificial respiration in conjunction with the use of atropine.

By far the best protection against biological agents is immunity, either natural or acquired. The development of new and more effective vaccines and methods of mass inoculation is an important element in biological defense planning. Distinct progress has been made in the development of polyvalent vaccines. Other areas of considerable promise are oral vaccines and mass inoculation by means of vaccine aerosols.

Collective protection involves the use of shelters where personnel can work or rest in uncontaminated air, in small shelters, a filter material called diffusion board can be incorporated into the structure. Approximately 1 square yard of this material will filter enough air for one man for an extended period. In large shelters, a mechanical protector can furnish from 300 to 500 cubic feet of fresh, purified air per minute.

For both chemical and biological agents, natural aeration is the best decontaminant. Otherwise, a variety of chemical decontaminants are available. A neutralizing solution is effective against chemical agents, while the varied decontaminants used in medical sanitation are useful against biological agents.

Despite the existence of effective protection and defense against many known agents, there is the urgent and continuing need for defensive measures to keep abreast of new weapons and developments.

DELIVERY METHODS

C–B agents are extremely flexible, and can be adapted to a wide choice of delivery systems. The logistical requirement is comparatively slight. Intercontinental ballistic missiles and long-range aircraft can carry chemical and biological munitions. Chemical agents can be fired as artillery rounds, or emplaced as mines. Chemical and biological agents can be diffused over large areas as an aerosol, or introduced covertly into food and water supplies. In the case of biologicals, some can even be carried by tiny insect vectors.

This flexibility in delivery systems is complemented by other C–B characteristics which make these weapons particularly effective in a large variety of circumstances.

First, they can be search weapons, seeking out the enemy whether he is widely dispersed, or concentrated in fortifications. Since the agents can seep around corners and penetrate crevices, they can reach personnel physically protected from blast, thermal radiation, and fragmentation weapons.

Second, toxic weapons have little or no adverse effect upon physical installations. They do not destroy buildings, disrupt communications, transportation, power sources, and water supplies.

Third, chemical and biological weapons are both point and area weapons. They can cover specific targets or wide areas. As a result, precise location of the enemy is not required, and dispersal of forces does not provide the same degree of defense that it does against other weapons.

In meeting our Nation's need for a balanced capability to cope with the broad spectrum of possible conflict, toxic chemicals and biologicals in themselves are not a substitute for other systems of defense. However, they do provide one vitally important means of achieving a balanced power through a balanced arsenal.

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## Hungary Can Save the United Nations From Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD an address which I have prepared for delivery on Sunday, August 19, at Euclid Beach Park, Cleveland, before the United Hungarian Societies of Cleveland, at ceremonies commemorating the 60th annual Hungarian Day. The title of my address is "Hungary Can Save the United Nations From Disaster":

This is a memorable day for all the officers and members of the United Hungarian Societies of Cleveland, as you and all your friends observe the 60th annual Hungarian Day in our great city of Cleveland.

The period of 60 years which we mark today in the cultural life of our city is filled with events of great happiness and joy and of accomplishment as well as chapters of great sorrow and tragedy.

While the Hungarian Societies of Cleveland are devoted to the advancement of the cultural and civic life of our city, your interest and your cares reach beyond our city, the shores of our country, to the ancient nation of Hungary from whence sprang the heritage of your organization.

This is in keeping with the finest American traditions.

This is an imperative of our times, because the world in which we live compels us to have interest in, concern for, and compassion toward all the nations that have contributed to the building of our great Nation, and which today are denied their freedom and independence.

Among the great cultural works of your organization here in Cleveland we are reminded immediately of the statue of Louis Kossuth which stands in University Circle

and which reminds our people of the life and times of a great fighter for liberty and the independence of Hungary.

We then turn to the statue of Alexander Petofi, the great Hungarian poet and patriot, which graces the Cleveland Public Library.

Both of these men are symbols of the enduring character of the Hungarian nation, of its spirit and of its hope for the future.

We are reminded that it was at Petofi Circle in Budapest in October 1956 that the writers and students gathered to recite the stimulating poetry of Petofi, and to applaud his words as a symbol of their defiance of the despotic Russian occupiers now in Hungary.

These rallies at Petofi Circle played a leading part in lighting the fire of revolution which swept throughout Hungary in October of 1956, driving the Russian tormentors from Hungarian soil and winning 7 historic days of freedom and national independence for Hungary.

The spirit of Louis Kossuth ran side by side with that of the poet, Petofi. And in the distant background stood a history of over 900 years filled with the epics of King Stephen, the patriot saint of Hungary, Prince Hunyadi, whose historic stand against the Turks caused the daily angelus throughout the Christian world.

The people of Hungary wrote another gallant chapter in the book of human freedom in 1956 which symbolizes anew the traditional role of the Hungarian nation as defender of Western civilization.

But these thoughts of greatness and national heroism which we enjoy this day must share the platform with the great tragedy which has befallen the Hungarian nation in our times.

I speak of the tragedy which began with World War II when Hungary, caught in the giant vise of Russian imperialism and Nazi imperialism, became the victim of these twin tragedies.

In the wake of the war, the Red army occupied Hungary and under the protection of Russian armed forces, a puppet government was forced upon the people which has endured ever since—with the exception of the great, but short freedom victory in the revolution of 1956.

Hungary today is in chains—Russian chains.

The tyrants of Moscow have been conducting systematic genocide programs against the Hungarian people, calculated to break their spirit and to turn them to soulless, obedient vassals—which the Russians call the Soviet man.

The people of Hungary fight on against the tyranny and genocide, against tremendous odds, and with little or no help, and indeed small comfort from the great Western nations which, in centuries past, enjoyed peace because the Hungarian people manned the barricades of Europe.

This suffering of the Hungarian nation cannot go on forever.

The conscience of the West is tormented by its failure to act in support of the Hungarian freedom revolution.

There is no easy way out in the total war which the Russian imperialists have launched against all the nations and peoples of the world.

The case of Hungary has been before the United Nations since December 1956, when a general assembly resolution on Hungary was adopted by an overwhelming vote, with only the Russians and their puppets voting against it.

Each year the agenda of the United Nations has carried the resolution on Hungary.

No action has been taken on that resolution during the past 6 years but the resolution nevertheless was maintained on the agenda.

That resolution to which I refer condemned Russian aggression against the Hungarian people and demanded the removal of all Russian military, economic, and political elements from Hungarian soil.

Voluminous reports of official hearings and testimony and documents on Russian criminal aggression against the Hungarian people were compiled and distributed by the United Nations.

The Eisenhower administration did absolutely nothing to give practical meaning and purpose to the United Nations resolution on Hungary.

For 4 long years this inaction further troubled the conscience of the West.

The victory of President Kennedy in the 1960 national election was accompanied by the clear trumpet sound of freedom's cause and hope sprang anew that justice would be done to the gallant people of Hungary in the forum of the United Nations.

In recent months there has been much talk and allegation about a secret agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to drop the Hungarian issue from the United Nations agenda.

The Department of State has, on June 28, 1962, publicly denied the existence of any such secret agreement and has declared that the events connected with the 1956 Hungarian freedom revolution and its aftermath remain an unresolved problem in the United Nations.

The final date for completion of the United Nations agenda was last Friday, August 17.

All items for the agenda had to be entered before the close of business that day.

The American delegation to the United Nations, acting in accord with the policy established by the Kennedy administration, took the necessary steps to place the Hungarian question on the United Nations agenda for 1962.

This action was confirmed to me by responsible officers of the Department of State on Friday past.

I know of no reason to prevent the Hungarian question from being placed on and remaining on the agenda.

The Russians or any of their stooge representatives in the United Nations can object to the Hungarian question remaining on the General Assembly agenda.

This action by our Department of State proposing that the Hungarian question be placed on the agenda is consistent with the public statement by our Department of State on June 28, 1962, denying that any deal had been made with the Russians to drop this all-important question.

However, this action by the Department of State, which deserves the enthusiastic support of all thinking people, is only the first step in the long political fight with the Russians.

The fact that the Hungarian question is on the agenda does not mean that an all-out effort will be made to cause the Russians to abide by the United Nations General Assembly resolution.

To bring about successful action requires still another determination by the Department of State, together with a practical program to bring this burning question to final issue.

I am sure you are aware that shortly after the enactment of the United Nations resolution on Hungary, I proposed that the Russians be required to either abide by the terms of that resolution or be expelled from membership in the United Nations.

I introduced a resolution in Congress, the purpose of which was to put Congress on record in support of my proposal.

I believe that the passage of time has proven the merits of my proposal.

N. Khrushchev, addressing a Moscow luncheon for visiting Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, denounced United Nations resistance to the U.S.S.R.'s demand for a 3-member executive representing the Soviet, Western and neutral blocs. He said: "The imperialist powers wish to preserve their rule in the United Nations." "But it is perfectly obvious that the domination of this or that group of states * * * prevents the organization from fulfilling its functions." "For instance, even if all the countries of the world adopted a decision that did not accord with the interests of the Soviet Union and threatened its security, the Soviet Union would not recognize this decision but would uphold its rights, relying on force."

Moreover, everyone is aware of the Russian effort to introduce the troika system into the United Nations through which that body will be paralyzed to take any action, including the mere passage of resolutions in the General Assembly.

Finally, I believe that the Russian refusal to pay their bills at the United Nations demonstrates that they regard that body as nothing but a propaganda forum.

They despise the principles of the charter and have set upon a course to either completely control the United Nations or destroy it.

The time has come for the United States to take whatever actions are necessary to prove the validity and the mission of the United Nations, or give it up as a failure before the Russians reduce it to a state of public contempt.

The resolution on Hungary presents an ideal case to begin this task.

The time is now to cause the Russians to either abide by the terms of the United Nations resolution on Hungary or be expelled from membership in that body.

I hope action in that direction will be taken in the coming session of the United Nations General Assembly.

If our people demand action of this type, your Government will respond.

Let your voices be heard. Write, call or telegraph your President and your Ambassador at the United Nations telling them exactly what you think on this vital question.

## The Soblen Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George E. Sokolsky:

THE SOBLEN CASE
(By George E. Sokolsky)

The Soblen case becomes increasingly complex as more countries with their varying laws become involved in it. Even should Soblen be returned to the United States before this article appears in type, the subject is still intriguing from a moral and legal standpoint.

Soblen is a convicted spy. He jumped bail of $100,000 which those who went bail for him shrugged off apparently without much concern. Even rich people do not wish to lose $100,000.

Soblen, when he jumped bail, chose to take a plane to Israel. He chose Israel without the consent of that nation. He traveled on the passport of his dead brother, who used another name. Although Soblen was a convicted spy he was not under surveillance either by the U.S. attorney's office, the FBI, or the New York police. There was no control officers at the airports to prevent a convicted criminal from leaving the country.

Soblen arrived in Israel and registered in a hotel. The Israeli Government was embar-

rassed because to bring immigrants to the country and to justify its existence as a state, Israel has a "Law of Return" which permits every Jew, except a convicted criminal, to return to the Jewish homeland from wherever he may be and to become a citizen of Israel immediately.

As regards Soblen, the question arose as to whether he is a criminal or a political offender. While this question was being argued, the Israeli Government put him on an El Al plane where he staged his "suicide" which he himself declared was phony. He landed in London and was sent to a prison hospital.

The British washed their hands of Soblen in accordance with their law and judicial procedure. It is not possible to complain of their conduct. Israel found itself in a political turmoil. The leftwing parties in that country, always a nuisance, demanded that if an El Al plane were used to effect his return, he be sent to Israel and not to the United States.

This violates all international traditions, customs, and agreements on returned passengers, including stowaways. If the El Al airplane does not return Soblen to the United States, this country and Great Britain would both be justified in refusing this line landing privileges. Certainly the United States would be warranted in taking that position.

The United States has no extradition treaty with Brazil and if Brazil enjoys having American criminals and swindlers, we can do nothing about it, except to retaliate by not permitting Brazilian coffee to enter this country.

That seems drastic except that one begins to wonder whether we are a nation of men or mice. Our tax dodgers put their money in half a dozen havens, the leading country that engages in this being Switzerland. No agency of our Government is doing anything about it. President Kennedy's proposal to withhold dividends might have been a step toward plugging up the lines to the tax havens, but whoever wrote that bill got it twisted.

We have all kinds of airlines and private planes moving about but we set up no strong measures to guard against contraband. We permit criminals to escape by aircraft and do nothing to check their passports or whether they have a receipt for having paid their taxes.

The Soblen case opens up all these questions which are more important than the spy.

## The Facts About the United Nations Children's Fund

SPEECH

OF

### HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to have a part in the establishment, after World War II, of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) by offering the amendment which gave it its first money to start operating. The children of Europe particularly were suffering from severe malnutrition and needed help at once. Some opposed the project because so much would go to children in Communist-dominated countries in Eastern Europe where the need was greatest. I had confidence in the Director, Mr. Maurice Pate, an American proposed for the position by former president Herbert Hoover on the basis of his work with Mr. Hoover in administering relief in Europe after World War I. The accomplishments of UNICEF have been extraordinary. American contributions were more than 70 percent of the total at the outset. No other country had funds to provide at that time. I proposed an initial contribution by the United States of $15 million in order to get the work started, with a total of $50 million to be available as others matched it with their contributions. Gradually the U.S. share has been reduced to 46 percent last year and 44 percent this year. Our contribution has amounted to $12 million a year these last few years. I don't know any money we have spent anywhere that has done more good and been better administered.

Nevertheless there began several years ago, originating from a very few sources, a series of grave misrepresentations regarding the children's fund and they have been spread across our land, raising questions in the minds of sincere citizens who, in many instances have not known how to get the truth for themselves. I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues and the country the following concise statement of the facts regarding UNICEF, its history, work, and development, which I am sure they will find useful in answering questions that may come to them from constituents.

Mr. Speaker, I take pride in UNICEF's accomplishments, as can all Americans and those in other countries that have supported it, and I feel a deep concern that the American people know the facts as I know them. The story of UNICEF follows:

THE STORY OF UNICEF

ORIGIN OF UNICEF

1. The United Nations Children's Fund (originally known as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) was an outgrowth of World War II. Children were among the worst sufferers. In the war's aftermath, President Truman in February 1946 established a survey mission headed by former President Herbert Hoover. Upon Mr. Hoover's recommendation, the U.S. Government supported the creation of a special body within the United Nations to meet the emergency needs of children, primarily in the war-ravaged countries. UNICEF was established by the U.N. General Assembly on December 11, 1946. The first executive director (and first staff member) appointed by Secretary General Trygve Lie in consultation with the Executive Board of UNICEF, was Mr. Maurice Pate (an American), who had been associated with earlier Hoover-sponsored relief and humanitarian activities. Mr. Pate continues to hold this position.

OPERATIONS OF UNICEF

2. UNICEF helps governments plan programs of permanent benefit to children, provides supplies and equipment needed from outside the country, and aids schemes for training national staff to plan and operate these programs. The main types of projects aided are in the fields of nutrition, health services, disease control, and family and child welfare. In addition, emergency aid is provided for children in such catastrophes as earthquakes, floods and droughts. Both the governments and UNICEF receive technical advice from other United Nations Agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs.

3. During the period of its emergency operation, from 1947 to 1950, UNICEF, in accordance with its mandate, concentrated on aiding children of war-ravaged countries, mainly in Europe. In 1950 UNICEF began to shift its main emphasis to programs of long-range benefit for children in economically underdeveloped countries. From 1951 to date, European countries which have received aid from UNICEF have been: Austria, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, and Yugoslavia. UNICEF aid is currently reaching millions of needy mothers and children in over 100 countries without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality status or poljtical belief in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and Latin America.

4. Aid by UNICEF is given only on request by governments, and under strict rules of control and supervision set out in a formal agreement which the governments must conclude with UNICEF. This is supplemented by a detailed "plan of operation" to which the governments must agree for each project receiving UNICEF aid. The governments must agree that the supplies provided by UNICEF are to be used or distributed equitably and efficiently on the basis of need. They must agree at all times to admit UNICEF personnel, and provide access to up-to-date accounts.

5. To obtain UNICEF aid for a project benefiting its children, a government must make substantial expenditures, including locally available supplies, buildings, labor, and personnel. In recent years the aided countries have provided an average of at least 2½ times as much as they receive.

6. In many countries receiving aid from UNICEF, the collaboration of voluntary organizations, including mission groups, in the operation of child care programs does extend the possibilities for reaching more children. Although UNICEF aid is provided only for projects for which a government accepts responsibility, in a number of instances the government relies on voluntary agencies to carry out part of the operations.

7. During the first 15 years of UNICEF's operation, over 148 million children and young adults were vaccinated against tuberculosis in programs aided by UNICEF; over 17 million mothers and children were cured of yaws, a disease of tropical sores; almost 9.7 million mothers and children, victims of trachoma and acute conjunctivitis, were saved from possible blindness; almost 700,000 children and mothers were treated for leprosy; in 1961 alone, about 30 million mothers and children were protected from malaria, and 5.5 million children benefited from supplementary feeding programs. In addition many millions of children benefited from the 160 dairies and milk drying plants and the over 19,000 maternal and child health centers which UNICEF has thus far helped to equip.

COMMENTS ON UNICEF'S WORK

8. On October 13, 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued the following statement:

"The world's children offer our greatest promise for the future. It gives me great pleasure to send a message of congratulations and support to UNICEF again this year.

"The United Nations Children's Fund has worked tirelessly and effectively across national boundaries to help children escape the threat of hunger and disease. Their program of education in disease prevention, medical care and nutrition has already had a real impact upon today's children, and its benefits will be felt even more keenly by the millions of children to come. We can feel proud of the cooperative effort which has enabled UNICEF to carry out its work."

9. On October 23, 1959, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in a letter addressed to Mrs. Guido Pantaleoni, Jr., president of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF said:

"It is heartwarming to follow the work of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund.

"Please give my congratulations to the members of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF for their unceasing efforts to alleviate hunger and disease among all the world's children. In their program, which enlists the support of many generous citizens, they contribute much to the lives of millions in need."

10. On September 10, 1960, Vice President Richard M. Nixon sent the following letter to Mr. C. Lloyd Bailey, executive director of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF:

"This organizaiton, reflecting a universal concern with the welfare of children, despite differences in culture, religion, or political belief, has helped focus world attention on the many needs of children, and on practical ways in which international aid can help countries meet these needs.

"I am pleased that the United States has consistently supported UNICEF since its inception. We have exercised leadership within both the Executive Board and the Program Committee. The U.S. Congress, sympathetic with the noble purposes of UNICEF, has made generous appropriations toward its support. The U.S. Committee for UNICEF, a group of distinguished, dedicated citizens, is the largest private contributor to the organization. In 1959, as a result of its 'Trick or Treat for UNICEF Program,' it was able to raise $1,500,000.

"I am proud of U.S. leadership in this organization which today has underway in more than 100 countries and territories some 350 projects, all helping to break intolerable patterns of sickness, hunger, and ignorance. I am convinced that we all must endeavor to see that this leadership is continued."

11. The general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America has approved a statement commending "the United States for its support of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations such as * * * UNICEF."

12. In a letter dated January 11, 1962, to Mr. Maurice Pate, Executive Director of UNICEF, His Eminence A. G. Cardinal Cicognani, Vatican Secretary of State, says in part:

"His Holiness continues to follow with keen interest the laudable efforts of the United Nations Children's Fund to assist underprivileged and needy children the world over, and would have me convey to you his wishes and hopes that the work of your organization may be blessed with success and every happy result.

"Further to manifest his concern, and as a mark of the Holy See's participation in your work, the sovereign pontiff his directed me to forward the enclosed check of $1,000 as a contribution toward the financing of UNICEF."

13. The American Jewish committee has approved a resolution which concludes with the affirmation that the organization "Urges all its members to stimulate public interest in and support for UNICEF and its humanitarian activities, and to cooperate with the U.S. Committee for UNICEF."

CONTRIBUTIONS

14. In 1961, 100 governments were contributors and 107 countries were assisted. Of the 107 countries assisted 68 also made voluntary contributions to UNICEF's central fund. The allocations have no relation to contributions which the government may make to UNICEF's central fund for its work throughout the world. UNICEF allocations to help a country's children are based upon the needs of children, and the aided government's willingness to do its share to assure that the programs will be effective.

15. In 1961 contributions to the central account of UNICEF totaled $22,959,796, of which the United States contributed $12 million subject to the condition that the U.S. contribution should not exceed 46 percent of the total government contributions. Governments other than the United States contributed $10,959,796 to the central account and in addition $2,393,189 (mostly in convertible currencies) toward the implementation of UNICEF-aided projects and $921,743 for local administrative and related costs of UNICEF field offices. The U.S. pledges are subject to the condition that the actual U.S. contribution shall not exceed fixed percentages of the total audited government contributions to UNICEF; for 1962 that figure will be 44 percent.

16. Skim-milk powder made available by the United States under title III of Public Law 480 is shipped by UNICEF for distribution through maternal and child health centers, schools, and nutrition education programs in 78 developing countries in containers labeled "Doated by the People of the United States of America." Canada and Switzerland have also donated milk powder through UNICEF. The ocean freight charges for the donated milk costs UNICEF about a penny for five cups of milk.

17. Most of the governments which contribute to UNICEF do so in their own currency. For the most part UNICEF spends these currencies in the contributing country for the purchase and shipment of supplies and equipment for programs it is aiding in other countries. Over the years more than 85 percent of the U.S. contribution to UNICEF has been spent in the United States.

ADMINISTRATION OF UNICEF

18. In 1960 and 1961 UNICEF administrative costs amounted to between 7 and 8 percent of total expenditures. Operational service expenditures, which constitute a direct service to country programs (for example, engineering planning and supervision, supply procurement and shipping services, and services of field staff in direct contact with country programs), amounted to approximately 9 percent of total expenditures in those years. Approximately 83 to 84 percent of UNICEF expenditures was for direct material program aid.

19. The UNICEF professional staff is composed of citizens of 35 countries. This staff, which carries out the decisions of the UNICEF Executive Board, is composed of 163 persons. Of these, 42 are U.S. citizens.

20. Each U.S. citizen who is employed by UNICEF (or any other public international organization in which the U.S. Government is a participant) is subject to an investigation by the U.S. Government under the provisions of Executive Order 10422. Concerning each U.S. citizen in UNICEF employ, it has been notified officially by the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board (an agency of the U.S. Government) that the Board has determined that there is no reasonable doubt as to the employee's loyalty to the U.S. Government.

CONTROL OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNICEF

21. Responsibility for all contributions received by UNICEF rests with the Executive Director who functions under the direction of the UNICEF Executive Board. During the past year there has been some misunderstanding on the part of the general public resulting from certain allegations that the Secretary General of the U.N. used UNICEF funds to help finance the Congo operation. This public concern developed from the fact that in May 1961 the State Department decided to make a loan of $10 million to the Secretary General of the U.N. for use in the general budget. For that purpose the State Department used money earmarked for a forthcoming U.S. contribution to UNICEF—at a time when this contribution was not yet due to be paid. (The U.S. Government appropriation for UNICEF was made with the stipulation that it not exceed a stated percentage of total governmental contributions. It is reassuring to report that UNICEF received a check for $10 million last December 27 for the money that has been loaned by the United States to the U.N.

22. So far as the future is concerned, the Acting Secretary General of the U.N. has advised UNICEF that he recognizes that any funds contributed or collected for UNICEF, from nongovernmental sources are naturally to be used for the purposes of UNICEF, and that they are not to be diverted for any other use. The Acting Secretary General has also given UNICEF the formal assurance that he does not expect to have any occasion to use even the restricted borrowing authority given to him by the General Assembly in respect to funds which have been contributed to UNICEF by governments.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

23. The Executive Board of UNICEF, consisting of representatives of 30 Governments (originally 26) elects its own officers. The Chairmen of the Board, who preside over meetings but traditionally do not vote, have come from the following countries: Poland, Canada, Switzerland, India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, and Mexico (incumbent 1962).

24. The UNICEF Executive Board meets semi-annually. Its functions are: to set policy, consider requests, allocate aid, evaluate results and establish the administrative budget of UNICEF. Recommendations for allocations are made by the Executive Director and all decisions are by majority vote. The 1962 membership of the Executive Board (elected by the UN Economic and Social Council) is: Afghanistan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China (Nationalist), Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Germany (Fed. Rep. of), Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Vietnam (Republic of).

U.S. COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF

25. The U.S. Committee for UNICEF is made up of individual leaders in the religious, labor, education, social welfare, business, medical and civic life of our country. In its work, the Committee enjoys the cooperation of all major religious faiths, and of many national voluntary nongovernmental organizations. The U.S. Government has formally recognized the function of the Committee and has commended its accomplishments.

26. The U.S. Committee for UNICEF sponsors projects such as the "Trick or Treat for UNICEF" project at Halloween and the sale of UNICEF greeting cards. Through these and other private sources substantial funds are received for use by UNICEF to aid needy children. In addition, Youth Out for UNICEF, a project enabling American teenagers to express their concern for needy children in other parts of the world, and the "Hi Neighbor" series of books and records are sponsored by the U.S. Committee.

27. Sold all year 'round in over 100 countries for the benefit of the Children's Fund, UNICEF greeting cards reflect the ethical and spiritual values of the many peoples who make up the United Nations. Their designs are chosen solely on artistic merit, and are donated by well-known artists. UNICEF cards seek to maintain a universal appeal, and to express a sharing of human aspirations—which is the basic spirit of the Judeo-Christian teachings.

28. Through the "Trick or Treat for UNICEF" project, boys and girls in the United States express their concern for needy children in other countries through the greatest effort made thus far by children to help children. President Kennedy has said, "UNICEF has caught the imagination of our people—especially our Nation's children whose Halloween collections have become a symbol of concern and an expression of tangible aid. I urge all my fellow citizens, young and old, to support UNICEF generously again this year."

# *Appendix*

## Retired Medicare Fund Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John J. Ford:

[From the Army Times, July 28, 1962]

THIS WEEK ON CAPITOL HILL: RETIRED MEDICARE FUND PROPOSED

(By John J. Ford)

Last week I discussed here the history of the naval hospital fund which provided hospital care for Navy men from 1799 to 1953. I made two points: that while Congress abolished the fund as a separate Treasury account in 1943, there was a real legal question as to whether or not it had abolished the trust; and that the fund idea could be used to provide hospital care for the ever-growing number of military retirees.

It is the second point I want to concentrate on in this column.

The thought is, quite simple, that providing the right to hospitalization in military facilities would give military retirees something they have been led to expect throughout their careers and would be important to the morale of active duty servicemen. Providing for a small contribution monthly would assure the retirees a vested right to care in military hospitals—as retired Navy men who contributed to the hospital fund had a vested right to care in Navy hospitals. The right could not be taken away by a rider on an appropriation bill or administrative action. And the fund would keep the cost of care for these retirees from being prohibitive for the Government. Indeed, it could probably be shown that it would be the least expensive for the Government in the long run.

Public Law 569 of the 84th Congress—the Dependent Medical Care Act—provided, under regulations to be drafted by the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, that medical and dental care in military facilities may be furnished upon request and subject to the availability of space, facilities and capabilities of the medical staff, to retired members of the uniform services.

This changed medical care to a privilege that may be given "subject to availability of space"—which means beds. In the past it had been a right for at least some retirees. This law has been reinforced since its passage by the action of the appropriations committees in requiring Defense to leave out any provision for retired care in planning new hospitals.

There will be some 362,000 on the retired rolls in fiscal 1963, over 410,000 in fiscal 1964. In 15 years there will be close to 1 million, or probably roughly one-third the size of the active duty force. They are going to need medical care and if the present policy continues it is obvious that in a short time there will be bed space available only for a favored few. If the Government would commit itself to a national policy of caring for military retirees in military hospitals it would assure equality of treatment, it would be a career incentive to those still in service and it will probably cost less to the Federal Government.

It is a safe assumption that much of the cost of care for these retirees is going to be met by some Federal system—a certain privileged few in military facilities, some in VA facilities and perhaps most through some form of federally sponsored medical care for the aged. While the medical care for the aged amendment was defeated in the Senate this year, the vote was closer than in 1960 and it is a good bet some provision for aged care will pass in the years ahead. Even Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, Senate Republican leader, who headed the opposition to the amendment, said the debate was not over the philosophy of providing the care but the method of financing.

In any event, there is a good chance the Government will handle much of the cost. By providing care in military facilities it will be using, for the most part, facilities in being and there won't be the added expenses for insurance company profits, doctors' fees and such.

Legislation to provide retired care could include the following:

1. Fund: There would be established a retired servicemen's hospital fund in the U.S. Treasury.

There would be paid into the fund regular deductions from the pay of all military retirees plus an initial appropriation by the Congress. The initial appropriation, to get the fund started, would be considered full settlement by the U.S. Government for all the assets taken over from the naval hospital trust and the Secretary of the Navy would no longer have any powers or responsibilities under such trust. Several millions were spent out of the naval hospital fund over the year and the assets have appreciated to a considerable extent. But as a practical matter the initial appropriation would have to be limited, presumably to the minimum amount needed to get the fund started.

2. Control: Appropriations made from the fund would be approved by Congress.

This would assure congressional control over the fund such as was maintained over the old naval hospital fund and is still maintained over expenditures from the funds of the Army's Soldier's Home Fund. Each soldier contributes 10 cents a month to this fund.

3. Care: Care provided for military retirees under the fund would be limited to hospital care.

In no case shall retirees be entitled to care not provided for active duty servicemen. It shall not include private doctor's fees or care in nonmilitary hospitals. The fund is strictly to assure retirees have a right to care in military facilities.

4. Rights: Those who contributed to the hospital fund would have a vested right to care in military hospitals.

5. Advisory board: There would be established in the Defense Department a Retired Servicemen's Hospital Care Advisory Board.

The Board would have six members, not more than two of them employees of the Defense Department and at least two of them retired military men. The Board would make necessary surveys to determine the hospital care needs of military retirees and would advise the services what retired hospital care needs are in areas where military hospitals are to be expanded or new facilities constructed. The Board would recommend to Defense a standard factor to be used for planning bed needs of retirees in new hospital construction. The Board would also determine the average daily cost of patient care for retirees in military hospitals and the Defense Department would use this figure as a basis for charging the fund.

6. Contribution: There shall be deducted from the account of every one on the military retired rolls a set charge of $1 per month.

The $1 is a suggested figure. Congress might determine after study of the legislation that it should be a little more or a little less. Or it might want to approach it in another way, such as 1 percent of retired pay. The figure should be low enough that it would not be considered a pay cut by retirees.

There are two chief purposes to the contribution: to help defray the cost of hospital care for retirees and to assure retired military men have a vested right to care in military facilities.

7. Accounting: The Board and the Defense Department would have leeway to administer the fund as simply as possible.

With modern automated equipment and central management of retired pay, making the pay deductions should not be a problem. Defense would have authority to deduct on an annual or semiannual basis—which is what the Navy originally asked when it complained of the accounting difficulties of its hospital fund in 1943. The individual service would not keep cost figures on retiree care but would merely keep a record of the total days of care provided for retirees—which they keep now. Once each fiscal year Defense would use these totals to reimburse the services from the hospital fund, using the average daily cost figure for retirees determined by the Advisory Board.

In determining the average daily cost of retirees the Board would use only those additional costs which were incurred because of the retirees. The Board would not have to include a prorated share of the cost of facilities or services the hospitals would have had to provide if the retirees were not there. It is not contemplated cost estimated for retirees will be as high as for active duty personnel.

8. Construction: If, at some time in the future, money in the fund is sufficient, the Board may recommend construction of special facilities to care for aged and ill retirees, with the fund paying part of the cost.

This could include, for example, most of the provisions of the bill sponsored by Representative BOB WILSON, Republican, of California, to set up homes—one on each coast—to provide medical facilities specializing in care of the aged. Presumably, the facilities would be located in areas of heavy concentration of retirees, such as Florida and California.

Comments from retired readers on this proposal would be welcomed.

## Ethics in Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the Southern Shipper and Motor Carrier Council, an organization dedicated to promotion of better relations between shippers and motor carriers, last June 26–27 held a conference on "Principles, Practices, and Particulars of Business Relations" in Louisville, Ky. So impressive were the featured discussions on ethics that they were the subject of both an article and editorial in the July 7 issue of Traffic World magazine. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, entitled "Firm Foundation for Good Shipper-Carrier Relations," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIRM FOUNDATION FOR GOOD SHIPPER-CARRIER RELATIONS

The shipper-carrier conference idea, adopted and put into effect in 13 geographical regions and nationally by the railroad industry many years ago, has in recent years found widespread acceptance in the relatively youthful trucking industry. In the latter, this movement continues to progress as the motor carriers and their customers find that by disclosing and discussing their respective needs, wants, and problems in conference sessions they may ease tensions and eventually find ways of being mutually helpful.

To justify their existence the shipper-carrier conferences generally have the commendable aim of trying to remove or minimize, by cooperative thought and effort, obstacles to performance of good, efficient transportation service. Of course, no organization can be very effective in striving to attain a lofty objective unless its individual members demonstrate that they themselves are dedicated to the organization's objective. In other words, the Hotsytown Chamber of Commerce can't expect to make much of a dent in trying to build for its members a reputation for unusual courtesy and friendliness if each member insults every other individual he meets.

Meetings of shippers with carriers are not likely to be well attended or to engender much enthusiasm for any sort of a cooperative program unless such distrust as may exist between the shippers and the carriers, or among members of either group, is dispelled. Member A, a shipper of unquestioned integrity, must feel confident that member B, a carrier, or member C, another shipper, are not inclined to engage in shady deals. An atmosphere of suspicion isn't conducive to accomplishment of good work.

The Southern Shipper & Motor Carrier Council pointed the way to the placing of shipper-carrier relationships on a firm footing when, in its meeting in Louisville on June 26 and 27, it devoted hours to discussion of the conference theme: "Principles, Practices, and Particulars of Business Relations." The theme might have been stated also as "Ethics in the Transportation Business." It was impossible, of course, to give exhaustive consideration to so broad a subject in just a few hours; but the discussion was informative and stimulating, nonetheless, and some interesting points were brought out and valuable suggestions made.

Now, of course, everyone professes to be an unflinching supporter of high ethical standards in business. Ethics, however, is a complex subject, a fascinating field of study. Certain conduct may be lawful, yet unethical; or it may be ethical and yet, if judged by appearances, antisocial. Perhaps some of the council members assembled at Louisville came out of the meeting feeling a bit uncertain as to what sort of behavior is, or is not, ethical. If so, they can shake hands with many who have studied ethics for years and still have failed to find satisfactory answers to many of their questions. You have to "come down to specifics" in discussions of ethics, and a few "specifics" were included in the discussions heard by the council.

One of those "for instances" was stated in these words by Charles H. Beard, general traffic manager of the Union Carbide & Carbon Corp., New York City, a panelist at the council meeting in Louisville:

"We hear occasionally of shippers pitting carrier against carrier or one mode of transport against another, to obtain reduced costs. Even certain agencies of our Government have been accused of this practice. Is it unethical? Certainly when it reduces carrier revenues to the point of no return it is not the right or moral thing to do. Nor is it good business for the shipper. He gets a bad reputation, and needed cooperation from carriers for reasonable and legitimate adjustments are then delayed or denied."

Mr. Beard said he had been told that some shippers, possessing their own transportation equipment, yielded to pressure of their sales or production departments for reduced costs by in turn pressuring carriers into reducing rates or performing extra services when not warranted by the private carrier facts and arithmetic. He commented that "if this is true, such practices are not ethical and do not develop good trade relations," and he suggested that this could be corrected if the carriers would demand "all the facts and figures for study." If the carriers found inaccuracies in those figures, they must "have backbone enough to decline to yield to such pressures," he counseled.

He deemed it unethical, also, for a carrier to "buy business" or try to gain favor with shippers by promising to take independent action in connection with a rate for an important movement and then, after having such a rate published, arranging with the bureau that published the rate to seek and obtain suspension of it on the ground it would be noncompensatory.

Concern was expressed by some of the council members about disregard of ethical standards by some small carriers that, hungry for revenue, cut corners in order to gain a little traffic. It's a fact of life, certainly, that people afflicted by hunger or poverty or greed don't find it very difficult to justify to themselves a little departure, now and then, from the path of strictly ethical behavior. But there's honesty among poor people and small carriers, too. In childhood we memorized this motto: "There's so much good in the worst of us, and so much bad in the best of us, that it hardly behooves any of us to talk about the rest of us."

References to religious influence on business conduct were made in the Louisville meeting. Mr. Beard said that "the creation of the ideal human character in business is progressing and will further advance as each of us learns to adhere more closely to our religious heritages." And C. D. Hardesty, Jr., president of the council and general traffic manager of Mason & Dixon Lines, Inc., said:

"The whole business world is beginning to awaken to the critical need for reevaluation of the moral fiber of business relations. Individual businessmen are more and more concerned with how to reconcile religious principles and teachings with their business practices."

Agreeing with that view, we believe that relationships among carriers of the same or different modes and between carriers and shippers will continue to improve, founded on acceptance and practice of the Golden Rule.

## McKesson Group Forms Lifeline To Aid Coworker's Wife in Heart Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to submit a copy of an article from the Bridgeport Post describing the wonderful response of workers at the McKesson & Robbins plant in Bridgeport, Conn., to a humanitarian appeal on behalf of one of their fellow workers. It is deserving of the highest commendation.

The article follows:

THIRTY-TWO DONATE BLOOD FOR OPERATION: MCKESSON GROUP FORMS LIFELINE TO AID COWORKER'S WIFE IN HEART SURGERY

(By Sharon Thaler)

Thirty-two employees of McKesson & Robbins, in Fairfield, have teamed up to make it possible for open-heart surgery to be performed upon the wife of a coworker.

They have helped in the only way possible for them: by donating the blood required for the delicate operation.

The object of their solicitude is Mrs. Harriet Freedman, 22, wife of Martin Freedman, of 408 Charles Street, who will undergo the surgery to seal an imperfect heart chamber, September 25 in Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, New York.

A heart defect since birth has troubled Mrs. Freedman, but only recently have doctors been able to give her hope for the first time that her heart can be made whole.

Mr. Freedman, a plant guard, worried at the prospect that his wife might need valuable blood during the operation, brought the situation to the attention of the McKessons Employees Association.

The association notified employees throughout the plant while Eleanor Lyons, a writer for the Lamplighter, a company publication, crusaded to obtain the approximately 25 pints of blood needed.

Yesterday, 33 pints of blood—one of them from Mr. Freedman—were given at a Fairfield Red Cross blood bank at St. Paul's Episcopal Church parish house and credited to Mrs. Freedman's account, redeemable whenever she needs them.

"What makes the whole thing more remarkable," Mr. Freedman says, "is the spirit in which everyone is helping us. I have never met many of those who are giving blood in my wife's name."

The former Harriet Rotnofsky, Mrs. Freedman is a native of the Bronx, N.Y., coming to Bridgeport 11 years ago. She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Isadore Rotnofsky of 140 Sanford Avenue.

A graduate of Central High School, Mrs. Freedman is an employee of the City Trust Co. She will be leaving the company shortly for rest before the operation.

Eleven years ago, when open heart surgery was almost unheard of by the laymen, a Blalock operation was performed on Mrs. Fredeman to relieve her condition. Afterward, she had to report periodically to Columbia Hospital for checkups and observation.

About 6 months ago Mrs. Freedman reported again to the hospital. This time a

board of doctors concluded that an open heart operation would bring final success.

One of the major factors in the operation, according to Mr. Freedman, is the use of a heart-lung machine which replaces the heart during the operation.

This enables surgeons to work with the heart while the machine does the work of a normal heart, pumping blood throughout the body.

IN HOSPITAL 3 WEEKS

After a stay of only 3 weeks in the hospital, Mrs. Freedman will return home to recuperate for approximately 6 months, according to her husband.

Those employees from McKessons other than Mr. Freedman, who donated blood, are as follows:

Robert Wade, Frank LaCroix, Ann Godrie, Carl Fargiano, Albert Murren, C. F. Moynihan, Sanford Lunt, Dominic Palumbo, Helen Barbieri, Norton Soule, William Francischiello, Rosemary Gura, Betty Fodor, Mary Eckenrode, Eva Davis, and William Anderson.

Also, Peter Takacs, John Tsutsis, Claude D'Amico, Wayne Soucie, Paula Otash, Matilda Swarney, John Dennis, Joseph Berardi, Montgomery Wilson, Arthur Weidman, John Keegan, Thomas Sutton, Frank Feliciano, Pastor Velasco, and Bernard Wade.

## Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Salem, Oreg., Statesman entitled "Poor Medical Care." The article deals with the great American myth that the American people receive the best medical care in the world. Increasing evidence points to serious deficiencies in U.S. medical care, as pointed out by that excellent article.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POOR MEDICAL CARE

American doctors like to boast about the standards of medical care that patients get in this country, and to scare the populace into believing that these standards would be reduced to a low level created by socialized medicine in Europe if the Kennedy administration's health plan for the aged were enacted into law.

Interestingly, the populace of Europe, and especially of Scandinavia where outright socialized medicine is practiced, seems to feel that it enjoys excellent medical care.

And more interestingly, a most authoritative study in the United States has just been released which throws considerable doubt upon the quality of medical care in this country.

Columbia University's School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine, in a 116-page report based upon an 18-month study of 406 hospital cases, made these judgments:

One-fifth or 20 percent of the 406 cases studied received "poor care."

Another one-fifth or 20 percent received only "fair care," making a total of two-fifths or 40 percent receiving less than good care.

One fifth or 20 percent of the hospital admissions had been unnecessary in the first place.

In one-fifth or 20 percent of the general care surgical cases, there appeared to be unjustifiable delays in performing the surgery. The quality of surgery in 20 percent of the cases was labeled "poor" and in 26 percent only "fair" for a total of 46 percent less than good.

Of the 60 hysterectomies performed, one-third or 33 percent were called unnecessary and a question was raised about the advisability of another 10 percent. Of the 13 cesarean sections reviewed, 7 were considered "questionable."

According to the study, patients were often overcharged, physicians often split fees with incompetent surgeons, and patients complained that doctors frequently were unavailable in emergencies.

The Oregon Labor Press, the source of this information, says the study was made at the request of the Teamsters Joint Council, whose welfare funds pay over $20 million annually for Blue Cross hospital insurance and some medical insurance for more than half a million members.

The fact that these abuses were found in the treatment of patients under Blue Cross is not reassuring, when it is the Blue Cross approach rather than the social security approach which is being advocated by the doctors for medical care and, at this writing, it looks as though the compromise needed to get the President's health care program through Congress is to allow Blue Cross to administer it.

One must wonder whether our Scandinavian friends are as bad off as the doctors tell us.

## People Do Think: Washington Notwithstanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial recently appeared in the Iron Age, the national metalworking weekly, written by Tom Campbell, which certainly defends the Congress in some of its disagreements with the administration:

PEOPLE DO THINK: WASHINGTON NOTWITHSTANDING
(By Tom Campbell)

Right now the dope from Washington seems to be that Congress doesn't reflect the people's thoughts. This isn't true.

We have consistently maintained that the people often are away ahead of their leaders. Sooner or later, some leaders catch up and go ahead of the people.

At present, Mr. Kennedy—who has had a lot of setbacks from Congress—feels that the people are on his side. He is said to be toying with the idea that he will go to the people with the issues.

It will be a waste of time. The people are coming to him—via their representatives. No congressman who wants to be elected would go against his constituents' desires and feelings. If he did, he would not be reelected. So, it must be assumed that Congressmen know what they are doing.

For a long time, the people back home have been doing a lot of thinking. You just don't say to yourself, "Let's think," and then take the position of "the Thinker." People think in all kinds of ways: With their eyes, with their ears, with their heart, with their heredity, with their sixth sense, and with unknown or incomprehensible ways and means.

They know we have lost national and world leadership. The leadership they crave is a hard thing to put on paper. It is a feeling, a carrying through of previous promises, a strong drive mixed with a gamble, horse-sense, and a basis of being with and for the people.

Today, the people are a little confused about the Washington front—and in some cases the business front. They still remember Cuba. They sense we lost some time to the Reds on the delayed atom bomb tests.

They are furious locally—and may soon be nationally—about the tax burden. They do sense business needs to make a profit. They invest in business so they know more than the big domes give them credit for.

They know a stock market break when they see one. They know dillydallying when they see it. They know when they are being snowed and snowed and snowed.

Yes, they may go along for the ride with a lot of things. But there comes a time when the people stop, look, listen, and act—either through their representatives or by themselves. We think that day is here.

The people are aroused. It may take time. But taxes, lack of leadership, and humdrum talk, plans, and action will bring a reaction.

## The Public Works Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12900) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Deparement of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

TRIBUTE TO BEN JENSEN

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Now, Mr. Chairman, there has been a lot of kind words spoken here today, about both people and projects.

I cannot remember a year in my eight sessions here when there has been less acrimony on this bill than this year. Perhaps we are becoming more polite, but I like to think we have become more wise. We realize that these great projects are capital improvements, but there is a certified benefit to be reaped from each of them, in varying degree.

I sit on the public works legislative committee, and I know that we listen carefully to these requests for authorizations. They have to make just as good case for us as they do later when they come before the Public Works Appropriations Subcommittee. We do not wave a doubtful project through, hoping

that it will get stuck in the money committee for lack of merit.

Therefore, at this point, I would like to commend my earnest colleague from Iowa, BEN JENSEN, for his conscientious work on the Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with these countrywide projects.

He comes from the Missouri River side of our State, while my district lies along the Mississippi River. But when it comes to a sympathetic ear for funds to create necessary public works, my constituency could have no greater friend. I am extremely pleased to have him in his position of prominence on the powerful Committee on Appropriations. When the Republicans capture the House this year, as it begins to look increasingly likely, Iowa's BEN JENSEN will become one of the most powerful men in our Government, and right at a time when this country can use him most.

BEN JENSEN, fighting mainly from a minority position, has already saved this country billions of dollars. Whether he becomes chairman after this year or not, his influence will still be felt considerably. His is not a blind conservatism. He recognizes the responsibilities and obligations of the Central Government in many constitutional fields. He is generous where the veterans are concerned, and their widows and orphans. He supports all kinds of medical and scientific research.

He is a leading soil conservationist and watershed advocate; he supports enthusiastically meritorious flood control projects, and he has strongly supported for his 24 years in the Congress the basic purpose of the act creating the REA. He favors bringing low-cost energy into farm homes not served by investor-owned companies, and his record shows that.

So, I find it a labor of love to recite these encomiums relative to the dean of our delegation.

He is an asset to Iowa, and practically a necessity to our country. We need more like him. We should not expect him and a few others to shoulder the whole burden.

Despite all efforts by BEN JENSEN and a handful of other sound thinkers, this country continues to slip deeper and deeper into debt.

I hope we can bring about some miracle which will alter that bankruptcy course, but in the meantime we can sleep easier knowing that but for BEN JENSEN and others of similar philosophy on the Appropriations Committee we would be another $50 or $60 billion in the hole.

## Drug Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, a strengthened drug bill will soon come before the Senate for consideration by the full membership.

I certainly hope that the legislation as approved will contain provisions to insure competition in the drug industry and to assure our citizens a fair price for necessary drugs.

The Pentagon is the largest customer of the drug industry and they have had to go to Europe to secure reasonable prices. In doing so they have saved the taxpayers millions of dollars, and called attention to the high prices of U.S. drugs.

I hope my colleagues will read the article "Pentagon Expands Use of European Drugs" by Allen M. Smythe which appeared in the June 25, 1962, issue of the Washington Star. I ask unanimous consent to insert it at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., June 25, 1962]

PENTAGON EXPANDS USE OF EUROPEAN DRUGS

(By Allen M. Smythe)

Foreign purchases of drugs for American military use is being expanded by the Pentagon, the biggest customer of the drug industry.

The expansion is being done by the new Defense Supply Agency, which has been designated by Defense Secretary McNamara as the sole buyer of all defense medical supplies, taking over that function from the Navy.

The purchases run into many tens of millions of dollars a year.

Since December 1959 the Pentagon has paid $5,306,000 on 25 contracts to Italian, Swedish, and Danish drug firms. The domestic price would have been $12,804,000. The prices ranged from one-half to less than one-eighth of U.S. bids.

DSA officials say the high identical bids of U.S. patented and produced drugs justify their buying overseas. Domestic producers have been offered royalties of 10 percent of their costs. The Comptroller General has upheld this policy. It was pointed out that the issuance of a patent does not guarantee a monopoly. Its validity and infringement must be proved.

WOULD GO TO COURT

Title 28, United States Code, section 1498, states the "sole remedy to patent holders against Federal purchases is reasonable compensation." The Pentagon has offered to go to the Court of Claims in a friendly suit to certify any claims. No drug company has accepted the challenge as this would mean revealing exact costs.

Tetracycline, an antibiotic, was bought in Italy for $5.61 per 100 tablets when it was sold by American firms to U.S. hospitals for around $30. The price charged by Carlo Erba, Milan, is now $2.92.

The Milan firm buys its raw material from LePetit, a French firm licensed by Charles Pfizer Co. to make and sell this drug in Europe. Erba is reported to be partly owned by American Home Products Corp.

Meprobamate, a tranquilizer, is now bought in Stockholm, Sweden, from A. S. Kabi for $2.07 per 500 tablets. Wholesale prices quoted the Pentagon, from U.S. firms are around $17. An equivalent amount bought in U.S. cutrate drugstores would cost $39.50. Miltown is the trade name of the drug made by Carter Products. Equanil is the trade name used by Wyeth Laboratories.

WHOLESALE PRICES HIGHER

A year ago, nitrofuranton cost $5.50 per bottle of 100 tablets from Italy. Subsequent orders reduced the price to $2.95. Wholesale prices here are several times higher.

The drug sulfadiazine costs only $4.50 per 1,000 tablets when bought in Denmark.

Protests by drug firms against oversea buying of their patented formulas have made little impression on Pentagon purchasing agents.

American drug officials stress their need of adequate funds for profits and future research.

## Senator Hruska Testifies for Local Service for Smaller Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, at a recent hearing before the Civil Aeronautics Board in connection with its "use it or lose it" investigation of Frontier Airlines, the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] appeared before the Board to discuss significant questions of national policy which are involved in the rapid discontinuance of service by local service air carriers in many sections of the country.

While many of the Senator's comments understandably are related to the effect on Nebraska of the "use it or lose it" policy, his development of the issues of policy which are involved is of much more general interest and significance.

I therefore recommend the remarks of the Senator from Nebraska to the other Members of the Senate as a sound and thoughtful analysis of the problem of air service to our smaller cities, and ask unanimous consent that the Senator's statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR ROMAN HRUSKA BEFORE THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD IN THE MATTER OF FRONTIER AIRLINES, INC.; "USE IT OR LOSE IT" INVESTIGATION, DOCKET 12078, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 20, 1962

DISCUSS PRINCIPLE—NOT RECORD

I appreciate the opportunity to address you this morning in this important proceeding. I am not here to discuss the record in the case. The parties are represented by able counsel who have that function.

This case raises important questions of national policy and interpretation of congressional intent in the statutory directives of the Federal Aviation Act. As a member of the U.S. Senate, I feel a responsibility to set before you briefly my views on some of the important principles involved in this and other similar cases with which you will be faced in the near future.

CONGRESS ESTABLISHED THE CAB TO DEVELOP AIR TRANSPORTATION

In 1938 Congress determined that it was in the national interest to regulate this new and dynamic air transportation industry. Congress established the Civil Aeronautics Board and directed it to foster and develop air transportation to serve the basic needs of this country, its commerce and its people.

NEEDED SERVICE IS SUBSIDIZED

Congress determined that air transportation service which was necessary should be supported by direct Federal subsidy pay-

ments. We have spent hundreds of millions of subsidy dollars developing the domestic trunkline industry and our international carriers.

No one will dispute that we would not today have a trunkline transportation system, such as we do have, providing immeasurable public benefits, were it not for the hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidy contributed to its support. We would not have flag carriers, which have for years dominated the skies in international commercial air carriage, were it not for the hundreds of millions of dollars of Federal subsidy spent on this service.

It is the policy and the will of the Congress that subsidy money be spent to foster and develop a sound local air transportation system. In large measure, the subsidy money being spent on local air transportation today is the money which was spent for the trunklines, since many of the local service points were transferred from trunklines to local service carriers.

In addition, it is the will and intention of the Congress that the benefits of air transportation be extended across this entire Nation. The Congress recognizes, and we know, that much of the local air transportation is not and will not be self-supporting. But we have made the judgment that the best interests of the United States as a whole require a strong national local air transportation system and we are willing to appropriate the money required for this objective.

"USE IT OR LOSE IT" POLICY

To prune from the local transportation system those points at which there is no real public need for air transportation service, the Board has enunciated what it calls the use it or lose it policy. This policy, as I understand it, contains certain mathematical indexes, five enplanements a day and seven passengers a mile which will guide the Board in determining whether a reevaluation of the public convenience and necessity of continued air service is indicated.

It is my understanding that these mathematical standards are not arbitrary and inflexible criteria for determining whether air service should be continued.

The public interest is not measured by mathematical standards. The public convenience and necessity, which is the standard set by the Congress for application by the Board, cannot be translated into arbitrary levels of traffic generation. We did not create this Board, and approve the nomination of its members, to have the statute interpreted in such a mechanical fashion. We expect, and I know we will receive, the application of the deepest thought and the soundest judgment to the complex basic and underlying problems presented by the question: Does the national interest require continuation of the air service at issue?

"USE IT OR LOSE IT" HURTS THE MIDWEST AND SOUTH WORST

I have examined the most recent air traffic reports of the passengers enplaned at points subject to the "use it or lose it" policy. I find the following:

1. Of 544 cities certificated for local air service 123 are generating less than 5 passengers a day.

2. Of these 123 cities which are not meeting the "use it or lose it" enplanement standard 99 are exclusively served by the local service air carrier.

3. The cities subject to loss of air service are concentrated in the midwestern part of the United States. Of the 123 cities generacting less than 5 passengers a day 92 are served by Frontier, Central, Lake Central, North Central, Ozark, Trans-Texas, and West Coast.

4. Of these 92 midwestern cities subject to decertification of local air service under the "use it or lose it" policy 79, or 82 percent, are exclusively served by the local service carrier.

In other words, gentlemen, over one-fifth of all cities served by local service carriers are not meeting the five-per-day enplanement standard of the "use it or lose it" policy. Three-quarters of the cities not meeting the standard, 92 cities, are in the Midwest. And of these 92 cities not meeting the enplanement standard, over 80 percent are exclusively served by the local service carrier.

The seriousness of the possible loss of an air transportation system to these regions, and to the country as a whole, cannot be underestimated. This area of the country is characterized by long distances and generally inadequate surface transportation. Air transportation is the only form of transportation which provides a modern and useful transportation service to this section of the country.

Also, this section of the country does not have large populations. The local service carriers serving the eastern and western coasts of this country have very few cities generating less than 5 passengers a day (Allegheny, 2 out of 37 cities; Pacific, 1 out of 23 cities; Bonanza, 3 out of 19 cities). The main reason for this is that they serve substantial population centers. Indeed, a local service city in the East may have a population of several hundred thousand (e.g., Bridgeport, Conn.). In relative, and and also absolute terms, the populations in the Midwest part of the country are much smaller.

But because the cities in the Midwest have smaller populations than those on the east coast and on the west coast, does this mean that they are to be penalized and deprived of the only modern transportation facility they have? I say to you gentlemen, that a policy of this Board, be it called use it or lose it or any other name, which leads to the result of dismantling a basic transportation service to the discrimination of a vital and vast region of the United States, is not a sound policy—it is not in the national interest.

EXAMINER'S DECISION LEAVES NEBRASKA WITHOUT A MODERN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SERVICE

I am especially concerned, of course, that a rigid application of the mechanical standards will destroy the air transportation system of Nebraska.

I have reviewed the initial decision of the examiner in this case. I am shocked to find this: If the recommendations of the examiner are adopted, there will be less transportation service in Nebraska than there was one-quarter of a century ago.

Twenty-five years ago there were two trunkline air carriers serving a total of seven points in Nebraska. We had rail transportation in large quantity crossing the State.

If the examiner's recommendations are adopted, only five of the seven points served 25 years ago will continue to be served. The air service will be by a local service carrier instead of a trunkline. In the intervening period, rail passenger service in Nebraska has seriously deteriorated. It is accurate to state that if the examiner's recommendations are adopted, large areas of Nebraska will be virtually deprived of a modern public transportation service.

I do not believe that Congress committed the regulation of air transportation to this Board to have the transportation system of the State of Nebraska virtually destroyed. Moreover, what you do in Nebraska will control what you do in the rest of the Midwest. We stand in danger of losing the basic public passenger transportation service in broad areas of our Nation.

NEBRASKA'S RELIANCE ON AIR TRANSPORTATION HAS INCREASED

This Board found in 1958, in the Seven States case, that Nebraska's transportation services were seriously inadequate. Let me tell you that since that investigation was concluded, the transportation service in Nebraska has seriously deteriorated.

What has happened is this: In reliance, in part, on the fact that air transportation had been certificated for Nebraska, rail passenger service was withdrawn. There is no rail passenger service at all in the entire northern half of Nebraska.

It is also accurate to state that there is virtually no local rail passenger service in all of Nebraska. The rail passenger trains crossing our State are scheduled to serve the terminals beyond our State's borders. As a result, Nebraskans often must arise at 3 o'clock in the morning to go down to the station and get on a train that is not designed to provide them with local service, but rather is scheduled for the needs of the passengers moving through Nebraska.

NEBRASKA IS IMPORTANT TO THE NATION

If this Board adopts the recommendations of its examiner, it will virtually strike the State of Nebraska out of the 20th century. Transportation is the foundation of economic strength. Air transportation is the only modern public transportation facility available to Nebraska and to large areas of the Midwest. It is the basic public transportation service.

This country cannot afford to lose the economic strength of any of its constituent States. Nebraska, moreover, is an important State in the national picture.

We are growing economically. Nebraskans are wealthier today and are producing more wealth and more goods than they were 10 years ago. Moreover, the economy of Nebraska, which has historically been agricultural, is now to a substantial measure, converting to industry. As this Board knows, we have an important national policy of decentralizing industry. It is in the national interest to move industry from the highly concentrated and vulnerable centers to other areas of the country. This trend, plus the energy and vitality of the Nebraskans themselves, is increasing the industrial development of our State, and accordingly the importance of air transportation.

Nebraska is also important to the national defense effort. The headquarters of SAC are at Omaha. The Sioux Ordnance Depot is located at Sidney, and I am advised there is an important Minuteman missile construction program which will start within the next few months and be centered in the western Nebraska-eastern Wyoming area. To consider withdrawing commercial air service at Sidney at this time strikes me as unwise.

THE MIDWEST AND THE SOUTH ARE SIMILARLY AFFECTED

When it is said that the examiner's decision in the instant case will leave Nebraska without a modern public transportation service; when it is said that Nebraska's reliance on air transportation has increased since 1958 and that Nebraska's survival as a segment of the economy is important to the Nation, all of these things apply also to other States in the Middle West and South in which there are located the 123 cities which are certificated for local air service and which are generating less than five passengers a day.

We all know what the situation is in agriculture in those areas. Far too often we hear the argument, so unwelcome to our ears, that there are too many farmers engaged in raising farm stuffs. What shall be done with them? What shall be done with them if we will remove from that same area one of the most important elements in its survival at all, namely, a transportation system. Certainly transportation by air is highly vital to a successful program of establishing and developing industrial activity. Retention of air service involves more than

convenience. It is even more than necessity. It is a matter of plain survival.

Plainly, this area cannot be just written off. It cannot be told to go on its way and left to its own resources.

Such a fate is clearly negatived by the declaration of congressional and national policy as found in the statutes which apply to your own Board.

After all, section 102, Federal Aviation Act of 1958, which was originally enacted 20 years earlier, reads, in part, as follows:

"In the exercise and performance of its powers and duties under this Act, the Board shall consider the following, among other things, as being in the public interest, and in accordance with the public convenience and necessity: (a) The encouragement and development of an air-transportation system properly adapted to the present and future needs of the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States, of the postal service, and of the national defense."

Title IV of the act, section 401(d) reads, in part, as you know: "The Board shall issue a certificate * * * if it finds * * * that such transportation is required by public convenience and necessity."

The act, section 406(b) under the title of "Ratemaking Elements" for transportation of mail reads, in part, as follows:

"In fixing and determining fair and reasonable rates * * * the Board shall take into consideration, among other factors, * * * (3) the need of such air carrier for compensation for the transportation of mail sufficient to insure the performance of such service, and, together with all other revenue of the carrier to enable such air carrier under honest, economical and efficient management to maintain and continue the development of air transportation to the extent and of the character and quality required for the commerce of the United States, the postal service, and the national defense."

This act is still the law of the land. Perhaps from time to time we may encounter those who differ with its wisdom; from time to time we may hear from individual Members of the Congress or of the executive department some expression of dissatisfaction or need of amendment, but notwithstanding all these things, the act, including those excerpts just set forth, is still the law of the land.

When reference is made to "encouragement and development" of an air transport system properly adapted to the present and future needs of domestic commerce of the United States, that means the commerce of the entire Nation. It is this concept to which the Board's consideration is directed by section 102. When section 401(d) says that a certificate should be issued if there is a finding of public convenience and necessity which means that this shall be done on a national basis.

When section 406(b) provides for determining of rates which will enable an air carrier to maintain and continue the development of air transportation to the extent and of the character and quality required for the commerce of the United States, it means the national commerce and not commerce in any selective or discriminatory sense.

Appropriations for the subsidies which go toward attaining these ends are still available. When they are provided each year, the Congress thereby reaffirms the national policy as reflected in the statutes to which reference has been made.

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON TRANSPORTATION

All of us as political realists are aware that a message from the Chief Executive of our Nation on any subject is entitled to much respect and consideration. Naturally this Board and the Congress has scrutinized with great care the following language contained on page 7 of the President's message: "The Appropriations Committees have requested the Civil Aeronautics Board to prepare a schedule for the termination of these operating subsidies. I endorse this position and seek the extension of this principle. I am asking the Board to develop by June 30, 1963, a step-by-step program, with specific annual targets, to assure sharp reduction of operating subsidies to all other domestic airlines as well, within periods to be established by the Board for each type of service or carrier. Rigorous enforcement of the Board's use-it-or-lose-it policy and further development of the class rate subsidy plan which the Board initiated in January 1961 with the cooperation of the local service carriers would clearly facilitate this objective. The development of single airports to serve adjacent cities, or regional airports, is also clearly necessary if these subsidies are to be eliminated and if the Federal Government and local communities are to meet the Nation's needs for adequate airports and air navigation facilities without excessive and unjustifiable costs."

Within limitations these pronouncements are entitled to the greatest of respect and should furnish much guidance. There are limitations inasmuch as no Presidential enunciation can arbitrarily set aside entirely any express legislative action. I have confidence that the Congress upon proper request from the Executive will seriously consider and very likely enact such recommendations as will be needed to implement the pronouncements cited above, insofar as that may be done in harmony with practicality.

However, the granting of Frontier Airlines' request and the request of the State of Nebraska for 1 additional year of certificated activity is not inconsistent with the Presidential message quoted above.

That message does not call for a complete termination of subsidies; it does not call for a precipitate action of "sudden death." It does not call for attainment of its objectives forthwith. All of these things are clear when we read such language as "step by step program" of development by June 30, 1963; "with specific annual targets;" and again "to assure sharp reduction" of subsidies within periods to be established by the Board.

Not even "rigorous enforcement of the Board's use-it-or-lose-it policy" means instantaneous elimination of subsidies.

The fair intendment of the passage cited above will embrace without any violence the requested 1-year extension in Nebraska to enable proof of compliance with use-it-or-lose-it criteria. I need only mention these items: that the request embraces a 50-percent cut in subsidies formerly paid; that no objection is registered against clear-cut cases of individual communities which have not and cannot comply with the policy's minimum criteria.

Further, to deny the request would be wasteful, indeed, with over a $1.5 million investment in airports, with about $2 million having been paid in subsidies since 1958, plus additional amounts for navigational aids and miscellaneous items. The expenditure of an additional one-half million under these conditions in the strong and persuasive case made by the applicants is not only justified but in my judgment dictated as a wise course of action, as an effort to recoup what has been expended and to fulfill the objectives of the Aviation Act.

SUMMARY

If Nebraska's request is denied in this instance, then perforce the seal of doom will have been placed upon similar air traffic in States in which are located the 123 cities with local air service generating less than 5 passengers a day. Not all of those cities should retain such service. That is not contended for. In fact the State of Nebraska does not call for 100-percent retention. But neither should all be deprived of service. Every effort should be made to retain as many as possible, consistent with good business judgment based on the legislative objectives at hand.

On a long-range legislative basis in the Congress, there is at least one probable result which might flow from too drastic and too summary an elimination of airline subsidies:

If the standards applied to reduce and eventually eliminate subsidies are too severely imposed there could conceivably result legislative action to more definitely set out conditions making mandatory the issuance of certificates. Such a course would be highly regrettable, and very likely possessed of little if any logic. Yet in a world of politics possessed of a great deal of realism one can envision such a course of action.

It is submitted, therefore, that a cold mathematical application of a "use it or lose it" policy should not be imposed; that equities should be recognized; that good management should be given the top priority of which it is deserving, and that an opportunity be given by this Board's action for converting the investment already made in aviation in Nebraska and other similarly situated States into a true and productive national resource.

## Kennedy, the Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of July 25, 1962:

KENNEDY, THE POLITICIAN

Mr. Kennedy is now talking frankly partisan language about his stalled domestic legislative program. He blames the Republicans for his lack of success. There was a long series of statements to this effect in his latest press conference.

Mr. Kennedy respects both logic and objectivity but in this case he seems to be taking leave of both. Why should he blame members of the opposition party for predictably voting against bills with which they traditionally disagree? He could more logically blame the voters. The voters gave him an insufficient number of Democrats who agree.

And how can he shrug his shoulders so fatalistically about the conservative Democrats while pointing such an accusing finger at the Republicans? Where is consistency?

Mr. Kennedy also argues that because Republicans oppose his program they are for inaction. He is for action. But in many cases enough Republicans agree with the broad aims of Kennedy domestic bills to pass them, if they had been drafted with more attention to the national need and less to Democratic politics and power.

But his frankly partisan approach to most of the major domestic bills provoked a frankly partisan answer. He knew that the conservative Democrats would vote with the opposition. Logic would suggest that his strategy was at fault, and not either the conservative Democrats or the Republicans. He misjudged the election returns.

This is all the more curious because at the start of his second year in the White House the President told reporters he was going to follow an entirely different strategy. He recognized the need for emphasizing national needs and deemphasizing party politics.

A few weeks thereafter he proposed a Department of Urban Affairs in a highly political manner. For whatever reason, perhaps a rising political self-confidence, his approach to Congress radically changed. With this more recent approach Mr. Kennedy created his own frustration.

He has now explicitly described his plan for the coming congressional campaign. To the degree that it can be separated from recrimination over the past, it is a partial return to logic again. The President is tackling the real cause of his difficulty in the narrow decision of the voters. "The areas I'll be campaigning in are seats * * * where there will be a very clear choice between Republicans who oppose these programs and Democrats who support them. That's where I am going to go."

The voters will be there waiting. It remains to be seen whether they will consciously choose to base their vote on what kind of Congress they want to give Mr. Kennedy. (Many of them probably didn't, last time.) But they have this opportunity now and they should use it.

Meanwhile it is curious that Mr. Kennedy should be gauche about allocating blame for his plight, when he is supposed to excel at the political arts. It could be that he misjudges the future voting as well as the past. He may find that the same actions on his part which drove the moderate votes in Congress into opposition will cause the voters in November to prefer more conservative candidates.

## Launching of the Nuclear Submarine "Haddo" SS(N)604

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I was given the honor of making a few remarks at the launching of the nuclear submarine *Haddo* SS(N)604 at Camden, N.J., on Saturday, August 18.

I ask unanimous consent to have my remarks on that occasion printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON AT THE LAUNCHING OF THE NUCLEAR SUBMARINE "HADDO" SS(N)604, NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORP., AT CAMDEN, N.J., ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1962

Five years ago the United States led the world in nuclear submarines. Today we no longer have a nuclear submarine monopoly. The Soviet Navy's commander in chief recently stated that atomic submarines are now the backbone of the Soviet Fleet. I think we have learned that Soviet claims of technical achievement cannot be dismissed as hollow boasts. The feat achieved by their cosmonauts this past week is dramatic proof of their excellence in science and technology.

The Soviets have developed a family of nuclear submarines to fulfill many important naval missions. They include the capability of long-range missile attack on the United States and antisubmarine warfare against our submarines and against our surface fleet.

While this country is now ahead in nuclear submarines, both in quantity and quality, we know that Moscow is giving a high priority to overtaking us at the earliest possible date. The Soviets have made remarkable progress in a relatively short period of time. They have bypassed the usual long research and development period and have plunged deeply into a production line effort.

The Soviet submarine threat confronts this Nation with a defense task as formidable as any facing us. While outer space presents future perils, the danger from underwater space is clear, present, and immediate. Failure to solve the problems of antisubmarine warfare will make vulnerable our surface and subsurface fleets, as well as the heartland of the United States.

Nuclear submarines have a capability in antisubmarine warfare not possessed by conventional submarines. We now know that one of the best ways to hunt down and kill a submarine is with a nuclear submarine. This is especially true against enemy nuclear submarines, which are immune to most other search and attack techniques. The *Haddo*, and the other ships like it, will play a major role in meeting the growing Soviet atomic submarine threat. We should give higher priority to the attack submarines and turn out more than are now planned for.

The ship that we launch today is inseparable from the skilled naval personnel that will operate it. Indeed, the Soviets have a long way to go to master the rigorous training requirements for the men who man their submarines. Building submarines is not enough—we must continue to maintain the high standards of excellence in training and in operating that have been the special distinction of this program.

## District of Columbia Should Have a School System Second to None

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a statement made August 3, 1962, by Leo Goodman, secretary-treasurer of Labor's Committee for Better Schools in the Nation's Capital to the Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate District of Columbia Committee.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF LEO GOODMAN, SECRETARY-TREASURER, LABOR'S COMMITTEE FOR BETTER SCHOOLS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, TO THE FISCAL AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. SENATE, AUGUST 3, 1962

There is every reason why the District of Columbia should have a school system second to none. The Capital City of the richest Nation on earth should be a symbol to the world of the extent to which American democracy is committed to the education of each and every individual to the fullest of his capacity. The fact that recent figures show the District of Columbia to have a higher per capita income than any of the 50 States lends added weight to the conclusion that the schools of the District should be models for the rest of the Nation and even the rest of the world to follow.

When we compare what should be with what actually exists, the resulting picture is a shame to the entire United States. More than 40 percent of the school buildings presently in use in Washington are more than 50 years old. There are children actually attending classes in this city in school buildings that were constructed when Ulysses Grant was President of the United States and when Washington was the Capital of a Nation of 37 States.

Teachers' salaries in Washington are so low that it is a constant battle to find qualified teachers who will accept appointments in our schools, and it is impossible to hold those teachers who are employed. Nearly 15 percent of the teachers in the District schools leave each year, one of the highest turnover rates of any school system in the Nation. It has been possible to replace them only by the expedient of hiring temporary teachers who are not properly qualified to teach. A third of the teachers in Washington's schools have been hired on this emergency basis.

Even with the use of temporary teachers, it has still not been possible to meet the real need in the District, and the result has been unbelievable overcrowding of the classrooms. In 1961–62 there were more than 1,000 classes in the junior and senior high schools of the District in which there were more than 40 students enrolled. Educators differ somewhat on the best size for a class, but few responsible educators would regard more than 25 students to the classroom as proper in an ideal school system.

Considerable attention has been paid recently to the dilapidated and obsolete textbooks being used in Washington's schools. Little progress has been made in replacing those books which are unfit for further use either because of their condition or their content. And what progress has been possible has been more than negated by sharply increased enrollments which have necessitated further prolonged use of the outdated texts.

Libraries are inadequate in some schools, nonexistent in others. One hundred and forty-five additional librarians are needed to provide one librarian for each junior and senior high school and one for each elementary school of more than 500 students.

More than 200 additional specialized services personnel are needed to bring the counseling staff up to anything like minimal standards. Washington schools have a dropout rate of over 50 percent and this is a part of the price we pay for the inadequate counseling facilities now existing.

Labor's Committee for Better Schools in the Nation's Capital is heartened to notice that there has been a growing awareness of the school problem in the District of Columbia. Not only in Washington, but throughout the Nation we have found an encouraging response to our efforts to improve the standard of education here in the Nation's Capital.

We are, therefore, especially glad to find the District Commissioners, the Board of Education, and Members of Congress giving serious consideration to the matter of teachers' salaries in the District of Columbia.

The heart of any school system is its classroom teachers. Splendid buildings and expensive equipment will not in themselves teach anything. But a great teacher can make learning a memorable experience even in a dilapidated classroom.

Teaching at its best is an underpaid profession. Although the economic condition of teachers has improved somewhat in recent years, the average teacher, with at least 4 years of college training, is still paid little better than the average factory worker.

But if teachers as a group are badly paid, it is nevertheless true that Washington teachers are even worse off financially than their counterparts in other cities of similar size. The minimum starting salary for teachers in Washington is $4,800.

The maximum salary for a teacher in the District schools is $7,848. To qualify for this a teacher must have 30 hours past a master's degree and at least 13 years' teaching experience. There are few large city

school systems which attempt to operate with so low a maximum.

But minimums and maximums do not tell the whole story of how well off teachers are financially. Although the salary scale provides for a maximum of $7,848, only 328 of Washington's 4,700 teachers have reached this maximum, and 45 percent of the teachers in the District earn less than $6,000 a year.

Labor's Committee for Better Schools in the Nation's Capital believes that teachers deserve to be treated better than that. But we also are concerned by the fact that the salary schedules in the District are so low as to make it immeasurably difficult to obtain and to hold good teachers. Teachers gravitate toward the better paying suburban school systems, they take jobs in private industry, or they find employment with the Federal Government.

Labor's Committee for Better Schools in the Nation's Capital believes that we need a larger commitment to education in Washington. We need to raise teachers' salaries enough to attract the most able and imaginative people to teach in our schools. We need to reconstruct the physical facilities of our schools—the buildings, the classrooms, the playgrounds, the libraries. We need to replace obsolete textbooks and equipment in order to utilize to the fullest the dramatic new advances that have taken place in teaching methods during recent years. We need to establish a counseling system that can help turn the tide of the staggering number of students who drop out of school before graduating.

We cannot accomplish these goals by doing each year a little bit better than we did the year before. Time has caught up with us, and we can only accomplish our goals by a powerful determination to make the school system of the Nation's Capital a source of pride to the entire democratic world.

## Evening Star Article Salutes Mrs. Joe Bottum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I am pleased to call attention of the Congress to an article in the August 20 issue of the Washington Evening Star saluting the wife of South Dakota's Senator JOE BOTTUM for her work in the Red Cross. Mrs. Bottum has long been a leader in community affairs in her hometown of Rapid City, S. Dak. It is good to observe that she is continuing her interest in good causes here in our Nation's Capital.

I ask unanimous consent that the article about Mrs. Joe Bottum appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BLOOD DONATION MARKS ARRIVAL OF SENATOR'S WIFE

The current Red Cross blood supply shortage emergency call brought forth immediate response from a new arrival in the Nation's Capital, Mrs. Joe Bottum.

Mrs. Bottum is the wife of the new Senator from South Dakota. She arrived by car over the past weekend and is staying at the Coronet Hotel on Capitol Hill with her husband.

Having served as a Gray Lady and volunteer with the Rapid City, S. Dak., chapter for the last 17 years, Mrs. Bottum could not resist the plea of the American Red Cross Washington regional blood center for blood donors. She took time out from her packed schedule during her first few days in Washington to visit the headquarters in the District of Columbia chapter at 2025 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Her hometown of Rapid City does not have a blood center, but is served by a mobile unit and Mrs. Bottum has worked with the unit when it has visited her city. While at the center, she took the opportunity to get a firsthand picture of the activities of the local chapter, hoping to pick up new ideas to take back to Rapid City. She will drive back to South Dakota at the end of the month following the luncheon that will be given by several hundred Washington friends in honor of the new Senator and his attractive wife on August 27.

A TEACHER

Mrs. Bottum became a South Dakotan via the state of matrimony. A native of Litchfield, Minn., she met her husband shortly after her graduation from Winona State Teachers College. She had just begun her first teaching assignment at the Longfellow School in St. Paul and he had just started with a law firm following his graduation from the University of South Dakota. She continued teaching physical education for the first 5 years of their marriage. Golf and swimming were her personal choice for recreation. While she does not play any musical instruments, she has an appreciation for music and particularly her husband's talent for piano and organ (he played the saxophone in an orchestra while in college) and they enjoy the winter concert series together in Rapid City.

An avid gardener, she also finds time for knitting, bridge, cooking, and church work. She is active in Circle One at the First Congregational Church in Rapid City and is proud that her group, was able to furnish the organ for their new church through means of a talent program. While Mrs. Bottum is not a native of the State, her piano-playing, politically conservative lawyer-husband's family settled in the Dakotas in the days when it was still a territory.

"The Senator's mother," Mrs. Bottum relates, "was the first schoolteacher in the area where they settled near Aberdeen."

In mentioning that they are not newcomers to the field of politics, Mrs. Bottum reminisces that the Senator was "elected State's attorney in 1932 and from 1937 to 1943 he served as director of taxation for South Dakota." He was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1960 and was serving in that capacity when the Republican State central committee selected him as the Republican candidate for Senator from South Dakota. Immediately following this, Gov. Archie Gubbrud appointed Mr. BOTTUM to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Francis Case which runs until January.

The Bottums have one daughter, Mary Jo, aged 22, who was married a year ago to Arthur G. Bruce, Jr., whose family live in Hot Springs, S. Dak. The are now living in Priest River, Idaho, where Mr. Bruce is a teacher. Mary Jo also studied for the teaching profession at Yankton College and Spearfish Teachers College, both in South Dakota.

HOPES TO HELP

As a Gray Lady, Mrs. Bottum has heard of the Senate Ladies Red Cross Production and Supply Unit which meets each Tuesday in the Old Senate Office Building while Congress is in session and hopes to have the opportunity of working with them.

## Pacemaker Heart Operation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans' Administration has recently released additional information on its internal planted heart Pacemaker, which was first developed in a Veterans' Administration hospital at Buffalo, N.Y. I am sure Members will find the latest information of interest.

PACEMAKER HEART OPERATION

How medical advances made by the Veterans' Administration saved the life of a doctor behind the Iron Curtain is told by a VA doctor just returned from the Soviet Union.

An internal planted heart Pacemaker, developed and first used in a patient by Dr. William Chardack, of the Buffalo, N.Y., VA hospital, was implanted in the chest of a Czechoslovak physician in Prague, July 5, 1962, by Dr. Timothy Takaro, a specialist of the Oteen, N.C., VA hospital surgical service.

The device delivers a series of continuous electrical shocks that keep the heart beating at a normal rate in persons with complete heart block. Batteries are good for 5 years, and easily replaced.

Dr. Takaro was in Moscow, U.S.S.R., as a writing scientist on a 3-month United States-U.S.S.R. exchange fellowship. He was working at the Scientific Research Institute for Surgical Apparatus and Instruments in the Soviet Union. He had carried one of Dr. Chardack's Pacemakers with him as an incidental part of his demonstrations in the exchange of medical knowledge under the fellowship.

The story begins in 1960 when Dr. Jan Dufek, a specialist in internal medicine at a hospital near Prague, suffered partial heart block. He wrote to doctors in the United States, who sent him drugs for treating his heart condition.

In January 1962, Dr. Dufek suffered heart failure and complete heart block which so slowed his heart rate that he became an invalid. He had read of the development of the heart Pacemaker in the U.S. Veterans' Administration through American medical journals.

He wrote Dr. Chardack, who got in touch with VA officials in Washington, D.C., and, through the U.S. Department of State, with Dr. Takaro in Moscow.

Dr. Takaro said Dr. Dufek's operation was a success and that he will be able to return to his practice, which includes as patients high officials of the Politburo in Prague.

The fellowship on which Dr. Takaro went to Moscow is administered by the National Heart Institute for U.S. Public Health Service, under the 1959 exchange agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

The Iron Curtain countries have their own external Pacemaker, Dr. Takaro said, but he did not see doctors in these countries using it. He said they were using an American external Pacemaker instead and that they have no wholly implantable internal Pacemaker.

He said this is a field in which American medicine definitely is ahead of work by colleagues in the Iron Curtain countries.

Dr. Takaro is a specialist in thoracic surgery and is known for his research in use of surgical stapling devices for blood vessels and lungs. He has developed a device espe-

cially for stapling tiny blood vessels, work preparatory to transplanting from human to human tissues and entire organs such as the heart. Doctors are confident this will be possible eventually.

Dr. Takaro said he saw no medical breakthroughs in the field of tissue and organ transplants while he was in the Soviet Union.

## Roundup of Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was privileged this weekend in a broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations to discuss the outlook for dairy farm legislation in Congress. I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of my address printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY, REPUBLICAN, OF CHIPPEWA FALLS, RANKING REPUBLICAN, U.S. SENATE, OVER WISCONSIN RADIO STATIONS, AUGUST 17, 1962

As Congress plows its way through a heavy logjam of legislation toward adjournment, let's review the current legislative outlook in agriculture.

Regrettably, the prospect for a cure-all legislation in agriculture—particularly for improving prices in dairying—is extremely dim.

Earlier this session, the House of Representatives passed a general farm bill. The provisions—with some moderate changes—extended existing programs for feed, grains and wheat. Also, it recommended liberalizing farm credit, expanding research for industrial uses of farm commodities, and revised land use programs.

Significantly, the House-passed bill did contain a provision for direct payments to dairy farmers for voluntarily participating in a production control program. The Senate Agriculture Committee, however, in a bill reported to the Senate, omitted this provision for dairying.

Overall, there are a great many controversial provisions in the bill, many of which were contained in a measure defeated earlier in the Senate.

Consequently, the outlook, at best, is problematical.

In Congress, however, there are several other pieces of legislation of interest to agriculture.

NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

First, let's take a look at the national school lunch program under which lunches are served to over 14 million students in Wisconsin and across the Nation.

Over the years, this has proved: (1) A constructive outlet for surplus farm and other commodities; (2) a stimulus to healthy schoolchildren. As in the past, this program will be carried forward.

A bill to modify the program, however, is also pending which would: Change the formula for apportioning funds among States—basing it upon the number of lunches served, instead of the number of students; allow 1 year for transition to the new formula; and provide special assistance to schools in needy areas to help them serve free school lunches.

This bill has passed the House of Representatives. Currently, it is pending before the Senate Agriculture Committee.

STRENGTHENING AGRICULTURE EXTENSION SERVICE

Reportedly, the prospects also are favorable for the passage of legislation to strengthen the extension service.

A House-passed version now pending before the Senate Agriculture Committee would: Improve the formula for apportioning funds for, and thereby strengthening, the Agriculture Extension Service; authorize States in acquiring property, supplies, and services (including excess Federal property) to utilize additional services and facilities of the Federal Government; and provide for quarterly, instead of semiannual, payment of extension funds to States.

Other legislation of interest includes: (1) Funds for the special milk program under which about 2.7 billion half pints of milk are served in an estimated 87,500 schools, nonprofit child care centers, summer camps, and small institutions devoted to children's health and well-being; (2) a proposal to assist States in providing additional facilities for research at State agricultural experimental stations; and (3) a measure to authorize closer Federal-State cooperation in enforcement of laws and regulations relating to control or eradication of plant and animal diseases or pests.

In a session-end buildup of legislation, it is not, of course, possible to predict with certainty the outcome of this, or other, legislation.

## Economic Countdown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, being aware of the vital contributions which have been made by the scientific brains and institutions of the Boston area I read with great interest the series of articles published in the Boston Globe in July 1962 by science writer, Ian Menzies, and Washington correspondent, Wilfrid Rodgers.

These two writers, who have won several national as well as New England awards as well as being former Nieman fellows in journalism at Harvard University, have clearly shown the contributions made by Greater Boston institutions such as MIT and Harvard to the Nation's space effort as well as science and education in general.

Further, they have shown the contributions made by the space age industries of Greater Boston to this age of science.

The fact that they show that this vital industry, not only essential to the area's economy but the Nation's space effort, is suffering from governmental contract neglect disturbs me immensely.

From the reaction of industrial and legislative leaders in the Boston area I feel these suspicions are well grounded and should be corrected.

I feel as do the writers that the Boston area seeks no favors; simply fair recognition.

Menzies and Rodgers not only discuss governmental contract figures in Massachusetts, and especially as regards National Aeronautics and Space Administration contracts, but review national statistics and the problems resulting from a changing distribution of population.

The implications behind these articles are worthy of reading by all, reflecting as they do the changing social patterns of this Nation brought about by the age of science and the effects that the rising proportion of Government contracts in the area of research and development are having on private industry, especially on a regional basis.

The articles follow:

[Five articles on economic countdown which appeared in the Boston Globe, July 15 through 19, 1952]

ECONOMIC COUNTDOWN I—SPACE $5 ORBIT SKIPS BAY STATE; NASA GIVES WEST 50 PERCENT; NEW ENGLAND GETS 0.5 PERCENT

(Greater Boston is facing an economic-political squeeze which is endangering its leadership in science-based industries and its future economic growth. Despite its brains, its universities, its modern industrial-technical complex, its skilled labor force, it is receiving only a minuscule share of the huge expenditures for space development. In the series which begins today Boston's fight to prosper in the scientific age will be analyzed.)

(By Ian Menzies)

Greater Boston's economic future lies in space.

With our science-based industries we have a passport to the moon and planets. But we lack the financial visa.

Boston and New England needs a healthy slice of the space dollar for continued economic growth.

Our present cut is picayune.

The organization with the money to spend today is the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

NASA is in charge of the Nation's space effort. Its goals and budget have the blessing of President Kennedy and most of Congress.

NASA will spend almost $4 billion this year for the peaceful exploration of space and the race to the moon.

Of this amount almost $2.5 billion will go out in contracts to private industry; some to universities.

Within 5 years NASA's annual budget is expected to reach $10 billion. This is a gargantuan sum.

But only $15 million of the $2.5 billion which NASA intends to give out in contracts this year has come to the six New England States thus far.

Yet New England helped pioneer the space age. It is one of the four major research and development areas in the Nation.

We're getting only a half of 1 percent of NASA contracts, compared to almost 50 percent for California.

Yet New England is home for 10,500,000 people, 6 percent of the Nation's population.

It boasts 68,000 scientists and engineers, approximately 8 percent of the national total.

Greater Boston alone has 32,000 engineers and scientists—more than 1 percent of the Greater Boston population and 3 percent of the total labor force.

This is a professional community. New England, according to the Boston Chamber of Commerce, has a higher proportion of highly educated, highly trained scientific and engineering personnel than any other section of the country.

And Greater Boston with only 1.1 percent of the Nation's population, turns out more than 7 percent of the Nation's college graduates.

But despite Greater Boston's science-based industry, its disproportionate number of scientists and engineers compared to the rest of the country, and its contributions to national education, it is losing out in the fight for the space dollar.

Greater Boston's strength is research and development, formed by its universities and its more than 400 science-based industries.

What is research and development?

It is the scientific pursuit of new knowledge or the application of existing knowledge to new uses.

For instance: Research reveals that a tiny piece of metal the size of a pinhead can do what a large vacuum tube did before. Transistors and diodes result. They make possible smaller radios, TV sets, and computers.

And this is the type of equipment one needs to venture into space where size and weight have to be minimized.

This is the type of research and development (development of new products as opposed to production of standard products) that Boston with its science-based firms has been doing.

In the past the Government utilized profit-making industry only for production engineering and the manufacture of final products like guns and military vehicles—not for science-based research and development.

The traditional large manufacturers which did this work were the automotive, machinery, shipbuilding, steel, and oil industries.

Government work was only a small part of the primary civilian business of these industries. For instance, in 1958 in the older auto industry, military sales only amounted to 5 percent for General Motors; 15 percent for Chrysler.

But in the current scientific age, the older industries have declined in prominence as regards advanced equipment. Newer research and development-oriented industries have come to the fore, such as those dealing in aircraft, rockets, electronics, and atomic energy.

In 1958 the military sales in the current aircraft industry amounted to 67 percent for Beech Aircraft and 99.2 percent for the Martin Co.

Greater Boston's strength is electronics and the bulk of the money for electronic research and development today comes from the Government.

Here are the Government agencies and what they will spend on research and development this fiscal year—80 percent of which will go in contracts to private industry or universities.

Department of Defense ($7 billion); the National Aeronautics and Space Administration ($2½ billion); the Atomic Energy Commission ($1½ billion); Department of Health, Education, and Welfare ($680 million); Department of Agriculture ($171 million); National Science Foundation ($164 million), and other agencies such as Interior and Commerce, a further $395 million.

Altogether this totals approximately $12½ billion, of which industry will receive some $9½ billion in contracts.

These billions are hard to grasp but the area which doesn't get a share will know the difference with rising unemployment, plant closings and cutbacks, mergers, and shakedowns with consequent effects on consumer sales.

The big problem facing New England right now is that of the $2½ billion which NASA will hand out in contracts this year.

This area is only receiving $15 million or about one-hundredth of the amount that California is receiving and considerably less than Texas with its $120 million Apollo moon shot center.

We do much better with the Department of Defense and if we received an equivalent slice from NASA things would be rosier.

Of the $7 billion the Department of Defense will spend on research and development (which includes the Air Force, Navy, Army, etc.) Massachusetts will receive about 5.7 percent of the total or roughly $400 million.

New England's 5.7 percent compares to New York's 12.9 percent; California's 41.34 percent (nearly half the $7 billion) and Colorado's 4.87 percent.

It can be seen that though Massachusetts is receiving 5.7 percent of the Department of Defense research and development dollar it is receiving only half of 1 percent of the equivalent NASA dollar—$400 million from DOD; $12 million from NASA.

What about Texas, which got the Apollo moon center?

Texas is doing better than Massachusetts both from NASA and the Department of Defense.

Research and development is only a part of what the Department of Defense hands out in contracts to industry. There are also production contracts.

Both together add up to a spectacular total of $22 billion.

Massachusetts position appears low when all forms of contracts are considered.

Of total Department of Defense contracts Massachusetts receives 4.8 percent (about $1 billion in contracts); Texas 5.1 percent; New York 12 percent and, leading the parade as usual, California with 24 percent.

Now that Texas has secured the moon center its share of NASA contracts will go up, probably to about 5 percent of the total. It will keep going up.

Massachusetts as things stand has nothing to boost it from its present slice—a tiny half of 1 percent.

For our continued economic growth we need a greater percentage of NASA contracts and have to hold on to our present percentage of Department of Defense contracts.

The latter job may not be easy. Roswell Gilpatric, Deputy Defense Secretary, is concerned that Michigan is, for instance, getting less in contracts than Massachusetts.

All regions, or the least forceful, may lose some of their contract percentages to beef up the old production-type industrial centers referred to earlier, in the interests of political expediency.

This is Massachusetts share of the Department of Defense research and development dollar: 5.7 percent of $7 billion; but this is Massachusetts share of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's space dollar: one-half percent of $2.4 billion.

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ECONOMIC COUNTDOWN II—NEW ENGLAND HAS THE BRAINS, BUT WEST GRABS "SPACE GOLD"

(Both California and Texas with growing population and electronic industries are squeezing Boston and New England's pioneering position in the space age. This second article in a series points out the growing threat to our science-based industries and economy.)

(By Ian Menzies)

It's hard to get a good thing. Sometimes it's even harder to hold on to it.

Greater Boston helped pioneer the Nation into the dazzling space age.

Over the past 15 years more than 400 science-based industries have sprung up in former cow pastures or put new life into old intown buildings.

These glamorous industries have provided jobs for some 60,000 persons in Greater Boston alone, spreading a half-million dollars in payroll wages throughout the community annually.

But today there are some long faces along the dazzling semicircle of Route 128; there is worried talk in the board rooms of some intown plants.

Says Dr. Charles A. Coolidge, Jr., vice president of C. & K. Components, Watertown; "We just lost two contracts totaling just $750,000 to California firms.

"Those people in California are getting all the business."

E. Douglas Reddan, president of Infrared Industries of Waltham, is being forced to move his corporate headquaters to California "because most of the business is out there."

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND JOBS IN NEW ENGLAND

Three firms who were planning to build plants here—Bendix Aviation, Melpar and Dawson Electronics—have changed their minds. The allocation of the Apollo "moon shot" to Houston, Tex., caused the switch.

Greater Boston is facing a new moment of truth.

And so is New England, as much of Greater Boston's electronic strength pinwheels out to Worcester, western Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont.

In New England the best estimates show some 200,000 persons employed in science-based industries involving an annual payroll of more than $1 billion.

If one counts industries working partly in this area, like Fore River and Portsmouth shipyards, and Pratt & Whitney and Electric Boat in Connecticut, the figures double.

"We're not in trouble yet," said one Boston industrialist, "but we will be if the present trend continues."

TWELVE BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR

The trend referred to is a diminishing number of contracts.

It is not that there aren't contracts around. There are, but as Coolidge and Reddan indicate they are not coming to Greater Boston.

The prize eluding New England's vital science-based industries is a healthier slice of the biggest growth dollar circulating around the Nation today and for years to come.

This is the dollar spawned from the scientific revolution which is not only changing our industries, but our population centers, our cities, our educational system and our entire society.

And this is a Federal dollar. For instance, the Government will spend over $12 billion dollars on research and development alone this year. Eighty percent of that $12 billion—$9½ billion—will be poured into private industry.

Just 20 years ago the sum being spent by the Government on research and development was a relatively no account $100 million.

Greater Boston is one of four great research and development areas in the Nation. The others are Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Greater New York.

But other areas are challenging—parts of Texas, Florida, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland.

A NEW REVOLUTION

Today the population and industrial growth is West and South, to California, Texas, and Florida. California will soon overshadow the old leader—New York State—with a bigger population and larger congressional delegation.

All across the Nation massive power plays are going on behind the scenes as regions, States and cities fight for recognition and future economic dominance, for science-based economic maturity and stability which will assure them growth over the next 100 years.

This battle is a repetition of the industrial revolution of 100 years ago which sparked the rise of cities such as Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Cleveland.

Boston and New England are in the middle of this squeeze play right now.

Today, unlike yesterday, the key is brains, not iron deposits or natural waterways. But brains are easily transportable. They can be assembled in deserts, as has been done at White Sands and Los Alamos, N. Mex., and cities and towns grow up around them.

But brains, if possible, like to percolate close to an academic atmosphere where they can be refreshed, replenished and acclaimed.

Greater Boston is without peer in this respect.

It was because of our universities—particularly MIT and Harvard—that Greater Boston got its fast start in the age of science.

The great electronic advances made at Harvard and MIT during World War II (such as the radiation laboratory) spilled over when space followed.

NEW ENGLAND NEEDS MATURITY

To insure the peace the Government had now to spend money on defense projects such as the DEW and SAGE early warning systems.

A good number of the scientists and engineers who developed the techniques which helped us outengineer and outthink the enemy went into business for themselves or joined newly created research institutions.

By 1945–52 the science-based industries with the exotic names were beginning to spring up on the former cow pastures of Route 128.

Established outside firms, realizing they had to be close to the men forging the new technology and working on the basic science which would result in further development, set up shop in Greater Boston.

But as Gen. James McCormack, vice president of MIT stated recently, "The pioneering stage is over now; we should be entering maturity."

The Greater Boston science-based complex, with a few individual exceptions, has not matured yet.

In the main it is still a heterogeneous grouping of relatively small companies (from 200 to 500 employees) making everything from pinhead-size diodes to giant radar antennas. Exceptions are Raytheon (43,000 employees and $200 million payroll), and to some extent Avco in Wilmington.

BIG FIRMS GET BIGGER

But on this whole this is a component center. It makes parts for large systems. Apart from the exceptions we don't make hardware plus innards but rather parts of highly intricate "nervous systems."

It is the race for space which more than anything has shown up our weakness—a crash program.

Big contracts today go to the big firms which have the capability to do the entire job, to supervise and administer the work of an entire system, like the Boeings, Martins, and North Americans.

These companies give out the subcontracts to smaller component firms. If the firms are close to them the chances are they'll get the contracts.

The day has passed when big contractors had to come to Greater Boston.

The man with the money today is James Webb, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

NASA, which only sprang into being 3 years ago, will give out $2.4 billion in contracts this year.

TEAMWORK NOW A MUST

Webb gave the Apollo moon project to Houston, Tex. This was the first publicly recognized warning that Greater Boston might be in trouble.

When Boston civic and industrial delegations saw Webb and asked, "How about us?" he replied: "Only areas with big capabilities have any chance of success."

Greater Boston, carrying much of New England along with it, is now trying to mend its fences.

To win the power play now in progress required a city or region to marshal all its resources and present them in the most glittering fashion.

To do this requires a united effort by universities, industries, chambers of commerce, and politicians, backed by public interest.

Failure to assemble these strengths into a neat, attractive powerful package has spelled trouble for Boston and New England in the past and will again unless corrected.

Brains and pioneering effort are not enough.

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ECONOMIC COUNTDOWN III—HUB FORMS SUPER TEAM TO FIGHT FOR SPACE JOBS

(Greater Boston needs a greater share of the space dollar in order to grow. This third article in a series points out that in seeking such a share we are asking no favors, considering our brains, industries, universities and research institutions.)

(By Ian Menzies)

Greater Boston isn't asking any favors in seeking a larger share of the Nation's space dollar.

The brains are still here, and given a choice they'll stay here.

The science-based industries are here—more than 400 in Greater Boston alone—and it is their retention and growth that is of concern.

The universities are here; no institution overshadows MIT or Harvard and our many other colleges and universities are growing in national statute each year.

The skilled technicians are here. Of the 12,000 technicians-engineers graduated annually across the Nation, Boston alone produces 1,000 or 12 percent.

Massachusetts with only 2 percent of the Nation's population graduates annually 5 percent of the engineers with bachelor's degrees, 9 percent of those with master's degrees and 12 percent of those with doctorates.

We have more scientists and engineers in relation to total State population than any other State in the Nation.

All three of the Nation's presidential science advisers—Drs. Killian, Kistiakowsky and Wiesner—have come from here, two from MIT and one from Harvard.

Scores of our professors have served on Department of Defense committees and still do. Dr. Vannevar Bush, honorary chairman of the MIT Corp., successfully developed the Nation's technological effort in World War II.

Former Boston professors dominate the New Frontier or serve on leave of absence.

Technological institutes abound in this area.

There is the so-called Bedford complex, directed by the Air Force and in part by MIT.

It comprises Hanscom Field, home of the Air Force Electronic Systems Division, one of five major divisions of the Air Force.

Hanscom also houses the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories, embracing the largest concentration of geophysicists to be found anywhere in the world.

There is MIT's Lincoln Laboratory. There is Mitre Corp. in Lexington, an offshoot of Lincoln, thought a separate entity.

This complex alone adds up to 10,000 people, more than 2,000 of them scientists and engineers.

(Now that the Air Force has the right to have its own men-in-space project, separate from NASA, Air Force oriented Boston may benefit.)

There is the Quartermaster Research and Engineering Command at Natick, which just completed a new $2 million radiation laboratory.

There is the Woods Hole Oceonographic Institute, expanding its laboratories at this moment.

There are Boston's outstanding hospitals, each with research departments working in basic biology, chemistry, and physics, research very relevant to manned space travel.

There is the Springfield Armory and the Watertown Arsenal; the Boston and Fore River shipyards. There are Naval Research installations in Rhode Island and New London, Conn.

There is the Telstar world communications station built by American Telephone at Andover, Maine. There is a Navy long-distance, low-frequency radio communications center which assures communication with submarines far from base, at Cutler, Maine.

On top of this there is a depth of testing capability, so necessary in space science, in our industrial concerns, at Avco in Wilmington, in Sylvania's Waltham and Needham plants; at Raytheon's many facilities, as Associated Testing Laboratories in Burlington.

FACILITIES GROW

We have MIT's nuclear reactor for experimental work, a cyclotron and the most powerful electron accelerator in the world, run jointly by Harvard and MIT.

We will shortly have one of the most modern computers available at MIT's new industrial center in Cambridge where IBM is to occupy a new facility.

The largest magnet and magnetic research laboratory in the world is being built in Cambridge.

Harvard Medical School has been given $2½ million by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to build a New England primate center to help throw light on man's diseases.

Another three-quarters of a million from the Guggenheim Foundation has gone to Harvard School of Public Health to set up a center for the study of aerospace health and safety.

One would think that NASA could ill afford to pass up such a complex to place its space dollar.

But thus far it has only become involved to the tune of $15 million, though it has $2½ billion to spend.

Can we ignore NASA, seeing we have all these other facilities?

No.

Unfortunately, burgeoning universities and other tax-free institutions will not provide tax money except through the more limited and confiscatory real estate and personal taxes paid by its faculty and employees—two types of taxes bearing a rather uneven load already.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SPURS FIGHT

In addition, industrial growth offers more service and maintenance jobs, needed for full employment.

The flaw to all this, in NASA's book at least, is that Boston and New England has not a large enough firm capable of having a whole system tossed into its lap.

Raytheon does handle large Defense Department contracts, including the making of hardware and in fact does much of its own component work, but James Webb, head of NASA, has not referred to Raytheon.

A strong effort is being made by the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce to provide a company which in effect could bid for these large prime systems contracts and coordinate the efforts of the many smaller firms in the Boston area.

The capability is here; the organization is lacking.

NASA of course could have presented this area with the organization as it did Houston, Tex., by locating the $120 million Apollo moonshot center here.

NASA has just announced that it plans to open a northeastern operation office here in the near future, staffed initially by about

8 persons, which it may eventually increase to 25 or 30.

This, says the NASA announcement, is to handle the $15 million worth of contracts in the six New England States; the same $15 million that looks so puny against NASA's $2½ billion in contract money of which California is getting $1½ billion.

The immediate answer for Greater Boston is to battle for its share.

And to be ready to grasp for new opportunities which our science-based industries, properly organized and politically supported, can bring to New England in the years ahead.

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ECONOMIC COUNTDOWN IV—SPACE JOB BID BY SALTONSTALL; KENNEDY ALSO SHOWS CONCERN OVER STATE'S SATELLITE ROLE

(Political problems involved in contract negotiations are discussed, in this fourth article of a series on Boston's space-age economic future, by the Globe's Washington correspondent.)

(By Wilfrid Rodgers)

WASHINGTON.—Speaking of Massachusetts future in the space program, there is a growing determination in some quarters here not only to pick the Bay State's brains but also its pockets.

At stake is not only big money but the future for what has become an economic rebirth of the Bay State and all New England.

Industries in other States are seeking to lure away the best scientists in Massachusetts.

Currently Massachusetts does little about it.

Massachusetts firms have been approached.

In well-couched language, hints have been passed that by relocating elsewhere they could get a larger share of contracts under the moon and space projects and other Government contracts.

Republican Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL has become so alarmed at what he believes to be attempts by NASA to drain off top engineers and scientists from Greater Boston that he wrote a letter to Administrator James E. Webb protesting such recruiting.

SALTONSTALL said in his letter to Webb:

"From our point of view in Massachusetts, our future lies in electronics and new industries. So we are very sensitive to any efforts to take away from Massachusetts the people who can be of most benefit to employing people and helping give new jobs to our citizens."

SALTONSTALL also told Webb that he would rather see NASA work subcontracted in the Bay State rather than have the agency recruit bright young engineers to work elsewhere.

SALTONSTALL'S office says it is also checking on reports of veiled offers of lucrative Government contracts if some Bay State industries would relocate new plants in other sections of the country.

It is known also that President Kennedy has become concerned because the Bay State isn't playing a larger role in the space program.

He has informed Webb that he hopes the Bay State "could make more contributions to the space program."

A few generations ago the revival of the New England economy would have been attributed to "Yankee ingenuity." Today it is called brains, research and development.

Its loss is threatened because of a lack of what also was once considered a New England trait—"horse trading."

The fact is that every time the Bay Staters get into a political set-to with their colleagues from the South, the Bay Staters invariably come out second best.

The Massachusetts economic future is tied closely to the Federal Government and the politics that make it tick.

Best example is the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's moon lab site. Massachusetts thought it had a chance for this project—a project on which $45 billion will be spent to get a man on the moon.

The Bay State had everything going for it to land this project—except the political know-how.

BIG TRY TOO LATE

Ironically enough, it wasn't the Massachusetts politicians who were lacking—most were not even consulted, until after the site had been won by the boys from Texas.

The Bay State business community—recognizing the importance of this project—rolled up its sleeves and used all its brains and ingenuity to put together a presentation to show one and all why the moon lab should be located in Massachusetts.

Trouble was that the same thing happened to the moon lab as happened to the textile industry.

It had gone South before the Bay State even knew it.

One southerner, flushed with victory, had this to say about the Bay State's attempts to get the moon-lab:

"Those boys from Massachusetts are real good guys. But just as in baseball, good guys always finish last in this political arena."

How could a State that has produced the two most powerful men in Government—President Kennedy and Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, blow such an opportunity?

Easy. The Bay State still doesn't recognize or won't recognize that national politics is the lifeblood of its economy.

Both the President and Speaker MCCORMACK—together with the rest of the Massachusetts delegation were condemned after the moon lab was lost.

But were they consulted and impressed with the importance of the project by someone they would listen to before the horse was stolen?

One Bay State Congressman was consulted on the project the day the State was to make its presentation to NASA.

He knew then that the Bay State didn't have a chance but didn't have the heart to tell the home folks.

Southern politicians, because of the one-party system in that section of the Nation, have an edge over Bay Staters.

Because choice committee assignments are won through seniority, the southerners seek out and win the seats on the committees that are of prime importance to them.

They see to it that they control the appointments of heads of important agencies.

And if anyone tries to thwart their appointments, they let it be known that their members of the Appropriations Committee or Ways and Means might hold up money for important projects—such as the moon project.

Massachusetts, on the other hand, elects its officials under the two-party system. And once having elected, as a State, it tends to disregard them.

OTHERS HIRE PROS

When in desperation it needs help from a Congressman, the State, and particularly business groups, tend to use the same methods—and often the same people—it used a generation ago to secure what it needs.

At best it gets a sympathetic ear and no action.

Other States—with the two-party system—fare better. They see to it that they hire political pros to get what they want.

These people are called by many names including that of lobbyist. But they are also called successful.

Where Massachusetts would tend to assign someone this job who knows a politician, these States appoint someone who knows politics.

These pros are able to go to a Congressman or Senator and tell him what the State wants. They have worked out the political details in advance.

They see to it that no labor-business tussle will crop up to give the Congressman involved a chance to "sit out" the battle.

They also spell out to the politicians the need of the project and the consequences he faces if he doesn't produce.

Are there such pros available?

One claimed that Massachusetts—with a native in the White House and in the Speaker's chair—represents a lobbyist's dream.

But will Massachusetts take advantage of it?

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ECONOMIC COUNTDOWN V—NEW ENGLAND WAKING UP

(This final article on the economic future of Boston's science-based industries emphasizes why the area must fight for a fair share of the space dollar, and how this can be done.)

(By Ian Menzies)

New England must be prepared to make an all-out fight for a big space laboratory or space contract from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

It must also seek a part of the Air Force man-in-space project, newly authorized.

WHY NEW ENGLAND MUST FIGHT

The Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, headed by Dr. Earl P. Stevenson, retired chairman of Arthur D. Little, Inc., has made the first move.

A detailed statistical brochure on Greater Boston's educational, industrial, land, and manpower facilities, as well as its transportation, communication, and recreational facilities has been drawn up.

Visits have been made to Washington to discuss prospects with James Webb, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

For the first time some real effort is being made to integrate and utilize New England's quite strategically located congressional delegation to beef up the region's legitimate request for fair contract consideration.

Webb has indicated that only areas where some big organization is prepared to bid for and administer a large contract will have any hope of success.

The Boston chamber group is seeking to set up or interest one company in carrying the administrative ball for the many small companies in this area.

Other areas, such as Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Chicago are pouring money into similar plans and some of these areas are blessed with an ingredient missing in Boston for many a year—industrial entrepeneurs such as Mellon in Pittsburgh.

Although there is little sense in beating a dead horse, it is of some interest and perhaps still useful to examine how New England has wound up in its present somewhat precarious position.

As has been made clear, many of Boston's new science-based industries resulted from Government research originally undertaken at Harvard and MIT.

FIRMS PLANNED AHEAD

When the stage was reached when production became feasible a company was formed, often by the university researcher, and these companies stayed close to the universities which spawned the ideas in the first place.

In the same way some well-established companies moved in with research and development branches in order to keep pace with the new industrial science.

In California the pattern was different. The big airframe companies couldn't move during the transition period from a strictly wartime economy to the new era in the late forties.

But they built up and readjusted their scientific-technical staffs (often paying them for doing nothing) and planned to jump in

when the big rocket-space contracts came along.

Their capabilities were well known and having made staff readjustments they received the fat prime contracts. But now the small companies began to gravitate toward them.

Globe business columnist Peter Greenough reports that Infrared Industries of Waltham had just moved its corporate headquarters to California because its president, E. Douglas Reddan, says, "Most of the business is out there."

Reddan is leaving for California soon.

Dr. Charles A. Coolidge, Jr., vice president of C. & K. Components, told Greenough his company had just lost two contracts totaling $750,000 to California firms.

"These people in California are getting all the business," he says, and statistics bear him out.

Several things might have happened in Massachusetts to offset this inevitable shakeout toward the big Government-favored firms.

NO LACK OF ABILITY

One or both of our two largest companies, Sylvania or Raytheon, could have mushroomed into even larger giants than they are today. Or General Electric might have sought to concentrate its space effort in Massachusetts, or Avco, which moved in more recently, might have bfoadened its effort in this State.

It's true that heavy production facilities are needed to provide companies which can build five-story-high rockets or large capsules but a coordinated effort might have made this possible.

We often forget that Wyman Gordon in Worcester possesses the largest forging press in the free world and outstanding metal working equipment. And there are plenty of test equipment centers.

Only the corporate bodies of these firms can answer why the cooperative bid was not made.

Avco made a strong bid to secure the Mercury capsule project and had it done so the entire New England picture might be different today.

One wonders if these companies got the support they needed from all quarters of the State—banks, legislature, universities, labor, congressional delegations, civic groups, newspapers.

Then again, something else could have happened. MIT could have set up a laboratory which in effect would have done the coordinating for the area.

There are some who feel this may still happen.

California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech) did this for the Government. It set up and manages Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) for NASA. JPL contracts out a large volume of industrial work in California.

EDUCATION FIRST

MIT, concerned about compromising its education function, turned down this idea. It was even reluctant to set up Lincoln Laboratory and later Mitre Corp. for the Air Force.

It hesitated for almost a year before agreeing to take on the Apollo moonshot navigation project at its instrumentation laboratory and only agreed to do this for NASA if it would not be expected to do a large amount of industrial management work.

There are some who may say MIT let us down, but it should be remembered that industry has opposed private universities "getting into our field" and MIT rightly was entitled to consider the danger of comprising its prime purpose—education.

The precedent for setting up a company to coordinate work—the current Boston idea—can be instanced by the Sandia Corp.

This company was organized by Western Electric in 1949 to do the systems engineering job in the gap which existed between the Los Alamos Laboratory (Atomic Energy Commission) and industry. Sandia made extensive use of small businesses.

It is possible that a corporation like Mitre could have been set up here by NASA to do the correlating and administrative job but none of these events occurred, which leaves our industrial science-based future in the balance.

One very encouraging sign, however, though not a solution to the industrial coordination problem which must be resolved if New England's economy is to grow in the years ahead with the new Federal dollar, is NASA's interest in education.

Webb is extremely interested in supporting education financially.

What interests him is MIT's present program to construct five graduate centers with the $66 million now being raised by the second century fund—currently $9 million short of its goal.

The five centers include (1) earth sciences, now building; (2) materials science, to start this fall; (3) life sciences, also to start this fall; (4) aeronautics and astronautics, no date set and (5) communications center, also no construction date.

NASA LOOKS AHEAD

No. 4, which might well be called the Center for Space Science and Engineering, particularly attracts Webb. He would be prepared to filter NASA finances, academic-oriented projects into the center getting out graduates and ideas which NASA needs in the future.

It might well be that the academic part of the Apollo project, now being carried out by MIT's instrumentation laboratory, as well as other instrumentation laboratory projects, would form the core of this center.

Taken one step further the instrumentation laboratory itself might become the focal point of the new center.

If NASA and other Government agencies supplied research money for these new MIT centers, then we might see a repeat of the industrial fallout from the original MIT radiation laboratory—new industries which we don't even visualize yet.

But the most important thing at this time is to capture one of the big new NASA projects or laboratories through consolidated effort, and not to shy away from thinking along lines of fabrication as well as nervous systems.

## National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to grant a Federal charter to the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements, generally referred to as the NCRP. The Joint Committee held hearings on June 4–7 of this year on "Radiation Standards, Including Fallout," and some witnesses indicated the desirability of establishing the NCRP as an independent nonprofit corporation under a Federal charter.

I realize that it is late in the session and that the Judiciary Committee may not be able to give consideration to this matter during the present session of Congress. However, I am introducing the bill now in order to permit time to obtain comments from various interested persons in Government agencies, including the Public Health Service and the Atomic Energy Commission, on this bill.

## The GI Insurance Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, the House rejected last week a Senate-approved plan to reinstate GI life insurance to a potential 16 million veterans of World War II and Korea, and voted instead to limit reopening rights to a possible 1,800,000 service-disabled veterans ineligible for private insurance plans.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my extreme disapproval of the House's action, not because I feel that service-disabled veterans should be denied this life insurance, but rather because I feel that all World War II and Korean war veterans, who courageously fought to preserve those things which we cherish, should equally be eligible for such insurance.

In its original form, H.R. 12333 reopens national service life insurance—for a maximum of $10,000—for 1 year from the date of enactment. The bill covers all individuals—excepting certain Philippine veterans and persons on active duty—who served between October 8, 1940, and December 31, 1956, regardless of whether or not they had insurance at any time during their service. The insurance is entirely limited to permanent plans—ordinary life, 20-pay life, 30-pay life, 20-year endowment, endowment at age 60, and endowment at age 65. No term insurance is provided. Medical examinations, where required, will be at the expense of the applicant. The administrative expenses of this program will be borne by all policyholders. There will be an initial administrative outlay to the Veterans' Administration estimated at $7,716,700 for the first year. However, this is merely a bookkeeping transaction involving no cost to the Government, inasmuch as the bill provides that funds so appropriated shall be repaid to the Treasury by collection of the administrative expenses from the policyholders.

The need for enactment of the original H.R. 12333 is clear. Because of youth and the inexperience which often accompanies youth, many of our veterans did not take advantage of the GI life insurance plan when they were eligible. Still others because of the high rate of unemployment were without jobs, and consequently had to cancel their insurance policies. It was with these men in mind that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs favorably reported H.R. 12333, and it was with these men in

mind that the four major veterans' organizations—American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, AMVETS, and Veterans of Foreign Wars supported the idea inherent in this legislation. But these are just the men who were forgotten when the House voted 124 to 87 to limit reopening rights to service-disabled veterans ineligible for private insurance plans.

I can only concur with J. S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, when he said, "the whole subject has been carefully studied and reevaluated, and I have concluded that the withdrawal in 1951 of the privilege theretofore granted to millions of World War II veterans to secure insurance—many of whom had not yet determined their insurance needs—may well have caused hardship or unwise decision in many instances. I believe, therefore, that an extension of this privilege, for a limited period, to veterans who were previously eligible for insurance by reason of service to their country is appropriate," and hope that the Senate will remedy the House's action by passing H.R. 12333 in its original form.

## Tax Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, on August 2, 1962, I devoted a newsletter to the reasons why I believe a tax cut affecting both personal and corporate income should be initiated.

I have had a great deal of mail, both pro and con, and believe that both sides of an issue as important as this should be fully aired. I am submitting for the RECORD both my newsletter and a letter from a constituent, Mr. F. D. Dysinger, of Round Pond, Maine, in disagreement with my views.

TAX CUTS—CONGRESSMAN STAN TUPPER REPORTS

Although we have recently experienced a slight economic recovery, our country now seems to be on an economic plateau which is reminiscent of that which occurred before the downturn of July 1957. This listlessness and declining rate of growth have led most economists to conclude that we are headed for a recession. Unusual agreement has been reached between business, labor, and economists to the effect that the best stimulus to our sagging economy would be a tax cut—soon. It is generally recommended that this cut be substantial and that it affect both corporate and personal income.

Several factors cause me to favor a reduction in taxes so that a positive influence will be exerted on business activity, earnings, and employment. Recent figures reveal that personal income in June was just barely higher than May; that hours worked per week by factory employees declined both in May and June; that total retail sales dropped from May (and in May sales were lower than in April); and now we learn that our gross national product for the current year is much lower than predicted. If taxable income should decline, the resulting drop in Federal tax receipts will lead to a much greater budgetary deficit than we already expect.

Advantages to a tax cut seem to far outweigh the disadvantages. If personal income taxes are cut now, there would be increased purchasing power which could stimulate the economy by greater expenditures in goods and services. Investment would be stimulated as sales and production capacity is challenged. A rising level of economic activity should generate greater tax revenues, so that the fiscal deficit incurred by tax reduction would be partially offset by taxation on increased profits. I too believe that the cut should be substantial so that the gap between what the economy can produce and the public can buy will be closed.

Although there seems to be general agreement on cutting taxes, the desired mechanism for the cut is another matter. In other words, how much to cut and how to spread the cut among individuals and corporations will be matters of controversy as the hearings progress.

A tax cut now would seem to be practical. This does not rule out a sensible tax reform measure next year which will help cure rather than palliate our diseased economy.

ROUND POND, MAINE,
*August 2, 1962.*

Congressman STANLEY R. TUPPER,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. TUPPER: May I, as a steadfast Republican, voice a mild criticism of your tax views as expressed in May Craig's article, "TUPPER Urges Tax Cut and Substantial One, Too," in today's Press Herald?

It seems to me that there is no evidence of a lack of purchasing power. On the contrary, retail sales are good, savings bank deposits are up, installment purchase loans are down. The figures on unemployment, as given by the President yesterday, indicate an improvement in employment. Very frankly speaking, I think that is "lack of purchasing power" theory is a rationalization advanced by the labor union leaders simply because they would like to have the taxes of lower income persons lowered, and is wholly unjustified by the facts.

I personally believe that the taxes on people with high incomes is unjust and confiscatory. Probably, also these high taxes have gone past the point of diminishing returns, and are an actual cause of unemployment. Nevertheless, I do not believe that these unjust taxes should be lowered at this time, because I do not think they are the prime cause of the present economic unrest. If we are to deal with taxes at this time, our sole purpose should be to act with the purpose of staving off a recession. In my opinion, if a tax cut is needed at all, and I am not sure that one is needed, it should be confined to a reduction of about 7 percentage points in the corporation income tax. We might hope that such a reduction would stimulate business to such an extent that the loss of revenue would be small.

However there is something else that should be said. I believe firmly that a large part of the stock market decline is due to a lack of confidence in the administration. The powers that be in Washington are too subservient to the labor union political machine. They espouse silly policies like reducing taxes on business to stimulate the economy, while, at the same time advocating programs like medicare which would add to the cost of doing business as much as would be saved by a tax reduction. Too much thought is given to actions likely to get the votes of various blocs, instead of looking to the public welfare. The President seems determined to increase the centralization of government, and to lean toward collectivism which certainly increases patronage and the power of the President, but, in practice seems to be extremely inefficient and costly. Worst of all, the President seems to have an obsession for asking for powers that no other President has ever been given. Do you wonder that businessmen are lacking in confidence? Some of the decisions of our Supreme Court tend to scare the average businessman, too. In short, there is more to the slump in the stock market than just taxes. What this country needs is not "a good 5-cent cigar." It needs a good dose of molasses and commonsense.

Very truly yours,

F. D. DYSINGER.

## Hospital Fund Cash Is Still Being Spent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John J. Ford:

[From the Navy Times, Aug. 4, 1962]

HOSPITAL FUND CASH IS STILL BEING SPENT

(By John J. Ford)

Since the questionable legal status of the old naval hospital fund was first brought up two issues ago I have been able to obtain more details of its history—including the fact that money from the defunct fund was spent as late as March of this year. Patients who enjoy the new therapeutic swimming pool at San Diego Naval Hospital can thank the Navy hospital fund even though the fund was abolished in 1943.

Here, chronologically, is something of the history of this fund:

On July 16, 1798, Congress enacted a law setting up the Marine hospital fund for sick and disabled merchant seamen. They started contributing 20 cents a month on September 1 of that year. A year later the Navy and Marine Corps were brought under the law and each officer and enlisted man, active and retired, started contributing 20 cents a month as of September 1, 1799. Those contributions continued unchanged until 1943.

The 20-cent deductions were made by the pay officers and sent quarterly to the auditor of the Navy who credited them to the hospital fund.

A separate fund for the Navy and Marines was established by the act of February 26, 1811. It was given an appropriation of $50,000 out of $73,288.38 in the combined fund. The 1811 act designated the Secretaries of Navy, War, and Treasury as the "Commissioners of Navy Hospitals." The act provided for purchase of sites and building of hospitals, all money to come from the fund. For 20 years nothing much was done in the way of building hospitals and it was later found that much of it was used for illegal purposes, including for pay of Navy men.

The 1811 act also provided the following: For every man in a naval hospital the value of one ration per day was charged against the "Provisions, Navy" appropriation and credited to the naval hospital fund. When men receiving Navy pensions were undergoing treatment in Navy hospitals, their pensions were paid into the hospital fund. All fines imposed by courts-martial were to be paid into the hospital fund.

In 1832 the fund finally had enough money to finance what it had been set up for 20

years before. The Navy Secretary was made sole trustee. Congress appropriated, on July 10, 1832, specific sums out of the fund for the building of hospitals at or near the Navy yards of Charleston, Mass., Brooklyn, N.Y., and Pensacola, Fla., and directed the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the work. Congress also authorized construction of the naval asylum (now the naval home) at Philadelphia in that year and took part of the money from the naval hospital fund.

It is a nice legal question whether the sites of these hospitals were Government owned or were assets of the trust.

A law passed on March 3, 1855, took 10 acres of the land belonging to the naval hospital at Chelsea, Mass., and set it aside for a merchant marine hospital for the Boston and Charleston areas. A law passed June 12, 1858, directed the value of the land—$50,000—should be placed in the credit of the naval hospital fund. Thus it would seem the Congress recognized the assets of these hospitals belonged to the fund and not to the Government generally. Again in 1890, when Congress sold land belonging to a naval hospital to the city of Brooklyn, N.Y., the value of the land—$92,000—was credited to the hospital fund.

The record is not clear as to whether the fund paid all the cost of construction. It would appear that Congress at times made extra appropriations to help complete several hospitals. But it is known that at least three hospitals—those at Portsmouth, N.H., Chelsea, Mass. and Newport, R.I.—were paid for entirely by the naval hospital fund. They cost a total of $847,000 and were considered models of good hospital construction when built. Their value has appreciated to many times their original cost by now.

An act approved May 4, 1878, provided the first annual appropriation—$50,000—from Congress to help support the naval hospital fund. From 1878 to 1908 Congress appropriated some money, in varying amounts, to the fund every year. This practice stopped in 1908.

On June 7, 1900, Congress passed a law that added all forfeitures of money from deserters to the hospital fund.

In 1913, in an appropriation bill rider, the Congress said no hospital could be built or extensions to hospital buildings made unless first authorized by Congress. But the fund swelled during World War I because of the large number of men in service and some of it was used to help with construction projects. By 1943, when Congress abolished the fund, the money was being used solely for operation and maintenance expenses.

How much the fund provided over the years for construction of extensions and additions to hospitals and for repairs and other building projects, is not known, but it ran into the millions. During the time it was in existence the fund was spent for all manner of things, including support of patients in civilian hospitals at home and abroad.

Congress abolished the fund in 1943 at the Navy's request to simplify accounting. The bill as sent to Congress would have continued the contribution on an annual basis—$2.40—and Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, pointed out that the fund would have taken in many millions because of the large number of men in the service during World War II. But Congress stopped the contribution and abolished the fund. As pointed out before, no detailed accounting of the assets of the trust was ever made.

In 1934 a Navy doctor, Lt. Comdr. Paul E. McDonnold, died and left his estate, including some real property, to the Navy Hospital Fund. In 1959, the Government got around to disposing of the property. The Navy Comptroller thought the money from the sale had to go directly into the surplus fund of the Treasury and the Navy had no control of it. The Chief of BuDocks and the Chief of Naval Personnel felt the trust had failed and the matter should be turned over to the Justice Department to see who could do what with the money.

The Navy Judge Advocate General said they were all wrong and the money had to be spent for the purpose the doctor intended. In his decision the JAG said, "neither departmental inaction nor abolition by Congress of the fund has operated to deprive the Secretary of the Navy, as trustee, of any power of disposition he had * * * I perceive no basis for concluding that the action of Congress in 1943 negated the authority of the Secretary to liquidate the real property involved."

In March of this year, $22,650 of the doctor's bequest was given to the San Diego Naval Hospital for a therapeutic swimming pool. Money from the bequest was also given to the Portsmouth, N.H., Naval Hospital ($1,800) and the St. Albans, Long Island, Naval Hospital ($2,500) in March.

The question remains as to whether the abolition of the fund and the subsequent enactment of Public Law 569 of the 84th Congress, which made hospital care for retired servicemen a privilege instead of a right has taken away a right Navy men had by contributing to the fund.

In the letter to the Speaker of the House on May 1, 1943, that asked for the fund to be abolished, the then Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox wrote, "The proposed legislation would change no existing rights to hospitalization."

It may be argued that no specific law was on the book which said retired men had a right to hospitalization but certainly there was an implied contract. The U.S. Government would not have continued to take contributions from men after retirement if it did not expect to furnish them care. Certainly the Government incurred a moral obligation to provide hospitalization.

For those who contributed to the fund and particularly those who were already retired when contributing how much of a right and how little of a privilege they have is still in doubt. One officer did ask for a ruling on his right to hospitalization. He asked specifically if a retired man who contributed to the Naval Hospital Fund has been deprived of his right to hospitalization by Public Law 569. The Judge Advocate General of the Navy, in an opinion written in February of this year, said the question "must be answered in the negative." In other words, the man hasn't been denied any of his rights.

But at some time in the future if a Navy hospital has to turn away one of the ever-growing list of retirees there could be an interesting court test of right and privileges.

## Joseph E. Rhea, Sr., Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and comrade, Joseph E. Rhea, Sr., circulation—suburban, of the Chicago's American, was given a surprise party on his 80th birthday, on August 3, 1962, by the ladies and gentlemen of the Chicago Circulation Department. There were over 100 persons in attendance. A large cake, decorated with "RHEA–80–National Aide de Camp—Veterans of W.W.–1, Inc." was presented to him, along with a large, handsome, 50-star American Chicago-Tribune flag, boxed in red, white, and blue; also a Moroccan-leather pocket secretary.

He was invited the day before, as a surprise. His dear wife and his son, Joseph E. Rhea, Jr., executive vice president of the Segerdahl-Halford Printing Co., Inc., Chicago, were present. He thanked those in attendance, profusely, with deep gratitude. His work among veterans groups marks him as a true patriot and a real American.

We of the Illinois delegation are proud to add our birthday greetings to those of his many friends, to one who has always served others in their troubles and needs.

## Pennsylvania Leads Nation in Rehabilitation Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, over a hundred thousand disabled persons were made employable by public aid in the year which ended June 30, 1962. Pennsylvania led the Nation by rehabilitating over 9,000 persons, or 45 percent more than in the preceding year. New York ranks second with over 7,000, and Georgia was third with over 6,000.

I have attached the report contained in the New York Times of August 19 and this very important and interesting subject for all the Members to read.

PENNSYLVANIA LEADS NATION IN REHABILITATION RECORD: 102,396 DISABLED MADE EMPLOYABLE BY PUBLIC AID IN YEAR ENDED JUNE 30

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

Last Tuesday vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped in the United States passed a historic milestone.

On that day President Kennedy announced that for the first time 100,000 disabled Americans had been rehabilitated into employment in a single year under the public program of vocational rehabilitation.

President Kennedy made the announcement when he greeted Edward A. Friskie, Boswell, Pa., at the White House. Mr. Friskie was selected to represent those who had been rehabilitated.

A former sewing machine operator and mechanic, Mr. Friskie, 36 years old, had been disabled in an automobile accident in 1954.

For 7 years he did not work and with his wife and two children lived off public assistance and a veteran's pension for a nonservice-connected disability.

The Pennsylvania Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation provided him with extensive surgery, prosthetic appliances and a 4-year college education. Since last September, he has been teaching history in the Shanksville High School near Johnstown.

REPORT BY DIRECTOR

At the meeting, Miss Mary E. Switzer, Director of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, reported to the President that 102,396 disabled persons had been rehabilitated into

employment under the State-Federal program during the fiscal year ended June 30.

This was 11 percent more than a year before. The year was the seventh in succession in which a record was established.

Of these 102,396 persons, some 16,700 had been receiving public assistance prior to rehabilitation at the rate of $18 million a year. The cost of their rehabilitation was $17 million.

The group is expected to contribute about 150 million man-hours of work each year to the Nation's productive effort. More than 4,500 of the group, like Mr. Friskie, have entered short-supply professional occupations such as teaching, engineering, medicine, and related health activities.

The group as a whole was earning $47 million a year prior to rehabilitation. They are now earning $205 million a year.

Each will pay $10 a year in Federal income taxes alone for each dollar invested in his rehabilitation.

Pennsylvania led the Nation last year by rehabilitating 9,060 persons, or 45 percent more than in the preceding year. The previous high was set by New York in 1961, with 6,447 rehabilitants.

NEW YORK RANKS SECOND

New York ranked second in the latest year with 7,008, and Georgia was third with 6,105.

It should be noted that in New York, many disabled persons receive services through State agencies that are frequently provided in many other States by the Federal vocational rehabilitation agency.

Vocational rehabilitation is one of the Nation's oldest grant-in-aid programs, dating back to Woodrow Wilson's administration in 1920. It was made a permanent program when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act in 1935. It has traditionally had bipartisan support in the Congress.

In 1954, following the report of a special committee headed by Dr. Theodore G. Klumpp, of New York, the Eisenhower administration recommended and the Congress enacted legislation aimed at increasing the number of persons aided from the 1954 level of 55,825 a year to 200,000.

This program, which has also had strong support from the Kennedy administration, was based on a four-pronged attack on the problems of disability and dependency: (1) Use of increased State and Federal funds for rehabilitation services; (2) recruitment and training of additional numbers of professional rehabilitation workers; (3) establishment of increasing numbers of rehabilitation and workshop facilities; (4) application of new knowledge and techniques which have resulted from increased research.

LEGISLATION FOR EXPANSION

Legislation that would further expand vocational rehabilitation services is before the Congress now.

This legislation (H.R. 12070) would, among other things, establish an expansion fund to assist in initiating projects that are expected to lead to increased services, including grants of $5 million a year for more rehabilitation facilities and workshops. The latter are particularly needed.

The bill would also authorize the States to provide vocational rehabilitation to a disabled person for 6 months while his potentials are being evaluated.

Regulations now permit provision of services only if there is a reasonable chance that the disabled individual can be made employable through such services.

MEASURE IN COMMITTEE

This legislation, which was introduced by Representative ROBERT N. GIAIMO, Democrat, of Connecticut, has received favorable consideration by the House Committee on Education and Labor but is tied up in the House Committee on Rules.

Senate leaders are confident the bill would receive speedy Senate approval if it were passed by the House.

The strong legislative support given by the Congress to vocational rehabilitation during the last 7 years has been a major factor in the achievement of rehabilitating 100,000 disabled persons in a year. This same support must continue if we are to achieve the national objective of double that number of persons served each year.

In his televised report to the Nation last Monday, President Kennedy, in speaking of the Nation's economy, said, "I believe it's important that this country sail, and not lie still in the harbor. Great opportunities lie before us."

The same could be said of our national opportunities and responsibilities in increasing rehabilitation services for the handicapped.

## Big Steel and Big Labor: A Contrast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the York, Pa., Dispatch, Saturday, August 18, 1962. It is factual, written in language all can understand, and requires no further comments:

BIG STEEL AND BIG LABOR: A CONTRAST

Months ago, when the New York electricians won a reduction in the workweek from 30 to 25 hours, the Dispatch forecast the action was likely to be felt throughout the American labor movement.

This prediction may soon materialize.

Meeting in Chicago, leaders of the AFL–CIO just voted to set up a task force to assist locals in bargaining for a 35-hour workweek, a reduction from the customary 40-hour week.

AFL–CIO President George Meany called the shorter workweek a "national necessity." By reducing the number of hours worked, labor hopes to create more jobs.

In the light of past performance, one might have expected President Kennedy to blow his top upon hearing labor's announcement. He didn't.

And so far as anyone knows, FBI agents have not routed any labor leaders from their sleep in the dead of night.

Nor have any SOB's been found in the ranks of labor, which traditionally backs Democratic candidates for office.

These things we point out in the interest of economic stability.

If President Kennedy wants to gain the confidence of business, he must act with equal vigor against any whom he considers to be rocking the Nation's economic boat.

To get the jobs he talks about, Kennedy must have the confidence of business. Industrialists must be assured a fair return on their risk capital.

Creating jobs by trimming work hours and not pay is a neat theory. But where's the money coming from to pay the newly employed?

With business already investing overseas because of the profit squeeze in America, labor's latest demand and the White House silence are not likely to inspire the flow of risk capital into stateside enterprises.

## Expenses Up, Income Down

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to an excellent article appearing in the August 15, 1962, edition of the Santa Paula Daily Chronicle, entitled "Expenses Up, Income Down."

[From the Santa Paula (Calif.) Daily Chronicle Aug. 15, 1962]

EXPENSES UP, INCOME DOWN

Few will disagree with President Kennedy's statement Monday that Federal taxes are too high, restrictive to business expansion and progress and taking too much from individuals. Next year, he said, the administration will urge on Congress legislation designed to reduce personal and corporate income taxes.

That's good news, although Mr. Kennedy will have been in office 2 years when his tax reducing suggestions are submitted to Congress. Where are the 1960 campaign promises of economy? It would seem that a prudent policy would indicate a cut in expenses if tax income is cut.

We have read the President's address on the state of the economy, looking particularly for references to reduction in Federal expenditures. As one might expect, he approached Government expense cuts quite casually. He did say that Secretary of Defense McNamara had estimated a $3 billion saving in coming economy moves, and on other departments "all requests for funds are going to be very sharply judged in this office."

This reads fine. But the President also made some high-sounding remarks, we recall, last fall when he sent a memo to all Federal Department heads requesting reduced expenditures for the 1962–63 fiscal year, and specifically in numbers of personnel. What followed was far from any budget balancing objectives. Civilian Federal employment continues to rise more than 7,000 persons a month. And we ended the last fiscal year on June 30 with a deficit of some $7 billion. This year's deficit will exceed that figure, fiscal authorities say, with estimates up to $12 billion in the red. So, we have to take what Mr. Kennedy says with a grain of salt when he talks about governmental economy.

There is only one answer to lower tax revenues and expanding Federal budgets. That is inflation. Inflation means the dollar buys less. Unless, and until, income and revenue are in balance we continue on a path of capital confiscation through the process of inflation.

We got a little mixed up with his charts which were shown on television. But guess it was intended that way. The President talked about the gross national product being up 10 percent, industrial production up 16 percent, and references were made to disposable incomes, and so on. Our confusion was cleared up somewhat when on later analysis we found that industrial production, for instance, represented a 5-year period, while other charts were either 5-year reports, or where better impressions could be made the figures were for an 18-month period.

All in all it was a good political speech. Mr. Kennedy pledged his administration would safeguard our Nation's economy and assured us that "employment, income,

profits, construction and investment must all move up more quickly." We were even told that the present Congress was a good one but if they would enact some of his legislative proposals it would be better.

Of course, we don't want to stand still in our economy. But let's not forget the Democrats were in control of Congress long before Mr. Kennedy made the White House his residence. Looking back, there was more constructive legislation and congressional action when President Eisenhower, a Republican, was Chief Executive.

The Democratic-controlled House and Senate have demonstrated that they do not have complete confidence in their leader. Mr. Kennedy's record as Senator does not inspire his former colleagues to endorse his every suggestion.

## William G. Simpson Inducted as Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to attend the induction ceremonies of the recently appointed William G. Simpson, of Kenilworth, Ill., as the Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, for the newly established SBA Management and Research Assistance Unit, by SBA Administrator John E. Horne.

With appropriate remarks, Administrator Horne gave a résumé of the duties of the office and the exceptional qualifications of the appointee—Mr. William G. Simpson:

Establishment of a separate operating unit for management and research assistance, headed by a Deputy Administrator, should help us to expand our activities in the vitally important area of management and research assistance.

It is a well recognized fact that management is often the deciding factor between business success or business failure. We plan to start now to develop a long-range program which, in cooperation with Federal and State agencies, and with business and trade organizations, can make a substantial and permanent contribution to the future welfare of American Small Business.

Establishment of a separate SBA Management and Research Assistance Unit is necessitated by the substantially increased responsibilities placed upon the Deputy Administrator for Procurement and Technical Assistance, Mr. Irving Maness, and upon the facilities of his office, as a result of the growing demands made by me upon his experience in the overall operation of the agency. These made it desirable that our management and research assistance program be administered as a separate function.

The five major programs in the fields of management and research assistance are:

First. Management publications—most of them are made available without charge—a series of nine types of publications, prepared primarily by experts in private industry, and covering a wide range of topics.

Second. Administrative management courses cosponsored by SBA with leading educational institutions and distributive education systems, conducted during evening hours, with nominal tuition fees.

Third. Management conferences, usually 1-day meetings, cosponsored by SBA with chambers of commerce, trade associations, and educational institutions.

Fourth. Individual management counseling by personal interview, telephone conversation or correspondence.

Fifth. Management research studies into management problems of general or special interest to small businesses, with results widely disseminated to the small business community.

Mr. Simpson was born in Chicago, August 5, 1923. He was graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, as an engineer, class of 1946, and was awarded graduate degrees in marketing and accounting at the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois.

Since 1954, Mr. Simpson has operated his own business counseling firm in Chicago, specializing in the areas of business reorganization, diversification programs, new product searches and corporate finance. Most of his clients were owners and operators of small businesses.

For 4 years, 1950–54, Mr. Simpson was a consultant in the Chicago office of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, advising clients, both governmental and commercial, in areas of organization, procedures, economic planinng, and finance.

During his service in the U.S. Army, Mr. Simpson served in Honolulu, Hawaii, and later as Chief of the Office of Mobilization Planning, Chemical Corps, Chicago.

The new SBA Deputy Administrator for Management and Research Assistance is a member of the West Point Alumni Association, the Economic Club of Chicago, the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants, the Chicago Athletic Club, and the Lay Advisory Boards of St. Bernard's Hospital and St. Vincent's Home—both of Chicago.

Mr. Simpson is married to the charming former Marilyn Meyer, who was present with their two children, Penny 6, and David 3. The Simpson family now resides at 139 Abingdon Avenue, Kenilworth, Ill.

We, the members of the Illinois congressional delegation, compliment the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, in the selection of such a distinguished and talented Illinoisan in this field who, we are certain, will reflect credit on the administration and merit the confidence of the public in this special service.

## A Positive Act Against Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House a news item from the Wayne Eagle which is published in the congressional district which I have the honor to represent.

It tells of a positive act against juvenile delinquency by Herman Esselman, a man with the courage of his convictions. The news item follows:

Herman Esselman, proprietor of the Valley Snack Shop in the Valley Ridge shopping center of Valley Road and Preakness Avenue, has discontinued sale of all magazines, a primary item in his stock of trade. Esselman, who for many years ran Excel Dairy on Valley Road, was aroused when wholesale magazine vendors refused to allow him to select the magazines and journals for his shelves. He wanted no part of certain magazines aimed at attracting the dimes and quarters of youth because he felt they were off color, with little or nothing of literary value.

Yet, says Esselman, the wholesalers demanded that he carry such trash if he wanted to trade in the better magazines for both youth and adults. That did it, says the likable snack shop operator. Every magazine, good and bad, was removed from the racks. "I have children of my own," he said. "Since I felt they were unfit for them, my conscience certainly wouldn't rest easy if I sold the trash to children of my friends and patrons."

## No Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, the following analysis of the President's recent speech to the Nation on the economy was made by the Stamford, Conn., Advocate. It is so trenchant and to the point that I offer it for the RECORD as the clearest reaction to the speech that I have seen.

NO TAX CUT

President Kennedy, whose TV appearances are usually of top caliber, was not a dynamic young leader last evening. Whether this was due to a lack of determination as to the purpose of the talk or to a lack of familiarity with it was difficult to tell. So lacking was the technical excellence that we have come to expect from our personally attractive leader that he sometimes seemed surprised as the words rolled up from the teleprompter. It is more likely, however, that President Kennedy had not been able to resolve the purpose of the speech and the compromise was uneasy.

The announced purpose was to inform the Nation as to its economic condition. In this Mr. Kennedy was thoroughly confusing. Using carefully selected items and dates he pointed out that our economy now was at a high point. He then said we had to do something to get it rolling again; that we had already done more than had ever been done before in 18 months; that we didn't need tax cuts; that we would have them on January 1; that we might need them sooner. Senator SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, summed up by suggesting that the President was saying, "Everything is just great and it is going to be worse."

If all this was not confusing enough, the President outlined the economic stimulants that had been enacted by the administration and the musts that were needed to stall off a recession until January 1. He called

off a list, not of economic stimulants, but of social welfare programs. These were programs which, far from being stimulants, were depressive because they are responsible in no small part for the tremendous tax burden everyone now admits is handicapping our economic growth.

The President through much of his talk seemed to be making an appeal for political support instead of talking economics. Certainly he couldn't believe that the program he was outlining was a boon to the economy. He virtually admitted this by pointing out that Congress refused to follow him on tax cuts so he would follow Congress.

The talk for no apparent reason included those thinly veiled threats to the business community which invested money abroad. The President is unaware or ignores the economic fact that these investments bring in in dividends more than is taken out each year. They are an advantage in our balance trade.

It was unfortunate that the President did not reach a decision whether to give an economic or a political speech. The combination was completely confusing and might lead some worried citizens to lose faith in the economic acumen of our intelligent, vigorous, and dynamic young leader.

## Confused Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to an excellent article appearing in the August 16, 1962, edition of the Wall Street Journal, entitled "Confused Farmers."

The article follows:

CONFUSED FARMERS: THEY METE OUT JUSTICE UNDER HIGHLY COMPLEX U.S. FARM PROGRAM—LOCAL COMMITTEES FINE PEERS, THOUGH UNCLE SAM'S RULES FREQUENTLY ARE UNCLEAR—A CLOSEUP OF ONE COUNTY

(By William Carley)

VISALIA, CALIF.—A new kind of justice flourishes here in fertile Tulare County—and in other farming areas from coast to coast.

It's administered by farmers, rather than by trained judges and representative jurors. The farmers sit in judgment of their fellow farmers in such cases as these:

Farmer Jones installs an irrigation pipe and asks the Federal Government to partially reimburse him, even though his pipe doesn't quite meet specifications for such aid. How much, if anything, is he entitled to?

Farmer Brown makes an honest error and plants more cotton than allowed him by Government allotment. Is he to be fined? How much?

Farmer Green deliberately exceeds his allotted cotton acreage. How is he to be dealt with?

In each case, three local farmers, elected as a "county committee" by other farmers in the area decided what should be done. Around the country, 3,000 such committees sit in 3,000 different counties. Last year they fined fellow farmers $8.7 million (the Department of Agriculture isn't sure just how many individual farmers were on the receiving end of these penalties). But these committees are armed with a carrot as well as a stick. They distribute thousands of allotments on crops ranging from wheat and cotton to peanuts. Also under a dozen different programs, they parcel out price supports, crop loans and soil conservation aid. All together, last year they dispersed about $2.9 billion of help.

A KEY ROLE

These Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees, to give them their formal title, play a key role in aiding the Federal Government in its efforts to make its vast and complex farm program actually work. And many would defend this system as an admirable attempt to entrust grass roots control of these programs to the people most familiar with the local scene—farmers residing in the area.

Theory and practice don't always coincide, of course. And while no one could fairly expect perfection from such machinery, the Billie Sol Estes case, of recent fame, did turn up this particularly unsettling incident:

County committeemen in Texas approved 3,000 acres of allegedly illegal cotton allotments for Mr. Estes. After one of them admitted being among the legion who accepted gratuities from Billie Sol, he was stripped of his committee post. Indeed, Agriculture Secretary Freeman was sufficiently disturbed to order a reevaluation of the whole committee system. A report on how it might be improved is due Mr. Freeman next month.

In the meantime, some insight into the system, as it works in practice, can be gained by visiting Tulare County, in the southern half of California's bountiful San Joaquin Valley. With much of its 5,000 square miles irrigated from rivers coursing out of the nearby Sierra Nevada Mountains. Tulare County has for years ranked among the richest agricultural counties in the Nation. The county's cotton, grapes, oranges, cattle and other products sold for over $322 million last year; cotton alone brought in better than $50 million.

Cotton is a particularly profitable crop in Tulare; a rule of thumb is that an acre yields about two bales of cotton. This means the farmer stands to make $150 to $175 an acre on cotton against only $40 to $50 an acre on grain crops.

But without a cotton allotment, cotton profits are usually more than wiped out by the Government penalties. When assessing land for collateral, an appraisal officer for the Bank of America in Tulare generally adds $400 to $500 for every acre of allotment, so valuable is the Government's green light to plant cotton.

IN FARAWAY WASHINGTON

Tulare's cotton allotment program, like any other county's, has its start in faraway Washington, D.C. The program seems quite simple; the national cotton allotment is set by Secretary Freeman. This year the allotment is 18,101,714 acres.

Once set, the national acreage allotment is successively parceled out (mainly on the basis of acres planted in previous years), to State committees of farmers, to the county committees, and finally, to the farms themselves. This year Tulare farms got a total of 160,311 acres of allotment, and each farmer got a letter from his local committee stating his exact share.

What seems simple turns out to be complicated in practice, both for the farmers and for their committees who are supposed to see that the rules are followed.

The committeemen don't tackle their administrative chores unarmed, of course. The Agriculture Department provides them with guidance—copious amounts of it. A mass of material rains down on these farmers in the form of fine-print, single-spaced "bulletins" and "handbooks." Unfortunately, the material is legalistic in nature and, often enough, so is the language. It takes 750 words, for instance, to define a farm under the law—and another 700 to explain how to apply the definition.

Consider, "Cotton MQ Bulletin 1, Handbook 5–CN (Revision 3)," a literary work which runs to 13,000 or 14,000 words. Many a farmer must puzzle over this paragraph:

"722.2. Definitions. As used in 722.1 to 722.51 and in all forms and documents in connection therewith, unless the context or subject matter otherwise requires, the following terms shall have the following meanings and the masculine shall include the feminine and neuter genders and the singular shall include the plural number."

Paul Hamilton, short, silver-haired office manager for the Tulare County committee and an old farmer himself, points to shelves stacked with 8 feet 4½ inches of such material on cotton and similar programs, and says resignedly:

"That's what we've got to work with."

If the reading is heavy going, so too is some of the manual work required to administer the farm laws. Once you choose to restrict the acreage a man can put in cotton, you must send someone around to count the number of acres he's actually planted, a seemingly simple task which runs into all kinds of snags.

Some farmers fail to plant their cotton in easy-to-measure rectangles; they follow a zigzag pattern, instead. Sometimes, in irrigated fields the lay of the land dictates odd planting patterns. It is not unknown, however, for a particularly shrewd farmer to make his cotton difficult to measure deliberately—in the hope he can get away with a bit of overplanting.

Each summer a crop of fresh-cheeked college students are turned loose on the countryside in Tulare County to count the cotton acres, as temporary employees of the committee. They get into dreadful tangles. Last year, they toted up their figures and reported 1,300 farms were overplanted. When 255 farmers asked for remeasurement—errors in measuring turned up on 172 of the farms.

Ron Campbell, a county committee staffman, offers an explanation for the confusion: "Engineering students do very well, but those liberal arts students." His voice trails off and he shrugs his shoulders in despair.

If college kids get confused, so do their elders. Mel Adams, a Tulare farmer, is facing a penalty of about $16,000 because he misread a regulation.

Mr. Adams set out to plant his cotton in extrawide rows to get more sunlight on his cotton. Federal rules are designed to compensate a farmer for such planting by allowing him to spread his allotment over more acres than he'd be allotted normally. Though he has a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of California, and has been farming cotton for 30 years, Mr. Adams came a cropper. Listen to his sad tale:

"Before I planted, I checked it very thoroughly. I had the manager of the cotton gin here look at it, and he said it was OK; and I called the county committee office, and the girl there said OK. So I planted about 315 acres of cotton, with the rows just 76 inches apart."

But it wasn't OK; the rows should have been at least 96 inches apart. Because the 76-inch space doesn't qualify him for extra acreage, Mr. Adams is considered planted beyond his 223-acre allotment by some 92 acres. He'll be penalized some $16,000.

Some farmers, such as Mr. Adams, may accidentally violate one or more of Uncle Sam's myriad regulations. But some other farmers do so deliberately, the experience in Tulare County suggests.

Recently a student measuring cotton in Tulare went out on a farm with an 8-acre allotment and found 8 acres of cotton. The farmer assured him that was all the cotton he had planted. But on his way out,

the boy was approached by neighbors. They suggested he go down and look in the farmer's vineyard.

"GET OUT OF THERE"

"The farmer came running down yelling for the boy to get out of there," says Mr. Hamilton, the committee office manager. But it was too late. The boy saw that the old farmer had ripped out 4 acres of vines right near the middle of the vineyard, and hidden away in there, he had planted 4 extra acres of cotton.

When Mr. Hamilton went out to check the next day, the farmer had already plowed the hidden cotton under, he reports.

Trying to ferret out violations, whether deliberate or unintentional, is but one of many chores the county committee performs. Who are these committeemen and how are they chosen?

To answer the second question first, the committees are elected in this fashion: Farmers over the country every year elect three men from their locality to a "community committee." The man polling the most votes becomes chairman. Then the chairmen of all the community committees in the county—14 of them in the case of Tulare County—get together and in turn elect a 3-man county committee.

Democratic as this process seems, it's questionable how many farmers participate in these elections. In Tulare County, it's estimated only 1 in 10 farmers bothers to vote for his community committeemen.

There's other evidence that interest is less than fervid. In the case of one community committee in Tulare County, one of the three committeemen, when first approached said he wasn't certain just who was chairman. Later he said sheepishly: "I asked my wife who was chairman and she told me, 'You dang fool, you're chairman. You get stuff in the mail that says you are.' So I guess I am."

Perhaps the best way to get acquainted with the county committeemen, and the problems they wrestle with, is to sit in on a committee meeting held on a recent Thursday afternoon at the Tulare County agriculture office in Visalia.

AROUND A LONG TABLE

Gathered around a long table in the office's conference room are Office Manager Hamilton, a secretary and the three-man committee: Chairman Charles Slaughter, Milburn Rogers and Raymond Wooley. The men are all in sport shirts, khaki pants and work boots.

When a visitor, talking with committeemen about any legal training they may have had, asks if any have passed the bar, he draws this response from 70-year-old Mr. Wooley:

"Never passed any bar intentionally." In a more serious vein, he says: "I've only finished ninth grade, and the other committeemen have a year or two of college. But we don't need a college degree for this job. What's needed is farming experience, and we all have years of that."

All also have served in various local civic capacities: Mr. Wooley is former president of the Rotary Club in his community; Mr. Rogers was a PTA president last year; Mr. Slaughter is on the board of the cotton gin co-op in his area.

Opening the meeting, Mr. Hamilton announces:

"First request on the agenda is from Martin Michaelis."

Mr. Michaelis, who has just put in an irrigation pipeline on his farm, used a small trench digger to avoid piling dirt on nearby plants. As a result, part of the pipeline isn't 18 inches deep as required to qualify the project for a soil conservation subsidy

"Can we approve part of the line, but not all of it?" asks Mr. Hamilton.

"Ha," says Mr. Rogers, swinging his booted feet up on top of the conference table. "That's like being half pregnant."

WORKING IT OUT

"Where's the pipeline?" Mr. Slaughter asks Mr. Hamilton.

"In an orchard."

"Well, that 18-inch rule is just to protect the pipe from heavy equipment, and he isn't going to have any heavy equipment in an orchard; he'd damage the tree roots. Does not that regulation say the pipe has to be 18 inches except when local conditions do not permit?"

"Yes," says Mr. Hamilton.

"Then let's put it under that local conditions paragraph," suggests Mr. Slaughter. He adds in a firm voice: "Approved."

The others nod. Mr. Michaelis will get his subsidy.

Another case involves cotton allotments for Wayne Murray and Andy Wheat, whose farms are separated by a river. Recently the curving river was straightened, causing Mr. Murray to claim 9 more acres of land, with 3 more acres allotment, on his side of the river. Mr. Wheat, however, also claims the land and the allotment, and the case is going to court. But meanwhile, both farmers have planted cotton under the disputed 3 acres of allotment.

Should neither one, or both, be allowed to use the 3-acre allotment?

Says Mr. Slaughter, "We'll let Wheat plant under his regular allotment, which includes the 3 acres. And we'll let Murray go as 'unknowingly overplanted' this year so he won't be penalized for the 3 acres."

IN FAVOR OF THE FARMER

Some county committeemen, when they don't understand the regulations, have been known to assume they're in favor of the farmer. Consider the case of L. H. Bendoski and Dr. Arthur Carlson who, improperly although apparently unintentionally, switched 100 acres of cotton allotment for 3 years in Tulare County.

Late in 1957 Mr. Bendoski wanted an additional allotment, but he couldn't buy or rent one; this is illegal. However, since cotton allotments are made to farms (not to the farmers themselves), he bought Dr. Carlson's nearby 320 acres which carried a 100-acre allotment. He was entitled to the allotment along with the 320 acres.

The county committee approved the transfer of allotment, but to make sure the allotment alone wasn't traded and the land turned back to Dr. Carlson, Mr. Bendoski had to promise to actually farm the land himself.

Nevertheless, from 1958 to 1960 Dr. Carlson farmed the land. The violation was accidentally discovered late in 1960 and both men were penalized.

But why didn't Jackson Phillips, county committeeman in 1958, spot the violation long before? Mr. Phillips farmed right across the road from Dr. Carlson's 320 acres for years, and he saw the doctor's men farming the 320 acres in 1958, when Mr. Bendoski was supposed to be farming the land.

In a hearing held earlier this year, Mr. Phillips testified that he thought Mr. Bendoski had leased the land back to Dr. Carlson, but he didn't seem sure this constituted a violation. His confusion is readily understandable; in some cases a leaseback is permissible, in some cases it's not, and it sometimes comes down to splitting hairs to determine which is which, an agriculture official concedes.

AN ASSUMPTION WAS MADE

In any event, Mr. Phillips apparently just assumed that a lease was permissible and so didn't even bother to investigate. Asked an incredulous Government attorney at the hearing:

"Although you yourself suspected there might be a leaseback agreement, as you stated, you made no further inquiries, or didn't investigate that any further?"

Mr. Phillips: "No, I don't believe we did at the time."

In at least one case a county committee staff member did not make any bland assumptions about the rules; he just evaded them. Joe Short, office manager for the Pinal County Committee in Arizona, sold cotton allotments, some of which didn't even exist, for some $20 an acre between 1954 and 1957. Mr. Short's scheme worked this way:

Through a clerical error, Panol Farmer Julian Woodruff got a duplicate allotment of about 74 acres. Mr. Woodruff's wife informed Mr. Short, but instead of voiding the duplicate, as is normally done, Mr. Short transferred it to an abandoned farm, listed as farm 595. He then invented a farmer whom he named, "W. R. Burns."

For about $20 an acre, Mr. Short leased "Mr. Burns'" farm, and its cotton allotment, to a real live Pinal farmer, Rex Neely. He also made up some six additional acres of allotment out of thin air and sold them to Mr. Neely. By 1957 Mr. Short had collected some $4,780 this way.

But someone tipped off Agriculture Department officials. Following an investigation, Mr. Short was tried and convicted of accepting bribes and making false record entries. He was sentenced to 6 months in jail and placed on 5 years' probation. Mr. Neely was found guilty of bribing Mr. Short and was fined $1,000.

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## Comparing Recoveries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, since the President's review of the Nation's economy last week, many of us have pointed out that a number of important facts were omitted from that report. One of these is the fact that the economy has failed to rebound as strongly in the last year as it did after previous business recessions.

The Buffalo Evening News presented an analysis of this business lag in its editorial columns of August 15, 1962, and I request unanimous consent to have the editorial "Comparing Recoveries," printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of all concerned.

The article follows:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Aug. 15, 1962]

COMPARING RECOVERIES

In his no-tax-cut speech President Kennedy pointed rather proudly to six charts labeled "Indicators of Recovery." These showed varying rates of increase in the last 18 months for production, incomes, profits, etc.

What the charts did not show, though, is how this recovery compares with those following the three other post-World War II recessions. Yet this is the whole story—the lagging pace of this recovery—that has provoked all the concern among economists and all the clamor for tax reductin to spur the economy's growth.

Here, as nearly as we can calculate them, are the approximate comparisons Mr. Ken-

nedy did not give—showing how the six figures he used (first column) compare with the recovery pace during the similar 15- to 18-month periods following the 1958, 1954, and 1949 recessions:

[Percent]

| | 1961–62 | 1958–59 | 1954–55 | 1949–50 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gross national product (up) | 10 | 12 | 11 | 16 |
| Unemployment rate (down) | 22 | 34 | 42 | 66 |
| Wages and salaries (up) | 10 | 10 | 10 | 15 |
| Industrial products (up) | 16 | 26 | 13 | 34 |
| Disposable personal income (up) | 5 | 8 | 9 | 14 |
| Corporate profits before taxes (up) | 26 | 63 | 33 | 82 |

Thus, the recovery of the last 18 months, while entitling the President to point to economic gains since he took office, has been slower when measured against any one of his indicators than the average pace following the last three recessions. Nothing there to boast about.

The charts used in this speech, in short, were geared to a political timetable, not to any economic yardstick.

Politically, this administration (having only presided over a slow-gaited recovery phase of the business cycle) is naturally interested in comparing where we are now with where we were when it came in. But to every economist—including this administration's top economic advisers—the only really significant comparisons are between the pace of this recovery and that of previous recoveries.

And this comparison, as the President well knows, gives more cause for concern than satisfaction. For "the fact of the matter is that there's been a slowdown in our growth * * * really since the beginning of 1957." And this problem his administration is thus far no closer to solving than was its predecessor.

## Have Navy Retireds Been Deprived of Hospital Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John J. Ford:

HAVE NAVY RETIREDS BEEN DEPRIVED OF HOSPITAL RIGHTS?

(By John J. Ford)

The question of adequate medical care for retired military men has gotten increasing attention of late. It will get increased attention in the coming years as the retired rolls swell. Some 362,000 will be on the rolls in fiscal 1963, an increase of 48,000 over the present year. By 1979, over 1 million will be on the retired list. Medical care for these people is getting attention from two sources, those who want to assure that they get care and those who don't want the Government to pay for it. So far, the latter group appears to be ahead.

The House Appropriations Committee has told Defense not to plan on retired people in building new hospitals and Defense has, accordingly, reduced the capacity of planned hospitals. Retired people are eligible for care in military hospitals on a space-available basis. With Defense's new approach and with steadily increasing size of the retired group, it won't be long before very little space is available.

In the case of the Long Beach naval hospital, the Senate cut to 350 beds the 500-bed structure asked by Defense. While nobody is saying so publicly, the real fight over size was due to the belief that only part of the request was really needed for active duty people and that the rest of the beds would be used for retired personnel.

Early this year, Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, pointed out that before 1943, Navy people contributed 20 cents a month to a hospital fund and because of this they always believed they would receive hospital care when retired. They should get it, HÉBERT says. Many retired Navy men will also tell you, often in rather bitter tones, that they were also led to believe their contribution would assure care after retirement.

I would like to use this fund idea, in this and succeeding columns, to propose a possible solution to the vexing problem of care for the aging military man.

But first, let's look into the history of this hospital fund, which was surely one of the most enduring laws on the books, and which leaves some very interesting and unanswered questions about the rights of retired Navy men to hospital care. The fund grew out of a law passed in 1799 by the third session of the fifth Congress that authorized the Secretary of the Navy to deduct 20 cents a month from the pay of each officer, seaman, and marine and give it to the Treasury for a special hospital fund. The law amended a 1798 law providing hospital care for merchant seamen.

An act of 1811 amended the 1799 law to provide a separate fund for the Navy and allow using it for building hospitals. It set up a Commission on Hospitals to select sites and required the fund to provide permanent asylum for "disabled and decrepit Navy officers, seamen, and marines." The law also provided that all fines from courts-martial and all money forfeited by deserters were to be paid into the fund.

The problem had been that Navy men were cared for in civilian hospitals and the service had no control of the quality of care or of the men. Of $73,000 in the fund in 1811, $55,000 was contributed by Navy men and marines. Of this $50,000 was taken out to start the Navy fund. The rest was left in a merchant seaman's fund.

There was some trouble in the early years when it was found the funds were illegally used for other purposes—including pay of personnel. But it was straightened out, the Secretary of the Navy replaced the Hospital Commissioners as sole trustee of the fund and in July 1832 Congress appropriated money from the fund—not from the U.S. Treasury—to build hospitals at Brooklyn, N.Y., Pensacola, Fla., and Boston, and the Naval Home in Philadelphia.

An interesting thing about the fund is that the contribution was always 20 cents. Back in the days when a sailor made a cool $9 a month, that was a healthy sum. All Navy men, active and retired, contributed and all retired men got care at Navy facilities.

On several occasions Congress took actions that clearly recognized the assets belonged to the trust. For example, when the land of the old Brooklyn hospital was sold in 1890 for $92,000, the money was credited to the fund.

The naval hospitals at Chelsea, Mass., Portsmouth, N.H., and Newport, R.I., were built with money from the fund. Not a penny of Government money went into their original construction. Over the years the fund provided over $2 million for construction at various hospitals.

There were half a million dollars in the fund when Congress voted to abolish it in 1943. The law, Public Law 73 of the 78th Congress, abolished only the fund. It provided the money was to be put in the General Treasury of the United States.

But it did not liquidate the assets of the trust. There is no legislation which especially relieves the Secretary of the Navy of his responsibilities for the trust. There is even a Navy Judge Advocate General's opinion of March 1959 which said that neither Navy Department inactivity or any action of Congress has deprived the Secretary of the Navy of his powers for running the trust. There is no record of the Government legally taking over assets of the trust.

You could even start a nice legal argument as to whether the trust still owns some Navy hospitals.

Though it has never been made public, there is even a JAG opinion which says nothing in the law operates to deprive a Navy man who had contributed to the fund of his rights under the trust. Presumably, that would mean he still has a right to hospital care.

But the Congress, through its appropriation action, has said retired men don't have a right to care—only a privilege. A privilege to be granted if space is available.

It is not inconceivable that some day a retired Navy man who had contributed to the fund and who was denied care in a Navy hospital might go to court to find out just what his rights are.

It is interesting to find that during the hearings in 1943, committee members foresaw what might happen. Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, then chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, repeatedly questioned whether men would be as well taken care of when hospital costs were met by direct appropriations. Of a fleet reservist, he said, "he has acquired his right by his contribution."

The Navy asked the fund be abolished at that time to simplify accounting. Deducting 20 cents a month from every man's pay was burdensome, particularly in the combat zone. The bill as sent to Congress would have taken an annual deduction of $2.40 to be paid directly to the Treasury by the Navy. This, it was discovered, had been added by the Budget Bureau. The committee cut it out on the grounds Navy men shouldn't have to pay for things Army men get free.

In presenting the bill Rear Adm. L. Sheldon, Jr., Marine Corps, said this: "We had thought at first we would ask to have it done away with for the duration of the war, and then, after further thought on that, the Surgeon General decided we could trust the Congress to give us the money * * * and that it would not be necessary to go back to this tax." The Surgeon General, it seems, was too trusting in one respect.

Representative George Bates (father of the WILLIAM BATES who is now a member of the Armed Services Committee) wanted the $500,000 in the fund at that time to go to Navy relief or some other fund for Navy people: "This is the naval personnel's money and I would go so far as to have the money turned over to a proper relief organization in the Navy for their own use and benefit."

Representative Mel Maas told him it was a worthy objective but "you'll never pass the bill that way." Maas, who later went on active duty as a brigadier general in the Marines and who refused to stop working even though it meant the loss of his sight, led the movement in the subcommittee to approve the bill abolishing the fund. His main point was that the contribution was an arbitrary checkage against Navy men and Marines while the Army got care without such contributions. It was he who moved to amend the bill by striking out the Budget Bureau's $2.40 a year clause. He pointed out that Army dependents used to get care at minimum cost while Navy families did not.

Representative Patrick H. Drewry, Democrat, of Virginia, was against abolishing the contribution: "It strikes me this is a kind of insurance that the men are getting for themselves by paying this small amount, * * * It is perfectly right if the man doesn't mind doing it and if it gives better hospitalization."

I will refer to the curious history of this fund again next week to propose something that might insure better hospitalization for all service retired people and a return of rights to these Navy men. But to keep the thinking caps on, think of the fund that could be built up with 20 cents a month or a bit more from each person on the ever-growing retired rolls and reflect how many would have objected to $2.40 a year contribution to assure medical care after retirement.

Another congressional development: Senate Judiciary subcommittee staff members have been touring bases in Europe in connection with their probe of how servicemen's constitutional rights are protected. The group is hoping to have a report ready before the end of this session. It will probably recommend some changes in the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

## Quality Stabilization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial from the Rochester Courier, the Rochester Observer, and Newmarket News, Rochester, N.H., of April 26, 1962, "Perversion of Advertising."

The editorial discusses the testimony Mr. Michael Daroff, president of Botany Industries, gave recently before the Senate committee considering quality stabilization legislation.

Mr. Daroff has been in the business of manufacturing nationally advertised brands of men's clothing for 40 years. He estimates he has spent more than $40 million in advertising to promote his brand name, the business of his 2,700 independent dealers, and to protect the consumer.

Mr. Daroff urges passage of the quality stabilization legislation because consumers "need the protection of the quality stabilization bill which would give the trademark owner the right to deny the use of his trademark to those retailers using deceptive and dishonest practices upon unwary customers."

Mr. Daroff, whose outstanding experience qualifies him to speak with authority on this important subject, is joined by the clothing industry at large and many other American manufacturers in urging passage of this very much needed legislation.

The editorial follows:

[From the Rochester (N.H.) Courier, the Rochester Observer and Newmarket News, Apr. 26, 1962]

PERVERSION OF ADVERTISING

"Who steals my purse, steals trash," wrote Shakespeare some time ago. "But he that filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, and makes me poor indeed."

Which is roughly what Michael Daroff, president of Botany Industries and manufacturer of two nationally-advertised brands of men's clothing, told the Senate Commerce Subcommittee that is currently pondering a bill to protect hard-won public good will from retail gyp artists.

Mr. Daroff has been in the business 40 years, began producing brand-name clothing 21 years ago and now makes over a million units a year. Since then, he estimates, he has spent more than $40 million in advertising to promote his brand name, the business of his 2700 independent dealers and protect the consumer. The latter, he says, is confused by the current "revolution in retailing," is at the mercy of many "sharp operators." He needs the protection of the quality stabilization bill "which would give the trademark owner the right to deny the use of his trademark to those retailers using deceptive and dishonest practices upon unwary customers."

In his testimony, Mr. Daroff cited the case of a discounter who advertised one of his brands at "an extremely cut-rate price." A clothing expert whom he sent out to "shop" this bargain reported 150 of the nationally branded suits priced as "bait" for the gullible and 700 cheap suits with an unknown label at the same price. On asking about the shoddy suits, the shopper was told they, too, "were made by the 'Botany 500' firm. They just put a different label on them."

Unless the quality stabilization bill is passed, declared the witness, his firm cannot protect its brand names and the small businessmen throughout the country who are its dealers from such unprincipled operators. Nor can a brand-name manufacturer protect his public if that name is permitted to be used as a decoy to attract customers who are then switched to cheap, poor quality unidentified clothing. The net result, he said, can only be higher prices, not lower.

We suspect Mr. Daroff's sentiments are shared not only by the clothing industry at large, but by American manufacturers in general—and certainly by all reputable retailers. And we, the customers, join in applauding him when he says:

"We are old-fashioned enough to believe that we can never go broke by giving the consumer as much as he pays for and a little bit more. We are not trying to be noble or generous. We simply know this is good business."

So, we would think, is that quality stabilization bill.

Mr. Speaker, a significant clarification of the discounter's interest in the quality stabilization bill has been made possible by Earl Lifshey in his widely read column of August 10 in Home Furnishings Daily. Mr. Lifshey quotes D. Buddy Goldman, vice president of the nationally known Todd's Discount Stores of Washington, D.C., who says the quality stabilization bill is in the best interest of the retailer—including the discounter—and the consumer.

Mr. Goldman's frank comments serve to correct a basic misconception regarding the quality stabilization bill. This bill is not directed against any class of reseller, but is directed specifically at unfair practices, regardless of who commits them.

Mr. Goldman further makes abundantly clear that the quality stabilization bill is completely harmonious with our free competitive enterprise system. Mr. Goldman says that if a manufacturer believes it can successfully merchandise its products and compete with others on a resale price maintenance basis, why shouldn't it have the right to do business that way?

When the quality stabilization law is enacted, the brand name manufacturer will have a choice to take risks in marketing his products by specifying certain conditions governing the use of his trademark. The manufacturer can either use the law or forget it. And both the consumer and the reseller will similarly have complete freedom of choice under a quality stabilization law.

The complete text of Mr. Lifshey's recent column follows:

[From the Home Furnishings Daily, Aug. 10, 1962]

IF YOU ASK ME

(By Earl Lifshey)

WASHINGTON.—When a man bites dog, that's news, as we say in the trade. And when a well-known discounter says he believes in price maintenance—but not for the reasons usually attributed to discounters—that is news too. Or at least it sounds like it.

"I sincerely believe a manufacturer of branded merchandise should have the right to establish and maintain the retail selling price on his merchandise if he so desires," D. "Buddy" Goldman, vice president of Todd's Discount Stores, here, told me. "And you can quote me on that. Yes, I'm in favor of the quality stabilization (or so-called Madden or Harris) bill now before Congress. And I'm not saying that because I'm thinking of established list prices that discounters can cut. I just think a manufacturer should have as much freedom of choice as anyone else."

Coming from such a spokesman those words take on added interest. Todd's, it will be recalled, has been doing battle for some time now with the FTC on the much-publicized matter of using list prices, and now has its case on appeal to the full Commission. If it loses, it plans to take its case to the courts. Meanwhile, it enjoys the questionable distinction of being almost the only retailer in this area to continue the use of manufacturer's list prices in its advertising.

"Where a manufacturer wants to maintain his prices and he has the right to do so we respect that right," the Todd official explained. Prices on Corning glassware are maintained in the firm's Maryland stores where there are fair trade laws, but in the District of Columbia stores, where there is no such law, prices are cut, he said. "It's our right to do that if we want to. Of course, if there were a law here we'd respect it just as we do in Maryland."

The absence of such a law, he continued, has hurt not only manufacturers and retailers but the consumers as well. "Let me give you a good example—the Sunbeam hair dryer. If I'm not mistaken, Sunbeam originated the hooded hair dryer; it's a very good item but we haven't carried it for about a year and a half now and we don't intend to.

"Why? We can't afford to; it's been footballed to death so that there's no longer any money in it. Yet people keep coming in to ask for it and no doubt it's costing Sunbeam money to create that demand. But we can't accommodate the people who want it. Either they have to accept something else—which they might not feel is as good—or go elsewhere. If Sunbeam believes it can successfully merchandise its products and compete with others on a price maintenance basis, why shouldn't it have the right or choice to do business that way?"

Well, that's what the man said.

## Resolutions of Zionist Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions adopted at the recent national convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Washington, D.C. These resolutions commend themselves as thoughtful and realistic guidelines to promote Middle Eastern peace in the national interest of the United States. They deserve the attention and study of the Congress:

RESOLUTIONS ON U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

We note with appreciation the eloquent words of the President of the United States in his warmly worded message to this convention: "This Nation, from the time of President Woodrow Wilson, has established and continued a tradition of friendship with Israel because we are committed to all free societies that seek a way to peace and honor, individual right. We seek peace and prosperity for all of the Middle East, firm in our belief that a new spirit of comity in that important part of the world would serve the highest aspiration and interest of all nations." We urge upon our Government resolute and consistent measures to promote these ends and thus counter the mounting dangers to the peace of the world inherent in the threat of a new conflagration in the Middle East.

1. Policy of belligerency maintained by the Arab States is a continued threat to the goals of peace striven for by the United States and the free world. This policy of Arab belligerency expresses itself in boycott and threats of warfare against Israel. In recent months this culminated in Syrian acts of aggression on Israel's northern border which forced Israel to resort to measures of self-defense. We deeply deplore the action of the U.N. Security Council on censuring Israel for what was an act of self-defense as a grave miscarriage of justice and regret that the U.S. representative supported that resolution.

2. We note with growing concern the continued threats of the Arab countries to renew full-scale hostilities, threats escalated through the stepped-up flow of modern arms to the Arab countries, and in particular to Egypt, supplied by the Soviet Union. This flow of arms threatens to create an imbalance in the Middle East, which might be an open invitation to the renewal of hostilities and thereby constitute a grave threat to peace.

3. The spirit of comity in the Middle East, which we support, demands ever-increased economic development of the area. This economic development, however, has been retarded by the increased resources devoted to armaments. The armament burden borne by the Middle East countries constitutes a heavy liability on the economy of those nations, depressing the standards of living of the peoples of the entire region. We therefore urge upon our Government continued generous and farsighted aid to the region, taking into account that such aid should not contribute to the military buildup of those states threatening the stability of the entire Middle East.

4. American economic aid has made a major contribution to the progress and well-being of the State of Israel. Israel has demonstrated that it can make the most effective use of this aid, helping it to achieve a standard to fill the rising expectations of its growing population. We urge our Government to continue this policy.

5. The Arab refugees are being exploited by the Arab leaders in order to exert pressure on Israel. We are convinced that this issue should be squarely faced by our Government * * *.

6. Being convinced that peace and stability of the Middle East can only be achieved through the abandonment of the attitude and hostility maintained by the Arab governments in the Middle East, we regret that U.S. representatives found it necessary to oppose the resolution sponsored by 16 small nations during the 16th U.N. General Assembly advocating direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations. In this connection we recall the words of President Kennedy at the 63d Annual Convention of the ZOA in New York on August 25, 1960: "I propose to waste no time in taking the initiative" (in speaking of direct negotiations). We call upon our Government to press for the settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute peacefully through direct negotiations, even as the United States stands for this same approach in all issues of international conflict.

The Zionist Organization of America, deeply convinced that peace to the Middle East can only come through agreement and not by force, wholeheartedly endorses the recent declaration by Members of the House of Representatives of the United States, by a substantial majority of their numbers, from which we quote: "We believe that the issues which divide Israel and the Arab States must be resolved in the spirit and the service of peace. This can be done only after leaders of Israel and the Arab nations agree to meet honorably in recognition of the mutual right to free existence in peace. There is no effective alternative."

In this spirit we urge upon our Government the practical application of these principles through a dynamic and unequivocable policy designed to promote the constructive pursuits of peace and the strengthening of freedom.

## Embottled Fidel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, of necessity we maintain a close surveillance of the situation in Cuba and examine the prospects whereby the Cuban people might be freed from their present Communist government. The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial appearing last Friday, August 17, reported on some recent developments within the country. I believe their comments are of such a penetrating nature that they should be called to the attention of the Members of Congress. I therefore insert the editorial entitled "Embottled Fidel" in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

EMBOTTLED FIDEL

The word from Havana is that Fidel Castro is drinking more and more heavily. What particularly worries his colleagues, it seems, is that the drunker he gets, the longer he insists on performing before the television cameras. There is nobody who dares to shut him off the air.

We can understand the frustration of a man whose rash promises of plenty have turned into a nightmare of shortages. Nearly everything that the Cuban needs is rationed or unavailable, and now even the sugar crop—Cuba's only significant source of foreign exchange—has proved to be only two-thirds of its normal size—thanks to the "natural calamities" which seem to occur whenever a country tries to socialize its farms.

To fulfill their barter commitments to Russia and have any sugar left to sell elsewhere, Cubans will have to get along on next to no sugar themselves—and this means no rum. Fortunately Castro can still obtain the rum with which to drown his sorrows. Most Cubans may, if they wish, sit up all night, vicariously satisfying their thirst by watching their leader perform on television, and reflecting on the great and noble achievements of socialism.

## The Federal-Aid Roadbuilding Program in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, during the past 2 years, Massachusetts has been the subject of a considerable amount of unfavorable publicity concerning its Federal-aid roadbuilding program.

At this time it is pleasant for me to call to the attention of my colleagues that currently and for sometime the Federal-aid roadbuilding program in the Bay State, under the capable and constructive direction of the department of public works commissioner, Jack Ricciardi, has been operating under new rules and procedures to eliminate waste and inefficiency, and to give the motorist more for his gasoline tax dollar.

It is a testimonial to the abilities of Jack Ricciardi that the roadbuilding program is progressing in such a manner that the Bay State is now only the fourth State down in the national average in getting its interstate work under construction.

Among the certain reforms and innovations that have been instituted or expanded by Jack Ricciardi during the past 2 years and have resulted in Massachusetts interstate roadbuilding program making great progress and obtaining commendation—have been:

Right-of-way: The review appraiser's section has been established in the right-of-way division to provide additional complete review of all appraisals submitted and to establish a damage figure acceptable to the Bureau of Public Roads.

The standard department appraisal report form has been drastically revised to comply with the latest requirements of the bureau of public works. New sheets covering lists of comparable sales and analysis of comparable sales have been added to the standard appraisal form to satisfy the Bureau of Public Roads documentation requirements.

A member of the right-of-way office staff has been delegated to act as liaison

between the right-of-way division, the department of public works voucher and accounting section, and the bureau of public works division audit office.

Waterways division: In the past, consultant contracts were open-end contracts, so-called, which meant a contract was written with an authorization for a certain amount, and if there were need of an additional allotment, a report would be presented to the board for approval and the amount of the contract would be increased by the amount of the approved allotment. Under the present system all consultant contracts now contain a statement, as follows

The total payment under all items of this contract shall not exceed the sum of $———.

This results in a more positive check of funds expended for consulting services.

In the past, division personnel previously investigated and reported as to the lowest responsible bidder on waterways construction contracts. Under the present system, this function has been transferred to the highway contract engineer, in order to coordinate and prevent duplications of work by the highway and waterways sections.

In the past, the accounting and finance functions of the waterways were handled by a section of the division. Under the present system, the accounting functions and records of the division are under the supervision of the supervisor of the fiscal management of the department.

Designs and construction: The department now requires consultant design engineers to carry a professional services liability insurance that shall indemnify and save harmless the Commonwealth, its officers, agents and employees from claims, suits, actions, damages, and costs of every name and description resulting from errors and omissions in the work performed by them.

The department has revised the method of computation and payment on consultant design engineer contracts based on a predetermined table of unit prices in lieu of actual construction bids.

Written certification is now required of contractors verifying that the work for which they are being paid on semimonthly pay estimates has in fact been done.

All project personnel are now required to keep diaries over and over the diary kept by the resident engineer for check-and-balance purposes. These diaries must be initialed by the construction engineer in the district.

Location and survey: The department, in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Roads and the U.S. Geological Survey, has now in operation a statewide mapping for the inventory of sources of construction material.

Employing photogrammetry, the department introduced a new method of preparing plans of highways as built.

Traverse notebooks used by survey parties have been redesigned so that traverse information can be readily transferred to punchcards for electric computer calculations.

Traffic: For years this department had used automatic traffic counters to determine information required by the bureau of public works. The dissemination of this information on the tape into useful form was a long and tedious process. Last year, 40 electronic-type devices on which the information is recorded on a punch tape was put into operation. Now, information which formerly took days of manual labor can be obtained automatically in minutes.

Previous to 1961, exit numbers on limited access highways consisted of a distinct number for each exit. In cases such as full cloverleafs, for instance, there would be two numbers at the same interchange, that is a separate number for each respective exit ramp. In 1962, a new system was put into effect in which a single number was assigned to each interchange. In the case of a full interchange, such as a cloverleaf, the letters "N," "S," "E," or "W" were added after the number to indicate the direction in which the motorist would be traveling upon reaching the connecting roadway. At intersections, such as diamond interchanges, and those in which ramps were missing in certain quadrants, the cardinal direction letter would be omitted. The value of this new type of marking is that the respective interchanges are numbered consecutively and that a motorist knows immediately by the designation of the exit whether that particular exist is to the north, south, east, or west and wherever he sees an exit so marked he can presume that there is another exist for the opposite direction. He can also presume that in the absence of a cardinal direction letter there is only one point of exit at this particular interchange. This particular method of exist marking was developed entirely by this department and has received considerable widespread favorable comments.

## Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy To Take Possession of Naval Oil Shale Reserves

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I do not think we need to debate the merits of this resolution. I only want to make one observation. Even though this particular source of natural gas is to be developed by the Federal Government, the Committee on Rules was assured the distribution of it is to a non-Federal responsibility. It is to be by a non-Federal distributing corporation. The record is to be made abundantly clear that we are not establishing a precedent for engaging the Department of Defense in developing this natural resource or any other similar source of energy.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time and I urge the adoption of the resolution.

## Too Many Drug and Pill Racketeers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, H. B. Snyder, editor and publisher of the Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune calls on the Congress to act in this session on legislation to protect the health of millions from the "goof pill" menace.

The editorial follows:

HAPPY PILLS AREN'T ENOUGH

The tragic story of thalidomide, which has been indicted for causing deformities in thousands of infants, concerns more than the issue of better regulation of new drugs.

The need for tighter control over testing procedures appears clear. Thalidomide has dramatized the situation and, unless Congress gets even further bogged down, some sort of a law dealing with it should be enacted in this session.

But the whole matter raises the fundamental question of why so many modern men—or more particularly, women—seem to have become so dependent upon pills to help them face the strains of living.

Undoubtedly the new transquilizers have been a major medical discovery. They are becoming an increasingly valuable adjunct in the treatment of mental illnesses.

But their eager acceptance by average, "normal" persons who gobble them up by the billions each year, may constitute for some a flight from reality not dissimilar to that of the alcoholic.

A psychiatrist, Dr. Don D. Jackson of Stanford University's Palto Alto Medical Research Foundation, recently warned that the current emphasis on "happy pills" in the treatment of mental illnesses is misleading the public into thinking that a pill will one day cure any type of mental or emotional trouble.

He fears it may "discourage the public from facing the unpleasant facts about the administration and treatment of mental disorders."

The "unpleasant" facts are that, while body chemistry is involved in mental illnesses, these disorders arise from human relationships and are best treated by "simple human measures."

Jackson draws an analogy between headaches and aspirin. While no one denies that aspirin relieves headaches, the ailment is almost often the result of stressful social situations.

"All of us," he says, "are only too eager to deny an effect on our children and others around us. * * * It is small wonder that parents are intrigued by heredity and chemical explanations of their child's emotional problems."

The same thing can possibly be said of the sometimes vexing give-and-take of ordinary living, the clash of personalities, the burden of responsibilities each of us carries, or the psychological disturbances that come with pregnancy—and the sale of tranquilizers and barbituates. We are looking for an easy way out of our problems. Sometimes the easy way is the worst way.

Meanwhile, Congress should give quick and careful thought to the new test regulations proposed by HEW Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze, and to President Kennedy's request. There is argument over other matters concerning the drug industry, but there should be none over the simple issue of human safety. The Public should be assured that any drug permitted on the market is safe as well as effective.

## Captive Nations Week Points to a Special House Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, as we all well know, the 1962 Captive Nations Week was observed by Americans throughout the country. This annual occasion provided our people the opportunity to rethink our foreign policy directions and goals with special stress placed on the two dozen captive nations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. At the numerous rallies held across the Nation strong support was manifested for a strong, uncompromising stand on West Berlin, for determined opposition to the admission of Red China into the U.N., and for the establishment of a cold war apparatus to cope with the challenges of Moscow and Peiping in every quarter of the world.

In adidtion to these and other themes, Mr. Speaker, there was the major theme of creating a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. The week, as such, has passed, but the actionism it generated has pointed to the necessity for such a committee in our legislative body. Surely the basic value and strategic importance of all the captive nations, both within and outside the Soviet Union warrant a special committee—one that would systematically and seriously examine all the captive nations; one that would enlighten our own people about this prime and formidable weapon of freedom in the cold war; one that would steadily focus the attention of our people and those in other parts of the free world.

We know all too well that no existing committee in the House is capable of undertaking this heavy task. The time, the planning, and the resources demanded by this necessary task would far exceed the normal requirements of any subcommittee that may temporarily concern itself with this all-important subject. I am certain that this fact will be established presently.

Mr. Speaker, we still have time in this session of Congress to pass a resolution calling for the creation of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The Rules Committee has delayed action on this measure far too long. Many of our Members, including myself, have wondered why that committee has not at least voted on the measure.

In the months ahead, quite a number of us shall have to account to our constituents, and I know that questions bearing on this matter will have to be answered. This long delay in the Rules Committee has been inexcusable. I now call again upon its membership to consider and vote on the resolution proposing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

Concerning the 1962 Captive Nations Week, and this whole issue, I submit the following interesting material to be appended to my remarks: First. The "Proclamation of the Week" by Mayor Chester Kowal of the city of Buffalo; second, Buffalo's program of events on Captive Nations Week Observance; third, two Buffalo Evening News accounts for July 17 and July 18 on the participation of the Honorable William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, in the celebration; fourth, the program of the Ukrainian Student Association of Greater Buffalo on Captive Nations Week; and fifth, excerpts from a paper prepared by Dr. Lev. E. Dobiansky, of Georgetown University, which appeared in the World issue of April 17, 1962, under the caption, "Captive Nations Policy Cleavages Are Detailed."

The material follows:

PROCLAMATION OF THE CITY OF BUFFALO,
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

Whereas western civilization has been called to man the ramparts of liberty, freedom, human rights, and the dignity of man as events of our times warn us that we are locked in a life and death struggle with the organized forces of aetheistic communism; and

Whereas the struggle in which we are engaged will decide the issue whether the nations and peoples of the world shall be free or whether they shall be condemned to a life of tyranny under imperial Russian communism; and

Whereas the aspirations for freedom and national independence held by the peoples of captive Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Albania, and others, serve as a powerful brake on the aggressive actions of Moscow and makes these captive peoples proven allies of the United States; and

Whereas we serve the cause of peace and freedom when we demonstrate our support for the just aspirations of the peoples in all the captive nations; Now, therefore,

I, Chester Kowal, mayor of the city of Buffalo, do proclaim July 15 through 22, 1962, to be Captive Nations Week and urge the people of our city to observe this week with prayers, religious observations, and public ceremonies which demonstrate support for the just aspirations of the peoples of all the captive nations.

CHESTER KOWAL,
*Mayor of Buffalo.*

THE CITY OF BUFFALO OFFICIALLY SALUTES CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCE, JULY 15 THROUGH 22, 1962, PROGRAM OF EVENTS

MESSAGE FROM THE MAYOR

Western civilization has been called to man the ramparts of liberty, freedom, human rights and the dignity of man as events of our times warn us that we are locked in a life-and-death struggle with organized tyranny on the march.

The struggle in which we are engaged has been forced upon us by an enemy dedicated to the destruction everywhere of free institutions, self-government, and the administration of justice. There is no escape from this conflict which now reaches into every home and places a heavy hand upon the life of every citizen of our beloved country. We are faced with the alternative of winning this conflict or bit by bit submitting to an enemy who already holds one-third of the world in human bondage. Our self-declared enemy permits us no other choice but total victory for freedom's cause or total surrender of our American heritage. Imperial and atheistic Russian communism has declared itself as the avowed enemy of all free men.

In this conflict the weapons of war are primarily political and secondarily military. In both arsenals the United States holds a decisive superiority. Should we fail to make maximum use of all weapons in our political arsenal, we will be compelled to fall back upon the use of all the weapons in our military arsenal. We are, therefore, morally bound to employ, fully and wisely, all the weapons in our political arsenal so that we may avoid employment of the terrible weapons in our military arsenal.

The aspirations of the hundreds of millions of non-Russian peoples in the captive nations behind the Russian imperial curtain form the most potent weapon in the political arsenal of the free world. This finding of fact was made by the Congress of the United States in the enactment of Public Law 86-90.

Specifically, the Congress made a finding that "the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace." Our goal has been and remains, a peaceful world in which justice permeates the affairs of all nations and all mankind. In pursuit of this goal we have millions of active allies behind the Russian imperial curtain who share with us the great political and moral ideals which are the hallmark of western civilization.

The official observance of Captive Nations Week provides an opportunity for the citizens of our city to express their concern for the plight of the people in the captive nations, to strengthen our alliance with them, and to advance the cause of a just peace. Large numbers of our citizens take pride in their historic connections with many of the captive nations and it is natural that they should express a special concern for the relatives and friends who anxiously await their emancipation from godless communism. But the cause of the captive nations is the cause of all our citizens because it involves the future of human freedom and the destiny of our Nation.

CHESTER KOWAL,
*Mayor.*

HIGHLIGHTS OF EVENTS

Sunday, July 15: Prayers and religious observances in churches of the city.

1:30 p.m.: Cavalcade of cars to form at Main and Delavan; marching units, Main at Tupper; proceed to city hall.

3 p.m.: Civic opening of Captive Nations Week, McKinley Monument in front of city hall. (1) Presentation of colors; (2) national anthem; (3) invocation, Rev. Laszlo Kovacs; (4) placing of captive nations flags; (5) reading of proclamation by Mayor Kowal; (6) address, Hon. THADDEUS J. DULSKI, Congressman, 41st District of New York; (7) choral presentation; (8) benediction, Rev. Stephen Divald, S.P., Ph. D.

Wednesday, July 18, 12 noon: Civic Luncheon sponsored by the Kiwanis Club, of Buffalo Inc., Hotel Statler Hilton; tickets $2.50 (for reservations telephone TL-2-3399); speaker, Hon. WILLIAM W. SCRANTON, Congressman, 10th District of Pennsylvania.

Sunday, July 22, 3 p.m.: Festival of nations, Albright Art Gallery; Buffalo Civic Orchestra under the direction of Jan Wolanek; a pageant of songs and dances of the captive nations; Speaker, Hon. Chester Kowal, Mayor of Buffalo.

All events are open to the public. No admission charge will be made except for the civic luncheon on Wednesday, July 18, at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO OBSERVE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Honorary chairman: Hon. Chester Kowal, mayor of Buffalo.
Chairman: Dr. Edward M. O'Connor.
Executive secretary: David N. Getman.
Grand marshal: Arthur J. Vater.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Angel Bezeff, Macedonian Patriotic Organization.

Walter V. Chopyk, United Anti-Communist Action Committee.

James A. Cummings, commander, Erie County Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Bernhard Epermanis, Latvians of Buffalo and Vicinity.

Hon. Chester C. Gorski, president, Common Council.

Stephen Gredelj, Croatian Societies.

William Havas, Hungarian Churches and Societies of Greater Buffalo.

Olev Jarver, Estonian Club of Buffalo.

Dr. John M. Juhasz, Actio Hungarica.

Albert C. Killian, commissioner of parks.

A. O'Neill Kline, Kiwanis Club of Buffalo.

Jorend Levakoff, Bulgarian National Committee.

Alex Marashi, United Anti-Communist Action Committee of Western New York.

Felix Mindy, Polish organizations.

Dr. Chris Mladenoff, Bulgarian National Front.

Henry J. Osinski, president, Central Council of Polish Organizations.

Lets Paluca, Albanian Independence Committee.

Nestar Procyk, M.D., Ukrainian Congress Committee.

Clement Sakas, Lithuanian Club of Buffalo.

Jivko Shumenoff, Macedonian Freedom Action.

Harvey I. Skuse, commander, Erie County American Legion.

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[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, July 17, 1962]

FOE OF COMMUNIST COLONIALISM CIVIC LUNCHEON SPEAKER

A veteran fighter against Soviet colonialism will be the speaker at a civic luncheon at noon tomorrow in the Statler Hilton, marking the midpoint in an 8-day observance of Captive Nations Week.

Representative WILLIAM W. SCRANTON, of North Abington, Pa., will address the luncheon sponsored by the Kiwanis Club. City and county leaders will join the program.

Mr. SCRANTON, a charter member of the National Captive Nations Committee, has led a movement in Congress to establish a permanent House Committee on Captive Nations.

FESTIVAL OF NATIONS SUNDAY

Now a Republican candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. SCRANTON has urged establishment of the committee so that "the Soviet Union might once and for all be branded as the most extensive colonial power in the world."

The final event of the Captive Nations Week will be a festival of nations program at 8 Sunday evening at Albright Art Gallery. Groups in costume will present songs and dances of their native countries.

Music will be by the Buffalo Civic Orchestra under the direction of Jan Wolanek. Mayor Kowal will speak.

The Most Reverend Joseph A. Burke, bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Buffalo, issued a statement noting the Captive Nations Week observance.

BIRTHRIGHT IS CITED

He declared that it "provides an opportunity for all to reflect upon the blessings of religious and political liberty which flow from the firm reliance on divine providence by our Founding Fathers and which are the birthright of every American."

A special prayer was written by the Right Reverend Lauriston L. Scaife, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of western New York, asking:

"Hold constantly before those who are denied the privileges of their birthright, the vision of a day, and soon may it come, when the dreaded powers of darkness and the forces of destruction become subject to Thy reign of righteousness."

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[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, July 18, 1962]

DO MORE TO DESTROY SOVIET YOKE, REPRESENTATIVE SCRANTON ASKS—CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK SPEAKER PROPOSES THAT A SPECIAL HOUSE UNIT BE CREATED

Representative WILLIAM W. SCRANTON today urged the creation of a Special House Committee on Captive Nations and said that such an agency is "a strong arm which is not being used in the ideological war against communism."

The Congressman, a charter member of the National Captive Nations Committee, said Americans are not doing nearly enough to combat Russian propaganda.

Representative SCRANTON addressed the luncheon meeting in the Statler Hilton sponsored by the Kiwanis Club at the midweek point in the third annual observance of Captive Nations Week.

MANY ARE ENSLAVED

"I wonder if you appreciate what a powerful weapon Captive Nations Week puts in the hands of free mankind," he said. "Each year the observances have grown in strength and impact.

"Speeches made here and in many other parts of the United States and statements made in Congress all remind Americans that millions of people, once free, are now under the domination of the international Communist conspiracy.

"Freedom does not exist in a vacuum and our own liberties remain in jeopardy when people elsewhere are deprived of their right to choose their own governments, are prevented from worshiping in the churches and temples of their choice, are forbidden even to choose what kind of work they will do."

REACH MANY LANDS

"But our words carry far beyond our shores. They reach people in Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Romania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China and other subjugated nations.

"We assure them that we know of their plight and are awaiting the day when they shall rejoin the family of free nations."

The Congressman, in a second recommendation, asked that the United States reaffirm its opposition to the admission of Red China to the United Nations.

He also urged that the Voice of America expand its broadcasts to the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union.

RECEIVES AN AWARD

"We must have, absolutely," Representative SCRANTON said, "a firm policy in resisting every pressure they (the Communists) undertake. Mr. Khrushchev said he will bury us. Every aid we give the people of the captive nations is a spadeful of earth to bury him."

The Congressman commended Buffalo for its interest in the captive nations observances and said that few cities are as devoted as is Buffalo to this cause.

Mayor Kowal, on behalf of the Citizens Committee To Observe Captive Nations Week, presented Representative SCRANTON the third annual Freedoms Award.

THANKFUL FOR SUPPORT

The award, in the form of a plaque is inscribed with the words: "In recognition of his enlightened and courageous advocacy of the captive nations cause and support given to their struggles for freedom and national independence 1962 Freedom Award."

Representative SCRANTON was introduced by Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, special projects director at Canisius College and chairman of the citizens committee.

Robert Sanborn is president of the Kiwanis Club.

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CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—ANNUAL CONFERENCE, JULY 14–15, 1962, BUFFALO, N.Y.

(Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America, Inc., (SUSTA); Cultural Affairs Commission; and Ukrainian Student Association of Greater Buffalo, N.Y.)

PROGRAM

*Saturday, July 14, 1962*

11:00–12:30—First session (official opening):

Invocation: Very Rev. N. Wojakowskyj.

Opening of the conference: Tadey Tarnawsky (University of Buffalo), president of Y.C.T. Buffalo, chairman of Cultural Affairs—SUSTA.

Presentation of guests: Zenon Deputat (Buffalo State Teachers Colleges), chairman organization affair, Y.C.T. Buffalo.

Remarks of the Honorable Chester Kowal, Mayor of the City of Buffalo.

Background of Public Law 86–90 (Captive Nations Week): Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, director of special projects at Canisius College.

"The contribution of Ukrainian students to the liberation struggle of nations held captive by Russia": Dr. Nestor Procyk.

Benediction: Very Rev. T. Krestiuk.

12:30–14:00: Intermission.

14:00–16:30—Second session:

"The question of forming a permanent congressional committee on the Captive Nations": Michael Pikas (University of Buffalo), chairman of Cultural Affairs Y.C.T. Buffalo.

The participation of the Ukrainian student in the commemoration of "The Captive Nations Week": Bohdan Futej (Western Reserve University), second vice president, SUSTA.

The question of holding an International Student Congress concerning "The Captive Nations Week": Walter D. Prybyla (Syracuse University), president of SUSTA.

Discussion: Resolutions.

16:30–21:00—Intermission, SUSTA executive board meeting.

21:00–02:00—Dance, arranger Ihor Chuma (Drexel Institute of Technology), first vice president, SUSTA, orchestra, "Serenade."

*Sunday, July 15, 1962*

8:00—Mass in local churches.

10:00–14:00—Excursion to Niagara Falls.

14:30–16:00—Participation in the commemoration of "The Captive Nations Week" at city hall.

16:00–??—Farewells.

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[From the World, Apr. 17, 1962.]

CAPTIVE NATIONS POLICY CLEAVAGES ARE DETAILED

(NOTE.—One of the clearest cleavages in the developing administration foreign policy and that of many of its critics is over the question of liberation (making the freedom of the captive nations a policy goal). Here, in excerpts from a paper prepared for an upcoming report by the House Republican Policy Committee, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, professor at Georgetown University (training ground for many Foreign Service officers) and chairman of the National Capitive Nations Committee, speaks forcefully for a new version of a liberation policy. He calls it, "A Win Policy of Emancipation.")

The lack of an imaginative, positive and winning policy continues to be our blight. The Kennedy policy of patched-up containment is exceedingly vulnerable. Superficial literary glitter cannot hide the acute limitations of this policy. A rash of miniature Koreas is already making its appearance. (On the basis of personal exchanges with

Kennedy in 1953–55 I am convinced that he still has no grasp of the elements of the liberation policy. His conception of the U.S.S.R. is wanting, indeed.)

Kennedy's statements on the U.S.S.R and captive nations generally make easy targets for critical and always constructive review From his inaugural message in 1961 to the present, his statements can be taken to account for inconsistency, omission, frequent lack of principle and, at times, sheer naivete.

It is an open secret that the President resisted for weeks the issuance of a Captive Nations Week Proclamation in 1961. We expect the same this year.

"EMANCIPATION" PREFERABLE USAGE

The essence of a win policy of emancipation is the same as that of the previous policy of liberation. However, because the unfortunate presentation of the latter led many to believe that liberation means the involvement of American troops in captive areas—much after the fashion of liberating areas in World War II—"emancipation" is a preferable usage. The term suggests a long-term struggle with final determination in the realm of competitive ideas and wills. The policy necessarily presupposes all the elements of containment—strong military power, allied free world undertakings, brisk economic development and the like—but it goes beyond the confines of containment by transporting the cold war to the terrain of the captive world, with emphasis placed on the Soviet Union itself.

Both the expression and the implementation of the policy would place Moscow under the constant pressure of its own theoretic affirmations regarding the status of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R.; they would on this basis provide political leverage to the nationalist forces in the U.S.S.R. and deepen the insecurities of colonial Moscow within its own immediate camp.

The usual, unthinking reaction that this will lead to a hot war, is a reaction founded on a usual unfamiliarity with the relations and developments between Moscow and the captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. It is a reaction produced by short or no memories of outstanding cleavages between the two in the past 40 years. Despite all its propaganda on scientific, economic, and other achievements, Moscow is in no position to wage a successful hot war so long as captive nations within and outside the U.S.S.R. have a sustained hope for eventual freedom. It will progressively be in less of such a position as this hope is steadily and positively developed among the nations and peoples about the power center, in the U.S.S.R. itself, and on theoretic and propaganda grounds proffered by Moscow itself.

## Farm Wife States Her Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the story of the farmer has been told many times, but one of the warmest and most descriptive is found in an editorial in the Winona Daily News, August 9, 1962. For the benefit of our colleagues, I wish to insert the article into the RECORD:

MILAN FARM WIFE STATES HER CASE

Mrs. George A. Burns, Milan, Minn., farm wife, is just an ordinary person, she says. But she's no ordinary writer. In a letter sent recently to Gov. Elmer L. Andersen, she vigorously voices her views:

"I don't know about the rest of you farmers, but I am getting fed up with the way we are blamed for doing a good job. Every time we pick up a paper or a magazine, hear a radio or TV broadcast, we are told that the farmers are creating a terrible problem for the country. I think it is time for us farmers to start telling our country how lucky it is that we are doing a good job.

"It is ridiculous that we have allowed our wonderful talent for producing food to be turned into a criminal act. We farmers actually have guilt complexes because we are superior artists in our profession. Instead, we should be proud of it. The whole country should be proud of it. We have increased our productivity many times more than any other business in this country in the last 10 years. And it is productivity that creates wealth and progress. I think the country should set up statues in every town honoring the farmers.

"Can you think of anything better in this world than a thick, juicy steak and flaky potatoes, hot buttered rolls and apple pie? And how would you like it if you couldn't get a meal like that? Now I don't care whether the statue is a farmer mounted on a tractor or a steer with a baked potato on its back, but I think it is time that this country starts appreciating its good fortune in having talented farmers instead of cutting them to bits with sharp words.

"Agriculture used to be called the backbone of this country, but in recent years, it has slipped south a little. Of course, we farmers have been sitting back on our tractors and letting ourselves be pelted from all sides instead of telling our story. And I mean our real story, not the distorted one that makes popular reading. Our wonderful astronauts are honored for their great courage and bravery. And if you don't think it takes bravery to be a farmer these days, you aren't a farmer.

"We farmers have earned the right to hold our heads high and tell our attackers to go eat a big steak. These same attackers never stop to wonder, out loud or in print, what would happen to the price of food if we farmers weren't efficient.

"If I sound as though I think our farmers are practically Einsteins, it's because I think they are. If you don't agree, take a look at the Russian farmers. Russia, with her supposed superiority in scientific advancements, isn't in the same league with us when it comes to farming. I say that our farmers aren't a problem; they're a blessing.

"I know how much hard work, mental and physical, it takes to be a good farmer these days, and I am very proud to be a farmer. So, to all the farmers in this country, I salute you."

To all of which we say, "Amen."

## A Dedicated Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, after many years of devoted service to our Government, the Honorable Harry J. Anslinger has tendered his resignation to the President because he has reached the mandatory retirement age.

It is a pleasure for me to take time today to call to the attention of my colleagues the wonderful record Mr. Anslinger compiled as U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics. No other man has held this position since this branch of the Government was formed in 1930. Therefore, there were no guidelines for Mr. Anslinger to follow when he accepted this difficult assignment. It was up to him to use his own initiative in devising a system for fighting the menace of illegal drug traffic in our country. That he has performed his duties admirably is a matter of record.

It was through Commissioner Anslinger's efforts that the serious dangers of drug addiction were forcibly brought to the attention of those who might easily fall prey to peddlers of narcotics, especially our young people.

Mr. Anslinger's keen insight into the many ramifications of this problem and his broad knowledge of the medical aspects of drug addiction, coupled with his extensive experience in law enforcement, have won him international recognition.

By strongly enforcing the narcotics laws, Mr. Anslinger is directly responsible for the decrease in new addicts reported to the Bureau in recent years. It is also gratifying to note that the potency of heroin sold illegally has decreased so sharply that addiction has generally become less severe and addicts can be withdrawn from the use of this drug in 10 to 14 days of hospital treatment. This, too, was accomplished by enforcement of law.

For his efforts in suppressing illicit traffic in drugs, which have exacted a terrific toll of human suffering, misery, and crime, Mr. Anslinger merits our most heartfelt thanks and we can truthfully say, "Well done, my good and faithful servant."

In accepting Mr. Anslinger's resignation with regret, President Kennedy asked him to remain as U.S. representative on the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs. We hope he will do this so that we can continue to have the benefit of his experience and advice in coping with this dangerous problem.

Commissioner Anslinger's retirement will deprive our Government of one of its most dedicated public servants, but we in the Congress of the United States extend to him our very best wishes for a long and happy life in the years ahead.

## U.S. Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Gary, Ind., Post Tribune hits the mark for an improvement in our foreign relations:

UNITED STATES SHOULD PAY THE BILL

The announced reasons for the U.S. ambassadorial switch in Paris are probably not

the only ones, and perhaps not the chief ones. That's nothing unusual in the world of diplomacy.

But it also is quite likely that Gen. James M. Gavin is relinquishing the Ambassador's office to Charles E. Bohlen in part because the cost of the job was too much for his private means. And although the post is high in prestige, it is likely that Bohlen is rather unhappy about taking it. Bohlen is like Gavin in not being a man of personal wealth.

Gavin has been in Paris for about a year. One estimate is that his venture into diplomacy has cost him about $25,000 more than he has received in salary and expense allowances.

The story is the same with the Embassy in London, and to a lesser extent with some other foreign posts. The situation practically bars career diplomats from these assignments; the President must hope that, among the wealthy men who want the jobs, he can find amateur diplomats who can handle them in able fashion. They are sensitive outposts, and they ought to be filled by highly qualified men.

When there is a Charles de Gaulle to be dealt with, for example, the President should be able to name the best diplomat for handling the assignment, not merely the best among the wealthy prospects.

It's all well and good to talk of sacrifice for the Nation's sake, but this is another matter. A man can't pay out what he doesn't have. Further, there's not much that can be done about reducing expenses of the embassies. Certain things are required if the United States is to be represented in a proper and effective manner. The American people would want the bill paid by their Government, and Congress should provide for it.

As for Bohlen, we should be thankful that he is willing to draw upon his limited means in order to accept this important assignment from the Chief Executive.

## Independence of Gabon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Gabon, Leon M'Ba and His Excellency the Ambassador of Gabon to the United States, Jules Mbah, on the occasion of the second anniversary of independence of the Republic of Gabon.

The Republic of Gabon, which on August 17, 1962, celebrates the second anniversary of its independence, is perhaps best known to the outside world as the locale of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's renowned bush hospital at Lambarene. In 1946, after being one of the four territories of French Equatorial Africa for 36 years, Gabon became an oversea territory within the French Union. In the referendum of 1958, the voters of Gabon chose to be an autonomous state in the French community, and it was 1 of the 16 African States to gain political independence during 1960.

The 400,000 people of Gabon, comprising nearly 40 distinct ethnic groups, are largely engaged in forestry. They provide the world with mahogany, ebony, and the valuable okoume trees, excellent for use in plywood. Up to now the principal industry in Gabon has been the processing of timber in sawmills and plants producing plywood. In recent years agriculture has become developed, including cacao, coffee and rice, and the future offers great challenge for the economy, with its manganese, uranium, and oil resources already being worked and its iron ore soon to become another large additional source of income. Hydroelectric power from the rivers will be harnessed to provide the country with energy. To achieve this goal Gabon must contend with the vastness and density of the forest, the resulting difficulties in developing an internal transportation system, and other problems relating to the climate and dispersion of the population. But the economy is being diversified and the extension of the transportation system continues. Economists predict that by 1970 Gabon may have the highest per capita income on the whole African continent.

With the coming of independence, the people of Gabon adopted a constitution reffirming the principles of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, which are also embodied in our Declaration of Independence. The Constitution provides for freedom of conscience and religion. Gabon is a republic "indivisible, democratic, and social" and the sovereignty of the people is exercised by their representatives. President Leon M'ba, once convicted in a French court for his activities against French rule, now has led his people into freedom and a close friendship with France, as well as the entire Western World. Noting that the colonial era did not leave a heritage of bitterness, President M'Ba has declared that "Gabon is a hospitable land. Those who have trod our soil have taken away with them only happy and favorable memories." Believing with President M'Ba that "the struggle for man's freedom is a mission," we congratulate the people of Gabon on the second anniversary of their independence.

## Our Industries—Jobs Sold Down the River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, our own country, at one time the most prosperous country on earth, may soon turn beggar. In fact, in some instances, we have already done so. We are the only nation of consequence on earth that has more than 1,000 communities dying on the vine. We are the only civilized country on earth with 5 million unemployed. We are the only country on earth where industries are moving out instead of in. In the past 10 years more than 3,500 industries have left our United States to establish overseas. Every other industrial nation on earth is booming. Germany, France, Japan, England, and others are so prosperous that they are pleading for workers from all over the world.

We are begging countries to pay their bills to us so we can stay solvent. We are even begging Japan to establish an industry in the United States. Japan refuses unless she can bring along 25-cent-an-hour workers. More than 80,000 small businesses in our country are going broke this year. There is not a major industry in the United States that is not planning or studying the possibility of going to some foreign country in order to survive.

The United States is the only country in the world that does not protect its industries or the jobs of its workers. Every other nation on earth stops imports as soon as an industry is hurt or a single worker thrown out of a job. Every other nation on earth imports only what it needs and what it cannot produce itself. Our country is the only nation on earth that imports billions of dollars of products we already have in surplus and can produce ourselves.

In the past 16 years the U.S. Government has spent 10 times more building industries overseas than it has spent on building industries in our own country. Our gold is gone. The nations of the world are suspicious of our dollar. If these nations called for the gold due them, the United States would be $6 billion short of gold. In other words we would not have an ounce of gold left. In fact, we would $6 billion short of what we actually owe other nations. A few years ago we had over $30 billion behind our dollar and we owed nothing on it. But the crazy giveaway program of the past 16 years has reduced us to beggars.

FULL EMPLOYMENT EVERYWHERE EXCEPT UNITED STATES

Full employment exists in Europe and Japan. In fact, they have more jobs available than people to fill them. They are not worried about Russia. They are not spending 66 percent of their national budget for arms to defend themselves. They do not have the draft in full scale. Only the United States is spending 66 percent of its tax dollar for defense and keeping the draft of our young men. We spend for defense of them and build industry for them while our boys have to remain in service to defend foreign jobs and when our boys come home from service they find our own mines and factories closed. What a pity. What a farce. How long are the people going to stand for this one-sided giveaway?

WE GIVE MILLIONS FOR FOREIGN TOURISM

Northern Wisconsin is a tourist paradise. Just think how little help is given in this respect. I know how little. Resorts in northern Wisconsin are barely hanging on. Many just cannot save what they invested. In order to get a small business loan they must meet requirements impossible to meet. Yet, here is what Uncle Sam is doing overseas. Here is a typical letter of more than 100 I have received this year from people who have toured Europe, Africa, and Japan.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just returned from a tour of England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and Japan. These countries are humming with activity. Every day you see more people in these cities, mostly tourists, that you would never see at a Fourth of July celebration in America. There is no poverty. There is no unemployment. There are no depressed areas. These people are more prosperous than the average American.

Everywhere these countries and cities are humming with activity. They are building superhighways, bridges, resorts, apartment buildings 20 stories high, new factories, and hotel after hotel. Almost a million tourists mostly from America are here. One little town of 10,000 people has 80 hotels and are building 6 more. That is what our dollars are doing. Just why does our country do this for other nations when it refuses to do so for its own?

I NEVER VOTED FOR THIS GIVEAWAY OF JOBS

There is nothing wrong with our country, except that it has and is being given away with a complete disregard for the interest of our own people. In my 20 years in Congress, I have never supported this giveaway of our money, gold, jobs, and our industries. I feel proud that I had the courage to withstand the pressure. At one time there were only 18 out of 435 Congressmen who fought this crazy program. I was one of the 18. This year, there were 169 who voted against it. We need only 50 more votes in the House to stop it. The people can and will stop it if they know the truth as to what is happening.

The time is late. It is going to take northern Wisconsin 10 years to recover from the consequences of this shameful giveaway. The trouble is that people awaken only after they lose their business or their job. People, seldom show concern when their neighbor loses his business or his job. Unfortunately, too many people show concern only when they themselves lose their business or their jobs. But then it is too late to do anything about it.

WHAT IMPORTS HAVE DONE TO NORTHERN WISCONSIN

Just 4 counties in northern Wisconsin in the past 10 years have lost 3,800 jobs on account of imports. These jobs lost because of imports are as follows: 1,000 miners; 800 plywood workers; 1,000 railroad workers and shipping workers; and 1,000 jobs related to these jobs such as teachers, clerks, service jobs, barbers, sales, etc.

Here is what that means to the economy of these 4 counties: Loss of $30 million of capital investment—off tax rolls; loss of 3,000 automobiles; loss of 150 retail outlets; loss of $14 million a year in retail sales; loss of 3,000 homes; and loss of $11 million in bank deposits.

THIS IS JUST IN FOUR NORTHERN WISCONSIN COUNTIES

Taken as a whole, imports of products mined and produced in 4 counties in northern Wisconsin has cost the northern Wisconsin economy 3,800 jobs. This alone is why northern Wisconsin is a depressed area. In spite of this, imports are increasing and more and more jobs are going to be lost. Here is a clear example of what our crazy giveaway program is doing to northern Wisconsin. It is a blow that will take a long time to recover from, make no mistake about it. With the desire to move more industries overseas—3,500 in the last 10 years—and with 80,000 businesses going bankrupt each year at present rate, it is going to take most unusual skill to replace the jobs we have lost due to imports.

IRON ORE IMPORTS

In 1946, we imported 2.8 million tons of iron ore.

In 1959 we imported 39 million tons of iron ore.

And it is going to increase from year to year. Presently we are importing 61 percent of iron ore consumed in the United States.

The fact is that when present explorations and expansion in foreign countries are completed imports can and probably will fill all the needs of U.S. steel mills and they won't need to mine a ton of ore in our own country. Presently more than half of the ore consumed in the United States is imported. It will be 75 percent in a few years and on and on.

MINERS TAX MONEY USED TO TAKE AWAY THEIR JOBS

The tragedy is the U.S. taxpayers, yes the miners who have lost their jobs in Wisconsin, paid for a great part of this development of ore deposits and steel plants in foreign countries. In fact, U.S. taxpayers' money in excess of $2 billion has been used to develop these mines and steel plants in foreign countries. As a matter of fact, today the United States is importing more finished steel products than it is exporting. Recently, our Government has adopted the policy of buying foreign steel for our military and Government use. This is almost impossible to believe but it is a fact. Yet, northern Wisconsin miners, transportation workers, and sea shipping workers are laid off while foreign miners, transportation workers, and sea shipping workers are prospering.

How silly can we be. These miners now losing their jobs are the same miners who produced 80 percent of all iron ore used in the world during World War I and World War II and who were largely responsible for the production that won these two wars. Their reward for a job well done—go home—no job—we must take care of the miners of Africa, Canada, and South America. It is strange when we have a government which spent billions of dollars to develop foreign mines and steel mills. It just does not make sense.

Just the last 2 years, here is how the U.S. Government is helping foreign mines and steel mills while our miners are losing their jobs by the thousands:

In 1962, $66 million to Societe Anonyme Des Mines de Mauritanie (Miferma).

In 1961, $30 million to Lamco—no payments until 1965.

In 1961, $6 million to Compania de Acero del Pacifico, S.A., to develop iron ore deposits in Chile. One million tons to be shipped to the States per year.

In 1961, $6 million to the Mano River project of the Nations Iron Ore Co., of Liberia. This will boost their output to ship to the United States to 4 million tons a year in 1963.

In 1961, $6 million to Marcona to increase output to 2.3 million tons. Previously the United States had loaned Marcona $13 million.

In 1960, $150 million to Turkish iron and steel industries.

In 1959, $12.5 million to Cin Vale do Rio Doce to increase iron ore production from 3 to 6 million tons a year.

In 1962, $43.3 million to Fundidara, largest private steel company in Mexico. The private company is putting up a measly $4 million, the rest is U.S. money.

This, miners, is your money that is being used to develop these mines and steel plants in foreign countries. Yes, they use your money to build mines and plants overseas so that they can tell you they do not need you any more. Remember these loans and grants were made at a time when miner after miner in our own country was being told he was not needed any more. Since 1950 more than 6,000 iron ore miners in the Great Lakes area have been laid off. If we cut our imports to 20 million tons, just half of what we are importing, all these 6,000 miners would go back to work full time.

TAX BENEFIT IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

It was at the encouragement of the foreign aid program that U.S. steel companies established in foreign countries. Not only the Government but labor union leaders also encouraged it. It was and is another part of our foreign giveaway program. I never supported this giveaway in spite of heavy pressure. In fact, Congress even passed a bill to exempt these steel companies from U.S. income taxes, if they left their money in a foreign country. I did not vote for this either. When ore was in surplus, U.S. officials encouraged the steel companies to lay off U.S. workers but to keep foreign workers employed. In fact, a U.S. steel company in Venezuela cannot lay off any miner unless the Venezuelan Government approves. Somehow, the Venezuelan Government never approves and their miners work full time while U.S. miners are told they are not needed anymore. Miners in the United States have become second-class citizens and second choice. Miners in foreign countries are given job preference.

MINERS IN VENEZUELA BETTER OFF THAN U.S. MINERS

Believe it or not, the 5,000 miners employed by 2 U.S. steel companies in Venezuela are much better off than a U.S. ore miner even when working. The average annual wage and fringe benefits of a Venezuelan miner is $5,000 per year. No U.S. miner equals that kind of pay and fringe benefit.

The Venezuelan miner working for a U.S. steel company works 26 weeks at 6 days and 26 weeks at 5 days. Less 30 days' vacation and 7 holidays, this totals 249 days a year. But the Venezuelan miner gets paid for 365 days or 7 days a week for 52 weeks in a year. In addition a Venezuelan miner gets 60 days' pay as a profit-sharing bonus. This means that in Zenezuela, working for the same U.S. steel company that our own miners work for, a miner in Venezuela gets paid for 425 days a year for 249 days of actual work. Almost half the pay of a Venezuelan miner is for days not worked. Only the oldest U.S. miner

working in the United States working for the same company is lucky if he gets paid for 262 days.

Our U.S. miner in the United States gets an average vacation of 2 weeks. A Venezuelan miner, after working for 1 year gets a 30-day vacation with pay of 7 days a week plus a bonus. Nice work if you can get it.

A U.S. miner furnishes and owns his home. A Venezuelan miner gets a home furnished by the steel company for which he pays a measly indemnity of $1.79 a day. This includes everything, no extras such as water, lights, heat, repairs, paint, furniture, and so forth.

A U.S. miner gets limited medicare for himself and family. A Venezuelan miner gets the works for himself and family including glasses, pills, transportation and time off with pay and massages and the works.

A U.S. miner gets no family leave with pay. A Venezuelan miner gets 6 days off with 7 days' pay plus a bonus even in case of death of a common law wife of which there are many.

Besides all this which U.S. steel companies do for foreign workers, the U.S. Government has given Venezuela over $333 million in foreign aid. Remember Venezuela has a population of around 7 million. So we can see that Venezuelan miners are first-class citzens as far as the United States is concerned and our own miners are second-class citizens.

This is what has happened to iron ore mining in Wisconsin. I did all I could to stop it. I never voted for the foreign aid program which made this possible. I never voted for the foreign tax benefits which made this possible. I never voted to reduce our tariffs or to eliminate the tariff which made this possible. For 15 years I have been warning the miners this was going to happen but their leaders would not listen. I always voted to prevent this tragedy. Those who criticized me most were those whose jobs I tried to save.

FARM PROBLEM TOO IS REALLY CREATED BY IMPORTS

During the past 10 years farm support programs have cost the U.S. taxpayers $26 billion. Believe it or not during this same 10 years, under our crazy foreign aid program we imported farm products valued at $42 billion.

While we are importing farm products, we have in Government storage more than 1 billion bushels of wheat, 1.4 billion bushels of corn, 1.6 million pounds of tobacco and about 336 million pounds of butter, cheese and dried milk. These are valued at about $5.8 billion.

Yet, in 1960, and it is much worse now, we imported the equivalent of 1,504,000 head of beef, 1,341,000 head of hogs and 1,105,000 head of sheep and lambs. What is even worse with the surplus of dairy products depressing the dairy industry last year, we imported the equivalent of 1 billion pounds of milk and dairy products. It does not make sense yet these imports are increasing and increasing.

It is costing the taxpayers of the United States of America approximately $40 million a year to buy up the surplus and store the surplus dairy products of American dairy farmers because of imports. In other words, we import foreign dairy products so that we have a surplus of our own dairy products to pay storage on.

The bulk of the feed grains other than what we have in Government storage today has been imported. Our disappearance of feed grains over the past 10 years has been greater than our production; yet, we, as taxpayers are paying some $20 million a year to store what is termed "surplus" feed grains. It is surplus to be sure, but not a surplus created by the overproduction of the American farmer. It is created by imports of feed grains.

FARMERS NOT TOLD HONEST FACTS

The foreign aid propagandists brag about the $4.9 billion of agricultural exports. This is how they deceive the farmers of America. These propagandists do not tell that $3 billion of these agricultural exports is given away to foreign countries under our foreign aid program and under our Federal subsidies which are paid for by the taxpayers of America and not by any foreign country. Thus only $1.9 billion of our farm exports are commercially sold or farm products that we actually get anything for. When you consider the farm products that we give away under our foreign aid program, the United States of America is in reality a farm importing country, where we import twice as much farm products that we do not need as we sell for dollars. But this is how the propagandists fool the American people and the American farmer. The United States of America is the only country in the world that imports farm products that are already in surplus in the United States of America. Every other country in the world prohibits U.S. farm products that are already in surplus in their own country.

If the beef and the sheep and the hogs that we imported last year were raised here in the United States of America, these cattle and hogs and sheep would have eaten up all of the wheat and the corn that we have in storage throughout the United States of America which is costing the taxpayers $1½ million a day just for storage. How silly can we be?

As a further illustration of how the farmers are being sold down the river by imports, let us take the case of blue cheese. Our current U.S. production of blue cheese is less than 14 million pounds. Yet, we permit the importation of over 4 million pounds a year. This is indicative of how our farmers are being misled on the foreign aid program through the years. This is just one of many examples.

Wisconsin is passing more and more laws compelling farmers to spend more money on sanitation facilities, such as coolers and barn equipment. While Wisconsin is compelling its farmers to spend money for costly sanitation facilities, we permit the importation of millions of dollars of the same products from countries that have little sanitary regulations if any.

If the United States would stop importing dairy products and if all the Government agencies of the United States including the armed services all over the world would purchase U.S. dairy products instead of foreign dairy products, there would be no dairy surplus in the United States of America at the present time.

EIGHT HUNDRED PLYWOOD WORKERS IN NORTHERN WISCONSIN LOST JOBS DUE TO IMPORTS

What has happened to the iron ore industry has likewise happened to our wood products industry in our area. Since the turn of the 1950s, 800 plywood workers in northern Wisconsin lost their jobs due to Japanese imports.

In April 1957, 30 percent of the working people were laid off in our plywood industries because of the cheap imports of plywood from Japan. At the present time, more than 60 percent of the workers in the plywood industry in America are without jobs because of the cheap importation of plywood from Japan.

When you consider that in some areas in Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota the plywood and veneer industry was the very lifeblood of their economic existence, this problem of imported hardwood plywood and veneer should give us all, including the Congress and other agencies of Government, cause for concern.

Communities such as Ashland, Butternut, Mellen and Rhinelander, just to mention a few, depended to a large degree if not entirely upon the plywood and veneer industry for their economic life and well-being.

Many other related industries such as logging, hard board, lumber and so forth also are affected indirectly by this cheap imported hardwood plywood problem.

When you consider that the American plywood and veneer worker competes each hour with a Japanese worker being paid only 11½ cents per hour, it is reasonable to say that the workers in both countries suffer hardship.

When you consider the American plywood and veneer industry competes with imported plywood from Japan that is imported and sold duty free for less than the cost of production in the United States, is it any wonder that plant after plant in our area is being shut down with thousands of skilled workers being thrown on the scrap heap, and numerous communities becoming ghost towns.

Examples: Japan's exports to the United States in January–June 1957 period totaled a 57-percent increase over the same period in 1956. Imports from Japan of hardwood plywood has increased 4,120 percent since 1951. These imports have eaten up 46.6 percent of the total American market in 1956 alone. It is even worse now.

Consumption of hardwood plywood in the United States is up 74 percent since 1951. Low-priced imports captured 99.4 percent of this 74-percent increase in consumption.

Japanese plywood industry has increased their production 400 percent since 1951, mostly with the help of American capital—American plywood industry has increased their production in the same period by only six-tenths of 1 percent since 1951.

Japanese labor cost per 1,000 square feet of plywood is $4.17 as compared to from $30 to $34 per 1,000 square feet in the United States.

These are but two examples of what is happening to the areas of northern Wisconsin, northern Michigan and northern Minnesota. For 15 years I have tried vainly to warn the people of our area of these consequences of our foreign policy. Unfortunately, it was not until workers actually got laid off that they are now beginning to stop, look and listen, and are beginning to pay some attention to the sad results of trying to take care of the rest of the world at the expense of American resources and the American worker.

I have introduced bills to impose a quota on imports of iron ore and wood products. But with the leaders of both parties plugging for more imports instead of less, such bills receive little consideration. Only the rude awakening of our citizens back home will reverse this trend. This year we had 169 votes in the House of Representatives out of 438. We need only 50 more votes in Congress to stop this sorry mess we got into.

SHOE INDUSTRY NEXT ON LIST

We have shoe factories in Rib Lake, Merrill, and 4 other northern Wisconsin cities, which employ about 600 workers. Their plight as a result of imports is getting more and more serious. In 1950 we imported few pairs of shoes. We are now importing each year almost 70 million pairs mostly from Italy and Japan. These are leather type shoes produced in northern Wisconsin. Besides that we are importing this year 92 million pairs of rubber type shoes and boots which are used as a substitute for leather type shoes which is also hurting our shoe factories and hurting bad. Imports are increasing in shoes by leaps and bounds.

WORKERS IN SHOE FACTORIES SHOULD BE CONCERNED

Foreign versus U.S. average hourly wages and fringe benefits in the shoe industry are alarming. If these imports continue to increase our shoe factories will be forced to close like our mines and plywood factories and another 600 jobs will be lost in northern Wisconsin.

*Total labor costs with fringe benefits*

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain | $0.97 |
| France | .93 |
| Germany | .82 |
| Italy | .45 |
| Japan | .31 |
| United States | 1.94 |

There are 16,000 workers who make a living in Wisconsin making shoes and products going into shoes. Six hundred of these jobs are in northern Wisconsin. Unless Congress wakes up, the shoe factories in northern Wisconsin will go like the mines and plywood factories. There are 169 Members of Congress who want to save this industry in Wisconsin. I have always been one of these. We need 50 more in Washington to be sure this industry is saved.

FIVE HUNDRED SAILORS AND SHIPBUILDERS LOSE JOBS IN NORTHERN WISCONSIN

Since 1955 half the U.S. company owned ships sailing the Great Lakes have been cut up for scrap or are laying idle in various lake ports while foreign ships take over. More than 500 Great Lakes sailors and shipbuilders in northern Wisconsin have lost their jobs.

Total Great Lakes shipping of iron ore, coal, and grain during May of this year was 5 million tons ahead of last year. But at the same time American vessels continued to lose ground. American ships carried only 13 percent of the grain loaded. Foreign ocean-going ships carried 38 percent. Canadian lakers carried a whopping 49 percent. This decline in American shipping on the Great Lakes has been going on each year and each month. Foreign ships and Canadian ships are taking over almost completely. Great Lakes shippers, unions, shipbuilders, and workers are getting more and more desperate and about to throw up their arms in despair.

The real tragedy is that the construction, operational, and depreciation subsidies offered Canadian and foreign vessels is really American money. The motto of our Nation's leaders is millions for subsidies for foreign and Canadian shippers but not one penny for American Great Lakes shippers. Their decision is "get out if you cannot take the competition." The voices and cries of American shippers and workers fall on deaf ears. But the voices of foreign interests sound like music to our Nation's leaders' ears.

What voices do our Nation's leaders listen to? It is unbelievable but here are the facts. Our State Department invited and paid the expenses of a Nicholaus Snidjers, of Amsterdam, to make a 7-week study and tour of American ports and shipping. Yes, this is a fact, unbelievable as it may seem. What did this State Department selection report after his first-class tour of wining and dining at the taxpayer's expense? He reported as follows:

> The United States should get out of the shipping business entirely. American carriers and crews cost three times and more as much as European ones. The United States should get out of shipping entirely and leave it to us Europeans who know how to do it profitably.

These are the kind of people our Department of Commerce listens to. The voices and cries of unemployed workers on the Great Lakes mean nothing compared to a Department of State selected wined and dined European all at American taxpayers expense, of course.

What this European expert left out of his report was the fact that these Europeans operate at a profit only because of American subsidies given them which are not given to Great Lakes shippers. Without these American subsidies even Europeans would operate at a loss. There seems to be no end.

With Canadian shippers beating the stuffing out of our Great Lakes fleet with their subsidies, our Government recently negotiated a huge loan of $1 billion to Canada so that Canada can pay more subsidies to her shippers. Believe it or not, American shipowners are being forced to go to Canada for a shipbuilding subsidy. At the same time Canada comes to us for a billion-dollar loan. How absurd can we be? We deny subsidies to Great Lakes shippers but give money to Canada so she can subsidize her own and our ships. Oh, but these ships must be built by Canadian labor and they must use Canadian materials. Our leaders have no such concern for American labor and materials—even if it is really our money.

EVERY INDUSTRY IS IN TROUBLE ON ACCOUNT OF IMPORTS

I have given examples of iron ore, plywood, shoes and farm products. Space does not permit facts and figures concerning all the industries, jobs and factories which are barely hanging on because of the devastating effect of imports. But there is not an industry in northern Wisconsin which today is not in trouble because of the threat of imports.

Glove industry: We have several glove plants and several hundred workers in northern Wisconsin in these plants. Imports from Japan and Hong Kong are seriously jeopardizing the existence of this industry.

Fish industry: Go to Bayfield and Cornucopia and find out for yourself what imports of fish and fish products are doing to that industry.

Electrical products: Go to any electronic plant in northern Wisconsin and see for yourself what imports from Japan and Germany are doing to this industry. Last year we imported $56 million of small radios from Japan alone. We exported a measly $6 million worth as just one example.

Metal products: Go to any metal products factory in northern Wisconsin, Merrill Manufacturing Co., for instance, and see what imports of metal products are doing to that business. It will scare you when you learn the facts.

HOW DID THIS HAPPEN AND WHY?

It is part of our foreign aid program. We are running out of gold and money. We have handed out over $137 billion in foreign aid like mad since 1946. We have given and given until we find we are out of money and cannot give away more than $8 billion a year which is our present rate of foreign giveaway. We are fast running out of gold. In fact, in gold we are a deficit country. We gave that away too. If what we owe other nations in gold is called for we will be $6 billion short in gold.

So all we have left to give is our factories and our jobs. We are now in the process of doing this. That is why we are encouraging imports. That is why 3,500 industries left the United States for some foreign country in the last 5 years. We gave our money and gold. We cannot give any more of that. So we are now giving our jobs and our factories. This is how and why it has happened.

When this program first started there were only 18 of us in the House of Representatives who saw through this whole scheme. I was among the 18 and have seen through it all these years. Other Congressmen have slowly awakened and are still awakening. This year there were 169 Members of the House of Representatives who tried to stop this giveaway. We need only 50 more Congressmen to stop it before we lose all we have. I am sure that next year there will be enough of an awakening by the people to give us the 50 more needed. The hour is late, but not too late.

## Community Service Organization: On Behalf of the Basic Freedoms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I should like to pay homage to an organization which, in the midst of technological and international chaos, has seen that there are many problems left to solve whose solutions require continued application of basic democratic principles.

The organization is the Community Service Organization. Their mission is to integrate the Spanish-speaking residents in the West of the United States into the communities in which they live. Their method of solution is to fully inform these people of, and teach these people how, to use their basic freedoms, including the right to vote, petition, organize, and assemble. In other words, the Community Service Organization wishes to make clear that the Constitution applies to all and that it is a document deeding to all the right to use and be protected by its guarantees.

During these times when we are so often so immersed in the sensational we forget how much remains to be done in this country that is just the plain everyday work of democracy.

Mr. Speaker, in my mind this is the mission of the Community Service Organization: It has not forgotten this plain everyday work of democracy.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, the quickest way to convey the success of the Community Service Organization in tackling this task is a brief before-and-after sketch. For anyone from my home State knows that the lot of the persons with Spanish surnames in California was far different before the advent of the Community Service Organization and a striking contrast to the status this group is beginning now to enjoy.

The "before" picture was relatively grim. Many were shunted off into unsanitary and ill-cared-for "barrios" of California towns; less than 10 percent were registered to vote.

Sixteen years later, close to one-half million or more are registered; much of the parent generation have become citizens; and articulate leaders versed in organizational processes now speak for their own people and serve in public offices.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, as soon as the strength of this hitherto amorphous and unheard-from group became a politically significant statistical fact, community leaders began to deplore, rather than ignore their condition, and then finally restore the areas in which they lived.

In addition, this 16-year-old organization now boasts at least 33 California chapters and several in Arizona and Texas. The membership is over 10,000 persons.

To really comprehend its place in the various communities where it is active, one should hear recounted the saga of each locale, for each is a story of tremendous dynamism and patience on the part of members of the Community Service Organization and those who believe in it.

The local chapters of the Community Service Organization have protected the the domestic farm laborer or worker from encroachment on his domain by the foreign worker. Simultaneously, they have backed the worker in his appeals for a decent minimum wage and unemployment insurance.

Chiefly active in my own State of California, the Community Service Organization has made its impact felt statewide by influencing the legislative program in our State. There is no question that the extension of the State old-age pensions to noncitizens was in great part their achievement.

There are many more examples to further document the accomplishments of the Community Service Organization: they better the lot of their members, not through huge spending programs or a complex committee superstructure, but through a persistent demand on the local level for the basic freedoms such as voting; and, in a period of almost frantic international awareness, they have remembered to fight for our own American immigrant—someone who has always been an important source of diversity and talent in our culture.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention the names of but a few of the individuals who have contributed so much to make the Community Service Organization the viable instrument that it is. They include: Herman Gallegos, Jose Correa; Cruz Reynoso, David Burciaga; Luis B-arraza, Anthony Rios; Juan Govea, Alex Zermenio; Honorable Abelicio Chavez; Vicki Lebrado, Carmen Batiza; Helen Castaneda; Cipriano Salazar; Carmen Solis; Madeline Cepeda; Maria Scott; Mary Salizar, Claudine Arias, Helen Rosales; Louis Zarate; Mario N. Lechuga, Cesar Chavez, and William Salazar.

The immediate task of the Community Service Organization is to get as many unregistered citizens registered in order that they participate in forthcoming elections. This task will, in large part, measure the impact of the Community Service Organization on the community and go a long way in bringing into active participation a great number of citizens into the workings of the democracy.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to note the succinct remarks of William Salazar which outlines the work, and challenges, of the Community Service Organization:

First, we have awakened hundreds of Spanish-speaking residents to their responsibilities as citizens.

Second, we have organized a group of young, eager, responsible people for self-help and for the solution of problems facing the Spanish speaking and the community.

Third, we are developing new leadership which will conquer the upcoming problems which will be facing us as a community. For example, through our English and citizenship classes, which our immigration committee is sponsoring, we are helping some 300 newcomers to find their way in becoming better citizens.

Also our immigration committee offers needed help and assistance to those who are in need of special help in this field; and hand in hand with welfare committees they have accomplished their task.

Through our housing committee we have joined other civil rights organizations to seek the establishment of a fair housing ordinance and to promote equal housing opportunities for all, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Through our voter registration committee we have undertaken the task of registering the nonregistered and to wake up the Spanish-speaking to their responsibilities as Americans and to make this body a more responsible group of voters.

Through our education committee we have as one of our goals the task of helping to motivate and raise the education level of our young people.

Our civil rights committee stands ready to help and safeguard the rights of our members and all other minorities who might seek our help; but above all we wish to join other chapters of the Community Service Organization to promote the betterment of the Spanish-speaking in California; especially the many agriculture workers throughout the State.

If the caliber of people we have attracted has any bearing on whether we will succeed or not, let me say that those already brought in by our membership committee insures us that we will succeed.

As you can all see, we did not organize to stand still, we will move ahead as the Community Service Organization has done in the past and in the years to come we can be proud to say that we were the first to answer the call of the needs of the Spanish-speaking in San Francisco.

## Farm Bill Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALBERT H. QUIE**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, after a 116-day strike, the Minneapolis Tribune has resumed publication. I, along with thousands of others, am happy to once again be able to read this fine newspaper. One of the Tribune's first editorials after resuming publication was entitled "Farm Bill Politics." It demonstrates a keen understanding of the farm debate in Congress this session. I want to share this editorial with our colleagues:

FARM BILL POLITICS

Agriculture Secretary Freeman came home to Minnesota to charge Republican Congressmen, and particularly those from Minnesota, with narrow partisan obstructionism for voting down the administration farm bill.

The same can be said to Freeman that was said to Mr. Kennedy when the President complained that willful Republicans defeated medicare and other of his measures—the Democrats have a heavy majority in each Chamber of Congress.

For some years it has been Democratic Congressmen from the large cities who have been responsible for a growing movement to cut back on farm programs.

The administration farm bill this year impressed many persons, in Congress and out, as taking away far too much freedom from individual farmers and giving the Department of Agriculture too much authority over crop decisions. Under terrific administration

pressure the Senate accepted the bill. The House voted it down.

However, the House then voted the extension of feed grain and wheat programs which Freeman asked. But the Senate has delayed further action, apparently because the administration hopes to salvage some of the strict controls the House refused.

Maybe it can be said that the administration and Secretary Freeman are playing some partisan politics in this matter.

## They Earn $180,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Woody Hayes, football coach at Ohio State, says, "Outbid the pros."

Mr. Speaker, Coach Hayes is a great American and, like any of us, is convinced that we need more emphasis and not deemphasis on college football. I commend the following article to the Congress and to the country. It appeared in the Washington Star on August 8:

OHIO STATE COACH SAYS COLLEGES SHOULD "OUTBID" PROS FOR ATHLETES

(By Steve Guback)

If Tom Nugent or any other football coach ever gets worried about a player turning professional before he uses up all his eligibility, Woody Hayes, of Ohio State, has the answer.

"Outbid the pros," says Hayes.

Hayes isn't clamoring for a dollar war or outright professionalism by the colleges, but he does feel that the schools are missing a good selling point.

No Ohio State football player with eligibility remaining has left campus to sign with the pros since the volatile Hayes checked in a decade ago. He says this isn't merely a coincidence.

"We simply tell our kids that they are well paid at Ohio State," says Hayes. "For each year in school they're earning $45,000 in future earning power. For 4 years, that's $180,000. And how many kids sign for that?"

Hayes says that last year two members of his backfield turned down $40,000 bonus contracts in professional baseball to remain in college.

"The important thing," says Hayes, "is to make sure the kids aren't cheated. That means the coach should make sure that they get the education and that they're not just hired Hessians to play sports."

Hayes, like many coaches, bounces around during the offseason. He voiced his feelings in Chicago last week where he attended the game between the College All-Stars and the Green Bay Packers.

Hayes said he was concerned about pooled gambling, which is on the rise, and its influence on collegiate football. He also said he was concerned with the increase in juvenile delinquency.

"President Kennedy isn't stressing physical fitness because he thinks we need great, big muscles to beat the Russians. Hell, no," Woody said. "He's stressing it because he knows a kid has to find himself.

"The greatest tragedy among youngsters is that too many never 'find' themselves. They may wait and finally find courage by sticking a switch-blade in somebody's back. Or they may find this courage in competitive sports. That's why they are so important."

Hayes says people talk about intramural programs which can do the job. But he insists that there's a definite need for top-level varsity programs, too.

"Imagine somebody like a Bob Ferguson playing intramurals. Before long, he'd be smoking and growing lazy. A kid must compete on a level where he can reach his potential. That's why there's a need for varsity sports."

## Editorial Comment on Administration Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials:

[From the Kneghtstown (Ind.) Banner, Aug. 16, 1962]

WASHINGTON ACCOUNTING—WE GIVE UP

Modern Washington accounting and mathematics leave all of us a little spellbound at times. This week, President Kennedy explained to the Nation that he now favors waiting for a tax cut until next January.

One Republican Representative observed that the 1952 campaign apparently is underway with the promise of a tax cut next year.

As we read these tax-cutting promises and suggestions, they don't add up. The national administration is chalking up a huge deficit, the national debt ceiling was recently lifted, and there is talk of more and more spending.

Twenty billion dollars will be spent on an attempt to reach the moon—that's about $110 for every man, woman, and child in the country. And other projects have been placed in effect to increase the spending at the highest peacetime rate in history.

So, now the Fair Deal has a solution to the Nation's money problems—cut taxes. And who isn't in favor of cutting taxes? Of course, there's the small matter of how to make up the difference when the national debt is going up by millions every day, but why worry about that?

If a local trustee or county official handled money in the reckless manner now being employed by the Washington money experts, he'd be out on his ear at the next election, but somehow the public seem to believe that the U.S. Treasury has no bottom and some mysterious people at some far off place are paying the bill.

Don't be so foolish. You, the taxpayer, will pay the bill later, if not now. The value of American currency on the world market, the value of the American dollar in buying power, and the reality that this debt cannot continue to mount forever should be matters of deep concern for us all. But how many care? Apparently not very many or such preposterous suggestions of cutting taxes while increasing expenditures would not be seriously made with the idea of winning votes.

Perhaps if your father had given you more than $10 million and you had never worked for a living or worried about operating a business for a profit, you'd think in such terms, too. Really, is there any other explanation?

[From the Greenfield (Ind.) Daily Reporter]

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS CONTROL

It appears that the U.S. Senate, Tuesday afternoon, broke a precedent of 35 or more years when it slapped a limitation of debate to stop the filibuster against the communications satellite bill. The filibuster was being conducted by Senator WAYNE MORSE and a few of his liberal colleagues. It takes a two-thirds vote to choke off unlimited speechmaking.

MORSE and associates oppose the bill, the important provision of which is the formation of a corporation which would be 50 percent Government owned and 50 percent owned by the private communications industry. Despairing of defeating the bill on a straightout vote, because an overwhelming percentage of the Senate favor it, they tried to "talk it to death" and did succeed in obstructing passage for several days.

Odd, these are the same guys who wanted to rule out the filibuster when it was being used by conservative southern Senators and had all manner of derogatory things to say about the rights of unlimited debate. But the shoe has recently been on the other foot.

They called it a "gigantic giveaway," representing that the launching of the Telstar satellite and its equipment and function were wholly the result of Government rocket and satellite research.

The fact is, the communications industry, led by A.T. & T. has spent in excess of $50 million on the successful project.

A glance at history will also prove that progress most often comes most rapidly and certainly more economically in the fields of private development and research.

You have to go no further than the field of communications itself. Telephone, telegraph, radio, and television in America represent one of the marvels of the age. The rapid developments of improved equipment and methods has been astounding. No other people boast anything approaching the communications systems which we accept as commonplace.

Incidentally, in most countries, telephone, etc., is a state or quasi-public enterprise. Only here is it completely in the domain of private enterprise. That could be the reason for our advanced position.

If you think a moment. If Samuel Morse, Alex G. Bell, and Marconi had turned their discoveries over to the Government and they had remained there ever since, do you think present communications performance would be on the level of efficiencies and costs as it is now?

## Sandisfield, Mass., Bicentennial, 1762–1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker this year the little town of Sandisfield, nestled in the Berkshires in western Massachusetts, celebrates its 200th anniversary. This is a noteworthy event, commanding special consideration.

The pioneers who settled in Sandisfield in 1750, were a church-going people who strictly observed the Sabbath, which commenced, in those days, on Saturday evening. They had no fires in the churches then, and footstoves were in

great demand. Preaching was had by taxing the people for the expenses of the church. Nonetheless, the people insisted upon services even in the face of inconvenience, and the town began its history deep in the belief of divine guidance.

The earliest settlers in Sandisfield were immigrants from Plymouth, Mass., and Wethersfield and New Haven, Conn.—Puritans all. They were concerned not only with problems of the soul, but with problems of practicality, including those of government. In 1758, a committee was appointed to receive conveyance of 1 acre for a burying ground, at a spot selected a little northerly and short of a mile from the meetinghouse. Community action in this instance bred further action and on March 6, 1762, the town was formally incorporated.

When originally admitted to the field of official community life, Sandisfield was largely controlled by officials residing in other areas.

The first town meeting following incorporation was called by virtue of a warrant issued by Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, justice of the peace, and the original town proprietors, the majority of whom were citizens of Worcester. In a short time, however, the people of Sandisfield were clamoring for control of their own destinies, and, as it was to work out, their demands were quickly granted.

Local assurance in the ability of self-government was founded on economic success, which came about the moment the first arrivals set to work in their own interest. Economically speaking, Sandisfield was blessed from the start with a great deal of promise. A soil better suited to the growth of rich, juicy grass is seldom found, and this fact had a decisive effect upon the outlook of the original inhabitants. Stockraising was instituted at once, and sheep raising and dairying were also soon in evidence. By 1855 there were 175,000 pounds of cheese produced locally, as well as considerable amounts of milk and cream.

Another early economic development of considerable significance hereabouts was the production of maple sugar. In 1885 it was learned that Sandisfield held the lead in amount of maple sugar produced—even exceeding that produced in Worthington, in Hampshire County, which was then laying claim to the title of the "Maple Sugar Capital." At one point the annual production of maple sugar by Sandisfield residents reached as much as 84,876 pounds, before the charcoal industry came along, to make use of maple trees for other purposes.

Local government sprang from a justified sense of self-importance, generated by considerable success in several economic fields. In response to the need for government, the people of Sandisfield came forward with ability equal to that already displayed in the matter of economic sustenance. Town meetings were conducted with much dignity.

The township covered a large area, the center being on a high hill, and the sites for future industry located to the east, on the Farmington River. When the Revolution began in 1776, there were 1,044 local residents, and by 1800 Sandisfield had become the fourth largest town in the county with 1,857 people, and had supplied the citizens of Pittsfield with $300 to help them build a meetinghouse. Fifteen years later, in spite of migration to the West, the Sandisfield population held up to 1,615. At the start of the Civil War there were still 1,585, and the town remained prosperous.

The war hurt Sandisfield. The young men who volunteered for service in the Union Army included many who gave their lives, and many more who settled elsewhere in the postwar years. In addition to this, the call of the West began to take its toll, in the 1870's and 1880's, and the buildup of industry in neighboring districts had a similar depopulating effect. The resulting decline in local population figures was not checked until the arrival 45 years ago of Polish immigrants from New York who took up a number of the abandoned farms and helped to stabilize the community by their industry.

In the glory days, Sandisfield had at one time six tanneries, two mills making flaxseed oil, a larger maple sugar production than any other town in the State, a silk mill, a woolen mill, a hattery, a cooperage, a wagon factory, and numerous saw and grist mills. Sandisfield was a model version of the industrialized agricultural community. In spite of the merits of this way of life, the whole trend of the national economy after the Civil War was against it industrially, and there was nothing for Sandisfield to do but to surrender its temporary supremacy, in the face of overwhelming odds.

On the other hand, what has remained is by no means negligible. A variety of industrial concerns still supply a livelihood to the people of the area.

Today the people of Sandisfield can look back with pride upon a history devoted to work and reverence, patriotic regard and satisfaction in local achievement.

Moreover, the people of Sandisfield have the future still before them—a future in which the beautiful Berkshires undoubtedly will serve, and already are beginning to serve, as an area to which Americans will come in increasing numbers, out of respect for a way of life devoid of turmoil and chaos.

Sandisfield has shown, by its history, that progress is not only achieved through wealth, turmoil, and ever-increasing production, but by the nurturing of those qualities inherent in the original conception of the American way of life.

Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege today to salute the good people of Sandisfield as they join together to celebrate the 200th birthday of their little community, years in which they saw their loved ones depart on seven different occasions to go forth and fight for the liberty we all cherish so highly.

## Practical Social Justice and the Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following very interesting paper entitled "Spotlight on Social Reform," written by the Reverend William J. Smith, S.J., director of St. Peter's Institute of Industrial Relations, Jersey City, N.J.:

PRACTICAL SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE POLITICIAN

The medical aid for the aged bill under social security is a dead issue for the present session of Congress. The corpse will rise again in full vigor during the coming election campaign. Basically the problem of adequate aid to the aged is one of social justice.

Unfortunately, practically every major public issue of any importance usually gets all cluttered up in the meshes of political strategies and implications. I say "unfortunately" only in the sense that partisan politics or personal political involvements too often becloud the issue. I do not say that it is unfortunate that an appeal is made for Government assistance in the solving of such problems.

It is quite in keeping with Catholic social teaching that public authority be looked upon as a proper partner in the promoting of the public good. This is particularly so when every effort is made to include personal participation and cooperation of groups and private agencies in the overall plan. As a matter of fact, this is what is meant when we talk of social justice in action.

There are some, even among Catholics, who endeavor to reduce every issue of this kind to one of purely political activity. They refuse to accept public authority as an active participant and agent of social justice. "You can't politicize religion or the spiritual," some would tell us. Therefore, they conclude, the concept of social justice must be divorced from any aspect of politics.

I repeat, nevertheless, that social justice involves the public representative of the people. In many instances the objectives of social justice cannot be achieved without such participation.

The aim and purpose of the virtue of social justice is to promote the common good. When that aim is adhered to and the objective achieved, you have social justice in action whether the participants be politicians, labor leaders, bankers, priests or plutocrats. It may very well be that some of the individuals thus participating are motivated more by their own personal interests than the common good. It may even be that some of them do profit personally. If the end result is actually and objectively the common good of the Nation, social justice is served.

Moreover—a personal motive that does not run contrary to the ultimate aim of the common good does not necessarily vitiate the action of the individual. The principle of "the end justifies the means" is morally repulsive. It is quite possible, nevertheless, and legitimately so, that a man may often act with a double motivation. So long as neither of those motives are bad in them-

selves, it is perfectly licit and moral for the participant to so act.

For instance, a politician (I use the term in its better meaning) urging the passage of a law for medical aid to the aged or for the creation of a new playground in a city or a slum clearance that will reduce racial tensions is acutely conscious that he has a popular issue. The social need is there. The people want action in this field. The means to be used are honest and licit. At the same time, our political example knows that it will bring him votes. He will be reelected. It will increase his own influence in the political scheme of things. Must he therefore vote against this common good proposition simply because he himself will also be a beneficiary? Nonsense.

The purer a man's intention is, the more he can divest himself of any selfish interests in the promotion of the common good, the purer will be his action and the nearer does he come to the ideal of a public servant. But idealist or no, he certainly does not have the obligation to commit political suicide simply because his own personal interests coincide with the interests of the public welfare.

"All this and heaven, too?" the cynic might ask. The answer is "Yes." So long as the papal encyclicals insist that the participation of public officials is often necessary for the promotion of the common good and so long as the participant avoids the Charybdis of corruption and the Scylla of sinful insincerity, he has a perfect right to feel that he is exercising the virtue of social justice even though it may result in the bonanza of reelection to public office.

Of course if you're an individualist, one who nurtures the illusion that Almighty God established human society as merely a collection of fragmented groups and individuals, you will not understand what the church is talking about when the sovereign pontiff speaks of socialization and of social justice. Almighty God, however, never intended that the babe in the crib nor the old person a few steps from the grave were simply to exist as isolated individuals and nothing more. We are born members of a human society. That membership places upon us the obligation of cooperating one with another—from government down and from the individual up—in the promotion of the common good. That is what the social question is all about. That we may understand and act upon that obligation is why the Popes write social encyclicals.

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## Excerpts, Erle Cocke, Jr., Briggs Memorial Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., Sunday, August 19, 1962, 11 a.m.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, August 19, 1962, Hon. Erle Cocke, Jr., Alternate Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, was the lay speaker at the morning worship service of Briggs Memorial Baptist Church, Westmoreland Hills, Md. Portions of his remarks appeared in the Washington Post this morning and have been the subject of widespread favorable comment.

Because of my lifelong friendship with Mr. Cocke and because I share the philosophy which was expressed in his message yesterday, I requested his permission to include his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because I believe that they are of universal interest.

Mr. Cocke is an outstanding young man who has served his country and his fellow man with honor and distinction and the thoughts which underlie his remarks confirm his dedication of purpose.

It is indeed a pleasure to include here his inspiring and thought-provoking message:

It is a sad commentary that in our society today doing good is not considered news. The yardstick of news these days is the evil that men can perpetrate. The bigger the community, the more violent is this yardstick.

Our greatest national problem today is not the H-bomb. It is not Communist Russia. It is not the space missile gap. It is not racial unrest. It is the cancer of moral decay eating at our Nation's vitals.

This cancer is slowly but surely destroying every traditional American virtue whether it be religious, patriotic, ethical, economic, moral, or political.

Just look how far we have drifted as a whole society from the framework of American idealism on which our Republic was founded. Where are today our pioneer day virtues of hard work, thrift and private initiative?

On one hand we have divorced the modern American from the rewards of his efforts through our all-devouring tax system. On the other hand we have divorced this same citizen from the penalties of his nonefforts by the growing paternalism of a welfare state.

Perhaps the threat of the H-bomb hanging over our collective heads day and night posing the instant cremation of the human race has accelerated the loss of all true old-fashioned values. We are today living only for the present. We are not living today for what we can contribute to the free American way of life but for what we can get out of it. We are nearing the bottom of the barrel because we cannot, either as individuals or as a nation continue to live beyond our means and forever defer the payment of the credit charges with which we have mortgaged our future.

Let us examine this picture of modern American materialism. It is charged with the high voltage of future ruin.

We are living in America today in the maddest pursuit of pleasure ever known to man on this earth. There is nothing like it anywhere else in this world. The gratification of every selfish whim seems today to be the all-absorbing passion of our people. The only power of indignation we have left is resentment over any interference with our enjoyment of life. In our homes we surround ourselves with every kind of push-button luxury. In our offices, shops, and plants we are concentrating on every kind of labor saving device, or automation. Today plans are on drafting boards to take away even the chore of driving a car by the development of highways and motor vehicles which will let us ride in self-steering, self-stopping, and self-accelerating automobiles.

No wonder we are getting soft physically. No wonder we make a poor showing against Communist athletes in the Olympic sports.

Because the almighty dollar greases our pursuit of selfish pleasures, we are concentrating on the chase of money. Possession of a big bank account is what counts today. It isn't how you got your million. Today what counts is have you got it? If you have it you are socially acceptable—by that I mean we no longer turn our backs on people with tainted money—we no longer care whether the character with the dough got it robbing widows and orphans, or a bank, or swindling his neighbors or stealing from his employer or cheating Uncle Sam.

We give a lot of lipservice to fighting communism. But how many of us today have the moral courage to turn our backs on individuals who have known records of consorting with the Reds? How many of us boycott shows whose scripts are written by authors who have taken the fifth amendment when quizzed about their Communist affiliations? How many of us accept as literary bibles book reviews done by known fellow travelers and parlor pinks?

We haven't got the courage to stand up and be counted against the followers of the Communist line. For my part I don't want any dealings of any kind with anyone who gives first allegiance to some foreign government while posing as an American citizen. I also have a very healthy respect for those people who are loyal to their own faith, church, synagogue, or mosque, as well as their loyalty to their own governments.

Unfortunately we are not merely confronted by an imported alien "ism" like communism. We have developed—I should say spawned—in this country a domestic—an American-grown evil philosophy that is just as bad as imported communism in its cancerous effect upon American character.

I refer to this growing concept that in these United States there is only one crime today. That is the crime of getting caught. You can see this vicious new belief reflected in the headlines of page 1 of every daily newspaper, every day, in every city and town of America.

It is reflected by the stories of the disappearance of personal integrity in public and private office. It is reflected by what has become known as "payola." It is reflected, finally, on the political and statesmanship levels by the sacrifice of principle to expediency and by compromise.

This Nation and our own Baptist Church was built around ideals. We didn't twist ideals to wrap them around our Republic and our other organizations.

There is a humorous adage that "everybody is against sin." My fellow Americans, examine your consciences. Is it still true? Or have we learned to wink at sin? Have we stifled our individual and national conscience?

There is a proverb which glows today with the eloquence of its truth. It is the saying that for evil to triumph it is only necessary for good men to do nothing about it.

As an American combat veteran of World War II, I am dismayed by press reports from Turkey some 2 years ago that some 30 American officers and enlisted men stationed there pleaded the fifth amendment when the Army opened an investigation of black market activities there.

Here is a new low in our morality when men who have sworn solemnly to wear the American uniform in honor to defend God and country become breakers of the laws they are pledged to uphold. It explains to us why we have turncoats in an American war.

The bulwarks of our freedom must first be erected in American minds. If the Communists can demolish these bulwarks in American minds, what good are our Army, our Navy, our Air Force, our Marine Corps? Our missileers?

We have made life too pleasurable in America at the cost of our Spartan manhood. Where else but here can a 17-year-old youth boast of a convertible, a hi-fi set, a portable TV, and a girl? No wonder he cannot stand the thought of giving up even 1 minute of such a pleasurable life to accept the highest obligation of American citizenship—that of bearing arms in defense of our freedoms.

No wonder that when the Selective Service System puts its finger on such a youth he appears before his draft board to explode indignantly, "Why pick on me?"

Who is at fault? We all are.

We have too many homes in our Nation today in which exist religious vacuums. Children are not taught to love and obey God, to respect their parents and elders. We pamper junior so much that he gets the idea that the world owes him a living and does him a grievous wrong when it expects him to submit to discipline of any kind. That's why we have unbridled young hoodlums who grow from junior delinquents to junior criminals.

We need more pausing to reflect before we take any step, or commit ourselves to any action, or make a decision, to square what we are about to do with what I call living with ourselves. Can you live with yourself in the days to come, knowing you have done someone a wrong or have sinned against your community, State, or Nation? If the voice of your scruples is weak, you need a spiritual and moral amplifier to give it a volume you cannot be deaf to or overlook. This church is where you can get these spiritual amplifiers. Without this spiritual equipment man is but an ape in velvet.

We need to shift the emphasis in America today from material riches to the kind of riches that money cannot buy. We need the personal philosophy that dedicates the citizen to the lifelong objective of leaving America better off for his having lived in it.

This is exactly the kind of life of service which we all should try to live. Briggs Church, Washington area, and America have been enriched immeasurably by your personal contributions. We have invested our time, our energy, our enthusiasm, our compassion, our helpfulness to make this community, this State and this Nation better places in which to live. We all have earned a reservation, when the good Lord summons us to post everlasting, to dwell in a land of pure delight where saints immortal reign.

We stand tall today on the American scene, as a bright beacon lighting the pathway of our people toward its true destiny with the greatness that is within our reach if we keep faith with God, with our conscience, and with our ideals of freedom, justice, and democracy.

The greatest problem that confronts a democracy like ours is the enlightened control of human selfishness. We can achieve this only by living up to divine precepts and by practicing that greatest of all American human relations ideal—by devotion to mutual helpfulness.

It has been a genuinely refreshing experience, and a privilege, to have had this opportunity of joining with you in worshiping together. May we all follow in His footsteps for the glory of God and the true welfare of America.

## Local Efforts Fall Short in Lively Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, the New Frontier started as an endeavor to enlist all our Nation's resources—human and material—in a much-needed effort to bring reality more in conformance with the great American dream. Some progress has been made, but as our President advised us in his memorable inaugural address, the job will not be completed easily or in a short time. It is, therefore, good that we have among us observers who remind us of the task before us. As regards cultural matters, Mr. Richard Coe, drama critic of the Washington Post, has performed this function in an admirable manner. While giving credit where credit is due and encouraging even the smallest steps toward greater cultural development, Mr. Coe, nevertheless, does not lose sight of how much must yet be done. I wish to commend the attention of the House the following article by Mr. Coe which appeared in the August 5 issue of the Washington Post.

The article follows:

LOCAL EFFORTS FALL SHORT IN LIVELY ARTS

(By Richard L. Coe)

Not too much should be expected from a civilization which turns the greatest lines of communication into a means for private huckstering, which rates the teachers of the young in lowly economic status and allows a family of six to live under a porch.

This is the time of year when we Americans are prowling about in unfamiliar spots and are likely to enter even admired cities through the back door, passing suburban settlements of dreary monotony, blinking our eyes at the sheer ugliness of signs and sleazy little buildings.

Visitors to our own city, recognized as one of the land's most beautiful, all too often drive in via New York Avenue, which not many years ago was broad and tree shaded but now is broader, denuded of trees and alive with boastful neons.

The reasons are infinitely complex, but the atmosphere cannot be disputed.

For all that, there are areas of uncommon beauty, and passionate hunger on the part of the public to enjoy them. Having read and learned through our new luxury of instant communication, the public flocks to feast on the exquisite beauties of the White House, the white splendors of Capitol Hill. Even the Seventh Street windows reflect the Louis Quinze taste of our most publicized First Lady.

Our visitors have heard of the lively arts, and this summer it's been possible to visit Shakespeare for free at the Monument Grounds' Sylvan Theater, to hear opera and watch ballet in Rock Creek Park's green-rimmed Carter Barron Amphitheater. Though Government subsidy of music is politically unthinkable, the service bands and orchestras perform at the Watergate and on the Capitol steps, courtesy of the largest military budget in human history. Friday nights the Marine Barracks twilight parade suggests the Music Hall Rockettes are clumsy sissies.

I have talked with some visitors who never have had the opportunity to see a Shakespearean production and I have found them pleasantly pleased by the current productions of "The Taming of the Shrew" and "As You Like It." I have met others who never have tasted opera or ballet and they have been exulted by Licia Albanese, Frank Guarrera and Jan Peerce in Rock Creek Park or by the prettiness of the ballets which began its season.

As we all know, it is a huge country, blessed with natural and man-created wonders, and in the inevitable gradualness of each generation, learning anything from those before it, one must expect great annual waves of earnest people to whom quality—the best of the past—is new and, just as naturally, open to argument. Is that best of the past quite so dazzling as the newcomers have been led to expect?

It is on this point where a bold, uncompromising "No" must be shouted.

The attractions themselves, for all the devotion, enthusiasm and good intentions, are utterly miserable. Only the well-subsidized military events are first-rate. The rest? No.

It simply is not possible for amateurs to play Shakespeare. It is not possible, as must be done on the sylvan stage, to move about on ill-proportioned steps which serve as the stage setting. It simply is not possible to act Shakespeare so that each speaker is smack in front of a microphone at a given instant.

It simply is not possible to produce the great operas properly with thin choruses, small orchestras, too vast a stage, too little rehearsal time and settings that were questionable on smaller stages 40-odd years ago. It is not even possible to produce Gilbert and Sullivan without a mass of ermined lords for "Iolanthe" or a bevy of little ladies for "The Mikado."

It simply is not possible even for America's oldest ballet company to present good ballet after a brief rehearsal period following a long lull of inactivity. It is not possible for an orchestra to leap from Aaron Copland to P. I. Tschaikowski without expensive hours and hours of rehearsals.

The facade looks so rosy, culture is fashionably served, and when Life magazine starts the Washington Shakespeare Summer Festival by snapping performers and smiling audience against the gleaming Washington Monument, everyone knows the record will look dandy—especially if Life ever prints the picture.

It is all, one reflects, another outcropping of huskstering, of saying things which aren't so and which, in the long run, fool few. The marvel, perhaps, is the long-suffering patience of unknowing audiences, settling for their dash of Shakespeare, their professionally sung individual arias, their assured spins from experienced dancers. As they crowd for these crumbs, they show their hunger.

They show, too, their appreciation, for without doubt those crumbs will lead some to find fuller sustenance. They will in time be kindled to more demanding tastes.

Still, we cannot say they are being served the best on these skeletal reproductions of civilization's glories.

The best costs money and, above all, time. The creation of ugliness is financially profitable, and looking around our despoiled lands, polluted streams, and wasted talents, is it really surprising that, when it comes to the finest, we settle supinely for its merest shadow?

## Statement of Federation of Homemakers Before Subcommittee on Health and Safety, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the excellent testimony given by Mrs. Ruth Desmond, secretary of the Federation of Homemakers, before the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on legislation to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

STATEMENT OF FEDERATION OF HOMEMAKERS BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND SAFETY, HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE, RE H.R. 9101, H.R. 9102, AND H.R. 9331 TO AMEND CLAUSE (3) OF SECTION 402(a) OF THE FEDERAL FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT, AUGUST 9, 1962

Mr. Chairman and members of the Health and Safety Subcommittee, I am Ruth Desmond, secretary of the Federation of Homemakers, a nationwide organization of public-spirited housewives. The need for such an organization became evident when its founders either attended the food additives hearings or read the printed record of the hearings and realized how little information of vital interest to homemakers regarding legislation dealing with the treatment of food is published in newspapers and magazines. The food additives hearings also made it plain that the homemakers of this country must, in fairness, be permitted to give their views to Congress on the probable harmful, cumulative effects of extensive treatment of foods with newly developed substances on humans, and whether they wish to take these potential risks—especially with regard to their children.

At the color additives hearings this federation had the privilege of presenting a statement before this committee. Our group was greatly encouraged when Representative DINGELL complimented the federation on its statement and stated this organization is now fulfilling a need which had long existed in the Congress. It follows that members of this Federation heartily endorse the President's statement that consumers have the right to knowledge and the right to be heard—and certainly these rights are especially important where the public's health and well-being are concerned.

Now that the world has been shocked by the knowledge that a previously regarded as innocuous drug, thalidomide, has been capable of causing damage to unborn babies when taken by pregnant women in the early stages of their pregnancy—the advice of the late Sir Edward Mellanby seems more significant than ever to members of this federation. I am referring to Sir Mellanby's Sander-Wells lecture "The Chemical Manipulation of Food," delivered at the Middlesex Hospital on May 4, 1951, and published in the British Medical Journal, October 13, 1951. I quote briefly from this lecture:

"At the present time, both in the United States and in this country, it is possible for chemical substances to be used in food manipulation and production which ultimately prove to be harmful and deleterious. This does not mean that substances known to be harmful can be added to food but only chemicals are often assumed to be harmless and, after being used for a longer or shorter time, are then proved to have harmful properties. This kind of incident is constantly happening. It was stated at a recent inquiry in the United States that of 700 chemical agents at present used in food preparation 246 had not been studied enough from a toxicological angle to satisfy the FDA of that country that they were innocuous. Even when such chemical substances have passed through a battery of tests from the point of view of toxicology, unexpected harmful results have often ultimately been demonstrated."

Scientists and physicians echoed similar advice at the food additives hearings which apparently was not heeded. In a recent speech before the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union leaders on July 24, 1962, at Bushkill, Pa., Commissioner Larrick notes that now about 4,000 additives are used in food production—some, of course, in the packaging and wrapping materials and the coatings.

The thalidomide tragedy emphasizes the need for more realistic and thorough testing of drugs and food additives. Larger animals will need to be used in these more valid tests and a variety of species will need to be used. We hope the total impact of the environment (potentialism) as endured by humans will also be considered in undertaking these future tests of chemicals for safety when their use is contemplated in drugs and foods. This federation spoke of the need for research along these lines in its statement on color additives legislation and especially commented on the effects chemicals may have upon pregnant women (we see now that we should have stressed the probable harm to the unborn child). At the lipstick hearings conducted by FDA this federation again brought up the need for better animal testing methods. Later, Dr. Harold Stewart, pathologist with the National Institutes of Health, in commenting on the need for the Delaney anticancer clause in food legislation, stressed the need for extensive testing of chemicals—taking into consideration the effect of the whole environment upon laboratory animals.

Now a process has been developed for converting whole fish into a fish protein concentrate. It is our understanding that fins, gills, eyes, scales, intestines, stomach contents—all will be utilized in this process. The public is assured the final product will be esthetic in appearance and taste, will be clean, and will store indefinitely. Surely a drastic process must be necessary to convert such offensive items into a pure, almost odorless product? It is the understanding of this federation that first the whole fish and its stomach contents will be placed in a boiling solvent until the bones and fat and distressing items are removed or disappear or disintegrate. Then the protein which is left is subjected to boiling alcohol to remove the odor. Surely residues of the solvent and alcohol will remain in this final product—even if only in minute traces? The question follows, Have animal and human tests been of sufficient duration to determine its cumulative effect on humans?

The need for such a protein is justified in areas where the tiny children will starve to death without a cheap, complete protein added to their diets or else will live on permanently maimed for life because of inadequate food at this particular stage of their existence. The calculated risks would be justified in such a situation; especially until they are old enough to eat and assimilate properly an adult diet. Perhaps members of this committee recall the "Brinkley Journal" last winter on local TV where schoolchildren of Peru were shown eating their one substantial meal of the day (sometimes it was their only meal) which appeared to consist of American whole wheat cooked with native vegetables and I presume infrequently some meat was added. Although viewers were told it was difficult for these underfed or infrequently fed children to concentrate on their school lessons (understandably food and their lunch occupied their thoughts)—these children appeared surprisingly attractive and wholesome on this film.

This federation is not opposed to the use of this cheap, whole-fish product to save the lives of small children in underdeveloped impoverished countries. But our members see no justification for its addition to the diet of Americans who have an ample supply of protein in this country—sometimes at very reasonable prices. We have in mind supermarket sales of chickens—as an example. Nevertheless it is seriously being contemplated to add this drastically processed substance or concentrate to bread, cookies, cakes, cereals, and other food items already extensively processed for consumption by people who have an abundance of food. Our members are opposed to this concentrate being added to the food supplies of this country until it has been tested for years to determine its ultimate effect on the human body. Its value as an emergency ration certainly could be justified even in this country. If we were ever so unfortunate as to be engaged in an atomic war—this item could be invaluable. Possibly it might be needed in times of a natural disaster—such as a hurricane.

If the precedent to use whole fish in a fish flour is established by changing our Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act—will this later result in a flood of requests to use other previously ruled undesirable food products in our foods? Later, as a result of this concession, will FDA officials be able to refuse permission to use rotten eggs or slightly decomposed eggs, chemically treated to insure cleanliness, in foods? Cannot certain portions of poultry and livestock, previously used in livestock feeds, now be incorporated in our foods?

Last year a member of this federation studied the FDA file on fish flour concentrate and observed at that time many letters in opposition to using whole fish in this product. Some were afraid that decomposed fish might also be utilized. Quite a few of these letters in opposition to the use of whole fish were from housewives and from women's clubs and organizations. The Federated Women's Clubs issued a resolution against the use of whole fish for this protein concentrate. This federation was not only opposed to the use of the whole fish but also to the method to be employed in such processing.

In view of the foregoing, this federation believes there is no justification (except perhaps profits of a financial nature) for foisting this fish concentrate product upon the American people who have access to a plentiful supply of complete protein for their diets.

Thank you for this opportunity to speak on behalf of a dedicated group of housewives.

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## St. Stephen: Spirit of Hungary's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I insert in the RECORD an address I delivered Sunday afternoon, August 19, at the St. Stephen's Day celebration, held under the auspices of the American Hungarian Catholic Society, at the open-air shrine and chapel on the grounds of the Daughters of the Divine Redeemer, Lander Road, Orange Village, Ohio, on "St. Stephen: Spirit of Hungary's Future":

ST. STEPHEN: SPIRIT OF HUNGARY'S FUTURE

I am honored with the opportunity you have given me to join with you in your annual observance of St. Stephen's Day. This is a memorable day for all Hungarians everywhere in the world. This observance honors an enlightened ruler, a beloved king among men, and the patron saint of the Hungarian nation.

The history of the Hungarian nation is inseparably connected with the life and times of St. Stephen. It is generally agreed that the Hungarian nation existed as an European state for approximately 100 years before King Stephen became ruler of that land. But those 100 years are dimly recorded by history. The coming of King Stephen shaped the Hungarian nation, established its foundation, gave it identity to the known world, and blessed it with a greatness of pur-

pose that has endured for almost a millennium.

It was King Stephen, youthful in years, with a rareness of mind, who studied Christianity and converted to it, brought conversion of the entire nation to Christianity. He assumed the kingship of Hungary with a crown that has since become known as the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, and which, to this day, stands as an indelible symbol of Hungary as a nation. So strong and so benign was the influence of King Stephen upon the life of his nation that long after Hungary ceased to be ruled by a king, the crown of King Stephen has remained as the symbol of state authority.

King Stephen brought many things to the Hungarian nation which have endured the test of time. But two of his contributions stand out in the world of our times. The first was his declaration of responsibility which must be assumed by all citizens of a nation, the foremost of which was the exacting duty of the rich to care for the poor. This declaration was based upon the basic Christian virtue of charity. King Stephen applied that virtue to the everyday life of his nation and judged his subjects by the manner in which they devoted themselves to that virtue. His second contribution was teaching the virtue of tolerance among his people—tolerance between and among all classes, tolerance of the people in the neighboring states, and especially tolerance of non-Magyars who were living under the crown of Hungary. These and other contributions of King Stephen to his people, given in the highest Christian tradition, accepted and cherished by the Hungarian people, contributed to the canonization of King Stephen as a great saint of the Christian church.

If we observe, but quickly, the long and glorious history of the Hungarian Nation since the reign of King Stephen, we may judge how well these virtues were adopted by the Magyars and the importance they bear to the existence of the Hungarian nation today.

In the 13th century, when the golden hordes were the scourge of the Eurasian continent, it was in Hungary that the campaign of Batu Khan, favorite son of Genghis Khan, was stopped. That battle cost the Hungarian nation dearly. Some historians estimate that as much as 40 percent of Hungarian manhood was sacrificed in the defense of Christian Europe.

Again in the 16th century the people of Hungary, standing as a bastion of defense for western Europe, were called upon to repel the Turkish invasions. Here we are reminded of Prince Hunyadi, leader of the defense of Christian Europe, and for the success of Hunyadi's campaign, the angelus prayer of Christianity was ordered by Pope Urban the fourth—these and many other epics of Christendom have earned for the Hungarian nation the esteem and the honor of Christendom.

In our times we witness Hungarian sacrifices in defense of their Chirstian heritage. Occupied as they are by the new infidels from Moscow, oppressed and persecuted as they are because of their devotion to Christian principles, dedicated as they are to the timeless principles of liberty, justice, and freedom, they are the special target of organized evil on the march.

The modern day symbol of this great Hungarian heritage is Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty.

When the hordes of Moscow occupied Hungary in the closing days of World War II, it was Cardinal Mindszenty who stood as the rallying point of a nation sentenced to national punishment because of political developments in central east Europe, little known or understood by the leaders in the West. It will be recalled that Hungary was not regarded in the councils of the West as a liberated nation, and worse, it was left to the pitiless tyranny of the men from Moscow. And the Russian despots lost no time in introducing their carefully organized program of national punishment upon Hungarian people. In these circumstances Cardinal Mindszenty, dynamic in the traditions of St. Stephen, rallied the Hungarian nation from the depths of despair to stand boldly before the Russian occupier. So strong was his appeal, so brave his leadership, that in the only free election held in Hungary, the Communist puppets were routed and the voice of Hungary spoke out for leaders that would guarantee the blessings of self-government.

But Cardinal Mindszenty and the gallant people of Hungary have paid a heavy price for their bravery and determination. To break the spirt of the Hungarian people, Cardinal Mindszenty was made the target of an evil campaign organized and directed by the Russian tyrants. Falsely accused, tried before a court of puppets, condemned and sentenced by the stooges of Moscow, Cardinal Mindszenty was put in chains.

The Hungarian people, in their great freedom revolution of 1956, removed those chains from Cardinal Mindszenty and returned him to his rightful place as spiritual leader of a Nation dedicated to those moral principles without which liberty, freedom, and Independence are meaningless. When the hordes of Moscow reinvaded Hungary on November 4, 1956, Cardinal Mindszenty found refuge in the American Embassy in Budapest. There he has remained these past 6 years, awaiting action by the nations of the free world on their promises expressed through the resolution on Hungary, enacted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Cardinal Mindszenty has made it clear that he will not leave Hungary, that his duty is to stand fast with the good people of Hungary, and that the emancipation of Hungary is the only condition under which a change in his present status can be effected.

The brave and nobel spirit of Cardinal Mindszenty reminds the world of the brave and noble spirit of the Hungarian people which finds its foundation in the life, the times, and the teachings of St. Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary.

And so today, as we celebrate St. Stephen's Day, we are reminded of a long and glorious past, as we recognize the cruel and demoralizing injustices which dominate everyday life in Hungary today. We who have faith, know the spiritual power of Christianity and have an unwavering belief in the goodness of Almighty God. These beliefs and this spiritual power have withstood attacks from tyrants and despots in the past and have gone on to greater glory and happiness for all who believe.

We who are gathered here, are confident of the future of Hungary because no power on earth can break the tradition of a thousand years of Hungarian history.

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## Wanted: A Policeman for Outer Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, attached is an interesting paper which William A. Hyman, Esq., a constituent of mine, prepared on the subject of space law. It is entitled "Wanted: A Policeman for Outer Space." Mr. Hyman points up the necessity for a body of space law:

WANTED: A POLICEMAN FOR SPACE

(By William A. Hyman)

I. THE MIRACLES OF SCIENCE—THE FAILURE OF LAW

Man breaks his earthbound shackles. Science opens up new worlds far beyond the old dreams and hopes of mankind.

On October 4, 1957, the launching of the first sputnik blasted upon us the opening of the space age. Missiles, rockets, and satellites became household words.

On September 13, 1959, there was a direct target hit on the moon.

On April 12, 1961, a second stage in this new era was opened when Major Gagarin orbited the earth. On August 7, 1961, Major Titov orbited the earth 17 times in 25 hours followed by the short flights of Commander Shephard and Captain Grissom and finally, the triple orbiting flight of Lieutenant Colonel Glenn on February 20, 1962.

On January 20, 1962, Tass, the official Soviet press agency, quoted their scientists as stating "man will visit the moon. The establishment on the moon of a permanent scientific station and subsequently an industrial undertaking will permit us to tap the yet undeveloped resources of this perpetual satellite of the earth."

On April 2, 1962, there was referred to the Committee on Commerce of the U.S. Senate the bill establishing a commercial communications satellite system.

World meteorological projects for weather forecasting, weather control, and instantaneous telecommunications, are on the verge of attainment.

We are now at the third stage in space.

Science has achieved sensational goals and promises to attain outstanding achievements in the future. This will require a change in the course of life everywhere. It will affect our relationships on an international, and also on an interplanetary basis.

Global science has attained world domination.

Law has remained static. It has been helpless in this new field.

This situation has brought forth exhortations for law from the leaders in the study of space.

In 1958, the challenge was hurled forth, "Law must precede man into space". Those who then urged that "national and international action and cooperation are at this time premature"—held "a point of view that was untenable—yes, and even dangerous."

Senator KEATING has said that the development of law for space cannot proceed at the pace which characterized the horse and buggy age. Other prominent members of the House and Senate have likewise urged this same view. We have been warned that the possible dangers of acting too soon were outweighed by the certain dangers of waiting too long for the enactment of any such regulations.

In other parts of the world, too, the urgency for establishment of law to regulate the peaceful uses of space has been emphasized.

II. THE UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

Pursuant to a resolution of the United States submitted in November, 1958, an Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was established.

On June 12, 1959, it submitted its report and unfortunately, took the position that no attempt should be made to establish a law to regulate the use of outer space.

The Committee, later was increased in size by the addition of new member-states and members from new nations. This Committee rendered its report on March 30, 1962. It covered features which are of importance but it failed to meet the demands of the day. It did—

1. Emphasize the need for international cooperation.

2. Express satisfaction with the exchange of messages between Mr. Khrushchev and President Kennedy in regard to the development of concrete projects in this field.

3. Direct the exchange of information and registry of launching objects into orbit.

4. Emphasize meteorology and telecommunications.

In this fifth year of the age of space, after incredible scientific achievements this Committee's report falls far short of answering the challenge that "Law must precede man into space."

The committee failed to give due consideration and take appropriate action on the questions of sovereignty and security involved in the use of space.

It failed to request the United Nations to make mandatory the application of international law and the United Nations Charter to outer space and the celestial bodies. Although the committee stated it "recognized the need both to take timely constructive action and to make the law of space responsive to the facts," up to the present time, this has not been done.

III. THE MAGNA CARTA OF SPACE

On April 12, 1961, *Vostok* (*The East*) was placed in orbit around the earth, the first manned spaceship satellite to do so. At certain points of its flight, its perigee was only 181 kilometers from the surface of the subjacent land (approximately 115 miles).

On the 7th of August 1961, the second manned spaceship satellite *Vostok II* (*The East II*) established a prolonged flight in orbit circling the earth 17 times in 25 hours. Its perigee at various points was as low as 178 kilometers from the surface of the subjacent land (approximately 110 miles).

And again, the achievement of Lieutenant Colonel Glenn in his triple orbit of the earth in *Friendship 7*—a wholly disclosed, unconcealed sensational flight—established a perigee, its lowest altitude, over subjacent countries during the flight as low as 87 and 89 miles above the surface of the earth. Under the various theories as to the extent of sovereignty into the upper reaches of the atmosphere—below the lower limits of space—is there any question that the flights of all three great cosmonauts necessarily invaded the sovereign territory of subjacent lands at the lowest or lower points of their orbits? I believe it is indisputable that the upper reaches of sovereign territory were invaded somewhere in the course of these flights. Without agreement on basic fundamental principles, the invasion of sovereignty carrying with it the accidental invasion of national security, will create problems that may prove incapable of solution except by resort to force.

Therefore, I respectfully suggest your consideration of the Magna Carta of space which was accepted at Bogotá, Colombia, in February 1961, at the Convention of the Inter-American Bar Association and which was subsequently sent to the missions of the nations at the United Nations in May 1961.

Because of its importance, the basic principles enunciated in the Magna Carta of space are set forth. They are as follows:

(a) All space shall be divided into air space and outer space.

(b) All air space shall be deemed to be part of the sovereign jurisdiction of the subjacent land.

(c) All outer space shall be deemed "res commis" (and not "terra nullius").

(d) The interplanetary system shall be deemed "res communis" (and not "res nullius").

(e) Recognition shall be given to the distinction between "res communis" and "terra nullius" (the former denying rights of appropriation and exclusive control by any one nation, the latter conceding such rights of appropriation through the established principles of discovery, habitation, and settlement).

(f) Outer space shall be used solely for peaceful purposes with freedom of exploration and exploitation thereof given to all people for the benefit of mankind.

(g) There shall be no nuclear experiments in outer space.[1]

(h) Furthermore, since it is impossible to set out a boundary line with physical qualities such as characterize boundary lines on land and on the sea, that there be established a neutral zone embracing the upper limits of air space and the lower limits of outer space to be known as Neutralia in which the right of innocent passage shall be afforded all craft, vehicles, and objects of transit and movement without any such incident being deemed an invasion of sovereignty. In the event of any such innocent passage no nation shall have the right to attack or destroy such vehicle or object in transit or the nation from which the said vehicle or object was launched or to destroy any occupants thereof without prior, sufficient warning and notice of claim of invasion of sovereignty and without prior opportunity for determination of the merits of such complaints by peaceful methods.

(i) Provision shall be made for identification, registration, and disclosure of intent of launchings of all space vehicles.

(j) Provision shall likewise be made for the peaceful recognition of rights and places for reentry and landing of space vehicles.

(k) Provision shall be made for the allocation and control of radio frequencies.

(l) Provision shall be made for the avoidance of interference with aircraft by space vehicles and also by space vehicles with other space vehicles.

(m) In the event of injuries or death to persons or damage to property caused by space vehicles, rockets, missiles, satellites, and the like, the sovereign power by or through which the same have been launched shall be responsible and liable for all such damage without the requirement of any proof of fault, negligence, carelessness or recklessness.

(n) An international insurance fund shall be established through some appropriate international association such as the United Nations for the payment of compensation for such damages.

(o) Proper provision shall be made for the international policing of outer space and for the protection of the peoples and nations against violations of their rights therein.

(p) All disputes arising directly and indirectly through the use of outer space and the interplanetary regions shall be settled and determined solely by arbitration through accepted agency, court, or tribunal to be designated by the sovereign powers or by the United Nations.

(q) The landing on any other planet containing life, or the occupation thereof, by earthman shall not give to any nation on earth any right of ownership or control of such other planet.

(r) The peoples of the earth do hereby declare that they recognize the rights of sovereignty, ownership, and control of any other planet by the inhabitants thereof.

(s) War, in, by, or through space is hereby barred forever.

IV. THE OPPOSITION TO SUCH A SKELETAL OUTLINE OF PRINCIPLES FOR SPACE IS NOT SOUND

There is a school of thought which opposes the statement of any short, concise declaration of rights and obligations relating to the use of space. They urge that we should wait until an extensive codification can be established. They disregard the fact that the time has come for action to establish the basic principles that will affect the relationship between individuals and nations, nations and nations, the earth and the interplanetary system.

Let us use the guidelines of the past:

(a) The Ten Commandments.

(b) The Magna Carta of 1215.

(c) The Articles of Confederation of the colonies as planned at the Continental Congress in July 1776 and adopted in July 1778.

(d) The Declaration of Independence.

(e) The Constitution of the United States.

(f) The Bill of Rights.

All are short, concise statements which have proven to be the basis of security and progress.

The Sixth Commandment states, "Thou Shalt Not Kill." Laws have been enacted in every age and country prohibiting murder. Yet individuals as well as nations have violated this proscription. In fact, war has been stated to be a normal routine of man and that peace itself is an artificial creation.

Should the Ten Commandments then be rejected because the sixth is violated? Should the Bill of Rights be repealed because civil rights have been denied to certain people?

Are not our courts full of litigation arising from violations of civil and criminal laws? Because such laws are violated, are they useless?

The Magna Carta of Space will amass behind it world public opinion where the forces for proper behavior on the part of all nations are to be found.

World public opinion will prove the decisive factor for peace. Mankind wants peace. It will not tolerate nor forgive the outlaw.

V. THE POLICEMAN IN SPACE

The Charter of the United Nations should be amended to extend its jurisdiction into space. It must be freed from its earthbound chains. But a law or treaty which is not enforceable is a nullity. A traffic regulation without a traffic officer causes confusion rather than order and safety. The history of the United Nations has shown that proper policing has helped to prevent a world conflagration which would have meant the destruction of mankind.

While efforts are being made to effect an agreement to control nuclear testing and to prevent provocations for international strife, efforts can be made to provide power to the United Nations to police space.

CONCLUSION

The Soviet Union and the United States control the power to destroy the world.

Neither would deliberately set off a catastrophic world conflagration. Each knows too well the unavoidable consequences of such an undertaking. The risk lies in the creation of an unintended war set off by an innocent occurrence which is construed as a warlike act. A Soviet missile accidentally dropped in New York or an American missile accidentally dropped in Moscow could be construed as such an intentional attack.

In his plea before the United Nations on April 17, 1962, Hon. U Thant, the Acting Secretary General, urged the great powers to reach "temporary standstill agreements" on the issues that threaten to incite sudden disaster. Mr. Thant stated that the risk of unintended war was "very great." He stated that "from time to time we have been hearing of a nuclear-tipped missile being nearly launched by accident or on false alarm, even by an electrical short circuit. It is common knowledge that both the American and Soviet missiles are at hair-trigger readiness and controlled by electronic devices."

Furthermore, he stated, "But it is imperative that the seriousness of these situations does not develop to the point of application of this monstrous nuclear power. If no final solution can yet be found for these disputes, the most sensible and practical course is to insulate them as far as possible from war risks by temporary standstill agreements, while at the same time an effort is made to build a more permanent war-free international system."

The world wants peace not war—hot or cold. It is tired of continued international

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Footnotes at end of speech.

provocations which constantly threaten the peace of the world.

Peace connotes the right of the common man the world over to live, to survive, to progress, to exercise the fundamental principles of equality, liberty and freedom under law, and in a society under proper supervision.

The world lacks the restraining force of law in space. The era of scientific domination without regard to the creation of additional dangers for mankind proceeds at a faster and faster pace.

Let us now terminate the legal vacuum in space. Let us now unite on the fundamental principles for the protection of all—the Marna Carta of Space and the establishment of the United Nations as the policeman of space.

"Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time."

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[1] Provision (g) hereinabove referred to was lost by one vote in committee but subsequently, the votes received from absent members of the committee supported the provision.

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## Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy To Take Possession of Naval Oil Shale Reserves

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I would like to be advised when I have consumed 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the hour is late and I apologize to the Members of the House for imposing on their time at this hour of the day. I think it is important, however, that some legislative history be established in the consideration of this rule with reference to this particular bill. I might remind the Members that research on this particular shale deposit was in a very active state from 1944 to 1956. So the question immediately presents itself, if we had an experimental project in operation for 12 years, just exactly what is the further need for research in this particular field? You might ask, Why would you be apprehensive about this, other than the cost of such? What objection might there be to extending and reactivating the research at this particular shale deposit at Rifle, Colo.?

My only objection is this: Back in 1934 we were told that we were going to authorize a few million dollars for the Tennessee Valley project, and it was to be merely a yardstick to measure the actual cost of producing electrical energy; it was not to enter into the commercial production of electricity; it was to provide a yardstick whereby the actual cost of production of electrical energy could be measured against the rates that were being charged across the country by private enterprise. You know, of course, what has happened from that time to this. We have developed a monstrosity, in my opinion, in the Tennessee Valley that is engaged in the production of subsidized electricity on a commercial basis. It has cost the taxpayers of the United States many hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Here we are 30 years later, and just an hour ago we appropriated, in the public works appropriation bill, $35 million more for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

All I want to do this afternoon is to make the record abundantly clear that the reactivation of research in the shale deposits at Rifle, Colo., by the Department of the Interior, or the lessee of their designation, will be entirely restricted for whatever need might exist in the way of developing further information through a research program and is not—and I repeat—it is not in any way to be taken as consent by Congress for the commencement of commercial production of oil and other petroleum products.

May I ask the chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], if I have properly interpreted the purpose of this legislation?

Mr. PRICE. The answer to the gentleman from Kansas is that he has correctly stated the purpose of the legislation. It is in the interest of the development and research of potential oil resources for the Navy and the military forces in the event of national emergency and exclusively for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas has consumed 3 minutes.

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for his comment, and I want his comment to be contained in the adoption of the rule proceedings here so that in retrospect there may be no doubt as to why the experimentation is being authorized in this legislation.

Mr. PRICE. That is correct. The Navy requested this legislation specifically for this purpose.

Mr. AVERY. By way of explanation I might add this. Perhaps some Members may ask; "Do we not need all the petroleum products we can get? And are we not importing a vast volume of crude oil and residual oil from foreign sources of supply?" The answer is, "Yes, of course we are." But the same as in many other industries, because of the importation of vast quantities of petroleum products and residual oil, and particularly crude oil, the independent producers of Texas, Kansas, Oklahoma, and many other States, have seen their production rolled back to where they are now producing only 25 to 50 percent of their potential. This, of course, preserves our natural resources, but at the same time I ask the Members of the House to place themselves in the position of having a potential return from your investment of $50,000 a year and suddenly you are then rolled back to $12,500. You would not like that; it would adversely affect the economy of your State, and it would hold you to one-quarter of your return on your investment that you had anticipated when the investment was originally made.

So I hope that this RECORD will be read by the Department of the Navy as they proceed to reactivate this experimental project in Colorado.

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AVERY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma who has done more research on this matter, probably, than any other Member of the House.

Mr. STEED. I think the gentleman has just made a very important point. I agree with everything he has said and associate myself with him in his presentation of this point to the House. I hope there will be no mistaking what he has said here today.

Mr. AVERY. I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AVERY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman refresh my memory? Did we not have a bill before the House not long ago that denied funds for the operation of this plant at Rifle, Colo.? Or was that the story? Is this bill designed to activate that plant?

Mr. AVERY. I would have to respond to the gentleman by saying that I am not personally familiar with the legislation to which he is referring. I defer to the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE].

Mr. PRICE. We have not had a bill up here in recent years on that. I believe the gentleman refers to the time when the Department of the Interior decided to close this plant and end the experimentation there. That was about 1958.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AVERY. I yield to the gentleman form Colorado.

Mr. ASPINALL. The gentleman refers to requests for funds to reactivate this plant during fiscal year 1963. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] proposed an amendment when the Interior Department appropriation bill was before us. The gentleman from Colorado now speaking opposed that amendment because there is no possibility of this plant being reactivated or any work being done at the facility until the jurisdiction question has been settled. This bill is for the purpose of determining the matter of jurisdiction. It has nothing to do with appropriations or the production of the product—kerogen—from oil shale.

Mr. AVERY. In response to the gentleman from Colorado, I concur that what he said is entirely true, that this bill does not envision any commercial development. I would repeat what I said when TVA was authorized, little did we think then that that authority was going to be engaged in the commercial production of electricity.

I may say further, Mr. Speaker, that on present-day prices it would require a subsidy of $1.50 a barrel to feasibly produce crude oil from this shale deposit at Rifle, Colo. I would remind you, however, that would not necessarily prohibit commercial production because we subsidize other production that is just as nonessential as this is at the present time. I do not want to deter or restrict further research, but I repeat, I hope our colloquy here this afternoon will not be

in any way construed as a green light on commercial production of crude oil.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN].

## Battery C, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 43d Artillery, Honored at Erie, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, a very fine welcome-home ceremony was held at Erie, Pa., Sunday, August 19, for Battery C, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 43d Artillery.

This outstanding Army Reserve unit had just completed 10 months of active duty during which it won many deserved honors and received the rating of "superior."

These young men exemplified the high type of able and unselfish young people in our Reserve forces. I was proud to participate in the welcome-home ceremony and under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a copy of the ceremony's program and the address I delivered as principal speaker:

WELCOME HOME: BATTERY C, 5TH HOWITZER BATTALION, 43D ARTILLERY FROM ERIE, PA., SUNDAY, AUGUST 19, 1962, 5 P.M., ACADEMY STADIUM, ERIE, PA.

Battery C, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 43d Artillery, U.S. Army Reserve: Capt. Clair W. Steel, commanding; 1st Lt. Paul B. Kraus, executive officer, 1st Lt. Thomas M. Heintzel, assistant executive officer; 1st Sgt. Louis S. Pisani; M. Sgt. Harold E. Beck, chief, firing battery; Sgt. Frank La Riccia, motor sergeant; Sfc. Richard M. Thompson, mess steward; Sgt. Ronald A. Faster, supply sergeant; Sgt. Harold E. Veit, platoon sergeant.

HISTORY

Activated during World War II and earned battle credits for participation in the Ardennes-Alsace; central Europe; Normandy; northern France and Rhineland campaigns of the European theater. Served in the Army Occupation of Germany following the end of the war until August 1945.

Deactivated following World War II. Reactivated as a Reserve unit in Erie, Pa., on February 14, 1956, as part of the 377th AAA Automatic Weapons Battalion and was reorganized as an artillery unit (155 millimeter) in June 1959.

Entered on active duty October 1, 1961, with mobilization station at Fort Sill, Okla., as a result of the Berlin crisis. Returned to Erie on August 9, 1962.

PROGRAM

Master of ceremonies: Lt. Col. Walter H. Sapp (retired).

Invocation: Rev. Jack E. Spencer.

Introduction of guests: Master of ceremonies.

Welcome from city of Erie: Hon. Charles B. Williamson, mayor, city of Erie.

Welcome from county of Erie: Commissioner Louis J. Rzymek, board of commissioners, Erie County.

Welcome home address: Hon. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress.

Letter of welcome from commanding general, XXI U.S. Army Corps: Master of ceremonies.

Résumé of unit activity: Capt. Clair W. Steele.

Formation of units: Unit commanders.

Retreat ceremony: Armed services Reserve units.

Benediction: Rev. Jack E. Spencer.

WELCOME HOME RESERVES

(Address by Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, House of Representatives, at the homecoming ceremonies in honor of Battery C, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 43d Artillery, Erie, Pa., August 19, 1962)

All of us in Pennsylvania are glad to welcome home the men of Battery C, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 43d Artillery.

We extend to them our most sincere good wishes and we pledge our help in making their adjustment to civilian life as swift and as smooth as possible.

We recognize the great debt of gratitude we owe to the men of Battery C. We know, too, that we owe them our heartfelt respect and honor. They have earned our gratitude through their unquestioning service in our Nation's Armed Forces.

These men have sacrificed much private comfort and wealth that we might remain safe and free.

Many of them have had to interrupt their careers or their schooling in midstream and many have suffered great financial loss during their terms of active service.

Through this welcome home program—grateful residents of Erie demonstrate their appreciation for the magnificent work they have accomplished.

I would like to take a few moments now to outline briefly for you the achievements of the Erie unit during their activation.

Battery C established a record of which it can be justly proud.

It is a record which should give comfort to all Americans in the knowledge that the defense of the Nation is in capable hands, when it rests on the shoulders of men who are of the caliber of Battery C.

The unit quickly organized itself when it was ordered to active duty, and proceeded, without accident or incident, to Fort Sill, its assigned training site.

Before a month was out, Battery C was already undergoing the initial phases of its training.

During the succeeding 3 months the unit completed the 4th U.S. Army training test. It might be well to note at this point that the training program which Battery C completed was a stiff one. It is meant to harden men for possible combat. It is tough. It is difficult. We can sense some measure of the hardships experienced by the personnel of Battery C—if we realize that during the month of January the unit spent 2 nights per week in the field in preparing for its training test—2 nights per week in the field in bitter cold of winter.

They had to work hard but they successfully completed their initial training assignment. In short, the men of Battery C demonstrated that they could do the job. But this was only the beginning.

Battery C's next test was the 41st Artillery Group training test.

Through the icy months of February and March the men and officers of Battery C welded themselves into an efficient and effective fighting force firing the 75-millimeter, 105-millimeter, and 155-millimeter howitzers.

They readied themselves for the group artillery test. In April they proved that their long hours of training had been productive. Battery C scored an amazing 91.4 on the artillery test, the highest score recorded at Fort Sill in 10 years.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, Battery C Reserve unit had bettered the Regulars.

Battery C also had a score of 100 percent in gunnery, which marked the first time that this feat had ever been achieved.

This exemplary record was capped in June when Battery C passed the annual general inspection and received a rating of "superior," the highest rating in the 5th Howitzer Battalion.

Battery C also earned the privilege and honor of firing for the artillery school at Fort Sill. Now, the men of Battery C were teaching other soldiers their skills.

Battery C was chosen, too, to fire the 105-millimeter howitzer phase of the post demonstration, "the mechanized infantry in attack."

Some 330 rounds of ammunition were fired in this demonstration, 150 shells being expended in the short space of 11 minutes. In all, a total of 14,250 man-hours were spent in supporting the artillery school on firing demonstrations.

There is a good reason for the success of Battery C. It lies in the competence and devotion to duty of its men. Capt. C. W. Steele, the commanding officer of Battery C, has been an inspiring leader to his men.

Certainly their magnificent performance while on active duty must be partly related to the high character of the leadership they received. But the enlisted men of Battery C deserve commendation too. We have the example of M. Sgt. Harold E. Beck, who was awarded the Army Commendation Medal for meritorious service during this tour of active duty; the example of Sp5c. James J. Strub, who received a commendation for his outstanding performance while serving with the artillery school; and the example of Sp4c. David Brunner, who was commended for his assistance to the 41st Group in preparation for its annual general inspection.

These men set a high standard for their comrades in arms. Without the great work of these men, as well as the teamwork of the other members of Battery C, its mission and the mission of the entire Army Reserve program could not have been accomplished.

I would like to sketch for you that broader Reserve mission to which the activity of Battery C contributed so much.

It is critically important that we understand why these men of Battery C, as well as 156,000 other reservists, were called to active duty for a year.

During the long months while these men served their Nation, many of them—and many of us at home—may have questioned the value of activating the Reserves. Their training assignments while on active duty may have appeared to be only remotely related to the struggle against possible Communist aggression. Nothing could be further from the truth. It bears reemphasis that the Reserves were called up to prevent a war from beginning, not necessarily to fight one. And in the event that war should have broken out, the Reserves were preparing to fight in such a conflict until it was successfully concluded.

This is the meaning behind the long, certainly painful, months of training at Fort Sill. This is the meaning behind the great sacrifice these men have made. Any attempt to obscure the value of the service of the Reserves does them a great disservice and threatens the morale of the American people in their efforts to win the cold war.

The Reserves were ordered to active duty in the midst of the Berlin crisis last Summer. There were clear indications at that time that the Soviet Union and the East German Government might attempt a quick take over of the city. This would have presented the West with an accomplished political fact of life.

Such a situation could have either touched off world war III with all of its attendant horrors or would have perhaps cowed the West into submission. Neither alternative was desirable. Both threatened to disrupt, perhaps shatter, the fabric of Western unity. Capitulation in Berlin would have spelled the breakup of the western alliance.

Confidence in America's ability and willingness to defend our Allies, or to defend itself and its vital interests, would have been seriously undermined. There was a compelling need to demonstrate to the Communists our determination to meet their pressures on Berlin.

These pressures were further heightened by the erection of the infamous Berlin wall. We had to find some way to convince the Soviet Union that we were not making idle protests. We had to convince the Kremlin that we were willing to use force, if necessary, to live up to our treaty commitments and to secure our rights in Europe.

Several policy changes were initiated that were decidedly aimed at convincing the Soviets of our firm resolution. Congress was asked to provide a sizable increase in the defense budget. Gen. Lucius Clay was sent to West Germany as the personal representative of the President. American troops were dispatched to West Berlin and deliberately routed through the disputed corridor which runs between West Germany and West Berlin. In addition, the Reserves were called up.

The activation of the Reserves, therefore, was a part of an overall response to growing Communist military moves which might have pushed us out of West Berlin before we were in a position to forestall them.

The Reserves performed at least three vital functions during their tour of active duty. First of all, they clearly demonstrated that the West was willing to use its military might to preserve its rights in West Berlin. It showed the Communists that we were prepared to back up our strong words with the force of our arms.

Second, the Reserves were called up to strengthen our conventional fighting forces in the event of war. Our strategic striking power was unmatched. We had more bombers and long-range missiles than the Soviet Union. We were in a better position to fight a general war than a conventional one. Yet we were aware that such a conflict would be massively destructive for both sides.

Frankly, we needed military capabilities that would make it possible for us to respond to a threatened Communist attack with weapons that were short of the biggest and most powerful that were in our arsenal.

We had to hold these latter weapons in reserve for the contingency of an all-out Communist attack.

The Communists might well have calculated that we might not use our big weapons if they simply took West Berlin. They might have assumed that we would have hesitated to use force to retake, or hold, West Berlin if all we had available were our most destructive weapons. This calculation was upset when Reserves were called up. They were more prepared than raw recruits to be organized into effective fighting units.

They were in a more advanced stage of preparedness to bolster our Regular Army, Navy, and Air Forces, than any unit which we might have organized from scratch.

As the impressive record of Erie's Battery C demonstrates—confidence in the Reserves was justified.

By bolstering our military power quickly and effectively, the Reserves strengthened the bargaining position of the United States in its negotiations with the Soviet Union—not only on West Berlin—but on the entire spectrum of political issues which still separate East and West.

It should not be forgotten that the United States would not have been able to deploy thousands of its regular combat troops to Europe unless the Reserves had been activated.

The reservists who were ordered to active duty, including the men of Battery C, filled the void created by the deployment of Army units to Europe. These Regular units could not have been safely transferred from their assignments in the United States unless some other troops were available to take their place and assume their responsibilities. The Reserves were given these tasks.

They acted fully in their capacity as Reserves, as backup support for the Armed Forces.

Finally, the Reserves bought time for the United States to build a larger conventional force that will now be sustained into the future. During the year of Reserve activation, the Army has laid plans, and has already taken definite steps toward the organization of two additional divisions.

In all, the Army will stand at about 1 million men grouped into 16 divisions and various specialized units. The expansion of the Army would have been seriously hampered, and the Nation's security would have been gravely undermined, if the Reserves had not been on station.

The Reserves provided a protective screen, so to speak, behind which the Army and the Nation were able to take stock of its defenses, to repair weaknesses, and to initiate needed changes in our military posture.

If we view the Reserve callup in the broader perspective of the cold war, we will be in a position to better appreciate the value of the Reserves and we will be more prepared to understand and properly evaluate the magnificent work accomplished by them.

The reservists who are now coming home should not minimize the mission they have accomplished. They have a right to claim our gratitude and honor. They have a right to point to their record with pride. They have served their country well and honorably and the Nation is better for their service.

Let no cynical voice doubt about the merit of the job done by the Reserves. Let no one suggest that the reservists wasted their time while on active duty. Let everyone be assured that the Communists were moved by the Reserve callup. Let everyone understand that the Reserves helped keep the peace.

As a member of the House Committee on Armed Services and ranking minority member of the subcommittee handling the Reserve program, from a congressional standpoint, the record of the Reserves over the last year leads me to one final comment. It seems to me beyond dispute that the Reserves have underlined the continued need for a strong military Reserve program. The cost to the Nation of maintaining its Regular Armed Forces would be considerably greater unless we have a large well-organized Reserve system to rely upon.

We count on the Reserves to come to the aid of their country in time of peril. As their performance during the recent callup indicates, they are reliable troops who can be swiftly organized into tough, well-trained fighting units.

They can perform the following functions which no other military organization can discharge: (1) They cost relatively little in terms of their usefulness; (2) they can perform a great variety of military jobs; (3) they can release regular troops for deployment to bases overseas; (4) and, when necessary, they can strengthen the Nation's bargaining position in negotiations with its enemies.

You men of Battery C have displayed a high level of service which the Nation expects of the Reserves. The proud record of the Reserves has buttressed our confidence in the Reserve program and has pointed up the need for our continued support of it. We are comforted that the Reserves are coming home, that, like the men of Battery C, they are returning to their loved ones. We are comforted, too, in a higher and more profound sense. We are comforted in the knowledge that we can rely on the Reserves.

Finally, you men of Erie's Battery C have given heightened meaning to that knowledge, and by your contribution to our national security, we acknowledge today that we owe you an undying debt of gratitude.

## Serving Freedom's Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I was very happy to be present at the joint 32d Division homecoming and V–J Day celebration at the County Stadium in Milwaukee on Sunday, August 12.

The commemoration of a past event is an empty gesture, I think, unless we use the occasion to remind ourselves of the significance underlying that event. Our victory over Japan, it seems to me, teaches the important lesson of the need for military preparedness. V–J Day, which ended the war, and Pearl Harbor, which began it, each in its way underlines the necessity of strong defenses. We best celebrate V–J Day by renewing our pledge to make whatever sacrifices necessary to keep our country's military posture strong.

In that regard, it is particularly fitting that honor be paid to the men of Wisconsin's famed Red Arrow Division who have returned home after 10 months of active military duty in the service of their country. For them "sacrifice" is not merely a word. For them it has reality in terms of economic loss, broken family ties and other hardships.

The role of the men of the 32d Division is in some ways more difficult than that of those who fought in World War II. It is not hard to recognize and honor heroes of hot war battles. History makes their duties clear. But history tells us nothing of cold war soldiers. That history is still being written. One chapter—and a notable one—has been inscribed by the 32d Division.

The mobilization last year was in answer to direct and persistent Soviet threats to Berlin. Mr. Khrushchev had promised, in ultimatum language, to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany that would, he said, exclude United States and allied forces from Berlin. Communist harassments of air lanes and land routes, as well as construction of the wall, lent force to his threat. There was very real danger of actions which might lead to a shooting war.

In this context, the President issued his order mobilizing Reserve and National Guard units. Following the mobilization, Mr. Khrushchev lost some of his bluster. The deadline for a peace treaty was lifted and tensions eased.

It is clear that the response of our reservists and National Guardsmen helped change the Soviet leader's mind. In answering our President's call to arms, they played an important part in easing the crisis. For this the 32d Division and its men can take due credit.

The events of the past year have demonstrated the value of our Reserve military forces in cold war conflicts. In

a hot war a strong Reserve force could mean the difference between victory and defeat.

It has been an age-old axiom of warfare that getting there "the fustest with the mostest"—as the Confederate general said—gives an armed force the best chance of success. The revolutionary changes which atomic power has made in warfare have modified that motto. Today it is not enough just to be the first with the most. We must be second with the most as well.

Because this Nation has promised that it will never use its military power first in a preemptive attack, we have shut the door on the kind of initiative that being first with the most represents. Therefore, we must have the power to withstand a blow and retaliate effectively and conclusively.

It is clear that the United States cannot be second with the most unless we have a broad base of mobilization, the ability to recover quickly and effectively, and the power to strike back. To attain these objectives we need strong, well-trained, well-equipped reserves.

Congress, I believe, is convinced that maintaining a strong reserve will be a powerful factor in deciding the outcome of future conflicts. For that reason, many of my colleagues believe as I do, that, if we are to make a mistake in determining the number of reservists required, let it be an error of too many, not too few.

For it would be tragic indeed if, in the final analysis, we were both not first and second with the most, but too little and too late.

Today, therefore, in paying tribute and expressing our sincere thanks to the 32d let us demonstrate our appreciation by rededicating ourselves to the cause of peace by preparedness.

Mr. Speaker, the celebration welcoming back Wisconsin's 32d Division was most impressive, combining food and fireworks, entertainment and speeches. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the address given by the principal speaker for the occasion, Lt. Gen. Louis W. Truman, deputy commanding general for Reserve Forces; the benediction by Maj. William J. Mayer, chaplain, U.S. Army; a proclamation issued by Milwaukee County Executive John L. Doyne, and a resolution passed by the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors which was read by Supervisor Edward W. Lane:

REMARKS BY LT. GEN. LOUIS W. TRUMAN, DEPUTY COMMANDING GENERAL FOR RESERVE FORCES HEADQUARTERS, U.S. CONTINENTAL ARMY COMMAND, FORT MONROE, VA.

It is an honor and a pleasure for me to join with you, as a representative of the Department of Army, in this homecoming celebration for the members of the 32d Red Arrow Infantry Division.

This month, in cities and towns in many parts of the United States, troops of the National Guard and the Army Reserve are being welcomed home after nearly a year of active military service.

However, I doubt that any of those ceremonies will equal the one taking place here today. Certainly, none could express more eloquently the high regard in which the returning soldiers are held by the folks back home. On behalf of the Army, I should like to express deepest appreciation for your esteem and friendship.

Your patriotism and visible interest in the men of the 32d Division is, in a large measure, responsible for the outstanding record attained by this organization during the 45 years of its existence.

The foundation of any military organization is good morale—but morale is not attained solely from within the command alone, but it is furthered by assistance from the people back home, the relatives and friends of those in active service—who understand and appreciate the job their men in service are doing. The soldier in uniform has tangible evidence that he is serving his country. The sacrifices he is called upon to make are clearly understood and recognized. He receives the thanks and appreciation of his fellow citizens, and particularly during wartime we recognize and applaud his deeds of valor and his service to the Nation.

Yet, seldom is an accolade bestowed upon those at home who are denied the comradeship of military service, the plaudits of the public or the pageantry of the victory celebration. However, they still must make sacrifices and endure hardships, not the least of which are uncertainty and loneliness, worry over the welfare of their loved ones in service and the necessity for readjusting their own lives.

Too often, their only reward is in knowing that they have tried to fulfill their duty toward members of their families, who are in the military service. There are too few who appreciate or recognize the full weight of their contributions to victory.

It is even more difficult for them, in this period of cold war activity, when the danger is not as clearly apparent, and the threat to the country is not believed generally to be as great as in a hot war, when the victory is not as clear cut, but is just as important, and just as decisive as when won by force of arms.

To you who have served at home, bolstering the spirit and morale of your friends and relatives on active duty, again as a representative of the Department of the Army, I want you to know that your sacrifices and your assistance have not gone unnoticed nor unappreciated.

The 32d Infantry Division, in addition to being one of the largest National Guard divisions of the Army, has established a long and impressive line of "firsts." Their record of achievement started in World War I when they earned the nickname in Europe of being "Les Terribles" from their Allies, the French Army. They were among the first to break the vaunted Hindenberg line and to set foot on German soil. At that time it was said that the Red Arrow insignia of the 32d Infantry represented the fact that they "pierced any enemy line they faced."

It is significant, also, that this Red Arrow Division was the first to score an infantry victory in any theater during World War II, when they pushed the Japanese back in New Guinea and started the long march up the Pacific to eventual victory. Again, the 32d Division was the first unit of the Army to airlift an entire regiment to the scene of combat—a system which is now standard and accepted—and is the basis of our highly mobile Army of today.

The 654 days of combat recorded by the division during World War II were more than that of any other U.S. Army division in any theater of operations. And I can add that an impressive number of individual awards for valor were won by its members, in addition to organizational battle honors.

There are many present and former members of the division here today who will recall that first mobilization for active duty in 1940. Then, there was a clear-cut threat to our national security, and the enemy was identified unmistakably. The first peacetime draft had started, and all units of the National Guard and Army Reserve were recalled to active duty for intensive training and preparation for possible combat. The initial year of training was extended to 18 months—and before its expiration, "the duration plus" was the standard term of enlistment.

But at that time, the enemy was known and the danger was imminent. It is true that although every man, woman and child in the United States was affected in one way or another, by a new pattern of life. We did not then know the dark side of war. We were not aware of the price to be paid in the dead and wounded, the long separations, the steaming jungles and blistering deserts on which wars are fought, the temporary but disheartening defeats, and the final victory to be paid for at a bitter price.

In contrast, in 1961, with World War II and the Korean war both being in the distant past, and with the world in a state of chronic unrest, the partial mobilization had a different effect. The Berlin threat was one of a long series of international political crises. We were not faced with actual hostilities. No foreign enemy maneuvered against our troops, or, at least, not visibly so.

Why, then, were we building up the Army and why were some National Guard divisions being mobilized while others were not?

The answer is that because of the gravity of the situation, the callup of two National Guard combat-ready divisions was urgent to accomplish the partial mobilization. They were picked from an already designated high priority group.

And I should like to emphasize the fact that only the Kremlin knows exactly how close we were to war at the time of that partial mobilization. The threats they made against the peace of the world were certainly real enough. It is very probable that the partial mobilization of almost 120,000 troops caused the Kremlin to have some second thoughts about embarking upon the dangerous adventure of war.

Those mobilized forces of the National Guard and the Army Reserve represented a substantial increase in our active Army Forces. The state of readiness that they soon achieved provided us with a much increased military posture.

I think it can be said: The fact that our Army was not called upon to fight was a victory in itself. Even though that victory added no battle streamers to the division colors, it's value should not, and will not, be underestimated.

In keeping with it's past record of high achievement, the 32d Infantry Division was assigned to the Strategic Army Corps, the Army's "first team," within a few months after mobilization. It's selection for duty with Strac, as the Strategic Army Corps is called, is a tribute to the leadership and training of the 32d Infantry Division.

As members of Strac, this division joined a highly mobile team composed of the best combat troops in the Army, the "brushfire warfare element," ready to move any place on the globe within a few hours and establish a beachhead or an airhead. To go wherever our security might be threatened or wherever a hostile move demands immediate bolstering of Armed Forces anywhere in the free world.

During visits to the 32d Division, both in the field and in garrison during this past year, I have been most impressed with the professional competence of General Smith, the division commander, and his two principal assistants, General Dunlap, his assistant division commander, and General Schweinler, the division artillery commander. Their outstanding performances were made possible by the wholehearted support given them by the officers and men of the division.

Tonight's celebration is serving a twofold purpose: In addition to honoring the homecoming of the 32d Infantry Division, it also

commemorates V–J day, the end of the war in the Pacific, the closing chapter of World War II. As deputy commanding general for the Reserve Forces, U.S. Continental Army Command, I can enthusiastically join in both of these happy occasions.

To you of the Red Arrow Division, I can say that the Department of the Army, the Department of Defense, and your country salute you for your devotion to duty, your sacrifices and your contribution to the defense of the United States—and I wish each and every one of you good health, good luck, and every success in all your future endeavors.

BENEDICTION

(By Maj. William J. Mayer, chaplain, U.S. Army)

Almighty God, we ask Your blessings upon us and our country. In this age of missiles and antimissiles, of Telestars and spaceships, we cannot forget Thee, the Creator of the world. In this century of space progress, give each of us a clear understanding and a strong will to obey your commandments, to be grateful to Thee for allowing us to live in a free country.

We thank Thee for watching over all of us who are devoted to the cause of freedom throughout the world. We ask Your divine providence to bring peace to all nations: that men everywhere may learn to know the fatherhood of God through the brotherhood of man. As we return to our individual homes and duties, remind us frequently that the price of peace is eternal vigilance; that we shall remain free only if we remain morally and physically strong; strong in the beliefs that all men are created equal and that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

PROCLAMATION

(By John L. Doyne, Milwaukee County executive)

Whereas the 32d Division answered the call of the President of the United States when the Communists threatened the peace of the world; and

Whereas the 32d Division, which is composed of several thousand men who come from all walks of life, gave up many personal comforts to help prepare in the protection of this great country; and

Whereas the 32d Divsion is endowed with a history of courage and heroism, for it has answered the call of duty three times in 45 years, from the battlefield in Germany in World War I to the South Pacific jungles in World War II, and now to answer the Communist challenge; and

Whereas the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors did on the 18th day of July 1962, by resolution publicly commend the 32d Division by resolution;

Now, therefore, I, John L. Doyne, county executive of the county of Milwaukee, do proclaim August 12, 1962, as "Red Arrow Day" in commemoration of the 32d Division's contribution to the great effort by the people of the world to be rid of war.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS ON JULY 18, 1962, AND READ BY SUPERVISOR EDWARD W. LANE

Whereas in August 1962, the 32d Division will return to Wisconsin from active duty; and

Whereas the 32d Division, while on active duty for the Federal Government did greatly lessen the possibility of a third world war and

Whereas the citizens of this county desire to show their appreciation by publicly honoring this great division: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That this board publicly commends this great Wisconsin division; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the county executive in behalf of the county government issue a suitable proclamation in commemoration of this event; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a suitable copy of this resolution be transmitted to the commanding general of the 32d Division.

## Today's Promises Are Tomorrow's Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962.*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following letter offers a terrific program for the Congress and for the Government to consider. I commend Philip F. Swart, chairman of the New York Board of Trade for offering this program for our consideration:

NEW YORK BOARD OF TRADE, INC.,
*New York, N.Y., July 27, 1962.*

Hon. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: The New York Board of Trade, joining the President of the United States in the desire to "get the country moving again," commends the following program and principles, unanimously adopted by the board's committee on taxes and government economy:

1. An immediate tax cut of 10 percent across the board for individuals and corporations, but only if matched by an immediate expenditure cut of equivalent amount. To have a tax cut without an expenditure cut is to endanger the economy, not improve it. We don't get stronger by depleting the Treasury. If budget deficits were the way out, we should now be enjoying economic stability since we have had sizable deficits in 25 of the last 31 years. But we know from history what happens to nations that persist in living beyond their means.

2. Budget balance alone is not enough. What counts is to achieve it at the lowest possible level of expenditures and revenues. That is what releases the Nation's full productive energies. That is what imparts strength. That is what instills confidence.

3. The complete opposite of that is a deliberately created, substantial deficit piled on an already huge debt. A deficit does put more dollars into the economy. That is not of itself the equivalent of more purchasing power or more purchases. A deep-rooted anxiety, reaching out to the entire Western World, is not about the quantity of our dollars, but their quality. Quantity without quality places in jeopardy the savings bonds, life insurance policies, bank balances, and pension benefits of our own people. Adding deficit on deficit may get the country moving again—but in the wrong direction.

4. The road to tax reduction is in expenditure reduction. Expenditure reduction requires determination and forthrightness by all. Lipservice and pious resolutions won't do it. Everyone must recognize that expenditure reduction may curb or eliminate advantages that certain groups, areas, or parties now unwarrantedly enjoy.

5. The President properly put it to the Nation when, at his inauguration, he said it is time for the people to ask: "What can we do for the Government?" Here are some of the things we can do if we are serious about having our economy advance:

(a) We must stop calling for, or condoning, the spending of money that we don't have.

(b) We must realize that today's promises become tomorrow's taxes. We must therefore turn a deaf ear to candidates painting rosy pictures of lavish welfare programs, and other spending that we can't afford.

(c) We must recognize that nothing impoverishes us, as a nation, more than to pay out a dollar without getting a dollar's worth in return. Featherbedding, or sloughing off of any sort, comes at a high cost to all of us. We must therefore instill or restore in ourselves an interest in work, a pride in work, a sense of responsibility about work. We must stop trying to get the most and give the least. Otherwise our economy and our jobs are imperiled.

(d) By the same token, we must insist that our elected representatives scrutinize every public program or activity, and measure it in terms of dollar's worth in results, efficient administration, and elimination of waste. The same rigid analysis, support, and yardsticks must be applied to public expenditures, as is expected of business in its expenditures. The space age is no excuse for a dollar of unneeded expenditure. Noteworthy areas that could pay off handsomely by this approach, without having the programs themselves suffer, are foreign aid, public welfare and assistance, the whole gamut of business activities engaged in by Government through about 700 agencies. Furthermore, priority should be assigned to the different expenditure requests to permit postponements or eliminations as need be. Congressional staff facilities should be improved to afford this sort of thoroughgoing, incisive review.

(e) We must not only welcome, but insist upon, tax reform. The tax structure lacks stability in its excessive reliance on the income tax. The income tax, in turn, leaves a great deal to be desired in simplicity, equity, certainty, and administrability. More important, we must get away from the present situation under which taxes, rather than commonsense or good judgment, run our personal and business lives. The cost to the Nation in man-hours devoted to taxes, instead of productivity, is too great.

Very respectfully,

PHILIP F. SWART,
*Chairman of the Board.*

## Washingon Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of August 18, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

THE TWO FACES OF DANGER: MISREPRESENTATION, MISUNDERSTANDING

Free America is poised on a precipice. A slight push can send our free society crashing to disaster and this push may well be generated by the two faces of danger: (1) Misrepresentation and (2) misunderstand-

ing. How close we are to this fate was clearly brought out in the President's television report on the economy in which both faces of danger were nakedly exposed. Point by point the President was either deliberately creating a false impression or is woefully lacking in basic understanding of our economy, or both—whichever, we must be concerned with the direction which President Kennedy's policies are forcing this Nation. Obviously, he is incapable of realizing that our greatest economic danger is the Federal Government—its tampering, taxing, planning, regimentation, and control. With this danger in mind, let's analyze the President's speech.

The general economy:

It's good, but not what it should be. We are moving ahead, but at a declining rate. It is called a sidewise direction and is now caused by Government tampering with the forces of production. In measure after measure in the Kennedy-directed 87th Congress the President has asked for more Federal control over business and the economy and has proposed additional restrictions and restraints on a free economy to cure the problems which too much Government has created in the first place. Examples: The tax bill with massive withholding on dividends and interest, taxing profit on foreign investment before the taxpayer actually receives it; the trade bill which makes it less possible for American industry to compete in foreign markets and then provides for Government takeover of business forced into bankruptcy as well as Government subsistence to workers who lose their jobs; the drain of our wealth through foreign aid and domestic welfare programs; interest rates; Federal takeover of unemployment compensation by imposing Federal standards on the States; etc. The positive approach to moving the economy ahead is to free it from Government control and restraints, cut Federal spending in order to free capital for investment, industrial expansion and the creation of jobs. The Kennedy approach breeds uncertainty and lack of confidence.

Inflation:

The President said: "Inflation, therefore, remains no longer a serious threat." This is not true. There is continuing inflation which reduces the value of the dollar and is a very real threat to the purchasing power of the people. Misunderstood is the fact that the Government is responsible for this inflation through increased Federal spending and deficit financing. The fact is 1.9 percent increase in the cost of living over the past 14 months (Consumer Price Index) plus fantastic continued spending has one unquestionable end result—more inflation.

Balance of payments: The President: "We can be proud also of balancing our international payments." We are not balancing our international payments. Foreigners hold $22 billion in claims against our gold supply and we have only $16 billion in reserve, $11 billion of which must be kept to back up our money. At any moment the confused policies of this administration (excessive spending, deficit financing, easy money policies and attitudes, foreign aid gifts of our money) could cause a run on our dollar. Surely the President must realize that such a precarious position is going to force devaluation of the dollar, possibly soon.

Labor peace: "We have had an overall extraordinary record in labor peace in the last 18 months." Absolutely contrary to the facts. The Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that for the January-June 1962 period U.S. industry and workers lost 9.8 million man-days, a 60-percent jump over the previous year's strike losses. Worse even than the total time and money lost through increased strikes is the nature of the strikes, principally in the field of defense—missiles and nuclear space industries. The Kennedy administration is wholly responsible for a new double standard in industrial relations—limiting profits and prices for business but insisting that labor's demands be granted and all productivity gains be rewarded to labor alone. Little attention has been paid to the fact that again the Government is responsible for the increase in industrial disputes because of its hostile attitude toward business while at the same time it coddles labor and labor leaders, granting them special privilege and refusing to entertain any kind of restriction such as making labor responsible under antitrust laws.

Growth: "We have been standing still, economically at least in comparison to the countries of Western Europe and Japan." This statement ignores the facts completely: (1) By not recognizing that we started from a much higher economic base than any other country in the world; (2) there can be no comparison with Western Europe and Japan, countries which were completely devastated by war and had to be totally rebuilt; and (3) American industry has supported foreign industrial growth through taxes to build up others at the expense of their own growth. (Example: Japanese textile plants and German steel plants.)

Gross national product: "The gross national product has gone up 10 percent." In making this statement the President used rigged economic statistics. In a study by Congressman TOM CURTIS, of Missouri, it is shown that when President Kennedy said the gross national product increased 10 percent he used current dollars when he and his Council of Economic Advisers are fully aware that constant dollars should be used to correct for the Kennedy inflation. This more economically meaningful figure would give an increase in gross national product of about 8½ percent (compared to over 10 percent during the two previous postwar recoveries). The President's claim that actions by his administration pulled us out of the recession is totally without foundation. The recession bottomed out in February 1961—less than 30 days after he took office—before any action by him could become effective and before Congress had enacted any legislation. He also failed to mention that for the first time since World War I the civilian work force has not increased in peacetime. Since 1957 the civilian work force has been increasing at almost 1 million a year—but in 1962, the civilian work force actually decreased. Therefore, President Kennedy is in error when he says the economic gap has closed during his administration—it has widened—and because of Government.

Unemployed: "The unemployment rate has gone down 23 percent in the last year and a half." This is the President's statement for public consumption, but his spokesmen, appearing before congressional committees constantly urge the enactment of new legislation because of the high incidence of unemployment. Actually, we cannot be sure if the present rate of unemployment is too high or too low. (Although to the man out of a job any unemployment is too high.) No official of the administration, and I have asked the Secretary of Labor repeatedly to tell us who the unemployed are, no official can say with certainty. We do know that the figures include all those over 14 years of age who have held jobs, even temporary student summer jobs. Lately the Department of Labor has attempted to check unemployment through State unemployment compensation rolls, but even here only three-fifths of work force was sampled (in itself, recognized as inconclusive). With such inadequate figures, by what right can the President claim progress in this field, and why does he tell the public we are licking the problem while his spokesmen tell Congress, in private, that unemployment is serious?

Corporate profits: "Corporate profit, after taxes since January 1961, have gone up 26 percent or a total of $10 billion." Any responsible economist knows, even if the President does not, that corporate profit must be related to investment and this shows lower profits over the period the President indicates and his figures allow nothing for replacement of equipment, depreciation, and obsolescence, without which new products and jobs are impossible.

Personal income: "The disposable personal income, which is the amount of income we have left after taxes, has gone up $30 billion, 8 percent." In this figure the President conveniently overlooks the forced wage boosts through pressure of unions encouraged by the Government and not matched by increased productivity, and at the expense of profit, investment, and equipment replacement which creates jobs.

The President's partisan speech laid strong implication on the need to increase the Democratic Party majority in the next Congress creating the impression that economic progress and the interests of the people can be advanced only through Democratic leadership. What are the facts? If the figures on voting in the Senate are any indication, then the President and his party in Congress are far apart. There are 16 Democratic chairmen of committees in the Senate. Since January 1962, these 16 chairmen have cast a total of over 250 votes against the President's program in Congress. These collective votes against the President's program by his leaders in Congress are all the more astounding when the general rule of thumb is applied (by both parties) that chairmen of committees normally must—and do—support their President in the White House. The only reason that can be attributed to such political sacrilege is that Members of Congress are more in tune with the people and they know the President's programs are not supported by the majority of the people of the United States.

Why, then, is it important to change the leadership in Congress and put Republicans in charge of the committees? Because while Democratic chairmen in both the House and Senate may vote against the President, they must and do, report his legislation out of committee. Therefore, we never get the opportunity to vote for proper legislation. Republican chairmen of committees, on the contrary, would report out the correct, constructive legislation to meet the challenge of this day, at home and abroad, so all Members of Congress could vote in favor of proposals which would move the country ahead instead of being forced, as we now are, to vote consistently against administration-sponsored measures almost solely designed to move this country into the "democratic socialism" advocated by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of the White House advisers. (Yes, being negative or positive depends on what you're for and against.)

As Representative of the Fifth District of Texas I will not sit idly by while the two faces of danger—misrepresentation and misunderstanding—force us closer and closer to the ADA-socialistic programs and the end of our free competitive system. It will continue to be my constant endeavor to fight for what I believe is the goal of the people of the Fifth District of Texas, the strengthening and expansion of the free enterprise system with all its guarantees of liberty for the individual, its promise of reward for those who are willing to work and risk for the opportunity to get ahead, the system which is, in truth, our American heritage and which has given a richer, fuller, more abundant life to more people than any other system ever devised by man.

# Appendix

## Senate Passage of Communications Satellite Bill Lauded by the Evening Sun, Baltimore, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 21, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it was gratifying to note that on August 17, when the communications satellite bill reached a vote in the Senate, the outcome was overwhelmingly in favor of passage. In my belief this new type of legislation represents a wise and beneficial decision on the part of the Senate in allowing a Government-controlled private industry to operate the American portion of the Telstar system.

The advisability of this course becomes clearer when one considers that the recent history of private, regulated communications networks has been marked with success, and that portions of private enterprise involved in the management of this program seem well equipped to administer both the managerial and technological areas of the project.

An editorial appearing in the Baltimore, Md., Evening Sun, August 17, 1962, lauds the passage of the communications satellite bill. The Sun, a respected newspaper, points out that the program is not a giveaway and that no vital American interests are likely to be disregarded. The public should be more than adequately safeguarded through the efforts of the Federal Communications Commission, and the appointment of three public directors to aid in controlling the corporation itself.

The Sun continues by saying that—

It seems likely that the new public corporation will be directly responsive. If, as opponents of the bill fear, this is not the case, Congress can always reverse its present decision and put the Government in charge. This is far easier to do, politically and technically, than to pry the Government loose from an operation it has started.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Senate Victory" appearing in the August 17 issue of the Baltimore (Md.) Evening Sun be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE VICTORY

The decisive 66 to 11 vote by which the Senate has passed the communications satellite bill is probably an accurate reflection of the temper of the upper House. This was not a close decision in which Members who had serious reservations might vote for the bill anyway to insure that at least something would be done. Passage was certain. Presumably all who dissented in principle from the idea of private operation under Government control of this newest international communications system and who preferred direct Government operation felt free to vote against the measure. That less than a dozen did so is significant. In the House the opposition also amounted only to a handful.

We believe the majority is correct. The recent history of private although regulated operation of communications systems is on the whole an excellent one. The private carriers, led by the huge American Telephone & Telegraph Co., have the financial and technical resources to do the job, given the necessary degree of Government cooperation in lifting the satellites themselves into orbit. They believe—as does the administration—that the project can be self-supporting. And the public interest ought to be adequately protected both by close regulation through the Federal Communications Commission and by the three public directors of the proposed corporation to be appointed by the President.

For all these reasons the case for direct Federal operation has seemed a weak one. Nothing is being "given away." No vital American interests are likely to be disregarded, any more than they have been in private operation of international cable and radio communications services. And the rule of thumb that an efficient private enterprise can usually adapt more swiftly to changing developments and demands than a bureaucratic Government agency ought to hold unless and until the opposite is shown in a particular case.

The future of international communications via satellite is only dimly visible. The demand for instantaneous transmission of sight and sound via Telstar and her sisters may be less than now supposed or it may be overwhelming. In either case it seems likely that the new public corporation will be directly responsive. If, as opponents of the bill fear, this is not the case, Congress can always reverse its present decision and put the Government in charge. This is far easier to do, politically and technically, than to pry the Government loose from an operation it has started.

## War of 1812 Sesquicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 21, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the highway of freedom is not an easy road to follow. Many obstructions and roadblocks are found to be in the way. Often freedom is won, only to be subverted at a later date. This fact is geographically shown in many of the newly emerging nations of the world that have found that freedom is not simply the act of independence. The United States had to learn this painful lesson also. We learned it in our "second war of independence"—the War of 1812. This war is an important landmark in the history of our Nation, for it showed the determination of a freed people to stay free. But because 1962 is part of the centennial of the Civil War, the sesquicentennial of the War of 1812 has been obscured.

But New Jersey is doing its part to perpetuate the observance of this important fight for the preservation of those rights for which we fought in 1776. Gov. Richard Hughes has issued a proclamation marking the period of September 21–28, 1962, as "War of 1812 Week."

The Elizabeth Daily Journal of August 3 has editorially commented on the sesquicentennial. Their editorial makes some cogent points which I feel should be understood by those interested in freedom. Therefore, I ask for unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAR OF 1812 SESQUICENTENNIAL

This year is the sesquicentennial of the War of 1812, an anniversary obscured by attention to the centennial of the Civil War and lesser knowledge of the conflict. Nevertheless the New Jersey chapter of the Society of the War of 1812 has undertaken a formal observance.

Governor Hughes issued a proclamation making the period of September 21–28 "War of 1812 Week." The State society will be host to the national organization in Atlantic City during the same interval.

"New Jersey was always a stalwart defender of the Nation and many officers and men of this State rose to the defense of their Nation," Governor Hughes noted in his proclamation.

The War of 1812 merits an observance. Although among the smaller conflicts thrust upon the new Nation, it served to inform the world that the zeal and the will of the struggle that achieved freedom was not a transient phase and that the United States was intent upon preservation of the inalienable rights for which it had fought.

## Tribute to General MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BARRY GOLDWATER**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 21, 1962*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, last week the Speaker of the House, Mr. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, presented to Gen. Douglas MacArthur an engrossed resolution passed by the Congress expressing recognition of his outstanding devotion to the American people and for his brilliant leadership during

two world wars. Mr. President, this recognition was long overdue but I feel certain that there has been engrossed on the hearts of all Americans a feeling of honor for this man and a feeling of gratitude to our Lord that he has been with us during three periods of trial placed on our Republic by the enemies of freedom. Had his word been more closely listened to those enemies might not now enjoy the strength they do.

I ask unanimous consent that the general's remarks on the occasion of the presentation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MACARTHUR EXPRESSES GRATITUDE FOR CITATION

Mr. Vice President, Secretary McNamara, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Congress, I cannot tell you how greatly embarrassed I am at the compliments that have been showered upon me today. I am sorry to say I won't live to be 100 years old as Mr. RIVERS said, but as long as I do live I shall remember and treasure this day.

EXPRESSES GRATITUDE

I am grateful to receive this highest award conferred by the American Government on one of its citizens. I am grateful that the American Congress—that body famous as the most forward-looking lawmakers of the world, after a lapse of sufficient time to be swayed neither by sentiment nor emotion—has rendered an opinion of my services that I feel does me too much honor.

I am grateful to the American men at arms who were my comrades in the vital exploits involved. A general is just as good or just as bad as the troops under his command make him. Mine were great! Something of the luster of this citation glows on each one's shoulders.

I am grateful to the citizens of this powerful Republic who accorded me opportunities challenging memorable results. They sent me to West Point. They gave me a chance to battle for my country. They placed me in command positions where the Nation's destiny to some extent was in my hands.

GRATEFUL TO CONGRESS

I am grateful to each Member of the Congress who voted for this resolution, and thereby joined in its general purpose. This body wields the power of the Nation, they speak the voice of the people. Accordingly my thanks are deeper than any words can convey.

I am grateful above all to Almighty God who has so often guided me through the shadows of the valley of death and who nerved me in my hours of lonely vigil and deadly decision.

Mr. Speaker, again, my grateful appreciation to you all.

## Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, August 21, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Surgeon General Terry of the U.S. Public Health Service is to be commended for organizing a 12-member Committee to sift facts and ferment in the effects of air pollution, excessive cigarette smoking, and motor vehicle exhaust.

This study is long overdue. For too many years we have heard rumors that there is a link between cigarette smoking and cancer, that air pollution causes lung diseases, and that motor vehicle exhaust is dangerously unhealthy. Now at last, a group of qualified personnel will move in a two-pronged attack. First, determine the real extent of the health hazard and, second, determine a corrective course for the hazards that are found. Mr. Terry's leadership is to be admired.

The Elizabeth Daily Journal of August 3 has commented on the Committee's founding in a most constructive way. I therefore ask for unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INQUIRY ON POISON IN THE AIR

Surgeon General Terry of the U.S. Public Health Service is plunging boldy into controversy that may embroil economic and emotional factors as well as the weal of the man in the street, the everyday, taxpaying American. The Surgeon General will unleash a 12-member Committee within a few weeks to sift facts and ferment in the effects of air pollution, excessive cigarette smoking, and motor vehicle exhaust.

This is an inquiry too long delayed. Grave suspicions attach to all three facets of its program. Mr. Terry's forces doubtless will encounter strenuous, although neatly screened opposition. Each suspect will repudiate responsibility for poisoning the lungs of the populace, although willing to concede the others may be at fault.

If as industry, the tobacco factory, and the internal combustion engine builder, insist, separately, they are not contributing to the easily detectible pollution of the atmosphere, they should be willing to expose their operations to Mr. Terry's Committee. They should be happy to prove their innocence.

Lipservice will be abundant, but the facts will be dredged up by his Committee, the hard way.

Fortunately a variety of lay and professional groups with qualified experts in related fields will be at his elbow to supply personnel and advice. They will move in two phases—the first to determine the real extent of the health hazard and then toward a corrective course.

Residents of a land of intelligence and prosperity should not be subjected to despoliation of the air they breathe (nor the water they drink—another condition). To undertake rectifying measures easily falls within the sphere of government. Virile leadership as the top will influence State and local health officials to positive action.

## Success Story of Our Italian-Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Italian-Americans the country over applauded last month when Anthony J. Celebrezze, mayor of Cleveland, was appointed Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was born the ninth of 13 children in Anzi, Lucania, in southern Italy and was brought to this country at age 2.

Mr. Celebrezze's appointment to the Cabinet by President Kennedy indeed marks a high point in the great contributions which American of Italian descent have made toward the progress of the United States.

Mr. Celebrezze's success story is a familiar one, particularly in Chicago, where many prominent citizens share similar backgrounds or are descendants of Italian immigrants.

The Chicago Sunday Tribune, in its edition of August 19, has prepared an excellent tribute to the inspiring contributions of Italian-Americans to the growth of the United States. Written by Francis Coughlin, this fine article should be a source of national pride to all Americans, regardless of ethnic background.

I take pleasure in bringing this fine feature story to the attention of my colleagues by including it in the RECORD today in its entirety. I trust my colleagues will agree the Chicago Tribune deserves the highest commendation for illustrating once more the positive contributions of this large and important segment of the American community.

The Chicago Tribune has placed the spotlight on the magnificent contributions of Italian-Americans in their proper perspective. This fine article follows:

THE SUCCESS STORY OF OUR ITALIAN-AMERICANS

(By Francis Coughlin)

Antonio, typical of 4 million Italians who came to the United States in those hopefilled decades immediately before and after the turn of the century, settled in Chicago in 1907. Typically, he was a peasant from the agricultural south of Italy. Typically, he was poor. For his kind were the hard, the dirty, the dangerous jobs at the lowest wages. His countrymen often antagonized native Americans by underbidding them at unskilled jobs in the streets, the factories, on the railroads. Antonio's first job was in a brickyard.

Like most Italian country folk, Antonio had married young. And when he scraped together enough money from his long hours of labor in the brickyard, he sent for his young wife. A year later, the year in which Giuseppe was born, Antonio applied for his first citizenship papers. His name was on the parish roll of the church of St. Philip Benizi. Antonio had a wife. He had a son. He had a home. They put down roots through sullen pavements.

Joe, who was born Giuseppe in the Italian settlement near Milton and Oak Streets in Chicago, grew up speaking Italian. He and his brother and two sisters were happily unaware that some people considered them underprivileged.

As Joe looks back, he remembers his father's house as an Italian home with its own special quality and influences. It was a tenement flat, small, dingy, and dark cold in winter and all but unbearably hot in summer. Ventilation was bad, the lighting sketchy, the plumbing horrifying. Even in 1910, housing experts were quite justified in calling the place a slum. Small matter. Home was home. Mama was the heart of it.

Mama saw to the shopping, sewing, cooking, and cleaning. Her adjustment to the New World was slower than Antonio's and infinitely slower than her youngsters'. Much of American speech and society remained altogether alien and bewildering to her. Still

in her sphere, Mama presided—devoted to her husband and fiercely possessive of her children—advising, worrying, loving, and sustaining.

Papa acted his part with dignity and honor—not dignity falsely assumed, not honor commanded, but dignity in his status as formal head of the family and honor confirmed by strength, endurance, and wisdom.

Thus, Joe learned deference to his parents and regard for them. (Few Italian oldsters are cast off by their children.) He learned the first great precept of family solidarity: Man and wife, family and kinfolk, stand against the world.

In the home, too, from parental example, Joe learned affection and indulgence. (Wife beating is exceedingly rare; crimes against children, even harshness toward the young, are all but unknown in the Italian community.) Such family attitudes have long been characteristic of Italic peoples. Experts on civilization have explained the steadfast Roman character as nutured in the sober discipline and the close unity of the Roman home.

Yet, if home was Joe's first private academy, then school and the street were Joe's Harvard. His school was the public school—Father Antonio could hardly afford four children in parochial classrooms—and the boy made suitable progress. By and large, most Italian youngsters were lively and intelligent. Joe was these and studious besides. He was well behaved, perhaps because Antonio had a way of puzzling out each report card with special concern for his first-born's deportment. Antonio believed in schooling as an act of faith. Moreover, he expected Joe to set a standard for the family.

In any event, at school Joe learned English of both formal and informal varieties. He learned, too, that as an Italian, he was subject to being called a Guinea or a Wop by high-spirited classmates. Yet this was hardly a soul-scarring matter. Often enough the caller was a boon companion and by every token a Wop himself, or if not, then subject to designation as a Polock, Hunky, Sheeny, or Mick. Joe's vocabulary was as free as any.

For the first time, Joe permitted himself the thought that his parents were old-fashioned, old-country Italians. The same thought was occurring for all sorts of reasons in a good many neighborhood families.

Public school was only part of Joe's Harvard. The street offered its own curriculum. Growing up in the vicinity of Milton and Oak 40 years ago was a vivid experience, multifaceted and multilingual in the spacious tradition of the liberal arts. The festa was the great occasion in the Italian neighborhood.

The true, old-fashioned festa was a parade and a street fair, a holy day, and a band concert and a class reunion all in one. It came to its climax, officially at least, in the church. But the day was a day of rejoicing. Prohibition or not, wine was sold in a dozen outdoor booths. Crabs, snails, spumoni, and a special confection called "bones of the dead" were eaten. A band discoursed from a central bandstand, heavy on operatic melodies rescored for trumpets and trombones. Kids decked out as angels and supported by clotheslines made perilous flights between tenement roof tops.

The day was bedlam, and heat, and powder smoke and a happy crowd. E'viva San Filippo. Patrons of a score of raffle wheels besought his favor. And when the saint at last made his progress through the people, his statue borne on the shoulders of parish promenenti, candles ablaze in his procession, fresh currency pinned to his vestments, approval was explosive—literally explosive because the saint moved to a cannonade of firecrackers so that he might be mindful of his honors, and—it may be—of certain reciprocal obligations to the community.

Funerals and weddings were great occasions, too. The plumed nags, the solemn music, the awe at the family outlay, and the public grief of the mourners, all made a leavetaking memorable. To be sure, there were those who deplored the expense and disparaged the old country custom. But in the Latin view of things grief and joy are sentiments to be shared. Friends and neighbors are privileged to weep at funerals and to dance at weddings. As for the expense, well—miserliness never loves company.

The lesser holidays also had their glories. On Sundays, the whole family visited or received relatives, and the mamas made poetry of pasta. The peasant dishes of Joe's youth are the specialties of a thousand restaurants now. The pizzeria has become as popular as the hot dog stand. Suburban hostesses take pride in serving cafe espresso and gorgonzola verdi.

But in Joe's boyhood, visiting cousins near Taylor and Halsted, the lad made the delightful acquaintenance of a little old man who sold nickel pizzas from a wash tub carried on his head, and for Sunday dinner rarely, but sometimes, the family conferred its custom on another Giuseppe, a worthy Sicilian who played the mandolin between courses, and whose lasagna was a masterwork of sauce and texture.

After Sunday dinner at home, Papa took a glass with his cronies. The women chattered of households and children. Uncle Riccardo revealed that his boy was going to high school, thinking of becoming an accountant even. The family was, to be sure, a little skeptical of Riccardo. Like a good many old Americani (he was already a citizen and a voter), Riccardo was inclined to draw the long bow. But Papa Antonio listened thoughtfully, his eyes on his boys and girls. In America—Dio Mio—what was the word, impossible?

Looking back upon his teens, Joe recalls it wasn't always pleasant or popular to be an Italian. Some of the things said about the oldtimers, even about his own father were true enough. The paesano was clannish. He was touchy as to his personal dignity. Some Italians were noisy and untidy. Some could be violent.

The community at Milton and Oak Streets had small respect for a good many Anglo-Saxon proprieties and little regard for minor regulations, civic or sanitary. The older men shared an ingrained suspicion of officialdom and a long nurtured distrust of the police. This is not to say the community was lawless. It is simply that families lived by their own codes. Loyalties were to family and individual values. The law is an untrustworthy servant, say the poor.

Some Italians were criminals. No group knew it better than the closely knit immigrant neighborhood. The concept of a special Italian criminality is a familiar stereotype. It continues as a kind of folk libel. Yet crime was no stranger to America before the Italian ghetto. The new thing was that the victims, for the most part, suffered in silence. In a sense the law was feared as more alien than the lawbreaker.

Looking back on the decade of the 1920's, Joe remembers the prohibition years as a degrading time for the Italian image and the Italian community. The worst individuals of Italian origin—the vicious, the greedy, the gangland killers and conspirators—came to power and wealth undreamed of in a jungle of corruption. Their names stood out.

It was all but futile for the Chicago historian Lloyd Lewis to point out that such pistoleers were by no means representative of some 450,000 immigrant and first generation Chicagoans of Italian descent. You might as well cite Billy the Kid as a specimen New Yorker, or John Dillinger as an emblematic Hoosier.

Neither did it avail the long libeled Sicilians to disavow Alfredo Caponi, who was of Neapolitan stock, nor for Neapolitans to explain that the chief Chicago hoodlum was an American thug long-scarred as a slugger with the Five Points gang of Brooklyn well before he appeared on a local police blotter as Al Brown, later Capone.

Unfortunately, too, gang guns drowned out the sober story of Italian accomplishment. In Chicago great enterprises were alerady wearing Italian names. The Cuneo Press, the Salerno-Megowen Biscuit Co., the fruit and vegetable complex centering on old South Water Street were flourishing undertakings. They were to grow with the years. In California the Giannini's Bank of America was prospering beyond all expectation. In San Francisco, too, young Angelo Rossi was beginning to be heard of as a vote getter. In New York the corresponding name was Fiorello La Guardia. But these were already names beyond the ordinary in fields of public notice. In Chicago, hundreds of able and ambitious young fellows were already making a promising way in the world. Except that lads at work, as Joe was, or in school and college, as so many others were, went uncelebrated in the headlines.

The idea that being of Italian descent was reprehensible came as a shock to Joe. That he, an American, born in America, was charged with any kind of inferiority outraged him.

If Joe had been debating the issue, he might have pointed out that most of the great names adorning the frieze of the art institute were Italian. If high school students didn't know that Wetsern law was derived from Roman law, and that Western enlightenment began with the Italian Renaissance, it wasn't because they weren't told often enough. Clearly, Christopher Columbus, that Genoese navigator for the court of Spain, had discovered America. Undoubtedly, an Italian, William Paca, had signed the Declaration along with John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and the rest.

But Joe was working 6 days a week in the brackyard. (Papa got him the job by petitioning in terms so humble Joe would have been furious had he heard them.) Oh, there was no getting away from it. Joe's parents were old fashioned and his home was an old-country home.

Under these and similar circumstances, the rebellion of native-born children against foreign-born parents is a common American experience.

In Joe's case, the conflict came to no hurtful crises, as it had for some, who went bad. Joe remained a loyal son, stanch in the family support, steady in his contributions toward the education of his brother and sisters. Yet, inwardly, Joe had enough of being Italian. His father was truly a paesano. Let him smoke his cheap cigars, drink his wine, and gabble with old-fashioned countrymen as backward as he.

Joe resented the old ways. He chafed under precepts that looked only to hard work and lowly status. (To Joe's shame, Antonio tipped his hat to the boss in the brickyard.)

The old man simply could not, or would not, understand that there were openings in management as well as on the working force. A briak young man about the brickyard might think beyond the daily round of mixing clay and stacking brick. He might learn something of sales, and processes, and costs and contractors, for example.

As for the old-fashioned paesano, who thought wisdom was born and learning ended in the old country, all that got him was a fleatrap on Oak or Taylor Street. Joe had no love for the term "paesano." The word, for him, held overtones of condescension and contempt. From now on the brickyard was Joe's campus. The city was his Yale.

Joe did well—extremely well—at Yale. He was, in American terms, better educated than many who worked there. Joe was busy, and burly and handsome in a rough-cut way.

(Like so many sons of immigrants he was a head and then some taller than his father.) He was diligent, likable, and at ease with his superiors. He did things well and he got things done. He was accustomed to the American pace and at home in the language. He was sober as compared with a good many American-born laborers. (Alcohol is seldom a problem among Italian immigrants or their children.) In short, Joe was a young man on the rise. His career was already conforming to a pattern an ocean apart from the hand laborer and the struggling tradesmen of his father's world.

In Chicago, in America, thousands upon thousands of sons of immigrants were rising also. Some, of course, come to spectacular notice. On radio and in the sports pages, Italian youngsters were in the news. Baseball players, boxers, football greats were noted and approved. Most Americans cheered Carideo of Notre Dame and Tony Lazzeri of the New York Yankees. Most Italians knew that the famed Lou Little of Columbia was, indeed, chistened Luigi Piccolo.

Joe was 18 when he finished high school. He was 22 when he was made a strawboss in the brickyard. He was 24 and a foreman when he married Rosemary (nee Rosa Maria) of Franklin Park.

Because of the depression, the wedding was not so elaborate as some. Still, both families approved the match. Mama was happy that her first born had married a good Italian Catholic girl, not so much as a matter of religious exclusiveness (Italians are likely to be tolerant in sectarian matters) but because it is felt in most immigrant families—and in a good many others—that marriages are best made among one's own. Later, when Joe's brother married an Irish girl, and his sister a German, both Catholic as it happened, the religious conformity helped Mama to a modified approval.

To be sure, Mama practiced a bit of not entirely innocent deception on the non-Italian members of her family. She conveyed the impression—oh, very delicately and very much by indirection—that she was a gentle old lady all but too fragile to supervise the family affairs. Joe's Rosemary was under no such illusion. From their first crossing of glances Rosemary knew Mama to be as tough as a hacksaw blade.

Papa Antonio kept his own counsel. He thought Mama rather too insistent upon a grandchild the first year. If it came to complaining, Antonio thought, Rosa might speak more Italian than she did. She understood the language, all right. She and her family, for all their airs, were as much paesani as Antonio's own. Even his own Irish daughter-in-law had learned to greet the family with the phrase, "Salute a tutti." But Rosa was one of your Franklin Park Italians, Antonio concluded—sometimes a little too elegant.

In the easygoing Latin fashion, Antonio was not especially pious, nor always punctual in minor church observances. But he considered himself—acknowledging his sins—a good Catholic. He brought his children up in the faith. He supported his church. He made his Easter duty.

Taking pride in his eldest son, already a foreman and well respected; taking pride in his second son, an avvocato, a lawyer no less, and his daughter married to a man whose family owned—yes, owned—a furniture store, Sunday, at Mass, Antonio gave reverent thanks to God.

And so it was in keeping that to Antonio, God granted the grace of a happy death. A brief illness—and that was all. It was Father Luigi, himself—Father Luigi Giambastiani, the venerable pastor of St. Philip Benizi—who administered the last sacraments.

Joe saw to the services. It was no poor paesano's funeral either, but a proper observance beginning—in the new fashion—in a fine funeral parlor in the formal surroundings of ritual and respect. Men—important men from the brickyard came, and the friends from the neighborhood, actually from many neighborhoods—from Kensington and Melrose Park and Oak Park and Highwood—because the old Italian families were moving to better areas of the city and suburbs.

Humblest among the mourners were the companions of Antonio's youth. Old men, now, some familiar, some barely remembered, they mumbled the words of condolence and sat alone. Looking upon them, Joe felt a sudden surge of forgotten kinship. So stanch, so loyal, so venerable, so much enduring, the old paesani.

Within a year after Antonio's death, Rosemary brought the first grandchild to Mama's house.

The Second World War passed lightly over the family. Since Rosemary had borne two children before the Japanese strike at Pearl Harbor, and because Joe's services in the brickyard were important to the war effort, his registration with the draft board was little more than a formality. Wars need clay products—special ceramics, special tiling, insulators, clay crucibles. The young superintendent of production at the brickyard had drive and know-how, and by the end of the war his name was on the company letterhead as an officer of the firm.

Perhaps 400,000, perhaps 500,000 Americans of Italian descent served in the war. Many of their names were on the casualty lists. The memories evoked by those names, in the small, bold print made Joe infinitely sad. The other Italian names, often in larger type, the gangsters in the news, made him seethe with a grim and abiding anger, brought the old harsh Oak Street speech through tight lips. "The no good dago ——— ——— ———. They live. And the best kids go."

Wearily the war years passed and the postwar years began slipping by for Joe and Rosemary, who now had four children, a suburban home, a commensurate income. Joe and his family were keeping up with the Joneses—keeping up with the Gianninis, too.

In the 1950's, U.S. census figures show that some 450,000 Chicagoans were Italian born or the children of Italian immigrants, foreign born approximately 135,000, native born 315,000. Beyond this no official agency takes count. But family traditions and the family name—yet sometimes not even the name—link third and fourth and fifth generation Americans to an Italian ancestry. The tide of the earlier immigration, though assimilated and submerged, continues to lend its surge and lift to the full flood of American life. In law and medicine, in business and industry, in sports, and learning and government, the children and grandchildren of many a paesano have come to place and honor.

Three hundred Chicago lawyers (some among the most eminent), 500 physicians (some deservedly famous), leaders in business, and government, in science and the arts are of Italian stock—Chicago is a long way from Naples or Calabria or Sicily.

The grandsons of men who could barely read are scientists, professors, and deans and college presidents. Their granddaughters teach in city and private schools. Small merchants and neighborhood craftsmen have their descendants, too. Major figures in the printing industry, in contracting and building, in wholesale produce, in electronics and importing and banking and baking and tabulating and catering are of Italian origin. The country over, whether in sports or on the stage, name any game you like and there are plenty of Italians to field a team, plenty of performers to cast a show. The country over, vote in any election you please—in the cities, anyway—and you'll find Di Salles and Rosselinis and Pastores and Volpes on the ticket. And a Celebrezze in the Cabinet.

Sometimes, to his mild astonishment, Joe thinks himself to be becoming less, and his children more Italian. If it was no novelty to be of Italian ancestry on Oak Street, it was no particular distinction either. In Joe's youth, interest in Italian matters was viewed as eccentric or old fashioned. The Italian heritage was counted more embarrassing than enriching. Not so in Wilmette.

Young visitors to Joe's home—and his four youngsters have platoons of friends—seem impressed by the closeness and comradeship of the family, certainly by its lavish resources in kitchen and refrigerator.

Their parents speak of Italian art, music, and cuisine with obvious respect. Joe knows little of art. He thinks music a bore. He prefers steak and bourbon to elaborate dishes and foreign wines. Still, it is pleasant to be regarded as the head of a family of interesting and unusual accomplishments. It is heartening to be accepted. It appears after all, there is something distinctive—and admirable—about being Italian.

Italian? Joe sometimes smiles at the idea. When the children and cousins gather for a family barbecue it's a strange Italian family, Joe thinks. Toney, his first born, and a senior at Cornell (his name is Italian enough). And Marya, their daughter, accepted at Northwestern (after all, Marya is only another way of spelling Maria). But Karen and Clifford (all right, Cliff was named for Joe's old superintendent) and the cousins—Shaun, and Linda, and Pamela, and Eric and Harold and Cynthia, and Una and Alan—Oh, well, lucky the kids have second names or they'd never be properly baptized.

Nevertheless, on state Sundays Joe's family is Italian. State Sundays are the days Mama visits Wilmette—one Sunday a month with each of her four children.

Mama makes her progress from the Villa Scalabrini in Melrose Park to Joe's home a triumph and a round of inspection.

Mama has been a resident of Villa Scalabrini for years, now. She is, to hear herself tell it, a valued consultant to Father Armando Pierini (very likely she is, too) and she has Fra Noi, the villa's Italo-American publication dealing with civic and cultural affairs, read to her by volunteer writers and editors half and a third her age. It was Mama's idea to retire to the villa.

To live in an old people's home, Mama considers, is a sensible, enlightened, and altogether admirable American custom. It is her duty, of course, to look after her children and theirs. Joe smiles at the old lady's assumption. The older grandchildren indulge her. The younger ones adore her; she spoils them. Even so, when Mama approved young Tony's fiance—a girl named Martha Weatherbee—the men of the family were pleased and proud. It is no small thing to win Mama's sanction.

In the adventure and adjustment of everyday life and living, words change their meaning as men's horizons change. Yet, if the old ways alter, the essence of the old values is changeless.

Thus, when Perry Como or Vic Damone tosses a TV mention to Dean Martin, or Tony Bennett, or Frank Sinatra, it's likely somebody gets saluted as "paesano."

It's likely, too, that perhaps 10, perhaps 15 million Americans of Italian descent, immediate or remote, hear the greeting with a kind of inward, personal satisfaction reflecting a sense of shared triumph.

For paesano is by now a fond and friendly word, a word denoting a special kind of kinship. Today it means a fellow American of Italian ancestry. It means a descendant of one who gave his new country better than he received in work for wages, one who brought a sometimes grudging tolerance for an unfaltering outlay of strength and spirit. It means one who has made his own and his people's pledge of allegiance in terms of talent, courage, work, and will.

# Appendix

## Progress in Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico stands as a living symbol of what an underdeveloped society and a highly industrialized society can do together to build the underdeveloped land. Ten years ago, Puerto Rico was a small poverty stricken country with little industry and one of the lowest per capita incomes in the Western Hemisphere. Today is stands as a country rapidly growing in prosperity and now boasts one of the highest per capita incomes in the Western Hemisphere.

What's more, Puerto Rico stands as the beacon of how American capitalism can develop a country without injuring it or the individuals within the country. Communists have accused us of developing our economies by exploiting workers. Puerto Rico has proven the fallacies of this argument. Proof of the loyalty of Puerto Ricans toward this system is the reelection of Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, campaigning on a platform of continued commonwealth status as against statehood or independence. But to further prove this point, another referendum has been called specifically for the purpose of voting only the issue of the land's status. We offer the Puerto Rican people a free choice as to the type of political status they desire. Can the Communist nations say the same thing?

Two great newspapers have written editorials on the occasion of Puerto Rico's 10th anniversary as a commonwealth: The Christian Science Monitor of July 30 and the Newark Evening News of July 26. Both editorials bring out different aspects of the Puerto Rican success story. I, therefore ask for unanimous consent to have them both printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 30, 1962]

AMERICAN BEACON LIGHT

Puerto Rico is a success story. It is the best gift of the United States to the underdeveloped world. Its record of the past decade proves that rapid, startlingly rapid, economic progress is possible. It proves that a big industrial country can reach out its hand and lift a small, poverty stricken country onto its feet without hurting that country and without hurting anyone.

Without hurting. That is the triumph. The Communists say that capitalism climbed to success over the backs of exploited workers. To a degree that was true over the long century and a half when industrial development came to this planet for the first time in history.

But the Communists and the Socialists are wrong when they say that free enterprise today stands for selfish gain by a few at the expense of the many. That is not true. This is now a mature politicoeconomic system where individual gain and incentive are kept from injuring others unduly (there is no perfect system) by both economic and political checks and balances. The result is the most widely diffused prosperity the world has known—wide enough to be called something new under the sun: a private enterprise system that is socially conscious.

This is where that remarkable American, Luis Mañoz-Marín, comes in. Before he appeared on the scene, the weakest point in Western capitalism was its operations abroad. When businessmen left their home country where the community insisted on reasonable behavior, when they invested in weak, defenseless countries where bribery was the rule and governments could be bought, when the hazards of doing business seemed to justify a degree of exploitation that would never be permitted at home—here were the old flaws in the capitalist system of the past, continuing to plague the present.

The Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Mr. Muñoz, stood guardian over the entry of American investment into his small and frighteningly poor country. He was the conscience of the American system as it ventured abroad. He was sympathetic to its aims and abilities. He would not tolerate its abuses. Together with a wide variety of responsible American businessmen, he and they installed modern capitalism—repeat, modern capitalism—in a spectacular period of "bootstrap" development. There were excellent profits but no piracy, rapid expansion of jobs in the midst of overwhelming labor surplus but on exploitation. Factories were intelligently placed where they would do the most good for everyone concerned but there was no heavy, dictatorial hand of the bureaucratic government planner.

We congratulate Mr. Muñoz on the 10th anniversary of the Puerto Rican Commonwealth, with a particular depth of gratitude. We will comment at another time on the political future of the Commonwealth idea, whether it should be supplanted by independence or statehood or evolve into a fully mature and special Commonwealth relationship.

Before doing that, however, it is first necessary to honor one of the most significant services rendered to the free world.

This man has not only bridged the barriers of race and language for his country, and made himself the symbol of an American people which can listen to other peoples and learn from them and thereby help them better. He has shown how the comparatively free economic system can be confidently invited into a developing country. He has proved that a favorable climate for enterprise can be established in which its benefits can be enjoyed and its historic shortcomings excluded. This, in the context of today's worldwide need for a new basis on which to help and be helped, is a towering service.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, July 26, 1962]

FOR THE RECORD

As Puerto Rico celebrates its 10th anniversary as a commonwealth, Governor Muñoz and President Kennedy agree its people should once again have an opportunity to vote for independence, for statehood, or for perfecting the status it now enjoys.

The Governor wants no doubt to remain anywhere that the principle of self-determination has been thoroughly carried out. The President says this is not only a matter of fairness but also of establishing "unequivocal record" that the island people are freely expressing their own preference.

Actually, this preference has been repeatedly expressed in free elections. Governor Muñoz himself, 2 years ago, running as always as advocate of commonwealth status, won a landslide reelection over candidates who espoused either statehood or independence.

The islanders prefer a commonwealth because it gives them all the privileges of American citizenship, except voting for Federal officials and paying Federal income taxes.

Why, then, the emphasis now on still another referendum? The reason is that both the Soviet bloc and Cuba have been denouncing U.S. "occupation" of its Puerto Rican "possession" and demanding that this "colony" be freed.

While this is obviously absurd to anybody who knows the facts, not everybody does. Therefore it is wise to stress anew Puerto Rico's repeated exercised right of free choice, and its growing prosperity and friendly ties with the United States.

## Over $100,000 in Excess Profits Should Be Recovered by Justice Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EARL WILSON**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the Navy Department Bureau of Ships has paid a manufacturer almost 50 percent in excess profits for the manufacture of a small, transistorized power supply and in so doing has wasted at least $175,000 of the taxpayers' money—probably much more.

As a result of my study of military procurement and as a result of the assistance given me by the General Accounting Office, I have been able to pinpoint payment of excess profits by the Navy whereas a Senate committee failed in the same attempt. I have also been able, with GAO cooperation, to set the stage for the recovery of excess profits from the Admiral Corp. of Chicago, Ill., by the Justice Department to whom I shall shortly refer this case.

The power supply that has been purchased is known in procurement circles as the PP–2100. It fits into an aircraft radio known as the ARC–27. The prices paid for this small power supply are fantastic, and the overcharge by the contractor is even more fantastic. The fact that the Navy allowed this overcharge to occur without taking even routine audit procedures to find out about it is an indictment—a further indictment, I might say—of the inefficiency, incompetency and resultant waste that is rampant in our defense budget.

My attention was first alerted when I read testimony before the Senate Select Subcommittee on Small Business on the procurement of the PP–2100. In those hearings, Navy people declared that because of urgency of delivery the Navy was forced to buy the power supply sole source from the Admiral Corp. of Chicago, Ill.—7,000 units were purchased at a price of $360 each. About 90 days later, the record shows, there developed additional requirements which resulted in a competitive procurement. This resulted in an award of contract to Crescent Communications, Inc., at a unit price of $180. This, in itself, might not be significant. What I found to be startling was the fact that on the competitive procurement, Admiral submitted an unsuccessful bid of $181.45 per unit for the identical equipment they had been selling the Government for $360. This was exactly one-half Admiral's previous price.

To my way of thinking, Mr. Speaker, had I purchased a home in Bedford, Ind., for $36,000 and found out 2 months later that the same builder sold an identical home in an identical location for half that price, I would be alarmed, to say the least.

On this basis of thought, I made inquiry of the Comptroller General and asked for assistance in obtaining more facts.

Last August I requested the Comptroller General to review this entire procurement. In October, the General Accounting Office responded with a report that indicated that according to Admiral's records it realized a lower rate of profit than contemplated at the time of negotiations with the Navy. The GAO report continued that Admiral, while allowed to make a 10-percent profit on the contract, stated it actually made a profit of only 3.93 percent. GAO felt this to be sufficient evidence that no excess profits were involved.

This pitiful profit stimulated my curiosity even more and on October 17, 1961, I advised Mr. Campbell that I was not satisfied with the report or with an unsupported overall statement by Admiral. I requested a complete audit of the contracts involved.

Just a week ago today, the Comptroller General reported to me that the audit for the PP–2100 power supply procurement had been completed. The General Accounting report states that the Admiral Corp. actually realized a profit of $355,000, or more than 14 percent of the contract. This compares, the GAO report continues, to an allowable profit of $252,280 and with a profit of $179,000 or 7 percent of the total contract, which Admiral now says it made.

In other words, we have this situation. Admiral at first said it made under 4-percent profit. Now it says it made over 7 percent. It was allowed 10 percent by terms of the contract, but General Accounting Office auditors have learned it realized a 14-percent profit.

This means that Admiral enjoyed a profit of at least $100,000 more than ever contemplated by the Navy or allowed by the terms of the contract. It also should be said that the Navy has never pursued this matter nor has it attempted to recover the excess profits. When I think of how hard it was for me to get $75,000 added to the public works appropriation bill for flood control to save lives, this throwing away of the taxpayers' dollars makes my blood boil. The highhanded, profligate policies of our Constitution Avenue "junkers class" is again disclosed for what it is—Incompetency, Incorporated.

So, Mr. Speaker, here is another "after the fact" story. Navy sole-source purchasing officials buy a 6-pound power supply for $360 and spend $2.5 million for 7,000 of them. The "sole source" action was based on urgency of delivery, and the taxpayers' pockets were picked. This has been proven by subsequent GAO reports and by the fact that the price was cut in half when the power supply was bought with the force of competition applied.

The astounding thing to me is that this has not been brought out in previous inquiry in the Senate, when a lone Congressman has been able, by keeping his nose to the grindstone, to ferret out the facts. Another astounding thing is that, while the purchase was "justified" as a "sole source" action because of an alleged critical need, the tube version of this power supply involved has been bought by the Navy Department since about 1940, and since that time, up to the first public procurement, it was bought sole source from either Admiral or Collins.

In other words, we are asked to believe that the Navy had been buying equipment that was operational until it suddenly all failed at once, and the only way to keep the aircraft using the radio in combat readiness was to pick the taxpayers' pockets again. The utter asininity of this position is only tragic because the constituted committees in looking into it did not blow it to "smathereens."

Mr. Speaker, I am going to forward this entire case to the Attorney General for his attention in the very near future. I shall make available to him my files and the GAO report to me which says that sections of the Armed Services procurement regulations have been violated. I think the Justice Department should recapture in the courts the $100,000 overcharge. This examination will turn up information which will lead, I believe, to further recapture of money by the Justice Department for the taxpayers of this Nation.

It may not be criminal to waste the taxpayers' money, Mr. Speaker, but it ought to be, and it is high time we started getting back some of the money that has been wasted when the paths of waste can be traced and the money located.

## Clifton, N.J., High School Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, New Jersey sent over to the Netherlands its finest representatives to participate in the world music festival at Kerkrade, and they did New Jersey proud. The Clifton High School Mustang Band finished first in the marching competition and second in the symphonic competition while the champion Woodbury American Legion Band, the Bonsal Blues, finished third in the marching competition. Considering the fact that approximately 150 bands competed in the various divisions, the performance of the two New Jersey bands is more than commendable.

These young students have brought credit not only to the State of New Jersey but also upon their parents, their teachers, and their country. It is a fine commentary on American youth when they enter an international competition and finish with a first, a second, and a third place. There is not too much more that they could have accomplished for us.

I am indeed proud of both bands' activities as well as the American National Theater & Academy—ANTA—and the State Department which screened the bands. Their assistance toward both bands is a matter of public record and I need not dwell upon it.

The Herald-News of Passaic-Clifton, N.J., ran as its lead story on page 1 of August 6, the news story on the Mustangs' victory in the world marching competition. They also editorially commented on it. Therefore, I ask for unanimous consent to have both printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE CHEER'S FOR CLIFTON'S BAND

The members of the Clifton High School Mustang Band outdid the fondest hopes of their well-wishers at the world music festival at Kerkrade in the Netherlands.

Their record at the festival was almost perfect—second in the symphonic competition Saturday and first in the marching competition yesterday. In the marching competition, they bested 23 bands from 15 countries.

The Clifton High students in the band brought credit to the young people of America with their outstanding performances. Their parents and teachers and the entire city should be proud of them.

MUSTANGS WIN WORLD TOP MARCHING HONORS—CLIFTON HIGH BAND SECOND IN SYMPHONIC CONTEST

(By George Homcy)

KERKRADE, HOLLAND.—Muddy, but very much unbowed.

That was the story yesterday as Clifton High School's Mustang Band slogged to victory here in the marching competition at the World Music Festival.

The big Mustang musical unit had already covered itself with a major share of glory Saturday afternoon by taking second place in the symphonic competition. Their loss in this contest was a heartbreaker. A group from Meggen, Germany, nosed out the Mustangs by a scant 2 points—381 to 379.

But yesterday's victory assuaged the disappointment of the close Saturday loss. It was also a triumph over fatigue and the elements.

It had been raining all day. The dirt track on which the band was to march was virtually inundated. The thousands of hearty onlookers in the stands had sat patiently through 3 hours of marching competition, lulled by the slow tempo used by European bands.

They came to life as the Woodbury, N.J., American Legion Band took the field and were cheering and applauding vigorously by the time the south Jersey unit finished.

A Mustang bandsman, weary from a 7-hour plane trip, a bus ride that took another 7 hours, the symphonic appearance and heavy rehearsals, took a deep breath and said:

"Wait 'til they see us."

Then they splashed out onto the field in their new maroon and white uniforms, electrifying the crowd with a stepped-up tempo. The uniforms were soon splattered with mud. Their flashing white shoes were indistinguishable in minutes.

When they were through, they had piled up 102 points out of a possible 120 to win. They swirled around the field like Indians doing a war dance as the announcement of their win was made over the public address system.

Then they swept into an encore performance as the spectators rose to give them a tremendous ovation. They used a number of precision formations—the type usually seen at football halftime shows—and they were great. Significantly the skies cleared as the program ended.

Festival officials said yesterday's program was the first to be held in such a steady rain since the international event opened last month.

Finishing behind Clifton in the marching event was a Swiss band. Third went to Woodbury.

The Clifton group received its awards—the gold medal for taking first in the marching event, a silver one for being runner-up in the symphonic competition, and a scroll.

Twenty-three bands from 15 countries competed with Clifton in the marching feature. In all, approximately 150 bands competed in the various divisions. The month-long festival ends August 15.

One practical problem confronted the Mustangs when it was all over. They only have one set of uniforms and they need cleaning badly. When they left here this morning, each band member carried his uniform over his arm—the boxes they came in had been smashed beyond usefulness. They hope to get them dryceaned in Paris.

The awards were presented late yesterday afternoon at a reception in Kerkrade Town House. Peter Librizzi, vice president of the Clifton Board of Education and chairman of the committee which planned the band trip, presented a letter from Clifton's Mayor Ira Schoem to the mayor of this hilly mining town. He also turned over a resolution passed by his school board colleagues.

The visitors were welcomed by Dr. Theo Gyzen, lord mayor of Kerkrade. Paul Wintgens, president of the festival, also extended a cordial welcome and told the visitors that "their appearance in the event brought you new musical friends throughout the world." Dr. Gyzen told Librizzi he would send a letter to Clifton's Mayor Schoem commending Clifton and the high school bandsmen.

This morning, the band and its supporting group, made up of the color guard, majorettes and escorts, parents, relatives and friends, left the festival community for Cologne.

They will spend almost 2 days in the German industrial center before moving on to Luxembourg Wednesday.

In Clifton today, Mayor Schoem had this to say:

"We're just thrilled and delighted with the tremendous accomplishment of our kids. Everybody agrees that they're a credit to themselves their teachers, parents, and everybody in Clifton. We knew we had an excellent band, but it's wonderful that they proved it in worldwide competition."

The mayor said nothing had been planned yet, but added "I'm sure there will be a proper celebration and reception for them when they come home."

"I think it goes to show what type of music program we have in our school system," said Emil J. Wiatrak, school board president, who joined in congratulating the group.

William F. Shershin, superintendent of schools, lauded the band for its diligent preparation.

"This added laurel to the band's many accomplishments is the result of perseverance, sparked by outstanding ability developed since the fourth grade."

Back in Cologne it was cloudy, but there were a lot of beaming faces.

## Tribute to Samuel Klein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, a few weeks ago Samuel Klein, of Newark, N.J., was honored by the conferring of an honorary doctor of science degree on him by the St. Joseph College, of New Mexico. The degree was given in recognition of his original published papers to medical research, papers which have appeared in leading scientific and medical journals here and abroad.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix a statement prepared by the Newark Defense Council, of which Mr. Klein is presently the service chief, emergency medical and health services division, about this occasion.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Newark Defense Council through Leo P. Carlin, director, announces that its medical and health services chief, Samuel Klein, of Newark, N.J., on May 30 received an honorary doctor of science degree conferred on him by the College of St. Joseph, of New Mexico. The college is an affiliate of the Catholic University of America.

Of all the degrees awarded annually only about 4 percent are for the honorary doctor of science degree, since this degree is usually given only to worthy and selected scientists, scholars, and investigators with certain attainments and as a deserved recognition of outstanding and meritorious contributions to the advancement of science.

Those in the medical and allied professions who in the past were given the honorary doctor of science degree were, to mention a few, Dr. William J. Mayo, of Mayo Clinic fame; Dr. Alexis Carrel, the world-famous scientists; and Dr. W. C. Gorgas, of Panama Canal Zone renown.

In the case of Klein, this honor and recognition was for his original published papers (contributions) to medical research.

The results of his independent research have appeared in print in leading internationally famous scientific and medical journals in the United States, Switzerland, France, England, Italy, and Germany.

In awarding the degree of doctor of science to Klein, Sister W. Viatora Schuller, president of St. Joseph College, stated, "The board of trustees and the administration of the College of St. Joseph wholeheartedly approve and are gratified and honored to grant a person of your stature and renown the doctor of science degree."

Klein, a native of Newark, N.J., was educated in the Newark schools and is a graduate of the Rutgers University College of Pharmacy, the U.S. Army Military Instructors' School (civil defense), and holds certificates in pre-flight aeronautics, plastic engineering (Rutgers University), and a certificate in physical medicine subjects, U.S. Army Medical Service School.

Besides being a licentiate in pharmacy in many States, he also is licensed as a food and drug inspector (New Jersey), registered sanitarian (Massachusetts), and is on the board of editors of the chemical formulary and an abstractor, of the chemical abstracts, American Chemical Society.

He holds membership in the Royal Society of Health, England, the world's largest health society, the New Jersey Pharmaceutical Association, and is an elected affiliate member (section of experimental medicine and therapeutics) of the American Medical Association.

He is the author of nine published novels and one of his published books was judged "a contribution to American humor" by the International Mark Twain Society, the world-famous literary society, and placed in the Mark Twain Collection, Library of International Literature, Washington, D.C. Klein is an elected member of the International Mark Twain Society. For his volunteer public service during World War II and in recognition as chief officer, Chemical Warfare Division, Newark Defense Council, Klein was given a national citation by American Druggist magazine and placed on the U.S. Army officers' honorary retired list and received the Gold Service Ribbon, the highest U.S. Office of Civil Defense award. Klein is listed in the monthly supplement of Who's Who in America, and in Leaders of American Science.

At present, Klein is the service chief, Emergency Medical and Health Services Division, Newark Defense Council, a volunteer, unpaid public service duty.

## Jewish Military Chaplains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Helen Keller, that valiant woman who overcame so many handicaps, once said that the highest result of education is tolerance. "Long ago men fought and died for their faith; but it took ages to teach them the other kind of courage—the courage to recognize the faiths of their brethren and their rights of conscience." The United States as a Nation took cognizance of this courage

of which Miss Keller spoke, on July 17, 1862, when President Abraham Lincoln signed into law an act which for the first time enabled rabbis to serve as Jewish military chaplains. For close to the first 100 years of our independence only regularly ordained ministers "of some Christian denomination could serve as chaplains."

The importance of this act is not to be underestimated. For in its wider significance, America showed that it truly allowed freedom of religious belief. The Jews, whose history is marked by persistent fights for religious freedom, have every right to be proud of this event, the 100th anniversary of which was celebrated by a dedication of the Jewish chapel in the Air Force Academy. The over 700 rabbis who have served in the military forces have proven themselves to be good soldiers and have exhibited great heroism. Most everyone is familiar with Rabbi Alexander Goode, the chaplain who perished aboard the *Dorchester* in World War II with three other chaplains, each representing one of the other great faiths. Arm in arm with true brotherhood, they died in order that others may live. A commemorative postage stamp was issued in their honor to mark the event. Rabbi Goode's story, however, is not an isolated one of Jewish heroism in the armed services, for many other Jewish clergymen have proven that they could be religious Jews and loyal American citizens at one and the same time.

Bernard Turteltaub, associate editor of the Jewish Standard—Jersey City, N.J.—brought out the importance of the July 17 milestone in American Jewish history in his July 20 column. His column is instructive and welcome. I therefore ask for unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWISH MILITARY CHAPLAINS

During this month, a milestone for the Jews will be reached. On July 17, 1862—Abraham Lincoln signed into law an act which for the first time enabled rabbis to serve as Jewish military chaplains. Prior to that date only regularly ordained ministers of some Christian denomination could serve as chaplains. A highlight of the celebration of this event, will be dedication of the Jewish Chapel in the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo. According to all the records kept by the Jewish Welfare Board, over 700 rabbis have served in every branch of our military forces. The first Jewish chaplain to be commissioned by the U.S. Government was Rabbi Jacob Frankel, of Congregation Rodelph Sholom, of Philadelphia.

The most famous rabbi to have served to date was Rabbi Alexander Goode, who, with Father John Washington, Rev. George Fox, and Rev. Clark Poling perished aboard the troop transport *Dorchester* in World War II—because they chose to give up their lifejackets to helpless GI's rather than save themselves. The story of the four chaplains, linked arm in arm on the deck of the sinking ship and praying aloud, each in his own way, is now an epic chapter of heroism and devotion in our history. There are other stories of heroism and valor of Jewish chaplains who served faithfully, with devotion toward their fellow men, with undying love for their country.

## The Public Career of Lewis Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch entitled, "A Fascinating Memoir."

It refers to the book that has been written by the Honorable Lewis Strauss on his public career and the very important positions he has so ably filled from time to time.

As the Times-Dispatch states, this is a fascinating book and contains very valuable information as to the period in our country in which Lewis Strauss played such an important part.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FASCINATING MEMOIR

Virginians know Lewis L. Strauss—who grew up in Richmond—as an able public official and unselfish citizen who has given many of his best years to his fellow man. But most of his friends and acquaintances may have been unaware that Mr. Strauss is also a highly competent writer, with a notably readable style. This latter fact is abundantly evident in his new autobiographical work, "Men and Decisions."

In other words, Lewis Strauss not only has had a fascinating career; he knows how to tell of it with both humor and modesty. Early in that career he showed the spirit of dedication that was to characterize his life thereafter. He served without pay in the Belgian relief organization of Herbert Hoover from 1917 to 1919. Having saved $20,000 from his successful work as a shoe drummer in the years immediately preceding World War I, he was able to fall back on these savings while acting as Mr. Hoover's aid.

After the war, young Strauss joined the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and in a few years became a partner. He was eminently successful as a banker. But when World War II broke out, he went into the Navy, rising to the rank of Admiral.

After that conflict was over, President Truman persuaded him to accept a place on the first Atomic Energy Commission. He did so at a great financial sacrifice. When his term expired, he sought to retire—to his Virginia farm, near Culpeper—but President Eisenhower prevailed on him to take the chairmanship of the AEC. In that post he served with brilliant success.

Once more he sought to retire, but President Eisenhower persuaded him to accept appointment as Secretary of Commerce. Here Mr. Strauss ran into a barrage of the phoniest and most synthetic series of charges from Senate "liberals" that could well be imagined. As a result of this disgraceful and politically motivated "smear" attack, based on nonexistent "facts" and far fetched innuendoes, he failed of confirmation by 49 to 46.

In his book he tells of this rejection without bitterness, but rather with restraint and good humor. Also in the volume he relates fascinating conversations with many of the great men of his generation, both in this country and Europe, and sheds important light on vital questions—such as, for example, why we dropped the atomic bombs on Japan in 1945.

Lewis Strauss has known just about everybody who was anybody in the past several decades. He has been in the middle of some of the most important events of our time, and has made some of the most significant decisions. He tells of his experiences and observations with lucidity and charm. No wonder critics from coast to coast are praising his book.

## Conservation Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in 1879, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce wrote in the North American Review:

The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it.

In the tradition of this great Indian's philosophy, the administration has been pushing a farsighted recreation program which is being skillfully handled by Interior Secretary Udall.

The Camden Courier-Post has described the status of pending legislation in the conservation field. The editors are pleased at the number of national parks that will probably be established, and they comment that the major battle will be over the wilderness bill. Secretary Udall's position on the bill appears to me to be the logical one; that is, unless we set aside our wilderness areas and keep them free from encroachment by commercial interests, the Nation may end up with none.

The overriding need of men—

He said—

is for an environment that will renew the human spirit and sustain unborn generations.

But perhaps this point of view has been brought to its fullest extent by the following poem which appeared in the Sierra Club Bulletin in January 1962:

We need the sea.
We need a place to stand, watch, and listen—
To feel the pulse-beat of the world as the surf rolls in.

The Courier-Post concluded its editorial of July 23, by predicting that we in Congress can share the credit by putting into action programs that will bring permanent benefits to the Nation and to its people, present and to come. I, therefore, ask for unanimous consent to have their editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post, July 23, 1962]

CONSERVATION PROGRAMS ADVANCE

Congress may be lagging on other matters, but is making good progress on at least one

legislative front as sought by the Kennedy administration.

According to Congressional Quarterly, legislative action is almost certain to be completed this year on three major recreation programs pushed by Interior Secretary Udall, who is zealous about setting aside land for public recreation use.

The three programs would:

Establish a national wilderness system which will preserve the forest primeval for future generations of hikers and campers.

Create a land conservation fund to "stake" Uncle Sam to buy up more land for conservation and recreation uses.

Set up a program to make a continuing inventory of recreation needs and resources in this country and to make grants to the States to help them establish outdoor recreation areas and parks.

In addition, Congress is expected to establish three new seashore parks within the national park system before the end of this session. Cape Cod National Seashore Park in Massachusetts was established last year. Point Reyes in California and Padre Island in Texas are expected to become national seashore parks this year.

This would be a record number of new national parks created by any one Congress. Only three national parks have been created in the past 15 years, Everglades in Florida in 1947, Virgin Islands National Park in 1956, and Cape Cod in 1961.

The major battle centers, as usual, over the wilderness bill. The bill which passed the Senate last year is now in the process of being amended by the House Public Lands Subcommittee. Conservationists on the one hand and supporters of multiple uses of public lands have battled over this legislation for the past 6 years. They are still at it.

The bill that is finally enacted into law is not likely to satisfy either side. But at a minimum it will give statutory authority to the present wilderness areas which have been created by the Secretary of Agriculture within the national forest system. And there will be restrictions on building roads, buildings and commerical enterprises in such areas and on nonrecreation uses in these areas.

As Udall sees it, unless America sets aside its wilderness areas and keeps them free from encroachment by commercial interests, the Nation may end up with none.

He told the White House Conference on Conservation May 24 that "the overriding need of men [is] for an environment that will renew the human spirit and sustain unborn generations." He said this "requires some sacrifice of short-term profits."

The various conservation groups, including the politically potent garden clubs, hold the same view.

However, to Curtis M. Hutchins, chairman of the board of the St. Croix Paper Co. of Bangor, Maine, the wilderness bill would lock up millions of acres of resources in the wilderness areas forever, for the benefit of only "a few hardy hikers."

Testifying for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce before the House Public Lands Subcommittee May 9, Hutchins asked: "Is it in the national interest rigidly to restrict access to such vast areas of scenic beauty so that only a very small percentage of our population will ever have the chance to use them?"

This view is shared by many present users of public lands including lumbermen, livestockmen, miners, oil and gas interests, water and power groups. They are skeptical of attempts to restrict multiple use of public land, as is done under the wilderness legislation. However, they are in the minority, looking at the situation through the glasses of their own special interests, and we believe that broadly speaking they are in the wrong.

Other recreation legislation before Congress is not so controversal. The administration on June 18 withdrew its proposal to tax recreation boats as a means of providing a major source of revenue for the land conservation fund. This action materially upgraded the chances for such a fund to be created by this Congress.

All in all, the recreation legislation in prospect is welcome. Udall is entitled to praise for proposing it and for his adroit handling of it with Congress. Congress will share the credit with him for a program that will bring permanent benefits to the Nation and its people, present and to come.

## Unemployment Insurance Inequities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the unemployment insurance program has been expanding greatly in recent years. It is apparent that many inequities are resulting from this expanded Federal program and that if the program is carried forward in its present concept, it will run into serious trouble. It is already meeting considerable criticism and opposition.

One of the best articles I have read on this subject is a speech by a good friend of mine and a very capable businessman, Mr. Richard H. Barry, financial consultant, of Fargo, N. Dak. Mr. Barry has a distinguished record in dealing with problems of businessmen. In his speech he points out some of the present difficulties with this program and suggests some possible solutions.

I ask unanimous consent that a summary of Mr. Barry's remarks before the Cass County Republican Finance Committee at Fargo, N. Dak., on August 15, 1962, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE WE HEADED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION?

In an article "Are We Headed in the Wrong Direction," former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, on page 22 of the August 11, 1962, issue of the Saturday Evening Post, lists six matters which should be of broad public interest. One of the six points pertains to a drive for authority to federalize the unemployment compensation system of this country. Your chairman, Pershing Boe, has asked me to take the subject of Federal and State unemployment compensation taxes, pose the question, "Are We Headed in the Wrong Direction?", and then bring the subject matter down to the level of a State like North Dakota—and in a manner that will interest the barbers, the hospital administrators, businessmen, students of government, and taxpayers in general.

It would be a great milestone in political procedure and an encouraging step forward, in behalf of present and future generations, if starting in 1962 each of the approximately 3,000 county committees in our country of both the Republican and Democratic Parties would attempt more often to develop a better understanding at the local level, of the various economic issues and philosophies confronting our Nation. I think your chairman should be commended for the start he has made in the right direction.

The subject of the Federal-State unemployment compensation system which now exists, is a bit too complicated to be thoroughly discussed in a brief luncheon meeting of this nature, but the following points may be helpful, as well as alarming in developing a better understanding of whether the system from a tax standpoint is headed in the wrong or the right direction:

(1) Are we headed in the wrong direction from a tax standpoint? The answer, I believe you will agree after you have studied the subject, is "Yes." You will find that in all but three States the employer pays all of this social insurance—and that the tax structure for employers is one of the most inequitable systems of taxation in existence involving millions of dollars in North Dakota and hundreds of millions of dollars throughout the Nation.

(2) The following figures can be used as a start in establishing a foundation for today's brief discussion, to point out just a few of the inequities in the unemployment insurance tax system. For example, note that the business firms in North Dakota are confronted with an average rate on their taxable payrolls that is twice as high as the rate in South Dakota. In round figures on approximately the same number of employers and employees North Dakota has a tax burden of $2 million more per year than South Dakota. Iowa has a comparable rate that is only one-third as high as North Dakota.

*Unemployment insurance financial data*

| | Number of employers covered | Number of covered employees | Collected from employers | Average employer rate (percent) | State total reserve for benefits (percent) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Dakota | 5,841 | 64,937 | $3,826,000 | 1.98 | 2.8 |
| South Dakota | 5,709 | 73,447 | 1,826,000 | .81 | 7.0 |
| Iowa | 22,789 | 446,731 | 8,178,000 | .61 | 8.6 |
| Nebraska | 12,276 | 283,717 | 7,335,000 | 1.06 | 5.9 |
| Minnesota | 41,474 | 705,948 | 21,716,000 | 1.13 | 2.3 |
| Wisconsin | 33,647 | 907,324 | 36,621,000 | 1.41 | 7.7 |

Source: Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor, Annual Report, June 30, 1961, for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1961.

*Comparisons of benefits paid (percentage of average taxable payrolls)*

| | Percent |
|---|---|
| Wisconsin | 2.7 |
| North Dakota | 2.6 |
| Minnesota | 2.3 |
| Nebraska | 1.4 |
| Iowa | 1.4 |
| South Dakota | 1.3 |

NOTATION

(a) The tax is based in each State to a large extent on the statutes of that State, providing they conform to certain provisions of the Federal social security laws and the Internal Revenue Code.

(b) The laws of North Dakota provide for a minimum rate for an individual employer depending on the reserve in the trust fund

which can vary from 0.3 percent to 2.7 percent.

(c) The maximum rate for an employer is 4.2 percent (North Dakota).

(d) In addition there is a Federal excise tax of 0.4 percent.

(e) Anyone starting a new business in North Dakota with four or more employees is confronted with a minimum contribution rate of 4.2 percent plus 0.4 percent on the salary of each employee up to $3,000 per calendar year.

(3) Does effective leadership exist on a local, State or national level to take the unemployment compensation tax system and turn it in the right direction? The answer unfortunately appears to be no.

(4) What action can and should be taken by the citizens of North Dakota especially the employers, who are faced with a staggering unemployment tax load in the years ahead? At the close of my remarks today, I will pose a few potential tax and administrative guideposts for the consideration of business, civic, and legislative leaders, plus the need for imagination and leadership in creating a broader economy and more job opportunities.

(5) As the Federal and State laws now stand, North Dakota citizens are faced with an unemployment tax load that may total in the next 10 years a minimum of $50 million—and if legislation now pending in Congress (H.R. 7640 and S. 3411) is passed in its present form, the total could be closer to $100 million. If this forecast is hard for you to believe, all you have to do is to add the unemployment benefits paid in North Dakota in 1961, and multiply the figures by 10 years. Then read the provisions of H.R. 7640 and S. 3411. It would also be well to keep in mind that the tax for unemployment compensation in North Dakota as recently as the year 1958 totaled less than $2½ million.

(6) According to the annual report of the North Dakota Unemployment Compensation Division for the year 1961, benefits paid totaled $5,057,406. In addition, temporary extended unemployment compensation amounted to $423,817, unemployment compensation for ex-servicemen was $441,154 and unemployment compensation for Federal employees was $130,805.

(7) Is there a possibility that certain North Dakota employers are vulnerable to having their unemployment tax increased as much as 200 percent commencing January 1, 1963? The answer if we have another year like 1960 or 1961 is "Yes," but until the figures are in for benefits paid and tax collected in the last 6 months of 1962, a definite answer cannot be given to the question. In round figures in North Dakota there are now approximately 6,000 employers of four or more persons. In the aggregate, these employers have a monthly average of about 66,500 employees. In addition about 600 State and local government employees are covered plus about 7,800 Federal employees. One of the yardsticks in determining the tax rates for North Dakota employers is to take and measure the balance the employers have collectively in a trust fund against their combined annual taxable payroll. In the calendar year 1961, taxable wages totaled about $185 million. As of the end of 1961, the employers had a balance in the trust fund of approximately $6,366,000 or a trifle less than 3½ percent of the taxable payroll. The balance in the trust fund is dangerously close to a provision in the State law which requires a minimum tax of 2.7 percent on the first $3,000 of wages paid to each employee. In the event the reserve in the trust fund on December 31, 1962, is less than 3 percent of the combined taxable payroll for 1962 the above provision would take effect. In addition there would be a minimum Federal excise tax of 0.8 percent. It is significant to note that the trust fund in North Dakota has shrunk from approximately $10 million to approximately $6 million in the 4 years between December 31, 1957, and December 31, 1961. In 1960 and 1961 it shrunk over a million dollars each year. In thinking about the tax load for North Dakota employers in 1963 we must also keep in mind H.R. 7640 and S. 3411.

(8) At present, approximately 80,000 employees in North Dakota are covered at certain periods of the year by unemployment compensation laws. In connection with the previously mentioned drive for authority to federalize the unemployment compensation system, it is pertinent to note that H.R. 7640 would extend the coverage in North Dakota to an estimated additional 20,000 to 25,000 nonagricultural employees, including not only employers of one or more persons, such as barbers, but many tax-exempt institutions, such as hospitals and parochial schools. In round figures, this would increase the operating costs in the next 10 years of one Fargo hospital a minimum of $30,000. The tax load for all of the hospitals in the State in the 10-year period would amount to a minimum of $300,000 and a maximum of about $500,000. Keep in mind that social security taxes now running in excess of $40 million annually in North Dakota will also increase 48 percent for all employers in less than 6 years.

(9) H.R. 7640 would increase the tax base upon which an employer must calculate his unemployment tax by 60 percent from a $3,000 tax base to a $4,800 base.

(10) S. 3411 would increase the rate of tax on the above-mentioned base from 3.1 percent to 3.5 percent. This is an excise tax and is subject to a credit for payments made by employers to their respective States. For all practical purposes, without getting into too many details today, the State of North Dakota has authority to charge an employer a maximum of 4.2 percent on whatever the base is (at present, $3,000), and in addition, the Federal Government can collect 0.8 percent on the base, making a total tax of $150 per employee. A new industry coming to North Dakota with 100 employees is confronted with a minimum the first year of $15,000 in unemployment taxes plus $15,000 in social security taxes, in addition to workmen's compensation and all other State and Federal taxes.

(11) It is not generally known to employers but once each year the validity of each State's unemployment compensation program must be approved by the U.S. Secretary of Labor. In the event this approval is not obtained, the Secretary of the Treasury will not permit the employers in the particular State involved to partly offset (2.7 percent) their tax contribution to the State trust fund against the employers' Federal excise tax. Members of the 1961 North Dakota legislature will recall the hurry-up bill that had to be passed that year to satisfy the U.S. Secretary of Labor. The Fargo Forum, in an editorial dated January 19, 1961, reported that the legislature had to act to forestall the Federal Government from collecting an extra $5 million from the North Dakota employers. Some persons might argue that North Dakota's experience would suggest that the unemployment compensation system is already federalized.

(12) Can the citizens of North Dakota, especially the employers, do anything about the direction in which the unemployment compensation system is going and the staggering Federal and State tax that is required to support it? The following thoughts occur to me from 20 years of observing the piecemeal approaches in North Dakota to finding equitable benefit programs and equitable tax rates:

(12.1) The Unemployment Compensation Division in North Dakota is relatively a large operation compared to many State departments. It is the only division of its kind in the United States that is attached to a workmen's compensation bureau. The unemployment compensation program is important enough and expensive enough to the employers of North Dakota to warrant strong, imaginative, and courageous leadership. The program should be under the direction of a revitalized and independent commission, which would report directly to the Governor and to the legislature instead of to the workmen's compensation bureaus. The proposed Unemployment Compensation Commission should have a full-time administrator but would not require full-time members of the commission. The commission members, however, should be persons who by experience and training would be able to give the type of administration suggested above.

(12.2) In addition, because of the heavy tax burden and complexity of the tax rate and benefit structure, there should be an employers' council, made up of 5 to 10 employers who should meet quarterly and at intervals advise with the proposed Unemployment Compensation Commission. The scope of the employers' council should not only embrace unemployment taxes at the State level, but recommendations to Congress for improvement in the Federal laws.

(a) The requirements in the North Dakota laws to qualify for benefits probably permit too many persons to become eligible, who are in reality only part-time workers.

(b) It is possible under North Dakota laws to obtain unemployment benefits totaling $564 by actually working less than 14 weeks out of 52 weeks in a year, and earning a total of only $1,404. This may account for the relatively high benefit expenditures.

(c) In some States the problem of segregating temporary workers from those in the permanent work force is handled by requiring an applicant for benefits to earn at least $100 in each of the four quarters of a year.

(12.3) Between now and the opening of the next North Dakota legislative session in January, 1963, the employers of North Dakota should: (a) create an unemployment compensation employers' council, (b) employ competent technical assistance and (c) be prepared to make an informed presentation to the next legislature on upgrading the operating mechanics of the unemployment compensation system in this State. For example, it is possible that if North Dakota had the benefit of the laws and regulations employed in South Dakota, it might mean a savings to North Dakota business firms of from $1 million to $2 million per year and help attract more industry to North Dakota. On a national level, the North Dakota employers should find a vehicle such as a national employers' council on unemployment compensation through which they can work with the employers in the other 49 States, to prevent complete domination of the unemployment compensation system by the Federal Government not only by statutes but by regulations (watch for the scope of regulations permitted in H.R. 7640). At present, the Federal system is administered to a large extent by the U.S. Department of Labor. The time has come for the employers, possibly through the U.S. Department of Commerce, to have a voice in a program that vitally affects the economy of this Nation and a program which at present is full of inequities to hundreds of thousands of taxpayers.

(12.4) The scope of the employers' council, on both a State and national level, should in addition to seeking sound and equitable tax and benefit programs, include study of ways and means to: (a) stabilize employment, (b) expand the economy and (c) create more job opportunities.

## Mobile Swimming Pools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, physical fitness is one of the most important aspects of man's life. It is particularly necessary for the youth of America. This fact has been recognized by President Kennedy's youth fitness program and by educators all over the country. But many youngsters in the crowded cities of our land find it difficult to exercise during the summer months; most difficult is the attempt at finding a place to swim. The "ole swimmin' hole" disappeared in the urban sprawl and new means of providing youngsters with this needed recreational facility had to be found. Gerald H. Croushore of Cranford, N.J., a secretary at the Eastern Union County YMCA, hit upon the idea of bringing the mountain and Mohammed together in a most unusual way: moving the mountain. In order to move the mountain, Croushore decided to bring the Y to the youngsters by organizing a swimming pool on wheels.

This initiative on Mr. Croushore's part and the generosity of the citizens who helped make a $15,000 item available to the Y at a cost of less than $700 is to be commended. Time, workmanship, and materials were contributed by local firms. When a community works together for the common good, all stand to benefit.

I am proud to ask this body for unanimous consent to have the report by Jesse Brodey of the New York Daily News printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It appeared on July 29, 1962.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOBILE SWIMMING POOLS
(By Jesse Brodey)

In this motorized age of sprawling suburbia, it had to come: swimming pools on wheels. Now, 500 youngsters a week, from Elizabeth to Camden, are learning to swim in two YMCA swimmobiles that set up shop right in the kids' own neighborhoods.

The swimmobiles were dreamed up by Gerald H. Croushore of 128 Mohawk Drive, Cranford, a secretary at the eastern Union County YMCA in Elizabeth for the past 5 years. "Our aim is to 'drownproof' the State," Croushore said.

Each swimmobile is a 20- by 8-foot swimming pool mounted on a tractor trailer. One is 3 feet deep and the other 4.

"It's just another case of the mountain and Mohammed," Croushore said. "We had to move the mountain. We found that we had a growing community to serve and transportation, parking problems, infrequent bus service and so forth were discouraging many from using our YMCA in Elizabeth."

"We just decided to bring the Y to the youngsters," Croushore added. "We call it, 'Instant YMCA.'"

With 2 instructors taking turns handling half-hour sessions, each swimmobile usually schedules 24 classes a day. By the end of five lessons, more than 50 percent of the youngsters age 6 to 11, can pass the beginners' test by swimming two lengths of the 20-foot pool.

THREE TRAILERS DONATED

According to George W. Hoffman of Scotch Plains, Y secretary in charge of swimmobile class registrations, each swimmobile is worth about $15,000 but because of donations of time, workmanship and materials by local firms, the total cash outlay by the Y was less than $700 each.

Joseph Perrotto, vice president of Eastern Motor Dispatch and a member of the YMCA Men's Health Club, donated three trailers. One was a 22-foot long box carrier, which the Y converted into a Funmobile by equipping it with tumbling mats, athletic equipment and a long arts and crafts work bench. It has since been donated to Puerto Rico and is being operated by a YMCA branch there.

Members of Carpenter's Union Local 715 of Elizabeth erected the swimming pool walls of plywood on a heavy steel frame without charge. Ed Bitner, an executive of Better Finishes & Coatings of Clifton which supplies material for mothballing the U.S. fleet, put on overalls to spray on five waterproof coats of flexible vinyl plastic coating.

One swimmobile has been touring different cities elsewhere in the State this past month and has already been in action in Camden and New Brunswick.

It is scheduled to be in Cedar Grove this week, in Trenton for the week of August 6 and in Linden for 2 weeks starting August 13. To haul the pool from place to place, Eastern Motor Dispatch is contributing both a tractor and a driver.

The second swimmobile has already handled an average of 250 youngsters a week in swim classes at sites in Elizabethport and Union.

After this second week in Union, it will move to Kenilworth for 2 weeks starting August 6 and to Roselle and Roselle Park for 2 weeks starting August 20. Cranford has use of the swimmobile Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings.

Berman Trucking has donated the use of a tractor for the second swimmobile for the summer. James McAteer, 22, of Cranford, a second year law student at Vanderbilt University, doubles as driver and swimming instructor. Croushore's daughter, Karen, 20, a student at Bethany College, West Virginia, is the other swimming instructor.

## Our Policy of Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN BRADEMAS**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial from the New York Times of August 18, 1962, concerning the recent address of Secretary of State Dean Rusk affirming our policy of winning a worldwide victory for freedom.

The editorial follows:

OUR POLICY OF VICTORY

In a recent major policy statement Secretary Rusk gave a wider perspective to our foreign and defense policies. Expanding on President Kennedy's "revolution of freedom," the Secretary declared that our goal—and that of most nations of the world—is "incompatible" with the Communist goal, that this means a "global struggle" and that, however long it may last, we intend to win it in a worldwide victory for freedom not only for ourselves but for all mankind. He hopes that this victory can be won without a military climax, but he warns that we shall defend our vital interests and those of the free world "by whatever means may be necessary."

This speech, which seems to sound a firmer note of resolution born of the frustration of all attempts to negotiate with the Soviets, was an answer to Moscow's threats, as well as a reply to American rightwing charges that we pursue a "no win" policy. It was also addressed to the neutralists who, in disregard of the issues involved, see the struggle as a power contest between the United States and Soviet Russia and adopt a plague-on-both-your-house attitude. Mr. Rusk reaffirmed our pledge to protect the freedom of West Berlin and vowed that Communist aggression in Vietnam shall not succeed.

This renewed proclamation of our goals and pledges should provide new reassurance to Western Europe disturbed by debates about our military strategy. So should the declarations of General Taylor, designated new chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Norstad, the retiring allied commander in chief in Europe. Both urge Europe to increase its conventional forces to strengthen the NATO "shield" that must meet a first attack. We seek to evolve a strategy that will leave us, and Europe, a choice of means before resorting to "massive retaliation" in the event of attack on Western Europe. But such a strategy is possible only if Europe does its part.

## Supranational Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the great, fundamental problems and challenges facing mankind often extend over and beyond national boundaries, beyond continents, and, now, indeed, beyond the globe itself.

Moreover, the research required to explore the "great unknown" often exceeds the brainpower and resources of individual nations.

For this reason, there is a need for ever-greater cooperation among people and nations on problems of universal significance.

The International Geophysical Year, for example, represented one of the great programs of international cooperation for mutual exchange of knowledge and information in the history of the world.

Recently, the La Crosse Tribune published an editorial reflecting thoughtfully upon the great scope of challenges in science, and of international cooperative efforts now underway.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the La Crosse (Wis.) Tribune, Aug. 18, 1962]

YEARS OF OUR DAYS—NATIONALISM, ISOLATION IMPOSSIBLE IN SCIENCE

The international importance of science was brought home to the ordinary citizen during the famous International Geophysi-

cal Year, even though the sputniks and Vanguards and Explorers stole the show from the other sciences.

The IGY was no one-shot extravaganza, however. A number of other "international years" are underway or scheduled, among them:

The International Indian Ocean Expedition will run from 1962 through 1965 and involve 25 nations and about 44 vessels.

Among the ships will be the former Presidential yacht *Williamsburg*, which has been turned over to the National Science Foundation. It will be renamed the *Anton Brun*, in honor of the late Danish oceanographer.

The International Year of the Quiet Sun will be held between April 1964 and December 1965. Observations during this period of minimum sunspot activity will complement those made during the IGY, which was a time of maximum activity.

Cooperation in meteorological research is going on at an increasing rate in an effort to understand more about the world's weather patterns.

Space exploration continues to be the most spectacular area for international cooperation and is being spurred by the United Nations.

The United States and Britain this spring launched a joint satellite called Ariel. At about the same time, a United States-Japanese team collaborated in a sounding rocket project at Wallops Island, Va. An Italian satellite is planned, to be launched by an American rocket.

This cooperation has come about not merely because of the obvious fact that it is physically one world. It is also because scientific knowledge has become so vast and complicated and all-embracing that no one nation has enough brains or wealth to go it alone.

There can be no nationalism or isolationism in science.

## Destruction of Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Mark Soifer once wrote:

No matter how often
I level this weed,
It returns after rain
As if there is need
To remind men who sever
Life's delicate string
That destruction is never
A permanent thing.

The history of the bird and mammal populations, however, do not bear out Mr. Soifer's beautiful observation. Our indiscriminate slaughter of all forms of wildlife has shown species destruction to be a permanent thing. The great auk of the northern Atlantic coast, the Carolina parakeet of the Eastern United States, the labrador duck, the passenger pigeon, and the heath hen—no longer do these birds fly free and wild across the United States. No longer does the sea-mink inhabit the New England coast. Man has decried the extinction of these species through neglect and wasteful slaughter. Many other species are in serious trouble facing possible extinction: the baldeagle, the Florida Everglades kite, and the whooping crane to name but a few.

The Atlantic City Press has spoken out on wildlife's precarious tenure and observed that this desecration should have something "to do with ideas of beauty, reverence for life, a feeling of kinship with all living things." For this reason, man has erred. What then is he going to do about it? That remains the unanswered question.

I ask unanimous consent to have the July 31 editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is an excellent commentary on our wildlife situation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILDLIFE'S TENURE PRECARIOUS

Except for the weather and geological upheavals over which he has (as yet) no control, man pretty well runs this planet.

He pretty much bosses all the other living forms which share it with him, and the days are numbered for those species which bother him or which are of no practical use to him.

Man needs cattle, so we have hundreds of millions of them, constantly being improved in the qualities man designs. He doesn't need gorillas or California condors, so the tenure of these animals on earth ranges from doubtful to precarious.

In Africa, the great wild game herds are an increasingly rare phenomenon as wardens and conservationists wage battle with poachers whose thoughtless slaughter endangers even the mighty elephant.

In New Jersey, sportsmen are protesting a proposal for a special deer season which, they say, will further deplete an already decimated herd. Atlantic County sportsmen especially are outspoken against the plan. North Jersey farmers advocate the idea to keep the deer population under control.

Elsewhere in America, the advance of progress threatens birds particularly. Thirteen species are on the point of extinction, according to Dr. John W. Aldrich of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Only six Florida Everglades kites, for instance, are left. Even the national symbol, the bald eagle, is in serious trouble. When one recalls that the last passenger pigeon, which died in a museum in 1914, represented a species which once flocked in billions and broke down large trees by sheer weight of numbers, it is apparent that something like a miracle will be needed to preserve birds like the whooping crane which are counted in tens.

It is not all man's fault. Natural predators threaten many of these birds. But it is man, with his indiscriminate slaughter and, more recently, his use of pesticides, who has brought them to this point.

Who misses the passenger pigeon? Nobody perhaps. They were mostly a nuisance and man had no practical use for them.

Or did he? Some say there is a larger meaning to the word "practical"—something that has to do with ideas of beauty, reverence for life, a feeling of kinship with all living things.

## Paper Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD the editorial "Paper Curtain," which appeared in the July 17 issue of the Arizona Republic:

PAPER CURTAIN

Despite the number of newspapers, magazines, and books in the United States, the Federal Government is today the major source of information in almost all fields of endeavor. Yet increasingly the Government has been working to stem the availability of news and information by placing copyright restrictions on the contents of its publications and documents.

Alarmed by this growing paper curtain over news, a number of leading editors and scholars, both liberal and conservative, joined together to protest governmental copyrighting. Such restrictions, they said in a recent ad, now apply to literally hundreds of official works despite the fact that section 8 of the copyright law expressly stipulates, "No copyright shall subsist in any publication of the U.S. Government, or any reprint, in whole or in part thereof." What's more, Government curtailment of freedom of press via copyright is contrary to the guarantees of the Constitution's first amendment—an amendment rendered meaningless, the signatories claim, "when Government officials employ or authorize copyright procedures as a means of placing restrictions on information amassed to promote 'the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'"

The group pointed out that anyone who has the legal right to copyright, has a legal right to restrict and censor. In attempting recently to justify copyright restrictions on military histories, one general said they were copyrighted "to prevent quoting of material out of context" and another army officer explained that copyrighting has been employed in order to prevent "sensationalizing." What these excuses add up to is an attempt to justify hamstringing the press in the performance of its principal duty, uncovering and reporting the news.

It's understandable that persons who agree on little else would join in their opposition to governmental secrecy, since this threat to freedom of information crosses political and ideological lines. What is at stake is whether the Government shall tell its people what it thinks they should know, or whether the people shall have access to all the news and thus be able to make up their own minds. In a free society, only the second alternative is acceptable.

## Address by David J. McDonald at Eagles' Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on August 3, 1962, Mr. David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, addressed the Grand Aerie Convention of the Fraternal Order of Eagles at Pittsburgh, Pa. As a longtime member of the Eagles, I was extremely pleased to hear of the great success of this important convention. And I am happy to have the opportunity to submit for the RECORD the text of Mr. McDonald's remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY DAVID J. MCDONALD, PRESIDENT, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AT THE GRAND AERIE CONVENTION, FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES, PITTSBURGH, PA., AUGUST 3, 1962

Brothers, I am honored indeed to stand here today and receive this award from the Grand Aerie of Eagles.

I use the term "brothers" with proud privilege and for many reasons beyond the fact that I carry and cherish a lifetime membership in the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

We, in the United Steelworkers of America, have been kindred spirits with the Eagles in our aims and objectives from our inception for we both have been enlisted in the great brotherhood of man.

The term of greeting which I used here today is identical for our major purpose, the good of our land and the people in it, most frequently is identical. And in fact, this close identity is carried on into the membership of both organizations.

As I look out over this convention floor, I know that there are many here who carry membership cards in the same lodge and the same union and with equal pride in the joint affiliation.

So I say, and I am proud to say, that I can salute you as brothers.

I am equally proud to claim the ties of brotherhood with the Eagles because of the good and dedicated purposes they have served, for the help they have extended through moral and financial support in obtaining many of the great social reforms which make our Nation more blessed today.

We, in the United Steelworkers know, as all organized labor does, that the Eagles were stanch and forceful allies in the first drive which led to the social security system which now is the law of the land.

The Eagles have been honest and outspoken advocates of all the great movements toward social and economic progress and have been equally stanch in their opposition to inimical and ill-conceived legislation such as the so-called right-to-work laws.

Like the United Steelworkers of America, they have been outspoken foes of communism and of all other strange and fanatic creeds which rise to menace the precious freedoms they, like our union, hold dearer than life itself.

In many instances the Eagles have stood up to be counted when it was unpopular to do so and in a lodge sense served as the Steelworkers have in a union sense as shock troops for the common good.

The Eagles have been, and I am confident will continue to demonstrate, the heart, the courage, and the will of the common people, for its membership largely is composed of the common people of our land—the muscles and sinews of our Nation.

And it is this common denominator which makes our ties of brotherhood the strongest.

The people in the Eagles, like the people in organized labor, largely are members of the Nation's work force so it is perfectly natural that we should face and be troubled by the same problems.

By this mutuality of interest, we have come a long way together. But there still is a long way to go, and we will need the Eagles' assistance to travel ahead on the road to peace and prosperity we seek jointly.

I doubt if it is necessary to remind Eagles that underemployment and unemployment plagues our work force, since the vast majority of the lodge membership are part of that work force.

I am heartened by the most recent reports from the National Government on employment. But I declare most emphatically that the real "magic number" in such statistics is "zero" on joblessness in our land and an absolute "plus" on job opportunity for all.

We in the United Steelworkers will not settle for less.

Job and income security are the primary objectives of our union and we took a big step in that direction in the most recent contracts we negotiated in such basic industries as steel and aluminum.

We believe a shorter workweek with no loss in income is a necessary step to accomplish our purpose and we feel that the national administration ultimately will recognize the validity of this belief.

We do not seek shorter hours merely to allow man more time to be idle. We believe that shorter hours are required to absorb the impact of automation and to provide the opportunity for the millions of young people who will be added to the work force year-by-year.

There are other means to obtain the maximum employment and security in retirement years which the people of our Nation must have if we are to remain strong at home and in the world.

Some we have initiated into our contracts. Others have come into being as the law of the land, as if in answer to the prayers and pleas we have voiced for years.

And I might add that many of these advances which are accepted as a matter of course met scorn and forceful opposition when they were first proposed.

This is true also in the case of the shorter workweek. Recognition is dawning, however slowly and however grudgingly, in the most unlikely places, that such a change in the work schedules is necessary.

This new support is not unselfish. The fact has hit home, as we knew it ultimately would, that nobody profits if the work force does not have the income to purchase the goods our great industrial machine turns out.

I am sure that the Eagles are troubled, as we are, because any and all efforts to aid the aged to meet the mounting costs of care in time of illness have thus far met defeat.

There can be only one remedial move taken to cure the paralysis caused by the virus of indifference and powerful opposition to such necessary and enlightened legislation.

I did not intend to use this meeting as a political sounding board, but I am certain that the Eagles are fully aware, as are the members of organized labor, that we must in November elect to Congress the type of representation which will support and vote into law the legislation necessary to meet this crying need.

I could go on for many hours in a discussion of our joint aims and objectives, both those we have obtained and those we must bring into being.

But I do not want to intrude into your time too long.

It is sufficient to say that I grow tired, as I am sure the Eagles must, of those who are forever obstructionist and never constructionist.

I hold the view, and I believe the Eagles do also, that this is no time to say it can't be done. The time has come to say it will be done—it must be done.

There has never been a doubt in my mind how Eagles will respond to the needs of man. The record is brilliantly clear in that respect.

I am confident that again, as it was in the past, the Eagles will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the United Steelworkers of America in support of the drive to eradicate the critical problems our Nation faces.

In fact, I predict now, with no knowledge that the resolutions of this convention on the common problems we face jointly will be in essence the same as the action our union will take at our 11th constitutional convention a month hence.

I am warmed and heartened by this knowledge of our common bond as I accept this award today with a deep sense of gratitude and pride.

I accept it, not for myself nor for the acomplishments you deem worthy of note but in behalf of the entire membership of the United Steelworkers of America.

The award was created in the memory of the late William Green and the late Philip Murray.

When I was privileged to suceed Mr. Murray as president of the United Steelworkers, I undertook the task as a great trust.

I accept this award as symbolic of that trust and I shall ever cherish it as such. Thank you, brothers, and God bless you.

## Garden State Parkway Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 22, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, an interesting experiment that is designed to solve some of the daily commuter highway problem has been tried by the Garden State Parkway. They have constructed a pilot parking site to encourage car pool arrangements and lighten vehicle traffic on the road itself.

I commend the parkway for their farsighted actions and hope that their experiment proves successful. Only when our transportation managers try a forward looking idea, such as this, can we hope to begin solving our commuter problems.

The Newark Evening News of July 20 has reported on the parkway's experiment and I, therefore, ask for unanimous consent to have this news article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIRST LOT FOR COMMUTERS OPENED

WOODBRIDGE.—The Garden State Parkway's first commuter parking lot opened yesterday next to Red Bank Interchange 109, and a dozen drivers took advantage of the toll road's free trial offer.

The paved area, with a capacity of 33 vehicles, was planned as a pilot site to encourage car pool arrangements and lighten the toll road's daily commuter traffic. Parkway officials believe this will make the road more attractive to other riders.

Parking will be free for the rest of this month. Beginning August 1, the rate will be $5 per month for a parking space. The tickets may be used for different vehicles, an official pointed out, so that car pool drivers can share the tickets.

An attendant from the nearby toll booths will check the cars during the day for tickets. "No parking" signs have been posted in nearby areas where motorists have left their cars all day.

MAY BUILD MORE

Should the idea prove successful the lot can be doubled in capacity, and similar sites may be constructed at other points along the parkway.

## Congress: It's Not So Bad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN J. RHODES**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, following is an editorial entitled "Congress: It's Not So Bad," which was published in the Phoenix Gazette of August 9. So seldom does the Congress receive praise, that I thought these words, especially when given after careful analysis, would be a welcome sight.

CONGRESS: IT'S NOT SO BAD

Politicians and pundits are setting out to make a whipping boy out of Congress.

President Kennedy leads the chorus with threats (as after his medicare drubbing) to call upon the people to turn the rascals out. In his case, of course, the rascals are identified as the handful of Republicans who, you are supposed to decide, won't let Mr. Kennedy save America.

The President has Republican company. Some of the country's top GOP leaders are busily trumpeting the doctrine that because Congress has a two-thirds Democratic edge, its record of inaction is a Democratic fault.

Altogether too many people of all political complexions, including not only politicians but columnists and commentators, are blandly assuming without really thinking about it that this 87th Congress does have a bad record. The idea grows from the refusal of Congress to act upon many of the proposals which have been placed before it. This is often erroneously referred to as inaction. It isn't. The same amount of activity goes into disapproving a proposed measure as would go to approving it.

Stated in the positive way instead of in the usual negative terms, the record of the 87th Congress is a good one. For example:

Congress turned back the first large-scale, serious attempt to introduce socialized medicine into the United States. It saved American farmers from becoming virtual serfs to the Federal bureaucracy under a nightmare farm bill. It prevented Central Government empire builders from edging into the management of local communities. The list could be carried on and on.

Of all those who have joined the chorus against the 87th Congress, Mr. Kennedy is the only one with a good reason to complain. Seldom before in history has any President been so rebuffed by the legislators—not of the opposition party, but of both parties. The opposition to Mr. Kennedy's program has not been partisan, but bipartisan.

We believe it has been in the best interests of the American people. We believe the record of this Congress, balancing the good against the bad, has been a very good record. We think most Americans have had their wishes reflected in Congress when it comes to proposals Congress has rejected.

Let's not smear Congress with a do-nothing label when we know very well nothing was the proper thing for Congress to do in the circumstances.

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### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

### DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## One Hundred Thousand Handicapped Persons Returned to Productive Employment During Fiscal Year Just Ended—West Virginia Leads Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, news comes from the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, 100,000 disabled Americans were restored to useful employment.

This heartening information, announced by President Kennedy and reported by Rehabilitation Director Mary E. Switzer, is the direct result of imaginative planning, dedication, initiative, education, and just plain hard work by men and women throughout the Nation who are interested and cooperative in a solution to the problems faced by the handicapped.

A major force in this significant achievement has been the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, ably headed by Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, and empowered by act of Congress to coordinate and promote programs of employment for physically and mentally handicapped citizens. As a member of this committee, it has been heartwarming to work closely with General Maas and his effective staff, and to note that progress in this area is real and encouraging. We must attain in the near future the national goal—that of providing rehabilitation for 200,000 persons annually.

Particularly gratifying, Mr. President, was a letter which I recently received from Rehabilitation Director Switzer in which she paid high tribute to the outstanding work being done by the State of West Virginia in rehabilitation and hiring of the handicapped. Miss Switzer pointed out that West Virginia ranked first in the Nation for number of persons rehabilitated per 100,000 population. The Mountain State average of 201 handicapped persons returned to productivity for each 100,000 inhabitants stood one-third higher than the next highest State. Certainly, West Virginians may well take satisfaction in this graphic evidence of their concern for, and active assistance of, handicapped segments of our population.

I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks there be printed certain letters and pamphlets concerning the achievements and goals of the Office of Rehabilitation, and the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION,
*Washington, D.C., August 14, 1962.*

Maj. Gen. MELVIN J. MAAS,
*Chairman, President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MEL: Today we are having a special kind of celebration—a day to mark the first time that the State-Federal program of vocational rehabilitation has restored more than 100,000 disabled people in a single year. This record, achieved by the State agencies in the year just ended June 30 is something I want to share with you, for you and the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped have helped in a very real and direct way to make this possible.

While this is an achievement of which we are proud, it also marks the halfway point in the goal for our program of rehabilitating 200,000 handicapped persons each year, which would mean that this program and the many fine voluntary organizations, working together, would finally have the resources to restore all the disabled who need help to become active and employed again.

As we set about this new task, I want to thank you and every Governor's committee and the local committees for the splendid job they have done to advance the employment of handicapped people. We have benefited from your work in developing the program to this point, and we will need—and be grateful for—your continued support and cooperation as we undertake the last half of this important goal.

My personal good wishes to you and to Mr. McCahill and the other devoted members of your staff.

Sincerely yours,

MARY E. SWITZER,
*Director.*

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THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED,
*Washington, D.C., August 17, 1962.*

MEMORANDUM

To: Members and alternates, State chairmen and secretaries.
From: Melvin J. Maas.
Subject: Office of Vocational Rehabilitation Records.

It is a pleasure to share with our coworkers the good news received this week from OVR Director Mary E. Switzer that 100,000 men and women were rehabilitated into successful employment in the fiscal year passed.

Miss Switzer's letter and VLP pamphlet attached belong to all of you, for without you the Committee can do nothing. I have pledged Miss Switzer our continued best efforts to help reach the annual goal of 200,000 rehabilitations, and I know you join me in that pledge.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION,
*Washington, D.C., August 14, 1962.*

Hon. JENNINGS RANDOLPH,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR JENNINGS: Today the President is announcing an important achievement in the State-Federal program of vocational rehabilitation—the rehabilitation of more than 100,000 disabled people in a single year. This means that the public program has passed the halfway mark toward its goal of restoring to activity and usefulness 200,000 disabled men and women each year.

This record is one which I hope will give you satisfaction, for you are one of the people who has worked hard over many years to make it possible. The Randolph-Sheppard Act is a monument to you, yet it tells only part of the story of what you have done to advance the cause of rehabilitation and employment for all handicapped people. I am deeply grateful.

I know you will be pleased to know that West Virginia has ranked with the best in 1962. The West Virginia Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, which rehabilitated 3,710 in 1962, ranked first among all the States in the number rehabilitated per 100,000. With 201 rehabilitated per 100,000, West Virginia stood a third higher than the nearest other State.

For all the fine things you have done to help advance the rehabilitation program, and for your many kindnesses in other ways, my deep appreciation and my best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

MARY E. SWITZER,
*Director.*

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ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND VIP'S

In the year just ended 100,000 disabled Americans were restored to activity, employment, and dignity through the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program.

We think they are very important people, every one of them. We also think it was an important year for the taxpayer who made it possible—and important for him to know what he got for his money from the vocational rehabilitation program.

Transforming 100,000 disabled people—many of them disabled for years, thousands of them dependent on public welfare—into active people leading useful lives, makes 1962 an important year for our whole country.

Maybe you were one of the thousands who helped. Modern-day rehabilitation through the public program doesn't get done by one person, or by one agency, for that matter. Thousands of people are involved—rehabilitation counselors, physicians, psychologists, social workers, prosthetics experts, and other professional people; plus rehabilitation centers, workshops, hospitals, schools, and other special facilities; plus administrators of public and voluntary agencies who know how to work together; plus Congressmen, Senators, State legislators—yes, and Presidents and Governors—who believe that rehabilitating the disabled is a good investment in people. Plus another VIP—the American employer—the man who made the final rehabilitation decision—the man who said "Yes, I will hire this worker if he can do the job."

In the past year, the American employer said that 100,000 times. He worked with the State rehabilitation agency, the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, and its State and local affiliates. Management and labor agreed on jobs and people and wages.

The result? Good employees—just as good as the others. It was good business and it was good government.

In this country, we started out with the idea that every person counts. Rehabilitation is a way of demonstrating that it's more than an idea.

Neglected disability can destroy a home, cast children adrift, halt income, exhaust

savings, and produce public costs so large and so prolonged as to be almost immeasurable.

Neglected disability costs every taxpayer—in public welfare payments, in lost taxes, in wasted manpower.

Vocational rehabilitation is one answer to a public problem. For example, it cost about $102 million in State and Federal funds to rehabilitate 100,000 disabled people last year. These are some of the returns on this investment:

They are now earning at the rate of about $200 million a year.

They will pay around $17 million in Federal taxes in their first year at work, plus State and local taxes.

Some 16,000 of them had been receiving public assistance payments at the rate of $18 million a year (more than it cost to rehabilitate them).

Yes, this makes economic sense. But the question today is, How long will it take to meet the national goal? The vocational rehabilitation program should be restoring 200,000 persons a year, just to keep up with new cases arising each year. How long will that take?

It can be done soon—if local community leaders, State government, the Federal Government, and voluntary organizations give their full and consistent support in a cooperative effort to rehabilitate every disabled American who needs special help to become active and useful again.

P.S.—In this effort—who is the VIP?—You.

## Big Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial, entitled "Big Debt," appearing in August 22, 1962, edition of the Chicago Sun-Times, be printed in its entirety in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BIG DEBT

The U.S. Treasury announced Monday that the total national debt had reached $300 billion for the first time in history.

There are some who argue that the amount of the Federal debt is not related to the cost of living, or inflation. It is worth noting, however, that the cost of living as well as the national debt is the highest in history. Living costs keep going up at the rate of 1 to 1½ percent a year.

Perhaps it is only coincidence that the cost of living has gone up as the national debt has risen. And it may be only coincidence that if the debt keeps going up, as seems likely, the cost of living will, too. But we don't buy the coincidence argument nor the one that a little inflation each year hurts no one. Financing of the Government debt by the creation of checkbook money which cheapens the dollar over the long run hurts everyone, especially retired people living on fixed incomes. Checking inflation would do them a lot more good than medicare schemes.

Since World War II, the national debt was at its lowest point of $251.6 billion in April, 1949. Since then it has risen 19 percent and the cost of living 26.6 percent.

In his recent speech on taxes, President Kennedy said he would propose tax cuts across the board next January to spur the economy. There seems to be no question in anyone's mind in Washington but that there would be no corresponding cut in Government expenditures to match the reduction in revenue tax cuts would cause. It is assumed that the Federal debt would go higher. This means higher interest charges, already marked down for nearly $9.3 billion for fiscal 1963, or 10 percent of the total budget, and more pressure for even more red ink in the budget.

There seems to be no evidence of concern for prudence in Washington. A symptom of the times is the fact that in the first fiscal year of the Kennedy administration the number of civilian Government employes rose by 77,351 to the highest total since 1953. Moreover, two congressional committees have recommended Federal employees' wages be raised in two stages by from 6.6 to 33 percent, and Congressmen themselves are talking of raising their own pay 33 percent. No inflation?

## The Satellite Communications Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD three letters on the satellite communications bill, which were published on August 22 in the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Charles Percy's (Aug. 16) comparison of the so-called efficiency of A.T. & T. and the Post Office very conveniently overlooks the fact that the telephone companies operate, however inefficient their operations may be, at a guaranteed profit, while the Post Office operates, thanks to the Congress, at a guaranteed loss.

It might be well to point out that the major portion of this loss is due to inadequate charges for junk mail, mail which no one wants to receive but which private business insists on sending. It is therefore the subsidization of private business which causes the postal deficit. It is unfortunately true that the management of private enterprise cannot operate successfully without Government subsidies or assistance in some form, or, like A.T. & T. and its subsidiaries, without a Government guarantee.

Returning to the telephone system, the customer now does most of its work. He is not only expected to dial his local calls but his long-distance calls as well, relieving the company of this burden. We are now given seven numbers to remember rather than an exchange.

This additional inconvenience bothers the telephone company not at all, for, like the railroads, it seems to believe that the path to profits lies in giving less and less service at greater cost.

JOHN F. FUNKE,
*Washington.*

Does the Washington Post really believe that cloture ever will be evoked against the "Southern contingent," in the Senate, in any future debate on matters concerning civil rights? Can you really be that naive? Or is it that you don't consider civil rights "an important issue"?

One of the aspects of the sad story about the H.R. 11040 debate in the Senate is that the Washington Post has not seen fit to give any pertinent reasons for its support of this gigantic giveaway. You did not answer the specific and well-stated objections to it raised in letters to you from Senator KEFAUVER and Joseph Rauh. Also, you have failed to report and comment upon the substance of the objections raised by the very able, well-informed, and articulate opponents of this bill, both on the floor of the Senate and in its committees.

Apparently you prefer to report and editorialize about the "filibuster" aspect of the debate, and the embarrassment that might be caused to the President by it. In short, instead of telling us that the Senate has been "merely floundering in oratory," why doesn't the Washington Post tell us why it is for the bill, and why you believe that some extremely able Senators are "floundering"? These "floundering" Senators include Senators KEFAUVER, MORSE, LONG, NEUBERGER, among others, and the real "economist" of the Senate, Senator DOUGLAS. The so-called "filibuster" of the past weeks has not been the empty flow of rhetoric that you would have us believe.

FREDERIC A. HEUTTE,
*Washington.*

The Russian Government proudly acclaims the achievements of the cosmonauts to the world, and to the Russian people whose efforts and taxes made it possible; in future years who will get credit for (and the profits of) the Telstar system, the American people who paid for nearly all of it, or A.T. & T.?

The Congress and the press have almost unanimously supported the administration's bill to put Telstar under the control of a corporation controlled by A.T. & T., and this near unanimity is in itself disturbing. A few Senators, with the courage of their convictions, and former President Truman call the bill a giveaway and the Senators filibustered against it. They may well have been right, and if they had succeeded in killing this bill for this session of Congress the Nation would have been in their debt.

Telstar is a great scientific achievement. Americans also consider it a great propaganda victory. But most of the world fears monopoly capitalism, and surely the control of Telstar by a capitalist monopoly will detract from its propaganda value. And what a field day the Russian propagandists will have with Telstar under such control. To paraphrase, it ain't necessarily so that "What's good for A.T. & T. is good for the country."

J. SAM MEWHINNEY, JR.,
*Arlington.*

## Food Stamps and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I called the scandalous administration of the pilot food stamp program to the attention of the House. The facts were so obvious they could not be denied. Of 26 congressional districts selected by Secretary Freeman and President Kennedy for this additional Federal subsidy, 25 are represented by members of the Democrat Party, including many members in key leadership positions.

Democratic districts which do not fall in the category of depressed areas—one

of the alleged guidelines of the program—were selected for participation while areas of substantial and persistent unemployment represented by Republicans were ignored.

In the State of Pennsylvania alone, eight depressed areas represented by Republicans, including the most depressed area in the entire continental United States—Johnstown, 12 percent unemployment—were disregarded while two other districts in Pennsylvania represented by Democrats were selected.

The pleas for the Democratic leadership to undertake an immediate investigation—however embarrassing it might prove to this administration—have been ignored. The chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture in fact answered one such request with language and curtness hardly expected of one in a position of such responsibility. Perhaps it is no coincidence that his district is among those included for food stamp participation. Apparently it is the intent of the leadership to wave the flag over its alleged charges of misconduct in our stockpiling program, but to bury as long as possible any investigation of matters as reprehensive and irrefutable as the handling of the food stamp program.

Mr. Speaker, one newsman with courage to make an impartial investigation for himself has placed the cards on the table for all to see. His findings make it clear why the administration has refused to answer the charges except with pious statements that they "hope this program will not become a partisan political issue."

I suspect the writer will find himself among those on the "persona non grata" list kept by the White House. He probably will no longer be given the time of day at a White House news conference, let alone any answers to the penetrating questions he has raised. I suspect the New York Daily News will soon join the New York Herald Tribune in the growing list of newspaper with canceled subscriptions to the White House. They have dared to print the truth.

Under leave to extend and revise my remarks I call the attention of my colleagues to the following story dated August 22, 1962 by Mr. Frank Holeman, syndicated columnist for the New York Daily News:

FOOD STAMPS AND POLITICS

(By Frank Holeman)

WASHINGTON, August 21.—President Kennedy is going to have trouble getting the $900 million public works bill through the House of Representatives. The reason: A lot of Congressmen are afraid he would play politics with the dough.

Whatever gave them such a wild notion as that? After all, the President has said time and time again he would use the money only where it was urgently needed, and where many people are out of work. Who in the world would play politics with human misery?

Well, Representative DURWARD HALL, Republican, of Missouri, thinks he has caught the administration doing it in the food stamp program, which cost $25 million last year and has been budgeted for $50 million this year.

"The food stamp pilot program being administered by the Department of Agriculture has become a brazen political slush fund," HALL charged on the floor of the House. He urged that action on the much larger standby public works bill be held up, pending a full-scale investigation of the food stamp scheme.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY, Republican, of Illinois, a member of the House Agriculture Committee, wrote Chairman HAROLD COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, asking for such a probe. COOLEY has just rejected the request with this one majestic sentence:

"DEAR MR. FINLEY: Your letter of August 10 requesting that the House Committee on Agriculture conduct an investigation of the food stamp program is utterly ridiculous.

"Sincerely yours,

"HAROLD."

Sylvester R. Smith, administrator of the Agricultural Marketing Service, which really runs the program, expressed the pious hope that "it will not be threatened by efforts to make it a partisan politcial issue."

Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN, Democrat, of Missouri, has thanked her fellow Missourian, HALL, for having "made a partisan political issue" out of the program because we Democrats could not pick a more clear-cut issue of how the two parties differ in meeting the needs of the American people."

THERE'S A FAINT AROMA ABOUT THE STAMPS

What are the facts? After an impartial investigation, I'm forced to one of two conclusions: (1) Nearly all the needy, unemployed people in the United States live in congressional districts represented by Democrats; or (2) there is some real hanky-panky going on, which should be exposed immediately for the good of the country. Here's why:

The food stamp program was set up in April 1961, on a pilot basis in eight areas of chronic unemployment, selected by Agriculture Secretary Freeman. It so happened that all eight areas were represented by Democrats.

Early this month, the Agriculture Department announced that the pilot program had worked so well it was going to be extended, in 3 stages—October 1, November 1, and December 1—to 18 more congressional districts. All but one of these were Democratic districts. The lone lucky Republican was Representative ALVIN O'KONSKI, of Wisconsin, who got the Duluth-Superior area OK'd while Freeman was fighting his losing battle for the original administration farm bill.

Somehow the Agriculture Department planners overlooked the area that has the highest rate of unemployment in the country, according to the Labor Department—Johnstown, Pa., with more than 12 percent idle.

REPUBLICAN PLEAS FALL ON DEAF EARS

The Johnstown area is represented in Congress by a Republican, JOHN P. SAYLOR. His pleas to be included in the food stamp program were ignored, as were those of other GOP Members in badly depressed areas.

But the expansion planners did include St. Louis, represented by Mrs. SULLIVAN, although that city is no longer even on the official list of areas with substantial unemployment.

They also thoughtfully added Nash County, N.C., in COOLEY's district, and Choctaw County, Okla., represented by Majority Leader CARL ALBERT.

The score now is 25 to 1 in favor of the Democrats.

It is quite a feat in any Congressman's cap to have the food stamp program in his district. It means that the folks on relief there are getting more and better food than people on relief elsewhere.

Under the plan, families approved by State and local welfare agencies get food stamps instead of handouts from Government surplus food stocks. They take the stamps to the grocery store and buy a greater variety of food. The grocer redeems the stamps at his bank, which eventually collects from the Commodity Credit Corporation of the Agriculture Department.

FREEMAN IS THE FOOD STAMP SANTA CLAUS

Freeman has complete freedom in picking a test area, under a law left over from the New Deal days. The only criteria are it must be an area of substantial unemployment or eligible for area redevelopment aid, and local officials must be willing to cooperate.

Oddly, those are the same broad criteria for projects to be approved under the pending public works bills. The administration asked for $600 million immediately, plus $2 billion standby. The Senate voted $750 million now and $750 million standby. The House bill, just cleared by the Public Works and Rules Committees, calls for $900 million now with no standby.

This week, House Democratic leaders are quietly polling the Members to see whether they have the votes to pass their bill.

Is it any wonder the Republicans and antiadministration Democrats are closing ranks again to the dismay of Kennedy's lieutenants?

It reminds me of the fishermen who was amazed at the struggling of a fish he caught. "What you squirming for, little fish?" he asked, "I ain't going to do nothing but gut you."

## Our Embassies Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Embassies Abroad," written by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., and published in the Editor's Report of the Hearst newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR EMBASSIES ABROAD

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, the Hearst newspapers)

SAN SIMEON, CALIF.—In Paris just a few weeks ago, July 5 to be exact, in his Embassy, overlooking historic Place de la Concorde, I sat and chewed the fat with my friend slim Jim Gavin, our American Ambassador to France. We've been friends since the war and I have the greatest admiration for him as a lean, tough paratroop soldier as well as a personable and shrewd representative of our country.

So you can imagine that I was surprised and disturbed to learn that General Gavin was resigning from his job at this most important diplomatic post—apparently because he couldn't afford to stay there.

Jim Gavin follows a distinguished line of American soldier-diplomats who've proved the military can serve their country superbly in sensitive oversea posts. In fact, it's a tradition studded with names like MacArthur, Eisenhower, Gruenther, Clay, Norstad, and Ridgway.

Now I, for one, fail to see any connection between a heavy or lightweight bank account and diplomatic skill. And it beats me why anyone else should. In other words, a

situation where our representation abroad is in any way related to the ring of a cash register is simply untenable.

Irrespective of what kind of a job an American Ambassador has been doing, such unstatesmanlike procedure is intolerable and an open invitation for qualified State Department personnel to quit in disgust.

During the high pressure, give and take of the 1960 presidential campaign, John F. Kennedy declared this was a situation that required attention. And, in fact, after becoming President-elect, he met with Representative JOHN J. ROONEY, a Brooklyn Democrat, to try to give it just that.

Representative ROONEY's involvement in the matter is due to the fact that he holds some pretty important purse strings in Congress. He's chairman of a committee that calls the shots on budget requests for the State Department.

After his meeting with the President-elect, Mr. ROONEY promised a more "sympathetic" attitude toward these requests would be taken in the future. Now, with the resignation of Jim Gavin, I think it's clear the attitude hasn't been sympathetic enough.

In addition, it's possible President Kennedy hasn't been able to get around to the problem in a manner indicated during the campaign. He has a lot on his mind. But the return of Ambassador Gavin should bring the situation to front and center again.

One diplomatic moneysaving device I have long thought overdue was the more restrained nature of the Fourth of July parties at our Embassies in Europe this year. In the past these have been virtually wide-open freeloads—gatecrashed by crowds of assorted tourists, expatriates and professional Americans abroad. This year, in London as well as Paris, the invitation list was prudently restricted to those having at least something to do with diplomatic and international relations.

While this country is represented by some of the finest diplomats and Foreign Service officers in the world—and I've seen all kinds—I have developed some ideas which may let a few gusts of fresh air blow behind that musty old silken curtain of diplomacy.

Let me begin by pointing out an obvious fact—although it's not always appreciated—that our Embassies belong to the American people, all the people.

Yet in many of our major Embassies—where an American Ambassador rightly and properly wines and dines, and is wined and dined in return—we are too often represented by well-meaning, well-heeled folks, generally bored with living at home, whose financial contribution to the incumbent political party far exceeds their possible contribution to international diplomacy.

That our Ambassadors in such cases should be restricted to eminent members of families bearing names like Kennedy, Harriman, Whitney and Aldrich—and fine, capable gentlemen and friends they all are—is clearly an anomaly in a democratic society.

Running our magnificent Embassy in the heart of Paris costs money, and plenty of it. As Ambassador, Jim Gavin was getting $27,500 a year and some $26,000 in expenses. It sounds like a great deal of cash—but holding down the Paris job costs an Ambassador that and more out of his own pocket.

Paris is a sparkling and historic capital, and much of the world of art, literature and music worships at her feet. She's a great crossroads of Europe, as well as the world, a city equal in stature to any other. It would be unthinkable if the American Ambassador there had to scrimp and save on expenses, bar the doors of his Embassy to all but the most official of functions and otherwise turn the representative building of our country into a drab, 9-to-5 office structure.

I am convinced, therefore, that the American people must lift bigger and more flexible tabs for such establishments—in the direct interests of our national pride and prestige. It is an obligation we should all be proud and willing to carry.

Our Embassies—without regard to the financial status of the Ambassador—must be adequately, and more than just adequately, equipped with Government-paid servants, chauffeurs and limousines, etc. That's the way the British, the French, the Russians and other major nations treat their diplomats—and we cannot play in their league without a uniform and proper equipment.

In fact, the proletarian Russian Embassy in Washington throws some of the biggest, unproletarian wing-dings in town.

A more flexible and understanding attitude on the part of those who hold the moneybags would enable the President to send overseas the man best qualified to fill the post—with no other criterion necessary. Thus, for example, if it were decided that AFL–CIO President George Meany should take over the plum London spot at the Court of St. James', then Mr. Meany could be on his way without any fingernail biting over whether he could pick up the tab for a diplomat banquet.

The way to accomplish this, it seems to me, would be to set up a special investigative commission to inquire into the overall—and that definitely includes entertainment and such—financial needs of our embassies. I don't think this should be a specifically congressional body. Rather it should be a kind citizens' commission, made up of members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees, former ambassadors, and qualified laymen.

Then, after the recommendations of this commission are put into effect, Representative ROONEY's Appropriation Subcommittee could still exercise its watchdog function to see nobody goes hog wild with Uncle Sam's money. It could be the kind of scrutiny maintained over expense accounts of business executives.

Contrary to general belief, most of these have to justify spending the company's cash. But they're allowed an intelligent leeway and discretion to spend it in a way that's good—that is, profitable—for the firm.

I am convinced that if such a completely bipartisan commission was formed and its recommendations adopted we would see a vastly improved system of selecting ambassadors. And it would be a shot in the arm for able and ambitious Foreign Service officers.

While on this vein, I'll digress somewhat and refer to another—and currently significant—aspect of choosing American ambassadors.

This concerns the sad situation in Peru, scene of a first-class diplomatic fumble on our part. As you know, a few weeks ago a military junta took over the government in Lima. It did it in more or less standard—and regrettable—Latin American fashion.

Then, instead of giving the junta the poker-faced, wait-and-see treatment it called for, the administration broke off relations with Peru, and promised an economic squeeze. Today the army regime looks a lot more democratic than a few others south of the border and there are numerous red faces around the State Department.

I know Peru. It's a poor country with tremendous problems. The so-called "40 families" run its economy. On the other hand, about 7 million Indians live in miserable poverty. All of which means Peru's—and many other country's—politics can't be judged by the same standards we apply to politics here, whether to elect a President or a county sheriff. There was a situation where the army just couldn't stomach a certain political party, so it moved in and took over.

Our Ambassador in Lima, James Loeb, a veteran member of the ultraliberal Americans for Democratic Action, was apparently horrified. The next thing we heard was that the United States had broken diplomatic relations with Peru. This was not a statesmanlike act, but rather a political decision.

Mr. Loeb was a political appointee, as many ambassadors have been in the past. He was not appointed on the basis of diplomatic skill or experience. I leave it to you to figure out for yourself upon whose recommendation we acted in our break with Peru.

It is time to ring down the curtain on appointing ambassadors on the basis of their bank account or their politics.

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## America's Longest National Park?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Dodge News magazine by Mr. Earl Palmer, mayor of Cambria, Va., on a subject of current interest to the Congress.

AMERICA'S LONGEST NATIONAL PARK?

(By Earl Palmer)

One dew-sparkled morning last spring I shouldered my cameras and a well-filled grub and sleeping gear pack near Oldtown, Md., and let a path mule teams once walked lead me into a bygone era. I was walking the towpath of a famed waterway, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, on the northern bank of the Potomac in western Maryland.

In its heyday, as many as 700 gaily-painted, bargelike boats boasting capacities of 100 to 125 tons, and pulled by 2,800 mules, were in service on the meandering 185 miles of the C. & O. Canal between Cumberland and Georgetown. In 1870, more than a million tons of coal, lumber, flour, whisky, and tobacco, rode downstream from Cumberland, in the Alleghenies, to oceangoing ships tugging at their anchor chains in tidewater Georgetown.

Today the once-proud queen of transportation is idle and derelict. The 100-foot-long locks of hand-hewn stone no longer answer to the commanding call "Hey-y-y-y-y lock." Absent from the scene are the lusty canalers and the white-eyed and shying mules they drove along the canal here around the clock, in rain or shine, 7 days per rough-and-tumble week. The gaudy red and green, blue and orange painted boats the plodding but trusty mules pulled have long since rotted away at their final moorings. Shingle-thatched pine and oak cabins of the lock-keepers, close by the monumental locks they faithfully tended night and day, are lonely and hollow eyed and minus the gleeful play of children in their yards, now overgrown with honeysuckle and firecherries. Giant cattails and water lilies flourish in the favorable moisture of the deserted, but once-busy canal * * * a spring-born wind from the nearby Potomac toys with a forest of spreading oaks and stately sycamores fringing the towpath.

Wandering leisurely here along the towpath, drinking in the salubrious and emerald-tinted Maryland sunshine, one captures the feel of a vanished era. The day is still a lamb and night far away * * * you are alone with your thoughts in a sylvan wilderness, a wildlife sanctuary, a place of retreat from an overregimented world.

A groundhog stands his ground dead ahead, nibbling contentedly at the lush pasturage fringing the towpath. Rabbits hop along ahead by the dozens. Every log in the canal's bed is a turtle's solarium. You surprise a muskrat in a sudden bend of the canal, but he swims unhurriedly away. A covey of blue jays do not mind your presence in the slightest—man and wildlife are friends here. Then you think: It was this way on a spring-filled day a century past * * * and you walk down the towpath looking for still other adventures. The tales of what life was like in the "good old days" on the C. & O. are many and equally varied. For most, the stories are secondhand, handed down from generations past, and thus are part fact and part fiction. However, though not legion, there are a surprising number of true old-timers living in the country bisected by the ageless canal who recall indelibly, "Back when I drove a mule team or captained a boat on the canal."

To separate the sheep from the goats and extract fact from legend, I drove to the old canal port and courthouse square town of Williamsport, Md., fast beside the Potomac and splashing Conocogheague Creek, arriving just as the last rays of a May-time sunset lit the well-seamed faces of a gatherin' of the tobacco-chawin' and tall-tale fraternity headed for a night session * * * on well-worn benches, that is.

"Anybody here ever work on the canal?" I inquired, as I walked into their circle.

"Th' feller you want to see," a cross-suspendered and bewhiskered native said, "is 'Hooper' Wolfe. Drove a mule team on th' canal until he met a gal and got married. Operates a store across th' square and is president of our Canal Club * * * knows more about that canal than anybody hereabouts," he further supplied.

Next morning I went to see venerable "Hooper" at his place of business on the square. I found him in an informative and nostalgic frame of mind. Mr. Wolfe, I was shortly to learn, remembered his days at the reins of a mule team, pulling a canal boat, about as well as he knows the names of his fisherfolk customers—or the names of nine Maltese cats he was feeding in his back yard as I approached him for an interview.

"You know," he recalled, "we mule drivers thought nothing of walking 25 to 30 miles them days, rain or shine, 7 days per week, night and day. We made 2 miles an hour downstream (loaded with 120 tons of coal) and 3 miles per hour upstream, traveling without cargo. We made the 165 miles down in approximately 90 hours, and it took about 60 hours to return to Cumberland, Md., for another cargo."

The walls of a well-stocked library in his spacious home presented a tableau of bygone days * * * pictures by the dozen speaking of placid waters, plodding mule teams, busy wharfs, lusty canalers and ox-gaited boats in the heyday of the once-proud queen of commerce that basked in the ever-changing spotlight of the long ago.

"Look here," he said, as he opened a cabinet, producing a hand-whittled-to-scale model of a canal boat. "This is an exact replica of *Old No. 57*, the last boat my mules pulled up and down the canal." His eyes sparkled with nostalgia as he hitched the mules to the boat with a pair of "reins" he carried in his pocket. "No better team of mules ever poked their noses into a feed trough," he said, as he sadly gazed on the hitchedup team reminiscent of a happy-go-lucky, bygone era.

Life on the canal was anything but a bed of roses. Because of the small pay boat captains received for hauling a ton of cargo, rigid economy was practiced by all aboard the slow but sure boats. A rabbit or groundhog had little chance for survival when spotted by a member of the crew, for either one made a good cheap meal.

"Quite often," Wolfe tattled, "We would forage a few ears of roasting corn, or a stray watermelon from unsuspecting fields fencing in the canal. We were a roughfeathered band of buccaneers them days."

But whatever the drawbacks, life on the ageless C. & O. had its compensations. There were the neighborly fraternizing visits with crews of other boats—a sort of camaraderie so prevalent between birds of a like feather who shared a common lot. In port, there were the all-night square dances, free-flowing corn likker, hoop-skirted girls, perhaps a swim or fishing party. Despite intense rivalry between the boat captains who sought leadership in carrying the largest and fastest cargoes, and occasional brawls in the taverns of port towns, life on the whole was not too bad, and was punctuated by a high standard of morals.

"We had our best business in the 1870's," historian, Ex-Mule-Driver Wolfe related "Business started slipping in the 1880's as the coal operators in the Alleghenies began using the troublesome and better equipped B. & O. Railroad for their shipments of coal to tidewater.

"The twin floods of May and June in 1889 that ruined Johnstown, Pa., flooded the upper Potomac as well. Newspapers of the time had it that the canal had suffered a knockout blow. Doggedly, the canal's bondholders dredged up another $400,000, repaired the damage, and continued to operate for another 35 years. Then came the flood of 1924. No angel came along this time and the canal closed its locks for good."

Hooper looked far beyond the walls of the library where we sat, the ready flow of words slowed to a whisper: "And so the old canal ended its 96-year life. The mules retired to pastures beside the canal of their labor, the once-gay boats of red and green and blue were tied to their last moorings, and happy-go-lucky canalers left with the winds. Another chapter in American history had closed."

On January 18, 1961, however, the 4,800 acres of federally owned right-of-way from Seneca to Cumberland was established as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument by Presidential proclamation. And several months later, the Senate favorably passed legislation which would establish the canal area as a national park.

Thus far, the House has failed to take any action on the legislation. Informed congressional sources feel that the reason for the delay may be that the Corps of Engineers has not completed the study of the Potomac Basin, and that there is no sense of urgency now that the canal has some protection as a monument. Meantime, Secretary of the Interior Udall reports that the monument, with only 4,800 acres in Federal ownership, is inadequate for development and use for park and recreation purposes.

Secretary Udall has, therefore, urged Congress to authorize at an early date the establishment of the national historical park and "to provide for its enlargement so that the benefits of its full park potential may be opened to the public."

The proposed plan for enlarging the area would extend the park from Cumberland to Washington, D.C. At 184 miles, this would make it the longest national park in America. An additional 10,200 acres would be added to the present Government-owned 4,800 acres.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal property now owned by the Federal Government stretches along the northern bank of the Potomac for 165 miles of the canal's meandering course.

To implement plans of the National Park Service, the additional 10,200 acres will be needed to maintain the natural setting of the old canal, to protect canal structures, preserve habitat for wildlife. Picnic and camping areas will be established, boat-launching docks and access roads built, parking information centers constructed, and many other things needed by a full-fledged national park.

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## Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Charleston, W. Va., Honors Senator Joseph S. Clark for Contributions to Improved Human Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, our able colleague, the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, the Honorable JOSEPH S. CLARK has long been known as a champion of civil rights, equal job opportunity, and better human relations. His efforts to promote an atmosphere of understanding and tolerance among citizens have earned him the deserved recognition and respect of civic groups and patriotic organizations throughout the United States.

For this reason it is fitting that he should have been chosen as the principal speaker at the annual dinner of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Charleston, W. Va., on April 12, 1961. Mayor John A. Shanklin of Charleston, and commission chairman L. Leo Kolbecker officiated at the banquet which was attended by West Virginia's Governor, William Wallace Barron, and 1,000 other public motivated citizens of the Charleston area.

It was my pleasure on that occasion to laud the efforts of Senator CLARK and to express tribute to his dedication to the principles of justice and individual equality which are so much a part of the heritage of the United States. Senator CLARK, unable to be present due to airplane difficulties, delivered an inspiring and meaningful message to those assembled by means of a telephone hookup from his residence in Washington, D.C.

It is gratifying to report, Mr. President, that because of his significant contributions to the welfare of all citizens, and his lifelong adherence to the ideals and practices of good human relations, Senator CLARK has been presented with a suitably inscribed plaque by the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations. In a letter to Mr. CLARK, and transmitting this award, Commission Chairman Kohlbecker noted the Senator's efforts in behalf of the city of Charleston, and informed him of additional progress which has been made there in the field of human relations. The plaque is inscribed:

To JOSEPH S. CLARK in grateful appreciation of your outstanding contribution to the city of Charleston Mayor's Commission on Human Relations to eliminate discriminatory practices in the Charleston, W. Va., com-

munity based solely upon race, creed, or national origin.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kohlbecker's letter to Senator CLARK be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITY OF CHARLESTON,
MAYOR'S COMMISSION ON
HUMAN RELATIONS,
*Charleston, W. Va., March 15, 1962.*

Hon. JOSEPH S. CLARK,
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: It has taken us some time to obtain the plaque commemorating your valuable contribution to our efforts here in Charleston on the occasion of our second annual dinner last year. While you were unable to attend in person, you still were able to deliver your stirring address through the facilities of the telephone company, and believe me, speaking for our citizens here in Charleston, we appreciate your grand contribution to our efforts.

We are sending you this plaque to commemorate this milestone in our progress here in Charleston. You will be glad to learn that all of our major hotels and restaurants now serve all peoples, regardless of race, color or creed. We are now working on the second phase of our objective, and that is the matter of equal employment opportunities for all peoples.

Thanks again, Senator, for your fine contribution to our efforts. Speaking for all of our citizens here in Charleston, we are greatly appreciative of your grand contribution to our work.

Kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

L. L. KOHLBECKER,
*Chairman.*

## Congressman Johnson Pays Tribute to Col. Henry Stickney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS F. JOHNSON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I was advised today by Miss Elsie McNamara, managing editor of the Daily Banner, Cambridge, Md., one of our outstanding daily newspapers, that Col. Henry Stickney, of Cambridge, had passed away and will be buried in Arlington Cemetery, Thursday, August 23, 1962.

Colonel Stickney survived the Bataan death march. He was captured by the Japanese May 7, 1942, and remained a prisoner until August 1945. He is survived by his loyal wife Elinor, who resides in the Parkview Apartments in Cambridge.

I am sure the Members of Congress and all Americans share in the grief of Mrs. Stickney. As long as we have courageous men like Colonel Stickney this Nation will always be known as the land of the free and the home of the brave.

We salute Colonel Stickney and pay our deepest respects to Mrs. Stickney. May our Lord give her strength in the knowledge that her husband served God and country nobly in our most trying hour.

## Developing an Intelligent, Aggressive, and Serviceable Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, earlier this month Mr. Merle H. Tucker, president of Kiwanis International, made a fine speech at Osceola, Ark. In his speech he discussed the purposes of Kiwanis International and how these purposes relate to some of the many complex problems facing our Nation today. I commend his speech to my colleagues and to other readers of the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEVELOPING AN INTELLIGENT, AGGRESSIVE, AND SERVICEABLE CITIZENSHIP

(By Merle H. Tucker)

In a day of power politics and international confusion; in a day when many, it seems, would subjugate the individual to the will of the state; in a day when there seems to be little agreement on major issues of all kinds—it is most refreshing to see a constantly growing evidence that men who proudly wear the K are not limited in their ability to dream of the best for today and the days that lie ahead.

Neither are they lacking in the will and the ability to make their dreams come true.

In the beginning, there was confusion in Kiwanis as to the most important purpose of cooperative effort. Fellowship and business favoritism, these two alone, simply could not make the infant idea endure. It is heartening, indeed, that the ideal of service—service to others—became the dominant concept to be followed.

By 1924 Kiwanis was able to state dramatically, in its six constitutional objects, the basis for its existence—the purposes toward whose accomplishment the organization would strive continually.

And what purposes those are. They fire men's imagination today just as they did in Denver so many years ago. "To give primacy to the human and spiritual, rather than the material things of life." And the rest of them—unselfish, challenging, satisfying, yet purposely difficult to achieve.

For 47 years this has been so—in agriculture and conservation—from the simplest of projects to the major impact of the rural-urban relationships program called farm city, in which Kiwanis coordinates the efforts of over 150 of the top businesses, industries, and organizations on the American scene.

In boys and girls work, from simple aid to a few needy to millions of youths in recreational facilities—to thousands of boys in nearly 2,500 Scout units—to guidance of youth in sports teams and in boys clubs throughout the land.

In support of churches in their spiritual aims, from a concept of giving of primacy to the human and spiritual over the material values of life to activities which have dramatized the efforts of individuals and clubs through a standing committee of equal stature to all of the others in which Kiwanians give their time and devote their efforts.

These efforts and thousands of more are excellent. They fill needs. But, such is not enough.

If mankind would live in a free society, each individual's concern for the economic, social, and political structure must be more clearly demonstrated than ever before.

Without doubt, no area of Kiwanis concern had received more lipservice and less constructive and concentrated effort than that involving public and business affairs.

We say we believe in free enterprise.

We say we believe in government of, by, and for the people.

We say we believe in individual responsibility.

And yet, day after day we find ourselves living to an ever increasing degree under government by default. Yet, government by default—not by law, not by edict, even, but default on the part of the very people who are governed.

Who's responsible when self-seeking machines take over city hall? Who's responsible when tickets are fixed, police are dishonest, and there's graft in high places and in low? Who's responsible for archaic State governments—like the one in Illinois which is trying to live on a revenue structure set up almost a hundred years ago?

The 10th amendment to the Constitution says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Yet year after year the States transfer their own responsibilities to Washington. Whose fault is this? Socialists? Communists? subversives? They may have helped. But the real guilt is ours—yours and mine. We simply do not practice what we preach. We talk about good government—we do little about it ourselves. So fools—smart fools—rush in where angels dread to tread.

In a recent newspaper article describing a metropolitan survey, the following facts revealed an almost incredible condition: Only 4 persons in 10 could name any area-wide leader, yet they were the electorate. Only 33 percent took any part in community affairs defining that activity very modestly. But most shocking of all, only 2 percent considered interest and participation in community affairs something of which to be particularly proud.

By what sense of purpose are we really living?

Our age is one of deep and widespread ferment. A revolution in politics, in economics, in our attitudes toward our fellow men is very much apparent. Some leaders believe, and they are saying very forcefully, that our achievements and our strengths have outrun our goals—at least in some areas of our lives.

This is much more than just a paradox. There is great peril in such a situation. For any nation operating through its established groups, which cannot shape events because of its own sense of purpose, may well be engulfed in events shaped by others.

What is the essence of this social structure which we are dedicated to defend and enrich?

To me it is our belief in the individual as the supreme fact of life. His material and spiritual well-being is the greatest test of the way a society operates. Therefore, the attitudes and the concern of the individual take on added meaning. Our society cannot escape the fact that it reflects the strengths and weaknesses of its people as they participate in the day-to-day activities of their businesses or professions.

In our land, confusion has been inevitable. When we were children, our parents taught us the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount. Generosity, love, helpfulness, a desire for knowledge, and industriousness. These were the virtues that we learned about. Then we went forth from our homes—into the world of business.

We learned that it was dog-eat-dog—and not the Golden Rule. We learned that sentiment and softness had no place in the marketplaces of the world. We learned that we should get all we could—because business had a different code of ethics. And why did this discrepancy exist?

When the country was young, its men worked hard. They achieved success in business. They built our towns, our schools, our churches, the Government under which we live. To their stalwart characteristics some added other traits—shrewdness, selfishness, greed, conceit. These men—and they were few in number became the robber barons.

Some so antagonized the people with deceit and selfishness that the injured public set up a shout, "There ought to be a law." And there was. The Federal Trade Commission, the Clayton Act, the Sherman antitrust laws, and many others.

The message filtered through. Business leaders found that honesty, fair dealing, and high mindedness brought peace, personal satisfaction, and happiness. But, most of all these things were right. These were the things on which true national health could be based. People learned that honesty could not be legislated. The learning was long and hard. The process is not complete.

As in government, and the other facets of our lives, the final responsibility for what is right rests with the individual. He must set up his own standard of conduct. He must make himself an ethical man if his way of life is to carry on.

Our Kiwanis code of ethics calls upon him to do just that—encourages him to seize his own opportunity to make of himself a better, more important citizen in this democracy of ours.

That code calls upon us to promote higher social, business, and professional standards; to recognize God as the Supreme Ruler and to abide by His immutable laws; to seek individual perfection; high ethical practices to insist upon fairness in competition; to improve relations between employer and employee; to exemplify good citizenship; and to regard kindness and fairness more highly than goods and prices and profits.

Really, what we are asking for is a personal measurement of the quality of the individual.

Business depends upon it. The survival of our free enterprise system is completely wrapped up in it. The continuation of a totally free society rests upon the concept of the acceptance of individual responsibility.

Can we, and will we, develop an ever-increasingly intelligent, aggressive, and serviceable citizenship?

What we want, I believe we can have. But a study and an understanding of the total structure and the part everyone must play become fundamental. Only freemen can manage the complexity of our social structure. Only freemen can have the opportunity for the spiritual, moral, and the intellectual growth that our times require. Only freemen can develop that deep consensus of mind and spirit that gives strength and continuity to the society they create and which, in turn, serves their purposes.

So we must concentrate on making the business structure that has made us great survive. It must be more virile, more serviceable, more dramatic in its appeal to youth than it was even to our forefathers.

Can we make this possible by depreciating its qualities? By damatizing its weaknesses? By demonstrating the acceptance of no adequate ethical code in its operation?

Why must we cringe at the terms "free enterprise" and "profit"? Why is it wrong for a man to reap the benefits of his own hard work, provided he interferes with no one else? Why is the dim goal of security more attractive to many than the bright challenging goal of success? Why do we advertise—nay, seem to gloat—over our problems, when we above all peoples on the earth, are really trying to solve these problems by ourselves? Why have we allowed other goals, other ideals, other ways to sell themselves as more attractive than those things which have made us at once the most favored, the most human, the most spiritual nation that the world has ever known?

In our society, the role of the state and of all its institutions—political, economic, and social—is to serve the individual. The citizen must not be their servant. But the individual, in his turn, must recognize that he, himself, in cooperation with others, is the servant of the greater ideals and values of human worth.

And so it logically follows, our institutions—political, social, economic, and cultural—must be constantly examined to determine how well they are serving the individual's real needs, his pressing demands, and his supreme purposes.

Are there some guidelines, are there some standards by which to judge where we stand at any time?

Among many, here are a few ideas:

You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.

You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

You cannot help small men by tearing down big men.

You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

You cannot lift the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer.

You cannot help keep out of trouble by spending more than your income.

You cannot further brotherhood of men by enticing class hatred.

You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money.

You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative.

You cannot really help men by having the government tax them to do what they can and should do for themselves.

Do yon know who said those things?

Not a robber baron, wearing an enormous white vest marked with dollar signs. Not an ultraconservative, not a Rockefeller or a Carnegie.

A man of the people said those things. One of the greatest men to come from our great land. His name, as you probably have guessed—Abraham Lincoln.

Is there no hope? Are we destined to destroy ourselves? Will subservience of the individual to the state be the answer?

Clear-thinking Kiwanians do not believe so. They never have—why should they give way to such thoughts now?

Someone has said: "The darkest night the world has ever known did not put out the stars." There is a tremendous philosophy packed into that single sentence. It is the essence of all the progress that mankind has ever made and it is a brave line. It speaks of the faith and the hope of those souls who stumble and fall and get up again and go on and lead the world forward.

No organization is a success because it is right in its basic concepts.

No depth of understanding is possible just because the need for it has been clearly pointed out.

Only as the individual raises his sights, increases his CQ, if you will, can be hope for a greater concentration of effort directed toward the best for all. An increasing acceptance of individual responsibility, combined with dedicated individual and cooperative action, make up the backbone of a continually expanding society.

I leave with you the thought of the late Charles Kettering: "Nothing ever built, arose to touch the skies, unless some man dreamed that it should, and some man willed that it must."

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## The Reds Orbit While We Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents has called my attention to the following article by Ruth Montgomery, the well-known Washington correspondent.

We Americans have a strange unwillingness to face unpleasant facts. We are like children who turn their heads away so as not to see something they fear and believe that it will disappear. But, alas, it never does.

The strikes in our defense plants are something with which we should come to grips, and that right soon. We cannot afford to make a sacred cow of either capital or labor at this hour of peril.

It is quite true, as Miss Montgomery states, that—

The world does not "owe" America its glorious place in the sun. We have to work to keep it.

Yes, indeed, and that glorious place in the sun is not going to be kept on a 35-hour week.

The greatest self-made man I ever knew once told me: "No man has ever been a success on an 8-hour day." How about 7 hours?

The article follows:

THE REDS ORBIT WHILE WE STRIKE

(By Ruth Montgomery)

WASHINGTON.—Is it really so surprising that Russia far excels us in the space race? Do we honestly wonder that we may be losing the battle for men's minds?

In this late summer of 1962, the face that America is presenting to the world is something less than pretty.

While the Soviets have been electrifying all mankind with their marvelous new space triumph, Americans were wallowing in an orgy of maudlin sensationalism.

At the same time that Russians were making television history by actually watching their two brave cosmonauts orbiting a hundred miles above the earth, American televiewers were being treated to reruns of blood-and-thunder westerns, or pictures of their vacationing First Lady.

The single-minded devotion of the Russian people to national goals can be a lesson to all of us. Certainly we scorn some of their methods, but what is so admirable about some of ours?

For instance: Every Russian citizen, including young mothers, is feverishly at work to "catch up to and surpass" American technology. Coincidentally, the AFL–CIO which dominates U.S. labor, has launched an all-out drive to cut the American workweek from 40 to 35 hours.

So eager are the Russians to forge ahead that labor is in desperatley short supply.

By contrast, our own economy is so sluggish that more than 4 million are unemployed, and unions force outrageous featherbedding practices on a spineless people. A Federal court order requested by five brotherhoods prevents the Nation's railroads from inaugurating an efficiency drive that would gradually eliminate 65,000 jobs no longer needed because of technological advances.

An important segment of the airline industry has been on strike because modern jet planes obviate the necessity for so many flight engineers. Ghost orchestras are forced on the entertainment field. Similar examples of wasteful and expensive featherbedding are almost limitless.

While Russia forges ever farther ahead in the space race, workmen at our own missile sites repeatedly walk off the job in illegal, jurisdictional disputes that have cost us hundreds of thousands of lost man-hours and millions of dollars.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration recently moved its manned spacecraft center from Langley, Va., to Houston, even after Director Robert R. Gilruth warned that to do so could delay the manned space program by a year. It may be a coincidence, but Texas is the home State of Vice President JOHNSON, Chairman of the President's Space Committee, whereas Virginia's Senator BYRD did nothing to help elect the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

What has happened to America? Are we determined to demonstrate that freemen cannot wisely meet the challenge of the atomic age? Must we deliberately fall behind because we are so saturated with our overabundance? Why don't we get to work?

Why should unions demand increased wages in this time of national peril, unless productivity is increased accordingly? Why do they stage prolonged strikes, which in the current profit squeeze results in mergers or bankruptcy, and inevitable job loss?

Is there any reason why industries, instead of merging with each other, do not merge their mutual interests with unions instead?

The world does not owe America its glorious place in the sun. We have to work to keep it, just as our forefathers worked to earn it for us. What a pity if we throw it all away.

## The Trade Expansion Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the State of Columbia, S.C., has printed on its editorial page of August 21, 1962, an excellent editorial and also an eloquent statement by Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS, South Carolina's distinguished Representative from the First District, on the subject of the trade expansion bill. The editorial is entitled "Deadly Threat to State" and the statement by Congressman RIVERS carries the following headline: "RIVERS Sees Socialization in Trade Act—Threat to South Carolina Payrolls, Congressman Says."

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that these articles be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD because I feel they merit the attention of the Members of this body as we prepare to consider the trade expansion bill and the many amendments which are being offered to this legislation.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Aug. 21, 1962]

DEADLY THREAT TO STATE

South Carolinians with the continuing progress of their State at heart should read the statement on this page today by Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS. And they should read also the text of the advertisement which appeared in Monday's issue of the State signed by two leading textile producers.

Both the statement of the Congressman and of the textile men are on the subject of the Trade Expansion Act, especially as it would, in their opinion, affect industry in the South and in South Carolina. Both deal with the possible fate of the jobs of thousands of Southern workers—and the stake the South has in these jobs being maintained.

II

Mr. RIVERS envisions not only a "deadly threat to the State's biggest payrolls," but fears the trade expansion plan would lead to "a world government before Americans know what is happening." He warns of excessive international agreements. He pictures the possibility that we may become so enmeshed in treaties that "we literally could not defend ourselves without the help and cooperation of our allies."

In the advertisement signed by Roger Milliken and Charles A. Cannon, two of the largest textile manufacturers, is the reminder that the administration so far has not lived up to its promise to hold down texile imports.

"We were told," their statement says, "that the Geneva agreement would hold imports at the level of 1961, but actual imports for the year to date indicate that the volume of cotton textile imports for 1962 will be up 30 percent over 1961."

The Cannon-Milliken statement included eight proposed amendments to the Trade Expansion Act which would provide safeguards for American industry. They are amendments proposed by Senator PRESCOTT BUSH, Senator STROM THURMOND, and a bipartisan group of six other Senators.

III

Messrs. MILLIKEN and CANNON support these amendments and ask that citizens telegraph or telephone Senator HARRY F. BYRD, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee which is considering the bill. They also suggest that one's own Senators be urged to support the protective changes in the bill. (It has been passed by the House of Representatives and is now in the Senate committee.)

IV

Citizens consideration of the complexities of such a matter may not come easily, but none would fail to feel the impact of the serious blows which men in a position to know say might come to South Carolina's chief industry and its value to the State if the Trade Act is not changed.

The State has sought to keep an open mind on the problems embodied in international trade. It has sought to understand the merits of maintaining the friendship of nations selling goods in the United States. But none can overlook the warnings of Messrs. RIVERS, THURMOND, MILLIKEN, CANNON and others. The matter has been brought home to South Carolina and it is grave. The protective amendments now before the Senate committee are of the utmost importance to the welfare of the entire State of South Carolina.

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Aug. 21, 1962]

RIVERS SEES SOCIALIZATION IN TRADE ACT—THREAT TO SOUTH CAROLINA PAYROLLS, CONGRESSMAN SAYS

(NOTE.—Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS of the Second District, has issued a new and forceful statement in opposition to the Trade Expansion Act, now before the Senate. The text of his statement is published below.)

The Trade Expansion Act can be the fatal step in a calculated move to enmesh our Nation irretrievably in a world government before Americans know what is happening.

It has been rightly called the most important piece of legislation before the Congress this year.

Never in my 22 years in Congress have I seen a more dangerous piece of legislation designed to give the President almost unlimited authority over the life and death of our economic way of life.

I fought this measure on the House floor, voting to recommit it to Ways and Means Committee, and when this motion was defeated, I cast my vote solidly against it. The measure now awaits action in the Senate.

The drive to put the United States into an international Socialist system is being spearheaded on three broad fronts—political, military, and economic.

The political thrust plays on fear of nuclear warfare. The one-world propaganda expounds on the theory that war threatens to annihilate mankind, therefore the only way to prevent war is to subject all nations to an overriding international authority.

The one-worlders military technique is to entangle America into so many international defense treaties and agreements that we literally cannot defend ourselves without the help and cooperation of our allies.

When we reach this point of dependency, then the people would be told that we must surrender our Armed Forces to international control.

I assure you as long as I have breath in my body I'll fight this one-world philosophy which erodes at the basic concepts under which our Founding Fathers created the greatest nation on earth.

The real danger lies in the economic phase of this scheme—the trade program. The naive may think this bill will enable our industries to compete better with those of the European Common Market. But I fear it predisposes the destruction of the economy of the United States, and in particular will hurt South Carolina.

I have in mind now the deadly threat to the biggest payrolls in our State, the textile industry, which is locked in a life and death struggle with the Japanese industries.

Such a bill could destroy entirely some of our industries and cripple others by making them subject to economic and political decisions by international and foreign authorities.

Under the bill, the President has sweeping powers to eliminate tariffs on some commodities and slash others up to 50 percent, not just on a commodity-by-commodity basis, but on broad categories of goods. Through exercise of this power, it is obvious some domestic industries can be ruined and many left jobless.

Another objectional provision is special payments for workers who lose their jobs because of imports, business leaders believe. I believe such allowances could upset present State unemployment compensation systems and lay the groundwork for federalization of the program. Such payments are included in the trade-adjustment section which carries various aids for companies and employees damaged by import competition.

Such adjustment assistance would mean Federal subsidy. More subsidy would mean

greater Federal control and ultimately higher taxes to pay for such subsidies.

I ask you where will this money come from? I can quickly tell you—right from the taxpayer's pocket.

The only logical conclusion I can draw from the present trade bill is that socialization of industry must be the inevitable result if we embark on this avenue of dealing with foreign nations.

## Add B. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I insert, under unanimous consent, in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial from one of Philadelphia's daily newspapers, the Philadelphia Inquirer, as a eulogy to the late Add B. Anderson, who was secretary and business manager of the Philadelphia School Board in our city for the past 28 years.

The citizens of Philadelphia owe a great debt to the late Add B. Anderson, who spent the better part of his adult life managing the business affairs of its public school system.

His purpose in life was dedicated to serving youth in the field of education. How well he succeeded is reflected in the fine educational system he left the Philadelphia School Board.

He was a man of great integrity, possessing the highest ideals, and one who never lost sight of the fact that he had responsibility for spending a substantial portion of the citizens' tax dollars.

Despite changes in municipal government over the years, with its varying policies, he always managed to move steadily forward in building one of the finest and most efficient school systems in the United States. For the money expended by him, he received full dollar value and carefully guarded the assets of the school system as if it were his own property.

His death was a great loss, and an irreparable loss to the field of education, and we in Philadelphia will miss the guiding hand of Add B. Anderson in the education of our youth.

The editorial follows:

ADD ANDERSON

The expression "dedicated" has been employed so often to describe an individual displaying an unusual zeal in his work that it has become hackneyed from overuse.

But it fully fits Add Anderson and his devotion to the Philadelphia public schools, which he managed with extraordinary skill and authority for the last 28 years as secretary and business manager of the school district.

He left Central High School in his third year to take a $5 a week job as office boy in the board of education. That was in 1915 and, until his death, on Tuesday, working for the schools was his sole, and full-time, occupation.

There was disagreement at times on the power he held and how he exerted it; he was criticized for his frugality in his supervision of the school board finances. But there was no question ever raised about his integrity, his scrupulous devotion to a balanced budget, and his quiet competence.

He got along well with politicians, a talent that proved invaluable over the years as the Philadelphia School Board had to go to Harrisburg periodically, hat in hand, to seek more appropriations or higher tax rates.

The Philadelphia school system, now a $118 million-a-year operation, owes much to this modest and energetic gentleman who made public education literally his life's work.

## The Satellite Communications Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ESTES KEFAUVER**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on the satellite communications bill, written by Robert G. Spivack, and published in the New York Herald Tribune of August 19.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TELSTAR—THE FINE PRINT

(By Robert G. Spivack)

Whenever this country makes a move in foreign affairs these days someone is sure to ask, "What will the neutral nations think?"

No such sensitivity was demonstrated, however, when the U.S. Senate voted to impose cloture in the debate on the communications satellite. No one rose to ask, "What will the American Negro think."

The U.S. Senate for the first time in 35 years—an entire generation—moved with all deliberate speed to shut off debate where property rights, rather than human rights, were concerned. It has yet to do the same when Dixiecrats filibuster against civil rights.

This bit of legislative inconsistency will not be lost on American Negroes, nor, I dare say, on observers abroad. Southerners and conservative Republicans have always insisted that protecting the rights of "minorities" by the filibuster was a matter of principle. Somehow they managed to rise above principle where the interests of a giant corporation are involved.

The big question really was not whether now was the time to shut off debate but rather, "What's the rush about adopting this legislation?" That's what the Kennedy administration and the Dirksen-Mansfield coalition should explain.

Press coverage of the debate has been limited, for the most part, to stories about the humor of antifilibuster liberals "filibustering." Actually not many people know what is in the bill. What the Senate liberals tried to do was alert the country to the fact that there was something wrong; they chose a talkathon as a sure-fire method of accomplishing that objective.

The leader in the fight, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, is used to fighting alone. His attempts to get reforms in the drug industry were scuttled by the Kennedy administration until the thalidomide episode. Then the White House got into the act. Now KEFAUVER is waging a battle in the national interest, as he sees it, along with a handful of other distinguished Senators such as JOHN CARROLL, of Colorado; WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon; JOSEPH CLARK, of Pennsylvania, and a few others.

As the underworld learned 11 years ago KEFAUVER stands his ground. He has now prepared an analysis of what he feels is wrong with the Kennedy satellite bill. You can obtain copies by writing to him at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

What are some of his principal objections?

When proponents of the measure say that bill provides for 50-percent ownership by the public and 50-percent ownership of the satellite by A.T. & T., KEFAUVER says they are kidding the public. What the bill provides is that 50 percent of the initial offering shall be offered the public.

It's possible, he says, and quite likely that the satellite corporation might be financed in a variety of other ways than by issuance of voting stock.

The public, he contends, is defenseless should it be financed through nonvoting securities, bonds, or debentures. What is more, he contends, after the "initial offering" there could be subsequent stock offerings from which the public would be excluded.

Although the taxpayers have underwritten the huge satellite development program there is no provision in the bill for the Government or its agencies to receive lower preferential rates when using the satellite system. Edward R. Murrow, of USIA, testified that his agency might not be able to use the facilities at the commercial rates.

Where other Government research is made available to private companies, such as atomic energy, many corporations can compete for it. But under this bill the Government is furthering a "private monopoly," without reimbursements. When Telstar was launched A.T. & T. paid only for the cost of getting it off the pad, a fraction of the cost of the research that went into its development.

There is a great deal of additional fine print in the satellite bill. When the details are made known then the public can decide whether or not it is a "giveaway." But even now it is becoming clear why the bill's sponsors are in such a hurry.

## Administration Response to Representative Zelenko's Request for Action on Anti-Semitism in Argentina and Uruguay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERBERT ZELENKO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago, I communicated with President Kennedy requesting the withholding of funds under the Alliance for Progress to Argentina and Uruguay because of the widespread acts of anti-Semitism.

On August 17, 1962, I received a response to my request, which follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, August 17, 1962.*

Hon. HERBERT ZELENKO,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ZELENKO: The White House has asked the Department of State to reply to your telegram to the President of July 30 concerning reports of anti-Semitism in Argentina and Uruguay.

The Department of State with the assistance of our Embassy at Buenos Aires has

for a period of 2 years been following closely the manifestations of anti-Semitism in Argentina. Our information regarding these manifestations has been supplemented by periodic receipt of data from organizations in the United States directly concerned both with threats to human rights and the welfare of Jewish communities throughout the world.

On the basis of the information available to us, it seems that most if not all of the anti-Semitic activities are attributable to small, largely covert and somewhat amorphous groups which appear to be ultranationalist in nature and to have chosen anti-Semitism as one vehicle for the expression of their personal and social dissatisfactions. The groups construe themselves as quasi-political but it cannot be said that general public opinion in Argentina dignifies them as such. We are advsed by our Embassy that the Argentine populace seems genuinely horrified by the recent violent acts and deplores the activities of those responsible for them.

Officers of the Embassy were apprised some time ago of the importance of the evidence of anti-Semitism in Argentina and were instructed to make use of suitable opportunities to point out to responsible Argentines the unfavorable world reaction to be expected from pronounced anti-Semitic activities. Following the attacks in June, our Ambassador discussed the matter with Rabbi Israel Goldstein of New York, a member of the World Jewish Congress. You will appreciate that since no American citizens have been involved the Ambassador was not in a position to make formal representations to the Government of Argentina. However, he reports subsequent conversations with officials of the Government who recognize that the activities of the anti-Semitic groups do not accrue to the credit of the nation and expressed the intent of the Government to cope vigorously with the outbreaks.

On June 25, 1962, a statement was issued by the Presidency of the Argentine Republic expressing the "Executive power's forceful repudiation" of the acts and pledged its decision to "suppress with the full force of the law incidents of this nature which do grave injury to the social structure of the Nation." This sentiment is shared, we are informed, by the Minister of Interior who is responsible for police forces in the Nation. It would thus appear that Argentine authorities are fully aware of the need to take firm measures in the present circumstances. I can assure you that as suitable occasions arises, we and our officers in Buenos Aires are prepared to discuss informally with members of the Argentine Government the concern of all decent men whenever minority groups are subject to unlawful acts.

Our Embassy at Montevideo has provided us with the following information respecting the incidents that have occurred in Uruguay: The Uruguayan Minister of the Interior informed the Uruguayan House of Representatives on July 31 that measures have been taken to prevent recurrence of incidents. These included establishment of street patrols by the police reinforced by Uruguayan Army troops, highway patrols and 100 police normally assigned to the interior of the country, as well as police raids against the headquarters of organizations suspected of involvement in the incidents.

The Uruguayan public and press have become very concerned at these unfortunate incidents, which are thought to be the work of very extremist members of a society. It would appear this concern is reflected in a vigorous effort on the part of their governmental authorities to halt this series of criminal acts.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,
*Assistant Secretary.*

## Address of Harrison F. Houghton, Chief Economist, Select Committee on Small Business, U.S. House of Representatives, on "Revelations and Paradoxes of Recent Antitrust Decisions," Presented August 20, 1962, at Annual Meeting of American Farm Economics Association, Held in Storrs, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is growing concern about antitrust policy. Congress has reiterated its faith in a competitive free enterprise system and has entrusted the fostering of this type of system largely in antitrust laws. From time to time it is important that we review the effectiveness of our antitrust program.

In this connection, the annual meeting of the American Farm Economics Association, held at Storrs, Conn., this week, devoted a session to antitrust. One of the papers presented at this meeting was by Harrison F. Houghton, chief economist of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives. Mr. Houghton's paper suggests a number of important revelations and paradoxes in recent antitrust decisions and notes that the weakest area in present antitrust enforcement relates to dominant firms in highly concentrated industries. As he points out:

This throws competitive adjustments onto the small business and farm sectors of the economy, who sell to or buy from the concentrated sectors, and brings about pressures for antitrust exemptions.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to incorporate in the RECORD the text of Mr. Houghton's address:

REVELATIONS AND PARADOXES OF RECENT ANTITRUST DECISIONS

(By Harrison F. Houghton, chief economist, Select Committee on Small Business, U.S. House of Representatives)

Recent antitrust decisions, not only in the United States but also in Europe, yield many revelations and numerous paradoxes.

The first of the revelations—most interesting to the economist, if not the lawyer—is that the Supreme Court, in the Brown Shoe case,[1] has used the word "oligopoly" without quotation marks.

Perhaps the second most significant revelation, produced by the electrical cases,[2] is that oligopolists will resort to conspiracies to set prices.

A third significant revelation (again from Brown Shoe) is that the thrust of the antimerger statute extends not only to the augmentation of existing oligopolies, but even to the level of incipient oligopolies.

The first of the paradoxes is: How can we explain the proliferation of quasi-monopoly in the face of the reiterated declaration of the Supreme Court that: "The heart of our national economic policy long has been faith in the value of competition."[3]

And: "the Sherman Act was designed to be a comprehensive charter of economic liberty aimed at preserving free and unfettered competition as the rule of trade."[4]

This paradox becomes an enigma when we read in the London Economist that: "The United States—which is often accused in Europe of having an exaggerated animus against monopoly * * * has a policy that quite often works."[5]

A second paradox is that it is now evident that there is a clear inverse relationship between "power to restrain trade" and the antitrust statutes which forbid such restraints.

A third paradox is that the energing antitrust programs abroad, far from profiting from American experience, seem to be descending into fresh pitfalls that we have avoided.

The significance of these revelations and the key to understanding the paradoxes may be appreciated by considering three structural pillars of antitrust: (1) Market dominance; (2) incipient market dominance achieved through mergers; and (3) loose-knit agreements. I refer to these as "structural because each has in common the elimination of independent competitive action of significant factors in the market.

Antitrust prosecution has always been most successful in challenging the so-called loose-knit agreements. This may have been because both the intent and the effect of such agreements were so clear. Thus, when competitors have been found joining together to fix prices, or to divide sales territories, or to engage in group boycott, the courts have taken a no-nonsense view that these were per se violations. Yet good economics was also involved, as displayed in the classic condemnation of price fixing in the Trenton Potteries case,[6] where the court said: "The power to fix prices, whether reasonably exercised or not, involves power to control the market and to fix arbitrary and unreasonable prices. The reasonable price fixed today may through economic and business changes become the unreasonable price of tomorrow."

It didn't matter that conspirators might fall out, that agreements might be short-lived, ineffective, or limited in application—nor did it matter that small firms might try to attain ends that their bigger rivals had already achieved; the strongest condemnations were applied.

Congress, in passing the Sherman Act, observed what Galbraith would call the conventional wisdom and directed the antitrust statute against single firm monopoly or combinations and conspiracies, the recognized techniques of restraining trade or monopolizing. The ubiquity of competition was so widely assumed that even economic theory would treat monopoly only as an occasional aberration.

Efforts to employ the Sherman Act to check the great merger movement of the 1890's foundered on legal niceties. In the first Sherman Act case to reach the Supreme Court, an effort was made to prevent the creation of the sugar trust, representing a merger of firms controlling 96 percent of the industry. Not only was the monopoly power clear, but its exercise was reflected in the fact that prices were immediately advanced following the merger. There was no ques-

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[1] *Brown Shoe Co.* v. *U.S.*, 370 U.S. 294 (1962).

[2] *U.S.* v. *Westinghouse Electric Corp.*, Criminal No. 20399, and other cases (E.D. Pa. 1960).

[3] *Standard Oil Co.* v. *Trade Comm'n*, 340 U.S. 231, 248.

[4] *Northern Pacific Railway Co.* v. *U.S.*, 356 U.S. 1 (1958).

[5] London Economist, "No Policy for Mergers," Feb. 3, 1962.

[6] *U.S.* v. *Trenton Potteries Co.*, 273 U.S. 392, 397 (1927).

tion of the monopolistic purpose or intent, and competition in the industry had been completely suppressed. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court denied relief on the ground that control had been achieved of manufacturing, as distinguished from interstate commerce.[7]

By the time the Supreme Court had receded from this extreme position, the merger movement had given "to American industry its characteristic 20th century concentration of control." [8]

Congress tried to remedy the situation by including section 7 in the Clayton Act, directed not merely at monopoly but at incipient monopoly. But that act was ineffective in stemming the merger movement of the 1920's because the much discussed loophole permitted acquisitions of assets to go beyond challenge.

The merger movement of the 1920's firmly set an oligopoly structure in most basic industries. By 1950, in the midst of a burgeoning merger movement, Congress closed the loophole with the Celler-Kefauver Act, and made amply clear its intention to prevent increases in concentration through horizontal, vertical, or conglomerate mergers.

Antimerger efforts, thus, while impotent during the first 60 years after the Sherman Act was passed, have now become strong law, but not quite as strong as the per se rule against loose-knit agreements.

This leaves the Sherman Act as the sole weapon with which to challenge existing concentration of economic power, yet it is the weakest in the three major antitrust pillars. It still suffers from its original drafting with emphasis on single-firm monopolization, and has not been utilized to reduce oligopoly. To the extent that competition in price is eliminated among oligopolists the Sherman Act thus far has proved useful only with proof or overwhelming presumption of combination or conspiracy.

Existing concentrations achieved at earlier cycles of merger activity are left untouched. The weight of antitrust falls on smaller members of concentrated industries attempting to attain through merger the size of dominant firms, and also on members of nonconcentrated industries attempting to become oligopolistic.

Meanwhile, per se violations by dominant firms may cause economists to reassess their earlier convictions that price control can be achieved by oligopolists without conspiracy. Some may think of the electrical cases as an aberration from general theory on the ground that the price fixes were on custom-made products, not easy to price uniformly. But the facts do not support this conclusion, since the conspiracies embraced not only such custom-made items as steam turbine generators, large power transformers, and power switchgear assemblies, but also shelf items, such as instrument transformers, meters, and distribution transformers.

As we look abroad we note a revival of interest in antitrust. The Treaty of Rome includes a two-pronged antitrust provision for the Common Market, divided into (1) dominance and, (2) restrictive agreements. A massive registration of restrictive agreements, under pain of sharp penalty for failure to report, is underway, but requests for delay in meeting the registration requirements are reminiscent of the course of litigation in this country. There seems to be a disposition in the EEC, as in most European countries, to take a rule of reason approach to agreements which would run afoul of per se rules here, the justification being that those engaged in agreements, say to set prices or divide territories, are merely doing what their large rivals have already achieved by merger. There seems to be no major attack developing in Europe, either against existing dominance or mergers aimed at dominance.[9]

The British antimonopoly program instituted after World War II, like the American policy, is designed to strengthen the forces of competition. But, according to one commentator, it is "diametrically opposed in character" to ours. The distinction is that the "lively spirit of condemnation of monopoly still inspires American policy," but British legislation is "based on the belief that suspected cases of monopoly or agreements should be carefully examined and the practices scrutinized prior to any condemnation or subsequent action." [10]

Two recent British cases vividly illustrate this difference. When the merger between Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., and Courtaulds, Ltd., was proposed—this would have brought together 95 percent of the synthetic fiber market and 75 percent of the paint market—the Monopolies Commission took a wait-and-see attitude. According to Mr. Frederick J. Erroll, president of Britain's Board of Trade, it had been the policy to judge monopolies by their actual effects in practice and not to attempt, in his words, "to reach conclusions on the possible effects of any particular monopoly before it has come into existence and there has been practical experience of its working." [11]

In the second British example, the Restrictive Practices Court has just recently approved a minimum pricing and a technical pooling agreement for the Permament Magnet Makers' Association, whose members are responsible for 75 percent of the United Kingdom's production. The court accepted a plea that the cooperation in innovaction and research was not only beneficial to the public in itself but could not exist without price fixing, and held that members' prices were on the whole reasonable. As the London economist noted: "It appears to be luck as much as good management that has in the past kept the agreed magnet prices at 'a reasonable level,' since costing was in most cases done on very inadequate information. As a result of the case a more thorough and accurate method of self-knowledge is to be worked out, and as in the cement makers' case, this will be the basis on which the registrar of restrictive practices will in future be able to check that this particular price agreement remains a well-behaved animal." [12]

Thus, in regard to market dominance achieved by merger, the British are thrice removed from us, in that: (1) They distinguish between good and bad monopolies while we forbid all; (2) we prohibit incipient monopolies; and (3) incipient oligopolies. The first Government case [13] under the Celler-Kefauver Act prevented the steel industry from being transformed into what the Court termed a triopoly. In the Brown Shoe case, the Court prevented a merger which may have set into motion a trend toward a level of concentration similar to that which already existed in the steel industry.

In the case of restrictive agreements, eschewing the Trenton Potteries doctrine, the British are willing to continuously review restrictive agreements to determine whether the fixed prices are reasonable.

These examples suggest the necessity of maintaining equally strong pillers in each of the three structural facets of antitrust policy. One weak pillar tends to undermine the whole edifice. The weakest pillar in American antitrust is the inability to reduce existing market dominance. This throws competitive adjustments onto the small business and farm sectors of the economy, who sell to or buy from the concentrated sectors, and brings about pressures for antitrust exemptions. The European experience indicates that weakness in curbing or preventing market dominance even extends to lax control of loose-knit agreements.

Weakness in any of the three structural pillars of antitrust impairs the other pillars, and leads to a sacrifice of the economist's prime objective of consumer sovereignty in favor of his bête noire, protectionism.

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[7] Milton Handler, "A Study of the Construction and Enforcement of the Antitrust Laws" (T.N.E.C. Monograph No. 38, pp. 46–47).

[8] Paul T. Homan, "Trusts: Early Development," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. XV, p. 114.

[9] Corwin D. Edwards, who has studied the antitrust programs in each of the major countries, comments: "Most countries in Europe take concentration of economic power for granted. Countries that are concerned about big business express that concern in a concept of abuse of economic power and in measures designed to prevent such abuse. To this end, they may take action against discrimination, exclusion of rivals from a market, refusal to sell, exaction of excessive prices, and other acts thought to be abusive; but they characteristically make no effort to curb the accumulation or possession of power."

The Conference Recorder, "Public Policy Toward Competition: New Antitrust Directions," National Industrial Conference Board (1962), p. 17.

[10] Paul H. Guenault and J. M. Jackson, "Control of Monopoly in the United Kingdom" (Lonemans Press, London, 1960, pp. 2–3).

[11] New York Times, Jan. 31, 1962.

[12] London Economist, "Magnets Hold Fast," June 9, 1962.

[13] *U.S.* v. *Bethlehem*, 168 F. Supp. 576 (S.D. N.Y. 1958).

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## Choked to Death by Government Redtape

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following Associated Press story indicates the overwhelming, strangling pressure of Federal Government redtape upon every business and every citizen in America.

The chains of slavery are being fastened around our citizens by bureaucratic absurdity. The Congress is their only hope of freedom.

The following appeared in the Times Democrat, Orangeburg, S.C., August 17, 1962:

BUSINESS CLOSES REDTAPE SNARL

RENSSELAER, N.Y.—The proprietor of a nursing home which was praised by State officials has closed her business because, she said Thursday, "I was choking to death in Government redtape."

"I just couldn't keep up with the papers and forms and serve my patients well," said Mrs. Earl Gundrum, who had operated the Sharpe Homestead Nursing Home for 10 years.

"There were 18 State and Federal agencies constantly flooding me with forms, questions, and statistical requests—medical reports, census figures, social security, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, withholding taxes—all too much to handle."

Mrs. Gundrum said operating expenses had jumped from about $30,000 in 1952 to $60,000 last year.

"I wasn't trying to make much money," she said. "But last year I found we had cleared about $1,000 after taxes."

The home had 21 patients, men and women ranging in age from 45 to 95, she added.

She said she had been able to place all of them in other nursing homes near here but:

"They didn't seem to understand. We were small enough to have a family atmosphere. They thought they would be here a long time."

Mrs. Gundrum opened the home in 1952. In 1958, C. Randolph Wilson, an official of the State social welfare department, called it "a shining example to nursing home operators."

And in June 1961, the Welfare Department told Mrs. Gundrum in a letter: "Your staff and yourself are to be commended for the excellent services offered the patients entrusted to your care."

Mrs. Gundrum said that while her expenses had doubled in 10 years, her rates had changed only slightly. The rates in 1951 ranged from $45 a week for most patients to $75 for those requiring special treatment, she said. The range this year was $55 to $80 weekly.

Paperwork mounted with the costs, she said.

"In one form they asked me if I had any dealings with a labor union. I checked 'No.' They asked me if I received gifts from, or gave any to, the union. I left that blank figuring if I didn't deal with a union we naturally didn't exchange presents. But they sent the questionnaire back telling me to fill in the blanks."

Mrs. Gundrum, a graduate of Russell Sage College, said her husband, a building contractor, had expressed some misgivings when she opened the home. When she closed the business, however, she said he was very upset.

She said she and her husband were concerned over the effect on the patients of a change of homes. Closing of the home also meant loss of jobs for the 14-member staff.

Mrs. Gundrum said she might convert the century-old house into apartments.

"My children are grown up and it's too big for just me and my husband," she explained. "We'd just rattle around here."

## The Satellite Communications Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Mrs. Florence Dies, of Kerrville, Tex.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KERRVILLE, TEX., *July 18, 1962.*

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. KEFAUVER: I understand that the bill to turn over the entire Telstar development to the A.T. & T. has passed the House and will now be before the Senate. I have read an article in a recent issue of the Nation on this matter, and I also heard you in the short debate on TV.

I am a widow, and a substantial part of my income is from A.T. & T. stock, but I do not feel that this proposed giveaway is fair or just or to the best interest of our country. There has been too much of this sort of generosity already.

Of course, the proponents of this measure say it is not a giveaway, but when you say it is and the Nation says so, too, I have no doubts about it. It is too bad we don't have more men like you looking after the interests of the country, rather than the interests of special groups.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. FLORENCE DIES.

## Great for What They Do—Or Don't Do?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial entitled, "Great for What They Do—or Don't Do?" appearing in the Peoria Journal Star of August 22, 1962, be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

GREAT FOR WHAT THEY DO—OR DON'T DO?

How do we measure greatness?

In 1962, the answer is obvious. We conduct a poll.

So Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., polled 75 historians on the "great Presidents," and there you have it.

And AP Analyst James Marlow wrote a "think piece" on great Presidents and less than great ones—great Congresses and "unimpressive" ones, published on the Evening Journal Star editorial page yesterday.

It has long been obvious that White House correspondents find those Presidents "great" who make the most headline stories, and the same for Congresses. Historians tend the same way.

Yet, George Washington was truly great not because of what he did as President, and not because he led us to military victory as a general, either—but because of what he did not do. He was great because he refused to be a king, because he was big enough to set a significant precedent by quitting the Presidency after two terms, and because he submitted to opposition and public criticism when he could have smashed it—and generally established by his example a working Republic rather than merely a theoretical one.

Lincoln was truly great because on the eve of victory he proposed to lay down the power of his Office to dominate the defeated South and restore self-government and representation, immediately—regardless of the effect on his own political party.

(They took care of that very quickly, after his demise.)

What a great man Fidel Castro would have been had he eschewed personal power under a free and democratic system in Cuba after the revolution—as he had promised to do.

In history and in life, there is a time for action and a time for restraint—the difference between a Cincinnatus, a dictator in defense of direct assault on Rome who returned to the farm after the crisis, and a Caesar who started Rome on the road to ruin.

How do we measure greatness today?

Not by the example of Cincinnatus, or Washington, or the Lincolnian precept of "a new birth of freedom, that government of the people, for the people, by the people shall not perish."

We seem to lean more to the Caesarian and Napoleonic models.

It isn't a particularly healthy sign.

## Will the Public Works Acceleration Bill Help?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, within a short time, the House of Representatives will be considering the public works acceleration bill, H.R. 10113, which is specifically designed to provide jobs in the distressed areas of this Nation through the construction of badly needed community facilities. This program, so vitally needed, both to alleviate the severe distress caused by unemployment and combat the stagnation of distressed areas, has been subjected, recently, to a series of organized attacks on the grounds that it will not solve all of our economic ills. This attitude, as is apparent from the editorial which follows, is certainly not acceptable to the people in the distressed rural and urban areas which would be eligible for assistance under the bill. The unemployed workers of this country are not so naive as to believe that this program will provide them lifetime jobs. They are definitely aware, however, that it will provide them with gainful work while the long-term redevelopment of their community goes forward. They also know that providing them jobs through the construction of needed public facilities not only is a productive expenditure, unlike unemployment compensation and welfare payments, but also is a means for making their communities more wholesome places in which to live and that it holds out the possibility that business and industry will thereby find them to be more attractive locations for their plants.

The unemployed cry for compassion; the unemployed cry for income-producing jobs which will help them to maintain their dignity and standing in the community. The small businessmen in distressed areas understand that their existence depends upon customers who have purchasing power—and that their future depends upon keeping those customers in their community until economic regeneration can be achieved.

We in the Congress will be judged by the extent of our efforts to help relieve the severe unemployment in over 1,000 distressed areas in our Nation—in some places the unemployment rate reaches as high as 35 percent. Construction of needed community facilities is the wisest means for providing immediate assistance to the unemployed in these areas bypassed by the recoveries from the 1958 recession and the 1960–61 recession.

I recommend this excellent article written by an outstanding journalist, Miss Veda Ponikvar, to all Members of the Congress as an accurate reflection of how people living in distressed areas feel about the public works acceleration bill.

The article follows:

[From the Chisholm (Minn.) Tribune Press, Aug. 14, 1962]

BUT IT WILL HELP

Within the next few days, the Congress of the United States will begin debate on the $900 million public works bill, which if passed and then signed by the President, will make available moneys to the depressed areas for much needed public facilities.

The public works bill, whether it is this one, or some other version of its purpose and intent, is not the answer to our economic ills. But, for the immediate moment, it can and will provide jobs for the jobless, and worthwhile construction and installations can be completed. Proponents of this measure are fully aware that this is only a temporary stopgap that will alleviate the long-drawn-out work stoppage in areas where people are willing and anxious to be gainfully employed. This is not a handout program, as some congressional leaders contend, as each community, availing itself of this program, will have to contribute 50 percent of the moneys sought, and whatever project will be inaugurated, must be approved and completed according to formal plans and specifications.

There are numerous communities in the hard-hit economic areas that are in dire need of water systems, sewage works, streets and alleys, hospitals and public buildings. If we provide these facilities and give men on unemployment compensation and on the relief roles gainful jobs, we are helping ourselves and our communities and the Government. There will be those who will point to our taxes and complain of heavy Government spending, and yet, Federal appropriations have been made so many times to places and people and for things without any appreciable return, and often times to our chagrin.

Within our own State, we have witnessed another year of aggravating lull and inactivity in northeastern Minnesota. This is one time bipartisan support should and must be given, and if we are all truly sincere in building our State; if we are dedicated to a program of expansion; and if we are concerned about getting men off of the relief and unemployment roles we will, regardless of political affiliation, band our forces and work as a team.

The area redevelopment program is gaining momentum in Minnesota, as well as in other States where it has been established. Oftentimes, the organizational procedures are detailed and lengthy, but once the mechanics are in gear, new and expanding industries find that this is a most worthwhile source of assistance. It then seems strange that when the ARA was up before Congress, five of the six Minnesota GOP Congressmen voted against it. Major bills in Congress are always a matter of compromise and keen analysis. When congressional authors of legislation from our own State approach other State's congressional leaders, they are puzzled when asked for support, knowing full well that Minnesota's solons are rifted by petty jealousies and party politics. This is one time when we can show by united effort that we are in accord and promoting for the good of the State. It makes little difference to which political party the authors may belong. This is legislation we need to lift the northeastern section of the State out of the doldrums.

From Minnesota's Governor, on down through the State legislature and senate, and the community councils, as well as among all of the people, there should be a determined effort and an unceasing initiative to work for the passage of the public works bill. On the iron range alone, there could be well over several thousand men put to work.

Those who oppose the legislation, need only to visit northeastern Minnesota to become quickly convinced that the time has come for compassion, yes, but more than that, some unified action and political party cooperation.

Our Eighth District Congressman has left no stone unturned in getting the public works bill out of the powerful Rules Committee. Any piece of legislation created by the human mind has its failings, and yet a study of this measure will reveal that all party lines have been cast aside; there is a broad approach to the needs of hard-core areas; and there are governors attached to alleviate corruption and missue of public funds.

If we, as a State, and communities are genuinely interested, we will shelve political pettiness and muster a unified support that will unequivocally convince the entire Minnesota congressional delegation that the public works bill is not the whole answer to our floundering economy—but it will help.

## Test Ban Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a letter from Mr. William C. Foster of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency:

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT AGENCY,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
*Washington, D.C., August 10, 1962.*

The Honorable WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: In view of the Discussion in the press of the new test ban proposals the United States is submitting to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, I thought you might be interested in hearing more about them.

There have been two key technical developments on which the new proposals are based. The first establishes a better capability for long-distance detection of earth tremors caused by nuclear explosions or earthquakes, and makes it possible to propose a simpler and more economical system of internationally supervised long-range detection stations, manned largely by the country where located.

The second is that an earlier estimate of the number of tremors from earthquakes which might be confused with tremors from nuclear explosions has been shown by actual observation and research to be several times too large. Since there are fewer earthquakes which produce tremors similar to those of an explosion, the number of onsite inspections needed to identify the cause of the tremors is less. However, on-site inspections are still essential.

These developments have shown the way to a control system which would cost less to construct and run, which would be simpler to manage, which could begin operation in a matter of months from ratification of a treaty, and would in no way jeopardize our national security.

The new proposals were developed by this Agency in cooperation with other agencies. They were approved by the President on the unanimous recommendation of the Secretary of Defense, the AEC, the Director of CIA, and the Secretary of State as well as this Agency. The executive branch is strongly of the view that an adequately verified ban on all nuclear weapon tests is in the national interest.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. FOSTER.

## The 225th Anniversary of the Founding of the Borough of Bath, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune this past Saturday to be a participant in very impressive ceremonies in the Borough of Bath, Pa.

This energetic little community observed the 225th anniversary of its founding. Highlighting the day's activities was the formal dedication of the Bath Post Office and a parade that attracted participants from all sections of the globe.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an ode to the American flag, "I Am the American Flag," which was delivered by Miss Janice Schlegel, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Luther Schlegel, of Bath, who will enter Kutztown State Teachers College next month:

I AM THE AMERICAN FLAG

(Ode to American flag by oratorical student before flag presentation to color guard)

Since the time of my birth many stories have been told about me. Now I feel it is my duty to tell you what I am and for what I stand.

Born during the Nation's infancy, I have grown with it, my stars increasing in number as the country has grown in size. The domain over which I wave is now expanded until the sun on my flying now never sets.

I am not only an emblem showing the authority of the United States, indicating supremacy when flying over land, possession when flying over Government buildings, power when displayed by troops—I mean much more than that. I represent the ideals and traditions, the principles and institutions, the hopes and aspirations which constitute what is to mankind the greatest nation in the world, the American Nation.

Stirring are the stories of my stars and stripes. My 13 red and white stripes recall the history of that long, bitter 8-year struggle in which the Thirteen Colonies fought and stood side by side for freedom, exemplifying the principle that "In union there is strength."

Each of my stars tells the story of a great and sovereign State which has entered the Union.

Filled with significance are my colors of red, white and blue into which have been woven the courage and strength of Americans.

The red in my stripes proclaims the courage that inspires men to face danger and to do what is right. The strength and courage of American manhood from the conquest of the wilderness by the pioneer through the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, and in the Korean conflict has done more than anything else to make the Nation over which I fly the greatest and most wonderful in the world.

My white stripes mark me as the emblem of the land of the free, the country in which

the oppressed of the world may enjoy equality and liberty.

The blue in my field of stars stands for loyalty. It is the true blue. It tells the story of thousands of men and women who have been loyal to their country through suffering and hardships.

I signify the law of the land.

I stand for the Constitution of the United States.

I represent the Declaration of Independence, the birth certificate of the American Nation.

I stand for peace and good will among the nations of the world.

I control the strong, protect the weak, relieve suffering, and do all I can for the betterment of mankind.

I stand for tolerance toward men of all creeds and races.

I reflect the wealth and grandeur of this great land of opportunity.

I tell the story of the achievements and progress of the American people in art and science, culture and literature, inventions and commerce, transportation and industry.

I am the badge of the Nation's greatness and the emblem of its destiny.

I am whatever you make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become. I am fear and song, struggle and hope.

I am no more than what you believe me to be, and I am all you hope that I can be. I am the American flag.

## Medical Aid Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 2, 1962*

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the membership to the letter dated August 14, which has been sent to the President by the National Association of Retired and Veteran Railway Employees, Unit No. 59, Pittsburgh, Pa., concerning the defeat of the medical aid bill.

I believe this letter should be read by all the Members as it portrays the thinking of a national organization representing our elder retired citizens.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATES OF RETIRED AND VETERAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES UNIT NO. 59,
*Pittsburgh, Pa., August 14, 1962.*

Hon. J. F. KENNEDY,
*President, United States of America,*
*White House, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This is to advise the National Association of Retired and Veteran Railway Employees Unit No. 59, located in Pittsburgh, Pa., share your grief because of failure of U.S. Senate to approve your medical aid bill.

Reports indicate that the American Medical Association spent more than $6 million which no doubt were extracted from the sick and deceased, and resorted to every known method, including vicious false propaganda to defeat medical aid for the aged.

The AMA as well as some Congressmen stated they opposed H.R. 4222 because it did not cover medical and surgical. Our lodge had a general discussion regarding this entire subject, and request that medical and surgical be inserted when medical aid bill is again reintroduced, and further request that benefits become effective immediately following passage if possible.

It is true that some of our senior citizens who were lucky and lived very conservative were able to buy a little home and save a few dollars during their 30 to 50 working years, therefore, we feel it is absolutely unfair for unscrupulous members of the American Medical Association to fleece us from our small savings when we are ill with their exorbitant fees, and reduce us to paupers so that we may be placed on the public assistance rolls, after which time we can apply for benefits under the Kerr-Mills law, providing of course if the recipient should live in a State which has implemented same.

Thanking you very kindly for interest manifested in behalf of senior citizens, we are,

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST R. STANLEY,
*President.*

S. J. GRAHAM,
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

## The CED Report: Dark-Age Remedy for Farmers' Ills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, in recent hearings the House Committee on Agriculture was privileged to hear from various citizens throughout the Nation on the program recommendations for agriculture suggested by the Committee for Economic Development.

For the benefit of those Members who may not be acquainted with the CED, it is an organization of business executives who have come up with a series of recommendations to solve the problems of agriculture. Your Committee on Agriculture heard representatives of the CED on their proposals; also farmers and their representatives who appeared before the committee to comment on the CED proposals who were strong in their disdain of the CED proposals.

One farm expert that I hoped would have appeared before our committee is Mr. Leland DuVall, who is the agricultural editor for the Arkansas Gazette. Mr. DuVall was not one of those to testify, but he has written on the hearings and on the CED proposal, which he terms a "Dark-Age Remedy for Farmers' Ills." Because of its excellence, I recommend it as fine reading to the Members.

The article follows:

THE CED REPORT: DARK AGE REMEDY FOR FARMERS' ILLS

(By Leland DuVall)

The Committee for Economic Development, composed of serious and presumably conscientious men, has written a prescription for the ills of agriculture. Last week, a congressional committee heard arguments on both sides of the question—and a few witnesses who obviously were a little uncertain about what they believe.

A key ingredient in the formula is a forced reduction—over a 5-year period—of one-third of the farms and farmers in this country. By that time, it was reasoned, there would be no further need for price supports and production controls, since the capacity of agriculture would just about balance market demands.

The CED apparently reached this conclusion by following the line of reasoning that led doctors in the Middle Ages to "bleed" their weak patients in an effort to restore strength.

Any attempt to find a solution to the problems of agriculture must be based on acceptance of one simple fact: America has become a Nation of surpluses and surplus capacity. In most fields, this is understood and regarded as a source of pride but in agriculture it is listed as a liability.

We have no trouble in accepting the fact that industry can turn out more goods in a given year than the market will absorb at any price. Quite correctly, we regard this surplus capacity as an asset and we exhibit it proudly as proof that our economic complex is superior to other systems.

We resort to the 40-hour week to overcome the ill effects of a surplus labor pool and we boast that our workers are so efficient that they can supply the needs of the market and have plenty of time for recreation.

At the same time, we argue that the surplus capacity in agriculture should be forcibly "retired" because the market will not absorb its flood of commodities.

Industry and labor have learned (with help from the government) how to deal with their surplus capacities. The CED, and others who follow the same line of reasoning, would destroy the surplus capacity of agriculture in an effort to solve the marketing problems.

One oversimplified test of the proposed remedy can be applied by asking the "doctors" in the CED if they would be willing to take their own medicine. In fact, one of the congressmen at the hearing last week toyed with this idea in questioning Theodore Yntema, chairman of the Research and Policy Committee of the CED. Yntema is a vice president of Ford Motor Co.

"You could sell a lot more Fords if you reduced prices," the congressman suggested.

"We could sell some more," the executive admitted.

If the CED theory were applied to industry it would mean that Ford Motor Co., General Motors Corp. and all the other car makers (as well as all other producers and manufacturers) would turn out their products as rapidly as possible and offer them at whatever price they would bring in a "free" market. The process would force the weak companies out of business and the remaining companies working at full capacity, would be able to meet market needs at prices determined by the supply-demand balance.

There is little likelihood that any member of the CED would offer this plan seriously as a solution to the profit squeeze about which they have complained loudly. Traditionally, the method proposed for solving a problem of industry is reduced production and higher prices—with relatively little effort to increase efficiency.

(The last statement should be challenged immediately, since the United States has built a reputation for efficient production. The average industrial output, relative to the number of workers, has increased at 2 percent a year since 1950, but does anyone believe seriously this was the maximum possible rate? During recessions, when corporations "trim the fat" from their operations, the rates rise much faster. By the same yardstick, farm output during the period increased at an average annual rate of 6.5 percent or more than three times the industrial rate. Farming is a lean, hard business while industry tends to operate at a more leisurely pace. The reason, of course, is that competitive conditions are not the same, but this does not change the fact that industry and labor have lagged behind agriculture in the matter of increasing efficiency.)

The idea that American industry is embarrassed by the high efficiency of farmers is a little too far out in right field to be

accepted but the remainder of the statement provides a fairly accurate picture of the way we have learned to deal with surpluses in certain areas.

Steel producers, for example, have a capacity estimated at 160 million tons a year and it could be much higher if a simple new process were added at more plants. Last year, the market absorbed only about 98 million tons. Even at that low rate, almost all the well-situated companies posted profits but the rate was not as high as they thought it should have been. The accepted theory from the viewpoint of the men who sponsored the CED report was that steel prices should have been increased to a point that would have returned an adequate profit on the entire plant—not just the part needed to produce 98 million tons. The price should be high enough, they reasoned, to take care of the fixed costs of the cold furnaces (including such expenses as depreciation, which is a part of the cash flow into the treasury) as well as the expected dividends on the whole plant.

Texas, a king-size Alamo of resistance against interference from the Government, has been able to rationalize a system for the control of petroleum production. The Texas Railroad Commission surveys market needs and well capacity and determines the number of days each pump will be allowed to run each month. Through an interstate agreement with other control commissions, a similar system is used in other States. On the present schedule, Texas wells are pumping 8 days a month but no one has come up with the suggestion that the weak wells should be plugged.

Farm tractors, automobiles, and many other major industrial products are turned out by so few companies that there is no need for a legal assist from the railroad commission or some other Government agency to balance supply with demand—at the predetermined profitable price. All that is needed is a generous interpretation of the antitrust laws.

## Another Year, Another Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Berne Witness, Berne, Ind., of which Mr. Menno Lehman is the editor, deals with the problem of the Federal Government deficit for the last fiscal year. It seems to me that this article brings the matter into proper focus and also establishes its relationship to the question of a tax cut.

Because of general concern over these matters, I hope that the editorial may be widely read:

ANOTHER YEAR, ANOTHER DEBT

The Federal Government in the year ending June 30 came out $700 million better than President Kennedy predicted last January. He guessed then there would be a deficit of $7 billion for the year. Instead, the deficit was only $6,300 million.

We're glad. But it is a restrained sort of joy. If someone knocked a hole in our roof and the man said it would cost $700 to fix it, and then presented a bill for $630, we would be glad it was smaller instead of bigger. But we still would not feel really good about the whole thing. It is the same with the Federal deficit.

This is 1 more deficit year to rack up, making 7 in the last 10 years. It bring the net for these 10 years—gain and loss combined—to a total of 40 billion added to the national debt.

It makes 1 more year added to a dismal stretch of years in which a profligate Government has persistently refused to face fiscal responsibility.

Meanwhile the pressure is mounting for a substantial tax cut. On almost every side now it is conceded that the heavy burden of taxation is depressing the economy, smothering efforts to spur increased activity and stimulate employment. But there is a lot of worrying about what happens if taxes are cut. Will the deficits get even bigger?

Just as a point of interest, Federal taxes could be less right now by a whopping 8 or 9 billion, and the Government would not even have to economize on pencil stubs to do it—if we just did not have that national debt. That is how much it takes—10 cents of every Federal budget dollar—merely to pay the interest on the debt. But that is just dreaming. The debt is there.

Taxes could actually be cut by 5 billion, and the Government would be no worse off by following the recommendations of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. That group put 17 committees to work analyzing the budget for the coming year and these committees suggested 90 places where cuts could be made, adding up to more than $5 billion.

There would be a double benefit if a worthwhile tax cut can be pushed through, and the sooner the better. One benefit will be to the people's well-being and the general economy. Tax relief is needed. The other benefit will be that a tax cut will force some spending discipline on the Government.

The country needs both a cut in Government spending and a cut in taxes. Maybe the best way to get one is to start with the other.

## The Food Stamp Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to place in the RECORD the interesting and thoughtful column by Frank Holeman which appeared yesterday, August 22, in the New York Daily News:

CAPITAL CIRCUS

(By Frank Holeman)

WASHINGTON, August 21.—President Kennedy is going to have trouble getting the $900 million public works bill through the House of Representatives. The reason: A lot of Congressmen are afraid he would play politics with the dough.

Whatever gave them such a wild notion as that? After all, the President has said time and time again he would use the money only where it was urgently needed, and where many people are out of work. Who in the world would play politics with human misery?

Well, Representative DURWARD HALL, Republican, of Missouri, thinks he has caught the administration doing it in the food stamp program, which cost $25 million last year and has been budgeted for $50 million this year.

"The food stamp pilot program being administered by the Department of Agriculture has become a brazen political slush fund," HALL charged on the floor of the House. He urged that action on the much larger standby public works bill be held up, pending a full-scale investigation of the food stamp scheme.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY, Republican, of Illinois, a member of the House Agriculture Committee, wrote Chairman HAROLD COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, asking for such a probe. COOLEY has just rejected the request with this one majestic sentence:

"DEAR MR. FINDLEY: Your letter of August 10 requesting that the House Committee on Agriculture conduct an investigation on the food stamp program is utterly ridiculous.

"Sincerely yours,

"HAROLD."

Sylvester R. Smith, Administrator of the Agricultural Marketing Service, which really runs the program, expressed the pious hope that "it will not be threatened by efforts to make it a partisan political issue."

Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN, Democrat, of Missouri, has thanked her fellow Missourian, HALL, for having made a partisan political issue" out of the program because we Democrats could not pick a more clear-cut issue of how the two parties differ in meeting the needs of the American people."

THERE'S A FAINT AROMA ABOUT THE STAMPS

What are the facts? After an impartial investigation, I'm forced to one of two conclusions: (1) Nearly all the needy, unemployed people in the United States live in congressional districts represented by Democrats; or (2), there is some real hanky-panky going on, which should be exposed immediately for the good of the country. Here's why:

The food stamp program was set up in April 1961, "on a pilot basis" in eight areas "of chronic unemployment," selected by Agriculture Secretary Freeman. It so happened that all eight areas were represented by Democrats.

Early this month, the Agriculture Department announced that the pilot program had worked so well it was going to be extended, in three stages—October 1, November 1, and December 1—to 18 more congressional districts. All but one of these were Democratic districts. The lone lucky Republican was Representative ALVIN O'KONSKI, of Wisconsin, who got the Duluth-Superior area okayed while Freeman was fighting his losing battle for the original administration farm bill.

Somehow the Agriculture Department planners overlooked the area that has the highest rate of unemployment in the country, according to the Labor Department—Johnstown, Pa., with more than 12-percent idle.

REPUBLICAN PLEAS FALL ON DEAF EARS

The Johnstown area is represented in Congress by a Republican, JOHN P. SAYLOR. His pleas to be included in the food stamp program were ignored, as were those of other GOP members in badly depressed areas.

But the expansion planners did include St. Louis, represented by MRS. SULLIVAN, although that city is no longer even on the official list of areas with substantial unemployment.

They also thoughtfully added Nash County, N.C., in COOLEY's district, and Choctaw County, Okla., represented by Majority Leader CARL ALBERT.

The score now is 25 to 1 in favor of the Democrats.

It is quite a feat in any Congressman's cap to have the food stamp program in his district. It means that the folks on relief there are getting more and better food than people on relief elsewhere.

Under the plan, families approved by State and local welfare agencies get food stamps instead of handouts from Government surplus food stocks. They take the stamps to the grocery store and buy a greater variety of food. The grocer redeems the stamps at his bank, which eventually collects from the Commodity Credit Corporation of the Agriculture Department.

FREEMAN IS THE FOOD STAMP SANTA CLAUS

Freeman has complete freedom in picking a test area, under a law left over from the New Deal days. The only criteria are it must be an area of substantial unemployment or eligible for area redevelopment aid, and local officials must be willing to cooperate.

Oddly, those are the same broad criteria for projects to be approved under the pending public works bills. The administration asked for $600 million immediately, plus $2 billion standby. The Senate voted $750 million now and $750 million standby. The House bill, just cleared by the Public Works and Rules Committees, calls for $900 million now with no standby.

This week, House Democratic leaders are quietly polling the Members to see whether they have the votes to pass their bill.

Is it any wonder the Republicans and antiadministration Democrats are closing ranks again to the dismay of Kennedy's lieutenants?

It reminds me of the fishermen who was amazed at the struggling of a fish he caught. "What you squirming for, little fish?" he asked. "I ain't going to do nothing but gut you."

## To Raise New Currents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a copy of a speech delivered by Dr. Harold C. Case, president of Boston University, at that institution's annual summer commencement exercises last week.

Dr. Case has a compelling message, and because of its important overtones I commend it as must reading to every Member of the Congress.

The speech follows:

TO RAISE NEW CURRENTS

For many years officials representing the Governments of Canada and the United States of America have discussed harnessing the tides of the Bay of Fundy to generate electrical energy. In that narrow pass the tides rise as much as 70 feet and, properly directed, represent an enormous source of energy for our industrial civilization.

The interesting thing about this situation is that these tidal waters have been rising and falling with the regularity of the cosmic timeclock for uncounted years, without generating a single kilowatt of electricity. Only if the genius of man takes hold of the power of the tide, can the wires carry electricity to users in two nations, perhaps changing the economic standards for millions of people.

One is reminded of Jacques Maritain's words about human responsibility, when he advised each one of us to "raise new currents in the flood of circumstance."

The tide of the ocean or of the moods of men cannot be stopped. They rise and fall with regularity. Emerging peoples have heard the summons to enjoy plenty and to move from scarcity. Their experiments with freedom are costly, and often wasteful They are rounding the corner from colonial rule to self-determination before they are actually competent to assume leadership. But none of them is suggesting turning back to the old days of empire.

A popular west African song describes this resistless urge. This is from their "high life," which corresponds to our "rock and roll." The African girl sings wistfully of the man she hopes to find. She asks: "O what shall I do to find a man of that type, one who is a been-to, car-full, and fridge-full, O what shall I do to find a man like that?"

Translated, this song means that she wants a "been-to" man who has been to college, has traveled, and knows the world. "Car-full" means that he owns an automoile, and "fridge-full" means that he has a refrigerator. What more could any girl want?

No person or group is powerful enough to block the forward progress of such an urge. However, it is possible to direct the flood of circumstance.

No previous age has known the sense of foreboding that hangs over the modern world. There were earlier catastrophes. Cities were sacked by vandals. Towns were destroyed by volcanoes. Yet for the majority of people the low pitch of expectation refused to promise much, and the limited area of disaster produced little excess of fear.

In the recent past men breathed the confidence that the future would be better than the past. Continuous progress, enlightenment, and the belief in inevitable improvement were universal.

Within our generation, complacency has been shattered. Two world wars have demonstrated with graphic piles of debris and millions of dead the extent of the damage man could inflict on men. Hiroshima was tragic enough, but the geometric increase in the explosive power of hydrogen and other bombs, the window-on-the-world opened by 44 orbits at 17,000 miles per hour, the prospect of space stations, moon landings, and the experience of instant audiovisual communication by the Telstar satellite have ushered in a special kind of confusion, and have shattered confidence in an unprecedented way.

Our task is to find the interaction between what is conditioned and what is free in human affairs. This is the dual character of history. Where men react blindly or passively to the great vitalities of existence, to the pressure of the tribe, to the urge for survival, to physical hunger, society will wear an aspect of uniformity. There is a sad similarity to civil strife. The struggles between the Greek city-states in the war between Athens and Sparta, the alliances, betrayals, shifts of loyalty, have kinship with modern movements in the Congo.

When, however, men transcend their material urges by reason, by enlightenment, and by their search for the ideal, the blind power urges are held at bay. The dance of puppets on strings ceases to be the summary of social movements. The breath of freedom blows, if faintly at first, still perceptibly. The fatalities are reversed. Hope grows; bloodshed ceases; conferences are convened; opponents reason with each other; both give a little; a middle position is outlined, and, as recently, one day a treaty is signed which comes out of Dutch-Vietnamese negotiations for more than 12 years. A new chapter in the history of man is written.

In this struggle between blind forces that control and enlightend forces that reshape, it is easy to believe in necessity. Our vision of the influence of the material universe and its conditioning has been vastly increased by the internal combustion engine, the electric generator, the jet plane, the electronic computer, and their technological relatives. In an age of science, change is so vast and so violent, that it is easy to become obsessed with the results and to forget either the goals or the minds back of them.

Still, admittedly all of these scientific achievements and others to come are really worthless if they do not contribute to increased well-being, serenity, peace, and humaneness of mankind.

If, as I believe, we are irreversibly part of a worldwide human community, are we not obliged to discover and apply the safeguards of a civilized society? In this Nation we live under law. There are many lawbreakers, some unsocial enough and with the brilliant daring to intercept a mail truck and disappear with more than a million dollars. But they represent the sickminded one-tenth of 1 percent. The others, living in all the ways open to them—from "lives of quiet desperation" to lives of vivid inspiration—take part in promoting the general welfare. They share some sense of national purpose. They are loyal. These are the minimum conditions of a civic life, or of any humane society.

These are still lacking in our international world. The introduction of the minimum institutions for such humaneness should be the first aim of our world policy. This, in my judgment, is more important than the landing of a man on the moon.

We require political inventiveness which in some way matches the scientific inventiveness of this age. How can we tolerate a world in which everything changes—every measurement, all communication, explosive power, outer space travel, and only civic life remains unchanged, to founder because it cannot cope with its environment?

In the main, we miss the central issue in foreign policy. We do not pursue the general welfare. We do not focus on a world under law. We do not make universal disarmament a primary dedication. Instead, we center on national security, in "souping up" our arms and space races.

I speak today for concentration of planners' time on the central aim—building a civilized world for the animal, man. We need to create the patterns of conversation, the network of worldwide family institutions, the decencies, and the dedications which will make it possible, with planetary suicide in sight, to avoid disaster, and instead to build for a comelier, more cultured, more inspired and better life on earth.

The aim of living as neighbors under law, with mutual respect, may be high and vast, but it is better than the lethal consequences of the way of violence for the human race.

Human well-being is not the product of a single discovery, a single policy, a single conference, but of a continuous quest, of unending conversation, of small gains, of occasional losses, and of forward progress.

In the second place, education has an unprecedented responsibility for "raising new currents in the flood of circumstance."

Educational theory should include, along with its recognition of the paramount importance of scientific methods, a strong conviction about desirable ends. It is easier to delineate effective methodology than it is to formulate the goals for which that methodology is indispensable. To attempt to convert society to the doctrine of ends and purposes that dominated earlier eras is unsuitable and impracticable.

Look with me at the possibilities for reconstruction of education to achieve these results. Suppose the first 2 years of a college curriculum were organized to find answers to the questions: What are the most basic characteristics of our society? What is the best possible kind of society? How do we behave in order to promote that goal?

Then lectures would be largely replaced by cooperative investigation, by individual study, and by original proposals. Gifted students could work on more advanced concepts; average students could feel the stimulus of freedom to inquire. Minority and majority opinions would be weighed; philosophy would bring values for weighing conclusions.

Students would deal with the meaning of history and the presence of atomic energy, with the levels of truth and the discovery of the most important values. Centering on

goals to be attained in the future, students would become intimately acquainted with the goals of the past and of the present. Experimentalism would be neither repudiated nor worshipped, but used where it had value.

The irrational forces that thwart progress would be studied intensively, and students would face the realities of prejudice, ignorance, defeatism, hatred, incompetence, and insecurity, without yielding to them as inevitable, or smiling in their presence and assuming that they no longer existed.

College would cease to be a pleasant interlude before the serious business of living, and would become a thrilling adventure for all who are privileged to associate with specialists, their faculty members. Research would begin early, and continue late. It would be the result of the stimulus to find new ways to perform in an unprecedented era, and would lead to inner urgency, not to the more quest for greater income for work done.

Has such a concept a chance in American higher education? Is civilization worth the price? If so, yes, the keen insights of faculty members, most of whom are dedicated educators, can design ways to recruit much, much more independent effort, with far more impressive educational results.

Finally, the world we inhabit asks of us more rapid and improved maturity. The whole issue of human destiny comes back in the end to the quality of the individual. A maturing person is one who has not achieved a level of competence and stopped, but rather is linked with life through growing contacts and new knowledge. A mature person is not one who knows many facts, but who grows steadily in knowledge and in the wisdom concerning its use. He is not a person who has a certain number of friends in a certain neighborhood, and there he has stopped; but rather, he knows how to live in many kinds of environment, and he is constantly adding to the number of persons with whom he has real fellowship.

How can we improve our conduct to "raise new currents in the flood of circumstance"?

We can maintain, and help to create, higher expectations about human life. "Dying back of the brain," as William Sheldon called the deterioration of middle age (William H. Sheldon, "Psyche and the Promethean Will," p. 3), is as artificial as self-assurance of all knowledge by a self-confident teenager.

Middle age and old age should not reveal a dampening-down, a letting-go, a making-the-best of a boresome bargain. Rather, they should bring the fruits of the quest, eager exhilaration, and increasing fulfillment.

Life can continue to grow in power and happiness, as it continues to inquire, to learn to link itself productively with other people and projects.

Every situation offers an opportunity for mature responses. We do not require special occasions. There is a family argument. The members either go wordless and angry to bed, or some member introduces relaxation, and they reexamine their deeper loyalties, and retire, relaxed and renewed. Someone makes a mistake. It is either treated as something beyond repair and disgraceful, or as a learning experience, not to be repeated, and hence useful.

Out of small immaturities, great frustration comes. From small maturities growing adequacy is built.

Immature people hide the real issues. Mature persons discuss them. On a tablet in front of the Old South Meeting House here in Boston are words that describe our revolutionary forefathers as "worthy to raise issues." If they were worthy to do that, they were mature enough to grapple with problems. They could detect the important and separate it from the unimportant.

Perhaps the most important clue to maturity is association with persons and groups that promote maturing. I am impressed by the number of faculty members who have studied in New England, have gone to other regions in these United States, and now desire to return to this intellectual center. When asked why they are prompted to do this, they usually reply that whatever may be the deficits here, climate, salaries, situations, the association with minds likely to prompt them to grow intellectually and spiritually is of greater value.

One sure test of a person is his habitual association. Does he associate wholly with groups that perpetuate immaturities, groups that are snobbish and exclusive, that deal with people, not ideas, that are devoted to self-interest instead of social interest, that are always partisan rather than critical in thought? Then he remains immature.

Or does he deliberately associate with groups that seek to overcome prejudice, that encourage the mind to be alive on critical issues, that deal with great ideas, that practice citizenship by active work for community improvement. Then he is maturing.

Learning should be continuous. Contriving a plan for growth of mind is essential to greatness, and to satisfaction in living. Creating, self-giving, researching, socializing, recreating, fit a pattern.

If we can produce a generation determined to design goals for man's best life on this planet, if we can educate a generation capable of achieving these goals, if we can keep our eye on the individual and his mental, social, spiritual growth, we may "raise new currents in the flood of circumstance," and, who knows, we may harness high tides, to the great good of people yet to be born.

At the end of a recent much-praised play by Ionesco, the hero proclaims that he, himself, all alone if necessary, will refuse to turn into a rhinoceros. This resolution is a good one, for us all.

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## Are We Being Brainwashed?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the utter fallacy of conferences with Stalin, Malenkov, Bulganin, Khrushchev, or any Russian leader; negotiations with their henchmen over disarmament; or any agreement with Communist gangsters should have dawned upon free world leaders when the Russian Communists and Hitler jointly invaded Poland in September 1941.

The following article, which appeared in the Family Weekly, August 5, 1962, indicates that we are being completely brainwashed by the Russian Communists:

ARE WE BEING BRAINWASHED?

(By George F. Sutherland, M.D. with Curtis Mitchell)

One month, Nikita Khrushchev is hurling threats of atomic annihilation at us. The next month, he is cooing cozily about peaceful coexistence.

It simply does not make sense. Or does it?

I think it does. I believe the seemingly erratic movements of Soviet diplomacy may not be erratic at all. Instead, they seem to be carefully planned to create neurosis on a global scale.

Over the years, I have gathered and analyzed records of hundreds of such twists and turns, and it becomes more and more obvious that there is an underlying timing for each.

A problem is raised; and at first the Russians seem to want a peaceful settlement. But when a solution seems near, they lose interest and raise new objections which make a settlement of the problem impossible.

For instance, throughout 1961 the Russians insisted that we and they discuss banning nuclear weapons in conjunction with our talks on total disarmament. Although we preferred another course, we finally agreed—whereupon they reversed themselves, asserting that our acceptance was a capitalistic trick and that they would no longer agree with their own proposal.

This zigzag technique in diplomacy parallels the methods used by the Red Chinese in brainwashing American prisoners during the Korean war.

In his book, "Battle for the Mind," William Sargant describes how brainwashers subject a victim to alternating positive and negative attitudes. For a time, the victim is treated in a friendly manner—and then, for no apparent reason, he becomes an object of utmost disdain. As the process continues, he grows progressively more and more bewildered. Finally, he will grasp at the slightest promise of relief. In this condition, he is likely to fall for any type of indoctrination.

Although the Red Chinese are the most notorious practitioners of brainwashing, the foundations for it were laid by a Russian doctor and physiologist, Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1859–1936). In 1904, he won the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine. During later studies, he discovered how to alter the attitudes and behavior of laboratory animals to the point of producing nervous disorders in them.

When the Communists came to power in 1917, Nikolai Lenin thought so highly of Pavlov's talents that he awarded the scientist double rations, a country house, an expanded laboratory, and the perpetual use of an apartment.

Lenin hoped to apply Pavlov's psychological techniques to alter the attitudes and behavior of humans. Since then, Pavlov's principles have been used extensively in Russian child training and in the Soviet brand of psychiatry.

By contrast, the Western world has failed to grasp the deep significance of Pavlov's theories. In consequence, we do not understand what may be happening to us. Instead of responding rationally, we often react compulsively to Soviet propaganda.

Why should this be? Students of Pavlov advance the theory that a person who is bewildered in attempting to deal with a situation will accept any strong suggestion without question.

Before the first sputnik, most Americans were convinced of our superiority over the Russians. But when the Russians space vehicle roared into orbit and ours remained grounded, it confused and shocked us. Their success suggested strongly that we had been wrong. Our self-confidence changed swiftly to self-doubt and anxiety, and we have never entirely recovered.

To a psychiatrist, this persistent feeling of apprehension is a symptom of the sickness called psychoneurosis.

A variety of techniques will produce this neurosis in an experimental animal. But all of them involve presenting a succession of alternating positive and negative signals calling for opposite responses. The more difficult it becomes to distinguish between the signals, the more disturbing the routine is likely to be.

In my own investigations, I used hogs as subjects. On one day, the interruption of a continuous tone signified that the animals would be fed. On alternate days, the same interruption signaled that they would receive a light but unpleasant electrical shock. After several months of this alternation, two of the three animals used in the study developed neuroses.

In men as well as in animals, such reflex behavior develops almost without the victim being aware of it. A pedestrian jumps at the warning sound of an auto horn before he considers its meaning. He has become conditioned.

Faced with the possibility that the Russians are using this technique to brainwash us, can we save ourselves?

Remedial measures are akin to lifting ourselves by our own bootstraps. The first step is to comprehend the mechanism: the alternating current of sweet talk and threats.

A French physician who survived 3 years of brainwashing in a Chinese prison said: "You are exhausted, and you are annihilated. You can't distinguish right from left. You just wonder when you will be shot—and begin to hope for the end. Finally, you do whatever they want."

Three conditions, if maintained long enough, are expected to create an experimental neurosis in a human being.

1. A continuous state of unpleasant anticipation.

2. Lack of means to combat the situation.

3. Mounting anxiety under inescapable pressure.

Ask yourself: Do you dread the next Soviet threat? Do you have doubts about our ability to fight back? Do you feel we can only sit and wait for the inevitable?

If you have these feelings, reach fast for your bootstraps.

The primitive medicine man controlled his subjects only as long as they failed to see through his "magic." Likewise, once we view the Soviet smile-and-snarl as a kind of "medicine," we can judge it realistically and refuse to be stampeded.

Knowledge is power. In psychotherapy, it is a fact that if a person learns what is wrong and can understand what threatens him, he will make an effort to protect himself.

I believe that an understanding of Pavlov's principles is a key to our national self-defense. But this is merely a first step. We need more knowledge. I suggest three steps:

1. Read more about the threat itself.

2. Dig behind the crisis headlines.

3. Set your sights on an ultimate goal and don't be distracted or diverted from attaining it.

Digging behind the daily headlines, you will discover that Kremlin leaders are possibly more dilemma-ridden than we are. After 40 years, their rate of growth is still inferior to that which "dying capitalism" has provided for Japan, France, and West Germany. Soviet agriculture has never fed its people adequately, while ours produces surpluses.

You will also see through the myth of Soviet "solidarity." Long ago, Yugoslavia rejected Khrushchev's leadership. In Africa, southeast Asia, and Cuba, Red China is openly competing with Russia for supremacy. Even in Russia itself, the Communist Party seems to be deeply divided.

Most of us want to live peacefully in a community of nations. If you subscribe to this goal and arm yourself with the facts, your thinking and your actions can assume a realistic direction. You will have an objective which will prevent the undermining of your courage, wisdom, and faith.

When the chips were down, astronauts John Glenn and Scott Carpenter were able to survive both the nerve-racking postponements and the emergencies that threatened their earth orbits.

They had the facts. They knew their objective. Their faith held.

Most of us can be equally strong in our own way. As long as we live, Soviet smiles probably will alternate with snarls, threats, and shoe-pounding. But if we recognize these gestures for what they are, we will not panic. We will be resolute in working toward our goal—a world where men can live in peace and freedom.

## Columnist Looks at Faubus' Latest Win

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. David Lawrence, one of America's most widely read and respected newspaper columnists, commented on the recent Democratic primaries in my home State of Arkansas. The editor of the Paragould Daily Press, Mr. Fred Wulfkuhler, made the article his lead editorial in his issue of August 13.

The comments of Mr. Lawrence emphasizes the fact that our citizens have a high regard for courage and strong conviction. I commend Mr. Lawrence's statements to the attention of the Members:

COLUMNIST LOOKS AT FAUBUS' LATEST WIN

Columnist David Lawrence recently wrote his observations of Gov. Orval E. Faubus' successful campaign for an unprecedented fifth term:

"The people of Arkansas have spoken—at least the Democratic Party which is in the majority there has spoken. And the result is that Gov. Orval Faubus in effect has been reelected to a fifth term.

"Thus, three times since the fateful episode of 1957 when Federal troops were ordered to Little Rock, the people have by their ballots endorsed the man who struggled to preserve the constitution as he conscientiously interpreted it.

"He believed that the States have the right to police their own disorders and prevent riots, and that Federal intervention is constitutional only if the State requested such aid.

"To this day there is a serious question as to whether Federal troops were legally employed in trying to enforce a Federal court order. The present U.S. Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, said in speeches during the 1960 campaign that he thought Federal marshals should have been sent to Little Rock instead of Federal troops.

"But the fine points of law are often disregarded by an emotional public. Few people realize, for instance, that the 14th amendment, on which the Supreme Court based its 1954 desegregation decision, was fraudulently inserted in the Constitution in 1868, though the record of history plainly points out the shameful behavior of the emotional radicals in Congress who forced that action.

"Seats in Congress were denied Southerners, and State legislatures which had already adopted the 13th amendment were suddenly deprived of their right to pass on the merits of the 14th. The Supreme Court has never dared to pass under the validity of the arbitrary method used to 'ratify' the 14th amendment.

"Throughout the length and breadth of America, moreover—and, indeed, overseas—Governor Faubus, who ventured to protect his people against public disturbances arising over a court order based on the 14th amendment, was pilloried as some kind of an ogre who had mangled the Constitution.

"This correspondent attended an integrated public high school and would do the same if he were of student age now. But illegality cannot be condoned and distortion of the Constitution cannot be justified in order to suit the emotional whims of the times, no matter how meritorious the objective. For the rule of Machiavelli that 'the end justifies the means' has been relied on by many a dictator in the past and is the basis today of much of the capricious behavior of the Communists throughout the world.

Unless there is a government of law, a free society cannot endure and human rights are eventually lost.

"Governor Faubus stood his ground courageously.

"He decided that vindication could come only through the votes of his fellow citizens. He ran this year against five candidates, all reputable and well known in the State. Unquestionably virtually all of them would have been acceptable to the people of Arkansas on the segregationist issue.

"But the people preferred to tell the world that they still believe in Orval Faubus and that they are convinced he did not get fair treatment by the outside public in the 1957 controversy. They, therefore, gave Mr. Faubus more votes in the Democratic primary than the combined total of all five of the other candidates for Governor.

"Incidentally, Arkansas is one of those 'one party areas' to which President Kennedy has referred the other day at his news conference. He seemed to think it was useless for a President to intervene in such areas even to assist the candidacy of a Member of Congress from his own party.

"He implied that there is no contest in those areas and hence he could not take sides. Actually, there are plenty of contests in the 'one party areas,' as this week proved, but the battles are in the party primary and not in the final election.

"The Faubus victory shows that the people are loyal to a man of courage in politics who dares to speak his convictions.

"The European press, which at times superficially discusses American politics, would do well to examine the Arkansas primary and take note that a Governor has been renominated there and in November will be elected to a fifth term—unprecedented in State history—just because he ventured to stand up for the Constitution as it had been interpreted for decades and as he still believes it should be interpreted today when a question arises concerning the dispatch of Federal troops to enforce a Federal court order.

"He obeyed the order, but neither he nor the people of Arkansas agree today that the method used was constitutional."

## Imperatives for the United States in Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, the other day I had the opportunity of reading a thought-provoking speech on American involvement in Africa.

By request, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD this

speech, as given here in Washington, D.C., before a regional meeting of Lions Clubs. The speech was prepared and delivered by Dr. Hermann Ficker, of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, who not only is an outstanding economist in international finance and trade, but is also a congressional consultant on African affairs.

The speech follows:

IMPERATIVES FOR THE UNITED STATES IN AFRICA OR AFRICA KNOCKS—ITS CHALLENGE TO US AND OUR INVOLVEMENT

(By Hermann Ficker, congressional consultant on African affairs, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress)

As an introduction to my statement on Africa and one which portrays only my own views, I want to quote something which the late Dag Hammarskjold pointed out to the Security Council of the United Nations in July 1960:

"We are at the turn of the road where our attitudes will be of decisive significance, I believe, not only for the future of this organization, but also for the future of Africa. And Africa may well, in present circumstances, mean the world."

The late Secretary General of the United Nations used these words in describing the explosive situation in the Congo, in advocating that a strong stand be taken by the United Nations to resist Soviet involvement in the Congo. His significant and prophetic words were uttered scarcely a score of months ago, yet it seems as if the world, partly because of events deep in the heart of darkest Congo, of all places, is closer to the brink of destruction than in all of her war-ridden history.

In the short time at my disposal may I give you a brief summary of our involvement with the emergent Africa of today, with its heritage of colonialism, with its surging nationalism, with its insistent drive for independence, with the confusion in the resultant clash of nationalities and races and eager political leaders, and with the place this new Africa is to occupy in our turbulent world. If ever the free world needs imaginative leaders, educated judgment and vision in meeting the challenges of the rising nations of Africa, then that time is now. If we cannot meet the challenge and the opportunity presented to us on such a grand scale in Africa, then the Sino-Soviet colossus will certainly step in to entice or maybe force Africa into its orbit. Drift and delay in the cold war may well lead to the sowing of seed problems, which like dragon's teeth may emerge in a host of difficulties to plague us in the future. Thus, it is not only the future of Africa, but the fate of the free world that actually hangs in the balance insofar as our present actions in that continent are concerned.

I said our actions, but what I mean by that is the actions of the free world also, especially the metropolitan powers of Europe who have such direct connections with their former African dependent areas. On all sides one hears the new chant how deeply the United States is involved in Africa, a reiteration that seems to imply that the future of Africa depends on us. If it comes to a nuclear war, where we must offset the Sino-Soviet bloc so as to keep this vast continent from being added to the Communist hegemony then one might possibly agree. The real fact is that England, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Germany—all of industrialized Western Europe—are much more heavily involved than we are presently. In fact, if all the nationals of these European countries had suddenly to depart; if all their business connections had to be abruptly discontinued; if all their cultural influences had to be eliminated; their medical, educational, and social institutions to be superseded, Africa would present a woeful spectacle indeed. Our total involvement would be just as serious. Why? Simply because we do not have the manpower, education administractors, trained teachers, doctors, agronomists, engineers, and multitudes of other professional men to take the place of the departing Europeans. I may ask a simple question—just how many people who can speak French do we have in the United States who could go into just the French-speaking areas? Yet we pride ourselves that we teach French in our schools here at home.

There is one consolation in this sad picture. If we with our culture, so closely allied or based largely on the Western European pattern, can scarcely hope in the foreseeable future to step in and replace the former so-called colonialist powers, how much less will Russia be able to do it? I have merely to point out to you the enormous difficulties the Russians are experiencing in Egypt where they are helping with the Aswan Dam. In spite of contact with the Arabic language for a hundred years or since the heyday of the Ottoman Empire, Russian technicians have great difficulty at present in conveying their instructions to the Egyptian workmen. In Guinea, where Russia is assisting in many sectors of the economy, the problem has been intensified because of the language barrier.

But, even as the scarlet thread that is to be found in all the cordage used in the Royal British Navy to prove British ownership of such rope, even so you will find the evidences of the U.S. involvement, tenuous as they may be, yet symptomatic of an interest in African affairs similar to the interest we have in our own heritage and hope for the future.

Our involvement in Africa stems from the hope that the nations in Africa will remain free to control their own destinies and achieve some semblance of the good life even as we have done. Here is where our help will be most effective and most appreciated.

Today there are over 30 sovereign states, carved out of the French and British Empires as well as the former trust territories held by France, Britain and Italy. The only other major nation to relinquish her suzerainty was Belgium, and even here Belgian technicians are still indispensable to the active running of the Congo's industries. Today there are still 30,000 Belgians working in the Congo.

Many people speak of the dissolution of these oversea empires, but, in reality, this dissolution was largely foreseen and it cannot be denied that England and France did more than a little to prepare their territories for eventual self-government. In spite of what is being said of the colonialist repression and exploitation, the very fact that the Sudan, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanganyika and the other areas have parliamentary governments and stable administrative and fiscal systems bespeaks much for the former colonialist regimes and their tutelage towards independence. Certainly one can wish that much more had been done, on a much larger scale, but at least sound foundations have been laid. Most of the newer independent governments have asked many of their former colonial administrators and civil servants to stay on, till such time as indigenous replacements can take over. Many of these so-called European expatriates have assumed citizenship in the new states; instead of going "home" they have adopted Africa as their home. No longer do they feel that they are there to rule, rather have they remained as fellow developers of their new nations.

The very near future will doubtless see the evolution of at least half a dozen additional new entities in Africa. Here we Americans especially should accept a word of caution.

Because most new African nations derive from a colonialist base it is too often assumed that they are of the same order of development; whereas these individual states are often highly divergent with distinct characteristics and individual hopes and plans for themselves. These divergencies may be the very factors that will militate against an overall pan-African union or federation. One has but to speak to many of the newer leaders of the various nationalities to sense their intention of maintaining their own national existence as free independent units rather than submerging themselves in a more encompassing union.

We are involved in Africa's independence because independence is something which we as a nation achieved and is an aspiration we wish for all other men. Today, more than ever we feel that dependent peoples everywhere have a just right to be free, to live in dignity and to work out their own destinies in a manner that suits themselves. It is our expressed purpose and in line with our own national interests that we do everything possible within our means to ensure that stable governments result, that subversion not follow to the detriment of their own national good, and that somehow we assist them to participate with us in working for a better future.

Initially we were slow in realizing the pride Africans displayed in being free at last, not always of oppressive exploitation, but free to decide for themselves what manner of government they could assume. Having arrived at the dignity of nationhood, these newer states have wished for recognition. Our response is presently quick and official recognition is afforded.

Another signal indication of their newfound freedom has been their acceptance as members of the United Nations. Here we are involved also for we have welcomed them into the comity of free nations.

Again, we are involved, for as members of the free world community it has been our policy to assist in creating a solid and enduring basis for cooperation to our common benefit. Since 1958 we have enunciated a much more clearly defined foreign policy than before; namely, recognition of the just aspirations, interests and drives of peoples heretofore denied the fullest expression of such aspirations.

Again a word of caution. We are not trying to supersede the former colonial influences, rather we hope to enhance, expand, and assist wherever the former metropolitan governments have encouraged the just aspirations of their formerly dependent peoples. France and England especially are spending large sums in Africa that will help their previously subordinate peoples attain viable economies. Former overlords have emerged as friends bent on granting necessary aid. The French fides funds and the British colonial development and welfare funds are powerful instruments toward the establishment of basic development plans. We are involved in this aid. Increasingly as justification arises for diversified programs and development we are standing ready with our technical know-how and machinery to supply immediately some of the most pressing of their basic requirements.

We are involved because it is to our own interest that we give the new African countries a helping hand in their evolution toward responsible nationhood.

We are involved because the Sino-Soviet bloc has begun a drive to entice the newer governments by immense offers of aid, trade agreements and assistance in various fields. The Communists have been quick to capitalize on unsatisfied needs, expressed wants, and lack of certain facilities. By spectacular efforts in certain countries they have succeeded in enticing some of the more flamboyant politicians to state that Russia is their best friend. Sometimes we have had to be more responsive in extending temporary assistance because of Soviet blandishments and offers to some of the more impressionable leaders. We are involved be-

cause our aid should never be merely in response or opposition to Soviet aid. Neither should it be in competition. At best such response is only temporary.

France and Britain have long-term assistance projects. Maybe it is time for us to reappraise our aid efforts in Africa, to satisfy some needs not because we are placed on the spot by importunate demands from political leaders or in response to Russian counteroffers. Rather our aid should be offered only after deep and searching study has been made, as by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Here I would suggest that the State Department invite responsible commercial and industrial leaders with interests in Africa to form themselves into an official consultative committee on Africa to advise our governmental study groups.

We are involved in Africa as a strategic base in the support of the free world. This concerns bases for supersonic aircraft, missile tracking stations, meteorological observation posts, and harbors for refueling, repair, and transition. Now that international struggles may take place on African soil it is to our interest to have nations friendly to us because their and our survival interests coincide.

We are involved because of common bonds of population. One-tenth of our own people here are descended from involuntary immigrants from Africa. There is an affinity between our colored citizens and Africans. Africans seem to be particularly interested in finding out how their brethren in the United States are being treated in a free democracy.

But again a word of caution. We are not involved only with the black man. We are also involved with the white man—the white man who brought about the new revolution in Africa; first, by starting its economic exploitation and development; second, making the continent habitable for both black and white; third, educating the black man; and, fourth, in many areas giving him a responsible share in government. What about the other white men who regard Africa as their home? Must they be sold down the river, as it were? Europe will not allow that—nor can we afford to do it. The white men brought law and order and he intends that those who take over also follow codes of law for all citizens and safeguarding the rights of all.

We are deeply involved because our actions in race relations, on segregation and on various forms of discrimination or our own so-called apartheid policies can have profound repercussions in our future political relationships with African nations. As the leader of those nations fighting for the rights of man, the success of our overtures to African nations may depend in large measure on the success of our efforts to overcome discrimination based on race, color, and creed here at home.

We are involved because we cannot assume the former colonialist views on the superiority or at least the dominance of one race over another. Our domestic policies must be enlightened so as to engender confidence in our leadership among the dark-skinned people of the world.

We are involved with Africa because we need her raw materials. Among these are cotton, coffee, cocoa, rubber, pyrethrum, sisal, timber, diamonds, gold, bauxite, copper, cobalt, chrome, and iron ore. International commodity agreements for some of these products may be essential not only on the basis of price, but also of supply and demand. We agree that the African workman who picks coffee or pyrethrum or cotton, who digs copper or gold, who cuts lumber or grows peanuts should have more than a mere subsistence wage.

We are deeply involved in trade and tariff considerations with those formerly British and French territories that may join the European Common Market and the European free trade area. Presently our trading totals with Africa are not large, but they may diminish unless statesmanlike negotiations are undertaken on a broad reciprocal basis.

We are involved because our agricultural know-how and productive facilities are the best in the world and Africa needs both. We can supply agronomists, seed, cattle, soil and water experts to help undernourished Africa stimulate its production of nourishing foods, and so make possible an increase in its per capita calorie intake. Irrigation, reclamation, rehabilitation of poor and misused soils, scientific crop rotation, introduction of productive farming methods, new seeds, timber exploitation, insecticides, and other aspects for the supply of sufficient food for poorly fed Africa are areas where we can help. It is still true that an empty stomach is not conducive to the indoctrination of democratic principles.

We are involved in Africa's health. Many of the finest mission hospitals and industrial clinics throughout Africa were started by Americans. Our nurses, doctors, and sanitary experts can help rid Africa of crippling leprosy, yaws, sleeping sickness, malaria, bilharbia, liver, fluke, and other tropical and debilitating diseases. In tropical Africa practically everone is unwell from the day of his birth to his death. This prevents him from doing too much about his poverty or his ignorance.

No one will deny that we are deeply involced in Africa's literacy and educational problems. In cooperation with African governments our new Agency for International Development is making increasing sums available for varied types of training, and teachings in such areas as medicine, agriculture, public health, fiscal administration; and for other types of necessary educational facilities. Our Government agencies and many of our great universities are participating in these educative programs in Ghana, Nigeria, the Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Southern Rhodesia and many other areas. We are assisting in the start of several universities and training colleges. But much more remains to be done.

We are being increasingly involved in the requests for dedicated young men and women of varied skills to be sent to Africa through the new Peace Corps. In fact, so many are the requests for assistance that we are finding it hard to get the educated type of young people asked for.

We are involved with the newer leaders of Africa. Several of them have been educated in this country, others have visited here or come over under various grants. They have met our leaders, discussed some of their great problems with us, such as the exchange of students, foreign aid, investment and trade. We Americans had not even heard of most of the new African leaders 5 years ago, yet—now they have become familiar to many of us. Just listen to this list: Luthull, Nkomo, Kaunda, Banda, Nyerera, Mboya, Kanyatta, Kasavubu, Tshome, Mobutu, Kiano, Ngala, Olympia, Nhrumah, Toure, Balewa, Awolowe, Azkiwe, Wachuku. Margai and many, many others. These are the new leaders, each a distinct personality but all driving ahead toward complete independence for their own nations. The African bloc in the United Nations is formidable; they may have little by which to enforce their demands but their combined vote is powerful. What is most important is that the world at least listens while they present their case.

We are involved in international communism and African nationalism. We know from experience, especially from happenings in the Congo how under very active Russian guidance the aggressive Sino-Soviet bloc is now directing a subtle effort toward influencing the burgeoning African nationalist independence movements. Naturally, our State Department has been cognizant of this problem facing all newly independent areas, and not merely those in Africa. Former Secretary Dulles stated that newly created nations face a particularly formidable task. In Africa, especially, as they seem disinclined toward alineing themselves either to left or right, they have been marked out by international communism as special prey. It is classic Communist doctrine, enunciated by Lenin, that communism should initially stimulate "nationalism" in order to break the ties between colonized areas and the colonial [metropolitan] areas. Then communism should move in to "amalgamate" the newly independent peoples into the "Communist bloc."

It is especially notworthy that the diversified Soviet tactics employed in Africa today are designed to promote identification with emerging nationalist elements and also to further reduce Western influence in the newly independent or still emerging states by rapidly establishing political and cultural relations and by signing economic and trade agreements. What should concern our statesmen, is to prevent a transition from colonialism to the harsh dictatorship of international communism, with at best a brief interlude of precarious independence.

That is why we are vitally involved in the Congo. It is not so much at the moment the assistance to oust an already-established and alleged Communist group, but rather to forestall the establishment of such a Communist beachhead. The Congo must be unified in a federal state or it will disintegrate into various parts, many subject to Communist subversion. We are similarly involved in Angola. We do not wish to deny the rights of our NATO friends. Maybe the time will come when Portugal will put Angola and Mozambique under U.N. trusteeship.

As noted in the beginning, it is our national expression of interest in the self-determination of peoples that should be stressed. We have to restress our basic faith in the right and capacity of the new national entities to govern themselves; even if they seem to follow a form of government that appears to be foreign to our ideas of how a democracy should be constituted. We not only have to maintain our faith in that expression of free government, but we should firmly resolve to help the new nations to solve their problems in freedom.

However, I also feel that we cannot stand idly by if we should see any one party subverting the nation with Communist help. We must stress our responsibility not to let that possibility arise. It is our responsibility to exercise every influence possible in and out of the U.N. for a viable democratic form of government. Whether Communist interpenetration in Africa labor unions, youth groups, and nationalist organizations will increase depends largely upon the attitude of the West or free world. Should the West falter in its determination and its ability to show steady progress in problems which concern our relations with Africa, the Communist exploitation will prove more and more successful.

In touching on these various phases of our involvement in Africa the question arises as to what part the United States must play in Africa in the future?

It is very easy to assume a prophetic stance, make majestic pronouncements and hope for the best. This I am disinclined to do. There are certain imperatives for us as a nation. Briefly they are:

1. We must avoid an arms race in Africa. Our concern should be that internecine warfare be eliminated and to prevent power buildups from taking place.

2. We must see to it that the Sino-Soviet bloc does not build up the military potential of some of their friends in Africa. The

interjection of the cold war into Africa must be avoided.

3. Our support of the United Nations and its effective instrumentalities must be increased. This includes a U.N. police force to step in to create order, such as is happening in the Congo. Impartial U.N. intervention for order but not conquest is essential. African leaders understand this and support our stand.

4. The United States speaks for the rights of men. This means that Africans expect us to condemn racial discrimination policies in Africa. Our great influence must be exerted to see that justice is done. Our own policy toward minority groups in this country must be enlightened and just.

5. We have to support Africa's desires for trained personnel. The vast cadre of former colonial administrators and civil servants must be expanded to meet the dynamic requirements of our jet age. We must supplement the efforts of other industrialized nations. Above all we must work through the United Nations to supply administrative and technical personnel to African governments and to train indigenous people to run their own countries.

6. No matter how large our unilateral assistance to individual African countries, we must continue to work through the United Nations technical assistance programs and the special fund. Experts should be recruited internationally to assist in planning and executing programs in health, education, transportation, communications, industrial development, and other fields. If the Soviets refuse their participation in this international cooperation then African nations will note who their real friends are.

7. We should keep a hands-off policy in the internal affairs of the new African nations.

8. We must stress again and again, in the United Nations and elsewhere our deep interest in the orderly and peaceful evolution of the African countries. This includes the rights of minorities, black or white, racial equality, and equal opportunities for all.

9. In the orderly development of economic evolution, miracles can scarcely occur overnight. Such development takes time, men, means, and judgment. We can assist but the initiative must come from the new African nations themselves.

In summary, may I say that as Africa is busily engaged in refashioning her image, and as a new vibrant, dynamic and politically articulate Africa evolves and begins to take her stand on the world stage, the United States must also recognize the challenges of the hour in our relationship with Africa as a whole. These are equality, justice, mutual understanding, partnership and forbearance. Africa is knocking on our door like the famous mailman. If we do not listen and open the door I wonder if the postman will ring again. I am sure you will agree with me that the answer lies in our response at the present time to Africa's insistent knocking.

## Bringing American Culture to the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of our most famous New York personalities will shortly be visting the Soviet Union in cooperation with the American National Theater and Academy and the Department of State.

Mr. Earl Wrightson, one of our Nation's finest performers, will shortly become an integral part of our country's people-to-people program, but his main objective in a concert tour of the Soviet Union will be one that has long been overlooked by other personalities, as well as by many of our own officials. Heretofore they have visited, primarily, the larger cities, particularly Moscow. Mr. Wrightson's tour will, of course, include the large cities, but concentration will be on the small outlying districts where the people of Russia themselves can hear the music of America and see an American perform.

Mr. Wrightson and his distinguished costar, Miss Lois Hunt, formerly of the Metropolitan Opera, are well known to the Members of Congress, particularly because of their most admirable recent appearances at the Shoreham Hotel here. In the upcoming weeks they will be guests on the "Bell Telephone Hour" and the "Voice of Firestone" on television.

What is of particular interest here is the fact that Mr. Wrightson, in volunteering to visit the Soviet Union, is paying his own way. This is not a tour that the Government will sponsor financially. Mr. Wrightson is such a success that he can well afford to pay his own way. What is important is that he volunteered to do so at his own volition. This seems to me to be a step in the right direction. If more of our equally famous personalities and equally talented stars were to take this step, our cultural program with the Soviet Union would be increased a thousandfold and would be of immeasurable help in bringing our culture and way of life to the people of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Wrightson and his company are to be congratulated for their thoughtfulness and patriotism.

## One Way To Perk Sales

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly emphasized the practicality of removing the wartime imposed excise taxes as as long overdue form of tax reduction. This type of tax reduction would be a practical stimulant to the economy.

I am pleased to note considerable editorial opinion concerning this view, and submit for the RECORD an editorial entitled "One Way To Perk Sales" from the La Grange Citizen, La Grange, Ill., of August 16, 1962, which effectively presents the case.

The editorial follows:

ONE WAY TO PERK SALES

President Kennedy has stated his opposition to a tax cut in 1962. Although as a person this editorial writer would welcome, as would anyone, a reduction in taxes, it was an illusion to believe that taxpayers can escape paying the bill.

As a comment, I accept with skepticism the President's promise that there could be a TAX cut in 1963. This sort of prediction would require for fulfillment the election of the "right minded" Congressmen and Senators this coming November. Campaign ammunitions is what the 1963 tax-cut promise should be termed.

There is a tax cut which is long overdue, and although it seemingly would benefit but a few actually would benefit many. This is the elimination, or reduction, of the Federal excise taxes introduced during the war years and which have fastened on the ship of state impeding progress as a coating of barnacles do to a real ship.

These taxes on toiletries, handbags, cosmetics, and other so-called luxury items were adopted to discourage purchase of these items, as much as to increase the Government revenue. It is logical to believe that if they did discourage buying during the war, rescinding them at this time would encourage buying.

Joseph T. Meek, president of the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, has been a diligent and energetic battler to have the excise taxes repealed. If he had the support which his continuing campaign deserves the tax would have been rescinded long ago. If every time a shopper resisted buying a handbag, a bit of jewelry, or bought a lower priced perfume or cosmetic, because of the tax, sat down and wrote his Congressman the tax would have been off the books long ago.

Also, every storekeeper and clerk involved in the sale of items subject to the tax should carry on a constant campaign against it. I realize the bad sales psychology of reminding the customer about the tax, but it would be better to lose a sale now to gain many sales in the future.

In a letter to Senator DOUGLAS commending him on his consistent stand to have the excise taxes revoked, Meek suggests ways to make legislators and other Government officials aware of false conceptions regarding the excise.

"Just how much is obtained from these levies which represent such a deterrent to purchases, when a 10-percent reduction in price over such a wide variety of goods would have such a stimulating effect on the economy?" Meeks asks the Senator.

"The Senate committee should ask exactly what it costs to collect these taxes. We feel certain the cost in money when matched by the cost of interpretation, the consistent spending of funds to make the regulations partly understandable, and the loss of funds through income curtailment otherwise reflected in income tax returns, would actually be more than the amount collected," Meek points out.

## A Worthwhile Cultural Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, as a Representative from the city of New York, the activities of our entire State are of interest to me. A project has recently come to my attention, undertaken by our neighbors in Long Island, the citizens of Nassau County. I make record of it now, for the project is of such interest

that other cities and communities may well want to put it into effect in their own areas.

County Executive Eugene Nickerson, one of the Nation's most able civic administrators, has just appointed the noted industrialist, Mr. Norman Blankman, as chairman of the Long Island Cultural Center. This is a nonpolitical committee composed of outstanding citizens of Long Island. They are banding together, under Mr. Blankman's leadership, to produce what will become one of the most unusual projects of its kind in the country.

Slated to begin this summer, they are forming their own symphony orchestra, their own pops concert band, a huge summer festival which will equal the one held annually in the city of New York. They are organizing their own ballet and putting together one of the most valuable and extensive collections of famous paintings and art work in the country.

The citizens of Long Island and of Nassau County are fortunate, indeed, to have men and women of this caliber ready to serve their community. Mr. Nickerson's forthright appointment and his demand that this committee and this idea remain nonpolitical in every way is certainly to be admired and commended. Mr. Blankman's tireless efforts to put his idea into successful being is, likewise, commendable.

May I take this opportunity to wish our neighbors in Long Island continued success in this most worthwhile project.

## Hometown Pharmacy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEM MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. CLEM MILLER. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans' Administration has issued a directive to end on September 30 of this year the 16-year-old program of handling the administrative details in filling veterans' prescriptions through State Pharmaceutical Associations. This program, which is known as the hometown pharmacy program, was enacted by Congress in 1946 to provide convenient and prompt medication to veterans with service-connected disability. It has been highly successful. And judging from the fact that in California the cost of administering this program is 31.3 cents per prescription as opposed to a cost of 48 to 70 cents in the welfare program, it has undoubtedly meant a savings to our Government as well.

I have received the following resolution from the California Pharmaceutical Association opposing termination of this program. I call this to the attention of my colleagues as an expression of opinion from an industry which is most important to my district, to California, and to the well-being of veterans throughout the United States.

RESOLUTION NO. 10—VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOMETOWN PHARMACY PROGRAM

Whereas the Veterans' Administration hometown pharmacy program has been in operation for approximately 16 years and has been beneficial to the veteran, the U.S. Government, the taxpayer, and the health profession; and

Whereas the veteran has been provided with immediate service for his health needs in his community with a free choice of practitioner at a minimal expense in administration; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration has expressed satisfaction with the services provided by the California Pharmaceutical Association; and

Whereas the California Pharmaceutical Association is not a participant in pricing arrangements but merely performs administrative functions as a clearinghouse for its members in California at an economical savings to the U.S. Government and taxpayers; and

Whereas we have been notified that this successful arrangement for a 16-year period is being terminated: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the California Pharmaceutical Association in convention assembled this 27th day of June, 1962, at the St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., urge the continuance of the contractual agreements between the Veterans' Administration and the California Pharmaceutical Associations; and be it further

*Resolved*, That all Veterans' Organizations, Members of Congress, the U.S. Attorney General, and other health professions be appraised of the proposed changes which may result in the deterioration of the services to our veterans in that it may restrict his freedom of choice of pharmacy; and be it further

*Resolved*, That an analysis be made of the hometown pharmacy program as it now exists in California compared to that which would be required if individual contracts should be made with each pharmacy and to determine the effect termination of this agreement will have upon convenient pharmaceutical services to Veterans' Administration beneficiaries.

## The Great Lakes Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring attention of all Members of the Congress to an excellent speech, entitled "The Great Lakes Today," delivered by an outstanding public servant, Brig. Gen. T. DeF. Rogers, north-central division engineer, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

In very interesting form General Rogers describes what is being planned for the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River Basin and what has already been accomplished in the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, such as the connecting channels projects, the hydroelectric power projects and water supply. It has been my pleasure to be associated with a great deal of the legislation authorizing the work which General Rogers describes in so lucid a fashion. I am very pleased with the competent and expeditious way in which the Corps of Engineers has carried out the dictates of this legislation—an achievement resulting in large part from the industry and foresight of men like General Rogers. I again recommend the speech which follows as an excellent progress report on the activities of the Corps of Engineers in the Great Lakes Basin:

THE GREAT LAKES TODAY

(Remarks by Brig. Gen. T. DeF. Rogers, division engineer, U.S. Army Engineer Division, north central, at semiannual meeting of Great Lakes Commission at Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, Mich., July 24, 1962)

Chairman Van Ness, members of the Great Lakes Commission, I'm very happy to be with you here today not just because of the pleasant associations and the beautiful setting, but most of all for the opportunity to talk with you on the activities of the Corps of Engineers so closely interrelated with your objectives. I assure you that the entire Corps of Engineers is and will remain grateful for the help and understanding that you have given us, and is and will remain proud of its association with your commission.

Mr. Fast in his letter to me required of me a progress report on our lake level study. This I shall give you. However, the entire problem that we in the corps are dealing with on the Great Lakes has always seemed so dramatic to me that I think of it sometimes as a great drama. Therefore in my talk this morning I would first like to set the stage, and then describe our leading actor, then talk a bit about the requirements of the script that we have been and are writing, and then describe to you the gaps and shortcomings in the existing script.

So now let me set the stage. For many, many decades the goal of the Corps of Engineers has been to develop basinwide, comprehensive, long-range master plans for each and every major basin in the United States. What would such a plan be? First, it would give full consideration to every square foot of land and every cubic foot of water in the basin. Second, it would consider its impact on other basins and on the Nation as a whole. Third, it would recognize the problems peculiar to subbasins. Finally and most important it would consider and reconcile the interests of all water users. In the broadest sense I think that is all of us.

Perhaps by three examples I can be more explicit. The Pick-Sloan plan for the Missouri River Basin had much of the character of a basinwide comprehensive master plan giving as it did consideration to navigation, power, irrigation, and flood control. Another example, historically most interesting, is a plan worked out at Washington's home at Mount Vernon in 1785 (3 years before the Constitution) between representatives of Virginia and Maryland, a plan primarily related to navigation of the Potomac-Chesapeake Waterway. The most recent example I can give you is the Delaware River plan which is now under active consideration by the Congress. This plan was developed under the initiative of the Corps of Engineers but with many great contributions by other Federal, State, municipal, and private agencies. It is comprehensive in every sense of the word and almost certainly will result in a pact between several States. It is something of a pattern for what we are trying to do in all major basins.

President Kennedy's administration has given great impetus to the concept of basinwide comprehensive master planning. Indeed, a timetable has been established for completing these plans by 1970. Moreover, the President has approved a new policy on the formulation of projects, a policy appli-

cable to all Federal agencies. Further, the President has appointed a water resources council which must report to him in the near future on how to best implement this concept. Finally, the fiscal year 1963 budget contains a very significant amount of money to actually initiate basinwide master planning. The north-central division will play a large part in starting this program.

So much for the scene. Now let us look at the leading actor or interest to you and me—the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River Basin. Here is truly a great actor. The Great Lakes in total represent the greatest body of fresh water on the surface of the earth. The drop from Lake Superior to the Atlantic Ocean is over 600 feet. In general the area of land which drains into the lakes is a narrow strip bounding the lakes, but the area served economically is so large I hesitate to define it. The special interests of water users are great in number, tremendous in importance, and frequently conflicting.

There is our great actor. He is like none other in the world, but like all actors has his own peculiarities and limitations.

Now let us consider the script for our great actor. Here I will talk about what we have already done and about what is reasonably defined in our present planning to make our actor do as we wish. The script must satisfy many requirements. Let us take them up one by one.

First of all let us consider the requirements of navigation. The seaway, by the joint efforts of Canada and the United States, is complete and operating. The connecting channels project, so closely related to the seaway, is nearing completion. Last year I promised you that by this month (July 1962) we would have a 27-foot depth available in all of the channels. We have kept that promise. There remains to be done some work in the downbound Livingstone Channel, the removal of certain shoals and reefs which reasonably can be bypassed today, and the construction of compensating works in the St. Clair River. This latter item must await international agreement, negotiation of which is proceeding satisfactorily. Intimately related to the seaway and the connecting channels is our Great Lakes harbors program. This program, important as it is, involves too much detail for me to discuss them at this time. However, I have obtained copies of an excellent article on this program which appeared in the May 31, 1962, issue of the Engineering News-Record. These copies are here available.

The next requirement of our script involves hydroelectric power. I'm sure you know of the great Canadian plants in the Canadian section of the St. Lawrence—Beauharnois in particular, operated by Hydro-Quebec. You also know of the two big plants in the international section of the St. Lawrence operated by Ontario-Hydro and the Power Authority of the State of New York. The same two agencies operate great plants at Niagara Falls. On St. Mary's River, the outlet to Lake Superior, three hydroplants exist. Subject to possible refinement in the regulation schemes, these plants have a capacity to generate practically all of the power in the system available to the United States.

Another possible requirement of our script might be irrigation. However, within the foreseeable future there seems very limited need for irrigation, and there seems little possibility of satisfying further requirements assuming no further diversions from the system.

Another requirement of our script, and perhaps an overriding requirement, involves water supply—both as regards quantity and quality. I must mention here that the question of diversions from the lake system is now before the Supreme Court of the United States. To the extent that the United States is concerned, the Department of Justice is watching after the Federal interests. Obviously, therefore, it would be inappropriate for me to discuss the pros and cons of this question at this time.

As regards the quantity of water available in the Great Lakes, it may seem to many as greatly in excess of any conceivable need for water supply. This can be true only if the good quality of the water is maintained. In this regard the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, more specifically the Public Health Service, is engaged in a long-range study, part of which has already been funded, the objective of which is to determine what need be done to prevent pollution of one of the most important resources in the world—the fresh waters of the Great Lakes.

It may interest you to know that the Corps of Engineers is a very active partner in this program. Working as what may be described as a contractor for the Public Health Service, we, the Corps, have designed, built, and are operating a pilot model of the extremely complex low-velocity current metering equipment for measuring deep water currents in the Great Lakes. The corps is also furnishing to the Public Health Service voluminous records of levels and flows, data accumulated by the corps over the last 100 years. We expect to contribute more and more to this Public Health Service program in the future.

Another requirement of our script is related to flood control. The problems here fall into two categories: (1) Damage due to high lake levels coupled with storms and wave action, and (2) damage due to flooding on the tributaries which feed into the lakes. Our lake level study has dealt and will deal with the first category, and our local flood control studies authorized by Congress will deal with the second category.

Another requirement of our script is that it give due consideration to conservation. Only for the purpose of this talk, I shall consider the problems of fish and wildlife, beach erosion, and protection of riparian shorelines as problems of conservation. Our fish and wildlife activities in the past have been largely, but not exclusively, a matter of coordination with other agencies, Federal, State, and local. Our activities on beach erosion control have been more direct, resulting in several Corps of Engineer projects on the Great Lakes. The problem of preserving riparian shorelines is being dealt with directly in our lake level study.

The last requirement of our script is one of such growing importance that few people, if any, can today recognize its magnitude. This is the requirement for recreation. The corps has always been active in this field as evidenced by the harbors of refuge on the Great Lakes and the increasing number of small boat harbors. In addition, many of our structures and reservations have been provided with public access facilities permitting their enjoyment by millions of Americans.

Part of the script is the lake levels study. Confining myself now to engineering terms, our lake level study has for its purpose the development of plans of regulation that will best serve all of the many interests. Regulating the levels and flows of a great body of water is simple in concept but complex in execution. Please consider your bathtub. If you can at your discretion control the amount of water that flows into the tub, and can also at your discretion control the amount of water that flows out of the tub, you can then at your discretion control the level or the depth of the water in the tub. This simple concept is the foundation of all plans of regulation. Necessarily it becomes complicated by consideration of such things as evaporation, the movement of the earth's crust, manmade diversions, the unpredictability of rainfall and snowfall, the unpredictability of thaws, variations in runoff factors, costs as compared with benefits, fish and wildlife problems, and conflict of the several interests concerned.

Now let us start with Lake Superior and work downstream considering our lake level study as we proceed.

For Lake Superior there exists an International Board of Control, which board has developed and follows a plan of regulation. For Lake Superior we cannot predict with great precision, not far in advance, just how much water will flow into the lake. However, we can control with great precision the amount that flows out of Lake Superior. This is so because the channels in St. Marys River have been enlarged to a capacity greater that that which existed in nature, and because of the several manmade structures placed across this river which permit us at our discretion to change the outflows over a great range. We can therefore today control at our discretion and within reasonable limits, the levels of Lake Superior. Our present plan of regulation is a good one but not necessarily the best, and part of our present effort on the lake level study is to devise a better one—one which would afford benefits to Lake Michigan and Lake Huron without detriment to Lake Superior. I'm sure that you recognize that any change in the present plan of regulation for Lake Superior would eventually require international cooperation.

Coming downstream, let us consider Lake Michigan and Lake Huron as a single body of water—which from a hydrologic point of view they are. In this case that part of the inflow from St. Marys River is accurately known and predictable for a month or so in advance. However, over a long period of time, St. Marys River contributes only about a third of the total inflow. The remainder of the inflow cannot be predicted with precision. The outflow from these two lakes is through the St. Clair River-Detroit River system. This outflow system has a natural control, a natural bottleneck, which today we cannot influence at our discretion. We do recognize that because of the several navigation projects in the St. Clair-Detroit River system we have increased the natural outflow, thereby effecting a significant lowering of the levels of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. This we must compensate for, and part of the connecting channels project involves the compensating works as I mentioned earlier. Even so, completion of these compensating works will not permit us at our discretion to control the outflows from Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. They will merely correct a deficiency which we have created in the interests of navigation. At least in that sense they are beneficial to Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. At the present time our lake level study gives no reason for hoping that a discretionary control structure plus the necessary provision for increased channel capacity in the St. Clair-Detroit River system is economically feasible. Nevertheless we continue to seek such a solution.

Now come downstream with us to Lake Erie. Here the inflows cannot be controlled at our discretion but are predictable a month or so in advance. The outflows through the Niagara River system can neither be controlled at our discretion nor predicted with great accuracy. The reason for this is that the actual control of the outflow from Lake Erie is that of nature—a bottleneck section in the upper reaches of the Niagara River. In this case we are concentrating much effort of our lake level study on the possibility of enlarging the bottleneck created by nature, constructing a gated dam by which we can at our discretion control the outflows, and developing a plan of regulation which will benefit navigation, riparian shoreline interests, and the hydropower interests at Niagara Falls. Such a plan of regulation would of course be subject to international

coordination and must give extremely careful consideration to preserving the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls. In addition it must be coordinated with our survey on the "all-American" canal.

Finally on our journey downstream we come to Lake Ontario. We can reasonably predict a month or so in advance the inflows out of Lake Erie. These inflows amount to about 85 percent of the total supply to Lake Ontario. The remaining 15 percent of the inflows are difficult to predict. The outflows on the other hand can be controlled with great precision and at our discretion because of the manmade structures across the St. Lawrence River in the vicinity of Messena and because of the manmade increased capacity of the channels through to Galop Rapids reach. This discretionary control is very strictly dictated by the terms of a plan of regulation, recently revised, and called 1958–C. This plan of regulation, having the approval of the International Joint Commission and both the American and Canadian Governments cannot be changed except by international coordination. It is a good plan. It may not be the best. The International St. Lawrence River Board of Control is constantly endeavoring to refine this plan in the interests of navigation both upstream and downstream, in the interests of power generation both Canadian and American, and in the interests of riparian owners both upstream and downstream. This plan, of course, can be altered only through international coordination.

All of the features of the lake level study that I have mentioned so far should be completed by the end of this calendar year.

Now let us ask, What more need be done to develop a truly comprehensive basinwide master plan for the Great Lakes? In other words, what are the gaps and shortcomings of our script?

This question can best be answered by going back and reviewing the requirements. First of all consider navigation. The work that has been done and the work for which our planning is reasonably underway (this includes the lake level study, the new Poe lock, and the survey for the All American Canal) should serve the major requirements of navigation based on the best predictions we can make at this time. The same is true as regards power, keeping in mind that our several plans of regulation are subject to constant refinement. There is no foreseeable requirement for extensive irrigation assuming that no further diversions are permitted. It is when we consider water quality that we recognize a shortcoming in our present planning. The present studies of the Public Health Service will almost certainly lead to a requirement for water quality planning far beyond that which we have done or are doing. The requirements of flood control planning are being met in part by the lake level study and in part on a piecemeal basis by our surveys of local areas on certain tributaries. However, the sum of these pieces does not equal the whole and our comprehensive master plan must consider flood control planning on all tributaries. As regards planning for conservation, the corps has been active in cooperation, but probably must become more active in coordination. As regards planning for recreation the corps is surely moving in the right direction, but I question whether we are moving fast enough. Finally there is a requirement which I have not so far mentioned explicitly—and that is the requirement to integrate the entire plan so as to best reconcile the conflicts that are bound to arise between the special requirements that I've already discussed.

In short, we already have many important pieces of a good master plan, but we don't have all of the pieces and they haven't been put together.

It has been a pleasure to be with you and I am most grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to present a progress report on the activities of the Corps of Engineers in the Great Lakes Basin. I know we can count on your help in the development of the basinwide comprehensive master plan for the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system.

Thank you.

## Crusade Against Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, David Schulte, a distinguished New Yorker who has served his city and State in public life for many years and who now holds office on the city's board of correction, has long been a leader in combating crime and corruption in all walks of life. He has recently returned from an extensive trip to Europe where he studied the elements of crime and its effect on the societies of other countries and how their experiences can be put to use in solving our problems here in the United States.

Mr. Schulte also brought back with him an unusual idea which is now being put into effect in the city of New York. It is the "Citizens Crusade Against Narcotics," a program that is enrolling every interested citizen in a huge organization spread throughout the city with each member acting as a watcher, keeping an alert eye for the dope pusher and peddler as well as for the addict himself. It is hoped that every citizen of New York will eventually become a member of this crusade to help wipe out this scourge.

Mr. Schulte has asked the advice of such distinguished personalities as Mr. Kingsbury-Smith, publisher of the New York Journal American, a newspaper which many months ago was instrumental in beginning an all-out attack on the narcotics problem. The Journal American and Mr. Kingsbury-Smith should be commended for their forthrightness and distinguished public service.

I am also happy to serve on the board of advisers of this crusade along with other public officials of the city of New York. The crusade is in its beginning and may prove a most effective way of helping to stamp out this menace. Mr. Schulte should be commended as well for his courage in this undertaking.

I take note, also, of the Special Conference on Narcotics which the White House has scheduled for September 27 and 28. I hope the Attorney General, who is serving as General Chairman of this event, will make it a point to call upon Mr. Schulte to be present and to be a member of this distinguished Conference. His experience will be invaluable.

## The Public Works Employment Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, the public works employment bill, H.R. 10113, will come before the House next Tuesday and give us all a chance to cast a clear-cut vote on the problem of unemployment and show whether or not we are willing to do something to help our 4 million jobless men and women.

This bill is designed to provide a prompt expansion of employment in those areas suffering from the most serious economic problems. It would do this by authorizing the appropriation of $900 million to build Federal projects which have been authorized by the Congress and to make 50-percent grants for a wide range of local community facilities. These grants could be used to help finance water and sewer facilities, public buildings, streets and sidewalks, and in fact practically any local construction project except schools provided that the project, in the language of the bill, "meets an essential public need."

This bill will have a prompt effect on the economy because of the great number of projects fully planned and ready to go in eligible areas. An indication of this backlog is given by the list of local public works which have been planned or are now being planned under the 702 program of advances for public works planning. There are hundreds of projects under that program which could be aided under the public works bill. One of the great advantages of H.R. 10113 as an economic stimulant is that it not only provides a substantial amount of employment and provides it promptly but at the same time adds to our national wealth by creating urgently needed public facilities.

I am particularly pleased that a large number of projects under this program are in my own State of Alabama and elsewhere throughout the South. As the table below shows, the benefits of this bill would not be confined to a few large cities but would be spread throughout the country in small towns and rural areas as well as cities of every size. I would like to point out that the benefits of this bill are not confined solely to the areas in which the projects will be undertaken. Through the demand for construction materials and equipment which these projects will require and through the spending and respending of the additional income created by the bill, the entire country will benefit.

Mr. Speaker, the projects planned under the 702 program represent only a small part of the great number of facilities which could be aided under this bill but it is clear evidence that there is a backlog of projects which will make it

possible to create employment quickly. Naturally, it is not certain that each and every one of these projects will receive grants under the public works bill. For example, it may be some of them are too large to meet the requirement that the bulk of the employment be created within 12 months though even in the case of these larger projects, it is often possible to separate them so that some part can be aided by grants. In my judgment it is safe to assume that the overwhelming majority of these projects would be fully eligible and I insert the list in the RECORD:

PROGRAM OF ADVANCES FOR PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING

*Projects planned or being planned in areas eligible for aid under H.R. 10113, June 30, 1962*

ALABAMA

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gadsden | Etowah | Sewer | $4,500,000 |
| Haleyville | Winston | do | 612,000 |
| Tuskegee | Macon | do | 365,000 |
| Collinsville | De Kalb | do | 167,000 |
| Athens | Limestone | do | 375,000 |
| Arab | Marshall | Water | 792,000 |
| Chickasaw | Mobile | Sewer | 385,945 |
| Do | do | do | 240,579 |
| Mobile | do | Water | 3,809,800 |
| Do | do | do | 6,297,700 |
| Bayau La Batre | do | Sewer | 792,334 |
| Birmingham | Jefferson | do | 6,875,000 |
| Do | do | Grade separation | 5,000,000 |
| Glencoe | Etowah | Sewer | 115,000 |
| Jasper | Walker | do | 123,000 |
| Ragland | St. Clair | do | 55,000 |
| Oneonta | Blount | Streets | 386,794 |
| Phenix | Russell | Sewer | 320,408 |
| Vincent | Shelby | do | 110,171 |
| Repton | Conecuh | Water | 48,500 |
| Selma | Dallas | Sewer | 383,000 |
| Do | do | do | 224,000 |
| Do | do | do | 148,000 |
| Luverne | Crenshaw | Street | 73,967 |
| Do | do | do | 71,259 |

ALASKA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cordova | | Sewer | $1,000,000 |
| Fairbanks | | Water | 1,796,000 |
| Do | | do | 6,000,000 |
| Kenai | | Sewer | 424,000 |
| Do | | Water | 622,000 |
| Kodiak | | do | 271,000 |
| Nome | | do | 1,200,000 |
| Seldovia | | do | 197,000 |
| Cordova | | do | 314,000 |
| Fairbanks | | do | 2,380,000 |
| Ketchikan | | Power | 1,283,440 |
| Kodiak | | Sewer | 125,050 |
| Seward | | Water | 375,444 |
| Wrangell | | Seawall | 160,000 |

ARIZONA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eager | Apache | Sewer | $215,127 |
| Springerville | do | do | 139,804 |
| Holbrook | Navajo | Public buildings | 57,704 |
| Do | do | do | 91,815 |

ARKANSAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calico Rock | Izard | Water | $84,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 195,000 |
| Oxford | do | Water | 70,000 |
| Perry | Perry | do | 45,000 |
| Ashdown | Little River | Sewer | 176,000 |
| Jasper | Newton | Water | 100,000 |
| Yellville | Marion | Sewer | 130,300 |

CALIFORNIA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Keys | Stanislaus | Sewer | $200,000 |
| Laytonville | Mendocino | Water | 93,000 |
| Turlock | Stanislaus | Sewer | 1,525,000 |
| Stockton | San Joaquin | Police station | 1,668,050 |
| Do | do | Library | 1,038,271 |
| Hollister | San Benito | Sewer | 781,000 |
| Coalinga | Fresno | do | 300,000 |
| Fresno | do | Storm drains | 5,509,000 |
| Santa Monica | Los Angeles | Pedestrian mall | 397,000 |
| West Covina | do | Storm drains | 257,000 |
| Do | do | do | 161,000 |
| Do | do | do | 135,000 |
| Montclair | San Bernardino | Sewer | 3,273,000 |
| India | Riverside | Grade separation | 1,151,000 |
| Carlsbad | San Diego | Sewer | 2,090,000 |
| Chula Vista | do | Water | 4,169,000 |
| Weaverville | Trinity | Public buildings | 270,000 |
| San Diego | San Diego | do | 494,123 |
| Willets | Mendocino | Streets | 273,371 |

CONNECTICUT

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bristol | Hartford | Municipal building | $1,629,815 |
| Do | do | Flood control | 661,500 |
| Norwich | New London | Water | 513,250 |
| Simsbury | Hartford | Firehouse addition | 31,680 |

GEORGIA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clarkesville | Habersham | Water | $280,000 |
| Hartwell | Hart | do | 643,605 |
| Lavania | Franklin | do | 468,000 |
| Cumming | Forsyth | Sewer | 265,000 |
| Macon | Bibb | Coliseum | 2,918,000 |
| Warm Springs | Meriweather | Streets | 52,498 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 39,187 |
| Do | do | Water | 19,373 |
| Manchester | do | Library | 22,333 |
| Luthersville | do | Water | 45,281 |
| Bowman | Elbert | Sewer | 56,832 |
| Toccoa | Toccoa | City hall | 78,974 |
| Arlington | Early | do | 33,000 |
| Davisboro | Washington | Sewer | 74,952 |
| Baldwin | Habersham | do | 92,610 |
| Blairsville | Union | do | 106,990 |
| Royston | Franklin | do | 174,446 |
| Do | do | Water | 67,072 |
| Clayton | Rabun | Library | 63,247 |
| Barien | McIntosh | Water | 89,896 |

HAWAII

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hawaii | Hawaii | Water | $457,340 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 747,500 |

IDAHO

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coeur d'Alene | Kootenai | Hospital | $1,913,000 |

ILLINOIS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arthur | Moultrie | Water | $415,000 |
| Lovington | do | Sewer | 388,000 |
| Valmeyer | Monroe | Water | 179,800 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 205,850 |
| Ava | Jackson | do | 169,400 |
| Bartelso | Clinton | Water and sewer | 81,000 |
| De Sota | Jackson | Sewer | 160,000 |
| Lacon | Marshall | do | 614,000 |
| Cairo | Alexander | do | 694,000 |
| Do | do | do | 729,000 |
| Centralia | Marion | Water | 1,520,000 |
| Danville | Vermilion | Sewer | 860,000 |

INDIANA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Terre Haute | Vigo | Sewer | $2,826,000 |
| Michigan City | La Porte | do | 2,340,000 |
| Cannelton | Perry | do | 99,000 |
| Marengo | Crawford | Water | 88,600 |

IOWA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mystic | Appanoose | Water | $182,000 |

KANSAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pittsburg | Crawford | Storm drains | $2,813,000 |
| Do | do | Police and fire station | 94,000 |

KENTUCKY

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flatwoods | Greenup | Sewer | $838,000 |
| | Floyd | Courthouse | 805,600 |
| Prestonburg | do | Sewer | 803,000 |
| Hopkinsville | Christian | Municipal building | 693,025 |

PROGRAM OF ADVANCES FOR PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING—Continued

*Projects planned or being planned in areas eligible for aid under H.R. 10113, June 30, 1962*—Continued

KENTUCKY—Continued

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paintsville | Johnson | Sewer | $1,212,000 |
| Clinton | Hickman | do | 142,000 |
| Clay City | Powell | Water | 175,000 |
| Georgetown | Scott | Sewer | 704,000 |
| Hindman | Knott | Water | 143,000 |
| Bowling Green | Warren | Sewer | 4,346,000 |
| Monticello | Wayne | do | 524,357 |
| Hazard | Perry | do | 116,600 |
| New Haven | Nelson | do | 85,114 |
| Pewee Valley | Oldham | Water | 174,661 |
| Earlington | Hopkins | Sewer | 169,659 |
| White Plains | do | Water | 68,600 |
| Pikeville | Pike | Public buildings | 66,650 |
| Glasgow | Barren | Streets | 41,382 |
| Sebree | Webster | Sewer | 83,252 |
| Irvine | Estill | do | 116,412 |
| Do | do | Streets | 87,985 |
| Benton | Marshall | Sewer | 52,080 |
| Cumberland | Harlan | Water | 63,904 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 180,426 |
| Somerset | Pulaski | do | 456,089 |
| Crofton | Christian | Water | 97,000 |
| Irvington | Breckinridge | Sewer | 288,968 |
| Paintsville | Johnson | do | 370,000 |

LOUISIANA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Church Point | Acadia | Water | $244,000 |
| Morse | do | do | 120,000 |
| Plaucheville | Avoyelles | do | 189,000 |
| | do | Hospital | 1,465,000 |
| Pine Prairie | Evangeline | Water | 107,000 |
| Lafayette | Lafayette | Airport | 1,700,000 |
| Do | do | Streets | 4,493,000 |
| Do | do | Storm drains | 600,000 |
| Do | do | City buildings | 500,000 |
| Do | do | Park | 250,000 |
| Abbeville | Vermilion | Storm drains | 395,000 |
| Delcambre | Vermilion and Iberia | Road | 277,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 450,000 |
| Leesville | Vernon | do | 400,000 |
| Leonville | do | Water | 93,000 |
| Hammond | Tangipahoa | Streets | 380,000 |
| Roseland | do | Sewer | 200,000 |
| Baton Rouge | East Baton Rouge | Dock | 14,250,000 |
| New Orleans | Orleans | Police facility | 8,440,000 |
| Do | do | Storm drains | 11,450,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 14,526,000 |
| Do | do | do | 4,399,000 |
| Abbeville | Vermilion | Harbor | 1,066,000 |
| Basile | Evangeline | Sewer | 460,000 |
| Bogalusa | Washington | Park | 139,934 |
| Mamou | do | Water | 129,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 43,354 |
| Provencal | Natchitoches | Gas | 85,060 |
| Winnsboro | Franklin | Sewer | 465,000 |
| Youngsville | Lafayette | do | 175,750 |
| Sunset | St. Landry | do | 211,396 |
| Melville | do | do | 300,000 |
| Opelousas | do | do | 731,000 |
| Hammond | Tangipahoa | Water | 575,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 668,000 |
| Bunkie | Avoyelles | do | 18,872 |
| Do | do | Roads | 39,573 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 110,000 |
| Cottonport | do | do | 77,098 |
| Do | do | do | 153,550 |
| Do | do | do | 27,815 |
| Eunice | St. Landry | do | 214,154 |
| Independence | Tangipahoa | Public buildings | 24,216 |
| Kaplan | Vermilion | Sewer | 257,000 |
| Mansura | Avoyelles | do | 98,963 |
| New Orleans | Orleans | Bridges | 4,872,993 |
| Bogalusa | Washington | Viaduct | 492,676 |
| Opelousas | St. Landry | Sewer | 396,198 |

MAINE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wiscasset | Lincoln | Sewer | $460,000 |
| Limestone | Aroostook | do | 535,000 |
| Do | do | Water | 131,000 |
| Millinocketi | Penobscot | Sewer | 1,417,000 |
| Calais | Washington | do | 600,000 |
| Biddeford | York | do | 2,336,000 |
| Saco | do | do | 2,448,000 |
| Lubec | Washington | do | 58,600 |
| Patton | Penobscot | Water | 222,950 |

MARYLAND

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Dorchester | Water | $430,000 |
| Crisfield | Somerset | Sewer | 329,537 |
| Do | do | do | 300,000 |

MASSACHUSETTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brockton | Plymouth | Water | $2,179,000 |
| Chicopee | Hampden | Sewer | 2,986,000 |
| Holyoke | do | Water | 2,946,986 |
| Adams | Berkshire | Sewer | 3,035,000 |
| Lowell | Middlesex | Fire alarm building | 72,100 |
| Do | do | Sidewalks | 107,500 |
| Abington | Plymouth | Sewer | 306,000 |
| Newburyport | Essex | do | 536,000 |
| Dracut | Middlesex | Water | 432,600 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 279,080 |
| Do | do | do | 488,900 |
| Do | do | do | 387,700 |

MICHIGAN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pentwater | Oceana | Sewer | $139,000 |
| Ishpeming | Marquette | do | 297,500 |
| | Macomb | Storm drains | 12,335,271 |
| | do | do | 5,754,902 |
| | do | do | 7,560,301 |
| | do | do | 2,690,786 |
| | Oakland | Sewer | 16,503,000 |
| Oak Park | do | do | 384,417 |
| Pontiac | do | do | 2,336,000 |
| Waterford Township | do | Water | 12,756,516 |
| Alma | Gratiot | Sewer | 600,000 |
| Norton Township | Muskegon | do | 2,050,000 |
| Empire | Leelanau | Water | 27,000 |

MINNESOTA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chisholm | St. Louis | Water | $1,462,000 |
| Cass Lake | Cass | Sewer | 128,000 |

MISSISSIPPI

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tchula | Holmes | Water | $290,000 |
| Potts Camp | Marshall | do | 184,000 |
| Bude | Franklin | Sewer | 1,900,000 |
| Leland | Washington | do | 330,000 |
| Okalona | Chickasaw | Water | 156,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 220,000 |
| Yazoo City | Yazoo | do | 1,610,000 |
| Biloxi | Harrison | Water | 1,121,000 |
| Bay Springs | Jasper | Sewer | 103,400 |
| Shelby | Bolivar | do | 99,300 |
| Mize | Smith | Water | 26,500 |
| Lexington | Holmes | Streets | 99,169 |
| Hazelhurst | Copiah | Sewer | 322,688 |
| New Hebron | Lawrence | Water | 40,840 |
| Summit | Pike | Sewer | 111,771 |
| Shaw | Bolivar | do | 120,829 |
| Ruleville | Sunflower | do | 105,000 |
| Mound Bayou | Bolivar | Streets | 26,390 |
| Dekalb | Kemper | Sewer | 86,000 |
| Lo | Simpson | Water | 25,000 |

MISSOURI

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pilot Knob | Iron | Water | $83,358 |
| St. Genevieve | St. Genevieve | Courthouse | 603,000 |
| Potosi | Washington | Sewer | 116,900 |

MONTANA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ronan | Lake | Sewer | $163,000 |
| Hamilton | Ravalli | Storm drains | 240,000 |
| Ronan | Lake | Streets | 109,144 |
| Do | do | do | 83,624 |

NEVADA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Caliente | Lincoln | Public buildings | $36,400 |

NEW JERSEY

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Atlantic City | Atlantic | City yards | $2,788,973 |
| Englishtown | Monmouth | Water | 315,000 |
| Little Silver | do | Sewer | 1,590,000 |
| Long Beach Township | Ocean | Water | 260,468 |
| Long Branch | Monmouth | City hall | 510,000 |
| Passaic | Passaic | Roads | 2,825,137 |
| Do | do | Bus terminal | 176,370 |
| Do | do | Roads | 567,395 |
| Pompton Lakes | do | Sewer | 1,725,000 |
| Totowa | do | do | 705,900 |
| Do | do | do | 238,800 |

PROGRAM OF ADVANCES FOR PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING—Continued

*Projects planned or being planned in areas eligible for aid under H.R. 10113, June 30, 1962*—Continued

NEW JERSEY—Continued

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wanaque | Passaic | Water | $42,980,000 |
| Wayne Township | do | Sewer | 1,929,360 |
| Wildwood | Cape May | Incinerator | 500,000 |
| Do | do | do | 500,000 |
| Pleasantville | Atlantic | Sewer | 731,000 |
| Lakehurst | Ocean | do | 428,000 |
| Little Falls | Passaic | do | 359,000 |
| Jersey City | Hudson | Administration building. | 1,285,000 |
| Paterson | Passaic | Sewer | 294,450 |
| Woodbine | Cape May | do | 338,577 |
| Milford | Passaic | Townhall | 265,000 |

NEW MEXICO

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Central | Grant | Sewer | $205,000 |
| Gallup | McKinley | Airport | 1,000,000 |
| Mountainair | Torrence | Road | 187,500 |
| Raton | Colfax | do | 190,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 94,000 |

NEW YORK

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beacon | Dutchess | Incinerator | $523,250 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 1,152,000 |
| Newburgh | Orange | Incinerator | 830,000 |
| Brasher | St. Lawrence | Sewer | 355,000 |
| Chaumont | Jefferson | Water | 296,500 |
| Cloversville | Fulton | Sewer | 2,194,525 |
| Heuvelton | St. Lawrence | Sewer | 400,000 |
| Niskayuna | Schenectady | Sewer | 1,640,550 |
| Stockholm | St. Lawrence | Sewer | 230,000 |
| Tupper Lake | Franklin | Sewer | 997,041 |
| Do | do | Fire station | 59,500 |
| Westport | Essex | Sewer | 544,000 |
| Jamestown | Chautauqua | Administration building. | 2,864,000 |
| Plattsburgh | Clinton | Water | 435,000 |
| Norfolk | St. Lawrence | | 257,000 |
| Jamestown | Chautauqua | Sewer | 120,460 |

NORTH CAROLINA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Henderson | Vance | Sewer | $926,500 |
| Hot Springs | Madison | do | 89,000 |
| Spruce Pine | Mitchell | do | 461,200 |
| Do | do | Water | 300,000 |
| Murphy | Cherokee | Sewer | 425,080 |
| Marshall | Madison | do | 160,000 |
| Norlina | Warren | do | 211,000 |
| Hendersonville | Henderson | do | 1,150,000 |
| Tabor City | Columbus | Streets | 87,000 |
| Do | Macon | Courthouse | 369,000 |
| Do | Columbus | Sewer | 71,250 |
| Bryson City | Swain | do | 76,225 |
| Do | do | do | 101,825 |
| Roxboro | Person | do | 128,960 |
| Do | do | Water | 86,960 |
| Durham | Durham | do | 507,950 |
| Roper | Washington | do | 54,670 |
| Elm City | Wilson | Sewer | 14,900 |

OHIO

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ripley | Brown | Sewer | $467,572 |
| Aberdeen | do | Water | 280,000 |
| Lorain | Lorain | Bridge | 5,144,900 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 5,271,200 |
| Zanesville | Muskingum | Water | 656,600 |
| North Bend | Hamilton | do | 43,800 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 86,500 |
| Greenfield | Highland | do | 187,100 |

OKLAHOMA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wilburton | Latimer | Water | $690,000 |
| Ada | Pontotoc | Sewer | 307,658 |
| Do | do | Highways | 42,793 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 1,035,000 |
| Do | do | do | 150,000 |
| Do | do | Highways | 26,875 |
| Do | do | do | 20,000 |
| Broken Bow | McCurtain | Sewer | 149,698 |
| Checotah | McIntosh | do | 135,727 |
| Nowata | Nowata | Highways | 36,995 |
| Valliant | McCurtain | Sewer | 87,008 |

OREGON

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| Newport | Lincoln | Water | $241,000 |
| Nelscott | do | Sewer | 144,000 |
| Yamhill | Yamhill | do | 125,000 |
| Eastside | Coos | do | 398,000 |
| Cave Junction | Josephine | do | 136,526 |
| Newport | Lincoln | do | 575,000 |
| Willamina | Yamhill | do | 209,000 |
| Coos Bay | Coos | Waterfront improvements. | 1,100,000 |

PENNSYLVANIA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Allegheny | Bridge | $7,301,795 |
| | do | Viaduct | 6,822,500 |
| | do | Bridge | 17,681,000 |
| Athens, Sayre | Bradford | Sewer | 3,331,213 |
| Belle Vernon | Fayette | do | 945,000 |
| Dravosburg | Allegheny | Sewer | 526,440 |
| Erie | Erie | Auditorium | 3,650,000 |
| Do | do | Harbor facilities | 842,000 |
| Do | do | do | 8,584,000 |
| Do | do | Road | 1,996,200 |
| Fayette City | Fayette | Sewer | 240,000 |
| Glassport | Allegheny | do | 959,500 |
| Glenwillard | do | do | 845,000 |
| Harborcreek Township | Erie | Water | 2,199,386 |
| Latrobe | Westmoreland | Sewer | 2,989,630 |
| McKeesport | Allegheny | Railroad crossings | 11,352,550 |
| McVeytown | Mifflin | Water | 545,000 |
| Monessen | Westmoreland | Streets | 914,404 |
| Moon Township | Allegheny | Sewer | 2,662,150 |
| Do | do | Water | 750,000 |
| Nanty Glo | Cambria | Sewer | 748,000 |
| New Castle | Lawrence | do | 9,300,000 |
| Newton-Hamilton | Mifflin | Water | 57,750 |
| Patton | Cambria | Sewer | 627,000 |
| Pleasant Township | Warren | do | 315,000 |
| Tunkhannock | Wyoming | do | 340,000 |
| West Franklin | Greene | do | 155,000 |
| Rostraver Township | Westmoreland | do | 2,241,000 |
| Waterford | Erie | do | 571,555 |
| Whitehall | Allegheny | do | 3,800,000 |
| Alexandria | Huntingdon | do | 138,000 |
| Old Lycoming Township. | Lycoming | do | 764,000 |
| Liverpool | Perry | do | 545,000 |
| Do | do | do | 545,000 |
| Youngsville | Warren | do | 85,000 |
| Bradford Township | McKean | do | 807,000 |
| | Allegheny | Incinerator | 6,300,000 |
| Pittsburgh | do | Water | 7,600,000 |
| Synder Township | Blair | Sewer | 330,000 |
| Lower Yoder Township. | Cambria | do | 490,000 |
| Woodland | Clearfield | Water | 312,000 |
| Conneaut Lake | Crawford | Sewer | 2,480,000 |
| Millcreek | Erie | do | 3,000,000 |
| Scranton | Lackawanna | Bridge | 304,000 |
| Hempfield Township | Mercer | Sewer | 609,000 |
| Pine Grove | Schuylkill | do | 900,000 |
| Tamaqua | do | do | 1,600,000 |
| Orwigsburg | do | do | 719,000 |
| Port Carbon | do | do | 303,000 |
| Beaver | Beaver | do | 480,000 |
| Pittsburgh | Allegheny | Administration building. | 225,000 |
| Do | do | Roads | 87,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 265,600 |
| Hollidaysburg | Blair | Courthouse | 531,280 |
| Mount Union | Huntingdon | Sewer | 252,370 |
| Williamsport | Lycoming | Courthouse | 2,372,000 |
| South Williamsport | do | Sewer | 267,000 |
| Williamsburg | Blair | do | 230,335 |
| Blakely Borough | Lackawanna | do | 14,300 |
| Do | do | Roads and streets | 43,002 |
| Huntingdon | Huntingdon | Sewer | 732,548 |
| Blakely | Lackawanna | do | 450,295 |
| Wilkes-Barre | Luzerne | do | 3,181,817 |
| Hyndman | Bedford | do | 163,638 |
| Hughestown | do | do | 184,485 |
| Nanticoke | do | do | 1,146,000 |
| Pittston Township | do | do | 471,204 |
| Duryea | do | do | 548,617 |
| Jenkins Township | do | do | 865,742 |
| Exeter | do | do | 832,048 |
| Pla ns Township | Luzerne | do | 1,572,439 |
| Dupont | do | do | 900,085 |
| Pittston | do | do | 1,169,157 |
| Punxsutawney | Jefferson | do | 287,084 |
| Sheffield Township | Warren | do | 189,000 |
| West Newton | Westmoreland | do | 180,000 |
| Latrobe | do | do | 597,544 |
| Athens | Bradford | do | 668,176 |
| Coudersport | Potter | do | 402,909 |
| Mansfield | Tioga | do | 108,480 |
| Donora | Washington | do | 704,000 |

PROGRAM OF ADVANCES FOR PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING—Continued

*Projects planned or being planned in areas eligible for aid under H.R. 10113, June 30, 1962*—Continued

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| Orbisonia | Huntingdon | Sewer | $132,552 |
| Canton | Bradford | do | 389,740 |
| West Wyoming | Luzerne | do | 875,915 |
| New Eagle | Washington | do | 288,044 |
| Monongahela | do | do | 565,248 |
| Nescopeck | Luzerne | do | 101,666 |
| Meyersdale | Somerset | do | 80,635 |
| Tunkhannock | Wyoming | do | 353,771 |
| Sayre | Bradford | do | 272,216 |
| Scranton | Lackawanna | do | 7,560,417 |
| Saegerstown | Crawford | do | 83,399 |
| Cornplanter Township | Venango | do | 278,579 |
| California | Washington | do | 318,074 |
| Hazelton | Luzerne | do | 1,663,585 |
| Belle Vernon | Westmoreland and Fayette | do | 500,000 |
| Plymouth | Luzerne | do | 614,848 |
| Monessen | Westmoreland | do | 1,470,000 |
| Charleroi | Washington | do | 796,430 |
| Brownsville | Fayette | do | 967,422 |
| Wyalusing | Bradford | do | 30,085 |
| Do | do | do | 118,410 |
| Masontown | Fayette | do | 404,500 |
| Harrisville | Butler | do | 103,050 |
| Taylor | Lackawanna | do | 545,504 |
| Wyoming | Luzerne | do | 377,071 |
| Matamores | Pike | do | 649,650 |
| Cressona | Schuylkill | do | 344,469 |
| Borough of Ashland | do | do | 442,400 |
| Township of Lackawanna | Lackawanna | do | 353,973 |
| West Pittston | Luzerne | do | 194,245 |
| Saxton | Bedford | do | 246,395 |
| Freeland City | Luzerne | do | 550,000 |
| Dawson | Fayette | do | 79,661 |
| Olyphant | Lackawanna | do | 425,880 |
| Dickson City | do | do | 476,750 |
| Vanderbilt | Fayette | do | 207,846 |
| Duquesne | Allegheny | do | 1,582,000 |
| St. Clair | Schuylkill | do | 396,000 |
| Township of Monroe | Snyder | do | 477,921 |

RHODE ISLAND

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Greenwich | Kent | Water | $1,157,000 |
| Cranston | Providence | Sewer | 2,500,000 |
| Narragansett | Washington | do | 601,000 |
| Do | do | Town hall | 298,000 |
| Westerly | do | Incinerator | 161,400 |
| Smithfield | Providence | Sewer | 345,000 |
| Do | do | do | 191,000 |

SOUTH CAROLINA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aiken | Aiken | Sewer | $1,500,000 |
| Do | do | Storm drains | 1,000,000 |
| Fairfax | Allendale | Sewer | 81,000 |
| Summarville | Dorchester | Municipal building | 27,800 |
| St. Stephen | Berkeley | Water | 11,420 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 80,000 |
| Chester | Chester | Public buildings | 60,986 |
| Orangeburg | Orangeburg | Sewer | 46,500 |
| North | do | do | 13,500 |
| Port Royal | Beaufort | do | 110,000 |
| Springfield | Orangeburg | do | 88,000 |
| Orangeburg | do | do | 83,500 |
| Branchville | do | do | 111,008 |
| | McCormick | Health center | 100,394 |
| Dorchester | Dorchester | Courthouse | 111,562 |
| Kershaw | Kershaw | Sewer | 66,500 |
| Do | do | Water | 45,500 |
| Beaufort | Beaufort | Sewer | 185,000 |
| Do | do | do | 273,000 |

TENNESSEE

| City | County | Type of project | Estimated total cost |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Follette | Campbell | Sewer | $250,650 |
| Brin | Houston | do | 215,000 |
| Monterey | Putnam | do | 610,000 |
| Pikeville | Bledsoe | do | 281,059 |
| Sneedville | Hancock | do | 200,000 |
| Jellico | Campbell | Roads | 79,000 |
| Jasper | Marion | Sewer | 86,440 |
| Do | do | Water | 95,387 |
| Big Sandy | Benton | Sewer | 156,500 |
| Livingston | Overton | Water | 75,842 |
| Sparta | White | Sewer | 60,704 |

TEXAS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Port Arthur | Jefferson | Bridge | $400,000 |
| Do | do | Water | 500,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 500,000 |
| Do | do | Storm drains | 2,500,000 |
| Beckville | Panola | Water | 50,000 |
| Do | do | Sewer | 85,000 |
| Avery | Red River | Water | 72,000 |
| Blossom Prairie | Lamar | Sewer | 50,832 |

UTAH

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beaver | Beaver | Hospital | $260,000 |
| Orem | Utah | Water | 1,500,000 |
| Coalville | Summit | Sewer | 115,000 |

WASHINGTON

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kittitas | Hospital | $1,367,130 |
| Ronald | do | Sewer | 4,914,500 |
| East Wenatchee | Douglas | Sewer and water | 2,320,000 |
| Toledo | Lewis | Sewer | 125,000 |
| Spokane | Spokane | Streets | 4,440,000 |
| Tacoma | Pierce | Park | 490,265 |
| Do | do | Bridge | 8,000,000 |
| Newport | Pend Oreille | do | 890,000 |
| Anacortes | Skagit | Sewer | 310,000 |
| Yakima | Yakima | do | 585,000 |
| Concrete | Skagit | do | 138,760 |

WEST VIRGINIA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Montgomery | Fayette and Kanawha | Sewer | $900,000 |
| Clarksburg | Harrison | Water | 52,000 |
| Huntington | Kanawha | Sewer | 194,000 |
| Cameron | Marshall | do | 297,000 |
| Wheeling | Ohio | Water | 5,343,000 |
| Harrisville | Ritchie | Sewer | 200,000 |
| Craigsville | Nicholas | Water | 532,000 |
| Bethlehem | Ohio | Sewer | 575,000 |
| Blacksville | Monongalia | Water | 40,000 |
| Charleston | Kanawha | Sewer | 1,460,000 |
| | Mercer | Water | 646,738 |
| Rivesville | Marion | Sewer | 300,000 |
| Oceana | Wyoming | do | 376,473 |
| Welch | McDowell | do | 388,073 |
| Do | do | do | 489,698 |
| War | do | do | 400,000 |
| Marmet | Kanawha | do | 243,847 |
| Stonewood | Harrison | do | 350,389 |
| Ansted | Fayette | do | 287,828 |
| Wheeling | Ohio | do | 2,150,000 |
| Morgantown | Monongalia | Parks | 186,000 |
| Do | do | Airport | 351,000 |

WISCONSIN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coleman | Marinette | Sewer | $44,000 |

## Mr. Nixon Can't Win—Not by a Dam Site

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are familiar with the witty, amusing articles by Art Hoppe, whose timely observations are published in the San Francisco Chronicle.

I am certain that those who follow Mr. Hoppe's articles with avid interest will find his column which appeared in the Chronicle on Monday, August 20, as appealing as those previously inserted in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 20, 1962]

MR. NIXON CAN'T WIN—NOT BY A DAM SITE

(By Art Hoppe)

Mr. Kennedy looked great. He was wearing a dark blue suit with dark blue coattails, sturdily woven into the fabric.

The reason I mention his attire is that I went to see Mr. Kennedy blow up 10 pounds of TNT. It was a blast. But everybody agreed he did not come all this way for that. He really came to help reelect Governor Brown and a lot of Democrats. Because just shaking the hand of a popular President, or even standing next to him, is tremendously valuable in getting elected.

Everybody knows that. But, surprisingly, very little work has been done on precisely how much each aspect of associating with a President is worth. Candidates fight tooth and nail to associate with one. But the values are vague.

So I'm proud to report that after following Mr. Kennedy around California for a day and a half, I have compiled a contribution to American political science—the coattail clutching point system. Which will be of lasting worth to all political candidates.

Take Friday. Waiting to greet Mr. Kennedy at Castle Air Force Base are Governor Brown and Senator KUCHEL, who is a Republican but who voted for medicare. Each got a handshake or shaker (three points) and a smile or smiler (one point).

Mr. Brown then led Mr. Kennedy over to the photographers for a poser (seven points, but only if it makes the papers). In turn, Mr. Kennedy invited Mr. Brown to ride in his convertible for a short rider (five points). Mr. Kennedy stood up in the back seat to wave to the crowd and actually leaned a little on Mr. Brown. This, as you may have guessed, is a leaner and is worth six times what it is in horseshoes.

But the talk of the town was Mr. KUCHEL's four points. Because his Democratic opponent, Mr. Richard Richards, was not present at the welcome and was therefore scoreless at halftime. Oh, there was gloom in the Richards dressing room.

The next morning, Mr. Kennedy arrived in a helicopter to blow up the San Luis Dam site with Mr. Brown, but he promptly vanished into a swarm of local politicians and I lost track of the points.

But who emerges triumphant from the melee but Mr. Richards, leading Mr. Kennedy. That's a leader (10 points). And Mr. Richards got to sit right in back of Mr. Kennedy on the platform, leaning forward as though confiding in his ear. Oh, with all these leaders, sitters, leaners and confiders, joy reigned supreme in the Richards camp.

Well, as you may have read, Mr. Kennedy in his speech saluted Mr. Brown's "water leadership" for a plugger (priceless beyond pearls). And did just about everything but throw his arms around Mr. Brown for a ringer (50 points).

Indeed, I conservatively totted up all Mr. Brown's shakers, smilers, leaners, posers and riders at 873½ points. Or enough to defeat Mr. Nixon by 7 million votes.

Of course, should Mr. Kennedy's own popularity dip much further, it will play hob with the system. But I have already figured that out. We simply make all laboriously accumulated points minus.

## Calm Appraisal of the Two "Vostoks"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WM. J. RANDALL**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, there has been much editorial comment appearing in the American press concerning the recent Russian achievement in space. From all of the comments, we seem to sense the exercise of a new sort of discipline by our editors, and even by those in the executive branch associated with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and for that matter in the comments made by some of the Members of Congress. This is a very different situation from the hysterical reaction following the launching of sputnik in 1957 and different even from the fear-filled reaction to the first successful Russian orbital flight.

We thought the editorial appearing in the Kansas City Star, following the Soviet Union's double space flight was worthy to be reprinted in the RECORD because the principal thought of this editorial is that our response to that achievement should be a calm appraisal of our own goals in space, and a determination to move ahead with confidence in our Nation's scientific ability.

The editorial is as follows:

TWO "VOSTOKS," A WALL AND THE MOON

The Soviet Union's amazing double space flight comes at a time when many in this country are seriously questioning the wisdom of the $20 or $80 billion program to place an American on the moon. It comes, too, when the world is noting the first anniversary of the infamous Berlin wall. Indeed, you might conclude that the timing was a deliberate attempt to distract world attention from that symbol of Communist failure.

To say this is not to detract from the magnificent achievement. It stands as the greatest chapter in manned space flight to date. It is proof that the Russians possess rockets of great power and reliability. These facts you can't deny or wish away. Nor can we deny or wish away the Berlin wall and its meaning. In this mid-August of 1962, the world witnesses the double drama of communism's failure as a system, and of its success in the world of science.

The success of democracy as a system is a proved fact for those who will open their minds to the evidence. But science in a democracy, concerning itself with many things, lacks the single-track concentration of science in a totalitarian state. So we must recognize, that in this one category of the space race—flight to the moon—the Soviet Union is well ahead of its democratic competitor. In other categories—weather research, for example, or communications—the United States is the unchallenged leader. There have been no Telstar or Tiros satellites sent into orbit from Soviet launching pads. Nor has Soviet space science contributed nearly as much information about the universe as has U.S. science.

Yet the world is captivated by the spectacular and the double space shot was surely the most spectacular effort to date. For the United States it may be a significant point for discussion in the debate over our own space program. Perhaps we have been lulled by the fact that the Communists have had no manned space flights for more than a year. Our sense of urgency may have been dissipated during this period. Moreover, the state of the economy has prompted a look at the whole pattern of Federal expenditures. Now, perhaps, we can weigh the question of the space program a little more realistically.

For we have been told in unmistakable terms that the Soviet program has not been cut back, as some have suggested. It is moving forward in an orderly scientific fashion, although, from science's point of view, with a one-track mind. It lacks the diversification of the U.S. effort. But it has the potential of putting a man on the moon—a Communist man—perhaps sooner than anyone had expected.

Certainly the race has not been won by the Russians. The pilot of *Vostok IV* referred to his spaceship as "the swallow." To paraphrase Aristotle, "One swallow does not place a man on the moon." Nevertheless, this weekend has given the United States a second sputnik-type warning. We hope the American reaction will not be one similar to the near hysteria of late 1957. A healthier response would be a calm appraisal of our own goals in space and a determination to move ahead with confidence in the Nation's scientific ability.

## Soviet Space Flights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is natural that considerable attention be given to the latest Soviet space flights in comparing them with our own progress, as well as all the other scientific, technological, and military aspects.

I have been especially impressed by the calm, practical, thoughtful manner in which the press has discussed the subject, and I submit for the RECORD two editorials which I think are especially reflective of grassroots public opinion, as seen through the eyes of the local newspapers in my district.

The editorials are "Room for Learning" which appeared in the Des Plaines Valley News of Argo, Ill., on August 16, and "Cosmonauts' Freedom From Fear" from the Palos Regional, Palos Heights, Ill., August 16 edition.

[From the Argo (Ill.) Des Plaines Valley News, Aug. 16, 1962]

ROOM FOR LEARNING

Two Russians whirling about in a space orbit made it painfully clear that the United States does not have the premium on ability and brainpower that its technical achievements and prosperity had led peoples of the world to admire.

While U.S. technology is far ahead of other foreign lands in many fields, it is possible that our Nation was so smug and content with leading the industrial effort in the world that superiority in a small portion of the total would be overlooked.

However, what most of us have forgotten is that no one nation or political system possesses the edge on brains.

In a nation with less technical equipment than ours, the inventor and scientist must improvise. Where U.S. scientists seek the best equipment and tools that money can buy for experimentation, it must be remembered that less advanced nations or individuals must substitute techniques, machinery, and other things to fabricate the idea pattern.

One may recall that Edison, Ford, and many early inventors achieved their initial designs with meager equipment, which in today's engineering terms could be described as substandard.

Our policy has long been to throw a few billion dollars into the project, and thus solve the problem, forgetting that some problems cannot be solved by money alone.

Let not those in the lead forget that the first in the race needs the competition of those who follow close behind. Our mistake was in being content to remain ahead so often that we failed to notice the runner close behind.

Remember that in some respects the most ignorant savage can be brighter than the scientist. It would be foolish to admit that we cannot learn more.

Perhaps man is not tied down to this earth planet. Perhaps more intelligent creatures reside in another planet, for it is rather egotistic to expect that the planet earth alone had the environment and conditions necessary for intellectual development.

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[From the Palos Heights (Ill.) Palos Regional, Aug. 16, 1962]

COSMONAUTS' FREEDOM FROM FEAR

One of the ironies of the Soviets' dual space flight this week was the quiet announcement that the United States had agreed to a Russian request to halt atmospheric nuclear tests while the two cosmonauts orbited the earth.

It is not surprising that the Soviet Union asked for a temporary test ban, nor it is surprising that the United States quickly agreed: neither country wanted to endanger the cosmonauts as they took a major stride toward the conquest of space.

But important as the mission of the cosmonauts may be, it involves only two lives. The disarmament talks, which have dragged on endlessly and unsuccessfully at Geneva, involve the lives of millions, possibly the entire population of the world. Yet, the two great powers of the world, which readily agreed it would be unthinkable to endanger two lives, have not been able to reach agreement on a matter which threatens millions.

The problem of disarmament, admittedly, is more complicated than a 2-day test ban, and that, of course, is why the odds are considerably longer on a permanent ban. But while the odds are longer, the stakes are the same.

The Soviet space achievement this week—as well as the recent accomplishments of both Russian and American space programs—should emphasize that the need for a solution to the arms race is critical.

The immense destructive power of both the West and the Communist countries is multiplied with every advance in the race to space. The space flights are a sort of barometer of rocket capabilities, and the rockets could carry nuclear warheads as easily as they carry space capsules.

The two Russian cosmonauts have no reason to fear the possible effects of a nuclear test while they are orbiting the earth. We wish that freedom from fear could be shared permanently by everyone.

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## J. Edgar Hoover: A Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the United States is blessed with many able and dedicated public servants, but few have served their country with the high distinction, uncompromising loyalty and all-out devotion of J. Edgar Hoover. It is a privilege to pay tribute to this great American.

For 38 years, as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Hoover has been serving the cause of freedom and justice in the United States. He came to this post in 1924, a young lawyer 29 years of age. Today, at 67, he is one of our most revered public servants. He has literally devoted his entire life to the cause of keeping America free from her two worst enemies—crime and communism.

In building up the FBI over the years into what is today the finest crime detection agency in the free world, Mr. Hoover has, from the beginning, been meticulous in maintaining that justice must be above politics. When he accepted the directorship 38 years ago, he did so on condition that appointments to the FBI would be made solely on merit and promotions based on proven ability. Only men of spotless character are eligible for appointment as special agents, and nothing short of a college education, supplemented by training in the law, will suffice as prerequisites for these positions of public trust.

As a dedicated leader in the field of law enforcement, Mr. Hoover has been a prime mover in creating a professional stature for the American policeman. In so doing, he has increased the understanding of the responsibilities of law enforcement officers throughout the world.

He has been ever alert to the need to bring principles of science to bear on crime detection as well as law enforcement. The FBI Identification Division and the FBI Technical Laboratory are famous throughout the world. Today, the FBI has the world's largest collection of fingerprints—more than 150 million sets are on file. Every month, some 1,300 fugitives are identified through fingerprints.

In his 38 years as FBI Director, Mr. Hoover has created an agency which is the model of efficiency and effectiveness. Last year, the fines, savings, and recoveries made by the FBI totaled approximately $150 million—an amount exceeding the funds spent to operate the FBI for the entire year.

Mr. Hoover is proud, and all Americans can be proud, that conviction in FBI cases brought to trial average over 95 percent. It is in the category of the phenomenal that during World War II no successful act of enemy-directed sabotage occurred in the United States.

It is a singular commentary on Mr. Hoover's stewardship of the FBI that he has diligently and scrupulously avoided all roads that would lead to the FBI's becoming a national police force—a hated Gestapo or a GPU. Mr. Hoover could have used his power to ask Congress to make the FBI an independent agency. He is the first to point out the dangers of a dictatorial national police agency to a free society. Today, the Federal Bureau of Investigation remains a department under the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Hoover's great love of freedom and his keen awareness of the subtle erosions of freedom which can take place through overcentralization has resulted in one of the finest examples of Federal-State-local cooperation in our history. Both the famous FBI Identification Division and the experts and facilities of the FBI Technical Laboratory—the largest of its kind in the world—are available to all law-enforcement agencies throughout the Nation. The FBI National Academy in Washington offers the same type of training given its own special agents to local, municipal, county, and State law-enforcement officers. Local agencies in every State in the Union have sent their men to the Academy—police organizations in many foreign countries have requested that the benefits of an FBI training be extended to their personnel. The FBI not only provides these and other cost-free cooperative services, but also, upon request, provides expert testimony in local courts in connection with evidence they have examined. Thus, the FBI is in partnership with every community across the Nation.

Not only has Mr. Hoover dedicated his life to combating organized crime; he has been a stalwart and articulate leader in our struggle against communism. Time and time again, he has availed himself of every opportunity to make Americans more fully aware of the dangers of communism and to exhort us to fight this menace not only by being against it, but by being for the American ideal and by working for the cause of liberty and justice.

Notwithstanding all this and the fact that Mr. Hoover is known as "Mr. Integrity" of the law enforcement world, occasionally we hear rumor that there are some in high political places who would like to have him replaced by someone more responsive to control and for exploitation of the 6,000 special agents in the FBI and their antiracketeering and antisubversion activities.

Public opinion, of course, as long as Mr. Hoover is in charge would rebel at

any such political maneuver. Thus any smear attack on him should be examined to try and discover the motive behind it.

Mr. Speaker, one such recent attack on Mr. Hoover should be thus scrutinized. I refer to the remarks of Wilbur H. Ferry, vice president of the Fund for the Republic made on August 6, 1962, in Seattle as luncheon speaker at the Western States Democratic Conference.

In this speech the Director of the FBI was accused of having built a false legend of Communist strength.

The vicious distortions of facts in the "Ferrytale" should not be dignified were it not that the speech in question was to a formal and important political party conference. As such, it smacks of undermining a great American by a means of influence through the Democratic administration's policy.

On this account I point out that Mr. Ferry referred to J. Edgar Hoover's warning against Soviet espionage in the United States.

This is an old whine of the FBI chief—

Commented Mr. Ferry, adding—

and its success year after year is a tribute to the trance into which his sermons throw Americans, not excepting Congressmen.

Using the old technique of ridicule he described Mr. Hoover as "a spy swatter" and his work against communism as mischiefmaking.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud, let me say, to acknowledge having contributed through my vote in this House to the remarkable record of the past 10 years where we have appropriated every cent recommended by Mr. Hoover for operation of the FBI.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, as additional tribute to Mr. Hoover, because I believe him to be one of the great Americans of the 20th century and because I believe him to be as close to irreplaceable as any mortal man can be, I introduced legislation on August 14, 1962, H.R. 12898, which relates to the appointment of the Director and Associate Director of the FBI, when the present incumbent, J. Edgar Hoover, ceases to serve by reason of retirement or for reasons beyond the control of mortal man. This legislation, if enacted, would require that the new Director and any subsequent Director thereafter be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of 15 years, the same provisions applying also to the Associate Director.

Mr. Speaker, I realize it is too late to expect action on H.R. 12898 in this Congress, but I hope and plan if I am a Member of the 88th Congress, to reintroduce this legislation and push for its early consideration.

Respect for the service and achievement of one of America's greatest living patriots is not a partisan matter. Nor is contempt for those who ridicule patriotism.

Opportunity and freedom survive, thank God, in spite of those who belittle and besmudge the ideals and systems that America holds dear.

This is because of the high morals and dedication of men like J. Edgar Hoover to whom I pay this sincere tribute today.

All Americans owe a debt of gratitude to J. Edgar Hoover, a great American, and a great leader of the free world.

## Fly a Banner: Welcome HOG's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in these aptly described "trying times" an injection of humor seems not only appropriate but necessary to keep a level balance during perpetual discussions of arms racing, racing to the moon, and so forth.

I know of no better source than the artful writings of Art Hoppe, columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle, who is a clever conniver in semantics.

One of his recent columns follows:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 19, 1962]

FLY A BANNER: WELCOME HOG'S

(By Art Hoppe)

The world is indebted this morning to my friend, Mr. Jack Wyman, for his contribution to a lasting peace. Mr. Wyman's suggestion is to form the International Association of Heads of Government. So it can hold a convention. Which is the prime reason such organizations are formed.

It's a great idea. I have even worked up a tentative program.

Monday, 9 a.m.: Registration in lobby. Delegates will receive lapel name cards saying, "My name's Nik" or "Just call me Your Excellency, General De Gaulle, for short."

9:30 a.m.: Panel discussion, Green Room. "How To Deal With Businessmen," J. Kennedy, U.S.A. "How To Really Deal With Businessmen," F. Castro, Cuba. "The Future of the Businessman," N. Khrushchev, U.S.S.R. (illustrated).

11 a.m.: Workshop, Rose Room. "A Simple Solution To Facing Mounting National Debts," Consultant Edward M. Gilbert, now of Brazil.

12 noon to ?: Refreshments, Billie Sol Estes Hospitality Suite.

(NOTE.—The Ladies Auxiliary will gather in the lobby at 10 a.m. for a tour of the waterfront conducted by Mrs. J. Kennedy. Please bring cameras, binoculars, and water skis.)

Tuesday, 10 a.m.: Panel discussion on crises, Green Room. "Crises I Have Known and Loved," R. Nixon, U.S.A. "Fame and Power Through the Vice Presidency," L. B. Whatshisname, U.S.A. "How To Succeed in Business Without Really Trying," George M. Humphrey, U.S.A.

11 a.m.: Panel discussion on world affairs, Rose Room. "Will the Dreadnought Prove the Ultimate Weapon?" B. Goldwater, U.S.A. "My China," M. Tse-tung, China. "My China," C. Kai-shek, China. "There Is No China," State Department team, U.S.A.

12 noon to ?: Refreshments, B. Goldfine Hospitality Suite.

(NOTE.—The Ladies Auxiliary will meet for tea at 2 p.m. to hear brief talks on "How To Make a Splash in Society," by Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and "Haute Couture—So Who Needs It?" by Mrs. N. Khrushchev. The next 5 days will be free for shopping.)

The convention will be a smash. The speeches are nonsense. But no delegate ever listens to speeches. And each will have all afternoon for the main purpose of any convention: refreshments. They relieve his frustrations and renew his wellsprings.

Indeed, as a keen student of world affairs, I have long felt the only course for our heads of Government to pursue is to get fried. And if they got fried together—well, I ask you: Could Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev ever declare war on each other? After they've jointly tossed a grand piano out a 10th-floor window? I can think of no better path to mutual understanding than getting fried. Not with the way things are going, I can't.

## Latin American Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD three short articles dealing with Latin American affairs. These articles are written by Mr. Fred A. Orleans, well-known international lawyer and authority on Latin American problems.

The first of these articles, "Peru," deals with the situation in relation to that country. It should be noted that the author wrote it on the day the United States suspended relations with Peru, which was an erroneous step and was subsequently corrected. The other two articles, "Let's Look at Ecuador" and "Latin America," are perhaps a bit too critical, but they point up the true situation in Latin America.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these articles to the attention of my colleagues and to all those interested in improving United States-Latin American relations:

PERU

(By Fred A. Orleans)

It is difficult for the ordinary citizen to understand why our State Department has promptly suspended diplomatic relations with Peru and cut off Alliance for Progress programs in that country, because a military group has toppled the Government.

It has not been indicated that this group is unfriendly to the United States and it has been acknowledged that they came to power to prevent a leftist from becoming the next President of Peru.

It is believed in Washington that even though he is a leftist, he is anti-Communist.

This is a firm demonstration by the U.S. State Department that they will not tolerate military dictatorships in Latin America. No objections appear to be offered to dictatorships headed by other than military men, but military dictatorships, which tend to usually lean to the right, are unacceptable.

How can we reconcile this with the strong desire in Washington to continue to give aid to known Communist dictatorships as Poland and Yugoslavia.

How can we reconcile this with the burning desire in Washington to feed the starving Chinese who are governed by a Communist dictatorship. No consideration is apparently being given to the fact that the people of Peru might also need food.

A fundamental error of American foreign policy in Latin America has been the popular assumption, a basic American belief, that

we can export our democracy to any country and any people.

In pursuit of this will-o'-the-wisp, we have not once, but many times, deliberately set out to destroy or unseat a dictatorial regime, however friendly to us that regime might have been, in the delusion that what might finally emerge would be a democratic regime modeled in our own image.

We can no longer continue to pressure friendly, anti-Communist governments out of power because they do not conform to our standards of democracy.

Democracy cannot be imposed from without; democracy is a spirit from within each person and is a slow process for people who have rarely known real freedom which can only be achieved by education and knowledge of what freedom means.

Our foreign policy should be arrived at by fostering those elements in any given country, which in the fullness of time, will permit the slow growth of democracy.

The United States must adopt realistic policies to meet the needs of the times.

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LET'S LOOK AT ECUADOR

(By Fred A. Orleans)

Recently the President of Ecuador, Carlos Julio Arosemena, visited Washington and it was indicated in the press that he would undoubtedly discuss with the President of the United States the troublesome situation in Peru.

Apparently, our Government has not yet been informed that last October the armed forces in Ecuador overthrew the constitutionally elected President of that country, Velasco Ibarra, because of his attempt to implement tax reforms required for his country to participate in the "Alliance for Progress." The United States has insisted on these types of reforms as the indispensable first step by the countries of Latin America seeking U.S. aid, but has not taken into consideration the fact that as, in the case of Ecuador, Latin American governments that attempt to implement the required reforms are very apt to meet internal resistance which can result in their being ousted.

The revolution in Ecuador, which resulted in the ouster of President Velasco Ibarra, and the installation of his successor, was hailed by Fidel Castro as "an impressive victory over Yankee imperialism." The revolution in Ecuador was supported by one of the strongest and best financed Communist Parties in all of Latin America.

The present President of Ecuador assumed his position as a direct result of the aforementioned revolution and was not elected by the people of his country. Apparently, this qualified him to advise Washington how to handle Peru.

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LATIN AMERICA

(By Fred A. Orleans)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is a partial reprint of an article by Mr. Orleans published 1 year ago which would seem to indicate that we have made little progress in the past year.)

Our Government appears unable to establish effective contact with Latin America despite propaganda at home to the contrary and despite the many tours by top U.S. officials who, upon their return home, only reconfirm the severity of the problems the United States faces in the countries of the Americas.

In general, many leaders in Latin America look upon inter-American relations at this time with resentment, bitterness and disillusion. It is felt that relations between the United States and the other nations of the Americas have never been worse. There are frequent complaints of neglect and a feeling that the United States only gives attention to Latin America in times of need. There is frequent reference to the great interest the United States shows in the countries of southeast Asia halfway around the globe, compared to the relatively little interest shown in the countries of the Americas which are in our own backyard.

Our mounting problems in Latin America are a direct result of the policy we have pursued toward Cuba which has consisted of drift, go easy, and wait without giving any thought to the fact that Castro is not drifting, has no intention of going easy with us and he won't wait. Our inability to provide the countries of the Western Hemisphere with the firm leadership they need has left them drifting without direction in an ocean of communism. The United States has not been able to demonstrate that it can provide the vigorous leadership the times call for.

The people of the Americas do not understand why the United States should be continuously on the defensive, waiting for the Communists to act and then attempting to counteract them. They have looked to the United States and have expected from the United States leadership of our hemisphere. Many in Latin America feel that the United States is slowly but surely fading out as the dominant force in hemisphere relations.

Leaders of Latin American countries feel that those who are shaping the U.S.-Latin American policies are inexperienced, impractical theorists and that the United States is using amateurs to conduct its relations with Latin America when the best professionals available are clearly called for.

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Stock Market Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK E. MOSS**
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 24, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, it is not often that events march rapidly enough to belie an accusation in a few short months. However, this has happened in the case of the charges made earlier this year that the "Black Monday" downward plunge of the stock market was the result of a lack of confidence among businessmen in the Kennedy administration.

The falseness of this omit-business charge was proved yesterday when the stock market completed its climb back to its level of May 27, the date before the big drop. This recovery story, carried yesterday in the Washington Post, when combined with the recent Gallup poll showing that only about one out of eight people ever believed that the Kennedy administration is antibusiness, should emphatically lay to rest this unfortunate political canard. I ask unanimous consent that the AP story appearing in the Washington Post story be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOTORS LEAD VIGOROUS MARKET RECOVERY—GM FORECAST IS FACTOR

NEW YORK, August 22.—In a vigorous rally today, the stock market crossed an important milestone, wiping out all its losses since the "black Monday" of May 28.

Much ground still remained to be recaptured before the record heights of last December would be seen again, but in the eyes of Wall Street chartists an important psychological victory had been won for those who want higher prices.

In the midst of the session, the Dow industrials topped their May 31 recovery peak of 613.36, drawing in a host of new buyers. The average was up 6.90 to 615.54 at the close. This left it roughly midway between the 1962 closing low of 535.76 reached June 26 and the historic peak of 734.91 attained December 13, 1961.

The Associated Press 60-stock average rose 2.4 to 226.1 with industrials up 3.8, rails up 1.3, and utilities up .9, making its biggest gain since July 2 when it rose 3.7.

Motors paced the rally. Brokers credited a glowing 1963 forecast by General Motors for inspiring the advance. GM, on its way to record profits this year, forecast that 1963 would be just as good a year as 1962 for the auto industry, even though other companies have predicted a sales decrease. The GM production came as it staged a preview of its new car models.

Stock prices had an uncertain start but strengthened as the GM news came through. The list was at its highest level at the end when tickers ran late under a final wave of buying.

IBM was one of the volume leaders, rebounding above the important 400 level which has proved an upside barrier. It rose 16¼ to 400 as it generated enthusiasm on the way up.

Rayonier was the volume leader, thanks to a late block of 100,000 shares, in a sale of the stock arranged by a broker for a group of buyers. The stock was up 1¼ to 19½ on 176,100 shares.

Second most active was Studebaker, up ⅛ at 9¼ on 118,100 shares. Third was American Motors, touching a new high for the year of 17½ before closing with a net gain of ⅜ at 17⅞ on 71,800 shares.

Prices also advanced on the American Stock Exchange as volume swelled to 1.41 million shares from 1.05 million yesterday.

## The Franklin Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 20, 1962, Mr. J. G. Richard Heckscher, executive vice president of the Franklin Institute, of Philadelphia, testified before the Subcommittee on Military Operations of the House Committee on Government Operations. Much of his testimony was devoted to the accomplishments of the various laboratories of the institute in the areas of science and technology. The Franklin Institute has long been one of Philadelphia's finest educational and scientific organizations and has added much to the cultural activities and life of the city. I have included part of Mr. Heckscher's testimony for the information of the Members:

The Franklin Institute has a long and distinguished history. It was founded in 1824 for the purpose of the "promotion of the mechanic arts," to use the language of our charter. We interpret this charge today as encompassing the physical and engineering sciences.

The Franklin Institute is incorporated in accordance with a charter granted by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on March 30, 1824, and later revised through an act of the legislature approved on April 18, 1864. The institute is a membership society of over 8,000 members which functions as a scientific and educational organization for public service. It is a private organization, independent of any other. No part of the net earnings of the institute inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

In a moment I will outline very briefly the institute's tradition of scientific investigation, but first permit me to list the activities that we are currently pursuing to accomplish the objectives of our charter.

Today, our activities encompass—

A teaching museum of the physical sciences and technology, including a planetarium and a national memorial to Benjamin Franklin, with an annual attendance of about a half million persons.

A unique scientific and technical library, available to the public.

Programs of scientific lectures, seminars and demonstrations.

Dissemination of scientific information, through the 136-year-old Journal of the Franklin Institute, through papers prepared by our staff and published in other technical journals, and a variety of other means.

Regular programs of class instruction for students and adults.

Medal awards for notable achievements in science and technology.

Basic and applied research, and development.

During the years between 1829 and 1924 the institute undertook a great number of scientific investigations. These investigations, initiated either by the institute itself, or at the request of local, State or Federal Government, are in themselves a very clear reflection of the Nation's growing scientific and industrial maturity. It may be of interest to note that the expense they entailed were met by friends of the institute who wished to further the progress of industry and the public good.

I shall make no attempt to enumerate these studies. I cannot refrain, however, from mentioning what we believe to be the first Government-supported research in the United States, an institute study to uncover the causes of steam boiler explosions which were occurring with alarming frequency. The study, begun in 1830, soon attracted the interest of the Federal Government. As a result, the Congress appropriated $1,500 which served to defray the cost of experiments.

For nearly a century, the institute's activity in research and development was characterized by this committee-of-volunteers approach. As the First World War was drawing to a close, the institute realized its long deferred hope to have a permanent staff of research workers. In 1918, Henry W. Bartol, a prominent local industrialist, bequeathed a sum approximating $1 million for the establishment of a laboratory "for the conduct of research in the physical sciences and for the investigation of problems of a scientific nature arising in the industries."

Before the outbreak of World War II the Bartol Research Foundation devoted its energies to basic research on matters pertaining to atomic structure and cosmic radiation.

With the outbreak of hostilities, the work of the foundation underwent some modification, but the staff is today devoting its main efforts to studies of nuclear physics, studies of cosmic radiation, studies of solid state and physical electronics.

Headquarters of the Bartol Research Foundation are at Swarthmore, Pa. It also maintains research installations in the arctic and antarctic regions, and aboard ship. Its staff numbers 59, 45 of whom are scientists or technicians.

The foundation's research programs are supported from its endowed income, augmented by contracts and grants from the Federal Government. The foundation performs no work for industry or other profit-making organizations.

Because many of the foundation's Government contracts afford only nominal overhead costs, the cost of these research programs is of necessity shared by the foundation.

In addition to its research programs the foundation maintains an active program of scientific colloquia and seminars, active collaboration with physicists of other nations,

a program of postdoctoral fellowships, and an undergraduate research participation program.

After the establishment of the Bartol Research Foundation the institute's research activities were extended when it assumed trusteeship in 1935 of The Biochemical Research Foundation at Newark, Del. This foundation consists of a group of investigators who are actively engaged upon problems in the field of cancer research, enzymology, microbiology and immunology. It receives financial support from a philanthropist who desires to encourage research in this vital field.

An unprecedented development of the institute's research activities was evoked by the outbreak of the Second Warld War. Certain members of the museum technical staff were promptly engaged in the conduct of mechanical, optical, and electrical research for the purpose of improving weapons and instruments for the military.

The Army Ordnance Corps and the Office of Scientific Research and Development allotted to them tasks, and the small original staff was progressively increased as the work expanded in volume, diversity and complexity. These tasks related to the problems concerning airborne fire control and artillery design.

In 1945 the urgency of our research programs for both OSRD and OCO began to abate, and the institute undertook to organize a permanant laboratory facility which would enable the institute to play a larger role in science and engineering both for the Government and for industry.

The result was the establishment, in 1946, of the Franklin Institute Laboratories for Research and Development. With the staff that had earlier carried out our wartime military projects serving as a core, the laboratories began to develop its resources to meet the rapidly growing research and development requirements of Government agencies and industry.

At the outset, the laboratories' chief capabilities were those it brought to and developed during its first wartime projects: chemistry, physics, electrical engineering and mechanical engineering. In the early fifties, through judicious acceptance of research and development programs and careful acquisition of scientific personnel a strong and solid state physics and metallurgy research capability had grown up. Through the fifties, there was developed a competence in the study and analysis of complex operations (air traffic control is an example); in the study of man-machine systems, better known today as human factors engineering; in the practice of nuclear and areospace engineering, an outgrowh of our mechanical engineering experience.

Today, the laboratories is assisting in technical problems and research programs in chemistry, solid state physics, metallurgy, applied physics; in electrical, mechanical, and nuclear engineering; in operations analysis and research, aerospace sciences and in engineering psychology.

The Franklin Institute Laboratories does not engage in or seek what are known as hardware contracts. We have no production facilities, outside of the institute's modest shop facilities which are suited only to fabricating prototypes.

The laboratories also avoids conventional testing work, for the reason that this type of work adds little to our scientific competence.

It is not difficult to specify the type of work which the laboratories prefers, and consequently seeks. By far the most important qualification is the degree to which the project challenges the capability of our staff.

A very practical qualification is that it should be work for which we will receive adequate recompense, although we often have called upon our own resources to help carry out contracts and grants that do not carry full overhead, but that will measurably increase our competence in an important discipline.

Another important consideration is whether the project might enable us to publish to the scientific community any advance in knowledge. We encourage and help our staff to publish their findings in the technical literature, and to present papers at meetings of scientific societies.

During the period 1946 through 1961, the growth rate of the laboratories staff and facilities was modest. Funds were slight for self-sponsored research, or for purchasing expensive research apparatus. From a staff of 170 in its first year of operation, the laboratories had grown by mid-1962 to a total of 330, of whom 280 were scientific and technical people. The entire employee body of the institute numbered 642.

Prior to 1946, the institute's research equipment was furnished by the Government, specifically for the projects carried out under contract. Thereafter, as the staff and its range of interests and need for new equipment grew, the institute began to acquire with its own funds the sort of research apparatus that serves the basic and continuing interests and disciplines of the laboratories.

The office, laboratory, and service areas required by the laboratories have been provided by the institute both in the main building which houses our executive offices and public museum areas, and in buildings in the immediate neighborhood, acquiring these by lease as the need for new space became apparent. Two years ago, plans were set afoot that will result in 1964 in a new building, to be leased under a long-term arrangement by the institute, with about 120,000 square feet of space.

The Franklin Institute laboratories has been by many standards a small organization, and yet it has gained substantial recognition in many different fields. This is the consequence of our having highly qualified people representing many disciplines, and willing and able to combine their skills to an unusual degree. Obviously, not all of our projects need this multidisciplinary capability, but many do, and their number increases each year.

Very early in the career of the laboratories, we foresaw that the nature and variety of contract research services required a clear-cut policy that would help our staff avoid conflict-of-interest situations. We thus established safeguards against such situations, by requiring close management scrutiny of any consulting assignment offered to our staff.

Consultants to our staff are required to reveal any possible conflict of interest.

Last month, at the Navy's request the Franklin Institute Laboratories assumed responsibility for the management, technical direction, and support of certain of the Navy's operations research activities.

Under a contract with the Office of Naval Research, the institute on July 1, 1962, subsumed several of the Navy's longstanding operations research groups, principally the Operations Evaluation Group, formerly under contract with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Institute for Naval Studies, formerly a division of the Institute for Defense Analyses.

The result is a new entity, the Center of Naval Analyses, with a total staff of about 250, operating as a division of the Franklin Institute Laboratories. The center will not affect the operation or staff of the existing laboratories' divisions but—and this is most important—the CNA staff will have access to the laboratories' competence in basic and interdisciplinary studies.

Under Franklin leadership, the center performs analyses of immediate and long-range naval warfare problems, operational and logistical. It serves the fleet through operations research and by interpreting advances in science and technology in terms of naval hardware, weapons systems, long-range logistics, and long-range strategic planning.

The growth of laboratories' business activity can be inferred from what I have said earlier about staff and facilities growth. In the laboratories' first year of operation, 1946, the value of contracts received was less than $1 million. The value of contracts received in 1961 was slightly over $4 million.

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## Basic Ideas of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 24, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, it was my good fortune to have been a guest Wednesday, August 22, in Chicago at a dinner given by the Order of Ahepa, at which our colleague, the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] was the principal speaker. His remarks were so fundamentally American, and his address so replete with basic ideas of government, that, in my opinion, it should be made available for all to read.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator GOLDWATER's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT

(Text of a speech by U.S. Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, or Arizona, before the Order of AHEPA banquet, Wednesday, August 22, 1962, Chicago, Ill.)

It is a great honor and a great privilege to be here today—to have the opportunity to address you Americans of Greek ancestry. There is no other group in all this country which stands in a closer or more vital relationship with the basic traditions of Western civilization. For it was the ancient Greeks who described for the first time the conditions necessary for political freedom. It was your ancestors—you—sitting here in this room today—who created the idea of a mixed constitution, the concept of checks and balances which lies at the very heart of our American system of government.

A conservative is a man who believes we have something worth conserving. A conservative knows that we were not born yesterday. A conservative knows that the wisdom of the ages is not something to throw overboard because some young college gradnate has just had another bright idea.

You, here in this room, are true conservatives. You whose ancestors developed a level of civilization which even now many of us are scarcely able to understand and appreciate. You know the meaning of the word conservative, because the great part of our civilization, and the best of it, exists today only because you and others have conserved the magnificent cultural heritage of Greece. As one who is primarily interested in the political life of our Nation, I feel very strongly the debt we owe you, especially for the basic politicial ideas that come to us from the Greek tradition.

Very properly we pay homage to the Americans who have been called the Founding Fathers of our country. But they could

not have thought as they did, they could not have drawn this blueprint for American Government had it not been for your great ancestor Plato, or even more for another incomparable thinker of ancient Greece—Aristotle.

These men—Plato and Aristotle—are truly Founding Fathers of America, in a very real sense. Theirs were the ideas, handed down from ancient Greece, which lie at the heart of the American concept of freedom.

It was your forefathers who pioneered the idea of freedom. It was your forefathers who, 2,500 years ago, built the new frontier against barbarism, and against despotism.

It was your forefathers who literally created the very idea of freedom today as we know it. And the creation of this idea was a kind of miracle.

We have to remember that the ancient Greeks lived in a world which never had known, in all its history, a concept of freedom like the idea they brought into the world. It was an entirely new idea, a new way of life. There was no tradition of freedom for them to look back to. They had to create the idea, as it were, out of nothing.

And they created there a new frontier—a frontier between free men, on one side, and, on the other side, men who live in constant fear of their government, whose whole lives are subject to the whim of despots. In all history since then there has continued to be only one real frontier, the frontier of freedom beyond which lies man, helpless before the overwhelming power of government.

How did those astonishing ancestors of yours create this great liberating concept of man? Not only was there no tradition of freedom to teach them this way of life, this concept of man, but they stood near rich and immensely powerful nations whose whole outlook was hostile to the idea of freedom. Egypt at that time had several thousands of years of history as a rich and powerful nation, and the tyranny of the Pharaohs was cruel and absolute. Even the terrible slave labor camps of Soviet Russia are hardly worse than were the enormous gangs of slaves—tens of thousands in number—who were driven to death building the enormous pyramids to satisfy the whims of the Egyptian Pharaohs. These were the neighbors of the Greeks, a hundred times as wealthy and a hundred times more powerful than the Greeks.

And there were the Persians of that day—a powerful and rich empire ruled by cruel and arbitrary despots. As you know so well, the Persian kings sent a huge army to conquer the Greeks. Most of the army was composed of well-equipped slaves, who were sometimes driven into battle by whips in the hands of the Persian officers.

All this array of slave power failed. Poor as they were, few in number as they were, the Greeks had one precious weapon the Persians lacked. They were freemen with a fierce sense of independence, a characteristic which Greeks have never lost. This is the greatest gift of Greece to Western civilization: The concept of a man as a free citizen.

The whole idea of politics as a subject which could be studied is a Greek invention. No one ever heard of political science before Plato and Aristotle, and no man since has spoken more profoundly on the problems of politics.

It is to the concept of the free citizen that we owe the possibility of all the other achievements of the Greeks. Now politics I know something about. Now I am not a scholar in the field of Greek ideas, yet who is there who does not have some grasp of the breadth and significance of our debt to Greece?

Every schoolboy knows something of this debt. Yet, sometimes reformers with ideas they believe are new, or scientists in love with some new scientific development are tempted to forget the source of almost all the ideas.

We are often tempted to think of our civilization as having hit peaks of development unheard of in the past. The atom seems like something new. How many remember that the very word "atom" is a Greek word and that the idea of the world as being constructed basically of atoms was originated by a Greek—Democritus, by name—several thousand years ago.

It was this concept of the atom combined with modern mathematics which created this new atomic age we live in. But the very word "mathematics" is also a Greek word, and most of the basic mathematics we now have was originated and thought through 2,000 years ago by Greeks.

"Geometry" is another Greek word. Who can think of basic mathematics without following in the footsteps of Euclid?

In a word, the really hard basic thinking which created the possibility of the modern world of atomic physics was done by the Greeks long ago. We moderns have only taken a few steps beyond the giant strides of those men. Our whole world of technology is unthinkable, is clearly impossible without the astonishing creative thinking of the Greeks. These powerful rockets that soar into space, all the complicated machinery of modern living are only rather ingenious developments flowing from the astounding intellectual creations of Greece. Without Greece, they would not exist.

What about philosophy—except for religion, the only serious and profound attempt to penetrate and explain the meaning of human existence? Again, the word "philosophy" is a Greek word. As you know, the word means love of wisdom. Sometime ago I was reading on an airplane—that's where I get most of my reading done—and I was reading some comments by Professor Whitehead, whom many have called the most distinguished modern philosopher. Whitehead's comment that stayed in my mind was this: "All modern philosophy is only a series of footnotes to Plato."

Now some of our modern thinkers would have us believe their ideas are very original, very novel. These people are, to put it very simply, ignorant of history. They don't know that many of their notions are nothing more than pale and distorted reflections of past ideas, many of which were discussed as trivial or unsound by the giants of the past.

The very writing of history itself—as we know it today—was an invention of the Greeks. Herodotus and Thucydides were as you all know so well the first great historians. Even today Thucydides stands as a giant among modern writers of history.

Now what are we to say about a nation like the Greeks who create a great cultural innovation like the writing of history, and who, almost simultaneous with the first efforts in the field, produce histories of such astounding excellence that we are still stumbling behind them 2,000 years later. What histories are being written today that we dare compare with Thucydides for sheer dramatic power, such a devotion to truth, such a determined objectivity. Thucydides wrote history on a broad canvas with a generosity of spirit and a grandeur of vision which is almost inconceivable in our own age.

Anyone suffering from the illusion that ours is a great age and that our modern ideas constitute the last step in progress could regain some objectivity and a proper sense of humility by studying Thucydides, one of the great Greeks.

It would be possible to go on far more time than I have today, reviewing the magnitude, the astonishing creations of the Greeks. Who is not acquainted with the greatness of Greek architecture, of Greek art? Has ever a more distinguished, a more beautiful or a more appropriate building been conceived than the Parthenon?

Almost all the important buildings in Washington are built in the Greek style. What beauty there is in the Capitol building in Washington, and the White House—the dignity and serenity, the essential seriousness, the sense of order—these characteristics are Greek, and Greek alone. They represent the great tradition of Western civilization, the heart and core of the ideals that motivate us, the atmosphere of rationality which remains even in the midst of temporary disorder. These ideals, this tradition, this rationality remain so powerful that they can survive even the constant barrage of reforms, the small revolutions proposed by small minds, the disorder promoted by modern day reformers who keep proposing as "bold" new concepts many of the same notions which were long ago consigned to the trash barrel of history.

When I stand and gaze at the great Parthenon up there against the sky, on the escarpment overlooking Athens I know what the word "bold" means. To understand what has happened to us, you need to do no more than study the use of the term "bold" in the hands of mediocre modern reformers. No notion is now so trivial that a modern reformer will not describe it as a "bold new idea" or a "bold new plan." Among pygmies even the smallest things look big. Among those who think history began yesterday, everything is new.

To get a perspective on the prevailing style of today nothing is more salutary than to study the art of the Greeks. It is only necessary to place a great sculpture from the high period of Greek achievement against almost any modern sculpture. The humanity of the Greek is almost inevitably in sharp contrast with the inhuman modern concept. The Greek serenity, the Greek balance and repose, the Greek rationality, the inherent sense of human dignity stands sharply against the confusion and distortion, the tangled emotions, the cult of the ugly and commonplace which is so often characteristic of modern art.

And the theater. We could never leave a discussion of the Greek tradition without a view of the grandeur and magnificence of the Greek theater. Here, again, we are in the presence of a great invention of the Greek imagination.

In the Greek theater the whole community gathered to view a spectacle of the highest significance. In the great tragedies, the Greeks beheld a spectacle in which the most profound human emotions were plumbed and all against a cosmic background that strangely did not dwarf the actors but caused them instead to rise to heroic levels which would be inconceivable on the modern stage. There was an air of greatness about the Greek theater which not only represented in truth the Greek view of man and the universe but reflected back upon the audience and taught them that greatness was possible even in the face of inevitable evil, even in the face of a monstrous and absolutely terrifying fate. The Greek theater was made by men who drew the breath of greatness; the Greek theater was created by men who knew greatness and who taught men how it was to be great. Even their comedies shared in this sense of greatness. In the midst of even the wildest and most whimsical comedy there remained that breath of greatness and of freedom.

It is no surprise that the greatest writer of Greek comedy—Aristophanes—was also profoundly conservative.

I wonder what he would have said about the humorless and self-righteous professional reformers of today? I wonder what he would have said about their cult of the common or mediocre man?

Unless there is a belief in the potential greatness of man, there can no longer be

tragedy; there can be only melodrama. When man becomes trivial, tragedy becomes ludicrous. What is more, comedy also becomes a trifling thing—at best witty and clever, never carrying with it hints of the grandeur and depth of the tragic vision which must serve as the necessary vital contrast for truly great comedy.

I do not believe, in our present social state, dominated as it is by a trivial conception of man—dominated as it is by superficial reformers who expect to save and to protect and to remake man through government action—I do not believe that either great tragedy or great comedy is possible in such an environment.

Your ancestors once showed us what man could be. Your ancestors in their concept of the theater gave us a model of greatness against which to measure the theater, for all time.

And what of the modern theater?

Have you looked at your TV set lately?

What wallowing in self-pity. What vast and contorted expressions of emotion over trifling problems. What meaningless violence and meaningless sex.

Comedy has become "wisecracks." Very clever, sometimes even very witty. But the background of greatness is not there, so the savor, the depth of contrast, is gone. The surprise, the fast switch, the shock have taken its place.

Your ancestors would look upon us with pity. To them, we would be truly barbarians.

We who call ourselves conservatives have only the most profound respect for this great Greek tradition, whether it be in the art of government, or in science or mathematics, whether in architecture or sculpture, or in philosophy, or in history, or in the art of the theater. I have no time to talk of the magnificence of Greek poetry, or the handicrafts, or of the creation of the great sciences of botany and zoology. All these you know so well.

We conservatives do not believe that history began yesterday. We do not believe that anything over 20 years old is necessarily "horse and buggy," and ought therefore to be discarded. We conservatives do not believe that something is good just because some think it is new, or that it is obsolete just because some say it is old.

We believe that what wisdom we may have is the product of the thought and work of many, many generations. If we stand high at all, we gain this height, we believe, because we stand on the shoulders of past generations.

We ask only that the wisdom of the past be brought to bear also on today's problems. We ask only that reformers read some history, and that they have a decent respect for our forefathers and our great traditions.

We conservatives ask for an end to the cynical, cocksure attitudes of reformers who describe any ideas inherited from the past as "horse and buggy."

In a word, we conservatives believe there is something great and something valuable to be conserved from the past. We do not believe we were born yesterday.

We conservatives believe that Americans of Greek ancestry have a special character. They are bearers of a special trust.

All of us who live in the Western World owe a profound, immeasurable debt to your forefathers. But you, the direct descendants of the men who created so much of the basis of our whole civilization—you have in your very blood, in the very fiber of your brains and nervous systems, the germ of that greatness.

The heroic stand of modern Greeks against the Nazis and then against the Communists showed the world that the spirit of ancient Greece still lives today in the Greeks of modern times.

You are conservatives. You have conserved from your ancestors that tradition of fierce independence—that concept of the greatness of man—which we conservatives of the modern world treasure as a priceless possession.

I am a conservative, and I feel at home here.

It has been a great honor for me to be here with you, the sons and daughters of the magnificent Greek tradition: The tradition which is now an essential and central element in the America which is also yours and mine.

## New York Prayer Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 24, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from my constituent, Mrs. Floyd Gibson, of Covington, Va., to Mr. Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court, concerning the opinion he wrote in the New York prayer case of Engle against Vitale.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COVINGTON, VA.,
*June 26, 1962.*

JUSTICE BLACK,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I have been a schoolteacher in rural Virginia for many years. I have seen all kinds of "isms" come and go. I never could have lived through the hectic days successfully if the children and I had not met together with our Father at the beginning of each workday to thank Him for His care and to ask Him to bless the day and help us make it a good one.

As a result of such beginnings, the days went more smoothly and the children seemed happy, too. Over and over it happened that if we had a rough day it would be found that for some reason we would have had to omit the morning prayer.

There is no greater beauty to be found in the English language than is to be found in the majestic words of the Bible. First Corinthians, chapter 13 is a masterpiece that has never been matched by any writer since St. Paul was inspired to record those words for us. Repeatedly I have seen the great words of John 14 bring a changed expression to a troubled little face. Small shoulders might be drooping when those words were repeated just before heads went down on desks for a moment of silent prayer which was to be closed by all the class praying the prayer that was given to us by our Lord. When the quiet moments were ended, and faces were lifted, hope and cheerfulness were written where the troubled expression had rested.

I tell you, sir, I have had the very words "get out your Testaments" bring quietness into a whispering, moving class during the first moments after the bell, while I was checking the roll, taking up the milk money, the cafeteria money, the ice cream money, and any other money that always takes time of the elementary teacher on every weekday morning in our schools. Just holding a well-worn Testament in his hands, or loafing through its pages, seemed to bring serenity and stillness to the child. A schoolchild today needs such moments to himself ahead of the busy hours that lie ahead.

I have never felt resentful because of the ruling on segregation. I know that the public school teacher will have to bear the brunt of the burden of adjustment when it comes to all of us. I have felt that it is just another challenge to us to do our best, always keeping in mind that it is the children, only, who matter.

Immortal souls are more important than all the politics of administrations and governments. Schools have to clothe many children. Schools have to give vitamin pills and do anything else for the children that the parents fail to do. At least that is the way it seems to me. Then, on the side, the schools even see to it that an education is given to meet each childs' individual differences insofar as is possible in this day of heavy loads and many problems, while an ever-increasing number of parents spend textbook money on whisky. Isn't soul salvation more important than these other service?

What of the child who never sees the inside of a church? Would the Jews and Unitarians and the others like them have said anything if they had known of the children of their faiths who were being deprived of the right to offer a simple prayer acknowledging the greatest of God who created our beautiful world, and then sets us in it to live and enjoy the life that He gave to us? It seems to me to be a simple matter of good manners, if nothing else, to send up a sincere "Thank you" as we hurry through our day.

I believe that God can, and will, work out a solution for us so that we can safely emerge from this muddle of world problems and politics into which we, small, unassuming people, have been shoved. The Supreme Court that we trusted to keep us and our ideals safe, has today added to the muddle and the noise and confusion about us. You men charged with this great responsibility, have done what you could to make it easier for our youth of the last half of this 20th century to grow into godless adults by tying the hands of the public school teacher who wanted to do something about this condition of our times. You, and we, may have to live under a government run by these children. Do you think you will like that living?

Most sincerely,

MRS. FLOYD GIBSON.

## Guardsmen Settling Back Into Useful Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 24, 1962*

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, last October during the crisis in Berlin the President called up some 150,000 members of the National Guard and Reserves. Our citizen-soldiers responded quickly and convincingly to that call. The Congress supported the call. The American people supported it, with vigor and determination.

It was that solid response by the American people that was heard all the way to the Kremlin, and it was that strong position by the American people which kept Khrushchev in hand when the Berlin situation was at a dangerous moment in history.

Now, most of those men who put on the uniform have returned to their ci-

vilian jobs, to their homes and loved ones, to their businesses and professions.

We congratulate them for a job well done, and we welcome them home again.

I commend to the Senate an editorial from the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger, August 12, 1962, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger, Aug. 12, 1962]

GUARDSMEN SETTLING BACK INTO USEFUL WORK IN OUR COMMUNITY

All over Mississippi, National Guardsmen and Army reservist troops, our citizen-soldiers, are taking off the uniform and settling back into useful lines of work in their communities.

A series of "welcome home" parties have been held in many sections of the State, letting the young men know that their sacrifices while in extended service of the Nation, are recognized and appreciated.

Wtihout exception, the units which went out from Mississippi received training that advanced their readiness in case of any emergency. They return home amid hopes that though the cold war continues, emergencies will have a tendency to dimish.

At the Jackson party for the 114th Military Police Company and the 134th Surgical Company, speakers made mention of these hopes that the cold war can be expected to continue, but with reduced threat at least for the time being. This is said even though the Russians are completely unpredictable.

Several reasons project themselves as basis of hope. One is that agricultural production and industrial achievements in Russia are still so far short of what a nation would need to fight a major war outside its borders, that the Soviets will be circumspect in dealings that carry real danger of major conflict. They are certain to continue to provoke incidents in scattered places, but the chances of their initiating a real global conflict are seen as less than likely.

A second reason for Russian reluctance to create a catrastrophic event is seen in the development of the European Community, where progress has been so marked in recent years. If the Common Market advances as expected and as it is trending today, a unified political community could well spring up that would act as a real check on Red expansion toward the West.

Here in Jackson, we are glad to have the officers and men back home. Dr. David Wilson commanding the 134th Surgical Hospital, will resume his place at the head of the university medical center hospital. Many of his officers and men will likewise go right back to their duties just as before they left 10 months ago for Fort Polk, Va.

Incidentally, this unit is distinguished by having the first women in its table of organization in a Mississippi National Guard unit. Miss Annie Tucker of Jackson went into the hospital unit in 1957 as a captain in the Army Nurses Corps. Now Major Tucker, she was the first woman inducted into active Federal services as a member of the Mississippi Guard.

The 114th Military Police Company, a sharp and well-drilled outfit, commanded by Capt. James Robert Ellington, brought back from Fort Gordon, Ga., a crew of vigorous, able young men whose presence will again be welcome in the community. Captain Ellington himself resumes his duties as a civilian aid to the U.S. property and disbursing officer in Jackson.

The men of these units have been commended for the job they did in answering the call in a national emergency. They have been welcomed home, both officially and unofficially. They now are called to community service in the solving om many homefront problems. We are certain their response will be prompt and effective.

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## Remarks by William G. Simpson at Swearing-in Ceremony as SBA Deputy Administrator for Management and Research Assistance, 10 a.m., Tuesday, August 14, 1962, Washington, D.C.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, having previously extended my remarks on August 20, page A6313 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix, relative to this subject—I am honored to call to the attention of the House that after his induction as Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration for Management and Research Assistance on Tuesday, August 14, 1962, Mr. William G. Simpson in response to the encomiums paid to him as to his spectacular career of accomplishments and abilities and assumed duties in this field by Administrator John E. Horne, responded as follows:

Honorable Senators, Congressmen, Administrator John Horne, fellow SBA members, relatives and friends.

Greetings, and a sincere expression of my gratitude to each of you for attending this ceremony today. Some of you have traveled a thousand miles or more to be here, and I appreciate this demonstration of your friendship.

The reception being given me today differs markedly from the first one I received in Washington. This prior reception occurred in 1946 immediately after I had been graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. I was assigned to the Pentagon. You can readily imagine the reception that was accorded by the Pentagon to a new second lieutenant at that time.

It is with great pleasure and honor that I assume the position of Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration for Management and Research Assistance. I have devoted all of my adult business life to the serving of small business. Those of you who have known me or my family well in Illinois can confirm the observation that all of my relatives for over three generations have been active either in the professions or in small businesses. So, it is with this deep-rooted family background in small business coupled with a sympathetic understanding of the small businessman and his problems, born of my own direct experience, that I now take up the responsibilities of the office to which I have been sworn today.

For over a century and a half, small business has been for many Americans a way of life, consistent with the best traditions of freedom, independence, and individual initiative. I believe it is true that as long as individuals can aspire to entrepreneurship, as long as they can order their economic lives according to their own ambitions and abilities, and as long as people in this country can acquire equities in businesses built up through their own efforts, then, as long as these conditions obtain, personal freedom in all of its broad aspects will be well supported.

I maintain that if you give a man economic freedom and choice, then you have also progressed significantly in guaranteeing to him the other moral and social freedoms that all of us as Americans cherish. Each year approximately 450,000 individual Americans take advantage of this basic economic freedom of choice. I say that this particular freedom is well worth preserving.

We can cite many favorable aspects of small business, while at the same time recognizing that, in our modern mass industrial society, the small business is no longer the dominant force in our economic life that it was 75 years ago.

Yet there are approximately 4,500,000 small businesses in our country and they are a significant and vibrant force. They employ large numbers of our people; they account for countless new products and innovations; and in certain industries they have inherent advantages over larger businesses with greater assets and manpower.

As small business concentrates on the phases of activity in which it can serve and compete best, it will continue to grow and prosper. It is in this role of its own enlightened self-interest, keeping in tune with the times, that small business as an American institution deserves to survive and prosper. For these reasons, it merits our loyal assistance.

Because of the complexities of our industrialized economic society, I believe that government has the right and duty to create the economic and social environment which encourages the formation of new businesses, spurs their growth and assists in their prosperity. Small business needs Government encouragement. It also needs proper amounts of Government's direct and indirect support in order to survive and grow. But in providing such encouragement and support, Government does not seek to control or dominate. Such a role would impede progress rather than accelerate it. A person in good faith may judge that a particular Government action tends to veer too strongly toward control or regimentation. But this is a question of judgment, and the objective of Government's participation remains the same—to help or to regulate but not to dominate.

The major programs now being conducted by the Small Business Administration, exemplify, in my opinion, the proper role of Government encouragement and support of business. These include the provision of financial loan assistance, management counseling, promotion of business education and research and helping to foster a favorable overall business climate.

I would like at this time to pay tribute to the farsighted legislators who constituted the SBA as an independent agency of the executive department. I also wish to acknowledge the general debt and gratitude which we owe to the men and women of the SBA who are devoting their careers to furthering the legitimate interests of small business in this country.

In closing, may I say that it is with these basic beliefs in the enlightened role of small business in our country and in Government's proper relation to it, that I now enter upon my new assignment.

It is also upon these same beliefs that I solicit your moral support and help in the months and years to come.

We can only but observe from William G. Simpson's brief but choice remarks, that the Small Business Administration has inducted into its ranks a man who understands its problems and is dedicated to the purposes of its existence in Government. He has our confidence and support.

## Philadelphia Association for Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, in 1932 the Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia was founded to assist in the control of antisocial behavior through programs of an educational, social and recreational nature, in cooperation with other appropriate agencies. Over the years the association developed a number of programs and expanded its activities, while concentrating its efforts in area-youth-work.

In 1960 gang youth violence flamed from south to north to west Philadelphia, resulting in deaths, severe injuries and increasingly dangerous interracial tensions. The Crime Prevention Association decided that it was necessary to attempt a new approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency. The subtitle "Philadelphia Association for Youth" was adopted and the new organization appealed to trusts, foundations and the Philadelphia City Council for funds to meet this situation. Late in 1960, through the efforts of Hon. Paul D'Ortona, now president of Philadelphia City Council, an appropriation of $40,000 was secured to aid the association's area-youth-work program in 1961. Additional funds were obtained from a foundation grant, private contributions and the United Fund. The newly formed Philadelphia Association for Youth was now financially prepared to approach the problem of juvenile delinquency control.

A pilot project was initiated under the direction of Stephan H. Kneisel, executive director of the Crime Prevention Association. The 17th police district, an area with a history of street fighting among youth groups and frequent interracial hostilities, was chosen as the site for the project. Prior to 1961, the 17th district held top position for recorded tension and youth conflict situations. The district embraces about 6½ square miles and about 2,500 boys between the ages of 14 and 17 and over 13,000 school-age youngsters.

It was decided that, except for a minimum clerical staff, the new funds were to be used to put as many workers on the street as possible in areas of greatest need. By January 1961 two full-time and four part-time workers had been employed. The staff was gradually enlarged until it comprised 25 full- or part-time workers, 20 of whom were employed working directly with the youth of the area. Extensive cooperation was obtained from the board of education, which made three strategically located school gyms available for recreational programs; the Philadelphia Department of Recreation assigned a youth worker of its own to one of the recreational facilities in the area; the juvenile aid division of the police department provided day-to-day communication between the association's area workers and the police officers assigned to the 17th district; and the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations supplied additional personnel and coordination functions. The support of the residents and businessmen of the area was also enlisted. Several businessmen donated vacant apartments or store basements to be used as clubhouses and residents aided in the formation of Boy and Girl Scout troops as well as supplying much-needed adult leadership and supervision.

It is difficult to evaluate the intangible improvements brought about by the Philadelphia Youth Association's activities in the 17th police district. The overall improvement of the living conditions, property values, and social climate of the area cannot be taken lightly. However, there is more tangible evidence of improvement after only 12 months of operation. Homicides due to youth group violence numbered 3 in 1960, while there were none in 1961 in the 17th district; major group conflicts were reduced from 34 to 12 and major intergroup incidents from 38 to 21. Both the youth and racial conflicts in 1961, as opposed to those in 1960, were sporadic and seemingly unrelated. The overall operations of the Philadelphia Association for Youth in 1961 reached 19,937 boys and girls, including 3,325 registered members.

What of the future? The youth association has already begun expanded operations for 1962, including an increased grant from the city council. H. Hunter Holt, Jr., president of the Crime Prevention Association, stated in the 1961 annual report: "This has been a glorious, hectic, exhausting year of progress, not for the association but for Philadelphia. If it has the vision and will, Philadelphia can become the first major city in the world to have redirected the energies and potentialities of its most troublesome youth groups into constructive channels."

I congratulate the Philadelphia Association for Youth for its efforts in 1961 and for the progress it has made toward solution of Philadelphia's juvenile problem.

## Senator Thomas J. Dodd Delivers Inspiring Address at Congressional Breakfast Meeting of Religious Heritage of America, Inc., Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 24, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the 12th annual Washington pilgrimage sponsored by Religious Heritage of America, Inc., is being held in this city from August 22 to 25, 1962.

Religious Heritage of America is a nationwide, nonsectarian association of citizens who believe that faith in God is the foundation on which this Nation was built, and that our future depends on maintaining our position as a "nation under God."

Each year this organization holds a pilgrimage to Washington, D.C., encouraging personal meetings between members and governmental leaders. Through such close contact, Religious Heritage of America, Inc., promotes the practice of religious principles in Government.

It was my privilege this morning to attend the congressional breakfast portion of the pilgrimage. Presiding at this gathering of legislators, churchmen, and interested citizens was Senator JACK MILLER, of Iowa. The invocation was offered by the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, and "the Lord's Prayer" was sung by Miss Lee Meredith soprano soloist at the Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.

Dan Fenn, staff assistant to President John F. Kennedy, conveyed the greetings of the Chief Executive and then presented awards of appreciation to T. Sutton Jett, Regional Director of the National Capital Parks, and to Ronald F. Lee, Director, Fifth District, National Park Service.

In directing the program, Senator MILLER made reference that these meetings had in the past been chaired by the late Senator Francis Case of South Dakota, and that prior to his death Senator Case had hoped to introduce a joint resolution setting aside one day during the year to be known as Religious Heritage Day. Senator MILLER stated that the Sunday immediately before Thanksgiving has been proposed, and that the matter was now being studied by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY of Wisconsin.

Principal speakers at the congressional breakfast were Representative FRED SCHWENGEL of Iowa, whose subject was "U.S. Capitol, Symbol of This Nation Under God"; and Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut.

Senator DODD commented meaningfully on "The Spiritual Basis of our American Democracy", and stressed the need to remain cognizant of our traditions of freedom, equality, and democracy, all evolved through deep adherence to spiritual ideals.

Mr. President, I am pleased to announce that Ella F. Harllee has been selected as Churchwoman of the Year by Religious Heritage of America, Inc. Miss Harllee, president and director of the Educational and Religious Radio and Television Association, has been responsible for more than 12,000 religious radio and television broadcasts in the Washington area during the past 10 years, and has contributed much to the spiritual betterment of our Nation's Capital.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator DODD's remarks, and the Washington Post and Times Herald article concerning the selection of Ella F. Harllee as Churchwoman of the Year be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD, AT THE RELIGIOUS HERITAGE OF AMERICA CONGRESSIONAL BREAKFAST, NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C., FRIDAY, AUGUST 24, 1962

It is a pleasure and an honor for me to participate in this congressional breakfast sponsored by the Religious Heritage of America.

The subject assigned to me this morning is "The Spiritual Basis of Our American Democracy." This is a very large order for me, and one which I doubt I can properly fill.

In trying to prepare for it, I thought back to the origins of our democracy and to that remarkable group of men who brought into being upon this continent a free society.

On the beautiful grounds of Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va., is the tomb of one of those men, Thomas Jefferson. On that tomb is an inscription which Jefferson himself prepared, according to a custom of the time.

As he reflected, during his last years, on the achievements of his life and tried to summarize in a single sentence the things for which he wished to be remembered, many thoughts must have come into his mind.

He had played an important part in the decision of the Thirteen Colonies to fight for their independence. He was our first American Secretary of State, our second Vice President and our third President.

At a single stroke, and without a drop of blood, he achieved through the Louisiana Purchase a doubling of the size of our country. He was the founder of one of our political parties and the father of policies which have shaped American history down through the decades.

And, yet, he cited none of these things for the remembrance of his countrymen. The inscription that he wrote was this:

"Author of the Declaration of Independence; of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom; and the father of the University of Virginia."

In that simple inscription, I think, can be found the elements which form the spiritual basis of our democracy: that in the eyes of the law, all men should be equal and should enjoy the inalienable rights with which they have been endowed by their Creator; that men should be free and that their freedom to accept or reject should extend even to the most sacred and fundamental of man's beliefs; and that the purpose of society is not only to guarantee these freedoms and to protect these rights but also to educate, to elevate each citizen to the fullest realization of his capacities and talents in order that he might make the wisest use of freedom, for himself and for society.

These were the basic fundamentals of the ideal society to which Jefferson devoted his life. But these ideals did not appear full blown in the 18th century in the writings of the founders of our country and their contemporaries around the world.

Whence comes the dignity of man, a phrase so glibly used these days by writers and speakers?

Why ought man to be free, to be educated, to be loved, to be treated justly?

Our spiritual heritage gives the answer: Because he is a child of God, with a noble destiny. And as such he has inalienable rights, he has infinite possibilities. The ideal society is that society best formed to enable individual men to achieve those infinite possibilities. And the only form of government which, in the long run, has proved itself to be in harmony with these goals is that which we loosely call democracy.

We cannot appreciate the extent to which these ideas have transformed the Western World unless we look back for a moment at the kind of society that existed, at the philosophy that prevailed, in the mighty civilizations of antiquity.

Historians tell us that in the predominate thought of archaic times, human life was a melancholy and futile thing, without meaning and without purpose. The earth itself was considered hostile to man, and life upon it, whether it be the life of vegetables, animals, human beings or civilizations, consisted merely of endless cycles of birth, growth, decay, and death.

In the despair-ridden thought of that day, everything eventually returned to its original state and its journey signified nothing.

The gods were merely manifestations of various aspects of nature. Man was thought to be in complete bondage to an unchangeable fate. Every aspect of his life was predetermined by fate and beyond his power to change.

We know that society and its institutions reflect our ideas about God and man, and the governments of that time were therefore reflections of these ancient concepts.

Since man had no significance, since his life consisted only of a preordained role, his part in life was only to conform. His only conceivable duty was to fill his little slot in the social order, to perform his inevitable tasks, and to suffer his inexorable fate.

There was in this order of things no room for freedom, no room for individual choice, no room for individual responsibility, no room even for the quest for individual goodness.

Therefore, political order in the ancient world was an order of ruthless despotism, of rigid and permanent class structure, of complete domination by the state of every aspects of human life, of the unspeakable cruelty and contempt for human life that characterize all government, ancient or modern, which is not elevated by moral law.

And worst of all, this cruel, purposeless world would never change.

The Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, one of the most enlightened of pagan rulers, illustrated this changeless fatalism when he said that every man of normal intelligence who had attained the age of 40 had seen everything that had ever happened in the world and everything that would ever happen.

It is in this contrast between the philosophy of the ancient world and the philisophy of our free world that we can find the spiritual basis of democracy.

Democracy could not gain a foothold under the prevailing thought of antiquity.

Democracy cannot exist without recognition of individual worth; without a concept of personal responsibility; without respect for the rights of others; without hope for the future; without the confidence that man by his own deeds can alter the course of events and reshape the world around him.

Before democracy could have meaning, there had to be a complete transformation in man's concept of his own nature and of his purpose and role in life. It was the evolution of Judaic-Christian thought which brought about this transformation.

To the Jews and Christians there were no nature gods that were mere reflections of the phenomena of nature, such as the seas and the sun, the stars, and the moon.

Ther was one God, the Creator and sustainer of the entire universe. The earth was inherently good because it was created by that God, and man was significant because he was created for a divine purpose. Life on earth therefore had meaning.

The god of the Jews and Christians was a personal God, profoundly concerned with the individual fate of men. Man was His coworker in building a new order on earth. The spark of divinity was in him. He had a vocation as a son of God. As such, he had an inherent dignity.

There was a moral law governing the operations of men. They were not helpless victims of fate. They were free agents. They were free either to accept the divine law and build a good and humane society or to reject it and build an evil and inhumane society.

The new philosophy flatly rejected the archaic thinking that the essence of life was blind and meaningless repetition. History had significance. Purposeful progress in carrying out the divine plan was the law of life. And so, in place of the ancient belief that the earth was changeless and static, the great Hebrew and Christian prophets and scholars offered visions of an order of justice and righteousness which have made a profound impact on the thinking of mankind ever since.

We need not be surprised that political democracy came very late in the development of our Judaic-Christian civilization, for democracy is but a political means to achieving an end, and first the end had to be established and accepted.

Slowly, under the impact of Judaic-Christian teachings, man's ideas about himself changed.

Slowly, the new concepts of the nature of man gained victory over the old.

Slowly, as the centuries passed, the individual human being, his personal destiny, his intrinsic worth, his infinite possibilities moved toward the center of the stage. And as this concept of intrinsic individual worth grew, there grew with it inevitably the concept of individual freedom.

Men began to ask—if God endowed man with a free will, why should the princes of this world deny him free choice?

If all men are equal in the sight of God, why should they not be held equal before the law?

If all men are to be judged upon their personal merit in the next world, why should they not be judged upon their personal merit in this world?

We regret that the answers to these questions were so late in coming. We regret that religious leaders themselves so often failed to understand the social and political implications of the revolution which their basic doctrines had set off. We regret that temporal leaders all too often misused these doctrines as pretexts for establishing a ruthless authoritarianism. We regret that princes and prelates alike so misunderstood the implications of free will that they repeatedly launched unspeakable persecutions and wars against one another.

But we may glory in the fact that it was our own Founding Fathers who saw individual freedom and political democracy as the logical outgrowth of our spiritual heritage.

We rejoice that the founders of American democracy saw in Christianity not a justification for authoritarianism, or religious wars, or persecutions, or enslavements, but rather they saw in it a foundation for the rights of man, a justification for freedom of thought and religious tolerance, and a mandate to educate and to elevate and to liberate the individual.

We are indebted to the men who founded this Nation for many gifts, but none more priceless than this: Three great revolutions have swept across the world in the modern age; the American, the French, and the Communist revolutions. The French Revolution and the Communist Revolution were antireligious in character and the evil which they let loose far outweighed any reforms they achieved. The American Revolution was rooted in a deeply religious foundation and the good that has flowed from that revolution has transformed the world.

For almost two centuries we in America have pursued the goal of broadening and extending our kind of democracy.

Perhaps the greatest danger facing our Nation is that as we pursue this goal, and as the tide and turmoil of recurring crises loom up on all sides, we will forget the spiritual origins of the freedom, the equality, the democracy, which we espouse.

This meeting today and the many that have been held and will be held are efforts to remind ourselves of these values and to ask ourselves what, in the light of these values, our country should stand for and, if need be, fight for.

I am pleased and honored to have been permitted to take part in so significant an occasion.

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[From the Washington Post, Aug. 24, 1962]

ELLA F. HARLLEE, CITED; SHE'S THE CHURCH WOMAN OF THE YEAR

(By Marie Smith)

Ella F. Harllee, president and director of the new Educational and Religious Radio and Television Association which opened offices here August 1, will have a citation of honor to hang on her office wall after tonight.

She has been named Church Woman of the Year by the Religious Heritage of America and will receive the award at a banquet tonight at the Washington Hotel.

Miss Harllee, a native Washingtonian who still lives in the house in which she was born on Lamont Street has carved out a career for herself in religious education and broadcasting.

She has been responsible for more than 12,000 religious radio and television broadcasts in the Washington area in the past 10 years and more recently her horizon has broadened to include the world.

The Religious Radio and Television Association, founded on a grant from the Lilly Foundation, will distribute to an international audience the televison Bible courses that Miss Harllee and her associates have directed to local audiences in the past.

"The urgency is so great we've got to cut corners to educate large masses," Miss Harllee said in telling about the enlarged program.

For the past 2 years she has been director of the religious film and television project jointly administered by the American University and the National Capital Area Council of Churches.

She developed and completed the video recording of two college credit television courses, "The Life and Teachings of Jesus" and "An Introduction to the New Testament" which have been viewed by more than a million people and are to be distributed by the association throughout the English speaking world.

Next month, her third course in the trilogy, "An Introduction to the Old Testament" will be introduced locally on WMAL–TV with the Reverend Edward W. Bauman, teacher of the two earlier courses, as the instructor.

Mr. Bauman will be assisted by Rabbi Balfour Brickner, director of Interfaith Activities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York and formerly at Temple Sinai here.

Miss Harllee said the courses are "interfaith" and those enrolled, both on campus and at home, have included Jews, Protestants, and Catholics.

Of the foreign distribution courses, Miss Harllee said: "The only answer to mass education is mass media. We haven't got time to teach the illiterate to read to educate them. They can learn through pictorial images."

She added that the religious telecourses will supplement the work of missionaries and help them tell their stories.

Students who take the course for credit go to American University to classes, take field trips and examinations. Those who study at home take only the field trip. This year's field trip for the Washington area home students was a visit to the National Gallery to view religious art. "We had 750 people turn out for that trip," Miss Harllee said.

Miss Harllee, who began her religious work at Central Presbyterian Church, where she is a member, is the daughter of the late Brig. Gen. William Curry Harllee, of the Marine Corps, and Mrs. Harllee, who is a past historian general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Her brother is Rear Adm. John Harllee, Vice Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission.

She comes by her interest in religion naturally. She is a direct descendant of the Reverend Richard Buck, second rector of the Jamestown (Va.) Church, and chaplain of the general assembly which convened in the church at Jamestown on July 30, 1619. Miss Harllee, who has traveled 30,000 miles in the past year in behalf of the Bible courses and has visited 30 art galleries in Europe in a search for religious art to illustrate them, said more than 6,000 persons have enrolled already for this season's courses currently scheduled in 6 cities.

"This is more than a national network college course got over the entire United States last year," she said.

The Bible course is sponsored in each city by a local college or civic group and is offered on a credit and noncredit basis.

"We've found more nonchurch people than regular churchgoers are enrolled," Miss Harllee said, "and the response ranges from people who haven't even finished high school to people with Ph. D. degrees."

"The largest segment is people between 30 and 40 years of age," she added.

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

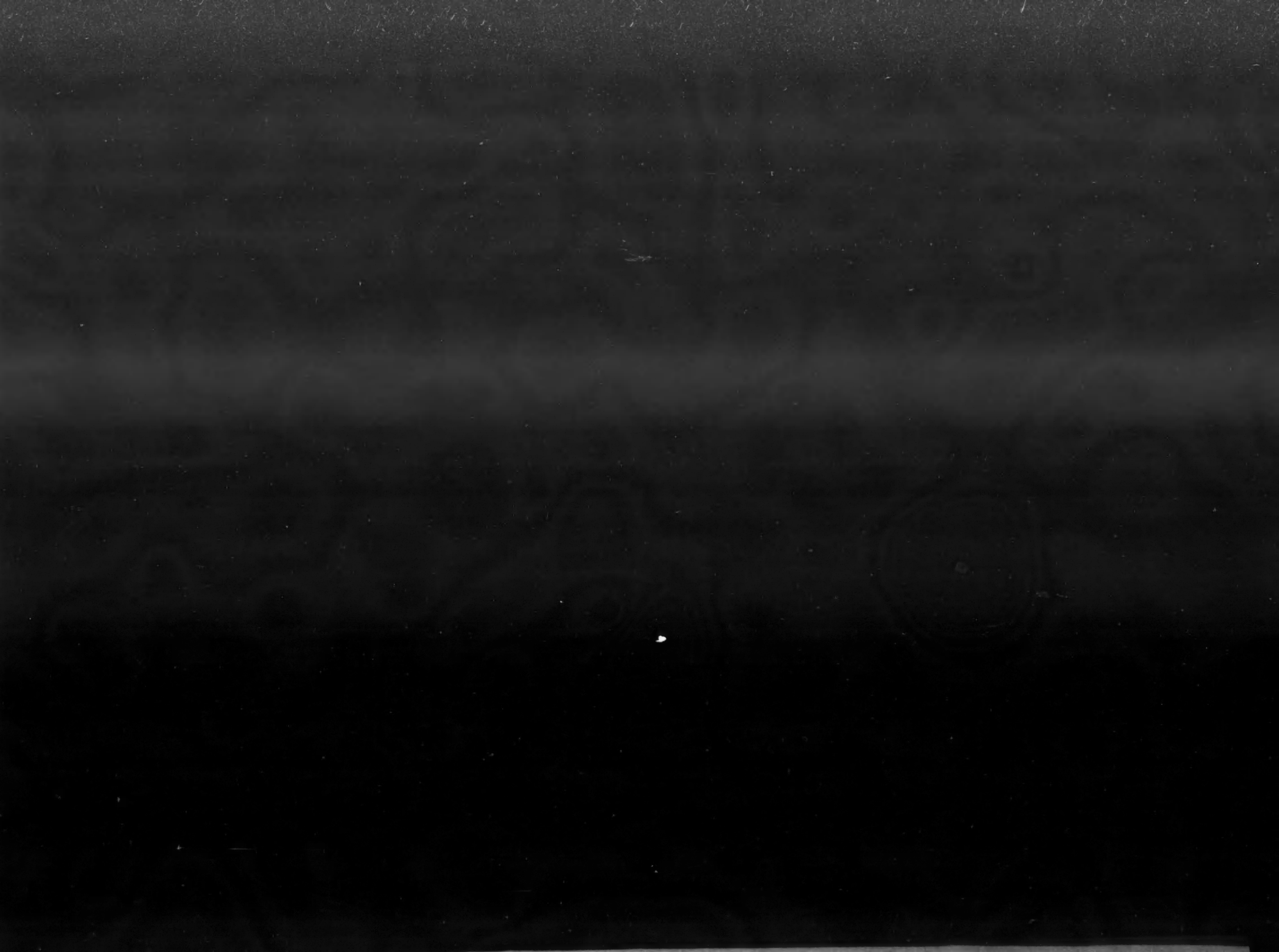

# Appendix

## Wisconsin Kickapoo Valley—Tourist Paradise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, August 25, 1962*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I recently had the opportunity to visit with Mr. Glen Hagar, who is the editor of the Crawford County Independent, a weekly newspaper located at Gays Mills, Wis., in the heart of the beautiful Kickapoo Valley region.

The inhabitants of that area are hopeful that the Kickapoo Valley may be given the status of a State or national park. Because the delights of this beautiful valley in the extreme southwest corner of Wisconsin constitute a potential source of enjoyment for the citizens of adjacent States, I would like to bring them to the attention of my colleagues.

This largely unpublicized area contains many of nature's gifts in the form of scenic vistas, fruits, flowers, fish, and animals. It is also of great historic interest. Perhaps a brief description will explain why this area would well repay a tourist visit.

The Kickapoo Valley region is a geographical oddity, unique in the world, the only spot surrounded by glaciers during the Ice Age, yet not ever covered by ice.

It was the great central population seat of the Mound Builders and abounds with Indian artifacts.

The bullets which were used at the Battle of Tippecanoe were manufactured at the forks of the Kickapoo. The Indians had a forge at Haney Village and manufactured them with lead brought from Galena, Ill.

The brooks flowing into the Kickapoo are full of northern pike, catfish, and speckled and rainbow trout—the woods are filled with squirrels, rabbits, quail, and grouse.

The first products of the Kickapoo Valley were the timber and lumber cut from the wealth of oak, maple, hickory, black walnut, linwood, elm, birch, poplar, ironwood, butternut, boxelder, pine, sumac, and hazel trees growing in profusion along the Kickapoo and Wisconsin Rivers.

Amidst the soft carpeting of its beautiful June grass, said to be the famous Kentucky blue grass, grow masses of wild flowers—ferns, anemones, violets, trilliums, buttercups, wild roses, lady-slippers, columbine, honeysuckles, harebells, wood orchids, oxalis, fleur-de-lis, Dutchman's breeches, jack-in-the-pulpit, goldenrod, asters, oxeye daisies, aromatic mint, moss, and Virginia-creeper.

The valley is a treasure house of red and black raspberries, blackberries, gooseberries, elderberries, wild strawberries, plums, black haws, chokecherries, black cherries, hazel nuts, butternuts, walnuts, hickory nuts, hop vines, grapevines.

But the great crop today is the apples. The Kickapoo Valley Apple Festival held in September celebrates the harvesting of the great orchards loaded with Wealthys, McIntosh, Delicious, Cortland, Greenings, Jonathans, and the mellow Old-fasioned Duchess apples which rival those of any apple-producing region in the Nation.

For 17 miles the Kickapoo River winds through 4,000 to 6,000 acres of forest primeval, a virtually unexplored wilderness, rich in wildlife, with innumerable camping and picnic spots.

In 1896 a young minister of the Congregational Church in the little village of Retreat, Wis., the Reverend William Haughton, sat on a bluff overlooking the river and composed this charming tribute in verse to the wonders of the beautiful valley below.

I ask unanimous consent to have the tribute printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE KICKAPOO

(By Rev. William Haughton)

When heaven's creative hand was laid
  Upon these gorgeous hills
In emerald sheen and gold arrayed,
  And cleft by flashing rills,
I traced in beauty mead and dale
  With charms forever new,
But left its blessings on that vale
  Where flows the Kickapoo.

O favored land! — No foot has trod
  Through fairer paths than thine
Where hills uplift their heads to God
  And speak His power divine,
Where valleys breathe of peace and rest,
  Fresh as the morning dew,
And Vernon on her own warm breast
  Impearls the Kickapoo.

Above me bend the clustering boughs;
  The cliffs around me stand
And heavenward rear their giant brows
  In beauty calm and grand,—
I linger lovingly and long
  Beside these waters blue
And yearn to give thy name to song
  O peaceful Kickapoo!

But men will come in after days
  Thy wondrous charms to see,
And many an abler pen will praise
  Thy matchless scenery—
God shield thee by His mighty arm
  And every wrong subdue;
God keep thy dwellings safe from harm
  O tranquil Kickapoo!



## Waste in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, August 25, 1962*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Waste in Space," which was published in the Beloit News, discussing a presentation which I made to the Appropriations Committee on the space budget.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASTE IN SPACE

Senator PROXMIRE is concerned about where our space program is taking us—financially.

Wisconsin's junior Senator appeared Tuesday before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee which is holding hearings on the National Aeronautics and Space Administration budget.

"Fiscal caution has been thrown to the winds in the administration of our Nation's space program," he asserted.

Senator PROXMIRE cited as one example the manned space flight center in Houston, Tex. The projected cost of this project has zoomed like a rocket from the initial estimated cost of $60 million to the current budget request of plus $90 million. And, says Senator PROXMIRE, the most recent reports indicate the actual cost will be $123 million, more than double the original cost estimate with construction barely started.

In conjunction with the space center, he cited the acquisition of land and what happned to prices. Originally, he explained, the site of the center was to be a tract of land donated by Rice University. The acreage was deemed inadequate, so an additional 600 acres of land had to be bought. Land prices in the meantime had leaped skyward. He testified it is his understanding that the space agency actually paid $1.4 million for the additional land, about double the price before a premature announcement sent prices upward.

"Both these matters—the vastly increased cost of the center itself and the unnecessarily high cost of land acquisition—raise serious questions about the prudence with which the space program is administered," Senator PROXMIRE declared.

It is this kind of financial irresponsibility that prompts the demands of many U.S. taxpayers that the Government accompany proposed tax reductions with fiscal belt tightening.

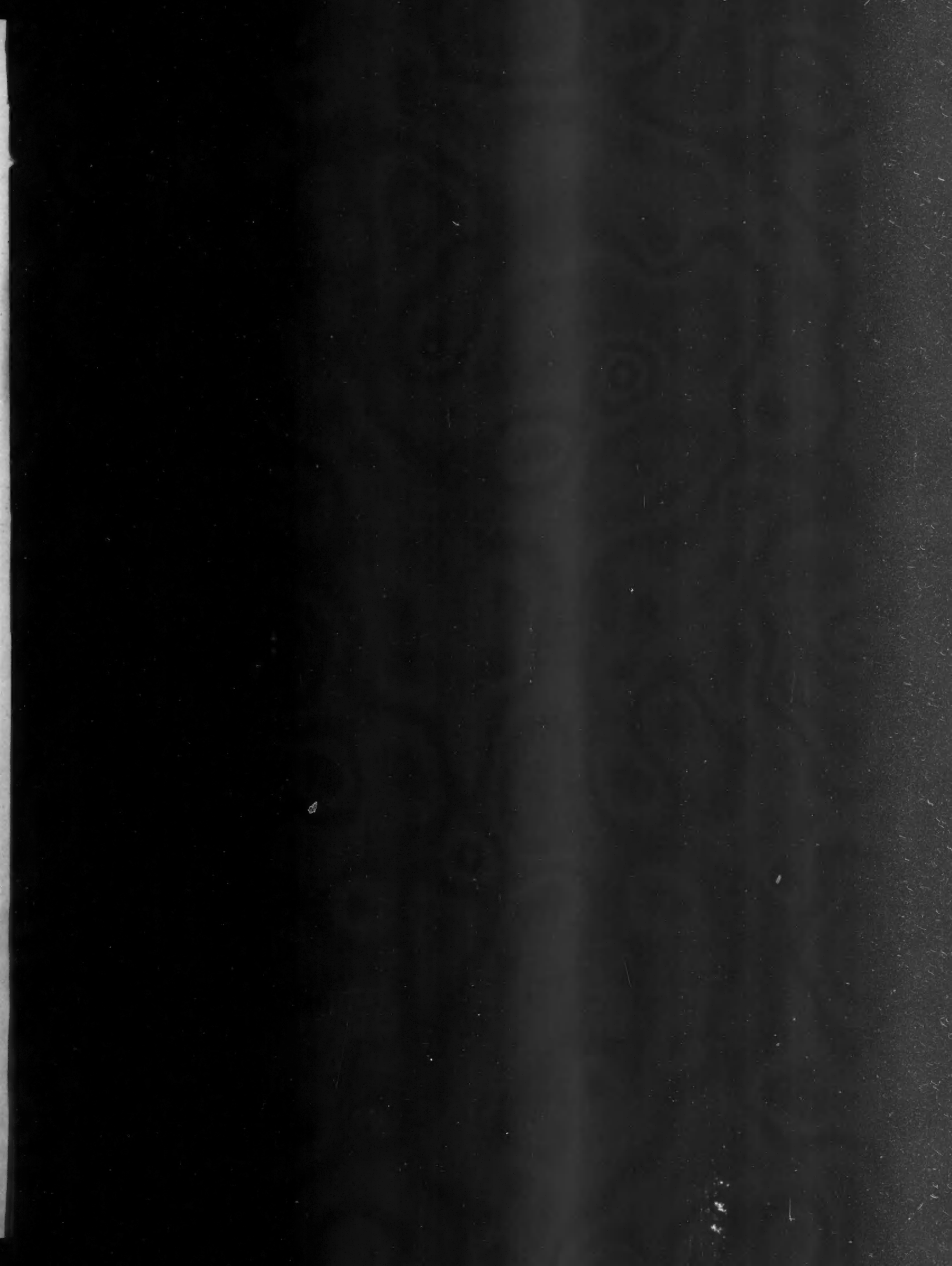

# Appendix

## Thomas F. Stafford Offers Forthright Comment on Agricultural Growth and Continuing Need for Improved Farming Methods in West Virginia and the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as the days of summer pass and the season of harvest approaches we are more understanding of the vast accomplishments that have been made in agriculture. Research and scientific experiment have enabled this Nation to become the most successful agricultural power in the earth's history.

This knowledge is particularly heartening at a time when the food-producing success—or lack of it—of the Communist nations has become the object of much high-level discussion. Immediately coming to mind are the cases of Cuba and Communist China, where the commune method of agricultural control has failed to produce even the bare minimums required for proper health and adequate nutrition. By reaching too greedily for advancement in industrial fields these lands have neglected the farmer, and have suffered not only an internal disaster, but international disgrace.

In contemplating the agricultural state of the nations today we are reminded of the words of Thomas Jefferson when he said:

> Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind; as that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths discovered and manners and opinions change, with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also to keep pace with the times.

This Nation has dedicated itself to fulfilling these words of wisdom, and the result is a land where abundance blesses the industrious, and proper nourishment is available to all.

However, we cannot allow ourselves to become complacent. Jefferson's ideas will continue to be true hundreds of years from now. We must therefore, continue to place emphasis upon the growth and development of our agricultural resources, not only for the good of our own citizens, but also in order that we may discharge our responsibilities with respect to the emerging nations.

In connection with growth and development, I wish to express my commendation of Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, who handled the agriculture appropriations bill in floor consideration last week. He successfully advocated more research expenditures for agriculture. This able Senator correctly gaged the thinking of his colleagues when he exercised this effort in wise manner, yet felt we could properly cut the amounts in certain other phases of the program.

Mr. President, in an article in the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette of August 22, 1962, Thomas F. Stafford, an experienced and widely read columnist, discusses the agricultural abundance which America today enjoys. Commenting on the outstanding examples of livestock and farming achievement to be found in West Virginia and other parts of this country, Mr. Stafford emphasizes that the need for wise utilization of land, conservation, and continuing research is as prevalent today as in times past. He likewise acknowledges our dependence on that hardworking and conscientious man who provides so much of this Nation's strength—the farmer.

I ask that the article by Thomas F. Stafford in the August 22 issue of the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AFFAIRS OF STATE: STATE MUST TRY MODERN FARMING

(By Thomas F. Stafford)

LEWISBURG.—Summer begins to die a little for us as we enter the State fairgrounds at nearby Fairlea. Officially the end for this delightful season is a month away, yet everywhere—in the display sheds and on the faces of the farm folk—there are gentle reminders that nature's pulse is slowing down.

Our feelings are mixed at this moment. We are depressed by the thought of autumn's coming, but we feel a sense of borrowed pride as we look upon the evidence of accomplishment that is piled high on every side.

There are firm, ripe tomatoes, smooth and polished potatoes, full beans in the pod, fattened cattle, sleek horses, and inviting creations from the kitchen. From late winter to last week thousands of people toiled to make these displays possible, and they have brought forth a generous hint of one of America's finest weapons.

Food is the rich fabric of America's strength. The outside world first became aware of this fact when our troops went overseas in World War I. And again in 1941 it was driven home, when the second war came and troops were dispatched to every global front.

Twice in less than a generation this Nation's young men helped bring peace to the world, and twice the farmers of America kept them healthy and strong. Together they worked for peace, and together now the farmers and Government are helping to keep the peace by pouring a portion of our bounty into underdeveloped parts of the world.

Food makes for energy, and energy makes for doing. Prime food grown on good land enables men to think better, work more energetically, and produce the machines or processes that take the burden off their backs. It is a weapon more powerful than the nuclear bomb. It cuts to the core of reason more quickly than the most articulate diplomat.

Indeed, the fair visitor has cause to count his blessings as he tromps through the dust from the cow barn to the small-crop display center, from the carnival midway to the grandstand. Food such as one finds here is part of America's genius.

But there also is cause for alarm. In driving here, as we have almost every year since the late 1930's, we observed the costly effects of bad agriculture.

There were erosion's scars in the pastures, dry creekbeds in the mountains, forest lands turned into corn patches, scrubby garden plots, fruit trees with little fruit on them, broken fences and abandoned farmhouses. In such tragic sequences from the total picture there is a warning.

Is West Virginia abandoning its share of the challenge of global leadership? Is it giving up its part of the task of feeding the exploding population?

Hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent every year in this State to spread the gospel of conservation and better land use. Our land-grant university, the State department of agriculture, and the Federal Government seek with everything from subsidies to fair prizes to encourage farmers to adopt modern techniques. And what is the result?

The migration from farm to city grows larger every year. Land values keep dropping. Courthouses in the rural counties grow gradually more seedy. And recently the desperate but wise suggestion was made by school authorities that rural counties join in the building of consolidated schools as a means of providing the rudiments of schooling for their children.

When one takes all of this into account and looks at the same naked hillsides year after year, one begins to wonder if it isn't time to pause and reflect upon the agricultural course West Virginia has been following. Perhaps the old policies should be cast aside and new ones adopted.

This State, which was primarily agricultural as recently as the First World War, is no longer an important producer of food. Yet it is rural, with all of the liabilities and few of the assets of rural life.

It may be that the people who display their prime foods and animals here have the key to the future. They may have found a formula the experts haven't discovered yet. But we rather suspect theirs is the same as that of every successful hill farmer from Maine to California—love of the land and hard work.

At least, that was the thought we had as we browsed through the food and livestock exhibits Tuesday and were reminded anew that without this enterprising breed in America the rest of us would soon perish.

## The Clerks Are Minding the Store

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I commend Fortune

magazine, a business publication, for its generally excellent article about the Retail Clerks International Association headed by James A. Suffridge, a labor statesman.

Too frequently important American publications such as Fortune present biased, unflattering portraits of labor unions, if they bother to mention them at all.

Only once, in the very beginning of the Fortune piece, is there a rather sweeping generalization which seems unfair. It is true that there is corruption, strife, and opportunism in some segments of American unionism but the same can be said of our business community. However, the hard core of both American business and American unionism is directed and made up of decent citizens trying hard to do the right thing.

The Retail Clerks International Association is certainly a model of 20th century progressive unionism, the type of organization the Bob LaFollettes would have approved. The Fortune story portrays its success admirably. Congratulations to both the magazine and the Clerks Union.

The article follows:

THE CLERKS ARE MINDING THE STORE

Much of unionism today has the look of a stagnant, strife-ridden movement, led either by tired war-horses who loll at Miami Beach and wear silk shirts, or by bare-knuckled opportunists who defy the world and don't mind taking a buck on the side.

So far as the Retail Clerks International Association is concerned, the image is wrong on all counts. The fastest-growing union in the United States, it is led by a quiet-spoken, church-going Republican, who cracks down with dizzying swiftness on corruption and makes a genuine effort to speak kind words about employers as he doggedly pushes forward in the hard-to-organize fringes of the white-collar world.

Since James A. Suffridge, 53, took over the presidency in 1944, the Retail Clerks have moved from 25th place in the old AFL to 8th place in the merged labor federation, with 400,000 members. And as they rack up organizing successes in the fast-growing discount field, the union's leaders foresee the day when they will have 2½ million on the rolls, more than any union today. "We see beyond the present evolution in retailing to a revolution," says Suffridge, "and we plan to be on top of it."

For Suffridge personally, the top may be even higher up. He is a solid if not often mentioned contender for the presidency of the AFL–CIO, if and when George Meany decides to step down.

The Retail Clerks International Association was born out of the Early Closing Societies of the 1880's, which developed in an effort to get the 14-to-16-hour day in stores reduced to 10. But in the 1920's, when modern department stores came of age, the climate was not favorable to labor-union growth. Then during the lush early days of the Wagner Act, when other unions were organizing anything that moved, the Retail Clerks were asleep. When Suffridge took over, membership was only 60,000.

Suffridge was born in Knoxville, in the heart of a Tennessee area that has traditionally been Republican. He looks like a successful local merchant, which is not surprising since he grew up clerking in a series of food stores his father bought, built up, and sold at a profit. Suffridge himself got a job during the depression as a clerk in a grocery store in Oakland, Calif. In 1936 he was elected secretary of RCIA's local 870 in Oakland, when it had fewer than 100 members, and no contract with any store. Eight years later, when Suffridge left to become president of the international, local 870 had a contract with every food store in its jurisdiction, and the contracts provided the highest wage scales for food clerks anywhere in the world.

In the union's top post, Suffridge applied on a national scale the approach that had brought success in local 870: first concentrate hard on supermarkets, then fan out into other areas of retailing. In 1957, when he got wind of corruption in the New York locals, he moved instantly to install trusteeships and clean out the tainted leaders. By that time RCIA membership had moved from 60,000 to 300,000. It passed the 400,000 mark in 1961.

A retail store is harder to organize than a factory. As Suffridge is fond of pointing out, "You can't just take a megaphone and shout over the plant fence at the workers." Moreover, since store clerks don't think of themselves as "labor" in the blue-collar sense, they have to be approached carefully.

The Suffridge organizing strategy reflects his merchandising background. The product is carefully designed to fit the market. While other unions persistently try to widen their jurisdiction, the RCIA sticks to clerks and clerks alone, and it hires only organizers who have themselves worked as retail clerks. If Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters tries to move in on a retail store, the RCIA's organizers point out, charitably, that the Teamsters is a good union for truck drivers. The implication is clear that a union run by and for clerks is the best union for clerks.

AS USEFUL AS AN OLD ASHCAN

Having designed a product suited to his market, Suffridge merchandises it aggressively and persistently. The RCIA spends about $2 million a year on organizing, probably more per capita than any other union. Seven regional organizing directors run the campaign across the Nation, and Suffridge and his chief lieutenants move around constantly, listening, advising, trouble-shooting, and exhorting.

The RCIA is not much interested in organizers who are fire-breathing liberals, following the class-warfare line. In attempting to organize a clothing store in Beverly Hills, for example, such organizers would be "about as useful as an old ash can," in the words of RCIA's chief organizer, First Vice President Sam Meyers. "The benefits we offer are liberalism enough," he says.

The first thing an organizer looks for in a nonunion store is leadership. "Our growth is found," says Suffridge, "where the leadership is found." Sometimes the right leadership walks in through the door. If the clerks in a nonunion store are unhappy with conditions they may get in touch with the RCIA. Some of these leads can turn out to be duds, however. A $15,000-a-year salesman may get upset because his commission base has been changed and contact the union. But the rank and file in the store in unlikely to sympathize deeply with his problem. Moreover, when the boss hears about the union activity he is likely to call the malcontent in, explain that it was all a horrible misunderstanding, correct the difficulty, and hint discreetly at the possibility of future promotion. Then suddenly, says Sam Meyers, the prospect "turns cold." When, on the other hand, it is the boys in the stockroom who are dissatisfied and contact the union, the organizing effort is likely to be off and running. "Their loyalty sticks," says Meyers. "We have grown as a union because of the initiative of members in the rank and file."

But the RCIA does not sit around waiting for such initative to develop. If a store looks promising, an organizer begins to browse around, quietly engaging clerks in conversation, noting down their names and home addresses for future contact. Most nonunion stores have no-solicitation rules, but Suffridge admits that "we don't cooperate very much."

No matter how smoothly and silently the organizer operates, sooner or later the boss finds out about it. Then the real contest begins. At a minimum the employer will express his displeasure at the idea of a union, and, as Suffridge says, "Clerks are so vulnerable any word from the boss is coercive." At worst an employer will use what union organizers call the Shefferman technique, after Nathan Shefferman, the labor consultant whose operations on behalf of Sears, Roebuck stores were publicized in McClellan committee hearings in 1957. According to testimony, Shefferman includes undercover agents, discharges, bribes, and employee brainwashing to block an organizing effort.

When an employer actively opposes an organizing campaign the RCIA attempts to counter by developing group spirit among the employees, in order to give them a sense of support and common cause. It also warns them in advance what methods the antiunion employer may use. The organizer interviews employees individually and sends literature to their homes, then calls a meeting. One by one, according to Sam Meyers, the interested employees timidly straggle in. When they recognize fellow employees, they begin to feel at home. Then if one employee will get up and begin to talk, says Meyers, "you've gone a long way in driving the fear out."

Although RCIA literature does not paint the boss as a saint, an earnest effort is made to avoid embittering the relationship. "We don't go in for vilifying the boss," says Suffridge. "If we do, we find that after the union is elected the members demand so much we can never satisfy them."

To get the employer actually to recognize and bargain with the union, the RCIA has two alternative strategies. If the employer is financially in a shaky position, and the employees can be persuaded to authorize strong action, the union demands immediate recognition and bargaining, under threat of a potentially ruinous strike. If, on the other hand, he is financially strong and militantly antiunion, a boycott is used instead of a strike. A boycott puts a minimum strain on the union treasury since the only cost is publicity. It puts a maximum strain on the employer, since he must still meet his payroll, even though sales may be reduced. The greatest economic impact comes from picketing the store, combined with publicity material sent directly to the homes of shoppers. "We find," Suffridge says, "if we can stop a housewife before she sets out, the boycott is more effective."

The RCIA has enjoyed its greatest organizing success to date in grocery stores. It has broken into all the major supermarket chains except the Winn-Dixie Stores in the South, and its membership in the grocery field totals about 100,000. But even this represents only about one-sixth of all eligible employees, so the growth potential is still great.

In other fields the potential is even greater. The RCIA has so far organized only about 25,000 of the 175,000 eligible employees in drugstores, 20,000 out of 200,000 in variety stores, and another 20,000 out of 300,000 in furniture stores. In department stores only 40,000 employees out of a potential 400,000 are organized. Resistance to unions in this field remains strong, especially in the big stores. Says one store executive, "Our pay scale and fringe benefits far exceed anything that the union has got anywhere else. There simply is no need for a union here."

Right now the RCIA is concentrating on the discount houses, where it hopes to repeat the success it achieved while supermarkets were evolving. "The organizer with

discounters to organize is lucky," reads the union's guide for organizers, "for of all fields needing organization in retailing, the discount store, by the very nature of the business, is most likely to be organized * * *. Most operators in the discount field have their total working capital tied up in the inventory which must be sold at a rapid rate of turnover * * *. They will meet our demand for recognition almost without fail if convinced we have their people behind us."

Although discounters' sales last year were less than a third those of department stores, the RCIA already had almost as many members in discount houses as in the old-line stores. And union organizers see no signs of a slackening trend. For as the discounters continue to take volume from the department stores, they will hire more employees who are easy to organize. Meanwhile the union expects department stores, as their volume declines, to become economically more vulnerable to union pressure.

## Must God Get Out of Our Government?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of the Senate a radio broadcast by Dean Clarence Manion entitled "Must God Get Out of Our Government?" This address was broadcast by Dean Manion over the "Manion Forum" which is used weekly over approximately 250 radio stations across this country.

I ask unanimous consent that Dean Manion's eloquent comments on the recent Supreme Court decision on the school prayer case be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the broadcast text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUST GOD GET OUT OF OUR GOVERNMENT?

(By Dean Clarence E. Manion)

When the Supreme Court decided to take God out of the Government last June 25, I was tempted to have my say then and there—along with those thousands of other people, great and small, who expressed themselves at once. Now I am glad I waited until all or nearly all of the votes have been counted for and against the Court's startling conclusion.

Immediately after the decision was announced, the President of the United States told us to respect it and be glad that we can still pray in our homes. None of the newspaper reporters who were present made the obvious retort, namely, that Khrushchev could have said the same thing to the Russians, to the Poles or to the Hungarians.

After all, cannot Cardinal Mindszenty still pray in the cubicle of the American Embassy in Budapest, where he has been confined for 6 years in protection against the Communist government?

The popular reaction to this unfortunate Supreme Court decision was like that of children who have just been told by the sad and wise old family doctor that their mother has cancer: "I am so very sorry, my dears, but it is so; all of the scientific tests prove it." The Supreme Court was like that in its decision and the American people were like sad and simple children in their reaction to it. What can the American people know about their Constitution? Theirs is not to reason why; theirs is but to listen to the bad news from the experts—the Supreme Court.

And so, school superintendents all over the country sorrowfully but nevertheless seriously, announced plans to reconsider time-honored customs such as invocations at high school football banquets, salutes to the flag (and, therefore, to God) at their morning convocations, and nondenominational sermons to their graduating classes on baccalaureate Sunday.

Recently someone published a book called "A Nation of Sheep." I have read only the title, but I know now that the author is referring to the people of the United States.

Our reaction to this Supreme Court decision indicates that his conclusion is correct. We have permitted the Federal Government to shear us to the skin and we are ready to respond, like sheep, when a Judas goat—in this case the Supreme Court—leads us up for the slaughter of our spiritual and constitutional heritage.

The decision brought a deluge of editorial criticism, of course, but for the most part the editorials ended up like this one: "Those of us who believe the ruling of the Court to be in error will, nevertheless, obey this decision since ours is a government of laws." When we all slavishly obey a Court decision that we know to be in error, we destroy our government of liberty-protecting laws and substitute a government by arbitrary decree.

A Court decision is not the law of the land; it is merely the law of the particular case in which the decision was rendered and, of course, the parties to that lawsuit will be forced to observe it unless and until they can get the decision reversed.

But when the decision obviously is in error, and particularly on a subject that is as vital to our civilization as the relationship of Almighty God to the Government of the United States, then all Americans who respect the great Author of Liberty are under a moral and patriotic obligation to blast the decision for the error that it is, and for what one Justice of the Supreme Court itself declared it to be, namely, "a misapplication of a great constitutional principle" and an attempt to divorce our constitutional government from its official historic "reliance on the protection of Divine Providence."

The decision of the Court, as read by Justice Black, is unsupported by any judicial precedents except those that Justice Black himself has made out of legal whole cloth during his long tenure on the Supreme Bench.

I saw this error coming up 14 years ago and addressed myself to it then in a carefully documented criticism of one of Justice Black's 1948 opinions which now turns out to be a part of his foundation for this climactic sophistry. ("The Church, the State, and Mrs. McCollum," Notre Dame Lawyer, vol. 23, p. 456.)

The entire case made by Justice Black and his concurring colleagues against the New York Board of Education in the June 25 decision is based upon the gratuitous assumption that the first amendment to the Constitution which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" must now be taken to read: "No State or any subdivision or agency of a State (such as a local school board) shall make any law or rule respecting an establishment of religion."

How does it happen that a plain constitutional prohibition against congressional action now turns out to be a prohibition against State action through the regulation of a local school board? By whose authority is the unmistakable language of the first amendment thus turned around and transformed?

The answer is that the language has been changed by the repetitious insistence of Justice Black that the first amendment which was added to the Constitution in 1791, was made operative against the States by the adoption of the 14th amendment which was added to the Constitution 77 years later, namely, in 1868.

Remember, please, that for 69 years before Justice Black became a member of it, the Supreme Court in a great number of cases had construed the 1st amendment and the 14th amendment respectively, as entirely separate and unrelated provisions of the Constitution. These repetitious constructions were in complete harmony with historical facts.

When the 14th amendment was ratified its authors and proponents had no idea that it would ever be construed to bring the provisions of the 1st amendment into operation against State governments.

On the contrary, in 1876, 8 years after the 14th amendment had been adopted, a new constitutional amendment was proposed in Congress which read, in part, as follows: "No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This proposed amendment was voted upon in the U.S. Senate on August 14, 1876, and the proposal failed because it did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority.

If the 14th amendment embraced the 1st amendment when it was adopted in 1868, as Justice Black says it did, why did Congress feel it necessary in 1876 to attempt to adopt another amendment specifically restricting the States in the terms that had been used to restrict Congress in the 1st amendment?

Since this specific prohibition against State-established religions was expressly rejected by Congress in 1876, by what authority does Justice Black now assume to add such a prohibition to the Constitution in 1962? Justice Black does not cite any authority for this revolutionary transformation of the English language and of American history except his own judicial opinions.

The "wall of separation between church and state," to which Jefferson referred in a private letter written in 1802, has become an obsession with Justice Black, but he conveniently ignores what Jefferson said publicly 3 years later in his second inaugural address, namely: "In matters of religion I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the General (Federal) Government."

Jefferson realized that large areas of American life were expressly made independent of the powers of the Federal Government by the language of the 10th amendment and that religion was merely one of these areas deliberately reserved for the exclusive operation of States rights.

Justice Black and most of the Justices associated with him on the Supreme Bench during the past 25 years have been so preoccupied with the 1st amendment, the 5th amendment, and the 14th amendment, that they have never been able to consider the equally valid import of the 9th and 10th amendments, which protect the immunities of the States and of the people in the States against the intrusion of unlawful Federal action.

Pursuant to the rulings of Justice Black and his associates, Federal judges are now taking over the constitutional duties of State legislatures in the field of reapportionment of Representatives. (*Baker* v. *Carr*, 82 S.C.)

The Constitution of Maryland provides that Maryland officeholders shall declare their belief in the existence of God, but that constitutional provision was swept aside last year by Justice Black's Supreme Court opinion that the 1st and the 14th amendments will no longer permit the State to protect itself in this respect. (*Torcaso* v. *Watkins*, 81 S.C.)

It so happens that the constitution of the State of Maryland like that of New York begins with an expression of thanks for God's blessings, followed by an invocation of His continued protection; but all this will soon be changed by the Supreme Court under Justice Black's influence, and Justice Douglas, in his separate concurring opinion in the New York school case, confidently predicts that the change is coming.

If this Court has its way, God must get out of government—State and Federal. As a byproduct of this Courtmade law, the States will have to disappear as self-governing units of our constitutionally established Federal system and become mere administrative agencies of the tightly-centralized, absolute authority in Washington.

A constitutional amendment is now being considered to remedy the situation created by the Court's decision in the New York school case, but constitutional amendments cannot be proposed and ratified fast enough to protect the Constitution from the kind of a Supreme Court that we have now.

Its decisions have destroyed more established legal precedents in the last 20 years than were accomplished in the previous 133 years of Supreme Court history. What this Court will do next is anybody's guess.

The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is determined by Congress. Article III, section 2 of the Constitution of the United States empowers Congress to regulate and limit the questions of law and fact that may be appealed to the Supreme Court from State and inferior Federal courts. Using this authority, Congress should withdraw all appellate jurisdiction from this Supreme Court now and thus leave final determination of constitutional questions with State courts and Federal circuit courts of appeal.

Unless this is done, and done quickly, the Supreme Court as presently constituted will make a shambles of our Republican form of government. If this Nation under God is to have a new birth of freedom, then it is up to Congress to get the present Supreme Court out of the delivery room.

## Montana's Newest Treasure Is Worth Its Weight in Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ARNOLD OLSEN**
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted at this time to draw the House's attention to the construction of a new Permanente Cement Co. plant in my district of Montana. This efficient new facility is being designed and built by Kaiser Engineers, a division of Kaiser Industries. It is located in East Helena, Mont., and operations at the plant will begin early in 1963.

The cooperation in building this $10 million modern plant by two private enterprise organizations, and the projected use of the plant's facilities in the construction of Yellowtail Dam, illustrate the effective cooperation possible between private and Government enterprise projects. This sort of cooperation always results in expansion for all parts of our national economy.

Though at the present time two of my district's counties, Silverbow and Flathead, qualify as distressed areas, I am happy and encouraged to note this instance of industrial expansion and initiative in Montana. Let us hope that more and varied projects will soon be constructed in the State to provide challenging work opportunities for Montana citizens qualified and eager to do their part in our expanding economy, and thus allow Montana to play the vital role she is capable of in our Nation's industrial progress.

I might add that I am proud to note that the Olsen clan is centrally involved in this project, though through a member unrelated to me, in the person of Mr. Ken Olsen, chief project engineer for Kaiser.

Following is a feature article from the Kaiser Builder, a company news journal, for August 1962, outlining the plans and progress of the plant in detail:

Kaiser Engineers is now designing and constructing its seventh complete cement plant, bringing the total contract value in cement plant projects to over $110 million in the past 25 years. This figure includes integrated expansions totaling more than $50 million for existing cement plants, and numerous feasibility studies, geological reports and market analyses.

The new $10 million wet process cement plant is being built by Kaiser Engineers for Permanente Cement Co. at Montana City, site of an abandoned gold mine 6 miles from East Helena, Mont. When completed, it will have an annual production capacity of 1,400,000 barrels of cement.

Design of the plant has several notable features, achieved through the experience and knowledge gained by Kaiser Engineers in working on the many previous cement producing and handling facilities, and coupled with studies by Permanente personnel.

The major improvement with the new plant is its compact arrangement around a centralized control room, laboratory, and electrical motor control and transformer room—three levels, one below the other. From the control room, located beneath two silos, operators will be able to see directly into both the mill room and the firing end of the kiln. Other areas can be monitored by closed circuit television screens. The laboratory will be adjacent to the automatic weigh feeders for both raw and finish mills.

Besides simplifying and attaining better overall control through centralization, a number of other advantages and benefits are obtained by the core design: (1) Capital and future operational costs are reduced; (2) conduit, piping, slurry and gas lines, and conveyors are greatly shortened, hence cutting down construction time and the amount of equipment, materials, and basic horsepower required; (3) a greater degree of automated operation is achieved; and (4) plant appearance is enhanced.

Economy of operation will be further aided because deposits of limestone and shale are located on the 470-acre site. Dug from the quarry by a diesel shovel, these basic materials will be transported by trucks and dumped into the primary crusher for the first stage of processing.

After being reduced to pieces about minus 6 inches, the limestone and shale will then be conveyed to a surge bin before they are fed to the secondary crusher, which crushes it to minus three-quarters inch. In both primary and secondary crushing, the feed rate will be automatically regulated. In addition, secondary crusher output will be automatically sampled for physical and chemical control.

From the secondary crusher, a bucket elevator wil lift the crushed limestone and shale into two silos and star bin of the plant's seven raw material silos. A separate bucket elevator and belt conveyor handles silica tailings, iron ore or slag, and gypsum for the balance of the raw materials silos.

Automatic weigh feeders at the bottom of these silos will weigh the material at preselected ratios before discharging it to the raw mill feed conveyor, after which it goes to the open circuit mill where it will be mixed with water to produce kiln feed slurry. The slurry is stored in either of two tanks adjacent to the kiln.

When it is needed, the slurry will be fed automatically to the kiln at a constant rate by means of a magnetic flow meter, density gage, and pinch valve. The kiln is a 450-foot-long rotating tube, one end of which is 14 feet 6 inches and the other 13 feet in diameter. It will convert the slurry at about 2,700° F. to clinker. Considerable new instrumentation, based on studies conducted at Permanente's home plant, will be provided for the kiln and clinker cooler. The aim is toward complete computer control. As with the crushed limestone and later the slurry, the clinker also is stored in silos until it is required.

A feed system similar to that for the raw mill will be provided for the finish mill. In both mills, the feed rate will be controlled by an automatic sound device, which determines loading according to the sonic volume. After crushing, the finish mill product will be separated into coarse and fines; the former is returned to the mill for reprocessing, while the fines or finished cement will be conveyed pneumatically to any of nine storage silos or five star bins. From these silos, the cement will be bagged or shipped in bulk by bottom-dump railroad cars or trucks.

As construction and installation of the facilities goes ahead, Kaiser Engineer has been making innovations to complement the design improvements. Models have been built to study overall feasibility and to check clearances for piping, equipment, structural members, accessibility, etc. Each phase of the construction has been scheduled within narrow limits for completion and start-up early next year.

One example of the planning was the around-the-clock placing of concrete for the storage bin and silo complex. This work was accomplished in June in only 10 days by using the slip-form method to construct, as a unit, all 16 of the 105-foot-high silos. Nearly 7,000 cubic yards of concrete were used for the silo walls. Short forms (about 4 feet high) were raised an average of 8 inches per hour by 285 jacks as concrete and reinforcing steel were placed within them.

Hal S. Meyer is general superintendent of construction at the job site, while Ian Watson is working out of Kaiser Engineer's Oakland headquarters as project engineer.

With the new Montana City plant, Permanente Cement Co. will extend its sales into that State, and large parts of Wyoming, Idaho, and North Dakota. When the plant begins operation a large part of the production will be used in the construction of Yellowtail Dam and powerhouse, a joint venture in which Kaiser Engineer is participating.

PROFESSIONAL PROFILE: KEN OLSEN

"The centralized control facilities for the new Montana cement plant will be a big step forward in our attempts to cut down construction and operational costs while raising efficiency."

This comment by Ken Olsen, chief project engineer, reflects Kaiser Engineers continuing achievement in the design of better cement plants.

In the trend toward improving centralized control, Ken also noted that the 1,400,000 barrels per year wet process cement plant designed and built by Kaiser Engineers for

Arkansas Cement Corp., in 1958 had one of the earliest centrally-controlled milling departments. Ken was project engineer for that plant.

Although only the past 6 of Ken's 20 years' experience in civil engineering have been almost exclusively in cement plant projects, a great many of the preceding projects required extensive materials handling facilities, which are among the basic elements in cement plant design.

After he was graduated from Polytechnic College of Engineering in Oakland, Ken began his engineering career in 1942 preparing drawings and structural designs for Columbia Steel Co., at Pittsburg, Calif. He is a registered civil engineer in California, Washington, and Hawaii.

In the same year he joined the Kaiser organization preparing designs for conveyor support structures, raw materials handling facilities, car dumpers and other parts of the Fontana, Calif., steel plant.

For the next 2 years Ken was engaged in checking final designs and structural analyses for a gypsum plant, several office and warehouse buildings, and a water distribution system. He was appointed assistant engineer in 1947 and from then until 1950 was in charge of structural and mechanical design for a material handling system and second blast furnace at the Fontana steel works.

In 1950 he was appointed senior engineer and placed in charge of a 30-man structural design section to begin his first cement plant design work. This was for a $14 million expansion program at Permanente, Calif., now the second largest cement plant in the world. A year later he became principal engineer and began a 4-year stint of design responsibility for a wallboard plant and plaster mill, iron mine expansion, gypsum products plant—all requiring conveyors and considerable other materials handling equipment.

"Having then done quite a lot of structural design work on gypsum and cement projects," said Ken, "I became particularly interested in those plants. So I was very happy when an opportunity came in 1956 to go into project engineering work in those fields."

In the past 6 years, he has had over-all responsibility for the design and construction of four cement plants—Foreman, Ark.; Waianae, Hawaii; and now the new Montana City plant and doubling the capacity of the Cushenbury, Calif., plant.

With the current two cement plants, a $2 million bulk loading facility for ships at Long Beach, Calif., and several feasibility studies under way for other plants, Ken's project engineering group keeps a busy schedule. It's been that way so long, however, that Ken sees nothing out of the ordinary about it.

## Legislative Questionnaire, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, early in July I mailed out nearly 55,000 questionnaires to residents of the Fourth Congressional District of New Jersey in order to get a sampling of opinion on the major issues facing Congress this year. More than 10,000 people, nearly 20 percent of those who received my questionnaire, filled it in and returned it, and I am informed by experts in the field that this is an extraordinarily high response.

This high rate of return and the fact that a great many of those who responded took the time to write personal comments on the issues represented, as well as on other leading issues, is strong indication that the voters of the Fourth District are well abreast of current events. I was sincerely impressed with the thoughtfulness of the comments and the seriousness with which people approached the task of expressing their opinions to their Representative in Congress.

While the tabulated answers speak for themselves, a few comments are in order. More people expressed an opinion on health insurance for the aged than on any other question, confirming President Kennedy's belief that this will be a major issue in the 1962 election. The question that fewest people expressed an opinion on had to do with appropriations for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In my view this is a reflection of the fact that the agency is a new one and its activities have not received a great deal of publicity. In a future newsletter I will discuss the purpose and operations of the agency.

On several questions the responses were quite decisive. An overwhelming majority of people favored continuation of the Peace Corps, favored the Federal Communications Commission taking steps to raise the quality of commercial TV programs, approved of President Kennedy's decision to resume nuclear tests, and opposed admission of Red China to the United Nations. On the question of Federal aid to education, a strong majority favored financial assistance to the States for school construction, but by almost the same percentages a majority opposed aid for teachers' salaries.

The questions that I presented to the Fourth District residents were phrased in the terms of the specific legislation before the Congress, and every effort was made to present the issues in as objective a manner as possible. I wish to express my thanks to all those who helped in this project by letting me know their opinions, and I hope the results will be of interest to all.

The final tabulation follows:

LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE, 1962

1. Do you favor or oppose the plan for the United States to buy up $100 million of United Nations bonds to help pay for United Nations special operations in the Congo, for the Middle East, and elsewhere? Favor, 47 percent; oppose, 43 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

2. Do you favor or oppose a program of health insurance for the aged paid by a 25-cents-per-week increase in social security deductions? Favor, 55 percent; oppose 41 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.

3. Did you approve or disapprove of the actions taken by President Kennedy when several large steel companies recently announced an increase in prices? Approve, 54 percent; disapprove, 41 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

4. Do you favor or oppose—

A. Federal financial aid to the States for public school construction? Favor, 58 percent; oppose, 37 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

B. Federal financial aid to the States for teachers' salaries? Favor, 38 percent; oppose, 54 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

5. Do you favor or oppose a Secretary of Urban Affairs and Housing being added to the President's Cabinet? Favor, 37 percent; oppose, 46 percent; no opinion, 17 percent.

6. Did you approve or disapprove of President Kennedy's decision to resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere? Approve, 76 percent; disapprove, 18 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

7. Do you favor or oppose increasing appropriations for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency? Favor, 45 percent; oppose, 30 percent; no opinion, 25 percent.

8. Do you favor or oppose continuation of the Peace Corps? Favor, 71 percent; oppose 17 percent; no opinion, 12 percent.

9. Should Congress create a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts to make recommendations to the President and Congress? Yes, 49 percent; no, 27 percent; no opinion, 24 percent.

10. Do you favor or oppose the Federal Communications Commission taking steps to raise the quality of commercial television programs? Favor 73 percent; oppose 20 percent; no opinion, 7 percent.

11. Would you approve or disapprove of the Federal Government helping to pay for the construction of fallout shelters? Approve, 27 percent; disapprove, 62 percent; no opinion 11 percent.

12. Do you favor or oppose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations? Favor, 18 percent; oppose, 74 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

13. Do you favor or oppose giving the President broader authority to negotiate the reduction of tariffs between the United States and the European Common Market? Favor, 58 percent; oppose, 33 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

14. Would you approve or disapprove of Federal aid to industries which suffer from increased competition from imports as a result of tariff agreements with the European Common Market? Approve, 35 percent; disapprove, 51 percent; no opinion, 14 percent.

15. Do you favor or oppose the continuation of our foreign aid program? Favor, 56 percent; oppose, 35 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

16. Do you favor or oppose giving the President discretionary authority to combat a recession by lowering taxes and increasing public workers programs? Favor, 63 percent; oppose, 32 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

17. In general, do you believe that Congress should give greater support to President Kennedy's legislative program? Favor, 49 percent; oppose, 33 percent; no opinion, 18 percent.

18. Do you consider yourself a: Democrat, 32 percent; Republican, 33 percent; Independent, 35 percent.

## Replies to a Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I sent a questionnaire to citizens in central Iowa last winter, and I am gratified and thankful for the great response of thousands who made their opinions and views available.

While those who returned questionnaires would not necessarily be a perfect cross section of the voters of that area, I believe the occupations and addresses listed on the returned questionnaires, when considered as a whole, do indicate that those responding were fairly representative of all the people of that area. While I could almost immediately determine the general opinion on various questions, there were so many thousands of returns that I have only recently been able to tabulate the precise percentages. For the information of those who may be interested, the full question and the tabulation is set forth below:

| | Those with an opinion | | Percent of total with no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent for | Percent against | |
| 1. Agreements for lower tariffs | 85 | 15 | 16 |
| 2. Continued support of United Nations | 85 | 15 | 29 |
| 3. Continued foreign aid | 68 | 32 | 19 |
| 4. Aid to grade and high schools | 54 | 46 | 15 |
| 5. Aid to increase college classrooms | 57 | 43 | 19 |
| 6. Loans for college students | 72 | 28 | 27 |
| 7. Pensions for World War I veterans | 53 | 47 | 23 |
| 8. Increase disabled veterans' compensation | 61 | 39 | 26 |
| 9. Extend feed grains program: | | | |
| Farmers voting | 88 | 12 | 5 |
| Nonfarmers voting | 40 | 60 | 39 |
| 10. Administration's new farm proposal: | | | |
| Farmers voting | 50 | 50 | 5 |
| Nonfarmers voting | 41 | 59 | 39 |
| 11. Health care for the aged under social security | 57 | 43 | 10 |
| 12. Further civil rights laws | 66 | 34 | 33 |
| 13. Establish Urban Affairs Department | 62 | 38 | 36 |
| 14. Prohibit Federal officials hiring relatives | 68 | 32 | 17 |
| 15. Increase social security benefits | 57 | 43 | 14 |
| 16. Expand recreation areas | 72 | 28 | 22 |
| 17. Continue $700,000,000 medical research program | 87 | 13 | 18 |
| 18. Tax credits for new industrial machinery | 59 | 41 | |

## Millions Recouped, Thanks to Mr. Findley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a recent amendment to the statute under which our food-for-peace programs operate has evoked a favorable response from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. This amendment, which will allow the funds generated by the sale of surplus agricultural commodities to be sold to Americans planning to visit the countries who participate in the food-for-peace program and who allow this sale procedure, offers this country the chance to recoup some of the value of the surplus food which we have sent abroad.

This amendment was sponsored by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] and is a sound money-saving idea. I wish to join the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in commending the gentleman for his work in behalf of saving millions of dollars for the American taxpayer.

The Globe editorial, "Mr. Findley's Amendment," which appeared in the August 20 issue of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, follows:

MR. FINDLEY'S AMENDMENT

Thanks to Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, Illinois Republican, some of the millions of dollars now wasted under our food-for-peace program will be recouped. Surplus American food is sold at a fraction of its cost to foreign governments who pay for it in their own currencies.

This money can't be taken out of the country. It must be spent there—and in a very limited number of ways.

It can be used to pay the expenses of visiting American officials like Congressmen, to operate our embassy, or to finance programs or projects which help the country itself.

Often, these rupees or dinars or zlotys simply pile up in foreign banks.

Congressman FINDLEY sponsored an amendment which permits the money in these blocked foreign accounts to be sold by Washington to American tourists for dollars. This is subject to the approval of the foreign government.

So far, the Department of Agriculture has been able to persuade 11 countries to agree to this provision. These agreements mean Washington can now sell up to $88,152,302 in foreign currency to tourists who plan to visit countries where the money is legal tender.

Thus, Washington will be able to get back something for the surplus foods which it now ships abroad virtually as a gift.

In addition, this will help stop the drain on our gold. It results when foreign nations acquire American dollars from tourists, for example, and cash them in at Fort Knox for bullion.

Mr. FINDLEY's amendment became law last year. But it was not until this July that the White House took advantage of it. "It is regrettable that there has been nearly a year's delay in putting into operation the tourist-dollar program," the Illinois Republican said.

"But I am glad President Kennedy is now giving it top priority."

Thirteen nations, including the Congo, India, Indonesia, Poland, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia refused to permit the blocked funds to be sold to tourists.

Mr. FINDLEY believes Washington should insist that all nations which get our surplus food on this cutrate deal should agree to the sale of their currency to American tourists.

So does the Globe-Democrat.

## Our Veterans Adjust

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to what I believe to be some very significant facts which were released by the Veterans' Administration a few days ago. These figures were quoted in an editorial printed in the Wichita Falls Record News, of Wichita Falls, Tex., on August 14, 1962, titled "Our Veterans Adjust."

This information, sets forth the stability of our veterans of World War II, and the success with which they have adjusted to civilian life. I believe this to be particularly significant to those of us who come from areas where National Guard and Reserve troops are just returning from their tour of active duty in connection with the Berlin crisis.

The editorial follows:

OUR VETERANS ADJUST

Wichita Falls recently had the experience of welcoming home a group of servicemen who had been called for emergency service.

The events reminded this city of the experience it had 17 years ago today at the end of World War II. This anniversary provides an excellent time for checking up on how those more than 15 million men and women, who had lost the prime time of their lives, could readjust and settle back into our normal living scheme.

The Veterans Administration released figures this week which measure the way in which these Americans have met the challenge of readjustment. Many of us were worried they would have great difficulty. Other nations had some sad experiences with the restless veterans who had returned home.

Today the average veteran of World War II is 44 years old. He is married and has three children. His average annual income is $6,000 and he purchased a home that has the average value of $14,500.

More than 87 percent of the veterans are living with their original wives and 97 percent are employed, another indication of normal readjustment.

Most of them are engaged in manufacturing with trade, transport and construction following. Seven percent live on farms.

Sociologists find no distinct difference between the average veteran and the average citizen. In trying to account for the normalcy which has made them such fine citizens, the political experts try to find the answer in the law passed by Congress.

Congress aided the veterans in education, housing, medical care and hospitalization and other categories ranging from specially equipped automobiles to small business.

Other nations had tragic experiences with restless returning veterans, but America can point with pride at its veterans as good citizens.

It is a valuable bit of information on this the 17th anniversary of the end of the war.

## Retreat From the Wrong Battleline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial, "Retreat From the Wrong Battleline," which appeared in the Denver Post on Friday, August 24, 1962, which I believe will be of great interest to all Members of Congress.

The editorial is as follows:

RETREAT FROM THE WRONG BATTLELINE

The official publication "Battle Line," of the Republican National Committee, came bristling out of Washington last month with

a startling charge against the Kennedy administration.

This is what Battle Line said:

"With 4 million Americans jobless, steel mills operating less than half capacity, Kennedy administration gives Japan $2 billion order for vehicles, although J.F.K. professes alarm at dangerously low gold level, this one order obligates 12 percent of $16 billion gold United States has on hand."

It was, indeed, an accusation to stir the blood.

How could the administration be so economically callous as to even consider pumping $2 billion worth of orders into Japan when it was expressing concern for our own economy and for our own gold balance?

And $2 billion for vehicles. Battle Line didn't say what kind of vehicles, but taking a round estimate of $2,000 per vehicle, that could mean an order for something like 1 million Japanese vehicles. What in heaven's name were we going to do with that many Japanese vehicles?

This newspaper pursued these intriguing questions in Washington. Apparently, so did other people. And this week, the pursuit caught up with the charge.

In some confusion, the GOP National Committee retreated from this particular battleline. There had been, it was explained at headquarters, a little mistake in the handling of the information.

The national committee had gotten the information from a public relations man who had gotten a copy of a newsletter from a Michigan Congressman who had apparently gotten the information—about a Defense Department purchase—from the news wire services.

Only these other sources didn't talk about $2 billion, they referred to $200 million. In reinterpreting the information for Battle Line, somebody had misread the zeros. The error, a GOP official told our man in Washington, left the national committee feeling very shamefaced.

It should. And in case the committee is still interested, here are the rest of the facts:

The transaction in question was made by the Defense Department in the last fiscal year. The Department purchased 80,000 vehicles, mostly three-quarter-ton and 2½-ton trucks and some jeeps, reportedly types no longer being produced in the United States, at a cost of $223 million. These were all for use in the military assistance program for our Pacific allies.

Although this is a far cry from the charge contained in the July Battle Line, the possible effect on the balance of payments problem is still a matter of concern with the administration and apparently it is with this problem in mind that the Defense Department, we are told, is reviewing such expenditures in the current fiscal year.

So, back to the firing line, men for some more dependable ammunition next time, we hope.

## Gobbledygook—Plus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, there are times when every student has difficulty translating a foreign language. That is to be expected and is a natural occurrence.

The condition more difficult to explain or understand is the need for an interpreter to determine what has been said in English. The situation is becoming so serious a man has been retained by the Department of Labor to determine why bureaucrats cannot say what they mean in plain, simple language all can understand.

The following editorial from the Harrisburg, Pa., Sunday Patriot-News, of August 26, points up rather facetiously the need for this:

WHAT DID THEY SAY? BRAVE MAN SEEKS ANSWER

One of the more interesting sidelights of the Billie Sol Estes case was the relevation that county committees handling Government farm programs frequently don't read directives sent out by the Department of Agriculture. The reason? They're so frequently unreadable.

Governmentalese, officialese, "gobbledygook"—call it what you will—is a communications disease of epidemic proportions. The waves of jargon break over the land, and no one has proposed a way of fighting it.

But one man is going to try. He is Lawrence Klein, editor of the Labor Department's Monthly Review. He has been given what's called a career service award by Secretary Arthur Goldberg so that he can spend a year trying to determine why Government bureaucrats can't write.

Mr. Klein is not going into this blindly. For the last 15 years he has been trying to cut through garbled official prose. And he knows the enemy wherever it appears. Witness this example he cited: "In the current stages of the ongoing postattack productivity study, the identification of the enervating effects of a decreased caloric diet upon physical productivity indicates the need to plan preattack for adequate caloric food stockpiles."

That means someone better have something for soldiers to eat after a fight.

Mr. Klein, of course, will have no end of material to work on. If he somehow gets done with the Pentagon in time, he can go see the highway official who referred to moving vehicles as "conglomerate units of a fluid nature." Or the conservationist who called pleasant living conditions "a group of physical environmental conditions which we will refer to as amenity resources." Or the industrial education specialist who had this to say: "It is recommended that coordinate effort be made to attack professional problems on a cluster research basis. This would involve the identification of problems and segmentation of them so that the cluster research bears on a particular problem. The cumulative effect of this procedure could reduce the time necessary to find solutions to pressing problems."

Uncluster that one if you will.

In wrestling with all this, Mr. Klein might wonder if the English language is partly at fault. A French king once recommended that Spanish be spoken to the gods, French to men, Italian to ladies, German to soldiers, Hungarian to horses, Czech to the devil and English to geese. Winston Churchill, on the other hand, cited "that noble thing, the English sentence."

The thought occurs that governmentalese is more a state of mind than a deficient language, as witness this way a planner dressed up his lack of anything to report: "We're doing the advance groundwork on a pre-preliminary phase."

Whatever the case, Mr. Klein deserves sympathy, or a salute for bravery, or something of the sort. He's in the position of a man tackling 100 acres of crabgrass with his bare hands.

## The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under unanimous consent, an editorial from the August 8, 1962, issue of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat which I believe should be brought to the attention of my colleagues. It concerns the speech of President John C. Satterfield before the American Bar Association on August 7, 1962, in which some timely comments were made relative to the growing assumption of power of the U.S. Supreme Court and how the highest Court in the land has abandoned stare decisis and departed into the field of social legislation.

The editorial follows:

THE TOO SUPREME COURT

The blunt, thoughtful arraignment of the U.S. Supreme Court, made yesterday by President John C. Satterfield of the American Bar Association, may not represent the unanimous opinion of the Nation's bar. It does represent a rising, worried concern of thousands of lawyers and millions of other citizens.

The constitutional purpose of the Supreme Court is not under attack. But the growing assumption of power the High Bench has grappled to itself, its vacillation and departure into fields of social legislation is the focus of deep American anxiety.

Mr. Satterfield assailed the Court's record on two basic counts: The submergence of State powers in a trend toward centralized Federal control, and the giving of "inordinate weight" to individual rights at the expense of majority rights.

There is plenty of reason to be deeply stirred by these two charges, for the simple reason they are impressively and increasingly true.

Not in every decree or opinion handed down by the Justices, but in the gradual accumulation of decisions which weld bigger Federal power at the expense of democratic freedom.

Civil rights of each American citizen are basic to our way of life. They are imbedded firmly within the Bill of Rights. They must and should be protected.

But these rights apply to all, not only to minorities. This truism of law and the Constitution, Mr. Satterfield with much justification contends the Supreme Court has forgotten or ignored.

"The exaltation of liberties of individuals," declared the American Bar Association head, "at the expense of equally valid indivisible liberties of all citizens who collectively constitute our Nation * * * has developed into an apotheosis of personal rights—not only over property rights but more widely over law enforcement, national security, foreign relations, citizenship, prevailing custom, and a variety of other solemn claims of society and government."

He foresees a trend toward all crimes becoming Federal crimes, all police Federal police * * * "precisely the danger the Federal Constitution was designed to prevent."

Here is no pessimist's poltergeist. This appears a definite process, not only in the Court but in the aggrandizement of National Government and the steady relinquishment

of State authority for Washington handouts—no matter what the cost.

The Supreme Court's conduct is not an isolated instrument of the march toward a nationalistic, social welfare Government with supreme power.

But the bench's contribution is significant, when this Court should be the very machinery to halt the encroachments of mushrooming federalism, with all its works of tax bounty and pomps of paternalism.

It is impossible for realistic appraisal to come to any other conclusion but that the Supreme Court increasingly uses its function, not always to interpret the Constitution and statutes on a legal basis.

It has in its actions often superseded the Congress, legislating by decree. The bench by its decrees too often abandons intent of the Constitution and construes the law to be what it wants, what it thinks it should be.

No intelligent person would dream of destroying the Supreme Court, as integral a part of Government as the Presidency and Congress. But it is utterly inane to consider the tribunal sacrosanct, or to ascribe criticism of its conduct to irresponsible marplots seeking to wreck justice and the machinery of law.

Congress and the President are subject to bitter blasts. Then, too, the Supreme Court can properly be criticised and much of Mr. Satterfield's denunciation is clearly justified.

The court of the land is entrusted with construing law and the Constitution—not according to its members' social nostrums, but according to facts and clear intent of basic precepts upon which this country was established. The Supreme Court has gone beyond this function too often and too dangerously.

## Civil Service Bumper Crop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, during consideration of the farm bill in June, our colleague Bob GRIFFIN offered an amendment requiring that "the total number of employees in the Department of Agriculture shall at no time exceed the number of farmers in America." The amendment was greeted with laughter, accepted on a voice vote but rejected on a division.

It now appears that possibly more serious attention should have been given to Representative GRIFFIN's amendment. According to an editorial in the Detroit Free Press for August 25, 1962, nearly 12,000 employees have been added to the payroll in the Department of Agriculture during the past fiscal year. This editorial, entitled "Civil Service Bumper Crop," is significant, and under leave to extend my remarks I include it at this point:

CIVIL SERVICE BUMPER CROP

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman made a speech to the American Farm Economic Association which was loaded with dire warning.

Among other things he said there is danger of Congress someday just giving up the subsidy struggle and leaving farmers to survive or sink according to how well they compete in the marketplace.

As one factor which might prod Congress into tearing up the subsidy pea patch. Secretary Freeman cited the declining power of rural forces. That is, the farming population keeps shrinking. Its political influence naturally shrinks along with its size.

Another factor which might influence Congress in the direction Mr. Freeman fears is his own addiction to the pleasures of empire.

In the past fiscal year his Department hired 11,975 new hands—seemingly on the popular governmental theory that the less there is to do the more payrollers you need not to do it.

Congress tends to regard the Federal payroller as more sacred than the flag, but presumably there are even limits on what Congress will stand still for.

An Agriculture Secretary who adds nearly 12,000 people to the load borne by taxpayers at a time when the population served by his department is decreasing so fast that he views the trend with alarm should nudge Congress on toward that limit.

## Quesada Comments on Probable Cause in Aircraft Accidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, last May Gen. E. R. Quesada, former Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, spoke to the 12th Annual Conference of the Guggenheim Aviation Safety Center suggesting improvements in the process for determining probable cause in the investigation of civil airline accidents. General Quesada did an excellent job in his years at the head of the FAA and his words in the field of aviation safety deserve the careful attention of all who would work to move America ahead in this important task.

The text of Quesada's remarks follows:

REMARKS BY E. R. QUESADA, 12TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, THE DANIEL AND FLORENCE GUGGENHEIM AVIATION SAFETY CENTER, MAY 16, 1962

By experience and conviction, I am certain that the present machinery of government responsible for making the official determinations of probable cause of civil aircraft accidents is not as effective as it should be and could be vastly improved. I refer particularly to the fact that existing law places this technical safety responsibility in the Civil Aeronautics Board, which is primarily—and I might say very heavily—absorbed in the burdensome and exacting task of economic regulation of the air transportation industry.

Its members are selected for their qualifications in the economic aspects of transportation, rather than in the technical or operational aspects of flying. A man well qualified in both of these highly specialized fields would be rare indeed. Assuming CAB members are highly qualified in air safety matters, as most of them would be quick to concede they are not, the staggering burden they bear in economic regulation of the airlines, offers them little opportunity to devote the necessary time and effort to the determination of probable cause after aviation accidents. The latter activity only tends to divert them and their staff from the mountainous backlog of crucially important work confronting them in the economic field, and leaves them unable to give either field the undivided attention it rightly deserves.

This condition is compounded by the Board's involvement with the economics of airline operation necessarily exposing it to strong pressures which should have no place in clinical efforts to determine the cause of an aircraft accident. The public is entitled to maximum freedom from such pressures in the search for the means to prevent tragedy.

My misgivings on grounds of principle have often been borne out in practice. In fact, the very nature of the proceedings employed to inquire into the cause of an air accident is such, as to make it inevitable that interested parties will engage in adversary efforts to shift blame, rather than give objective assistance in tracking down the cause and cure. Truth can be quickly lost in a heated public exchange of charges and countercharges. Information is given and statements made at the public hearing with one eye—or maybe both eyes—on ultimate legal liability in subsequent court litigation.

I am confident that much can be done to improve this sector of the Government's efforts in the air safety field. I strongly urge the Government to establish forthwith a group of highly qualified, objective individuals to look into this critical problem. They should be asked to produce a plan that would: (1) Free the Civil Aeronautics Board of its accident investigation responsibility; (2) establish new and effective procedures that eliminate the adversary practices now employed.

This recommendation is not meant to state or imply directly or indirectly that the members of the Civil Aeronautics Board are incapable of withstanding the pressures to which they are subjected or of making intelligent, objective, and informed conclusions. I do mean to state that the responsibility of determining probable cause should be placed elsewhere for organizational reasons and that the procedures should be improved. I do not mean to imply directly or indirectly that this responsibility should be placed on the Federal Aviation Agency.

If this function is soundly established, two birds can be killed with one stone. We can have the Board concentrating its efforts on what it knows how to do best. At the same time we can, in public interest, learn and apply, more quickly and effectively, the many lessons to be learned from an air tragedy when it strikes—seldom though it does.

## Not Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Dr. T. E. Mattingly appeared in a recent edition of the Washington Post.

The letter brings to each one of us a very sad fact of modern life and modern philosophy, namely, that we have lost the power of righteous indignation and are willing to compromise with anything

and anyone to keep ourselves safe and to be sure not to lose what we are pleased to call security. It may be just possible that we may be left with nothing but security, and with no soul:

NOT ALONE

Whither mankind's unashamed brutality? Once our conscience obeyed the unenforceable. There was a truce to succor the wounded. When captured, the prisoner was treated with dignity and mercy. There was neither genocide nor Iron Curtains of concrete, barbed wire, and ruthless ruffans as heartless slavemasters.

Yet with our eyes gazing at the Soviet triumph in the heavens, a German youth bleeds to death while his jungle slavemasters defy compassion to give a helping hand. And because we did not help, and because we slowly have accepted the code of the brute, we too have become less than the ideal for which we stand.

The unnamed German youth did not die alone. Something very precious and vital to mankind's hope and dreams died with him.

Dr. T. E. MATTINGLY.

WASHINGTON.

## Republic of Chad Second Independence Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, June 27, 1962*

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to note the just concluded second anniversary on August 11 of the independence of a Republic of Chad. The progress of this important central African country during its 2 years of independent sovereignty is of great interest and satisfaction not only to me but to many Americans of all political persuasions, religions, and national origins.

Developing as we have from a colonial status and looking back on our own position as a newly developing nation, the United States has special pride in saluting the people of Chad on this significant occasion. At the time the United States established its own nationhood, we too faced many problems. We were young and inexperienced in the operation of our own Government. Our national resources although bountiful were undeveloped. We lacked the capital to make the improvements so badly needed.

Like Chad, however, we had in bountiful measure the desire and ability to build a nation in which all people would have the right of education, the right of employment, and the right to live in human dignity. Like the people of Chad, the people of the United States take pride in their country and in their Government. Nation building, as we all well know, is a process which is never ending. It is a process which calls for the continued support of every citizen of the country.

As an important nation in the free world, Chad has several advantages as it begins this third year of independence. Not the least of these is the fact that its independence was won by negotiation without bitter bloodshed. Good relations between Chad and the former colonial government of the French are an asset to Chad as it builds its future.

A second advantage is the fact that Chad over the years has acquired a good beginning in the development of roads and communications, and above all possesses a cadre of leadership, alert, intelligent, and capable of dealing with domestic and international affairs.

On this occasion of the second anniversary of the independence of Chad, I am pleased to express the genuine friendship of America for the people of Chad, and to express our best wishes for their continuing development in freedom and peace.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to include my newsletter of August 25, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT: CONGRESSIONAL STAFF WORK

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas, special report by Ralph Marlatt, administrative assistant to Congressman BRUCE ALGER)

This week the House is in recess to give the Members an opportunity, as stated by Speaker of the House JOHN MCCORMACK and Majority Leader CARL ALBERT, "to take advantage of this last chance to take a week off before the beginning of the new school term." Congressman ALGER, as did other Members with families, has used the week to spend a vacation with Jill, David, and Steve. In his absence, Congressman ALGER has asked me to report on the activities of the office in dealing with what is termed "case work."

These are the problems in which the people become involved with the Federal Government and turn to their Representative in Congress for assistance in unraveling the redtape and mysteries of dealing with the sprawling bureaucracy which now touches almost every aspect of our daily living. These are the human problems, some routine business matters, some tragic, all important and, under the inspiration of Congressman ALGER, each is dealt with sympathetically, earnestly and as thoroughly as possible. Of course, a Congressman is limited by law and the Constitution as to just how far he can go in handling a case, but in this office every legal and ethical effort is made to insure each constituent a fair and impartial hearing for any problem. All correspondence between the people and the Congressman is confidential, but I don't believe it is betraying any confidences to list just a few of the types of cases handled by Congressman ALGER and his staff in the past few months.

A constituent, traveling abroad, was suddenly taken ill and needed immediate blood transfusions. No blood of his type was available and had to be secured from the United States without delay. A member of his family was prepared to fly the lifesaving blood to him, but lacked a proper passport. We received the plea for help at 7 a.m., on a Sunday morning. All members of the staff immediately went to work and by noon all necessary clearances were made to permit departure. Another Dallas resident had difficulty in obtaining a permit to sail a boat he had just purchased out of a harbor in a Latin American country. He was using the boat in his work and could get no satisfaction either from American authorities or those of the country involved. We took the case up with the State Department and through a series of telephone calls and cablegrams were able to solve the problem. As a result of these efforts Congressman ALGER received a nice letter from the constituent which said, in part, "It was a relief, and gave me renewed confidence that some one in our Federal Government knows what to do and will take the time to do it for someone who is not an important official. Up until contacting you I have been most frustrated in getting anything done and equally discouraged."

Many cases involve young men and women in the service. A Dallas boy was seriously injured in the Far East and his parents were unable to get the details or clearance for one of them to go to him. We contacted the military, found the boy was hurt, but not as seriously as at first feared and made arrangements for his father to be flown to him. A young woman, unable to adjust to military life was upset because she felt she was not being given proper consideration for a discharge. Her parents were worried about her and sought the Congressman's help in expediting the paperwork. The service branch involved was most cooperative in giving every assurance that everything possible was being done for the girl, arrangements were made for the mother to see her in the hospital and within a few days she was discharged and is now happily at home taking up her college career where it was interrupted. A woman suffering a serious illness which left her totally disabled needed assistance in establishing her right to social security benefits. Recently she was awarded compensation with payments retroactive for 18 months which greatly helped her in meeting her hospital and medical expenses.

These are among the more dramatic cases, but there are hundreds involving income tax problems, VA and FHA loans, problems concerned with Government contracts, hardship discharges and transfer for military personnel, invasion of property rights by the Federal Government in areas where public and private lands adjoin, immigration and visa cases (many concerning refugees from Cuba and other Iron Curtain countries), and many other types, all in a nonpolitical category. They are not all solved to the satisfaction of the person who has the problem, but every citizen of Dallas County may be sure that any case presented to Congressman ALGER is given every possible attention. No other Member of Congress works harder for the people he represents, nor cares more deeply about their problems than does Congressman ALGER.

## Milan's H. Steger Webb Honored as Typical Mayor of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the Tennessee Municipal League, which is the organization of towns and cities in our State, annually selects the Mayor of the Year.

We were honored in our congressional district this year by the selection of Hon. H. Steger Webb, of Milan, Tenn., for this award.

I quote from the official publication of the Tennessee Municipal League relative to the achievements of Mayor Webb:

MILAN'S H. STEGER WEBB HONORED AS TYPICAL MAYOR OF THE YEAR

Tennessee's Typical Mayor of the Year for 1962, Steger Webb, of Milan, was described to the annual Tennessee Municipal League convention as a hard worker who knows how to get people to work with him and with each other.

Dr. H. P. Clemmer, chairman of the Milan Chamber of Commerce Industrial Committee, cited the typical mayor's energy and enthusiasm as major reasons for his phenomenal success in helping to attract new industry to Milan.

The announcement of the annual award was made at the convention banquet, held at Ellington Agricultural Center. Mayor Webb may have had an inkling of something unusual if he noticed the large number of Milan and Gibson County people sprinkled through the crowd that evening. But the announcement—as usual—came as a surprise.

The certificate from the league, paying tribute to Mayor Webb as typical of hundreds of dedicated municipal officials throughout the State, was presented by James Tipton, Jr., executive secretary of the Tennessee County Services Association and a close personal friend during his many years' residence in Milan.

Dr. Clemmer listed these impressive statistics on Milan's progress since Mayor Webb took office in 1958:

An increase of 192 percent in employment in local plants, to a total of 1,095 workers.

An increase of 204 percent in employment at the Arsenal, to a total of 1,050.

An increase of 160 percent in the number of industrial plants, to 13.

A 14-percent increase in bank deposits.

A 600-percent increase in new housing starts.

"We have modernized and improved our city services, without increasing taxes," he said.

These municipal improvements include a water and sewer program which will cost $1,100,000. Milan will have 10- and 12-inch water lines in both industrial and residential areas, and it is hoped that the fire insurance rating will move from class 7 to class 6. The sewage disposal plant will be able to serve a population of 25,000.

During the past 5 years the city electric department has spent $250,000, the water department $148,000, and the sewer department $92,000 to keep pace with service needs.

Milan also boasts a new $100,000 city hall, housing a courtroom, the chamber of commerce offices, the health department, fire department, police department and the mayor's office.

"The story of Milan in recent years is a story of progress," Dr. Clemmer declared. "Much of this progress can be credited to Steger Webb."

After this award was given to Mayor Webb the Chamber of Commerce of Milan, Tenn., held a reception honoring him in the new city hall. Some 200 of the citizens of Milan attended this reception.

Mayor Webb in his capacity as mayor also serves as juvenile judge. His program of work has been very successful. He has never had a reformatory case. He attributes his success to patient counseling and guidance. He tries to find city jobs for delinquent, needy children, and has been known to loan them money out of his own pocket.

Mayor Webb, who is 44, says that his key to success "has been the complete cooperation of the town in doing a job. They have not been afraid to take a chance." Mayor Webb also added that he really believes that Milan has "the greatest future of any small town in Tennessee."

Mayor Webb is very active in civic clubs. He is a member of First Methodist Church, and a Mason. He has never been married. He said he likes to write some, but that his chief hobby "is operating the city of Milan."

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## Columbo's Boondoggle—A Fable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "Columbo's Boondoggle," which appeared in the August 16, 1962, issue of the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The author of this article, Edgar Arnold, Jr., is a fine young newspaperman in my district and is known all over the State of Kentucky. This is not surprising, as he is following in the footsteps of an outstanding father, Edgar Arnold, Sr., the owner and publisher of the Messenger. The integrity and high principle which the father has established in connection with newspaper work has been instilled in the son. Their sense of fairness leaves the columns of the Messenger open to the other side—often leading to debate, but always working for a better community.

Edgar Arnold, Jr., like his father, is dedicated to the theory that a newspaper exists in order to dispense news with sincerity and truth and to serve as a forum for public debate and expression. In my opinion, he is an excellent newspaperman, a dedicated citizen, and an outstanding Kentuckian.

His article is as follows:

COLUMBO'S BOONDOGGLE—A FABLE

Almost 500 years ago, an Italian sea captain of note—namely one Cristoforo Columbo—became convinced that the world was round. He was granted an audience before the senate of Genoa, asking for funds with which to outfit a westward voyage to reach the rich spice islands of the Far East—or to discover what great lands, if any, might lie between. But his appeals were in vain, for a wise old doge held forth to the senate in this manner: "The world is flat and this fool would only sail off the edge. Were it even round, why the great hurry to get to the other side? We should proceed in an orderly, scientific way, building one accomplishment on another, rather than engaging in a mad effort to win a stunt race. Tilt at windmills if you must but waste not our riches on this million-lira boondoggle."

Sad but undaunted, this Captain Columbo traveled to the court of King Ferdinand V and Queen Isabella in Spain and spent 7 years appealing to this royal couple for support of his brave venture. At times he seemed almost touching success in his pleas, but each time a wise old don—once prime minister—prevailed upon Ferdinand and Isabella thusly: "Were the world even round (and we know it is flat), why the great hurry to get to the other side? We should proceed in an orderly, scientific way, building one accomplishment on another, rather than engaging in a mad effort to win a stunt race. Don't squander our riches sending this madman on a bootless errand, don't give another thought to this million-ducat boondoggle."

So Columbo finally gave up his venture, and died a broken man, taunted on the streets by young and old with shouts of "Columbo's boondoggle" and "the world is round, the world is round, hah-hah-hah."

At about the same time, in the 124th year of the Ming Dynasty of China—far to the east and still farther to the west—a sea captain of note, by name of Chou-lung, was granted an audience before the young Emperor and wove for his ruler a tale of lands far beyond the sea to the eastward and pleaded with the Emperor to give him three ships for a long voyage of discovery to the east. The Emperor was muchly impressed with this brave sea captain and bade him return in a fortnight for his answer. But the old Emperor, who had given up his throne to the younger ruler, shouted: "Confucius say bird in hand better than two in bush. This is million-yuan boondoggle; better we send this man to catch fish in the air. Even if world is round—and Buddha knows it's flat—why great hurry to get to other side? We should proceed in orderly, scientific manner, building one accomplishment on another, rather than engaging in mad effort to win stunt race." And there were other wise men who pleaded against the venture, saying: "Send ships without men aboard, maybe one of them will make the voyage and return and then we will know it is safe."

But the young Emperor would not be swayed and he granted to Chou-lung his three ships and they sailed away. Many moons later they returned, laden with gold and jewels and other riches and tales of a wonderful land stretching from the top of the earth to the bottom and sparsely inhabited by primitive red men not greatly unlike the Chinese. And the Emperor and his successors continued to promote these voyages of discovery, then colonization for the vast new lands, which they named in honor of their discoverer—North Chou-lung, Central Chou-lung, and South Chou-lung. And the Ming Dynasty prospered and grew and continues to this day.

And this is why the Chinese so dominate the earth with their modern culture and progress and prosperity, while the white men in Spain and Italy and the other little nations of Europe continue such a primitive existence. Now, we are told, the present young Emperor of this vast and modern land has given his blessing to a voyage to the moon. To his critics who denounce this venture as a "20-billion-yuan boondoggle," the Emperor has answered: "Our history books say this is same old story they tried to peddle when esteemed Chou-lung wanted to explore vast ocean. Confucius say: 'If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand.'"

Today's quote: "Why the great hurry to get to the moon and the planets? * * * We should proceed in an orderly, scientific way, building one accomplishment on another, rather than engaging in a mad effort to win a stunt race."—DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

## Optimism in St. Louis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on June 17 the Optimists International opened a new international headquarters building in St. Louis. It was my very great pleasure to be able to join with this distinguished and forward-looking group in the dedication of the new headquarters. I commend the work of this organization and I am happy that the new international headquarters in St. Louis will have a part in moving its important work forward. The construction of this new headquarters is a significant milestone in the Optimists' efforts.

In addressing the dedication ceremony, I spoke on the point of employment and the fact that we have a great untapped resource in our unemployed. The Republican News of St. Louis County, reported on this speech in its July issue. I am placing this article, which does a good job of capturing the ideas which I offered in my speech, in the RECORD. A number of people have asked for copies of the entire speech and I intend to place it in the RECORD in the near future.

The article follows:

CURTIS SAYS UNEMPLOYED IS UNTAPPED RESOURCE

"Our unemployed are actually one of our society's greatest untapped resources," U.S. Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, Missouri, Second District, declared in the principal address at ceremonies officially dedicating the new Optimists International headquarters building at 4494 Lindell Boulevard.

We have more jobs going unfilled than there are people to fill them, CURTIS asserted, adding that America throughout its history has always had a labor shortage, not a labor surplus.

"That is one reason why immigrants flocked, and still flock, to our shores.

"I prefer to look at employment and the help wanted ads and wonder how can we get the men and women to fill these jobs—jobs which so urgently need to be filled that companies advertise week after week attempting to find qualified persons for these jobs," he said.

The pessimists say the jobs going begging call for skills, while the unemployed are centered largely among the unskilled, the semiskilled and possessors of obsolete skills, CURTIS declared, adding that these same pessimists believe the high skills demanded to fill the unfilled jobs cannot be developed among the jobless group.

"I point out, however, that the dynamism of a society going somewhere, as ours is, consists of a constant upgrading of skills within the spectrum of skills," he continued.

"The possesor of the lowest skill is not the one trained for the newly emerging job demanding the higher skill. This job is filled by one with a highly skillful job upgrading his skill, thus leaving his old job to be filled by one below upgrading his skill, and so on down the line."

The greatest waste in our society, CURTIS charged, is when someone capable of doing a job requiring a higher skill will not train himself to handle that skill but, instead, lases along in a job which is too easy for him.

Such a person robs himself as well as the person who does not have the talent to fill the more demanding job but who could adequately handle the less demanding job, he said.

## Memorial for a Constitutional Amendment Reserving Power of Apportionment to the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith, for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a memorial adopted at the recent special session of the Florida Legislature. House Memorial No. 18–X was introduced by Mr. Mathews, of Duval County, Fla., and is entitled:

A memorial to the Congress of the United States of America urging the Congress to submit a constitutional amendment reserving, granting, and confirming power and jurisdiction relating to the apportionment and reapportionment of the membership of State legislatures to the States without review of the Federal courts, and further urging the Congress to enact immediate interim legislation under article III, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution limiting appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

My State feels very strongly that the harassment of State governments and the constant erosion of States rights by the Federal courts must end. I share in that conviction, and I strongly support a constitutional amendment which clearly confirms the power of the States to deal solely with matters of apportionment and reapportionment of State legislatures.

The memorial follows:

"HOUSE MEMORIAL No. 18–X

"(Introduced by Mr. Mathews of Duval County, Fla.)

"A memorial to the Congress of the United States of America urging the Congress to submit a constitutional amendment reserving, granting and confirming power and jurisdiction relating to the apportionment and reapportionment of the membership of State legislatures to the States without review of the Federal courts, and further urging the Congress to enact immediate interim legislation under article III, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution limiting appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

"Whereas the apportionment of the membership of State legislatures, both the House and Senate, is properly a State and not a Federal question; and

"Whereas there has been some effort recently by some of the lower Federal courts, not only to determine the validity of the apportionment or reapportionment of the membership of State legislatures, but also to make apportionment or reapportionment by judicial decree; and

"Whereas such judicial proceedings seriously interfere with States rights and the freedom of government by the people of the several States; and

"Whereas such judicial proceedings are a massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past and are a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of powers not granted to the Federal judiciary by the U.S. Constitution,

"Whereas it appears to be the view of the Federal judiciary that population numbers are a principal consideration in determining the validity of apportionment laws relating to the representation in both houses of a bicameral legislative body; and

"Whereas it has long been the custom, usage and law of the State of Florida and the several States that other factors in addition to population ought to be considered in arriving at fair and equitable representation in State legislative bodies; and

"Whereas it is necessary that the Congress enact suitable laws relating to both the original jurisdiction of the Federal district courts and appellate jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court, pursuant to power vested in the Congress by article III, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution and any other applicable laws until such time as the Federal judiciary's encroachment into the field of State legislative apportionment traditionally reserved unto the States is curbed: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Florida*, That the Florida Legislature hereby and herein petitions the Congress of the United States of America, and each House and Member thereof, to draft and submit a suitable amendment to the U.S. Constitution, specifically reserving, granting, and clearly confirming exclusive power and jurisdiction relating to the apportionment and reapportionment of the membership of State legislatures to the several States and to spell out that State action in this field is not subject to review by the Federal courts; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Florida Legislature hereby and herein petitions the Congress of the United States of America, and each House and Member thereof, to draft, submit, and enact a suitable law having the effect of excluding from the original jurisdiction of the Federal district courts cases relating to State legislative reapportionment and excluding from the appellate jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court cases relating to State legislative apportionment pursuant to powers conferred upon the Congress by article III, section 2 of the Constitution of the United States, which provides in material part as follows: 'In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make'; be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of this memorial be transmitted forthwith by the chief clerk of the house and the secretary of the senate of the State of Florida to the President of the United States, and the Vice President of the United States as Presiding Officer of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, to each of the congressional delegation from Florida in the U.S. Congress, and to each of the Governors, secretaries of state, and attorneys general of the several States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this memorial be spread upon the journal of both the Senate and house of representatives of the State of Florida, and sufficient copies thereof be furnished to the press."

I, Tom Adams, secretary of state of the State of Florida, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of House Memorial No. 18–X adopted at the extraordinary session of the Florida Legislature, 1962, as shown by the records of this office.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State of Florida at Tallahassee, the capital, this the 14th day of August A.D. 1962.

TOM ADAMS,
*Secretary of State.*

## The Solution of Juvenile Delinquency Is in the Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to discuss a matter which I believe I have a certain amount of knowledge, the subject of juvenile delinquency. As a State senator of New York, I was a member of the statewide commission on youth and juvenile delinquency. This commission consisted of nine members. It was headed by Thomas J. Watson, Jr., president of the International Business Machines. Some members were George B. DeLuca, then the Lieutenant Governor; Jacob K. Javits, then the attorney general; Mrs. David M. Levy; Mr. Mark A. McCloskey; myself; and four other legislators.

We made a statewide study in the major cities and in the rural areas on this important subject. We heard thousands of witnesses, judges, probation officers, social workers, priests, rabbis, teachers, and citizens from every field of endeavor. As a result of the 6-month study, we made many recommendations to the New York State legislation, some of which have been enacted into law.

During hearings before the special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, under the chairmanship of Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, I testified and gave the subcommittee the benefit of the experiences which I had learned during my senatorial experience. As the membership of the House knows, the committee recommended an appropriation of $30 million covering a period of 3 years to coordinate the various activities in the various States to combat this problem of juvenile delinquency.

My testimony before the subcommittee follows:

There is probably no other area where statistics tell so little of the actual story than in the area of juvenile delinquency. Statistics tell us that 98 percent of our young people are good, law abiding citizens and only 2 percent can be labeled with the category of "juvenile delinquency," but statistics do not tell us what 2 percent means in terms of disruptions of family life, losses of education for all children in classes where education is continually disrupted and loss potential talent and manpower to our Nation. Finally, how can statistics measure the pain of the mother whose child is killed in a gang war or whose child does the killing?

Today, juvenile delinquency is a problem everywhere, in big cities and small rural towns, in slums and in suburbs. Three main reasons seem to be involved. The basic cause to my mind, is the breakdown of respect for authority, a breakdown that frequently manifests itself first in the home, later in the school, and finally in the courts. The second cause, is the breakdown in family life with today's increase in divorce, homes where both parents must work and there is insufficient supervision, and homes where there is lack of love and affection or indulgence and mother love.

The third reason is the negative role that youth is frequently asked to play in today's world. A hundred years ago, young people had important things to learn if they were to take their place in society—things they were taught by their families and communities as well as by the schools. Today's young people have no apprenticeship to serve, nothing seemingly to contribute so they become the rebels without a cause.

It is in the third category of causes that local communities today are playing an important part in the development of projects to integrate young people into the life and work of the community. In all areas, however, there is a great need for study, research and training on a national scale. Pilot projects are needed that will determine specific guides to the causes of juvenile delinquency and measures that can be taken to see that our current alarming increase in juvenile delinquency is halted and turned back. Pilot projects are needed that will show how our young juvenile offenders can first be rehabilitated and reclaimed for themselves, their families and society as a whole.

The Federal Government, through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is actively engaged in many projects of this kind and millions of dollars have been spent in the search for these essentials, but more, much more is needed. A recent study revealed that in many areas, probation officers and others working with young people in trouble are not college graduates, and have received no special training. The preparation of materials and the provision of specialists to help give these people necessary training is a vast and essential area of endeavor.

Some Federal laws are aimed directly at the prevention of juvenile delinquency and rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents. The laws prohibiting interstate traffic in switchblade knives, enactments making it easier to arrest and prosecute pornographers and raising the age limit of youths covered by the Federal Youth Correction Act to 26 are explicit examples of such laws.

Much remains to be done. The creation of a new CCC Corps has often been recommended to give worthwhile work to the boy who would otherwise roam the streets. Laws which would protect the youthful offender against the loss of his civil rights so that he would have a better chance at rehabilitation should receive consideration. Today a boy who has a record generally is not eligible for any civil service position, no matter how menial, nor can he hold a job that require a license—he cannot, for example, be a barber or sell beer in a grocery store.

A boy whose way to a decent life seems blocked in all directions, who is told by his probation officer and officials that he has paid his debt to society, but he is not good enough to clean its streets, may certainly feel that crime is his only recourse.

The attack on juvenile delinquency, therefore, must come from all levels of society and government, with the role of the Federal Government a threefold one: Research and study; the provision of materials and trained personnel to help juvenile delinquency workers; and necessary legislation in areas where the problem comes under Federal domain.

## Matt Cvetic: A Real Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, July 27, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Mat Cvetic: A Real Hero," which appeared in the August 21, 1962, issue of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner. Mr. Cvetic's efforts to awaken the American people to the internal Communist threat are widely known. I was well acquainted with him and can attest to his utter loyalty to the United States and the freedoms for which she stands. I deem it most appropriate that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

MATT CVETIC: A REAL HERO

Some men become heroes on the battlefields of war, others on the battlefields of peace. Matt Cvetic, who died in Los Angeles recently from a heart atack, was one of the latter.

At the request of the FBI, Cvetic became a Communist to spy on the Reds and learn their secrets. In that he did a tremendous job and the Communists never learned they had been tricked until Cvetic went on the witness stand and told his story before a congressional committee.

But in the meantime, what suffering he went through in life. He could not reveal to anyone, including his closest relatives, why he had become a Communist.

His Austrian immigrant mother died in sorrow in 1949 believing her son to be a traitor to the United States. His father only learned the truth 3 months before he died.

When Cvetic's wife learned he was a Communist she took their twin sons and left him, eventually divorcing him.

Matt Cvetic, in our opinion, was a great hero. He made the supreme sacrifice in life. May kind memories of him and what he did for his country remain in our hearts forever.

## Support for H.R. 11158: The Mass Transportation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter I received from the American Transit Association with regard to my bill H.R. 11158:

AMERICAN TRANSIT ASSOCIATION,
*New York, N.Y., August 17, 1962.*

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: As you know, the urban mass transportation bills, S. 3615 and H.R. 11158, which provide matching assistance for capital facilities and equipment to improve rail and bus passenger transportation service in urban areas have been reported by the legislative committees of both Houses.

Recently, statements have been made that this assistance is to be limited to publicly owned transit systems and will be used to drive private enterprise out of business.

The organization for which I am authorized to speak by its board of directors is comprised of about 250 member local transit systems of which only 20 are publicly owned and operated. Last year they transported about 80 percent of all transit riders in the United States.

Because of our vital interest in the preservation of private enterprise, we respectfully submit that these statements are inaccurate.

We would not support the legislation if we believed it was in any way calculated to diminish the role of private enterprise in this field.

We believe that unless assistance for capital improvements are made available, State and local governments will be forced to take over more and more local private rail and bus carriers.

This legislation has been amended by the committees of both Houses to specifically require certification that the urban transportation program of any community requesting assistance provide for the participation of private mass transportation companies to the maximum extent feasible.

We are satisfied that the legislation gives adequate protection to private enterprise, and we therefore urge your support.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK J. JOHNSON,
*President,*
*American Transit Association.*

## Mayor Wagner Salutes the Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HUGH L. CAREY**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, shortly after his return from a tour of Europe Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, was invited to address the annual State convention of the American Legion of the State of New York.

The mayor, who is a colonel in the Reserve Forces, had a distinguished military career during World War II and is keenly aware of the contributions and obligations of American veterans. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the text of the address given by the mayor during the State convention:

REMARKS BY MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AT THE AMERICAN LEGION ANNUAL STATE CONVENTION

I am just back from my first trip to Europe in 7 years. In those 7 years, Europe has changed but so has the entire world. Europe is much more prosperous than it was 7 years ago. The world and the world situation are much more complicated and difficult than was the case in 1955. But I am glad to be able to say to you, as a returning traveler and tourist, that America's position and prestige in the world are certainly much stronger and higher today than 7 years ago. This observation is based on the comments of hundreds of plain everyday people I met and talked to as well as of businessmen and government officials, including many European mayors whom I have known in the past.

But this is not the occasion to make a serious report on my trip abroad. I am here this morning to greet and welcome my fellow Legionnaires to this annual State convention here in New York City. But there is one comparison of Europe today with the Europe of the past that I am sure you as Legionnaires will appreciate * * * especially those of you who have been abroad lately.

The ninth national convention of the American Legion was held in Paris back in 1927. The other day somebody showed me a copy of the January 1927 edition of the old Legion newspaper, the Empire State Legionnaire. What caught my eye was the front page headline over an article about the forthcoming Paris convention of the Legion. The headline read: $300 is sufficient for Paris trip. The subheadline read: Will leave about $90 for incidentals.

That was 35 years ago. Europe has certainly changed. I can testify to that.

In the 3 days of your convention here in New York City, you will deliberate on many matters of grave import * * * not only for the Legion, for veterans in general, and for your country * * * but for the benefit of freemen everywhere.

The American Legion, with the New York department in the van, has always been dedicated to the preservation of our national independence and integrity. The Legion, through its continuing concern for the state of our national defense, has long supported the cause of American power in world affairs.

As for the department of New York, whether in fund raising for an educational television station, as in Buffalo, or in the preparation of a "School Guard Color Manual" by New York City's Schoolman's Post, or in the current Boy's State civic project at Colgate University, our department of the Legion can point to a record of many achievements.

During the past year, the New York department has spent more than $115,000 solely for the rehabilitation of our less fortunate comrades. Our child welfare program has earned, and deservedly so, the plaudits not only of the people of New York but of the entire Nation.

To my fellow Legionnaires I sincerely urge you to continue your efforts to build a finer and better America. Continue to be on the alert against the spread of communism and Communist imperialism. Above all, keep up your efforts to help each of our citizens to be proud of being an American, and to make America proud, especially proud, of each one of her citizens.

I regret that the resolution for a Korean bonus, sponsored by the American Legion, Department of New York, was killed in Albany on orders from the Governor's office. I was in favor of a bonus. I stated that fact publicly. I am still in favor of it. And in a year when our State and National economy could have stood a boost, a Korean bonus would have been doubly useful. But next year is another year.

Again on behalf of the people of New York City, I extent to all of you a warm and heartfelt welcome.

Let us continue to keep our Nation spiritually as well as militarily strong so that your children and mine may continue to enjoy the freedom which we and others before us have fought to preserve.

Good luck and God bless you all.

## The Navy's Dental Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Navy Dental Corps celebrated its 50th anniversary on August 22.

As sponsor of a bill which helped mold the corps into the fine medical division it is today, I would like to warmly congratulate Rear Adm. C. W. Schantz and the officers and men of the corps for a job well done.

Mr. Speaker, the mission of the corps is vital to the overall health and well-being of Navy and Marine Corps personnel. Since the days of its infancy, the Navy Dental Corps has established a record of devotion to duty, and high professional competence.

The News and Courier at Charleston, S.C., recently published a chronological history of the corps. Under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert this tribute to the dedicated officers and men of the corps for the information of the Congress:

THE NAVY'S DENTAL CORPS
(By T. Edward Pertuit)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Navy Dental Corps marks its both birthday anniversary Wednesday. The following article was written in recognition of the occasion and is based largely on the Navy Department's publication, "The Dental Corps of the U.S. Navy," a chronological history.)

The U.S. Navy Dental Corps celebrates its 50th anniversary this year. But the fight for a corps started about 118 years ago.

It was then that Edward Maynard, an outstanding practitioner of dentistry in Washington and dentist to several Presidents and national figures of his time, began trying to interest the men he knew.

But the earliest mention of dentistry in naval correspondence is in a letter of February 16, 1853, from President Fillmore's (Secretary) of the Navy, John P. Kennedy, to Surgeon General Thomas Harris, urging more dental knowledge for naval medical applicants. (The letter was prompted by Dr. Maynard's interest.)

The Surgeon General replied that requiring every doctor that applied for Navy service to have a full knowledge of dentistry would be rather infeasible.

Mr. Kennedy then asked if a qualified dentist could not be attached to each vessel, or at least one to a squadron. The Surgeon General thought one to a squadron sufficient.

But, despite this glimmering of interest, it was not until April 22, 1873, that the first dentist, Dr. Thomas O. Walton, was appointed to Navy service.

He became acting assistant surgeon at the U.S. Naval Academy until his discharge in 1879. A year later, he was appointed in the same position as a contract dentist, at a salary of $1,600 per annum.

He and his successor, Dr. Richard Grady, continually urged legislation to get proper dental care for men of the Navy, but to no real effect.

In 1879 a bill was introduced in Congress to establish a Dental Corps as a branch of the Medical Department in the Army and Navy. It didn't pass, but it was a start.

Surg. Gen. P. M. Rixey pressed for legislation, getting consideration (but no bill) from 1904 through 1911.

Long and detailed reports of what lack of proper dental care was doing to the general health and morale of the Navy were summed up by the Secretary of the Navy in 1911.

"The imperative necessity for the establishment of a corps of properly qualified dentists in the Navy has been dwelt upon in previous reports, and experience emphasizes and confirms what has previously been written," the Secretary wrote.

What has been written over the years was voluminous and revealing of oral disease, and its effects (including deaths).

With all the pressure piled up, the bill introduced in 1912 passed the 62d Congress on August 22 and the Dental Corps came into being.

The act provided for up to 30 dental officers, with additional temporary officers ap-

pointed when necessary, not to exceed the proportion of 1 per 1,000 of the authorized enlisted strength.

The Dental Corps was given $15,000 to purchase equipment that first year. Dr. Emoray A. Bryant of Washington, D.C., became the first dental officer, appointed October 23, 1912.

On March 4, 1913, Congress authorized a Reserve Corps, which developed closely with the Dental Corps. The fact is that in many years there have been more Reserve Corps members on active duty than Regular officers.

On March 5, 1913, Dr. H. E. Harvey reported aboard the U.S.S. *Solace*, becoming the first dental officer aboard a ship. Dr. James L. Brown reported to the U.S. Naval Station, Guam, to become the first dental officer ordered to an overseas base.

During 1913 the buildup moved forward, with 15 officers on duty by November. By June 30, 1915, there were 31 dental officers in the corps.

The Surgeon General reported that work was being done, particularly on the larger stations, but added that officers were needed to reach the smaller stations.

Another step forward was the act of 1916, allowing dental officers to be commissioned. The establishing act gave only appointments.

The fledgling Dental Corps moved into World War I April 6, 1917, with 35 dental officers. With a buildup underway, the number grew to more than 80 by October, and by 1918 new officers were being sent to an instruction school established at Great Lakes, Ill. Schooling included advanced work in oral surgery, and other practices.

History was made again on April 13, 1918—Lt. (jg.) Alexander G. Lyle, DC, while serving with the 5th Regiment, U.S. Marines was awarded the Medal of Honor for doing emergency surgery (not dental) under fire in the Verdun sector. He also was awarded the Silver Star for this act and for action in the Soissons sector.

Lt. (jg.) Weedon E. Osborne, also a Medal of Honor recipient, became the first dental officer to give his life for his Nation, June 6, 1918.

During the war the number of dental officers expanded to more than 500, with 134 Regulars and the rest Reserves.

Ninety percent of those in the regular corps served at sea or overseas. Of 45 transports used, only 22 carried a dental officer.

One major innovation that developed in medical records during World War I was the dental chart. By war's end thousands of sailors and marines had complete dental records and these charts of all personnel have proved invaluable over the years as a means of identifying the dead—aside from their intended purpose.

It has been calculated that 80 percent of the casualties at Pearl Harbor were identified this way.

The Dental Corps and Dental Corps Reserve had grown into a proven part of Navy medicine by the end of World War I.

On February 3, 1923, the U.S. Naval Dental School opened. It not only included instruction in every phase of dentistry, but the prosthetics laboratory was to serve as a central dental laboratory for the Navy.

The school trained both enlisted technicians and medical officers receiving postgraduate courses.

The Dental Corps, like the rest of the Nation during the early part of the 1930's, felt the effects of the depression.

In 1932 economics forced temporary closing of the U.S. Naval Dental School. Yet, in the same year, the Surgeon General noted that education of enlisted personnel and officers had resulted in an even heavier workload per officer, as interest in oral care developed.

It became increasingly obvious that a limitation of dental personnel based on authorized total personnel wasn't constant in actuality. As the actual number of personnel decreased the ratio dropped. As the number increased, it rose.

On July 22, 1935, Congress set up a ratio of 1 dentist to each 500 persons actually on active duty, not merely authorized. The allowed number of dentists rose from 186 to 234.

In August another act of Congress authorized a new medical center, to include a dental schol. Construction was begun at Bethesda, Md., June 29, 1939.

Shortages of dentists had always plagued the corps, and did so until well into World War II. At the war's outbreak supplies, too, ran short and drill burrs, amalgam, and metal trimmings were ordered salvaged.

The corps was in the war from the start. Two officers were killed and four wounded at Pearl Harbor. Six accompanied the 1st Marine Division in the August 7, 1942, Guadalcanal landing.

Supplies and equipment ran shorter as a buildup in forces continued. Shifts were instituted, keeping available dental equipment in use from 12 to 16 hours a day, 7 days a week.

Dental requirements for enlistment were lowered, throwing even more work on the corps.

By June 30, 1943, there were 3,449 dental officers on active duty. In July of that year the V–12 Navy specialized training program was instituted, permitting dental studies at Government expense.

Women came into the Navy and into the Dental Corps. The first woman dentist was Lt. Sara Gudlin Krout, who reported for duty June 1, 1944. She's now retired.

The first mobile dental units were placed in operation in February 1945. Clinic ships were planned, but the proposals were dropped at the cessation of hostilities.

During the war Navy dentists, among other operations and treatments, extracted 4,229,809 teeth—the equivalent of pulling every tooth possessed by 132,181 men, and 17 more teeth from another.

World War II left the Dental Corps with a number of proficient dentists, sufficient supplies, and a great deal of knowledge.

It was realized, for instance, that many of the Navy's dentists and their equipment had to be mobile, to go where the men went. It also was realized that training had to include working under combat conditions and other medical duties not ordinarily given to dentistry.

There was a need for continual changes in organization as well as procedures, and in 1946 Congress agreed.

That year legislation was passed giving the Surgeon General, through the Secretary of the Navy, power to reorganize the Dental Division himself, within certain limits.

Dental clinics were established at all major installations, and mobile units placed around the world.

A selective service act in 1950 permitted drafting of medical officers. And proportionment was changed within the corps; the ratio of dentists was cut to 1 to 150 at training stations.

The past several years have seen rapid and major changes in dentistry—new types of materials, new drugs, new anesthetics, new training methods, high-speed drills, advances in preventive dentistry—and the Dental Corps has kept place.

An international exchange training program has been established with Canada, and many other advantages made in the corps.

The notable points in the corps history since 1950 are legion. This year is no different from the others in that respect, with one exception; this year the Dental Corps celebrates 50 years of active duty.

## Public Works Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, the emergency public works employment bill, H.R. 10113, will come before the House tomorrow. The extremely high level of unemployment which has persisted for the past 5 years threatens to become chronic unless we take action to curb this trend and to strengthen the economy generally. This bill is designed to do exactly that through Federal assistance for public works construction. Not only will this bill provide an immediate increase in the number of jobs available, but it will also create many urgently needed local public works. Nearly every community in the country has a backlog of water and sewer projects, public buildings, streets, sidewalks, and the like, for which there is an urgent need. Nowhere is this need greater than in places which have suffered most seriously from unemployment. These hard-hit areas need not only the jobs which would be created but they need to add to their public investment in order to encourage their long-term growth through the development of industry. The Area Redevelopment Act enacted last year provided some assistance for these public works, but restricted it to projects which could tie in to an identifiable source of additional employment, such as a factory.

As a result, many of these depressed communities who have applied for assistance have found that their applications were sharply cut back or turned down altogether because they were designed to serve the whole community. Even though these projects may not tie in with a specific source of employment, I think everyone will agree that adequate water and sewer facilities, for example, are essential to the economic growth and development of a community. Under the Public Works Employment Act, however, aid could be given to these worthwhile projects in the form of 50-percent grants.

Mr. Speaker, I am including at the end of my remarks a list of 60 projects for which application was made under the Area Redevelopment Act but which were either cut to the bone or rejected outright. All of these projects are in areas eligible for assistance under the public works bill and appear to qualify for the 50-percent grants. In addition to these, of course, there are a great many other projects greatly needed in eligible areas for which application was never made when the restrictive terms of the Area Redevelopment Act were explained so that this list is only a few of the projects that might qualify. However, it is an indication of the backlog that does exist.

The list of projects follows:

*Project*

| Place | Type | Amount |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama: | | |
| Myrtlewood | Water system including pumps, filtration, tanks lines. | $101,430 |
| Jasper | Community hospital | 200,000 |
| Glen Allen | Water system | 45,000 |
| Alaska: Fairbanks | 120-bed hospital | 5,150,000 |
| Arkansas: | | |
| Batesville | Extension and improvement, city water system. | 355,000 |
| Monticello | Extension and improvement of water and sewer system. | 469,500 |
| Morrilton | Improvement of sewer system and access road to industrial site. | 281,060 |
| Waldron | Storage reservoir, treatment plant, and distribution lines. | 650,000 |
| Augusta | Treatment plant and extension of water, sewer, and gas lines. | 195,000 |
| Florida: Blountstown | Improvement and extension of water and sewerage facilities. | 451,207 |
| Georgia: | | |
| Dawson | Sewerage treatment plant and distribution system. | 930,234 |
| Wadley | Water system and improvements to sewer system, fire hall, storm drainage. | 375,000 |
| Leesburg | Improvement of water and sewer system. | 131,000 |
| Wrightsville | Water and sewer system | 134,000 |
| Clarksville | Sewerage treatment system | 250,600 |
| Lavonia | Improvement of water and sewerage treatment facilities. | 655,500 |
| Warrenton | Sewer and gas line, access road | 99,314 |
| Idaho: St. Maries | Relocation of a section of city waterline. | 18,909 |
| Indiana: | | |
| Bloomfield | Repair and extend present sewage system. | 516,000 |
| Jasonville | Extend and repair sanitary disposal system. | 702,450 |
| Perry County | Watershed project | 164,000 |
| Louisiana: Leonville | Municipal water system | 77,000 |
| Maine: Saco | Heavy duty roadway (construction) | 37,000 |
| Massachusetts: Lowell | Facilities for industrial park (road, water, and sewer). | 187,500 |
| Michigan: Manistee | New water supply and improvements. | 700,000 |
| Mississippi: | | |
| Bay Springs | Extension of sewer facilities | 123,000 |
| Walnut | Improvement of water and sewer system. | 190,000 |
| Nevada: Lincoln County | Road to atomic test site | 131,400 |
| New York: Auburn | Construction of water and sewer lines; removal of railroad tracks. | $50,000 |
| North Carolina: Polkton | New water system | 63,107 |
| Ohio: South Point | Sewage system | 590,000 |
| Oklahoma: McCurtain County. | Waterworks | 350,415 |
| Pennsylvania: | | |
| Shamokin | Development of industrial park | 164,000 |
| Brownsville | Construction of hospital | 2,850,000 |
| Newell | Water suply system | 250,000 |
| Uniontown | Construction of hospital | 1,316,667 |
| Mountaintop | Preparation of plant sites | 600,000 |
| Borough of North East | Improvements and new construction, water system. | 2,760,000 |
| Butler County | Industrial park | 49,538 |
| Addison and Henry Clay Townships. | Construction of roads | 1,689,675 |
| Charleroi | Development of industrial park | 89,152 |
| Pottsville | do | 400,000 |
| South Carolina: | | |
| Blaney | Constructive municipal water system | 150,000 |
| Lancaster | Purchase and improvement, water and sewer system. | 1,700,000 |
| Loris | Expanding and improving water and sewer facilities. | 549,610 |
| Tennessee: | | |
| Tazewell | Water system | 321,000 |
| LaFollette | do | 563,000 |
| Tennessee Ridge | Water and sewer | 440,000 |
| Tazewell | Sewer system | 803,000 |
| Monterey | Water and sewer system | 905,000 |
| Utah: Emery County | Water system | 389,756 |
| Virginia: | | |
| Coeburn | Water and sewer | 631,995 |
| Big Stone Gap | do | 1,350,000 |
| Wise | Water extension | 38,000 |
| West Virginia: | | |
| Morgantown | Construction of vocational training center. | 1,048,232 |
| Cowen-Camden-on-Gauley, Webster Springs. | Sewage systems | 1,051,712 |
| Logan County Planning Commission. | Sewage systems for 6 communities | (1) |
| Whitesville | Medical clinic | 123,000 |
| Hepzibah | Water system | 132,000 |
| Wisconsin: Ashland | Water, sewer facilities to service industrial park. | 90,000 |

[1] Not specified.

## The Communists Are Not Mellowing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on July 29, 1962, the distinguished political scientist, Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, was interviewed on the "Manion Forum" over approximately 250 radio stations in this country by Dr. John Kolbe, of Arizona, graduate student at Notre Dame. The title of this broadcast is "Rostow Is Wrong—The Communists Are Not Mellowing."

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this radio interview be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROSTOW IS WRONG—THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT MELLOWING

(Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, interviewed by John Kolbe, of Arizona, graduate student at Notre Dame)

Dean MANION. A few weeks ago I called your attention to the fact that under the direction of Mr. Walt Rostow, our State Department is reversing our long-continued policy of opposition to communism. The reason for this reversal is an official conviction that the Soviet Government is mellowing and if we deal unoffensively and patiently with the Kremlin the Red leaders will eventually consent to cooperate with us in preserving world peace.

If the Communist leopard is actually changing its Red spots, that fact should be evident to reputable authorities on communism outside of the State Department who have been analyzing the Communist conspiracy closely and scientifically for years. Such an authority on the subject of communism is Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame.

I have asked my young friend John Kolbe, who is one of Dr. Niemeyer's graduate students, to bring you the following interview with Dr. Niemeyer at Notre Dame. Here is John Kolbe, of Arizona:

Mr. KOLBE. Thank you, Dean Manion. Dr. Niemeyer, would you, for the benefit of the Manion Forum listeners, qualify yourself as an expert witness on the subject of communism? Tell us a little something about your background and what qualifies you to speak on it as we do today?

Dr. NIEMEYER. Well, I studied the subject of communism for more than 15 years and what put me on to it was my experience in my native Germany with the Nazi dictatorship. Having gotten rid of one totalitarism, I was interested in getting rid of the other one.

I have studied Russian and traveled in the Soviet Union. I have testified before the Congress, various committees, the Committee of Un-American Activities, for whom I also wrote a little brochure called "The Communist Ideology."

I have been retained as an expert by the State of Florida, in the elaboration of their obligatory course on communism that's going to be installed in the high schools in this coming year. And, I've spoken at dozens and dozens of meetings all over the United States on the subject of communism.

Mr. KOLBE. Thank you, Doctor. I certainly think that is sufficient. Tell us, now, is the Communist ideology merely "window-dressing," or is it really something that the Communists must live and really work by?

Dr. NIEMEYER. The Communist ideology is best described as the cement that holds communism together. Maybe I should qualify this, because it is certainly the party organization which is the cement in the most strict sense of the word; but on the other hand, the Communist ideology is what party members recognize each other by. Every relationship in the party, every action in the party is always expressed in ideological terms and the Communist will not look at the world or any problem in the world, or even at a person or any other party comrades without defining all these things in ideological terms.

So, the ideology is to a Communist what breath is to normal people. It is simply what he lives by and what makes him a Communist. There is no Communist apart from the ideology.

Mr. KOLBE. Well, proceeding along this line, if we continue to try to contain communism, which seems to be the present American policy, would you say that there is any hope that communism will evolve into a sort of viable democracy with which we can live and coexist?

Dr. NIEMEYER. That seems to be the hope of many people, particularly of the people in official positions. Let us look at the record. Communism, if we take this to be the system that we find in the Soviet Union and in

China today, as well as the Communist parties all over the world, communism has evolved and it has changed.

There have been changes, of course, in communism. For instance, let me just remind you of the famous change which Lenin made in 1921 to the so-called new economic policy, when he reinstated capitalism for a while in Russia, and then, of course, after a while it was just as surely ousted again.

There have been other changes in communism such as when the Communist Party changed from its previous policy of declaring the Social Democrats the major enemy and switched over to the United Front policy in 1935.

I'm mentioning only these examples to show that there has been evolution in communism. But the main thing that has never changed by evolution, that will always remain the same, is the basic attitude of the Communists toward the rest of the world outside of the Communist Party, and toward their own role or mission in history.

The Communists have, from the beginning, unchangingly, unswervingly, always considered themselves the destroyer of this present world. They consider themselves as committed to an irreconcilable struggle against all societies that now exist. And this dogma which came originally from Karl Marx and was then taken up by Lenin has never changed in the slightest.

COMMUNISTS CHANGE STRATEGY—NOT IDEOLOGY

In other words, what has changed is in the field of strategy, in the field of tactics. Even in the Communist ideology there are certain elements that have changed, but the basic attitude, the core of the ideology, and, therefore, the essence of communism has not changed. It has not changed as a matter of record and, therefore, we have not the slightest reason to assume that it will change.

Now, of course, we can say all human things are subject to change and to decay and to demise, and one of these days we may see that communism is no more. But I would say, let us wait for that day before we say that it is so.

Mr. KOLBE. In other words, the Communist goal of world domination is still very much with us and it is not something that has been tempered in any particular way.

Dr. NIEMEYER. It is the only thing that makes sense to a Communist. It is the only way in which a Communist can look on his own life as meaningful. It is a life that is dedicated to the ultimate victory of the Communist Party over all its enemies anywhere in the world, and its enemy is anyone who is not a Communist.

Mr. KOLBE. Would you say, Dr. Niemeyer, that the report going around these days of the split between Communist China and Russia offers any real hope to the free world?

Dr. NIEMEYER. Let's first examine the facts about this split. You know that there is in the Soviet Union some dispute about the policy which Khrushchev has chosen; namely, the policy of the soft-sell—peaceful coexistence, as he calls it.

He is refraining from openly aggressive gestures and attitudes and is trying to make advances by destroying our own defensive determination, by lulling us into a false sense of security and thereby hoping to get us either to dismantle our alliances or else to dismantle our armaments and certainly to dismantle our will to resist.

Now, in this way he hopes to make advances and he has not done at all badly. But this policy, nevertheless, has been attacked and has been doubted by a good many Communists who feel that this policy on the part of Khrushchev is little short of treason of the Communist cause.

You find these Communists not only in the Soviet Union, but the same kind of opposition exists also in China. The Chinese, when Khrushchev made his turn in 1956, made the turn along wih him but very reluctantly, never wholly, and always opposed him in this. In other words, they stuck to the old Stalinist line.

What friction you have now is mainly between the old Stalinist faction and the new policy of Khrushchev—with China sticking to the old Stalinist line. Now, when you have this kind of friction between two Communist groups and each has at his disposal the resources of a country, then the country's policies, resources and you might even call it interest will be involved in the struggle.

Therefore, it begins to look sometimes as if this were a struggle between China and Russia, which it is not. The conflict, insofar as there is a conflict, is, first of all, over strategy, not over basic ideology; over strategy between two factions of communism, both of which are represented not merely in China but also in the Soviet Union itself.

Secondly, it may be a conflict between personalities insofar as Mao Tse-tung is the one with the highest seniority—the man who resents this upstart Khrushchev and is trying, by showing a certain amount of independence, to assert his own dignity as senior Communist. But now, if we come right down to the bottom of it, this man Mao Tse-tung, who is supposed to be a rebel against the Communist leadership of the Kremlin, is the same man who has for years repeated and repeated the line that "In our alliance with the Soviet Union is our only salvation." Who has again and again stated, "We want the same thing, namely, we want the victory of communism and the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism."

And that must remind us that between Hitler and Mussolini, who were also brothers under the skin, there was also a great deal of friction, and this time, not only ideologically but also between their countries' interests. Nevertheless, these two stuck together to the very end. So that gives us an indication of how much hope we have in this so-called split between China and Russia.

Mr. KOLBE. In other words, this so-called split does not really reach down into the very fundamental nature of the ideology itself, but is really on a very superficial basis.

Dr. NIEMEYER. It's purely on the basis of the level of methods and day-to-day movements. The will to oppose the Western world together and with united forces, is always basic in both countries.

NO DIFFERENCE IN RUSSIAN AND CUBAN COMMUNISM

Mr. KOLBE. I'd like to move to another area of the world and it's along the same line. Would you say that there is any really significant difference between, for example, the Russian brand of communism and that which is advocated by Fidel Castro in Cuba?

Dr. NIEMEYER. No, not at all. Both, the Russians and Castro himself, have told us this. The Cubans are in the opening phases of a Communist revolution which always starts with appeasing certain groups until they have taken care of other groups. Then eventually they move against the first group which they have appeased for a while.

The appeasement in Russia took much longer than it took in China and it took longer in China than it is taking in Cuba. In other words, as the Communist regimes come into existence they move in faster and faster against the groups they want to liquidate. And we have here a full-fledged Communist regime which is determined to do away with anything that Cuba ever was traditionally; that the Western World ever was traditionally; just as they are willing to do away with anything that western tradition has called for in all parts of the world.

Mr. KOLBE. Would you say that there is anything that the United States can do about the sorry situation in Cuba?

Dr. NIEMEYER. Well, let me answer this question indirectly. You remember that the Chinese Communists, when they were first defeated, moved into Yenan, where they holed up for many, many years, undisturbed.

They administered the place, they developed an army there, they developed agitators there. From there they operated political procedures and political manipulations into the Chinese mainland, and from there they ultimately started their conquest of China. I would say that Cuba is the Yenan of the Western Hemisphere.

In other words, it is the scene of preparation, the scene of subversion, the scene of training, the place from which—with small operations and big operations—all of the Western Hemisphere will be organized.

If we don't take care of Cuba, we will not only have this danger at the southern shore of our country, but we will have here the focal point of an eventual Communist conquest of the entire Latin hemisphere, the entire hemisphere as far as Latin America is concerned.

We must take care of Cuba. I would say if it cannot be done with the repetition of another Pig Bay invasion, this time with air cover, then let it be done with marines. Our national interest calls for it.

DEAN MANION. Thank you, Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer and Mr. John Kolbe, for this informed answer to those who tell us that the Communists are mellowing and, therefore, we must be nice to them.

My friends, "The Communist Ideology" written by Dr. Niemeyer for the House Committee on Un-American Activities is a masterpiece of scientific analysis. You can get it from the Government Printing Office for 45 cents—and I advise you obtain it and study it carefully.

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## Address of Charles A. Sweeny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 16, 1962*

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I call attention of the House to the fine address delivered by Mr. Charles A. Sweeny, Chief, Division of Food and Drug Advertising of the Federal Trade Commission, before the Georgia Association of Broadcasters in its joint meeting with the South Carolina Broadcasters Association.

This speech, delivered at the convention on August 6, 1962, at Jekyll Island, one of Georgia's fine State parks, is of such worth that I have requested permission to insert it in the RECORD so it will become a permanent document in the records of America:

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION LOOKS AT BROADCAST ADVERTISING

Thank you very much for inviting me to your meeting. I have attended several of these conventions throughout the country and am persuaded that these State associations are doing a tremendously effective job—for their memberships and for the public. In fact, they may be helping to demonstrate that the interests of the two are closely parallel. You can be proud that your own association has a reputation as one of the best.

It is my purpose to outline generally some of our efforts and responsibilities in the field of broadcast advertising and discuss what we

are trying to do to enforce the law in this area. When I say we, I refer to those of us on the staff most directly concerned with this work. I am not speaking most officially for the Commission.

I want to remind you that we are spot-checking radio and television broadcasts every day of the year, just as we are continuing a surveillance of advertising disseminated in print. I would like to make it clear that I am addressing my remarks more directly to broadcasting only because that is our mutual interest today. I do not intend to suggest that we are any less concerned with the advertising appearing in other media.

In brief, the Federal Trade Commission Act authorizes and directs that agency to ferret out and put a stop to unfair methods of competition in commerce and to unfair and deceptive practices in commerce. False and misleading advertising is an unfair method of competition because it has the capacity and tendency to divert trade from truthful competitors. It is an unfair and deceptive practice because it misleads and deceives the purchasing public. The basic principle we are applying to all advertising is only that the advertiser present his product truthfully and fairly to the prospective purchaser.

This rule applies equally to advertising regardless of the media of dissemination—whether by a door-to-door salesman, in print, or broadcast over the air. As the medium varies, however, so do the actual practices, and we at the Commission must adjust to each new situation as it arises.

Now let us take a look at this rule as applied to television advertising. More than 3 years ago the Commission issued an order to cease and desist in a case involving television commercials.[1] An accompanying opinion stated that it is deceptive and unlawful to conduct a test or demonstration in advertising for the purpose and with the effect of inducing the public to believe that something is proven, when in fact the test or demonstration does not prove any such thing. The opinion explained that purchasers may be induced to buy a product simply because they have been led to believe that they have witnessed a valid test or demonstration.

In other words, when an advertiser says to his television audience: "Let me demonstrate how my product works," we think the viewing public is entitled to an honest demonstration, without gimmicks, without trickery, without deception.

In some of these television demonstration cases, the actual merits of the product are not directly determined. We may not charge that it is not a good product. The essence of the case is that the merits of the product are not in issue—the challenge is to the offering of something which purports to be proof which is in fact no proof at all.

We have now had a number of cases which have not varied from that basic principle. Two of these cases, both involving the advertising of shaving cream, occasioned discussions in the Commission's opinions which are enlightening.

In one of these,[2] the advertiser employed commercials which represented that the moisturizing action of the product is such that when applied to very course, dry sandpaper it is possible immediately to shave off the rough surface with a single stroke, and that the demonstration proves the moisturizing properties of the cream. It was found that actual sandpaper was not employed in the demonstration, but instead a mockup of plexiglass to which sand had been applied; also, that sandpaper could not actually be shaved in the manner and time demonstrated.

Now, you may ask, who cares? No one buys shaving cream to shave Plexiglas or sandpaper. The hearing examiner, in fact, was of the opinion that the demonstration "would appear to be little or nothing more than a case of harmless exaggeration or puffing." He said that "Obviously the sandpaper sequences were employed simply for the purpose of emphasizing and dramatizing the recognized moistening or wetting properties of the cream." This, I feel certain, was the attitude of many others. It was not that of the Commission when it reviewed the case.

Commissioner Elman, in an opinion adopted by the full Commission, summarized the sales pitch in these words: "If you have a tough 'sandpaper' beard, you need a shaving cream with supermoisturizing power. A shaving cream that is effective in quickly and cleanly shaving rough, dry sandpaper can do the same for your beard. (This cream) has such supermoisturizing power, and we will prove it to you before your very eyes."

The opinion then goes on to explain that the pictorial test had the effect of proving to any doubting Thomas in the vast audience that "By golly, it really can shave sandpaper." It was the clinching argument made by the commercial. Without this visible proof of its qualities, some viewers might not have been persuaded to buy the product.

Does this mean, as some have suggested, that mockups may not be employed in television commercials? Not at all. The opinion further explains that "There is a world of difference between a casual display of steaming coffee that is really heated red wine * * * and a commercial showing a closeup of what is actually red wine to the accompaniment of a claim that the high quality of the sponsor's coffee is proved by its rich, dark appearance—which the viewer can verify for himself simply by looking at the coffee on the screen * * *. The difference in all these cases is the time-honored distinction between a misstatement of truth that is material to the inducement of a sale and one that is not."

Now how do the rules apply to depictions of competitive products? The other shaving cream case[3] answers that. This case deals with the representation that competitive creams dry out during the course of a shave while the advertised product stays moist and creamy.

The alleged deception occurred in the presentation of "product X." Lather applied to the face of a shaver had the appearance of being dried out. It was established that the so-called "ordinary" lather used in the commercial was not a shaving cream. The substance contained 90 percent water and a solution of a surface or foaming agent having the property of producting foam. It did not contain any soaps or fatty acid salts, the ingredients ordinarily used to keep a shaving cream from breaking down, and was formulated in such a manner that it would comé out of a can "in a good puff and would disappear rapidly." It was also established that there are a number of aerated shaving creams that do not dry out in the course of a shave.

Commissioner Anderson's opinion, again joined by all of the other Commissioners, dealt first with this question of "ordinary." The respondents argued that when they said "ordinary lathers" they intended a reference to lathers produced by shaving creams of inferior quality which would in fact dry out, not to competing lathers of equal quality.

According to the opinion, when the commercial was viewed in its entirety, it purported to demonstrate a comparison with, and to depict, all other aerated shaving creams; that it conveys the impression that all competing aerated lathers dry out. Since the record showed this to be untrue, the representation was found to be a false disparagement of those aerated shaving creams that do not dry out during the course of a shave.

It was concluded that the demonstration purported to show why this shaving cream is superior. The viewer could observe and see for himself that other lathers dry out while "ours" remains moist and creamy. To remove any doubts that this was the purpose of the demonstration, the words "ordinary lathers dry out" were superimposed on the picture. Since the product which was shown as dried out was a substance other than a shaving cream, having none of the characteristics of a shaving cream except the property of foaming, the demonstration did not show that competing lathers dry out faster, although it conveyed the impression that it did.

The demonstration did not prove what it purported to prove and was, therefore, found to be false and deceptive; and unlawful since the demonstration would serve to induce the purchase of this product in preference to competing shaving creams.

There was an announcement yesterday that the hearing examiner has issued his initial decision in our "automobile glass" case.[4] This case involved commercials purporting to compare and demonstrate various types and brands of glass used in the windshields and side windows of automobiles.

The hearing examiner found that photographic techniques used in filming the commercials made comparison shots deceptive. The use of telephoto lenses for a distortion shot had the effect of magnifying distortion making a proper comparison between it and the plate glass shot difficult, if not impossible. The picture of a zebra board taken through sheet glass turned to an angle which was more acute than the angle of plate glass was similarly an unfair and deceptive comparison, in that at the sharper angle sheet glass would ordinarily tend to show greater distortion. Likewise, the photograph of a scene through the right front window for a sheet glass shot and through the right rear window for a plate glass shot, both from the rear seat, had the similar result of creating a sharper angle of view for the former, which accentuated any distortion present.

In all of these instances, the hearing examiner concluded, the principle is essentially the same. A comparison should be as comparable as possible. Disparity should be eliminated, particularly if the disparity has the tendency to exaggerate the comparative differences claimed. Otherwise, the viewer is apt to be misinformed.

The camera techniques cannot be said to have resulted in a portrayal which the viewer could depend upon as a fair comparison, even though what was claimed of the product may have been, and in many instances was, actually true. It is necessary, in addition, that the demonstration of what may be actually true be fair, representative and accurate. Where a sharper angle of vision exaggerates perceptible distortion, the use of such an angle for one piece of glass but not for another with which it is being compared misinforms the viewer. This deception is obviously illustrated in instances where the plate glass shot was taken through

[1] Hutchinson Chemical Corp., docket No. 7140 (June 11, 1959), 55 S. & D., 1942.

[2] Colgate-Palmolive Co., et al., docket 7736, OCD Dec. 29, 1961.

[3] Carter Products, Inc., docket No. 7943, OCD Apr. 25, 1962.

[4] Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., et al., docket No. 7643, initial decision July 17, 1962.

a rolled down window. The public was told to observe for itself the clarity of the glass when, in fact, there was no glass. Even if the view through the glass would have been the same as without a glass, the public was entitled to make that decision and judge for itself and not have the matter prejudged by the advertiser.

Similarly, in a commercial where vaseline was streaked across some sheet glass to emphasize the distortion in the glass, even if the distortion thus shot was no greater than that usually found in sheet glass, the public was entitled to make its own judgment in the issue or, in the alternative, to be told that vaseline has been used to accentuate the distortion.

I should explain that this initial decision may, and probably will, be appealed to the full Commission for review. It is not yet a final order.

Within the past few days the Commission issued final orders based upon consent agreements in two cases involving television advertising of toys.[5]

The advertisers were ordered to cease and desist from representing, orally or pictorially, that any toy or related product contains a component or performs in any manner not in accordance with fact.

Such advertising being directed to children, the cases recognize formally that the intended audience must be considered in judging or interpreting advertising. In these complaints there is included a paragraph wherein the Commission charges that these toys are designed primarily for children, and are bought either by or for the benefit of children. False, misleading and deceptive advertising claims thus unfairly exploit a consumer group unqualified by age or experience to anticipate or appreciate the possibility that the representations may be exaggerated or untrue. Further, advertisers unfairly play upon the affection of adults for children, by inducing the purchase of toys and related products through false, misleading and deceptive claims of their performance, which claims appeal to both the adults and to children who bring the toys to the attention of adults. As a consequence of exaggerated and untrue representations, toys are purchased in the expectation that they will have characteristics or perform actions not substantiated by the facts. Consumers are thus misled to their disappointment and competing advertisers who do not engage in false, misleading or deceptive advertising are unfairly prejudiced.

I think it is worthy of note and a credit to broadcasters that the television code[6] contains the following admonitions: "The broadcaster and the advertiser should exercise special caution with the content and presentation of television commercials placed in or near programs designed for children. Exploitation of children should be avoided. Commercials directed to children should in no way mislead as to the product's performance and usefulness."

Some of you must certainly be wondering what all this means to you. Granting that these matters all affect the national image of broadcasting, what can you, as individual station operators do about it? If you are network affiliates, you may feel that you do not even control many of the commercials broadcast by your station. In any event, you ask, how can you determine the truth of drug commercials, or know when a plate-glass film sequence is shot through an open window?

You have many tools to work with. Your network screens commercials so that any which they feed you have been checked. When it comes to national spots, you who are members of the National Association of Broadcasters can secure advice there. Your biggest problem is likely to be in the area of local or other spots for which you contract directly. For these you will have to accept responsibility.

When you are dealing with a local businessman you should have little difficulty. You know, or can readily determine, the reputation of the advertiser, and this should be your first concern. He is close enough so that you can check the reliability of the product, too. Talk to better business bureaus—they have a wealth of information.

The Federal Trade Commission is developing information programs which can help you with the technical problems in getting a commercial on paper—explaining how to avoid the words and phrases that can get you and the advertiser into trouble.

In the past few years, the Commission has been issuing advisory guides, restating the law and applying it to specific instances in clear, lay language rather than legalistic terms. While these guides are nominally promulgated for the use of its staff, they are issued to businessmen to provide informal guidance in testing the legality of advertising. One of the first of these guides dealt with the question of deceptive pricing.

These guides, for example, explain that if a statement which represents or implies a reduction from an established retail price is used in connection with the price at which an article is offered for sale, the reduction statement must apply to the specific article offered for sale; and must be from the advertiser's usual and customary retail price of the article in the recent, regular course of business.

These guides also explain that no statement which represents or implies a reduction from the advertiser's usual retail price should be used if an artificial markup has been used to provide a basis for the claim, the claim is based on infrequent or isolated sales, or the claim is based on a past price, unless this fact is clearly and adequately disclosed.

One of the other provisions in the guides is that no statement or representation of an offer to sell two articles for the price of one should be used unless the sales price for the two articles is the advertiser's usual retail price for the single article in the recent, regular course of his business.

The complete "Guides Against Deceptive Pricing," and others dealing with bait advertising, advertising of fallout shelters, deceptive advertising of guarantees, advertising for shell homes, and for tire advertising may all be secured simply by addressing a request for them to the Federal Trade Commission.

I should like to discuss these "two-for-one sales" and the closely related use of the word "free."

The Commission has recently been considering such claims in several matters involving the sale of paint. Typical representations are "Every second can free of extra costs," "Buy one and get one free," etc.

A little over a month ago, the Commission issued an order in one of these cases.[7] It was found that the second can of paint is not actually "free" under the circumstances and the use of this advertising theme was ordered discontinued. The opinion discusses the reasons for the order in detail.

A person can offer as "free" an article which may be obtained upon the purchase of another article only if the article required to be purchased has an established market price. In this case, when the paint was introduced on the basis of buy one and get one free, there was no usual and customary price for a gallon or a quart of that particular brand of paint.

The Commission concluded that the amount designated in the advertising as the price for a can of this paint is not the usual and regular price per single can but the usual and regular price for two cans; that a usual and regular price had never been established for a single can. The cost of the second can of paint was included in the price paid by the purchaser, and this second can, therefore, was not given as a gift or gratuity or free of charge to the purchaser.

I have mentioned the advisory guides which the Commission is promulgating for your use. You should all be receiving the Advertising Alert, mailed about monthly to broadcasters and others having a direct responsibility for preparing or censoring advertising. We hope to increase its usefulness by including more general discussion of subject matter, and reducing the number of repetitious reports of case actions.

I honestly believe that we are making some progress. I understand that advertising agencies are finding that effective commercials can be developed without the use of questionable mockups and simulations. It appears that the industry has already proven that truthfulness is no bar to creativity and imagination. A unique selling proposition need not be so fanciful as to be deceptive.

But our hard core job is by no means ended. There are still advertisements which are unfair or deceptive. We appreciate our responsibility for the elimination of such practices and welcome the continued efforts of enlightened broadcasters to the same end.

Thank you.

[5] Louis Marx & Co., Inc., C-191; Remco Industries, C-199.

[6] Seventh Edition, May 1962, the National Association of Broadcasters.

[7] Mary Carter Paint Co., Inc., docket No. 8290, OCD June 28, 1962.

## Hoover's Wisdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, in the August 8, 1962, edition of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Mr. George Todt has reviewed remarks of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who has suggested that our country needs a new code of ethics. As Mr. Hoover has stated, "The issue is decency in public life against indecency." I would like to call this column to the attention of my colleagues and under unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: HOOVER'S WISDOM

"Not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."—II Corinthians 3: 6.

We are floundering as a Nation today. Scandal piles upon scandal, failure upon failure, defeat upon defeat.

With all the massive power at our command—enough to conquer the entire world if we desired to do so—we are being hurled from pillar to post on the world stage and at home.

Where lies the key to our problems?

Who will lead us out of the wilderness?

The thoughts of a great American citizen whose words are strong, brave and true were spoken 11 years ago, are appropriate enough today.

Here are a few thought-provoking excerpts from an address made by Herbert Hoover, Sr., former President of the United States.

"Something stronger than a new code of ethics is needed by America." "The issue is decency in public life against indecency.

"Without bitterness in our hearts, we are raising our eyes to the Creator of man who assured us that in American soil we can find the moral and spiritual forces which make free men and women. In His guidance, we shall find the fortitude to correct our errors, to straighten our courses, to resurrect the spirit that made our America so free and bountiful a nation."

VIRTUE ENTIRE

"No public man can be just a little crooked. There is no such thing as a no man's land between honesty and dishonesty. Our strength is not in politics—our strength lies in spiritual concepts. It lies in public sensitiveness to evil.

"There are already some old and tested codes of ethics. There are the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and the rules of the game which we learned at our mother's knee. Can a nation live if these are not the guides of public life?

"Dishonor in public life has a double poison. When people are dishonorable in private business, they injure only those with whom they deal or their own chances in the next world. But when there is a lack of honor in government, the morals of the whole people are poisoned."

FATAL ERROR

"I am less concerned at stealing public money than with all the more destructive forms of dishonor. What would the founding fathers have thought of those who coquette with traitorship?

"We thus have a cancerous growth of intellectual dishonesty in public life which is mostly beyond the law.

"Debate founded on disclosure of the whole truth and free of propaganda gadgets and slogans is the stuff that can save freemen.

"The term 'liberalism' has turned pink inside. The term 'welfare' never before meant the 'welfare state' with its red or pink colors. The Chinese Communists were not 'agrarian liberals.' From that perversion alone, we suffered a gigantic defeat of freemen in China."

I will give you more of Mr. Hoover's incorruptible and down-to-earth philosophy in my next column.

## The UNESCO Convention and the UNESCO Recommendation Against Discrimination in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, there seems no end to the misunderstandings about the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO. In the July 1962 issue of School Life, a publication of the U.S. Office of Education, there appears an article which clearly and unmistakedly sets down both the jurisdictional limitations of UNESCO and the U.S. attitude toward the organization's position in the field of discrimination in education.

The following article is by J. Boyer Jarvis, Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education:

THE UNESCO CONVENTION AND THE UNESCO RECOMMENDATION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

(By J. Boyer Jarvis, Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education)

During recent months the U.S. Commissioner of Education, other Government officials, and some Members of Congress have received a number of letters which reveal an unfortunate public misunderstanding of the nature and purpose of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Some of these letters even express concern lest the United States permit UNESCO to exercise jurisdiction over American education. This concern is occasioned by a definite misconception of the status and purpose of the UNESCO Convention and the UNESCO recommendation against discrimination in education.

The following statement seeks to correct such misunderstanding. It also provides a concise report concerning the Convention and the recommendation.

UNESCO, as one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, is dedicated to enhancing the possibility of peace among nations by seeking constantly to extend the range of international understanding and to bring the benefits of modern science and technology to more and more of the world's population. Through its support of important research and development projects, involving participation by scientists, scholars, and educators from many countries, UNESCO is helping to enlarge man's store of knowledge and to make it more readily accessible wherever it can contribute to the advancement of human welfare. UNESCO makes its resources available, on request, to countries which desire assistance in developing, expanding, and strengthening their educational systems. Recognizing and respecting the independence and autonomy of its more than 100 member states, UNESCO is interested in insuring that in the new and developing nations of the world the opportunities for education, at all levels, will be equal to the needs of peoples who are striving, sometimes against great odds, to overcome the handicaps of centuries of poverty, disease, and ignorance.

UNESCO is clearly prohibited from interfering in the educational policies, or in any other domestic concerns, of its member states. This restriction is written without equivocation into the UNESCO Constitution (art. 1, par. 3). "With a view to preserving the independence, integrity, and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the states members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

In keeping with its broad purposes and in full harmony with the above restriction, the UNESCO General Conference, consisting of representatives from all UNESCO member States, adopted in 1960 a Convention and a recommendation against discrimination in education. The decision to draft these documents was made by the UNESCO General Conference in 1958, following studies dating back to 1955 and carried on by a special U.N. Subcommission and by members of the UNESCO staff. Both in these earlier studies and in the actual work of drafting the Convention and the recommendation, official representatives of the Government of the United States played a prominent role. At each stage in this rather long process, they received guidance from officials in the Department of State. In addition, they consulted with officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Justice, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Labor, and other Government agencies having an interest in the general problem of discrimination.

At a very early point in the development of the Convention and the recommendation against discrimination in education, the United States announced that it did not intend to ratify the Convention. That decision was reaffirmed in a letter written by Assistant Secretary of State Brooks Hays to Senator CARL HAYDEN on July 29, 1961. The letter was entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for August 3, 1961 (pp. A6013 and A6014).

This position was taken in recognition of the fact that in the United States the administration of education is a legal responsibility of State and local agencies. Nevertheless, the representatives of the United States made positive and very helpful contributions to the drafting of both the Convention and the recommendation. Working with representatives from 40 other countries, they exercised great care to insure that the principles and provisions in the final texts of the two instruments would not be in conflict with the policies and purposes of the United States.

The distinction between the UNESCO Convention against discrimination in education and the UNESCO recommendation against discrimination in education needs to be emphasized. While the two documents are alike in their basic content and in their purpose to encourage elimination of discrimination based on considerations of race, sex, religion, national or social origin, or economic condition, they differ in one very significant respect. The Convention is subject to ratification by member countries of UNESCO, and when ratified it has the status of an international treaty among the ratifying countries. Thus far only five nations—the Central African Republic, France, Israel, the United Arab Republic, and the United Kingdom—have ratified this Convention.

The recommendation is simply a carefully written statement of ideals and principles which merit serious consideration by the member states of UNESCO. For the United States, as well as for other nations, it can serve as a basis for comparing our actual achievements with our generally accepted principles of equal educational opportunity for all. The recommendation clearly recognizes that education is the responsibility of each individual country. An objective examination of this document will show that its purposes are entirely compatible with the traditional administrative pattern of public and private education in the United States, where operation and control of public schools rest firmly in the hands of State and local authorities and operation and control of private schools resides with their sponsors.

## Manhattan Beach, N.Y., Residents Should Be Consulted Before Disposition of Federal Property There

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the July 30, 1962, edition of the Beachview, Brooklyn's shorefront newspaper. Their point is well taken: certainly the residents of Manhattan Beach should be consulted before GSA decides the disposition of the 74 acres of Federal property located there.

The article follows:

WHY DON'T THEY ASK US?—STARK PLEADS FOR HOSPITAL—MORRIS-MOSES AND COMPANY SEEK BEACH—TENANTS LEAGUE WANTS LAND

Most everyone has jumped into the fray—the battle for the 74 acres of federally held land at Manhattan Beach. Four separate factions are trying their darndest to acquire the vacated area at the end of Manhattan Beach. Their interests of course to their way of reasoning are our interests.

Why in the world don't they ask us? Is it too much to expect that the residents and the businessmen of this community who will have to live with, whatever is decided upon, to be built on these 74 acres, should have some say as what they themselves would like to see take form here?

Mr. Newbold Morris and Mr. Robert Moses hardly are the best judges of what's best for the community on an all-year-round basis. Sure, recreational facilities such as beaches are fine. We would heartily endorse such an undertaking if we lacked beach space. One thing we have in abundance and then some, is beach area. Last fall a gigantic beachfill operation almost doubled the size of Brighton Beach and Coney Island Beach. Has Mr. Morris and Moses inspected the beach area on busy Saturdays and Sundays? Do they know with the new beach size it is almost impossible to fill the sand with seaside visitors? There is a public beach at Manhattan Beach that rarely fills to capacity except for the parking lot.

A new beach would be a needless waste of taxpayers' money. Mr. Moses and company, if you are wholeheartedly for the little guy, as you often say you are, then your little boy is the high school student about to graduate, who finds most avenues of learning closed to him for lack of college seats. You are helping stunt the growth of thousands of high school students' plans for college when you push for an additional beach site in an already abundant beach area. It will be another feather in your cap if the Kingsboro Community College reaches fruition.

"Mr. Moses and Morris Back New Kingsboro Community College," "Shorefront College Promises Great Things To Come for Shorefront," "Sagging Economics Bolstered Here—Kingsboro College To Open Soon," "Kingsboro College Opens—Dignitaries Overwhelmed by School's Potential," "Applications Arrive From Every State in the Nation—New Students at Kingsboro To Have Greatest Facilities for Inside and Outside Learning," "Board of Education Lauds New Kingsboro College."

Mr. Moses and Morris, wouldn't these forthcoming headlines give you great pleasure? Instead of 10 seasonal weeks, 52 weeks all year round would see an educational and physical program for thousands of college students who might not now be able to enter college. And you know, sirs, you could feel just as proud as the residents will feel, because you will have had a major part in establishing Kingsboro College.

For 2 years both the department of hospitals and the welfare department have turned thumbs down on the idea of converting the vacant 350-bed U.S. Public Health Service hospital into a medical care center for senior citizens. The site of the hospital and grounds covers 8 of the 74 abandoned acres. The hospital departments broached the idea but soon gave up on it as a staff could not be mustered to man the proposed home for the aged. The property had been offered the city as a gift. March 31 is the date the city must make a decision by, or then the hospital and grounds can be declared surplus property. It then will become available to public health or educational agencies.

Yes, Mr. Stark, your thought for a home for senior citizens is truly good, but most agencies concerned with your proposal are stymied as to how they make use of the hospital's facilities. Is it possible that you continue to pressure for this hospital because it is your brainchild? We think not. If you will weigh all the facts, your answer should come quite easy. Nothing so befits these 74 acres as does Kingsboro Community College. Mr. Stark, you are one of Brooklyn's most favorite sons. We know that whatever your thoughts, they are always uppermost for the people of Brooklyn. With the addition of the proposed college for this disputed area, it should bring renewed economic largesse to the whole Brooklyn shorefront and the neighboring vicinities. Speak to the Brighton Beach merchants, the Manhattan Beach merchants, the Sheepshead Bay merchants. They will enlighten you. Business is off and they says it's because so many residents are senior citizens, living on their social security benefits. This is splendid but the average age of the neighborhood keeps getting older and older. Most of our younger folks have moved to greener pastures. The older folks patronize food stores. Brighton especially has become one great food market. Of the 250 stores on the main shopping street (Brighton Beach Ave.) 95 of these primarily sell food and foodstuffs. That's a whopping 40 percent of the avenue's stores, dispensing nothing but food. An injection of a few thousand young folks to our area will be the greatest medicine to counterbalance the age differential. This is only a secondary reason for the erection of Kingsboro College.

Uppermost, the new college will alleviate an overtaxed school system. Some of "your boys" from your wonderful Brownsville Boys Club in time will become students at Kingsboro. When your young men are ready for college you would like them to have the opportunity to do so. Here is the ideal situation for a college if there ever was one. Please give the proposed Kingsboro Community College your undivided attention. It is a worthwhile undertaking.

Another organization who call themselves the Organized Tenants League have jumped into the fray. They would like the land to be acquired for low cost housing. Low cost housing indeed, in one of the most expensive and prettiest areas in all of Brooklyn.

WHY DON'T THEY ASK US?

To the residents and the merchants who live here, 52 weeks a year, ought to go a voice. After all it's our community. Mr. Politician you ask us for your vote. Ask us how we feel about all your different proposals for the landgrab at Manhattan Beach. Gentlemen we believe it is more important to us than you imagine. Just about every community group, every board of trade group, every chamber of commerce group, and most individual residents in the area are 100-percent behind the erection of the Kingsboro Community College.

## The Supreme Court's Illegal Power Grab

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable J. K. Breedin, an outstanding spokesman on regional and national affairs, writes a weekly commentary on events effecting South Carolina and the Nation.

Mr. Breedin resides at Manning in my district. His comments are entitled "The Spectator."

Last week, his candid observations lashed the recent Supreme Court ruling against prayer in our schools. His remarks reflect profound thinking and deserve to be read throughout an America whose heart is troubled by this shocking decision by the Court.

Under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I insert his candid observations for the information of the Congress:

COMMENTS ON MEN AND THINGS

Our U.S. Supreme Court is trying to assume powers—and is assuming powers—not prescribed by the Constitution.

The Supreme Court was set up as an appellate court and its power to act is indicated as a court of law to hear appeals from Federal courts on matters of law, except for several instances otherwise, as clearly stated in the Constitution.

A careful study will not show any jurisdiction in cases adjudicated by State courts, unless a Federal question is involved.

Everyone knows that the first 10 amendments were intended to safeguard the States or the people from Federal action. The first amendment prohibits the Congress to set up an establishment of religion; it has no reference or relevancy to the States. Most States have laws that would forbid the establishment of religion, but the Supreme Court cites the first amendment of the Federal Constitution as authority in a New York case. That is evidently wrong.

In the case of the 14th amendment I make two points: it is invalid, never having been adopted lawfully; the second point is the concluding clause in the 14th (so-called) amendment, namely to wit: "The Congress shall have the power, by appropriate legislation, to give effect to the amendment." The Congress, by act of Congress; not the President or the Supreme Court.

Someone asked if I took an oath to defend the Supreme Court; not at all: upon being sworn in as a lawyer (and officer of the Court) I took an oath to defend the Constitution—the Constitution according to its clear meaning, rather than some whimsical, fanciful, fantastic notion of a group of judges, trying to make socialistic follies a part of the Constitution.

It is passing strange that so explicit an inhibition on the Congress as the first amendment should be applied to New York State. And it is just as remarkable that the so-called 14th amendment should be exploited by the President and the Supreme Court when there has been no act of Congress. The Court is distinctly off base.

## Nicholas Tucci: A Fighter Against Discrimination and For Brotherhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the Declaration of Independence electrified the world with a great promise. It declared that all men were created equal

and promised the American people as well as the world an equality of treatment which was unknown during the 18th century. In our own Nation there has been a big gap between the promise and the performance. Men in all walks of life have been fighting to narrow the gap between the promise and the performance. Some dedicate their lives to combatting discrimination and promoting the ideal of brotherhood. It has been my good fortune, not only in public life, but in my private activities, to meet men who believe in the principle of equality of oportunity and have been fighting against discrimination in every form.

The Federation of the Italian-American Democratic Organizations of the State of New York is dedicated to the elimination of discrimination in Government and in industry, and seeks to recognize the achievements of men who have demonstrated their dedication to the principles for which the organization stands. On July 29, 1962, in Garden City Hotel, Garden City, Long Island, N.Y., the Federation of which I am president honored Nicholas Tucci for his "outstanding activities in community work designed to improve intergroup relations among various ethnic groups and fighting individually and collectively to combat discrimination among minority groups." The federation presented to Mr. Tucci the George B. De Luca Brotherhood Award of the Federation of the Italian-American Democratic Organizations. There were many outstanding citizens of Nassau County who attended and the three guest speakers were the Nassau County Executive Eugene H. Nickerson, Nassau Supreme Court Justice Mario Pittoni, and Nassau County Democratic Leader John F. English.

The words spoken by Mr. Nicholas Tucci in accepting the award indicate the character of the man. The short speech which he made I believe will prove of interest to the reading public.

His speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, Congressman SANTANGELO, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: I sincerely appreciate the honor you have bestowed upon me.

If I could be granted one wish today, it would be that my mother and father could share this moment with me. For is not a man a product of his environment? And, is not a man's son his monument?

Throughout my formative years, I was taught that the key to successful coexistence is learning to accept others as I would be accepted.

I do not consider my conduct extraordinary. I have simply attempted to abide by the laws of God and the laws of this great land, to wit: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" and, "All men are created equal."

I think it sad that a great organization such as this must direct a part of its energy away from its prime purpose—philanthropy—and devote precious time fighting discrimination. If men would only practice the Golden Rule and be constantly aware of the dictates of God and our Constitution, then one day the absolute sole purpose of this organization will be to assist those in need and to further our democratic principles.

At this time we are fighting for the abolition of poverty—that kind of poverty which denies to human beings the necessities of life and of personal development. We are fighting for intellectual freedom and the preservation of those civil liberties that are all essential to the existence of a democracy.

High hopes, yes, but success can be achieved through preseverance and prayer. Prayer that Almighty God, through His infinite goodness, will constantly bless our efforts.

Individually and as a group, we should express our appreciation to President Kennedy and to his administration for their appointment of the Honorable Anthony Celebrezze to the post of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Congressman SANTANGELO has informed me that there are at least 25 other men of Italian extraction who have been called upon to assist the President in advancing the New Frontier. Let us here and now pledge our support in this endeavor.

I would like to leave you with the thought expressed by the Honorable Anthony Celebrezze, who wrote to the mayor of an Alabama city: "Sir, may I suggest to you, that when you begin to feel that you are a little better than your fellow man, you should pause and reflect for a moment, and you will come to a determination that you had nothing to do with what you were born to, the place in which you were born, the parents you were born to, or the color of your skin. If you are in a little better status and class than the other fellow, you can only thank the Almighty, because you might have been born that other fellow."

Thank you.

## We Commend the VFW

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the National Tribune, the Stars and Stripes, on August 23, 1962:

WE COMMEND THE VFW

It comes as something of a surprise to learn that the Veterans of Foreign Wars at its recent national encampment in Minneapolis adopted a resolution which would provide pensions of $100 per month for veterans of World War I with certain income restrictions.

The resolution, which was approved by the delegates with little dissension, is substantially the same as called for in the provisions of H.R. 3745.

In our opinion this was a notable victory for those veterans who have felt that the veterans of World War I have not received just treatment from the Congress. From reliable reports information comes that the pension movement was spearheaded by Past Commanders in Chief Lou Feldmann and Congressman RICHARD ROUDEBUSH, of Indiana, and Past National Commander John E. Erickson, of the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc.

According to reports, Erickson initiated the movement by placing bulletins in various areas seeking the aid of the some 1,700 World War I veterans who were delegates to the convention. Meetings were held at which Erickson briefed those present on just what was taking place. The attendance at these meetings grew from 25 initially to over 200.

Feldmann and ROUDEBUSH were able to persuade some influential members of the organization that the cause for which they were fighting was just and when the resolution came to the floor it was quickly approved despite reported opposition by the outgoing commander in chief. It is also understood that the chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and members of his staff were in attendance at the convention and were actively campaigning against the adoption of a resolution of this nature.

The action by the Veterans of Foreign Wars marks an important milestone for the veterans of World War I in their long struggle for pension recognition by the Congress.

All indications point to a determined move by the pension advocates to have a resolution of the same description adopted by the American Legion when it meets in Las Vegas in October. Already some of the key departments of the Legion have announced in no uncertain terms that they will spearhead a movement to gain Legion approval.

It is our belief that the World War I veterans within the membership of the American Legion will emulate the tactics employed at the VFW convention and persuade their counterparts of World War II and Korea to take immediate action on this most important matter.

We emphasize that unity between the veterans' organizations will serve to present a united front to all detractors. In view of the controversy over recent House action on the GI insurance bill it would appear that some of our larger veteran groups may well have come to the conclusion that complete dependence cannot be placed upon implied promises and we feel that the veterans' cause can be better served by a better understanding of the aims and objectives of all interested parties.

Unless such an understanding is achieved, veterans of all wars may ultimately stand to lose those benefits for which they have heretofore successfully fought.

We extend to the VFW our commendations for their forthright action at the Minneapolis convention.

## Assistant Secretary of the Navy BeLieu Receives VFW Gold Medal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, which is becoming an increasingly influential and constructive factor in national security and foreign affairs, as well as in domestic legislative matters, recently concluded its 63d national convention in Minneapolis, Minn.

One of the high points of these VFW national conventions is the presentation of high VFW awards to outstanding citizens for distinguished service to our Nation. It is widely recognized that such VFW awards are made on a highly selective basis, and are all the more meaningful because of the care with which the recipients are determined.

Members of this House will probably recall that some few weeks ago, prior to the beginning of the VFW national convention, Mr. Robert E. Hansen, the then commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, announced that the Honorable Kenneth E. BeLieu, Assistant Sec-

retary of the Navy, had been selected to receive the commander in chief's gold medal for distinguished service to the United States. Commander Hansen, in making the announcement, emphasized Secretary BeLieu's long record of ability and devoted service, both as a regular military officer and, following his retirement due to losing his left leg in action in Korea, as a greatly respected and trusted counsel to the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Special Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, and the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Like many other Members of the House, I have had the privilege of knowing and working with Kenneth BeLieu. I share the opinion of Commander Hansen that Secretary BeLieu "represents the kind of able, dedicated, and patriotic public official so necessary to our form of government." Additionally, I associate myself completely with the commendatory remarks of the Honorable JOHN STENNIS, Senator from Mississippi, who commented so favorably on the floor of the Senate concerning Secretary BeLieu's services and expressed his personal satisfaction that the high VFW award was being made to Secretary BeLieu.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Veterans of Foreign Wars' Commander Hansen's speech of presentation to Secretary BeLieu is both eloquent and accurate in its references to the long and able services of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I recommend it to the attention of Members of the House.

The address of Secretary BeLieu to the thousands of delegates attending the VFW convention is a highly informative document. It reflects an unusually profound understanding of our form of government, the role of military services, as well as the entire Department of Defense. In reading this speech one can quickly perceive the sound philosophy and practical commonsense which has characterized Secretary BeLieu's performance of duty as the head of one of the largest managerial jobs in the world.

I am confident that many Members of the House join with me in expressing our congratulations to a distinguished military officer, an extraordinarily able Defense official, and our good friend, Kenneth E. BeLieu, upon his receiving the VFW commander in chief's Gold Medal for Distinguished Service from the then commander in chief, Robert E. Hansen, who made the presentation on behalf of the 1,300,000 oversea combat veterans of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Commander Hansen's presentation speech and the address of Secretary BeLieu to the VFW convention:

PRESENTATION OF COMMANDER IN CHIEF'S GOLD MEDAL AND CITATION TO HON. KENNETH E. BELIEU, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, 63D NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AUGUST 14, 1962

One of the most pleasant duties of a commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is to present, on behalf of our organization, an award in recognition of distinguished service to our Nation.

It is my privilege to perform such a function this morning.

The man on whom we confer one of our organization's highest awards, currently holds the highly responsible position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Installations and Logistics. But the extremely able manner in which he is performing one of the most difficult and yet important assignments in the entire Department of Defense, is but one of the reasons why we recognize him with this award.

Assistant Secretary Kenneth E. BeLieu is a native of Oregon and a graduate of the University of Oregon. Almost immediately following his graduation he entered the U.S. Army. His World War II service included the Normandy landing, the campaigns in France, the Battle of the Bulge, the advance into Germany and the penetration into Czechoslovakia. For his combat leadership he was awarded the Silver Star, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Purple Heart. The French Government recognized his gallantry in action with the award of the Croix de Guerre.

Following World War II he served as a lieutenant colonel with the Department of the Army in Washington, D.C. Immediately following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, then Lieutent Colonel BeLieu volunteered for action in that conflict. Again leading troops in combat, he was seriously wounded, and as a result he lost his left leg and was returned to the United States. Although not permitted, due to that battle wound, to serve in the field, good soldier that he was, he continued his Army service and was entrusted with high responsibility as the executive officer to two Secretaries of the Army.

In late 1955 then-Colonel BeLieu retired from active service. However, retirement did not mean the end of his service to our Nation. Nor did it conclude his efforts in the cause of strengthening our national security.

Upon retirement he was appointed a counsel to the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Senate. In January of 1959 he was assigned increasing responsibility, reflecting the high esteem in which he was held by Members of the U.S. Senate. He became staff director of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. This is the Senate committee which has the jurisdiction of reviewing all U.S. aeronautical and space activities and the analyzation and preparation of legislation dealing with the Aeronautics and Space Administration. In this highly important position Colonel BeLieu made historically important contributions to the space program of the United States.

In addition, he also served as staff director of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee. This subcommittee has the heavy responsibility and broad authority to review, investigate, and make recommendations on all aspects of the Nation's military policies, programs, and operations.

To hold the staff directorship of either of these vitally important committees would be, in itself, a high honor and responsibility. To hold both directorships simultaneously was an unprecedented responsibility and certainly an unprecedented distinction.

In these positions of such high responsibility and authority, Colonel BeLieu quickly came to be recognized as a tireless worker for our Nation's betterment. His impartiality, his high standard of ethics and his deep sense of propriety earned him the admiration and respect of those in industry, the armed services, and Congress with whom he worked.

There is an incident which illustrates this point. In his position as staff director of the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee it was his responsibility, on one occasion, to investigate a major policy decision in the Department of Defense. Ultimately this resulted in a very high official in the Pentagon being interrogated by Colonel BeLieu. The questioning was pointed, vigorous, but entirely professional and impersonal. Although this was a difficult episode for the Pentagon official, it is noteworthy that that official became a sincere admirer of Colonel BeLieu. It is reported that high official on a number of occasions not only expressed admiration for Colonel BeLieu's characteristics and abilities, but also his regret that Colonel BeLieu was not one of his own assistants.

In February of 1961 Colonel BeLieu was sworn in as Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Installations and Logistics. In this position he directs and is responsible for one of the most difficult, diverse, and largest managerial assignments in the world. Indeed there are few positions that bear so directly and fundamentally upon our national security as does the one which Secretary BeLieu occupies. There is hardly an aspect of our Nation's ability to defend itself from attack and wage war overseas that is not directly influenced by the decisions which Secretary BeLieu must make.

In war and in peace, as an official of the legislative branch and as a high appointee in the executive branch, the man whom we honor here today has served his Nation well. The manner in which he has served and continues to serve has provided one of our Nation's finest examples of inspiring service. He is the kind of devoted and able public servant so vital to the successful functioning of our form of government.

Because of what he has done for our country, because of what he continues to do, and with the hope that our Nation will continue to benefit from his ability and devoted service for many, many more years, it is my privilege on behalf of the 1,300,000 oversea veterans of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to present to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable Kenneth E. BeLieu, the Commander-in-Chief's Gold Medal and Citation, for distinguished service to our Nation.

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CABBAGES AND KINGS

(Address by the Honorable Kenneth E. BeLieu, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Installations and Logistics, at 63d Annual VFW National Convention, Minneapolis, Minn., August 14, 1962)

Commander-in-Chief Bob Hansen, M. Raymond Triboucet, ministre des anciens combattants et victimes de la guerre, distinguished guests, as one who first learned the manual of arms and carried a rifle in 1928, and later served in Europe and Korea, this award, coming as it does from the Veterans of Foreign Wars is especially significant.

I can only associate this honor with those who have had such an important role in bringing me to this moment.

Certainly, my parents, my family, I only wish they were here to share these moments. The teachers and comrades of yesteryear and today, the great statesmen of our Congress—the military and civilian leaders of our Government with whom I have been and am now associated. I give my thanks to all of them, and this obviously includes each of you.

Response to the honor you pay me can never be expressed by mere words and can only really be understood in the minds of those, like you, who have fought and continue to fight our Nation's battles. Because in the collective minds of our veterans, we remember at least half a century in defense of freedom. We remember the immortal words of World War I: "Ils ne passeront pas." We remember a song that said: "Goodbye Broadway, Hello France," and "We won't come back until it's over, over there." We remember a Hitler, a Hirohito, and a Mussolini. They are not operating at the same stands any more. We remember a then little known French general named

De Gaulle who said, "Ou sont les reserves generales?" Sometimes, this is still a good question.

The combined service to country represented by the VFW and manifested by our commander in chief, Bob Hansen, and you, is the unlimited yardstick measuring the distinction of this award.

No man could receive this high honor without first giving evidence of a humble hertfelt thank you and, at the same time, resolving that the future will be worthy of the past.

A combination of fate and good fortune has given me the opportunity of viewing and serving our Defense Establishment from varying positions. The 18 years I wore the uniform of the U.S. Army were proud and memorable ones. In that uniform encompassed by its great traditions, I—along with many of you—viewed and participated in the emergence of our Nation from a slumbering giant desirous of peace to a nation fielding the most powerful forces in the world.

Following that war, we witnessed the dismemberment of that fighting machine by a nation eager to return to peaceful pursuits. We saw the Iron Curtain drop. We saw, in June 1950, our men once again committed to combat in defense of our democratic ideals.

History again was on the make. This time in every rice paddy of Korea, in the skies over the Yalu, and in the mine-salted waters off Wonsan. Now, 12 years since that summer of 1950, "the moving finger" of history continues to write, as it has in all our generation, and "having writ, moves on" from crisis to crisis.

In each of the dozen years since Korea's start it has been essential to maintain and bolster our strength. For me, the years following my retirement from the Army brought the opportunity of participating in the development of our defenses from within the Halls of Congress—as a staff member. Here was a rare privilege, a distinct honor which I wish all of you could have shared with me. It was my privilege to observe the firsthand workings of our elected representatives wrestling with the spiraling costs, and ever-increasing complexities of defense.

In spite of the criticisms sometimes leveled at our representative form of government, the statesmanship, vision and dedication and integrity, evidenced by the great majority of Congress cannot help but serve to strengthen the belief that this, our country, is and always will be worth fighting for.

But such you know only too well. In my job now, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the Polaris submarines continuously deployed under our sea frontiers are tangible evidence of your participation with the Congress to insure the development of this vital arm of seapower.

Only yesterday, it seems, Polaris—then, nonexistent, was thought impossible by many, or unneeded by others, not all outside the Navy. Today, thanks greatly to the original and continued support by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, while others scoffed, the free world has a ballistic missile able to take advantage of the seas around us and the military necessities of fire and movement, cover and concealment.

Friends often ask me how a long-term Army officer came to sit in the upper echelons of the Navy. To this query, I have a standard reply, "Just lucky, I guess."

In a more serious vein, the challenge of the freedom of the seas must arouse any student of history. Certainly, the challenge stands clear to any man whose adult span of life has been intertwined with our national defense.

America is, and always has been, a maritime Nation. Our export and import commerce is geared to a sea-based transportation system, augmented by aircraft systems. Our defense posture is based largely on maritime alliances.

A paramount fact of Communist strategy since the end of World War II has been the emergence of the Soviet Navy as a major world power. Any student of communism will recognize that the scientific and material expenditures being made by the Soviets are not the result of an erratic decision from the Kremlin.

The recent pronouncements of the Soviets on the occasion of their Navy Day serve as a further warning. Regardless of the value assessed against these statements; in the face of what we know to be factual, we must continue to take those actions which will insure continued freedom of the seas.

The importance, therefore, of maintaining a Navy capable of insuring the free world's continued use and control of the seas is growing, not constantly, but at an ever-increasing rate of acceleration. As the struggle between freedom and slavery moves into insular and peninsular areas accessible only by sea, our country's naval and maritime commitments grow accordingly.

We are stretched thin. Our ships are aging rapidly and our crews are spending more and more time away from home. We hope to alleviate this situation by finding ways to buy more ships with the money saved from reduced costs.

There is an oriental saying regarding friendship which literally states that true friendship stands as immutable as the mountains that rise from the plains, as unchangeable as the relentless flow of the rivers to the sea. So it is with freedom of the seas. Whether serving as a barrier to foreign encroachment as in the early days of our Republic or as the lifeline of the free world.

There was a time in the not-too-distant past that seapower could be assured by control of one dimension of that great body comprising 75 percent of the earth's surface—the surface of the sea. Today, we know that true control of the seas comprises a three dimensional problem. The limitless space over the seas, the surface of the seas from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Indian Ocean to the Caribbean, and under the surface, in the stillness and darkness of the depths of the world's oceans.

I give sincere thanks to the Veterans of Foreign Wars for its recognition of the role of seapower. It is a distinct privilege to be associated with an organization which has had the foresight and courage to resolutely create better public understanding of the role of seapower and to give such vigorous support to legislation affecting seapower. But, I do not limit my remarks to seapower. Our thanks go to the Veterans of Foreign Wars for their support of our ever valiant Army, our second-to-none Air Force and the ever gallant marine.

In my job, I deal primarily in the Navy's hardware and facilities. The ships, aircraft, missiles, shipyards, air stations, supply depots, and all else that sustains and maintains the finest Navy this world has ever seen. I operate from what we refer to as the "business side" of our Navy organization. At this point, I could spell out a myriad of staggering statistics. But, statistics are like a bikini bathing suit. What they reveal is suggestive, but what they conceal is vital.

I think it was Mrs. Bob Taft who said, "I always find statistics hard to swallow and impossible to digest—the only one I can remember is that if all of the people who go to sleep in church were laid end to end they would be a lot more comfortable."

I do not measure the importance of my job in terms of statistics. At the same time, I would not appear in your eyes as so naive as to have lost sight of the present day realities of business management. Our objective, in Navy procurement, is to acquire weapons and material which fully meet our qualitative, quantitative, and delivery requirements at the lowest overall cost. I emphasize the fact that in the crucial balance which exists in the world today, we cannot risk putting second-best weapons in the hands of our fighting men. The quality, the performance, and the reliability of our weapons must be of the highest order. This is expensive. It is also vital.

Obviously to get the most of the best, for the least, requires that we must exploit all known management tools and techniques.

But, there is one cardinal principle that seems to me all too often overlooked when we become top intrigued with the scientific marvels of the age and the complexities of weapons. We tend to ignore the man and grasp the formula, discard the spirit and hold to the material and, truly, this is a comparison between "cabbages and kings."

In the final analysis it is man, albeit aided and abetted by the calculations of the inanimate computer who must make the decision. It is man, or men, who must bear the burden of responsibility for the decision.

O. Meredith Wilson, president of the University of Minnesota, in speaking of bankers, said: "Our freedom in government and economics depends on a greater faith in the nature of man than is common in most societies, and no profession is more dependent upon this confidence of men in men than is your own. If you lost the confidence of other men, your institutions would shrivel and die. Without confidence in other men you would become sour counterparts of the medieval money changer, and more often a burden to trade than a spur to commerce."

So it is with those who wear our country's uniforms—occupy its high positions. They must have an abiding belief and faith in man, a compassionate understanding of his strength and weaknesses, for such is the true cohesion in government.

This, we of the VFW know. I am comfortable in this audience because we are comrades. We have shared an experience in the service of our country. A service, if you will, to insure that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." Whether our experience was born in a hedgerow in Normandy, a beach at Bougainville, in the skies over Europe, in a destroyer off Guadalcanal, or a minesweeper off Inchon, we know the importance of man.

I am reminded of the first verse of "The Laws of the Navy," by Capt. Ronald Hopwood of the Royal Navy:

"Now these are the laws of the Navy,
Unwritten and varied they be;
And he that is wise will observe them,
Going down in his ship to the sea;
As naught may outrun the destroyer,
Even so with the law in its grip,
For the strength of the ship is the service,
And the strength of the service, the ship."

"The strength of the ship is the service." A ship, however, splendidly built, whatever its scientific marvels, is but a dead thing without her crew.

In these difficult times, we read and hear a great deal about almost every aspect of our defense effort. Weapons, strategy, organization, economy and efficiency, plans, concepts, all are discussed at length by the news mediums, interested citizens, public officials, and private groups.

This is basically good. The great bulwark of freedom is an alert and informed citizenry. No nation knows this better than our own. I cannot avoid the impression, however, that too many of us fix our gaze upon such things as weapons and equipments in the firm belief that here we must excel—here we must exert the effort, overcome the barriers, make the breakthroughs, and if we do—all will be well.

Those who believe so are partly right. These things are vital. It is imperative that

we excel. But none of this has meaning in the absence of competent, trained people, men of high spirit and devotion to tough, demanding duty—professionals in every sense of the word.

True strength, the spirit which gave birth to this country, will not be found in the myriad tools of war. There must ever be that spirit and courage which controls the weapons, the inner spirit which guides and directs us in pursuit of just cause.

This great organization—the Veterans of Foreign Wars—understands the importance of the individual. Many of you have faced that moment when the reaction of a man spelled life or death. The reaction of man, not the machine. The command of a leader, a command of experience, spelling the difference between victory or defeat.

Andrew Rooney in his recent book "The Fortunes of War" said: "One of the tragedies of battle is that the bravest go first—and are the first to go. The greatest, single American weapon in war has been the smart, tough, aggressive platoon sergeant willing to lead his small handful of men anywhere—at Tarawa, as elsewhere, it was the invaluable leaders, the platoon sergeants with the fighting junior officers, who were cut down first as they led their men into gunfire."

We veterans of foreign wars know this also. We also know that the art of living is as with the art of war—not an exact science and, that "the art of war, is in the last analysis, the art of keeping one's freedom," so it is with the art of being a free man in a free nation.

We know that the art and drama of living requires intense preparation, dedication and constancy of purpose even as it was with us as we prepared to go overseas to write history for our country in days past.

Rooney also wrote that: "While it might be said that D–Day was more than a day, the drama that took 2 years to write and produce played only one performance: That was on the beaches of Normandy on June 6, 1944.

We know that men did these things for we did write history.

Let us when we leave this rendezvous and return to our homes, resolve that this is "one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all."

Let us further resolve that we will so live our lives in our separate communities with the same compassion and understanding found in the crucibles of past sacrifices, that our past efforts are but the basis for added strength in the foundation of our institutions else, what we did yesterday will be but smudgy fingerprints on the dogeared pages of history.

Let us resolve that each day, each month, each year, we shall accomplish some quiet but permanent act of patriotism for the benefit of those who follow us.

Now we have talked of many things—even "shoes and ships, and sealing wax, and, cabbages and kings"—but, the emphasis is on free man, who in our free society, is king.

## On-the-Job Training of a Treasury Secretary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure many of my colleagues have been as troubled as I have been with the seeming lack of awareness of the economic facts of life evidenced by the present administration's fiscal policies. Reflected in the attitudes and activities of some members of the executive branch, the overall approach by the Treasury Department is hardly likely to clear up the present unsettled economic picture. On the contrary, present policy simply beclouds it.

One shaft of light into the reasons behind this governmentally induced gloom is a recent article written by Raymond Moley, appearing in the August 20 edition of Newsweek magazine. Mr. Moley describes the process by which the administration's chief economic and political planners have managed to deliberately confuse the American public's view of the approach to fiscal policy now being followed. He adds some timely and historically analagous remarks concerning the 1930's and the effect of similar attitudes and fiscal unorthodoxy by another Democratic President on the American economy:

MR. DILLON'S EDUCATION

(By Raymond Moley)

One of the most frequently asked questions I have encountered over the past months is: "What has happened to Douglas Dillon?"

The answer is in one item among the mass of written propaganda by the academicians who have entered politics in this administration. The item is a naively self-revealing book by Seymour E. Harris, Littauer professor of political economy at Harvard, "The Economic Policies of the Political Parties," published this year.

Harris writes that when the time came to select Mr. Kennedy's Secretary of the Treasury, "Messrs. Samuelson, Galbraith, Schlesinger, and I spent several hours trying to come up with a good name." Dillon was later selected no doubt because his past associations in Wall Street and in the Eisenhower administration would be a good orthodox screen for unorthodox fiscal policies.

But to make sure that the appointee could be rid of any embedded germs of orthodoxy carried over from the past, scrubbing and disinfecting were provided by making Harris senior consultant to the Secretary to supply on-the-job retraining. "I can say," writes Harris, "that I have never known a high official who was so anxious to learn." The new Secretary read the homework supplied by his tutor and reported favorably thereon.

STATISTICAL TRICKERY

Harris' progress report is: "Dillon promises to become the Alexander Hamilton of the 20th century."

This is a dangerous comparison. For Hamilton studied no economics at the King's College of his day. He learned his economics from the businessmen whom he later so ably supported.

Harris shows an aptitude for demagogic downgrading of businessmen in public office which might be envied by a KEFAUVER or MORSE. Academic men are more disinterested.

To promote his concept that deficit spending promotes economic growth, Harris resorts to a statistical trick. In answering the arguments of Senator GOLDWATER and PROXMIRE that deficit spending did not promote economic growth in the 1930's Harris says: "In fact, gross national product rose from $56 billion in 1933 to $91 billion in 1939, unemployment declined by 3 million."

The facts are these:

In 1933, 1934, 1935, and 1936, Roosevelt followed orthodox budget policies. He struggled to keep spending down and twice vetoed a soldiers' bonus. In those years the gross national product rose from $56 billion to $82.7 billion, or more than 47 percent. Unemployment fell 3.8 million.

In the midthirties, John Maynard Keynes came over with his silk hat and white rabbits. He had a long session with F.D.R. Subsequently Keynes said, according to Harris, that Roosevelt was "an economic illiterate." But slowly the Keynes infection set in, with plenty of help from Harry Hopkins. After 1936 the gross national product rose to $91 billion, which was only 10 percent more than in 1936. Unemployment increased 450,000. The deficit in 1939 was higher than in the depth of the depression. In constant dollars, the contrast is almost equally striking.

CONFIDENCE DID IT

Harris might reply that the improvement in the first period was due to the recovery from the depression and that after 1936 there was a leveling off. But recovery was accompanied by a rise in public confidence after the saving of the banks and the Economy Act of 1933 which slashed Government expenses across the board. This was not merely businessmen's confidence. It was reflected in immense Democratic majorities in the elections of 1934 and 1936.

In 1936 Roosevelt began to make harsh attacks on business. Even Rexford Tugwell has said of his "princes of privilege" speech that it "was a speech that Bryan might have made." After F.D.R.'s great triumph in the 1936 election, two events marked a shattering of confidence. One was the attack on the Supreme Court; the other was his criticism of copper and other prices. Recession set in and, with it, a great loss of House seats in 1938. Republicans had only 103 House Members in 1935–36. But after the 1938 election they had 164.

There is no recognition in the Harris book of the part played by public confidence in economic growth. His concern is to use mathematics to prove a bad case.

## Private Enterprise and Creative Thinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, President Ernest S. Marsh of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., made a very interesting commencement address at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles on June 14, 1962, on the subject of private enterprise which to my mind should have wide circulation:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND CREATIVE THINKING

(By President Ernest S. Marsh, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.)

President Topping, members of the board of trustees, officers and faculty of the university, members of the graduating classes, ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed an honor to have the opportunity to address the graduating classes on this important occasion. For many personal reasons, I approach it with deep humility.

These commencement exercises mark a decisive turning point in your lives. You have completed an arduous but stimulating task. Those assembled here—including the faculty, your parents, relatives and friends—can rightfully take pride in your success. I salute you on your accomplishments.

You have attended a great university. Its high standing among educational institutions; its strong position in civic and business affairs; and its reputation for adherence to the fundamentals of our American way of life are well known. I am sure it has equipped you with intellectual training, discipline, knowledge, and an understanding of the society in which you now become more active participants.

American enterprise provides opportunities for selecting the occupation or profession you believe will be the most rewarding in giving you a challenging and satisfying way of life. It also affords the freedom to change lines or locations at your pleasure.

Whatever selection results from individual decisions, I believe you will approach any problems that may confront you without fear or trepidation. The progress achieved here should provide encouragement and a quiet confidence that you can meet any challenge that presents itself.

You have already demonstrated determination and good judgment in devoting the time and effort necessary to secure your degrees. You have shown that you want to compete in a competitive world. Your degrees and formal education are of great value. They should be cherished as a major step in your progress. Without them you would be handicapped far more than you would have been a generation or more ago.

It would be a mistake, however, to say that a diploma is a one-way ticket on a through train to advancement. In a broad sense, it is an open letter of introduction with a qualified recommendation. It will open doors to opportunity but what you make of it is in your hands.

As of this day you have a headstart but the education that will come from experience and endless further study is just commencing. It is a process that continues long after school years. It needs pursuit as diligently as you have pursued the degrees you receive here today.

Our society becomes increasingly complex. Men are circling the globe in a matter of an hour and a half. Almost instantaneous communications are far beyond the comprehension of a few short years ago.

The need for education and a vast store of knowledge is greater. The burden on the individual becomes correspondingly heavier, yet the nature of man has changed not at all.

We are moving fast. We are living fast. We expect things to happen fast.

I would like to tell you, you are now prepared to go out and tackle the world and succeed in conquering it in a year or so. Some might say, "Never look back—get to the top in your field in a hurry."

It is not likely to happen that way.

It is more likely to be a step by step development over a long period with increased effort being needed on each stepping stone.

I would prefer to say to you—do look back.

Look back often to see what made our country the great Nation it is today. Each new generation should read the minutes of the last meeting. Look back to see how others have attained a measure of success and satisfaction.

My observations over a considerable number of years convince me the ones who advance in their chosen fields will exhibit the same qualities which resulted in advancement for their predecessors.

First of all, they have enthusiasm for the task.

They demonstrate a desire and eagerness to learn everything they can about every phase of the enterprise and prepare for the job just ahead.

They think for themselves and apply carefully considered judgments; still they approach the new experience with the idea of gaining a working knowledge of existing practices and policies.

They get themselves accepted on the team before their own new ideas are accepted. The inquisitive, creative mind forges ahead.

They exhibit a spirit of cooperation and willingness to work, and have a pride in doing all things thoroughly and properly.

They have an appreciative understanding of people around them and a get-along-ability. They follow a practical application of the Golden Rule.

They attract attention to their capabilities by doing a little more, a little better than expected—and cheerfully. Unhappy, disgrauntled people are almost never chosen for greater responsibilities.

They carefully avoid envying the progress of others or worrying about the fortunes of others—doing so invites disappointment and frustration. They try, try again.

These are some of the qualities I have observed.

With your educational background and with reasonable patience and proper application of talents, the opportunities for success and happiness are unbounded. Yet, I know of no magic formula for quick success in any field or industry.

That name "industry" as applied to production of agriculture and manufacturing, and the services, has a very broad coverage.

Almost everyone is dependent to some degree for a livelihood upon moneys that can be traced back to industry, whether they follow careers in government, the professions, or some endeavor on their own. Many of the young lady graduates will enter the business field and those who become homemakers will find their interest the same as the breadwinner of the family.

It seems fair to assume that the great majority of you will be associated in some manner with business and many with corporations.

In our complex society, corporations employ almost as many Americans as all other sectors of our economic life, including Federal, State and local governments.

These corporations are not impersonal organizations. Each is an aggregation of people with a direct concern for producing a product or performing a service that is in demand.

Most executives in today's typical corporation have risen from the ranks.

Corporations are owned and managed by fellow citizens. Their part in the complex pattern is in the fact that they have placed in the hands of their employees more than half a trillion dollars in the tools and materials which make our high output and standard of living possible.

Just one illustration.

The balance sheet of the Sante Fe Railway System runs to $1,600 million.

It would take over 21 years to count that much if you spent 8 hours per day, 5 days per week counting $10 bills at the rate of one every second.

When you finished, you might look at the pile and say, "What good is it, anyhow?" You might as well have a room full of soap wrappers, unless the bills are put to work for some useful purpose.

Now let us use part of the pile to purchase a narrow strip of land running 13,000 miles from the Pacific Ocean to the shores of Lake Michigan and various points in between.

Then devote the remainder to rails, ties, signals, diesel locomotives, freight and passenger cars, stations, shops and all the items necessary to move people and goods.

Converting the pile of bills into physical things has made it possible to perform a needed service for the public and the national defense. It has made it possible to employ 50,000 people with average annual earnings of over $6,000.

It has generated $140-million of annual purchases of materials and supplies which keep many others employed.

Of course, it was not one person or a few who put up the $1,600 million, because the Santa Fe has over 110,000 stockholders—more than twice the number of employees. Dividends average $377 per year per stockholder.

It is a fourway mutual affair, including the stockholders, the employees, the suppliers and, of course, the customers.

Almost 100,000 of the stockholders are individuals holding an average of 170 shares individuals holding an average of 170 shares—a few thousand dollars in the investment; 36,000 own less than 50 shares; 8,000 less than 10 shares—a few hundred dollars.

No individual owns as much as one-fourth of 1 percent of the total.

Among the larger holders are the insurance companies, investment funds, hospitals, charitable and religious organizations, and educational and scientific institutions.

These generally are representative of many people, especially the life insurance companies whose investments come from a reservoir of savings put up by millions of people expecting that life insurance ultimately will pay something to them or their beneficiaries.

The stockholder is not some faraway fellow in a high silk hat counting his dividends in an ivory tower, but instead the family living next door or right down the street. It might be your family. Many of our employees are also stockholders.

Keep in mind that the whole enterprise stems from the pool of capital attracted by the profit motive from the savings of fellow citizens. Call it capitalism, if you like. It is voluntary enterprise—no one was forced into it.

When I speak out on matters which may adversely affect the soundness and stability of the economy, I am talking for the people interested in the good of my company—the employees, the public served, and the citizens who have devoted their savings to the enterprise.

There should be no conflict of purpose. All are contributing somethings for a common good. All should share in the benefit.

In many areas, notably transportation, the business corporation is subject to certain regulation and has a legitimate interest in public affairs to such an extent as to call for devoting effort toward a better understanding of economic facts.

Long ago our company felt the need of efforts in this direction. Back in 1952, with the collaboration and cooperation of the University of Southern California, we decided to do something toward giving our management team a more comprehensive understanding of the forces underlying the creation and existence of our business, which is a product of private enterprise and dependent upon that system for perpetuation in a manner that best serves the interests of everyone concerned.

Each summer we have a group here at the graduate school of business administration where, for a period of 6 weeks, they participate in the Santa Fe Institute of Business Economics to gain a keener knowledge of our society and the traditions of our American way of life.

More than 300 of our officers and keymen have attended these sessions which are conducted by a very capable team of professors in the business school. All of our men have learned something about freedom and initiative which are essential to the business community. Essential for the simple reason that the robust health of the business community is essential to the well-being of the Nation and its people. The contribution of American industry is a matter of record.

True, it has made some mistakes, but it has progressed.

True, there are those who condemn industry and a few are critical of bigness or profits as something evil or distasteful.

Growth is recognized as a mark of success and usually the size of a company depends on how well it serves the intended purpose of providing goods and services that people need—how well it contributes to the general welfare of the populace.

The key to corporate strength lies in the ability to generate profits, without which it would be virtually impossible to measure up to the obligations of today or tomorrow. The forces of demand and competition usually prevent excessive profits, but adequate profits are needed to do the job.

After meeting the payrolls, tax bills, and cost of wear and obsolescence on facilities, it is profits that keep a business going.

Profits provide a part of the funds needed for replacement and improvement.

Profits give a return to the people who put up the capital, as a means of compensating them for the use of their savings and attracting additional funds to keep pace with growth and expansion—to employ and serve more people. To promote economic progress.

It is the profit motive that provides the impetus for progress and prosperity. There need be no apologies on this point.

Greatly oversimplified, we get around to where the economy of the people is centered on money. Government, business, and all else would be impotent without it.

Whatever your endeavor, I am sure you will find that money is a necessity of life. There is no reason to camouflage the cold facts—in the pursuit of happiness, money is at least useful.

There are many definitions for the word—capital, cash, coin, specie, or a medium of exchange. Regardless of definition, some say that in importance it ranks ahead of whatever it is that is in second place.

Personally, I prefer the definition given by Arthur Stone Dewing in his work on corporate financial policy. He said: "The success or failure of a business is expressed in the numerical values of money; and money is merely a convenient denomination of value in the limited sphere of economic value. The expressions of money values are the objective representations of more fundamental economic values. These economic values are, in the end, human judgments of the relative importance of material things and of services in meeting the needs and the desires of human beings."

This profound quotation refers to the "success or failure of a business"—a sobering reminder that the balance sheet mentions two words—"profit" and "loss."

Even at the beginning of our country, our founders placed a reliance upon this concept. The very essence of our economy is based upon the initiative and aspirations of free men. Each new generation is a temporary guardian of this freedom. Each is faced with the challenge of preserving it.

You should be thankful that the odds favoring your success in this are far better on this National Flag Day than those confronting the courageous men and women of the American Colonies on the birthday of the Star Spangled Banner 185 years ago.

Our generation welcomes your participation in sharing with us the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship, but within a few short years it will be your generation that determines the economic and political destiny of this country.

It is my hope, and surely the hope of this large assemblage, that through the unparalleled opportunity that science and technology now provide, your creative thinking will produce an even better world in which mankind can achieve its highest aspirations in an atmosphere of peacefulness and freedom.

I hope and pray that you will have the moral and spiritual strength to defend the heritage that has been handed to you and thus insure survival of values based on individual liberty and human dignity, and that you will realize lasting satisfactions in your accomplishments.

Good luck and God bless you.

## Republic of Liberia Independence Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on July 26 the Republic of Liberia, the oldest Republic in Africa, celebrated its 115th birthday by inviting guests throughout the world to help observe this memorable occasion. In Washington, Ambassador and Mrs. Peal were hosts to many of their friends including Members of the Congress, the Diplomatic Corps, and official Washington.

Because President Tubman was en route to Liberia after having made successful state visits to both the Republic of Israel and the United Kingdom, the Liberian Secretary of State, the Honorable J. Rudolph Grimes, delivered the Independence Day message in which he stated:

This occasion recalls to our minds and brings into historical focus the gallant and heroic efforts of our forefathers, their sacrifices, their untold sufferings and their indomitable courage. We are also able to recall the spontaneous help and assistance which were offered them by the chiefs and people from whom they have been separated by the cruel slave trade. We should always remember that these are two of the factors which, when combined, gravitated toward our independence. Thus it has become ingrained in us as part of our national life, on this day to give thanks, to rejoice and to listen to a message from our dear President, whose sacred trust is the discharge of his duties as the executive leader of the nation.

After this introduction, Secretary Grimes read the President's address which follows in part:

Independence Day calls for a reflection into our past and a dedication to our future.

Let us look back briefly to the early 19th century.

People from Africa had been sold primarily to plantation owners as slaves and they were held to have no rights that white men were bound to respect. They were therefore debarred from all civil offices, taxed without representation and excluded from participation in government. They felt that they had no chance of improvement under such circumstances.

At the time there were men whose consciences bothered them about the plight of Negroes. Some saw the presence of the Negroes in America as a social evil, some were afraid of and concerned about the continuation of the slave trade with the possible effect this might have on their society, while others believed that continued presence of free Negroes would exert a dangerous influence on the unfreed ones. Those people who were moved by humanitarian and other considerations began to seek means of solving what they regarded as a pressing problem and one of the results was the formation of the American Colonization Society. Many of the Negro people had serious misgivings about returning to Africa, but some of them resolved to sail an unknown ocean, no matter how long the journey, with little education, no experience in government and political administration, to return to the continent of their origin—a continent which was to them at the time a strange land.

Upon their arrival the settlers underwent 25 years of trials and tribulation and experienced the hardship of a new life under terrible conditions. There were diseases of many kinds which reduced their numbers.

The settlers grew weary but were never discouraged. They became despondent but never faltered, for they were resolute in their determination to be freemen, to build a nation on the basis of justice and equality, and to kindle the flame of independence on a continent which was gradually being carved up among the colonial powers. Their purpose was to demonstrate that given the opportunity the Negro was capable of governing himself. We thank the Great Arbiter of human events that, in spite of great difficulties, severe disappointments, and many setbacks, this flame has never been extinguished.

Rather it continues to glow brighter and, on the continent of Africa, the flame is spreading in such a manner that we hope it will not be long when the darkness of colonialism is completely eliminated in Africa.

This was their hope and aspiration when, out of the depths of desolation and pessimism, they banded together and decided on behalf of the people of Liberia, to publish and declare a solemn instrument of optimism, our Declaration of Independence, proclaiming the independence of the Republic of Liberia.

This historic and literary document recognized the natural and inalienable rights of all people as well as equal rights and justice for all who reside here.

This Declaration of Independence is, in my opinion, unmatched in the annals of African political development. It embodies most of the principles which have influenced and shaped our national policy over the past century. It has aroused millions of Africans to a realization of their capability. Our actions over the years have, in the words of President Joseph Jenkins Roberts, "wiped out the foul imputation of our race."

Following President Tubman's message, Secretary Grimes continued by adding that:

Independence in Africa which has followed the new surge of nationalism has not brought about a magical evanescence of our problems. Instead it has created some additional problems. Among them are the relationship among African states and the relationship of African States to other states in the world.

The tasks confronting the African States are many, serious, and complex. In order to find solutions for them we cannot afford to dissipate our energies and creative talents in useless conflicts and duplicated efforts or to waste our resources while leaving untouched larger opportunities for the advancement of our common objective.

President Tubman has advised that all African leaders—not a selected few—should be invited to attend any meeting which was to be convened for the purpose of finding solutions to African problems; and he warned that, if this course were not followed, events would be set in motion which would result in divisions in Africa.

Be that as it may, the fact is that the groupings do exist and may be harmful in the long run to the interests of Africa. The task is therefore to eliminate the divisions.

I know that President Tubman is resolved to do all that lies within his power to assist in bridging the gap and to work for an intensification of the areas of cooperation in Africa. President Tubman realizes that cooperation among Africa States can make a change for the better in our general conditions and in our relations with the rest of the world by being a positive force for good in shaping these new relations.

One of the important challenges of our new African community, as I see it, is that we must utilize our potentialities, combine our forces and exploit to the fullest our best talents in fruitful endeavor in order to develop our physical and human resources, to advance the frontier of human knowledge and human progress and to increase the chances of human survival.

No continent is self-contained nor can any continent live by itself. There are some events and occurrences which have worldwide effect, and the constant advance of science and technology has made our world more interdependent. African cooperation with the rest of the world, as a consequence, must be strengthened in the interest of peace and mutual understanding.

Because of this, the Liberian Government has supported the United Nations wholeheartedly and will continue to do so.

I am firmly convinced that an important significance of the United Nations is the role it has performed in facilitating the peaceful transformation of former colonial people to the status of independence, human dignity, and freedom.

Today as we gather for the festivities of this occasion, let each and every one of us resolve to dedicate ourselves as a united people to the unflinching support and advancement of the policies of our Government.

I call upon you and me, I call upon the people of Africa, I call upon the people of the world to make a new declaration, a declaration in which we rededicate our efforts and ourselves to the cause of world peace, human understanding, and world brotherhood, a declaration in which we pledge to strive for a world free of greed and ugly ambition, a declaration where we vow to work for a new and glorious era for the present and future generations.

## No Added Publicity for Nazis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter addressed to the Jewish Press of Brooklyn, N.Y. by the Attorney General of the United States. The letter appeared in the August 17, 1962, edition of the Press:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
*Washington, D.C.*

THE JEWISH PRESS,
*Brooklyn, N.Y.*

DEAR EDITOR: I read your thoughtful and provocative open letter to me in the July 20 edition of the Jewish Press with great interest.

This administration, and I personally, strongly concur in your view that the odious Nazi doctrine of racial and religious hatred has no place in this country. The American Nazi Party represents only a few distorted individuals and is an ahathema to almost every other citizen.

The Department of Justice is fully aware of the activities of the Rockwell group and will act promptly if any Federal law is violated. Local authorities are vigilant for infractions of their laws and ordinances.

Consideration has been given to placing the American Nazi Party on the list of subversive organizations, but proceedings have not been initiated for a number of reasons.

The primary function of the list is to alert Government agencies to the danger of hiring people who belong to subversive organizations. Designation as a subversive organization carries no sanction and does not curtail the activities of the group so designated.

Extensive public hearings are required before an organization can be placed on the list. These hearings would give the Nazi Party widespread publicity and a forum in which to expound their primary objectives.

The fact that the Nazi Party is not on the list in no way constitutes approval or grants them any status as a worthwhile organization. Nor does its absence from the list mean that any unlawful activity will be tolerated.

In the final analysis, the most effective antidote to the poison of nazism is the patriotism and good sense of the American people. We shall be alert to the dangers of nazism, but I am sure that you share my confidence that our fellow countrymen will never allow the ravings of hatred which the Nazis preach, to flourish.

Sincerely,

ROBERT KENNEDY,
*Attorney General.*

## Dr. Linus Pauling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 1, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the outcome of the libel suit by Dr. Linus Pauling against the Bellingham (Wash.) Herald is probably unknown to most of my colleagues, though it is of great significance. The suit was settled out of court by the newspaper, and a retraction of the defamatory statements has been published.

It is, of course, encouraging that there is recourse from these completely unwarranted and vicious attacks for people who have the courage to fight it through and the financial ability to do it. At the same time, it is important that we continue to insist that all mediums of publicity, including newspapers, should maintain responsibility for what they print.

The Bellingham Herald's printed retraction is as follows. How much better it would have been if this retraction had not become necessary:

[From the Bellingham (Wash.) Herald, May 4, 1962]

LETTERS: CORRECTION

In late November and early December 1960, when Dr. Linus Pauling, recipient of the Presidential Medal for Merit and of the Nobel Prize, was the principal speaker at the ceremonies to dedicate Haggard Hall of Science at Western Washington College, this paper published in its Letters to the Editor column five letters in which the writers attacked Dr. Pauling. These letters contained untrue statements which, if believed, would have reflected on Dr. Pauling's integrity and loyalty to the United States of America. These defamatory letters were published in error in reliance upon the writers, without investigation by the paper. The Herald takes this opportunity to state publicly that it regrets that it published these statements reflecting on the integrity and loyalty of Dr. Pauling.

## Railroad to Asylum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, in a column which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner on August 12, 1962, George Todt made a comparison of the treatment of mental patients in this country to the oppression of people under Communist regime. I believe the care of our mentally ill is of importance to everyone, and under unanimous consent, place this in the Appendix of the RECORD:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: RAILROAD TO ASYLUM

"I feel also that this is without question an example of a clear denial of human rights, legal rights, and the right to due process of law as contemplated by either the Federal or State Constitution."—Judge JOSEPH L. CALL, letter, July 11, 1962.

Heavy mail indicates the public is understandably agitated concerning the proposed commitment procedures pertaining to mentally ill persons as set forth in California Senate preprint bill No. 1.

Many people are worried and do not hesitate to say so.

Those who truly champion civil rights—and are not hypocrites in the process—may have their work cut out for them.

Who will volunteer for this task?

A storm of criticism has swirled about the controversial mental health issue in recent years.

Basically, there is an undercurrent of fear and dread. It stems from the undisguised suspicion of many citizens that Marxist subversives might someday utilize fuzzy commitment procedures to get rid of their political opposition.

Can we forget the brutality of the Reds to their own people behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains in the past?

What happened to human rights in those regions of despair?

The truth is that Marxist mentalities are cruel and sick. They are the same wherever we may find them. Their lust for power causes them to become oppressors of the people.

The people of the United States must ever be on guard against any encroachment of their liberties and freedom. This pertains to the field of mental health, or anywhere else.

Like Caesar's wife, it needs to be above suspicion.

The fundamental question—when we go directly to the heart of the problem—is whether we have proper commitment procedures which will protect an alleged insane person from being railroaded to an asylum by cunning or guile. What guarantees are there now?

Many outstanding citizens are not satisfied that we are adequately provided with legal safeguards in this debatable matter.

One prominent legal authority is Judge Joseph L. Call of the Los Angeles County superior court.

He wrote a masterful letter July 11 to Senator Ronald G. Cameron of the State legislature's senate committee of judiciary. It challenged the legal safeguards of senate preprint bill No. 1.

"I feel there is a complete lack of due process of law through the entire bill," wrote the concerned judge. "There is a complete emasculation of the basic rights of the individual defendants."

I will attempt to get a copy of this remarkable letter, which ought to be widely circulated, for those who write me and request it.

## A Manifesto of Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, any Member of this body can, I am sure, by driving through his or her own district, see and hear and come into contact with living proof of the success and efficacy of that economic system we call free enterprise. Yet lingering doubts remain in the minds of many as to how well Americans themselves, and government in particular, understand the importance of this system. The expanding role of government over the years and the splintering of our economic groups along social and political lines, each more concerned with its place and future than that of the system of free enterprise itself, are reflective of these doubts and misgivings.

Wtih this in mind, then, I offer for the consideration of this House an article by Donald I. Rogers, appearing in the New York Herald-Tribune of August 24, which calls for a new and unique declaration of belief in and purpose of the free enterprise system. Mr. Rogers calls on the administration to give guidance to all those concerned with the Nation's economy by setting this framework forward as a declaration of policy. I am hopeful that this thoughtful article will be considered by our citizens and officials wherever the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is read:

HE'LL GET LETTERS

(By Donald I. Rogers)

A Washington report says that President Kennedy is disappointed at the response to his invitation to the public to join in a great debate sparking fresh ideas on the economic realities now facing the Nation. The White House is now inviting thoughtful citizens to write their suggestions for economic improvements so they may be studied by two groups to be selected by the President.

It would be fascinating and enlightening to read all of the replies to this offer. Surely a large number of Americans will respond to this in much the same manner that they would tear a boxtop off "Krackly Krumblies" and mail it in with the vague hope of getting something for nothing.

My particular department of the newspaper gets a great many letters about the economy written by thoughtful citizens and all but a few of them are self-serving. That goes for the suggestions made by topmost corporate officials, as well as for apartment-dwellers who think the city should provide a free parking garage in every block.

One of the great problems with the magnificent American economy is that it has been subjected to pressures from group after group of self-seekers and to onslaught after onslaught from selfish interests. Never has there been an official policy, spelling out a national dedication to the whole economy. Never, in fact, has there been an official definition of America's unique and powerfully-strong enterprise system.

The essence of the economy's strength has been its flexibility and susceptibility to change, for change is the power-element of growth. Assuredly, the American economy can stand some improvements and it will not suffer from exposure to some fresh, practical thinking. As in the past, it will suffer only from political influences and motivations in the economic thinking.

To a distressing number of Americans the words "American economy" or "enterprise sysetm" represent only some sort of glorious year-round Christmas tree under which is found gaily wrapped boxes containing the parts that, when assembled, provide absolute security and freedom from responsibility. There's a "government-owes-me-a-living" box; there's a "government-owes-me-medical care" box; there's a "government-owes-me-more-on-my-crop" box; there's a "government-owes-me-financial-independence" box and so on.

There's a special Christmas tree for a growing group in Congress. The gifts thereunder include a "government-should-control-more-business" box; a "government-should-provide-more-services" box; a "kit-for-controlling-wages" box; a "set-of-instructions-for-controlling-prices," and so on.

Rather than recommending some specific improvement in the Nation's money practices, in credit, banking or spending, some thoughtful citizens might suggest that the President and his two blue ribbon groups appointed to study the letters, come up with a clear and documented manifesto of free enterprise.

Therein could be spelled out not only the aims of the system (which does strive for greater security and financial independence for all) but also the specific tolerances and limitations of the role of government and of organized pressure blocs on that economic system. It should list the caveats and "thou shalt nots" of an economically responsible people as well as their ambitions and dreams under their economy.

Is it, or is it not, the will of the people of America to have government control all business after it reaches a certain size? If not, why is not the Kefauver group discouraged from its efforts to pry loose the competitive details of independent steel companies which, if made public, could neutralize competition in the industry?)

Is the purpose of the income tax to redistribute the wealth and place limits on the size of income? Or is it to raise funds for the U.S. Treasury?

An alarming number of voters and apparently a significant number of lawmakers don't know that jobs in a free enterprise system are created only by the investment of savings and are maintained only by the continuing flow of savings into investments. Such a policy statement, then, could clearly spell out guidelines for the protection of the sources of investments, with instructions on how to nurture the economy in the just the way that a farmer is counseled on how to fertilize his land for the sake of improved growth.

It could be an economic policy statement, the first in American history, and could embrace money and credit, foreign trade, taxes, labor, agriculture, prices, wages, and government spending. It could state the beliefs and opinions of the able economists on the purposes, plans, programs, and hopes of the American economic dream.

A major manifesto of free enterprise at this time would dispel the uncertainties which hover over Washington and cause businessmen and investors to hold back on their investments, a practice which stymies our national growth and keeps a prospective recession foreever teetering on the economic horizon. For uncertainty breeds hesitancy and hesitancy sires stagnation. The living American economy cannot exist with stagnation. Once it sets in, the economy atrophies, withers and dies.

## Some Thoughts on Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the viewpoint expressed in the attached editorial from the Wall Street Journal for Friday, August 17, 1962, very definitely reflects my own analysis of the performance of this administration. I think it is also the accepted viewpoint of many persons throughout the land. The lessons in this editorial could well be viewed by both the minority and the majority parties:

SOME THOUGHTS ON POLITICS

Psychologists have discovered that even the closest marriages have periodic moments of strain; for some mysterious reason the 2d, 7th, and 20th years are the hardest. The phenomenon is also noticed in politics.

Just at the moment President Kennedy is having his troubles. The honeymoon is over and Congress is kicking up its heels. The incompatibility is not just with Republicans either; the Democrats are paying little heed to the man of the White House and are noisily fighting among themselves. In the press Mr. Kennedy's oldest friends have become his severest critics. Abroad he's not only having the normal spats with Mr. Khrushchev but is being nagged at by Mr. Macmillan, Dr. Adenauer, and General de Gaulle.

The public opinion polls reflect a certain disillusionment. It's not just a question of whether people agree with what President Kennedy has tried to accomplish. It's just that after 18 months it's hard to name any accomplishments at all.

The President hasn't yet succeeded in getting anything that might please the liberals, such as medicare, or things that might please the conservatives, such as his communications satellite bill. The economy isn't moving ahead any faster and the Alliance for Progress is progressing backwards. Berlin is still there; so is Cuba. So, for that matter, is the gold problem, the labor problem, and the farm problem, not to mention all the problems of the cities, juvenile delinquency, inflation, corruption in government and all the rest of the things Mr. Kennedy talked so much about.

All this has brought a great rush of hope to the Republicans and some fright, if not quite despair, to the Democrats. A year ago Mr. Kennedy seemed unbeatable. Today people are saying right out loud that maybe he can be beaten.

Well, we would like to offer a little comfort to Mr. Kennedy and a little caution to those who are basing so much political hope on his troubles.

First off, a midterm letdown is par for the course; F.D.R., Truman, and Eisenhower all suffered it with no fatal effects on presidential election day. There are a good many things Mr. Kennedy can do to recoup his losses.

For instance, no one ought to be really surprised that the President has not solved all the Nation's problems. If his failure to do so is a political liability it is only because Mr. Kennedy in his enthusiasm as a candidate promised to solve them all, and then right off after his inauguration rushed into all of them with equal fervor, vigor, and lack of preparation. This is partly responsible for the impression that he does not really have any problem quite in hand.

He also badly misjudged the temper of the country. He forgot, or ignored, the narrowness of his victory and assumed that "the people" were all really ready to rush to his support on a host of liberal programs of the past. They were not. That is one reason why the President hasn't had support from his own party in Congress, which is the majority party there and could pass anything it wanted to pass.

He also misunderstood many of the problems. Such difficulties as the foreign balance of payments proved not so easy to set right as his advisers told him. In some cases, as in his approach to "getting business moving again," the things done led to the opposite effect, so that today the outlook is darker than when he took office. All this has contributed to his prestige loss because it shook the confidence, even of his supporters, in his judgment.

Mr. Kennedy has been hurt, too, by his helpers. Some of his associates thought they could bludgeon any opposition, whether from the steel industry or congressional committee chairmen. Since their arrogance was matched only by their ignorance, they did the President more harm than good.

Mr. Kennedy has also not been helped by some of the well-publicized activities of his entourage in what might be called the lighter side of life. Too much of any kind of publicity tends to wear thin, but too much publicized lightheartedness around the Presidency can be fatal. The country likes a bit of down to earthness in its public figures, but it also looks to the Presidential circle for dignity and a sense of the fitness of things.

But none of this is beyond correction. Mr. Kennedy is still President of the United States, and if he learns from his missteps, the prophets of his downfall could be surprised at how rapidly the political situation might turn around. It has happened to Presidents before.

And there is one other thing. If the Republicans think they can rely solely on Mr. Kennedy's missteps to give them a White House victory, they lean on a slender reed.

To the voter all things are relative. If there was ever an officeholder seemingly ready for defeat it was Mayor Wagner in the last New York City election. But none of his opponents had any clear program to offer; they were confused, disorganized, and riding off in all directions. With Mr. Wagner, as with President Truman in 1948, the impossible happened; he not only won but by a bigger margin than before.

So we are not at all so sure that Mr. Kennedy's troubles, real though they be, are a cause for too much glee by his would-be rivals or too much gloom by his political friends. Politics, like marriage, often fools the prophets.

## Oregon's Lumber Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, there have been many explanations of the critical lumber situation in the Pacific Northwest, but I believe that a speech to the distinguished Portland City Club by Joseph W. McCracken, executive vice president of Western Forest Industries Association, is a most outstanding, clear, and forceful explanation of the situation.

I consider it a basic document in any attempt to understand the complex nature of the problem.

The speech follows:

OREGON'S LUMBER CRISIS

(Address to Portland City Club, August 3, 1962, by Joseph W. McCracken, executive vice president, Western Forest Industries Association)

President Morrison, members of the Portland City Club and guests, I am pleased to be here today to discuss Oregon's lumber crisis. I regret that Bob Dwyer of the Dwyer Lumber & Plywood Co. was unable to be here to make this statement himself. Mr. Dwyer and his Lumbermen's Economic Survival Committee have done an outstanding job in alerting Oregon and the various congressional delegations and departments in Washington, D.C. to the seriousness of our lumber problem.

I. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Most of you have heard that there is a crisis in Oregon's lumber industry. Let us begin by trying to define the problem. The forest products industry provides 60 percent of the manufacturing payroll in Oregon. The lumber segment is still the largest in the forest products industry. It should be, therefore, self-evident that if the forest products industry and in particular the lumber industry is healthy economically, Oregon will be healthy economically. The reverse should be equally self-evident.

From 1959 through 1961 the forest products industry of the three Northwest States lost 13,800 jobs. Oregon lost 7,800 jobs during that period. Employment in Oregon's lumber industry in June, 1962, was the lowest for any June since World War II.

According to the West Coast Lumbermen's Association over 200 producing sawmills in the Pacific Northwest have gone out of business in the recent past. Early this year one of the last remaining sawmills in Portland closed its doors. A few weeks ago one of the last sawmills in Clatsop County shut down Earlier this week it was announced that one of the last mills in Molalla, Oreg., will be closing. Last month one of the large sawmills in Crescent City, Calif., shut its doors, and recently one of the oldest sawmills in Seattle announced the cessation of operations.

Another measure of the problem is found in lumber production statistics. The Douglas-fir region, which is western Oregon and western Washington, produced slightly over 10 billion board feet of lumber in 1950. This same region produced 7.8 billion board feet of lumber in 1961. On the other hand, British Columbia, our major competitor at this time, produced only 3.5 billion feet of lumber in 1950 but by 1961 had increased their production to 5.5 billion board feet.

These facts should be sufficient to demonstrate that the lumber industry in Oregon and Washington is in serious trouble and that this does not augur well for the economic well-being of Oregon in particular.

II. WHY THE PROBLEM

The serious decline in lumber employment is simply a result of the fact that far too many lumber producers have been unable, are now unable, or feel they will continue to be unable to manufacture lumber at a cost low enough to return any profit when the lumber is sold. Far too many sawmills have sustained substantial losses because of the unfavorable relationship of costs and sales returns.

Three facts should be noted before further analysis:

1. Oregon's lumber industry has produced mainly for the domestic market.

2. The lumber industry is highly competitive, competitive as measured by the number of individual units, and changes in either the supply or demand of lumber by a few percentage points can alter the lumber market significantly.

3. On the demand side the bellwether market for Oregon lumber is housing and the key item in housing is single family residential construction.

Leaving aside for the moment the present dramatic threat to our industry from increased imports of lumber from British Columbia, we should review some of the other economic problems which have plagued our industry and weakened it seriously in recent years.

(a) There have been severe fluctuations in housing construction. In late 1957 and early 1958 and again in late 1959 and 1960 housing starts were at a low ebb. These low ebbs were followed, at least in late 1958 and early 1959, by dramatic rises in homebuilding construction. The instability of the housing market created even more instability in our lumber markets. You have probably noticed that housing starts this year have been on the increase. April and May starts were particularly strong; but it must be remembered that within the period of the last 2 years the percentage of total housing starts in apartment units has nearly doubled and is now running over 30 percent. Apartment units are not strong users of lumber.

What of the future for housing construction? It is well recognized that: (1) The pent-up housing demand stemming from the depression and World War II has been basically satisfied; and (2) family formations which are the key factor behind housing starts are now at a low ebb.

Further, as family formations increase dramatically in the middle 1960's, the demand will shift even more heavily to apartment units. The inevitable increase for single-family residential housing will not hit until the late 1960's. In short, leaving other problems aside, the forest products industry and particularly the lumber industry in Oregon already faced rough sledding for domestic markets in the early and even middle 1960's. It should be clear that if housing demand was considerably stronger not only would we have no Oregon lumber problem, the Canadians would enjoy increased prosperity as well.

This thumbnail sketch into the near future of housing is illustrative of one of our basic national economic problems. The satisfaction of the pent-up consumer demand of the depression and war years combined with the population age mix now existent militate against strong economic growth

rates until later in the 1960's. A keystone in the dramatic growth rates of the European Economic Community is unsatisfied pent-up consumer demand.

Another serious economic problem which has and will continue to face the lumber industry concerns the inroads of substitute materials in our historic markets. While the cost of lumber is more than competitive with the cost of substitute materials, lumber to date has not been as susceptible to automated construction practices as substitute materials. Again Oregon's lumber industry perhaps more than other industries is a victim of the "planned chaos" referred to in a very stimulating address by Dr. Pierre Rinfret of the Lionel D. Edie Co. in a speech in Los Angeles last year. Dr. Rinfret in his speech pointed out the dramatic increase in research and development expenditures in this country and then went on to state "the function of research and development is to change the existing order—to create chaos in the market." Lumber is well aware of the validity of Dr. Rinfret's remarks in its problems with substitute building materials. The industry has a real job on its hands.

The tremendous and very desirable expansion of the plywood industry in Oregon while definitely an advantage to the State of Oregon also helped to weaken the position of lumber manufacturers both in terms of competition for markets and severe economic competition for raw materials—a competitive test most sawmills had difficulty in coping with.

Another very serious problem in Oregon's lumber industry in recent years involves the high cost of logs or raw material. There was a large expansion of lumber capacity in Oregon following World War II. This capacity was very heavily based on an open log market and small tracts of private timber. As these stands of private timber were liquidated and the open log market declined, many mills were faced with a serious problem of acquiring raw material. The result was intense competition for stumpage. It may well be that the intense competition for stumpage has done more to weaken our competitive position than any other single item. In this connection the lumber industry was further weakened last year by the dramatic increase of purchases of logs by Japan.

III. THE IMPACT OF CANADIAN LUMBER IMPORTS

With an already constricted domestic market for lumber the problem of Oregon's lumber industry has become chaotic under the dramatic onslaught of increased lumber imports from British Columbia. In 1961 Canadian lumber producers satisfied 12.7 percent of the domestic market for softwood lumber. This amounted to nearly 4 billion board feet. This was double the percent of our market which the Canadians enjoyed in 1951. British Columbia authorities are expecting a further increase in lumber production in British Columbia alone by 1975 of an additional 2½ billion feet per year. Other Canadian Provinces—particularly Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario—are rapidly developing railroads and access roads into the vast untapped stands of timber in the northern parts of those Provinces. These Provinces are aggressively promoting lumber and other wood developments, and significant volumes of lumber from these virgin stands of timber can be expected to find their way into the American market.

The impact of Canadian imports is particularly dramatic in the east coast cargo market of the United States. British Columbia mills today have taken over nearly 75 percent of our historic east coast cargo market. In 1951 British Columbia producers enjoyed less than 10 percent of that same market. With a constricted and fairly fixed demand for lumber in the next several years, as the Canadians increase their lumber production and shipments to our market we will have a corresponding decrease in our industry here unless solutions are found to our competitive cost problems. Or we shall have to develop additional foreign markets for our lumber. The pressure on our domestic markets from British Columbia stems from two facts. One, the British Columbia Government has aggressively promoted the development of their timber. Greatly increased capacity has resulted. Two, British Columbia's historic markets, particularly the United Kingdom and Europe, have also been disrupted. Russia and the Scandinavian countries, have eased British Columbia out of much of these markets. British Columbia has been forced, therefore, to seek substitute markets, the U.S. market being the most promising.

Why are we unable to compete with the Canadians in the cost of producing lumber for our domestic market?

1. Our water mills suffer a serious disadvantage in water transportation rates. By law, specifically the Jones Act, our cargo mills must use American bottoms to the east coast British Columbia mills can use the foreign charter market. The result is a saving to the Canadian mills of between $7.50 and $10 per thousand board feet. Part of this differential is in shipping costs; the other part is in higher loading costs in the United States.

2. The devaluation of the Canadian dollar in the past year has given the Canadians another economic advantage. With the Canadian dollar now pegged and supported by U.S. loans at 92½ cents in U.S. funds the advantage British Columbia mills have gained in the past year amounts to nearly $7 per thousand board feet.

In many areas of British Columbia, particularly along the coast, log or raw material costs are lower than those in Oregon. This differential reflects partly a difference between U.S. Forest Service policies of appraising timber and British Columbia forest service policies of appraising timber. Perhaps more significant in this raw material cost differential is the fact that in Oregon stumpage is a highly competitive commodity whereas in British Columbia by Provincial policy competition is discouraged. It is a fact that competition for logs in British Columbia is practically nonexistent in comparison to competition for logs here.

In addition there is a wage rate differential which favors the Canadian producer.

The result of all these cost factors is that when lumber markets fall off as they did last fall and winter and as they will again this fall and winter the Canadian mills keep on operating and selling lumber as the prices drop. As the prices drop the Canadian producers still make profits when our mills are going broke and have to shut down. The lumber market then is finally stabilized at the expense of the Pacific Northwest.

IV. WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

In terms of basic solutions to Oregon's lumber problem, it is clear that two things need to be done: (1) Every effort must be made to expand markets for Pacific Northwest lumber—both in foreign markets and domestic markets; (2) our Federal Government needs to remove or change those laws and policies which have mitigated against the ability of our industry to compete.

Solutions in both of these directions need to be sought concurrently.

Let us analyze at this point what has happened to date and what is the significance of progress made to date in arriving at solutions. Starting last year the lumber industry initially asked the Federal Government to change those laws and policies which hurt our competitive position. They asked originally for only the right to compete on a fair and equal basis with Canadian producers. Specifically, the industry requested that the Jones Act be amended to permit west coast lumber mills to ship lumber to the east coast in foreign bottoms. There was a request that rail transportation services be equalized between the two countries. The industry asked that the U.S. Forest Service expedite its sales of timber, modify its ridiculous appraisal policies, and reexamine its allowable cuts under recently announced sustained-yield policies. The objective of these requests to the U.S. Forest Service was a hoped-for equalization of log costs between the two countries. Finally, the industry asked the Federal Government to either eliminate or compensate for advantages which Canadians had received by devaluing their dollar.

As time elapsed it became clear that sufficient changes in Federal law and policy, many of which go back many decades, were not going to be made quickly. With a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, a large segment of the industry this year was forced to ask for emergency relief in the form of an emergency quota on the importation of Canadian lumber. This emergency quota was proposed as a means of holding the line until Federal laws and policies could be changed and the industry placed in a competitive position.

What has been the response of the Federal Government to the pleas of the industry to date. I will discuss this in two parts. Part 1 will be progress made prior to July 26, 1962; part 2 will be a discussion of the dramatic proposals set forth by President Kennedy on that date.

1. Effective last month rail transportation services were equalized between Canada and the United States insofar as lumber shipments were concerned. The industry had been concerned that the Canadian producers enjoyed a 15-day freehold in the shipment of lumber whereas American producers were denied that privilege. Last month the freehold in Canada was eliminated. It should be pointed out, however, that a substantial group in the Pacific Northwest is seeking a restoration of freehold in the United States.

2. The U.S. Forest Service has responded significantly. The Forest Service speeded up timber sales in this region to a recordbreaking pace. They sold more timber last fiscal year than ever before with the big increase coming in the second quarter of this calendar year. The second quarter of this calendar year saw a volume of Forest Service sale offerings in this region far surpassing anything prior to this time. The timber sale offerings that the Forest Service made were well within then-existent sustained yield and allowable cut declarations. The ridiculous appraisal policies of the U.S. Forest Service have recently been changed considerably to fit more nearly the necessities of our times. We still have some distance to go here.

3. Last January, the President asked Congress for a substantial increase in Federal access road appropriations for the Forest Service. While the importance of this to our particular problem is not well understood, if these increased funds are used wisely by the Forest Service, they can contribute considerably to a solution of our competitive log problems.

4. The Federal Housing Administration in June finally forced a recognition of the fact that spruce in British Columbia was, in fact, Englemann spruce and should be so considered here in construction uses. This action also is not well understood but is very important and rectifies a glaring inequity which has worked against the American lumber producers for many years.

5. On the other side of the ledger the problem posed by the devaluation of the Canadian dollar has worsened. Their dollar was pegged earlier this year at 92½ cents—a drop from the 95–97-cent range of last year. Further, our Government has recently sup-

ported Canada's devaluation by loans and credits of several hundred million dollars.

Now, we come to a discussion of the dramatic announcements made by President Kennedy on July 27, 1962. I hope that what is said here will not be construed politically. Our lumber problem is a political issue. We can agree that President Kennedy is a political figure. It is my intention, however, to discuss his announced program solely but as I view its present and potential impact upon our problems. It is my feeling that the President's announcements may be looked upon in the future as one of the most significant announcements in the history of our region, at least from an economic standpoint. President Kennedy opened the door to real solutions of our problem. Whether his program is dramatic or palliative as some have stated depends upon the followup. In this followup to his announcements our congressional delegation has a key role, the forest products industry has a heavy responsibility and also the governments of the States of Oregon and Washington have a function.

(a) I agree with Senators MORSE and MAGNUSON that potentially one of the most significant announcements of the President was his request to the agencies of the Federal Government to favor American lumber in purchases under their various programs. This carries extreme significance as regards the Agency for International Development and its responsibilities for administering the Alliance for Progress program in Latin America. It was spelled out in the press release that the President's announcement would be pertinent to a 400,000-unit housing project under the Alliance program which is now getting off the ground. If, as implied, the lumber for these houses which are being financed by our Government should be purchased here, we would for this single project have a new market for 750 million board feet of lumber. It is my understanding that the Alliance program envisions in the years immediately ahead housing starts in Latin America at the rate of 1 million units per year. Again, if as implied, the lumber for these houses were to be purchased here we could have an additional market for nearly 2 billion feet of lumber a year.

If this dramatic possibility proves out, this market for lumber could well bridge the gap in lumber demand domestically which we have anticipated for the early and middle 1960's. It is up to our congressional delegations, our industry, and our State governments to follow up this possibility vigorously and to see that the door which has been opened up by the President is fully developed to the benefit of our region. We recognize that the overall objectives of the Alliance for Progress program must be paramount, but we are delighted that the President recognizes that domestic economic considerations must be blended with foreign-aid considerations.

The President also announced that he would request an amendment to the Jones Act. Should the request be enacted into law, and this is by no means certain because of the anticipated opposition of southern lumbermen, it would open up to our lumbermen the 70-million-board-foot Puerto Rican market which is heavily weighted to low-grade lumber. This action alone would be exceedingly beneficial. Further, if his request should be enacted, it would be my interpretation that our cargo mills would be able to ship to our east coast market on foreign bottoms, and a major competitive disadvantage brought under a semblance of control. The Jones Act amendment would not eliminate our lumber loading cost differential.

The President announced an increase in the annual allowable cut on the O. & C. and other Interior Department lands in western Oregon of 150 million board feet. The President further announced that the Forest Service was to have its allowable cut review completed by October 15 rather than 1 year hence as originally programed by the Forest Service. It is anticipated that this review by the Forest Service will result in further considerable increases in the allowable cut of all of the western forests and particularly those forests in the Douglas fir region. These increased timber volumes should go far in eliminating the economic necessity for the extreme competitive stumpage markets of past years. If these increased volumes in fact lead to this result, our log costs will be more nearly equal with those in British Columbia.

Some concern has already been expressed that these announcements regarding public timber allowable cuts amount to a sacrifice of sustained yield principles upon the altar of political expediency. If such were the fact, this concern would be shared by all of us. However, the increased allowable cuts announced on the Interior Department lands and the anticipated increases on Forest Service land will in no way violate the concepts of sustained yield or multiple use. I recognize that speaking as a lumberman my assurances may not entirely satisfy some of you. I wish there were time to explore the allowable cut question in greater detail. I can state, however, that the increases in allowable cuts stem from new, up-to-date inventories which will eliminate many conservatisms used in the past and a significant change in rotation age policy announced by the Government last year. What the President has done is merely ask that the allowable cut review under this Forest Service policy announcement of last year be expedited. The Forest Service review is now under the supervision of some of America's outstanding forest technicians. I would ask that before any one makes demogogic remarks attacking these increased allowable cuts they should examine with the Federal agencies involved into the facts. Having examined the facts any legitimate concern will be eliminated.

Some in Oregon object to the sale of increased volumes of timber. Their argument runs: If we have a poor lumber market, it is because of an excess of lumber production—the sale of additional timber will result in more lumber production which leads to a worse market condition. The argument sounds plausible but is without merit. This argument is based on one untenable assumption—that the Dominion of Canada does not exist. We have to recognize that Canada and especially British Columbia is pushing the development of their timber resource. Given a fixed domestic market here, the continued expansion of lumber production in Canada leaves us with a simple choice. We either compete successfully or die. If we are to compete successfully, our raw material costs much be equal to theirs. We shall need every foot of increased timber cut possible if we are to minimize the extreme competitive conditions for timber that have existed and which so seriously disadvantage us in our competitive efforts. Further, why should Oregon forego the employment an increase in timber supply will provide and turn this employment over to Canada? The least we can do is to compete for this employment.

The President announced that he would seek from Congress an additional or second increase in access road construction funds for the Forest Service. If these funds are forthcoming from Congress our Forest Service will be in an even better position to help the forest products industry equalize our log costs.

Much attention was given to the President's announcement that he would seek negotiations with Canada leading toward a voluntary quota on Canadian lumber exports to this country, and to his announcement that he was asking the Tariff Commission to expedite their findings respecting the damage done to our domestic industry. With regard to his attempt at a voluntary quota arrangement it should be recognized that the President does not have authority at the present time to unilaterally impose a quota on Canadian lumber without a Tariff Commission recommendation. Some months ago the Agriculture Department wrote a legal opinion to the effect that such authority did exist under the Agricultural Marketing Act. Accordingly, the industry felt safe in finally asking for immediate quota relief. The State Department, however, disagreed with the interpretation of that act by the Agriculture Department. The Justice Department which makes the final legal decision concurred with the State Department that the President has no quota authority prior to a Tariff Commission recommendation under existing law. Further, after a Tariff Commission finding, the President must clear through GATT. Therefore, at this time a voluntary quota is the only possible quota type solution. Keep in mind that no industry group has asked for tariffs up to this time.

We heard shortly after the President's announcement that Canada was refusing to negotiate on a voluntary quota. It is my opinion that the Canadians will negotiate.

At this point, the Tariff Commission hearings and findings will be of critical significance.

Will we need a quota? In my opinion the answer is "Yes." How long the quota should be imposed will depend upon what happens. Certainly a quota will be needed as long as the industry suffers its present disadvantages in water transportation and raw material costs. Since, short of a tariff, we seem to be stuck with the devaluation disadvantage, the other competitive disadvantages—water transportation and raw material—will have to be eliminated before removal of quotas could be considered. The major factor that could relieve the need for a quota at an earlier date would be the demand for our lumber in Latin America under the Alliance program. This demand will probably not materialize to the maximum level for at least 2 to 3 years.

The President made other recommendations but I feel that those I have mentioned were the most significant. If this package of proposals is pursued successfully, I am confident that our lumber problems will be solved. I am encouraged by the fact that Mr. Daniel L. Goldy who is well known in the Pacific Northwest and who is now a key official in the Department of Commerce is coming out to the Northwest this weekend to discuss with all interested lumber industry groups the question of where do we go from here.

In conclusion I should like to comment on a question which has been raised recently by many in and out of the industry. That question is: Why are so many sawmills closing down at this time of year when our lumber market is better than a year ago? There are many reasons—some rational, some irrational—for decisions to close a manufacturing enterprise. Our lumbermen have been struggling against heavy odds for many years and what disturbs me is that apparently, many lumbermen have lost hope. An industry, just as an individual, which loses its hope is lost indeed. I would, therefore, make a plea to the independent lumbermen of this industry to hang on awhile longer. I think our problems can be solved; I am encouraged now that they will be solved.

Thank you.

## Will Success Spoil L. B. Whatshisname?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Art Hoppe of the San Francisco Chronicle on August 24 turned his very interesting and humorous column toward Vice President L.B.J.:

WILL SUCCESS SPOIL L. B. WHATSHISNAME?
(By Art Hoppe)

Oh, we've got a cockle-warming chapter for you today in our nostalgic series, "Where Are They Now?" which is all about the game comeback struggle of a once-famous celebrity, Vice President Lyndon B. Whatshisname.

You will recall that "Mr. Vice President," as he is affectionately known to his closest friends, is currently capping his comeback with a gravely important good will, diplomatic and ball point pen distribution tour to create peace in our time in the eastern Mediterranean.

So it was a touching scene as Mr. Kennedy bade him a fond farewell at White House ceremonies. AP thoughtfully recorded the President's exact words for posterity: "We wish him well and extend to him our best wishes and hopes," said Mr. Kennedy solemnly, "for a speedy recovery—er, return."

It isn't every diplomat who gets a send-off like that. And what worries us millions of fans now is: Will success spoil Mr. Vice President? If his delicate mission to the peace-torn eastern Mediteranean proves a smash, will he return the same old Lyndon B. Whatshisname we have grown to know and love? Speedily?

Already, though it hurts us to say so, there are omnious portents of a change in him. Weeks ago, his head presumably awhirl with thoughts of the giddy doings awaiting him in the eastern Mediterranean, he did the unforgivable: He turned his back on the Nation's bootblacks.

I know that will come as a shock to many. It's a heart-rending story. You see, the Nation's bootblacks are going to have their annual dinner next Monday in New York as part of National Shoe Care Week. Which happened to fall last March, but let's not get into that. And the whole purpose of the dinner is to crown "the Nation's Oldest Working Bootblack."

I assume the bootblacks began trying to think who that was. And one old-timer must have remembered blacking boots as a sprite in Texas with old Lyndon Whatshisname. And where was he now? Obviously they finally found him for they unselfishly invited him to be their guest of honor. It brought tears to your eyes.

But what did Mr. Vice President do? Two months ago he'd have leaped at the chance. But now, with the bauble of fame once again before him, he writes back: "I know that this would be a most interesting event and I am sorry my schedule during that period is heavily booked and I will not be able * * *" and so forth. Well.

It might be argued that the bootblacks' loss is the eastern Mediterranean's gain. Perhaps. But, I say, pride goeth before a fall.

Already the Nation's bootblacks have turned against him. Should he be successful in failing to start a war in the eastern Mediterranean, will his pride grow overweening? What bloc of humble voters will he offend next?

There he is, defeated for reelection, tattered, forlorn, shoes scuffed, unemployed. But that's the cockle-warming part. As I see it, once he's rid of the handicap of the Vice Presidency, he will at last achieve the fame for which he has so gamely fought: He will be a cinch choice for "the Nation's Oldest Working Bootblack."

And he'll be happy. For, like politics, it's a shining profession.

## Cuban Paralysis and Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we all laugh at the old tale about the housewife who sweeps the dirt under the rug, yet an effective analogy could be used from this story to describe the attitude of the Kennedy administration toward the Cuban situation.

The longer we tolerate the Red build-up of Cuba, and the longer we refuse to provide leadership necessary to rid Latin America of the Communist threat, the more dangerous our position becomes on many fronts.

This point is well made by a distinguished journalist, Milburn P. Akers, writing in the Chicago Sun-Times of Monday, August 27, and under unanimous consent I insert his analysis of the Cuban situation into the RECORD at this point:

CUBAN PARALYSIS AND WASHINGTON
(By Milburn P. Akers)

Ever since Fidel Castro first bared his Red fangs the Government of the United States (the Eisenhower administration as well as the Kennedy administration) has been afflicted with a near total paralysis insofar as this subtropical puppet of the Kremlin has been concerned.

As a consequence, Soviet Russia has been emboldened to pursue a course in Cuba which has resulted in the Pearl of the Antilles becoming a distinct threat to the United States and the peace of the world. For the evidence is now convincing that the Soviets have been pouring men (technicians and military instructors) and military hardware into that unhappy Caribbean island but 234 miles from Miami, 1,333 from Chicago and 1,317 from New York City.

Cuba has been turned into a Soviet base. Whether that base is or isn't currently equipped with missiles that can be lobbed into the continental United States is a matter of small moment. If it isn't it soon will be.

Almost since Castro's regime began, there have been those (including this column) who predicted this result unless the United States took action. The Eisenhower administration took steps toward action. But the Kennedy administration's pantywaist conduct of that ill-conceived expedition aborted whatever chances of success it might have had. Since the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs—a fiasco for which Mr. Kennedy took personal responsibility so as to prevent revelation of the fact that military affairs had been entrusted, at that time, to college professors—the Soviet buildup has been going on. Now it has taken on such magnitude that Washington is professing concern. But unless Washington finds some way to shake off the Cuban paralysis very little will be done.

That Castro was hailed by some at the outset as naught but an agrarian reformer, the same as were the present Communist leaders of China, was probably inevitable owing to the tolerance of the Batista administration.

But it makes little difference to oppressed people whether their oppressors are Communists or Fascists; the result insofar as they are concerned is the same. In the present instance, however, it makes a great deal of difference to the United States that Cuba is Communist-controlled. For it is that control, along with our paralysis, which has enabled Soviet Russia to reverse the Trman doctrine of containment. The containers, it seems, are now the contained.

What might the United States have done that would have precluded the present result?

It can be argued endlessly that the Eisenhower and the Kennedy administrations were jointly responsible for the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs. The plan was conceived during the Eisenhower regime. It was executed by the Kennedy administration. Those facts are incontrovertible. Place the responsibility where you wish. And, while doing so, ascertain, if you can, whether the Eisenhower plan was altered. But all of that is water over the Bay of Pigs.

What was done next?

Economic sanctions were imposed by the United States. And the Organization of American States, after much prodding by Washington, suggested Castro wasn't all he should be. But the OAS, most of whose members then were and still are bargaining with the United States for loans, grants, and so forth, didn't do much else at the time and has not done much since.

Nonetheless, the sanctions imposed on Cuba by the United States slowly took toll. The Cuban economy has been crippled. It has food and other shortages. By itself, Cuba would soon undergo economic collapse and the Castro regime would be over. But Cuba is not by itself. And Soviet Russia isn't likely to let Cuba collapse so long as a Russian base, or its equivalent, can accomplish whatever purpose the Soviets have in mind.

To the extent that we have crippled our freedom of action by subscribing to the OAS—and that extent is considerable—we should renounce that Western Hemisphere treaty. To be thwarted in action essential to our preservation by Latin American governments, many of which are here today and gone tomorrow, and some of which use their OAS votes to pry loans and grants out of us, is imbecilic.

Both the OAS and the Alliance for Progress, agencies under which we have sought to develop a working partnership with Latin America and aid those nations in developing their economies and societies, are worthwhile efforts. Neither should be abandoned. But the OAS should be reconstructed in a manner which would permit us freedom of action to protect ourselves in situations such as have arisen in Cuba.

As it is, we may have to trade off our bases in Turkey (contiguous to Soviet Russia) for Russia's in Cuba (offshore continental United States of America).

Or why else did Russia establish a Cuban base?

## The 45th Anniversary of the Founding of the 35th Infantry Division of the National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 19, the Honorables PAUL C. JONES, of Missouri; W. R. HULL, Jr., of Missouri, WM. J. RANDALL, of Missouri; ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, of Kansas; DURWARD G. HALL, of Missouri; RICHARD ICHORD, of Missouri, and the Member addressing the House, attended the 45th anniversary of the founding of the 35th Infantry Division of the National Guard. This division is made up of National Guard units in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Arkansas.

Although not always designated as the 35th Infantry Division, this component of the earlier State militia units and later National Guard units has served the Nation on every occasion or need since its founding 45 years ago. This division has provided many great military and civilian leaders for the Nation, the most famous of which is the former President of the United States, the Honorable Harry S. Truman.

On this observation last Sunday, Maj. Gen. Charles H. Browne, Jr., commanding general of the 35th Infantry Division addressed a group of citizens, soldiers, and friends of the 35th Division in Kansas City, Mo. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert General Browne's remarks in the RECORD in order that the significance of this occasion may be preserved in the permanent record of the House:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. CHARLES H. BROWNE, JR.

Senator Carlson, Congressman Jones, Congressman Avery, Congressman Hull, Congressman Randall, Congressman Ellsworth, Congressman Hall, Congressman Ichord, General Nickell, General McLaughlin, other distinguished guests and distinguished visitors—which in my way of thinking includes everyone assembled here today—it is with disappointment I must inform you our most illustrious alumnus, former President Harry S. Truman, expresses his regret at being unable to attend our organization day because of previous commitments, of which we were aware might interfere.

As our distinguished guests who have taken time from their busy and productive lives well know, this ceremony was developed on very short notice and many of our friends were unable to resolve those twin problems of time and place. Mr. Truman, whom as you have heard, is providing space for a permanent 35th Division memorial museum room, was particularly anxious to be here today because as "Captain Harry" of Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, he participated in the organization of the 35th Division 45 years ago on August 25, 1917, at Camp Doniphan, Okla.

Some of you here today were present at that birth of a great fighting organization. Most of those present in our country's uniform today weren't even born, but many represent descent from the 35th Divisionnaires of 1917. As an easy example, I might mention that in 1917 my father commanded Company E, 139th Infantry Regiment of the 35th Division, welded from National Guard units at Hannibal, Mo., and Leavenworth, Kans. Incidentally, one of the Company E "teenagers" (whom my father always contended wins wars) is here today in the presence of Col. Howard Faulkner, present secretary of the 35th Division Association.

All of the U.S. Army's great divisions were formed in this same time period at the start of World War I. Lest we might forget our heritage, it would seem appropriate to mention the 35th came from our National Guard, or militia as then called, in the present two States of the division as early as 1808. This was the year Battery A, 128th Field Artillery was organized at St. Louis, Mo.

Without its present division designation, predecessor units of the 35th trained and prepared—as we are doing today—to meet State crises in disaster and calamity, and to also wage its Nation's battles. Missouri Volunteer Milita units marched to Mexico with Col. A. W. Doniphan, and victory in the Mexican War. Missourians fought each other in the War Between the States, serving with distinction on both Confederate and Union sides. The two Kansas battle groups now in the 35th (the 1st and 2d of the 137th Infantry) are lineal descendents of 19 regiments formed in Kansas for the Union. Both States also provided Guard units for the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection. Missouri and Kansas regiments were on the Mexican border in 1916 and had been mustered out of Federal service only 2 weeks when recalled for duty in World War I, and assembled at Camp Doniphan. The World War I training camp of the 35th Division was located at Fort Sill, Okla., and named in honor of Colonel Doniphan of Mexican War fame.

The War Department Order authorizing the formation of the 35th Division was dated August 5, 1917; but the Kansas and Missouri units were not ordered to be mobilized until August 25 of that year. As we are gathered here today in a public building commemorating the 35th Division, and those present honoring the 45 years of its glorious service in peace and war to State and Nation, it seems utterly incredulous the highly trained and experienced 35th is being proposed, by some, for elimination and—in effect—burial.

Records show on organization in 1917 that 14,282 men of the new 35th Division were from Missouri and 9,781 from Kansas. All were volunteer guardsmen, or militia as called since the States first raised troops to form the Nation back in 1775.

Arduous training—despite influenza epidemics, lack of equipment and other handicaps at Camp Doniphan in the winter of 1917—paid off when the 35th Division was blooded in the Vosges Mountains of French Alsace and then, individually and as a Division Unit, helped write new and glamorous pages in American history. The 35th fought in all three of the major American campaigns in France. With distinction at St. Mihiel; the first American division to take its army objective under Gen. John J. Pershing in the Argonne; and on the Verdun front.

Most men added to the 35th in World War I to bring it to a total strength of 27,000, came from Kansas and Missouri draft selections, so it remained a 2-State division from mobilization to deactivation. Forty-five years later, we find exactly the same two States furnishing the volunteers for all spaces allowed by the Army. And, with a potential of achieving combat readiness among the top 12 divisions, of the Reserve components, quoting the very words of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, Maj. Gen. D. W. McGowan, spoken here in Kansas City 3 months ago.

Following World War I, the 35th Division was reorganized, principally from Missouri and Kansas but with units also from the States of Nebraska and Arkansas. From 1921 to 1940, the 35th Division again trained for the Nation's defense as vigorously and efficiently as variable troop allotments and equipment permitted, at the same time performing missions in the respective States for preventing disorder and giving organized assistance during frequent periods of disaster.

Once again war clouds appeared over the world, and in 1940, the 35th Division was ordered to active duty. In December of that year, under the late Maj. Gen. Ralph E. Truman as commanding general, the four-State 35th Division assembled at Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Ark., for rigorous and productive training. One year later, on December 7, 1941, the infamy of Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into war and the 35th Infantry Division again was headed for combat.

Some of you may have noted I just now used for the first time the designation "35th Infantry Division." In World War II, this designation was necessitated by the new type armored division, and involved a reorganization of the 35th from a square type division to a triangular type. As you know, your present division is now the pentomic type, with all divisions due to conversion as a ROAD type, in the near future. Reorganization is one of the Army Guards best capabilities. We have been doing it in peace and war since our origin as the Minute Men. In fact, official records will show that National Guard has reorganized a total of five times since World War II, as new alinements and techniques dictated such need.

The glorious deeds of the 35th Infantry Division are indelibly inscribed in the records and archives of World War II history. Proceeding to the west coast a few days after Pearl Harbor, it took up defensive positions along our Nation's coastline on the Pacific Ocean. Some of the 35th's best units were siphoned off for immediate needs in the Aleutian Islands and the Southwest Pacific. The 35th furnished over 4,000 of its finest enlisted men for completion of the officer candidate schools.

To the everlasting credit of those officers and men who had originally trained at Camp Robinson and remained with the 35th Infantry Division as it absorbed and trained thousands of individual soldiers into the later superb fighting unit of ETO fame. That is what esprit de corps and morale can do when built into a unit—and I reiterate, principally, Kansans and Missourians. Also, by a unit I mean the division, which is the smallest self-sustaining and self-supporting organization in the U.S. Army structure.

An unusual coincidence in its history was that the 35th Infantry units landed in England in May 1917, in World War I, and then, 27 years later the 35th Infantry Division landed in England again in May—but in 1944, to soon help topple "Hitler's Fortress." Both wars the 35th Division sent advance details to England during the 1917 and 1944 months of April. And as a matter of record, some of the same citizen-soldiers fought both wars in the same division. Many sons of 35th World War I veterans slogged along the same combat trails of the France of 1944.

Many of you here today know the World War II 35th engaged with valor and distinction in the European campaigns of Normandy, northern France, Rhineland, Ardennes and central Europe. Gen. Ike Eisenhower again related that record to Kansas Citians in the big reunion of the 35th Division Association here, after World War II. But, like in World War I, many were the 35th Divisionnaires who made the supreme sacrifice in 10 months' continuous combat in France, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, and central Europe. Over 20,000 casualties were suffered by the 35th in compiling its glorious feats those fateful 10 months.

With a division strength of approximately 19,000, many Purple Heart winners returned to fight anew with the 35th. I can personally think of one St. Louis, Mo., infantryman who was wounded and evacuated five different times, fighting with the 35th in World War II. Such priceless heritage breeds great combat outfits, and that is why I, today, maintain the present 35th Infantry Division is still second to none.

After nearly 30 years service in the 35th Division—and from records and reports—I believe I am in a position to authentically cite to you that never in peacetime history was it better trained than today. As commanding general, I credit every dedicated enlisted man and officer in both States of Missouri and Kansas for making this record possible.

I believe I am dutybound to my command to speak for every dedicated, volunteer soldier of the 35th Infantry Division when I thank those many individuals, organizations, news media, and public officials for their efforts to prevent the proposed elimination of our historic fighting organization, with its dual State and Federal missions.

It is particularly noteworthy that we have here on this organization day so many in the audience who are making every effort to continue this 45-year heritage built in blood, tears, and the never ending individual sacrifice of the Guardsmen—in time of peace or war.

I have been asked by the 35th Division Association—the alumni organization of the 35th—to recognize with appreciation in these perilous times the presence of members of the congressional delegations from two of our States here today. The association, with an estimated eligibility of 100,000 past and present soldiers of the 35th, again thanks them and their colleagues in Congress for their unending loyalty and support. The association again wants to publicly commend the aggressive support of Gov. John Dalton of Missouri and Gov. John Anderson, of Kansas, who also were unable to be with us today because of prior engagements.

Thanks to all those present and the other supporters of this first organization day and may the 35th live to see many more such observances.

## South Dakotans Not Invited To Accompany J.F.K. to Oahe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I believe it would be interesting reading for Members to have available the report of the Omaha Evening World-Herald under date of August 17, 1962, regarding the recent "nonpolitical" trip to rededicate the Oahe Dam in South Dakota.

The article, including the World-Herald headline is as follows:

SOUTH DAKOTANS NOT INVITED TO ACCOMPANY J.F.K. TO OAHE

(By John Jarrell)

When President Kennedy's plane took off from Andrews Air Force Base Friday for South Dakota and a visit to the Oahe Dam on what was described as a nonpolitical tour, the four Members of the South Dakota congressional delegation were left behind.

They weren't invited. All are Republicans. To them, there was a hollow sound to the term nonpolitical.

"Politics, pure and simple," commented the delegation's dean, Senator KARL MUNDT, who served with Mr. Kennedy in both House and Senate.

Mr. MUNDT as a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee prevailed on the Eisenhower administration to include the first Oahe construction money a number of years ago, when the dam was omitted from the budget request.

NOR ENGINEERS

Members of the delegation pointed out that not only did Mr. Kennedy not invite them to ride along to the ceremony in their State, but that there was no invitation, either, from the Army Engineers, which normally provides a plane for Members of Congress when such events are taking place.

Flying with the President were Representatives BYRON ROGERS and WAYNE ASPINALL and Senator JOHN A. CARROLL, all Colorado Democrats.

"It should be remembered," Mr. MUNDT said, "that Mr. Kennedy's trip is being paid for by all the taxpayers. It is a Government plane in which he is flying, and the Government, meaning all the taxpayers, is picking up the tab."

ABLE TO GO

All four Members of the delegation had planned to attend the ceremony, they said, and notified its local sponsors. The last commercial plane that would have gotten them to Pierre on time left at midafternoon Thursday.

At that time, House Members were working on a public works bill that included funds for Oahe Dam.

But both Representatives E. Y. BERRY and BEN REIFEL would have been able to go Friday.

"If I'd been invited I would have gone," Mr. REIFEL declared.

"I think the thing was that there is no private section in the President's plane where they could have put us, and fumigated it afterwards," cracked Mr. BERRY.

Oahe Dam lies in the districts of both men.

SPECIAL TWISTS

"We all wanted to attend the ceremony and had written the local committee that we would attend," said Senator JOSEPH BOTTUM. "We wanted to go badly. But in the Senate we were debating the communications satellite bill and couldn't get away Thursday. We'd have gone today if the President had asked us. We'd have worked out pairing arrangements."

In Mr. BOTTUM'S case, the situation had a special twist.

His Democratic opponent for the Senate, George McGovern, was at the President's side in South Dakota. In fact, it never was any secret that a major purpose behind the visit was to give a hand to Mr. McGovern.

AID AND COMFORT

Mr. Kennedy will be "lending aid and comfort" to Mr. McGovern on the trip, the New York Times reported Friday.

Senator MUNDT said he thought it was the first time an official plane ever was sent to such a ceremony without the home State's delegation being invited.

"In the Truman administration, Republicans, including myself, were invited to similar events," he said. "And in the Eisenhower administration, Democrats were asked."

To Mr. MUNDT it seemed "most unusual."

"This is one dam in which I had a special hand," he said.

## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

# Appendix

## Application of Radiation Protection Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHET HOLIFIELD**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, in June of this year, hearings were held before the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the subject of "Radiation Standards, Including Fallout." There hearings were part of the Joint Committee's continuing effort to bring objective professional knowledge to bear on this important subject.

In the process of conducting these hearings, and in our later evaluation of the extensive materials which were developed, several major questions remained unclarified which are summarized as follows: First. Are the radiation protection guides established by the Federal Radiation Council applicable to fallout from nuclear weapons tests, especially the resulting incidence of iodine 131 levels; and second, what agency or agencies of the Government have the responsibility and authority for invoking countermeasures in the event that certain radionuclides reach undesirable levels?

To clarify these matters, Representative MELVIN PRICE, chairman of the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation, and I wrote to the Chairman of the Federal Radiation Council to obtain further information. The reply from the Federal Radiation Council has been recently received and I believe that it does indicate some progress in clarifying these issues.

For the information of the public, which is vitally interested in this problem, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy recently issued a press release incorporating this exchange of correspondence. I am inserting in the RECORD at this point a copy of the Joint Committee release with the attached correspondence.

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS CONCERNING APPLICATION OF RADIATION PROTECTION STANDARDS BETWEEN JOINT COMMITTEE AND FEDERAL RADIATION COUNCIL RELEASED BY JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

An exchange of letters between the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Federal Radiation Council on major unresolved questions concerning the applications of radiation protection standards were released today by Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and Congressman MELVIN PRICE, chairman, Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation.

Following testimony by Surgeon General Luther Terry at the Joint Committee hearings on "Radiation Standards, Including Fallout," held June 4–7, 1962, the Joint Committee requested the Federal Radiation Council to clarify its position on the criteria being used to determine when undesirable levels of radioactive debris from fallout were reached. This important question was posed by the Joint Committee as early as its 1959 hearings on "Fallout From Nuclear Weapons Tests."

On June 18, 1962, Chairman HOLIFIELD and Congressman PRICE wrote to Chairman Ribicoff of the Federal Radiation Council requesting information concerning (1) the role of the FRC's radiation protection guides (RPG), particularly in relation to iodine 131; and (2) what Federal agencies were responsible for invoking protective countermeasures in the event radiation levels became unduly high. The need for resolving these matters was indicated as "increased by the recent resumption of atmospheric nuclear tests by the Soviet Union and the United States."

The first question in the letter of June 18 was concerned with whether the numerical values in the radiation protection guides establish the sole or principal criteria for evaluating undesirable levels of radiation from fallout. Secondly, if so, are these numerical values sufficient to indicate when and what action is appropriate to protect public health? Thirdly, if not, is further or supplementary criteria needed and whose responsibility is it to develop and implement such criteria? An additional request was made in the Joint Committee letter of June 18, concerning the views of the FRC on the current status of legal authority and responsibility for invoking countermeasures or taking any other action should radioactivity from fallout reach undesirable levels.

On August 16, 1962, Congressmen HOLIFIELD and PRICE sent a letter to the FRC to further supplement the letter of June 18, 1962. The letter stated in part:

"The urgency of this review is pointed up by the recent resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing by the Soviet Union and reports of sharp increases in radioiodine levels in Nevada and Utah from U.S. tests. The latter situation, as you know, caused local public health officials in Utah to invoke plans for the diversion of fresh milk into forms carrying lower levels of radioactivity.

"We do not imply that the current levels of radioactivity have reached a danger point. Indeed, we are satisfied that they are apparently within the current acceptable limits of the radiation protection guides. However, we are not convinced that these guides presently apply to fallout, nor that they should apply to fallout as presently set forth.

* * * * *

"Thus, there is a necessity to clarify the meaning of the radiation protection guides in order that they may be understood by the public and by those officials of the Government who will have the responsibility for invoking countermeasures in the event radioactivity levels reach undesirable proportions."

The Federal Radiation Council, under the chairmanship of Chairman Celebrezze, replied by letter dated August 17, 1962. The letter pointed out the differences between fallout and other sources of radiation which the radiation protection guides were developed to control, stating:

"As applied to fallout, the guides can be used as an indication of when there is a need for detailed evaluation of possible exposure hazards and a need to consider whether any protective action should be taken under all the relevant circumstances.

"But once we are alerted to the need to consider protective action, the guides do not tell us when to act or what to do. These judgments require careful consideration of local conditions and the impact of available health protection measures. The Council believes that individual fallout situations require individual evaluation before a specific action is taken."

As a summary with respect to the guides, the Council stated: "The guides are not intended to be a dividing line between safety and danger. We have assumed that there is some slight risk to health from any level of radiation exposure, however low, even at or below the low levels set by the guides. At the same time we do not believe there is any risk of a major health hazard until exposure levels are many times above the guide levels. For example, this is borne out in relation to iodine 131 by the report to the Federal Radiation Council of the National Academy of Sciences, 'Pathological Effects of Thyroid Irradiation,' July 1962."

As to responsibilities for invoking protective measures, the Council stated: "Within the Federal Government, authority now exists under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to control the shipment of adulterated food in interstate commerce. By definition, foodstuffs containing excessive radioactivity would be adulterated. States have the authority to control intrastate distribution or sale of adulterated foods, which would include foodstuffs containing excessive amounts of radioactivity. State food and drug laws vary widely in their scope and adequacy with respect to the problem of radioactivity in foods. The Public Health Service has the general responsibility to recommend appropriate health protection measures to States and local authorities and to the general public."

Congressmen HOLLIFIELD and PRICE stated that the Joint Committee would study the FRC letter to determine whether the answers were adequate, but indicated: "We seem to be making some progress in clarifying this important subject."

Copies of the exchange of correspondence are attached.

Attachments: (1) Copy of letter June 18, 1962, from JCAE to Chairman, Federal Radiation Council, with attachment copy of letter January 16, 1962, from Congressman HOLIFIELD to the President; (2) copy of letter August 16, 1962, from JCAE to Jones, HEW; (3) copy of letter August 17, 1962, from Chairman, FRC, to JCAE.

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY,
*June 18, 1962.*

HON. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF,
*Chairman, Federal Radiation Council,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In reviewing the record of our recent hearings on "Radiation Standards, Including Fallout," there are apparently a number of unresolved questions, which had also been left open after our 1960 hearings on "Radiation Protection Criteria

and Standards." The need for resolving these matters is increased by the recent resumption of atmospheric nuclear tests by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Our first question concerns the relation between the radiation protection guides (RPG) promulgated by the Federal Radiation Council and the incidence of radioactive fallout as a result of nuclear weapons testing.

At the 1960 hearings, Dr. Chadwick, then secretary of the FRC, was asked by Mr. HOLIFIELD whether the new radiation protection guides applied to "problems which may develop in relation to fallout." His response was: "Sir, as indicated in the testimony, special problems would require special consideration by the Council."

When requested by the committee to further clarify this matter, the Federal Radiation Council commented as follows: "The Council is aware that the numerical values of the radiation protection guides and radioactivity guides may also be interpreted to apply to normal peacetime situations in contrast to 'normal peacetime operations.' When used in this way, the guides may be considered to define environmental levels consistent with normal peacetime situations based on the levels of environmental radioactivity regardless of its source. In this sense, the graded series of ranges related to the intake of radioactive materials provided in Report No. 2 may be taken to indicate the general conditions under which special consideration must be given and possible corrective actions considered."

The testimony on this point at our recent hearings continued to be clouded. The testimony of Dr. Russell Morgan implied that countermeasures should be ordered when radiation doses reached, or showed signs of reaching, the levels prescribed in the radiation protection guides. The thrust of the recent National Advisory Committee on Radiation (NACOR) report is to the same effect.

Surgeon General Terry's statement, in releasing the NACOR report, was as follows: "If daily intakes are above this level (range II of the radiation protection guide) and into range III and are likely to persist, then exceeding the radiation protection guide becomes a distinct possibility, and in such circumstances countermeasures are to be considered."

It is thus the implication of the Surgeon General's statement, the NACOR report, and Dr. Morgan's testimony, that the FRC's radiation protection guides may be applicable in determining when unacceptable concentrations of radioactive nuclides from fallout have been reached.

On the other hand, we have seen plain evidence from the introduction to Report No. 1 of the Federal Radiation Council that, "Only peacetime uses of radiation which might affect the exposure of the civilian population are considered at this time." Report No. 2 repeated the statement contained in Report No. 1 that, "The guides recommended herein are appropriate for normal peacetime operations."

Furthermore, the guides have been repeatedly described as consistent with, and based on, the same evidence as NCRP levels and recommendations, which are universally acknowledged to be based on nonmilitary activities.

Moreover, testimony at our hearings, particularly that of Dr. Gordon M. Dunning of AEC, emphasized that the radiation protection guides are based on a balancing of risk against benefit in the context of peacetime operations and that to use them in deciding when to invoke countermeasures against fallout is an "improper use of those guides." Dr. Dunning emphasized that the questions of the applicability of the guides to fallout "should be clarified at once before there is further confusion and before there may be an ill-advised action taken by some regulatory body."

We deem it of utmost importance to have your response to the following questions:

1. Are the numerical values of the radiation protection guides established by the Federal Radiation Council the sole or principal criteria now used in evaluating when undesirable levels of radioactive nuclides from fallout have been reached?

2. If so, is this use of the present numerical values of the guides sufficient to indicate when and what action is appropriate to protect public health?

3. If not, is the development of further or supplementary criteria needed; and if so, is it the responsibility of the Federal Radiation Council or of the Public Health Service or others to develop and implement such criteria?

You are undoubtedly aware that the chairman of the Joint Committee, in a letter to the President dated January 16, 1962, suggested that the FRC should review the possible effect of fallout from proposed U.S. testing. We, of course, do not necessarily believe that the FRC guides should constitute the criteria if they were not so intended. However, we do believe that all significant additions of radioactivity to the environment including fallout should be reviewed by the FRC and evaluated against appropriate standards.

The other important matter left open after our hearings is, where does the legal responsibility and authority lie for invoking countermeasures?

During the testimony of the Surgeon General, he was asked the following question by the committee staff: "Does the Public Health Service have the legal authority to initiate such countermeasures as banning the sale of fresh milk and requiring special processes to decontaminate foodstuffs?"

His reply was: "We certainly have the responsibility for the surveillance and for making the recommendations. I am not absolutely certain just exactly where our legal authority is or how far our legal authority extends."

It was noted in the hearings that the actual implimentation of countermeasures would have to be accomplished by State health authorities, but no indication was given as to whether the States have the necessary authority and means of administration to accomplish the countermeasures.

We believe it is extremely important that this matter be clarified, in order to alleviate public concern over the hazards of ionizing radiation and to minimize the possibility of uncoordinated and ill-advised actions being taken should certain radionuclides reach undesirable levels in the environment.

We wish, therefore, to request your views on the current status of legal authority and responsibility for invoking counter-measures or taking any other action, including any recommendations you may have in this regard.

Because we regard these matters as being of considerable importance and urgency, we would request your consideration at the earliest possible date. To that end we would like to suggest that our respective staffs should meet together on June 21 or June 22 to explore these problems further.

Your cooperation is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

MELVIN PRICE,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation.*
CHET HOLIFIELD, *Chairman.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY,
*August 16, 1962.*

Mr. BOISFEUILLET JONES,
*Special Assistant to the Secretary (Health and Medical Affairs), Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. JONES: This is with further reference to our letter of June 18, 1962, to Secretary Ribicoff concerning the need for a reevaluation of the radiation protection guides established by the Federal Radiation Council and a further examination of the administrative means and legal authority for invoking countermeasures.

The urgency of this review is pointed up by the recent resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing by the Soviet Union and reports of sharp increases in radioiodine levels in Nevada and Utah from U.S. tests. The latter situation, as you know, caused local public health officials in Utah to invoke plans for the diversion of fresh milk into forms carrying lower levels of radioactivity. Recent newspaper reports state that this action by the Utah officials "came as a complete surprise to the U.S. Public Health Service" and was not coordinated with appropriate Federal officials.

You will recall that in our letter of June 18 that we stated: "We believe that it is extremely important that this matter be clarified, in order to alleviate public concern over the hazards of ionizing radiation and to minimize the possibility of uncoordinated and ill-advised actions being taken should certain radionuclides reach undesirable levels in the environment."

The recent evens in Utah demonstrate the very real importance of our earlier admonition. Moreover, in view of the resumption of Soviet atmospheric testing, we believe that incidents such as this may likely occur in the future in widely scattered portions of the United States. It is therefore important that the Federal Radiation Council proceed without delay with the consideration called for in our letter of June 18.

We do not imply that the current levels of radioactivity have reached a danger point. Indeed, we are satisfied that they are apparently within the current acceptable limits of the radiation protection guides. However, we are not convinced that these guides presently apply to fallout, nor that they should apply to fallout as presently set forth. We are heartened by the recent panel report of the National Academy of Sciences which indicates that no case of thyroid cancer ascribable to radioactive iodine has been found in man.

Thus, there is a necessity to clarify the meaning of the radiation protection guides in order that they may be understood by the public and by those officials of the Government who will have the responsibility for invoking countermeasures in the event radioactivity levels reach undesirable proportions. We do not want to see another cranberry emergency develop as a result of Government inertia or ill-timed action. Moreover, the authority under which these public officials act must have a clear legal basis, and efficient administrative machinery must be available to assure that any action taken will be prompt and well considered.

We hope that these matters will receive your prompt attention.

Sincerely yours,

CHET HOLIFIELD,
*Chairman.*
MELVIN PRICE,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation.*

FEDERAL RADIATION COUNCIL,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING,
*Washington, D.C., August 17, 1962.*

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
*Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.*

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMEN: Your letter of June 18, 1962, points out that following the recent hearings of the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, there were unresolved questions concerning the application of radiation protection standards. Following the questions are comments of the Council.

No. 1. Are the numerical values of the radiation protection guides established by the Federal Radiation Council the sole or principal criteria now used in evaluating when undesirable levels of radioactive nuclides from fallout have been reached?

No. 2. If so, is this use of the present numerical values of the guides sufficient to indicate when and what action is appropriate to protect public health?

Comments on first two questions: No, the guides are not the sole criteria used in evaluating the significance of fallout.

Since there has been widespread misunderstanding concerning these guides, it may be useful to explain how they were developed and how they are to be used.

As you know, to be prudent we assume that there is always some slight risk to health from any level of radiation exposure however low. Hence, setting basic radiation protection guidance involves a balancing between the requirements of total health protection (which, ideally, would tolerate no exposure) and the promotion of the use of radiation and atomic energy to achieve worthwhile benefits (which may involve exposure). With this principle in mind, the guides were originally developed for application as guidelines for the protection of radiation workers and the general public against exposures which might result during "normal peacetime operations" in connection with the industrial use of ionizing radiation. In this connection, as noted in Chairman Ribicoff's letter of June 1 to you transmitting "Comments on the major unresolved questions concerning the Federal Radiation Council" the term "normal peacetime operations" referred specifically to the peaceful applications of nuclear technology where the primary control is placed on the design and use of the source. Since the numerical values in the guides were designed for the regulation of a continuing industry, they were of necessity set so low that the upper limit of range II can be considered to fall well within levels of exposure acceptable for a lifetime. Furthermore, to provide the maximum margin of safety, the upper limits of range II were related to the lowest possible level at which it was believed that nuclear industrial technology could be developed.

It is necessary to watch the buildup of exposure levels as radiation exposures occur. A 1-year cumulative total has been recommended for this purpose. Obviously, this 1-year span is an arbitrary measure, and no special significance should be attached to the precise cumulative exposure at the end of a 365-day period. Far more relevant are the sources of the exposure, their frequency and their likelihood of continuing.

The guides are not intended to be a dividing line between safety and danger in actual radiation situations. Nor are they intended to set a line at which protective action should be taken or to indicate what kind of action should be taken. Some actions might in some circumstances be appropriate at levels below the guides. Other actions might be completely inappropriate and even harmful except at levels many times above the guide levels.

While the guides were not specifically designed for fallout situations, they have some relevance for the assessment of fallout conditions. There is, of course, an essential difference between environmental radioactivity resulting from a long-term or permanent industrial operation and that related to intermittent production from individual weapons tests or series of weapons tests. With the former, it is predictable that introducion of radioisotopes into the environment will persist at a known rate throughout the life of the source. On the other hand, weapons tests are likely to be sporadic in nature and the radioactivity produced will rise at the time of testing and decline at varying rates for different isotopes after conclusion of a test or series of tests. While "normal peacetime operations," for which the guides were recommended as appropriate, imply that environmental radioactivity will persist at a predetermined level throughout the human lifetime, that from fallout is likely to be extremely variable.

As applied to fallout, the guides can be used as an indication of when there is a need for detailed evaluation of possible exposure hazards and a need to consider whether any protective action should be taken under all the relevant circumstances.

But once we are alerted to the need to consider protective action, the guides do not tell us when to act or what to do. These judgments require careful consideration of local conditions and the impact of available health protection measures. The Council believes that individual fallout situations require individual evaluation before specific action is taken. Such an evaluation must involve a careful examination of the source and magnitude and duration of the probable exposure levels as well as a careful evaluation of the health significance of these probable exposures, and national security considerations are inevitably involved. The judgment as to when to take action and what kind of action to take to decrease exposure levels involves consideration of all of these factors. The guides have some relevance for making this judgment, but they do not and were never intended to provide the sole basis for deciding how and when to act. It must be kept in mind that radiation exposures anywhere near the guides involve risks so slight that countermeasures which themselves involve any slight hazard may have a net adverse rather than favorable effect on the public well-being.

In summary then, the guides are not intended to be a dividing line between safety and danger. We have assumed that there is some slight risk to health from any level of radiation exposure, however low, even at or below the low levels set by the guides. At the same time we do not believe there is any risk of a major health hazard until exposure levels are many times above the guide levels. For example, this is borne out in relation to iodine 131 by the report to the Federal Radiation Council of the National Academy of Sciences, "Pathological Effects of Tyhroid Irradiation," July 1962.

No. 3: If not is the development of further or supplementary criteria needed and if so is it the responsibility of the Federal Radiation Council or the Public Health Service or others to develop and implement such criteria?

Comment: There is a continuing need for the development of guidance in this field. In accordance with Public Law 86-373, "The Council shall advise the President with respect to radiation matters, directly or indirectly affecting health, including guidance for all Federal agencies in the formulation of radiation standards and in the establishment and execution of programs of cooperation with States." The appropriate Federal agencies will develop specific modes of action in accordance with such guidance.

Your letter of June 18 mentioned another important matter left open after the hearings, that of the legal responsibility and authority for invoking countermeasures.

Within the Federal Government, authority now exists under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to control the shipment of adulterated food in interstate commerce. By definition, foodstuffs containing excessive radioactivity would be adulterated.

States have the authority to control intrastate distribution or sale of adulterated foods, which would include foodstuffs containing excessive amounts of radioactivity. State food and drug laws vary widely in their scope and adequacy with respect to the problem of radioactivity in foods. The Public Health Service has the general responsibility to recommend appropriate health protection measures to States and local authorities and to the general public.

In closing, on behalf of the Council, I should like to acknowledge the Joint Committee's responsible efforts to delineate problems relating to fallout requiring further study and clarification, and in promoting more widespread public understanding of the issues involved.

Sincerely yours,

ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE,
*Chairman.*

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## Least Known Military Unit Is in Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, an interesting and little known fact about our national defense which highlights the loyalty and dedication of our Alaskan Eskimos is concisely set forth in an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of July 27 of this year. Having had personal knowledge of the admirable work of the Alaska Eskimo Scouts during World War II as the northernmost and westernmost unit of America's detection and warning system against enemy encroachment or attack, and knowing of the valuable services rendered by that group since World War II, it is inevitable that I desire to call this subject to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress.

The article in question follows:

LEAST-KNOWN MILITARY UNIT

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA.—The U.S. Navy twin-engine patrol bomber, with its 11-man crew, was flying at 8,000 feet near the United States-Soviet frontier at the mouth of the Bering Straits when two Red MIG's attacked out of the sun. With three of its crew wounded and his port engine afire, Lt. R. H. Fisher, the pilot, headed for St. Lawrence Island, the nearest land. It sits midway between Alaska and Siberia. He barely managed to make it, crashlanding on the rocky shoreline.

Within 20 minutes of crashing on one of the most isolated spots under the American flag, however, first aid was being given. Within another hour all of the men were on their way by boat to a hospital.

Behind this rapid rescue work were M. Sgt. Willis Walunga and Sfc. Clifford Iknokinok, two members of the Eskimo Scouts, one of America's most vital—and least known military units.

First organized in World War II, today there are two groups totaling 1,050 men, of these Far North warriors organized into the Alaska National Guard. With detachments in 57 villages and towns in western and northwestern Alaska, they are constantly on the alert for downed flyers and patrol work. They provide an unparalleled intelligence service.

In recent years they have spotted Soviet submarines, picked up radioactive debris to substantiate Soviet nuclear blasts in Siberia, and reported low-flying planes that have passed radar screens. Detachments of this unique National Guard force are stationed as far out as Little Diomede Island, just 2½ miles from Siberia.

Actually, as National Guardsmen, the scouts are only part-time soldiers. Most are full-time hunters and fishermen, running their trap lines on the lonely Alaska coast and offshore islands facing Siberia. But, even when not officially on duty, they are on the alert.

Just recently, an off-duty scout-hunter spotted three armed intruders approaching Little Diomede Island over the Bearing Sea ice. M. Sgt. David Trautham quickly organized his local Guard unit to investigate. The intruders fled back toward Siberia.

One of the great values of the Eskimo Scouts is their native ability to operate efficiently in Alaska's formidable cold, snow, and ice.

In a corner of our 49th State, where Uncle Sam rubs elbows with the Russian bear, these unsung Eskimos, filling in the chinks in the vast Alaskan coast defense network are America's first line of defense.

## The Problems of State Taxation of Interstate Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, during the past year a special subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary has been intensively engaged in a study of the problems of State taxation of interstate commerce. It has been my privilege to serve on that subcommittee. I believe that the work which it is doing is of considerable importance both to the business community of this country and to the fiscal structure of the States.

Recently Ben. F. Johnson, who is the dean of the Emory School of Law and who is also a member of the special subcommittee's advisory group, spoke to a meeting of the Southeastern Association of Tax Administrators. I believe that this speech by Dean Johnson is a clear and informative statement of the work of the subcommittee and some of the problems which confront it.

In order that all Members may have an opportunity to read Dean Johnson's remarks, I am submitting them for inclusion in the RECORD:

SPEECH OF BEN F. JOHNSON, DEAN OF THE EMORY UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW, ATLANTA, GA., BEFORE THE SALES AND USE TAX SECTION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ASSOCIATION OF TAX ADMINISTRATORS, JULY 22, 1962, AT NEW ORLEANS, LA. DEAN JOHNSON IS A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY GROUP OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON STATE TAXATION OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE

In selecting the topic "Current Status of Federal Legislation" for my part on this sales and use tax panel program I may have oversold what I am able to deliver. I feel that I am on the advisory group of the Subcommittee of Interstate Commerce somewhat to represent the viewpoint of State tax administrators and in a sense this is intended somewhat as a progress report.

We are in the midst of a tremendously important study project. When Jerome Hellerstein wrote in the April 1962 issue of the Journal of Taxation (pp. 246, 248): "We may be on the eve of the development of a significant new political institution in the accommodation of national and local interests under our Federal system," he described the situation well. History is in the making, and statesmanship of the very highest quality is required of all who participate and contribute to these developments. Jerome Hellerstein went on to say: "We [meaning tax administrators and tax counsel] have a major responsibility to meet this challenge in its broadest political perspective—not as partisans—but as citizens with expertise in taxation seeking to find a solution to a basic issue contained in federalism," and from this we ought to realize that this project is a high and sacred undertaking worthy of the very best we can muster.

I assume that you are familiar with the Scripto decision and Public Law 86–272, as amended. The mandate of this law is "to make full and complete studies of all matters pertaining to the taxation of interstate commerce by the States" and to make recommendations to Congress based on those studies. By the act approved April 21, 1962 (Public Law 87–435, 76 Stat. 55) the time for the final report was extended from July 1, 1962, until July 1, 1963.

You know, of course, the project is under the authority of the Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce of the House Judiciary Committee. The chairman of the subcommittee is Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana. If you have read the report of the hearings held last December, I think you will agree that Representative WILLIS has been masterful in his conduct of these proceedings.

The advisory group appointed to assist the staff merits your complete confidence. There are 10 members of this group, and together they bring to the task a rich experience in the State tax field. We have had two meetings and I am convinced of their sincere desire to find a fair and workable solution to the problems of State and local taxation of interstate operators.

The staff assigned to the project consists at present of five lawyers and three economists led by Mr. Murray Drabkin. My personal observation is that these men are dedicated to the task without predisposition.

I am convinced that those charged immediately with this responsibility are carrying out the task without fear or favor. They are not going to be stampeded by pressures from any group, and they are not going to be satisfied with half-truths, shibboleths, and vague assertions of injury and disaster. They may have come late upon the scene, but their intense concentration and comprehensive overview these past 18 months have made them experts in this field. There will be no wool pulled over their eyes by anyone or any group, and I suspect they have become very sensitive to wool by this time.

I am fully aware of the general opposition among State tax administrators to any congressional action. I have been somewhat out of touch with you for a year now, and this attitude may have changed somewhat by this time. I hope so. I want to get across to you what I really have come to believe, that is, that the present proceedings in Congress are altogether different from those which led up to the enactment of Public Law 86–272. In the present situation the contention on the part of State tax administrators that congressional action is unnecessary is about as absurd in one direction as the contention on the part of taxpayers that Congress should reaffirm the complete immunity of interstate commerce is in the other. There are two sides to this matter, and solutions can be found somewhere in between. I believe the present proceeding will come up with solutions which will balance the conflicting interests, and when this is done it will be a victory for both sides, and none but the selfish will begrudge the achievement.

In April the advisory group met in Washington to consider and identify the major problems arising from sales and use taxes as they relate to transactions in and related to interstate commerce. Three areas of difficulty were suggested: (1) The possible multiple incidence of such taxes imposed by more than one State on the same transaction; (2) the problems of enforcement faced by States which impose such taxes; and (3) the costs and burdens of compliance borne by sellers who ship goods into a number of States or cities which impose sales and use taxes and which require these sellers to collect and remit the tax.

Neither the subcommittee, nor its staff, nor the advisory group, has yet determined that these problems exist to an extent which warrants legislation. The attitude is simply this: let's find out the extent to which these problems exist. The subcommittee is now conducting a series of hearings to find out as much as possible about this.

On the question of compliance costs, you will be interested to know that the subcommittee's staff has recognized that a questionnaire is not an effective means of securing cost figures. They have planned an additional program. They propose to ask 100 companies, representing various industry groups and size classes, located all over the United States, to analyze its compliance costs according to certain guidelines and to present these costs in a specified format. A subcommittee accountant will then interview the person who prepared the study to assure that the company's costs have been allocated on a basis comparable to that of others. This program of on-the-spot cost interviews is now in process.

The point of all this is to find out the facts.

Mr. Murray Drabkin, chief counsel for the subcommittee at the recent NATA meeting said: "the subcommittee will treat demands for restrictions on the taxing power of the States objectively and critically. This means that the subcommittee will act only if it has been clearly and convincingly demonstrated that the national interest requires Federal action. This also means that if the subcommittee does recommend Federal action, its choice of action will be made only after it has fully weighed the impact of its decision upon the States."

I am convinced that this is a sincere statement. And I am not convinced that either tax administrators or tax counsel are equally as sincere in their efforts. Many tax counsel, I think, feel that the subcommittee work is no more than a necessary formarility preliminary to a showdown of political power which they expect to win by turning on a pressure campaign similar to that which followed the *Northwestern-Stockham* decision and culminated in Public

Law 86-272. I think they are in for a jolt. On the other hand, many tax administrators, particularly in this part of the country, have equated this resort to congressional action with Federal court intervention in segregation and apportionment cases. They want none of it. I think this comparison is untenable and unfortunate. Both tax counsel and tax administrators seem to view this resort to congressional action as inevitably increasing the centralization of power in the Federal Government. In my opinion this is a premature assumption which consciously or subconsciously retards progress toward solutions. I say again that this is a tremendously important project, and statesmanship of the highest order is required of us all. It will be a shame to assume that no good can come from this study and that it is not worth our very best effort.

I can see at least three areas in which State tax administrators ought to welcome the good offices of Congress in the sales and use tax field. First, in dealing with what might be called the small business problem; second, the problem of double taxation generated by interstate movement; and third, the problem of enforcement and collection against nonresidents.

The small business problem, as seen by the taxpayer, is often referred to as the exorbitant burden of compliance. Actually, it is the same problem tax administrators deal with as unproductive accounts. It is the same coin viewed from different sides: what can be done for the taxpayer? What can be done about the account where the costs of compliance and administration will undoubtedly exceed the tax liability?

As to this problem, what can be the objection to prescribing by statute a rule of de minimis, or similar device, based on some quantitative criterion?

I submit that there is a precedent of a sort for this in the casual sale exemption. The real reason for the casual sale exemption which appears in most sales tax acts, I suspect, is the disproportionate compliance and administrative costs compared with the revenue potential in this type of transaction. This is a qualitative criterion, but the principle is the same.

Once we see that the principle has been accepted, we may more willingly seek a feasible extension to other areas of disproportionate compliance and administrative costs compared with the revenue potential.

The chief objection to a statutorily prescribed rule of de minimis, as I understand it, is that it would result in discrimination against local vendors who get no such concession. But this is not insurmountable; there are ways this can be eliminated.

Leonard Kust and Graham Sale in an article in the Virginia Law Review (vol. 46, pp. 1290, 1324) make a suggestion that would answer this objection. Their idea is to allow the vendor's own State the exclusive right to tax his sales shipped to other States wherein his volume of business does not come up to the minimum. This is worth exploring.

Perhaps even simpler, establish a minimum volume of sales into a State and absolve an out-of-State vendor of his usual obligations to that State, if he so elects, by filing with its tax officials a prescribed uniform return and paying therewith a uniform flat fee tax calculated to be a reasonable approximation of the tax due on such a volume. Actually legislation along this line is no more than offering on an optional basis a degree of simplification in tax returning, and this is something which might well be extended to local vendors. Optional taxation based on estimates is a coming procedure, and it might well be given a chance here.

My point is that the benefit of this type of development is not to business alone; it will benefit both business and tax administrators, and there should be a general interest in bringing it about.

In my own limited experience the taxation of both the sale and the use of property involved in interstate commerce and movement is a problem that needs attention, and one that will not be solved, in my opinion, short of Federal legislation or court action. To me this double taxation is somewhat like a jurisdictional dispute between two labor unions. I simply cannot believe that fair-minded tax administrators will not welcome relief from having to participate in this patent perversion of the compensating use tax which, in my opinion, poses a threat to the whole system of collecting a consumption tax at the most efficient and effective point; namely, at the point of sale. Those States which have rejected reciprocity may yet kill the goose that lays the golden eggs for all the States. And if Federal legislation can eliminate this threat, we ought to be for it.

Finally, I think the States can use Federal legislation to aid them in out-of-State audits and collections. You know the problems here; the need for some process to compel production of records; full faith and credit for assessments. Will these not help in the effective administration of your taxing laws? I think so.

## American Wool Month Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, American Wool Month will be observed in September, a month which is the forerunner of colder weather and the winter season, and when the thoughts of our people are directed to wearing apparel which is appropriate to the colder months. This is inevitably associated with wool products and wool manufacturing.

This observance serves to remind us that wool processing is among the oldest of American industries, even predating the Revolution. Sheep were included among the necessities brought to the New World by its first settlers.

It is well known that American-made woolen fabrics are truly prestige quality products and that the industry plays an important and an essential role in the Nation's economy.

As a Representative of New England, I have a special interest in the success, the prosperity, and the survival of this great American industry. More than 50 percent of all woolens and worsteds made in the United States are manufactured in New England. The textile industry ranks first in the region's manufacturing industries, employing about 200,000 workers, and it is vital to the economy of New England that this employment be maintained or expanded.

The present volume of business in the domestic industry does not mean that its operations are profitable. Prices are driven down by the intense competition of low-wage countries abroad.

The new duty rate of 38 percent ad valorem instituted last year is not an effective control over excessive imports. Moreover, it applies only to woven cloths and does not include wool tops, yarn, knit goods, and apparel.

The industry seeks relief through mandatory quotas on imports. This is urgent and essential if this great industry is to survive and provide needed jobs for thousands of people. I hope the administration will act promptly to control these massive imports which threaten to ruin the American wool industry.

It needs protection to survive. It should be given promptly and effectively.

## Senator James H. Kyle: Father of Labor Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare to celebrate Labor Day on September 3, I feel that it is most fitting and proper to draw attention to a very fine article written by one of my constituents, Mr. Fred Marshall, of Cedarville, Ohio—located in the Seventh Ohio District—relative to another native of Cedarville, the late Senator James H. Kyle, one of South Dakota's early and outstanding U.S. Senators, and author of the legislation which established Labor Day as a legal holiday 68 years ago.

Senator Kyle, who was also an ordained minister, was born in Cedarville, Greene County, Ohio, in 1854 of hardy pioneer stock, already deep-rooted in that community, and migrated to Illinois with his family as a small boy of 10. Years later, following his graduation from Ohio's Oberlin College, Reverend Kyle settled with his young bride in Aberdeen, S. Dak., and in 1891, at the age of 37, he was elected U.S. Senator from South Dakota as a candidate of the Independent Party.

Senator Kyle served in the U.S. Senate until his death in 1901. He was a friend of laboring men in a great many ways and toiled unceasingly in their behalf throughout his years in public service. In the past, along with Senator LAUSCHE, of Ohio, and ex-Governor Sharpe, of South Dakota, I have journeyed to Cedarville to pay tribute to Senator Kyle at Labor Day ceremonies held there, and I am pleased to insert Mr. Marshall's article, which I have condensed somewhat, in the RECORD on this occasion so that we may again be reminded of Senator James H. Kyle, the "father of Labor Day," and of his great work in behalf of the proper recognition of labor:

In his first years in Federal office Senator Kyle made no assertive play for public ac-

claim but he applied himself to his responsibilities with the same diligence and dedication which had marked his career as a clergyman. Within 2 years he was made chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. It was a field in which he was especially fitted and he must be given credit for noteworthy progress in this program in a period when public interest lagged. He fought for more and better schools and became a stanch champion of the workingman.

So it was that on June 28, 1894, President Grover Cleveland signed an act which culminated from the bill introduced by Senator James Kyle in the 53d Congress and documented as "S. 730." This act established Labor Day as a legal holiday and is recorded in the following language: *"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the first Monday in September in each year, being the day celebrated and known as labor's holiday, is hereby made a legal public holiday to all intents and purposes, in the same manner as Christmas, the 1st of January, the 22d day of February, the 30th of May, and the 4th of July are made by law public holidays."

Senator Kyle was elected for a second term in 1897 and the following year was made Chairman of the first Industrial Commission. His labor on this project, which consumed 19 bulky volumes, is said to have broken his health and he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage while on a mission to Cleveland. He labored a year longer and died at his home in Aberdeen in July 1901.

Earlier that same year, as if he had a premonition of death, he arrived unannounced at Cedarville and sought out his schoolboy chum, Andrew "Doc" Cresswell who, as a boy, had followed the Kyle caravan to the end of the Kyle road when it took off for the West.

The two old friends spent many hours at the Creswell farm reminiscing and visited the old Samuel Kyle homestead and the little one-room Kyle District School. "Doc" Creswell outlived James Kyle many years for he rounded out a full 100. And perhaps had it not been for him no one in the Cedarville neighborhood would have taken note that one of its own sons was the true "father of Labor Day." Ironically it was during a 1944 Labor Day homecoming celebration in the village that this bit of history was revealed.

"Doc" Creswell, already well into his 90's, on this day casually turned north on the main road from his long farm lane in his ancient model T. He hadn't missed a day making this trip to town for longer than he could remember.

On this particular first Monday in September he had a special mission. Thus, upon reaching the throng-packed community park, he threaded his way through the crowd to seek out the program chairman on the platform.

"Look here," demanded "Doc" to the mayor and master of ceremonies. "Do you fellows have any idea who founded Labor Day?" His honor admitted that he did not. "Well," asserted "Doc," "he was Jimmy Kyle—Senator James Henderson Kyle—and he was a Cedarville boy and there is no doubt about that either."

The mayor appeared to weigh the matter briefly but decided that in light of program arrangements, "Doc's" announcement was a bit awkward, if not inopportune. So Cedarville did not honor its notable Labor Day founder on that occasion in 1944.

However, in following years a number of great Americans, including Senators, Representatives, and former Governors, have traveled to the little village of Cedarville to pay tribute to Senator Kyle on Labor Day.

Strange as it may seem, there is no monument, no plaque or historical marker either in Cedarville or anywhere else to commemorate Senator Kyle's noteworthy contribution. But right down to age 100 "Doc" Creswell kept insisting that there should be.

## Twenty-two Million Veterans Get Improved Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting and enlightening editorial of interest to veterans and their families, which appeared in the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., on August 26, 1962:

TWENTY-TWO MILLION VETERANS GET IMPROVED SERVICE

Most people have no idea that the Veterans' Administration is larger than United States Steel, General Electric, or most industrial giants and big Government agencies.

But to our 170,000 employees the challenge of efficiently running a big business for 22 million veterans and their dependents makes up for the lack of fanfare.

This challenge includes operating 170 hospitals, administering the Nation's third largest ordinary life insurance enterprise, disbursing 53.5 billion annually in compensation and pension payments to approximately 5 million ex-servicemen or their widows and orphans, and assisting veterans with more than 150,000 home loans each year.

VA's stabilizing influence on the national economy was dramatically illustrated early in 1961. President Kennedy called for accelerated payment of $250 million regular yearly dividend to VA GI insurance policyholders. VA responded by disbursing it in 6 weeks.

Primarily, this money was a return to veterans of part of GI insurance premiums not needed because veterans were living longer than had been anticipated in the actuary tables.

The increasing age of veterans leads to a major problem. Veterans have reached the age where they require an increasing amount of hospitalization. More than 500,000 go into VA hospitals each year. Three times as many are treated in VA's 91 outpatient clinics.

To accommodate this increasing responsibility, VA is modernizing its permanent hospital buildings and replacing temporary buildings. At the same time, VA, largely through improved hospital management, is treating more patients with about the same facilities. In 1961, VA hospitals treated 28,000 more patients than in 1960, and will treat 30,000 more in 1962 than in 1961. This gain is equivalent to operation of nine 500-bed hospitals.

Increased hospital utilization is partly due to a decline in tuberculosis and the conversion of one VA tuberculosis hospital to general medical and surgical facilities. This has resulted in a great measure from VA medical research in improved drug therapy for tuberculosis.

Training provided World War II and Korean veterans has helped more than 11 million veterans obtain better jobs. Gains in income taxes on increased earnings more than pay the cost of the GI training programs.

The department of veterans benefits administers vocational rehabilitation and education, GI loans, guardianship, and compensation and pension payments through 67 regional offices in the 50 States, Washington, D.C., the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. While the education program is nearing completion, the GI loan program currently is increasing in volume of business. VA estimates more than 168,000 GI loans will be closed during 1962, 25 percent above the previous year. The guardianship program supervises estates of some 400,000 minors and incompetents valued at $700 million.

VA employs 170,000 professional, white-collar employees in accordance with the President's fair employment policy. Twenty-three percent of VA's full-time employees are Negroes. In this area, and in the employment of the physically handicapped, VA leads all Federal employers.

VA uses efficient tools of management, including automatic data processing. Although difficulty was encountered in converting VA's large insurance and benefits payment, the problems have been solved.

## Railroad Poverty Myth Should Be Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on June 30 of this year I called the attention of the Congress to the phony cry of the railroads that they were losing money. When I picked up my newspaper on Monday, August 13, I was most gratified to see a full page ad exposing the railroad's poverty myth. There is an old and true saying that figures do not lie. This ad cites figures from impartial sources including the railroads themselves showing that investors, the actual owners of the railroads, have and are now earning not just a fair return, but a lavish return on their investments.

All have received good dividends in over the last 20 years; in some instances a hundred dollars has earned thousands in dividends and the stock at today's market can be cashed in for more than 40 times its cost purchase price 20 years ago.

If that is poverty, I would like to be as poor as the railroads.

While declaring lush dividends the railroads have been piling up their assets at a great rate. The Interstate Commerce Commission's annual transportation statistics show that in the 20 years between 1940 and 1960 the capital surplus and retained income of all the railroads in the United States rose from $2.8 billion to $11.4 billion. And that, may I add, in spite of the high salaries of railroad presidents and other executives and the enormous amounts paid out in bond interest and other charges.

The railroad plea of poverty has been tied to another myth, the perennial plaint that featherbedding—allegedly too many employees—is the main reason for railroad poverty.

If their first charge is a myth, and you have heard the proof, it goes without saying that so-called featherbedding must be a myth, too.

Proof that the featherbedding charge is a fabrication comes from the mouth of the railroads' own advocates. James M. Symes, then president, now board chairman of the Pennsylvania Railroad, compared manpower requirements of all forms of transportation in testifying before this House's Armed Services Subcommittee on Transportation in July 1959. He testified that only 3,220 man-days were required to move 100,000 tons of freight between San Francisco and New York. To move the same tonnage by other means took 43,416 man-days by highway; 36,708 by propeller plane; 13,008 by jetplane and 11,158 by water.

The record is clear. And so is the duty of Congress.

I respectfully call this to the attention of the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Representative OREN HARRIS, as an urgent matter for investigation by his committee. I am sure that under his able direction the truth will be ferreted out. It is high time that lies and misrepresentation should be exposed.

Let us waste no time in getting at the truth. The country must know whether the railroads are deluding the public and themselves. The workers whose jobs are imperiled are entitled to the unvarnished facts. And the railroads themselves, if brought to face facts instead of fiction, might find themselves free to go ahead instead of slipping back.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the text of this advertisement, which is sponsored by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

RAILROAD POVERTY MYTH SHOULD BE EXPOSED

Railroads have been crying poverty for a long time. "Poverty" is management's own diagnosis and management would like to write its own prescriptions. The railroads use their alleged plight in an attempt to create a favorable climate for escaping regulation, for smoothing the way for monopolistic mergers and consolidations, for reducing service and eliminating jobs. An example of how the railroads plead poverty as an excuse for attacking their employees is seen in a statement made at a recent press conference by J. E. Wolfe, chief spokesman for railroad corporation negotiators. He said, "The Nation's railroads, determined to end the featherbedding that is driving them into bankruptcy, have notified the unions today (July 17) that all the recommendations of the Presidential Railroad Commission will be made effective on August 16, 1962."

FACTS DON'T SHOW POVERTY OR FEATHERBEDDING

*Investors are reaping big profits*

Look at these returns, as of May 21, 1962, on a $100 investment made in 1942 in railroad stocks:

| Railroad | 1962 value of $100 investment | Dividends paid on $100 investment | Total worth of $100 investment |
|---|---|---|---|
| Atlantic Coast Line | $488 | $441 | $929 |
| Baltimore & Ohio | 900 | 495 | 1,395 |
| Chesapeake & Ohio | 193 | 237 | 430 |
| Delaware & Hudson | 567 | 891 | 1,458 |
| Great Northern | 410 | 418 | 828 |
| Illinois Central | 2,000 | 1,340 | 3,340 |
| Lehigh Valley | 200 | 157 | 357 |
| Louisville & Nashville | 207 | 334 | 541 |
| Milwaukee Road | 240 | 340 | 580 |
| New York Central | 200 | 187 | 387 |
| Nickel Plate Road | 3,500 | 1,757 | 5,257 |
| Norfolk & Western | 269 | 208 | 477 |
| Northern Pacific | 1,267 | 834 | 2,101 |
| Pennsylvania | 83 | 135 | 218 |
| Reading | 100 | 248 | 348 |
| Santa Fe | 625 | 508 | 1,133 |
| Seaboard | 560 | 416 | 976 |
| Southern Pacific | 1,300 | 810 | 2,110 |
| Southern | 2,750 | 1,345 | 4,095 |
| Union Pacific | 533 | 382 | 915 |
| Western Maryland | 4,200 | 1,150 | 5,350 |
| Western Pacific | 250 | 177 | 427 |

Sources: Moody's Handbook of Widely Held Common Stocks and Monthly Stock Digest, June 1962, published by Data Digests, Inc.

*Railroad workers lead in output*

CHICAGO.—The ton-mile ouput of railroad employees is the highest of any form of transportation, as shown in statistics published by Railway Age, the railroad industry's magazine of news, analysis, and interpretation. The average freight-service employee of a railroad out-produces his motor carrier counterpart almost 6 to 1.

*Ton-miles per rail employee double*

"Annual revenue ton-miles per rail employee have climbed from 333,000 in 1939 to 727,000 in 1960."—Annual report on transport statistics for the year ended December 31, 1960, Interstate Commerce Commission.

*Rail man-hour revenue units soar*

"Revenue traffic units per rail man-hour actually worked have risen from 731.9 in 1936, to 1,488.6 in 1960."—ICC, transport statistics in the United States, statements M–220, M–300.

*Railroad manpower most efficient*

A comparison of manpower requirements to move 100,000 tons of freight between New York and San Francisco:

| *Method of Transport* | *Man-days required* |
|---|---|
| Highway | 43,416 |
| Air (propeller) | 36,708 |
| Air (jet) | 13,008 |
| Water | 11,158 |
| Railroad | 3,220 |

SOURCE.—Testimony of James M. Symes, president (now board chairman) of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., before the Subcommittee on Transportation, House Committee on Armed Services, hearings on the adequacy of transportation in the event of mobilization, July 1959.

CONGRESS SHOULD INVESTIGATE

Is the railroad industry healthy today? Railroad management seems to say "yes" at one time and "no" at another, depending on who's listening. Individual railroad corporation financial statements to their stockholders contradict the poverty picture the carriers in association seek to paint as the public image of the industry.

It is essential that the truth be brought to light before the industry is further contracted through mergers, passenger train reductions, freight service curtailments, and wholesale layoffs of employees. The logical way to do this is by congressional investigation.

There hasn't been a full investigation of the financial structure of the railroad industry since the Truman-Wheeler probe in the 1930's. That investigation revealed that the railroads had evaded the law flagrantly by acquiring control of other railroads through such devices as holding companies.

This year, the President's transportation message to Congress pointed up the importance of railroads to the national economy and the country's military security. Railroad workers heartily agree.

Railroad workers now urge Congress to take a new and thorough look into the industry, its public service functions, and its financial structure and to expose once and for all the poverty myth.

Railroad Labor Executives' Association: American Railway Supervisors' Association, American Train Dispatchers' Association, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers, and Helpers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers, International Organization Masters, Mates & Pilots of America, National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, Railroad Yardmasters of America, Railway Employees' Department, AFL–CIO, Seafarers' International Union of North America, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, Switchmen's Union of North America, and the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

## Business Purchasing Decisions and Inventory Fluctuations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article, by Mr. A. N. Wecksler, which appeared in Purchasing magazine, August 13, 1962. Mr. Wecksler reviews for purchasing agents some of the highlights of the recent Joint Economic Committee hearings on inventory fluctuations.

The text of the article fellows:

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HEARINGS POINT UP NEED FOR MORE INVENTORY INFORMATION

With the economy picking a tortuous path toward recession, the recent week-long congressional hearings on inventory trends highlighted the P.A.'s role in the business cycle.

The Joint Economic Committee concluded that a greater understanding of the inventory cycle was considered desirable. It was suggested that increased knowledge about inventory trends would enable Government and industry to make more enlightened business decisions.

This point of view was clearly expressed during the Joint Economic Committee hearings by Martin R. Gainsbrugh, chief economist, National Industrial Conference Board:

"The primary weaknesses in inventory policy currently stem from the inability of business enterprises to forecast correctly and from other factors, such as labor conflicts, over which they have no control. Better knowledge of existing stocks would undoubtedly contribute toward further improvement in inventory policy. We need, for example, more reliable information on inventory statistics at the commodity level, particularly for such key commodities as steel.

"At the aggregate level it would be helpful to have estimates of inventory stock in current and constant prices, as compared with the book value aggregates we now have. More information and analysis would seem desirable about the bulge in inventories of goods in process of nondurable goods producers."

A banker's view of the difficulties of achieving exactness in inventory control was offered by Norman Robertson, First National City Bank, New York City, who told the Joint Economic Committee: "Accurate sales forecasting holds the key to more effective control of inventories, yet predictions of precise turning points in sales or economic activity have proved to be elusive goals for the forecaster and are likely to remain so."

William McChesney Martin, Jr., chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, discredited any thinking that the cost and availability of credit is a predominant influence on inventory policy.

Of greater weight in the decisionmaking on inventory policy, said Martin, are such factors as expected sales trends, the volume of incoming orders, backlogs of unfilled orders, the level of production, the presence or absence of materials shortages, and expected price changes.

FINANCING INVENTORIES

Martin went into some detail on how businesses finance their inventories, and explained that this was done in a wide variety of ways. He said that besides bank or other short—or intermediate—term borrowing, businesses can finance their inventories in the following ways: retained earnings; by issuing securities; incurring greater trade debts to suppliers; by drawing down cash and other liquid assets. "Even the reduction or postponement of plant and equipment outlays or the holding down of accounts receivable may provide inventory financing," said Martin. "In recent years, trade debt has become a prime vehicle with which financially strong businesses help finance inventories of customers who are unwilling or unable to resort to bank or other market borrowing."

On the key question of the feasibility of some form of direct control over bank lending for inventory purposes, Martin felt that it would be impractical. He testified: "I am very skeptical of the desirability or practicality of credit controls directed specifically toward inventory investment."

A Government economist's view was presented at the Joint Economic Committee meeting by Louis J. Paradiso, Assistant Director and Chief Statistician of the Office of Business Economics, Department of Commerce. Paradiso made the following points:

1. Inventory investment has been a factor in all business declines, but not necessarily in initiating them.

2. Once a downturn is underway, shifts in inventory have tended to aggravate the extent of the decline.

3. Wide inventory swings occur mainly in stocks of durable goods manufacturers and in new passenger cars held by dealers. Elsewhere inventory changes have been moderate and usually closely geared to fluctuations in sales.

4. Speedup and cutback of Government programs have produced major shifts in inventory requirements—down through the entire chain of supply.

5. Labor disputes and the threat of strikes in major industries have produced major shifts in inventory requirements.

FORECASTING DIFFICULT

6. Business firms for the most part have not been able to gage accurately their inventory needs or their sales, and have at times found themselves with unbalanced stocks relative to sales.

7. More recently business firms have made some progress in controlling and limiting inventory investment relative to sales and production volume.

Department of Defense spokesmen indicated that military buying and military inventory accumulation should not be used as a counterbalance either to accelerate the economy or to slow down a boom.

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## The John Birch Society in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the controversial John Birch Society has had much publicity in this election year in Michigan. But very little is known about how it works. The Detroit Free Press Staffwriter Barbara Holliday was assigned to find out. Identifying herself only as a housewife, she applied for membership and has been an active member of the society since February. The following report, in which she tells what goes on at a closed Birch meeting, is the first in a series of six:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IN MICHIGAN

On a snowy Friday night in February, I walked down a narrow flight of basement stairs and into the strange world of John Birch.

As I entered the harshly lighted basement where chapter 69 of the society was meeting, I knew that it would be months before I would walk back out of that world.

But I did not know as I took a place in a row of folding chairs and looked at the strangers around me that so many of these faces would drop their masks, that the stony stares would turn to friendly smiles, and that finally, I myself would become the nucleus in building a John Birch chapter.

You wonder at first if you are going to make a slip, somehow give yourself away. But each meeting has a set pattern, and as the routine becomes familiar, the long walk up the driveway grows shorter, and the steps to the basement begin to look like ordinary steps anywhere.

As I learned to walk in this strange company, the monthly meetings became landmarks. They were never announced in advance and I came to be prepared for a phone call with the message, "It's time for us to get together again."

Not long after, the call came on a weekend. The next meeting was set for the following Friday night.

I arrived a little early, handed my dues to the chapter leader ($1 monthly for women, $2 for men), checked the Birch projects I had completed on a form sheet, and gave back the book I had read from the approved list—"No Wonder We Are Losing," by Robert Morris.

Also, along with everyone else, I turned in my "Member's Monthly Message." This was a form sheet that arrived with a bulletin each month from the society's headquarters in Belmont, Mass.

It carried space for members to make complaints, suggestions or pledge support of projects directed by Robert Welch, founder of the society and still its leader.

This memo was turned over to the chapter leader in a small, sealed envelope along with a donation over and above the monthly dues, as suggested. My envelope contained $5.

The meeting was called to order.

Hands over our hearts, we stood and solemnly repeated the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

Brian Kelly, leader of chapter 69, took his usual informal stance in front of us and picked up a discussion which had started before the meeting on the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

"Warren is trying to destroy our Constitution," he declared, "and turn this Republic into a socialized welfare state. He is going to have to be brought to account."

Beyond his shoulder I could see the American flag standing at the far end of the room.

Against one wall stood a table strewn with conservative books and pamphlets, including American Opinion, a monthly pocket-size magazine edited by Welch. Otherwise, except for the chairs we were sitting in, the room was bare.

Brian Kelly, slightly built and about 35, is the father of nine children, well educated and unemotional. His regular features seldom change expression.

His home, where our meetings were held, indicate his success. It is a substantial brick residence in an area of $20,000 to $30,000 homes bounded by Grand River and Southfield, off Schoolcraft. He is vice president of a paint and chemical company.

STUDENTS IN GROUP ATTENDING MEETING

Kelly prefers to call himself an "alarmed conservative." He has been a member of the Birch Society for 2 years and says he searched for like-minded people a long time before he found his way.

In the front row a woman turned to look at me. She was in her mid-forties, wearing a hat but no makeup. She was a visitor from another chapter.

Including 3 Wayne State University students, there were 12 persons in the room, most of them sitting behind me.

The men, for the most part, were well groomed, wearing white shirts, ties, suit jackets, neat breast-pocket handkerchiefs. Most were in the 30-to-50 age bracket.

A student asked for the Birch position on getting the United States out of the United Nations.

One of the men answered: "Did you know it's written in the U.N. Charter that there must always be a Russian commander in charge of U.N. forces? This was true in Korea and he was getting orders direct from the Kremlin."

(The commander in charge of U.N. forces in Korea was U.S. Gen. Douglas MacArthur.)

Heads nodded and an angry murmur agreed.

EDUCATION CALLED THE MAIN PURPOSE

Kelly suddenly launched into a little speech about the society.

"This is an educational group," he explained. "That is its main purpose—to educate and awaken thinking Americans.

"We have been accused of being a secret society. We are no more secret than any lodge group. Any of our publications are available in any newspaper library."

(If this was once true, it it no longer—Founder Welch says they can't afford it.)

A discussion broke out behind me.

"I don't agree with everything in John Birch," Morley was saying, "but it's the only place I can vote."

Ken F., a prosperous-looking strong-featured man who is a traveling representative for his firm, chimed in: "The smear campaign got me to thinking—if the society's so wrong, why is it drawing so much fire?"

"I have thought this way all my life," someone else offered.

Steve Crane, a tall, dominating figure who is now the leader of another chapter, punctuated it all dispiritedly: "I don't expect to see the conservatives win out in my lifetime but my son may have something to work with."

At this point, Kelly interrupted. There was a rare note of urgency in his voice.

"There isn't much time," he said. "What we get done is going to have to get done fast if we're to win out."

Here is a recurring theme with the Birchers.

As you get further inside the organization, this sense of alarm is perhaps the most tangible bond.

In this area, they are grimly serious people, deadly intent on saving, not the world, but America against the world—their own kind of America.

For all Birchers it is 5 minutes till midnight, and only they and the little silver-haired man in Belmont, Mass., understand the nature of the holacaust that is about to engulf the country.

The fear psychosis and the constant suspicion of conspiracy are the sure marks that divide the ultrarightist from the conservative.

"I wondered about that business with Deke Slayton (our grounded astronaut)," commented Ken.

"You know, a few days before they barred him for that heart murmur, he made a speech at a school in which he was critical of the administration. I'm not saying there is anything, but the doubt crossed my mind."

HUNGARIAN REVOLT CITED AS EXAMPLE

Kelly spoke up. "For a long time," he said, "I thought all the mistakes the Government was making just came from fumbling around.

"The thing that opened my eyes was the Hungarian revolution. We not only didn't raise a hand to help the freedom fighters, we actually helped the other side."

Here again is an area where John Birch leaves the gray conservative fold and steps into the stark black-and-white world of the radical.

In varying degrees, every Bircher believes that much of our Government policy is either consciously in sympathy with communism or is dominated in strategic places by Communist sympathizers—the "comsymps," as they call them—if not by actual card-carrying Communists.

There were no members in this particular group with pet peeves. When these are spotted, they are usually moved to isolated chapters. Any discussion of racism, for example, is forbidden.

So it was with some surprise that I heard a newcomer, Bob S., tell a story about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Kelly had been called to the phone or I think the story would have been cut off.

THEN HE DECIDED TO JOIN BIRCHERS

Bob S. lives at James Couzens and Six Mile on Birwood. This area, he said, had been earmarked by the NAACP, which had moved in one family of Negroes.

"I stood on my front porch," he said, "and yelled 'Nairobi!' I didn't even swing my fist—but I got arrested for assault and was put on 2 years' probation."

"Was your Birch connection known?" I asked.

"I wasn't a member then," he replied. "After that happened, I decided I better do something—find a home."

Kelly came back from the phone. He listened for a moment, then closed off the discussion crisply: "This is a matter of reality. I work 25 years to get equity in a house—then these people come—and my property becomes x percent less valuable.

"I believe in helping the Negro all I can, but until he proves he carries responsibility with privilege, I don't want him as a next-door neighbor."

That was that.

MONTH'S PROJECTS MAPPED BY WELCH

For the next 30 minutes, Kelly reviewed the projects for the next month as listed by Welch in the bulletin.

These included a book for must reading; a condemnation of the National Council of Churches; a query about Peace Corps organization; obtaining conservative speakers for community meetings, and the standing agenda—recruiting, impeachment-of-Warren petitions, support of conservative candidates.

Such are the projects or Welch directives each month. They vary in subject matter, but very little in form.

Such, too, is a typical chapter meeting. The free-for-all discussions, the sense of urgency, the dedication to stop the clock before it's too late—and the projects.

It was obvious that the hard core of Birchism wasn't spending all of its time on such projects as these. There had to be something more.

## Sick American Tells Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the Copley newspapers was reproduced in the Long Beach Independent Press Telegram on August 12 by editorial columnist Lawrence A. Collins. It is a good lesson for all who will read it:

SICK AMERICAN TELLS WHY HE IS

The following letter was sent by a resident of San Francisco to Paul A. Terry, director of education of the Copley newspapers:

"I am one of the Americans who heard Mr. Khrushchev tell our Nation that my great-grandchildren will grow up in a Communist world. For some time now this has bothered me. I am not a brave man—not even a big one. I suppose I would have to admit that I am, among my own neighbors and in my own culture, the typical, average, well-educated, genteel suburbanite to whom family, the mortgage, and security have been the all-important items.

"I am now 50, and soon my wife and I will see the first of our three children married. I paint my own house, repair my own car, grub my own devil grass, and nurse a modest savings account at the Bank of America. I am a law-abiding man on the quiet side, and dissension makes me terribly nervous. Frankly, I am the kind who simply doesn't have it in him to fight anyone ever.

"My wife had me cleaning out an old trunk in the storage room the other day, and I ran across the huge old family Bible that I hadn't thought about for years. My great-grandmother had kept a journal of the trip across the Great Plains with a wagon and oxen when she and great-grandpa were youngsters coming out to settle in California in the great migration. Great-grandma wrote about it as the wild, new land, rich and abundant in mythical proportions.

"On the trail she wrote of sickness and hunger, and heat and cold, and dust and thirst, and the deaths and births like beads strung together on a thread of hope of freedom and a land of plenty for their children yet unborn. And when she viewed the new land she wrote in simple word pictures of the cities and farms and schools, and happiness that would someday bloom in the greatness of the vast new land. She wrote of her tomorrow and my today.

"The ink was badly faded, but the message was clear. As I read, I began to think about America and being an American and what it all stands for; and I thought about our enemies and what they intend to do to America, to those rich lands and farms, to the cities and the people, to its freedom and its hope.

"And, suddenly, I realized that I am a sick American. I mean really sick. I am sick of panaceas and of backing up. I am sick of reactions where there should be initiative. I am sick of bureaucrats who tell me that my enemy is not really my enemy, and that I should live together with murderers and tyrants. I am sick of government that hasn't the guts to clean traitors out of its own offices. And I'm sick of being a nice, patient guy about it. I am sick of placidly accepting excuses instead of successes; of being a silent gentleman for fear of controversy. I am sick of my country being ridiculed all over the world. I am sick of pink-livered politicians who place personal career above the fate of the flag.

"I am sick of 40 years of relentless, creeping, cancerous, communistic godlessness that never once has wavered from its avowed purpose of conquering that flag and seeing it trampled in the mud under Russian boots. I am sick of my genteel desire to stand pat and pray while the enemy advances.

"I am sick of educators who teach tolerance of subversion and of clergymen who would have me quail at the specter of battle and turn my cheek in fear of what our enemies might do.

"In all honesty, the thing of which I am most sick is the man who let these things come to me: myself.

"And by the living God who made me, sir, I am a sick American who intends to get well."

## Spotlight on the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most perplexing problems facing the United Nations today is what to do about the Arab refugees. This problem grows more costly every day—both in dollars and in wasted lives. We—the United States—must take the initiative in the United Nations to see that a solution is reached in the immediate future.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the American Examiner of August 2, 1962. The author, Mr. Saul Carson, reminds us that our dollars are going to support not only the material needs of the refugees but to support the propaganda of hatred toward Israel which emanates from Cairo.

The article follows:

SPOTLIGHT ON U.N.: AN OBSERVER'S CHALLENGING QUERY: WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT SOLVING THE ARAB REFUGEE ISSUE?

(By Saul Carson)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—A basic decision affecting the entire Middle East situation must be made by the United Nations General Assembly at its next session, opening September 18. And the decisive voice on that issue will be yours—i.e., if you consider yourself as having a voice in U.S. affairs.

The issue in question revolves around the Arab refugee question. You may not know it—but you have carried the main burden of supporting more than 10 million Arab refugees for upward of 12 years. You do that job through an agency of the United Nations called the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees.

UNRWA was established in 1950. Since then, it has spent close to $400 million. You, through the contributions of the U.S. Government, have consistently paid 70 percent of that bill.

To pin these figures down with accuracy, one must use the last full-year report available—for the year ending June 30, 1961 (another report, for the year ending June 30, 1962, is still in the drafting stage). From January 1, 1950 to June 30, 1961, UNRWA spent a total of $368,776,096.

Of the total, Government contributed $356,624,334 (the remainder coming from other sources). Of the total of $356,624,334, the U.S. Government had contributed $250,579,333. That's where you come in. That was your money, raised from Americans by taxation. So that's your stake in this issue—a sum which, by the end of the current year, will have reached well over $300 million.

What did that money buy? Your dollars bought two things. First, it helped keep these people alive; it gave them shelter, food, some vocational training (not nearly enough), some schooling for their children.

But you paid for something else too. Your money has made it possible for the leaders of Arab countries to keep alive among those refugees hatred toward Israel; the insistence that they must go back to their homes in Israel; the corollary insistence that sooner or later, somehow, by force if necessary (that is, if Israel chooses not to commit suicide), Israel must be dissolved, liquidated( driven into the sea, wiped out. That, among other things, is what your dollars have bought.

Why must this issue come to a head this year? The reason is simple. UNRWA operates on a mandate from the General Assembly. That mandate has been extended at various times for varying terms. The current mandate expires next June 30. The 1962 session of the General Assembly must decide, prior to June 30, 1963, whether UNRWA's operations are to continue, with whose money, under what set of rules. If no decision were to be made by this year's Assembly—UNRWA would have to simply close shop.

There is not the slightest chance that UNRWA will actually have to fold its miserable tents. Somehow, its essential relief work must be continued. It is unthinkable that people will be allowed to starve to death, to sleep in the Arabian deserts, to be turned out of the living world without any care or help whatever. The world could not be that cruel, and the United States—you—could not allow that.

But, having accepted that premise on the basis of the simplest arithmetic of humaneness—you, the one who has been paying for the UNRWA program, certainly have the right to take a good, hard look at the entire problem. You have a right to ask questions: How many of these refugees are real, and how many are phony? What is being done to liquidate—not relief as such, but the problem itself? Is anything being done in that direction? Assuming, as all humane men must, that a million people should not be kept on the dole forever, what are we, those who bear the financial burden because we are humane, doing about the matter?

Let us see whether there are any answers to these questions. How many of the refugees are real? Their official numbers, as shown by the UNRWA registration rolls, have now reached the fantastic number of 1,151,024 (as of June 30, 1961; that number will be about 1,200,000 by the time the next set of figures is available).

How many refugees were there when the problem first faced the world, during Israel's defensive military actions against Arab warfare in 1948? Walter Pinner, a German scholar who has made the most exhaustive study of this problem, has shown that the number of genuine refugees did not exceed 539,000 in 1948. After accounting for those refugees who had become self-supporting (and therefore not eligible for relief), reckoning up those who voluntarily took themselves off the relief rolls by settling permanently in Arab countries, including those who have been readmitted to Israel under Israel's program permitting reunification of families and adding natural increase through births, the number still did not exceed in round numbers more than 550,000 by 1958.

UNRWA itself estimates that natural increase now adds about 30,000 souls a year; that gives another 120,000 since 1958—making a grand total of not more than 670,000. In other words, when the 1962 figure is supplied by UNRWA—it will show approximately twice as many refugees on the relief rolls as there possibly could be if the lists were genuine.

Who are all these extras? Many of them—at least 150,000—are dead. The UNRWA ration card in the Arab areas where the refugees live is a living currency. A ration card is never surrendered! People do die—but deaths are never reported and, thus, never recorded on the relief rolls. People do get jobs, others do establish themselves in business or agriculture or in some sort of service industry—they keep the ration cards. There are many other forms of just plain chiseling. But UNRWA goes on, year after year, and the numbers keep increasing, and the burden on the agency keeps growing—and you pay for it.

What is being done to liquidate the problem? The answer is brief: Nothing.

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## The South: Stagnation or Progress?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, on July 13 I introduced into the RECORD some quotes as well as some observations on an article that appeared in the Wall Street Journal by their staff reporter, William E. Blundell. At that time I called attention to the serious roadblocks being thrown up against legislative union activities by various localities in the South. I stressed also the abusive use of so-called right-to-work legislation as well as the use of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which appears to be the peg used by many of these communities on which to hang their antiunion hats. It has long been the contingent of those of us who believe in free enterprise, including free labor, that this restrictive covenant and Taft-Hartley coupled with State right-to-work laws are distinct and severe detriment to the economic expansion so necessary if this Nation is to survive as an industrial complex.

There were some who criticized my approach and particularly the right-to-work committee spokesman who, sincerely or otherwise, preached the doctrine that the right-to-work legislation is beneficial to the working people of this country.

In the New York Times dated July 28, 1962, Philip Shabecoff covered the situation in the State of Virginia under an article headed "Virginia Is Luring Industries as New Drive Gets Underway."

Not to quote the entire article, but to substantiate my position, I quote from the article remarks and attitudes attributed to Governor Harrison in the following statement:

The program will stress the natural resources and favorable business climate to persuade industry to take up residence in Virginia.

"One of the most important of these advantages, the Governor believes, is the State's right-to-work law. Because of the law, national labor unions lack strength in Virginia and the percentage of time lost to industry through strikes is the lowest in the Nation," he asserted.

Coupled with that, an article by Dr. Paul A. Brinker in the AFL–CIO American Federationist, headed "The South: Stagnation or Progress?"

The article follows:

THE SOUTH: STAGNATION OR PROGRESS?

(By Dr. Paul A. Brinker, professor of economics at the University of Oklahoma)

The Governors of 16 Southern States recently put their heads together in a search for solution of a problem that for many years has plagued the economy of the region.

"Why," the Governors asked, "does the South's per capita income continue to remain less than 70 percent of the national average despite impressive economic growth during the past two decades?"

The Governors pondered the problem and came up with this answer: Most of the industries that have come to the South pay low wages. If the South replaces low-wage industries with plants that pay high wages, per capita income would catch up with the national average and the South would prosper.

This is how they dealt with the complex problem in two papers at the southern Governors' conference in Nashville, Tenn.:

"We suggest that the reason the annual per capita income of southern workers in manufacturing is $800 below that of workers in the non-South is our past reliance on industries in which the wages are at the bottom of the list," said a report by a special committee on industrial development.

"It is well known, for example, that weekly wages in apparel, leather, and textiles are near the bottom in weekly wage rates while machinery, transportation equipment, and chemicals, along with paper, petroleum, and coal, are substantially above the average.

"Therefore, our future industrial development offers other opportunities to further strengthen the region's economic position through the selection of industries which offer our people a more substantial wage."

The Governors said that solution of this basic low-wage problem revolves around the

South being "more selective in the types of industries being established in the region."

The South should, they said in a resolution, "cease 'shooting with a shotgun' to bag any and all enterprises in their future industrial promotion efforts, but rather use the 'rifle approach' in order to interest industries paying high wages."

In their analysis, the Governors omitted one factor which may be of importance in inhibiting economic growth, namely right-to-work laws.

They failed to examine the widespread prevalence of antilabor legislation, typified by the so-called right-to-work laws and of anti-labor community attitudes that for many years have been used as bait to lure low-wage runaway industries into the South—the type of industries the southern Governors now decry.

These laws were purposefully enacted in most States of the South to perpetuate share-cropper wages and to make it difficult, if not impossible, for southern workers to organize effectively and participate in the collective bargaining process through representation by responsible labor unions. The existence of strong labor unions in non-right-to-work States, it should be pointed out, is equated with the high wage levels the southern Governors now profess to admire.

Nor did the Governors ask whether right-to-work laws and kindred antilabor legislation are a factor in the continuous flight of the southern labor force, both skilled and unskilled, to other regions of the Nation where labor-management relations are not clouded by these anti-labor laws, one of the fruits of which has been industrial unrest.

It is the suggestion of this discussion that the southern Governors, in their search for higher-wage industries, overlooked one of the facets of their economic problem by failing to give recognition to the need for removing right-to-work laws and other anti-labor legislation from their statute books.

Preoccupation with the bait aspect of right-to-work laws of some well-meaning but too eager searchers for industry had an unexpected and startling result recently in Oklahoma.

Oklahoma has a long history of healthy and sound labor-management relations. Its industrial development not only has kept pace with but in some instances has outstripped neighboring States. But the fever of some other Southern States for high-pressure campaigns to bring in more industry—any kind of industry—infected the business community of Oklahoma. The fact Oklahoma was steadily outstripping right-to-work Kansas and Arkansas in industrial growth was forgotten.

Industry promoters, ignoring the fact that responsible industry applies its own realistic yardstick to the site for a new plant, wanted a bait for their industry hook. They decided the handiest worm was the so-called right-to-work law. So they started agitating for its enactment.

While this agitation was at its height, the Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce dispatched a group of businessmen to industrial centers with the objective of selling Oklahoma as the site of new industrial plants. As part of the sales argument package, the Oklahomans offered the right-to-work law bait. To their astonishment they found no takers.

Failure of the right-to-work law as an industry lure was reported in the Oklahoma City Times, a pro-right-to-work paper as follows:

"The men were perplexed because right-to-work was hardly mentioned in Chicago and New York," the paper reported.

"As one plant location consultant pointed out bluntly, 'the firm that has labor trouble in one State is quite likely to have it wherever it goes—unless management changes the policies which produce conflict'."

A little more than a year ago, Forbes Marketing Research, Inc., of New York, conducted an exhaustive survey of reasons why industries located new plants or expanded existing plants in Indiana. The detailed study covered 100 industries selected by the Indiana Department of Commerce as being "representative of the more important new industry locations and expansion of Indiana facilities" which occurred after 1957, the year Indiana enacted a right-to-work law. Findings were published in a booklet titled "A Study of the Factors Influencing Industrial Plant Location in Indiana Since 1957."

What did the industrialists tell the Forbes survey teams were the reasons Indiana was selected for new plant sites?

In order of importance, these were the reasons cited:

1. Proximity of established markets and potential of local markets.
2. Supply of skilled labor and favorable employer-employee relations.
3. Access to raw materials.
4. Occupancy costs, including availability of developed industrial sites.
5. Taxes and government.
6. Availability and cost of electric power and fuel, including gas, oil and coal.
7. Living conditions, including housing and cost of living, schools and religious facilities, community development.

Other factors listed were general business climate, available industrial facilities and transportation.

What about the right-to-work law? Only 7 of the 100 industries even mentioned it. The Forbes survey concluded: "The right-to-work law has had a negligible effect on the attraction of plant location or expansion in Indiana."

In an earlier study of the problems of industrialization of the Southern States. "Right-to-Work Law Issue," Daniel H. Pollitt, then a professor of law at the University of North Carolina, concluded:

"In sum, there is no evidence that industry as a whole is concerned with right-to-work laws when selecting a location for expansion. Of the 10 States which led in the percentage of increased industrialization from 1939 to 1953, only 2 (Texas and Florida) were right-to-work States.

"Those industries which are either market or supply oriented, the industries which create the largest number of jobs and pay the highest wages, prefer a high-wage to a low-wage area.

"It is only those industries such as apparel, shoe, and textile which concern themselves with a right-to-work law and these are the industries which create rather than solve problems.

"As concluded by Mr. Carbert '(The Impact of State and local taxes in North Carolina and the Southeastern States.' 1956), if a low wage scale is the only enticement which the Southeastern States have to offer new industry, 'they might as well be reconciled to a status of permanent economic colonialism. The use of low-wage Southern labor to produce products for sale in a national market represents an exploitation that is just as destructive as an irresponsible mining of natural resources * * *. Such exploitation takes the form of extracting the energies of a State without replacement and without proper compensation.'

"There is nothing desirable about industrialization per se. Industrialization, accompanied by low wages, is the cause, not the cure, for economic problems."

Professor Pollitt has other interesting findings that explode the myth of right-to-work laws and raise a question about the wisdom and desirability of retaining the antilabor legislation.

He reported that 45 percent of the new plants locating in the South during postwar years were interested in the increased consumer market of the region. Another 30 percent did so because they were interested in cheap electric power, natural gas, forest products and minerals.

Both groups, he said, accepted collective bargaining and expected to deal with organized labor in their plant employment—in fact desired the stable relations between labor and management that such a relationship provides.

"These market-oriented plants produce such things as automobiles, farm equipment, electric supplies, machinery, rubber products and building materials," Professor Pollitt stated.

"They build the largest plants, employ the most people and pay the highest wages. Ford, General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse, International Harvester, National Carbon and others which fall within this category report they expected to be unionized and were in fact unionized.

"Many of them have companywide agreements with the home union whereby wage rates are standardized in all plants, wherever located. Running away from unions had little to do with the location of these plants."

Likewise, Pollitt reported, the material-oriented plants "had no concern with avoiding unions."

"The most common reaction of the plant executives was that they accepted the principle of collective bargaining," he wrote. "One company selected a union town over an antiunion community because the company expected the new plant to be organized and did not want to be caught in a battle between union and antiunion forces."

Another possible side effect of the right-to-work laws has been the continued, wholesale migration of skilled workers from the South to non-right-to-work States in search of higher wages, greater security and better working conditions.

In the past decade the outward flow of workers from Southern States has reached proportions that might well alarm the southern Governors and all in this region who are concerned about its future industrial development.

Reporting this movement, much of it from the Southern States, in a paper, "Migration of the Nation's Population—Its Size, Nature and Causes," Commissioner Ewan Clague of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, stated: "During a single year, more than 10 million persons move. The search for better employment opportunities is a major force behind this migration."

Since 1950, the right-to-work State of Arkansas, with a population of less than 2 million, lost 420,000 of its citizens through migration to other States seeking higher wages and greater opportunities for advancement. (U.S. Bureau of Census.) As a result, Arkansas lost two seats in the U.S. Congress.

Detailing the annual migration, the Department of Labor official continued:

"Five million of these persons moved to a different state * * *. The largest outflow was from the predominantly agricultural South. More than a million persons moved from the Southern States to States in other regions.

"It is fair to say that job changing was the most important influence affecting this movement, particularly the shifts from one State to another."

What the southern Governors' conference described as its "shotgun" approach to bagging new industries has misfired in other notable aspects.

Two years ago, citizens of Wrightsville, Ga., raised $100,000 to build a 40,000-square-foot plant on the outskirts of town as an industry lure. The red-brick factory is still empty.

In Baldwyn, Miss., $230,000 of county general obligation bonds were sold to erect a plant for lease to a New York pleasure-boat manufacturer. The manufacturer changed

his mind and decided not to open the plant. The citizens of the Mississippi county now face a sharp increase in property taxes to cover bond payments on the empty plant.

William Hackett of the Mississippi State Agricultural and Industrial Board was quoted by the Wall Street Journal as stating that competition among southern communities for any kind of new industry has become so fierce that inducement such as free sites, municipal plant financing and tax exemptions no longer are sufficient.

"The current trend," the official was quoted as saying, "is toward such extras as paying a company's moving expenses, training its work force free of charge and offering outright cash gifts to pad a weak company's working capital."

Many strongly financed companies want no part of this special inducement bait.

"When we go into a town, we want to pay our fair share of the tax burden and we don't want to be obligated to any particular interest group," E. D. Dodd, vice president of Owens-Illinois Glass Co., told the Journal. "A town that offers tax concessions or giveaways is merely robbing Peter to pay Paul and we know that sooner or later we'll be Peter."

It is pertinent to suggest to the southern Governors' conference that an examination by them of labor-management relations of major U.S. industries which they seek to attract to the South will show that in virtually every instance management recognizes the collective bargaining process and deals with the work force through responsible unions.

If the southern Governors are to be successful in their quest for the type of high-wage industry that will bring desirable employment to the southern worker and prosperity to the entire region, is it not time for them to make a basic reorientation of their antilabor philosophy? Is it not time for southern leaders to give heed to the need for wiping their statute books clean of right-to-work laws, whose purpose has been to perpetuate the low-wage structures they now publicly deplore?

In its new "rifle approach," the South might well demonstrate it is willing to meet both management and labor on the collective bargaining terms that, for more than a quarter century, have been accepted public policy—the fair terms on which responsible industry meets responsible organized labor in our flourishing industrial States.

## Preservation of Wilderness Areas on Fire Island Beach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished constituent and friend of mine, Mr. Goldthwaite H. Dorr, has sent me a copy of his letter to the Secretary of the Interior on the Fire Island controversy.

Mr. Dorr was one of a group of remarkable young men recruited by the late Henry L. Stimson to serve in the office of the U.S. attorney of the southern district of New York. Mr. Dorr became one of Henry Stimson's most devoted friends and has dedicated much of his life to public service.

He has been special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General and the Secretary of War, the Assistant Director of Munitions during World War I, an economic adviser to the Governments of Newfoundland and Turkey, a consultant to the Secretary of State, an American delegate to the International Refugee Council in 1948, a Defense Department representative to the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris, 1949, and an American representative to the Tripartite Conference on Migration Problems in Paris, 1950.

I am privileged to call this distinguished American's letter on Fire Island to the attention of my colleagues. I think it is the best statement I have seen on the current Fire Island controversy:

AUGUST 2, 1962.

Re: Preservation of Wilderness Areas on Fire Island Beach.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
*Secretary of the Interior,*
*Interior Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The conflict of ideologies over the preservation of the remaining wilderness areas on the barrier beaches of Long Island and particularly Fire Island Beach is both fundamental and natural.

Some people draw strength and stimulation from the dynamism typified by the whirling wheels of automobiles and gregarious activities. Robert Moses is one of them. From it he has drawn strength to make tremendously valuable contributions to both city and State. Everyone in the State of New York has reason to be everlastingly grateful to him for what he has done.

On the other hand there are those who draw strength and refreshment for their own lives and that of their families and for what they are able to do in public service from the solitudes of the wilderness. Perhaps these are fewer in number. But perhaps there are more of them than one might casually think. They have an element of value to the community which Emerson recognized in describing the barren rocky cone of Mount Monadnock as "pure use." The constitution of the State of New York recognizes this by setting aside great Adirondack areas of forest, stream, and lake to be perpetually reserved as wilderness. These areas are entered by so many of the silent people. As the forest closes in behind them like a curtain they renew the primitive strengths that lie in all of us. They emerge again into our dynamic life refreshed. But the Adirondacks are a long way off.

Further there is another type of wilderness which speaks its own language. It has its own springs of refreshment—the wilderness of the seashore, such as that on Fire Island, the dunes and the ocean on one side, the primitive undergrowth and swamps in the middle and on the other side marsh and the stretches of a quieter bay.

I think I know something of such wilderness. On such a stretch on the Jersey shore, since vanished, I spent the first 12 summers of my life under canvass. I first made the acquaintance of the Long Island ocean shore somewhat rudely. At the end of the Spanish War the ship on which I was serving ran aground at Amagansett. We landed through the surf on the beach a company of the 7th Infantry which we had brought up from Santiago destined for Montauk.

Since then I have roamed the beaches from Montauk to Rockaway practically every summer. I have seen the wilderness area diminishing but increasingly sought out and enjoyed by so many of all sorts and conditions of men. I know what it means to so many. There are still left stretches of it. But unless farsighted measures for their preservation are taken they will not last long. They would be destroyed by the proposed parkway in practical effect a speedway. Once gone they never could be replaced. All Bob Moses' dynamic energy could never restore that disordered, untamed wildness of dune, seascape, tangled undergrowth and marsh grass. Coming generations in this part of the country would never know what the seashore wilderness had been like. They would never realize how many made such use of that wilderness without despoiling it and what strength and refreshment it gave to so many.

I can still see in my mind's eye a great figure striding away from a local beach settlement along high water mark at the foot of the dunes and into the wilderness areas. I remember his telling me what a source of refreshment and strength he found in that solitude. Few persons have put that strength as devotedly and as effectively into the service of their country as Gen. George C. Marshall. I wish he could be here today to plead for the preservation of this stretch of wilderness.

Fortunately, there is length enough along this beach to accommodate both ideologies. There is room enough to accommodate the automobiles on Long Beach and on Jones' Beach and on Captree Island. There is a whole new stretch from the lighthouse down to Point Democrat on Fire Island Beach which will now be accessible by Bob Moses' bridge across the Fire Island inlet. That can now be landscaped and asphalted to take care of the mass motorist needs for an indefinite time to come. There is now also an exit for the motorists to the beach by the Smiths' Point bridge over the narrows between Great South Bay and the Moriches. They also have accessible the great areas of Montauk.

There is thus no need to despoil the intervening wilderness areas on Fire Island Beach. There is ample opportunity for access by motorists at both ends and by ferry through the present intermittent settlements. There is also access through so many little coves and holes for those who prefer to sail or go by motorboat. Both ideologies can be accommodated. It would be a misfortune if the heat developed in the present controversy should end in the extermination of the vestiges of the wilderness upon this great stretch of beach.

It may be conceivable that at some time in the future our progressive urbanization and suburbanization may through the pressure of population, make it necessary to destroy the wilderness of the seashore, what is left of it, and the wilderness of the forest and mountains, what is left of it, even though they are irreplaceable. But should not that drastic decision be left to the prosperity which will benefit or suffer from it?

Faithfully yours,

GOLDTHWAITE H. DORR.

## A Monument in Phoenix Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to your attention an excellent article written by C. L. Sulzberger, which appeared a short while ago in the New York Times, noting the contributions of Eamon De Valera—that gallant, devoted and patriotic ser-

vant to the cause of the people of Ireland.

For centuries the people of Ireland were forced to submit to alien rule. They all attested the alien regime over them, but all their efforts to rid themselves of foreign rule had failed. Their Easter Monday rebellion in 1916, under the command of Captain De Valera, marked the beginning of their success and the subsequent birth of the Irish Republic in 1922.

Mr. Speaker, in the last half century's history of Ireland Eamon De Valera has been the dominant figure. It is impossible to overestimate the work of this devoted man. Throughout his long and stormy career, from the time when he was a schoolteacher to the time of his Presidency of the Irish Republic, which position he occupies today at the age of 80, his most cherished ideal was to serve the cause of the people of Ireland. He served it by leading and participating in the Easter Monday insurrection 46 years ago; he served it in British prisons, in negotiating for Ireland's freedom, and today he serves as their elected President.

Ireland's fight for freedom was conceived, organized, and carried out by patriotic Irish born in and out of Ireland. Indeed at times it seemed that foreign-born and foreign-trained Irishmen took the leading part in the Irishmen's long fight against the British. This can be explained by the fact that since mid-19th century the number of Irish living abroad has outnumbered those in their historic homeland. And since 1900 more Irish have lived in this country than in Ireland.

But, Mr. Speaker, these Irish, while domiciled abroad and as loyal citizens of their adopted lands, remained attached to Ireland with an unshakeable spiritual bond, and were zealous devotees of the Irish cause. This was particularly true in the case of the Irish Americans. They always gave moral and financial support to the Irish cause, and many of them took part in the Irish struggle. And before World War I, when the Irish Republican Brotherhood was being organized, this brotherhood was largely financed by the Clan-na-Gael in this country. It is reliably stated that the sum of $6 million was sent over by this organization just before the outbreak of that war. There is no doubt that this sum was the gift of the American Irish, their voluntary contribution, to the Irish cause, and to the cause for independence throughout the world.

This article entitled "The Monument in Phoenix Park" written by the distinguished writer, C. L. Sulzberger, follows:

THE MONUMENT IN PHOENIX PARK

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

Ireland's most splendid sentimental monument is a gaunt and towering old patriot who lives in the fine residence of Phoenix Park where, until 40 years ago, dwelled the viceregal lord lieutenants of the British Empire.

Today Eamon de Valera, who will be 80 in October and who was one of the young firebrands who organized the rebellion that freed Ireland, is President of the Republic. But now he is more symbol and monument than active political figure, like the massive, walking statue in Mozart's "Don Giovanni."

He peers out the stately windows at the green vistas of a park his dimmed vision can no longer see, recalling the vivid days of his youth which he admits may seem gilded by memory, and imagining future vistas that in some respects differ from the present realities of this talented nation.

The venerable President, who is astoundingly well preserved, apart from his weak eyesight, is still obsessed with those passions of his earlier days as a thin, black-haired rebel: with the insult to his pride of a partitioned Ireland that leaves the north attached to England; with the nationalistic implications of the musical Gaelic language which he holds to be a sister of Greek and Latin.

But around him, transcending Phoenix Park, new generations are moving into new directions, new ideas. Today's active leaders no longer wish to be fettered to frustrated romance, nor are they content to be regarded by literary tourists as delightful characters from Yeats, Joyce, or the Abbey Theater. Their interests and their energies focus on such things as education, industrialization, curbing youthful emigration, and the problems of entering the European Common Market.

ERA OF AGED STATESMEN

The President is content to let his younger ministers pursue these strange, exciting paths. He feels that in this era of aged statesmen, which has seen its Churchill, De Gasperi, Adenauer, and De Gaulle, the old leader has certain advantages, provided he is well served by an able Cabinet. For then, he believes, his experience may benefit a nation and he need, if required, but restrain his vigorous team, not heap it on.

He still likes to talk in homely country terms. Most of his first 16 years were spent as a country boy in Ireland despite his New York City birth, an accident that saved him, as an American, from execution by the British. He only regrets that destiny kept him from rearing his children and grandchildren in the lovely downs.

As he sits by his desk, impressively erect and immobile, apart from swift hands and flickering face, he dreams the concentrated dreams of someone who has become physically isolated from the outer world. He thinks of the music he loves and the mathematics that fascinate him. He believes with Sir Charles Snow that man must be educated to the cultures of science and the humanities.

But above all he dreams of Ireland. And, when one hears him, one feels that in a quiet, passionless way it is still more the Ireland of 1916 when he fought the battle of Boland's Mills than the Ireland building factories at Shannon and drilling for natural gas.

Yet he wisely removes himself from the hurlyburly of the always active Irish political scene he once so much enjoyed. He sees, now that there are no longer any crises among his turbulent people, that there is no longer any need for a dominant national leader.

The ancients, he observes, saw it was desirable in moments of strain to confide their fate to the hands of one man. And he talks with respect and perhaps a tinge of envy of the ascendant role of General de Gaulle in France, where troubles have required an outstanding personality. But that, he concedes, is not the case in Ireland.

So his Prime Minister and Cabinet, who run this Nation, devote their energies to hauling it out of a misty, boggy past. De Valera proudly stresses the qualities and individualism of nationality. But his government slowly edges toward the supranational Common Market stream. There, some latter day, the partitioned pieces of Ireland may draw together in a land called Europe. This is a dream transcending those of the monument in Phoenix Park.

## Remarks of Hon. William M. Tuck, of Virginia, at Sayler's Creek Battlefield Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished and esteemed colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM M. TUCK, former Governor of Virginia, made an eloquent and exceptionally well received address at the Sayler's Creek Battlefield Park, Va., on August 19.

It was a manifestation of the highest esteem when Governor TUCK was selected to address the huge gathering. Governor TUCK has dedicated a lifetime of devoted service to his great State of Virginia and to the Nation. As a member of the Civil War Centennial Commission, he made a great contribution to the proper commemoration of the gallantry and courage of the soldiers both North and South. In the following splendid address, Governor TUCK paid tribute to the fortitude and loyalty of the southern soldier as he faced the inevitable.

I commend to our colleagues and to the country Governor TUCK's outstanding address:

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS MADE BY REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM M. TUCK, OF VIRGINIA, AT SAYLER'S CREEK BATTLEFIELD PARK, SUNDAY, AUGUST 19, 1962

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am indeed grateful to my friend and colleague, the Honorable WATKINS M. ABBITT, for the gracious and generous introduction which he has given me. I have known WATT ABBITT for many years. I have been closely associated with him in the public life of Virginia for the last 20 years and our associations have been particularly close during the past 10 years as Representatives of adjoining districts in the U.S. Congress. While I am much older than he in years, he is my senior in service at Washington and I lean and rely heavily upon him for counsel and advice in respect to the great problems which confront our Commonwealth and our country. WATT ABBITT is endowed with sterling qualities of character. He is able and energetic. His heart is attuned to the highest public good. He is devoted to the interest of the people of his district and State. He is a firm adherent to the principles which have made our State and Nation great, and it is a tribute to him which he richly merits and deserves to be renominated and reelected to another term in the Congress without opposition either in the Democratic primary or in the general election.

I would at this time also like to commend the citizens of Amelia, Nottoway, and Prince Edward for their cooperation with our State department of conservation and economic development in the establishment of this shrine and in this expression of appreciation of the improvements made by the agencies of the State and local governments. Likewise, I commend the citizens of this section of the State and the various committees for their leadership in rededicating these premises and these surroundings to the gallant men who fought here on that dark sixth day of April 1865.

I am proud to be associated with you on this occasion for I recall that I was a member of the Senate of Virginia in 1934 when former Senator Robert K. Brock, of

Prince Edward, introduced the resolution to establish this park and to appropriate the sum of $1,500 to assist in acquiring the property. While still a member of the senate, during the session of 1940, I was glad to join with him and the late distinguished senator from Hanover, the Honorable Henry T. Wickham, in sponsoring a bill appropriating $25,000 for the purchase of additional lands. Senator Brock respects and loves history and appreciates the values that a knowledge of history brings to our citizenship and he has thus wrought well for his section and for his State.

Sayler's Creek Battlefield Park is a State park and is the only State-owned battlefield park in Virginia, and is one of only a few such in the entire United States. This is worthy of comment and notice on this occasion because of the growing spirit of our American people in turning to Washington for financial help and appropriations from a sadly depleted if not indeed exhausted Federal Treasury.

It is a distinct privilege for me to join with you on this occasion because of my love for the Confederacy and for the principles for which it stood and for which our forefathers contended on the field of battle. I am glad to be able to say that both of my grandfathers were Confederate soldiers, and one of them, whose identical name I am proud to bear, commanded and led his company in Pickett's immortal charge at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863.

It is incumbent upon us, the living, to pass on to future generations the story of the Confederacy, to commemorate the battlefields, to decorate and make them as interesting and attractive as we can so that the people, not only of our State, but of the Nation, may come and worship at these shrines and thus enhance and exalt the spirit of patriotism which lingers in the breast of every true American.

The 6th day of April 1865, was a bleak date in the annals of the Army of Northern Virginia. Only a few months back, the bugles of fate had blown taps across the heart of the South. A great many did not hear it, or, if hearing, disbelieved the sound. But in the mud that marked this very spot then, in the sounds of the very realistic artillery, in the bark of the infantry rifles and the spatter of the cavalry pistols, a great many knew that the end could scarcely be delayed beyond the summer that was coming.

But still they stood fast, enough of them, certainly, to hold the thin lines.

Just 4 days prior to that April 6, Lee's lines at Petersburg broke. A less enterprising general, bowing to obvious odds, might have surrendered then. But not the South's leader who on two occasions had taken the Stars and Bars into the land of the enemy and brought it back a symbol for future generations. Lee put his army in motion from Petersburg, heading toward the south and west, hoping to reach Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, still fighting in North Carolina, or at least to gain the protection of the mountains.

On April 5 his troops converged on Amelia Court House, expecting there to find rations, but the rations were missing—they had been captured—and the enemy was threatening. Seven miles to the southwest at Jetersville, Sheridan's cavalry and Griffin's corps were in position to block his retreat. A little farther away were the corps of Humphreys and Wright, all adding up to too much strength for Lee to contest. His only hope was speed, to move his hungry troops faster than the Federals could move, to take them to the southwest toward Rice Station, where he might get supplies from Lynchburg, by way of Farmville, on the Southside Railroad.

But speed could not come from an army that was starving. There had not been much food in the lines at Petersburg. There was none along the roads of southside Virginia over which he had to march. Speed could not come from horses that were too weak to struggle, nor from men who were so weak and tired that many of them dropped helplessly along the wayside.

But Lee, the soldier, hoping to regain the day that had been lost at Amelia, pushed on. He put his sagging troops on the road that night of April 5, directing them due west 12 miles or so toward Rice after which they would head for Farmville, where other supplies should be waiting. It was a slow stumble over crowded roads, where confusion ruled and panic easily was spread. And where human beings, weakened by lack of food and lack of rest, were subject to error.

In the van marched Lee's workhorse, one of his most trusted officers, Gen. James Longstreet. Next came General Anderson and then Gen. Richard Stoddord Ewell. In between them were wagons, long lines of them, awkward carriers slowing the men on foot, and sometimes needing their shoulders to escape from mudholes that had become too much for the weakened horses. The rearguard was under command of Gen. John B. Gordon, another officer as veteran as any of those in front of him.

Lee had nothing to cheer him, save the association of those valiant warriors, and there was certainly no cheer in the note that was found in the shoe of one of two spies captured along the roadside after passing Amelia. It was dated that day at Jetersville by General Grant, and it directed Union General Ord to move at 8 o'clock next morning and to take position from which he could watch the roads between Burkeville and Farmville. "I am strongly of the opinion," wrote Grant, "that Lee will leave Amelia tonight to go south." This message brought the first certain information Lee had that Ord's troops, from the north side of the James, the most distant Federal units, were on his heels.

The note was brought to Lee while he stood at a broken bridge over Flat Creek, just after dining at "Selma," the home of Richard Anderson, 2 miles from Amelia Springs.

Lee realized that speed remained his only tactical weapon. The army must continue throughout the night and on into the day, with only such brief rest as was imperative. But beyond Deatonsville, 5 miles west of Amelia Springs, all of his troops and all of his vehicles must use the same road. Moreover, another road ran parallel, offering a route from which the Federals could make dashes against his wagon trains.

Longstreet and Lee reached Rice in the forenoon of the 6th. Farmville was 8½ miles away by rail, 7 by the old highway. Awaiting them there was news that 600 to 700 Union cavalrymen had passed up the road toward Farmville.

This was bad news, for it indicated forces had been sent to burn the bridges over the Appomattox. Lee knew he was passing through poor ground for a retreat. The country on either side of the Appomattox, as we know, was rolling and cut by smaller streams. Particularly dangerous was the ground on the approach to Rice, over which still must pass the center and rear guard of his column—Anderson and Ewell and Gordon and the long line of wagons. Over nearly the whole of this landscape grew dark pine woods, broken by scattered plantations and a few small farms—the perfect stage for a military tragedy.

Behind him the divisions still to come up were toiling over the bad roads that led down to the two forks of Sayler's Creek. Continuously in this advance the infantry had to move out and form line of battle to repulse Union cavalry attacks. The energy of the Federals seemed exhaustless. Driven off, they soon galloped back along different roads, heckling, taunting, waiting for the kill.

Immediately behind Ewell and Anderson and ahead of Gordon and the rearguard moved a wagon train. Around eleven o'clock in the morning the attacks on this train came so frequently that Ewell and Anderson ordered their troops to the side of the road to let the wagons move farther toward the head of the column. But the division in advance of Anderson was not notified of this halt, and it kept moving, opening a gap in the line. This gave the Federals an advantage. They dashed in and blocked the road.

Anderson advanced to drive off the enemy, and Ewell went back to turn the wagons to the right along a road that lead to a less exposed lower crossing of Saylers Creek. But Ewell failed to notify Gordon of this change of routes, and Gordon followed the wagons as had been planned, leaving Ewell's rear unprotected.

Here was human failure, failure not characteristic of the Army of Northern Virginia. We must assume the answer—that it was lack of food and loss of sleep.

As soon as the action in front and the diversion of wagons caused Anderson and Ewell and Gordon to become separated, the Federals prepared for attack. It came, and the Confederates fought back. Ewell's troops, about 3,000 clerks and Richmond howitzers and other defenders of smoldering Richmond, including the naval contingent from the James River, fought bravely and madly. The Federals recoiled. At the peak of the fighting, Col. Stapleton Crutchfield, commander of the heavy artillery on hand, fell dead. His body was found lying here on the side of the creek with a bullet through the head.

But the Federals came back, and they came back in greater numbers—Sheridan, Custer, Devin, Crook, Wheaton, Seymour, Getty, Gregg, Humphreys, Wright, and others, all with strong forces. Ewell's and Anderson's commands, with the exception of Wise's brigade and Bushrod Johnson's division, were captured. The command led by Custis Lee, the son of the great southern chieftain, was enveloped, and he surrendered. Ewell was trapped and taken prisoner, but Anderson managed to escape.

Prominent officers on both sides fell. Among the Confederates were Brig. Gen. James Dearing, Col. Reuben B. Boston, and Maj. James W. Thomson. The Federals lost Brig. Gen. Theodore Read, leader of the infantry, and Col. Francis Washburn, commander of the cavalry.

The fighting was so fierce that Anderson quickly lost 1,500 in killed, wounded, and captured. As one Confederate reported, "Everywhere you looked there was a Yankee standing with gun raised and shouting, 'Surrender.' "

After knocking out Anderson and Ewell, the Federals concentrated on Gordon. About 6 o'clock in the evening they struck him heavily in front and on both flanks.

"They struck my command," Gordon reported, "while we were endeavoring to push the ponderous wagon trains through the bog, out of which the starved teams were unable to drag them. Many of the wagons, loaded with ammunition, mired so deep in the mud that they had to be abandoned. It was necessary to charge and force back the Union lines in order to rescue my men."

Gordon's exhausted soldiers broke, got across the creek as best they could and formed again, after a fashion, in the darkness on the west bank.

The total Confederate losses for the day were between 7,000 and 8,000 men, leaving Lee only 15,000 to fight off an army of 80,000 well-fed and well-armed Federals. Percentagewise it was the greatest loss of any battle in the war.

Off on a hill west of the scene of the fighting around Saylers Creek, Lee sat on his horse and looked down on a disaster that was in full view. Teamsters hurried past

with their teams and dangling traces—no wagons. Troops retreated without guns, many without hats, a harmless mob. Pressing against them were the massive columns of the enemy.

The immortal Lee straightened in his saddle and exclaimed as if talking to himself: "My God, has the army dissolved?"

Lee still hoped to outmarch the enemy, to cross the Appomattox and burn the bridges behind him, after which his troops would be allowed some much needed rest. When he had reached Rice that morning and learned that several hundred Federals were moving toward Farmville and the bridges across the Appomattox, he sent General Rosser's cavalry to head them off. Near High Bridge, the two forces met, and in the ensuing fighting the Union troops were driven back and nearly 800 of them captured.

Night brought no relief. Scattered commands were gathered in the darkness, and the march was continued. The weather was chilly—snow fell the next day at Burkeville—and this added to the suffering of men who could scarcely drag one leg past the other.

The Confederates got across the Appomattox and set the bridges afire behind them. But the Federals were too close in pursuit. They extinguished the flames before the bridges were badly damaged and dashed across on the heels of Lee's men.

The first of the Southerners to reach Farmville found rations awaiting them in cars standing on the tracks. But before these could be widely distributed, the enemy was pushing in, and the trains were hurriedly sent off in the direction of Lynchburg, in the hope that they might be stopped again at some convenient point on the track that paralleled the road along which the army must renew its retreat.

For the first few miles past Farmville, the road ran northward. Lee's men pushed on. One of their artillerists described the scene:

"Horses and mules dead or dying in the mud. * * * The constant marching and fighting without sleep or food are rapidly thinning the ranks of this grand old army. Men who have stood by their flags since the beginning of the war fall out of their ranks and are captured, simply because it is beyond their power of physical endurance to go any farther."

But some of the men preserved their sense of humor. A famished, ragged North Carolinian was surrounded by Union cavalrymen "Surrender, surrender," they shouted "We've got you."

"Yes," said the North Carolinian, dropping his gun, "you got me, and a hell of git you got."

There is a burning meaning in this soldier's cynical answer. For the man, clothing, and remnants of sinew meant nothing to the point of despisement. He was in the lines—still in the lines responding to some powerful imperatives. Nothing was left of him but the spirit. There is no application of the word "defeat" to such a spirit. The nameless man and the thousands of Confederates about him were precisely as the Greeks at Thermopylae, where the simple inscription says, "Stranger, go tell it in Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her commands."

The meaning shouts down the years and through all the havoc of battle to all men today. People, the lesson tells us, may be killed in the flash and their causes trampled but, paradoxically and wondrously, a triumph is unloosed. It is the triumph of the human spirit which builds from episode to episode, for the elevation of man in his slow and troubled evolution.

The national destiny had run its course. The fates had shown favoritism to the side with the most battalions. But no magic in command of the fates can put iron in the hearts of men, nor drive them willingly beyond endurance and far beyond all bounds of hope to defeat which to them was not defeat at all because their spirits never died.

Lee's army marched on. In a matter of hours the end would come for one of the greatest armies in history, the Army of Northern Virginia, led by a general who even in retreat could show a defiance that kept off an enemy more than five times as numerous as his own army. It had fought its last battle, the last battle fought in Virginia—the battle of Sayler's Creek.

For the southerners who comprised this army's ranks at Appomattox, their dreadful journey's end was at hand. It is engaging, if agonizing, to reflect on what the average Confederate soldier thought of it all in the last few days. But one thing seems certain: He could foresee no possibility of reward and no acclaim at all for what he had endured because a hard fact of life is that no one loves a loser—certainly not in the hour of his losing.

But in the long still grasp of history we know that bravery, fidelity and obedience to the commands of conscience and principle are indestructible. Such examples pile up and down the course of human experience, and fix the standards for human behavior. There, indeed stands the foundation upon which the greatness of our country is based. Few may behave like the Greeks at Thermopylae, or like the tired, muddy men who marched over this spot 97 years ago. But the ideal is left, and there is their own eternal reward. It brings us to the great and arresting soul cry that comes down to us through the ages from the lips of the great Apostle Paul: "I have fought the good fight. I have finished the course. I have kept the faith."

The muddy men who passed over Sayler's Creek moved with no swagger or pose or sense of destiny. And they did not seem to think that they were brave at all; they seemed merely to reason that they were doing what was right and so went about it with no self-consciousness.

Those men who got away from here had no time for soul searching. They crossed the Appomattox River like men stumbling backward. A strange shadow shape of an army it was, the greatness of heart enduring and pounding in the last agonies of life, but with the stare of death in its eyes.

With the lowering of the battle flags at Appomattox went many of the rights, not only of the South, but of the North as well. The sovereignty of the States trembled, at the last cannon blast here and 3 days later at Appomattox, but the principle still lives and patriotic men everywhere, North and South, East and West, are still proclaiming the doctrine of States rights and demanding a resumption of the powers expressly reserved by and guaranteed to the States by our Federal Constitution. Millions of men and women everywhere are beginning to see that an all-powerful Federal Government—destructive of the States and the localities—means nothing but unprecedented regimentation. They realize that unless this centralization of power in Washington is stopped, that our State and local governments will be destroyed and become nothing more than the hollow shells of a lost liberty. These millions of people are ready and willing to struggle today against the forces of totalitarianism. They recognize it is not a sectional fight between the North and South, but a fight for the preservation of the liberties and the freedoms and the principles of government established on the soil of Virginia and enshrined in our Virginia bill of rights.

We realize that we must fight today by peaceful methods just as valiantly as our forefathers fought in the Revolution and our grandfathers fought in the cause of the Confederacy. The fate of the entire free world rests on the outcome of our struggle.

The Federal encroachments upon the rights and the powers of the States and the localities have become startling and alarming. For a while the movement was so stealthy and creeping that it was intangible and invisible to the average citizen, but today these encroachments are open and bold and brazen and are moving at a fantastic pace.

Here in this land of the free and home of the brave, the representatives chosen by the people are being bypassed and thwarted not only by Executive and administrative edicts, but by orders and decrees of the Federal courts as well. Departments and agencies of the Federal Government are writing much of the legislation by making rules and regulations having the force and the effect of law. The Federal Government, principally through the Department of Justice, the very agency charged with the responsibility for enforcing the Federal laws, is usurping the police powers of the State and local governments and is hindering and thwarting the local governments in their efforts to suppress public mischief and to promote peace and harmony as is illustrated by actions in Albany, Ga., and in other southern localities. The people are subjected to propaganda by the ever-growing agencies of the Federal Government, payment for same being made from money extracted from the pained pockets of the taxpayers, to glorify the welfare state and to brainwash the very people upon whom these burdens of government rest.

The American citizen is being subjected to a barrage of false and spurious doctrine. The people are being led into a socialistic pit of no return by promises of a utopian life of ease guaranteed by the Federal Government. We are called upon and commanded to support a Federal horde of national and international spenders.

They have little or no respect for the rights of American citizens and are nothing more than wastrels and squanderers of the peoples' money and are by such means undertaking to undermine the moral fiber and character of American citizenship. We must resist with all our might the one-worlders, the deluded do-gooders, the conformists and the national and international brainwashers and spenders.

But we can find encouragement from the fact that there is evidence of a real awakening of the spirit of patriotism and independence in this country.

Virginia and the Southland leads the Nation in defense of constitutional government. We are on the verge and the threshold of a great awakening in the South, and I believe in the Nation, to the dangers of the various isms which threaten to envelop us. In scores of southern communities, thousands of citizens led by our junior chambers of commerce, our Farm Bureau organizations, and other patriotic groups are busy educating themselves regarding the flagitious forces operating within our shores. They are engaged in programs and seminars designed to give them factual information regarding the activities of the extreme leftists in the United States. This is a remarkable enterprise that has no precedent in the history of the country. For the first time entire communities, not simply a handful of individuals, are gaining sophisticated understanding of the methods of operation employed by these destroyers of our Government and American way of life. It is an imperious task of the conservatives in every community of this country to keep vital patriotic issues alive. Every alert citizen holds an obligation to his community and his country to be zealous and to stress the crises America faces and the need for build-

ing up the fires of righteous indignation against any program that is destined to damage our country, or constitutes a sell-out of this great Republic. Informed and determined citizens will emphasize the dangers which we face and take steps to repulse those who would enslave us by destruction of the principles of government which have guided the destiny of this Nation through its long and glorious history.

As we stand here today in the presence of so many resolute and unwaivering citizens of Prince Edward, we can discern echoes of counsel and encouragement from that valiant and sturdy citizenship. God bless old Prince Edward. She is populated by people of stamina who are willing to sacrifice and endure hardship in order to preserve their liberties and the right to educate and train their own children.

I commend and I applaud the people of Prince Edward for the leadership which they have established and which has guided them with courage, calmness, and dignity through the trials and tribulations of the last 10 years. Prince Edward is dealing with a force with which there is no compromise short of complete surrender and submission to the destruction of everything we hold dear. Virginians will never consent to the reformation of our State and local governments to conform to the horrible mess which we daily witness in Washington.

As long as this dear old picturesque southside Virginia county is guided by the patriotic and intelligent leadership which has guided them for at least the past 10 years, I pledge to them my full and complete cooperation and support in every appropriate manner to promote the peace, the tranquility, and the happiness and rights of her people.

## The So-Called Trade Expansion Act of 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the following statement by Robert L. L. McCormick, well-known expert in foreign trade and governmental research, sets forth serious questions regarding the so-called Trade Expansion Act of 1962, H.R. 11970. I feel that it is of importance that these facts be presented to all of our colleagues in both bodies. Within the next few days, I hope to present more of this material for your information:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT L. L. MCCORMICK, PRESIDENT, MCCORMICK ASSOCIATES, INC., ON H.R. 11970, BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, AUGUST 2, 1962

My name is Robert McCormick, president, McCormick Associates, Washington, D.C. I reside on Old Georgetown Pike, McLean, Va.

Presently, and in the past, I have had numerous clients on foreign trade matters. But today I speak as a private citizen, not representing any client specifically.

My statement is divided into three parts: First, no case has been established for the urgency of this measure; second, the so-called adjustment assistance in title III contains a most dangerous precedent; and third, the detrimental effects of H.R. 11970 on the public revenue.

I. NO CASE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR THE URGENCY OF THIS MEASURE

Federal officials have stressed the urgency for the passage of H.R. 11970, the administration's tariff reduction bill. This stress on urgency is not new. Congressional history shows urgent Executive demands for the trade agreements law of 1934, and for 11 requested extensions.

The 1934 law was urgently demanded to increase our exports and help end the depression. The depression remained. Later Congress was asked to pass urgent extensions to assist our allies; help win the war; reconvert our economy from the war; help our allies do the same.

More recently, we heard the urgent cry, "trade not aid," and Congress was thus asked to remedy the world dollar shortage.

Now we hear the 12th such request for a tariff cut—with a new name and said to be urgent because of our dwindling dollar supplies. This is the exact opposite of the last previous official crisis—and also a new one, to meet the threat of the Common Market.

On the latest urgency, Acting Secretary Ball testified to the House: "But if American producers are to have a fair chance * * * we cannot afford to delay. We must be able to assure them of access to that market as soon as possible.

"Prompt action is imperative.

"First, the enactment of the Trade Expansion Act at this session can have a major effect on developments within the Common Market itself.

"By enacting the Trade Expansion Act we will make a strong declaration not only of our intention but our ability to work toward a world of expanding trade."

Must Congress immediately grant the President sweeping authority in order to permit him to deal with the EEC? Before we accept this argument, let us look at the facts:

First, are the European Economic Community internal arrangements finalized? Arguments over federalism versus union still split EEC members. Are we dealing with a Zollverein, a new state, or something in between; or are the Europeans? On this, the French Foreign Minister stated: "If the Common Market had a function and objectives that were purely economic, then we would be guided solely by a preoccupation with efficiency and any larger (free trade) system would be desirable, if it were better than a purely European system.

"However, that is not the case, for our objective is first and essential political. We are trying to build a political union.

"The customs union and the economic union are means to obtain this end, and that is what has become clear the moment when both movements began to enter into reality."

As of July 30, the EEC had reached a partial, complicated internal agricultural trade agreement phased over 7½ years to free agricultural shipments among the six members. Admittedly, no one knows if it will work at all. Many details such as pricing policy are still not even agreed. (See Wall Street Journal, Aug. 1, 1962, p. 10.) And remember self-sufficiency by 1964 in nontropical agricultural products is a key policy of the present EEC.

Second, we do not know what nations will be in the EEC. The accession of the United Kingdom and other members in the European free trade area (EFTA) to the EEC is definitely in doubt.

The U.K. has announced that, in no event, will it accede prior to 1964. The current Brussels Conference appears deadlocked. Under bitter parliamentary attack from all sides, the matter is to be debated in London this week, sponsored by a conservative government which has slipped in 12 consecutive by-elections by an average of 20 percent electoral loss. Unless this morning's newspapers come up with something sensational, no one knows if the United Kingdom will ever enter the EEC.

The meeting with the Commonwealth nations in September may well have fallen through—according to Lord Home and Mr. Heath. Even the first timid step taken at Brussels this spring, providing for a 1970 deadline for the end of Empire preference on manufactures from Commonwealth nations, met violent Commonwealth attack. So far, the Commonwealth nations also object violently and with demonstrable strength on agricultural exports. And we must not forget that the Commonwealth nations hold strong cards as the principal purchasers of Britain's manufactures. If their agriculture is out, what happens to the United Kingdom's customers? If their agriculture is in, what happens to ours?

Third, why legislate into a hypothetical vacuum? A much-touted key, if most hypothetical, provision of H.R. 11970 would permit free trade where 80 percent of world trade originates in the United States and the EEC. But no one knows who will compose the EEC.

Would not legislating into such a vacuum be irresponsible? Yet, the President's foreign trade message of January 25, 1962, states as his second key point or priority the need for the 80-percent authority (his first priority item is the overall 50-percent tariff reduction authority.)

Here the Executive is asking for authority to bargain into a complete vacuum. If Britain joins the Common Market, a very large number of products would come under the 80-percent authority. If Britain does not do so, virtually nothing would come in under the 80-percent authority: The New York Journal of Commerce recently listed oleomargarine and a few other products as being the only ones.

The Washington Post of June 10 also points this out as follows:

"What will happen to the President's trade program if the United Kingdom does not join the Common Market? That question has gained in relevance during recent weeks, as the odds on Britain's entry have fluctuated. Two principal consequences are discernible. First, the power to bargain to zero tariffs on prducts in which the United States and the Common Market account for 80 percent of world trade would mean very little. Without the United Kingdom in the Common Market, there are not many such trade categories. This provision clearly is based on the assumption that the British will join."

If Britain, Sweden, and Switzerland join the Common Market, the 80 percent would apply to practicaly all forms of manufactured goods. With them out, it would apply to practically no manufactured goods. Will they all enter? We don't know.

Again, one might reasonably ask: "What are we talking about? Eighty percent of what?" This key 80 percent cannot be computed. Yet the Congress is being asked to delegate away its constitutional authority to a formula upon which the basic computation is 80 percent of X. Is not such a provision unconstitutional, irresponsible, or absurd?

Where do Japan, Canada and other industrialized nations fit into the 80-percent formula—again conjecture?

Nor does the 80-percent formula under H.R. 11970 permit change. For example, if Japan's trade soars on optics or textiles, and thus destroys the EEC/U.S. 80-percent-of-world-trade formula, would the original tariff reduction hold or not? The bill contains no flexibility provision; yet world markets are flexible, often volatile.

As of this writing, the 80-percent provision makes no sense at all.

II. THE SO-CALLED ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE IN TITLE III CONTAINS A MOST DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

The mere existence of title III, as well as statements by official proponents of H.R. 11970, indicate clearly that the tariff reductions it contemplates will cause injury to businesses and to workers. Recently Mr. Ball stated abroad that the title III, so-called adjustment assistance, would be used as a preferred method of the escape clause. Is this not unwise and dangerous?

*A. Subsidies for business—a dangerous precedent—another RFC?*

H.R. 11970 provides that, when a firm has been grievously injured by imports, the Federal Government may subsidize its conversion to another business through loans, technical advice, and tax advantages; and presumably decide into which business it wishes the injured industry to convert. This is both unsound in principle, proved faulty in many RFC cases, and is highly arbitrary in nature.

When a producer's sales have been destroyed by imports, the Government may decide that he should convert into the electronics on motel business. He may decide he doesn't want to. Who makes the decision? Obviously, the hand which dispenses the money.

And, further, such subsidy is discriminatory against the taxpaying businesses which the Federal Government wants the import-injured businessman to enter. Why should an electronics manufacturer's or a motel owner's taxes be used to finance someone else to come into his own business and thus give him new competition—buttressed by special Federal aids and tax advantages?

And, besides, if the other business is worth converting into, presumably people are already operating reasonably successfully in it.

Is the Federal Government going to invent new businesses for the import-injured firms? Are we to return to the RFC days—loans for snake and alligator farms?

To underscore the absurdities of this RFC-type proposal in H.R. 11970, let us cite a few examples of businesses where RFC-type convertibility will not prove easy:

1. Cherry and other fruit orchards.
2. Plate glass factories, with their massive special machines—as well as steel mills or blast furnaces.
3. Heavy steel or aluminum forges.
4. Spring clothespin works, or, for that matter, straight pin factories.
5. Lead, zinc, or coal mines; or oil wells.
6. Cattle or sheep ranches.
7. Vineyards. Are champagne bottling equipment, wine vats, and wine tuns suitable for beer—an already overcrowded industry?
8. Pecan, olive, and almond trees.
9. Hardwood plywood mills.
10. Fishing industries: their only past conversions into other forms of endeavor were successfully accomplished—in 1776, 1812, and 1861.

Of course, Government defense or stockpiling contracts can help sometimes. It will, however, take a rather skilled bureaucrat to apply these remedies to glass, tuna, shrimp, cherries, apples, wine, or nuts.

The 4,233 pages of hearings on H.R. 9900 (over 2 million words) contain not a single example of where or how an import-injured industry can be converted into some other line of business.

The theory of Federal officials does not necessarily create facts.

Are we setting here an RFC precedent which will proliferate every time our economy gyrates—subsidies when a plant loses a defense contract, moneys to combat new technologies, subsidies when a form of transportation is bested by another form of transportation?

Are we to have such subsidies when public taste changes: when marble soda fountains or trolley cars disappear?

*B. Subsidies for workers—another questionable precedent? Another WPA?*

In this bill is another fact crucial to the well-being of our citizens: workers will lose their jobs. Do we want another WPA, again probably to proliferate?

On this, Mr. WILBUR MILLS, as quoted in the New Republic said: "On the issue of 'adjustment assistance' to labor, wise words were spoken, 2 days before the President's message, by Representative WILBUR D. MILLS. He said: 'Why should a worker who is out of a job due to import competition be placed in a more favorable light (if that is to be done) than any worker who is unemployed due to cancellation of defense contracts, closing of defense installations, or technological advances? Does the fact that increased trade is a matter of national policy justify singling out this area for special treatment? Why are we more concerned with causation than with the realities of people out of work?'

"It testifies to the maturity of his audience that Congressman MILLS said the above (together with much more in equally good sense) before a meeting of the AFL–CIO, and was warmly applauded."

The Government will then pay these unfortunate fellow citizens 65 percent of approximately what they have been earning (or an estimated $61 a week) for a period, sometimes as much as 78 weeks.

And, as a prerequisite to obtaining any compensation, the Federal Government will force the workers to train for some other job—presumably a job of the Government's choosing. Otherwise, the worker will receive no help—again, Government by decree.

This unemployment compensation amount greatly exceeds the present unemployment compensation provisions. It is discriminatory against unfortunate fellow citizens who lose employment through causes other than imports.

We all cannot but sympathize deeply with a man who loses his job because of imports—especially when he did not need to lose this job in the first place.

Is this fact sufficient reason for favoring him over any other citizen, unfortunately jobless, through forces beyond his own control?

In addition, will title III prove the lever whereby the taxpayer will eventually be asked to increase Federal unemployment benefits to equivalent amounts for all unemployed workers in order to eliminate the discrimination in H.R. 11970?

Will H.R. 11970 be the death knell of the State-administered unemployment compensation systems?

Do we need the escape clause and peril point as guard rules on the cliff-side; or title III as a federally subsidized hospital? No previous administration has favored this.

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## H.R. 11970 and the Public Revenue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, few witnesses before either the House Ways and Means Committee or the Senate Finance Committee have fully discussed the detrimental effects of the Trade Expansion Act on the public revenue. The following statement, from the testimony of Robert L. L. McCormick before the Senate Finance Committee, brings out several important facts in this field:

THE DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS OF H.R. 11970 ON THE PUBLIC REVENUE

By the time it takes full effect, H.R. 11970 will cost the American taxpayers at least $659 million a year—and probably much more—perhaps in the neighborhood of $800 million to $1 billion a year. This includes money paid out for subsidies plus the revenue losses to be sustained.

This important aspect of this measure, overlooked so far, is its main fiscal consequence.

*A. Revenue outgo*

The first administration bill asked for $100 million. The official Federal witnesses also mentioned 90,000 persons to be paid for being unemployed, staged over a 5-year period.

Ninety thousand unemployed, staged over a 5-year period, would be 18,000 workers unemployed each year through imports—and domestic industry believes this estimate low—very, very low, indeed.

If these 18,000 workers were to receive $61 a week, on the average, for a year—and H.R. 11970 sometimes permits payments up to 78 weeks—each would receive $3,172 for 52 weeks (not the whole 78 weeks). Totaled for 1 year, we come out with $57,096,000 a year as a modest estimate of the annual unemployment compensation cost of this program—without subsidies to business—without the technical assistance; without the retraining of labor; without swelling the Federal payroll; without technicians, research and travel; without the other possible 26 weeks of unemployment payments. Five years times $57,096,000 is $285,480,000 which is the cost of the unemployment benefits alone.

Congress has long experience in initial estimates of Federal subsidies, inevitably on the low side—$300 million, $500 million, or $1.0 billion might be a more realistic 5-year estimate of this program's revenue outgo over 5 years.

*B. Revenue losses*

But this inevitably large cost to the Treasury would not be all. An even more substantial annual Federal revenue loss would occur—the virtual destruction of tariffs for revenue.

Three reductions in Federal revenue are implicit in H.R. 11970: (1) The tariff cuts of 50 percent would apply to a very great many imports; (2) assuming United Kingdom accession to the EEC, free trade on products where 80 percent of world trade originates here and in the EEC combined would bring a further drastic reduction to zero; (3) lastly, elimination of all duties of 5 percent or less would further reduce the revenue—low duties, mainly giving revenue and usually lacking in protective effects.

The following table is in our opinion a reasonable study of the eventual effect upon the public revenue of the customs revenue losses which H.R. 11970 would entail. Based on 1960 customs figures, it is indicated as over $600 million per annum (and we have tried to be conservative in our estimates; revenue loss projections based upon the higher 1962 customs revenues would be higher). Our estimates based on 1960 projected are as follows:

TABLE I.—*Estimated effects of H.R. 11970 on U.S. dutiable imports for consumption based upon 1960 imports*

[In millions]

| Commodity group | Imports | Calculated duty [1] | Estimated duty after H.R. 11970, as now written, would take effect |
|---|---|---|---|
| Animals and products: | | | |
| Edible | $478 | $49 | $25 |
| Inedible | 196 | 27 | 14 |
| Vegetable food products and beverages | 1,226 | 144 | 72 |
| Vegetable products, inedible | 350 | 48 | 24 |
| Textile fibers and manufactures | 998 | 230 | 200 |
| Wood and paper | 568 | 41 | 21 |
| Nonmetallic minerals | 1,667 | 117 | 59 |
| Metals and manufactures | 1,382 | 130 | 20 |
| Machinery and vehicles | 1,245 | 139 | 10 |
| Chemicals and related products | 196 | 35 | 5 |
| Miscellaneous (includes photographic goods, toys, scientific instruments, clocks, and watches) | 471 | 117 | 25 |
| Total | 8,872 | 1,077 | 475 |

[1] Department of Commerce states that calculated duty is the "amount of customs duties (including import excise tax), estimated by the Bureau of International Programs from basic data of the Bureau of the Census."

NOTE.—The total shown for calculated duty approximates the customs receipts collected in 1960 which amounted to $1,686,669,164.

Looking at such a revenue loss over a 10-year period—and again we are far on the low side—we are speaking conservatively of an eventual $6 billion which would have to be picked up from other revenue sources or obtained by increasing the national debt in comparable proportions.

At a time of deficit financing—and this holds for the foreseeable future—it would be a serious question of judgment to precommit an annual revenue curtailment of some $602 million at a minimum, or $6 billion in toto over 10 years.

To summarize, if H.R. 11970 is enacted into law, we will, in effect: First, throw away 173 years' precedent of using customs duties as an important source of revenue; and, second, almost entirely destroy tariffs as a source of protection.

As Congressman Bow has pointed out (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 11,076 of June 27, 1962), we will thus be destroying a principle developed, fostered, and pressed by our first six Presidents; and, in effect, espoused by our whole Federal Government from 1789 to 1962.

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## Urgency and the Common Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much talk on urgency to the effect that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 must be passed this year in order to offset the great trade power of the European Common Market. The following statement, part of Robert L. L. McCormick's testimony to the Senate Finance Committee, questions whether this is myth or just unproved theory:

MORE ON THE LACK OF URGENCY IN MEETING THE COMMON MARKET PROBLEM

"BRUSSELS, July 28.—The betting odds on Britain's entry into the European Common Market were reduced to 50–50 this weekend as London's negotiations with the six European member nations neared climax."—GASTON COBLENTZ, Herald Tribune News Service.

The idea that somehow the United States had to race into the Common Market is now rather definitely being proven wrong. In this connection, I would like to cite excerpts from an article by William S. White, in the Washington Evening Star, of June 4, 1962:

"The long-common assumption here that Britain's entry into the low-tariff European Common Market was practically foreordained always was dangerously premature.

"Now it looks as though the British not only are a long way off in time from going in, but actually may not be able to go in at all without intolerable cost to their ancient ties with British Commonwealth nations like Australia and Canada.

"There have been great and avoidable political miscalculations on both sides of the ocean. Six months ago the British tended—when in this country, at least—to suggest that the real question was not whether Britain could make a reasonable deal with the European Common Market countries, headed by France and West Germany."

U.S. TARIFF FACTOR

"The real question, they intimated, was whether the U.S. Congress would ever approve the broad tariff-cutting authority required if the United States itself is to be able to bargain usefully with the Common Market.

"The history of this tariff bill in the House Ways and Means Committee shows how very wrong was this idea. The committee's chairman WILBUR MILLS, of Arkansas, has done just about what those who knew him always thought he would. He has brought the bill forward with a quiet mixture of power and persuasion, to the point where there is not much reason to fear that the House will reject any of its principal features. The British want the United States to have that legislation; and the United States wants Britain in the Common Market.

"British estimates of the alleged unreadiness of Congress to act were wrong because Britons asked the wrong people. Representative MILLS is outwardly, but only outwardly, a country boy. The British got their information mostly from young city slickers who made the fairly common mistake of Ivy League State Department types of supposing they knew more about MILLS' committee than MILLS did.

"On the American side, the error was in assuming that because British entry into the Common Market was sensible economically, it was also inevitable. This notion underestimated the latent opposition in England within the ruling Conservative Party, not to mention the Labor Party. And it missed the apparently implacable resolve of Charles de Gaulle of France not to let Britain into the Common Market on terms preserving British self-respect and Britain's old position as the politically dominant power in Europe.

"The misunderstanding was not helped by British officials visiting here. Instead of dealing candidly and in tune with the realities of British politics at home, they often left the impression here that Conservative opposition was largely confined to a handful of ultraconservative Colonel Blimps grumbling in London's clubs."

OUTLOOK CLOUDY

"So the position now is that British negotiations with the Common Market—and notably with France, which clearly expects to be head boss of it all—are in no way promising."

At home, the conservative National Farmers Union in Britain, important in some 75 to 100 Conservative seats, lies near the base root of the political strength of the incumbent government, and has expressed strong opposition. (Incidentally, the Conservatives may not even be in office too long if the present by-election trend continues as members of Parliament resign or die.) While the Labor Party's constituency element may favor joining the EEC, a more numerous voting Labor group, the British trade unions, are not favorable to it. While some might not consider Commonwealth or United Kingdom politics pertinent here, facts cannot be overlooked.

A BRITISH VIEW ON THE LACK OF URGENCY IN ADHERING TO THE EEC

Speaking to the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., during their 90th annual meeting June 9, 1962, at the Greenbrier in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., Mr. Lincoln Steel, British national chairman of the International Chamber of Commerce pointed out the long and difficult path which lies ahead before we know whether Britain will ever join the EEC—before we will ever know if the provision permitting elimination of U.S. duties where the United States and EEC world trade equals 80 percent of the total will ever become effective. Speaking as a private British citizen, Mr. Steel said:

BRITAIN AND THE COMMON MARKET

"The Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community, that is to say France, Germany, Italy, the three countries of Benelux, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg, was signed just over 5 years ago, and the Community (the Common Market of the six) has been in existence for nearly 4½ years.

"It was in August last year that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom announced in the House of Commons that the British Government wished to enter into negotiations with the Community with a view to membership under article 237 of the treaty. I think it is perhaps worth giving the exact wording of this article as it appears in the unofficial English translation.

'Any European state may apply to become a member of the Community. It shall address its application to the Council which, after obtaining the opinion of the Commission, shall act by means of a unanimous vote.

"The conditions of admission and the amendments to this treaty necessitated thereby shall be the subject of an agreement between the member states and the applicant state. Such agreement shall be submitted to all the contracting states for ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional rules.'

"There is just one point to which I think it is worth drawing attention and that is that the word 'amendments' appears in the English version as quoted by the Prime Minister at the time, whereas the French version uses the word 'adaptations'. It is perhaps not surprising that the French were quick to point out after the Prime Minister's statement that the intention of the wording in the treaty was to cover only the inevitable adaptations such as voting rights that would have to be made if a new member joined the club and that in their view there was no question of substantial amendment to the main clauses of the treaty.

"In October last year Mr. Heath, the Lord Privy Seal, made a lengthy statement to the member Governments of the Community in Brussels and this, in effect, was the formal opening of the negotiations for British entry. Since that date an immense amount of examination on the technical side relating to the problems of entry has been undertaken, but there has been very little prog-

ress to date insofar as agreement between the British and the six is concerned. The crux of the negotiations is still to come. The problem is immensely complicated and on an occasion like this it is difficult to know where to start, and perhaps even more difficult to know when and how to stop. But tonight I am proposing, at the risk of substantial oversimplification, to make just a very brief reference to what might be called the political aspects of the treaty, then to discuss some two or three of the technical problems, to give some indication of the likely progress of negotiations and a purely personal assessment of the chances of their success.

"Some 3 or 4 years ago, I was talking to one of the leading architects of the Treaty of Rome, and one of those who took part in the work of the Spaak committee which led up to it. In the course of conversation he carried my mind back to the time when the French had refused to ratify the treaty establishing the European Defense Community, and prospects of any European political cohesion looked pretty bleak. My informant told me at that time that he and a number of his friends had decided that further progress on political lines toward political unity was hopeless, but that if they could get a substantial degree of economic unity between the Six, this would be a hopeful step forward, and that if they could form a customs union, then increasing economic unity would lead inevitably to some form of effective political association.

"It was in the background of thoughts like these that the Treaty of Rome was drafted, and it has become abundantly clear that with the continued progress toward economic unity on the part of the Six, the original political overtones are now becoming much more significant. They are bound to affect both the thoughts of the existing members of the club and the desires and intentions of the outside world, whether they are potential candidates for membership or are likely to remain completely outside.

"Now in forming this Economic Community the real cornerstone was the decision to proceed to a customs union, that is to say a group of countries presenting a uniform tariff to the whole of the outside world, with complete freedom from tariffs on any transaction between the members of the community. It was in fact a reproduction on a far greater scale of the original German "Zollerein" which was the foundation of the present German State. It is, however, this very reliance on the customs union which at one and the same time is an attraction to a potential new member who does or expects to do a lot of trade with the other members of the club, but also in the case of Great Britain raises a series of immensely difficult and complicated problems in relation to its present trading pattern with the Commonwealth. I am going to give just two instances, butter and bananas.

"If the United Kingdom were to join the Community and adopt completely the external tariff of the Six without any exceptions or derogations in favor of the Commonwealth, it would have a profound and possibly disastrous effect on the economies of a large number of other countries, some it is true exceedingly small, but whose existence cannot either in equity or in good sense be ignored.

"I know that any form of preference, and perhaps in particular Commonwealth preference, is an evocative and emotive word in the United States, but I think perhaps it is insufficiently realized that that particular piece of Commonwealth preference which would be gravely affected by British membership of a customs union is simply and solely free entry into the United Kingdom.

"For many years now virtually everything imported into England from the Commonwealth overseas, whether it happens to be from the developed countries enjoying high standards, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, or countries such as those in the West Indies which are in a much earlier stage of development, are, with virtually no exception, admitted completely free of any duty or quantitative restriction. There are, for example, no less than 12 British territories in the Caribbean, the so-called Little Eight (Barbados, the Windward, and Leeward Islands), Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and British Honduras. Most of them are largely dependent for their export earnings on bananas sold free of duty in the United Kingdom. Their economies would be gravely shaken if in the future they had to pay a duty of 20 percent, while bananas from the Cameroons, which at present enjoy a form of associate membership of the Six, were allowed to go in duty-free; and it is not only with bananas, but with sugar and spices and a range of tropical products and fruits that problems would arise. To sign the Treaty of Rome blind, without any arrangement being negotiated for these territories and others in a similar position scattered around the world, would, I think, be an act of political folly. To leave them out on a limb with a complete disregard for their economies might mean 12 new Cubas in the Caribbean and on the mainland of Central America.

"Now let us take the case of New Zealand and butter. New Zealand, favored with soil and climate which is ideal for growing high-quality grass virtually throughout the year, is probably the cheapest, as well as one of the most efficient producers of milk and dairy products in the whole world. What would happen in New Zealand if the United Kingdom made no provision for the problem of New Zealand farm products? The common tariff on butter in the Six is also about 20 percent. To sign the Treaty of Rome on the dotted line would mean that New Zealand butter would pay this tariff on entry into the United Kingdom, whereas Dutch and Danish butter, if Denmark also joins the club, would be allowed in free. When we think that similar circumstances would apply to New Zealand mutton, lamb, and cheese, and when we realize that far and away the largest part of New Zealand's exports consists of agricultural products, with two-thirds going to the United Kingdom, it is not surprising that the New Zealand Government could never willingly accept the British membership of the Community unless some substantial safeguards had been obtained to cover New Zealand's problems.

"Time does not permit even to relate a series of other special difficulties that have to be taken care of, the sisal from Tanganyika, the cloves from Zanzibar, nutmegs from Grenada and a host of other items, perhaps trivial in themselves in terms of the total quantum of world trade, but all vitally important to the tiny territories concerned. Nor have I dealt with the problem of manufactured goods, both from the developed and developing territories. This is equally complicated, and failure to obtain a solution would have the most important long-term political effects. India, Pakistan, and Hong Kong, for example, are rapidly industrializing. The Western World is giving or lending immense sums to help them. Their economies, however, can never be fully sustaining unless they export manufactured goods in addition to the traditional primary products. If the United Kingdom, instead of admitting everything free from the Commonwealth, puts up trade barriers, it could only mean that either these countries will suffer substantially, or that we and the rest of the Western World may feel compelled to grant them even more direct aid in the form of gifts of money or of the softest of soft loans.

"How are we to solve these problems? Mr. Heath, in his statement of October last, said it would be a tragedy if British entry into the Community forced other members of the Commonwealth to change their whole pattern of trade and, consequently perhaps, their political orientation. He pointed out, however, that the problems of Commonwealth trade had analogies, particularly in the problem of the French when they negotiated the Treaty of Rome, and that special provision was made either in the Treaty or in its accompanying protocols, to cover these difficulties. Thus, for example, the oversea dependent territories of the Six were given a special form of associated membership of the Community. This was, of course, of the greatest importance to France in Africa. Mr. Heath hinted that the problem of a number of British associated territories might be solved in the same way. At the same time, he suggested that as far as some products were concerned, notably agricultural products from temperate climates (which is just another way of saying 'butter from New Zealand'), might be solved if the Community could in effect guarantee them comparable outlets, so that if they lost in exports to the United Kingdom as such, they would gain in exports to the rest of the Community. You will see, however, that solutions of this kind may not appeal overmuch to the Six. It is doubtful, for example, if France would be anxious to see comparable outlets on the Continent for New Zealand butter, or Australian wheat.

"So we come back to the fact that, although the negotiations between the European Economic Community and the United Kingdom have been in hand since October, there appears on the face of it to have been very little progress as far as agreed terms of admission are concerned. What has happened is that there has been a fuller knowledge and appreciation of the complexity of the problem by all the experts who are engaged in preparing proofs for the negotiators. It is true that a few days ago it was announced that the United Kingdom was prepared, as part of the package deal, to end the preference on manufactured goods from the developed Commonwealth over a period of years. The amount of trade involved was not very large, and it may have come as a surprise to the British negotiators when the reaction from Australia and New Zealand in particular was so fierce. I imagine that the real problem here is that, whereas such an arrangement for a death in three cuts extending over 7 years might tolerable for the relatively small quantity of trade done, they are desperately afraid lest it should be taken as a precedent for similar action in trades of immensely greater importance.

"Well, there it is, the British Government has gone an immense way to meet the Six by agreeing in principle to accept all the main underlying objectives of the Treaty of Rome. It is now, as I see it, for the Six to show willing and to recognize in a practical and helpful manner the grave problems which the British Government, the Commonwealth, and in fact for that matter the rest of the world, have to face. If the attitude of the Six, not as individuals but as a group, is tough and obstructive, then the British Government will be faced with the appalling dilemma of either initialing an agreement which might well be rejected by Parliament, split the Conservative Party and put the Socialists in power, or of pulling out entirely from the negotiations and starting again from square one. No man can forecast with any certainty what is likely to happen over the next few months and for that matter the dice may already have been thrown at the recent meeting between the Prime Minister and President de Gaulle.

"As far as my own personal opinion is concerned, I find it difficult to imagine that any satisfactory outline agreement will be arrived at quickly. There is still much hard bar-

gaining ahead. On the other hand if the French and the Germans make the decision that they would really like to have the United Kingdom as a full and loyal member of the Community then they have only to instruct their negotiators on what is admittedly a more complicated position and put the same sort of concessions to the British view that were conceded to the French at the time when the Treaty of Rome was negotiated."

The latest quotation from Britain, from the New York Herald Tribune by a staff correspondent from London, is as follows:

"TWO BRITISH PARTY GROUPS OPPOSE MARKET ENTRY

"Conservative and Labor Party backbench groups moved last night to fight against the Government's last major drive to join the Common Market.

"The Conservatives, politically the more important because they represent a growing section of opinion in the majority party, presented a motion asking the Government not to renege on its promises to protect the Commonwealth; British agriculture and its fellow members of the European Free Trade Association.

"It had 40 Tory signatures, and, by their example, the sponsors are hoping to gather at least another 20 adherents in their call to stand firm.

"Meanwhile, the Labor Committee of Britain and the Common Market circulated to every opposition Member a lengthy statement sharply criticizing the way Lord Privy Seal Edward Heath has conducted the negotiations in Brussels.

"The statement contained a message from Lord Attlee, the former Labor Prime Minister, stating 'I do not think it would be wise for Britain to enter the Common Market on the terms which seem to be contemplated by Mr. Health and the present Government.' "

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understood clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JUNE 23, 1962.

Hon. JOHN F. KENNEDY,
*President,*
*White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am in favor of House Resolution 211 creating a Captive Nations Committee. I have participated in the observance of Captive Nations Week in Chicago.

We must do all in our power to liberate the nations that are subjugated by communism. This is an effective way to do so. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

———— ————.

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GOUVERNEUR, N.Y., *August 1, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*U.S. Congress,*
*Washington, D.C.*

OUR DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Thank you for your tireless efforts on behalf of the captive nations. You are making a great contribution to the cause of freedom. Please continue to do all you can to expedite the establishment of the Committee of Captive Nations in the House of Representatives (H. Res. 211).

We wish more of our country's lawmakers, like you, would evaluate the importance of the leadership of the United States in the free world.

Year after year the sphere of communism becomes larger. This should be stopped immediately. People all over the world are suffering under this form of government and many nations of the world are succumbing to it because the people in these nations cannot comprehend its unjustness.

Very truly yours,

A. VALIUSKIS.
K. VALIUSKIS.

———

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your proposal in House Resolution 211 to be the best and most appropriate one at the present time in the battle against imperialist Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

ANATOL MENCK.

———

CLARINDA, IOWA, *July 19, 1962.*

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Please send me imformation on House Resolution 211 and its present status in the Congress.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. HAROLD WITTHOFT.

———

JULY 23, 1962.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I read in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about your vigorous campaign in behalf of the Captive Nations Committee. May I wish you a complete success in this worthwhile undertaking?

I am also very glad that you fully recovered from your recent illness. The captive peoples again have a fighter for their cause.

With best regards.

DR. ALBERT N. TARULIS.

## "Visit U.S.A." Bungling Hurts Tourist Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an extremely enlightening article on the work of the U.S. Travel Agency, the subject of much comment during our consideration of the Commerce Department appropriation bill. The article appeared in the Washington Evening Star on August 18 and reads as follows:

"VISIT U.S.A." BUNGLING HURTS TOURIST TRADE

(By Norbert Muhlen)

FRANKFURT, GERMANY, August 18.—The Kennedy administration's "Visit U.S.A." program is meeting only weak response abroad.

For a reason: the customer is being duped.

The U.S. Travel Service, a Government agency administering the program, was launched with great fanfare on June 29, 1961. Yet the agency only managed to boost tourist trade by 16 percent in the first year of its existence, and this figure includes visitors attracted by the Seattle World's Fair.

Posing as a German eager to tour America, this reporter recently went to the USTS office here, which is in charge of all of West Germany, Austria, Italy, and most of Switzerland. To find this bureau took some doing, however, as nobody in the local offices of the American Express Co. or the German airlines could tell me its location.

A phone call to the U.S. Information Agency elicited the information that the USTS was in the U.S. consulate general building, but on arrival there it turned out to be in a different part of town miles away.

AS PER INSTRUCTIONS

A would-be tourist would have spent almost an hour, and over $4 on this search.

In the t ourist office, a family of three Germans was just discussing American vacation plans with the only USTS employee available. In line with her instructions from the Washington head office, she assured the would-be visitors that they could tour this country on $8 a day per person. She did not know that according to the American Automobile Association, costs for traveling in a car are almost exactly twice that high.

The prospective tourists were told that they could find a room anywhere in this country for $6 a night—which "almost always includes," as an official USTS ad placed throughout Europe explains, "air conditioning and television, and like as not, a swimming pool outside your door."

Volt Gilmore, President Kennedy's appointee as USTS director, who owns three North Carolina motor lodges and restaurants, might remind his staff and himself that a motel or hotel room of this kind "like as not" will set a tourist back more than he had been led to budget for the whole day including meals, tips, and sightseeing.

FOOD: $3 A DAY

Yet, the innocent from abroad were informed by USTS that they could eat well on $2 to $3 a day; as the official ad proclaims, "the most tempting dishes on the menu are often the less expensive ones—because they are local specialties like the New England lobsters * * *" How a lobster dinner would leave the low-budget tourist with a penny to spend on breakfast and lunch seems a mystery which USTS failed to reveal. And feasting on drug store sandwiches for several vacation weeks in order to survive on his budget is bound to leave a very bitter aftertaste in the foreign guest's mouth—and mind.

Some European tourists went broke after their first vacation week in America, and rushed home. Others roughed it as involuntary penny-pinchers. In either case, they blamed it all on misleading promises, and returned with deplorable, but understandable resentments against this country.

A Swiss businessman who regularly visits America, asked me: "Why don't your travel authorities admit that a trip to the United States is expensive, the way even the Russians advertise travel to their realm? Most Europeans today want to visit America, and with the new prosperity in Europe, many can well afford it. But for Pete's sake, stop selling it as the poor man's vacation paradise."

The image of America in foreign eyes will considerably improve if as many guests from abroad as possible can come and see its realities, but the exact opposite is likely to be achieved when they feel they are lured to its shores, and then treated like customers in a gyp joint.

## Norfolk, Conn., Weatherman To Receive Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Edward C. Childs, of Norfolk, Conn., has been selected to receive the Weather Bureau's Thomas Jefferson Award with a citation signed by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges commending Mr. Childs "for over 30 years of outstanding public service taking observations and disseminating weather information at Norfolk, Conn."

I take pride in calling the attention of my colleagues to this award which has been won by Mr. Childs by virtue of dedicated service through which he has provided information of inestimable value to the Nation. The Weather Bureau has more than 12,000 cooperative observers throughout the United States who make and record daily observations, and Mr. Childs is among the most capable and reliable in this service.

The Thomas Jefferson Award, which was presented yesterday to Mr. Childs, was created by the Weather Bureau in 1959 to honor voluntary observers for unusual and outstanding accomplishment in the field of meteorological observations. A presentation luncheon was arranged in honor of Mr. Childs, at the Hartford Club by Col. John R. Reitemeyer, publisher of the Hartford (Conn.) Courant.

With permission to extend my remarks, I include at this point an article written by Joseph O'Brien, which succinctly presents the facts of Mr. Childs' experiences as a weather watcher. The article was published in the August 16 issue of the Hartford Courant:

WEATHER WATCHER BEGAN AVOCATION AS YOUNGSTER

(By Joseph O'Brien)

NORFOLK.—More than 30 years of observing the weather of northwestern Connecticut has been "an interesting avocation," said Edward C. Childs Wednesday night.

Childs, operator of the cooperative weather station here, has been selected by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges to receive the Department of Commerce Weather Bureau's Thomas Jefferson award.

Childs has been cited by Hodges "for more than 30 years of outstanding public service." He began operation of the weather station in Norfolk, "the ice box" of Connecticut, on January 1, 1932.

BACK TO 1915

But Child's weather watching began long before that. "I got into weather observing as a youngster," he said Wednesday night. "I have maps going back to 1915."

Child's weather station is located at his home on Windrow Road, about 2 miles southwest of Norfolk Village. A temperature recording station is located about a mile away in a hayfield of Norfolk Valley. It is this station, Childs said "which gives the frequently surprising low temperature readings." Childs said the low readings come in the field on nights that are clear and still with low humidity. "It will be chilly there tomorrow morning," he said.

UP TO 100 ONCE

The lowest temperature recorded at the field was in February of 1943 when the mercury dipped to 37 below zero. But although Norfolk has the title of Connecticut's ice box, Childs said temperatures only go below zero here an average of 12 to 13 days a year. The highest temperature recorded in his 31 years of observing here was 101 in June of 1933, Childs said. "But that's the only day its ever been to 100 in 31 years." Childs said that during that period there were only 2 days or less per year when the temperature got above 90. "So the climate here is not severe," he said.

Childs said the most significant thing about Norfolk weather is the precipitation. "It is heavy for the region of the State and latitude," he said with an average of about 52 inches a year. This is significant, Childs said, because of the many streams that start in high wooded hills of the area. Childs said in future, more weather observing stations will have to be located in higher wooded elevations because they are the areas where streams start. This is important to observe, he said "because water is one of our most important resources with the increasing population."

Childs is assisted at the weather station by Norfolk Selectman Norman E. Smith who has been observing since shortly after the station opened in 1932.

Childs said his most interesting experience as a weather observer came "back in the days before I knew any better." Working for a firm in Reading, Pa., in 1938, Childs predicted 3 days in advance a hurricane would hit Providence. He was right, but said Wednesday night "knowing more about hurricanes today, I wouldn't be so rash as to predict anything. They can take some pretty irregular courses and can fool you."

## Death Ends Noble Career of Mr. James W. Mark, of Du Bois, Pa., Prominent in Labor Circles in Pennsylvania, Where for Over 64 Years He Was Affiliated With the Bituminous Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, labor circles were saddened on August 16, 1962, when Mr. James W. Mark, of Du Bois, Pa., well-known labor leader in Pennsylvania since the turn of the century was summoned to his eternal reward after 83 years of fruitful living.

Mr. Mark, who was affectionately known as "Jim" Mark by thousands of bituminous coal miners and operators in central Pennsylvania, completed over 64 years of activity in the bituminous coal industry in the Keystone State, when he retired in November 1952.

The following tributes to Jim Mark, which appeared in the August 17 and August 18 editions of the Du Bois Courier-Express, reflect the deep esteem in which the deceased was held by people in all walks of life. Among the tributes is the telegram from John L. Lewis, president emeritus and other officers of the United Mine Workers of America:

[From the Du Bois (Pa.) Courier-Express, Aug. 17, 1962]

CONFIDANT OF UNION FOUNDERS—JAMES MARK, DU BOIS LABOR GREAT, IS DEAD

A famous Du Bois man—James W. Mark, of 13 Maloney Road—who was a living chapter in the American labor movement—is dead at the age of 85.

The ironfisted leader of coal miners in the Du Bois area during the tumultuous era of union organization succumbed in the Maple Avenue Hospital at 8:35 o'clock last night after a lingering illness.

During his 64 years in the coal business—a majority of them as an official of District 2, United Mine Workers of America—he was a confidant of the great personalities in the labor movement. He was sought out by Phil Murray, of the Steelworkers who later founded the CIO (Committee of Industrial Organization); John L. Lewis, the fiery leader of the miners; and of Samuel Gompers, who founded the American Federation of Labor.

James Mark was "Mr. Union" in the Du Bois coal-field after the turn of the century and remained so until he retired as district 2 president. He was intimately known by the thousands of miners who once worked in the pits in Clearfield, Jefferson, Elk and Cambria counties.

Soft-spoken but always carrying a big stick, Mr. Mark was well known in the coal towns in the Du Bois area that are no more—Eriton, Stanley, Big Soldier, the Shafts at Shaffer Siding and West Sandy—and in the towns that once prospered with their deep mines—Helvetia, Stump Creek, Rathmel.

He was a "field man" for the United Mine Workers; and his grit and mettle went far in organizing miners in this area. It was his efforts, and others like him in the Ken-

tucky and Illinois coal fields, that tipped the scales of power in the coal fields from the companies to the unions. It was the miners' treasury that financed the first phase of industrial unionization in America during the thirties leading to the rise of the labor titans of today.

Friends will be received at the Moore funeral chapel here tonight, 7 to 9, Saturday from 2 to 4, 7 to 9, and Sunday 2 to 4, 7 to 9, and until service time Monday at 2 p.m. Sang Hyun Lee, assistant to Rev. Harold H. Byers, Jr., of the United Presbyterian Church of Du Bois, will officiate.

His wife, the former Phoebe Ayre Lucas, died July 9, 1962, after 63 years of wedded life. They were married in Brockway on December 25, 1898.

He leaves the following children: Mrs. Janet Benyon, Mrs. Donald (Ruth) Erickson, Mrs. Paul (Jessie) Nelson, and Allen Mark, of Du Bois; James Mark, of Alexandria, Va., Mrs. Frank (Agnes) Grebe, of Falls Church, Va., Mrs. Carl (Margaret) Nelson, Lancaster, Pa., William Mark, of Camp Hill; and Mrs. Edward (Phoebe) Gallager, of Butler.

He also leaves 18 grandchildren and 14 great-grandchildren. A daughter, Rachel, preceded him in death as did four brothers and two sisters.

James Mark was born April 29, 1877, in Scotland, the native country of another great labor leader, the late Philip Murray.

His parents brought him to the United States when he was a year and a half. They settled at Burnice, in Sullivan County. His father, Allan Mark, went to work in the mines and his mother, the former Agnes Steele, became a typical miner's wife.

At age 11, young Jim Mark was in the mines in Jefferson County. And he spent the next 20 years mining in Jefferson, Cambria, Elk, and Clearfield counties. During this time he held various posts in local unions.

District 2, the UMW organization of which he later became president, was organized at Tyrone in 1898. Mr. Mark joined the UMW staff as a national organizer in district 2 in 1908 under Thomas Lewis. After a union election, which went the wrong way, Mr. Mark went back to work in the pits.

In 1913, Mr. Mark ran for the office of executive board member from subdistrict 5 of district 2 and was elected by 31 votes. He took office on April 1, the day Woodrow Wilson was sworn in as President of the United States for his first term.

At the time, the late Charles O'Neill, who later won fame as top negotiator for the northern coal operators, was vice president of district 2. When he joined the operators' side in 1917, Mr. Mark was appointed vice president in his place.

He held this job for 10 years, until 1927, when he was elected president. He served 25 years and 6 months. For 28 years he was chairman of the union's national scale committee.

In 1929, when it came time to have another election, there was a great depression. The district was in such bad shape that the International Miners' Union took over, and Mr. Mark has had his job by appointment of UMW President John L. Lewis ever since.

After 64 years in the coal business, and president of district 2 since 1927, Mr. Mark retired in November 1952 and spent his winter years quietly with his wife in West Sandy Township.

A devoted family and union man, Mr. Mark was a man without hobbies. "All my life I always worked," he once said.

But he was an avid reader, and like other labor leaders of his era, that is how he gained his education in economics and the social sciences.

But for a nasty slump in the coal business, James Mark might never have come to America and become an American.

His father was working in Sullivan County. It was the custom when a depression came, the single men would be idled first. His father was caught in such a layoff. He returned to Scotland for a short visit. There he met Agnes Lucas and married. Remaining in his native land for a few years, he then returned to the United States.

With him came his infant son, James.

This son will be buried Monday afternoon in Morningside Cemetery, a stone's throw from the location of Berwind shaft that once graced the skyline of Shaffer Siding a half century ago, a onetime great mine in the Du Bois area.

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[From the Du Bois (Pa.) Courier-Express, Aug. 18, 1962]

JOHN L. LEWIS WIRES SYMPATHY TO MARK FAMILY

Many top-ranking united mine union officials are expected to be in Du Bois Monday to attend the funeral of James Mark, of 13 Maloney Road, who died Thursday evening. He was the retired president of district 2, one of the largest districts in the UMW.

A telegram was received by the Mark family yesterday from John L. Lewis, the president emeritus of the international union. It read:

"We were profoundly saddened by the passing of your distinguished father and know that our sorrow is shared by his many friends and associates over the years, as well as the countless members of our union to whom he devoted a lifetime of faithful and valued service throughout our early struggles and in the years that followed. His memory will ever be revered in the minds and hearts of all who were privileged to know him, and in the annals of the mineworkers history, as a pioneer officer of our union, possessed of indomitable courage and great capabilities, who was at all times steadfast in his loyalty to the principles and ideals of the United Mine Workers of America.

To you and the other members of your bereaved family, in this hour of your intense grief, we extend our deepest sympathy, with the hope that you will take comfort in the memory of your father's untold contributions to the welfare and progress of his union, the fullness of his life, and the depth of affection in which he was held by one and all."

JOHN L. LEWIS,
*President Emeritus.*
THOMAS KENNEDY,
*President.*
W. A. BOYLE,
*Vice President.*
JOHN OWENS,
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

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## Henry English

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Henry English, as a former student at East Texas State Teachers College, where Mr. English went to college, I take pleasure in including an editorial written by Hon. Carl Estes about Henry English. Also I include a letter written by Hon. Al E. Cudlipp, Jr.:

[From the Longview Sunday News-Journal, Aug. 12, 1962]

HE CAME THROUGH

(By Carl L. Estes)

If one were to take a poll of business and industrial leaders of the Southwest to ascertain who in their opinion best personified the American way of life and the free enterprise system, we are firm in the conviction that a vast majority of the votes would go to a native east Texan who, in true Horatio Alger style, has risen through the ranks to become one of the Nation's foremost executives.

As a young man, Henry E. English, president and board chairman of Red Ball Motor Freight, Inc., aimed high. Motivated by a burning ambition to achieve and spurred by an insatiable desire to be of service to his fellow man, this great man's career began to take shape early, although he was not conscious of it at the time. It was through work and vision that the pattern for a full and useful life and a successful business was cut.

As a boy, he and his father loaded stock into cattle cars marked with big "red ball" stickers. This meant that the shipments would get preferential handling. In his own words, "That stuck with me for years, the idea of speeding right on through on a clear track."

And that is how his famed company acquired its name—while at the same time it gives a keen insight into his philosophy of life.

The basic principles taught him by his parents were the guidelines upon which his personal life and his business were based. Every young man would find it very worthwhile to follow these principles: (1) "The man who sits and waits for things to happen usually finds he not only missed his chance in life for success, but also missed a lot of fun. (2) Striving for a goal is almost spiritual in nature. Working to obtain a worthwhile objective means self-reliance, self-sacrifice and self-discipline."

As an 18-year-old youth, Henry English took the $150 he had saved and $100 in borrowed money and started a busline between Dallas and Grennville with one used car. He repaid the loan within 10 days and in 1927—8 years later—sold his interest for $65,000. In 1928 he established a freight line in Lufkin that now has become one of the largest transportation systems owned and operated by an individual in the Nation.

By any yardstick, this remarkable east Texan is a big man—in stature, heart, mind, character, and ability. A rugged individual, personable, purposeful and imaginative, he has always possessed a keen business acumen and the will to work.

Those of us who know him best can testify that these few words aptly describe this man: Iron hand in silken glove; rule with firmness, but rule with love.

Henry English is a man of courage, confidence, and decision and these are some of the attributes that have taken him to the pinnacle of success. Yet he is a quiet, unassuming individual with a penchant for handling administrative matters. Through the warmth of his personality and his consideration for others, plus his innate ability, this "King of the Gear Jammers" has carved for himself an enviable place in Texas industry.

A civic soldier, he has given generously and indefatigably of himself over the last 30 years to the continued upbuilding of Dallas, where he lives and directs the farflung operations of his mammoth enterprise. He has served as an officer or director in virtually every civic or charity organization during these three decades while at the same time building a transportation empire of more than 10,000 miles of certified routes, annual

payrolls approaching $10 million, 75 terminals in 9 States, 1,700 pieces of equipment and 1,400 employees.

Big, strong, robust, and hearty, this "man's man" is dedicated to his business and his city, and is devoted to his family and friends. He is the personification of loyalty.

Search the world over and you will find only one Henry English.

As the painted red ball on freight cars symbolized "speeding right on through on a clear track," the widely known Dallas industrial and civic leader set his course early in life and did not wander or deviate from it. With a keen sense of direction he made his way from the ownership of two trucks to the presidency in 1950 of the American Trucking Associations, the first Texan ever to hold that post.

Yes, Henry English has seen his dream come true. He came through * * * and is still going strong. As an example of his recognition as a national personality, the New York Times recently published a front-page feature story about him.

To our very dear friend of many years, we extend our heartiest congratulations and sincerest best wishes. May good health and happiness be his for many, many more years!

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RED BALL MOTOR FREIGHT, INC.,
*Dallas, Tex.*

DEAR FRIEND: Last week the New York Times featured a personality sketch of Henry E. English. Without Mr. English's knowledge, several copies of this article were mailed to friends and business associates. We have been most gratified by the very kind response to this article, both in personal letters and comments in the press and trade magazines.

Of particular interest and importance was a page one editorial by Carl L. Estes, publisher of the Longview Sunday News-Journal, complete with the "Red Ball" symbol. The editorial ran two columns' length on the left-hand side of the Sunday, August 12, issue of Mr. Estes' fine newspaper. A reprint in full of the New York Times story was carried on page 3 of the same issue.

This was such a fine tribute to Mr. English that I thought you might like a copy and I am attaching a reproduction of this editorial clipped from the Longview Sunday News-Journal.

Please, let me know if I can be of assistance to you at any time.

Yours very truly,

AL. E. CUDLIPP, Jr.,
*Vice President, Public Relations.*

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## A Statement to the People of the Eighth Congressional District of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, following is a statement released by me today to my constituents in the Eighth Congressional District of Georgia:

It had not been my intention, nor do I propose to do so now, to inject myself into the primary election of September 12 in which a candidate will be elected to succeed me as the Representative to the United States Congress from the Eighth District of Georgia.

However, a situation of which I have just become aware has arisen, and I feel it imperative that I make it known to the people of the Eighth District. To fail to do so would be contrary to the straightforwardness with which I have always conducted the affairs of our district.

I have felt, and I have so stated many times, that the people should be free to make their choice for Representative without my interference in anyway. I also made this crystal clear to the members of my staff and all of them abided by my instructions except one. This person asked for leave of absence so that he could actively campaign for a certain candidate in order to insure himself of a job. I refused his request, stating that I did not blame him for wanting to try to get a job, but to be completely fair to the other candidates and most especially to the taxpayers, it would be necessary for him to resign.

After several months he did resign and I accepted his resignation. A few days after he resigned copies of correspondence with the candidate he is helping came into my possession. I was shocked to learn that he had been using his knowledge of my friendships with many people and also knowledge of my office to the political benefit of the candidate he had chosen to work for while he was still employed by me. This in spite of the fact that he had gone out of his way to assure me that he had done absolutely nothing except to discuss with the candidate the fact that he would get a job if he decided to help him.

I require many things of the people who work for me but, above all else, I require loyalty. And I give loyalty in return. Needless to say, I am shocked and grieved to learn that this employee has betrayed my trust. I am doubly hurt by the fact that the taxpayers have also been betrayed for it is they who have paid his salary.

I still do not attempt to tell the people how to vote for a Representative in Congress but because of the above-stated circumstances, I feel that I must tell you that nobody speaks for me, just as no one has ever spoken for me since you entrusted me with the highest office it is in your power as a group to give. I consider your trust in me to be sacred, and I deeply regret that even one member of my staff could betray you.

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## Anniversary Messages: U.S. Naval Dental Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, congratulatory messages was the order of the day when the U.S. Navy Dental Corps marked its 50th anniversary on August 22.

From the corpsmen on up to Rear Adm. C. W. Schantz, the officers and men of the Dental Corps richly deserve these tributes.

Even the President took time out of his grueling schedule to wire his greetings to the Corps. In the Medical News Letter, several of these glowing accolades were published, along with an interesting and detailed history of the Corps and the accomplishments of its dedicated personnel.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I hereby insert the newsletter so that all America may read of the outstanding work of this medical division:

ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES—U.S. NAVAL DENTAL CORPS

THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES,
*Washington, D.C., March 28, 1962.*

Rear Adm. C. W. SCHANTZ, U.S. Navy,
*Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery (Dentistry), and Chief, Dental Division, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C.:*

I am happy to extend my greetings and congratulations to Admiral Schantz and the officers and men of the Dental Division of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery on the 50th anniversary of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps.

The corps performs an important function in maintaining the health of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps, and I am glad to have this opportunity to send the U.S. Naval Dental Corps my warm congratulations and best wishes for the tasks which still lie ahead of you.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
*Washington.*

To: The U.S. Naval Dental Corps, 1962.

Hearty congratulations on your 50th anniversary. Your half century of service has been a record of professional competence, praiseworthy accomplishments, and devotion to duty. Your corps has made remarkable progress in the field of dentistry.

We are proud to have your corps as an important member of the team that helps to maintain the overall health of Armed Forces of the United States. My best wishes for your continued success.

ROBERT S. MCNAMARA.

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THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
*Washington.*

It is a sincere pleasure for me to extend warmest greetings to the U.S. Naval Dental Corps on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

Your mission is vital to the maintenance of the overall health of the Navy and Marine Corps. The complexities of the modern defense machine demand a physical fitness unknown during the founding period of your fine corps. Yours is a direct contribution to this effort.

In addition, you exert a lasting influence upon the health of millions of our young men and women who serve their country in the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps. This influence carries over into the civil populace as these individuals return to their homes and families, thus adding to the overall health potential of our Nation.

May the U.S. Naval Dental Corps, through pursuit of its vigorous programs of education and research, continue in its prominent position of leadership in the dental profession throughout the civilized world.

FRED KARTH.

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CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.

It is a sincere pleasure to extend warm and hearty congratulations to the U.S. Naval Dental Corps on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of its founding. Your contributions to the overall health of officers and men of the Navy and Marine Corps are without question a vital factor in the successful completion of our many and varied duties.

The many requirements placed upon these who man our ships, aircraft, shore stations, and Marine units make it necessary that all personnel concerned attain the highest possible degree of physical fitness. Your outstanding efficiency, technical achievements, and superb leadership today are a major part of our program of keeping people fit and will be of even greater value in the days to come.

GEORGE W. ANDERSON,
*Admiral, U.S. Navy.*

HEADQUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS,
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDANT,
*Washington, D.C.*

Rear Adm. CURTIS W. SCHANTZ, D.C.,
*Assistant Chief, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Chief, Dental Division, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR ADMIRAL SCHANTZ: It is a genuine pleasure to extend heartiest congratulations and best wishes from the U.S. Marine Corps to you, and to all the members of the Navy Dental Corps, on the 50th anniversary of your splendid organization.

Since its founding on August 22, 1912, the Navay Dental Corps has established a fine record of devotion to duty and high professional competence. We Marines hold all of you in high esteem.

Warmest personal regards and every good wish for the continued success of the Navy Dental Corps.

Sincerely,

DAVID M. SHOUP,
*General, U.S. Marine Corps,*
*Commandant of the Marine Corps.*

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THE SURGEON GENERAL OF THE NAVY.

It is my pleasure to extend sincere congratulations to the Navy Dental Corps on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

Throughout these years dental care for Navy and Marine Corps personnel has kept pace with the tremendous advances in dental techniques and materials. Significant contributions by Navy dental officers have been made in the broad areas of dental caries, oral pathology, and high-speed techniques. Both residency training and postgraduate level education have been vigorously conducted to improve and increase clinical capability. Dental officers have increased their proficiency in general anesthesia prior to assignment to sea duty and thereby give invaluable support to the medical officer during surgical procedures.

As spokesman for the other corps of the medical department I am privileged to publicly acclaim your importance as a component of the medical team. Working together we can truly accomplish our mission of protecting the health and physical fitness of the serviceman.

E. C. KENNEY,
*Rear Admiral, Medical Corps,*
*U.S. Navy.*

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DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY,
*Washington, D.C.*

To: Members of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps and Reserve components.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps, I offer a warm and cordial greeting to all those whose unceasing efforts have been directed toward the building of the professional reputation enjoyed by us today.

It is a time for us to reflect upon our past achievements; it is also a time for us to plan for even greater accomplishments ahead. Progress is never static. Many of those who have gone before us set their sights on goals that were often beyond the horizon; they, however, possessed the fortitude to chart a forthright course, often through stormy seas, to secure the fulfillment of their vision. It is this spirit that has been the driving force behind the leadership of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps.

Our heritage, therefore, demands that we, the members of the Dental Corps of 1962, accomplish our everyday tasks and surmount our everyday problems in a manner that will be a source of pride to those who will celebrate our centennial, 50 years hence. This will often demand personal sacrifices, not without some misgivings, but our deeds pervade our future. I, therefore, proudly extend to all members of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps, past and present, Regular and Reserve and to all those who work with us, a well done and sincere anniversary wishes.

C. W. SCHANTZ,
*Rear Admiral, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy,*
*Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery (Dentistry), and Chief, Dental Division.*

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AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION,
*Chicago, Ill.*

Rear Adm. CURTISS W. SCHANTZ,
*Assistant Chief for Dentistry, and Chief, Dental Division, Department of the Navy, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR ADMIRAL SCHANTZ: It is my pleasure to extend to all officers of the Navy Dental Corps, Active, Reserve, and retired, the heartfelt congratulations of the members of the American Dental Association on the occasion of the corps' golden anniversary.

The officers of the Navy Dental Corps, through their extraordinary devotion to the improvement of the dental health of Navy personnel and their intimate concern for the stability of the corps as an essential and autonomous arm of the Navy health team, have earned the unstinting admiration of the entire dental profession.

On behalf of the more than 98,000 members of the American Dental Association, I am privileged to extend all good wishes for continued success and good sailing to all members of the Navy Dental Corps.

Cordially,

JOHN R. ABEL, D.D.S.,
*President.*

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THE U.S. NAVAL DENTAL CORPS

(Rear Adm. C. W. Schantz, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery (Dentistry), and Chief, Dental Division)

Fifty years have passed since President Taft, on August 22, 1912, signed a bill passed by Congress authorizing the appointment of "not more than 30 acting assistant dental surgeons to be a part of the Medical Department of the U.S. Navy." Although the event marked the establishment of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps, its roots may be traced backward for well over 100 years. For it was in 1844 that Dr. Edward Maynard, a dentist in Washington, D.C., first advocated a Dental Corps for the U.S. Army and for the U.S. Navy. Numerous letters substantiate his efforts. During the years that intervened, many additional attempts were made to provide regular dental care in the U.S. Navy.

There were, however, dentists and dental apprentices in the U.S. Navy before the establishment of a Dental Corps. Thomas O. Walton, D.D.S., graduate of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery in 1856, was the first graduate dentist to serve as an officer in the Navy. Appointed as an Acting Assistant Surgeon, he served in the Medical Department of the U.S. Naval Academy from April 22, 1873 to June 30, 1879. The following year he was appointed as a civilian contract dentist and in that capacity provided dental care for the midshipmen until 1899. In November of 1899, Dr. Richard Grady succeeded Dr. Walton at the Naval Academy as a contract dentist. Dr. Grady was later commissioned in the U.S. Naval Dental Corps following its establishment.

Elsewhere, when available, dental care was accomplished by limited numbers of hospital stewards, with varying amounts of training in dentistry, who were enlisted in the Navy. In 1903, Navy Surg. Gen. P. M. Rixey stated that "this arrangement * * * is not satisfactory to the Bureau and is neither just to the men nor pleasing to the dental profession." In 1904, Edward E. Harris, D.D.S., became the first graduate dentist to enlist in the Navy as a hospital steward performing dental treatment exclusively. Remaining in the service, he was commissioned in the Dental Corps after its establishment. Others followed Dr. Harris in a similar capacity.

Granted the authority by Congress to establish a Dental Corps, the Secretary of the Navy appointed Emory A. Bryant, D.D.S., and William N. Cogan, D.D.S., to form the corps. Dr. Bryant was a practicing dentist in Washington, D.C.; Dr. Cogan resigned as dean of Georgetown University Dental School to accept his appointment. The first examining board for the selection of dental officers to serve in the U.S. Navy met in November-December 1912 in Washington, D.C. It was comprised of the following members: Lt. Cmdr. Richmond C. Holcomb, Marine Corps, U.S. Navy, president; Acting Assistant Dental Surgeon Emory A. Bryant; Acting Assistant Dental Surgeon William N. Cogan; William F. Murdy, hospital steward, clerk.

William F. Murdy was graduated later from dental school and entered the Dental Corps in 1918. The following candidates who were successful before the first examining board were appointed in January 1913: Dr. Harry E. Harvey, Dr. James L. Brown, Dr. Eugene H. Tennent, and Dr. Joseph A. Mahoney. In April of 1913, the first officers were appointed to the Naval Dental Reserve Corps as follows: Dr. Williams Donnally, Washington, D.C., Dr. Vines Edmunds Turner, Raleigh, N.C., and Dr. George C. Kusel, Swarthmore, Pa. The foregoing appointees also constituted the first board for the selection of officers of the Navy Dental Reserve Corps.

On March 5, 1913, Acting Assistant Dental Surgeon H. E. Harvey reported to the U.S.S. *Solace* as the first dental officer ordered to a ship. On April 27, 1913, Acting Assistant Dental Surgeon James L. Brown was ordered to the U.S. Naval Station, Guam, as the first dental officer to serve at an oversea base. On August 4, 1913, Acting Assistant Dental Surgeon Lucian C. Williams, the first dental officer ordered to Marine Corps duty reported to Parris Island, S.C. Thus, were the beginnings of recognized dental care in the U.S. Navy.

It should be noted that dental officers appointed under the act of 1912 were not commissioned, although the act made provision for commissioning "at the end of 3 years." The early appointees held the relative rank of lieutenant (junior grade) and wore the insignia of such rank. The Reorganization Act of August 29, 1916, granted dental surgeons the rank, pay, and allowances of lieutenants (junior grade). It provided further for advancement to the ranks of lieutenant and lieutenant commander.

A young and inexperienced organization, the Dental Corps faced the specter of war in less than 5 years after its establishment. Records indicate that 35 officers were on active duty April 6, 1917, the date marking the entrance of the United States into World War I; a peak of 500 officers was reached before the war ended. In spite of its youth, the Dental Corps, nevertheless, had its heroes in World War I. Two of its members were decorated with the Nation's highest award, the Medal of Honor: Lt. (jg.) Weeden E. Osborne, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, the first naval officer to meet death in the land fighting overseas, "in helping to carry the wounded to a place of safety" and Lt. (jg.) Alexander G. Lyle, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, "for extraordinary heroism and devotion to duty."

Following World War II, the Dental Corps entered a period of consolidation. Although dental officers had served previously in the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, it was in 1922 that a Dental Division was established to "care for the technical needs of the corps." In 1923, a dental school was created as a Division of the U.S. Naval Medical School. The latter event marked the embarkation upon a course that has greatly influenced the professional excellence of the corps through the years. Notwith-

standing the fact that dental officers were granted the pay and allowances of the ranks of commander and captain in 1918, it was not until 1926 that the ranks were authorized. Although 14 officers were selected for the rank of commander the same year, it was not until 1937 that dental officers were promoted to the rank of captain. In 1942 the rank of rear admiral was authorized, Capt. Alexander G. Lyle, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, being the first dental officer to be so honored.

The economic crisis that faced the United States in the thirties was reflected in the U.S. Naval Dental Corps. In 1932, the Naval Dental School was closed when budgetary limitations caused retrenchments. Further, six officers who held temporary appointments were assigned temporary duty with the U.S. Army in 1933 for service with the Civilian Conservation Corps. In 1936, the U.S. Naval Dental School was reopened, this time as a part of the Naval Medical Center, Washington, D.C. Significantly, Comdr. John V. McAlpin, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, was ordered as dental officer in command, the first dental officer to be so titled.

In the early 1940's, for the second time since the establishment of the Dental Corps, war clouds loomed on the horizon. The corps expanded to the extent that 759 officers were on active duty at 347 dental facilities on December 7, 1941—the morning of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The peak of World War II saw 7,026 dental officers on duty at 1,545 installations, the largest of which was Great Lakes, Ill., with 459 officers. Of significance during World War II, the U.S. Naval Dental School was commissioned as a part of the National Naval Medical Center in 1942; the first woman dentist in the Armed Forces, Lt. Sara G. Krout, Dental Corps, W–V (S) U.S. Naval Reserve, reported to Great Lakes in 1944; and an effort gained momentum for increased self-administration for the Dental Corps. The latter was climaxed in December 1945 with the approval of the bill, Public Law 284, "To provide more efficient dental care for the personnel of the U.S. Navy."

But there was another side to the Dental Corps in World War II. At all operations, dental officers and dental technicians carried out regular duties, assisted in the sick bays and operating rooms, administered supportive therapy, gave anesthetics, and aided in identifying the dead. In that major conflict it may be said that few engagements took place without the active participation of the dental officer serving with his unit. Proportionately, each contributed his share in all the heroic efforts of each campaign. The following list of awards is some measure of their accomplishments:

| | |
|---|---|
| Silver Star Medal | 12 |
| Legion of Merit | 3 |
| Navy and Marine Corps Medal | 3 |
| Bronze Star Medal | 27 |
| Commendation Ribbon | 48 |

The following officers made the supreme sacrifice for their country in that conflict:

KILLED IN ACTION

Lt. Comdr. Hugh R. Alexander, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, December 7, 1941, U.S.S. *Oklahoma*, Pearl Harbor.

Lt. Edward A. Baumbach, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, November 13, 1942, U.S.S. *Juneau*, Guadalcanal.

Lt. Thomas P. Capps, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, November 24, 1943, U.S.S. *Liscombe Bay*, Tarawa.

Lt. James S. Gate, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, July 25, 1944, 4th Marine Division, Tinian.

Lt. Comdr. Thomas E. Crowley, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, December 7, 1941, U.S.S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor.

Lt. Stanley E. Ekstrom, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, October 24, 1944, U.S.S. *Birmingham*, Philippine Islands.

Lt. Gilbert F. Gorsuch, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, November 12, 1942, U.S.S. *Erie*, Atlantic.

Lt. Comdr. Earl O. Henry, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, July 30, 1945, U.S.S. *Indianapolis*, Philippine Islands.

Lt. Charles W. Holly, Jr., Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, March 1, 1942, U.S.S. *Langley*, Indian Ocean.

Lt Comdr. Farrell W. Keith, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, March 1, 1942, U.S.S. *Houston*, Java Sea.

Lt. (jg.) Stephen M. Lehman, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, July 4, 1944, 4th Marine Division, Saipan.

Lt. (jg.) Thomas R. McIntyre, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, October 30, 1944, U.S.S. *Franklin*, Okinawa.

Lt. Edward J. O'Reilly, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, August 24, 1942, U.S.S. *Astoria*, Solomons.

Lt. (jg.) Carol W. Peterman, Jr., Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, July 8, 1944, LST–384, France.

Lt. Robert W. Seegar, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, May 1, 1945, U.S.S. *Terror*, Okinawa.

Lt. Comdr. Laurice A. Tatum, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, September 15, 1942, U.S.S. *Wasp*, Guadalcanal.

Comdr. Wadsworth C. Trojakowski, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, May 8, 1942, U.S.S. *Lexington*, Coral Sea.

Lt. Miller C. Wonn, Dental Corps, U.S. Naval Reserve, February 21, 1945, U.S.S. *Bismarck Sea*, Iwo Jima.

DIED AS PRISONERS OF WAR

Lt. Comdr. James A. Connell, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, May 6, 1942, Navy Yard, Cavite, Philippine Islands.

Lt. (jg.) Robert G. Herthneck, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, May 6, 1942, Navy Yard, Cavite, Philippine Islands.

Lt. Henry C. Knight, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, May 6, 1942, 4th Marine Regiment, Philippine Islands.

Lt. Alfred F. White, Dental Corps, U.S. Navy, May 6, 1942, U.S.S. *Canopus*, Philippine Islands.

Following demobilization, the dental corps faced its problems—the implementation of Public Law 284, officer retainment and career attractiveness, a broadening educational program, opportunities for dental research, assignment of dentists trained in the Navy V–12 program to the Army and Air Force, and others. In 1946, the U.S. Naval Dental Clinic, Brooklyn, N.Y., was established as the first of 11 such dental installations under the command of a dental officer and under the management control of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. The outbreak of the Korean incident in June of 1950 found the dental corps with 1,003 officers on duty and the need for another buildup. The latter was given impetus by passage of the doctors draft law which established priorities for service based on previous military service and training. During the peak, over 1,900 dental officers assisted by 4,700 dental technicians carried on operations at 480 facilities. Frontline dentistry with the marines in Korea was performed either in trucks converted to mobile dental units or in quonset huts.

Ever alert for progressive change, a program was originated in April 1955 that eventually would convert most dental operating units in the Navy to higher speeds. The initial conversions were to belt-driven handpieces and later to turbines. The Dental Corps is proud of its part in the high-speed revolution, inasmuch as the air turbine and ultrasonic vibration instruments developed at the U.S. Naval Dental School played important roles in the radical changes in dental instrumentation during this period. Pioneer models of both instruments are on display at the Smithsonian Institution, U.S. National Museum, Washington, D.C.

As the U.S. Navy entered the nuclear and space age, the Dental Corps was challenged with new problems. The complexities of the new Navy made it imperative that the health of its men be brought to higher levels of perfection to eliminate "every possible cause for impairment of the sense of coordination." Accordingly, new Navy dental research programs were directed toward closed environment and cold weather studies. The former were to better prepare Navy men for trips into outer space, and trips of prolonged periods beneath the seas in nuclear powered submarines. The cold weather studies were in support of the various Navy programs in the Polar regions. A sequel to the latter was the founding of the Antarctic Dental Society by four members of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps in December 1956. In the same year, the Dependents Medical Care (Medicare) Act became effective. It was of major import in that it made 130,000 dependents at oversea bases and remote areas eligible for routine dental care without authority for compensatory increases in dental personnel. The Dental Corps, however, accepted it in stride.

During the fifties, significant developments in broadening the Dental Corps' education program included: production of a casualty care training manikin, "Mr. Disaster"; publication of a "Color Atlas of Oral Pathology;" and creation of an extension training program covering dental clinic administration, in addition to a series of professional subjects. Another major highlight in the history of the U.S. Naval Dental Corps was marked with the commissioning of the nuclear powered U.S.S. *Long Beach* in September 1961, and in November of the same year, the U.S.S. *Enterprise*. In this manner, dental treatment in the U.S. Navy under nuclear power was initiated as a routine procedure.

Thus, after 50 years of steady progress, the U.S. Naval Dental Corps as an integral component of the Medical Department of the U.S. Navy reflects with due humility upon its previous accomplishments, and passes its heritage as a challenge to the future to maintain its worldwide leadership in the profession of dentistry.

## President Hoover Defines Conservative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, former President Herbert Hoover gives an excellent definition of a conservative in the following editorial from the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C.:

CONSERVATIVE DEFINED

The following definition of a conservative is from the observations of former President Herbert Hoover:

"There is a lot of fiction and fog around the words conservative and liberal. My idea of a conservative is one who desires to retain the wisdom and experience of the past, and who is prepared to apply the best of that wisdom and experience to meet the changes which are inevitable in every generation."

The ultraliberal won't subscribe to that definition. To him the wisdom and experience of the past are not to be taken as guide-

lines to the future. He has other ideas and it doesn't matter how many times in the past these ideas have proved to be nebulous and untrustworthy.

## The Net Debt of the Federal Government Has Not Increased

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there is a tendency in some quarters today to cast a critical and suspicious eye at the national debt and to cry inflation at every turn of the calendar. Some of us, however, manage to keep a level head—and a level eye—on what is really happening. The following letter, addressed to the president of the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York, lays low these doubts about the soundness of the dollar and I commend it to the attention to our colleagues:

AUGUST 5, 1962.

Mr. DAVID ROCKEFELLER,
*President, the Chase Manhattan Bank,*
*New York, N.Y.*

DEAR MR. ROCKEFELLER: The July 27 Life magazine, on its letters page, had a comment from me on the letter you wrote the President, appearing in the July 6 issue. To me there seemed in it an "overconcentration on one problem to the neglect of others that are not waiting in a single file to be solved but must all be solved together."

The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William M. Martin, said to the House Banking and Currency Committee, on July 17, that there has been too much of a tendency to "compartmentalize." "Today we will work on the unemployment problem. Tomorrow we will work on growth, and then on Friday we will work on the balance of payments." I felt your letter to the President illustrated this tendency. Also, it gave the impression of near panic in the "business community" about the soundness of the U.S. dollar.

This is most strange in light of the report in the bimonthly "Business in Brief" (No. 45, July–August 1962), prepared by the Economic Research Department of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which says there has been no inflation in the United States for the last 4 years. You said: "Inflation in the past 4 years has continued in another guise—in the form of rising costs," but your economic research department reports "the increase in costs, too, has slowed markedly though unit costs have not altogether stopped rising." Prices, on the average, have been stable since 1958, and the money supply has expanded more slowly than the growth in the volume of output since 1946, according to the economic research department of your bank, yet you persist in the use of the explosive term "inflation" to describe our economic situation.

Dr. MAX IKLE, head of the banking and currency division of the Swiss National Bank, says the consensus of the world's competent monetary authorities is that the American dollar is sound, and the U.S. economy the soundest known in the world. Mr. Martin, Federal Reserve Board Chairman, tells the House Banking and Currency Committee, on July 17, that he agrees with this judgment. But you write the President that "bankers here and abroad * * * look with concern on recent fiscal policy in our country and * * * worry actively about the future of the dollar."

You say the business community's "background of experience and intuition" and "long memories" justify worry over Government deficits. Fiscal irresponsibility is unjustly attributed to the Government. The fact is that the Federal debt was declining after World War II until the Korean war and other unprecedented Government tasks were forced upon us."

Page 268 of the President's Economic Report shows the net public and private debt, 1929–61. The various economic sectors, State and local governments, corporate, farms, nonfarm individual and noncorporate and Federal Government figures for net debt are shown here. In every economic sector, except one, the net debt kept increasing every single year since World War II. The one exception is the Federal Government. (I cannot take advantage of the literal fact that the net debt of the Federal Government was actually less at the end of 1961 than at the end of 1945 for my case, because of the overborrowing at the end of World War II. This would be an unfair argument; nevertheless, equally unfair arguments are used for the purpose of undermining the credit of the U.S. Government.) Apparently the politicians were financially more "conservative" than businessmen and bankers, but no one gives them credit for it. A sound credit policy means giving credit where credit is due.

According to Prof. William Ernest Hocking "the total mental power of business in the United States today exceeds the total mental power, in terms of mastery of world affairs, of the nonbusiness political nation * * *. Our future as a nation depends largely on the moral orientation of business." ("Strength of Men and Nations," Harper & Bros. New York, 1959, p. 63.) You imply the "business community" has a right to question the competence of the Government upon whom spending is forced by nonbusiness pressures and compulsions. Then you have the obligation to earn the confidence of the ordinary citizen in your competence at least not to give way to panic.

I hope you will not find this uninvited letter amiss. But I felt your letter to the President had to be reconciled with the factual record, as shown by the economic research department of your bank and by official statistics.

Yours sincerely,

SIDNEY KORETZ.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

## Another Look at USDA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. NEAL SMITH**
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, since one of the favorite pastimes of many editorial page writers in election years is harpooning government agencies, it is refreshing to see an editorial looking at the positive side. An editorial in the Ames (Iowa) Tribune of August 24 brings forth some noteworthy facts, and I am including it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so more people will have an opportunity to read it. It is as follows:

ANOTHER LOOK AT USDA

Of all agencies of the Government, the Department of Agriculture probably comes under the heaviest fire.

Chief reason for this, of course, is that the bill for subsidizing crops, paying farmers for nongrowing of crops, and storing of excess crops keeps getting bigger. This is a problem neither party has been able to solve.

Agriculture Department expenditures ($9.9 billion in fiscal 1962) rank second only to those for defense and are felt by many to be about as worthwhile as the billions eaten up by paying the interest on the national debt.

Scandals like the Billie Sol Estes case and the yearly hassles between Congress and the President over farm legislation have also served to give the public the impression that the whole situation is just one big boondoggle.

Thus a look at some of the Department's positive accomplishments may help put a better perspective on its operations. Rather than trying to kill off the small, independent farmer, as some critics charge, the Department has actually done much to insure the prosperity of farms and farm communities.

Since it is technology that has brought the farmer to his present pass by enabling him to raise far more on far less land than his father, it is only fitting that technology be utilized to provide new outlets for his abundance.

For instance, a few years ago cotton was seriously threatened by synthetic fabrics. Thanks to the Agriculture Research Service, new markets were developed for cotton by making it flame and water resistant and by aiding the development of wash-and-wear fabrics. The latter use alone consumes a billion bales of cotton a year.

In 1945, Florida was close to overproduction of oranges with no new markets in sight. ARS helped develop a frozen orange juice concentrate. Today, more oranges go into cans alone than were grown in 1945.

As a result of new potato products ARS has devised, 12 potato dehydrating plants are now in operation in potato-growing areas around the country. Their yearly consumption of $6.3 million worth of potatoes has reversed the downward trend in per capita use of this staple.

Research into improved frozen poultry has helped bring about a 2.5 billion-pound increase in the consumption of turkeys and chickens in the past 5 years. Even waste feathers that once cost processors money to get rid of are now made into fertilizers, feeds and plastics.

The list of such examples could be extended. Unfortunately, the good men do oft lies interred with the bones of other issues.

## Labor Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, Charles R. Sligh, Jr., executive vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers, last week called for a thorough investigation of the economic effects of union monopoly power by an appropriate committee of Congress.

Earlier this week, it was announced that President Kennedy's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy had

abandoned plans for a study of monopoly power in labor and business. The reason given was that such a study would generate much conflict among the six labor executives, six business executives, and six public members who constitute the committee and possibly disrupt the group.

According to the press, the decision to shelve the study was taken at the suggestion of George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, who urged that the committee seek areas of possible agreement and avoid areas where agreement would be virtually impossible.

In calling for a congressional committee to take up the investigation, Mr. Sligh said:

Union monopoly power is now having a seriously adverse effect on our economy and on the strength of the Nation. If the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy is unable to deal with a hard-core issue such as this, Congress has a responsibility to get at the facts. This problem will not be resolved by simply ignoring it.

Monopoly in business is under constant inquiry, not only by the Justice Department in its enforcement of the antitrust laws, but by one congressional investigation after another and by the various administrative agencies. It is high time the Government looked for monopoly where it really abounds—in our labor unions. This matter has been avoided by those in positions of public responsibility far too long. Unless they face up to the facts, our economy is in for continuing trouble.

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district, has written an interesting and highly informative series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River, particularly in the Pittston region. This series has been appearing in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch, and as part of my remarks today I include the two latest installments of August 19 and August 26, 1962.

The two articles follow:

[From the Pittston (Pa.) Sunday Dispatch, Aug. 19, 1962]

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—LISTINGS OF MANY FERRIES IN USE FOR RIVER CROSSINGS

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

Richard Gardner established a ferry at Ransom in 1778, using a scow for transportation.

When the British, Tories, and Indians swooped down on some of the defenseless settlers, on June 30, 1778, Richard Gardner was one of those taken prisoner at Harding. He was tortured by the Indians who later burned him at the stake.

His son, Richard Gardner 2d, was operating this ferry in 1788. It extended across the Susquehanna River from Ransom to a point on the west side, near Coray's (Sutton's) Creek. He also used a scow to cross the river.

The ferry was maintained for some time by Richard Gardner 2d's son, Samuel Gardner, and later by Samuel's son.

In 1866 the ferry came into the possession of Mrs. Mary Ives. She deeded it on November 3, 1895, to Henry M. Ives. Her son, Francis Ives, became owner on November 1, 1910.

William Ives who operated this ferry at one period, died at Ransom on May 19, 1897.

The Ransom Ferry was out of service on May 6, 1901, when high water washed it away. Again on January 24, 1910, it was swept from from its moorings and proceeded unguided down the river. The front end of the ferry struck the third pier on the east side of the Ferry Bridge (Fort Jenkins) but the craft swung around undamaged and continued its journey downstream.

On April 28, 1910, the ferry broke from its cable, and lunged downstream. On board was a loaded wagon and team of F. A. Snyder of Sutton's Creek. One horse was drowned. The ferry became moored on the eastern shore at Weldon, the upper telegraph station of Coxton Yards.

With a load of passengers aboard the ferry broke loose from its cable on July 4, 1917, and drifted downstream one-half mile where the passenegrs landed safely.

A bridge leading to the west side dock was damaged during the July 1935 flood. While repairs were underway, the March 17, 1936, St. Patrick's Day flood washed out the bridge causing a cessation of operations.

KILLED IN FALL

Soon after this, in preparing the ferry for service, Frank Ives, then 84 years old, climbed a tree on the eastern shore of the river to adjust one of the guide ropes of the ferry. He lost his balance and fell a distance of 30 feet. His skull was fractured and he died almost instantly.

In his early boyhood Frank Ives attempted to join the Union Army in the Civil War. He was compelled to return home by his father having been only about 10 years of age at that time.

After Frank Ives' death no attempt was made to revive the ferry service.

Keeler's Ferry, named for Paul Keeler, of Eaton, the father of Asa Keeler was located a few miles south Osterhort in 1788.

Early in the 19th century stage and mail coaches en route to northern points along the river traveled through the narrows on the east side of the river to Wyoanna, at Keeler's Creek, 2 miles above Ransom, and utilized this ferry to reach the west bank, near Swartwood Bend, east of the top of Brown's (Kocher's, Swartwood's) Hill.

OWNERSHIP CHANGES

In 1799, 1801, and 1802, Paul Keeler, of Eaton, was assessed as half-owner of Keeler's ferry. The other half was owned by Hezekiah Smith of Exeter Township. According to the tax lists of 1806, Paul Keeler sold his lands to Hezekiah Smith and left the township.

Aaron Brown, a feed mill operator and postmaster at Falls, organized Brown's Rope Ferry in 1875.

Brown's Rope Ferry extended across the Susquehanna River from a point north of the Lehigh Valley railroad station at Falls on the east side of the river to what later became known as Reigel's Riverside Hotel, on Joseph Street, in West Falls.

Passengers arriving via the Lehigh Valley Railroad, who wished to use the ferry to cross the river, walked north from the station about 100 yards where an underpass was utilized to walk under the track to reach the ferry dock.

ORAL AGREEMENTS

When Clarence Brown succeeded to his father's business enterprises in 1889, the ferryboat was leased to John Fetterman who maintained it until his death in 1899. It is interesting to note that all agreements between Brown and the operators of the ferry were oral; an important section being that all teams hauling grist to Brown's mill, to be sold or ground, traveled free on the ferry.

William Sickler, who rented boats, sold bait, and at a later time operated a naptha launch to Forest Glen, a small settlement north of West Falls, took charge of the ferry in 1899. His daughter, Mary (Mrs. Story), assisted as ferryman.

When William Sickler died in 1917, his widow hired Frank Corwin as ferryman, at a daily wage of $2. When her health failed in 1920, Corwin took over the operation and maintained it until the Falls Bridge was opened in 1922.

ENDS SERVICE

The Sickler ferry discontinued service for the season on December 7, 1910. On June 21, 1916, it was not in operation due to high water.

In June, 1922, when the ferry made its last trip, the ferryboat was sold to Antonio Mozzione of Exeter, who used it to transport vehicles on and off of Scovill's Island.

Gibb Bowman ferry, located ¼ mile north of Brown's ferry, ceased operations in 1890. The ferry culvert on the east side of the river had a wooden floor.

From at least 1900 until 1918, Stephen Jones who resided with the Knowles family at 65 Cliff Street in Pittston, operated a freight ferry between Falls and West Falls, in the Falls Bridge area.

Jones' cargo consisted mainly of merchandise and animals. In addition, he held the contract for the transportation of mail across the river at this site.

[From the Pittston (Pa.) Sunday Dispatch, Aug. 26, 1962]

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—WHITE'S FERRY WAS BUSY OPERATION—LASTED UNTIL YEAR 1938

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

Between 1890 and 1900, Hadder Smith maintained a rope ferry service between Forest Glen, on the west side of the river north of Falls, to "Granny" Smith's on the east bank, whose home was occupied in 1954 by Joseph Begrant.

The area of Forest Glen, previously mentioned in this story, was originally owned by Abijah "Bigar" Baird. Walter S. Barritt, a Pittston wallpaper and paint dealer, bought a lot here on September 26, 1904, and built the first cottage, "Wanda," in the area. By April, 1908, a total of 17 cottages was erected in the immediate region.

In addition to the ferry, Tracy A. Smith, whose nickname was "Commodere," also operated a launch to Canfield Island, 1 mile north of Forest Glen, from the Falls station of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. He also towed fishermen.

The only occupant of Canfield's Island was its owner, Frank H. Canfield, whose cabin was known as "The Wigwam." This island was washed away in the 1920 flood.

John "Doc" Hughes, the tolltaker at Pittston's Ferry Bridge, operated a naphtha launch from Forest Glen.

On August 14, 1906, he placed an additional craft, a 25-passenger steamer into service. He purchased the new boat at Bloomsburg and named Capt. William Hurrey of Pittston as its commander. The steamboat met all trains and also towed fishermen upstream.

GASOLINE LAUNCH

A gasoline launch, maintained by Fred Geisinger for passenger transportation between Falls railroad station and Forest Glen, burned near Wanda cottage dock on July 5, 1909.

Isaac L. Smith purchased a ferry boat on February 1, 1910, which he operated in passenger service between Falls and West Falls.

Nelson Walker, who timbered the Keeler property at Keelersburg, a few miles above West Falls, operated a freight ferry for about 5 years until 1900 from that plot to the McKune property, on the east side of the river, where the lumber was placed on Lehigh Valley Railroad cars which reached there via a three-quarter mile rail spur.

Solomon White commenced the operation of White's Ferry in 1836. He maintained it until his death on July 23, 1890, when his son, George White, became owner. George White died on July 2, 1914, and his son, William M. White, continued ferry service at this place until late in November, 1938.

BUILT OWN CRAFT

It is interesting to note the White family maintained ferry service at this site for exactly 100 years.

The initial ferry-boat built by Solomon White, of white pine logs, cost $35. Members of the Keeler family and others contributed the funds for its construction.

The last ferry boat in use here, constructed by Mr. William M. White in 1914, of pine and white oak, cost $2,100.

Members of the White family built all ferryboats used by themselves and also constructed ferryboats for others, including those used by Frank Ives, at Ransom. Ferryboats were constructed upside down.

In high water, this ferry was operated by cable; during the summer season, when the water was low, a handrope was utilized.

FEE SMALL

During George W. White's tenure as ferry operator, the fee for a return rip per wagon was 35 cents. William M. White charged 25 cents one way per automobile.

In 1925–26, when the Falls-Tunkahannock concrete road (Route 92) was being laid, a gasoline motor was used on the ferry.

CHANGE NAME

The designation of White's Ferry by which the region on the east side of the river was known was later changed to Hoban Heights by the U.S. Post Office Department, effective August 1, 1927.

Dudley Inman Ferry, situated 1 mile north of White's Ferry, commenced operating about 1900 and continued for about 6 years. Its principal business came from logging operations. There was some passenger service. Failure to receive patronage from the Lehigh Valley Railroad, because of its distance from White's Ferry station, necessitated its abandonment.

WYOMING FERRY

Prior to June 2, 1791, James Gardner operated a ferry from Sixth Street in Wyoming to about 1750 River Road, in the Port Blanchard section of Jenkins Township.

A ferry was maintained by Jeremiah Blanchard, Jr., prior to 1796, in the general area of the present Wyoming Bridge. In 1837 Blanchard willed his right and title in this project to Jeremiah Blanchard 3d.

Miller Ferry, established prior to 1806, was operated for many years by Christopher Miller.

As early as 1842 Andrew Miller operated the Sixth Street ferry to the Port Blanchard Hotel.

He eventually sold the operation to John Sharpe, Jr. On April 8, 1856, Sharpe sold a three-quarter interest in this business to Thomas F. Atherton, James Jenkins, and Isaac C. Shoemaker. When John Sharpe died, after 1898, his son, James Sharpe, continued the operation until the Wyoming Bridge was completed in October 1915.

Timothy Rose, of Kingston, was given the liberty at a town meeting held on September 25, 1773, to keep a ferry opposite the Forty Fort. This ferry was in operation at the period of the Revolutionary War. Early in the 19th century this ferry was replaced by one whose west-side dock was situated near the present boundary line of Forty Fort Cemetery. It operated until about 1880. Thomas Reese was the last owner.

David Culver organized a ferry about 1880. Its west-side terminus was a little south of W. T. Pettebone's. Its east-side dock was in Port Bowkley. Service was maintained here until 1905.

## Equal Time Regulation Is Ridiculous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article, entitled "Equal Time Regulation Is Ridiculous," which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star of August 24, 1962, in its entirety in the Appendix of the RECORD.

EQUAL TIME REGULATION IS RIDICULOUS

Chicago's educational TV station has had to cancel a scheduled discussion of Illinois politics which would have featured two unopposed legislators—John Parkhurst of Peoria and Representative Abner Mikva of Chicago—one Republican and one Democrat.

Why?

They have had legal advice that any member of the general assembly or candidate therefor could then demand "equal time."

This ridiculous regulation, promulgated with such high purposes, is still in effect in spite of the repeated evidence that it has only served to deny the public revealing exposure on bona fide candidates and a variety of useful and educational programs.

It was admitted that the regulation was silly and unworkable when the Congress of the United States set it aside, specifically, in one instance to permit a TV debate series between the candidates for the Presidency of the United States.

That moratorium was temporary and the law is back in full force and effect in spite of that public display of the benefits available without it.

The purpose of the law was sensible and good—to prevent unfair discrimination against a candidate. However, the nit-picking interpretation that exposes perfectly fair broadcasters to legal attacks from all sides has, in actual effect, outlawed TV debates by candidates.

The annual outpouring of new laws, followed by nit-picking detailed regulations, followed by pit-picking interpretations, far from the obvious and sensible purpose of the law, is "messing us up" on a dozen fronts at the same time.

We need a new basic legal philosophy. The present nonsensical technical—yes, we'll use the word yet again—"nit-picking" approach is making a mockery of our whole legal system.

It's like the rule against gross immorality by druggists—now interpreted to mean he mustn't advertise dangerous drugs—or the law against gambling which says you are gambling if you put up some valuable consideration in the hope of winning a prize. Everybody knew what that meant for years and years—and it made sense to everybody and was enforceable.

Then, one day, some "nit pickers" decided valuable consideration included even wasting your time—and giveaways involving no money at all became gambling, according to them.

So it goes, the professional business of taking sense and turning it into nonsense—a legal specialty.

None is more nonsensical than the extremes to which the "equal time" rule has been carried to turn it into a ban on the most vital of TV programing. The only remedy, apparently, is to get rid of that stupid law altogether.

## A Friend To Stand By

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, I made certain remarks on this floor concerning the high esteem in which the Commercial Solvents Co. of Terre Haute, Ind., is held by the citizens of that city. On Sunday, August 12, 1962, the Terre Haute Tribune-Star ran a fine editorial concerning this company. Following the appearance of this editorial, the Vigo County and Sixth District Republican Chairman Mr. Buena Chaney, of Terre Haute, wrote the editor, Mr. Marsee Cox, to commend him on this fine editorial. Since this letter and the editorial further evidence the high regard in which this company is held, I include them, under unanimous consent, in the RECORD of this Congress:

[From the Terre Haute (Ind.) Tribune Star, Aug. 12, 1962]

A FRIEND TO STAND BY

Just 18 months ago this city found itself pilloried in a national magazine, and amongst us there rose that very evening one good friend to say gently but firmly that this story painted a picture whose colors and balance were not accurate. He said some of the things that article said, and much that it implied, were in direct conflict with the proven experience of 42 years in Terre Haute.

That friend was Maynard Wheeler, of Commercial Solvents. Today, in the backwash of the amazing Billie Sol Estes case, he finds himself under antitrust indictment in Texas. The acts alleged against him are foreign to his nature and to everything Terre Haute knows about the man and the company he leads.

We shall not forget how, after CSC's many years of contributing vigorously to the progress of this city, and creating here a leadership in research and manufacture of life-giving products such as the crystalline penicillin of World War II, Maynard Wheeler modesty gave credit and thanks to this community. At the Terre Haute Advertising Club meeting where he spoke the evening of February 7, 1961, he said:

"The gratitude I express to you tonight is by no means limited to our progress here. It is gratitude which recognizes that Terre Haute is the cradle of accomplishment for our company in many ways. From the roots which were put down here have come much of the widespread operations of the company which reach across these United States and into many parts of the world."

Under his vigorous leadership, CSC has here an annual payroll of about $3.5 million, and now contributes to our area's economy annual purchases of goods and services amounting to approximately $5 million.

Statistics aside, among us the name of Maynard Wheeler has been synonymous with honest, progressive business and with good citizenship both personal and corporate. His given word always has been recognized here as better than any bond.

We are happy to see the solidarity of the company in the face of the current problem. It was well voiced by Jeremiah Milbank, Jr., one of the directors and the chairman of Commercial Solvents' executive committtee, when he said:

"I share Mr. Wheeler's complete confidence that the unwarranted charges against him will be refuted in the courts and that Commercial Solvents and its management will be fully cleared."

We know that his side of the case has been in no way heard yet, and it is in the nature of legal matters that such defense often must be awaited until the proper occasion and time arrives.

We know that, whatever strange involvements may yet come to light concerning others in this matter, we can safely apply to the attack on Maynard Wheeler and his company the words he spoke about that earlier attack aimed at our community:

"It is in direct conflict with the proven experience of 42 years in Terre Haute."

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[From the Terre Haute (Ind.) Tribune, Aug. 13, 1962]

Mr. MARSEE COX,
*Editor of Terre Haute Tribune,*
*Terre Haute, Ind.*

DEAR MR. COX: It is now my turn to invite you for a cup of coffee as you were so kind to do a few months ago in an editorial after I proposed in a public leter to the Democrat political leaders that each party stay out of the county school trustee election.

Your editorial in last Sunday's Tribune-Star concerning Maynard Wheeler and Commercial Solvents Corp. was a masterpiece of speaking for an entire community. Although I like thousands of our citizens, have never had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Wheeler, through his company and his deeds, we feel him to be one of our city's great friends. It saddened us all that because he headed a large industry that had among its customers a Billy Sol Estes, that he would be victimized to the point of being accused of crime before a Texas court.

Commercial Solvents Corp. is one of our city's vital industries and its payroll has helped, and is helping, during our economic stress. Mr. Wheeler has always had the best interests of his and our hometown in mind. Now is when we all should stand behind him with our prayers, faith, and sentiment.

We thank you, Mr. Cox, for saying it so nicely for all of us in Terre Haute, Ind.

Yours truly,

BUENA CHANEY,
*Chairman, Vigo County*
*Republican Central Committee.*

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## A Tragic Paradox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting article concerning the power struggle between the Communist system and the Western concepts of social and economic organization has come to my attention. The article, by Robert Hotz, appeared as an editorial in the August 13, 1962, issue of Aviation Week and Space Technology. The article follows:

A TRAGIC PARADOX
(By Robert Hotz)

Six years ago this summer, we stood in the garden of the Red Army Club in Moscow listening to Nikita Khrushchev twit Gen. Nathan F. Twining, then USAF Chief of Staff, on the relative merits of the Soviet Socialist system versus the American capitalistic system. The Soviet boss was still relatively new in his position at the top of the Red totem pole and had just begun to experiment with the technique of the vodka-inspired phrase as a major instrument of international diplomacy. But even then he had already run afoul of the enormous, creaking official Russian bureaucracy spawned by the Communist doctrine of state control for everything. He had already tabbed this bureaucracy as one of the major roadblocks lying squarely across the path of Russian economic progress.

"Your country is moving more in the direction of socialism," Khrushchev told General Twining with a quick side glance to make certain that Western reporters present were getting the translation of his remarks. "But we in Russia are moving more in the direction of capitalism. In 10 years it will be hard to tell the difference between your system and ours."

SOVIET INCENTIVE FAILURE

These remarks were deleted by Soviet censors in the Moscow cable office when Western correspondents tried to file them that evening. It is still official Soviet heresy to admit that the incentive of the Communist system has failed miserably to stir the Russian people into anything near the kind of effort really needed to develop their country economically. However, there has been ample evidence since Khrushchev made these remarks in the summer of 1956 that he has personally made a tremendous effort to bend the official system to establish some sort of effective individual incentives in the Russian economy. He has also conducted vigorous warfare against the centralized state planners and regional bureaucrats who are more concerned with following totally unrealistic plans blindly, even to the point of faking successful statistical results, than in operating a growing economy.

Recently, Soviet newspapers have been spotted with detailed case histories of the failures of bumbling bureaucrats who executed their portion of the state plan to the letter, even though it meant disaster for the overall economy. Soviet courts have also recently resumed handing out death sentences to managerial types who have run their particular enterprises into the ground, although the official verdict never quite puts it that bluntly.

One of the most remarkable insights into the failures of the centralized Soviet state planning bureaucrats came from the distinguished Russian aircraft designer Oleg K. Antonov. His criticism was initially published in the Moscow daily newspaper Izvestia and was reprinted in Aviation Week and Space Technology (July 23, p. 74). Designer Antonov's article was remarkable for several reasons, perhaps the most important being the fact that top Soviet leadership felt it necessary to have a Russian of Antonov's technical stature publicly attack the official Soviet system in one of its most important government-controlled publications. This is also a fair gage of just how serious this situation has become.

BUREAUCRATIC BUMBLING

It is also noteworthy that Antonov not only attacked the bumblings of the bureaucracy as it fumbled with the production system but that he also attacked failures of the educational system induced by blind adherence to centralized conformity. Even to Antonov, the response from the Russian citizenry was remarkable. He based a subsequent article on specific case histories of bureaucratic bumbling written to him by Izvestia's readers.

Western readers of the Antonov analysis will also be interested in his conclusion that the lack of supply and demand relationships and the lack of competitive aspects of the marketplace are major flaws in the Soviet economic system. These features, so typical of Western economies, are a favorite target of Communist doctrinaries, who dismiss them as "wasteful."

Since 1956, Nikita Khrushchev has taken a variety of steps to provide increased incentives for Soviet citizens that are more significant than the cheap, enamelled "hero" badges that seem to be a major production item of Soviet factories. Mr. Khrushchev's actions since 1956 have validated that portion of his prediction that the Soviet system would be moving more in the direction of capitalistic techniques. Unfortunately, the national leadership of this country has provided considerable evidence that his analysis of our drift toward the centralized planning and dulling of human incentives that characterize the Socialist system may also prove to be correct.

In no other facet of American life has this growth of a highly centralized planning dictatorship been more pronounced than in the technology and industry embraced by the national defense effort. The full blame for this trend cannot be laid on the power-hungry Government bureaucrats who have been the architects of this system. They never could have erected such a mighty bureaucratic superstructure without the acquiescence of key segments of American industry and the indifference of a majority of the American people.

It is a rather tragic paradox that in this critical stage of the power struggle between the Communist system and the Western concepts of social and economic organization, the Communists are now adopting the basic elements that gave the Western system its vitality and growth, while the great Western nations are stupidly picking up those very elements of the Socialist system that have been discarded as unworkable by the Socialists themselves.

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## Interfaith Understanding in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, which appears in the September 1962 edition of the United Synagogue Review.

Mr. Leon Paul, a Catholic writer, lecturer, and teacher, describes how he has contributed to understanding between the Christian and Jewish communities of Brooklyn.

The article follows:

THROUGH CATHOLIC EYES
(By Leon Paul)

"But I thought Catholics weren't allowed to go into a synagogue."

This is the surprised reaction from some Jews when I take my Catholic adult education classes to visit a synagogue. What they have heard, of course, is that Catholics are not permitted to attend a non-Catholic service. A visit to a non-Catholic house of worship is quite another matter.

As far as I know, there is no prohibition on this whatever.

Catholics visit non-Catholic houses of worship for a number of reasons: curiosity, perhaps; interest in how other people worship God; the historical background of a particular house of worship; or simply to broaden their knowledge of religion. My own reasons for taking classes of Catholics on what is formally known as a "field trip to a synagogue" are quite practical.

When I began teaching an adult education course on "The Church and Judaism" some years ago, under the auspices of the social action department of the Brooklyn diocese, I felt that this kind of class needed to do more than just hear about our Jewish heritage—they also had to see it. How, for instance, could I do justice to a topic like "Old and New Testaments: One Bible" without showing my students the ancient scrolls as they came down to us from Moses? How could I bring into the classroom some of the atmosphere of the synagogue in which Jesus taught and prayed? Moreover, wouldn't it benefit the class to spend a question-and-answer period with a rabbi?

Since I could not bring a synagogue into the class, I had to bring the class to a synagogue. But I had no idea what the reactions would be, either from the class or from the rabbis. Experimenting, I telephoned a few rabbis. Some seemed dubious and reluctant. Some were cooperative. One was rather enthusiastic, and proved to be so understanding that whenever possible I take the class to his synagogue. This young Orthodox rabbi, a graduate of Yeshiva University, invited his cantor to join us and chant excerpts from the Torah for us. He also invited some of his officers to join the class and talk with us informally, helping us to feel at home.

This was the very thing I had hoped for, had wanted to achieve: to get my fellow Catholics to feel "at home" in a synagogue, for it was in a synagogue that our faith was born. Our religion was founded on Judaism. I tell my classes our visit to a synagogue is like "going home to mother." If a Catholic doesn't feel at home in a synagogue, he doesn't understand the origins of his beliefs.

I first tried this experiment on an evening that was not a regular class night, so that the members had to give up extra time. The reactions were enthusiastic, and all the comments I heard were favorable. "A wonderful experience," one student said. Another: "Most interesting." "I got a lot out of this visit," said a third. None seemed to feel it a waste of time.

The experiment was so successful that I have made the synagogue visit a regular feature of the course. At the end of each course I ask the students what they have most benefited from. Invariably they say: "The visit to the synagogue."

The idea has spread, and I am now also giving the course for the Rockville Centre diocese. Several weeks ago my students were the guests of Rabbi Max J. Routtenberg on a visit to his synagogue, B'nai Sholom, in Rockville Centre. Wrote one woman after her visit:

"The visit to Temple B'nai Sholom has been of tremendous value to me. It gave me the opportunity to appreciate the similarity of some of the Jewish rites to many of our religion. Rabbi Routtenberg's erudite and illuminating remarks gave me answers to several questions I had always hoped to clarify. I hope with all my heart that this visit will be only the beginning of closer relations between the Jewish and Catholic communities, leading to better understanding."

Another student wrote:

"The thought that struck me on my visit was that if enough people in Germany had done likewise, the Second World War couldn't possibly have come about."

There has always been a certain amount of misunderstanding on the part of Jews toward the Catholic Church, and on the part of Catholics toward Judaism and the Jews. Through my courses on "The Catholic Church and Judaism" I try to accomplish three objectives:

To bring Catholics a new awareness of the Jewish heritage.

To help Catholics have a better understanding of the Jews and appreciation of Jewish culture and ideals.

To destroy the walls of ignorance between the Catholic and Jewish worlds for our mutual good.

How far the course succeeds in doing these things is open to speculation, but comments from some of the men and women who have taken it indicate that it stimulated new and useful thinking.

Not all comments were wholly uncritical. One student, for example, suggested that the use of electric lights detracted from "the feeling that you are in a house of worship," and would have preferred candles.

Again and again students remarked on what they considered resemblances between Catholic church and Jewish synagogue. One expressed surprise at seeing so many symbols on the ark, such as the kiddush cup, that were reminiscent of Catholic ritual objects. Another student, after hearing the cantor chant Bible verses, said that "it was interesting to note where many of our chants come from." A third thought that "our chalice, wine and incense show our religion takes many of its rituals from Judism." He continued:

"I had been told that Catholic churches are more ornate than other places of worship, but felt that the lavishly adorned covering of the Torah far surpassed any ornateness in the Catholic Church."

The Torah and its importance to Jews impressed almost all the students more than any other single aspect of the synagogue. A typical comment was this, by a housewife:

"The Torah impressed me the most. They have such respect and reverence for God that they say a prayer before even writing His name in it, and if an error is made, the Torah is taken to the cemetery and buried. Perhaps if some Catholics would take heed of this they would be better Catholics for it * * * The rabbi was gracious and I enjoyed listening to him. The visit helped me to understand the Jewish faith and customs."

This note of closer understanding was struck repeatedly in the students' reports. One wrote:

"A greater understanding, close to sympathy, has developed within me. It is a great pity that out of such a common bond, there can be so much misunderstanding—all due to ignorance of facts. I would like to see a course like this given to all parochial high school students and their instructors. We were welcomed with graciousness; over all the theology and discussion was the wonderful feeling of friendliness."

Reports like these led me to feel I had achieved my purpose. One in particular seemed to sum up rather completely:

"Like millions of other Catholics, we had often wondered about the inside of a synagogue. The Torah and other religious articles gave us an understanding of their faith. One cannot listen to the cantor chanting the Psalms without thinking that Jesus too listened to the same chants. If more Catholics were to visit synagogues, it would encourage more Jews to visit our churches. This would result in a better understanding."

In October, 1960, a delegation of 130 leaders of the United Jewish Appeal came to the Vatican for an audience with Pope John XXIII. After some conversation with them, the Pope startled them by stating: "I am Joseph, your brother." His own given name being Joseph, he was of course referring to the emotional Bible narrative of Joseph's reunion with his brothers and father in Egypt. To promote closer harmony and friendship with the Jewish people, Catholics have the example of a Pope proclaiming to a group of Jews: "I am Joseph, your brother."

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## Retraining the Unemployed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting article which appeared in the New England Business Review for August 1962, published monthly by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston:

PART I. THE NEW ENGLAND EXPERIENCE: RETRAINING THE UNEMPLOYED

Retraining the unemployed is to be vastly increased by the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. However, the practice of retraining the unemployed is relatively new and very little actual experience has been obtained.

Two New England States have had pioneering programs in retraining the unemployed, one of which anticipated by several years the first pilot Federal program under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961. New England has also participated fully in the ARA program. It is therefore possible to gain some valuable information by looking at the first experiences of retraining in New England.

Seventy-seven percent of the 638 New England trainees of the Area Redevelopment Act have been placed in jobs related to their training with another 5 percent being placed in other jobs after training. Some of the placements have been outside the redevelopment area. This program has had from the start a handicap in that a redevelopment area by definition does not have a normal demand for labor. It should be noted that 100 percent placement is not necessary for retraining to be considered a success.

The significance of the Connecticut and Massachusetts State programs initiated before ARA is that they are not confined to but include "depressed areas," and therefore provide a better test of the effectiveness of retraining than the ARA program.[1]

CONNECTICUT RETRAINING

Early in 1961, the State of Connecticut instituted the community action program training course for the unemployed. The combined efforts of the vocational, apprentice training, and research staff of the State set up a program which was first instituted in Bridgeport on May 15, 1961. Seventeen

[1] The area redevelopment program in New England was described in the April 1962 issue of the New England Business Review. Since that date 4 additional courses have been approved for 355 unemployed individuals in New England redevelopment areas.

machine tool operator trainees started a course in the local high school. Since then 660 unemployed workers have been trained in skills including welding, machine tool operation, and power sewing machine operation. In each case the job openings were identified and assurances were obtained from employers who said that they could absorb any trainee graduated from the course. Comprehensive testing and interviewing was done for the selection of the trainees. A curriculum was developed and classes scheduled to be taught at the local technical high schools with no charge for tuition. The unemployed were able to continue receiving unemployment compensation during training. Almost all the trainees participating in the community action program have been placed in jobs which will give them on-the-job experience in their new skills.

The Connecticut program was similar to the area redevelopment program in that extensive screening of applicants was done, and only specific programs were offered to the unemployed.

MASSACHUSETTS RETRAINING

The Massachusetts program is an older, and far different type of retraining program. A series of amendments to the unemployment compensation benefit law were made starting in 1956 so that an unemployed person taking a vocational training course could be considered as "available for work" and therefore eligible to receive unemployment compensation benefits while training. In fact, an 18-week extension of the benefits was provided if this extension were necessary to complete the approved course providing potential benefits of 48 weeks.

Each course was selected by the trainee and approved by the appropriate State agency, division of vocational education or division of employment security, if it would "serve as a means of realizing employment." The student paid tuition, if any.

Although no major advertising of this program has been done, approximately 1,300 individuals have taken advantage of the program since the first active year (1958) with approximately 300 having had a year's work experience since their retraining. This latter group does represent one of the largest groups of unemployed who, (1) have had retraining; (2) have reentered the labor market; and (3) have a year's work experience since retraining.

A joint research project was undertaken by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security in order to evaluate the success of the retrainees under this program. A questionnaire was sent to the 900 who had participated in approved programs by the end of 1961, for most of 1962 applicants were still in school. More than three-fourths of all those surveyed responded. In addition, a survey of other claimants who were similar in age, sex, previous occupation, geographic region, and date of compensation was made to establish a control group, i.e., a group of people with similar backgrounds, who had not had retraining. The purpose of this control group was to establish whether the change in income and steadiness of employment was due to retraining or to some other factors such as a better business climate which would affect all such individuals.

IMPROVED ANNUAL INCOME

Initial placement is just one test of the effectiveness of retraining. A more difficult and perhaps more important question is: Does retraining improve income and job stability?

The survey of the retrainees of the Massachusetts program has yielded some impressive results as to the effectiveness of retraining. Those people in this program who: (1) were laid off; (2) took some form of vocational training; and (3) have been out working for more than 1 year, on the average increased their yearly income by almost $1,000, or 35 percent.[2] The increase in yearly income for people who were similar to the retrainees but who did not have the advantage of retraining was $250, or 10 percent in the same time period. Retraining did pay off for the typical trainee in the Massachusetts program, although more of the improvement in their annual income came from increased steadiness of employment, rather than an increase in weekly wage. The increase in weeks worked per year was 7 weeks, providing almost steady employment (49.7 weeks per year) while the $8.50 increase in weekly wage was not much greater than the control groups.

The courses taken by the retrainees were determined by individual choice, limited only by the available institutions with courses that would be approved by the respective State agencies. As it developed, the courses taken were mainly in preparation for entrance in the service or clerical field. In fact, half of the whole group was studying to be barbers and beauticians. Six percent of the group were studying to become IBM office machine operators. A substantial number of women took a course to qualify as a registered practical nurse. Other women were taking courses in stenography and typing. Technicians, mainly electrical, accounted for 9 percent.

One of the advantages of this type of training program was that there were more than 72 types of training courses offered by both public and private institutions taken by these trainees ranging from training to be hospital attendants to a 6-week course in teacher training.

Because there were so many different courses with relatively few in each course—except for the barbers and beauticians—it was posible to compare meaningfully the results of the various types of training for only a few categories. The group taking IBM machine courses did fare better than the barbers and beauticians (at least during their apprenticeships). The practical nurses increased their weekly wage by $8 to $57, and the IBM operators by $10 to $75. The barbers and beauticians actually suffered a loss in weekly wage of $10 to $65. But the latter group still managed to increase its annual income by a one-fourth increase in employment time.

If the experience of the barbers is excluded from the experience of the other retrainees, the results of the remaining trainees are even more impressive. There is a 16-percent increase in weekly wage and an increase in average annual income of 50 percent.

Perhaps the greatest testimony of the effectiveness of the program itself is from the many comments which were written on the the questionnaire by the retrainees.

There is a statement of this success from a 23-year-old male from Somerville who had taken a course in the operation and wiring of IBM machines. His testimony follows:

"The training I was able to receive made it possible for me to obtain a good position with great opportunity for advancement. I certainly feel that many good workers can be retrained and helped to find steady employment."

This particular individual had worked for 36 weeks in the previous year at $50 a week. He is now working with IBM equipment at $90 a week and working steadily. Another man who was successful in electronics had this reply to the question: Would you have taken the course without unemployment compensation benefits?

"I would have continued to try and complete my desired education, but I must not minimize that help that I received through the unemployment office. It gave me a feeling that, because I was trying to improve myself, they were willing to help me financially."

Receiving unemployment compensation while they were learning did provide strong motivation for self-improvement for other individuals as well. From a woman taking a secretarial course came this quotation:

"[It is] very satisfying to know that you can receive an income while learning. More of an incentive to improve your position."

Many of these individuals, particularly those who had quit their jobs, were highly motivated and would have taken training without the aid. However, almost 60 percent of those who were laid off would not have taken the course had it not been for the program. With the aid of the program, 90 percent of the entire group finished their course work successfully.

Many of these workers were motivated by the drive to obtain steady employment as evidenced by this quotation from a 41-year-old housewife now making $40 a week as a beautician: "Two years ago I came over here from England. It was quite easy to find a job, but not a steady one. After a few weeks there was always the inevitable layoff. That is why I took the course (beautician). Since finishing school I have had steady employment. If it had not been for help I received from the division of employment security, I doubt if I ever could have finished the course."

The attempt of the individuals to get a defense against the irregular employment opportunities in many of the industrial shops is illustrated graphically by this quotation from a 51-year-old female from Worcester: "I love taking up hairdressing. There is a good future in it. When I complete my course, I won't have to worry about layoff from the shop."

Many of the voluntary quits were people who were "underemployed," i.e., those who did not work full time either because of seasonal patterns or because they could only obtain work 2 or 3 days a week. A 30-year-old truckdriver in Springfield decided to go to barbering school and quit his union truck-driving job partially because he could only obtain work 2 or 3 days a week.

Not all courses that were taken were satisfactory, nor was employment obtained by all, although 93 percent of those who had made a concerted effort to find a job in their new skill were able to find one.[3]

A person who was dissatisfied with a business course taken in air passenger sales and ground services gave this comment: "Out of 26 people who finished school only 2 are working * * * I am now unemployed and would appreciate anything you could do for me."

Though the success of retraining was not as graphic for the old people, there were many cases of individual triumphs through training in the older worker. One was a 65-year-old lady who at the age of 62 had been retired from her $40 a week typing job. After a period of several months when she was unemployed for personal reasons she decided

[2] It was possible to quit a job to go to vocational school, serve the required 10-week disqualification period for quitting, and then apply for benefits. About 20 percent of the applicants were of this type. The results of the voluntary quit group were separated from the involuntary separation group for the above statistics. In general, the voluntary quit group did significantly better than the control group, but not quite as well as the involuntary separation group.

[3] Quite a few barbers and beauticians (15 percent) did not remain in their apprenticeship because of low salary prospects for at least 18 months.

to take a 10-week course in typing. This lady was very happy with her new job and her $58 a week pay which she considered to be a big improvement.

Some of the individuals who took advantage of this program were referred to the employment office by the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission. One man who had suffered and was recovering from a nervous breakdown took a course in electronic mechanical drafting. This man obtained a job as a senior draftsman and has been working steadily ever since.

This program was instrumental in enabling a 38-year-old male from Worcester to finally realize an 11-year-old ambition to become a teacher. This individual was a machinist and during a period of layoff took the vocational teaching training course at one of the Massachusetts State colleges during which he was allowed unemployment benefits. After a year of training he was employed as a machinist again and took the second year of teacher training 2 nights a week. He is now qualified and has been hired to teach at a vocational school.

Even college graduates have benefited from this program when they were laid off: "Although I had a B.A. degree in economics, I had to start in all over again to gain the necessary credits to enter the teaching field. Being able to attend the intensive teacher training program offered at one of the State teaching colleges was certainly a great boon to me. This is my first year teaching and I like it very much."

Many individuals who did not receive a job directly as a result of training did not feel any regret as to their taking such training: "I did not receive a job utilizing the knowledge that I have received in school. However, the fact that I have furthered my education helped me to acquire my present job."

Some individuals took a course which would give them a higher skill in the same industry. One individual said in describing his experience: "I have been working in shoe factories for 10 to 12 years, always having my pay vary from $3,000 to $4,500 a year with seasonal layoffs. I decided to learn a good trade at shoemaking that would keep me busy all year round. That I did at the * * * shoemaking school under wonderful guidance and I now have a future to look forward to."

The man is now making $100 weekly plus overtime and working steadily.

If future retraining experience lives up to the potential shown in the New England experience, it might solve the employment problem for many individuals who have found or will find that there is little demand for their particular talents, unless further developed.

However, initial success in the first New England retraining programs does not necessarily mean that retraining will provide an answer for finding employment for a substantial number of the unemployed. As illustrated in the table, the person who elected to take advantage of the program is significantly younger and better educated than the unemployed taken as a whole. Thus it cannot be assumed that all unemployed would derive comparable benefits from retraining.

A more thorough discussion of the general application of retraining to the unemployed will be deferred to part II of this series.

*Trainee characteristics*

| Age group | Massachusetts trainees | Massachusetts unemployed | U.S. unemployed | Years of school completed | Massachusetts trainees | Massachusetts unemployed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | *Percent* | *Percent* | | *Percent* | *Percent* |
| Under 25 | 51.8 | 14.9 | 33.2 | 8 and under | 12.4 | 31.2 |
| 25 to 34 | 25.6 | 17.6 | 19.6 | 9 and 10 | 18.7 | 21.1 |
| 35 to 44 | 12.5 | 21.6 | 17.1 | 11 and 12 | 58.0 | 39.7 |
| 45 to 54 | 8.1 | 21.3 | 15.7 | 1 or 2 (college) | 7.1 | 4.9 |
| 55 to 64 | 1.5 | 13.7 | 10.6 | More than 2 (college) | 3.8 | 3.1 |
| 65 and over | .5 | 11.7 | 3.8 | | | |
| | | | | Average education | 10.9 | 10.0 |
| Average age | 28.4 | 43.0 | 35.0 | | | |

Source: U.S. Department of Labor and Massachusetts Division of Employment Security.

## A Statement of Position on Senate Joint Resolution 29 and H.R. 11040

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, August 27, 1962, when Senate Joint Resolution 29, "qualifications of electors" amendment to the Constitution, was brought on the floor for consideration, I was necessarily absent in my district and could not attend the House session. Mr. Speaker, if I could have possibly been here on yesterday when the vote was taken on this constitutional amendment, I would have voted "no." My vote in the negative would have been based not only upon my belief that those States who now require a poll tax as one of the qualifications to vote in a general election should retain that prerogative, but I would also have objected on the basis of approving an amendment to the Constitution of the United States under a suspension of the rules which only allows 20 minutes debate on each side of the issue.

Mr. Speaker, my great State of North Carolina has long since eliminated the poll tax requirement for citizens to exercise their vote and if I had been in the State legislature when this matter was considered, I would have voted to do away with the poll tax requirement as a qualification to vote in North Carolina. I would still desire to see the States that now have such a requirement to eliminate it on their own volition. I do not feel it is the prerogative of the Federal Government to dictate to the four or five States their constitutional right to establish voter qualifications.

Mr. Speaker, I offer this statement for the RECORD to show the position that I would have taken had it been possible for me to have been present when the vote was taken on Senate Joint Resolution 29.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with H.R. 11040, on the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, had I been present and voting my vote would have been in the affirmative in concurring in the Senate amendments and passing it.

## Commencement Address, June 3, 1962, St. John Kanty Preparatory School, Erie, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 3, 1962, commencement exercises were held at the St. John Kanty Preparatory School in Erie, Pa.

This school is under the sponsorship of the Vincentian Fathers and the rector is the Reverend Dr. Wallace S. Czapla.

At the commencement exercises, Dr. Felix E. Sklagen, of Washington, D.C., was the main speaker. His address to the graduates was timely and most impressive.

I feel that in times like these it is worth while to reflect on the spiritual needs of today as an offset to the materialistic aims which seem to dominate the world today.

Dr. Sklagen's address was as follows:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS OF DR. FELIX E. SKLAGEN, JUNE 3, 1962

Those of you who have long been associated with the growth of Kanty today I know must have a feeling of warmth and satisfaction to see these young men reach this first landing in their climb to what we hope will be for each of them a brilliant career.

This, for them, is their last curtain call at Kanty. And if it is true that last impressions are the best, then this day for them will be most remembered. Like a song that will end but whose melody will linger on, Kanty and the part it played in their lives will for them always be a pleasant memory.

On occasions of this kind, speakers very often talk of the new and varied experiences which young graduates will encounter. They speak of great changes in the world.

But really, the world basically has not changed so much. Its position in the universe is about the same. The geographic locations of its oceans, rivers, and continents are still substantially in the same place. The sun, the stars, and the moon which fill the skies are just as they were since the beginning of civilization.

What actually has changed, however, was progress. Down through the centuries the individual has been working his magic wand of achievement.

We thrill at the stories of how in a covered wagon he crossed this continent. How he carved this Republic of ours out of the wilderness. How he built tremendous railways and highways, great cities, factories, schools, and churches. How in the march of human progress, like a fairy godmother, he has transformed this world of ours—particularly America—into a fairyland of unbelievable realities. From a small backwoods settlement, we have truly become a giant among nations. We are the wealthiest and strongest country in the world. We today have the greatest industrial productive capacity, and above all we have the atom which is just beginning to open its limitless powers to hitherto unexplored peacetime uses.

This is the America that has been built for you—where ability, talent, and character are recognized and rewarded—where opportunity to reach the pinnacle of success is

given to all—where leadership in every field is open to everyone.

This is the America beckoning now to you graduates. It has for each of you a new assignment to fulfill—a more important task to perform.

And do not for one moment think, my young graduates, that the greatness of America came about by accident. It grew great and powerful, its way of life brought freedom and progress because our forefathers—and those who followed—knew what it was to have courage, and how to make sacrifice. They had faith in God, in themselves, and in each other—the very things your teachers here at Kanty have emphasized so strongly and so frequently.

A century ago our people had never heard of the expression "Aw, what's the use. Let's give it up." They would never let discouragement get them down. They were builders. Adversity made them strong. And theirs was not a path of roses. Ours has not been such, and years hence it will be just the same. We will always have to work for things worth while.

But their life and their progress should be the example of life and progress for us—a life and a progress based on unity, on understanding, and on the willingness to join hands—to work together. Like they, we too, must be builders. We must build for us, and for those who follow an even bigger and better America.

And how are we to do it? We are to do it, by recognizing that all this accomplishment is tangible evidence of the rich qualities of soul and character of men. By benefiting from, and by utilizing the greatest asset we possess—education.

It is education that strengthens the mind, that elevates character to higher levels of spiritual growth and moral greatness—that can lead us in wisdom and foresight to the golden dawn of a truly responsible American life—the only kind that is really worth living.

And let there be no mistake about it. Character is the creative key to success. It is the indispensable part of a graduate's equipment in coping with the problems of the modern world. Without character, failure is inevitable. With it, one reaches the heights.

It is character and education that gives to a nation the tolerance and the wisdom it needs. A nation is great only when the people comprising it are intellectually and morally great.

To keep America intellectually and morally great then is education's problem. It is the endless task of teachers if we are ever to restore faith and freedom and peace to this present spiritually impoverished world.

Today the world is spiritually impoverished. Today education is at the crossroads.

The United States stands deep in conflict with the materialistic ideologies of communism. We are fighting a seepage of ideas completely foreign to our concept of American traditions. A godless philosophy seeks to undermine the reality of God's existence, and pervert the meaning of truth, beauty, and goodness—the eternally fine and indestructible things of heaven.

The materialism of Karl Marx has today become the political philosophy of many professors in our schools of higher learning.

A professor in one of our leading teachers' colleges, for instance, wrote a book some years back which he called "The Great Technology." In this book, this teacher of teachers openly tried to mold the plastic minds of his students with tenets utterly incompatible with the American way of life. In fact, he asserted the American way was a failure, and he advocated replacing it with a "new social order." His whole teaching was a deliberate attempt to falsify the concepts of Americanism, and to inculcate subversive doctrines into the minds of American students.

He taught what he said he believed. And he believed, for instance, that our institutions were dishonest, that they lacked integrity. He believed the courts defeated the will of the people. He believed that our notions of loyalty to Government had to be uprooted. He believed that our oath of allegiance, and our flag salute were mere mumblings without any meaning at all. He believed the Constitution was written only for upper classes. And most shockingly, he depicted his belief in Communist Russia as a glowing picture of "a fine civilization."

Then we had another professor who also wrote a book, "Faith, Reason, and Civilization," a book which had a wide circulation throughout this country even though in it he said that our civilization showed all the signs of complete collapse; that religion had lost its power over mankind; that the only successful faith available in our days was that of the Russian Communists; and that a worldwide communistic revolution of society was desirable.

Not so long ago, even the Congress of the United States found it necessary to look into the question of textbooks used in our American schools because they were distorting the facts, depicting false portrayal of American life and history.

Oh, how fortunate that here at Kanty, under the protective teachings of your church, you have been taught to distinguish truth from error. How fortunate that here, under the guidance of your faculty, you have at an early age learned that wisdom was a God-given spiritual actuality; that "the beginning of all knowledge was fear of God." You have come to learn that despite everything the expression of character and moral righteousness still dwells in the human soul.

I believe that most, if not all of you, will be entering college in the fall. In making your selection I cannot emphasize too strongly the danger of making a wrong choice of schools. May it preferably be a Catholic one, whose teachings have survived the test of centuries; where truth, undeterred from its course, towers in strength and power, fixed as it is, like the North Star, in the galaxy of its scintillating beauty.

Oh, we can be thankful that though the war shook things to their very foundations, things eternal were not disturbed. The essential things of life remain. That for every one teacher in the United States preferring the book of Karl Marx, we have a thousand who prefer the Sermon on the Mount, and the Ten Commandments. Teachers who still believe in the Master of them all—the Teacher of Galilee.

We can be thankful that we live in a country where we can still have places of worship—a home for God to live among us. We can be thankful that people in the world still cleave to their God, and in God they find peace and contentment.

Lift then, my dear graduates, your eyes upward to the skies where there is destiny. Where the stars can guide you as they once guided the wise men of old to the simplicity of that small manger—to the warmth and bright flame of a loving heart.

It was Emerson who once said: "Only in the dark of night, one can best see the shining stars."

Yes. When the argument of those who deny truth sometimes appears to you convincing, when at times shades of doubt seem to obscure for you the truth, the spiritual equipment given you here at Kanty will fortify and be for you a pillar of protection. All you have to do is look upward, and there in the darkness you will see the unchanging dogmatic truths of your religion—the shining stars, winking to you, at it were, almost as if saying: "We know better, don't we?"

Of course, we know better. We know that beyond the starry clockwork of the universe there is God—and eternity.

Throughout life be then never so proud, my young friends, as not to bend your knee to say: "Our Father, Who art in heaven, hallowed by Thy Name."

Be never so ungrateful to your country, my young friends, as to forget your obligations to it, or as not to say—

> "But the glory of the present
> Is to make the future free;
> We love our land for what she is,
> And what she is to be."

Oh, we may complain about our Government, and about our country. But after all, it is a democracy, and it is ours. And it is the best in the world today. Where it may need repairs, we will patch it, but we will not junk it for any or all of the other systems of government.

All we have to do is to make sure the paralyzing hand of tyranny does not engulf it. To see that communism does not destroy the heritage given us by the Founding Fathers. Freedom must not be permitted to die in the very land where freedom was given birth. And it must spread throughout the world.

Not until you have been denied the right of public worship, would you realize the meaning of freedom of religion. Not until you have been denied the right to speak your mind would you realize what is meant by freedom of speech. Not until you have been shipped to a concentration camp against your will, would you know what is meant by freedom of economic opportunity. Not until a dictator has told you how to vote would you appreciate the freedom of the ballot.

Here in America we have all these cherished blessings of freedom. We must always, however, be on the alert not to lose them.

In our generation we have seen dictators try to set themselves up as mighty gods. They have torn men and women from tradition and belief. They tried—and in some instances even succeeded—in winning over men's bodies for enslaved labor and military strength. But they never quite succeeded in controlling men's minds.

Faith in God forbids making a god out of man, however powerful he may be. The soul of man who has faith cannot be killed. The altar will never lose its place of honor in the Nation's heart.

And finally, be never so hardened, my young friends, as to forget the needs of your fellowmen, or to destroy their hope for peace.

In our quest for world peace we have led ourselves to believe that in dollars, guns, and tanks, we can attain our objectives. We say too much about the sending of food and money to all parts of the world. We say too little about the importance of carrying to the world expressions of cultural and moral purpose.

What the people of the world need most today is assurance that we mean only to reconstruct dignity and decency into human lives. That in preserving democracy, the things we want to destroy are the bad ideas—not the persons having them. That what we seek is to rebuild hope and confidence and the will to live again in a seemingly hopeless atmosphere. We must teach that the moral power capable of creating "finer things" can be made secure only in the hearts and minds of men. That only in the human mind and heart can there be peace and liberty.

So in taking to the world the ideals and principles of a true democracy, let us by all means bring people back again to the Cross, the only potent force that we have left in this maddened world; the only powerful weapon remaining to defend our civilization against atomic fears and the onslaughts of barbaric aggression.

It is better for us—as a famed educator once wisely said—"to light a little candle in

someone's heart than to stand by idly cursing the darkness."

When this country of ours was first inaugurated among the nations of the world, an age of courage and a new spirit was born. Minutemen, you will recall, went into action. Not only a candle, but a mighty torch was lighted and lifted toward the skies. It was the light which made bright the path of enjoyment of the blessings of our American liberty.

Oh, the world today needs more of that light. We cannot stand idly by. It must burn ever more brightly.

And I, for one, have great faith that our youth—these and all graduates throughout the country—will keep it ever burning. They are the minutemen of our age. Through them and their accomplishments we can confidently expect our highest ideals realized.

People under the rule of despots must find their destiny in the mud beneath the heel of the tyrant. But you—my dear graduates—as free American young men—can and will lift up your eyes and seek your destiny among the stars.

In the great sea of American opportunity there is room for every childish sail and a harbor for every dream. The door of opportunity is open to everyone, rich and poor alike. On the magic carpet of ambition, some rise from rags to riches. Under our system, one may rise from a log cabin to the White House.

Yet, there are some who would try to paint for us a gloomy picture for the future. But what they would say cannot be true, for we have not started to invent as yet. We have only scratched the surface, just cleared away the briars and rubbish on the outer field of achievement.

One hundred years from now people will look back upon our time and wonder how we ever managed to get along on such primitive outmoded methods. They will wink at our so-called achievement. Colonel Glenn's capsule—*Friendship 7*, and the *Aurora*—will be antiquated museum pieces. People will be living in an age where time and space will have been completely abolished, and mankind will be served beneficially with the peacetime uses of atom's energy and the sunrays.

To you young graduates for whom today the door of acomplishment is swinging ajar, this should be real inspiration.

So as you go forth from these memorable walls, have confidence in yourselves. Be courageous. Face the future without fear or uncertainty. The training you have received here at Kanty has prepared you well for the task. Behind you is infinite power; before you is endless possibility; and around you endless opportunity. Why, then, be afraid?

As you accept this challenging world of tomorrow, remember what a poet once wrote:

"Somebody said it couldn't be done,
But he with a chuckle replied,
That maybe it couldn't, but he would be one
Who wouldn't say so till he had tried.

So he buckled right in with the trace of a grin
On his face. If he worried he hid it.
He started to sing as he tackled the thing
That couldn't be done—and he did it."

Each of you can do it, if you will only try. And do not let your age deter you. Youth is the mainspring of the world. The greatest things of all ages have been done by young men.

When Bacon was only 16 years old, he already had sketched his philosophy. At 17, Sir Walter Raleigh had gone out to find new worlds. At 14, Napoleon wrote home from the military school to his mother, "With my honor in my pocket and my sword at my side, I will fight my way to the top." At 27, he was already triumphant over Italy. Alexander, when only 32, already wept for other worlds to conquer. On his 37th birthday, Raphael lay already dead beneath his last painting. At 36, Mozart had played his last song. Patrick Henry became famous as a lawyer at the age of 27, and at 29 in the Virginia House of Burgesses made a speech in defense of the Colonies that caused George III to tremble on his throne. Daniel Webster was a Congressman at 31, Henry Clay at 34 was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. Thomas Jefferson, at 33, wrote the Declaration of Independence. And let's not forget, that Christ at the age of 30 was ready for His ministry, and at 33, He died to redeem the world. The present President of the United States took office when he was only 43, and at 40 Colonel Glenn was soaring in orbit around the earth, pioneering the endless possibilities of the space age.

Yes, my young friends, the world calls you. Humanity needs you. Success awaits you on the mountaintop.

But the mountain is steep and rugged. Every accomplishment will mean painful and consecrated effort. Every great victory calls for sacrifice. Ah, but there at the summit is where you will see and enjoy the beautiful view stretched out below—the glorious sea of satisfaction.

It was on a mountaintop that the Ten Commandments were given. It was on a mountaintop that the beautiful Sermon on the Mount was preached. It was on a mountaintop that Calvary's Cross was raised to radiate its potent power down through the centuries.

O, my young friends, always stay within its shadow. Be at all times in communion with that Something greater than yourselves, and you will receive the blessings of peace, success, and happiness.

In this sad hour of world history, with a mantle of enslavement and darkness spread across half the world—as I conclude this message here this morning—may I appeal not only to the graduates, but to all of you to keep firm your faith in God to lead us through our dark moments and to bring to us love and better understanding of neighbors. Keep the little candles burning.

We must never permit this to be a nation that has forgotten God. For as a great statesman once said it is only under God that this Nation "will not perish from the earth."

To you graduates my congratulations. My best wishes. May God bless you.

## Oveta Culp Hobby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT THOMAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, following are the remarks which appeared in the spring 1951 issue of Dixie Business magazine. I am taking the liberty of adding to the remarks of that publication. The last two paragraphs are my own.

OVETA CULP HOBBY

Oveta Culp Hobby is America's foremost woman.

She and Gov. W. P. Hobby, who was named in 1950 to the South's Hall of Fame for the Living, make up the outstanding husband and wife newspaper publishing team and the Hobbys of Texas have distinguished themselves in various fields of service even more than publishing the great Houston Post.

First woman to serve as president (1949) and chairman (1950) of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association; only woman appointed by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower to the National Policy Board of the American Assembly; wartime head of the WAC's with rank of colonel of the Army; she has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and Philippine Military Merit Medal and accorded honors without number.

She was parliamentarian, Texas House of Representatives (1925–31); and on the Houston Post has been research editor (1931–32); book editor (1933–36); assistant editor (1936–38), and is now director and executive vice president.

It would take many pages to list all the organizations and movements she has been a leader in—press, cancer, community chest, education, government, safety, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Heart, savings bonds.

She is the author of "Mr. Chairman" (parliamentary law textbook) and conducts a syndicate column by that title.

She is the only woman eligible to change the title of the "Man of the South" to "Woman of the South" in whatever years she should get the most votes.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Hobby was appointed Federal Security Administrator on January 21, 1953. This agency became the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on April 11, 1953. She was the first Administrator and the first woman to become a Cabinet officer of our Government. She resigned July 31, 1955.

Health, Education, and Welfare is a tremendously large and important Department. At the time Mrs. Hobby was Administrator, the Department had about 44,500 employees. The administration of this Department is considered, not only one of the most important but one of the most difficult positions in the entire Government. She did a magnificient job of administration. The Department has many agencies which are separate and distinct from each other—and, of course, their separateness adds to the administrative problems of the office—such as the Office of Education, Public Health Service, Social Security Administration, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Food and Drug Administration, and several hospitals and universities.

## Tribute to Hon. Clarence E. Kilburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, an article from the Watertown Daily Times of August 24 tells of the honors recently paid to our good friend and colleague, CLARENCE KILBURN.

Congressman KILBURN has represented the 33d District of New York since 1938. He has done it admirably, and has won the love and respect of his constituents as he has that of all Members of the House of Representatives.

The New York State delegation is proud of CLARENCE KILBURN, who will be our senior Member and leader next year, when our beloved JOHN TABER retires.

The article follows:

HONORS FOR MR. KILBURN

The Republican Party pays tribute tonight to Congressman CLARENCE E. KILBURN, who has ably represented northern New York in Washington since 1938 and who will seek reelection next November. Never has there been such a distinguished guest list at a Republican dinner here. The list includes Governor Rockefeller, Senator Javits, Senator Keating, the national Republican chairman, Congressman William E. Miller, and that is just a start.

The dinner has two purposes. The first is to give Congressman KILBURN the kind of recognition he deserves. The second purpose is to start the Republican campaign in northern New York. If other districts in the Nation receive the kind of representation that Congressman KILBURN has given residents of his five-county district, citizens and their interests would properly be reflected in the Congress of the United States. No man has shown a greater devotion to his constituency. He provides a personal type of representation in that his concern over the years has been to accomplish things in response to the many thousands of requests that come to him day in and day out.

In a sense this kind of representation is a personal and individualistic concern over the many situations which confront citizens and their relationship to big government. Probably no Congressman could please everyone in his district by his votes on the various issues that come before Congress. This would be an impossible task for the Representative from northern New York because we differ with each other on practically everything that is properly termed a congressional issue. Each of us on many occasions has differed with Congressman KILBURN on how he has voted. Never once has he misguided us, however, as to his attitude on the issues. If his opinion was contrary to the opinion, for example, of this newspaper, we knew it. He has always possessed a consistent point of view. A resident here always knows clearly where he stands.

This is a virtue. It is better to be represented by a man who honestly expresses his opinions than it is to be represented by an amorphous type of character who, like a jellyfish, floats with the currents, sometimes moving backward, sometimes forward, and, more often than not, sideways.

This newspaper on occasion has opposed the renomination of Mr. KILBURN, needless to say unsuccessfully. So in evaluating his congressional service and expressing support for reelection, we genuinely believe that we know something about the kind of Congressman that is good for northern New York. It certainly should be said that Congressman KILBURN has shown in the past and will show upon reelection an ability to provide what this district needs very much in Washington.

That the other party leaders, the Governor, the Senators, the national chairman, and the State chairman, Mr. Morhouse, are here is not only happy but proper. Their presence means that the Republican Party is widely based, ranging on the one hand from Governor Rockefeller and Senator Javits to Congressman Miller and Congressman Kilburn, himself. Congressman KILBURN is certainly on the conservative side of the party, and has stature for his point of view. The Republicans of northern New York are happy at the opportunity to be participating in the launching of a reelection program for Congressman Kilburn, for Governor Rockefeller, and Senator Javits. We can vote for all three with enthusiasm, recognizing that the amalgam of their points of view offers the best hope for their proper State and National program. This Republican Party has tremendous talents and capacities for the kind of leadership that people need. Governor Rockefeller, Senator Javits, Senator Keating, and Congressman Kilburn are the reason.

## An Industry Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, of continuing interest to the Congress and the people of the United States is the problem of fuels and the relationship of coal in the total picture of fuel demands and availability. A recent study by the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, dated May 1962, is an enlightening report that should be read by every Member of Congress. This problem is of such grave concern that recently another study group, the fifth named in recent months, has been set up to decide what fuels should provide tomorrow's energy.

There is no doubt that this will create a great deal of competition, particularly amongst the lobbies representing oil, natural gas, coal, hydroelectric, and nuclear power. Whatever recommendation is accepted, it is done to create a great disturbance in the future of these industries, their customers, and the general economic picture. I therefore present this report in part in the hope that Members will take time to read it:

AN INDUSTRY SURVEY

There are so many facets to coal that any brief treatment of the subject is bound to be inadequate. Its history began in the dim past when primitive men discovered its flammability, but there was little reason to dig for coal while wood was plentiful. Around the year 1710 someone made the discovery that started coal on its way to importance. When baked without air it yields a hard, porous carbon fuel called coke, and coke worked better than the traditional charcoal in the process of smelting ore. In the 1760's experimentation with simple steam engines used to pump water out of English coal mines led to improvements enabling steam power to operate machines of all kinds. Thus coal became the source of energy that built and operated modern, large-scale transportation and industry.

Later, chemists began to probe the rich organic content of coal. So far they have found about 350 basic derivatives, and the number of useful substances formed by selecting and combining these is said to exceed 200,000. Coal products include paving and building materials, fertilizers, insecticides, dyes, refrigerants, preservatives, artificial flavorings and other synthetic food substances, antiseptics, medicines, drugs, and synthetic rubber and many other plastics, some of which are suitable materials for textile fibers and filaments.

*Science and economics*

Despite coal's versatility, economic difficulties developed, largely occasioned by progress in other fields. Petroleum and natural gas, which could be extracted, transported, and utilized more cheaply and conveniently, cut into some of coal's biggest markets. Although much progress was made in extending coal's usefulness elsewhere, the thousands of tons no longer needed to run railroads and heat homes could not readily be absorbed in other uses. Most coal chemicals, for instance, must still be regarded as by-products of coke. Without a growing demand for coke to feed blast furnaces, or until new methods are developed, few of these useful substances can be produced economically in greater volume.

Coal industry research, therefore, continues to concentrate on projects that seem most likely to have a quick and favorable impact on volume. Cost reductions obviously fall in this category. Machines were developed for this purpose and are constantly being improved. Coal processing—sorting, cleaning, crushing, and sizing, or powdering to meet the needs of particular users—has reach an advanced stage, but is still studied for the purpose of improving both service and efficiency.

Transportation costs vary considerably but have recently averaged about one-fifth of the delivered price of coal. Progress here could mean savings for consumers and increased volume for producers. Present efforts center on three main ideas. First, coal pipelines similar to one already operating successfully in Ohio may come into more general use. Such a pipeline has been franchised to move powered coal suspended in water from the northern Appalachian coal region to the huge market areas of the northeast. Many problems remain to be solved, however, before a right of way can be established and actual work begun. Second, the railroads' answer to the pipeline may be an "integral train" of specially designed coal cars moving nonstop directly from the mine to the customer. The third idea has been called "coal by wire." It involves construction of steam-powered generators at mine sites and transmission of power at much higher voltages and over longer distances than have ever been attempted before. Each of these possible answers to the challenge of transporting coal is still experimental to some degree. Which one or what combination of the three may finally meet the test of economic survival remains to be seen.

*Utilization studied*

The efficiency with which coal can be converted to useful energy is a matter of key importance and is constantly under examination. Recent experiments indicate, for instance, that combustion equipment can be built to handle powdered coal in water right from a pipeline without incurring the added cost of separate settling and drying. Other aspects of coal's efficient conversion to heat and power are also being subjected to extensive research and may result in totally new equipment for handling solid coal. The more revolutionary solution, however, may lie in converting the coal itself to gaseous or liquid fuels. A specific project of this type involves a gas turbine to generate electricity using fuels derived from coal. Other studies seek wider use of coal products in fertilizers, soil conditioners, and paving materials, and the recovery of aluminum and other metals and chemicals from coal mine wastes. The steel industry is gradually learning to produce more than the traditional ton of steel for each ton of coal used, but so far, in terms of coal consumed, increased steel production has more than offset greater efficiency. The aluminum industry, which uses the energy equivalent of 6.8 pounds of coal to produce a pound of metal, has found coal-generated electricity competitive with water-generated power when proximity to markets is also considered. Researchers expect to find ways of helping coal serve these important users more efficiently.

*Economic trends*

Coal's recent economic history is reflected in the accompanying charts. The graph of production and employment begins with the year 1920, when output was still close to the 600-million-ton levels of World War I. At that time coal employment was rising toward its alltime peak, just over 700,000, reached in 1923. World War I climaxed the long upward trend in bituminous coal production that paralleled the growth of modern industry. After 1920, production gradually declined. The depression years of the thirties hastened this process, but then the demands of World War II and subsequent temporary power shortages raised coal output to 600 million tons again. After 1947 the downtrend resumed, and output now is about the same as it was in the late 1930's. In contrast to these somewhat intermittent declines in production, employment dropped sharply and almost continuously. In less than 40 years the number of employees fell 78 percent, from 700,000 to 150,000, from 2.5 percent to a third of 1 percent of total nonfarm workers. This chart's production and employment scales are matched in such a way that points where the lines intersect represent periods when productivity was close to an annual rate of 1,000 tons per employee. Production was below this level in the early years, but has been well above it most of the time since 1940, and it approximates 2,700 tons per employee.

Coal's regional importance is roughly indicated by the production statistics for principal coal States. In West Virginia, coal currently accounts for about 11 percent of total nonagricultural employment, a substantial change from the 1930's when coal mining provided more than one-fourth of all the jobs in the Mountain State. Employment losses have been less critical in other coal States. Kentucky's coal miners now represent a little over 4 percent of total employment. Pennsylvania's less than 1 percent. Virginia ranks sixth as a coal producer but third in order of the relative importance of coal employment.

*Problems pinpointed*

The changes in mining methods reflect the trend toward greater use of expensive but more efficient equipment. The growing use of continuous mining machines is steadily increasing the over-all productivity of underground operations. In surface mines, the new method known as augur mining, has proven capable of more speed and efficiency than any other mining method. The mining machines have helped coal to meet its competition but unemployment was the byproduct.

Despite this greater productive efficiency, coal's status as a source of energy has continued to decline. In 1920 bituminous coal provided nearly two-thirds of all the energy consumed in the United States. Since then energy use has more than doubled and has been rising at a rate that might double it again by the year 2,000. Bituminous coal consumption, however, has dropped 25 percent since the 1920's. It now accounts for about one-fifth of total energy consumed, and until recently was declining from its wartime peak at a rate that if maintained, would have completely eliminated coal as a source of energy by the year 2,000. Research projects such as those outlined earlier make such an eventuality seem most unlikely. Furthermore, despite the general declines apparent in the graph of consumption patterns, three markets have remained strong. First, electric utilities have needed more and more coal to satisfy America's fast growing appetite for electricity. Second, although steelmakers use coke more and more efficiently, sometimes by augmenting it with natural gas, their total demand has remained fairly stable. Third, other manufacturers have been consuming fairly constant amounts of coal and constitute a market area in which researchers particularly expect to stimulate important new growth. The greater stability apparent in most coal data since 1958 is already a reflection of these new trends.

Coal's chief competitors, petroleum and natural gas, account for nearly three-quarters of all energy consumed currently in the United States. Several factors explain this. The primary one is price per unit of power delivered to the point of utilization. Natural gas has low extraction and transportation costs. "Residual oil," the petroleum product that competes most directly with coal in many uses, is, as the name implies, a residue of the refining process and is usually disposed of at whatever price supply and demand may set. This is tough competition for coal. Present quotas on residual oil imports help a good deal, and coal men hope to compete more effectively in both price and service.

*Wages and profits*

Coal mining has been a well-paid line of work. Average hourly earnings have been consistently higher than in steel mills and automobile plants and substantially higher than for manufacturing industries generally. Annual earnings, however, provide a somewhat different picture because of differences in hours worked. The final chart shows that until recently the average miner earned less per year than did steel and automobile workers. Miners' annual earnings, however, have consistently exceeded those of manufacturing workers generally. Value added per production worker in automobiles, steel, and all manufacturing exceeded the approximately comparable figures for bituminous coal. Therefore, the favorable comparison between miners' earnings and those of workers in other industries means that the fraction of value added going into workers' pockets was substantially larger in coal mining than in any of the other groups.

In recent decades, except during wartime, coal companies typically have been less profitable than other industrial firms. For instance, in 1934 less than one-third of the corporations engaged in coal mining reported net earnings. Other mining companies fared about the same; construction firms, considerably worse; manufacturing, a little better. In 1939 the fraction of coal corporations reporting net income was smaller still, but the others had improved, and by considerable margins in construction and manufacturing. In 1947, however, spurred by postwar fuel shortages, 75 percent of incorporated coal firms showed net profits as compared with 71 percent of similarly chartered construction companies, 66 percent of franchised manufacturing plants, and 60 percent of the mining group as a whole. By 1959 the proportion of profitable corporations had declined only slightly in manufacturing and moderately in construction but had dropped to 46 percent for coal mining firms. The latest data on profits are for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1960, a year complicated by both a steel strike and a recession. Coal mine earnings after taxes were 0.4 percent of sales compared to 2 percent in total mining, 1 percent in construction, and 4 percent in manufacturing. Conditions suggest that many uncertainties still exist in both the production and marketing phases of the coal business. It may be several years before the new coal trends settle into new and stable patterns of employment, production, and earnings.

EXPORT MARKETS FOR COAL

The figures shown on the outline map above represent one estimate of the continental distribution of world coal reserves. These are interesting statistics even though they are the sort that must be interpreted with reservations. These precentages are based on estimates that total something over 5 trillion tons, reflect available geological surveys, and probably indicate well enough the distribution of usable supplies of coal.

*Mining more difficult overseas*

The United States enjoys important natural advantages over and above a substantial share of the world's coal. American deposits are largely of high quality lying relatively near the surface in comparatively thick layers that seldom deviate more than a few degrees from horizontal. In contrast, most of the remaining English coal exists well beneath the surface in seams that are frequently narrow and sharply tilted. Workable deposits on the European Continent are generally so deep in the earth that operating costs are high, and expansion costs are almost prohibitive. Coal is plentiful in many parts of the Asiatic Continent, but developmental capital is scarce, and, in any case, Communist ownership precludes free world access to these deposits in the foreseeable future. Much of Japan's coal is of mediocre quality and occurs in twisted and segmented veins caused by volcanic activity. South America, a complex of nations eager to industralize, has relatively little coal, and the bulk of this is located in Colombia.

Mining activity in the Common Market countries has changed little since 1952. For the rest of Europe, the increases that continued through 1957 occurred for the most part behind the Iron Curtain. The principal gains in world coal production since 1957 have occurred in Asia. It was reported that China doubled output between 1957 and 1958 and added a substantial increment annually thereafter. India has mined more coal each year, although on a considerably smaller scale than that reported for China. Japan's recent annual output has ranged between 52 million and 57 million tons. It is clear that many of the principal nations with with the United States regularly trades have plenty of coal, but little of it is well suited to more rapid exploitation.

*Exports irregular but rising*

The wide fluctuations in U.S. coal exports since World War II tend to obscure the fact that the trend has been upward. An acute coal shortage prevailed in Europe during the first half of the period charted, and exports to Europe were largely determined by the amount of Federal aid available to finance them. As a result of the oil scare that culminated during the 1956 closing of the Suez Canal, European nations stockpiled coal, importing large amounts in 1955, 1956, and 1957. By 1958 stocks were unduly large, concern over the possibility of an oil shortage had subsided, West Germany actually embargoed coal imports, and this Nation's exports nosedived, stabilizing again only after 1959.

Recent exports to other countries primarily reflect economic rather than political events. Exports to Canada, the national coal industry's largest and steadiest external customer, have trended downward as that nation has increased its domestic output of petroleum and natural gas. Elsewhere, native sources of fuel have not been adequate to meet the needs of the growing steel and electric power industries—particularly in Japan, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. The resulting exports to these areas have provided a bright side to the recent picture of oversea markets.

*Potential growth*

In most parts of the world there are important factors limiting the expansion of coal output. The United States is the conspicuous exception. Coal's competitive situation in world markets which can also be served by petroleum or natural gas is frequently a question of price with only a slight

advantage needed to tip the balance one way or the other. Waterpower potential is limited in many areas by inadequate rainfall and, where feasible, requires large capital outlays. Atomic reaction and other revolutionary sources of power are still largely experimental. Superficially, at least, these facts seem to point to sizable future markets overseas for U.S. coal if present trends toward higher productivity and lower prices continue.

Some specific trends abroad can be cited to support this view. Japan's coal production has been fairly stable in recent years despite phenomenal growth in her general economy. In the 5 years between 1956 and 1961, for instance, pig iron production nearly tripled and thermal-generated electric power considerably more than tripled. During the same interval, Japan was able to increase water-generated power by only 15 percent; in Europe, West Germany increased steel production 40 percent between 1956 and 1961; France, 30 percent; Italy, 50 percent; Sweden, 50 percent; Belgium, a little over 10 percent; and Great Britain, a little less. For the same 5-year period, increases in production of electric power were about 40 percent in West Germany, France, and Italy; 50 percent in Great Britain and Sweden; and 30 percent in Belgium. In South America, steel production rose 60 percent in Argentina and 20 percent in Chile, while increases in electric power production in the principal countries ranged from 30 percent in Brazil and Chile to 50 percent in coal-rich Colombia and over 100 percent in oil-rich Venezuela.

The statistics quoted above are not exact. The purpose is to create a general impression of growth rates, in various parts of the world, in the two industries that consumed the most coal. In contrast, coal output actually declined between 1956 and 1961 in Western Europe, and recorded only moderate gains in South America and Japan. There is, of course, no way of knowing how economic forces may shift. But the present trends—lower costs in the United States, rising demands and limitations on output overseas—seem to point to a period of rising export opportunities for the United States.

## The U.S. Position in World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Monday I had the privilege of addressing the 17th annual convention of the National Society of Public Accountants at the Sheraton Hotel in Philadelphia, Pa. At the request of the society, the subject of my address was "The U.S. Position in World Affairs." Under leave to extend my remarks I am including the text of that address:

THE U.S. POSITION IN WORLD AFFAIRS

(Address by Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, before the 17th National Convention of the Public Accountants, Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., Monday, Aug. 20, 1962, 7:30 p.m.)

The subject I have been asked to speak to you about tonight is "The U.S. Position in World Affairs."

Every American is aware of our country's great variety of activities in a thousand spots around the globe.

The newspapers, radio, and television keep us informed daily of American activities in Laos, South Vietnam, Geneva, the United Nations—revolutions in Latin America, riots in Palestine, or propaganda from Moscow.

Yes we are deeply interested in what is going on around the world—because we are deeply involved.

This involvement is partly by choice and partly by circumstance.

The circumstances of World War II left only two great powers—the United States and the Soviet Union.

Japan and Germany were defeated and occupied.

Other European powers were drained and exhausted by the long bitter years of war.

As the United States brought its boys home, the hard realities of this new two-power world soon became evident.

Unless the United States exercised strength—either militarily or economically—as in the case of the Marshall plan the Soviet Union would capture by force and subversion every free country whose affairs it could entangle.

The United States chose to take up vigorously the task that historic circumstance had thrust upon us.

We became leader of the free world in the struggle to maintain independence against the threat of Soviet Russian imperialism.

Of all the roles which our country plays in the world today—this one is the most worthy.

I could speak to you today about our position as a firm and loyal supporter of the United Nations.

I could speak to you about our position of builder of the underdeveloped areas—about our foreign aid program—and our Alliance for Progress.

I could speak to you about our evolving position as a partner in trade with the new Europe—a Europe saved from Communist chaos by its own determination and hard work—aided by the resources the American taxpayer provided by our Marshall plan.

I could speak of these and many other positions of the United States in world affairs today.

But I want to talk about one aspect of our position of leadership of the free world, the very core of strength of our leadership position—our military strength.

We know from bitter experience that Communism will not hesitate to use the force of arms in pursuit of its imperial ambitions.

We also know that freemen, armed with a knowledge of Soviet tactics as well as with the machines of war, will not lose their freedom easily.

Since the core of free world strength is the military power of the U.S. Armed Forces, and since Khrushchev has been making so many claims lately about the size and strength of the Soviet strategic forces, I would like to take this opportunity to point out the relative balance of military power between the United States and the Soviet Union.

There are two reasons for my selection of this specific subject to speak about on this occasion.

First, I have firsthand knowledge of it and, second, during the month of July Mr. Khrushchev and other Russians did some boasting that needs a straight answer.

My knowledge of the subject comes from my Navy experience in the two World Wars, and the Korean conflict.

Also from the fact that I am currently a member of the House Committee on Armed Services and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

I think during the course of my remarks that I will be able to show up Mr. Khrushchev's boasts for what they are.

I think I shall also be able to clear up some possible question in your minds about such things as the missile gap.

It is important in this age of the possibility of nuclear catastrophe—for every citizen to be aware of the realities of the military situation.

This is another reason I thought it important to clear up any confusion created by last month's Soviet exaggerations.

I believe it is useful to share our thinking with our staunch allies—such as our friends from Canada who are here with us at this gathering.

They share equally in the dangers of defending our freedoms.

For that reason, they ought to share equally in our evaluation of the actual military balance of power today.

Let me begin by comparing the strategic striking forces of the United States and the Soviet Union.

At present we have about 85 operational ICBM's to a reported Soviet 50–75.

In addition the United States has 128 Polaris missiles on 8 operational submarines.

We have over 600 B–52's, almost 100 B–58's, and about 1,000 B–47's with round trip refueling capabilities.

Against this the Russians have only 150 intercontinental bombers and about 400 to 800 one-way-only medium bombers.

This is all that the Russians have that poses a direct threat to the United States and Canada.

We have, however, in addition to all these missiles and bombers about 100 MRBM's in Europe.

We also have about 300 carrier-based and 1,000 land-based tactical aircraft designed and stationed so that they could carry nuclear weapons into Russia.

Thus, considering only the United States and the Soviet Union, we have an enormously overwhelming advantage in strategic nuclear striking power.

To partially offset this advantage the Soviets have their huge well-equipped land army and about 400 MRBM's stationed in Eastern Europe with which to threaten our NATO allies.

The advantage in missiles and bombers is decidedly on the side of the United States and is growing rapidly.

Furthermore, we and our NATO allies are building up our conventional forces in Europe—so that we can conduct a successful local defense without using destructive nuclear weapons to do it.

Therefore, without ignoring the dangers of the fantastically destructive weapons of today, there is no need for us to be more afraid of the Russians than they are of us.

We can be confident that our vigorous defense program is keeping us ahead of the Reds.

But what about the missile gap? Did it ever exist?

Yes it did exist on paper but fortunately it never materialized in fact.

The missile gap was a prediction, let us remember, based on intelligence estimates.

These estimates showed that the Russians were building a fleet of ICBM's.

The estimates were arrived at based on the amount of steel alloy and the number of specialists and so forth required to build one of these missiles.

In addition, the estimates were based on the total amount of steel alloy and the number of specialists that the Russians had.

Then also the experts calculated how many missiles the Russians were capable of building over the next few years.

Compared to the number of missiles that the United States had planned to build over those same years, the Russians could have had in the early 1960's a lead of as much as 3 to 2.

This was the so-called missile gap.

The main reason it never materialized was that Russia never built anywhere near the number of missiles that were estimated.

Her failure to do so was due perhaps to agricultural or other internal problems which kept her defense spending down.

At any rate, we speeded up our program, and when the new intelligence information came in that the Russians had not built all their missiles—the so-called missile gap disappeared.

In fact, the United States assumed a small but growing lead in the missile field.

The same thing had happened in the early 1950's with the bomber gap and it was resolved in the same fashion.

It was worthwhile to take these alleged gaps seriously.

You can imagine the dangerous situation which could have arisen, if we had not taken them seriously, and the Russians had built to their limit.

At the present time it is reported we have a safe lead in both these categories.

That fact is a satisfying feeling for all Americans.

Now there are two specific Russian rumors that I would like to try to counter.

On July 17, Premier Khrushchev in an interview with some American editors repeated his earlier claims that Russia had an anti-ICBM missile.

He boasted that the Soviet missile could "hit a fly in space."

Our Department of Defense and other space scientists are positive, however, that the first successful intercept of an ICBM by an antimissile missile took place 3 days later.

It was on July 20, over Kwajalein Island in the Pacific, a U.S. Army Nike-Zeus missile intercepted an Atlas ICBM.

So here is an anti-missile-missile gap that Mr. Khrushchev is trying to create in the minds of the world.

The facts do not back him up.

Another Russian boast that took place last month was in connection with the Soviet Navy day celebration held in Leningrad on July 29.

There, Russian Admiral Baikov said that the Soviet Navy now had Polaris-type submarines that could go under the pole just like the U.S. version.

Later, in the military newspaper Red Star, the Soviet Polaris-type striking force was called the "shock force" of the Red navy.

Now this may well be, but if the Russians have Polaris-type submarines that can go under the pole, they must not be able to make it up the Neva River to Leningrad.

They did not show up with all the other Red navy vessels at the navy day celebration.

And only a few weeks before the Red Star called the Polaris-type submarine fleet the "shock force" of the Red navy, reports came out that the Soviet Union had just conducted its first successful underwater missile launch.

No wonder none of these subs showed up at Leningrad.

If these submarines advanced from the experimental stage to a "shock force" stage in the matter of a few weeks, those subs must have been cruising under the pole or somewhere with no time to celebrate navy day.

What all these exaggerations show, I think, is a desperate attempt by the Soviets to keep up the false image of Russian military supremacy.

This exaggerated supremacy claimed the attention of a worried world under the influence of such things as the "bomber gap" and the missile gap.

Now that time has shown each of these gaps to be nonexistent, the world realizes that the United States is still way ahead of the Russians militarily.

For one thing, the Soviet economy cannot stand the defense expenditures needed to surpass the U.S. effort.

And for the world to know this most certainly upsets the Soviet leaders.

In the face of all this Soviet bluffing and the lack of facts in the false gap stories America faces a problem at home.

Some of our fellow citizens claim that the United States is behind in everything.

They say we have become a second-rate power.

They are alarmists and prophets of defeatism.

They talk about Russia's expanding economy—and now they throw in Germany, France, and Japan.

What they do not say or do not know is that the Russian expansion is based on the period between 1948 and 1953, when the Soviet was recovering from the effects of the German invasion.

It was a recovery from a nearly mortal blow, and not normal, healthy economic expansion.

Much the same may be said for most European countries.

We know that Russia has not expanded agricultural production.

We know she is short of automobiles and such durables as refrigerators, washing machines, and many other items.

The United States has never failed to meet production goals in either war or peace from either its farms or factories.

These achievements should be the pride and glory of every single American.

One of the great unsolved military problems facing this country is that of organizing and equipping the NATO shield forces.

We must be able to fight and to win a local resistance war without destroying the homeland of the ally, which we are defending.

This means in simple terms that if we use tactical nuclear weapons to stop a possible Russian thrust into Europe, they would use them, too, and soon there would be nothing left to defend.

That is why our policy is now directed toward increasing the strength of the conventionally armed defense forces there.

If the Communists tried to invade Western Europe and we had the number of regular divisions there that we are now building up to, a stout defense could be made without the use of highly destructive nuclear weapons.

Our policy is now directed toward keeping those weapons always on hand—always ready to use if our regular defense forces cannot hold—while at the same time increasing their capability to do so.

If the Regular Forces cannot hold—and we must use nuclear weapons to do it—the dimension of the war will be radically altered, for the initiation of the use of nuclear weapons is more than just an increase in firepower.

It is a firm and solemn demonstration to the enemy that the object which we are defending is of extremely high value to us.

And his persistence in trying to gain it has raised the risks to him to a high and dangerous level.

The problem today, however, is that the conventional forces in NATO are still in the process of building up to a high enough level.

What we want is a choice of whether or not to use nuclear weapons, not a necessity to do so.

This position of choice between alternatives is a position of strength.

But the problem of tactical nuclear weapons in NATO is more complex than this.

Basic decisions will have to be made within the next year or two about the strategy under which NATO forces will use these weapons.

And based on this strategy, additional problems will have to be solved.

Our allies are demanding a greater share in the decisions about when, where, how, or if to use nuclear weapons.

After all, if we use them, they will explode in our allies' backyard.

Therefore, they are also asking more command positions in the military branch of NATO, which will have control of these nuclear weapons.

The military problems of NATO are further complicated by the political problems which always arise when two or more independent nations work together.

I would like to leave with you now a few thoughts about perhaps the greatest and most challenging problem which will have to be overcome, if we are to realize our goal of a free and peaceful society of independent nations.

That problem is the mastery of outer space.

The advances in this field in the last 5 years stagger the imagination.

For example the successful orbiting and landing last week of the Russian cosmonauts reveal the great advances made by the Soviet Union in probing outer space.

Frankly these Russian accomplishments reveal military danger which could arise if an alien power could take and maintain control of outer space—while denying its use to the West by antisatellite missiles or other means.

Seriously ladies and gentlemen—we have a lot of work to do in the development of our space program—if we are to forge ahead or even keep abreast of the Soviets.

This is the crux of the vexing problem we face.

If the West wins this space race or at least matches Russia, we will be successful in keeping the Soviet Union from threatening the free world from an invulnerable space haven.

I am certain you will agree that in such an event—we will have taken a long step toward the kind of international society we want.

Our basic problem centers on how to win this cold war without having a thermonuclear war if possible.

For as the greatest of all Chinese military philosophers, Sun Tzu said almost 2,500 years ago 500 B.C., "To fight and conquer in all our battles is not supreme excellence—supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting."

While we are ready today to fight a thermonuclear war we have no wish to do so unless forced to it by the Russians.

The United States with its overwhelming strategic superiority would put an end to Soviet Russia but she in turn would kill many millions of our people and perhaps destroy Western Europe completely.

Such an ending to the cold war would obviously satisfy no one.

Western strategy is to remain militarily strong enough so that the U.S.S.R. will not try an armed takeover in the free parts of the world.

In addition, by economic cooperation and increased world trade, we hope to make the Atlantic alliance a strong and thriving center of well-being and freedom.

Having accomplished this objective, the Soviet alliance system would break down as the captive nations of Eastern Europe are irresistibly attracted to the Western example of free and happy prosperity.

Finally the road to this ideal solution will be neither short nor easy.

There are many problems to be met and overcome and the twists and turns in the road will be many.

Yet with the confidence that the facts of the present military balance give us, and the knowledge that history is on the side of freedom, with God's help, our cause shall prevail.

If it does not prevail, let us make certain it is not due from lack of effort on the part of any one of us.

## Farm Youth Exchange Delegate Reports From Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased the other day to receive a letter from Washington State's International Farm Youth Exchange delegate to Poland. The letter, addressed to her friends at home, is both interesting and informative, and I include the letter, by Miss Mary McGreevy, at this point in the RECORD:

SZOTRY, POLAND,
*July 15, 1962.*

DEAR FRIENDS AT HOME: I would like to have you meet my family, Panstwo (Mr. and Mrs.) Fredrish Senger, and Barbara.

As I walked into the small but adequate kitchen and saw the white, stiffly starched curtains reflecting on the highly polished, painted, plank flooring, I knew more about my mother than 1,000 words could have told me and I wasn't wrong. My mother is in her early fifties, a wee bit shorter than I and weighs 1 kg. or 22 pounds more than I. A small gray streak above her right eye in her hair makes all the rest of the small roll that encircles her head seem that much blacker. I was later to learn that we use a fat-type product to wax and polish our floors. This not only shines but also cleans the floor as you put it on providing you rub hard enough.

My father has just enough sternness in his carriage to make it evident that he is of German descent and manager of this state farm. I have yet to hear him raise his voice but beyond anyone's doubt his wishes are law outside of the house. Oddly enough in the house my mother or matka (maht'-ka) is the boss. This pattern is a little different than most of the families I have observed to date. The family structure is usually definitely paternal.

Meals are served at 6:30 a.m., noon and somewhere around 7 p.m. At the morning and evening meal it is time to start sitting down when my father pours the tea. Breakfast and supper—sniadanie and kolacja (snah-dah-nie) (kō-laha-ya) are usually cold meals of rye bread, butter, delicious sausage, tomatoes, a dry cheese and liver sausage. In fact I can usually tell what is for breakfast by looking at what is left on the table after supper. This method really cuts down on the dishes which is a mightly important factor when a two-quart kettle is the sum total of hot water at your disposal. Dinner or obiad (ōbaht) is the hot meal and this consists of soup, meat, potatoes (in numbers) and frequently cooked cabbage or what we called suck-a-tash at home which is peas, corn, creamed together. No tea or drink is served at this meal. My mother serves herself first at all meals, indicates the order of service and tastes the food herself first at all meals. Seldom is this pattern broken. In other homes where I have eaten the host performs these duties. I have observed when we have had guests or we have been guests that the host, or in my case my mother, keeps a small amount of food on the plate until the last person finishes eating. At breakfast and supper we eat on salad plates and take one serving at a time. When finished with this you then take another. This eliminates much waste. In fact if you added all the waste from the plates of the meals I have eaten so far I doubt if you would equal the amount we have in the United States from one meal. This custom is especially saving with children.

My house is built about like the old-style family homes in the Palouse country. Many of the houses in Poland are this style, with a kind of stucco used to cover the brick inside and out. There are at least four families and maybe more that live under this roof. This is also typical in Poland for houses are hard to get and the fact that young couples in the United States can rent a single house amazes them and to own one is almost beyond their comprehension. On the main floor of our house we have a seldom used parlor, kitchen, dining room. Upstairs we have two bedrooms and we share the basement with everyone else. Many of the doors in Poland have locks and quite surprising to me they are very careful about keeping things locked, at least here at this farm.

Here just as in America the parents hope to give their children more than they have. My parents are extremely proud of my sister, 2 years younger than I, who is a lab technician at the water sanitation plant in Srem. Their son finished electrical engineering school in Gdansk recently. Many of the young adults live with their parents. This produces the same problems as in America. However, with homes so hard to get there is hardly an alternative.

People told me before I left that the Polish love to argue and believe me it's true. They remind me of my cousin and me when 1 minute the "fur was flying" the next minute we had our heads together trying to figure out how to get away from work and go swimming.

My family, like all Poles, loves music. Most of the music is a jazz mixture. John Phillip Sousa is one of their favorites and mine too, but after waking up every morning, it seems, to his "Stars and Stripes Forever" at full volume I sometimes wonder why he ever had to compose a song. One thing is very certain—one wakes up in a hurry. Meals are always accompanied with music on the radio. Believe me it was a major catastrophe when one evening the wiring shorted out and the radio was quiet. Fixing the radio was far more important than supper. Yes, there are American songs, most of them on the order of "Bye, Bye, Baby" and "Rock, Baby, Rock" played about one beat faster than in the United States. My family always tries to get the "Voice of America" program which is transmitted from Munich in Polish, but usually they are unsuccessful.

Flowers play a very important part in the life of the people. They may not have room to live but only rarely are they so cramped for space that they don't have a flower garden at least, and in most cases a very good vegetable garden also. In the towns these gardens may be small plots adjoining the town very similar in plan to what the student in the South Fairway at Washington State University have. My family has a small garden which is my father's pride and joy. By spending a few minutes each morning, noon, and evening he has as spotless a garden as my mother has kitchen and equally as productive. His specialty is roses and while it seems everyone in Poland tries to grow them, not everyone has the gorgeous success my father has. When they gave me my birthday party, and what a joyful night that was, the first course was roses and cakes, followed by courses of sausage, rye bread, deviled eggs, a meat dish similar to spam, and tomatoes with wine toasts at intervals throughout the almost 4-hour affair... Meals at which guests are invited and usually it's only supper, do last a long time and during this time you are at the table, but it is so interesting that the time passes quickly. Basically it is only on these occasions that the people take time to really visit, and the "turn" to talk passes around the table to each one present.

My farm is very clean and organized. Each piece of equipment, cow, horse, and person it seems have their place and are there each evening and morning. The courtyard which is about three times the size of the Troy Hall parking lot at the college, is swept each week on Saturday, rain or shine, and believe me there has been lots of rain. However, the soil here is much like the Columbia Basin so it soaks in quickly.

Books command much respect and the people will save many months to buy them. Actually they are not too expensive, but they are not a necessity. They will usually be within each reach for they like to read. My family takes two daily newspapers and has accumulated many books all of which they are proud of. Bookstores and flower shops are about as frequent as taverns in the United States and seem to always be doing business.

In answer to a couple of your questions, no my family does not speak English, in fact, no one here on the farm does, but we get along all right. Even though the food is very delicious, I have not as yet gained weight.

My next letter will explain the agriculture system here on my farm. Until then may your health be good and your happiness great. I'd love to see the crops there. I understand they are supposed to be very good, I hope so.

Your grateful IFYE in Poland,
MARY MCGREEVY.

## The Logical Democratic Nominee for Governor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted recently to read an editorial in the Whitehall Times on one of New York City's outstanding statesmen, James A. Farley.

Mr. Farley is not only a statesman from the city of New York but from the State of New York and one of the great men of our times. I am happy that the Whitehall Times sees him as a worthy candidate for Governor of New York.

The editorial follows:

THE LOGICAL DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR

The Democratic Party of New York State faces a serious chore in its selection of a candidate for Governor this fall. Various capable men from throughout the State have announced their candidacies for the nomination, but all are handicapped by the fact that they are not too well known outside their own area. This would provide a severe drawback in the short time schedule for this fall's gubernatorial campaign.

The situation demands a candidate who is well known throughout the State, a candidate who is a regular party member respected by all, and one who can unite the present divergent factions of the party. There seemingly is only one man so qualified; that is James A. Farley.

Mr. Farley's age may be considered a handicap by some, but his activities are those of a young man, not an old one. He not only is known throughout the State; he is a na-

tional and international figure. He is one of the greatest politicians in the history of the Democratic Party, and he has statesmanlike stature.

In our opinion, Mr. Farley is the best qualified candidate to lead the Democratic Party to victory at the polls in November.

## U.S. Travel Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, last year it was my privilege to sponsor the bill which established the U.S. Travel Service. This agency has the responsibility of attracting foreign tourists to America, and although it is only a year old, it has been extremely successful. Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include an article from this week's U.S. News & World Report which makes note of the progress made by this agency. The article is as follows:

FOREIGN TOURISTS "DISCOVER" AMERICA

First returns are in now on a U.S. campaign to boost foreign travel in America. So far: a modest success, some surprises, some complaints. Number of visitors is up substantially because of bargains in rates and other inducements. But final results will not be known until after October.

An increasing number of foreign tourists are discovering America this year—often at bargain prices.

Many of the visitors are coming to the United States as the result of the first official venture by this country to sell itself abroad as a vacation attraction.

For a little more than a year, the U.S. Travel Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce has been active in 33 foreign countries, promoting travel in the United States.

American hotels, transport lines, travel agencies and city and State governments have pitched in to help. Special rates for travel, lodgings, meals, and tourist attractions have been arranged for the foreign visitors.

The result has been a modest but encouraging increase in the number of tourists arriving at American seaports and air terminals.

In the first 5 months of 1962, there were 203,000 foreign visitors—excluding those from Canada and Mexico—an increase of 18 percent over the same period in 1961.

As the months from May through October are the peak time for foreign travel in the United States, the prospect is that complete figures for 1962 will show a substantial increase over last year's total of 515,000 visitors from abroad.

EUROPE'S BOOM A HELP

A prosperous and booming Europe is sending more and more travelers to the United States each year. Many of these visitors combine sight-seeing trips with long-delayed reunions with relatives here. The number of tourists from Australia and Japan also is increasing steadily.

At the urging of the U.S. Travel Service (USTS), some of the hindrances to vacations in the United States have been eliminated. Also, warmer welcomes are being given to newcomers to this country.

For instance, the application for a U.S. visa has been simplified from a 4-page document to a brief form about the size of a filecard. Visas now are issued in a matter of minutes, instead of days or weeks.

Arrivals at major international air terminals on both the east and west coasts are met by one or more port receptionists. These greeters, attractive young women proficient in at least one of four languages other than English, help to speed the visitors through the formalities of immigration and customs and to their destinations.

Britain sends the most tourists to America. Last year, 93,000 Britons visited their former colony. The number of visas issued in Britain this year is up 30 percent over 1961.

Greater numbers of French and German visitors are arriving each year. Traditionally, the French do not wander any great distance from home on vacations, but so far this year the number of visas issued in France for U.S. visits has increased by 52 percent over last year.

WHAT THEY SEE

Nearly one of every two foreign visitors sets his sights on seeing Niagara Falls. The lure of natural wonders such as the Grand Canyon, Yosemite National Park and the redwood forests of California tugs strongly at most visitors.

Among the cities, New York, Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Miami are most popular.

Air travel in the United States, overseas tourists discover, is cheaper than at home. Traveling in pairs or foursomes, they find they can get around the country at reasonable cost if they plan ahead.

Cross-country bus tours are available at a rate of 99 days of travel for $99. One nationwide hotel chain offers foreigners a "$6 'n' $6" plan. For $6 a person, double occupancy, it guarantees an air-conditioned room with twin beds, private bath and television in any city where it operates a hotel. For an additional $6 a day, tips and taxes included, the visitor can get three meals.

Charter flights and special "package tours" by ship are cutting the cost of getting to the United States—biggest expense item in planning such a trip.

In August, an ocean liner brought a total of 3,200 Britons to New York on two cruises at a minimum cost of $204 per passenger for the round trip. The visitors used the *Canberra*, Britain's newest ocean liner, as their hotel and made trips to such places as Niagara Falls, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington by train at special group rates.

WHAT THEY SAY

The USTS is making an effort to find out what foreign visitors like and dislike about America. So far, their comments have varied widely.

"Costs were not higher than expected, including food, entertainment, and shopping," said a member of a jazz club from London that visited New York.

"Less educated service personnel tend to be unfriendly to foreigners in restaurants and other public places," reported a tourist from the Netherlands.

"American family life is highly moral and American youth has a sense of maturity and responsibility not found in Italian youth," said an Italian.

"We were impressed, but not surprised, by the high standard of living," reported members of another group.

A British taxi driver found New York taxis "a lot cheaper than London cabs."

One general complaint is about the high prices of food and drinks in night clubs, particularly in New York.

A MATTER OF DOLLARS

Behind the drive to attract more foreigners to the United States is the continuing problem of the flow of U.S. dollars abroad.

American tourists last year spent $2.2 billion outside the United States for travel—just twice as much as tourists from all foreign countries spent in the United States. The difference is nearly half the balance-of-payments deficit of $2.5 billion piled up by the United States in 1961.

Voit Gilmore, director of the USTS, estimates that each visitor from overseas spends an average of $540 within the United States. Any appreciable increase in the number of foreign tourists, he points out, would help to close the payments gap.

## New Efforts To Achieve a Meaningful Test Ban Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in still another attempt to achieve a meaningful nuclear test ban treaty the United States and Great Britain have made a significant new proposal to the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

In their joint communique President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan stated that:

The United States and the United Kingdom cannot emphasize too strongly the urgency we attach to the problem of ending all nuclear tests once and for all. For the safety and security of all of us, this deadly competition must be halted and we, again, urge the Soviet Government to join with us in meaningful action to make this necessity a reality.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this statement and an excellent editorial which appeared in this morning's New York Times to our colleagues for their most serious attention and consideration:

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND PRIME MINISTER MACMILLAN, AUGUST 27, 1962

A guaranteed end to all nuclear testing in all environments is a fundamental objective of the free world. We are deeply convinced that the achievement of this objective would serve our best national interests and the national interests of all the nations of the world.

In recent weeks the United States and the United Kingdom have renewed their efforts at the Geneva Disarmament Conference to reach this goal. Based on the latest scientific findings of our research program, we have put forward proposals in the strong hope of obtaining prompt agreement on this crucial issue.

As a further step in the direction of this long-sought-after goal, the United States and the United Kingdom have instructed their representatives at Geneva to present today at the 18 Nation Disarmament Committee a draft treaty containing proposals for an end to all nuclear testing in all environments as well as an alternative draft treaty providing for an end to nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space. We both believe the arrangements we have outlined in these documents for insuring compliance with the terms of the agree-

ment—whether comprehensive or limited—are sound and reasonable providing, as they do, the necessary guarantees for our own security and the security of all nations which might become parties to either agreement. We wish to make clear the strong preference of the United States and the United Kingdom for prompt action on the first of them, namely, the comprehensive treaty. However, we are also prepared to conclude an early agreement on the basis of the second document, that covering a more limited field, if this represents the widest area of agreement possible at this time.

Unlike a ban on testing in all environments, including underground, a treaty banning tests in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space can be effectively verified without onsite inspections. Such a treaty would result in a definite downward turn in the arms race as it is represented by testing to develop weapons technology. It would make it easier to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to countries not now possessing them. It would free mankind from the dangers and fear of radioactive fallout. Furthermore, agreement on such a treaty might be a first step toward an agreement banning testing in all environments.

The United States and the United Kingdom cannot emphasize too strongly the urgency we attach to the problem of ending all nuclear testing once and for all. For the safety and security of all of us, this deadly competition must be halted and we, again, urge the Soviet Government to join with us in meaningful action to make this necessity a reality.

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A LIMITED TEST BAN

With the inexorable clock of history ticking away toward the moment when the atomic arms race may get wholly beyond control, the United States and Britain are making another serious attempt to persuade Soviet Russia to join them in a nuclear test ban. To this end, they have submitted to the Geneva disarmament conference two alternative draft treaties.

The first and preferable one calls for a total test ban under international control, including on-site inspection. But since Moscow flatly rejects as espionage onsite inspections by foreigners, the British and Americans are proposing an alternate treaty which Ambassador Dean rightly calls "far-reaching and epochal." This treaty would ban all nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space—these are the ones that cause lethal fallout—and it would do so without onsite inspection or any international verification machinery.

This second draft treaty is an expansion of President Eisenhower's proposal in 1959 to ban atmospheric tests up to 30 miles altitude and the Kennedy-Macmillan proposal of last year to ban all atmosphere tests without additional controls. In that respect it goes even further than such proposals as the one recently made by Italy, which involved an international monitoring system, including onsite inspection by invitation. How far it really goes is shown by the fact that it drops the previous American demand for inspection of test preparations and it shelves misgivings that the new detection methods may still be unreliable for small atmospheric tests.

However, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan are confident that the latest scientific findings indicate that tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space can now be effectively verified without onsite inspections. It may be assumed that they base their conclusion on the results of the armada by secret American surveillance satellites going by such names as Midas, Samos, Satellite Inspector, and Vela.

The limited test ban, even if little more than another moratorium terminable on 60 days' notice, is clearly the best hope under present circumstances. It is all the more urgent because Communist China is believed ready for tests within months. The sincerity of Russian professions against nuclear testing can be judged, for all the world to see, by the Soviet Union's reaction to these latest United States-British proposals which make a major step toward the elimination of nuclear testing with its deadly fallout. If the rest of the world gets behind the Anglo-American proposals, the U.S.S.R. may yet be persuaded to soften its hostility toward the draft treaties. The future of mankind could well be at stake.

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## Atlantis: Fact or Fiction—Was There a Lost Continent of Atlantis? Present Oceanographic Studies May Well Answer This Intriguing Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including herewith an article, "Atlantis: Fact or Fiction—Was There a Lost Continent of Atlantis? Present Oceanographic Studies May Well Answer This Intriguing Question," by Comdr. Wendell Phillips Dodge, FRGS, explorer-circumnavigator, who has made a lifelong study of the sciences involving and controlling the oceans of the world. The article appeared in the July–August 1962 issue of the Compass, published by the Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., New York.

In the issue of the RECORD of Thursday, August 2, 1962, under my extension of remarks I included another article written by Commander Dodge, entitled "Lost Continent of Mu—Current Oceanographic Studies Bear Out Ancient Pacific Legends," that was published in the same magazine, March–April 1962. The present insertion may be considered as a companion piece about a sister "lost continent."

The article follows:

ATLANTIS: FACT OR FICTION—WAS THERE A LOST CONTINENT OF ATLANTIS? PRESENT OCEANOGRAPHIC STUDIES MAY WELL ANSWER THIS INTRIGUING QUESTION

(By Comdr. Wendell Phillips Dodge, FRGS, explorer-circumnavigator)

It would seem that Plato, with malice aforethought, left his story of the fabled Atlantis only half told simply to give future generations something about which to dream. If this was his intent, he has been eminently successful since his writings on the subject have intrigued a whole host of writers, scientists, philosophers, and even Hollywood. But positive proof or disproof of the land's existence is still in the realm of supposition.

Plato, in his famous dialogs, has Critias tell the story: "I have before remarked in speaking of the allotments of the gods, that they distributed the whole earth into portions differing in extent, and made themselves temples. And Poseidon, receiving for his lot the island of Atlantis, begat children by a mortal woman, and settled them in a part of the island, which I will proceed to describe." This he did to perfection, even to telling how Poseidon fell in love and made "alternate zones of sea and land larger and smaller, encircling one another out of the center of the island, equidistant every way so that no man could get to the island, for ships and voyages were not as yet heard of. He himself, as he was a god, found no difficulty in making special arrangements for the center island [bringing two streams of water under the earth, which he caused to ascend as springs, one warm water and the other cold and making every variety of food to spring up abundantly in the earth]." The country was described as being very lofty with steep cliffs running down to the sea. The major part of the island, according to Plato, lay toward the south, well sheltered from the north by towering hills. "The surrounding mountains are celebrated for their number and size and beauty, in which they exceeded all that are now to be seen anywhere."

The bracketed words in the foregoing paragraph were undoubtedly Plato's pseudo-scientific or better, mythological way of explaining the origins of the Gulf Stream and the Arctic Current.

On December 30, 1955, the New York Times published an editorial headed, "Must We Give Up Atlantis?" Here is what it said in part: "We don't mind so much where the moon came from, but what we do mind is a collateral conclusion of Drs. Press (Frank) and Ewing (Maurice) that there never was any such continent as Atlantis. All we can say on this point is that Drs. Press and Ewing have not taken their Plato as seriously as they might have.

"Life in Atlantis was thus something that men in later years could only dream of. In the end, unhappily, the Atlantians fell into evil ways, and at the end of the 'Critias,' in an incomplete paragraph, Plato makes it clear that the wrath of the gods descended upon them.

"The story is too good to lose. We need Atlantis. We need the romantic dream of a golden land and age."

More recently, in the "Tropics" column on the editorial page of the New York Times of July 2, 1961, appeared five paragraphs headed "The Lost Continent," "Best of Possible Worlds," "Description of Atlantis," "The Mother Empire," and "Mysteries of the Unfathomable." A few short quotations from the second, third, and fourth paragraphs respectively reveal the Times' perennial interest in the subject: "The continued fascination of the Atlantis myth or fact (as the case may be) is, of course, a reflection of man's own search for the best of all possible worlds, whether real or imagined, leavened by the mystery and romance of the unknown. Magic names like Atlantis, Mu (a similar continent said to have sunk in the Pacific), Xanadu, Shangri-La and Utopia all ring with the misty unattainable.

"According to Plato, Atlantis was a land larger than Asia Minor including Libya, situated west of the Pillars of Hercules (the Strait of Gibraltar), in what is now called the Atlantic Ocean. Plato's description of Atlantis was that of an ideal society, where good and right triumphed and man was noble and fine. Plato's dialogs contained elaborate descriptions of Atlantis and its physical appearance, even to the temples, palaces, and race courses. The city itself was said to be circular in shape.

"Atlantis, known as a mother empire because of the notion that her culture was the initial source of many other civilizations, still makes news."

The tradition of Atlantis has become part of the world's literature. At first sight the account of Plato has all the appearance of a legendary tale. But a careful examination of its text furnishes data for a reasonable case in favor of its authenticity. Lewis Spence, distinguished British author of three separate books on the subject, and undoubtedly the world's greatest authority on Atlantis, has done much careful research, considering virtually every source from which Atlantean history may be derived. In his writings he cites evidence from geology, biology, Central American and Peruvian archeology, plus the geography and topography of the Atlantic Ocean. The numerous authoritative scientific findings he gives certainly make an excellent case in support of Plato's account.

Emerson put his finger on the matter when he penned "Science does not know its debt to imagination." Two scientists who definitely do, however, are Dr. Henry Chapin and Dr. F. G. Walton Smith, who are among the world's foremost oceanographers (Dr. Smith is both founder and director of the University of Miami's Marine Laboratory). In their fascinating account of the Gulf Stream they have a pertinent chapter on the "Atlantis Legend" (The Ocean River, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1952). They have this to say: "So when we use the word 'legend' we do not mean fable or fairy story. True racial legend is a kind of history in the making composed of old memories and inventions to fit facts and events that, as yet, have no orderly recognition in history. * * * But, oddly enough, legends often break trail in the dark uncertainty of prehistory and become accepted history in turn. Troy, we should remember, was once a name in a poem until Schleimann (Henry) pursued the legend and found the actual city as described in Homer's Iliad.

"There is a particular and persistent legend connected with our story of the ocean river—the legend of the lost Atlantis, the civilization and the island empire once presumed to have existed outside the gates of Gibraltar, about where the present mid-Atlantic ridge rears up a mile or more from the ocean floor east of the Sargasso Sea. Plato first reported on Atlantis in his Timaeus and Critias Dialogues in the third century before Christ. Today the legend will not down even under the eye of modern science, for strong data keep cropping out of oceanographic research that could use some such scheme of explanation. We have to accustom ourselves to think that mankind did not start a civilized existence with the Egyptians or the Mayas or the early Hindus. In Europe we are now aware of an artistically mature race of people, the Cro-Magnon, with larger brain areas than our own, who lived in the foothills of southern France 25,000 to 40,000 years ago. The first Egyptian dynasty was less than 6,000 years ago. And the further back in time we trace our ancestry, two important things are emphasized. Firstly there seems to have been a widespread basic common cultural exchange almost encircling the globe in the warm subtropical belt of seas that reach from east of the Mediterranean to west of the Caribbean. And secondly, this dimly observed common cultural ancestry thrived beyond history as we know it, on the other side of vast geological and climatic catastrophies known to us only as legends in our racial histories from India to Mexico." Indeed this scientific-minded approach would appear to admit to the probability of both the "lost continents" of Mu and Atlantis.

The French savant Pierre Termier, director of science of the Geological Chart of France, contributed to the subject in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., in 1915, stating: "Geologically speaking, the Platonic history of the Atlantis is highly probable."

Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), "The Father of Experimental Philosophy," and the first to use the inductive method of reasoning to any extent also had something to say. About 1614 he wrote an allegorical romance, "The New Atlantis," describing an imaginary island where a philosophical commonwealth, bent on the cultivation of the natural sciences was established. That famous newspaper the Times of London, on February 6, 1909, also published a theory that Atlantis is to be credited with Crete in the Minoan period, under the title of "The Lost Continent."

In contrast to the Pacific, the Atlantic Ocean contains a relatively small number of islands. The question of the origin of the Atlantic basin, like that of the other great divisions of the hydrosphere, is still unsettled. Most geologists include the Atlantic with the other oceans in the view they adopt as to its age. However, E. Suess and M. Neumayr, while they regard the basin of the Pacific as of great antiquity, believe the Atlantic to date from the Mesozoic age. Neumayr finds evidence of the existence of a continent between Africa and South America which protruded into the central North Atlantic during Jurassic times, the age of lizards and birds.

During 1947 and 1948 the Swedish deep sea *Albatross* expedition under the leadership of Hans Pettersson brought back new and startling evidence in probing the secrets of the deep ocean floor. Using a rather recently invented instrument to study the thickness of deep water sediment layers, Pettersson calculated the layers of ooze in some parts of the Atlantic to be nearly 12,000 feet thick. Then explorations made by Dr. Maurice Ewing, Ilia A. Tolstoy and others abroad the research vessel *Atlantis* discovered that over 4,000 feet of sediment rests upon the slopes of the mid-Atlantic Ridge. Another surprising haul from the deep ocean bed between Woods Hole, Cape Cod and Bermuda showed the presence of coarse sandy material, considered typical of shallow waters near shore. The startling discovery of such material in deep offshore water suggests that we are in for a considerable revision of ideas.

Seismological stations throughout the world record the time of earthquake shocks, enabling scientists to calculate their speed of travel through the earth's crust, and by a process of deduction, some idea of the distribution of heavier and lighter rocks is obtained. A paper, "Gravity Interpretations From Standard Oceanic and Continental Crustal Sections" presented in 1955 by J. Lamar Worzel and G. Lynn Shurbet, of the Lamont Geological Observatory of Columbia University, states under "conclusions": "If the Bahamas platform is all calcareous and laid down on an oceanic crust, the thickness of the calcareous sediments is 28.5 kilometers (93,000 feet). The final 16,000 feet of sediments, sampled in the well at Andres Island, would have been laid down in water depths of less than 2,000 feet." This is particularly interesting in view of what Col. James Churchward wrote of the submergence of the "lost continent" of Atlantis appearing in the article on "The Lost Continent of Mu" in the Pacific in the March–April 1962 issue of the Compass.

Other recent findings when pieced together and carefully interpreted would seem to point to the actual existence of Atlantis. At the Second Caribbean Geological Conference held at the University of Puerto Rico in Mayagues, Puerto Rico, January 4–9, 1959, Dr. Bruce C. Heezen of the Lamont Geological Observatory presented a paper on "Some Problems of Caribbean Submarine Geology," in which he stated: "Depths of water in the Antillean seas are markedly less than depths in the great ocean basins. * * * Since the depth of the Caribbean, as well as its crustal thickness, is intermeditae between the two fundamental crustal types, it is assumed that the Antillean arcs are at an intermediate stage in the process of crustal evolution. But in what direction is this process proceeding? Are the Antillean seas, pieces of a former deep sea floor in the processes of becoming part of the continents, as proposed by Ewing, et al., 1957, or are these seas pieces of subsided continental crust well advanced in the process of becoming ocean, as suggested by Schuchert in 1935, Eardley in 1951, and others?"

Then, writing of "The Ice Ages Theory," in the Journal of the Alberta Society of Petroleum Geologists, for July 1960, Dr. Maurice Ewing stated in part: "By radiocarbon analysis it is possible to assign dates to carbonate material in the cores as far back as about 30,000 years before the present. When we found out how to select undisturbed samples, it quickly became clear that at a depth of a few feet, varying somewhat from place to place according to the local rates of sedimentation, there is an abrupt change in the kind, color, and texture of the sediment, and in the kinds of animals whose remains were in it. The upper layer always contained warm water types, and these continued right up to the floor of the ocean. Below them was a layer dominated by the cold water types. The boundary between the two layers was, in many cases, remarkably sharp. It marked a rather abrupt change from a cool, steady state to a warm one at about 11,000 years before the present. For 4 or 5 years we took more samples in various parts of the Atlantic Ocean and always found the same pattern. This evidence indicates that a marked change affected the surface waters of the entire North Atlantic about 11,000 years ago." And it generally regarded that this was the time when Atlantis disappeared below the vast rolling Atlantic.

Atlantis, is it fact, is it fiction? Such a question actually has no real answer. Its existence can neither be proved nor repudiated. Realists will fight to defend their opinion that there never was such a place. Just as strongly, the believers will pick up the gauntlet to defend their opinion concerning its existence. Which camp is right, no mortal can say. One thing is certain, some day in the future a scientific dreamer will devise a means by which every inch of the cold, dark Atlantic deep can be thoroughly searched. Then, and only then, the eternal question will be solved. Now we can only hope said future search will turn up positive proof that Atlantis was a continent, and was, as Plato implied, a land of enchantment, a utopia where nothing could possibly inconvenience man in his search for the absolute.

## God and Our Public Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Vernon S. Broyles, Jr., the distinguished pastor of the North Avenue Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, Ga., has delivered an illuminating sermon on the recent U.S. Supreme Court outlawing the recitation of a simple 22-word prayer in the public schools of New York.

As Dr. Broyles said in his sermon, delivered July 8, 1962:

This decision is an attack on the very validity of your self-respect because it flows out of our relationship to God. This relationship is not just a private matter. It has to be a part of the fabric of life. It always has been.

I, myself, have spoken out on the floor of the House of Representatives against this Supreme Court decision, and I am happy to insert in the RECORD the sermon of Dr. Broyles. I believe it should be read and studied by every American.

The sermon follows:

GOD AND OUR PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

(By Dr. Vernon S. Broyles, Jr., Pastor, North Avenue Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Ga.)

Our whole country has become disturbed by the recent decision of the Supreme Court concerning prayer in the public schools. If this decision were absolutely isolated and did not represent a trend in our land and did not lend so much encouragement to certain movements in our country, it might be that it would be passed by. It may be that, technically speaking, the state should not write a prayer and require it to be used. But in this area, such technical decisions give so much impetus to this trend in our land that it is, I believe, incumbent upon me to speak concerning it.

The case on which the Court ruled began in 1950 when 5 parents in the New Hyde Park, N.Y., area objected to having their 10 children recite with their classmates every day the prayer: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country." The parents included two of the Jewish faith, one ethical culturist, a Unitarian, and a nonbeliever.

This is not just an isolated decision. This kind of decision has been made in lower courts. It is made more startling by the fact that one of the six who were in the majority of the 6 to 1 decision, Judge Douglas, argued that all religiously tinged ceremonial observances, including the opening of the Supreme Court itself by prayer ought to be discarded.

"For me," he said, "the principle is the same in each of the instances, given the person praying is a public official on the public payroll, performing a religious exercise in a governmental institution."

UNACCEPTABLE VERDICT

There has been a great deal of comment on the decision, as you know, and practically every major newspaper in the country has had something to say about it. Most national figures have remarked about it. The great preponderance of those who have spoken of it and written about it, have found it to be an entirely unacceptable verdict. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover said that this interpretation of the Constitution is a disintegration of a sacred American heritage and that Congress should at once submit an amendment to the Constitution which establishes the right to religious devotion to all Government agencies, national, State, and local. Mr. Eisenhower said about the same thing. Newspapers throughout the country have commented upon it. Most of them have been critical of it. The only two major ones that I know which commended the decision are the New York Times and the Atlanta Constitution. Most of the others, seem to have been in the other direction.

NOT MEANT TO LEAVE GOD OUT

The Indianapolis News has this to say about it: "The first amendment was meant to forestall the support of one religious denomination at the expense of the other. It was never meant to separate public functions in America, the education of children in particular, from the idea of God. I believe there is nothing in our past history that could be taken to serve as a foundation for this decision." It goes on: "The Declaration of Independence which was drafted and adopted by the same men who secured the adoption of the first amendment, is more aggressively theistic than the New York prayer under discussion, containing references to the Creator, nature's God, the protection of the divine providence. What the Supreme Court has in effect done is to prevent local school authorities from either encouraging or permitting religious observance according to their own likes. It has used the Federal authority to enforce agnosticism in the local schools, irrespective of local wishes. It is hard to imagine anything more truly opposed to religious liberty than that."

This Supreme Court action has struck a sensitive chord in the American public. Whether it is deep enough to produce any real results, only time will tell. The direction in which the decision moves, not actively opposed by the majority, has deep-seated implications for us all. This trend in recent years has been practically unnoticed, but is now reaching a crucial point. It is not just an attack on a particular case, but rather, and much more ominously, it is an attack on the presence of God and the acknowledgement of Him in our public institutions.

GOD CENTRAL IN AMERICAN WAY

I should like to say in the beginning that the acknowledgement of God in our public institutions is the central fact of the American way of life. If God in our public institutions is unconstitutional, then much of what America has been doing since 1776 is unconstitutional. Men have taken for granted that God belonged at the heart of our public institutions, just as much as they have taken for granted that men eat and that men breathe and that men sleep. It has not ever been a legal matter because no one has ever really questioned it. Congress has its chaplains. It is opened with prayer. The very Supreme Court is opened—every day—with prayer, though Justice Douglas apparently thinks it is improper that it should be. Since our country began, our schools knew nothing but to center themselves in God. They emanated from the church in this country. The textbooks contained moral precepts and scriptural passages. The church and the school were partners. Nobody ever considered anything else but that God should be in the center of our schools.

Our courts have always prided themselves on being the expression of the justice of God and the oath has been administered in the name of God, throughout our history until recently. The President places his hand on the Bible and takes the Oath of Allegiance. The Armed Forces have their chaplains. Federal institutions have their chaplains. Businessmen have their conventions. They hardly know why they do it, but they invite us ministers to have a prayer for their central meetings. It is an instinctive thing within us, just revolving our life around the concept of God, around a faith in God. It is our American way of life, and any attack upon it is actually an attack upon our very existence. Perhaps, however, we do not want the American way of life. This is what we are going to have to decide in the next few years. Shall we move out into a bold new adventure into chaos, abandoning the very foundations upon which we have built, or shall we resolve to cling to our heritage which does not question the existence of God as being in the center of our life and in the center of our public institutions? America has shuddered at this ruling because it attacks the foundations from which we have built all that we have in America.

RUSSIA HAS THE GODLESS SYSTEM

It attacks, in the first place, the foundation of our Government. Every time anyone, until now, spoke on Russian communism, he called it "a great godless system"—God is not allowed in it. You cannot have God in schools in Russia. What are you going to say now? What will you say if this thing goes on as the attackers hope it will? The American Civil Liberties Union, which promoted this case in New York, has said that since this case has been decided, it will attack all over the United States the use of God in the schools, baccalaureate services, God in the pledge of allegiance—all this under the guise of the separation of church and state, a fantastic idea that we have accepted in this generation.

THE ROAD TO TYRANNY

What do we say that America has as its foundation? Where are we oriented? What is the excuse for America's existence? We have taken for granted that somewhere behind all of our secularism and selfishness, we still seek the glory of God and to do His will as a nation. This fact usually emerges when the matter is discussed. What shall we put in if we take God out? There is nothing left but the state which then becomes the supreme arbiter of what is right and wrong, and what should be done and not done. This is the road to tyranny, the way to what has happened and is happening in Communist countries. We would be following the path of Nazi Germany. There is no other standard. There is only the choice between God and the state. With God's name removed from public expression and from our national life, there is nothing left but a vacuum into which will flow state tyranny. It has always been so.

The inclusion of God in our national institutions is the only real support we have for education. It is just a simple hoax to claim that education, in itself, produces good—it does not. It must be directed toward a purpose. If God is taken out of education, then there can be no real purpose except perhaps to raise robots who successfully grow poisonous mushrooms at the end of hydrogen explosives. There is no other excuse for education except God. God has been at the heart of American education from its very beginning. We have taken Him for granted. Perhaps this is our trouble.

MAN'S CONSCIENCE IS HIGHER COURT

Our courts of law have only one foundation upon which to stand and that is their appeal to the conscience of men under God. They have no way to enforce their decrees other than public opinion. There is a "higher court" than the Supreme Court and that court is the conscience of a man before God, the conscience of a people before God. The courts claim their right to decide right from wrong under the justice of an eternal sanction. There can be no higher authority, and just as soon as they remove God from their sanction, the courts become the tools of whatever may be popular at the moment. They may stand aloof in their marble halls but they are still tools unless God is their guide.

The accepted existence of God in the center of our courts is the only support we have for the oaths people take in court. Taking any oath in the name of God in some of our courts has already been outlawed. What other support do we have for truth other than the fact that a man stands before God? If we take this out, a liar has as much standing as anyone in court. What other foundation is there?

Oh, yes, men say, "You can still pray at home." Our President has commented that it just means that we will have to pray more at home and in the churches. (One of the editorial writers said that only a President could get away with a remark like that.)

You can do that in Russia, too. You can pray at home and in the churches. This presents no problem at all.

This presence of God in public life provides the only standard of morality we have. We have taken for granted that what we have considered to be right and good and beautiful is somehow inherent in nature. It is not at all. We are the inheritors of a moral standard that is based on and flows from this Bible, the Jewish-Christian tradition. It is the foundation of morality in the Western World. The church was the center of life up until the modern era and our future moral framework stems from it.

WHAT IS MORALITY?

There are different kinds of morality, whether we realize it or not. If we take God out of the center of our lives, we have removed the only foundation of morality as we now know it. What would be your reply to the Communist who says to you that our idea of right and wrong is not the proper one? If he decided that you should be liquidated because he thought it would be in the best interest of communism you would not like it, to put it mildly, and you would say with as much force as you could muster that it was wrong. He would laugh in your face, because to him it would be right. It would be right because your liquidation would further the cause of communism. Oh, but you say, I have rights as an individual. But did you ever consider where you got them? The source is the Jewish-Christian tradition. They are not just magical, for you have no rights as an individual necessarily except for our heritage of freedom which is bound in this tradition. Otherwise, there is no reason for you to believe that your personal rights should be considered. This decision is an attack on the very validity of your self-respect because it flows out of our relationship to God. This relationship is not just a private matter. It has to be a part of the fabric of life. It always has been.

GOD IS THE BASIS FOR MORALITY

Where do we get our inspiration to act decently? What does it matter whether we are decent or not, if it does not have eternal sanction? If we are not responsible to God for what we think and what we say and what we do, we will have no basis for morality. This basic concept is the only thing that holds a community together in a moral way. If we take it out of our public life, we will have more delinquency than we have now. We will have more immorality than we have now. We are rapidly approaching the time when we have no protection against the doctrine of free speech which allows people to pander to the lowest instincts of man, which is a course that history teaches is a sure road to ruin. We have left God out. We are beginning to reap some of the bitter fruits of this omission now—just a few, but if this trend continues we are probably done for. That is why all of this is so important.

MINORITIES ARE CONTROLLING

Now, what about the minorities? Minorities should have every consideration, but if several men were to take a giant crane to which was attached a great iron ball and began demolishing the foundations of our neighboring First National Bank Building, it would not be long before the proper authorities came along and tapped them on the shoulder and said, "My friends, you must not do that."

"Oh," they would say, "We are a minority. We believe in destroying the foundations of buildings. You will offend us and warp our personalities if you do not let us do it." I think you would agree that they would soon be taken to Milledgeville.

Now I think that the time has come when the majority, believing those things upon which this Nation rests, deserve some consideration. I do not believe that five people, two Jews, one ethical culturist, a Unitarian, and a nonbeliever, should be allowed to destroy, in the name of freedom, foundations upon which this land was built. There comes a time when the rights of minorities are no longer rights. I see no fairness or equity in a small five-person group being allowed to have its way over and against the overwhelming majority of people who prefer another way that they believe necessary. What about offending them? Have they no rights? No one seems to care.

HOW FAR ARE WE GOING?

In our own city of Atlanta, I am told, the New Testament cannot be read in some of our schools. Where this trend will take us, I guess nobody really knows, but many of us are becoming frightened. Somewhere along the line, maybe our people will be stirred again to care for the things that matter. We are not in this precarious position in America because of the enemies of the precepts for which we stand. Let us be sure we understand that. We are in this position because you and I and a host of people like us have been careless. We have been so busy being comfortable; we have been so busy being tolerant of the intolerant minority; we have been so busy furthering our own ends, feathering our own nests as it were, that unless we have been bothered we have not bothered about anything. I am not sure that America is still capable of caring. So long as we have been fed and clothed and allowed to live in luxury, for as long a time as someone guarantees that to us, it may be that we will accept anything that comes, and with this acceptance our liberties will be steadily drained away. But then perhaps not. Hope always springs eternal and our active concern and our humble prayers can still do much.

If this decision can serve in America to cause Christian people once again to take their privileges seriously it will not have been in vain. We have been careless in our homes. The family altar is almost dead and we have not cared. This Sunday morning there will not be in attendance in our land in the Protestant churches 25 percent of its membership. Perhaps we should not get so excited about our enemies until we have taken these matters more seriously. We will not conquer and win in the realm of faith by overcoming enemies. We will conquer and win only by becoming dead serious about the great convictions and principles which are our precious heritage, and then causing our lives to be a witness to these beliefs.

THOSE WHO BELIEVE MUST STAND UP

I commend these problems to your prayerful attention. It is difficult to know what we ought to do. Our individual consciences can lead us. Presently there are not many things we can do, except be faithful to the things that matter, and to follow wherever God leads. The time may come in this land, sooner than we think, when those who believe must stand up and say to those who govern: "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."

The will of God is the supreme court of the human soul, more binding in its authority than any human court.

Lead us by Thy hand, our Father, through the maze that is life and grant that we shall find the true way and the true path, that finally shall lead through all the things that Thou would have us do here, into Thine eternal glory. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

## American Bar Association Statement on Quality Stabilization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the American Bar Association's section on antitrust law statement in opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 159 and similar legislation, the so-called quality stabilization bills.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION SECTION OF ANTITRUST LAW

RECOMMENDATION

The section of antitrust law recommends that the house of delegates adopt the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the American Bar Association disapproves of and opposes Senate Joint Resolution 159, 87th Congress, and any proposed legislation which would attempt to create a Federal right of enforcement of resale price maintenance by private persons; further

"*Resolved*, That the officers and council of the section of antitrust law are directed to urge such opposition and disapproval upon the proper committees of Congress in connection with any legislation embodying any such concept."

REPORT

*1. Background*

On May 18, 1959, the board of governors of the American Bar Association adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the American Bar Association disapproves of and opposes any amendment of the Federal Trade Commission Act which would further expand the philosophy of so-called fair trade acts and create a Federal right of action in the enforcement of fair trade contracts; further

"*Resolved*, That the officers and council of the section of antitrust law are directed to urge such opposition and disapproval upon the proper committees of Congress in connection with any legislation embodying any such amendment."

In February 1962 a proposal by the antitrust section to update this recommendation as a current expression of the association was considered at the midwinter meeting of the ABA's house of delegates in Chicago. At that meeting consideration of a proposal by the antitrust section to oppose legislation creating a Federal right of action in the enforcement of fair trade contracts was postponed to the August meeting of the house of delegates. (During the 85th, 86th, and 87th Congresses several bills had been introduced which would create in some form a Federal right of action for the enforcement of fair trade contracts entered into under State law.)

Since the February 1962 meeting attention has been directed to Senate Joint Resolution 159, the Quality Stabilization Act proposal introduced by Senators HUMPHREY, CAPEHART, and others on February 21, 1962.[1] While hearings were held on S. 1722 on July 25 and 27 and August 28, 1961, it is under-

Footnotes at end of speech.

stood that they will not be printed in the light of the shift of interest to Senate Joint Resolution 159. Hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 159 have been held by the Senate Committee on Commerce. In the course of the hearings the heads of the two principal antitrust enforcement agencies (Lee Loevinger, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Antitrust Division, Department of Justice, and Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman, Federal Trade Commission) testified in opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 159.

*2. Provisions of Senate Joint Resolution 159*

The resolution opens with six recitals setting forth legislative statements of objectives. A key recital refers to unfair or deceptive acts or practices "such as * * * store-traffic baiting and misrepresentation as to the size, capacity, quality, condition, model, or age" of branded goods, "all tending to destroy unfairly the value" of brands [2] to their owners, to smaller resellers, and to the public. Among the effects of these practices recited is a tendency to diminish the volume of branded products moving in commerce, thereby reducing producers' incentive to maintain the value of their goods and producing other value-diluting consequences ("substitutions of inferior labor and materials forced by the downward spiral of unrestrained predatory pricing on popular identified products, in the fields of goods, drugs and beverages, endanger public health, and in other fields, endangers (sic) public safety"). Recognition of the property right in a brand and the good will associated therewith is also recited.

The operative provisions of the resolution would amend section 5(a) of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C.A., sec. 45(a)), by adding eight new paragraphs, (7) to (14). The new paragraphs may be summarized as follows:

"(7) A brand owner is deemed to retain his property rights in the brand and associated good will regardless of any transfer of the goods to which the brand relates. Any person who resells branded goods in commerce may use the brand but only in effecting resale of such goods, and subject to (8).

"(8) When goods usable for the same general purpose are available to the public from sources other than the brand owner, the right of any person to use the brand in reselling may be revoked (on written notice) by the brand owner on the ground that the reseller (a) has used branded goods 'in furtherance of bait merchandising practices'; (b) has with notice advertised, offered for sale or sold such goods at prices other than at the brand owner's currently established resale prices; or (c) with intent to deceive, has 'published misrepresentation concerning such goods.'

"(9) Nothing in (8) shall abridge the right of the reseller, in the regular course of his business and within a reasonable time after revocation, to sell the goods in his possession on the date of revocation, so long as he does not violate (8) in so selling. A procedure is established for the reseller to offer his inventory to the brand owner at the price he paid for them; if the offer is not accepted, the reseller may sell the goods without restriction as to price so long as his advertisements or offers state the fact of revocation as to goods not in his possession on the revocation date.

"(10) A reseller who sells under the brand name after revocation commits an act of unfair competition and is liable in a civil action for damages and injunctive relief by the brand owner, in any United States District Court in which the defendant resides or is found or has an agent, without respect to the amount in controversy; the owner may recover the cost of suit including reasonable attorneys' fees.

"(11) Lack of due diligence in revoking as to competing resellers who are violating (8) is specifically set forth as a defense."

The other paragraphs are saving and definitional provisions, and includes antitrust exemption language and a statement that the Miller-Tydings and McGuire Acts, inter alia, are not modified or repealed.

*3. Objectives of Senate Joint Resolution 159*

Senator HUMPHREY'S statement introducing the quality stabilization resolution emphasized the following reasons in support of the legislation: [3]

1. The resolution is merely an extension of the trademark laws enabling a brand owner to protect his property rights through channels of distribution.

2. The resolution would permit a reseller to remove the brand from the product—"thus separating the physical property, which he owns, from the goodwill, which is another's property"—and then sell at any price.

3. The legislation would be permissive and would leave decision as to enforcement in the hands of the brand owner.

4. The proposal would permit the continuance of independent retailing and provide assurance to consumers that quality tested and reliable products will continue to be available.

5. In the light of increasing numbers of bankruptcies of small business concerns, the proposed legislation is essential to competitive survival of hundreds of thousands of independent businessmen.

Several of these reasons have been equally appropriate in past consideration of fair trade legislation and have been reviewed in detail by many commentators in the past. The most compelling reason now offered in support of the quality stabilization proposal would seem to be the reference to the current plight of independent retailers, particularly in the light of the present phenomenon of widespread "discount selling." The inroads of discount operations on sales of traditional retail stores have no doubt been substantial—"Last year, according to trade sources, discounters grossed more than $4 billion in sales." [4]

The extent to which there has been a substantial causal relationship between retailing of branded goods at prices below those established or suggested by manufacturers and small business failures is of course a difficult factual issue involving many and complex considerations. Wholly apart from the question whether the proposal is the appropriate solution, reliable probative evidence of such a relationship would undoubtedly be significant in any differentiation of the present setting from that confronting Congress during its consideration of proposed Federal fair trade legislation in recent years.

*4. Relationship to other legislation*

The three practices condemned in paragraph (8) as proposed by the joint resolution deserve separate comment.[5]

(a) Bait merchandising: The scope of this term, not defined in the resolution, is somewhat vague and uncertain. Ordinarily the concept "bait merchandising" would be thought to embrace only the use of "loss leader" selling by which certain branded goods are offered for sale at less than cost in order to bait customers into a store in the mistaken belief that all goods in the store are being sold at comparably low prices. This practice may already be subject to various State unfair practices statutes, sales below cost statutes, or fair trade statutes, or to condemnation under section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act or common law principles as a species of false advertising or unfair competition. As so limited, prohibition of the practice would seem to be consistent with traditional antitrust or trade regulation principles.

(b) Resale price maintenance: While the Miller-Tydings Act of 1937 and McGuire Act of 1952 created a condition permitting State fair trade laws to be effective by providing exemption from Federal antitrust legislation, fair trade is not available in a number of States where no fair trade legislation has been enacted or where fair trade legislation has been rendered ineffective by adverse holdings on constitutional issues.[6] An apparent objective of the proposed legislation would be to supplement the remaining State laws by creating a Federal right of brand owners to effect resale price maintenance on certain goods.

While the proposed legislation provides that "no exercise of any rights or remedy provided [herein] shall be construed to be a violation of any of the Antitrust Acts," it is not clear whether this language is intended to immunize arrangements between manufacturers and retailers as to prices or enforcement of rights or remedies of the brand owner. A significant aspect of this problem is that while a principal reason advanced in support of the joint resolution is the plight of small independent resellers, the rights and remedies are given only to brand owners, who will presumably be urged by resellers to enforce the statutory rights and remedies.

(c) Misrepresentation: The proposed legislation would create a limited private cause of action providing for relief against commission of acts of misrepresentation which would probably be considered to fall within the scope of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, which prohibits unfair methods of competition and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce. In consideration of the effects of the proposed law, the elastic scope of section 5 as it would bear on the content of the private right to proceed against "misrepresentation concerning such goods" and the problems attendant to possible overlapping of or conflict between privately obtained injunctions and the cease and desist order authority of the Federal Trade Commission, would be significant.

*5. Observations and conclusion*

The basic principle of the quality stabilization resolution appears to be that certain desirable national objectives will be maintained by providing specific private rights against three types of activities asserted to be detrimental to maintenance of a valuable property right in a brand name.

With respect to the protection against "bait merchandising practices", a prime difficulty is the lack of precision of the term. If flagrant "loss leader" selling is all that is encompassed by the term, the natural question would be whether the practice is sufficiently prevalent and serious to warrant Federal legislation, and whether the legislation would be effective in its apparent objective to protect small retailers against the competition of discount or other operations which may sell all items at a low markup over cost. Substantively there is probably general agreement among most antitrust students that the flagrant type of loss leader selling should be actionable. But it is unclear whether the scope is to be interpreted as so limited.

With respect to misrepresentation, again a fundamental problem is that the scope of the prohibition should be sufficiently defined. Private enforcement to supplement Federal Trade Commission authority against flagrant types of misrepresentation directly injuring a producer or brand owner, such as undisclosed substitution of goods, might well be useful. But without precise delineation of the scope of the term, problems of vagueness and provocation of trivial litigation [7] similar to those presented by section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act could be expected.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

With respect to resale price maintenance, the proposed legislation differs in language considerably from existing Federal and State fair trade statutes; however, the fundamental approach seems to be the same—to permit a brand owner to control prices at which resellers may sell branded goods. Since at least 1912 the subject of resale price maintenance legislation has been highly controversial; during this 50-year period retailing and distribution have adapted to a series of drastic innovations. While the fundamental question of the desirability of such legislation may be an economic issue,[5] any such legislation would have important legal ramifications as well. The belief that a general resale price maintenance system goes beyond the requirements for protection against practices such as loss leader selling and the basis antitrust reliance upon price and other competition, with exemptions enacted only in compelling circumstances, have been strong factors in the opposition to extension of Federal resale price maintenance legislation beyond the enabling principle of the Miller-Tydings and McGuire Acts. In fact, a majority of the Attorney General's National Committee To Study the Antitrust Laws in 1955 recommended congressional repeal of the Miller-Tydings and McGuire Acts. The Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission have consistently opposed fair trade legislation, and recently specifically opposed the quality stabilization proposals.

Apart from the problems of the judicial administration which may be posed by transferring to the Federal courts the burden of policing resale price maintenance through litigation brought without regard to the amount in controversy, the creation of a Federal cause of action for the enforcement of resale price maintenance would appear to represent one more step in the intrusion of Federal legislative power into the area of control of the public policy of the several States. As noted above, in 24 States as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, resale price maintenance is incompatible with the State's legislative or judicially construed constitutional policy. Under the provisions of Senate Joint Resolution 159, the right to legislate under the McGuire Act with respect to this significant area of economic policy in the interest of its own citizens is denied the several States by the assertion of a paramount Federal policy in the exercise of the constitutional power over interstate commerce.

There can be no doubt that many small independent businesses are faced with effective "price cutting" competition by discount houses and others which may cause them significant loss of trade. Assuming that maintenance of the traditional independent business part of the retailing and distribution structure is an important national objective, alternative methods of alleviating the situation should be considered. Examples would include Federal legislation designed to prohibit retail selling, of at least specified categories of goods, at prices below defined cost, or additional financial assistance by the Government to small business; such measures might suffice to alleviate the situation depicted. But it would seem that to date the strong factual justification required to overcome traditional reluctance of Congress and the enforcement agencies to endorce Federal resale price mantenance legislation has not been shown.

Respectfully submitted.

S. CHESTERFIELD OPPENHEIM,
*Chairman.*

Paul Rand Dixon and Lee Loevinger did not participate in the consideration or voting on this matter.

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[1] Companion proposals and those who introduced them include H.J. Res. 636 (HARRIS), H.J. Res. 637 (MACK), H. Res. 639 (TOLLEFSON), H.R. 10517 (MCMILLAN), and H.R. 10835 (MADDEN). (A joint resolution is used ordinarily to effect temporary extension or suspension of existing statutes.)

[2] This report uses the term "brand" as a reference to "brand, name, or trade mark" as used in the resolution.

[3] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 2479–2482 (Feb. 21, 1962). A list of over 50 national trade associations supporting the measure was appended to Senator HUMPHREY's remarks.

[4] New York Times, Jan. 30, 1962, p. 32.

[5] The legislation would apply "to all acts and transactions in or affecting commerce which Congress may lawfully regulate," in territories and in the District of Columbia.

[6] Alaska, Missouri, Nebraska, Texas, Vermont, and the District of Columbia do not have fair trade laws. Puerto Rico's fair-trade law was repealed in 1959. The laws of at least 19 States have been held in part or generally unconstitutional at some time.

[7] See dissenting opinions of Commissioner Elman in matter of *Gimbel Brothers* (3 C.C.H. Tr. Reg. Rep. par. 15,748 (1962)); and Judge Friendly in *Exposition Press, Inc.* v. *F.T.C.* (295 F. 2d 869 (2d Cir. 1961)).

[8] Whether a producer of goods should be permitted to fix by contract, express or implied, the price at which the purchaser may resell them, and if so, under what conditions, is an economic question. To decide it wisely it is necessary to consider the relevant facts, industrial and commercial, rather than established legal principles." Brandeis, J., concurring in *Boston Store of Chicago* v. *American Graphophone Co.* (246 U.S. 8 (1918)).

## Second Best in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, very often we find a newspaper editorial which is so self-explanatory that no further comment on our part in inserting it into the RECORD is necessary. This is the case in an editorial which I include for the RECORD entitled "Second Best in Space" which appeared in the Tuesday, August 14, edition of the Chicago Daily News:

SECOND BEST IN SPACE

We suppose we should weigh in on the side of good sportsmanship and add our "well done" to those of everybody else. But we don't feel particularly "gung-ho" about the feat of Soviet scientists in orbiting their spectacular "space duet" and pushing this country a couple of years back in the race to the moon.

We take nothing away from Major Nikolayev, Lieutenant Colonel Popovich, the Soviet scientists, Premier Khruschev, or anyone else connected with the superb feat when we suggest that the Russians may have won this one on a foul.

For the foul was committed in the United States of America.

It was just a year ago that Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, summed up 5 months of testimony and fact-finding as follows:

"Wildcat strikes, work stoppages, slowdowns, featherbedding and a deliberate policy of low productivity on the part of some unions and workers may well be responsible to a substantial degree for whatever lagging behind exists in our space and missile programs. This concerns every man, woman and child in the country who loves freedom. If greed, graft, and extortion are to dominate our way of life and our economy, especially in a program vital to our survival, it is time for Americans to wake up."

There was ample documentation in the committee's records to warrant this blistering indictment.

Up to that time, 330 strikes had been waged at our test sites and ballistic missile bases, with a loss of 163,000 man-days. The record might have been worse, except that contractors—some of them insulated from loss by cost-plus contracts—knuckled under to pressure and paid ditchdiggers $287 a week, truckdrivers $324, and journeymen electricians as high as $700.

A voluntary no-strike pledge was secured in the spring of 1961. While it cut deeply into the work stoppages, it was never entirely successful, and less so as time went on. From June 1961, to February 1962, more than 10,000 man-days were lost.

Last month, unions representing 150,000 workers scheduled for July 23 a strike that would have brought the whole missile and space program grinding to a halt, and may yet do so.

Only after Labor Secretary Goldberg wired union leaders a plea to avoid a strike "which would substantially delay our vital missile and space programs," and after President Kennedy personally pleaded for a delay, did the leaders agree to hold off. The 60-day delay is scheduled to end September 21, at which time the Nation may find both its major weapons program and its space program paralyzed.

We think the word "foul" is a mild enough term to describe this continuing assault on the very foundations of our national security and prestige.

It is possible that under the best of circumstances we would still be trailing in the space race. There is no shame in being second-best when the loser has given the best that's in him. But there is shame in lying down on the job, in welshing on the debt each man owes his fellows.

MCCLELLAN said in August 1961, that it was time for Americans to wake up. It is now a year past time.

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## President Kennedy Appoints Consumer Advisory Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, last month President Kennedy announced the appointment of a 12-member Consumer Advisory Council. For the first time consumers are to have a voice in the White House through the newly organized Advisory Council attached to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. All of us, Mr. President, are consumers, but consumer needs and interests are all too frequently overlooked in the development of Government policies. Earlier this year the President sent a historic consumers message to Congress.

In the Presidential message of March 15, President Kennedy said:

Consumers, by definition, include us all. They are the largest economic group in the economy, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. But they are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are often not heard.

The Federal Government—by nature the highest spokesman for all the people—has a special obligation to be alert to the consumer's needs and to advance the consumer's interests.

The President set forth a consumers' bill of rights. These rights include:

1. The right to safety: To be protected against the marketing of goods which are hazardous to health or life.

2. The right to be informed: To be protected against fraudulent, deceitful, or grossly misleading information, advertising, labeling, or other practices, and to be given the facts he needs to make an informed choice.

3. The right to choose: To be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices; and in those industries in which competition is not workable and Government regulation is substituted, an assurance of satisfactory quality and service at fair prices.

4. The right to be heard: To be assured that consumer interests will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formulation of Government policy, and fair and expeditious treatment in its administrative tribunals.

While all sorts of special interest groups maintain organizations and representatives here in Washington, the consumer does not have those who can represent his needs and interests. The appointment of the Consumer Advisory Council will fill this gap. The challenges before the Council are immense.

Appointed as Chairman of the Consumer Advisory Council is Dr. Helen G. Canoyer, dean of the School of Home Economics of Cornell University since 1953.

Mr. President, one of the distinguished members of the Consumer Advisory Council is Sylvia Porter, the well-known columnist and writer on financial matters. Recently Sylvia Porter wrote a series of articles on the newly appointed Consumer Advisory Council, pointing out the hopes and problems and the challenges which face such a program. I ask unanimous consent to have the five columns by Sylvia Porter dealing with the Consumer Advisory Council printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. President, as Sylvia Porter points out:

The CAC has been born. Now it will begin to earn its right to become a permanent, respected, valuable part of the Federal Government.

The other members of the Consumer Advisory Council besides Dr. Canoyer and Sylvia Porter are:

David Angevine, of Park Forest, Ill., information director of the Cooperative League of America and former editor of Cooperative News Service.

Dr. Persia Campbell, professor and head of Economics Department, Queens College, the City University of New York.

Stephen McKenzie du Brul, Jr., of New York City, a director of the May Department Stores and a partner in Lehman Bros., specializing in retail business financing.

Mrs. John G. Lee, of Farmington, Conn., former president of the League of Women Voters, 1950–58.

Dr. Edward S. Lewis, of New York City, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New York.

Walter F. Mondale, of St. Paul, Minn., attorney general of the State and chairman of the Consumers Protection Committee of the National Association of Attorneys General.

Dr. Richard L. D. Morse, of Manhattan, Kans., head of the department of family economics since 1955 at Kansas State University and past president of the Council on Consumer Information.

Mrs. Helen E. Nelson, of Sacramento, Calif., director of the California Office of Consumer Counsel.

Dr. Caroline Ware, of Vienna, Va., chairman of the Consumer Clearinghouse, 1943–52, and a member of President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women.

Dr. Colston E. Warne, of Amherst, Mass., on the faculty of Amherst College and president of the Consumers Union of the U.S.A., Inc.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: CONSUMER COUNCIL IN WHITE HOUSE

(By Sylvia Porter)

For the first time, consumers are to have a voice in the White House—through the newly organized Consumers' Advisory Council attached to the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

It is a pioneering move, the fulfillment of a pledge made during the 1960 election campaign. While, as was cynically noted in one editorial entitled "A Bone for Consumers," President Kennedy waited a year and a half before naming the Council, this doesn't seem so long against the background of 186 years that the consumer has been waiting for this high level of representation.

It is a Council composed of six men and six women, a mixture of Democrats and Republicans who come from all over the country and whose backgrounds reveal a lifelong dedication to programs to inform the consumer on matters affecting his health, safety, and pocketbook, to safeguard the consumer against fraud and deceit, to advance the consumer's standard of living.

REPORT ON POSSIBILITIES

Helen G. Canoyer, dean of Cornell University's School of Home Economics, is the Council's chairman. I'm one of the members and, in this and the next four columns, I'll report on the Council, its possibilities and pitfalls, and the status of consumer legislation in the United States today.

The Council must write its own rules—ranging from whether a 12-member Council is too big or too small to what should be its relationship with the President and the various agencies of Government. But the Council has its so-called terms of reference and they're certainly broad enough. Here are the three primary functions:

1. The council is "to advise the executive branch of the Government on issues of broad economic policy.

The Council of Economic Advisers has a Business Advisory Committee, a Labor Advisory Committee, both of which it frequently consults on economic issues, and now it has a Consumers Advisory Committee. CEA Chairman Walter W. Heller, says the economic issues could include recommendations ranging from tax cuts to controls over watered hams. In my mind, the consumers' interests in this area would fall into clearly discernible patterns.

For instance, we as consumers surely would be in favor of policies: preserving the buying power of the dollar—meaning we would be against Government or private policies that would stimulate inflation. We as consumers also surely would be in favor of programs spurring economic growth and averting or cushioning recessions.

2. The council is "to advise the executive branch of the Government on governmental programs protecting consumer needs."

This one sounds simple but it could be full of pitfalls, for the fact is there is a widespread feeling that programs in the consumer's interest are automatically antibusiness. It's nonsense but it's so. If this council could help dispel this feeling, in itself this would represent major progress.

RESEARCH MATERIAL

3. The council is "to advise the executive branch of the Government on the flow of

consumer research material from the Government to the public."

The need here is great and urgent. There is an immense amount of information within the Government agencies which could be of practical help to consumers—but most people don't know what information is available and most agencies don't know how to get the information to people.

The council has organized; it has a budget, a small staff. The President has told it that he hopes it "will not be ornamental but will be functional." "The show," as Dr. Heller put it, "is on the road."

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YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: CONSUMER VOICES' DISMAL HISTORY

(By Sylvia Porter)

The history of efforts to give consumers a voice at the highest level of Government—just as labor has a voice and business has a voice and agriculture has a voice—is "not replete with successful precedents," drily remarked Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, in his informal greeting to the 12 members of the newly organized Consumers' Advisory Council at their first meeting in the White House recently.

It certainly isn't. In fact, the history is downright dismal—and this adds significance to President Kennedy's appointment of six men and six women to advise the executive on consumer issues.

Here is a brief rundown of past experiments in giving the consumer an independent voice in Washington, put together by Persia Campbell, professor and chairman of the economics department of Queens College in New York, an expert long identified with consumer programs and a member of the new CAC.

NEW DEAL RECALLED

1. In the early 1930's, a New Deal law set up the National Recovery Administration to establish "codes of fair competition" which would help put floors under profits and wages. A Consumers Advisory Board to the NRA was created along with an Industrial Advisory Board and a Labor Advisory Board so all three viewpoints could be heard while the codes were being written. From the start, the CAB ran into trouble. It was hard even to find consumer representatives and when the CAB finally was named in 1933, it consisted mainly of professors and leaders of women's organizations. Moreover, because the consumer group was generally opposed to price-fixing arrangements, the NRA Administrator himself detested it. The CAB died when the NRA was liquidated.

2. Also in the early New Deal days, a Consumers Council was appointed to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. In the less than a decade of its life, the Consumers Council frequently fought with the administration of which it was a part, for the AAA was trying to raise farm prices and control the flow of such products as milk to the market to stabilize prices. This office was killed in World War II.

3. In 1937, a third experiment took place when a Consumers Council was appointed to the National Bituminous Coal Commission, designed to control coal production and fix prices at the mines. The conflicts of interest were overwhelming. This one was shortlived too.

4. During and for a while after World War II, consumers were represented in the wartime agencies of the Office of Price Administration and the Office of Price Stabilization. These consumer committees, says Dr. Campbell, "identified themselves as consumer representatives, at least with respect to price control and rationing." They died when the agencies were dissolved.

DISMAL RECORD

5. From 1946 to 1952, the President's Council of Economic Advisers conferred from time to time with a National Consumer Advisory Committee which it had appointed. The committee had no influence. It faded away.

Why so dismal a record?

An obvious reason is that most consumers wear two hats and the hat with which they rarely identify themselves is that of the consumer as such. You, as a wage earner, will identify yourself with your union battling for the biggest pay raise possible, or you, as a businessman, will identify yourself with your industry trying for the best price-profit setup possible—but neither of you will identify yourself primarily as a consumer who might suffer from your wage-price-profit policies.

It may be that as a result the consumer just cannot be organized or speak with a powerful voice in this country. But that only makes it more important that he be recognized and represented at the national level.

The CAC has been born against a background of repeated failures. It must, as Mr. Kennedy told the members, "establish its [own] success."

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YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: STATUS OF AID FOR CONSUMERS

(By Sylvia Porter)

On March 15 President Kennedy sent an omnibus consumers' protection and interest message to Congress which asked new laws as well as a major strengthening of existing programs for the safety and protection of consumers in the United States.

The message was a catchall. It included many innocuous proposals with which few could quarrel. Who, for instance, is going to be against stepping up enforcement of the mail fraud laws except someone trying to defraud via the mails?

It also included some controversial proposals. For instance, a request for a law that would empower the Federal Trade Commission "to issue temporary cease-and-desist orders against the continuation of unfair competitive practices while cases concerned with permanent relief from such practices are pending before the Commission" was interpreted by many businessmen to mean an accused corporation wouldn't even have a chance to defend itself while the FTC simultaneously acted the roles of investigator, accuser, prosecutor, and judge

NOT MUCH DONE

Not much significant legislation to safeguard the consumer has been passed by this Congress. That cease-and-desist bill is dead. So is a bill which would require firms planning to merge into a company of "substantial size" to give "reasonable advance notice" to the Justice Department. So are other bills which would greatly increase the authority of the Federal regulatory agencies. Also on the shelf for this year, at least, are the "truth in lending" and the "truth in packaging" bills—bills which need a lot more work before they're in shape for passage.

Nevertheless, a fair number of the actions the President requested in his consumers' protection message has been favorably acted on or will be soon. Here's a sampling on the plus side.

A 25 percent increase in the staff for the Food and Drug Administration, the largest single increase in the agency's history. Probable.

An increased appropriation for pesticide regulation. OK.

A higher appropriation for inspection of meat and poultry. Mr. Kennedy won't get as much money as he's asking but he'll get some more.

An improved system of safety and efficiency of air traffic. The Federal Aviation Administration has put it into effect.

A law to require manufacture of all-channel TV sets to give a wider choice of programs. Passed.

Creation of a Consumers' Advisory Council within the executive branch of Government and appointment of special assistants for consumer affairs in all appropriate Federal agencies. Done this month.

Establishment of a new Office for Highway Safety in the Commerce Department, strengthening of accident prevention work in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, increased enforcement of safety requirements by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Done or being done.

Strengthening of the insurance program of the Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Corp. Done.

Protection of air travelers from abuses of overbooking. The Civil Aeronautics Board put out new rules in April.

SOME SUCCESS NOTED

Regulation of excessive charges for moving of household goods. The Interstate Commerce Commission issued new rules this month.

Expansion of educational television. Law signed.

Stronger enforcement against interference in radio. Done.

Intensification of action by the Federal Trade Commission against deceptive trade practices and false advertising. Intensification on.

Stronger enforcement of mail fraud statutes. Arrests for mail fraud last year were at a record, convictions were up 35 percent.

Increased staffs for all major Federal regulatory agencies. Mixed results, with some getting the increase, some not.

It's hardly a grandiose, glittering record but it represents some progress. And while the controversial measures got lost in the shuffle, there is a new awareness of consumers' interests which is all to the good.

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YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: PILOT PROGRAM FOR CONSUMERS

(By Sylvia Porter)

Early in September, the Government will start an experiment in education of the American consumer in 100 post offices across the country.

In each of these post offices, there will be a display indicating the vast variety of pamphlets which Federal Government departments and agencies have prepared on subjects of practical concern to consumers and which can be bought for a nickel to 45 cents.

Each post office also will have supplies of order blanks listing 72 of the hundreds of publications now available. Each will have supplies of Government Printing Office documentary coupons which may be purchased from postal window clerks to cover the cost of any pamphlet and each also will have supplies of envelopes preaddressed to the "Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.," in which the order blanks and coupons can be mailed.

NINETY-DAY PROGRAM

The pilot program will go on for 90 days. To gage interest in a reaction to the material available, the experiment will be handled in different ways in the various communities.

This is an experiment, long overdue. If it is pursued properly and aggressively, it could lead to major consumer education programs which could help millions of families to improve the management of their market-baskets, pocketbooks, health, and safety.

The fact is that the Federal departments and agencies are loaded—and I mean

loaded—with material of practical use to everyone. In just about every department and agency, information of indisputable value to the average consumer has been collected and is available in the form of inexpensively priced pamphlets. Hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of families might benefit if they knew what material the booklets offered and the Government knew how to channel the publications to people.

Illustrative are the 72 representative pamphlets to be placed on sale in the pilot program. "Shopper's Guide to U.S. Grades for Food," 10 cents; "Infant Care," 15 cents; "Headaches, Hope Through Research," 10 cents; "Food Guide for Older Folks," 10 cents; "Removing Stains From Fabrics, Home Methods," 15 cents; "Plumbing Manual," 40 cents; "Fuel Consumption in the Home," 15 cents; "Better Lawns," 15 cents; "Detergents for Home Laundering," 5 cents; "Automotive Antifreezes," 15 cents. There are hundreds more.

JUST BEGINNING

And this is just a beginning. President Kennedy has directed the Federal agencies and departments "to place increased emphasis on preparing and making available pertinent research findings for consumers in clear and usable form." There is a vast accumulation of information on products and services within the Government departments which can be and should be put into language that can be understood by the least informed, least intelligent and least alert consumer—for this is the consumer who most needs the guidance.

There is simply no arguing with Mr. Kennedy's comment in his March 15 consumers' protection message that "The consumer typically cannot know whether drug preparations meet maximum standards of safety, quality and efficacy. He usually does not know how much he pays for consumer credit; whether one prepared food has more nutritional value than another; whether the performance of a product will in fact meet his needs; or whether the large economy size is really a bargain."

This is one area in which the new 12-member Consumers' Advisory Council can be of lasting value. Judging from the statements made by the members at the Council's first meeting, the Council is determined to give the consumer education movement in the United States a greatly needed forward push.

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YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: HOW CAN COUNCIL AID CONSUMERS?

(By Sylvia Porter)

The heartbreaking stories of deformed babies born to mothers who took the German-developed drug thalidomide before it was withdrawn from the market dramatizes the importance of protecting consumers from new drugs until they have been thoroughly and objectively tested.

It also underlines the kind of contribution the 12-member Consumers' Advisory Council, recently appointed by President Kennedy could make to health and safety. There is no disputing that while many of the thousands of new drugs are saving countless lives, some also present great hazards to health. Also there is no disputing the need to strengthen existing food, drug, and cosmetic laws and their enforcement. It is in the area of educating the American consumer that the new CAC could make a significant contribution to the Nation.

No doubt you know the tale of thalidomide by now and know that it would have been in wide use in the United States had not Dr. Frances O. Kelsey of the Food and Drug Administration dragged her feet for 19 months on approval of an Ohio drug manufacturer's application to market the drug for general consumption because she was not convinced it was safe. Now the world knows about the sedative's dreadful side effects and although over 1,100 U.S. physicians did distribute samples to their patients, the tragedies in this country are nowhere near the number overseas.

POSSIBILITIES OUTLINED

Besides helping to educate consumers—and lawmakers—on laws to increase the protection and safety of the public in such fields as foods and drugs, what else might the CAC achieve?

Its official functions—advising the executive branch on issues of broad economic policy and programs to protect and inform the consumer—are so broad that they could be meaningless unless translated into specific areas of action. Specifically what?

From Senator HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, comes the plea that the CAC help to give the consumer a voice before congressional committees which must vote funds for the Federal regulatory agencies. Senator HUMPHREY says, "The only voices we usually hear are those complaining that an agency has been too harsh or unfair in enforcing the law. We need a voice speaking for enforcing the law in the interests of the consumer."

From Helen G. Canoyer, dean of Cornell University's School of Home Economics and chairman of the new CAC, comes the statement that the council can achieve much by directing "attention to consumer education, especially to consumer economics"—and this means "teaching basic economic principles, not just feeding out information on how to take care of clothes or how to read labels."

From Colston E. Warne, economics professor at Amherst College, president of Consumers Union, and another council member, comes the proposal that the CAC should lead a drive for compilation of all the methods of testing consumer goods available the world over.

SAMPLING OFFERED

From Walter F. Mondale, attorney general of Minnesota, and a council member, too, comes the recommendation that the council assist in working on legislation permitting the States "to set up a national clearinghouse of information on racketeers that prey upon consumers" so swindlers can't escape simply by moving from State to State.

It also must make it clear, I think, that whatever it does to further the legitimate interests of the consumer is simultaneously furthering the legitimate interests of business and labor. For this is fundamentally true and the misunderstanding which exists on conflicts is a hangover from an era long since dead.

The CAC has been born. Now it will begin to earn its right to become a permanent, respected, valuable part of the Federal Government.

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## The John Birch Society in Michigan

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, it takes a strong pair of eyes to be a member of the John Birch Society. Robert Welch, founder of the controversial right-wing group, is a prolific pamphleteer. In this second of six special reports, Detroit Free Press staff writer Barbara Holliday, tells where Birchers get their ammunition:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IN MICHIGAN

In the world of John Birch, the sun never shines. The sky is constantly overcast and black thunderheads hang ominously on the horizon.

And through the overcast rumbles the ultraconservative thunder of Robert Welch invective.

Perhaps the most sobering thing about the John Birch Society is the thought of what a year-in, year-out diet of alarmist fear-inducing propaganda can do to people who, whatever their convictions, are basically honest, dedicated, sincere Americans.

My initial taste of the Welch-flavored propaganda came at the first John Birch meeting I attended.

But this was pale compared to the purple oratory that erupted from the pages of the bulletins that came with my membership card.

These monthly bulletins are personal messages from Robert Welch to his followers. They are rambling rebuttals to personal attacks, discourses on conspiracy in the Government, subtle pleas for financial support, and the all-important projects for the month.

Welch frankly admits that his society is the only group in the country that is fighting communism with Communist weapons. He has not only mastered the techniques—he has added the plus of good old American salesmanship.

There is no way to quote Welch briefly. For a single-purposed man, he has an extraordinarily circuitous way of getting to the point.

However, this excerpt from the June bulletin is typical:

"The dominant feature of life in the United States today is confusion. There is a miasmal fog of confusion enveloping and permeating the politics, economics, education, morals, religion, scientific research, military planning, and even the everyday commonsense, of the American people. And let nobody be surprised at these conditions.

"For, at the present rate of Communist progress, the United States is now within 3 or 4 years of the visible beginnings of the enforcement and consolidation of Communist rule by police-state methods.

"The John Birch Society is an unshakeable phalanx, marching straight ahead through all of the confusion, and gathering to its banner those who seek leadership they can trust."

It is this kind of statement that has earned for Welch the charge that his chief purpose is a personal bid for power.

In addition to the monthly bulletins, all members are expected to subscribe to American Opinion, a Welch-edited magazine which appeared as "One Man's Opinion" for 5 years before the society was organized.

The magazine carries inflammatory articles by far rightists, purported to be the inside story of such organizations as SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), "Peril in Mexico," "Behind Fluoridation," "The FPA (Foreign Policy Association) in Atlanta."

The last article concerned the "Great Decisions" program, a study and lecture course sponsored by FPA. It was attacked in Atlanta, Ga., as being "subtly loaded against America" but, according to the magazine, the "FPA achieved a neat whitewash."

"Not a line," says the article, "appeared in the New York press, where the FPA has offices, or in cities such as Detroit, where the "Great Decisions" program plays a domineering role."

MAGAZINE INDICTS U.S. GOVERNMENT

This was cited by the Birchist author as evidence of Communist domination of the press and other communication mediums in this country.

Standing features in the magazine include "On the Cold War Front," and "A Review of the News," all calculated to add up to an indictment of the U.S. Government.

There is also a section on "New Books." The "impartial" reviews take on the following character.

"Fluoridation: Its Moral and Political Aspects," by F. B. Exner, etc.

"By this time, there must be a few cities and towns in the United States that have been harassed by emissaries from the malodorous hive of parasites and subversives that American taxpayers nourish under the official title of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare."

One third of a page in the June issue repeated over and over again in varying sizes of type, "Send American Opinion to a friend." At the bottom of the page was a sentence in agate type, "We are trying to burn it into your brain."

If this were all that was being burned into the brains of the Birchers it would be enough.

But this is only the start.

Mandatory for all-Birchers are the books "One Dozen Candles" which come boxed from Belmont, Mass., society headquarters, for the modest sum of $10.

Their titles speak for themselves.

"I Saw Poland Betrayed," "Nine Men Against America," "The Web of Subversion," "From Major Jordan's Diaries," "America's Retreat From Victory," "While You Slept," "The Pentagon Case," "The Peoples Pottage," "Shanghai Conspiracy," "The Tragedy of Bolivia," "The Kohler Strike," and "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler."

In addition, Welch has recently added 200 books and 42 periodicals to the approved list.

Among these is the pamphlet, "Inform," which recently declared 20,000 fully armed and trained Chinese Communist troops had been landed in Mexico.

LURID PAMPHLETS ARE CIRCULATED

There are more:

On my desk there is a 5-month accumulation of literature growing out of Birch meetings and allied groups where Birch members distributed pamphlets.

Interestingly enough, the most lurid are not on display at society meetings. This, again, appears to be a Welch technique of keeping the outer skirts of the society as clean as possible.

Among these pamphlets are such provocative titles as "The Hangman's Noose," "Traitors in the Pulpit," "Satan Goes to School," and "Unmasking the Deceiver."

None of the above are Welch publications but they are circulated freely among Birch members.

The strongest medicine comes in the Blue Book, the bible of the society.

Every new recruit is supposed to be indoctrinated by the Blue Book before he joins. In the passion of recruiting, this is often overlooked.

The Blue Book is essentially a transcript of the 2-day marathon speech Welch made before 11 industrialists when he formed the society in Indianapolis in December 1958.

Now in its eighth printing, it has had some sections deleted by a few cautious members of the 27-man advisory council of the society.

It includes footnotes which are a sort of running progress report.

Here is a sample of the Blue Book message:

"The truth I bring you is simple, incontrovertible, and deadly. It is that, unless we can reverse forces which now seem inexorable in their movement, you have only a few more years before the country in which you live will become four separate provinces in a worldwide Communist dominion ruled by police-state methods from the Kremlin. The map for their division and administration is already drawn. We are living, in America today, in a fool's paradise.

"When you come to the extent of Communist infiltration and influences right inside our own continental borders, the subject is entirely too large for us to do more than indicate a few pointers.

"The real significance of what I have just said lies in the fact that this door of betrayal is known to be wide open, and nobody—in Congress, in the executive branch, in the Pentagon itself—nobody even dares to try to close it. That is one indication of how powerful the Communist influence has now become in almost all of our Federal agencies."

PROJECTS ASSIGNED TO MEMBERS

To fight the Communist conspiracy, Welch draws up 10 to 12 projects each month which a member is to pursue "according to his own conscience."

If a member fails consistently to produce, he will, in Welch's words, "get his money back."

Some of these are long-range goals which are moved to standing agenda, such as "The Movement To Impeach Earl Warren" and "Get Us Out of the U.N."

Others are tied into current events and get the "hard sell."

One such project in February was presented in this fashion:

"(Project) 8. State Department Booklet No. 7277:

"The full title of this document is 'Freedom From War.' The U.S. program for general and complete disarmament. We said it was available from the Government Printing Office for 15 cents a copy. As soon as our bulletin appeared the booklet was allowed to go 'out of stock.' So we have reprinted it ourselves * * * as a public service. Copies are available in any quantity at seven for $1, directly from American Opinion, Belmont 78, Mass.

"For those who can afford it we urge that you buy enough and send one copy each to a member of your patriotic but still complacent friends.

"If they are not awakened by this official effort to wipe out our Armed Forces entirely and have us policed and 'protected' by a United Nations 'peace force'—then they will be asleep when Chinese troops come knocking on their door at 2 o'clock some morning * * * in a very few more years."

In May the National Council of Churches was under fire. In June, the alert was out for civil defense rationing forms.

"This preemergency hocus-pocus serves beautifully the liberal line," wrote Welch. "It makes a lot of people think the emergency of war is just around the corner and fits in with the better Red than dead propaganda. Keep us posted as to all moves in this direction and start opposing them at the slightest sign of such developments."

An indication that Welch is gathering momentum in his attacks on the administration occurred in the July bulletin revolving around the Billie Sol Estes case.

"It is not widely enough known," he wrote, "but it was one of our members, a physician in Washington, D.C. * * * who was able to get Mary K. Jones released from a mental hospital.

"She was, you may remember, the secretary to an honest official who was becoming too disturbed by evidence coming into his knowledge of the Billie Sol Estes fraud. And she had been railroaded to a mental institution without the slightest reason except that she also knew too much about where the fiscal manipulations had been buried.

"Facing up squarely to this sinister danger * * * members of the society * * * should take the lead when necessary in making sure that any such incarceration of a neighbor—especially one known to be engaged in patriotic activities—is not buried in some mental institution."

A Kansas editor summed it up after Welch made a personal appearance in Wichita, one of the pilot cities for a number of Birch activities:

"The man who invented the roller coaster knew something basic about human nature; people love to be scared to death. That forgotten inventor-philosopher is the ancestor of Robert Welch."

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## Soviet Threat in Caribbean

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a David Lawrence column entitled, "Kennedy Must React Quickly to Soviet Threat in Caribbean," which appeared in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, August 27, 1962.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAVID LAWRENCE SAYS: KENNEDY MUST REACT QUICKLY TO SOVIET THREAT IN CARIBBEAN

WASHINGTON.—The Soviet Government has flagrantly violated the Monroe Doctrine, which declares that no European government may establish a foothold or acquire any territory in the Western Hemisphere beyond what had already been established prior to 1823. This has been a basic principle of American foreign policy under all administrations since that time. Now, however, the Soviet Union has landed military personnel and equipment in large quantities in Cuba and will maintain a base under its control just 90 miles from this country.

President Kennedy has made it clear in public statements heretofore that, while the United States may consult with the Organization of American States, this country is nevertheless free at any time to take unilateral action to deal with any violations of the Monroe Doctrine.

The facts about the latest operations in Cuba have been verified to the satisfaction of the U.S. Department of State. Here is what actually has happened:

1. Between 3,000 and 5,000 Soviet personnel arrived in Cuba in 5 Soviet passenger vessels between July 27 and July 31.

2. Eleven cargo ships of the Soviet Union arrived during the same period and unloaded large crates at the ports of Havana, Matanzas, Bahia de Nipe, Bahia Honda, and Mariel. This was accomplished during the night hours under strict security conditions.

3. Soviet personnel did all the unloading.

4. Eyewitnesses saw empty trucks lifted into the holds of the various ships, where they were loaded and covered with tarpaulins. They were then hoisted back on to the docks and driven away by Soviet personnel.

SPOTTED BY PLANES

5. Eyewitnesses reported seeing tanks, communications trucks, and large truck-trailers carrying crates about 40 feet long. All indications are that military hardware and communications equipment formed a large part of the cargo. Crews of American airplanes, flying over the ships on their way to Cuba, also observed the military nature of the equipment.

6. Only one of the five Soviet passenger ships arrived openly and it was ceremoniously welcomed by Cuban Communist officials. It carried about 400 genuine agri-

cultural experts and technicians, who were heralded as coming to assist in the agricultural development of Cuba. The other four vessels, however, arrived secretly at night, and these carried Soviet military personnel.

7. At least 15 additional ships from the Communist bloc, containing more of the same kind of cargoes and personnel, are on their way to Cuba.

President Kennedy knew all about this when he referred briefly at his Wednesday press conference to the landing in Cuba of "supplies and technicians of a rather intensive quantity in recent weeks." He said they came from the Communist-bloc countries. Asked what the significance of it was, the President answered: "We are examining it now."

TO TRAIN ARMY

Actually, the Soviet military officers will train the Cuban army just as they have done in the case of the North Vietnam army in southeast Asia.

The Monroe Doctrine—first proclaimed during the administration of President Monroe because of efforts of Russia and other countries to colonize certain portions of the Western Hemisphere—declared, in effect, that any attempt by a European power to establish a foothold in any country in this hemisphere not already colonized would be regarded as an act of aggression and as "dangerous to our peace and safety."

The countries of Latin America, by resolution, in recent years have concurred in the Monroe Doctrine as a hemispheric policy, but the question of how it should be enforced has never been defined. That's why President Kennedy made it clear in a public statement last year that the United States feels free to proceed on its own if the Latin American States do not wish to join in any cooperative action against an aggressor.

The landing of military supplies and personnel is a natural sequel to the setting up of Communist Party personnel inside the civilian as well as the military departments of the Cuban Government itself.

From the standpoint of international law, the United States has every right to land troops, take possession of Havana, and occupy the country, unless the Cuban Government answers satisfactorily the request of the U.S. Government that all Soviet military personnel be sent home and that no further shipments of military supplies be sanctioned by the Havana authorities.

There may be some connection between the Berlin crisis and the Soviet activities in Cuba. It may be that Soviet Premier Khrushchev is testing the United States. If he finds the Washington Government soft and disinclined to take any countermeasures, the same procedure of infiltration by Soviet advisers and technicians may be followed in other countries in Latin America as part of a planned takeover of those countries. For this reason, it would indeed be a surprise if President Kennedy does not take advantage of the opportunity now afforded this country under international law and the Monroe Doctrine to safeguard the interests of the United States.

## The 45th Anniversary of the Founding of the 35th Infantry Division of the National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WM. J. RANDALL**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 19, several Members of Congress, including the Honorables PAUL C. JONES, of Missouri; W. R. HULL, JR., of Missouri; DURWARD G. HALL, of Missouri; RICHARD ICHORD, of Missouri; WILLIAM H. AVERY, of Kansas; and ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and myself attended the 45th anniversary of the founding of the 35th Infantry Division of the National Guard on the Liberty Memorial Mall at Kansas City, Mo. This division is made up of National Guard units in Missouri and Kansas. The 35th Division was organized on August 25, 1917, at Camp Doniphan, Okla. At that time, 14,282 men of that new 35th Division were from Missouri and 9,781 from Kansas. All were volunteer guardsmen or militia as they have been called since the States first raised troops for the Nation back in 1775.

The principal address of this observation was by Maj. Gen. Charles H. Browne, Jr., commanding general of the 35th Infantry Division, who spoke on the south steps of the Liberty Memorial Mall in Kansas City, Mo., facing officers and soldiers of the 35th Division and their friends. The most illustrious alumnus of the 35th Division and a former officer, former President Harry S. Truman, was unable to attend because of previous commitments, but appropriate mention was made that Mr. Truman is providing space for a permanent 35th Division Memorial Room in the Truman Library at Independence, Mo. It was pointed out by the General that "Captain Harry" of Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, was present and participated in the organization of the 35th Division on August 25, 1917.

Everyone present agreed the ceremony was a very impressive observation of the founding of the division and also an interesting, pleasant, and most significant afternoon for the officers, men, and friends of the 35th Division, which is the Missouri-Kansas National Guard.

## United States-Canadian Lumber Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER**
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on August 27, negotiating teams representing the United States and Canada will meet in Ottawa for preliminary discussion of problems connected with the rapid rise of lumber imports into this country. The negotiators face a difficult task because of the close economic interrelationship between lumber producers in the two countries.

I have just received a most penetrating analysis of the United States-Canada lumber situation written by Mr. Dean Sherman, editor of Forest Industries magazine. The article is scheduled for publication in the September issue of this magazine, which is widely recognized as one of the forest products' industries most responsible spokesmen. I ask unanimous consent to include a portion of the text of the article in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED STATES-CANADIAN SITUATION

Forest Industries has talked with people in the industry on both sides of the border to dig out the facts and to learn their thinking. The situation is no bed of roses, but it is not an impossible one. What does matter is whether the industry is ready to face the facts and jointly multiply its efforts. The industry must take the lead, for there is a far greater potential ahead of it now than was ever ahead of it during the years just gone by. There are, in the United States, soothsayers, saints and sinners who play a part in the problem—and they must help solve it.

Any approach to lumber industry problems must start with the realization that we are fast approaching economic unity between the United States and Canada. We have to. We know it—so does Canada. Mutual protection, survival and economics are at stake. Many say never, but they are wrong. Three to five years could see it a fact, particularly if Britain goes into the European Common Market.

THE BIG DILEMMA

We cannot morally nor economically tie off Canada in a corner with prohibitive restrictions. She is the United States biggest customer—nearly a quarter of her total goods come from United States—and, geographically, we share many like resources under two flags.

*Imports*

Last year her imports from the United States were $700 million greater than her exports to us. She has lost a considerable share of her United Kingdom markets to European nations. Canada's 92-cent dollar and austerity program were thus imposed in self defense, while the United States has pumped in a billion dollars to help prop up Canada's dollar, help keep it from going lower.

The U.S. lumber and pulp and paper industries have a $1½- to $2-billion investment in Canada's wood industries. An estimated 50 percent of Canadian forest industries are partially or wholly owned by U.S. companies—a fact often obscured in the controversy concerning Canadian lumber imports.

Though there are no confirming facts, it is variously estimated that from 50 to 90 percent of British Columbia's several hundred interior mills are partially or wholly financed by U.S. eastern wholesalers.

During the past 20 years, most of the big independent lumber operations in British Columbia have been merged into larger companies, most of which are wholly or partially owned by U.S. capital.

Eastern Canada is pretty much a pulp and paper story. Of the 32 leading pulp and paper companies in Canada, 10 are Canadian controlled, 14 are controlled by U.S. companies, 3 are owned by United Kingdom interests and one by Swedish interests. The balance are companies in which U.S. capital is partially invested.

Generally, the situation has been welcomed by Canada in spite of any headlines to the contrary. U.S. investment in Canadian wood industries has expanded integrated operations, increased employment for Canadians, improved operating efficiency and created a stability that did not exist when larger companies were not affiliated with pulp and paper operations.

More than half of Canada's plywood plants, her hardboard and particle-board plants are affiliated with U.S. companies.

If the United States cannot afford to place Canada in an unfavorable position, neither can U.S. industry go beyond a safety point

in allowing imports to jeopardize her own economy. Somehwere there is a give-and-take happy ground. It can be solved by working together on the basis of sound economics and not by political doubletalk. Economists of both countries point out that the same situation exists among many industries and they spotlight the fact that steps to economic unity are already well formed.

THESE ARE THE FACTS

The many-sided industry problems have been accumulating for years. The sin of indifference—some say lack of convictions—is where the finger should be pointing. We've been dumped flat on our uncushioned floor of reality, screamed foul, and now seek to soothsay our way out.

We've relegated to Government many of its powers to act for us—we've allowed unfavorable decisions to compound within Federal timber agencies and up until now the industry has not risen as one to try to correct them. We've believed in the talk about market consciousness, product development and promotion but have done too little about it. Business generally has allowed political high places to make "profit" appear as sin and business to become unhallowed. Labor has allowed self-seeking power pushers to outmaneuver economic sense. Now we look at the influx of imported produces and can see how our own industries could be drained because of our present day cost floor. We lagged when we should have led—now we are disenchanted.

A healthy sign in the lumber industry is the fact that now it is ready to move as one.

WHAT THE INDUSTRY SEEKS

1. The lumber manufacturers seek to set up an atmosphere where they may have equal opportunity to compete for our own markets with any foreign producers. This also reflects costs of raw material, labor, transportation, development and marketing. The present solution proposed by the lumber industry is either quotas on shipments of lumber from Canada or FHA loans requiring use of U.S. manufactured building materials. Neither will solve the problem and is at best a temporary crutch.

2. The industry seeks better and more equitable relations between itself and the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, who control 60 percent of the commercial forest areas in the West.

There is much justification for the industry's raising its voice in protest of many of the regulations and practices that have been carried out in the name of public interest—dozens of which were attested in recent congressional hearings. But it would be unfair to say this without realizing that the industry is not itself without sin.

The fact is, there has been need for modernizing change to meet present conditions. This has nothing to do with personalities. Rather it is a compounding of practices that have not changed to keep up.

The causes are probably lack of effective communications, with no one really listening to the protests of bad practices nor doing anything about them.

What is sought now is for both the Forest Service and the industry to rid themselves of obsolescence in order to arrive at business-like and friendly working relations, realizing the interdependency and the fact that the industry is a customer, accounting for 90 percent of national forest income.

The industry believes the Forest Service has not been acting in the best public interests by seeking to wring the last dollar out of every sale and that it should first consider need for community stabilization.

Lumbermen would have the Forest Service put up the full allowable cut in every forest every year. This would allow industry to plan ahead and relieve the Forest Service from criticism that holding back on sales is creating a false shortage that contributes to high bid prices. It would not, however, stop natural attrition of plants, replacement in the marketplace by other products, or prevent more mills from going into business.

The industry likes to see Forest Service consult industry on major problems and and practices as partners in business. The Forest Service might find industry willing and able to help work out many of today's knotty problems through mutual cooperation, and it would like to see all forest and regional forest advisory committees include topflight industry men and have them consult on major problems, policies, and practices beyond multiple use. It would like to see regular reports made to the industry. This would not be a rubberstamp committee, but a real working group in each case.

While the average bid price is said to have declined by 30 percent during the past 2 years, this does not take into account the further cost of roads, slash disposal, marking, and the quality of the timber itself. There are many problems in this direction, including road specifications, that need revision. Industry would like sales put up in the spring when they can be worked and not have to tie up its capital over winter seasons.

These are but a few of the problems which could be mutually solved if better working communications were established and if the Forest Service realistically looks at the industry as a customer.

Changes are needed—not political changes—but constructive approaches to the constantly changing conditions.

THE JONES ACT

That paragraph of the Jones Act requiring use of American ships to carry cargo between American ports is one of those laws that has become a hindrance rather than a help. With intercoastal shipping already reduced to but a few ships, the Jones Act is a major block preventing many western lumber cargo shippers from being competitive with imports on our eastern seaboard. Its elimination would help. And there is no need for economically unsound subsidies which some in governmental high places would like to hand out as a solution.

THE CANADIAN VIEWPOINTS

The Canadian lumbermen's approach to the solution is also confused. Obviously they can do nothing about U.S. laws, regulations, or practices. Their own economy is in difficulty, though the lumber producers are doing fairly well in American markets.

They believe the lumber industries on both sides must look to themselves for ideas and initiative and that governments should cooperate and assist, not make it difficult. British Columbia operators believe their own system of timber licensing works well, precludes excessive bidding and does provide a fair degree of stability. Actually, on open timber sales, Canadian timber prices have been bid up equal to many U.S. sales. Their boom prices are essentially the same.

They are opposed to anything that would place quotas or restrictions on lumber in the U.S. markets which are so important to them. Only through wood products has British Columbia a chance to contribute her share to Canada's economy.

Canadian producers see one of the greatest cost factors as that of allowing plants to become obsolete. "Failure to keep up is almost sudden death" on either side of the line. They are replacing equipment and are modernizing to stay competitive.

They believe United States and Canadian lumbermen should stop wrangling, stop looking through knotholes and lift their sights toward world markets where great opportunities exist. Canadian men are traveling in foreign countries and joining in with trade missions. They have established offices in England. Yet, they fail to see U.S. producers actively pursuing those markets.

They would cooperate with U.S. lumbermen in seeking world markets. Their question is: "with whom would we cooperate?" Generally, most U.S. plants cut for domestic markets. They have not wanted to export. They do not cut right sizes. They point out that cutting for export markets is a full-time job, not a sideline. Mills must be dependable suppliers of quality products and export sizes. They cannot treat foreign markets as a convenience.

Many Canadian operators believe that there are world markets much greater than those in the United States and Canada combined.

They agree that the U.S. operator has his problems but do not believe (other than in the reduced dollar value) that they have contributed as much to the cause of the situation as is claimed. Until the past 2 or 3 years there was need for all the Canadian lumber imported into the United States, in addition to the total supplied by U.S. producers. They are also quick to point out that a large share of the Canadian lumber production is produced by companies owned by American operators or who share in plant ownerships.

It is the conviction of many British Columbia lumbermen that economic union between Canada and the United States is already in the making and must become a reality within the foreseeable future. They would welcome it and feel conflicting problems could be worked out.

WHAT U.S. OPERATORS THINK

There must be equal rules applying to both sides of the line with equal opportunities for both. This probably summarizes the major thinking of U.S. lumber manufacturers.

They reason further: Canada is one of our biggest customers. We have need for economic partnership for protection and welfare of both countries. International ownerships of industry is good and should be encouraged both ways. Many of the larger operators feel there should be no restrictive barriers and we must learn to adjust—to make better products, so we may compete anywhere in the world. However, they are certain that market availability must be on equal terms. Lumber economists point out that quotas are the only protection against devaluated dollars.

Lumbermen dependent upon Forest Service timber look at their problem as one of industry responsibility. "It is neighbor bidding against neighbor for Government timber—forcing the price so high that we bid the profit out at the source of raw material." It is this situation in their minds that dominates their thinking. It is a major one, needing correction. These lumbermen want timber agencies to put up full allowable cuts and be realistic about road costs and specifications so that their raw material is kept at a reasonable figure. It is largely through raw material costs where they see the only opportunity of equalizing costs and keeping them competitive.

Many say they have no fear of Canadian exports. "U.S. lumber is better and would be preferred in the markets if we can remain competitive and still make a profit."

We found all lumber operators looking for means of modernizing their plants, cutting operating costs, finding means of reducing logging costs, searching for more economical equipment that will do more jobs better and faster.

## No Such Thing as Federal Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BEN F. JENSEN**
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have asked unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein appropriate comments from representative newspapers in my district.

The Council Bluffs Nonpareil has produced many of these patriotic articles, through the capable authorship of Editor A. M. Piper and his associate, C. W. McManamy.

Today I would like to insert a recent column composed by the latter, and invite the attention of the House to one especially cogent proposal, namely: Let's call all these Government disbursements by their correct name—the "taxpayers' money"—rather than by this detached umbrella phrase, "Federal funds." We don't have any Federal funds. Only a handful of programs pay for themselves, and they are Government monopolies, such as passports and the like.

So, let's adopt Mac's suggestion on this. Let each project be identified as an item being underwritten by the taxpayer himself, not by some bottomless treasury which somehow seems like somebody else's money.

The column follows:

[From Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil, Aug. 24, 1962]

NO SUCH THING AS FEDERAL FUNDS

(By C. W. McManamy)

Webster says that a cliche is a "stereotyped expression." He then defines stereotyped as "hackneyed or conventional." Finally he says that a misnomer is a "misapplied name or designation."

So it is that the old cliche "Federal funds" is a misnomer of the first water.

Unfortunately it follows, as Oliver Wendell Holmes so aptly pointed out that "A catchword long enough repeated can defy analysis for 100 years."

Through the years and through the repeated use of the term "Federal funds" people generally have come to disassociate themselves and their money from such so-called Federal funds.

The fact of the matter is of course that there is no such thing as Federal funds. The money handled, spent, or misspent, by the Federal Government is your money and my money, the people's money, taxpayer's money.

Why can't people see this?

Hardly a day goes past that we do not read where this or that project, usually a very costly project, will be paid for with Federal funds. Would that not mean something a bit different to most of us if it read "will be paid for with taxpayers money."

Time and time again we hear the suggestion, Federal funds are available to pay, or help pay, for this or that local project. Would we feel quite as free and easy about approving such projects if we said instead some of our tax money will come back from Washington to help pay for this.

Quite frequently we hear this acceptance of so-called Federal funds justified with the excuse "if we don't take it someone else will."

This is pretty tricky reasoning. Using the same formula you could justify holding up a bank or robbing your neighbor. If you don't do it someone else is likely to get the loot sooner or later.

An even worse aspect of this "false doctrine of Federal funds" is the apathy with which most of us watch the dissipation of this money, our money remember, to the four corners of the earth under the banner of foreign aid.

How many of you contribute to the foreign missionary effort of your church, and when you do how handsomely do you contribute. I suspect the answer would be "not too many and not too much."

This isn't because you are not thoughtful or generous but rather that you have other more immediate interests that deserve your money.

With foreign aid though your money is being sent abroad in astonishing amounts. By and large you and your country reap the negative benefits when the results are poor, which all too often they have been. On the other hand such good as comes from this spending is almost always credited to the Government which has purportedly spent its money in this cause.

## Soviets Land in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART**
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Soviets Land in Cuba," which appeared in the August 27, 1962, edition of the Hammond Times.

There being no objection the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOVIETS LAND IN CUBA

In his column from Washington today, David Lawrence discloses a State Department report that the Soviet Government has landed 5,000 technicians and a large quantity of cargo that appears to be military equipment, in Cuba.

This, points out Mr. Lawrence, constitutes a clearcut violation of the Monroe Doctrine which has been a keystone of our Western Hemisphere policy since 1823.

In that year, President James Monroe notified the world that the United States felt and would thenceforth maintain that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition that they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

This of course was announcement of a determination to protect the newly formed South American Republics and the independent empire of Brazil from any attempt by European dynasties to reclaim them.

But in 1823 Secretary of State John Q. Adams also notified the Russian czar that his proclamation forbidding fishing for 100 miles off the coast of Alsaka, then nominally a Russian possession, would be contested by the United States. Some 40 years later, we bought Alaska from Russia.

The news that the Soviets have landed a large force of what can be surmised to be military technicians in Cuba to teach the Castro dictatorship's pawns the use of Soviet weapons shipped into the island, is disheartening. Mr. Lawrence believes the action is a clear violation of the Monroe Doctrine and that the United States is justified, under international law, in intervening in Cuba with military force.

The occurrence would seem to give added weight to a suggestion that Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, of Indiana, has been making for some time. Senator CAPEHART has made no secret of his belief that we should intervene militarily in Cuba.

It would seem that the time is now right to act on Senator CAPEHART'S suggestion, particularly in view of the fact that an important American naval base has been maintained by treaty on Cuba for some 60 years. Are we to wait until Castro's Soviet-reinforced army takes over Guantanamo Bay Naval Base before we act? Are we waiting for Castro to get the rockets ready, in place to fire at us, before we move against this threat to the Monroe Doctrine?

More and more, it appears that Senator CAPEHART is right in his suggestion that the only way to get rid of Castro and his Communist regime, before it builds up a Red fort 90 miles from our shores, is to take some U.S. forces and move in.

## A Report on the Social Studies Institute Program, "Africa: Images and Realities"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call your attention to a unique and vital summer educational program of African studies for able high school students sponsored by the St. Paul public schools and the Junior League of St. Paul. Persons in government, education, and the foundations might well give careful study to this program that has served to provide a depth study of African problems, increase the level of public information about Africa, and serve the national interest on the international scene in Africa.

The unique Oxford-type study program provided motivational conditions that held student interest 4 hours per day, 5 days each week for 6 weeks from June 11 to July 20. I also wish to note that public information levels were increased during this time. This was brought about through the cooperation of several organizations and agencies. WCCO–TV presented 31 programs on Africa. KUOM broadcast several half-hour programs taped at the summer school. The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch gave increased coverage to African subjects. The St. Paul public libraries provided a special section on Africa. The St. Paul Gallery and the Science Museum each presented special African exhibitions.

While the program served the educational needs of able students and stimulated public interest in African affairs, it also served the national interest. This is pointed up by the fact that many stories about the summer school were

carried by the 33 posts of the U.S. Information Service in Africa and that Voice of America has prepared taped broadcasts originating in St. Paul that will be carried to the millions of Africa.

I note with pleasure that we in mid-America and particularly in St. Paul, Minn., lead the way in presenting a depth program of African studies that not only increases the knowledge of students but also serves the public and national interest.

Others will undoubtedly follow this example and rightly so as there is a great need for us to learn as much as possible about the newly emergent African nations and the peoples of that great continent.

The program was designed and directed by John Mather of the St. Paul public schools. Persons seeking detailed information should write to: John Mather, director, Social Studies Institute, St. Paul Public Schools, 659 City Hall, St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. Mather's report follows:

A REPORT ON THE SOCIAL STUDIES INSTITUTE PROGRAM "AFRICA: IMAGES AND REALITIES"

(By John Mather)

The multifaceted Social Studies Institute program "Africa: Images and Realities" has attracted considerable attention in the last few months and particularly during the operational phase, June 11 to July 20. Africanists, educators, representatives of the U.S. Government, representatives of African nations, students, and laymen have expressed interest in the program. This seems to be due to the fact that many special concerns have been tied together in the educational and public affairs sides of the institute.

Sources of interest were provided by the depth program of African studies for high school students, the Oxford-type independent study program, the use of the problems approach to learning, the team teaching operation, and a public information program.

The announced purpose of the institute was to provide a quality educational program that would combine training for the intensive development of intellectual skills of able students with the development of knowledge about Africa. A secondary purpose, though not announced, was that of increasing the level of general public information about Africa through the press, radio, television, public affairs programs, and special exhibitions.

An explanation of the program that goes beyond the usual newspaper account may be useful to interested persons.

THE PROGRAM

The program was in operation 4 hours a day, 5 days each week, for 6 weeks. The daily schedule was divided into five blocks of time: I, section meetings; II, lecture for 100 students; III, seminars; IV, tutorial period; V, laboratory period.

Emphasis was placed upon the development of independent study. Unhampered by the ordinary restrictions and relatively structured procedures of the secondary school, students were free to make their own choices and pursue their own study and research interests.

The only requirements placed upon students were that they attend lectures, belong to a seminar, write a research paper of recognized quality and be prepared to take whatever examinations might be assigned. During the tutorial and laboratory periods they were free to do research, meet with staff tutors, view films, listen to taped lectures, meet with African staff members, go to the St. Paul Public Library, visit the St. Paul Gallery or Science Museum, and attend small group lectures.

The subject areas covered during the 6 weeks were: "An Overview of African Problems," "African Cultures in Transition," "Needs of the Emerging African Nations," "Political Change in Africa," and "Africa in the International Setting."

High motivational conditions were created by a team of outstanding teachers, African staff members, para-professional workers, guest lecturers from colleges and universities, and lecturers from the Peace Corps, the U.S. Information Agency, and the U.S. Department of State. The members of the St. Paul Public School faculty were John Mather, Zarm Keljik, Kenneth Osvold, Katherine McKenzie, Donald Moore, and Richard Harmon. The African faculty included James Shiroya, Kenya; Mary Gichuru, Kenya; Boniface Obichere, Nigeria; Assibi Abudu, Ghana; and Mario Nzuwah, Southern Rhodesia. Para-professional workers were provided by the Junior League. Mrs. Henry Cowie and Mrs. Platt Walker organized the volunteer project. The college and university lecturers were Dr. Josef Mestenhauser, Dr. Paul Cashman, Dr. Wm. Rogers, Dr. Alan Merriam, Dr. St. Clair Drake, Dr. Roy Sieber, Dr. Gwendolen Carter, Dr. Wesley St. John. Lecturers from the African Embassies included Mr. Wm Tsitsiwu of the Embassy of Ghana, and Mr. O. Adeniji of the Embassy of Nigeria. Lecturers from the Peace Corps were Mr. Kenneth Coffey, assistant chief of the professional and technical division, and Mr. Richard Ware, Director of Programs for West Africa. The one lecturer from the U.S. Information Agency was Dr. John Noon. The lecturers from the U.S. Department of State were Mr. Richard Sanger, Deputy Director of the Office for Eastern and Southern African Affairs, Dr. Robert Baum, Deputy Director for the Office of Research and Analysis for Africa, and Mr. Wayne Fredericks, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Several tests may be applied to the program to determine whether or not it was a success. Tests were in fact applied and the students did very well but the other results are probably better indicators. One is that students gave up their summer vacations in order to participate in a rigorous college level program. Their notes were excellent and their research papers were outstanding. Further positive residual effects can be found in what happened in the community. A high level of enthusiasm for African studies has been generated among groups that make up part of the St. Paul public.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Many adults came to hear the morning lectures and the evening programs of the institute. A large number of people have visited the exhibitions at the St. Paul Gallery and the Science Museum.

WCCO-TV presented 30 half-hour programs and one documentary on the institute, the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch increased coverage on Africa, and KUOM carried several half-hour programs. While it is difficult to assess the effect the news coverage and the programs at least it is known that a large public audience was reached by electrical and printed mediums. Some responsive enthusiastic letters have been sent by interested persons.

SERVING THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Several news stories and pictures have been carried by 33 USIS posts in Africa and Voice of America has broadcast a number of programs taped at the institute. A photographic exhibition of the pictures taken at the institute is being readied for use in Africa.

THE FUTURE

The Social Studies Institute program of African studies will continue in St. Paul for at least two more summers. The director is currently seeking ways to expand the program.

## Tribute to Alonzo Stagg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President—

I may go on forever, because statistics show that few men die after the age of 100.

With these words, Amos Alonzo Stagg, America's patriarch of sports and football's greatest teacher, reached the century mark. Born in 1862 to a cobbler, this gentleman rose to a fame and respect that few men will ever achieve.

Stagg's career is well known and there is no good for me to retell his life's history. Perhaps, however, one incident ought to be brought out which shows the dedication and humility of the former ministerial student. While coaching at Chicago his salary never exceeded $8,500 a year. Yet, with this modest salary, he turned down an offer of $350 for a single speech because it would require him to miss a day of football practice with his squad. Not many men in our materialistic world would have flatly turned down the offer as he did. This is the quality of the man which the world is honoring this year.

A campaign is currently underway to raise $1 million for a center of physical fitness in Stagg's hometown of Stockton, Calif. This worthwhile project will stand as a testimony to one of sport's greatest personalities. But he does not need any testimony to be remembered, for the thousands of players whom he coached can never forget him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD which speaks of Mr. Stagg's achievements on reaching his 100th birthday. It is "Football's Great Is 100 Today" from the New Brunswick, N.J., Daily Home News of August 16.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOOTBALL'S GREAT IS 100 TODAY

As the birthplace of intercollegiate football and the site of the proposed Hall of Fame of the National Football Foundation, it is only fitting that we, in the New Brunswick area, salute today America's patriarch of sports, Amos Alonzo Stagg, as he reaches his 100th birthday.

Twelve testimonial dinners are scheduled across the country to honor this man revered as a great athlete who became even greater as a dedicated teacher of men. He was among the first to be selected for the Football Hall of Fame as player, coach, and "the game's greatest teacher."

In West Orange, where Stagg was born the son of a cobbler in 1862, a week-long celebration is being held to honor its own centennial as well as that of its famed son. It was a teacher in this little New Jersey town who saw him as a fine student and outstanding athlete and encouraged him to enter Yale. Today he is Eli's oldest alumnus.

A preministerial student, Stagg went out for football almost by mistake. With a classmate, he had intended to try rowing, but a chance meeting with other freshmen sent

the group to the football field instead. He became a member of Walter Camp's first All-America team as an end in 1889.

After coaching the first two football teams at Springfield College, the president of the University of Chicago, his former teacher of Bible at Yale, offered Stagg a job as the first director of athletics at the new institution, coaching all sports. He was head football coach for 41 years until reaching the mandatory retirement age.

Five of Stagg's Chicago teams had undefeated seasons. His elevens won seven Big Ten titles. After Chicago, he became head coach at College of the Pacific until 1946. He remained active in football, as advisory coach at a west coast junior college until 2 years ago.

Stagg well knew the value of money although it never played an important part in his life. In his 41 years at Chicago, his salary never exceeded $8,500 a year, yet once he turned down an offer of $350 for a single speech because it would mean missing a day of football practice with his squad.

Although Stagg had studied for the ministry, he felt he did not have the right speaking voice and recently recalled, "I felt especially called to preach but I decided to do it on the athletic field. I also liked the roughness and excitement of practice and later the game. Football was full of vitality and was very stimulating to me."

Football has been good to Stagg, and he to it. The Amos Alonzo Stagg Foundation is currently raising $1 million for a center of physical fitness in his hometown of Stockton, Calif. What better memorial to one of the grid game's brightest figures. Maybe the word "memorial" ought not to be used because Stagg recently said:

"I may go on forever, because statistics show that few men die after the age of 100."

## Matson Shows Positive, Constructive Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about the unsolvable problems of the merchant marine. Matson Navigation Co., is to be commended for embarking on a major program of solving some of those difficult problems, including those of labor-management relations and fleet and service improvements. The following articles from the Honolulu Star Bulletin of August 21, 1962, report on that program and merit consideration:

POWELL SAYS FIRM WILL SPEND $9 MILLION, ASK NO RATE INCREASE—COMPULSORY ARBITRATION EYED BY MATSON

Compulsory arbitration—with the public having a "strong say in the decisions"—must be considered in settling future labor disputes in the shipping industry, Matson Navigation Co.'s president, Stanley Powell, Jr., said today.

Speaking before several hundred Matson customers, Powell vowed that the shipping line plans no request for another freight rate increase in the future.

At the same time, Powell pledged an investment of almost $9 million in a fleet improvement plan.

"I am fully aware of the historic feelings in Hawaii against arbitration of wage disputes," Powell said at the Hawaiian Village Hotel.

"And I once thought I would never see the day when compulsory arbitration might be included among possible alternative courses of action attractive to management.

"So long as Hawaii's unique dependence on ocean shipping continues to be a fundamental charactertistic of its economy, such a drastic solution must be among those considered."

He added: "A very desirable product of compulsory arbitration would be that the public would be given a strong say in the decisions which directly affect freight rates."

Powell said Matson has no intention of seeking another rate increase at this time.

"We are firm in this intention even though we took on higher costs in settling the dispute with the unlicensed offshore unions and the recent wage reopenings in longshore contracts on the west coast and in Hawaii," he said.

He said Matson is confident of its ability to absorb the first $1.5 million of added costs through increased operating efficiency.

"We are hopeful of doing likewise the following years—but there is no guarantee," he said.

The cost to Matson to take the 12½- and 10-percent rate cases to the Federal Maritime Commission was a quarter of a million dollars, Powell said.

"Obviously," he added, "we would welcome the opportunity for a mutual examination of ways for Matson and the people of Hawaii to work out a more satisfactory, and less costly, solution to this problem."

He said, "That opportunity would appear to be at hand.

"The recent decision by the FMC set forth a broad set of ground rules under which Matson will have to operate in the years ahead.

"These rules can also be guidelines for reaching a better understanding of freight rates than was possible before."

Powell said the company's books are "open books to your public officials.

"They know as much about the Matson operation as anyone on our staff."

But, he continued, "this doesn't mean there is always agreement between us.

"But we have reached the point of mutual understanding over the facts."

Powell said he does not seek Hawaii's indorsement of everything Matson will propose or decide must be done.

"But the future of Hawaii's ocean commerce will not be well served by a continuation of the unnecessary, costly contention before the FMC on every change in the level of freight rates," Powell said.

He added: "I give you Matson's pledge to work with those responsible in the State toward an equitable solution to this fundamental problem."

MORE STABILITY

Matson will continue to develop specialized equipment that will permit more stability in its operating costs, Powell said.

"We call it a fleet improvement program," he said.

"It calls for an investment by Matson of almost $9 million," Powell added.

He explained that this money will be spent to expand Matson's capacity to handle container cargo.

"When the new program is in full force," he said, "we will be able to carry in containers 65 percent of all Hawaii's cargo capable of such movement.

"This compares to our present capacity of only 40 percent achieved through an investment of some $18 million to date."

The fleet improvement program as approved, he said, will mean:

1. Four million two hundred thousand dollars which will purchase 1,045 new cargo containers, 25 percent of them reefer containers.

2. One million three hundred thousand dollars which will be invested in providing cargo container service to Hawaii, Maui and Kauai.

NEED GUARANTEE

The labor relations record of the maritime industry, Powell said, suggests strongly that voluntary methods of solving maritime labor disputes offer little guarantee to Hawaii of uninterrupted ocean commerce.

"Such a guarantee must be fundamental for Hawaii in any long-range solution," he added.

President Kennedy has appointed Professor James Healy of Harvard, who played a key role in recent maritime settlements, to make a study of the collective bargaining aspects of the maritime industry.

Powell said Healy "should be made abundantly aware of Hawaii's immense stake in remedial labor legislation that would eliminate interruptions to its basic form of transport.

"But it will be up to us—Hawaii and Matson—to see that he is."

He pointed out that "achievement of a stable, uninterruptible shipping system is perhaps the most critical problem facing the State.

"No other problem should have higher priority in relation to Hawaii's future growth."

Powell thanked shippers for the support Matson received during the hearings on States Steamship Co.'s application to increase calls to Hawaii from 26 a year to 52.

"We will continue to resist the onslaughts of subsidized carriers which view Hawaii as a desirable byproduct along their essential foreign trade routes.

"'Cream-skimming' of cargo might be desirable for these carriers but it would be hurtful to the Hawaiian economy," he said.

If States' application is granted, Matson may have to consider seriously either to increase freight rates or a cutback in service to maintain a reasonable return on investment, he said.

MATSON PLANS TO USE AUTOMATED FREIGHTER

It's practical to operate a Matson C-3 freighter between the west coast and Hawaii with a crew of 15 instead of 51, Stanley Powell, Jr., said here today.

A study of the economics with automated freighters shows that this is possible, he said.

"And the principal beneficiary of the reduction of shipboard operating costs through inevitable automation will be the users of our service—the State of Hawaii," Powell said.

"We are firmly convinced it can be brought about with a minimum of impact on the current seagoing work force, and a maximum benefit to the Hawaiian economy," he said.

Asked how soon Matson plans to put such an automated freighter on the Hawaii run, Powell replied that the target date is 5 years hence.

An automated freighter can be put into service much sooner but Matson is going to work with the offshore unions and reach some understanding with them.

This negotiation will be carried out during the 3-year life of the present labor contract, he said, "hoping an agreement can be consummated" by the time the contract expires.

James M. Dooley, president of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Council of Honolulu, had no comment on the Matson plan.

"Any statement on future negotiations between the union and Matson must come from Morris Weisberger," Dooley said.

Weisberger is secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and was the chief negotiator for the three offshore unions in recently concluded negotiations with the west coast shipping companies.

## Landing of Troops in Cuba by Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Are We Neutral?" which appeared in the August 28, 1962, edition of the Indianapolis News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE WE NEUTRAL?

It is incredible that the U.S. Government should stand idly by while the Soviet Union lands troops in Cuba, only 90 miles from our shores.

Nevertheless, that is just what is happening. Government officials reported this weekend that some 3,000 to 5,000 Soviet troops and military technicians had landed in Cuba. The Kennedy administration, UPI reported, is "watching the situation closely."

That is precisely what the U.S. Government has been doing about Castro for 5 years and more—watching him. We have watched him undermine an anti-Communist government, build a Communist despotism and erect a menace to our security off the coast of Florida. Now we are watching him take aboard Soviet troops.

It is time to stop watching, and to start acting. The Monroe Doctrine, which declares that no European power shall be allowed to establish its influence in the Western Hemisphere, is being turned into a mockery. It is time that it was enforced.

The U.S. Government should have imposed a total blockade of Cuba long ago. It should impose one now, to stop the further landing of Soviet troops, and to cut off the influx of supplies to those already there. It should impose a total embargo against all imports to the Communist island, until Castro and his Soviet mercenaries are starved out.

It is disturbing to note that the sole action our Government has taken in the Cuban situation in recent days has not been against Castro, but against anti-Communist Cuban forces in Florida. The Justice Department has pounced on a group of Cuban exiles who engineered a shelling of the Havana waterfront Friday night; the Coast Guard has impounded the launches allegedly used in the action. This hostile move toward Castro, it is said, may have been a violation of the neutrality laws.

This is, in our opinion, nonsense. Is the United States neutral toward Castro? Is it neutral toward the fact that Soviet troops are flooding into Cuba? Are we neutral toward the possibility that missile bases can be constructed there putting Florida in danger of attack? If we are, the Monroe Doctrine is already in the ash can, and America has thrown in its chips in the struggle against communism.

The United States should not be hindering the Cuban exiles who shelled Havana. It should take all necessary official steps to help them—just as it should have helped, but did not, the ragged invaders who were cut down in the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. Our invocations of neutrality, when we are in every way that counts at war with Cuba and with world communism, are precisely the sort of ritualistic piety which has been yielding the world to communism.

It is noteworthy that, according to copious testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, our Government did not enforce the neutrality laws against Castro when his minions were operating freely out of Florida and Texas. Official concern for those statutes arose only after Castro was in power, and the people violating them were his anti-Communist opponents.

For the sake of America, the Kennedy administration should devote less attention to proving its neutrality toward communism in Cuba, and more to enforcing the Monroe Doctrine.

## Secretary McNamara's Whitewash, Incorporated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial from King Features Syndicate, 235 East 45th Street, New York, N.Y., released August 24, 1962, by Ralph de Toledano, "Secretary McNamara's Whitewash, Incorporated":

SECRETARY MCNAMARA'S WHITEWASH, INCORPORATED

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Whitwash, Incorporated, which presumably shutup shop after the exposure of the Truman scandals, is back in business. This week's acting president in charge of coverup is Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. He achieved this position by cutting off all procurement information from Representative EARL WILSON, a fighting Hoosier, who uncovered Pentagon practices which are costing the taxpayer millions of dollars. This information is not classified and goes as a matter of course to technical magazine, Government agencies, and other Congressmen. But Mr. McNamara doesn't want Mr. WILSON to have it.

Why? Because Mr. WILSON has an unpleasant habit of reading it, checking, and then reporting to the Congress and the people. He has shown repeatedly that by awarding defense contracts on a sole source basis, rather than by competitive bidding, the Pentagon has violated its own regulations. And he has forced a reluctant House Armed Services subcommittee to denounce these practices and to condemn them as being of "doubtful legality and irregular origins."

To make matters even worse, Representative WILSON has been attempting to alert the press to what he characterizes as a "brazen, shocking, and callous attempt" by the Pentagon to harass Robert S. Snoyer, a Santa Monica, Calif., defense contractor who had the bad taste to cooperate with the FBI in the arrest of two high-ranking civilian Signal Corps officials. They are charged with accepting $1,500 in bribes, and Mr. Snoyer will be the key witness against them.

It has been Representative WILSON's practice to scrutinize Pentagon releases on new contracts, to take them up with the watchdog General Accounting Office for irregularities, and then to inform the Congress. In cutting him off from receiving these notices, Secretary McNamara has said that the "administrative burden" was too great.

But Mr. WILSON has been receiving the releases for well over a year. The only burden involved is to stuff one more copy into an envelope and mail it to the Indiana Congressman. By cutting Mr. WILSON off, the Pentagon limits him to quarterly reports in which the information sought is buried in overall figures—and which will reach him after the wasteful sole source contracts have been consummated and are already being carried out, thereby forestalling preventive action.

Representative WILSON is not going to take this lying down, though in a Democratic-controlled House of Representatives, he can get little cooperation. He says of Secretary McNamara's arrogant order to shut him off from vital information: "We are hitting the tender spots. We are uncovering the waste, the inefficiency, and the corruption. They are trying to stifle my work."

And he adds: "If this sort of action is typical of the man who has been called the 'whiz kid' of the Defense Department, then I think it is time he went back to the Ford Motor Co.—and we got a Secretary of Defense who will cooperate with the Congress and who will work for the best interests of the American people."

The efforts of the Pentagon to retaliate against the businessman who exposed corruption are being studied by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. If he mounts the kind of investigation he is experienced in, then he will be doing the country a real service. For the sole source contract is almost an invitation to corruption. When there is no competitive bidding, a procurement officer can always work out an under-the-table deal such as in the Signal Corps case now moving toward trial. Human nature being what it is, this is not difficult to understand—which is why Congress has always insisted on the safeguards of competitive bidding.

Those who know the facts were certain that once Secretary McNamara learned of improper procurement practices, he would move decisively to end them—with a word of thanks to Mr. Wilson for uncovering them. But the Pentagon, Mr. McNamara included, has taken it as a personal affront. As a result of four columns I wrote on the subject, readers inquired of Mr. McNamara if the facts as stated were correct. Those letters were answered by Rear Adm. H. J. Goldberg who brushed aside the cases I cited and asserted that the Pentagon had been cleared of all charges.

This was Whitewash, Incorporated, at its best. Hiding the truth may serve the Pentagon's purposes today. But it encourages further improper activity, further waste of millions of dollars—and makes the day of reckoning that much worse. As a former business executive, Secretary McNamara should know better.

## Charles Evans Hughes: Centennial Mission to Brazil, 1922

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the course of my studies on U.S. relations with various countries of Latin America, I have been increasingly impressed with the stature of Secretary of State Charles

Evans Hughes, whose lucid statements on interoceanic canal policy I have repeatedly quoted in addresses to this body.

Among the little-known chapters in his statesmanlike contributions was the visit by a U.S. naval unit, consisting of the U.S.S *Maryland* and U.S.S *Nevada* under the command of Vice Adm. Hilary P. Jones and carrying a special mission to the Brazilian centennial celebration headed by Secretary Hughes.

Having heard fragmentary information about that notable event from a number of naval officers who were attached to those naval vessels at the time, I have read with special interest an informative summary of it in an August 24, 1962, U.P.I. dispatch by Harry W. Frantz, distinguished Latin American correspondent who covered it for the then United Press.

In order that Mr. Frantz' description of this chapter in our diplomatic history may be better known, I quote the entire dispatch, together with an editorial note, as part of my remarks:

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES: CENTENNIAL MISSION TO BRAZIL, 1922

(By Harry W. Frantz)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Harry W. Frantz reported the visit of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes to Brazil in 1922 for United Press (now U.P.I.) and in the following dispatch recounts some of his memories and impressions.)

WASHINGTON, August 24, 1962.—Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes boarded the Munson liner *Pan America* at New York 40 years ago today (Aug. 24, 1922) on a good will mission to Rio de Janeiro which still has a lasting influence on the friendship between the United States and Brazil.

He and a distinguished delegation were to represent the United States at the Brazilian centennial celebration.

The Secretary, as personal emissary of President Warren G. Harding, would reciprocate the visit of Emperor Dom Pedro II to the United States on the occasion of its Independence centenary celebration at Philadelphia in 1876.

The United States in 1962 alerady is beginning to think of a great bicentennial celebration of its independence, in 1976. Such an occasion would inevitably revive the strong traditions of friendship and cooperation which were fomented in both countries at the time of their first centennial celebrations.

At the time when Secretary Hughes embarked for Brazil he was at the height of the world fame which had been induced by his successful planning and conduct of the International Disarmament Conference in Washington.

The visit of Hughes to Brazil would have an additional historical significance because the U.S. Senate had rejected the Versailles Treaty, and the Harding government had redirected its major policy efforts to the strengthening of the Pan American movement. The Chile-Peru differences over the Tacna Arica Provinces were in the process of arbitration, and a general effort was being made to expand shipping, communications, and commerce among the American Republics.

Upon embarking at New York, Secretary Hughes gave to the United Press reporter a brief statement in which the key sentences were: "Nothing has ever marred the historic friendship between the two peoples, and we are looking forward to the happiest cooperation in the future. The present occasion is a most auspicious one for reviving memories of the past and for expressing anew our feelings of esteem and friendship for the Brazilian people."

The merchant ship *Pan America* was escorted in the final stage of its southbound cruise by the battleships *Maryland*, flagship of the fleet, and *Nevada*, and Hughes and his party transferred to the *Maryland* off Cape Frio, outside of Rio de Janeiro Harbor.

The dramatic event of the southbound cruise was the ceremony at crossing the Equator. Secretary Hughes entered into the traditional marine festivities in a spirit of great good humor, "recognized" the domain of King Neptune, and made an impressive speech on the quarterdeck.

Rio harbor was crowded with the naval craft of nine nations when the *Maryland* arrived on September 5, as Brazil had planned an international naval review as a major event of the centennial celebration. The British naval pride was represented by H.M.S. *Hood*, then considered one of the greatest craft afloat. A Japanese battleship was in the harbor.

Six Brazilian destroyers escorted the *Maryland* to its anchoring place, and the Brazilian battleships *Minas Geraes* and *Sao Paulo* boomed salutes to the Hughes party. In the year previous, the *Minas Geraes* had been reconditioned at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

In 1922 the might of nations was measured by their naval strength, and air power was scarcely recognized as the future determinant of military strength. It might therefore be noteworthy that the first catapult used to launch an airplane from a U.S. naval vessel was on the quarterdeck of the *Maryland*. And also that Orton W. Hoover, a U.S. aviator, was flying above Rio harbor in a civilian Curtiss Oriole airplane. In 1922, the fact that a civilian air network would after a few decades blanket the Western Hemisphere was still in the dream stage.

If a Secretary of State were visting Brazil today his traveling time would be in hours instead of days.

Secretary Hughes received a magnificent welcome in Rio de Janeiro. He and Mrs. Hughes resided at the Guanabara Palace. The Secretary was almost constantly in attendance at events appropriate to an international historic occasion: military review, naval review, session of congress, meeting of the supreme court. The Secretary made five or more addresses, which had the singular merit derived from his extraordinary experience as a jurist.

At that time the future of inter-American relations was expected to develop around themes of arbitration, the codification of international law, and universal compliance with binding treaties. Forty years later, economic development and social welfare would become the dominant preoccupation of hemisphere statesmen.

In the retrospect of 40 years, one of the most memorable events of Secretary Hughes' visit in Rio de Janiero was the dedication of the site for the American Centennial Monument, on September 8, 1922. The U.S. Embassy was to be situated later in this vicinity.

No one then could have foreseen the tremendous construction of the modern city of Rio de Janeiro which would later become evident hereabouts. This reportor ran a quartermile across recently leveled fields before he could reach a telephone to report the groundbreaking ceremony.

Secretary Hughes, concluding a brilliant impromptu address, made these remarks concerning United States-Brazil relations:

"We have institutions dedicated to freedom, and we desire not simply the independence of might but the independence which rests secure in a prevailing sense of justice.

"We have different stocks and traditions but we cherish the same aspirations; the same longings for liberty under law. The differences are superficial, the resemblances fundamental.

"We derive our strength from the same spiritual forces.

"We have been colaborers and united by the memory of our historic friendship we are going forward with mutual respect to the enjoyment of our varied opportunities, knowing full well that only in brotherly helpfulness shall we find the adaptations which the democratic spirit demands and be assured of the satisfactions of rational progress."

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## Students Working for the U.S. Government in the Summer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to determine, if possible, the geographical distribution of the 5,000 mentioned. It has been my contention there should be a broader geographical distribution of the type of employees mentioned in the two articles. The two articles are entitled, "GOP Plans Seminar To Rival President's" which appeared in the Washington Post and "Five Thousand Youths Hear Talk by President" which appeared in the Washington Evening Star.

Also I include tables which are a part of a hearing entitled "Extending Apportionment Requirement to Temporary Summer Employment," that was held by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 29, 1962]

GOP PLANS SEMINAR TO RIVAL PRESIDENT'S

(By Dorothy Butler)

Republican National Chairman WILLIAM E. MILLER accused the White House yesterday of "perverting into purely political operations" its seminars for college students working in Government jobs this summer.

So the Republicans will hold a seminar of their own today, MILLER announced.

He said college students working in GOP congressional offices, at GOP National Committee headquarters at congressional campaign committee offices were not allowed to attend the seminars, including yesterday's finale.

Nearly 5,000 students gathered on the south lawn of the White House, where President Kennedy urged them to consider Government as a career at a time "when this country must make not only our own society work, but all those societies which are dependent upon us."

Commenting on MILLER'S statement, White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger said he did not believe "all those thousands out on the lawn today were all Democrats unless there has been a very strong trend toward the Democratic Party."

"As I understand it," Salinger added, "all those working in the Government were invited."

Dorothy Davies, director of the seminars, had said earlier that invitations had been restricted to students working directly on Federal jobs. Those working with political parties were excluded, she said.

MILLER further complained in his statement that the interns got a "one-sided picture" of Government because the seminars featured only Democratic speakers.

Today's GOP-sponsored seminar is open to anybody, MILLER said, and will start at 4:30 p.m. in the Ways and Means Committee hearing room of the House Office Building.

Speakers will include Senators BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican of Arizona, and KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican of New York, and Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri.

At the White House, Kennedy asked those who had become interested in "either a politician or a civil servant or a bureaucrat" to lift their hands. A lot of hands—but not nearly all—were held up.

Then the President praised the Constitution, calling it "extraordinary," but a document that "has to be made to work today in an entirely different world from the day in which it was written."

Later in the afternoon, the young people heard Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at Constitution Hall.

One student asked him about Monday night's television debate in Boston between his brother, Edward M. (Teddy) Kennedy, and Edward J. McCormack, opponents in the Democratic primary for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts.

"I think Teddy won," the Attorney General answered, to a round of applause and laughter.

Another asked him about Washington influence in the younger Kennedy's campaign.

"I know there have been suggestions that we were going to deport people who didn't vote the right way," Kennedy said—again to laughter—"but I can tell you that all these things are untrue."

Senator JOHN D. MCCLELLAN, Democrat of Arkansas, also addressed the seminar yesterday.

The series wound up last night with a jazz festival at the Sylvan Theater, which featured the Dave Brubeck Quartet, Tony Bennett and Pearl Bailey.

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Aug. 28, 1962]

FIVE THOUSAND YOUTHS HEAR TALK BY PRESIDENT

President Kennedy today urged nearly 5,000 college students, working in various Government agencies as summer "interns," to consider making "an attractive career" in Government service.

He told the group, gathered on the south lawn of the White House, that a career as a politician or civil servant is "most challenging in these days when American leaders face complex problems at home and abroad."

The President said he was struck by the fact that some of the most gifted men in American history, such as Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, failed in dealing with comparatively few problems in the few decades before the Civil War. The fact that the Civil War came about despite their efforts was an indication of failure, he made clear.

America's political leaders may not be so gifted today, he added, but they have to deal with problems much more complex than those of 100 years ago. The extraordinary obligation of meeting such problems impresses all those with responsibility in the Government, he said.

*Summary of temporary employment in selected Government agencies, summer 1959*

| States | Summary | General Accounting Office [1] | The Library of Congress [2] | Department of Agriculture [3] | Department of Commerce [4] | Department of Defense [5] | Department of the Air Force [6] | Department of the Army [7] | Department of the Navy [8] | Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [9] | Department of the Interior [10] | Department of Labor [11] | Department of State [12] | Department of the Treasury [13] | Atomic Energy Commission [14] | Civil Service Commission [15] | Federal Communications Commission [16] | Federal Power Commission [17] | Federal Trade Commission [18] | Interstate Commerce Commission [19] | National Aeronautics and Space Administration [20] | National Science Foundation [21] | Securities and Exchange Commission [22] | Veterans' Administration [23] |
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| Alabama | 3 | | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Arizona | 5 | | | | 4 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Arkansas | 6 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| California | 37 | 2 | | 2 | 9 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | 21 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Colorado | 37 | | | | 34 | | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Connecticut | 9 | | 1 | | 5 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Delaware | 3 | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| District of Columbia | 490 | | 30 | 48 | 54 | 5 | 3 | 52 | 23 | 164 | 43 | 1 | 19 | 19 | | 2 | 11 | 1 | | 3 | | 5 | | 7 |
| Florida | 13 | 1 | 1 | | 9 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Georgia | 4 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Idaho | 13 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 11 | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Illinois | 33 | | | 2 | 13 | | | 2 | 6 | 2 | 3 | | | 4 | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Indiana | 14 | | | | 5 | | | 2 | 4 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Iowa | 10 | | 1 | | 5 | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kansas | 10 | | 1 | | 7 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kentucky | 9 | | | | 2 | | | | 2 | 3 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Louisiana | 5 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Maine | 2 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Maryland | 628 | 6 | 16 | 88 | 80 | 1 | 4 | 80 | 33 | 208 | 34 | 2 | 17 | 23 | | 5 | 15 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | 5 |
| Massachusetts | 54 | | 1 | 1 | 21 | 1 | | 2 | 10 | 8 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 2 | 2 |
| Michigan | 25 | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | | 2 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Minnesota | 4 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mississippi | 5 | | 1 | | 2 | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Missouri | 13 | | 1 | | 5 | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Montana | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nebraska | 9 | | | 2 | 6 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nevada | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| New Hampshire | 6 | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| New Jersey | 24 | | 1 | | 6 | | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 8 | | | | | | | | | |
| New Mexico | 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| New York | 110 | | 4 | 7 | 28 | | 1 | 11 | 9 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 23 | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | 4 |
| North Carolina | 26 | | 2 | 1 | 9 | | | 5 | 4 | 2 | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| North Dakota | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ohio | 16 | 1 | 2 | | 6 | | | 2 | | | 3 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Oklahoma | 4 | | | 1 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oregon | 6 | | | | 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pennsylvania | 57 | 1 | 2 | | 22 | 1 | | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 4 | | | | | | | 1 | | 3 |
| Rhode Island | 3 | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| South Carolina | 4 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| South Dakota | 4 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tennessee | 12 | | 1 | | 8 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Texas | 14 | 2 | | | 10 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Utah | 12 | | 1 | | 7 | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Vermont | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Virginia | 546 | 2 | 13 | 88 | 77 | 17 | 7 | 137 | 30 | 61 | 57 | 1 | 16 | 15 | | | 12 | 2 | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Washington | 9 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| West Virginia | 5 | | 2 | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wisconsin | 10 | | 1 | 1 | 7 | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wyoming | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Alaska | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hawaii | 2 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Puerto Rico | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Virgin Islands | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Foreign | 3 | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total number of employees | 2,321 | 17 | 93 | 245 | 481 | 28 | 15 | 312 | 146 | 485 | 152 | 16 | 56 | 100 | 50 | 8 | 40 | 5 | 2 | 10 | 4 | 14 | 6 | 36 |

[1] General Accounting Office, letter of June 1, 1959. The figures given represent applicants who had been chosen or tentatively chosen to fill summer jobs in 1959.

[2] The Library of Congress, letter of Mar. 1, 1961. The figures given represent temporary employees hired for varying lengths of time, up to a year, from May 15 to Aug. 15, 1959. The Library has no special program of summer employment.

[3] Department of Agriculture, letter of June 16, 1959. The figures stated represent temporary jobs in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area which were to be filled by students during the summer, 1959.

[4] Department of Commerce, letter of June 18, 1959. The figures given represent student assistants and student trainees hired for the summer, 1959.

[5] Department of Defense, letter of June 10, 1959. The figures given represent students selected for summer employment in 1959 by the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

[6] Department of the Air Force, letter of June 23, 1959. The figures given represent student trainees hired by the Department of the Air Force Headquarters for the summer, 1959.

[7] Department of the Army, letter of June 15, 1959. The figures stated here represent students who had been selected or tentatively selected for temporary appointments for the summer, 1959, with the Department of the Army.

[8] Department of the Navy, letter of May 19, 1959. The figures given represent students majoring in engineering or the physical sciences who were prospective employees of the Navy Department for the summer, 1959.

[9] Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, letter of Aug. 19, 1959. The figures given represent students employed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the summer, 1959.

[10] Department of the Interior, letter of July 21, 1959. The figures stated represent students who were appointed to temporary jobs in the Department of the Interior in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area for the summer, 1959.

[11] Department of Labor, letter of June 1, 1959. The figures stated include temporary student assistants who were selected for positions with the Department of Labor for summer, 1959.

[12] Department of State, letter of June 4, 1959. The figures given represent temporary employees and students whom the Department of State had hired or planned to hire for typing, stenographic, and student assistant positions for summer, 1959.

[13] Department of the Treasury, letter of June 23, 1959. The figures given include all summer appointments of students, regardless of the temporary or nontemporary nature of the jobs, themselves, for 1959.

[14] Atomic Energy Commission, letter of June 15, 1959. The figures given include all temporary summer appointments to the entire Atomic Energy Commission for summer, 1959.

[15] Civil Service Commission, letter of June 9, 1959. The figures given indicate students occupying temporary positions with the Civil Service Commission for summer, 1959.

[16] Federal Communications Commission, letter of June 5, 1959. The figures given represent students temporarily employed by the Federal Communications Commission for summer, 1959.

[17] Federal Power Commission, letter of June 1, 1959. The figures given include individuals who were employed on a temporary basis as student assistants for summer, 1959.

[18] Federal Trade Commission, letter of May 28, 1959. The figures given indicate students holding temporary summer jobs as of May 28, 1959.

[19] Interstate Commerce Commission, letter of June 1, 1959. The figures listed include tentative selections of individuals made to fill temporary typing and stenographic positions with the Interstate Commerce Commission for summer, 1959.

[20] National Aeronautics and Space Administration, letter of June 10, 1959. The figures given include summer appointments for 1959 with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

[21] National Science Foundation, letter of June 3, 1959. The figures given include temporary stenographic, typing, and student trainee positions that were to be filled primarily by students during the summer, 1959.

[22] Securities and Exchange Commission, letter of June 3, 1959. The figures given include students who were selected for participation in the student assistant program of the Securities and Exchange Commission for summer, 1959.

[23] Veterans' Administration, letter of June 17, 1959. The figures given include temporary summer jobs filled by students in the Central Office Headquarters and the Medical Division of the Veterans Benefits Office for summer, 1959.

Compiled by Sandra D. Worthen, History and Government Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Mar. 17, 1961.

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## The Inside Story of Stairstep

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, "The Inside Story of Stairstep," as published in a recent issue of the Reader's Digest, portrays in a very vivid way the story of the Air National Guard deployment to Europe.

If proof were needed, this performance, as much as anything, proves the National Guard system works.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I insert this illuminating article so that my colleagues who may have missed it can have the opportunity:

THE INSIDE STORY OF STAIRSTEP

(By Francis and Katharine Drake)

When Russian barbed wire jabbed lengths of lock stitch down the middle of Berlin early last fall, and war before Christmas seemed a possibility, the United States was busy fashioning a counterstroke that is likely to go down in military annals as an unparalleled demonstration of teamwork, preparedness and flexibility. Tagged "Stairstep," this operation bristled with such top secrecy that few are aware of the high stakes that were involved, or of the astonishing events that were crammed into 1 fateful month.

The plan was conceived as a countermove to Russia's mounting threat to "save" Berlin by striking at the West, not with atomic, but with conventional weapons. In a nutshell, this was our objective: to reinforce the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with a nonnuclear armada by airlifting from the United States to Western Europe, inside a seemingly impossible time limit, hundreds of short-range fighters, thousands of men, a Himalayan tonnage of materiel. Planes were to be operationally ready within 1 hour of European touchdown.

To support the transatlantic move, President Kennedy tapped an all-star cast. Virtually every service was represented: the Tactical Air Command to control aerial directions; Reserves to hover over checkpoints; Strategic Air Command to supervise in-air emergency refueling; Military Air Transport Service to carry men and cargo; the Navy, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine for patrol and emergency-rescue work. Yet Stairstep's brightest spotlight was focused not on the Regulars but on Uncle Sam's remarkable secret weapon—our citizen-soldiers who man the National Guard.

The alerting of the Air National Guard occurred with drop-of-a-hat abruptness. In mid-September, across nearly a dozen States, about 25,000 of ANG's 80,000-man strength received the communication: Report October 1 for active duty. From every alerted area, citizen-soldiers responded instantly, hastening from garages, offices, ranches, banks, factories, concert platforms, coal mines. Of all the guardsmen tapped, less than 1 percent begged off, mostly for medical or hardship reasons.

Domestic upheavals were prodigious. With only 2 weeks' notice, anguished husband-and-wife councils pored over budgets long geared to incomes many times the size of service paychecks, whittling them to austerity proportions. In one community after another, homes went up for sale, for rent, as wives and children prepared to move in with relatives.

Only a handful of ANG's key personnel knew that Stairstep would involve a year's deployment to standby bases in France, Spain, and West Germany. Taking no chances, wing and base commanders jetted hurriedly to Europe to view prospective homes. For the most part, these were bases emptied after De Gaulle's refusal to give tactical nuclear weapons houseroom. Nearly all were mere shells, shy of basic necessities to handle the Guard units—cots, mattresses, kitchen equipment, cutlery, tables, chairs, telephones.

So, back in the United States, base commands literally stripped themselves of everything likely to "come in handy." Office furniture, files, wastebaskets, typewriters, desks, even paper clips, got shipping tags.

On October 1, ANG home bases exploded at dawn with electrifying activity. Out the window went peacetime routines (48 "drills" per year) as all hands began sweating out 16-hour days, 7 a week, to telescope into a 30-day limit the multitudinous A–Z preparations for mass evacuation. (Closest parallel was the Korean operation, which required 7 months.) ANG's pilots, average age 29, trained mostly for 500–800-mile overland missions in defense of the homeland, found themselves converted wholesale into a machine for prevention of war. Few of them had ever island-hopped an ocean, flown in tight-sealed "poopies" (25-pound survival suits) or refueled in air.

Now they cut loose on a spine-chilling retraining program nicknamed "Special Events.'" In the worst weather available they flew 1,500-mile triangular missions, encased like deep-sea divers in made-to-measure poopies. In Link trainers they practiced precision approaches to arctic fjords they had never seen, dived into steep-walled one-way canyons, touched down to crosswind, downwind, no-wind landings. Coached by Air Force instructors, they rehearsed crash-landing procedures for icecaps, snowfields, the sea. Pilots who failed to rate cum laude in the finals were "scrubbed." (When more men qualified than there were planes available, NAG was pleased though not astonished).

Responsibility at each base for tuning up jet aircraft fell on support teams, 40 to a group. Technical specialists, troubleshooters in hydraulics, electronics, radio, sheet-metal, electrical equipment toiled over temperamental Sabres, T-Birds, Thunderstreaks, fitting tail shields, replacing fuel pumps, engines, tires, testing electrical leads and instruments, working 16-hour shifts, enameled from top to toe in lubricating oil. They assembled 1½-ton flyaway kits containing every conceivable part essential to the do-it-yourself repair of jets bereft for 30 days of outside aid. They checked and double-checked each airplane, and then checked again, knowing that one small weakness in the multisystemed whole could cost a life.

In mid-October, Advon (advance echelons) took wing for Europe to prepare the way—groups of 100 to 160 men, technicians, cooks, handpicked "scroungers," each under a base commander. With but 14 days left, the scroungers set up field telephones on packing cases and, with cooperation from the U.S. Air Forces in Europe, hurtled into action.

At Chambley, in France, Senior Sgt. Charles Buckmaster, superintendent of food service, explored channels that might lead to regular delivery of chow supplies adequate to healthy Indiana appetites. He rapidly established an entente cordiale with Amsterdam in the Netherlands (dairy products), with Kaiserslautern in Germany (meat), with Italy, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Norway (fresh fruit and vegetables). At other designated areas, furniture shuttled in from Arabian bases, kitchen equipment from North Africa, pillows by the thousand from Great Britain.

Ten days from scratch, Advon teams, wan and hollow-eyed, braced themselves for the penultimate phase of Operation Stairstep: the arrival, courtesy of MATS, of nearly 10,000 airmen and gargantuan tonnages of freight. The planes, due every hour on the hour for 48 consecutive hours, were under 3-hour turnaround orders. Foul weather notwithstanding, beginning Sunday, October

29, an uninterrupted succession of C–118's and C–121's carrying personnel, of C–123's and C–124's carrying cargo, put down at the bases, while Advon's united strength, sleepless, unshaven, perpetually soaked through, toiled with trucks, tugs, forklifts, ladders. Every single plane was unloaded, swept, serviced, refueled, checked, waved off on its homeward flight within the 3-hour deadline.

D-day for the ANG pilots was Monday, October 30. A day or two before, men and machines converged on the departure centers at McGuire, N.J., and Loring, Maine. Gen. Walter C. Sweeney, Jr., TAC's tall commander whose tireless planning sparked every detail, had long since nailed down the only two routes possible to short-range jets: north via Labrador and Greenland; south via Newfoundland and the Azores—longest leg, Harmon to Lajes, 1733 miles (with favorable winds, just within fuel range).

Whichever the route, the formula was this: daylight flights, each squadron leaving in elements of four at 15-minute intervals; overnight rests (sleep concurrent with aircraft tune ups); wheels up at dawn; repeat, repeat, until arrival at European base. Movements of groups were staggered to preserve overall momentum without overtaxing facilities. Should one plane falter, the main flow would disregard it; only the wingmate would stand by, pinpointing position, alerting aid. Should a plane crack up on a runway, bulldozers would blitz it aside.

Regulars were deployed along ocean routes to provide a continuous chain of fixes—radar-equipped "Duckbutts" (C–54's) circling over specified positions to monitor takeoffs and approaches and to vector in cripples; Coast Guard vessels to signal the fighters with low-frequency radio direction finders. Especially diverted from shipping lanes was a string of freighters, primed for patrol and rescue. On both routes the second legs (Goose Bay-Sondestrom, Harmon-Lajes) were the treacherous ones. Despite all precautions, the tense question remained: Could ANG's hastily conditioned pilots rise to the challenge?

Almost before the Regulars could cross their fingers, the command sounded: operation stairstep—execute. The first quartet of planes screamed down the runway, lifted, soared into rain and overcast and vanished. Precisely 15 minutes later the next quartet took wing. Then the next, and the next. Well before sundown Monday, Goose and Harmon were sending back jubilant tidings: They made it. Every last mother's son.

At daybreak, the contingent at Harmon turned sights toward the Azores, pinpoints on immeasurable wastes of sea. Skies were pewter-colored and filled with rain. But the essential element, a tailwind, blew a brisk 30 knots. To glut each tank, planes were tiled back like rockets, enabling 75 extra gallons—15 precious minutes of flight—to be "packed" aboard. Then the aircraft were towed almost to takeoff position.

First to go were Ohio's 121st Tactical Fighters. They teased their topheavy loads along the slippery runway, inched off, zoomed to 35,000 feet, materializing almost at once on Duckbutt *Bravo Alpha's* radar screen. They travel 400 spirit-lifting miles along it, found themselves passed along like fragile porcelain to CG vessel *Delta*, pitching and tossing while purveying reassurance.

To the pilots, grazing the speed of sound without sense of motion, checking fixes without personal contact, it seemed a far cry from neighborly Ohio. Eight miles below, under a solid linseed poultice, lurked a rapacious ocean. A windshift, a choked line, could trigger this briefing cue: "Eject—spring butt-snapper—proceed downward until striking surface."

Ohio passed midway point CG vessel *X-Ray* with fuel reserves checking neatly with the flight plan. At Duckbutt *Bravo Bravo*, the three-quarter fix, the wind played traitor, whirled, blew head on at 30 knots, making the last 400 miles a grime game of touch-and-go. Just under the wire, with insufficient fuel even to circle, Ohio nipped into Lajes straight onto the crosswind runway. Pilots admitted to two overpowering sensations—relief, and a fiendish itch inflicted by the poopies.

There were only two "unrehearsed incidents" in the stream of arrivals and departures at Lajes. Col. E. H. Bucher, leading the 122d Tactical Fighters from Indiana, had just passed the point of no return with wingmate Lt. V. K. Egley when a violent windshift trapped them—insufficient fuel to make destination, insufficient to return. Bucher drew a deep breath and invoked an emergency procedure which neither he nor Egley had had a chance to practice: a rendezvous in air with a SAC tanker. Tanker and fighters met in blue infinity and, after three tries and a drop to 26,000 feet, finally mated boom and tank. The reprieved aircraft flew on to Lajes.

Capt. John F. Leahy, of St. Louis, Mo., cut it even closer when at 40,000 feet his poopy sleeve accidentally shut off the emergency-fuel switch. The engine flamed out, leaving approximately 6 minutes between him and the wavetops. Forfeiting chunks of altitude as six successive tries failed to reactivate the engine, he snapped out mayday signals, spotted a freighter, resisted an almost overwhelming urge to bail out before the prescribed 5,000-foot altitude. With seconds to go, he gave the controls one final jiggle—and heard celestial music; the hum of a reviving engine.

Holding the fort in Lajes, monkey-suited support teams had every reason for self-congratulation. Of the scores of aircraft checked through only one needed an engine change, only two needed fuel-pump replacements, and of the mountain of new tires (16-ply heaviest nylon) stacked in readiness, only 10 were used.

Meanwhile, ANG aircraft were winging along the arctic rooftop across a wilderness of white. Leaving Goose Bay, Labrador, in a raging blizzard, one by one the pilots of Massachusetts' F–86 Sabres clawed their way to 41,000 feet and headed for the steely, iceberg-littered sea. If Sondestrom, a tiny settlement huddling at the foot of towering canyon walls on Greenland's coast, were to sock in, the alternate touchdown was Frobisher, another arctic pinprick close to Hudson Strait. Luck rode with the Yankees. Greenland, the world's largest ice mass, showed up in the crystal-clear air from 200 miles away, a blue-white diamond glittering in majestic grandeur.

There were "incidents," however. As Maj. Robert Windoffer roared off the runway, his generator cut out. The runway was a trick one, uphill; in the distance, smack across the flight path, loomed rock ramparts. Bereft of electrical power, Windoffer yanked his explosive overload around, described a semicircle on one wingtip, managed to land back without even blowing a tire.

During the critical crossing period, Air Force Chief Gen. Curtis E. LeMay visited every field being used. Piloting his own jet transport, he dropped in to advise, debunk, exhort, cuss, encourage. A perfectionist, he sometimes praised with a noncommittal grunt, and his criticism ripped the hide off any unhappy man who offered excuses. After his first decent sleep in over a week, LeMay sent this message to the newly ensconced units: "I offer my congratulations for the outstanding manner in which this difficult and important task was accomplished."

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara flew over to deliver his tribute in person, observing that the marked change in Russia's attitude was directly traceable to the deterent effect of Stairstep. West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer echoed the same thought: "In my opinion it was the prime factor in influencing Khrushchev in his slowdown on the Berlin crisis."

Quite apart from being a remarkable performance, Stairstep provided a dramatic demonstration of our national will. It reaffirmed before the world that, when America's citizen-soldiers are challenged, they will drop their careers at whatever cost to see to it that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

## Return of New Jersey National Guardsmen and Army Reservists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, many civilians throughout our great land were called to aid the defense of the free world last fall. New Jersey contributed its share of men who were willing to prove that free nations were determined to stay free and that these nations wished to preserve the rights of man.

Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell, chief of staff of the New Jersey department of defense, cited the over 400 returning New Jersey guardsmen and Army reservists for their crucial role in preventing war. Their very presence in Europe signified American might.

I might add that these young men who willingly gave up a year of their lives for the defense of our country and its goals are to be heartily commended.

Mr. John P. Neary of the Courier Post, Camden, N.J., has reported on my State's homecoming for these brave men. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW JERSEY GI'S CITED FOR ROLE IN BERLIN WALL CRISIS—1,000 GREET RESERVISTS ON ARRIVAL

(By John P. Neary)

Some 400 returning New Jersey National Guardsmen and Army reservists who were called up during last fall's Berlin wall crisis were cited Tuesday night for their role in preventing war.

Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell, chief of staff of the New Jersey department of defense, told the back-to-normal civilian soldiers that the country last fall wanted to maintain peace, not go to war over Berlin and the worsening southeast Asia situation.

He said President Kennedy felt peace could be maintained by building our Armed Forces.

ONE THOUSAND WATCH CEREMONIES

The general addressed the men of the four returning units at the Sears, Roebuck parking lot and later reviewed 1,000 marching troops. More than 1,000 civilians turned out to view the ceremonies.

The units were Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment, 30th Ordnance Battalion of the New Jersey Army National Guard, 22d Ordnance Company (DS) NJARNG, Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment, 451st Chemical Battalion, U.S. Army Reserve, and the 677th Quartermaster Company, U.S. Army Reserve. The units served at bases in this country.

He said the callup of 156,000 Reserve component members then enabled three Active Army training divisions to be converted to combat divisions and encouraged our allies to strengthen their forces.

"With your call to active duty, the free world demonstrated to the Communist leaders that we are determined to fight, if necessary, to preserve the rights of free men."

CREATED STRATEGIC RESERVE

He noted the guardsmen and reservists replaced Army units sent from the United States to Europe and created a powerful strategic reserve here.

General Cantwell said that while the units "tipped the balance of power in favor of peace," they are facing "the possibility of losing units and strength in what we think is a shortsighted move to aline this military force with a present budget."

He said that "maintaining a strong and well-trained National Guard and Army Reserve as a backup to the Active Army" in order to deter the Russians was the job of American citizens.

OTHER MILITARY DIGNITARIES

Other military dignitaries who spoke were Maj. Gen. J. D. Alger, commanding general, 2d U.S. Army Corps, Maj. Gen. Edward O. Wolf, commanding general, 50th Armored Division of the New Jersey National Guard and Brig. Gen. John P. Read, deputy chief of staff, New Jersey National Guard.

The generals inspected the troops along with John H. Mohrfeld 3d, administrative assistant to Representative CAHILL, Republican, of New Jersey, who was unable to attend.

State Senator Cowgill and Mayor Pierce lauded the troops for serving the cause of the free world.

Also attending were State, county, and city legislators, leaders of veterans groups, and other military officials.

BON-BONS SUPPLY MUSIC

Music was supplied by the Bon-Bons, an Audubon all-girl drum and bugle corps, and the 50th Armored Division Band. Col. William C. Doyle, Combat Command A, introduced the speakers.

Governor Hughes and General Cantwell will welcome back returning State Air National Guardsmen Friday at 10 a.m. at McGuire Air Force Base and at 1 p.m. at Atlantic City.

The units due in at McGuire are the 108th Tactical Fighter Wing and the 141st Tactical Fighter Squadron consisting of some 1,200 men.

They will greet 400 men of the 119th Tactical Fighter Squadron at Atlantic City.

## Tribute to Victor L. Anfuso

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place in the RECORD remarks made at the testimonial dinner given to our esteemed colleague, VICTOR L. ANFUSO, on August 14, 1962, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C., at which dinner I acted as toastmaster. My remarks follow:

We are all happy to pay this tribute of respect to VICTOR L. ANFUSO, who for so many years has served in Congress and served in a truly dedicated spirit.

VICTOR is a good friend of mine—not a sundial friend, useless when the sun goes down. He has built for himself a good name and a good name is like an acrostic, you read it up or down, left to right, right to left, and it spells goodness. VIC has been the recipient of many honors and deservedly so. These honors have come from princes, potentates, and Presidents.

His record and personality belie what Mark Twain once said, "Imagine there is a Congressman, now imagine an idiot. Forgive me, I repeat myself." Of course, we in Congress have always been the butt of jokes, victims of satire and recipients of abuse, but once let the citizen realize that his rights and privileges have been abused, he rushes to his Congressman for relief. VIC has afforded relief to thousands and because thereof we honor him.

VIC has many facets to his character. He is personable and persevering, amiable and articulate. No one is more resourceful. He can generate more novel ideas than a fiery pinwheel lets off sparks. He manifested brilliance and sparkle as a member of the Committee on Space and Astronautics. He showed excellence as a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

He will leave our sacred precincts soon to wear the raiment of judicial office. Not so long ago, I was examining a witness at a trial. His name was prefixed with the title, "Colonel." I asked him what the "Colonel" stood for. He sarcastically answered, " 'Colonel' is like 'Honorable' in front of your name," and he added, "And it doesn't mean a damn thing." VIC will now have a new prefix—judge. He is going to put a new twist on the meaning of "judge" and above all, he is going to make it mean "worthy." We like him for his becoming boldness and imagination.

He now shrinks from the publicity of congressional life to seek the quietude of the judiciary. I asked him if, as judge, he will use a gravel. "No," he said, "I will use a 50-cent piece. I can rap on the desk for order and when it comes to making a decision, it will come in handy. I will toss it up and decide either head or tail."

VIC is a careful politician. Hence, his success. He was once speaking at a convention of commercial artists. He was asked to name his favorite color and without hesitation he said, "Plaid."

He is a genuine Democrat who has sacrificed much for his party. Rather than enter a bitter internecine primary fight, he has agreed to leave the field and become a judge.

We wish VIC well and Godspeed. We wish him, his dear wife, and children many years of health and happiness.

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THE WHITE HOUSE,

*Washington, D.C., August 14, 1962.*

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,

*Chairman, Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Congressman Victor L. Anfuso:*

Please express to VICTOR, his family, and friends, my sincere regret that I cannot be with them this evening. We are all mindful of the distinguished service he has rendered to his district and the Nation in the Congress. His unselfishness has contributed greatly to the Democratic Party and its principles. It is my earnest wish that he will allow me to call upon him in the future so that his broad knowledge and keen understanding of the problems of national government and space will not be lost to the Nation.

Every good wish.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

AUGUST 14, 1962.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,

*Chairman, Dinner in Tribute to Congressman Victor L. Anfuso, Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.:*

One of the most loyal and understanding and patriotic men of my acquaintance is VICTOR ANFUSO. We will miss him in Congress, but we believe the Congress loss is the Judiciary's gain. My affection for him and his family is deep. I send my best wishes to him and his many friends.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

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ROME,

*August 4, 1962.*

DEAR MR. CELLER: Thank you for the invitation addressed to me to participate in the banquet in honor of Hon. VICTOR L. ANFUSO.

I am very sorry that the distance, my obligations, and the season prevent me from taking advantage of such a pleasant circumstance to return to the United States of America once again.

I wish to ask you, however, to convey to the guest of honor and all illustrious persons invited to the banquet my cordial regards and most vivid wishes for prosperity.

FANFANI.

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TEXT OF SPEECH BY WILLIAM H. MCKEON, CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE, AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER HONORING REPRESENTATIVE VICTOR L. ANFUSO, IN STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., TUESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1962

I am happy to be here tonight for two reasons. First, to speak as a personal friend of our guest of honor, and secondly and possibly more important, I am proud to be here as the official spokesman of the entire Democratic Party of the State of New York in this tribute to our good friend, VICTOR ANFUSO.

Over the years, VIC has been a good friend. As a friend, his advice has always been timely and wise. As State chairman, his support has been constant and important.

As you know when VIC first came down here, he was assigned to the Agriculture Committee. Some of his friends ribbed him as the farm boy from Brooklyn, but VIC has established for himself a unique and influential role within the committee as the spokesman for the consumer.

When he was assigned to the Space Committee, he served with such fierce dedication that when I first heard that we had put an astronaut into space, I was sure it was VIC himself. As a matter of fact, if there had been room, I am sure that nothing would have pleased him more.

We are honoring a big man tonight—big of heart, big of spirit, and big of mind. If he were not, instead of sitting here in harmony tonight, we might be witnessing one of the worst political Donnybrooks in our State's recent political history.

For those of you who are not entirely familiar with politics in New York State, let me give you a few facts.

Last year it was necessary to reapportion our State's congressional districts. Nelson Rockefeller was as ruthless as a barracuda in gerrymandering our districts with the result of eliminating several Democratic seats. Naturally, his prime target was Brooklyn, the largest Democratic county in our State.

VIC might have stood on his prerogatives which, as I say, could have led to a bitter primary. He did not. He put party unity first. He stepped aside gracefully in the manner of the big man he is. You may not know that he holds one of the highest honors our church can bestow on a layman. As the chairman of the Democratic Party in New York, I wish tonight I had a similar award to bestow on him for his service to his party.

His fellow townsmen have now called on him to serve in the judiciary. You may be assured that he will be elected and will serve with distinction. I do not think, however, that this will be the climax of VIC's career as a public servant—he has far too much energy for that. Rather, I predict his voice will continue to be heard in the vast councils of our party.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration is losing a loyal and ardent supporter in VIC. This as I said can be laid squarely at the doorstep of Nelson Rockefeller.

I assure you, however, that VICTOR ANFUSO and his colleagues in the House of Representatives, whether they are serving here in Washington or in other important posts in our State and Nation will continue the fight for the programs and the ideals of our great President and his helpmate, LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

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REMARKS BY MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AT DINNER IN HONOR OF REPRESENTATIVE VICTOR L. ANFUSO

Mr. President, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, if every man's life is truly a book, then VIC ANFUSO's fills a library shelf. This is just another in the series of heroic episodes in VIC ANFUSO's career.

I can assure you that the people of New York City are going to keep VICTOR ANFUSO in the public service. He knows it, too. We all know it. For VIC ANFUSO, every ending is just another beginning.

Public life has been Congressman ANFUSO's vocation and avocation for many years. He was running for office, in a primary, as far back as September 17, 1932. He lost the election, but that day his son, Victor, Junior, was born.

Since that day, Congressman ANFUSO has been a consistent winner.

Basically, he is a humanitarian.

As a private citizen, in the early 1930's, he helped organize a Citizens Welfare Association to help the jobless and destitute in Brooklyn. He had also been responsible for the organization of the Italian Board of Guardians in Brooklyn which aids delinquent and troubled children.

Congressman ANFUSO's legislative record is a fine one. His activity in 1957 as chairman of a Consumers Study Subcommittee to investigate the high cost of living was characteristic.

One measure which, in my judgment, epitomizes his devotion to public service is his pending bill authorizing the establishment of a National Academy for Public Service Training. I believe sincerely that the establishment of such an academy for public service trainees would help lend to public service—at the municipal, State, National and, indeed, international level—the dignity, honor and importance it deserves. VIC ANFUSO is fighting for the establishment of such an academy.

But this isn't VIC ANFUSO's most important legislative proposal. It is just a typical one. He has fought for liberalized immigration laws, for public housing, for civil rights, and for a more forthright policy of friendship toward Israel.

Name the good cause, and you can be sure that VICTOR ANFUSO has been for it. Name the constituent who has had a problem and VICTOR ANFUSO has been for him, too, and for the solution of his problem.

VIC is a young man still. His greatest achievements lie ahead of him. He will always be found fighting the good fight—for the party, for Brooklyn, for his city and country. We will be hearing more and more from and about VIC ANFUSO in the days, months, and years ahead.

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS OF SPEAKER JOHN W. MCCORMACK, DEMOCRAT, OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT A TESTIMONIAL DINNER IN HONOR OF REPRESENTATIVE VICTOR L. ANFUSO, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, HELD IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, AUGUST 14, 1962

Mr. Chairman, reverend clergy, your excellencies, distinguished guests and particularly our guest of honor, Congressman ANFUSO, his charming wife, and his fine family, it is a genuine personal pleasure for me to take part in this testimonial dinner for Congressman ANFUSO. The very presence here of so many of you, some from far away—a diverse group united by the common bond of friendship and affection for our guest of honor—bears witness to his nature and the breadth of his friendships.

Our chairman, "MANNY" CELLER, in introducing Mayor Wagner, remarked that the mayor of New York has the toughest job in the country, next to the Presidency. Now, I wouldn't want to disagree with "MANNY," not only because he's the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and committee chairmen are important to me in my job, but because he's a very good friend of mine as well. Still, though I wouldn't want to disagree with "MANNY," I do think the job of Speaker is a hard one at times. Admittedly, it has its compensations, and one of them—one of the greatest—is the privilege of knowing the many fine men and women who serve in the House over the years. In my years of serving in the House of Representatives, as majority leader and then as Speaker, I have known many Members of Congress; but I can say that VICTOR ANFUSO stands high among them as a public servant and as a man.

By the way, my remarks about VICTOR ANFUSO are not intended to diminish my regard for all the other Representatives of the State of New York whom I see here tonight. I'd like to mention them all. They are a fine group of men—every one. But I hesitate to mention any of them by name for fear of missing some inadvertently.

The other speakers here tonight have talked about ANFUSO the Congressman and public servant. I want to talk about ANFUSO the man.

Here, we all know, is a man of heart, unselfish, dedicated to helping others, a stanch friend. He has always taken people on their merits. Neither race, creed, color, nor any other externals or accidents of birth mean anything to him.

He has faith. This faith marks the man.

His name happens to be ANFUSO. But what matters is not the name but what's in a man's mind: I know a man by his mind. I don't care what his name is. I don't care what his race is, or his color. A man's religion doesn't matter to me. I love my religion and respect all others; I expect other men to love their religions and to respect mine.

Our guest of honor has striven throughout his life for two goals: he has sought positions of influence, and at the same time he has sought unceasingly to help others less fortunate than himself.

We honor this man. We honor his loyal, devoted wife, and his fine children, who are here tonight. His is the kind of family on which America is built. America's foundation is its family life. Without such families, we could not have the country we have today.

It is an old saying of mine, and used to be a saying of Sam Rayburn's (God rest his soul), that many men who serve in the House of Representatives and are then elected to the other body give stability and substance to the other body. VIC ANFUSO is such a man. He will bring stability and all his other fine qualities to any service he may undertake. During his terms in Congress, and especially in recent years as a member and subcommittee chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, he has revealed himself not only as a man of heart but as a man of vision and pioneering spirit.

Now VICTOR has shown himself as a man willing to make a sacrifice for the good of his party. This kind of loyalty, putting aside personal wishes, is appreciated. It would be a fine thing for the Democratic Party if there were more VICTOR ANFUSOS. We could use a lot more VICTOR ANFUSOS in other States and places throughout this Nation.

"MANNY" CELLER has said that this is not an ending but a new beginning for VICTOR. This judgment, I am sure, is right. When VICTOR puts on the ermine, he will bring to his new responsibilities all the fairness and breadth of sympathies he has shown in Congress; he will temper justice with mercy, and enter a new and honorable period of public service. More than that: I predict that VICTOR ANFUSO will not be long in judicial office before his party will seek him for higher office in an elective capacity. VICTOR has served his party and his Nation faithfully, and I feel sure that he will continue to do so for many years to come.

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ADDRESS OF VICTOR L. ANFUSO, JR., AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER IN HONOR OF CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO

Mr. Toastmaster, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a difficult thing to fashion words to introduce your own father properly. Mayor Wagner has told us that I was introduced by my father some 30 years ago during the course of a political campaign. However, I do believe it took more than campaign oratory to turn that trick. I guess that just serves to prove that it is not how difficult a task is, but rather how pleasurable. And tonight I have a most pleasurable task.

This occasion is not only the time to review the past accomplishments of your guest of honor, but also an opportunity to reminisce with an old friend.

As I looked around the ballroom earlier I noticed many familiar faces, friends of long standing, people who do not make a habit of attending $50-a-plate dinners, much less traveling hundreds of miles to be present.

I am thinking that my father is a lucky man to be surrounded by so many friends at a time when he closes one chapter of his life and prepares to frame another; blessed as he is by a union with a saintly woman and a devoted wife and mother; and privileged to have achieved a position in life which would content the soul of many a man.

However, it is not fairly correct to give all the credit to luck. Rather, I believe, these are the results of qualities he has kindled from within. Truly he has gone out to meet luck more than halfway.

Someone has written that all of us in varying degrees are propelled by two fundamental urges. These are: "I want" and "I want to be." The first includes the basic instinct of self-preservation, food, shelter, the desire for security. The second, "I want to be," encompasses the more expansive part of personality, magnanimity, the desire to better yourself and those about you.

Perhaps this is a great oversimplification. But I think your guest of honor has bottomed his purposeful actions on this latter motivation to an abundant degree. The seeds he has sown throughout his public career are as many stones thrown into a still pool. The ripples, most times without the spotlight of any publicity, have touched

the hearts and lives of many people who were never required to show the credentials of a constituent, the Aryan pedigree so long favored by our immigration laws, or even the label of any particular party.

In close observation of a man who has been a great teacher to me, I have never heard him speak ill of another. I have marveled at his capacity to make and keep a friend.

His approach to problems has always been persuasion rather than force—organize and build by motivating others to desire and accomplish certain tasks and goals. As a matter of fact, when I was a young boy I can still remember his effective use of a hairbrush which had a most persuasive effect on me, and by the way did me a great deal of good.

The man who occupies the place of honor tonight shined shoes for a living at the age of 9; placated his mother's lifelong wish that he become a doctor by having her believe he was enrolled in medical school, while in fact he was attending law school. And as the distinguished Ambassador from Italy has indicated, I know he felt highly honored, as an immigrant to this country, to be appointed by President Kennedy as head of the delegation representing the United States to go back to his native land for the centennial anniversary of Italy's birth as a nation.

If I were to attempt to capsulize and isolate that inner spark of animation in your guest of honor, I would venture to say that he is a man who derives sheer comfort and satisfaction in the mere giving; a person, who has felt an inner need to seek positions of influence and, at the same time, a desire to use that influence to aid those, who by circumstance or station in life, cannot help themselves.

As the pages of his life are slowly turned and he continues to the next stop en route, you may expect that he will carry that philosophy with him, best expressed perhaps in the words of Whittier when he wrote:

"Heaven's gate is not opened to him who comes alone;
Save another's soul, and thus thou'lt save thine own."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my extreme privilege to present to you my father, your guest of honor.

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ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO, TESTIMONIAL DINNER, HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON D.C., AUGUST 14, 1962

Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. Speaker, reverend clergy, your excellencies, my friends all, I can't begin to tell you how much each one of you has honored me tonight by your presence. Some of you have come from as far as California and many of you, of course, from my beloved State of New York.

"MANNIE," I'm deeply grateful to you for being a chairman and toastmaster par excellence.

Thank you very much, Mr. Harrison, for your kind presentation. Please assure all of your 1,400 members that I shall always treasure it.

Ambassador Fennoltea, I was indeed happily surprised. I have received many awards from your Government. I know this is the highest and I'm deeply grateful. I hope I can continue to play some small part to keep your great country and ours bosom allies.

Ladies and gentlemen I guess all of you can see by now that we have a great New York State chairman in Bill McKeon and a great leader and mayor in Bob Wagner. I am grateful to both of them for their generous remarks.

And, Mr. Speaker, you have always been very kind to me but tonight you outdid yourself.

I think my son made a pretty good speech, too, don't you think? Well, I wanted you to get to know him.

All of you have been mighty good to me, Excellency, an immigrant boy from the south shores of Italy.

I guess I've served on more committees than most Members of Congress. In the 82d Congress I was a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. In that capacity I visited almost every post office in the State of New York and helped to improve working conditions in them. I suppose I would still be on that committee had I not been a victim of reapportionment in 1952.

Thanks to my very dear friend, Mayor Wagner, I was appointed a judge of the criminal court but I didn't stay long as a judge because my heart was in Congress. As a matter of fact the first time I ran I had to defeat a Democratic Congressman of 18 years experience in Congress; and the second time, I resigned as a judge to engage in another successful primary fight. I returned to the 84th Congress and I was approved for membership on the House Agriculture Committee. I became known as the gentleman farmer from Brooklyn, although my only credentials were that I had a flower pot on my window sill.

It wasn't long, however, when with the cooperation of that esteemed gentleman and chairman of the committee, HAROLD COOLEY, that we formed, for the first time in the history of Congress, a Subcommittee on Consumer Problems of which I became chairman. If I must say so myself, the hearings we conducted and the reports we rendered went a long way in bringing about a better understanding between our farm and city people. As I used to say in speeches before the Congress, the legislative road is not a one way street. If we from the cities help the Congressmen from farm areas in solving their problems, they must come along with us when we appeal to them for better wages, better working conditions and more housing for our congested areas. The response was equally beneficial and I'm proud to say that I have voted for every wise farm bill that has come out of the Committee on Agriculture, without the loss of any part of my constituency. The reason is that I gave my people leadership and service but at the same time I made it clear to them that we cannot live alone—that a Congressman must represent not only his district but the Nation as a whole.

In 1957, again being mindful of the needs of the consumers and farmers in my own State of New York, I conducted hearings throughout the State and we were particularly helpful in stabilizing milk prices.

I enjoyed being the farmer from Brooklyn. We were giving a voice for the first time to the consumers of America. I urged President Eisenhower and later President Kennedy to create the post of a Consumer Council in the executive branch of Government. I looked forward to heading a permanent Consumer Committee in the House of Representatives. President Kennedy finally appointed a Consumers Advisory Council but the Congress has not had a Consumer Committee since I left the House Agriculture Committee in 1958 to become a ranking member of the newly formed Science and Astronautics Committee as well as a member of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

I have served 4 wonderful years on these committees with Chairman BONNER and MILLER. My good friend, GEORGE P. MILLER, of California, who is doing a great job as general chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, appointed me chairman of the subcommittee on all advance research. I looked forward to spending the rest of my days on this committee and pushing with all my might the space program because I realize that America cannot win this space race or any race by just reacting to what the Russians are doing, or being stimulated into action by a series of shocks—such as the two cosmonauts now circling the earth.

We have lost 4 valuable years, and I am not here to blame anyone for this loss, but the fact remains that we did waste 4 years in not going ahead with a large booster program. And now you can't make up those years by just keeping pace with the Russians. We have got to double our efforts if we are not to remain second best and leave the world in danger of being destroyed by those who would use the new scientific discoveries for conquest and world domination.

By doubling our efforts I don't necessarily mean spending twice as much as we are now spending in the space effort. Money alone won't do the job for us. What I mean is that we must stop reacting and use the intelligence and knowledge we already possess to carry out projects of our own. It is imperative that we try to land a man on the Moon as soon as possible but let us through advance research also establish a space station from which we can launch our vehicles to carry out space exploration to any corner of the universe, without limiting ourselves to the Moon, Venus or Mars. This would be a far greater achievement than engaging in a mere race to the moon and at the same time this would provide greater security for us.

And now on the peace front, my friends, let me say this. As a result of the various committees of Congress on which I have served, having to do with war and peace, I have come to the inevitable conclusion that there is no profit in war for any nation or people. I, therefore, looked forward to a new project, as an aid to the scientific community, to unite the scientists of the world to form an International Science for Peace organization which would conduct or guide research into great world problems such as famine, drought, pestilence and disease which are the causes of wars and strife among nations. This cannot and never will be done by the United Nations because the United Nations is a political organization and the members of every committee therein are guided by political considerations and national interests. But the scientific world can get together, as it did for the International Geophysical Year, and undertake, for example, the elimination of malaria as a world plague, the stamping out of the locust pestilence, the conservation and scientific distribution of water resources, the evaluation of existing uninhabited areas of the world for their possible sources of foods, the development of methods by which the unending resources of the ocean would be converted into acceptable foodstuffs, the peaceful uses of research in outer space, etc. The free world without delay, should take the leadership in forming such a science for peace organization as it will save billions of dollars and help to create an abundant world, making wars and strife between nations unnecessary.

But again the ugly head of reapportionment threatened to interrupt my services in Congress. After months of soul searching and discussions with my family and friends, I again yielded to the wishes of the leadership of our party and withdrew as a candidate for Congress in order to be of even greater service, I hope, to my country.

My friends, we are living in the most critical period of our Nation which demands the strongest, the most vigorous, the most intelligent kind of leadership. It requires also, an understanding of the rights and aspirations of all peoples of the world. We have that leadership and understanding in President Kennedy. And we who call ourselves Democrats must sacrifice personal ambitions to become soldiers in the ranks and follow his leadership. There is no room for demogogues or prima donna's in the Democratic system of government.

In conclusion, my friends, let me say that this dinner is not just a tribute to me alone.

It is also a tribute to my wife, Frances, who has served all of our terms in Congress—going back and forth, to and from New York every single week (not at Government expense, mind you), and in my hour of grave decision and period of torment, my wife read to me this prayer by St. Francis de Sales:

"Do not look forward to what might happen tomorrow, the same Everlasting Father who cares for you today will take care of you tomorrow and every day. Either he will shield you from suffering or he will give you unfailing strength to bear it. Be at peace; then, and put aside all anxious thoughts and imaginations."

I am at peace with myself as I hope all of you will always be.

And now, my friends, would you please rise and toast with me the President of the United States, may he have long years and good health to move this country forward as it has never been moved before, with the help and grace of Almighty God.

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DAIS

Abello, His Excellency Emilio, Ambassador of the Philippines.

Albert, Hon. Carl, majority leader, U.S. House of Representatives.

Anderson, Adm. George W., U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations.

Anfuso, Hon. Victor L., guest of honor.

Anfuso, Victor L., Jr.

Anfuso, Mrs. Victor L.

Antonini, Hon. Luigi, chairman, United Italian American Labor Council.

Arango, His Excellency Augusto Guillermo, Ambassador of Panama.

Bailey, Hon. John M., chairman, Democratic National Committee.

Beame, Hon. Abraham D., comptroller, city of New York.

Boggs, Hon. Hale, majority whip, U.S. House of Representatives.

Bonner, Hon. Herbert C., chairman, House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Braskamp, Rev. Bernard, D.D., Chaplain, U.S. House of Representatives.

Buckley, Hon. Charles A., chairman, House Committee on Public Works.

Celebrezze, Hon. Anthony J., Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Celler, Hon. Emanuel, chairman, House Judiciary Committee.

Cogliandro, Charles A.

Cooley, Hon. Harold D., chairman, House Agriculture Committee.

Duke, Hon. Angier Biddle, Chief of Protocol, Department of State.

Eastland, Hon. James O., chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee.

Fenoaltea, His Excellency Sergio, Ambassador of Italy.

Garrigues, His Excellency Don Antonio, Ambassador of Spain.

Goodwin, Hon. Richard W., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

Gurevich, Mrs. Mae, vice chairman, New York Democratic State Committee.

Haley, Andrew G., counsel, American Rocket Society.

Hall, Paul, president, Seafarers International Union.

Harriman, Hon. Averell, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

Harman, His Excellency Avraham, Ambassador of Israel.

Harrison, Hunter C., president, National Capital section, American Rocket Society.

Hartke, Hon. Vance, U.S. Senator.

Jacoby, Hon. Aaron L., cochairman, Kings County Democratic Committee.

Kelly, Hon. Edna F., national committeewoman, New York State.

Kiernan, His Excellency Thomas J., Ambassador of Ireland.

Kirwan, Hon. Michael J., chairman, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Lynch, Hon. John J., cochairman, Kings County Democratic Committee.

McCormack, Hon. John W., Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives.

McKeon, Hon. William H., chairman, New York Democratic State Committee.

Mansfield, Hon. Mike, majority leader, U.S. Senate.

Mars, His Excellency Dr. Louis, Ambassador of Haiti.

Miller, Hon. George P., chairman, House Science and Astronautics Committee.

O'Connor, Hon. Frank D., district attorney, Queens County, N.Y.

Prigione, Very Rev. Msgr. Gerolamo, apostolic delegation.

Re, Hon. Edward D., Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

Rubel, Hon. John H., Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Sevilla-Sacasa, His Excellency Dr. Guillermo, Ambassador of Nicaragua.

Schriever, Lt. Gen. Bernard A., U.S. Air Force, commander, Air Force Systems.

Screvane, Hon. Paul R., president, Council of the City of New York.

Symington, Hon. Stuart, U.S. Senator.

Wagner, Hon. Robert F., mayor, city of New York.

Waterman, Dr. Alan T., Director, National Science Foundation.

Webb, Hon. James E., Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Wiesner, Hon. Jerome B., Special Assistant to the President.

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## Congratulations to the Coast Guard on Its 172d Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, it is not necessary to belabor the magnificent work of the Coast Guard of the United States of America. Founded in 1790, it has served us valiantly in peace and in war. A stricken seaman or a disabled fisherman, a boat in trouble or a criminal attempting to defy the smuggling laws all know the might of the Coast Guard. Last year it saved 3,449 persons and answered 35,335 assistance calls involving a property value of almost $2 billion.

The remarkable organization that accomplished these feats is marking its 172d birthday. We should not allow it to go unheeded. Theodore Roosevelt best phrased the ideals of this service:

> We think that the greatest victories are yet to be won, the greatest deeds yet to be done.

To follow this philosophy the Coast Guard stands always ready, or as its motto reads, "Semper Paratus."

The Atlantic City Press of August 4, 1962, has editorially congratulated the Coast Guard. I also wish to extend a birthday greeting to them and I hope that they have many more years of continued success.

I ask unanimous consent to have the Atlantic City Press editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRATULATIONS TO COAST GUARD AT 172

Shore residents are familiar with the work of the Coast Guard. They know how readily the coast guardsmen respond, and how well they perform in emergencies.

An angler overdue, a boat missing or disabled, a seaman stricken at sea and the instant reaction is: Call the Coast Guard.

The guardsmen stand ready to help at all times, in fair weather and foul. More often than not, the elements are in turmoil when the Coast Guard's services are needed. Its motto is semper paratus—always ready.

The Coast Guard marks its 172d birthday today. In war and in peace, it has more than earned its keep. Last year it saved 3,499 persons and answered 35,335 assistance calls involving a property value of almost $2 billion.

Coastguardsmen from the Atlantic City Lifeboat Station maintain an around-the-clock communications watch and lookout tower. They check conditions of pleasure boats, maintain aids to navigation such as channel markers and buoys, keep search and rescue equipment in repair and answer distress calls.

Coast Guard training facilities include a recruit receiving center at Cape May. The recruits are a familiar part of the Cape May scene.

One phase of the Coast Guard's lifesaving activities is the maintenance of an international arctic ice patrol.

The Coast Guard removes derelicts menacing navigation, enforces law on the high seas and strives to prevent smuggling.

More familiarly, the Coast Guard and Coast Guard Auxiliary promote boating safety. After the Federal Boating Act of 1958, it took on the job of registering boats of more than 10 horsepower in States having no registration laws of their own. It was not until this summer that New Jersey put such legislation into effect.

The Coast Guard performs many chores. It is a hard-working, compact organization with good morale and enviable tradition of service.

Our congratulations to the Coast Guard on their anniversary. We hope it will be around for a long, long time to come.

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## Government Storage: More Bitter Than Sweet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Billie Sol Estes has become symptomatic of the American farm problem and Federal Government attempts to deal with it. This Estes scandal drives deep into the crux of the problem. Americans—whether consumer, distributor, farmer or taxpayer—are awakening to the mess in Washington and are rightfully demanding a house cleaning in the Agricultural Department. Such a house cleaning must scour clean not only Department bureaucrats, but must uncover and critically examine the underlying philosophy of this administration's farm policy.

A forthright statement on this subject has recently come to my attention. Cargill, Inc., is a forward-moving grain merchandiser with an impressive pioneering history in the grain trade. I commend to my fellow colleagues the following Cargill editorial which appeared in the August 1962 issue of Cargill News.

The article follows:

GOVERNMENT STORAGE: MORE BITTER THAN SWEET

The doings—and the present undoing—of the pampered predator of Pecos, Tex., add up to the most widely reported and discussed agricultural scandal in years.

Cargill, because all its business is so closely linked to agriculture, has followed the Billie Sol Estes case with the utmost interest. We approve dragging Billie Sol and those who aided him from under their stones into the light; and we applaud ways in which the greater, underlying scandal, that of the 30-year-old farm program itself, is brought dramatically to public attention with Billie Sol as a case in point.

Cargill has consistently opposed crop subsidies, acreage allotments, and marketing controls as workable means to end surpluses and yield adequate income to farmers. Yet, even while opposing, we have cooperated fully with each administration in helping make the existing program function as well as possible. Sometimes cooperation was profitable; sometimes not. But even when profitable, we have believed we would be better off in a free agriculture, where neither profit nor prejudice derives from the Government.

The most important area of cooperation has been, without doubt, that of surplus grain storage. In fact, at those times in the 30-year period when Government control was most complete, incomes from Government storage was essential to Cargill's effort to maintain and improve its merchandising function, its only long-term reason for being, in the face of a smaller proportion of agricultural products available for traditional buying and selling.

During those years, as the farm program failed again and again, the Government repeatedly called on the grain trade to build new bins and elevators for storing its huge surplus stocks. Cargill responded, as did other established merchandising firms. But Cargill did so only to the extent that new space would fit in its framework of merchandising installations, and so would have long-range economic purposes unrelated to abnormal surpluses.

Many present-day storage firms used no such criteria in building. In fact, many did not even exist 30 years ago, but were born out of Government needs, grew as those needs increased and to this day have no better function than storage of Government surpluses.

Such firms, so far as we know, grew honestly enough. The Government needed storage, asked that it be built and set rates to be paid for its use. The new grain storage outfits, while gaining the title of "Johnny Come Lately's," can hardly be criticized for filling the need. It's their misfortune, not their fault, that the situation which bore them also bore Billie Sol Estes.

Yet it is sobering and shocking to note that in 10 years, from 1952 to April 1 of this year, Government approved storage quadrupled, swelling from 1,240 million bushels to 4,880 million. In centers of surplus production—Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, and other Middle and Southwestern States—there has been room and profits for all, from grocer to dentist to filling station owner, with a blossoming of such business-getting gimmicks as prizes, premiums, and green stamps to lure in the farmer's grain.

Cargill made its choice at the beginning. It could have left agriculture and turned to the making of ballpoint pens or some other uncontrolled product, but it did not. It could have joined others in all-out mushrooming of storage facilities, abandoned grain merchandising, filled all its houses with Government grain and thrown away the keys. It did not do that, either.

Instead, it kept emphasis on retaining or expanding its free-market business, both within the United States and abroad. Its elevator capacity grew, but more gradually than the national total, and only as new space was justified by present or anticipated merchandising.

During the 10 years, while national capacity expanded 400 percent, Cargill's grew 77 percent, from 91,865,000 bushels in 1952 to 162,397,000 this year, and the company exerted itself to use more of that space for handling its own grain and less for storing the Government's. For, as subsidized agriculture gradually is abandoned—and Cargill is convinced that it must be abandoned—we do not plan to become an unlamented adjunct to the farm program's failure. Instead, the company will be more active and vigorous, with all its efforts devoted to its proper calling: the merchandising of farm products in a free economy.

How well have we done so far? Here's a look at the record:

Grain Division statistics for 6 years—in which the transition has been most successful—show merchandising (both dollar sales to others and bushels sold to others) has increased 87 percent, while bushels warehoused for others (mostly Government) declined 10 percent and income received for warehousing decreased 18 percent. Storage space used for our own grain increased more than 50 percent and now accounts for considerably more than half our capacity.

These proportions continue to change within Cargill toward the ultimate goal of "all free grain; no uneconomic Government surplus at all." No one can tell when that goal will be reached, but our aim is the same as it always has been, and final accomplishment can't come too quickly.

## The U.S. Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, a young man of my acquaintance, Bill Kemp, a high school student, has prepared the following remarks on the attempted packing of the U.S. Supreme Court 25 years ago. It is reassuring to know that a new generation retains its respect for the constitutional doctrine of separation of powers. We live today in an age when complete centralization of authority in the executive branch is once again becoming a growing threat to the maintenance of our constitutional system. I am doubly pleased, therefore, to note that this paper by a young high school student reflects an awareness of the dangers that can be expected if we pursue such a course.

Mr. Speaker, young Mr. Kemp's conclusions are as follows:

In looking back upon the Supreme Court reorganization plan, it must be noted that Roosevelt's plan contained nothing new, revolutionary, or even unconstitutional. Why then, did his plan meet with such extreme opposition from not only the opposition, but also from those who were most friendly to his New Deal laws? The answer can only be guessed, but I feel that it lies in the democratic spirit of the American people.

Roosevelt brought forth his plan in order to be able to pass his ideas into law without having them defeated by judicial review. He must have felt his duty was to do everything possible to carry out his plans, which he felt were approved of by a majority of Americans but the people through their Representatives said "No"; Roosevelt had gone too far, and could not be allowed to carry out his plan.

Roosevelt's plan itself was shortsighted, taking care of only the present. If every President could control the Supreme Court by adding justices of his own opinion, then the Court could get larger and larger, and become not the highest Court in the land, but a political body interested in legislating its own ideas through so-called Court decisions.

The Constitution named a legislative body to make laws. This is and should be a political body, but the Supreme Court is supposed to interpret laws according to the Constitution, and should be divorced as far as possible from the political control of the President and Congress.

## Retraining Creates Employment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, this Congress has passed legislation which would allow an unemployed man to be retrained in a new skill. It was the Manpower Retraining Act.

Within a few short weeks, Evansville, Ind., will soon see the conclusive results that this forward looking legislation was a step in the right direction for America.

The Evansville Courier, of Sunday, August 19, 1962, has published an excellent editorial, "Full Employment Increases Labor Supply," about this problem of retraining and the giving to human beings the opportunity to regain full ability to care for his needs."

As you all know, Evansville is my hometown, and I am proud that it was the first city in Indiana to receive the benefits of this legislation. Evansville is also one of Indiana's larger cities which has been declared a city of chronic and persistent unemployment by the Departments of Labor and Commerce, and it is therefore most gratifying to see this city begin to readjust as individuals with new manpower skills will become an asset to society and will be able to provide for their families.

It is, therefore, because of the Evansville Courier's editorial which defends the Manpower Retraining Act as worthwhile legislation, that I ask unanimous consent it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FULL EMPLOYMENT INCREASES LABOR SUPPLY

Within a short time, Evansville should have conclusive indications of the success of a job retraining program sponsored by the local schools and the Federal Government.

Sixty-three men graduated from the first classes, and chances appeared good that a large percentage of them would be working before long. This would bear out the argument that unemployment can be reduced significantly by fitting workers for jobs that are going begging.

The advantages of the local program are obvious. Every unemployed person who gets a job through retraining is a person who regains full ability to care for his family's needs. He is once again a person who contributes to our society, instead of one who may need contributions from it.

One other aspect of the situation should be noted. Many of the trainees who found jobs before graduation moved out of town. They found better opportunities elsewhere in Indiana.

This does not lessen the need for the course. Relocation of workers who cannot find jobs here is justified in terms of sheer humanity, as well as economics. We should not expect regional ties to prevent a previously jobless man from making a good living elsewhere.

The only way a community can maintain a force of skilled workmen is providing them with ample job opportunities. If the opportunities are not available locally, the skilled worker soon moves elsewhere. If there are good chances for local jobs, the number of youths who will train for any given vocation increases.

Full employment, consequently, is a help in creating a supply of competent labor for new industries. It sounds paradoxical, but in these days of high mobility, that's the way it works out.

## San Diego: Dynamic City in Motion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most aggressive building programs of any large city in the United States is presently underway in San Diego, Calif. Within a 24-city-block area, city, county, State, and Federal buildings are being built or on the drawing boards. This government activity is bolstered by an expression of confidence on the part of the business community that is building 3 buildings in excess of 20 stories, plus many other improvements.

This phenomenal growth of a downtown area is expressed in a very well-written story by Mr. Julian Wise, assistant to the city manager of the city of San Diego, that appeared in the June 1962, issue of Western City magazine.

I commend this article to you and our colleagues in the Congress and under unanimous consent I offer it to be printed in the RECORD:

CENTER CITY, SAN DIEGO: COMMUNITY AND OFFICIALS SPARK DOWNTOWN REBIRTH

(By Julian Wise)

The vitality and strength of a city's central area is the most important factor in the continued growth and prosperity of its entire metropolitan area. But the rare romanticism of a city in explosive expansion—a city changing its skyline almost hourly, is unique even in today's nation of rapid progress and impatience for the future.

In San Diego, Calif., a "city in motion"—this phenomenon is currently underway. With the cooperation of the citizens, a center city project is underway that will, during the next 40 years, see the city investing some $46 million in public and governmental facilities. The beginning of this project has already resulted in the announcement and planning of private improvements in San Diego's downtown area in excess of $100 million.

Within the core area of center city (24 city blocks), a county courthouse has been completed and major private construction is underway including the Home Federal Building (20 stories), the First and C Office Building (24 stories), the U.S. National Bank Building (25 stories) and the Community Concourse (a 3-block area to be the site of the city's new 14-story administration building, a 5,000-seat public assembly facility, a 1,000-car parking garage with 75,000 square feet of display space and a 3,000-seat theater).

Seven years ago, a group of downtown businessmen in San Diego witnessed a nationwide trend—a trend that had been growing since 1943. Downtown pedestrian traffic was falling. This group bought a partial study ($5,000) in an attempt to determine the best method of downtown retail promotion to check the trend. The attempt fell far short of its goal.

Then, in 1959, a group of 50 business leaders organized San Diegans, Inc. Western Real Estate Research Corp., was retained to produce a detailed and comprehensive study—an unqualified market analysis of the entire central area. WRERC was asked to determine the logical function of the central area in a modern, large city today. These 50 citizens in San Diego produced $35,000 of their own money to pay for the study.

The research group completed its work in the spring of 1960. The report showed conclusively that this "logical function of the central area" is administrative, financial, cultural, governmental, and general and specialized retail. It also showed that the central area is truly the heart of a metropolitan area and must be developed and retained as the heart.

San Diegans, Inc. presented the study it had purchased to the city council in early 1960 and center city, San Diego, was underway. A center city team was formed in the city's long-range planning section of the planning department, and in February of 1961, the governmental facilities report was completed.

Land acquisition for public facilities was started, utilizing capital provided by the city employees' retifement fund (a leaseback to the city) and capital funds were tabbed for construction of major facilities—beginning with the community concourse. The chain reaction had, by this time, reached fusion proportions. Estimates came in on the concourse while private builders started construction of major office, hotel, and retail buildings in the downtown area.

Community concourse estimates, not including land purchased with city retirement funds; city administration building, $4,400,000; parking-exhibit facility, $3,100,000; and theater and public assembly hall combined (even though these are two separate facilities) $6 million. The city prepared its financing on the basis of the original estimates; estimates that, for the theater and assembly facility included only minimum requirements. It was then learned that minimum requirements in the latter two structures would be inadequate immediately upon completion. New estimates were prepared, and they came in $1.5 million higher—the total now was $7.5 million.

With this occurrence, the miracle of close city government-community cooperation began to take its form. A locally financed project was underway. All funds being used were San Diego funds—no one was asking for anything from anywhere else—nor had they, nor would they.

But what about this $1.5 million shy? Within 4 months, some 150 donations to the Community Concourse Fund—donations from private citizens and corporations as well—donations ranging from $3 to $200,000, created slightly in excess of $1.6 million.

San Diego's Community Concourse will be completed by January of 1965. The public assembly exhibit facility and the parking garage will be ready for use late next year. San Diego's skyline is sprouting new buildings, new growth, and new vitality. The heart of the city is pumping new lifeblood throughout the metropolitan community of more than 1 million people.

Center city has been designed—in planning terminology, to pedestrian scale. San Diegans, Inc. President Ewart Goodwin said, "I know of no other city with a population of more than 200,000 that will have a central retail area, financial district, and city, county, State, and Federal buildings, all within 5 minutes' walking distance from one another."

Along with the concourse area and mushrooming private facilities in this center city area. San Diego has projected its growth requirements to a horizon year—a year now estimated at 2010. During the period of time covered by those next nearly 50 years, the city will be continuing its expansion program in center city. Operations and services buildings will be constructed and police and fire facilities are scheduled as the needs are presented. All of the land for the total requirement is now acquired—land valued today at some $7 million.

The question of a governmental agency removing property and improvements from the tax roll is an important one. San Diego's urban renewal coordinator, William Gerhardt, recently completed an interesting study of center city's effect to date in this regard. Gerhardt added the assessed value of the present improvements on the sites of private development and found a total of $671,643. On these sites, private developers propose to place some $37.8 million in new improvements—a net gain of $35.3 million.

Using the latter figure, and assuming a tax rate of $7.61 (current) and an assessment ration of 25 percent, present improvements pay ad valorem (current value) taxes of $49,270 each year. New improvements will pay $720,913 a year. Public projects will remove from the tax rolls some $153,870 in assessed land value and $763,310 in assessed improvements value. Again, Gerhardt applied the $7.61 tax rate and determined the reduction to be $69,816. This leaves the basic net overall increase at $601,827 a year.

ASSESSED VALUE

Center city San Diego is a continuing program. There is no end to San Diego's story. Early completion of the first phases of the program represent the beginning of a new city—and even more than that, a new method of accomplishing a new city.

New highways are now being constructed to border this downtown area. Highways 101, 395, 80, and 94 sweep through the city past offramps emiting traffic into parking reservoirs surrounding the pedestrian-scale down-

town locations. The railroad and air locations are within 5 minutes of the core area.

San Diegans, Inc., has become a continuing organization. The group that met with city planners and administrators every week for 3 years on the development of center city has already commissioned additional economic studies to establish the feasibility of multiunit housing surrounding the center city area, and to additionally determine the market potential for central-area oriented industry. These reports, being produced at a cost to San Diegans, Inc., of some $11,800 (an additional $5,000 is being provided by the city) will be given to the city of San Diego sometime this month.

Under the continuing leadership in San Diego of Mayor Charles C. Dail, the city council and Manager Thomas W. Fletcher, center city is now beginning to take its shape—and the spirit in San Diego is catching.

San Diego: City in motion. Third largest city in California (population 616,500); 16th largest city in the Nation; 5th largest city in land area, nationally (298 square miles); primary market area 1,856,000 people; secondary market area 8,300,000 people; lowest major city tax rate (ranks 9th in California—$1.85); youngest median age population (26.7 years); most modern port facilities on west coast; home of 11th Naval District; world's finest year 'round climate; world's fastest growing high rise business and commercial district.

San Diego has University of California; University of San Diego; California Western University; San Diego State College; Naval Electronic Laboratory; Salk Institute for Biological Research; sea water conversion plant; General Atomic Research Laboratory; General Dynamics astronautics' Atlas; City Research Park; City Industrial Park; Mission Bay Aquatic Park; San Diego Zoo.

## The Educational Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, most everyone in America is stirred by the shortcomings of our space program as dramatically illustrated by the Russian cosmonauts, but no one seems to be overly concerned by our educational deficiencies. We have talked for years about it, but little action has resulted.

Two newspapers in my State, the Courier News, Plainfield, N.J., and the Daily Home News, New Brunswick, N.J., have once again brought up the embarrassing problem of education. The Home News cites shocking figures, such as the price tag on top quality schools would mean a 110.9 percent increase in current expenditures per pupil between 1959–60 and 1969–70. The longer we wait the more difficult it will be to make our schools ones of which we can all be proud. We are shockingly behind the U.S.S.R., for example, in the educational areas which build national power. During the period 1926 to 1959, the Soviet Union turned out 1.8 as many engineers as we did, 2.4 times as many doctors, and 1.4 times as many graduates in the engineering, theoretical, science, and applied science fields. And the Courier News points out that the teacher shortage is really beginning to hurt. We must do something to increase teacher salaries so we can provide more topflight teachers for our ever mushrooming school age population.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the two aforementioned editorials. The Courier News is from August 13, the Home News from August 15. Furthermore, I ask my colleagues to consider what positive action we may take to remedy these known evils.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION

The New Jersey Education Association said this week that one thing had come to characterize education in our State—change. Change in pupil enrollment, change in teachers, change in curriculum content.

The education association points out that the "baby boom" has not diminished. School enrollment increases will average 40,000 over the next 5 years, and there will be more than 1,450,000 students in New Jersey's elementary and secondary schools by 1970.

It is expected that teacher shortages and teacher turnover will continue. Last year, the report said, more than 9,000 teachers in the State were new to the school district in which they taught.

A world of continually expanding knowledge and opportunity makes change and improvement in content and method of school curriculum an everyday duty. This was brought to our attention forcibly the other day when an editorial writer said that we must constantly seek the truth and be aware that even our concept of the truth changes. "It is no longer true that whatever goes up must come down," he said.

School boards in the State which really serve the public interest have tried to keep up with the problems created by these changes and to meet the demand for educational quality. We support the view of the educators that learning must keep pace with constant change.

TOP EDUCATION'S PRICE TAG IN 1970

Despite the continuous construction of new school facilities, superintendents and administrators are still concerned over the lack of adequate space for the enrollment which is increasing at the rate of 1 million a year in the United States.

With this explosion in secondary education bursting upon our Nation, the National Education Association this week announced the results of a 2-year study of population trends and calculated costs of quality education by 1970.

Quality public schools will cost Americans $33.6 billion per year by 1970, the report states. This price tag is for current expenses only; capital outlay and interest would boost the total a few billions more. The estimates for 1970 are based on—

The enrollment of practically all school-age children and youth in a public or private school;

A substantial increase in the percentage of boys and girls finishing high school;

Salaries for teachers comparable to earnings in other professions, and competitive with salaries offered the best talent coming out of our colleges and the universities;

Considerable improvement in the average training and experience of instructional staff, namely, 57 percent of all teachers would have master's or higher degrees;

A staffing ratio of 50 professionals per 1,000 pupils which is the Educational Policies Commission's formula for providing the staff needed to supply adequate instructional supervisory, and administrative services, plus the supporting services now provided in the Nation's best school systems.

This price tag on top quality schools would mean a 110.9 percent increase in current expenditures per pupil between 1959–60 and 1969–70. It also represents an increase in the average classroom teachers' salary from $5,527 this year to $9,710 in 1969–70.

These will come as shocking figures in those communities where school bond issues have been voted down in a "taxpayers revolt."

## Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act

SPEECH

OF

## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10113), to establish an Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration; to authorize the preparation of a plan for acceleration of public works when necessary to avoid serious nationwide unemployment levels; and for other purposes.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, I have asked for these 2 minutes in order to call attention to the RECORD of yesterday. When the distinguished gentleman from Alabama who just left the well of the House was discussing the senior citizens housing bill when it was considered yesterday, I directed a question to him. I asked if there was back-door spending in that bill, and I certainly understood him to say "No." However, when I read the RECORD this morning I found he had corrected his answer and indicated instead that there was some back-door spending in the bill. I know that of course the gentleman was not trying to misinform me. He simply changed his answer and by the same token I want to change the comment I made following his statement. I want to withdraw the comment I made that I was glad that there was no back-door spending in the bill. There was, and I am sorry, because I am against the back-door method of financing programs.

Mr. RAINS. I misunderstood. I want to give you the correct answer. I discovered it this morning also. I was thinking about new programs. The gentleman asked me if they were recommending back-door spending, which they were not. There was a continuation of one that had been going on for almost as long as we have been here, and there was a small amount of usual Treasury financing in it, but in the item I was discussing there was not. I apologize to the gentleman.

Mr. PELLY. No apology is necessary. I know, of course, the gentleman was

not deliberately misinforming me. I want to retract my expression in the RECORD to the effect that I was happy about all provisions of the bill. I regret there was back-door spending and that there was increased borrowing authority which bypasses the procedure of annual scrutiny of a program by the Appropriations Committees.

Mr. RAINS. We had only continued the borrowing authority.

Mr. PELLY. But you increased it by $50 million, as I understand.

Mr. RAINS. I understood the gentleman to be talking about the new program. I apologize to the gentleman. I did not intend to mislead him.

Mr. PELLY. I want to assure the gentleman that I know he was making a statement the way he understood my question. Properly he corrected his answer. I want to correct my part of it too. The legislative branch loses control over finances where an agency of Government can borrow from the Treasury. I intend to oppose this device whenever it is included in legislation.

## Federal Aid Issues of the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, a most penetrating report by a distinguished educator, Ralph C. Norris, who serves as Iowa chairman of an education State-Federal relations committee, has just come to my attention.

Those who are really concerned as to the direction of school aid programs should be interested in reading it, and I am placing it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that more people may benefit from this report.

It is as follows:

FEDERAL AID ISSUES OF THE 87TH CONGRESS

You probably know that I have been a member of the State-Federal relations committee for many years and served as chairman for the last 2 years. It has been a very frustrating but interesting job. It is my understanding that someone else will assume the chairmanship for the 88th Congress—1963–65. Before passing out of the picture as chairman, there are some important observations which I believe need to be expressed.

In my opinion the Members of Congress have been for many years, and are now, too anxious to assume the responsibilities of local and State school officers. In many respects the Congresses that I have known have been much like the State legislatures of the past—they have not placed enough responsibility and faith in local school boards and local superintendents.

This is probably natural for them to do this for they see the national needs and are very concerned about them. They forget, or do not realize, that State and local boards could do a much better job if they had more funds with which to develop needed programs.

The following statements as to some of the specific Federal laws and appropriations are, in my opinion, illustrative.

It seems desirable to invite your attention to a glaring inconsistency in the matter of voting Federal funds for school support. While many of our Iowa Congressmen oppose general grants of Federal moneys for support of elementary and secondary schools, they vote to continue the program of so-called federally impacted areas (Public Law 81–815 and Public Law 81–874). This benefits about 10 percent of the Nation's school districts located in 316 of the 437 congressional districts. The moneys come to the local school districts without any strings attached and they are consequently commingled with school revenues from State and local sources. They provide as much as 50 percent to 75 percent of the operating budgets of some school districts. They do not clear through the State departments of public instruction but go directly to local school districts. Since I have been on the State Federal Relations Committee the office of education has set up regional offices throughout the United States to administer certain phases of Federal aid including the impacted areas funds.

On what grounds can our Federal lawmakers reconcile this willingness to help provide for one-third of the pupils enrolled in public schools, while turning a deaf ear to the needs of the other two-thirds? One of their favorite tactics is to claim that such funds are really granted in lieu of taxes that might have been collected on property had not the Federal Government preempted it. Actually the program, which began $8 million in 1950 has risen to $312 million in fiscal 1962 was based on local school costs but no serious attempt has ever been made to calculate exactly the amount of taxes lost to a school district because of Government activity.

Furthermore, liberalizing amendments have been added which permitted school districts, especially those in the South, to base their claims for these funds not on actual local expenditures, which are abnormally low in many cases, but on either State or national per capita school costs, whichever are higher. Many school districts receive far more under this program than they would have been able to raise had the Federal property remained on the tax polls. Many of them are able to collect on the basis of pupils whose parents work on Federal installations located in other school districts or even in other States. Most of the school districts surrounding the District of Columbia fall into this category to a large extent. (Oddly enough, District of Columbia schools receive nothing although technically eligible for $5 million annually). When, as occasionally happens, a parent transfers from Federal to private employment in the Washington area, his children are removed from the list upon which claims for Federal moneys are based, although his tax liability to the school district in which he resides has not been altered in the slightest degree.

When Federal installations are leased to private industry, as in the case of aircraft production facilities, the school districts must subtract the taxes they receive on such properties from their federally impacted grants. A study made in 1958 showed that 685 districts collected $8.3 million under this provision after subtracting only $412,500 in taxes.

Both Democratic and Republican Presidents have tried to readjust some of these inequities without success. President Kennedy recommended these funds be included in a general aid proposal to be distributed to the States and they in turn distribute to the local school districts. It was freely predicted in September 1961, when the program was renewed for 2 more years, that a Presidential veto would be overridden if one was attempted. I have little doubt but what this would have been the case.

Here are the statistics showing how much of this money came to Iowa during fiscal 1960, the latest year for which complete figures are available:

*Public Law 81–815—Construction*

Congressional District No. 5 ..... $115,575

*Public Law 81–874—Operation and maintenance*

| Congressional district | Number of applicants | Total |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | 13 | $412,383 |
| 2d | 1 | 7,318 |
| 3d | 1 | 12,301 |
| 4th | 1 | 4,049 |
| 5th | 5 | 146,218 |
| 7th | 1 | 6,073 |
| 8th | 2 | 63,844 |
| Total (7 districts) | 24 | 652,186 |

NOTE.—The figures do not include expenditures on federally owned or federally leased properties.

When these bills came up for a 2-year renewal, here is the way the Iowa Congressmen voted (1st sess., 87th Cong., roll No. 210, Sept. 18, 1961):

District No. 1: FRED SCHWENGEL, Republican, Davenport (not voting).

District No. 2; JAMES BROMWELL, Republican, Cedar Rapids, "yea."

District No. 3: H. R. GROSS, Republican, Waterloo, "nay."

District No. 4: JOHN KYL, Republican, Bloomfield, "yea."

District No. 5: NEAL SMITH, Democrat, Altoona, "nay."

District No. 6: MERWIN COAD, Democrat, Boone (not voting).

District No. 7: BEN F. JENSEN, Republican, Exira, "yea."

District No. 8: CHARLES B. HOEVEN, Republican, Alton (not voting).

The administration had asked for a 1-year extension of the laws in order to make a thorough study of the entire problem. This may have been the chief reason for Mr. SMITH's vote. Mr. GROSS was undoubtedly following his usual policy of thrift when he voted "no." The House also had voted against taking up a 1-year extension under a procedure permitting amendments to the law. SMITH voted for this measure and expressed a desire to amend the law to change the formula and require approval from the State department of public instruction before a local district could receive the funds so that funds would not be given districts contrary to State policy.

He was especially concerned with State and local problems affecting reorganization of school districts. He was also concerned with the fact the funds were allocated on the basis of the impact of Federal payroll rather than impact of children to be educated.

This is not written to condemn the federally impacted areas program. The National Education Association favors appropriate extension of the plan, but the program as now operated causes discrimination among school districts and further accentuates educational inequalities. After all, what part of the country is not federally impacted to a greater or lesser degree? These facts should be pointed out to Congressmen at every opportunity.

Most of the Congressmen from Iowa have consistently argued against general aid to schools for fear of Federal controls and yet most of them either voted to extend this law which actually is influencing State and local school board policy or else they didn't vote at all.

PART II—NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

School administrators in Iowa are much better acquainted with this law since many more districts have applied and received funds under its provisions.

It should be poined out again and again that this law even more than impacted areas is actually doing the very thing that

Congressmen generally and certain specific organizations, as well as many individuals, have preached and preached against; that is, Federal control of education and influence of local school board policy.

This argument is so common that it is almost trite to even mention—"We don't want Federal aid because it means Federal control." As another example the vote on the NDEA funds indicates that Iowa Congressmen vote one way on definite specific legislation which affects school board policy but they are always opposing general aid which would leave the policymaking up to local boards of education as it is influenced by expenditure of public funds. When the rollcall vote on a 2-year extension of NDEA funds was taken, here is the way the Iowa Congressmen voted. Rollcall No. 188, September 7, 1961, page 376 Congressional Digest.

District No. 1: FRED SCHWENGEL, Republican, Davenport, "yea."

District No. 2: JAMES BROMWELL, Republican, Cedar Rapids, "yea."

District No. 3: H. R. GROSS, Republican, Waterloo, "nay."

District No. 4: JOHN KYL, Republican, Bloomfield, "yea."

District No. 5: NEAL SMITH, Democrat, Altoona, "nay."

District No. 6: MERWIN COAD, Democrat, Boone, (not voting).

District No. 7: BEN JENSEN, Republican, Exira, "yea."

District No. 8: CHARLES B. HOEVEN, Republican, "yea."

SMITH voted on an earlier action in favor of the privilege of amending this law but the Congress voted this down. Mr. SMITH wanted to amend this law to broaden it so as to cover other areas of need. This would have given local boards more power to determine how the money could be spent in the local districts. Congressman GROSS has at least been consistent with his voting and his expressed opposition.

The National Defense Education Act provides specifically the type of program for which the money can be used. It provides for financing special training of teachers and for cost of equipment and supplies in science, mathematics, foreign language, and guidance. Apparently Congress does not believe the local school boards and administrators are doing a good enough job in these fields; which of course can well be true in many districts. The point, however, is that Congress has determined local school district policy in this program and thus is actually controlling expenditure of Federal funds and at least influencing public policy.

School districts may and probably many times have appropriated matching funds for science, mathematics, foreign language, and guidance as provided under this Federal law at the expense of a balanced program of education.

All this goes to the question of the basic needs for financing education. We are still in the horse and buggy days in Iowa. We still tie practically all our hopes for funds on the property tax principle, whether the property is making money or not.

When will the people of Iowa rise up and require a better system of financing education on a State level?

When will the people wake up to the fact that opposition to a general Federal aid grant to each State (to be distributed under the laws of each State by the chief State school officials) will bring more and more Federal aid for specific purposes and thus more and more Federal control.

The only answer is to be for a general aid unless we want the Federal Government, and by that I mean our Congressmen, to continue to legislate specific programs and thus influence local school district policy.

Again it should be said that Congressmen are not generally to blame. The National Farm Bureau, the chamber of commerce, and even the National School Board Association; also state organizations representing farmers, school board members, and chamber of commerce have opposed general Federal aid. The press has generally been opposed to general Federal aid.

These organizations and persons who represent them are actually encouraging Federal aid for specific purposes when they oppose general aid. Congress cannot be blamed for trying to resolve the school finance problem by appropriating funds for specific and well deserved needs. The important issue it seems to me is whether State and local school boards and school administrators can really convince the people they are actually responsible and can and will provide the necessary programs of education to keep America free. The question is—can we think big enough to do this? Much more could be said about a variety of other aspects of the problem of Federal aid to education.

Sorry to take so long to tell this part of the story. I would be glad to hear from any person who receives this or reads it in the local paper.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH C. NORRIS,
*Chairman, State-Federal Relations Committee.*

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BASIC PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE NEA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION HAVE AND ARE CONSIDERING ANY LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

1. Substantial sums of money—granted to the States to be administered by and allocated by the State chief school agency under the State's laws.

2. Freedom of choice at the State level on use of the money.

3. Maintenance and improvement of local and State support of public education.

4. Definite assurance of no Federal interference in the local school district and State administration of the public schools.

5. No grants of public funds should be made to private schools on any level.

6. Members of both houses of Congress should not be denied the opportunity to vote on a sound national school support program.

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## The American Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Edgefield Advertiser, of Edgefield, S.C., has printed in its August 2, 1962, edition some very eloquent and strong comments on the subject of "The American Way." I commend these comments to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that this editorial be placed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN WAY

The recent Russian success in space does not necessarily mean the Russians are greatly ahead of the United States.

But for there to be any question at all about it is a new experience for the American people who, since colonial times, have demonstrated a dynamic will and a growth in every field of endeavor that led the world.

The economic successes—the rate of industrial growth—across Europe, which has caused the administration in Washington to send study groups to see how the United States might benefit, does not necessarily mean that the Socialist countries of Europe are getting ahead of the United States in their planned economies.

But for there to be any question about how and why the United States is even to any extent losing its position should be a cause of concern.

Can the United States compete with socialism by copying after socialism?

The old saying that you can't beat one at his own game may be somewhat applicable.

The American way is the way of freedom. In the countries of Europe, freedom is hardly understood any longer. Socialism in Germany, where almost half of the industrial income now goes to social security (and the same general pattern holds in France and England) is a way of life, and has been for a long time.

Freedom is something else. It has long been the life and breath, the impulse, the drive, in the American way of life.

FREEDOM HAS BEEN THE AMERICAN WAY

Maybe it is not politically right any longer. Maybe the dream of America, the Nation which gave its allegiance to a higher power than government, is no longer understood and pursued for continued fulfillment by the people themselves.

But it should be remembered by those, even though they might be a relatively few, who still believe in it, that their heritage gives them the right as individuals to defend it.

NOW $300 MILLION OF FEDERAL POWER—WHAT IS TO BECOME OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM?

The greatest effort in the United States for many years has been in what government can do.

The emphasis is on government form, and presently, democracy as the answer to all the problems of the world.

The people have not been told by their leaders in recent years that democracy even now is limited only in the power of government to take the earnings of the people and use it to guide their lives.

The indebtedness of the central government in Washington has just reached $300 million—a new high—and the limit has already been upped to more than that, indicating that there may never be any firm ceiling put on the power of the Government in Washington. Attempts to write a debt limit into the Constitution have subsided.

This taxing and spending authority, this monetary power in an age of materialism, is the ultimate power of Government. It is the means by which a government can redirect the lives of the people, change their customs and the forms of their institutions; reorientate their fundamental philosophy; create a new and heretofore strange culture; amalgamate races; defy established religious influences while discriminating to advance others.

This taxing and spending, this fountainhead of materialism using the promises and pressures of money in the hands of ambitious rulers, has taken the form of a godhead, to which all must turn for the fulfillment of their daily lives—unless the people resist.

Therefore how, even now, can this be called any longer a land of individual freedom, of free enterprise where the individual is the most important entity, rather than the power of the state?

What difference is there to be soon between the Russian state and the planned control of the American people by their Government?

And how can the growing tyranny against the individual be stopped politically, and by any other method or measure except by individual courage?

The only successes in the cold war have resulted in the spirit of courage.

By the exception, it was proved by Chamberlain 23 years ago in his bowing to Hitler, no less than it has been proved every time the United States has stood adamant against Communist aggressions.

It was proved by the Russians when they constructed the East-West Berlin wall, and backed down the West in a moment when history was handing out leadership to where at the instant the most courage lay.

Courage must have right on its side to ultimately prevail; but right, without courage, is like a fire department without men.

It is so clear that our State Department, the National Council of Churches, the leadership of the country generally is giving ascendancy to the ideal that is exactly opposite to the American tradition of courage for right.

While the changes are being methodically made in what is considered right, sinister pressures are bearing against any manifestation of individual courage, which is being confused and identified with violence.

Any action beyond government action, which advances to establish new forms of right, is not to be tolerated; and the result is instilling a quiet fear in the people, and slanting almost every local and State and National outlook and endeavor toward arbitrary, and anti-individual conclusions.

Thus the Russian and Communist form of state control is taking hold as each day passes, while the strings of government and political power to which are attached the selfish and ambitious public gain-seekers are growing ever stronger and more dominant; and the individual is becoming a conformist, a worker, a sleeper, an eater, a drinker—a consumer—in a planned political experimental laboratory.

## VFW Warning on Communist Strategy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dangerous aspects of Communist aggression involves the constant, and all too quite, manner in which the Red strategic planners are furthering their efforts to control the narrow seas, which, in turn, are the key to control of worldwide maritime traffic. This basic strategy of Red aggression is illustrated by the Communist drive through southeast Asia, which has a major goal the control of Singapore and the Straits of Malacca, through which pass the sea lanes from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean.

Also, Red control of Cuba poses grave threats to our wartime utilization of the Windward Passage, the major water route between the Atlantic and the Caribbean. Red efforts to create an anti-U.S. movement in Panama has as its prime purpose disruption of our control and use of that vital waterway between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

It should be crystal clear that this Communist strategy is based upon a realization by the Reds that the free world is, basically, a maritime coalition. Consequently the Red strategy is aimed at controlling the vital waterways. Such control by the Communists would go far toward severing the sea lanes and fragmenting the free world. Such a strategy against United States and free world use of the seas is further underlined by the existence of the Soviet Union's submarine fleet, by far the world's largest. At the present time the Soviet Union has several times the number of submarines which Nazi Germany had at the beginning of World War II.

A very informative article on this much overlooked, but vital, aspect of Communist strategy was contained in the August 1962 issue of the VFW American Security Reporter. This publication of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States is issued monthly and is published under the direction of Mr. Byron B. Gentry, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The article to which I refer is entitled "Communist Eye on Gibraltar," and is by Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, director, national security and foreign affairs, VFW. The article explains some little recognized, but very basic facts concerning the military strategy of Communist aggression, and in so doing, points up the crucial importance of Communist-inspired efforts to undermine the Franco government in Spain and the Salazar government in Portugal. As the article further points out, the purpose of such Red strategy is to gain ultimate control, or at least neutralization, from the Red standpoint, of the Straits of Gilbraltar. This Red activity directed against the Iberian Peninsula, together with growing Red influence in Morocco on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar creates a genuinely serious threat to the strategic integrity of the free world and endangers the southern flank of NATO.

Because of its importance, I include the article, "Communist Eye on Gibraltar," from the VFW American Security Reporter at the conclusion of my remarks.

COMMUNIST EYE ON GIBRALTAR
(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle)

Unquestionably, one of the most vital areas in the world, from the standpoint of the free world survival, is the narrow water passage known as the Straits of Gibraltar. Should this ever fall under the control of, or be neutralized by direct or indirect Communist pressure, NATO and the free world would be in dire jeopardy.

There is far more than an ideological motivation behind the reported Communist-inspired efforts to undermine and ultimately overthrow the Franco government in Spain and the Salazar government in Portugal. If communism or a Communist-front government is successful in overthrowing the Portuguese and Spanish Governments, the eventual seizure or neutralization of Gibraltar, for all practical purposes, is a foregone conclusion. With the Iberian Peninsula in the Red camp, the narrow straits separating Europe from Africa would be closed, or at least endangered. The Mediterranean world would be faced by strategic problems of major magnitude. Water access to southern France, Italy, Greece, and Turkey would be severed. The Mediterranean, the southern flank of NATO, would be largely untenable for the West. North Africa would deteriorate rapidly under Red subversion, for no longer would Communist penetration of Africa have to pause due to Western control of the Mediterranean on the northern rim of that vast continent.

But the Communist master strategists who view the areas of Western strength as worthy of larger Red effort have not departed from the thoroughness which has so often characterized Red strategy. The Communist move on the Straits of Gibraltar is not limited to a desire to control only the northern flank of that vital waterway.

Without fanfare and with very little notice by the free world, which should have been virtually electrified by such a development, the Soviet Union is proceeding with the arming of the Moroccan army on the southern flank of Gibraltar.

A recent special article to the New York Times reported the arrival in Rabaut, Morocco, of a large amount of artillery, tanks, and vehicles from the Soviet Union. This apparently was no routine shipment, for the Times also reported that the dock area was sealed off, the unloading entrusted to Moroccan troops, with the regular stevedores kept away from the cargo. The arming of Moroccan troops by the Soviet Union could well be the precursor of expanding Soviet influence over that government and its armed forces. Moroccan dependence upon the Soviet Union for military equipment and the spare parts for the maintenance of that equipment could give the Kremlin a powerful hold on the area constituting the southern flank of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Consequently, when the strategic situation of Gibraltar is evaluated in terms of the Communist designs against the Franco and the Salazar governments to the north, and the increasing Soviet influence which undoubtedly will accompany the Russian arming of the Moroccan army, the pattern of Communist-planned pressure against Gibraltar becomes evident. That pattern is a grand-scale double envelopment with one arm of the pincer through Morocco on the south, and the other through the Iberian Peninsula on the north.

The survival of Western Europe could well depend on the free world's ability to recognize and repel this vast Communist strategic scheme.

## Import Injury—Reciprocity—Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the following appendixes to the statement of Robert L. L. McCormick to the Senate Finance Committee bring out several vital points regarding the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. First, the theory of injury to workers and industries as an accepted fact has never before been part of our trade program; second, the proposed legislation has no true reciprocity provisions; and, third, the recent deterioration of our high labor content goods in world trade must be considered.

INJURY AS A NATIONAL POLICY?

Title III of H.R. 11970 and statements by Federal officials are the first recognition since 1934 that tariff reductions involve injury to industry and workers.

Previous statements of national leaders disavowed injury to industry and workers as follows:

"The exercise of the authority which I propose must be carefully weighed in the light of the latest information so as to give assurance that no sound and important American interest will be injuriously disturbed. The adjustment of our foreign-trade relations must rest on the premise of undertaking to benefit and not to injure such interests. In a time of difficulty and unemployment such as this, the highest consideration of the position of the different branches of American production is required."—From text of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Message to Congress (H. Doc. No. 273, 73d Cong., 2d sess.), "Operation of the Trade Agreements Program, June 1934 to April 1948, 1949, Part 11," U.S. Tariff Commission.

"We have reduced duties only in those cases in which, after a most careful examination of all relevant factors, it was found that existing duties were unnecessarily and unduly burdensome, and we have done so only in those cases in which other countries have agreed to accord better treatment to our exports in return for tariff adjustments on our part. We have reduced duties only to the extent to which, after an equally careful examination, it was found that such adjustments would not be prejudicial to any established branch of production in agriculture, in mining, or in manufacturing industry. Where necessary, as an additional safeguard, we have limited the amount of imports which would be permitted to come in at the reduced rate of duty."—From testimony of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on H.J. Res. 407, before the House Ways and Means Committee, 76th Cong., 1940.

"I have had drawn to my attention statements to the effect that this increased authority might be used in such a way as to endanger or 'trade out' segments of American industry, American agriculture, or American labor. No such action was taken under President Roosevelt and Cordell Hull, and no such action will take place under my Presidency."—From President Harry Truman's letter to House Speaker Sam Rayburn, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 8, 1949, page 12647.

"I wish also to comment on the administration of this legislation if it is enacted into law. Obviously, it would ill serve our Nation's interest to undermine American industry or to take steps which would lower the high wages received by our working men and women. Repeatedly I have emphasized that our own country's economic strength is a pillar of freedom and will be, administered to the benefit of the Nation's economic strength and not to its detriment. No American industry will be placed in jeopardy by the administration of this measure. Were we to do so, we would undermine the ideal for which we have made so many sacrifices and are doing so much throughout the world to preserve. This plain truth has dictated the retention of existing peril-point and escape-clause safeguards in the legislation.—From President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in a letter to the Honorable JOE MARTIN, February 17, 1955.

The discretion in H.R. 11970 is placed in the Executive to permit specific industries to be sacrificed for broader national interest. This would be a wholly new policy of doubtful wisdom.

HARDSHIPS TO DISPLACED WORKERS UNDER H.R. 11970

No worker wishes to lose his job.

That is the first fact of the matter. Nor does he wish to retrain for another. He does not want to be shipped from Terre Haute or Kaskaskia, Ind., to San Diego to work in a missile factory. He does not want to lose years and years of union or company seniority. He does not like to lose the money implicit in the distress sale of his home. He does not like to become a member of a new trade union. He does not like leaving his friends and relatives behind in a community where he has raised his young ones and maintains his family roots.

In other words, H.R. 11970 would treat the worker, under Government edict, as if he were some sort of a commodity, not as an American citizens. I believe that is not what the import-vulnerable worker wants; nor is it the fate that our Nation wants him to undergo.

The average worker does not want to have his job sacrificed to try out an unproved theory. He would prefer to keep his job safe from imports in the first place and not to be retreaded after he is out. Experience in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and elsewhere has already shown this to be the worker's viewpoint on readjustment and retraining. The administration should require some State Department officials to interview the workers at the bus terminals in some depressed towns at 5:00 or 6:00 some Monday morning. They would see how the workers feel about retraining and leaving home all week to earn a living. Whether imports or automation are responsible, the worker doesn't like it, and doesn't want it.

The provisions of this bill would be particularly harmful for our middle-aged workers. Let us take actual examples. Take men who have worked on woolen looms for 20 years. Passaic, N.J., offers poignant examples. Suddenly to be thrown out of work through imports, what are such workers to do? For what can they be retrained? They have spent their mature lives in developing most difficult and complex skills. Are they to start all over again at the bottom of the ladder? Where?

And quite apart from this, there is the problem of the worker's months and months of delay implicit in this bill.

The workers, industry or union could come in before the Tariff Commission and seek assistance by escape clause relief in a manner similar to present law. For that the deadline is 120 days. Or workers could apply to the Tariff Commission for readjustment assistance—the deadline here being 60 days.

The Commission could recommend tariff relief or readjustment to the President.

The President could then act for tariff relief, adjustment for industry, adjustment for workers, or any combination—or none.

For the worker, this will entail a long and painful waiting period. Even in the most obvious and clear-cut cases, industry's course has never been easy in showing that injury has been sustained due to imports—nor will it be any lead-pipe cinch to establish the fact that the worker has been displaced due to imports. In the meantime, the worker is out on the street patiently wondering if he qualifies for the specialized type of relief specified in this bill—when he doesn't want the relief in the first place; he wants to keep his job.

The basic questions here are then:

1. What industry is the worker to be retrained for?
2. Where does he go physically?
3. Will he get a permanent job if he goes there?
4. What happens to his union seniority?
5. How long will he keep the job?
6. What happens to his present home and family?

H.R. 11970 HAS NO TRUE RECIPROCITY PROVISIONS

It is generally known and has been an accepted fact by businessmen for years that the concessions we have made have not been matched by reciprocal concessions abroad. By reducing our own tariffs, by over 80 percent, we have achieved little. The H.R. 9900 testimony lists foreign restrictions against U.S. exports. The testimony to you by Messrs. Charles Shuman and Homer Brinkley list hundreds of barricades against U.S. agricultural exports.

An effort was made in the Committee on Ways and Means to require reciprocity with respect to agricultural products. This was resisted strongly be the Executive and was written into the measure in a watered down form which leaves almost complete discretion in the Executive—a provision actually weaker than the one in present law.

I question leaving this discretion in the Executive without teeth; and I would like in this connection to point out—on the subject of discrimination against U.S. exports—that presently in force is the Tariff Act of 1930, which includes the following language:

"SEC. 338. DISCRIMINATION BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES

"(a) Additional Duties.—The President be served thereby, shall, by proclamation, specify and declare new or additional duties as hereinafter provided upon articles wholly or in part the growth or product of, or imported in a vessel of, any foreign country whenever he shall find as a fact that such country—

* * * * *

"(2) Discriminates in fact against the commerce of the United States, directly or indirectly, by law or administrative regulation or practice, by or in respect to any customs, tonnage, or port duty, fee, charge, exaction, classification, regulation, condition, restriction, or prohibition, in such manner as to place the commerce of the United States at a disadvantage compared with the commerce of any foreign country.

"(b) EXCLUSION FROM IMPORTATION.—If at any time the President shall find it to be a fact that any foreign country has not only discriminated against the commerce of the United States, as aforesaid, but has, after the issuance of a proclamation as authorized in subdivision (a) of this section, maintained or increased its said discriminations against the commerce of the United States, the President is hereby authorized if he deems it consistent with the interests of the United States, to issue a further proclamation, directing that such products of said country or such articles imported in its vessels as he shall deem consistent with the public interests shall be excluded from importation into the United States."

While this language has never been invoked, it remains in law and could be invoked in many cases today if the Executive so desired.

While obviously some form of discretion must be left to the Executive on reciprocity, the Congress should have a much stronger mandate placed in this bill in order to insure that the myriads of protective devices used to keep American goods out of foreign markets are relaxed or done away with. In this connection, Mr. James M. Ashley's brilliant testimony on tough Yankee horse trading by the State Department on automobiles is cited.

"A curious omission in H.R. 9900 is its lack of any requirement for reciprocity in trade agreements, except in the case of tropical agricultural commodities in section 213. It is generally conceded that other countries have not matched U.S. trade concessions in past negotiations. Perhaps the omission of a reciprocity requirement in H.R. 9900 is tacit admission that true reciprocity will not, and cannot, be forthcoming.

"Following the announcement of the latest GATT negotiations, there has been much discussion of the 'concession' we won

whereby the ultimate EEC external tariff on U.S. automobiles was reduced from 29 to 22 percent. The 29 percent import duty was the originally proposed external tariff for the EEC but was not yet in effect. Actually the import duty which has been paid on U.S. automobiles exported to the Benelux countries and to Germany has been 18 percent and is now to be raised to 22 percent. These four countries in past years have accounted for more than 75 percent of the U.S. automobiles sold in EEC countries. France has imposed a 29 percent import duty on U.S. automobiles plus a discriminatory annual use tax of $202.55 for cars over 16 fiscal horsepower—the class into which almost all U.S. autos fall. The French import duty will be reduced from 29 to 22 percent, but the use tax remains. The Italian import duty has been in a range from 35 to 45 percent plus an annual registration fee based on horsepower which amounts to $240 on a six-cylinder Chevrolet, and an annual road tax which amounts to $379.20 for a Ford Galaxie compared to $29.00 for their domestically made Fiat. The Italian import duties will be reduced to 22 percent, but the registration and road taxes remain.

"In return for an increase in duty from 18 to 22 percent in the four countries where the bulk of U.S. automobiles have been sold in the EEC, and a reduction of duty, but not of discriminatory supplementary taxes in the two countries which together purchased 2,917 U.S. automobiles in 1961, we reduced our import duties on foreign automobiles from 8½ to 6½ percent. The results of our negotiators' efforts seem hardly to justify the fanfare with which they were announced.

"True reciprocity is unlikely to be forthcoming from the European Common Market because the Common Market is the economic way station en route to the political federation of Europe. It is understandable that it will not permit its freedom train to be derailed—that is, to put it in practical terms, it will not give up the discriminatory trade policies by which it intends to weld an economic and political entity with a homogeneous mass market and mass production industries to match.

"Offers made by the United States to the EEC bloc and extended then to all most-favored nations including Japan are not likely to inspire true reciprocity. Common Market countries have been discriminating against Japan, and under GATT have denied most-favored-nation treatment to Japan, because of her low-wage rates. If we open our door wider to Japan as well as to the Common Market, the latter would gain little net advantage. Despite concessions which would give them a relatively advantageous position over American competition, EEC producers would be forced to meet Japanese price competition on an even tariff basis in the U.S. market. In my judgement, this effectively reduces our bargaining power with the EEC.

"Fear in Europe of Japan as a low labor cost competitor underlines our own contention that wage differentials are a meaningful determinant in the directions which international trade takes."

This keen analysis by Mr. Ashley does not represent any new situation. Hamilton's 1791 "Report on Manufactures" stated:

"But the system which has been mentioned is far from characterizing the general policy of nations. The prevalent one has been regulated by an opposite spirit. The consequence of it is, that the United States, are, to a certain extent, in the situation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. They can, indeed, without difficulty, obtain from abroad the manufactured supplies of which they are in want; but they experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the omission and vent of their own commodities. Nor is this the case in reference to a single foreign nation only. The regulations of several countries, with which we have the most extensive intercourse, throw serious obstructions in the way of the principal staples of the United States.

"In such a position of things, the United States cannot exchange with Europe on equal terms; and the want of reciprocity would render them the victims of a system. * * *

"Remarks of this kind are not made in the spirit of complaint. It is for the nations whose regulations are alluded to, to judge for themselves, whether, by aiming at too much, they do not lose more than they gain. It is for the United States to consider by what means they can render themselves least dependent on the combinations, right or wrong, of foreign policy.

"It is no small consolation that, already, the measures which have embarrassed our trade have accelerated internal improvements which, upon the whole, have bettered our affairs."

One hundred and seventy-one years later, it is neither a contrast nor a consolation to read some 200 pages in the 1962 hearings on H.R. 9900, listing today's restrictions abroad against U.S. exports.

And in addition, we would like to point out that, with respect to agricultural commodities, the European Common Market has already expressed its intention to become self-sufficient in all nontropical products for which it has the capability by 1964 without regard to Britain.

Are we to expect, through a vague and loose working in this measure, suddenly to have the Europeans reverse this very major policy?

We would hope that the administration's insistence upon a reciprocity provision with no teeth in it does not mean that they intend to act unilaterally on reductions in trade barriers as has been so often the case over the past 28 years.

THE DETERIORATION OF U.S. HIGH LABOR CONTENT GOODS IN WORLD TRADE

One matter which concerned many members of the committee was testimony based upon a very thorough, able, and uncontested study by the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co. of the relative world trade position of U.S. goods with a high labor content. (A copy of this study may be obtained from Mr. James M. Ashley, vice president, Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., 811 Madison Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.)

The record is clear from this historic study that in the decade, 1950–60, the U.S. world trade position declined seriously in virtually all products with a high labor content—airplanes being the single major example. In this connection, we would like to cite the testimony to Congress of Mr. James Ashley, vice president of the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., and president of the Trade Relations Council of the United States:

"Industry leaders have testified before this committee and before the Tariff Commission that, as far as their own industries are concerned, their higher labor costs have priced them out of world markets. They have also said that the successive reductions in U.S. import duties, which have made us a low tariff country among major industrial nations, have made it increasingly difficult to meet low-wage foreign competition in this market. Proponents of the administration's trade program have answered that, although hourly wage rates are much higher in the United States, superior American productivity more than offsets the wage rate differential.

Believing that this committee would like to consider more than isolated facts pertaining to individual industries on the one hand or unsupported assertions on the other, I refer now to an import-export study covering all product classifications. This study is attached to the copies of this statement distributed to members of your committee. It appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 5, 1962, beginning on page A834.

"If it is true that labor costs are at prejudice to U.S. sales in world markets, this fact should be apparent in a comparison of the product-by-product import and export records of two different years separated by enough time to allow an important cost element to influence results. And U.S. exports of products with high labor content should show a less favorable trend line than products with low labor content.

"In our study, all of the imports and exports of the year 1951, as listed in the official figures of the Bureau of Census, were segregated as to high and low labor content items. Imports and exports of each item were added together to get the dollar volume total of foreign trade in those items, and the export percentages calculated. The identical process was repeated for 1960, still the latest year for which official figures are available. The product-by-product share of market measures the strength of each domestic industry against that of its foreign competitors in a given year. And a comparison of the share of market in each product in 1960 with the share of market of the same product in the earlier year indicates whether the product registered a gain or loss in competitive position.

"Perhaps some explanation of high and low labor content is in order. A tree, as it stands in the forest, has inherent value. Some labor is added by the work of felling it, trimming branches, and transporting the log to the point of sale, but the inherent value of the tree is still a large percentage of the sale price of the log. More value is added by labor at the sawmill in cutting the log into boards. Still more value is added by labor in finished wood manufactures, where the labor of the carpenter, joiner, and finisher completes the chair. A chair, then, is a relatively high labor content item while a log is a relatively low labor content item.

"That seems too obvious to need comment. But in individual company operations, labor cost, for bookkeeping purposes, includes only the money paid by that factory to its own employees. The labor in prior processing of materials is concealed under the heading, "Cost of materials."

"Under that bookkeping approach, it might be said that labor accounts for a relatively small percentage of the cost of a machine tool. But machine tools are really iron ore in a highly processed form. The labor of mining the ore, transporting it, smelting it into pig iron, and making it into steel mill products to be sold to the machine tool factory is all part of the cost of the machine tool. And if labor cost is truly at prejudice to U.S. export sales, we would expect to see the competitive position of machine tools deteriorate by comparison with the competitive position of a product with smaller labor content—for example, pig iron.

"Between the years 1951 and 1960 U.S. foreign trade—the sum of all that we buy from foreign countries and all that we ship, but not necessarily sell, to foreign countries—increased from about $25½ billion to almost $35 billion. In 1951 the U.S. export share of this trade was 57.9 percent. In 1960 the export share of this trade was 58.1 percent. Not a significant change—two-tenths of 1 percent.

"What is significant, and what the official figures of the Bureau of Census show, is that the character of our exports has changed. U.S. exports have registered gains in share of market in raw materials and manufactures with relatively low labor content: Live animals; hides and skins; furs; fodders and feeds; crude synthetic rubber; natural gums, resins, and balsams; oilseeds; raw cotton; goat hair; logs; paper base stocks; pig iron; and scrap iron.

"These gains were offset by losses in share of market in exports of manufactures with

relatively high labor content: Leather manufactures, fur manufactures, grain manufactures, rubber manufactures, cotton manufactures, products made from man-made fibers, steel mill products, metal manufactures, all kinds of machinery except agricultural and all kinds of vehicles except aircraft.

"This is true in small industries as well as large, and applies to the whole range of products in foreign trade—as the footnotes to the various tables clearly show.

"If the trend toward the export of more low labor content items and fewer high labor content items is allowed to continue, massive unemployment in manufacturing industry will be the inevitable consequence. Equally serious, the manufacturing segment of the economy will provide no growth—no new job opportunities for our expanding population. If this frightening trend has developed under our existing import duty schedules, it will be accelerated if import duties on manufactured goods are cut in half or eliminated altogether—as they would be under the provisions of H.R. 9900 as presently drafted.

"Let us take an example of an industry where our export position appears favorable, electrical machinery and apparatus. How can this be considered unsatisfactory when U.S. exports were 74 percent of our foreign trade in those items? By considering the figures for a single year, it is impossible to judge whether the industry in question is growing competitively stronger or competitively weaker. It is true that our exports of electrical machinery and apparatus were 74 percent of our foreign trade in those items in 1960. But in 1956 they were 85 percent. In 1951 they were 96 percent. In 1926 they were 97 percent. Like the work of the medical internist, it is the function of business analysis to diagnose cancer in its early stages. This cancer is demonstrably present."

This Libbey-Owens-Ford study has had wide impact. Its circulation is already in the tens of thousands.

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## Weaknesses in H.R. 11970 and Its Lack of Overall Business Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the Trade Expansion Act has been loudly touted as having the backing of business groups. The following section from the statement of Robert L. L. McCormick to the Senate Finance Committee disputes this claim. In addition, this material points out the vital importance of maintaining strong escape clause and peril point provisions. Other deficiencies in the legislation proposed by the administration are also explored. It is my sincere hope that this material will prove of interest and value to my colleagues.

LACK OF OVERALL BUSINESS SUPPORT FOR H.R. 11970

Spokesmen for the administration have stated or implied that the instant measure has substantial overall business support. For example, the President's address on May 4, in New Orleans, La., specifically included the word "business" as supporting the measure.

Many businesses and associations of businessmen support the measure and many oppose it.

However, none of the better recognized large overall associations of businessmen can really be said to support H.R. 11970. Specifically:

1. The National Association of Manufacturers is neutral on "Title II: Trade Agreements." It strongly opposes "Title III: Tariff Adjustment and Other Adjustment Assistance."

2. The Committee for Economic Development, in a report with 14 separate statements and dissents, some of them signed by several members, generally supports "Title II: Trade Agreements," but oppose "Title III: Tariff Adjustment and Other Adjustment Assistance."

3. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has stopped much of its propaganda on this measure since its annual meeting of May 2, 1962. In view of the statements placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 8, by Congressmen KING and STRATTON, of New York, I think it is fair to say that the national chamber's membership has a neutral position. The Associated Press says that the main membership vote—for neutrality—was overwhelming. Their failure to appear here in person yesterday underscores their problem.

4. The overwhelming number of large and small businesses and business associations especially manufacturers which testified before the House were either against the bill, or else, while favoring healthy world trade, stipulated specific qualifications totally unacceptable to the measure's proponents.

Thus, we are here concerned with the measure designed to help business, but which most business does not wish.

In particular, Congress is placed in the curious position of being asked to vote Federal subsidies for import-vulnerable businesses that do not wish to receive the subsidies. Usually, it's the other way around.

A SENSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL OVER ESCAPE CLAUSE DECISIONS

An amendment, which has been approved by the Committee on Ways and Means to H.R. 11970, would permit the Congress, by a majority vote of both houses, to overturn the President's decision when he disagrees with, or rejects, a Tariff Commission escape clause recommendation. This provision would not be any help to domestic producers.

Here is what would happen under this amendment. Let me say the President would turn down a Tariff Commission recommendation as he recently did on straight pins and baseball gloves. Under the amendment, as accepted in the Ways and Means Committee version of H.R. 11970, any Member of either House could introduce a resolution in his House to overturn the President's rejection and reinstate the Tariff Commission's recommendation. (As a matter of fact, he can do that right now, except that such a resolution, if passed, would almost inevitably be vetoed.)

A resolution of disapproval as in H.R. 11970 would go to the Senate Finance Committee or to the House Committee on Ways and Means, and could be there lost, even with no hearings, if these committees should so choose. If the two committees should report the rejection resolution favorably, it would be acted upon by Senate and/or House in the regular manner—without privilege.

There are major matters of procedure in H.R. 11970 as passed by the House—compared against the Reorganization Act and against the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958, the present law.

The major provisions of the present trade agreements law which H.R. 11970 would drop are two:

First, the 1958 law makes a resolution of disapproval of a Presidential disapproval of a Tariff Commission recommendation by any one Member of either House highly privileged.

Second, the 1958 law requires a two-thirds vote of both Houses to overturn the President (an obvious impossibility and, hence, never yet invoked by Senators and Congressmen friendly to domestic industries).

"Privileged" is the important word in the 1958 law; the two-thirds is "window dressing" in that Congress can overturn any Executive action by a two-thirds vote of both Houses whenever it wishes.

Under section 7 of the 1958 act, if the Finance or Ways and Means Committees were to hold up a resolution to overturn the President's decision for more than 10 days, any Member of either House could move its discharge from committee and the vote on such a discharge motion would be highly privileged. In laymen's terms, this means it goes to the front of the line of bills to be voted upon. Or it may be that, within the 10-day period, the committee will have reported the bill favorably or unfavorably.

Under section 7(e)(1) of the 1958 law, when the House or Senate has voted to discharge the committee of, or the committee has reported out, the disapproval measure, any Member can then move for the whole House to vote to overturn the President's recommendation. Again, this motion is highly privileged.

This is almost identical to the procedure in the reorganization act, under which over 50 congressional actions have been taken on a similar privileged basis. Under the reorganization act which stemmed from the First Hoover Commission and later amended, the congressional veto powers were weaker than under present law whereby one House can veto a reorganization plan.

For many years, scores of reorganization plans have been submitted to the Congress and have, by law, been upheld or overturned by simple majorities (constitutional) either of one House or of both Houses.

If such a procedure is constitutional in the case of the reorganization legislation, it would be equal in its applicability to tariff proclamations.

Anything else would mean that the scores of reorganization plans which have occurred since the First Hoover Commission in the late forties are null and void. It would, for example, be quite a shock to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to know that it has not been existing for the last 9 years (Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1953).

Reorganization plans are highly privileged. In fact, the 1958 Trade Agreements Extension Act's wording was based upon language in the early reorganization acts in the privileged wording and techniques followed.

In the present trade agreements law, any one Member can move to discharge the cognizant committee and any one Member can move for the House to vote to overthrow the President's decision. Both motions are privileged. But it is so hopeless for a Member to obtain the two-thirds vote that no proponents of the industries which have been denied relief by the President have even gone through the effort.

The House change in H.R. 11970 does not amount to much, since it does only this:

The two-thirds majority to overturn in the 1958 act would be replaced by a majority of Members (a constitutional majority) in H.R. 11970.

The high privilege in the present law would be dropped.

Thus, the two-thirds formula was dropped; so was the privilege.

This is a fair enough swap. Under the law, the domestic industry has virtually nothing; nor will it have anything under the House version of H.R. 11970.

A fair trade. Nothing for nothing.

Under H.R. 11970, it would be very difficult or impossible for most individual or

small industries to get a disapproval motion out of committee or to muster a majority of both Houses. Without the privilege, the House amendment is virtually useless. Even with the privilege, a motion to disapprove can mainly be an annoying harassment in that every time the President overturns the Tariff Commission, any single Member could distress the machinery of either House by evoking these two privileged motions.

If, as under the present reorganization act, the industry were to be entitled to a one-House veto and high privilege—using as a precedent the Hoover reorganization acts—this would conform to existing congressional practice, and prevent the Executive from running roughshod over the constitutional rights of the Congress in article I, section 8.

In effect, the House has accepted an amendment which is no concession or help to domestic industry.

WEAKENING THE ESCAPE CLAUSE AND PERIL POINTS

The Congress over recent years has been burdened with requests to do something to improve the escape clause. The historical record of actions under the escape clause is set forth in the following table:

*Present status of escape clause applications (June 1962)*

| | Number |
|---|---|
| Investigations instituted by the Commission: | |
| Dismissed at applicant's request | 9 |
| Terminated without formal findings | 9 |
| Cases pending | 3 |
| Completed cases | 112 |
| Total | 133 |
| Investigations completed by the Commission: | |
| Relief rejected by Commission | 71 |
| 3–3 cases | 8 |
| Relief recommended | 33 |
| Total | 112 |
| Cases sent to the President: | |
| Relief rejected by President | 26 |
| Relief invoked by President | 15 |
| Total | 41 |

Thus we see relief granted in only 15, or 11 percent, of the 133 cases initiated; 13 percent granted in the 112 cases completed.

Yet, the escape clause would be weakened even further in H.R. 11970. The definition of industry would be, in effect, made so broad as to make it extremely difficult to obtain relief. In addition, any relief obtained would be statutorily set as temporary.

When the escape clause has proven so unsatisfactory in executing the purposes Congress intended for it, how can it be considered as reasonable to weaken it even further?

*The peril points would be in effect destroyed*

The peril points have long been considered by Congress as a most effective method of preventing negotiations from reducing tariffs to levels below which American industry would be injured. For many years, these peril points were abided by. It is only in the most recent negotiations at Geneva that, in scores of cases, our negotiators went below the peril points.

As H.R. 11970 is now written, there would be a public hearing but there would be no requirement that any attention whatsoever be paid to the recommendations of domestic industry and of the Tariff Commission.

Thus, a principle long held by the Congress would go into discard.

OTHER DEFICIENCIES IN H.R. 11970

The inadequacies of H.R. 11970 also include some other weaknesses. These include:

(a) The complexity of obtaining relief: Both for labor and for business, the cost, complexity and delay in obtaining relief is almost monumental. This measure could become a lawyer's paradise—and besides there is no assurance whatsoever that after having gone to the time, trouble and expenpense, any relief will be forthcoming to anyone, business and labor alike.

(b) More bureaucracy: An inevitable growth of bureaucracy will occur under this measure. The adjustment assistance features require detailed advice to management on loans, technical assistance and the like. The determinations as to whether or not the labor, union or nonunion, is injured by imports will be a complex technical matter. Administering the relief and retraining will take money and manpower. The already overburdened staff of the Tariff Commission will have another large job thrown at it—adjustment assistance. In addition, the established departments and agencies, as specified in the bill, would be concerned with its administration in the adjustment phases and would necessarily require more manpower.

(c) Transshipments from Communist countries: No real attempt appears to have been made in the measure to prevent the transshipment of goods from Communist countries. We have seen already how easy it is to transship goods from Japan via such areas as Hong Kong. The measure could permit vast transshipments into Europe (which trades freely with the Communist bloc) into the United States.

(d) Exports at the expense of the domestic economy: The measure encourages exports at the expense of import-vulnerable industries. This is a historical departure from our customary method of equalizing the impact of trade between various segments of our economy and not discriminating for one in favor of the other. This traditional principle is vitiated (or more likely destroyed) in H.R. 11970.

The bill's main purpose is to encourage exports. Another of its main thrusts is to encourage imports. The idea here is that exports will increase at a rate greater than imports. Regardless of whether this will prove to be the fact, encouragement of one form of American trade at the expense of another is open to question.

(e) Will exports increase faster than imports? The premise that exports will increase faster than imports is pure blue sky. The record shows that this is not the case. Even without eliminating our vast subsidized exports, recent months show that the proportionate increase in our imports has exceeded the proportionate increase in our exports.

(f) Relative tariff levels: In H.R. 11970 there has been a consistent failure to require other countries to meet past tariff reductions of the United States by comparable reductions in their own tariffs and other restrictions. It is said by official spokesmen and their friends that, just pass H.R. 11970, and other countries will come down in their tariffs to levels comparable to ours. This is not the case at the moment, as the following figures from a survey of the Joint Economic Committee quoted by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. indicate:

*Industrial tariffs (weighted averages)*

| | Percent |
|---|---|
| Japan | 19 |
| Austria | 19 |
| United Kingdom | 17 |
| New Zealand | 17 |
| Italy | 16 |
| Canada | 16 |
| France | 15 |
| EEC | 14 |
| Australia | 12 |
| United States | 11 |
| Norway | 11 |
| Benelux | 11 |
| West Germany | 9 |
| Sweden | 8 |
| Switzerland | 8 |
| Denmark | 6 |

Source: Joint Economic Committee.

It is unreasonable to expect a reduction in our duties of 6½ percent to zero on automobiles to be matched by reduction of 22 percent to zero in EEC tariffs on our automobiles abroad. Past reductions like this have not been met. It is said that our future reductions will be met, but experience shows the contrary. The easiest way for us to solve this serious problem would be to increase our own duties to levels commensurate with those of other nations—or conversely, require them to reduce theirs to our levels—before the bargaining begins.

(g) Japan: The most favored nation clause under H.R. 11970 will extend all our concessions to Japan and the Orient. This will vitiate most of the usefulness of the law as it applies to the EEC in that Japan will end up the primary beneficiary of many of the reductions in tariffs to zero—and as we have noted previously, there is no flexibility provision in H.R. 11970 whereby when one nation causes the 80-percent formula to be broken, tariffs automatically readjust.

(h) The consumer: On protecting the consumer by imports this argument is much overstated. Two facts should be noted. The United States has strict antitrust laws and tough competition. This is not new.

Alexander Hamilton was of the opinion that competition here was sufficient to keep prices down, tariffs or no tariffs:

"But, though it were true that the immediate and certain effect of regulations controlling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics was an increase in price, it is universally true that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every successful manufacture. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a certain number of persons, it invariably becomes cheaper. Being free from the heavy charges which attend the importation of foreign commodities, it can be afforded, and accordingly seldom or never fails to be sold, cheaper, in process of time, than was the foreign article for which it is a substitute. The internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience.

"Whence it follows, that it is the interest of a community, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures. In a national view, a temporary enhancement of price must always be well compensated by a permanent reduction of it."—Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures."

But quite apart from this, the tendency on the importing nation—and this is only a wise course of commercial action—is to set prices in the United States at the highest possible level necessary to seize the market from the U.S. producer. In other words, if the U.S. shirt wholesales for $2 and the foreign-made shirt wholesales for 50 cents—over the long run; not at first—the tendency of the exporter from abroad or the U.S. importer will be to set the eventual shirt price at a figure of $1.90 or thereabouts, just enough to cut under the price in the American market and thus get the largest possible profit.

Thus this argument of protecting the consumer is vastly overrated. Its results have always over the long run proven to be chimerical.

(i) Jobs: Congress and the American public have been belabored with wild statistics on the subject of jobs due to exports and jobs vulnerable to imports. Administration spokesmen have made some remarkable statements on this point. I will not belabor or insult the committee by quoting and refuting these wild statistics, since they are so obviously full of water.

One fact is very simple. If it takes 100,000 man-hours to make x widgets for export, it

also takes 100,000 man-hours for making *x* widgets for the domestic market.

Exports make jobs here. Imports destroy jobs here. The proportions, on the average, equalize out.

Highly automated plants make for less jobs than those with a higher labor content, on exports and imports alike—$1 million in exports from a highly automated plant thus means less jobs than $1 million imports on a high labor content item.

Further, a domestically-produced item requires two hauls—one, the haul of the raw material into the factory; the other, the haul of the finished product out of the factory to the point of consumption. The import requires one domestic haul; from the seaport to the point of consumption.

(j) Our export surplus:. Administration spokesmen have made much of our so-called export surplus. Under questioning, they have cut the $5 billion in half—eliminating Public Law 480, food, foreign aid, and other materials given away. If they took the trouble, they could probably eliminate the other half by deleting charity and the U.S. goods purchased with loans made by international or Federal banking instrumentalities and U.S. companies' shipments of goods to their foreign subsidiaries.

In other words, the so-called export surplus has been much overstated. Probably little if any exists at all.

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## One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Sea Battle Between U.S.S. "Constitution" and H.M.S. "Guerriere"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and yours, Maj. Gen. Michael J. Galvin, of the Massachusetts National Guard, has been thoughtful enough to send me material on the ceremony held at the Charlestown Navy Yard on August 19, 1962, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the history-turning sea battle between the U.S.S. *Constitution* and the H.M.S. *Guerriere*. Like yourself, I feel that this commemorative ceremony is more than worthy of national recognition in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as it will not be duplicated again until the 200th anniversary.

Accordingly, it is a pleasure and a privilege for me to at this point insert into the RECORD the story from the Boston Herald before the ceremony, the story from the Boston Globe after the ceremony, the program and the Governor's proclamation:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald, Aug. 19, 1962]

U.S. NAVY FORGED BY "OLD IRONSIDES"

Today is the 150th anniversary of the sea battle in which the frigate U.S.S. *Constitution* won world prestige for the American Navy along with her nickname—*"Old Ironsides."*

Today at 1 p.m., a peaceful ceremony will mark that anniversary aboard the old fighting ship under sponsorship of the Massachusetts Chapter of the United States Daughters of 1812.

JONES TO SPEAK

Capt. Frank C. Jones, commandant of the Boston Naval Shipyard, will give the address of welcome and the response will be by Mrs. Charles W. Crankshaw, president of the National Society, United States Daughters of 1812.

Skipper of *Old Ironsides* now is Navy Lt. Victor B. Stevens of Worcester.

The great sea battle came in the North Atlantic between the *Constitution*, Capt. Isaac Hull commanding, and the British warship, H.M.S. *Guerriere*.

*"Old Ironsides"* was armed with 54 guns and carried 475 men. The *Guerriere* mounted 49 guns and carried 280 men.

Hottest part of the battle went about 30 minutes between 6:20 and 6:50 p.m. British casualties were 26 killed and 56 wounded; American casualties, 7 killed and 7 wounded.

LOSER BURNED

The British crew was taken aboard *"Old Ironsides"* and sailed to Boston after Captain Hull ordered the blasted *Guerriere* burned at sea.

This was the first naval action of the War of 1812 and it was far more than a single victory at sea.

Up to that time even Americans had not taken their own Navy very seriously. The British had laughed or sneered at it almost every chance they had. Typical was their slur that American naval vessels were "fir built" and "manned by a handful of outlaws."

But they sang a different tune in the echo of "Old Ironsides" port and starboard guns.

The Times of London said, of the victory: "It is not merely that an English frigate has been taken after what we are free to confess may be called a brave resistance, but that it has been taken by a new enemy—an enemy unaccustomed to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered confident by them.

TWO CAPTURED

"He must be a weak politician who does not see how important the first triumph is in giving a tone and character to the war."

Even good Bostonians are apt to forget that Captain Hull and his frigate sailed on to other victories in the War of 1812. *"Old Ironsides"* blasted victory over another British frigate, *Java*, and then captured two British ships, *Cyane* and *Levant*.

At war's end the *Constitution* joined the peacetime Navy and today on this anniversary she is the only sailing frigate still under commission in any navy in the world.

Bostonians remember, of course, how *"Old Ironsides"* was saved from being sold or scrapped in 1830 by a Boston poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes. Holmes wrote the ringing poem which has come down to this age of nuclear warships—*"Ay*, tear her tattered ensign down." He ended his three stanzas with —"And give her to the god of storms, the lighting and the gale."

Those three stanzas set the country afire for the old fighting frigate and Congress appropriated funds for repair.

REPAIR EXCELLENT

Today she is in excellent repair as millions of American tourists over the years can testify after boarding her as one of the shrines along the freedom trail.

Today the commemoration ceremony will do honor to the memory of Captain Hull and his fighting sailors. All Boston did them honor when they came home from that victory—the *Guerriere's* ensign flying beneath the *Constitution's* ensign.

At a great victory banquet in Faneuil Hall, history records that 17 toasts were downed which could indicate that even her sailors had iron sides, too.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Aug. 20, 1962]

"CONSTITUTION'S" ENSIGN FLYING STILL

Tourists from throughout the Nation swarming over the historic frigate U.S.S. *Constitution* yesterday at the Boston Naval Shipyard observed ceremonies marking one of her greatest exploits.

Yesterday was the 150th anniversary of the *Constitution's* naval battle with the *Guerriere*—then the pride of the British fleet.

The *Constitution* shot the *Guerriere* to pieces and earned herself the nickname *"Old Ironsides"* when the British cannonballs bounced off her sides.

Among those attending yesterday's ceremonies on the forward deck were Governor Volpe, Capt. Frank C. Jones, shipyard commander, and Lt. Victor B. Stevens, of Worcester, commanding officer of the *Constitution*.

Gail Galvin, of Newton, president of the Massachusetts Chapter, U.S. Daughters of 1812—Juniors, placed a wreath on the deck of the frigate in honor of Capt. Isaac Hull and his crew aboard the *Constitution* 150 years ago.

Priscilla H. Galvin, chairman of the memorial markers committee of the Massachusetts Society, Daughters of 1812, gave the commemorative address.

Comdr. Ross H. Currier, president, extended the greetings of the Society of the War of 1812 in Massachusetts, and there were selections by the 94th Infantry Division Band.

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COMMEMORATION OF THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S.S. "CONSTITUTION" AND THE BRITISH "GUERRIERE" AUGUST 19, 1812 BY THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF THE U.S. DAUGHTERS OF 1812, ON THE U.S.S. "CONSTITUTION," BOSTON NAVY YARD, SUNDAY, AUGUST 19, 1962

Musical selections by the 94th Infantry Division Band under direction of CWO Arthur Bizier, U.S. Army Reserve.

Invocation: Lt. Arlo J. Dahm, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy.

Pledge of allegiance: Mrs. Francis J. Campbell, chairman, Historic Landmarks Committee, Massachusetts Society U.S. Daughters of 1812.

National anthem, by the 94th Infantry Division Band.

Greetings from the U.S. Navy; Capt. Frank C. Jones, U.S. Navy, commander, Boston Naval Shipyard.

Greetings from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; His Excellency, John A. Volpe, Governor, Commander, U.S. Naval Reserve.

Response to welcome: Mrs. Charles William Crankshaw, national president of the National Society U.S. Daughters of 1812.

Introduction of distinguished guests and representatives of other patriotic societies.

Greetings from the Society of the War of 1812 in Massachusetts; Comdr. Ross H. Currier, president.

Tribute to Capt. Isaac Hull, commander of the U.S.S. *Constitution* on August 19, 1812, by the present commander of the U.S.S. *Constitution* in 1962, Lt. Victor B. Stevens, Jr.

Commemoration address: Miss Priscilla H. Galvin, chairman, Memorial Markers Committee, Massachusetts Society U.S. Daughters of 1812.

Placing of wreath in honor of Capt. Isaac Hull, his officers and men by the officers of the Gen. Stephen Badlam IV Chapter—Juniors of 1812—Miss Gail Galvin, president and Miss Carol Pearce, vice president.

Benediction: Lt. Arlo J. Dahm, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy.

"Stars and Stripes Forever," by the 94th Infantry Division Band followed by other selections.

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A PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN A. VOLPE, GOVERNOR, 1962

Whereas this year marks the 150th anniversary of the victorious battle of the U.S.S. *Constitution* against the British warship *Guerriere* on August 19, 1812; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States recognized this was a victory of consequence, voted the officers and men of the U.S.S. *Constitution* $50,000 in prize money for their victory over the *Guerriere*, and ordered silver medals be struck to honor the victory and presented to the officers and men; and

Whereas the U.S.S. *Constitution* was instrumental in aiding the cause of the independence of the American people during the War of 1812, and thereby helped to establish the present independent United States of America: Now, therefore,

I, John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do hereby proclaim Sunday, August 19, 1962, as U.S.S. *Constitution* Day and urge all of our citizens to observe this day by displaying the American flag and taking part in ceremonies which do honor to those who fought on the U.S.S. *Constitution*.

Given at the executive chamber in Boston, this 7th day of August in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America, the one hundred and eighty-seventh.

By His Excellency the Governor.

JOHN A. VOLPE.
KEVIN E. WHITE,
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

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## Project Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, we in San Diego are very proud of the work being done by Dr. James Turpin in assisting the underprivileged of the world. The attached article which appeared in the July 1962 issue of San Diego magazine, dramatically illustrates the work being done by Project Concern and is an excellent example of American generosity and American medicine at work.

I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be included as a portion of my remarks in the RECORD:

PROJECT CONCERN

(By Alice Sue Hardin)

James W. Turpin, M.D., practices general medicine and surgery in Coronado, where one might safely generalize that patients pay their bills fully and on time, and where the well-groomed "old California" look of the place generally inclines one to a relaxed view of things.

It didn't seem to have that effect on Dr. Turpin, only 28 when he opened practice there 4 years ago. For one thing he was also a Methodist minister. He wanted to be of use in the community; he was elected to the city council. Soon he was instrumental in starting a sister-city relationship between Coronado and Puerto Montt, Chile. Then, 2 years ago, he and his wife, Martha, volunteered their services on a once-a-week basis to a medical clinic at Casa de Totos in Tijuana. Each Thursday, in the most underprivileged section of the border city, the canyon area, the Turpins helped treat some 50 to 75 wretchedly poor, ill people. Thursday evenings they returned to Coronado, that spectacle of misery still haunting them. Before long Coronado's serenity seemed almost illusory; reality for the Turpins lay in the services they gave freely below the Mexican border.

"We found more and more that those Thursdays became the focal point in our week * * * that we were directing more of our plans toward the clinic," Dr. Turpin recalled. "To me that work became increasingly significant. It helped to crystallize the feeling that I was not going to achieve the inward sensation of peace that so many people seem to be seeking unless I used all my energies where they are so obviously needed."

So the decision finally was reached by the pair to devote themselves to the work that had become so important to them—showing humane concern through medical relief. Dr. Turpin conceived an idea he calls "Project Concern." His hope was that it would generate a response from others who feel a personal desire to help the world's needy directly. And so it has. In August a full staff will sail to Hong Kong to open two clinics to help the thousands of Chinese there without medical aid.

Although he is a minister, Dr. Turpin plans no active missionary or political effort, feeling that Project Concern's actions will better demonstrate humane concern and the democratic way of solving problems. "In my opinion, these people are little interested either in religion or our politics—they have to have some of their basic needs met before they can give abstract questions any real thought," he explained.

The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong was settled as the first geographical "target," Hong Kong, whose translation, "beautiful lagoon," once was meaningful, now is the refugee capital of the world. In the new territories of the Chinese mainland are more than a million refugees. The housing problem is serious, not only because of this influx but also due to the severe damage of World War II. About 13 percent of the city's people live in squatter shacks, a prime fire hazard, or in rooftop dwellings. An estimate in 1957, now distorted with the refugee influx, showed 325,000 people still in need of regular housing.

Some 200,000 of them are "boat people;" they live on sampans and junks, and there is not a doctor among them. Dr. Turpin's typically simple approach is to bring in a specially designed Chinese junk, which will move among the people, seeing to their medical and minor surgical needs. According to the doctor, the government has sanctioned the plan and even offers encouragement (nonfinancial), an attitude which is unusual for the Hong Kong administration. The junk, now under construction, is to be 40 feet with a 13-foot beam and a 55 horsepower British Marine diesel engine. It is being handcrafted at a cost of $8,000.

The second clinic under the Turpin program will be located within the walled city of Kowloon on the mainland, an area not included in the original lease to Britain. It has lacked both law enforcement and urban services until very recently. In an area of 10 square blocks 250,000 people live in the worst imaginable squalor, Dr. Turpin reported.

Dr. Turpin's undertaking has grown into an organization of major proportions including numerous committees over the country, some of which are helping to solicit donations and pledges through trust funds. Board of Directors for Project Concern is chairmaned by Dr. E. M. Hayes, of Imperial Beach, who was born and reared in China. Other members include Dr. Turpin, Dr. William C. Rust, president of Cal-Western; Dr. William Van Valin, of Solvang, who was the surgeon for the late Tom Dooley, of Laos, and recently spent a month with Dr. Albert Schweitzer in Africa; Paul Fleener; J. Jackson Wills; Fred Davies; Dr. William Boyce, Board Surgeon, of Escondido; Dr. Paul Kleykamp, of Ashland, Ky.; Dr. Ralph Nivens, of Kansas State University; and Robert Edwards, of Atlanta, Ga. Executive committes operate in Atlanta; Manhattan; Kiowa County, Kansas; Jacksonville, Florida; Ashland, Kentucky; in Hong Kong itself and in Coronado.

Project Concern has not only drawn dedicated people to work in numerous capacities for its fulfillment; it has already spawned a like project by San Diego County optometrists, "Operation Save-A-Sight." Dr. Gerald Easton heads this group which includes most local optometrists. Dr. Sam Sloan of Lakeside has proposed that he work in Hong Kong, rotating with other members. Among those interested are Dr. Doyle Dannenberg of Escondido, former president of the State Board of Optometry.

Aid to both projects has flowed in from many sources. The Barnes-Chase Advertising Agency, the organization's public relations firm, is now negotiating with three major airlines to the Orient, Pan-American, Japan Air Lines, and Northwest Orient, to work out a plan for transporting the doctors to and from Hong Kong on an "as space permits" basis. In Hong Kong Dr. Robert Taylor, an ophthamologist formerly of San Jose, is training a young Chinese optician to assist in the work. Operation Save-A-Sight is collecting ophthalmic material and equipment for the propect with help from eastern committees. The U.S. Navy's Project Handclasp has agreed to deliver this material and other supplies such as blankets, small toys, nonperishable foods like dried milk or multiple-purpose foods, used clothing, and medical samples—all free of charge. (Donations will be accepted at the San Diego warehouse, Building 123, Naval Supply Center, Harbor Drive, packaged and labeled. A Navy warehouse in Los Angeles will collect goods there.)

"Naturally the program requires money and drugs," admits the doctor. "We calculate a modest $25,000 will cover minimum expenses, or at least open the doors of the clinics. Roughly, it would provide promotion, transportation, purchase of the junk and medical equipment not donated.

"We have collected $16,000 so far. A second fund with pledges of $2,000 per month for an initial 2-year period is at the $1,250 mark. The plan is to use the monthly pledges for salaries, drugs which are not donated, supplies, and upkeep."

Although large gifts definitely are needed, Turpin is interested in enlisting small financial contributions because he believes all those who help experience an inner satisfaction in showing a tangible concern for people in need.

The doctor's "right hand" in the project will be Paul Fleener, who first met Dr. Turpin when he was stationed in Coronado as a Naval Air Corps navigator. Fleener gave up his job as radio programer and announcer at Kansas State University when he heard of his friend's new enterprise.

The group sails August 10 from Los Angeles; along with making the detailed preparations each member including the Turpins' older sons is studying Cantonese this summer.

## Subsidizing Communist Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier properly takes issue with the contention of Edward R. Murrow, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, that American taxpayers should be required to pay for the distribution of Communist propaganda through the U.S. mails.

This subsidy of Red mail should be stopped, and I find it incredible that Murrow and other Kennedy administration spokesmen would oppose the Cunningham amendment to the postal rate bill.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial, which appeared in the August 23 issue of the Courier:

MURROW: UNITED STATES SHOULD SUBSIDIZE RED POSTAGE

The doctrine of free speech under the American Constitution is that the individual shall have the right to say anything he pleases as long as it is not libelous, obscene, or a plea for commission of a criminal act.

But certain people are attempting to stretch this valuable doctrine to an absurd point. Their concept is that free speech includes the individual's right to demand that everyone else listen whether they wish to do so or not.

Thus these people are saying that it is a violation of free speech when colleges refuse to allow the use of their facilities for Communist speakers. As a matter of fact, this charge is a gross perversion of free speech. For, if the individual has a basic right to say what he likes, a concurrent doctrine is the other individual's right to refuse to listen. College authorities have the full responsibility to determine the academic environment and they are not by any means violating the right of free speech if they refuse to make a college auditorium available to a Communist speaker.

In another field, Edward R. Murrow, Chief of the U.S. Information Agency, went before the Senate Post Office Committee this week to plead not only that Communist propaganda mail should be admitted to this country but that the American taxpayer should pay for its distribution.

The issue was an amendment added to a House bill by Representative GLENN C. CUNNINGHAM, Republican, of Nebraska, which would bar the distribution of Soviet propaganda mail at the taxpayers' expense but would permit its distribution under fourth class rates which pay the cost. Under the International Postal Convention, each country agrees to pay the cost of mail distribution in such country in exchange for reciprocal rights from other countries. The Communists have taken advantage of this convention by distributing millions of pieces of propaganda mail in this country while refusing, of course, to distribute any American propaganda behind the iron curtain. Most of the American recipients do not want the Soviet propaganda.

But Murrow testified against adoption of the Cunningham amendment, saying: One of our main messages to the world, that we are an open society where the individual's freedom of choice is paramount, would be significantly diluted.

This is poppycock. No one is proposing that any Soviet literature be barred or that Americans should be prohibited from receiving it. The only issue is whether the sender should pay the cost of delivery of this unwanted propaganda. If Murrow's concept of his office is to urge that the American taxpayer subsidize Communist propaganda efforts, we have grave doubts of his fitness for the important position he holds.

## Economic Highlight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the editorial comment of community newspapers throughout the country is a sound barometer by which to evaluate grassroots public thinking.

Obviously, the public and therefore the publications that serve it are interested in our current economic problems and the future of our Nation's economy.

The Semmler newspapers serve numerous communities in my area and the Thursday, August 23 issue contained an extremely penetrating and thought-provoking editorial entitled "Economic Highlights" which I insert into the RECORD.

ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS

There is continuing discussion, and continuing controversey, over the state of the relationship between business and the national administration. Mr. Kennedy's basic attitude toward business was a matter of concern to business leaders during his campaign and at the time of his election. It reached a peak of crisis when he forced steel to withdraw the price increase, using, in the view of many, harsh and arbitrary methods which, it has been feared, could represent a precedent for future actions of a comparable character.

Since then, Mr. Kennedy has gone to some lengths in efforts to try to reassure the business community. At the same time, he has made it clear that he will not hesitate to use the powers of his office to control business when its actions oppose his policies. Thus, the business community is still wary, still uncertain. That is the state of affairs at a time when heavy capital investment is needed to spur a lagging, if not a dormant, economy.

The basic problem, from the business point of view, antedates the Kennedy Administration. Recently a British publication said, "In many respects the American economy is one of the most regulated economies in the free world." A publication of a leading American oil company quoted this, observing: "And altho we may consider this an astonishing appraisal of a country that has long been regarded as the citadel of competition and unshackled capitalism, it points up sharply the direction in which we are moving today."

Th magazine went on to elaborate the point: "The truth is that the concept of competition is under attack, and that Government regulation of business is growing. Businessmen are seriously concerned over the trend. Some 500 of them meeting in New York City recently, wrestled a full day with the problems of how to operate a business competitively today without being indicted under one or more interpretations of the antitrust laws."

The word "interpretation" is the operative one in this connection. No one is foolish enough to object to prohibition of monopoly and price gouging. But there is no doubt that Government lawyers concerned with antitrust law enforcement have, in specific instance after specific instance, attempted to carry the intent of these laws to extremes. Proof of that is found in the fact that numbers of government antitrust actions, including some outstandingly important ones, have lost in the courts and, on occasion, brought biting critical comment from Federal judges. But, before the end is reached, years of litigation may go by, at heavy cost in money and resources to the parties concerned. And newly proposed laws would give still more power to various enforcement and regulatory agencies. One, for instance, would authorize the Federal Trade Commission to issue a "cease and desist" order to any company which, in its judgment, is following an "unfair competitive practice". This order would ban the practice until the matter was decided in court, no matter how long it took. So, in effect, this would place upon the company the burden of disproving the charge, rather than requiring the FTC to prove its case. That certainly seems to go squarely against the judicial principle that a person is deemed innocent until proven guilty.

What, then, does the businessman seek and need? The magazine states it this way: "What he needs most of all, in the face of mounting competition both at home and from abroad, are some clear and reasonably undeviating guidelines that encourage competitive performance. This would not be a boon merely to business, but to all America. For when the Nation's businessmen can stop expending their energy on efforts to interpret the conflicting signals of their masters in Government and instead devote their full talent to providing better goods and services at lower costs, the whole country will profit."

## Everybody Gets It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lancaster News, Lancaster, S.C., of August 16, 1962.

EVERYBODY GETS IT

Recently a House subcommittee charged with processing the foreign aid bill asked one of the top brass present to give the names of any nations in the world not yet receiving our handouts. This executive responded that he was sure there must be some, but he had no idea where they might be. It seemed reasonable when the foreign aid folks were requested to get this information and submit it to the committee at the earliest possible time.

Two days later a representative of the Library of Congress called the chairman of the committee, inquiring for this identical information. When asked why he wanted it, he responded that it was needed to fill a request of the Foreign Aid Administration. If any of our readers keep scrapbooks of items which show the evil of big government in general and of our foreign aid program in particular, here is a small addition.

## The United States and the U.N.: A Reappraisal of the National Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to pay tribute to our State Department for initiating the program of regional briefing conferences that have proved so effective in helping to keep the American people abreast of developments in international affairs. Never before have the citizens of our great Nation taken such a keen interest in the world around us and the State Department deserves a warm word of praise for bringing our foreign policy and the people who plan it close to the American public.

Since the first regional briefing conference was held in San Francisco in July 1961, audiences in Denver, Kansas City, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Chicago, and Toledo have been able to hear top State Department officials such as Charles Bohlen, George McGhee, and Chester Bowles present firsthand reports on current world problems. Even more important, there has been on each occasion an opportunity through a series of workshops to ask questions and explore issues in depth. The overwhelmingly enthusiastic response has prompted the Office of Public Services in the State Department to continue the regional briefings and to plan several national conferences in Washington next year.

Because I feel it is typical of the thoughtful, informative addresses being presented through the regional conference program, I am entering into the RECORD a speech delivered by Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs Richard N. Gardner to an audience of 800 community leaders at the Toledo, Ohio, conference on April 24, 1962. Mr. Gardner addressed himself to a subject which is of utmost importance and concern to every thinking American and which each Member of this body soon will be called upon to decide for himself, "The United States and the U.N.: A Reappraisal of the National Interest." I earnestly commend this speech to the attention of my colleagues:

THE UNITED STATES AND THE U.N.—A REAPPRAISAL OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST

(Address by Richard N. Gardner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs)

For the first time in many years U.S. participation in the United Nations has become a subject of national debate. To be sure, there has always been a small minority of Americans hostile to policies of international cooperation who have opposed our participation in the U.N. as a matter of principle. What makes the present situation different, however, is that a number of citizens who accept the necessity for our involvement in world affairs and for our membership in the U.N. are raising questions about the place of the U.N. in U.S. foreign policy. They are asking whether we are not placing too much emphasis on the U.N. and whether our attempts to strengthen the organization continue to serve the national interest.

This new situation is understandable. The United Nations today is a very different organization from the one which was created in 1945 and to which most Americans have become accustomed. It has grown from a small, Western-oriented institution of less than 60 countries to a parliament of 104 nations in which the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia hold nearly half the seats. Even more significant, it has evolved from being mainly a forum for discussion to an executive instrument with an increasing capability for promoting economic progress and keeping the peace.

The fact that U.S. participation in the U.N. has become a subject of intense national interest is something to be welcomed, not deplored. It was easy for people to pay lipservice to the United Nations so long as it was regarded good society. But human institutions, like the human body, develop muscle only painfully. Our Congress, our Executive, our Supreme Court all achieved greater strength only in the stress and strain of national controversy.

The United Nations actions and the U.S. relationship to the U.N. are now a matter of national concern, simply means that the United Nations is doing things that are important enough for us to argue about among ourselves. Far from dying, the United Nations is increasingly being recognized as a significant mechanism of international politics—one of the important arenas for the exercise of national power.

With these facts in mind let us turn to the central question: Does our present policy toward the United Nations serve the national interest?

I trust that no one will take exception to the form in which this question is put. There may be some who feel that the U.S. commitment to the United Nations should be a matter of faith and that questions of selfish national interest are not involved. I fear I cannot accept this view. All of us who serve in Washington are under an obligation to further the national interest of our country. There can be no other test in our decisionmaking.

In fact, the difference between those who think our commitment to the United Nations should be a matter of faith and those who think it should be contingent upon the national interest is probably more apparent than real. There is a profound sense in which idealism is realism. When we say that the United States is committed to the support of the United Nations we really mean—or ought to mean—that the United States is determined to help make the U.N. a success out of conviction that the long-term interest of our country requires the development of a civilized system of collective security.

I

Before we can decide whether our present policy toward the United Nations serves the national interest, we must consider carefully just what the United Nations is—and how we presently use it in the development of our foreign policy. This may seem to some an unduly elementary exercise, but such a return to fundamentals is essential. Listening to some of the things that are being said about the United Nations and our relation to it, one gets the impresion that there is no institution in our domestic or international life less understood than the organization whose headquarters is located at 42d Street and the East River in New York City.

What, then, is the United Nations, and what is our national strategy for making use of it? The U.N. is really three institutions in one—and each of them has a unique value for the United States.

First, the United Nations is a place for debate—a center for publicity, education, and persuasion—a forum in which the weak as well as the strong can make their case.

It is fashionable to some quarters to denigrate this aspect of the United Nations. It is said that the U.N. is a "cave of winds"—a "debating society." These are strange words for Americans to use. Our whole history and tradition have taught us the value of free and open discussion, of commerce in the marketplace of ideas. Our parliamentary institutions in the West all place great emphasis on debate and are not notably more disciplined than the General Assembly. Most Americans believe—rightly in my opinion—that in the long run free debate works against error and for truth and justice. Those who deplore the United Nations as a "debating society" are really saying that they have lost confidence in the capacity of our country to present its case successfully in the councils of nations.

Of course, no one claims that world opinion is self-enforcing, or that debates in the U.N. can work miraculous changes in the behavior of nations. The Soviets have demonstrated their contempt for what the rest of the world thinks on numerous occasions, notably in their brutal suppression of Hungarian freedom and in their recent decision to break the moratorium on nuclear testing. But it would be absurd to conclude from this that "there is no such thing as world opinion," or that U.N. debates are utterly futile.

The fact of the matter is that, starting with the Security Council debates which led to the Soviet withdrawal from Iran in 1946, the United Nations has served as a useful instrument to throw the spotlight of publicity on acts of injustice, or to vary the metaphor, to "blow the whistle" on breaches of the peace. This function of the U.N. has real vitality where small powers are concerned—the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait is a recent example. This function has value, too, though to a lesser extent, in moderating the behavior of larger powers, even of the Soviet Union. The Soviet posture on the Congo, disarmament, outer space, economic development, and countless other issues has been influenced by concern with its "public relations," both in the industrialized West and in the less-developed countries, and particularly as reflected in the United Nations.

The role of the U.N. as a place for debate serves our national interest by providing us with a useful instrument to build support for American policies. We use debates in the General Assembly, the Security Council, and other U.N. organs to defend and explain American positions on a range of subjects from disarmament to economic development. If we fail to persuade all members of the U.N. of the justice of our positions it is not the fault of the U.N.—we would have to take account of the views of other countries in any case. The point is that the existence of the U.N. has enabled us in case after case to change the opinions of foreign representatives to an extent which would otherwise not have been possible. These changes are not always reflected immediately in U.N. votes, but they are reflected in gradual shifts in direction in a country's foreign policy. And even in the U.N. itself, the last General Assembly has seen significant changes in voting patterns of some of the new nations—changes notably favorable from the U.S. point of view—changes which testify to the utility of the U.N. as a crucible for the moulding of world opinion.

II

Second, the United Nations is a place for negotiation—a standing diplomatic conference where the peaceful settlement of disputes can be sought through quiet diplomacy.

This aspect of the United Nations is still only dimly understood. It is the seven-eighths of the iceberg below the surface of the water. Diplomats and historians, schooled in the arts of old-fashioned diplomacy, continue to deplore the "glass house" on the East River where there are "open disagreements openly arrived at."

In spite of such critics the United Nations offers one of the greatest opportunities for quiet diplomacy, the world has ever known. It is a place where the representatives of 104 sovereign states can meet on an informal and continuing basis, rubbing elbows in countless conferences and social occasions, from formal dinners and receptions to amiable chats in the delegates lounge.

To be sure, we will continue to rely heavily on our relations with the diplomatic corps in Washington and on our Embassies around the world as the principal vehicles of quiet diplomacy. But the United Nations does have advantages which make it of distinct usefulness in particular situations. It is a natural forum for a multilateral negotiation which involves the interests of many countries. It is a place where diplomatic encounters can be conveniently managed on an informal and quiet basis.

The U.N. as a facility for negotiation has demonstrated its value on countless occasions. One famous example occurred a dozen years ago when a series of informal meetings between American Ambassador Phillip C. Jessup and Soviet Ambassador Jacob Malik led to an agreement which settled the Berlin crisis of that day and made it possible to terminate the Berlin airlift. More recently, quiet negotiations with the Soviets broke the longstanding deadlock which had prevented the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space from commencing its work and laid the foundation for the hopeful negotiations on outer space cooperation now underway between the Soviet Union and the United States.

III

Third and last, the United Nations is a place for action—an international executive—a vehicle for doing things rather than merely talking about them.

It is this third function of the United Nations, its capacity to act, which is now the subject of particular controversy. Does the strengthening of the U.N. as an action agency serve our national interest?

The answer to this question must be in two parts in accord with the two-pronged nature of the U.N.'s executive role.

One area of U.N. operations is in the economic and social field. This is by far the largest part in terms of money and personnel involved. It is much less controversial than the U.N.'s political and military role but by no means beyond controversy.

This facet of the U.N. in action seldom makes the headlines, nor are its manifestations seen within our borders. But its influence in the less-developed countries is enormous. The U.N. and its specialized agencies together are spending some $300 million a year on programs for economic and social betterment around the world. The U.N. is at work in dozens of countries healing the sick, feeding the hungry, teaching the illiterate. It is setting standards for workers in factories, for air and ocean transport, for peaceful uses of atomic energy. It is building governmental services in less-developed countries and aiding these countries in the drawing up of rational development plans. It is training the human resources of the future in the manifold tasks required to make a reality of independence, a success of self-determination.

How does this aspect of the U.N. at work serve our national interest? Part of the answer lies in the familiar argument that the promotion of economic growth in an environment of freedom abroad promotes the prosperity and security of our own country. But this argument does not provide the whole answer. We can, and do, give technical and economic aid to other countries outside the U.N. Indeed, our contribution to U.N. programs is but a small fraction of our total aid effort.

The case for using the U.N. as an instrument for promoting economic and social development rests on one fundamental point. The less-developed countries badly need advice and financial aid from the United States and other industrial countries in building healthy economies and free institutions. But the political leaders in many of these countries do not dare to depend for aid entirely upon the United States or even upon a group of Western countries. Such dependence would render them too vulnerable to the charge of homegrown nationalists or neutralists that they were becoming tools of Western policy or compromising their neutrality in the cold war. Such leaders can, however, accept aid and advice when it comes under a United Nations umbrella. Thus, in many circumstances, the United Nations provides the essential bridge from the United States and the prosperous nations of Europe to the developing nations of the Southern Hemisphere.

The pattern of economic development assistance that has been emerging in recent years defies easy classification. It goes beyond bilateralism but stops short of complete multilateralism, if that term is thought to mean the administration of all aid by international agencies. A large part of technical assistance and a smaller part of financial aid is now administered by the U.N. and other international organizations. For much of the rest there is gradually emerging a kind of multilateral bilateralism, or multilateral coordination of bilateral programs, in which countries supply, on a voluntary basis in each case, technical, financial, and commodity aid in support of projects and programs drawn up under international auspices. This pattern well serves the national interest of the United States by assuring the maximum financial contribution from other donor countries and the maximum cooperation in self-help and domestic reforms from the recipients themselves.

The second aspect of the United Nations as an action agency is its political and military role. This role extends from the diplomatic initiatives of the Secretary General in mediation and conciliation through the use of U.N. representatives for observation and factfinding, to the mounting of actual military operations such as the policing of the uneasy truce between Israel and her Arab neighbors and the preventing of civil war in the Congo.

How does this political and military role of the U.N. serve our national interest?

To answer this question it is useful to recall the choice that confronted the United States in the Congo in the summer of 1960. The Congo had been granted independence suddenly and, as it now appears, prematurely by Belgium. Almost immediately after this event, Congolese troops rebelled against their own officers. Looting, killing, and general disorder followed. The Belgians started flying back their troops and personnel to protect the European population. At this point the two leaders of the Congo, President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba, together appealed to the United States to send American troops and other assistance to protect the Congo against Belgian "aggression."

President Eisenhower rightly declined this appeal. It was apparent that for the United States to airlift thousands of American boys into the Congo would have the gravest domestic and international political implications. We would have become directly embroiled through the presence of American troops in fighting between our Belgian allies and the new Congolese Nation—with the ugly overtones of racial warfare. Worse still, we would have provided the occasion and the excuse for competitive Soviet intervention in the heart of Africa.

With these considerations in mind, President Eisenhower told the Congolese leaders that if they wished American assistance they would have to get it through the United Nations acting in the name of the world community. Kasavubu and Lumumba then sent a second appeal, this time to the United Nations. At the time of making this appeal they also issued a public warning that if United Nations assistance was not forthcoming they would look for help elsewhere. There is not the slightest doubt that "elsewhere" meant the Soviet Union.

The alternatives open to the United States, therefore, were clear:

We could do nothing, in which case the Congo would wallow in chaos and bloodshed and the Soviet bloc would be free to move in to pick up the remains.

We could intervene directly, and trigger a confrontation in the heart of Africa of the great powers, a confrontation which could lead to another "Spanish Civil War" and be the prelude to a wider conflict.

Or we could do what we in fact did—propose that assistance to the Congo be given through the United Nations.

No one pretends that the United Nations operation in the Congo has been an unqualified success. How could it have been, when 20,000 troops from 21 different countries, speaking different languages and following different military traditions sought to keep order in a country one-third the size of the United States with no effective public administration or basic services?

The test of the Congo operation is not whether it achieved some imaginary standard of peacekeeping excellence. It is whether the operation resulted in a situation better than would have occurred through the use of any available alternative. I believe that sober reflection will confirm that the use of the United Nations in the Congo was the least dangerous of the three dangerous alternatives confronting the United States and the world at large in the summer of 1960.

The Congo story reveals in microcosm a basic truth about the United Nations, namely, that in some situations in some parts of the world it represents the lesser of several evils—the least undesirable alternative of American action. When critics complain about the use of the United Nations in situations of this kind, they have the obligation to answer the question: What is the alternative?

The relevance of this question is illustrated by the story of the mouse who worked for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. One day this mouse was walking down the street when he was hailed by one of his fellow mice.

"Mickey," said the fellow mouse, "What are you doing these days?"

Mickey answered, "Why, I am working for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration."

"That sounds interesting," said the fellow mouse. "What's it like?"

"Well," said Mickey, "it is pretty awful. First they squash me in the nose cone of a rocket; then they shoot me up through the Van Allen radiation belt, which is very painful; then I become weightless and suffer from nausea. Then I fall into the ocean and get all wet. And then they take me out and put me in a laboratory and stick pins and needles into me."

At this point the fellow mouse was beginning to perspire profusely.

"Mickey," he said, "that sounds terrible. Why don't you go back to your previous line of work?"

"What," exclaimed Mickey, "back to cancer research?"

Those who attack U.N. operations in the Congo or elsewhere have an obligation to explain whether they consider these operations worse than the available alternatives—or whether, in fact, they want us to go "back to cancer research."

To put the point in a more general way, there is good reason to believe that the United Nations is better than cancer research in a number of situations in our unhappy world. A prime reason for this has to do with Communist strategy. The Communists do not believe in true peaceful coexistence because they know that in any peaceful competition they would eventually lose. Khrushchev must know in his heart what we all know—that communism cannot win without violence and that no people has ever chosen communism as a matter of free choice. Therefore his definition of peaceful coexistence specifically includes wars of liberation against so-called rotten reactionary regimes. This means that the Communists claim the right to intervene everywhere in the world to help impose communism by force. We are witnessing such intervention at this very moment in places such as Berlin and Vietnam.

How is the United States to respond to the Communist campaign of forceful intervention in the affairs of other nations? In the face of this behavior, can the United States follow a principle of nonintervention, a hands-off policy which gives a free hand to Communist subversion and aggression in every part of the world?

A century ago, at the time of czarist Russian intervention for Austria and against the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, John Stuart Mill posed the same question. He concluded that "the doctrine of nonintervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despots must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the profession of it by free countries comes but to this miserable issue: That the wrong side may help the wrong but the right must not help the right. Intervention to enforce nonintervention is always rightful, always moral, if not always prudent."

Applying this insight to our present situation, we can surely agree that "intervention to enforce nonintervention" continues to be a rightful and moral policy essential to the defense of a free and open international society. To enforce nonintervention, Communist aggression or subversion must sometimes be met by forceful counteraction by free nations acting together through military alliances. But, in Mill's phrase, such unilateral or regional action may not be always prudent—or, to put it another way, always the most effective political alternative. In some situations, it may prove incompatible with the wishes of the affected country or involve too great a risk of escalation into a wider conflict. In these situations the most effective type of counteraction by the non-Communist countries is counter action taken in the name of the world community under the aegis of the United Nations. The world organization has special advantages of acceptability and noninflammability because it can intervene more easily in the name of nonintervention—because its actions are taken in the name of the community of nations as a whole.

This important potentiality of the United Nations has not been lost upon the Communists. The Soviet bloc has consistently opposed the development of the third function of the U.N.—its capacity to act. During his famous visit to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, Premier Khrushchev noted significantly: "Experience of the work of the United Nations has shown that this body is useful and necessary, because in it are represented all the states which are called upon to solve, through negotiations and discussion, the pressing issues of international relations so as to prevent them from reaching a point where conflicts and wars might break out. That is the positive aspect of the work of the United Nations. That, indeed, constitutes the main purpose of the creation of the United Nations."

Notably missing from this Soviet benediction of the U.N. was any reference to the U.N.'s function as an operating agency—as an instrument for building free nations and keeping the peace. This is not surprising. The Communists are clearly alarmed by the prospect of a greater operational ability of the United Nations to carry out a charter full of dangerous thoughts about freedom of choice for all men—a capability that could bury the Communist version of history without the necessity of a major war. That is why the Soviet bloc has insisted upon the "principle of unanimity", why it has flagrantly misused the veto, why it has pressed its troika demand for a veto within the executive of the organization, and why it has sought through its financial boycott to starve the U.N. to death as a peacekeeping agency.

These Soviet actions are disquieting. But they do not doom to frustration the United Nations as an operating institution. We must not allow ourselves to get into the frame of mind that nothing can be done in the United Nations without the approval of the Soviet bloc. The whole history of the organization—in Korea and the Congo, in technical assistance and economic aid—proves that the contrary is the case. This will continue to be so as long as the United States and other free nations work together to maintain and strengthen the United Nations as an action agency on the basis of the common interest of the vast majority of U.N. members in the promotion of an open society of prosperous and independent states.

IV

This, in summary form, is the case for the proposition that the U.N. has been and continues to be a useful instrument for the promotion of our national interest. But we cannot rest the case on such a general statement. In recent months a number of specific criticisms have been voiced about our relation to the United Nations. Let us examine the most important of these criticisms in some detail.

1. The United Nations is a failure because it has not brought peace.

This is one of the most frequently heard, and least substantial, of the criticisms. The United Nations is not a guaranteed patent remedy for all the ills of our unhappy world. It has failed to do a number of things—free Hungary or defend Goa, for example—but since neither the United States nor anyone else was willing or able to do these things it seems a bit hard to blame them on the U.N. The U.N. has no more solved all the world's problems than our foreign aid program has cured political instability and economic stagnation—yet both institutions have brought measurable improvements in the state of the world. Recalling once again our mouse story, the test of the success of the United Nations is not whether it has solved every problem but whether the world is better off on balance than it would have been if the United Nations had never existed. Looking at the record of the U.N. in economic and social development, in peace-keeping undertakings in Iran, Palestine, Suez, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, the Congo, and many other places, no one can seriously doubt the answer to this question.

It is probably true that the U.N., like most new institutions, was oversold at its inception. To some people, it heralded the dawn of a new era in which power politics would vanish and the rule of law would be achieved. We know now that this view was hopelessly inadequate, not merely because it failed to forecast the cold war but also because it misconceived the true nature of international relations.

The United Nations is not the substitute for power politics or the clash of national interests. It merely provides a new arena for the play of politics and the adjustment of interests and hopefully a substitute in some situations for the use of force. The organization is not a superstate—it cannot make or enforce law for any of its members.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb employed a useful metaphor to answer the objection that the United Nations had not brought peace to the world. "The United Nations is a mirror of the world we live in," he liked to say, "and if the reflection is ugly it is not the mirror which is to blame."

Unfortunately there are still a number of people who are prone to "blame the mirror." For example, public support for the United Nations still tends to gyrate up and down in accordance with the way the Congo operation is going in a particular week. When an outbreak of violence occurs or relations between Tshombe and Adoula deteriorate, the stock of the United Nations plummets. When order is restored and there is progress in the achievement of a unified Congo, the stock of the United Nations rises.

Surely our support of the U.N. must be based on a more solid foundation than this. Our opinion of our family doctor does not go up and down in accordance with the temperature of his patient. If we have confidence in the doctor, we support his best efforts and understand that sometimes people sicken and even die in spite of everything he can do to help them.

2. The United Nations costs too much for the United States.

To evaluate this charge it is necessary to see the U.N. financial picture in broad outline. There are four kinds of United Nations operations toward which the United States contributes:

First, there is the regular assessed budget of the United Nations. In 1961 this totaled $72.7 million. The United States paid 32.5 percent of this, or $22.3 million. The U.S. share of the regular budget has been steadily decreasing and this year will be 32 percent.

Second, there are the regular assessed budgets of the specialized agencies. In 1961 these totaled $64.9 million, of which the United States contributed $18 million. The U.S. share in these budgets is in most cases the same as its share in the U.N. budget; in a few cases it is even less.

Third, there are the voluntary programs—such as the expanded program of technical assistance, the United Nations Special Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund, and the Arab Refugee Agency—in which each country puts up what it wishes to contribute. In 1961 these programs totaled $159 million, of which the United States contributed $79.8 million. The U.S. share in the individual programs varies from 40 percent to two-thirds—overall, our share is about half of the total.

Fourth, there are the peacekeeping activities in the Middle East and the Congo. In 1961 these cost about $140 million, of which the United States contributed something over $60 million.

With the gradual expansion of United Nations activities, the total annual budget of the U.N. family will soon reach $500 million, of which the U.S. share will be something like $200 million.

Is this too expensive for the United States? It amounts to little more than $1 a year for every man, woman, and child in our country. It is less than the cost of one B–70 aircraft—a weapons system which the

Congress has been urging the President to procure. In terms of the net return to world peace and prosperity and therefore to our national interest, it could hardly be termed an unreasonable cost.

Of course, the most frequent objection to U.N. financing is not that the cost of the U.N. is too great, but that the United States bears too great a share. The United States has pressed successfully over the years for a reduction in its share of the cost of U.N. programs in recognition of the growing prosperity of other countries and also of the desirability of maintaining the multilateral character of the institution. Our share in the regular budget has been reduced from 40 to 32 percent; in technical assistance from 60.7 to 40 percent; in UNICEF from 72 to 44 percent. The present share of the United States in U.N. costs is not unreasonable when one bears in mind that the United States accounts for some two-fifths of the world's national income and that our standard of living is approximately double the average in other industrialized countries and some 20 times greater than the average in less-developed countries.

The question of our share in U.N. costs is related to the controversy over how to deal with the U.N.'s present financial crisis. This crisis does not derive from the regular U.N. budget, from the regular budgets of the specialized agencies, or from the voluntary programs.

Although the Soviet contribution to the voluntary programs is obviously inadequate, and although some of the poorer countries are occasionally slow payers to the regular budgets as well as the voluntary programs, the United Nations has no problem of arrearages on account of these three sets of operations.

The problem arises because of the failure of the Soviet bloc and certain other countries to pay for the Congo and Middle East operations. Some of these countries, such as the Soviets, argue that there is no legal obligation to pay for these peace-keeping expenses; others that they are unable to pay. As a result, the U.N. was $114 million "in the red" on the peace-keeping operations as of the end of 1961.

To deal with this predicament Acting Secretary General U Thant presented last December, and the General Assembly approved, a three-part financial plan. This plan provided for another assessment to carry forward the Middle East and Congo operations to July 1, 1962. It called for an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice to settle the question of whether the obligation to pay for such assessments was a binding obligation on all members. And it authorized the issuance of $200 million of United Nations bonds bearing 2 percent interest and repayable over 25 years.

The United States supported this program because it represented the only sound and workable way open at this time to restore fiscal responsibility to the U.N. and permit it to carry on its peace-keeping mission in the immediate future. The Senate has now enacted legislation authorizing the President to lend the United Nations up to $100 million. This legislation clearly gives the President authority to purchase U.N. bonds if he believes this will serve the national interest.

There are some people who oppose our coming to the aid of the U.N. in its present financial crisis on the grounds that we will be paying for the Soviet share. This charge is completely incorrect. The International Court of Justice opinion called for under the United Nations financial program is expected to confirm the legal obligation of the Soviet bloc to pay for the Middle East and Congo operations. If this expectation is fulfilled the continued refusal of the bloc countries to pay their arrearages will confront them with the loss of their votes in the General Assembly as of January 1, 1964.

In the meantime, it makes little sense for the United States to withhold its financial support for the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations because the Soviet bloc does so. The United States has a very big stake in the peacekeeping mission of the United Nations. By contrast, the Soviet bloc appears to be convinced that strengthening the U.N. as an action agency in promoting order works against its goal of world communism. This is why it is seeking to starve the U.N. to death as an action agency. Should the U.S. refuse to support U.N. programs which serve its interest because the Soviet Union boycotts the very same programs on the grounds that they work against communism? A town's No. 1 householder does not refuse to pay for the police force and the school board because the town's No. 1 delinquent refuses to pay. To do so would put the safety of the householder at the mercy of the delinquent. Such a policy makes no more sense in international organizations that it does in domestic affairs.

3. The voting procedures of the General Assembly are unreasonable and work against American interests.

Much is heard these days about the unreasonableness of the rule of one nation-one vote in the General Assembly and about the dangers which have resulted from the inflation of that body through the influx of new members.

Naturally, it is easy to criticize the system of one nation-one vote, just as it is easy for critics of our domestic institutions to criticize the principle of two Senators from each State or to pick flaws in the electoral college. But in criticizing international as well as domestic institutions the critics have the obligation once again to answer the question: What is the alternative?

Any system of weighted voting in the General Assembly would have to weigh population as a major, if not the major factor. It is questionable whether such an arrangement would suit a country like ours which has 6 percent of the world's population and which, even with its NATO allies, has only 16 percent. If population were a major criterion India with its 400 million people, might well end up with more votes than the United States. Of course, it is always possible to imagine a system of weighted voting which would offset the population factor with such factors as literacy, per capita income, and military power. But those critics are living in a dream world who think that any charter amendment is presently possible which would deprive the small and poor countries of all the prerogatives they now enjoy.

We should not overlook the fact that as between the free world and the Communist bloc the present system of voting in the General Assembly is far from unfavorable. To the critics of the present arrangement, we should put the question: Can you show us a politically possible alternative which would confine the Communists to what they now have—only 11 votes out of 104?

But it is not such speculations, but solid experience, which provides the answer to this line of criticism. The fact is that most of the new nations which have come to the U.N. find that their desire for political independence and economic progress puts them on the same side as the United States on a large majority of U.N. votes. Moreover, it is possible to see in the voting patterns of the new nations a perceptible trend in favor of positions advocated by the United States.

Let us look at the record of the last General Assembly—an Assembly which has been dubbed by a leading news magazine as the "sensible 16th":

The President of the United States presented a comprehensive program before the General Assembly on September 25. The reception this program received provides some interesting clues to the way the General Assembly is going.

The President asked that the Soviet troika demand be rejected and that a single impartial Secretary General be appointed to succeed Dag Hammarskjold. The troika demand was overwhelmingly rejected, the candidate we supported was chosen, and the integrity of the Secretariat was maintained.

The President called for responsible measures to cope with the U.N.'s financial crisis. A three-part financial plan proposed by the Secretary General and supported by the United States was passed despite Soviet opposition.

The President proposed a broad program of international cooperation in outer space. When the details of this program were presented to the Assembly later in the session, they received such wide endorsement that the Soviet Union, after some initial hesitation, asked permission to cosponsor. The program was unanimously approved.

The President proposed a U.N. development decade to strengthen the work of the U.N. in the economic and social field. This program was unanimously approved. Its first concrete manifestation, the U.S.-sponsored world food program, was approved overwhelmingly despite Soviet bloc abstention.

The President asked support for free world positions on basic cold war issues. The Assembly gave resounding majorities to free world positions on Korea, Hungary, and Tibet. The Communist attempt to substitute Red China for the Republic of China was defeated by a larger vote in the 16th Assembly than in the 15th.

To be sure, the United States did not win every vote at the 16th General Assembly. In a world in which there are substantial differences of opinion between nations this could scarcely be expected. But when one looks at the record as a whole, as distinguished from the record on individual votes, one finds little to support the charge that the voting procedures of the General Assembly, combined with the inflation of membership, have made it impossible for the United States successfully to prosecute its foreign policy in the United Nations.

4. The Afro-Asian bloc is irresponsible on colonial issues and our desire to please them in the United Nations has divided the NATO alliance.

There are three main points to be made about this charge.

In the first place, there is no such thing as a cohesive Afro-Asian bloc with a unified view on colonial (or other) questions. There are more than 50 U.N. members from Africa and Asia. So far as the countries of Asia are concerned, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Nationalist China, Malaya, Burma, and others often find themselves on the same side as the Western countries. In Africa there are at least 3 distinguishable groups of countries—the Western-oriented Brazzaville group of some 12 former French colonies, the Monrovia group led by such moderate countries as Tunisia and Nigeria, and the Casablanca group of countries such as Egypt and Ghana which take a more militant view on colonial questions.

When these various views are distilled in the 104-nation General Assembly, it is the moderate resolutions calling for orderly progress toward self-government which command the necessary two-thirds majority. The record of the 16th General Assembly on the colonial issue reflected genuine progress over previous years. An irresponsible Soviet proposal calling for independence for all colonies in 1962 was categorically rejected. So, too, was a bloc resolution calling for sanctions against Portugal over Angola. So, too, was a Soviet demand to reopen Security Council debate on the Congo in order to

attack the U.N.'s Congo policy. On this latter maneuver, 20 African countries backed Premier Adoula of the Congo in opposing the Soviet move.

The United States, of course, has an interest in maintaining and strengthening the NATO alliance. It also has an interest in promoting orderly progress toward self-government by those relatively few peoples around the world who have not achieved independence. So far as the vast majority of NATO members are concerned, the pursuit of these objectives is not inconsistent. Indeed, the record of the 16th General Assembly reveals one startling fact—the United States voted with the majority of NATO countries on every one of the 20 colonial issues which came to a vote in the Assembly. In most of these votes it was only Portugal (in some cases also France and Iceland) who voted against the NATO majority.

5. The United Nations make U.S. foreign policy.

So far as this charge is concerned, it would be more accurate to say that the United States makes U.N. foreign policy—or, to be more precise, that the United States influences profoundly the outcome of U.N. votes, and more importantly, the nature of the U.N. actions.

U.S. foreign policy is not made by the United Nations, nor is U.S. foreign policy made by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. The center of decision on U.N. affairs, as on all other matters of our foreign policy, is Washington, D.C.

To be sure, the facts and recommendations received from the U.S. Mission to the U.N. receive considerable weight, as do the facts and recommendations received from within the Department from our embassies around the world, and from other executive agencies. But on any question which arises in the United Nations, the determination on U.S. foreign policy is made in Washington on the basis of a total appreciation of the national interest.

The United States uses the U.N. facilities for debate and negotiation to build support for our foreign policy positions. Equally important, we use the U.N. to carry forward action programs which we could not carry out as well on a unilateral basis. The Congo operation is an obvious illustration. The U.N. outer space program is a less obvious, but no less revealing example. We need the assistance of many nations if our national space program is to be successfully carried on. In weather and communications, for example, the technology of the United States can yield dividends to ourselves and others only if many nations join in allocating radio frequencies, in tracking and communicating with space vehicles, and in placing necessary ground installations on their territories. By developing some of our outer space activities within the framework of the U.N. and its specialized agencies we encourage needed cooperation from a number of countries which might not otherwise be forthcoming.

6. The development of the peacekeeping role of the U.N. is dangerous because it might be used against us.

There are essentially three reasons why we have much more to gain than to fear from the development of the U.N.'s peacekeeping capacity.

First, the Charter of the United Nations is our kind of charter. It is an eloquent restatement of the values which lie at the center of our national policy. It embodies the concept of an open world society of independent states which stands at the opposite extreme from the Communist pattern of standardization and coercion. It should be possible for the United States to pursue its interests of the world within the framework of charter principles. The same cannot be said for the Soviet Union.

Second, the United Nations capacity to act in peacekeeping as well as economic programs depends crucially on our support. The Soviet bloc boycotts nearly all of the main executive operations of the United Nations. In the world of symbolism, U.N. actions are taken in the name of global universality. But in the real world, the U.N. in action is the free world in action.

The United States, the members of the North Atlantic Community, and the British Commonwealth pay for three-quarters or more of the economic and peacekeeping operations of the United Nations. Without the support of the Western Powers, the U.N. would quite suddenly lose its capacity to act. Its executive arm could not be used against us because it would largely cease to exist.

Third, the procedures of the United Nations provide us with important defenses against peacekeeping actions which we do not approve.

The United States has a veto in the Security Council. Under the Uniting for Peace Resolution, a veto can be overridden and a peacekeeping operation sent to the General Asembly only if there is an affirmative vote of 7 of the 11 members of the Security Council. In other words, the United States could stop a peacekeeping operation if it could muster a "blocking five" negative or abstaining votes in the Security Council. When one considers that the Council includes as permanent members the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Nationalist China; and as elective members a friendly European country, two Latin Americans, and two African countries, it is hard to conceive of a situation where the necessary five negative or abstaining votes could not be secured.

In the unlikely event that 7 of the 11 members of the Security Council voted a peacekeeping operation over American opposition, the operation could still not proceed without a two-thirds vote in the General Assembly. Here again it would be extraordinary if the United States could not muster a blocking third, considering all the abstaining votes which would result in a situation where the United States expressed determined opposition to a peacekeeping action.

Of course, there is no ironclad guarantee for the United States in the present procedures of the United Nations. All one can say with assurance is that the procedures are extremely favorable to our country and that the authorization of a peacekeeping action against our opposition is difficult to imagine assuming always that the American position is reasonably founded in justice and the United Nations Charter.

There can be no assurance that the United States will succeed 100 percent of the time in the United Nations. But in an age when the arsenals of the two super powers contain warheads the largest of which have a destructive power greater than all the bombs dropped during the Second World War, it should be obvious that the interest of nations in having some means for the peaceful settlement of disputes outweigh their interest in winning every one of them.

7. The United States should rely on the Atlantic Community rather than the United Nations to promote its national interest.

Both the supporters and the critics of the United Nations should avoid an either-or philosophy. Despite some of its uncritical enthusiasts, the U.N. is by no means the only instrument of our foreign policy. We have many important institutions for the promotion of our national interest. We have the Strategic Air Command. We have Polaris submarines. We have NATO. We have the OECD. We have the Alliance for Progress. We have the United Nations. There is no necessary inconsistency between our use of all these instruments of national policy.

We should be on our guard in particular against thinking that there is a necessary conflict between the building of the North Atlantic Community, on the one hand, and effective Western participation in the United Nations, on the other.

What we see emerging today are two concentric circles. At the core—in the inner circle—are the regional organizations of Western Europe and North Atlantic Community, such as the Common Market and OECD. In the outer circle are the institutions of the United Nations family.

These two circles are complementary—not competitive. The outer circle—the United Nations family—needs the inner circle of North Atlantic institutions with their great accumulation of experience, power, and wealth. But the inner circle also needs the outer circle as a bridge to the less developed countries and the Communist bloc.

Our task today is to build a concert of free nations, not in any one of these circles alone, but in both of them at once.

The North Atlantic institutions could be invaluable to Western interests if they were used—not as an alternative to the U.N. but to concert Western support of the U.N. and to increase the Western contribution to the U.N. in both money and personnel.

V

The conclusion of this reappraisal of the U.S. interest in the U.N. is not that the U.N. is perfect. We are not wholly satisfied with the U.N. as it now exists. In the months ahead we intend to press for needed improvements in a number of areas—for better coordination of U.N. economic activities, for better ways of financing U.N. peacekeeping operations, for more efficient and orderly General Assembly procedures, and for more effective means of factfinding, observation, and pacific settlement.

To make progress in these and other areas will require a maximum effort on the part of the United States. This effort will be aided by frank and constructive criticism of U.N. shortcomings. But to be successful it must also be founded on a broadly based American conviction that, with all its shortcomings, the United Nations remains a valuable institution for the United States. Such a conviction, I submit, is justified not merely as a matter of faith but as the result of a careful scrutiny of the recent record in the hard light of the national interest.

## Tax Reform Most Pressing Need; Not Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Tax Reform Most Pressing Need; Not Tax Cut," which appeared in the August 23 issue of the Leitchfield Gazette, of Leitchfield, Ky.:

TAX REFORM MOST PRESSING NEED; NOT TAX CUT

Cold figures show that even after taxes and adjusting the relative value of the dollar, American people have almost twice as much net income as they did 20 years ago

before war time inflation and astronomical Federal budgets. Despite the constant complaint about high taxes and high cost of living, every person regularly employed at average wage scales can live without hardship, enjoy the highest standard of living in the world and be able to save a substantial portion of his income.

America has reached its position of strength through increasing productivity. With that gain in production per man-hour, there has been a corresponding gain in personal income and the standard of living. While we do not claim to challenge experts who insist a tax cut would spur the economy, we cannot see why money spent to reduce the debt would be less effective in releasing capital for new investments than lowering income and corporate taxes. Money to buy bonds to finance deficit spending must come from somewhere.

Present tax laws appear to be written to confuse the small taxpayer, to give unfair concessions to certain groups, and to be confiscatory in some instances. Simpler and more broadly based tax procedures would eliminate much of the legal or illegal evasion of a fair share of taxes. Efforts to write concessions into tax laws add to their complexity without bringing relief to more than a comparative handful.

While it is certain that an attempt to rewrite tax laws will result in something less acceptable to special groups, almost everyone admits that reform is needed. Some brackets are too high and some are too low, and in one particular branch there is wholesale evasion to the tune of almost a billion dollars a year.

A few months ago when the administration made an effort to plug the nearly billion dollar leak, a pressure group turned on a propaganda drive that was swallowed hook, line, and sinker by enough to defeat it. Failure of the reform move is an indication that any effort to provide equitable tax laws will meet opposition from the sharpers and the obtuse.

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## Ten Years of Sport Fish Restoration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement of 10 years of outstanding sport fish restoration carried out under the Dingell-Johnson program for sports fishing restoration authored by my beloved late father and predecessor, the Honorable John D. Dingell, and his friend, Senator Edwin Johnson, of Colorado. The legislation has been the heart of a program of Federal-State cooperation to restore sports fisheries across this country.

My dad was indeed proud of this legislation, and were he living today he would take immense pleasure in the tremendous success as a result of this legislation. It is a milestone of legislative accomplishment in the field of conservation and is so viewed everywhere.

This program together with the kindred Pittman-Robertson Act has financed a great reinvigoration of wildlife management and habitat acquisition by the States.

The statement follows:

SPORT FISHING INSTITUTE,
*Washington, D.C., August 23, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DINGELL: We of the Sport Fishing Institute are most pleased to submit to you a published report on 10 years of fish restoration in the Dingell-Johnson program. It is a tribute to both your father, Congressman John Dingell, of Michigan, and to Senator Edwin Johnson, of Colorado, that this program has been so successful. As the fish conservation agency representing the fishing tackle industry, we are doubly proud of the results of this first decade. It is largely for this reason that we were invited to cooperate with the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of the Interior, in the preparation of this report. We were happy to lend our financial support for its publication.

You will remember that after World War II, tremendous interest in angling brought a great need for management and restoration of sport fisheries in the United States. Early in the postwar period, it was evident that State agencies responsible for sport fishery management did not have sufficeint funds or personnel to expand their fishery management and research programs.

The demands of the increasing number of anglers were recognized when Congressman Dingell and Senator Johnson introduced bills to assist the State fish and game departments, and the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act was signed by President Harry S. Truman, August 9, 1950. As you know, this act provides for financial aid to the States and territories for fish restoration and management projects. A 10-percent Federal excise tax on the purchases of fishing rods, reels, creels, artificial lures, baits and flies is paid into the U.S. Treasury. This money is then made available to the States and territories on a $3 (Federal) to $1 (State) matching basis, with a formula in the act considering the number of fishing license holders (60 percent) and land and water areas of a State (40 percent) in relation to the total license holders and total land and water areas of all the States.

Restoration and management projects are designed and developed by the fish and game departments within the States and territories. Such projects are limited to fishery research and management and investigation, purchase and development of lands and waters, restoration of environments, and maintenance of completed projects. When approved by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the States and territories proceed with their individual projects and are reimbursed by the Federal Government for up to 75 percent of the approved cost on completion. Such project areas become the property and administrative responsibility of the State, as do the structures built thereon, and the equipment used in their construction.

A summary of major accomplishments during this first 10 years of the D–J program includes the following items:

1. One hundred and sixty sport fishing lakes built in 37 States covering a total of more than 21,000 acres, Dingell-Johnson money spent, $7,144,279; State money spent, $4,847,536.

2. One thousand two hundred fishing access sites to 2,200,000 acres of lakes and coastal areas and 1,300 miles of streams in 28 States have been acquired or developed at a total cost of $3,192,072.

3. Four thousand six hundred and forty-two abstracts published in Sport Fishery Abstracts—a review of important technical periodicals covering current literature related to sport fisheries.

4. Much improvement of fish sampling methods, management techniques, and development of new management tools—vital objectives of Dingell-Johnson programs.

5. Six hundred and seventy miles of stream improved for fishing and fishlife in 16 States.

6. Sixty stream barriers built in 11 States to prevent escape of desirable fish and to block out undesirable fish.

7. Two thousand five hundred miles of streams and 225,000 acres of lakes restored to good fishing in 34 States by use of chemicals.

8. Much research is being carried on today to provide better fishing tomorrow. Information on this work has been transmitted through publication of more than 200 technical reports and 1,000 popular articles.

A summary of how excise tax funds were spent over the period 1952–61 is given as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Research, investigation, and surveys | $23,061,195 |
| Habitat improvement, development and maintenance | 18,708,052 |
| Land acquisition | 4,437,877 |
| State administration | 2,867,235 |
| Federal administration | 2,406,204 |
| Total | 51,480,563 |

State cost-sharing contributions added approximately $20 million to the total program. The support of the fishing tackle manufacturers was an important factor when Congress enacted the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act. The fine cooperation of the industry since enactment has contributed to the success of the Dingell-Johnson program. This is a splendid example of vision and dedication to sport fish restoration.

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### TEN YEARS OF SPORT FISH RESTORATION

THE DINGELL-JOHNSON STORY

After World War II, tremendous interest in fishing brought a great increase in the need for management and restoration of sport fisheries in the United States. Early in the postwar period, it was evident that State agencies responsible for sport fishery management did not have sufficient funds or personnel to expand their fishery management programs.

The demands of the increasing numbers of anglers were recognized when Congressman JOHN DINGELL, of Michigan, and Senator Edwin Johnson, of Colorado, introduced bills in the Congress to assist the State fish and game departments, and the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act was approved August 9, 1950. This act provides for financial aid to the States and territories for fish restoration and management projects.

Dingell-Johnson and D-J have become the usual references to the activities under the cooperative Federal aid in fish restoration program, a fitting memorial for the sponsors of the act.

A Federal excise tax on the manufacturer's, producer's, or importer's prices on fishing rods creels, reels, artificial lures, baits, and flies is collected by the Federal Government. The money is made available to the States and territories in accordance with a formula in the act based upon the number of fishing license holders and land and water areas of a State in relation to the total license holders and total land and water areas of all the States.

Restoration and management projects are designed and developed by the States and territories. Project activities are limited to fisheries research, purchase and development of lands and waters, restoration of environment, and maintenance of completed projects. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and

Wildlife reviews the proposed projects to determine if the proposals are compatible with the provisions of the act. When a project is completed, the Federal Government reimburses the State for up to 75 percent of the approved cost. All areas become the property of the States and are administered by them. Structures built and equipment purchased with these cooperative funds likewise become State property.

Fishermen provide practically all of the funds—both State and Federal—for the accomplishments under the Dingell-Johnson program by paying fees for fishing licenses and permits and excise taxes on fishing tackle.

The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife in cooperation with the Sport Fishing Institute has prepared this report to illustrate Dingell-Johnson accomplishments during the 10 years since passage of the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act.

*Fishing lakes constructed with Dingell-Johnson funds—10-year summary, 1952–61*

| State | Number of lakes [1] | Surface acreage | | Total cost | Total Dingell-Johnson contribution |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | New | Restored | | |
| Alabama | 5 | 668.5 | | $385,452.53 | $289,089.40 |
| Arizona | 9 | 553.3 | | 636,871.94 | 296,646.16 |
| Arkansas | 6 | 2,336.1 | | 278,611.27 | 208,958.45 |
| Colorado | 9 | 1,103.1 | 1,100.0 | 1,102,440.98 | 600,791.65 |
| Connecticut | 1 | | 150.0 | 33,191.70 | 24,900.00 |
| Delaware | 3 | | 96.0 | 97,677.73 | 73,277.02 |
| Idaho | 1 | 60.0 | | 20,447.85 | 5,880.28 |
| Illinois | 7 | 450.8 | | 1,074,749.52 | 692,096.57 |
| Indiana | 9 | 22.0 | 253.0 | 46,958.53 | 16,289.18 |
| Iowa | 4 | 374.9 | | 274,680.62 | 101,156.56 |
| Kansas | 6 | 626.0 | | 848,448.43 | 486,146.44 |
| Kentucky | 7 | 1,273.5 | | 316,317.74 | 237,238.32 |
| Maryland | 9 | 97.1 | | 199,525.22 | 147,396.46 |
| Michigan | 2 | 1,713.0 | 61.0 | 44,174.08 | 12,820.18 |
| Mississippi | 3 | 485.0 | | 189,475.67 | 127,896.09 |
| Missouri | 3 | 267.0 | | 302,979.35 | 159,478.06 |
| Montana | 1 | 20.0 | | 42,667.38 | 4,846.16 |
| Nebraska | 3 | 179.0 | 33.5 | 445,534.09 | 308,492.23 |
| Nevada | 1 | 20.0 | | 62,403.00 | 46,802.25 |
| New Mexico | 5 | 215.8 | | 590,812.66 | 229,848.47 |
| New York | 3 | 2,015.5 | | 121,562.37 | 33,048.75 |
| North Dakota | 5 | 658.0 | 432.0 | 250,029.77 | 99,780.63 |
| Ohio | 3 | 149.0 | | 465,318.84 | 348,791.07 |
| Oklahoma | 9 | 1,216.0 | | 1,053,486.91 | 517,360.39 |
| Oregon | 1 | 45.0 | | 46,737.19 | 35,052.89 |
| Pennsylvania | 8 | 567.0 | 74.0 | 1,105,843.63 | 829,704.73 |
| Rhode Island | 2 | 10.8 | | 13,900.00 | 10,425.00 |
| South Carolina | 6 | 663.0 | | 164,998.15 | 88,031.83 |
| South Dakota | 3 | 396.0 | | 253,359.76 | 94,794.68 |
| Tennessee | 2 | 329.8 | | 400,180.37 | 300,137.28 |
| Utah | 4 | 227.0 | | 215,473.04 | 148,354.77 |
| Vermont | 4 | 35.0 | 708.0 | 114,639.23 | 85,997.32 |
| Virginia | 4 | 471.0 | | 228,612.68 | 171,459.52 |
| Washington | 6 | 89.2 | 24.4 | 105,218.80 | 78,914.10 |
| West Virginia | 2 | 205.0 | | 143,923.40 | 71,961.70 |
| Wisconsin | 1 | 455.0 | | 246,394.50 | 110,877.53 |
| Wyoming | 3 | 94.5 | | 68,716.31 | 51,537.23 |
| Total | 160 | 18,111.9 | 2,931.9 | 11,991,815.24 | 7,144,279.35 |

[1] Includes combination projects (FW projects).

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY DINGELL-JOHNSON LAKES IN 37 STATES

Additional opportunity for recreation based on fishing must be made available to sportsmen throughout the United States. An effective and quick method has been construction of dams to impound water at suitable sites. A small stream that provides no fishing may be adequate to maintain an artificial lake.

In almost every part of the country, new and restored lakes built by State game and fish departments as Dingell-Johnson projects have given fishermen more opportunity to wet a line.

LET'S GO FISHING

More than 21,000 acres of additional fishing opportunity are provided by 160 new and restored lakes built with Dingell-Johnson funds. These waters are of vast importance in satisfying the increasing public demand for outdoor recreation. Total man-days of sport fishing in the United States increased about 15 percent from 1955 to 1960. The already heavy pressure on the Nation's fishery resources is expected to increase, and acceleration of lake development programs will be needed.

Lakes and other fishing waters are being utilized to the fullest extent in many instances. Automobiles and trailers loaded with boats and fishing gear can be found on highways in all sections of the country. There were more than 25 million anglers in the United States in 1960, an increase of about 17 percent since 1955. Licensed fishermen during this period increased about 10 percent. Salt water fishermen account for much of the increase in numbers of fishermen, but only five States require a marine sport fishing license.

Improving access to streams and lakes is an objecive of many Dingell-Johnson projects. Nearly 1,200 sites have been acquired or developed in 28 States to provide new or improved fishing access to about 1,300 miles of streams and 2,200,000 acres of lakes and coastal areas.

Roads, trails, parking areas, boat-launching ramps, mooring areas, and other public use facilities have been constructed to assure more fishing opportunity for the ever-increasing number of anglers.

Access to fishing areas has become a major fishery management problem. In many areas coastal waters, streams, and lakes are isolated from public use. Access easements and purchase of fishing rights have been helpful in making some of these areas available to fishermen.

*Dingell-Johnson access projects—10-year summary, 1952–61*

| State | Sites acquired | Sites developed | Total costs |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 47 | 48 | $139,362 |
| Alaska | | 79 | 35,771 |
| Connecticut | 1 | 49 | 132,673 |
| Delaware | 4 | 23 | 172,500 |
| Florida | 16 | 16 | 22,320 |
| Hawaii | | 5 | 500 |
| Idaho | 11 | 1 | 75,826 |
| Illinois | | 2 | 53,780 |
| Indiana | 43 | 47 | 265,348 |
| Iowa | 31 | 18 | 284,585 |
| Michigan | 177 | | $519,287 |
| Mississippi | 1 | | 4,877 |
| Montana | 12 | | 101,555 |
| Nebraska | | 1 | 5,340 |
| Nevada | 1 | 2 | 18,451 |
| New Jersey | 1 | | 77,497 |
| New York | | 18 | 6,300 |
| North Carolina | 8 | 12 | 55,384 |
| Ohio | 1 | 6 | 87,220 |
| Oregon | 39 | 26 | 298,608 |
| Rhode Island | 8 | 20 | 153,747 |
| South Dakota | 2 | 4 | 6,730 |
| Tennessee | 124 | 114 | 141,175 |
| Utah | 5 | 4 | 18,181 |
| Vermont | 71 | 33 | 147,744 |
| Washington | 23 | 7 | 78,265 |
| Wisconsin | 1 | | 250 |
| Wyoming | 5 | 11 | 288,790 |

Sport fishery management is the application of scientific knowledge about fish populations to the problem of obtaining maximum hours of fishing. This knowledge concerns the changes in fish populations, their environments, and their responses to variations in the environments. Through the Federal aid in fish restoration program the State fish and game departments are obtaining much of the scientific knowledge they need to make fishery management plans.

Our sport fisheries—fresh water and marine—must be properly managed and developed for maximum utilization.

To sustain a high level of utilization, information about fish populations and their environments must be kept up to date.

Biologists utilize many sampling methods to obtain information needed in developing fishery management programs.

Improvement of sampling methods and management techniques and development of new management tools are vital objectives of Dingell-Johnson programs.

Fish that spend part of their life in the ocean and return to fresh water to spawn—salmon, striped bass, alewives, smelt, sea-run trout, shad—must ascend streams to reach suitable spawning areas. Where fish are prevented from reaching good spawning habitat by dams or natural obstacles, fish passage facilties may be feasible. Fishways are usually expensive and must be justified by an accurate evaluation of the fishery to be benefited. In three States and one territory there have been 65 fish passage facilties constructed as Dingell-Johnson projects.

Stream barriers are not undesirable in all instances. Impassable obstacles in some areas have prevented undesirable fish from invading waters in which they are not established. Barrier dams or screens have been used in some States to prevent species from reinvading waters from which they have been eradicated. There have been 60 barriers built in 11 States with Dingell-Johnson funds to prevent fish either from escaping or from entering streams or lakes.

SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY MILES OF STREAMS IMPROVED

Stream improvement can provide better fishing. Elimination of pollution, removal of undesirable obstructions, watershed improvement programs, erosion control measures, and devices to improve the streamflow pattern are methods utilized by State fishery workers to provide better stream fishing. About 670 miles of streams in 16 States were improved by Dingell-Johnson projects.

The use of chemicals for vegetation control and as a fishery management tool is practiced throughout the country and probably is the best means for controlling fish populations in smaller lakes and ponds. Many substances toxic to fish—including copper sulphate, cresol, calcium hypochlorite, and many insecticides and herbicides—have been used extensively. Dingell-John-

son biologists in 34 States have used chemicals to restore good fishing in about 2,500 miles of streams and more than 225,000 acres of lakes and ponds.

Dingell-Johnson programs in several States include experimental artificial reef development. Designed to provide a fish concentration area where cover is lacking, the artificial reef may prove to be an effective habitat improvement device. Although efforts so far have been concentrated in coastal waters, experimental work in large inland lakes has been proposed. Reefs constructed of several different materials—streetcars, car bodies, large boulders, rubble, concrete—are being evaluated to determine economic feasibility and effectiveness in the concentrating sport fish.

Scuba diving is for many an exciting and exhilarating form of recreation. For the sport fishery biologist it is another tool for use in his never ending quest to provide more fishing for more people. Artificial reef development and evaluation requires arduous work and careful recording of data by biologist-divers working below the surface.

RESEARCH TODAY—BETTER FISHING TOMORROW

Lack of facts has always been a stumbling block in the path of successful fishery management. Prior to the Dingell-Johnson era only a few States could finance modern fishery research. Today nearly every State employs at least a few professional fishery biologists. Scientific investigation is now replacing guesswork and casual observation. Research workers equipped with the necessary tools—both in the field and in the laboratory—are substituting facts for guesses and research biologists are now available in most areas to assist the management biologists.

Many Dingell-Johnson survey projects include lake and stream mapping. Maps are exceptionally useful records and are essential for planning good management programs.

Modern survey instruments are used by Dingell-Johnson workers to obtain the accurate information needed for preparation of detailed maps used by fishery management biologists.

Maps for sportsmen are published in some States and are of great value to anglers and other recreationists. Primary purpose of these maps usually is to provide a brief, accurate summary of information about a particular fishing water.

The best measure of a sport fish management program is the harvest of fish and the recreation that is provided. Creel census is one of the most useful tools available for fishery management since it provides information on the harvest of fish.

Salt water or fresh water, lake or stream, surf or offshore, winter or summer, night or day, the fishery biologist seeks the angler's cooperation.

Publications are an important aspect of the Federal aid in fish restoration projects. More than 200 technical reports and about 1,000 popular articles about the program and its accomplishments were published during the 1952–61 period. Both fishermen and fishery workers benefit from these publications, and biologists in most States are encouraged to publish their findings.

Millions of Americans take advantage of outdoor recreational sports. Fishing is enjoyed by every member of the family—women as well as men, teenagers, and elders, mom, dad, sis, and junior, all take part. More than 25 million people over 12 years old went fishing in 1960. Those anglers spent billions of dollars, hundreds of millions of days, and traveled billions of miles to enjoy sport fishing. Personal expenditures on all recreation rose by almost 60 percent in the 1950's, and sport fishing has been a significant ingredient in the growth of these expenditures.

*In 1960, $3 billion*

| | Percent |
|---|---|
| Food and lodging | 10 |
| Transportation | 14 |
| Fishing tackle | 11 |
| Other fishing equipment | 37 |
| Licenses | 2 |
| Other costs | 26 |

FINANCING THE PROGRAM

Fishermen finance the entire program.

Fishermen provide the Federal share through the excise tax of 10 percent on certain types of sport-fishing tackle—rods, reels, creels, and artificial baits, lures, and flies. The Fish Restoration Act does not require any tax on cane poles, hooks, lines, sinkers, various other tackle, boats, and motors.

Fishermen also provide the State's share through fishing licenses, stamps, and permits.

Thus fishermen pay the entire cost of Dingell-Johnson projects and in so doing they serve all who benefit from more and better water and good fishing.

DISTRIBUTING THE FUNDS

The Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act provides that the Secretary of Interior shall, after deducting an amount necessary for expenses, apportion the remainder of the appropriation for each fiscal year among the several States in the following manner: 40 percent in the ratio which the area of each State including coastal and Great Lakes waters bears to the total area of all the States, and 60 percent in the ratio which the number of persons, holding paid sport fishing licenses bears to the number of such persons in all the States. No State receives less than 1 percent nor more than 5 percent of the distributed funds.

*How fish restoration funds were spent, 1952–61*

| | |
|---|---|
| Research, investigations, and surveys | $23,061,195 |
| Habitat improvement, development, and maintenance | 18,708,052 |
| Land acquisition | 4,437,877 |
| State administration | 2,867,235 |
| Federal administration | 2,406,204 |
| Total | 51,480,563 |

SPORT FISHERY ABSTRACTS

About 250 technical periodicals are reviewed and abstracts of more than 200 reports are published in each issue of Sport Fishery Abstracts. Through 1961 there were 4,642 abstracts. Primary purpose of the abstracts is to bring to the attention of fishery workers current literature related to sport fisheries. State and Federal biologists throughout the country and fishery workers in 45 foreign countries receive the publication. This service has become almost indispensable to fishery biologists everywhere.

The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife publishes Sport Fishery Abstracts, a major Dingell-Johnson achievement. The need for an abstracting service was recognized in 1953 and evidence of support of an abstract journal was received from 38 States. Resolutions by the western and southern divisions of the American Fisheries Society affirmed this support, and the first issue of Sport Fishery Abstracts appeared in July 1955.

THE SCORE SHEET

Accomplishments during the first 10 years of the Dingell-Johnson program have been substantial.

Acquisition and improvement of access to lakes, streams, and coastal areas, construction of new lakes and rehabilitation of unproductive waters have provided more fishing for more people in all parts of the Nation.

Few States in 1950 had an adequate staff of specialists to manage sport fishery resources, and information for successful fisheries management was not available in most States. Today nearly every State has a technical fisheries staff, and management of sport fisheries is now on a sounder basis. Many Dingell-Johnson biologists have gained enough experience in supervision, budgeting, and programing to move into administrative echelons.

Dingell-Johnson studies now being conducted include diagnosis and treatment of disease and parasites, methods for controlling undesirable fish, feasibility of introducing exotic species, evaluation of regulations, and effects of pollution on fish and fishing. Investigations also are being conducted to develop, improve, and evaluate management techniques.

Sport Fishery Abstracts published by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife as a Dingell-Johnson activity, provides an indispensable tool for fishery biologists.

Conservation of basic natural resources has been well served by many Dingell-Johnson projects. Although designed to benefit sport fisheries, these projects have properly emphasized basic conservation concepts such as protection of stream banks, stabilization of eroding slopes, establishment of vegetative cover, removal of stream barriers, and preservation and establishment of permanent water areas.

Our sport fisheries will be subjected to ever increasing pressure and by the year 1976 will have to provide fishing opportunity for 50 percent more anglers. The imperative need of the fishery management agencies during the next 10 years will be additional sources of money.

A WORD OF APPRECIATION

The support of the fishing tackle manufacturers was an important factor when Congress enacted the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act. The fine cooperation of the industry during the 10 years since enactment has contributed to the success of the Dingell-Johnson program. This is a splendid example of vision and dedication to sport fish restoration.

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## Nisei of Biennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, every 2 years the Japanese American Citizens League honors a number of outstanding citizens of Japanese descent by awarding them the title, "Nisei of Biennium." This year the citations and awards were made at the 17th biennial convention of the Japanese American Citizens League held in Seattle, Wash.

I am particularly honored that two of the five selected come from the district which I have the privilege to represent. The Honorable Tom Kitayama, of Union City, Calif., has devoted his activities to the welfare of that community and, more than once, the people of Union City have recognized him by electing him as mayor of the city. He has done a magnificent job and is a credit to his city and his country.

The only Federal employee to be so honored this year is John Yoshino, who is with the President's Committee on

Equal Employment Opportunity in the Department of Labor. Mr. Yoshino is a native of the city of Alameda, my home city, where his family has long distinguished itself in the affairs of Alameda.

I am very happy to make part of these remarks extracts from the August 3 and 10 editions of the newspaper, Pacific Citizen, the official organ of the Japanese American Citizens League:

[From the Pacific Citizen, Aug. 3, 1962]

MINORU YAMASAKI HUMBLY ACCEPTS 1961–62 "NISEI OF BIENNIUM" HONORS

SEATTLE.—Minoru Yamasaki, world renown Nisei architect of Detroit, was announced as winner of the coveted Nisei of the Biennium award at the convention banquet, 17th Biennial Japanese American Citizen's League convention, July 30.

The citation as read by immediate Past National Japanese American Citizens' League President and National Recognitions Chairman Shigeo Wakamatsu, stated: "Minoru Yamasaki has gained for the profession of architecture, not only in this country but throughout the world, a new distinction filled with beauty and serenity. By artfully blending his understanding of Japanese art and culture with that of Western architecture, he has attained in his profession a philosophy of humanism which seeks to elevate the dignity of man in his environment—a philosophy dedicated to and consistent with the highest ideals of democracy.

"His contributions to American and world architecture are impressive and enduring. They serve to highlight the distinguished contributions of Japanese Americans to the contemporary American scene. The personal recognition and prestige accorded this eminent American has brought immeasurable honor to all Americans of Japanese ancestry.

"The Japanese American Citizens League is proud to bestow its highest honor upon Minoru Yamasaki—Nisei of the Biennium, 1960–62."

Yamasaki was also presented with the Japanese American Citizens' League gold medallion with the inscription engraved, "Nisei of the Biennium, 1960–62, Minoru Yamasaki."

OTHER FINALISTS

Yamasaki was declared winner from five finalists submitted to a panel of distinguished judges who met June 26 in Chicago, Ill. The nucleus National Recognitions Committee in Chicago, chaired by Shigeo Wakamatsu narrowed the field to 5 finalists from 13 candidates nominated by individuals, local Japanese American Citizens' League chapters, or Japanese American Citizens' League district councils.

The four receiving silver Japanese-American Citizens' League medallions were Thomas Kitayama, businessmen and mayor of Union City, Calif.; Dr. Kiyo Tomiyasu, scientist and senior electronics engineer with General Electric of New York City; Caesar Uyesaka, businessman, civic leader, and sportsman of Santa Barbara, Calif.; and John Yoshino, expert in the field of human relations and Deputy Director, Field Services of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity of Washington, D.C.

The Nisei of the Biennium award is one of the very highest honors that Japanese Americans can bestow upon a fellow Nisei. Nominees are nominated in one or both of two categories: (a) Distinguished community leadership—based upon signal success and meritorious accomplishment which have help to advance the welfare of persons of Japanese ancestry and which has brought about a greater acceptance of the Japanese Americans into the American way of life, and (b) distinguished achievement—based upon signal success and outstanding achievement in special fields of endeavor where such accomplishments have been nationally recognized and thus have contributed to the status and prestige of Nisei in America.

Min Yamasaki was nominated by the Detroit chapter, Japanese American Citizens' League in the distinguished achievement category. Yama to Tinky, as he is known to his friends, is a native of Seattle, and received his degree in architecture from the University of Washington. He was a designer for some of the country's leading architectural concerns from 1935 to 1949 when he commenced his own practice in Detroit.

His honors and awards number more than a score for architectural designs of edifices located here and abroad. They include, among the many, the following received 1960 to date:

Honorable mention in architecture, Gold Medal Exhibition, Architectural League of New York, for McGregor Memorial Community Conference Center, Wayne State University in Detroit.

Certificate of Fellowship, American Institute of Architects.

Honorary degree, doctor of humanities, Wayne State University.

Alumni's Summa Laude Dignatus Award, University of Washington.

Fellow, Fine Arts and Literature, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Mass.

A.I.A. First Honor Award, Reynolds Metals Regional Building, Southfield, Mich.

Honorary degree, doctor of architecture, University of Michigan.

Honorary degree, doctor of fine arts, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N.Y.

In addition, his written works have been published in leading architectural publications. He has also broadcast over Voice of America on the topic "A Humanist Architecture for America and Its Relation to the Traditional Architecture of Japan." This Nisei has been the subject of over 130 articles appearing in nationally and internationally distributed periodicals and earlier this year was the subject of dissertation by nationally syndicated radio commentator, Lowell Thomas, in relation to the Yamasaki-designed Science Pavilion at the current Seattle World's Fair.

It was befitting that Min Yamasaki received the highest accolade of his fellow Nisei at the scene of his latest triumph, and in the city where he grew up and studied to eventually become a world renown contemporary architectural designer.

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[From the Pacific Citizen, Aug. 10, 1962]

CITATIONS: NISEI OF THE BIENNIUM 1960–62

Only citation presented at the recognition banquet was the beautifully illuminated scroll to Minoru Yamasaki, the 1960–62 Nisei of the Biennium and Japanese American Citizens League gold medallion awardee. The citations of the four silver medallion winners were read to the audience and are being published in this week's Pacific Citizen.

MINORU YAMASAKI, DETROIT, MICH.

Minoru Yamasaki has gained for the profession of architecture, not only in this country but throughout the world, a new distinction filled with beauty and serenity. By artfully blending his understanding of Japanese art and culture with that of Western architecture, he has attained in his profession a philosophy of humanism which seeks to elevate the dignity of man in his environment—a philosophy dedicated to and consistent with the highest ideal of democracy.

His contributions to American and world architecture are impressive and enduring. They serve to highlight the distinguished contributions of Japanese Americans to the contemporary American scene. The personal recognition and prestige accorded this eminent American has brought immeasurable honor to all Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The Japanese American Citizens League is proud to bestow its highest honor upon Minoru Yamasaki—Nisei of the Biennium 1960–62.

MAYOR TOM KITAYAMA, UNION CITY, CALIF.

Tom Kitayama epitomizes the American who, successful in his own business, has been moved by a deep social consciousness to turn his talents and energies to public affairs. Twelve years ago, when the Kitayama Brothers Nursery was started, the first week's gross income went to pay the lone hired man's wages. Today that hired man is foreman of a staff of more than 130 employees, the Kitayama Nursery is the largest producer of carnations in the United States, and Kitayama himself is a leader in the California floral industry.

In 1959, when Union City was first incorporated, Kitayama ran for city council and was named mayor by virtue of receiving the greatest number of votes. He was reelected mayor in 1962 on his record of good government and far-sighted planning for a thriving, fast-growing community composed of persons of many diverse backgrounds.

Over and above his professional and political success, Kitayama is a man of impressive personal warmth and understanding. Residents of his community look to him as friend and counsellor. Many come to him with business, personal and organizational problems. He has taken a leading role in civic groups and campaigns too numerous to list here. "He is," as one of his friends remarked, "not only a credit to the Nisei but to the whole human race."

Kitayama, 38 years old, was born in Port Blakely, Bainbridge Island, Wash. He and his wife, Heidi, are the parents of five children. Kitayama was nominated by the Eden Township Japanese American Citizens League Chapter, of which is a member and former officer.

DR. KIYO TOMIYASU, SCHENECTADY, N.Y.

Among those holding high the torch in mankind's exploration of the bewildering new frontiers of science is Kiyo Tomiyasu, our second silver medallion winner. Tomiyasu is an internationally recognized authority in the field of radio microwave, and probably the world's foremost expert on lasers, a newly developed scientific device which is expected to have a key role in space communication. In the pursuit of knowledge, Dr. Tomiyasu has authored more than 20 papers published in professional journals, and has had 12 patents issued for his original discoveries.

Dr. Tomiyasu studied at the California Institute of Technology and Columbia University, and received his doctorate from Harvard in 1948. He joined the staff of the Sperry Gyroscope Co. in 1949 and was promoted to engineering section head for microwave research in 1953. After being named consulting engineer at the General Electric Microwave Laboratory in 1955, he transferred in 1960 to Gefieral Electric Co. where today he is technical director of the laser laboratory.

In the race to unlock the secrets of the physical world, a race on which the survival of our civilization may well depend, this Nisei has contributed new knowledge and offered new concepts in scientific fields of immense significance.

Dr. Tomiyasu, born in Las Vegas, Nev., 43 years ago, was nominated by the New York City chapter.

CAESAR UYESAKA, SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

In a time when we face the dilemma of what to do with increasing leisure, Caesar Uyesaka has provided Santa Barbara with concrete answers as to how that leisure may be most profitably employed by persons of all ages. A partial list of his activities in this field may serve to measure this man's impact on his commuhity:

Commissioner of city recreation; Boy Scout commissioner; vice president of the Basket-

ball Booster Club, University of California at Santa Barbara, a club he organized; membership drive worker for the Community Chest, Red Cross, Boy's Club, a Child's Estate; chairman in 1959 of the YMCA building fund; coach of junior baseball teams for the Lions Club and Shrine.

Earlier this year Uyesaka brought professional baseball to Santa Barbara. He set up a nonprofit corporation to operate the Santa Barbara Rancheros, a farm team of the New York Mets, and was elected its president. All the corporation's earnings are to go to the Youth Foundation.

Uyesaka, who operates an automobile supply firm, in 1961 was chosen Santa Barbara's "Father of the Year" for service and devotion to the community's youth. "The people whose lives have been touched and helped by this man are manifold," his citation read.

Uyesaka, 46 years old, was born in Carpinteria, Calif. He and his wife have three children—Robert, Paul, and Linda—each of whom is also a leader. The nomination was made by the Santa Barbara chapter.

JOHN YOSHINO, WASHINGTON, D.C.

No internal problem of American democracy is more explosive, more critical, more challenging, than the problem of race relations. John Yoshino, because of his particular skills and background, was loaned by his agency to a special White House task force with the difficult mission of eliminating discrimination in places of public accommodation along Route 40 between Washington and New York City. Yoshino's work resulted in desegregation in a number of establishments and in helping to bring legislative action in the State of Maryland, to alleviate a problem with important international implications.

In his regular position with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Yoshino has been instrumental in developing job opportunities without regard to race, creed or color in many State and local situations.

Yoshino, now 52, received a bachelor's degree in labor relations at Roosevelt College of Chicago, and a master's degree in public administration at Loyola of Chicago in 1953. He is a native of Alameda, Calif., and has served as Japanese American Citizens League chapter officer in Alameda, Chicago, and Washington. Presently he is chairman of the Eastern District Council and represented the Japanese American Citizens League at the White House Conference on Youth, and the White House Conference on Aging. He was nominated for Nisei of the Biennium by the Washington, D.C., chapter.

## The Hanna Co.'s Operation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWIN R. DURNO**
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. DURNO. Mr. Speaker, the nickel mountain near Riddle, Oreg., is within my congressional district. So much has been said about the Hanna Co.'s operation, much of which is distorted or untrue that I feel the Representative from that district should include within the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD facts that he knows to be pertinent to the operation.

I think that this can best be done by the publishing of two editorials by Mr. Charles V. Stanton, of the News-Review in Roseburg, Oreg. I include the editorials of August 17 and 18, 1962, in the RECORD:

[From the News-Review, Roseburg, Oreg., Aug. 17, 1962]

PROFITABLE RACKET

(By Charles V. Stanton)

It has been my extreme pleasure and good fortune to know George Humphrey. Humphyer was Secretary of the Treasury in the Eisenhower Cabinet. Earlier he was president of the M. A. Hanna Co. In that capacity he helped negotiate the plan which resulted in opening the nickel operation near Riddle. Now he's being mauled at a congressional investigation.

I have the highest regard for Humphrey's integrity and honesty. Perhaps my personal liking for the man influences my opinions of the investigation. But I feel Humphrey is getting a dirty deal. Whatever his defense may be, I'm quite confident it will not receive nearly the sensational treatment now being given the statements against him.

Congress, it seems to me, has stretched to extreme thinness its authority to make investigations. Such authority supposedly is only for the purpose of determining if new laws are needed. But the investigative procedure has been used to spread propaganda, expound political theory, blacken characters, lower prestige, destroy influences, and to mislead the public.

Time and again congressional committees have sensationally developed one side of an issue, then postponed or bidden the other side to limit press reports. The public forms an erroneous opinion.

For example, we're currently reading that Humphrey received large sums of money from his stock dividends while serving as Secretary of the Treasury. It is mentioned time and again that he served under Eisenhower. The public thus is led to believe that Eisenhower was responsible for the Hanna affair, and that something wrong was involved.

NAME BLACKENED

Actually the negotiations with the M. A. Hanna Co. occurred long before Eisenhower was elected or before Humphrey was asked by Eisenhower to serve on the Cabinet. The agreement was made during Truman's time in office, although it did not reach the signature stage until later.

But the U.S. Government was in dire need of strategic metals. It particularly needed nickel. It has been known for a half century or more that Nickel Mountain, near Riddle, contained a great deal of nickel ore. But it was low grade ore. Attempts to mine it had been financial failures. No major company would tackle it.

At the request of the Government several concerns looked into the possibility. Hanna finally undertook the project.

The agreement provided that Hanna, at its own expense, would buy the private holdings and would, at its own expense, install and operate mining equipment. It also would lease and operate a smelter to be built with a loan from the Federal Government. The loan, in turn, was to be repaid by the delivery of a fixed amount of metal at an established price over a certain period of years. Delivery of this amount of metal, it was calculated, would pay off the loan, whereupon Hanna could buy the smelter at its depreciated value.

This whole transaction was negotiated while Truman was President, not Eisenhower. But that isn't the impression the uninformed public gets.

Instead, the testimony being developed at the hearing apparently is designed to smear and blacken Humphrey's good name and reputation.

A FEW QUESTIONS

But let's assume, for sake of argument, that Humphrey did have an income of several millions of dollars while he served as Secretary of the Treasury.

What's wrong with that? Humphrey was a multimillionaire before he was picked for Ike's Cabinet. Ike picked him because he was a hard-headed, efficient businessman (not a college professor) who knew how to make and handle money. Did he make any more money because of his Cabinet position than he did before entering the Government? He quit a very lucrative job to answer the President's appeal.

Didn't the Hanna subsidiaries, in operating the Riddle project, conform to every letter in the contract with the Government? The company, as I understand it, built the smelter for far less money than the Government offered to loan; produced every pound of nickel the Government sought in the contract and charged the price agreed upon, even though the open market price was much higher; completed the contract a year before the specified time, and bought the property under the terms originally stipulated.

Then there's another interesting question. Who made the profit? If Humphrey made the millions the investigators report (and, for the sake of argument, we'll say the amount is correct) who got the money? The Government's graduated rates on income taxes would put Humphrey in the 90 percent bracket. The Federal Government, then, would have taken 90 percent of what Humphrey received and Humphrey would have been able to keep only 10 percent.

If that's graft, as some of our congressional investigators apparently would have us believe, it seems to me it's a mighty profitable racket for the Federal Government.

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[From the News-Review, Roseburg, Oreg., Aug. 18, 1962]

IS PROFIT EVIL?

(By Charles V. Stanton)

Press reports concerning the congressional inquiry into the affairs of the M. A. Hanna Co., its satellites operating the nickel smelting plant at Riddle, and the personal affairs of George Humphrey, former Secretary of the Treasury under President Eisenhower, cause a person to ask several questions.

As nearly as I can interpret the attitude of the Government investigator testifying before the congressional committee, the fact that the Hanna subsidiaries made a profit was evil. Furthermore it appears to be the investigator's contention that Humphrey had no moral right to any income from his vast wealth and his far-flung investments and business operations while serving the U.S. Government as a member of the Cabinet.

That, it seems to me, is an interesting angle. It seems to fit closely into theories being pressed upon the American people by Socialist propagandists.

Oregon's senior Senator has won headlines for himself, while a candidate for office, by a filibuster that finally caused disgusted Senators to take an action they hadn't taken for 35 years—action to limit debate. His theme was that private industry should not be permitted to make a profit through utilization of knowledge and experience gained at public expense.

A GAMBLER'S PROFIT

Is it wrong for private industry to make a profit? Private industry for many, many years has been gambling. A man invests risk capital with the expectation that he will recover his investment through a substantial profit. Is that evil?

Our Federal Government has a policy of taxing away any excess profits. It limits through taxes a man's opportunity to make

a killing if he takes a long gamble. Is it good economic policy to destroy the incentive to profit from a long shot?

That, it seems to me, is the principle question involved in the Riddle nickel production case, as I read the press releases.

The largest deposit of nickel ore in the continental United States is at Nickel Mountain, here in Douglas County. Following the Second World War the U.S. Government was desperate for strategic minerals. It learned in that war it was vitally dependent upon certain metals. It had to slow down some items of production because it didn't have metals available in this country and had to import. The loss of China and Malaya, for example, cutting off imports of tin, seriously hurt this country's production.

One of the critical metals was nickel. All nickel came from imports and thus was subject to blockade. Consequently, there was an anxiety to stockpile nickel.

The only deposit of possible size was at Riddle in Douglas County. The Government asked several companies to investigate and help out if possible.

The idea was rejected by all except Hanna. The Hanna Co. for many years has been one of the country's leading producers of coal and iron. It previously hadn't deviated from the mining of those minerals.

NEW PROCESS PERFECTED

But, at the request of the Government it decided to take a gamble on nickel.

And it was a gamble. The company could have lost many millions. What would have been the Government's position had the project been a loss rather than showing a profit?

French scientists had invented a new process, but it was unproven. Hanna bought the patent rights for this country, experimented with a completely new form of production, did some changing of formula, and came up with a profitable operation on a low-grade ore other outfits had rejected.

The Federal Government, in its anxiety to stockpile nickel, aided in the experiment. It reached an agreement. The Hanna Co., I am informed, furnished every pound of nickel specified in the contract, repaid every cent of the money borrowed, and met every stipulation.

Accepting at face value the statement that the operation resulted in a profit, is it evil that the gamble on an unproven process and a rejected pile of low-grade ore paid off? Is it evil that because of the company's experience and mining knowledge it was able to supply the government's needs and, at the same time, profit while so doing? Is there any evidence that George Humphrey used his position as a member of the Cabinet to in any way further his personal fortune? Should the Federal Government, after making a contract, renege because the contracting private agent might make a profit? And, is Humphrey being given any credit because the operation has provided employment for from 400 to 500 people for the past 8 years, adding millions to the payroll income of the county, and that the county is some $16 million richer in assessed valuation, thus spreading the tax load, because of the Hanna success? Or is that evil, too?

## Report on Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, an informative article on Brazil by Dr. Robert Morris, former president of the University of Dallas of Texas, was published in the August 18, 1962, issue of the Tablet, the well-known weekly newspaper of Brooklyn, N.Y.

The article follows:

REPORT ON BRAZIL

(By Robert Morris)

Brazil dominates South America much in the same way that the United States dominates North America. Its area, 3,288,000 square miles, is greater than this country's without Alaska. It has a population of about 70 million and it borders Venezuela, Dutch and French Guiana, the fledging Soviet satellite British Guiana, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Argentina.

Its coastline on the Atlantic Ocean extends for 4,889 miles. The principal river of South America, the Amazon, is navigable for 1,700 miles as it courses through this strategic country. Its mineral wealth is enormous, its natural resources are great indeed.

PRIME SOVIET TARGET

Brazil is the most strategic country in South America. It is a prime Soviet target and its fall would leave the vital South American Continent dominated by our mortal enemy, world communism.

During the past few weeks I have been visited by missionaries of all denominations from Brazil who have an urgent note to their appeals. They stridently and graphically tell of great Communist gains in this rich country and a completely inadequate response on the part of our Government to the looming threat.

The Communists in Brazil, although technically outlawed, are a powerful force. They have strongly infiltrated the labor unions, the press, the peasant leagues, and the intellectual life of the country. They are now mounting a powerful offensive.

LEFTIST PRESIDENT

They have achieved a major breakthrough with the assumption of Presidential powers by Joao Goulart, "Jango" as he is affectionately called by his friends.

When the upheaval that shook Janio Quadros from power took place last September, Goulart, his Vice President, was in Red China with Mao Tse-tung. When Goulart tried to assume the Presidency he met the solid opposition of Carlos Lacerdo, the strong anti-Communist Brazilian Governor, and other sturdy defends of Brazilian freedom.

But Jango's brother-in-law, Leonel Brizola, Governor of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, moved quickly and engineered Goulart's assumption of the Presidency. Their success was not complete however, and the opposition managed to effect a compromise whereby Goulart's powers were shared by strong congressional influences. Goulart's open friendship for Soviet powers had strong opposition and this opposition curtailed his power considerably.

Jango did surround himself—as did Fidel Castro in his ascent to power—with strong Communist assistants. But as long as his congressional opposition curtailed his power, he could not make his move.

When Goulart's Prime Minister, Tancredo Neves, resigned last month to become a candidate for the Congress, events moved quickly. Neves had been installed to block Jango's power and his resignation sparked the Communists to action.

The powerful Soviet apparatus called a general strike. Communist-incited mobs looted shops and generally rampaged outrageously. They showed their fangs and their power. They wanted Goulart to have a free hand.

Lacerda, the Governor of the State of Guanabara, which includes the city of Rio de Janeiro, stated, "Communists trained in Czechoslovakia and in Cuba have been preparing to subvert public order * * * the disorders have been deliberately organized by Communists."

But the Communist show of force succeeded. On July 10 a terrorized Brazilian Congress elected Goulart's handpicked Prime Minister Brochado Da Rocha, an intimate friend of Goulart's brother-in-law, Brizola, who has achieved fame as the great confiscator.

Goulart now is freed of his restraining forces. He is tightening his control over strategic Brazil. His appointments are Soviet oriented. He is now beginning to muzzle anti-Communists, including Lacerda.

SERIOUS DANGER

Brazil is now in serious danger of being dragged from neutrality to the Soviet orbit. The months ahead are critical.

When I asked my missionary friends what our State Department people there are doing about this obvious threat, they said, "The wrong thing, of course. They give the appearance of helping Goulart in every way."

And as Brazil goes the way of Cuba and British Guiana, our planners keep insisting that communism is a declining force.

## Simplified Government?—Wanted: "Yes" Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of August 27, 1962:

SIMPLIFIED GOVERNMENT?—WANTED: "YES" CONGRESSMEN

President Kennedy wants you to send him the Congressmen of his choice. The chief qualification for Presidential favor will be a willingness to vote "yes" upon request. This would simplify government and presumably restore the legislative leadership of a President who has found himself frustrated and humiliated.

A great deal has been made of the President's impulsive and angry remark, after the defeat of his medicare plan, of bringing about the election of friendly Congressmen, in that the coup de grace was delivered by deserting members of his own party. Is he going to purge his party?

To a liberal, party lines mean very little; a party is merely an instrument to be seized and operated on behalf of the ideological crusade. What the liberal wants in Congress is not a Democrat, as such, but a liberal, preferably a Democrat. It's the issue that counts.

Mr. Kennedy is a pragmatic liberal and while he probably will not openly seek to bring about the defeat of regular Democrats, he will enter the lists in an effort to recast the Congress in his own mold. He proceeds on the assumption that only the President can represent the national will, because he is elected by the people as a whole, on the larger issues, and in this, he and the other liberals have openly stated that an undeclared civil war between rural and urban voters now is underway.

The seat of the President's power lies within the big cities.

After the defeat of his plan for a new Department of Urban Affairs, Mr. Kennedy implied that 250 Members of Congress were indifferent to the problems of the cities.

Presumably these 250 Congressmen would have to go.

This argument, of course, is a twisted one, but one which liberals cherish and hold close to their political hearts. The truth is that while the President was elected by about 34 million votes, half of the 68 million votes cast in the presidential race, the men and women in the House of Representatives received a total of almost 41 million votes out of 64 million cast.

Ninety million Americans, almost half the population, live on farms or in towns with fewer than 25,000 inhabitants. This segment of the population has been dwindling, of course, and contrary to what Mr. Kennedy and the liberals like to believe, it has not shared in the general prosperity of the people of the large cities.

Most of the programs advocated by the liberals have the purpose of benefiting and concentrating large voting blocs in the cities, and forwarding a new order of socialism. To accomplish this Mr. Kennedy does not want Congressmen who represent their constituents but who represent his wishes. It seems strange that after the centuries the liberals fought to place political power within a parliament, they now seek to take it away.

## Peace Officers Memorial Day and Police Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of legislation designed to authorize the President to proclaim May 15 of each year as Peace Officers Memorial Day and the calendar week of each year during which such May 15 occurs as Police Week, I desire to insert in the RECORD "The Story Behind National Police Week."

The law enforcement associations throughout the Nation have been doing an outstanding job and directing activities designed to honor law enforcement officials for doing so much for the safety of life and property in our country.

Since the Committee on the Judiciary has favorably reported out House Joint Resolution 730 to accomplish the above purpose, I think it is appropriate that the story behind National Police Week be told:

THE STORY BEHIND NATIONAL POLICE WEEK

The National Conference of Police Associations was formed in 1953 when 14 municipal and State police associatons representing all sections of the country gathered in Detroit and brought into existence this national organization of law enforcement officers. One of the main purposes of this national conference was to promote and stimulate the development of the police services of our Nation toward a truly professional status.

Early in the history of the National Conference of Police Associations, the idea and plan began to take shape for a National Police Week as an annual celebration to promote better understanding and cooperation between the public and the police. The first recorded discussion in the minutes of the National Conference of Police Associations is found during the 1955 annual conference in New York City. At that time, although the National Conference of Police Associations had grown rapidly in its 2 years of existence, the majority of the delegates felt that the organization was not large enough to handle a project of such magnitude and make it the nationwide event it should be.

By 1959 the National Conference of Police Associations had grown into the largest organization of police officers in the Nation and the public relations and planning committees were directed to begin definite work toward the creation of a National Police Week. The legislative representatives were directed to prepare a program and campaign but to await further orders before actually starting to work. The majority of the delegates felt that although the national conference by this time had almost 50 member associations, representing 187,000 police officers, it would be difficult to persuade the Congress of the United States to establish such a week, and difficult to be assured of the complete success in promoting the week on a truly national basis without the support and cooperation of the police chiefs of the country. It was therefore decided that although the tremendous task of planning for a National Police Week should get underway, efforts should be made to interest the International Association of Chiefs of Police in this project before any concerted action was taken in the legislative field. Accordingly, representatives of the National Conference of Police Associations were sent to the annual convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. When they reported that they were unable to arouse much interest in the proposal the legislative efforts of the national conference were shelved for that year.

In 1960 the annual conference of the national conference was held in Des Moines, Iowa. Its membership had been swelled by several more police associations and the total of police officers represented passed the 200,000 mark. Although many of the delegates still felt that assured cooperation and support by the International Association of Chiefs of Police was necessary to insure both success in the legislative efforts and in the actual promotion of the week, the majority of the representatives felt that should such support and cooperation not be forthcoming the national conference could and should go ahead on its own initiative. Accordingly, it was so decided and all plans were placed in high gear.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police's Convention was held later that year in Washington, D.C. Strong representation was made to its members by the National Conference of Police Associations of the need and value of a National Police Week, but despite the enthusiastic support of the president-elect, Chief Robert V. Murray, of Washington, D.C., the executive committee of the Chief's Association failed to approve a motion to endorse and support the proposal. Chief Murray, however, assured the national conference representatives that during his coming year as head of the I.A.C.P. he would do all in his power to convince his brother police chiefs of the importance of the national conference Police Week project.

Meanwhile the N.C.P.A. was going ahead with its plans and its legislative representatives were very busy on Capitol Hill. One of the most gratifying and rewarding aspects of this work was the warm and sincere interest our legislators have in any proposal which will benefit the police services and the policemen and women of our Nation. More than 50 Representatives and Senators offered to introduce legislation leading to the creation of a National Police Week but after the first is placed in the hopper, additional bills serve only to express the interest and approval of the legislator which can be demonstrated on the floor when the original bill is called up.

The Representatives who did introduce bills during the first session of the Congress in 1961 were: The Honorable GEORGE P. MILLER, of California; the Honorable WILLIAM E. MILLER, of New York; the Honorable JEFFERY P. COHELAN, of California; the Honorable GLENN CUNNINGHAM, of Nebraska; and the Honorable JOHN DOWDY, of Texas. In the Senate, the Honorable OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, introduced a similar resolution.

When the legislative representatives of the national conference called on the Senate Judiciary Committee to ask its support, they were informed that Senator J. GLENN BEALL, of Maryland, had also introduced a bill at the request of the Federation of Police, another prominent national police organization, designating May 15, 1961, as Peace Officers Memorial Day. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate requested that the NCPA, sponsoring a National Police Week, and the FOP, sponsoring a Peace Officers Memorial Day, arrange a conference to determine if these two organizations could agree upon a combined resolution which would include both their proposals. The Judiciary Committee was of the opinion that if such a combined resolution were possible and both organizations supported it, that it would stand a much better chance of passage through the Congress. The legislative representatives of these two police organizations met and agreed that they would work together for the passage of a joint resolution designating May 15th as Peace Officers Memorial Day and the week in which that day was included as National Police Week.

The Members of Congress who had introduced the original Police Week legislation were again contacted and asked to introduce substitute bills combining the NCPA and FOP proposals. At this time, in addition to the gentlemen already mentioned, two other Representatives introduced combined Police Week and Memorial Day Resolutions—the Honorable JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia, and the Honorable JOEL T. BROYHILL, of Virginia. Although no actual difficulty was encountered during all these procedures, it was time consuming and it soon became apparent, in spite of all the preliminary planning done by the National Conference of Police Associations, that there was insufficient time left to properly prepare for a Police Week in the month of May 1961. The NCPA thereupon requested that the date of the first week be changed from May of 1961 to May of 1962.

On April 27, 1961, Senate Joint Resolution 65 was reported out favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee and this resolution passed the Senate on May 1, 1961. On May 22, 1961, the House Judiciary Committee approved Senate Joint Resolution 65 in a slightly amended form, and on June 5, 1961, the House passed the resolution, as amended. On June 12, 1961, the Senate agreed to the House amendments and the resolution was sent to the White House. On June 21, 1961, President Kennedy signed Senate Joint Resolution 65 into law—Public Law 87-54. The pen used in signing this act was given to the National Conference of Police Associations and at the annual conference of the NCPA in Buffalo, N.Y., the following month, the legislative committee of the NCPA, presented it to their president, James J. Vigilante.

In October of 1961, the International Association of Chiefs of Police held their annual meeting in Montreal, Canada. At this time a resolution to support the officially established National Police Week was enthusiastically adopted. Since the Buffalo Annual Conference of the NCPA in July of 1961 had no definite assurance of support and cooperation from the IACP, the plans discussed there included only those cities and States represented by the NCPA, and the cooperation which had been pledged by the

FOP in the communities represented by that organization. The endorsement by and the pledge of assistance from the IACP was extremely gratifying, even though belated in nature. At the next meeting of the Board of Directors of the NCPA, in Los Angeles, Calif., in December of 1961, where final plans were approved for the celebration of Police Week, it was voted to send to all Police Chiefs of the United States, represented by the IACP, complete sets of the plans, suggested programs, advice and recommendations devised by the NCPA during its many months of planning. Brochures containing this information were also sent to many other police chiefs and to police associations not affiliated with the NCPA.

On April 10, 1962, President Kennedy implemented Public Law 87-54 by issuing a proclamation that May 13-19, 1962, be designated as National Police Week, and that May 14, 1962, be designated as Peace Officers Memorial Day. It will be noted that although the original intent was to have May 15, 1962, designated as Peace Officers Memorial Day, during the House-added amendments, which were approved by the Senate, this date was inadvertently changed to the 14th. Although this change was noted before the Senate acted upon the House amendments, the legislative represenatives of the NCPA and the FOP decided that it was not important enough to seek to have it changed during the hectic rush of business in the closing hours of that session of the Congress. The May 15 date will, however, be requested in legislation to be sought for future Police Weeks and Peace Officers Memorial Days, because it coincides with the date set for Peace Officers Memorial Day by several State legislatures.

The National Conference of Police Associations is extremely grateful to the Congress and to the President of the United States for the creation of National Police Week and Peace Officers Memorial Day. The NCPA wishes to express its thanks to all the individuals and organizations, both civic and police, who helped make this first National Police Week a wonderful success. One of the most gratifying aspects of the recent Police Week was the fact that this dream of the national conference has been made a reality, not only by the cities and States affiliated with the NCPA, but by many other communities. The national conference never wished nor desired that Police Week be celebrated only by members of the national conference. The NCPA made every effort to make Police Week truly a national event from coast to coast and from border to border. It is proud and happy that it succeeded to a degree that exceeded its fondest expectations. Although reports are not complete it seems that between 25 and 30 million citizens enjoyed and profited from the exhibits, programs, and events in the various cities. In one city of 600,000 more than 100,000 people visited the displays, attended the open house at all precincts, and the special programs showing actual police work. This is not a police estimate but the opinion of a local newspaper which was skeptical of the interest our citizens would evince in such a project.

The National Conference of Police Associations believes that the outstanding success of this first National Police Week demonstrates that this event should be a regular national celebration. It pledges itself to work to make this possible and in all other ways to strive to promote and encourage increased understanding and cooperation between the police of our Nation and the citizens they serve.

## What About the Monroe Doctrine?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, "What About the Monroe Doctrine?" is the title of an editorial in the August 26, 1962, Los Angeles Times commenting on the reports of recent landings of Soviet personnel and cargoes in Cuba.

I certainly am in full accord with the concern expressed by the Times with regard to this latest brazen and aggressive Red move.

In discussing the establishment and purpose of the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of the United States on various more recent occasions in taking firm, immediate steps to counteract Communist bluffs and threats, the Times commented on the administration's inaction on this matter by observing that Mr. Kennedy is inviting some obvious comparisons. In my view it is a very appropriate comment.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the Los Angeles Times editorial for inclusion in the RECORD.

WHAT ABOUT THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

In any other age the massive landings of Soviet personnel and cargoes in Cuba would have been viewed as a clear violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

This is a crisis as serious as that of Berlin. Some 5,000 to 7,000 personnel, plus large secret cargoes, some of them purely military, have been landed within 90 miles of Florida. There has been no more flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine since it was enunciated 123 years ago.

President Monroe set forth that any attempt by a European nation to establish a foothold in any country in this hemisphere not already colonized would be viewed by the United States as an act of aggression dangerous to our peace and safety.

The Russian operations fit the specifications.

Mr. Kennedy touched on the landings at his press conference. He said "we are examining" the implications of this Red move.

The President can be sure that the watching world is also "examining" American reaction to this bold Russian thrust into this hemisphere.

In the absence of positive action, chancelleries from Bonn to Tokyo could conclude that Russia has bluffed the United States; that we have lost the will to resist, even when our closest interests are threatened.

We are not handcuffed by any agreement with Latin America. The Organization of American States has concurred in the Monroe Doctrine as hemispheric policy. Moreover, Mr. Kennedy himself specifically reserved the U.S. right to take necessary unilateral action to enforce the doctrine.

Recent events justify a conclusion that Russia once again is probing the United States for weakness, testing our will.

We have indicated a willingness to go more than halfway to reach an accord with Russia on the nuclear test ban. Our Berlin policy has been conciliatory in extreme—we have been forbearing almost beyond patience lest we spoil "negotiations."

Khrushchev may have theorized from this that the United States is a reluctant dragon, whose whiskers can be plucked without reprisal. This could explain the present Berlin move and the expected new landing of convoys in Cuba. (Another 15 Soviet ships are nearing Cuban ports.)

Former President Harry Truman did not "examine" the situation overlong when Russia flouted our prestige and interests in Korea. He moved. Asia is not all Red today because he did move when the Kremlin tested our will.

John Foster Dulles likewise took fast and effective action whenever the Russians pushed too hard, and it was Khrushchev who gave ground. Witness his withdrawal of his "ultimatum" on Berlin 5 years ago.

Mr. Kennedy is inviting some obvious comparisons.

## Trade Expansion Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lancaster News, Lancaster, S.C., of August 13, 1962:

OFF THE RECORD

Suspicion grows: The administration's trade expansion bill, which President Kennedy calls the "most important piece of legislation before the country this year," has already been passed by the House and will shortly come up for consideration by the Senate. It is in trouble for a variety of reasons.

It represents the greatest delegation of congressional power over foreign commerce and trade ever requested by an administration. And this request comes at a time when the textile industry is discovering that agreements reached in Geneva for the control of imports of cotton goods are not what they seem.

Politically, the situation is dangerous for the trade expansion bill. President Kennedy needs the support of the Senators from the textile States if the bill is to squeeze by. In fact, some of the foot-dragging by the Tariff Commission and the Office of Emergency Planning on industry requests for relief have been attributed to the desire of the administration to put pressure on these Senators.

It has not worked out that way. On August 2 Senator PRESCOTT BUSH, of Connecticut, acting for himself and seven other Senators, offered 37 amendments to the trade expansion bill which he said were needed as guidelines and safeguards to protect domestic industries and employees in the event the bill was passed.

"The present administration's proposal to abandon the no-injury policy should be decisively rejected by the Senate," he said.

Senator BUSH was followed the next day on the floor of the Senate by Senator STROM THURMOND who outlined the cotton textile agreements negotiated in Geneva in 1961 and 1962 by Under Secretary of State George W. Ball and pointed out that these agree-

ments were not working out as Congress had been led to believe.

His implication was plain. If the administration could not be relied on to protect the cotton textile industry in its worldwide trade negotiations, Congress should not surrender control of future international trade negotiations as requested under the trade expansion bill.

Senator THURMOND noted that the short-term cotton textile agreement reached in Geneva, July 17, 1961, authorized this country to limit imports to the level of the 12 months ending June 30, 1961. The agreement expires September 30 of this year. The folowing day, October 1, the so-called long-term agreement becomes effective, if and when ratified by the 19 nations attending the Geneva conference.

Although the textile industry, Congress and, apparently President Kennedy, were led to believe that the long-term agreement preserved the same level of imports outlined in the short-term agreement, Senator THURMOND pointed out that was not true.

The level established in the long-term agreement is that a 12-month period terminating 3 months prior to the date of a protest and a request for consultation by the United States. In other words, if this country protested excessive shipments of cotton textiles from an offshore nation on the date the agreement becomes effective—October 1—the base period for figuring allowable imports would not be the 12 months ending June 30, 1961, but the 12 months ending June 30, 1962.

This is the gimmick in the long-term Geneva agreement which has upset the applecart. Realizing that a new base for calculating levels of imports could be established in the first 6 months of the present quota year, foreign producers have flooded the United States with shipments of goods in every category.

"The rate of these excessive imports during the term of the short-term cotton textile agreement," said Senator THURMOND, "has already ranged from 10 to 1,000 percent above the prescribed level. In one or more cases, countries exporting to the United States have shipped cotton textiles into the United States although the country had no record of previous shipments of the commodity which would establish a base level during 1961."

It was this realization which raised a storm in the domestic cotton textile industry last week. What appeared on its face a sensible regulation of cotton imports, is now being viewed as a disastrous trap if the long-term Geneva agreement becomes effective.

"In view of the ineffectiveness of the negotiations to control cotton textile imports by international trade agreements," warned Senator THURMOND, "there is a serious question as to the extent to which Congress should, in the Trade Expansion Act, authorize the President, acting through the State Department, to negotiate international trade agreements governing imports into the United States without clearly established criteria, guidelines, and safeguards for American industry."

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## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Revolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BREMERTON CAPTIVE
NATIONS COUNCIL,
*Bremerton, Wash., July 29, 1962.*

Representative DANIEL FLOOD,
*Member of Congress,*
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FLOOD: We are pleased to inform you that we have been able to place a plank in the Kitsap County Republic platform, supporting your resolution No. 211 concerning the establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations.

Supporting information is being mailed to other county delegation heads.

We need a hundred or more copies of your bill, to be distributed at the State convention in Yakima the 11th of August. I don't believe we can place such a plank in the State platform unless we have available copies of the bill which we are asking them to support.

We thank you for any help you are able to render in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES K. MORGAN,
*Chairman.*

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CONNECTICUT COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF CAPTIVE NATIONS RESOLUTION

Whereas the third week of July 1962, marks the third anniversary of the Captive Nations Week resolution, recognizing the right of self-determination to Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Byelo-Russia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossakia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have resulted in the creation of a vast empire, which poses a threat to the security of the United States and all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the spirit of resistance of the captive nations should be steadfastly kept; and

Whereas the United States follows Moscow in attacking Portugal for her colonial policy in Angola, but failing to point a finger at the greatest colonial empire, the U.S.S.R.; Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the Connecticut Committee for Freedom of Captive Nations urge all patriotic Americans to support the resolution (H.R. 211) calling for the establishment of a Speceial Committee for Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. If we grant and actively support the right of independence to the Negroid peoples, then we cannot refuse it to the non-Russian captive nations of the U.S.S.R. We must have all the captive nations on our side, if we intend to fight the Communist threat successfully.

STEPHEN BOYCHUK,
*Secretary.*

Unanimously approved and accepted during the observance of the captive nations week which was held on July 20, 1962, at the Polish National Home, Hartford, Conn.

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RED LION, PA.,
*July 31, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I pledge my support in favor of the Captive Nations Committee and your proposed House Resolution 211. Several weeks ago I got a letter off to my Representative, GEORGE A. GOODLING, 19th Congressional District, of Pennsylvania, urging him to support you in the recognition of this committee.

I personally believe that House Resolution 211 would be a major step to thwart the Godless, Red butchers. I also believe it will be an aid in enlightening our people, citizens born in this country, of the Communists' atrocious activities in these captive nations while at the same time encouraging peace movements.

Perhaps if this committee would have been established earlier, we would have had a Nation, the United States of America, which would have been aware of the Communist moral code. Part of which states: "We shall use every ruse, dodge, trick, cunning, and unlawful method, concealment veiling of the truth. As long as capitalists and communism exist, we cannot live in peace. In the end a funeral dirge will be sung over one or the other. But until that takes place our principal role is to dodge and maneuver." Had we known of these tactics and methods perhaps we would have aided the nation that sent the following S O S:

"The civilized peoples of the world, listen and come to our aid.

"Not with declarations but with force, with soldiers, with arms. Do not forget there is no stopping the onslaught of Bolshevism. Your turn will also come, if we perish. Save our souls. Save our sols.

"Civilized peoples of the world, we implore you in the name of justice, freedom, and the binding principle of active solidarity to help us.

"Our ship is sinking, light is failing. The shadows grow darker every hour over the soil of Hungary.

"Listen to our cry, civilized peoples of the world, and act.

"Extend us your fraternal aid. S O S. S O S.

"May God be with you."

Needless to say we failed these people, their Nation, and ourselves. Yes, by failing to give them the help they requested, we failed ourselves. Did we not seek aid from France when we fought for our independence? Yes, we did. And had we not received French aid, we might not be a United States of America today.

We owe our aid to all the freedom seeking nations of the world, but not those that want to remain neutral; not those that want

to remain under the Communist domain, such as, Red China, India, etc. However, we owe aid to countries such as, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuanians, etc. countries whose people desire to have their independence once again.

We should do all in our power to drive the Red monster from these nations, nations that we recognize as sovereign nations. What sovereignty do they have?

I did not mean for this letter to be so long, but God help us if we don't help these other freedom seeking nations.

Please send me several copies of H.R. 211, and several copies of Public Laws 86–90.

Yours for serving God first, then America,
GENE ENGLES.

RESOLUTION

Whereas in accordance with the congressional resolution designating the third week of July as Captive Nations Week and the proclimation of President Kennedy proclaiming the week beginning July 15 as Captive Nations Week, the people of this country believe that the subjugation of any nation, state, or municapility under rule of dictatorship or tyranny is evil; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and agressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such people through appropriate means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Rochester representatives of the Ukrainian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian ethnic groups assembled on July 15, 1962, at 292 Hudson Avenue, Rochester, N.Y.*, That the U.S. Government encourage the national independence movements of all subjugated people under the yoke of Russian imperialist communism; that the U.S. Government help these national independence movements behind the Iron Curtain in the direction of the text of the American Declaration of Independence: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; that the establishment of a House of Representatives Committee on the Captive Nations be enacted; that the U.S. Government investigate Russian Communist imperialism and its genocidal policies in the non-Russian countries behind the Iron Curtain.

WILLIAM ANDRUSLIAN,
*Ukrainian Representatie.*
———— ————,
*Hungarian Representative.*
———— ————,
*Lithuanian Representative.*
———— ————,
*Estonian Representative.*
———— ————,
*Latvian Representative.*

Dated Rochester, N.Y., July 15, 1962.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I am in complete support of your House Resolution 211. It is the best proposal today in the battle against colonial Moscow.

Sincerely yours,
KATERYNA LEXANDROWSKYS.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

## Ed Rogers at Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, a well-deserved honor was bestowed upon Ed Rogers by the National County Attorneys Association. Mr. Rogers has well earned the first All-American County Attorney award. He has served Cass County well for 46 years. The editorial from the Cass County Independent is inserted at this point.

ED ROGERS AT PHILADELPHIA

What few people realized at the gathering of prosecuting attorneys in Philadelphia, on August 16, was when they were paying standing tribute to a great man, Ed Rogers, as most outstanding county attorney, they were also observing an individual whose lineage on this continent predates, by centuries, those who boast so heavy-handedly of their descendance from passengers on the *Mayflower*.

It was particularly fitting that his award should be made in Philadelphia, where the Constitution of the United States was formulated, which shaped a base for the Nation which now holds supremacy in the world.

Into the building of this Nation went an amalgam of all races. Each, in its particular way giving virility, strength and individuality to the blood strain which is now known as American. Among these are the Indian heritages. When the Constitution was signed, the wars were still frightful and uneasy over possession of a land which had been rightfully that of the Indians, and which was preempted by hordes of Europeans. Because of the battle at that time over ownership, awarding of such an honor as was received by County Attorney Ed Rogers, who is half Chippewa, would have been extremely unlikely.

But the event at Philadelphia showed by deed as nothing else could, the unity and success that have been arrived at in our vast mixture of nationalities, for the individual who puts forth the effort.

The following text of Mr. Roger's brief acceptance speech at this history making event speaks for itself of the wise simplicity and goodness of the man:

"I deeply appreciate this honor from the Association of which I have been a member for many more years than I had realized.

"Fifty years ago, when first elected to office, I had the ambition to be a judge. While mentioned several times, it has been my destiny for 46 years to be 'The Attorney for the State of Minnesota in Cass County.'

"In the 11 political contests I have survived, the charge was often made: 'Rogers is not a prosecutor.' This phrase, in my early days, irked, but, as I grew older, I learned to regard that charge as a compliment.

"I learned the hard way that the State, in these United States of America is interested in justice. I also learned that there are two sides to every question. A complaint is what the word indicates—'a complaint.' To be charged, does not mean that "the defendant is guilty.' I learned to investigate every case thoroughly, and to be satisfied of the guilt of the accused, before presenting the case for the State. If I believed the defendant innocent, I moved for dismissal.

"I learned that I occupy a public office, and that it is my duty to my employers, the public, to keep that office open, so the people, who have hired me, can consult me about their legal problems.

"In my many years of law practice, nothing gives me a greater thrill than to hear less and less emphasis placed on the term 'prosecuting attorney' and to hear more and more that better expression—'The Attorney for the State.'

"In America, the purpose of the law is orderly process. The State is and must always be interested, not in 'conviction,' but primarily in justice.

"I like to think that this honor today comes to me because of nearly a half-century of devotion to the principle of 'fairplay' in the office of 'Attorney for the State.'"

Cass County takes great pride in the national recognition being given the man who has served its people so admirably and loyally for close to half a century as county attorney.

## Welcome to the Patriarch of Antioch and All the Orient of the Maronite Rite

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, today I was honored and privileged to attend a luncheon with His Beatitude Paul Boutros Meouchi, Patriarch of Antioch and All the Orient of the Maronite Rite. I am proud the district which I represent in the Congress numbers among its outstanding citizens many who are of Syrian and Lebanese birth or descent. They have made a splendid contribution to the professions, the arts, trades, and skills and particularly to the spiritual heritage of our great borough. I was delighted to learn that the patriarch has a detailed and intimate knowledge not only of the development and dimension of the Syrian-Lebanese group in Brooklyn but was able

to cite many leading personalities not only among the clergy but also in the laity of the Lebanese population.

The mutuality of warmth and understanding which exists between Lebanon and the United States is in no small measure due to the efficacy of the ministry of Patriarch Meouchi. His presence is most inspiring and his intellect truly enlightening. Though he has not been in the United States in some 28 years his ties of friendship in this Nation have remained firm and his affection for our people across the land is boundless.

His reputation as an accomplished multilinguist is well known but his eloquence in our language is almost incredible. This is because he speaks from the depths of a great humanitarian soul which is filled with zeal for freedom and love for mankind from Antioch to Alaska. During the coming month Patriarch Meouchi will be visiting many of the States and cities of our Nation. It is significant that at the same time our Vice President, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, is touring through Lebanon and the Middle East. This exchange of visits will most certainly produce even firmer alliances and broader understanding than we now enjoy. It is my understanding that the patriarch will visit New York City and Brooklyn near the conclusion of his stay in America. It is my earnest hope that not only the people of his devoted congregation but all of our official family and citizens will cooperate to extend him an enthusiastic welcome and an ovation worthy of his tremendous stature.

I note with particular pride that on the occasion of the dedication of the Church of Our Lady of Lebanon in Brooklyn, N.Y., 18 years ago my late predecessor, the Honorable John J. Delaney, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a speech which referred to our Lebanese neighbors as "The Irish of the East."

On the occasion of the visit of Patriarch Meouchi I am pleased to commend the attention of my colleagues the text of that insertion in the 78th Congress. It follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dec. 11, 1944]

SERMON DELIVERED BY REV. DR. THOMAS J. MCMAHON, NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION, ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF LEBANON OF THE MARONITE RITE OF BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon delivered by the Reverend Dr. Thomas J. McMahon, national secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, on the occasion of the dedication of the Church of Our Lady of Lebanon of the Maronite Rite, of Brooklyn, N.Y.:

"Taking as his text the prophecy of the prophet Isaiah (35: 2) on the flourishing of Christ's kingdom: 'It shall bud forth and blossom, and shall rejoice with joy and praise; the glory of Lebanon is given to it: the beauty of Carmel and Sharon,' Dr. McMahon spoke, in part, as follows:

" 'History is stranger than prophecy. It may seem prosaic to find significance in our day of shifting scenes in an old church on Remsen and Henry Streets, Brooklyn, closed to the public for almost a decade, its former glory almost dissipated and its congregation only a remnant of its former greatness. Yet no lover of Brooklyn's history, no admirer of America's greatness, could walk into this beautiful building, now standing for nearly 70 years as a noble monument of piety, and not wish to turn back the pages of memory and give us yesteryear, to see in this Church of the Pilgrims, now become Our Lady of Lebanon, an epic poem of the land of the free.

" 'In 1609 groups of awe-struck Indians may have stood on these Brooklyn Heights, dear to them as Ihpetonga, and seen afar off Hudson's *Half Moon* sweeping up from the sea like a great white bird. Only 17 years later, one of their chiefs, Gouwane, sold to the Dutch their first Brooklyn settlement, Gowanus, and less than a decade later the same Indians saw a ferry begin operations from Peck's Slip in Manhattan to the foot of Fulton Street, destined to last to our day, 1924, 282 years. Soon came the need for a name, and it was with nostalgic yearning that the innkeeper at the crossroads above the ferry called this little settlement after his boyhood town in far away Holland, Breukelen.

" 'For decades still to come, these heights of Ihpetonga, crowned with massive growths of woodland, looked down serenely on the little Brooklyn town, as she struck deep her roots and prepared for the mighty growth to come. Finally, up this Clover Hill they came, the Pierreponts, the Remsens, the Henrys, the Hicks, and all the rest, to lay their waving fields of grain along the King's Highway, Fulton Street, and to make this into a fairyland of orchards, gardens, and berry patches. The village became the city in the 1830's, the infant city of homes and churches. Our own Roman Catholic Society had its little edifice on Jay Street, as early as 1822, but there would come greater days when immigrants from the Emerald Isle would come up into the mansions, to swell the parishes of the Assumption and St. Charles Borromeo. Meanwhile, the people on the heights were of other persuasions, and they set about to draw from this garden of delight stone forests for God.

" 'On this site, nearly 100 years ago, rose the first church of the Pilgrims, Dr. Storrs' church. For over 50 years, from the day of his youthful springtime when he adorned this pulpit for the first time and reminded his people: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it" to his last breath, these walls echoed with his oratory. In those days of the 1840's, Brooklyn's Blue Book mentioned a Catholic leader, one Cornelius Heeney, an Irish immigrant boy, the partner of John Jacob Astor. They were the days of John Hughes, intrepid archbishop of New York, whose vision led him to Hughes' Folly, the purchase of the present site of St. Patrick's Cathedral, then in the village of Elgin, far out of the city. Meanwhile Henry Ward Beecher was thundering his message from Plymouth Church to a congregation that poured up Fulton Street and over from the ferry.

" 'Then came the bridge, to overshadow the white trail left by the diminutive ferry, and to become a wonder of the world, greeting the new immigrants, pouring, this time, not so much from Ireland and the north as from eastern Europe and the mountains of western Asia. To the land of the free they swarmed as had the Pilgrim Fathers, on new Mayflowers they came in search of liberty. To these heights, as to every other State, they looked for earthly habitations, secure from tyranny and without the price of blood. They were poor; they could not live in mansions. Their faith and their religious customs were different; they must have new churches. They must add to the epic poem of the land of the free. Some of them came to Hicks Street in 1906—to Hicks Street still reminiscent of the Hicks brothers of the early 1800's. These newcomers were from other heights, the mountains of Syria and Lebanon; the Maronites, an ancient and an honorable people, whose blood had flown among their glorious cedars, nurturing them in liberty.' "

"THE IRISH OF THE EAST

" 'I like to call these people the Irish of the east. In the century of Patrick they had their St. Marto, who like Erin's apostle, dotted their island mountains with hermit cells, which remain today the symbol of their steadfastness in their faith and their loyalty to their religious leaders. As late as Versailles, their venerable patriarch fought for the freedom of his people, and in these awful days they are still wedded and dedicated to live without the shackles of tyranny. Here in America, their children have gone forth, in common fight, joined with Americans of every hue. Their boys lie on jungle wastes and on mountain tops, like broken flowers at freedom's shrine. Their bodies lie in strangers' graves to ransom the captives of tyranny. Their blood has crimsoned foreign soil to nurture new trees of liberty.

" 'Today this epic poem of the land of the free reaches its grand climax as the arches of this Church of the Pilgrims echoes with strains of an ancient liturgy and the language of Christ Himself. How true it is that history is stranger than prophecy. No one among those apostles—those Galilean fishermen, tax gatherers, and peasants, with their garbled dialects—could ever even have faintly dreamed that their church would someday be decked as a queen in the multiple splendor of its liturgical university. No one among the first worshipers in this venerable edifice, with its chip of Plymouth Rock, symbol of American freedom, could have had the thought that their descendants would rejoice with their Maronite neighbors on this day. Nor could the inhabitants of Syria and Lebanon of other days have dreamed that their brothers in America, Syrian Orthodox, Moslems, and Druses would feel a common pride in this new monument of the Maronite people.

" 'To a daughter and a Son of ancient Syria we all do honor. The 19th chapter of the Koran speaks of that Mary of whom was born Jesus. The Song of Solomon bids her come from Lebanon: "Come from Lebanon, my spouse!" The church describes her from the Book of Wisdom: "I was exalted as a cedar in Lebanon." In her language our priest has greeted her Son this morning. We have all gone back to the cenacle of the Last Supper and we have gazed, across time, with trembling reverence on the mystery of the upper room. In this shrine of Syria's most renowned daughter, Our Lady of Lebanon, we have prayed and rejoiced with Monsignor Stephen and his devoted flock, heirs of an ancient faith. In the days to come may the prophecy of Isaiah of old become more and more true: "It shall bud forth and blossom, and shall rejoice with joy and praise; the glory of Lebanon is given to it; the beauty of Carmel and Sharon." ' "

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act

SPEECH
OF
**HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10113) to establish an Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration; to authorize the preparation of a plan for acceleration of public works when necessary to avoid serious nationwide unemployment levels; and for other purposes.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, this is a very interesting bill-rewriting procedure, but let me at the outset say—let no one be misled. This amendment does not help the bill. It does not involve the major issues discussed. As a matter of fact, I hardly discussed the question of coordinator because I knew this amendment was coming. It was pretty heatedly discussed in committee. The Republicans insisted on knocking it out. The majority members insisted on keeping it in. I am glad to see they are at least accepting one recommendation by the minority.

If you let this bill go back to committee and really clean it up, maybe you will get a good bill. I am going to make a motion to recommit that so send it back to committee. This is proof positive that that is exactly what should be done. Just look at what the amendment does. It cuts out 50 percent of this bill pagewise. It cuts out 50 percent of the bill according to the length of the bill and according to the discussion of it in the committee report. Look at it. Look at how many pages are devoted to convincing the Members of this legislative body that it is absolutely imperative on the merits to have this coordinator. What does that do to the rest of the report? There is just about as much merit to the arguments of the majority on the rest of the report as there is on the first half of the report which they are now willing to throw into the ashcan with this amendment.

Look at the pages they devote to the discussion of the necessity, the absolute necessity, in order to help unemployment, to have a coordinator and officer, a new bureau, a new agency in order to try to meet this problem. It starts on page 4 and goes on 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 pages discussing public works coordinator. Do you see what is being done? Sweetnesses are being applied. There is going to be another amendment offered to strike out schools. The majority in the report argue, "Oh, no, schools are not included." We said they were. The majority said they were not. Now they are going to strike it out and the argument is going to be—we do not think they were in in the first place but they are going to strike them out. Any question of them being in, any question about other projects being in, I am trying to indicate, are being treated the same—with an effort to cover up the fact that they are included—such as ski slides as well as swimming pools, golf courses, which I do not think the people of this great Nation would ever want Members of the Congress to vote 50 percent of the taxpayers' money to finance. Yet, it is being done in this bill. The remainder of the bill—the balance of the bill left will include that. So I say to you the bill is equally bad with this amendment as without it, so far as I am concerned. The motion to recommit should be passed so that we can take this bill back to the committee, and this is proof positive that the bill should go back to the committee. If they are willing to knock out 50 percent of it, it should go back to the committee. Let us reconsider the rest of the bill which is equally bad.

This $900 million boondoggle bill is still just as it was on the basis of giving the President and the executive branch unprecedented powers, the power to spend money on any public works and with a 50-percent grant authority. There is not any question about that. That delegation of authority remains in the bill; so do the other objectionable features.

This amendment has nothing to do with the spending of the $900 million; that is still in the bill. This amendment has nothing to do with the $300 million added at the last minute without being requested by the executive branch. I want to ask the majority now: Are you going to strike that out? That was not recommended by the President of the United States. The coordinator was not recommended by the President of the United States. You are knocking out the latter; now, are you going to knock out the former, the $300 million?

I will tell you what the strategy is—the same as it was on the agriculture bill. You want to get anything you possibly can left in this bill, so it can go to conference and accept the Senate version of $1,500 million—$750 million for public works now and $750 million standby authority; then our committee which has worked it out will go to conference and they will accept the 50-percent grant money and the Senate provision of 50-percent loan money for all these projects, and the taxpayers will be financing these swimming pools, ski slides, and golf courses to the tune of 100 percent.

## Youth Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE**
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, school dropouts and the training of young men for a useful and productive life in their mature years presents a challenging problem to our society. It cannot be solved by the Federal Government alone, and to take these youths temporarily out of circulation and without adequate retraining on a local level would not be helpful to either the individual or to the community in which he ultimately will become a citizen.

Mrs. Everett H. Randall, of Rocky River, Ohio, has written a very thoughtful letter on this subject. In order that others may have the benefit of Mrs. Randall's views, I ask unanimous consent that her letter, together with the attached résumé, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and résumé were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCKY RIVER, OHIO,
*August 10, 1962.*

Hon. FRANK J. LAUSCHE,
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR LAUSCHE: I would like to share with you my judgment about a proposal for legislation which would set up a Youth Conservation Corps. I believe that this legislation is S. 404 introduced by Senator HUMPHREY. In my opinion this is not the kind of program which will provide the specialized kind of help which is needed now by the youth of our country. My judgment is based on professional experience in public schools and private youth serving agencies over the past 32 years. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that youth who drop out of school and a certain percentage of those who graduate from our public and private high schools are not adequately prepared to become workers in the current labor force. What is needed, therefore, is job orientation and sufficient and appropriate training for these persons. Experience in a work conservation camp cutting trees, digging ditches and clearing out forests has little or no related value for the industrial work world in which these young persons 18 to 22 will be having to compete throughout their lives. Money spent at the local level on appropriate industrial training (both manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industrial training) is the realistic job preparation urgently needed by our youth. According to the legislation now proposed, some $4,000 per boy would be spent annually in these conservation camps. This is more than twice as much as that spent on sending a young man to an average college in the United States. Inappropriate training at a campsite for youth who need practical experience is certainly not the way taxpayers' money should be spent if we wish to help our youth prepare to become satisfactory employees and pro-

ducers in our 20th century industrial economy.

I am not inalterably opposed to conservation camps for youth. If these could be done at a local level, no larger than a State unit, I am certain that the funds expended could be done so in a more useful and appropriate method. We in Cleveland are now experimenting with work-study programs for youth 18 to 22 who have dropped out of school and are finding that private industry is cooperating along with public schools. Therefore, any Federal funds, it appears to us from our experience locally, could best be utilized through the local community channels.

I most sincerely hope that you will speak and work in opposition to the current proposals for Youth Conservation Corps programs federally sponsored as Federal operated programs.

Sincerely,

HELEN RANDALL
Mrs. Everett H. Randall.

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HELEN H. RANDALL (MRS. EVERETT H.)

EXPERIENCE

Teacher: High school Latin, English, and physical education.

Vocational counselor: Cincinnati Board of Education.

Staff member of the retirement planning institutes: Purdue University; Hillyer College; Lake Chautauqua.

Conference leader: Retirement preparation programs, Republic Steel Corp. and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Consultant: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Services to Older Workers, 1961.

Director: Occupational Planning Department, Cleveland Welfare Federation, 1946.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Personnel & Guidance Association.

National Vocational Guidance Association.

Ohio Guidance Council.

Northeastern Ohio Personnel & Guidance Association.

Gerontological Society.

Pi Lambda Theta (educational honorary).

Eta Sigma Phi (Latin honorary).

"Who's Who of American Women."

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Cleveland Mayor's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Cleveland Mayor's Committee on Manpower Retraining.

Business section vice chairman, United Appeal of Cleveland.

Vocational Advisory Committee, Cleveland Urban League.

Vocational Advisory Committee, Ohio State Employment Service.

Advisory committee, department of careers in social work.

Advisory committee, circle workshop.

Advisory committee, Cleveland hospital council practical nursing program.

Anti-Tuberculosis League of Cuyahoga County.

Rocky River Presbyterian Church.

Mortar Board Alumnae Association.

Kappa Kappa Gamma Alumnae Association.

ARTICLES CONTRIBUTED TO

Employment Security Review, 1956: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, "Older Women Measure Up."

The Physical Therapy Review, 1957: "Financial Planning for the Later Years," American Physical Therapy Association.

The Year Book of Education, 1955: "Guidance Within the Community."

Earning Opportunities for Older Workers, 1955: "Evaluation of Work Performance, the Employers' Viewpoint."

The School Guidance Worker, 1952: "Occupational Prestige."

Occupations, 1951: "What Students Think of Occupations."

Occupations, 1947: "A Community Counts Its Workers."

Ohio Schools, 1940: "So That's What She's Like."

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## Fight Back, Says Hoover, the FBI Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Fight Back, Says Hoover, the FBI Man" which appeared in the August 21 issue of the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.:

FIGHT BACK, SAYS HOOVER, THE FBI MAN

According to that famous lawman, J. Edgar Hoover, Americans who want to keep their lives and skins intact had better fight back at the criminal, who is getting bolder and more arrogant every day.

Mr. Hoover, who heads the world-famed FBI, warned the other day that criminals—in particular, youthful criminals—have "loosed a massive avalanche of crime," and every community should be alerted to the danger.

In the big towns, where gangs and individuals who used to ply their criminal activities in the dark have boldly come into the sunlight, the situation admittedly is bad. And smaller towns have a way of mimicking larger towns, and some of the goings-on in the latter today become the goings-on in the former tomorrow.

Anyway, since there is admittedly a bad situation in the Nation, crimewise, people ought to listen to Mr. Hoover's admonition that there will be no abatement as long as there is wholesale disrespect for law and order; and, we will add, so long as people like Paul Crump in neighboring Illinois are saved from the consequences of their murderous crimes by the simple expedient of telling the courts that they have "seen the light," "had a rebirth," etc., etc.

Mr. Hoover in his statement enjoined community officials and civic leaders to lead the fight to halt the "lawless hordes who prey on society," and the FBI man was not exaggerating when he estimated the number of those who prey.

A contributing factor in the increase in crimes committed these days by persons under 18 is the attitude which professional do-gooders and compliant courts have taken—the sociological notion that any youngster who goes wrong is a victim of society, childhood trauma or bad housing—which doesn't account for the thousands of kids, of course, who go wrong despite good housing, doting parents and all that.

The poor, mixed-up people who rob and kill because they are "victims of society" do so with quite a lot of confidence that their tearful story of neglect and frustration will get them off light, or perhaps might result in their being sent to some cozy rest home.

The situation which has grown up in this respect was put pretty well by a smart fellow in Britain who allowed the other day: In another age, we treated all lunatics as criminals. Today we treat all criminals as lunatics.

Anyway, the offender today is protected by the widespread belief a fellow these days doesn't have to try to better his condition through hard work—like his neighbors do every day—neither does he have to try to live decently in spite of the environment in which he finds himself.

The Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Mr. Warren, is one who holds that criminals must have the utmost safeguards thrown about them, and that their rights should be protected against all hazards. Well and good, up to a point, but there remains the fact (which Mr. Warren and some of his associates seem to overlook persistently) that the law-abiding fellow, the tax-paying fellow, the soldier-furnishing fellow and his family are entitled to protection, too.

In fact, we will go so far as to say that the rights of the law-abiding are superior to the rights of anybody else, particularly the rights of predators and murderers, and kidnapers and mobsters—either adult or juvenile.

It has been aptly pointed out that if this loose attitude toward responsibility which is upheld by our do-gooders and some of our citizens and some of our courts today had prevailed in the late 1700's, there would be no American Republic today. The United States, in other words, would never have been.

The hard life of the settlers and pioneers, come to think of it, would have justified almost any kind of anisocial behavior, if the do-gooders are correct in their thinking. The Founding Fathers didn't hold such unsound views, though, and neither did their immediate descendants. So we have a great and thriving country, though a lot of predators are trying to take it apart—and they all aren't in the big towns, either.

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## Need for Strengthening Food and Drug Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, Miriam Ottenberg, staff writer of the Star, has written a factual, detailed report of the need for strengthening the Food and Drug Act, in which she particularly discussed what happened in connection with several drugs. I am sure everyone will find this of interest.

I ask unanimous consent that this report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington( D.C.) Sunday Star, Aug. 26, 1962]

THE STORY OF MER/29: WAS THE PUBLIC PROTECTED?

(By Miriam Ottenberg)

In the present furor over drugs reaching the American people, the story of one drug illustrates what can happen with too little law, too much pressure and too much responsibility resting on a single doctor.

The drug is MER/29, an agent to lower the level of cholesterol, a fatty substance in the blood and a suspected, though unproven, cause of heart ailments.

A product of Richardson-Merrell, Inc.—the same company that tried and failed to introduce thalidomide in this country—MER/29 was forced off the market last April

because of the risk of cataracts and other dangerous side effects.

MER/29 was cleared by the Food and Drug Administration for public use in April 1960.

In November 1961, increasing reports of harmful side effects from use of the drug caused Government scientists to conclude MER/29 should be taken off the market.

In April 1962, Richardson-Merrell withdrew the drug.

The company, it was learned, decided to take the drug off the market 2 days after an FDA medical officer paid a surprise visit to the company plant and reviewed its research records.

By then MER/29 had been available in drugstores by prescription for about 2 years.

It had been used by an estimated 300,000 patients who had paid $9.84 for each bottle of 30 capsules, a month's supply.

Over $1 million had been spent promoting the drug.

Richardson-Merrell described MER/29 as a major factor in an 18 percent increase in profits for the first year it was sold.

Earlier this month Deputy FDA Commissioner John L. Harvey said publicly MER/29 should never have gone on the market. The drug is now the subject of investigations by a Federal grand jury and a House subcommittee.

Except for trade journal reports and Mr. Harvey's speech to the American Bar Association, where he cited MER/29 in calling for new drug control laws, little has been said publicly about the drug.

### CITE DANGER SIGNS

But a number of physicians and scientists interviewed by the Star feel strongly that enough danger signs were present to have alerted FDA against clearing MER/29 for public distribution. Failing that, these scientists feel both the company and FDA should have moved faster to get the drug off the market.

Mr. Harvey sketched the MER/29 story in arguing for a law to make it easier for FDA to act against suspect drugs. He said that when FDA concluded that the drug should not be on the market, it was unable to correct the situation "in the absence of new data and in the absence at that time of proof that the application contained untrue statements."

He did not enlarge on what he meant by "at that time."

After some independent investigation, the Star compiled a list of questions and invited the William S. Merrell Co., the Richardson-Merrell subdivision which introduced MER/29, to confirm or deny various allegations that had been made. Included among the questions were some inspired by the implications of Mr. Harvey's remarks to the bar convention.

In response to the questions, the Merrell firm issued this statement:

"We'd certainly like to cooperate with you, but I'm afraid we cannot answer these questions. As you know, many of our files on MER/29 have been subpenaed by the grand jury in Washington and some of our people have been called to testify. Under these circumstances our legal counsel believes it unwise for any Merrell representative to discuss these matters for publication."

### HERE IS THE STORY

This is the story of MER/29 as pieced together from available information:

At the time MER/29 arrived on the scene, the public had already been made aware that cholesterol levels in the blood might have some connection with heart trouble. Cholesterol, the natural product of a body process, has been blamed for hardening and thickening of the arteries by its fatty deposits on the walls of blood vessels.

The theory of MER/29 was that it would block the formation of cholesterol by halting the last step in the body's manufacture of this substance.

Interest in the drug extended beyond medical men.

The vegetable oil industry, for example, was contending that the level of cholesterol could be lowered safely and effectively by using its polyunsaturated oils.

On the other hand, the dairy and meat industries—hurting because of publicity that their animal fats contributed to cholesterol—were urging the public not to change its eating habits.

The voluntary health associations were split. Some said cholesterol should be controlled by watching the diet. Some favored a cholesterol-inhibiting drug. And some pointed out that it was not yet proven that cholesterol had anything to do with heart disease.

### APPLICATION FILED

It was in this atmosphere of assorted pressures and opinions that the Food and Drug Administration received a new drug application for MER/29 in July 1959.

The application went first to a doctor in the Division of New Drugs who resigned a short time later. It was then assigned to a doctor, then 32 years old, recently out of his internship and residency training in internal medicine.

Without naming the doctor, Mr. Harvey in his recent speech to the bar association specifically put the responsibility for clearing Mer/29 on one man by saying this new drug officer allowed the drug to go on the market.

The doctor, who shall be called Doctor X, has since left FDA to enter private practice and was interviewed without access to his records. On the basis of his recollections, he gave the Star this account of his role in the clearance of MER/29:

As soon as the application appeared on his desk, the company started contacting him about the drug. His most frequent contacts were with F. Joseph Murray, director of scientific relations of the Merrell Co. Mr. Murray also figured prominently among the 50 contacts made by the firm to Dr. Frances O. Kelsey and others in FDA's Bureau of Medicine in an effort to get thalidomide approved.

"There were many telephone calls and several meetings." Dr. X recalled. "It was obvious the company was extremely anxious to get the drug on the market. Some companies brought very little pressure but this company liked to keep the pressure on.

"The American Medical Association convention was coming up and they were anxious to promote the drug at the convention. I was getting daily telephone calls."

Drug industry pressures on Dr. X and other FDA medical officers were pinpointed later in 1960 by an outside team of experts who investigated FDA personnel and operations and recommended to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare "that a reasonable control be put upon the access of industry representatives to FDA personnel considering actions affecting industry."

But 2 years later nothing had been done to shield the medical officers. Assistant FDA Commissioner Winton B. Rankin was quoted in a June 1962, drug publication as reporting pressures by drug firms to get quicker action had become "pretty general."

Doctor X was also suffering from the pressure of time. Unless he could find something incomplete in the application—the method used by Dr. Kelsey in stalling on thalidomide—he faced a 60-day deadline.

At the time MER/29 was pending for clearance, Doctor X considered himself solely responsible for the decision on whether the controversial drug should be approved.

The resting on the shoulders of one man of so much responsibility for drugs affecting millions prompted a special committee of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council to recommend later in 1960 that an advisory organization of scientific and technical experts should be established to advise FDA on criteria, procedures, and policies.

Asked about the present status of this formal recommendation, Mr. Harvey said the recommended advisory board had not been established but added that "when we have a problem, we do try to get together a committee to advise us." He said that no such committee was asked for help on MER/29.

As far as Doctor X was concerned, he had a problem. Although company officials had intimated on their first visit to him that they were under the impression his predecessor had considered the drug ready for release, Doctor X found he had to start from scratch.

"I had no drug to compare it with," he said. "Nothing gave a clue as to where to look for toxicity (adverse effects). I recall talking with my supervisor, but he didn't advise on whether to pass it or not to pass it. He wasn't prone to do that.

"My thinking was that here was a drug purporting to lower cholesterol. We were dealing with a highly lethal disease state—arteriosclerosis. This drug might be helpful in dealing with the No. 1 killer of men."

He said he was aware that scientists at the National Institutes of Health were concerned that MER/29, in blocking the formation of cholesterol, caused a pileup of a related substance not normally found in man to any material extent. He said it didn't come out until later that this substance, desmosterol, was deposited in the blood vessels, much like cholesterol.

This would raise a question of efficacy—was the drug useful for its intended purpose—but that's a loophole in the law that the Senate-passed Kefauver bill and measures now pending on the House side are designed to plug. At present, FDA passes only on safety, not on efficacy.

### SOME SIDE EFFECTS

Dr. X recalled there was a question about potential liver toxicity, but he does not remember any question about other side effects. He does recall, however, that the report of the FDA pharmacologists was more unfavorable than favorable.

"At that time," he said, "there was no question of cataracts in humans and I don't recall any question of cataracts in animals. There may have been clues but I don't recall it."

On the question of how much had shown up in animal tests, there is some difference of opinion. Scientists outside Food and Drug said there already was evidence at that time that the drug might interfere with reproduction and cause other adverse side effects.

Mr. Harvey, in his recent bar association speech, made it clear that the FDA pharmacologists did not clear the drug for safety. He quoted them as saying that MER/29's safety would have to be based on clinical evidence—that is, use on patients.

Dr. X, in recalling what happened in the spring of 1960, said that in his last letter rejecting the drug application as incomplete, he told the company that he wanted longer trials to eliminate further potential areas of toxicity. He does not recall how long it was after he wrote that letter that he cleared the drug. Reportedly, it was 3 weeks.

"I was in a state of indecision where little things would have influenced me a great deal," he said.

### ATTENDED MEETING

It was then, he recalled, that he attended a meeting of the American College of Physicians in San Francisco where he heard discussions comparing various methods of lowering cholesterol.

"One paper impressed me," he said, "because the author reviewed various drugs and MER/29 came out in the No. 1 position. It was one of the things that swayed me toward passing the drug. I heard recently that the paper was never published and the author subsequently reviewed his data and questioned whether what he had said was completely valid."

While in San Francisco, he said, he was entertained at dinner by a doctor from the Merrell Co.

"We went to lunch or dinner with industry many times," he said. "I don't think anybody was ever bought by a dinner."

A short time later, he cleared the drug with the stipulation that the company was to continue tests and report the results as they became available.

"I released the drug," he said, "with the knowledge that things might appear later which were not obvious at that time."

The hitch was that lawyers and other laymen in the higher echelons of FDA—not doctors—would make the decision as to whether the law would allow them to force withdrawal of the drug.

Within 6 months after the drug was released Dr. X said, it became apparent that MER/29 was probably doing little good. Ominous reports of its side effects were trickling in.

By now, studies showed that desmosterol—the precursor of cholesterol—acted the same way as cholesterol.

Dr. X went to his superiors and asked if there was any way the drug could be taken off the market.

"I was told there was no way we could do it," he said.

Dr. X recalled that a Mayo Clinic bulletin reported use of MER/29 made hair fall out and skin peel. He said he called the company to ask them to revise the drug's labeling.

The last report Dr. X got before he left FDA, was from a professor who reported the drug was producing cataracts in rats. He said he called Mr. Murray at Merrell and got a report back that the company's pharmacologists would look into it, but that eye damage could occur in rats for other reasons.

Dr. X left Food and Drug in September 1961. He left behind a problem that was giving the doctors mounting concern. The company was advertising widely in medical journals. Stories were being written about the wonders of the drug in newspapers and magazines.

MISLEADING CLAIMS

When FDA doctors informally consulted with outside scientists, they were told the claims made for the drug were misleading.

There was accumulating evidence of danger. A Howard University doctor reported the drug appeared to inhibit ovulation in chickens. Other research men reported the drug might endanger persons in shock and under stress by interfering with the body's mechanism for meeting these conditions. There were also reports that the drug interfered with pregnancy in animals.

In mid-October, Mr. Murray proposed that the company issue a warning letter. The FDA doctor now in charge of the drug objected that the proposed warning only touched on a few relatively minor side effects and might give physicians a false sense of security about the drug.

He asked the company to provide all the information it had gathered about adverse side effects. The company was more in a position than FDA to know about these effects since doctors and researchers usually dealt directly with the company and, under existing law and regulations, were under no compulsion to notify FDA.

Before the company came in with its data, more light was shed on the effects of MER/29 at a meeting of heart specialists. Mayo Clinic doctors reported two cases of cataracts. Three authorities argued there was no need for drugs when the right type of diet would keep down cholesterol. The experts said the drug might prove dangerous and was unjustified except in unusual cases and where the patients were maintained under close supervision.

It was also proposed by some specialists that all doctors investigating drugs should send the FDA duplicates of their reports to the company, but there was no law or regulation to require it.

FDA WANTED ACTION

By the end of October, 1961, FDA doctors were convinced the drug should be pulled off the market.

They argued that there was no proof that the drug did any good in preventing or alleviating heart trouble, but there was proof that the drug produced serious reactions in both animals and humans.

Doctors and other scientists at FDA who fine-combed the original new drug application said much of the evidence of adverse effects could be spotted in the application, but much had been gathered since. They cited these effects:

Cataracts, loss of hair, skin peeling, reduced libido, diminished production of the hormones needed to resist stress and shock, possible liver damage, impotence, and other effects on the reproductive organs.

While the doctors were futilely struggling to get the drug off the market, a two-page company advertisement appeared in the weekly Journal of the American Medical Associal on November 4, 1961. The ad said at one point: "We know that, after use in more than 300,000 patients, few toxic or serious side effects have been reported, thus tending to reaffirm the safety margins previously established."

Elsewhere, the ads said that no one can yet be certain that lowering cholesterol would prevent or alter atherosclerosis (the type of hardening of the arteries at which the drug was particularly aimed). But, the ad continued, "the current evidence strongly supports this concept."

AN AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION WARNING

One week later, on November 11, 1961, the American Medical Association Journal carried a report from its council on drugs saying that clinical studies of the drug had not been pursued long enough to insure that "multifarious and serious alterations may not occur," especially on prolonged treatment.

The council expressed the opinion that patients receiving MER/29 should get it only under the carefully controlled conditions of clinical investigation and that the only occasions for its use should be in extreme conditions that did not respond to other treatment such as diet, nicotinic acid, and polyunsaturated oils. This recommendation would have had physicians use the drug in relatively few cases.

Mr. Harvey in his speech said that by mid-November, the Government scientists had recommended that the drug should be removed from the market.

When this recommendation was presented to the FDA Commissioner's office and to the HEW General Counsel's Office, Mr. Harvey said, "it became apparent that while there was substantial doubt as to the safety of the drug and reason to believe that upon further investigation it would be found that the drug was causing harm when administered in recommended dosage, at that time the FDA did not have sufficient evidence to satisfy the requirements set forth in the law for suspension of the (new drug) application."

He said the company had given strong assurance that it had ample evidence of safety with which to refute the Government's position. If an attempt were made to get MER/29 off the market.

VISIT BY MINTENER

Presumably, the company's position was conveyed to Mr. Harvey by Bradshaw Mintener, an Assistant Secretary of HEW in the Eisenhower administration. Mr. Mintener is a member of the second Citizens Advisory Committee now making a study of FDA, its adequacy and effectiveness for the HEW Secretary.

Mr. Harvey said Mr. Mintener, an attorney in private practice here, "appeared in my office with representatives of the Merrell Co."

On December 1, after the decision was made that the law would not allow FDA to pull the drug off the market in a hurry, a warning approved by FDA was mailed to doctors by the Merrell Co. calling attention to the side effects and cautioning them not to use the drug above the recommended dosage.

Asked why the warning was sent out by the drug company rather than FDA, Mr. Harvey pointed to the cost of a mailing to more than 200,000 physicians.

Early this year, when the drug investigation by Senator KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, spotlighted drug advertising, the two-page November advertisement of "few toxic or serious side effects" was compared with the two-page December warning letter on side effects.

Senator KEFAUVER commented to advertising agency officials that from the number of side effects listed in the warning, it would seem "that you would not have found out all at once that there were side effects, but over a couse of time during which these side effects would have been reported."

After the December warning letter, according to Mr. Harvey, additional reports of side effects came in. In his bar association speech, he said simply that by mid-April, 1962, "the drug caused sufficient injuries, some at the recommended dosage, to permit FDA to require the manufacturer to withdraw the product from the market. The firm's withdrawal letter issued on April 17, 1962, and upon its request the new drug application was suspended."

It was learned, however, that there was more behind-the-scenes activity than Mr. Harvey related in his speech.

A CHANCE MEETING

Just as a chance look at a British medical journal alerted Dr. Kelsey to dig deeper into thalidomide, a chance meeting played a part in the ultimate withdrawal of MER/29.

A Food and Drug inspector in Cincinnati, where the Merrell firm is located, chanced to ride in a car pool with a man who commented on the warning letter issued by the Merrell Co. The man said his wife had worked for the company on its MER/29 animal research but quit.

An interview with the wife prompted FDA officials to become vitally interested in the company's reports on its MER/29 experiments with monkeys. In the research done by the company, monkeys were considered crucial because, as the company pointed out, they were closer to humans than rats and chickens. If monkeys showed no side effects from the drug, the company argued, humans could be considered safe.

After the woman told her story, FDA officials decided to pay a call on the company to discuss the firm's research data. Two days after this unannounced and almost unprecedented visit, the company told FDA it wanted to withdraw the drug.

There was one final fillip to the story of MER/29.

On April 16, the company issued a press statement which appeared in April 17 papers announcing its withdrawal of the drug. The statement said, however, that continuing research and clinical experience with the drug "has not established MER/29 is unsafe when used as recommended."

In at least one newspaper account, a Richardson-Merrell official was quoted as saying that "there is no particularly new

evidence" since the December warning letter to motivate withdrawal of the drug.

A DIFFERENT ACCOUNT

The withdrawal letter approved by FDA on April 17 had no such statement. Instead, it told doctors that the decision to take the drug off the market "is based on additional reports of side effects of the kind reported to you in our letter of December 1, 1961, some of which occurred at usal dosage."

A drug which had grossed millions for the manufacturer was now off the market. Hospitals, pharmacies, and other possible outlets were asked by the company to return their total supply immediately.

As Mr. Harvey brought out in his speech, the action could have been taken sooner if the law had allowed it. The bill passed by the Senate Thursday would allow FDA to demand immediate withdrawal of a drug and give the company a chance to fight it out at a hearing later.

The legislation halfway through Congress would meet the problems shown by MER/29 on a number of grounds. Had it been on the books when the young doctor grappled with the drug, he would have had 180 days rather than 60 days to reach his decision, plus another 120 days if the new drug applicant sought a hearing on an adverse ruling.

In addition, the usefulness of the drug would have had to be established and the HEW Secretary would have been given indisputable authority at his discretion to regulate the animal testing and require that investigation of reactions in both animals and humans be reported simultaneously to the company and the FDA.

If the drug had gone on the market, the Kefauver bill provides that advertising must carry information on the drug's side effects and its effectiveness thus alerting doctors more thoroughly and the drug could have been withdrawn when the evidence of danger first appeared.

One-man decisions on drugs potentially affecting the health of millions of people have been a growing source of concern. A former secretary of the American Pharmaceutical Association advocated last week the establishment of a Supreme Court of Drug Evaluation to make final decisions on the safety and efficacy of new drugs.

The Kefauver bill makes an indirect attack on one-man decisions as well as the problem of pressures from industry.

At present, a new drug can be cleared by default.

If FDA does not act to block a drug it goes onto drugstore shelves. Under the Kefauver measure, positive action is required. Every decision to put a new drug on the market must be formally approved.

Since the actions would be taken in the name of the HEW Secretary, presumably he would require a chain of written endorsements from FDA officials that the drug will be effective as well as safe.

Then, FDA would be acting as a team and one young doctor would be neither subjected to a barrage of industry pressures nor pinpointed for blame in decisions potentially affecting the health of millions.

## The Pursuit of Happiness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRED SCHWENGEL**
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. James Schramm, of Burlington, Iowa, is one of the most forward-looking, articulate, erudite, and charming ladies in my district. She has been effectively active in many worthwhile causes that add both to our culture and to the strengthening and improvement of our Government, both on the domestic and foreign fronts.

She has recently written an article under the title of "The Pursuit of Happiness." This is one of the finest contributions of its kind that I have ever read and because it has served a public interest in Burlington, Iowa, and has some interesting observations that all of us should think about and then do something about, I am taking this opportunity to have it placed in the Appendix of the RECORD where it may be seen and read by all who have a kindred interest with her in "The Pursuit of Happiness":

[From the Burlington (Iowa) Hawk-Eye, Aug. 16, 1962]

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

(By Mrs. James Schramm)

Eight people, the other day, sat around the long table in the Governor's office.

They included the Governor, who had called the meeting; the director of Iowa's largest art center; head of a university art department; editor of a well-known newspaper; a painter.

They were talking about the arts in Iowa: the early and the recent; literature and music; architecture and theater; that which should be preserved; the famous; the unknown.

Though each person at the table was highly knowledgeable in this field, there was not one present for whom the conversation did not hold a surprise. The number of symphony orchestras in our State; homes designed by the great architect, Frank Lloyd Wright; banks and freight houses by Louis Sullivan—gems of architecture known to only a few.

Iowa boasts the first municipally supported art museum in the United States and the site where Dvorák composed the New World Symphony.

But we need not dwell in the past. I write en route from Iowa City where an audience thrilled to the first performance outside New York of Robert Ward's opera, "The Crucible." Iowa's adopted son, Mauricio Lasansky, is among the most influential printmakers in the world.

Why did Governor Erbe call this meeting? Precisely because there is so much unsuspected material and creativity of esthetic significance in Iowa. Steps are being discussed to inform Iowans of the existence and whereabouts of their own State's cultural attributes. (The painter told many stories of art in Iowa well known in New York and in the great museums but little known here—of New York critics, for instance, referring to sculpture in Ft. Dodge as the greatest work by the modern master, Marino Marini.

(But how many Iowans have seen it?)

There is a deeper reason, however, for the chief executive of our State to concern himself with the arts. The pursuit of happiness is a goal expressed in the U.S. Constitution. This is the true reason for the arts. Since well before the written history of man, as we know by his cave paintings, the arts have brought him into harmony with his surroundings and the universe.

One painter explains it this way, "We make a map of our experience patterns, an inner model of the outer world, and we use this to organize our lives. Our natural 'environment'—whatever impinges on us from outside—becomes our human 'landscape'—a segment of nature fathomed by us and made our home."

We live in a 1962 environment which shifts at a rate of change faster than man has yet experienced. Much that is new and different to assimilate impinges on us from outside. Until it is fathomed and made our own we can not feel at home. Until that time we can not have a well adjusted—a happy society.

The men and women around the Governor's table were really discussing an age-old means toward our constitutional objective—the pursuit of happiness.

## John Glowacki Praises Faith of Polish People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS J. LANE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article concerning a visit to Poland by Mr. and Mrs. John J. Glowacki, of Peabody, Mass., during which they were impressed with the gains which the Polish people have made in their efforts to become free of Soviet rule. The article appeared in the Lynn (Mass.) Item on August 28, 1962:

PEABODY MAN BACK FROM EUROPE—JOHN GLOWACKI PRAISES FAITH OF POLISH PEOPLE

(By Peg O'Connell)

The deep, inspiring faith of the Polish people, coupled with their implacable patriotism, has enabled them to throw off at least partially the yoke of their Communist oppressors in the opinion of a Peabody man, John J. Glowacki, of 4 Driscoll Street, a member of the Peabody Industrial Commission and a supervisor in the General Electric Co. of Lynn.

Glowacki with his attractive wife, his mother, Mrs. Lucy Glowacki, of Dorchester, and two relatives of Mrs. Glowacki, Miss Wanda Pietrazek of 1 Highland Terrace, Peabody, and Stanley Zcubinski of Salem, recently returned to the United States after a visit to Poland and several Iron Curtain countries.

The senior Mrs. Glowacki saw her sisters for the first time in 52 years, and Zcubinski was reunited with his parents whom he had not seen since he was taken from them as a boy of 12 to Germany by the Nazi invaders.

The Glowacki party spent most of its time in the village of Krasnik with frequent visits of Lublin and to Warsaw where Glowacki, interested in every aspect of industry, had an opportunity to enhance his knowledge of Poland's working conditions.

Glowacki visited job shops, sheet metal shops, and other tool shops and found that many of the tools used are of prewar design. However, many of the larger shops do utilize the Caraboloy tools currently used in the United States. Employees in the shops, he explained, work at a moderate pace, and at the end of a year's employment, are entitled to a 4-week vacation. All are given an annual physical checkup.

To Glowacki's amazement, he found that the workers are free to move from shop to shop if they so desire. The only restrictions that he noted were those imposed in the larger factories where the men were not allowed coffee breaks.

The average factory worker in Poland earns from $8 a month to $20 a month, but commodities are reasonable with cigarettes selling at 4 cents a package; men's shoes of good quality leather are about $4 a pair; and hotel

accommodations in a large Warsaw hotel were $1.50 a night for two with breakfast included.

On the farms there was no indication that Poland is not a free country. The farmers raised the vegetables which they preferred, mainly sugarbeet, and practically all kept livestock.

The Polish people are free to visit and to contribute to their churches about which their lives center.

Practically all the Polish people, with the exception of those who work in large factories, maintain productive farms, bordered with the colorful flowers for which the Poles are noted. These meticulously kept farms are the pride of the sincere, jovial natives, many of whom still till the soil as their grandfathers did. But, they now have electricity in their homes, and those who can afford them have a few modern conveniences.

Horse-drawn wagons and bicycles are the prime means of transportation, for there are few cars outside of Warsaw. The paved roads provide a cushion for the rubber-wheeled wagons as they wend along the quiet roads.

Physical fitness, which concerns Americans, will never be a problem in Poland where men and women alike, walk great distances, sometimes as much as 20 miles in a day. Even the elderly think nothing of walking 2 or 3 miles in a day to the nearby church.

Glowacki said that nearly everyone he met evidenced an interest in the United States and were eager to hear more about President John F. Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. They look upon the United States as a very friendly nation. Glowacki believes the extent of the freedom they now enjoy is the result of pressure by the United States and England.

Although he was pleased to see the Polish people emulate Americans in some things, he was nevertheless disappointed in their love of American music; instead of the gay Polish polkas which he had anticipated at dances, jazz was played, and the movies featured American films with Polish captions.

The desire of the Polish people to learn English is evidenced, Glowacki explained, in their use of dictionaries containing Polish and English words. They are delighted to receive American magazines which they try hard to understand.

The Glowackis were free to take as many pictures as they desired, although, like all the visitors in Iron Curtain countries, they were required to report to the American Embassy and also to the police station in each town. The police explained that this was for their own protection, and that the Polish police, as well as their host and hostess, were responsible for their safety.

Though they were impressed with Zurich, Paris, and London, the Glowacki party was most inspired by the stalwart Polish people who, despite oppression, assert their independence by flying two Polish flags to every one Soviet flag flying from government buildings, and who constantly pray that one day their nation will be as free as their immortalized patriots died to make it.

## Two Hundredth Anniversary of Sandisfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, the town of Sandisfield, Mass., is commemorating this year the 200th aniversary of its incorporation. Throughout these 200 years Sandisfield has made important contributions to the history and development of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Its people are typical of those who have, throughout the years, infused our great Nation with the pioneer spirit.

George Sokolsky, who, I am glad to note, spends his summers in Sandisfield, chose today to devote his column to the bicentennial celebration, and I ask unanimous consent that this article, which appeared in the Washington Post, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 30, 1962]

THESE DAYS: MY NEIGHBORS

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Up in the Berkshires in Massachusetts, we have been celebrating during the past week, the 200th birthday of the founding of Sandisfield, in which my house and farm are actually situated.

Sandisfield was once the largest township in Berkshire County and was very prosperous, the farmers making here the famous yellow cheddar cheese, which has gone by the name of "York cheese," "store cheese," or "cartwheel." At one time, Sandisfield produced 300,000 pounds of cheese and 100,000 pounds of butter each season. Also maple sugar, hay, apples, cider, and a homemade rum. This area was famous for the independence of its farmers and although they fought well in the Indian wars and in the Revolution, they also took part in Shay's rebellion.

The reason that Sandisfield ceased to be agriculturally and industrially important is that the new means of communication, the railroad, passed to the west of it, going through Sheffield, Great Barrington, Lenox, Lee, and Pittsfield. However, this area is being restored by another form of transportation, the automobile and the bus, which bring the summer residents from New York, Hartford, and Springfield to these parts, which with the Tanglewood concerts, the Jacob's Pillow dances and the camps for boys and girls are witnessing a revival.

The bicentennial has been lots of fun. All the neighbors came to the dances and the speeches and the parades—the good, old-fashioned parades showing all the neighboring fire departments and interesting floats and old costumes and dances on the grass—and not to be omitted, hotdogs, popcorn, balloons, pink lemonade as well as the modern soft drinks.

Sandisfield is a Democratic town for some reason or other. Most of the other towns hereabout are Republican, also for some reason or other. But most of the local great men are Republicans and they came to the bicentennial. Governor John A. Volpe, of Massachusetts, was there to make a speech and he developed quickly all the characteristics of local informality.

He interrupted his speech to tell his audience to watch the parachute jumps, which included a girl jumper from Texas who was very pretty. And that made the day for all the girls because it just showed that what a man could do, a woman could do.

Governor Volpe spoke about the homely virtues of such a town as Sandisfield, which has always maintained a pay-as-you-go policy that is truly wonderful in these days. As a matter of fact, Sandisfield meets its bills every month and does not get into debt, except to borrow occasionally from a bank, and it meets such an obligation as a sound businessman does.

Governor Volpe said that he wished other parts of Massachusetts could be so financially sound. Although the population of Sandisfield is no longer predominantly Anglo-Saxon and has long forgone the ways of Jonathan Edwards who hails from here, it nevertheless has maintained a tradition of thrift, both for the town and for individuals.

When I first came here, we had no electricity on our hill and there are still some houses which do without it. The little red schoolhouses are gone, too, and there is a central school which is well run by a Yale graduate, George Etzel, who prefers the simple life and lives it faithfully. The township, however, is so widespread, about 33,000 acres, that some of the children would do better in schools in other townships closer at hand. But sentiment and loyalty and rules send them to our school despite snow and ice.

The local Congressman also came to make a speech. He is SILVIO O. CONTE, a Republican. He has told Congress of the strong desire for self-government among these people. He said: "The first town meeting following incorporation was called by virtue of a warrant issued by Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, justice of the peace, and the original town proprietors, the majority of whom were citizens of Worcester. In a short time, however, the people of Sandisfield were clamoring for control of their own destinies, and, as it was to work out, their demands were quickly granted."

That is the way America grew. Little towns like Sandisfield built a great country and these little New England towns sent sons to develop the great States of the Middle West.

The speakers had their say and a good time was had by all.

## Ode on the Ground Breaking for San Luis Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, Charles B. Garrigus is a member of the California Assembly and a very fine legislator. He is also a fine poet. His poetry has been heard at numerous State events and has served to set the tone and spirit of those occasions. On August 18 Mr. Garrigus delivered an ode to the San Luis Dam at the ground-breaking ceremonies in which President Kennedy participated. I heard Mr. Garrigus read his poem, and I take pleasure in asking unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the ode was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ODE ON THE GROUND BREAKING FOR SAN LUIS DAM

(By Charles B. Garrigus)

Each Spanish peer who ventured to these shores
Dreamed greedy dreams of empire's power and pride;
Each vainly sought to find the golden doors,
And never really knew for what he died.

Then patient padres passed across the land,
To toil with zealous courage for God's grace.
They taught the Indians husbandry by hand,

And Old World missions shaped the New World's face.

When Sutter's golden gleam flashed round the world,
The hot-eyed hordes poured in from every clime;
But where the mining camp smoke slowly curled,
Now ghost-town memories fade into time.

Yet priest, Hidalgo, Forty-niners too,
All dreamed their dreams far better than they knew.

This day is but the dawning of a greater day
Whose rising had to be in years beyond their sight.
Its twilight shall take place in times still far away,
And no man living now shall stay to see its night.

We reap the harvest which their pioneer hopes have sown
And live their shining dreams to have a better life.
Yet each day proves we cannot live by bread alone,
But must have nourishment from faith to bear our strife.

The food for factory, farm, and home these hills shall hold
Can cause to thrive what otherwise could never be.
The alchemy of time turns water into gold
And gives our natural heritage its future guarantee.

Babes now unborn shall drink the drops which hence shall flow
And unbuilt factories throb the rhythms of their power.
Who can foresee the harvest from this seed we sow?
A destiny is pregnant in the ground we break this hour.

Oh land of promise blooming by the sea,
We dedicate this work to God for thee.
To make our State the greatest in the West
Can we do less than make the largest best?

## Small Business Plight—Item of Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Knightstown, Ind., Banner deserves the thoughtful consideration of every Member of Congress:

SMALL BUSINESS PLIGHT, ITEM OF CONCERN

As everyone knows, many small businessmen today have their backs against the wall in the struggle for economic life, and Government officials are talking out of one corner of their mouths in sympathy for the small businessman while trying to ram bills through Congress that would be a bigger and bigger handicap.

Take the proposed medicare bill, for example. While doctors are concerned about this bill being a step toward socialized medicine, some of the Fair Deal orators are saying that well, after all, the wage earner pays for it. Let's correct this somewhat by pointing out that every small businessman (and big business, too) must pay an amount equal to the total which is paid by all the employees of the business in social security taxes. This, of course, is true with other social security taxes, and some of the Fair Dealers say, pay no attention, they used the same arguments against social security itself.

Just how many more taxes can small business absorb without reaching the point where no one will undertake a small business operation? Is this the America of opportunity?

Big buisness can usually absorb these extra taxes—at least much easier than their smaller competitors—because the Federal Government is taking 52 percent of the profits from big business. But the small buisness operator must dig down in his jeans for the extra money.

This is only the starter. There'll be new hospital additions to build under such a system of "free" medical care, which you know would be abused. And who will pay for these hospital additions? Every taxpayer, of course, but the small businessman, because of a large property assessment, will pay more than the average individual.

Then next January, an increase in the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour is coming, and what follows that on the politicians' menu?

For the small business industrial operation, foreign competition is playing havoc, along with the big business competitor at home.

We dislike bemoaning the problems of the small business so frequently, but we honestly believe that the public must become aware of this very pressing problem that promises to end many small business operations, discourage many persons from undertaking small business ventures, but, worst of all, from the total society standpoint, the loss of many potential jobs that would help solve the unemployment problem.

This, too, is why many businesses are installing automation to replace manual work.

Americans would do well to ponder for a good, long time this matter which the politicians gloss over with rosy promises for the gullible.

## Security at NSA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excellent editorial that appeared in the August 29 issue of the Washington Star.

SECURITY AT NSA

The National Security Agency has a better chance of living up to its name now that the House Un-American Activities Committee has plugged holes in the Agency's own security rules. As Chairman WALTER brought out in a painstaking investigation, some of the old employment practices were downright shabby, even by standards of less sensitive fields.

Personnel screening was so loose that, during the inquiry, 30 persons resigned or were dismissed, most of them suspected of sexual deviation. In addition, of course, were the two men whose flight to Russia touched off the investigation. It has been 26 months since these mathematicians took what secrets they possessed behind the Iron Curtain.

Although the committee led the way, NSA itself must be credited with seizing the initiative to—in the words of one expert—"tighten its screening procedures 100 percent." Before the Walter exposé, NSA had fallen flat in one vital aspect of screening. It failed to properly utilize the personnel evaluations of its investigators. Thus, known undesirables were permitted to stay on.

Since the investigation, NSA has adopted procedures of such agencies as FBI. It has put the burden of proof so squarely on the job applicant that, in cases of doubt, the decision is made in favor of the Government. In addition, the qualifications of all old employes have been reevaluated.

Twenty-two "corrective changes" have been made at NSA, long overdue in an agency dealing with our most sensitive military security matters. Now before an employee is hired, he must pass physical, mental, psychological, and lie detector tests. Then comes a probationary period of nonclassified work, while the candidate's background is thoroughly checked. After that, there still is close scrutiny under a newly created inspector general. Security at NSA has taken on a new meaning.

## A Salute to Our Working Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, as the struggle between democracy and communism intensifies, the significance of Labor Day, the importance of paying tribute to the workers of America, becomes greater. This is true because our great national strength lies not alone in our massive Military Establishment, but, even more, in the great body of working men and women of America who produce and go on producing all that we need to maintain our military strength.

We read and hear so much about how our military might acts as a deterrent to global war; how it keeps Khrushchev from triggering such a war; and this is true. I am convinced, however, that Khrushchev harbors a wary respect also for the great body of working men and women of America who produce to make our military power a deterrent to all-out war. This in itself is a tribute to America's labor force, and to the freedom in which that great force works. Of course it is not for these things alone that we are grateful to our workers. We appreciate also the unprecedented abundance of all goods they have brought and all services they have rendered our country since its founding 186 years ago.

Labor Day has come to signal the wrap-up of the summer season, and has become traditionally a day of family fun, or part of that last weekend of vacationing or rest before the youngsters return to school and the autumn round of activities sets in. And why not? There's nothing wrong with having fun. It is my hope in these few minutes, however, to focus attention on the significance of Labor Day. Perhaps it would be well to mention at this point a little about the origin of this observance and why we set aside the first Monday in September to honor the working men and women of the United States.

A general holiday honoring the laboring people of America was first suggested in 1882 by Peter J. McGuire, founder of the Carpenters Union and cofounder of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. McGuire proposed the observance of a day every year which, in his words, "shall be labor's—an occasion devoted to the industrial spirit—the great vital force of every nation."

In fact, it was Mr. McGuire who recommended that it be called Labor Day and that it be established as the first Monday in September. His reason for choosing this date was, again in his own words, so that "it would come at the most pleasant season of the year, nearly midway between the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving."

Over the years the observance of Labor Day gradually spread across the country. First, in the traditionally American way, it was officially recognized through municipal observances. Next, State legislation was enacted recognizing the day. Then, in 1894 Congress passed an act setting aside the first Monday in September as a legal holiday in the District of Columbia and the territories. This official recognition gave the holiday the prestige it needed and deserved, and by 1900 most of the States had followed suit. By 1923, the last of the then 48 State legislatures enacted a Labor Day law.

In saluting our working men and women on their day, I recognize with a feeling of kinship their goals, and I pledge my continuing purpose to cooperate in seeking to attain the objectives which are in the best interest of all our people.

I recognize further not only the right of labor to organize but also the importance of effective, responsible, and representative unions in American economic life free from Government domination. I reaffirm my support of labor's claim to a fair share of the fruits of its production. And I applaud the working people for their indispensable contribution toward keeping our country strong and free and prosperous.

As we observe Labor Day, 1962, in the midst of international tension, I commend our working men and women for their vital role in helping to preserve the freedom we value so highly, and I rest secure in the knowledge that they provide America with the unequaled productive capacity, enabling us to meet any challenge the stress of the times may present.

## Cuba: A Finger on Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article by one of our foremost writers, Marguerite Higgins, dealing specifically with the situation in Cuba and our position in Latin and South America. This also points up very clearly the fact that we can no longer depend upon negotiations or agreements. Positive action is absolutely necessary and the time is now, not in the future.

The article follows:

CUBA: A FINGER ON KENNEDY

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, Republican, of Indiana, charged last night that President Kennedy knows Soviet troops and military equipment are arriving in Cuba but is evading the issue.

The administration's position is that only Soviet military technicians—that is, not fighting soldiers in units but soldiers to teach and train—have landed in Cuba. President Kennedy said at his last press conference that the United States is examining the situation created by the arrival of some 3,000 to 5,000 Communist-bloc personnel.

Senator CAPEHART, however, contended in a speech prepared for delivery in Indiana that the Soviet forces constituted a potential military threat and a clear challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. He thus put himself on the side of the many Cuban refugees, some of them knowledgeable, who have insisted that the degree of Communist military intervention in Cuba has been underestimated by the administration.

Said Senator CAPEHART: "How long will the President 'examine the situation'? Until the hundreds of Russian troops grow into hundreds of thousands? Until the little Cuban military force grows into a big Russian force? It is time the American people demanded that President Kennedy start protecting the interests of the United States. The law which permits him to do it is plain.

CUBA AND CHARGES

From the standpoint of international law, the United States has every right to land troops, take possession of Havana and occupy the country, unless the Cuban Government answers satisfactorily the request of the U.S. Government that all Soviet military personnel be sent home and that no further shipments of military supplies be sanctioned by the Havana authorities.

The Soviet military intervention—whether of technicians or soldiers—faces Washington with all the usual agonizing decisions involving a confrontation, direct or indirect, with Moscow, which is Havana's military ally.

U.S. policy, prior to the recent massive Soviet move to prop up Castro, was to hope that the Cuban dictator would destroy himself with his own inefficiency and clumsy economies. The severe decline of Cuba's industrial and agricultural economy this spring and summer began to give a tinge of reality to these hopes. Then came the armada of Soviet ships this August bearing munitions and personnel.

Can the United States afford to ignore any massive Soviet presence in Cuba whether of technicians or soldiers in light of the Monroe Doctrine, the resolutions of Santiago de Chile, Costa Rica, and Punta del Este outlawing unchecked armed intervention in the Americas by an extra continental power?

If America chooses to be silent on a situation at its back door, what will Russia think of its will to use its great power in other areas of the world the United States is committed to defend? Is Cuba worth risking an encounter of any sort with Soviet power? And in any case, is Cuba such a dismal blot on the Communist international escutcheon that it remains of great value as a symbol of communism's failure in this hemisphere?

These are some of the tough questions that the policymakers are threshing out right now as they decide what—if anything—to do about Moscow's latest Cuban moves.

Senator CAPEHART, according to his speech, is clearly on the side of action, as, not unexpectedly, are the Cuban refugee circles.

His facts and figures about recent developments in Cuba are closer to what Cuban intelligence agents have been reporting than to what the administration accept as accurate.

According to Senator CAPEHART: "A lot of people in Washington have known for weeks that the so-called technicians, or at least a good part of them, are actually Communist military personnel. The facts are that there were about 400 agricultural experts and technicians in the Soviet ships which arrived and the rest of the 3,000 to 5,000 total were Communist military personnel." Is Khrushchev testing the United States to see whether it is soft enough for him to continue such infiltration of other Latin American countries?

## Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10113) to establish an Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration; to authorize the preparation of a plan for acceleration of public works when necessary to avoid serious nationwide unemployment levels; and for other purposes.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER].

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I have approached this legislation from what I believed was an impartial attitude and made my statement on the basis of what the bill does or does not do. I have not injected politics into this matter and certainly have not tried to belittle any Member or his district or the people of his district. I do not think the debate should sink to such levels as that. The characterization of me as an "economic royalist" is amusing although, I am sure not so intended. I can only interpret it to mean a loyal adherent to strict economy—or a believer in the principle that every man should be the royal or ruling or determining factor in his own economic destiny if it is intended to apply to my beliefs.

I say to the gentleman from West Virginia that the people of my district are proud of the fact that they clip coupons. They have had the intestinal fortitude and they are good and frugal enough Americans to be able to save their money and invest it and provide for themselves when they retire. What is wrong with that, I say to the gentleman from West Virginia? How else would private enterprise, how else would enterprise in the great State of West Virginia, or any other State get along if it were not for these people who saved their money and invested it in private enterprise through the stock market, and

thus provided jobs for the millions of Americans who work in this Nation? How else would taxes be collected to pay for the many programs to help employment such as area development, which I supported, and manpower retraining, which I supported, as well as the $4.8 billion public works appropriation bill already passed, which I supported, as well as the biennial public works authorization bill which I have been trying to get our committee to consider this year to the extent of $5 billion in sound projects, which I would support if brought out? So I think this debate ought to be on the level of the merits, not attacks on a Member or his district or his people back home.

I am glad the gentleman had something to say about the people of my district being frugal. There are however 100,000 of them out of 455,000 on social security. If you call them rich, I would not agree with you. But they are good, frugal Americans and they are not asking for handouts or Federal Government grants to projects that are traditionally local with the Federal control that results.

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## Susan Anthony Led Women in Long Fight for Suffrage: Right Given 42 Years Today

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Anthony Cama of Lynn, Mass., which appeared in a recent issue of the Lynn Sunday Post:

SUSAN ANTHONY LED WOMEN IN LONG FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE: RIGHT GIVEN 42 YEARS TODAY

(By Anthony Cama, teacher, author, poet, and director of the Italian School, Lynn)

This is a salute to Susan Brownell Anthony, a most exceptional woman, who was born in Adams, Mass., in 1820, and who was a leader in the women's suffrage movement in the United States. Today marks the 42d anniversary of the final certification of the 19th amendment, which gives the women of America the right to use the ballot and hold public office.

She was a person whose powerful sense of social responsibility was insulted by the customs and the mores of her time placing insurmountable stumbling blocks in the path of woman's cry and surge for equal rights of dignity and honor. A teacher and reformer, she was an ardent flame in the era when most of the female world shrunk behind the overbearing, dominant facade of the lawmaking, superiority-conscious male. It was because of her patient, enduring convictions in the matter of the right of franchise as a symbol of equality between the sexes that a most audacious move was made. With distinctive pride and bearing, she gallantly and unequivocally submitted a bill for equal suffrage to Congress in 1886.

REBOUNDED

Undaunted, fearless, she was defeated but only to return again and again into the sneering masculine congressional arena for another attempt. I am sorry to say to the readers of the Lynn Sunday Post that Miss Anthony did not live long enough to see the 19th amendment become law August 26, 1920. But as long as women shall vote and work and have a claim to the control of their children and to the rights of holding their own money, Miss Anthony shall always be identified synonymously with the 19th amendment and women's right to vote.

With the indulgence and patience of the readers, I should like to present this dedicatory poem to womanhood in this writing:

LEFT IS THE HAND OF HEAVEN

The heart veins of the earth are splintered tears,
And starlamps are but ashes in the sky,
When woman stoops to gather broken spears
And droops her hair to mask her anguished eye.

The sea becomes a woman's mourning nest
To blind the sunrise with her aching dream,
And from her lovely, life-rich breast,
She gives her allness through its mother stream.

She walks—she falls—and sprawls within the dust
Only to arise and grimly plod ahead.
For she, the left hand, knows the right hand must
Be loved and helped to spin its strongest thread.

Left, is the hand of Heaven, mankind knows
The ageless truth of woman's visioned face.
She is the seed from which the flower grows,
She is the left hand in its rightful place.

Left, is the hand of Heaven; it will pray
And bless the cradle where man's fate has trod,
For she will guide the right hand's mortal way
And with her left hand reach the heart of God!

STRONG, COURAGEOUS

From time immemorial has not woman been the very essence of the lilting lyricals of poetry, music, painting, and sculpture? In her feminine fragility she has emerged the very bastion of strength, fortitude, and courageous faith. For ages she has waited within her home for her man to return from hunting or war, so that she would be ready to comfort, heal, and give of her love. She would be the warmth and the indivisible embrace wherein man—weary, wounded, and bleeding, victorious or defeated—would find that indefinable essence of power and determination time and time again. In the woman-wife, in the woman-mother, man would rise upward and upward, supported and held up by the measureless love and sacrifice of his mate.

It is with the greatest pleasure that this writer presents "Women of the Bible," by the renowned Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber. The cardinal explains: "The Hebrew expression (escheth chajil) means the courageous, energetic, thorough woman," a woman full of character, the valiant woman who shall render unto man "all good and not evil all the days of her life."

WOMEN IN GOSPEL

In the long and tortuous history of women's evolution let us mention Rachel, the wife of the patriarch, Jacob; Miriam, the sister of a prophet; and Anna, a prophets' mother; Debbora, judge and deliverer of her people; Dalila, the hostess in the valley of the vines, the woman of Samaria, the Chanaanite woman, Mary Magdalen, Martha, the mother of James and John; Veronica, and, in conclusion, to list these women in the Gospel, Mary, the mother of the Lord.

Let us also mention others, such as Queen Elizabeth of old Elizabethan England, Queen Victoria, Catherine the Great of old Russia, Florence Nightingale, Madam Curie of radium fame, and, of course, the thousands of heroic women long before Joan of Arc, and the pioneer American women, who were the indestructible backbone of the covered wagon era and the settling of this vast virgin and savage continent of ours.

Let us return to some important historic data of suffrage in our own Nation. After the Revolutionary War, when the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia to organize the States, the delicate question of suffrage caused such an uproar that it was omitted from the National Constitution and so left up to the decision of each State.

GREATER FORCE

Women were slowly acquiring more education and speaking out with greater force. By 1832 the antislavery question was a powder keg. Women had developed into excellent platform speakers, and their activity resulted in the division of the Antislavery Association, the Garrison-Phillips branch standing firm for Lucretia Mott and her followers. Among these were the Quakers, who had always worked for and given recognition to equal rights for women. Later on, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of Revolutionary ancestry, joined the antislavery forces, and she and Lucretia Mott decided that the rights of women as well as those of the colored slave needed attention.

In July 1848, at a Friend's yearly meeting in western New York they cried forth in resonant tones for the first woman's rights convention in all history. It met in Seneca Falls, N.Y., Mrs. Stanton's home, on July 19, and after a 2-day session adjourned to Rochester, N.Y.

WORCESTER TALK

This may be regarded as the birth of the movement for women's suffrage not only in this country but all over the world. Tremendous publicity was given to this action by the New York Tribune under the astute and dynamic editorial leadership of Horace Greeley. This was followed in 1850 by a convention in Worcester, Mass., under the guidance of Lucy Stone and a very erudite and distinguished gathering of eastern suffragists.

This movement, however, still was feeble and lacked enough force to cause men to sit up and pay attention. With the entrance into this battlefield of dynamic Miss Susan B. Anthony, in cooperation with Mrs. Stanton, the entire Nation erupted into action by women everywhere. These two women, from their first encounter in 1851, welded a friendship which remained unbroken for 50 years. Miss Anthony attended her first woman's rights convention in Syracuse, N.Y., in 1852 and her last in Baltimore, Md., in 1906, a month before her death.

In 1917 New York was the first to yield the right to vote to its women citizens. By 1918 women had acquired equal suffrage with men in 15 States, offering the only instance in the world where the voters themselves gave the franchise to women. Now, during the demands of World War I, the value of women in all fields was demonstrated so well that all political parties were committed to their enfranchisement.

NO RIGHTS THEN

This writer cannot find enough words of gratitude and respect for the work and devotion contributed by women during World War II and the Korea conflict. It is truly a most happy labor to write this article and eulogize womanhood as well as to give our young female generation a history facet of how not so very far back, just in 1920, women had practically no rights at all. This cruel fact existed in our very own great democratic society, but it is consoling to know that America was mainly responsible for woman's enfranchisement all over the world.

In the great struggles of June 1919, when it appeared that perhaps women would fail again, the last ratification certificate was that of Tennessee. It was delivered to Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby at 4 a.m., August 26, 1920. At 9 a.m. he issued the official proclamation that the 19th amendment had been duly ratified by 36 State legislatures and "has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States." It read as follows: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

From that hour complete and universal women's suffrage was the law of the land.

## Jobs Going Begging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, many of those in this body who supported the Manpower Development and Training Act have faced the question, where are these jobs which you plan to fill with the retrained workers? How can we hope to find places for the unemployed? I have said, and I say it again, that there are millions of jobs in our country going begging, jobs that are open with no one to fill them. Such a situation recently came to light. In U.S. News & World Report of September 3 there is a report on the testimony of the National Restaurant Association on the proposed new unemployment benefit program. In this testimony the association points out the number of jobs that are going begging in the restaurant industry. This is not an isolated example. By giving skills to those without them we can fill these jobs that are going begging and help solve the gnawing unemployment problem which still plagues our economy.

The report follows:

JOBS OPEN, MANY JOBLESS: WHY?

Workers who are highly choosy are being blamed for this trend in the restaurant industry: Unemployment remains high, but a wide variety of jobs is waiting for applicants.

That is the picture given to a congressional committee August 22 by Thomas W. Power, Washington counsel for the National Restaurant Association. He testified in opposition to a new program of Federal unemployment benefits.

Mr. Power reported that in Cleveland the State employment office failed for 6 months to fill 100 job openings for waitresses.

"Of 2,000 unemployed women interviewed," he said, "only 30 have been willing to take the jobs. In the same city, a private club has been trying to fill a job for a bus boy at $55 a week plus meals since February."

The reason according to Mr. Power "is not simply low wages." He continued: "Restaurant wages are rising over 5 percent each year. In Cambridge, Mass., restaurants now pay $65 to $80 a week for short-order cooks—up about 10 percent from a year ago—and still workers are not to be found."

Lack of qualifications also is not the reason jobs are waiting for workers, according to Mr. Power. He said: "The hardest-to-fill jobs—dishwashers—demand only minimum qualifications that most of the unemployed could meet. Yet they go unfilled mostly because even jobless workers refuse these jobs unless they have no other choice."

Mr. Power added: "We have reports of shortages of workers in Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, New York, Houston and Cleveland."

The Restaurant Association has taken a position against any extension of the Federal temporary benefits—given to workers whose State benefits have been exhausted—"unless there is clear evidence of sufficient need to justify it."

## Mr. and Mrs. American Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House a heart-warming story about a constituent, Eugene Lenk, who now resides in Passaic, in the Eighth Congressional District of New Jersey. Born in Budapest, Hungary, of noble birth, he held the title of baron which his family had held for almost four centuries. In 1949, after spending 2 years in a Hungarian jail, he and his wife, Gabriella, fled from Hungary with only the clothing they had on their backs. Eventually they came to the United States in 1957.

On August 29, 1962, Baron and Baroness Lenk became U.S. citizens, willingly renouncing their titles for the prouder title of Mr. and Mrs. American Citizen.

Mr. Lenk now is a painting and carpenter contractor under the free enterprise system in our great democracy. I am sure that Mr. and Mrs. Lenk realize that in America titles are unnecessary because every man and woman earns respect and dignity on their own merits.

## Over 50,000 Returns Received as Rogers Announces Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, each year it has been my practice to send out a questionnaire to the people of the Sixth District of Florida asking their views on some of the important issues before the Congress.

At the cutoff date for tabulation this year, 50,213 returns had been received. This is the largest response I have seen to any similar poll. That so many people have taken the time to reply is most gratifying and indicates the great interest and concern of our citizens in the affairs of their Government.

It is my belief that these results give a good cross section of American public opinion. Every part of the country is represented in south Florida today, and these people tend to reflect opinions based on their past experiences and backgrounds elsewhere, as well as new outlooks they have assumed since moving to Florida. The native and long-time Florida resident is also well represented in this tabulation.

The questionnaire is distributed through district newspapers as a public service, and by direct mailing. The full range of citizenry is asked to respond, no mailings are done to any special group. The occupational classifications of those who answer indicate that complete diversification has been achieved.

Because of the importance of the views of so many of our citizens, I insert the results of this questionnaire at this point in the RECORD:

[In percent]

| | Yes | No | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Should the United States reduce foreign aid? | 87.0 | 10.8 | 2.2 |
| 2. Do you favor the Rogers bill to ban all trade with Castro's Cuba? | 96.2 | 2.9 | .9 |
| 3. Do you favor a reduction of transportation taxes? | 74.3 | 21.5 | 4.2 |
| 4. Do you favor U.S. purchase of U.N. bonds? | 29.9 | 63.8 | 6.3 |
| 5. Should a new Federal department of Cabinet rank be created for urban affairs? | 20.1 | 72.7 | 7.2 |
| 6. Do you approve an increased social security tax to provide medical care for the aged? | 47.2 | 50.4 | 2.4 |
| 7. Do you favor Federal aid for— | | | |
| A. School construction? | 42.5 | 55.2 | 2.3 |
| B. Teachers' salaries? | 30.9 | 65.9 | 3.3 |
| 8. Should the United States lower tariffs to compete in the European Common Market? | 60.5 | 31.8 | 7.7 |
| 9. Do you favor my proposal for systematic annual reduction of the national debt? | 93.1 | 3.4 | 3.5 |

## The Poll Tax and Hamilton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL FINDLEY**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House action passing the resolution authorizing the antipoll tax amendment, this letter from Clarence K. Streit, of Washington, deserves attention. Mr. Streit, in my opinion one of America's clearest thinkers in foreign policy, is editor of Freedom and Union magazine.

The letter follows:

AUGUST 26, 1962.

Robert E. Baker's article in yesterday's Post said that "one nice touch" in the Senate's approval of the amendment abolishing the poll tax in Federal elections was the coupling of it with approval of a resolution making Alexander Hamilton's home a national monument. But the reason he gave for calling this a "nice touch" did a great man an injustice which, although I feel sure it was not intended, is nonetheless outrageous. He explained:

"Hamilton, certainly one of the Nation's greatest Founding Fathers, nevertheless opposed a broad electorate, distrusting the people's capacity to govern, and once in an argument with Thomas Jefferson said: 'Your people, sir, is nothing but a beast.'"

The coupling of this amendment with Hamilton was in fact a "nice touch" for a reason precisely the opposite of the ironical one Mr. Baker gives. Partisan sloganeering has made his view of Hamilton so widespread that it is high time to turn to the record.

The fact is that the first move in the Federal Convention in 1787 to broaden the electorate was made by Hamilton who on May 30 proposed that "the rights of suffrage in the National Legislature ought to be proportioned to the number of free inhabitants" only, instead of alternatively to "the quotas of contribution" made financially by the States. The next day he was among the majority that voted that the people instead of the State legislatures should elect the members of the Federal House.

On June 21, Madison noted that Hamilton spoke against a renewed effort "to transfer the election from the people to the State legislatures," and held this "would essentially vitiate" the Constitution; while Yates recorded Hamilton as saying, "It is essential to the democratic rights of the community, that this branch be directly elected by the people."

On August 13, he opposed requiring 7 years citizenship for Members of the House, moved to "require merely citizenship and inhabitancy," and was voted down. On September 8, according to Madison, Hamilton "expressed himself with great earnestness and anxiety in favor" of increasing the number of Representatives. He "avowed himself a friend to a vigorous Government, but would declare at the same time, that he held it essential that the popular branch of it should be on a broad foundation."

He developed this view further on June 21, 1788, in contending against a hostile majority in the New York State convention for ratification of the Federal Constitution. He said: "The true principle of a republic is that the people should choose whom they please to govern them. Representation is imperfect in proportion as the current of popular favor is checked. The great source of free government, popular election, should be perfectly pure, and the most unbounded liberty allowed."

As Richard Morris says in his biography, "Alexander Hamilton": "Antifederalist propaganda created an image of Hamilton as the arch-foe of democracy. Actually, Hamilton in the early portion of his career enthusiastically supported popular government * * *. Sharing as he did the pessimistic view of human nature with other Founding Fathers, Hamilton would be expected to temper his initial enthusiasm for mass action, to support representative rather than direct democracy. * * * Hamilton's real enemy was not the people but the State machines. He saw the people as a check upon unlimited State sovereignty, and he was ever zealous in tightening the bonds between the people and the Federal Government. * * * Despite the increasing conservatism of his later years he never abandoned these principles."

Let us bury the partisan propaganda of the past, instead of blindly accepting and spreading it now as if long-continued repetition had converted it into historic fact. Surely it is outrageous enough that our Federal Union, which owes its very existence so much in so many ways to the rare virtues of Alexander Hamilton has not yet raised a fitting memorial to him, and is proposing now only to preserve his home as a national monument.

One word more. To couple Hamilton thus with the amendment to abolish the poll tax is a nice touch indeed in still another nonironic sense. For it was Hamilton who, on September 10, 1787, made the motion and the argument in the Federal convention that extended to Congress the right to propose amendments which it is now exercising, but which the first draft of the Constitution limited exclusively to two-thirds of the States.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE STREIT,
*President, Federal Union, Inc.*

## Tribute to State Senator Keith Short, of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ESTES KEFAUVER**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial relative to the life, the accomplishments, and the splendid character of the late State Senator Keith Short, of Jackson, Tenn.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jackson (Tenn.) Sun, Aug. 25, 1962]

SENATOR KEITH SHORT

Tennessee has suffered a great loss in the sudden death of State Senator Keith Short.

An able lawyer, Senator Short's talents for leadership were being studied with the view of elevating him to the responsible position of speaker of the State senate in 1963.

His first term in office had shown him to such good advantage that he had no opposition in his bid for the Democratic nomination for reelection. His road to the second term seemed open.

Valuable as his services in the general assembly have been, Jacksonians will remember him better for many other services he has rendered his home community.

Quiet and calm under all circumstances, he demonstrated the ability to "get the job done" whether in his vocation of law or in his many other interests.

He was one of the group which founded the boosters club which has meant so much to the success of Jackon High School athletic teams year after year.

He was a leader in the Jackson Exchange Club, extending his influence throughout the State when elected to the presidency of the Tennessee Exchange Clubs.

He served as president of the Jackson-Madison County Bar Association, and was prominent in the affairs of the State and national organizations.

Through all of these and other activities, he carried the same spirit of service which was evident in his membership of the Episcopal Church.

As Dr. Frank N. Butler, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, said, "Keith took his religion into all his life. Whether it was football, or law, or the completion of St. Luke's stained glass windows, he saw his efforts through the eyes of his religion."

May the memory of his many accomplishments serve to soften the loss felt by his family, his friends, and his community.

## Russia Losing Out in Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BARRATT O'HARA**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the following news article from the Washington Post of August 18, 1962:

HAS RUSSIA LOST OUT IN ALGERIA?

(By Stephen S. Rosenfeld)

Communists, who proclaim themselves the leading exponents of national liberation, appear to be on the outside of the grandest national liberation movement in years—in Algeria. Experts hedge their claims about the future but now, they say, neither the Soviet Union nor the Algerian Communist Party has any appreciable influence on the politics or ideology of the world's newest ex-colony. Chinese influence is considered to be mainly a cold-war neurosis.

By Marxist theory, Algeria should have been a sitting duck. It had the imperial-colonial aspect of political and economic control by a foreign power, and a racial angle, too. But the Soviets barely took aim.

Before 1953, Stalin's obsession with two camps, Socialist and capitalist, inhibited Soviet interest in a land that did not fit well in either. Khrushchev quickened that interest but his dogma had its hindering contradictions.

For one, Algeria has a relatively puny proletariat, the supposed agent of revolution. It has a national bourgeoisie—including its current leaders—but most of it is or was French and where the national element pleases the Kremlin, the non-Socialist element does not.

Moscow may also have been slowed by a certain split vision of de Gaulle: The French President leads a capitalist state, a member of NATO at that; but he balances a resur-

gent Germany and unsettles the Western Alliance.

Paralysis induced by such conflicts as these, practical difficulties of language and logistics and the caution appropriate to a country whose fingers often have been burned in Africa have kept the Soviet Union at a distance. It talks loudly but carries a small stick.

It has feted a few Algerian visitors but it gave little known material aid to the rebels and did not recognize the Provisional Government before independence. Even now, it has withheld the bait of economic aid, sending only a token shipload of gift wheat. Like the United States, it has only a chargé d'affaires in Algiers.

The Algerian Communist Party, old and always small, had its own problems. The chief one was that it never won local confidence because it was largely French in composition and policy. Formerly the French party preached assimilation, a policy aimed at not imperiling the interests of French workers through loss of a profitable colony. With the revolution, French Communists took a generally French position.

President de Gaulle took the party off the imperialist hook by working for an Algerian settlement which, with belated honor, it could second. But the French orientation remains: L'Humanite, the French Communist paper, is the one cited today by the Soviet press in Algerian affairs.

Then, Algerian Communists were in double jeopardy with the French for being not only nationalists but Communists. The French suppressed the party in 1955, arrested or detained a number of its leaders, and instituted political repressions under which even straight nationalists could barely survive. One leader, Henri Alleg, managed to escape from jail and write a sensational and undenied books, "La Question," on the ideologically safe topic of his torture by Franch paratroopers. Alleg is again editing the party's newspaper, Algier Republicain, which resumed publication last month. It is currently complaining about censorship.

Like L'Humanite and Pravda, the Soviet Communist Party organ, Algier Republicain is repeating the standard Communist offer of an alliance of progressive forces. Ben Bella, strong man of the controlling Political Bureau, is following the lead of other nationalist leaders in brushing the offer off. The party is not expected to be represented in any strength, if at all, in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly. Understandably, it is not picking horses in the struggle for power in Algeria.

The unanswered question is what if any Communist leanings, incipient or suppressed, reside in the leading personalities or power groups of today's Algeria. On this the authorities here have too little information and too much discretion to speculate. The feeling in Washington seems to be that the new regime will be strongly nationalistic and distinctively Socialist. We may not be overjoyed with this but, the experts believe, the Communists won't be, either.

## The U.S. Offer: An Appraisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday this week I gave to my colleagues a report of my observations of events last week in Geneva, at the 18 Nation Disarmament Conference. I described the two draft treaties presented on Monday of this week to the Conference by the United States and Great Britain. I stated why I believed it was important for us to continue to try to negotiate.

On the same day that I spoke, two newspapers, one an important daily in my hometown of Newark, the other, a nationally distributed and respected daily, devoted editorials to the subject of disarmament, and the two treaties offered.

I believe their appraisals will prove most interesting to my colleagues, and under permission previously granted insert them into the RECORD at this point:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 28, 1962]

THE LATEST DISARMAMENT OFFER

Most people are weary or cynical about talk of arms control by now. They shouldn't be. The impossible may take a little longer but there are times when it still has to be done.

Say, if the critics will, that arms control does seem impossible. The Russians would have to agree to it and they evidently won't. Worse, the Chinese Communists are equally indispensable to any control agreement and they seem more adamant.

So the present Western offer at Geneva—a ban on all but underground testing—looks like a maneuver only. It fixes blame on the Russians who are again saying "No." But it doesn't get anywhere.

This is the standard interpretation. It is accurate as far as it goes.

But look at the same impasse from the other end. A world strewn with nuclear weapons, competitively urged by the big power blocs on the small. Ultimately a world bristling with homemade nuclear weapons brandished by men so impassioned with local quarrels that they want war, heedless of the larger consequences.

This is equally impossible.

So the Western plan is not merely a maneuver. It keeps the ball in play. Already the Russians had to retire from one position which looked not unreasonable—permitting inspection—to a position which is much harder for them to justify—no inspection at all. One day, with further work on apparatus which will distinguish earthquakes from underground nuclear tests, this rug will very likely be pulled out from under them, too. Internal inspection, in that event, would not be necessary for underground control any more than for control of tests in the atmosphere.

Or there may be another route into arms control which the Russians would find it to their advantage to accept tomorrow or the day after, and which might stir Peiping. Control of production and means of delivery of nuclear weapons presents even more stubborn problems than control of tests. But they are different problems, untarnished by the test-ban struggle.

It is hard to foresee how the break might come. But the way of ingenuity is to keep trying. This the Western Powers are doing and they are entitled to a lot better than "a dismal, universal hiss, the sound of public scorn."

Significantly, the quotation is from "Paradise Lost."

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, Aug. 28, 1962]

FAIR OFFER

The United States and Britain have offered Russia a treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underground—all without onsite inspections.

It isn't that the West trusts the Kremlin not to cheat. It's just that Washington and London are somewhat belatedly conceding what scientists have believed for some time—that such tests can be detected from remote points.

Underground tests, however, are excluded from this proposal because policing them still requires investigation on the spot. But the Western plan does cover all tests that produce widespread fallout. It would thus lift that nightmare from mankind. It would make it easier to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to other nations. And it would slow down the arms race in an important area by curtailing development of evermore deadly nuclear weapons.

The offer goes very far in meeting the Communist phobia that inspection will be merely a cover for espionage. But the Kremlin apparently still wants all tests banned with no onsite inspection whatever. The excuse given is that the West will continue to gain military advantage by underground blasts. Obviously, this cuts both ways.

But the West, too, would prefer a ban on all tests, including those underground. The Kremlin can have it by agreeing to the very limited inspection asked by the democracies—a maximum of 12 annual onsite checkups. Surely, even through Red-colored glasses, this cannot be regarded as very extensive spying.

## Eighty Years of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, July 31, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the year 1962 is the 80th since the founding of the Knights of Columbus, in New Haven, Conn. It was on January 16, 1862, that Father Michael J. McGivney met with nine men in New Haven to discuss the project of forming a fraternal and benevolent order that would work to foster both patriotism and religious principle among its members and as far as its influence might reach. After several meetings the name "Knights of Columbus" was decided upon, and the order, the first national fraternal organization to be incorporated in Connecticut, received its charter from the State on March 29, 1882.

From this modest beginning the order has grown, slowly at first, and then at increasing speed, until now it numbers more than a million and a quarter members in all States of the country, with representation also in Canada, Cuba, Mexico, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Panama. Throughout its history, the order has worked strenuously for the cultivation of the patriotic spirit among Catholics, particularly in the education of youth.

Mr. Speaker, from the beginning, the Knights of Columbus sought to preserve the stability of the homes of its members, by providing financial means to assist in the upkeep of the families and education of the children of deceased members. It early began a campaign that, through the years, has acquired increasing importance—to promote pub-

lic dissemination of the truth about the faith to which they belong by forthright factual answers to calumny. The voice of the order has also been heard, frequently and consistently, in defense of the ideals of tolerance and freedom of religion. The education of American youth was an early and constant concern of the order, and many scholarships have been provided, at different academic levels, for the education of youth, always including such subjects as American history, American government, and American constitutional history. From the time of World War I the Knights of Columbus has been known for its work for the benefit of the Armed Forces, in peace and war, whether alone or in partnership with other organizations. It has also sponsored scholarships for the children of those who have given their lives in battle in the wars of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, in its westward expansion, the order first reached the Pacific coast and the State of California with the establishment, in 1902, of San Francisco Council 615. Los Angeles and then other California cities quickly set up councils, and on May 13, 1903, the California State Council was organized, in Los Angeles, this being the first State council of the Knights of Columbus west of the Rockies. Los Angeles, too, was host to the second supreme convention to be held outside the order's birthplace, New Haven—the convention of 1905. The choice of California for this convention demonstrated in dramatic fashion the intention of the order to be truly national in scope and interests, and to use its national conventions as a means of stimulating interest in the order, in one geographical region of the country after another.

In 1921 the supreme convention was again held in California, this time in San Francisco—a convention that was heralded as the best attended, best publicized, and the most productive supreme convention in the history of the order up to that time. At this memorable convention the Knights of Columbus undertook to follow up their magnificent war work of World War I with a peacetime program comparable in scope and cost. More than $7 million was devoted to projects of hospitalization and educational work for disabled and other ex-service men, for the maintenance of college scholarships for some 400 veterans, and for other projects including a continuing educational drive against extreme radicalism, and the initiation of an antituberculosis campaign. It was at this convention, too, that John H. Reddin, supreme master, fourth degree, announced the initiation of one of the most worthwhile efforts of the Knights of Columbus, the Knights of Columbus fourth degree American history movement. It was at this convention that Edward F. McSweeney, chairman of the then newly established Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, gave an address setting forth the principles that were to inspire the educational and scholarly work of this commission. The keynote of his address, as of the work since done and sponsored by the commission, is in the spirit of the quotation from Daniel Webster:

> In America, a new era commences in human affairs, distinguished by free representative government, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly awakened and unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, our country, fellow citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them: if they stand, it will be because we have sustained them. Let us contemplate then, this connection which binds the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness.

Mr. McSweeney chose the occasion of the San Francisco convention to issue a ringing statement of permanent renunciation, in domestic matters, of the narrow sectional interests of New England and the Eastern States, and repudiation, in foreign relations, of exclusive attachment to European alliances and the partnership with the British Commonwealth. Mr. McSweeney expressed, for the Knights of Columbus, the broad westward vision, eminently suited to the name of Columbus, an organization in which patriotic fervor and historical scope took in the whole continental United States, and whose prophetic vision looked toward trade, friendship, and alliances with the people of those eastern lands that lie westward of our Pacific coast.

Mr. Speaker, San Francisco is also inseparably linked with the inauguration of the great tradition of humanitarian service by the Knights of Columbus, the San Francisco disaster of 1906 having inspired the members of the then small order to heroic efforts on behalf of the injured, the homeless, the orphaned, and destitute. Within a very few months, a relief fund of $100,000 had been collected, and a committee of local Knights undertook the vital task of distributing this money for the best advantage of the city and its stricken people. It is worthy of mention, for the honor of San Francisco and of the San Francisco Council of the Knights of Columbus, that within 2 years the San Francisco Knights had repaid to the supreme secretary $65,000 of the money that had been freely given for the relief of San Francisco's disaster victims.

The precedent of generous and prompt relief, set in San Francisco, was soon followed on the occasion of the floods that struck Ohio and Indiana in 1913, of the Illinois cyclone of 1917, the Corpus Christi storm of 1919, and on many another occasion of major disaster, whether within the United States or in foreign lands. Many who know nothing else of the Knights of Columbus, know it as the organization which brought immediate and generous aid when the need was the greatest.

Many Californians remember the supreme convention of 1952, held in Los Angeles. That year marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of the founder of the order, Father Michael J. McGivney, the 70th anniversary of the founding of the order itself, and the 50th anniversary of the extension of the order to the west coast, with the inauguration of San Francisco's council 615. To San Franciscos, and to all Californians, who cherish the tradition of the Spanish missions that first established European culture and Christian faith on the shores of the Pacific, the view of American history taken by the Knights of Columbus is most welcome and congenial. Their emphasis is on the various streams of culture, religious and national, that entered into the makeup of America; on the explorers and missionaries, as well as the settlers; on the French, Spanish, and Dutch, as well as the English; on the south, west, and north, as well as the east. We deeply appreciate a religious patriotism that transcends the boundaries of denomination, and dissociates itself from national jealousies and selfishness. It is the measure of the quality of this organization and its work that it has received the wholehearted commendation of men of all creeds. I know that the Knights of Columbus will carry on, through the years to come, their noble tradition of devotion and service to God and country.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to bring to your attention the names of a number of individuals who are carrying on the vital work of the Knights in San Francisco. They are to be congratulated for their devoted efforts in making the Knights a viable instrument for good They are:

The Honorable Edward Molkenbuhr, P.S.D., past State deputy; the Honorable William T. Sweigert, P.S.D.; F. Everett Cahill, P.S.D.; Hon. C. Harold Caulfield; Tom O'Connor; Joseph M. Cummins; Charles F. Schroth; John F. Schroth; Charles Pons; James E. Fields; Alvin J. Lambert; Tom Dolin; Joseph J. Peterson; Paul Gysels; George B. Gillis; Mark Bentley; John P. Bacigalupi; William G. Reynolds; Fred Augustini; Cosmo Antista; John Bohach; Francis Brennan; J. Francis Shirley; Charles Gallagher; the Honorable Thomas P. White, P.S.D.; Fidel J. Martinez; Ambrose Kerwin; Thomas F. Duffy, P.S.D.; John J. Enright; Sergio A. Scarpa; Sylvester Andriano; Joseph I. McNamara; Everett B. Livermore; Joseph A. Kiernan; John A. Brucato; Harold F. Roesch; Thomas J. Melon; Emmet P. Lucey; Frank R. Pitts; John P. Figone; Maurice T. Murphy; Spencer B. Lane; Dion Holm; Paul M. Hupf; Hon. Edward M. Gaffney; Hon. Charles W. Meyers, Martin C. McDonough; Joseph Barrett; Raymond D. Williamson; Dominic Bozzanella; John F. Henning; Chris McKeon, Dr. Joseph G. Mayerle; and Raymond J. Rath.

## The John Birch Society in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, what is the appeal in the John Birch Society for a young, successful, well-educated businessman? In this third of a series of six, Detroit Free Press Staff Writer Barbara Holliday, who joined the society without identifying herself as a reporter and who became an active member for many months to make these reports, puts one John Birch member in candid focus:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IN MICHIGAN

If there is a single reason for the growth of the John Birch Society, it is grassroots action.

Robert Welch is an efficient organizer. He is also a pretty astute observer of human nature.

And he hit the jackpot when he dreamed up a do-it-yourself way to fight communism.

His monthly projects are just the right size for every member to bite off and chew—from the little old lady in white tennis shoes to the retired self-made businessman.

Every time he asks someone to send off a post card on one project or another, he prefaces it with a buildup that makes that post card a flaming sword and its sender a modern-city crusader.

For the more ambitious of his recruits there are meater things to get their teeth into.

This promise of action is attracting new young blood to the society—those in the 30-to-40 age group and college-age conservatives.

Without exception they are angry and frustrated over Communist advances in the cold war.

Without exception they want to strike back.

And almost to a man they are eager and anxious to get into politics.

Said one young coed: "I think grownups had better learn about these student groups. They dismiss us as beatniks. The beats do not engage in politics. We're dying to jump in with both feet."

If the Welch solutions are too simple, they still offer a quick and ready answer.

And the far right is more than cordial to a recruit with political fervor.

Les Crane is a good example of the younger Detroiters who are becoming active in the society.

It was later in my Birch membership that I met with him at his Huntington Woods home to discuss reactivating chapter 290, which had fallen on evil days.

He showed me into the living room, a welcome change from the cloak-and-daggerish basement setting I had come to expect.

The only indication of official business was the American flag standing discreetly against the gold and black print draperies, and a copy of American Opinion on the lamp table.

A long, low, modern couch stood against one wall. Planters, lamps, and books lent an air of warmth and coziness.

An unusual mosaic tile coffee table stood in front of the couch and there was good modern art on the walls—with a striking abstract plaque over the fireplace.

Les Crane is a graduate of Wayne State University. He is tall, dark-haired, in his midthirties.

He has large inquisitive eyes that sparkle when he talks and a rather round boyish-looking face. He is an inveterate pipe smoker.

Crane is in the car business and prospering. His house is up for sale because he is in the process of building a home in Grosse Pointe.

His wife is attractive, young, and has a new baby. I saw two other children, a boy of 11 or 12, and a small daughter.

Crane explained that he had just taken over this chapter—he formerly belonged to the Berkley chapter—that he had not been too dutiful about attending meetings and had not yet gathered up all the machinery.

REPORTS CONSERVATIVE TREND IS GROWING

I asked if any of his prospective members were active in the "freedom in action" group in Birmingham. He said they were, though he had not been attending himself.

"There are more conservatives around than you would suspect," he said.

"The trend is growing all the time. I run into people every day who are good conservatives but haven't found a way to make contact.

"A friend told me the other day: 'I am in my thirties and have never yet voted in a national election because I couldn't find a candidate honest enough to vote for'."

"You know," Crane added, biting down on his pipestem, "that's what I'd really like to do—get into politics. If I could figure out how to live and do that too, I would.

"I have 20 Blue Books (the Birch manual) and I pass them out regularly. It was after reading the Blue Book that I became convinced there would never be a war with Russia, because it won't be necessary.

"This same friend of mine has been with CID. He says the list of Communist agents active right in our Military Establishment is unbelievable.

"That is what they hope for, you know, a military coup. And what can civilians do? Once we get them alerted and they take to the streets—it will be too late. The tanks will be coming."

VOICES HIS VIEWS ON TEXAS POLITICS

I asked Crane if he had seen Senator JOHN TOWER, of Texas, on a Sunday TV show.

"No," he said. "How did he do?"

"Pretty good."

"You know," Crane observed, "it's getting so a man doesn't dare say what he thinks in this country any more. Even Columnist George Sokolsky turned on Gen. Edwin A. Walker today and said he's lost the election.

"But they don't know Texans. They're Democrats but they're solid conservatives. They're going to have to have an awfully strong Democratic candidate to beat Walker."

Walker later ran sixth in the field of candidates.

"I know Texas," Crane continued. "We lived there for a while. It's a shame, you know. The South is conservative—but it's also Democratic. And they're controlling legislation.

"I got into real trouble one time at the home of a friend down there. His father was what you might call an industrialist.

"We were talking about the Negroes and the really more benevolent way they treat them in the South.

"I said, not expressing a personal viewpoint, but trying to be analytical: In the North, they're trying to mix 'em up.

"The old man thought I was a radical and I was never invited back."

I commented that a friend who had worked in the underground in Europe during the war had told me that the American Negro was one of the biggest frustrations the Communists had encountered.

"They expected them to be ready for the picking—a perfect target for the Communist ideology but the American Negro by and large hasn't fallen for it," I explained.

"Some of their leaders have," said Crane. "The rest of them just aren't politically sophisticated enough for communism."

TALK OF ALGIERS, FRANCE AND SOVIET

We talked about Algiers and France.

"Naturally, FLN (the Algerian independence movement) is going to be leftists," Crane said, "because their arms have come from Russia and the East—and we provided the guns for the losing side.

"Kennedy is not ineffective—not at all.

"You know the missile gap has been downgraded 95 percent. Before the election we were told how far we were behind—now they're telling us we're ahead. The whole thing was a fraud.

"Russia ahead of us?

"Do you know, I went into an Army equipment store the other day. It was packed with computers, beautiful things of precision, but already out of date—selling for $2 or $3.

"Do you realize the base an economy has to have to operate like that?"

"They don't even have side roads in Russia—just the main highways. You'd have to travel off the main road in a jeep, if at all.

"They only have one railroad from the Pacific across Siberia. And we are crisscrossed with over 200 lines.

"And we call them a highly developed country.

"The French have diagrams of the way the Russians launch their rockets. It sounds like something out of science fiction (I used to be quite a bug).

"They seem to have a big track built down the side of a mountain, curved up at the end.

"They apparently get their rockets up to about 1,000 miles an hour before they ever leave the ground. About as primitive as you can get.

"But there's never been a thing about that printed in this country.

"VICTORY, NOT PEACE, SET AS U.S. GOAL

"Do you know how the next war is going to be fought—if we are fighting Russia?" Crane asked.

"We will land paratroops right in the heart of Russia, encircle the country with atom bombs ready to fire and they'll be paralyzed. There is no way in the world they could reach us or get us out.

"What we need to work for is victory * * * not peace.

"This is the one thing Senator BARRY GOLDWATER keeps coming back to 'let's work for victory.' And it's what the American people really want. Victory."

He picked up the magazine U.S.S.R. published from the Soviet Embassy in Washington. (We distribute Amerika in the Soviet by reciprocal agreement.)

"Pretty handsome, isn't it?" Crane commented. "Almost as good as Life, if not better.

"What I like to do is look beyond the articles at the pictures. Look at this one—this is supposed to be a town that is an industrial hub of activity in Siberia. Notice anything?

"There's not a single automobile on the street—one bus—that's all. Do you suppose they got all the horse-drawn carts out of the way so the picture could be taken?

"Can you imagine any city or small town in this country where you could take a picture in the daytime with no cars in evidence?"

BLAMES BACKGROUND FOR LIBERAL IDEAS

Crane's wife brought in tea and left.

He spoke of a professor at Wayne State.

"He's a liberal—pretty far left—but he has a good mind—a very good mind."

He fell silent for a moment.

"I wonder," he said, "how a man that intelligent can be so fooled. It must be something in his background, poverty as a

child perhaps, that makes him resent society—say, 'This is society's fault.'

"And yet, he's a professor at a university. Pretty good progress for a poor boy—and society let him get there."

There was some wonder and a good deal of contempt in his voice.

Crane doesn't need a stump. All he needs is an audience—even if it's just an audience of one. He also wants action.

And he won't sit still long unless he finds that "something" to get his teeth into. Chances are he'll find it when he moves to Grosse Pointe and into the heart of the 14th District—where Birchism has been the most virulent.

## The Gold Flow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress, and other persons interested in our national financial situation and gold outflow problem, an article written by Mr. B. Barret Griffith entitled "The Gold Flow."

Mr. Griffith has included with his statements a table of our gold reserves since 1860 as follows:

THE GOLD FLOW

(By B. Barret Griffith)

(NOTE.—B. Barret Griffith writes the Griffith Letter and is associated with Wood, Walker & Co., representing them in Colorado Springs. He also is author of the book "Investing Is Adventure.")

(AUTHOR'S NOTE.—In my opinion we are on the threshold of what could be an excitingly constructive and bullish era—if we take the right steps to expand trade, profitably sell our so-called surpluses, and forget Economist Keynes. After all, we don't have to be hurt by honorably discharging our obligations in a realistic fashion.)

The unexpected rapidity with which expected events are occurring in the gold situation call for several brief foiolwup comments to those expressed in the gold flow article published in last September-October's Financial Analysts Journal. Most encouraging is the growing public recognition of burdensome taxes, depreciating currencies, and heavy debts, and that this situation is worldwide. Washington has heard of the public's apprehension of the approaching dollar crisis. There is real encouragement in the widespread recognition of today's most formidable problem.

Although unhappily the current Washington administration still seems to be continuing to look to intergovernmental international banking institutions, gold pools, and international monetary agreements to solve the basic insolvency problem indicated by the gold outflow, the writer feels that there are beginning to appear a few of the most bullish signs we have seen in many years. Government seems to be studying trade as a solution to our financial plight at least as seriously as it seems to be regarding the weakness of other currencies as somehow able to solve the weakness of the dollar.

Even though the managers in Washington appear to have the thing "hindside before" because they talk of larger imports when we so desperately need to export goods and services in much greater amount to those countries to whom we owe so much gold, it is nevertheless very bullish, in the writer's opinion, to have the Government looking to expanding trade as the only solution to our unhappy financial situation and the gold outflow. Great hope lies in the real possibility that it may be only a small step to convince Washington that expanding trade demands a good hard currency available to all individuals; that the exchange of goods, after all, is a continuous thing with the only question being as to whether it is carried on peacefully, or by force; and that as debtors the United States of America can well afford to offer to finance under easy terms all our exports to those countries to whom we owe so much gold, in order to tempt them to buy our produce.

All the facilities of Wall Street would help in such financing because after all the obligations would surely be as good as anything now available to the world's investors.

The accompanying table showing the relationship of our gold reserves to the claims upon them emphasizes that something has to be done promptly, about our loss of gold reserves. Because the problem is finally recognized and it looks like we may be heading back to work to produce to sell, in order realistically to solve our "free lunch" financial set-back, the writer dares to predict that the most bullish era for our country and her people lies ahead.

*U.S. gold reserves versus requirements and potential claims, 1922–61*

[In millions of dollars]

| End of year | U.S. gold reserve | A | B | Total of A and B | Percent of claims to gold |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | U.S. required gold reserves | Foreign short-term dollar balances | | |
| 1922 | $3,506 | $1,686 | $1,009 | $2,695 | 76.9 |
| 1923 | 3,834 | 1,652 | 990 | 2,649 | 69.0 |
| 1924 | 4,090 | 1,599 | 1,237 | 2,836 | 69.3 |
| 1925 | 3,985 | 1,558 | 1,193 | 2,751 | 69.0 |
| 1926 | 4,083 | 1,564 | 1,639 | 3,203 | 78.4 |
| 1927 | 3,977 | 1,624 | 2,591 | 4,215 | 106.0 |
| 1928 | 3,746 | 1,621 | 2,673 | 4,102 | 109.5 |
| 1929 | 3,900 | 1,611 | 2,673 | 4,284 | 109.8 |
| 1930 | 4,225 | 1,662 | 2,336 | 3,897 | 92.2 |
| 1931 | 4,052 | 1,781 | 1,304 | 3,085 | 76.1 |
| 1932 | 4,405 | 1,967 | 746 | 2,713 | 61.6 |
| 1933 | 4,012 | 2,166 | 392 | 2,558 | 63.8 |
| 1934 | 8,239 | 2,729 | 670 | 3,399 | 41.2 |
| 1935 | 10,134 | 3,610 | 1,301 | 4,911 | 48.5 |
| 1936 | 11,422 | 4,101 | 1,623 | 5,724 | 50.1 |
| 1937 | 12,760 | 4,170 | 1,893 | 6,063 | 47.4 |
| 1938 | 14,591 | 5,099 | 2,188 | 7,287 | 49.7 |
| 1939 | 17,800 | 6,354 | 3,221 | 9,575 | 53.8 |
| 1940 | 22,042 | 7,897 | 3,938 | 11,835 | 53.7 |
| 1941 | 22,761 | 8,310 | 3,679 | 11,989 | 52.7 |
| 1942 | 22,739 | 9,977 | 4,205 | 14,202 | 62.5 |
| 1943 | 21,981 | 11,902 | 5,375 | 17,277 | 78.6 |
| 1944 | 20,621 | 14,350 | 5,820 | 21,170 | 102.6 |
| 1945 | 21,083 | 10,968 | 7,074 | 17,942 | 85.1 |
| 1946 | 21,706 | 10,731 | 6,481 | 18,429 | 84.9 |
| 1947 | 22,868 | 11,294 | 7,135 | 17,212 | 75.3 |
| 1948 | 24,399 | 11,894 | 7,756 | 19,650 | 80.5 |
| 1949 | 24,563 | 10,753 | 7,623 | 18,376 | 74.8 |
| 1950 | 22,820 | 11,055 | 9,222 | 20,227 | 88.6 |
| 1951 | 22,873 | 11,720 | 9,302 | 21,022 | 91.9 |
| 1952 | 23,252 | 12,055 | 10,731 | 22,786 | 98.0 |
| 1953 | 22,090 | 12,151 | 11,771 | 23,922 | 108.3 |
| 1954 | 21,793 | 11,812 | 12,923 | 24,735 | 113.5 |
| 1955 | 21,752 | 11,975 | 13,580 | 25,555 | 117.5 |
| 1956 | 22,058 | 12,120 | 16,428 | 28,548 | 129.4 |
| 1957 | 22,857 | 12,101 | 16,580 | 28,681 | 125.5 |
| 1958 | 20,582 | 12,036 | 17,637 | 29,673 | 144.2 |
| 1959 | 19,507 | 12,182 | 21,472 | 33,654 | 173.0 |
| 1960 | 17,804 | 11,882 | 23,665 | 35,547 | 199.7 |
| 1961 | 16,947 | 12,095 | [1] 25,384 | 37,479 | 221.2 |

[1] Includes $2,826,000,000 foreign holdings of Government bonds and $800,000,000 of debt to IMF which we must repay in gold at the $35 price, regardless of price of gold on repayment date.

## Looking Backward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the following article which appeared in the Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn., on August 26, 1962:

LOOKING BACKWARD

It is sometimes impossible to fathom the official Washington mind. For instance, a directive came down from Washington that the iron plaques in the national cemetery here quoting stanzas of the poem "The Bivouac of the Dead" should be removed. It is understood that these plaques were used in other national cemeteries and the order applied to all of them.

Col. Creed F. Bates certainly expressed the sentiment of many people of this community when he recently sent the following letter:

CHIEF,
*Office of Support Services,*
*Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.*
(Attention of Memorial Division.)

DEAR SIR: I wish to protest the removal of the "Bivouac of the Dead" plaques from the national cemetery at Chattanooga, Tenn.

Since the days of my early youth these plaques have elicited my attention with touching appeal.

Many of us feel that in a unique way these plaques accentuate the picture, enhanced the atmosphere, and poignantly and fittingly verbalized our sentiments about this final resting place of our heroic dead.

It is hoped that these plaques may again be placed in this cemetery.

Sincerely,

CREED F. BATES.

Theodore O'Hara, author of the poem, served in the Mexican War, enlisted as a private and reaching the rank of major. Later he was editor of the Mobile Register.

No one could possibly conceive a more appriate poem for a national cemetery.

The opening stanza is familiar to all:

"The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tatto;
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread
And glory guards with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead."

O'Hara wrote the poem to commemorate the Kentuckians who fell in the Battle of Buena Vista. It was in a way an appeal for the return of the fallen heroes to their native soil, and they were brought back home:

"Sons of the dark and bloody ground
Ye must not slumber there,
Where stranger steps and tongues resound
Along the heedless air.
Your own proud land's heroic soil
Shall be your fitter grave;
She claims from war his richest spoil,
The ashes of her brave."

The poem is in 12 stanzas of similar length. Only the appropriate lines were included on the plaques long resting in the national cemetery here and in some other national cemeteries.

Theodore O'Hara died in Alabama in 1867. The Legislature of Kentucky paid him a fitting tribute by having his body removed to Frankfort and placed by the side of the heroes he so worthily commemorated in his famous poem.

As Colonel Bates so truly stated in his letter, the quotations from the poem enhanced the atmosphere and poignantly verbalized the sentiments which fill the heart of anyone who visits the national cemetery. One cannot understand the official mind which thinks such noble sentiment out of place in the last resting place of heroes.

Word from the officials is anxiously awaited. Surely many Chattanoogans will regret the removal of the plaques. Why cannot they be replaced?

## Oil: Economic Weapon To Win the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Monday's edition of the Washington Post accents on its editorial page a problem of menacing potential to the free world in our continuing effort to win the cold war. This is the problem caused by the Soviet Union dumping cheap oil on the markets of the free world.

Soviet Russia's ruthless use of petroleum as a weapon in the cold war is a problem of serious proportions, a problem which cannot be overrated. This Soviet economic weapon is powerful. It can destroy or badly disrupt the unity necessary among the free nations. It also causes damaging effects to Western oil interests which cannot reasonably compete.

The latest attempt by the Soviets to drive a wedge into free world unity is pointed out in the Post editorial. This is Premier Khrushchev's offer to the Japanese to extend an oil pipeline from Irkutsk to oil-hungry Japan.

This is but one example in the continuing Communist effort to destroy petroleum price stability and long-standing market relationsips while creating rifts in the economic solidarity of the free peoples of the world. Perhaps the most dramatic example is in Italy where an increasing trade in cut-rate Russian oil has posed many new problems in European-American relations.

By agreements and contracts which increase their dependence upon below-cost shipments of Communist oil, the people of Italy play directly into Russian hands, and do serious injury to the course of European-American cooperation.

The Russians are able to undercut Western oil producers by placing inflated prices on petroleum behind the Iron Curtain and dumping it at ridiculously low prices on the free side of the Curtain.

It is now urgent that every American recognize the seriousness of this problem. Furthermore, we must come up with some constructive new approaches to the use of oil as an effective weapon of the free world in the continuing economic conflict with the Communist world.

Some interesting suggestions were made recently in an editorial in the Tulsa, Okla., Tribune. The Tribune article recommended four possible solutions:

First. Uniform oil policies for the entire NATO community comparable to current weapons programs, with curbs on imports of Soviet oil to each country.

Second. Common policies with regard to preventing Western supplies to the Communists of oil transportation, pipeline, extracting or refinery equipment.

Third. A determined effort, with or without Government assistance, to increase oil exploration or reserves in other areas of the world, more removed from the Soviet pressures.

Fourth. Continued public disclosure of Soviet price-cutting tactics designed to hurt not just the West but also the oil-producing countries dependent on oil revenues.

The Washington Post editorial entitled "Soviet Oil Challenge," succinctly points out the problem. The complete text of the Post editorial follows:

SOVIET OIL CHALLENGE

Premier Khrushchev has thrust a devilishly tempting oil pipeline offer before the oil-hungry Japanese. Seconding Mr. Mikoyan's motion of last August, he offered to extend a Soviet pipeline from Irkutsk to the Pacific if Japan would provide the materials to build it. Japan now takes about 2 percent of its oil from the Soviet Union. A pipeline could bring in 10 times as much at prices perhaps 30 percent lower than existing levels. Jogged by the United States and their own apprehensions, the Japanese have reacted warily toward Soviet oil in the past. Whether the country's growing economic restiveness will make it more hospitable to the pipeline proposal remains to be seen.

The proposal is merely the latest gambit in the increasingly aggressive and effective "Soviet oil offensive." With politics determining prices and repayment and marketing terms, Russian oil exports have climbed at the rate of 6 billion or more metric tons a year since 1958. They now go to nine Western European countries; in Italy the Western oil position has been particularly undermined. The Soviet Government is also stimulating the oil ambitions of a number of key underdeveloped nations, which regard a national oil capability as a matter of independence and status as well as development. The twin goals of Soviet oil policy, to disrupt if not to displace non-Communist oil operations and to apply political leverage in the neutral world, have gained a measure of success which makes Western oil men and statesmen shudder at what may come.

The very real and well-documented prospect of economic and political hardship has so far led to much sounding of alarms in the West but to precious little action. Hobbled by Italian objections, the Common Market nations have sat on a proposal to apply voluntary restrictions to Soviet oil imports. Middle Eastern producers have been inclined to pass the brunt of the Soviet challenge to the West. Western producers have made no substantial changes in pricing and other policies to meet their Communist competition.

A forthcoming administration-requested report from the National Petroleum Council promises to spur official activity. But meanwhile, specific suggestions from congressional and industry quarters on how to arm the United States for imminent oil combat have not been treated with any urgency. Soviet oil indeed represents a stinging neetle to the free world. It must be firmly grasped.

## The World Needs the Truth About America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have just completed reading a most thought-provoking and inspirational book by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, "Just Friends and Brave Enemies," realistically outlining the problems facing this Nation in opposing the insidious and skillful Communist effort to win the battle for the minds of young people in many countries around the world.

The Attorney General has written an interesting and lively report on his energetic trip around the world last February to 14 countries, including Japan, Indonesia, and Germany.

The accounts of the Attorney General's spirited discussions with students, labor leaders, officials, and businessmen are worth reading by anyone who intends to travel overseas. His candid answers to questions about the United States and the American people demonstrate what one person can do to help get the truth abroad.

The Attorney General found an appalling amount of misinformation about the United States, our people and our

system of government. He states that the Communists have gained the initiative in the fight for the minds of the men and women who will be the leaders of their countries 5, 10, and 15 years from now. So, it is in the last chapter in which he poses the problem and makes worthwhile suggestions for meeting the Communist challenge, that the book is particularly notable.

The Attorney General's recommendations to get the facts about us and our way of life to the peoples in foreign countries and the need for an imaginative, tough, and self-sacrificing effort on our part, are contained in an article which appears in the most recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Under unanimous consent I insert this article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE WORLD NEEDS THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA—WRITING FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF HIS RECENT WORLD TOUR, THE PRESIDENT'S BROTHER PROPOSES A PLAN TO SELL U.S. IDEALS ON AN OPEN MARKET

(By Robert F. Kennedy)

Last February in Indonesia an aggressive young Communist student insisted that the United States supports colonialism because we do not stand with Indonesia in its dispute with the Netherlands over West New Guinea. I was interested in learning if he and his vocal companions, who were loud in their criticism of colonialism, were sincere or just propagandizing. Did they oppose the Chinese in Tibet, or the Russians in Hungary, I asked them. They responded that these were not examples of colonialism as the people in those countries supported the regime and had asked for the help of the Chinese and Russian armies. What about East Berlin, I asked. If the people supported the regime, how did they explain the wall?

"Let's talk about West New Guinea. We don't want to discuss details. We want to talk about West New Guiena," the young Communists replied.

I received no support from any other member of the audience of 30 or 35 youth leaders. After the meeting four or five students came to see me, however. They said I was absolutely correct about Communist colonialism. I asked why they didn't say so at the meeting. They explained that they could not speak up because it just was not done. No one criticizes communism, they said.

This incident illustrates one side of a paradox—that the Communists have taken the initiative in seeking to win the allegiance of young people in foreign lands, particularly the new countries, and in some areas have absolutely no opposition. The other side is that despite this, but because of other things we have done throughout our history, there is a tremendous reservoir of good will toward the United States. On our trip to Japan, Indonesia, Germany and 11 other countries we encountered some anti-American demonstrations, but these represented a minority point of view. In these countries and all around the world—among students, intellectuals, officials, businessmen, and labor leaders—there is a profound unspoken admiration for America and the American people. We encountered it over and over again in kind words, the enthusiasm of students, the faces of children and the laughter of grownups. But this reservoir is as yet untapped, and this is the meaning of the failure of the Indonesian students who sided with me to participate in the meeting. This is a tragedy of the past, but it is also the challenge of the future.

CRUCIAL QUESTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

I returned home convinced more than ever that what we do here in the United States will have a major effect on how we meet this challenge and whether we retain our position in the world. We must first keep ourselves prepared militarily, but we must also build our strength in such domestic areas as civil rights, economic productivity, and social security. The struggle we face will take all our effort over the next two or three decades. It will exact a tremendous price. But it is a price we must pay, for if we do not succeed, we lose all.

Particularly in the field of civil rights we must put our own house in order. In every country we visited, at every stop we made, we were asked about the violation of civil rights in the United States. In Japan, in Indonesia, I sensed the hurt and the hostility in many of the questioners. To them I honestly admitted our weaknesses, but I also pointed out the gains we have made and the efforts of the administration and the American people. I told them of the progress we are making in voting, transportation, Federal employment, employment by Government contractors, and also in other fields not directly related to civil rights which nonetheless have a major economic effect on Negroes, such as the minimum wage law, housing, and the extension of social security.

We must realize, however, that as long as major inequities exist anywhere in our country, we will have problems abroad. We have to move ahead here in the United States not only because it is right but also more selfishly because our freedom and our strength overseas depend upon our progress. We cannot successfully portray ourselves as believing in the Constitution and freedom if at home we treat a portion of our population as inferiors.

It may appear incongruous to say that our foreign position will be determined by what we do to find employment for the miners of West Virginia, for the unemployed of the iron range of Minnesota, or for the 26 million young people who will join the labor market in the next 10 years. But it is true. Our democratic, free enterprise system in competing with Marxism in a worldwide arena. America's position throughout the world, as well as the general cause of freedom, will be affected by the way we handle these problems, as well as our treatment of freedom riders or sit-ins or any others who are struggling for equality. If major progress is not made in these purely domestic areas now and in the next decade, our world position will be seriously shaken.

The leaders of the nations of Asia, Africa, South America, and the Middle East during the sixties, seventies, and the eighties will be the intellectuals, the college students, the labor leaders of today. We cannot change their minds and interest them in democratic principles unless we are successfully practicing them at home.

When I visited Bonn, the first question asked by a group of German students was, "Why is the United States so unpopular with intellectuals and university groups, especially in Asia?"

That conclusion is widely accepted here in the United States as well as abroad. Certainly that was my understanding before taking this trip. It is a verdict which I now believe to be completely unwarranted. However, unless we take major steps immediately, 10 years from now it will be true. We must begin now to answer the cries that are raised against us.

An analysis of the worldwide impression that our system is unpopular can reveal the source of our difficulties, our problems, and some possible solutions. First, we must recognize that in many countries, as we saw on our trip, there is a strong and vocal Communist opposition to the United States and to our way of life. This opposition is well organized. Highly disciplined cadres concentrate their activities in universities, labor organizations, and intellectual groups. Most frequently the leaders are energetic, courageous, and articulate. They have a party line they follow rigidly. They know exactly what they think. They know where they are going, and they are willing to use any means to achieve their ends.

Within each of their countries, these groups exploit, frequently with devastating effect, the areas of differences between their country and the United States. In those countries which were formerly colonial possessions, the local inhabitants are apt to have an anti-European bias, and the Communists are frequently successful in their efforts to associate us with that antagonism. Beyond that, they take advantage of their nation's policy differences with the United States.

Communists vocally and actively back Indonesia's claim to West New Guinea. They assert that our failure to support Indonesia's position indicates that we support the Dutch and therefore, favor colonialism.

In Japan the Communists call for us to return Okinawa. Why, they contend, should we be occupying the Ryukyu Islands so long after the war? Again local sentiment is aroused against the United States.

Added to all this is the Communists' dedication. I think back to the young man who stood 10 feet from me at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta and hit me across the face with a piece of hard fruit. He was willing to risk prison to demonstrate his hatred for a representative of the United States.

Against this, as I saw repeatedly, there is no one to question the Communist positions, their facts. There is no pro-democracy organization. There is no disciplined and calculated effort to present another side.

And so it is that a small, able and well-trained unit can take over a meeting or an organization, or even a government.

That was the important lesson of my visit to Waseda University in Tokyo. Approximately 100 students, a small fraction of the 3,000 present, were able to cause near chaos at this meeting. The disrupters, located strategically in twos and threes throughout the jammed auditorium, began to shout and jeer as I started to speak. Bedlam spread. The Communists were yelling, "Kennedy, go home." The anti-Communists were yelling back, and the others were yelling for everyone to keep quiet. Once, when I began to answer the extended argument of a particularly loud-voiced young Communist, every light in the house went out, and the microphone went dead. The power had failed—I could not believe by accident. It was 15 minutes before I was able to resume.

STUDENT HUNGER FOR FACTS ABOUT UNITED STATES

Those devoted young Communists did not want to hear a representative of the United States, and they did all they could to see that no one else could hear. They knew that, if they succeeded, they would seize the newspaper headlines, and the impression would be created once again that university students are antagonistic to the United States. The incident would be further evidence to the rest of the world that intellectuals in Asia are pro-Communist and opposed to America.

Of course, I do not claim that the rest of the students in the hall or outside in the courtyard supported the United States. Nor does the fact that there were no disturbances at Tokyo's Nihon University, or on the campuses at Bandung or Jogjakarta, indicate an acceptance by students at these universities of the American way of life.

But such students are not Communists, they don't accept communism, and they have open minds. That is what is important. They asked many questions about the policies

and programs of the United States. Some of the points they raised implied fundamental criticisms of our role in foreign policy and of what we are doing in the United States. By and large they were looking for facts. They were hungry for knowledge, as were the vast majority in every student group to whom I spoke. The student bodies before whom I appeared were as friendly as any other group I had ever addressed, including any in the United States. They are puzzled about many things in the United States, and they want explanations. They hope the answers will give them the truth. But what they have been searching for we have not made available. True, we have given generously of economic aid, but the ideas and philosophies for which they hunger have not been forthcoming. They need—and want—more; it must be made available.

COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION AT WORK

The amount of misinformation, as well as the lack of information, about the United States and our system of government in these countries is appalling. Many of the students and intellectuals think of the United States as it was 50 or even a 100 years ago. When I met with a group of labor leaders in Tokyo, Mr. Akira Iwai, representing Sohyo, Japan's largest union, asked me in all apparent innocence, "The basic character of your nation is capitalism, isn't that true? With Morgan, Rockefeller, and all of these in control?" Even men such as Mr. Iwai, of great influence among their countrymen, know nothing of our social gains and little of the aims and aspirations of our people and our Government. The Communists' propaganda machine constantly spews out its facts and figures and its version of how to solve the problems of the world. They broadcast the line that the Soviet Union and Communist China hold the correct philosophy and that the United States is always in error. The United States, on the other hand, is to them a system of "capitalistic imperialism," and everyone from Marx to Khrushchev knows just how cruel and aggressive that system is.

Colonialism is an evil and, as I learned from repeated exposure to student groups, colonialism and capitalism, even imperialism, are interchangeable terms in the minds of many. Because the United States has a capitalistic system, the Communists can charge that, given the opportunity, this country will seek to continue a system of exploitation. The Communists, being opposed to capitalism, are therefore automatically opposed to colonialism. These arguments obviously strike a responsive chord.

No one comes forward with an explanation of the modern-day United States; no one counters with the fact that modern-day colonialism is tied to communism, not capitalism. No one is there to talk about Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Tibet, or East Germany, and East Berlin.

No one is prepared to counter the Communists' arguments with facts and figures. Further, if a representative of the United States arrives in a country to explain the American point of view, a small minority causes a riot, disturbs the performance or disrupts the speech. The incident makes headlines across the world and creates exactly the impression the Communists wish to create—that students oppose Americans. On the other hand, a Communist comes to speak. Those who truly believe in the free system realize that opposition viewpoints should be aired. The Communist speaks, the audience listens, and there is no display. Because of the contrast, the student body is thus pictured as disliking the United States and supporting communism.

We are victims of a smart, articulate, well-organized minority which has kept us continuously on the defensive. We have permitted it to happen; we have allowed it to continue. If we do not meet the problem head on, if we are not ourselves imaginative, tough, dedicated, willing and self-sacrificing, the struggle with the enemy will not be won by them, but lost by us.

In Japan today there are more than 700,000 college students; in Indonesia there are 75,000, where before the war there were only a few hundred; the same situation is true in countries all over the world. These are the people who will be making the decisions in the next decade.

There is a great deal we can do to make available to them the facts about us; to impress upon them that our system of government has made progress in the last 50 years; to let them know that our way of life is far different from what Marx described a hundred years ago; that this progress has been made under the banner of freedom. Fortunately we still have time to take the necessary steps to win the fight for the minds of these young people.

TAKING THE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE

These are some of the basic things that we can do:

To all these nations I would send groups of men and women to lecture, not just about the United States and our form of government or about democracy generally, but also about history and philosophy and literature and even more practical matters.

I would have people talk about some of the successes that we've had in the United States and the problems we have had to overcome. I would tell them more about what we have been able to accomplish. I would tell, for instance, about our farms and farm production. This area has largely been ignored. It is the backbone of any society. The failures of the Communist system are apparent while the successes that are being enjoyed in the United States and under the free system are extraordinary. In the free world we recognize the dignity and the worth of every individual and the aspirations he has to improve the living conditions of himself, his family, and his community. The individual is not just a cog in the state machine, as he is when he lives under Communist control. History has recorded the deaths and the heartbreaks in the Soviet Union in the 1930's, during the efforts to impose the Communist system. The newspapers have reported that hundreds of thousands of Chinese have been slowly starving under the collectivization program in the past few years. Certainly comparisons can be made of the relative successes of the two systems.

In the United States a single farmer can cultivate more than three times as much acreage as a farmer on a collective or state farm in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, there is a tremendous contrast in the output per acre. The Soviet Union farm averages 21 bushels of corn per acre to our 55 bushels; 11 bushels of wheat per acre to our more than 26. Most importantly, 48 percent of the labor force in the Soviet Union works on the farms, and they are afflicted with many shortages. In the United States 8 percent of our labor force works on our farms and produces tremendous surpluses.

Compare what has happened in Germany since she was partitioned—West Germany living in freedom and recognizing human rights, and East Germany existing under communism with the individual reduced to a tool of the state. East German farms are now 20 percent below prewar production while West Germany is 41 percent above. In virtually every commodity—wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, to mention a few—West Germany outproduces East Germany in units per acre. Those are only examples of what can be done and what has been done by men under a free system. We have not made sufficient effort to tell this story. And this is only part of it. For the history of America—and, in fact, America today—is full of ideas that are far more exciting and revolutionary than the systematic, pushbutton answers of Communist doctrine. I would like to see more Americans making this point. By not doing so, we are leaving most of the world with the illusion that the only modern philosophy belongs to Marx. Mere anticommunism is not a philosophy; it is no substitute for really knowing what this country is about. Its history, its philosophy, its political thought are all available. They just need to be used.

Most importantly, those we send abroad should go to learn, to listen and ultimately to report to the American people on the aims and problems of the people with whom they meet. They should go to as many universities as possible and should confer with labor leaders, farm and cooperative heads and government officials. The people sent should have a thorough knowledge of the history of the United States and the philosophy of our Government and our people.

Many people more than qualify: FRANK CHURCH, EUGENE MCCARTHY, HUBERT HUMPHREY, PAUL DOUGLAS and JOHN SHERMAN COOPER in the Senate, to mention a few; Cabinet members such as Stewart Udall and Orville Freeman; and many Members of the House of Representatives and of our State governments, both Republican and Democrat.

Outside the auspices of the Government I would also like to see private citizens, such as some of our university professors, playwrights and poets, as well as articulate businessmen and labor leaders, travel under the same kind of program. I would like to see men like Walter Lippmann or David Brinkley tour the Far East for a month, giving talks and answering the questions of students and intellectuals. They, like their Government counterparts, in question periods and at appropriate times, should discuss the United States frankly, admitting our shortcomings, stating our efforts to overcome them and pointing out this country's successes and accomplishments. We need people who have done their homework and who are not afraid to speak out.

HARNESSING THE FREE WORLD'S YOUTH

I would have our Government information agencies and services talk to other peoples more about fundamentals in the United States. I would have them explain the social progress being made in this country, what people are doing for one another, what contributions altruistic organizations such as the United Funds, March of Dimes, and the Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations are making to the American way of life.

I would encourage other free countries of the world to set up their own "peace corps" with the understanding that our organization would cooperate closely with them. There is much, for instance, that young Japanese could do in Southeast Asia, and I am convinced that they would be willing to do it. Many of the young people that I saw in Germany, France and the Netherlands are as eager as young Americans to help their fellowmen in countries less economically fortunate. In all of the students with whom I talked, I found an idealism and a thirst to make the world a better place in which to live. This is a tremendous potential, and it must be harnessed.

To make this kind of program effective or to give any of our efforts real meaning, I repeat that we must live up to our ideals within the United States. We will have a difficult time in selling students in Jogjakarta or Abidjan or Montevideo on our economic system if they read about coal miners in West Virginia being chronically unemployed. It will be impossible to establish our way of life as the one being the most nearly perfect if the crime rate continues to rise

four times as fast as our population increases.

And finally we must, despite the tragic disappointments of history and the agonizing betrayals of the past 30 years, constantly seek peace through controlled disarmament, while living with the bitter irony of the need for present military strength in order to maintain our freedom and that of other countries. This is a matter that is recognized by all. A high official of Indonesia, a country frequently critical of the United States, said that his country would lose its independence if the 7th Fleet, with all that it implies, were ever removed from the Far East.

HONEST TALK ABOUT DISARMAMENT

We have taken major steps to keep ourselves prepared. But all of us look and plan toward the day when the major powers of the world will sign a treaty to insure general and complete disarmament. The United States has established an Arms Control Disarmament Agency dedicated to pursue that goal. All this Agency's efforts and all its energies are trained in the direction of disarmament success.

If nations of the world are to find any solution to the challenge of disarmament, it will have to be based on honest discussions and negotiations on specific points. If disarmament is to be feasible, it must be submitted to the authority of international control under a rule of law agreed upon by the various countries. Disarmament cannot be successful if provisions are not made to prevent any state from gaining a substantial military advantage over other states. To be meaningful or effective, a system for international inspection and control must be devised and adhered to.

President Kennedy has presented to the United Nations a specific, detailed, three-stage program to reduce existing armaments and stockpiles and establish a system of inspection and control. It is the most thorough and far-reaching plan that has been suggested by any country.

Unfortunately, until now the Communist system has shown no inclination to accept adequate and necessary safeguards. And the turmoil of the world, from Berlin to Laos to Vietnam to Cuba, dims the prospects for the future.

However, we feel we must continue to make the effort; that if we do not try, no progress will ever be possible.

In the meantime, we know that nothing can be accomplished if we let down our guard—if we are weak. We learned that in the Second World War, and the lesson has been relearned many times. We must remain strong, because only through strength can there be a chance for peace.

Quite aside from the need for military strength in the absence of controlled disarmament, we must endeavor to lead in scientific exploration. The courageous flight of John Glenn, which took place while we were in Rome, did more to establish our prestige and our position throughout the world than almost any other single incident. It was something that was needed by all of us here in the United States. But even more than that, it was the one single event that gave our friends around the globe heart and courage.

Other countries also must realize their responsibilities. As I told an audience of Germans at Bonn, the countries of Europe through their own efforts and ingenuity but also through generous aid from the American people, have been able to rebuild their devastated lands. These countries which are thriving economically have responsibilities now to the more backward countries of Asia and Africa. Some of them have moral responsibilities to former colonial areas, which in many instances in the past were outrageously exploited. Now that people in the new nations have gained their independence, they are entitled to help from all of us in this period of transition.

The Communists obviously have been working for years at sowing seeds which are now budding in many places. They now have fixed in the minds of the intellectuals in many countries inaccurate and false impressions about democracy.

We have made mistakes; we have faults. We can admit them, tell of our progress and talk of our accomplishments, material and spiritual. We have truth on our side. But this is not enough. We must sell the truth. We must make very clear the basic distinction between communism and the free world: that we are the heirs of the true revoluation that will not accept the status quo and recognizes that the state exists for the individual and that the individual is not the servant of the state; that we live by the rule of law, with all its fundamental guarantees, that the truth will be known and that citizens will be protected from injustice and tyranny.

BANKRUPTCY OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM

Every American knows in his heart the truth of the democratic way of life. But a nice warm feeling in the heart doesn't take the place of knowing what he's talking about.

The Berlin wall has demonstrated, in the most dramatic fashion possible, the bankruptcy of the Communist system. The workers' paradise has had to wall in its people. Communism is a system that will not, despite the height of the walls, be accepted by human beings. West Berlin students rescuing East Berliners from Communist control have demonstrated that to be true. The Chinese refugees fleeing to Hong Kong have demonstrated it; the Vietnamese paratroopers demonstrate it. The Special Service units of the U.S. Army serving in southeast Asia demonstrate it. Gen. Lucius Clay demonstrated it in Berlin, his son in Vietnam.

The challenge is whether we as a people and a nation can demonstrate it. This struggle will be long, costly and will require dedication and hard, ungiamorous work. It has already taken many lives and will take more. It can be won—but it also can be lost. The decision is ours.

## Historic Celebration at Salisbury, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor and privilege of participating yesterday in a celebration commemorating the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of Salisbury, Pa. Walter D. Weise, president of Salisbury Centennial, Inc., gave 2 years of his time and services to the preparation of the historic program now being presented in this community that was first settled in 1753. The remarks I made at this commemorative ceremony follow:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE SALISBURY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION ON AUGUST 29, 1962, SALISBURY, PA.

It is a pleasure to participate in this centennial program, and to extend my sincere greetings on this occasion, which commemorates the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of Salisbury, Pa.

The success of centennial week is due to the hard-working chairmen and members of the various committees.

Yet without the wholehearted cooperation of businessmen and residents of the community the various committees would have toiled in vain. Therefore, I extend my heartiest congratulations to all of you.

I believe this centennial celebration provides us with a twofold opportunity. First, to commemorate the centennial of Salisbury, and second, to rededicate ourselves to the ideals on which our communities, our States, and our Nation have been founded.

As we review the history of Pennsylvania, we are reminded that before the coming of the white man Somerset County was largely a land of forests.

Nevertheless, there were many glades or natural meadows about the headwaters of nearly all the streams in the central part of the county.

These were so numerous and extensive—it has been said that the name "The Glades" was applied to the entire county.

It was certainly a land of promise. It is not difficult to visualize the beauty of this area in its primitive state. Standing on the summit of either the Laurel Hill or the Allegheny Mountain, other mountain ranges stood out in outline for many miles. Intervening were the hills and valleys—forests and glades.

Historians tell us that several years before any settlements were made in Somerset County, bold and daring hunters from Maryland and Virginia followed the old Indian trails North—and invaded the region in pursuit of wild animals for furs and food.

A few adventurous fur traders also wandered from place to place to trade with the Indians.

One of the most noted of these early fur traders was John Fraser, who erected a storehouse on the Allegheny River, 13 miles above the forks of the Ohio River in August 1753.

It is revealed that John Harris erected a storehouse on the Juniata River in 1753.

It is recorded that he buried Tanacharison, chief of the Iroquois, referred to as "the famous half-king."

The fur trader Harris cared for the old chief's family, but afterwards requested pay from the Province of Pennsylvania for his services.

There were also Indian traders who went with General Braddock's Army as interpreters and some served the Armed Forces of the time as guides.

It is said that neither the hunters nor the fur traders ever "occupied or cultivated the land" and the Indians were left in possession of it until the white settlers arrived.

It would appear that Somerset County never was the permanent home of any considerable number of Indians but the large forests afforded an excellent hunting ground.

The swiftly flowing streams of fresh water provided food fishing for the roving bands. The first settlers of what is now Somerset County were not wealthy. These pioneers traveled over rudely constructed roads and Indian trails. They brought very little of the world's goods with them.

Yet they had brave hearts, strong arms, and full determination to find new homes in the wilds beyond the Allegheny Mountains. Most of them, it is thought, arrived in the springtime.

After erecting a temporary shelter, they set to work clearing away the underbrush, girdling the trees, burning over the new ground, and breaking up the soil as best they could with their rude, homemade implements which consisted of wooden plows, harrows, picks, mattocks, and forks.

Fortunately the site of a cabin-to-be-home was near a never-failing spring which furnished a good supply of cold water.

The inhabitants of the western part of early Bedford County, in their petitions to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth

of Pennsylvania, set forth the great hardships under which they labored by being so remote from the seats of justice and public office. Bedford was the county seat at the time.

In reply to these petitions, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed an act on April 17, 1795. It provided that a new county be organized from that part of Bedford County lying west of the Allegheny Mountain, known as Brothersvalley, Turkeyfoot, Quemahoning, Milford, Elk Lick, and Stonycreek townships.

The new county was called Somerset—after the shire of Somerset in England.

Nine years later the place called Elk Lick, in memory of the famous hunting grounds for elk, became Salisbury.

Thus in 1794, Salisbury was founded.

Elijah Wagner was the first burgess of the new borough.

All too often we take our communities for granted and spend little or no time to express our appreciation. This 100th anniversary of Salisbury gives us an opportunity to stop for a moment to reflect and to appreciate. On such an occasion as this we recall the courage of the pioneer. Many had come to live in a new world and to face the necessity of adjusting to new ways of life.

A Civil War had come to our Nation the year before Salisbury was incorporated, in 1861. When this community was officially born, Abraham Lincoln was President and struggles of the war were flanking a relatively new nation. The pages of history in the year 1862 are crowded with accounts of a "Confederacy" and a "Union."

Within our own commonwealth the War Between the States is immortalized by the Gettysburg battlefield, where the turning point of that war cost the lives of so many Union and Confederate soldiers.

We can, however, be eternally grateful that the outcome of that bewildering and bloody period brought peace. It also restored a common purpose to the annals of America. Once again the fundamental principles of freedom were safe in our land.

It was on July 4, 1861, in a message to Congress that Abraham Lincoln spoke of free institutions in the following terms. He stated—and I quote: "It may be affirmed without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world."

Freedom is the most cherished possession found in our American heritage. But when one thinks of freedom—just what comes to mind? Do we think of unlicensed liberty or do we think of freedom containing the elements of self-control? Freedom for the individual implies—as it did 100 years ago—an obligation to self and an obligation to others.

There can be no such thing as unlicensed liberty. Mere obedience to law is not enough to preserve freedom. It is not enough to preserve Americanism. There must be the "spirit"—as well as the "letter" of the law in its observance.

Nowhere else in these United States do the flames of our glorious national history burn brighter than in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was a haven and home for many Europeans who came to this country seeking refuge.

Many communities, which were formed as experiments in living, thrived briefly and passed into history, but others gained in strength and vigor. In Pennsylvania one can follow the paths of the early pioneers. There are numerous sites of historic forts, frontier outposts, and historic structures.

There are monuments to great leaders and important peacetime events.

From one end of the Commonwealth to the other, one can find the birthplaces of men and women who have had and important part in the development of this Nation.

The early history of the formation of our Nation is, or should be common knowledge. We know our illustrious forefathers, dissatisfied with the colonial rule of the tyrant George III, met in General Congress in Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia, 188 years ago. A total of 55 delegates attended that First Continental Congress, representing all the Colonies except Georgia. Georgia did promise, however, to concur with "her sister Colonies" in their effort to maintain their rights.

The first Congress, as did the Second Continental Congress, which met in the statehouse, known as Independence Hall, petitioned the king asking redress of wrongs. The Congress specifically denied any intention of separating from Great Britain and earnestly expressed a desire for the peaceful settlement of all differences.

The king, by proclamation declared the Colonies to be in rebellion and sent troops to force them to submit to taxation without representation and other equally unjust measures.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved and I quote: "That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

Lee's motion was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. A committee of five was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Less than 1 month later that historic document was adopted on July 4, 1776. It was signed by John Hancock, president of the Congress and Charles Thompson, secretary. The remaining members signed on August 2, 1776.

From July 4, 1776, until March 1, 1781, the United States of America was governed by a Continental or General Congress. On this latter date the States adopted a constitution called the "articles of confederation and perpetual union between the States."

On May 14, 1787, a convention of 55 delegates met in Philadelphia "to form a more perfect union." Every Colony was represented except Rhode Island.

The Articles of Confederation had been made by the States only—but the opening words of the new Constitution signed on September 17, 1787, declared the form of our present Government: "We, the people of the United States."

At that time our new Nation was the world's youngest. Today, through the benefits guaranteed by the document our eminent forefathers drafted, we are governed by the oldest written form of government in the world.

About this document that was signed on the soil of our own Commonwealth, the great British statesman Gladstone said:

"The American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

My friends, this is the instrument that was finally adopted by the Constitutional Convention on September 17, 1787, and under which this Nation has been governed since March 4, 1789.

I remind you that next month, on September 17, we will observe Constitution Day. It is appropriate that as we gather to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Salisbury, Pa., we recall the principles involved in the U.S. Constitution.

It is a sacred document that provides the atmosphere of freedom for an occasion such as this. It is our heritage.

Our freedom is not, nor ever has been, a thing to take for granted. It is not a gift from the Government to the people. It is part of our Republic. It represents a faith, a conviction, a belief, a heritage. Our forefathers left us these elements as a treasure.

We have the assurance and the proof that a nation composed of many States, many races, of all colors and creeds, can be governed justly by representation of all those many States, races, colors, and creeds.

It is a heritage of which we should be eternally aware. It is a heritage of which we should be eternally proud. Above all, let us never forget our obligation as American citizens to protect and to defend our precious heritage—the Constitution of the United States.

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## Penalty for Downhill Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I take the liberty of inserting herewith an article by Henry J. Taylor in the New York World-Telegram Monday, August 27, 1962. This article was sent to me by one of my constituents who, like many of the American people, is terribly concerned about the conditions in the world, and particularly those in Cuba at the present time.

I must say, in all fairness, that this article conveys the feelings of a great bulk of the citizens in my district. And, as a Member of the House of Representatives, I want to make my position very clear, that I agree with this presentation of Mr. Taylor's and that I would be willing to back the President of the United States in any strong and positive action on his part. The time for speeches and words is long since past and we can no longer tolerate the infiltration of countries of the free world; nor can we permit the situation in Cuba to continue, for it is self-evident, no matter how many billions we pour into Latin and South America, that we will inevitably lose unless we take stern and immediate action.

Action I will support, but further meetings and compromises cannot be tolerated. Time is on the side of the Communist world but is running our for the free world and the United States.

The article follows:

PENALTY FOR DOWNHILL DIPLOMACY

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Our President must awaken to the perils of being a downhill negotiator. Surely he will awaken—soon, soon. There are tragic penalties in the affliction. We are paying the latest penalty at the Berlin wall.

The barbarians of this militant world are always sniffing for a kill. They quickly recognize a downhill negotiator. They're quick to see that the high and proper defiances we initially proclaim are followed by quiet concessions that slide their defiances further and further downhill.

They listen. Then they grin and wait. And wait and wait—and win. No first-class power can survive this process. None ever has, including Rome.

We cannot be a nation that first shakes its fist, then its finger, and then shakes its head. The handling of Cuba compounded this suspicion enormously and early. When Mr. Kennedy's powerful TV warning to Castro slid downward into the ignominy of the Bay of Pigs and the pullback of the air strike in the middle of this, aggressors everywhere asked, "Is this gap between America's word

and their deed a single, incredible slip? Or is it a pattern we can cash in on?"

Only one thing could save us. Never again to talk big and perform small. Berlin soon provided the test.

Cuba was the ghost that had to be slain when President Kennedy defied Khrushchev in his July 25, 1961, TV warning about our rights. Our President met the bill perfectly. And he swept the country with him. He flashed across the screens a map of Berlin, and another showing Berlin's sectors. He went on from there sternly and clearly but without truculence or forensics.

But on Sunday, August 13, the wall went up across Berlin and we did not knock it down. And now barbed wire is being put up on the west side of the wall as the Berlin crisis heats up again.

Will the wall ever be knocked down? Certainly Khrushchev does not think so. East Germans do not think so. Now the West Germans do not think so. They're right. The whole world is right. The fundamental preservation of the principles that our President denounced after Cuba has been abandoned. Some of the appearance remains. The substance is gone. That's all that interests Khrushchev. Berlin has been negotiated downhill.

Laos was negotiated downhill. The President, again on TV, warned our Nation and all Communists how vital a free and independent Laos was to us. We must draw a line against Red encroachment, Mr. Kennedy said. And he laid it on the line—Laos.

These stern, clear warnings went out the window in subsequent Geneva negotiations. And they were formally abandoned when we signed the 14-power treaty "guaranteeing Laos" independence and neutrality, knowing full well that it does nothing of the sort.

The Alliance for Progress was negotiated downhill. President Kennedy's original stern demand for Latin-American self-help (on the strength of which the appropriations were voted) proved merely words. (They're getting the money anyway.) Latin America notices this with mixed feelings, even though they benefit from the toboggan slide.

U.S.S.R. atomic inspection is being negotiated downhill. When Khrushchev broke the test ban, he blew all phases on atomic agreements higher than a kite. Nevertheless, the inspection provisions President Kennedy announced as indispensable are now getting the toboggan treatment. Better scientific technique (widely disputed) makes it not so necessary, we say, for us to stand up to the Kremlin's objections after all.

Even if this dubious contention is a fact, and even if the Russians accept it, can we afford it? Somehow, somewhere the momentum must be stopped, the career reversed.

Nothing is so costly to our authority in the world as this gap between America's words and the deed. It is our President's most grievous challenge. Surely he must see this—soon, soon—and meet it.

This is the stuff of which history will be made—his history and the history of our mighty Nation. For the integrity of the United States is at stake, and thus the peace of the world.

## Space Effort Idled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, my bill, H.R. 12792, to outlaw strikes in vital defense projects is urgently needed.

The following story appeared throughout the country a few days ago:

U.S. SPACE EFFORT IDLED BY PICKETS

HUNTSVILLE, ALA.—Pickets held the Marshall Space Flight Center, heart of the Nation's space effort, in idleness for the third straight day Thursday amid indications the Government would seek a Federal court order sending them back to work.

The picket lines set up by 150 members of the electricians union, protesting the employment of a few nonunion electricians, kept more than 1,200 building trades workers from going to their jobs.

Construction work was at a standstill on a number of space projects, including the vital Saturn booster.

In Washington, Government officials met in urgent session to consider applying for a Federal court injunction to end the picketing.

There also were indications in Washington that the Government, citing this critical time in the Nation's space exploration program, might seek a Taft-Hartley injunction to force the strikers back to work.

A four-man investigating crew from the National Labor Relations Board arrived at Redstone Arsenal, home of the space center, to check into the possibility that Federal labor laws are being violated by the strike.

Carlton Bryan, head of the team of investigators, said, "There is no indication how long we will be here. I can't predict a time target."

The actual effect of the strike so far on the Nation's space program was difficult to measure.

Dr. Wernher von Braun, director of the Marshall Space Flight Center, said only that the strike must be settled and that it is regrettable the United States should lose ground at the same time the Russians score a success with a twin-orbit mission.

## Another Tribute to the Honorable Clare E. Hoffman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD at this point another excellent and well-deserved tribute to our colleague, the Honorable CLARE E. HOFFMAN, of Michigan.

Seldom does a day pass but what one or more Members of the House of Representatives does not express regret that CLARE HOFFMAN is unable to take his place on the floor of the House. He made a contribution and an impression that will long be remembered in the legislative Chamber in which he served long and faithfully.

The following editorial from the Allegan, Mich., News Gazette is eloquent testimony to the esteem in which our colleague is held in his home city and district:

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

(By John R. Axe)

For the first time since 1932 the Republicans in the Fourth Congressional District will miss a familiar name on the November election ballot. For the first time since that bleak depression year, CLARE E. HOFFMAN will not be running for the U.S. House of Representatives. In his place there will be a most able replacement, Edward Hutchinson, a man who already has an enviable and honorable record of public service of his own, but without Mr. HOFFMAN, the ballot, the party and indeed the House of Representatives will not be the same.

CLARE E. HOFFMAN was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1934. For that and the next 13 terms he remained there, a diligent, hard-working Congressman who was ever vigilant and always wary of the proposals of the "giveaway boys," as he called them. He was usually outnumbered, often unsuccessful, but never outfought in the 28-year battle against big government, big spending, big deficits, and big labor which he often waged alone. Sometimes his would be the only voice raised in opposition, but if against the proposal, raise it he did.

Something of the magnitude of his records, which might not seem so great to the casual observer because he served in a party that was usually in the minority and fought for legislation which was often defeated by his enemies, can be seen by comparison with terms of service of his fellow Congressmen. He was, of course, the dean of the Michigan delegation in Congress, but he was far more than that. Only two Republicans, JOHN TABER, of New York, and JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts have served more than CLARE HOFFMAN'S 14 terms, and only one other Republican served in Congress as long as the venerable Michigan statesman. He was the top-ranking Republican on the House Government Operations Committee and second-ranking Republican on Education and Labor and had served as chairman of the former committee when the Republicans controlled the House of Representatives. Only 12 men in the present House of Representatives and 3 in the U.S. Senate have held their offices longer than CLARE HOFFMAN.

The test of a good Congressman is not, however, just in his ability to be reelected or the period of his service, but his standing in the eyes of his fellow Congressmen as well. Here too, CLARE HOFFMAN finds ringing praise from Republicans and Democrats alike. The recent rally honoring Mr. HOFFMAN on his retirement was the occasion of both written and oral salutes by fellow Congressmen and Senators from both parties. All were well deserved.

To dwell longer on this man's illustrious career in public life which spans more than a half century, having begun as prosecuting attorney in Allegan County in 1909, is unnecessary. His record is well known, for he never hesitated to speak his mind on any issue he saw to be of importance, and his courage and perserverence even against overwhelming odds will not soon be forgotten in the Halls of Congress. He has been styled, of late, the "voice of the Fourth District in Washington," and that he was, never forgetting his home constituents. But, he, as all truly great Congressmen exerted influence far beyond the Fourth District and Michigan. CLARE E. HOFFMAN served the whole United States, and served it loyally and well. The country will miss him too.

## Growing Export Trade Helps Expansion of Battery and Ceramic Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the progress, expan-

sion, and success of the General Battery & Ceramic Corp., a very prominent firm which is making a substantial contribution to the Reading and surrounding area in my congressional district.

The firm was formerly known as the Bowers Battery & Spark Plug Co. It was founded by Mr. Clarence P. Bowers, a highly respected and prominent businessman in my home community. Mr. Bowers, who retired as president of the Bowers Co., is presently a member of the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board and chairman of the Reading Airport Authority.

The General Battery & Ceramic Corp. is producing products that are being sold in 82 countries of the free world. The rapid expansion in this firm's export trade has given employment to hundreds of Berks County people. A good many employees live in adjoining Schuylkill County.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to meet and greet Mr. Richard H. Miller, export manager of this firm who visited with me at my office this morning. He came to the Capital to testify before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in support of H.R. 12533. This bill, which was introduced by my distinguished colleague from North Carolina, Congressman HERBERT C. BONNER, would promote foreign commerce through the use of mobile fairs. Mr. Miller's testimony in support of this measure clearly points out the value, usefulness, and need of trade fairs as a stimulant to export trade.

This legislation means a lot to the economy of my district, but it is equally important for other areas in bringing additional employment opportunities to our citizens. This is meritorious legislation and deserves favorable consideration by Members of the Congress.

To acquaint my colleagues in the Congress with this important bill and what it means in creating employment, I am including Mr. Miller's interesting testimony with my remarks:

STATEMENT OF RICHARD H. MILLER, EXPORT MANAGER, GENERAL BATTERY & CERAMIC CORP., BEFORE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 12533

My name is Richard H. Miller and I reside at 3533 East Kent Road, Laureldale, Pa., which is a suburb of Reading, Berks County, Pa.

I am appearing here today in support of bill H.R. 12533 dealing with the promotion of foreign commerce of the United States through the use of mobile trade fairs.

I was first employed in 1947 by Bowers Battery & Spark Plug Co. and held various positions until 1953 at which time I became export manager. At the present time, our main plant, located at Reading, Pa., is staffed by personnel numbering approximately 500. The products we manufacture are lead-acid storage batteries used in many different applications; unassembled batteries in kit form; component parts for batteries, and automotive, marine, and commercial spark plugs.

Our total battery production for the past year was approximately 1½ million units, while spark plug production was approximately 5 million.

In August of 1959, Bowers Battery & Spark Plug Co., acquired the Frenchtown Porcelain Co. in Frenchtown, N.J., which became a wholly owned subsidiary operating as a separate division.

In November 1960, our company name was changed to General Battery & Ceramic Corp. and was incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

In December 1961, General Battery & Ceramic Corp. acquired two additional firms, Filtors, Inc., and Shoup Voting Machine Corp. and incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Both of these firms are operating as separate divisions of General Battery & Ceramic Corp.

In my capacity as export manager, I control the exports of only the batteries and spark plugs and related component parts produced by General Battery. All of the other divisions export independently of one another. Our batteries and spark plugs have been sold in 82 countries throughout the free world.

In September of 1960, General Battery was invited to participate in the initial section of the Isbrandtsen Mobile Trade Fair. The subject of this first presentation was automotive parts and service equipment. In planning, design, construction, furnishing, and transporting our display to Brooklyn, N.Y., and installing our unit in the Isbrandtsen mobile van, we spent a total of less than $500.

Within a few weeks after the departure of the mobile trade fair, inquiries began to arrive. To date, approximately 37 inquiries have been received. Of this total, we have received 5 new accounts who have placed a total of 11 orders which have been shipped. One of the accounts has not given us a repeat order to date. Another has given us one repeat order, another two repeat orders, and the last one three repeat orders. The total dollar volume of orders shipped to date is $35,081.67. Two additional repeat orders are in production at the present time and will add $10,400 to the total mentioned previously.

In addition to the foregoing, samples of our products have been sent to many other prospects which could develop into firm orders at any time.

Additional value of the Isbrandtsen Mobile Trade Fair can be accounted for by the following: The largest account that we can directly attribute to the Isbrandtsen Mobile Trade Fair is located in Izmir, Turkey, at which port the fair did not call. A friend of the Turkish firm, who was located in Alexandria, United Arab Republic, visited the fair in Alexandria and immediately informed the Turkish firm that our company was looking for distributors. He wrote to us and after we quoted prices, placed a firm order covered by a letter of credit in the amount of $2,500. Immediately upon receipt of the initial shipment, another order was placed, also covered by a letter of credit in the amount of $4,500. This firm has since placed two additional orders. These new firms with whom we are doing business are located in Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, and Singapore. Therefore, it can be seen that not only are exports increased by a display at various ports but from areas where people are informed, either intentionally or accidentally, of a possibility of doing business with an American firm.

Incidents like this have helped the 1961 exports of our firm to show an increase of 59 percent over 1960. Our exports for the first half of 1962 show a gain of 48.8 percent over the same period last year. This, in part, is a direct result of our participation in the Isbrandtsen Mobile Trade Fair.

We wholeheartedly recommend that passage of this bill be expedited, in order that the opportunity can be given to our company and others to expand their exports to other areas of the world where we are not represented. Companies of our comparable size, cannot afford to invest heavily in the many phases of advertising or missionary work necessary to introduce their products in foreign countries. The means for providing this opportunity rests in your hands.

## Real Issue in the Poll Tax Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, following the House vote on the poll tax amendment, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, a paper noted for its devotion to the cause of civil rights, made an editorial analysis of this measure in which it noted with great accuracy that this is a synthetic victory for civil rights, a sop in a field in which real action is needed. The editorial notes that this same effect could be gained by the passage of a normal legislative enactment. A constitutional amendment is unnecessary legally to accomplish this end. Further, the poll tax is no longer the instrument for widespread discrimination in the voting field. These facts, the lack of need for action in this civil rights area as compared with many others and the failure of legal necessity for a constitutional amendment to accomplish the end sought, were the subjects of the remarks which I made in debate on the bill and of the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY]. This was indeed a synthetic civil rights victory and should not be the basis for proud claims of advances in this field at the expense of dulling the effort for real civil rights progress.

The Post-Dispatch editorial follows:

SYNTHETIC RIGHTS VICTORY

Final congressional approval of the proposed constitutional amendment to outlaw poll taxes in Federal elections is no more than a synthetic victory for civil rights. President Kennedy claims far too much when he terms it a "significant action." The House vote of 294 to 86, following the Senate vote of 77 to 16, provides a spurious image of Congress leaping to the battlements for the sacred right of the free ballot.

The fact is that the poll tax measure, while usually included in recent civil rights platforms and programs, was about the least important rights measure. Only five Southern States still levy such taxes, and only in Mississippi and Alabama do these taxes constitute much of a bar to Negro voting.

The fact is that the bill to regulate use of literacy tests, which are widely used to bar access to the polls, was a far more important measure. Yet the Senate dropped it rather than stop a threatened filibuster.

The fact is that Congress could have outlawed poll taxes in Federal elections by legislation, without passing the issue to the States in the form of a constitutional amendment. The House tried to do this five times but the Senate usually blocked the move. This year nobody even tried.

Moreover, the slow process of ratification by three-fourths of the States may provide Congress with an excuse to avoid major civil rights issues for some time, when those issues involve a legislative struggle, as they usually do. But the poll tax amendment is a poor excuse for avoiding further action. It is even a poor excuse for a civil rights record in this Congress.

## Soviet Twist on Anti-Semitism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the reading of my colleagues an excellent editorial entitled "Soviet Twist on Anti-Semitism," which appeared recently in the Malden Evening News and Medford Mercury, whose well-known editor and publisher is David Brickman. These papers are performing a great public service in keeping American and world opinion informed of the shocking violation of rights of Jews in Soviet Russia. The world should know that the Soviet Union has as its ultimate goal the eradication of all religions. The name of Cardinal Mindszenty is now a symbol of Russian atrocities committed against the Catholic Church. No religious group is immune from the Soviet plan of enslaving the world under godless communism. The editorial follows:

SOVIET TWIST ON ANTI-SEMITISM

No fewer than 28 of 46 citizens of the Soviet Union sentenced to death up to the end of last June in a series of cases involving economic offenses were Jews. Since then, four more Jews have been given the death penalty, and others have been sentenced to long prison terms, for convictions involving property, not persons.

Offenses of this kind are believed to be common in Russia today, but current efforts to wipe them out appear to be so contrived as to throw the chief onus on the Jews. Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican, of New York, suggested in the Senate, July 19, that Moscow was attempting "to link historic Russian anti-Semitism to its economic campaign."

Other signs of a new wave of hostility toward the 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union abound. A campaign of vilification against them in the Soviet press, restriction of Jewish religious practices, an apparent policy of holding down Jewish representation in the professions and in the government, and petty harassments of various kinds indicate a general worsening of the conditions of life for Russian Jews.

Official and semiofficial denials of anti-Semitic acts or policies have been made to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and through other channels. But both Jewish and non-Jewish groups and individuals in this country who have kept tabs on the question have not been reassured.

Assistant Secretary of State Frederick G. Dutton in a letter to Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, last May cited as increasing evidence of interference with the Jewish religion in Russia "desecration of cemeteries, closing of synagogues, dispersing of prayer meetings, arrests of lay leaders, prohibition of certain Jewish religious practices, etc." He referred also to "clear evidence of the resort by the regime to discriminatory measures against Jews in access to higher education."

The most thoroughly documented of Jewish grievances is the campaign of vilification in the Soviet press, primarily the provincial newspapers. They repeatedly carry moralistic narratives or essays linking avarice, treason, loose morals and bad manners with attendance at the synagogue; and they depict the synagogue frequently as the setting for conspiracy, haggling over illicit profits, and drinking bouts.

Communist antireligious campaigns have fallen with particular severity on the Jews. Only 60 to 70 synagogues are left in Soviet Russia; many cities with large Jewish populations have none. No new printings of the Hebrew Bible and only one edition of Hebrew prayerbooks have been authorized since 1917. The single Jewish theological seminary—established in Moscow in 1957—has only a handful of students and faces an uncertain future.

Although the proportion of Jews in the professions is larger than the proportion of Jews in the population, it has been declining for a number of years. Furthermore, the quota system that appears to be operating in admissions to institutions of higher education promises to accelerate the decline. Since 1935 the ratio of Jews to non-Jews in student ranks has dropped from 13.5 to 3.1 percent. The proportion of Jews in public office has likewise been falling.

Jews were denied equal participation in Russian life under the Czars, but they were free to develop fully their own social and cultural institutions. Under the Soviets the Jews have had their ups and downs. The Bolsheviks at first courted mass Jewish support. They made anti-Semitism a crime and set up a number of Jewish agencies within the government. But after absorbing existing Jewish political and social organizations, these government agencies were dissolved. Since 1930 no organization representing the Jewish minority as a distinct national or ethnic group has been allowed.

In the late 1930's, Yiddish schools were closed, Jewish collective farms were shut down, and the only national Yiddish newspaper was discontinued. Zionism was denounced. And with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939, any expression of Jewish consciousness became suspect.

After the Nazis attacked Russia in 1941, the position of the Jews improved, but a fresh outbreak of anti-Semitism after the war was marked by wholesale purges of prominent Jews. These so-called black years ended with Stalin's death in 1953. Since then, however, scant opportunity has been given for restoration of a separate Jewish culture. Now, a spreading and deepening of the old anti-Semitism is feared again.

## Dollar Gap Must Be Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, there are a few reflections and views concerning the dollar gap that Congress, as well as the executive department, would be well advised to have in mind these days.

First, the basic reason for the gap is that we have been, and are, spending much more money abroad than we are earning abroad. As a consequence, having piled up over a period of years huge claims against our diminishing gold stocks, the impressive disbalance in our accounts hangs over our heads like the sword of Damocles.

The able, economic writer, Sylvia Porter, recently set forth some statistics in one of here columns that would seem worth repeating.

Last year, for example, we sold more than $19.9 billion of goods to foreign buyers, bought back over $14.5 billion. That gave us a fat merchandise export surplus of almost $5.4 billion.

In the same period, U.S. residents received as income on foreign investments over $3.6 billion, while foreigners received an income on investments here of $871 million, which gave us another substantial favorable balance in our payments accounts.

U.S. residents spent for tourism, transportation, and insurance abroad over $4.7 billion, while for similar services here, foreigners spent almost $4.4 billion, resulting in an unfavorable balance of about $400 million.

So far, so good, we can agree; but there is another side to the story. We spent abroad for military expenditures over $2.9 billion, while our military receipts here were only $406 million for this particular item, representing an unfavorable balance of more than $2.5 billion.

Our net private investments abroad—ranging from an extension of credits to other areas for purchase of foreign physical properties—came to more than $3.9 billion, while net private investments here in the United States came to $577 million, thus showing another unfavorable balance of $3.4 billion.

In addition, there is a very large sum of $2.1 billion which the U.S. Government transferred to foreign countries for economic aid and defense support aid, for which we got nothing in direct return although, of course, most of us are satisfied that a large part of this amount represents security insurance, so to speak, and vital strengthening of our free world allies.

There is another item of $954 million, which our Government invested abroad, not in outright gifts, but in loans—direct loans to the governments themselves, loans through the Export-Import Bank, subscriptions to the Inter-American Development Bank. All repayments on these loans were subtracted, so it is a net unfavorable balance of $954 million.

Another item was the $634 million which private U.S. sources sent to foreigners—money orders sent by Americans to relatives abroad, the so-called errors and omissions category coming to an impressive minus total of $616 million.

The principal point of the above figures is that when added up, the credits come to almost $28.9 billion for 1961, whereas the debits leave a deficit of nearly $2.5 billion.

Miss Porter is of the opinion that at this particular time—and I take it that she means after the huge sums we have sent overseas since World War II—the other nations of the free world could take over a much bigger share of the $5 billion burden we are carrying for military defense and economic aid.

She suggests that we might hike our earnings from tourism spending within the United States by a major amount and increase our income by exports of goods far beyond where it is, although it is not clear how this can be done.

The situation outlined would appear to add up to some conclusions which I have previously presented to the House concerning the dollar gap.

The two principal areas by which we can eliminate, or further reduce, the gap is to cut the fat out of foreign and spending without, of course, impairing the essential purposes of foreign defenses and aid, and stepping up our export-import ratio.

At this time, I will not repeat my previous analysis of this ratio, but I would like once again to stress the fact that we cannot increase interest rates for the sake solely of keeping foreign capital here in this country, and we cannot tolerate augmenting imports without jeopardizing the integrity and strength of our own great, free, economic productive machine and inducing dangerous industrial depression and extensive unemployment in the country.

Admittedly, these are tough and complex questions to solve. Yet we must find the answers without further delay, if we are to avoid further serious impairment of the value of the dollar, lower social standards and rising unemployment here.

Clearly, this is a job for tough-minded economists and realistic financiers, who will not allow purely altruistic values, however commendable, to impair practical judgments as to what is best for the United States.

The dollar gap does not stand by itself as an individual question. It is tied in inextricably with other political, economic, social problems—international and domestic—in a puzzling package that will continue to challenge and endanger our economic situation at home and abroad, unless we come up with early answers putting these components in a better, more practical perspective.

## Feed Grain Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the August 23 issue of the Chicago Tribune carried this analysis of the feed grain scandal, and I commend it to colleagues who may be wondering whether to give the program another year's lease:

THE FEED GRAIN SCANDAL

Last year taxpayers paid $782 million to farmers for taking 26.5 million acres of corn and grain sorghums out of production in accordance with the Kennedy administration's feed grain program. This year taxpayers are paying $896 million to retire 32.6 million acres of corn, sorghums, and barley, an increase of 28 percent in the acreage signed up for the program.

Congress was fooled into authorizing the feed grain program early last year after the administration's farm planners pleaded that the way to make the surplus disappear was to raise price supports and pay farmers for retiring acreage. The Government's August crop report shows how phony this plea was.

Although farmers signed up to retire 23 percent more acres, feed grain production now is expected to go up an estimated 6 percent. Total production of corn, sorghums, barley, and oats as of August 1 is estimated at 139,500,000 tons, compared with 131,132,000 tons on the same date a year ago. It's the same old story of farmers finding a way to beat the program by taking their poorest land out of production for Government payments, while planting more thickly and pouring more fertilizer on their more fertile acres to take advantage of high price supports.

This is the situation which Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, rightly calls scandalous. He points out that the feed grain program has proved to be an expensive and dismal failure for the second successive year. The annual cost comes to well over a billion dollars when acreage payments, salaries of thousands of new administrative employees, and Commodity Credit Corporation losses on taking over surplus grain are added together.

## A Tribute to Justices Goldberg and Frankfurter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, two Presidents have paid fitting tribute to two distinguished citizens of this great country, Felix Frankfurter and Arthur J. Goldberg, by nominating them as Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. There is added significance in this fact—and a happy commentary on the American way of life—that both men are of immigrant stock. Justice Frankfurter was an Austrian immigrant and Secretary Goldberg, the son of Russian immigrants.

Justice Frankfurter, born in Vienna in 1882, arrived in the United States at the age of 12, unable to speak a word of English. After working his way through Harvard Law School, he taught there for a quarter of a century, helping to shape the New Deal. He then spent 23 years on the highest court of the land. In the words of President Kennedy at his press conference announcing the appointment:

Few judges have made as significant and lasting an impression upon the law. Few persons have made so important a contribution to our legal traditions and literature.

I join the President and all Americans in offering to Justice Frankfurter my "gratitude for the character, courage, learning and judicial dedication" with which he has served his country.

To Justice Frankfurter's designated successor, Arthur J. Goldberg, I extend my best wishes for a long continuation of an already distinguished career. The son of Jewish immigrants from Russia, the future Secretary of Labor and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, first entered the business world as a delivery boy at the age of 8. In 1929 he graduated from Northwestern University Law School ranking first in his class. In later years as counsel for the CIO, Goldberg was active in the organization's drive against unorthodox union practices. He wrote the merger constitution of the new AFL–CIO, which is regarded as his greatest accomplishment in the labor field. Since Mr. Goldberg became Secretary of Labor, it has been my privilege on numerous occasions to be present when he spoke before congressional committees and public gatherings. I have never failed to be impressed by his knowledge, his logic, and his grasp of legal questions. Undoubtedly, his long carrer and experience as a member of the bar can only forbode just as excellent service as a member of the bench.

The editorial which appeared in this morning's Washington Post on Secretary Goldberg's nomination to the Supreme Court is such an excellent one that I am inserting it below:

MR. JUSTICE GOLDBERG

The most surprising fact about the President's nomination of Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg to succeed Justice Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court of the United States is the willingness of the President to lose Mr. Goldberg as a member of the Cabinet. As head of the Department of Labor, Mr. Goldberg has been a dynamo of enormous usefulness to the President and to the country. Many of his efforts to settle labor-management disputes have been successful. While he has functioned as a champion of labor in the Cabinet, he has done his job with a keen sense of obligation to the country as a whole.

For many years Mr. Goldberg was counsel for the United Steelworkers and the CIO. He came to be recognized as one of the country's ablest lawyers. In 1959 he represented the Steelworkers in their fight against the Taft-Hartley injunction which ended the 116-day steel strike. Though he lost the case, his oral argument before the Supreme Court earned him high respect from its members and a sincere compliment from the Justices for his efforts.

Mr. Goldberg has made a practice of knowing everything about any case with which he has associated himself, and he has an extraordinary capacity to convey his views to others in an impressive way. On the Supreme Bench it may be taken for granted that he will be one of its most energetic and conscientious members. Mr. Goldberg has also shown a remarkable capacity for adjustment to new situations. When he became Secretary of Labor, for example, he considered his career as a labor lawyer to be closed forever. He addressed himself to his new job with a measure of objectivity that was greatly to his credit. Instead of acting as a partisan of organized labor, he has functioned as a dedicated public servant with a keen interest in the success of industry and Government in general as well as in the welfare of labor.

Another index to his type of public service may be found in his renunciation of a $25,000 steel union pension when he became Secretary of Labor. He did not want anyone to suppose that his judgment might be swayed by a pension in his favor. On the bench we surmise that he will perform in the traditional spirit of objectvity, without any relinquishment of his keen interest in human problems.

From the long-range viewpoint, therefore, the appointment of Mr. Goldberg will doubtless merit high praise. From the short-range view, the loss of his dynamism in the Department of Labor will be keenly regretted.

But this is the way of Government. It is especially important that the successor to Justice Frankfurter be a man of great energy, capacity in the law and force of personality, for the retiring Justice has been for many years a powerful influence on American law. We shall devote a later editorial to his notable career on the bench. At the moment it is sufficient to say that if Mr. Goldberg succeeds in following the Frankfurter footsteps, his name will be written large in the future legal annals of the United States.

## A School Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest editorials on the Supreme Court's recent school prayer decision appeared in the August 23 edition of the Westbury Times. It makes a great deal of sense.

I hope that Chairman CELLER, of the Committee on the Judiciary, will reverse his stand against hearings to consider a constitutional amendment to allow nonsectarian, noncompulsory prayers to be said in our public schools.

The editorial follows:

A NEED FOR GRASSROOTS ACTION

Tuesday night's fine turnout at the Westbury School Board's hearing on the Supreme Court's controversial school prayer decision proves that this issue is of burning importance to residents.

Summer meetings traditionally are dull, poorly attended affairs but we're proud to note that folks spoke up resolutely, with considerable prior thought and study showing through each speaker's comments.

We base our own viewpoint on two opinions. First, we believe that a nonsectarian prayer seeking guidance from a divine presence has a place in our schools. Second, we believe that no cute legal maneuvering should be used to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling. The law of the land is just that, until it is changed.

We do not agree with the sagacity of the Supreme Court decision, but we feel that a constitutional amendment—arising from a grassroots-motivated congressional movement—is the answer.

In this way, the people will speak within the fabric of the law. If Americans let this issue slide into obscurity, the Court's decision will stand—finally, absolutely, and without question.

We feel that such indecision by Americans will lead to further lawsuits seeking to remove every reference to divinity from the public scene. And this, as we have noted several weeks ago, is alien to the spirit in which our Nation was founded.

Locally, the Westbury School Board is urged to await a directive from State Education Commissioner James Allen. Dr. Allen, as School Board President Donal Mahoney noted Tuesday night, is passing the buck very neatly.

He should have had something definitive to say to New York school boards more than a month ago. His deputies have been quoted widely on the High Court's decision, but Allen's personal silence has prompted local boards to act independently.

The chaotic situation around the island where 10 different boards have 10 different solutions to the school prayer problem is no credit to the State education department's leadership.

We hope that on September 18, when all the members of the Westbury Board tackle this thorny issue again, Dr. Allen will have spoken.

## Transportation Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the August issue of the Railway Employees Journal includes a forthright article on the importance of passage of the proposed Transportation Act of 1962. This legislation was endorsed by both major political parties in their 1960 platforms.

I think all Members of Congress will find the article worthwhile reading and I am including it with my remarks:

DON'T LET THEM SIDETRACK THE TRANSPORTATION ACT

(The country needs action by Congress—now—to establish new transportation policies in line with today's needs.)

Pressure for passage of measures President Kennedy has included in the proposed Transportation Act of 1962 should not be relaxed until Congress acts on them. Most Members are anxious to get home to look after their campaigns for reelection. It therefore is likely that Congress will adjourn some time in September. Adjournment without passage of measures revising ratemaking regulations would result in indefinite postponement of legislation needed to check the dangerous drift toward a crisis in the country's common carrier system.

Such legislation was promised in the platforms of both major political parties 2 years ago. It was urged as immediately important in President Kennedy's recent special message on transportation subjects. Delays in consideration of the measures President Kennedy has proposed, by both Senate and House committees, has endangered their passage this year. Their fate depends on the interest all Members of Congress, and particularly congressional leaders, take in seeing to it that these measures are not lost in the confused muddle that usually develops as the legislative bodies approach adjournment.

It is consequently important that citizens generally, and railroaders particularly, keep their representatives in Washington aware of the fact that Congress alone is responsible if the drift toward crisis that is affecting the country's vital interest in adequate and self-supporting transportation services is allowed to continue.

ACTION NEEDED NOW

President Kennedy recognized in his special message on transportation subjects that out-of-date regulations are mainly responsible for most of the difficulties that now are distressing the railroad industry. He also recognized that new policies, adjusted to fit radically changed conditions, are needed now. Establishment of sound new policies is not possible without treating all types of public carriers alike. The measures President Kennedy has proposed with respect to ratemaking are aimed directly at that objective. There is no reason, from either public or railroader standpoints, why they should be sidetracked. There is every reason why they should be passed before Congress adjourns.

Railroad results so far this year are making it clear that business and industrial recovery alone will not reverse trends that have been running dangerously against the railroads. The decline in the railroad share in the country's total freight traffic will continue as long as railroads are restricted in their efforts by regulations that do not apply to other carriers. Two-thirds of the freight tonnage being transported over the highways and nine-tenths of that transported on inland waterways now are free from restrictions with which railroads must comply. Delay in correcting that situation will certainly bring the country perilously close to a transportation crisis it can't afford.

NEED NEW RATE POLICIES

Several special study groups, one of them created by the Senate, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and President Kennedy, all have recommended further changes in the rate regulations since 1958, when Congress took its first step toward establishing modern policies.

Technological advance has encouraged development of new types of equipment designed to fit the special needs of various commodities in volumes and at lower rates. Piggyback growth illustrates what is practicable in this field. There still are unsettled rate problems under present laws that interfere with its further growth and the extension of container services. Piggyback car loadings this year promise to be many times greater than they were 4 years ago. They are encouraging coordination of rail and highway services that will reduce highway congestions, improve transport services and lower shipping costs.

Installation of the new types of equipment involves additional investments by railroads that are not encouraged by policies that restrict rail freedom in establishing rates that their use warrants. Failure of the ICC to permit reduced rates on grains by the Southern Railway through the use of lighter weight freight cars with doubled capacity is a sample of the frustrations that railroads are encountering in their efforts to take full advantage of technological progress in reducing operating costs and lowering shipping expenses.

In most instances railroad efforts to establish incentive contract and volume rates, comparable to those being found practicable and in the public interests in Canada and European countries, are being delayed or disapproved. These conditions prompted President Kennedy's proposal that revised regulations should permit new and experimental rate policies adjusted to fit changing conditions.

THE NATIONAL POLICY

The law now declares it to be national policy to encourage all types of transport to provide transportation services at as low costs as their natural advantages warrant. But that policy is not being applied to railroads, although their competitors continue free from comparable restrictions.

Citizens generally and railroaders particularly must let their representatives in Washington know of their opposition to further delay in establishing the new transportation policies President Kennedy has recommended. The more they do this, the less likely it is that Congress will adjourn before enacting a Transportation Act of 1962.

## The Summer of Sabin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we all know of the great progress made in conquering the crippling disease, polio. The discovery of the two vaccines marked a milestone in medical research.

This summer, all across the country, entire communities are receiving the Sabin oral vaccine. Right here in the Capitol, employees and Members have received their doses of this easily administered drug.

The Palm Beach Post Times in an editorial dated August 15, calls attention to the program in a typical American city. The editor suggests that this may well be the "summer of Sabin," recognizing the discoverer whose research has meant so much to the program of eliminating polio once and for all.

A similar program is being scheduled in other communities around the Nation. Palm Beach County will soon conduct one also.

Knowing this editorial will be of interest to all Members, I ask that it be placed at this point in the RECORD:

THE "SUMMER OF SABIN"

The summer of 1962 may go down as the "summer of Sabin."

In cities across the Nation, hundreds of thousands of people of all ages are trekking to distribution stations in schools and other places to receive their cubes of sugar impregnated with the life-protecting polio vaccine.

The nationwide drive to knock out polio, once and for all, got its big start in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, on May 27 when 882,609 persons from Cleveland and surrounding cities were given the first of three types of vaccine. It was the largest 1-day mass inoculation in history.

There were some jam-ups in places, some centers ran out of vaccine, but on the whole it was an overwhelming success.

A second SOS (Sabin Oral Sunday) was held the following week for the same type I vaccine. The total of persons receiving this type was raised to nearly one and a half million. Types II and III were given on subsequent Sundays, completing the series.

Cleveland's amazing record of May 27 was short lived, however. On July 23, nearly 919,000 residents of Harris County (Houston), Tex., turned out in their first SOS. This was nearly 75 percent of the population of the county. Companion efforts were begun the next week in Dallas and Fort Worth.

The vaccine in these cities was free to anyone who wanted it, as it is in all other communities conducting similar drives. Doctors, nurses, druggists, and laymen in charge of the distribution centers contributed their services voluntarily.

In Cuyahoga County, a donation of 25 cents was suggested to help defray the expenses (the vaccine alone cost $700,000). Containers were placed at the exits, but no one watched to see who contributed and who did not.

More dollar bills than coins were tossed in, for even before the end of the county's 6-week campaign, more than $900,000 had been collected, putting the program well over the top financially as well as statistically.

After all bills are paid, the surplus will probably be used to finance annual follow-up studies of polio antibody levels in the blood of children who had all three types of vaccine.

Thus went the summer of Sabin in one populous area of the country.

Palm Beach County's opportunity comes this fall.

## Stockpile Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, recently, I inserted three editorials in the RECORD from the St. Louis papers regarding the investigation being conducted by a subcommittee of the other body into the Federal mineral stockpiling program. Today I would like to insert an editorial from the Cleveland Press that is equally objective with regard to the seriousness of the issues raised by it both to the Congress and to the citizens at large.

The efforts of the Cleveland Press to narrow the controversy to the real issues involved is a greatly needed service that is too often overlooked by public commentators who tend to classify issues as black and white, without a consideration of the intricacies involved.

The investigatory function of the Congress is so important at this time that the Congress should always be concerned lest emotionalism and partisanship cloud the issues. The Cleveland Press editorial goes a long way toward dispelling misconceptions that have enjoyed great credence to date:

HUMPHREY, SENATORS, AND ETHICS

The merits and demerits of the Hanna Mining nickel contract with the Government which are being brought out in Washington this week are certainly involved and hard to determine. The investigators' allegations sound scandalous; George Humphrey's defense sounds businesslike and reasonable.

The underlying issue, though, as Humphrey testified before the Senate committee, was the former Treasury Secretary's personal involvement.

Was he within the limits of propriety in holding his interests in Hanna while he served in the Eisenhower Cabinet?

The Senate Finance Committee in 1953 must have thought so. Even though the Senate Armed Services Committee at the time required Charles E. Wilson to divest himself of all General Motors holdings before it would approve him as Secretary of Defense.

There was a difference: The Defense Department had contracts with General Motors; the Treasury had none with the Hanna interests.

But now comes the stockpile investigation and at least the suggestion of a link between George Humphrey's official position and his private business. If Humphrey had been wholly divested of these interests, the question could not have been raised, even by the most partisan sharpshooters.

Such a rule would make it more difficult to persuade topflight businessmen to join the Government—but it would be safe insurance against the situation in which Humphrey is now starring.

Similar safeguards should be set up against the investigators themselves—in this case Members of the Senate. Many of them are wealthy men, still connected with legal firms, oil firms, or defense industries. And they are undoubtedly in a powerful position when it comes to swaying Government contracts. Yet there is no protection against their possible conflict of interests. There should be.

## What Is a Liberal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RALPH HARVEY**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Shelbyville (Ind.) News entitled "What Is a Liberal," sets forth very effectively the grassroots analysis of a recent congressional problem:

WHAT IS A LIBERAL?

Just what is a liberal nowadays? And just what does a liberal want?

That question is given potency by the filibuster against the President's bill for further development and financing of communications satellites, of which Telstar was the pioneer.

The bill provides for rigid Government regulation of this amazing project. Ownership is evenly divided between private enterprise and the public. The bill passed by the House recently by a vote of 354 to 9—a margin rarely equaled in our legislative history. But a small group, claiming giveaway, prevented the Senate from expressing its desire for a prolonged period of time, and, also, brought Senate business to a standstill.

If this is liberalism, in any recognizable sense of an old and honorable word, the world is upside down. What is liberal about attempting to make the views of a tiny, bitter minority take precedence over those of the vast majority? What is liberal about an effort to socialize a venture which, in all likelihood, will revolutionize world communications? Give this unprecedented power and precedent to a bureaucracy, and we would have laid the foundation of dictatorship, in fact if not in name.

Another point enters in here. The bill's filibustering opponents charged that Government could not adequately regulate the use of the satellites in a manner which would advance the public interest. Therefore, they went on, Government must develop and operate them. But if Government is so incompetent or so corrupt in the relatively simple and well-charted field of regulation, what reason is there for believing it is capable of conducting the infinitely complex job of developing and operating such a communications system?

Finally, the filibustering liberals said, in effect, that the President and the Congress have a cynical disregard of the public interest, and want only to fatten private coffers. One need not fear that the American citizen will be taken in by the outrageous implication.

## Federal Employees Take Another Look at the Hatch Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the American Federation of Government Employees is meeting in Seattle this week. In preparation for that meeting the Veterans' Administration Lodge 1151 has prepared a memorandum concerning the Hatch Act which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues:

The Hatch Act was enacted during a turbulent period when a large segment of the population looked at Government employees as parasites holding sinecures and feasting at the public trough. At that time (the depression era), the public press was taken with all sorts of ideas and clamors that were intended to and, in fact, did reduce the image of public employment from that of an honorable vocation of which the public servant could be proud, to a vocation which exposed him to suspicion, scorn and ill will. As a result of this campaign, few Federal employees could find employment in private industry subsequent to their separation from public employment except with the greatest of effort. The favorable salary position which was previously held by public employees deteriorated rapidly and thereafter continued to remain in a deteriorated state. The social status of public servants suffered as did their working conditions. Only the limitation of space prevents our citing the very many other adverse results that obtained.

A careful review of the circumstances surrounding the downgrading of Government employment shows that the sharpest decline occurred after and as a result of the enactment of the Hatch Act. Those of us who have studied the history of that statute can testify to the change of attitudes and of the conditions of employment; of the failure to give public employees necessary support in critical areas and of the failure to respond to the needs of employees, even where indicated by undisputable facts. Public servants, who had previously occupied positions of great dignity now became the whipping boys of a hysterical public outcry and of any political appointee who had the urge to flex his muscles.

We cannot pass without noting the circumstances under which the Hatch Act was rammed through into enactment. Neither Federal employees nor their representatives were consulted. Theories that were neither validated nor documented were hailed as the great liberalizing force that would free the public employees from the shackles of politics. Madison Avenue techniques were employed—and the Federal employee became a second-class citizen.

Some of the high sounding reasons urged at the time the statute was under consideration included allegations that this proposal would keep politics out of the civil service; that this proposal would keep politics out of Government and that this proposal would protect Federal employees from politics and politicians. We now know that nothing was further from the truth. The Hatch Act was intended to, and in fact did, render the Federal employee impotent and incapable of action consistent with his experience, his abilities and his needs. We have but to look at today's situation to ascertain the accomplishments of the Hatch Act.

At the time of the enactment of the Hatch Act, there were more than ample laws that could have fully protected the Federal employee and the Government from exploitation by politicians and from politics. All that had to be done was to make a vigorous demand for the enforcement of these laws. But, such a demand for enforcement or a call for an inquiry to determine the reasons for nonenforcement was not made. In the absence of a thoroughgoing effort to use the vehicles of law and of law enforcement, it would appear questionable, at best, as to whether the Hatch Act was an honest-to-goodness attempt to protect the Federal employee and the Government and to keep politics out of Government and out of the civil service. It would rather appear that the intent was to saddle the Federal employee with a statute that would restrict their civic activities and political expressions. Were the effort made, at the time, to secure the enforcement of these laws or to ascertain the reason for nonenforcement, there is no doubt but that the nonnecessity or undesirability of the Hatch Act would have been established.

Let us examine the Hatch Act, and incidently, these facts may be verified at any public library that boasts a copy of the United States Code. The Hatch Act merely forbids Federal employees (and some local public servants, as well), (1) from active participation in elections; (2) from urging the defeat of candidates who do not represent their interests; (3) from urging the election of candidates who do represent their interest; (4) from stating their positions in the area of civic and political affairs, openly, honestly and above board and under the same conditions that would apply to any other employees whether they be in private industry, local government or otherwise—this is not to be confused with an employee making specific comments in the area of his employment contrary to regulations or under circumstances that would discredit his agency. We have remedies available to treat with such events. The comment that we make reference pertains to one of a general character covering the broad spectrum of government policy which the government employee, as a citizen, should join in molding; (5) from participating in the affairs of their community and country; (6) from exercising the rights of a free citizen in a great democracy with the dignity and respect that flow to public servants the world over.

From the examination of the facts, it is obvious that the Hatch Act did not add one scintilla of protection that was not already provided by law and, as a matter of fact, addressed itself solely to limiting the civil rights of Federal employees.

Our civil rights have so depreciated that the election day privileges that are available to all employees in private industry and to the employees of State and local governments are no longer extended to us.

If we, as public employees are to recapture our lost stature, recover the dignity and respect that once accrued to Federal employees and secure for ourselves and our families, fair consideration in things material and decent treatment in other areas, we must take affirmative action to sweep aside the road blocks that impede our achievement of these reasonable objectives. In seeking to unfetter the Federal employees, we do not propose to take quick or unconsidered action. The resolution, under consideration, proposes that the situation be carefully examined; that we ascertain the attitude of our members; that we determine whether the Hatch Act has injured the Federal employee, and if so, the extent of such injury. We propose to encourage full discussion and education as to the meaning and effect of the Hatch Act. When these goals have been achieved, we propose that the national executive committee and our national officers present our views and findings to the Congress for corrective action.

Although we refer to a presentation to the Congress for corrective action, that is not the only recourse that is, and will be available to us. The constitutionality of the Hatch Act was tested some years ago, long before the composition of the Supreme Court changed. The presentation made to the Court, at that time, did not enter many phases and questions that were subsequently found to be of the utmost of importance by the present Court in civil rights cases. While the earlier case addressed itself to the civil rights questions, the case presented was one in a vacuum and on a theoretical basis. No statistics were presented; no injury or loss was demonstrated; no findings of any survey was presented to show the effect of the Hatch Act on Federal employees; no effort was made to establish the desires, the wishes or the needs of the majority of the public servants. No attempt was made to prescribe limitations on Federal paternalism nor was any exploration made to show the adverse effect of the withdrawal of civil rights on things material.

Our resolution proposes to make up the existing deficit and furnish us with sufficient data upon which the Hatch Act may be attacked in the courts should the Congress fail to give us the relief our members indicate.

We have the obligation to raise the image of the public servant to its merited pedestal. If we are remiss in this duty, we can only blame ourselves for the unhappy status of Government employees. Government employees must now change from a whining position to one of strength tempered by reason. We must demand for ourselves the same civil rights that are available to employees in private industry and the same political rights that accrue to Government workers the world over. Private industry not only urges its employees to participate in civic affairs, but encourages them, most vigorously, to full engagement in political affairs as well. Shall the Government employee ask for less—shall he abdicate his search for improvement, for fair play, for dignity, for recognitions?

The question is placed in your laps. If the resolution will be adopted, we will take the first step in the direction of improvement by asserting ourselves. We won't be stepping over anyone, nor will we be rushing off blindly into the great unknown. We will approach the subject cautiously and carefully, step by step, toward the direction that will be consistent with the sense of the membership and will promote the best being of Federal employees. We will approach the subject with facts, with statistics and with knowledge. We do not intend to be groping in the dark for some distant vague panacea. We will have direction, force, and intelligence—but all of this is dependent upon your adoption of this resolution. Remember, the Hatch Act never protected the Federal employee. Remember that whether the Hatch Act is repealed or invalidated in the courts, the spoils system will never return. Remember our resolution cannot do harm; it can only promote the well being of all of us.

Over 30 lodges that have studied and considered this resolution have endorsed it. We urge your concurrence.

PEARL J. ALPERN,
*President.*
HARRY H. ZUCKER,
*Vice President.*
VIRGINIA RODRIGUEZ,
*Secretary.*
RALPH V. TROPEANO,
*Treasurer.*

## Cuba's People and a Little Raid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, judging from the outcry by Castro, one would think a massive attack had been made on Havana this week. The world knows that this was actually just a small band of brave Cuban patriots in two boats who were willing to risk their lives to show how vulnerable the Castro government really is, and to give encouragement to all those dedicated people who are working toward the day when Cuba may again join the free world.

This deed may be compared to events in our own history such as the Doolittle raid and others which have added honor on our citizens and glory to our Nation.

We are now witnessing the greatest arms buildup in the history of Latin America, and we wonder whatever happened to the Monroe Doctrine. But the free people of Cuba continue to work for the liberation of their country with the knowledge that they will eventually succeed.

The Miami Herald editorial of August 28 entitled "Cuba's People and a Little Raid," suggests that "it is also quite likely that there will someday be a monument to this venturesome company in the heart of a free Havana." Let us all pray that day will come soon.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that this editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD:

CUBA'S PEOPLE AND A LITTLE RAID

The 23 Cuban patriots who putt-putted into Havana harbor and sent bullets into a luxury hotel housing Iron Curtain technicians were of the breed that makes legends.

Physically the incursion accomplished little or nothing—a few bullet holes in the walls, a few startled guests fleeing in their nightclothes, a great huffing and puffing from Fidel and his crew.

Psychologically it was a solid blow on an exposed nerve.

The garrison of Cuba's Communist captors has recently been strengthened against the rising tide of honest anger at home. Castro has boasted of his Russian arms and technicians and declared his invincibility.

But the tiny band sailed under his guns and punctured his claim. They said in a loud voice that Cuban freedom is not dead but in the custody of resourceful and daring men.

The raid notified all Latin America, where the grand gesture is appreciated, that a day of reckoning may be soon. To Cubans at home, fighting in secret places, and abroad, planning to end their exile, it was a tonic reminder to keep their courage high.

To friends of Cuba everywhere it demonstrated a proposition: Given the tools, Cubans are ready to supply the blood and the heart to redeem their country.

The raid will be called many things—futile, pointless, defiant, even illegal and potentially embarrassing to the raiders' host country. All these things to a degree are true.

But it is also quite likely that there will some day be a monument to this venturesome company in the heart of a free Havana.

## Impending Retirement of Air Force Chief of Chaplains, Maj. Gen. Terence P. Finnegan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO**
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this occasion to note the impending retirement of the Air Force Chief of Chaplains, Maj. Gen. Terence P. Finnegan, whose retirement becomes effective on August 31.

He has had a most distinguished career, both in the service and in his church. A native of Norwich, Conn., he was ordained at St. Joseph Cathedral, in Hartford, and formerly served as assistant pastor in St. Joseph's Church, Bristol.

The honors bestowed upon Chaplain Finnegan by the U.S. Army and Air Force, as well as by his church, which has recognized him as a domestic prelate, speak well for the accomplishments of this fine soldier and clergyman.

The chaplains of our Armed Forces have performed magnificent duty in reinforcing the moral structure of our Nation in uniform, and Chaplain Finnegan's record from Pearl Harbor to Guadalcanal and the Mediterranean is characteristic of the difficult and rigorous requirements placed upon them.

I want to call the attention of the House to the multiplicity of assignments which Chaplain Finnegan has discharged faithfully in rising to the high post of responsibility from which he is retiring. I offer a transcript of his service career for the RECORD:

CHAPLAIN, MAJ. GEN. TERENCE P. FINNEGAN, U.S. AIR FORCE

Chaplain, Maj. Gen. Terence P. Finnegan, Chief of Chaplains, U.S. Air Force, was born in Norwich, Conn., on March 21, 1904.

A graduate of St. Thomas Seminary and College, Hartford, Conn., in 1924 with a bachelor of arts degree, he received his master of arts and bachelor of sacred theology degrees from St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore, Md., in 1930. He was ordained as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church on May 30, 1930 at St. Joseph's Cathedral, Hartford, and served for 6 years as a priest in the diocese of Hartford. On the creation of the diocese of Norwich in 1953, he was transferred to that diocese.

On April 12, 1956, His Holiness Pope Pius XII appointed Chaplain Finnegan a domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor. The appointment was made in recognition of his fine contributions to the spiritual welfare of personnel of the Armed Force whom he had served for nearly 20 years.

Appointed chaplain, first lieutenant, in the U.S. Army Reserve on January 4, 1937, he entered active military service the following April. His first assignment was district chaplain of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) unit at Silver City, N. Mex. Assignments followed in Texas, South Caroline, and Illinois. He was appointed first lieutenant in the Regular Army in August 1940. In September 1941, he was transferred from Fort Ord, Calif., and was assigned as assistant battalion chaplain, 25th Division Artillery, at Oahu, Hawaii. He was serving at Oahu, Hawaii when the Japanese attacked on December 7, 1941.

Two days after Pearl Harbor Day, on December 9, 1941, he was named division chaplain of the 25th Infantry Division.

Chaplain Finnegan received the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service against the Japanese forces at Guadalcanal during the period December 17, 1942 to February 9, 1943. He was air evacuated to a hospital in New Zealand in June 1943 suffering from pneumonia and malaria. In January 1944, he was returned to the United States and held various assignments in this country before being named theater chaplain, U.S. Forces, Mediterranean Theater of Operations in August 1946. He attended Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., from September 1947 to July 1948.

Chaplain Finnegan transferred to the U.S. Air Force on July 1, 1949, and was named air chaplain, Headquarters, Continental Air Command, Mitchel Air Force Base, N.Y.

In January 1950 Chaplain Finnegan reported to the Far East Air Forces as deputy air chaplain and later became air chaplain of FEAF. During this assignment, he was awarded the Legion of Merit for meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service in Japan and Korea during the period July 23 to November 2, 1950. He was awarded an Oak Leaf Cluster to the Legion of Merit for exceptionally meritorious service with the Far East Air Forces from July 1951 to November 1952.

In December 1952, Chaplain Finnegan was named command chaplain of Headquarters, Air Training Command, Scott Air Force Base, Ill. He was assigned as Deputy Chief of Chaplains, U.S. Air Force on August 1, 1953, in his then grade of colonel and was promoted to the grade of brigadier general in October 1953.

Chaplain Finnegan was promoted to the grade of major general on July 1, 1958, and took over his duties as Chief of Chaplains, U.S. Air Force on August 15, 1958. For his services as Chief of Chaplains, U.S. Air Force, Chaplain Finnegan has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.

Chaplain Finnegan is the son of the late John Finnegan and Ellen Markey Finnegan, of Norwich, Conn.

Decorations and medals: Distinguished Service Medal, August 1962; Legion of Merit, November 1950, and one oak leaf cluster, November 1952; Bronze Star Medal, June 1944; American Defense Service Medal; American Campaign Medal; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal; World War II Victory Medal; Occupation Medal (Japan); Korean Service Medal; United Nations Service Medal; National Defense Service Medal; AFLSA with four bronze oak leaf clusters.

## Not Farming Pays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., August 18, 1962:

NOT FARMING PAYS

Among the recipients of Federal payments for curtailing agricultural operations are listed the following:

The Louisiana State Penitentiary, $45,414; Florida's Glades State Prison Farm, $6,818.40;

and the city of St. Louis, $12,209.91—all for agreeing to cut back on the production of feed grains.

The figures suggest to what extent these beneficiaries have been involved in the business of farming. In the event they should need some of the feed grains they have agreed not to produce, collectively they have $64,456.31 in tax money with which to purchase it.

There seems to be some question as to whether or not farming nowadays is a prosperous venture. But the above figures suggest that not farming can be pretty good.

## Resolution Adopted by Spartanburg Post No. 28 of the American Legion, Department of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a resolution adopted August 3, 1962, by Spartanburg Post No. 28 of the American Legion, Department of South Carolina, commending the men of Company C, 391st Engineering Battalion—combat—U.S. Army Reserve, and the 77th Troop Carrier Squadron, U.S. Air Force Reserve, for their accomplishments and achievements while on active duty. We owe them a debt of gratitude for their patriotic service in our Armed Forces. While on active duty these citizen-soldiers exemplified the dignity, honor and courage we can always expect of our Reserve troops.

The resolution follows:

Whereas some 10 months ago an impending crisis confronted our Nation; and

Whereas in order to cope with this potentially critical situation certain Reserve units of the armed services were ordered to active duty status, among these units being Company C, 391st Engineer Battalion (combat), U.S. Army Reserve, and the 77th Troop Carrier Squadron, U.S. Air Force Reserve, and certain individuals of other components: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the members of this post,* That we express to the officers and men of these units and all other individuals who similarly served from this area our appreciation of and our commendation for their service, noting that—

1. They responded readily to face with courage and valor whatever the tension of that day might have brought forth;

2. They incurred great personal sacrifices in terms of family dislocation, interruption of careers, and financial loss;

3. They served without complaint in well-disciplined obedience to the order of their Commander in Chief, ready to do their duty as fighting men in defense of freedom;

4. They underwent rigorous training and maintained a state of preparedness which might well have been an effective deterrent to a war whose prosecution could destroy all civilization; and

5. They served their country in her hour of need wth honor and distinction and in a manner in keeping with the highest tradition of the armed services.

## The American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, today a distinguished West Virginian, the Honorable Joseph G. Weeda, a highly respected attorney who practices law in the District of Columbia, has delivered an outstanding address on the history of the American Legion before the Friendship Lions Club in our Nation's Capital.

Mr. Weeda has served the American Legion with distinction and just last month he was unanimously selected as a member of the national executive committee of the American Legion to represent the department of the District of Columbia.

Because this speech is one of the finest I have ever read on the American Legion, I am delighted to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SPEECH BEFORE THE FRIENDSHIP LIONS CLUB ON THE AMERICAN LEGION

(By Joseph G. Weeda)

This year, 1962, marks the 43d anniversary of the American Legion. It has good reason to be proud of what it has accomplished in these years. Legion programs have succeeded because they were designed by their originators to give practical expression to the purposes and principles enunciated by the founders of the American Legion at the Paris and St. Louis caucuses in 1919. These men of clear vision and great foresight, just emerged from the cauldron of war, felt a great responsibility to continue in peacetime the service they had pledged in war to God and country. The American Legion is the instrument they created through which to accomplish their high purpose. The record it has written during the 43 years is the best proof of the measure of their success.

None would deny that the lifespan of the American Legion has been one of the most hectic periods in the history of the human race. This organization was born of war. It includes in its ranks today, three generations of this century. Each has gone to war and each war has been more terrible and devastating than the one before. It has lived in periods of cold war and uneasy peace. It has seen deep depression and great prosperity.

Social, scientific, military and economic changes have reshaped the world bringing all people into closer proximity with one another. Time and space have lost much of their meaning. New pressures and influences of many kinds have been exerted upon the minds and hearts of men.

When we consider the momentous events of the era through which the American Legion has lived, the role it has played in the life of our country during these years assumes a real significance. From the beginning, Legionnaires have dedicated themselves to our major objectives: the strengthening of our American way of life; and maintenance of the national security; care for the children in America; and aid to those who have fallen in battle and to their widows and children.

The victorious men of the American Expeditionary Force, upon their return from France found that practically no preparations had been made to receive them. They were discharged into a civilian world which had neither hospitals, medical personnel, nor a program of any kind through which to care for the broken bodies and minds of men who had fought and won the war. Little or nothing was being done for the widows and the children of men who had given their lives for their country.

The American Legion, almost by itself, conceived and piloted through Congress the broad structure of compensation, pension, and medical programs which now guard the safety, security, and health of the wounded and the disabled. The crowning achievement of this great effort was the GI bill of rights. This milestone in history of veterans affairs was drafted by the Legion. It was submitted to the Congress for the stated purpose of insuring that the men and women of World War II would not return to a nation as unprepared to receive them as it was to receive the victors of World War I.

From the beginning the American Legion has been in the forefront of the battle against communism. Through the years it has worked diligently to alert the American people to the fact that communism poses a serious internal threat to the safety of the Nation. The Soviet encyclopedia refers to the Legion as a group composed of greedy capitalistic warmongers. The Legion is delighted that it has earned this particular place in their affections. Should they suddenly begin to indicate approval of Legion actions, it would be considered as a genuine cause for alarm.

The American Legion has long supported increased solidarity among the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. It took a most serious view when it became apparent that Fidel Castro was not a revolutionary seeking true freedom for his people, but that he would replace one totalitarian regime in Cuba for another. It knew that this could not promote unity among the people of the two continents. Now, the worst fears have been confirmed and we find that we have a genuine Communist government at our doorstep. In 1960 at the national convention in Miami Beach, and again in 1961 at the Denver national convention, the delegates unanimously called upon the U.S. Government to take any and all necessary action, including use of military force, if needed, to bring an end to the Castro regime.

It has supported since 1945, U.S. participation in the United Nations. At the same time, it is unalterably opposed to the admission of Red China to the U.N. In its view, such an act would be a desecration to the memory of the 38,000 American soldiers who fought and died to repel the Red Chinese attack on the free Republic of Korea. Also it would be a violation of the U.N. itself, stipulating as it does that its ranks are open to peace-loving nations. Certainly, no rational person would defend the Peiping Government as peace loving.

The American Legion has found itself, on occasion through the years in disagreement with the Government in matters revolving around national security and the maintenance of the Armed Forces. It has insisted that America be kept strong in order that she might effectively champion the cause of freedom. It recommended strongly against the neglect which the armed services experienced in the years between the two wars.

Consistently, it urged Congress to appropriate funds providing for the modernization of all branches of the military services. As unrest became increasingly manifest among nations in both Europe and Asia, the American Legion warned the American people that the Nation was not adequately prepared to defend itself. Its warnings were not heeded until too late, and the price which was paid beginning on December 7, 1941, was a tragic one indeed. In the years since the end of the Second World War, it has continued to urge a strong defense and

to support the efforts of the armed services to maintain a state of readiness which would both deter an aggressor and enable us to defend ourselves should we be attacked. The American Legion is proud of its consistently strong position on the subject of national security.

Existing programs of the American Legion are its child welfare activities in which over the years it has spent over $17 million in direct assistance to children. In addition it has secured passage of enlightened legislation at both State and National levels for the benefit of all children of America. It promoted and supported the first child labor legislation in America.

Its interests extend to the youth level also, where it finds expression in many fine programs, including 4,000 Boy Scout units, Boys and Girls States oratorical contests where 335,000 high school children speak on the subjects of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States. One million of our male youth participate in the American Legion baseball program. There are high school awards and soap box derbies and other activities designed to make the youngster a little more conscious of his great heritage of freedom to the end, that as a mature citizen he will do his part in later years to preserve that heritage.

The 2,700,000 Legionnaires are justly proud of the great accomplishments of the American Legion to Americans and America. They seek and enlist your moral support, as citizens of a free nation in the fight to maintain the traditions of liberty and justice upon which our Nation was founded, and which, God willing, should be eternally preserved.

## KQEO Back to School Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

KQEO BACK-TO-SCHOOL CAMPAIGN

Thirty million persons unemployed. Not only unemployed, but totally incapable of ever being employed. Not cripples, not mental incompetents, not lazy. Simply unemployable. Just imagine, for a moment, the drain such a situation would put on any economy. Then think about it happening in this country. Impossible? No, not impossible; not even improbable. Because this is exactly what is going to happen in the United States, within one generation. Unless—this is our point. Education once was a luxury. Next, with advancing civilization, it became a convenience. One could do without it, but it was sometimes an advantage to be able to write and figure. Next, as technology increased, it became more important. Some jobs were closed to those without a general foundation of knowledge. Now, let us project into the future a scant 20 years. By 1985, not only education, but the equivalent of a high school diploma will be an absolute necessity for almost any kind of a job. Furthermore, those without diplomas won't even be able to get jobs as manual laborers, because there won't be any manual jobs left to do. Machines will do them cheaper, faster, better.

What does this mean? It means that now, in the summer of 1962, the groundwork must be laid for the future. What the students of today learn now will determine how their families live tomorrow. The high school dropout of today will be the down-and-outs of tomorrow; not necessarily because of their own fault, but because of the inevitable march of technical civilization.

KQEO cannot urge any course of action more strongly than this: If you are a student returning to school, study. If you are of school age, but are not attending, go back. If you've let time pass and you are out of the teens, but still don't have a basic education, get one. It's your future, for better or for worse.

## Dr. Harry Wexler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the recent death of the Director of Research of the U.S. Weather Bureau, Dr. Harry Wexler.

As a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Wexler during the International Geophysical Year, when he accompanied us on our trip to the Antarctic as chief scientist. Dr. Wexler had been with the Weather Bureau continuously since 1934 and was considered an expert on atmospheric conditions.

One of his greatest contributions to our country was the part he played in drafting plans for the use of satellites to improve weather forecasting. Dr. Wexler was one of the first scientists to visualize the use of satellites for meteorological observation.

In recognition of his outstanding public service, our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has adopted a resolution noting his achievements, which I will insert at this point in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

It is with great sorrow that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives learns of the untimely death of Harry Wexler.

For many years by reason of the official relationships of the committee and the Weather Bureau, the committee has been well aware of the tremendous contribution which Harry Wexler has made to the world's meteorological research, including his sponsorship of meteorological satellites and his working out of arrangements for international cooperation in their use. Indeed, no American has done more in the successful furthering of international understanding among scientists.

But beyond this, the members of the committee through their participation in the International Geophysical Year and ensuing personal association with him as chief scientist for the Antarctic programs have had continuing occasion to appreciation his warm friendliness, imaginative leadership, stimulating scholarship, catholic knowledge, vibrant spirit, and confident faith.

*Accordingly, be it resolved by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (in executive session assembled)*, That its deep sympathy be expressed to his widow, Hannah, to their daughters, Susan and Libby, and to his associates.

Unanimously approved, August 14, 1962.

OREN HARRIS,
*Chairman.*
W. E. WILLIAMSON,
*Clerk.*

The New York Times also noted Dr. Wexler's untimely death and I would like to have this article made a part of the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 13, 1962]

DR. WEXLER, A METEOROLOGIST, DIES—WEATHER BUREAU'S DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH SINCE 1955

WOODS HOLE, MASS., August 11.—Dr. Harry Wexler, Director of Research of the U.S. Weather Bureau, died of a heart attack Saturday, while on vacation here. He was 51 years old and lived in Falls Church, Va.

Dr. Wexler had been with the Weather Bureau continuously since 1934. He held citations for distinguished service from the Air Force, Navy, Department of Commerce, and National Civil Service League.

From 1955 through 1958, along with his duties at the bureau, he was chief scientist for the U.S. expedition to the Antarctic for the International Geophysical Year.

Last June, Dr. Wexler and Prof. Viktor A. Bugaev of the Soviet Union were the principal figures in drafting plans for use of satellites to improve weather forecasting. These plans were announced by the United Nations World Meteorological Organization at a conference in Geneva on cooperation between the United States and the Soviet in space research.

Dr. Wexler, one of the first scientists to visualize the use of satellites for meteorological observation, was known as the "father" of the Tiros satellite.

SERVED ON U.S. PANELS

He became chief of the Weather Bureau's Science Service Division in 1946 and Director of Research in 1955. During that time, he also served on special Government panels on the biological effects of atomic radiation, polar research, the meteorological aspects of satellites and on the National Academy of Science's Space Science Board.

After receiving a B.S. degree in mathematics from Harvard University in 1932, Dr. Wexler attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, from which he received a Sc.D. degree in meteorology in 1939, while working for the Weather Bureau.

In 1940 he was Assistant Professor of Meteorology at the University of Chicago. He left this position late in 1941 to engage in defense work for the Weather Bureau in Washington. In 1942, he joined the Army Air Force's weather service as a captain.

FLEW INTO HURRICANE

While with the Army Air Force, he initiated weather research that later was developed into the large Air Force geophysics program. In September, 1944, Dr. Wexler, with Col. Floyd Wood as pilot, made the first penetration of an Atlantic hurricane. He rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Dr. Wexler served on the Advisory Committeed on Reactor Safeguards for the Atomic Energy Commission, as chairman of the Geophysical Research Panel of the Scientific Advisory Board to the Air Force Chief of Staff and as a member of the Meteorological Operations Subcommittee of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

He had been vice president of the American Meterological Society, a member of the Royal Meteorological Society and the Washington Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Upper Atmosphere Committee of the American Geophysical Union.

## Progress Under Connecticut 65 Health Insurance Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in a recent report to the Connecticut General Assembly, the groups interested in the Connecticut 65 program have discussed the progress that has been made under the most impressive effort of the private sector to meet the costs of health care for the State's aged. I commend this progress and I believe all who are truly interested in seeing the problems of the aged in this area of financing health care should do likewise. In this report is an estimate that 85 percent of the residents of Connecticut over the age of 65 have some coverage against hospital-medical expenses, and that a large number of others are cared for under Federal, State, local, or some combination program. I believe this is real progress and I wish to call it to the attention of my colleagues and the Nation:

WHAT'S YOUR HEALTH WEALTH?—A STATEMENT ON THE HEALTH-MEDICAL CARE SERVICES AND COVERAGES AVAILABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF CONNECTICUT

We, the representatives of Connecticut's five largest organizations providing for health-medical care or methods of paying for such care, recognizing our mutual purpose in serving the public, have been conducting a series of joint meetings since December 1961, to review the scope and progress of the various methods of providing protection for health and medical care costs and to explore common problems facing the health and medical fields. It is evident from this review that—

1. Connecticut residents have available to them the highest quality of health-medical care.

2. The voluntary agencies in Connecticut are recognized leaders in developing statewide the widest variety of programs to finance the cost of such care.

We base our conclusions on the following facts:

Our organizations have been alert to the needs of the people, all the people. In Connecticut, through our voluntary system, coverage has been made available to every citizen, regardless of age. More and more persons have enrolled each year, including aged citizens, and the type of coverage available is being continually broadened.

NINETY-THREE MILLION DOLLARS IN BENEFITS

The $93 million paid by the Connecticut organizations for health-medical care benefits during 1961 is dramatic evidence of the breadth and scope of this protection, and represents an increase of 62 percent over the $57 million paid out only 5 years earlier.

Virtually every employed group in our highly industrial State has some type of voluntary protection for employees and their families. Blue Cross and CMS (Blue Shield) currently cover more than 1,250,000 Connecticut people, and the insurance industry provides coverage for 1,200,000 persons.

Some of those protected have an insurance policy as well as Blue Cross-CMS protection.

PROTECTION FOR THE ELDERLY

At a time when there is so much discussion about medical care for the aged, we in Connecticut can look with pride at our own health resources and progress in providing care for our senior citizens. Blue Cross and CMS alone have more than 140,000 persons over 65 years of age enrolled. In addition, the insurance industry estimates it covers 80,000 under a variety of policies, including the industry's new Connecticut 65 program under which a major medical type coverage has already been extended to 28,000 Connecticut aged persons. Thus, even though some persons have coverage under more than one voluntary plan, an estimated 85 percent of the 215,000 aged who need coverage now have some protection against hospital-medical expense. There are an additional 27,000 Connecticut people 65 and over who are covered under old-age assistance and various State and local welfare programs.

PIONEER EFFORTS IN CONNECTICUT

We can point to the fact that protection against health-medical care costs is a need recognized many years ago by these agencies.

Blue Cross first offered coverage on a group basis in 1937, and in the past 14 years it has conducted periodic statewide open enrollments which have enabled individuals to obtain hospitalization coverage.

Similarly, Connecticut Medical Service, which was founded in 1949 to provide medical-surgical coverage, has offered on a continuing basis for the past 5 years, protection to any citizen of Connecticut, regardless of age or condition of health. In addition, over 3,500 CMS participating physicians guarantee full payment of covered services for members within qualifying income groups.

Blue Cross and CMS plans have always allowed persons to continue their coverage following retirement. Group enrollment in Blue Cross and CMS is not restricted on the basis of age, nor has either plan in its entire history ever canceled a member contract because of age or poor health.

Health insurance for medical expenses was first offered in Connecticut by insurance companies on an individual basis in 1904 and on a group basis in 1937. Today, there are more than 135 companies which offer hundreds of different health insurance plans, ranging from basic hospitalization coverage to comprehensive protection covering a wide variety of medical care costs. These include plans which are available to persons of all ages and which are guaranteed to be renewable for life.

UNIQUE HOSPITAL ACCREDITATION RECORD

As for our hospitals, Connecticut is the only State in the country where every community, general, nonprofit hospital has met the high standards necessary for accreditation by the Joint Commission of Accreditation of Hospitals, which is made up of the American College of Physicians, American College of Surgeons, American Hospital Association, and the American Medical Association.

The medical professional in Connecticut has a history of dedication to the health of our people. In all instances, whether or not a person has coverage, Connecticut doctors have a long record of providing medical care for anyone who seeks it, regardless of ability to pay. For years, physicians have furnished medical care without charge for many patients, thus making a significant contribution to our communities. This includes many patients on public welfare programs.

The quality of patient care is being advanced constantly by scientific programs conducted for physicians through their medical associations, hospital medical staffs, and medical schools.

FUTURE OF THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

All of these factors document a record of performance that provides a realistic indication of the prospects for the future under a voluntary system.

Finally, in addition to these positive accomplishments in providing high quality care and a voluntary means of financing this care, we recognize our common interest in working together to maintain the proper utilization of hospital beds and services and other medical facilities. We intend to study those factors which have a bearing on the cost of medical care. We will continue to assist each other and to cooperate in any procedures which will directly promote the proper use of hospital facilities and the quality of care for everyone in Connecticut.

CONNECTICUT HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION.
CONNECTICUT STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY.
CONNECTICUT BLUE CROSS.
CONNECTICUT MEDICAL SERVICE.
CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE COUNCIL.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens

to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JULY 20, 1962.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*U.S. Congressman,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: We herewith send you a copy of our letter with signatures to Congressman HOWARD W. SMITH, chairman of the House Rules Committee, asking him to do everything possible to realize the project included in the resolution.

We are very grateful to you for your resolution and we ask you to make every effort to have it adopted.

Respectfully.

Capt. JOHN SHIMCHIK,
*Chairman of the Byelorussian Liberation Front.*

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JULY 20, 1962.

HON. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: We, the leaders of the American-Byelorussian organizations in Cleveland, Ohio, herewith respectfully appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the resolution, House Resolution 211, introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, providing for the establishment of a permanent congressional Committee on the Captive Nations, and we respectfully ask you to support the object of this resolution.

We believe that at the present time when communism is moving on an open path of aggressive actions for the establishment of the Communist dictatorship of the proletariat in the whole world by the employment of all available means as violence, falsification, and propaganda, it would be very advantageous for the American Government to pay greater attention to the nations enslaved by communism and give them moral and material support in their struggle against communism.

The establishment of a permanent congressional Committee on the Captive Nations would serve, in our opinion, to the general good of the nations enslaved by communism and also of America and so we respectfully ask you to bring up the subject of this resolution for ratification, since every step in the direction of rendering help to the nations enslaved by communism in their struggle against it will be toward the most speedy liquidation of the Communist threat and Khrushchev's imperialistic and aggressive assurances that he will prepare for our descendants a Communist system and hang his bloody and slavish hammer and sickle banner over the free world.

We are signing this request with our own hands and we hope that you will consider this carefully and for this we thank you.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN SHIMCHIK,
*Chairman, of the Byelorussian Liberation Front.*

ARKADRI SACEWICZ,
*Chairman, American-Byelorussian Cultural Relief Association.*

LEONID HARTANOWICH,
*Chairman, Byelorussian Orthodox Church Committee.*

KONSTANT MATYLICKI,
*Representative, American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.*

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JULY 19, 1962.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: We take liberty of sending you resolutions adopted at a mass rally in commemoration of Captive Nations Week, held at the Ukrainian Center, 240 Hope Avenue in Passaic, N.J., on July 15, 1962.

Your kindly consideration of our resolutions, sir, will be deeply appreciated.

Very respectfully,

MRS. MICHAEL STEFANIW,
*Chairman of Rally and President of Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Branch in Passaic, N.J.*

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CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—JULY 15–21, 1962

The 86th Congress of the United States has designated the week of July 15–21, as "Captive Nations Week." Each year we have observed the law of the land. Today we are gathered here once again to dedicate our efforts to that cause, the liberation of those nations enslaved by the iron hand of Russia's communistic government. We join hands with our brother nations, our friends and neighbors of the captive countries to break the chains of oppression so that all men can be free to live in a free and independent country, indivisable under God, in peace and happiness on their own sovereign and native land.

As one of the nations, that has suffered the unbelievable agonies and brutalities of that unholy master, the butcher of Ukraine and his atheistic communistic government, we do declare that the spirit of freedom will exist forever in our hearts and minds. It will not, and cannot be extinguished as long as there is one Ukrainian alive. So help us God.

Therefore, we proclaim the following resolution to the entire world without fear and with complete honesty to warn the free people of the world and the U.S. Government that the creeping hand of communism, having already taken Cuba, is now reaching its bloody hands towards the American people. Freedom of mankind is at stake—the time for action is now—therefore, we state the following:

Whereas the imperialistic policy of the Soviet Union is to capture and enslave all free nations including the United States, so that the world will be dominated by the communistic master devils of atheistic principles; and

Whereas communistic Russia has already enslaved more than 22 free and sovereign nations and its people. Among them the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Hungaria, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Cossakia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, North Korea, Cuba, and other nations; and

Whereas Communist Russia has by its ungodly policy of direct aggression without cause or reason; by mass murder and liquidations of entire families, villages, and cities, by manmade starvation; by indoctrination and Russification of the youth of the enslaved people; by mass deportation and destruction of the family unit in order to break the heroic morale of the religious and spiritual freedom of the people; by its diabolic cruelty and brutality and its forced slave labor and concentration camps; as well as by their unbelievable terrorism, bloody reprisals and infamous lies in order to achieve their goal of world domination; and

Whereas the Soviet Union still is engaged in their ruthless policy of subjugating and enslaving of all people and will contine to do so unless direct aid and action is taken by the existing free nations and its people to help those nations that are enslaved to break free of the tyrannical choking grip of Communist Russia, as well as to prevent their own enslavement and suffering as experienced by the enslaved nations; and

Whereas the United States is the leader of the free world, the champion of freedom, liberty, and peace, a firm believer in the rights and dignity of all mankind, it is their duty and obligation to aid in every way to regain the liberty and freedom of the people of the captive nations who have suffered under the communistic regime for over 40 years.

Whereas—

*Now be it resolved,* That the Ukrainian people and their descendants of American birth and the members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, and their friends, and the people and friends of our captive countries, residing in the Passaic, Bergen area have met at the Ukrainian Center in the city of Passaic, N.J., do hereby go on record to pledge ourselves to the dedication of our efforts to liberate our native homeland, Ukraine and those of our brotherly captive countries; to keep alive the spirit of freedom and liberty; to work together in unity to achieve the goal of freedom for which so many have died; let it further be

*Resolved*—

We are opposed, more than ever, to the admission of Red China into the United Nations.

We are opposed to any establishing of a hands off policy, appeasement or coexistence with the Soviet Union by the United States or any other nation.

We are in favor of the Flood Resolution, H.R. 211, calling for the creation of a Special Captive Nation Committee within the House of Representatives.

The establishment of a detailed concrete policy of the U.S. Government towards all captive nations.

We urge the United States to take the lead in the U.N. for a full scale inquiry and investigation of Soviet Union colonialism, within and outside of the U.S.S.R.

That the United States and all free countries of the world give direct aid of whatever is necessary to regain the liberty and freedom of the enslaved countries who request it and will use it to achieve their most cherished hope of freedom. To support them until their hope and dreams become a reality.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA,
MRS. MICHAEL STEFANIW,
*President.*
WASYL MARUSZCOYL,
*Secretary.*

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JULY 17 1962.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: At your most earliest convenience please have your secretary send our committee at least 25 copies of your House Resolution 211, re captive nations.

Thank you for such an excellent and Moscow-shaking resolution. It's high time we shook the Russ imperial empire.

Yours for freedom,

WALTER V. CHOPYK.

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JUNE 12, 1962.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Your proposal for a special House Committee on Captive Nations in House Resolution 211 is the most appropriate one at the present time for us to wage a successful cold war against Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

OLEKSY DIACZENKO.

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JULY 18, 1962.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

Your continued action is hereby requested in favor of the House Resolution 211.

Sincerely yours,

W. LIWIZKI.

# Appendix

## Agricultural Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GALE W. McGEE**
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the Department of Agriculture has had the unfortunate responsibility of administering several unpopular programs that are not appreciated by the very people that they are saving from extinction. The Department has also received considerable unfavorable publicity from the bad judgment of several of its employees and from the fact that there are those outside the Department who took illegal advantage of a complex system for administering an agricultural program.

But for all this criticism, I believe that the Department of Agriculture, on the whole, is doing an excellent job of protecting the interests of the American farmer. I was very pleased to read an editorial in the Daily Times, of Rawlins, Wyo., which pointed up some of the accomplishments of the Department and noted the human tendency to concentrate on man's failings rather than his achievements.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rawlins (Wyo.) Daily Times, Aug. 25, 1962]

ON THE PLUS SIDE

Of all agencies of the Government, the Department of Agriculture probably comes under the heaviest fire.

Chief reason for this, of course, is that the bill for subsidizing crops, paying farmers for nongrowing of crops, and storing of excess crops keeps getting bigger. This is a problem neither party has been able to solve.

Agriculture Department expenditures ($9.9 billion in fiscal 1962) rank second only to those for defense and are felt by many to be about as worthwhile as the billions eaten up by paying the interest on the national debt.

Scandals like the Billie Sol Estes case and the yearly hassles between Congress and the President over farm legislation have also served to give the public the impression that the whole situation is just one big boondoggle.

Thus a look at some of the Department's positive accomplishments may help put a better perspective on its operation. Rather than trying to kill off the small, independent farmer, as some critics charge, the Department has actually done much to insure the prosperity of farms and farm communities.

Since it is technology that has brought the farmer to his present pass by enabling him to raise far more on far less land than his father, it is only fitting that technology be utilized to provide new outlets for his abundance.

For instance, a few years ago cotton was seriously threatened by synthetic fabrics. Thanks to the Agriculture Research Service, new markets were developed for cotton by making it flame and water resistant and by aiding the development of wash-and-wear fabrics. The latter use alone consumes a billion bales of cotton a year.

In 1945, Florida was close to overproduction of oranges with no new markets in sight. ARS helped develop a frozen orange juice concentrate. Today, more oranges go into cans alone than were grown in 1945.

As a result of new potato products ARS has devised 12 potato dehydrating plants are now in operation in potato-growing areas around the country. Their yearly consumption of $6.3 million worth of potatoes has reversed the downward trend in per capita use of this staple.

Research into improved frozen poultry has helped bring about a 2.5-billion-pound increase in the consumption of turkeys and chickens in the past 5 years. Even waste feathers that once cost processors money to get rid of are now made into fertilizers, feeds, and plastics.

The list of such examples could be extended. Unfortunately, the good men do, oft lies interred with the bones of contention concerning other issues.

## Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recent actions by the House in reducing the appropriation request for funds to carry out the expanded civil defense program, as recommended by the present administration, is having a depressing effect on the morale of well-intentioned people who voluntarily participate in civil defense activities throughout the Nation.

Moreover, it is having an emotional and adverse effect on the millions who populate our metropolitan area. These people were led to believe that the 1961 appropriation for expanded civil defense activities was a promise by the Congress for a realistic measure of protection in the event of a major nuclear assault on our larger cities and their suburban environs. That appropriation provided for a national survey of sizable available shelter areas that weer to be eventually stocked with the necessities of prolonging life in time of great emergency.

We are failing to keep our commitments to the people by not providing for the remaining portions of the promised civil defense protective measures, and we are also tossing down the drain the time, effort, and moneys already expended in surveying for available shelter space.

To cite an instance of the reaction of the State and local authorities who are responsible for formulating and implementing the civil defense programs in their areas is to read a letter received from the Director of Civil Defense for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, wherein he makes specific reference to the present situation as it applies to my own city of Philadelphia.

In order that the responsibility for failure to provide adequate civil defense protection may rest where it belongs, Mr. Speaker, I now extend my remarks under permission previously granted and include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Richard Gerstell, Director of Civil Defense, State Council of Civil Defense, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
STATE COUNCIL OF CIVIL DEFENSE,
*Harrisburg.*

As requested, I am presenting below summary information concerning the effects which recommended reductions in the budget request for the Department of Defense, Office of Civil Defense, would have on current activities in the city of Philadelphia and elsewhere.

In August 1961, the Congress appropriated, to the Department of Defense, Office of Civil Defense, funds for use in the conduct of a so-called national shelter survey, marking and stocking program. The objective of this program is to locate, mark, and stock existing buildings, and other facilities, which can effectively be used as public fallout shelters.

Preliminary survey results indicate that there are, within the city of Philadelphia, a total of 1,664 facilities suitable for use as public shelters. If marked and stocked with emergency supplies as previously planned, these would provide fallout protection for hundreds of thousands of the city's residents.

At the present time, representatives of the Philadelphia Civil Defense Council, assisted by the Philadelphia Building Owners & Managers Association and other groups, are soliciting shelter licenses, or privilege forms, under which property owners and operators, voluntarily and without compensation, make their premises available for use as public shelters. This is done with the understanding that the spaces made available subsequently will be stocked with emergency supplies, furnished by the Federal Government.

Similar activities are currently being carried out in other Pennsylvania communities and throughout the Nation as a whole. Public reaction to the program has been highly favorable and it is generally deemed a sound and practical means of providing fallout protection for millions of our citizens.

If subcommittee recommendations are followed to the letter and the budget request for the Department of Defense, Office of Civil Defense, reduced accordingly, it will be impossible to stock many of the spaces already located and voluntarily offered for use as public shelters. The end results of this would be these: first, much of the time, money, and effort already expended in the survey work and related activities will go to waste. Second, many people will be inclined to criticize the Congress for failure to provide the funds necessary to complete the program previously approved. Finally, in the event of attack, thousands upon thou-

sands of lives, which could have been saved through completion of the program, in all probability will be lost.

Appreciating your expressed interest in this matter and with kindest personal regards, I am,

Cordially,

RICHARD GERSTELL,
*Director of Civil Defense.*

## One Less Victory for Special Interests?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER**
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in a candid and perceptive article published in the August 25 issue of the Saturday Review, Robert Louis Shayon comments on the current crusade of the broadcasting interest to prevent the President from appointing a new Federal Communications Commissioner sympathetic to the vigorous views of Chairman Minow.

Yesterday President Kennedy revealed his intention to appoint a young Memphis attorney, E. William Henry, to the Commission. Though little is known of Henry's qualifications or leanings, I am confident that he will be attuned to the visions of Chairman Minow—visions in which many of us have profound faith.

I pray that this is the case, that in this appointment we will not be adding the broadcasting industry to the sorry list of special interests that have successfully induced this Congress to thwart the public interest.

Mr. President, we have thus far witnessed the administration achieve passage of barely 10 percent of its legislative program, while the powerful lobbies amass a near perfect legislative record—blocking bills which they view as a threat to their monopolies or profits, or slipping through the Congress their favorite legislation.

A.T. & T. has won its satellite corporation; the sugar lobbies, their bizarre quotas. The AMA has won freedom from health care for the aged. The lumber interests have mutilated the wilderness bill. The savings and loan companies have voided the withholding tax on interest and dividend income, while the farm bureau has frustrated the cause of sanity in farm programs. And, but for the ironically mixed blessing of thalidomide, the drug industry would have handily earned a place in this catalog.

In his article, Shayon observes that:

Station owners are high in Democratic Party councils, that Senators and Representatives own stock in stations.

He asks:

Does a powerful broadcasting lobby run Congress which in turn runs the FCC?

The question is as blunt as it is appropriate and I am hopeful that the answer will not further embarrass the Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, "Appointment in Suspense," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APPOINTMENT IN SUSPENSE
(By Robert Lewis Shayton)

This is the time of the year when the job of observing that curious planet broadcasting generally offers the least satisfaction. The reruns spread over the television firmament like nebulae; the streaks that signal the approaching meteorites of the fall suggest a season quite like the past one; and the FCC is on vacation.

The drama is there nevertheless—but offstage. Commissioner John S. Cross, one of the seven members of the FCC, remains in office temporarily, even though his appointment has expired; and there is considerable suspense over the man President Kennedy will name to succeed him. Three names have been rumored prominently, and all are liberal Democrats: Kenneth Cox, present Chief of the FCC Broadcast Bureau; Penn T. Kimball of the Columbia University School of Journalism; and William F. Hyland, chairman of the New Jersey Public Utilities Commission. The presumption is that they would be "Minow men" who would support the FCC Chairman's regulatory philosophy, which is aimed at improving the general tone of television and radio.

Mr. Cross is the first Commissioner to have stayed on past the expiration of his appointment. The delay is significant, for there has been in recent months (perhaps it still goes on) considerable political jockeying in Washington over who will get the job. Another Commissioner who would vote with Minow is a prospect the industry does not like; and the industry has strong connections with Congress and the White House.

In "TV in America, the Morality of Hard Cash" (a recent Ballantine paperback), Meyer Weinberg, the author, asserts that "a powerful lobby in Congress prevents the FCC from applying any controls more severe than the broadcasters themselves are willing to accept." Mr. Weinberg teaches U.S. economic history at Wright Junior College in Chicago. His book is a well-documented, familiar indictment of broadcasting's institutional shortcomings, from the notorious quiz show scandals to the stupefying mediocrity of programing."

His chapter on Chairman Minow is entitled, "Thunder Without Rain," and its contention is that Minow's regulatory claws have been clipped by an administration eager to appease business. The author says that station owners are high in Democratic Party councils, that Senators and Representatives own stock in stations, that the late Sam Rayburn, when Speaker of the House, doomed the President's plan No. 2 for the reorganization of the regulatory agencies.

However, a recent issue of Broadcasting, the industry weekly, presents a contradictory view of the FCC's current behavior. The magazine prints a boxscore of the Commission's performance during the past year, and the compiler is impressed with the agency's "toughness." The FCC has revoked the licenses of four radio stations; scores of renewal and revocation hearings are underway; stations applying for renewal of their licenses are having their applications rigorously examined and questioned; and other tough rulemaking proposals are in the talking stage. One week, the magazine's editorial page, which represents the views of station owners, is badly scared; the next, it is bravely whistling, "Minow too shall pass; Congress is on our side."

The fact is that the Commission has gotten tough. It was beginning to harden shortly before the new chairman took office, and "the death penalty [for stations] has been invoked more times in the past year than in the preceding 30 years." But the toughness, though it has nuisance value, hasn't touched the main nerve centers of the industry; it has skirted such substantive issues as network regulation, station clearance of network public affairs programs, option-time arrangements, the magazine concept, and license fees.

To reach these key spots in the industry's pathology, the FCC Chairman needs a majority of the Commission, which he has not had. This is why the wait for the President's appointment of the new Commissioner is a suspenseful one. If the appointment goes, as rumored, to a Minow supporter, the Chairman's hope for action on the more vital matters will be encouraged. If still another Minow man gets the appointment which will be made in 1963, when Commissioner T. A. M. Craven's term expires, the Chairman may actually have a majority for some of his proposals for fundamental changes in the industry. Until then, action at the FCC picks off the extreme offenders on counts of obscenity, misrepresentation, and lack of candor, but moves, in general, on slow, complex, procedural fronts. That old, vast wasteland of program balance has yet to be touched.

Does a powerful broadcasting lobby run Congress which in turn runs the FCC, as has often been asserted in the past? The appointments will give us some clues. If the President really means to back his FCC Chairman, he can hardly avoid giving him another vote this year and still another the next. In any case, the play of offstage forces between this summer and that of 1963, when Commissioner Craven's term expires, may be enough to sustain us through the television season that lies in between.

## Moral Landscape in Need of Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER**
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Moral Landscape in Need of Change," which appeared in the August 26 issue of the Park City Daily News, Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

MORAL LANDSCAPE IN NEED OF CHANGE

Any American who moves across this land today from region to region and city to city cannot help but be immensely impressed by the countless signs of advancing change.

Dozens of airports seem as new as fresh paint. New houses sprout in vast numbers, shopping centers crop up to serve them, great highways slash through the countryside and urban zones. In city centers, dazzling modern office structures and apartments rise in pace with this outer growth.

It is not all clear gain. Landmarks that should be cherished go down before thoughtless promoters. Countryside that should be preserved succumbs to the bulldozer. Growth in some places is marked less by order than by clutter.

Nevertheless, there is much that is solid and good in this headlong advance. We have a right to be proud of the science and the industry that makes it possible. We should be thankful for the material resources that give us the wherewithal.

Quite a few students of modern American life question, however, whether the net benefit of all this to the individual human being in 1962 is as great as it should be.

One can prove easily enough that educational levels are remarkably higher than a few decades ago, that we have far more skilled workers and technicians than ever, that personal incomes are higher, material living standards likewise.

The missing element appears to be spiritual and moral.

Very convincing arguments can be made that man today, in this country and elsewhere, is probably no less moral on balance than in past times. But his greater numbers make the weight and impact of his transgressions more damaging.

It is hardly persuasive, in these circumstances, to hear that things are about as always. The question is whether we can tolerate the standard measure of moral laxity when it bulks so large in absolute terms.

The rising index of obvious crime is just part of the story. The sneak crimes of embezzlement, shoplifting, and varieties of fraud corrode the lives of millions who pass superficially as moral persons.

Respect for private property is in sharp decline. Trespass has become almost a way of life with many people, who seem to feel that what's theirs is theirs and what's yours is also theirs.

The point: Our human resources are not in all ways keeping up with the tremendous progress that marks so much of mid-20th-century life.

We take for granted the necessity of constant, developing activity on the material fronts of science and industry. Why then must we assume that no progress can be made in morality?

We had better set about improving our moral fabric or we shall run the risk of being engulfed by our trespassers and marauders.

## The Lost Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of today, which is a very thoughtful one as dealing with the future of the Supreme Court.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LOST OPPORTUNITY

Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg is an able man. He has been successful as a practicing lawyer, public administrator, and skillful mediator. Anone who comes in contact with him is bound to be impressed by his intelligence and to feel that as Mr. Justice Goldberg he may prove himself a credit to the Supreme Court. A man's ardency as an advocate is no measure of his impartiality as a judge.

Nonetheless, his selection is a matter of regret. Not for himself, but because President Kennedy thereby once more missed an opportunity. This appointment is not going to lift the Supreme Court of the United States from the sad repute into which it has fallen.

The Supreme Court, of course, can never escape criticism. It doesn't deal with abstract ideas, however philosophically they may be argued at the bar, but with things that touch men's jobs, their businesses, their schools, and all their daily living. Its actions are thus always deeply involved in politics.

But of late the criticism of the Court has taken a different turn. It's no longer limited to groups angered at controversial decisions. It swells in the general press, in the journals of the bar associations and at every gathering where lawyers themselves discuss the problems of the law.

The lawyers' complaint now is simply that of incompetence. A 5-to-4 decision where each of the minority dissents for a different reason and where four of the five in the majority offer different legal arguments for the ruling in the case at hand, such decisions leave the law confused. And the confusion is compounded when the Court, in the space of a year, completely reverses itself.

The public's complaint is less precise but equally dangerous. People will accept an unpopular decision from a tribunal when they have confidence that the judges are men of principle, character, learning, and experience in the law. When that confidence is shattered—by whatever cause—the underpinning of the law is weakened and the country has been done an injury.

To state the matter bluntly, that confidence in the Supreme Court of the United States has been seriously eroded if it has not yet been shattered.

The erosion began with the Supreme Court packing plan of President Roosevelt. It has continued with a long series of appointments in which it was clearly evident to the public that the chief qualification of the man chosen was either that he was owed a political debt, or that his selection served a future political purpose, or that he was a crony of the President.

The exceptions have slowed the erosion, not halted it. Mr. Roosevelt made some confidence restoring appointments, most notably when he elevated Mr. Stone to be Chief Justice; so did President Eisenhower. Nor has the erosion been repaired by the fact that some appointments turned out better than expected. Whatever their subsequent records, Chief Justice Vinson and Chief Justice Warren owed their selection to their political not their legal abilities.

So now we come to President Kennedy and the two chances he has had to place men on our highest tribunal.

It is natural enough for a President to seek out men whose political thinking has some affinity with his own. The mere fact that he would choose a liberal is not necessarily a cause for criticism nor would it by itself do any injury to public trust in the Court. But there are men whose philosophies would suit the President but whose experience, learning, and standing in the law would still command respect from everyone.

Instead, for his two appointments, President Kennedy has chosen one lawyer whose most notable qualification in the public eye is that he was a famous football player who skyrocketed upward because the President like him. The other's public reputation was made in a political Cabinet post having nothing whatever to do with the law or the courts.

Both of these may turn out to be good judges. But the manner of their choosing is not going to increase the confidence of the people in he highest tribunal in the Federal judiciary or their respect for the decisions it hands down.

Imagine what a different effect would have been produced if President Kennedy had proceeded differently. Suppose he had taken time for long reflection, that he had carefully canvassed the field of eminent legal minds in State and Federal courts or among the great teachers of the law.

Then the man chosen might be someone hardly known to the general public, he might still be a man whose politics was the President's own, but everyone would have the feeling that the President of the United States had a great respect for its Supreme Court, that he had tried to choose not merely a good judge but the very best that he could find. You can be sure that not only would the stature of the Court rise in the public esteem but also that of the President himself.

As it is, we cannot help feeling sad that President Kennedy threw away that opportunity to do a service for his country.

## Survey of the Department of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, the distinguished British journal, the Economist, has made a complimentary appraisal of Attorney General Robert Kennedy and his administration of the Department of Justice.

In the edition of August 25 the Economist said:

The cause of justice, as Mr. Kennedy conceives it, is being prosecuted with zeal and skill which have brought him both enemies and respect.

I am among those who have great respect for the job Robert Kennedy is doing. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the article entitled "Mr. Attorney General" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Mr. Robert Kennedy, a younger brother of the President and at 36 the second youngest Attorney General of the United States in American history, detests fraud, hypocrisy, and abuses of power. Visiting a well-known law school, he was asked whether a lawyer should ever lie to a judge. Mr. Kennedy said in his cool, courteous Boston accent that he thought any 6-year-old must know the answer to that sort of moral problem. As Attorney General and head of the Department of Justice, it is his job to give the President legal advice but, as the President's brother and closest associate, he is also consulted on defense, foreign policy, and national security. He knows the President's mind and the President relies on him implicitly to report on any situation with complete honesty. His advice is not always followed but it is always wanted.

Mr. Kennedy took time off from being Attorney General last February to go round the world speaking for his brother, and in a book [1] published this week—the profits are to be used for scholarships at universities in Japan, Indonesia, and West Berlin—he describes the trip which he made with his wife. He told Japanese and Indonesian students

[1] "Just Friends and Brave Enemies," by Robert F. Kennedy. Harper & Row, New York, 211 pages. $3.95.

that it was time that they grew up, but he also admitted to Indonesians that Texas' war with Mexico in the last century was unjustified; this offended Texans, who also need to grow up. He claims to have helped to persuade the Indonesians to negotiate with the Dutch about New Guinea. He urged young Japanese to have the courage of their convictions and to be willing to stand up and be counted; he praised the bravery of the Japanese student who argued hotly with him, as well as that of the young Indonesian who faced arrest and punishment by throwing fruit peel in his face. When he left the Orient Mr. Kennedy was more convinced than ever that the United States will be only a poor preacher on democracy as long as American Negroes are prevented from voting by threats, intimidation, and legal trickery. Writing books seems to be second nature to Kennedys and other members of the New Frontier; Mr. Kennedy records his dismay that a Djakarta bookshop had "not one book by the President of the United States."

He was his brother's campaign manager in the 1960 presidential election and he has a fiercely loyal team spirit, so long as the team is on the side of the Kennedys. Tirelessly athletic and happily married, he works with coat off, tie loose, and sleeves rolled up, behind a huge desk in an enormous office in the Department of Justice's big building in Washington. He has boyish good looks yet is a shy and highly strung man, intense and absorbed, with a burning-glass' power of concentration. But his sense of humor, like the President's, is never far away and runs habitually to slight self-mockery. He says the reasons why he became Attorney General are that he worked hard and that his brother was President—but not in that order.

After attending the University of Virginia's Law School, Mr. Kennedy served as an assistant counsel on the notorious McCarthy committee but left it because he disliked its methods; later he became chief counsel for the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. It was there that he first caught the public eye. Under his dynamic leadership the Department of Justice has gone after corrupt trade union leaders and business monopolies. It has also scourged gamblers and peddlers of dope, exposed crooked policemen and judges, and pressed energetically for more civil rights for Negroes.

Mr. Robert Kennedy is the Roman Catholic grandson of an Irish immigrant. But it is in the spirit of New England puritanism that he conducts the affairs of the Department of Justice. He worries about the moral fiber of America. His creed is to reach out with stark, almost naive honesty to do the things which he feels need doing. The Department of Justice is an instrument of singular power. It can put the squeeze on almost anyone by its ability to investigate almost anything, including income tax returns. The Attorney General has his brother's ear and like the President himself is continuously on the prod. Gangsters and other public enemies are uneasily aware that little brother is watching them. One man once called him, with deep feeling, the blue-eyed monster. Under previous Democratic administrations, the Department of Justice suffered from mediocre management by political hacks. President Eisenhower's men were capable but he did not back them up with any conspicuous enthusiasm. With the President's full support Mr. Kennedy chose a team of brilliant deputies, one of whom has already gone to the Supreme Court.

The cause of justice, as Mr. Kennedy conceives it, is being prosecuted with zeal and skill which have brought him both enemies and respect. Most of those who criticized the President for giving the job to his brother admit now that the Attorney General has done well. But although he appears as a dedicated man, people still ask what he is dedicated to other than President Kennedy. He himself says that businessmen ought to look on him as their friend, because he is on the side of the shrimps against the sharks, but some of them suspect that he regards big business as a form of organized crime. The swiftness with which he moved to investigate the steel industry this spring, dispatching his agents to knock up newspapermen at 3 o'clock in the morning, did nothing to reassure them.

Modestly he calls himself "an amateur in diplomacy" but there has been talk of him becoming Secretary of State and of him trying to become President in 1968 if his brother serves the two terms which are all that the law allows. But he is reported to be too shrewd to think that a Kennedy can succeed a Kennedy and to have said that "by then, they will be sick of us." Mr. Kennedy gives eight-tenths of his furious energies to his present job, in spite of the time he spends at meetings of the National Security Council, and at present it is by his undoubted success as Mr. Attorney General that he wishes to be judged.

## Flame, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the Knights of Columbus are undertaking a noble cause, which recently was described and strongly endorsed editorially by the Woburn Daily Times, an outstand newspaper in my Fifth District of Massachusetts:

FLAME, INC.

Richard Cardinal Cushing asked the delegates to the 80th convention of the Knights of Columbus, Tuesday evening, to establish a loan fund of $1 million.

The fund is to be named Flame, Inc., and stands for Friendship Loans to Latin American Endeavors, Inc.

What the cardinal has in mind is this: church officials in South America are trying to build schools—there are 70 million youngsters without school building facilities—to build churches, community centers, hospitals, and numerous other community institutions we in the Unted States take for granted.

The big obstacle is Latin American interest rates on loans. None of the bishops have the cash to build. But with long-term loans and reasonable interest rates they could accomplish far more than they are doing now.

The interest rates in South America range from 12 to 40 percent prohibitive in their exorbitance, the road block to progress.

Flame, Inc., would be a loan fund permitting Latin bishops to borrow up to $25,000 at 4 or 5 percent.

Two things strike us in the cardinal's appeal:

The admittedly outstanding opponent to communism all over the world is the Catholic church. One way to prevent the tide of Marxism from inundating the entire southern hemisphere is for men like the cardinal to promote church projects.

The second observation is: our Government is in no position to help the Catholic church in South America, even though it sees it as the great weapon against atheistic communism in that area.

So, the cardinal is doing what the Government can't do. He is devising a method for South American churchmen to help themselves, retain their dignity and independence from us by paying back loans at reasonable rates of interest, organizing private sources to do what no one could ask the Government to do.

Friday is the cardinal's 67th birthday. We wish him well on that day as we express our amazement at his energy.

And, we add, should the Knights of Columbus for one reason or another find it impossible to subsidize his plan, he should turn to the people of New England and ask their help.

What would we give now to save Cuba?

We can give that much to save South America from communism.

## "Snafu" in Angola

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the August 28, 1962, issue of the Dallas Morning News has printed some very pungent and important editorial comments on the subject of aid by the Central Congolese Government to rebels in Angola. The editorial, entitled " 'Snafu' in Angola," is meritorious of attention by the Members of the Senate.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SNAFU IN ANGOLA

Last week the New York Times ran an extraordinary story on its front page concerning the extracurricular activities of the Central Congolese Government. According to the report, it is now clear that the Central Government of the Congo—which has the unqualified support of both the United States and the United Nations—is in turn giving its unqualified support to a band of Communist-led rebels who are preparing a military invasion of the neighboring Portuguese territory of Angola.

The Central Congolese Government has just donated a military training camp to the Angola nationalists who, for 17 months, have been waging a guerrilla campaign of terror in the northern portion of Angola. The camp is located near Thysville, about 100 miles north of the Angola border in Congo territory.

According to the report on which the New York Times story was based—a report issued by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola and corroborated by the Central Congolese Government of Premiere Cyrille Adoula—the camp is already training several hundred recruits and will be able to accommodate 700 within a few weeks.

Let's forget for a moment the nature of the rebellion—whether it is left, right or center, pro-Communist or anti-Communist, justified or unjustified. Irrespective of the coloring, it is a rebellion and its purpose is to wage war until either the Portuguese are driven out of Angola or the last rebellious soldier of the National Front is defeated.

Now let us remember what has been said by spokesmen for the State Department and

the United Nations to justify their support of the Central Government of the Congo, which is now aiding and abetting this war.

If memory serves, the biggest argument for support of the Central Government has been the one about maintaining the peace. Even when U.N. troops were engaged in battle, it was all supposed to be part of the big peace mission in the Congo.

That was hard enough to swallow. But even the biggest throated U.N. apologist ought to find it almost impossible to down this latest act by the "peace loving" Central Congolese Government. Mr. Adoula's government for some time now has been giving its moral support to the Angolo rebels. It has also turned its head the other way when the rebels used Congolese territory to supply and support the invasion of Angola.

But Mr. Adoula's latest act—the willful donation of a military training camp—goes beyond these passive measures of support for the invasion.

And yet, we have seen nothing indicating that the United States or the United Nations is preparing to withdraw its support of the Central Congolese Government.

Now, back to the nature of the rebellion.

It all started about 8 years ago. Not until March of 1961, however, was much notice paid to it. At that time, the rebels launched a bloody campaign of slaughter in northern Angola—killing men, women, and children, Portuguese and Angolans, white and black alike.

The rebels have been receiving most of their support from the pro-Communist regimes in Ghana and Guinea. Russian and Czech officers have conducted most of the training of cadres. Weapons, other than those captured from the Portuguese, have come primarily from Czechoslovakia.

Considerable support has also come from Tunisia and Algeria. In fact, the latest announcement stated that the Congolese training camp would be supervised by 24 Angolans trained in Tunisia by the Algerian nationalist army, the FLN.

(An interesting note in the Times' story mentioned that an important part of the training would be for the use of plastic bombs. We heard a lot about French terrorists using the "plastiques," but this is one of the few times it has been admitted that the FLN used them. Probably when the Angola rebels start to use these bombs, it will be blamed on the Portuguese.)

All of this gives a clue to the nature of the rebellion: If Communists are so eagerly supporting it, what can we expect out of Angola if and when the rebels succeed? And with active support from the Central Government of the Congo, we now have further reason to question the motives of that Government.

Finally, if the U.N. continues to apologize for the Congolese actions, can we not at least begin to question the wisdom of the U.N.'s role in Africa, and the unqualified support it has received from the United States?

## Local Transport Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY**
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, the local service airlines constitute a very important and essential part of our national air transport system. The basic function of these carriers is to serve the smaller communities of the United States and afford a link with the larger airports served by the trunkline carriers. Essentially, they offer short-haul or feeder services. A number of these airlines are located in Alaska which depends for its transportation needs more on aviation than any other area of the United States.

The Association of Local Transport Airlines, under the direction of Gen. Joseph P. Adams, an aviation expert of wide reputation, has been cooperating with the Civil Aeronautics Board in an effort to formulate improvements in service to the traveling public as well as the achievement of a gradual, but substantial, reduction in the subsidy which Congress appropriates each year for the maintenance of their needed services. This is a type of industry-government cooperation which is commendable and, which, in my opinion, should be encouraged.

This year the Association of Local Transport Airlines conducted its principal meeting on August 23 to 25 in Anchorage, Alaska, and it was attended, not only by representatives of the local service airlines, but also by a number of the government officials of the State of Alaska including our former colleague in the House, Senator E. L. "BOB" BARTLETT. The Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Robert T. Murphy, addressed the Association of Local Transport Airlines members on Friday evening, August 24. Mr. Murphy's speech is a thought-provoking review of some of the Board's policies designed to strengthen and improve the local service industry and, at the same time, to effect a reduction in subsidy requirements in keeping with the transportation message of President Kennedy as well as the views of the members of the House Appropriations Committee. As a fellow Rhode Islander, I know that Mr. Murphy has devoted particular atention to the encouragement and development of local carrier service, not only in New England, but also on a national level.

I would like to submit Mr. Murphy's address for insertion in the Appendix of the RECORD.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT T. MURPHY, VICE CHAIRMAN, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, BEFORE THE SUMMER QUARTERLY REGIONAL MEETING, ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL TRANSPORT AIRLINES, ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, AUGUST 24, 1962

It is, indeed, an honor and a privilege to have the occasion once again to participate in a quarterly meeting of this association. I am particularly gratified to have the opportunity of visiting for the first time the home State of my dear friend, Senator BOB BARTLETT. As a member of the Senate Aviation Subcommittee, he not only encouraged my interest in aviation, but also helped to formulate some of the principles and policies of air transportation law which I am now endeavoring to implement as a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board. I am, indeed, proud of my former association with Senator BARTLETT just as all Alaska is proud of his impressive record of public service in Washington.

Additionally, the convocation of your association in Alaska affords me a very valuable invitation to visit at large and familiarize myself with some of the unique types of air transportation operations which are indigenous to Alaska and which require review by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Some of you may recall that when I spoke to you last year in Asheville I used Association of Local Transport Airlines' four-point program as the outline for my discussion. This time, I thought it might be appropriate to consider what actions have been taken during this past year in furtherance of some points in that program.

Your first point is active support of the Board's "use it or lose it" policy. An understandable fear has been expressed by some that this policy of continuing review of the public convenience and necessity for local service would degenerate into a mere mechanical approach to issues of great import to many communities. However, our decisions in the last year indicate that the traffic standards established in the Seven States case, that is, an average of five originations at each station and an average of seven passengers aboard each leg of a flight, have not, in fact, been applied mechanically. The traffic standards, as you know, were adopted in order to state in simple and understandable terms a general measure of the public convenience and necessity for a valuable, but expensive, service. Their application has been tempered, in appropriate cases, when requirements of the national defense, an improving trend in passenger growth, lack of alternative transport service, or an inadequate trial period and similar factors were present. I need not tell you that this is an extremely difficult area of decisionmaking. It illustrates a lesson which I learned long ago that it is much easier to formulate general policies than to apply them to specific cases with wisdom, prudence, and justice.

An increasing number of "use it or lose it" cases are now coming on for hearing; and with the rapid development of the interstate highway program and the emphasis being given to the regional airport concept, the Board and the carriers will be faced with a growing number of such cases. President Kennedy's very learned message to Congress on the general subject of transportation will provide us with valuable guidelines in addressing ourselves to these problems. I believe that it is necessary and consistent with the sound philosophy of the President's transportation message for us to consider the most recent information available with respect to airport planning and development—a function of the FAA—and the road improvement program administered by the Bureau of Public Roads, in judging and deciding these cases.

Common experience tells us that the air traveler regards his journey as a totality; that is, from point of departure from home or the office to ultimate destination, the resort hotel or downtown business office perhaps hundreds of miles away. We at the Board are giving increased attention to the concept of the entire journey in considering what is the best possible means of transporting the existing and potential flow of traffic for such journey without excessive or unjustifiable costs to the taxpayer. In some instances this may mean discontinuation of air service at the closest airport in reliance upon the availability of convenient and expeditious surface transportation to a nearby airport where greater frequency and variety of air service offers advantages to the traveling public, to the industry which serves it and to the Federal and local treasuries which support it. This approach is consistent with the goal of the President's transportation message to eliminate excessive and unjustifiable costs either for common carrier airports or for airline subsidies, and with his objective of achieving an efficient, integrated transportation system.

In considering the regional airport concept it is essential to have valid information

as to the means by which travelers arrive at airports. It would appear from present indications that most people move to and from the airport in private cars without particular regard to the availability of public ground transportation. It would seem, therefore, that with a good road system, a few additional miles to a regional airport—comparatively speaking—may have little effect upon a passenger's willingness to move in air transportation. I am advised that parties to the area airport cases now in process have been asked to develop information on this issue, and I assume that it will constitute an important part of the record in all of these proceedings.

The area airport concept is seemingly simple and attractive in principle. However, applying the concept to a particular factual situation will require the weighing and evaluating of many important considerations. As you are aware, the Board has instituted a regional airport investigation in the New England area and also in the State of Wisconsin. Similar proceedings can be expected elsewhere. These cases will be decided only after the development of a full record reflecting the thinking of all parties who will be affected. There will be no snap judgments, I assure you.

The second point in Association of Local Transport Airlines' four-point program concerns the transfer of trunkline points to local service carriers. Such action has been taken in connection with American's authority at Springfield and Peoria, Ill., and Roanoke, Va. The question of TWA's authority to serve Reading and Williamsport, Pa., and Elmira and Binghamton, N.Y., Braniff's service at Chattanooga, Eastern's service at New Haven, American's service at Akron and Midland/Odessa, are all presently in process. As you may have noted from my concurring statement in the American-Ozark Springfield, Peoria case, this is a subject of particular interest to me. I am frank to tell you that I intend to examine each of these proposals with great care, bearing in mind that the basic interest to be served by such transfers must be the overall public interest and not the narrow corporate interest of either the trunk or local service carrier industry. With mounting subsidy of current concern to the President, the Congress and the CAB alike, prudence is required before existing nonsubsidized long-haul service is supplanted by subsidized short-haul service.

Your third point, access to profitable dense short-haul markets, is rather difficult to discuss in the abstract.

This leads me to your fourth point concerning elimination of local service carrier operating restrictions. Substantial relaxations of certificate restrictions were authorized in the Pacific Southwest and Piedmont area cases. We have noted a significant decrease in the number of exemption and change in service pattern requests in recent months which, I believe, is the direct result of the relaxation of certificate restrictions in the local service area cases. Perhaps the most significant recent step was the inclusion in the west coast "use it or lose it" case of the issue of revising that carrier's entire certificate with a view to consolidating segments and simplifying the restrictions with the net result of affording the carrier increased operating flexibility without the necessity of recourse to the board. I think this is a very desirable technique and presume the same consideration will be afforded each carrier at an appropriate occasion.

One of the primary matters I discussed last summer was the need for improvement in local service carrier load factors and although there are some spotty improvements, this is an area which continues to require priority attention. I should note that the Board is pleased with the establishment of the joint industry-CAB committee on review of the 1960 class rate and the President's request for programs for subsidy reduction, both of which will presumably consider the load factor problem. I am hopeful that desirable results can be achieved from these joint efforts.

Let me mention a point of great interest, at least to me as one member of the Board—the plan of subsidized carriers to acquire new equipment. It is quite obvious that the next step, as well as some recent steps, in upgrading equipment by subsidized carriers will be expensive ones. We cannot afford to ignore the recent lesson in the history of trunkline reequipment in this regard. This step will lead, not only to the expansion of the rate base, but also to increases in financing charges and, accordingly, could cause the subsidy payments to increase markedly. Classic arguments of the greater efficiency of more modern aircraft must be most closely evaluated. The efficiency of new aircraft is often stated in terms of lower seat-mile cost per available seat. However, we all know that the direct operating costs of a flight with larger and more modern equipment is more expensive than the operation of the same flight with a DC–3. Such greater cost, when spread over the increase in available seats, can result in a lower seat-mile cost figure; but seat-mile costs really are not the test. The real test is whether or not the larger aircraft will be operated over the carrier's system at a break-even load factor. It is perfectly obvious that many subsidized carrier segments will never justify service with such larger and more expensive equipment.

Let us not forget that the basic function of the local service airline is to offer short-haul or feeder service. The selection of new equipment should be based upon what is best suited to fulfill that primary function. Your problem might be minimized if we had available right now a true successor to the DC–3. As aviation's great champion, Senator MIKE MONRONEY, has so frequently observed in recent months, this is one of our pressing needs. Your low-cost plane design committee, activated at your regional meeting this spring, can do much toward making real progress in achieving this highly desirable objective. In the meantime, however, there is understandable doubt in my mind that a 65-passenger, high-speed jet aircraft is the true replacement for the DC–3 workhorse of local and feeder service.

I have been reviewing matters of perhaps primary interest to the local service carriers which operate in the lower 48. I could not, in good grace, accept an invitation to speak in our largest and newest State without commending those carriers which have for so long played such a vital role in the economy of Alaska, namely, the intra-Alaska carriers. I can think of no other area in the world where general economic development and progress have been so directly the result of air services as is the case in Alaska. Alaskan air transport began with the operation of the small fabric-covered planes operated by men of great daring and fortitude. They were men whose exploits made them legends in their own time and we are fortunate to have a number of them with us today. I have had the pleasure of meeting some of these Alaskan pioneers in Washington. I am fortunate now to associate with them on their native soil. I am looking forward to spending the next few days in seeing for myself the very areas where they have established reliable air service against considerable adversity.

I suspect we are in an important transitional period insofar as the intra-Alaskan air transport picture is concerned. Following statehood, the Board's jurisdiction over solely intra-Alaskan service continues because of the authorizations to carry the mail. We no longer have exclusive regulatory authority. We have been and will continue to work closely with the Alaska Public Service Commission in a mutual effort that air service required by the public interest continue in our newest State.

While I have much to learn concerning Alaskan air transport problems and achievements, there is one aspect of it on which I wish to comment briefly. Here, in this truly magnificent area, once belonging to a great country which has since been subverted to the yoke of communism, we have woven a pattern of the competitive free enterprise system operating at its best. I refer to the intra-Alaska air transport industry. Beginning years ago with numerous individual entrepreneurs whose operations gradually expanded and were consolidated, we now have nine licensees providing transport services to the citizens of Alaska on a free and private ownership basis. The National Government has subsidized these operations, not only in the interest of our national commerce and postal requirements, but also in the interest of our national defense. We have had cooperation in our efforts to reduce and eventually eliminate that subsidy and, already, one of your carriers has furnished its service without subsidy for several years. It is commendable, I believe, that air transportation in this State so vitally affected by considerations of our national defense has developed and flourished under the aegis of private enterprise rather than Government ownership as is the case with the Alaska Railroad. The necessity for nationalization of air transportation has never been demonstrated here for the reason that the Alaska air carriers have conducted their operations with a high sense of public service and adventurous enterprise. As separate entities, managed by individuals of differing views—rugged, independent views—we have had the advantage of separate judgments in determining how best to develop an essential and economic service in a geographic area of great importance to our country.

In this day and age when the supermarket has become some sort of a shrine to modernism and the individual entrepreneur a disappearing vestige of America's past—with the homage paid to the large institutionalized corporation producing the organization man in his gray flannel suit—it is refreshing to find the continuing existence and influence of the individual pioneers in air transportation on this last frontier of America. May their tribe increase.

## Civil Defense Workers Need Support and Encouragement of the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN A. CARROLL

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, in respect to appropriations for civil defense expenditures, now being considered as part of the independent offices appropriations bill, I have received a very important letter from the director of the Pueblo City-County Civil Defense Agency, Mr. Jack D. Craddock.

Mr. Craddock points out the contributions of time, energy, and devotion made by the citizens of our cities and towns in the efforts of civil defense.

Mr. Craddock very wisely notes that the Congress of the United States has not given this program the consideration and respect which it deserves. I com-

mend this letter to all Members of Congress and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUEBLO CITY-COUNTY
CIVIL DEFENSE AGENCY,
*Pueblo, Colo., August 9, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN CARROLL,
*U.S. Senator,*
*State of Colorado,*
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: Being relatively new to civil defense (appointed director of the Pueblo City-County Civil Defense Agency August 1, 1961), I am not entirely familiar with all of the problems of civil defense. I do feel, however, that I have a working knowledge of those problems faced at the local level and can pretty well trace these problems to the contradictions, disorganization and confusion associated with the top echelons of civil defense and now so very much in evidence in the present actions of the Members of both Houses over the request for civil defense funds, especially, those for the shelter-incentive program.

Last year the administration, with the blessing of Congress, asked local civil defense personnel and governing officials to undertake the job of developing community shelter capabilities. We undertook this task and found a high degree of sincere interest and cooperation from all persons directly concerned including the citizens at large. We informed people about the shelter program as proposed by the Government, we obtained permission to use the space, we had property owners sign the agreement with the Federal Government, and began preparing for the marking and supplying of the shelter areas. We did our job and we did it willingly.

Now we are forced to sit and watch a spectacle that is beyond comprehension. Many of the same people who insisted on the program, who directed us to start the ball rolling, now show a complete lack of interest or fail to see any need for continuing the community shelter program. In short, the same old contradictions that have killed local civil defense in the past will no doubt be forthcoming again.

The unfortunate part of this situation is that, after a brief flurry of comment via the wire services, the matter will be dropped and considered a closed issue, but at the local level we face a public who has seen another example of the "civil defense boondoggle" (terminology used by certain Senators who, in fact, have contributed highly to this very situation) and the stigma slides neatly down from level to level until once again the local civil defense people are left holding the bag.

I do not intend to use this letter as an appeal to save the civil defense funds now pending before Congress. I would rather have it considered as an appeal to the Congress of the United States to either give civil defense the same consideration and respect as is demanded and due other branches of the Department of Defense, or let's quit kidding ourselves, the public and local government and do away with what once again is becoming known as "the civil defense mess."

Respectfully yours,

JACK D. CRADDOCK,
*Director, Pueblo City-County Civil Defense Agency.*

## Independence Day of Federation of Malaya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the Paramount Ruler of the Federation of Malaya, Tuanku Syed Putra Ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, Yang di-Pertuan Agong; and His Excellency, the Malayan Ambassador to the United States, Hussain Mohamed Osman, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Malayan independence.

MALAYAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Today I wish to take these few moments to offer my best wishes to the people of the Federation of Malaya on the occasion of this anniversary of their independence.

The bitterest part of Malaya's independence struggle was not against the United Kingdom, but was rather directed at Communist guerrilla elements who attempted to subvert that independence before it was won. Begun in 1948, this fierce campaign of terror cost millions of dollars, brought thousands of casualties, and delayed Malayan independence for several years. Finally the rebels were defeated; and as a result of agreements with the British in 1956 and 1957, the Federation of Malaya reached full independence within the Commonwealth of Nations on August 31, 1957.

The newest nation in the Far East, Malaya's economy is one of the most dynamic in the entire region. While the Federation is still in the early stages of industrial development, it is making rapid strides toward improving the lot of its people. Health conditions are making impressive advancements, and the level of literacy, already above 51 percent, is being raised by a large-scale education program.

Some two-thirds of the cultivated area of the country is devoted to rubber, which, as the chief employer of labor and the main source of public revenue and foreign exchange, is the backbone of the economy. Another very important export item is tin. To a large extent it can be said that the Malayan economy is dependent on the world demand and prices for these two commodities. Quite naturally, diversification ranks high among the goals of Malaya's economic planning. Other objectives of the Government's agricultural policy are improving cultivation techniques, encouraging the production of various secondary crops, and expanding research and agricultural education. The Government also aims at diversifying its industry. For example, it provides a tax holiday of up to 5 years for local or foreign firms in pioneer industries. The general guidelines of Malaya's current economic development are set forward in the second 5-year plan, 1961–65. This plan follows the 1956–60 one under which considerable strides were made. It is my sincere hope that Malaya will continue to reap the harvest of the foresight it has thus far shown in setting forth along the road to economic prosperity.

Malaya is not only forward-looking in its domestic affairs, but has also shown great imagination on the international level. It is a prime mover of the Association of Southeast Asia, which seeks to build greater inter-regional cooperation between the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaya. Perhaps even more dramatic than this scheme is a program initiated by Tengku Abdul Rahman to integrate Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo into a mighty Malaysia. This plan, which it is hoped will be implemented by the summer of 1963, not only offers greater viability in the ethnic distribution of the Chinese and Malays living in the various territories, but also promises widespread economic advantages for all. I speak for many Americans in saying that I cheer this new initiative, and wish the Malaysia project every success.

It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman and to the people of Malaya on this fifth anniversary of the independence of the Federation of Malaya.

## Milwaukee Sentinel Protests Wisconsin Shortchanged on Defense Research and Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Milwaukee Sentinel has shown in an excellent editorial how seriously our State of Wisconsin misses out on the Defense Department's prime research and development contracts.

The Sentinel does not settle for merely deploring the said fact that our State only receives one-third of its proportionate share. The Milwaukee Sentinal calls on Wisconsin to build the research-educational-industrial complex that our great industry, scientific, and university capacity will permit.

Mr. President, the Federal Government can and should play a major part in building this complex. From the standpoint of national security, growth

and diversification, this complex will greatly serve the public interest. I intend to do all I can to achieve that.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Sentinel entitled "Shortchanged," may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHORTCHANGED

Wisconsin has about 3 percent of the Nation's manufacturing output, but it has been getting only 1 percent of the Defense Department's prime contracts for research and development.

Such contracts last year amounted to $6 billion. If Wisconsin's share of those contracts had been commensurate with its share of the Nation's industry, it would have meant an additional $120 million in contracts for our State.

This situation is what our industrialists, educators, civic leaders, and Government officials are worried about.

The educators are deeply concerned because the majority of Wisconsin students graduating with a Ph. D. in engineering and other advanced sciences must find employment in the big research centers outside the State. Wisconsin has few jobs to offer them.

This is a two-dimensional economic waste—we bear the cost of educating these young men and women, then other States get the contracts which might have come to us if we had been able to keep our Ph. D.'s at home.

The vast bulk of the defense research and development contracts goes to those communities with large research-educational-industrial complexes, chiefly in New England and California.

There is no reason why we should not make a start on building such a complex here, possibly in Madison, or perhaps preferably in Milwaukee. We have the industries; we have the engineering and scientific schools; we have a tradition of fine skills.

What we have lacked, perhaps, is a coordination of effort among all those concerned. The last few days have brought hopeful signs that such coordination may be achieved in the future. We have a long way to go, but it's better to start late than never.

## Exercise Riptide III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Anthony Harrigan, the associate editor of the News and Courier, of Charleston, S.C., recently observed naval maneuvers off Portugal in Exercise Riptide III. Mr. Harrigan, noted as a very capable and sound writer, has completed a series of articles on Exercise Riptide III in the News and Courier. His second and third articles, entitled "NATO Needs Nuclear Arms" and "A United Defense," are particularly thought provoking, and, as such, should be of interest to the Members of this body.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Aug. 22, 1962]

EXERCISE RIPTIDE III: NATO NEEDS NUCLEAR ARMS

(By Anthony Harrigan)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second in a series of articles on naval maneuvers off Portugal.)

WITH THE NATO STRIKING FLEET.—At the heart of this 40-ship formation steaming toward the coast of Portugal is the French antisubmarine aircraft carrier *Clemenceau*. The task of this carrier, under command of Vice Adm. Francis Laine, French Navy, is to afford protection against enemy undersea forces.

But there is a flaw in the basic situation. For the French Navy lacks the most effective weapon against Communist submarines: atomic depth charges. If this were a real war situation, and enemy submarines were operating against the NATO striking fleet, the French ASW boss would have to call on the American naval commander to order a nuclear depth charge attack on Russian nuclear submarines. But in such a war situation, the French could not be certain that the United States would be willing to initiate defensive action with a nuclear weapon. The U.S. Government might prefer to hold back on the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

Here, then, is the crux of the problem facing France, NATO, and the whole Western Alliance. Here is the source of concern felt to a high degree by President De Gaulle of France and also by German defense planners.

While the area of defense is Western Europe, the countries of Western Europe—England excepted—lack effective nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them. Thus, defense of continental Europe is conditioned upon the military thinking of the American administration in power at the moment.

It is the policy of the Kennedy administration to discourage development of an atomic capability by NATO countries of continental Europe. Yet the administration, at the same time, seeks the continuing and enlarged cooperation of the Western countries—but on the level of nonnuclear weapons.

It is in many ways unreasonable to expect Western continental countries to assume a defensive posture based on imposed limitation of their armaments. To engage in war planning in the 1960's solely on the basis of nonnuclear arms is like arming with bows and arrows in the age of gunpowder. Thus, if the French and Germans are discouraged about military cooperation on the basis approved by the present administration, it should not be a surprise.

Understanding at the Franco-German position is essential if the NATO alliance is to have validity. The continental countries need assurance that their military efforts are worthwhile in terms of financial sacrifices involved. Moreover, they must be confident that all their defense requirements are met by the NATO organization. This is an Atlantic alliance in the sense that it is made up of nations that are West oriented. But defense requirements of the NATO countries also include protection of Europe's southern flank. Keeping the sealanes open across the Atlantic is an essential task. Having the abilitiy to strike at Communist forces attacking from bases in central Europe also is essential. But this is not enough; Europe also must have defense from the southern approach. The NATO striking fleet must have war plans that include operations against attackers assaulting Iberia (Spain and Portugal). NATO's military planning must take into account the possible need of strikes at Communist bases in north Africa from which an attack against Europe could be mounted.

Unknown at present is the Kennedy administration's attitude toward strikes against Communist bases in north Africa in the event of an attack on Iberia from that area. Would the Kennedy administration be willing to use conventional weapons—any force at all—against pro-Communist north African forces of "volunteers" attacking Iberia? Or would the administration regard such an attack as it regarded the Indonesian attack on west New Guinea, controlled by another NATO ally, the Netherlands? If the attack were of a major nature, and danger of losing Iberia became critical, would the administration then authorize the use of tactical nuclear weapons? Would nuclear depth charges be used to prevent landing of guerillas in Iberia from Communist submarines?

These questions concern the continental countries far more than they concern the American people. Yet success of NATO hinges on frank discussion in the United States of these issues that are of vital interest to Europeans now outflanked by the rise of pro-Communist Algeria.

The big question is whether the (Western NATO allies) are to share U.S. nuclear weaponry or whether they are to develop a limited number of nuclear weapons on their own. If they are not allowed to share with the United States, are discouraged from developing their own atomic arms, danger exists that neutralist sentiment may grow. It may grow out of the feeling of European nations that they are being treated as less than allies, that their strategic interests are not being fully protected under the present policy of the administration.

It is this danger that should lead the United States toward consideration fuller sharing of weaponry with allies. The only justification for NATO from the U.S. viewpoint, is that America's survival depends on the survival of other Western countries. To fail to give these allies confidence could be a disastrous mistake for the United States.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Aug. 23, 1962]

EXERCISE RIPTIDE III: A UNITED DEFENSE

(By Anthony Harrigan)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third in a series of articles on naval maneuvers off Portugal.)

WITH THE NATO STRIKING FLEET.—"Europe's main reason for Atlantic unity is a military one."

That's the view of a Netherlands parliamentarian, and it's realistic. But Western Europe is a long way from making an all-out military effort, especially in naval defense. Several countries have the capability of augmenting NATO sea forces. In concert, these countries have a military capacity equal to their economic capacity.

But impediments to full development of Western Europe's military potential are many. The Kennedy administration's nuclear policy is a blocking factor, but it isn't the only one. Old European divisions and reluctance to sacrifice for security are part of the overall cause.

France has one carrier and three destroyers in Exercise Riptide III. The fleet commander reports excellent cooperation from the French. Yet France is still one of the world's leading naval powers. Why France isn't more heavily represented is a key question.

But France has had grave internal troubles. Maybe the French Government felt that it might be necessary to run warships to Algeria to evacuate French citizens from a country controlled by the Ben Bella polit-

bureau. Whatever the reason, good or bad, the French impact in the Atlantic is not particularly strong at this time.

While there is plenty of talk about need for West Germany to assume a larger share of the economic burden in defense of Europe, no one talks about the equal need for West German seapower.

The German Navy has come back fast—much faster than the American public realizes. She has acquired six U.S. destroyers in recent years. She is building 12 new destroyers on her own designs. Her new fast frigate *Emden* is one of the most advanced small warships in the world, driven by an experimental combination of diesels and gas turbines.

The smaller countries of Western Europe are not without valuable warships. Portugal has a first-class antisubmarine frigate built a few years ago in Italy. The Netherlands has an excellent aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers and 12 first-class destroyers. Belgium has a large number of minesweepers. Denmark has two new frigates. Other countries have vessels to contribute.

If some of these ships lack modern missiles, that's not a lag impossible to overcome. France sells missiles overseas to South Africa. Sweden also manufactures missiles for sale. There's no question about German know-how. Three German scientists recently designed missiles for Egypt.

Two key NATO countries are France and Germany. Together, they have the scientific and industrial skills to produce all the armaments needed in the 1960's. France has exploded nuclear devices. The Germans have keyed their thinking to nuclear war conditions, though they lack tactical atomic weapons at the present.

Clearly, there must be a German presence in the Atlantic in the years ahead. As one of the great trading nations of the world, Germany has markets in South America, Africa, and in the Near East. To the extent that Germany fails to make a bigger contribution at sea, Germany is depending on the United States and the United Kingdom. Nor is it proper that Germany's naval effort be confined to the Baltic and the North Sea. It is needed in the Atlantic as well. It is absurd for the most powerful anti-Communist nation in Europe to have a naval commitment on a par with a small power. The other side of the issue is that all restrictions should be removed from German naval construction.

If France and Germany have the skills and the means, Portugal and Spain occupy the strategic territories. And if Western Europe is a beachhead on the Eurasian continent, Iberia is the beachhead area of Europe. It is an arrow pointing at Africa and, at the same time, the zone of opportunity for Communist aggressors from the south. In addition, Spain and Portugal are the semideveloped countries of Europe—countries deficient in economic resources and politically most in danger of Communist subversive attack. Spain and Portugal are in need of NATO assistance in many ways. First of all, in the case of Spain, NATO membership is needed. To have the key strategic country of southern Europe outside of NATO is to leave a gap in the West's defenses.

Spain is a test case of Western thinking about NATO. Either there is an Atlantic community, or there is not; either Spain belongs in NATO and Portugal deserves full support, or the community is a myth. It makes no sense to defend part of the European perimeter and leave one part undefended or shabbily treated. Logic dictates a NATO Atlantic-Iberian command.

Western defense demands community and continuity. It calls for military alliance from Norway south to Spain; from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. The Communists are moving their power down the North African land bridge, with Iberia as the goal before striking at the heart of Europe beyond the Pyrenees. It must not come to pass that the road to Paris and Bonn is through Madrid and Lisbon. NATO military power, especially its seapower, provides the ideal deterrent and determinant—the floating barrier for Europe.

No part of Western Europe is expendable, certainly not strategic Portugal and Spain—the gateway to France. Nothing but a militarily united Europe can preserve a politically united Europe. This means full cooperation with Portugal and Spain to an extent not contemplated in recent years.

If the two countries of Iberia aren't against the other Western countries, then they are with us and deserve full support from the rest of the Atlantic community—economic, political, and military—three dimensional support.

## Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Borough Manasquan, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the permission to insert in the RECORD a statement about the Borough of Manasquan, N.J., which was prompted because it is about to celebrate the 75th anniversary of its incorporation. This statement was written by Miss Elizabeth A. McCraith, who is an active participant in the coming celebration and a fine citizen of the State of New Jersey:

The Borough of Manasquan, N.J., will celebrate the 75th birthday of its incorporation in October. To mark this diamond jubilee, a group of residents have compiled a comprehensive history of the area from its earliest beginnings in 1685 to the present date.

The story it tells is one of valor and courage, of hardy pioneers wresting a civilization out of the wilderness. Their hardihood and perseverance producing a progressive and prosperous community replacing forests and desolation. Thus the history of Manasquan is not unlike the history of America.

The Borough is on the Manasquan River, from which it takes its name. The word is of Indian derivation and is interpreted to mean "beautiful river."

The Manasquan Inlet marks the start of the inland waterway to Florida.

Today, Manasquan opens its doors to thousands of visitors each year who find the same beauty in the river and ocean that attracted settlers hundreds of years ago.

The Unamis branch of the Lenni Lenape Indians were the first inhabitants along the river. The first white men to glimpse our shores were Sir Hendryck Hudson and his crew, who passed in 1609. But it was not until later in the 17th century that settlers began to arrive.

The history book notes: "Gradually the uplands along the shore were settled. Those who settled in the vicinity of Manasquan came by way of the sea in ships. Landing in the river, they selected their homesites, cleared the land, built their homes in which they installed their families and, few and often scant, possessions.

"Bit by bit they cleared their land, made trails which became crude roads and in their habitations began to mingle in those social gatherings that have ever been the relaxation of those who live close to the soil and come to grips with nature.

"So began and grew the settlements along the placid Manasquan."

From these humble beginnings has emerged a thriving community, with 9 churches, 3 public schools, 25 miles of borough streets, and a flourishing year-round and resort business activity.

It is because of its geography and its historical background that Manasquan will ever retain its picturesque, indestructible characteristics.

## Lest We Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the July 28 issue of the Illustrated London News, published in London, an extremely interesting article appeared regarding the great contribution that the people of Poland made toward the ultimate destruction of Adolph Hitler.

This article was written by Mr. Arthur Bryant, and it is significant in that Mr. Bryant calls upon the people of England to show their appreciation of this great effort by the Poles by bringing some form of assistance to the Polish political immigrants who were not able to return after the war to their homeland, illegally seized by the Communists.

I call this article to the attention of my colleagues because various efforts here in Congress to give these great Polish heroes, who are now American citizens, some form of assistance when they are in need have met with little success.

There are two bills pending before Congress now which I am sure a grateful America would approve. One provides that former Polish Army soldiers who fought with the Allied troops and who now reside in the United States should be entitled to hospital care in our Veterans Administration hospitals on a "beds-available" basis. The other measure would pay these former victims of the war who are now American citizens a modest compensation from frozen assets now in the possession of our Government.

It is my hope that perhaps we Americans will better appreciate the great contribution these people have made in the war effort by reading the following article and understanding the attitude which is being displayed by our wartime ally, the British people:

In the spring of 1939, such trust as it had in German good faith and intentions utterly broken, and certain now that only the conviction that they would be opposed resolutely and to the death could deter the Nazi leaders from war, the British Government promised Poland that if it chose to resist any attempt by Germany against its independence or frontiers, Britain would at once go

to Poland's assistance. That undertaking proved the immediate casus belli of the greatest and most destructive war in history and the ultimate cause of Hitler's downfall and the preservation of Europe's liberty. It saved Russia by giving her a 2-years breathing space before the attack which Hitler had resolved, and long planned, to launch against her and it decided that, when that attack came, Russia's vulnerable southern flank would be guarded by the British Eastern Mediterranean Fleet and Air Forces and by the British and Commonwealth armies in the Middle East. There was no German attack from Asia Minor on the Caucasus and the vital, vulnerable Baku oilwells because Britain, armed at last after nearly 2 years of war and rearmament, stood in the way. For Hitler's reply—in the end a fatal one for him—to the British guarantee to Poland, was the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of August 1939. The pact spelt the certain destruction of Poland if it should decide to act on the British guarantee and, so Hitler supposed, the apparent defeat and fatuity of Britain's strategic resistance to Germany. But the price the would-be world conqueror had to pay for it was a reprieve for Russia. And though that reprieve was temporary, it was to prove fatal for him.

Poland chose to resist and, by resisting Hitler's atrocious designs, to be destroyed. Only a very great people would have done so under such circumstances, but the Poles, for all their political faults and failures, have proved again and again that they are a very great people. In the 17th century they saved European civilization; they did so again by this heroic sacrifice of theirs in the 20th century. For though nothing but instantaneous and annihilating defeat followed or could follow Poland's refusal to submit to Hitler's will by submitting and joining under duress, as Rumania and Hungary later joined, his eastward march against Russia—whom the Poles also feared and hated and had every cause to fear and hate—its consequences were as great as those that have followed any political act in history. It brought Britain and France into the field against Hitler at a time when Hitler had to be opposed by force of arms or be allowed to triumph over all mankind. And though within 10 months France had failed and the French Government had surrendered, the British refused to let go and in spite of all odds held grimly on, like a bulldog, at the conqueror's throat until in the fullness of time others entered the fight and made use of the respite that long, solitary bulldog grip had given them.

Yet without Poland's decision and sacrifice that bulldog grip would never have been applied at the decisive moment or, when it had been, would have been applied too late. The Poles, almost to a man, knew instinctively that Hitler must be resisted at whatever price to themselves. And we in Britain who pledged ourselves to stand by them and so gave them the hope and belief that the sacrifice that they then so heroically elected to make would not be in vain, owe them a debt of honor which we can only repay today by helping the little handful of expatriate representatives and survivors of that martyred generation now living in our midst who gave their all, not merely for the Poland they loved and which was past saving but for civilization and all that we call Christendom. The independence of Poland which, under the aegis of an all-devouring Stalin and a fatally trusting President Roosevelt, was shamefully repudiated by the victors of the crusade for human liberty in which she had been the first to take the cross of renunciation, valor and suffering, cannot be restored today except at the price of a world nuclear war. But the comfort, personal independence and human dignity of the brave Polish survivors and exiles who fought with and for us, and, in fighting, lost all they possessed except their honor and courage, can at least be assured by the British people, both in their corporate capacity as a nation and in their personal one as individuals. And at a time when, for better or worse, we are talking, and for our own supposed advantage, 17 years after the end of the war in which Poland perished, of throwing in our economic and political lot with the nation that destroyed Poland, it seems particularly incumbent on us to do all that we can to honor that debt to these gallant men eating the bread of exile in the country that bade them have the faith to fight and which, not without their help, survived and triumphed in the struggle that engulfed them and their own land.

Of such men there are some especially to whom, acting in our individual capacity, we can bring timely and wanted help. The Polish Air Force Association in Great Britain, whose address is 14, Collingham Gardens, London, SW5, exists to render to Polish ex-airmen who fought by our side in the late war the same invaluable assistance that the RAF Benevolent Fund gives to those, and their dependents, who have served in the RAF. It provides grants and loans to those in need of assistance and who can be helped in no other way, including the disabled, sick and temporarily unemployed, and the families, widows and orphans of Polish airmen killed in action or deceased. It makes interest-free loans to those who need money to buy tools to obtain employment or to establish themselves in small businesses or workshops. It sends parcels containing materials, clothes, medical goods and food to the distressed families of Polish airmen living behind the Iron Curtain in Poland and who in many cases are suffering great privation. It gives advice and provides a meeting place and social and cultural entertainment for exiled Polish airmen in England. It does untold good with very little money, and it needs more.

When Poland's own heroic and unavailing fight against the German hordes ended in the death in battle of 80,000 and the captivity, ruin, and enslavement of millions, thousands of Polish soldiers and airmen, refusing to give up the struggle, made their way to France and ultimately to England in order to fight on. In the words of a Ministry of Information wartime publication telling the official story of the Allied Air Forces from the occupied countries, "they had skied across the Carpathians; they had been through the prisons of Hungary; they had stolen boats and had rowed down the Drava River into Yugoslavia; they had come by steamer to Marseilles. They found themselves in a France on the verge of defeat and disunity. So in June 1940 their escape began again. There was now only one country left for them—England."[1] There they became the largest of the exiled European forces fighting against Germany and, in due course of time, played, in the desert, in Italy, and in Normandy and northwest Europe, a vital part in the defeat of Germany.

Among them were a considerable number of Polish airmen. Within a few weeks of their arrival in England there were two Polish fighter squadrons among the devoted little array that defied and defeated the Luftwaffe in the Battle of Britain. One pilot in every eight who fought for us and mankind in that immortal struggle was a Pole. One of them destroyed 25 raiders in 4 days. Altogether they brought down in the battle 200 German aircraft. Group Capt. Douglas Bader, who fought with these Polish airmen, has recalled them as "a tough, dedicated bunch who fought to save these islands as though they were fighting over their own country. None of us," he wrote, "will ever forget them." Before the war ended there were no fewer than 14 Polish squadrons serving with the RAF.

"When the call came," Sir Winston Churchill has said, "Poland did not hesitate. * * * She showed in the spontaneous response of her sons and daughters that spirit of national unity and of self-sacrifice which has maintained her among the great nations of Europe through all her many trials and tribulations." In the words of the patron of the Polish Air Force Association, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir John Slessor, its sons who continued throughout the war to fight by our side, "never wavered. They started fighting before we did and only stopped when we stopped." * * * There are the widows and orphans of those dead aircrews; there are the disabled and the sick; the aging men and their dependents who naturally find it more difficult than we to live in a land which is not their own. * * * Try and imagine what it would be like if the situation were reversed. How would you like to be an exile in a strange land—a friendly land, of course, but nonetheless a foreign country—unable even to go back to England? Supposing you or your wife or child broke a leg or got pneumonia, or lost your job; wouldn't you like to feel that you had someone to turn to for help—some organization run by your own people, talking your own language—something like a branch of your Regimental Old Comrades Association or King George's Fund for Sailors or the RAF Benevolent Fund? That is what the Polish Air Force Association exists for."

[1] "There's Freedom in the Air," Ministry of Information, 1943.

## Greater Insecticide Control Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, there has been much recent comment on the drug control activities of the Food and Drug Administration. Numerous articles have appeared in newspapers and in other mass mediums calling for investigation and reevaluation of the Federal functions in these areas. Yet, we are today faced with a problem of even greater significance to both present and future generations—the problem of indiscriminate use of toxic insecticides and pesticides and their effect on urban dwellers, who, having no choice, must purchase foods ineradicably contaminated with toxic agents without any knowledge thereof. A series of three articles, commencing with the June 16, 1962, issue of the New Yorker magazine, written by Rachel Carson, noted biologist, has pointed out many aspects of this problem.

The two main problem areas of insecticide use for the urban dweller are ecological balance and toxic agents causing pollution of water supplies and foodstuffs. The history of life on earth is a history of interaction of living things and their surroundings. Nature has achieved, through eons of evolution, an ecological—environmental—balance which keeps all species of animal life in reasonable proportion to all other

species. Man, however, has recently achieved artificial means to disrupt this delicate balance though the use of insecticides. Quite often, his efforts to eliminate a certain species of insect have had disastrous results. Although the insect pest is often brought under temporary control, its natural enemy—birds, another insect, and so forth—is also often wiped out and the complex predator-prey balance is destroyed. The insect world, however, has shown surprising ability to develop resistance to insecticides and often an even greater resurgence of the insect population follows since the insect's natural enemy has been destroyed. Man is then forced to develop an even more powerful insecticide and the cycle begins anew with the usual result that the insect pest is not controlled and that widespread environmental contamination and death of animal life is produced. This has reached catastrophic proportions in many areas of the world where disease-carrying insects have reached a point of resistance to insecticides such that they have become almost ineradicable. Miss Carson suggests several means to combat this vicious cycle. The first, of course, is increased sanitation which would destroy the breeding places of many objectionable and disease-carrying insects. Second, she advocates the use of biological controls, that is, the importation and distribution of the insect's natural enemy to aid in keeping the insect population under control. She notes, for example, that the Japanese beetle has been brought under excellent control on the east coast through the use of biological controls, while Department of Agriculture efforts in the Midwest to control the beetle by extensive spraying have failed miserably.

A more serious problem is the effects widespread application of insecticides may have on present and future generations. Many insecticides in use today have proven toxic effects on humans, including DDT and its derivatives, chlorinated hydrocarbons—dieldrin, and so forth—and organic phosphates. It has been proven by experimentation that these toxic chemicals are often stored in the fatty reserves of the body and their cumulative effect may be extremely dangerous. For example, the vital enzyme functions of the cells in performing oxidation of complex sugars may be affected, causing immediate death, since the body is unable to obtain energy for vital life processes. Some insecticides have been proven to be cancer producing—carcinogens—while others are known to contribute to possible cancerous growths. Still other insecticides have been known to break down the genetic transmission functions of the cells causing hereditarily transferable defects and deformities. According to Dr. Malcom Hargraves, of the hematology department of the Mayo Clinic, blood diseases—including leukemia—related to the use of various toxic substances have been increasing, particularly in the last 10 years. He states that:

I believe that the vast majority of patients suffering from blood dyscrasias and lymphoid diseases have a significant history of exposure to the various hydrocarbons, which in turn include most of the pesticides of today.

Thus, we are slowly, through increased use of highly toxic insecticides and pesticides, poisoning our environment and quite possibly adversely affecting the health of our population, while the cumulative effects on the future are not yet known. Miss Carson suggests that the ultimate solution to this problem is to use chemicals that are less toxic, so that the public hazard will be much reduced. Such chemicals already exist and include the pyrethins, rotenone, ryania, and others.

One of the major solutions to the problem of insecticide control lies in a reconsideration of the laws affecting the use of toxic chemicals. It is ironic that while various branches of the Food and Drug Administration are warning of the dire results of excess use of certain insecticides, various other Federal agencies are advocating and assisting in their application. On containers of insecticides containing extremely toxic chemicals, warnings are printed so inconspicuously that few people take the trouble to read them. An industrial firm recently undertook a survey to find out just how few. The results indicated that out of a hundred people using insecticide aerosols and sprays, scarcely 15 are aware that there are any warnings at all on the containers.

The next logical question is, What protection does the Government offer us from indiscriminate insecticide use? The Food and Drug Administration establishes maximum permissible limits of contamination, called tolerances for the various pesticides. However, the efforts of the Food and Drug Administration in the field of consumer protection is severely limited by two factors. One, the Food and Drug Administration has jurisdiction only over foods marketed in interstate commerce and, two, the small number of inspectors on its staff do not allow for adequate inspection of those goods which do pass through interstate commerce. Thus, goods not shipped across State lines are subject to State laws alone, many of which are extremely inadequate or nonexistent. Furthermore, the small staff of inspectors permits only an infinitesimal fraction of the products to be inspected—far less than 1 percent—and uncounted amounts of contaminated products have reached the consumer. For example, a third of the dairy products tested in 1960 showed residues of toxic chemicals above legal limits.

Beyond the above limiting factors, the system under which the Food and Drug Administration establishes tolerances has obvious defects. Although the limits of contamination on each individual item may be legally safe, there is no control over the total cumulative amount an individual may consume. This piling up of chemicals from many different sources creates a total exposure that can not be measured. It is meaningless, therefore, to talk about the safety of any specific amount of residue. And there are other defects. Sometimes tolerances have been established on the basis of inadequate knowledge and later review and reevaluation caused a reduction or withdrawal of the toxic agent. But only after the public had been exposed to admittedly dangerous levels for a period of time.

Thus, if the health of our present and future generations is to be protected, an evaluation of both present legal restrictions on insecticide use and of the necessity of employing extremely toxic insecticides themselves, is imperative. The consumer deserves protection and a guarantee that his food is not contaminated with dangerous chemicals. I urge the Members to read Miss Carson's article in full and to give serious thought to these problems.

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## No Action Policy of the New Frontier in Cuba Threatens Communist Expansion in the Western Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, recent confirmation by the State Department and CIA together with Presidential statements proves conclusively what has been known for some time, that Communists are in the process of a gigantic military and technical buildup in Cuba in direct contravention to the Monroe Doctrine reenunciated at Punta del Este by the Organization of American States recently.

For over 2 years as a Representative of one of the districts of Florida, that State being 90 miles from Cuba, I have been insisting upon a positive firm program to oust the Communists and Castro from Cuba and to prevent its military and technical buildup as a jumping off point for Communists in this hemisphere.

This recent influx of what the administration chooses to call Communist technicians and the importation of Red surface-to-air missiles, together with the admitted military buildup and substantial takeover by the Chinese and Russian Communists of the functions of government again emphasizes the need for and the long lack of a positive program to get rid of Castro.

Instead of such positive action and over my objections the administration has endorsed the $62 million ransom-for-prisoners demands made by Castro in the name of indemnity for the Bay of Pigs invasion and I offered an amendment to the mutual security bill to outlaw this transaction. It barely failed passage and I might note without a Republican vote against it by 134 to 137 in a division vote. This abortive demand for dollars is in direct contradiction to the no-trade policy carried out under Eisenhower in withdrawing the sugar quota, and the followup of withdrawal of trade under President Kennedy to prevent the flow of dollars to Cuba.

Representing the tobacco workers of Tampa and knowing that the lack of imported Havana tobacco has hit the tobacco-making industry hard, this sacrifice now being made by U.S. workers to prevent dollars from flowing to Cuba, it is totally unconscionable that the administration would give backing to this indemnity ransom demand, which includes a preliminary Treasury Department ruling making contributions to the exiled prisoners committee tax deductible and refusal upon interrogation of the President to repudiate this scheme to provide dollars to Communist Castro.

During the campaign, Candidate Kennedy reiterated many times his intention, if elected President, to take firm action in Cuba, including specifically the recognition of a free non-Communist government-in-exile. This has not been done to date and the Cuban refugees, who themselves, if properly unified behind an effective leader, could do more than anyone else both externally and internally to overthrow the Castro-Communist regime, for many months have been imploring the administration to take such a move so that all of the Cuban exiles and the present and prospective insurgents within Cuba would know that the United States is in support of a free non-Communist government for Cuba and would have hopes of eventual victory. The floundering around today, including the split among the Cuban refugees as to who the proper leader should be, makes this solution to the Cuban crisis most difficult.

The second step should be a declaration of policy by the United States announced to the Communist world the intention of this country to uphold the Monroe Doctrine reenunciated at Punta del Este and backed by the Organization of American States to prevent the inshipment in the future of any additional heavy war materiel in this hemisphere and specifically to Cuba and likewise to prevent the exportation from Cuba to any other hemisphere of revolutionary war materiel and/or forces. Troops were sent to South Vietnam to prevent Communist overthrow and attack from Laos, risking Russian and Red China oppositon but none developed. That country is five to six thousand miles from our shores and yet there is no willingness to prevent shipment of troops and materiel into a Communist-controlled and dominated island 90 miles from our shores. This makes no sense to me or the American people. The excuse is used that the United States should not ruffle the feathers of Russia because of the Berlin situation. That did not prevent troops from being sent to South Vietnam and should not prevent firm action on Cuba. This is, in my opinion, an excuse for inaction which makes no sense.

The President should likewise enunciate the policy of the United States that Alliance for Progress funds which are already supposed to be conditioned upon land reform and other assurances should also be made available subject to further assurances that aid to, recognition of, and trade with Cuba would be withdrawn so that that country would be isolated and to prevent the exportation of communism from Cuba.

The best information available to me, despite denials thereof by the President and the State Department, is that some 450 Communist troops recently did enter Cuba along with the other military buildup and whether or not they were in uniform seems to be nit picking and approaches an effort to mislead the American people as to what is going on in Cuba. Through failure to back up the invading refugees on the Bay of Pigs with military recommended air coverage the immediate opportunity to get rid of Castro was lost and thus the responsibility of the New Frontier. It is equally its responsibility to provide effective leadership in killing off this cancer before it spreads further or becomes a greater danger and this, in my opinion, is our duty under the Monroe Doctrine principles. A failure to provide an effective program is a sign of weakness, not only throughout the world, but in this hemisphere in particular. It is time that it be recognized that the Communists are establishing a little Russia and Red China in Cuba, 90 miles from our shore, and if this is realized then action necessarily follows. I add to my remarks a very well-reasoned column by Henry J. Taylor, which also reasons that this buildup is obviously interference in our hemisphere contrary to the Monroe Doctrine:

CUBA EMBARRASSES J.F.K.

(By Henry J. Taylor)

The heroes' shells that richocheted across Havana Harbor into the Soviet-infested Rosita de Hornedo Hotel were the shots of liberty. This is the agonized voice of the oppressed about which we preach so much to far-off places and do nothing about in nearby Cuba.

Cuba embarrasses President Kennedy. He systematically attempts to tuck Cuba under the bed. This is human. But no greater disservice could be done to the human spirit there, to the integrity of the United States, our hemisphere and the peace of the world.

On a public relations basis, one of the administration's major objectives is to keep this horror-stricken island out of the headlines. The mold was cast immediately after the Bay of Pigs debacle. For this public relations purpose, Mr. Kennedy advanced his Vienna meeting with Khrushchev and surprised President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan by going abroad and entering into full pageantry months before he originally intended to, or should have gone.

The diversion process continues. But it still leaves our Cuba business unfinished. How long can the United States pretend nothing is happening in Cuba and turn in its gaze the other way?

Mr. Kennedy warned Castro, "The United States will not tolerate a Communist regime 90 miles from our shores." We not only tolerate it; we actually help it. First, we help it by not constantly condemning in any effective way the barbarianism there.

Protocol wristslaps, yes. Wrath, no. If the steel companies could evoke such wrath from Mr. Kennedy, why cannot Cuba?

Next, we help Cuba in the United Nations. Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland recently testified before a Senate subcommittee that the State Department had diverted other funds to pay delinquencies in the U.N. for several Iron Curtain countries—including Cuba. Moreover, through the abused machinery of the U.N.'s world health organization in Geneva, we have paid Russia for trucks and jeeps to send to Castro.

Lastly, we help Cuba mightily by having a policy that is no policy at all. Admittedly, enemy rocket sites are available there from which to reach Miami, Cape Canaveral, and even Washington (only 1,139 miles), New York (1,317), Boston (1,601), Chicago (1,333), Kansas City (1,497), Denver (1,819), Los Angeles-San Diego (2,299), and easily as far as Seattle (2,843) on a pinpoint basis.

Why does the administration consistently pooh-pooh and soften the indications these rocket sites are being built? If you were Khrushchev, wouldn't you build them? Disliking the inevitable does not make it less inevitable.

We have a great U.S. naval base right on the island. Scores of Russian transports, loaded to the gunwales with "technicians" and military equipment, steam past it every week. In effect, Cuba has been invaded. If Mr. Kennedy cannot conveniently see that this is interference in our hemisphere by foreign powers, it is high time the American people forced a better policy than "let the dust settle."

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## Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act

SPEECH

OF

## HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10113) to establish an Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration, to authorize the preparation of a plan for acceleration of public works when necessary to avoid serious nationwide unemployment levels, and for other purposes.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Chairman, because this bill cannot achieve its alleged objective, although from the point of view of the White House it is more politically desirable than legislatively prudent, I shall vote against it.

This bill purports to solve, or at least to appreciably dent, the unemployment problem. However, in testimony before the Public Works Committee which unearthed the facts only about 125,000 people could be employed for 2 years if the bill passed. This represents a scant 3 percent of the almost 4 million people unemployed as of May.

Figures listed in the committee's report further reveal that $2,688 million of unobligated funds have not been used by the administration, so to add $900 million more of unobligated funds would be an extravagance, especially when we are facing a $7 to $10 billion deficit for fiscal 1962. For this to come at a time when our national debt has exceeded the $300 billion mark is wasteful pork-barreling. Foolish spending must cease and Congress should take the initiative.

The bill would create a czar of public works in a new agency, who would have the authority to subvert and distort defined lines of programs, already in operation, thus contributing more havoc to

an already confused administration. This new agency could wield vast power by controlling projects now under the Area Redevelopment Agency, Corps of Engineers, and Bureau of Reclamation to name only a few. Of even greater importance, this czar would have the power, now reserved to Congress, to review item by item, specific appropriations for public work projects. To abdicate this authority to an all-powerful executive would reduce Congress to a rubberstamp.

In the final analysis, Mr. Chairman, this bill provides a very powerful political weapon in the hands of the executive branch. Since past behavior is indicative of future action, it will almost certainly be used as the proverbial carrot in attempts to swing reluctant Members to the administration's point of view. In the past year we felt the pressures of such lobbying, therefore, it would, in my opinion, be most unwise to increase these opportunities for the executive to carry the big stick.

This is poor legislation and it should be defeated.

## Qualifications of Electors

SPEECH
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the States in substance existed before the Central Government. Our Federal Government is a creature of the States. The power, insuring the effective operation of each within its respective sphere, is vested in the Constitution. In the Constitution, powers are delegated to each in order to maintain a division and proper balance, with the States enjoying as inherent those powers not specifically delegated. The States, thus ultimately the people, must be allowed to preserve their constitutional rights and powers, both granted and residual.

Since the States have been guaranteed by the Constitution the privilege of deciding upon the manner and method of conducting their elections, there is no need for this amendment. It would be an imposition for the Federal Government to presume to dictate to the States how they must operate their elections. This coercion of the States by its own creation is a direct invasion of States rights.

There is no justification for this amendment as only five States now retain the poll tax as a requirement for vote. My own State of South Carolina long ago did away with the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. In the States that do require poll tax, the token remittance ranges from $1 to $2, the receipts in most cases being used for education and other citizen benefits. Upon the basis of this evidence, a claim of the use of poll tax as an implement of discrimination is invalid and not worth consideration. The adoption of this amendment would, in truth, be a manifestation of the power highly organized and well-financed pressure groups can bring to bear upon the people of the United States. I believe each State should be free to make this decision with regard to the criteria for voting, being governed by the desires of its citizens.

The adoption of this amendment would have far-reaching effects, setting a dangerous precedent. It is a step toward complete Federal control of elections on the State and local levels. This is just another among the long list of incidents of the continuing centralization of the Federal Government at the expense of the State and local governments and ultimately the citizen.

This amendment would be another weight upon one side of the already unequal balance which controls the constitutional division of power. This easy amendment of our Constitution would lead to further encroachment of this one division, the Federal Government, upon the rights included in the realm of the other, the State governments. The final burden of these limitations will be borne by the people.

The powerful pressure groups and minorities forcing this unnecessary amendment through the Congress will, with its adoption, grow more bold, arrogant, and demanding. They cannot and will not cease their agitation until they establish a dictatorship over the majority or until representative government is destroyed and elections become a Federal fraud.

The States and the people at the local level have been doing a magnificent job in this field—they need to be complimented and encouraged. This amendment is not needed. It is a reflection on the fine job done by the States. It is desperately sought by the pressure groups so as to claim for themselves and the Federal Government credit for something that has already been done by the States and the people. This amendment is a fraud and a waste of the time of the Congress.

## Experiment Station Research Facilities

SPEECH
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to record my support of H.R. 12712 authorizing Federal matching funds for agricultural experiment station research facilities. Agricultural research has been a significant factor in making American agriculture the most efficient and productive in the world. This legislation will promote continued progress by assuring sound financing of needed physical facilities to house this activity.

Farmers, business, and consumers have benefited greatly from the work conducted at land-grant colleges—such as my own alma mater, Cornell University. The technical knowledge gained has led to improved quality and new uses for American food and fiber. New markets for farmers and businessmen and lower cost for consumers have resulted. It is heartening to note the widespread bipartisan interest and support of this worthy legislation.

## Anniversary of Attack on Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, 23 years ago, September 1, 1939, Hitler sent his Nazi legions storming into Poland, thereby precipitating the greatest holocaust in the history of mankind. Outnumbered, lacking modern equipment, stabbed in the back by Stalin, the Polish people fought with their traditional bravery until crushed by the weight of superior forces. Who can forget the siege of Warsaw, where the loudspeakers blared defiance with Chopin's "Polonaise," while the Stuka dive bombers were pounding whole sections to rubble.

Since that dimly remembered date, 23 years ago, the Polish people have enjoyed only the briefest breath of freedom. Going back on their pledges at Yalta, the Russians never permitted free elections there, and by fraud, treachery, and intimidation the Communists gained control of the country. But they have never been accepted by the people of Poland, and it is safe to say that even today, after 15 years of Communist rule, Polish hearts are with the West.

Every correspondent who files a story about Poland notes the thirst for things Western, and Poland's conviction that she is of the West. The true feelings of the Polish people for America, regardless of what their Communist masters tell them, has been abundantly demonstrated over the years.

There is a tragic lesson for us in the rape of Poland, for Nazi Germany could have been stopped in her tracks in the thirties, if the powers of Europe had been firm with Hitler when he first violated the Treaty of Versailles. Instead, the powers temporized. The result was to encourage Hitler to continue to build up his forces and defy the existing order in Europe.

Need I point out the moral? Appeasement breeds war, it is as simple as that. Yielding to the bullying and blustering of Khrushchev today would be as fatal for us as yielding to the ranting of Hitler was for the European powers in another generation. Let us never forget the lesson of Poland, and let us continue to encourage ties of friendship and understanding with the courageous Polish people. They will one day again breathe the air of freedom.

## Y Team Visits Soviet Union Youth and Reports to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLYDE DOYLE**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of a news item appearing in the Christian Science Monitor, Thursday, August 23, 1962.

Y-TEAM CHECKS SOVIET YOUTHS

(By Robert Nelson)

CHICAGO.

An American YMCA team recently visited the Soviet Union to learn about youth in a Communist society.

John O. Root, associate general secretary of the Chicago Y, said in an interview here: "They just don't admit to any major behavioral problems in their society.

"But if you dig for information, you discover, for example, that in Moscow alone last year there were 6,000 juvenile cases recorded by the courts. You find out that there is open stealing at Moscow University. You encounter Soviet toughs late at night in the capital's streets."

Mr. Root, who is a well-informed observer of American youth problems and one who has been close to those that trouble Chicago, spent a month (May 9 to June 10) in the Soviet Union with colleagues from Y's in Springfield, Mass., and Atlanta.

HOOLIGANISM

He says he wanted to check out Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's charges, in official Communist Party circles, of "hooliganism" in the U.S.S.R.

He admits the difficulty of probing profound youth problems in 4 weeks in a strange and largely closed society. He said that his judgments are based on situations that he and his colleagues were able to observe repeatedly.

Such was the case, they found, with Communist indoctrination among Soviet youth. The Komsomol (Communist Youth League for ages 16 to 28) conducts a strict disciplinary and indoctrination program "defending atheism, deifying Lenin, and boasting about the economic and social prowess of communism," says Mr. Root.

PUPILS CRITICIZED

In parent-teacher conferences in state schools, he says, there is open criticism of each child. Pupils seem to be considered "almost common property of the state."

The young people are mobilized during school vacations for work projects in Siberia. The youth who has party labor service on his record has the best chance of succeeding as one of the 3 in 10 who apply for every advanced Soviet educational opportunity.

At Camp Artek on the Black Sea, the YMCA leaders observed indoctrination deftly interwoven among traditional camp recreational activities for 5,000 young Russians. At another camp called Sputnik, for young adults, indoctrination was surprisingly softened. This camp, the Y men discovered, was designed to accommodate international campers. Excessive overt propagandising might deter campers from other nations.

NIGHT ENCOUNTERS

Late at night, on Moscow's streets, non-Komsomol teenage boys met with the American social workers, turned thumbs down on the Communist Youth League, and eagerly accepted an American jazz record. One of the youth said he was a department store stock boy. His salary was 60 rubles a month, less than $70.

"He was what we would call a have-not boy from the inner city who sees no opportunity structure ahead," says Mr. Root in social worker parlance.

No group gangs were found in the Soviet Union in the style of bands of Chicago or New York juvenile delinquents. "They just don't have the setting for group vandalism," Mr. Root observes.

## Norman Ross Pays Tribute to Our Reservists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the other day, Norman Ross, one of Chicago's most respected television commentators, whose programs are heard over the American Broadcasting Co. affiliate, WBKB, channel 7 in Chicago, paid an inspiring tribute to the Nation's reservists who last year were called to active duty and who are now returning to their homes.

I should like to call the remarks by Mr. Ross to the attention of all of my colleagues because he has indeed placed this whole question of the contribution which our Reserves made in the cold war in its proper perspective.

It is encouraging to see men like Mr. Ross, who reaches a vast audience in Chicago through his telecasts and radio programs, pay the honor which is thoroughly due our American reservists. His tribute to these men should help all Americans better understand what a tremendous contribution these reservists have made toward the survival of our Nation in the cold war.

The remarks by Mr. Ross follow:

Said one returning Chicago reservist this week: "Somebody pushed the panic button, and wasted 10 months of my time." Said another: "The Army has hurt me financially, mentally, and physically." These men deserve an answer.

A year has passed since the Communists erected their infamous wall. At the moment, there is a lull many of us believe to be temporary, and the reservists called up so hastily have come home. Many—let's certainly hope not a majority—are bitter and full of recrimination. Some vow to take it out on Kennedy and the Democrats at the polls this November.

"I wasn't needed there, and the $400 a month cut in pay was wonderful," said one sarcastically. He's wrong in feeling he wasn't needed, whatever the faults and waste and goofups he encountered.

For Khrushchev, though we may forget it during the current lull, had set himself on a crash course. He had issued an ultimatum saying he was going to sign a peace treaty with East Germany and that we must get out. He had harassed our air lanes, and built the wall.

The Reserve callup helped prove to him that we were standing firm. He let the deadline pass; tension eased. The Reserves accomplished this, and they or others like them may have to do it again. It is distasteful but necessary that someone do so.

To help the reservists realize we know and appreciate what they did, why not follow Newsweek's advice? As they say in the August 13 issue, the one with Ben Bella on the cover: "Shake one by the hand and tell him, 'thanks, soldier, for keeping up our guard.'"

It's a good idea.

## Tragedy in Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of New England's finest newspapers, the Lawrence Eagle Tribune, has looked the facts of our current foreign policy squarely in the eyes and has emerged with the following powerful editorial. I commend it to the thoughtful attention of every Member of this Congress:

TRAGEDY IN BERLIN

The revolt against tyranny that is a powerful force in suppressed people was dramatically personalized in Berlin the other day.

There an 18-year-old East German youth was shot by border guards as he tried to dash for freedom through the wall that divides the city. He fell mortally wounded less than a stone's throw from freedom. He lay on the ground moaning for 55 minutes, bleeding to death. The Communist guards carried away his body.

West Berlin people were riotous with righteous indignation. They were wildly angry at American failure to do anything to help the boy. The least that could have been done, they declared, was to send an unarmed medical unit to him. But all the Americans did was protest to the Russian commander of East Berlin and ask him to halt the East German regime's "barbarous inhumanity."

The incident expressed in individual terms the essence of a situation that has arisen before.

The erection of the Berlin wall by Communists was a physical symbol of Communist determination to prevent East Germans from gaining freedom. It divided a city that by treaty was under international control with provision for free access to all areas. It was a hostile act that morally justified prompt reaction by the Western Allies—the reaction of destruction.

Six years ago a revolt against Communist tyranny in Hungary dramatized the desperate fight for freedom on a national scale. Hungarian fighters for freedom pleaded and prayed for help from the West.

They didn't get it. The wall was not torn down. The boy died with life and freedom a stone's throw distant.

Why? Because the United States—and the West in general—are most fearful of irritating the Communist beast to the point at which he will plunge the world into war. We endure crude insults and brazen assaults on every ideal we cherish, and turn the other cheek. We patiently rely on the long processes of evolution to transform Communists into honorable beings.

Our policy of fear and patience is based on the opinion that the Communists would risk a global, nuclear war if the violence of tyranny were met with the counter force of freedom. Perhaps the opinion is justified.

None can say with certainty. But it can be said with certainty that:

The Communists exploit our policy with acts of contemptuous derision and that

There is no gain without risk and that he who hesitates indefinitely eventually loses the power to act.

## Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of the House the accomplishments of the Small Business Administration in its disaster loan program. The Small Business Administration is charged with the responsibility for providing financial assistance by way of loans to people and business concerns in disaster areas. How this responsibility has been met deserves some recognition.

Beginning on March 6 of this year, a storm of tremendous proportions lashed our eastern coast. For more than 3 days high winds, rain, and flooding tides destroyed or damaged thousands of homes. Losses to business properties ran into millions of dollars.

Much of the area devastated by the storm is comprised of summer resorts. The beaches along our eastern coast are really the vacationland of America. The situation was made more critical by the fact that the lifeblood of the economy of this area turns largely upon its summer residents and upon its summer visitors. Coming as closely as it did to the opening of the spring and summer season, this storm—with its massive destruction—imperiled the economy of the whole area.

There was, in the minds of a great many people, a very serious question as to whether there would be time for recovery from the storm. The need for loans on reasonable terms was made sharper by the fact that for the most part the losses were not covered by insurance. The cost of wave-wash insurance is so high as to be beyond the means of the average property owner.

Before the storm had subsided and without waiting for formal declarations of disaster, the Philadelphia regional office of SBA established its field offices. Financial specialists from distant SBA offices were flown to the scene, briefed in their tasks, and assigned to supplement the working force in the field offices.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the Small Business Administration in this disaster was the speed and efficiency with which it coordinated its efforts with those of other Federal agencies, with State governments, with local municipal officials, and with local financial intitutions. Particular attention should be drawn to the working relationship between local banks and the Small Business Administration. During the first week following the storm, meetings were held between Small Business Administration officials and the officers of local banks to insure an organized and cooperative effort. The result of these meetings has been a record number of participation loans, wherein the Small Business Administration and the local banks in a joint undertaking provided the funds needed for repair and restoration of the damaged property. Cooperation afforded the Small Business Administration, by banks and building and loan associations in the disaster area was excellent. I take something of a personal pride in the fact that the cooperation afforded by banks was not limited to those located within the disaster area. Our own banks in Philadelphia deserve particular credit for their contribution in this effort. The Small Business Administration is, in comparison with other Government agencies, a very small organization. Without expense to the Government and at some considerable cost to their own operation, the Philadelphia banks made available to the Small Business Administration 10 experienced loan officers. For sometime, these men served in the field offices of the Small Business Administration with their salaries and their services being contributed by the Philadelphia banks. This was a most generous contribution and I think it deserves recognition.

A fine spirt of public service has characterized the recovery effort. Leaders, in the banking and business communities, came forward to serve without charge on committees set up to assist the Small Business Administration in the processing of loan applications. Leading members of the bar accepted appointment as special SBA disaster counsel to provide, at very nominal cost to the Government, the legal services required in connection with the closing of the more complicated loans.

I do not propose to give, at great length, the statistics which represent the size of the task and the measure of the achievement. They are impressive and are available in the official records. For your summary information, more than 1,300 applications were filed with SBA for loans totaling in excess of $16 million. Loan applications range in size from $150,000 to $650,000. With these loans, homes and business properties have been repaired or rebuilt, inventories have been replaced, and machinery and equipment have been repaired or purchased. In fully half of the cases, the money was available to the borrower within 10 days after the loan was approved. Regrettably, the SBA disaster loan program could not also be extended to rehabilitation of property owned by summer residents.

The united effort of the people in the disaster area, the State and local governments, the Red Cross and the Small Business Administration presents a picture of solid and substantial achievement. A great part of the damage has already been fully repaired and the remainder is being rapidly completed. May 30, which is traditionally the opening of the summer season, found our coastal cities ready to welcome their summer residents and their summer visitors. I understand that Richard J. Hughes, Governor of the State of New Jersey, speaking for himself and for the people of his State, has expressed deep and sincere appreciation for the services rendered by the Small Business Administration. In a letter to John E. Horne, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, Governor Hughes described it as a "magnificent recovery effort" and I think his words were well chosen.

Government agencies are set up for a single purpose—that is, to provide service to the people. In its disaster loan program, the Small Business Administration has provided a fine example of excellent and dedicated service. Therefore, I think it is proper that it should be acknowledged.

## Robin Hood Dell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the swirl of a large city, such as Philadelphia, with its vast manufacturing and commercial enterprises, its bustling port that leads the Nation in commercial shipping, we have not forgotten cultural advancement and material application of the arts.

The city of Philadelphia is known for its historical values, its fine museums and art galleries, its institution of higher learning, and its devotion to the theater and good music.

These values were enhanced many years ago with the founding of Robin Hood Dell, located in a natural scenic setting in beautiful Fairmount Park. In such surroundings the summer concerts and recitals are enjoyed by many, many thousands each season, and have become famous far and beyond the stretches of the Greater Metropolitan Philadelphia area.

Significantly, the success of Robin Hood Dell lies in the presentations of extensive repertoire and the engagement of the world's finest musicians and vocal artists to delight the music lovers from everywhere.

The fame of Robin Hood Dell was climaxed on July 9 when President John F. Kennedy took time to pen a message of recognition of its achievements which was read to the thousands assembled there on that evening.

I, therefore, include under unanimous consent, the content of the President's letter, which follows, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington July 9, 1962.*

*A Message to the Audience at Robin Hood Dell, Philadelphia:*

Mr. August Heckscher brings you tonight my sincere greetings, greetings to the Phila-

delphia Symphony Orchestra, and to the Philadelphia audience gathered in the Robin Hood Dell. These matchless musicians, playing in summer with the world's outstanding soloists and conductors, remind us what delights a city can bring to its citizens. A partnership between the city and more than a thousand patrons of the arts are making these free concerts possible and will bring their joys to scores of thousands of boys and girls. The Philadelphia plan provides a model for other communities and lends added lustre to a city which has had more than its share of distinction throughout our country's history.

With all best wishes,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

## Remaining Bit of Flagg Farm Seized by City Ends Name of Owner of Half the Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Mr. Michael J. Curran, city editor of the Woburn Daily Times, occasionally takes his typewriter and to the delight of his readers heads us backward in time to the days when Woburn—and the rest of the world—were young. Mike Curran has done his usual interesting and colorful job in a feature story about the old Flagg property in Woburn. I would like my colleagues to enjoy it with me:

REMAINING BIT OF FLAGG FARM SEIZED BY CITY ENDS NAME OF OWNER OF HALF THE TOWN

(By Michael J. Curran)

The land taking made by the city seized the last holding of what was known as the Flagg family of Woburn. The land is off Eastern Avenue and has been owned for a number of years by Warren McCarthy, but the end of the Flagg domain in Woburn ends a name of early settlers who, next to the Wymans, owned more land than any other person or persons in the city. The Flagg farm extended from Eastern Avenue back and the old Flagg homestead is on Gardner Avenue. Many Woburn boys worked on this farm, and the 1962 poll book reveals that there is not a single Flagg now listed in Woburn. The Wymans have two of that name now officially recorded as Woburn residents.

The Flagg interests were not confined to what those living today can remember as the Flagg farm, and one of the original farms bearing the name Flagg was at the Four Corners now sprinkled with modern residences. Many of the Flaggs made civic history in Woburn and one branch of the family preferred to spell the name Flegg.

The fading of the old names from the present cosmopolitan voting lists reveals the general tendency so that each year it is becoming more difficult for one to trace ancestry back to the Founding Fathers. The Middlesex County History says: "The name of Flagg is supposed by former antiquaries to be more correctly Flegg. The name of Flegg is found in England, and in the early period of the country, the name was commonly written Flegg. The first Thomas Flegg, who came to Watertown and there settled spelled his name Flegg.

"The Flagg family has always been notable in Woburn for the number of prominent men, and the positions which they have held in the civic, military and financial affairs of the town. They were large holders of real estate in the days when real estate was the real property of the inhabitants. Sewall, the historian of Woburn says: 'descendants from Gershom Flagg have been numerous and respectable, both in Woburn and Wilmington.' Colonel Eleazar Flagg (or Flegg as he preferred to write it) a gentleman of note and influence in Woburn in the early part of the 18th century, was his second son.

"Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, a graduate of Harvard College in 1725 was his grandson, by his son Ebenezer. He was born October 18, 1704. Dr. John Flagg of Lynn was a son of Reverend Ebenezer. "Dr. Flagg became an eminent physician and held the rank of Colonel during the Revolutionary War." He married into the Fowle and Wyman families, both outstanding families in Woburn in that era.

Lt. Gershom Flagg, son of Thomas was killed in battle with the Indians in Lee, N.H., in 1690 holding the rank of lieutenant. He was a tanner and his dwelling house stood on High Street, which was then Pleasant Street, near the site of Woburn's first meeting house which is now Woburn Common; the old burying ground was on the east (behind the Times publishing plant) and the training field which was at the head of what is now Winn Street and extending westward. Flagg Street, off Franklin Street, was named after the Flagg family indicating the Flagg holdings extended that far out. That street later became "Irish Town,"' as it was the settling place of many immigrant Irish families.

The homestead descended from Gershom 1st, to Gershom 2d, then to Gershom 3d, thence to his uncle Zachariah Flagg who parted with his share to William Fox, in 1765. The Fox family was a famous family in the city, the name being borne by successful tanneries in the city. There are only three Foxes in today's poll book and only one of them is a direct descendant of the Yankee Fox branch.

The Flagg holdings extended into the West Woburn section, John Flagg, son of Zachariah was born in Woburn in 1746, died there May 24, 1825, aged 78 years. He was a farmer and during the war engaged in teaming merchandies from Boston to New York. He was present in Belknap's Woburn Co. at the battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. He was 27 days in the service at the time. On good testimony, it was reported that he took the second prisoner of the war at Lexington. Sylvanus Wright of what is now Cambridge Street took the first.

John Flagg, son of the Revolutionary War John Flagg, was born in Woburn in 1784. He received the education of a farmer boy of that day, attending the district school until 15, and helping his father on the farm. He early learned the trade of shoemaker, working at it in different places. He subsequently went to Boston, where he found the trade of mason more to his liking and more profitable. Here he served as an apprentice and then worked as a bricklayer. Later he returned to his home in Woburn, and after the death of his father, he purchased the property from the heirs.

Of the original 95 acres he sold off a part of it. He conducted general farming until 1845, which netted him a profit. His farm was situated in Burlington Township, where the Heald Bros. were later located, the best part of the town. That land has changed considerably, especially in the value, some of it having been sold for industrial purposes for over half a million dollars.

Another Flagg, John Gardner Flagg, manufactured the first readymade mattresses ever placed on the market, and in this pursuit his business undertaking mushroomed to fabulous proportions. Now Woburn is the location of a very prominent and successful nationally advertised mattress, Slumberland, but it did not develop from the Flagg operations in Woburn.

William Eustace Flagg, son of William, was born in Woburn in 1823. He started to work on his father's farm, and when he was 25 he and his brother, Benjamin Franklin Flagg, started in their own business of market gardening. When his brother moved to Winchester, William Eustace bought a farm of 40 acres off George Russell on Cambridge Street in the best part of Woburn.

Getting back to the most recent Flagg farm which spread across the present site of the Liberty Avenue development, the original Green Street housing project and now a piece of land on which the Eastern Avenue elementary school will rest, there was Hubert Clinton Flagg, son of Charles Horace, who moved to Woburn when he was a young boy. He worked on the farm when very young and attended public schools here. He was graduated in 1899 and entered the employ of the Boston & Maine Railroad. He was injured in an accident soon after he began work. He was compensated in money for the loss of time and injuries but preferred to return to the farm. In 1901, he purchased the homestead of his father and engaged successfully in the market gardening business. His father and brother were associated with him in the business.

He had 10 acres of land, a part of the original Flagg farm of his paternal ancestors. He located in the eastern part of the town, the most recent Flagg farm, and made a specialty of lettuce, cucumbers and celery. Now the farm has succumbed to the parade of population explosion.

## The 200th Anniversary of Touro Synagogue, Newport, R.I.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BENJAMIN A. SMITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a speech given by the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] at the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Touro Synagogue in Newport, R.I.

Senator PELL's address concerned two subjects which were particularly fitting for discussion by the junior Senator from Rhode Island. The first was religious tolerance. Since its founding, Rhode Island has had a distinguished tradition of religious freedom. The Touro Synagogue, in keeping with this tradition, was founded by refugees from religious persecution in the Old World. It is the oldest synagogue in this country.

The Senator also discussed the state of communism in the world today. It is a subject which he has studied first hand; first as a Foreign Service officer stationed behind the Iron Curtain; then as a private citizen working with the International Rescue Committee.

The tide of communism—

Senator PELL said—

which appeared so overwhelmingly 10 years ago, has begun to ebb. The vigor of com-

munism seems to be receding in the face of the invincible force of the desire of every individual everywhere for personal freedom and liberty.

Mr. President, I believe that there is much truth in what Senator PELL has said. He offers substantial evidence to back his remarks, and his assertions that communism will destroy itself through evolution, not war or revolution, should be brought to the attention of every responsible and thinking American.

I ask unanimous consent that this speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH GIVEN BY SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL, DEMOCRAT, OF RHODE ISLAND, AT THE ANNUAL OBSERVANCE OF THE FOUNDING OF THE TOURO SYNAGOGUE AT NEWPORT, R.I., ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 26, 1962

It is a pleasure and honor for me to participate today in these ceremonies which mark the start of the 200th year of the establishment of one of the most historical and hallowed homes of worship in Rhode Island and these United States. In this connection, I am proud to have been an early supporter of the Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue.

In the course of my travels, I have visited many places of worship. Yet, every time I return to the Touro Synagogue, it is with renewed reverence. The words of Emma Lazarus are, indeed, appropriate:

"Here where the noises of the busy town,
The ocean's plunge and road can enter not,
We stand and gaze upon with tearful awe,
And muse upon the consecrated spot."

As you know, our State of Rhode Island has existed since colonial times as a bastion of religious liberty for the victims of religious persecution. It was here in Rhode Island that the Jewish faith was publicly reconsecrated by the brave and principled Marrano families, who, for so many years, had been forced to pay public tribute to a church in which they did not believe. Because these fine families, in accordance with the legacy of the Old Testament, were determined to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, they migrated to the uncertainty of the New World. These families were devoted to the patriot's cause of liberty, a philosophy espoused by the revolutionaries as the hope of the future.

The early Jewish residents of Newport played an active role in the development of our country. Moses Michael Hays became president of the Boston Bank as well as head of the Masonic Society of America. It was he who commissioned George Washington into the Masonic order. Judah Touro, the rabbi's son became one of the largest shippers in America. His generosity made possible the construction of the Bunker Hill Monument and, when he died, his entire fortune was distributed to charity.

The history of our own Touro Synagogue congregation involved many persons of great distinction whose names are enshrined forever in the annals of freedom of our State and our country: names like Lopez, Rophee, Sarzedas, Rivera, Seixas and Hart. The memory of these early Newport families remains with us in this holy sanctuary.

We have only to lift our eyes to behold the centuries of Judaic heritage which the brave men and women who established this synagogue brought with them on their earnest journey toward a new and better life. A scroll in the sacred ark, a graceful candelabra—these objects serve as timeless reminders of the ancestral roots of the early Jews of Newport. The Touro Synagogue, is, indeed, a hallowed symbol of the courage and faith of its first congregation.

Longfellow immortalized the nobility of this very congregation in one of his poems over 100 years ago. His words capture the rich legacy of history which is all around us in the inspiring atmosphere of this great sanctuary.

"Pride and humiliation hand in hand,
Walked with them through the world where they
Trampled and went, beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.

"For in the background figures vague and vast
of patriarchs and prophets rose sublime,
And all the great traditions of the past,
They saw reflected in the coming time."

What are the "traditions of the past" which Longfellow saw "reflected in the coming time"?

Certainly, these great traditions include the Ten Commandments, the importance of the individual, each man's responsibility to others less fortunate, and the importance of education. These religious and philosophical convictions clearly represent a strong foundation on which our devotion to freedom is built. In this connection, I believe that the words of George Washington, addressed to this congregation over 170 years ago, are equally appropriate today when he said: "The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy; a policy worthy of imitation."

While we are agreed that our devotion to freedom is worthy of imitation, we know that today and for many years now, we have been confronted by a system which is the direct antithesis of the Judaic-Christian heritage, which has made such a rich contribution to our free way of life. Because we are gathered here today to rededicate ourselves to the spirit and heritage which this holy place represents, I think it is particularly appropriate that we review and evaluate how our way of life is faring in the worldwide struggle against communism.

There have been periods when the outlook for our side seemed bleak, indeed. At times, it has almost looked as though communism was an uncontrollable juggernaut. We recall that the Communists emerged from World War II with Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, East Germany, North Korea and part of Poland under their control. Between the end of World War II and 1948 were added Albania, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslavakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Even in the West in 1945–46, the Communists managed to secure 26 percent of the votes in France (1945–46) and 22.7 percent of the votes in Italy (1952). Up until 1949, Communist guerrillas were active in Greece and that nation was involved in a fierce and protracted struggle.

Ten years ago, the outlook in the Middle East, to put it mildly, did not look good for us. And here I want to emphasize the point that even then, as now, Israel was the real bastion of Western civilization in the Middle East: not just a bastion against communism, but a bastion of Western ideals, technology and advancement. In 1952 Nasser assumed power and many were convinced that he would ally Egypt with the Communists. In Iran, Mossadegh was going through his gyrations. North Africa was aflame. Fighting was going on in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. It was also obvious that many new nations of tropical Africa were going to come to freedom in the ensuing decade, and a number of observers feared that the majority of them would, after achieving their freedom, quickly become pawns of the Communists.

In Asia, the Reds were on the march. The Viet Minh were engaging thousands of French troops in Vietnam. We were involved in a desperate struggle in Korea. The Pathet Lao was active in Laos. Malaya and the Philippines were beset by bloody Communist guerrilla strife.

In Latin America, the situation appeared to be as ripe for the Kremlin as any brew that could be devised by a witch angry at the West. In the majority of Latin American countries, a small self-perpetuating autocracy, often corrupt, kept in their hands the key to the reigns of power-education. This autocracy held a nation's finances tightly in its hands and adamantly refused an equitable distribution of income. And this autocracy remains most powerful as we can see by what happened in Peru only a few weeks ago.

Yes, 10 years ago, even we in the United States seemed to be paralyzed. The frustrations felt by many of our people led them to support the extremism of McCarthy. The professional anti-Communists had a wide appeal in the United States, an appeal far beyond the actual strength of the Communist Party. They almost succeeded in getting across their idea that the threat to the United States was from within and not, as is in fact the case, from without.

In general, while both the Communist nations and the democracies of the West had been bled by World War II, it often appeared as though the blood of the democracies was less vigorous than that of the Communist nations, that of our the shambles of World War II might well arise the inevitable Communist state predicted by Marx and Engel, a prophecy cherished and nourished in the Kremlin through the years.

But, thank God, as we know, the world situation is fluid. There is no such thing as a permanent status quo. Arnold Toynbee stresses in his monumental work "A Study of History," that civilizations and nations must move, and fast. They must either grow in strength or start to shrink; but, they cannot stand still. Like a man on the side of a steep mountain, he must go up or down; he cannot remain stationary.

Now, let us look at the broad sweep of post-World War II events and history. From this vantage point of August 26, 1962, I submit that the tide of communism, which appeared so overwhelming 10 years ago, and was actually at its flood tide then, has begun to ebb.

The vigor of communism seems to be receding in the face of the invincible force of the desire of every individual everywhere for personal freedom and liberty. True, Tibet has been seized by China, we are in for a long, drawnout struggle in South Vietnam, and the future of the coalition government in Laos is, at best, uncertain. However, since Czechoslovakia was subverted in 1948, not a single nation that has been predominantly literate and reasonably well fed, has slipped behind the Iron or Bamboo Curtain.

And even behind the curtain itself; we have had considerable evidence of the peoples' unrest. There were the Berlin riots of 1953, the Poznan riots of 1956, the Hungarian revolution of 1956, and the Warsaw student riots of 1957. In the last two affairs, I had the experience of being involved, and in fact, in the latter case, of being teargassed.

As a result of this unrest, some relaxation has occurred behind the Iron Curtain. The Gomulka regime in Poland has loosened the chains to some degree. The Communist empire is no longer monolithic. Albania, China, and Yugoslavia are all engaged in internecine warfare with the Kremlin. And, like Alice looking in her strange looking glass, the Communist leaders of Albania and China

are said to be criticized from the right, and those of Yugoslavia from the left. Recently, we witnessed the strange spectacle of a Russian helicopter being used by the Indians against the Chinese Communists. The Soviets have had to build their horrible wall in Berlin because of the failure of their regime to satisfy human needs and to prevent the drain of their people. Even in Hungary, there have occurred certain relaxations—not many, but a few.

The recent wave of refugees seeking escape from Communist China is devastating testimony to the many failures of that despotism.

Certainly, Latin America has not fallen like a ripe plum, and today, Castro's life in Cuba is not an easy one. I have always advocated that we let him stew in his own juice and I think the pot is boiling very well.

No, all is not going well for the Communists. In Kerala, India, where once the people voted in a Communist regime; 3 years later, they voted in a non-Communist state government. The guerrilla activities which concerned us 10 years ago in Malaya and the Philippines, have been virtually eliminated.

Egypt has certainly not become a Communist satellite and the situation in tropical Africa has brought many surprises. The vast majority of the new nations have shown little interest in becoming closely alined with the Communist bloc and even Guinea recently demanded that the Russian Ambassador be changed. In the Congo, just after its independence, the Russians rushed in with great expectations. A few months later, they were thrown out by the Congolese themselves.

Contrary to some popular misconceptions, the Communists have not done at all well in the U.N. In fact, the Communists are so concerned by their failures at the U.N., that they have attempted to institute the paralyzing troika. Specifically, the Soviet bloc has done so badly in the U.N. Security Council that they have had to use the veto more than 100 times. We have never had to use it.

As a matter of fact, throughout the history of the U.N., not one single major Soviet resolution, which the United States has opposed, has carried the U.N. For instance, only the 11 members of the Communist bloc opposed the Assembly's resolution which condemned the Soviet announced intention of exploding a 50-megaton bomb. A lengthy and stormy discussion in the General Assembly's main Political Committee on Cuba's charges of American aggression produced not a single vote outside the Soviet bloc. Drastic Communist proposals calling for immediate independence of all territories, however ill prepared, have all been defeated. It is interesting to note that an article in the July 23 edition of the National Observer states "He (Khrushchev) bluntly labeled the U.N. as a branch of the U.S. State Department."

Another indication of the Reds' dissatisfaction with the U.N. has been their efforts to bankrupt the organization. It is interesting to note that the only nations who opposed the General Assembly resolution authorizing the issuance of U.N. bonds, were the 11 Communist bloc countries and, regrettably, Belgium and France.

Finally, while we struggle with the problem of what to do with our food surpluses, the Communist world is desperately searching for ways to grow more food. Communist methods in agriculture have been a catastrophic failure. This is a telling indictment of the Communist system when one recalls that over 80 percent of the world's people are engaged in agriculture and that improved methods of agriculture are a life and death matter for most of the uncommitted nations of the world. I have been referring to Communist setbacks. Now I want to mention some of the positive accomplishments of our side.

There is the phenomenon of the decolonization by our allies climaxed by the recent settlement in Algeria which will free France from a tremendous drain of its resources. With the exception of Portugal, the nations of NATO are fast divesting themselves of their oversea lands. While the new nations create new problems, I believe that in the long run, the very emergence of these new nations will greatly strengthen our hand in the struggle with communism for two principal reasons.

First of all, as our European allies bring their colonies to independence, we find that the peoples of those countries, whose whole impetus stems from the desire for liberty, have no desire to exchange the chains of one master for those of another. The very antipathy for discipline of the individual African must be seen to be believed. I remember being vividly impressed with this phenomenon at the coming to independence of Tanganyika last winter, at being particularly struck by the zest of each African to do just what he wanted. Moreover, as the Africans come to freedom, the Soviets lose their powerful propaganda weapon of masquerading as anticolonialists. In fact, Red colonialism becomes increasingly obvious to the uncommitted nations.

Secondly, our Allies are not squandering their resources in a futile attempt to repress independence movements. As a consequence, our Allies are able to use the men and money saved for their domestic economic growth; they are able to make a more substantial contribution to NATO; and they are in a better position to help us meet the great challenge of economic development in the new nations. Our problem, though, is to get our Allies to carry their full, fair load.

Another very positive development in our favor has been the phenomenal economic recovery of Western Europe, where a planned but free economy has racked up phenomenal accomplishments, where the strength of the emerging Common Market has a very direct relevance to problems of development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. One of the great hopes of the Communists has been that they could convince the emergent developing nations that their Communist system presented the best method for development. Yet, in contrast, nakedly stand the failures of Communist agriculture; and the failure of the brutal Communist efforts to industrialize China. Less striking, but no less significant, in comparison with China, is the steady progress which India has been making through the use of democratic methods.

As we assess the balance sheet between independence and communism, I think we should ask ourselves what are some of the underlying reasons for the failures of communism and here I believe we can return to my original remarks about the basic philosophy which underlies our society. Because to my mind, the basic reason for the failure of communism is very simple. Communism is utterly unnatural and goes against the grain of men. As Pope Pius IX said more than a century ago in 1846 of communism, "It is absolutely contrary to the natural law itself." But, when people are starving and illiterate, when any alternative seems preferable to the status quo, they may swallow it. When people are facing the muzzle of a cannon, they can be forced to live under it. But, when these conditions change, when brutal force is lessened, then starts the evolution away from communism. I see the defeat of communism ahead. Not quickly, which would mean global war, destructive to both the East and the West. But, I do see the defeat of communism over the long haul through evolution.

The very system we have evolved with its freedom of choice and respect for individual rights, has its attractions to any people who have a degree of education and material well-being. I believe that, innately, human beings everywhere, of every color and in any hemisphere, yearn for the freedom to say what they think, to work where they wish, to worship how they please, and to pile up a few personal possessions to pass on to their children. And this includes the Russians, who are today reasonably well fed, well read, and well clothed.

In essence, then, I believe that the Communist system contains within itself, the seeds of its own destruction, not by quick revolution, because the Russian people are not too discontent, not by mutually destructive war, but through evolution.

If we can take the long view of history, we realize that our Judaeo-Christian civilization has been in existence for centuries and has survived many temporary inroads of unnatural and antihuman philosophies. Therefore, I wonder if the historians of 2062 will not think of the Communist movement as one of a number of threats to civilization which like other barbarian movements, like the Huns and Visigoths and the Third Reich, were turned back because of man's innate humanity.

I believe that Walter Lippmann, one of the wisest political philosophers on the American scene, was eminently correct when he told the American Law Institute last May: "The wave of the future is not Communist domination of the world. The wave of the future is social revolution driving us toward the goal of national independence and equality of personal status."

Obviously, we cannot just sit back and talk about our principles. We must implement in our daily lives the doctrines we hear preached in our houses of worship. In this connection, the social ethics of our Judaic-Christian heritage are not only a source of inspiration—their implementation is vital.

As we brace ourselves to deal wih the triple challenges of poverty, disease, and illiteracy, the really important thing to keep in mind is not what we are against but what we are for. I particularly commend to you a statement by General Shoup of the Marine Corps: "We teach them (marines) what there is in this country that is worth living for, worth fighting for, worth giving your life for. We don't teach them hate.

"Hate I consider is an internal sin. And hate is closely associated with fear, I think fear breeds defeatism, and that is a disease that we cannot afford in this country if we are going to maintain our position in the family of freedom-loving people."

Our greatest strength then is our dedication to man's independence and as Longfellow said, to "all the great traditions of the past—they saw reflected in the coming time." The tried and true great commandments of our forefathers, the principles which inspired those who established this magnificent synagogue do, indeed, have great relevance for us today. If we follow these principles, we will be able to demonstrate "examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of imitation" as George Washington asked us to do.

It is my earnest hope that those of us who are gathered here today will leave this hallowed building with a sense of reconsecration to destiny in life and to God's work.

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## For a New Appraisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has been following the Vice Presi-

dent's tour to Mediterranean countries with satisfaction and pride. The great crowds who have welcomed him wherever he has appeared have shown their wholehearted admiration for him personally, for the people of the United States and for our Government. We are hopeful that his visit and his talks with the leaders of these countries, of such importance to the stability of the world, will strengthen our collective efforts to bring about peaceful solutions to the worldwide problems which confront us.

However, in one part of this region, there are countries which are not willing to talk about peace with their neighbors. On the contrary, they insist that they are in a state of war. They are deaf to any talk about peace and, for over 15 years, they have held fast to their intransigence.

Since the day the State of Israel was established, its Arab neighbors have proclaimed that they are preparing for the day when they will, as they put it, throw the Israelis into the sea. In the meantime, they harass the little democracy by every means—by propaganda, border incursions, sniping, and threats.

Israel has devoted the 15 years of its existence to reclaiming a barren land, to building cities, roads and industries to sustain her newcomers. It has succeeded beyond its wildest dreams and has earned the admiration of all the free peoples of the world.

But Israel is surrounded by hostility. It has no military pact with any nation. And it fears that some day its neighbors will feel that their military might is sufficient for the task and that they will indeed attempt to carry out their threats.

The situation has become even worse since President Nasser of Egypt has been devoting so much of his resources to purchasing Soviet arms and jet fighters. And for his 10th anniversary, Mr. Nasser celebrated by firing rockets. This development has increased Israel's fears. A belligerent Nasser armed with jets and rockets is not a comfortable neighbor.

Perhaps some day the Arab leaders may be persuaded to sit down with the Israelis face to face, to try to reach a peaceful solution. The Arabs have never considered this possibility as an end to their state of war. But that does not mean that we cannot lend our weight, our prestige and our leadership to proposals for direct peace negotiations. I hope that if a peace resolution is again brought to the General Assembly this year, as it was during the last session, our U.N. delegation will support it. That it did not support the proposal last year was a disappointment to many of us.

I ask permission to insert at this point an editorial from the Near East report of August 14 entitled "For a New Appraisal," which should be read by all:

FOR A NEW APPRAISAL

Just as long as there is no Middle East peace, the Western Powers—Washington, London, and Paris—must do everything possible to maintain stability.

American policy, in recent months, has rested on two major assumptions:

1. That President Nasser presents no menace to his neighbors because he is preoccupied with economic development.

2. That Israel has the defense capacity to deter Nasser from implementing his reiterated threats.

Nasser's recent firing of V–2 rockets in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, and the bellicose speech with which he punctuated it, may force a reappraisal of our policy because they invalidate the assumptions.

Rocketry is having a dangerous psychological impact on Nasser himself. His recent speeches are increasingly harsh and strident and must be disconcerting to diplomats who have been assuring us that a reformed Nasser has given them a firm commitment to keep the peace.

Egypt's neighbors look apprehensively at this turn of events. They fear that Nasser's prestige will rise—along with his ambitions—and that Egypt's new prowess will embolden pro-Nasser groups throughout the region. They have read his speeches, they have studied his book, they are not deceived by his beguiling smile. Arab leaders know that he has never changed his announced program. He still seeks to dominate the Middle East, find space for his surplus population, control its oil to finance migration, development and military might.

He has not relinquished his dream of gaining control over the oil of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Libya. And Turkey, Ethiopia, Sudan, Lebanon—all fear a recrudescence of Nasser subversion.

Arab leaders know that Nasser's first target, if he does strike, will be Israel, which he would attempt to knock out in a lightning blow before that country's light bombers could reply and before the United Nations could decide who is the aggressor. And once Israel is out of the way, Nasser can take any Arab state under his influence.

All of them know that their own security depends, in some measure, on the security of Israel. If Israel can continue to be able to stand up against Nasser, then there is some hope for stability in the region.

They find it bewildering that, despite Nasser's avowed objectives, the United States continues to come to his rescue—that we saved his economy from bankruptcy, that we encourage West Germany to increase its aid, that German scientists help build his rockets—all this while the Soviet Union supplies him with MIG–21's and TU–16 bombers, which are even more dangerous than rockets.

For a long time, Washington experts have maintained that Israel is stronger than Egypt. They have conceded that Egypt has more manpower and that its army and navy are better equipped. They have argued, however, that Israel has a qualitative superiority because its manpower is more skilled.

But Egyptian rockets suggest that the balance of strength has shifted in Nasser's direction. If Nasser can fire rockets aimed at Israel, merely by pressing buttons, skill ceases to be a decisive factor. Tiny Israel is a concentrated target and a rain of missiles could devastate it.

Ideally, the solution to this is peace and an end to the costly and dangerous arms race. But Nasser has said that he will not let Ben-Gurion "impose peace" on him. He prefers to be at war with Israel. And the international community does not have the courage or strength to outlaw his posture.

Denied peace, we must then ask whether stability can be maintained if Moscow and Washington combine to enable Nasser to consolidate his growing military advantage. By continuing to strengthen Nasser, we may be contributing to the danger of a new conflagration.

## German-American Cooperation: The Case for Noblesse Oblige

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article which I wrote for the August 1962 issue of Aussen Politik, the German journal on foreign affairs, on the need for German initiative and leadership in Europe in reducing tariffs, increasing foreign aid, and helping to solve the international payments disequilibrium. The text of the article follows:

GERMAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION: THE CASE FOR NOBLESSE OBLIGE

The decade of the fifties was one in which the United States reaped the fruit of its investment in Western Europe. After the clouds of the Suez crisis had cleared, Europe's economic renaissance was revealed in all its strength. The United States looked forward to a new period in which the Atlantic nations would use their unparalleled resources to spark a new surge of progress in the free world.

The realities today fall somewhat short of this expectation. Indeed, the effective strength of the free world may have been diminished in the past few years for, though Europe has continued to add to its strength, the United States has failed to keep in step.

The irony is that much of the problem need not exist.

If the man from Mars were to descend suddenly into our world, he would be as astonished at our condition as we would be at his appearance. He would find few who disputed the need for cooperation between the United States and prosperous Europe to advance their own interests as well as that of the poorer members of the free world community. But he would find the two halves of the Atlantic Community limping along under a burden of problems which would disappear if the halves were fitted together as complements.

The man from Mars would find some 5½ percent of the U.S. work force out of work. In Western Europe, on the contrary, there is superfull employment and acute labor shortages in some countries. Germany, for example, has more than twice as many job opportunities as there are unemployed, despite the import of labor from neighboring countries.

He would find that U.S. economic growth has been lagging along at a rate less than 3 percent per year, but would conclude that the economy has a great potential for more rapid growth in a huge manpower reserve, idle capacity, and relatively steady increases in productivity. Western Europe has in the past decade grown at double the U.S. rate, but shortages of labor and industrial capacity, combined with growing public, business, and consumer demands, threaten to convert growth into price inflation.

The man from Mars would see that Americans, though they eat well and cheaply, still struggle with mountainous farm surpluses produced by the most efficient agriculture in the world. In Western Europe, food prices are rising—more than 6 percent in some countries during 1961—with much of the increase attributable to higher subsidies paid to costly systems of agriculture. Our visitor would be incredulous to discover that the Common Market is determined to insti-

tutionalize this least efficient part of its economy and to forgo the benefits of American agricultural efficiency.

He would find that the United States has vast and efficient plants which can turn out huge quantities of consumers durable goods—from clothes driers, dishwashers, and garbage disposers, to air-conditioners, TV sets, and a great array of other household electrical appliances. But the U.S. market is highly saturated with many of these appliances—the saturation ratios are said to be as high as 89 percent for TV sets; 96 percent for radios; 98 percent for refrigerators; and 91 percent for washing machines. Thus, much of America's capacity stands idle.

In Europe, the man from Mars would find that capacity for supplying these goods is limited just at the time when rising personal incomes presage a great boom in consumer demand. For unlike the majority of American families, European households are far from having satisfied their wants for these consumers' conveniences and luxuries. Market saturation ratios in the six countries of the Common Market are estimated to be only 10 percent for TV sets; 20 percent for radios; 12 percent for refrigerators; and 12 percent for clothes washing machines.

The man from Mars would boggle at the spectacle of continued large annual deficits in the U.S. balance of payments while equally large payments surpluses piled up in Western Europe. Yet he would find that the Common Market countries with the largest surpluses plan to keep quite high tariffs against the outside world which will further add to their surpluses and the deficits of other countries.

By this time, our unbelieving observer might clutch his forehead and say: "Why don't these foolish mortals put two and two together? The United States could eliminate unemployment and achieve a higher growth rate by supplying the goods that Western Europe needs. Western Europe could maintain full employment and continue to raise wages without risking inflation by importing goods to supply rising demand. In so doing, the United States and Western Europe would right the present payments imbalance, and together they could turn their attention outward to the solution of their common problems."

From the American point of view, what is good for Europe's short-run interest cannot be the sole criterion today, any more than narrow self-interest could have sufficed for U.S. policy in the immediate postwar period. The boundaries and interests of the free world are broader than those of the Common Market or, indeed of the Atlantic community.

Since this is so, any major economic or political decision taken in Europe, as well as in the United States, should, in the American view, be measured in terms of the welfare of the entire free world community—Africa, Asia, and South America, as well as Europe and North America. The economic obligations of a prosperous Europe, like those of the United States, include the responsibility to see to it that the growth of one is not at the expense of the other or of the free world at large. Beyond this, there is the overriding mutual obligation to assist the growth of poorer, developing nations.

In redirecting Western Europe to sensible and responsible international economic policies, Germany has unique qualifications as well as responsibilities for leadership. These do not derive solely from its position as one of the free world's leading industrial powers, though wealth itself imposes responsibilities—a recognition of economic noblesse oblige.

Like the United States, Germany is not hampered by a web of economic ties with former colonies for whom preferential arrangements have to be considered. Like the United States, Germany believes that its own interests will be best served by a generally low-tariff, nonrestrictive commercial policy. And like the Americans, the German people have always had a strong strain of idealism which, harnessed to the economic and managerial genius of the nation, could direct the growing power of Europe outward for the mutual benefit of the free world.

Specifically, Germany can join the United States in action on foreign aid, trade, and international payments.

With respect to aid, Germany, like the United States, is in a position to grant long-term development assistance to areas of the world which cannot look to former mother countries for help. Its expenditure in 1961 of DM1.2 billion, apart from DM900 million in long-term credits to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is a good beginning. However, its continuing basic surplus payments position amply justifies an expanded program. With a large and growing aid contribution of its own, Germany's counsel in the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD could carry great weight in urging the other industrial countries to increase their aid efforts.

Apart from lending or giving money, the German people could work together with the Americans in establishing an international peace corps. The possibility of harnessing the energies and enthusiasm of talented German youth in such a people-to-people aid program was explored in preliminary discussions of a year ago in which the writer participated. As Americans can testify, this direct contact with the peoples of the developing countries is at least as rewarding to the aiders as to those aided. It gives the givers insight into problems which our young people will soon inherit. And Germany, like the United States, needs the widest public understanding of world problems if it is to safeguard itself from dangerous isolationism in the future.

Another German aid specialty lies in her own remarkable post-World War II achievement in democracy—honest courts, a working parliament, a free press, and an incorruptible civil service. The heritage of Vom Stein is not without its relevance today.

In trade, Germany together with the Benelux countries should continue to take the leadership in the Common Market for a substantial unilateral reduction of quota restrictions and tariffs. The recent initiative of the Common Market to reduce coffee and cocoa tariffs by 40 percent is a step in the right direction, but reductions are essential over a much wider range of industrial and agricultural products.

What does it profit Germany or France to protect inefficient coal mines[1] or costly agriculture if it aggravates an acute labor shortage, and industrial growth lags for lack of labor? How will the Common Market countries gain if wage increases continue and a deficiency of consumers' goods forces up prices into an inflationary spiral? A higher level of Common Market imports would be as beneficial to the Common Market now as it would be for the United States and many other countries. Moreover, in the long run, any action permitting a higher level of U.S. exports to Europe now—consumer durables, machinery, coal, paper products, food—will redound in Europe's favor later on. If the U.S. trade balance is expanded, this country is far more likely to grant meaningful concessions to Europe in the next round of trade negotiations, and these concessions will be needed if Europe is to have sustained growth in its most important external market.

Finally, as the country with the largest unobligated gold and foreign exchange reserves in the free world, Germany has a unique responsibility to take the initiative in correcting the international payments imbalance.

In the 4 years 1958–61, inclusive, the United States has had a series of large payments deficits. They were caused largely by the size of U.S. foreign aid, oversea military defense, and private foreign investment.

As a result, U.S. gold reserves declined by $5.9 billion, and U.S. short-term dollar liabilities increased $7.4 billion to a total of $22.6 billion. Western Europe, on the other hand, increased its gold and foreign exchange reserves by about $11 billion in this period, with nearly $8 billion of the increase going to the six countries of the EEC. This one-way drain upon U.S. reserves toward Europe cannot continue without serious consequences for the present international system of payments.

Through the recent supplementary credit agreement, $6 billion—$4 billion in non-dollar currencies—has been added to IMF reserves, which could be borrowed by any of the 10 participating countries in case of emergency. Although this agreement and various informal arrangements among the central banks to prevent violent exchange-rate fluctuations help considerably in diminishing sudden liquidity crises, they do not go to the heart of the U.S. balance-of-payments difficulties. Similarly, the German advance debt repayment in 1961 of $587 million was extremely helpful in reducing the 1961 U.S. deficit, but it was a one-time benefit for the United States.

The dimensions of the basic problem are suggested by the fact that U.S. military expenditures in Europe alone come to $1.5 billion per year and that U.S. net private long-term investment in Europe adds another outflow of $1 billion per year.

There are a variety of measures which European countries could take. Two have been mentioned above. Increasing long-term loans and grants to poorer countries, on an untied basis, and increasing exports would greatly help the United States, as would picking up a larger share of the U.S. oversea military burden. German purchases of arms in the United States are now increasing.

Germany and the other Common Market countries could also work vigorously to establish a long-term capital market adequate for their own needs. It is not appropriate, in its present payments position, for the United States to continue to be the major source of large-scale foreign investment loans. The $25 million European Coal-Steel Community bond issue floated in Wall Street in May 1962, is a case in point.

Germany might also consider using fiscal stringency—more taxes or less spending—somewhat more, and high interest rates somewhat less, as a means of combating inflation. Somewhat lower private interest rates would encourage German lenders to lend abroad, and German borrowers to borrow at home. Lower interest rates abroad would permit the United States to have lower interest rates, and more economic growth, with less danger of losing capital to other countries.

A reduction in the Common Market's external tariff would help the U.S. balance of payments not only by increasing export possibilities, as discussed above, but also by reducing the incentive for American industries to leave home and locate behind the Common Market tariff wall. There is no doubt that a large part of American investment in the Common Market countries has been lured there by the attraction of getting inside the high tariff wall. Reducing the tariff wall would make plant-location decisions depend on more legitimate factors than the charms of a high-tariff protective area.

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[1] Germany now limits annual coal imports from the United States to 5 million metric tons, less than 5 percent of its domestic consumption, although U.S. coal can be landed in Germany at competitive prices.

If this list of courses of action open to Germany seems long, the agenda for the United States is equally lengthy. Foremost for the United States is to employ vigorously President Kennedy's new Trade Expansion Act, as soon as the ink is dry, lower trade barriers, not just for the United States but for the whole free world. The United States supports the political and economic unity that is being wrought by the Common Market, but it aims to generalize the benefits of Common Market internal free trade as widely as possible.

As for Germany, one hears it said so often that German society today is unsure of itself. If there is any truth to this, one could do worse than to recall Schiller's words:

"Man grows according to his higher goals." Who knows? Perhaps some of the goals I have ventured to suggest may nourish this growth.

To both Germany and the United States, much has been given. In the years to come, much will be required.

## Failure of Communism Described in Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of an editorial appearing in the Christian Science Monitor, Thursday, August 16, 1962:

FAILURE OF COMMUNISM

In the face of one more spectacular Communist success in the field of space engineering, it is a useful corrective to recall that communism is unable to engineer a good society. The triumph in rocketry will not alter by one whit the economic and political condition of the Communist peoples.

They will have good reason for pride. But pride in a deed which exalts the rulers more than the ruled is uncomfortably close to giving the people circuses instead of bread. This is not a durable form of government.

Indeed, a look at the political globe today tempts one to say that communism as a system is a failure.

It may well be. It certainly is deep in failures right now and its successes are few and indecisive.

The evidence goes way beyond the spectacular collapse in Communist China which is emerging from behind the censorship now and creating headlines. In the big Western industrial countries where communism, was scheduled to triumph, its considerable power at the end of World War II has declined to a minor irritant. In its place, the vigor and promise of the Common Market have left the old, shopworn threats and blandishments of the Communists far behind.

The satellite countries are showing a subtle and shrewd independence right inside the Communist camp. Their system is not communism. It is as different as the Poles and Hungarians can make it. They are a kind of Trojan horse inside the wall. Africa, which was to have been a happy hunting ground offering fresh successes for infiltration and subversion, has shown itself self-reliant and sturdy, to a degree that even surprises its friends. Even the early breaches leading into Guinea, Ghana, and the Congo have seen Communist agents clambering back out, in some disarray.

In the Middle East Iran still stands, somehow, and Iraq seems firm. Egypt has its dealings with the Communists but their effort to get their hooks into domestic power landed them in jail. They are still there out in the government's oases, well concentrated. The big neutrals like India, Burma, and Indonesia have learned the score and kept their domestic Communists under control. The ending of the colonial era removed the prime irritation on which Communists thrive, just in time.

The Soviet Union has some successes at home. A handful of technicians and scientists have done brilliantly, under the military spur. The regime is less brittle, more supple than Stalin's. But who knows whether it can withstand the admixture of incentives and civilian yearnings and values which leak in from the outside and are a powerful leaven, and without which Mr. Khrushchev cannot run a modern state.

Let no one fool himself as to the cause of today's frustrations. They are imposed. Since communism as a system is the enemy of human values its nemesis, the source of its punishment, is the moral tenacity and the physical strength of the free system. The outside world has jailed Communist power within its borders and denied it the momentum that Hitler was permitted.

This powerful restraint has to continue. No one can afford to lower his guard. Communism has rallied before and could do so again. And the free system is not without its problems. Its future, in Lincoln's phrase, is piled high with difficulty. But that of communism is piled high with despair and the Communists are finding it out.

Allen Dulles has said, "Some of the steam has gone out of the early, evangelical, fanatical drive of communism. And it is a tarnished thing. It can never really live down Stalin's record of terror.

## Congressional Watchdog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill of August 29, 1962, setting forth some of the efforts of our colleague, the gentleman from California, the Honorable JOHN MOSS.

The article entitled "Congressional Watchdog," is headed "Fast-Rolling Moss Leaves No Stone Unturned in Fight To Guarantee Press Access to Government Information."

Having served on the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives with this outstanding representative of his State and Nation, and having watched with admiration the vigorous and courageous fight which our good friend and colleague, the gentlemen from California, the Honorable JOHN MOSS, has constantly waged on behalf of the public interest in all fields, I take pride and pleasure in inserting this article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

No Member of the House of Representatives is more deserving of praise and of the admiration of his colleagues than is the gentleman from California, the Honorable JOHN MOSS, for his record of courage, integrity, energy, and hard work on behalf of his district and the people of the Nation.

The article follows:

CONGRESSIONAL WATCHDOG—FAST-ROLLING MOSS LEAVES NO STONE UNTURNED IN FIGHT TO GUARANTEE PRESS ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

(By Oscar Johnson)

A telephone rings out in the cubbyhole offices on the second floor of Capitol Hill's old George Washington Inn, adding its note to the sound of clacking typewriters and conversation.

Tall, grizzled Sam Archibald, first and only staff director of the House Freedom of Information Subcommittee, grabs the receiver, listens while a Congressman speaks. "OK, we'll check it out," he says shortly, then hangs up and shouts to chief investigator Jack Howard across the narrow hall: "It's the ICC again, Jack." Howard, whose close-cropped red hair and thick spectacles present a scholarly image, smiles slightly and turns to the files. It's time to start a new project forcing the Government to release public information to the public—to them an accustomed and now frequently successful task.

Last week the Special Government Information Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee (to give FOI its tongue-rattling actual name) was again up to its cluttered desk tops in negotiations with the ICC—one of its old foes among the jumble of Washington independent regulatory agencies which can acquire autonomous power, abandon the public interest, and then hide their flaws in an infinite bureaucratic morass thwarting outside scrutiny.

This time the Interstate Commerce Commission had refused to open its files on a railroad loan guarantee to Congress' watchdog auditing agency, the General Accounting Office, despite the fact that the GAO is lawfully entitled to see all Government papers not hidden by statute. As authority for their refusal, ICC officials cited the "traditional immunity from disclosure of the internal deliberations of the various organs of Government."

The congressional answer to this far-fetched excuse for secrecy was supplied by Representative JOHN EMERSON MOSS, Democrat, of California, the hard-battling, tenacious Freedom of Information chairman. "I know of no such traditional immunity," Moss said scornfully, "unless it is the immunity claimed by those involved in scandals."

In this case, Moss decided on a new gambit to add to his usual arsenal of tactics. The bill authorizing fiscal 1963 operations of ICC had already cleared the House, but he could still drop a "word to the wise" through another suitable vehicle—the Federal Aviation Agency authorization bill, which was still going through the House Commerce Committee. Moss happens to be a member of Commerce. So when the Commerce Committee report on the FAA bill was being written last week, he tucked in language specifically directing the FAA to make all of its records available on demand by Congress or GAO. "It will be implicit," Moss told Roll Call, "that similar language will be put in the ICC bill next time around if they don't straighten out."

One way or another, many Washington bureaucrats have found, Moss usually gets his wishes. As FOI chairman, he is a living,

fighting testimonial to the fact that it does not pay to anger a Congressman.

FOI exists today only because a Federal official tried to block Congress' access to information when Moss was a House freshman 10 years ago. But for that, Moss might have wound up as just another liberal Democrat from California—for there was little in his background to indicate he would become a leading national crusader for freedom of information.

JOHN MOSS, 49, was born in Hiawatha, Carbon County, Utah, but when he was only 10 the family headed for the more prosperous environs of northern California's fabulously fertile Sacramento Valley. He attended public schools in Sacramento, the State Capital, later going to Sacramento Junior College. During 1939–43 young Moss pursued a business career which included stints in sales, credit, and retail stores—all the while working as an active Democrat. During 1939 he was State director of Young Democrats. After a World War II Navy hitch, Moss entered the retail business in Sacramento and worked with his brother selling real estate.

In 1948, Moss gambled on a political career and won a seat in the California House. He was reelected 2 years later, and soon was assistant Democratic floor leader—a rapid rise to leadership which was later to be manifested on the congressional level.

In the statehouse, Moss helped lead a progressive, bipartisan group which overthrew the lobbyist-dominated clique which had run things for many years. In a bid for Congress in 1951, Moss had to buck elements of the same band. He credits the victory to his wife, the former Jean Kueny, whom he had wooed and wed in 1935. In the absence of organization support, she was his only campaign worker—but after that first victory his political eminence and vote margins grew steadily. (In 1958, under California's old cross-filing system, he got both parties' nominations, and in 1960 had no opposition.)

Entering a GOP-controlled House in 1953, Moss was named to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and started writing his liberal record. In 1954 he emerged as leader of Democratic forces which succeeded in getting House approval of a Federal worker pay raise without postal rate boosts—contrary to the program of President Eisenhower. Watching this creditable performance with approving eye were sagacious Minority Leader Sam Rayburn and Democratic whip JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts.

In 1953, while on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee Moss got his first bitter taste of censorship—and found it not to his liking. In the wake of the 1952 Eisenhower election, Republicans were playing a "numbers game" of hunting alleged subversives in the Federal Government whom, they had charged in the campaign, the Democratic regime had allowed in.

Republican CSC Chairman Philip Young released a report vaguely listing several thousand dismissals, and Democratic Congressmen started pressing for details. Had those dismissed been security risks? The Civil Service Commission just thumbed its nose, declined to state specifics.

"It was outrageous," Moss now says. "No State agency would dare to try that with a State legislature." Then and there he resolved to do whatever he could to improve Government FOI.

Eventually, Democrats were able to dig out that most of those dismissed had actually left through retirement, other employment, or similar voluntary reasons. Only about 70 had been fired, and mostly for drinking or other moral laxity—not for left-wing activities. But the meager information supplied did not satisfy Moss, who started thinking of ways to clean up such censorship.

"I had to wait until 1955 (when Democrats controlled Congress) to put my ideas to work," he says.

At about the time of the "numbers game" controversy, considerable public interest in FOI had been aroused, partly because of a book, "The People's Right To Know," by Dr. Harold L. Cross, which had grown from a long American Society of Newspaper Editors study. Speaker Rayburn got together with House Government Operations Chairman WILLIAM DAWSON, Democrat, of Illinois, and agreed to set up a committee on the topic. By no coincidence at all, they chose Moss to run the new group—a task which he was eager to assume.

Since formation of FOI, Moss feels, steady progress has been made toward ending Government secrecy—although there is room still for wholesale improvement. He has little praise for the Eisenhower administration's record, pointing to 44 cases of censorship under Executive privilege during the subcommittee's first 5 years of existence.

By contrast, Moss points out, President Kennedy's administration has used Executive privilege only once—when Defense Secretary McNamara was instructed in March of this year to refuse to give Senator JOHN STENNIS', Democrat, of Mississippi, committee the names of Pentagon censors who had made specific deletions in military speeches. Moss' group, however, was able to turn even this instance to advantage.

Staffers Archibald and Howard, ever alert to any chance for improving FOI, reported to Moss that the President's wording in his directive to McNamara might be significant. They wrote the President about it and were informed that under Kennedy, Executive privilege would be invoked only by the President himself and only in specific instances. "This was a great improvement," says Howard. "Under Eisenhower, officials far below the Cabinet level were using it."

Staff files show examples of censorship ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous. There was a Customs Bureau ban on release of fig import statistics; in another case the Comptroller of the Currency refused to show a citizen the blank forms used to apply for organization of a national bank. More recently, the Naval Ordnance Lab near Washington would not give a trade publication a copy of its unclassified telephone book. Former Navy Secretary John Connally, now running for Governor of Texas, based his refusal on the grounds that the telephone book was "related to the internal management of the Navy."

Under Kennedy, says staffer Howard, "we have general top-level encouragement. The problem is to get the word down through the ranks."

To get the word out, FOI staffers labor industriously in their cramped quarters, persist in bombarding recalcitrant officials with letters or telephone calls until information is pried loose. Some work is done on their own initiative, other cases grow out of complaints from the press, ordinary citizens or—in a growing trend—from Congressmen. "We have a pretty good batting average," says Moss, who signs the correspondence. "The censors usually give up, soonor or later."

Staffers rate the Pentagon as showing much improvement, but criticize the State Department for "doing little about FOI." Under Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges, says Howard, "We got half a loaf. It was disappointing."

Since an effective clamp has been placed on "executive privilege," bureaucrats have fallen back on other dodges—mainly the public information section of the 1946 Administrative Procedures Act. Under this authority, officials can censor (1) any function "requiring secrecy in the public interest," or (2) "any matter relating to the internal management of an agency." They can withhold information (3) except from "persons properly and directly concerned," and (4) if it is "required for good cause to be held confidential." As the decision on these four points is up to the official holding the information. "What more could a secrecy-bent person want?" Moss asks.

To clear away these giant-sized inducements to secrecy, Moss has urged Congress to pass legislation now before it. One reform measure, drafted by the American Bar Association, has been introduced by Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat of Pennsylvania, and another, more far-reaching bill, by Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Democrat of Wisconsin). But, Moss declared, there seems to be little demand for either this session.

Moss not only criticizes the FOI laxity of Congress, he has been known to lambast the press itself for taking a rebuff "lying down." When the President this year decided to bar reporters from renewed U.S. nuclear testing in the Pacific, the determined Congressman ripped into "failure of the press to protest vehemently," and said he knew of "no editorial complaints about the decision."

He says, however, that "We're gradually educating the press to not take refusal as a matter of course, but challenge it." Reporters should tell the subcommittee of restrictions, says Moss, because clearing channels of information "is beneficial to the whole process of government."

Although Moss has no actual news experience in his background, he works smoothly with Archibald and Howard—both of whom supply considerable personal knowledge of the field. Archibald, 40, served with the Army and Marines in the China-Burma-India theater during World War II, was afterward a correspondent with AP, UP, and INS. He became a statehouse reporter for the Sacramento Bee in 1948, and in 1953 the politically rising Moss tapped him for a job as his Washington AA. In 1955 Moss named Archibald director of the new FOI Subcommittee.

Howard, 38, was an Army civilian during the war, emerged with a European theater ribbon and two battle stars. From 1949 to 1951 he was a reporter for the Springfield Daily News, and then was labor editor of the San Francisco Chronicle for 8 years before joining the subcommittee in 1960.

As an efficiently run, gregarious team, FOI has rapidly assumed a national prominence far beyond its tiny size. It is the only full-time, operating gadfly in a vast Government which is complacent to FOI at best, opposed in other instances. But the bee has a mighty sting.

It still has no permanent status, but Moss' group is gaining in bipartisan support from all Congressmen. No elected Member likes to be told he cannot have information from the Government.

Moss is now serving in his 10th year in Congress, a hard-working diligent Member who "does his homework." Moss not only pores over all legislation for which he is responsible, he frequently surprises colleagues by popping up during a committee hearing with a comment on some subject far from his usual jurisdiction. He rarely goes to bed before 1 a.m., is liable to drag staffers or other acquaintances into late-hour discussions. A voracious reader, he sometimes stays up for the wee hours just to study a novel or report.

These habits and respect for his job were clearly recognized by Speaker MCCORMACK as desirable traits in anyone to be placed on the leadership escalator. Accordingly, when the House was being reorganized at the start of this session, Democrats chose the relatively new Moss as deputy whip—their fourth-highest post.

Like the party's other leaders, Moss is in good shape politically. For years his Third District has been one of the most strongly Democratic areas of the State—so much so that when the legislature gerrymandered the

districts this year it took away five Democratic counties from Moss to fashion a new Democratic district. This left Moss with only Sacramento County, with a lopsidedly Democratic population of 550,000.

Moss, of medium height and well-groomed appearance, is a straightforward, precise speaker—has the knack for a good off-the-cuff delivery. He applies the FOI belief to his own actions, always takes a stand on an issue.

When a constituent recently sent in a belligerent letter hotly berating one of his views and observing that he did not take into account the wishes of the majority, Moss did not file the note in the rotary file as many Congressmen might do. He sat down and wrote out this reply:

"The duty of the voter is to support those candidates whose announced policies and philosophies accords with his own. It is not now, nor has it ever been, proper for a representative of the people to cast aside personal convictions in an effort to support the consensus of a transitory majority within his district.

"I want to assure you that I am deeply conscious of my responsibilities to vote intelligently and upon the facts which persuade me, both as to their wisdom and rightness. This I will cede to no man. It is my independence which I regard most sacredly.

"I respectfully decline to undertake my duties," he concluded, "under the conditions you would impose."

As deputy whip, Moss is forced to stay in Washington even during long recesses. But he does not try to maintain political grace by fence straddling. During a recent rollcall vote, several aides were in his office talking about whether he should take a stand. Moss walked over to them. "If you're here, you should vote," he said. "Then you make only half the people mad, if you don't vote at all, you make all of them mad."

This belief in public awareness—the concept of an intelligent electorate working democratically through responsible officials—wraps up the philosophy of the House's leading freedom-of-information booster.

## Noise From Jet Airplanes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week the Chicago Sun-Times carried an excellent editorial pointing out the increasing problem which is being created in Chicago at O'Hare Field by jet aircraft.

I call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues because the problem we are experiencing at O'Hare Field is indeed a national problem, in varying degrees, at all major airports which handle commercial jets.

It made me happy to see the Chicago Sun-Times, a most responsible Midwest publication and one of the largest newspapers in the country, take up the cause of the people in my district whose habits are being seriously changed by the mounting noise from these airplanes. It is now virtually impossible to carry on a telephone conversation—or even a personal conversation—with another person whenever a jet is coming in for a landing or taking off over certain areas of my district.

I am mindful that the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is at present conducting an intensive investigation of this problem, and I am also mindful of the fact that the Federal Aviation Agency is seriously concerned about this situation. It is my hope that the Chicago Sun-Times editorial will help focus attention on the fact that an even greater effort must be exerted toward meeting this newest problem of the jet age.

The Sun-Times editorial follows:

NOISE FROM JET AIRPLANES

Complaints about the noise from jet airplanes taking off from O'Hare Field have spread from the area close to the field to as far away as Evanston, 13½ miles distance as the jet flies. The Evanston City Council, as a result of local complaints, has begun a study of testimony by Park Ridge officials given recently before a special House subcommittee in Washington. Park Ridge is only 4 miles from O'Hare and gets the full brunt of jet takeoff noise. Businessmen in Park Ridge complain that they have difficulty even carrying on telephone conversations because of the interference.

The problem is nationwide. Congress began a $300,000 study of it a year ago. Airlines have installed noise suppressors at a cost of $56 million. Newark and Idlewild airports require jet takeoff noise kept under 112 decibels and this has touched off a noise-versus-safety argument. In Dallas and Los Angeles, property taxes have been reduced for jet noise victims.

Park Ridge officials have made an extensive 2½-year study, using their own truck equipped with aircraft sound measuring instruments. Mayor John H. Overbeck, Jr. told Congressmen noise can be controlled by attention to flight patterns (avoiding residential areas), pilot technique, and equipment. But the crux of the problem, as he saw it, was the failure of the Federal Aviation Act to specify clearly that Congress is concerned about the right of people on the ground to be reasonably free of noise.

It is Congress duty to lay down duties of Government agencies. If it has not made clear to the FAA that it has a major responsibility in the field of noise abatement, that's something that could and should be straightened out with jet-propelled speed.

Overbeck says the act should be amended to include a Noise Abatement Division in the FAA and to put a noise abatement officer at each airport. The FAA obviously must first be concerned with safety. But there is no good reason it should not also be greatly concerned with noise. The problem will presumably get worse and the fact that commercial airliners now can make sonic booms that cause property damage is one more reason for congressional action.

## We Still Cannot Understand Policy of Spending in Red

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the House has just voted authorization to spend $900 million for public works projects, I think it is appropriate to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial of August 28 from the Flint Journal, Flint, Mich., as an indication of growing opposition with respect to increased Federal spending.

The editorial follows:

WE STILL CANNOT UNDERSTAND POLICY OF SPENDING IN RED

Even though our national debt has passed the $300 billion mark, there were cries of "unfair" when former President Eisenhower recently criticized the present administration for "floundering—thrashing aimlessly about" on the economic front.

He charged that President Kennedy is in the clutches of the "big spenders."

Immediately, our economic woes were traced back to the Eisenhower administration by supporters of the New Frontier. They claimed it is necessary for the Government to spend more money to prevent a serious financial recession.

This, of course, is an old argument. And it's one to which Mr. Kennedy apparently is wed—the good times are dependent on the freedom with which the Federal Government feeds money into the economy.

This is a notion which always has confused us. Despite its size, the Government has always seemed to us like a family or a business. In trying to make a financial go of either a family or a business it is necessary to budget your operations on the basis of the income available. You might stretch your credit now and then if a special situation or emergency calls for such action, but if you live beyond your means continually you're headed for only one destination—the rocks. Sooner or later you—or your children—will experience disaster.

But when this same principle is applied to government, we're told we are old fashioned. Those who advocate greater spending insist that the only way to keep the economy spinning is to go deeper into debt.

When we ask for an explanation, we get answers that go something like this: "The Government is a big organization. It has a lot of money; it can make more. Or, it can commit itself to more debt. And, besides, the Government is the people, so actually it's just a case of the people owing themselves. It's just a paper debt."

Our debts only appear on paper, too, but somehow or other people have a habit of waving the paper in our faces when the due date rolls around.

But if the Government didn't run up such debts by spending more money, the deficit spenders argue, then millions of people would be out of work, the economy would lag, and things might get to the panic stage.

We still don't get it. Sure it's possible for the Government to cut taxes, increase its spending, and generally bail the country out of a financial downturn. But the point we don't comprehend is how it is possible to do this year after year after year without somebody getting it in the neck.

There are those who try to explain such a policy something like this: "When the Government spends it keeps things going. It steps up the lower level of activity and it generally comes to the rescue. By doing that, more taxes are collected and the money that was a deficit now becomes a surplus."

That's right, we don't understand it either. All we know is that for the past many years we have been operating from one deficit to another. No real attempt has been made to live by any other accounting. Oh, there are speeches made about balanced budgets, but no one really puts any stock into them any more. Government deficit has come to be regarded as something we can't do without. And little attention is paid to its size.

But we still are naive—or perhaps old fashioned—enough to feel that, as in the case

of a family or a business, this policy of continually spending more money than we have is going to catch up with us. If we won't face the music either our children or their children will have to.

So with all our current problems why worry about future generations, you ask? Well, maybe we shouldn't. Still it seems to come under the heading of being dishonest.

But then dishonesty, like deficit spending, seems to be condoned by more and more people today. Perhaps we are a little old fashioned at that.

## VFW Urges Reading of Kipling as Background on Red Aggression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing feeling that too much of our policy toward southeast Asia, and the Orient in general, is the result of too much theory and not enough realistic understanding of the historical forces which characterize Red expansion in that area.

A short, but highly pertinent, article relating to Communist expansion appeared in the July issue of the VFW American Security Reporter. The article, "Kipling's Warnings," by Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, director of national security and foreign affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, points up the fundamental danger of basing U.S. policy in Laos upon the assumption that Communist promises are based upon genuine good will, or even good intention.

As General Hittle points out, the danger of such assumption was well recognized by Rudyard Kipling, whose writings still stand as a highly informative source of background information on Russian expansion.

The VFW American Security Reporter, published monthly by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, under the direction of Mr. Byron B. Gentry, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, is widely recognized as an informative and influential national publication pertaining to matters affecting our Nation's security.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the article "Kipling's Warnings":

KIPLING'S WARNINGS

(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle)

Communist cooperation in agreeing to a coalition government in Laos should raise warning flags throughout the free world. The soft approach and a smile by Communist negotiators is usually accompanied by a handshake. The history of Communist friendship justifies the suspicion that the velvet glove usually encases a mailed fist.

The technique of using ostensible cooperation as a means of furthering aggression is not new to the Kremlin. It was a widely recognized technique of czarist Russia's architects of expansion.

Viewed in its historical setting, there never is a time when Russian aggression—which is essentially synonymous with Communist expansion—is as dangerous as when it appears to forsake its stained and bloody trappings. We can learn much by way of understanding Russian aggression by reading Kipling who witnessed and understood it as a result of his many years on the Indian frontier. He, too, recognized that the Russian bear was most vicious when he appeared to smile.

The architects of our foreign policy could well heed the wisdom of Kipling's almost forgotten allegorical poem, "The Truce of the Bear." In its verse he exposes the devious character of Russian aggression and sounds the warning:

"Make no truce with Adam-zad
The Bear that walks like a man."

Less wishful thinking, less theory, and more reading of Kipling would result in a much clearer understanding as to the nature of the East-West conflict.

It must not be forgotten that neither the Soviet Union nor Red China has forsaken by sincere word or demonstrable action the goal of Communist world conquest. The highly volatile situation throughout all southeast Asia, including the strategic prize of Singapore, which would fall within the Red orbit if communism is able to extend its hold in that vital peninsula, heavily emphasizes the necessity for the closest of cooperation, the maintenance of unquestionably adequate military power by the United States in southeast Asia. Truly, while hoping for the best, the West must be constantly alert to the possibility that the coalition in Laos could be another of history's "Truce of the Bear."

## Time To Watch Castro's Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALPHONZO BELL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, the Santa Monica Evening Outlook on Monday, August 27, commented in its lead editorial on a subject which is coming increasingly to be a matter of concern to citizens of this country.

I refer to the flagrant defiance of the Monroe Doctrine by the Soviet Union in the placement of large numbers of troops or military technicians in Fidel Castro's Cuba.

The editorial by the Evening Outlook, one of the most highly respected newspapers in Los Angeles, is titled "Time To Watch Castro's Cuba." It is my opinion that this is valuable reading on a subject of profound importance to our national defense and to our historic policy in the Western Hemisphere.

The editorial follows:

TIME TO WATCH CASTRO'S CUBA

The President and the State Department have confirmed reports that large numbers of Russians—troops or technicians—have landed recently in Fidel Castro's Cuba. While Washington said it has no information that some of 31 Soviet ships have landed military forces, it is significant that there has been no official denial of Cuban refugee claims to that effect.

Authoritative Cuban exiles have reported in recent days that since August 6 large numbers of Russian soldiers and/or technicians have been landed on the island and are being headquartered in isolated rural areas.

In any case the Monroe Doctrine has been flagrantly defied by the Soviet Union. The doctrine—proclaimed during President Madison's administration—declared that any attempt by a European power to establish a foothold in any country in this hemisphere, not already colonized, would be regarded as an act of aggression and "dangerous to our peace and safety."

It is unfortunate that just when the American press was beginning to notice this Russian buildup in Cuba, attention was distracted away from it by a small attack made on a Havana suburb Friday night from offshore ships firing small shells and tracer bullets at a theater and a resort hotel.

Immediately the Cuban Student Directorate in Miami, an exile group, took responsibility, saying that two vessels manned by Cuban students had made this attack and returned safely.

Castro and his controlled press and radio were equally prompt in denouncing this "monstrous" treachery by the Yanqui imperialists and promising that any new U.S. invasion would be repulsed by the Cuban people. Washington denied any knowledge of the attack but speculated that the Cuban Navy may have been implicated. Whatever the truth of the matter, this small attack served Castro's purposes better than it did those of the Cuban exiles in this country.

It is an effective smokescreen for the Russian ships in Havana harbor and it will probably lead the Kennedy administration to crack down on the Cuban Government in exile and plead U.S. innocence before the United Nations.

We hope not. Our Government should be calling Soviet Russia and Castro to account, not assuming a defensive posture over this small and suspicious incident of Cuban ships firing at two buildings in which no one was hurt.

The Cuban Government has pointedly refrained from publicizing the Soviet arrivals in port, acknowledging only that 1,000 Russian agricultural "technicians" had landed to help with the state-run farm program. Certainly it seems strange that Cuba would enlist farm experts from a country whose own agricultural program has been a monumental failure.

The Soviet vessel *Admiral Nakimov* was announced as arriving in Cuba during the first week of August. It has just transported 1,000 Cubans to Russia. It is reasonable to assume that a similar number of "technicians" arrived in Cuba on that one ship alone. And this is only 1 of 31 Soviet vessels streaming into Cuban ports.

In all likelihood the new arrivals, like their predecessors, will reinforce the training cadres and operational units of Soviet military advisers now in control of the Cuban Armed Forces.

The Soviets are in Cuba either to complete the communization started by Fidel Castro or to beef up the Cuban military for aggression outside Cuba. There are no experts in the Soviet Union on food production, but Nikita can spare plenty of military and rocket technicians.

No doubt the Russians are testing the United States and are attempting to ascertain whether the United States and other nations of the hemisphere will tolerate a brazen foreign invasion.

The Organization of American States subscribes to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, but is not in agreement as to how the doctrine should be enforced. President Kennedy said last year that the United States would move against a hemisphere aggressor

unilaterally, if need be, in upholding the Monroe Doctrine.

A reiteration of Mr. Kennedy's declaration of last year, accompanied by appropriate military gestures, would seem very much in order.

## Alliance College Rich in Heritage, Says Federal Judge Thaddeus Machrowicz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Zgoda, the official publication of the Polish National Alliance, in which our former colleague and dear friend, now a distinguished Federal judge, the Honorable Thaddeus Machrowicz' speech on the 50th anniversary of the Alliance College is set forth.

All of us who know the Honorable Thaddeus Machrowicz admire his ability, courage, and integrity greatly, and recall with affection and high personal regard the fine service he rendered in this body.

He is recalled by the House membership as a distinguished spokesman for Americans of Polish descent and on the cause of liberty for the Polish people.

It is for this reason that his speech is particularly appropriate at this time of international trouble and of danger and oppression to the long suffering people of Poland.

The article follows:

ALLIANCE COLLEGE RICH IN HERITAGE, SAYS FEDERAL JUDGE THADDEUS MACHROWICZ—PNA COLLEGE ALUMNI FEDERAL JUDGE THADDEUS MACHROWICZ, MICHIGAN, MAIN SPEAKER AT ALLIANCE COLLEGE GOLDEN JUBILEE ANNIVERSARY HELD ON SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1962

As I face this group of young men about to enter into the world as the 1962 class of the Alliance College I cannot help going back in my mind to September of 1912, 50 years ago, when I enrolled as a freshman in what was then being organized and known as the Polish National Alliance College—and to June 1916, when as a member of the first 4-year graduating class I was in a position somewhat similar to the one you face today.

There were difference, of course. The entire complexion of the world has changed considerably. Our combined school building and dormitory no longer exists, rdined by fire. The buildings now constituting this fine campus were not then there. The scope and the emphasis of the teaching and training has changed, its faculty and governing board has changed completely, and we did not then have the 50 years of school tradition and exeprience which you now have. We were then pioneering in a sense, not knowing as clearly as you do today just where this new experiment in American education, initiated by the Polish National Alliance would take us.

You are blessed today with the knowledge and certainty, based on experience, that the experiment was a successful one; that the sacrifices of those who made this institution possible were not in vain; that the dream of the founders was not just an illusive and visionary dream, but one with real and positive meaning. You can be proud to know that you are prepared to face the world as ready and as well equipped for the problems which will beset you, as only an educational institution in the United States of like scope, could equip and prepare you. It may be of some significance and comfort to you to know that I consider the 4 years I spent here as a student from 1912 to 1916 as four of the most useful years in my life, for they gave me a breadth of vision, a healthy outlook on life, a realization of the tremendous wealth of the national heritage left to me by my Polish forefathers, which equipped me to face life with pride and confidence and to better understand the role which I, even as you, have to play in the national and cultural life of these great United States. I hope that in sharing these thoughts with you I might in some measure help instill in you the faith and the conviction that there is waiting for you in life an important role, an extremely gratifying one, if you but have faith and confidence in yourself, in the principles and the truths which have been taught you, and just pride in the heritage which has been left you by those wise, brave, and sacrificing men and women who founded this institution and the Polish National Alliance which created it.

Let me give you and particularly those of you of Polish parentage some background which preceded the founding of this institution. When the subject of founding a school of this type was first proposed to the delegates at the 1905 convention of the Polish National Alliance, the delegates there demanded "that the teaching at the college be animated by a national spirit and based on uniting the best elements of American culture with what is best in Polish culture and Polish thoughts." And in defending the then controversial project, one of the newspapers wrote: "It is a very important matter to us that the presently existing schools in the United States do not and cannot give to our youth an understanding and a love for Polish history, Polish tradition and that entire wealth of national culture, present and past."

I shall never forget the thrill of that memorable occasion on October 26, 1912, when the school was formally opened. We were honored then by the presence of the President of the United States, William Howard Taft. His words, eloquently spoken, have equal significance today.

"I understand that in these times this institution in the best way represents the Polish youth of America, and it enriches their knowledge of history and Polish culture. This institution should grow in power. It should inculcate in the Polish Americans the value of a knowledge of his Polish fathers. It should enable Polish-Americans to learn something of the lives of their ancestors.

"If you are not good members of your own nation, the nation which gave us Casimir the Great, Sobieski, Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and many other great people, then you will not be good citizens of this country, because anybody who denies his own country denies everyone."

Those words remained implanted in my mind for years, and I am more convinced today of their truth and importance than I ever was before. The American Nation is a great one and because it has gathered into its fold the best elements of many nations and people of the world, and molded them into one great and beautiful unit, which today constitutes the greatest hope for the survival and the preservation of our modern world civilization.

And well do I remember another graduation ceremony, on June 15, 1916, when I was among those receiving diplomas as the first complete graduating academy class of this college. We were honored then by the presence of the great men of this age, Ignace Jan Paderewski, one of the most renowned pianists and composers world history and who was destined to be, a few years later, the first Premier of the newly created Republic of Poland. I shall never forget the thrill of receiving my diploma from his famous hands and the stirring address which he delivered that day.

"I regard it a matter of pride to speak at this time, to address those, behind whom the gates will close today; those who leave today for the wide, wide world.

"Young friends, in this free, wealthy, and mighty country, you were born of Polish parents, who were brought here by poverty, by your forefathers long suppression and oppression. They came here for freedom, happiness, and the right to unrestrained welfare. To sum it all up, they came here for what Poland, our mother country, torn into three parts, was not in a position to give them; they came here voluntarily, like exiles, like wanderers; and everyone of them, until Poland is free and independent, must regard himself as an exile and a wanderer.

"Beyond the gates of the school there are already awaiting you two kinds of people, two forces, which will try to lure and win you, to their side. Some of these people will be wealthy and rich, but alien in soul—others will be related in blood, but separated far in spirit.

"Your fathers wish to see you as good citizens of this country but they do not want to forget about Poland. Love this country for its freedom, its hospitality, for its laws with justice to the people and protection for all. But love Poland, for Poland is a country worthy of being loved. Adore the Star Spangled Banner. If necessity will require, stand by it eagerly and defend it stanchly, valiantly, to the last drop of your blood, sincerely and faithfully as only a Pole is able to do. But do not forget about the ensign of Poland, the white eagle, for there is not an eagle purer than the white.

"Kosciuszko and Pulaski, though born across the ocean, fought heroically for the independence of the States, and Pulaski gave his life for them. Then you, likewise, ought to be ready for such a battle, for such a sacrifice. But as Kosciuszko zealously hastened at the commanding cry of his Nation to sacrifice his own blood on his country's altar, you also, ought to be prepared for such a deed, for you are Poland's posterity, the posterity of a noble nation.

"Polish youth, you leave today for the long highway, for pain, for strain, for broil, for toil, for strife, for life. Go in the name of Poland; go in the name of God; and you will conquer. The eternal land of your fathers cordially blesses you, and let God bless you."

Yes, my friends, I think you will find in those two statements made by two great men about the time of the formation of this institution—one a great American President and one who was later Premier of the free and democratic Polish Republic—the answer to the why and wherefore of this institution and you will better understand the spirit that has been the background, the tradition and yes—the guiding light of this college.

In the 50 years since its origin, I think the Alliance College has faithfully fulfilled the role which its founders had in mind. It has produced many men, yes and lately women, who have in many fields of activity, played an important part in the enrichment of our American way of life and in the enhancing of the role of the Polish-American contribution to its greatness.

Let me assure you that you are the masters of your own destiny. With the tools which have been given to you by your faculty, you are in a position to carve such a future as you desire for yourself, if you but have the will, the courage, the integrity, and the determination to work, to sacrifice, if you but understand your mission in life, and have

faith that you can and will reach the goal of your dreams.

"Per aspera ad astra" (Through adversities to the stars) was the motto of our graduating class of 1916. You will meet adversities in life. We all have. You must have the strength and courage to meet them, and if you do, you will beat them. It is my wish to you that you will fulfill the hopes and dreams of the founders of this institution, of your parents, and of yourselves by reaching the heights of whatever field you may choose for your future endeavors. Knowledge is the foundation for success and power, and knowledge can be obtained through education. May you follow the road pointed out by that immortal Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz in his "Ode to Youth."

"Youth. Rise above the horizons. Reach up, oh reach up, where the keenest glance can never penetrate.

"Smash what knowledge will never break.

"Youth. Yours is the strength of an eagle;

"And your arm has the strength of thunderbolts."

Yes, my friends, yours is the strength of a giant, if you only understood it and if you determined to use it in a way to best serve the interests of humanity. With open arms and with sincere pride and happiness I welcome you into the family of the Alliance alumni and of those who take pride in what this institution stands for and has done for the cause sponsored by Americans of Polish descent. May the good Lord lead you into the paths of greatness and righteousness. May the future be a bright one for yourselves, for these United States of America and for Poland, the land of the dedicated founders of this institution.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Thalidomide Story Told to Congress Group in May

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EMANUEL CELLER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, during the past month the American people have been outraged by the simple, obvious, human tragedy resulting from thalidomide. It was the public outcry which forced the Congress to take action on the drug bill.

I had the privilege of introducing the drug bill on April 12, 1961, jointly with Senator KEFAUVER. On May 17, 18, 23, and 24, 1962, the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am chairman, held extensive hearings on this vital legislation. The thalidomide disaster in Europe and the fact that thalidomide had been distributed within the United States for investigational purposes, and would soon bring forth numerous tragedies in American homes, was first disclosed during the course of the Judiciary Committee's public hearings. These hearings escaped the press and public notice.

However, an enterprising reporter, Dick Kirkpatrick, recently wrote an interesting article on this matter which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on August 12, 1962.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert this article:

THALIDOMIDE STORY TOLD TO CONGRESS GROUP IN MAY—DISCLOSURE ESCAPED NOTICE

(By Dick Kirkpatrick)

WASHINGTON, August 11.—The story of thalidomide, which burst out on the front pages of the Nation's newspapers only a few weeks ago, first was disclosed last May in open congressional subcommittee hearings but escaped notice.

This was noted here Friday by the Antitrust Subcommittee of the House Committee on Judiciary which this week began executive meetings on a proposed drug bill to tighten new drug procedures and foster price competition in the industry.

On May 24, Dr. Helen B. Taussig, noted professor of pediatrics of Johns Hopkins University, testified about her personal study in Europe of the deformed babies born of mothers who took the drug, and told of the introduction of the drug under the name of Kevadon in the United States, although the extent of the distribution was not brought out in the testimony nor the fact that the U.S. manufacturer was the William S. Merrell Co., Cincinnati.

"I am told most of it was first given to men and women beyond the childbearing period, but I am afraid that we still may see deformities coming up in this country. They have, of course, in Canada where the drug was also on sale," she warned.

She also suggested that greater research and clinical testing may disclose that congenital heart cases and other infant malformations may be the result of other drugs on the market today.

She said she was more concerned about the careful screening of harmless drugs with wide distribution than the potent drug given to very selected patients who are seriously ill or who are emergency cases.

A week before her open testimony she had presented the same report to the American Pediatric Society.

And the week before her congressional subcommittee testimony, the same committee had heard George P. Larrick, Food and Drug Administration Commissioner, refer to the German experience with the drug, although he did not name the drug.

And although Mr. Larrick did not refer to the use of the drug in the United States, he reported that in 1961 there were 45 new drug applications voluntarily withdrawn, conceding that in retrospect the clinical testing was not adequate.

Of the 45 drugs, he disclosed that 3 were withdrawn because of injurious side effects, including 1 that was associated with 54 cases of hepatitis and 15 deaths and another with 13 cases of agranulocytosis and 3 deaths. In the first case, Mr. Larrick said harmful side effects had not been reported promptly to the FDA.

Dr. Taussig, coinventor of the "blue baby" operation which opened the field of cardiac surgery for children born with bad hearts, illustrated her lecture with color slides of the deformed babies in Europe.

"Let me assure you there is nothing you see in the pictures that is as terrible as seeing the children," she said.

"I am sure that if any of your wives had given birth to a child with this type of malformation, you would want to exert all the influence you possibly could to prevent the occurrence of another similar tragedy," she said.

Although American drug and food laws are tougher than those in Europe "nevertheless had this drug been invented in this country, I believe it would have passed our present laws, as it is only under special circumstances that tests of pregnant animals are requested," Dr. Taussig said.

"By and large, the less potent and less necessary a drug is, the most important it is to make sure the drug cannot do harm. For this reason, 'simple' or 'helpful' drugs such as analgesics, laxatives, sedatives, tranquilizers, tonics, drugs for colds and systemic drugs for allergies should be extremely, carefully, and thoroughly tested.

"It is not sufficient to merely state in tiny print somewhere at the end of the advertisement of a drug 'warning, this drug may not be safe for children—or for pregnant women—as this aspect has not been tested,'" Dr. Taussig said.

She said thalidomide is an allied compound to "Doridan," also a sedative, which has been given to hundreds of thousands of patients with no deformities resulting.

"Abnormalties in rabbit births have been produced in clinical testing of thalidomide," she said. In Germany, the drug also was known as Algosidiv, Peracon Expectorans, Grippex, and Polygripan. In England it was known as Valgis, Tensival, Valgraine and Asmaval. Initially it was sold over the counter and was considered such an excellent sedative it was added to cough medicine and other drugs.

It first was compounded by a Swiss firm that found it ineffective on animals, but a German firm later discovered it was an excellent sleeping tablet. By the time disastrous results were attributed to the drug, an estimated 3,500 babies in Germany and several hundred in England were malformed.

Louis Rosenman, associate counsel of the house subcommittee, asked Dr. Taussig if the patients were aware they were being given an experimental drug.

"I believe, and perhaps you know better than I do, that the law says that the doctor is required to explain to the patient that 'this is a new drug and given as an experiment but we believe it is good.'

"But I am afraid that is very laxly done—a good many patients may receive the drug and not realize that they are taking an unknown risk," she said.

She added that the patient may pass the drug on to another with a similar ailment.

## Freedom for Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Knights of Lithuania held their 49th annual convention at the Hotel Robert Treat in Newark, N.J. At that time they passed the following resolution which I ask be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Their resolution is a living testimony to the free spirit of man; further it is a testimony to the free spirit of a captive nation. In part, the resolution speaks of Captive Nations Week.

I made reference to this memorable week on July 25, at which time I said that the week is a pertinent reminder of the fact that entire generations of men have lived in captivity under the most complete repression in all of history.

The Knights, in another part of the resolution, speak of their hope for Lithuania's freedom. Immediately after World War I, the principle of self-determination in international relations became operative but the Lithuanians have been denied the basic right since 1940. The occupation of their land cannot be excused.

At this time, therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 17, 1962.

RESOLUTION AT THE KNIGHTS OF LITHUANIA 49TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, HOTEL ROBERT TREAT, NEWARK, N.J., AUGUST 17–19, 1962

At the 49th national convention of the Knights of Lithuania held at the Robert Treat Hotel in Newark, N.J., August 17–19, 1962, the delegates and guests unanimously passed the following resolutions:

Whereas the Soviet Communists are actively and practically dedicated to the principle of world conquest and to the victory of Soviet communism over all existing forms of government; and

Whereas the Soviet Communists have unjustly and against the free will of the people annexed Lithuania and have since subjected her people to a persecution the like of which the modern world has not seen; and

Whereas Lithuania for 22 years from 1918 to 1940 has amply demonstrated its ability and capacity to govern herself by the remarkable progress she has made in all phases of her independent life: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we express our sincerest gratitude to the President of the United States for proclaiming the third week in July as Captive Nations Week, a gesture which renewed the hope of those nations now behind the Iron Curtain; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees pass the resolutions for consideration by Congress, resolutions which would ask the United Nations to use its influence to force Soviet Russia to take leave of the territorial boundaries of Lithuania and to permit free elections in Lithuania under the direct supervision of the United Nations; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the United Nations make every concrete effort to impress upon the Soviet Union the need to return to their native land all those Lithuanians who are now in exile.

LAWRENCE JANONIS,
*Chairman.*
ANN MARIE KASSEL,
*Secretary.*

## The Spread of Communism in South America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in light of the growing Communist menace from Cuba, I think it is well that we learn as much as possible about the spread of communism in South America.

The attached articles are excerpts from a speech made by Dr. Joost Sluis, of the University of California, who has five times visited British Guiana and is considered an authority on this subject:

ON MAP COMMUNIST ENCIRCLEMENT CLEARLY VISIBLE

(By Dr. Joost Sluis)

While the people of the United States are deeply concerned about Castro's communism, British Guiana may become a second Soviet satellite in the Western Hemisphere, on the South American Continent itself, if this country is granted its independence with Jagan in power.

Communism has already enslaved 1 billion or over one-third of the people of the world, who a little over 40 years ago were free like ourselves.

UNITED STATES BEING GEOGRAPHICALLY ENCIRCLED

If we add to the Communists' numerical conquest the fact that—on a piecemeal basis—we are being encircled, geographically, militarily, psychologically, and in other fields, does it not become obvious that they are conquering the world?

Wherever you turn, who in the world is on the offensive? Who is largely on the move for example, in Laos, Berlin, British Guiana and Brazil? The situation has gradually crept up on us.

British Guiana is a relatively poor, tropical country the size of the State of Idaho, on the north coast of South America. It was recently projected into the world's headlines when major riots, violence and arson took place in its capital of Georgetown and British troops were requested by its first Premier, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, to restore and maintain order. The U.S. State Department's Report No. 4489 R–12 of 1960, entitled "World Strength of the Communist Party Organization" states that "the party's leadership (Cheddi and Janet Jagan) are recognized as the representatives in British Guiana of the international Communist movement and have contacts with Communists in the United Kingdom and in the United States."

JAGANS SET UP RED-LED PARTY

Jagan was born 44 years ago of illiterate parents in Port Mourant. His grandparents had been brought from India as indentured laborers on the sugar estates. At one time, African slaves had worked the plantations under cruel conditions and the history of rebellion had been long. Jagan harbored the seed of anger and revolt, spent 2 years at Howard University and from 1940 to 1942 studied dentistry at Northwestern University. He met and later married Janet Rosenberg, reputedly a member of the Young Communist League, a frequent defender of Marxism-Leninism, contributor to the London Daily Worker and presently attending the Helsinki Youth Festival.

Together they returned to British Guiana in 1943, and established a Communist-led People's Progressive Party.

The exploitation of racial tension, and promises of economic improvement were primary factors in Jagan's victory, though his plurality decreased from 47 percent in 1957 to 42.7 percent in 1961.

GUIANA SCENE FOR FIVE COMMUNIST STEPS

The five steps of Communist conquest are clearly revealed in British Guiana. These are:

(1) The recruitment for communism of a few student intellectuals;

(2) The organization of these few into a fanatical, flexible, zealous, monolithic army for world conquest, known as the Communist Party;

(3) The so-called scientific utilization and exploitation of social forces such as hunger, race, legitimate grievances for the Communist purpose. The program is: Find out what people want, promise the solution to them in order to come to power over them;

(4) The seizure of power, if Jagan continues in power when independence is granted;

(5) The ruthless consolidation of power in a Communist dictatorship.

Independence talks have been postponed until after the three-man commission which investigated the riots renders its reports and probably will be held in September.

BRITISH GUIANA NEXT COMMUNIST STEP TO CONQUERING LATIN AMERICA

If Jagan is in power when independence is granted, he is free to impose his minority dictatorship and make any agreement with the Communist bloc that he likes. This could have disastrous consequences for the United States, for it is a vital step toward the conquest of all South America.

The twin imperatives under which communism operates is that communism must come to power by deception and must remain in power by force. (An understanding of this gives a foundation for any effective program to halt the Communist advance.)

The reason communism must operate within this framework is easy to understand since human nature is tuned to freedom, whereas communism is the imposition of slavery by its fearful monopoly of all political, economic, educational, judicial, military and police power. The enslavement that results is complete and beyond anything known in history.

The only answer to deception before the Communist seizure of power is knowledge and understanding.

Last summer for 2 months and during 5 other visits in the past 1½ years, we engaged in a grassroot educational campaign throughout British Guiana to channel basic information in depth about communism to dedicated, motivated people in all walks of life and thus help them to preserve their freedom. This was done on a nonsectarian and nonpartisan, free enterprise, people-to-people basis. We showed films, gave talks and distributed literature throughout the country. We attempted to show the Communist objectives, methods and techniques from their own writings and how they exploit the good and legitimate in any walk of life to bring the ultimate evil and illegitimate Communist tyranny into being.

Since the election, the opposition to Jagan is rising, in part because the people are recognizing the unfolding Communist pattern. The government's introduction of a new budget helped precipitate last February's riots, climaxing 4 days of demonstrations against the government and involving an estimated 50,000 people.

Jagan had removed his Minister of Home Affairs, Hon. Balram Singh Rai from his post and from the party because he refused to retract his accusation that in April the P.P.P. conducted the foulest elections ever held in British Guiana.

PEOPLE TRYING TO PRESERVE FREEDOM FROM REDS

Dr. Schwarz and I were declared prohibited immigrants on May 24, 1962, by the governor under the direction of the council of ministers led by Dr. Jagan, but he cannot prohibit the continuing message of truth reaching the people in British Guiana who are fighting desperately to preserve their freedom. This is being done by thousands of pieces of literature being read and distributed throughout the country by dozens of local people in all walks of life.

REDS ENCIRCLING THE UNITED STATES

Part of the Communist program for the conquest of the ultimate objective, the United States, is our gradual piecemeal encirclement through the less-developed nations of the world.

Our own Government's functions in the struggle against communism are limited because of the very nature of representative government, which is not basically designed to meet the total warfare of the Communists against us in every avenue of life. Furthermore, governments deal primarily with other governments and not often directly with the people at the grassroots.

The U.S. Information Agency in British Guiana, for example, is not willing at present to release its anti-Communist films for use in the villages because it would displease the present Guianese Government. Furthermore, direct financial aid to Jagan would help him to achieve the Communist seizure of power and ultimately enslave the people. In the nations where communism threatens, governmental programs must be supplemented by nongovernmental free enterprise programs on a people-to-people basis."

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. If we don't supply money to Jagan, will Russia do so?

Answer. Aid is extended by the Communist bloc within the framework of the timetable and plan of the piecemeal world conquest. During my last visit the Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires from Brazil was negotiating a trade agreement with British Guiana. There is strong evidence such Com-

munist aid is being granted now and future Communist aid will be forthcoming from now on, irrespective of any aid the United States may grant.

Question. Does U.S. State Department have any policy re British Guiana? Is the U.S. Government going to loan millions of dollars to British Guiana?

Answer. We are weighing whether to give British Guiana financial aid. Last fall Dr. Jagan requested $200 million of U.S. aid. That figures to $400 a head if we apply the same measuring stick to all of South and Central America. At that rate our total bill for Latin American aid would go to $80 billion. At present our State Department apparently is playing for time, and aid will have to be very carefully considered within the framework of communism's advances in British Guiana.

Question (E. E. Heavey). Do you believe California is particularly infiltrated with Communist collaborators?

Answer. Communist infiltration is a problem of the whole free world, and California, of course, is no exception. The policy of communism everywhere is to exploit the beautiful in order to bring the sordid into being; to exploit freedom in order to impose slavery; and to exploit the legitimate to bring the illegitimate to pass. It is vitally important we understand this and reach people at the "grassroots." This is the purpose of the anti-Communist school's policy. One should not look for Communists behind the door and under the bed, but should study the laws and practices of communism. In order to treat cancer we must understand the nature of the cancer, and once we understand it, it becomes predictable, and we can advise effective medication to deal with it.

Question (Guy H. Harris). If Jagan loses next election, will he accept defeat?

Answer. I don't know what is going to happen when the British troops leave. Incidentally, the Communists are often more effective out of power than they are in power—for when out of power they can promise anything they want to, even though they can't deliver it.

Question (Custis R. Nims). Not too long ago Jagan, like some of our own "civil libertarians," declared himself for "academic freedom." What is present status of free speech in British Guiana now?

Answer. Jagan controls the radio completely; his news conferences also are broadcast every day. Broadcasts by others are banned.

Question. What definite course do you believe the United States should follow re British Guiana?

Answer. We should put our governmental problems into tune in every country where communism threatens. It is a responsibility you and I have. We have every opportunity to help these people. I would like to see our businessmen get into action along the coast of British Guiana where we can build a highway and trade.

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## Agriculture's Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., for date of August 30, 1962, which is a very thoughtful commentary dealing with possible solutions to agriculture's problems.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL FARMERS ORGANIZATION HAS A LAUDABLE AIM, BUT WE DON'T BELIEVE THEIR HOLDING ACTION WILL WORK

Whether the National Farmers Organization can achieve its aim of higher farm prices remains to be seen.

What they are interested in is getting a higher price for the farmer who raises the livestock and grain to feed America and much of the rest of the world, too.

The National Farmers Organization hopes to accomplish this by holding their produce from the market, until they get the price they want. They hope to organize the farmer and get firm contracts from producers.

Certainly, the objective of a profitable return for America's farm families is one that no one can argue with. The country needs a prosperous rural America. Higher prices would help the farmer.

The farmers, as individuals or as an organization, also have a right to keep their livestock and grain off the market, if they want to do so. As a practical matter, they can't. What they produce has to go to market sometime. We cannot imagine the American farmer holding food off the market while the public goes hungry.

WHERE PRICES ARE DETERMINED

We don't think the National Farmers Organization's idea will work—because the American farmer is the most individualistic operator in the world.

Some farmers will not go along with the National Farmers Organization, and will not hold their grain and livestock from the market. This, too, is their privilege—and the National Farmers Organization shouldn't attempt to coerce them into doing so.

Prices are determined by the world market and also by a number of area markets in the United States. They are further determined by the Government's support of grain, cotton, and other commodities, production of which is controlled by quotas. In the case of cotton and tobacco, the controls are rigid and supply meets demand. In the case of grain, controls have not worked so well. But they have kept prices up.

There are no Government controls on livestock. However, the support of grain prices by the Government has been effective in keeping livestock prices at present levels. Growers have tried to keep the supply somewhat in line with demand.

Thus, the holding action contemplated by the National Farmers Organization in the Midwest may have little, if any effect upon prices which farmers will receive for their produce.

James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, says the National Farmers Organization proposal "borders on the edge of lack of realism." He says the National Farmers Organization "doesn't represent enough farmers to make such a program effective and even if they did I do not believe in farmers striking. We have a public responsibility to produce an adequate supply of food."

Patton believes "there are only two ways in which a farmer can withhold his product practically. One is not to produce, because once he has produced the crop, he must sell it. The second is to have the Federal Government take the supply off the market by loaning money and storing it."

The Government has found out that it cannot do the latter without exercising some control. In other words, the public will not write a blank check to support prices for unlimited farm production.

MANUFACTURERS AND FARMERS

The Nation's manufacturers attempt to fit their supply to the demand. In doing so, they have assured themselves a price on the market that usually gives them a profitable return.

They are also insulated, to a greater degree, from the world market than the American farmer. Their prices, in many cases, are out of reach of the foreign consumer. They're also getting steep for American consumers.

The manufacturer is also able to shift his production from one gadget to another as the market changes. Up until now, the farmer has not had this flexibility. Diversification of farming to get away from dependence on single crops offers some hope in this respect.

The efficient American farmer has never attempted to fit grain supply to demand—except under Government controls. Here again, he has demonstrated that he can produce more on less acreage—thanks to his know-how, irrigation, fertilization and mechanization.

CONTROLS, SUBSIDIES GO TOGETHER

If the farmer should achieve control over prices—and we don't think he will by the National Farmers Organization's action—it would lead to another question. It is simply this: Will the U.S. Government and the public permit the farmer to have both Government subsidies and control over prices? We don't think so.

Most countries of the world subsidize their agriculture in one way or another. We do not think that the time is here when the Government can abandon controls completely—and place the American farmer on the free market. Nor do we think that complete Government control over agriculture is the answer, either.

It boils down to a fine question of how much control the American farmer will accept in return for Government assistance—and what specific and preferably minimum controls are necessary to insure a healthy and prosperous agriculture. Finding the exact answer has proved to be an elusive task in Democratic and Republican administrations alike.

The Kennedy administration insists that it's a question of either strict controls and price supports, or neither. This is an unnecessarily harsh solution. Congress would do better to extend the emergency wheat and feed-grain programs in effect during the last 2 years. They have worked reasonably well. They offer more prospect of coping with the farm problem successfully than the permanent solution that Washington is talking about for the farm problem. There is no permanent solution for any Government problem.

Setting up a mandatory feed-grain control program would be disastrous for South Dakota and the livestock feeders and farmers in nearby States. Livestock feeding offers the prospect of reasonable growth for America's farmers—if there's no big upset from today's conditions.

Unfortunately for the farmer, the clock is running out in this session of Congress. The legislative results will probably show it, too.

USE A SELECTIVE APPROACH

Not all American agriculture is flying a distress signal by any means. Prices could be better—but they've been a lot worse than they are right now.

In South Dakota, most farmers have been relatively prosperous. Ranchers and livestock feeders have had profitable years, particularly the cattlemen. But any drastic cutback in either production or in Government support prices would change this picture.

Congress and farm organizations would do well to devote their major efforts to those parts of the farm problem which need attention—and leave alone the parts which are not in trouble.

## A $280 Million Industry Dangles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, the Greenville, S.C., News has published an excellent editorial emphasizing the reasons for the passage of an enabling act which would permit private industry to construct a $280 million power generating plant on Savannah River. This steam plant would be of tremendous benefit to the American coal industry and our hard-pressed railroads. It would use more than $26 million worth of coal annually, all of which would be transported by rail. Furthermore, the plant would pay into the coffers of the Federal Government, South Carolina and Anderson County, S.C., between $15 and $20 million per year in taxes.

I do not believe there is any valid reason for delaying a project of this magnitude. Certainly it is not only ironical but most illogical for the Congress of the United States to pass legislation providing for the expenditure of $900 million in depressed areas for the purpose of providing jobs and raising the economy in such areas, while at the same time Congress is dilatory, to say the least, in permitting favorable action on legislation that authorizes private industry to spend its own money to generate electric power and thus improve the welfare of the people in the fast growing southeastern region of this great Nation.

If Congress really believes in private industry then there is absolutely no excuse for further delay in approving this legislation.

I hope my colleagues will read the following editorial on this timely subject:

A $280 MILLION INDUSTRY DANGLES

A few days ago the House Appropriations Committee of the Congress got around to approving several major items in the annual public works money bill, familiarly known as the "pork barrel bill" because it provides the funds for the favorite projects back home.

Among the items was $3,700,000 for completion of the Hartwell Dam on the Savannah River between South Carolina and Georgia.

It's too late to oppose Hartwell. The money has been spent or obligated and we can only hope that even a small fraction of the claims made for the project and the predictions made about its benefits will prove to be true.

The bill, calling for the spending of some $4.6 billion in all, is certain to pass both Houses of Congress. There may be some minor changes and some adjustments up and down in the amounts for this purpose and that, but pass it will. And just to tighten the cinch this is election year.

Meanwhile, lying somewhere in the files of both the House and Senate are identical bills, all ready for passage apparently without opposition, which would allow a private power company to build on the Savannah River a low retaining dam to impound a relatively small amount of water for condensing the steam which will turn the turbines of a vast generating plant.

Many months ago (or has it been years?) the Duke Power Co. announced plans to build in Anderson County the largest steam plant in its entire system, probably the largest in the world. It is prepared to put up $280 million of its stockholders' money, much of it borrowed in the public money markets, to do the job.

The plant would produce more energy than many Federal hydroelectric projects costing many times more.

But instead of costing the taxpayers, the Duke plant would put money in the pockets of its stockholders, who are also taxpayers, and would pour millions into the treasuries of the Federal, State, and local governments.

In an address to the House urging passage of the bill at this session, Representative W. J. BRYAN DORN, whose district includes Anderson, said the plant would pay $10 million a year in taxes to the Federal Government, $7 million to the State, and $1 million to Anderson County alone.

And it would provide power for this whole region, much of it going into Georgia through the agreements for interconnecting lines over which the companies exchange power to meet emergencies and periods of peak demand. It would consume $26 million worth of coal a year, at the rate of 9,500 tons a day, a big boost in the coal market and a large source of revenue for the railroads which would transport the coal.

Duke must have the enabling legislation giving it permission to build the dam because the Savannah is controlled by the Federal Government.

Duke has shown to the satisfaction of all that the project will not damage existing Federal projects on the Savannah and it has offered to spend an additional $1,300,000 on the dam to make sure it will not interfere with future Federal projects.

Yet the bills have not been passed. As Congress overcomes the liberal filibuster against the communications bill and jams through "must" legislation in the rush for adjournment, they are likely to get lost.

This would mean a delay of at least a year. Duke may be forced either to forget the project or to move it to North Carolina, perhaps to a less desirable site, where it can get ready access to the water it needs. If the latter happens, South Carolina stands to lose heavily. And the delay would hurt the entire region.

There is no good reason for delaying this enabling legislation and every reason for getting the project started as soon as possible. And there is no excuse for the failure of Congress to act, unless some powerful individual or group is holding the thing up to insure approval of other proposed Federal projects on the Savannah.

There isn't a single South Carolinian who would not do anything within reason to bring a $280 million industry to his State. That is what is hanging in the balance here—a huge plant which by its very nature would attract many more industries.

So what are we and our leaders going to do?

## Eight-Point Anti-Communist Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Communist menace—changing its tactics in a changing world—requires a constant effort to update our anti-Communist policies and strategy.

Recently, I made some recommendations reflecting upon the need for a more effective anti-Communist program.

I ask unanimous consent to have these recommendations printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EIGHT-POINT ANTI-COMMUNIST PROGRAM

The challenge of communism continues to threaten the survival of freedom.

Communism is cunning, therefore, it must be fought creatively. It can be blocked at home and abroad, without destroying America's freedoms. Communism can only be stopped if America is alert, remains strong and has a flexible global strategy. No simple battle plan can fight the international cobra of communism.

Recently, there have been new developments requiring reappraisal, including: (1) A demonstration of an increasing capability in space—reflected by the simultaneous orbiting of two spacecraft *Vostok III* and *Vostok IV;* (2) failures within the Communist system in nonspace, nondefense fields, particularly in agriculture, and a continued restlessness within the Communist-dominated countries, reflected in daring escape efforts, for example, from East Germany to West Berlin.

There is, in my judgment, also need to face other new realities in relation to Communist policy.

Unless there is a change of fundamental policy—of which there is no evidence—for example, the Soviet apparently: Will not agree to realistic disarmament; will not agree to use of outer space for useful purposes; will not voluntarily lift the chains of Communist tyranny from Communist enslaved peoples; and will not stop its policies of attempted missile blackmail; of exporting communism; of blocking efforts to create peace.

Instead, the Communists remain dedicated—at whatever costs—to the goal of conquering the world.

For the future, then, we face a long, tough struggle.

EIGHT-POINT ANTI-COMMUNIST COUNTEROFFENSIVE

For these reasons, there is a real need for a reevaluation of defense policies and strategy.

As leader of the free world, the United States should, I believe, undertake the following steps:

1. Evaluate the military significance of Soviet capabilities in space—for example, I recommended a congressional hearing to obtain testimony of military and scientific experts on the military threat of the Soviet man-in-space program.

2. A crystal-clear declaration that we will continue to firmly protect Western rights in West Berlin.

3. Readvocating the lifting of chains of Communist tyranny from the captive nations, including the right of self-determination by the people through secret ballot.

4. Regularly "skywriting" for the world, the Communists' deplorable record: Of treaty breaking; of blocking progress at the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council where it has exercised over 100 vetoes; of the slaughter of Hungary, etc.

5. Undertake a more dynamic nonmilitary counteroffensive—politically, economically, and ideologically (a) against the Communist countries themseves; and (b) against their efforts at penetrations elsewhere in the world.

6. Maintaining a mighty deterrent power to make attack against the free world suicide.

7. Fully exploit weaknesses within the Communist system: For example, inability

to produce enough food—contrasting the U.S. picture of overflowing surpluses.

8. More firmly cementing relations and cooperative efforts for mutual defense and progress with our allies, bilaterally, and multilaterally through regional organizations, including NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS, and OAS.

For the future, the preservation and perpetuation of freedom will require vigilance equal to—if not greater than—any previous time in history.

The United States, and fellow nations of the free world, now possess the military strength, economic power and the ideology with a universal appeal—freedom—if we are willing to dedicate the necessary manpower and resources—to triumph over communism.

The reality to face now, however, is that this will be a long contest, that will require great effort and sacrifice.

The preservation and perpetuation of our ideals; the maintaining and a hope, and possibility, of freedom for humanity; however, this is indeed a worthy cause deserving the best effort of all of us.

## Disarmament: Limits on Efforts That Must Continue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 9, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly stated the need for this country to continue with undimmed determination our efforts to make meaningful progress toward an effective program of disarmament and ban on nuclear testing. At the same time there must be limits on these efforts—limits determined by the security requirements necessary to preserve free societies.

These limits, along with the important reminder that disarmament and an end to nuclear testing are issues "involving life or death for all mankind," have been pointedly stated in the lead editorial of the New York Times, September 2, 1962, and I commend this excellent analysis to our colleagues' attention.

THE U.N. AND DISARMAMENT

When the United Nations General Assembly meets in New York later this month, it will again have before it an issue involving life or death for all mankind. This is the issue of disarmament, with special emphasis on a nuclear test ban to avert both further poisoning of the atmosphere and an uncontrollable proliferation of nuclear arms that could easily bring on an atomic war. The latest disarmament conference at Geneva remains in deadlock and is returning the problem to the United Nations, the agency primarily responsible for its solution.

The United Nations has adopted many resolutions and guidelines on the subject. These call for progressive and balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces, under effective inspection until total disarmament is achieved. They call in particular for immediate suspension of nuclear testing under an "effective and impartial system of verification." But unless the United Nations gets down to a choice of concrete programs and fixes responsibility for the deadlock, it faces merely another exercise in futility.

The choice it must make is between two programs. One, submitted by the United States with Western support, is outlined in three draft treaties. The first calls for general and complete disarmament in three stages under international control based on internationally supervised national control posts. The other two, dealing with testing only, present two alternatives. One provides for an end of all tests but, pending development of better detection methods, with impartial on-site verification of suspected underground tests. Failing that, the second calls for an immediate end of all fallout-producing tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space (but not underground) without any control machinery whatever.

These draft treaties not only meet United Nations specifications. They also go to the outermost limits set by our own and free world security. They are made possible by scientific advances in our surveillance system. We must still insist on on-site inspection of possible underground tests because we have as yet no reliable instruments to distinguish between them and earthquakes, and the Russians who claim to have such instruments have failed to produce them.

The new policies may involve risks, but the greater risk is that we may soon face atomic threats not from one but from many states, including Communist China. Even a three-power ban may not completely stop atomic proliferation; but since (if there is no total ban, with inspection) the underground tests would presumably continue on both sides, we would be prepared to cope with any developments.

Soviet Russia also calls for general and complete disarmament. But the U.S.S.R. now rejects all international inspection by foreigners as espionage, in particular inspection of underground tests. It has canceled previous Soviet agreements and now asks for a mere paper pact on disarmament, including a new moratorium on all tests, without any control.

That is, of course, making a farce of the disarmament negotiations. The West would be taking risks beyond the limits of acceptability to embrace such a program, and so would the United Nations.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

STATEN ISLAND
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM,
*Staten Island, N.Y., June 25, 1962*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FLOOD: Your proposal for a permanent House Committee on Captive Nations is one of the finest moves undertaken by a Member of Congress. The need for a committee to bring to light the sufferings of the enslaved peoples of the world is a more urgent one than many people realize.

The establishment of the committee would aid greatly in waking the American people up to the fact that we are today embroiled in a great world conflict which has already resulted in the enchaining of over 1 billion fellow men. I am positive that by establishing the committee one good step toward freeing the Communist dominated peoples will be taken. We must engender a crusading spirit into the hearts and minds of the American people to spread freedom and liberty, to extend as our fathers did the rights and privileges of freemen to all corners of this earth. Defense of the free world is not enough; we must liberate our brothers. House Resolution 211 is the first step down the long road which I hope will lead to a world liberated from the malignancy of atheistic communism.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would have sent to the above address copies of House Resolution 211 so that members of the Staten Island YAF may learn for themselves the specifics of the resolution and in their own way undertake to spread the word of a truly freedom-loving and humanistic proposal.

Keep fighting.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM T. BOERUM,
*President, Staten Island Young Americans for Freedom.*

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
*July 18, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD:

I respectfully urge your support of the House Resolution 211. I hope I am sure you can help very much in that question.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

H. LUCHANKS.

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JULY 19, 1962.

DEAR SIR: I respectfully urge your support of the House Resolution 211.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

C. CYMBALA.

DETROIT, MICH.,
*July 16, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I am writing to you in favor of the creation of a Special Committee on Captive Nations.

I respectfully ask you to support further the House Resolution 211.

Respectfully yours,

WASYL WYTWYCKY.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I fully support your House Resolution 211. It is the best proposal for waging the battle against the imperio-colonists of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

OLGA CIPUZ.

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## Starts With Candle Salute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Philip E. McPartland, former editor of the Burlington Labor News has written an article, "Starts With Candle Salute," in which he speaks eloquently and appropriately on the "Moral Responsibility of Citizenship."

Believing this to be a significant contribution toward a better understanding of our responsibilities as citizens, and believing that a greater distribution of his cogent observations would be in the public interest, I am asking that this dissertation be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Burlington (Iowa) Hawk-Eye, Aug. 19, 1962]

STARTS WITH CANDLE SALUTE

(By Philip E. McPartland)

Probably this guest editorial, contributed upon the flattering invitation of the Hawk-Eye editor, might better be called "Moral Responsibility of Citizenship." But who would read a piece with a subject like that?

So, what is citizenship?

In these United States it is a condition that arrives with birth or completion of citizenship papers. Its era of adult responsibility, however, usually arrives without fanfare—unless it be a 21 candle salute lighted by a household match and fired off the luscious frosting of a birthday cake. The mantle of responsibile citizenship, in any case, floats to a resting place on one's shoulders without so much as a discernible rustle.

Yet, with all it's illusive presence, it lays upon one's conscience a definite moral responsibility—the responsibility of self-government.

How many citizens identify themselves with the Government of the United States, the government of Iowa, or their county or local municipal government? Yet, the President, Governor, supervisor and mayor are all acting and speaking for the citizen.

Whether the citizen voted for or against them, he formed part of the machinery that placed them there—the means of determining a majority. If he did not vote at all, he merely doubled the effect of another vote contrary to his. One cannot escape the responsibility of citizenship in a free democracy.

A good citizen therefore qualifies himself and votes at every election possible. Being qualified should mean compliance with registration requirements, and a serious effort to inform himself on issues and people involved.

A good citizen, too, participates in community efforts. He should do this because he respects his fellow citizens as such—or at least many or most of them—and is willing to contribute his talent and ability along with theirs for mutual benefit.

Community proposals, however, prove many and varied; sometimes of good and noble purpose, sometimes ill conceived, and unfortunately sometimes bearing a disconcerting likeness to a stone grinding upon the edge of someone's personal ax.

Discernment in accepting or rejecting any community project or public proposal is the citizen's right and duty, the honest and forthright exercise of which should bring him no public stigma or threat. What he chooses to support—or even to oppose—is a matter to be determined by his own conscience.

Responsible citizenship is unlikely to be well served when nonconformist citizens are harrassed for standing by their honest convictions. When individuals, in or out of public office, resort to the use of public ridicule, veiled threats, and implied reprisals to frighten fellow citizens into silence and acquiescence, they promote neither responsible government nor responsible citizenship. Willingness to appeal to reason and to abide by the final decision of the majority is essential to both.

Unfortunately today's citizen, by allowing himself to be robbed of his responsible part in government, is at the same time being robbed of his fundamental rights as a citizen. Some technical, professional and political experts are constantly seeking to convince the private citizen that he is incapable of governing himself, and he should therefore transfer the mantle of responsibility to better trained shoulders.

This he must jealously resist if he is to fulfill his part in preserving democratic government. At the same time he must improve his ability to continue his responsible part in government by greater and greater effort to understand the nature of government, the issues that face it, and the moral aspects of both.

So, upon completing this editorial pontification, we submit it for what it is worth—as the opinion of one private citizen.

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## Bon Voyage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of attending a dinner August 6 that was given by Pan American World Airways for the cadets and escort officers of the international air cadet exchange. In this program, we in the United States are hosts to 175 young men from 20 countries while our young men are guests in those 20 countries. I should like to commend Juan Trippe, president of Pan American World Airways, for sponsoring the dinner and proceedings in which I was pleased to participate.

The State of Maryland has had the honor of being host State to one of the delegations of visiting cadets. I hope that we shall have that honor again, because it gives us an opportunity to know young men from other countries of the free world a little better and them an opportunity to know us.

At the dinner in honor of the cadets and their escort officers, the toastmaster was Col. Barnee Breeskin, of the Civil Air Patrol, the coproject officer for the Washington phase of the exchange. I am happy to say that he is my constituent and one of the most distinguished residents of Montgomery County.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY made the principal speech of the evening. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, he delivered comments that were appropriate to the purpose of the evening.

Col. Paul C. Ashworth, U.S. Air Force, national commander of the Civil Air Patrol and a man who has served in the Air Force with much distinction, also was present.

I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD remarks by Colonel Ashworth entitled "Bon Voyage" which appeared in the August 1962, issue of the Civil Air Patrol Times:

BON VOYAGE

Just 3 weeks ago, your group of 135 young men of 21 foreign countries of the free world were looking forward to their first visit to the United States. You were all selected to represent your countries and aero clubs in the 15th annual international air cadet exchange (IACE) sponsored by Civil Air Patrol.

You arrived in New York City where the Statue of Liberty stands in the harbor, with her torch of freedom held high in welcome to all visitors from foreign lands. Her welcome is symbolic—and the welcome extended to you by Civil Air Patrol in New York is also symbolic of the friendship and good will which is the essence of the international air cadet exchange.

Because of a tight timetable governing your brief tour in the United States, your stay in New York was limited. Yet every effort was made to give you the opportunity to see and do as many things as possible in that short time. I am certain that you will carry back to your country the memories of your boat ride around Manhattan, the visits to the United Nations and Radio City Music Hall, the special girl you danced with at the military ball on the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, and the fabulous international dinner party in your honor hosted by Lt. Col. Gene Leone at Leone's famous New York restaurant.

In the past 10 or 11 days you have discovered that there is a great deal more to the United States than the imposing skyline of New York City. You traveled to 21 of our great States—some of you going across the breadth of our land to the Pacific coast, others going to the Mexican Border, the Great Lakes region, the Atlantic coast, and the Great Plains States, where you were hosted by CAP wings.

Now you have returned to our Nation's Capital, Washington, D.C., where you are spending your last few days in the United States. You will tour this beautiful city, attend a space age briefing at the Pentagon, and visit the White House, home of President John F. Kennedy. At Bolling Air Force

Base you will attend a delightful international party at the officers club, and will be dinner guests of Pan American World Airways at the Statler-Hilton Hotel. You will have an opportunity to visit your respective embassies before departing for your homelands.

You have been guests of Civil Air Patrol on the 15th anniversary of the international air cadet exchange. At the same time your countries have been entertaining our CAP cadets with sights only found within the borders of your countries, and extending to them your own national brand of hospitality.

The impressions, the truths, the friendships and understanding gained through this 15th international exchange are lasting.

The youth of our free nations hold the key to international understanding and good will. The new horizons disovered through the exploration of space will demand greater understanding and good will among all nations.

You are faced with two journeys. The first will return you to your homelands in a few days—the second will begin a few years from now when you shoulder indivdiual responsibilities and begin your adult roles as potential leaders among your peoples. Use your "key" to international good will and understanding wisely, for it is desperately needed to unlock the hearts of all mankind.

On both journeys, I wish you success and bon voyage.

PAUL C. ASHWORTH,
*Colonel, U.S. Air Force,*
*National Commander.*

## Safeguards in the American Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert a winning essay by Linda Litchfield in the 11th grade at the Clairemont High School, San Diego, Calif., entitled "Safeguards in the American Constitution."

It is most refreshing to find young America interested in the American Constitution upon which this great Republic was founded.

The essay follows:

SAFEGUARDS IN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

For nearly 200 years the Constitution and its safeguards have been a matter of heated controversy. The arguments still continue today. However, I think that nothing can change some of the basic principles laid down by the Constitution's authors in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787.

A separation of powers was set up, dividing the authority of our Government into three equally distinct Government branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. This separation insured that no despotic group or individual could gain control.

"How might such despotism arise? 'The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands * * * may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny'," wrote Madison. Thus, the three branches were independent of each other, and each was clearly defined. There was one more problem: It was possible that one of the Government branches might try to increase its powers so much as to be able to influence and control one or both of the others. The system of checks and balances was then set up to make sure that no Government branch could extend its authority beyond that which was originally intended. The system is "supposed to operate to 'provide some practical security' for each branch 'against the invasion of the others'." In addition, this prevented one branch or department of Government from too much interference with the rights of individuals and their property.

For example, the power of the legislative branch is limited by the constitutional provision that the President may veto a law passed by Congress. This Presidential power is in turn limited by congressional authority to override the veto by a two-thirds majority. The Senate approves treaties and most Presidential appointments. The Supreme Court not only has appellate and original jurisdiction but also the power of judicial review in which it can declare a law unconstitutional. Any Government official, whether elected or appointed, can be impeached for sufficient reason.

The Federal Government, on the whole, is restricted. Certain powers are denied to it, and it has to share its authority with the States. I think it is obvious that our Government is a Federal republic, which by definition shares its powers. "At no time, at no place * * * had the American people offically proclaimed the United States to be a democracy. The Constitution did not contain the word." The States themselves are also denied certain powers, and their authority is subject to that of the National Government.

Our liberties are protected by the Bill of Rights, and a free and republican form of government for us is insured. These cannot be changed by a mere whim of the people. To prevent rash changes in the Constitution, it was provided that amendments could not easily be added, and the very basic structure is almost unalterable. But the ultimate power lies in the people's hands. Only by their consent do they enter into government, only by their decisions are courses taken, and only by their consent does that government continue to have power.

I always thought one of the greatest things about the Constitution is its prudence. It is remarkable that so many possible dangers were perceived and guarded against, while at the same time, elasticity was provided. I feel it is amazing how the Constitution can be stretched to meet new demands of which its authors never dreamed. New problems can be solved by applying the provisions of the Constitution in entirely new ways and interpretations, yet it always retains constant vigilance against any and all encroachments upon our liberty. A poet has said, "And man turned into men in Philadelphia, practising prudence on a long-term lease."

To me the Constitution's authors not only wrote a plan of government that has since proved itself perfect for our needs and is one of the best ever devised by man, but it is also a great document of human liberty and of hope in the future. Somehow this hope was carefully interlaced among its lines so that all future generations might reap its benefits.

## Lincoln: A New Portrait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the following address was delivered by Dr. S. K. Stevens, executive director, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The occasion was a meeting of the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania held in Gettysburg, Pa.:

LINCOLN, THE COMMON AMERICAN

There is an old saying that "statesmen are dead politicians." There is really a lot of truth in this adage in terms of the way in which we evaluate our leaders in Government and affairs of state. Seldom is true greatness recognized in its own time. Rather, leaders are the victims of what oftimes has been an extremely vicious attack by their contemporaries. Some of this, of course, is inherent in the nature of our political system in which the party out of power operates on a basis of allout warfare upon those in power. A President, whether he wishes to or not, is looked upon as the party leader rather than as a national leader. Hence, he is inevitably a prime target for all types of abuse. It is in a large measure actually true that a political leader must die to achieve the distinction of being known as a statesman.

Unfortunately, I think we then in the passing years go to far in the other extreme. We make virtual folk heroes out of those leaders who happen to have been in office in certain critical periods of our history. Once these men belong to the ages they emerge as paragons of virtue, and assume an almost saintly status in our veneration of them. Thus, the first major biographer of George Washington, Jared Sparks, was careful in editing any of Washington's writings to correct any misspellings or poor grammar which might indicate that George was a rather ordinary person in terms of his command of the art of expressing himself on paper. It could not, of course, be thought of that Washington had a temper. Actually, it appears he did have a violent temper, though he learned to control it. And on occasion, he could rip out a few cuss words which would make a pirate blush. Indeed, Washington was made so entirely perfect that when Rupert Hughes wrote his more critical and realistic work it created a furore as "debunking."

I have chosen to treat Lincoln as a common American because I believe we have been guilty of creating in many quarters a false folk image of Abraham Lincoln. I must confess that the Lincoln Memorial leaves me a little cold for this reason. Here we create an image of a man who was full of all the wisdom of the ages, and bowed down by the burdens upon his shoulders. Today, no actor upon the stage dares to look like anything other than the Lincoln statue in the Memorial. Did you ever take time to think of Lincoln as he is thus portrayed in Washington, as compared with some of the contemporary photographs of Lincoln and more particularly with the way Lincoln conducted himself in his every day pursuits. I must admit, the comparison in terms of contemporary photographs is not as impressive as it might be in reflecting a difference between the monument and the man because of the horrible way early photographers had of stiffly posing their subjects. No person could escape from their clutches without the appearance of being mummified. The real Lincoln, however, as revealed in his everyday life as President, was far from an unreal human being. Indeed, a theory has been advanced that one of the reasons he wanted to come to Gettysburg to assist in dedicating the cemetery was to dispel a report that he has been guilty of levity when he had visited the Antietam battlefield site. Contemporary accounts are replete with stories of Lincoln's sense of humor and his ability to lighten a serious moment with a droll story. In fact, he was criticized for not taking his burdens seriously enough. This is a far cry from the picture of the man bowed down in his

sorrows which we find in the Lincoln Memorial. I honestly question whether Lincoln would himself like the treatment accorded him in the great national memorial. I am not suggesting, however, that we "de-Stalinize" the memorial.

What I should like to do is to review with you briefly a few thoughts about Lincoln the man—the common rather than the uncommon American. I think that such an approach to Lincoln will lead to greater rather than less appreciation of his true greatness. I like to review and confirm my concept of Lincoln, not by visiting the Lincoln Memorial, but rather by visiting reconstructed New Salem, Ill., and the Lincoln home in Springfield. I have heard severe criticism of the reconstruction of New Salem by experts concerned with the niceties of historical restoration. Probably they are correct, but I think the village as rebuilt, bears a very close general resemblance to the frontier town in Illinois to which Lincoln came as a young man in 1831. It was a village of log cabins, and log utility buildings, only one of which was more than one-story high.

If you will visit New Salem and let your imagination think of a tall, gangling, and very homely youth only 22 years old, who, up to this time had been something of a drifter with a drifter family following the westward moving frontier all the way from Berks County in Pennsylvania into Virginia, across the mountains to Kentucky, and finally into Illinois, you will begin to get a feeling for Lincoln, the common American. If there was anything uncommon about Lincoln's background it was that his family was poorer than the average and perhaps even less literate. Lincoln's mother was probably an entirely illiterate woman, great though her influence may have been upon his character.

Lincoln lived at New Salem 6 years—the most formative of his life. Here he broke away from the family tradition of poverty and wandering from clearing to clearing in the wilderness. He tended store, he managed the mill, he acted as village postmaster and even as a deputy surveyor—along with a lot of other odd jobs. Here he read law in his spare time and polished his study of English grammar. Here he made friends, for he was a likable fellow. Here he got into military service in the Black Hawk war. Here he was elected to the State legislature and served four terms. During this period Illinois moved its capital to Springfield and Lincoln came to know this larger Illinois city. In 1837 he left New Salem for the State capital to practice law. He was still so poor his surveying instruments were attached to pay his debts.

From here on the Lincoln story becomes brighter. Springfield was the center of Illinois political affairs and Lincoln had an aptitude for getting to know people. People liked this still gaunt and homely young man because he was not only good company, but he had good ideas. In the tradition of the American frontier, he was being recognized as a man of worth who could speak for a lot of people who could not speak for themselves. He was elected to Congress. His law practice grew until he was a corporation lawyer for the Illinois Central. He married into a good family. He had a very nice house for the times and was settled toward becoming a prosperous mid-American lawyer with a flair for politics and office holdings.

Now I submit this is still a picture of an ordinary man. Lincoln was no superman, nor did people think of him as such. He was an able man, and using to the very best his natural talents for winning friends and influencing people with whom he came into contact. Had it not been for the accident of the powerful national Democratic Party splitting in two, Abraham Lincoln very probably would have made no mark on the pages of American history. When that party did split over the slavery extension issue, there were plenty of ambitious political leaders in the East who were willing to have the lightning strike them as candidates of the new Republican Party for President. Two things over which Lincoln had absolutely no control worked to shove these men to one side, and to make an obscure Illinois lawyer the man whom the lightning would strike.

One was the fact there were so many prominent easterners such as Seward and Cameron anxious for the nomination that they killed each other off. Men prominent in Washington affairs were vulnerable to attack because their views were well known and their lives were an open book. Furthermore, their supporters were busy fighting each other and ended by blocking each other. The time was ripe for the familiar dark-horse, a well-known feature of American politics right down to the present. Secondly, by 1860 the Midwest had become an integral and important part of the national political system. Indeed, it held the balance of political power nationally between the North and the South. This situation dictated that the dark horse should come from the Middle West. Once nominated, the temper of the times and the split in the Democratic Party dictated the election as President of the darkhorse the Republicans selected as their candidate. Can anyone say that Abraham Lincoln had very much to do with becoming President of the United States? One can almost say he was the victim of circumstances. He was no super political leader who emerged before the people as the great leader. He achieved the Presidency in the very common, ordinary, and somewhat accidental way in which American democracy conducts its political affairs.

What about the Lincoln who came to Washington in 1861 and faced the agonizing crisis of disunion? It would be nice to paint a picture of a man with a blueprint for action who at once assumed full control of all governmental policy and action. That would be in the great man or Napoleonic tradition of history. Not so with Mr. Lincoln. It is impossible in my time limits to portray the confusion, the battle of personalities, and the contests for power which went on in the administration of Lincoln. These are being set forth with clarity and sharp interpretations in Allan Nevins' four volume history of the Civil War era, two of which already have been published. Much has been written, and more will be written during the centennial period, on the ordeal of the American Union which the Civil War represented in our history and on Lincoln. The Civil War was also the ordeal of Abraham Lincoln.

The more I study this era in our history, the more convinced I become that Lincoln's true greatness in terms of what he did in the years of his Presidency rests upon the fact that he was a common American. Lincoln grew into greatness as the pressures of civil war mounted about him. This is in the American tradition and as it should be. I think we as a Nation would rue the day when the strong man with all the answers appears as the solution to our problems.

What were the elements in Lincoln's character which transformed a common American into a great man? This is not a question easy to answer but I should like to suggest a few. First, and perhaps foremost, among Lincoln's attributes which enabled him to surmount the confusion, the conflicts for power, and the sharply antagonistic personalities contending for power and place all about him from his inauguration until the very day of his assassination, was his patient tolerance of other men and other views conflicting with or trying to dominate his own judgment. This made him a master of the art of practical politics. Lincoln was President at a time when the office was not surrounded by a vast official bureaucracy as it is today. The President had merely a secretary and staff. His office was open at all times to anyone who wanted to take up his time. Lincoln never had even a dependable Cabinet to which he could delegate certain responsibility. Rather it was made up of men who tended to hinder rather than help, and many of whom sought power and advantage at the expense of that of the President. In what other administration in our history could it be a subject of historical consideration as to whether a member of the President's Cabinet did not actually conspire in his assassination. Only a man with the greatest of tolerance and patience could have surmounted the swirling, snarling, confusing forces which operated in Washington throughout the years 1861 to 1865.

Coupled with tolerance was humility. Abraham Lincoln was ever a humble man. He was humble, I think, because he himself appreciated very well the nature of his background and the limitations upon his ability. At no time can one imagine Lincoln assuming the familiar pose of Napoleon or a Hitler. He knew full well that he was a common American and their spokesman, their instrument in time of dire trouble.

These virtues alone probably could not have enabled Abraham Lincoln to survive and to grow in stature in those perilous, turbulent years. Lincoln had a paramount ideal before him. As a common American, Abraham Lincoln had an abiding faith in the people, in the basic doctrine of equality of men as it was set forth in the Declaration of Independence. This was a principle not merely applied to the Nation created by that Declaration, but to the people of the enitre world. At Philadelphia on February 22, 1861, in an impromptu address connected with raising at Independence Hall the flag which bore the star of the new State of Kansas, Lincoln said, "I have never had a feeling politically which did not stem from the Declaration of Independence." He went on to say, in a vein which reappears in the Gettysburg Address, that the great principle of the Declaration of Independence was not merely the assertion of freedom from England but "that sentiment which gave liberty not only to the people of this country, but to all the world, for all future time." In a prophetic note he ended by saying that if the Nation could not be saved without giving up that principle "I would rather be assassinated on the spot than surrender it."

At Harrisburg the next day he told the general assembly, "I feel that, under God, in the strength and wisdom of the heads of these masses, after all, must be my support * * *. I am quite sure I do not deceive myself when I tell you I bring to the work an honest heart; I dare not tell you that I bring a head sufficient for it. If my own strength should fail, I shall at least fall back upon these masses, who, I think, under any circumstances will not fail." So spoke Abraham Lincoln in humility and with tremendous faith in the ultimate wisdom and justice of all the people. This was the common American at his best.

I need hardly add that Lincoln's address at Gettysburg, which we commemorate today, rests upon this same basic philosophy. Lincoln warned in his opening sentences that the ideal of a nation "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" was at stake. We were engaged in a great Civil War testing not just whether the United States but "any nation so conceived and so dedicated might long endure." He urged all who listened to humble themselves before those "who here gave their lives that this Nation might live." And he concluded with that classis declaration that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Hence, today I present to you Abraham Lincoln the common American, rather than

the heroic strong man of invincible will and supreme intelligence. Nevertheless, he gave in his brief period of service at the Nation's altar himself the last full measure of devotion that government of the people, by the people, for the people should not perish from the earth.

I submit to you that this is the Lincoln worth careful study—worth thoughtful study in these days by those who would seek to know the essence of the American ideal. The strutting, petty dictators who at brief intervals cloud the pages of human history with their stridant mouthings and succeed from time to time in throwing great fear into the hearts of millions fall into petty insignificance in due time. They become unpleasant memories of the past. Democracy can never hope to match them in their strutting, their mouthings, or their capacity for brief intervals to create fear. Indeed, we should never try to do so.

The essence of the democratic process is such that we fumble and we make mistakes. We put up with what is sometimes not merely vexing, but senseless opposition to sound national policies. I am disturbed today by the growth of some feeling in this country that these processes cannot suffice in meeting the challenges which confront us. There are those who appear to be demanding the strong man approach and using, so help us, the precedent of the minute men of the Revolution. This is the negation of the principles upon which Lincoln based his philosophy of action in national crisis. The Lincoln way is the American way. Lincoln has come down to us as one of the greatest, if not the greatest single figure in our political history, because he was the common American forged in the fires of a civil war into a greatness he otherwise would have never known.

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district, has written a series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River, particularly in the Pittston area. This series has been appearing in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch and as part of my remarks today I include the latest installment which was published this past Sunday, September 2.

The article follows:

FROM LOCAL HISTORY: SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—THE FERRY BRIDGE WAS OPENED TO INITIAL TRAFFIC IN 1851

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

Expansion of anthracite mining operations in the Pittston region, with the consequent influx of men to work in the mines, and their families, was a prime factor in the development of the need for a bridge across the Susquehanna River in this area.

By an act of the Pennsylvania legislature, approved March 29, 1844, Pittston Ferry Bridge Co., was incorporated and was authorized to erect a bridge across the Susquehanna River at Pittston Ferry, as the region was then known.

John L. Butler, of the Butler Coal Co., of Pittston, obtained the charter on behalf of the bridge company.

Commissioners named in the act to construct, operate, and supervise the bridge included: Amos Smith, John Sharp, James Jenkins, Peter Polen, George Shoemaker, Thomas F. Atherton, and John L. Butler.

TOLL RATES

The act authorized the following toll rates:

For every carriage or wagon having four wheels and drawn by four horses, used for the purpose of trade or agriculture, 50 cents; for every such carriage drawn by two horses, 25 cents.

For each four-wheeled pleasure carriage drawn by four horses, $1; for every such carriage drawn by two horses, 25 cents; for every such carriage drawn by one horse, 10 cents.

For every two-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse, 10 cents.

For every sleigh or sled drawn by four horses, 25 cents; for every sleigh or sled drawn by two horses, 20 cents; drawn by one horse, 10 cents, with a rider, 6¼ cents.

Every vehicle drawn by oxen, at the same rate as the like drawn by horses, rating two oxen for one horse; mules to be rated the same as horses; for every horse driven or led, 4 cents; for every mule driven or led, 4 cents.

For every score of sheep or swine, 20 cents, for every head of horned or muley cattle, 2 cents, and for every footman, 2 cents.

EXCEPTIONS

Provided, that any person going to or returning from divine services on the Sabbath Day, all persons going to or returning from elections, or military trainings, or students or children attending seminaries or school of learning in the neighborhood of such bridges, shall at all times be excepted from any tolls.

Solomon Brown, president of the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. issued a call for the annual meeting of the stockholders to be held at the home of John S. Carpenter, on January 6, 1850.

PLANS ADVANCED

On February 5, 1850, plans were advanced for the construction of a single-lane, 750-foot-long, covered wooden bridge in approximately the same location as the Rope Ferry. The contract for its erection was awarded to Truscott and Hurlbut, contractors.

According to the Wilkes-Barre Advocate, of February 13, 1850, a meeting of the bridge company stockholders was scheduled at the house of J. D. Forsman, at Pittston Ferry, for March 6, 1850. The purpose of the meeting was to elect a president, secretary, six managers, a treasurer, and such officers as deemed necessary. Among those named were: Amos York Smith, Samuel Vandenburg, E. F. Ferris, John L. Butler, and William S. Reddin.

The Wilkes-Barre Advocate of December 11, 1850, announced an annual meeting of the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. stockholders for the election of officers. The meeting was to be held at the house of John S. Carpenter, at the "Head of the Valley," a hotel near Carpenter's Creek, on the west side, on January 6, 1851. The announcement was signed by Solomon Brown, president of the bridge company.

ON THE BOARD

Theodore Strong, the manager of the Butler Coal Co. company store since the early 1840's, who served as superintendent of the First Presbyterian Church Sunday School in Pittston for 50 years and as president of the Pittston Bank and its successor, the First National Bank of Pittston, for almost a half century; and William S. Reddin, an Irishman who fought in the Napoleonic Wars, a businessman who also served as postmaster at Pittston Ferry, an organizer of the first Masonic Lodge in Pittston and a member of the original group which founded Saint James Episcopal Church of Pittston, both served on the bridge company's board of directors in its early days.

William Schooley of Exeter was a stockholder of the bridge company in the 1850–51 circa.

Isaac C. Shoemaker eventually succeeded George Shoemaker on the board of directors and in 1875 his son, Jacob I. Shoemaker, was named to this position which he held until the bridge company was sold.

STONE WORK

It was mentioned in the press on January 15, 1851, that President Daniel Harding and Secretary E. F. Ferris, of the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co., were requesting proposals for the completion of the stonework on the bridge. Bids were to be in by January 25, 1851.

High water in the Susquehanna River that spring was a deterrent to workmen engaged in building the bridge.

On October 15, 1851, two abutments of the bridge were completed, at which time work was proceeding on the third abutment.

When complete, the east side of the bridge rested on the top of the towpath of North Branch Canal.

The Ferry Bridge, the first bridge to span the Susquehanna River in the Pittston region, was opened to traffic on Saturday, December 6, 1851. The first persons to use the bridge were Mrs. Peter Polen and her son, James Polen. They drove across it in a horse and wagon. At the time the bridge was opened, it was stated it would be roofed and sided the following spring.

## Address of Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of Maryland, 1951–59, Dedication of Hager House, Hagerstown, Md., Friday, August 31, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the city of Hagerstown is now celebrating its bicentennial anniversary. For 200 years Hagerstown has been rendering service not only to its own citizens but to the entire Nation. Its sons and daughters have helped to fill the needs of successive generations by their industry and ability. Many have gone forth from Hagerstown to found new communities in many parts of the Nation. On August 31, 1962, I had the privilege of attending bicentennial ceremonies during which the home of Hagerstown's founder, Jonathan Hager, was dedicated as a museum.

These ceremonies were attended by a large and distinguished group of Marylanders which included former Governor William Preston Lane, Jr., former U.S. Senator George L. Radcliffe, Mayor Winslow F. Burhans of Hagerstown and many others. The principal address was delivered by the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of Maryland from 1951 to 1959. Governor McKeldin's remarks are appended because of their interest not only in relation to the city of Hagerstown but for their historical prospective which is of value to the whole Nation:

ADDRESS OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1951–59, DEDICATION OF HAGER HOUSE, HAGERSTOWN, MD., FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1962

I am greatly honored by being invited by Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr., chairman of the Jonathan Hager House Restoration, on behalf of the Bicentennial Committee of Hagerstown, to make the principal dedicatory address on this occasion.

Many people deserve credit, thanks, and congratulations for this restoration and this dedication here today, but one name stands out among the rest—for her persistence, her knowledge of the area's lore and her love for the history of the region—and her ability to keep interest alive—Mrs. Mary Vernon Mish.

I am also greatly honored to be associated with my very good friend, our distinguished former U.S. Senator, George L. Radcliffe, president of the Maryland Historical Society, who is here on this program to dedicate the Hager House. And, of course, as usual, I am extremely happy to be associated with your fine Congressman, CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, who is always interested in and in attendance at affairs affecting the people of this district.

To thoughtless minds that never penetrate below the surface it may seem odd that we pause just on the eve of the commemoration of one of the fiercest battles in which American soldiers have ever engaged to pay tribute to a man who died long before the battle and who, during his lifetime was never a man of war. But if one has only a slightly greater understanding of the significance of things it is more than appropriate, it is great fortune, that we may turn our minds at this moment to the accomplishment of Jonathan Hager, founder and builder, rather than avenger and destroyer.

For it is what men like Hager did, rather than what the armies did in this area that remains our heritage to this day. I do not mean to depreciate in the slightest that value of the memories that come down to us from the battlefield. I simply point out that all we know of Jonathan Hager we can accept and cherish; but among our memories of the battle, we must pick and choose. The valor, the devotion, the sacrifice of the men who strove on the field, both those who called it Antietam and those who called it Sharpsburg, are indeed infinitely precious. But blood and agony and corroding hatred were also part of the battle; and those things we should bury in oblivion as quickly and as deeply as we may.

About Jonathan Hager we know much less, in fact, we know very little because his activities were not dramatic enough to make a deep impression on the minds of his contemporaries; but what we do know is of the very essence of the best American tradition.

The scanty records state that when Hager acquired this property he found on it "a sorry house," which means one that probably was not much good to begin with and had become dilapidated in the course of time. The researchers of Mrs. Mish's committee have found evidence that the walls of this house were of wattles, daubed with mud, regarded as flimsy construction, even in that day.

This house Jonathan Hager replaced with the one that you see before your eyes—built of stone laid so well and truly to the line and the plummet that its walls have endured for 220 years.

If you call that a small achievement by comparison with the tremendous event that took place more than a hundred years later, I shall not argue the point; but if you disdain it because it was small, you are wholly and terribly wrong. For Hager's small feat was directly in line with the best American tradition, while the clash of arms was outside that tradition, indeed, a contradiction of the tradition.

For the real greatness of this Nation was not created in the smoke of battle. It came into being through the process of finding a sorry house and replacing it with a good one. I speak only in part of houses built of brick and stone, or nowadays of steel and glass; I speak also of other kinds of houses, habitations of the mind and spirit, invisible and intangible, but just as real as these sturdy walls that Jonathan Hager raised.

Augustus Caesar, certainly one of the greatest of Roman emperors, fought many wars and gained many brilliant victories; but at the end of his long reign his great boast was not that he had defeated both Pompey the Great and Anthony, and had brought the whole world under his rule, but that he had "found Rome brick and left it marble." This country, like Augustus, has defeated powerful enemies and overthrown many great empires; but its supreme achievement was also like his—it found the North American continent a wilderness and has converted it into a garden.

How can it be denied, then, that Jonathan Hager, when he found a sorry house and built a good one, was going straight down the road traveled by the great emperor and the great Nation? True, he acted in a small way, but he acted in a great tradition, and that makes his worthy of our respectful memory.

I think, too, that our memory of this man should be more than respectful. I think it should be joyful. For the path that he followed is open to all of us, as a military career is not. Every American whose instincts are civilized, including those who wear the uniform of the United States, ardently hopes that no armies will ever again clash on our soil, and wishes, if he dare not quite hope, that American soldiers may never have to go into battle again on any soil. So, while we hold Lee and McClellan in the highest honor, we neither can nor wish to imitate their achievements.

But there is not a man or a woman within sound of my voice, or anywhere on this continental expanse who cannot imitate Jonathan Hager. We cannot all build stone houses, but why should we? We have the highest authority for it that there are houses not made with hands, dwelling places of the mind and spirit which we can neither see nor touch, but each of which nevertheless is, "a stronger thing to abide and stand than the square stones of Rome."

We present-day Americans have come into the greatest inheritance that ever fell to a nation. Even in material things it is the greatest in history and in things of the mind and spirit it is my proud belief that it is even greater. Our forefathers built and have left to us in the moral and intellectual realm palaces of a magnificence beyond compare. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Gettysburg Address, to mention only three are habitations of the mind and spirit that put to shame the marble halls of Augustus.

But if we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that our inheritance includes also some pretty sorry houses. "All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights" is a concept statelier than the mighty dome that Hadrian set upon the Pantheon, and it is part of our heritage; but we have also inherited from darkened minds and twisted souls certain religious and racial prejudices sorrier than the mud-daubed wattles that Jonathan Hager swept away.

"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom)—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth" is also our inheritance, and it is a mansion of the soul by comparison with which golden Ophir is tinsel and silken Samarcand rougher than sackcloth. But we have likewise fallen heir to blind greed that would sell humanity for less than 30 pieces of silver, to the same stupidity that presented the cup of poison to Socrates, and to the cowardice that would readily sacrifice all the rest of the world to purchase an utterly false sense of national security.

So let us not flatter ourselves with the delusion that the age of the pioneers passed with Jonathan Hager, and that there is none of his kind of work left for us to do. There are plenty of sorry houses left upon our land, plenty of opportunities for builders who build so true that their walls will stand for centuries. America is great, but is can be greater; and the decision as to whether or not it shall rise to its high destiny will be our decision. Jefferson said that the earth belongs to the living, but it is true only in the sense that Eden belonged to Adam, whom God put into the garden "to dress it and to keep it."

Some of our American forefathers—not all, but enough—understood and accepted this responsibility to us, their descendants. Every many among them who found a sorry house and replaced it with a good one was acting in that spirit; and their labor created for us the rich estate that we enjoy. But in so doing they also created for us the responsibility "to dress it and to keep it"; and that responsibility we must discharge, for failure to do so would brand us as unworthy successors to such men as Jonathan Hager.

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## Antitrust Is Probusiness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the August issue of Fortune magazine entitled "Antitrust Is Probusiness" by the Honorable Lee Loevinger, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of Antitrust Matters.

Because of the misunderstandings arising because of the vigorous antitrust actions of the administration and the hysterical antibusiness charges raised by violators and indeed by some segments of the otherwise responsible business community, it is important that this excellent article should be widely read.

The study written by a distinguished scholar, attorney, and jurist gives an insight into the mature aims and devotion to the public interest so well exemplified by this distinguished public servant. The article gives a still more important understanding of the basic concepts underlying not only the antitrust law but the sound enforcement practices and program of the present administration conducted by this outstanding and propublic member of the legal profession.

The article follows:

ANTITRUST IS PROBUSINESS

(By Lee Loevinger)

The Department of Justice is not out "to control business activity generally or to impose arbitrary limitations on mere size." So says the man in charge of antitrust.

Is the present administration of the antitrust laws a fire-breathing dragon threatening business, especially big business, and thus antagonistic to free enterprise, or is it merely a paper tiger intent on watching mouseholes for minor violators while oblivious to the lumbering tread of elephantine monopolies? The first view has been reflected recently in the business press, where terms such as "antibusiness," "wild," and "fanatic" have been used to describe the current trustbusters. On the other hand, a liberal Senator recently expressed the second view, characterizing current antitrust enforcement as "toothless" and suggesting it was ineffective and inactive in attacking big business monopolies.

The facts support neither view. The antitrust laws themselves are the foundation and the bulwark of the free-enterprise system. Those in charge of enforcing the antitrust laws understand this thoroughly and apply the laws to achieve this purpose. The present administration of antitrust is both thoroughly probusiness and steadfastly antimonopoly.

Why, then, are such charges made? It may help in answering this question to know that the same criticisms have been voiced by those with similar viewpoints throughout the history of antitrust enforcement.

Since the purpose of the antitrust laws is to set standards for business conduct, their enforcement necessarily involves legal proceedings against business. The Antitrust Division is no more antibusiness when it seeks to enforce the standards of business conduct set by the antitrust laws than the bar association is antilawyer or the medical society is antidoctor when it attempts to uphold ethical standards of professional conduct. Nevertheless, many businessmen seem to feel that business itself is being persecuted merely because antitrust cases are necessarily brought against some business firms.

On the other hand, those who are particularly fearful of the concentration of economic power feel that the Antitrust Division does not go far enough. The Antitrust Division neither has nor seeks authority to control business activity generally or to impose arbitrary limitations on the mere size of business. It attempts only to enforce the standards specified by the statutes as construed by the courts. In doing this it brings cases only after thorough investigation and where it is thought that competent legal evidence fully supports charges that the law has been or is being violated. This does not always satisfy those who think that the power of big business should be curbed; such critics feel that antitrust enforcement is too timid and to limited to be effective.

Certainly antitrust enforcement is not perfect. No human effort is. Differences of judgment among lawyers are very common; and enforcement effort may be too rigorous at some times, too lax at other times. However, a long-range view suggests that generally a reasonable balance is maintained. A fair appraisal and understanding of antitrust enforcement can be made only in the light of the objectives and methods of the laws involved.

### THE OBJECTIVES OF ANTITRUST

In a broad view the antitrust laws are statutory statements of ideals of the American people. Although there is infinite variety of detail possible, there are few fundamentally different methods by which society can achieve its economic aims. All involve the existence of laws that control or limit economic activity in some degree. Any society that has a business and economic system is based upon legal order. Most business enterprises, such as corporations, partnerships, trusts, and joint ventures, are creation of law, as are such elements of business as money and credit, bills and notes, contracts, property, and, most basic of all, the reasonable expectation of law and order. The law, which creates these economic instruments, also specifies their use and limitations.

Basically, there are three legal methods of doing this. The first is by a limitation on the form and extent of economic power. This is the method of competition or free enterprise. The second is by government's determination of the standards of economic performance, made effective either by the imposition of sanctions for failure to comply or by the offer of incentives for compliance. This is the method of regulation. The third alternative is the control of economic institutions by government through ownership. This is the method of socialism.

All governments utilize some elements of each method to some extent. In the United States the post office is owned by the Government and may be regarded as a socialized enterprise. The transportation industry is largely subject to government control, and is an example of the method of regulation. However, with respect to the greater part of the economy, the American method is that of free competitive enterprise maintained by the antitrust laws.

The first and most obvious objective of the antitrust laws is to avoid exploitation of the consumer by maintaining reasonable prices and good quality. It is assumed this can best be achieved by the maintenance of competition.

The second objective is economic efficiency, which is thought to result from an impersonal and automatic control of prices, products, quality of goods, and, perhaps most important, the allocation of manpower and resources. Our economic system is based on the premise that the automatic and impersonal action of the free market is likely to be more effective and more efficient in the long run than personal judgment, whether exercised through governmental power or through private monopoly.

The third objective is to insure technological and economic progress by full utilization of the diversity that a free competitive market offers. Our great resource of individual inventiveness and personal initiative can be fully utilized only in a free-enterprise system. Under a system of cartels or monopolies, inventions and technological innovations ordinarily will be employed only by the cartel or monopoly with established power over the relevant field. As one of our greatest judges, Learned Hand, has said, the Sherman Act is based on these premises: "That possession of unchallenged economic power deadens initiative, discourages thrift and depresses energy; that immunity from competition is a narcotic, and rivalry is a stimulant, to industrial progress."

Fourth, by preventing concentration and thus maintaining dispersal of economic power, the antitrust laws lay the foundation and secure the conditions for preserving political democracy and civil liberties. In an economy composed of a single monopoly or a series of cartels, an individual skilled in a business, craft, or profession might find only a single employer. The overwhelming majority of citizens would then find their personal freedom wholly dependent on the tolerance of their employer. Precisely this situation exists in countries with a wholly socialized economy. Private monopoly is merely slightly less extensive in its effect. In the words of a recent opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court, "the Sherman Act was designed to be a comprehensive charter of economic liberty."

Finally, by seeking to maintain and preserve economic freedom the antitrust laws secure something valued as an end in itself. The American people believe freedom to be inherently good and to be an essential part of that ethical system in which the ultimate standard of value is the welfare of the individual.

### WHAT THE LAWS PROHIBIT

As modern industrial society is complex, so are the laws that govern it. The antitrust laws are numerous and involve many special rules for specific situations and some immunities and partial exemptions. Basically, however, four simple principles are involved.

The first and most general principle, in section 1 of the Sherman Act, is that all contracts, combinations, and conspiracies in restraint of trade are prohibited. Here the word "trade" means competition. The second, in section 2 of the Sherman Act, is that it is unlawful to monopolize, attempt to monopolize, or combine to monopolize. The third, in section 7 of the Clayton Act, is that no corporation shall acquire or merge with any other corporation where the effect may be to lessen competition substantially or tend to create a monopoly.

The fourth principle is in the Robinson-Patman Act, which is an amendment to section 2 of the Clayton Act. This prohibits discrimination in price between purchasers of the same commodity where the effect may be to lessen competition or tend toward monopoly. The act permits price differentials that make due allowance for differing costs arising from different conditions of sale, and it also specifies a number of detailed rules as to what is discriminatory.

There are some additional substantive provisions in the antitrust laws, such as the prohibitions against tying agreements and against interlocking directorates. But these are merely efforts to specify particular practices that Congress regards as restrictive of competition.

### HOW CASES ARE SELECTED

The basic antitrust enforcement policy of this administration is to achieve the objectives of the law by compliance. It does not seek to impose penalties upon business, to secure injunctions, or to win cases just for the sake of a statistical record. Were the program of enforcement perfectly effective, there would be universal voluntary compliance and litigation would be confined entirely to borderline cases in which the application of general principles required judicial determination. No such utopian condition seems imminent or prospective. However, such a hypothesis emphasizes the point that statistical measures of cases filed are not a good indication of the effectiveness of enforcement activity.

With respect to the specific cases that are brought, there is an inescapable burden of selection imposed by the limitations of manpower and money. There always are more complaints than it is possible to investigate fully and more potential cases than it is possible to prosecute.

Within this area of discretion, cases are now selected on the basis of economic significance and potential contribution to the achievement of antitrust objectives. Enforcement activity is not fashioned to fit any preconceived ideas as to which sections of law should be enforced or which areas of business should be prosecuted. While errors of judgment are always possible, enforcement policy now is guided solely by the policy and standards of the statutes on the basis of the specific facts in each case. Despite some published opinions to the contrary, enforcement policy and activity during the past year have been neither hostile to business nor punitive. For example, the proportion of criminal cases to total cases filed in 1961 was the lowest of any year in the last decade. (See table, below.)

Law enforcement does not, and should not, involve the promulgation of policy at all. It is rather the expression of the official view of the law. So some of the questions concerning enforcement can be answered best by discussing specific aspects of the law.

ARE ANTITRUST STANDARDS UNCERTAIN?

Businessmen and their spokesmen sometimes claim the antitrust laws are too indefinite and uncertain. They say that this uncertainty makes it difficult or impossible to comply with antitrust standards. On the other hand, some business critics, often the same ones who claim uncertainty, also assert that the laws are too rigid and inflexible. It should be evident that it is impossible for laws to be both flexible and certain at the same time.

The antitrust laws combine both flexibility and certainty, both generality and detail, as do most of our important laws. The basic principles are stated in broad general terms, requiring interpretations by application to specific situations. Thus, decisions in specific cases build a body of judicial precedents that supplements the statutes and provides guides to the meaning of the laws.

This is the common-law method of developing legal doctrine and is fundamental to our system of government. For example, the legal principle of most common and general application is the rule imposing liability for negligence. The rule states generally that anyone who fails to exercise the care of a reasonable man and thereby injures another must pay for the damages caused. This is a principle of wide application stated in simple and general terms and most flexible in its application. The interpretation or application of this principle has given rise to literally tens of thousands of cases that give specific content to the general rule.

Similarly, the Sherman Act is a charter of freedom that, in the words of Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, "has a generality and adaptability comparable to that found to be desirable in constitutional provisions. It does not go into detailed definitions which might either work injury to legitimate enterprise or through particularization defeat its purposes by providing loopholes for escape. The restrictions the act imposes are not mechanical or artificial."

Early in the history of the antitrust laws, the Supreme Court declared that the Sherman Act was to be applied in a reasonable manner, which would not interfere with the conduct of business by all normal methods, but would prohibit all acts and practices that restrained competition. Over the years the courts have recognized that certain practices are of a kind the statute was clearly intended to prohibit. Thus the Supreme Court has held that certain acts are unreasonable per se and therefore illegal. These are principally price fixing of every kind, agreements among competitors for the allocation of customers or territories, group boycotts, the pooling of profits by competitors, and other similar types of agreements not to compete.

Regarding these practices, there is great certainty and little flexibility. On the other hand, practices that are not per se unreasonable must be judged by their purposes and probable effects in the light of all relevant economic circumstances. For these, there is considerable flexibility but correspondingly less certainty.

WHAT IS A MONOPOLY?

Enforcement of the Sherman Act provisions prohibiting monopoly inevitably involves some flexibility. Monopoly is a situation in which a single seller has complete control of the supply of a commodity in a given market. In real economic existence, such a situation is seldom, if ever, found. To pose a paradox, in theory monopoly is a practical concept, but in practice it is a theoretical one. In practice a single seller controlling the entire supply of a commodity is rarely found because the concepts of both commodity and market are so broad that there is nearly always some degree of competition with even an apparently monopolized product. Thus in the famous cellophane case the Supreme Court held that Du Pont did not have an illegal monopoly of cellophane, although it was the dominant manufacturer, because the "relevant market" included many other flexible packaging materials that were competitive with cellophane.

The courts do not deal in terms of perfect competition or complete monopoly, but practical applications of these concepts. As long ago as 1911, in the Standard Oil case, the Supreme Court said that the Sherman Act forbids "all contracts or acts which [are] unreasonably restrictive of competitive conditions." In the same case the Court referred to "substantial power over the * * * product" as amounting to monopoly. In a series of subsequent decisions the Court has made plain that monopoly is the power to control the price of a product or to exclude competition from a market.

There is no quantitative test to identify monopoly, and indeed the concept of economic power itself cannot be analyzed directly by objective criteria. Unfortunately, no objective or operational criterion of monopoly has been furnished by economics or any of the social sciences. While legal standards are vague, their application in prior decided cases gives them at least as much precision as the definitions provided by other disciplines for such concepts as competition and monopoly.

The Department of Justice continues to be guided by the Supreme Court's statement in the 1932 Swift case that: "Mere size * * * is not an offense against the Sherman Act unless magnified to the point at which it amounts to a monopoly * * * but size carries with it an opportunity for abuse that is not to be ignored when the opportunity is proved to have been utilized in the past."

Market power is recognized as an economic circumstance that is relevant in some, but not in other, antitrust cases. Practices such as price fixing, which are unreasonable per se, are equally forbidden for all business, whether big or small in market power. On the other hand, a far wider range of practices is prohibited only where they appear to be unreasonable in the setting of economic circumstances. In such cases the relative market size of the enterprise involved clearly is important. An acquisition or merger by a company already very large in relation to its market is far more likely to lessen competition substantially or tend to create a monopoly in violation of the antitrust laws than a similar transaction by a small company. But size alone is not controlling. For example, in a recent case the Antitrust Division acquiesced in the merger of two large oil companies, Standard Oil of California and Standard Oil Co. (Kentucky). The situation was such that the merger would create new competition in an area previously dominated by a larger oil company, Standard Oil of New Jersey. The introduction of new competition outweighed the increased market power of Socal and Kyso and consequently was thought to be consistent with antitrust objectives. Competition, rather than size, is the ultimate criterion.

Although we cannot formulate any exact quantitative definition of monopoly, we can thus establish standards in terms of intent, of conduct, and of the maintenance of competitive market conditions that serve as reasonable guideposts from case to case and mark out the area of illegal monopoly power.

HOW TO GET CLEARANCE IN ADVANCE

The Department of Justice seeks to give as much assistance as it properly can to businessmen who are attempting to comply with the antitrust laws. The Department is not authorized to give advisory opinions to private persons or enterprises. However, it has a program, which has been in existence for a number of years, that permits the submission of matters to the Antitrust Division for "release" or "clearance" letters.

Antitrust "release" letters permit an advance review of business plans or proposed programs to ascertain whether they involve risk of criminal prosecution if adopted. The procedure is relatively simple and informal. Its elements are these:

1. A request for a release or clearance letter must be submitted in writing to the Department of Justice.

2. The submission must contain a full disclosure regarding a specific business proposal. If additional facts or data concerning the proposal are sought by the Antitrust Division, the information must be supplied upon request.

3. The submission must relate to a plan or program that is purely prospective and not operative. No consideration will be given to a request for an expression as to operations that are being conducted at the time.

4. The facts and plans disclosed must affirmatively show that the plan and the proposed operations will be fully consistent with the antitrust laws.

5. In the event of such a submission and showing, a release letter will be issued waiving the Government's right to institute criminal proceedings against the parties involved.

6. In the event of a submission that does not affirmatively show that the plan and proposed operations will be fully consistent with the antitrust laws, the Government may refuse to take a position or make any comment upon the proposal; or it may advise the parties that the proposal appears to be contrary to the antitrust laws, if that is the case.

7. The Government in any event reserves the right to institute civil proceedings if it appears that the legality of the activities or program in question should be tested.

8. If the plan in actual operation or the activities engaged in go beyond the statements set forth in the submission, or if there was not a full disclosure in the submission made to the Department of Justice, the Government reserves the right to proceed either civilly or criminally.

9. The submission of a request for a release or clearance letter does not prejudice the position or any right of the party making the submission. The submission may be withdrawn prior to the issuance of a letter. An unfavorable opinion by the Department of Justice is not binding, and does not legally preclude the proposed action if the party making the submission is prepared to defend the action in court.

10. The submission of a request for a release or clearance letter does not by itself create any immunity from prosecution, and such submission does not preclude the Government from taking any action that may be appropriate upon the basis of facts disclosed. Release and clearance commitments are given only in formal written communications. Such commitments are never given and are not authorized to be made except in writing over the signature of a responsible official of the Department of Justice.

Although the Government's commitment under the release program is limited to a waiver of its right to proceed in a criminal case, as a practical matter such a letter will seldom, if ever, be issued if the staff of the Antitrust Division believes that either a civil or a criminal proceeding should be instituted on the basis of the proposal submitted.

MINIMIZING UNCERTAINTY

The merger-clearance program differs chiefly in the nature of the commitment, since legal actions against mergers are, except in the most extraordinary cases, civil rather than criminal. Under the merger-clearance program the submission and disclosure required are the same as under the release program mentioned above. Where the Antitrust Division finds that a proposed merger does not raise serious questions under the antitrust laws, it may issue a "clearance letter" stating that the department does not in-

tend to take legal action against the merger if consummated, but that it reserves the right to institute action later if subsequent developments or operations involve antitrust violations.

The Department of Justice cannot answer abstract or hypothetical questions, but it does seek by the release and clearance program to give businessmen as much assurance as possible under the antitrust laws and to minimize the inevitable area of uncertainty that is involved in the application of all law. Last year the Department received 18 requests for release or clearance and issued 6 letters.

It must be recognized that there is uncertainty not only in law, but in business, and, indeed, in living itself. Economic trends, the future of the market, international relations, public taste, technological developments, and a host of other matters are less predictable than the application of the antitrust laws. Those who would assume the power of management decision must be prepared to assume the responsibility for dealing with such uncertainties. One of the country's most prominent and successful businessmen, speaking to a chamber of commerce meeting recently, said: "I am tired of people who are trying to make business so complex that this is an excuse for violation of law or business failure." Those who fail can always find excuses. But there is no more reason for failure to comply with the antitrust laws than for failure to comply with any other laws.

ANTITRUST ABROAD

It has been argued in the past that, whatever the domestic situation, the antitrust laws handicapped American business in foreign markets, and that it should be permitted to cartelize or monopolize in order to compete abroad. Consideration of this argument requires examination of the situation in other industrial countries.

Since the close of World War II, nearly all the major industrial countries have adopted new or substantially strengthened statutes to prohibit restrictive business practices. More significantly, a strong antitrust provision was written in the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (Common Market) in 1957.

In December 1961, elaborate and extensive regulations were adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Common Market making more specific the antitrust provisions of the basic treaty. These became effective March 13, 1962, and require the filing of a wide variety of business agreements by August 1. (The deadline may be extended to November 1.) The regulations provide that violation of the antitrust rules of the Common Market may incur a maximum fine of $1 million or 10 percent of a company's annual gross income, whichever is greater. In this country, the maximum fine for antitrust violation is only $50,000. In addition, the organization of the Common Market has a Director General of Competition, with a substantial staff; and there is every indication that the antitrust provisions and regulations will be efficiently enforced.

The principal difference between American and European antitrust laws is in the method of dealing with monopoly or dominnant enterprise. The prevalent European view is that government regulation of economic performance can prevent or ameliorate abuses rising from the possession of dominant market power. In contrast, the American view is that one of the principal values of competition is its function as an automatic regulator of economic performance, and that this is largely lost by resort to direct government regulation. Therefore, we seek to prevent undue concentration of economic power in order to preserve an economic structure that will operate satisfactorily by the interaction of impersonal market forces.

One of the basic reasons for these differing American and European viewpoints is the relative size of the national markets. Many European countries have national markets no larger than those of some American States of even than some of our larger metropolitan areas. Within those markets it may be impossible for an enterprise to become large enough to engage in certain industries without being dominant. Further from the European viewpoint, it has been necessary for their enterprises to become large in relation to their own markets in order to compete with American enterprises in world markets.

It now appears that as the European market expands with the advent of the unified European community, the problems of monopoly or market domination and relative economic size will become essentially the same for Europe as they have been for America. This will probably tend to bring the European and American views into closer correspondence. It would be anomalous indeed were this country now to take the position that American enterprises must be permitted to cartelize or monopolize in order to compete with European enterprises. It is clearly the time for us to move forward toward a fuller realization of our ideals rather than backward toward the now outmoded systems and laws that European countries have themselves largely abandoned.

COMPETITION IS GOOD FOR BUSINESS

Some businessmen, in both America and Europe, would prefer to avoid competition. This is understandable. Competition requires effort and ability; it poses a constant threat of failure for indifference, indolence, or incompetence. Cartels and monopolies promise assured profits without requiring commensurate effort, ability, or achievement. Nevertheless, competition, and the qualities that sustain it, have been the foundation of American business and American achievement. As President Kennedy said in his New Orleans speech in May, "trade and competition and innovation have long been a significant part of the American character." There is increasing recognition today in Great Britain and in continental Europe, as in the United States, that cartels and monopoly breed economic stagnation and weakness, while competition leads to economic vigor, progress, and prosperity.

Thus the antitrust laws and their enforcement, by protecting and strengthening the role of competition, are truly and profoundly probusiness. This is demonstrated by the fact that of more than 1,200 complaints received by the Antitrust Division each year over two-thirds are from businessmen—small, middle-sized, and big businessmen. The great majority of antitrust investigations and of cases filed under the antitrust laws are the result of requests by business for this legal protection.

All businessmen should realize, as many do, that by keeping the economy free, by preventing restrictive and unfair practices, by protecting competition, and by permitting equality of opportunity for all, antitrust enforcement maintains the conditions that permit and foster the growth of American business.

Beyond this, the antitrust laws offer one common ground upon which those of varying political and economic viewpoints can, and indeed must, meet if Americans are to work together in building greater economic strength for the future. The concept of pluralism in the organization of power is the one positive and practical program that can challenge the strength of tyranny arising from the monopolistic concentration of power under the totalitarian systems.

This concept is built into the very structure of our Government. The Constitution itself provides for a system of checks and balances by organizing the power of government into three separate and coordinate branches. In the economic as in the political realm, we must insure that power is organized on a pluralistic, not a monopolistic, basis. The spirit of antitrust is the spirit of liberty, and its method is the most practical means of securing and maintaining liberty that mankind has yet learned.

*The antitrust scorecard*

| Year | Total cases filed | Civil | Criminal | Price fixing | Mergers (sec. 7, Clayton Act) | Individuals indicted |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 60 | 41 | 19 | 28 | [1] 18 | 44 |
| 1960 | 90 | 57 | 33 | 70 | 11 | 53 |
| 1959 | 63 | 29 | 34 | 42 | 10 | 54 |
| 1958 | 59 | 33 | 26 | 33 | 5 | 25 |
| 1957 | 56 | 30 | 26 | 34 | 1 | 57 |
| 1956 | 46 | 29 | 17 | 25 | 6 | 55 |
| 1955 | 54 | 33 | 21 | 25 | 5 | 51 |
| 1954 | 34 | 23 | 11 | 12 | ---------- | 37 |
| 1953 | 29 | 10 | 19 | 21 | ---------- | 73 |
| 1952 | 36 | 24 | 12 | 13 | ---------- | 58 |
| 1951 | 49 | 35 | 14 | 29 | ---------- | 62 |

[1] Another antimerger case was brought under the Sherman Act.

## UNESCO: Communism's Trap for Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert an article by Mr. Paul Harvey, news analyst, American Broadcasting Network, entitled "UNESCO: Communism's Trap for Our Youth."

I have long contended that UNESCO posed a threat to our American youth by imposing international control of our curriculum by an international organization which does not embrace the American ideals liberty and freedom.

This article points up the fact that UNESCO is not tolerated in the Communist countries, as these countries do not accept the precept of UNESCO. Therefore, this program is simply preparing the youth of the free world to the subjugation of international communism. I hope that every parent who has children in school will read this and demand that the UNESCO program be forbidden in our American schools.

The article follows:

UNESCO: COMMUNISM'S TRAP FOR OUR YOUTH

When your child comes home from school parroting some phrase about the "world society of the future—" are you going to tell him it's wrong for him to "love his neighbor"?

When he comes home talking of world brotherhood, are you going to contradict the Christmas message of peace on earth and tell him that all men are not brothers?

Now wait a minute.

When your child goes from house to house for UNICEF, collecting coins for underprivileged children overseas, are you pre-

pared to tell him he should not be charitable to those who have less?

When his elementary school textbooks indoctrinate him with the philosophy of world government are you prepared to insist that world war is preferable?

Are you against world government just because the American Legion is against it?

I have been wrestling with these questions and seeking answers for several weeks.

I told you there was evidence that UNESCO was brainwashing patriotism out of our youngsters and substituting the United Nations for God.

I said if I found fire where I'd smelled smoke we'd go into it further. Well, I have gone into it further, I have burned a lot of late lights digesting and analyzing all the evidence, pro and con, concerning UNESCO, and I have reached a conclusion which I want to discuss with you, but you are going to have to wade with me through some of the preliminary evidence.

UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. It is an organization with thousands of publications too vast to enumerate.

UNESCO booklets are distributed through the National Education Association and the PTA to teachers and students.

UNESCO literature is issued through YMCA groups and churches, radio and TV programs, newspapers, magazines, civic groups, government agencies, but mostly directly and indirectly, it's philosophy of one-world government is aimed at the classroom.

Twelve persons connected with the administration of UNESCO have been identified in sworn testimony before congressional committees as Communists.

Seven have been connected with Soviet espionage.

Six others refused to appear before Government loyalty boards.

But now we are not challenging the loyalty or the motives of this organization. We are seeking to determine whether, whatever their intentions, a whole generation of young Americans is getting brainwashed for their own good or somebody else's.

Sometimes the defenders of the citadel, when they get desperate, become as vicious as the attackers.

The critics of UNESCO have sometimes let themselves get so worked up that they start flailing their arms, swinging in all directions, becoming at once ineffectual and slightly ludicrous.

Let us, instead, suppose that the world government idea is a good one.

Let us admit that all God's children would be better off living together than fighting and that the next generation of children all over the world should be reared to this understanding.

That national boundaries are not something to fight over and that a United Nations is the way to discuss our disagreements.

That it is unnecessary to spill any more blood defending the American flag if we all pledge allegiance to the U.N. flag.

That is what the UNESCO disciples believe.

They are not all Communists. They are decent citizens who are convinced that this is the better way and that is why they are indoctrinating your child today through UNESCO literature and UNESCO influence in his elementary school classroom.

But this is the rest of the story:

Russia is not thus indoctrinating Russian children.

This is the larger issue. This is the point well-meaning veterans organizations and others have missed. While we are allowing our youngsters thus to have their American allegiance brainwashed away so they do not consider Americanism worth fighting for anymore, the Russians in their schools (and I wouldn't say this if I couldn't document it with current evidence) continue to preach and teach their elementary school children that communism is the only efficient government.

That God does not exist.

That Russia will one day rule the world.

Now wait a minute.

I'm talking now to the mostly good American parents who have been convinced that UNESCO was the proper way to prepare the next generation of world citizens to live together.

Don't you see what's happening?

Through UNESCO—American schoolchildren are being influenced away from their national allegiance.

American schoolchildren are being indoctrinated with world government ideals while the Russians prepare their children to run that world government.

They are softening the patriotism of our next generation, while hardening their own.

The end result of this lopsided indoctrination is too obvious to require elaboration.

Ex-Senator William Benton, speaking to UNESCO, said, "We are at the beginning of a long process of breaking down the walls of our national sovereignty. In this UNESCO can be, and indeed must be, the pioneer."

But Red Poland has pulled out of UNESCO. And Red Hungary. And Red Czechoslovakia.

They will not use this "break down the walls" and love everybody stuff in their schools.

They will love communism and teach communism and only we, United States of Americans will dilute our patriotism until the American flag is a faded rag not worth fighting for.

You may have difficulty getting your school administrators to admit that they are using UNESCO materials even if they are. The best test is to learn directly from the students if they are being taught that "collectivism is inevitable," that "polygamy is acceptable," that "private property has no place inthe new order," that "we are all citizens of the world with an allegiance to all nations and to no one nation."

School teachers are vulnerable.

The president of the National Education Association, Dr. Lyman Ginger, says Russia "has an excellent school system." The basis for his judgment is that the Russian teacher is paid 1½ times as much as the Russian skilled worker. Of course, that fact loses its luster when you realize that the Russian factory workers have to work 80 hours and 49 minutes to buy one pair of shoes.

Yet many American teachers have felt that in adopting the international outlook they were being modern and imitating what their NEA president calls the Soviet Union's "excellent school system." Though Russia's schools are not teaching internationalism.

Communism over God. Russia over all.

Ask Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt about her recent visit to Russia. Are Soviet schools incorporating the UNESCO program? Certainly not.

Are Russian schools teaching that one nation is just like any other nation and that we must all live together under a United Nations? Certainly not.

Our UNESCO literature is indoctrinating American children with the idea that we should have an international anthem. Would Russian schools thus teach Russian children? Certainly not.

Mrs. Roosevelt found the Russians demanding an indelible allegiance to their own country. Seeking in every way to strengthen their own country. Teaching their children, by the Pavlovian reflex method, precisely and only what the Soviet state wants them to believe. As Pavlov taught his conditioned dogs, they teach their children to hate the United States.

Is there nothing to encourage international peace in their curriculum? Nothing. The classroom is a nationalistic weapon of the Kremlin.

The UNESCO Seminar—which guides American teachers—states, "One of the chief aims of education everywhere is to develop those qualities of citizenship which provide the foundation upon which international government must be based." No, not "everywhere."

So before we rewrite our textbooks, as the UNESCO Seminar recommends, "on a view to improving them as aids to international understanding," let's be sure everybody else follows suit or the implication is obvious. We grow nationally soft while they grow hard and strong. Only a Russian citizen or a Soviet subversive would want that.

Now please don't come back at me with the many old pro-and-con arguments that have been weighed by the American Legion and the VFW and countless civic and discussion groups for years. I have, I believe, seen them all and I am not concerned with more hash from these leftovers.

We are not debating whether UNESCO's philosophy is good or evil.

We are not opposing the United Nations. We are not denouncing international cooperation.

We are not challenging the rightness or the wrongness of editing textbooks to put the U.N. in and rewriting history, to take the United States out and coaching our teachers to erase national boundaries from the minds of the next generation.

I only object to this one fact. It is not who is right that is of greatest importance, but what is right.

That while we are thus conditioning our children to salute a mongrel flag, Russia is conditioning her children to salute only the hammer and sickle.

Suppose you and I were trainers, training professional fighters and you taught yours to fight and I taught mine to dance the minuet, we'll have a real happy party. But Russia is training fighters.

Now, you say, what can you do?

If you are concerned with preserving patriotism in the next generation of Americans then the youngster first must hear it at home.

Dad's constant complaining about unfair taxes and "crooks in Washington" does little to instill faith and confidence in our Government. It must be counterbalanced with a respect for the strengths of our Nation, rather than a constant exaggerated emphasis on its weaknesses.

After the youngster has heard a little star-spangled conversation around the house, it's time for the parents to attend PTA meetings and to take an active, intense, personal interest in what the school is teaching and what it is not teaching.

If you don't others will.

If you figure you can stay home and play cards on PTA night and "let George do it," you'd better expect the worst because George doesn't always agree with you.

The FBI has established that the Communists in the United States, under orders from Moscow, are making a concerted effort to work through respectable forums, including PTA groups. If you can't take an interest in directing your child's education, they will.

They are. Right now.

Much has been said about what Americans stand for. Equally important are the things Americans won't stand for.

And for goodness sake, understand this: Everybody who subscribes to the UNESCO philosophy of education is not a Communist. He may unwittingly be their tool, but a host of them are decent, honorable, entirely sincere parents like yourself who believe this is the best way to prepare their children for a future day when they must live with others in peace or perish in an atomic ash pile.

Don't try to shout them down, but try patiently to help them understand that

Russia, as usual, is not keeping her part of this cooperative bargain.

Russia permits no UNESCO indoctrination of her youngsters.

Russia teaches "communism without compromise," and unless we prepare young Americans to believe in freedom without compromise, so that they will keep it strong and defend it against all enemies (foreign and domestic), we are dooming tomorrow's Americans to the fate of today's Hungarians.

But if we can revive in America's youth some of the faith of our fathers then this will again become the land of the free and the home of the brave and strong enough to keep your enemies at arms length which is quite enough to hope for in our time.

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## Can Government Operate in a Vacuum?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, my very good friend, Dr. John W. Lederle, the president of the University of Massachusetts, among his many and varied interests is particularly concerned with the problems of keeping the public service responsive to the needs of the people, and of continually improving the quality of the service rendered by our public servants.

An address which he delivered recently at the annual conference of the College of Business Administration at Boston College has just come to my personal attention. I have found it both interesting and stimulating and it is a pleasure for me to see that his remarks are inserted in the RECORD at this point for the benefit of my colleagues here in the Congress:

CAN GOVERNMENT OPERATE IN A VACUUM?

(By John W. Lederle, president of the University of Massachusetts)

Few would deny that the major theme of this conference is timely and important. Practically every moment of the day this country's citizenry hears about government and its operations through every means of communications—radio, television, newspapers, magazines, speeches, and person-to-person conversation. We cannot deny that there is certainly communication about government.

The daily headlines draw our attention to the immediate situation, to the events of the hour. But we are less aware of the routine process of political communication that is not susceptible of headline attention but is fundamental in maintaining our country as a viable democracy.

Certainly political communication is related to my assignment this morning—which is to discuss the question, "Can government operate in a vacuum?" I will postpone my answer to this question until the end of my remarks. Although this answer might come as something of a surprise to you, I ask you to consider it carefully and to compare your own thinking with what I offer in evidence here.

First, let me reiterate the importance of communication to our form of government. Of all forms, democratic government most requires for success an atmosphere of free two-way communication between governors and governed, between elected officials and electors, between bureaucrats and citizens. In the absence of such an atmosphere of free communication the governors may develop and sponsor programs which run directly contrary to popular desires. In the absence of such an atmosphere the governed may actually frustrate enlightened and otherwise acceptable governmental programs simply through lack of understanding.

It is essential that public officials report to the public frequently and fully. And it is essential that the public listen, using discrimination in screening the propaganda and self-praise from the informational and educational. Only after listening can citizens logically decide whether the governors should be continued in office. Democratic government cannot operate except with broad public understanding of what those at the moment entrusted with office are trying to do. Yet today many members of the body politic have their ears closed. They do not pay attention to their responsibilities as citizens. Indeed they seem to repudiate their basic responsibilities. They will defend democracy, yes, even with their lives, but will not practice or live democracy.

I should now like to explore three kinds of obstructions of free communication between governors and governed which it seems to me prevent our American democratic institutions from operating to the fullest.

The first obstruction I find is related to a negative attitude many citizens have toward Government. I find a widely held feeling of estrangement between citizen and government, an almost illogical expression of belief in democratic government coupled with a revulsive withdrawal from the responsibilities and practices of democratic citizenship. More than lipservice is necessary if democratic government is to succeed.

There are several types of this estrangement between citizen and Government. One type of estrangement takes the form of a feeling of frustration. "What can I do about the problems of war and peace, of unemployment, of care for the aging? What good is my one vote?" The individual suffering with this type of malaise can see little relation between the civic function of going to the polls to vote and the actions of his elected representatives as they pass laws in the State legislature or the Congress. The symbolic act of voting does not automatically produce a governmental program corresponding in detail with his desires. His concept of the public opinion process is often oversimplified and leaves no place for compromise. He does not understand that much more than voting is involved—that active participation in political parties is an important element in the process of reducing atomistic individual voter differences to a limited number of reasonably orderly but different programs to be proposed as legislative alternatives. Because Government in fact frequently fails to solve pressing problems satisfactorily—unemployment, farm surpluses, and war continue with us—our frustrated voter stops going to the polls, throws up his hands with a sigh of hopelessness. Frustration leads to estrangement.

Another type of estrangement has more positive roots. I refer to citizens who literally have no use for democratic processes. I would call such individuals antidemocratic, for in a very real sense they not only have a feeling of hopelessness, but they deny the very possibility that anyone in public office could have integrity. They believe that every officeholder is "on the take." This kind of cynicism, this disbelief in the fundamental integrity of most public officeholders, leads them to repudiate our form of government.

Given today's headlines and radio and TV news with their emphasis on graft and corruption and chicanery in government, is it any wonder that many citizens become disaffected? But these righteous citizens are wrong. A few bad officials should not destroy our confidence in the possibility of integrity in government. As for myself, I have known countless fine, honest public officials. My own father gave 50 years of dedicated service. And so I resent it when a citizen irresponsibly classes all public officials as grafters, clockwatchers, parasites.

The other day I was talking to a Boston representative in the general court who said constituents not infrequently tell him that they view all public servants as corrupt. Such comments strike him like a sharp slap in the face. What is worse, the citizens making derogatory remarks about official honesty are at the same time often asking the legislator to do something that is improper. When he refuses, they ridicule him for his claim of honesty, obviously implying he is either in fact dishonest or a fool, and if he is the latter he is the more to be pitied.

Instead of talking about corrupt government and corrupt politicians, it is high time we concentrated our talk on the corrupt private citizens who corrupt politicians. Some years ago one of my friends in the legal department of a leading auto manufacturer called me asking for suggestions for a speech the company president was scheduled to give on governmental ethics. I gave him a number of references and ideas. Then I concluded the conversation by saying that I would have no respect for his president if he focused exclusively on the ethics of public officeholders: "Let him remind his audience that politicians don't bribe each other. Private citizens do the bribing and deserve some of the stigma." There is too much preaching today about governmental corruption which ignores the nonofficial participant. Whether in government or private enterprise, venal practice is equally reprehensible. We should be equally vehement in stamping it out.

Ironically, one way in which we tend to corrupt our public officials, both elected and appointed, is in our failure as a society to see to it that good service is adequately compensated. In a society which has been for over a hundred years industrially oriented to the production of material goods, public service—like public education—has frequently appeared to many to be a luxury or fringe benefit to which little material rewards should be assigned. Thus we have tended to be parsimonious in salaries for public service, while being magnanimous in the high standards of integrity and service demanded of those serving us in a public capacity.

In my opinion, we cannot realistically expect to make great headway in breaking down the barrier of estrangement unless and until we are ready to compensate public service at a rate comparable to other callings. This must be done throughout public service, including legislative and elective offices. Reasonable remuneration is no ironclad guarantee of integrity, but it is a building block for creating a structure of government based on the concept of service, rather than on servility. Criticism leveled at proposals for raising low salaries are therefore wrong: a worker should be worthy of his hire.

If a substantial body of our citizens has an attitude of complete cynicism about the existence of honesty and dedication on the part of public servants, it is little wonder that the next attitude is one of disengagement from government and civic responsibility. As a former professor of political science, teaching courses in political parties and politics, I can testify to the widespread antagonism toward politics and the politician. Students as they arrive at college are already prejudiced by their parents and by mass media against politicians and government employment. It is a paradox that at the same time that government is becoming more pervasive and its services more widespread with a consequent premium on recruitment of a share of the very ablest

personnel, there is a corresponding attitude on the part of youth of antagonism toward government employment. Instead of viewing public employment with approval, both parents and students give it low status. Elective public office has the lowest appeal of all.

I do not know how many of you have looked into teaching of social studies at the high school and junior high school levels, but I can assure you that if you go very far in such an examination, you may be appalled. Public school people are making great progress in such areas as the teaching of mathematics and science, but practically nothing is being done in the area of the social sciences. As a college teacher, I have long been disturbed at the amount of erroneous information our high school students bring with them to political science courses in college. There is no understanding of the role of the politician in our society. The assumption that all politics is dirty and that all politicians are corrupt can lead only to the conclusion that the democratic form of government itself is unsound and unworkable. How we can have our form of government without politics is beyond me, but some of the teaching at the high school level would assume that ideally we should conduct our form of government in a political vacuum.

Estrangement or disengagement is a widespread phenomenon today. Whether it is a product of mere frustration over the seeming inability of the individual or society to solve complex problems, or whether it is based on more positive philosophical considerations which deny the possibility of honesty and integrity in government, estrangement stands as a bar to communication. Disengaged citizens neither listen nor do they see any value in listening. They deny the very possibility of democratic government, and by refusing to participate in it they render the task of the remaining interested and participating citizens more difficult.

The second obstruction to communication is the trend toward impersonalization of government. Inevitably as the population of a legislative constituency increases, it becomes more difficult for the legislator to talk personally with each citizen, or even visit each town or village in his constituency. So too as the total population of a State or the Nation increases it is harder and harder for each executive department official to get out and learn what the people are thinking or to explain the departmental program. This leads to further disengagement.

Today it has become easy for an official to rationalize the impossibility of effectively reaching, personally, any substantial body of the public. Hence, officials too often sit in their swivel chairs in Washington or the State capital and opine on the state of the Nation or on public opinion in the State. But if democratic government is to work, officials must get out and take the popular pulse. While statesmanship certainly involves more than keeping your ear so close to the ground you get dirt in it, true statesmanship is possible only in a climate of two-way communication.

The British have a wonderful phrase for it. In the tight little isle the member of Parliament goes home to his constitutency over the weekend, even though during the working part of the week he spends nights in London in parliamentary activity. This practice of homing once a week is referred to as "nursing his constitutency."

Today, all elected officials and administrators must fight against the notion that it is no longer possible to have useful interplay between official and citizen. No constituency is too large, no official so wise, that substantial time in communicating with the public is anything but mandatory. If government is not to become callous, inhuman, indifferent, officials must everlastingly be out meeting and talking with the citizenry. The impact of government is at the citizen level, and no official can ignore the views of the citizen at the grass roots. Fine slogans and idealistic programs developed at the capital or administrative headquarters too frequently become distorted in their administration at the grass roots. All the fine-feathered words of the agency head are for nothing if he does not get out in the field and see how they are in fact implemented.

The public university president who, because of his endless problems, goes less and less to alumni meetings, who drops his old habit of eating lunch with faculty members, who has no time for question-and-answer sessions with students and parents, will shortly be more and more out of touch. In this day when educational institutions face the danger of diluting quality as they try to absorb a goodly portion of the legions of students knocking at our doors, it is all the more important to find time for face-to-face human relations with the most precious possession that parents have entrusted to our care. Greeting and shaking hands with 1,850 University of Massachusetts freshmen may be arduous, but it is an important symbolic act as an institution increases in size. I should like to think it is something more than that—that it helps materially to establish in each student's mind the truth that the institution cares about his welfare, that he is not just a punched card in an IBM machine.

Too often today our State Department representatives in foreign lands spend most of their time in the capital. They fail to get a real feel for the country in which they are resident. Instead of mixing with the populace they live in American enclaves speaking only English, bringing up their children in American schools, walling themselves off. Too often, although obviously for different reasons, public officials within our country unconsciously wall themselves off from sufficient contact with the public. Elected and appointed officials alike need to get out where communication takes place.

Whether it be a Governor Williams visiting the dying communities of the upper peninsula of Michigan, or a President Magsaysay traveling from barrio to barrio in the Philippines or a President Kubitschek visiting the jungle villages of the upper Amazon never before seen by a Brazilian chief executive, the two-way communication which takes place gives a lift to the democratic process. Hopefully things learned by the leader will be followed by better administrative programs. And the attitude of the populace, previously one of hopelessness and of being forgotten, becomes transformed. The government cares, as governments should care. Government becomes personal again, not some callous, indifferent, inhuman institution always demanding taxes but giving little in return.

All this requires energy and drive and, above all will. It is much easier to stay in one's office projected by a secretary from phone calls and visitors. Who cares whether information gained from a chance visit or phone call might prevent bad governmental action? There are just too many people, distances are too great and, besides, our travel budget is too small.

A public official must want to communicate. He must want to go out and see for himself. He must believe that by listening, not just talking, by seeking criticisms of his program, not merely corroboration of its efficacy, he will best do his job. There is no place for the thinskinned. Two-way communication is the way of democracy. There must be a constant struggle against ennui, against the temptation to sit in our own offices by day and sleep in our own beds each night. We must not assume that the era of personal attention is over.

If we are to bring the governors and the governed into profitable association, there is a third obstruction that must be removed. It has to do with the means of communication, with language, particularly as it is used in the printed matter that we issue to keep our constituencies informed.

There is, of course, a basic dilemma surrounding government publicity in a democracy. Those who hold public office have tremendous advantages—for their very actions are news. For example, some of you will remember that in the 1940 presidential campaign Wendell Wilkie could talk about the conflict in Europe being our concern but F.D.R. could blanket this talk by the mere action of the destroyers-for-bases trade. Free radio and television time for press conferences and news program announcements are readily available to the "ins" while the opposition frequently has to purchase access to mass mediums. It is little wonder that what the "ins" consider to be information and education is classed by the opposition as advertising and propaganda.

Legislatures are almost always critical of expenditures for agency publicity. They are constantly sniping at additions to agency personnel for public relations or at publications which they feel are unduly illustrated and glossily printed on fine paper stock. Even so able a Senator as Robert Taft became incensed when American troops landing in North Africa, as part of propaganda warfare, distributed to the natives a slick-paper publication on America with a big picture of F.D.R. on the front cover. Taft viewed this as a propaganda piece for F.D.R. and the Democratic Party, and failed to see any validity to the point that, to the outside world at war, F.D.R. was the personalization of the American war effort, just as Churchill with two fingers raised in the victory salute was a symbol for Britain. To the North African this made sense, yet to an intelligent American it was a perversion of the democratic process.

As Professor Hyneman has pointed out, "Free elections become a farce if the people do not have sufficient knowledge to support judgments on political questions. * * * A great part of the information that is relevant to the issues of the day is in the possession of men and women in the administrative branch. * * * It is essential, therefore, that most, if not all, administrative officials report to the public frequently and fully. And it is most desirable that the report be truthful and unbiased." After explaining that such reports inevitably are political documents, almost invariably reflecting favorably upon the agency program and ignoring if possible its failures, he stresses that "It is paid for with your money and mine. It is prepared by public officials and employees; the costs are borne by taxes. You and I thus pay to hear or read the story of what the group in power say they have done or propose to do." This is our dilemma.

Frankly it is my own judgment that we err on the side of insufficient Government-sponsored information of an educational character. We are so afraid of propaganda that we fail to educate. I react against the many Government publications coming out in forbidding format and phraseology. I do not believe Government reports need appear in a dull gray garb. There should be room for freshness and personality in expression. Government style should communicate, not estrange.

Some of you will recall the press conference in the early stages of the last war at which President Roosevelt was announcing the blackout ordinance. Apparently he had not read the ordinance in advance of the conference. When he did proceed to read it out aloud to the assembled gentle-

men of the press, he discovered that the word "illumination" was repeatedly used, and that the bureaucrats in their desire to be precise, had produced a very lengthy document designed to meet all contingencies. After he had gotten some distance into the regulation he finally stopped and exclaimed with obvious irriation: "This will have to be rewritten. What they mean to say is: 'Turn out the lights.'"

You may remember that at one stage of the war the Office of Price Administration, concerned about the problem of communication, added to its staff a man named Rudolf Flesch. Flesch was trained as a lawyer in his native Vienna. He arrived in this country as a refugee, and took his doctorate at one of the New York City institutions. Flesch had become interested in the problem of writing English as a language that can be readily understood. It has always intrigued me that the highly trained OPA lawyers, brought up in the American educational system, did not know how to communicate, and that a refugee from Vienna should be hired to simplify their language in order that Americans might understand what OPA wanted.

Here is an example of an OPA rule before it was de-Fleschied; "Unless the Office of Price Administration or an authorized representative thereof shall, by letter mailed to the applicant in 21 days from the date of filing application, disapprove the maximum price as reported, such price shall be deemed to have been approved, subject to nonretroactive written disapproval or adjustment at any later time by the Office of Price Administration." When Dr. Flesch got through with this, it read as follows: "You must wait 3 weeks before you can change the ceiling price you applied for. OPA can always change that price. If they do, they will write you a letter." On another occasion Flesch asked, "How does a bureaucrat say, 'I love you'?" His answer: "Complete assurance of maximum affection is hereby implied."

The language of Government publications frequently is a professional jargon that is not intelligible to the uninitiated. Prepared by researchers and specialists, such efforts need skilled editing or rewriting in order to appeal to a popular audience.

It is amazing the amount of professional jargon that slips into any agency's publications. My background is in the field of public administration, and I read Government publications related to accounting, purchasing, budgeting, and organization problems. Public administrators habitually use their own particular form of shorthand. I remember a few years ago taking my wife to a meeting of the local chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. Since she had not enrolled in any political science courses in college and since I do not make political subjects the main topic of conversation at the dinner table, she arrived at the meeting in pristine innocence. That evening I paid special attention to the speaker's vocabulary, concerned as I was about my wife's comprehension. The speaker threw around such terms as "line and staff," "span of control," "functional departmentalization," never pausing to define them. It suddenly dawned on me that so far as my wife, whom I consider to be an intelligent person, was concerned, he might as well have been talking Greek. I suspect that many of our governmental publications are written in Greek—or, at any rate, communicate as much to an English-speaking public.

Again, I am reminded of the city manager of Manistee, Mich., who had been attending our city management clinic for 3 days. As he was expressing appreciation for a stimulating experience and saying goodby to me, he remarked that he was going to try to forget those "$64 words" we had been using when he got back to Manistee, because they simply would not understand him up there.

That was a city manager who knows his business. Realizing the crucial importance of communication, he also recognized the wide divorce between the language that experts use among themselves and the language that must be used if persons uninitiated in the hocus pocus of the profession are to understand. I therefore feel that a third kind of obstruction to communication which leads to government's operating in a vacuum is related to language. Not enough attention is paid to the format of publications or to careful editing so that they will be attractive and clearly understood.

In concluding my remarks, I would like to revert to the question standing as the title of this talk: Can Government Operate in a Vacuum? The answer: It can, unfortunately. James Bryce in his monumental commentary on "The American Commonwealth" asserted that the "ordinary American voter does not object to mediocrity" in his candidates for public office. This was Bryce's view of a 19th century condition. In the 20th century I am afraid there is a very great danger that the American voter, for the reasons I have cited, might simply not object, period. He may become so estranged, and so complacement in his estrangement, that he will not object to mediocrity, to venality, to injustice—to all those forces that make mock of democracy.

Government—and all who serve in it—must be dedicated to inspiring the citizen to care. There must be the same militant offensive on the citizen's interest that marks our efforts to sell commercial products—with this difference, that the process be creatively directed to giving citizens the chance responsibly to talk back to government, to examine and to criticize, to protest and to object. Government will have ceased to operate in a vacuum, total or partial, when government's officialdom with all its expert resources abets and fosters this communications process.

## Salute to Mike Thompson: Outstanding 12-Year-Old Native Kansan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, all this summer our congressional office here in Washington has benefited from the services of an outstanding native Kansan, James Michael Thompson, as a volunteer page boy. Mike Thompson was born at Fort Riley, Kans., on September 19, 1950, and is one of the most energetic and outstanding boys I have ever known. His parents, James O. and Mary Thompson, ought to be proud of him, indeed, I am sure they are.

On a purely volunteer basis Mike Thompson served in our office, in order to help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of our operation here on behalf of the people of our district in Kansas. He performed that function with distinction and energy and with great good spirit.

At the same time, he learned a great deal about the operation of his National Government. Mike shook hands and visited with many of the greatest leaders of our Nation today: Majority Leader CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma; Minority Leader CHARLES HALLECK, of Indiana; Minority Whip LES ARENDS, of Illinois; and many, many others. When Mike enters the seventh grade at Williamsburg Junior High, in Arlington, this fall, I know he will be able to make a fine contribution to his classes, partly as a result of his rich and worthwhile experience this summer.

We all salute Mike Thompson, outstanding 12-year-old native Kansan. We were proud to have him in our congressional office this summer. He made a solid and worthwhile contribution to our office, and to the people of our district.

## Police-Dog Teams: An Ally Against Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, I have been impressed with the efficiency of police-dog teams in the District of Columbia. This year the committee has recommended the expansion of this program, which not only helps to reduce crime, but to apprehend criminals. I have recommended this program to the police officials of the city of New York because of the rampant crime taking place in the suburban areas and in projects. Police dogs are intelligent and are silent sentinels who can aid police officers to do a better job of crime prevention. This program of obtaining police dogs as an ally of police officers is meeting with favor throughout the United States.

Mr. Sam J. Slate, CBS radio vice president, and general manager of WCBS, recently editorialized on the radio on this very important expanding program. I believe his words merit consideration and reading.

The text of his remarks follow:

Scratch a visitor to New York City and 9 times out of 10 what do you find? A touch of envy over this great town of ours, just as often as not expressed in these words: It's a great place to visit. But I wouldn't want to live here.

How many New Yorkers have heard this remark and shrugged it off with a smile? Supposedly we're the lucky ones, living and working in the midst of unequaled variety and vitality. But lately we've come to recognize a core of truth underlying this statement. New York visibly is growing into a city of violence, one that shows that symptoms of becoming not only too dangerous to live in, but even to visit.

Newscasts and newspapers are filled with reports of knife duels, gang fights, muggings. No area is safe from vicious assaults and robberies. A sampling of the city's weekly rundown of brutality includes a motiveless beating in Central Park, a rape attempt in

a housing project. The breakdown of law and order in some areas is so complete that police, in performance of their duty, are pelted with salvos of bottles and bricks. Muggers roam the streets in open defiance of fundamental human rights and dignity brazenly assaulting their victims in crowded subways, or in daylight before a ring of onlookers.

Increasingly, and not only in summer, the hoodlums causing this type of crime are teenagers who see in school a form of punishment. As soon as they can, they drop out. The jobs they once might have had, automation now does. In one American city 59 percent of male youths between 16 and 21 were found to be aimlessly roaming the streets. Former Harvard president James Conant calls this combination of out-of-work and out-of-school youths "social dynamite" that has the makings of potential disaster. The picture in New York is spread plainly before us for all to see.

For this army of youths the problem is nationwide. It will require far-reaching Federal, State, and local work programs to get them off the streets and into gainful employment. But until that day arrives, law-abiding citizens demand, and deserve, adequate protection. In New York City this means an expanded police force, even new and tougher police methods—the one that comes immediately to mind is the use of police dogs. This has proved a success in any number of cities.

The Baltimore police, for example, told WCBS that their 6-year-old experiment in having dogs accompany foot patrolmen has reduced crime in the areas they cover. The psychological effect of a dog is undeniable. Young thugs for whom jail holds no horrors recoil in fright before a trained dog, which they know to be fearless, and tireless in pursuit. Police dogs are carefully schooled to attack and capture on command. They are not, as is commonly supposed, vicious or dangerous or unsafe around children. WCBS urges that they be tried.

Violence has become a citywide scandal and disgrace. It must be brought to a stop. It is squarely up to the mayor to provide for the public safety if New York is to grow into something other than, quite literally, an asphalt jungle.

## First Military Monument to Military Women Unveiled in New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day, Wednesday, May 30, 1962, was an important milestone in the history of the Women's Army Corps Veterans Association, and especially that of the New Orleans chapter.

The first military monument in the country dedicated solely to military women was unveiled and dedicated in New Orleans at Elk Place and Cleveland Avenue, facing the new City Hall Plaza. It was the culmination of a 4-year effort.

The former national president, Mrs. Camilla Mays Frank, was the general chairman, and she also designed the monument. It is dedicated "to the honor and glory of all military women who offer their lives in defense of the United States in the cause of peace."

The base, separate from the shaft, indicates the broken lives, those which have already been sacrificed and those who will always bear a service-connected disability. Atop the shaft is a bronze orb depicting the universe. A dove with outstretched wings, and holding an olive branch in its mouth, is perched on the orb—to denote the hope of peace throughout the world.

Etched into the face of the base, and just above the dedication bronze plaque, are the following words "erected May 30, 1962, under the sponsorship of the New Orleans chapter, WAC-Veterans Association."

Each of the four sides of the base bears a 10-inch bronze plaque. Each plaque designates one of the five main military branches of service. While the face on each plaque is the same—the cap and shoulder insignia refer to the service concerned.

The side facing the plaza bears the plaque of the women of the Army—underneath is etched: "Army Nurse Corps—ANC, Women's Army Corps—WAC, Army Medical Specialist Corps—AMSC."

Reading clockwise, the lefthand panel bears the plaque of the women of the Navy and has etched below: "Navy Nurse Corps—NNC, U.S. Naval Reserve Forces—Yeomanettes, Women's Auxiliary Volunteer Services—WAVES."

The rear panel bears the plaque of the women in the Marine Corps and has etched below: "Women of the U.S. Marine Corps."

It also bears the plaque of the women in the Coast Guard and has etched below: "Women's Auxiliary Reserve in the Coast Guard—SPARS."

The fourth side bears the plaque of the women in the Air Force and has etched below: "Air Force Nurse Corps—AFNC, Women's Air Force—WAF, Air Force Specialist Corps—AFSPC."

All of the five plaques or medallions have been cast in bronze to match the dedication plaque, the world, and the dove. The monument itself is of gray granite. The overall height is about 15 feet, and the weight is 14,000 pounds.

It was the great weight that gave the final problem. All of the neutral grounds in New Orleans house tremendous cement sewer pipes. It was found that the weight of the monument would be too great without additional concrete substructure to protect the sewer pipes.

Result—an additional cost of $700 which was a total and surprising expense. They went ahead and borrowed the balance in order to complete the project and have yet to raise about $600.

The completed cost of this project will total about $7,000, of which the Louisiana State Board of Liquidation generously provided $500. Even so, the task of raising the balance has been an arduous one.

I am very grateful to those members and those chapters taking part in this project. I am sure they will feel amply rewarded when they read this article and realize the importance of the accomplishment to military women throughout the Nation.

A local TV station covered the entire process of erection of the monument; the newspapers have carried a whole series of articles; three TV stations covered the dedication ceremonies as did our newspapers; and the Times-Picayune even carried an editorial honoring the farsighted women veterans who brought this project to fruition.

## National Association of State Aviation Officials Proposed New Airport Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the National Association of State Aviation Officials, I introduced H.R. 12826, to make comprehensive amendments to the Federal Airport Act.

To explain the proposed amendments, I include a statement prepared by Mr. A. B. McMullen, executive director, National Association of State Aviation Officials, as follows:

PROPOSED NEW AIRPORT PROGRAM

When the original Federal Airport Act was passed by the 79th Congress in 1946, it provided for "the establishment of a nationwide system of public airports adequate to meet the present and future needs of civil aeronautics * * * and * * * take into account the needs of both air commerce and private flying" (now known as general aviation).

The act has been extended and amended several times, and I am submitting today a bill to further amend the Federal Airport Act. These amendments have been recommended by the National Association of State Aviation Officials, whose membership consists of the aeronautics commissions and departments of the several States. The State laws creating these aviation agencies generally permit the States to participate in the Federal-aid airport program, both by making available State financial, technical, and other assistance to counties and municipalities and other political subdivisions, for airport purposes, and for the development of State-owned airports and emergency flight strips.

The National Association of State Aviation Officials estimates that to date the States have contributed approximately $215 million for planning, designing, and construction of airports. In accordance with section 9(b) of the Federal Airport Act, 30 States have adopted legislation requiring State approval of Federal-aid project applications; 21 States require channeling of Federal aid funds through State aviation agencies, in a manner similar to the channeling of Federal-aid highway funds through the State highway departments.

Based on experience gained from these activities and 16 years active participation in the Federal-aid airport program, at Federal, State, and local levels, the various State aviation agencies are of the opinion that the amendments contained in the bill submitted here today would greatly improve the administration of the Federal-aid airport program and permit a more orderly and eco-

nomic method of constructing airports that are urgently required to meet the needs of the commercial air transportation industry, and the business and utility aircraft fleet, which, together with privately owned aircraft, is commonly known as general aviation.

Officials of the National Association of State Aviation Officials have furnished the following commentary on the bill, and the major amendments to the Federal Airport Act that are being recommended by the various State aeronautics departments and commissions.

SYSTEMS

These amendments provide for the establishment of an air commerce system and a general aviation system of airports. These terms are proposed to more clearly delineate the pattern into which airports have evolved.

The Administrator of FAA would designate the air commerce airport system, which would include the air carrier airports that are primarily interstate in character.

The State departments of aeronautics would designate the general aviation airport system, which would include all public airports not in the air commerce system. While these general aviation airports are national in scope, they are primarily State or local responsibility.

LONG-RANGE PLAN

Since inception of the Federal airport program, the national airport plan has left much to be desired, and often has not adequately included the views and recommendations of the States and local communities. The application of the plan has been of relatively little assistance in developing an effective construction program or in accomplishing the broad objectives outlined in the act.

In the past, it has been believed by many that when named in the plan their community would automatically receive Federal aid for airport development. This was never the case.

The amendments assure that any airport placed in the plan will be included in a program without further justification, although it is contemplated they will be subject to a priority schedule.

Airport development can be classified by priority number in the plan. By this method, the sponsor would know the general order in which projects would be programed. Once the airport or location were included in the plan, the sponsor could then proceed with the development of a master plan, and after approval, be assured of a position or priority in the program. With this assurance, the sponsor could proceed with detailed engineering plans, determine work priority, acquire land, and arrange financing, without fear that the project would be rejected when Federal funds become available.

The present national airport plan would continue to be used as a guide through fiscal year 1965. In the interim, a new national airport plan for the fiscal years 1965–75 would be established. The bill provides that this 10-year plan be reviewed and updated every 3 years following 1965.

FUNDING OF PROGRAM

The bill would continue, under the present State apportionment-discretionary fund procedure, the current $75 million annual program through fiscal year 1965, a 1-year extension of the presently authorized program. Continuing the present program through 1965 would provide leadtime necessary to develop the proposed new 10-year plan and program and determine the estimated cost of its completion by 1975. (The need for long range planning for airport and other aviation facilities development has long been recognized. In 1957, the President in a letter to Mr. Edward P. Curtis, his Special Assistant for Aviation Facilities Planning, stated: "Modern aircraft can be operated in the numbers required by the national defense and the civilian economy only if airports, navigation aids, air traffic control devices, and communications systems are suitable for their needs. The preparation and acceptance of a comprehensive aviation facilities plan will provide the basis for the timely installation of technically adequate aids * * * and for effective participation by State and local authorities and the aircraft operators in meeting facilities requirements." In Mr. Curtis' subsequent report, he included aircraft population and traffic estimates through 1975, a date that corresponds to the recommended airport program.)

The bill authorizes to be appropriated an amount of $100 million annually for the fiscal years 1966 through 1975. (The need for a $100 million program was established as a result of a national airport survey completed in 1961 by the National Association of State Aviation Officials, the Airport Operators Council, and the American Association of Airport Executives. Airport project requests filed annually with the FAA during the past 6 years have exceeded this amount. For fiscal 1962, project requests totalled $158,100,000; for fiscal year 1963, project requests for Federal funds totaled $163,929,000.)

Apportionment of funds authorized to be appropriated through fiscal 1965 would continue on the basis of 50 percent area and 50 percent population formula.

Beginning fiscal year 1966, the total estimated cost (taken from revised 1963 national airport plan) of completing the national airport system will be used as a basis for apportionment among the States in the ratio which the estimated cost of completion in each State bears to the sum of the estimated total cost of completing the systems in all of the States. This method of apportionment would result in a more equitable distribution of funds consistent with the needs of the various States.

The Administrator, based on recommendations of the State aeronautics departments and local sponsors, would allocate funds to specific airport projects.

To assure the orderly and effective development of the general aviation airport system, the amendments propose that 25 percent of available funds by allocated for this system, with the remaining 75 percent earmarked for the air commerce airport system.

The need for this division of funds was determined from the results of the national airport survey conducted in 1960–61, and plans prepared by various States for the development of aviation.

Although the bill provides for a 75–25 percent division of funds between the air commerce and general aviation systems, transfer of 50 percent of the funds allocated to either of the two systems may be made upon request of the State concerned and the approval of the FAA Administrator. A precedent for this procedure has been established by the Federal Highway Act which authorizes a similar division of funds, with a clause which authorizes transfer of funds from one system to another when there is an access under one system, and there is construction needed to be accomplished under the other system.

RESEARCH

Deduction of 1½ percent of authorized funds is provided for use by the FAA Administrator to accomplish the research, planning, and the preparation of uniform standards necessary to develop a national airport plan, with total estimated cost, adequate for the types and volumes of traffic forecast for the year 1975. Upon the request of a State aeronautics department, 1½ percent of the State's apportionment would be made available for research and planning and for the development of the plan and estimated cost thereof, in cooperation with the Administrator. (This is in conformance with procedure adopted by the Federal Highway Act.)

STATE AERONAUTICS DEPARTMENTS

The bill defines State aeronautics departments and authorizes the Administrator of FAA to utilize the personnel, facilities, and experience of these State Departments by discharging his responsibility relative to the plans, specifications, estimates, surveys, contract awards, design, inspection, and construction of all projects in the general aviation airport system within the State; although the Administrator would make a final inspection of each project after construction, and require an adequate showing of the actual cost of construction. (Such a precedent has been established in the secondary road program.)

It is believed this procedure would reduce materially the cost of administration of the Federal-aid airport program and reduce greatly the amount of time involved in the construction or improvement of general aviation airports. It would also encourage the States to contribute financially to an even greater degree in the development of public airports.

These proposed amendments are in general agreement with the following recommendations of Project Horizons, a Presidential study undertaken "to define national aviation goals in this decade, and to provide the administration with broad policy guidance and direction with respect to civil aviation development":

"5. The Federal airport aid program should be continued, expanded, and improved in the future as follows: (a) Funds should be committed as far ahead as possible; (b) the FAA should have the greatest latitude in allocating funds on the basis of need, without regard to geographical distribution; (c) availability of Federal funds for airport planning should be included in the enabling legislation."

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## A Lift or a Lollypop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks there has been a great deal of discussion within the First District of Minnesota—as there has been throughout the Nation—over the advisability of a reduction in Federal taxes. One of the most noteworthy contributions to this discussion which I have seen is an editorial from the Caledonia Argus entitled "A Lift or a Lollypop?" For the benefit of our colleagues, I will insert the entire editorial at this time:

A LIFT OR A LOLLYPOP?

No doubt about it. There is no official act to compare with tax reduction in winning friends and influencing people—corporate and individual. No, in all probability was there ever a time when, on the basis of hardship and the needs of the economy, a tax reduction would provide a greater immediate sense of relief and stimulation.

But, there is another side to the story that we can ignore only at our peril. In this country, which has long cherished a sense of fiscal responsibility, tax cuts have been made at those times when there was reason to believe the Nation could meet its obligations on less income.

A tax cut today, in the face of continuing reckless extravagance that has put the budget billions out of balance, that has required in recent weeks another lift in our debt ceiling to the level of $308 billion and brought our actual national commitments to the incomprehensible figure of over a trillion dollars, can only be a reckless, irresponsible gesture of political desperation.

Tax reform, to be sure, is urgently needed. Business should—as a matter of right, not privilege or special dispensation—deduct full and realistic depreciation on plant and equipment. Tax withholding should be outlawed for the swindle it has proved to be. And a start should be made in progressive tax reduction for all—individuals and corporations—as provided, for example, by the still-pending Herlong-Baker bills, which should have been enacted 4 years ago.

But enduring tax reform can only follow a reform in tax spending. Enacted in good faith it would follow, not precede, the rejection of welfare and the pork barrel as instruments of public policy, and of foreign aid as rental on peace.

If the administration honestly believes that tax reduction now is in the Nation's interest, it must just as firmly believe that economy in Government is in the public interest. And there is still time for our leaders to demonstrate their good faith by checking their squanderlust by at least the $7 billion now considered as the cost of tax concessions.

Without some token of the sort, we can expect nothing more wholesome than an election-year lollypop.

## The Late Honorable William M. Whittington

SPEECH
OF
## HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I want to join other Members in paying tribute to this dear departed colleague and to extend my sympathy to his family.

When I came to the Congress one of the first committees on which I served was the Committee on Government Operations, or as it was called then, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department under the chairmanship of the distinguished Representative from Alabama, Mr. Manasco. The ranking member of that committee was Mr. Whittington. I served with him 4 years. I never worked with any Member who had a greater or more comprehensive command of all the factors involved in a complicated piece of legislation.

At the end of the war our committee had the problem of the disposal of literally tens of billions of dollars worth of surplus property scattered all over the world. The legislation which Mr. Whittington helped work out operated very successfully. At that time also there was presented the so-called full employment bill which would have regimented the whole U.S. economy and, really, its life.

Mr. Whittington did as much as anybody to expose the unsoundness of the wide controls which that original proposal would have established. But having helped to defeat that, he did not adopt a negative attitude toward the problem. He worked constructively to produce an alternative, the present Employment Act. He rejected the idea of trying to guarantee full employment. Nobody can guarantee full employment any more than the Constitution promises more than to promote the general welfare.

Mr. Whittington, by the clarity of his mind and the logic of his arguments, helped demolish the wrong remedy; then led in devising a sound proposal to help our Government look ahead, foresee, and try to even out ups and downs in the economy. That act will stand as a monument to him quite as much as the footprints he has left on every State in the Union through his remarkable vision and skill in promoting sound programs of development of our natural resources, flood control, navigation of our inland waterways.

When I was working to get authorization of a harbor project which would mean more to the long-range development of my city than anything that has happened to it in 50, if not a hundred, years, he was most helpful to me in developing the presentation of the project and getting it enacted into law. Will Whittington made an unforgettable contribution to me as to all of us through his strong character and integrity, the superior quality of his mind, his ability, his industry, his temperateness and unfailing courtesy in handling all matters both official and personal.

Our country has lost a giant in the passing of Will Whittington.

## Tax Rates and Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Sylvia Porter which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of August 28. It is, I believe, one of the most successful efforts I have seen at clarifying the vital relationship between economic growth in the United States and the way in which we pay our taxes.

WHY TAX RATES BRAKE RECOVERY
(By Sylvia Porter)

"Why is it that our tax system is now getting so much blame for being a drag on our economy?" asked the intelligent woman across the dinner table the other evening. "I listened to President Kennedy's TV address on taxes, heard him condemn out high rates, promise tax cuts in 1963 and refer to how much faster the Common Market countries are growing than we are. But I've not heard a simple explanation of why the system is a drag and how our tax rates compare with those of Europe."

These are pertinent observations. So here goes with my attempt at a simple explanation.

No other federal government takes so big a bite out of the paychecks of workers and the profits of businessmen as our does—and this includes Communist Russia and the socialistic and totalitarian nations of Europe and South America. None hampers employment and production with such confiscatory tax rates as the United States.

In this country, for instance, 86 percent of the Government's take comes from taxes on paychecks, profits, estates, or gifts. In Communist Russia, in complete contrast, only 15 percent comes from taxes on incomes and the 85-percent balance comes from direct taxes on Soviet citizens when they buy food, clothing, shelter, etc. In the prospering Common Market nation of West Germany, only 22 percent of the central government's collections comes from income and capital taxes; the rest is raised from sales, excise taxes, customs duties. In the prospering Common Market nation of Italy, the income-capital tax bite is only 26 percent. The closest to the United States in relying so heavily on income and profits taxes is New Zealand, which collects 65 percent from these sources.

EXPANSION PENALIZED

No other federal government in the world penalizes individuals or businessmen with extraordinary abilities and ambitions to the extent that our tax structure does. Our top tax rate of 91 percent on individual incomes is confiscatory, cannot possibly be justified on financial grounds for, few individuals who qualify for this bracket permit themselves to get into it. A personal income tax rate which reaches 50 percent on as low as $16,000 of taxable income is distinctly discouraging to individual risk taking. As for the 52-percent tax rate on corporations, the evidence is overwhelming that this has retarded American industry's ability to reinvest earnings in job-creating activities.

RECOVERY STRANGLED

No other federal government has held to an oppressive tax structure as long as we have—with the possible exception of Great Britain, another nation turning in a sluggish performance. Every other nation which slapped on steep taxes during World War II has long since reformed them—which is what President Kennedy was referring to when he mentioned in his TV address that "by lightening tax burdens," the Common Market countries have achieved "full employment and an economic growth rate twice ours."

No other federal government has "accepted" four recessions since the end of World War II without its leaders getting down to work and saying flatly our tax structure is at least partially responsible and reform is overdue. There is no doubt that our tax rates helped to strangle the 1959 recovery—for they bit so quickly and substantially into rising incomes and profits that the advance didn't have a change to survive. Tax reduction-reform was bypassed in 1960, though, bypassed again in 1961, and now it's dead for 1962. Meanwhile, as Mr. Kennedy pointed out, during the past 15 months of economic expansion, Federal taxes have siphoned out $5 billion from the economy than increased Federal spending has poured into the business stream. This is a measure of the way our high rates tend to brake a recovery almost automatically as it proceeds. In the first half of calendar 1963, when Federal tax collections will be at their peak, the brake will be on in earnest—and if we don't get the tax reductions pledged for this period, the economic consequences for us could be dismal.

Much of this was hidden in the earlier postwar years, when the enormous pent-up demands of the whole free world kept the

United States heading strongly upward. Now, in this new competitive era the realistics have become clear, and, significantly, agreement on the depressing effects of our tax rates is virtually unanimous among informed economists and financiers—"liberal" and "conservative," Republican and Democratic.

## The Right To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER H. DOMINICK
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. Speaker, recently, the editor of the Colorado Trumpet, Mrs. Jane Harper, included in that newspaper's editorial column an open letter to her daughter. In this election year, her advice to her 13-year-old eighth-grader seems especially noteworthy. I include Mrs. Harper's well written letter as part of my remarks and commend its study by my colleagues:

OPEN LETTER TO MY DAUGHTER

Last week you electrified me with the statement: "What work is there to voting—after all, you just go in and push a button."

I cannot tell you why an eighth grade social studies teacher would leave a class with such an unanswered question—but I am glad that she chose this year in which to do so. I hope you will listen, read and learn from now until November 6. Perhaps then you will have your answer. Perhaps then you will realize that there is a great deal more to voting than just pulling a lever on a voting machine or marking a paper ballot.

Good government is not just "pushing a button"—and government is what you get when you cast a ballot. You, as a citizen, will be granted the right to vote, but you are not granted the right to destroy that privilege because you are not careful with it.

In the little bit of history you are getting in the schools you are learning why the 13 Colonies were founded. You are learning why the American Revolution was fought. What were the colonists against—and what kind of government did they set up for themselves?

You have heard the words "rights of man" and "freedoms," democracy and republic, government of the people, and other general phrases. These are not just words. The dictionary can define them for you, but it is up to you to understand why they were words worth fighting for; why men would risk and give up everything they had for them; and why, today, these words let you cheer at football games, spend hours on the telephone and watch television while you polish your fingernails. Do you think a 13-year-old girl in Russia can do these things?

This year is an election year. November 6 is "push button" day. You will have many opportunities to read about, hear and see candidates, and learn what goes into a campaign. You already know there are candidates, platforms, issues, debates, speeches, meetings, rallies—you could probably make a longer list yourself. The voter should not only read about and listen to the candidates, he should find out what made the candidate outstanding enough to be chosen by his political party—and why he is the better choice than the candidate from the other party.

In your student council elections at school now are you voting for the candidate who wants to make your school the very best in the city—and whose honesty and work as your representatives will bring honor to your class?

The voter should compare what each party has to say—and does the party keep its promises when it gets elected?

The right to vote is one of the most precious things you will ever have. It should be guarded as carefully as you can. Most of the things you lose can be replaced, but if you lose your vote the chances of your getting it back are almost nothing. You will hold the right only as long as you study and learn what your United States is and must be. You will preserve that right only as long as you vote with the knowledge that you are casting your ballot for what you believe in and for what will give you the best government.

I do not agree with the teacher's idea of voting, but I voted for a school board which hires teachers, and in whose hands I have placed my trust for you to receive the best education possible. I can only hope that you will sometime question what is said in class and—as in this case—find out if a statement is really true. Schools teach you the facts, but they also teach you to think for yourself if you will—and this is one of the greatest rights Americans have, freedom of thought. It is that freedom of thought which separates you from communism and allows you to go to the polls and thoughtfully cast your ballot.

Remember this in 1970—a State election—when you vote for the first time. Remember you can start this year learning what the rest of us will vote for next November. Please do. In this way you will be fulfilling one duty to the country which offers you so much.

## Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Hammond, Ind., Times is of interest to the newspaper fraternity throughout the Nation. Gary, Ind., is the youngest metropolitan city in the Nation. In 1906 Gary, as a village, was incorporated when the United States Steel Co. started its plant construction on the south shores of Lake Michigan. Today Gary is a metropolitan city of almost 200,000 inhabitants.

H. B. Snyder and his brother, the late Ralph R. Snyder, as young men pioneered a small newspaper into a publication which today ranks as one of the outstanding newspapers of the Middle West:

H. B. SNYDER STEPS DOWN AS POST-TRIBUNE EDITOR

H. B. Snyder stepped down Saturday as editor and publisher of the Gary Post-Tribune and turned over the post of editor to Dale E. Belles, Jr. At the same time, Snyder appointed Howard L. Kastel as general manager.

Snyder, himself, will remain as chairman of the board and president.

In his statement, Snyder said all decisions will be made by Belles and Kastel.

The change in management marks the first time since 1910 that H. B. Snyder or his brother, the late J. Ralph Snyder, have not directed the business and policy of the newspaper.

Belles joined the Post-Tribune staff in 1948. He became assistant managing editor in 1952 and in 1954 was named managing editor. He assumed the added duties of assistant editor and publisher in 1956.

Kastel joined the newspaper in July of this year as business manager.

## Extension of Temporary Unemployment Compensation Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, during the recess of the House at the end of August, the Ways and Means Committee held hearings on the extension of temporary unemployment compensation benefits. One of the witnesses on August 23, 1962, was the Honorable A. Allen Sulcowe, secretary of labor and industry, of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

His presentation of the subject and his statement in support of the proposal before the committee to extend unemployment compensation was so informative, interesting, and significant, that I have included same with these remarks, so that all the Members would have the benefit of reading the material presented.

In the past Congress has extended unemployment compensation to persons who had exhausted their benefits through prolonged lack of work. This year the Kennedy administration asked for another extension of 13 weeks. Last week the House Ways and Means Committee voted against the extension by a margin of only one vote. The action should be changed and the argument presented by Secretary Sulcowe furnishes ample reason for the passage of the bill.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF A. ALLEN SULCOWE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is A. Allen Sulcowe. I am the State secretary of labor and industry in the cabinet of Gov. David L. Lawrence. I appear in support of the proposal now before this honorable committee to extend unemployment compensation; I am authorized to say that this statement has the endorsement of my Governor.

THE STATE AND NATIONAL INTEREST IS INVOLVED

This committee and the Congress have already said that recessionary unemployment is more a National than a State problem. The Eisenhower and the Kennedy administrations in effect said this with their signature to the two acts extending unemployment compensation. When we have a recession, there is little that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania can do to increase the operation of the steel mills of Pittsburgh, and there is little that any State can do to revive production in the nationwide industries and yet, individual States and my State in par-

ticular, are currently required to shoulder the entire burden of unemployment compensation costs which are part of a national dip in employment.

This Congress has also said: "that the skills of many persons have been rendered obsolete by dislocations in the economy, arising from automation or other technological developments, foreign competition, relocation of industry, shifts in market demands and other changes in the structure of the economy; that Government leadership is necessary to insure that the benefits of automation do not become burdens of widespread unemployment" (76 Stat., p. 23).

We are now recovering from the 1960–61 recession. Whether the recovery is mild, partial, unfulfilled or meager is a matter of semantics, but the Kennedy administration and the Congress are aware that much yet remains to be done.

In Pennsylvania, every month this year has shown a significant improvement over the similar month last year:

[Upper figure is unemployment rate; lower figure is number of unemployed in thousands]

| | Annual average | January | February | March | April | May | June | July | August |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 9.4 | 11.4 | 11.6 | 10.8 | 9.9 | 9.3 | 9.9 | 9.4 | 8.7 |
| | 440.7 | 533.0 | 544.0 | 505.0 | 462.0 | 435.0 | 472.0 | 444.0 | 411.0 |
| 1962 | ---------- | 9.6 | 9.2 | 8.7 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 7.9 | 8.1 | ---------- |
| | ---------- | 446.0 | 426.0 | 400.0 | 353.0 | 339.0 | 373.0 | 380.0 | ---------- |

If we look at the month of May, which is uncomplicated by school and college youth, we see that there were 96,000 less unemployed in 1962 than in 1961, but there were still 339,000 unemployed, or a rate of 7.3 percent.

RECOVERY FROM RECESSION AND TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT USUALLY UNEVEN

Recovery can be measured in months in a nationwide or statewide picture, but frequently it has to be measured in terms of years for individual regions. I mean by this, that when a recession lifts, the general economic picture improves, but in individual regions it may not improve significantly. When the market for a particular commodity is lost or sharply curtailed, or a new material replaces long-used basics, the towns or areas affected do not respond quickly to a resurgence in the economy. This is one of the reasons for depressed areas in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. As coal markets disappear because of the use of residual oil, or plastics replace steel and aluminum, or diesels make the puffing steam engines of our youth almost a rarity, towns where employment depended upon such industries need more than a recovery in the economy to bounce back to normal levels.

The severity of these changes is sharpened by the continuing process of industry improving technological manufacturing and commercial methods. When a market declines, this process is hastened in order to reduce costs, and this usually means less manpower; ofttimes it means consolidation, or elimination of plants.

How quickly can a town recover, when a plant employing 60 percent of its workers closes? Surely the recovery process must be measured in terms of long months. The point I am striving to make is that recovery measures, and temporary extended unemployment compensation is such a measure, must look to substantial lengths of time to allow the orderly processes of change, stimulated by community, State, and Federal action, to evolve.

For this reason, I contend that temporary unemployment compensation should be a program without a 1-year limitation.

MAKEUP OF TEMPORARY EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFICIARIES—1961–62

Since this hard-working committee approved the bill which expired several months ago, a good deal of information, based upon congressional mandate, has been obtained. We now know with some definiteness the kind of people who benefited from temporary extended unemployment compensation. In Pennsylvania:

(a) Persons who drew temporary extended unemployment compensation benefits in Pennsylvania were predominantly males and relatively young. The median age for Pennsylvania claimants was 44.3 (46.2 years for males and 40.4 for females).

(b) Generally they were the primary wage earners of families.

(c) They came mostly from factories and especially from durable goods manufacturing.

(d) Most of the claimants had long and current attachment to the labor market. They were either recessionally unemployed or idled by other factors beyond their control, such as automation and technological advances.

Attached is a chart showing additional characteristics of this group of 207,000 claimants for temporary extended unemployment compensation for period ending June 30, 1962.

PERSONS BENEFITING FROM NEW TEMPORARY EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

The following are estimates of temporary extended unemployment compensation extension: By October 1, 1962, the number of unemployed workers in Pennsylvania exhausting their regular unemployment compensation benefits since the expiration of the covered period in the previous temporary extended unemployment compensation law, will reach a total of 50,000. Thus, if the temporary extended unemployment compensation law were renewed effective October 1, 50,000 workers in Pennsylvania would file for benefits during the first month and 44,000 would actually get one or more checks.

If the covered period in the renewed temporary unemployment compensation law extended from October 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963, with a phaseout over the ensuing 3 months, a total of 104,000 unemployed workers in Pennsylvania would get one or more temporary unemployment compensation payments and an additional 11,000 would file for, but not receive such benefits.

During the time of the last temporary unemployment compensation 207,000 Pennsylvanians benefited from the temporary unemployment compensation program. They received $75,514,000 of which $23,773,000 was reimbursed to the State unemployment compensation fund.

Another chart which may be of interest is attached and shows the duration of claims under the regular State program. This indicates that 50 percent draw less than 10 weeks or not at all.

IS PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE TO THOSE WHOSE BENEFITS END?

Sometimes it is said that the unemployment program should not be burdened beyond a certain point, and that those who have exhausted their benefits should turn to public assistance for aid.

In 1959 my Governor appointed a nine-man committee, equally divided between labor, management, and the public, to review our program in Pennsylvania. They asked for information on the same matter. Surveys were made for previous years, and these showed that less than 5 percent of the persons who exhausted unemployment compensation benefits found their way to the public assistance rolls.

A quick review during the last several days, indicates that this percentage is still low. For the last two years this percentage has risen to 9 percent because, I am told, of a change in Federal law which made dependent children eligible for public assistance even though an employable parent was present. In other words, we are dealing with people who are not relief recipients, but people who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own, who have not exhausted their total assets, or will not turn to public assistance programs; who are nevertheless, in need of help, and whose predicament is a matter of public concern.

PENNSYLVANIA'S PROGRAM TO DETECT FRAUD

How certain can we be that those receiving unemployment compensation benefits are really entitled to them? What does Pennsylvania do to assure sound administration?

In Pennsylvania, all claimants are registered for employment and are periodically exposed to the job tests, insofar as jobs are available. This is a real test, and thousands of persons are disqualified each year for failure to respond to call-in cards, or to accept suitable employment. Every employer is charged for the payment of benefits to a former employee, and he receives monthly a complete statement, showing the name, social security number, and amount of unemployment compensation paid out to former employees. Up to 10 percent of all claimants are spot checked each week for possible employment, so that of that group who are longtime unemployed, it is certain that 60 to 100 percent are spot checked.

Each year from 1,000 to 1,200 persons are prosecuted for improper receipt of benefits. These are usually in small amounts, because the program detects them before many weeks have gone by. There are many other devices used to keep the lists clear of fraud.

WHAT HAS THE PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE DONE?

It is proper to ask whether the Pennsylvania Legislature has required sufficient revenue for the State program. The legislature in my State has enacted tax rates which are realistic, and range from 2 to 4 percent, with an average in the neighborhood of 3.2 or 3.3 percent.

Pennsylvania has borrowed $112 million to help its fund over serious periods of recession. Its employers are faced with repaying this money, $80 million for the 1958–59 temporary unemployment compensation program, and in addition, money expended for temporary unemployment compensation. I think it can be said with certainty that the Legislature and the people of Pennsylvania are facing up to reality, and are not shirking their responsibilities. However, the question recurs whether one State should be required, without help, to support the costs of unemployment, which are not attributable to factors within the State, but are caused by national matters, and I add, automation and technological changes which can strike an individual state with a greater impact than others.

ARE OTHER PROGRAMS HELPING THE UNEMPLOYED TO NEW EMPLOYMENT?

Sometimes one instance illuminates a situation more clearly than any statistics can do. On August 13, when President Kennedy spoke to the Nation with regard to the national economy, he told the world about George DeMartz, of Junedale, Pa., a longtime unemployed anthracite coal miner, who had exhausted his State unemployment compensation benefits, and then his Federal extended benefits, just before he was enrolled

in the ARA program and trained as a welder.

This Pennsylvania worker was successfully placed, or transplanted if you please, from coal mining to metal fabrication in a new occupation and in a new industry which had been brought to the area by local initiative and industrial development measures. Here is firsthand evidence that the programs passed by this and previous Congresses are beginning to have their good effect in the war against unemployment. Can one think of any greater good that Congress can do, than it did for George DeMartz, and for similarly affected fellow workers who were tided over, and their families held together by State unemployment compensation and Federally extended benefits until the new ARA program was able to get underway?

Let me give another example. We are about to begin a training course, under the Manpower Development and Training Act passed by this Congress, for electronics mechanic, in McKeesport (Turtle Creek, Pa.); 25 perons have been selected. All of them have from 1 to 4 dependents, and their age range is from 19 to 47; 16 are veterans; more than half are former steelworkers; 1 is a former railroader; others include professional men, a foreman, a porter, an insurance agent, a warehouseman, and a maintenance mechanic.

Four of these people have been unemployed from 24 to 27 months; five more than 10 months. This is the kind of people who can benefit from extended unemployment compensation and who display eagerness to learn a new trade.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania has many scores of communities organized for industrial development. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has made available over $32 million for loans to new and expanding industry. Our State is frequently studied by people interested in this program. Over 39,000 new jobs have been created or made possible by these activities. I cite this to show that in this area, too, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is bestirring itself. However, we have a long way to go.

During the last 8 years, total employment in Pennsylvania showed an increase of 61,000 workers. This, despite the fact that coal mining lost 56,000 workers during this period; railroads 36,000; the farms over 48,000; primary metals almost 20,000; transportation equipment over 20,000; textiles, 19,000. We have made up, in other words, 200,000 jobs, and added 61,000, but this has not been on a 1-for-1 basis, and in many areas of our State, the persons disemployed find great difficulty in obtaining new employment.

LENGTHY UNEMPLOYMENT EXPLAINED

Why do some people remain unemployed for long periods? If industry is down in their area, why do they not move to more prosperous places? Human beings are not like checkers; they are warm flesh; they have attachments to their friends, neighbors, and relatives. They will not leave the valley where they were born and reared, or the homestead near the hill where their parents are buried. They want to make a living and a home where they have always lived and worked. Many times their hopes are realized and new industry does come in, or there is a revival of the old industry. They hope against hope that their mortgaged home will not need to be sold at a sacrifice price; that their children will not need to be uprooted from school classes; and that employment will return. It is not folly or "orneriness." It is the makeup of human beings.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE LARGE INDUSTRY IN TOWN CLOSES?

The last time I made a presentation to this committee I cited the sudden closing of the Ford assembly plant at Chester, Pa., and the devastating effect this had on 1,500 workers in Delaware County.

Let me give you another example, much the same, that is today current in my State. Some little time ago the American Car & Foundry Co. in Berwick, Pa., announced that it would close its plant and leave permanently unemployed some 2,000 steelworkers who had grown up in this area. Most of them knew no other work; many of them had followed their fathers and grandfathers into this mill for a livelihood. Berwick is a good example of a community on the banks of the Susquehanna where conditions were reasonably good. A new hospital had recently been undertaken by the people of the town; schools were expanded. Then disaster struck and the announcement was made that the company would phase out its operations and close permanently on October 1. This company is by far the largest industry in town and indeed in that section of Pennsylvania. Here we have householders and families faced with the terrible choice of waiting to see if the community efforts to bring in new facilities would eventually, in time, employ them, or to break off all connections with the homes of their neighbors and their families, and to move elsewhere.

How much time must it take for many of these people to make this agonizing decision? They know that the community organizations, the State and the Pennsylvania industrial development agencies, as well as Area Redevelopment Administration are trying to bring new employment, and like most human beings, they decide to wait. They know they are good production people, with steady work habits, who have been a credit and honor to their town and their community. It must seem unbelievable that all this will go for naught, and they follow avidly every chance of remaining in the area.

From this group will emerge a large percentage who will find new employment, and a significant percentage who will remain unemployed. The additional help which they could receive from the Federal Government would be succor for them, during a trying time.

There is no one to blame for this situation. This fine company has been a good citizen for over half a century, but subway cars and freight cars and Army tank retrievers, which they built so well, no longer are in high demand, and they must curtail their operations.

DEPRESSION AMIDST PROSPERITY

I would be remiss if I were to leave the impression that only the unemployed people in specific local or depressed areas require this kind of help. The peculiar nature of our economy now shows us instance after instance where, in the same town or city, there is boom and bustling employment while other industries are closing down or sharply curtailing production. This is due to the dizzying changes in marketing, engineering, and manufacturing of materials, and other factors well known to your committee. I am sure that this obtains in every State, and while the newly unemployed man usually finds work in the booming industries, there are those with lesser skills, who usually are older, who find that this is not so readily available.

SUDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT AS HARSH AS NATURAL DISASTERS

If, then, we need training programs, industrial development, and extended unemployment compensation to help toward new employment, I submit to this committee that all of this is indeed a national problem, which calls for national participation. Just as in most years when some section of our country is visited by a natural disaster, a hurricane, tornado, or tidal wave, all levels of government rush to the assistance of these communities and their people, and properly so. Their plight is open, visible, and dramatic. Their homes have been lost, their property destroyed, and the area has received damage from the violent elements. The 50 States, acting through Congress and the national administration, are glad to be of help. It seems to me that the onslaught of engineering changes, automation, and the disappearance of standard markets all have brought a similar form of devastation to many homes and families. They have lost jobs, income, homes have been disrupted, education of children deferred or discontinued.

The kind of program we are talking about today will not solve these problems, but they help, and they are in the national interest, just as much as the restoration of a devastated area is in the national interest.

To aid in the economic and social adjustment caused by job dislocation and because of the high number of exhaustions in our State, I urgently recommend prompt passage of a program for extended benefits. The people who have exhausted their benefits have been out of work at least 30 weeks, and as a rule, have serious problems to solve before they can be reemployed. In many cases they must obtain a new skill. In others, they must migrate to other areas. At times, the problem is the renewal of a defense contract in the plant of their last employer. But whatever the reason, the need is real, and the loss of purchasing power is not only unfortunate for them as individuals, but is depressing for our State's economy which needs every possible support, in order to regain the rate of economic growth needed to insure continued prosperity in our land.

I thank you for your attention and your courtesy in permitting me to appear before this committee.

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## Arthur J. Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the appointment of Arthur J. Goldberg as Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court meets with scant opposition. The following editorial by Dale E. Belles, Jr., editor of the Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune, outlines some of the reasons for his qualifications:

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, Aug. 31, 1962]

GOLDBERG TO THE TOP COURT

The American success story retains its essence despite changes in setting. It is currently typified in the elevation of Arthur J. Goldberg to the U.S. Supreme Court.

That Goldberg came from the ranks of relatively poor immigrant parents in a big city is not new though the more accepted formula was the rise from a poor farmhome. That the route of his climb was through the field of labor law rather than through one of the more orthodox fields of commerce or industry is a departure. However, it is a departure primarily because only comparatively recently has there been any field of labor law.

If there should be any tendency to challenge his fitness for the Court—and there will be, whether it comes into the open or not—because of his association with the labor side of some of our most controversial

legal questions, at least three counterbalancing factors should be considered.

First, one could cite several examples of corporation lawyers who have gone onto the Court and shown the ability to consider both sides of questions despite their previous experience. There is no reason why the same cannot be true of a man whose principal clients have been labor unions. As a matter of fact, unless we are to recruit our judiciary from the academic field, it is necessary to draw men whose experience has been primarily with one side or the other of controversy.

Second, it should be pointed out that in his 13 years as counsel for the United Steelworkers and 7 years as chief counsel for the Congress of Industrial Organizations he insisted on operating as a fee attorney rather than as a paid—even if a well-paid—employee. In other words, he showed a determination to maintain a certain freedom of thought and action.

Finally, it should be remarked that while Secretary of Labor, Goldberg did not always act in strict accord with the wishes of labor leaders, but rather sought to influence settlements designed to reduce open conflict and to serve the public interest as he saw it. His part in reading Communist and hoodlum elements out of the AFL–CIO can be cited to demonstrate his willingness to offend those labor leaders he believes deserve to be offended.

In passing it should be noted that Felix Frankfurter, whom Goldberg will succeed, came to the bench from Harvard denounced by many as a radical, yet stayed on to be denounced by others as a conservative but to be praised by most as an impartial jurist. While Goldberg does not match Frankfurter's erudition, his own academic success in leading his Northwestern University class while working his way through school and graduating at 21, shows that he has the makings of a legal scholar.

Because of the life tenures of those appointed, one cannot be sure just what direction a Justice may turn after his appointment. It is impossible to know, therefore, in just what direction Kennedy appointments will influence the Court. The influence, however, should be relatively prolonged. Echoing his own youth, Kennedy's first appointee, Byron White, was only 45. His second, Arthur J. Goldberg, is a comparatively young 54.

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## Africa and Food for Peace—An Address by the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Before the Michigan Food for Peace Council, Detroit, Mich., September 1, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of an outstanding address by the distinguished Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, on the subject of "Africa and Food for Peace."

Assistant Secretary Williams described the way in which American agricultural abundance has been utilized under the food for peace program in the countries of Africa.

His address was delivered before the Michigan Food for Peace Council at the Michigan State Fair Grounds in Detroit on September 1, 1962.

The text of the address follows:

AFRICA AND FOOD FOR PEACE

(Address by the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the Michigan Food for Peace Council, Michigan State Fairgrounds, Detroit, Mich., September 1, 1962)

It is always a great pleasure for me to return to Michigan and be among old friends. But when I have an opportunity to return here for the Michigan State Fair and speak on both agriculture and Africa, such pleasure is heightened many times.

Let me begin by congratulating Sandy Brown and his associates on the Michigan Food for Peace Council, as well as those of you who represent the other States in regional committee No. 2. I commend you for your public-spirited and selfless cooperation in this vital task of developing public understanding and support for the food-for-peace program.

The importance of this program has been made abundantly clear by President Kennedy. One of his first acts after taking office—in fact, his second Executive order dated January 24, 1961—established a food-for-peace office in the White House. At this time the President said:

"American agricultural abundance offers a great opportunity for the United States to promote the interests of peace in a significant way and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples all around the world. We must make the most vigorous and constructive use possible of this opportunity."

What is it about our food-for-peace program that makes it so important in the overall scheme of our foreign policy? What are its objectives, and what kind of thinking is there behind the program?

Initially, the food-for-peace program—which operates under Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act—was conceived of as a kind of "surplus disposal" plan. But its objectives have been broadened considerably in the last year and a half. We have come to realize that we can put America's agricultural abundance to work to relieve hunger and improve nutrition throughout the world—and to contribute to world economic growth and security at the same time.

In 1961, exports under the program amounted to some $1.5 billion, or approximately 30 percent of the total U.S. agricultural exports of $5 billion. In volume, this adds up to about 60 billion pounds of U.S. commodities, principally wheat, corn, rice, and fats and oils.

In Michigan, out of total agricultural exports of $94.9 million in fiscal year 1962, almost 30 percent, or $27.4 million, were shipped under the food-for-peace program.

Africa ranks at the bottom among continents receiving food-for-peace assistance, but it has been receiving an increasingly larger share in the last 2 years. In fiscal year 1962, for example, our African food-for-peasce program, excluding Egypt, amounted to $163 million, which is almost 10 pecent of the total worldwide porgram. I might point out here that the value of all of the program's commodities are figured at Commodity Credit Corporation prices and do not reflect absolutely equivalent benefits in dollar expenditures.

We now have African programs under all four titles of Public Law 480, and an example or two of each may more meaningfully explain what we are trying to do under the program.

An important segment of the food for peace program is contained in title I of Public Law 480. Under this title, we can sell U.S. agricultural commodities abroad and accept payment in the currency of the importing country.

This part of the program also has a second advantage. Much of the money paid to the United States under title I can be returned to the purchasing country in the form of loans or grants for schools, dams, roads, electric power, or other projects that can help speed the country's development. In addition, we can use some of this currency to defray the costs of our representatives abroad. Also, some currency is used to support joint efforts of Government and industry to develop larger commercial markets for U.S. farm products in foreign countries.

At the present time, six African countries are participating in title I programs—Congo (Léopoldville), Egypt, Guinea, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia.

Guinea, for example, signed a title I agreement on February 2 of this year. At that time, Guinea agreed to buy $7.5 million worth of U.S. rice, wheat, edible oils, and other agricultural commodities over a 3-year period, in exchange for Guinean francs. Two subsequent amendments raised this agreement to $10.67 million. Seventy-three percent of the proceeds from this sale will be loaned back to the Guinean Government for development of industry, agriculture, education and public administration—projects agreed upon by both the United States and Guinea.

There are two principal uses to which America's farm abundance is put under title II of the law: (1) emergency relief, and (2) economic development.

In East Africa in the past year, both floods and drought raised havoc with the natural food supply of many thousands of people. You may recall the airdrop of corn and dried milk in Tanganyika in May of this year, in which our Air Force worked around-the-clock in speeding food to a famine-stricken area of that country. In Kenya, too, more than $5 million worth of corn, dried milk and edible oil was sent into the country in the past year for famine relief. Our Air Force also airdropped supplies in Kenya.

One of the most dramatic examples of emergency relief under both titles II and III of the food for peace program took place in Algeria, where since 1957 private organizations have distributed $14.7 million worth of grain, milk, beans, and other food supplies to the people inside that country. These goods and transportation costs were paid for by the U.S. Government, but the distribution and handling was the responsibility of voluntary organizations. The most active of these organizations were Church World Service, Catholic Relief Services, the American and other Red Cross Societies, the American Friends Service Committee, and CARE-Medico.

During the last days of the secret army terror in Algiers and in the confused first few days after Algeria became independent, the United States delivered 3,500 tons of food and medical supplies to the Casbah. This was the very center of the storm—an area where people had been cut off from supplies by the disruption of communications and transport and the attendant unemployment brought about by the OAS terror campaign.

Turning now to that section of title II under which food is used as an instrument of economic development, both Tunisia and Morocco are using U.S.-donated food for partial payment of wages on public work projects. We have a $17.8 million work project agreement with Morocco under which 200,000 tons of U.S. wheat will be used by the Moroccan Government as partial wage payments

for 200,000 workers employed in economic development projects. In Tunisia, another 180,000 people employed on roads, irrigation, reforestation and land conservation are being partially paid in U.S. wheat. Both Morocco and Tunisia pay part of the workers' wages in cash. The significant part of this program, however, is that it gives highly useful work to the unemployed—unemployed workers in Africa and unemployed foodstuffs in the United States.

Under title III of Public Law 480, food supplies are made available for distribution abroad through U.S. voluntary agencies. Although the volume of total agricultural exports accounted for by these efforts is relatively small, the benefits from this approach are very great.

On my recent trip to Africa, in April and May of this year, I had an opportunity to see some of these operations firsthand. I was greatly impressed with the effects of these voluntary programs and the dedication of the Americans distributing U.S. food in such places as Upper Volta, Dahomey, Ruanda-Urundi, and the Congo.

The least-known and thus far least-used part of Public Law 480 is title IV, under which the United States can deliver surplus agricultural commodities over a number of years and be repaid in dollars over an extended period. Last April, the first such agreement in Africa was signed with Liberia, and only 2 weeks ago one was signed with Ethiopia. Under the Liberian agreement, wheat, rice, and mixed livestock feeds valued at $8.64 million will be provided to that country over a 3-year period, and repayment will be made in dollars in 15 equal annual installments.

On balance, then, how effective is America's food-for-peace program? Is it meeting its objectives and doing the job it was designed to do? Is it helping us to fulfill those aspirations of the American people that underlie our national policy—our interest in seeking a stable world, and our deep and sincere concern for the welfare of people throughout the world?

I can see a resounding affirmative in the eyes and actions of an otherwise-unemployed North African I met. This man was throwing all his strength and pride into running a pneumatic hammer on a country road work project. I can feel it in the lump that came into my throat as I watched central African school children line up to receive their milk, which came from boxes of dried milk proudly bearing the insignia of the United States of America.

Before pointing out positive feasures, however, let me make clear that we are aware of the genuinely difficult problems related to food for peace. I would be less than frank if I didn't mention some of the program's difficulties.

First, this program is not a cure-all for our agricultural surplus problems.

Secondly, in administering this program abroad there are day-to-day practical problems. Distribution in recipient countries is a particularly thorny one. Furthermore, reasonable precautions must be taken to be sure that these programs do not interfere with normal patterns of commercial trade. We want this program to supplement rather than hinder the development of the world's agricultural countries. And again, traditional eating habits in many countries cannot be changed overnight. Our surpluses may be completely unsatisfactory to people who have never tasted such food.

These are a few of the knotty problems connected with food for peace, and it is clear from them that our use of agricultural surpluses must be approached judiciously. Nevertheless, the stakes are so high—the urgent need to eradicate hunger and malnutrition and to solve some of the pressing difficulties of agriculture—that we must have the vision to accept these problems and try to surmount them.

On the positive side, the program offers constructive outlets for surplus agricultural production without endangering our balance-of-payments position; it lowers the costs of surplus storage; it bolsters farm income; and it is improving business for our railroads, seaports, and shipping lines. Furthermore, it is showing the people of the world that farmers in our free democratic system can outproduce regimented Soviet farmworkers by a ratio of 5 to 1. Our food for peace program also is raising nutritional levels abroad, developing new markets for American agriculture, and assisting in the vital economic development of many new countries.

Perhaps most importantly of all, food for peace reaches large numbers of individuals in the recipient countries directly. This is one of the most personal of all our foreign aid programs. The African people know where these foodstuffs are coming from, and this is building a broad-based reservoir of good will for the United States.

In terms of how this program is received in Africa, we have evidence that it is widely and gratefully welcomed. On my recent trip, for example, I was personally thanked many times in Coquilhatville, in the Congo's Equateur Province, for the flood relief supplied under Ambassador Gullion's special fund. Following the airdrop in Tanganyika, the appreciation of the Tanganyikan people was widely reported in the press when they presented President Kennedy with a stuffed baby crocodile and a dugout canoe.

In Kenya, Masai tribesmen sent the President a shield and spear, and their spokesman said: "We are an insignificant people, but America is a big nation and probably the richest in the world. If she chose, she could remain unconcerned. We are deeply touched by the generosity of your people. We believe the kindly action has no political bearing, and in it we can learn that even in the world of atomic bombs the simple and natural kindness of man to man still remains."

Now, what of the future of the food-for-peace program?

This is a good program and will be with us for a long time. It is of interest to the Congress. Based on discussions abroad and evaluations by the Department of Agriculture, we expect the program to expand and become increasingly effective in years ahead. We foresee more long-term arrangements under title IV as these operations become better understood. We see a broader variety of foods made available, and we see greater use of food to pay foreign workers on public works projects.

You on the Michigan Food for Peace Council and Regional Committee No. 2 have a unique opportunity to contribute materially to the program's future. You can give us advice on how to conduct the program and expert technical assistance on problems of production, storage, transportation and distribution. You can arouse the interest and enthusiasm of civic groups and private citizens alike. You can select specific agricultural problems in particular countries and take on their solution as your personal projects to make the program more effective.

With your help, the future of the food-for-peace program takes on a very optimistic outlook—even though we realize the program in itself will not solve our farm problem, nor will it end the world's hunger and malnutrition. But it can make a major contribution toward an eventual solution of these problems and help speed the development of new and emerging nations—and this is a desirable goal that we can share with all people interested in world peace and stability.

## How To Give Our Economy a Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, cooperation and understanding between Government and business are essential for the well-being of our country. Mr. Roger Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel Corp., has made this point the subject of an article which was published in This Week magazine. This article deserves the thoughtful consideration of business and Government leaders.

The article follows:

HOW TO GIVE OUR ECONOMY A BOOST

(By Roger M. Blough)

(For the first time since his big White House battle, the head of United States Steel speaks up publicly to give his answer to the question everyone's been asking: Can Government and business cooperate for the profit of the whole country?)

Many people are worrying about the growing antagonism between business and Government. Often in recent months I have been asked, "Are you anti-Kennedy?" or "Do you think Washington is antibusiness?"

I suppose these questions are directed to me even more frequently than to other businessmen because I was involved earlier this year in a widely publicized disagreement with the President over the price of steel. The events connected with that controversy have undoubtedly caused many people to wonder whether the administration is not basically antibusiness. Reactions within the business community generally have led some in Government to suspect that business is antiadministration.

I believe Labor Day is a good time to reexamine the relationships between Government and business for, in my opinion, continued hostility between the two is just about the worst thing that could happen to our country.

I, as a businessman, am not hostile to the Government or the President. And I cannot imagine that our Government, as a matter of policy, would deliberately engage in warfare with the business community.

Yes, there are misunderstandings on both sides—serious ones. There are differences of opinion, deeply felt differences. There are instances of strong disagreement. These may continue. There are moments of pique. They will probably occur again.

But on one thing there is no valid or debatable difference. That is the absolute necessity of a strong, virile domestic economy for America's protection and for the protection of our allies.

If America is to grow and prosper as all of us wish, then that growth must come essentially from the productive sector of our economy—from the business community. Government cannot bring it about, nor can business do so without the understanding and cooperation of Government. Both must work together; and we shall not solve our intricate economic problems by denouncing the administration or by shouting "down with business."

Let's stop a minute and ask ourselves: Who is Government? Who is business? And who is "They—when the word is spoken disparagingly by either side to refer to the other?

Government? In the broadest sense, it's the nearly 70 millions of us who voted at the last Presidential election. Acting for us in the vast task of administering our country are 8½ million civilians in Government posts either elected by us or appointed by those we elected.

Business? It is 55 million of our people organized into almost 5 million units varying in size from A.T. & T. to the corner grocery. These business units provide 80 percent of the country's jobs and payrolls and practically all of the goods and services that enable the American people to live as we like to live.

So essentially, these two groups are composed of the same people, and between them there is an excellent basis for mutual understanding.

An extraordinary number of businessmen—far more than you might think—have served in Government, often at considerable financial sacrifice to themselves and their families. For example, many of the Nation's leading industrialists and corporation presidents belong to an advisory group called the Business Council; and over 40 percent of the 170 members of this group have held full-time Government jobs in the present or former administrations.

In addition, 31 Senators and 134 members of the House of Representatives, or nearly one-third of our legislators, were businessmen or bankers before they went to Congress.

Such interest on the part of businessmen in the political scene is not new. After all, Ben Franklin was a businessman, as were other patriot leaders.

While common sense and common interest in our national welfare argue for cooperation between business and government, most of us have to admit that currently something seems wrong. What we are suffering, it seems to me, is primarily a crisis of confidence.

On one hand, some Government people question whether business can successfully operate the productive sector of our society in the world as it is today.

On the other hand, many in the business community wonder whether Government understands the kind of climate that has historically made the United States the most productive country in history.

Now on this Labor Day I propose that all of us—management, labor, and Government—embark on a great quest for the kind of Government-business confidence that will increase investment, speed the installation of new machinery and create jobs.

How do we build this confidence?

Each side must be able to speak freely and fully. And each side must be listened to when it presents its problems.

It would be helpful if businessmen and Government officials alike could express their differences—sometimes vigorous and basic differences on such touchy subjects as pricing, taxation, and foreign trade—without generating group antagonisms or hostility on either side.

In addition, business and Government must seek to know a great deal more about each others' problems. Let me give an example on each side:

Our Government faces the unbelievably difficult and delicate question of balance of payments. Last May the President asked a committee of businessmen to study the problem and suggest measures. The deeper the committee dug, the more intensely its members realized the complex interrelation of foreign aid, the draining away of gold reserves, the value of the dollar, and military expenditures abroad.

Once a businessman appreciates how thorny and many-sided this issue is for the Government, he views proposals that are offered with new understanding.

On the other side, some in Government do not seem to understand the function of profits. But if they studied the problem more deeply, and if they truly understood the extent to which depressed profit levels are acting as a deterrent to our national growth, they would certainly want to help business deal with the present disastrous profit squeeze.

But words, no matter how friendly, sincere or well meant, are not enough. Confidence is a bridge. If it is to serve as an effective bridge between business and Government, it needs support at both ends in the form of action.

Here are specific steps I feel the Government might take to rebuild a faltering confidence:

1. Taxation—Tax laws which discourage greater investment in job-producing plant and machinery are wholly inconsistent with our efforts to increase national growth. Our competitor nations in Europe are putting 8 to 12 percent of their gross national product into new plant and equipment. We are only using about 5 percent for this purpose. Wise tax revision can remove many of the present obstacles to growth.

2. Competition—Business confidence could be greatly improved if Government clearly stated its intention to keep out of business fields that are being efficiently served by private, taxpaying companies.

3. Attitude—It would help if Government recognized that no centralized agency can make the innumerable day-to-day decisions of 5 million individual business units which are competing for survival and success. Each of these businesses has its own unique problems and only those who actually live with these problems can decide best how to solve them. That is the responsibility of these businessmen and they should be allowed to discharge it in a lawful manner without Government interference, pressure, or dictation.

Here's what I think business might do to bolster confidence:

1. Restraint.—I believe that we in business should be sure that we fully understand what Government is trying to do and why; and that if we disagree with some proposed action, we should not just oppose it, but should try to advance a better proposal.

2. Explanation.—Business must do a better job of explaining its problems and positions. Everyone understands that a 15-year-old car is not competitive with a new model. Our industrial machinery is around 15 years old on the average. If we in business had been able to explain better, through the years, the indestructible links between taxes, profits, tools and jobs, we could have avoided many difficulties.

3. Production.—Business can strengthen the competitive potential of our Nation by putting even more emphasis on research, product innovation, quality improvement and increased sales effort.

Of one thing I am sure. If this Nation is to be strong, secure, dynamic and free, it cannot be divided into warring groups and contending factions.

In my travels I have visited countries that were undergoing serious internal upheaval. I have been struck by the complete economic paralysis that resulted. Nobody wanted to buy a new car or build a house or start a business.

The same thing sometimes happens in a family torn by dissension. The plan to remodel the kitchen is dropped. Nobody bothers with a new carpet for the stairs.

In a household and in a nation the actions that bring comfort and provide jobs are actions of faith. You spend your money, you seed the lawn, you build a steel plant because you have confidence that your plans will work.

That is why I feel so strongly that there must be understanding between business and Government. For it would be a tragedy beyond belief if uncertainty in the future or lack of confidence were to block our progress. And that is what we must renew today—our faith in our ability as Americans to accomodate our differences and to agree ultimately upon a wise and well-reasoned course of action.

Of course I recognize that we will disagree on policies and procedures. But even as we debate, let us remember the simple arithmetic of survival:

Government divided from business equals stagnation. But government plus business equals national strength, national prosperity and national growth.

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## Washington Report

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 7, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of September 1, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Tex., Sept. 1, 1962)

USE OF PUBLIC MONEY FOR A SLUSH FUND

The House this week passed the Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act (H.R. 10113), a fancy title for the creation of the biggest slush fund in history, putting more power in the hands of President Kennedy and, as usual, the people pay the bill. The motion to recommit (the only way to defeat the measure) was defeated 221 against (202 Democrats, 19 Republicans), 192 for recommittal (148 Republicans, 44 Democrats). A vote for recommittal was a vote against the bill. I voted to recommit. This legislation creates a $900 million fund (all of it deficit spending) for all types of public works projects, including swimming pools, golf courses, and ski slides. Congressman LES ARENDS, the minority whip, called it the "most depressing and reckless legislation ever passed by the House."

Arguments for: (1) Permit the President at his discretion to authorize public works projects (pump-priming philosophy) to provide employment. (2) To provide money for projects in key Democratic districts to help elect Democrats.

Arguments against: (from the minority report (1) The bill will not accomplish its stated purpose to provide immediate work for a substantial number of unemployed and underemployed persons. (2) The Congress should not authorize the appropriation of additional funds to construct public works for the purpose of creating jobs when unobligated balances in existing programs amounting to billions of dollars are available. (3) Expenditure of $900 million for unauthorized projects will necessitate deficit financing and will contribute to the necessity of increasing the public debt. (4) Federal share of the cost of public works projects of State and local governments will increase to 50 or 75 percent. (5) Local public works projects which are now eligible for interest-bearing loans, under the new law, will be able to secure grants and gifts. (6) It delegates to the President the constitutional power and authority of Congress to authorize new Federal grant-in-aid programs and projects. Another step toward dictatorship.

The conclusion of the minority report on this bill is so important that I feel it must be quoted at length: "In our opinion this bill is ineffective to provide immediate em-

ployment, and over a period of 2 years, or more, at best it will create jobs for only about 3 percent of the persons now unemployed. Whereas, the bill purports to offer hope for the millions now unemployed, in reality, it will only bring more disillusionment and despair when its inadequacies become known. Enactment of this bill is entirely too high a price to pay, both in dollars and in the unwise delegation of congressional powers to the President, in return for the few temporary jobs which will be created too late to be of any immediate assistance to those who now desperately need work, and cannot find employment.

"The real end result of this bill is to give the President a book of blank checks with authority to draw $900 million from the Treasury of the United States and to use such amounts thereof as he decides for the construction of projects he selects in localities of his choosing. Under the authority of this bill the President can approve or withhold funds for projects in such a manner as to coerce Members of Congress to support his New Frontier program, or to buy political support for favored candidates for public office, or to pay political obligations. When the people of this country learn what this bill does and does not do, they will strongly resent the political contrivance to give the President a political slush fund to be paid for by the taxpayers.

"Thomas Jefferson warned against traveling the road down which the present administration is taking the country, when he said: 'I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest danger to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our choice between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and in our amusements. If we can prevent the Government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy.'" I stand with Thomas Jefferson.

For my part, effective representation by me of a self-respecting electorate, Dallas County, means—refusal to: (1) Endorse fiscal irresponsibility, (2) contribute to deficit financing, (3) create more inflation, (4) increase Federal boondoggle and political spending, all of which means I and the people of Dallas cannot be bought nor intimidated by Federal aid—whether it be Dallas Love Field, Dallas Federal Building, or Dallas public works—offered or denied. This is the issue—the battle is joined—the Democrats have chosen their side, and no Democrat candidate can effectively and responsibly represent his district warring with his President (the head of his party) and all his congressional leaders. It is now for the people to decide and this fall is the time for decision.

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## The Golden Eagle—A Predatory Bird

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the most relentless and persistent enemy of wildlife and young domesticated animals in certain areas of the country today is the golden eagle. As a destroyer of helpless lambs, goat kids, fawns, and wild turkey, the golden eagle is today ranked ahead of the coyote, bobcat, and the mountain lion.

Yet, legislation is now pending in the Congress to interfere with the right of landowners and conservationists to protect against this bird of prey. It goes without saying that any legislation that is enacted on this subject should exempt the affected areas from the penalties of the law, or at least make it the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to permit the taking of the eagle where evidence shows it to be necessary.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

In view of the fact that there are some good-intentioned people who are either misinformed or uninformed about the eating habits of the golden eagle, perhaps this is a good time to cite some eyewitness accounts of the habits of this bird and how destructive they actually are. The only valid evidence must come from people who live on the range, who observe and see with their own eyes what they report.

These birds are migratory. Large numbers of them come into southwest Texas in the fall of the year and make their homes along the Mexican border during the winter and early spring. There are not many rodents, ground squirrels, and rabbits in that area, whereas in other areas of the country the eagles seem to be able to live principally from those sources of livelihood. They also eat carrion.

While in the Southwest these birds seek havens in bluffs, cliffs, and rough canyon sanctuaries. From their roosting places they swoop down into the open valleys and prey upon young lambs, kids, and wild game. If need be they even attack live varmints.

I recently received a letter from Mr. W. J. Burns, of Del Rio, Tex., in which he stated:

I trapped 11 years for the Fish and Wildlife Service. I caught 198 coyotes and killed 265 dogs, all killing sheep. * * * I lived day and night on the range and in the ranch pastures. And I know that the men who are trying to pass a law to stop killing the eagle do not have any experience in the line I have followed. They are listening to people who don't know what they are trying to do.

I have seen the eagles fly over the pastures and dive straight down like a bullet, and rise with a lamb in its claws.

EAGLE KILLS LARGE LAMB

Arthur Davis, a prominent and highly respected ranchman of Uvalde and Real Counties, where the golden eagle is often seen during the winter seasons, writes:

I have had eagles catch and kill kids and lambs. Large flocks of hawks would follow him around and rob his kill. They would pester him for his kill until he would leave it to them, then kill another, and then another.

Just a few years ago I had an eagle killing large lambs, about 6 weeks to 2 months old. He was also feeding some boarder hawks. I was out early to try to put a stop to it, and I had some poison and was intending to get some of the boarders if not the provider. I saw the eagle, about 400 yards away, make a dive, and since he did not come up I was sure he had made a kill which was too large to carry. I galloped up to the spot and found him with his talons still clutching a big lamb by the head, both eyeballs and brain pierced. The lamb was dead. I jumped from my horse and with my knife I cut a small hole, in which I put some poison, into the lamb's heart and liver. I returned in about 2 hours * * * he had eaten his fill, then spat most of it up, but he was unable to fly.

EAGLE KILLS YEARLING GOAT

Just this last winter I was coming from Rocksprings to Leakey, and as I was passing through the Roy Leinweber Ranch I saw an eagle diving, with wings folded back and talons outstretched, off to the side of the road. I stopped and watched for him to show up with his kill. He never took flight so I stalked out to the area where I saw him go down. I came upon him in a small clearing, with his kill. I stayed concealed in a liveoak thicket and watched him. He was already eating the insides from a yearling angora goat. Several hawks were coming in to join the feast. When the hawks would crowd in he would stand on one foot and raise the other, threatening them. The hawks would back off. The eagle would then have to lower his other foot before he could lower his head to eat, and up would dash the hawks. This kept up as more and more hawks kept joining the crowd. In spite of all his efforts, the hawks were getting bites from time to time. He had had enough. He began trying to fly away with his kill. Since he could not carry it, he gave up and left it to the robber hawks. As he circled to fly, he saw me and left in in a hurry.

SAW EAGLES KILL DEER

Davis also included a detailed account of how the golden eagles robbed his traps which he had set for varmints. They killed and ate skunks, civet cats, raccoons, and ringtail cats, always striking early in the morning.

Early one morning I found a ringtail in a trap before the eagle did. I tied the ringtail up short and set some traps out in front of it. When I returned I had Mr. Eagle.

After recalling a number of other eyewitness accounts, Davis told of eagles attacking a deer:

One morning I was out early and just as I walked over a ridge I heard a deer crying, as a deer cries when caught by a panther or hung in a fence. In a short time this deer, a doe, ran nearer to me. Two eagles were attacking her. They would dive on her, sink their talons in her loin, then dive at her head and grab at her eyes. They had no chance of holding her or killing her on the spot, but they were getting the best of her. I shot one of them with my single shot .22 rifle, and he took off. The other followed. I went down to the deer. She was strong, but her eyes had been pierced and she was running in circles and running over brush. I later found her dead.

WORSE THAN RUSSIAN HOGS OR BOBCATS

Buddy Pape of Prade Ranch, Texas, writes:

We ranch in Real County. We have been bothered with the golden eagle every year. They come here during the fall of the year and leave in the spring.

We have actually seen them fly down and catch little lambs and goat kids. Several times we have scared an eagle up off the ground and went to the spot and found little remains of a goat kid or lamb the eagle had been eating.

We have a few bobcats in this part of the country the year round and also have had some trouble with the Russian hogs, but we have never had wild animals of any kind that did us as much damage or were as hard to combat as the golden eagle.

Mr. W. H. Glimp writes:

For 10 years I operated a 50-section ranch in Hudspeth County near Van Horn. With all of the trouble we had from coyotes, bobcats, and panthers, there was nothing that

hurt me as bad as the eagles * * * I saw these eagles eat a whole lamb crop while I fought them with every known means. I want to go on record that I saw these eagles attack and kill my lambs. And I know what I am talking about.

Scores of other eyewitness reports of this kind could be cited. I can supply any number of such accounts for anyone who desires to see them. Mr. Dan Auld, an eminent naturalist and conservationist of Kerrville, Tex., testified before a Senate subcommittee recently when hearings were being held on a bill to protect the golden eagle. His testimony, which appears in the printed hearings, was factual and devastating. Mr. Auld, a native of the area where the eagle spends the winter, is a prominent ranchman who raises sheep, goats, and cattle. He gave firsthand accounts of some hair-raising experiences he had had with the eagle and listed any number of instances where he had with his own eyes witnessed the golden eagle attack, sheep, goats, and wildlife.

Mr. Fritz Kahl, of Fort Davis, Tex., also testified before the Senate subcommittee.

I attribute this year in 6 of my lambing pastures 122 lambs lost to eagles. The method of kill and scavengering was evidenced in all cases. Talon marks on the back and neck, rib cage opened and lung and heart and liver gone.

I have personally observed this marauder descend and perform his kill; I have heard lambs bleat in defense which was useless.

My experience is multiplied, I am sure, many times in most all sheep and goat operations in Texas. Should any ornithologist, bird watcher, or bird conservationist wish to refute this testimony, he or she is invited to go with me to my ranch and observe the eagle.

Mr. Kahl's testimony includes a number of eyewitness accounts of the golden eagle destroying wild game and domesticated animals.

EAGLE DESTROYS ANTELOPE

Dan Auld's testimony also included the following:

More convincing evidence as to the predatory habits of the golden eagle is what happened to our antelope or pronghorn in west Texas. The pronghorns range in the highland ranch country of the Davis Mountains in west Texas, which covers a large area of good grazing land. The antelope or pronghorn became so depleted in 1903 that the game department in Texas closed the season on them, but they did not increase.

It seems that the young antelope which survived, just about balanced off the old ones which died.

For many years this Davis Mountain country was ranched altogether by cowmen, and the eagles did not give them too much trouble. Then in about 1940 the sheep and goat men started moving their flocks into this area. Immediately the eagles started killing their lambs and kids, and the ranchers started doing something about it. They hired a man to hunt golden eagles by plane. He is supposed to have killed some 1,300 golden eagles the first year. The very next year the antelope doubled its population. This proved to the game department what was happening to the antelope and they started helping the ranchers to kill off the golden eagles. In 3 years the hunting season on antelope was opened after having been closed for 41 years because there had not been enough antelope to hunt. In 1944, the first year the hunting season was open, the hunters killed 344 antelope and last year they took over 2,000. Many more antelope were trapped to replant in other parts of Texas.

It seems these facts alone should be conclusive enough to kill these bills to protect the golden eagle.

Every year since 1940 the ranchers in the Davis Mountains area have killed golden eagles; otherwise, they would have them back in such numbers that they could not profitably operate their ranches.

NO DANGER OF EXTINCTION

Mr. Speaker, the theory behind the bills that have been introduced in the House and Senate to protect the golden eagle is that this is necessary to avoid extinction. But the evidence proves there is no such danger. In fact the Department of the Interior in its report on the pending legislation stated:

This resolution states that the golden eagle is threatened with extinction. Although golden eagles have declined in number in recent years in the Eastern States, we cannot state, on the basis of our present information, that the golden eagle has reached the stage of an endangered species.

Moreover, a number of witnesses testified—and without contradiction—that the number of golden eagles appearing in certain areas of Texas during their migratory sojourn there has actually increased in recent years. More and more of them are being seen each year.

Therefore, the possible extinction of the golden eagle is not a valid justification for this legislation. There is in fact no such threat.

It is also contended that in order to protect the bald eagle in certain areas it is necessary to provide similar protection for the golden eagle because until they reach maturity both the golden eagle and bald eagle are indistinguishable. That problem does not arise in Texas because the bald eagle is never seen in that area.

While this problem is effectively met by laws in the various States which also protect the golden eagle as well as the bald eagle, if it should be the will of the Congress to proceed with Federal legislation, certainly any such legislation should not interfere with the right of landowners to protect themselves by killing the golden eagle in those areas where the latter, unlike the bald eagle, constitutes a serious menace to livestock and wildlife.

Surely no one in his right mind would condone the wanton destruction of livestock and wild game in the areas where that is practiced by the golden eagle. No true conservationist would condone such preying habits.

LET FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE INVESTIGATE

Indeed, it would seem that the more sensible and appropriate course to follow would be to postpone any action on this legislation for at least another year. In view of the confusion among sponsors regarding the eating habits of the golden eagle while sojourning along the Mexican border, sponsors could request the Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct an on-the-spot investigation of what the actual facts are.

In view of the destruction being wrought by the eagles in that area, it seems incredible to the people trying to make a living there by raising livestock, as well as to the game conservationists, of whom there are many, that the Congress would seriously consider any legislation calculated to restrict or hamper them in their defense against this evil.

If the Fish and Wildlife Service should be permitted to make such an investigation they would receive the fullest cooperation of the landowners. They can definitely obtain moving pictures and photographs of the golden eagle while actually engaged in his acts of destruction, if that is desired. That has not been done in the past because it never occurred to the people affected that this legislation would be offered and seriously considered.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENT

Mr. Speaker, there are 20 counties in southwest Texas that are seasonally infested by the golden eagle. It is believed by the ranchmen and conservationists that since the eagle constitutes an annual, hibitual menace to livestock and wildlife in that area, those 20 counties should be exempted from the operation of any law that is enacted to protect the golden eagle.

But if it should be determined that some legislation affecting all areas alike should be enacted, then I have prepared an amendment to pending bills which, if properly administered, should provide reasonable protection to the people who would be adversely affected. In lieu of section 2 of pending bills, the following is proposed.

Section 2. Whenever, after investigation, the Secretary of the Interior shall determine that it is compatible with the preservation of the bald eagle or the golden eagle to permit the taking, possession, and transportation of specimens thereof for the scientific or exhibition purposes of public museums, scientific societies, and zoological parks, or for the religious purposes of Indian tribes, or that it is necessary to permit the taking of such eagles for the protection of wildlife or of agricultural or other interests in any particular locality, he shall authorize the taking of such eagles pursuant to regulations which he is hereby authorized to prescribe: *Provided*, That on request of the Governor of any State, the Secretary of Interior shall promptly conduct an investigation for the purpose of determining whether it is necessary to permit the taking of golden eagles for the purpose of protecting wildlife or domesticated flocks and herds in such State, in accordance with regulations established under the provisions of this section, in such part or parts of such State for such periods as the Secretary determines to be necessary to protect such interests;

*Provided further*, That whenever during such investigation there is presented to the Secretary of the Interior substantial evidence that the golden eagle destroys domesticated livestock or wild game, in any area of a State, it shall be his duty to permit the taking of such eagles in such part or parts of such State where the evidence indicates such destruction is taking place or is about to take place, and for such periods as he determines to be necessary to protect such interests, notwithstanding any other provision of this act;

*Provided further*, That bald eagles may not be taken for any purpose unless, prior to such taking, a permit to do so is procured from the Secretary of the Interior.

PROTECTION AGAINST EAGLE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL

Since the Government's brush eradication program got under way some 25

years ago, brush has been removed from vast areas along the Rio Grande where the eagle spends the winter. This has exposed wild game and sheep and goats to the marauders, much more so than was the case previously.

I say categorically, knowing that what I say is absolutely correct, that without constant vigilance, including organized attacks on the invading eagles by the ranchmen in the affected areas, successful breeding operations of sheep and goats could not be carried on there. There could be no profit in it. Thousands of dollars are spent each year in fighting this menace.

Despite this deplorable problem, unless he is able to get a permit in Washington, under pending legislation a landowner would be sent to jail for 6 months and fined $500 for killing a golden eagle, even if done while a lamb, kid, or fawn is being attacked and having its eyes blinded and then slaughtered by this vicious bird of prey.

## United States Sets Up Pesticides Panel To Review Their Side Effects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on August 31 I placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some references to the effects of pesticides which were taken from an article in the New Yorker magazine by Rachel Carson. On the same date I saw an item in the New York Times regarding the establishment of a pesticides panel to review their side effects. This was disclosed by President Kennedy at his news confernce that the Government is examining its pesticide program.

I have attached the Times item, and, in addition, I have attached an editorial from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of September 1, which also calls attention to the problem.

The article and editorial follow:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 31, 1962]

UNITED STATES SETS UP PESTICIDES PANEL TO REVIEW THEIR SIDE EFFECTS—FEDERAL COUNCIL OF SCIENCE TO EXAMINE GOVERNMENT'S CONTROLS ON CHEMICALS

(By Marjorie Hunter)

WASHINGTON, August 30.—The effectiveness of Government programs dealing with the use and control of pesticides is under review by a special Federal committee.

This was disclosed today after President Kennedy's assurance at his news conference yesterday that the Government is examining its pesticide program.

The President was asked if Government agencies were taking a closer look at the possibility of dangerous, long-range side effects from the widespread use of pesticides.

He replied:

"Yes. I—and I know that they already are—I think, particularly, of course, since Miss Carson's book, but they are examining the matter."

He was referring to Rachel Carson's "The Silent Spring," to be published September 27 by the Houghton Mifflin Co. Excerpts were published in the New Yorker magazine last June.

Miss Carson contends that the world "has been widely contaminated with the substances used in the control of insects." She says that such chemicals are poisoning not only pests but also humans, wildlife, soil, food, and water.

Although not calling for elimination of such chemicals, she urges reducing their use to a minimum.

SCIENCE COUNCIL ACTS

The review of Government pesticide programs is being made by a committee of the Federal Council of Science and Technology. The Council, headed by Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, special assistant to the President for science and technology, was set up in 1959 to coordinate Government research activities.

Serving on the review committee are representatives from the Departments of Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, Interior, and Health, Education, and Welfare. All of these Departments have pesticide programs.

Some of these programs have been in existence for years, others are relatively new.

The Department of Agriculture is engaged in extensive research to find other methods of controlling and eradicating pests. One of these projects involves the sterilizing of male insects, thus eliminating a breed because female eggs will not hatch.

The licensing of pesticides is also controlled by the Department of Agriculture. It requires that pesticides must be tested extensively on animals, must be properly labeled and must be proved effective and safe.

Working closely with the Agricultural Department is the Food and Drug Administration, which establishes the maximum permissible limits of contamination that will be allowed on food shipped in interstate commerce. These limits are called tolerances.

One regulation excludes any pesticide residue in milk and milk products. However, because the Agency has so few inspectors, this regulation has reportedly been violated numerous times.

The Agency once ordered 700,000 pounds of frozen spinach destroyed because the vegetable contained too much DDT residue.

Since the early 1940's, the Public Health Service has been studying the possible harmful effects of DDT and other chemical compounds on man. Currently, $3 million a year is being spent on these studies.

The National Institute of Health, the research arm of the Public Health Service is financing 80 projects related to pesticides.

Other Public Health Service projects dealing directly or indirectly with pesticides include a nationwide water-sampling network, soon to be expanded from 125 to 300 stations; educational activities designed to curtail poisoning accidents; and special studies at the Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta.

The Department of the Interior is engaged in an extensive and long-range investigation of the effect of pesticides on fish and wildlife.

Research is being done in several laboratories and field stations.

The Department of Defense has an Armed Force Pest Control Review Board. Since 1955, the Department has required that any employee, military or civilian, must take a course in the use of pesticides before being allowed to use them.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, Sept. 1, 1962]

EFFECTS OF PESTICIDES

The inquiry to be made by a special Federal panel into the effectiveness of Government programs dealing with the use and control of pesticides promises to resolve doubts which many people have entertained about the effects of sprays used for insect and weed control.

The action was precipitated by advance reading of a book to be published in late September by Rachel Carson, who contends that the world has been contaminated by chemicals which have come into wide use in recent years. Extensive tests are made with pesticides before they are licensed for use, and the Agriculture Department, Food and Drug Administration and Public Health Service maintain a watch on the effects.

Their staffs are not large enough, however, to cover every use of the chemicals.

It will be a good thing to have an official report on the extent to which contamination has imperiled wildlife, humans, soil, water and food through use of these products, to ascertain whether some may do more harm than good.

## Address by the Attorney General Before American Bar Association House of Delegates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, a most thoughtful and provocative discussion of the responsibilities of lawyers for promoting and improving the administration of justice was made by our able Attorney General before the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association a couple of weeks ago.

Attorney General Kennedy, among other things, pointed out the obligation of lawyers to assure fair and equal treatment of all our citizens before the law and recommended that the Congress approve the establishment of a system providing competent and paid counsel for indigent defendants. I introduced a bill (H.R. 2696) which would make this possible and I earnestly hope that it will soon have the approval of the Committee on the Judiciary. I recommend to all Members of the House the Attorney General's speech dealing with this problem as well as a number of other important issues that would improve the administration of justice. Under unanimous consent, I include the speech in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, HOUSE OF DELEGATES, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., AUGUST 6, 1962

I am delighted to have this chance to speak today before this convention of the American Bar Association. Our system of judicial administration requires the closest possible cooperation between the Department of Justice and the lawyers of the land; and as Attorney General, I appreciate the opportunity to discuss matters of common concern with the distinguished representatives of the bar who I find in this room today.

Every department of the executive branch regards its mission as indispensable to the functioning of our democracy. But I cannot help feeling that the Department of Justice has a special and urgent responsibility, for the quest for justice is the very heart of the democratic experiment.

This, in my view, is a central and continuing obligation of the Attorney General's office as it must be for every lawyer. In meeting that responsibility I am heartened by the knowledge that we have the support, not only of our whole ethical and political tradition, but more particularly of the men and women who must see that the system operates and expands in this modern society of immense and unforeseen problems, of men, like yourselves, trained in the ideals and processes of Anglo-Saxon justice.

It has never been more important that it is today that free society display its capacity for justice. For here at home and all around the globe our system stands on trial before the world—our beliefs and our actions are pitted against a determined and resourceful and disciplined adversary—while in our own land urbanization, automation, the demand for equal rights in an age of bigness, all bear down upon us with a host of new and pressing problems.

Today, the advances of technology have become so rapid that frequently they tend to outstrip our capacity to deal with their impact upon our social and industrial system. Land urbanization has intensified a host of old problems, besides introducing new ones.

Automation is causing a situation in many areas of our country similar to 19th century England when the handicraft of a feudal age was replaced by the machine-craft of the industrial age. The rise of associational activity has brought its special problems into the field of monopoly and restraint of trade, into the organizational activities of labor unions, and into the dark and dirty world of crime.

The very complexity of modern life makes it easy for individual liberties to be disregarded. More and more the American people must rely on the law for the protection of these liberties.

It is here that you and I have such a heavy responsibility. For it rests on us to be certain that the legal protections so necessary for the individual do not become merely fine declarations in the lawbooks but that they actually have some real and genuine meaning for the human beings to whom they have been granted. This task requires the care and attention of the whole legal profession.

At the Department of Justice, we are just part of this effort and as such have our limitations.

We recognize for instance that the line between what the Federal Government can and should do and what State and local authorities can and should do is often shadowy. Frequently it is the sum total of these efforts that counts. For this reason it is vital that we work closely and continuously with local authorities in achieving our common objectives.

No issue brings the role of the individual into sharper focus than that of civil rights. I am proud of the record of the Department of Justice in recent months in striving to assure all citizens the full rights guaranteed them under the Constitution of the United States.

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall and his aides are performing a distinguished service in this respect—a service which goes far beyond instituting and prosecuting cases in the Federal courts. We have not filed a single civil rights case without first going to the local authorities. We have informed them of what appears to us to be a violation of the law, for, the Constitution being the law of the land, the local authorities—judges, prosecutors, and lawyers—have an equal obligation to protect and defend it.

In the majority of cases, the local officials have taken action and nothing further has been required of the Federal Government. There are no front page news stories, but there are changes; there are results and they are brought about by local officials—not the Government in Washington. In the long run this is what is of real importance in this country.

Sometimes the local authorities have disagreed with us about the law, and we have gone to court. On other occasions, local authorities were unwilling to remedy the situation, or could not because of what they believed to be the political facts of life, and so court action was necessary.

In all this effort Burke Marshall has been in the forefront, negotiating, prodding, advising, persuading—working with explosive problems and devising solutions which fulfill the law of our land and the ideals of our Nation. This is the historic role of the lawyer in the fullest sense.

I am proud, too, of those Federal judges who have seen and done their duty under difficult circumstances. A judge's popularity or unpopularity is of no proper concern to him in the performance of his judicial duties. Yet to do that duty—to give an honest reading of the Constitution and of the law of the land—may and often does require great courage.

I might add that this is also the sworn obligation of every lawyer. If the bar has done much to assist in the orderly realization of constitutional rights, I would be less than candid if I did not tell you that I believe more can and should be done.

Another area of concern to every private citizen—and to every lawyer—is the war against organized crime. Crime is not only a cause of economic waste, but far worse than that, it is a reproach to the moral pretensions of our society—and advertises to the world the gap between our pronouncements and our performance.

The battle against crime must have a top priority in protecting individual rights. We have heard much about the rights of the individual and with this I have no quarrel—but the general public also has some rights that need to be protected. We have made some encouraging gains in the last 20 months.

The Criminal Division for the first time is spearheading a coordinated drive by all Federal law enforcement agencies to reduce the entrenched power and wealth of organized crime to the point where it can be controlled by local authorities. Desperately needed legislation has been enacted in a bipartisan effort. Intensive investigations are being conducted into the corruption of public officials where unfortunately the inroads of organized crime are particularly frightening. We are moving forward in a systematic way but we have far to go.

A third field of prime consequence to individual rights is the protection of the competitive forces in our system of private enterprise. This is, perhaps, the most technical and complicated field with which the Department is concerned.

Obviously, there are certain areas of the antitrust law where the guidelines have been set so definitively that no excuse for transgressing them properly can be made. This is true, for example, of conspiracies to fix prices or to apportion territories. In such cases there can be no hesitancy on the part of the Government to act.

In many other areas, however, there are complex economic situations which require deep study and understanding when action is contemplated. The antitrust laws should be vigorously enforced but they are weapons which should be utilized to help the consumer, the businessman both large and small—and to protect and preserve the free enterprise system. That is our intention. That is our effort.

In all of these matters, as well as the many others that come within our mutual area of responsibility, I cannot help but be concerned as to whether, despite the efforts of dedicated public officials and conscientious lawyers—there is in fact equal justice before the law here in the United States. I am speaking now of a concern for whether there is true equality in the administration of justice.

I ask you—do members of ethnic or political minorities or people who speak our language imperfectly or who have low mentality or disturbed minds; or the largest group, those who are poor, really receive the same protection before the courts as the rest of our citizens? I say that all too often they do not.

I need hardly say to this audience that everyone in this land—whether immigrant or pauper, alleged crook or Communist—is innocent until proven guilty and is entitled to as fair a trial and as competent representation as, say, leading citizens accused of price fixing in business or of corruption in labor.

It seems to me that our obligation—your obligation as attorneys in private practice and my obligation as Attorney General—is to make the assurance of fair and equal treatment to all before the law one of our first concerns.

Judge Learned Hand, speaking at the 75th anniversary of the Legal Aid Society of New York, said if we are to keep our democracy, there must be one commandment: "Thou shalt not ration justice."

Let me discuss with you just a few of the areas which must cause us all concern. One is the problem of the representation of indigent defendants. This is not a problem of charity, but of justice.

Mr. Justice Black points out in *Griffin* v. *Illinois*, "there can be no equal justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends upon the amount of money he has."

This is true not only at the time of trial, but during the entire range of legal procedure until the last issue is resolved.

Over a year ago, I asked a distinguished committee headed by Prof. Francis Allen, of the University of Michigan Law School, to study what could be done to protect the rights of indigents in the Federal courts. The committee has found that much is being done in certain areas of the country. But its study shows that much, much more needs to be done.

Last year, almost 30 percent of the defendants in the 34,008 criminal cases in Federal court could not afford counsel. In the District of Columbia, where the Federal District court hears all felony cases, over half the defendants had to be assigned attorneys. The situation in the States is comparable.

Federal and most State jurisdictions now hold that the right to counsel at trial is an affirmative right which must be extended by the Government when the defendant cannot provide his own.

Last June, the Supreme Court called for argument upon the question of right to counsel and whether the decision in *Betts* v. *Brady* should be overruled.

The recent decision in *Mapp* v. *Ohio* suggests by analogy that a majority may now hold that the 14th amendment requires States to provide counsel for indigent defendants in all cases involving serious crimes. And a recent decision by the Oregon Supreme Court had held that in serious crimes the State must not only provide counsel but experienced, competent counsel.

The provision of counsel is indispensable to a democratic system of justice. But translating this principle into practice is difficult. As with most problems, one of the stumbling blocks is lack of money.

And as Professor Allen's committee discovered the problem does not end by merely providing an attorney. There are the added frequently expensive problems such as bail, pretrial investigations and appeal.

The problem of bail for instance is one that has received too little attention. Professor Allen's committee has established conclusively that the question of whether a

man will be kept in jail pending trial or be free is directly influenced by how wealthy he is.

A study of cases in the southern district of New York indicates that over one-third of those required to post bail of $500 or less could not do so. When the bail was set between $500 and $1,500, over half were unable to post it. And there is reason to believe that many of those unable to provide bail presented no substantial risk of nonappearance. Their poverty deprived them of their liberty.

Further, the problem of establishing innocence during the crucial pretrial period was made that much more difficult.

Bail protects the interests of society in assuring a defendant's appearance at trial and it also protects the interests of the individual in allowing him to be free to establish his innocence.

But the indigent defendant who cannot offer security for his appearance is denied this opportunity. He cannot provide for his family and for his defense, and cannot take an active part to prove his innocence.

Preliminary studies in the southern district of New York also indicate that those who cannot make bail are more often convicted and receive stiffer sentences than those who can.

The rights of the indigent after the trial is over—in the appeal stage—is equally a matter of concern.

A series of court decisions in the last 20 years has greatly expanded the responsibility of society to help the indigent perfect his appeal. He is now pledged virtually the same treatment as one who can pay, and this is as it must be.

But, again, the problem of translating this right into reality is difficult. Appellate work is time consuming and requires the highest professional ability.

It usually is an undue burden to call upon counsel, who has contributed his services at trial, to continue on appeal without compensation. Competent new counsel is sometimes difficult to obtain. In this connection I wish to congratulate the bar of the city of San Francisco on what effort it has made in providing counsel for indigent persons on appeal.

We have come a long way since 1876 when a group of German immigrants banded together in New York to form the first Legal Aid Society, but we have not come far enough.

Since 1937, the Department of Justice and for many years the American Bar Association have supported legislation which would appropriate funds to help indigent defendants in Federal courts.

Now 25 years later it is still pending before the judiciary committees of both Houses of Congress. The time to translate good intentions into law is long overdue. I ask for your help as a group and as individuals in working for its enactment.

I recognize that much has been done in many local areas to cope with this problem. I congratulate you on what you have done. Yet, the problem is far from solved. Whatever device is used, it is to the bar that society must turn for legal services to be provided for the indigent. It is inescapably a responsibility of the legal profession—a responsibility that none of us can avoid.

Another problem which is closely related and in some ways is even more difficult is the defense of those who do not fall in the category of indigent but who have limited resources available for their defense. Over 40 percent of our families have incomes of less than $5,000 a year. These families cannot bear the cost of a complicated and extended trial and appeal which could easily equal their annual income.

Indeed, it can be the case that an indigent defendant, through the services of a first-rate volunteer attorney, may receive a better defense than one who pays a small fee and gets incompetent or indifferent counsel.

Legal services, particularly defense in criminal cases, are not like houses or automobiles where those with more money can buy better products without affecting the basic functioning of society. When one defendant cannot afford a complete defense, justice is being rationed.

Today the cost of adequate defense can be high. Psychiatric and highly technical issues require expensive research, investigation, and expert witnesses for the defense as well as for the Government.

In a recent case in which the Government was involved the defendant spent nearly $500,000 in legal and accounting fees in defending himself. He is now in prison. But the point is that we must be certain that the average citizen of a family income of $5,700—the national median—can afford comparable efforts to protect his freedom. There is no question that a man prepared to spend $500,000 is far more likely to retain his freedom than a man who can afford only a few thousand dollars.

The amount of money which can be expended on defense should not affect the outcome of the trial. If justice is priced in the marketplace, individual liberty will be curtailed and respect for law diminished.

There is no easy answer to this problem; again, it lies with the bar itself. Professor Allen's committee is continuing its study of the problem and will have recommendations to make before the end of the year. I would like to ask for recommendations and ideas from the bar. I think they could be most important, and from all of this I would hope that we would develop methods whereby our finest legal talent would not be reserved solely for those who could pay without difficulty and an occasional indigent defendant.

I would hope from this effort that leading lawyers and legal scholars would be in court on a regular basis pleading for defendants of moderate circumstances. As long as a man is handicapped before the bar of justice because of his poverty, our task as lawyers is not done.

I thank you for this opportunity to speak.

Fortunately, no generation of lawyers as yet has lost that desire for a just society that will preserve the dignity of man and his individual right to search for happiness.

This association and its kindred associations in our 50 States and hundreds of counties and cities will, I feel sure, keep that desire aflame.

Let us as lawyers—as Americans—as Theodore Roosevelt said, "Boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife moral or physical."

A bar dedicated to the preservation of our basic freedoms, pledged to the search for truth, is a main bulwark of our democratic society which can aid mightily to achieve what President Kennedy recently described as a "world of law and free choice, banishing the world of war and coercion."

## Aggression Proclaimed Respectable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, there has been much conjecture as to the feeling of the people of Australia concerning the so-called settlement between the Dutch and the Indonesians on the question of West New Guinea. Many of us have warned that we are forcing Australia to accept her own Cuba, in the form of domination of West New Guinea by a power which is at least friendly to communism. I am including an editorial from the Sydney Morning Herald, of Friday, August 17, 1962, which shows the feeling of at least one segment of the Australian people concerning this so-called settlement in New Guinea. The editorial follows:

AGGRESSION PROCLAIMED RESPECTABLE

Wednesday, August 15, 1962, ironically the anniversary of the end in the Pacific of the long and grievous struggle against military aggression, was a historic day. On that day, the United Nations, through its Acting Secretary General, endorsed military aggression as a legitimate method of enforcing national claims. On that day, the United States praised surrender to aggression as a means of keeping the peace, and congratulated itself on having contributed to that surrender. On that day, Australia was formally presented to Asia as a nation without the will or the means to assert its national interests and without the courage to stand beside a friend in danger.

It was the day on which the Netherlands, forsaken by its allies and betrayed by the United Nations, gave up its lonely struggle to safeguard the right of the Papuans of West New Guinea to determine their own political future and signed a capitulation to Indonesian military pressure. The recent past offers no more nauseating example of hypocrisy in high places than U Thant's statement congratulating the two Governments on their "willingness to settle this question by peaceful negotiation and on their spirit of give and take."

The peaceful negotiation extolled by U.N.'s Acting Secretary General included a succession of airborne and seaborne assaults on Dutch territory, culminating in an attack by some 500 paratroopers launched only 3 days ago, and repeated threats of all-out war by the Indonesian Government. It was left to the Dutch Prime Minister to cut through the polite pretenses and the diplomatic shams with his bitter statement that his country had agreed to transfer control of West New Guinea to Indonesia because continuing Indonesian aggression threatened to inflate local conflicts into a full-scale war and because the Netherlands could not count on the support of its allies.

Yet the Australian Minister for External Affairs can still bleat: "I am happy to say an agreement has been reached which does represent a peaceful resolution of this dispute. Sir Garfield Barwick has at least assured himself a place in Australian history as the Minister who presided with unabated self-satisfaction over the liquidation of his country's interests and the loss of his country's good name, as a man too small for the responsibility he never even perceived.

The blame is not Sir Garfield Barwick's alone; it rests on the Prime Minister and his government, the government that sponsored the ignominious policy of retreat and evasian and appeasement which has left Australia today where Holland stood yesterday. If there are those in that government who still believe that a policy of abasement was the necessary purchase price for Asia's good will and respect, they are due for disillusion. Asia, and Indonesia not least, will have drawn only one conclusion from Australia's timidity—that Australia is not prepared to stand up alone for its national interests and that those interests may be flouted with impunity, provided that Australia can be maneuvered, as Holland was, into a position of isolation.

# Appendix

## Quotas and Tariffs on Lumber Imports From Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 5, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of August 15 expressing concern over the attempts that are being made to apply quotas and increase tariffs on lumber imports from Canada.

This editorial reminds us that Canada is one of our best trading customers and that if we should proceed to reduce Canadian lumber imports, this would probably mean smaller purchases by Canadians of other U.S. manufactured products. As the editorial points out, "Other industries might lose more than the U.S. lumber industry would gain. And consumers here might pay more for their lumber."

I wish to commend the Minneapolis Tribune for this thoughtful editorial on a subject which is of concern to all of us who are in favor of reciprocal trade and the lowering rather than the raising of trade barriers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CANADIAN COMPETITION

Lumber interests in this country are trying to get the United States to apply quotas and increased tariffs on lumber imports from Canada. They claim the domestic market has been in its most depressed condition since the early 1930's. They also note that Canadian imports have risen from 4.3 percent of U.S. production in 1949 to 12.7 percent in 1961.

The National Lumber Manufacturers Association has suggested a 10-percent tariff on all softwood lumber imports in excess of 10 percent of U.S. production. The U.S. tariff on Canadian softwood lumber now ranges from 25 cents to $1 per thousand feet. The Canadian tariff on U.S. lumber is higher, but little lumber moves across the boarder from this country.

However, in an attempt to correct its dollar deficit Canada is boosting many of its tariff rates, and some Washington officials fear protectionism is on the rise in Canada. This, plus pressure from the Pacific Northwest, where some mills have shut down, is causing President Kennedy and Congress to consider restrictions against imports.

There are several good reasons why they should not act. Canada buys about a billion dollars more in goods from the United States than it ships here. Quotas and higher tariffs would restrict international trade at a time when freer trade is the national policy. The United States is cutting more softwood for lumber than it is growing, and this deficit is expected to increase steadily.

The U.S. Forest Service reports that net softwood growth is now 28 billion board feet, while the cut is over 36 billion feet. The old growth softwoods—85 percent in the Western States—are being cut off rapidly and the new growth is in small sizes of lesser quality.

It is unfortunate that a number of western mills and their employes are suffering from the current weak demand for lumber. But the lumber industry long has been subject to wide variations in demand. And some lumber producers in this country report their 1962 business is good.

Arbitrarily reducing Canadian lumber imports probably would mean smaller purchases by Canadians of other U.S. manufactured products. Other industries might lose more than the U.S. lumber industry would gain. And consumers here might pay more for their lumber.

## This Citizen Says a Mouthful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS**
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 4, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following from the editorial page of the August 3, 1962, issue of the Jackson Daily News, which I commend to the House:

THIS CITIZEN SAYS A MOUTHFUL

The Daily News, as regular readers already know, does not publish letters from anonymous sources or letters with fictitious names.

We would have been tempted, however, to print the letter recently received by Paul A. Terry, director of education of the Copley newspapers, had it been sent to this office.

The letter, written by a San Francisco, Calif., resident, was signed "Fed-Up Citizen."

Just in case any of our readers feel like sick Americans, who might feel a little better after reading "Fed-up's" message, here it is:

"I am one of the Americans who heard Mr. Khrushchev tell our Nation that my great-grandchildren will grow up in a Communist world. For some time now, this has bothered me. I am not a brave man—not even a big one. I suppose I would have to admit that I am, along with my own neighbors and in my own culture, the typical, average well-educated, genteel suburbanite, to whom family, the mortgage, and security have been the all-important items.

"I am now 50, and soon my wife and I will see the first of our three children married. I paint my own house, repair my own car, grub my own devil grass, and nurse a modest savings account at the Bank of America. I am a law-abiding man on the quiet side, and dissension makes me terribly nervous. Frankly, I am the kind who simply doesn't have it in him to fight anyone ever.

"My wife had been cleaning out an old trunk in the storage room the other day, and I ran across the huge old family Bible that I hadn't thought about for years. My great-grandmother had kept a journal of the trip across the Great Plains with a wagon and oxen when she and great-grandpa were youngsters coming out to settle in California in the great migration. Great-grandma wrote about it as the wild, new land, rich and abundant in mythical proportions.

"On the trail she wrote of sickness and hunger, and heat and cold, and dust, and thirst, and the deaths and births like beads strung together on a thread of hope—hope of freedom and a land of plenty for their children yet unborn. And when she viewed the new land, she wrote in simple word pictures of the cities and farms and schools, and happiness that would some day bloom in the greatness of the vast new land. She wrote of her tomorrow and my today.

"The ink was badly faded, but the message was clear. As I read, I began to think about America and being an American and what it all stands for; and I thought about our enemies and what they intend to do to America, to those rich lands and farms, to the cities and the people, to its freedom and its hope.

"And, suddenly, I realized that I am a sick American. I mean really sick. I am sick of panacea and of backing up. I am sick of reaction where there should be initiative. I am sick of bureaucrats who tell me that my enemy is not really my enemy and that I should live together with murderers and tyrants. I am sick of government that hasn't the guts to clean traitors out of its own offices. And I'm sick of my country being ridiculed all over the world. I am sick of pink-fingered diplomats and lily-livered politicians who place personal career above the fate of the flag.

"I am sick of 40 years of relentless, creeping, cancerous, communistic godlessness that never once has wavered from its avowed purpose of conquering the flag and seeing it trampled in the mud under Russian boots. I am sick of my genteel desire to stand pat and pray while the enemy advances.

"I am sick of educators who teach tolerance of subversion and of clergymen who would have me quail at the specter of battle and turn my cheek in fear of what our enemies might do.

"In all honesty, the thing of which I am most sick is the man who let these things come to me: myself.

"And by the living God who made me, sir, I am a sick American who intends to get well.

"(Signed) FED-UP CITIZEN."

## Major U.S. Economic Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 5, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as a nation in a world of great need and greater challenge we are dependent upon our

free enterprise system to provide us with the goods, materials, and equipment to meet the needs of a fast-expanding population and promote progress, to create the jobs for U.S. workers, and to support a mighty defense.

In a weekend broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations, I was privileged to review major challenges confronting our free enterprise system. I ask unanimous consent to have the text of this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAJOR U.S. ECONOMIC GOALS

As a nation—in a world of great need and greater challenge—we are dependent upon our free enterprise system to provide us with the goods, materials and equipment to meet the needs of a fast-expanding population and promote progress; to create the jobs for U.S. workers; and to support a mighty defense.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PICTURE

Nationally, the economic picture reflects gigantic—almost incomprehensible—progress. Currently, the value of goods and services amounts to about $552 billion annually.

Despite such progress, we recognize that there are still serious problems in our system. The challenges include the following: Improving economic opportunities for success in small business—with a casualty rate of over 17,000 annually; improving the agricultural economy; creating jobs for the 4 million—including 60,000 in Wisconsin—still regrettably unemployed; and maintaining a good rate of progress to meet the needs of our people—and to further outstrip the Communist system—challenging us on the economic front.

In evaluating the national economic picture, we must always remember that free enterprise—not the Government, despite a $93 billion Federal budget—creates the "giant's share" of U.S. jobs and goods and services.

In reality, Government spending is not a measuring stick of progress. To the extent that it involves participation in normally nongovernmental economic-human welfare programs, rather, this represents a failure of our system to fulfill needs of the people and the country.

To help promote greater progress, then, we should shoot for the following goals:

1. Reestablishing confidence of the people in our economy. Lack of such confidence results in restrictive buying, overcautious investing, limited business and industries expansion by job creating enterprises; and other economic "holdbacks."

2. Economically, also, Uncle Sam needs to adopt a more realistic policy based upon a philosophy of "pay as you go"—not "go in debt as you go."

3. The Nation also needs a reform of its tax system. With skyrocketing costs of Government—particularly for defense—there is a special need for fair and equitable treatment of the taxpayer.

Generally, patriotic citizens are ready and willing to pay taxes; however, they are not willing, and should not be required, to pay for reckless spending; mishandling of funds; unfavorable tax treatment of themselves, or too favorable tax treatment of others; or other inequitable practices that "foist" an unfair share of the tax burden on any individual, business or other segment of the economy.

For the future we need also to accomplish the following:

1. Better educating our citizens, adult and in school, of the significance, and working principles of our economic system.

2. Encouraging more people, not only to understand and appreciate, but also confidently invest in enterprise, small and large, serving as a hub of economic life for a community.

3. Encouraging community support of community development programs, such as the establishment of corporations to provide financing for necessary projects.

4. Cooperative efforts to foster new enterprises under the area redevelopment program, now beginning to get underway in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

5. By reawakening our citizens' "enterprising spirit" full of faith and confidence, to improve the economic status of existing, and creating new, enterprises for a strong, free economy.

For security and for progress and peace we need, then, to maintain a sound, strong and vigorous economy.

## Who Pays a Freeman's Way?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN J. RHODES**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Phoenix, Ariz., Gazette of August 25, 1962, sets forth a very basic truth in language everyone can understand:

WHO PAYS A FREEMAN'S WAY?

They were rioting in Algiers. They were screaming for some new kind of government, although there had been no real test of the "old" government they had had for a few weeks. A reporter stopped one of the mob.

"We've had enough words," the UPI quoted the man as saying. "Now we want action. We want bread, we want work, and somewhere to live. I spent 5 years in jail under colonialism and that did not put me in any mood to undergo such disappointments as I have done since July 1."

From the government, he wants work.

From the government, he wants bread.

From the government, he wants somewhere to live.

Once he went to jail because he did not like what the government offered him. Now he riots against his new government because it does no better.

How many of the rest of humanity have come to think that bread, work and housing come from government? How many think the government is some pagan deity of plenty which can turn on a spigot out of which will pour material goods in great abundance?

It is not hard to know the truth about bread, work and housing. Before there can be bread, someone must plant and grow the grain, and someone must grind it and bake it. Human hands, not government edicts, provide bread. Before there can be work, there must be a will to work—to break the soil, or build a factory, or open a store. Human ingenuity, not government decrees, must discover work. Before there can be housing, the house must be built. It will not arise on its foundations because government orders it so.

Before the manifold products of labor become available to man, there first must be the labor. Only man can do the labor. Government cannot.

Government can utilize the force of the majority to seize the result of one man's labor and give it to another—but before there was anything to seize, there had to be the one man's labor. Government can even force men to labor, as it does in the Soviet Union, but even then, forced or not, there is labor before there is material wealth.

The man in Algiers can have work, he can have bread, he can have somewhere to live—but he cannot have them from government. He can have them only from his own production, or the production of his fellows.

Rioting won't solve his problems. Neither will government.

## Basic Western Solidarity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HUGH SCOTT**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 5, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, there are times when bare facts offer a more penetrating view of the world's troubles than does long and elaborate commentary and editorializing. Two articles in today's New York Times appear to me to do just this. The first article deals with Berlin, the second with the first day of President de Gaulle's visit to West Germany.

The Berlin article describes in simple terms the extravagant measures taken by the Soviet Union to force divisiveness and disunion onto the German people. The Soviet rulers realize well that in spite of their drastic measures the people of East Germany and East Berlin still long for reunification in freedom with their countrymen on the other side of the wall. The Soviets know that the basic feeling of unity among people cannot be eradicated by the arbitrary imposition of different economic systems.

While the Soviets do their utmost to spread disunion among people, the leaders of the free Western nations have successfully taken measures to intensify the feeling of unity between the people of their various countries. Within a period of a few short months we have witnessed two historically amazing innovations. The first was Chancellor Adenauer's trip to France. The second is President de Gaulle's trip to West Germany starting today. In light of the history of Franco-German relations, the sincere ovations given to Adenauer by the French people and to De Gaulle by the Germans appear as a welcome sign of basic Western solidarity.

Thus, on the one hand, we have disunity arbitrarily imposed and, on the other, a heartfelt reaffirmation of basic European solidarity.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the two mentioned articles be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DE GAULLE STARTS VISIT TO GERMANS—CROWDS CHEER HIM

(By Robert C. Doty)

BONN, GERMANY, September 4.— President de Gaulle arrived here today for a 6-day state visit to West Germany designed to put the seal on a French-German reconciliation that

is the keystone for construction of a united Europe.

The first state visit by a French chief of state to Germany in modern times will be devoted almost entirely to the goal of burying publicly the legacy of rivalry and hatred left by centuries of French-German warfare.

The crowds that welcomed him were both bigger and more enthusiastic than those encountered by Dr. Adenauer during his official visit to France in July.

ONE TALK SCHEDULED

Only one purely political consultation between the French President and Chancellor Adenauer is scheduled—for tomorrow morning.

At that time they are expected to discuss the state of negotiations for British entry into the European Common Market and the prospects for making progress toward their joint goal of setting up a political union with Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, their present partners, and perhaps ultimately with Britain and other European states.

But the main purpose of the visit is to let General de Gaulle show himself to and be cheered by as many West Germans as possible along the 1,200-mile route he will follow from Bonn through the Ruhr to Hamburg, Munich, and Stuttgart between now and Sunday.

The French President, object of the murderous hatred of rightwing extremists in his own country, presents a difficult security problem to his hosts. They met it by putting more than 4,000 uniformed and plainclothes policemen in this north Rhine-Westphalia region.

In their green uniforms, jack boots, and shiny black inverted coalscuttle helmets, they stood every 20 or 30 yards along both sides of the routes followed by the car carrying General de Gaulle and President Heinrich Luebke of West Germany.

Other policemen, with dogs, patroled fields beside the route and surveyed roofs and windows that could shelter French dissident snipers. Two helicopters hovered over the long official convoy and ambulances were spotted at strategic points along the way.

ENTHUSIASM UNDAMPENED

But these precautions did not dampen the enthusiasm with which hundreds of thousands of Rhinelanders welcomed the French President on the road between the Wahn airport, outside Cologne, and the Bonn region, where he is staying in the French Embassy chateau.

General de Gaulle, Mme. de Gaulle, their son Philippe, a naval captain, and Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville were met in warm, overcast weather this morning by President Luebke, Chancellor Adenauer and virtually the entire West German Cabinet.

The only lapse from the characteristic German efficiency with which the arrival was handled was the misfiring of 2 of the 21 blank cannon shells greeting the visitor. They produced showers of sparks and a sort of dull "foof" instead of the desired sharp crack.

In his welcoming speech President Luebke called President de Gaulle a man who had pioneered in the cause of French-German reconciliation.

Replying, General de Gaulle said he had brought with him the friendship and support of the French people for a Germany "menaced because you are in the advance guard of the free world."

DIPLOMATIC CORPS RECEIVED

The two Presidents met this afternoon with their suites in the West German "White House" in Bonn. Later General de Gaulle received the Bonn diplomatic corps.

President de Gaulle evoked the principal political themes of his visit tonight in his reply to President Luebke's toast at a formal dinner and reception at the 18th-century chateau of Bruehl near Cologne.

French-German unity is imperative, he said, because the "reciprocal engagement of Europe and America in the end can preserve its assurance and solidity only if there exists on the old continent a dike of power and prosperity of the same order as the United States constitutes in the New World."

The French President reiterated his belief that in the long run the Soviet Union could be led to abandon its aggressive subversive tactics and recreate a peaceful united Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic.

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BERLINS DIVIDED LIKE 2 COUNTRIES—BARRIERS BETWEEN SECTORS CUT ALMOST ALL CONTACT

BERLIN, September 4.—The two Berlins, East and West, are hewn from one city, but they are virtually separate countries as far as utilities are concerned.

West Berlin has 2,200,000 people, East Berlin 1,200,000.

When the East German regime put up the wall August 13, 1961, West Berlin's bus and streetcar systems were independent, but the wall cut Berlin's other means of public transport.

The elevated trains, operated by the East Germans and ringing the entire city, stopped running between East and West except for one line ending in East Berlin's Friedrichstrasse station.

The elevated trains in West Berlin, boycotted by many West Berliners, run on power from the East. The station platforms are illuminated by West Berlin power.

SUBWAY WAS SEVERED

The wall also severed subway links between East and West Berlin. The subway used to be a common route for East Germans escaping to the West. Two West Berlin subway lines still traverse East Berlin, but only one makes a stop—at Friedrichstrasse. Persons authorized to enter East Berlin may leave the train there.

Traveling by subway through East Berlin, one can easily detect the division of the city. When the train crosses the border the lights go off for a fraction of a second, then go on again, somewhat dimmed. That is when the train switches from West Berlin to East Berlin current, officials explain.

Each half of the city has its own water and gas supply, but sewerage is an exception—90 percent of West Berlin's sewage flows under East Berlin.

One cannot telephone a friend in the East from West Berlin. Nor can East Berliners call friends in West Berlin.

Since the wall went up, West and East Berliners cannot visit one another.

DIVISION BEGAN IN 1948

But the division did not start with the wall. It dates back to the Communist blockade of 1948–49. Since then the Western part of Berlin has striven to make itself independent of the East.

A small part of West Berlin's power consumption is supplied from the East and is paid for under a general trade agreement. A small fraction of the gas consumed by West Berliners comes from the East, to illuminate some border streets.

Not a drop of the 100 million gallons of water West Berlin uses daily is supplied by the East, nor do West Berliners sell water to the Communist-ruled part of the city.

In 1952 the East Berlin postal authorities cut telephone communcations with West Berlin.

West Berlin telephone officials say they have one service line into East Berlin, but it is not for public use.

SOME LINES REMAIN

The three Western Allies have a telephone line to the Soviet Embassy, and the Russians have lines to the Berlin Air Safety Center and Spandau Prison in the West, where some former Nazi leaders are serving life sentences.

Mail was exchanged fairly freely between East and West Berlin before the wall. Now it is restricted to a few deliveries by truck and rail each day.

An intricate network of sewer pipes crisscrosses the city, East and West. Sewage flows to low-lying sumps whence it is pumped to sewage fields in East Berlin and the nearby countryside.

Many people escaped to the West through the sewers soon after the wall was put up. Now all sewer pipes between the halves of Berlin are blocked by steel bars.

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## Congressman Wilson's Procurement Study Applauded by Newspapers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 8, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, for 18 months I have been conducting an intensive study into the wasteful spending practices of our military procurement people. I have learned through my study that literally billions of dollars are wasted annually.

Thankfully, the Nation's newspapers are alerting the people to this national disgrace and it now appears we are making headway toward stopping the squandermania by the Junkers class in the Defense Department.

I insert at this point in the RECORD, an editorial from the White Plains, N.Y., Reporter-Dispatch which supports my study and which condemns the shutting off of information to me by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter-Dispatch, Aug. 21, 1962]

A BLOW AT FREEDOM

When information is used as a tool to crimp their spending style, the tendency of bureaucrats is to stop the information rather than end the waste.

An example of this has cropped up in the treatment received by Representative EARL WILSON from Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

Mr. WILSON, a spending critic whose investigations of procurement actions over 18 months are reported to have resulted in cuts of as high as 50 percent in the cost of multimillion-dollar contracts, has had his name removed from eight mailing lists through which he has obtained much of his information.

The lists are those of procurement agencies that send out notices of contracts to be let by public bidding. Mr. McNamara has confirmed that he ordered Mr. WILSON's name deleted and also that information on nonclassified contracts to be let through negotiation be withheld from the Congressman.

Of course the Defense Secretary had an explanation.

Continuing to send the critic the lists would be too great an administrative burden on the Defense agencies, Mr. McNamara said, and anyway the Department is reporting its actions with a quarterly compilation of procurement statistics.

The Congressman's answer is that he wants advance notice of procurement actions so he can spot waste ahead of time and not cold statistics after the waste is made.

As to the "administrative burden," Representative WILSON, in response to Mr. McNamara's statement that he will answer only specific inquiries, vows that he will send a specific inquiry about every contract listing he can turn up—a practice which can only add to the burden.

The listings which are denied to Representative WILSON continue to carry the names of thousands of others so that Mr. McNamara might properly argue that he has not cut off the flow of free information.

He seems to be acting out of childish pique.

The danger here is one that is of prime concern to all the citizens of the United States. If information can be restricted for any but the most sensitive of national security reasons, it can be cut off entirely at the whim of an appointed office holder.

What Mr. McNamara doesn't want Representative WILSON to find out today, he may decide he doesn't want anybody else to learn tomorrow.

Waste, and worse, go hand in hand with secrecy in Government. Neither can be tolerated.

Several times in the past I have referred to the reportorial work done by Charles Nicodemus, of the Chicago Daily News. Mr. Nicodemus is a strong supporter of economy in procurement and has aided me in uncovering numerous examples of waste. A good newspaperman, Mr. Nicodemus details in the following Daily News stories the way in which my study is progressing:

ARMY RETALIATING, SAYS BRIBE WITNESS—SNOYER ACCUSES SIGNAL CORPS OF HARASSING HIS BUSINESS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—A businessman who is key witness in a Justice Department probe of rigged Army Signal Corps contracts has charged that the corps is striking back by trying to harass him out of the defense procurement field.

In sworn statements to the FBI and letters to Congress, Robert Snoyer, 38, spelled out details of what he describes as the Signal Corps retaliation for his action.

Snoyer said corps officials have coerced other firms into breaking subcontracting agreements with his firm, Consad Corp., of Santa Monica, Calif.

And he charged that the Signal Corps has attempted to force his firm into defaulting on other Signal Corps contracts with a flood of unusual administrative actions designed to stall production.

Snoyer, who was solicited in June for a $48,000 payoff on a $2,400,000 contract, cooperated with the FBI and the Daily News in an investigation that brought the arrest of two high Signal Corps officials and a manufacturers representative on charges of bribery and conspiracy.

Justice Department sources have since disclosed that the probe has widened to include other officials and other contracts.

Gen. H. L. Scofield, Chief of Signal Corps Procurement, refused to comment on Snoyer's charge of retaliation, saying, "I can't say anything except through channels."

Snoyer said he took his problems to Scofield personally more than 2 weeks ago, but said Scofield gave no indication he would act in the case.

Meanwhile, FBI agents, acting on the complaints, have begun examining files and interrogating officials in the corps' west coast office at Pasadena, the Daily News learned.

A frequent critic of Defense Department procurement procedures, Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, alerted to the situation by Snoyer, called the Signal Corps actions profoundly disturbing.

In a House speech extended in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, WILSON charged that the corps' maneuver is "a brazen, callous reprisal" against a firm "that dares to expose its (Signal Corps) corruption."

"It's the old story of 'close ranks and protect your own'—even if 'your own' are crooked," he declared.

WILSON said he was requesting that Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara give a full explanation for the Signal Corps behavior, and particularly the attitude of Scofield.

Snoyer told the Daily News his troubles began Monday, July 16, just 2 working days after the Signal Corps arrests were publicized July 12.

He said he was called into the corps' Pasadena office and asked about the status of four minor contracts he had pending to produce Signal Corps cable assemblies.

When Snoyer disclosed that he planned to subcontract the work, he said Signal Corps officials demanded that he send the subcontractor in for a talk.

After the talk, Snoyer said, the subcontractor asked to be relased from his contract, saying the Signal Corps had made unusual production demands that he feared he would be unable to meet.

Snoyer said he lined up a second subcontrator, but that this one was called by a Signal Corps official who warned that the "contracts are in danger of default."

Snoyer said that subcontractor also backed out.

Consad finally lined up a third highly reputable subcontractor who has begun work on the projects, but whom the Signal Corps has not yet officially approved, Snoyer said.

Meanwhile, he said the Signal Corps has:

Required that even routine Consad communications with the corps, which firms ordinarily handle by telephone, be in writing.

Failed to answer key correspondence and rejected other letters and forms for minor technical reasons, slowing production planning.

Imposed administrative requirements never utilized before, slowing work further.

WILSON noted that "the stake that remaining corrupt officials have in discrediting this firm is obvious.

"If this firm can be harassed out of the procurement field, it will stand as a lesson to all other contractors. If you blow the whistle on the Signal Corps—or other corrupt procurement officials in any service—then you'll get it in the neck."

WILSON also suggested that honest officials may be retaliating against Consad "because this manufacturer has helped prove" that the corps' procurement mechanism "can be perverted for corrupt ends."

WILSON stressed that Consad should not be "rewarded for the brave action it took, nor does this firm except a reward." But it should not be penalized either, he declared.

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BRIBE HARASSMENT INQUIRY PROMISED—SIGNAL CORPS BRASS FINALLY ACTS ON INFORMANT'S CHARGES

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—Top brass of the Army Signal Corps Saturday vowed to investigate a businessman's charges that lower level officials are harassing him for cooperating in an FBI probe of Signal Corps defense contracts.

Maj. Gen. H. L. Scofield, acting deputy chief signal officer and head of procurement, said, "We will give the matter a thorough airing."

The businessman, Robert Snoyer, 38, of Santa Monica, Calif., personally informed Scofield of the problem 3 weeks ago. But Scofield acknowledged Saturday that he had taken no action on the complaints then.

Scofield's office moved on the matter after the harassment was disclosed by the Daily News and spotlighted in a speech by Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, veteran critic of defense procurement procedures.

Snoyer is cooperating with the FBI in a probe that brought the arrest of two high Signal Corps civilian officials on charges of seeking a $48,000 bribe to steer a $2,400,000 contract to Snoyer's firm.

Snoyer charged Friday that since the arrests other corps officials have sought to force him to default on his remaining Signal Corps contracts by scaring off subcontractors and harassing him with unusual administrative procedures.

A spokesman for Schofield's office said the general had not ordered an investigation earlier because:

Snoyer had not given him sufficient details to go on. Snoyer disputed this, contending he named names and showed Scofield copies of correspondence involved in the alleged harassment.

Scofield had thought it better to have Snoyer "go through channels" since "there was still sufficient time to head off any adverse action, if his compaint did have substance."

Schofield's order for action now comes just 1 week before initial deliveries are due under the first of the four contracts on which Snoyer charges the lower level officials apparently are trying to force a default.

Representative WILSON, in lashing the Signal Corps for its action, stressed that Snoyer's firm, Consad Corp., "is not entitled to any rewards for its brave action" in helping expose Signal Corps corruption.

"But it should not be penalized, either," he said.

He charged that the alleged harassment, which is now also under investigation by the FBI, was "a brazen, callous reprisal" and an "attempt to make an example of Consad" for "doing its civic duty."

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CRITIC ERASED FROM DEFENSE MAILING LIST—REPRESENTATIVE WILSON TERMS MCNAMARA ACTION REPRISAL FOR PROBINGS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has moved to cut off sources of public information used by an Indiana Congressman in his criticism of waste in defense procurement.

McNamara, in a letter to GOP Representative EARL WILSON, confirmed that he had ordered WILSON rubbed off the mailing lists of procurement agencies sending out notice of contracts to be let by competitive bidding.

The Secretary ordered that information on nonclassified contracts to be let through negotiation also be withheld.

Remaining on the lists from which WILSON's name was sponged are numerous electronics publications, manufacturer's representatives, other public officials, and agencies as well as contractors.

WILSON termed the action "a clear reprisal" for his continued criticism of defense buying procedures.

"It's ridiculous," he said. "If it weren't such a serious indicator of the mentality and attitude we have in the Pentagon, it would be amusing."

WILSON's 18-month investigation of procurement actions—particularly by the Navy—has brought slashes running as high as 50 percent in the cost of multi-million-dollar contracts.

His recent investigation of the Navy radio contract led to the discovery of irregularities cited by the House Armed Services Committee in its successful bid for Senate approval of legislation tightening up some areas of defense buying.

McNamara's office explained the information cutoff—unprecedented in the memory of Capitol Hill experts on contracting—on two grounds:

Although WILSON had been on most of the eight mailing lists for more than a year, McNamara said that sending him the material would be too great an administrative burden on the various defense agencies.

He also said the Defense Department is reporting its actions with a quarterly compilation of procurement statistics.

So "I do not feel that a separate reporting system, such as you requested, is justified," McNamara wrote.

WILSON pointed out that advance notice of procurement actions "so we can spot this waste ahead of time" is what he desires, "not cold statistics, after the waste."

He said McNamara's cutoff was the "same sort of reprisal exercised by the Signal Corps" against west coast businessman Robert Snoyer, key witness in an FBI investigation of Signal Corps contract rigging.

WILSON said, however, that McNamara's action would not halt his investigations.

"The Secretary said he would answer only specific inquiries," Wilson noted. "So we're going to send him a specific inquiry about every contract listed in the Commerce Journal, the various electronics news, everywhere.

"Before, our name was just one of mailing lists with thousands of names. Now, someone will have to handle each separate inquiry individually. Now, the Defense Department will really have an administrative burden—if that's the way they want it."

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BRIBE WITNESS' CONTRACTS TAKEN FROM SIGNAL CORPS—ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT TO SUPERVISE WEST COAST FIRM'S WORK

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—The Pentagon Tuesday took away from the Signal Corps control over four defense contracts being worked on by the key witness in an FBI probe of Signal Corps corruption.

The action came after the witness, west coast businessman Robert Snoyer, charged that lower-level Signal Corps officials were harassing his firm in retaliation for his cooperation with the FBI.

Paul R. Ignatius, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installation and Logistics, ordered that administration of the four contracts held by Snoyer's firm, Consad Corp., Santa Monica, Calif., to be transferred to the Army Ordnance Department.

Maj. Gen. Frank S. Besson, head of the new, centralized Army Supply Agency, said the move was made to assure the contractor there was no further possibility for reprisals of the type alleged.

Besson also said that "an investigation will continue to determine the justification of the charges" of harassment.

Snoyer agreed to cooperate with the FBI and the Daily News in the procurement probe after he reported that he had been solicited for a $48,000 kickback in return for a guarantee that his firm would get a $2,400,000 Signal Corps radio contract.

As a result, two high Signal Corps officials and a manufacturer's representative were arrested July 12 with marked bribe money, and have been held for action by the Federal grand jury at Newark, N.J.

The investigation since has broadened to include other Signal Corps personnel and procurement officials of other defense agencies.

Igantius stepped into the case after the Daily News disclosed Snoyer's charges of harassment Friday.

Snoyer contended that, as a result of his cooperation, Signal Corps officials on the west coast, in Chicago and at the corps installation at Fort Monmouth, N.J., were attempting to discredit him by seeking to force his firm into default on its remaining Signal Corps contracts.

Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, who has been hammering at Pentagon waste and corruption in procurement for 18 months, called on Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara to investigate the charges and explain the Signal Corps action.

Ignatius telephoned Snoyer Saturday morning in Santa Monica and asked him to come to Washington for a talk "to get to the bottom of this situation."

After Snoyer had a 1½-hour talk Monday with Ignatius, Besson and two other generals, an Army spokesman announced the contract transfers.

WILSON, informed of the action, said he would "watch with interest" to see if:

"The Ordnance Department takes up the harassment where the Signal Corps left off."

"The Army makes a genuine effort to get to the bottom of the reprisals already inflicted and punishes those responsible, so that any other contractor who does his patriotic duty in the future isn't harassed as a result."

"This transfer is laudable if the retaliation ends," he declared.

"But it must not merely be a method of slamming the door on, or whitewashing, any investigation of the Signal Corps actions already taken," he warned. "They were disgraceful."

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MCNAMARA UNDER FIRE FOR PURGE—HOUSE GROUP PROBES CUTOFF OF MEMBER FROM CONTRACT LIST

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—The House "Freedom of Information" Subcommittee Wednesday began an investigation of the "purging" of an Indiana Congressman from the Defense Department's public mailing lists on contracts.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara personally ordered that the GOP congressman, EARL WILSON—who has been unearthing waste in defense contracting—be dropped or barred from 11 mailing lists containing notice of nonclassified contracts being advertised or negotiated.

"The 'freedom of information' unit is Representative JOHN E. Moss' subcommittee on Government information, a branch of the House Government Operations Committee headed by Representative WILLIAM DAWSON, Democrat of Chicago.

A committee spokesman said Moss, Democrat of California, was "most concerned at the prospect of a Member of Congress being denied public information, particularly when it is available to other agencies and officials and members of industry and the public."

Moss' chief investigator, Jack Howard, said the subcommittee moved into the case "on the double" because of standing orders from Dawson that top speed be used when a Member of Congress is involved.

Howard obtained from WILSON's office copies of letters from McNamara and his aids acknowledging that WILSON was to be refused the information.

Committee staff investigators planned to interview Pentagon officials about the matter later Wednesday.

McNamara said WILSON's continued requests for information would be too much work for defense procurement agencies. He also said the Department publishes statistics and reports of its activity which—in McNamara's estimate—should be adequate for WILSON's needs.

McNamara stuck to that position Wednesday despite urging by high officials in the General Accounting Office that he back down.

McNamara's boss of procurement, Thomas D. Morris, assistant secretary for installation and logistics, said McNamara is "adamant."

WILSON has been working with the GAO for more than 18 months in analyzing defense procurement and attacking noncompetitive buying.

The WILSON-GAO criticism has forced the Defense Department to open a number of contracts to competitive bids, leading to cost reductions as high as 50 percent and savings of millions of dollars.

WILSON also played a key role last week in spotlighting the plight of west coast businessman Robert Snoyer, who charged that Army Signal Corps officials were harassing his firm for helping the Justice Department crack a contract bribery ring in the corps.

The Indiana Republican Tuesday fired off another letter to McNamara demanding "punishment or severe censure" for Signal Corps officials participating in the alleged harassment of Snoyer's firm, Consad Corp., in the performance of four Signal Corps contracts.

The Secretary of the Army disclosed Tuesday that the contracts were being transferred from control of the Signal Corps to Army Ordnance.

WILSON's letter said that the contract transfer "is a tacit admission" that the harassment had occurred.

To implement the transfer, the Army's supply chief, Maj. Gen. Frank Besson, Jr., had Ordinance's west coast head, Col. Burleigh Drummond, fly to Washington overnight to receive a personal briefing on the "necessity for absolutely fair treatment of this contractor."

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CRITIC OF NAVY CONTRACT ACCUSES ADMIRAL CORP.—CHICAGO FIRM UNDERSTATED PROFIT 100 PERCENT, WILSON SAYS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—A congressional critic of waste in defense purchasing charged Thursday that Chicago's Admiral Corp. reaped 100 percent more profit than it admits on a Navy contract for radio components.

Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, said the profit also was 10 percent higher than the maximum the contract was supposed to allow.

WILSON based his charges on an extensive audit of the $2,500,000 contract. The audit was conducted at his request by Congress' fiscal watchdog, the General Accounting Office.

The GAO concluded that Admiral made a 14-percent profit of $355,055 on the job. It said Admiral at first contended profit totaled only 3.9 percent, then revised that to $179,563, or about 7 percent.

WILSON, in remarks extended in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, said he is turning the case over to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, with the recommendation that the Justice Department take civil action to recover the overcharges and excess profits.

An Admiral spokesman in Chicago, informed of the GAO report, denied that the firm had made excessive profits.

"Their (the GAO's) conclusions are based on accounting procedures that we dispute," the spokesman told the Daily News. "The profit rate is a matter of judgment, not of fact.

"However, we cannot comment further until we see the report," he said.

Under the contract, completed in 1959, Admiral produced 7,000 components (power supply units) at $360 each for the ARC/27 radio, which the Navy was buying for Air Force use.

WILSON kicked off his probe after learning that Admiral had bid to produce 6,500 of the identical units for the Navy at $181 each—half the previous price—just 2 months after the first contract was signed.

The Navy handed Admiral the 7,000-unit job as a "sole source" contract (without competitive bids) at Admiral's demanded price, on grounds that the Air Force had an emergency need for the components.

GAO points out, however, that Air Force records show the emergency could justify a sole-source contract for only 2,000 of the 7,000 units needed, but that Admiral was given the entire batch at $360 each anyway.

The $181 price was offered by Admiral while competing unsuccessfully on a contract for a second batch of the components which industry pressure forced the Navy to buy through competitive bidding.

The low price was $180 each, bid by Crescent Communication Corp., New London, Conn.

WILSON, one of Congress' most outspoken opponents of soul-source contracts, said the Justice Department should investigate the possibility of recovering the excess profits for two reasons:

The contract provided that Admiral could take a maximum of 10 percent profit, while the GAO computes the profit actually earned at 14 percent, or more than $100,000 too much.

The GAO notes at two points in the 23-page report that several accounting procedures used by Admiral in reaching its 7 percent profit estimate fail to comply with the Armed Services Procurement Regulations.

WILSON'S blast at Admiral and the Navy—his most frequent service target—comes less than a week after the disclosure that Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has attempted to cut off sources of information used by the Indiana Republican in his investigations.

The Secretary personally ordered WILSON purged from all defense agencies' public mailing lists through which notices are sent out of contracts to be let.

WILSON called the action a "clear reprisal" for his success in earlier criticisms, some of which helped push legislation tightening procurement practices—legislation McNamara's staff openly opposed.

In Thursday's remarks, WILSON also dubbed the Navy as "incompetency incorporated" for failing to investigate the Admiral contract on its own initiative.

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BACK TIGHTER CURBS ON SALES TO MILITARY—FORCE EX-OFFICERS TO WAIT 3 YEARS, SENATE GROUP ASKS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—The Senate Armed Services Committee has moved to tighten restrictions on former military officers who seek to trade on past connections by becoming salesmen to the military after they retire.

The committee proposed boosting from 2 years to 3 the length of time after retirement that an officer must wait before he can take part in sales to the military.

Strangely enough, the proposal was attached as an amendment to a Navy-sponsored bill—reported out favorably by the committee—which loosens the restrictions on sales to the Navy by former Navy officers.

The Navy proposal would repeal an 1890 law calling for forfeiture of a former Navy officer's retirement pay any time he is found selling to the Navy.

Chairman RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, who opposed the bill, asked Navy Under Secretary Paul Fay, Jr., why the Navy's bill was necessary.

RUSSELL pointed out that Federal criminal law forbids any retired officer to sell to his former service at any time, although he can now sell to another service after waiting the required 2 years. So why worry about forfeiting pay in such cases? RUSSELL asked.

Fay disclosed, in answering, that the Navy plans next year to ask Congress to repeal the criminal law, too, so that ex-officers would be able to sell to their own service as well as to others.

Fay also pointed out that there is no law providing for forfeiture of retirement pay by former Army or Air Force officers caught selling to their former service.

So this is "discrimination" against the Navy, he argued.

Fay stressed that it "is harder to win a criminal conviction" than it is for the Comptroller General to cut off a former Navy officer's retirement pay "through an arbitrary administrative procedure, for what may be a mere technical violation."

RUSSELL asked why it wouldn't be better to end the "discrimination" by also providing for forfeiture by retired Army and Air Force officers, instead of ending it for the Navy.

"Why not even things off by strengthening the law, not weakening it?" he asked.

RUSSELL pointed out that a pending bill sponsored by Senators PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, and JACOB JAVITS, Republican, of New York, would do just that.

(A spokesman for DOUGLAS' office said later that DOUGLAS and JAVITS almost certainly would oppose the Navy bill when it gets to the floor.)

Under questioning by RUSSELL, Fay and Rear Adm. William C. Mott, Navy Judge Advocate General, acknowledged that in nine cases in recent years the Comptroller General ordered retirement pay cut off.

Only one case has been referred to the Attorney General for prosecution, Mott said. Nor has any other service recommended prosecution of any retired officer for improper selling, it developed.

"You tell us we should depend on the criminal law, and yet nobody in the Department of Defense is enforcing it," RUSSEL observed.

Mott's office said later that the eight other cases where retirement pay cutoffs had been ordered involved "technical violations" that the Navy Department did not believe merited criminal prosecution.

This is just a sample of the way in which the people are being alerted to waste in procurement. There are more examples and more examples of waste which I shall continue to bring to the attention of my colleagues. I truly feel that the American people want this profligacy stopped and I intend to continue to fight to get a dollars' worth of defense for a dollar.

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## Consumer Protection Proposals—Truth-in-Lending Legislation Urgently Needed

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, September 5, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as President Kennedy said in his historic message on consumers' protection sent to Congress last March 15, consumers by definition include us all:

They are the largest economic group in the economy, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. Two-thirds of all spending in the economy is by consumers. But they are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are often not heard.

One of the most important consumers' protection proposals is Senator PAUL DOUGLAS' bill, S. 1740, the truth-in-lending bill, which I have joined in sponsoring. Unfortunately the Banking and Currency Committee on which I serve has not reported the bill favorably to the Senate. Senator DOUGLAS has held extensive hearings on this proposal, which has evoked widespread support among consumer groups. I praise the able leadership of my distinguished colleague from Illinois in developing and pressing for action on this legislation.

President Kennedy called specifically for the enactment of truth in lending legislation in his consumers' message. He declared:

Excessive and untimely use of credit arising out of ignorance of its true cost is harmful both to the stability of the economy and to the welfare of the public. Legislation should therefore be enacted requiring lenders and vendors to disclose to borrowers in advance the actual amounts and rates which they will be paying for credit. Such legislation, similar in this sense to the truth-in-securities laws of 1933–34, would not control prices or charges. But it would require full disclosure to installment buyers and other prospective credit users, and thus permit consumers to make informed decisions before signing on the dotted line. Inasmuch as the specific credit practices which such a bill would be designed to correct are closely related to and often combined with other types of misleading trade practices which the Federal Trade Commission is already regulating, I recommend that enforcement of the new authority be assigned to the Commission. The Government agencies most concerned in this area have been cooperating with the subcommittee in developing the information necessary to prepare a workable and effective bill; and in view of the exhaustive hearings already held, I hope that the Congress can complete action on this important matter before it adjourns.

An excellent article on the consumer credit problem and on the need for truth in lending appears in the September issue of Frontier magazine. The article, "A Complicated Maze Puzzles the Consumer," was written by David Hamilton, professor of economics at the University of New Mexico.

As Professor Hamilton concludes his article:

The present confusion in the consumer credit market leaves the customer hunting for the pea under the shell. A free market in credit cannot exist when one party to the transaction doesn't know the full sale price.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Professor Hamilton's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A COMPLICATED MAZE PUZZLES THE CONSUMER

(By David Hamilton)

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, whose Senate bill, S. 1740, would have required that interest rates on consumer credit be stated as a true annual rate, is having trouble injecting a bit of truth into the moneylending business.

A basic notion of any free market is that the buyer or consumer is properly informed. This notion was stated as a consumer right by President Kennedy in his March message to Congress which dealt with the consumer interest. The President stated that the consumer has a "right to be informed—to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful, or grossly misleading information, advertising, labeling, or other practices, and to be given the facts he needs to make an informed choice."

The conditions which exist in the market for credit depart a long way from this expressed ideal. Even an astute consumer has difficulty securing "the facts he needs to make an informed choice" in the credit market. The buyer is confronted by innumerable methods of quoting credit charges; some make it impossible to compare alternative credit sources and some completely obscure the credit charge.

Consumer credit is big business. The June issue of the Federal Reserve Bulletin indicates that in April 1962 consumers owed

creditors $56.65 billion. Of this, $43.285 billion was installment credit; the remainder was noninstallment, short-term credit. (The Federal Reserve figures, however, do not include mortgage debt and thus underrepresent the total amount of debt which consumers owe by about $150 billion. The total consumer debt is closer to $200 billion.)

Rates on mortgage debt are usually clearly stated as a true annual rate. It is in nonmortgage debt that confusion reigns. Even though this type composes only about one-fourth of total consumer debt, it is sufficiently large to place a heavy burden on the consumer. The average cost, to the consumer, of this credit is as high as 15 percent; consumers are paying approximately $8.25 billion per year in carrying charges. (This is not much less than the annual cost of servicing the national debt.)

Nonmortgage consumer debt has grown rapidly in the last 10 years. In 1952, consumer credit of all types, exclusive of mortgage credit, amounted to $27.52 billion. In 10 years, the amount of outstanding debt just about doubled. There are several reasons for this mushroomed use of credit. An elaborating technology has made the modern home a small factory of machines driven by the electric motor. Just to set up housekeeping forces the average consumer into considerable debt. In addition, cities, a large part of which have been built since the automobile, are so planned that an automobile is now a necessity. Very few consumers, however, are able to muster enough cash in advance to pay for the "modern conveniences."

But the growth of consumer credit, especially in the past 10 years, is also a product of the ease in which credit may be obtained. The ingeniousness of the credit huckster seems to be unlimited. Within 10 years the credit card has become a part of the American middle-class way of life and revolving credit reaches almost every level of the status structure. Banks are extending check credit which is a form of generalized revolving credit. Revolving credit is simply a scheme whereby a consumer may maintain a permanent amount of debt on which he meets the interest charges. Theoretically, the principal is reduced by some fixed fraction, usually one-twelfth, each month. But since at any time the consumer also can add to the debt up to the ceiling amount, it is possible to remain permanently in hock.

VARYING TYPES OF CREDIT ARE AVAILABLE

The consumer is faced by William James' "blooming, buzzing confusion" in the credit market. To the different types of credit offered may be added the different sources of credit. The small loan company is augmented by the commercial bank, the credit union, the sales finance company, and the merchandizer who has now entered this lucrative business. All of them have their own ways of computing credit charges and compounding the confusion.

Sometimes credit charges are stated as the true annual rate. This simply means that a consumer who borrows $120 for 1 year at 6 percent will owe the principal, $120, plus $7.20 interest at the end of 1 year. To most consumers this is quite clear, simple, and conventional, but this type of credit lending is today the exception rather than the rule.

Most credit now provides for installment payment of the principal. When such provision is made a 6 percent rate may turn out to be closer to 12 percent on a true annual basis. If, for example, the consumer borrows $120 with the provision that he repay $10 of the principal each month, the principal sum which he possesses declines $10 monthly. The first month he has $120, the second $110, and the third $100 and so on to the last month when he has only $10. The average amount he borrowed is found by adding the declining balance each month and dividing by the number of months: In this case he had an average amount of $65. If his interest is figured as 6 percent of $120 or $7.20, as it most certainly will, his true annual rate will be approximately 11.1 percent.

However, sometimes credit charges are stated as a certain percentage per month on the unpaid balance. When this is the case the true annual rate is determined by multiplying the monthly percentage charge by 12. Thus, a 1 percent per month charge is, in fact, a true annual rate of 12 percent. A rate of 1.5 percent per month is 18 percent true annual rate and a rate of 2 percent per month is 24 percent true annual rate.

The relatively few consumers who may be able to rapidly convert such methods of interest charging to true annual rates are sometimes thwarted by the simple device of stating the cash price plus a dollar amount for interest. No interest rate is shown. In still other cases the consumer is merely told the amount of his monthly payment which includes both interest and an amount for principal retirement.

MANY DIFFICULTIES FACE THE BORROWER

With these varied ways of stating credit charge, it is increasingly difficult for the consumer to do comparative shopping for credit even when it is worth while to do so. The usual rates of credit sources vary significantly. Credit unions usually lend at rates which range between 8 and 12 percent, banks from about 8 to 18 percent, small loan companies, depending on the State, from 18 to 42 percent, and installment purchase credit lenders from about 12 to 24 percent.

A consumer purchasing a $300 refrigerator on time would find quite a variation in the total cost depending upon the source of credit. By paying for the refrigerator in 1 year, the total cost would be from $324 to $336 if he financed through a credit union, from $324 to $354 if through a bank, from $330 to $372 if by installment purchase credit, and from $354 to $426 if through a small loan agency.

Unless the consumer can convert credit charges to a uniform rate he cannot compare alternative costs of credit. Senator DOUGLAS' bill would require only that credit costs be stated as a true annual rate so that consumers could more easily compare actual credit rates. His bill would not regulate credit charges. The truth-in-lending bill offers the consumer protection analogous to the Securities Act of 1933, which required that the truth concerning new security issues be made available to potential security purchasers.

So far the career of his bill, a veteran of two Congresses, has demonstrated that it is the consumer who is least represented in Congress. Few bills have such massed opposition. Organizations as diverse as the American Bar Association ("Our study, in fact, indicates that a better argument can be made against the constitutionality of this bill than for it."); National Small Businessmen's Association ("Passage of this bill would mean an end to recolving credit and place all credit selling in jeopardy."); Montgomery Ward ("The bill is unworkable."); the National Association of Manufacturers ("We believe this proposal will have a 'boomerang effect,' creating more confusion and deception than it stops."); the National Retail Merchants Association; the National Automobile Dealers' Association ("The bill is unnecessary.") oppose it.

The arguments of its opponents are the usual sophistries heard in committee hearings on consumer legislation. It will not work—but if it will work it would have ill effects on the consumer, the economy, the business climate, and free enterprise.

One thing is clear. The present confusion in the consumer credit market leaves the customer hunting for the pea under the shell. A free market in credit cannot exist when one party to the transaction doesn't know the full sale price.

## Another Honest Mistake?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, many of us have predicted that the coalition government in Laos would eventually become Communist. Why? Because of the lessons of history.

This editorial, from the Mesa, Ariz., Tribune of August 27, 1962, chronicles these "mistakes" of the past, present, and unless we learn our lesson soon, the future.

ANOTHER HONEST MISTAKE?

Here is a story about a little girl. This little girl has been taught by her parents that accidents such as dropping a dish, or knocking over a glass of milk are honest mistakes—thus she is not punished when she has an accident. This is proper training. But all children are a little mischievous, and every once in a while this little girl, when her baby brother is getting a little too much attention, will correct the situation by simply dropping a dish and breaking it into smithereens. Then, with all the charm of little girls, she will look up at her mother or daddy and say, "It was an honest mistake."

Let's make an application. Right after World War II, the policy of the United States encouraged a coalition government in Poland which included Communists. It didn't take long before there was only a Communist government and Poland went behind the Iron Curtain. The same policy was followed in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and several other East European countries. Russia had been our ally in the war against Hitler, and we believed that these could be called honest mistakes. But then there was trouble in China and we were officially, by agreement and treaty, supporting the non-Communist government. Suddenly, our policy changed and we began urging a coalition government of the Nationalists and the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek would not agree—so, we stopped our military support and 650 million Chinese became the slaves of communism.

It was another "honest mistake."

Then there was a strong anti-Communist dictator in Cuba. He was, perhaps, many things—some of them very bad—but his country did enjoy one of the highest standards of living of any country in this hemisphere outside of the United States. The official policy of our Government came to be the support of Fidel Castro, and within 90 miles of America a "bastion of Communist strength" was established. The record of Castro was available to our State Department, just as it was to those of us who warned that he was a Communist. But our State Department made another "honest mistake."

For years we have poured millions of dollars into Laos, supporting the anti-Communist government and paying the army. Suddenly, last February, we cut off all economic aid to that country and began urging a coalition government with the Communists. It has been established. Have we made another honest mistake?

In Berlin, by treaty and by example, we have said we are going to make the Communists live up to their agreements—that we will not abandon Berlin. But in Europe you can no longer make the average man on the street believe that our State Department policy has not already officially changed

to accommodate another coalition government, even though we might call it an international commission. Are we about to make another "honest mistake" and surrender Berlin? And where do we stop making mistakes? When do they cease being "honest."

## Wisconsin Historymobile II—Newspapers Make History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, September 5, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Historical Society of Wisconsin annually has undertaken a program of Historymobiles: A mobile museum traveling throughout the State featuring subjects of major significance to Wisconsin's history.

Historymobile I spotlighted the importance of the St. Lawrence Seaway to Wisconsin and the Nation. As a sponsor of the seaway law I have been particularly gratified by this project.

Historymobile II features the tremendously significant story of Wisconsin's newspaper history from territorial days to the present.

As a free people, we depend tremendously upon newspapers—as well as on other media—to keep a well-informed citizenry. In a fast changing, rapidly advancing age, this is of ever-increasing value to our Nation.

The history of newspaperism in Wisconsin—as well as throughout the Nation—then takes on ever-greater significance.

Recently, the Wisconsin Press Association—a major sponsor of Historymobile II—published an informative article on the museum. Reflecting upon this spendid endeavor to further keep our citizens updated in thinking on major features of State-National life, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the arctile was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HISTORYMOBILE II—NEWSPAPERS MAKE HISTORY, 1833–1962

(By Justin Schmiedeke)

(Traveling museum tells Wisconsin's newspaper history from territorial days until today. Schedule laid out to include stops at nearly every town having a newspaper member of the Wisconsin Press Association.)

Wisconsin newspaper publishers will have a look at their own history when Historymobile II calls on them this coming year. The huge new mobile museum, traveling this year under the sponsorship of the State's papers, tells the story of newspaper publishing in Wisconsin from 1833 up to the present time.

The Wisconsin Press Association, with a gift of $2,250 to the State Historical Society, is one of the major sponsors of the tour. Daily newspapers throughout the State made individual contributions, the mobile home builder donated the trailer unit and International Harvester Co. supplied the tractor truck. These, with contributions from many other sources, were sufficient to enable the society to place the unit on the road at almost no cost to the taxpayers.

Departing from the former policy of operating the traveling exhibit only during the mild weather months, Historymobile II will be "in business" continuously throughout the winter and well into next summer. An itenerary accompanies this article.

The schedule of Historymobile II was laid out to include stops at every town having a newspaper that is a member of the Wisconsin Press Association plus, of course, the daily newspapers. All stops in the current tour are in communities where a newspaper is published and the hometown publisher is asked to serve as host during the stopover of Historymobile II.

Planning the itinerary of the current tour was a considerably tougher assignment than in the past. Historymobile II is such a massive unit (70 feet long and 12 feet wide) that it can be on the road only during daylight hours and distances between stops must be of reasonably short mileage. At times these limitations make it impossible to schedule the unit into a town on a date to coincide with a newspaper's anniversary or for some other local festival. Wherever possible, the schedule makers did try to meet requests of this nature.

After the travel schedule of the unit was completed, the society sent letters to the publishers in each town where a stop was scheduled. This letter informed the editor of the time Historymobile II would be in his town and asked him to act as the sponsor.

So far as Historymobile II itself is concerned, sponsorship of the unit's visit entails nothing except a small amount of time; the sponsor is asked to arrange for a suitable place to park the unit, to provide a police escort and to arrange for cooperation of municipal authorities. To make this even easier for the sponsoring publisher the society sends letters to the mayor or village president and to the local police chief informing them of the Historymobile visit, the fact that it will be sponsored by the local publisher and asks that they cooperate.

It is in the "extracurricular" activities connected with a Historymobile stopover that publishers have their greatest opportunity—and, perhaps, their greatest expenditure of work. Wherever possible, it is suggested that the Historymobile be parked adjacent to the newspaper plant. Then, if the publisher wishes, he can arrange to hold an "open house" at his plant and invite the public to visit the newspaper shop along with seeing the historical exhibits in the trailer. Most of the sponsoring publishers have indicated that they intend to do this. Some are planning special editions to commemorate the visit of Historymobile II to their communities.

To tie in with whatever arrangements are made by the home publisher, the Historical Society has provided space for display of newspapers from each local community. Each pubisher has been asked to provide a volume of his paper which can be read by visitors as they pass through the Historymobile and, if possible, a copy of a first edition or an early edition for posting in a space provided for this purpose. The volume need not be too old because the society has discovered that Historymobile visitors are fascinated by local papers of 20 to 30 years ago. Where the local publisher cannot provide this material, the society will, whenever possible, provide newspapers from its own collection. Most Wisconsin publishers have deposited a copy of each edition of their papers with the society since the mid-1850's when the Wisconsin Press Association was organized, newspapers were contributed to the society by their publishers. The society's newspaper collection, second only to the collection owned by the Library of Congress, contains, in bound volumes or on microfilm, a copy of every available edition of every newspaper ever published in Wisconsin.

Each publisher is also being urged to put up, in his own shop if he holds an open house, or in a nearby store window, a display on the history of his own newspaper to include such things as early editions of his paper; examples of early advertising, handbills, letterheads or other job printing; antique tools such as line gages, sets of composing rules, antique quoins, keys, shooting sticks or engraving tools; examples of antique wood or metal type, hand-carved wood or linoleum block cuts, border, ornaments or electrotypes; early photographs of the newspaper shop or a portrait of the founder. Each publisher is also being urged to print, in his commemorative issue or in connection with a promotion article on the Historymobile, a history of his own newspaper.

"Newspapers Make History, 1833–1962," is the title of the exhibition carried in Historymobile II. A visit to the traveling museum starts with a view of a territorial newspaper office. The principal mechanical object in the setting is an authentic Ramage press, predecessor to the Washington hand press, and this one is believed to have been used on a Wisconsin newspaper prior to 1848.

The Ramage was known as a four-pull press, which meant that the printer had to make up and print each of the four tabloid-size pages separately. After all four pages were printed the paper was folded by hand, addressed, also by hand, and the publisher was ready to start another issue—after, of course, the not-so-small chore of killing the printed pages. This method of printing papers, used even on the State's first daily, meant "pulling" an individual impression of each page or two pages, depending on the size of the press.

Ramage and Washington presses had become obsolete by the middle of the 19th century; but as the Wisconsin frontier pushed northward into the lumber lands the old hand presses continued to be used; in some shops they were used as late as the first decade of the 20th century.

Newpaper publishers sponsoring the Historymobile visits will have an opportunity to activate this territorial newspaper setting if they are able to furnish an assistant to the traveling curator. As visitors pass through the unit the pressman will be able to demonstrate operation of the antique press.

Reproductions of the historically important first editions of many Wisconsin newspapers—including volume 1, No. 1 of the first, the Green Bay Intelligencer—line the walls of the Historymobile.

Another exhibit contains important, and sometimes rare, artifacts of the printing trade, most of them donated to the Historical Society by Wisconsin weekly newspaper publishers. There are such items as "shooting sticks," and wedge-shaped quoins, which were driven together rather than locked by a key, and a set of composing rules, part of the personal equipment of every printer. There are a few hand-carved woodcuts used in early advertising.

Another setting pictures the job printing section of a newspaper shop. The principal object of this section is an 1895 C. & P. job press, identical to many a press still in use in Wisconsin newspaper shops. This job press, which is treadle powered, is an excellent means of illustrating the advances in the technology of printing as compared to the Ramage press.

Several kinds of typecases, where many a boy learned the practical application of his A B C's, are shown with the appropriate letter in each compartment. The process of setting a line of type is demonstrated step by step.

The story of editing and printing a newspaper is told through a series of pictures

donated by Wisconsin publishers. And the advances in printing machinery are illustrated in a series of drawings and sketches.

The final section of Historymobile II is devoted to one of the largest and most modern printing setups in Wisconsin, the huge three-story-high press of the Milwaukee Journal. It is accompanied by an educational step-by-step explanation and display of four-color newspaper printing using the color-separation negatives, mats, and plates that were actually used to print one color page of a newspaper.

Chances are that almost every Wisconsin resident who visits Historymobile II will feel "right at home." For the ceiling and walls, where no exhibits are fastened, are lined with reproductions of 1962 Wisconsin hometown newspapers.

There is one small section of Historymobile II that is not open to the public. That is the 9-by-12 combination living room-kitchen-bedroom-office of Jake and Irene Tschudy, curators of the Historymobile. For the past several years this couple has come to know every nook and cranny of Wisconsin through their tours with Historymobile I.

Before setting out with the "Newspapers Make History" exhibit Jake and Irene spent many an hour "boning up" on Wisconsin newspaper history and both were initiated into the mysteries of the printing craft when the various exhibit units were installed in the trailer.

This will be their first experience at operating the historical exhibit during winter and, while they do not anticipate any serious trouble, one of their greatest problems will be water. Freezing temperatures common in Wisconsin and the lack of excess space within the trailer unit meant that the unit could be equipped with only a small tank. This, in turn, meant the elimination of shower facilities. Publishers who play host to Jake and Irene during their current tour might take note of this and offer them the luxury of the bathtub.

President Walter Gleason, of the Wisconsin Press Association, took part in the dedication ceremony when Historymobile II was officially put in action at the State fair in August. Immediately following the fair the unit went on the road and will remain in operation until next May.

The historical society has prepared a special press kit for editors to use in conjunction with Historymobile II visits. These kits are being sent to individual newspapers about a month in advance of the Historymobile visit. The kit contains suggestions about promoting the visit of the unit and contains pictures, suggested ads, news stories, and possible plans of procedure. And if further help is wanted, it will be available. Some publishers who are planning rather elaborate promotion of the Historymobile may want to get the press kits earlier than a month in advance; in such cases the kits will be supplied on request.

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ROUTE OF HISTORYMOBILE II

YEAR 1962

August:
20, Menomonee Falls
21, Cedarburg
22, Port Washington
23, Random Lake
24, Sheboygan
25, Sheboygan
26, Sheboygan
27, Plymouth
28, Kiel
29, New Holstein
30, Chilton
31, Manitowoc-Two Rivers

September:
1, Manitowoc-Two Rivers
2, Manitowoc-Two Rivers
3, Manitowoc-Two Rivers
4, Kewaunee, Luxemburg
5, Algoma
6, Sturgeon Bay
7, Green Bay
8, Green Bay
9, Green Bay
10, Bonduel
11, Oconto Falls
12, Oconto
13, Peshtigo
14, Marinette
15, Marinette
16, Marinette
17, Florence
18, Crandon
19, Eagle River
20, Minocqua
21, Rhinelander
22, Rhinelander
23, Rhinelander
24, Tomahawk
25, Rib Lake, Prentice
26, Phillips, Park Falls
27, Glidden, Mellen
28, Ashland
29, Ashland
30, Ashland

October:
1, Bayfield, Iron River
2, Hayward
3, Shell Lake
4, Spooner
5, Superior
6, Superior
7, Superior
8, Grantsburg
9, Frederic, Luck
10, Cumberland
11, Chetek
12, Bloomer
13, Chippewa Falls
14, Chippewa Falls
15, Colfax, Glenwood City
16, Clear Lake, Amery
17, Balsam Lake, St. Croix Falls
18, Osceola
19, Eau Claire
20, Eau Claire
21, Eau Claire
22, Menomonie
23, Stout Institute, Woodville
24, New Richmond
25, Hudson
26, Ellsworth
27, Durand
29, Pepin, Cochrane
30, Arcadia, Independence
31, Mondovi, Whitehall

November
1, Blair, Galesville
2, Onalaska, LaCrosse
3, LaCrosse
4, LaCrosse
5, West Salem, Bangor
6, Sparta
7, Melrose
8, Black River Falls
9, Pittsville
10, Wisconsin Rapids
11, Wisconsin Rapids
12, Neillsville
13, Loyal, Colby
14, Abbotsford, Dorchester
15, Medford
16, Edgar, Marathon
17, Wausau
18, Wausau
19, Mosinee, Stratford
20, Thorp, Stanley
24, Merrill
25, Merrill
26, Wittenberg
27, Marion
28, Clintonville
29, New London
30, Manawa

December:
1, Antigo
2, Antigo
3, Shawano
4, Shawano
5, Seymour
6, Waupaca
7, Amherst
8, Stevens Point
9, Stevens Point
10, Wautoma
11, Montello
12, Princeton
13, Green Lake
14, Ripon
15, Oshkosh
16, Oshkosh
17, Winneconne, Omro
18, Berlin
19, Markesan
20, Fox Lake, Randolph
21, Pardeeville, Rio
22, Portage
23, Portage

YEAR 1963

January:
2, DeForest, Poynette
3, Lodi
4, Waunakee
5, Baraboo
6, Baraboo
7, Reedsburg
8, Wonewoc, Hillsboro
9, Elroy, Kendall
10, New Lisbon
11, Mauston
12, Wisconsin Dells
13, Wisconsin Dells
14, Tomah
15, Cashton
16, Westby
17, Viroqua
18, La Farge, Viola
19, Richland Center
20, Richland Center
21, Soldiers Grove, Gays Mills
22, Boscobel
23, Wauzeka
24, Prairie du Chien
25, Bloomington
26, Cassville
28, Lancaster
29, Fennimore
30, Dodgeville
31, Mineral Point

February:
1, Platteville
2, Monroe
3, Monroe
4, Cuba City
5, Darlington
6, Argyle Blanchardville
7, New Glarus
8, Belleville
11, Black Earth
12, Spring Green
13, Muscoda
14, Sauk City-Prairie du Sac
18, Oregon
19, Stoughton
20, Edgerton
21, Milton Junction
22, Janesville
23, Janesville
24, Janesville
25, Orfordville Brodhead
26, Albany
27, Evansville
28, Sun Prairie

March:
1, Columbus
2, Beaver Dam
3, Beaver Dam
4, Hustisford
5, Juneau
6, Horicon
7, Mayville
8, Waupun
9, Fond du Lac
10, Fond du Lac
11, Hilbert, Brillion
12, Denmark
13, De Pere
14, Kaukauna
15, Appleton

16, Appleton
17, Appleton
18, Neenah-Menasha
19, Neenah-Menasha
20, Campbellsport
21, Kewaskum
22, West Bend
23, Watertown
24, Watertown
25, Hartford
26, Hartland
27, Oconomowoc
28, Dousman
29, Lake Mills
30, Fort Atkinson
31, Fort Atkinson

April:
1, Whitewater
2, Delavan
3, Elkhorn
4, Lake Geneva
5, Walworth, Sharon
6, Beloit
7, Beloit
8, East Troy
9, Waterford
10, Burlington
11, Mukwanago
15, Waukesha
16, Waukesha
17, Hales Corners
18, Union Grove
19, Racine
20, Racine
21, Racine
22, Kenosha
23, Kenosha
24, Cambridge
25, Madison
26, Madison
27, Madison
28, Madison
30, Augusta

May:
1, Cadott, Boyd
2, Carnell
3, Ladysmith
4, Barron
6, Rice Lake
8, Marshfield
9, Adams-Friendship

## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# *Appendix*

## Anti-Communist Leader in Western New York Warns Against Unabated Spread of International Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN R. PILLION**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, Manitou Springs, Colo., was the scene last month of a lecture series presented to high school and college students by the Christian crusade. Invited to address this group on several occasions was Mr. Walter V. Chopyk, public relations director of the United Anti-Communist Action Committee of western New York. During the course of the seminar, Mr. Chopyk continually pointed up the urgent necessity for a program of bold action to counter the spread of international communism.

Mr. Chopyk also indicated his strong support for a proposal to call a "summit" meeting in Washington, of all leaders-in-exile of the captive nations throughout the world.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this time, three newspaper articles covering Mr. Chopyk's appearances at the Manitou Springs "summit" meeting.

Following this account, I wish to call the attention of the Members of this House to an article which appeared in the August 11 edition of the Buffalo Courier Express, on the subject of "Captive Nations Year."

The articles follow:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 15, 1962]

CHOPYK SAYS LAOS PLIGHT LIKE TIBET

MANITOU SPRINGS, COLO.—Walter V. Chopyk; of Buffalo, N.Y., Tuesday night chronicled the spread of Russian imperialism from the 14th century to the present, in a speech before high school and college students here.

He likened Communist expansion in Laos as comparable to "another Tibet" and warned that "holding that strategically placed country can give its holder a jumping-off base" to control all of southeast Asia. That would lead to the creation of "a wide, new base from which to try to intimidate southern India, Australia, and New Zealand," he said.

Chopyk also urged the students to support a resolution offered in the House by Representative JOHN R. PILLION, a Hamburg, N.Y., Republican, which would declare that a state of war exists between the United States and the 98 Communist parties throughout the world.

Chopyk spoke at a summer school of the Christian Crusade here. Chopyk is public relations director of the United Anti-Communist Action Committee of Western New York.

[From the Manitou Springs (Colo.) Pikes Peak Journal, Aug. 17, 1962]

CHOPYK TALKS ON COMMUNISM GROWTH AT SUMMIT MEET

The Summit, summer headquarters of the Christian Crusade has been the scene of a group of lectures the past week, which were arranged by Billie J. Hargis, head of the Christiain Crusade against communism.

Walter V. Chopyk, of Buffalo, N.Y., was the speaker on Tuesday night, taking as his subject "The Cancerous Russian Colonial Empire."

Walter V. Chopyk is a former agent of the U.S. Department of Justice, linguist, and U.S. observer to the 1955 Geneva Summit Conference, and founder of the United Anti-Communist Action Committee of Western New York, and secretary to the Erie County planning department at present. He has also served as a member of the advisory board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

In his lecture, Mr. Chopyk carefully sketched a picture of the birth, spread, growth, and development of Russian imperialism under the guise of communism.

He likened it to a cancerous growth, mushrooming rapidly, never satiated, bound by no rules, agreements, treaties or ethics, devouring all in its way as it grinds on to its unshakeable goal of complete domination of all the world.

Mr. Chopyk, using Government reports and statistics exclusively, illustrated the expansion in territorial grabs from the 14th century Grand Duchy of Muscovy, with its 214,000 square miles to the present appalling situation where the Soviet Empire now encompasses close to 12 million square miles. This monumental swindle of other people's real estate is only surpassed by reflecting on its equivalent and concurrent enslavement of human lives. He showed that the population today is about 100 million, whereas the population of non-Russians under the lash of Russian imperalism has reached the number of more than 1 billion.

Mr. Chopyk blamed the free world for its failure to support its heavily publicized policy of "the right of self-determination" for the many non-Russian nations that unshackled the Russian Czars' chains in 1917–18 and became independent; in due time in 1922 they became prey to the Russian imperial Communists.

By using familiar devices of divide and conquer, diplomatic duplicity, puppet regimes, etc., they conquered them, stopping at the gates of Poland.

In 1940, the free world, with a naive tolerance, watched them capture Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In 1945, the West fell for the proven Communist technique of subverting representative governments via interparty coalitions, and seized Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Mongolia, China, Manchuria, North Korea, Tibet, and North Vietnam.

Now, added Chopyk, Laos is like another Tibet. Holding that strategically placed country can give its holder a jumping-off base to Thailand, South Vietnam, Cambia, Gulf of Siam, South China Sea and eventually southern India, Australia, and New Zealand.

[From the Colorado Springs Gazette, Aug. 18, 1962]

SPEAKER OFFERS 12-POINT PLAN TO CRUSH IMPERIALISM

Walter V. Chopyk, founder of the United Anti-Communist Action Committee of Western New York, offered 12 commandments with which to "crush forever the tyranny of Russian imperialism" at a lecture at 8 p.m. Thursday at the Summit in Manitou Springs.

Speaking at the summer headquarters of the Christian Crusade of Tulsa, Okla., Chopyk's first commandment was that the United States should call a "summit" meeting of all the leaders-in-exile of the captive nations and the leaders of the free world.

He said the meeting should be held in Washington, D.C., for the purpose of constructing programs that will lead to the "total defeat of the international criminal Communist conspiracy; the liberation of the enslaved millions; the restoration of nations and the rebirth of freedom."

Chopyk, who resides in Buffalo, N.Y., went on to list open and free elections without delay "as the yoke of the aggressor is removed from the neck of each nation"; an end to the "nefarious cultural exchange programs"; resuming nuclear testing at once on an accelerated plan; an irrevocable stand against the recognition of Red China; the termination of the "endless, wasteful, useless Geneva Conference," exposing the "deceitful conduct of Russia in the United Nations.

"All who cherish freedom," he said, "must support the leaders in the fight."

The speaker went on to say these steps must be followed by the far-reaching, crystal-clear publicity designed to acquaint all with what is being done, especially the "non-Russians now languishing inside the Russian empire."

Chopyk asked that Congressmen be urged to "immediately adopt House Resolution 211 that proposes the establishment of a Special Permanent Committee on Captive Nations which would study the plight of Soviet dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the plight of the captive nations."

He further said that people should urge "the immediate passage of Senate Resolution 822, a bill to create the freedom commission and the freedom academy to research and develop an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science."

The speaker concluded his lecture by saying that Americans should be alerted to the "Russian imperial Communist conspiracy, for this is no longer a controversial issue. It is a matter of life and death—freedom or slavery. We cannot wait till tomorrow to liquidate the Russian colonial empire. We must do so now. Later will be too late."

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier, Aug. 11, 1962]

NOW LET US START CAPTIVE NATIONS YEAR

Captive Nations Week is past; but it would be well wor Americans to begin to observe captive nations year—or years. For it is incumbent on devotees of freedom everywhere to keep a light of hope aglow for the millions entrapped and enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

A modest beginning for a more intensive American effort in behalf of those millions can be found in House Resolution 211, introduced by Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, calling for establishment of a special Committee on the Captive Nations, composed of 10 members, not more than 6 to be members of the same political party and of whom 5 would be members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The function of this committee would be to "conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these nations and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms."

While the resolution would empower the committee "to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States * * * as it deems advisable," it is obvious that there would be insurmountable obstacles to holding sessions within the captive countries concerned—to say nothing of requiring "by subpena or otherwise" attendance of witnesses and production of documents therein. The fact remains, however, that the committee could obtain much useful testimony from refugees from the captive lands and from Americans and others who have had opportunity to gain information as to conditions there either by personal visits or by correspondence with friends and relatives behind the Iron Curtain.

It is significant that the resolution does not apply merely to neighboring countries overrun or subverted by the Communists but also to the captive peoples within the Soviet Union itself—those who were conquered by czarist Russia and have been held ever since. These would include the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, and others in Europe and practically all of the Soviet republics (actually colonial possessions of the Russian empire (in Asia).

So establishment of the proposed committee would accomplish at least three important purposes: (1) Kindle renewed hope in the captive lands; (2) direct American and other free-world attention to the captives' plight, and (3) proclaim to the world the hypocrisy of the "anticolonial" pretensions of the most ruthless imperial and colonial power on earth—anticolonial" pretensions to which, unfortunately, American policy frequently has lent aid and comfort.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Rules Committee of the House will be reasonably prompt in releasing the resolution for action by the Foreign Affairs Committee and the whole House.

## Labor Day Address by Senator Hartke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on September 3, 1962, Labor Day, my friend, the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE] delivered a searching message which I feel should be called to the attention of all the distinguished Members of this great deliberative body. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Senator HARTKE's 1962 Labor Day message inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR VANCE HARTKE, DEMOCRAT, OF INDIANA, BEFORE LABOR DAY CELEBRATION AT ANDERSON, IND., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1962

All of us here are aware of the grave and perilous times in which we live. It is a time of great change, with new nations emerging from the old, and old nations searching for new ideals. For some it is the twilight of an era; for others it is the dawn.

It is also a time in which the world has been divided into two camps—one in which the people have the choice of freedom, the other where the freedom of choice no longer exists.

We are a strong nation. And because we are strong, and because we sincerely believe in the nobility of the individual, we have become the leader in the struggle to see that all men have the freedom to choose how and under what form of government they will live.

Such a role is not an easy one. It carries with it great responsibility. To enslave men's minds is far easier than it is to free them once they have been shackled.

Labor Day is a day of message. A message of the past, today, and the future. We could hear the message of the struggles of labor of the past—or the message of the successes of labor of the past. We could hear the messages of the struggles of labor today or—the message of the success of labor today. We could tell of the message of the coming struggles of labor or of the success which we are confident will come to labor in the days to come.

But the message I want you to hear today is a different one. The message I bring to you is of poverty.

Poverty is no longer necessary.

Poverty must be abolished.

Poverty and its causes must be exposed and eliminated.

Many efforts to end poverty have been made and organized labor deserves the credit for being a leader in this field. But we should not be misunderstood; it is not labor's sole responsibility to end poverty. The ending of poverty is the responsibility of each of us. It will require the joint effort of labor, management, churches, school, and government.

The first step in ending poverty is to be willing to acknowledge that it exists. Some say—whether sincerely or ignorantly, that is for them to say—that we live in abundance; that our farms produce more than we can eat, that our factories produce more than we can use. It is true that America is a land of abundance and this is especially so in contrast to the acute need in many other countries. It is also true that many individuals have more than they can eat each day and more things than they can use. For after all, one big steak is about all a man can hold and a man can drive only one car at a time. But the naked truth is that we in American have many individuals who have insufficient food and are suffering from malnutrition. Similarly many people would use more of the things produced in our factories if they only had the money with which to buy them.

Now it is evident that a man without money and without a job looks for a way out. It is not enough to say that any man that wants a job bad enough can get one. This is a wornout expression which just plain is not so. Possibly when this country was new and undeveloped, some concept that any man can find a job was understandable—but a way for a man to find a job today is much more complex and frequently beyond the reach of an individual's personal desire. And to some even the personal desire has been drilled or killed. We should know by now that a man who is without a job is a social liability. He doesn't support his family and pays no taxes to support his government. A man without a job may not be in poverty; but a man in poverty is almost always a man without a job.

The chief concern must be with those groups which are vulnerable or those who are at a disadvantage. For example those who are marginal workers, the underemployed—that is, those who work for less than a decent living wage—migrant workers, low income farmers, workers in industry without minimum wage laws or labor organizations, young people without a high school education, displaced employees with skills or trades no longer in demand, the overaged and women.

Poverty does not build character. A hungry stomach does not build character. Poor medical attention does not build character. Lack of schooling does not build character. All in all poverty and all that goes with it is the greatest waste in abundant America. It is the waste of man.

For these reasons it is vitally important—not only to the American people but to the entire free world—that a progressive and forward-looking legislative program be laid before the Congress.

Such a program was laid before Congress by President Kennedy in the last two sessions—last year and this. The Democratic leadership in Congress recognized its importance and acted upon it.

This is not to say that we were successful with every bill that was introduced. We weren't. The opposition used every means at their disposal to block much needed legislation in a futile effort to discredit the administration.

These men, who believe that the only advantage of having an open mind is that it can be slammed shut on certain subjects, demonstrated the narrowness of their horizons by voting against every piece of important legislation brought to the floor of either House.

But in spite of all their efforts to divert, demean, and defeat the administration's program, and in spite of their almost fanatical desire to march backward into the 19th century, all they succeeded in doing was to draw attention to their own lack of constructive ideas.

Important legislation was passed in both last year's and this year's sessions. Much of it was required by our expanding economy and the increased cost of living. A prime example is the new minimum wage law which passed in the first session.

As it stands on the books today, this law raises the minimum wage from $1 an hour to $1.25 over a 4-year period. It also increases its benefits to cover 3,600,000 persons who were previously not protected by any form of minimum wage whatever. This was the first expansion of coverage since the law was passed during the early days of the Franklin Roosevelt administration.

Another example is the extension of the Unemployment Compensation Act. In general, the economic situation of the country is good. It is true that there are pockets of unemployment in various parts of the United States, but Congress is aware of this fact and appropriate legislation is being passed to ease these unfortunate situations. And because of the steps already taken, unemployment dropped by 23 percent in the first 18 months of President Kennedy's term in office.

In round figures, this means 1 million fewer persons without jobs than there were a year and a half ago.

For those who still remain unemployed, the Federal Unemployment Compensation Act

has been extended for an extra 13 weeks. This brings to 39 the total number of weeks that an unemployed worker may receive benefits. The extension has done a great deal for those hurt by the recession. It is helping them to maintain themselves and their families until new jobs can be found.

There is, however, a more positive approach to the unemployment problem. I am referring to the Manpower Training Act of 1961—one of the most progressive pieces of legislation enacted by the Congress in recent years.

The passage of this bill has made it possible for workers whose skills have become obsolete to receive training in jobs never before open to them. For instance, the coal industry, which has suffered many setbacks in the last decade or so, has been forced to cut back on the number of miners due to automation and the closing down of certain mines.

Each miner who has been laid off knows no other profession. Generally, such a man was raised in a mining community and automatically followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps. The opportunity to learn another trade was lost in the necessity of earning a living.

The Manpower Training Act makes it possible for these men—and others like them in other fields—to receive training in such things as mechanics, steamfitting, sheetmetal work, or in any one of a dozen related industries.

Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, it is laws such as these—introduced by the President and passed upon by the Senate and the House of Representatives—that boost our economy and make it possible for unemployment to drop in areas hard hit by automation, the migrations of industries, and the general shifts in job opportunities which are natural and normal in a healthy society.

I have mentioned a few of the approaches that government on a national level has made to end poverty. But the end of poverty cannot come from government alone. It cannot come from labor alone. The ending of poverty calls for an expanded and coordinated attack.

But just as business and employment need a healthy climate in which to survive, so does freedom and democracy. No man's mind and soul can be free as long as he is chained to the ignorance and privation of the past. His imprisonment is our imprisonment. And only by setting him free can we ever know freedom ourselves.

We have set about doing this in a manner never before attempted by man. No nation in history has ever before approached the peoples of the world in such unselfish friendship. The formation of the Peace Corps—with its volunteers from every State in the Union and from every walk of life—carry to every corner of the world the idealism and opportunity for which this country is justly proud.

Think of the impact that our young men and women have when they bring their background and skills to the peoples of other nations. This is humanitarianism in its truest form. It is also a major step toward building good will and understanding among the emerging nations of the world.

America has opened new frontiers in extending its abundance and the benefits of a free society to other countries. The forward motion of this frontier is essential to the continued vigor and security of the free world. The precious gift of liberty we enjoy must never be allowed to perish because we lacked vigilance and concern for our fellow man.

It is with this broader vision that President Kennedy presented his program to Congress. Many of the bills introduced were designed specifically to strengthen our alliances with other nations. Others strengthened our Armed Forces and made provisions for an expanded space program.

Since earliest times, man has dreamed of soaring beyond the confines of his planet. Now that dream has become reality. Within the next few years, we will be exploring the moon. A new era has been reached and its horizons are unlimited.

To further the conquest of space, the administration proposed, and the Congress passed, a bill authorizing more than $1.7 billion for our National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Out of this, $1.3 billion was earmarked for research and development. The rest will be used to pay salaries and erect new buildings.

It is impossible to overstate the importance of this race for space. In the last few years we have all seen the tremendous strides that the Soviet Union has made in this area. If we allow our space and missile program to lag at this point—if we don't do everything in our power to stay abreast of the Russians and eventually surpass them—then the race will be lost for good and we will be forced to resign ourselves to taking second place.

This must not happen. It is not simply a matter of pride. Or the desire to see the United States first in everything she does. It is a matter of hard, cold reality. Freedom will be lost the day we lose the ability to defend it. The Soviet Government knows this. We must never forget it.

Nor must we forget that while space is the world of tomorrow, freedom must be defended in the world of today. This can only be done by creating and maintaining a climate that is healthy and in which freedom can grow and mature.

One of the means by which this can be accomplished is through bills aimed at helping friendly nations grow in strength and defend themselves. A large portion of these nations lay to our south, in Central and South America.

This legislation is aimed chiefly at advances in fields which directly affect the lives of Latin Americans.

It is a program devoted to social progress. The effort is to create a social framework within which all the people of a nation can share in the benefits of prosperity and participate in the process of growth.

No country can prosper economically if social progress lets the great majority of the people remain in poverty while a privileged few reap the benefits of rising abundance. The purpose behind this bill is to overcome the barriers of geographical and social isolation, illiteracy, and lack of educational opportunities, as well as archaic tax and land tenure structures. Only by removing these can there be a broad participation in economic growth.

A bill which relates to this, and one which is outstanding in the field of humanitarian legislation, is the creation of the White Fleet Emergency Assistance Act, of which I am a cosponsor.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Senate in support of President Kennedy's proposal for a force of mercy ships which will stand ready to rush assistance to disaster areas in any coastal region of the world. It is also designed to carry on a regular program of logistics support in the fields of public health as well as in other areas where technical assistance will be of benefit.

The fleet will be made up of vessels no longer on active service. These ships are currently part of our mothball fleet and as such are serving no useful purpose.

Once reactivated, they will be operated by nonprofit charitable organizations of the United States devoted to providing emergency aid and assistance for the relief of human suffering.

Legislation such as this speaks for itself. Its importance is undeniable.

There are many countries throughout the world that are desperately in need of our help. If we are not willing or able to give it to them, they will have only one direction in which to turn. And if this happens, the disaster will be ours as much as it will be theirs.

For we must never forget that we live in a world in which a totalitarian cult of cynicism is at large. It breeds by sowing its poisonous seeds in the fertile soil of ignorance and poverty. And when some of these seeds take root and grow, it is left to us to reap the bitter harvest.

Because this system exists, and because it was born, reared, and dedicated to a philosophy of world conquest and domination, we are forced to live in an atmosphere of continual confusion and mistrust. The world has become an arena, and the star attractions are doubt and fear.

Dr. John H. Stambaugh, vice chancellor of Vanderbilt University said recently: "The historical cycle of this body politic indicates that man progresses from bondage to spiritual faith, from spiritual faith to courage, from courage to freedom, from freedom to abundance; then comes the waning, from abundance to selfishness, from selfishness to apathy, from apathy to dependence, and from dependency right back into bondage again."

I believe that the experiment in democracy in which we are participating in this country can break this cycle. History need not repeat itself.

But this is the challenge which has been flung in the fact of the free world. And if the world is to survive free—indeed, if mankind is to survive at all—then we must be willing to accept the challenge as free men living in a free society, and with all the advantages that such a society has to offer.

Such tyranny is like a contagious disease—it spreads if it is allowed to go unchecked. But like any other virus, it can be cured if it is caught in time and treated with the right medicine.

In this case, the time to arrest the disease is now. And the medicine to use is an unshakable belief that our cause is just, an honest appreciation of ourselves as a people and as a country, and a determined will to remain masters of our own minds and souls.

The bills which I have outlined to you today were designed specifically with this in mind. Yet they are only a few of the many that were passed by both sessions of Congress during the last year.

They represent, however, important issues and solutions. These, and others like them, will have the greatest impact on our economy and on the stability of our friends abroad.

In a few months, Congress will meet again. A new legislative program will be presented by the President, and there will be old and new problems to solve. Then, just as they are now, the nations of the free world will be looking to us for leadership. If we fail them—if we fail our responsibility to the cause of freedom—we fail ourselves and the beliefs that our fathers and forefathers were willing to give their lives for. We must not let this happen. We dare not let this happen.

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## Walter Reed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of September 2, 1962, carried a highly interesting and informative feature article on the career

of Dr. Walter Reed and the discovery that he made which was the first step in the eradication of yellow fever. The article is in profile form and as part of my remarks today I include the text of that feature.

The article follows:

WALTER REED

How would you like to be locked up in a room with an *Aedes egypti*?

The *Aedes egypti* is the yellow fever mosquito; a small, dark mosquito that was the secret villain of human tragedy for thousands of years.

Until about the turn of the century yellow fever was one of the world's most dangerous diseases. The death rate was appalling. In the 1898 epidemic in Rio de Janeiro, 95 percent of those who got sick died.

The old cemeteries of New Orleans, and the cemeteries of cities and towns along the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico shores, are full of stones marking the graves of the victims of "yellow jack."

There has not been an epidemic in temperate regions since 1910 because of the discovery of the means by which yellow fever is transmitted from person to person.

Before that was known, doctors did not even know what caused the disease. They were helpless. There was no cure.

Walter Reed, a major in the U.S. Army Medical Corps, found the answer by proving the theory advanced by Carlos Finlay, a Cuban biologist who first said yellow fever was transmitted by mosquitoes.

It took only 6 months—and several lives—to prove Finlay right.

The luckier volunteers slept in bedding in which persons dying of yellow fever had lain. They did not get sick, disproving the popular theory that the disease was transmitted by personal contact.

Other volunteers, just as brave but not so lucky, allowed themselves to be bitten by *Aedes egypti*.

Animals could not be used in the experiments because those used for laboratory purposes turned out to be immune to the yellow fever organism injected into their bloodstreams by the mosquito.

The "lab animals" had to be human beings.

Proving Finlay was right was not Reed's only achievement. During the Spanish-American War, the public in the United States was horrified to learn that more soldiers were dying of disease than of wounds. The disease that got the blame was malaria, another mosquito-transmitted illness.

However, Reed proved that what was thought to be malaria actually was typhoid fever. Cleaning up the camps and improving the sanitation stopped the typhoid fever epidemics.

Reed was born in Virginia in 1851. His parents were Confederate sympathizers, and the most exciting thing that happened to the young boy was his capture by Union soldiers while he and a friend were hiding horses from the troops. The expected to be shot, but instead the Federals freed them—after taking their horses.

Walter Reed died in Washington in 1902.

## I Am Glad I Live in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in this morning's mail I received a letter from a 15-year-old junior in the high school of Covina, Calif., which in most explicit terms sets forth his reasons for being glad that he lives in America—the land of the free.

This young man is to be commended for his knowledge and understanding of the basic principles that have made America a great nation. As long as the young people of these United States have this understanding I have no fears for the future. These young leaders of tomorrow will work to retain those principles of freedom which they know must be expanded around the world if the evils of godless communism are to be defeated.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter which I received be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and commend it to my colleagues as must reading for renewal of their faith in young America.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COVINA, CALIF.,
*September 3, 1962.*

Hon. KARL MUNDT: My name is John Jagger, and I am 15 years of age. I am vice president of Covina Junior Republicans. I get to read all of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS and I happened to see your suggestion, "A Letter For Freedom", in the August 24 edition. I think your suggestion is very excellent. So I decided I would write to you on this Labor Day.

I am very grateful that I live in America because I can, here in America, write you this letter knowing you will get it without being censored or endangering my life for sending it. I'm glad I live in America because people, young and old, have the right to speak out their wishes. I'm glad I live in America because I can go to school where I have the freedom to pick out my own classes. I am very privileged indeed to live in this great Nation of ours where all men are created equal and have an equal opportunity to make something of themselves and to help with the cause of freedom.

I believe this country will have a great future, if we do not try to take the one God who helped make and preserve this Republic and the great men and their thoughts from our minds. For this is what makes the United States of America stand out among the rest of the nations of the world. I pray to God that this great Nation under God will not perish from the earth.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN JAGGER.

## National Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the National Captive Nations Committee Testifies in Support of Section 12 of H.R. 7927 To Stop Free Delivery of Communist Political Propaganda by U.S. Postal System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, many, many organizations throughout the United States have in convention assembled and by action of the governing body endorsed section 12 of H.R. 7927, the postal rate bill which is now before the Senate. Section 12 effectively stops the free and subsidized delivery of millions of pieces of Communist political propaganda that is coming into the United States and being disseminated through the U.S. postal system.

The Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has taken testimony on section 12, and I am pleased to include a statement supporting section 12 by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University and national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the national Captive Nations Committee.

This statement follows:

STATEMENT ON SECTION 12, H.R. 7927, BY DR. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, CHAIRMAN OF UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA AND NATIONAL CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, my name is Lev E. Dobriansky. I am a professor of economics at Georgetown University and also the national chairman of both the Ukrainian Congress Committee on America and the national Captive Nations Committee.

The opportunity you accord me to submit this statement in behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is gratefully appreciated. The congress committee is a national organization representing the views and sentiments of over 2 million Americans of Ukrainian background, a number of whom reside in your own State of South Carolina. I myself live in the State of Virginia.

We strongly favor section 12 of H.R. 7927 and urge its necessary acceptance by your committee and its passage by the Senate. Mr. Chairman, after having read the comprehensive and incisive statement presented by Representative GLENN CUNNINGHAM, of Nebraska, I can only follow the dictates of prudence by limiting myself to a few points that perhaps go beyond his remarkable presentation.

Briefly, we agree with all the substantial reasons and arguments offered by Congressman CUNNINGHAM in support of section 12 in H.R. 7927. Both from an economic and cold war viewpoint we must put the proposed amendment into effect. Since we receive more mail—much of it propaganda junk mail—from the Soviet Russian empire than what it receives from us, we find ourselves in the incongruous and even senseless position of subsidizing the enemy's propaganda in this country. The proposed amendment would rectify this incredible situation.

With its historically grounded conceptions of the cold war and the nature of the enemy confronting us the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America can justify a course of action that would go beyond the one proposed by this amendment. The justification would entail unfamiliar facts, perceptions, and judgments which can be properly digested only in time. The urgency of the present case, where the taxpayers of this country in effect subsidize Moscow's propaganda, requires only the full and immediate exercise of commonsense. Section 12 provides for this exercise.

To buttress the already well-established position on section 12, we offer for your thoughtful consideration the following additional points and facts:

1. Moscow and its subversive agencies, especially the well-known Berlin Committee for the Return to the Fatherland—once headed by General Michayiov and now headed by General Vishniovsky—has been showering American citizens with their pub-

lications in various Slavic languages, particularly Russian and Ukrainian.

2. Our checks reveal the fact that to send these publications, they take advantage of (a) old addresses in the possession of Soviet Russian agents, going as far back as 1932; (b) addresses of Slavic names in telephone books and other American mailing lists; (c) return addresses on all mail—letters and packages—sent to the Soviet Union.

3. The mailing of these Soviet publications without solicitation to addresses of American citizens places these citizens in a difficult situation: they are ashamed before their neighbors and their mailman to receive this mail; and absolutely do not wish to receive it. They therefore demand proper protection from the Government—that the post office be enjoined from delivering that which they do not want.

4. These Soviet publications are slanted by means of lies and all sorts of tricks, including threats, to induce American citizens to return to the Soviet Union, or to engage in spying and undercover work. Examples of these [1] publications and junk mail are appended to this statement.

The consensus of opinion among those who receive this unsolicited mail (there are absolutely no such people, who subscribe to it or wish to read it) is that the U.S. Government should stop this abuse of free American mail. This general opinion calls for: (a) payment by Moscow and its puppets for mail deliveries in this country; (b) the demand of the right to the same uncontrolled mailing of propaganda to the Soviet Union with the guarantee that the addresses of American publications will actually receive them and will not be prosecuted; and (c) the establishment of postal procedure whereby every piece of Soviet Russian propaganda mailed to addresses of American citizens should bear the label: Warning—Communist Propaganda—similar to the same label placed by law on every package of poison.

For these and many other reasons we sincerely hope, Mr. Chairman, that your committee will speedily accept section 12 and that the Senate will pass H.R. 7927 with the amendment. I thank you.

[1] (a) "News from Ukraine, No. 3"; (b) "Family Voice, No. 53"; (c) "Pamphlet on U.S.S.R. as Viewed by American Child Tourist."

## The Phil Gordon Memorial Award for Public Relations in the Direct Selling Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, perhaps no other segment of business in the United States better exemplifies the free enterprise competitive spirit that has been the bulwark of our economic system than the direct selling industry, those men and women who do the daily person-to-person selling of American products.

One of the most significant awards in recognition of the direct selling industry is the annual Phil Gordon Memorial Award, sponsored by Bozell & Jacobs Advertising Agency, one of the country's outstanding advertising and public relations agencies, in memory of the late Phil Gordon, a prominent advertising agency man who was a driving force in the direct selling field.

I am pleased to call to your attention and to the attention of our colleagues the following background information on the Phil Gordon Memorial Awards and a letter dated June 8, 1962, from Mr. Nathan E. Jacobs, listing this year's winners. The awards were presented at the annual meeting of the National Association of Direct Selling Companies recently held in Washington, D.C.

Under unanimous consent, I include these documents herewith in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BOZELL & JACOBS, INC.,
*Chicago, Ill., June 8, 1962.*

Hon. BOB WILSON,
*Member of Congress,*
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR BOB: The presentation of the Phil Gordon Memorial Awards by Bozell & Jacobs, Inc., at the recent annual meeting of the National Association of Direct Selling Companies in the Nation's Capital, is one of the best comparisons of the advantages of our American system of free enterprise with the Communist economic program.

Direct selling, which has been responsible for more successes in the famed Horatio Alger manner than any other field of business is the epitome of free enterprise, as stated by Mr. Louis W. Goldberg of Watkins Products, Inc., of Winona, Minn., in receiving an award for outstanding individual achievement in public relations for his company and for the association representing several millions of persons employed in the direct selling industry.

"Men and women from every walk of life selling their products and services in direct selling programs are the personification of the original Yankee salesman who did not have the resources of four-color advertisements in magazines or commercial jingles scattered between the million-dollar TV color programs," said Mr. Goldberg.

"The direct selling field often introduces products which become staple items in catalogs and retail outlets throughout the United States," said Mr. Goldberg. "It offers great opportunities to the so-called common man who desires independence in a business of his own and the chance to display his ability and industriousness.

"This is salesmanship that is ageless, for it begins with the youth in his teens while going to school, in order to supplement the family income. It is also a great source of satisfaction and added income to make life more pleasant and meaningful for those who have retired from their lifetime employment.

"It offers the opportunities of working in the morning, afternoon, or evenings, either every day or certain days of the week. It makes possible the utilization of spare time by hundreds of thousands of housewives to earn extra income and it also provides many thousands of students the opportunity to help pay for higher education.

"It serves its customers with nearly every type of consumer product and permits demonstrations where the product is eventually to be used."

Others who were winners of the public relations awards were representatives of the following three companies: The Electrolux Corp., of New York City, Stanley Home Products, of Westfield, Mass.; Sarah Coventry, Inc., of Newark, N.Y. These are companies which employ thousands in the direct selling divisions as well as in the manufacture of their fine products.

Bozell & Jacobs honors these men in the direct selling field for their contributions to the increase of our gross national product, as it does those who sell though the other channels of distribution and marketing.

Sincerely yours,

NATHAN E. JACOBS.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PHIL GORDON MEMORIAL AWARD

The Phil Gordon Memorial Award was first presented in 1951 by the National Association of Direct Selling Companies to honor the member company in the direct selling industry that was doing the outstanding job of public relations at National, State, and local levels.

This award was named for the late Phil Gordon, a prominent advertising agency man who devoted much of his life to the direct selling business. Actually, this award was created to stimulate interest and activity among all direct selling companies to inform the general public, industries, and Government offices about the significance and value of the direct selling method of distribution, and particularly about the noteworthy civic achievements of people and companies in this field.

Though many companies have won this award, in the span of 12 years, one company has proved to be most outstanding in its public relations programs, and has won this Phil Gordon Memorial Award for 7 consecutive years. This is the Watkins Products Co., of Winona, Minn. In fact, their consistently fine public relations program tended to discourage the interest and activity of smaller direct selling companies, so in 1956, two additional Phil Gordon Memorial Awards were created to recognize the achievements in this industry in the following categories:

1. National public relations program.
2. Local community public relations program.
3. Special events public relations program.

Other direct selling companies who have won this award in previous years include Tupperware, Inc., of Orlando, Fla.; Fashion Frocks, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Easterling Co., of Chicago, Ill.; American Ceramics, Inc., of Santa Monica, Calif.; Emmons Co., of Newark, N.Y., Fuller Brush Co., of Hartford, Conn.; Avon Cosmetics, of New York; Coppercraft Guild, of Taunton, Mass., and the United Educators, Inc., at Tangley Oaks Educational Center, Lake Bluff, Ill.

Though this award is made in the name of the National Association of Direct Selling Companies, it is sponsored by Bozell & Jacobs, Inc. Each year, the companies of the association submit entries to be considered by independent judges representing various phases of public relations, such as publishers and editors of magazines, heads of better business bureaus, and noted authorities in the field of public relations.

As a result of the public relations efforts of the association and member companies, many hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children have had gainful occupations selling American products to the American public.

## The Shadow of Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., for the date of September 4, 1962. This

article, by Ralph McGill, is a thought-provoking essay on the subject of the 35-hour workweek and unemployment. Because of the timeliness of the article and the stimulation it provides for thought processes of both labor and management, I ask unanimous consent to insert the article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 4, 1962]

THE SHADOW OF UNEMPLOYMENT—ECONOMIC ACTION BY GOVERNMENT SECTOR HELD NECESSARY IF PRIVATE SECTOR FAILS

(By Ralph McGill)

Labor Day should have been a nudge to all lazy minds.

For all of labor, management, and the public members of our population, there is need to comprehend the dimensions of what is the symbol of our most critical domestic policy—unemployment. It is at the root of most of our national frustrations.

Both management and organized labor—looking at unemployment and what it symbolizes, seem to be bereft of ideas. They are not exactly stricken dumb. Indeed, some have talked too much and unwisely. George Meany, harassed and barbed like an old bull in the ring with the picador critics barbing him for action, blurted out support for a 35-hour week. No thoughtful labor leader really likes this idea. But in the absence of any alternative, and in the presence of his fretful members, they cannot oppose it. The railroads may soon be closed down in sullenness, foolishly refusing arbitration.

The huge body of unemployed casts a shadow over every contract negotiation. As new machines come, rare is the negotiated agreement which does not reduce jobs. Members of unions are unhappy. They await each new contract with apprehension.

The unemployed are the symbol of a national economy which is slowed down. The reasons for it are many. But the army of jobless men has grown with each recession since the Second World War. Automation has but one purpose—to reduce production costs. Unless this is done, U.S. goods and services increasingly will become less competitive.

How can the U.S. economy be cranked up? There is no ready answer.

It is, however, the essential question. It sits like Banquo's ghost at every conference of management, labor, and Government. The fact that the economy is slowed down and has created more than 5 million unemployed touches every single problem in the Nation, including that of race.

A 35-hour week, if overtime were abolished, would spread the workweek. But it also would boom costs. Jobless men, and labor leaders to whom members look for guidance, however, are not able to think out loud in terms of the long view. Walter Reuther, of the United Auto Workers, was too wise to be drawn into the 35-hour week position. He proposed a negotiated "flexible work week." Automobile workers would work as many hours as the economy demanded. A flexible week meant, of course, that if the work did not add up to 40 hours, it would be less. It was, despite the fact it was a proposal weighted with semantics, at least more reasonable than a straight 35-hour week proposal.

What must be understood is that if the economy does not get going, there will be no domestic peace in this country. The one big union of the AFL–CIO is unhappy in its official family. The younger men, with most of the ideas, feel they cannot be heard and are not permitted opportunity to debate their ideas. But while this may give grim satisfaction to those who are strongly anti-labor, it cannot provide any genuine satisfaction. Unless the economy is substantially improved, with new ideas to meet new situations, there will be no opportunity for antilabor gloating.

The problem, insofar as mere stating of it is concerned, is fairly simple. If the private sector of the economy does not, or cannot, improve the economy so as to reduce unemployment to its irreducible minimum, then the Government sector, acting for the general welfare of the Nation and its people, must act. A number of people, for example, shivered in the recent heat of July when steel was down to 48-percent capacity. That month Russia, for the first time, produced more steel than the United States. In that month the United States had more idle capacity than total Soviet output.

The old ideas are no longer valid. They just don't do the job. The rail strike, and others almost upon us, are examples of the failure of new ideas and of reliance on the impotent old formulas. There must be a break with the past. That is not easy.

But labor and management are loath to admit this. Both talk in terms of the old ideas. Both are hardheaded and unresilient. Neither has come up with a workable idea. Strikes, based on stubborn reliance on muscle, are less and less tenable.

The Government sector—if the private sector fails—will be required to act.

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## Our Constant Ideal in a Changing World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the speech given by the Honorable Edward D. Re, Chairman of the U.S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, on the occasion of the annual national convention of the Italian War Veterans of the United States, which was held at the Hotel Pick-Ohio, Youngstown, Ohio, on August 25, 1962. I am also including the introductory remarks of Mr. Anthony Olivo, who presented Chairman Re to the convention:

REMARKS OF ANTHONY OLIVO, ESQ., AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE ITALIAN AMERICAN WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN INTRODUCTION AND HONOR OF HON. EDWARD D. RE, CHAIRMAN, FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES, PICK-OHIO HOTEL, YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, AUGUST 25, 1962

Members of the clergy, honored guests, members of the Italian American War Veterans, ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor and privilege to present our principal speaker at this, the 27th National Convention of the Italian American War Veterans of the United States. This function would normally be very simple and extremely brief.

When a person of national prominence holding truly high office is presented to an audience, protocol and tradition require that the speaker simply be identified by name and by the title of his office. The dignity and prestige of the office give a status that does not require a biographical statement of achievements or offices previously held.

Although the man I am to present falls within this latter category, ladies and gentlemen, it is because of my friendship of long standing that I am induced to disregard protocol in order to acquaint you with some of his accomplishments. I therefore hope you will not regard me as presumptuous if I acquaint you briefly with some of the highlights of our guest's career as a lawyer, educator, and public official.

May I state at the outset that our principal speaker is no stranger to the Italian American War Veterans of the United States. This is the eighth time he has addressed our organization. Some of us know him as the Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States; others are aware of his reputation as an eminent lawyer, professor of law, author, lecturer, and distinguished public official.

Born in Italy in 1920, Edward D. Re began his brilliant career as a student at Public School 176 and New Utrecht High School in Brooklyn, N.Y. He graduated cum laude from St. John's University School of Commerce in 1941. He received his bachelor of laws degree summa cum laude from St. John's University School of Law and was admitted to the New York bar in 1943.

The dedication of our guest throughout his extremely active life was early manifest by his great strides as an educator and attorney. After his admission to the New York bar, Chairman Re received the degree of doctor of juridical science from New York University. In 1960 he was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of pedagogy by the University of Aquila in Italy. He was appointed to the faculty of St. John's University School of Law in 1947 and was made a full professor of law there in 1951. He has also been admitted to practice before the Federal and State courts of this country, including the U.S. Supreme Court, and various administrative agencies.

Dr. Re's talents as lawyer and educator were soon called upon in the public service of his country. In 1956, he was appointed a special hearing officer for the Department of Justice by the Attorney General of the United States. That same year, he was the recipient of the Distinguished Service Award of the Brooklyn Junior Chamber of Commerce. He was appointed to the Board of Higher Education of the city of New York by Mayor Robert F. Wagner on March 25, 1956. In 1960 he was tendered the "Order of Merit" by the Republic of Italy. In the 1960 national elections he served the New York State electrical college as an elector of the President and Vice President of the United States.

From 1956 to 1962 he was reelected three consecutive times as divisional vice chairman of the Comparative Law Division of the American Bar Association Section of International and Comparative Law. A short time ago he was elected divisional vice chairman of the International Law Division of that same association, the first time any attorney had served in both capacities.

Chairman Re is the author of many well-known books, among which I may mention "Foreign Confiscations in Anglo-American Law," "Brief Writing and Oral Argument," "Cases and Materials on International Law," "Selected Essays on Equity," and "Cases and Materials on Equity." He has contributed dozens of articles to legal periodicals in military, international and comparative law.

During the Second World War, he served in the U.S. Air Force from 1943 to 1947, and is currently in the Active Reserve, U.S. Air Force, Office of the Judge Advocate General.

Chairman Re has been the recipient of many awards for his educational and civic contributions. This year he received the Air Force Commendation Medal for his service in the U.S. Air Force, as well as the Morgenstern Foundation Interfaith Award for his activities in the field of religious and racial understanding.

Through his own personality, wisdom, and fairness, Dr. Re has won not only the respect of his colleagues in the professions, but the admiration of his many friends throughout

the Nation. Since his marriage in 1950 to the former Margaret Ann Corcoran, also a member of the New York bar, this devoted public servant has had an exemplary family life. The Res have been blessed with nine children.

On February 15, 1961, President Kennedy announced the appointment of our guest as chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States. Dr. Re appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate on March 28, 1961. Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter administered his oath of office on March 29, 1961.

In devoted and patriotic service to God, country, and fellowman, no one is more deserving of our praise and fondest welcome. Ladies and gentlemen, may I present our principal speaker—the distinguished Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States—the Honorable Edward D. Re.

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OUR CONSTANT IDEAL IN A CHANGING WORLD

(Remarks of Hon. Edward D. Re, Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, at the National Convention of the Italian American War Veterans of the United States, Pick-Ohio Hotel, Youngstown, Ohio, August 25, 1962)

Reverend clergy, distinguished members of the judiciary, public officials, officers and members of the Italian American War Veterans, my fellow Americans, it is an honor and a privilege for me to be given the opportunity of addressing this distinguished and patriotic audience. On this memorable occasion I am particularly privileged to bring from Washington the cordial greetings and best wishes of the President of the United States for the continued success of your organization and the worthy ideals to which it is dedicated.

It also gives me great pleasure to inform you that the Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze, the distinguished Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, has asked me to convey to you his warmest congratulations and sincere best wishes on the occasion of your national convention.

I am particularly happy this evening to extend a cordial greeting to Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, the distinguished Representative from Ohio to the U.S. Congress, who is with us tonight. I know well the admiration and high esteem in which Congressman KIRWAN is held not only by the people of his district, but by the entire State of Ohio, and, may I add, the administration and the Congress of the United States. May I therefore join with his many friends in expressing our best wishes to Congressman KIRWAN for his continued success, and for his continued contribution in the service of our country in the Congress.

I also would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Congressman JOHN FOGARTY for having inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 25, 1962, an editorial entitled "Italian Americans in the National Government" that appeared in the Italian Echo of Providence, R.I. I am particularly pleased to mention this because I know that the Italian Echo is published by Mr. Ermanno J. Leonelli, editor, your Rhode Island department commander, and because the article was written by Joseph Leonelli, who is presently your national senior vice commander.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the eighth time I have been privileged to speak at one of your conventions. The fact that I have been invited eight times is more than merely an acknowledgement of esteem. Indeed, it is the indication of a friendship which I have always treasured and of which I hope to be deserving. May I therefore take this opportunity to thank you sincerely for the honor that you have done me over the years.

Tonight I am particularly privileged to be your principal speaker. This not only heightens my responsibility, but imposes upon me the duty to bring you a message that is both timely and worthy of this important occasion. I am keenly aware of the fact that at your prior national conventions this function has been performed by such outstanding Americans as Governor Notte of Rhode Island and Governor Volpe of Massachusetts.

Many of you may remember when I first spoke at your New York convention in 1955. My topic on that occasion was "The Role of Italians in American History." At subsequent conventions I was privileged to speak on such fundamental American notions as equality of opportunity, the equal status of all citizens in our nation, and the role of America in the free world. On each of these occasions I have spoken about our American ideals, and what we as Americans have done and can do to make these ideals a reality not only for all Americans, but for all the peoples of the world.

Tonight, once again, it is my privilege to speak to you on still another aspect of that American ideal—its constancy in a changing world. At a national convention of American War Veterans, I can think of no subject more fitting or appropriate. Surely this is so when one addresses men and women who have fought to preserve the American heritage and to hold it aloft as a goal to be achieved by all nations throughout the world.

And so, it is indeed fitting for all of us here tonight to call to mind once again the principles and ideals on which this American heritage is based. May I, therefore, refresh your hearts and minds by going back to the time in human history when these ideals were first proclaimed to the world—the date of our Declaration of Independence—1776.

THE WORLD OF 1776

The world of 1776 was vastly different from that which we know today. In those days the world consisted of people governed by czars, emperors, kings, and monarchs who ruled by divine authority—men who believed that they were good enough to rule over their fellow men solely by virtue of their royal status.

King George III was on the British throne; King Louis XVI was reigning in France. Empress Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II ruled Austria; Frederick the Great was King of Prussia. The Empress Catherine the Great had acceded to the throne of Russia a few years before, and Napoleon Bonaparte, then only 7 years old, was soon destined to become Emperor of France.

The notion that one man, by virtue of his royal birth, was superior to other men and therefore capable of ruling over them had not been seriously questioned. Indeed, in 1776, in all walks of life, one's freedom, occupation, and status were dictated, to a great degree, by the accident of his birth.

The world of 1776 was a world of colonialism and intense national jealousies. It was a world where nation competed against nation to dominate and exploit the undeveloped regions of the world. It was a world marked by gross intolerance in politics, philosophy, and religion—a world where slavery was an accepted fact of life. The ideas of personal liberty, the equality of men, and personal advancement through private initiative and individual talent, were not regarded as matters of concern to the political order.

This, then, was the world of 1776—barren of the ideal of personal freedom, straightjacketed by the age-old ties of prejudice and intolerance, and dominated by the notions of national supremacy and individual superiority by royal birth and status.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL

It was in this unreceptive soil that an idea was planted that was to change forever the course of human history. This idea was advanced by a handful of patriots in the New World who pledged, you will recall, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor on the effort to throw off forever the shackles of personal and political tyranny. Their idea was as simple as it was profound, and it was forever enshrined in our Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This dynamic new philosophy was to deal a mortal blow to class restrictions, legal and social prejudice, and national intolerance and discrimination. The ideal that all men are created equal was substituted for the notion that one man was superior to any other man. The ideal of equality of opportunity became a doctrine that was to be legally enforced. And the function of government is to secure these rights.

The American ideal, as set forth in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, was the beginning of the most noble of all experiments known in the government of men. The Thirteen Colonies had set out to make a reality, and on a huge scale, what the Athenian philosophers had done only in imagination and theory 22 centuries before.

From its noble beginnings in 1776, that American ideal has become the crowning achievement of man's political and philosophical thought. The fertile ground in when it grew in strength, power, and influence was the combined effort of all people that had faith in the ideal. History has witnessed the fact that the ultimate source of all America's strength and material prosperity has been that ideal—an ideal based on the cardinal principle of the equality of all men and the combined contribution of all peoples regardless of race, color, or creed.

The most striking feature of this ideal in the century and a half since its proclamation in the Declaration of Independence has been its constancy notwithstanding the crises of the rapidly changing world. That ideal wove the free world together during the chaos and devastation of World War II. And it remained constant even after the war was won.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

Instead of exercising the traditional rights of a victorious power, America responded after the war with an unparalleled generosity. It was our American heritage of justice, brotherly love, and freedom for all men that prompted us to embark upon a vast program of assistance to those countries stricken by the war. This great and noble experiment, which began with the Marshall plan, was hailed by Sir Winston Churchill as one of the most noble acts in human history. It was the helping hand of friendship that gave the necessary determination and inspiration to the countries of Europe to rebuild that which had been destroyed, to recreate that which had been devastated.

With our help, the people of Western Europe not only restored their countries, but they preserved their great traditions and civilizations which turned back the tide of Communist subversion.

Since the days of the Marshall plan, this country has continued to provide an amount of foreign aid that is a staggering tribute to the material strength of America and the spiritual strength of the ideal to which we are committed. From 1946 to the end of the last fiscal year, we expended a total of $90,510,990,000 in economic and military assistance throughout the world. Europe alone in these years received a total of $44,097,500,000—$28,622,200,000 in economic assistance and $15,475,400,000 in military aid.

Of this, France received a total of $9,394,400,000; Germany, $4,999,200,000; Italy, $5,664,800,000; and the United Kingdom, $8,689 million.

The various foreign aid programs beginning with the Marshall plan have been the most concrete manifestation to the rest of the world of the constancy of the American ideal of brotherhood. Having preserved for itself this ideal at great sacrifice, this country has spared no efforts to make it a reality for all the peoples of the world. And it is well to remember that all that we have asked in return is the knowledge that our assistance, both material and moral, be used for the purposes for which it has been so generously given—to help others achieve the blessings of freedom and liberty that we enjoy in America.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL TODAY

The foreign aid program about which we have spoken is only one striking example of our American ideal at work in a changing modern world. That ideal has come a long way since the days of 1776. In 1962, a king is indeed an exception—and czars, emperors, kaisers and monarchs by virtue of divine birth are a thing of the past.

Scientific and technological achievements have grown at an astounding pace. Recent advances in transportation and communication have made the globe seem smaller. But all this material progress ought not to blur our vision—for our American ideal of equality for all men is still our greatest contribution to the world. Our foreign assistance, our technical assistance, our military aid are all merely devices by which we are able to help less fortunate neighbors in other lands to achieve their true aspirations of freedom and liberty.

Human progress is not to be measured by scientific and technological achievement alone. Rather, it is measured by the progress of the human spirit and the success of our efforts in achieving the ideal to which we are committed. All freedom-loving people should learn from our own history that although that ideal was given expression in 1776 it did not become a reality until almost yesterday. Indeed, we as Americans know that we have not yet achieved it fully. Like all ideals, it offers a goal toward which we must constantly strive.

While we spoke of the equality of man as far back as 1776, we tolerated slavery until 1865. Human misery and social injustice were not coped with until after 1930. Other aspirations of America were not achieved until 1961. But as every American knows well, and as every friend of freedom ought to know, with every generation we have indeed come closer to that ideal of 1776. To that ideal we have remained ever constant.

Scientific progress, however startling and remarkable, cannot detract from the dignity of the human person and the freedom of the human spirit. We as Americans firmly believe that our success as a nation has been made possible by that ideal. We have reaped the best of the talents and wisdom of peoples of all races, color, or creed. We have proven to the world that even what seems impossible can be achieved by the cooperative effort of all men working for the common good.

The torch of liberty that was lit in 1776 has indeed become a beacon of hope and inspiration for all the oppressed peoples of the world. It has been passed down to us, and we, in turn, must preserve it for the generations yet to come. In the words of President Kennedy, we cannot witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which we as a nation have always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

As individual Americans, we perhaps may not be able to participate in the blazing of the new frontiers of space or science. To us, however, falls the far more important task of preserving the foundations of the American ideal in our daily lives. We must extend to all others the blessings of freedom and liberty which we ourselves take for granted. We must never allow ourselves to succumb to the evils of prejudice, intolerance, or bigotry. These are all destructive of the common good, unnecessary, and sinful.

America stands as living proof that with the cooperation of all people, using the word in its true classic sense of working together, all people will indeed prosper. For all men of faith, this indeed is the plan of God. In law and government, "love thy neighbors" can have no other meaning.

Montesquieu once said that "the deterioration of any government begins with the decay of the principles on which it was founded." Our principles of 1776 have acquired new vigor with each passing generation. They are our constant American ideal in a changing world. They are our greatest gift to all mankind.

## Alaska's Airlines Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RALPH J. RIVERS**
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, recent action of the Civil Aeronautics Board in the Pacific Northwest Alaska case has caused real concern on the part of the people of Alaska. The action in question consists of proposals to ban continuation of Pan American World Airways service between Seattle, Wash., and Fairbanks, Alaska; to curtail Northwest Airlines service between Seattle and Anchorage; and to bring about a merger of Pacific Northern Airlines and Alaska Airlines. Augmenting the anxiety of Alaskans as to future airlines transportation to, from and within Alaska, is the recent House action cutting airline subsidy appropriations 15 percent below the budgeted amount. This would cause real hardship to the subsidized airlines serving Alaska's comparatively small and widely scattered population, and has prompted the sincere hope that the partial restoration of funds adopted by the Senate will be accepted by the House.

The position of Alaska, based upon its primarily unique situation, is ably expressed in an Anchorage Daily Times editorial of August 22, 1962, which I hereby submit for the consideration of my colleagues.

The editorial reads as follows:

NO TIME TO TRIM AID FOR AIRLINES

A strong case can be made in support of this city's stand for continued airline subsidies.

The subject is of pressing importance in view of the obvious efforts of the Federal Government to terminate subsidies. The Civil Aeronautics Board has made it one of the prime considerations in connection with the forthcoming investigation of Alaska's air transportation problems.

The Federal agency is pressing for a merger of two airlines which are under subsidy in the hope that the subsidy would no longer be necessary. At the same time the agency has proposed restrictions on nonsubsidized airlines.

The chamber of commerce has taken a stand against any restrictions and against any move to reduce or terminate subsidies.

This may sound like a hairbrained idea that has no logical support. But it isn't.

Federal subsidies for transportation were made an integral part of the Nation's policy as far back as 1862 when Congress wanted railroads built through the vast wilderness of the West to the Pacific coast.

Subsidies were a part of the national policy again in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 when Congress sought to encourage the development of commercial airlines.

To spark the construction of railroads Congress made lavish grants of land (20 sections for each mile of track), gave the railroad companies a 400-foot-wide right-of-way for the entire distance and extended liberal cash loans. Congress was also liberal in other ways.

This subsidy for the railroads is famous in history. The subsidy gave private investors an opportunity for profits from land as well as transportation. Even today some railroads hold enormous assets in the form of minerals and land.

The same policy, on a cash basis for aid, was applied to the encouragement of airlines. Subsidies for air transportation were in the form of cash and, as a result, the Nation has today, self-supporting trunklines. Subsidies are still being paid to many feeder lines throughout the States.

In Alaska this is not the time to withdraw or curtail the subsidies. The Federal policy has made possible the basic air transportation system in this vast area of wilderness. Continued financial support is needed while development takes place, the same as on railroads at the turn of the century and on air routes in the older States.

This new State is often said to be 50 to 100 years behind the other States in its development of the basic features of civilization, one of the main ones being transportation. The Federal Government must recognize this by extending the period of subsidies until the economy grows to a point where airlines can be self-sufficient.

Principles applicable to the old 48 States often are misfits when applied here. The Alaska trunklines are unlike trunklines elsewhere in that they extend over wilderness, instead of settled areas. Population centers are few and far between. Feeder lines in this State are unlike feeder lines elsewhere. They often have more route miles than trunklines elsewhere. They are more than interurban services. They are feeder lines in name more than they are in fact.

It is to the best interest of the Nation, for military as well as civilian purposes, to have a strong, reliable and permanent transportation system here. This is a point that other cities, especially Seattle, can support unequivocally. The Military Establishment, which would be directly concerned, might well consider joining the Alaska carriers and the public to prevent any curtailment.

Without good transportation Alaska becomes an impenetrable wilderness in this day of speed and mobility.

## A Friend in Washington—Hon. Hale Boggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CARL ALBERT**
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent editorial complimenting the distinguished Democratic whip of the House, HALE BOGGS,

upon his continued and diligent efforts to improve our country's relations with our neighbors in Latin America. This editorial was written by Dr. Angel Cueva, editor of El Tiempo de Nueva Orleans, for publication in his Spanish language weekly in the issue of August 4.

New Orleans is truly "the gateway to the Americas" and HALE BOGGS has helped to make it so, as Dr. Cueva points out, by his work in the House to expand the avenues of communication between the people of our country and the peoples of all the Americas. HALE BOGGS' efforts are particularly noteworthy in the field of encouragement of trade and commerce between New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley, and the nations of Latin America. As was cited by the International House of New Orleans in 1957 when it presented our colleague the Thomas F. Cunningham Award, HALE BOGGS was given this honor "in recognition of the invaluable service he has rendered to the United States and Latin America in his sound, constructive interest in the liberalization of world trade." For his diligent efforts in this same field, he also received awards from the city of New Orleans (International Order of Merit) and from the Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference.

Seeking a meaningful liberalization of world trade, HALE BOGGS has been a leader in the Congress in securing the favorable enactment of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1958, and has contributed importantly toward the passage of the current Trade Expansion Act of 1962. During several past Congresses, he served as chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy, and during the 87th Congress, he served as chairman of the Joint House-Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy. As chairman of both these subcommittees, he has done a superb job of spotlighting our country's need to expand its trade markets throughout the world, and of educating both the public and private sectors of our economy, as well as all our citizens, on the benefits to be derived from trade policies tailored to this thesis.

I personally congratulate Mr. BOGGS upon his high achievement in strengthening the ties between our people and those of all the American nations, and I am pleased to commend to my colleagues Dr. Cueva's editorial of August 4 in his newspaper, El Tiempo, published in HALE BOGGS' city of of New Orleans.

The article follows:

[From the El Tiempo de Nueva Orleans Aug. 4, 1962]

A FRIEND IN WASHINGTON

As we had hoped, Mr. HALE BOGGS has won another election to the U.S. House of Representatives. Not only has he ably represented his district and his State, he has also become a leader of truly national stature. His position as Democratic whip in the House of Representatives places him in a privileged position in the Federal Government.

We congratulate him.

It is worth the attention of Latin Americans in New Orleans that Representative BOGGS has dedicated a good portion of his efforts to Latin American affairs, especially to those that would improve the relations between the people, of this hemisphere. El Tiempo knows of some of these efforts: An inter-American university, cultural and educational exchanges through New Orleans, peoples to peoples programs, and his active cooperation with projects such as the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress.

He has demonstrated real knowledge and understanding of the nations to the South.

It is surely unnecessary to point out that these efforts represent the valid approach to fight communism.

But El Tiempo is particularly impressed with the special interest that Representative BOGGS has shown lately in the Latin American Colony of New Orleans. Could it be possible that he is planning some program or project using the unique features of this sector of our community? As Representative BOGGS has pointed out, our affairs are ever more inevitably tied to Latin America. The development of the European Common Market and the resulting increase in the standard of living there, the reduction of immigrants from Europe, furthers this course. At the same time, many Europeans openly hope that the Common Market will become a third force in the world. Our foreign markets will be that Latin Americans represent the future major foreign influx into this country, and accordingly will be major carriers of cultural communications.

Our future, our very lives, may very well depend on our hemispheric ties. It is with these facts in mind, that El Tiempo brings to its readers a hope based on the ever increasing interest of the Federal Government, and the New Orleans leaders, to work in every possible area to bring closer the peoples of this hemisphere. Representative BOGGS efforts in this direction, as well as his unique position, enable him to act on ideas along this line for New Orleans.

We urge the Latin Americans of New Orleans: "Ready yourselves, for you may soon be able to serve both your native and adoptive countries."

## A Retailer's View of S. 1740

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. SLACK, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, a bill which has received a great deal of attention by virtue of its catch phrase public reference, the truth-in-lending bill was the subject of some penetrating comments published in the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette on September 4, under the signature of Mr. R. G. Guter, president of Stone & Thomas, a leading department store outlet in my district.

Because of the strong current interest in all measures which may influence the trend of our economy, and the recent emphasis by the White House on such measures, possibly even including a major tax cut, I feel that Mr. Guter's comments might well be brought to the general attention of my colleagues.

The letter reads as follows:

EDITOR, THE GAZETTE:

I read your August 22 editorial "Truth-in-Lending Bill May Spur Consumption," with a great deal of interest. The title caught my eye because as a retailer I am always concerned with spurring consumption.

I am very familiar with Senator DOUGLAS' so-called truth-in-lending bill (S. 1740). As much as I welcome any move to give our economy a boost, S. 1740, if passed, will do no such thing—during the 1961 Senate hearings a proponent of S. 1740, Daniel Fusfeld, an economics professor at the University of Michigan, voiced his concern in this regard:

"My suggestion is that the bill be amended to provide that it not be implemented until the national economy has reached full employment prosperity. At the present moment, unemployment is still too high and the recovery has not proceeded so far that we can be confident it will cumulate to an adequately high level of employment and output. S. 1740 is a highly desirable bill, and I hope it becomes law—but it should be made effective at the proper point in the business cycle, in order that it not interfere with the present upswing."

His statement reflected an expert's opinion that far from spurring consumption, the bill would have a depressing effect on our economy. And he said this at a time when the economy was on the upswing, which certainly is not the case at this time.

I strongly disagree with other points in your editorial, but these have been argued and in my opinion, thoroughly discredited elsewhere, particularly in the Senate committee hearings.

The point is: To state that S. 1740 "may spur business consumption" is completely without validity. This is the one thing the bill, if it becomes law, will not do. If the validity of all the points you raise must be measured by the truth of this statement your opinions are wholly lacking in substance.

It has frequently interested me to note the skill with which many bills introduced to Congress are publicized under misleading titles. In this case the Douglas credit control bill, when referred to as the truth-in-lending bill, is as misleading as your editorial's title.

You have performed a disservice to the retail industry by your careless editorial.

R. G. GUTER,
*President, Stone & Thomas.*

## Improved Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. TOM MURRAY
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress, in effect, is also a member of the board of directors of our Nation's biggest business—the U.S. postal service. As such he must have a continuing interest and sense of responsibility with regard to the operations of this vast complex.

I am sure that every Member will agree that the postal service simply cannot afford to remain a static operation. It must constantly keep pace with technological advances, social changes, and population and economic growth. It must always be a dynamic force reflecting the movement of a flourishing and prospering nation.

With these thoughts in mind, I wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues an address of Assistant Postmaster General Frederick C. Belen, on August 14, 1962, in Lansing, Mich., in which he announced the pilot phase of a new Post Office Department program designed to further improve mail service,

particularly in the central commercial areas of our great cities. General Belen also discusses a number of other improvements which have recently been inaugurated by the present management of the Post Office in their continuing effort to maintain our postal communications system as the finest in the world.

General Belen's remarks follow:

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL FREDERICK C. BELEN, AT LANSING, MICH., AUGUST 14, 1962

I am particularly delighted to be back here today to announce the pilot phase of a new Post Office Department program designed to further improve mail service, especially in central commercial areas of our cities.

Each time I return among the people here in my hometown, I think of the quote from J. G. Holland: "No nation can be destroyed while it possesses a good home life."

Lansing was selected for the pilot operation because—in addition to providing us with a progressive, moderate-size city that has a representative population of families and businesses—it is a city I know so well. This should help in any difficulties which may arise, but I want to emphasize we are determined this program will succeed and we feel there will be few difficulties.

In the postal service, knowing a city well can be important because of the unusual problems we sometimes encounter with street names. In one of our cities, for instance, they have one street named "That Way," and another street named "This Way."

This new service, ABCD, accelerated business collection-delivery, assures speedy same-day delivery of mail to the downtown business community.

Of course, we do not expect it to be as speedy as the truckdriver driving along our fine Michigan highways at 90 who innocently asked the arresting officer if he was going too fast. "No," the officer replied, "you were just flying too low."

After a trial period here, we plan to expand it to other city delivery post offices large enough to support afternoon delivery in business sections. This includes hundreds of major cities over the Nation.

Realizing the importance of prompt, dependable mail service to the Nation's businessmen, Postmaster General J. Edward Day some time ago asked me to have technicians in the Bureau of Operations study possible improvements of collection and delivery services in central business sections. ABCD is the simple and logical result.

A late morning collection (11 a.m.) of mail from 38 specified collection boxes, including cooperative mailing racks in the large buildings, will be made Monday through Friday starting today.

These collection points will be distinctively identified by special decals reading "Centro Collection-Delivery."

This program—called ABCD for easy reference—is a development of our nationwide improved mail service program launched last year. Its first objective was to work with large mailers so vast volumes of mail would not be piled on us after 5 p.m., slowing down the flow of other mail.

Today's newly disclosed phase of the NIMS program is especially designed for collection and delivery service in central commercial areas.

I hope you will take advantage of same-day business delivery of mail here by using the designated collection boxes to the fullest extent, and by depositing mail in time for the special collection at 11 a.m.

Interesting and exciting as this vista of same-day business delivery is, I am happy to tell you that I have several other major new plans which will also be of significant value here to your postal service in Lansing, and will be developed here in their pilot phases.

Beginning today at 3 p.m., special collections will be made on each floor of the three largest buildings in the city: Michigan National Tower, Stoddard and Bank of Lansing buildings.

Placards will be placed on the mail chute on each floor advising tenants of time mail will be collected from a point near the elevator. Building managers are cooperating by designating an elevator for use by our carriers during this special mail collection period.

This collection of important mail will make it possible for us to process it sooner and speed it to destination through earlier connections with air and surface dispatches.

We hope this experiment will prove successful in Lansing as a prelude to improved service throughout the Nation in cities where we have numerous high office buildings, each producing a mail volume equivalent to the total handled by some entire small post offices.

Meanwhile, on a national level, we have developed recently a new major program to end career "dead ends" for letter carriers while providing improved delivery service.

Lansing is being included in the first phase of this plan.

A new position, carrier technician, PFS–5, is created, assuring grade advancement to deserving senior letter carriers who accept added responsibilities to insure good deliveries over a number of routes.

These carrier technicians are better trained to note the changing delivery conditions affecting an entire neighborhood, as well as every day delivery problems.

Of course, I don't expect solutions like the one I heard about involving a new substitute mail carrier in Vermont whose first delivery article was a box of baby chicks. The addressee was not at home when the carrier arrived, and mindful that "the mail must go through," he took each of the 24 baby chicks out of the crate and stuffed them, one at a time, through the envelope slot in the addressee's door.

In a more serious vein, I should note that complaints from patrons about delivery service, when the regular carrier is absent from duty, were practically eliminated during a pilot operation of this program at Cincinnati, Ohio, January 6 to June 22. We hope for similar results in other cities.

In other phases of our nationwide improved mail service program, we are constantly searching for new and improved methods of handling mail.

Realizing volume is one of our greatest problems—with 67 billion pieces of mail annually—much of our planning has been directed toward assisting volume mailers.

Any satisfactory progress in this field requires cooperation, and we have worked hard to create a cooperative spirit between the Post Office Department and these patrons who generate the bulk of the mail.

Post Office management and service improvement studies are now in progress at several selected offices. Already we have developed much data that will help us increase efficiency in all postal operations and reduce errors and dead letters. As you know, the increase in dead letters—largely as a result of poor addressing—is a serious problem. However, even in this area, we occasionally encounter a lighter side. A couple of small boys recently were touring their post office and the postmaster mentioned "dead" letters. "Who killed them?" one of the youngsters asked.

Nationally, we have reevaluated our collection and delivery services, and we are now setting up new schedules for these services at many points that will be geared to connect with key air and surface dispatches.

These plans contemplate next-day delivery in more distant cities.

We have made many other services available to volume mailers which speed up their mailing operations, including:

1. We have instructed post offices to furnish business firms and large volume mailers up-to-date transportation schedules so they can deposit their mails to connect with the best dispatches.

2. At many offices parcel post and relay truckdrivers now make delivery early in the day of "tie-outs"—large bundles of mail all for a single firm—before the regular delivery by carriers. This assists these firms greatly.

3. We have authorized exceptional delivery of important incoming airmail to banks, commercial and industrial firms at the local airport mail facility in their cities.

4. On national holidays when carrier delivery is suspended we permit business firms to call at the post office at specified times for their mail.

There are dozens of other smaller services that we extend to volume mailers as a part of our national postal policy of providing the utmost assistance to business mailers.

For example, postal experts meet with private business mailroom employees to instruct them in proper preparation of mail and suggest solutions for mailing problems.

We furnish large volume mailers with information as to the number of "possible deliveries" within a total delivery area or on a particular carrier route.

We have authorized simplified forms of address and special bulk rates for large firm mailings, and we even loan mail sacks to business mailers to facilitate handling before entry into the mails.

We permit newspaper publishers to use rural mailboxes on Sundays and holidays for delivery of papers; also we authorize business firms to use (without charge by the Department) their postage meter dies for firm advertising.

As a matter of accommodation to volume commercial mailers, we maintain trust accounts for their postage due mail, and we notify them when it is time to replenish their accounts.

We are constantly looking for new fields where improvements can be made within the limits of our financial ability—not only in the area of doing something new, but in changing that which is old. We know that we have a vast complex organization where there are no pat answers to problems. For instance, in one area recently we were startled to learn that we had failed to include one important item for the brand new post office—a hitching post for horses.

As an example of how we must sometimes even look backward as well as forward, in the registry service, over the years, the Department, in its effort to conserve man-hours had cut security procedures in handling registered mail to the very minimum. The question came up as to whether this process had not over some past years been carried too far.

Now the whole system is being reevaluated with a view to providing any necessary changes to insure continuance of the security and reliability of the registered mails.

In still another area, firm mailers are deeply concerned with the problem of breakage to parcel post.

Of course, breakage too is a matter of serious concern. However, here too, we occasionally get a laugh. One of our postmasters recently asked a lady if there was anything breakable in the package she was mailing. "Yes," she replied emphatically. "The Ten Commandments. I'm mailing a Bible."

Seriously, though, we in the Department are determined to reduce the present percentage of damage; though our record nationwide is pretty good—being but one-fourth of 1 percent of total volume.

Studies are to be undertaken to identify the type of damage and probable causes. We will identify those physical postal and

railroad facilities and handling techniques which have the capacity for damaging adequately prepared packages, and take action to correct them.

However, let me reemphasize that much of the damage is obviously directly attributable to inadequate packaging by mailers.

To correct this, we inform postmasters of results of studies on the common packaging deficiencies which lead to damage so future mailers will eventually through them be able to profit by the mistakes of others.

In the overall field of mail handling, we have kept pace with national business growth by extending delivery service to more than 68,000 business firms.

In the overall field of mail handling, we are now using automatic data processing machines to run tests to enable us to pinpoint quickly areas where corrective action is needed to speed up opreations and mail handling.

A little more than a year ago we embarked on our NIMS program.

For years, the postal service has had a continuing program urging people to "mail early"—this was a "shotgun" appeal to some 180 million persons, many of whom mailed only a few letters a month.

While this program was helpful, it did not produce the desired results because the appeal was too widely dispersed.

The nationwide improved mail service program, called NIMS, taps the real source of the problem by taking the mail-early problem directly to volume mailers—business people, who generate an estimated 75 percent of the Nation's total mail volume.

We have made considerable progress under NIMS, as we call the program.

Prior to its inception, in July 1961, tests of first-class mail were conducted at a number of the larger post offices. Evaluation of these tests showed approximately 80 percent of first-class mail arriving at these post offices during the 4-hour "crash" period from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Since then, the tests conducted at the 294 NIMS offices revealed the following progress:

During the 3-month accounting period ending October, 1961, even though a number of NIMS offices were still obtaining nearly 75 percent of their first-class mail after 5 p.m., the national average for receipt of such mail stood at 67.1 percent.

Since October 1961, progress has been gradual and for a recent accounting period the national average stood at 60.4 percent. This means we have shaved off much of our 5 o'clock "mail shadow"—thus the late afternoon mail glut that slowed mail handling and delivery all over the Nation. As a result, many letters today are arriving at destinations sooner.

Business firms realize that mailing early in the day contributes to faster service by reducing the volume of mail during the peak period. This early deposit of mail can be processed and dispatched before the daily end of business mail arrives in the post office. The smaller amount of evening business mail, arriving after 5 p.m.—which demands prompt service—can then be processed and dispatched rapidly by every available means.

Important letters and parcels are no longer buried in the avalanche of 5 o'clock mailings with possible chance of delay in delivery. Last minute mailroom pressure, created by the inevitable end of the day bottleneck of mail is eased thus creating a more harmonious and efficient mailroom operation.

There is a quicker return of bill payments and fewer mailing errors. Many businessmen have reported to us that they are getting good results from NIMS and the many other improvements and special services we have developed for business.

Of course, we can't always anticipate every businessman's problems in connection with the postal service. For example, in one of our cities not long ago a businessman had an important appointment to keep. He decided he needed a pair of pants pressed first. He proceeded to the mailbox in front of the cleaners and, in his hurry, dropped the pants into the mail box as well as the letters.

Seriously, though, many businessmen have reported actual savings in the operations of their postal communication services due to less overtime payments; faster replies to mail; and greater manpower efficiency due to the leveling of the mail volumes within their organizations.

Now, in conclusion, I want to extend my special thanks to you for coming here today. Recognizing that you—as a group—represent some of our largest mailers, and the people who are most directly interested in exactly what we are doing to give you more for your money in the postal service—I have given you one of the most detailed reports yet made public on just what is news in your postal service today. I hope you have found it of some value in considering how you, in turn, can make your mailing operations more efficient and get more for your money out of these operations.

I am deeply grateful to the many old friends and associates who have come here today. It is a great honor and a deep pleasure to be here in my hometown in my capacity as Assistant Postmaster General. Thank you.

## Preventing World Catastrophe by Accident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the following statement, "Preventing World Catastrophe by Accident," is timely and worthy of attention. This material is from the September 3 issue of Gist Research, World Peace Edition No. 130.

The article follows:

RISK OF WAR BY ACCIDENT IS AN INCREASING CONCERN OF U.S. CONGRESSMEN—AUSTRIA'S SUCCESSFUL NEUTRALITY CONSTITUTES A VALUABLE OBJECT LESSON?

"An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Of a considerable number of Congressmen interviewed the large majority do not believe leaders of any nation would dare start a world war III intentionally but think it could eventuate accidentally by reckless, nearsighted and provocative policies, and actions of the military.

The concern about the chances of accidental war by those who are given the constitutional "power to * * * declare war" emphasizes the necessity for major nations devising plans and pursuing policies and procedures which would minimize the possibility of plunging the world into catastrophe by accident.

Every time one sees a baseball or football game there usually is a demonstration of the importance of disengagement in preventing fights. Were it not for officials disengaging hotheaded players, battles between entire teams could be frequent. Police control rabid fans.

Press reports show that the most dangerous locale in which the flames of a new world war could be ignited is in Germany. It seems that disengaging East and West armed forces there and leaving the duty of policing the boundaries, etc., exclusively to a U.N. police force would help greatly in preventing a war by mishap.

Disengagement of the armed forces of Israel and the Arab States in 1956, and giving the task of policing the boundaries to a U.N. police force has proved effective. This development came after the Gist editor polled a number of Congressmen and about 20 U.N. delegates on the idea. Senator MCCLELLAN said: "The United Nations will never be very effective until it has a police force to enforce its edicts."

Disengagement of the opposing armed forces in Western and Central Europe was proposed in 1958 by George Kennan, former United States Ambasador to Russia. Anthiny Eden and Hugh Gaitskell, among others. It was contended that disengagement could prove the first step toward lasting peace, insure against nuclear armament of Germany, liberate 17 million East Germans, and create conditions in which reunification of Germany could be realized and the Soviet threat terminated.

Kennan said: "We must get over the obsession that the Russians are yearning to attack Western Europe." He contended that the real Soviet threat is primarily political. Gaitskell, possibly the next British Prime Minister, maintained that disengagement would reduce the danger of a nuclear war, achieve reunification of Germany, and brighten the prospects for all satellite countries, gaining independence.

The effectiveness of sincere efforts for disengagement, neutrality, and disarmament is proved by developments in Austria. The Western Allies and Soviet Union signed in May, 1955, the treaty ending the military occupation of that country, guaranteeing Austria's permanent neutrality and pledging that Austria would never "join any military alliance nor allow military forces on its borders."

The historical and momentous developments in Austria should serve to brightly illuminate the road to world peace, progress, and prosperity. It has been proved that disengagement, neutrality and disarmament are not ephemeral but can be lasting and practical.

Research indicates that adoption of the proposal for disengagement in Western and Central Europe in 1958 would have prevented the current, critical, costly crisis in Germany.

Peace decision and action should be taken soon. The sands of time are indeed running exceeding low.

## Catholic War Veterans Endorse Section 12 of H.R. 7927 To Stop the Free Delivery of Communist Propaganda by the U.S. Postal System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, section 12 of H.R. 7927, which passed the House last January and which is the postal rate bill, provides that the U.S. postal system shall no longer deliver free or at subsidized rates the several million pieces of Communist political propaganda that are flooding this country every year. In addition to the many organizations, including the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign

Wars, who have endorsed section 12, I am pleased to have learned today that at the 27th National Convention the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, meeting last month in Philadelphia, Pa., adopted a resolution strongly supporting section 12 as a part of the bill H.R. 7927.

## The Second Mile and Beyond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to an excellent editorial appearing in the August 16, 1962 edition of the Carpinteria, Calif., Herald, entitled "The Second Mile and Beyond."

The editorial follows:

THE SECOND MILE AND BEYOND

United States diplomats have been influenced, and rightly so, by the philosophy of going the "second mile" in all efforts for control of atomic and hydrogen bomb testing.

In the past decade our Nation has attempted in nearly every practical way to obtain some agreement with the Soviet Union to end such testing with each country agreeing to submit to reasonable inspections by experts in the field to allay the possibility of cheating by one, or both, of the countries.

The danger to civilization represented by the enormous destructive power of atom and hydrogen bombs is such that any civilized society would do all in its power to prevent the catastrophe of an atomic war.

In this belief, President Truman attempted to obtain sensible agreements. Later President Eisenhower offered his "open skies" proposal. And now we see the conferences continuing under President Kennedy to achieve such a ban on testing.

For almost 3 years an unofficial ban existed. It continued until the Soviet Union abruptly ended the moratorium last September.

Even so, the United States has steadfastly attempted to work out an agreement this year. First, the United States said that to avoid the Soviet Union's objection to having American inspection stations in the Soviet Union that we would agree to having such stations along the U.S.S.R. perimeter, rather on Soviet soil.

Then we offered other concessions. Only last week the United States dropped the number of inspections from 180 to 80 in a further concession.

In view of these developments, many Americans are beginning to wonder how far we can carry this "second mile" philosophy. They wonder if the end result may be only adject surrender to every Soviet demand, in the name of "concession," until there is nothing left to concede.

There are several reasons for questioning the current policy of concession after concession:

(1) The Soviet Union fails to find it in its interest to offer any real concessions from its side of the table to counterbalance the scales.

(2) While testing techniques are, no doubt, more sophisticated today than they were some years ago, will cutting the number of stations from 180 to 80 give us the positive assurance we must have to be sure the Soviet Union is not cheating in the future as they obviously did during the 3 years when no tests were held?

(3) American diplomats seem to forget that the Soviet Union promises and treaties of the past are not a record which gives much hope that any such promises or treaties will mean much in the future—if the agreement should get in the way of other Soviet policies.

(4) No test agreement will ever become effective until and unless the Soviet leaders believe such a ban is in their country's best interest—and they haven't shown any real inclination toward achieving an effective ban in the months of negotiations currently going on.

(5) The Soviet Union could probably never agree to any test ban without a complete retraining of their minds. The Communist goal is world domination; after they have said it enough times, surely we will soon start to believe they mean it. A test ban treaty would recognize, in effect, the fact that the free capitalist nations would remain outside the Communist empire. Khrushchev's boast that our grandchildren would live under communism would, therefore, be false, and careful observers doubt that he would ever go so far as to admit such a possibility, knowing full well that the "success" of the Communist system cannot be achieved short of world domination.

If the Soviet Union sincerely wanted an effective agreement, one could be worked out rapidly, with the stipulation that we as well as they could be certain no cheating took place. That the Soviets will not agree to this leads us to the assumption that they do not, nor have they ever wanted, such an agreement. The talks going on are merely window dressing to conceal other objectives.

It should now be abundantly clear to all people that the Soviet Union's real objectives are to stall any more American testing to confuse the issues, to use a serious conference as a sounding board for propaganda, and to ultimately wear down the free world until it has nothing else to "concede"—except freedom itself.

We believe that the U.S. negotiators have walked well beyond the "second mile" in an honest effort to arrive at a mutually satisfactory agreement. It seems to us that any further "concessions" would not contribute to peace, security, or freedom as we understand those words.

## A Plan To Reduce Federal Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BEN F. JENSEN**
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, as nearly everyone present must know by now, I have been strongly and consistently critical of Federal hiring policies. The ever-increasing number of employees fastened onto our ship of state is unconscionable.

Thus in times past I have been successful in amending certain bills to provide that vacancies could be filled only one in four until a certain reduction was reached. This became known as the attrition method of personnel reduction.

Recently I have seriously considered asking the membership of this House to support a successor amendment to my rider of a decade ago. However, I am pleased to note by a recent Washington Post, in Jerry Kluttz' column, that the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget is preparing a directive which would require examining agency needs before advancing people automatically into vacancies caused by retirements. This would appear to be a long step in the right direction.

I would like to include herein for the benefit of the House the pertinent excerpt from Jerry Kluttz' column of September 1, 1962, and my letter to Chairman Macy of the Civil Service Commission, complimenting him on this new program.

The article and letter follow:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 1, 1962]

DOWNGRADING OF JOBS LEFT VACANT STUDIED BY ADMINISTRATION

(By Jerry Kluttz)

Spurred by Congress, the Kennedy administration is taking a harder line on filling vacancies in Federal agencies. The elimination and downgrading of more vacated job and agency reorganizations has been suggested.

Civil Service Chairman W. Macy told the Senate Appropriations Committee that the "existence of a vacancy should offer the opportunity to determine whether a reorganization of functions and staffing can be accomplished to secure more efficient organization."

Further, he added, "good position classification procedure requires that every job that is vacated be studied to determine whether the existing grade is warranted in the event the position should be refilled."

Macy revealed that the Budget Bureau, on behalf of the President, would send a directive instructing agencies to follow the above practices before filling vacancies.

Senator MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, suggested the use of retirements to either hold down or cut Federal employment. But CSC's Executive Director, Warren Irons, commented that he'd like to see the committee "urge the same kind of review for every vacancy that occurs—not just retirements, but those who resign or leave the service for other reasons."

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., September 4, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
*Chairman, Civil Service Commission,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. MACY: In his weekend column in the Washington Post, Jerry Kluttz has reported that your Commission intends to prepare a directive for the Bureau of the Budget to send to all Federal agencies instructing them to observe a stricter procedure in filling vacancies caused by retirements.

Mr. Kluttz further reported that your agency's executive director recommended a study be made before filling a vacancy caused by any reason.

As a sometime author of a personnel reduction amendment tied to the attrition method, I desire to take this opportunity to applaud your efforts along the lines described. I recognize that your plan is not based on my formula, which involved purely numerical reduction to a stated plateau. Nevertheless it is encouraging that a new game of musical chairs is not automatically to be played every time a vacancy occurs, without first examining agency requirements.

If you can bring this off, you will establish yourself as a truly fine public servant.

This proposed directive is a great first step. Next I hope it can be supplemented by arm's

length discussions with agency heads and personnel chiefs, to instill in the latter a dedicated approach to trying to make do with the same if not fewer hands.

If the agencies themselves can become imbued with the spirit of turning out their missions with a streamlined force, that will make the formal observance of the directive less onerous. The directive will still be a guide; the execution will have to come from an inner desire on the part of agency officials to cut down on Government costs, rather than increasing them at every turn.

Forgive my harangue, Mr. Chairman. I am delighted to take notice of your efforts. Having my name on the Jensen rider meant nothing to me as such. I would have fought as hard for the amendment had anyone else offered it. So now that your program is outlined it should obviate any legislative edict at this time.

Thank you for indulging me this time to comment.

Sincerely yours,

BEN F. JENSEN.

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## Federal Communications Commission Probe of Radio Station WGES—Now Known as KYNR—in Chicago Asked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the McLendon Corp. acquired ownership of radio station WGES in Chicago and, despite assurances to the Federal Communications Commission to the contrary in its application for assignment of license, the McLendon Corp. promptly dropped all of its foreign language programs including German, Italian, Polish, Swedish, Hungarian, Slovak, and Spanish programs.

This action was taken by the new management 5 days after the assignment of license became effective on August 8, 1962.

I believe this wanton disregard of representations to the FCC by a licensee should be of concern to all Members of Congress because it involves the fundamental question of how much credence can be placed on testimony presented under oath to a Federal regulatory body.

On October 13, 1961, the McLendon Corp. petitioned the FCC for assignment of the WGES license issued in 1959 to radio station WGES, Inc., controlled by John A. Dyer and associates. The McLendon Corp. purchased the station for $2 million.

In its transfer application dated October 13, 1961—file No. BAL-4363—the McLendon Corp. stated in part as follows:

The Commission's records will reflect that the programing of WGES has been essentially the same for several decades. The cosmopolitan complex of Chicago makes it obvious that there is a need for the type of specialized programing that the station has done in the past. As is indicated in the reply to paragraph 12 of section IV of this application, the assignee intends to retain the present personnel of the station in order to be assured that there will be continuity in the programing.

Attached to this transfer application was a program schedule which listed a whole series of foreign language programs which were at the time being carried by WGES.

Despite these assurances that the new owner would not eliminate the foreign language broadcasts and despite the McLendon Corp.'s claim that the license should be renewed so that these foreign language programs could continue serving public necessity and convenience in the Chicago area, on August 13, 1962, 5 days after the assignment became effective, the McLendon Corp. advised all of its foreign language broadcasters that they would be removed from the station effective August 28, 1962. This has been done.

The McLendon Corp. stated it would devote its entire 24-hour-a-day broadcasting operation to programs designed exclusively to serve the needs of Chicago's Negro community.

This abrupt departure from the original program schedule filed with the FCC in the application for assignment by the McLendon Corp. was called to my attention by many of my constituents who have learned to rely on these foreign language programs for news and entertainment during the past 30 years of continuous broadcasting over station WGES.

Recalling that Newton Minow, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has stated repeatedly that while the FCC will not engage in any form of censorship of programing, the FCC would require strict compliance with program schedules filed with renewal application for radio licenses, I immediately protested to the Federal Communications Commission this major departure of the McLendon Corp. from its original application.

I was joined in this protest by others, including William Klein, conductor of the "Germania Hour," Chicago's oldest foreign language program, listened to daily by hundreds of thousands of Americans of German descent in the Chicago metropolitan area.

As a result of these protests, the FCC, through its Acting Secretary Ben F. Waple, sent the McLendon Corp., in Chicago, the following letter on August 21, 1962:

THE MCLENDON CORP.,
*Radio Station WGES,*
*2708 West Washington Boulevard,*
*Chicago, Ill.*

GENTLEMEN: On June 13, 1962, the Commission approved your application (BAL-4363) for assignment of license of station WGES, and the assignment became effective on August 8, 1962. The assignment was approved in part upon the representations made in the application, and particularly in exhibit G thereof, that the long-existing specialized programing format, including foreign language broadcasts, would be continued.

The Commission has now been advised that shortly after you assumed operation of station WGES, employees were advised that effective August 28, 1962, all foreign language broadcasts were to be discontinued. In view of the representations made in the application, it is requested that within 10 days from the date of this letter you advise whether the Commission's information as to a planned discontinuance of foreign language broadcasts is correct and, if so, when and on what basis the decision was made.

Very truly yours,

BEN F. WAPLE,
*Acting Secretary.*

On August 24, 1962, the Federal Communications Commission sent the McLendon Corp. the following telegram:

The MCLENDON CORP.,
*Radio Station WGES,*
*Chicago, Ill.:*

Your immediate comments requested on following complaint received from William D. Saltiel, counsel for the Germania House: "My client has received notice of cancellation of its program to be effective August 25, 1962. A news release by McLendon Corp. of August 23, 1961, gave assurance to my client and other foreign language programs that no changes would take place after it received FCC approval of the transfer of license. Gordon McLendon, president of the corporation, stated in this release: 'A radio station is licensed in the public interest, convenience, and necessity, and we never change station programing as long as it is established that such programing is the best way to utilize facilities to serve the public needs and tastes.'

"'WGES has for over 25 years presented programs given by minority groups, German, Italian, Polish, and Negro, as well as other and smaller nationality segments,' said Mr. McLendon. Upon this assurance my client did not protest the transfer of the franchise and license, nor did other programers. We are now faced with cancellation next Saturday."

BEN F. WAPLE,
*Acting Secretary, Federal Communications Commission.*

This telegram had reference to the following press release issued by the McLendon Corp. in Chicago on August 23, 1961, shortly before it filed its formal application for assignment of license issued to station WGES:

The MCLENDON CORP.,
*August 23, 1961.*

DALLAS—The McLendon Corp. of Dallas, which has purchased radio station WGES, announced today that upon FCC approval of the transfer, it plans no changes in the programing of that station.

WGES is presently programing toward minority groups in Chicago—Negro and also German, Italian, Polish, as well as other and smaller nationality segments.

"A radio station is licensed in the public interest, convenience, and necessity," Gordon McLendon, president of the corporation, said, "and we never change a station's programing as long as it is established that such programing is the best way to utilize that facility to serve the public needs and tastes."

On August 28, 1962, the McLendon Corp. sent the FCC a very long letter with numerous exhibits as its reply to the two FCC communications. In this lengthy reply, the McLendon Corp. attempts to justify its abrupt shift in policy by claiming that several other stations in Chicago carry foreign language programs while not a single station carries programs exclusively designed for Chicago's large Negro community.

I am at a loss to understand what the McLendon Corp. means by "exclusive Negro programing," but this is a decision that one would quite properly leave to the judgment of the broadcaster.

That is not the issue in this case. There is only one issue here: How much credence can be placed on the veracity of statements made before the Federal Communications Commission in applications for a broadcast license.

Mr. Speaker, following is the reply I submitted to the Federal Communications Commission, at the Commission's invitation, in behalf of those of my constituents who suffered an irreparable personal loss when their favorite foreign language programs were dropped by station WGES, which has since been renamed by the McLendon Corp. as station WYNR:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., August 31, 1962.*

Mr. BEN F. WAPLE,
*Acting Secretary, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. WAPLE: Thank you very much for your letter of August 29, in which you were kind enough to furnish me with a copy of the response forwarded to the Federal Communications Commission by the McLendon Corp. as its answer to the Commission's original inquiry regarding discontinuation of foreign language broadcasts by radio station WGES (now WYNR).

In taking advantage of your kind invitation to comment on the McLendon response, permit me to advise you that I feel more convinced than ever that the Commission should reopen this entire case and compel the McLendon interests to show cause why the license obtained for radio station WGES (now WYNR) should not be revoked.

In their voluminous effort to justify the abrupt change in policy, which is completely contrary to the applications they originally filed with the FCC when the renewal and assignment of license was pending, the McLendon interests make out an excellent case on just how little value can be placed on sworn statements filed with the FCC.

The McLendon interests have introduced a whole series of collateral arguments which I submit have nothing to do with the issue before the Commission.

It is my contention that this matter deserves a thorough study, with hearings under oath, by the Commission so that we can ascertain how much credence does any regulatory body have a right to place on sworn statements filed with that body. This is the only issue as far as I am concerned.

If, indeed, the public interest can be served by having the licensee drop all foreign language programs and devote the entire broadcasting schedule to programs directed to the Negro community, this conclusion was just as apparent to the McLendon interests when they filed their original brief as it is today.

The McLendon interests had until August 8, 1962 when the assignment of license became finaly consummated, to amend their original petition. It is quite apparent to me from their exhibit E, which purports to be a letter written by Mr. Gordon McLendon to Dr. John A. Dyer, that the McLendon interests did not want to disclose their plans for abandoning the foreign language programs until the ink was dry on the assignment.

While I do not have a copy of Dr. Dyer's letter of August 22, 1961, to Mr. McLendon, it is quite apparent from Mr. McLendon's reply of August 23, 1961, that Dr. Dyer, the potential seller of this license, was deeply concerned about the abandonment of foreign language programs on station WGES. It would appear to me that the Commission in its searching investigation should obtain the article in Billboard Music Week, referred to in Mr. McLendon's letter to Dr. Dyer, and also the release by All-State Records. If necessary, the authors of these articles should be subpenaed by the Commission because it is my firm belief that the Commission will find evidence indicating that the McLendon interests were already planning in 1961 to abandon foreign language programs on station WGES in the face of their sworn assurances to the Commission that no such action would be taken.

It is my understanding that Dr. Dyer would be perfectly willing to testify under oath before the Commission as to the evidence which led to his concern over this drastic change in programing on WGES.

The McLendon interests alleged in their reply that they dropped these foreign language programs because the broadcasters were following a "brokering" policy, which is contrary to the policy established by the McLendon Corp. Their brief is notably silent on any efforts or suggestion that the McLendon interests made to these foreign language broadcasters that such "brokering" policy would be abandoned by the new management, nor is there anything in this brief to indicate that an offer was made to the foreign broadcasters to become salaried employees of the new management. As a matter of fact, this brief is conspiciously silent about one Paul Miczko, a Polish language news commentator, who was in fact a salaried employee of radio station WGES and whose broadcasts were eliminated along with all the other foreign language programs.

I have discussed this matter with the foreign-language broadcasters, and they all advise me, and are prepared to testify under oath, that the station made no effort to alter its relationship with these foreign-language broadcasters consistent with the McLendon Corp.'s policy of nonbrokerage.

The McLendon Corp. alleges that there are seven radio stations which serve the Chicago metropolitan area and which "broadcast either exclusively in foreign language or devote a major portion of their broadcasts to such programs." The Commission's records can show the fallacy of this allegation.

The seven stations listed by the McLendon Corp. are radio stations WSBC, WCRW, WEDC, WOPA, WHFC, WEAW, and WJOB. The Commission's records will show that stations WSBC, WCRW, and WEDG share the same wavelength; and when one station is on the air, the other stations are off the air.

I am not aware of any foreign language programs on WCRW. By listing these three stations individually, it is apparent that the same attitude expressed in the original application for renewal and assignment of this license continues even to this late date.

Radio station WOPA is located in Oak Park and has a very limited range in Chicago. WHFC is in Cicero and, similarly, has a limited reception in Metropolitan Chicago. WEAW is located in Evanston, and to the best of my knowledge carries some foreign language programs only on Sunday.

WJOB is located in Hammond, and during my 30 years of observing foreign language broadcasts in Chicago, I have never been able to hear this station in Chicago, even though I am acquainted with the broadcasters on this station and frequently have wanted to hear their programs.

This allegation raises a serious question about the credibility of the McLendon interests' reply.

The McLendon Corp. alleges that during the year in which this entire matter was pending before the Commission, it had conducted studies to determine how best the station could serve the public interest. But it is most significant that a final decision had not been made until sometime after August 8 to abandon the foreign language programs—significant because August 8 is the day after which no further action could have been taken either by Dr. Dyer, the seller, the broadcasters, or perhaps even the Federal Communications Commission itself.

I submit that by waiting until after August 8 before a decision was made, the McLendon interests have denied both Dr. Dyer and the foreign language broadcasters their right to due process before the Commission, and I refuse to accept the theory that this decision being made after August 8 is merely coincidental. Certainly it is the responsibility of the FCC to exhaust all avenues of investigation on this particular point.

The McLendon Corp. submits seven photostatic copies of the questionnaire which this corporation sent out to prominent people in Chicago inquiring about the type of programing they would prefer for WGES. Accepting these exhibits at face value, I should like to call the Commission's attention to the fact that six out of the seven people who replied to this questionnaire in this exhibit significantly indicated they would prefer ethnic music directed at distinct groups of varying cultures: Negro, Polish, Spanish, Greek, Slavic, etc.

This would indicate to me that the prominent Negro leaders of the community in Chicago themselves approve of continuing foreign language programs in addition to the Negro broadcasting on the station.

The McLendon Corp. also submits a series of memorandums on meetings that Mr. J. Schatz had with various people in Chicago relative to the station's consideration of devoting the entire broadcast period to Negro-oriented operations. I have been unable to find a single memorandum of any discussion that Mr. Schatz might have had with leaders of other ethnic groups in Chicago to determine how WGES could serve the public interest with their cooperation.

It is patently clear from these memorandums that the McLendon Corp. had made up its mind to try to corner the Negro market in Chicago and then set out to prove its point.

It is my earnest hope that the Commission will reject such tactics.

It is entirely possible that the best interests of the Negro community in Chicago can be served by a station devoting all of its broadcast hours to Negro-oriented programs. This is a decision which I would leave to any broadcaster in Chicago, for certainly I would find repugnant any effort by anyone, including myself, to try to impose my views on the judgment of a broadcaster or engage in any form of censorship; but I submit this is not the issue in this case. The issue here is whether or not this license was obtained through deceit and whether or not the American people have a right to place any credibility on sworn statements filed with the Federal Communications Commission or any other regulatory body.

To permit this matter to go unchallenged would be to acquiesce in making a mockery of proceedings before the Federal Communications Commission.

For this reason and many other which I will be very happy to develop before the Commission if this entire matter is reopened, I do hope that the FCC will issue a show cause order on the McLendon Corp.

Sincerely yours,

ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
*Member of Congress.*

## Burma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week I had the distinct pleasure of attending the Wilkes-Barre

Rotary Club meeting and introducing the principal speaker on that occasion, His Excellency U On Sein, Ambassador of Burma to the United States. His address was highly informative and well received and as part of my remarks today I quote the text of that speech.

His address follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY U ON SEIN TO THE WILKES-BARRE ROTARY CLUB, WILKES-BARRE, PA., SEPTEMBER 4, 1962

Burma is about the size of Texas, that is over 260,000 square miles, with 20 million people, sandwiched between the two subcontinents of India and China and sheltered by a ring of high mountain ranges. It shares land borders with other Asian countries, Thailand and Laos on the east, China in the northeast, India and Pakistan (East Pakistan) on the northwest. In spite of occasional unsuccessful Chinese invasions, it stood as an independent country for about 2,000 years, until the 19th century when it was annexed by the British. It was at the height of its prosperity under the Pagan dynasty in the 11th century, and the magnificent monuments and Buddhist temples of that period which still stand today at Pagan furnish eloquent testimony to the glory that was Burma. To most Americans, as to most people elsewhere, the name "Pagan" means nothing. That so little is known of Pagan is a reflection on the quality of salesmanship possessed both by the early Burmese and the British. For Pagan is the equal of many ancient places both in the east and west. For monuments at Pagan, if no longer in her ancient glory, furnish glorious proof of the existence, at the early period of 11th century, of a great civilization founded on one of the great religions of the world—Buddhism.

From then until the advent of the British in the first quarter of the 19th century, Burma has a continuous history as an independent country. She was invaded on occasion, but the invaders did not stay. She was not always unified under one kingdom, but the existence of a common religion and language provided a unifying force which internecine wars could not break. Eighty-five percent of the people of the country are Buddhists and speak the Burmese language.

Burma lost her independence to the British in three stages as a result of the three Anglo-Burmese wars of 1824, 1852 and 1886. The British took the two coastal strips of Arakan and the Tenasserim in 1824; to these strips was added what was called Lower Burma in 1852. But the Burmese Kingdom at Mandalay continued to exist until 1886 when the whole of Burma passed under British control. I am giving you these dates to point up to the fact that Burma began to lose her independence to the British 50 years after you in this country won yours, and that she lost it finally after you had completed 110 years of independence. Burma lost her independence in the latter part of the 19th century, in what might be called the modern period of world history. It was a period when the new ideas of liberty and equality were spreading fast, and when the major colonial powers of the world were beginning to engage in wars among themselves which were to leave them greatly weakened. In these circumstances, it now seems inevitable that Burma's re-emergence as an independent country was only a matter of time. What made it even more inevitable is that throughout the period of British rule the Burmese people did not lose their basic sense of solidarity and unity. They retained their religion, their language, and their culture, and to this was added a strong determination to regain their freedom from foreign rule.

In fact the history of Burma from 1886 to 1948 is a story of a continued struggle for independence. The Burmese nationalists repeatedly but unsuccessfully rebelled against the British regime. In the early years, the fight took on the form of abortive armed rebellions. Later it was transformed into a nationalist movement to achieve the same end through constitutional methods. Under this nationalist pressure, the British were forced to introduce a series of constitutional reforms which aimed at giving the people of Burma an increasing share in the administration of the country. But these were always too late and to little, and failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Burmese people. Then came the war with Japan in December 1941. The outbreak of the Second World War gave the Burmese another opportunity. The Burmese nationalists offered to cooperate with the British in the fight against the Japanese in return for a promise of independence after the conclusion of the war. The British rejected the offer.

The Burmese people rose up in arms against the British, then later on fought the Japanese when the latter did not keep their promise to bestow independence on the country. The resistance movement against the Japanese was led by the late Gen. Aung San. This resistance played no small part in the defeat of the Japanese in Burma in cooperation with the allied forces. The Burmese naturally expected that the British signatories of the Atlantic Charter would return to Burma in a more liberal frame of mind than when they evacuated Burma in early 1942. Incredible as it may seem, the British tried to put the clock back. Far from wanting to speed up the progress toward independence, they tried to impose on the country a form of government which was less advanced than the form which had existed in the years immediately preceding the Japanese invasion. The Burmese leaders who led the resistance movement boycotted the government, and within a year forced the last British Governor to request Gen. Aung San to cooperate and form a government. From that point on, the road to independence was clear except for one hurdle. This was the British insistence that independence should be contingent on the Burmese winning the voluntary association of other ethnic groups—the Shans, the Kachins, the Kayahs, and the Chins—with the new form of government to be established in independent Burma. This was no walkover, since it had been the consistent British policy in Burma to keep these people apart from the Burmese of the mainland of Burma. They had in fact been cordoned off from the Burmese, had no representation in the Burmese Parliament at Rangoon, and were administered directly as frontier areas by the British Governor, unlike the Burmese who had experienced a considerable measure of internal autonomy excercised through their representatives in Parliament. Thanks to the basic sense of solidarity mentioned earlier, and to the common bonds which had been established as a result of the common suffering during the Japanese occupation period, the necessary accords were reached. It was agreed that each of these ethnic groups should enjoy local autonomy within the areas in which they lived, these areas to be designated "autonomous states." Out of this was born the concept of the Union of Burma.

A constituent assembly including the representatives of the minority groups mentioned and the Karens was elected in 1947 for the purpose of drawing up the constitution for independent Burma, and for deciding its future status vis-a-vis the British Commonwealth. Burma declared her independence on January 4, 1948, and chose to withdraw from the British Commonwealth. The birth of the Union of Burma was acclaimed throughout the world. The future looked bright, and we looked forward to channeling the enthusiasm and energies released by the achievement of independence, toward exploiting the resources with which kind nature had endowed our country for the benefit not of a foreign power, but to raising the living standards and giving our people a happier and fuller life. Such were the hopes we nurtured, and the dreams we dreamed.

The war had left the whole country in complete ruin, fought over twice by the Japanese and the Allied armies, both of which had used scorched earth strategy. Three-quarters of our towns and villages had been razed to the ground. The national income, though small before the war, was reduced by half. Hospitals and schools were gone, oilfields were destroyed, cattle slaughtered, and population decimated.

The Government of independent Burma started its business in all seriousness. But within a year, the whole face of Burma had changed. Instead of turning its hand to constructive work in peace and harmony, the Government found itself beset with no less than three major rebellions. It looked as though Burma had, immediately on achieving independence, embarked on another period of internecine strife which was to last for some time. To the outside world, Burma and chaos became almost synonymous. To us in Burma, the outlook seemed bleak. I am sure you will want to hear some explanation for this puzzling gulf between promise and performance. As I see it, these troubles had their roots partly in the period of British rule, partly in the period of the Japanese occupation, and partly in the events which took place in the years immediately following the end of hostilities with Japan.

The Government of Burma strove manfully to deal with the enormous problems confronting it. Dauntlessly and desperately the Burmese Government fought for time to build up a strong army, and to rally the people around it. By 1951, the back of the rebellion was broken. Since then, the situation has undergone a drastic change. The writ of the Government runs all across the length and breadth of the country. All the rebel groups have been on the run, disorganized and demoralized. The Burmese leaders realized that rebellions were a symptom of the times, that the unrest had its roots in the uncertainties, the frustrations, the disillusionments, and the fears which had developed in the country during the past decade.

Recently my country had a change of government. We tried with democratic parliamentary institutions and unfortunately they failed to succeed. For a successful working of a parliamentary form of government we must have mature politicians and an enlightened electorate. In the beginning of 1962 political conditions in the country deteriorated to such an extent that the armed forces were compelled to assume charge of the country. The revolutionary Government of Burma is determined to make efficiency and discipline as their first task. General Ne Win's political manifesto after taking power expressed no departure from Burma's past policies, internal or external. He said that all politicians were old comrades of the nationalist struggle. Our foreign policy is to stay away from military blocs, both East and West.

I would like to say a few words on the foreign policy of Burma. My country emerged as an independent state in the midst of the cold war. Burma refuses to take sides in the cold war and as a result has come to be known as a neutralist country in cold war terminology. Lately attempts have been made to improve the terminology "neutralist" by using the terms "uncommitted" or "unalined." Personally, I have never liked the word "neutralist" in this context. None of these terms provide an accurate description of the foreign policy of Burma. For her policy is to judge each issue, as it appears, on its merits, and to determine her attitude on the basis of such judgment.

Burma is not a member of either the SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) or the CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), but we are not hostile to those countries who are members of such military blocs. We have as our next door neighbors some countries who are members of such military blocs. Our relationships with those countries are extremely good. Genuine independence in terms of Burmese thinking is synonymous with an independent foreign policy.

There are several reasons why we prefer to maintain our uncommitted status. The first is that since our hands are full with the formidable task of building up our nation we cannot afford to get ourselves committed abroad. It was with that end in view that I earlier mentioned Burma's history and the problems confronting it. My American friends would be best qualified to Second, Burma was a British colony for similar reasons, deliberately avoided being involved in "entangling alliances" for almost a century after she became independent. Secondly, Burma was a British colony for some generations and our past experience has taught us to be extremely cautious in our relations with any great power or powers. Burma wishes to remain on friendly relations with all countries of the world, including the great powers. Burma is not unmindful of the fact that a policy of isolation is inconceivable in the 20th century. That is why we applied for admission to the United Nations soon after we became independent. Burma's voting record at the United Nations illustrates her independent foreign policy. The main objective of our foreign policy is to preserve our independence and to achieve this we need the faith and cooperation among all nations of the world.

## Our Dwindling Gold Reserves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining held a hearing today on several gold bills introduced by myself and other Members of the House. I wish to include in my remarks a statement presented to the committee by Merrill E. Shoup of Colorado Springs, president of the Golden Cycle Corp. Mr. Shoup calls attention to our dwlindling gold reserves, and the necessity for increasing our domestic production of gold.

His statement follows:

OUR DWINDLING GOLD RESERVES

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my name is Merrill E. Shoup. I reside at 17 Broadmoor Avenue, Colorado Springs, Colo. I come before you today representing the Golden Cycle Corp., of which I am president, and the Cripple Creek Mining District of Colorado in which Golden Cycle Corp. holds extensive mining and milling properties. I also represent the following mining companies which I am privileged to serve as president: Cresson Consolidated Gold Mining & Milling Co., Dr. Jack Pot Mining Co., Elkton Co., Empire Lee Mining Co., Jerry Johnson Gold Mining Co., LeClair Consolidated Mines Co., New Gold Dollar Mining Co., and the United Gold Mining Co.

To introduce myself more fully, I might mention that I hold degrees in economics from Dartmouth College; and for a time following completion of my undergraduate and graduate studies I was an instructor in economics. Later I completed studies in law and was a practicing attorney in Colorado for a number of years prior to devoting my full time, attention, and energies to a number of business enterprises, with most of which I continued to be associated. I am president of two small national banks and a director of three; president of the Holly Sugar Corp., which is one of the Nation's two largest beet sugar companies; a director of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad; and I serve as chief executive of several other enterprises.

I have recited some of these details of my background and training in an effort to indicate to you that my interest in gold, monetary affairs, and general economic conditions in our country stems not from a narrow and entirely biased point of view, but from a viewpoint which probably is, in many respects, typical of that held by many American businessmen who are deeply interested in the economic vigor and health of the United States.

I am grateful for this opportunity to appear once again before a Committee of the Congress to continue an effort, in behalf of the domestic gold mining industry, to which I was first committed almost 30 years ago. I feel just a little apologetic at the same time; for, when it comes to the subject of gold and congressional hearings, I am beginning to feel like the man who came to dinner, so often have I made the pilgrimage here to testify in behalf of our Nation's gold mining industry in general and Cripple Creek in particular.

Since the views that I hold are so amply spread on the record of other hearings held at other times by various committees of this and the other body, I will refrain from taking your time by reviewing and reiterating the things I have offered previously in testimony of this kind. I might, however, with your permission, make an occasional reference to cite previous testimony it has been my privilege to submit.

I come before you members of the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining to add a strong and urgent endorsement of H.R. 12873 in behalf of myself and those I represent. We strongly support H.R. 12873, a measure introduced by our esteemed Congressman from Colorado, the Honorable J. EDGAR CHENOWETH, whom I count not only as an able representative of our State but also as a valued personal friend; and the very able gentleman from California, Congressman HAROLD T. JOHNSON, a valued champion of the domestic mining industry.

In the language that we of the mining West are accustomed to using, I would sum up my feelings about H.R. 12873 by saying that it makes a lot of sense. Further than that, it is a positive approach to a critical problem confronting our entire Nation.

The members of this subcommittee are probably even more acutely aware than I of the low ebb of our national gold reserves and the apparent inability of our Government to reverse the flow. Perhaps you are less intimately acquainted wtih the prostrate state of our domestic gold mining industry. Cripple Creek district is an excellent example. All operations have ceased despite the fact that we are standing astride rich, known deposits of gold that could help replenish our national reserves. We cannot state with exact certainty just how much gold remains to be taken from the rich mines at Cripple Creek, but we have good reason to believe that there is a great reserve still to be tapped. Our geological and exploratory studies support this belief.

If this is true, why are we shut down?

It is rather simple, we believe. We are closed down because of a Government policy which refuses us the opportunity to mine our ore profitably. We are forced to bring what we dig from the granite beneath the Rockies to the Treasury of the United States and accept a flat $35 an ounce for it. We are not allowed to offer our product on an open market and allow the law of supply and demand to set a price which will pay our costs and give us a reasonable profit. As long as the Government controls all sales and purchases of gold, something must be done to increase the price it pays us for our product. We aren't even allowed to possess the gold we dig; for this, too, is against the national law.

Detailed information relating to and supporting the generalities in which I have been dealing was presented by me earlier this year in the course of hearings conducted by the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. Senate, and appears in the record of those hearings beginning on page 47 of the hearing record on Senate Joint Resolution 44.

In 1954 it was my privilege to testify before a subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the U.S. Senate, which was then conducting hearings on S. 13, S. 2332, S. 2364, and S. 2514, measures to permit the sale of gold, to resume the redemption of gold, to permit the free marketing of newly mined gold, to establish a sound monetary system, and for other purposes. If I were permitted, and if time were not necessarily restricted, I would like to reiterate now most of the statements I was permitted to enter into the record then; for they apply today as well as they did several years ago.

The basic fact that our national gold mining industry has been all but suffocated by a gold price, established almost 30 years ago and left unchanged ever since, still stands before us.

I believe it was this same subcommittee, 86th Congress, 1st session, before which I was privileged to appear in 1959 when hearings were being conducted on House Concurrent Resolutions 177 through 184 and House Concurrent Resolution 189. The testimony I was honored to present at that time appears in the record, serial No. 8, commencing on page 282; and, again, I would today reiterate much of what I said on that occasion were time not of the essence.

In the years since I began my efforts in behalf of the gold-mining industry, dating back to the World War II period when we were needlessly stripped of our labor and thus dealt a mortal blow, there have been many hearings and many attempts to bring succor and aid to a dying national industry. Yet here we are today with our gold reserves fast slipping through our fingers and the same—or even a worse—state of affairs existing in our domestic gold-mining industry.

It has been said, by officials of the Treasury Department representing the present administration, that resumption of gold mining in this country couldn't solve our gold-shortage problem in a lifetime; and I would not contend here today that it could.

But I submit that resumption of domestic production certainly could not further deplete our gold stocks. On the contrary, it would represent a step toward reversing the trend we now suffer. Other nations are building their stocks of gold by any and all means, attaching more value to it, apparently, than to printing-press money or other artificial bases. Russia, for example, is putting the force of its Government behind gold production and is digging the precious ore just across the Bering Strait from our State of Alaska. In many other zones of the Soviet Union she is also gathering gold by other means, as we are all aware, and obviously intends to have the ruble supplant the dollar as a world monetary standard—a ruble backed by gold, not printer's ink.

Those of us who struggle for our gold-mining industry have been told repeatedly that a unilateral change in the price of gold executed by this Nation would have a num-

ber of ill effects domestically and abroad. Possibly this would be the case if the price of monetary gold were arbitrarily increased.

This is one of the basic and principal reasons why I support the measure now receiving your consideration. It suggests a method for reviving domestic gold production without tampering with monetary values.

I would point out, too, that gold has come to have strategic significance and may certainly now be considered an important defense material. Gold is being used, for example, in electroplating numerous components of space vehicles. It is being used in electronics systems where high performance and reliability are essential. Gold is apparently the best and most efficient known reflector of infrared rays, which explains its being used, I understand, in the space suits for our astronauts to protect them against dangerous radiation in space. We have even learned that there is gold plating on the hulls of the space craft carrying our men into orbit. This precious metal is also being used industrially to goldplate transistors, connectors, printed circuits, and many other things important to our latest communications systems.

When this nation has required strategic materials in the past, it has always adopted the means necessary to get them. Uranium is an example. Our Government did not hesitate to invest many hundreds of millions of dollars in a uranium procurement program which certainly held out incentives to miners, prospectors, and producers in general. This is but one example of the numerous occasions on which our Government has set up a procurement agency and program to acquire needed materials, and we all are aware of the stockpiling programs which have been carried on to assure adequate supplies of metals and other materials needed to protect the Nation's welfare.

I believe that the program offered in H.R. 12873 can be looked upon in the same light as the many other procurement programs in which this Government has engaged in the past, which seems to me to be a very persuasive argument in favor of the proposal now being considered.

There are those who cry "subsidy" as if it were a unique word in the American scheme of things. I would call to this subcommittee's attention the fact that the "subsidy," or "incentive payment," suggested by H.R. 12873 would be minor in comparison with the "subsidies" currently paid to other American industries—agriculture, as an example. It has become national policy to subsidize or otherwise assist those industries and services which are deemed necessary to the national welfare. I submit that production of gold is urgently demanded in a time when we cannot even honor the short-term claims against our gold reserves held by foreign interests and still have gold enough to meet the statutory requirement for 25 percent backing of our currency, and I say it is time that gold production be subsidized in the national interest.

We talk much of resources in this Nation—conservation, beneficial utilization, development of our resources, and husbanding of our resources. There is a resource associated with gold that I would call to your attention—trained, able, skilled hard-rock miners. Men like these do not walk down every street. Their knowledge and skills are not acquired from books. Yet they are a vanishing race of Americans. The average hard-rock miner today is not a young man, and he is not training younger men to take his place when he can no longer go down into our Carlton tunnel 3,100 feet below the surface up there in the Rocky Mountains.

This is a resource that we must think about, too. Some of the idle miners throughout the West are among those unemployed who swell our relief roles; and this costs us money we would not have to spend if these people were gainfully employed, doing what they are trained to do and know how to do best.

A resumption of gold mining would revitalize mining communities and neighboring towns and cities all over the West, returning property to tax roles, stimulating transportation facilities, buying supplies and services no longer in use, demanding new equipment and machinery, and bringing forth new wealth.

Measure these positive values against the cost of a subsidy, or incentive payment, such as that contemplated in H.R. 12873; and the total net cost of the program provided for in H.R. 12873 is relatively insignificant.

The Cripple Creek district in Colorado, which I represent here today, was second only to the Lead, S. Dak., district in the production of gold through 1958. More than 19 million ounces of gold, worth at least $665 million, have been taken from Cripple Creek district mines since 1892. The district produces mainly gold ore, with a very minor amount of silver and no other recovered metal.

Our difficulties at Cripple Creek leading to our placing the district in a closed condition, with facilities, however, in standby order and ready to resume operations, began when the gold closing order L–208 was imposed on October 8, 1942. This order proved to be a body blow from which we have never been able to recover fully, especially in view of the fixed Government price of $35 an ounce, which prevents our operating at a profit, however reasonable.

The Carlton Mill at Cripple Creek is one of the most modern gold mills in the world, constructed at a cost of $2¼ million. We were forced to shut down its operation at the end of 1961, but it has not been dismantled or otherwise altered. It stands huge and silent awaiting only a resumption of mining to begin pouring out new national wealth.

Underlying the Cripple Creek mines we have completed two major tunnels to drain the district. About $1¼ million was invested in these alone, and they are still quite capable of doing the job for which they were designed.

Throughout the big Cripple Creek Basin there are productive mines which are now silent. We ask only to be given an opportunity to put them back into production. What applies to the Cripple Creek district likewise applies in varying degrees to many other gold mining districts in the United States.

We have untapped resources to develop, but we cannot carry on the job because the present Government policy prevents our investing the necessary funds for production in known deposits and exploration to locate still unmined deposits.

We respectfully submit to this body that confidence in the dollar is waning, principally because the world knows well that our gold reserves are vanishing.

Our monetary situation is shaky because we have forsaken the gold standard and turned our faith to the printing press dollar. History has proved that those leading world powers before us who have followed this path have ceased to be world powers.

Virtually all the people of the world recognize gold and its value. Many cannot read the printing on a dollar, but they recognize gold instantly. Gold is power; yet this, the richest nation on earth, is allowing its gold to slip away to other lands and cannot now even meet its gold obligations.

In summary, let me reemphasize these points:

Revival of the gold mining industry would spur the economies in what are now greatly depressed areas, putting people back to work and placing money in circulation to stimulate businesses of many kinds.

The net subsidy required to revitalize our gold mining industry would be, indeed, comparatively small in terms of other subsidies being paid other industries in the United States today; and it would purchase great benefits for our Nation as a whole.

Our gold reserves are steadily dwindling, yet we have effectively halted operation of more than 90 percent of our gold producing activities by clinging to a 30-year-old price and policy which take away from the American citizen his rights to develop a strategic resource or to own a kind of property, gold.

Our gold mines are not played out, but they lie idle and silent because of an adamant Government position.

Finally, I respectfully extend to all the members of this subcommittee a cordial western invitation to visit Cripple Creek, as an official group, and there to see—those of you who have not already seen—the great potential for future productivity and contributions to the national wealth. I might attempt, by talking in behalf of Cripple Creek for many hours, to convey an impression that would be gained much more effectively in minutes out there where all this begins. We would be most happy to make your visit interesting, informative, and, I am sure, profitable. This invitation is most sincerely extended. Thank you.

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## Alabama's Next Governor Looks at Auburn University—Past, Present, and Future

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, in this day of modern science and advanced technology, with its missiles and rockets and space satellites orbiting the earth, and with the security of our Nation constantly being threatened, there is a compelling and ever-increasing need for the best educated minds and the best trained personnel in all fields of endeavor.

We are challenged as never before to meet the growing demands for scientists, engineers, technicians, and skilled and trained people in all areas of learning. We can well and aptly recall the wise and prophetic words of Thomas Jefferson when he declared:

> If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, it expects what never was and what never will be.

All Alabamians are justly proud of the outstanding achievements of Auburn University and the fine contributions Auburn University is making toward meeting this urgent need for educated and trained personnel through its programs in engineering, scientific and technical education, through its research activities, including the agricultural experiment stations, and through the cooperative extension service program.

At the joint Land-Grant-War Between the States Centennial dinner held at Auburn University on August 1, the Honorable George C. Wallace, Governor-elect of Alabama, delivered a most informative and excellent address entitled "Auburn Unibersity: Past, Present, and Future," in which he spoke of the Land-Grant College Act and the important role Auburn University has fulfilled and

is continuing to carry forward in providing the trained manpower our Nation must have. I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUBURN UNIVERSITY: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

I am very pleased to see so many distinguished Alabamians here tonight. In addition to many members of the new legislature, the Auburn trustees, members of the press corps and of the administration and staff here at the university, I am particularly glad to see many members of the Alabama War Between the States Centennial Commission and of the executive council of the Alabama Historical Society. These two important groups have contributed much to a better understanding and knowledge of the great events that have shaped the history and destiny of Alabama.

I think it is most appropriate that Auburn University is holding this dinner to observe both the War Between the States and Land-Grant College Centennials. Both the war and the Land-Grant Act have played significant parts in Auburn's history and progress.

The history of this institution dates back earlier than the war, since the university was actually chartered in 1857 and opened its doors in 1859. With the coming of war, the student body, almost to a man, volunteered for service in the Confederate Army. President Jefferson Davis, from his railroad car, reviewed the well-trained Auburn Guard. During the war, college instruction was suspended at the institution then known as East Alabama Male College. The main campus building, which was located on the present site of Samford Hall, served during the war as a hospital where sick and wounded Confederate soldiers were nursed by the women of Auburn.

When the war was over, the college reopened with great hopes of carrying on the educational program that had been interrupted. But the institution was in real financial difficulty: with a ruined economy, patrons could not make gifts or honor their earlier pledges. Plans to raise funds and increase enrollment failed.

In spite of this bleak outlook, an almost unnoticed act passed by the Congress during the war was later to provide the key to unlock the future success of Auburn. The date was June 19, 1862. The atmosphere was bleak and heavy in the Congress. Union forces were close to one of their big defeats, ending the first peninsular campaign. There were empty desks left vacant by southern Representatives and Senators when they left the Union and the Halls of Congress in 1861.

Few people were thinking of the future and fewer than that were thinking of it optimistically.

But among the few was a Senator from the State of Vermont, Justin Smith Morrill. His optimism paid off for future generations of Americans in an education system unique and democratic. His optimism was later to provide the spark for the future development of Auburn University.

Since 1850 Morrill had fought a battle for a new kind of education. He had in mind a system that would serve a growing, industry-agriculture conscious nation by providing training for everyone in the sciences and agriculture. His ideas were similar to those of men like Thomas G. Clemson, of South Carolina, brother-in-law of John C. Calhoun, who gave his private fortune and land holdings to build Clemson Agricultural College in South Carolina.

On June 11, 1862, Morrill's colleagues in the Senate passed a bill creating America's great system of land-grant colleges. And on July 2, 1862, the day after the Confederate assault on Union troops outside Richmond, President Lincoln signed the bill.

With his signature, American education made its break from the European pattern which had shackled it since the 17th century. The new system was aimed at making a success of democracy, a success which depended upon an enlightened educated common people.

When the Land-Grant Act was signed, American universities were patterned after British institutions, which offered a curriculum of the ancient languages with preparation in four fields: law, medicine, theology and teaching.

Of course, such education was needed and widely respected. However, we were not providing the trained man power necessary to build a nation from almost nothing and a civilization from a wilderness.

Thus a hundred years ago, in the midst of the great war we are commemorating tonight, the Congress voted to sell some public lands if the States would use the proceeds as a perpetual endowment for college instruction in "agriculture and the mechanical arts," without neglecting traditional subjects.

The purpose was to provide practical higher education in the arts and sciences, at minimum cost, for the sons and daughters of farmers and industrial workers. The idea was novel and unproved, and the public treasury was burdened with wartime expenditures, but President Lincoln signed the bill nevertheless.

As President Draughon pointed out in an address to a Newcomer Society dinner in 1954, this act, passed by the Federal Congress when the Confederate States were out of the Union, probably owed its passage to the fact the States were locked in a war. Such an act had been proposed before the war by farm and industrial groups from the Middle West, but had been opposed by many representatives of the Southern States. Ironically this legislation when finally enacted provided the type of education so desperately needed for the development of the great natural resources of the South.

Briefly the act provided 30,000 acres of public land, script for each Senator and each Representative to which a State was entitled by the census of 1860 for the endowment in each State desiring it of at least one college whose objects should be "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

As I noted earlier, this was a new departure in higher education and of such great consequence to the future development of our country that the Morrill Act has been called the greatest educational measure ever to pass the Congress.

In 1868 the Alabama Legislature accepted the terms of the Morrill Act, and, again, in 1871 authorized the Governor to receive from the Federal Government land script in the amount of 240,000 acres of public land. This land script was acquired and sold under the provisions of the laws of Alabama and the U.S. Government for the sum of $253,500. This money was invested in 8-percent bonds of the State of Alabama, issue of 1871.

Auburn University, at that time still a Methodist institution known as the East Alabama Male College, like all the colleges of the South in the Reconstruction period, was in serious financial trouble. In 1872 the board of East Alabama Male College offered its property to the State as the site of the land-grant college. This was fortunate for the State of Alabama because there was no money available to build a college and no community or other institution had expressed serious interest in the new venture. The offer was approved by the Methodist conference and accepted by the State of Alabama by act of the legislature, February 26, 1872, which located the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama at Auburn.

Thus a start was made toward the great land-grant university at Auburn today. In 1872 Rev. Dr. Isaac T. Tichenor became the president of Alabama's land-grant university and with a faculty of eight undertook to achieve the purposes of the Morrill Act. Perhaps President Tichenor best defined the mission of the college in 1874 when he wrote:

"Men must learn to recuperate our wasted lands; how to increase the productive power of our labor; how to make our languishing agriculture profitable; how to construct and control machinery; how to utilize our immense resources before we can hope for any great and permanent improvement in the condition of our people. No other institution in this State proposes to educate men for these purposes."

Thus Auburn's president looked into the future and foresaw an ideal and pattern of service which Auburn is rendering to the State of Alabama today.

As Auburn and the other land-grant colleges grew, they became far different from their historic predecessors. They have placed greater emphasis on professional or specialized education. This kind of practical education was the main objective of the Morrill Act. A balance was achieved between the old and new with specific provisions for teaching of "other scientific and classical studies." Thus the values of the old system were combined with a curriculum designed to meet the needs of an expanding industrial America.

Very quickly Alabama recognized its obligation to support its land-grant college. Today, approximately half of Auburn's operating budget is provided by the State of Alabama, with the balance coming from research contracts, student fees and the Federal Government.

As I mentioned earlier, passage of the Morrill Act opened college doors wider and wider in Alabama and all over the United States. The sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics had been denied the possibility of a college education because they could not afford the expensive tuition charged by private schools such as Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary.

The Morrill Act was designed to change that situation. A century ago only one youngster in hundreds went to college. Today about one-third of the Americans of college age are enrolled in institutions of higher learning. Today with only 6 percent of the world's population, the United States has about 40 percent of the college and university population. In my opinion, there is an obvious close connection that has historically linked widespread college attendance in this country with our progressively greater wealth, better health and improved way of life. The few millions originally invested in the land-grant colleges have added billions of dollars to the wealth of Alabama and the rest of the Nation.

One American farmer now feeds himself and 26 others at home and abroad, due in large measure to the work of the agricultural experiment stations at the land-grant institutions. Engineering achievements at land-grant institutions include basic discoveries about metal fatigue, building the first cyclotron, and aid given in developing transistors. Merely mentioning these few results of land-grant college education, research, and extension proves my original point—that the public which supports higher education has been its chief beneficiary.

Auburn's contributions through its instructional program, experiment station programs of agricultural research and the cooperative extension service have touched every family in Alabama. The first student body of about 60 has grown to more than 9,000 today. The original 16 acres devoted to experimental farming has grown into a won-

derful and farflung system of experiment stations and a research program that annually repays its cost many times over in new income for the people of Alabama.

The one building that housed the university when it became a land-grant college has grown into a vast multimillion-dollar physical plant housing the sixth largest State university in the South today.

I could recount many other significant events in the history of this university, but I think you would agree that none would surpass the contributions made to Auburn by the Morrill Act. As one of the 68 land-grant colleges and universities Auburn stands today on the threshold of even greater service to the people of Alabama.

As President Draughon noted in his newcomer address:

"Throughout the years Auburn has remained true to its great responsibility of teaching the principles of science and their application to the needs of the agricultural and industrial classes. Today its goal is unchanged. * * * Auburn owes much to the past. Men must still learn to recuperate our wasted lands; to increase the productive power of our labor; to make agriculture profitable; to design and construct and control machinery. But today the body of useful knowledge has increased 10,000-fold, and we in Alabama must learn to use the new tools that scientific research has given us as we move forward into a new era. Auburn owes much to the past, but its great mission is such that its greater debt must ever be to the future."

It is toward that future mission of greatness that we must all work. As your Governor and as chairman of the Auburn board of trustees, I look forward to working with you over the next 4 years to continue to strengthen and broaden the good work you have underway at Auburn today.

## The Menace of Communist Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which was published last night in the Washington Evening Star entitled "The Menace of Communist Cuba," written by one of the finest columnists who writes today, Mr. William S. White.

I am particularly interested in the last two paragraphs, which say:

Failing this, we should raise a new collective military organization from among the minority who are our real friends in Latin America. Much the same was done in 1949, when we created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from within the United Nations when it became clear that the U.N. would do nothing about Soviet aggression in Europe.

And failing this, the United States should act alone to clear the Soviet military apparatus from Castro Cuba, come what might.

Mr. President, I completely agree with that suggestion made by Mr. White. I have made a similar suggestion on many occasions, starting about 2 years ago, when I recommended that we get busy and create a NATO-type organization in the Western Hemisphere made up of those countries in Central and South America which feel like we do about communism and the threat of encroaching communism, which themselves are willing to combat communism even to the extent of using military weapons if need be.

We should take the leadership in that endeavor. I think it will serve us well in future days if we get such an organization active immediately. That step, coupled with the additional steps recognizing a Cuban Government in exile, are the two absolutely necessary steps that should be taken before anything can be done about Fidel Castro and communism in Cuba. I highly commend the article to the Members of Congress, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 1, 1962]

THE MENACE OF COMMUNIST CUBA

(By William S. White)

The Soviet Union's publicly boasted military penetration of the Western Hemisphere in Castro Cuba is many things, apart from the most insolent menace to the new world that the United States has ever tolerated.

It destroys forever the airy assurances of pseudo-liberals that "revolutionary movements" are fine things, indeed—so long as they involve leftwingers and not rightwingers.

It places a terrible responsibility before history upon all those Americans who cheered Fidel Castro on in Cuba long past the point where it was plain that he was transplanting the evil fungus of armed international communism to within 90 miles of our Florida coastline.

UNMASKS COMMUNISM

It bankrupts the whole evangelistic theory, parroted with religious fervor, that communism results from capitalistic injustice, et cetera, and will vanish at once, given the spreading of sufficient welfarism among the masses. Cuba, before Castro, was never half so underprivileged as dozens of other lands which have nevertheless never sought the lethal embrace of Moscow.

It fully supports what has long been fully obvious—that communism, like Hitlerism before it, is a movement of bandit ferocity and cannot be explained by old-lady minds as simply springing from too little milk for the kiddies and too little free land for the workers and peasants.

It brings into the gravest question the practicality of the vast effort being made by the United States through the Alliance for Progress to cure all the ills of Latin America with economic aid. Foreign aid is a sound and splendid thing—when it is given to nations willing and able to use it for freedom's strength and openly and unashamedly against communism.

But the bulk of the more powerful Latin American nations, while avidly ready for our economic aid, repeatedly have refused to follow us in any total quarantine of Castro Cuba. It is fashionable to say that we, the United States, should never force our views upon the recipients of our aid. This is the line even when precisely our views are essential to maintain that freedom from foreign domination for which the Latins so endlessly clamor—especially those who have snuggled up closest to international communism.

And brought into question, too, is the very validity of the Organization of American States. This association of the nations of this hemisphere was created to prevent just the kind of foreign penetration which is and long has been so openly involved in Castro Cuba.

But an effective majority of the OAS has thus far been unwilling to take any fully rational step against Castro Cuba. The most ironic of all excuses is given by the nation closest in geography to us, Mexico. She has said that while she would like to help, she just can't find any precedent for it in international practice. There is a sour jest in this—for Mexico, of course, is famous for its scrupulous respect for both law and justice.

COURSE FOR UNITED STATES

So what is now left to the United States?

We should try one more time to persuade the Organization of American States to act in honesty and honor against the Soviet cancer in the Caribbean.

Failing this, we should raise a new collective military organization from among the minority who are our real friends in Latin America. Much the same was done in 1949, when we created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from within the United Nations when it became clear that the U.N. would do nothing about Soviet aggression in Europe.

And failing this, the United States should act alone to clear the Soviet military apparatus from Castro Cuba, come what might.

## Utopia Is No Bargain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, while the House has before it so much legislation of a welfare nature looking to the care of our citizens from the cradle to the grave, it seems to me that we can learn a great deal from the experience of the English in this field.

The following article entitled "Utopia Is No Bargain" by Graham Hutton is very much to the point. Mr. Hutton is a British author but has lived in the United States for 5 years and is distinguished as an economist, lawyer, and sociologist who has followed the pitfalls, disappointments, and consequences of the British welfare state ever since it was attempted 15 years ago.

The article follows:

UTOPIA IS NO BARGAIN—BRITAIN'S CRADLE-TO-GRAVE WELFARE SCHEME EVOKES SOME SOBERING SECOND THOUGHTS ON STATE VERSUS PRIVATE INSURANCE

(By Graham Hutton)

The biggest domestic economic problem in Britain today is the financing of her welfare state out of taxes. Apart from compulsory education, the welfare state includes compulsory state insurance for every citizen for all health requirements, including dental and ophthalmic treatment, plus state insurance for workmen's compensation, unemployment and all kinds of benefits for incapacitation from work.

The self-employed are expected from unemployment insurance for the plain reason that they cannot be supervised in the hiring and firing of themselves. But they are not exempted from anything else. The retired have to pay for the services of the state's health service. Everybody who works for reward has to come under the compulsory state-systems for retirement pensions, health services and workmen's compensation. All doctors and medical specialists operating the

health service or any of its parts are paid directly by the state on the basis of the numbers of patients inscribed on their card indexes and of the treatments such clients get. Hospitals are run by regional or municipal boards for the state and under the supervision of the Ministry of Health. Employers are compelled by law not only to check off from their employee's pay envelopes the insurance tax such employees are due to pay, but also their state dues for the welfare state, to which the employer has to add his own contributions.

Accordingly the process is extremely costly and complicated for a nation with just under half its total population gainfully employed. The process is further confused by a rapidly growing proportion of people retired and retiring—15 percent next year, rising to as much as 20 percent by 1979. Most of these have to be kept by their younger, working fellows out of these latter workers' compulsory contributions to the state funds for pensions, plus those from their employers.

INFLATION-FED COSTS GOING UP AND UP

As inflation pursues its career in Britain no matter what government is in power, the welfare state and its financing become more and more of a built-in, inflation-fed, inflation-feeding process. Taxes and levies can never come down, can only go up more and more, as the state—no matter who is in power—finds the costs ever rising for doctors and dentists, nurses and equipment, buildings and drugs, fuels and civil servants, to say nothing of the growing number of pensioners.

This process was not foreseen during the Second World War when the coalition government asked Sir William (now Lord) Beveridge to make his now famous report on social security. Lord Beveridge has since castigated successive Socialist and Tory governments for not observing two cardinal features of his report; namely, his insistence on making the health and other social security services actuarially and properly funded, and secondly, on avoidance of what has since become called "the democratic fallacy." That fallacy is the building of the welfare state's benefits into the political party structure, so that the two major parties vie with each other at the hustings in bidding for the votes of all welfare state beneficiaries.

These beneficiaries are (a) pensioners and near-pensioners (very important in an aging nation like Britain); (b) industrial working men and women (very important in a country where women at grandmotherly ages form larger and larger proportions of the working population); (c) young wives starting families; (d) all parents of children under working age (for the free school meals and other benefits, or family allowances to second and other children, etc.); and finally—whenever unemployment goes or stays up—(e) the workpeople afraid of losing jobs or of not getting them back.

Lord Beveridge and others, including this writer, pointed out more than 15 years ago (before the complete health service came into force and doctors were nationalised along with all hospitals) that if inflation persisted along with abandonment of the famous Beveridgian principle of actuarial funding, any and every government would inevitably find itself forced to outbid the opposition in a Dutch auction for welfare state benefits. Worse, whoever won that auction would have to find the funds to redeem electoral promises not out of contributions alone, but also out of the broad mass of the people's taxes.

Exactly that has regularly come to pass. Government is driven to all sorts of devices and strategems to "raise the wind," both within and outside the regular finances of the welfare state. The Socialists began in 1950–51 only 3 years after the late Aneurin Bevan had imposed the health service and its administration upon the doctors. The Socialists made people pay a small sum for each prescription, though they had originally got all things ostensibly "free" against contributions and taxes. This has been carried further by Tories, who have even been driven to invoke old wartime regulations about the nation's military security to conclude state bulk buying of drugs from Italy and elsewhere, in order to force down the private enterprise companies' prices for their products used in the health service.

SYSTEM WOULD COST UNITED STATES $55 BILLION

Americans can gage the extent of the fiscal problems of a blanket state compulsory system of all insurance—retirement, sickness, workmen's compensation, unemployment—if I put the proportional British problems in terms of America's national income and Federal budget. If America made all these insurance compulsory and Federal as Britain has done for nearly 15 years, excluding all education, it would require something like one-tenth of the national income, or, say, $55 billion in taxes and contributions. Moreover it would have to be administered federally and centrally. That would mean unwinding the various 50 States' welfare and other relief services, apart from education. Benefits under a Federal scheme would be administered so that they did not admit of wide variations in separate States, not only as pensions, but also as other like benefits under insurance for health services, unemployment, sickness, workmen's accidents, etc.

British Governments have found their greatest difficulties not in "raising the wind" for an evergrowing welfare state's benefits. Britishers grouse but pay up, are honest on the whole; they are patient as a people, they positively like queuing and traffic jams, and they never get together to protest to Parliament about anything. British Governments have found their main problems in keeping the terribly complex list of separate benefits roughly in step during the inflation.

First the swelling army of retired folk acted up, and demanded redress, whipped up by the opposition, of course. That was a cinch politically. No one gets the vote till he is 21; the youthful proportion of the nation was not growing so fast. But we keep our vote till death relieves us of it; and the old were—and still are—increasing at a breakneck pace compared to the working population. Second, immediately the pensioners got a bit extra out of taxes, up the Government had to put taxes and contributions on the working people, the employers, and the general body of taxpayers. This fed the fire of inflation. So third, the expectant mothers, the poor receiving state relief (half of all state pensioners got some additional public relief or other), the sick, and the unemployed had to have their benefits raised. This in turn drove the Government in the next budget to raise contributions and taxes further. And so the merry partnership of inflation with rising benefits under the welfare state forged ahead. No one dared to reduce, curtail, or hold a line on anything, for fear of losing the next election. The welfare state inexorably came to take more and more of both the central and the local budgets, till it now takes one-third of all taxes, levies, and compulsory state contributions and local taxes combined. Indeed, it takes over one-tenth of the national income, and over half as much again as the nation spends on defense. And all this excludes education costs.

No wonder Britain has had repeated crises in her balances of payments, in her export trade, which comes from private employers who have to compete abroad, and in her defense costs in other currencies.

WORKERS NOW INDULGE IN "GOLD DIGGING"

Compulsory state insurance for everything also has other aspects which have gradually come to disturb an increasing number of Britishers. Take a few examples. First, workmen's compensation. At the outset this was expected to be based on "the contributory principle." That is, it was expected that the blanketing of every workman in the nation by compulsory state insurance would supersede that workman's right at common law to proceed against his employers in the courts for compensation for injuries or incapacitation caused by something "during the normal course of his employment." Nothing of the kind has happened. He is covered by the state's insurance and continues to invoke the courts in his aid. Worse even than libel law, workmen's compensation cases have become what is known in Britain as a gold-digging operation."

Or take another case: fringe benefits from employers. Many American employers, and most British ones, expected from the British welfare state that its all-comprehensive, compulsory insurances would supersede trades unions' demands for fringe benefits. But what happened? The official British Trade Unions Congress, the purely advisory confederation of all important trade unions, has asked all its member unions to try out employers' reactions to an extra, additional system of sick-pay benefits.

Another example: pensions. The first flat-rate retirement pension system of the state became increasingly hard to finance under inflation. So the Tory government brought in a sharp, smart-seeming, overriding, second-tier system. From April of last year, 1961, employees were forced either (a) to switch their employees into a new graduated state pension system in which, for finance purposes, the higher paid employees subsidized relatively higher pensions for the lower paid employees, thus losing part of their own actuarial benefits, or else (b) to "contract them out" of the new state pension scheme by initiating a private supplementary pension scheme of their own with an insurance company, and after approval by the internal revenue.

To the surprise of the Government and the Ministry of Health and national insurance officials, the number of employees contracted out quickly rose to more than 20 percent of total employees eligible for the state scheme, and is still slowly rising.

This result arose from two interesting phenomena; namely, (1) the quick dawning on employers that private insurance could offer better retirement bargains as pensions than the state's schemes; and (2) the equally quick realization by both employers and employed of this paradox: the better an employee the higher his pay, the higher therefore his "graduated" contribution, but the rate of graduated pension he eventually got would have a ceiling on it no matter what he earned during his working life, and no matter what he had paid into the state's coffers during that working lifetime.

The combination of (1) and (2) compelled both farseeing employers and better paid employees top refer contracting out of the new State pensions. Further, they led the private insurance companies to initiate all sorts of new and more attractive retirement pension schemes for private insurees, both corporate and individual, as for example, "dynamic pensions" rising with inflation after retirement, supplementary pension plans for employers on their better paid employees' behalf, etc.

BRITISHERS SEEKING PRIVATE SERVICES

But nothing has been quite as striking an implied criticism of the welfare state as the rapid rise in the number of Britishers—companies, other institutions and individuals—who, while paying their compulsory levies for welfare state benefits, decline to

make use of some or all of its state services, even including state education. In addition to paying for others' benefits, they subscribe big sums out of taxed incomes in order once more to obtain private medical and hospital or other health services, or private education. Their total remains small as a percentage of the entire nation, the mass of which (as in all nations) remains ignorant, indigent or indolent in public affairs. But in the 14½ years since the health service alone has been in force, this minority has multiplied more than tenfold, its rise has accelerated in the past 5 years, and more and more private schemes and services are springing up. As for private education, there are longer waiting lists for private schools, and more such schools springing up, too.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT "DYING ON ITS FEET"

Another important social, political and administrative side effect of all this compulsory bureaucratized, centralized, and flatly standardized state welfare is its debilitating effect on local government, local patriotism, charity and personal voluntary services of all kinds. The cry is heard everywhere in Britain today that local government in the counties and municipalities is dying on its feet. Central government and its armies of officials have overridden what in America would be States and cities (and their citizens) rights. Indeed, the sugegstion is seriously and now more frequently being made that Britain needs more of a federal; less—not more—of a centralized, system of government; more—not less—powers given to counties and municipalities. Similarly and for much the same reasons, the cry is heard that Britishers need a custodian of the custodians, an ombudsman (like Scandinavia) to safeguard the individual citizen's liberties against government and its officials, a tribunal of tribunals to which the citizen or aggrieved company or other body can bring its pleas—as the equity court arose in the middle ages alongside the king's courts of law—for justice and fairplay in the welter of new state-agency bodies, tribunals, courts and bureaus. The complaints about poor state services in Britain range from the railways to hospitals; from the doctors and dentists (who fear for their professions' standards) to the universities; from businessmen and insurance companies (who, left to themselves, conclusively prove that they can offer insurees better bargains) to trade unions (who begin to see that they could drive better bargains across the board with their employers than their members get from the state).

In all this mixup, governments twist and turn. They try to extricate themselves from the toils in which the Socialists entangled them in those confused years immediately after the war, when the British version of the welfare state was faultily financed and the ensuing inflation thereby aggravated.

BRITISH ERRORS HOLD A LESSON FOR THE UNITED STATES

At the present time, therefore, thinking Britishers in many walks of public life look with great interest—and sympathy—on the current disputes in America about "extensions of social security." The Britishers interest stems not from any American disput in principle. It stems from the natural hope that Americans will not simply copy the British systems word for word and method for method. Why should Americans repeat the costly errors built in by the British a decade and a half ago, and now becoming painfully obvious even to British Socialists and trade unionists?

The British economy has had to be damped down by Government action in order to force Britons to export more. The stock exchange has had a slump like Wall Street. "Profitless prosperity" stares every British employer (and trade union bargainer) in the face. So anything that would lower the crushing weight of British taxes on companies and on every joint man-and-wife income over $4,500 would spell an increase in British competitiveness, an improvement in Britain's ability to finance defense expenditures overseas or loans to underdeveloped countries, and a lowering in unit costs. Today much the same problems touch America. It seems an odd moment to talk of adding to costs, levies, taxes, and officials, all round.

MANY ASSUMPTIONS NOW PROVED TO BE FALSE

Perhaps the most obvious error in the financing—or nonfinancing—of the British social security system since 1948 was the universal, all-party, unquestioning assumption that if the centralized state authorities provided comprehensive "cradle to grave" insurances of all kinds and administered them by officials, the citizens so insured would (a) get materially better benefits, (b) would continue to get them no matter what new benefits private enterprise insurers could offer them, (c) abandon claims for social security and other benefits against employers, (d) cease to demand new "fringe benefits," and (e) view the state's system as something outside party politics. Instead, the very reverse has occurred; each assumption has been proved false.

Thus, the state has seen the social security benefits become the sport of rival, outbidding politicians. To hold or win votes, the finances of the system have been enormously and uneconomically expanded, and inflation has been chosen as the least obvious, least painful way out.

Inflation in turn has made the voter suspicious of all politics and parties and brought Parliament into disesteem. It has also made insurance companies and the public more aware of what private enterprise can do better than the state can.

The present and future working population has been overloaded with taxes, levies, and other fiscal burdens, in order to pay existing and immediately forthcoming pensioners, and can hardly throw the burdens off now.

The trade unions have begun to demand, under full employment, "all this and heaven too"—all the state social security plus all the American employers' and employees' privately agreed fringe benefits as well. Local governments, municipalities, and private insurance companies have seen workmen's compensation turned into gold digging operations, while the courts have complained but can do nothing to remedy abuses.

The upshot in Britain has been that a thinking minority—including the leading newspapers and Members of Parliament—now demands radical revision of the welfare state services, so that better paid citizens should be permitted to do more for themselves, thus setting free more of the state's standardized flat-rate services for the small needy minority alone.

It is disturbing to at least one Britisher (the writer, who has lived and worked on both sides of the Atlantic) to see—in education, public health services, social security and a lot else—that just when one of our two nations becomes aware of its past errors in these fields, it goes kind of haywire and copies the earlier errors of the other. Each of us, British and Americans, in education and social security and much else, seem at this moment to be out to duplicate the earlier errors of the other country. We British are going all-out for technical, scientific education at all costs, particularly at the cost of the humanities, on the plea that you Americans have done so much better out of technical education. Just at the same moment you are going all out to develop the humanities at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and California Institue of Technology, etc.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE APPEALS TO BRITISH

So with the welfare state and social security, the law and practice of workmen's compensation, local government versus centralized government, pensions, etc. Just when we British are getting worried out of our normal apathy by the awful financial, fiscal, and administrative blunders we made a decade and a half ago, you Americans look like repeating some, if not all, of them.

On the other hand we British—employers, trade union leaders, insurance companies, local and municipal authorities—are laboring and lumbering along under a deadweight of flat-rate state-imposed standards and handicaps. Your hitherto private-enterprise, private-bargaining, fringe-benefit, voluntary-associational systems seem most attractive to us, just when you look like tearing up a good deal of them to copy us.

I would conclude, out of my detailed knowledge of our British welfare state system during the past 15 years, with two warnings to my American friends in this field. First, remember the old German saying: Gegen die Dummheit kämpfen die Götter selbst vergebens—"Against stupidity the gods themselves fight in vain."

Secondly, don't build stupidities into a governmental and political system. Once built in they are harder and harder to unpick as time goes on, and the structure itself looks more and more like collapsing with them.

In a time of economic uncertainties and risks above all, a country needs to heed such warnings. The foundations of democracy and the four freedoms lie in personal initiative, responsibilities, and enterprise; in the voluntary, not the compulsory, prinicple.

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## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BROCKTON, MASS.,
*June 27, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL FLOOD,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I have written to Hon. HOWARD SMITH chairman, House Rules Committee, also my own Congressman, requesting support of your House Resolution 211. Also I have written my three Representatives to have the President declare the week in July that was voted by Congress as Captive Nations Week.

Thank you, sir.

Yours sincerely,
MRS. GLADYS M. KELLEHER.

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IRVINGTON, N.J.,
*June 18, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I respectfully urge your continued support of the House Resolution 211.

Very truly yours,
IWANNA KALYNYCE.
LUBOMYR E. KALYNYCE.

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ROCHESTER, N.Y.,
*July 16, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

Your favorable action is hereby requested in favor of the House Resolution 211.

Respectfully yours,
MRS. EUGENE CEHELSKY.

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JULY 14, 1962.

EDITOR,
*Kenosha News,*
*Kenosha, Wis.*

DEAR MR. BROWN: For the past 2 years, pursuant to an act of Congress passed in 1959, the President of the United States has proclaimed the last week of July as Captive Nations Week, when Americans are asked to work and pray for the early restoration of these enslaved people to their historic freedom and national independence. Thirty-nine resolutions are now pending in Congress to create a permanent Congressional Captive Nations Committee, which by public hearings and otherwise would exploit the spirit of Captive Nations Week the year round.

Opinions have been stated and printed by the State Department and Presidential advisers, no doubt reflecting the thinking of the President as well, that prove that they are anxious to do away with our Captive Nations Week and to kill the pending congressional resolutions. For more information on this, those interested can write to the two Congressmen mentioned below (care of House Office Building, Washington, D.C.).

The objections raised by our New Frontiersmen are of such nature that it is hard to believe they could be made by responsible men with any depth of knowledge of the conditions within the Soviet colonial world. We continue to have the same type of thinking in our leaders as we had during the last 17 years of the cold war—during which the Soviets have made most of their gains. We refuse to succeed. We even refuse to worry them a little.

Our best and unused weapon in the cold war is the 23 captive nations held by the Communists, containing more than 1 billion people. To Khrushchev, they mean trouble, pressure, resistance, insecurity, and ultimate rebellion. The hatred of these people for the slavemasters of the Kremlin and their burning desire to be free from Communist tyranny is the best weapon in our arsenal, but our leaders, prompted by the State Department, refuse to use it. The official policy of the New Frontier continues to be one of appeasement and refusal to take any affirmative action to roll back the Communist tide in any part of the globe (examples: Cuba, Katanga, Laos).

Congressmen EDWARD J. DERWINSKI and DANIEL J. FLOOD are two of the many Congressmen working against great pressure to establish a special Committee on Captive Nations (Congressman FLOOD's H. Res. 211). This resolution would provide information to deal with Red propaganda concerning Western imperialism, pointing out the true facts that imperialism and colonialism as practiced by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe far exceed any abuses which could be charged to Western Nations. The nationalistic spirit of self-determination, culture, and heritage of these peoples would be continually marshaled and encouraged by this committee. Our representatives in the U.N. would be forced to provide the long needed exposé of imperialism as practiced in the Communist world.

There is no better way to turn world opinion against the Soviet Union. The right of self-determination is the issue that stirs all of Africa and Asia today. It has been historically a part of American doctrine. We should exploit it to the fullest, at every possible opportunity, with regard to the Communists. Our representatives in the U.N. must demand full discussion of Soviet colonialism and point out again and again that not one of these nations entered the Communist orbit voluntarily and that these once-free nations are now held in bondage and systematically exploited more ruthlessly than any other colonial empire of modern times.

If we take the offensive on this issue of Captive Nations and use it to answer every Soviet thrust, we will be hitting the Kremlin in its most sensitive area. We will also be giving the people of the Soviet slave colonies encouragement in their efforts to preserve their heritage and their hopes of eventually regaining their independence. This can be a powerful force on our side in the important area of central Europe.

Write today of your support for a permanent Captive Nations Committee, to your Congressmen, Senators, and President. For a free copy of Captive Nations—Key to Victory in the Cold War, by the Honorable EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, write to the undersigned.

JOHN DOSUS.

KENOSHA, WIS.

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SOUTH PLAINFIELD, N.J.

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Roman Manovilov, a Cossack by origin, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution calling for a Special House Captive Nations Committee.

Very truly yours,
ROMAN MANOVILOV.

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## Experiment Stations Research Facilities

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 12712 to assist the States to provide additional facilities for research at the State agricultural experiment stations is a most worthwhile program and I am gratified that the House has passed this legislation.

The bill provides for the future appropriation of Federal funds on a matching basis to aid the construction, acquisition, and remodeling of buildings, laboratories, and other facilities for agricultural research in State experiment stations.

As a member of the Research and Extension Subcommittee I am well aware of the great value that research at State experiment stations has had through the years to the well-being of our citizens. Washington State University which is located in my own congressional district has been among the leading universities in the Nation in agricultural experiment station work. As our population continues to increase, the work at these experiment stations must keep pace with a continuing sound and balanced research effort. This bill is needed to modernize and channel our research efforts toward further progress.

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## The Age of Make-Believe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, consistency is a rare virtue, especially when sought for in the conduct of our State Department policies.

As the United Nations General Assembly approaches the opening of its fall session, consistency would be a virtue that could be well applied in that body.

The unrealistic and contradictory behavior of our State Department is decribed in a very interesting manner by the Chicago Daily Tribune in an editorial which appeared in its Monday, September 3 edition entitled "The Age of Make-Believe," which I ask leave to insert into the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

THE AGE OF MAKE-BELIEVE

The following statement, we have learned, was made last month by a European political leader:

"All kinds of interference whatsoever by this or that power in the internal affairs of other countries are regarded by me as one of the main causes of the present international tension. * * * All sovereign nations have the right to establish whichever social system pleases them."

A clear reference, it would seem, to the half nelson grip in which the Soviet Union holds the satellite countries of Eastern Europe.

It does, indeed, refer to the satellite nations—Poland in particular. But Russia isn't the villain. The statement was aimed at the United States. It was made by the Communist boss of Poland, Mr. Gomulka, in an interview which he thought was going to be published in this country. When the interview was rejected as Communist propaganda, he had it printed in a Warsaw paper instead.

Just 2 weeks before this interview was published, our Ambassador to Poland, John Moors Cabot, pleaded with Congress not to prohibit aid to Communist countries. To forsake Poland, he said, would cause "a drastic fall in the temperature of our relations" and "would be taken as a deliberate slap at the Polish Government."

Mr. Cabot was only echoing the sentiments of his bosses, President Kennedy, Secretary of State Rusk, and Under Secretary Ball, all of whom have said, in effect, that we must keep on sending help to Communist and neutral countries even if we go broke in the process.

Congress passed the aid bill, after some moralising against helping the Communists, but it is we who end up with the slap. Why? Because, as Mr. Gomulka has said before, our aid is small and carries political implications, and the negotiations leading up to it are arduous. And because, he added last month, "the U.S. Congress, year after year, passes resolutions calling for the so-called liberation of the nations of eastern Europe."

Mr. Gomulka's ingratitude has earned him an additional bonus this year. Mr. Kennedy broke precedent by declining to proclaim a "Captive Nations Week" in July. We must not, apparently, risk offending people like Mr. Gomulka.

It is as preposterous of Mr. Gomulka to pose as the freely chosen leader of an independent regime, as it is of Khrushchev to pose as the champion of peace, or Nehru to pose as the enemy of war and colonialism (while he invades Goa and refuses to allow a plebiscite in Kashmir), or of the United Nations to proclaim the inviolable right of self-determination (while denying it to Katanga). Maybe, as Hitler said, the more grotesquely you distort the truth, the more easily you can fool people. But why must so many of the gullible victims be in our State Department?

## Look Out, Venus, Here We Come

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, the headlines of editorials in some newspapers frequently leave the reader in considerable doubt as to what is the content of the editorial. Not so with the Kansas City Star of Kansas City, Mo. An excellent illustration of this point is the heading of a recent editorial in the Star: "Look Out, Venus, Here We Come." Not only is the heading of the editorial in the nature of an eyecatcher, but the content is most factual and objective. It points out the Russians were only able to get as near as 65,000 miles from Venus, and that while, admittedly, they may lead us in one aspect of the space race, from an overall and scientific point of view the United States is clearly ahead.

All of us on the House Science and Astronautics Committee are, for the time being, given reassurance from the use of orientation motors which can be fired selectively, and by the use of certain combinations, change the course of *Mariner II*. Fortunately, these midcourse corrections do not require large amounts of energy. We believe that there may be a misconception by some because of certain press reports that this change of course procedure is an emergency measure rather than a measure which has been part of the plan all along.

The specific details of the reorientation use small reaction motors working in opposition to the velocity of the spacecraft proceeding on its initial course. In other words, these motors would give the spacecraft a slightly sidewise position and thus change the general course. It should be kept in mind, the spacecraft has to cover 180 million miles in its actual course to Venus in order to cover the direct line of sight distance of 36 million miles. Accordingly, it can be appreciated that a small amount of energy applied early in the flight can make a large correction before the full distance is completed.

Those who may have a disposition to snipe at our space effort should take note of the accomplishment to date of *Mariner II*, and on the other hand, those who have always realized the importance of our space program should enjoy a new pride of achievement. Yes, look out Venus, planet Earth's emissary is heading your way.

The editorial of August 28 follows:

LOOK OUT, VENUS, HERE WE COME

The United States has scored in space, and scored big.

With a little luck in the back-seat driving scheduled for next Tuesday, *Mariner II* will be nudged into a course that will take it within 10,000 miles of the mysterious planet Venus. On December 14 Venus may be a little less mysterious. Earthbound man will have his first clues to the nature of his neighbors.

To be sure, we must still qualify the claim to success. It is a long way to Venus—180 million miles by the roundabout route of *Mariner II*. There is an old law of the launching pad which says that if anything can possibly go wrong, it will. It is not the part of pessimism to suggest that the law applies also to interplanetary travel. The fantastic spacecraft is tumbling through an unknown void and no one can guess at the perils which may beset it along the way.

*Mariner II*, on its flight into the unknown, will report back important information—information that is absolutely essential if man, himself, is ever to set forth on a similar journey. Once in the vicinity of Venus, the flying laboratory should gather data on the cloud-shrouded planet.

Already, however, *Mariner II* has told us something about the overall capabilities of the United States in the space age. The Russians' single shot at Venus came within 65,000 miles. But there is only mathematical proof of the near-miss, for the radios of the Soviet Venus probe were dead long before it reached the planet. Since that shot on February 12, 1961, Soviet scientists have concentrated on man in space. They have done well and admittedly they lead in this one aspect of the space race. But from an overall and scientific point of view, the United States is clearly ahead.

Whatever may happen next Tuesday—or on December 14—the Venus shot is a fine boost to the morale of the American people. We probably needed it. Some were a bit shaken by the twin orbiting of the cosmonauts. Certainly we hope that those who belittle the whole space effort will not attempt to minimize the meaning of *Mariner II*.

We do not minimise it. Indeed, we stand in awe at this daring assault on the cosmos which has beckoned man but always rebuffed him. Tonight, look out on the brightness of the evening star and know that the knowledge-seeking emissary of planet earth has a rendezvous with history.

## Wyoming Valley's Tourism Treasury Is a Priceless One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I submit another in a series of articles on the early history of Wyoming Valley that has been appearing in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent. This particular feature appeared in that publication on August 12, 1962.

The article follows:

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Sunday Independent, Aug. 12, 1962]

WYOMING VALLEY'S TOURISM TREASURY IS A PRICELESS ONE—ABRAHAM PIKE—DESERTER AND PATRIOT

How Pike and a Sergeant Boyd, who also deserted from the British Army in Canada, got to Wyoming Valley, or their reason for selecting this frontier area in fleeing from British Army service, is not known.

Both were in Wilkes-Barre less than a year after the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775), but neither drew community attention until the hectic days of June 1778, when word was received of a possible attack by British and Indian forces—an attack that did come and ended in the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming.

TRAINED MILITIA

There is nothing glowing to be gleaned from the early records other than Pike and Boyd "made themselves useful in aiding to train the militia"—because of their experience as professional soldiers in crack British regiments.

That Pike took part in the Battle of Wyoming is a matter of record, but more must be mentioned about the part he played.

When the line of battle was formed at 3 p.m. on that fateful day, July 3, 1778, Pvt. Abraham Pike was stationed with the 6th Continental Line on the extreme right.

Lt. Col. Zebulon Butler, commander in chief, eager to ascertain the exact whereabouts of the British and Indian forces, rode along the line to seek a volunteer for this service.

Pvt. Abraham Pike offered his service—knowing that capture would mean death as a deserter—and was accepted.

He went forward, found the enemy gathered in considerable numbers in the immediate vicinity of Fort Wintermute, and, without being discovered, returned to report the situation to Lieutenant Colonel Butler, who gave the signal to advance.

Private Pike survived the battle and massacre.

DID NOT FLEE

Unlike many of the settlers, who fled from the valley, Pike determined to stay and meet any Indian resistance head on in his desire to establish a home for himself and a wife.

This he did.

Not only was the hamlet of Pike's Creek named for him, but the beautiful stream bearing the same name and Pike's Creek Reservoir.

He earned the reputation of a fierce Indian fighter and some of the other settlers felt that his intense hatred was keeping the redskins stirred up.

But Pike, a married man and father by 1780, has established a home and farm along the creek to bear his name, despite the ever present danger of marauding Indians whom he defeated at all turns.

For a time after the Sullivan expedition and the sound defeat of the Indians, there was comparative peace.

But Abraham Pike was not through fighting and outwitting redskins.

CAPTURED BY INDIANS

It was March 28, 1780, when Asa Upson and a boy, Jonah Rogers, who were making sugar on the Plymouth Flats, were suddenly surrounded by Indians and captured. Upson was killed and Rogers was carried off.

The Indians then made their way to the Back Mountain home of Abraham Pike where they surprised him and his wife while they were making sugar in a field. They made camp and helped themselves to Pike's sugar.

The next day, the Indians proceeded to what is now Orange where they captured Moses Van Campen, his aged father and Peter Pence. They killed the elder Van Campen.

Before going to Orange the Indians stripped and painted Mrs. Pike and allowed her to return to her infant, which they had bundled and thrown on the roof of the Pike cabin in the morning when they broke camp.

The prisoners then were led to the mouth of Wysox Creek where they made a daring escape.

STORY OF ESCAPE

The boy, Jonah Rogers, told this story of the escape, which was recorded by military authorities:

"In the afternoon of the day before we reached the place of encampment we came to a stream. I was tired and fatigued with the journey; my feet were sore and I was just able to proceed. Pike told the chief of the gang that he would carry me over on his shoulders. The old chief, in a gruff voice, said: 'Well.' Pike whispered in my ear as we were crossing the stream: 'Jonah, don't close your eyes tonight. When they sleep take the knife from the chief and cut the cords with which I am bound.' I was the only one of the prisoners who was not bound every night—the old chief took me under his blanket. The nights were raw and cold, and though protected in this way I thought I should perish. This much of the project was communicated by Pike to the other prisoners. Toward nightfall they halted, kindled a fire, partook of their evening meal, and were soon stretched on the ground. In a few minutes the old chief was asleep, and in the course of half an hour the savages were all snoring; but Pike knew his friends were awake, from the occasional half-suppressed cough.

"Pike was the nearest to me and not over 2 feet in distance. It was a terrific effort for me to make up my mind to perform my part of the business, for I knew that instant death would be the penalty in case of failure. But, as time passed on, and the snoring of the savages grew louder and louder, my courage seemed to gather new strength. I had noticed where the old chief lay down; the knife in the belt was on the side next to me. I peered out from under the blanket and I saw the embers of the fire still aglow and a partial light of the moon. I also saw the hands of Pike elevated. I thought the time had come, and these 2 hours of suspense I had passed were more terrible than all the rest of my life put together. I cautiously drew the knife from the scabbard in the chief's belt, and, creeping noiselessly out from under the blanket, I passed over to Pike and severed the cords from his hands."

USED TOMAHAWKS

"All was the silence of death save the gurging noise made by the savages in their sleep. Pike cut the cords that bound the other prisoners. We were all now upon our feet. The first thing was to remove the guns of the Indians—the work for us to do was to be done with tomahawks and knives. The guns were carefully removed out of sight, and each of us had a tomahawk. Van Campen placed himself over the chief and Pike over another. I was too young for the encounter and stood aloof. I saw the tomahawks of Pike and Van Campen flash in the dim light of the half-smoldering flames; the next moment the crash of two terrible blows followed in quick succession, when 7 of the 10 arose in a state of momentary stupefaction and bewilderment, and then came the hand-to-hand conflict in the contest for life. Though our enemy were without arms, they were not disposed to yield. Pence now seized one of the guns, fired and brought one down; four were now killed and two dangerously wounded, when the others, with terrific yells, fled at the report of the gun. As they ran, Van Campen threw his tomahawk and buried it in the shoulder of one of them. This Indian, with a terrible scar on his shoulder blade, I saw years after when he acknowledged how it came there."

Pike returned to his wife and child to spend the remainder of his life in the neighborhood to be named for him.

There are no Pike descendants.

Following Pike, Nehemiah Ide and Jeremiah Brown in 1801 became the first settlers in what is now Lehman Township.

## Pakistan International Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Ayub Khan, President of the Republic of Pakistan, disclosed last week that he would pay an official state visit to the United States during the middle of September. I understand that he will be visiting with the President at the White House for conferences at that time. His visit brings to mind the great cooperation between our two countries these many years.

When the President of Pakistan visited the United States a few years ago, he was given a parade up Broadway and many Americans had the pleasure of meeting firsthand this unique gentleman. More recently, when Mrs. John F. Kennedy, wife of the President, visited Pakistan, good will was continued when she flew aboard the Pakistan International Airlines' jet to Karachi.

The President of Pakistan will arrive aboard a Pakistan International Airlines plane for his visit and has been greatly responsible for the establishment and growth of this friendly government airline, which flies not only to our eastern neighbor, but also stops in London, Rome, Frankfurt and many other cities of the West.

Pakistan and the United States have always been close friends. As a matter of fact, aboard each Pakistan International Airlines jetplane is shown a first-run American movie. On every flight both first-class and tourist-class passengers see first-run American films at no charge. The food, of course, is a combination of American, European, and Far Eastern, depending on the personal tastes of the passenger. Small gifts of perfume are even given out, and the stewardesses are dressed in the native costumes of Pakistan.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I have had occasions to meet with some of the executives of the Pakistan International Airlines, as well as their Government executives. They are a most progressive group. Their courtesy, cooperation and friendliness have been most important in the relationship between our two countries.

Abroad their planes they offer almost everything, from haute cuisine hors d 'oeuvres to flaming desserts. Their Boeing 707, Boeing 720–B, Super Constellations, are American airplanes with Pakistan crews and still another sign of friendly cooperation. Their service links New York with London, Rome, Geneva, Frankfurt, Beirut, Teheran, Karachi, Bombay, Dacca and Delhi, and is helping to bring the United States closer to our friends from the Far East, and our friends in Europe as well.

I want to take this opportunity to personally welcome Pakistan International Airlines to the United States. They have recently opened new offices at 608 Fifth Avenue in New York City and we all wish them well in this endeavor.

Welcome to America.

## The California Water Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, a very distinguished Californian, Mr. William E. Warne, director, department of water resources and administrator of the Resources Agency of California, delivered an outstanding address before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress during their last session in Washington, D.C. Because of its importance to our State, as well as to the Nation, I am inserting it in the RECORD that others may have the benefit of the information which it contains with reference to cooperation between a State and the Federal Government in water development.

THE CALIFORNIA WATER PROJECT

(By William E. Warne)

California today is in the midst of one of the largest water development programs so far undertaken. California is in the water business today for one essential reason: It has no alternative.

The search for solutions to California's water problems is not new. It has been in progress since the first State legislature met in 1850. The stream-gaging program was started then and is still going on. It has provided much of the basic data required to launch many water development programs.

Local agencies felt the pressing water need nearly 100 years ago. Early in the 20th century, cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco were forced to search in far mountain valleys for new supplies.

Much of California's water supplies has been developed by local water districts. California adopted the district concept of water development with the passage of the Wright Act in 1887. This sparked an era that has seen more than 950 dams and reservoirs constructed in the State. The initiative of the irrigation districts alone has served to water more than half of the land presently irrigated in California.

Federal agencies also have played a big part in the water resources development in California. The Corps of Engineers has planned and built monumental navigation, flood control, debris control, and water storage projects in California.

The Central Valley project, originally conceived by the State, was adopted and constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation. It is one of several important reclamation projects in the State.

The Central Valley project was designed to supply water for irrigation and municipal supplies to improve navigation on the Sacramento River, to provide adequate stream flows to halt sea water intrusion in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, to control floods in the valley, to generate hydroelectric power, and to serve other purposes, such as providing expanded recreation facilities.

Water development then has not been lacking in California. But even with the imaginative and farsighted programs which have been carried out in the water field by many levels of government, water development has not kept pace with greatly increasing needs.

Except for a strip along the Pacific coast north of San Francisco, California is semiarid or outright desert. We are perhaps the first State to face immense population growth in an arid area.

California's population is now about 16 million and is increasing at the rate of more than half a million each year. There is every reason to believe this increase will continue for as long as we can now foresee.

We are blessed with much potentially good land and with a climate that provides the opportunity for a wonderful agriculture and a wonderful life. Water, however, must be supplied in order to sustain them.

California's great agricultural production, highest of all in crop and livestock value, comes 80 percent from irrigated land, yet the irrigated land is but 8 percent of the total area of the State.

Our main problem in California comes down to the fact that nature has not provided the right amount of water in the right places at the right times.

Well over 70 percent of the water of California is in the northern half of the State, while nearly 80 percent of the water requirements are in the southern half. Throughout the State, the bulk of rainfall occurs in a few winter months, while the summers are long and dry.

This year, for the first time in 4 years, we have come close to having a normal water year. For the past 3 years, we have experienced drought. Even a normal water year does not alleviate generally the water problems in California.

I mentioned earlier that California's earliest efforts to develop a workable State water plan resulted in what is now the great Central Valley project of the Federal Bureau of Reclamation. That project, however, was not conceived as a lasting answer to the State's growing water needs. Something more had to be done. The Bureau has expanded the original concept several times and, just to serve the Central Valley, may well expand it more in the future. But still, something more had to be done.

The California Legislature in 1946 authorized a complete study of the State's water resources, problems, and needs. This study disclosed that we have enough water in California for all of our needs for as long as we can reasonably foresee the future. The next step was to work out a general plan for comprehensive water development throughout the State. The California water plan, adopted in 1959, was the result.

The State water plan was not hastily put together or assembled on cloud 9. It was developed out of the accumulation of decades of basic data and surveys of needs and requirements.

Through the adoption of the plan, note that the State of California made no effort to preempt the field of construction and did not do so. The plan anticipates that local, private, and Federal agencies will build those units of the comprehensive plan that fall into their programs and are of sufficient interest to them to warrant their efforts.

The comprehensive plan very likely will never be completed because it is in effect without end. Some of the projects are a long, long way in the future, beyond our ability to see plainly all needs and all possibilities of satisfying them. Therefore, like a camera, it has placed the nearer objects in much sharper focus than the farther ones. The plan is flexible and subject to continued refinement. But it exists and it is useful, especially as a guide to what needs to be done next and how to avoid doing an expedient thing now that will stand in the way of doing a much more important thing later.

By adopting this plan, the State recognized that it must assume a leading role in the coordination of its own comprehensive water development. It recognized that the State itself, must finance and build essential elements of the plan that lie outside the programs of other agencies, local or Federal, private or public.

Immediately following the decision, the present comprehensive State water project was authorized. California needed this project. The project was completely out of the purview of any existing Federal agency. It was beyond the capability of any local agency.

The project that California needed to meet recognized requirements for the next 30 years, was broader than a comprehensive river basin project, bigger than the Central Valley. It was interregional. It was transmountain. It was multibasin. It was, in a word, a statewide project.

The State water project is now being started and it is all of these things I have said of it because California herself occupies more than one region, is not encompassed by any one river basin, is divided north and south and twice east and west by mountain ranges. Therefore, the State alone can provide the unifying element to resolve statewide water problems.

That we intend to cooperate with the Federal Government is evident in the very structure of our program. The San Luis project, a key feature of both the State water project and the Central Valley project, will be financed, built and operated jointly by California and the Federal Government. This is cooperation at its highest level. The Oroville Dam will be financed 22 percent by the Corps of Engineers up to a total of $85 million, this representing flood control values.

Where do we stand then with this project today?

California voted $1.75 billion in bonds and added about $300 million of water funds from offshore oil royalties to finance the project. Water users are signing contracts to repay the costs.

We are actually delivering water through facilities of the State water project. Eight days ago in Livermore Valley, in the heart of northern California, we began to service an area of need through the first reaches of the South Bay Aqueduct.

Further north, work has begun at Oroville Dam and Reservoir, a complex which will include the largest zoned-fill dam in the world. At Oroville, relocation of highways and railroads is virtually completed and work on the first of two diversion tunnels is under way. We have called for bids on the main embankment, which will tower 735 feet above the streambed, and we expect construction to begin on this by the fall of the year.

Above Oroville we have completed Frenchman Dam, one of five small dams which will be used for recreational and water supply purposes in Plumas County in the northern part of the State.

The San Luis project, now that the contract between the Bureau and the State covering the joint facilities has passed review of the Congress, is about to go ahead. Actual construction will begin early in 1963.

We have now signed water service contracts with five districts throughout California, for a total of 1,800,000 acre-feet. The completed project, we estimate, will have a firm annual yield of approximately 4 million acre-feet. So you can see that we are close to making the project pay for itself, and this early in our contract negotiation schedule.

We are busy now with final negotiations for rights-of-way all along the project. We are working out final alinements for the aqueduct that will cross the vast San Joaquin Valley and bridge the Tehachapi Mountains into southern California.

We have included $130 million for small local units, usually in the watersheds of origin, and have financed the first few of these, they to be built by local districts.

We have set 1972 as the year when we expect to deliver project water in the south at Perris Reservoir in Riverside County. We expect to meet the schedule. Having done so we expect to shift water distances of 750 miles north to south from areas of plenty to areas of scarcity. The project will be used to capacity by 1990 and additional conservation works will have been required by then on north coastal streams. Plans are under way to be ready with projects on the Eel or Trinity Rivers by 1975 or 1980 for this purpose.

The key to California's present situation is that our State, faced with extraordinary growth and skyrocketing needs, has taken the plunge. We have gone all the way in. We are pledged to bring forth statewide solutions, using all the resources available to us, including our own.

We are not trying to elevate the State over the Nation. We are simply endeavoring to follow the American tenet in the democratic way. We are trying to do for ourselves the water tasks that we need to have done and that are peculiar to our State and to this time. The task of building California has necessitated the undertaking now of the State water project. It is as simple as that.

I hope other States and the Federal Government will understand our problems and sympathize with us as we move to solve them. Some precedents are being established. I am proud to be a part of the administration of Governor Brown who has had the vision and the fortitude to tackle this job. The project is worth building for California.

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## Medicare in England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney, S.C., Ledger, of September 4, 1962:

MEDICARE IN ENGLAND

National health service in England goes very much farther than President Kennedy's proposed "medicare" would in this country. But the people in England, including the doctors, or at least most of the latter, are well pleased with the British plan. That is

what a young Britisher, David Jennings, a native of Canterbury, who is a guest in a Cheraw home, told the Cheraw Chronicle in a discussion of a comparison of the two plans.

Here is what Mr. Jennings said in an article he wrote for the Chronicle:

"To an Englishman who has lived with the national health service since 1948, it would seem inconceivable that anyone could build a convincing argument against it. But one is inclined to forget the different circumstances which surrounds both cases. Britain is a country in which socialism is popular. Indeed, at this very moment, the Socialists are the favorites to win the forthcoming general elections.

"In America one could quite truthfully say the opposite is the case. Socialism here from my experience is almost a dirty word or at least treated with extreme suspicion. The medicare bill indisputably smacks of socialism, however mild, and correspondingly is distasteful to Americans for that very reason. This makes a clinical view of the bill purely on its merits almost impossible.

"The medicare bill was intended to relieve the elderly citizens of the crippling burden of medical bills, which, unless one is lucky enough to die quickly, are almost inevitable. It did this by paying for the cost of hospitalization for a set period. It did not pay for the medicines and miscellaneous needs. By British standards, the medicare bill was a very weak dose.

"For the British National Health Service provides free medical services for everybody from birth to death. This covers their every need, from visits to the doctors to prescriptions, hospitalization, operations and aftercare. Dental service is free to anyone under 21, with only a comparatively small charge for adults. Opticians provide Government-subsidized spectacles. This all costs the taxpayer approximately $1.50 per week, and from this charge, one is also provided unemployment benefits, national assistance and old-age pensions.

"Whatever small sacrifice the British doctors are required to make to Government supervision seems, objectively speaking, a small price to pay for the relief and peace of mind of all sections of the community. The doctors themselves certainly don't act as if they have lost something. Indeed the current popularity of the national health service among doctors is a good measure of its success in Britain. So I hope I can be excused for saying the Americans in their excitement over medicare appear to be making much ado about nothing."

## Arthur J. Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that recent editorials appearing in the Chicago Daily Tribune and the Peoria Journal Star relative to the appointment of Arthur J. Goldberg to the Supreme Court be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point. Both of the editorials pay high tribute and praise to the Secretary of Labor whom I have often characterized as the most effective of President Kennedy's Cabinet. We have our opposing views it is true but I certainly would not let that in any way detract from the outstanding job Mr. Goldberg has performed in the past as Secretary of Labor, and I am sure that he will likewise serve with distinction on the Nation's highest Court.

The editorials follow:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune]

MR. JUSTICE GOLDBERG

The appointment of Arthur J. Goldberg to the Supreme Court has been received with general approval throughout the United States. It has been particularly well received in Chicago where Mr. Goldberg is known most intimately, for here he was born, went to school and college, studied law, and first distinguished himself as a practicing lawyer.

We are not among those who will undertake to predict how Mr. Goldberg will vote on the important cases that are about to come to the Court's attention. We will venture to predict that he is too good a lawyer to accept specious defenses even of causes which he favors, and he is too independent a man to allow former associations with clients or Government to dominate his thinking on the bench.

Mr. Goldberg showed great promise when he was graduated from Northwestern University's Law School at the head of his class. He has been an able, disinterested, and tireless public servant since he became Secretary of Labor. There is every reason to hope that as a Justice of the Supreme Court he will make an important contribution to the law of this country.

Those who think that Mr. Goldberg will be a radical judge because he represented great trade unions as a lawyer may be fooled as others were fooled when Justice Frankfurter was appointed to the Court. They were certain that Mr. Frankfurter would be the least conservative man on the bench and that his agile mind would be at the service of every leftist cause that came to the Court's attention.

In fact, Mr. Justice Frankfurter retires from the Court amid the sighs of conservatives who have come to regard him as their strongest friend on the bench. We doubt that this reputation is wholly deserved, but Mr. Frankfurter has been, indeed, the chief spokesman for judicial restraint, meaning that he doesn't want the Supreme Court to invade the territory that he thinks the Constitution gives to the various State legislatures, State courts and the State and Federal regulatory commissions. This attitude of his has made him a radical when these bodies have gone that way and a conservative when they have moved in the other direction.

Mr. Frankfurter will be missed from the Court. We may be sure that the new man will be very different but he, too, is a man of outstanding talents and in the long run may prove to be no less influential in setting the Court's direction.

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Daily Star]

LABOR DAY AND THE MAN FROM ILLINOIS

This is a proud day for the laboring man of Illinois, thanks to a Chicago Jew with a mind like a steel trap.

Arthur Joseph Goldberg, more than any other man labor's advocate, will shortly take a seat on the Supreme Court of the United States.

This fact is a recognition that organized labor has come a long way. In fact, arrived.

The Justices of the Supreme Court hold in their hands a power second only to that of the President. Membership on this tribunal must therefore be accorded with great care, and it is our view that this has historically been the case.

Arthur Goldberg's choice has been roundly acclaimed by Democrat and Republican alike—an evidence that his judgment is the sort which can best serve America.

There can be no doubt that Goldberg's passions lie with the laboring man. In his critical position as Secretary of Labor he never attempted to deny this fact. But his actions as labor secretary have proven that he could lay aside this prejudice and administer the law of the land fairly.

Quoting the Italian historian, Gaetano Salvemini, Goldberg has said: "We cannot be impartial. We can only be intellectually honest * * * aware of our passions and on guard against them. Impartiality is a dream, and honesty, a duty."

Goldberg is no dreamer. His action as labor secretary—running off from his Washington desk to try to hammer some sense into labor-management negotiators right at their bargaining tables—is one of the most vivid demonstrations of common sense we've seen come out of the Kennedy Cabinet.

We expect that Mr. Goldberg will apply the same sort of tireless attention to the great legal questions which will come before the Court. We also expect that his prejudice will show—at times—in favor of the liberal concepts which are ingrained in the labor movement he rose from. Let's look at his background.

The eighth child of a poor Chicago immigrant family, Goldberg graduated at the head of his law school class at Northwestern in the depression year of 1930. By the mid-thirties he was in the thick of organized labor's battle for recognition.

After wartime service as an OSS officer organizing Nazi opposition in occupied Europe, Goldberg came back to his practice in Chicago and by 1948 had been appointed general counsel of the CIO. In this role he was the main challenger of the Taft-Hartley law which labor so despised. He lost the big battle, but he is credited with convincing the bench he will now sit upon that pensions are legitimate goal of collective bargaining.

His work on the merger of the AFL–CIO is well known and his inspiration is credited with the formation of labor's ethical practices committee which led to expulsion of the Teamsters and other scandal-ridden unions.

In 1959 he conducted labor's negotiations in the 116-day steel strike which resulted in a major victory for the United Steelworkers. Yet early this year Goldberg was able to set aside his prejudice and bring about a steel settlement which most of the pundits in the land were sure would never come about without a strike.

Throughout his service as labor secretary, Goldberg has escaped any damning criticism from management. Surprisingly his most severe castigation has come from the AFL–CIO which at times has felt he might go too far in protecting the public interest—at labor's expense.

From this we can see that Arthur Goldberg, a man of labor, is also a man of the people.

## Mr. Justice Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join a multitude of Americans in congratulating the President on the outstanding appointment which he made to the Supreme Court of the United States in the person of Arthur Goldberg. In my opinion, Mr. Goldberg has done a remarkable job as Secretary of Labor and will be sorely missed in the Cabinet. How-

ever, I know he has much to contribute to the judiciary.

I am inserting an article by George E. Sokolsky which appeared in the Washington Post on September 5, 1962, and would recommend it to my colleagues who may have missed it because I consider it a most fitting tribute to both Arthur Goldberg and Justice Frankfurter:

THESE DAYS—MR. JUSTICE GOLDBERG

(By George E. Sokolsky)

As President Kennedy had to appoint a successor to Justice Felix Frankfurter on the U.S. Supreme Court, it is only fitting that he should have found a moderate liberal, one who believes in a humanitarian capitalism and who respects the law. It is always to be presumed that when a President makes a principal appointment, he is likely to follow his own ideas and his own conscience. President Kennedy is developing into a moderate liberal.

When Justice Frankfurter was appointed to the Supreme Court, he was attacked as an excessive liberal, as a Socialist, as an enemy of our way of life. During the whole of his career, Frankfurter had been a Jeffersonian Democrat, a firm believer in our law, based on the Constitution. When his ideas conflicted with those of some of his colleagues, many conservatives took him to their hearts as the leader of the conservatives on the Bench. Actually, Frankfurter was motivated neither by the excesses of doctrinaire liberalism nor by the excesses of doctrinaire conservatism.

He believed in the law—in the law as an instrument to safeguard the individual human being from the brutality of tyranny, any kind of tyranny. And there can be a tyranny of the majority of minorities or of individuals. This is a Jeffersonian concept of Americanism and is incorporated in the Declaration of Independence as well as in the Constitution of the United States.

In Arthur Goldberg, Frankfurter's successor to the Supreme Court Bench, the country will find a jurist of the same cast of mind. Goldberg emerged to prominence out of the big labor unions just as Frankfurter reached prominence as a professor in the Harvard Law School who was deeply concerned with the problems of labor. But wherever Goldberg served labor, he was a stabilizing personality because he believed in the law and in the sanctity of a contract and in the need for establishing a system in industry which would keep up the productivity of the United States by a labor-management relationship based on binding contracts. The Communists want no contracts because, contracts in effect, are a limitation on revolutionary tactics.

Goldberg has undoubtedly been the most active and most effective Secretary of Labor in the history of that office. He brought to his work a new concept; namely, that in every industrial dispute a third party, the people of the United States, sits at the table. The people have rights, too. When the engineers strike on aircraft, depriving the people of an essential service and wasting capital investment, the people as customers, as investors, have rights which must be represented.

He has not taken the position that labor is always right or that management and the investor are always wrong. But he has taken the position that the welfare of the United States must come first. We cannot afford the luxury of labor laissez faire any more than we can afford the luxury of capitalist laissez faire. We are in trouble and we must face our troubles courageously. The time when the individual can sacrifice the general welfare and the survival of his country to satisfy personal whim or even personal purposes is gone and is not likely to return.

Arthur Goldberg will be a worthy successor to Felix Frankfurter as a moderate jurist who probably will oppose making the Supreme Court a third legislative body. Frankfurter opposed that because it is essentially unconstitutional. The Court has to do with interpreting law, not with making law. The temptation for a Supreme Court Justice or any justice to pursue obiter dicta rather than the law is not unusual. Enormous restraint is required to remember that even Solomon had to think twice before rendering a final decision. On the other hand, were it not for the courage of Chief Justice John Marshall we should not today be a nation. His decisions bound the 13 sovereign States into one lasting United States.

It is sad to see Justice Frankfurter go. It is unfortunate that Goldberg will not be able to complete his term as Secretary of Labor. It is fortunate that President Kennedy resisted all the politics of any judicial appointment, the pulling and bargaining, the employment of powerful friends, and selected one who is by experience and temperament worthy to sit on the Supreme Court bench in these trying times of transition.

## Our Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, today there are more than 17 million persons over age 65 in the United States. These people are not an abstract statistic. They are individual human beings—people who have fought our two world wars, who stood by America in the depression—people who have given the best years of their lives to make our country great. We cannot allow our elder citizens to be discarded and neglected. Their wisdom and experience can serve the Nation well for years to come. These men and women are a national asset, not a sterile burden. They are still productive and should take a place of honor in our society.

The four great problems of the aged are employment, income, housing, and health. I am proud to be a Member of a Congress and administration which have attacked these problems by operating and perfecting existing programs and seeking to create new ones.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The great problem in employment is the reluctance on the part of employers to hire older workers. A nationwide program to combat discrimination and to provide direct help in obtaining employment is carried on through the Federal-State employment service system of the Department of Labor. Services include employment counseling, job solicitation, and placement. In fiscal year 1961, 1.1 million older workers were placed in gainful employment by this service.

Also, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of Health, Education, and Welfare helps older workers who are disabled to return to work. During fiscal year 1961, 1.204 million workers were rehabilitated in Indiana. Assuming that Indiana is close to the national average, about 30 percent of these workers were over 45.

INCOME PROTECTION

The second great problem of the elderly is maintenance of income. Because of retirement, the person over 65 is forced to get by on drastically reduced income. The median annual income of couples over 65 is $2,530, compared with $5,314 for couples under 65. But senior citizens are protected from poverty and degradation by the Social Security Act. The Social Security Administration protects the elderly through two programs: Public assistance and old-age survivors, and disability insurance—OASDI.

About one-fourth of the population over 65 are indigent, and qualify for old-age assistance under public assistance. According to the latest available statistics, in June 1962, 24,967 Indiana residents received a total of $1,712,179—an average of $68.58 per person.

But the greatest help to the aged is social insurance provision provided by OASDI. This program pays retirement benefits to older workers and survivor benefits to their widows and dependent children. More than 7 out of 10 Americans over 65 are receiving benefits under this program. In 1961, 452,819 Indiana beneficiaries received $363,515,000 in OASDI payments.

Furthermore, following in Franklin Roosevelt's footsteps, President Kennedy secured the following benefit increases in OASDI from Congress in 1961: The retirement age for men was lowered from 65 to 62. The minimum monthly benefit was raised from $33 to $40. Work-time requirements for fully insured status were liberalized; and widows' benefits were increased.

ADEQUATE HOUSING

The third problem of the aged is adequate housing. The report to the President of the Federal Council on Aging indicates that twice as many people over 65 live in low-rental housing—$30 a month—than younger people, which means that the quality of their housing is often poor. A remedy to this is now being sought by a number of Federal programs. First, the Public Housing Administration pays grants to local housing authorities in order to subsidize rents of low-cost apartments for the elderly. Under the Kennedy administration, the allowance per room has been raised $500 and single men and women as young as 62 have been extended eligibility. The estimated expenditure for this purpose in fiscal 1962 is $22.5 million. Second, the Community Facilities Administration makes available loans to private corporations or consumers' cooperatives in order to finance medium-cost housing construction for the elderly. The Kennedy administration has raised the loan authorization for this program from $50 million to $125 million. Third, for elderly persons who desire to buy homes but find difficulty because they are considered poor mortgage risks, the Federal Housing Administration has a program of mortgage insurance on liberal terms.

The anticipated figure for this program in fiscal 1962 is $60 million.

HEALTH CARE AND HEALTH CARE COSTS

The fourth and greatest problem confronting our aged is health. At the very time that their income is at a lifetime low, their medical expenses are at a lifetime high. After age 65, 9 out of 10 persons are hospitalized at least once; 2 out of 3 twice or more. And they stay longer. The average stay of the person over 65 is 14.9 days as compared with 7.6 days for the person under 65. According to Health, Education, and Welfare, half of all aged couples have medical costs exceeding $800 per year, and half of all unmarried aged persons have costs exceeding $600 per year. Furthermore, private insurance coverage of the elderly is grossly inadequate. Only 30 percent of persons over 65 have three-fourths of their hospital costs covered, as compared with 54 percent for persons under 65.

These statistics conclusively show that our older citizens are confronted with medical bills far out of proportion to their ability to pay. The American people have gone to a great deal of trouble to insure that our elders live out their well-deserved retirement in peace and prosperity. We have set up a comprehensive social security system and have constantly added new programs and increased benefits. But we have not protected against the costs of illness.

At the present time the only operational program specifically directed toward giving medical aid to the aged is the Kerr-Mills Act. But beneficiaries are limited by a strict means test and only half the States have agreed to participate in the program. Indiana has not yet enrolled.

Therefore, further action is needed. Such action has already been proposed by President Kennedy. It is the medicare or King-Anderson bill. Medicare is a comprehensive medical care plan providing four types of hospital and related services; inpatient hospital services, skilled nursing home services, outpatient hospital diagnostic services, and home health services. Up to 90 days of hospital care and up to 180 days of skilled nursing home care will be provided. While medicare will not pay doctors' bill or surgeons' fees, it will defray the most costly of all the medical expenses which the elderly must face. Finally, it insures the integrity of our medical institutions by expressly forbidding Government interference with hospital operation or the patient's choice of doctor.

ELDER CITIZENS AND THE ECONOMY

Last year the Federal Government spent over $15 billion in programs for the aged. The figure is expected to rise to $25 billion by 1967. This should make it quite clear that we are moving ahead with programs for our senior citizens.

Every dollar spent is but small recompense for the services these people have rendered to our country, and I assure you that I shall give these programs my continued and vigorous support.

A great portion of this expenditure is a repayment of moneys contributed earlier by the beneficiaries to the social security fund during their productive years. Every dollar spent has a threefold effect. First, it helps the individual live a better and happier life. Second, it serves to bolster the independence of individuals, thus reducing the possibility that they will become a burden on the local and State tax rate; and, third, it allows our older citizens to continue to be an effective force in the economy and not a drag upon it.

SUMMARY

The Nation is becoming aware of the serious problems confronting the elder citizens. In order to take advantage of the potential contributions this growing segment can make to the future of our Nation, the problems of employment, income protection, adequate housing, and health care must be met. I am happy that so much progress is being made in these vital areas and I pledge my continued support to the forward looking programs which are being presented to meet the needs of our elder citizens.

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## Edouard Cournand, American Businessman

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to know Mr. Edouard Cournand for some time. He is a friend as well to our distinguished Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, and has been an invaluable aid in many official governmental functions throughout the years.

Mr. Cournand, a successful businessman in every degree, is president of Lanvin Parfums. He is responsible for our ladies wearing such fragrances as Arpege, My Sin, Crescendo, Spanish Geranium, and countless other favorites. Just a few weeks ago Mr. Cournand's color portrait graced the cover of the distinguished "bible" of the business community, Business Week magazine, in a five-page story by Business Week's marketing editor, Mr. William Kroger.

Mr. Cournand's story is the story of an American immigrant who turned into a wonderful success. His donations to charity, his good works in Government, and his dedication to keeping the American woman as the most beautiful in the world will long be remembered. Some of the writings of Mr. Kroger in Business Week are most interesting, but at this time I would like to call to your attention the article on Mr. Cournand which appeared in the issue of August 11, 1962, in Business Week.

It reads as follows:

FRAGRANCE MEASURED IN MILLIONS—FOR EDOUARD L. COURNAND, LANVIN PARFUMS ARE AN $18.1 MILLION BUSINESS

Edouard L. Cournand is an American citizen and an American businessman with a heavy French accent.

He's president of Lanvin Parfums, Inc., and with Gallic cunning tries to trap every American female into feeling that she's undressed if she ever appears in public without wearing fragrance as well as clothes.

He's making progress. Lanvin's Arpege is as well known as another perfume name, and may even be the bestseller. Only the names of Chanel No. 5, My Sin (also by Lanvin), and one or two others come as quickly to mind. Lanvin's 1961 sales—$18.1 million—probably were the highest in the $500 million a year fragrance business, but there's no way of being sure because most of the company's competitors, in addition, make and market cosmetics.

Even so, Cournand laments that although the United States has the world's highest standard of living, "fragrance consumption is lower than that of many other countries."

ROAD TO RICHES

Cournand has been a post-World War I barnstorming flier, shoe salesman to Russians, traveling journalist, president of General Bronze Corp., importer of Vichy water, and manufacturer of plastic canopies for World War II airplanes. "I am a promoter," he says, and in fashioning a woman's lure of amour—a pursuit as ancient as mankind itself—he has at last found the ultimate promotion for a man of French birth and spirit.

The perfume business has given him a delightful life, delightful friends, and has made him very rich. He put $10,000 into Lanvin Parfums in November 1945, and when he sold some of his stock to the public in July 1961, Cournand and his wife netted $8¼ million after commissions. They still own 24 percent of the company; its stock is worth around $50 million at recent prices, and it nets after taxes around 12 percent on sales, which this year will top $20 million.

LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS

Cournand moves in a heady business-social atmosphere—combining the worlds of art, entertainment, science, and politics—between a 14-room apartment on New York City's Fifth Avenue, an estate on Long Island, and a centuries-old chateau he recently bought in France. He is constantly popping up with new ideas to attract attention to Lanvin, and his explanation of why women buy perfume in such satisfying quantities could be banned in Boston:

"To me, perfume is the talk of the flowers. We men, we sing, we whistle, we have a lot of ways to express ourselves. The cat purrs, the dog wags his little end. The flowers, they talk to us with their fragrance.

"Flowers are used in all festivities, we take pictures of our children in the garden. Flowers are in romance. It's very unusual that during the romantic season, the spring, that's when the flowers have tremendous fragrance. To me, they are singing their joy of coming.

"Later on in the season it is not a time of romance, it is a time of reality and all summer flowers have very little fragrance. In the animal kingdom there is no lovemaking at all in winter—only humans have fireplaces to make love in front of. So, if flowers are festive and romantic, when a woman can't wear a bouquet, she wears a drop of perfume. A woman is festive with perfume."

TOP SALESMAN

Cournand shrugs when asked whether others in the business feel as he does. "No, I've never found anyone interested in this subject. Among the chemists, as long as they can sell it, that's all they want," he says.

Edouard Cournand would be the last to denigrate salesmen. Obviously, he's one of the best. He argued his way into the French aviation force in 1914, when he was 17 years old. After the war, as customary for the sons of distinguished families—his father was a prominent physician, as is his brother, Nobel Prize Winner Andre F. Cournand—he idled a while in government service, going to Argentina as part of a military mission to sell war surplus.

In Buenos Aires, he parlayed the interests of two groups of Americans into his first promotional success. One group was trying to sell skywriting equipment, but had neither plane nor pilot. The other group was looking for someone with enough cash for advertising to take on the franchise to sell Eversharp pencils.

Cournand had no cash, but he had access to an airplane and was a pilot. He demonstrated the skywriting, and by spewing Eversharp across the sky got the pencil franchise. "In a year, I was a millionaire in francs—that was $80,000—and I returned home to show my family I was a success," he says. He was 25 years old and in another year was broke; officially, he lost the money in an unsuccessful venture to sell shoes to the Russians, but a between-us-boys twinkle says he enjoyed spending every centime of it.

MIGRATION DEAL

He wanted to get to the United States. "France is too small for me. You cannot be a young general in France." He talked the editor of a French trade magazine into paying his traveling and living expenses to Canada to write a series of articles on industry in the Dominion and in the United States. When he got to New York, he resigned his job and leased Grand Central Palace for a French trade fair. Then he went to the Franco-American Board of Trade and got its backing for the project.

He explains: "I had decided I wanted to be the representative in this country for some French business, and I thought the way to find out what kind of business was to hold a fair and see which booth most people were interested in. Then I would ask that manufacturer to let me represent him." The scheme worked, but not quite that way. He told it unknowingly to the head of Caron perfumes, who was so delighted with Cournand's enterprise that he signed him up on the spot.

THE SCENT

Cournand had to stray from the scent on occasion since, but only reluctantly and by force of circumstances. In 1927 he married the daughter of the founder of a large architectural bronze business, and at her father's insistence joined the company. "In the bronze business I was very unhappy," he recalls. After his wife died, he left General Bronze and took on the U.S. sales agency for Celestine Vichy Water. In 1940, he got the Lanvin franchise, but before he could exploit it the war cut off supplies.

By this time he was an American citizen and went to Washington to sign up with the Army Air Corps. "My old friend Hap Arnold (Gen. H. H. Arnold, head of the Air Force) told me 'Edouard, you and I are too old to fly in this war. You go back to New York and figure out something to make for us.'"

What he figured out was the one-piece plastic canopy for planes. He uses the experience to illustrate why he succeeded in the perfume business: "Everyone else builds from what exists, I look at what should be the base and I build from what should be there. I knew from aviation two things. One was the dogfight. By the end of the war it was a two-second affair. So I said in this war it was going to be a split second affair and everyone had to have visibility. Two, if you are going to make a glass dome and there's an engineering change it takes weeks because you need a steel mold. I had to find a material strong enough that could be shaped easier. When I offered it to Du Pont they said I was crazy."

MASS MARKETING

When he got back to the perfume business, nobody had ever successfully mass-merchandised imported perfume. Coty had tried it before the war, and ran into difficulties that would have swamped a company of lesser size and fewer products. Lanvin even now has only perfumes, toilet waters, bath oils, dusting and talcum powders in seven fragrances—with Arpege and My Sin perfumes and toilet waters accounting for 90 percent of sales—and in 1947 the product line was even narrower. (This summer, though, Lanvin added a suntan cream and has plans for a full line of men's toiletries.)

"Everything in this business," says a man who has made it his life, "tells us a company can't be mass and exclusive at the same time." The giants of the business—Coty, Avon, Revlon—are mass merchandisers of all forms of cosmetics and toiletries. Until Cournand, the other strictly fragrance houses limited distribution to uppercrust outlets. Says Leon Schulman, Lanvin administrative vice president and treasurer: "The industry had tried to cultivate the American abroad, not here. It was snob appeal."

Cournand hired 7 salesmen, giving each a territory so that every city in the country with a population of 50,000 or more was covered. Eventually they signed up 7,500 retailers (drugstores, department stores, and specialty shops), Lanvin backed them with heavy advertising (Now $2.5 million a year), and none of the 7 salesmen was making less than $30,000 a year and 1 was drawing down $90,000.

FRANCHISE PLAN

The business grew faster than Cournand thought his seven men could handle, so in the midfifties he offered them a chance to buy franchises; each would own a piece of the business and set up his own distribution. He's grieved that none took him up on the offer because he had to expand his field force until now he has 43 sales representatives.

Last year, when Lanvin went public, Cournand used another device to make partners of the people who sell his perfume. A special offer of 145,000 shares was made to "associates," including retailers and their employees, and about 3,500 bought Lanvin stock. Since no other fragrance house has stock on the market, an industry figure comments wryly: "You know whose fragrance those people are going to push."

INHERITANCE

In a complicated recapitalization that preceded the public issue, Cournand gave up control of Lanvin Parfums, Inc., to Lanvin Parfums S.A., the French company that originated the business. In good French tradition, Cournand wants the business to pass to Bernard Lanvin, son of the principal owner of Lanvin-Parfums S.A., and to whom Cournand has taught the business as though he were his own son. Cournand and his first wife had a daughter (now a noted ballerina in France), but he and his second wife are childless.

Anyway, at 65, Cournand wants to slow down. He sleeps at his New York apartment only Monday and Tuesday nights, and Wednesday evening drives to the estate, on a promontory jutting into Long Island Sound near Huntington. He pampers his gardens—especially strong on tulips and roses—and entertains friends engaged in almost every endeavor except selling perfume.

FRONT MAN

He is the front man and creative thinker at Lanvin; his puckishness takes wild turns with "Hortense," a dummy dressed as a French maid, which is posed in the window of Lanvin's Fifth Avenue salon in any number of situations. His attractive blond wife is executive vice president of the company and in effect the general manager. "I can analyze and see trends," he says, "but I hate patchwork, I hate detail. But my wife, she is well organized and will take care of detail like nobody."

The purpose of Cournand's thinking, the people he associates with, the salon on Fifth Avenue—even the antics of Hortense—are all to create a certain atmosphere for Lanvin fragrances. They should be not quite aloof, but desirable; they should be reached for, but by no means unreachable, for they are in 7,500 stores across the country. "I tell my wife," says Lanvin Executive Schulman, "sometimes I feel I'm pushing dope. Once a woman starts, you can't get her off it."

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## Textile Imports Threaten Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Clover, S.C., Herald of August 30, 1962:

TEXTILE IMPORTS THREATEN JOBS

(By Rose White)

We've been told that there are only two things certain in this life: Death and taxes. Well, there could be another certainty. Unless something is done to curb the foreign imports which are flooding this country, thousands of men and women are going to be without jobs.

This concern over the failure of the United States to do something about this situation is not new. In February of 1961, I received a reply to a plea to do something about the situation from Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON. He said: "During the past several years I have contacted the President and the Secretary of Commerce time and time again urging that relief be brought about by administrative action. The only answer I received was that the dangers facing American industries were brought about by competition and bad management. Whether the new administration will take a new viewpoint is difficult to say."

In August 1962 there can be little doubt as to where the "new" administration stands.

Officials of the textile industries were told that the Geneva Agreement would hold imports of 1962 to the same level as those of 1961. Now indications show that imports will be 30 percent above 1961.

The "new" administration's views are made crystal clear in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. It is based on the idea that it is proper for the President by trade agreements to grant eliminations or reductions of duties which will necessarily injure American industry, agriculture, and workers and give the President unprecedented power to eliminate some duties completely. The State Department has put constant pressure on the President's office to favor foreign economies at the expense of the "home" economy.

You are no doubt aware of the situation of the Sullivan-Southern Zipper Tape Plant here in York. Mr. J. K. (Jack) Benfield has been to Washington on many occasions in behalf of his company versus foreign imports. Cheap Japanese zipper tapes here in the United States has closed factories in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England.

Sulivan-Southern is not the only industry which is watching with increased concern. Mr. Charles Cannon, chairman of the board of Cannon Mills recently stated that the passage of this new trade bill in its present form would "destroy the jobs of many thousands of workers * * * particularly in the textile and garment industries." Mr. Roger Milliken, president of Deering-Milli-

ken Mills, joins Mr. Cannon in his appraisal of this most serious situation.

These industrial leaders have gotten together with Senators STROM THURMOND and PRESCOTT BUSH and six other bipartisan Senators and have come up with a vital revision to the Trade Expansion Act. This revision is called the "Bush amendments."

The Bush amendments would:

1. Require true reciprocity in concessions by foreign nations with provision for elimination of reductions in duties if foreign nations violate the agreement and impose restrictions against U.S. exports.

2. Require other nations to apply the most-forward-nation policy as the United States does; that is, to grant to other nations the same access to their markets which the United States affords to Asiatic and other free-world nations on reductions of duties made to the Common Market.

3. Restore the authority of Congress weakened by the proposed bill, to put into effect Tariff Commission recommendations when such recommendations are ignored or overruled by the President.

4. Strengthen the U.S. bargaining position and export situation by requiring European Common Market countries to receive our exports on terms as fair as we accord their exports.

5. Prevent complete elimination of duties when Tariff Commission finds such reductions would injure domestic producers and workers.

6. Restore and strengthen the present peril point and escape clause procedures.

7. Remove the option to the President to put workers on the dole and give "adjustment assistance" to domestic industries injured by imports in place of enforcing the escape clause and restoring the duties.

8. Provide a solution to the problem of domestic textile industries resulting from the glutting of U.S. markets by Asiatic and other producers by securing for them access to European markets which is now denied and which may continue to be denied under the provision of H.R. 11970.

A number of people, realizing that our industries are in jeopardy, have wired Senators STROM THURMOND and HARRY BYRD (chairman of Senate Finance Committee which completed hearings on the trade bill last week) to offer full support of the Bush amendments.

The time to act is not after the plants are forced to close but before. Mr. Ralph Hoke, superintendent of Cannon Mills and Mr. Benfield report that their respective plants are running well at the present. The vital question is: "What of tomorrow?"

## A Hillbilly in the Library of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article which appeared in the West Virginia Hillbilly under date of September 1:

A HILLBILLY IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS—IF YOU WERE A HABITUE OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, YOU WOULD RUN INTO NATHAN GOFF CARDER, A HILLBILLY AMONG THE BOOKS, BUT SINCE YOU AREN'T, YOU'LL HAVE TO BE SATISFIED READING HIS WRITINGS IN THIS PAPER

(By James L. Creasy)

The mighty Ohio today rolls on past steel furnaces, manufacturing cities, and seething populations, but to one man, at least, it is still the fabulous river of the past. It is the river traveled by George Washington, Daniel Boone, and George Rogers Clark—the beautiful river of Indian and French voyagers.

Known in Washington as Nathan and in West Virginia as Goff, the subject of this sketch, Nathan Goff Carder, uses his full name only when writing articles or stories for publication. Born and reared on the banks of the Ohio in Jackson County, Goff Carder is a graduate of Marietta College, Ohio State University, and did graduate work in Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. His varied experiences range from that of coal miner to university professor. He is at present employed in the U.S. Office of Education. His hobbies are writing and public speaking.

Living within sight of the Library of Congress, Mr. Carder is a familiar figure around that institution. Here he spends much leisure time pursuing his favorite subject—history. Though of a rather studious and retiring nature, he is a member of several organizations, including the American Legion, Alma Shrine Temple, Toastmasters International, the West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia.

The old maxim about taking a boy out of the country is certainly true of this West Virginian removed from the Ohio Valley. To Goff Carder, the Ohio is not only the river of his childhood, but through his travels and studies has become the river of the ages, the river that flows through the most beautiful country and has the handsomest jade-green water, the river with the richest bottoms, the greatest floods, and rocky hills indented by numerous tumbling streams along the rugged border of West Virginia. And to Goff it is a river of great historical significance. He knows the lore of the valley—of the renegade, Simon Girty; the surveyor, Crawford; and the great Shawnee Chief, Kiashuta, who spent an entire day with Washington where Ravenswood now stands. He is familiar with Christopher Gist's Journal of 1765, the Adventures of La Salle, and other early French explorers.

Mr. Carder's main interest, of course, is in the 19th century and the early steamboat days, the days when river traffic flourished after Nicholas Roosevelt took the first steamer to New Orleans back in 1811. This age, when the river was the main artery of commerce, he considers the natural beauty of its shore lines and bottom lands.

Goff Carder's nostalgia for this mighty river in America's industrial heartland is equal to that of Mark Twain's for the Mississippi. The river was his boyhood, both at work and at play. He earned his first dollar at the age of 7 helping operate a hand ferry, and his only recreation was that afforded by the river. Before the locks and dams were built, many log rafts, shanty boats, dish boats, and even "picture-gallery" boats floated down the open stream through the summer months. People along river towns thrilled to the sound of the steam calliope as a showboat rounded the bend, bringing fun, entertainment, and drama from the city. As a boy, Goff sat on such famous boats as the *Cotton Blossom*, the *Majestic, Bryant's*, and *French's New Sensation*. He witnessed, at an early age, the old favorites—"East Lynn," "Ten Nights in a Barroom," and "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Mr. Carder is truly a West Virginian with roots deep in our Mountain State. His ancestors crossed the Alleghenies to settle along the Ohio in 1804, and one of them built and operated a floating grist mill at the foot of Buffington Island, the kind of "novelty" mill which became so famous and necessary in the days of Indian warfare.

Long before West Virginia had county schoolbuses, Goff Carder walked daily to high school at Ravenswood, some 5 miles from his home. While a student he became interested in literature and had his first story published in the Ravenswood News. A poor boy with sterling character, Goff left the valley to work his way through college and then to teach in the city. Throughout the years he has continued writing periodically and has had many articles published under various pen names. He has quite a collection of sketches and stories of local color. With an unusual scholastic background and a prodigious memory, he is particularly fitted for the writing profession. But Goff has always considered writing just a means of relaxation, or hobby. His theory is that everyone should have a hobby, something to continue in the halcyon years when professional days are over. After retirement he plans to return, like the sockeyed salmon, to his native hills, live there with his family, and write a history of Jackson County.

## Cuba Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, all Americans look with grave apprehension on the events taking place in Cuba. The beaches of Florida are only a short 90 miles from the Communist enclave.

Today I have called for a restatement of the Monroe Doctrine to firm up our policy toward Castro and the Russian intervention in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. An editorial in the Palm Beach Post, September 4, asks the question, "Are we too firmly committed to the doctrine of 'too little and too late'?" This newspaper has been alert to the problem of Castro from the beginning, and has close ties to the Cuban colony in Florida. I ask that this editorial, "Cuba Doctrine" be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Palm Beach Post, Sept. 4, 1962]

CUBA DOCTRINE

President Kennedy is not in favor of "invading Cuba at this time."

However, he does support the Monroe Doctrine, under which the U.S. declares it will regard as "an unfriendly act" any interference with American Republics by a European nation.

President Kennedy has no information that Soviet "troops" have moved into Cuba recently, or that the country has received Soviet antiaircraft missiles.

The President made those statements at his news conference last Wednesday. They are interesting, but not too enlightening.

Each statement opens a new question of vital importance:

1. Does the President favor invading Cuba at some future time?

2. If he supports the Monroe Doctrine, at what point will he move to implement it?

3. When is a technician not a technician? Or, more specifically, what differentiates military technicians from "troops"?

It would appear that we are fighting a battle of semantics. The President intimates the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba would be regarded as an unfriendly act, inimical to the peace and security of the United States.

So long as such troops appear on the roster as "technicians," however, no unfriendly

act has been committed and the Monroe Doctrine is a mere scrap of paper.

Many reliable sources have confirmed that military "technicians" have been arriving in Cuba from Communist bloc countries in large numbers. In one case the "technicians" were even reported wearing Soviet fatigue uniforms.

It can be assumed they are not in Cuba to cut cane. The evidence, in fact, points to a sharply increased militaristic attitude by the Castro regime in recent weeks.

Starting with a series of provocative charges against U.S. violation of Cuban air space and espionage from ships, the Cuban Reds last Thursday fired on an unarmed U.S. Navy plane in international waters.

Probably the best evaluation of this incident came from Senator HOMER CAPEHART, Republican, of Indiana, "Russia is feeling us out," he said. "The only thing we can do is to retaliate if there are any more incidents."

Such retaliation already has been ordered by President Kennedy. But here again we are following a policy of reaction against the Communist policy of action.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., Democrat, of North Carolina, declared: "I think we should have ordered a naval blockade and stopped the Russian ships before they got to Cuba. But it is too late for that now."

Certainly it's too late to stop the ones already there, but it's not too late to stop additional ones from arriving.

If the Monroe Doctrine still is a living policy, why should not our Government notify Russia that no further occupation of Cuba—by "technicians" or troops—will be tolerated; and back up the notification with a naval blockade?

Or are we too firmly committed to the doctrine of "too little and too late"?

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## Telstar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am happy to enclose an editorial by David Lawrence, noted patriot and columnist in America, from the New York Herald Tribune of August 22, 1962, and the Washington Star of August 29, 1962. These editorials point out the happy resolution by which private enterprise was given the responsibility to develop a communications system through Telstar and other satellites in outer space. I salute Mr. Lawrence for his timely and decisive treatment of the subject, and agree with him as a citizen and in my official capacity and thank him for his comment.

When the question of nationalization, for that is what it was, and private enterprise was presented before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the U.S. House of Representatives, I hastened to side with private ownership. I knew private ownership would be more efficient, speedier, would render revenues and taxes, and had the most use. I am happy that private enterprise won the victory because private enterprise is the basis for a strong and free America, past, present, and future.

I include the fine articles referred to:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Aug. 29, 1962]

VICTORY FOR PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM—PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TELSTAR OPERATION CALLED STRONG ANSWER TO REDS

(By David Lawrence)

People's capitalism has just won a significant victory in the United States. It is a triumph that negates the very basis of Soviet communism.

For the Congress of the United States, by an overwhelming vote and with the support of the President, has just given a private corporation the opportunity to develop a communications business through Telstar and other satellites in outer space.

Had the vote in Congress gone the other way, the Communists would have gloated. For, in the Soviet Union, everything is owned by the government. The Soviets are taught that only the Government can really perform economic tasks and that a system of private profit is wrong.

In the United States, by the latest vote in Congress on the bill that provides regulation for the whole Telstar operation as far as communications are concerned, private enterprise is selected because it is experienced, more efficient and better trained through its talented personnel to do an effective job.

Some of the champions of Government ownership in their recent speeches in both Houses of Congress declared that, since the project was so big and since it might involve relations with other governments in the making of communications agreements, the task should be wholly in the hands of the American Government. The argument was made also that, since the Government had spent a good deal of money in developing the vehicle used to launch the Telstar satellite, the "people" should own the whole communications project.

But there are many things in America for which the Government has at one time or another spent large sums, and yet this has not led to Government ownership. Also, the Government once owned most of the land in the West, but it virtually gave away homesteads to attract settlers. Likewise, during wartime, enormous plants were built that became obsolete for military purposes. Aluminum plants and synthetic-rubber plants which cost many millions were sold for relatively low prices to private companies, some of which thereby got their chance to become big and successful competitors of existing companies in the same line of business.

The new measure, which has gone through both Houses and shortly will be signed by a sympathetic President, gives the public an opportunity to invest in the new corporation. Only half the stock is to be held by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.—otherwise known as the Bell System—and by other communications companies. The other half of the stock is to be sold to private investors at $100 a share.

The communications companies will elect a third of the board of directors, and the private investors will pick a third. The remaining third will be designated by the Federal Government—a very helpful method of keeping the Government posted on matters that come under the heading of Government regulation, such as the fixing of rates to the public. Monopoly is regulated in America where it touches the matter of rates to be paid by the public. Private companies are allowed what is designated as a "fair return" on invested capital, but the public interest is safeguarded against inordinate profitmaking.

The communications companies, such as A.T. & T., the Radio Corp. of America, and the Western Union Co.—all of which are privately owned—have managed under this plan to make America's communications facilities the very best in the world. While the Bell System is the largest of the telephone systems, there are 3,040 independent telephone companies in various parts of the United States owning 15 percent of all telephones.

The Bell System, moreover, like the others in the communications business, is not owned by a single interest. It has more than 2.2 million stockholders, and more than 350,000 of these are employees of the company.

In the last 20 years, the Bell System has earned for the Government of the United States in taxes a total of $9.5 billion and for State and local governments a total of $7.3 billion. This is the highest record of tax money contributed by any corporation in the world.

In other countries, where government ownership prevails, the service to the public is, by comparison, very poor. A private company has the incentive of profitmaking to spur it on to efficiency. Government-operated projects are devoid of such motive, and this is often revealed as a serious weakness.

The new Telstar project may or may not yield profits to the investors. There is no certainty that communication to other points on earth through outer space will be as economical as by cables under the seas or by radio through the atmosphere. But that is why the name "risk capital" has arisen. Investors do take risks, but they may be rewarded with good profits if the enterprises are successful.

Efficiency of service and good dividends usually have been a characteristic of private enterprise, and today there are many millions of citizens who have put their savings into enterprises of all kinds. This is "people's capitalism," and, despite the tirades by Nikita Khrushchev and other Communists who inveigh constantly against "capitalistic" countries, the system has proved successful in bringing the maximum good to the maximum number of people.

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[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 22, 1962]

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS—PUBLIC OWNERSHIP POLICY OF LIBERALS SEEN GROWING

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Shall the Government own everything, regulate everything—including prices and wages—and control the whole national economy? For many decades the answer to such a question would have been an emphatic negative, but today the Democratic Party has a substantial number of Members in Congress who openly favor Government ownership as a public policy.

The recent filibuster on the bill covering ownership of the space-satellite communications system—known as Telstar—revealed several Democratic Senators of the so-called liberal group as favoring Government ownership, despite the opposition of the administration.

Also, some Democratic members of the Senate Antitrust Committee now are demanding that the steel companies disclose data on their internal operations, which means that all competitors would see this information. Apparently the drive is on to increase Government control over the making of prices. This is a short step away from wage setting.

Proposed mergers, moreover, of railroads and consolidations of airlines are before governmental bodies today for approval or disapproval. The prospect is that many workers will lose their jobs because of such mergers, though the companies predict that the gain in efficiency will result in improved service and eventually in more jobs.

LABOR RESPONSIBILITY

The labor union leaders would be the last to admit it, but they must assume some responsibility for the plight of those transportation companies which are not able to

get high enough rates to absorb increased wage costs and to meet the expense of "featherbedding"—payment for work not being done. This constitutes a form of subsidy devised by labor unions to benefit their own members.

Companies nowadays have to decide whether to seek an alternative or to try to get along with fewer employees and be content with a smaller volume of specialized products sold at a relatively high price to those who must have such goods no matter what the cost. The alternative policy is usually to endeavor to get a larger sales volume at lower prices. This is theoretically a sound approach, but it depends on the use of automatic equipment and on the development of greater efficiency. This is something to which labor union policy customarily refuses to give cooperation.

Also, to build and modernize plants requires more capital. Investors do not like to lend or invest money in enterprises that are in trouble. So it's a vicious circle. Unless there are satisfactory earnings, the funds cannot be obtained to build better plants to promote greater efficiency and to increase earnings. Yet unless labor costs and work rules can be held in line, employers will soon find their earnings steadily diminished.

Economic principles, therefore, are coming into conflict more and more today with the pressures of groups which uncompromisingly demand the maximum and do not think of the future of the whole economic system.

Then there is the factor of Government competition with industry, as manifested by the Government invasion of the power industry through the construction of dams and the subsidizing of publicly owned power plants, instead of leasing these facilities to private companies that could competitively bid on them.

WHAT IS THE REASON?

The whole system of free enterprise is one of risk capital and hazards, but it nevertheless has managed to build America into the most powerful economic factor in the world today.

What is the reason for the emergence of a new faction in Congress which boldly champions Government ownership? Do the people really understand the fundamental issues? Experience in other lands has shown that when initiative is stifled, competition—with its emphasis on skills and inventive genius—is abandoned and there develops a lazy reliance on the Government to do everything. The result is inefficiency and poor service rendered to the people.

Thus, for example, not a single private telephone or telegraph system exists in the larger countries of the world except the United States. They are all Government owned. America has not only the largest system of private communication anywhere but one that far excels any governmental system in service and convenience. To this fact any one with experience here and abroad can testify.

Yet in Congress a fatal blow is being aimed at the whole doctrine of "people's capitalism," which describes the system prevalent in America today—where the people still have a right to own private companies and share in their earnings, even as the population as a whole shares in the benefits that science and research bring.

The United States now is going through a critical period in its economic history. Will Government ownership come to America, as it has in Communist Russia and in other countries? Or will America retain its system of people's capitalism? This is the issue that seems certain to come before the American people in the national elections in the next few years.

## Social Security: A Proposal for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JOHN B. BENNETT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. BENNETT of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, ever since it has been my privilege to serve in the Congress, representing the 12th Congressional District of Michigan, I have been greatly concerned about improving our Federal social security system. My aim has always been to improve and strengthen it, to make the system more meaningful for the 17 million beneficiaries now on the rolls and the untold millions of people who will henceforth become eligible for retirement, disability, and survivor benefits. Now and then improvements have been made in this law but I have repeatedly maintained that the law is still not adequate to meet the pressing needs of the retired, the disabled, the widows, and the orphans. I have proposed several helpful changes in the system, some of which were accepted and are now incorporated into the social security system. However, some very important proposals are still awaiting action by the Congress. I trust that action can be taken before the Congress adjourns.

Our elder citizens are faced with difficult problems with respect to health, finances, housing, and employment. They have the usual diseases associated with age, diseases which are long in duration and frequently require expensive medical care in hospitals and nursing homes. By and large, they do not have the income to pay for such care. The census data for the year 1960 show that 53 percent of persons aged 65 and over had less than $1,000 annual cash income. Another 24 percent had an annual cash income ranging between $1,000 and $2,000, so that 77 percent of our aged population had less than $2,000 annual income.

Early this year, approximately 17 million individuals were receiving benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program. The amount of benefits paid to these beneficiaries in 1961 amounted to $12.7 billion. Expenditures under this program will continue to grow because of the growth in the labor force, the higher benefit rates to which people come on the benefit rolls, and because of the disability benefit provision under the 1956 amendments. Furthermore, the proportion of older people in our population is increasing and when the insurance program has been in operation for a longer period of time, more individuals will reach retirement age each year and will qualify for these benefits.

There are many retired people today in every State of this Union whose social security pensions are so small they must seek assistance from various welfare and charitable organizations to maintain the barest type of existence. No sound reason has been advanced for permitting this lamentable situation to continue any longer.

There are those who argue that we cannot afford to increase social security pensions and liberalize other benefits because of the great cost. But I feel certain most working men and women throughout the country would be willing to absorb a part of this cost if they were assured they would receive a pension at the time of retirement which would enable them to live decently and comfortably without other assistance.

We have been very generous in our aid to foreign countries to enable them to improve their economies and provide better living conditions for their people. We can ill afford to neglect those at home to whom we owe our first and primary duty.

Basically our social security system is one of the soundest in the world. It is consistent with our free enterprise system where the worker, the employer, and the Government all join together in contributing to a plan which will assure a high standard of living for those who are no longer able to pursue gainful employment. Congress has made many improvements in this basic law since it was first adopted some 27 years ago. But the program cannot stand still. It must be geared to changes in our economic growth and progress in order to meet constantly changing conditions and particularly to keep pace with increased costs of living.

It is all very well to discuss the matter and present theories for a solution—but this is a slow and tedious process. The time has come when we must do something practical about the problem.

Our social security system is based on the sound principle that workers and their employers should contribute a share of earnings each year during their working life toward a source of income when they can no longer work. It recognizes that, for most American families the paycheck represents a place to live, adequate food and clothing, and necessary medical care. When that paycheck stops—because of death, retirement, or disability—the social security benefit indeed becomes the difference between a life of dignity and self-respect and one of humiliating destitution.

Because I am concerned with maintaining a sound and fair social security system, I introduced H.R. 11390, providing principally for hospital, nursing home, and surgical services to all those eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits, facilitating retirement at at an earlier age, and increasing benefits. This bill is similar to the one I introduced in the two previous Congresses. My bill has seven principal points which I now wish to explain.

First. Add a new program which will provide for the cost of hospitalization, surgery, and nursing home care for the retired worker, his wife or widow when they have reached retirement age, or at any age for a worker retired on disability, providing his gross income did

not exceed $2,400 for a single individual and $3,600 for a couple.

Second. Reduce the retirement age to 62 for men and to 60 for women, paying full benefits at these ages, thus eliminating the present reduced benefits for those who elect to apply at age 62.

Third. Widows who have remained at home to care for their minor children and who presently become ineligible for a mother's benefit after the children have reached the age of 18 years, would become eligible at age 50—now 62—so that they can qualify for benefits at an earlier age.

Fourth. Raise the minimum benefit from $40 to $75 to to help reduce the need for supplementation of social security benefits through the "needs test" public assistance program.

Fifth. Increase present benefits generally by 5 percent. The new maximum benefit would be $155.40 but this would not become effective for several years to come because a person would have to have an average monthly wage of approximately $500 to receive the maximum benefit.

Sixth. Raise the wage base for tax and benefit purposes from $4,800 to $6,000 per year.

Seventh. Liberalize the definition of total and permanent disability and the qualifying period in present law so more people can qualify for benefits under this program.

1. MEDICAL, NURSING, AND HOSPITAL CARE

One of the most important features of my bill is a provision for medical, nursing, and hospital care for those people who are on the social security retirement rolls.

The rising cost of medical care, and particularly hospital care, over the past decade has been felt by everyone, but especially by older people. They have larger than average medical needs. As a group, they use approximately 2½ times as much hospital care as the average for persons under 65 years of age, and many have special needs for long-term institutional care. Their incomes are generally much lower than those of the working population, and in many cases are either fixed or declining in amount. They have less opportunity than employed persons to spread the cost of medical and hospital care through health insurance. A large number of our older citizens must, therefore, turn to public assistance for payment of their medical and hospital bills. It is imperative that a satisfactory solution to this pressing problem be found.

My bill recognizes the inability of numerous retired people to pay out of merger pensions which are now available to them for the cost of medical care associated with hospitalization. My plan would pay the cost of hospital care and surgical services provided in the hospital up to 60 days for people eligible for social security benefits. If further care in a nursing home is indicated by the physician, additional costs up to 120 days of combined hospital and nursing home care would be provided.

The method of confining payments to those hospital services where cost schedules have already been tested by Blue Cross plans, also preserves the professional independence of doctors. It is designed simply to provide a form of insurance protection for those people on social security whose income is so limited that they cannot afford to pay the premiums for this kind of prepaid care.

We must make this forward step because I am convinced our older people are not getting their share of the modern but increasingly costly miracles of medical care. The high cost of medical care is felt more acutely by older people, moreover, because their illnesses are usually of longer duration.

According to the most recent nationwide survey of medical needs and costs, conducted for the Health Information Foundation in 1957–58, the average annual cost for private care for people 65 and over was $177 as compared with $86 a year for persons under age 65, or more than double. If public and philanthropic expenditures are added to the private costs of medical care for the aged, the per capita average cost would now be more than $290 per year or a total of almost $5 billion.

The wider application of preventive measures which we are setting today will lead to less infirmity in older years in the future. This is one of the reasons why I am not persuaded by the argument sometimes presented that my proposal would lead eventually to excessive medical costs. Another is that I am confident the doctors of this country are competent enough, and honest enough, to insure against any abuse of this provision.

While progress is underway toward the goal of providing better voluntary prepayment coverage for older people, the fact still remains that although 71 percent of our people under 65 have some form of prepayment insurance, only 46 percent of people 65 and over are now insured. Moreover, among these older people, the proportion with insurance declines with advancing age so that fewer than one-third are insured among those aged 75 and over.

Many older people are without adequate medical care protection not because of negligence. It is simply because it is not available to them at a price they can pay, or they had been refused insurance, or had it canceled. Thus, by plan is designed specifically to meet the medical care needs of people with a low retirment income who would otherwise be self-sufficient. We will not only be preserving individual self-respect, but we will also be helping hospitals to meet the mounting costs of providing the best kind of medical care for people who cannot now afford it.

2. REDUCTION OF RETIREMENT AGE

My second change—a reduction of the retirement age to 62 for men and 60 for women without a reduction in benefits—is also one of the most important features of my bill. It will reach down to provide social security benefits for millions of men and women today who have been arbitrarily retired from their jobs and must now wait months and often years, a period during which savings are depleted, assets are liquidated, and often charity must be solicited from friends, relatives, or public funds, until they can qualify for their social security benefits. For the truth of the matter is that, even under the present law, less than 10 percent retire voluntarily to qualify for social security benefits. Most people retire because of company retirement provisions or because of ill health.

Too often the eligibility age for social security is confused with a compulsory retirement age. Yet, 27 years of experience with the system has shown us that the man or woman who is able to work beyond retirement age—and is allowed to work beyond that age—will almost invariably continue on the job. The fact that the average social security benefit for the retired worker today at age 65 is $77 a month is one understandable incentive.

Another compelling reason for lowering the retirement age is the tragic fact that older workers, who are the special victims of plant relocations and retooling operations, find it almost impossible to secure new jobs or the opportunity to develop new and marketable skills. It is an anomaly of our times that the new machines which add so greatly to our productivity as a Nation are viewed with fear and apprehension by older men and women who, after a long working life, find their jobs threatened by the age of electronics. One necessary way of adjusting to this fact is by lowering the floor for eligibility so that the displaced workers of our modern productive plant can begin to receive benefits at an earlier age if they have been forcibly retired before they are 65.

3. ELIGIBILITY OF WIDOWED MOTHERS

My third proposal—to make widowed mothers eligible at age 50, instead of requiring them to wait until they are 62 as in present law—will round out the purpose of the 1939 amendments which took special account of the fact that the widows and orphans of workers who die prematurely are entitled to protection against wage loss caused by the death of the family breadwinner. Under this provision each child was made eligible for a benefit during his minority and the widowed mother received her own benefit until her youngest child reached the age of 18. The purpose of the amendment was to make it possible for the widowed mother to remain in the home and care for her children—in the same way she would have done had her husband not died—by providing social security benefits in lieu of his wages. This is, indeed a laudable purpose and one which I heartily endorse. But it does not go far enough. Too often, I am afraid, the cancellation of the benefit check because the children are grown works a cruel hardship on the mother who, having raised her family, finds herself, in middle age, thrown off the social security rolls. At the end of the year 1958, approximately 40 percent of the women receiving mother's benefits were between the ages of 40 and 50. After age 50, as could be expected, the number of eligible mothers tapered off abruptly.

My proposal would accomplish two purposes:

First. For those mothers who are 50 or over when the youngest child reaches

18, the benefit would be continued for the rest of their lives.

Second. For those mothers who are younger than 50, when the youngest child reaches 18, the waiting period for benefits would be cut by 12 years because they would be eligible for benefits at age 50 instead of at age 62.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that all evidence shows that it is extremely difficult for women without work experience to find a job after 50. Approximately half of the women age 45 to 54 are in the labor force today and of those who have jobs, the great majority are in the low-pay service jobs in private households, business establishments, and industry. Therefore, this change is of the most urgent importance.

4. INCREASE MINIMUM BENEFIT

The fourth improvement I propose would increase the amount of the present minimum benefit from $40 to $75 per month—a change which would be of particular importance to those people who can qualify for social security only on the basis of low wages—especially domestic workers and those agricultural workers who do day work. Obviously, the present minimum benefits of $40 a month, cannot even be described as a subsistence income in our high-cost economy of today, yet about 10 percent of the people now receiving social security benefits receive this minimum amount. Because this benefit is so low, it is necessary for the public assistance agencies to supplement these social security benefits to bring them up to the barest minimum required for existence.

5. CHANGING BENEFIT FORMULA

The fifth provision would make a related increase in benefits for all people now receiving benefits and those who will apply for them in the future.

As I have previously stated, the minimum under my proposal would be $75, or an 87 percent increase over the present minimum of $40. This percentage would gradually decrease until those who are now receiving approximately $71.50 and over would receive a 5-percent increase. Moreover, since my bill would credit earnings up to $500 a month—instead of $400 under present law—the maximum old-age benefit which eventually could be paid when the new $6,000 annual wage base goes into full effect would be $155.40 per month instead of the present maximum of $127.

This revision in the benefit formula recognizes the fact that social security benefits must reflect the increases that have taken place in the cost of living. I am sure I do not need to emphasize the fact that a cost-of-living adjustment is urgently needed by our older people. For they are the special victims of the sharp rise in the price of meat, and milk, and medical care. They are trying to exist on a fixed income which buys less and less with each passing day.

6. INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY WAGE BASE

The sixth change proposed in the system is to bring the social security wage base, for benefit and tax purposes, more closely in line with modern price and wage levels. The original wage base of $3,000 covered the full earnings of 97 percent of all workers in covered employment in 1939. For the wage base of $4,200 the figure was only 72 percent, and for the present wage base of $4,800, the figure is 75 percent. Of men with earnings during the whole year, only 47 percent have all their earnings covered under the present ceiling of $4,800. Thus, for a majority of men who are regularly employed, the present ceiling puts a dead stop to further benefit increases no matter how much their earnings rise. Under my proposed $6,000 wage base, 90 percent will have their entire wages covered.

7. LIBERALIZATION OF PERMANENT AND TOTAL DISABILITY

My seventh proposal would establish a more liberal definition of permanent and total disability for the benefits which were authorized by the 1956 amendments and modify the stringent length of service requirements. These more realistic provisions would not only apply to the benefits payable to people aged 50 and over, but also to the disability freeze which applies to workers at any age.

I presume that every Member of Congress has received mail from people who have considered themselves qualified for these payments but have been rejected by the Social Security Administration. The definition of disability in the law is strict and it is even more strictly administered.

This conclusion seems to be borne out by the facts. In September 1956, right after the act was passed, it was estimated that about 400,000 people would qualify the first year. The President's budget message in January 1957 dropped the figure to 380,000 and later in the year the bureau of old-age and survivors insurance issued a revised estimate of 275,000. Actually as of June 1961 some 558,000 disability beneficiaries were on the rolls.

The change I propose would modify the requirement in present law that the disabled person must be unable to engage in any substantial gainful activity by stating that he must be unable to engage in a substantial gainful activity which is the same or similar to the occupation or employment last performed by him on a regular basis before the onset of such impairment. This latter terminology is closer to what Congress really intended in passing the 1956 amendments and will insure administration of the act in a way that will give the American worker real protection against crippling injury or disease.

My bill will also reduce the quite stringent requirements that an individual to qualify, must have 20 out of the last 40 quarters of coverage before he is disabled. I propose that this period be reduced to 15 out of the last 30 quarters. Such a revision, I believe, will take care of some of the tragic cases of middle-age workers who are incapacitated in the early years of their coverage under this system.

In conclusion, let me say that we must keep our social security system up to date because we believe in the inherent dignity and worth of each individual.

If the welfare and security of our social security beneficiaries is to be properly protected, the Congress must no longer postpone action on these vital matters. My bill embodies the much needed changes presently required in our social security program. I sincerely hope the Members of this Congress will enact this program into law.

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## Platform of Affiliated Young Democrats of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 23, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the platform adopted by the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State at their 15th biennial convention held recently in New York City. This platform is to be presented to the Democratic State Convention which is scheduled to be held in Syracuse, N.Y., beginning on Monday, September 17. My good friend, Harold R. Moskovit, is the State president of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York.

The platform reads as follows:

PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE 15TH BIENNIAL STATE CONVENTION OF THE AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK STATE, AUGUST 24, 1962, AT THE HOTEL PICCADILLY, NEW YORK CITY

Once again the people of the State of New York exercise the solemn responsibility of selecting those to whom the government of this State shall be entrusted for the next 4 years, and of electing a U.S. Senator and a congressional delegation to represent them in Washington.

The Affiliated Young Democrats of New York State, therefore, without being hampered by narrow partisan advantage has for an extended period been analyzing and evaluating the multivarious policies and problems that confront the present State administration and will confront future administrations.

It is therefore with a profound degree of mature reflections and serious consideration that the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., as it has done for almost three decades of dedication to the concept of good government, respectfully submits herewith its platform for the 1962 State elections.

We have always stated clearly and without equivocation our position on the vital issues, and we do so now.

1. Reapportionment: We favor at once a program of reapportionment that would give the urban areas of the State a more equitable representation in the legislature by population.

2. Primary elections: We advocate the speedy passage of legislation permitting and requiring statewide primaries.

We recommend that all primaries are to be held on a definite day in the spring of such election year.

We urge that change of voting in national elections to 2 days, the first Monday and Tuesday in November.

We support the enactment of legislation permitting presidential preference primaries giving the voters in each party the right to indicate their preference for candidates for President and Vice President of the United States and to elect delegates committed to the nomination of such candidates.

3. Presidential vote: We favor the abolition of the electoral college and the election of a President and Vice President by direct popular vote pending such amendment to the Federal Constitution, and in order to obtain an equitable division of the electoral vote. We urge the enactment of legislation at Albany permitting the allocation of the State's electoral vote among the candidates for President and Vice President in direct proportion to the popular vote.

4. Home rule: We favor a reexamination of the city-State relationship, with a view to effectuating a greater degree of home rule for the cities.

5. Education: We urge a study be made as to the reasons for the great degree of dropouts from high school and other such distressing data that so adversely affects the young, to ameliorate this condition and to institute programs to correct this disturbing situation.

We also favor a study to determine how to keep our teachers in the school system and how to attract talented and able people to the teaching profession.

We favor an increase in State aid for education so that New York City and other municipalities will receive a fair share of the taxes paid by their residents.

6. Higher education: We favor the restoration of the mandate assuring free tuition at city colleges.

We endorse granting parents for deduction for tuition costs of their children attending college.

We also favor free tuition at all community colleges.

We urge the building of a new science college in our State to help meet the new advances in science.

7. Housing: We urge the building of more middle-income homes to meet this need in our State.

We favor a bill to extend the ban on racial discrimination in housing to all multiple dwellings and to one or two family houses throughout the State.

8. Could care: We advocate a program of State aid for child day care in the public schools.

9. Eighteen-year-old vote: We again urge that the right to vote be given to those 18 years of age.

10. Board of elections: We favor a revision of the board of elections in New York City that the Counties of Queens, Bronx, and Richmond have representation on this board as well as Kings and New York Counties have now.

11. Taxes: We favor a more equitable distribution of State revenues, whereby New York City would receive a commensurate proportion from the State.

We urge a reduction of State taxes to the greatest extent compatible with a solvent State government.

12: Fair sabbath law: We favor the enactment of a law permitting the city of New York to enact a fair sabbath law.

13. Home rule: We urge a reexamination of the city-State relationship, with a view to effectuating a greater degree of home rule for the cities.

14. Subway fare: We favor maintenance of the present 15-cent subway fare in New York City by requiring the State to contribute its fair share to the cost of operating the subway system.

15. Juvenile delinquency: We favor a study of the entire penal system as it relates to the juvenile and to recodify the statutes in order to properly resolve this grievous problem of our own society.

We also favor a crash program which will coordinate all the facilities of the relevant agencies in order to guide and help our young to help themselves.

16. Off-track betting: We favor off-track betting by a referendum by each city or community that wants this legislation.

17. Pollution: We favor a study and research to be conducted to help curtail the pollution of our air and water.

18. Natural resources: We favor legislation for an extensive program by our State to conserve and develop our natural resources.

19. Public health: We urge more State aid for public health, more assistance to the mentally ill, and to build more rehabilitation centers.

20. Liquor laws: We favor the raising of the drinking age to 21 years.

21. Old age care: We favor a system that would render medical care to the aged without requiring that the recipients submit to a degrading means test.

22. Narcotics: We favor a study of the problem of drug addiction to ascertain an effective means where possible for treatment and for the prevention of this dreadful evil. Urge Federal narcotics hospital be built in New York State.

We also urge more stringent penalties to dispensers of narcotics and the purveyors of this poison.

23. State bonus: We urge a State bonus for Korean veterans.

24. Transportation: We urge the building of more roads and better transportation to all our suburban areas of our State because of the fast growing of these communities.

We favor a transit agency that would study and attempt to coordinate and to integrate the public and private facilities available to make access to the various cities of our State more effective.

25. Motorists: We support the exclusive allocation of funds collected from gasoline and motor vehicle licenses to the development of the State highway system.

We favor examinations of all motor vehicle operators to be given every 3 years to help curtail automobile accidents.

26. East Hudson Parkway Authority: We urge repeal of the law creating the East Hudson Parkway Authority, and a return of the Westchester County Parkway and the responsibility for their maintenance to the county authorities.

27. Three-day weekend plan: We favor the 3-day weekend plan that celebrates all holidays with the exception of religious holidays, on Monday and a bill be enacted to bring this about.

28. Legislature: We again advocate that a printed record be published and made available to the public of the full proceedings of the legislature.

## National Wool Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, this body, and our colleagues in the Senate have, since 1954, expressed a sincere interest and confidence in the sheep industry of our Nation through the passage of the National Wool Act and its extension. This is a unique piece of legislation in many ways, and one of the most important parts is section 708, often referred to as the self-help section.

In effect, section 708 provides the mechanics whereby members of the sheep industry can join Government in a contract which says, in essence, "you have given us financial help through legislation and we, in return, pledge a part of these funds to a program to help ourselves". Section 708 is the vehicle used by all sheepmen to finance advertising and promotion of wool and lamb. The aim is to broaden markets for these products and thereby strengthen the entire industry.

The American Sheep Producers Council was formed in the fall of 1955 after sheep owners from coast to coast had given strong approval of the basic idea through a referendum. The ASPC is owned, financed and directed by these people who own sheep. Delegates and directors are selected in accordance with our democratic principles and these men and women establish policy and employ staff members to put the policy into action.

Since this program began, the industry has faced great problems, suffered substantial reverses and enjoyed few victories. In spite of circumstances which were anything but favorable, the ASPC has made substantial progress.

Some critics have pointed out mistakes with evident relish, but the directors of the council are human and have used these errors as steppingstones to a better, more efficient operation.

Since the early spring of this year, substantial modifications of the basic council program have been made and results seem most encouraging.

In 1959 industry members were asked whether or not they still approved of the basic plan for promotion through a referendum. Approval was voiced by a larger number of voters and by a larger majority than in the first referendum conducted 4 years earlier. The Secretary of Agriculture has called once more for an expression from the people who pay the bill—sheep owners.

This referendum is scheduled for the period from September 10 through September 21, 1962, and is being conducted by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service county offices, which are mailing ballots this week to all known woolgrowers. The question is whether or not the membership of this great industry have enough confidence in themselves and their way of life to again step forward and sign our mutual pact of practical cooperation. It is my sincere hope that the program of the ASPC will be continued and that all sheep owners will so express themselves when they vote. Any producer not receiving a ballot should contact his local ASCS office and request one—and vote. By approving this self-help measure, sheep owners have reaffirmed their desire to do their part in improving their industry through the medium of promotion and advertising under section 708 of the National Wool Act.

## A Tribute to Representative Kathryn E. Granahan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CATHERINE D. NORRELL

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mrs. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, on August 27 our very able and gracious col-

league the gentlewoman from Philadelphia, Representative KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, was the recipient of the extremely high honor. At the Golden Jubilee National Convention of Theta Phi Alpha she was initiated an honorary member of this great women's fraternity—the sixth woman to be so honored in its 50-year history.

As chairman of the Postal Operations Subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN], has been waging a vigorous and unrelenting campaign aimed at ridding the U.S. mails of traffic in obscenity and pornography. Her speech before the convention, which deals with this very important problem and the moral rot it can bring to our society, follows. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues who, I am sure, will agree with me that the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] is herself a perfect example of the forces for good which she feels we need more of in this modern age of secularism, materialism, and indifference:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, DEMOCRAT, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE GOLDEN JUBILEE, NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THETA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Madam President, distinguished guests, and my wonderful new friends in Theta Phi Alpha, to say that I am thrilled and overwhelmed at the great honor you have bestowed upon me here today would indeed be the biggest understatement I have made in the entire course of my life.

Mere words simply cannot do justice to the overpowering sense of humility, gratitude, and pride that I feel at becoming an honorary member of this great fraternity. Thank you all so very, very much.

I assure each and every one of you that I will continually strive to merit the confidence you have placed in me and to live and work always in the spirit of the high ideals and traditions of Theta Phi Alpha.

How often, over the years, as I have come in contact with Theta Phi Alpha and the fine influence it exerts, have I marveled at the tremendous force for good that it has unleashed, not only among Catholic womanhood, but into every aspect of our national life.

And how many times also have I thought how sorely we need today in this era of secularism, materialism, and indifference more such forces for good.

I am probably prejudiced, but it is a strong conviction of mine that our greatest potential force for good today here in America rests in American womanhood. And I say "potential" advisedly.

I do not think anyone can dispute the fact that American women have always been the strongest force in setting the moral climate in which our Nation was born and in which it has flourished. To them in the very earliest days of our fledgling democracy and over the span of years since has been the responsibility of preserving and nurturing the high moral standards of ethics and decency upon which this Nation was founded.

But as we look at our country and the world today, can we honestly say that this particular great force for good has realized all its full potentials?

Individually and collectively, do you not think it is time that we all reexamine our lives and our conduct and ask ourselves if we are exerting the full force for good that we are capable of? Should we not reassert and reaffirm our unified intention to do more? Should we not particularly rededicate ourselves to the protection and enlightenment of our greatest national heritage—the children and young people to whom we soon must pass the torch of freedom and godliness in a world troubled with strife and atheism?

I firmly believe, and this is a matter close to my heart, that there is no area where this force for good can achieve as productive and worthwhile results today as in Government and politics. But women in the Congress of the United States and in other governmental units are still too few to exert the influence for morality and godliness in the affairs of the Nation that they should. There are only 17 women among the 437 Members of the House of Representatives. While representation at State and local levels no doubt may be better, it is still too little—though I hope not to late.

The life of St. Catherine of Siena, patroness of Theta Phi Alpha, is the best example we have of what we all can accomplish by exerting a force for good in public life.

Though at an early age she consecrated herself to God, her good works in His behalf were mainly confined to tending the sick, serving the poor, and working for the conversion of sinners.

These were great works, indeed, and enough to give complete fulfillment to any ordinary life. But our Lord had recognized St. Catherine's great potential for good and in a heavenly vision He commanded her to enter the public life of the world.

And enter into public life she did—with such zeal and devotion that she became the greatest single force for good in the entire 14th century. Her accomplishments were enormous and she left an imprint on the world that has been felt even to this day.

How very much I would liek to see St. Catherine be able to bring her powerful force for good to work today on the problem of obscenity and pornography, which has concerned me so much as chairman of the Postal Operations Subcommittee of the House of Representatives. She would find an appalling situation existing that, I am sure, would inspire her to devote every force of her will to correcting.

Every day, youngsters between the ages of 8 and 18, in every city and town and hamlet across the 50 States—in Philadelphia and Cleveland, in Pittsburgh and in Boston, in Los Angeles and in Omaha, in every place you can name, are bombarded with the most revolting kind of filth through the mails, in magazines and books, in some movies, and even now in millions of phonograph records. Every known media of visual and oral communication is laced through with vicious appeals, cleverly and shrewdly designed to arouse improper, immoral, and and destructive thoughts and acts in boys and girls and adolescents. The hucksters of immorality use the natural curiosity of a boy or girl about life as their springboard, and coax and direct this natural curiosity into unhealthy and dangerous avenues with pictures and writings and songs and sounds brimming with depravity, sadistic crime, perversion of natural instincts, and distorted versions of sex.

Not so many years ago, if anyone wanted to read a dirty book or look at a dirty picture, he had to find some out-of-the-way, dirty little shop, hidden away and shrinking from public notice as if to acknowledge its shame—or meet some sneaky character in a dirty alley. Our own recent memories cover news accounts of ominous black cars lurking, covert figures outside of schools and schoolyards—peddlers who took children's lunch money and carfare for their filthy wares.

Well, today everything is different. The suddenness of the change, without our awareness, in itself is shocking. The producers and the marketers of filth have emerged brazenly into the light from their slimy haunts, and some even seem to glory in the achievement of notoriety our society has permitted them to attain.

Today if you want dirty stories or dirty pictures or dirty rhymes and songs, you need not search for a slum hole-in-the-wall shop or sneak into a dirty alley. You don't have to wait for the big black car or the slinking figure of a few years back. You can walk into any one of the thousands upon thousands of bookstores, stationery stores, candy stores, drugstores, bus, rail, or air terminals, subway arcades and so on—and you will find row after row and rack after rack of neat, handy little magazines, paperbacks, books, greeting cards—all manner of fiendish contrivance—openly displayed, with content that would turn the stomach of any vice squad detective.

These things represent billions of dollars a year in the pockets of pornography peddlers—but they represent something else—something much more important. They represent the thousands and thousands of children, in our cities and suburbs, in our towns and villages, whose lives may well have been twisted and perverted through their addiction to them.

Psychiatrists and psychologists have told us that, after their first introduction to these lewd, sex-filled books, the youngsters may soon become "addicts." They're "hooked" by their insatiable curiosity.

A point legislative committee in New York reported in 1958 that over 25 million dirty magazines were sold each month in that State alone, and that at least 70 percent were sold to youngsters. A special U.S. Senate subcommittee reported in 1957 that 75 percent of all American children already had been reached by this kind of obscenity. Both committees agreed, and my subcommittee studies have confirmed the agreement and we are supported by law enforcement officials, medical and psychiatric experts, and other lay and church authority, that these magazines glorify sin, distorted sex ideas and practices, perversion, and crime.

This rotten philosophy is as near to our children—or grandchildren—as the little candy store, down the block—or around the corner—where they buy their cokes, and comic books and bubble gum. No community is immune—and no child is safe.

All that is necessary to start any child on this road to physical, mental, and moral ruin, is an intermediary—another boy—or another girl—who has already been introduced to this filth—and who may introduce our children to it. And remember this—the "nice" kids are just as curious as the others. Some unscrupulous newsstand dealers have even been known to give a couple of magazines to a group of youngsters—knowing that their curiosity will insure him many future sales.

The record of every police department of every big city in this country is written proof of the effect of this salacious material on crime—especially juvenile crimes.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, recently had this to say about the problem:

"I say that we can no longer afford to wait for an answer. What we do know is that in an overwhelmingly large number of cases sex crime is associated with pornography. We know that sex criminals read it, are clearly influenced by it.

"I believe (and I am still quoting) that pornography is a major cause of sex violence. I believe that if we can eliminate the distribution of such items among impressionable school-age children, we shall greatly reduce our frightening sex crime rate."

One police officer who testified before my subcommittee could not recall a single arrest in a juvenile sex case in which quan-

tities of pornography were not found in the offender's possession. Inspector Harry Fox, of the Philadelphia Police Department, told us recently:

"My men search all juveniles taken into custody. I wish I could lay before you the pile of obscene pictures ripped out of magazines and valued as cherished possessions by these boys. We destroy them with a lecture—but many times this is 'closing the door after the horse has been stolen.' The damage has been done."

Two blocks from my office on Capitol Hill there is the old but very beautiful St. Peter's Catholic Church. Being convenient, it is visited often during the day by many of the Catholic people who work on Capitol Hill. We find it especially convenient for attending mass on holy days of obligation.

Several weeks ago this holy sanctuary was the scene of an event that shocked and horrified the entire Nation's Capital. A young woman secretary to a Member of Congress, paying a visit to the church on her lunch hour, was attacked and stabbed nine times by a man who had been lurking in the shadows while she knelt in silent prayer at our Lord's altar.

The man has been apprehended, thanks to an aroused citizenry that demanded and got prompt action from the police.

He admitted, not only the stabbing attack in the church, but confessed to three recent rapes.

But, let me read to you at this point from the front-page story that appeared in the Washington Post on August 9, the day after the arrest was made:

This is the lead paragraph:

"A 24-year-old Southwest Washington man was seized early yesterday in connection with the stabbing of a Congressman's aid and in three recent rapes."

This paragraph is in the middle of the story:

"He has a long police record and has been charged several times previously as a sex offender."

Now, here is the last paragraph of this two-column news account which can be found continued over among the advertisements on page 23 of the newspaper:

"In a suitcase under Jones' bed police found a large quantity of what they described as sex magazines, showing pictures of nude women."

Do you suppose I will ever again be able to kneel in the holy quiet of St. Peter's without seeing over and over the agony that was wrought there before the Blessed Sacrament by a mind crazed and tormented by the "merchants of filth"?

I have been mainly concerned here tonight with alerting you to the fact that there does, indeed, exist in our country today a very serious problem of obscenity and pornography. It is with us, it is big-time business, it cannot be ignored.

I would have liked to have told you more about the work of my subcommittee in this field, particularly about some of the new legislation which we have been responsible for and about further legislation that I feel is desperately needed.

I could have spent the entire evening discussing with you the recent series of incredible Supreme Court decisions which apparently seek to establish a pattern of life here barren of prayer but abundant with obscenity.

But, in the limited time available, I am content simply to alert you to this terrible menace because I sincerely feel that only when the public is fully informed will we be able to stem the ravages that are caused by filth and smut. I have enough faith in the moral and spiritual backbone of this Nation to know that when thinking men and women get to know the whole sordid story of pornography for profit, they will not long stand by and do nothing.

They will demand, and they will get, better laws and more strict enforcement of these laws. They will form their own community groups to clean up this muck on the local level. They will fight to rid their communities of this cancerous growth which, if unchecked, will insidiously destroy the moral tissue of our great Nation. They will not need be reminded of Edmund Burke's admonition:

"All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." But the things that proceed out of the mouth come from the heart, and it is they tha defile a man. For out of the heart come evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, immorality, thefts, false witness, blasphemies.

This is as true today as it was when it was uttered by our Lord to the scribes and Pharisees many, many years ago.

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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# Appendix

## The Tocks Island Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 7, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, on March 8 and March 27 of this year I asked this distinguished body to consider the Tocks Island project. On both dates I presented newspaper articles which gave cogent arguments on behalf of the bill's passage. Recently another newspaper, the Camden Courier Post, of August 28 spoke out editorially about Secretary of Interior Udall's views on the Delaware Valley basin development, commenting that "Udall's views on the proposal speak eloquently for the vast majority of interests in our area who share them."

This comment is of the greatest importance. It graphically shows how those most affected by the proposed legislation support it. The editorial dwells upon three effects of the legislation. The first would be to offset the drought conditions that occur in the area; the second would be to control flood threats; and the third would be to provide additional recreational areas for those tramping the hinterlands in search of green-acres leisure.

Since this project is of vital concern not only to the residents of New Jersey but to those interested in conserving our national resources, I again ask my colleagues on this distinguished body to approve the detailed plans of the Tocks Island project when it comes before this body. In addition, I ask unanimous consent to have the aforementioned editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO FACETS OF BASIN DEVELOPMENT

Vacationers and others traveling up and down the Delaware Valley at this peak tourist season can make two observations in connection with plans for development of the basin's resources.

One is the effect of recent serious drought conditions, which the multimillion-dollar long-range project would offset in future years, and the other is how additional recreation areas, planned in conjunction with the resources control, will complement existing facilities.

As adopted last March by the Delaware River Basin Commission, the initial program calls for development of water and recreational as well as power resources. The Bureau of the Budget has given its approval and the Kennedy administration has decided to press for congressional approval this year.

Included would be construction of eight dams north of here, featuring a giant dam and hydroelectric facility at Tocks Island above the Delaware Water Gap. A major recreation area would be established along the 31-mile lake, to be created between New Jersey and Pennsylvania by the Tocks Island Dam, under the administration of the National Park Service.

Cost of the Tocks Island project has been estimated at $122 million, of which $64 million would cover cost of water supply, electric power and flood control systems, while $58 million represents cost of land and recreational facilities and part of the reservoir.

The 8 dams are part of an overall proposal calling for construction of 58 reservoirs in the basin to meet water and power needs for the next 50 years and to provide flood control.

The $591 million price tag placed tentatively on the entire project, of which the Federal Government would pay $232 million and the States involved $359 million, makes the improvements seem too vast to visualize easily. And the full benefits will not be realized for years to come.

But the summer's prolonged dry spell emphasizes the need for conserving water resources, just as the next or past flood threats point up the need for those controls. The added recreational areas can't come too soon for the localities and visitors now tramping the hinterlands in search of green-acres leisure.

The basin commission has just made the first changes in its initial program, changes that undoubtedly improve it. One change incorporates 90 existing municipal water supply and waste disposal units, 60 existing recreational areas, and more than 100 existing gaging stations in the plan. Another is the adoption of prevailing water quality standards in the four States.

Since these standards average about 20 years in age, and do not cover new pollutants and technological processes that may affect water purity, they will need revision. The commission is well aware of this fact. But it is correct in continuing with the present standards, as Philadelphia's Water Commissioner Samuel S. Baxter says, until the time when the necessary research and planning for setting up adequate new standards can be completed. Projects toward that end are already underway.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall seems particularly enthused now about the proposed Tocks Island Recreation Area. He feels it would benefit more Americans than any other single recreation project.

Udall says an area of this quality would constitute a superb outdoor recreation resource anywhere, but located where it is it is a resource of compelling significance. The area lies within 100 miles of more than 30 million persons, or 15 percent of the Nation's population.

The Interior Secretary's testimony was offered before a Senate Public Lands Subcommittee which has before it a bill to establish the recreation site and authorize purchase of 47,000 acres of land surrounding the reservoir. Udall's views on the proposal speak eloquently for the vast majority of interests in our area who share them.

## Western Electric Co. Public Affairs Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues and the citizens of this country, the public affairs program of the Western Electric Co.

The obligations of citizenship today are becoming ever more complex. There is a tendency to respond to this situation by ignoring it, a tendency that is intolerable when this Nation's responsibilities extend throughout the wide world and even into outer space. In view of this situation, efforts to improve the caliber of citizenship are especially welcome.

Many businesses, aware that their employees have not been meeting their full responsibilities as citizens, have inaugurated programs in recent years to encourage a reversal of this trend. Among these is the Western Electric Co., which recently published a booklet describing its public affairs program. I should like to cite a portion of this booklet which has come to my attention. It says that Western Electric "feels that when increasing numbers of people become increasingly interested in and concerned about government, the quality of government will be increasingly improved and there will be better government at all levels." And by better government, the company means government that is more strongly representative of all of the people governed, government that is benefited by the active, informed participation of the greatest number of its citizens:

> The ultimate advantage the company envisions extends to everyone. For the company's part, it feels that better government at all levels also means a better climate in which to do the work of business. Considering the size of government and the multitude of factors that affects its decisions, the influence of Western Electric people alone may be a small one. But it is the accumulation of small influences that finally directs the course of government.

According to this booklet, Western Electric hopes to see its employees—indeed, it urges them—"to join in the task of shaping policy and conducting the crucial business of self-rule for which the concept of democracy makes every man an instrument."

A concept of citizenship such as this is applicable to every citizen of the

United States. It would be to the Nation's advantage if more of our citizens could be exposed to an educational program, such as Western Electric's democracy-in-action course, which teaches the rudiments of political processes, as well as its informational program, which is embodied in objective profiles of the meaningful but complex problems of our times.

Programs such as this merit the support and gratitude of all of us.

## Agricultural Delegation to Iron Curtain Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 7, 1962*

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the United States conducts its foreign relations in an almost infinite variety of ways. Perhaps one of the most effective is the people-to-people program. Certainly in terms of taxpayer cost, it is the most efficient.

Late in the month of August 20 outstanding agricultural leaders from the State of Idaho began a people-to-people journey to four Iron Curtain countries. Under the leadership of Mr. Seth Forgren these ranchers and farmers plan to spend almost 3 weeks abroad, comparing agricultural notes with their counterparts in those countries. From their first point of embarkation, Brussels, the Honorable Douglas MacArthur II, Ambassador to Belgium, sent me this letter. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
*Brussels, August 29, 1962.*

The Honorable FRANK CHURCH,
*U.S. Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR CHURCH: I was delighted that I was able to return to Brussels in time personally to brief the fine delegation of Idaho agricultural leaders under the direction of Mr. Seth Forsgren about whom you wrote me on August 2.

This outstanding delegation did credit to the State of Idaho. Its members represent the type of people that we like to see coming through Europe as ambassadors of goodwill for the United States.

We spent 2 hours together during which we reviewed and discussed the past and current Belgian scene, the new Europe, the Common Market, the President's trade bill, and many other topics brought out in the question and answer period.

The Embassy also made appointments for the delegation to be briefed by members of the U.S. Mission to the European Communities, and our friends in the Belgian Ministry of Agriculture sponsored a farm tour. I think that they found their stay both useful and enjoyable.

I remember with much pleasure the very interesting luncheon organized by Senator JOE CLARK of Pennsylvania in 1961, when I had the pleasure of talking with you and some of your Senate Colleagues about our Far Eastern policy, notably our policy with respect to Communist China.

With every good wish and warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II.

## The New Horizon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the New York Journal of Commerce on September 5 had some encouraging things to say about advances in our Nation's merchant marine. Coming at a time when we have had some discouraging news concerning that industry, it was most welcome. I insert it in the RECORD for the information of Members who have not heretofore seen it.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Journal of Commerce, Sept. 5, 1962]

THE NEW HORIZON

Every now and then somebody tees off on the American-flag merchant marine just because some other nation makes some technological changes in shipbuilding that so far have not been taken by the U.S. industry.

They point out that this country is trying to compete with foreign-flag lines with a horse-and-buggy merchant marine already over the hill.

But these critics become strangely silent when American flag shipping comes up with something noteworthy just because it doesn't contain some Buck Rogers innovations that make colorful reading but little else.

We have in mind the new U.S. cargo liner *American Challenger*, first of a new fleet presently under construction, and Farrell Lines' new *African Comet*, initial vessel in the company's "third fleet" which made her maiden voyage here yesterday.

Unfortunately, these ships, like many others turned out by other lines in this country's ship replacement program, differ very little from other vessels in that they contain few automated changes.

Their real claim to fame is not that they are automated to the degree of cutting down manpower requirements. Rather it is that their powerplants, probably the finest in the world, gives the vessels speeds previously unheard of in cargo ships.

For example, the trim *African Comet* can clip 4 days off the old sailing time to South Africa, a notable achievement in these days of high speed. On the North Atlantic run the *American Challenger* can clip hours off the run to United Kingdom and the Continent. The same achievements have been chalked up by the new Lykes Bros. fleet which break some new speed record on almost every voyage.

The same thing can be said for Moore-McCormack Lines and American Export Lines on the east coast, and American President Lines, Pacific Far East and States Steamship Co. on the west coast.

That speed is important can be attested to by the statement of high South African officials who see in the *African Comet's* reduced sailing time a closening of the ties between the two countries because of the effect it has on the South African economy in getting the country's goods into the hands of buyers earlier than ever before.

At the same time it has the effect of aiding this country's balance of payments by facilitating trade movements in U.S. vessels.

And the end is not yet in sight. The current program of major ship construction during the next decade has been described as the most ambitious plan of shipbuilding ever undertaken in the United States in peacetime.

Which all boils down to this—the U.S. merchant marine despite a cargo famine on a worldwide scale, some of the toughest competition it has even been called on to face, and some other headaches, is not yet ready to play dead as many believe it should.

A few more shots in the arm such as those by the *African Comet* and the *American Challenger*, are going to go a long way toward restoring this country's seagoing prestige. It requires only a little time and patience plus some real encouragement at home and from the powers in Washington to do the job.

## Persistent Price Fixers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 7, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Washington Daily News for Wednesday, September 5, contains a very short, but to the point, editorial. This editorial is entitled "Persistent Price Fixers" and deals with the so-called Quality Stabilization Act, Senate Joint Resolution 159. This is a commendable editorial which reveals that the purpose of this bill is to establish a national policy of price fixing. I believe that every Member of the Congress should be alerted to the menace of this bill and I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 5, 1962]

PERSISTENT PRICE FIXERS

While a Senate committee is busy investigating price fixing in industry, a House committee has approved a bill to legalize price fixing. This bill, in fact, practically makes it illegal not to fix prices.

In general, the purpose is to give manufacturers the law-backed right to fix retail prices, and to enforce these prices on retailers who might wish to sell for less.

This is the old "fairtrade" dodge, lobbied through a number of State legislatures and repeatedly declared unconstitutional by State courts—this year in Alabama. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld such a decision from Georgia.

But the price fixers have not given up. Last year they called it "fair competitive practices." Now it is a Quality Stabilization Act. The implication is that all this is being done to safeguard the consumer. Actually, it is a scheme to take risks out of merchandising by limiting competition.

The Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission are opposed to these bills.

The Government has no business fixing prices and Congress has no business passing a law to encourage price fixing—especially with so many laws on the books aimed in the opposite direction. So let us not let the "quality stabilization" boys kid us about what they are after.

# Appendix

## Wisconsin Primary Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, tomorrow the citizens of Wisconsin will have an opportunity to exercise once again the precious privilege of voting in the Wisconsin primary.

In a weekend address over Wisconsin radio stations, I discussed the great importance of maximum turnouts—not only in primaries, but in general elections.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of my address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On Tuesday, September 11, you will have an opportunity to exercise your precious right to vote in the Wisconsin primary elections.

In a free republic, you have a voice, not only in selecting officeholders to serve you in public life, but also in shaping State and National policies.

As a political right, this then is also a great opportunity (for which millions of people yearn elsewhere on the globe); and a great responsibility.

By your selections, you contribute to shaping the future of Wisconsin and the Nation.

Unfortunately, early predictions for the primary estimate that only 30 percent, or about three-quarter million of the State's more than 2,300,000 eligible voters, are expected to vote.

For myself, I sincerely hope this will not be true. Rather, I would urge all of you, regardless of political party, to go to the polls and speak with your voice in government.

Traditionally, too many people fail to realize the significance of their staying away from the polls. What does it mean?

First, a small turnout may result in selection of a candidate by a minority, not a majority, of the voters; second, nonvoters deprive themselves, not only of a voice in the election of candidates, but also of a voice in government—which creates the policies and programs affecting our daily lives and national destiny; third, failing to vote gives an extra strong vote to someone whose views may directly oppose your political philosophy; fourth, apathy toward voting reflects apathy toward the overall responsibilities of citizenship.

In a republic, the electoral process, then, is the means by which you, the voters, control the governmental machinery established to carry out the business of the people.

If we allow somebody else to tend our business, there can be a dangerous loss of freedom.

Prior to voting, all of us naturally need to educate ourselves upon the candidates and their qualifications, including records of the past and programs for the future; the issues of the times, such as promoting peace, U.S. security, sound economic progress, and human well-being; and then make our best judgment as to which candidate can best serve us at this critical time in history.

As citizens of a free, wonderful country, we—you and I—then possess a great power: a vote.

The ballot, then, is the means by which "we the people speak."

If we speak together, then, the laws and national policies of Wisconsin and the Nation will reflect our will and we can build a better, brighter future.

Let's all vote, and get our friends and neighbors to vote, in the primary on Tuesday.

## The Fifth South Pacific Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter which I have received from Prof. Knowles A. Ryerson, dean emeritus of the University of California College of Agriculture and senior U.S. Commissioner of the South Pacific Commission. I am sure that Members of Congress will be interested in his comments on the recent Fifth South Pacific Conference and the ensuing meeting of the South Pacific Commission, both meetings held in Pagopago, American Samoa.

Professor Ryerson's letter follows:

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE,
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION,
*Berkeley, Calif., August 16, 1962.*

Hon. M. J. KIRWAN,
*House of Representatives,*
*U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. KIRWAN: I have just returned from the recently held fifth South Pacific Conference and the short meeting of the South Pacific Commission which followed—both held in Pagopago, American Samoa. I only wish you could have mingled with the delegates from the 18 island territories stretching from New Guinea to Tahiti and heard their expressions of pleasure and appreciation at the splendid facilities made available through the providing of the new school and other facilities at Pagopago and completed in time for the use of the Conference.

Governor H. Rex Lee has told me of the fight you made to secure the additional funds in the deficiency bill and of the special trip you made to American Samoa to see for yourself the conditions there and the necessity for our cleaning up this disgrace to our country. Your continued support and the successful outcome has the warm appreciation of myself and all of my associates on the Commission from this country and abroad.

The completion of the jet airstrip, its dedication by Secretary Udall as the first event on the opening day of the Conference, the dedication of the splendid new auditorium in which the principal sessions were held—all of these made a tremendous impression on the visitors as well as our own American delegation. We can truly point with pride now on visiting American Samoa and not turn away in disgust. Your principal part in this achievement will long be remembered.

We have been most fortunate in having Governor Lee in that position during this period. I have spent about half of my adult life in Government service and the other half in the university. Rarely have I been so moved by the imagination, drive, energy, and understanding which he possesses. It has been a real privilege to work with him on Conference and Commission matters.

I hope you may be able to go to Pagopago again and see the results of the program you and your associates in Congress made possible.

Very sincerely,
KNOWLES A. RYERSON,
*Dean Emeritus, Senior U.S. Commissioner, South Pacific Commission.*

## Must State Aid Be Fatal to Art?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a recent address by August Heckscher, Special Consultant on the Arts to President Kennedy, as delivered before the convention of the American Library Association in Mimai, Fla.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend Mr. Heckscher for the excellent case he makes for Government assistance to advance the arts in this country. To those alarmists who express fear over any type of Government assistance in cultural affairs, I recommend most heartily that they read this fine speech.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 2, 1962]

MUST STATE AID BE FATAL TO ART?

(By August Heckscher)

(These excerpts are taken from a recent address by Mr. Heckscher, special consultant on the arts to the President, before the convention of the American Library Association in Miami.)

When I consider the role that Government will play in the next stage of our cultural development as a Nation, I find a most suggestive precedent in the Library Services Act of 1956. Here, for the support of a cultural institution, was invoked a long-

established American practice, the giving of grants in aid.

Since 1862, we have found this an effective and satisfactory way of encouraging and stimulating activities deemed important to the national interest. We have used this principle to stimulate qualified applicants both public and private; we have used it to help set standards and to improve administration as well as to give substantial financial support on the basis of matching funds. The Library Services Act aimed particularly to help libraries in communities under 10,000 population.

It might have had a severe defect in that it spread the available funds thin, but in its administration the act was wisely used to strengthen State library agencies and to organize and coordinate services rather than merely to scatter them.

No one has talked about the libraries being subverted—nor, for that matter, has it appeared that the Nation was going through dangerous fiscal waters as a result of these expenditures. The experience is sobering to the alarmists, and encouraging to those who would like to believe that the Government can act in the field of culture without harming the ends it seeks to serve.

It was right that we should have recognized the development of libraries as demonstrably related to the broad national interest. One day, not too far off, we may come to recognize that the development of certain other institutions is also a matter for national concern. We may decide that the growth of theater groups in States across the country is connected with our capacity as a people to perceive the deeper issues of man's fate, to realize the strange admixture of good and evil in the world, and in general to become more confident and mature as individuals.

The theater, or poetry, or music, may seem as significant as libraries were recognized to be in 1956—or as educational television was recognized through similar legislation in the current session of Congress. I hardly want to predict that so wonderful a thing will happen. But I think we can argue, on the basis of experience derived from the libraries, that when such a day comes we shall have methods and precedents which will permit us to put the Government safely in the service of these new cultural goals.

I say I cannot predict when the day will come which will see the American people consciously affirming that the institutions of the arts represent a significant national interest—that they embody resources which we waste at our peril and answer to needs which cannot safely be ignored. Yet I will predict, after all, I believe such a day will come sooner than many now think—especially those who have been disheartened and wearied by a long struggle for the arts which has seemed to face insurmountable obstacles. When things begin to change in this country, they sometimes change very rapidly. And there has been a change in the way people look upon the resources of their cultural life.

Why there should be this fresh burgeoning of hope and desire it would be complex to analyze. When we are in a position to look back upon these times we shall see, I believe, that the development of the arts was linked with all the principal developments—political, economic, and social—taking place within the great modern community.

Technology has brought new leisure; and the people are coming to know that leisure will be a debasing force except as it is animated by the pursuit of beauty and excellence.

Finally, I suggest that in the development of our civilization as a whole a new determination has been formed: the determination not to be a lopsided people, excelling only in material benefits. For the individual we want the fullness of life which comes from enjoyment of the arts in all their guises. For the Nation as a whole we want the richness and diversity of cultural activities, combined with an outward scene—a landscape both natural and manmade—which reflects the inner qualities we strive to attain.

## Castro Presents Danger Which Must Be Checked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been much written and said about the military assistance which Soviet Russia has been supplying the Communist regime in Cuba—a matter of grave concern to all Americans. This week in my weekly newsletter, Capitol Comments, I have discussed the Cuban situation and have pointed out that we must be prepared to move against Castro and his communistic regime.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert my newsletter today in the Appendix of the RECORD.

It follows:

SOVIET MILITARY AID TO CUBA IMPOSES THREAT—CASTRO MUST BE ELIMINATED

All Americans may well be concerned over the recent developments in Cuba which have seen moves by the Soviet Union to strengthen the military power of the Castro regime in Cuba.

The receipt of antiaircraft defense missiles, radar, electronic equipment, and other military supplies from Russia plus the landing of several thousand military technicians to operate and train Cubans in the use of these weapons has caused grave concern among Washington officials and among all our citizens.

Cuba, under the Castro regime, is a piercing thorn in our side and poses a threat to all nations in the Western Hemisphere. Without a doubt, dictator Castro and his leaders must be eliminated and freedom and liberty restored to the Cuban people.

President Kennedy has pointed out that present Russian military assistance to the Cuban Government is considered primarily as defensive and for internal use and has made it clear that the "Castro regime will not be allowed to export its aggressive purposes by force or the threat of force."

The United States will use whatever force may be necessary to prevent the further spread of communism within the hemisphere, the President announced. This must be our firm policy.

There is no doubt but that the United States could launch a successful invasion of Cuba and rid the nation of Castro and his Communist followers. We could send the Marines into Cuba and with our naval and Air Force capabilities blast Cuba into a quick surrender and capitulation. To do so at this time would make us the aggressors and warmongers in the eyes of our Latin American allies and the world. It is felt that the Cuban situation must be considered as a part of the worldwide threat of communism and weighed in connection with our total commitments around the globe. We have established American airbases and defense commands around Soviet Russia in a containment action. These as well as our important Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba must be maintained and additional bases established. The issue must be dealt with in such a manner that it will not endanger our relations with the other free nations of the world which look to the United States as the citadel of democracy and democratic action.

The United States was successful at the Punta del Este Conference in having Cuba excluded from the Organization of American States. The OAS members also agreed at this recent inter-American Conference that should Cuba launch any aggressive action, either overtly or covertly, that the member nations would take appropriate joint action to overthrow the Castro regime.

While Russia is increasing its military assistance to Cuba, there are numerous indications that the Castro government has largely been a failure among the Cuban people.

Cubans have been unable to operate successfully many of the industries which were previously under American management. There has been grave dissatisfaction and unrest in the operation of the Cuban agricultural policy which has seen production dwindle, tighter controls on all food stuffs, and strict rationing policies enforced. There are also reports of dissatisfaction and even some fighting in certain outlying provinces by anti-Castro forces. Failures of the Communist system in Cuba, particularly in the field of agriculture and the strict regimentation of the Cuban citizens, will not go unnoticed among other Latin American nations where the beginning operation of the Alliance for Progress is giving assurance of hope along with peaceful reform and needed improvements.

The Communist Castro regime in Cuba poses a serious problem for the United States and the entire Western Hemisphere. We must not allow the cancer of communism to spread but must be prepared to move against Cuba and communism at the opportune moment. Certainly if joint actions fail the United States must move unilaterally and alone to stop the spread of communism in this hemisphere and assure that Castro be eliminated.

## Hon. Phil Conley, Respected West Virginia Author and Publisher, Continues "Know Your State" Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in recent months West Virginia author and publisher, Hon. Phil Conley, has received widespread acclaim and appreciation for his series of interesting and enlightening articles entitled "Know Your State." Mr. Conley's writings, aimed at providing our citizens with little-known and useful facts concerning the history and heritage of West Virginia, have been widely read and well received in every part of the Mountain State, and throughout the country.

I ask unanimous consent that the four most recent installments of the "Know Your State" series, written by the Honorable Phil Conley, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

There being no objection, the installments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KNOW YOUR STATE: BUTTERFLIES OF NORTH AMERICA

(By Phil Conley)

William H. Edwards spent many years at Coalburg, a few miles east of Charleston, W. Va., where he raised and studied hundreds of butterflies and moths.

This great naturalist was born in Greene County, N.Y., in 1822, and died in Coalburg, W. Va., on April 4, 1909. He graduated from Williams College in 1842. He was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law in New York. In 1846, Mr. Edwards made a voyage up the Amazon River in South America for the purpose of collecting specimens of natural history.

In 1849, Mr. Edwards came to the Kanawha Valley to inspect lands which his family had purchased sight unseen from promoters. He became one of the first large-scale coal operators in West Virginia.

While developing large business interests, and building a huge fortune, Edwards found time to complete a monumental work of three volumes, "Butterflies of North America," which still is an authoritative treatise on the subject. Edward raised, studied carefully, and sketched in color a great variety of butterflies.

By personal search and collecting and through wide correspondence with other entomologists he obtained eggs and caterpillars of at least 165 species of American butterflies, most of which had previously been unknown. He reared them to maturity at his home in Coalburg. He wrote full and accurate descriptions and made elaborate drawings of these insects in all their stages.

His three volumes, "The Butterflies of North America," 1879, 1884, 1897, are recognized as the outstanding classics in this particular field of natural history.

At Edwards' death the American Entomological Society passed a resolution in which it said: "As an investigator and author of the first rank, he became widely known through his magnificent and epoch-making contributions to our knowledge of North American butterflies."

Mr. Edwards was an entomologist of the old school of thought. While he was a practical businessman and an industrialist, he studied insects from the standpoint of scientific culture.

During the Civil War, due to numerous raids in the Kanawha Valley, Edwards was compelled to close his mines. But near the close of the war he had a steam tug built at Wheeling at a cost of $30,000. He put it in service to transport coal from Cannelton to Cincinnati. This tug was capable of handling 12 barges, each one carrying 10,000 bushels of coal. At that time the market price per bushel at Cincinnati was 19 cents on the river.

In addition to the three noted volumes about butterflies, Mr. Edwards wrote a book in 1847 entitled "Voyage Up the Amazon." In 1900 he wrote another book, "Shakesper Not Shakespear."

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KNOW YOUR STATE: THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEER

(By Phil Conley)

The first steam locomotive was built in England by George Stephenson. It made a successful trial run on July 25, 1814, between a coal mine and a port 9 miles distance. After that, the railroad began carrying passengers and freight on September 25, 1825. Prior to this, throughout the centuries, the most rapid means of transportation was by horses or sailboats.

It was a red-letter day in the history of travel when the first locomotive proved to be successful. The engineer on this locomotive was Ralph Swinburn. This man later lived in West Virginia for 40 years. After the death of George Stephenson, Swinburn came to the United States and arrived in New Orleans in January 1851. From here he traveled to Cincinnati. At this place he met one of the owners of the Winifrede coal mines on Fields Creek, about 12 miles east of Charleston. After a discussion of his experiences with the first railroad in England, he was employed to come to West Virginia and build a railroad from the Winifrede mines to the Kanawha River. This was 20 years before the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad was built through the Kanawha Valley to the Ohio River.

This was the first railroad built in southern West Virginia. In fact, it may be claimed the first completed railroad in the entire State. The Baltimore & Ohio entered West Virginia in 1838. It was completed to Wheeling on Christmas Eve, 1852, and the first through train from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River reached Wheeling on January 1, 1853.

Before a steam locomotive was secured, the Fields Creek Railroad was operated by oxen that pulled the cars up the hill and after they were loaded they were lowered to the river by gravity. Later a locomotive was built and was brought to Fields Creek on a river barge.

After a few years Mr. Swinburn tired of railroad construction and operation and bought a farm in 1856 on Davis Creek, about 6 miles from Charleston. He lived there until his death in 1895. He was ordained as a minister of the Baptist Church and engaged in religious work. He built and operated a small water power grist mill on his farm.

In 1893, 2 years before Ralph Swinburn died at the age of 90, George W. Summers, editor and publisher of the Charleston Gazette, interviewed him.

In Mr. Swinburn's interview he recalled that the early locomotive had two upright cylinders with a crosshead over the boiler and two rods from the crossheads to the wrist pins. It pulled from 16 to 20 cars, holding 2½ tons of coal each. He said the great difficulty was in making steam fast enough.

When he resigned from his position as engineer of the railroad in England, his workmen presented him with a gold watch and chain. On the back of it this inscription was engraved: "Presented to Ralph Swinburn by the plate (track) layers and others under his charge, on the Manchester & Leeds Railway, as a token of respect and esteem, October 9, 1847."

In the interview given to the Gazette in May 1893, is the following statement: "The fact that the oldest railroad man in the world lives within a few miles of Charleston may not be known to many readers of the Gazette, but such is the case. Rev. Ralph Swinburn was associated with George Stephenson, who constructed the first successful locomotive and operated the first locomotive railroad. Mr. Swinburn actually ran Stephenson's first locomotive as engineer and was superintendent of the railroad upon which a locomotive was first successfully run."

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KNOW YOUR STATE: A PLOT TO FORM A NATION

(By Phil Conley)

An elaborate plot to capture the Spanish-speaking colonies in the South and Southwest of the United States and form a new nation was hatched in West Virginia shortly after the turn of the 19th century. It began when Aaron Burr paid a visit to Blennerhassett Island in the Ohio River a short distance below Parkersburg on May 5, 1805.

Burr had served as a lieutenant colonel in the Revolutionary War, as U.S. Senator and as Vice President. He was a candidate for President against Jefferson. After the election they were tied in the electoral college. The choice was thrown into the House of Representatives where after 36 ballots Jefferson was declared elected and Burr took the office of Vice President.

Burr became embittered toward Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury under Washington. He challenged the latter to a duel. When the two men met on the field of honor on July 11, 1804, Hamilton was mortally wounded. Public opinion turned against Burr for killing such a popular man.

Shortly after this event, Burr started west. He and Garbriel Shaw who accompanied him left Pittsburgh in a boat on April 30, 1805. They arrived at Marietta on the morning of May 5. Burr wrote, "several gentlemen came to offer me civilities and hospitalities." He landed late that afternoon on Blennerhassett Island.

Harman Blennerhassett, son of a wealthy and influential Irish family, had arrived in New York on August 1, 1796. That autumn Blennerhassett and his talented wife crossed the Alleghenies to Pittsburgh where they engaged a boat and traveled to Marietta, Ohio, where they remained during the winter. They learned about two islands about 16 miles south of Marietta. They bought one of the islands, about 170 acres, for $4,500. They erected a mansion at a cost of $60,000 and bought the best furniture obtainable in the East. It became a show place.

The Blennerhassetts were happy to entertain such a distinguished guest as Burr. Soon the plot unfolded to establish a great nation over which Burr would be virtually a dictator. Burr had enlisted the services of Gen. James Wilkinson who had been ordered to drive the Spaniards out of disputed territory along the Sabine River.

The conspiracy was for the Texans to take over the region from the Sabine to the Rio Grande. Blennerhassett was an innocent victim of scheming power-hungry Burr. In September the two men placed an order for 15 boats with Woodridge & Co. of Marietta Ten of the boats were to be 40 feet long and five were to be 50 feet long. They estimated this fleet of boats would transport 500 men. An additional keel boat was to be built 60 feet long to transport arms, ammunition and supplies. Blennerhassett was to recruit men.

In the meantime Burr visited Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. But all was not serene in the neighborhood of the island. A meeting was held at Parkersburg where the citizens passed a resolution and formed a military organization to defend themselves and their property. Col. Hugh Phelps was made chairman. When he called upon Blennerhassett, the latter assured him this was not a treasonable plot but a plan to purchase and colonize a large tract of land in the Southwest.

President Jefferson heard about the plot. He disliked and distrusted Burr. He referred to him as a "crooked gun." Hamilton had called him an "embryo Caesar." Jefferson sent John Graham, secretary of the Orleans territory, to make a thorough investigation of the plans that were afoot.

Graham met Blennerhassett about the middle of November 1806. The latter thought he was a confederate and revealed Burr's plans to him. Burr was arrested and tried for treason in Richmond in 1897, but there was no evidence worth considering and he and his confederates were acquitted.

In 1808 Burr went to Europe still intent upon his plan to conquer the Spanish colonies. He soon realized that he could not get England or France to help him.

The Blennerhassetts, victims of a conspiracy which they little understood, were the losers. Their mansion was burned and their friends in Marietta deserted them. They went to Canada and later to the Isle

of Guernsey where Blennerhassett died on February 1, 1831, at the age of 67.

This chapter in American history is of interest because of the consequences that would have resulted if Burr's plot had been successful. It is an "if" in our history that might have been fatal to the United States had Burr been able to bring it to fruition.

KNOW YOUR STATE: WEST VIRGINIANS RATIFIED THE CONSTITUTION

(By Phil Conley)

The Constitution of the United States is the most important body of laws ever written by the hand of man. But it was merely an interesting document until it was ratified.

Virginia was the most influential of the Thirteen Colonies. It had about double the population of any other one, and it produced the outstanding statesmen of that period. A convention was called to meet in Richmond on June 2, 1788, to consider the ratification of the Constitution.

Most historians who have written on the subject express the opinion that it was necessary for Virginia to ratify the Constitution to make the Government a success. George Bancroft wrote: "Without Virginia, this great country would have been shivered into fragmentary confederacies or separate independent States."

The opponents of ratification were headed by the brilliant lawyer, former Governor, and the greatest orator of his day, Patrick Henry. He was assisted by George Mason, a member of the Constitutional Convention and one of the outstanding statesmen of the country. Richard Henry Lee, a member of the Continental Congress from Virginia, attacked the Constitution and tried to arouse public opinion in opposition to it.

Washington did not attend the Virginia convention, but his influence outweighed that of all the opponents. As soon as he returned to his home from Philadelphia, where the Constitution was drafted, he began writing letters to influential men in every section of the country. He wrote to Charles Carter: "My decided opinion on the matter is, that there is no alternative between the adoption of it [the Constitution] and anarchy." This message was published in many of the Virginia papers.

Washington's name was frequently referred to by both sides, always with the highest regard and respect. Patrick Henry mentioned him as "That illustrious man who saved us by his valor." Mason, his friend and neighbor, said: "For the President there seldom or never can be a majority in favor of one great man who will be unanimously elected." Monroe wrote to Jefferson: "Be assured Washington's influence carried this Government."

At the close of the Convention in Philadelphia on September 17, 1787, Franklin asked all of the delegates to sign the Constitution. Two from Virginia refused to put their signatures to the document—Randolph and Mason. Randolph made the statement that he would probably regret this action as long as he lived but he felt he could not conscientiously accede to the request of Franklin. However, at the convention in Richmond, Governor Randolph joined with Madison and others and argued for the ratification.

There is no question but that the Convention which met in Richmond in June, 1788, was one of the most important meetings ever held on the North American Continent.

When the vote on the subject of ratification was taken on June 25, 1788, it favored by the close margin of 79 to 89. There were 16 delegates from what is now West Virginia; 15 of them voted for ratification. If half of the delegates from what is now West Virginia had voted with Patrick Henry and his little group of opponents, the Constitution would not have been ratified.

We have a right to claim that the delegates from what is now West Virginia actually were responsible for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

## A Mother's Plea for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article from the summer issue of the Ladies' Home Journal by Margaret Hofmann entitled "A Mother's Plea for Peace."

The article follows:

A MOTHER'S PLEA FOR PEACE

(By Margret Hofmann)

(A housewife from Texas recently sent us a small, privately printed booklet, "A Key to Survival," into which she had poured all her hopes for peace. We were so moved by it that we decided to share part of it with our readers.

(Mrs. Otto Hofmann was born in Germany, but fled East Germany after the war. She came to this country, and 3 years later met her husband, a Texan of German extraction. Mr. Hofmann builds custom-made pipe organs in a shop in the rear of their home. They have four children.)

Heidi is my youngest. She has just learned to walk. Every few minutes she makes her way to where I am sitting and leans her head on my lap as though to strengthen herself for new adventures. In her dark brown eyes is reflected such confidence in me that I am obliged to ask myself, "What have I done and what am I doing to insure a happy, peaceful future for her, her brother and her sisters?"

Again and again, when I attempt to visualize this future, I see myself in the ruins of what once must have been a court of law. My children are confronting and accusing me: "You were a free citizen in a free country. Why did you not speak up?"

Their argument continues: "You knew as few American citizens did what happens to a people who do not speak up. Our grandmother was deported and killed. You knew the horrors of war. You had us get polio shots; you had us vaccinated. You spared no effort to give us a happy childhood. Yet you did not voice your protest as the destiny of our country was being shaped.

"As we understand it, your parents, and their generation in Germany, did not speak up because they were afraid. You knew that this lack of courage and this apathy cost them first their freedom, then their lives.

"Why did you not speak up?"

Today I hope to do just that.

Had anyone told me 20 years ago that someday I would have a family with whom I might live in freedom, comfort, peace, and safety, I would have doubted his sanity. All of us lived from day to day, from one bomb-shelter visit to the next. Our standard reply to "How are you?" was: "Still alive." In those days I did not believe in any kind of future.

Today, my memories of the war are becoming ever more vivid. I recognize many parallels between now and then; and the more clearly I see them, the more clearly I am beginning to understand my responsibility; namely, to make available to the citizens of the United States my knowledge, solidly based on personal experience, of the contrast between the theory and the reality of war.

I would not be so terrified, so strongly moved to share my concerns with my fellow Americans, if I did not find ever more similarities between our present attitude toward war as a theoretical possibility and the attitude adopted in my native prewar Germany. Except that then hardly anybody dared raise a warning voice. Now, in the United States, we dare and we must.

What I am about to relate are facts, not horror stories. This is reality, not theory. Oh, I could write about theory too. We also had our civil-defense drills. When I was a little girl in school, every so often the bell would ring and we would file into the basement. When the bombs fell, we would be safe in our basement. It's a good thing that when the bombs did fall they came during the night when we were at home. The school burned down.

We were admonished to move valuables from the higher stories to the lower ones, since they were likely to be safer there. What happened? The fourth floor remained intact, while the first floor burned out. We were advised to remain inside our shelters until the all-clear sounded; but after the worst raids, naturally, the sirens were knocked out.

Ah, for all that theory which put us teenagers into such an eager and adventurous mood. We were taught, if an incendiary bomb hit, to rush up and toss it where it would do no damage. But it wasn't long before these bombs were outfitted with a small quantity of an explosive, and after a few blownoff hands that was the end of that theory. This little illustration, however, serves to make a very important point: War is unpredictable. As soon as we believe we have a foolproof defense system, the enemy simply pulls the rug out from under it.

I spent the war years in several different cities: Düsseldorf, Krefeld, Aachen, and Potsdam. All of them were bombed. In Aachen, half the basement in which I had taken shelter blew up. The remaining half managed to hold up under the load of collapsed house about it. In Potsdam I was in the center of town, definitely within the main target area. We would cover up our ears to shut out the noise, yet we could still hear the bombs whistling through the air as they came down in chains of four or five, each one exploding nearer our house.

Much research is being done to determine what man's instinctive and emotional reactions to the bomb are likely to be. I will here present my own experiences.

In the beginning, when the raids were still small and I was still a child, we would walk miles just to see a damaged house. We children collected shrapnel fragments and compared them to see who had the biggest or the most. We matched exciting stories of "the night before." Who had been closest to a detonation? Whose windows were broken? Windows, by the way, fall out as often as in. They are sucked out and shatter a fraction of a second before the bomb hits.

After the major raids began, all this changed. All the windows were broken, so we marveled if we saw one which was still intact. We collected no more shrapnel. The streets, or what used to be streets, were littered with it. Instead, we kept our eyes open for duds. Many people who had survived the air raid itself were killed hours, days, even years later by duds, or time bombs which had been "humanely" triggered to go off later.

Leadership during the raids themselves was at once desirable and dangerous. Desirable

if it was the result of real thoughtfulness; dangerous because in such unnerving moments I have found people willing to follow even the most panicky leader. A person whose own knees have turned to butter, but who still has enough presence of mind to prevent hysteria, to guide people away from fire and suffocation through dust, smoke, darkness and explosions under the constant whistling of bombs, is certainly welcome, but is a rare, rare individual. The best training in this field is often worthless, while the person of whom it is least expected may rise to great heights, only to wonder afterward how he ever did it. In fact, the trained ones often make great nuisances of themselves. Many of them feel that they must lead at any price, and everyone must obey them.

During the height of fear and danger, when explosion follows explosion, and when each second may be one's last, people may do any of the following—and I think I have done all of them during one air raid or another: Tremble, or be literally numb with fear; stare at one's watch, hoping for a few minutes to pass; find reassurance in the proximity of a congenial person; pray, scream, or remain perfectly calm as though nothing were happening; even get a conversation going in the total darkness (the electricity is shot, of course, and there is not a candle or battery left in the country), incongruously making lighthearted remarks—this can be done, too, once initiated by a true leader.

During the very worst, class distinctions and individual dislikes are almost forgotten, but this doesn't last long. As the raid subsides, thoughts turn from the present to the immediate future. We are alive. So now what? Who of our family has survived? Is our apartment still there? If it is, is it threatened by fire? How can I save it? How can I save myself if the fires should spread?

And then the reaction to the nervous strain sets in, and one may find that one has gone crazy. One may stand in the street as my father once did, watch his possessions burn, and laugh, laugh, laugh.

All those who have survived are like one family. All the objects that can be retrieved from the fire or dragged out of the rubble, or are found on the street, seemingly belong to everybody. At this stage, this is not necessarily plundering. People who have lost their home move into someone else's house, just anybody's house, without much asking, and the owners don't object.

These moments of solidarity are valuable, but short-lived. Within hours one's reactions are back to normal. Where will I obtain groceries? Is my friend, who lived at the other end of town, still alive? How about my school, my place of work? Since my coat burned at the cleaners, what will I wear? And how can I notify relatives across the country that I am still alive?

After years of air raids, fear, and ruins whever I looked, my greatest desire was to move to a city untouched by bombs. I was obsessed with longing for a place that was undemolished, that still had streets and intact buildings. I was fortunate to find work in just such a city. Its name was Dresden, one of the most beautiful cities on earth. Here were clean streets, well-kept lawns, buildings with unbroken windows. Sirens often did not wail here for months at a time, because Dresden was so located that no planes on their way to other cities needed to pass over. Though opera performances were forbidden this late in the war, one could still go to concerts. One could even take a cruise down the Elbe. Somehow, the war seemed far away.

Here, away from heavy industry, surrounded by art treasures, castles, and cathedrals perhaps unsurpassed anywhere in Europe, I felt safe. And so did most other people, as evidenced by the fact that there were no public bomb shelters in Dresden. On this city devoid of military targets, no enemy would waste his bombs. There were only a few signs which read "to the Elbe" and "to the park," so that in case of fire or danger of suffocation, people would know which way to turn.

The peacetime population of Dresden was about 600,000. Toward the end of the war this figure had probably nearly doubled. For one thing, Dresden, as an undestroyed city, offered shelter to many people who had become homeless. It was the site of innumerable hospitals and sanatoriums and, since nothing could possibly happen to Dresden, camps full of children who had been evacuated from industrial cities. Also, the city was swamped with refugees from those sections of Germany which had already been captured by the Russians. When finally there was nowhere else to go, and the hotels and private homes had filled up, they camped by the thousands on the bare floors of public buildings.

I lived and worked in a suburb 6 miles from the center of town, halfway between Dresden and Meissen. On the evening of February 13, 1945, 12 weeks before the end of the war, I was downtown, waiting for a streetcar to take me home from night school. Fortunately for me and for everybody else awaiting it, the 9:30 car appeared. If it hadn't, as very often it didn't, I wouldn't be sitting here now.

The warning came when we were only about a mile from where I was rooming. The streetcar stopped at the first sound of a siren, and everybody was supposed either to walk or ask for shelter in a nearby building. I took my time. Why hurry? Nothing had ever happened during the 5½ years of the war. But when I heard an unusually great number of planes above me (to this moment the sound of planes at this particular altitude at night terrifies me) and saw something like fireworks not too far away, I finally ran home as fast as I could.

At the beginning of every major air raid, the first planes to arrive at the scene would place flares, "Christmas trees" as we called them, suspended in the air to outline the area to be attacked. Within this area the bombing would be arbitrary.

Our house was a rather new building, with not much of a basement. We spent a good deal of the next 2 hours in front of the house. We would race inside when we heard a new wave of planes approaching, but then again, afraid that the house might blow up and bury us, we would run back out.

The ground remained in constant vibration. It was so light outside that at one time we thought somebody had left the porch light burning. But it was only the light of the Christmas trees, the reflection of the huge fire in the city, and what seemed to be a fiery rain coming down from the planes. I don't know how this phenomenon was to be explained, but it looked as if the planes were not only dropping the standard fire bombs, but were also actually pouring out burning masses.

After 2 hours no more planes could be heard and, since I had to be at work at 6 in the morning, I went to bed. I had acquired sufficient training in going to sleep even after the most nerve-racking raids.

Never, to my knowledge, had a city been exposed to two major raids in one night. When the sirens howled 2 hours later I paid no attention to them. There were always some planes around after raids to take pictures of the effects. Besides, the warning systems were usually knocked out of order, and sirens either wouldn't work at all or would carry on for hours. I was about to drop off to sleep again when my landlady shook me. She said only two words: "Christmas trees." I was up and dressed. It was surely a mistake. There couldn't be another raid. Two more hours of continued bombing? But so it was. At 4 in the morning at last a relative silence set in. At 5 I got ready to go to work.

Around noon the next day there was another terrifying raid, the third one in 24 hours.[1] I shall never forget it. My place of work was a small plant which manufactured typewriter parts, and its basement offered little protection. I had stepped outside to find out what was going on and saw hundreds of planes approaching in orderly formation.

Planes are not dangerous while they are straight above, but as long as they are approaching—When I heard them come, I hurried inside. How many more seconds were we to live? My knees shook, and I was so scared I felt as if my whole sides had been taken out of me. Some of us screamed when the radio announcer declared, "Planes are approaching the northwest of the city. A major attack will have to be counted on." These hard words meant for each of us, including the announcer, perhaps death, crippling, and the destruction of our homes.

Miraculously, our suburb remained untouched. Our stomachs seemed to settle back into their places. Our legs began to support us again. The paralyzing fear was replaced by bewilderment. Had we survived? And for how long?

When I returned home that evening, an endless stream of people, some in torn clothes, some scantily bandaged, all dirty from dust and soot, carrying their children (the ones they had saved) or bundles and baskets, dragged silently through the streets. I was ashamed, even scared, to be cleanly dressed.

I waited 3 weeks before I decided to walk into town; of course there was no transportation. Perhaps I shouldn't have gone.

The city was absolutely ruined. In other cities, after major raids, you might still find one house here or there. Not so in Dresden. I could not find even the familiar streets. The magnificent silhouette, as painted and photographed so often from the far shores of the Elbe, was a shambles.

Even after 3 weeks there were still bodies scattered over the streets and piled up on horse-drawn cars. Some were terribly mutilated, torn to bits by explosions, or half burned. I would turn my head in the direction of a certain odor, and there would be lying a head or a hand or a leg. To this day I cannot forget the stench.

There had been the signs pointing to the park and to the Elbe. I had been told by several people that the first two raids had concentrated on the downtown section of the city, and that the third one had concentrated on the park and on the shores of the river to which thousands of people had fled. I walked through the park, and there were the charcoaled bodies still hanging in the charcoaled trees.

A quarter of a million people were estimated killed during that 24-hour period. Ac-

[1] From "The Army Air Forces in World War II," vol. 3, p. 731, University of Chicago Press, 1951: "The 8th Air Force devoted 2 days' effort beginning with Feb. 14, 1945, to the central German railway centers which were believed to serve armies opposing the Russians in the east. Three hundred and eleven Fortresses dropped 771 tons on Dresden * * * Dresden, which the heavy bombers had left alone until [now] had received a terrible bombing from the Royal Air Force the previous night. Smoke was still rising to 15,000 feet when the Americans arrived to make their attack * * *. But if casualties were exceptionally high and damage to residential areas great, it was also evident the city's industrial and transportation establishments had been blotted out."

tually, we will never know how many died. There was no way to check among such groups as the refugees. It is a miracle that anybody survived.

All this has happened nearly 20 years ago, but another 50 may pass and I am not likely to forget one detail. Many people have managed to forget, and perhaps they are more fortunate. I do not dare forget, lest I allow myself again to consider war a "possibility," a "solution," something to be considered the "lesser evil." Lest I fail to make every personal effort to prevent it, to help find a better remedy for the world's ills. Lest I neglect my duty to inform all who can be induced to listen of the horror, the terror of war.

## Labor Contribution to U.S. Progress and Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in creating our Nation, labor has provided the man and brain power, not only for progress, but for security.

On Labor Day, I was privileged to discuss the significance of labor to our national life.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For the future, the Nation—as in the past—will depend upon the working men and women of America for the manpower and brainpower to promote progress in this most productive economic system in the history of the world.

Labor Day, now, offers the Nation an opportunity to: Pay tribute to, and create greater understanding of, the great, unique contribution of labor to our national progress and security; dedicate itself to resolving serious problems—such as too high unemployment of workers of Wisconsin and America; crystallize a more effective national labor policy; and establish greater goals for the years ahead.

In a land of freedom, as contrasted to communism, every worker remains entitled to and must have protected fundamental rights and rewards of work including: the taken-for-granted right of choosing his own vocation; a good wage (reflecting proportionately the value of his productivity); a place of stature and respect in the community; economic security for himself and his family; and a voice in creation of policies affecting his well-being, rights, and future.

Nationally, the voice of labor, through organization, expresses itself strongly on formulation of national labor policy. Generally, working men and women are utilizing such power to obtain a fair share of the rewards of productivity—including fair wages, better working conditions, warranted retirement benefits, and job security.

Labor, also, speaks with a powerful voice in the shaping of other national policies for domestic progress and security.

With such a growing power, however, goes hand in hand a responsibility to serve not only the working force, but the overall interests of the Nation.

The challenges confronting labor, then, include: (1) Adhering to—and further improving—a national labor policy that will best serve, and protect, the interests, not only of the worker, but of the Nation; (2) sharing in—and contributing to efforts to resolve economic problems, including unemployment resulting from: automation; less-than-full-capacity operations of business and industry; and other factors; (3) greater voluntary efforts to dedicate its great power and resources to meeting human economic needs of our citizens; supporting civic-national causes legislation for national progress; (4) serving freedom—and combating communism—by further exporting free trade unionism—together with the story of how it may serve workers and national needs elsewhere in the world.

In the world of tomorrow, our Nation will demand, and require, an even greater sense of public responsibility from the leaders and rank-and-file members of labor, management, and all walks of life. The purpose: to assure our Nation the capability to meet the challenges of its security and fulfill the needs of its people.

With this creative, farsighted, dedicated sense of civic and national responsibility, we, as a nation, shall—I am confident—win victory over communism and create an ever-better life for our people—and, yes, mankind around the globe.

## A Salute to Those Who Conserve Our Priceless Soil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I include in part a copy of a letter with a proposed short speech to Mr. Wendell Pellett, Atlantic, Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for the Iowa State Plowing Match to be held close to Atlantic, Iowa, on September 13, where Mr. Pellett invited me to speak. But since my duties in Congress demand my presence here at that time, I have sent the following to Mr. Pellett, requesting it be read by someone:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., September 5, 1962.*

Mr. WENDELL PELLETT,
*Atlantic, Iowa.*

DEAR WENDELL: I deeply appreciate your invitation to be present and to make a short talk at the Iowa State plowing match to be held close to Atlantic on Sepember 13.

* * * * *

Many of my good friends in the Soil Conservation Service, including yourself, with whom I have enjoyed working for almost a quarter of a century in the all-important program of conserving our priceless soil, have told me they expect me to be present at the State plowing match. I can only offer my sincere regrets for the reason above stated. If I were present and made a talk, this is what I would say:

Mr. Chairman and friends, I deem it an honor to speak here today, and to commend everybody most highly for the part they have played in conserving our priceless soil. I especially want to commend Wendell Pellett and his committee for all the days and weeks they have spent in arranging this day.

At the outset, I must say that I take great pride in the fact that the farmers of the Seventh Iowa District, with the able leadership of the county commissioners and the soil conservation technicians, have built more miles of terraces and have more acres of contoured land, and more watersheds completely constructed, under construction, and in the planning stage in the Seventh Iowa District, than in any comparable area in the entire United States.

Hence, they have rendered a great and lasting service not only for themselves and their country, but an even greater service to those who come after us. I say that advisedly. As proof of that statement, look across the seven seas to the many lands where for hundreds upon hundred of years past, the people, chiefly the thoughtless, powerful land barons, permitted their priceless topsoil to wash, blow, and erode away, and there, with no exception, the people suffer the ravages of communism, hunger, strife, and revolution, and you may be sure that scourge will continue in those many nations of this troubled world until the rulers and all-powerful land barons awaken to the fact that all wealth springs from Mother Earth, and that a nation's economy depends entirely on how well Mother Earth is treated. We are indeed fortunate that we learned this great lesson from the preachings and teachings of that great and good American, the late Hugh Hammond Bennett, the father of the Soil Conservation Service, starting only 27 years ago, and following the formation of the first soil conservation district in the United States.

I am very certain that the great majority of the American people will agree that when God created heaven and earth, He made heaven perfect in every detail, but that He purposely left the earth imperfect in many respects. Had he not done so, the first people on earth would have lived in ease and earthly comfort and long before our time all those humans would have perished as do the drones in the beehive.

Also let us never forget that history records major wars, with hardly a single exception, have been won by the side that had the greatest supply of food, feed, and fiber; for example, the Civil War, World Wars I and II, just to name a few.

Even in this atomic age, no nation or group of nations where multitudes cry for bread, and where freedom is gone, are their rulers anxious to become involved in a hot war with us and our peace-loving friends in other lands, where those people also conserve their soil and maintain high production, but should the day ever come when our good earth has lost its bounteous yield, that will be the day we become fair prey for the Communists or some other godless gang to defeat us in mortal combat.

So let us be worthy of the many blessings that have been showered upon us, and pray our children, and their children likewise, will enjoy the abundance which springs from our priceless soil, well kept.

So again I say, hats off to you who till the soil and keep it productive, even as now, with an oversupply of food and feed and fiber. How blessed we are, compared to the people in many lands who are this very minute praying just for a loaf of bread.

I hope this message will be read by someone at the State plowing match on September 13, where I would very much like to be in person.

I send greetings and my very best wishes to all assembled, while looking forward to seeing many of you after Congress adjourns.

Most sincerely yours,

BEN F. JENSEN.

## House Resolution 211—Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

APARTMENT 11,
*New York, N.Y., July 9, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: There will be a possibility to rally more support for the House Resolution 211 during the coming Captive Nations Week in the New York City area.

In this connection a number of individuals and organizations have asked for copies of the said resolution so that they may be better prepared to ask others for the support of House Resolution 211.

Inasmuch as those who are approached for the support of the said resolution have frequently expressed the desire to have the original copy of House Resolution 211 as it appeared in the House of Representatives, I shall appreciate as many copies of it as you can spare being sent to me at your earliest convenience.

With best wishes for success, I remain,
Sincerely yours,
STEPHAN CHEMYTSCH.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your proposal, House Resolution 211 is the best and the most appropriate at the present time to do battle against the totalitarians of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,
———.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

BALTIMORE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE
FOR CUBAN FREEDOM,
*Baltimore, Md., June 25, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: As a member of the Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom, I wish to convey my support of your House Resolution 211 calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

I would also like to point out the fact that Cuba, a nation enslaved by communism, has not been included in the committee, and urge you to please consider its inclusion as a member of the captive nations.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. ILEANA CUERVO.

METUCHEN, N.J.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Tichon Komaroff, a Cossack by origin, lawfully admitted to and residing presently in the United States, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution.

Very truly yours,
TICHON KOMAROFF.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF., *July 4, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: It has been brought to my attention that you are sponsor of House Resolution 211, a bill that would establish a permanent House Committee on Captive Nations. You are to be congratulated for your efforts toward this cause. I feel such a committee would go far toward informing the American people as to conditions under which the citizens of the captive nations live.

Furthermore it would remind us that people still live under the most miserable conditions and that we should encourage our Government to do all in its power to obtain their release from the tyranny of godless communism. So again let me extend my congratulations to you and urge you to keep up the work you seem to be doing so well.

Sincerely,
JAMES V. HROVAT.

## Commanding General Sewart Air Force Base Commended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, Brig. Gen. Frederick J. Sutterlin, who served as commander of the 839th Air Division at Sewart Air Force Base, Tenn., for more than 2 years, has recently been assigned to another Air Force base.

General Sutterlin's tour at Sewart Air Force Base was an outstanding one and through his efforts as commander of the 839th Air Division, exceptionally fine relations between Sewart and the civilian community were established. As a demonstration of their affection and high regard for General Sutterlin, both the mayor of Smyrna, the Honorable John Sam Ridley, and the mayor of Murfreesboro, the Honorable A. L. "Jack" Todd, Jr., presented General Sutterline with the keys to these two cities which are near to Sewart Air Force Base and provided him with a certificate of appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert these commendations in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The commendations follow:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the 839th Air Division (TAC) with headquarters at Stewart Air Force Base, Tenn., has for several years been a key factor in the national defense of our Nation; and

Whereas the personnel and resources of the 839th Air Division have also played a vital role in strengthening the strong ties existing between the town of Smyrna, Tenn. and the military establishment at Sewart Air Force Base, Tenn.; and

Whereas Brig. Gen. Frederick J. Sutterlin has commanded the 839th Air Division since June 22, 1960, and in such capacity has manifested outstanding qualities of leadership, loyalty, integrity and courage; and,

Whereas, during his tour of duty as commander of the 839th Air Division, General Sutterlin has, through his sincere interest, aggressive leadership and unselfish service cemented the already strong ties existing between civilian and military communities; has by prompt and decisive action made available to the citizens of the town of Smyrna an adequate and pure supply of water during a period of serious emergency, and has through the depth, vigor and strength of his personal leadership and character enhanced not only the prestige and reputation of the 839th Air Division in the community, but has brought it recognition by the entire State of Tennessee and by the U.S. Air Force; and,

Whereas military duties now require that General Sutterlin depart from our community to assume vital duties elsewhere, and the mayor and board of commissioners of the town of Smyrna desire to manifest the affection and appreciation of all the citizens of the town of Smyrna: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the deep respect, affection and appreciation of all of the citizens of the town of Smyrna, Tenn., be, and the same hereby are expressed and conveyed to Brig. Gen. Frederick J. Sutterlin; be it further

*Resolved*, That the warm best wishes, prayers and fond memories of all of the citizens of the town of Smyrna shall forever follow General Sutterlin and be with him; be it further

*Resolved*, That this resolution be spread upon the official minutes of the town of Smyrna and that certified copies be furnished to Brig. Gen. Frederick J. Sutterlin and to his appropriate superiors.

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned hereby certifies that he is the duly elected and acting mayor of the town of Smyrna; that the foregoing is a true, perfect and exact copy of a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the mayor and board of commissioners of the town of Smyrna at its regular meeting on July 10, 1962 and that the same appears in the official minutes of the town.

JOHN S. RIDLEY,
*Mayor.*

CITY OF MURFREESBORO,
*Murfreesboro, Tenn., July 18, 1962.*

GENERAL SUTTERLIN: On behalf of the citizens of Murfreesboro and Smyrna, Mayor Sam Ridley and I present to you our key to our city and a gift as a token of the high

esteem and regard we all have for you, and also in appreciation of your outstanding services while commander at Sewart to our communities. Let us assure you that we will always have a soft spot in our hearts for you and will always remember you, not only as an outstanding commander, but as a gentleman, a true friend and neighbor.

We wish you Godspeed in your next assignment.

JOHN S. RIDLEY,
*Mayor of Smyrna.*
A. L. TODD, Jr.,
*Mayor of Murfreesboro.*

## Kansas Hurt by Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, last April I joined with other Members of the House of Representatives in introducing legislation which was designed to correct the continuing threat of excessive oil imports. Efforts were made in the Ways and Means Committee to attach this legislation as an amendment to the Trade Expansion Act. However, the committee failed to approve this action and the House was unable to act because of the closed rule under which the trade legislation came to the floor for debate.

Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the August issue of Independent Petroleum Monthly prepared by Richard C. Byrd, chairman of the State Corporation Commission of the State of Kansas, emphasizes the impact which oil imports have had upon the economy of the Kansas petroleum industry.

The simple facts are, that despite present mandatory import controls, the imports of foreign crude continue to increase while the market for Kansas crude continues to decrease.

Earlier this year I pointed out that the Kansas oil industry as it exists today, with steadily increasing imports, is suffering grievous attrition, market after market, served for years is being lost.

It is more than obvious that unless imports are cut, Kansas oil, especially the independents, who do not have the resources of the major companies, are in for serious trouble.

Throughout this 87th Congress we have received numerous requests from the administration for new programs designed to stimulate the economy, alleviate unemployment, and assist business and industry. However, the plight of the domestic petroleum industry goes almost unnoticed by the administration.

We have seen employment in the industry decline, the numbers of students seeking degrees in petroleum engineering and geology have decreased, and production reduced.

The importance of the domestic petroleum industry to our national security is emphasized by the worsening of the Berlin controversy and the strengthening of the Communist grip on Cuba.

America cannot afford to let one of its most vital industries wither by default, for want of vigorous action. Oil imports must be controlled so as to permit the domestic industry to have its fair share of the domestic market, replace its depleted reserves, maintain an efficient distributive system and a strong financial structure. Only then can America retain its position of world leadership and prosperity in peace as well as a posture of strength to meet any military situation.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Byrd's illuminating report on the impact of oil imports upon Kansas, along with several tables which help illustrate the need for thoughtful action by the Congress and the administration:

KANSAS HURT BY IMPORTS, ESPECIALLY FROM CANADA

(By Richard C. Byrd)

Kansas, historically, has been the fifth largest oil-producing State in the United States. In 1960, the State slipped to sixth as production decreased to its lowest level since 1950. Figure I (below) shows annual production for the 1950–60 period, showing an 8.6-percent decrease in the 4-year period of 1950–60. Total production for 1961 was in excess of 112 million barrels, the fifth consecutive year of decline.

Another interesting fact in figure I is the average daily production and average daily barrels per day per well. This decrease occurred despite an increase of 10 percent for refined products during the same period.

Since the Kansas Corporation Commission, by statute, is charged with the obligation of conserving the oil and gas resources of the State of Kansas, any factor which affects the market demand for Kansas crude is of vital importance to the commission and to the State.

That the importation of foreign crude and refined products affects the demand for Kansas crude is obvious. Kansas exports to other States both raw crude and refined products. In 1960, in excess of 47 million barrels of Kansas crude was transported out of the State. It moved, ultimately, to New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, and Oklahoma. Any foreign crude imported to reach markets in those States could vitally affect the market for Kansas crude.

The refined products of Kansas refineries are even more widely distributed. There are 12 active refineries operating in the State with a total daily capacity of 346,990 barrels. As stated before, foreign crude imports have a vital effect on the demand for crude oil in Kansas and for Kansas crude oil products. The continued increase in the flow of foreign crude into the United States has caused the Kansas commission, in its market demand determinations and allowables based thereon, to reduce the allowable production in Kansas to its approximate legal minimum.

By Kansas statute, our commission is prohibited from reducing the production from a well capable of producing in excess of 25 barrels per day to less than 25 barrels per day. Thus, our legal minimum allowable is about 300,000 barrels per day. If the market demand for Kansas crude continues to decrease as a result of foreign crude imports, equitable proration will be impossible and pipeline (purchaser) proration will prevail. Under such conditions, correlative rights cannot be protected.

In addition to the violation of correlative rights, a continued decrease in market demand for Kansas crude to a point below the legal minimum could cause physical waste. This would occur as a result of our necessarily reducing production from secondary recovery projects which now produce at a rate in excess of 25 barrels per day minimum. An interruption or restriction in the production from these secondary recovery projects would result in the ultimate loss of otherwise recoverable crude oil.

The present health of the oil industry in the State of Kansas can best be summarized by a quotation from a letter to the Governor of Kansas from the president of one of the State's refining companies. After noting that refined products in Kansas have deteriorated $1.47 per barrel since January 1961, he wrote: "You can readily see that the oil industry in Kansas is 'sick' and something must be done immediately or scores of producers, refiners, and marketers will be bankrupt."

As a further indication of the industry's condition in Kansas, figure II (below) sets forth the decrease in the estimated number of employees in the petroleum and related industries in the State. The average number of rotary rigs operating in Kansas has decreased from 168.7 in 1956 to 102.4 in 1961. Close-downs and mergers of refining facilities have been prevalent in the State since 1956.

Another indicator of the industry's condition can be seen in figure III (below), showing the enrollment in petroleum engineering and geology classes in our State universities. Considering the increased gas production in the State since 1957, tax revenue from oil production has decreased substantially.

The stated purposes of the mandatory imports control program are commendable. A sound domestic petroleum industry must be maintained to meet the needs of this country during periods of emergency. Unfortunately, at least so far as the State of Kansas is concerned, these stated purposes have not been achieved. Imports of foreign crude continue to increase; the market for Kansas crude continues to decrease. Proven reserves in Kansas have decreased each year since 1957 as shown in figure IV (below). In addition, new reserves, reserves and extensions of proven reserves and production are shown for each year, as well as the relationship of new reserves to production.

Foreign crude imports, plus excessive refinery runs, constitute a continuing threat to the domestic crude oil price structure. Such a climate deters exploration and development. Sworn testimony before the Commission in June 1960 indicated that the cost of discovering and producing a barrel of new oil in central Kansas in 1959 was $3 or more. Certainly, the oil industry cannot be expected to invest capital needed to maintain or improve our reserves if the price of crude oil falls below the cost of replacing existing reserves.

Lack of market for Kansas crude and petroleum products is having a devastating effect on the oil producers in Kansas. Changes in the present mandatory oil imports control program must be made. The total amount of foreign imports must be reduced. Specifically, I would recommend that a limitation be placed on the volume of Canadian crude that can be imported in the United States.

Such a recommendation is valid in view of a recent action. For several months Kansas crude has moved to a New York market through existing pipelines. Volume of this crude has been about 7,000 barrels per day. There is no other home for that crude right now. The marketer of that crude has been notified of cancellation of the purchase of this Kansas crude due to their planned importation of Canadian crude. If Canadian crude is imported into the Illinois, Indiana and Ohio areas, Kansas crude will be shut in for lack of a market. It is conceivable that Canadian crude, absent

any limitations, could be delivered to Kansas refineries via new crude lines from Canada to Montana—those would be new lines—and through connecting carriers to Kansas.

The estimated maximum production capacity in Kansas, with the existing facilities, is about 360,000 barrels per day. This volume could be obtained immediately. To maintain this present maximum capacity, the drilling and exploration rate in the State must be increased at least 30 percent over the present rate. This cannot be accomplished with the market situation as it now exists.

FIGURE I

KANSAS PRODUCTION

*Crude oil and lease condensate*

| Year | Production (thousand barrels) | Rank in United States |
|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 107,586 | 5 |
| 1951 | 114,522 | 5 |
| 1952 | 114,807 | 5 |
| 1953 | 114,566 | 5 |
| 1954 | 119,317 | 5 |
| 1955 | 121,669 | 5 |
| 1956 | 124,204 | 5 |
| 1957 | 123,614 | 5 |
| 1958 | 119,642 | 5 |
| 1959 | 119,514 | 6 |
| 1960 | 113,500 | 6 |

*Daily production (actual barrels)*

| Year | Average barrels produced daily | Daily average barrels per day per well |
|---|---|---|
| 1956 | 339,664 | 9.2 |
| 1957 | 338,956 | 8.9 |
| 1958 | 330,518 | 8.4 |
| 1959 | 329,595 | 8.4 |
| 1960 | 310,109 | 7.7 |

FIGURE II

*Estimated number of employees in petroleum and related industries (Kansas)*

| Year | Refining and related | Production | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1956 | 4,900 | 16,900 | 21,800 |
| 1957 | 4,800 | 16,800 | 21,600 |
| 1958 | 4,800 | 15,900 | 20,700 |
| 1959 | 4,900 | 16,000 | 20,900 |
| 1960 | 4,700 | 14,900 | 19,600 |
| 1961 | 4,600 | 14,400 | 19,000 |

Source: Kansas Department of Labor.

FIGURE III

*Enrollment and graduation of students in geology and petroleum engineering departments*

| Year | University of Kansas | | University of Wichita [1] | | | Kansas State University |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Grads | Total | BA | BS | |
| 1956 | 81 | 9 | 104 | 20 | 1 | Since jobs with oil companies past 5 years have been virtually nil, number of students in geology has dropped from 200 in 1956 to about 40 in 1961. |
| 1957 | 83 | 17 | 89 | 5 | 0 | |
| 1958 | 69 | 16 | 46 | 35 | 0 | |
| 1959 | 34 | 16 | 42 | 29 | 1 | |
| 1960 | 25 | 18 | 37 | 23 | 0 | |
| 1961 | 23 | 9 | 12 | 18 | 3 | |

[1] Geology only.

FIGURE IV

*Kansas proven crude reserves (thousand barrels)*

| Proven reserves | | New reserves | | Revisions and extensions of proven reserves | | Production | | Proven reserves | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | Barrels | Date | Barrels | Date | Barrels | Date | Barrels | Date | Barrels | Year change (barrels) | Percent of United States |
| Jan. 1, 1957 | 1,018,000 | 1957 | 34,000 | 1957 | +119,719 | 1957 | 123,614 | Jan. 1, 1958 | 1,048,000 | +30,000 | 3.13 |
| Jan. 1, 1958 | 1,048,000 | 1958 | 28,000 | 1958 | +83,639 | 1958 | 119,942 | Jan. 1, 1959 | 1,039,000 | −9,000 | 3.10 |
| Jan. 1, 1959 | 1,039,000 | 1959 | 18,000 | 1959 | +74,302 | 1959 | 119,514 | Jan. 1, 1960 | 1,011,000 | −28,000 | 3 |
| Jan. 1, 1960 | 1,011,000 | 1960 | 20,000 | 1960 | +61,500 | 1960 | 113,500 | Jan. 1, 1961 | 979,000 | −32,000 | 2.8 |

## Our Secret Economic Weapon: The Price System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, President W. Allen Wallis, of the University of Rochester, who was formerly dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago, prepared a paper which was delivered before the Tax Foundation, Inc., meeting in Pittsburgh entitled "Our Secret Economic Weapon: The Price System" which I believe deserves the attention of all Members of Congress.

His address follows:

OUR SECRET ECONOMIC WEAPON: THE PRICE SYSTEM

(By W. Allen Wallis, president, University of Rochester)

The unhappy episode of the rise and fall of the price of steel in early April did not go entirely unnoticed, even outside Pittsburgh. Nor has it been entirely forgotten. But what was noticed at the time was trivial compared with what was not noticed. And what the incident is remembered for today is minor compared with its major permanent effects.

To be specific: At the time, in early April, what was noticed was that the price of steel stayed down. What was far more important was that our whole economic system sometimes described as a price system, sometimes as a system of free market, was shaken.

What the episode is remembered for now is the stock market crash. But a far more serious effect was that our whole governmental system, sometimes described as a system of individual civil liberties, sometimes as a rule of law, was shaken.

First, consider the short-lived increase in steel prices. To an economist like myself, outside the steel industry, this increase did not make sense. I'm not questioning whether the steel industry "needed" a price increase. What I question is whether market conditions at the time would have supported a price increase. In point of fact, steel was not bringing even the full prices already in the official lists at that time, and the industry was operating well below capacity. Under such circumstances, it just doesn't seem reasonable to think you can get a higher price than the one you are already failing to get. The electric refrigerator industry learned that lesson last spring. Like steel, it announced higher prices, only to have to cut them back.

Furthermore, when costs and market conditions do support price rises, they are not likely to support uniform percentage increases for all products.

Finally, an industry that has been described as "a lightning rod for the wrath of all recent Presidents" would seem well advised to achieve a higher average price by lowering some prices while raising others, in such a way as to provide the White House both with bewilderment and with possibilities for face saving.

My own opinion is that administration's actions had nothing to do with the failure of the price rise to stick. That resulted from weak market conditions, just as in the case of refrigerators. If the President had said to the steel industry, "Congratulations, gentlemen, you need the increase if you are going to play your part in the growth of our economy," or if he had said, "This price increase is due to the wage increase negotiated by Richard Nixon, but no price increase will be necessary when the Goldberg wage increase goes into effect next July," I think that steel prices would still be no higher today than they actually are. I am talking, of course, not about published lists of prices, but about actual transactions, taking account of extras, quality, delivery, the cash actually paid, and the speed of payment.

So I think the price increase was a mistake. But—and this is the important point—it really doesn't matter whether I (or anybody else) is right that the increase was a mistake. If it was a mistake, it was harmless because it would not have caused inflation, which is a term that refers to a rise in the average level of all prices, not just to a rise in some one price. The notion that when steel prices change all other prices change proportionately is just poppycock.

It was harmless also in a more important way; namely, that if it was a mistake it was a self-correcting mistake. Another piece of poppycock is the notion that the steel industry is characterized by enough collusion and monopoly power to enforce a price rise that the market won't sustain.

That is my first point then: that the real reason why the price of steel returned to its previous level, and in some instances even fell below it, is to be found in market condi-

tions, not in the words and acts of the administration.

Nevertheless, the administration's actions were a blow at the foundations of our economic system because those actions were an overt, explicit move toward the further regulation of individual prices by the Federal Government.

The Federal Government has a right and a duty to control the general level of prices—in other words, to prevent inflation and deflation. That is the duty of the Federal Reserve Board through its control of the quantity of money, and of the Congress through its control of Government deficits.

But the Government has an equal duty to see that individual prices remain free and flexible. Our system of market prices is the very heart and secret of our economic strength.

EXCEL IN ABILITY TO DECIDE

It is probably true that the Russian economy can do anything we can do, and even do it better. I mean that they can do any specific thing better, not everything simultaneously. For example, they could unquestionably build a bigger, better supermarket than any now in the United States, or a bigger and more automated bank. All they have to do is take a few dozen top scientists and engineers off their space programs and put them to work on a supermarket or on a bank.

But a far more important capacity, and one in which we excel them by far, is the ability to decide properly whether to build a supermarket and how super to make it, or whether to automate a bank and how automatic to make it.

Consider the problem of distributing food to the residents of a certain area. Is it more efficient to have one supermarket or a dozen Pa-and-Ma-type stores? The supermarket will involve a good structure, lots of capital equipment, and fairly high quality labor. It will need land for parking. People will come to it from considerable distances in their cars.

The Pa-and-Ma-type stores can be half basements using little capital and the labor of retired people. Customers will come only from short distances and on foot.

Which is the more efficient way of distributing food? Obviously, that depends on literally thousands of details. For example, it may be that some elderly couples who could do nothing else productive could run small grocery stores. If so, the supermarket has to be enough more efficient to offset total loss of the labor of the elderly couples. On the other hand, the type of employee who works in a supermarket may have many other opportunities that are just as productive. In that case, the Pa-and-Ma type store needs only a small margin of efficiency to dominate.

Again, the small stores can perhaps be tucked into space that has little if any alternative use, whereas the supermarket requires land and good buildings that might be more valuable if used for other purposes. The comparison requires knowing what else could be done with the land and buildings and being able to evaluate the other uses accurately.

Another range of complications arises because not only do the two kinds of stores use up different kinds of resources, whose values must be compared, but they render different kinds of services.

For each kind of store the total value to all the customers must be compared with the total cost. Only then can the two kinds of stores be compared, and the decision made that is best for the country.

Decisions like that must be made millions of times every year. The overall efficiency of the economy and our rate of economic growth are greatly affected by the accuracy and promptness of these millions of individual decisions.

The Russian economy, like all collectivist economies, makes these decisions poorly. But everyone understands the machinery by which the decisions are made. It is an administrative machinery, based on handing down orders from above.

Premier Khrushchev indicated the magnitude of the problem by presenting the following data: As of January 1, there were many millions of square feet of completed factory space that could not be used because the machinery required for those factories was not available. At the same time in other parts of the country there were hundreds of millions of dollars worth of machinery of various kinds standing idle because the factories, mines, and other installations for which this machinery was designed were not yet ready.

The American economy makes these decisions well, but the method of making them is seldom understood and is widely misunderstood. We make them through the price system. The price system, in fact, may be called our secret economic weapon.

In our economy, prices are the messages that tell people what ought to be done. If the price of something is high, that is a message to producers to try to produce more and to consumers to try to use less. How high the price is tells how hard to try. The prices of raw materials, labor, land, and equipment are the messages that tell how things should be produced, for these prices reflect the amounts of the inputs available and the importance of the alternative uses for them.

Prices are self-enforcing messages. A producer who does not produce what is wanted, or produces it inefficiently, or does not adjust to change, soon finds that he is not taking in enough money to continue to buy his inputs. He is forced to stop wasting our resources. He is stopped just as forcefully as if he had received a cease-and-desist order from a Federal Bureau of Efficiency—indeed, more forcefully, for his Congressman or his trade association might have more influence with the bureau than with his bank.

The price system functions efficiently only insofar as the prices are free and voluntary. If the prices are set other than through free markets, either because of private monopoly or Government intervention, the overall efficiency of the economy is reduced.

The threat of direct price control made explicit by the President's handling of the steel situation, and more recently by the Solicitor General's speech at Harvard, and earlier by bills introduced in Congress as early as 1959, is a very direct threat to hobble and eventually cripple our economy. Not only the administration but the public also are alarmingly willing to move toward direct price controls, at least if the Gallup poll is any criterion. The June 8 poll reported that, of the 86 percent of voters who have an opinion about whether prices and wages ought to be frozen, 47 percent are in favor and only 53 percent opposed.

PROSPECTS OF INFLATION GREATER

So my second point is that the major economic consequence of the steel episode was not the effect on the steel industry; it was to jeopardize the central source of our economic strength.

As to my third point, the relation of the steel episode to the stock market, let me say first that the only thing I really know for sure about the cause of the crash is that nobody knows the cause, including me. (If anyone tells you he knows, ask him whether he sold short last winter.)

We can discard the idea that the collapse resulted from diminishing fears of inflation. For one thing, there has been very little, if any, inflation in the United States in the past 10 years. For another thing, the prospects of inflation within a couple of years are greater now than at any time in a long while.

We have to admit, also, that the market may simply be foreshadowing a recession; it has foreshadowed all postwar recessions, though recessions have not followed all of the market's drops.

But we have to consider—and I myself think this is an important factor—that the basic threat to our economic progress that results from the likelihood of direct price and wage controls may have been a major cause. Furthermore, my fourth point, the threat to our system of government, may be the most important cause of all.

To bring out my fourth point, let me contrast the actions of Presidents Truman and Kennedy when they got mad at steel. President Truman took certain actions to control the steel industry in ways to which it objected. The industry thereupon resorted to the courts. The Supreme Court ruled that the President did not lawfully have the power he had tried to exercise, but that is irrelevant; the important point is that the courts could be appealed to by those who felt that their rights were violated.

President Kennedy, on the other hand, used powers which are perfectly legal, but he used them to achieve purposes that are entirely outside the law. Since the powers he used, such as investigating individual income tax returns, are perfectly legal, redress through the courts is probably impossible and certainly improbable.

Charles Reich, of the Yale Law School, wrote in the New Republic of April 30:

"Each of the powers the President used was a legitimate one, and nothing he did was beyond his lawful authority. That is not the issue. The issue is whether the President made proper and responsible use of his powers. The evidence is overwhelming that the actions taken or inspired by the President were primarily for the purpose of intimidating and coercing the steel industry. The previous indulgence of steel industry practices, the use of so many drastic powers in concert, and the willingness to relent after the surrender all confirm this.

"Such use of power, whether its objectives are good or bad, is dangerous. Income tax investigations are legitimate, but should they be undertaken specially, with dramatic fanfare, to frighten someone who opposes administration policies? Should a man's passport application be delayed if he does not fall into line on some economic issue? Should the goodwill of a business be destroyed by official denunciation if it proves stubborn in collective bargaining? The very immensity of Government power demands, on the contrary, that it be used in a disinterested manner, and only for the exact purposes intended. Any other use gives a President the ability to force people to do things which under the law he has no right to require. It means that people offend the President at their peril.

"The spirit of our Constitution is the spirit of limitation on all powers, of disinterested enforcement of the laws, of equal protection, of due process. It was dangerously wrong for an angry President to loose his terrible arsenal of power for the purpose of intimidating and coercing private companies and citizens.

"* * * The President has no right to force his economic policies on an unwilling industry without legislation. Unless Congress acts, the fact is that in a free society there can be no unitary public interest, no single, authoritatively fixed idea of 'the public good.' Freedom has little meaning if it only allows action that 'responsibility' conforms to the President's idea of the national interest.

"Even if everything that has just been said about President Kennedy's methods and objectives is wrong, his victory is still dis-

quieting. It demonstrates how much power Government has today. Such power, no matter how wisely exercised, is hardly less frightening because the victim forced to surrender was a group of corporate giants and not a small business or a private citizen.

"Much of what Mr. Kennedy accomplished by pressure of Government power he will hereafter be able to command by the subtlest suggestion. * * * President Kennedy's victory may have advanced peace and plenty, but it did no service to freedom."

So my fourth and final point is this: Far and away the most important and most distressing aspect of the steel episode was not the effect on the steel industry, nor the effect on the stock market, nor even the threat to our economic system, but the fact that it represented a long step toward authoritarianism. The very root and essence of authoritarianism is the idea that a central government has the authority to determine what is in the national interest, and to pursue that interest as defined by itself through any and all means.

But there is a silver lining. A long step was taken toward authoritarianism, yes; but it leaves a considerable distance yet to be traversed. Second, it was not a step from which there is no turning back. I am inclined to believe that it was an inadvertent step, an amateurish step, into which the administration felt almost pushed as an unforeseen consequence of earlier steps taken, when they rather naively assumed responsibility for labor negotiations, guidelines on wage settlements, and avoiding strikes.

The job before us then, is to make sure that the turning back occurs. That requires a fuller understanding, by the administration and by the public, of the processes of a free economy, and of the longrun evils of many shortrun benefits. Economic education is a difficult challenge but not an insuperable one. I, for one, retain some hope.

## Equal Employment Opportunity Over 45

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, in all of the talk about equal opportunity for employment there is a category of our citizens which nobody seems to mention. One of my constituents, Mr. Arel R. Cunningham, has called attention to this group which is either forgotten or overlooked in their need for an equal opportunity for employment.

Mr. Cunningham's letter says:

CUNNINGHAM ELECTRIC,
*St. Cloud, Fla., August 8, 1962.*

Hon. SYDNEY HERLONG, JR.,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

HON. MR. HERLONG: It has been brought to my attention in numerous plants about Florida there is a sign reading, "This is an equal opportunity employer." When asked about this equality I am told that it is for the Negro people which has been specified by our Government.

With this in mind, would it not be possible to stretch this a little further and provide employment for our senior citizens, between the ages 45 to 65 years of age in the same manner. It is a deplorable thing for our people who have carried the tax burden of our country thus far to arrive at the autumn of life and find that he or she is no longer needed and are suddenly turned down on employment, due to age, by companies working on Government contracts, which their tax dollars are paying for.

Please.

Respectfully yours,

AREL CUNNINGHAM.

## Police Science and Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, the new program in police science and administration for the term 1962–63 offered by the Community College of Temple University is of such value and importance to peace officers and those who may be interested in police activities that I have included the entire brochure for the benefit of the Members.

The course in police science and administration, the first of its kind in the Philadelphia area, was established at the Community College of Temple University in September 1960. The course leads to the degree of associate in science.

This program was recommended after the needs were analyzed by the Law Observance Conference of the Federal Bar Association which is headed by Harry O. Shargel, Esq. All law enforcement personnel, attorneys or individuals in professional police activities are eligible.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following descriptive brochure explaining the program:

A PROFESSIONAL PROGRAM IN POLICE SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION WITH THE DEGREE OF ASSOCIATE IN SCIENCE, COMMUNITY COLLEGE, OF TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The curriculum in police science and administration, the first of its kind in the Delaware Valley area, was established at the Community College of Temple University in September 1960.

The need for an organized program in police science and administration was recognized at a Law Observance Conference held by the Federal Bar Association. A committee of local education and law enforcement officials, under the leadership of Mr. Harry D. Shargel, analyzed the needs and recommended a program of study which resulted in the curriculum in police science and administration which offers the degree of associate in science from the Community College of Temple University.

The following sponsoring organizations and individuals jointly announced the establishment of the police science and administration program: Dr. Millard E. Gladfelter, president of Temple University; Dr. Allen H. Wetter, superintendent of schools; Mr. Albert N. Brown, Philadelphia police commissioner; Mr. Denis W. Gealer, past president of the Delaware Valley Association of Professional Police Officials; Mr. G. A. McLaughlin, president of the Police Chiefs Association of Southeastern Pennsylvania and superintendent of police, Lower Merion Township; and Mr. Francis D. Deegan, superintendent, Fairmount Park Police.

The police science and administration advisory committee is composed of Mr. Albert N. Brown, Philadelphia police commissioner, chairman; Mr. Howard Leary, deputy commissioner, Philadelphia Police, secretary; Lt. Col. Henry Bassetti, provost marshal, Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot; Capt. Joseph Bonner, president, Delaware Valley Association of Professional Police Officials; Inspector Philip J. Celia, Fairmount Park Police; Dr. Dalibor W. Kralovec, Philadelphia Board of Education; Supt. James J. McNamee, Philadelphia Police Academy; Dr. William A. Schrag, dean, Community College and Technical Institute of Temple University; Staff Inspector Edwin S. Schriver, Philadelphia Police; Mr. Harry D. Shargel, Federal Bar Association; Mr. Frank A. Sweeney, chief of police, Borough of Jenkintown, president, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Inc.

CERTIFICATE PROGRAM, PROFESSIONAL COURSES LEADING TO A CERTIFICATE IN POLICE SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION

| | Semester hours credit |
|---|---|
| Police supervision and leadership | 2 |
| Criminal investigation | 2 |
| Criminal law | 4 |
| Social aspects of police administration | 2 |
| Police organization and administration | 2 |
| Juveline delinquency and laws pertaining to children | 2 |
| Court, probation, institution, parole | 2 |
| Laboratory techniques | 2 |
| Evidence and court procedure | 4 |
| Social science in police work | 2 |
| Homicide investigation | 2 |

Upon the successful completion of 16 semester hours a certificate will be awarded. All law enforcement personnel, attorneys, or individuals interested in professional police activities are eligible.

ASSOCIATE DEGREE

These 16 certificate credits may be used to satisfy part of the requirements for the associate degree in police science and administration.

To apply for degree status, you must file a Temple University application and take the community college aptitude test.

Advanced standing toward the associate degree may be requested for comparable degree courses taken at accredited colleges.

For class schedule and tuition, write to the office of the dean of the Community College, Cheltenham Avenue and Sedgwick Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

## An American Idea in Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, many years ago, a very unusual man, Mr. Burton Browne, came upon an idea which has since revolutionized entertainment in the United States. Mr. Browne, like many of us, loved the "good old songs"; he liked the styles of the past century and the gracious living that took place. In those days man was king in everything he did, but today there are few places where the rush of business and the shortness of time, enable man to really take the time to graciously relax. Mr. Browne found the solution in his Gaslight Clubs which are now right here in our own Washington, D.C., in my

home State of New York, in Chicago and even a branch in Paris, France. In the Gaslight Clubs, the decor is that of the turn of the century, the food boasts the original recipes of Commodore Vanderbilt. Here the old songs are sung to the accompanyment of a piano as old and tuneful as the songs themselves. The Gaslight Clubs have become an institution and are immensely popular. To be a member of the Gaslight is a key to prestige in any community.

Now Mr. Browne is embarking on another endeavor which involves the Gaslight Clubs, but also involves the Government of the United States. He is opening a Gaslight Club in the Republic of Korea, a club that will primarily serve the troops of the United Nations, the diplomatic corps, and the local business community. Here in the Korean Gaslight Club, the early American decor will be transformed to the East and American hospitality will prevail. United Nations troops, enlisted men and officers alike, will have a safe place and a place with the finest reputation in which to spend their leisure hours.

In this Korean Gaslight Club there will be no financial profit, for Mr. Browne is reinvesting all moneys earned in local Korean industry, thereby making this visit to a foreign country a favorable one, not only for us, but for the Government and country of Korea as well.

Burton Browne is leading the way, his idea is sound and generous and we hope it will meet with much success. Our boys away from home surely need and will much appreciate his generosity just as our men at home enjoy and appreciate his friendliness and the joyous spirit of his Gaslight Clubs.

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## County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors Takes Action Supporting Allowing Permissive, Nonsectarian Prayer in Public Schools—Editorials Referred to Also Herewith

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call your attention to the following resolution by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and the editorials referred to:

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

No. 224

On motion of Supervisor Bonelli, unanimously carried, this board hereby adopts as an order the motions set forth in the following statement by Supervisor Frank G. Bonelli:

"I move that the board of supervisors commend the Herald-Examiner for their front-page editorial of Wednesday, June 27, 1962, 'God and the Law,' and the Los Angeles Times editorial of Thursday, June 28, 1962, 'A Very Upsetting Little Prayer.'

"These two learned and factual editorials sum up entirely the substantially strong feeling of millions that the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court denies the Nation's basic faith in God and, if not clarified by constitutional amendment, will result in added decisions of denial against the use of God's name by the American people and a further drift toward godlessness.

"The U.S. Supreme Court has, by the Constitution itself, the authority to interpret constitutionality and the people have the right of recourse also provided by the Constitution through a formal amendment by an act of Congress and a vote of the people.

"I would further move that the board of supervisors wholeheartedly support congressional action in support of an amendment to the Constitution allowing permissive, nonsectarian prayer in public schools, thus allowing schoolchildren who wish to join in prayer recitation to do so, and thus not denying them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation.

"I further move that copies of the editorials and this order be forwarded to Members of our State's congressional delegation in Washington, D.C."

I, Gordon T. Nesvig, clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, State of California, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of an order which was adopted by the board of supervisors of said county on July 3, 1962, and entered in the minutes of said board.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the board of supervisors this 6th day of July 1962.

GORDON T. NESVIG,
*Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, State of California.*

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, June 28, 1962]

A VERY UPSETTING LITTLE PRAYER

Article I of the Bill of Rights begins: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

POLITICAL PENALTIES

When it was proclaimed in 1791 it was a constitutional sanction without precedent in the Western Christian world, where every state had an established religion, usually by the choice of the sovereign, and where toleration was a specific permission to one dissenting sect or another to worship in its own churches. There was no absolute religious toleration anywhere. In England, one of the most liberal of the European monarchies, the king's subjects might worship as they pleased in 1791, but if they professed any but the established religion, they suffered political and economic disabilities. Although they were taxed to support the state church, they were deprived of the rights to vote and to hold public office. Catholics and Jews in the United Kingdom did not have these public rights until well into the 19th century.

At first, article I only restrained Congress—the Federal Government—from imposing religious establishments upon the States. But the 14th amendment, adopted after the Civil War, extended the Bill of Rights' privileges and immunities from the States to the persons of all citizens of the United States. Then no government at any level could impose a religion or penalize anybody for professing a religion of his choice. The ideal condition of religious toleration seemed to have been achieved.

But this, it turns out, was a delusion. The guarantee of religious freedom has come by degrees to mean (to some people) that because Government cannot impose a religion it should not officially acknowledge the existence of religious feeling—or should discourage this sentiment, however generalized its expression may be, whenever it intrudes into public affairs.

The Supreme Court of the United States now accepts this interpretation, which seems absurd to us. It has found that a 22-word prayer, with which the school children of the State of New York invoke the blessing of "Almighty God" on themselves, their parents, their teachers and their country, is a constitutional peril to the Nation. So in a 6-to-1 decision the Court struck down the prayer. It did this not because of the wording of the prayer, which is appealingly simple, but because it was composed by State officials and uttered by public school teachers and therefore put the Government in a position of establishing religious belief.

The nonsectarian "Almighty God" of the prayer bears a resemblance to "Nature's God," the "Creator" and the "Divine Providence" of the Declaration of Independence. The authors of that document (and presumably its signers) asserted their reliance on this authority and clearly expected him to bless their enterprise. We wonder whether the precious dissenters who carried their case to the Supreme Court would start another action if the New York State Board of Regents were to direct a reading of the Declaration by teachers and schoolchildren.

At first one is outraged by this perverse decision. But then one is alarmed. For six Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States have been persuaded by a small group of guardhouse sophists to make a burlesque show of the world's first complete declaration of religious toleration.

THE ONLY DISSENTER

Mr. Justice Stewart, the only dissenter on the Court, put it better: "I cannot see how an official religion is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it. I think that to deny the wish of these schoolchildren to join in the reciting of this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation."

Amen.

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner, June 27, 1962]

GOD AND THE LAW

The Hearst newspapers believe that the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing a school prayer is a misinterpretation of the Constitution.

Using the religious liberty guarantee in the first amendment as its reason, the ruling is a deprivation of liberty and a denial of the Nation's basic faith in God.

We urge immediate use of the recourse provided by the Constitution—formal amendment—to insure that the letter of the law is not again used to negate the intent of the Founding Fathers who wrote it. We will support such amendment as it is initiated in Congress.

Although the Supreme Court ruling was made in the case of a prayer in the New York State public schools, legal authorities agree that the decision has wider effect.

It could be applied to cover not only schools, but prayer in connection with any governmental or public function.

The same thinking could prohibit mention of God in public ceremonies, thus striking at court oaths, legislative formalities—even the words "In God We Trust" on U.S. coinage.

The New York school prayer had been carefully worded to avoid offending any minority faith. It was nonsectarian and not mandatory for any child. Here it is:

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

The first amendment bans any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Its au-

thors, led by James Madison, made no mystery of their intention to aid "tranquility of the public mind" by insuring that "there cannot be a majority of any one sect to oppress and persecute the rest."

We do not impugn the sincerity of most of those who favor the Supreme Court decision, many of whom are themselves devoted to religion. But they are in serious error if they think nonsectarian prayer to God, not forced on anyone, is a violation of rights.

Rather it is the Supreme Court decision which is guilty of violating the "free exercise" of religion guaranteed by the Constitution.

Eminent men of law have already spoken up against the ruling as based on mere legalistic quibble.

Let us not continue the hair splitting, but instead amend the Constitution to clarify once and for all the right of the American people to use God's name in prayer as they wish to do.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, JR.

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## New Program for Term Loans for Small Business Product of Cooperative Effort Between American Bankers Association and Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, over a long period of years the House Small Business Committee has been concerned with the problem of providing term loans for small business. Large companies have ready access to the equity markets, but small business does not have such advantages. Therefore any constructive efforts to supply this type of financing for small business are of extreme importance.

A new program to provide term loans for small business has just been announced by the Honorable John E. Horne, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, Mr. Sam M. Fleming, president of the American Bankers Association. This is a most commendable program and reflects cooperation between the private banking system and the Government. Much of the credit for this program is due to Mr. Arthur F. Maxwell, president of the First National Bank, Biddeford, Maine. Mr. Maxwell cooperated fully with Mr. C. R. Lanman, Deputy SBA Administrator for Financial Assistance, in developing this project.

From time to time I have been critical of the American Bankers Association, but I welcome this opportunity to give the ABA a pat on the back for getting behind a much-needed program. I understand that the ABA is circulating information on this cooperative effort among the 14,000 members of the association.

At this point I should like to have inserted in the RECORD the press releases issued by the SBA and the ABA, together with an SBA brochure explaining "SBA's Simplified Bank Participation Loan Plan With Early Maturity Feature."

The material follows:

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION PRESS RELEASE, SEPTEMBER 6, 1962

A new program to provide term loans for small businesses was announced today by John E. Horne, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and Sam M. Fleming, president of the American Bankers Association.

"I wish to commend the American Bankers Association for its efforts in helping us to develop this new bank participation program," Mr. Horne said. "This cooperative effort on the part of the Government and the banking industry to help meet the credit needs of small businesses is most gratifying.

"Under this new program it should be easier for small businesmen to obtain secured term loans—up to 10 years—from their banker, with the Government underwriting a large part of the transaction.

"The essence of the program is this: The banks will make and service the loans for Small Business Administration, and will provide a large share of the loan funds. The bank's share will be repaid before the SBA starts collecting a cent on its share of the loan principal."

Here is the way the program works: If a small businessman needs $100,000 for qualified business purposes—and he can repay the loan in 10 years—the SBA will advance up to $50,000 of the money, with the bank taking a corresponding share.

For servicing the loan, the bank may deduct from the interest collected for the account of SBA one-half of 1 percent a year on the unpaid balance of the SBA portion of the loan—plus its regular interest on its own share. All repayments on the principal of the entire loan will go to the bank for the first 5 years. The SBA will defer collection on its share until after the bank's share has been retired.

The new loan program was developed by C. R. Lanman, Deputy SBA Administrator for Financial Assistance, and Arthur Maxwell, chairman of the Small Business Credit Committee of the ABA.

Mr. Lanman said, "One of the greatest needs of small businessmen is long-term loans to help them expand and create more jobs. We are aware that banks have ample resources to finance small business, but many banks are understandably reluctant to enter the term financing field, particularly as to the longer maturities. Yet longer maturities often are essential to properly finance some needs of the business concern.

"We believe we have developed a loan plan which meets our dual objectives of providing small business financing, while at the same time utlizing the resources of the private banking system," he said. "SBA will, in most instances, rely susbtantially on the bank's credit judgment, but, since the plan is still selective from SBA's standpoint, sufficient safeguards are provided to protect the Government's interest.

"The American Bankers Association not only has assisted us in working out this new loan program," Mr. Lanman said, "it also is cooperating with us in explaining the program to the Nation's 15,000 commercial banks."

Mr. Fleming said, "I am pleased that the American Bankers Association and the Small Business Administration, working together, have entered into this cooperative venture which should make it possible to greatly increase the amount of credit extended to the small business concerns of this country by commercial banks.

"Ultimately, we hope that the program will produce the desirable result of decreasing Government lending in the small-business area, with commercial banks and other private lenders increasing loans in keeping with their traditional role.

"I hope," Mr. Fleming said, "that ABA member banks will participate in the new program to the fullest extent possible so that we may give more help to small business and also reemphasize the principle of providing private rather than Federal Government credit for this important segment of the Nation's economy."

Here are the essential details of SBA's new simplified bank participation loan program with the early maturity feature:

All loans under this program will be of the immediate participation type only, that is, SBA stands ready to advance its share of the loan as soon as the bank is ready for disbursement. The loans will be serviced by the banks. As a service fee the banks will be permitted to deduct from the interest collected for the account of SBA one-half of 1 percent a year on the unpaid principal balance of SBA's share of the loan.

The bank's participation will be the greater of (a) 50 percent of the total amount of the loan, or, (b) an amount equal to the bank's loan or loans to be repaid with a part of the new loan.

These loans shall be amortized on a level principal payment basis, plus interest.

The period of time during which the bank's share will be repaid will be based on the same proportion of loan maturity that the bank's participation bears to the total amount of the loan. For example, the bank would be repaid over a period of 3 years if it participates 50 percent in a 6-year loan; the bank would be repaid over a period of 6 years if it participates 60 percent in a 10-year loan, etc.

Since SBA will not receive any repayment of principal for at least the first half of the term of the loan, it will be necessary that these loans be adequately secured generally by fixed assets, and that the reasonable depreciated value of the fixed assets will at all times be in excess of the outstanding loan balance.

No preference shall be established in favor of the lending institution in any collateral security for the loan.

Applications for such loans will be made by the bank on SBA's simplified one-page form No. 527. Because of statutory requirements, a one-page certification is required from the bank's borrower. With the exception of the note, the bank may use its own forms of mortgages, agreements, etc., and need not submit copies of the loan documents to SBA until after the bank has received the funds from SBA and effected disbursement.

It is contemplated that the banks will submit only the stronger credits for loans under this program—not the weaker or marginal ones.

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SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR,
*Washington, D.C., September 6, 1962.*

*To all Commercial Banking Institutions:*

In cooperation with the American Bankers Association, the Small Business Administration has developed a new lending program which we believe will be mutually helpful to the banks, to their small business customers, and to the Government.

Under this program the SBA will join with the banks in making loans to small businesses under our simplified loan plan—with the added feature that the bank will receive repayment for its share of the loan before SBA collects its share.

The program also offers other attractive features for the bank. For instance, SBA will pay the bank for servicing the SBA share of the loan a service fee of one-half of 1 percent per annum out of the interest collected for the account of SBA, on the unpaid balance of the SBA portion of the loan. This

is, of course, in addition to the regular interest the bank will collect on its own share of the loan.

We believe that under this program many thousands of banks will be able to give their small business customers greater service by providing them with term financing—which they might not otherwise have been able to provide.

The SBA has 60 field offices in principal cities throughout the country from which the full details of this new loan program may be obtained. These offices are listed in the enclosed brochure, which explains the new program.

We believe you will like this new program. We stand ready to cooperate.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. HORNE,
*Administrator.*

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THE FACTS—SBA'S SIMPLIFIED BANK PARTICIPATION LOAN PLAN WITH EARLY MATURITY FEATURE, ENDORSED BY THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION

Purpose: The Small Business Administration and the American Bankers Association cooperatively are making an effort to provide qualified small businesses with term loans from their primary source of credit, commercial banks. The SBA's simplified bank participation loan plan with the new early maturity feature is designed to help make it possible for a bank to profitably offer financing to customers it previously may have wanted to accommodate but had not been able to do so.

Benefits to the bank: The plan offers a bank several benefits. The early maturity feature of the plan permits the bank to be repaid its share of the loan before repayment of SBA's share begins; SBA has simplified its procedures bring them more in line with bank loan procedures, and the plan offers profit advantages to the bank.

Type of loan: All loans under the new plan will be immediate participation loans, i.e., upon the bank's request SBA will advance its share of the loan as soon as the bank is ready to disburse. The bank's share will be the greater of (a) 50 percent of the total amount of the loan, or (b) an amount equal to that of any loan or loans to be repaid the participating bank with part of the new loan. The bank services the entire loan.

Profit for the bank: A bank can increase its business by now being able to offer to many of its small business customers additional financing it previously has not been able to furnish, and the bank may deduct, from the interest collected for the account of SBA, a fee of one-half of 1 percent a year on the unpaid balance of SBA's share, for servicing the loan.

Early repayment to bank: The period of time during which the bank's share of the loan will be repaid is based on the same percentage of loan maturity that the bank's participation bears to the total amount of the loan. For example, a bank will be repaid in the first 5 years if it takes a 50-percent participation in a 10-year loan; in 3 years if it takes 50 percent in a 6-year loan, and in 6 years if it takes 60 percent in a 10-year loan. After the bank's share has been repaid, the bank will be released from the participation but may, if it desires, purchase a new participation in the balance of the loan. Such new participation then will be repaid in the same manner as the original participation. Any default of payment not cured within 90 days will result in freezing the respective interests of SBA and the bank. Thereafter, any future payments will be prorated.

Bank's option: The bank always has the option to purchase SBA's share of the loan at any time.

Simplified application form: The bank applies for SBA participation in the loan on SBA's simplified one-page form 527. A one page certification is required of the applicant customer. With the exception of the note, the bank uses its own form of mortgage, agreements, etc., and need not submit copies of the loan documents to SBA until SBA funds have been received and disbursed.

Loan security: Since SBA does not receive any repayment of principal for at least the first half of the term of the loan, the loan must be adequately secured, generally by fixed assets, and the reasonable depreciated value of such assets must at all times exceed the outstanding balance.

Amount of loan: The size of individual SBA loans is limited by statute to $350,000 in Government funds. However, to conserve the agency's funds, pending adequate appropriations, there is currently an administrative limit of $200,000 in Government funds for each loan, except loans for defense needs.

Loan maturities: Loans are amortized over a period not to exceed 10 years, except in cases where construction is involved. Then the loan maturity can be extended to include the time needed to complete construction. Loans for working capital are generally limited to 5 years but may be considered on a longer basis if extenuating circumstances exist.

Interest rates: Interest on SBA's share of the loan is 5½ percent. Banks are permitted to charge their customary simple interest rates, on their share, if they are reasonable. In officially designated major unemployment areas the interest rate on any share advanced by SBA is reduced to 4 percent.

Use of loan funds: Loans may finance business construction, conversion or expansion; the purchase of equipment, facilities, machinery, supplies or materials, or supply working capital.

General credit requirements: Loans should be adequately secured. Sufficient capital should exist in the business so that, with loan assistance, operations can be carried on in a sound financial manner. Past earnings and future prospects should indicate reasonable ability to pay the loan and other fixed obligations out of profits from the business. This program is intended to accommodate the stronger credits, not the weaker ones.

Eligibility of small firms: Some businesses, primarily agricultural, may not be eligible for SBA loans. Likewise, under certain circumstances, loans may not be granted. For a full explanation please call or write the nearest SBA field office and obtain the SBLP brochure "Here's How America's Banks Can Strengthen Their Communities and the Nation."

What the small business must do: The small businessman deals entirely with his bank for this type of loan, and will rely on the bank's direction in preparing the necessary credit information.

What the bank must do: Agree to take at least a 50-percent share of the loan; submit simplified Bank Request for Loan Participation (SBA Form 527) with required credit information and agree to service the loan.

Remember: The Small Business Administration feels the new plan makes it possible for qualified small businesses to obtain needed financing from their primary source of credit, commercial banks, and furthers the agency's policy to supplement the lending activities of the banks, not to compete with them. The American Bankers Association feels that the program can benefit its member banks; has fully endorsed the plan, and has offered its full cooperation.

SBA offices in any of the cities listed below will be glad to furnish more detailed information about the simplified bank participation loan plan with early maturity feature: Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Anchorage, Alaska; Atlanta, Ga.; Augusta, Maine; Baltimore, Md.; Birmingham, Ala.; Boise, Idaho; Boston, Mass.; Charleston, W. Va.; Charlotte, N.C.; Chicago, Ill.; Clarksburg, W. Va.; Cleveland, Ohio; Columbia, S.C.; Concord, N.H.; Dallas, Tex.; Denver, Colo.; Des Moines, Iowa; Detroit, Mich.; Fargo, N. Dak.; Hartford, Conn.; Helena, Mont.; Honolulu, Hawaii; Houston, Tex.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Jackson, Miss.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Kansas City, Mo.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Little Rock, Ark.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Louisville, Ky.; Lubbock, Tex.; Madison, Wis.; Marshall, Tex.; Miami, Fla.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Montpelier, Vt.; Nashville, Tenn.; New Orleans, La.; New York, N.Y.; Oklahoma City, Okla.; Omaha, Nebr.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Portland, Oreg.; Providence, R.I.; Richmond, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; Salt Lake City, Utah; San Antonio, Tex.; San Francisco, Calif.; Santurce, Puerto Rico; Seattle, Wash.; Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; Syracuse, N.Y.; Tulsa, Okla.; Washington, D.C., and Wichita, Kans.

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THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION,
*New York, N.Y., September 5, 1962.*

*To all member banks:*

I am pleased to announce that the American Bankers Association and the Small Business Administration, working together, have entered into a cooperative effort which should make it possible to increase greatly the amount of credit which can be extended to the qualified small business concerns of this country by commercial banks.

Formally entitled "Simplified Bank Loan Participation Plan With Early Maturity Feature," the approach under this new SBA program has the twofold purpose of encouraging greater commercial bank participation in SBA loans and of deferring repayment of SBA's participation to the later maturities. This will enable commercial banks to channel a larger amount of their funds into these loans.

For example, a bank participating to the extent of 50 percent of the total amount of a straight 10-year maturity loan would be repaid during the first 5 years of the loan. SBA would receive its repayment of principal after the banks share has been repaid. This arrangement will have the effect of placing private funds in the forefront of small business loans and deferring repayment of the Government's participation to the later period when Government lending would be most needed.

Ultimately, we hope that the program will produce the desirable result of decreasing Government lending in the small business area, with commercial banks and other private lenders increasing loans in keeping with their traditional role.

The accompanying letter from John E. Horne, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and the accompanying brochure more fully explain the program under which the SBA is seeking greater commercial bank participation for meeting the needs of small business. We commend Mr. Horne and his associates for affording us this opportunity. The program offers commercial banks a chance to demonstrate their interest in aiding credit-worthy small businesses in their communities.

The enclosed SBA brochure outlines the existing simplified bank loan participation plan, introduced last September, in which many banks are already taking part, and also describes the new program. The major factor to bear in mind is that the new program allows early maturity participation loans to be made under procedures similar to the current simplified plan.

There are several important points which I would like to make in connection with this additional cooperative effort on the part of ABA and SBA.

First, I want to make it perfectly clear that endorsement of the simplified bank loan participation plan and its early maturity feature by the American Bankers As-

sociation does not change the association's overall policy on Federal credit programs. The new SBA program represents a step toward decreasing the scope of the Federal Government's activities in the credit field consistent with our objectives.

Second, it should be emphasized that the program does not automatically bind SBA to participation with banks on any loan application. Although the SBA has said that it relies substantially on a bank's judgment, it still must be selective and will want to examine briefly each loan on its own merits.

Third, the SBA is subject to statutory and policy loan limitations which prevent it from extending funds under certain circumstances. Each SBA field office can furnish information regarding loan eligibility requirements.

Fourth, I strongly urge that our member banks take care of the financing needs of the small business concerns in their communities to the maximum extent possible without relying upon participation by the SBA and join with SBA only when this is essential to supply the credit needs of their customers. Certainly there are many small business concerns with financing requirements small enough to be serviced adequately by commercial banks wtihout participation with SBA.

Further inquiries to obtain additional information about the program should be directed to SBA field offices. A list of these offices is provided in the brochure.

It is evident that the SBA is moving in the direction of further reliance on the support and assistance of commercial banks. I sincerely hope that ABA member banks will participate actively in the new program so that we may give more help to small business and also reemphasize the principle of providing private rather than Federal Government credit for this important segment of the Nation's economy.

Sincerely,

SAM M. FLEMING.

## Canine Corps' Effectiveness Produces Community Recognition and Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call your attention to the following article appearing in the Washington Star on August 22, 1962:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Aug. 22, 1962]

POLICE PRAISE OF CANINES INSPIRES GIFT

Glowing praise of the Canine Corps' effectiveness by Sgt. William Wright brought dividends yesterday—a check for $150 toward the purchase of another dog.

The gift came from the Sertoma Club of Washington after a luncheon at which the sergeant described how the 49 German shepherds now on patrol were cutting down street crime and saving Metropolitan Police time and money.

Accompanying Sergeant Wright was 4-year-old Fritz, one of the first dogs acquired by the Canine Corps, and his handler, Cpl. John Drass. Fritz was a stand-in for Cito, the sergeant's own dog, which was reported indisposed today.

Sergeant Wright stressed the psychological edge which a dog gives the patrolling officer. He cited a case in which a fugitive "came out of the bushes with his hands up" when he heard that a dog was on the way. The dogs also save many man-hours in searches of large buildings and open areas, he said.

Captain Breazeale, in charge of the Canine Corps program noted that the corps has never yet purchased a dog, relying mainly on contributions from owners of German shepherds who find them a bit too much to handle.

But he added that money earmarked for the purchase of dogs is set aside and will be used when the present limit of 50 dogs is raised by Congress. A bill providing for an unlimited number has already passed the House.

## Vulcan Materials Horatio Alger Story of Industry and Southern Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the House the following article which appeared in the Birmingham magazine, a publication of the Birmingham, Ala., Chamber of Commerce, concerning one of the outstanding industrial firms of this country, Vulcan Materials Co., which, in less than 6 years, has grown from a small local family company to one of the 500 largest U.S. corporations.

It is a success story that is not unparalleled in the history of American free enterprise, but it shows once again what individual initiative can accomplish under our governmental system.

I believe that the Members of the House would be interested in reading the "success story" of the Vulcan Materials Co.

I insert the article herewith:

SOUTHERN ENTERPRISE FORMS INDUSTRIAL GIANT: VULCAN MATERIALS

In altering its scope of operations from that of an industrial company primarily serving four States of the Deep South to that of a supplier of the national market, Vulcan Materials Co. in less than 6 years has become one of the Nation's largest producers of crushed aggregates, that is, the sand, gravel, slag, and stone that go into construction. Other activities, such as its signs and stampings operation located in Birmingham, give Vulcan a substantial footing in other phases of the giant construction industry. Vulcan has also achieved stature as a major producer of industrial and agricultural chemicals, electrolytic tin and high-yield steel scrap.

In 1956 sales of Vulcan's predecessor, Birmingham Slag Co., were about $15 million. In 1961, the farflung Alabama-based Vulcan had sales of approximately $117 million. Vulcan's more than 125 facilities stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the gulf to the Great Lakes. Divisions are Birmingham Slag, the parent of today's assemblage; Chattanooga Rock Products (Chattanooga); Concrete Pipe (Atlanta); Consumers (Chicago); W. E. Graham & Sons (Winston-Salem); Lambert Bros. (Knoxville); Stockbridge Stone (Atlanta); Frontier Chemical Co. (Wichita); and Vulcan Detinning (Sewaren, N.J.).

Expanding Birmingham Slag into a national company was an idea that its president, Charles W. Ireland, had turned over for several years before the move was made. By 1956, it had become apparent that the company was at the crossroads as far as its future growth was concerned and the time had come to make a decision as to what would be the best course to follow to provide future prosperity. Three possible alternatives had continually presented themselves: Birmingham Slag could continue as then constituted and remain a relatively small and closely held family corporation; it could be sold to a larger company; or it could merge with some publicly held company. One major event forcing a decision was the passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1956, which provided for the building of 41,000 miles of limited access superhighways, the construction to be spread over approximately 13 years. The management of Birmingham Slag saw that this legislation would materially expand the existing market for aggregates and this in turn would mean that Birmingham Slag would have to greatly enlarge its facilities in order to realize its fair share of the construction material requirements of the new highway program. This observation, in addition, of course, to other considerations, led to the ultimate decision to seek out a merger with a publicly held company whose operations were of a nature compatible with those of Birmingham Slag.

The Vulcan Detinning Co., a New Jersey corporation specializing in reclaiming tin and steel scrap from waste products, had a 55-year history as a successful, stable enterprise, and was a highly liquid company with ample reserves of cash and marketable securities. On the other hand, Birmingham Slag at that time had found a place to go, but wasn't large enough to finance the trip by itself. Their complementary interests led to a merger of the two companies in December 1956. As a result, Birmingham Slag changed its name to Vulcan Materials Co. and its stock listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

Shortly after Vulcan began operating under its new name, several other companies, primarily in the construction material field, appeared on the scene as possible merger candidates, the two largest being Union Chemical & Materials Corp., of Chicago, and Lambert Bros., Inc., of Knoxville. Both Lambert and Union were already engaged in construction materials activities. Union, moreover, had important chemical operations. After several months of negotiations between the several parties, two mergers were simultaneously consummated, one between Vulcan and Union and the other between Vulcan, Lambert and seven smaller construction material companies. Union consisted primarily of two separate and distinct types of businesses. It operated a chemical company under the name of Frontier Chemical Co. and a construction materials business under the name of Consumers Co. Those two businesses are now operated as divisions of Vulcan.

All of these mergers had taken place within a period of 12 months, and vigorous internal revamping was needed to match the demands of this expolsive growth. Each of the merged companies had its own system of accounting; its own operating practices and policies; its own employee relations policies; its own benefit program and the like. Business had to be continued on a profitable basis and management began an intensive program designed to streamline the corporate organization. These and other problems were solved through the use of a team of seasoned executives.

In April of 1958, Vulcan was most fortunate to obtain the services of B. A. Monaghan. He had enjoyed a brilliant career as a lawyer and had served Birmingham Slag and Vulcan as legal counsel for a number of years. It was he and Charles W. Ireland, then president of Vulcan and now chairman of its board of directors, who had played

the most important roles in effecting the various mergers and acquisitions and consequently Monaghan was, through his skill and intimate knowledge of the company, eminently qualified to fill first the office of executive vice president and then the office of president, which he now holds. Vulcan was also fortunate in employing additional high caliber management personnel to augment its own capable but small corporate staff.

In the course of the 6 years since it became Vulcan Materials Co., startling changes have taken place in Vulcan's structure. Long-term debt was approximately $1,925,000 at the end of 1956. At the end of 1958 long-term debt had risen to approximately $17 million but at the end of 1961 had been reduced to about $9,250,000. It currently has $17,153,300 worth of preferred stock outstanding. A very great reduction from the total of $23,931,796 outstanding at the end of 1958. The net worth of the company since the not-so-long-ago days of Birmingham Slag has climbed from approximately $9,250,000 to more than $75 million. In 1956 Birmingham Slag had less than 25 stockholders. Today Vulcan stockholders, residing in every State of the Union, number in excess of 12,000. Birmingham Slag employed approximately 1,000 persons in 1956 while Vulcan currently has over 5,000 employees.

What Vulcan has done in these last 6 years is to create a national company in an industry that has always been local in nature. The aggregate business in this country is a large one, providing raw materials for over $50 billion in new construction and over $20 billion in annual maintenance. In 1961 the industry sold well over 1 billion tons of aggregate. Interestingly enough, however, these sales were split between approximately 6,000 different companies, most of them small and family owned. Only a handful of aggregate companies in the United States have sales in excess of $10 million. Aggregates are Vulcan's main business, and even with its growth to its present size, it can claim no more than 2 percent of the aggregate business in the United States.

Vulcan moved its headquarters to its present location in suburban Birmingham in 1958. The headquarters building, constructed for the most part of glass and concrete, is ideally suited for a large corporation. Birmingham is proud to be the home of Vulcan Materials Co., a company that is changing the classic picture of the aggregate industry and a company that has climbed to national prominence via a reverse-order northward invasion from the Deep South. Vulcan Materials Co. has taken its place as an important factor in the Nation's economy, with a drive that can be characterized as southern enterprise and aggressiveness.

## The So-Called New Look at Chicago's Radio Station WYNR

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on August 8, 1962, the McLendon Corp. acquired ownership of radio station WGES in Chicago and promptly changed its call letters to WYNR. The new owners also introduced a drastic change in the programing policy completely inconsistent with the sworn statements which they presented to the Federal Communications Commission at the time they applied for assignment of the license issued to WGES.

Jack Mabley, one of the outstanding journalists in America whose column appears in Chicago's American, had the following observations on this new look at WYNR in his column of September 6, 1962:

Gordon McLendon, the Texas man who bought Chicago's WGES and changed it to WYNR, has gotten a lot of publicity mileage from throwing out foreign language shows and programing the station for Negroes.

I listened to the station while driving home Tuesday. Chicago's Negro community should feel insulted by the bilge being beamed at them.

It is the cheapest kind of rock 'n roll, or whatever they call it now—screeching, whining, idiotic, caterwauling fit for morons.

The news presentation had some merit, but it is difficult to imagine intelligent Negroes listening to almost continuous screeching for occasional bits of news for Negroes.

## An Editor's Sound Appraisal of the Cuban Situation and the Reserves Standby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 15, 1962*

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include three thoughtful editorials which appeared in the Evening Telegraph of Alton, Ill., in the past week.

The editorials reflect a sound appraisal of the Cuban situation, the Geneva disarmament conference, and the President's request for standby authority to call up Reserves.

The first editorial appeared in the Evening Telegraph on September 6, 1962. It follows:

WAIT TILL YOU SEE

President Kennedy is following an old injunction to "wait till you see the whites of their eyes"—just as useful in these modern tense times as it was in the Nation's earlier history.

Wednesday he called a meeting of Latin-American ambassadors to fill them in on this Government's findings about the Cuban buildup.

This action followed up a statement Tuesday night in which he cautioned that the weapons being sent to Cuba by the Russian Government lacked offensive capability but the United States would use every means necessary to prevent Fidel Castro from taking aggressive action in the Western Hemisphere.

It is patent that Cuba could be the front-line of a nuclear rocket threat against the United States. But why should the Russians want to locate such bases close to us when they could get at us from longer and safer range?

Castro is trying his best to excite us into any movement that looks like agression against Cuba.

At the moment we are trying our best to better solidify the whole Latin-American front against any kind of aggression, and strengthen it economically. An attempt at Cuba, no matter how provoked except by direct aggression from there, could wreck our whole hemisphere program.

Yet this is exactly what Castro is trying to bring about with his agitation.

On the other hand, his actions, if we parry them deftly, can be directed to work our way.

The Latins are increasing in their apprehension over plans of Castro. Our standby plans to stop any oversea efforts from Cuba; our calmness in the face of the Latins' own uprising, palace coups, and junta pressures continues to revive their people's faith in a nation whose policy toward them at one time was strictly military.

A sudden move on our part would be playing into the hands of those very men who would defy the Monroe Doctrine by infiltrating and subverting the continent we are trying to keep free.

The other two, which appeared in the September 8 issue, follow:

PROGRESS, ANYHOW

Perhaps Geneva is the only place in the world where "no progress" can mean progress these days—like the old saying of lynching days: "No noose is good news."

There may be other places as time goes on.

The 17-nation Disarmament Conference recessed for 2 months Friday after adopting a "no progress" report on its deliberations. The report will go to the United Nations General Assembly, due to meet in New York September 18.

While no agreements in any area appear to have been made, at least the talks have kept nations discussing the subject. They have provided both the national officials involved, and the people of the world, a medium through which to know the feelings and intentions of these countries.

Failure to agree on anything but further talks actually could be an advantage.

An agreement involving Russia could well be merely another curtain for it to drop in front of secret activities while the rest of the world went ahead on a basis of good faith.

Possibility of this, of course, was demonstrated conclusively in Russia's last breach of the nuclear testing ban agreement with the United States.

At least the "no progress" status reflects more accurately the actual situation and will serve to keep alert the West and its people.

CALLUP VERSUS BUILDUP

How does President Kennedy's request of Congress for power to call up Reserves square with his urging the other day to keep calm in the face of the current Cuban buildup?

At that time the President expressed the belief the buildup was not capable of aggressive action.

And observers expressed belief he wanted to avoid any action that would give Fidel Castro an excuse to accuse us of threatened aggression against Cuba.

The President meanwhile promised Latin American nations that we would do our utmost to resist any aggressive action by Castro.

By asking authority to call up Reserves, Mr. Kennedy can accomplish several things:

1. He can serve notice on Castro that this country will be much better prepared to meet any campaign Cuba may start.

2. He can bolster the faith South American friends of the United States, whom we have promised to defend, that we will be ready.

3. Perhaps even more important, the President can place himself in position to have this callup power, and, by not using it, undermine Castro's repeated charges that we are getting ready for an attack on Cuba.

In answering questions about the callup power requests, White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger said he was referring merely to the general international situation.

All this could have as much reference to the new Berlin "warmup" as to the Cuban problem.

If Castro wants to charge it's aimed at him, that's his privilege.

The President has plenty of other reasons.

## The Merry Wood Apartment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a statement I made on August 15, 1962, and letters which I sent on that date to the Secretary of the Army, Cyrus R. Vance; Commissioner Walter Tobriner; and Mr. Charles Horsky, adviser to the President for National Capital Affairs:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE HENRY S. REUSS, OF WISCONSIN, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15, 1962

The treelined shores of the Potomac Palisades upriver from Washington have remained unspoiled through the years. The green and pleasant vista north of Chain Bridge looks exactly as it did when George Washington and Lord Fairfax walked along the palisades; when Capt. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., pulled President Abraham Lincoln down out of the range of a southern sharpshooter in the fort near Cabin John.

The Potomac Palisades area is doubly dear to Americans. It is a beautiful and refreshing area created by nature. And it has been the historic location of many of the persons and events that have formed the Nation. It has still the enchanting look of wilderness. And it carries with it sacred memories of those Virginians who so largely and so generously contributed to the making of a new breed on earth: the Americans.

Until now we have been fortunate. The unspoiled character of the Potomac Palisades has been preserved by zoning ordinances of Montgomery County, Md., and Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va., restricting building heights to 35 feet (50 feet in Montgomery County), with single family houses on large lots, and forbidding tall apartment buildings which would destroy the natural line of the green trees along the shore.

The year 2000 plan for the Nation's Capital, promulgated on May 8, 1961, by the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council, provides for "open spaces along the Potomac." This is to be accomplished by purchase, tax concessions, and zoning, as part of our national policy (the year 2000 plan, p. 56).

Now suburban developers would replace the historic beauty of the Potomac with a series of high-rise apartments. It is ironic that such an exploitation should take place on the soil of Virginia, because at Monticello, at Manassas, at Williamsburg, and at Jamestown, Va., has shown the world how the past may be preserved to refresh the present and to enlighten the future.

Early this year, developers got hold of the 46-acre Merrywood property, right next to the District of Columbia line along the Potomac in Fairfax County, Va., and announced their plans to erect on it three 17-story apartment buildings, to house 1,000 families. In March, the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors voted to change its 35-foot height limitation zoning so as to legalize the Merrywood proposal.

This abandonment of the Fairfax County height limitation, and of the year 2000 plan open space provision, has led to other requests for rezoning to permit high-rise apartments on the Potomac. A 7.3-acre tract adjoining the Merrywood estate has recently been advertised in the Wall Street Journal for sale as "Potomac riverfront apartment land," at a price of more than $635,000. The ad reads in part:

"Adjoining land just purchased and rezoned for $16 million luxury high-rise apartment. No other apartments in area. Land this close to Washington and on Potomac River is practically unavailable."

The National Capital Planning Commission moved speedily to declare its opposition to the Merrywood high-rise apartment proposal. By its letter of April 10, 1962, it unequivocally opposed the proposed tall buildings as violative of the year 2000 plan:

APRIL 10, 1962.

Mr. WILLIAM H. MOSS,
*Chairman, Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, Fairfax Court House, Fairfax, Va.*

DEAR MR. MOSS: The National Capital Planning Commission has always been vitally concerned about the protection of the Great Falls and gorge of the Potomac River Valley above Washington, and its first Regional Park Plan of 1926 indicated extensive areas for park acquisition. This plan eventually led to the passing of the Capper-Cramton Act in 1930, which in part provided for "the protection and preservation of the natural scenery of the gorge and the Great Falls of the Potomac."

The year 2000 plan, recently completed, concentrated high density areas in the transit radial corridors and reaffirmed the Commission's former convictions by recommending the preservation of the banks of the Potomac as a significant wedge of open space penetrating the urbanized areas. President Kennedy in his conservation message to Congress reminded us that, "We depend on our natural resources to sustain us—but in turn their continued availability must depend on our using them prudently."

Acquisition of land for the George Washington Memorial Parkway on the Maryland shore, paid for in part by the citizens of Montgomery County, has now been completed but much of the beautiful scenic bluffs on the Virginia side between Chain Bridge and Great Falls remain in private ownership. Also the first section of the parkway on the Maryland side will soon be completed and the skyline of the Virginia Palisades will be exposed and, for many miles, will constitute an essential visual part of the parkway.

The Commission is most concerned that the skyline and palisades be retained as nearly as possible in their natural state. Low density residential development is compatible with this objective. Tall buildings are not.

From time to time development projects such as the present Merrywood-on-the-Potomac will be proposed. We hope that suitable means may be found to achieve our common goal of preserving the Potomac Palisades and the west bank of the Potomac as a continuous natural area.

I am sure your Board is also greatly concerned in the preservation of this fine natural resource which is a vital part of our great American heritage.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. JAMES H. ROWE, Jr.,
*Chairman.*

More recently, I have introduced two bills designed to empower the National Capital Planning Commission to prevent not only Merrywood-type developments but other undesirable building along the Potomac from Great Falls to Mount Vernon which would "materially impair the national historic, scenic, conservation or recreational interest in the Potomac River." The first such bill, H.R. 12137, would empower the National Capital Planning Commission to set aside suburban zoning ordinances violative of this principle. The second bill, H.R. 12536, would authorize the refusal of District of Columbia water and sewer services to projects so stigmatized by the National Capital Planning Commission.

The bills are now before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and the House District of Columbia Committee, respectively. Unfortunately, today is August 15. We are near the end of the session. While I still hope for the passage of at least one of these bills prior to the end of the session, the odds are against it. Machinery for safeguarding the entire Potomac valley in the vicinity of Washington needs to be worked out over the next year or two. But meanwhile, unless the Merrywood development is stopped, there will be no Potomac Palisades left to save.

Fortunately, the Merrywood development can be stopped, under existing law and policy, and without any further legislation. As I have said, the year 2000 plan forbids high-rise apartments on the Potomac Palisades. This policy was specifically applied to Merrywood by the National Capital Planning Commission's letter of April 10, 1962.

Secretary of the Interior Udall has properly exercised his powers so as to effectuate the national policy against the Merrywood development, as set forth in the year 2000 plan and the April 10, 1962, letter. Secretary Udall has officially denied to the promoters of Merrywood the right to run a sewage disposal line under the George Washington Memorial Highway, which is controlled by the Department of the Interior.

This is commendable as far as it goes. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing to prevent the Merrywood promoters from erecting their own sewage disposal unit, and dumping the effluent into the Potomac.

Water, however, is a different matter. The only practicable way in which the Merrywood promoters may secure water for their large development is by purchase from the city of Falls Church, which has the water supplying responsibility over the Merrywood area. The city of Falls Church, in turn, obtains its water from the District of Columbia Dalecarlia pumping station.

The statute and contract by which the District of Columbia supplies water to the city of Falls Church is instructive. The District of Columbia provides water to the city of Falls Church pursuant to the Act of June 26, 1947. That act contains the proviso "and provided further, that the Secretary of War, directly or upon the request of the Board of Commissioners, may revoke at any time any permit for the use of said water that may have been granted." (District of Columbia Code, sec. 43-1531 and sec. 43-1531a).

The District of Columbia supplies water to Falls Church under a contract dated November 1, 1961. The contract sets forth the rates and estimated requirements, although it makes it clear that the District is not obliged to deliver, nor Falls Church to receive, any particular amount.

Paragraph 3 of the contract provides:

"The Government, through the Chief of Engineers shall have the right at all times to investigate the distribution systems through which the water is transmitted and if, in his opinion, there is an excessive wastage of water he shall have the right to curtail the supply to be furnished under this agreement to the amount of such wastage."

Paragraph 9 of the contract provides:

"The Government may at any time terminate the services to be furnished under

this contract and may by thirty days' notice to the Purchaser terminate the license for a right-of-way granted hereunder. The Purchaser may terminate this contract by thirty days' written notice to the Government."

In carrying out this contract, the Secretary of the Army and the District of Columbia Commissioners should carry out the mandate of the year 2000 plan, and the National Capital Planning Commission's letter of April 10, 1962, in the same manner as did Secretary Udall. The Secretary of the Army and the District Commissioners have simply to notify the Falls Church authorities that water service will not be available to Merrywood. Since under the contract the District may terminate its services at will, it obviously has a right to ask that the contract be amended to provide for curtailing water not just where "there is an excessive wastage," as under present paragraph 3, but where "there is a proposed use of the water by a building disapproved by the National Capital Planning Commission." Since the National Capital Planning Commission, by its letter of April 10, 1962, has disapproved the Merrywood project, Falls Church would simply be told not to serve it. Indeed, the District of Columbia could itself, if it wished, undertake to see that no Merrywood outlet was built from the Falls Church distribution system.

I would anticipate no difficulty from such action. Falls Church wants its water supply, and is surely not going to penalize its thousands of users by saying: "If we can't serve Merrywood, and thus ruin the Potomac Palisades, we are going to end our water supply for our thousands of citizens and customers altogether." Furthermore, the governing bodies in Arlington County and civic groups in all three counties—Arlington, Fairfax, and Montgomery—would applaud such a determination by the District of Columbia to preserve the Potomac to the extent that it can through it water sales.

The only people displeased would be the promoters of Merrywood and the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors. We should not attempt to please them at the price of ruining the Potomac.

It is unthinkable that the Nation's Capital preside at its own destruction by furnishing water to the Merrywood promoters. If the Secretary of the Army and the District Commissioners will coordinate their actions with those of the Secretary of the Interior, the high-rise Merrywood buildings will not be built. And we can then go on to evolve regional machinery that will protect the Potomac permanently.

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AUGUST 15, 1962.

CYRUS R. VANCE,
*Secretary of the Army, the Pentagon, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I enclose a copy of my statement of today expressing the hope that you, as Secretary of the Army, will coordinate action with Secretary of the Interior Udall to preserve the year 2000 plan of the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council.

You can do this by not providing water service to the proposed 17-story Merrywood project in Fairfax County, Va., pursuant to the District of Columbia Code, section 43–1531 and section 43–1531a and the contract entered into by you in 1961 with the City of Falls Church water authorities.

I would, of course, be glad to meet with you at any time to discuss this problem.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
*Member of Congress.*

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AUGUST 15, 1962.

HON. WALTER TOBRINER,
*Chairman, Board of Commissioners, District Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. TOBRINER: I enclose a copy of my statement of today expressing the hope that the District Commissioners will coordinate action with Secretary of the Interior Udall to preserve the year 2000 plan of the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council.

This can be done by not providing water service to the proposed 17-story Merrywood project in Fairfax County, Va., pursuant to the District of Columbia Code, section 43–1531 and section 43–1531a and the contract entered into in 1961 with the City of Falls Church water authorities.

I would be glad to meet with you at any time to discuss this problem.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
*Member of Congress.*

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AUGUST 15, 1962.

MR. CHARLES HORSKY,
*Adviser for National Capital Affairs, White House, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. HORSKY: I am enclosing copies of my letters of today to Secretary of the Army Vance and Commissioner Tobriner.

I would hope that the White House would encourage the Secretary of the Army and the District of Columbia Commissioners to coordinate their actions with Secretary of the Interior Udall so as to prevent the violation of the year 2000 plan of the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council.

If you wish, I shall at any time be glad to sit down and discuss this matter with you.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
*Member of Congress.*

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## Soviet Space Failures, Trick Photography Shows Hoax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the United States pursues a policy of openly announcing to the world and permitting everyone to see our space flights—failures as well as successes. Our American space shots are on television for all to see in contrast with the Soviets who keep a secret of their alleged flights and propagandize these alleged exploits to the limit.

Two recent editorials from the Nashville Banner indicate a discovery of trick photography and a hoax by the Russians in their twin orbital flight, pointing up that these space successes may be as phony as a $3 bill.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert these two editorials in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorials follow:

WE LEARN BELATEDLY OF SOVIET SPACE FAILURES: WHY THE DELAY?

American intelligence has uncovered evidence that the Soviet Union's space program has been marked by a number of failures. These reports confirm the suspicions of many—including the Banner—who have doubted Russian claims of space superiority, mainly on the grounds that truth is hard to come by from Khrushchev and others in the Kremlin crowd.

Congress has learned—belatedly—from James E. Webb, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), that the Russians have failed in five out of six attempts to send instrumented space packages to Mars and Venus. The sixth shot was described as only a partial success since the radio system failed on that vehicle.

The Soviet Union's policy, in space and any other field, is to operate behind a veil of secrecy. The Kremlin announces to the world and the Soviet people only its successes; failures are buried with the hope they will never be unearthed.

Even the Soviet's much-heralded tandem cosmonaut launching has many questionable aspects. Phony television film was circulated which purported to be in-flight pictures. Actually, the film was either made on the ground or of previous flights. There was never any communication with the twin cosmonauts by foreign stations; all contacts were limited to Soviet tracking points.

Too, it has never been clear just how these Russian spacemen return to earth. It is presumed they bail out of the capsules which are in turn either parachuted down or destroyed on impact.

Contrast the Soviet operation with that of the United States whose manned space flights are filmed at launching and upon return and whose astronauts are in contact with tracking stations around the globe. Our space probes are announced before the shot and the world soon learns whether they are successes or failures.

The entire Soviet program is keyed to propaganda, for this is the only area in which the Kremlin can lay claim to a measure of superiority and unfortunately the present administration is letting them get away with it.

As David Lawrence pointed out in a recent column, "The American propaganda effort is too much influenced nowadays by a cult in Washington which is afraid to speak out forthrightly for fear of increasing tensions."

Rather than questioning some of these Soviet space conquests, it would appear that U.S. officials are too quick with their congratulations.

In this instance, it was Congress which wanted to know the space score. It is not calculated to make us complacent, but is delivered as a strong propaganda counterpunch. It's high time we voiced official doubt.

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IVAN'S TRICK PHOTOGRAPHY TIPOFF ON A HOAX

With its wrappings and trappings removed one by one—for a closer analytical look at the contents of that Soviet "twin orbitry" package—the more it looks like a phony. Certainly that observation holds true with regard to what purported to be televised aspects of it originating from Moscow.

It was a hoax in that particular, and the Columbia Broadcasting System, which discovered the fact after televising what it believed to be a valid news film, has issued a corrective statement: "The film we showed here a couple of nights ago purporting to be that of the launch of [Maj. Andrian] Nikolayev, as shown on Moscow television, was something considerably different than that. It was so identified by the foreign news service that supplied it, but we've learned that the film was taken not from Moscow television but from East German television, and it wasn't of Nikolayev but of an earlier launch."

Sifting for facts in other particulars is in order, too, before anyone goes overboard on assumptions of a spectacular Soviet breakthrough. As already has been pointed out, the margin for tricksterism in this propaganda display is wide—and Moscow is adept at that. Hence the necessity of calm, factual appraisal, before jumping to conclusions. Not without cause has the whole Communist constituency been called masters of deceit.

Without necessarily lumping the whole stunt in the category of hoax, but pointing out that possibility, David Lawrence yesterday called attention to an August 14 dispatch from Vienna by Clyde Farnsworth, Chicago Tribune reporter, emphasizing these same grounds of doubt. "If the hypothesis of doubting observers is correct, these pictures were made safely aground—or in previous flights—and two other men, possibly even Yuri Gagarin and Gherman Titov, were actually in orbit this time.

"If the astronauts actually had TV cameras in orbit, it should have been fairly simple to furnish the frequencies and schedules on which pickups would be possible, and let European and American audiences make the most of them. They probably would have * * *. It was not like them (the Soviets) to miss a good bet if they could help it."

If the camera work was a fake—as now appears, beyond question—who is to say that any detail of the claimed operation occurred as Moscow depicted it?

Possibly it did. On the other hand, possibly it didn't.

At least it is clear that what the Communists sent out—whether from Moscow or East Germany, it doesn't matter—for broadcast as a ringside view of space conquest in the making, was as phony as a $3 bill.

## Admission of A.T. & T. to U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an important column by James A. Weschler which appeared in the New York Post on September 6, 1962. The article is based on the communications satellite hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Weschler strikes at the heart of the matter when he states that:

What was involved here, among other things, was the abdication of sovereignty, not to an international body but to private interests, in one of the first great national decisions of the space age.

He suggests that:

The whole thing might have been simplified by admitting A.T. & T. to the United Nations.

The column follows:

[From the New York Post, Sept. 6, 1962]

SATELLITE, INC.

(By James A. Wechsler)

President Kennedy recently signed a document that may haunt his administration for many months and years. There was a tone of defensiveness in the statement accompanying his action; the satellite bill, he declared contained "many safeguards to protect the public interest." He expressed confidence that the Government, the public, and private industry, would all have a true voice in the affairs of the new corporation created under the act.

His reassurances must have sounded earnest enough to millions of Americans who have never read the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. One wonders whether Mr. Kennedy himself took time out for such study.

This 456-page volume fell into my hands during vacation and I couldn't lay it down. I had many misgivings about the bill before reading the tome. But I had not adequately glimpsed the real dimensions of the story MESSRS. KEFAUVER, MORSE, RYAN, and a handful of others were trying to get across to the country in their lonely fight.

It is regarded as old fashioned to intimate that corporate power can still dictate terms to Government and Congress, and especially that a Democratic administration might be vulnerable to such a coup. But the record of the hearing is devastating. It explains more clearly than anything else why the opponents of the measure fought so hard for time, and why its advocates so tenaciously resisted delay. For what was involved here, among other things, was the abdication of sovereignty, not to an international body, but to private interests, in one of the first great national decisions of the space age.

No summary of the hearings can adequately translate the cumulative revelation of the testimony and interrogation. One can only lament the degree to which much of the disclosure came out piecemeal, or not at all, in most areas. There were a few reporters, like Milton Viorst of the Post, who early detected the scope and meaning of the battle. But the bulk of the coverage was perfunctory, and in most media, when the story finally achieved any prominence, it was the spectacle of "the liberal filibuster" rather than the substance of the argument that drew the largest notice.

The country probably knows in a vague way that, for the first time in our history, the U.S. Government is now officially sponsoring a corporate entity explicity dedicated to private profit. Six of its directors will represent the carriers (with A.T. & T. technically limited to three members); six will eventually represent "the stockholders" and three will be named by the President.

Ostensibly this structure would seem to limit A.T. & T.'s domination of the enterprise. But even proponents of the measure conceded under questioning that A.T. & T., by the very nature of its own resources and the character of the corporate setup, could acquire 50 percent of the voting stock as well as an unlimited amount of nonvoting stock, bonds, and debentures. That its influence would be pervasive is not seriously denied by most sponsors of the bill. They basically contend that, in the long run, what will be good for A.T. & T. will promote the national welfare.

That axiom is sharply challenged by much of the testimony.

USIA Director Ed Murrow formally testified in support of the bill. Yet the heart of his recital was a warning that it contains no provision for a preferential rate for Government agencies and that the cost of using the satellite system may be prohibitive for USIA.

Under the act the directors of the corporation are specifically obliged to serve the commercial interests of the corporation. What happens when the concern for profit collides with national needs—specifically with respect to the use of the satellite program in impoverished areas where the "take" may be small?

The underlying conflict was most pointedly exposed in the discussion on a drastic amendment to the initial draft of the bill. As first written it embodied this clear statement:

"The corporation shall not enter into negotiations with any international agency, foreign government, or entity without prior notification to the Department of State, which will conduct or supervise such negotiations. All agreements and arrangements with any such agency, government, or entity shall be subject to the approval of the Department of State."

This clause was stricken, and in its stead there was adopted this formula of abdication:

"Whenever the corporation shall enter into business negotiations with respect to facilities, corporations, or services authorized by this act with any international or foreign entity, it shall notify the Department of State of the negotiations. The Department of State shall advise the corporation of relevant foreign policy considerations. Throughout such negotiations the corporation shall keep the Department of State informed with respect to such considerations."

As someone remarked, the whole thing might have been simplified by admitting A.T. & T. to the United Nations.

## Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Takes Lead in Getting Civic Jobs Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in every community there is one organization which takes the lead in getting civic work done. In a large city such as my hometown of Birmingham, Ala., there are many civic organizations helping to meet the many of the needs of the community. Taking the lead in most civic enterprises in the city of Birmingham is our chamber of commerce, which over the years has been singularly successful in bringing basic improvements to the community which has resulted in Birmingham emerging in the forefront of American cities.

I believe that all of the Members would be interested in reading of the accomplishments of the Birmingham chamber. Their fine work has often been done in cooperation with many groups and many individual citizens working together.

I insert an article from the magazine Birmingham herewith:

WOULD WE HAVE HAD THESE THINGS IF WE HAD NOT HAD THE BIRMINGHAM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE?

The Birmingham water system, Vulcan, junior chamber of commerce, municipal auditorium, Legion Field, U.S. Highway 78, eight paved highways leading into the city, veterans' hospital, a civic symphony orchestra, Federal Housing Administration program, U.S. Department of Internal Revenue, a $6 million industrial water supply (in 1936), the 4-year University of Alabama Medical College, Fair Park, Howard College, the revived Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, Warrior Tombigbee Association, better business bureau, jet flights and increased air service, transit system, 4th Corps Headquarters, U.S. 3d Army, new Bank for Savings & Trusts Building, $31,250,000 in public improvements (including such improvements as the new municipal airport, Legion Field enlargement, etc.), the University of Alabama School of Engineering (soon to be under construction), 75 million additional gallons of industrial water.

It is possible, but the job of obtaining these things for Birmingham would have been much more difficult, and would have taken much longer had it not been that the organized effort of the business leaders of the community were devoted to getting these goals for Birmingham.

In other words, the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce acted as the catalytic agent to put its members (through specified committees) to work in accomplishing these goals for Birmingham. To elaborate on just a few: in 1921 the Birmingham Chamber saw the need for an organization of the younger men of the community who would devote their efforts to improving Birmingham. And so, the Birmingham Chamber formed the junior chamber of commerce.

In that same year, a chamber committee promoted the building of Municipal Auditorium and Municipal Stadium.

In 1931–32, the chamber's good roads committee listed as a major accomplishment letting of the contract on U.S. Highway 78 from Birmingham to Atlanta.

The next couple of years saw the chamber waging a campaign to get an industrial water supply. (In 1936 the Birmingham chamber held a victory dinner celebrating their successful effort in getting a $6-million industrial water supply.

In 1935 the chamber prepared briefs, surveys, and a list of available sites, and sent a representative to Washington, D.C., to have the proposed veterans' hospital established in the Birmingham district.

Also during this year, the chamber sponsored the Federal Housing Administration program.

The U.S. Department of Internal Revenue was established here due to the chamber's work in preparing briefs, statistics, etc., which was the piece of salesmanship necessary to get the department located in Birmingham.

In 1944 the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and the Jefferson County Medical Association prepared the briefs, surveys, etc., which sold the University of Alabama on establishing a 4-year medical college here.

Several years later, the chamber's coliseum committee recommended that the city commission purchase Fair Park and set up an operating board. These facilities enable Birmingham to get many large exhibits, conventions, etc.

The Birmingham chamber got in the fight to keep Howard College in Birmingham. The chamber pledged their wholehearted support of the $2,500,000 joint drive for Howard College and Birmingham-Southern College.

A chamber president in 1946–47 urged that Legion Field be enlarged to at least 40,000 seats.

In 1948 the chamber's education committee moved to revive the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra.

In 1951 the chamber led in bringing to life the Warrior Tombigbee Association.

A few years later, a chamber president assisted in establishing the Better Business Bureau of Birmingham.

In 1956 the chamber began providing representation before the Civil Aeronautics Board in the attempt to get better air service for Birmingham. Air service has improved—jet service is now available out of Birmingham, as well as several new routes.

In 1958 the chamber worked to save the transit system. They were successful in obtaining 4th Corps Headquarters, U.S. 3d Army for Birmingham.

In 1959 the chamber's efforts paved the way for obtaining the necessary land for the bank for savings and trusts building.

In 1960 the city commission was deadlocked on the amount of money that could be issued for public improvements, and how this should be spent. The city commission asked the Birmingham Chamber to appoint committees to make recommendations on both these matters. Both committees' recommendations were accepted, and the chamber then became a wheelhorse in getting active support for the $19 million bond issue, which was overwhelmingly approved by voters May 3, 1960.

The University of Alabama Engineering School (a new building housing it will soon be under construction) was secured through the efforts of a chamber study committee.

Birmingham's industrial water supply will be increased 75 million gallons this fall. A chamber study committee established the city's industrial water board. It should be reemphasized that this lists only a few of Birmingham's milestones which dedicated men working in an organized effort through the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce have accomplished.

This artici attempts in no way to take credit from the many who have assisted in accomplishing major goals for Birmingham.

It does seek to point out how the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce has organized the ability and power of business leaders to promote the growth and development of this community.

Or, you might say, these are some concrete answers to that old query: "What has the chamber of commerce done for Birmingham?"

The question which should be a twin to this one is: "What have I done for Birmingham?

Today there is still much more the chamber can do for Birmingham. There is much that we have not been successful in accomplishing. There is much we have accomplished.

Even now, the Birmingham Chamber is studying recommendations for its reorganization. A study has been made of the chamber, at the chamber's request, to make the organization an even more valuable servant of the community.

As Dwight Havens, manager of the local service department of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said: "It is a tribute to the leadership of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce that they see the necessity for a constant evaluation and revaluation in order to utilize to the fullest the resources at their command.

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## A New Approach to Equity for Our Gold Miners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, for 4 years now I have been studying and working upon the problem of how to save gold mining under the American flag from extinction, in connection with which I have introduced four separate bills. The first three have been repudiated by the Department of the Treasury upon the contention that if enacted they would upset international monetary arrangements. During the period in question I have been joined in this cause by several of our colleagues from Western States, and we have devised what I consider to be a new approach. This is reflected in bills most recently introduced by several of us calling for establishment of a gold procurement and sales agency which would receive all newly mined gold as a commodity rather than a monetary metal at a fair price to our gold miners, and resell same for artistic, professional, and industrial uses. To emphasize the urgency of this matter, the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held a hearing on September 6, at which time it was made amply clear in the record that Treasury and other interested executive departments are requested to considerately study and evaluate the new approach with an affirmative instead of a negative attitude during the forthcoming adjournment period, and be ready to present constructive testimony early in the next session on similar bills, and perhaps improved bills, which will be introduced next year.

My testimony submitted at the hearing on September 6 concisely portrays the situation as I see it. Because this subject is undoubtedly a matter of national concern, I include in these remarks the text of said testimony, which reads as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. RALPH J. RIVERS, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE AT LARGE FROM ALASKA, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 12929 AND LIKE LEGISLATION, ON SEPTEMBER 6, 1962

Mr. Chairman, I wish to first convey my thanks for the scheduling of this hearing in regard to a new approach on the subject of providing an incentive to our gold miners for the production of newly mined gold.

My interest in gold mining stems from the years when I was a young man living in Alaska. I saw gold mining prosper after the increase in the Treasury price of gold from $20.67 to $35 per ounce in 1934, and in recent years I have seen costs rise to such prohibitive heights as to force hundreds of gold mines out of business, leaving behind deteriorating plants, ghost towns, and unemployment, for lack of any increase in price to offset the doubling of the cost of production.

From the highest annual production of gold in the United States in the amount of $170,205,000 in 1940, gold output has dropped to $58 million in 1961, of which 37 percent was derived as a byproduct of base-metal ores. From a production of about $25 million per year in Alaska in the late 1930's, the gold production in my State was down to about $4 million in 1961, and our dredges and other diggings will have to close down in the near future unless relief is soon forthcoming. From a high in the U. S. gold reserves of $24 billion in 1948, we now find our reserves down to about $16.1 billion. Of this decline about $6.7 billion has occurred in the last 5 years. Although this has been caused principally by the outflow of gold to foreign countries, of which we have recently heard so much, the situation has been aggravated by the decline of gold production in our country.

Another contributing factor has been the sharp increase in recent years of the use of gold for artistic, professional, and industrial purposes. The nonmonetary uses of gold have gone up from a value of $91,087,920 in 1958 to $129,500,000 in 1960. This latter figure is over twice the amount of new gold produced in the United States in 1960, and it is estimated that the demand for gold for nonmonetary uses will continue to increase in the years ahead. Of course, some gold is salvaged each year and reissued by private refiners and dealers. In 1960 the amount was $53,495,015. The amount issued by the Treasury in 1960 for nonmonetary uses was $76,004,985, being $23 million above domestic production in 1960.

As against the $16.1 billion presently in our declining gold reserves, we hold about $12 billion as backing for our ever increasing amount of paper currency, and about $4 billion is all that remains as backing for out-

standing foreign dollar credits redeemable in gold on short term demand, which credits amount to about $18 billion. Thus, while the Russians have been increasing their gold supply against the day when they decide to back their trade rubles with gold, our gold reserves have dwindled below the danger point, which presents us with another hazard in the cold war. The need in the United States for more gold is clear. The question—what to do about it?

President Kennedy and the Treasury say that an increase in the Treasury price of gold would seriously disrupt our international monetary arrangements with the countries of the free world. Accordingly, I am willing to accept the President's statement that there shall be no increase in the Treasury price of gold under his administration. Therefore, the only approach which remains open to help the gold miners and stimulate gold production is legislation authorizing and directing incentive payments for newly mined gold. Along this line I speak in favor of my bill H.R. 12929 and like bills introduced by Hon. HAROLD (BIZZ) JOHNSON, of California, and several other of my colleagues. Since Mr. JOHNSON in his testimony has ably explained the provisions of these bills—and I commend him for the fine work he has done in this field—I will not go into the details again other than to say that the proposed gold procurement and sales agency within the Department of the Interior would divorce the Treasury from the field of selling gold for nonmonetary uses and channel all our newly produced gold as an industrial commodity through the new agency for resale at an advanced price for artistic, professional, and industrial uses. This divorcement of the Treasury and its official monetary price of gold form the operations of the proposed new agency, so far as newly mined gold is concerned, should enable the new agency to pay a fair price to our miners without disturbing international monetary arrangements. I believe, however, that the language of the legislation now before the committee should be amended to clarify the commodity status contemplated for our newly mined gold and that the mode and manner of providing a sufficient supply to meet industrial needs which are in excess of our own domestic production should be clearly spelled out.

To conclude, let me express my opinion—held by many others—that with gold production going down, industrial uses for gold going up, the amount of gold on hand becoming disproportionately small as compared to our ever increasing volume of outstanding foreign dollar credits redeemable in gold, it is just a matter of a few years until our gold reserve will have reached the vanishing point. Before this happens, something has got to give.

Mr. Chairman, I extend my sincere thanks to you and the members of this committee for the kind attention and consideration accorded to me.

## Comments on Stockpiling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include for the attention of my colleagues a letter which I have received from Mr. L. W. Merritt of the Tahoe Timber Co. of Nevada, Reno, Nev. Mr. Merritt's comments on stockpiling are very timely and will be of interest to the distinguished Members of Congress.

Mr. Merritt's letter follows:

TAHOE TIMBER CO. OF NEVADA,
*Reno, Nev., August 30, 1962.*

Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN,
*Congressman From Ohio,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KIRWAN: Several years ago, while employed as auditor for Nevada-Massachusetts Co., Tungsten, Nev., I had correspondence with you concerning the lack of necessity of continuing the stockpiling of tungsten concentrates under the then tungsten gravy train. At that time you were very instrumental in cutting off further appropriations for this gravy train, and shortly thereafter all the tungsten mines in the country ceased operations. When this program was stopped, I estimated that the Government had a supply of tungsten concentrates on hand to last for 23 years. I noted recently in the newspaper that it was stated the Government had a supply for 16 years on hand, so thus my calculations 5 years ago were not exaggerated but fairly accurate.

Please note the attached clipping from this morning's issue of Nevada State Journal. It all turned out exactly as I predicted—the tungsten mining industry in the United States was completely ruined by this 100 percent needless waste of the taxpayers' money for this stockpiling program. This mine at Tungsten, Nev., had a life of at least 40 more years with a means for a living for at least a thousand people during that period. In a few days now it will be just another Nevada hillside.

When do you think the people in this country will wake up to the fact that Government boondoggling always winds up with the people paying through the nose not only currently but for many years to come?

Incidentally, the owners of this mine made quite a few millions out of this stockpiling program, and now they are picking up some more gravy selling off the equipment and the townsite which have been completely depreciated long ago. The mine at Getchell, Nev., shipped about $13 million worth of gold in 20 years, but when the tungsten gravy train got rolling they shipped 22 million in tungsten concentrates in just a few years.

Sincerely yours,

L. W. MERRITT.

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PUBLIC AUCTION SALE: MINE AND MILL MACHINERY—600-TON MILLING PLANT, CRUSHING PLANT EQUIPMENT, CONSTRUCTION MACHINERY, CAMP AND MILL, BUILDINGS AND HOUSES, FORMERLY OWNED BY NEVADA-MASSACHUSETTS CO., ONE OF THE LARGEST TUNGSTEN OPERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Auction on premises, Tungster, Nev., 28 miles south of Winnemucca, Monday and Tuesday, September 17 and 18, starting 10 a.m. each day.

Mining equipment: 33 mine battery locomotives, 185 mine cars, 3 surface locomotives, 16 surface cars—600-ton rail to 100 pounds—20 muckers, 54 slushers and tuggers, 20 mine blowers, 75 mine pumps, 11 mine hoists to 225 horsepower, lamphouse and mine safety equipment, 100,000 feet mine timber and lumber, 20 air compressors to 160 horsepower.

Drilling equipment: 138 track drills, rock drills, jackhammers, drifters, stopers; 1,000's, new Swede drill steel carbide bits.

Construction equipment: Shovels, tractors, loaders, graders, dump trucks, etc.

Crushing plant equipment: Symons and jaw crushers, feeders, screens and vibrators, magnets, weightometer, hoists, conveyors, conveyor belting.

Chemical and pilot plant: Assay equipment.

New supplies and parts: 130,000 pound new steel, electrical supplies, truck and auto parts, pump and compressor parts, conveyor parts, plumbing supplies, new tools, etc.

Six-hundred-ton milling plant: Marcy ball mills 64½ and 66, flotation cells, jig, feeders and mixers, sizers, concentrate tables and bins, filters, precipitator, classifiers, thickeners, conditioners, steel tanks, mill belt and chain bucket elevators, 75 mill pumps, conveyors, dryers, kilns, blowers, magnetic separators, laboratory, etc.

Power and electrical equipment: Diesel generator sets to 312½ kv.-a., light plants to 7,500 watts, oil-type transformers, capacitors, electric power and switch gear, power transmission equipment, copper power cable, and so forth, 300 standby a.c. electric motors to 150 horsepower.

Water and pipeline: 75 water pumps, 5 deep well pumps, 51 motor and booster pumps, steel water tanks, 40,000 feet pipe, underground firefighting system.

Maintenance equipment: Machine shop, welding equipment, wood shop, pipe and plumbing shop, hand tools, garage and automotive repair equipment, etc.

Forty trucks, office machines and equipment.

Townsite houses and buildings: Frame construction with hardwood floors, plumbing, electricity, 15 3-bedroom houses 32 by 24 feet, 53 2-bedroom houses 24 by 24 feet, recreation building 75 by 50 feet, store building 100 by 30 feet, 9 guesthouses, 2, 3, 4-bedroom, 33 single-room cabins, 3 bunkhouses 50 by 25 feet.

Tanks: 15 fuel storage tanks to 10,000 gallons, 15 redwood storage tanks to 100,000 gallons.

Camp and bunkhouse furnishings: 70 electric refrigerators, 50 ranges, and so forth. Commissary and kitchen equipment.

Plant and warehouse buildings: Some metal or corrugated covered, some all steel.

Call, write, wire for auction brochure, David Weiss Co. auctioneers, 840 San Julian Street, Los Angeles, Calif., MA 4-8005, offices in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles. Northern California representative: Harvey Berk, 112 Locksley Avenue, San Francisco, Calif., LO 4-1515.

## American Civil Liberties Union Asks Letter in Reply Be Published

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call your attention to the following letter received by me from the American Civil Liberties Union dated June 12, 1962:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
*Washington, D.C., June 12, 1962*

The Honorable CLYDE DOYLE,
*U.S. House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: On May 31 you placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a feature article written by Mr. H. V. Witty, which appeared in the Bell Gardens Post-Star, containing a number of statements about the American Civil Liberties Union, which we feel misrepresent its history and function. Mr. Witty uses as his source a book entitled

"Does the American Civil Liberties Union Serve the Communist Cause." Neither the author nor the publisher of the book is identified. Mr. Witty quotes from a number of archaic and discredited charges against the American Civil Liberties Union. Knowing of your reputation for fairness, I am, therefore, writing to you so that our refutation of these charges may be presented to other Congressmen.

First of all, Mr. Witty states, "The American Civil Liberties Union, through its Emergency Civil Liberties Committee organized in 1951, is now spearheading the drive to do away with the House Committee on Un-American Activities." As I am sure you are well aware, there is absolutely no connection between the American Civil Libties Union and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Secondly, Mr. Witty states: "A congressional committee to investigate communism (Fish committee), stated: 'The ACLU is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly, but it is quite apparent that the main function of the ACLU is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government.'"

It is to be noted that Mr. Witty fails to indicate that this Fish committee report is over 30 years old, and that Mr. Martin Dies, first chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, stated in 1939 that "This committee found last year, in its report, that there was not any evidence that the American Civil Liberties Union was a Communist organization", or that on March 22, 1961, Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., staff director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated: "The American Civil Liberties Union has not been investigated by the Committee on Un-American Activities, nor has there been any hearings held in connection with the organization. It has not been cited as a subversive organization by this committee or any other Federal agency."

Thirdly, Mr. Witty states: "The California Committee on Un-American Activities had this to say about the organization: 'The ACLU may be definitely classed as a Communist front or transmission belt organization.'"

Here again Mr. Witty conveniently leaves out any reference to the date—that this statement was made in 1943, and that since then the 1959 Report of the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities states, "We do not believe that the American Civil Liberties Union nationally is in any sense subversive." or that R. E. Combs, chief counsel of this committee on March 28, 1961, stated: "Having served as a consultant to a Presidential Commission on Government Security in Washington in 1956–57, I had an opportunity to study the techniques of experts in the business of evaluating personnel records for security purposes. I assure you from personal knowledge that none of the experts I knew would come even remotely close to considering membership in the ACLU as evidence of the slightest disloyalty."

I shall not burden you in setting out here in detail lengthy quotations from statements made by many other people in public life as well as newspaper editorials which have lauded the work of the American Civil Liberties Union.

We would very much appreciate having this letter placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE SPEISER,
*Director, Washington Office.*

## Clara Barton Memorial Dedicated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, Sunday, September 9, the first monument erected to the memory of Clara Barton was dedicated by Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, chairman of the American National Red Cross on Antietam Battlefield as a part of the Civil War Centennial Commemoration. In speaking of Clara Barton's life of service General Gruenther noted that it exemplified the American ideal of individual responsibility. "Participation in voluntary service is the personification of individual responsibility" said the general in congratulating the Washington County chapter of the American Red Cross on its service to the community and its efforts in erecting the Clara Barton Memorial.

The ceremonies were opened by Mrs. Nathan Raskin, chapter chairman. The Honorable William Preston Lane, Jr., former Governor of the State of Maryland, presided and introduced General Gruenther and Axel Steele, of Rohresville, the quarrymaster who originally cut the marble block from which the Clara Barton Memorial was hewn. Mr. Jackson E. Price, Assistant Director of the National Park Service, accepted the memorial on the behalf of the Department of the Interior. I also had the pleasure and privilege of being present.

A thumbnail sketch of Clara Barton was prepared by Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr.:

Clara Barton, born in North Oxford, Mass., on Christmas Day 1821, was destined to become in the eyes of her contemporaries the greatest heroine America ever produced.

After serving the wounded and dying on 28 battlefields at home and abroad, she became the founder of the American National Red Cross. In her capacity as president of this organization she was in Cuba in the Spanish-American War. Following this conflict Clara Barton assisted in such national holocausts as floods, famine, epidemics, tornadoes, and forest fires. Our peacetime disaster service and national first aid resulted from her efforts.

Following a lifetime of distinguished service and extraordinary accomplishment, Miss Barton died April 14, 1912, in her Maryland home near Washington, D.C.

The Washington County chapter memorial committee acknowledged with deep appreciation the able help and assistance of Mr. Park W. T. Loy, executive secretary, Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission; Mr. Benjamin Davis, superintendent, Antietam Battlefield; Mr. James H. Ward—donor of the marble block; Mr. J. W. Ramsburg; Mr. Henry A. Bester, Jr.; and Mr. G. Victor Cushwa.

The inscription on the memorial reads:

Clara Barton: During the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, Clara Barton brought supplies and nursing aid to the wounded on this battlefield. This act of love and mercy led to the birth of the present American National Red Cross.

## Mrs. Alma Bates, Outstanding Alabama Teacher, Cited for Her Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, reading, writing, and arithmetic are the basics of our education, but the most important of these is reading. The last few years great strides have been made in methods of teaching reading to young people and to people unfamiliar with the language. One of the most successful of these teachers of the new method of teaching reading has been one of my constituents, who has been nationally recognized for her teaching. She is Mrs. Arthur Bates who recently received the McCalls magazine Golden Mike Award as "the Nation's leading woman broadcaster who has performed the greatest service to youth."

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that there is a bill pending in the U.S. House of Representatives at this time to allocate funds "to provide the necessary instruction for adults who are not proficient in basic educational skills," I think that all of the Members will be particularly interested in this article which appeared in the Birmingham magazine, a publication of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, which I insert herewith.

The article follows:

MEET ALMA BATES

(By Lou Peneguy)

A grandfather's fascinating stories of Dixie lured Mrs. Arthur Bates to move South from her Wisconsin home.

In Birmingham, she has found an opportunity to become a nationally known instructor, television personality, author and homemaker.

Her present national credits stem from her development of a system of teaching phonics. It has created a number of converts, all who endorse it wholeheartedly. As a result of this, her system is being incorporated as a basic communications teaching aid.

Mrs. Bates taught in Alabama public schools after she graduated from college. A World War II service appointment, however, transferred A. G. (as her husband, Arthur, prefers to be called) and the family (daughter, Ann, and son, Paul) to Oklahoma. After being away from Birmingham less than 2 years, A. G. suffered a stroke, which left him unable to speak.

Physicians recommended he be given speech therapy. Alma, having some knowledge of speech phonics, and understanding the therapy would be a matter of understanding and time, decided to attempt the training herself. She has been totally successful.

At the time of the stroke, a family friend in Oklahoma recognized Alma's special gift with words, and recommended her for an inter-American training teaching position where she would be required to instruct Latin American aeronautical students to understand English. Accepting the challenge, Alma soon discovered that her knowledge of phonics was readily acceptable as a practical way to teach these young men who needed to learn quickly.

Based on the belief that a person can live only one day at a time, or be engulfed by

life itself, she realized that in learning to write and read, a student must know sounds and take one syllable at a time, or be overwhelmed by word confusions. Assisting her husband to speak again and working with the Latin Americans led Alma to the development of her system teaching by phonics.

Two years later, the Bates family returned to Birmingham. She accepted a position as English teacher in one of the Birmingham high schools.

At this time, Alma found that, ludicrous as some of the mistakes her foreign-origin students had made, they were similar to the mistakes of her Birmingham pupils.

For years she was concerned about the loss of potential among her pupils of average or above ability. She began listing their words confusions, noting that many recurred in repetitious patterns: that these same pupils were also poor readers seemed significant.

She surmised that many of these childid not hear words accurately. Presuming that if children only half understand what they hear, speech inaccuracies could develop and would be as incorrect in a student's writing. During her 16-year collection of misspellings, Alma found examples such as these: "We went swimming in the creep," "Don't shoot until you see the wipes of their eyes," "The cloud looked like an ice cream comb," and one pupil with a high IQ wrote, "He was policing his suicide shoes" (polishing his suede shoes).

It became obvious to Alma that many students had been attempting to memorize every word they had seen in an attempt to recognize it when they had to spell or define it.

She realized this was more than "an English lesson problem"; these pupils were having trouble in other subjects. As with many other young people nationally, her students, too, quit struggling and left school; others switched to vocational training, although the records of many in each group recorded them with high IQ's. Failing in school, they did not know that their problem was actually an inability to master two basic communication skills—spelling and reading.

Requested to plan a new remedial reading summer school course under the supervision of Sellers Stough (now administrative assistant superintendent, Birmingham public schools), Alma complemented the standard text with her own ideas while continuing to do phonics research. She thoroughly tested her pupils before and after her course in order to accurately determine their progress. One boy achieved an unprecedented improvement of seven grades in the 7-week interval—adequate proof that spelling and reading difficulties are not necessarily evidence of a low or even an average IQ. Alma gives full credit to the boy because she insists that pupils profit from her course in accordance with what they put into it. Since the median improvement for her summer classes was slightly over three grades, it was evident that many pupils were beginning to function more nearly in accordance with their potential. For scores of youngsters, a dislike for school became a like.

Over several summers, word of Alma's success spread throughout the city. Requests for home tutoring came from the parents of other youngsters, from executives, from immigrants, from those with speech defects. Students at nearby out-of-State colleges and universities began making weekend trips to Alma's home for help with their English and reading.

The mother of one of the younger tutored students reported that her child's grades jumped from F's to B's after only 1 month's study with Alma. Another mother credited her child's benefits not only to the simple basic system but also to Alma's dedication to education and to her enthusiasm and warmth of personality.

It soon became evident that Alma could not take all of those who came seeking help, so without pay she began training other teachers. She now refers pupils to these teachers for tutoring. She considers it "a privilege to help other members of the profession who want to spread an easier way to learn basic communications."

During the school year, approximately 20,000 student-viewers compose Alma's teleclassroom tuned to the Alabama educational television network's channels 2, 7, and 10, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 2 p.m.

Her 5-year-old "Improve Your Reading" telecourse is followed by children in kindergartens, elementary grades, and in high schools, as well as by adults. The thousands of letters which arrive at the television studio praise the interest instilled by her instruction.

The success of Alma's televised program won the attention of McCall's magazine, resulting in her presentation of the annual "Golden Mike Award for 'the Nation's leading woman broadcaster who has performed the greatest service to youth.'"

Alma thinks that "the contacts I have made through ETV are richly rewarding. I am so lucky to work with and for so many wonderful people."

During her work, Alma has carefully analyzed and organized the numerous lists of errors made by her pupils and by the pupils of other teachers (both in Alabama and in other sections of the country) who have cooperated in the project, Alma has come to some very important conclusions: She believes that children achieve better when they are given an overall picture of the basic consonant sounds before they start to read; that the good speller is the good reader; that from the beginning, children should be taught to spell words according to sound patterns and that emphasis should be placed upon thinking, rather memorization. Her considered judgment is held in great respect by teachers who are constantly on the alert for a better way to combat one of our Nation's greatest problems.

As a result of repeated requests she has organized her materials into a textbook to accompany her pictorial phonics charts, which are in the process of publication for national distribution.

There is a national need for her type of instruction. The U.S. House of Representatives has now before it a bill to allocate funds "to each State to provide the necessary instruction for adults who are not proficient in basic educational skills."

During 1961, when neighboring Louisiana's census reported 19 percent of the population was weak in basic communications, the State organized classes for them. Already, enrollees incomes have increased 23 percent. As a result, Louisiana suggests that it will gain $4.59 in tax dollars return for each dollar it is spending on the project.

Alma has been seeing rapid benefits of knowing basic communications for years.

Although listed in Who's Who in American Women, a National Council of Family Relations member, and on the National Council of English Teachers' Professional Relations Committee, Alma is not as proud of her titles as she is of her children: Mrs. Ann Congdon, formerly with a New York publishing firm; and her recently Air Force discharged son, Paul, now a manufacturer's representative. Both are graduates of Norwood School (where Mrs. Bates is a former PTA president) and of Phillips High.

Alma credits the success of her role as an Alabama educator and her genuine interest in folks to "the helpful, friendly Birmingham people who have encouraged" her.

Those who knew her feel better because of that privilege.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 2 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## On the Firing Line for Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, May 9, 1962, I had the opportunity to address the Health Insurance Association of America's annual meeting in Denver, Colo. As I told the insurance people at that time, their industry is on the firing line for free enterprise, defending the system which has made America great against those who would substitute for it and its decisions through the market mechanism a procedure of decision by governmental bureau and control by governmental agency. This battle continues, not only in the field of the health sciences and services to which my reamarks were principally directed, but as well in a number of other areas in which the free enterprise system is called upon to defend itself. I am placing this speech in the RECORD at this point to call attention to the fight that is being waged for the free enterprise system:

I want first to thank you for that kind introduction and then I want to thank all of you here who represent a very distinguished industry for the outstanding job that you have been doing in our society.

There is no question that in your area of endeavor the United States leads the world. In fact, so much so that it is not even possible to compare other systems with yours.

I am happy to have the opportunity of talking with this group because we have before us today in Washington some very pressing problems. In fact, as I analyze them, we are at the crossroads of whether this Nation is going to go forward on the basis of the fundamental principles upon which it was founded and upon which it has reached its present successes, or whether we are going to abandon it and adopt other theories of government and other theories of economic endeavor. It just so happens that your industry and that of others in the health field are on the firing line of one of the bitter battles, but I do want to suggest to you that it is only one of the battles, because as a Congressman I see many oher battles that are being fought at this present time on a wide front for these two fundamental principles, representative government and private enterprise economics.

The points that I am going to make here are the same points that I make to the doctors, drug people, hospital groups, social works, nurses, to any group of people in the health field.

I remember about 2 or 3 years ago I was invited to speak before the Missouri Medical Association in St. Louis, and 2 weeks later, before the Insurance Agents Group of Missouri. I prepared one speech which I delivered to both, because I felt the same issues were involved.

Let me, before I get into the field of health, try to relate why I say this is only one battle. Let me talk very briefly about the issues involved in the steel price increase and the issues involved in the movement of labor unions to increase the wages for their union members, or the appeals that the Federal employees are making to have their wages increased.

The President of the United States has moved his great powers into line and directed them against the steel industry that sought to raise prices. The President made a speech just yesterday, urging the labor unions to hold the line. In doing this, he has wrapped around himself the garment of deep concern for the welfare of our society, and indeed he is. I am satisfied of that, but in both of his appeals nowhere does he mention the factors that lie at the base of why steel leaders would raise prices, why labor leaders would seek to increase wages for their people.

What are these forces that are at play in our society that bring these things about? Has it come about that our leaders in industry are not interested in the welfare of our society and are selfish men and only those of us who happen to be in politics, of all things, are the ones who are unselfish; or is it that the labor leaders are not concerned about the overall welfare of our society? Of course not. The forces at play, I submit, are the forces that have been created by the fiscal irresponsibility on the part of the President himself and the administration in Washington. At least that is a fair issue for the people to consider when in times of prosperity we continue operating under unbalanced budgets; and I, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, have the job of trying to figure out where we get the money to pay for these bills, knowing that when we don't get it through ordinary taxes, we have to sell more Federal bonds, we have to print more money, and indeed that is what we are doing.

There is only one thing, one powerful economic force, that is holding the line against these inflationary forces that have been set loose, forces which underlie these pressures that cause our steel people to seek to alleviate them by raising prices and our labor leaders by increasing the wage scales of our people; and this force is sinister. It is foreign competition. However, in many respects, already we have been pricing ourselves out of the market. The point that I am trying to relate is this. The President talks about problems that face our society through inflation and increased cost of living, and does not relate these problems to the economic forces that cause them. He relates them only to further Governmental activity, as if the Government can solve these problems by doing something more. He does not relate them to the Government doing less because its very level of action, or expenditures if you will, have been contributing greatly to the power of these pressures.

So this is not necessarily a question of whether the Federal Government should be doing more in these areas. It may be a question of whether the Federal Government should not stop doing some of the things that it presently is doing.

And so, in this very important social problem of health care for the aged, we have a similar one-sided presentation where the activity in the private sector is largely ignored in the national debate as it has been presented by the executive department. No question is raised as to what the Federal Government is doing that it might stop doing that would alleviate this situation. The only suggestion follows one very tired theme; to solve this social economic problem, spend more Federal money, have the Federal Government take care of it.

Now, there are places that the Federal Government can help, but I think this should be approached from the standpoint of, "Let's see where and how to help by first analyzing what the problem is," not putting on this old record, "Just go to the Federal Government, and some wise people in Washington, not even elected by the people, but appointed by those who are elected, can solve these problems."

In the health field we have three major divisions that I like to point out in discussing it. We have first the vendors of health services, the doctors, the hospitals, the drug people, the nurses, the people who sell hospital equipment and so forth. We have the financers—your industry—which seeks to establish techniques and devices whereby income can be spread forward or backward to take care of the needs that occur before one gets into the work force or needs that occur after one has left the work force, the great field of insurance; a field not only of spreading income from earning years forward or backward to nonearning years but of equalizing risks to which all of us are subject and bringing them down to a cost that is bearable by each; and third, the field of facilities, and by that I mean hospitals themselves, and nursing homes, the physical plants.

In all three of these fields such amazing progress has been made that we have created new problems. Many people whom I run into at the Washington level say, "But, TOM, you are against this program of health care for the aged through the social security system. What are you for? You can't beat something with nothing." My answer is a very simple one: Since when is the great health care system in our society nothing?

We have the greatest system that has ever come about in the history of the world. Now, does that mean, and the answer usually is when I make that remark, "Well, then, you are complacent." Of course I am not complacent, and none of you are complacent. We don't want to stand still because the only way a system that is tops remains tops is by continuing to improve and move forward, but it does put the discussion on an entirely different basis. If someone seeks to present a program, one asks, Is this going to improve the system or is it going to radically change it? When we come to that question, I don't think there is any doubt that a compulsory—and note the word "compulsory"—a compulsory Federal health care system will radically change our present system.

And that is the issue, whether the problems that the success of our system has created can be solved under this system. That is a fair question. I don't think it should be just automatically answered, "Well, of course the system that has produced success can solve the problems that the success has created." It is a fair question to examine.

What do I mean, the success of the system has created the problem? Why do we have the problem of health care for the aged? Be-

cause of the failure of our health care system—not at all; we have it because people are living 10 to 15 years longer. That is the result of the success. Indeed it has created cost problems, and if you went to a hospital 20 or 30 years ago, the odds were that you might come out in a couple of days—come out in a box. You have no cost problems to worry about, sure. Now you might stay 4 or 5 days, but you come out on your own hind legs and you have a cost problem. That is one of the things to think about. The success of the system has created this problem, and this problem, I might say, is divided into two, as I see it. One is the problem that our present age group over 65 have, and the other is the problem that those who are not yet 65 have—and that is most of us who are going to become 65. The two are separate, and must be kept separate in order to analyze the problems that we have. The group over 65 today reached that age when there was not very much health insurance available to our society, just as there are 4 million of our 17 million older people who reached 65 before social security insurance was made available to them, who remain untouched and unhelped by either the Forand or the King bill.

This group over 65 who did not have health insurance will fade out as the new groups coming in and becoming 65 increasingly do have health insurance that covers them. That is why we must separate these two problems. If we are talking about what to do for people over 65 now who reached that age before there was such a thing as prepaid health insurance or health insurance that was available to them, their problem is different and must be treated as a separate problem from those who can have health insurance plans to cover them during old-age retirement.

That is, indeed, what we tried to do with the Kerr-Mills Act, to direct attention to whatever their problem might be. Incidentally, I felt that the evidence was lacking and that there was needed such a thing, even, as the Kerr-Mills Act, but I was completely relaxed about voting for it because I said, "Lest I be in error, and if there is a real need, let's set up the machinery for it." The Kerr-Mills Act, I might say, did do one good thing, I think, among others. It created a new approach that the States could take in regard to classifying the older people who might be in need; just the reverse, I might say, of the false propaganda which has been disseminated that the Kerr-Mills Act requires a pauper's oath. The Kerr-Mills Act liberalizes, or permits the States to liberalize, the means test. The Kerr-Mills Act prohibits a State that accepts Federal money under the Kerr-Mills Act from imposing a lien against older people's property. It in effect says this to the States, "You can tell your older people this, that if they have their modest home (and most of them—about 75 percent of them do, with an average equity around $9,000), and they have their pension on which they are getting along all right, and they are hit with a medical cost that is beyond their ability to handle, they do not have to go on relief. They can come in and show the bill and the State can take care of that bill. They can remain in their home that they own and they don't have to cash in their pension."

What an entirely different picture that is from the vicious dirty propaganda that has been disseminated around this country by people in high office in Washington today. To me it is one of the most disgraceful things that I have witnessed. It is untrue. This is what is degrading.

Some people have asked me, particularly here, "Well, what can the private health institutions do about all this politically? What political action can be taken?"

Well, first I do want to say this to any group of citizens. All of our citizens should be active politically. Walter Reuther, in testifying before the Ways and Means Committee, castigated the American Medical Association for being organized to be politically active. When it came my turn to interrogate Mr. Reuther, I said, "That is a very strange thing to hear you say, because I have always commended you and the labor union people for being politically active."

It seems to me that we should want to encourage as many of our people and groups as possible to be politically active. The only danger to representative government is when only one group or a few groups are politically active. Then you get an imbalance. It does behoove all of our citizens to make meaningful the term, "Government by the people." Under our system of representative government the people spend their time, of course, in the communities pursuing their livelihood, doing church work, community work, family work, raising children, and so forth. There is just a limited amount of time that anyone can spend on government. So we send representatives to city halls, State capitols, and Washington, D.C., to do the detailed work that must be done to have intelligent government action. I suggest that that is the way representative government is set up to work, and that was part of the dispute I got in with Mr. Reuther.

He said that we on the Ways and Means Committee should vote out the King bill because the Gallup poll said the "overwhelming majority of the people" favored health insurance through social security. I said, "Well, Mr. Reuther, if we are going to be down here just to have public opinion polls decide these issues, what do you think the purpose of a congressional hearing is?"

Let me suggest what I think representative government is all about; that the people send me to Washington, not to vote on the basis of ignorance on an issue, but to spend some time digging into the facts, listening to the arguments pro and con, and then after having gathered the facts and having listened to the argument, cast my ballot.

The people come in because after having done that, the Representative hopes that he will have cast his ballot as his people would wish him to were they armed with the information, the same information, and had they heard the same arguments.

That is the danger of the President of the United States going directly to the people on a complicated issue like this, as apparently he plans to do in this circus that is scheduled in Madison Square Garden.

The governmental witnesses testified before Ways and Means. What wisdom there is in our society to apply it to this problem that faces us. Yet the printed record of this public hearing was unprinted and unavailable to the public for 4 months, under orders apparently from the White House to the Public Printer. Not until December 15 were these hearings available, well over a month after the White House Regional Conferences set up supposedly to inform the people on the same issues. I can well understand why the proponents of the King bill didn't want these printed volumes available to the people of the communities because many of the statements made by these high government officals were challenged and rebutted very effectively in the hearings.

One of the things Secretary Ribicoff would have been asked—and this needs to be known—"Why does the King bill limit itself to less than 25 percent of the average health costs of people over 65?" I asked, "Mr. Ribicoff, is it because you didn't want the political opposition of the doctors or you felt that you could get rid of that or minimize that by leaving them out as they were in the Forand bill?" "Oh, no," he said, "no, it wasn't a political thing at all. It was a financial problem. We cannot increase the social security tax beyond 10 percent of payroll." So I said, "Then in the future you can't be coming in to increase these benefits, although many of the people who advocate this bill, including Mr. Forand and Mr. Reuther have openly said, 'This is just the beginning.'"

It would have been interesting to have Mr. Ribicoff answer that question in the communities throughout the country, as well as some of the other questions that were posed in these hearings.

And so, getting back to the process of representative government, these public hearings, at which this information was gathered, becomes the basis upon which the people's representatives try to make up their minds. You can see that kind of process where the individual citizens, with a limited amount of time to devote to government, can make that time effective through good representatives.

I, as a Congressman, use my representative on the City Council of Webster Groves. I haven't got the time nor the facilities to dig into the problems that confront our little community, but I help elect a councilman to whom I say in effect, along with my fellow citizens, "You go down to the city hall. You dig into these problems. You study them and then, based upon what you find out, not upon ignorance and prejudice or any preconceived notions, but upon what you find out, then vote on it. I will be there to criticize you if I disagree with what you have done based upon what you found out." I use the same process in regard to things that go on in Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, with regard to State matters. I don't have the time to find out what is going on and the details that affect State legislation, and so I utilize the State senators and State legislators. That is representative government.

And, when I have some information on one of these subjects, I try to pass it on to my representative. That again is part of government by the people. So that is one thing that this group or any group can do when it comes to becoming politically active.

In fact, that is a responsibility that all citizens have. But there are two particular things that I want to suggest that this group can do. The first one ought to be very obvious. In this very difficult problem of health care for the aged, one of the key problems is financing, as you know. What is the economic condition of our older people? What are the statistics? What are the lack of statistics? It is almost as important to know that. You should be informed of that, but I wouldn't even ask you necessarily to get into that until you have gotten into something even more basic, and that is to know what is being offered and is available in the field of health insurance today for our people. I think one of the most shocking things—and I am not going to mention him by name—occurred when one of my colleagues who has been an insurance salesman took the floor of the House this January to say that it was impossible for private insurance to handle this problem of health care for the aged. They just couldn't finance it and so forth and so on. I approached him afterward, and my criticism of him was primarily that he hadn't done his homework, and the fact that the man who is in that profession hadn't done his homework, made what he said even more dangerous because the people had a right to presume that he knew what he was talking about. He had no knowledge of what was available in the field of health insurance. He was 5 years out of date.

Indeed, as I talk to you here—this field is so dynamic and I should be telling you people—it is so dynamic that you turn around for 1 month and you are out of date. This field moves so fast—the figures I used for example, $1 billion was paid out in

health benefits in 1950, and I think if we interpolate, I haven't seen the exact figures and I am interpolating, that that figure is around $7 billion, for 1961.

Look at the increases. What is the total amount in health costs for our society? Around $19 billion for 1961. Those things need to be known because one of the arguments used is that these health insurance policies don't cover very much and they have these fine lines and clauses in there.

Of course there is an easy answer. It is the bald figures. Most of the policies must have meant a lot because otherwise $7 billion would not have been paid out in benefits. This is something that should be known by all your salesmen—how many are there in the field of selling insurance, life insurance people? I understand there are probably 320,000 to 400,000 people whose business it is to go from person to person and group to group to inform them of what is available in this field. Now, getting back to politics, nothing could be more effective on this issue today than having all of our insurance people know what is available in the health field, life insurance people, too, and to be kept up to date on it and so keep the public informed.

Massachusetts has just passed an enabling act so that the Connecticut 65 plan can be implemented in Massachusetts. New York passed it just a couple of weeks ago, or a similar one. Many people don't even know what the Connecticut 65 plan is; in fact the bulk of America doesn't know. Yet here is the very program that gives noncancelable health insurance without physical examination at reasonable cost to anyone over 65.

How many people know that prepaid health insurance is now available through a number of companies, that a person can take it out at the age of 20, 30, 40, 50, and have it prepaid, noncancelable at age 65. Indeed it is one of the areas that needs to be developed the most, other than this area which your industry has been moving forward in in a very fine fashion, the people over 65.

Let me say something else about this coverage from a political angle. The political appeal has been in behalf of these people over 65. That is the social problem that is always presented, but, believe me, that is not what these people who are promoting it have got their eyes on. You can tell it by the fact that their program leaves out 4 million older people, in fact the ones who need it the most. It also is demonstrated by the fact that the benefits will cover less than 25 percent of the average health cost. It is brought out by the fact that those are the two areas, coverage, and benefits, that the promoters of this plan will always compromise on.

Let me say this: the King bill promoters will let benefits go down to only 10 percent of the average health costs to get this bill through. They will kick the age limit up to 70. But there is one thing they will not compromise on. It was in the Forand bill. It is in the King-Anderson bill. That one thing is "compulsion." Once that is in, then these other things can be broadened out. That is the one matter that they will not compromise, compulsion.

Where comes the political motivation and the forces lined up behind this measure. I can tell from the letters I receive. It isn't from older people. It isn't from older people at all.

I have issued the statement many times in my community, if anybody knows an older person who isn't getting adequate health care, please let me know, because something has gone wrong with our system and we can correct it. I have not received any bona fide replies. No, this is a very subtle appeal to the sons and daughters and the relatives of the older people. It is also an appeal to the humanitarianism of people who do not know that there are not old people who are not getting adequate health care. It is an appeal to that ignorance, but it is also a selfish appeal as I say to the sons and daughters and relatives. One of the most important things to do in selling health insurance, I think, is to point out to a son or daughter why, aside from humanitarian reasons, they should be interested in their fathers and the mothers. It is to their own economic advantage to take out health insurance for their elderly parents.

Again, I refer to the $9,000 average equity of the older people 75 percent of whom own their homes. Sons and daughters stand to inherit this and the other accumulated assets of their parents. There always is this modest estate. It is worth $120 to $250 a year in health insurance premiums to protect it. So from an economic standpoint I think the message can and needs to be told and your group is the one group whose business it is to tell it.

The second thing, and this is most important, politically, don't downgrade those in collateral health fields. One of the great jobs that health insurance is performing is to ride herd on the cost of hospitalization and the cost of drugs and the cost of doctor's fees. That is a good healthy marketplace operation that is going on. But don't downgrade and repeat the smears that are current in our society against the doctors, against the drug companies, against hospitals, unless you can be specific. Sure, there are abuses, but believe me, if you were a doctor and looked through their eyes at their problems, or you were a drug company, or whatever, you would see that they are not made up of calloused people or social robbers any more than you in your profession. Uninformed people say that insurance companies write policies in fine print so that they never pay out any benefits. This is the same unwarranted smear of the private enterprise system.

Sure, there are some people that are on the shady end of the business in any profession, in my own as a lawyer, and in politics. I dare say that there are even those in civil service. But the point is this, this kind of denigration of our institutions is the very thing that these neofederalists feed upon in trying to eliminate the private enterprise system and in its stead put in "big government." So, please, from a political standpoint, join hands on one thing, on this issue of the importance of the private enterprise system, and what it stands for. Criticize it in context and in detail, but don't join the smear artists.

And now I would like to conclude, although this conclusion will take a little more time than the usual conclusion, by reading a speech that I have been writing and intend to deliver on the floor of the House tomorrow. It bears on what I have just been talking about, and it becomes pertinent, I think, and necessary to say it at this time. I have just received a message from Washington that makes me believe that maybe I should stay and read this.

This speech is entitled, "King Canute's Courtiers." One of the stories contained in the third-grade primer, apparently abandoned by our educators because it sought to teach a lesson as it taught youngsters to read, concerned the Danish-English King Canute. King Canute sat by the seashore, surrounded by his courtiers, and as the tide kept creeping up toward the legs of his chair one courtier said, "Oh, great and powerful King, order these tides to cease." King Canute was wise, however, and moved his chair.

Now, some rulers have not been this wise. King Xerxes attempted to transport his army across the Hellespont in order to fight a battle and it turned into a disaster. So he ordered the unruly sea whipped. In World War II a Navy wing commander proclaimed that he was tired of all the accidents from pilots failing to put their wheels down on landing and issued an order commanding that these accidents cease. Of course, these accidents did not cease. Such accidents were diminished, however, by the wisdom of another commander who had installed a howler system which would warn the pilots that their wheels were still up.

I guess all of us at one time or another have kicked the chair or punished an inanimate object which crossed our will or our path. We realize our stupidity when our anger passes and reason returns. However, let this contrary object be animate, particularly human, and reason frequently does not return and passions continue to burn.

President Kennedy's courtiers have been lashing out against the doctors, the health insurance people, and other corporations in the health field, such as the drug companies, for refusing to swallow their nostrums on health care for the aged. One courtier testifying before our committee referred to the doctors as selfish, the health insurance people, yourselves, as crazy—he called you schizophrenic, and the other groups as just plain ignorant.

I think this is like kicking a chair against which one has stumbled. If everybody disagreed with the reasons advanced by the doctors, the health insurance people, and others in the health field, or I thought that they were devoid of humanitarianism, which I do not, I still think it is important to diagnose their behavior rather than to kick at it.

Now, recently some doctors in New Jersey announced that they would not work under the system of health care set forth in the King-Anderson bill if it became law. This has been construed by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Ribicoff as amounting to blackmail, to prevent the congressional passage of the King-Anderson bill. Congressman KING yesterday—he didn't say it, he put it in the RECORD—construed this announcement as breaking the Hippocratic oath. Now, I am more interested in the phenomenon that produced this emotional outburst of these doctors than I am about the outburst itself. What does this symptom indicate, that a handful of doctors in New Jersey think that they can blackmail the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress? I think this is ridiculous.

If this is a violation of the Hippocratic oath, what would possess these men, well above the average in intelligence and humanitarian motives, because they once took this oath, to abjure it? One thing this outburst indicates is that the theme advanced by the advocates of the King-Anderson bill that the American Medical Association is out of step with the thinking of its own members, is obviously in error. If there is this kind of feeling at the grassroots level among the doctors of America, it would be woe betide the leaders of the American Medical Association if they did not move vigorously as they have to oppose the King-Anderson bill.

The New Jersey outburst is not an isolated symptom. In Saskatchewan the doctors as a group refused to cooperate with the Government-run medical program, and just a few days ago a news item was that the same had occurred in Quebec.

It was reported that in Great Britain about 1,000 British doctors, one-third the annual output of all the medical schools in the country have been leaving Britain annually for the past 5 years. British hospitals in the nationalized health service now depend to a great degree for the continuation of their work on some 4,000 foreign-born doctors, the majority hailing from Pakistan and India, because so many of their native-born doctors are emigrating.

Americans should be the last of peoples to be surprised that men will leave their homes, their birthplaces, their friends and relatives,

and go to a strange land because of a desire to be free, even if the desire remains unfulfilled or the emotion was created by unreality and false information. Our country was founded and developed by many men and women who were so motivated.

More importantly, perhaps, many of our outstanding leaders were so motivated or took inspiration from those whom they came to know who had this motivation.

Our mediums today are filled with stories about how people in Asia, Africa and around the world are stirring to be free. Regrettably, and I say this from personal experience, much of this is fiction, inspired by people in our own country who find that this is a helpful argument to further their plans which are far removed from the freeing up of peoples, either abroad or at home.

However, an emotion to be free is a strong one and an innate one, not confined as the Athenians stated to the Persians, to those who have experienced freedom. The question is as old as mankind. Is freedom important enough to men and women in America today to make sacrifices? We are being told that Government can meet needs which traditionally were met by individuals, by the family, by the neighbors and by our free churches, and that freedom is no longer a factor to be considered in deciding what the Federal Government does or does not do in a particular field.

Ladies and gentlemen, in our debates in Congress, whether the bill is a farm bill which is depriving freedom of the farmers, whether it is in the field of transportation, whether it is in the field of foreign trade, whether it is in the field of education, whether it is in the field of health care for the aged, this value factor of freedom is not being weighed.

I believe that our society is at the crossroads, and unfortunately your industry is on the firing line.

## Senator Goldwater Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Edgefield Advertiser, of Edgefield, S.C., has recently reprinted on its editorial page excerpts from an excellent address by the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] which was given before the American Bar Association on August 8. I, myself, have been impressed with these comments by the Senator from Arizona, and I ask unanimous consent that these comments be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR GOLDWATER SPEAKS

(From an address on August 8 by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona, before the assembly session of the American Bar Association.)

In my understanding of the Constitution, the intent written into it by our Founding Fathers was the prohibition against the gathering of power in any one branch of our tripartite system of government or any segment of our society.

We are witnessing in our National Government today, and we have been for nearly 3 decades, the movement of more and more power away from the people and the States into the hands of the bureaucrats in Washington. And we have witnessed how this power can be used to benefit one segment of the economy, giving it monopolistic power.

I refer specifically to the concentration of power in the hands of labor leaders of today. This power came about as the result of Federal legislation. Its correction can only come through congressional action which would remove those portions of the Labor-Management Act which confer a privileged status on labor unions. This exempt position is not related to the unions' bargaining power in legitimate labor-management disputes.

I would suggest the tremendous concentration of potential power in the hands of labor is contrary to the public interest, and in "the public" I include the working union members.

Labor unions enjoy many special privileges and immunities under Federal law which are creative of power. By far the most important of these is the exclusive right to represent all the employees in the unit for purposes of collective bargaining, even if the union has been selected as bargaining agent by only a narrow majority, which in many circumstances under our existing law, in fact, constitutes only a minority.

There is an unconscious tendency on the part of many to regard labor-management relations as the exclusive concern of the parties directly involved—i.e., of the union and employer.

Where a settlement is reached as the result of collective bargaining and without the intervention of a work stoppage resulting from either a strike or a lockout, it is safe to say, almost without exception, that in reaching the settlement none of the negotiating parties paid the slightest attention to its future impact on the economy of the Nation or its effect on the public interest.

The public is the overlooked body in most of the legislation written in the Congress of late, particularly in the field of labor-management relations. There are protections written into the labor-management law, and while they are not adequate, they exist; but the tendency today is to ignore them and by this action to further ignore the important role the public plays in any labor-management dispute.

It behooves us to examine the nature of the continually recurring labor crises in the United States. Even a cursory examination will reveal one obvious truth: that labor unions have access to far too much power for the good of the economy or the health of the Nation.

Now it surprises no one to realize the immense size and the great economic strength possessed by American unions today. It is worth noting, however, that big labor did not gain its present vital position in our society wholly, or even primarily, through its own efforts.

The Federal Government, that ever-present arbiter, policeman, and entrepreneur of American life, has made organized labor what it is today.

Just to give you an idea of the preferred position held by today's union in the economic scheme of things, I have compiled a list of special privilege, immunities and rights and powers enjoyed by labor unions under the Federal law. And let me emphasize at the outset that most of these special considerations may have been justified when they were initially given to the labor movement because of their weakness and lack of size. However, possible justification from a historical standpoint certainly doesn't justify their continued existence to today's era of monopolistic union power.

The list I refer to is as follows:

1. Almost total immunity under the antitrust laws.

2. Immunity from taxation.

3. Immunity from injunctions by Federal courts.

4. Authority to use union funds for purposes not related to collective bargaining even where union membership is compulsory.

5. Power to compel workers to join the union as a condition of continued employment.

6. The right of a union selected by a majority of the workers to bargain for all employees. This includes the right to bargain for those who were compelled to join the union as well as those who can be arbitrarily denied membership.

7. Power to compel the employer to bargain exclusively with the majority union.

8. Absolute authority to deny union membership to workers employed in the bargaining unit, on any grounds or for no reason at all.

9. The right, in some situations, to invade the privacy of workers, even against their wishes. This deprives them of a legal right enjoyed by all other members of society.

10. The right, in some situations, to compel employers to make available for union use the private property of the employer.

11. The right to compel the employer to provide protection against any physical violence on the part of workers who resist invasion of their privacy.

12. Unions are immune from the payment of damages for personal and property injuries inflicted on employers or others by union members engaged in activities, such as strikes or picketing. And this stands even in situations where such activities have been officially authorized and directed by the union.

13. The right to strike for objectives wholly unrelated to any proper subject of collective bargaining. This is in contrast to the severely limited right of an employer to engage in a lockout.

14. The right in some situations, to examine an employer's books and records—including those containing such confidential data as costs, profits, and prices.

15. And finally, the almost complete immunity of unions from any liability, penalty, or restriction under State law under the doctrine of Federal preemption.

Now, I'm sure you realize that no other private organization, institution, or individual in the United States is the beneficiary of such a powerful combination of immunities, benefits, privileges, rights and powers—under either State or Federal law.

And in presenting this list I am not suggesting that all of these special grants, without exception, should be removed. I do it merely to suggest that the entire question of unlimited power for labor unions should be reviewed carefully by the Congress.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House

who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively, all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following response of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SUNLAND, CALIF.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I am very pleased with your resolution (H. Res. 211) and hopes the House will pass it and soon.

Thank you.

Mrs. MARY KENYON.

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
*July 2, 1962.*

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DANIEL J. FLOOD: We support the resolution (H. Res. 211) which would establish a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives and I am writing this to Representative WALTER JUDD and to the chairman, HOWARD W. SMITH.

I have read the book "I Was A Slave in Soviet Russia," by John Noble. Surely Christians in America are obligated to do more than we have done to rescue the Christians being persecuted by communism.

Respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. CLARENCE ZWACK.

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Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I support your measure, House Resolution 211. It is definitely the most effective way at the present time to combat the Soviet Russian uniperio-colonialists.

Sincerely yours,

MYROSLAV SYRYSKY.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

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JACKSON MILLS,
*Freehold, N.J., July 5, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Committee on Rules, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: As an American citizen of Cossack descent, I would like to ask you to expedite House Resolution 211 introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, to establish a Special Committee on Captive Nations.

I am very glad to see that the resolution included the Cossack Nation and my old homeland, Cossackia.

With best wishes for your work.

Very truly yours,

MARIA MOROZOFF.

AMERICAN STANDARD PUBLISHERS,
*Buena Park, Calif., June 24, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: As publisher of American Standard, I wish to congratulate you for your work concerning the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations (H.R. 211).

If freedom is ultimately to triumph throughout the world, it is of vital importance that we keep our attention ever focused upon the plight of those already under the cruel heel of their Communist oppressors.

As you well know, there are those misguided persons in our Government today whose warped philosophy of social progress would have this Nation accept the status quo as imposed by the Communist global conquest. This status quo, they feel, is something we must now live with. It is tantamount to believing that we must accept cancer, heart disease, crime, and poverty.

After all, these too are facts of life, yet we spend millions of dollars in research and development in the struggle to eliminate them as far as will be humanly possible.

To accept the status quo in regard to Communist enslavement of humanity, moreover to accept every new Red gain as another unavoidable extension of this same status quo, has presented every American of conscience with a problem of the greatest magnitude.

This foolish and destructive acceptance philosophy can lead to but one final conclusion: the ultimate acceptance of Red control of the United States, and I believe that many of the people in our Government today are capable of just that type of acceptance.

With all best wishes, and prayers for majority congressional action on much-needed House Resolution 211.

Yours sincerely,

AMERICAN STANDARD PUBLISHERS,
WILLIAM D. GRAFF, *Publisher.*

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## The Russian Computer Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a speech delivered on August 10 by J. Presper Eckert, vice president, Univac Division, Sperry Rand Corp., New York City, at the Northwest Computing Association Conference in Seattle, Wash. Mr. Eckert makes an interesting evaluation of the role of computers in Soviet scientific activity, and has prepared a comparison of where our country stands in relation to the Soviet.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMRADE COMPUTER: THE RUSSIAN COMPUTER TODAY—SOVIET PLANS FOR FUTURE APPLICATIONS—THE OUTLOOK—AMERICA VERSUS RUSSIA

(By J. Presper Eckert, vice president, Univac Division, Sperry Rand Corp., New York City)

Russia's start in the field of electronic data processing has been slow. One reason is that the computer is an American invention. And, although the Russians were very much interested in it from the start—they tried to order an Eniac immediately after it was announced in 1946—the United States was wise enough not to hand computer blueprints to the Russians on a silver platter. But, on the other hand, since we regard the computer as an economic tool, the United States follows an almost completely open policy on publication of computer art in this country. As a result, the U.S.S.R. has made better progress with their computers in recent years.

In my opinion, looking at the overall picture, Russia is at least 2 years behind the United States at this time in the area of electronic computers. Two years ago they were about 5 years behind. In the data-processing field their lag is greater than these figures would indicate.

At present there are between 600 and 800 electronic computers in the Soviet Union compared to 8,000 or 10,000 at work in the United States, depending on just how you define a computer. It should be noted, however, that nearly half of our computers are capable of the big, the complex jobs, while the majority of the 600 to 800 Russian systems can only deal with more restricted and generally simpler problems. Practically all of these Russian systems still rely on vacuum tubes instead of solid-state devices; their peripherals—tape and printing devices, for example—would be considered inadequate and obsolete by American standards.

And now, by a simple comparison, I can indicate to you the magnitude of the data processing problem the Russians are failing to handle.

Let's examine an area in which the electronic computer has made a significant contribution in the United States. Then let's look at a similar problem now developing in the U.S.S.R.

Even in the United States the electronic computer has only been able to stem the tide of paperwork. But it has taken more than 10 years. Back in 1950, 40 percent of our labor force was engaged in clerical work. By 1960, this figure had increased by 11 percent to 51 percent. Last year, the computer was able to hold this increase to 11 percent. It was the first time in more than a decade that no increase was seen in the percentage of people required to keep track of what other people are doing in this country. With our continued population growth—and the fact that more people generate more paperwork—and the ever-growing complexity of government, trade unionism, and business today, just to be able to stem this tide is a major achievement. It means that more people are free to do the meaningful work of the future. This is the result of having superior computers and using them in a sophisticated way. This is the result of being Americans who as part of the free world can think freely and adapt to vital change quickly.

Things are lagging in Russia. The amount of paperwork there still is on the rise. As a matter of fact, the computer center at the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kiev recently simulated the problem of administrative planning for the U.S.S.R. The conclusion reached was that, unless administrative procedures are changed before 1981, 100 percent of the adults in Russia will be required to perform the administrative function. Actually, between 1954 and 1961 the number of people in Russia required to handle accounting and statistical work along increased by 30 percent, according to Sezonov, Deputy Chief of the General Statistical Administration. This is not surprising, for less than 10 percent of Russia's clerical work is mechanized at this time even to the point of using simple desk adding machines. They are short of typewriters, drafting equipment, and copying machines. The dictaphone is almost unheard of there. There is even a shortage of office furniture. Obviously it is not enough

to say that the Russians will have to get better electronic data processing systems and improve their ability to use them.

Russia does have factors on its side in attempting to gain the most for its economy with this new tool of science.

Science, and particularly computing science in the Soviet Union, is the prestige field. The scientist in Russia has the prestige of the movie star here. Their pay is at the top of the scale. Their living accommodations are the finest The top box office attraction in Russia is the academician. Keltish, for example, current president of the Academy of Science, the most coveted scientific position in all the U.S.S.R., is a hero to the people. His work is closely allied with the computer field.

I cannot help but think, when I learn these things, what it was like in my early years. Interested in science, it was not always easy for me as a child; for my contemporaries scorned those who were interested in such a dry and dull subject. In high school I was called the "Prof." Needless to say, this nickname was not particularly meant to flatter me.

The people of the past generation hardly realized there were such things as scientific professions, and my parents were not exceptions. They urged me to study business administration at the University of Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately, even with the publicity given scientific achievements today, the situation has not greatly improved. Last year there was another decrease in the enrollment of American students for engineering courses.

I think that having an extremely favorable attitude toward science and scientists is a decided plus for the Russians.

In the United States we have tried to develop the technology as rapidly as possible to meet our needs and then apply our ideas as widely as possible. Wonderfully, the electronic computer is much more suited to the needs of the United States at this time than it is to the needs of the U.S.S.R. We have economic problems which are manageable with available techniques. Their problems are not manageable by any known techniques. By continued wise use of our computers we should make advances by analyzing where we are going and selecting the best alternatives open to us. When we have reached the point in analysis and planning where we can handle many of our objectives with a reasonable degree of certainty, happily our governmental system is one with enough flexibility to allow us to take advantage of such progress.

I believe the following eight points are worth remembering when we consider Russia's standing in this field:

Russia's start in electronic data processing was slow and they are at least 3 years behind us in the area of electronic computers.

There are 10 times as many electronic computers at work in the United States as there are in the U.S.S.R.

Russian electronic computing equipment is inadequate and obsolete by American standards.

Russia's successes in space, while spectacular, have not required many computers or really fast computers. On the other hand, Russia's economic planning does require fast computers and fast computers are unavailable there.

The Russian Communist, actually an extreme conservative, resists the very changes which he must make if he wants to improve his data processing performance. His actions must rest on the unshakeable basis of Marxist-Leninist economic theory. Because of this and other encumberances, until a few years ago even mathematical logic was out.

The fact that science is the prestige field in Russia is the one advantage they have over the United States in the computer area.

The Russians still find it difficult to bring about transition from handmade computers to units suitable for mass production.

The electronic computer is much more suited to helping solve America's economic problems than the problems of the Soviet's centrally controlled economy.

The marvelous virtue of the capitalistic system is that, after living with it, one recognizes that it is not necessary to control everything in the world in order to survive. The communistic system, epitomized in their ambitions for a planned economy, displays their feeling that they must control everything in order to survive. When and if the Communists see the folly of trying to plan a total economy, can we help them to the realization that it is not necessary to control the world to survive?

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## The Hanford Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON THE HANFORD PROJECT RAISED BY REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD SMITH, DEMOCRAT, OF VIRGINIA, DURING DEBATE BEFORE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON AUGUST 29, 1962

Question. Does the Government assume any obligation?

Answer. Yes. Despite claims by proponents of the contract between the Bonneville Power Administration and the Washington Public Power Supply System that the Government assumes no obligation, any reasonable examination of the proposed contract clearly reveals that the Government, through the Bonneville Power Administration, takes upon itself serious and lasting obligations. For example, Bonneville Power Administration assumes the obligation to supply participants in this project an amount of firm kilowatts of power at prevailing Bonneville rates equal to the amount of the annual financial contribution of such participants to cover amortization and interest charges on the outstanding bonds, full operation and maintenance charges, replacements and repairs on all parts, and such other expenses as become necessary as a result of this arrangement. Bonneville's obligation to supply firm kilowatts of power is not contingent upon the supply of power forthcoming from the Hanford generating plant, but rather upon the annual financial contribution of the participants. This would be true even if at any time and for any reason absolutely no power was produced at the Hanford generating plant for any extended period of time.

Furthermore, various clauses in the contract clearly indicate that Bonneville Power Administration would be the real party at interest and basically would suffer any losses that might accrue. The contract gives Bonneville Power Administration the right to disapprove the rate of interest on Washington Public Power Supply System's revenue bonds issued to finance the project. In addition, all plans and specifications for the generating plant must be approved by Bonneville Power Administration. Likewise, the annual operating budget would be subject to Bonneville Power Administration's approval. The level of maintenance at the project would be under its control, the scheduling of shut downs for repairs and maintenance operations would have to be approved by Bonneville Power Administration. Power from the project could be dispatched only pursuant to Bonneville Power Administration's instructions.

On the basis of these facts, it is fallacious to argue that the Federal Government, through the Bonneville Power Administration, does not assume any obligations for this proposal.

Question. Who pays for the plant? Who pays for the thing that has to be constructed?

Answer. Again, it must be said that any reasonable individual upon careful examination and evaluation of all the facts must conclude that the Federal Government will in the last analysis pay for this project. Bonneville will pay for the project with a guaranteed supply of firm kilowatts of power which have a ready market at a fixed price rather than actual dollars, but it pays for the project nevertheless. As it was brought out in the hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, July 11, 1962 (p. 82), that all the cost of whtasoever nature that the participants incur is paid by the receipt of electricity which is converted into cash by the sale of the electricity. The participants assume no risk with respect to their operation and maintenance or debt service and are sure of being able to pay all the costs because they are going to receive electricity from the Bonneville Power Administration that they can sell to make the payments. During that same hearing, Mr. Charles Luce, Bonneville Power Administrator (p. 91), said the exchange contract assures Washington Public Power Supply System participants of a market for the Hanford power so they can float these bonds. Thus, this contract is a form of security for underwriting the bonds. Mr. Luce also said Bonneville Power Administration was taking a rather large part of the risk in this project.

At another point during the hearings (p. 87), Mr. Luce testified that if a nuclear incident should occur at the Hanford reactor and the insurance did not cover it, "then the Bonneville Administration, under these exchange contracts, would have to deliver, continue to deliver, that amount of power that would be necessary to amortize the bonds as they became due."

Therefore, the net result is that Bonneville Power Administration provides the cash required for the repayment of the revenue bonds issued by Washington Public Power Supply System and all operation and maintenance charges, improvements, replacements, repairs, or any other charges whatsoever. It does this by selling its own power and permitting the purchasers to discharge their obligations for paying off the bonds. Since Bonneville Power Administration's obligation to deliver power to participants is not related to the actual production of power at Hanford, the Federal Government, through the agency of the Bonneville Power Administration, becomes the guarantor to the bondholders of the continued operation of the project for the entire term of the bonds.

Question. Then, does the Government agency; namely, the Bonneville Power Administration, pay for the plant?

Answer. When this question was asked on the floor of the House of Representatives, the answer was given, "No. They do not have to pay 1 penny. The State public power bodies pay for the plant." From the foregoing discussion of the previous question, obviously the answer given is not true. The so-called State public power bodies may be considered merely as the messengers to take the dollars they receive from the sale of the guaranteed supply of power and pay them over to the holders of the bonds. There should be no question, however, but that

it is Bonneville Power Administration itself which has supplied these dollars in the first place in the form of firm kilowatts of marketable power.

Proponents of the proposed contract between Bonneville Power Administration and Washington Public Power Supply System have consistently maintained that it is not the Nation's taxpayers but rather the customers of Bonneville Power Administration who will be required to pay for any possible losses from this arrangement through increased rates for Bonneville power. Mr. Charles Luce, Bonneville Power Administrator, consistently told the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the hearings on these arrangements that should any loss occur it would be covered by an increase in the basic wholesale rates of the Bonneville Power Administration. This may sound good to some people, but, let's look at the record.

It has been obvious since World War II that new sources of hydroelectric power in the Pacific Northwest coming into the Bonneville Power Administration grid were relatively higher cost facilities that were the original Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams. It was also obvious that at a date in the not too distant future Bonneville should increase its rates in accordance with sound business principles. Since 1947, Bonneville Power Administrators have been assuring members of the House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations that such increases in rates were imminent. Since that time, rate review periods came due in 1949, 1954, and 1959. But Bonneville rates have never been increased. In fact, since fiscal 1958 Bonneville Power Administration has been operating at a net deficit annually, and it is estimated that for fiscal 1963 this annual loss may run as high as $16 to $20 million. Even though Administrators have consistently assured members of the Appropriations Committee that rates would be increased to meet anticipated losses, such increases have never been put into effect. Therefore, despite assurances of Charles Luce that any potential losses from Hanford would be covered by a rate increase, it must be said that if the past has taught us anything at all it has taught us it is easier to promise rate increases than to actually deliver.

In order to keep the record straight, the following direct quotations are taken from hearings before the House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations over the past several years:

YEAR 1947

"I have taken this position about that matter, Congressman, that we are required by law to cover the cost of power development. We are doing it, as near as I can determine at the present time, and we will continue to do it for some time in the future.

"It may be that the additional costs under the higher price level that we have now of the new dams when they are built will indicate that those rates should be raised."—Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

YEAR 1948

"I do not think there are any of these operators, either private or public, represented in this group, who have any thought whatever that they are expecting the Federal Government to give them a handout. They are expecting to pay for this under whatever the rules are that the Congress sets up for paying for it. They will have to pass on to their own consumers, then, those costs, whatever they may be."—Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

"If current high-cost levels prevail throughout construction of additional dams and transmission facilities relating thereto, it is possible that some increase in the wholesale rate will be required in order to maintain payout requirements."—Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

YEAR 1950

"In 1954 we think we have to make a rate increase * * *. The rates that we are charging now cover costs, in accordance with the requirements of law. And they will continue to do so in our opinion until 1954. They may continue to do so beyond that, but we are at least reserving, and on the basis of our estimates, notifying all of our customers, that there is a possibility of a rate increase in 1954, although we have notified all of them that in our opinion such an increase will in no event be more than $5 per kilowatt-year."—Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

YEAR 1951

"We have notified all our customers that there will probably be a rate increase in 1954 on our wholesale power. In no event will it be more than $5 per kilowatt-year * * * we do feel that by 1954, in order to continue showing a net income over and above all expenses, including interest, we will have to raise that wholesale rate."—Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

YEAR 1953

"Representative BEN JENSEN, Republican, of Iowa. In order to comply with the law and pay back the investment, that part which the Congress appropriates for those things that must be paid back, the present rates will not be sufficient because of the increased cost of construction and operation. Is that a fair statement?"

Dr. RAVER. That is correct * * * and 1954 is the year when we think we will have to begin raising these rates * * *. We run into a difficult period here for about 5 years, at least, to cover our total costs, and we are planning to make these rate changes do it in 1954."

YEAR 1954

"And we presently have under study the problem as to how much the rates are going to have to be increased and when. We have stated in our annual reports for the last 2 years that as the new dams come in, we will have to have increased rates, so the public has been told that. We have not kept it from them. And we are studying the matter right now to determine how much the increase will have to be and when it will have to be put into effect."—Mr. E. D. Ostrander, Bonneville Power Administration Controller.

YEAR 1956

"To really answer your question, briefly I would say there will probably be some change in our rate structure."—Dr. William A. Pearl, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

YEAR 1957

"About 2 weeks ago we announced there would not be an increase in rates for the year beginning December 1957. That is to say, there will not be an increase before December 1958."—Dr. William A. Pearl, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator.

YEAR 1962

"If our revenues are insufficient to do that, because of deliveries that we have to make under the conditions that you have assumed, Mr. Bates, then we would simply have to raise our rates."—Mr. Charles Luce, Bonneville Power Administration Administrator, hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 87th Congress, 2d session, page 88.

## U.S. Policy in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there have been a number of editorial comments on the critical situation confronting us in Cuba and U.S. policy on Cuba. I have been impressed by editorials in the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., of September 5, the Augusta Chronicle of September 4, the News and Courier, of Charleston, S.C., of September 8, and the Dallas Morning News of September 7. I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) Record, Sept. 5, 1962]

TROUBLE BREWING IN CUBA

A technician is an expert in some specialized field, such as a science; military science, for example. In modern warfare, all soldiers are experts. So whether our Government's identification of the Russians in Cuba as technicians, or the private and semiofficial designation of them as fighting men, is correct may be just a question of semantics which boils down to the same answer.

In straight talk, they are troops from the Soviet bloc and they are there as part of a continuing Communist buildup.

They may be there because Castro fears rebellion and seeks protection against revolt of his own people and military forces. The people are restless and hungry, their crops are poor, the land that Castro seized for them is being taken back by the government, food is scarce, prices are rising, wages are frozen, machinery is being idled by breakdowns, black markets are flourishing.

Castro, who stole the Cuban nation and committed its people to Soviet captivity, admits the desperation of his position and tries to shift the blame to his industrial victims.

"They left us chaos and anarchy, which are the essence of the capitalist means of production," he ranted to a student congress. "They left us their waste. Not 100,000 tractors, but just a few thousand tractors and 300,000 cars. With them you cannot produce. With them you only spend tires, spare parts, gasoline. With that we cannot have more milk, more meat, no new clothes and shoes.

"At present, poverty, the one they left us; underdevelopment, lack of industries, hostility, blockade, aggression, saboteurs, criminals paid by Yankee millionaires." In attempting to shift the blame for his country's woes, he paints a sordid picture of its distress.

Yes, he may need those technicians to bring order out of "chaos and anarchy" and protect him from the wrath of the Cubans he betrayed. Or he may need them for some military sortie against another Latin American country to give him the aura of heroism he so sorely needs to regain.

"Where are the students in Venezuela?" he asked, as he dreamed across the sea to other triumphs. "In the street combating

the reactionary and submissive government. Where are the students in Guatemala? In the street, fighting and dying against the puppet, Ydigoras. Where are the students in Colombia? On strike, fighting against reactionary power and unpopular measures. Where are the students in Peru? In the street, fighting against the military junta. Where are the Argentine students? In the street, fighting against the guerrillas." He saw them all as members of his team in a Communist revolution.

The Soviet technicians may be in Cuba to consummate the communism of the unhappy island and make it a fully integrated satellite. Or they may be there to defend it from disenchanted Cubans who plan to retake their homeland with assistance from the United States.

Soviet bloc shipments are arriving at Havana in unusually large numbers and under suspicious circumstances. A hotel in the capital, where the technicians were quartered, was shelled by small boats manned by Miami-based exile Cuban students. Cuban naval craft fired at a U.S. plane over international waters. Castro denied the shooting and rebutted the allegation with an array of charges of American military violations.

Whatever is happening in Cuba, it appears to portend even more startling and dramatic developments in the early future.

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[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Sept. 4, 1962]

### Our Puzzling Cuban Policy

The new Democratic administration will also affirm our historic policy of opposition to the establishment anywhere in the Americas of governments dominated by foreign powers, a policy now being undermined by Soviet threats to the freedom and independence of Cuba * * * the United States under a Democratic administration will not be deterred from fulfilling its obligations and solemn responsibilities under its treaties and agreements with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Nor will the United States * * * permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international, atheistic communism in the Western Hemisphere.—From the Democratic platform adopted July 12, 1960.

In light of the President's prompt dispatch of troops to Thailand when our interests in Laos were threatened, and the strengthening of our garrison in West Berlin in the face of warlike gestures by the Soviets, his dilatory tactics toward Cuba are puzzling.

In this instance we are not dealing with an isolated, little understood area of Asia, nor with a problem centered in Europe. Cuba is 90 miles from the coast of the United States, a stark and growing peril to this country. In fact, to quote the office wag, it's only about 550 missile miles from Broad Street.

We are not unaware that any overt act on our part to topple Castro could end by some American boys being killed or wounded. But we think it would be the height of naivete to continue to live in a fool's paradise and expect the menace of Castroism and Cuban communism to disappear of their accord.

Certainly, as Senator Strom Thurmond pointed out last week, the danger that the situation holds for the United States was recognized 2 years ago. "If the circumstances in 1960 and early 1961 justified decisions by two administrations that a U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba was essential, how can the far worse circumstances of today require less?" he asked.

Obviously, the Chronicle is in no position to know what steps the Kremlin might take to strengthen Cuban resistance to an invasion. In fact, there is no certainty that even the CIA is in possession of any firm knowledge of Soviet intent. Yet, if past performances may be utilized as parallels, the danger of open Russian warfare appears inappreciable.

Since the Korean war we have moved forces into sensitive areas on several fronts without provoking the Soviets into combat. Information now, in fact, discloses that had the United States acted forcefully a year ago, the "wall of shame" separating East and West Berlin would never have been constructed.

It doesn't follow, of course, that nothing we do will continue to go uncontested, but we will make no gain if we take no risk.

This line of reasoning doesn't prompt us to hold, necessarily, with the young Cuban who led the hit-and-run sea raid on Havana that the United States should provide the Cuban exiles with military aid because Castro is receiving help from the Soviet Union. But it seems the height of folly to continue to do nothing and watch Castro's arsenal bulge with Communist arms and aircraft and his troops become combatwise under Soviet technical training.

The reluctance of President Kennedy to commit American men to the hazards of battle and the Nation to the dangers of war is understandable and appreciated. The eager young sea raider, however, may have a point. We encouraged the Cuban exiles in April of 1961—then let them down by less than an honest, cooperative effort on our part.

It seems logical, therefore, to believe that success would attend another try, provided we equip these eager beavers with proper materiel and furnish them with topflight leadership and American naval and aviation support.

No less an effort was promised in the Democratic platform—and the United States may not have to many more chances to eliminate this festering cancer on our southern shore.

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[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Sept. 7, 1962]

### Realities in Cuba

From every indication, it seems that President Kennedy is about the only American citizen unwilling to face the realities of the situation in Cuba today. Unfortunately, he is the one American who must face reality. He is the only one with sufficient authority to deal with this situation.

On Tuesday the President warned Russia and Cuba that the United States would take "whatever means may be necessary" to prevent expansion of communism in the Western Hemisphere. The News commented that it was a welcome stiffening of our backbone—but was it a reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine?

The Monroe Doctrine pledges that this Nation will prevent extension of alien systems into the hemisphere. Can it be denied that the mere presence of Castro's regime in Cuba is a violation of the doctrine?

Khrushchev boasted recently that the doctrine is dead. In fact it has been dead for nearly 4 years—ever since we permitted Castro to set up a Soviet beachhead 90 miles from our shores.

Even the State Department reluctantly admitted, in a statement issued last December—long before there was evidence of a significant number of Soviet troops and weapons in Cuba—that "Cuba under the Castro regime represents a serious threat to the collective security of the American Republics."

This the President denies. He is still insisting that those Soviet troops are merely "technicians"—in spite of powerful and reliable evidence to the contrary, including boasts from Havana and the Kremlin. Moreover, Mr. Kennedy clings to the fiction that the Soviet weapons (which he admits are there) are purely defensive.

There is no such thing as a strictly "defensive" weapon—or at least there hasn't been anything of the kind since the body shield went out of fashion. Whether or not these weapons were designed for defensive purposes, they can be used with great effect in the hands of an aggressor. They can be used, for example, to protect the Castro regime at home from internal revolt, while the aggressor forces now used for that purpose are released to undermine neighboring countries.

In spite of these facts, the President pursues a timid course, promising only that we will try to "isolate" communism in the hemisphere to Cuba; that when Castro starts to drop bombs on the United States, or its neighbors to the south, we may call out the militia. Meanwhile, we are doing nothing to prevent subversion in the hemisphere.

What happens when the next Communist beachhead is established—in Brazil or British Guinea, for example? Will we then merely try to "isolate" these Red outposts, too?

When are we going to stop isolating communism and began to run it out of the hemisphere?

When are we going to get off the defensive? When, in short, are we going to take a few positive actions?

Thanks to Senator Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, we now know that our faithful NATO allies—Britain, Germany, Norway, and Greece—have been partially responsible for the Soviet buildup in Cuba. Ships from these countries have transported most of the weapons Castro has received recently from Russia and the East European satellites.

Months ago we tried to boycott Cuba so that this kind of thing would not happen. But typically we refused to do anything more than "request" our allies to assist in the boycott. Phil Newsome, foreign news analyst for the United Press International, stated yesterday that such a boycott "never can become truly effective without military measures."

The hour is late. It has become obvious that "military measures" have become a necessity to deal with the Cuban threat. This doesn't mean, necessarily, that we have to invade Cuba—though that may soon become essential. But at least we need a military blockade—a naval patrol—to surround the Red island outpost in the Caribbean.

This would have the dual effect of preventing a further arms buildup of Cuba by cutting off its supply line with the Soviets and also would truly isolate Castro from exporting his revolution elsewhere in the hemisphere.

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[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Sept. 8, 1962]

### A Time for Decision

Wallowing in indecision over what to do about Red Cuba, the United States presents a sorry spectacle before the world. Here is this country, greatest power on earth—defender of liberty and guardian of free nations around the globe—incapable of removing a small thorn from its own side.

After spending hundreds of billions of dollars on national defense, Senator Homer Capehart warns that the United States may have to call up Army Reserves by the end of winter to deal with communism in Cuba, a nation of 6 million population.

What kind of Government is it that embarks on major wars 10,000 miles from its shores in southeast Asia, yet sinks into hesitant confusion over dealing with a military threat 90 miles from our mainland? How real this threat is may be gaged from Senator Strom Thurmond's citation of "substantial evidence taht there are now at least four intermediate-range ballistic missile bases in Cuba."

This climate of weakness reminds an older generation of the late 1930's, when Great Britain and France could not make up their

minds over Hitler's aggression in Europe. David Lawrence, in a syndicated column published in the Charleston Evening Post, has pointed out that "the situation strangely parallels the 1930's, which Winston Churchill describes in his book 'The Gathering Storm' published in 1948."

Churchill wrote of the "milestones of disaster" and of the series of appeasements in Hitler's aggressions in the Rhineland, in Austria and in Czechoslovakia, until finally the climax came in Poland.

The United States acquiesced in Cuba. It did more than that, for it helped Fidel Castro rise to power. While Russian arms pour into Cuba, President Kennedy, like Neville Chamberlain—the umbrella man in the days of Nazi invasion—finds the threat insufficiently grave for decisive action.

Under the British parliamentary system, it was possible for Chamberlain the appeaser to be replaced with the resolute Churchill. But the constitutional system of the United States affords no similar opportunity for changing leaders. The only way to halt the disaster in Cuba and to bolster the entire foreign policy is for public opinion to force the President into doing what must be done for the security—indeed for the survival—of the United States of America.

If the President feels that he needs a legal charter for decisive action against a threat to our territory, he can find it in the Monroe Doctrine. This is an American document that must be interpreted by Americans. Nikita Khrushchev has usurped the role of defining it, and he has defined the doctrine as out-of-date and meaningless. It is up to President Kennedy, as Commander in Chief, to scotch the peril facing the Nation in Cuba. He must make plain that the destiny of this hemisphere will be shaped by Americans, not Russians. These are the responsibilities that face our President in this time of decision.

## Rocking Chair Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Economic Committee followed the Ways and Means Committee in holding hearings on the economic condition of our country and the arguments pro and con for a tax quickie to stimulate our economy. A byproduct of the Joint Economic Committee hearings was an article by economic columnist Mr. J. A. Livingston, who was one of the witnesses, entitled "Finance Tax Cut at Bureau of Engraving."

I enjoyed the column very much as anyone familiar with my economic views can well understand. However, Mr. Stanley Ruttenberg, director, Department of Research, AFL–CIO, another of our witnesses, did not. This, too, is understandable.

I want to help move the national debate along so I am setting out Mr. Livingston's column, Mr. Ruttenberg's reply to Mr. Livingston, a copy of which he generously sent to me, and my reply to Mr. Ruttenberg:

BUSINESS OUTLOOK: FINANCE TAX CUT AT BUREAU OF ENGRAVING

(By J. A. Livingston)

Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, is short, stocky, and stubbornly matter of fact.

"But where are we going to get the money?"

Always politely, always quietly. Never did his voice rise. But oh, so persistently, did he ask that question.

The witness before the Joint Economic Committee was Stanley Ruttenberg, director of research of the AFL–CIO. Ruttenberg favored an immediate tax cut of "approximately $5 billion," to terminate December 31. "The impact on the economy would be the equivalent of almost $20 billion a year," he said.

How would Ruttenberg achieve this 4-for-1 fiscal tour de force?

He'd reduce "witholding taxes by $10 a week for 10 weeks for each taxpayer, and taxpayers whose withholding tax is less than $10 a week would be able to apply immediately for a tax refund that would permit them to have a total tax cut of $100." A $5 billion cut in one quarter would be tantamount to $20 billion a year.

At this point, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, suavely asked if Ruttenberg didn't feel that Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin Jr., could impose a "Russian veto" on the program by making money tight. Wouldn't a rise in interest rates run directly counter to tax-cut stimulation?

"I would hope," responded Ruttenberg adroitly, "that the Reserve Board would maintain a monetary policy consistent with economic expansion."

Then Representative CURTIS got in his licks. He hadn't noticed in Mr. Ruttenberg's prepared statement a plan for raising $5 billion. "Do you think the Treasury could sell $5 billion of E-bonds to the public?"

Ruttenberg allowed that might be difficult.

"Well, then," repeated CURTIS, "where do we get the money? I'm a member of the House Ways and Means Committee. It's our responsibility to see that the Treasury has the funds necessary to conduct the Government's business.

"You, and other witnesses have appeared before this committee and the House Ways and Means Committee and suggested, 'cut taxes,' but you don't submit a plan of financing. One must be the counterpart of the other."

Ruttenberg promised to submit a proposal. But the committee wasn't through with him.

Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, had misgivings about the 4-for-1 assumption. Did Mr. Ruttenberg feel certain that people would spend this money or would they save it? He, himself, suspected that a temporary tax cut wouldn't have the same impact as a permanent tax reduction that people could count on—year in and out.

Well, answered Ruttenberg, if you knew workers, and he thought he did, they'd spend the money, and fast.

But, countered Senator PROXMIRE, people couldn't employ a shortrun tax cut on longrun purchases. They wouldn't contact new installment debt on $100.

"Maybe they'd use the money to pay off old debt," the Senator suggested.

"That would be fine," responded Ruttenberg, "then they could start all over again." [Laughter.]

Senator PROXMIRE, unconvinced, turned to a new subject.

"Do you think that once the Congress granted a 3-month tax reduction it could withdraw it? I'm thinking of the political realities. Wouldn't people expect us to continue it?"

Said Ruttenberg: "I think the Congress could review the situation on January 5, 6, or 7, when it reconvenes."

All through Ruttenberg's testimony, through sheer force of character, I managed silence. As a witness, I was bursting with desire to help him out.

Why, he could have handled CURTIS and PROXMIRE in one fell razzle-dazzle. Why not just hand every taxpayer, whether he pays $100 in taxes a year or not (for Ruttenberg didn't cover this point) a brandnew, fresh $100 bill?

That would help employment at the U.S. Bureau of Printing and Engraving which would have to print 50 million new $100 bills.

It would help to popularize the portrait of Benjamin Franklin, who graces the C note. And it would answer Representative CURTIS' question: "Where's the money coming from?"

Answer: From the printing press.

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AUGUST 20, 1962.

Mr. J. S. LIVINGSTON,
*The Washington Post,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. LIVINGSTON: Your August 15 column, "Finance Tax Cut at Bureau of Engraving," prompts the old saying, "It's a shame to spoil a good story with the truth." But you owe your readers at least an accurate report of events you witnessed. The column falsifies facts.

No one could guess what happened at the August 10 Joint Economic Committee hearings. The transcript shows:

1. When Congressman CURTIS asked me to explain how to finance a deficit resulting from a tax cut, I described several technical methods for financing it. I did not, as you reported, promise to "submit a proposal." I did present sound, acceptable economic methods for financing the prospective deficit. A copy of my response is attached.

2. You attended and participated in the hearings and asked for a tax cut of a different kind. Your fictional account of how you "through sheer force of character" managed to contain your desire to "help" me "out" by indicating that the printing press could print money is, therefore, very funny, but it is not true. You merely advocated a different kind of tax cut from the kind I was advocating. You may find to your horror that the American people think that all tax cut advocates think money grows on trees if you make fun of any tax cut, just because labor supports it. Economists of every political hue are concerned right now about the need for tax cuts.

You have the right to disagree with me, to ridicule my views. However, you have no right to falsify the facts. It is too bad, it seems to me, not only that you should feel that you must result to falsehood to argue against the kind of tax cut I was advocating, but also that you fail to allow your readers to understand that what I described as a means of financing was technically sound. This is true not only for the tax cut I suggested, but also for the tax cut you suggested. Any tax cut requires financing. Tax cuts of various kinds have been proposed to stimulate the economy. Until the stimulus results in additional revenue, deficit financing is necessary. The public should know that.

It should also know that the President of the United States, the Council of Economic Advisers, Members of Congress from both political parties, the chamber of commerce and various business groups have all considered tax cuts as necessary means of spur-

ring the economy. Their suggestions have differed, but all would have required deficit financing until the necessary stimulus had been provided.

It seems too bad, therefore, for you to try to ridicule as nonexistent a very real economic problem which all of these groups do recognize. It seems very odd and strange for you to ignore the fact that all these other groups have asked for tax cuts and that you also have advocated them. Do you think the funny joke you make about printing press money applies to the thinking of the President of the United States, to the Council of Economic Advisers, to the Members of Congress, to the chamber of commerce, and to J. A. Livingston when they consider and sometimes advocate the necessity for a tax cut to spur the economy? Or is it only for labor spokesmen whose views you don't have the courtesy to report, whose colloquies with Congressmen you deliberately distort, that such ridicule is appropriate? And is this because you have decided, as you told the Joint Economic Committee that day, that you think the National Association of Manufacturers is now correct?

Sincerely,

STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG,
*Director,*
*Department of Research.*

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CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., September 4, 1962.*

Mr. STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG,
*Director, Department of Research, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. RUTTENBERG: Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Mr. J. A. Livingston commenting upon his column of August 15, 1962.

I enjoyed the humor of the column, but perhaps that was because I was on the same side of his economic philosophy.

I think your reply misses the basic point in the national debate over the proposed tax quickie. The point is that those who advance the theory that deficit financing per se stimulates an economy must assume the burden of proof, just as anyone who advances a novel theory should assume this burden.

To date, the professed followers of Lord Keynes' economic theory that deficit financing will stimulate an economy by increasing consumer purchasing power have been begging the question, and insulting those who refuse to adopt this theory by accusing them of being neolithic in their thinking.

I think it is time that this school of economic thinking started proving its point, if it can. You were one of a long line of witnesses appearing before both the Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee, as I pointed out when I interrogated you, who advocated a tax cut to stimulate the economy but who did not come in with prepared remarks to discuss the vital issue—how would the deficit that this created be financed? What would the economic effect of marketing that additional amount of Government bonds have on our present economy, struggling as it is with a large deficit and with a balance-of-foreign-payment problem, and yet breaking new economic records as measured in gross national product and innovation of new products and services?

I appreciated your willingness to discuss the questions on this point I posed after you had made your prepared remarks, just as those who preceded you had proved willing. But in your instance, as in the others, it was obvious that the remarks were the result of improvisation rather than deep study.

You, along with your predecessors, fell back essentially to the supposition that the deficit would be financed by the increased economic growth that the deficit would produce. As I pointed out, this begged the question. The question is, Will Federal deficits stimulate an economy, under any circumstances and, in particular, under the present circumstances. If so, how? Answering this, of course, requires full discussion of the economic problems involved in debt management. No witness for a tax cut quickie had one word to say in his prepared remarks about the problems of debt management.

Isn't it about time the theory of deficit financing be supported by straightforward argument and reference to economic history instead of the appeal to "authorities," as does your letter? This is the 20th century, not the Middle Ages. Facts and arguments, not "authorities," decide the points at issue.

There are many economists who do not scoff at a balanced Federal budget; there are many who do not believe that deficit financing stimulates an economy. President Kennedy asked for a national debate on the subject but, instead of a debate, we get a name-calling contest.

I think Mr. Livingston was on entirely sound grounds in spoofing the deficit financiers by pointing out that devoid of its sophistication the theory is no more than giving printing-press money to the potential consumers in the society. This theory has never worked in the past and there seems to be less logic to suggest that it might work in modern America. In fact, if anything, it would take us backward to the frontier days of the 1800's which seem to so fascinate our currently ruling politicians in the White House.

I can't understand why it is so difficult for people to realize that our society has advanced economically to a point no society has ever reached before. Our economy is so dynamic that it is creating serious growing pains. Yet the New Frontier seeks to treat growing pains as if they were symptoms of a tired and rundown condition requiring rocking chair treatment. This kind of medication can stop the growing pains all right—by stopping growth. We will surely get stagnation and ultimate economic death through this kind of backward and forward motion, going nowhere.

However, I enjoyed your response to Mr. Livingston. Usually I am the one who complains that news commentators miss my points.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

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## Promotion of Sale and Use of Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, much is being written about our wheat surplus, but seldom do we get information regarding some of the outstanding work that is being done to promote the sale and use of wheat and wheat products.

In 1957, our State established the Kansas Wheat Commission. Its assignment was to find and develop new markets for wheat, and it has been most successful.

Recently Don Kendall, of the Hutchinson News, wrote an article in which he discussed the outstanding work of this group. I was unanimous consent that the article be made a part of these remarks and printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KANSAS WHEAT COMMISSION AND GREAT PLAINS WHEAT, INC., ARE DOING THE JOBS THEY SET OUT TO DO

(By Don Kendall)

HUTCHINSON, KANS.—In the spring of 1957 a new State agency set up office in Hutchinson. Its name: Kansas Wheat Commission. Its job: Find and develop new markets for wheat.

In January 1959 what is now a five-State organization was formed at Garden City. Its name: Great Plains Wheat, Inc. Its job: Develop markets abroad as a foreign arm of the Kansas Wheat Commission.

The Kansas Wheat Commission was created by the 1957 legislature's Kansas Wheat Act which provided that farmers would pay a penny tax on each 5 bushels of wheat sold. This money would be used by the new agency to promote a crop which rapidly was developing into the Nation's No. 1 farm problem.

Today the wheat officials point with pride at what has happened:

1. Three out of five bushels of wheat produced in Kansas this year eventually will be sold in foreign countries.

2. Transportation rates have been reduced to some coastal points to enable more competitive movement of inland grain for export.

3. New food uses have been found and more are coming.

4. An international network of wheat offices has been established in Europe, Africa, South America and Asia to help acquaint buyers with Kansas wheat.

5. Hundreds of foreign grain men, flour millers and backers have been brought to the Great Plains to see for themselves the supply and quality of the area's chief crop.

6. The United States has emerged as the leading wheat exporter in the world and its reputation for quality, sagging a few years ago, is being bolstered.

The organizations don't claim their efforts alone have brought about these developments. But they have occurred, primarily since farmers organized to help promote their wares.

Walt Graber, 55-year-old Reno County farmer, who was hired as Kansas Wheat Commission administrator 5 years ago, comments:

"I think we can point to areas of progress that no one can argue with. It has been uphill all the way—don't mistake that—but I think our exports, as an example, speak for themselves."

In 1957 U.S. wheat exports reached a peak for the previous decade, around 525 million bushels, or about half an average U.S. crop. Then exports began to slide.

The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 has had tremendous impact on U.S. wheat exports. Basically, the law provides foreign aid to needy countries in form of surplus U.S. farm commodities, including wheat.

Under this law last year, more than 400 million of the 662 million bushels moved abroad. This, some critics say, is "dumping" on the world market and cannot be attributed to the work of any promotional group.

The facts remain that since 1958 U.S. wheat exports have increased from a low of 400 million bushels to an estimated 730 million bushels this year.

Cash markets—wheat sold for hard dollars—also have developed in this period. Last year cash sales of U.S. wheat rose by nearly 30 million bushels.

While domestic per capita consumption of wheat indicates a continuing decline, new wheat foods appear taking up some of the slack. Sale abroad of ready-to-eat wheat

products also is a valuable outlet for the Kansas farmer.

The Kansas Wheat Commission collects approximately $450,000 a year from the special tax. Twenty percent is turned over to the State general fund. The remainder is used by the commission as it sees fit.

Foreign market development is handled by Great Plains Wheat, which is headquartered in Garden City. The Kansas Wheat Commission pays about $180,000 annually out of wheat tax receipts for support of Great Plains Wheat. Through Great Plains Wheat, the Kansas Wheat Commission reaches into four continents.

Great Plains Wheat was supported, after its establishment in 1959, by State wheat agencies in Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado. Since then North Dakota and South Dakota have become Great Plains Wheat members.

Great Plains Wheat maintains an office in Washington and others in Europe, Africa, South America, and Asia to help develop markets.

Clifford Hope, of Garden City, former Kansas Congressman, is Great Plains Wheat president.

Hope's assistant and executive secretary of Great Plains Wheat is Bill Crotinger, a large-scale wheat farmer in Greeley County.

Starting several months ago, Great Plains Wheat concentrated on bringing young West German technicians and tradesmen to work 6 months each in U.S. wheat industry. One of the requirements, Crotinger said, is that the trainees agree to return to West Germany and work for their home firms—and presumably they will spread the word about U.S. wheat.

"We feel West Germany is the key to the European Common Market as far as we're concerned," he said.

Another country is proving to be more than a future possibility. Japan, prior to Great Plains Wheat, was importing none from this area, only a little white wheat raised in the Pacific Northwest.

This year Japan will buy almost 14 million bushels from the United States, Crotinger said.

A rail freight rate reduction went into effect this year from the Great Plains breadbasket to west coast ports, applying only to wheat moving into Asian markets.

"Now we are competitive on the west coast with Canada as far as wheat is concerned," he said.

Before the reduction, he explained, it cost the United States $6 to $9 more than Canada to put a ton of wheat in position for export. Consequently, Japan could get wheat cheaper from Canada.

The rail rate reduction was worked out mainly at instigation of the Kansas Association of Wheat Growers and its national brotherhood. Kansas Association of Wheat Growers is a private organization distinct from the Kansas Wheat Commission, which is prohibited by law from negotiating freight rates.

## Physical Fitness in the Space Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT R. BARRY**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, the schools in Westchester, N.Y., County are regarded as successful pioneers in correlating physical fitness with academic discipline. This is achieved under the State department of education's physical education, health, recreation and safety syllabus.

In keeping with the theme for increased physical fitness standards among our Nation's youth, as emphasized by President Eisenhower and reiterated by President Kennedy, the public and private schools in Westchester County, the municipal recreation organizations in the villages, towns, and cities, and many industrial and civic groups have received, through the courtesy of the Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, a printed folder of a speech made recently to honor schoolboy athletes.

Written by Col. Frank J. Kobes, professor and director of athletics at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y., the talk entitled "Physical Fitness in the Space Age," is one which should be shared by every school and every community in the Nation. I suggest that my colleagues make the speech available to their State commissioners of education with a notation that Colonel Kobes' comments serve as a basis for a memorandum to all schools within their respective States.

My colleagues who have nominated many young men to the service Academies, know that physical fitness is a prime preentry yardstick, and that physical education instruction at the Academies is designed to aid in developing the whole person so necessary for military effectiveness.

Colonel Kobes' timely speech follows:

PHYSICAL FITNESS IN THE SPACE AGE

(By Col. Frank J. Kobes)

This has been called the space age.

It has also been called the age of anxiety or the aspirin age—whatever its name, it is a protective age.

Parents protect their children from the jolts which they themselves absorbed.

The state protects its citizens against unemployment, sickness, profit or loss.

Schools, more and more, protect their pupils from the reliable old corrective of trial and error.

The final result of this overprotection is stultification—a cocoon which strangles the butterfly.

This is an age of leisure and abundance. We have so much food that it is collected and hoarded in storage bins throughout the country. The 4-day workweek for the same wages as the old 6-day week is already upon us.

Today also, we have 16 million men and women past the age of 65 who are classified as aged. These 16 million, in just 15 short years from now will become 20 million. Many of these elderly people are not really living but merely existing, being kept alive by drugs and medicines, not able to lead active lives.

The space age student is one who is overfed, overweight, and underactive. This generation of the tallest, heaviest and most nearly disease-free youth in all history is being victimized by prosperity—to be specific, by an age of mechanization, specialization, and materialism. More than likely, he finds recreation in sitting or watching, or listening or riding.

The space age curriculum is loaded with abstract intellectualism. Priority is given to the development of a select group of minds that are supposed to solve the mysteries of space. We pile more and more academic work on our children during school hours and send them home with more to do at night. There's nothing wrong with hard work but there is something wrong with overemphasis on academic training at the expense of good health and physical fitness. Should this trend continue, our children will certainly become a race of "egg-heads walking around on birdlegs."

I get the feeling that we are riding off in all directions at once and forgetting that the foundation stones of any successful community, State, or country, are not machines, but people.

Perhaps you have heard of the Army officer whose radar equipment announced the arrival of unknown squadrons hurrying toward him at a supersonic speed. As a responsible chief, he had the power and perhaps the obligation to give an immediate order for nuclear counterattack. He did not give this order. It was discovered later that the alarm was due to an error in the detectors.

Can you imagine what went on in that man's conscience during those few minutes? To deliberate? To hesitate? A decision had to be made—quickly.

Thank God, in the chain of automation there was still a man, and this man had the responsibility of making a decision contrary to the orders given to him by automation. He was the last link in the chain, and he knew how to break it.

Arnold Toynbee, the eminent historian, stated recently that, of the 21 great civilizations in the history of mankind, 19 of them were destroyed, not by the armed strength of attacking enemies, but by moral and physical decay from within. Let's not forget that it is our job to bring up our young men and women to be human beings, not mechanized robots.

We tell our cadets over and over again that mental strength and intelligence are essential for any Army officer. It is vital that they know well their military tactics and strategy. But the greatest tactician in the world is of no use to his men if he doesn't have the physical strength and moral fiber to lead them on the battlefield.

And the same is true of every citizen in these United States of ours. If we do not possess the physical fitness and moral courage to meet the challenges which face us, we are losers before we get started.

We often refer to the golden age of the Greeks. They believed in educating the whole man physically, mentally, and morally. The Spartans, in particular, were great believers in the fact that health and physical fitness were the very foundations for building good citizens. When a child was born, he would be examined by his father and if there was evidence of physical weakness or ill health, the child was abandoned on a mountainside to perish.

Thank goodness that our respect for human life today considers such a screening method unthinkable for developing a high quality of people. However, the pendulum appears to have swung too far in the opposite direction. Too many of our school administrators are of the same opinion as one of our supposedly outstanding college presidents who stated not too many years ago, that when he feels the urge to exercise, he lies down until the feeling goes away.

Any really informed person knows that man develops a total entity, that growth and development of any part is related to the growth and development of the whole. And, that if active cells are wanted in the brain or any other part of the body, activity of the total organism is a necessity.

No wonder President Kennedy is concerned about physical fitness.

Even though we can earn a living without perspiring, and enjoy life without moving much more than an elbow, from the standpoint of physiology, the body needs physical activity. This is a basic requirement for successful and productive living, and it will always remain a requirement. If our job does not require us to be physically active

then we must seek activity elsewhere, or eventually atrophy as a people and as a Nation. It is just that simple.

Physical fitness is not only the key to a healthy body, but it is the basis of creative intellectual activity and adjustment to our ever changing environment. We don't understand all the aspects of this—the molding of a sound body with an energetic mind is complicated. Nevertheless, it is there. We have made several studies at the Academy which have convinced us that this is true.

We must be constantly aware of the fact that in 20 years, few men will have to work with their hands. Also, we must realize that all those young men here tonight, and their associates, have a life expectancy of about 22 years more than their grandparents.

We must do something to prepare them to live these additional years with dignity and vigor. We must educate them to realize the need for the habit of physical activity. They must understand that in their leisure time they may seek release from the fast pace of today's world and tomorrow's world through physical activities which are relaxing and which counterbalance their otherwise physically inactive routines of daily living.

The capstone of any physical fitness program is competitive athletics. This is the incentive or the frosting on the cake. It is this program that has unlimited potential for educating young people—especially developing in them what I like to call moral fiber. By moral fiber, I mean such attributes of character as courage, the will to win, daring, perseverance, sportsmanship.

It is a recognized fact that the worth of any activity for character development depends upon the nature and intensity of the emotions it arouses, and the standards which control the expression of these emotions. Because physical and athletic activities involve the deepest and most powerful of human emotions, they are of exceptional value from the character development standpoint. In addition, they appeal strongly to young men, and elicit their energetic, enthusiastic participation.

Of all the experiences which they undergo, none possesses more opportunities for the building of these desirable moral qualities. Since many of the activities are contests in which the participants are brought into close contact with one another, and in which personal courage and daring play very decided roles—manliness, aggressiveness, confidence, determination, and the ability to think and act quickly and efficiently under pressure are developed to a degree unattainable by other means.

Hundreds of young men in whom these attributes might have never been awakened are, for the first time, given a chance to find themselves. This laboratory of the sports field simulates the conditions of life where leadership, self-discipline, and teamwork are experienced over and over again.

Athletics are an integral part of a boy's educational experience, not just a diversion or safety valve for excess animal energy.

Athletics offer the boy the chance to meet the challenge of his own inadequacy face to face, and do something about it as no other activity does. They give him the spirit of adventure, the opportunity to dare.

An end in football may wear a protective face mask, but he still must tackle a hard running back. If he flinches or fails, he knows. Negotiations will not pin another wrestler's shoulders to the mat. Promises will not put a soccer ball into the goal. Guidance conseling will not raise a batting average or give a pitcher control. Only the athlete can accomplish these feats and he does so, primarily alone. It is the athletic program's function to see to it that he faces the task squarely and does not hide from it. The help it gives is to help the boy gain satisfaction and confidence from continuous self-improvement.

Vigorous spirit and tough minds are usually found in strong bodies. I, for one, am convinced that our present day society and its educational system provides no means for toughening or tempering the bodies and minds of our youth other than through the medium of competitive sports.

Rather than deemphasizing athletics, we should reemphasize them on a sound educational basis. We must set up and adhere to high standards across the board—physical, mental, moral; and we, as parents and teachers and coaches and spectators, must show the way by our teaching and our example.

We are the ones who have let the kids down. In our haste to enjoy the luxuries provided by our high standard of living, we are denying our children the opportunity to fully grow.

This, of course, is not true of these young men whom we are honoring this evening. But you young men are among the small 5 percent who have the chance to be an athlete. What about the other 95 percent who can't make the school team? Every single boy and girl is entitled to be on an athletic team in some sport. They must be given the opportunity—the leadership, the facilities, and the time in school—to grow up in an atmosphere of vigor and physical activity.

Proper facilities for intramural athletics and physical education are not cheap. A gymnasium may cost more than a mathematics classroom; three or four soccer fields may require as much space as an auditorium. But when compared with the amount of learning and growing up that takes place in that gym and on those fields, what a bargain we can get for our money. Our Nation, and we as parents, can enjoy dividends whose value exceeds the initial investment many times over.

We have a tremendous job at hand of mentally conditioning the youth of today to their responsibilities. I emphasize the word "mentally" because our high school graduate, today, doesn't have the slightest conception of the inexhaustible resources of the human body and mind.

These boys, although larger, healthier, and better educated than their predecessors, have never experienced a depression, never had firsthand knowledge of a war, have ridden to and from school on buses, taken their exercise and their adventure vicariously through the medium of television, have been able to go to the refrigerator when they were hungry, to bed when they were tired, and always have had a vast variety of drugs to keep any physical pain away from them.

We have a motto in our boxing room that reads, "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." I, for one, feel it is time that we started getting tough.

One of our former Presidents had this to say: "We cannot afford to turn out men who shrink from physical effort or from a little physical pain. In any republic, courage is a prime necessity for the average citizen if he is to be a good citizen, and he needs physical courage no less than moral courage, the courage that dares as well as the courage that endures, the courage that will fight valiantly against the foes of the soul and the foes of the body.

"Athletics are good, especially in their rougher forms, because they tend to develop such courage. They are good, also, because they encourage a true democratic spirit; for, on the athletic field the man must be judged, not with reference to outside and accidental attributes, but to that combination of bodily vigor and moral quality which go to make up prowess."—Theodore Roosevelt.

If given serious consideration, sports can revitalize our education and our culture. By their very nature, sports become an outlet for the competitive instinct, and under proper guidance, become a way of learning about life. On a football field, a baseball diamond, a basketball court, in track, and in swimming, in all the wide range of modern sports a youngster learns without knowing that he is learning.

Respect for the rights of others is firmly implanted by adherence to rules that he must obey as well as his opponents. He must get along with his teammates, but he must also protect the rights of the other team as he would want them to protect his.

Physical activity serves to release his tensions and aggressive instincts; team spirit gives him the recognition and sense of importance which every person must have.

The rules of social conduct grow into his whole personality and makeup, and spill over naturally into that very real world outside of the athletic field—the world of which he will be a part.

In athletics, a boy learns the significance of individual effort and success, and he absorbs the knowledge that fairplay is a two-way street. Racial discrimination and intolerance are crowded out of the athletic field.

Group opinion, the opinion of teammates as well as opponents, emphasizes sportsmanship as well as good athletic performance. There is no better training ground for democracy.

A well-organized and full athletic program contains several areas of potential danger. One is the tendency to put too much emphasis on winning. This, of course, can be overcome by leadership which reflects good judgment and sound guidance on the part of parents and, most important of all, giving the game back to the boys.

I must emphasize that good sportsmanship can easily be nullified by questionable practices condoned by spectators, parents and coaches. We cannot be too happy about today's tendency to resort to anything in order to win, or the habit of booing the referee before he even blows the whistle to start the game, or worse yet, booing the little 10-year-old who strikes out in a Little League ball game.

We can't be too proud of the coach who says: "What they don't know won't hurt them; if we don't get caught, it's all right." Surely, we don't want our sons to grow up with such a false philosophy.

In programs of athletics, we have a tremendous opportunity to teach these young men to choose the harder right instead of the easier wrong, to help them along the road toward growing into men of high morals and strong character.

Recently, General MacArthur was asked if he had changed his mind about the value of competitive athletics. He replied: "The opinions I expressed at West Point on the infinite value of athletic competition have but intensified with the passage of time. It is a vital character builder. It molds the youth of our country for their future roles as custodians of the Republic.

"It teaches them to be strong enough to know they are weak, and brave enough to face themselves when they are afraid. It teaches them to be proud and unbending in honest defeat, but humble and gentle in victory. It teaches them humility so that they may always remember the simplicity of true greatness, the open mind of true wisdom, the meekness of true strength.

"It gives them a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a vigor of the emotions. It gives them a predominance of courage over timidity, of an appetite for adventure over love of ease.

"Fathers and mothers who would make their sons into men should have them play the game."

## Formulation and Administration of Foreign Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, radio station WTYC of Rock Hill, S.C., broadcasted on September 6, 1962, an excellent editorial on the U.S. State Department and its formulation and administration of our foreign policies. This editorial calls for a strong and vigorous stand against communism every time the Soviets move on an aggressive course of action and it questions sharply our past and present policies in dealing with communism. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE DEPARTMENT

Russia's latest scorching rebuke against the United States involving another U–2 flight, which they allege violates Russian air zones, is being met with dismay in the minds of many Americans—and for these reasons. Again the Russians have put us in a position of trying to justify ourselves and our actions in the eyes of the world—making us look like warmongers and aggressors. The average American citizen, we believe, is tired of these verbal attacks and threats by the Russian Government. What's wrong in our State Department when we sit idly by while Russia does what she wants to do and continually indulges in acts of aggression against the United States? While at the same time, the President reports to our people, as in the Cuban situation, that, at the present time, there doesn't seem to be too much cause for alarm concerning Russian technical and military help to Cuba. The United Press International reported that Soviet citizens reacted with "shock and dismay" at the disclosure of another U–2 flight. The American people have long been shocked and dismayed at Russian aggression against the free world. But we continue to wage a "no win" cold war while Russia piles up propaganda victories. We ask ourselves, "Is this Russian aid to Cuba an act of friendship on Russia's part?" "No," we say. It is an act of aggression of the worst kind, making our U–2 flights look like child's play in comparison. President Kennedy reported to the American people, "There is no evidence of Communist-bloc combat troops or other significant offensive capability." The Russian note to the United States with reference to the U–2 flight stated that the incident was a "deliberate provocation." They warned of possible retaliatory attacks on foreign bases where U–2's are stationed and demanded "immediate measures to prevent future violations of Soviet air space."

The recent incident at the Berlin "wall of shame" found us sadly lacking also, and to our Berlin allies we lost face. Russian fishing boats just off our coastline recently—and we could go on listing Russian acts of aggression. Are we so dumb that we cannot fight a propaganda war also? Can we not also blister, and we mean blister, the Russians verbally for these acts of aggression and play them up to their full significance and make our rebukes ring throughout the world? Where is our backbone? The Cuban situation should have never risen to today's proportions. We should have taken a stand at the Berlin "wall of shame." We should have ordered the Russian boats off our coastline. Let's not play games, we know those so-called fishing boats were fishing for bigger game and so does our State Department. All of these "should haves." Must we always seem to cower at the growl of the Russian bear? Will we sit by and let the Russians literally camp on our doorstep while the State Department and President Kennedy say they are no threat?

We're proud to be Americans and most of us had not rather be "Red than dead." So to the State Department and President Kennedy we plead—let's let the Russians know in no uncertain terms that we're proud of what we have and that we plan to keep it that way. Let's fight propaganda with propaganda. Khrushchev is not afraid to call us "American warmongers" and "despised capitalists" while our State Department trembles that we may offend the Russians in some way by what we say.

There are bills being introduced in Congress for a full-scale investigation of the State Department. We sincerely hope we don't wait too late.

## King-Anderson Health Proposal Simplified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much misunderstanding regarding the President's health care program under social security, identified as the King-Anderson bill, which I deemed a privilege to sponsor in the House of Representatives at the request of the President, that I wish to clarify the true purpose of the bill which will be reintroduced next January.

Health is the business of a democratic country, for the fulfillment of the individual—impossible without health—is one of its highest goals. The health of every individual is very much a concern of our Nation, yet many elderly citizens cannot afford and do not obtain the health care they need.

The principal aim of the King-Anderson bill is to provide our older citizens with protection against the excessive costs of hospital care for prolonged illness which can wipe out the lifetime savings of an aged couple of moderate means, and often results in a major financial drain on their families, or forces them from independence to dependency.

The need is widely acknowledged, and the fact is beyond dispute that the greatest single threat to the economic security of older people is the unpredictable cost of illness. The King-Anderson proposal would make it possible for our people to build insurance protection in their working years against the high cost of illness in their later year—just as they now build protection under social security for themselves and their families against the loss of earnings because of old age, disability, or death.

Hospitalization represents the heaviest financial health care burden imposed on aged persons. The average hospital care cost per day in 1946 was $9.39; in 1950 it rose to $15.26; in 1955 to $23.12; in 1960 to $32.28; in 1961 to $34.98, and in California, exceeding the national average, the cost has risen to $44.81.

Therefore, insurance against the cost of hospital care was deemed the proper area of coverage under a health insurance program, with a contribution rate within the means of our country's working force of approximately $1 per month. It is a very modest proposal designed to meet the most essential need, with sufficient deductible requirements to discourage unnecessary utilization.

People 65 and over have health care costs twice as high as those of younger people. They are more likely to have serious and long-lasting illnesses, yet their annual income, on the average, is only half as large. The majority have little or no money beyond what they need to meet their day-to-day expenses for housing, food and clothing. Most younger persons readily recover from serious illnesses and regain both their health and economic well-being, whereas such an opportunity is rarely afforded those of advanced years.

In our social security system we have the instrument which can spread the cost of health services in old age over the working years effectively, and in a manner consistent with the dignity of the individual. For over 26 years the efficient administrative machinery of the social security system has been operating successfully, and extension of health care insurance can be logically added at a minimum cost for the benefit of those over age 65.

By using this proved system to provide health insurance protection, it will be possible for our older people to get the vital hospital services they need, not as a gift, but as a right earned and established during productive years, without exhausting their resources, mortgaging their homes, burdening their families, or being obliged to resort to public assistance. Paying for hospital costs under the social security system is the conservative and practical answer to the problem.

Only about half of our people 65 and over have hospitalization insurance, and many of the policies offered to older people provide but limited benefits under restrictive conditions. It is well recognized that a policy that will provide even an approach to adequate care is beyond the financial ability of the great majority of retired persons.

The Kerr-Mills law, adopted by the Congress in 1960, provided medical assistance for those who could prove poverty through a means test. But now we must meet the needs of those millions of taxpayers who are staggered by the drain on their savings—or those of their children—caused by an extended hospital stay. The King-Anderson bill seeks to prevent ever-rising health care costs from bringing about indigency, rather than to extend care only after indigency occurs.

It is obvious the proposed health care program has no resemblance to social-

ized medicine. It is simply a national program to help older people prepay hospital and related health care bills, not a means of providing these services. Nothing in the bill would in any way change existing practices of hospitals which require that patients be admitted only on the order of a physician.

There would be no interference in the doctor-patient relationship. Every patient would have free choice—of doctor, hospital, or nursing home. Hospitals and other services would be paid in much the same way that Blue Cross and other insurers now pay. The proposal states specifically that the Government would in no way control, regulate, or interfere with the practice of medicine or the administration of hospitals.

The aim and ideals embodied in the health insurance program will help social security do the job it was designed to do—provide a measure of independence with dignity for America's senior citizens during their golden years with an added measure of health and happiness. What greater bulwark against communism could there be than the contentment of a citizenry assured of a feeling of security they have earned.

## Texan Among Winners of Retail Clerks International Association Scholarships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Retail Clerks International Association has a special scholarship program where the winners are all A students in high school and where each winner receives a scholarship of $500 a year for 4 years and is free to choose any college or university. There are 7 of these scholarships each year, so 28 of these brilliant students will be in colleges of their choice each year under this union scholarship plan.

These scholarships are financed by an endowed trust fund, made up of contributors from the local unions of the Retail Clerks International Association.

This is trade unionism at one of its highest and most idealistic levels. It picks the most brilliant minds from among the clerks and children of clerks and sends them to college for 4 years each. Each year a new group is sent to college. This is helping strengthen the Nation in a time of educational crisis.

This is the first year a Texan has been chosen. He is George Moore IV of Irving, Dallas County, Tex., an outstanding student who plans to attend the University of Texas.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Seven Excellent Students Receive Fourth Annual RCIA Scholarships Awards" from the September 1962, issue of Retail Clerks Advocate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVEN EXCELLENT STUDENTS RECEIVE FOURTH ANNUAL RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS

Southwestern division: Jeanne M. Sandell graduated from the Albany High School, with emphasis in the field of music. She was valedictorian of her class. She plans to attend the University of California, majoring in music, teaching, or psychology.

Northwestern division: Dennis L. Weaver graduated at the head of his class from Evergreen High School. Active in a four-piece band, he also worked. He will attend Washington State University where he will major in business administration.

Southeastern division: Gerald Schall graduated from the Jessup W. Scott High School. He was a member of the National Honor Society and a number of clubs. He is one of 25 students selected for a special medical program at Northwestern University.

Southern division: George Moore worked part time as a checker while compiling a straight A average. He was also active in school clubs. He will attend the University of Texas and plans to continue on to law school after graduation from college.

Metropolitan New York division: Lana Segan graduated from Bergenfield High School where she was the top student of her class. She won an award at this year's science fair. Planning to become a teacher, she will enter Fairleigh Dickinson University.

Central division: Randall Oloizia graduated from Custer High School. He was a member of the student council, the Math and German clubs, the wrestling and track teams. He has been accepted as a member of the freshman class at the University of Wisconsin.

Eastern division: Tobi Holtzman graduated from Pennsauken High School. She served as editor of the school paper throughout high school and was associate editor of the yearbook. She plans to attend the University of Wisconsin and to major in psychology.

Four outstanding young men and three exceptional young women have been chosen as winners of the Fourth Annual James A. Suffridge-Retail Clerks International Association scholarship awards. This brings the total number of college students who have received grants from the permanent fund established through contributions of local unions in the United States and Canada to 22.

More than 500 high school seniors who are members of the Retail Clerks International Association or children of members competed for the awards this year. The selection of the winners was a difficult job for the board of trustees because of the high caliber of the applicants. The finalists who won the coveted awards were all straight A students.

A $2,000, 4-year scholarship was awarded in each of the seven organizing divisions of the Retail Clerks International Association. The grant is payable in four yearly installments of $500. The last three are contingent on the maintenance of a satisfactory scholastic performance.

The money is provided from the interest of the James A. Suffridge-Retail Clerks International Association Scholarship Fund, which is held in perpetual trust, guaranteeing that the principal fund will never be touched. This will make scholarships available on a permanent basis for hundreds of years.

Recipients of the scholarships are:

Northwestern division: Dennis Leroy Weaver, of Seattle, Wash. The winner is a member of Retail Clerks International Association Local 1105.

Southwestern division: Jeanne Mary Sandell of Berkeley, Calif., whose mother is a member of local 1179 of Richmond, Calif.

Central division: Randall Leroy Oloizia, of Milwaukee, Wis., whose mother is a member of local 444.

Southern division: George Clifford Moore IV, of Irving, Tex., who is a member of local 368 of Dallas.

Southeastern division: Gerald Lynn Schall of Toledo, Ohio, whose father is a member of local 954.

Eastern division: Tobi Deborah Holtzman of Pennsauken, N.J., whose father is a member of local 1360 of Camden.

Metropolitan New York division: Lana Segan of Bergenfield, N.J., who is a member of local 1262 of Newark.

## Monroe Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote a most perceptive editorial from the September 5, 1962, issue of the Wall Street Journal, which commends the statement of the President that the Soviet satellite government in Cuba will not be allowed to extend its influence further in the Western Hemisphere.

The editorial follows:

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The year was 1823. Imperialist Russia, filled with ambitions to extend its domain, was pushing its power along the northwest coast of North America. In an alliance with Austria and Prussia, whose territories included parts of what is now East Germany, the Russians were threatening to intervene in revolutions in Central and South America.

In that situation the U.S. Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, proposed and the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, issued a statement addressed to the European powers.

"We owe it therefore to candor," said the President of the United States, "and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portions of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The United States, in those days, was a weak country. It comprised less than half its present continental expanse; it numbered barely 9 million people; it had only a small Navy and less Army. It was certainly no such power in the world as Austria, Prussia, France or Imperial Russia. And as a matter of fact, in most of the chancelleries of the world there was contemptuous amusement at President Monroe's bold pretensions.

For they were bold. It took considerable courage for the President to act alone instead of waiting for Great Britain, which had suggested a joint statement but somehow never got around to acting on it. Neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Monroe were quite sure how they would implement their policy if it were challenged by the great powers. But believing the step necessary to this country's peace and safety, they did not let uncertainty paralyze their decision.

Those quiet words, shorn of all bombast, served their purpose for 140 years, through many tests, because the world came to believe we meant what we said. The Monroe

Doctrine did not keep the United States out of wars. It did assure that no foreign power would come to threaten us upon our own doorstep.

Or at least, the Monroe Doctrine did so until our own day.

It can hardly be a secret to anyone that a new imperialist Russia is extending its system to this hemisphere. The system of the present government of Cuba is the Communist system. And this week the Castro regime signed a military pact with the Soviet Union in which it is frankly and publicly acknowledged that the Soviet Union will help train and provide arms to the Cuban army.

But a difference between the centuries is that today Secretaries of State and Presidents of the United States have reacted differently. Both President Eisenhower and President Kennedy have asserted that the Monroe Doctrine is not dead. But up to yesterday neither had chosen to implement it; both have relied instead upon the so-called machinery of the inter-American security system.

That is, the U.S. Government has put its trust in the hope that others will act rather than in acting itself. Where once a weak nation was bold enough to put its shield over the other nations of the hemisphere, a strong nation has hoped that its weak neighbors will somehow rise and shield it from a danger on its own doorstep.

So matters stood until yesterday. Now President Kennedy has issued a statement saying that the Castro government of Cuba will not be permitted to extend its influence further in the Western Hemisphere and strongly implied that the United States will stand by its doctrine of 140 years ago.

Just 2 years ago—in July 1960—Mr. Khrushchev said the Monroe Doctrine was dead. The President of the United States says it is still alive. Now the problem today, as it was in the days of Imperial Russia, is for the United States to convince the world that it means exactly what it says.

## California's Mother Lode Can Help Restore Our Gold Reserves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, committees of the Senate and the House are giving attention to our gold supply problem with the dual objective of adding to the Treasury's gold reserves and of helping our troubled gold mining industry. I have a bill, Senate Joint Resolution 44, to provide incentive payments for domestic gold production.

Congressman HAROLD T. "BIZZ" JOHNSON, who represents the mother lode district of California, has introduced a bill, H.R. 12874, to create a Gold Procurement and Sales Agency. He explained this proposal in convincing terms at a hearing last week before the Mining Subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

I ask unanimous consent to have Representative JOHNSON's statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON BEFORE MINES AND MINING SUBCOMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 12874

Mr. Chairman, I believe that this year has seen more interest in doing something about the critical situation of our domestic gold mining industry than in any recent year and I am extremely gratified at this. The visit which your fine committee made to California's historic gold-producing areas last year and earlier the formal hearings held in Washington on various gold measures were valuable contributions in seeking a solution to the problem. Later, I was pleased to have been able to arrange a meeting with the Secretary of the Treasury and many of us were able to join gold industry spokesmen for a further discussion of this extremely serious problem. Much has been learned during this legislative review and as a result of these meetings, hearings, and studies, I have drafted H.R. 12874, a bill to establish in the Department of the Interior a Gold Procurement and Sales Agency. It is on this legislation that we are holding hearings today and I certainly appreciate the opportunity to meet with you, and, in effect, sum up our efforts to resolve this situation.

First, may I be permitted to indulge in a little historical background for the record. As we know, the United States once was the world's leading producer of gold. This was about the close of the 19th century. Today we rank a relatively ineffectual fourth place behind such unstable giants as Russia and South Africa. Only a couple of decades ago, the United States still maintained a strong world position in the production of gold as its output continued to grow during the first 40 years of this century reaching an all-time high of approximately 5 million ounces immediately before our entry into World War II.

During the war, American gold mines were closed by Government Order L–208 and rapid deterioration of their productive facilities followed. Since the war, the domestic price of gold has remained frozen at artificial 1934 levels, despite the fact that production costs have risen between 300 and 400 percent since the 1939–40 period.

During the first 15 years after the end of World War II, more than $200 million worth of gold has been sold by the Treasury Department of the United States for domestic industrial uses than our domestic mines have produced. This means that today our annual domestic production approximates 1.5 million ounces while about 3 million ounces are being consumed in the domestic commodity market. The 2-million-ounce deficit was sold from our monetary gold stock and represents a net domestic loss of our monetary gold reserves. In other words today we are filling teeth, adorning jewelry and shielding spacecraft with some 2 million ounces of gold which has to be drawn each year from the gold reserves which are backing the U.S. dollar.

I might emphasize further the requirements for gold in the space and missile age. Substantial quantities of gold are used in space vehicles to shield them from radiation. Gold is used in production of communications equipment and nuclear power facilities. Gold, always a commodity in the production of jewelry and the filling of teeth, now has become an essential, expendable material for the prosecution of our national defense in the cold war of today which will continue into the foreseeable future. This is further borne out by the guarded secrecy of Russian gold statistics and her aggressive gold-production programs.

Since similar conditions exist throughout the world, both the free world and the Soviet colonial empire, it is only logical that the production of gold throughout the world has increased steadily, year by year, until today nearly 50 million ounces of gold are being produced.

The exact reverse is true in the United States. We are producing no more gold today than we were in 1946 and the situation would be even more critical if it were not for the fact that gold can be produced as a by-product of base metal ores which accounts for 70 percent of our total gold production. Unless we act now, the situation will get worse and the remaining operators still struggling to survive as primary producers of gold will follow the downfall of the Cripple Creek Mine which closed last year and the U.S. Smelting, Refining & Mining, which will close its Nome, Alaska, operation this year. The last of our great mining operations are highgrading to keep alive but time is running out on them, too.

Added to this drain on our dollars from the inability to produce enough gold for our own use has been an exceedingly heavy withdrawal of our monetary gold reserves.

Confronted with these trying difficulties and the inescapable predicament of being burdened with an international gold liability to support the major currencies of the free world, the United States is in dire need of gold—at a time when 97 percent of her gold mines remain closed on the controversial assumption that if an economical price were paid for gold production, the international position of the dollar would be weakened. As you will recall at our meeting with Secretary Dillon, this was the primary reason why he opposed earlier legislation to provide an incentive payment to place our gold mining industry back on its feet. One sure way to get more gold is to produce more, but we agree it must be done without interfering with the monetary policy.

This problem has thrown an obligation on the Congress of the United States to consider a means of accomplishing this most difficult task. The 87th is meeting this obligation because of the actions of this responsible committee. Since gold is essential to the welfare of the Nation, this problem can be resolved by setting up a gold procurement agency to purchase newly mined gold directly from domestic mines. Such an agency, which could operate under the Interior Department, must be completely divorced from the Treasury Department and the monetary picture. Its purpose would be to contract directly with the domestic mines for gold at whatever price—within reasonable limits—is necessary to reopen the mines and bring the volume of production back to immediate pre-war and pre-L–208 levels.

Besides supplying the defense and space programs with necessary gold requirements, it should be the responsibility of such an agency to sell gold at cost to the domestic industrial, professional and artistic users and to supply the Treasury Department with all surplus purchases of gold at the monetary price of $35 per ounce. This would in no way interfere with monetary or fiscal policy operations of the Government. It would add gold to the official reserves through increased gold production and industrial activity rather than draw down official gold reserves for the domestic industrial and defense requirements of gold. This would demonstrate to the foreigners a determination in protecting the gold value of the dollars that they hold and thus strengthen—not weaken—confidence in the dollar internationally.

H.R. 12874 I believe clearly distinguishes the status of gold as a domestic commodity from its function as an international monetary factor and eliminates the contention that an incentive payment for domestic gold production would result in an international catastrophy for the dollar. Purchase and sale of domestically produced gold as a commodity would be completely separate from the use of gold as a monetary measure and reserve.

Enactment of this bill will bring back and keep domestic gold production at the maxi-

mum, give a just return to the miner, furnish industrial users with gold at a fair price, and add to the monetary reserves rather than deplete them. It prevents the possibility of overpricing gold as a windfall for the producers by eliminating the guess work to a price that is necessary to carry out our common objective—full production from the domestic mines. In comparison to the benefits, the cost would be slight.

The following example will illustrate the practicality of such a program:

If $70 per ounce would return gold production to its prewar volume of 6 million ounces, then $70×6 million—$420 million of gross income to the mine operators at an apparent cost to the Gold Procurement Agency of $420 million.

In assuming that the domestic users (including defense and space) consumed 3 million ounces (amount used in 1960) for which they would be required to pay the cost of $70 per ounce, then $70 times 3 million equals $210 million, which would be returned to the Gold Procurement Agency.

| | Millions |
|---|---|
| Cost to Government | $420 |
| Less | 210 |
| Cost for surplus of 3,000,000 ounces of gold | 210 |

In selling the 3 million-ounce surplus to the Treasury Department at the monetary price of $35 per ounce, then $35×3 million—$105 million returned to the Gold Procurement Agency:

| | Millions |
|---|---|
| Cost for surplus | $210 |
| Less | 105 |
| Cost of program | 105 |

As a defense measure, this would put the apparent cost of such a program at $105 million, or less than two-tenths of 1 percent of the total defense budget for the fiscal year 1963.

However, in addition to the defense aspects, which should embrace the $105 million contribution to the gold reserves (backing for 420 million paper dollars), consideration must be given to the economic benefits gained from reopening the mines.

In assuming a revival of operations comparable to the prewar level, then the $420 million received by the operators would circulate in the economy by the direct employment of upward to 50,000 people with indirect benefits to an estimated additional 400,000 through the rehabilitation of the mining communities; the purchase of machinery, supplies and equipment, and related services and transportation. This in itself would be of greater value to the Government than the $105 million expenditure—mainly as an aid in offsetting unemployment and welfare payments.

A deeper analysis will show that each time money changes hands, a profitable transaction generally occurs from which the Government collects income and excise taxes. Since the $420 million gross income of the revitalized gold mines would continually circulate via the payment of related expenditures and services, the Government would be continually collecting taxes from a gross turnover of $420 million through an investment of $105 million.

Each 1 percent of taxes that the Government would collect on each turnover of the gross $420 million would net $4.2 million: $105 million divided by $4.2 million equals 25 times. In other words, for each time that this new growth of $420 million of income from the mines changed hands 25 times in the economy, the entire investment of $105 million would be returned to the Government.

Put another way, the Government collected nearly $80 billion of income and excise taxes through the circulation of $32 billion in 1960. Therefore, $80 billion divided by $32 billion equals 2.4 times $420 million equals $1 billion. This means $1 billion of new yearly revenue for the Government (without tax increases) on an investment of only $105 million.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to give you a brief section-by-section analysis of the provisions of H.R. 12874:

Section 1 requires that the Secretary of Interior make a survey of the gold mining industry to determine the price which must be paid to domestic producers in order to achieve maximum production of gold from our mines. The results of this survey must be submitted to the Congress for consideration.

Section 2 would establish, as of January 1, 1963, a Gold Procurement and Sales Agency in the Department of Interior. The Director would be appointed by the President and receive a $20,000 salary.

Section 3 outlines the duties of the Gold Procurement and Sales Agency as follows:

(a) The Agency shall be the only agency authorized to purchase gold from domestic producers and to sell it to science, arts, and industry for nonmonetary purposes. It must buy and sell at—up to $105—the price fixed by the Secretary of Interior as a result of the survey mentioned above. And it must conduct annual resurveys to determine what price changes may be required to maintain maximum domestic production of gold. Resurvey results also must be reported to the Congress. Any surplus gold will be transferred to the Treasury Department at a rate of $35 per ounce, or the going monetary value of gold.

Section 4 authorized the appropriation of funds to absorb the difference in cost between the $35 price paid by the Treasury Department for any gold transferred to it and the price paid for the gold to the domestic producer by the Procurement Agency. I might note here that it could well be some time before any such expense is involved because it will take a year or so to triple the production of our domestic gold mines which is what is needed just to meet today's constantly rising domestic consumption.

Section 5 specifically states that this law does not relate to the monetary system nor interference with the rights of the Treasury Department to obtain gold from foreign producers.

Section 6 provides that the term "domestic" includes our 50 States of the Union, our territories and possessions and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I want to say that this is a simple piece of legislation which I believe will solve an extremely complex problem. It meets the objections raised by the Department of the Treasury and it has the support of the gold mining industry as I am sure you will realize from the statements which are to be submitted for the record of these hearings. I would appreciate at this point permission to submit the various industry and community statements which I have received.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion I want to say on behalf of myself and the mining industry of California how much we appreciate the time and consideration which you have given to this problem during the 87th Congress, and I do hope that through our cooperative efforts we will be able to achieve a realistic solution to this very grave problem.

## Redesigning the Nation's Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the Commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration, Mr. William L. Slayton, made what I believe is an unusually significant speech on the subject of "Design Considerations in Urban Renewal" at a conference of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials at Eugene, Oreg., on July 9.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his speech, somewhat condensed for reasons of space, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

What is done in these next several decades will have a tremendous impact upon our cities in terms of their function, their shape, their form, their appearance. What is done in the next several decades will last for a long, long time, and one should not accept lightly the responsibility that has been thrust upon him. One should be sure that what he as administrator creates will be of such status that he and his successors will be proud of it. What is produced under your administration, the policies you adopt, what you do will have an impact far greater, I believe, than any of us have realized. I can't emphasize too strongly the responsibility we all have in this regard, and my concern is that in our frenetic activity to clear areas, to rehabilitate houses, to sell land, to be sure that plans are adopted, and to see that construction gets underway, we may not recognize the enormity of this responsibility. We must never forget the end product of our frenetic activities and not think of activity as an end in itself.

As Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver recently said, "We should give the 'd' for 'design' at least equal standing with the 'd' for 'dollar' in the development of our urban areas."

It seems to me that we have not bragged sufficiently. I feel that in urban renewal we have employed the best architects, have had, by and large, the most enlightened developers, and have created some of the most exciting new urban developments in the country.

Writing in the New York Times recently, Ada Huxtable criticized much of the architecture and design in New York City. She then went on to say, "it is in middle-income housing * * * under urban renewal programs, that improvements are appearing. Here, new structural systems and some conscious attention to design are beginning to temper long-standing cliches."

Many of the top architects in the United States are now represented in both single structures and complete area designs in urban renewal projects—Edward Durrell Stone, Mies Van der Rohe, Harry Weese, Satterlee, and Smith, I. M. Pei, Paul Rudolph, to name only a few. Both Arena Stage and the Capitol Park apartments in Washington, D.C., have won awards for design excellence. The elementary schools designed for urban renewal areas by Stone in the Lin-

coln Square project in New York, and by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill in New Haven are outstanding by any criterion. Such projects as Society Hill in Philadelphia, Constitution Plaza in Hartford, Church Street in New Haven, Embarcadero in San Francisco, Lake Meadows in Chicago, Erieview in Cleveland, and Lincoln Center in New York are the kinds of projects which we would like to see more often, whether built on urban renewal or privately developed sites.

With this as background, let's examine the role the Administrator can play in furthering the cause of good urban design.

I would like to discuss five aspects of the Administrator's role in seeking this objective. They are: (1) design guidance in plan preparation; (2) design emphasis in renewal plans; (3) design oriented disposition; (4) design guidance in redeveloper selection and review of plans; and (5) experimental design approach.

First, design guidance in plan preparation. By and large I feel that we have paid too little attention to urban design in the preparation of renewal plans. We have all too frequently approached the plan from a zoning ordinance concept and created two-dimensional rather than three-dimensional concepts. We have been so concerned with designating particular land uses, being sure that we had the proper width and alinement of streets, and with showing the proper percentage of open space, etc., that we have failed to look at the renewal plan as an overall, three-dimensional design. Here I feel that it is in the interest of the city to obtain the best possible advice and guidance in preparing what I call a design concept.

Of course, one must first establish the framework, the public decisions that determine the basic program for the renewal area, a program of basic land uses and the basic characteristics of the area to be developed. Also there may be certain givens that must be recognized such as major utility lines, major highways, and specific structures that must be retained such as historic churches. This framework or program and these givens, of course, must be determined prior to establishing the design concept. But even at this point in time of early public decisions establishing a program, one can be too adamant in assuming that design guidance cannot be helpful. I think Fritz Gutheim in his paper that I referred to earlier has stated this far better than can I, and I should like to quote him: "Based on the usual practice in architecture (where it is equally false), it is commonly assumed that the urban designer commences with a program in which the utilitarian conditions of the city are set forth, and which it is his business to reflect and resolve in the design. The fallacy of this approach is that design deals with potentialities and no program is based on more than the sum of current experience. To design too close to such a program, therefore, is to condemn the new urban design to repeat the mistakes and limitations of the existing city. Unless we are to foreclose all prospects of forward development in our ideas of the city, and the design of future cities, we must expect a larger contribution of designers; indeed, demand it of them, not simply at the end but at all stages of the urban design process * * * Fresh possibilities, offered by urban designers in the earliest sketches, should be received as inputs to survey and research efforts. If this is not done, the designer commences with a largely sterile analysis, and sets of data that are scarcely related to the problems of design."

The point that Fritz makes is an essential one. The designer can see new potentials, new possibilities, and may well be able to propose some new development concepts that can enrich the initial basic determinants of the city. Here is the opportunity for early client-designer relationship in establishing a program. As client you should feel it is essential to obtain this kind of design guidance at the outset rather than presenting the urban designer with a fait accompli—a plan already prepared—within which framework the urban designer must create. The urban designer is a contributor, he is not one who merely puts the frosting on the cake.

There is no issue on whether this design guidance comes from an urban designer who is an independent practitioner and retained as a consultant or whether he is an urban designer on your staff. Probably with our present shortage of urban designers, it may be difficult for each city to employ its own. But consultant or staff, such design guidance is essential from the beginning of program development.

And this leads to the second point on the role of the administrator as client; namely, emphasis on design in the redevelopment plan itself. I know that this point echoes what you have said many times, but the point needs reiteration. Most of our renewal plans have been created on the false foundation of the zoning approach. Our concern has been too much with precise delineation of land uses, densities, set backs, heights, distance between buildings, and distribution by kinds of dwellings to the point where no room is left for a design concept, and we have nothing but a detailed, zoning plan. Urban renewal starts with a clean slate—with the removal of the restrictive elements of present city structure—and we tend to reintroduce through zoning and other standard restrictions a set of limitations intended for and presuming rebuilding to the same basic standard. The result is a reproduction of the kind of urban development with which we have all become much too accustomed, and the creation of the sameness that is now criticized so vigorously. Our creative urban renewal designs have been successful only through overcoming these standardized restrictions.

The beginnings of a nonzoning approach were adopted in the renewal plan for Bushnell Plaza in Hartford. Hartford freed itself from the standard zoning limitations. For this relatively small area, Hartford has established a program for a certain amount of commercial area, a certin amount of park area, and a certain number of residential units. The developer in his proposal is left to his own devices in arranging these uses on the site. Hartford did not, as part of the plan, determine a priori the organization of these elements.

I have long hoped that we could jettison the zoning type controls that were so exciting in the twenties and which, if not modified, produce sterility for urban renewal. I would like to substitute what I call design objectives. I must admit that I cannot be too specific in defining the controls or approaches that such design objectives would establish. Naturally, they would differ from area to area and from designer to designer. I would hope, however, that these design objectives would establish a certain character such as the relationship between buildings, the organization of the area, and the character of the structures. These would somehow be set forth in the renewal plan. For instance, a design objective might be a street with a particular facade or a common cornice line. Or another design objective could be the sprinkling of a residential area with small, neighborhood convenience shops. The plan need not designate specific uses but could indicate the amount and character of these commercial uses to be intermixed with the residential area.

And this, of course, leads me directly into my third point—namely, design oriented disposition. Although URA policy permits various disposition methods, I feel we should emphasize disposition arrangements that look to the quality of the design rather than to the highest reuse value. Here I am considerably encouraged, for I see increasing evidence of interest in design as the criterion in the selection of redevelopers. It is true that we have had some difficulty where we have combined design and price as criteria in selecting a redeveloper. Although we have resolved this question in several instances to the benefit of design, it has not been without difficulty and sometimes controversy. Where there is an unclear mixture of criteria, the unsuccessful developer sometimes feels he has a basis for complaint—and complain he has.

There are several approaches to bringing design in as the element. One, of course, is to use a negotiated procedure whereby the city selects a developer not only on the basis of his capacity and financial qualifications, but also and perhaps even more important on the basis of the design ability of his architect. This can be done, of course, without requiring the architect to submit designs at all.

Where this procedure is followed, we in the Urban Renewal Administration feel strongly that it is essential that the procedure for selecting a developer be announced some time in advance of actual negotiation so that all potential developers have the opportunity to express their interest.

Another device, of course, is the design competition handled most successfully, I believe, in recent Southwest Washington dispositions. Here an advisory panel was established to review designs submitted by potential developers. The materials to be submitted were specified, the submissions were not identified except by number, and the review panel selected on the basis of the designs submitted. Obviously the local public agency must exercise the final responsibility, and this advisory panel must be advisory only.

A caveat in this kind of a disposition procedure is that it should not result in an undue expenditure by potential developers. Developers, like contractors, are willing to risk relatively modest sums in seeking to obtain a contract; but when a competition in no way limits what the developer is to submit, one ends up with very expensive submissions. I think these can be only self-defeating in the long run, in that the cost will discourage redevelopers from bidding on other redevelopment projects.

Where design competition is going to be used, one should be very specific as to the items to be submitted, such as scale, color, size of drawings, renderings, and models, and if a developer submits more than that specified, the overage should not be submitted to the review board.

A variation of this procedure, one that permits the introduction of land value, is selection of those designs that are acceptable and desirable and requiring from among those selected a sealed bid or auction based on land value.

A further variation is Justin Herman's Red Rock disposition in San Francisco. Here a design competition was held among architects, and four designs were selected as acceptable. Bidders were asked to bid on the basis of land value but were required to accept one of the four designs.

It also follows that in any competitive disposition where design is determinate, the design submitted by the developer must be made a part of the disposition contract, and the developer may not deviate from the design submitted unless he obtains the approval of the local public agency. It goes without saying, it seems to me, that the developer must submit his plans to the local public agency for review and approval.

If, however, the city feels that competition based upon the price of land is essential, it is very important for the city to have the benefit of the advice of an urban designer, and the redevelopment plan must be rather detailed in its design aspects. This is the

only way in which the city can control the design in such disposition.

And this leads me into my fourth point—namely, design guidance in redeveloper selection and plan review. It is important for the city to have a designer as consultant, or on its staff, to assist it in the preparation of design criteria for disposition documents, to assist the redevelopment agency in reviewing plans submitted, and in dealing with the redeveloper's architect.

It is important for the administrator client—the layman—to have the urban designer assist him in reviewing plans and in helping guide in the selection of redevelopers. This is obviously particularly important where a negotiated sale is followed, rather than a design competition. But it is also important, it seems to me, when it comes to working with the architect of the redeveloper. There will inevitably be some changes resulting from further study on the part of the architect of the developer, and it will be necessary for some judgment to be made on the desirability of these proposed changes. Here it is important that the local public agency have as adviser a designer who can comment from a design point of view on the proposed changes.

Where the city has used a design consultant to create a plan with some design guides, it is helpful to have this design consultant work with the architect of the developer to make sure that the design guides are actually carried out by the developer. This does not mean that the design consultant designs the buildings but only that he interpret and help produce the kind of basic design that the city originally intended. Here I think it is wise to quote our good friend, Chloethiel Smith, when she points out that the design concept must be kept basically one concept. It can't be constantly changing. As she puts it: "One can't keep pulling up the carrot every day to see if it is still growing."

My fifth and last point is a plea—a plea for experimentation, a plea for new concepts, a plea for a willingness to try new ideas. President Kennedy has said, "It is the test of every generation to build a road for the next generation." Here again, I should like to quote Fritz Gutheim's paper. He states: "The greatest obstacle to seemly cities has become the low standard of demand and expectation of their present inhabitants, a direct expression of their having become habituated to the present environment and their incapacity to conceive of any better alternative."

Those who insist that we build only that which has been market tested would put us into the position of continuing the present environment and not offering the urban inhabitant any alternative to what he now has. Our great opportunity in urban renewal is to produce a different kind of urban living, a new kind of urban pattern, new kinds of urban associations, new ways of living. My one basic criticism of the design of our urban areas is our unwillingness to experiment. We have, of course, provided the mixture of elevator apartments with low structures and shown that this can be successful, and we have also demonstrated that the townhouse is marketable. I guess the term "townhouse" rather than "row house" has persuaded the urban dweller that it is desirable. But we have done little else to experiment in new ways of living, in new housing types, in new ways of distributing schools, stores, and houses. New ideas and new concepts will, of course, mean greater effort on the part of the client—you, the administrator—to persuade, cajole, and sometime bludgeon the municipal official into changing, adjusting, and reinterpreting the zoning ordinance, and building code. This adds, of course, another task to an already difficult one and can discourage even the most vigorous pushers for new concepts. But we are going to be judged on the kind of design we are willing to tackle, and it is only through urban renewal that we are going to be able to persuade the developer to try out some of these new ideas. And it is you who must backstop him.

And in this connection, let us not overlook what is an essential element of urban design—namely, beauty. Design itself should be beautiful, but we should not ignore the amenities, the art, the street furniture, all of the individual elements of the design, and we should make sure that they are beautiful as well as functional. We should look for graceful light standards or perhaps a new form of fire hydrant, for a pleasingly designed iron fence, for a texture in our walks, for those touches that can bring richness and pleasure to the urban scene. And I would hope that we would seize the opportunity of urban renewal to place our utilities underground.

So let me emphasize once again the responsibility I do not think we have fully realized—the responsibility for creating urban areas not for the next few years but for posterity—and for posterity that will use and inhabit these areas and buildings for some 75 years to come. What we build will last for a long, long time. We should be sure not only that we build it well, but that we create in the process both beauty and function—beauty to raise one's spirit and function to provide a delightful urban environment. As August Heckscher said in his speech, "The Challenge of Ugliness": "A civilization begins to manifest itself when men and women have begun to take thought about what it is they construct, and why, and to what end. It begins to be a living whole when the idea of beauty has found its place alongside the pressure of utility and the spur of need."

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## Plight of the Cotton Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, people in South Carolina are very concerned about the continuing flood of low-wage textile imports into this country. Last week's tariff decision against the proposed equalization import fee to offset the cotton export subsidy which has caused domestic textile manufacturers to be placed in a very adverse position has caused additional concern in South Carolina, which is noted as the textile State. To give some indication of this concern, Mr. President, I offer for insertion some additional comments from the Columbia Record of September 8, the Greenville News of September 7, and the Spartanburg Herald of September 8. I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) Record, Sept. 8, 1962]

### J.F.K.'s TEXTILE HELP LONG OVERDUE

Why was the U.S. Tariff Commission's decision against an import equalization fee for the textile industry a "bitter disappointment" to Senator JOHNSTON? If he is so closely attuned to the textile situation and to the Kennedys, why couldn't he read the handwriting on the wall?

At no time since August of 1960 has the Record been optimistic about the genuine concern for textile employees by the Kennedys. There was then, and is not now, a certitude of relief. To us, the U.S. Tariff Commission's ruling came as a matter of predictable course.

We expected that the deciding vote, cast by Mr. Kennedy's appointee—Ben Dorfman, the Chairman—would be against textile people. And the thumbs down conclusion is consistent with the previous decisions of the Kennedys.

During this interim, we have wondered why both Senator JOHNSTON and Governor Hollings have beguiled Carolinians with reports on the President's solicitude.

It began on August 30, 1960, when the then Senator Kennedy wrote Governor Hollings: "Imports of textile products, including apparel, should be within limits which will not endanger our own existing textile capacity and employment, and which will permit growth of the industry in reasonable relationship to the expansion of our overall economy."

Please note that nearly 2 years ago, Mr. Kennedy was telling South Carolina's Governor that textile imports should be restricted, should be "within limits which will not endanger our own existing textile capacity and employment."

Would Mr. Kennedy do anything about guaranteeing the 122,000 textile jobs of South Carolinians? In August of 1960, he told the Governor: "The Office of the Presidency carries with it the authority and influence to explore and workout solutions within the framework of our foreign trade policies for the problems peculiar to our textile and apparel industry. Because of the broad ramifications of any action and because of the necessity of approaching a solution in terms of total needs of the textile industry, this is a responsibility which only the President can adequately discharge. I can assure you that the next Democratic administration will regard this as a high priority objective."

In May of 1961, the President's Special Committee on Textiles came up with a seven-point program to help the industry. Several of these points were virtually meaningless. Some were very important.

"Ah, hah," said the President's apologists in South Carolina. "See. He is going to help South Carolina and its textile workers."

We were skeptical. And said so. On May 17, we wrote that there would be no restrictive quotas, which the industry sought and which the President promised in his August 1960 letter to Governor Hollings. We were right.

Then came a conference of 19 textile-producing nations in Geneva, concluding with a short-term agreement of a single year, and a long-term agreement of 5.

Once again, the apologists praised the Geneva agreement as a "great boon" to the State and its $412 million industry. Before, during, and after the Geneva meeting, we were skeptical. We pointed out on June 22, before Geneva, that the President preferred "an international approach" on textiles to "unilateral action by the United States." This, despite his August 30 epistle to Mr. Hollings that a solution to the textile problem "is a responsibility which only the President can adequately discharge."

But the Kennedyites declared to South Carolinians that the President was taking care of the textile workers.

How have the Geneva agreements worked? In the first 6 months of this year (as Republican Candidate Workman has stressed), "We imported more cotton yarn than we had in any entire year in the past. From some countries which were not a part of the 19-nation agreement, imports have increased

as much as 1,000 percent. And as fast as one nation has been persuaded or pressured into cutting down on its shipments into the United States, other nations have stepped up their shipments. Altogether, textile imports for this year promise to be about 30 percent greater than they were last year."

How does this affect South Carolina? Candidate Workman said in a Rock Hill speech that "the J. P. Stevens mills have announced cutbacks on 3 mills in South Carolina already, affecting almost 2,000 workers. And other cutbacks are in the works for some of the Derring-Milliken mills, the Inman mills, and Spartan mills. And still others may be forced to follow suit."

What does the latest ruling of the Tariff Commission mean for the Palmetto State? R. Dave Hall, of Belmont, N.C., president of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, said the ruling "casts a shadow on the future of tens of thousands of cotton farmers and domestic textile employees."

It has been 16 months since May of 1961, when the President announced his seven-point program. "These months," says Mr. Hall, "are completely lost. We are back where we started. In the meantime, cotton textile imports are continuing at an alltime high. The loss of jobs, investments, and opportunities mounts."

All the time, Mr. Hall is saying, since Mr. Kennedy became President, has been lost. The industry must start from scratch.

But relief is needed now. The grossly inequitable cotton price system must be corrected. Now. Senatorial Candidate Workman said on August 25, "If the administration intends to help our textile industry, let it do so now—when that help is needed."

The President, after the Tariff Commission decision, announced he would seek legislation to correct the cotton problem next year.

Carolinians have been waiting since August of 1960.

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[From the Greenville (S.C.) News-Piedmont, Sept. 7, 1962]

TRADE BILL COULD BETRAY TEXTILE WORKERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The most important congressional issue affecting South Carolina's textile workers today is the trade bill advocated by President Kennedy.

This bill actually affects every industrial worker in the Nation. It is of particular importance to textile people because of the damage they already have suffered from foreign imports. Many have lost their jobs and all have lost working time and pay because of cheap textile goods flooding this country from low-wage nations.

The proposed trade bill has been passed by the House, awaits action in the Senate. One of its important provisions would give President Kennedy broad authority to regulate tariffs and thus control entry of foreign goods into the United States. The personal powers to be delegated to the President far exceed any a President ever has had in the field of foreign trade.

Under them a President could, if he chose to do so for any reason, throw any segment of American industry into confusion simply by whacking a particular tariff and letting competitive foreign goods flow freely. This is particularly true of textiles because of adverse factors already plaguing the industry, including these:

1. Heavy competition from foreign goods.
2. Pressure of automation.
3. Never-ending problems of overproduction and underpricing.
4. The two-price cotton system which lets foreign mills buy cotton cheaper than American firms.

In the case of textiles, therefore, the proposed trade bill would give a President the power of virtual control over production and thus over employment.

Some months ago the textile industry, through its American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, endorsed the trade bill. The industry acted with some trepidation and with some members in opposition. Its action was an historic break with its traditional position on foreign trade. The industry made the break on statesmanlike grounds—the trade bill would help implement American foreign policy, and the textile industry would willingly bear its share of that burden.

Developments since then have sharpened fears about the possible effects of the trade bill on industries like textiles. To list a few:

1. The President has failed to carry out the major portion of a seven-point program he promised to relieve the troubles of the textile industry.

2. The President demonstrated in the steel price episode a disturbing tendency to use every weapon available to carry his point with private industry.

3. Evidence continues to mount that the Government's foreign policy in many cases gives foreign industrial development priority over American industrial needs. In this connection the State Department appears to exercise considerable hidden control over actions of all other governmental departments.

4. After a meeting with textile State Senators, President Kennedy was represented as thinking in terms of curtailing textile imports for the rest of 1962. No long-range relief or guarantees were mentioned. (This would cover only Mr. Kennedy's immediate objective of wooing Senate votes for his trade bill and popular votes for his congressional candidates in November.)

In short the President, as of this writing, has played the textile industry and its workers for all they are worth in the arenas of national and international politics. He has promised much; he has given little of lasting value.

This record automatically poses the question—would the President use the foreign trade powers he requests as a political weapon should the occasion arise?

In view of the past, it could happen.

Despite the previous endorsement of the trade bill by the textile industry, it is now to be hoped South Carolina's two Senators will vote against the presidential tariff powers. Unhappily, events since that endorsement was given indicate the bill, as proposed, could betray the textile workers of South Carolina by putting them at the mercy of both national and international political considerations.

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[From the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald, Sept. 8, 1962]

TIME FOR ASSURANCES TO BE DEMONSTRATED

President John F. Kennedy has stated it emphatically, sort of.

"A solution must be found in the near future * * * for the inequity of the two-price system of cotton."

Accordingly, the President will propose remedial legislation early in the next session of Congress.

Let's see now. That gets the subject safely beyond the November elections, doesn't it?

You reckon it will get the problem safely beyond textile-State support of the Kennedy free trade bill?

Once upon a time a Senator was in the running for President of the United States. He came to Charlotte in his campaigning, and he outlined several reasons why textile people would be benefited under his administration.

He made two chief points: (1) The President already possessed authority to adjust imports which were damaging an American industry; (2) if it should be that this was not the case, he would immediately ask Congress for such authority.

How long is immediately?

Nearly 2 years after the above statement, the President says he will propose legislation next year.

The Associated Press reported: "Kennedy did not say what he has in mind."

It is not surprising at all to read that "Japanese Ambassador Koichiro told newsmen he is sure his Government will be pleased" at the Tariff Commision's 3-to-2 rejection of a plan to balance the U.S. Government' subsidy of foreign manufacturers.

One has only to scan the report of the Commission to realize the peril to textile jobs was not its primary concern. Instead, the emphasis was on a desire to protect—apparently at all costs—the Government price subsidy for raw cotton.

Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, discussing the adverse decision of the Tariff Commission, said: "The President has assured me that he will act to restrict imports for the rest of this year."

Well, the time is reasonably ripe for the President to assure the rest of us on that score.

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## Lack of Political Morality and Civil Responsibility May Spell Doom for Our Free Way of Life

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln warned us that if this Nation ever falls we ourselves must be the destroyers. The prophetic words of our great President may well be coming to full realization because of the increasing lack of political morality and the failure of large segments of our people to assume civil responsibility. How can a Nation of free men survive if we permit the head of the Government to gamble the lives, the fortunes and the sacred honor of the people on a foreign policy designed for but one purpose, to win Negro votes which will perpetuate the administration in office? Yet, this is exactly what is taking place and we have as the authority one of the chief spokesmen of the Kennedy administration, J. Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to India and close adviser to President Kennedy. According to David Lawrence in the following column from the Washington Evening Star, Ambassador Galbraith, unashamedly told the Indian Parliament that our attitude on foreign policy is being shaped to win Negro votes in America. Congress and the American people should demand that President Kennedy immediately repudiate this statement and remove its author from his responsible position. If he fails to do so, we can only assume that Mr. Galbraith is speaking for the administration and that our national purpose has degenerated to the point where its end is merely to keep the Kennedy family in power.

No less the victims of such naked abuse of political power are the millions of Negro citizens who are led to believe that they may enjoy the full blessings of civil rights without assuming civil re-

sponsibility. Mr. Lawrence's column, which I include as a part of these remarks, demands an answer from the President, from the Negro people of Harlem and from the Negro leaders of the United States. I am sure that none who calls himself an American, white or Negro, is willing to trade freedom and our great heritage of liberty for the votes of any group of any race or any economic level.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 10, 1962]

WHAT ABOUT CIVIL RESPONSIBILITY?—ADAM CLAYTON POWELL ADMONISHED FOR JUNKETING AT CRUCIAL MOMENT

(By David Lawrence)

There's a lot of agitation these days about civil rights, but very little is said about civil responsibilities. All sorts of public demonstrations are being staged in the South to assure Negroes of the right to vote—but there is little concern apparently over what they do with the vote in those sections of the country where they have been exercising that right freely for many years.

For nine consecutive terms now—18 years—in a district in New York City populated predominantly by Negroes and Puerto Ricans, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, a Negro clergyman, has been elected to Congress. By reason of the seniority rule and length of membership, he now is chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. He cannot be displaced unless the Republicans win control of Congress this November, or unless he is himself defeated.

It might be thought that the chairman of the committee of the House of Representatives which deals with such an important subject as labor relations would be attending committee meetings and sessions of the House at this time, as the work of Congress is currently in the most decisive stage of the present session. Strikes and work stoppages in missile plants are causing grave anxiety. The all-important Federal aid-to-education bill is tied up in joint conference, in which his committee plays an influential part. But Mr. POWELL chose this period for a 6-week trip abroad. The New York Times, in an editorial last Thursday under the caption "POWELL'S Shameless Junket," said:

"In the midst of the important closing period of the congressional session, when a record of accomplishment versus do-nothingism is in the balance, the chairman of a major committee of the House is traveling about Europe on a frivolous junket. Almost needless to say, this is ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, a Democrat from Harlem who annually vies with BUCKLEY of the Bronx for the dishonor of being among the most absent Members of Congress.

"Representative POWELL sailed for Europe August 8 with Mrs. Tamara J. Wall, associate labor counsel for the committee, and Miss Corrine Huff, receptionist in his office. They are due back about September 21. Mr. POWELL is supposedly conducting an inquiry into equal opportunities for women in Europe, a study that will take him to a Paris nightclub show, a Venice film festival, and possibly on an Aegean cruise. State Department officials have been alerted to arrange hospitality and entertainment, as well as counterpart funds—other countries' reimbursement for our foreign aid—which conveniently need not be accounted for in detail by our traveling Congressmen. Mr. POWELL is not alone in the enjoyment of this and other abuses of the congressional privilege.

"The reckless, irresponsible conduct of Mr. POWELL is a disgrace to the people of his district, to the U.S. Congress and to the Kennedy administration, which to its discredit sent Secretaries Ribicoff and Goldberg to New York last year to attend a Powell glorification dinner.

"We say it is time for the people of Harlem to wake up, quit making a hero out of this man who holds in such contempt his obligations in public office, and retire him from Congress before he has a chance to make good on his repeated promise to retire himself. As for the House of Representatives and the Kennedy administration, have they no discipline for a Member, and especially a committee chairman, who runs away to Europe for 6 weeks on idle whimsy like this 'inquiry' just at a time when Congress is belatedly trying to get down to serious business?"

The next day news dispatches reported that Mr. POWELL had suddenly cut short his tour and flown from Madrid to Puerto Rico, where he maintains a $50,000 home and where his wife spends most of her time, though she is on the congressional payroll at a salary of $12,000 a year as a staff member of the committee of which her husband is chairman. Mr. POWELL says his wife earns her pay because she handles the voluminous mail he receives from Spanish-speaking constitutents in New York City.

Mr. POWELL is up for reelection this autumn, but he isn't worried about the outcome. The Negroes in his district are expected to continue to reelect him. The Kennedy administration is expected to help him get elected. Maybe the explanation for this was given recently by J. Kenneth Galbraith, former Harvard professor, close adviser to President Kennedy, and now U.S Ambassador to India. In a speech on August 8 before the Constitution Club in New Delhi—an assemblage of Members of the India Parliament—Mr. Galbraith told why the Kennedy administration is against "colonialism."

"Perhaps our reasons for this stand are even more pressing than yours. Africa is the continent most intimately identified with modern colonialism. A very large number of Americans are of African origin. The administration which I represent came to power because it enjoyed the overwhelming support of the 19 million Americans—about 10 percent of the population—of African descent. These help form our attitudes toward colonialism. On the basis of a long and close political association with Negro friends and colleagues, I can assure you of the strength of these attitudes and also of their political force."

In other words, American policy in foreign affairs is made nowadays on the basis of what will win the Negro vote in America and not on the principles of what is right for all the people of the United States—such as preserving, for instance, a naval base for our Armed Forces in the Azores which Portugal has granted us but now is reluctant to renew. This is the expediency doctrine of a political-minded administration now fully confessed by one of its principal advisers

## Jobs Going Begging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the August 19 issue of the Washington Post contained a very interesting and penetrating analysis of discretionary unemployment, a new phenomenon in our economy. I want to commend reporter Frank Porter for commenting on this for, I believe, the points which he makes are valid. These are the points, I might say, which I have been urging upon the attention of the Congress and the country. For example, he notes that much of today's unemployment may be traced to prosperity, to the dynamism of the economy and not stagnation. He points out the paradox of a large unemployment rate—5.8 percent seasonally adjusted at the last report—while at the same time many, many jobs are open. He notes the particularity of the unemployed in what jobs they will take on one hand and the high skill requirements which block many of the unemployed from the jobs they might want. Here is the point. There are jobs in our society going begging while, at the same time, we have a large body of unemployed. Any program which is based upon an analysis which ignores this fact suffers from a fatal weakness.

In the hope of furthering discussion and understanding of the unemployment situation, I am placing Mr. Porter's article as it appeared in the Washington Post in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 19, 1962]

DISCRETIONARY UNEMPLOYMENT: PRODUCT OF PROSPERITY

(By Frank C. Porter)

Why is it that West Germany, with less than 1 percent unemployment must import workers to ease its acute labor shortage while in the United States, the richest nation on earth, some 4 million (5.3 percent of the labor force) are without jobs?

Asked this question, an American who works for the Bonn Government scratched his head. "I suppose it's because the West Germans want jobs more badly than we do," he replied. "They're not as choosy. Very often they'll take any job just to keep on working."

There are other, more common, explanations of the tight labor supply in West Germany, of course. A war-devastated industrial plant had to be rebuilt. The nation started from a lower economic base and has to run to catch up.

But there is probably at least the germ of truth in the American's observation. West Germany has not yet acquired the luxury of discretionary unemployment.

Much unemployment in the United States involves acute distress. Who can help but be touched, for example, by the numbing despair of a West Virginia coal miner with hungry mouths to feed whose skills have been displaced by a machine?

But much of our unemployment also involves little or no distress. Hundreds of thousands of jobless Americans could be working today if they were willing to settle for second best. But they're not. Their unemployment is discretionary.

The Wall Street Journal reported last week that the Ohio State Employment Service has failed for 6 months to fill 100 openings for waitresses. Of 2,000 unemployed women it has interviewed, only 30 have been willing to take what most considered substandard work.

The Journal survey found "a wide variety of jobs in many cities are going begging" largely because of the "choosy attitudes" among jobless workers (and also among some would-be employers).

We Americans can afford to be choosy today. Hunger or dole faced the wage earner who went without work for so much as a week a generation ago. Now there are all

sorts of buffers: Unemployment compensation, severance pay, savings, a working wife or husband. These cushions generally give a person a few months or even more to pick and choose, to find the most congenial job or one that will best advance his career.

This discretionary unemployment is a comparatively recent development. Economists who see in the present high rate of joblessness some structural defect in the nation's economy might well ponder the following proposition. Much of today's unemployment is the outgrowth of prosperity rather than the harbinger of stagnation.

It is not true that 4 million Americans cannot find a job. It would be more accurate to say that a large proportion of that 4 million, perhaps a majority, has not found the right job. Prosperity has taught them to expect something better than a menial or humdrum task. And prosperity enables most of them to wait for something better, at least for a while.

Meanwhile, there are acute job shortages all over the country. Lack of a sufficient number of qualified engineers and scientists is probably the No. 1 brake on our space program. In one section or another schoolteachers, computer programers, garage mechanics, household help, salesclerks, and office workers are all in short supply. And there are countless other categories.

Perhaps we have been looking too long at long one side of the coin. It could be that unfilled jobs are holding the economy back more than idle workers.

At any rate, the technique of matching idle workers with unfilled jobs is in its infancy. So are the measures being taken to train and educate Americans for the jobs that must be filled in the future if the country is going to meet its full economic potential.

The solution of these two problems may be the key to reducing both discretionary unemployment, which is the outgrowth of prosperity, and hard-core distress unemployment, which is in large part, the product of our advancing technology.

## Abuses of the Aid to Dependent Children Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have inserted material in the Appendix of the RECORD relative to the abuses of the aid to dependent children program over the Nation.

For the past 6 months we have been reading a series of articles relative to the abuses that were found here in the District of Columbia.

The Commercial Appeal, an outstanding newspaper of the Nation published in Memphis, Tenn., has for a number of years cited the abuses in the various States relative to the aid to dependent children program. The answer that was given on each occasion when these abuses were exposed was that Federal regulations prohibited the discontinuance of these payments. If the State welfare agency in any State did not abide by these regulations the State would run the risk of losing the entire Federal assistance program to the aged, the blind, and the aid to dependent children.

Morris Cunningham, an outstanding writer and head of the bureau for the Commercial Appeal here in Washington, has just completed a series of articles on these abuses in Washington.

On Friday morning, September 7, there appeared an editorial in the Commercial Appeal which is very timely and I think that the membership of the Congress will be interested in this editorial.

The editorial follows:

WASHINGTON LEARNS—SLOWLY

As we have said so many times, the people are ahead of Washington. Now we have a lag of nearly 10 years.

A series of three articles by Morris Cunningham of the Washington bureau of the Commercial Appeal tells of what the Nation's Capital is just learning about the abuses of the aid to dependent children program.

Washington has found the same thing that Paul Molloy found in Memphis in a series of articles published in July of 1953. Mr. Molloy, then an investigative reporter for this newspaper, is now on the staff of the Chicago Sun-Times.

The Molloy articles were greeted with scoffing and scorn by welfare officials, professional social workers, and some others. But eventually there was a massive enlargement of the welfare staff in Shelby County and a more serious attempt to separate chiseling women from the worthy cases.

During the long years since 1953 other investigators have pried into the flow of tax money down the ADC drains and made their findings known in such publications as Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, Look, and U.S. News & World Report.

But the Washington fountainhead of welfare cash continues to flow freely and now suddenly the city stands back appalled by what General Accounting Office staff members found in the District of Columbia. Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, Democrat, of West Virginia, insisted on the GAO probe of things that remained out of sight as long as the welfare organization investigated itself.

The GAO sample of cases turned up more easy riders, cheaters, and false claims for this tax money than there were legitimate cases of mothers and children for whom the ADC program is designed. In the city of Washington alone, new estimates indicate $18 million has been passed out to fake welfare cases in 5 years.

It takes Washington a very long time to catch up with the people, but eventually we hope a way is going to be found to plug up the gaping holes in the welfare apparatus and let the money flow on to the children for whom it is intended.

## Centennial of the Land-Grant College Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. A. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to join my colleagues in saluting the centennial of the Land-Grant College Act. All this year the Nation has been observing the 100th anniversary of the Morrill Act—the bill signed by President Abraham Lincoln on July 2, 1862, which established the land-grant colleges.

The history of the land-grant colleges and the many benefits which the Nation has derived from them has already been covered in other speeches. There are now 68 land-grant colleges and universities throughout the 50 States and Puerto Rico, and I would like to talk a little about the University of Puerto Rico and its service to the Nation.

Enrollment at our university at Rio Piedras was 18,554 in 1962. Its schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing and pharmacy are models for Latin America and recently served as a regional center for public health training for our Spanish-speaking neighbors in this hemisphere. The University of Puerto Rico has also played a leading role in training Peace Corps volunteers for service in South America. A group of these volunteers recently completed courses in nutrition prior to assuming posts in Peru. Another group is now preparing to teach and aid in rural development in the Dominican Republic. This land-grant university, together with other educational institutions on the island, is a final indoctrination center for all Peace Corps members bound for Latin America.

This year's commencement exercises at the university were dedicated to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of our college and the 100th anniversary of the creation of the land-grant institutions.

Higher education has played an important part in the rapid development of Puerto Rico. It gives me great satisfaction to salute the land-grant colleges throughout the United States on their centennial and to look forward to their future achievements.

## Hero Scholarship Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I had the opportunity on Friday, September 7, 1962, to attend the Eighth Annual Hero Scholarship Fund Thrill Show at the Philadelphia Stadium which was held to benefit children of Philadelphia police, firemen, and park guards killed or permanently disabled in line of duty.

About 70,000 persons attended the show which included leading TV and radio entertainers Dick Powell, Joey Bishop, Brenda Lee, and Duke Ellington. The master of ceremonies was Bud Collyer—CBS–TV. The fund chairman, Mayor James H. J. Tote, and the fund vice chairman, City Council President Paul D. Ortona welcomed and spoke to the great audience.

The most spectacular presentations were made by representatives of the city

agencies. The park guard men and mounts presented a foot and cavalry thrill; the fire department presented firefighters demonstrations; the police motorcycle drill team presented the thrill riders. The police and firemen's bands presented soloists and music.

This is a great event in which one of the greatest cities in the Nation features its police, firemen, and park guards and invites its citizens to participate in benefiting the children of its killed and permanently disabled heroes.

## Small Towns and Small Merchants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WRIGHT PATMAN**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, recent years have seen an ever-increasing number of independent merchants in small towns throughout America go out of business. This is a great loss, because the independent merchants of a smaller community are its backbone. In a very real sense, they are the reason for the town's existence. They are the center of an entire trading area.

The hometown independent businessman can provide nearby personalized service of a kind that is not obtainable from large chain organizations or huge supermarkets.

During the last two decades there has been a steadily increasing program designed to aid small business. The Small Business Administration has done much; small business investment companies offer new sources of capital. Set-aside programs have been provided for smaller manufacturing and other similar firms. However, no program has been specifically devised to aid the small independent retailers.

Small retail establishments, because of the diversity of goods and services offered by them, and because of the relatively small size of individual units, and the fact that they do not require large capital or seek to sell goods or services to the Federal Government, do not readily lend themselves to most of the various types of assistance offered by the Small Business Administration or other Federal agencies. The truth of the matter is that the seeds of their own salvation are already present in their own situation. They simply require careful tending.

The independent merchant offers the consumer substantial reasons for trading at home. In addition to being part of the community and knowing the needs of the people he serves, he also can give better, prompter service and is in a position to give more satisfactory attention to his customers' needs than the larger merchants in area trading centers 25 to 50 miles down the superhighway.

One of the best possible ways to inform prospective customers of this kind of advantage is through advertising in local newspapers. One of the best expressions of this fact that I have encountered appeared in the Thursday, September 6, 1962, issue of the Cooper Review, published at Cooper, Tex., by J. T. Toney. I am inserting it at this point in the RECORD:

In every State, in nearly every county, of the United States are small towns in which former business areas have become ghost streets.

The scene is a common one: Store windows boarded over; former banks used for storage; dust gathering on empty benches on the sidewalks. Yet, in many of these towns there are as many or more people than ever before.

The movement of trade came about as a result of better highways, faster automobiles, and poor promotion by the local merchants.

But what about the future? Will superhighways, airplanes, and still faster automobiles continue to sap the commercial activity of the small towns? Not necessarily so.

The local merchant holds many advantages over distant competitors. The local consumer will remain loyal if he thinke he will get a fair price at home. He will remain loyal if he knows he can find the variety he seeks at home. He will remain loyal if he realizes how much he will save in transportation and service costs by trading at home. He will remain loyal if the local merchant demonstrates that the local store is progressive and up to date.

In short, every if concerning the future of the small city merchant depends upon his use of advertising to keep the local consumer interested and informed on the goods and services he has to offer.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BRUCE ALGER**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of September 8, 1962:

CUBA—PRESENT DANGER

The failure of U.S. foreign policy is moving inexorably to a climax in Cuba. There are other factors and areas which could conceivably mature into crises before Cuba, but probably will not. These include the Berlin wall, Vietnam, Laos, South American subversives, our gold outflow and foreign aid, foreign trade and barriers against the United States, the stultifying taxload on industry and individuals at home and abroad—but none of these are as imminent as Cuba. The Russians, long ago, in 1823, under the czar provoked the United States to establish and announce a policy against invasion of this hemisphere which became known as the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe said as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not "be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. If any European power tries to interfere with the American governments, the United States will consider it an unfriendly act dangerous to our peace and safety."

A series of violations of this doctrine has culminated in these actions as reported by Senator HOMER CAPEHART of Indiana: "Between 3,000 and 5,000 Soviet personnel arrived in Cuba in 5 Soviet passenger ships between July 27 and July 31. Eleven cargo ships arrived in the same period. Soviet personnel unloaded them. Trucks were lowered into the holds of these ships, loaded and covered with tarpaulins. Eyewitnesses reported seeing tanks, communications trucks and large truck-trailers carrying crates 40 feet long. At least 15 more ships from Communist countries are on the way carrying the same kind of cargo and personnel." In the face of these facts and at a time when positive action is long overdue President Kennedy's conduct, his speeches, his inaction and indecision are almost unbelievable. It is as though he, his White House advisers and his State Department and officials have never known what is happening. Yet, we know now that the administration has always known, but did not see fit to report to the American people until forced to do so by members of the press, Congress and individuals, and then his report was reluctantly given.

In analyzing the inept leadership of the administration in this crisis consider these:

1. The expropriation of American property, the threat to American lives climaxing in the firing squads.

2. The President calling off the air support promised by the United States in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion.

3. The financial support of Cuba by the United Nations and other countries receiving our aid (contrary to U.S. policy).

4. The tractor blackmail deal on Cuban prisoners imprisoned because the President called off promised U.S. support of the invasion.

5. The build up by Russia of Cuba, entrenching communism, developing Castro's military power, and creating a base for Russian Communist operations throughout South America.

6. The continuing attempted subversion of other nations in this hemisphere by Russia, Castro, and the Communists.

7. President Kennedy's statements that military weapons to Castro from Russia are for defensive use by Cuba—not offensive. Worse, the President unilaterally telegraphs U.S. action by stating that we will not invade Cuba now or at any time. Obviously then, no action is planned to blockade the heavy Communist traffic by sea and air. While Cuba is strengthened militarily for what can only cost greater loss of life later. We can, we must blockade Cuba, and then, as Senator CAPEHART says: "From the standpoint of international law the United States has every right to land troops, take possession of Havana, and occupy the country, unless the Cuban Government answers satisfactorily the request of the U.S. Government that all Soviet military personnel be sent home and that no further shipments of military supplies be sanctioned by the Havana authorities." To do less invites other intemperate action against the United States which can precipitate war. There is risk in our action, but much greater risk in continued inaction.

Here's a positive U.S. foreign policy (which I submitted a year ago) to absolve President Kennedy and save the United States:

1. Firm, bold leadership (to match strength and determination), prevent war by miscalculation, and attrition by subversion. Examples: Reinstate Monroe Doctrine—clean communism out of Cuba. Demand German reunification.

2. Declare war on communism—they've declared war on the United States and the free world. The Communists mean to dominate the world by infiltration, subversion, and all-out war when ready. Accept the challenge.

3. Withdraw recognition of Communist governments—brand them outlaws of civilization. No negotiations. No dignifying them. They never honor contracts.

4. Stop supporting and aiding Communists, socialists, and neutrals. Foreign aid only to friends—self-help basis. We should provide know-how—not gifts.

5. Encourage and help satellites to rebel.

6. Increase military superiority. Advanced weaponry, research, massive retaliation, not conventional or limited concept. Gear to win. Know strength breeds respect. That's all we seek or expect.

7. Preserve free economy. It undergirds our military and free form of society.

8. Force showdown in the United Nations. Only Russia violates charter by subversion. Demand withdrawal (or conformance). Maintain strong alliances outside the United Nations.

9. Protect U.S. lives and property everywhere in the world. (Alger resolution, H. Con. Res. 410).

## Automation in the U.S.-Flag Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies, of which I have the honor to be chairman, reported the 1963 fiscal year appropriations bill (H.R. 12580) for these agencies on July 17, 1962, with a recommended reduction of $1,950,000 in the amount requested for research and development, Maritime Administration. This unanimous action by my subcommittee was subsequently approved by the full House Committee on Appropriations and later by the House of Representatives. My bill is presently pending in the other body.

The following statement released recently by Joseph Curran, chairman of the AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, tends to substantiate the House action taken with regard to the $1,950,000 for studies of automation in the Maritime Administration.

Mr. Curran's statement reads as follows:

AUTOMATION IN THE UNITED STATES—A FLAG MERCHANT MARINE

Continued reports that maritime labor "is dragging its feet" or "grudgingly giving in" to automation are unfounded.

The question of accepting or rejecting is not the issue. The issue revolves around establishing an overall program in which automation will be considered as only one phase of a program to establish a sound U.S.-flag merchant marine that will carry a substantial portion of our imports and exports.

We cannot ignore the fact that while the frenzy to automate is taking place, our flagships have sunk to the position of carrying less than 10 percent of our imports and exports. The number of active ships has declined to an all time low, and from all indications, will continue to decline. This is a very bleak picture and contrary to what some Government officials apparently think, automation will not in itself solve the problems. The recent rush to build an automated ship before solving the basic problems confronting the industry, and the problems raised by automation is an example of this single-track thinking and has absolutely no merit.

It became apparent sometime ago that automation in the maritime industry, while being engineeringly feasible, raised many problems and questions that were of vital concern to us. We, therefore, set out to develop a program that would solve the many apparent problems and at the same time be beneficial to all concerned.

If automation is to contribute anything beneficial to the present situation, the entire industry must cooperate on an equal basis in all studies, experiments, and programs. Such cooperation must, to begin with, be based upon the following:

Automation should be considered as only a part of an overall program to provide a healthy U.S. merchant marine with more cargoes, more modern operating methods and a sounder Government program;

The social factors inherent in any such program must be recognized by Government and left to labor and management for settlement; and

Collective bargaining on all other phases of automation must be unimpeded and parties must be given a free hand to make arrangements in free collective bargaining with the results arrived at respected by Government.

To date the efforts by Government officials have taken various routes. We cannot see any signs of the much needed effort to promote and foster the U.S.-flag merchant marine. We have, however, arrived at the conclusion that the preconceived ideas of eliminating seamen and subsidies are the primary motivations for automation instead of the well-being of our merchant marine.

## Peace Through the Rule of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, one of the noblest objectives of Western civilization is world peace through the rule of law.

The August 1962 issue of the American Bar Association Journal contains an interesting and informative discussion of one means by which this objective could be achieved.

The discussion is in the form of an exchange of correspondence between two fellow Commissioners of the U.S. Citizens' Commission on NATO, Adolph W. Schmidt and Prof. Oliver Schroeder, Jr.

Mr. Schmidt, a nonlawyer, asks and Professor Schroeder, a member of the ABA, undertakes to answer these questions:

First. Why do members of the association continue to advocate "world peace through world law" when from Mr. Schmidt's impressions of the meaning of "world law" it is impossible to attain in the foreseeable future and, under present circumstances, the attaining of it is at best undesirable?

Second. Why cannot the important influence of the association be induced to work constructively toward an alternative, the development of the Atlantic community into effective government?

I ask unanimous consent that the exchange of correspondence be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATO CITIZENS' COMMISSIONS: A CORRESPONDENCE

*November 15, 1961.*

Prof. OLIVER SCHROEDER, Jr.,
*The Law-Medicine Center,*
*Western Reserve University,*
*Cleveland, Ohio.*

DEAR OLIVER: I appreciated your sending me the excerpt from the October 1961 issue of the American Bar Association Journal on the NATO Convention and its comments on "World Peace Through the Rule of Law."

When Grenville Clark was writing his book on this subject, revising the Charter of the United Nations so that it could be changed from a league into government, he would send me drafts for comment and criticism. I began at that time to have the greatest difficulty with what I believe has now become a cliche, "World Peace Through World Law." This has disturbed me because I have great respect for Mr. Clark and great admiration for the zeal and earnestness which Charles Rhyne has devoted to this subject. Law to me has always meant a body of rules formulated by representatives duly elected by secret ballot comprising a legislature or parliament; and having the acceptance of the people who are to live by those rules. Query: "Who will make the law?" I do not wish to accept the United Nations' General Assembly. If we accept existing law, I am sure the Soviets will insist on their brand of Soviet law, but I would insist on the common law, and I am sure we would not get very far. What the Chinese and Indians would want, I do not know, but in neither case would I be anxious to be subject to their particular brand of law.

Equally important with the body of law and the makers of law, is its enforcement. I understand that in the early days of our Western States, each territory had its code of law, but there were no means for its enforcement. Hence, vigilantes, posses, or lawlessness existed when no marshal was around.

What world law actually means to me, therefore, is world government constituted by a world legislature, a world executive and a world court, backed up by a world police force, all acting upon the individual citizen, if it is to be effective. I think this great and admirable goal is impossible for as long a time ahead as can be foreseen, and under present conditions at best, undesirable. I have never been able to see how democracies can be merged with dictatorships, either of the Soviet or Latin American variety, nor how people of high political development can be made compatible with people of primitive political development. The basic issue is freedom versus tyranny and this issue, for me at least, is irreconcilable by compromise, negotiation, or law. The left wing of the British Labor Party has stated that it is willing to surrender on the thesis that "We would rather be Red than dead," but in a recent poll, 81 percent of the U.S. population has rejected this point of view.

Under these circumstances, why do able, intelligent and sincere members of the American Bar Association continue to advocate "world peace through world law"? I hope you can enlighten me and instruct me if I have missed some crucial point.

I am particularly concerned when you and I know that there is an alternative which

has every reasonable prospect of success; namely, the development of the Atlantic Community into effective government, which by the creation of an overwhelming unbalance of power, controlled by democratic processes, could enforce the peace indefinitely. Why cannot the important influence of the American Bar Association be induced to work constructively in this direction?

Sincerely,

ADOLPH.

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NOVEMBER 17, 1961.

Mr. ADOLPH W. SCHMIDT,
*Pittsburgh, Pa.*

DEAR ADOLPH: Your November 15 letter was most refreshing. The American Bar Association efforts at "world peace through law" are based on the desire to ignite men everywhere to the basic need for the establishment of the rule of law. The various "rule of law" conferences held on the several continents seek to open men's minds to the opportunities which law rule could provide. We also hope these conferences with their accompanying publicity will stimulate the American people in the same vein.

When the problem becomes one of bringing lofty ideals down to marketplace operations, you have, quite rightly, isolated a very grave problem. Law means different things to different people—the Soviet Union, Red China, Central Africa, Latin America. It is safe to state that in Western Europe the basic ideals of life are similar to our American ideals, yet the constitutional and legal systems bear much less resemblance on the surface than the constitutional and legal systems of our Latin American neighbor states. Many Latin American nations have copied our U.S. Constitution, but from my personal experience the constitutional liberties under law are not present in Latin America, while they are present in Western Europe even though the constitutional and legal systems appear to be so different.

Law is the product of reason and experience. Knowledge and wisdom feed reason; cultures and customs cultivate experience. Our NATO community shares common sources of knowledge and wisdom as well as cultures and customs. Legal structures and legal rules may be different, but the sources and purposes of our laws are similar. These factors explain why it will be a long period before Central Africa, Red China, Soviet Russia, yes, even Latin America can join in a common legal community with Western Europe and North America.

Your observation on law emerging from legislatures composed of elected representatives is only partially true. The Western World has placed the law-creating function also in the judiciary—not only in the common law nations where judges literally make laws to govern people, but also in civil law nations where judges adapt laws to meet society's needs by interpreting the legislation. The International Court of Justice is a prime example of the law-creating function of the judiciary in the manner it has handled the Southwest Africa case and various cases involving the United Nations civil servants.

The editorial in the October, 1961, issue of the American Bar Association Journal emphasizes to me that the struggle to achieve world peace through the replacement of violence with law will receive its greatest advance if we on the U.S. Citizens' Commission, with our NATO colleagues, rise to the occasion. The people of the NATO nations believe in the rule of law; the roots of our legal systems are similar although the surface appearances of our legal systems may differ.

The movement of the American Bar for world peace through world law is a lofty dream. Ours is not to dispel the dream but to tread the path of the Western explorers—da Gama, Columbus, Magellan, Cabot, Leif Ericson, LaSalle (and shall we now add Shepherd and Grissom)—to make the first discoveries in the creation of an international community under law which we may well call Atlantica. Let us still continue to hope that other peoples observing our vision and progress in the decades ahead may also discover the rule of law as a foundation for world peace, freedom and abundance.

We agree on our final goal—the triumph of peace, freedom and abundance under law. The pathways to this goal may differ—both in the geographical areas concerned and the chronological timing of our advances. My pathway is:

First, the creation now in the Atlantic Community of law and legal institutions to meet the economic, political and defense desires of our free peoples who respect the rule of law.

Second, the maintenance of an open door to our Atlantic Community so that the free peoples of like-minded nations may join as the opportune time and proper place develop.

Third, the stimulation of the uncommitted peoples of the emerging nations to the lofty ideal of the rule of law by our example within the Atlantic Community and our guidance through the world peace through world law movement, so that in the years ahead these peoples will choose the way of peace, freedom and abundance under law which dignifies man rather than enslaves him.

Fourth, the expression of a relentless faith that the peoples now under totalitarian rule, when they observe the peaceful and free progress of Western man, will eventually demand and obtain the rule of law in this generation or the next.

Sincerely yours,

OLIVER.

## Let the Critics of Agriculture Be Informed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, it is an inescapable conclusion that the majority of the population of large urban areas is convinced that their food prices are too high and the American farmer is responsible. A study of the facts on this matter make it equally apparent that such an assumption is inaccurate. In order that the readers of the RECORD can more fully realize the extent of the benefit that farming has conferred on them and so they can better understand the farmers' present discontent with the prices he is receiving for some commodities, I commend this editorial from the August issue of Successful Farming by its editor, Dick Hanson, to their attention:

LET THE CRITICS OF AGRICULTURE BE INFORMED

I'm sure you become annoyed, as I do, every time you hear agriculturally uninformed people bandying about criticisms aimed at agriculture in general, and farmers in particular. I've heard some of the wildest accusations made against farmers by people who should really know better. These people, and some newspapers and magazines, too, do a real disservice to the American public with their false statements.

I'm sure you have met people of the type referred to here. Their two major complaints against farmers are that farmers are getting rich because food prices are too high, and that farmers are nothing but a drain on the national economy. How they arrived at these conclusions usually remains a mystery, but that doesn't deter these critics in the slightest.

There is only one good way to "fight back" at these distortions of truth—have some good hard facts in mind and stand up and say your piece at every opportunity.

First, is food high priced? In most countries of the world, people spend half or more of their income for food. Those in India spend 60 percent, the Japanese 42 percent, the Italians 45 percent. But Americans spend only one-fifth of their take-home pay for food. And it's the best quality food in the world, as well as the cheapest.

In this country, about 9 of every 100 people in our labor force are farmworkers. Contrast this with Russia, where almost half the labor force works on farms. Because you produce more with less work, the American consumer's food costs less. This gives the American consumer more money to spend on other goods and services, creating new demands and growing markets.

The idea that farmers aren't pulling their share in the national economy is often mentioned by agriculturally uninformed people. Nothing could be further from the truth. Farmers not only produce the world's best and most inexpensive food, they also are tremendously important customers of industry.

You, and the other farmers of this country, spend $25 to $26 billion each year for equipment, goods, and services to produce crops and livestock. On top of that, you spend about $15 billion or more each year for family living items. Here are just three examples of where some of your money went last year: $2.5 billion for new tractors, motor vehicles, machinery; $3.5 billion for fuel, lubricants, and machine maintenance; $1.5 billion for fertilizer and lime.

An often overlooked fact by many people who berate farmers is that there's almost a 50–50 chance their own job exists because of agriculture. Four out of every ten jobs in private employment are now related to agriculture.

Uninformed critics of agriculture need your help. Your responsibility doesn't end when you "feed 'em," you've got to help "lead 'em," also.

## Valuable Program on Good Money Management and Family Economics Developed in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the great needs at this time is more consideration of family planning for good money management. I am proud to say that great strides have been made in this field in my own State of Texas. A speakers bureau, consisting of such outstanding citizens as Joel Hodges, Jack Kassahn, Caroline Brumley, Mrs. Cyalthia Benson, Mrs. H. E. Miller, and Mrs. Argen Draper, is carrying the "money management" story to the people. Mrs. Draper is the home demonstration agent of Deaf Smith County, Tex., and an outstanding leader. A highlight of the program is a film—"Personal Money Management"—produced by the American

Bankers Association. This film was purchased by the Hereford State Bank and placed at the disposal of the family economic committee. It was shown to more than 1,000 persons at the annual meeting of the Hereford, Tex., Federal Credit Union.

The program is described in an article by Mrs. Draper, "Focusing on the Financial Facts of Life," which appeared in the Extension Service Review for July 1962. I wish to insert this article in the RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

[From the Extension Service Review, July 1962]

FOCUSING ON THE FINANCIAL FACTS OF LIFE

(By Mrs. Argen Draper, Deaf Smith County home demonstration agent, Texas)

More than 5,600 people have heard the "Money Management" story planned by Deaf Smith County folks to stir up awareness of financial facts of life.

Local needs spurred the family economics subcommittee to plan a financial program that would reach all economic levels in the area. They did not feel limited by county lines.

National surveys showed indifference toward making wills, buying cemetery lots, and generally sound business practices. A county survey showed that this applied locally, too.

Local families were also found to need help in: managing time, energy, and finances; keeping accurate bank records; and joint husband-wife study of credit and investments.

The family economic committee was organized in October 1958, as part of the extension county program building.

SYMPOSIUM DEVELOPED

Preparation for spreading the thrift story began with a symposium workshop with the Toastmasters Club. Each organized club in the area was invited to send one member to take this instruction. Training was given on: general money management, managing your bank account, and wise use of credit.

"Family Relations" and "Family Finance" were substituted for "General Money Management" in the second symposium. Added to the program were "Thrift" and "Managing Your Charge Acounts." A speakers bureau evolved from the group taking the training.

The second symposium was recorded and televised on an area station. The committee's activities were covered in both local and area newspapers and on a local radio station.

Following the radio broadcast of a speech by Mrs. Dyalthia Benson, committee chairman, requests came from throughout the area for information on money management. Mrs. Benson was asked to talk on "Family Finance" at the annual convention of the Texas Home Demonstration Association.

The stories of good money management or family economics have been told in this area by a number of methods. Letters were sent to the presidents of 100 organized groups offering the 5 topics by the speakers bureau. Study and civic clubs, Sunday school classes, church groups, and PTA's have requested the programs.

The work of the family economic committee has become widely known over much of the State. Committee members were invited to talk to over 100 groups after the letters explaining the program had been mailed to organized groups.

To make speeches more readily available, tape recordings have been made by members of the speakers bureau on the various subjects assigned to them. Printed copies of these speeches are available for use by leaders trained in money management.

In addition, a speech by Terrell Hodges, senior student at West Texas State College, on "Charge Accounts" has been added to the tape library. He had used materials from the bureau in preparing a term paper which served as the basis of his speech.

A film produced by the American Bankers Association, "Personal Money Management," was purchased by the Hereford State Bank and placed at the disopsal of the family economic committee. It was shown to more than 1,000 persons at the annual meeting of the Hereford Texas Federal Credit Union. More copies of the film have been purchased for use in other areas.

SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Three high school homemaking classes heard the money management story presented by four committee members. The same series of programs was requested a second year. These programs aroused the school superintendent's interest, and he endorsed the committee's plans for offering the money management subjects in school. Arrangements are made with classroom teachers.

Fourth, fifth, and sixth-grade teachers were given information on the nationwide thrift essay contest. As a result, 223 themes on thrift were entered from local schoolchildren. Larry Paetzold of Hereford placed first in Texas and third in the national contest with his essay.

State awards were made to local winners at the annual banquet of the Deaf Smith County Chamber of Commerce. First-place themes in the three grade-level divisions were read and the national award was presented at a special recognition meeting of the Hereford Rotary Club.

Thrift talks are planned for a junior high assembly, featuring 4–H members of the committee.

Perhaps the most unusual assignment in the series was that of Loreta Fowler, assistant county home demonstration agent. Asked to give a program on money management at the Parkview Parent-Teachers meeting, she discovered that she was featured speaker at graduation exercises for the elementary school. Her subject was, "Family Economics."

Home Demonstration Club women trained in "Money Management" trained girls in four 4–H club groups.

Success of the committee is attributed to securing qualified, interested persons to serve on it. Every effort is made to provide them material and training. A number of resource persons have discussed the county situation, helped make plans, and helped in carrying out and evaluating the program.

It is difficult to measure results from the work of this committee. However, the work has become widely known over much of the State.

The committee members have made talks to over 100 groups. Two groups of young homemakers have been organized and have had at least eight programs each on "Money Management."

The committee plans to continue stressing the availability of the Speakers Bureau. All possible news coverage, making talks available, and a regular radio program are on the agenda.

## America's Low Prestige in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am impressed more and more every day with the outstanding reporting job being done by Mr. Constantine Brown during his extended stay in Europe. I take pleasure in calling to the attention of the Senate an excellent column by Mr. Brown as printed in the Washington Evening Star of September 6, 1962. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial entitled "America's Low Prestige in Europe: U.S. Leadership Blamed for Letting Aggressors Win in Many Areas" be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 6, 1962]

AMERICA'S LOW PRESTIGE IN EUROPE—U.S. LEADERSHIP BLAMED FOR LETTING AGGRESSORS WIN IN MANY AREAS

(By Constantine Brown)

MUNICH.—Much has been written in the last year by newspapermen reporting from Europe that the policies followed by the United States have brought its prestige to the lowest ebb in contemporary history.

In 3 weeks of travel through Switzerland and Germany your reporter has talked not only with responsible leaders but also with average citizens. In this city there was an occasion to combine a social visit and a political discussion with an old friend who, since the early days of the American occupation, has been a strong advocate of a pro-American policy for Germany. To him, America has always been the world beacon of justice and human rights.

I shall try to present in condensed form a long conversation which, in the mind of this reporter, represents the views of not only Germans, but of many European leaders regarding Washington's new policies.

"The Europeans," my German friend pointed out, "have frequently misunderstood America's policies. This is inevitable among the democracies who have different conceptions concerning freedom. But we all believed that you would never tolerate the real meaning of freedom to be snuffed out anywhere in the world. We Germans know what it is to lose freedom and our civil rights. And when you demolished Hitler for us, we believed we could look to America to lead the way for our country to regain its democracy. And we always believed that you would continue to do your utmost to prevent aggression—from whatever quarter it might come.

"But in these last few years, and especially in the last few months, we have suffered a sort of slow shock; we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that you regard aggression with equanimity, provided it is perpetrated by the Communists or neutralists. You have established the principle that aggression can pay dividends for the aggressors."

He then began to enumerate concrete cases. He started with the little enclaves such as Goa, belonging to Portugal on the Indian continent, which was gobbled up by the Indian armies overnight, needlessly reminding me that our only reaction was some outraged words from the lips of United Nations Ambassador Stevenson, and more foreign aid to India, the aggressor. Added to this has been outright hostility by Washington toward Portugal, a stanch ally.

The next example was our hostility toward President Tshombe of Katanga, a strong anti-Communist who is apparently taking literally, my friend said, the self-determination of all nations guaranteed in the Atlantic Charter. And then he went on to mention the fact that our longtime ally, Holland, had been forced through American pressure to give up a small remaining part

of her empire, Irian, and cede these poor natives to the pro-Communist president of Indonesia, Sukarno; even though the Dutch were willing to permit the natives to decide for themselves whether they should become independent or join with the Indonesians. "You actually made it physically impossible for the Netherlands to send troops to defend the natives," he added.

"Take Laos," he said. "After stating early in 1961 that Laos full independence was a matter of life and death for the security of east Asia, you have forced the creation of a so-called neutralist government. It will be a Communist government within a year.

"And now you tolerate coldblooded murders by the East Berlin Vopos right under your eyes, while at the same time you emphasize human rights for peoples all over the world.

"We know that it is not the American people who have changed. I have been to the States recently, and I know from personal contacts that they still have lofty ideals and are the same people who did not hesitate to shed their blood for the sake of freedom, and to pour out untold billions to make a better world. No, the change has come with your leadership. They are now tolerating aggression because of the new element of fear. America's leaders of the past never had a fear complex—why, you entered the last two wars totally unprepared. But that didn't stop you from your determination to stamp out aggression.

"There is a growing feeling in Europe today that henceforth they will have to 'go it alone' without America. Their leaders do not find it politic to say it outright; but the fact is that many of them are now writing off the United States as the mainstay of the remaining free world. This is the kernel of America's low prestige in the world."

## How Not To Treat Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the brainy elite around the President seem to think they know how to handle Russia.

Marguerite Higgins, in today's New York Herald Tribune, tells us why they are wrong and what damage is being done by Alice-in-Wonderland type of thinking by President Kennedy.

The article follows:

RUFFIANSHIP VERSUS RESTRAINT

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—The key issue in Cuba is not whether the Soviet-supplied missiles are offensive or defensive or whether Soviet officers are in Bermuda shorts rather than battle gear. The issue is whether American policies of so-called restraint tempt the Russians into putting on more pressure everywhere or whether U.S. restraint will be rewarded by Soviet restraint.

So far, President Kennedy, with, of course, the most honorable of motives, has most often taken the advice of those officials who counseled caution even at the price of letting the Russians get away with a slice here and a slice there of the U.S. world position in areas ranging from the Far East to central Europe to the Caribbean.

The President himself at a press conference stated part of the rationale for this attitude by indicating that America had to be cautious in Cuba because action against the Communist incursions there might result in Soviet counteractions in places like Berlin.

But what a tragedy if, for example, the initial slowness of American reaction should prove one day to be the factor that decided Khrushchev to authorize a new era of brinkmanship in Berlin by threatening to use the missiles newly emplaced along the Western air corridors to the city.

And with a new crisis boiling up, it seems important to bring to the surface what has been known for several months to insiders in Washington. This is that Americans of great stature, both in and out of Government, Democrats as well as Republicans, are now asking whether President Kennedy will preside over the decline of America as a great power.

Perhaps this seems unduly alarmist at a time when America is so psychologically attuned that headlines give greater attention to a "satisfactory conversation" between the American Secretary of the Interior and the Premier of the Soviet Union than to dispatches from Berlin saying that Russians have riddled an American military car with 40 machinegun bullets.

But nonetheless, the question is being asked and soon, it can be predicted, will be put on the public record because the men involved know that the issues are too crucial to go undebated.

Indeed, some of President Kennedy's advisers most closely connected with the Berlin situation feel that in the coming months the United States is risking the most serious—and needless—confrontation with the Russians in Berlin because this country—not just in Europe but also in Cuba and elsewhere—has not faced up to the possibility that inaction vis-a-vis the Russians often runs greater risk than action.

As President Kennedy himself once remarked atmospherics have their uses, and the time to send sharp diplomatic protests to Moscow, to summon the Soviet Ambassador for stern confrontations, was at the beginning: that is, at the moment that the first Soviet ship of the recent armada (which everybody knew was on the way) headed toward Cuba in July. The long silence on this score plus official attempts to play down the importance of it all was an invitation, the argument goes, for Moscow to believe that America was looking for a way to evade the challenge.

Moscow's reaction, of course, was very ungentlemanly. For instead of playing Washington's game, Moscow threw its challenge contemptuously in America's teeth by openly announcing to the world that it was sending military personnel and supplies to Cuba. There is a conviction in many responsible quarters that a straight and tough stand from the beginning would have greatly inhibited the Soviets—and still might. Nonetheless, it is a great mistake to rule out publicly whatever means might be necessary to curb Soviet intrusion, including a blockade and all that flows from that. How can promises of any sort of immunity help but embolden such an opponent?

For Robert Frost spoke true and well in Moscow when he described Premier Khrushchev as both a ruffian and a great man. Ruffianship has never been inconsistent with greatness, and the gentlemanly approach to international politics has never impressed the Bolsheviks.

Indeed, just 18 months ago, Premier Khrushchev created a stir in diplomatic circles by this remark on Cuba: "How am I to believe that Kennedy is serious about Berlin when he permitted the failure of the invasion of the Bay of Pigs? After all, Cuba is at America's own back door." This was, of course, a conversational probe and Khrushchev later indicated he did not subscribe entirely to his own thesis.

But here in Washington, advocates of a firm line earnestly warn that nothing less than the future of this country is at stake unless President Kennedy becomes convinced of this proposition: that the risk of counterpressure to Soviet thrusts is less than the risk of doing nothing because the next time Khrushchev says America is afraid he might really believe it.

## The Postal Rate Hike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Warren (Pa.) Times-Mirror, Sept. 5, 1962]

THE POSTAL RATE HIKE

As of this writing, the U.S. Senate is still reviewing the postal rate increase, H.R. 7927, based on a request from President Kennedy. The bill has been attacked by many publications, by labor unions, and others. It will destroy jobs, cut down the effectiveness of many of the smaller, more thoughtful magazines, hurt the farm press, and hurt the American public.

Here is what the AFL–CIO has to say about the proposed rate increase:

"To put it simply, doubling the second-class rate on labor papers wouldn't help the Post Office much, but it would raise havoc with the primary means of communication within the labor movement.

"Doubling the rate would mean a cost of better than 10 percent (of the total budget of a typical trade union publication) which seems unduly high to us.

"Some weekly papers would be cut back to twice a month. Some twice-a-month papers would become monthlies. A few publications might suspend publication entirely."

Leading authors also have added their voice to the protest. They point out—and rightly—that the rate hike would hurt them by cutting down the number of markets to which they can sell their material. This means more jobs lost. The International Typographical Union has opposed the hike because of what it would do to men in the printing trades.

The Government argues that it cannot meet its Post Office deficit unless rates are hiked, yet, as always, the Government ignores the obvious solution: cutting expenses.

First of all the Post Office should divest itself of all the side issues it has taken on, like handing out tax forms, collecting migratory bird fees by selling special stamps, and other unimportant duties which have been dumped on the Department over the years.

The second solution is to modernize the 1890 rule book and to mechanize the Department. Why isn't our system mechanized as it is in many so-called backward countries overseas?

This question was put to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service by A. L. Cole, vice president and general manager of the Reader's Digest.

"The population of this country has increased 33 percent since 1945," he said. "Since 1945 mail volume has increased about 79 percent. Not only has population been rising but there have been more and more pieces of mail per year. More than half the mail in the Post Office is still first-class

mail—over 33 billion of the 66 billion pieces of mail in 1961.

"If governments overseas find that money can be saved by machines, then, if it has not been done, an immediate appraisal should be made of our 60 largest post offices to find out what machines can be used, how much they'll cost, and how much money they will save.

"Most businessmen would be happy to buy machines which will pay for themselves in 6 years. Postal cost studies made in 1958 showed that the one Transorma letter sorter installed in Silver Spring, Md., would pay for itself in 5.9 years. Since that one was installed in 1957, this means there'll be some savings next year—and for years thereafter.

"This year the Post Office asked the Appropriations Committee for enough money to buy only 21 letter sorters. We have seen estimates that 400 or 500 sorters are needed. Why should we wait until 1970 to get 400 or 500 machines that could have been saving us money for the last 5 years of this decade?

"We submit that the Post Office cannot be asked to judge its own progress in mechanization. Some experts have suggested that a joint congressional committee is needed to study continuously and report to the Congress and the people on Post Office efficiency.

"We appeal to this committee and the administration to modernize the Post Office as rapidly as possible. We realize that this is the province of the Congress; we hope you will push it. The American people are entitled to the lowest possible rates for postage, and without continuing deficits. The only way to get this happy combination is through a post office of high efficiency.

"Some people say that mechanization will cost a lot of jobs for postal employees. We do not believe that the installation of modern mail-handling machinery will put any of the 582,000 postal employees out of work. Postal authorities themselves state that they do not believe they can properly handle the load without new machines."

## WYNR: A Loser in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently I called the attention of the House to the fact that the McLendon Corp. purchased former radio station WGES in Chicago and, contrary to its sworn promises to the Federal Communications Commission, completely changed its programing schedule by dropping foreign language programs, which had been a hallmark of this radio station in Chicago for more than 30 years.

The McLendon Corp., since it took over the station, has changed its call letters to WYNR and is now allegedly filling the cultural needs of Chicago and serving the public interest with a completely new programing formula.

I should like to call my colleagues' attention to an appraisal of this new programing policy by the McLendon Corp., which appeared in a column written by Mr. John Justin Smith in the Chicago Daily News of September 6, 1962. John Justin Smith is a veteran reporter who today enjoys a reputation in Chicago as one of that city's most highly respected journalists.

The item in Mr. Smith's column dealing with WYNR's programing appeared under the heading, "Screaming Loser."

Mr. Smith's observations follow:

SCREAMING LOSER

Chicago has a new radio station and, for my taste, it may be the worst in the city. This is WYNR, which began broadcasting over the weekend in place of WGES, a station that for years has specialized in foreign language shows.

WYNR, called winner by its announcers, is a loser in my books. It screams at you. The diskjockeys scream, the music screams, and the news announcers scream. It's a consolation to know that in the United States nobody can force you to listen to such junk.

## Manager of International Monetary Fund Predicts Halt to Gold Outflow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the September 10, 1962, issue of the Washington Post.

Mr. Jacobsson, one of the most respected international economists, shows an optimism that is sadly lacking on the part of some members of the American economic community.

The article follows:

EXPERT PREDICTS HALT IN DRAIN ON U.S. GOLD

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

Per Jacobsson, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, predicted yesterday that the United States will succeed in balancing its international payments during 1963.

"It's becoming clearer and clearer, and the improvement will be very apparent by the end of this year," Jacobsson said in an interview. "I think things are going well here in America now."

The 69-year-old Fund Director is the free world's best known and most deeply respected international economic expert. He makes more forecasts than his subordinates think he should but his predictions have proved uncannily accurate.

Jacobsson attributed the improvement in the U.S. position to the policy of "moderation" that this country has been following.

WAGE CHECK CITED

He stressed that wages are being kept in check here while they are rising relatively rapidly in Germany and in other European countries—a development that strengthens the competitive position of American goods against foreign products.

The U.S. budget deficit of $4 to $5 billion in prospect for this year is "moderate," too, Jacobsson maintained. He said the red-ink entry is big enough to stimulate the economy without creating inflationary pressures.

Jacobsson's appraisal of the Nation's situation is a foretaste of the searching scrutiny that it will be subjected to a week hence when the top free world financial officials gather in Washington for the annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Fund and the World Bank. The Governors are the finance ministers and central bank heads of the institution's 79 member countries.

KENNEDY TO SPEAK

President Kennedy will speak to the opening session and is expected to reiterate his belief that the U.S. international payments will be in balance by the end of 1963.

The President and Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon will emphasize that American economic activity is continuing to expand even though the rate of growth is slower than they would like it to be.

There has been a marked change for the better in the free world financial picture since the Governors last met in Vienna last September, and the major delegations' statements are expected to reflect the improvement.

A new structure of mutually supporting financial arrangements has been worked out. They include a nearly complete multibillion-dollar addition to the Fund's loan resources, currency swap arrangements between the United States and other countries, and intimate continuing cooperation through the secret channels of "working party three"—a committee of free world financial officials that meets in Paris.

The U.S. dollar is stronger than it was and is becoming even stronger as the weeks go by.

After the stock market broke in May and recession fears burgeoned in June, there were widespread expectations that the dollar would be under heavy speculative attack in September. But it hasn't worked that way.

The chief dissent from the general free world euphoria will come from Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Reginald Maudling.

PROBLEM OF SUCCESS

He will urge that the Fund countries take advantage of the current period of relative stability to devise new methods of increasing free world liquidity. The British are convinced that additional ways must be found to assure individual countries that they will have ample international financial resources.

The British worry about liquidity is, in itself, a tribute to the mounting strength of the dollar.

The United States has been adding to other countries' liquidity in recent years for it has been paying them gold and dollars to cover the persistent American balance-of-payments deficit.

But the outflow will stop when the U.S. foreign payments come into balance. The other free world countries will lose their main current source of greater liquidity.

"It is the old story that every success creates its problems," Jacobsson declared.

## The People Are Learning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we approach election time, thoughts of the Members are turning increasingly to the views of the folks back home. We have had opportunity of late to check grassroots public sentiment.

This public sentiment seems to speak louder and louder in terms of opposition

to fiscal policies of the Kennedy administration, especially its complete disregard for budgetary considerations.

This subject matter is discussed in a very interesting fashion in a recent editorial appearing in the Blue Island Sun Standard, one of the outstanding weekly community newspapers in south Cook County.

I ask leave to insert this editorial entitled "The People Are Learning," into the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

[From the Blue Island (Ill.) Sun-Standard, Aug. 30, 1962]

THE PEOPLE ARE LEARNING

The political writers, whose names are legion these days, have devoted innumerable words to President Kennedy's difficulties with Congress. In the view of some, the legislative record to date, of White House "must" bills, verges on the catastrophic and may have a profound influence on elections to come.

Time will tell us to that. Meanwhile, there is one element in this record that deserves more emphasis than it has been given.

Mr. Kennedy has been almost totally successful in obtaining approval of measures that are clearly necessary to the national welfare and security. The $50 billion defense budget is proof of that. The amendments and changes made were minor.

He is virtually certain to be equally successful in obtaining approval of moves and policies that, whether we like them or not, stem from the pressure of irresistible world forces. The trade expansion plan, which is to give the President great and unprecedented powers in adjusting tariffs and in making and gaining other trade concessions, is the prime example here. Sentiment, based on the hardrock logic and necessity, is powerfully in favor of it.

The President's legislative failures on the other hand, have been in areas of welfare-state expansion. Three examples are paramount—the medicare bill, the farm bill, and the bill to establish an urban affairs body at the Cabinet level. All would have advanced, one way or another, the welfare state, big brother philosophy.

It would be absurd to argue that this Congress is anti-Kennedy. His party holds heavy majorities in both branches. But the country has had heavy doses of welfare statism, and is learning what the costs are in lost liberty and independence, no less than in billions of money. There are signs that the people have had more than enough of it—and that the acts of Congress simply reflect the popular will.

## Bean Soup, Pennsylvania Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, those who have become familiar with the bean soup tradition so renowned on Capitol Hill, may be interested to learn of its counterpart in the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. People in McClure, a village in Snyder County, Pa., taking pride in their history, each year invite thousands to join them in their festive bean soup celebration.

Originating in 1891, the event was suggested by a Civil War veteran who proposed that the boys of his company have a campfire with rations similar to those eaten while serving in the Union Army. Almost every resident of McClure, being either a veteran, relative, or friend, attended the gathering in a grove at the edge of town.

The affair proved to be so popular that the old soldiers decided to repeat it the following year. Profits from subsequent outings were used to construct a large cooking shed, as well as more tables and seats so that many could enjoy the fine food.

Though most of its original participants have passed away, the town continues to hold the bean soup celebration annually. This festival has replaced the Snyder County Fair, offering townsfolk an opportunity to display and sell their handiwork. Last year, 18,000 guests from all over the country shared in the smalltown hospitality and good cooking. Even more are expected to join in the fun on September 12–15 while it is being celebrated this week.

Now in its 71st year, this festival has become an important event in the lives of the people of McClure. It is a pleasure to welcome to the 17th Pennsylvania Congressional District this community which chooses to maintain its historical tradition, making life today just a little more meaningful.

## Soviet Russian Weaknesses and Vulnerabilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Washington Report of the American Security Council dated September 10, 1962, contains a very interesting discussion entitled "Soviet Russian Weaknesses and Vulnerabilities." The article is prepared by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University. He makes the point that the Soviets have many weaknesses but that we do not exploit these weaknesses and convert them into vulnerabilities. I ask unanimous consent that this interesting article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT: SOVIET RUSSIAN WEAKNESSES AND VULNERABILITIES

(By Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky)

In analyzing Soviet Russia, it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between weakness and vulnerability. A weakness is a condition of defect and impairment which does not in itself constitute a vulnerability. For it to develop into this state, an external stimulus is required. There are many deep weaknesses in the totalitarian Soviet Russian empire, but so long as they remain untapped they are not, by definition, vulnerabilities. Policies of patched-up containment, evolution, and wishful thinking on the coming breakup of the so-called Communist bloc serve only to guarantee that Soviet weaknesses shall not become vulnerabilities. The active external agent, the catalyst, is lacking.

The prodigious irony of the current situation is the fact that beneath the surface of most Soviet Russian accomplishments and points of strength rest their most profound weaknesses.

The real decision before this Nation today is not whether to push of not to push into space, to disarm or not to disarm, to negotiate or not to negotiate, to trade or not to trade with the Red empire. Instead, the basic and real decision is whether to meet or not to meet the full cold war challenge of colonial Moscow. If we should resolve to engage the enemy in the total context of the cold war, it would not and could not be a matter of fighting this war only on our side of the 50-yard line. The best defense is the offense, and it should be obvious that the defense of freedom is being battered from Laos to Cuba because our mere defensive and reactive posture is not the best defense.

A cold war offensive would not permit Moscow's imperialism to nibble away at us, for such an offensive necessitates the conversion of well-known weaknesses in the enemy's empire into vulnerabilities and the systematic exploitation of these vulnerabilities toward his eventual destruction.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky is a professor of economics at Georgetown University. He is the author of the Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86–70) which was passed by Congress in 1959. This resolution provides that the third week of July be set aside each year to remind the world of the nations held in bondage by Russian imperialism. Dr. Dobriansky is also a member of the American Security Council's strategy staff.)

There are five major areas for analysis: (1) the ideologico—propaganda; (2) the empire; (3) the so-called economic race; (4) the military—space field; and (5) the party apparatus.

1. We have still to appreciate the central importance of propaganda in the cold war. The Soviet Russians have developed this basic art to make a relatively backward state appear as the equal of the American giant, to make the worst empire of its kind appear as the great proponent of national liberation and independence, and to move the minds of millions throughout the world in the belief that all this is so.

However, the weaknesses of Moscow's ideologico—propaganda are deep and fundamental. After 20 years of indoctrination, millions of Ukrainians, Georgians, Russians and others deserted colonial Moscow in World War II; after 10 years of heavy propaganda Hungarian students and workers staged the 1956 revolution. There are many similar examples to prove the utter bankruptcy of Communist ideology when it is put into practice.

Nevertheless, Moscow continues to capitalize on this massive deception, chiefly because of our failure to develop these weaknesses into critical vulnerabilities. This requires a realization of the central importance of propaganda. The Voice of America is but a pygmy compared to Moscow's medium. There are many good opportunities for demolishing the image Moscow casts of its empire. For example, we could easily show the Russian perversion of theoretical Marxism, the emptiness of so-called Communist ideology, the emergence of the technocratic elite in the U.S.S.R., and the colonial exploitation of the captive non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union. These are only a few points to establish the Russian mythology of communism.

If we are to win the cold war, we must recognize and repeatedly stress the real threat which Soviet Russian mythology conceals. And this is the Soviet Russian imperio-colonial system of totalitarian rule.

2. The second general area of Moscow's obvious strength is its expanded empire. One of Moscow's paramount goals in the past 5 years has been to gain Western acquiescence to the permanence of its present empire, and our increasing indifference toward the captive nations has helped in this.

Those who today preach that the Soviet Russian empire is showing signs of disintegration, that the future is with us, that all that is required is a military buildup and trade with this empire, are gravely misleading the citizens of this country. There is no substantial evidence of this. In fact, all the important and basic evidence of increasing empire strength points the other way. Of course, Moscow has its problems. Who doesn't? It had even greater problems at Stalin's death and during the Hungarian revolution, but it, nonetheless, continued to build up its composite power.

Yet, beneath the surface of this imperial power and strength lies the most profound weakness of the Soviet Union and of the entire structure of Moscow's imperial rule and power. This weakness is the immense latent power of the genuine patriotic nationalism of the captive peoples both within and outside the Soviet Union. It is this patriotic nationalism which is our most formidable weapon against Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, not the superficial disagreements between puppets and the prime power.

Khrushchev's sensitivity here is shown by his fury at the Captive Nations Week resolution, passed by Congress in 1959. Except for the U–2 incident, no event in the past 10 years has had as violent an impact on Moscow as this resolution. Khrushchev and his puppets know, if we do not, the disastrous effects that a methodic implementation of this resolution could have on their worldwide propaganda operations and on the nations within their empire.

3. In the economic area, it should be readily recognized that for cold war objectives the empire economy of the Soviet Union is strong, secure and increasingly threatening. Moscow has a long way to go to match our economy, but being a totalitarian and essentially a war economy, the U.S.S.R. poses an increasing threat as $12 to $20 billion of additional output becomes annually available to it for cold and hot war purposes.

Weaknesses in the economy are many, but most fundamental are the differences in status and real income between the ruling elite and the underlying population, and also the rampant economic colonialism to which the captive non-Russian peoples are subjected. This could be transformed into a vulnerability by focusing worldwide attention and opinion on these weaknesses. It would provide important political leverage to the liberal Russian and nationalist non-Russian forces within the U.S.S.R.

4. The U.S.S.R. devotes top priority allocation of resources to the military-space field. Over 20 percent of the gross product in the U.S.S.R. goes to military pursuits Their further development poses great dangers, particularly in significant breakthroughs capable of magnifying their military power. Today, Khrushchev threatens us and the world with "global missiles." He has been so effective in propagandizing the empire's military and space feats that in addition to naive and pacifist groups doing his work for him in the free nations, even our own leaders invoke from time to time the pangs of "nuclearitis" as an excuse for the absence of a well-defined and developed cold war policy.

But the innovation of present military—space technology in no way alters the persistent weaknesses in the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. The ultimate weapon is still man and his morale, loyalties, and will. Moscow is well aware that in all three major wars in this century, the motley and multinational forces of the Russian empire, whether czarist or Soviet, disintegrated early.

Capitalization of this vital weakness into a vulnerability rests obviously on a broader program directed at the captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. Along with this is the necessity for a full and superior development of all our arms, nuclear and conventional. The only sure and safe way to preserve the gray peace and to move forward to cold war victory is by attaining and maintaining unquestioned superiority along the entire spectrum of military technology and weaponry.

5. The final area for analysis is the party. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the cohesive agent of totalitarian Soviet Russian strength, and the vehicle for the subverting conspiracy beyond it.

However, it has weaknesses that could be developed into fatal vulnerabilities. The perennial problem of succession, intraparty feuding, the pressures of national parties in Ukraine, Georgia and elsewhere, and infiltration of party councils and machinery lend themselves to such a development. Here, as elsewhere, our offensive in the cold war would necessarily have to be organic, composite and totalistic. Pursuing one weakness as against others would be both foolish and wasteful. But involved in each of these major weaknesses is the basic problem of the captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R.

It is painful to observe how, today, we continue to miss our opportunities for eventual cold war victory. However, I am positive that, given an aroused citizenry, the dominant facts of international life and the predominant weaknesses of the Soviet Russian empire will lead us to the pursuit of an inescapable policy of emancipation and a cold war strategy designed for decisive victory.

## Wrong Way on Fouled-Up Youths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Jenkin Lloyd Jones from the Washington Evening Star of September 10, 1962:

WRONG WAY ON FOULED-UP YOUTHS: BLAMING SOCIETY, EXPERTS SAY, GIVES THEM SOMETHING TO HIDE BEHIND

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

American psychiatry ought to be entering a new and better day if the advice of two California psychiatrists is heeded. In essence it is this: Quit explaining to wrongdoers why they are doing wrong, and instead, point out how and why they ought to do the right thing.

At the recent National Institute on Crime and Delinquency in Seattle, Dr. William Glasser, consultant psychiatrist at the Ventura, Calif., School for Girls, told of a "reality therapy" which he and his colleague, Dr. G. L. Harrington, have developed.

The two psychiatrists decided that the elaborate process of taking case histories and delving into probable causes for delinquency quickly gave too many patients the idea that there were special and compelling reasons why they couldn't be good. Many of them felt helpless to improve themselves, while others took comfort in the theory that because they were "disturbed" the ordinary rules of decency couldn't apply to them.

Says Doctor Glasser: "Regardless of what causes his bad behavior, the child is primarily responsible. We are always warm and friendly, but we never intimate in any way that entering into psychiatric treatment relieves him of the responsibility for what he does. We assume, as traditional therapists rarely do, that he has a workable set of principles, standards or values.

"We have met far too many fouled-up youngsters who have never had to face their principles in therapy, because traditional therapy requires not that they exercise their values, but only that they understand causes. If everybody working with a delinquent child holds him responsible to himself for what he does, the child soon learns the pleasure of doing well and getting credit for it."

There's a lot of wisdom here. And what better proof is there than the fact that the more we inquire into causes, and the more time we spend blaming slums or lack of playgrounds or parental irresponsibility, the higher the rate of juvenile delinquency has climbed.

We are beginning to learn to our dismay that demolishing tenements and establishing boys' clubs is not providing the hoped-for answers. Instead, juvenile misbehavior is spreading in all environments and economic strata. Kids are getting into trouble not only where papa is a penniless drunk, but also where papa doesn't let them use the Cadillac every night. The more we blame society for youthful outrages and the more society struggles to remove the causes, the more outrages we have.

The Christian Scientists have a pretty sound theory that if you spend most of your time with your finger on your pulse you are going to feel pretty sick, and the stronger your faith and the brighter your outlook the better you'll feel. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale puts it another way. He calls it "The Power of Positive Thinking."

Hanging around the corner drugstore looking for kicks doesn't lend itself to positive thinking. Listening to a psychiatrist explain that "father rejection" caused you to rob the filling station may only give you the idea that some force which you can't control is going to make you rob another. If you pay enough attention to the garrulous characters and oddballs who provided the material for the Kinsey report, you get the impression that morality is a vapor and anything goes.

In our effort to escape the hard decisions which toughmindedness requires we have become great gulpers of tranquilizing pills. You need not fight out a dilemma within yourself, to sweat and agonize and reason, until your tortured mind makes a decision and finds a pathway out of the confusion. No, you take a pill and chemical magic momentarily makes you content, with the issue unresolved.

In the August 16 number of the Reporter magazine, a perceptive poem, signed by "Sec," warns that armless babies may not be the full price exacted by the little pills. It contains these lines:

"Who knows, who knows
But that release is dearly bought when bought
Rather than won in solitary war
On the darkest nights. There is a trick in ease;
The quick escape, unfought for, should suffice
To alarm the mind."

In our effort to remove our frustrations, we have forgotten the joy and strength of

mind that arises from the effort to be simply right. The unfrustrated man ought to be the man who can do exactly as he pleases. Yet anyone who has worked with delinquent children knows that the ungovernable and incorrigible child is among the most miserable of all children.

No one gains strength as long as he is preoccupied with finding reasons for his weaknesses. While self-blame can be overdone by a few overly conscientious individuals, the effort to avoid self-blame at any cost is a far commoner and more debilitating disease.

A few weeks ago I got an interesting letter from an intelligent inmate of a Washington State reformatory. He talked about his fellow inmates:

"You can see what is wrong with most of us if you watch us play baseball. I've seen this happen dozens of times: The batter hits a long fly to the outfield. The outfielder races for it and see he can't quite catch it. So what? So he falls. And he gets up cursing and dusting his pants and pointing to an imaginary gopher hole.

"That's why most of us are here. We could never admit that we didn't move fast enough or think straight enough or work hard enough. We just kept cussing the gopher holes."

## State Government and Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Dwight R. G. Palmer, State Highway Commissioner of New Jersey, which appeared in the summer 1962 issue of State Government. Mr. Palmer discusses the many problems faced by States with urban populations needing mass transit facilities. While recognizing the paramount responsibility of the State government Mr. Palmer urges Federal-State cooperation as the answer to the problem—an excellent argument for the early enactment of H.R. 11158 the proposed Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1962.

The article follows:

STATE GOVERNMENT AND TRANSPORTATION

(By Dwight R. G. Palmer)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The New Jersey Highway Department in recent years, through its railroad transportation division, has taken the lead in preserving and strengthening rail commuter service for the State's people. In this paper Dwight R. G. Palmer, State highway commissioner of New Jersey, draws on that experience and his familiarity with mass transit problems of urban areas across the country to suggest major elements required for solution of the problems. He underlines that the task calls for cooperative effort by all levels of government—Federal, State, and local. In particular he points to the crucial necessity of State governmental leadership and coordination of such effort, and to a need for States to share in the financing.)

America is a land of people on the move via autos, trucks, trains, speed boats, planes, and now in capsules through outer space.

No longer are there the mass migrations to the western frontier of a century ago. Travel in past decades was reckoned by what people called long distances. Today there are no long distances as applied to the travel time involved. More and more workers are going greater distances every day to reach their places of employment. This tremendous daily mass movement of people between their homes and their jobs, coupled with the steadily increasing use of already overburdened highways for movement of goods, is placing intolerable strains upon the existing transportation facilities in every urban area of the Nation.

THE PROBLEMS GROW

The "flight to the suburbs" has become a staple feature of modern living, bringing with it tremendous demands upon the smaller municipalities for more schools, better police and fire protection, sewer facilities, and streets. The financial problems posed by disproportionately large residential populations are causing many local tax officials to lose sleep.

The larger cities, faced with loss of retail consumer business to outlying shopping centers, are feverishly attempting to cope with the myriad difficulties of urban renewal. Inevitably, all such plans must provide easier access and adequate parking to lure customers back to the long-established business districts.

When all of the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle are fitted together, the picture is plain for everyone to see: our economy is suffering from "arteriosclerosis": hardening of the arteries of transportation. Unless facile circulation of people and goods through and within our centers of population is quickly restored, the result will be slow strangulation and drifting.

TEAM EFFORT REQUIRED

What is the role of Government in this situation—what is its responsibility for providing a "cure"? The first thing that everyone—private citizens and public officials alike—should recognize is that the solution must be by team effort. No one group, no one level of Government, can function effectively in this vital area by itself. Nor can the springing up of councils or committees, though of the best of intent, substitute for or supplant State government and its duly constituted agencies. The very nature of the problem points up the fact that the State must play the leading role. There is a strong trend toward:

1. Greater recognition that the Federal Government must provide increased aid to railroad transportation and that it should provide the machinery for coordinating with local redevelopment programs, to the extent desirable, all facets of transportation for which it renders aid.

2. Greater interest in the overall transportation problem on the part of many civic-minded local and regional planning groups, which seek to take an active part in the formulation of policy.

3. Increased public awareness, and in some cases resentment, of the fact that the vast national highway construction program, now gaining real momentum, undoubtedly will inconvenience a few for the benefit of the many, and that any overall mass transit program probably will display the same characteristics.

The Federal Government and the States have worked together during the past 46 years to provide adequate highway transportation for the Nation. But this teamwork has been possible only because all of the Federal Highway Acts have placed the basic responsibility for location, design and construction of highways in the hands of the various State highway departments. The Federal Government retains the authority to withhold funds when it feels that a State decision is wasteful or contrary to the public interest or that the project is ill conceived or inadequately engineered.

A State always has the authority to build a highway on its own if the Federal Government withholds aid, and in very many instances States do go beyond the limits of available Federal aid by using their own resources to insure that new highways comply with certain safety and convenience needs of particular areas.

The problem of adjusting highway location and design to the desires and plans of local governments, civic groups, and John Q. Public is, of course, most intense in highly urbanized areas. It is a problem that highway departments not only try to work out but must work out for the benefit of all. A modern superhighway cutting through a congested residential or business area brings a host of problems in its wake. But these problems cannot be resolved on a local basis, by neighborhood vying against neighborhood and one municipality threatening to block all action unless its own particular demands are met. Nor can such situations be settled on a political basis. Highways last too long and serve too many people to be influenced by current local contests.

STATE RESPONSIBILITY IS BASIC

A State's responsibility is to promote the welfare of the residents of all municipalities within its boundaries. By law, this responsibility is executed in the realm of highway transportation by the State highway department or an equivalent agency.

The experience in many States of seeing local groups trek to Washington to appeal a highway department's plan is no longer a novelty. Too often such groups reflect attitudes that may not be in harmony with the majority's views and needs. We have found Washington departments understanding and good listeners when visited by local groups. They have also urged such local groups to work out issues on the spot with the State highway departments rather than at the national level.

This procedure, of centering the responsibility upon the State governments, has worked well as regards highways. It should be equally applicable to the field of intrastate railroad transportation. In this area the problem of diminishing commuter passenger service is worrisome. It normally is particularly a local or regional problem. Where the crossing of State lines is involved, as in the vast New York and Philadelphia metropolitan regions, agencies already created by the States in combination with one another usually are available to assure that the jobs can be handled.

COORDINATION AND PARTNERSHIP

Increased Federal aid to the railroads must come. But the decisions on how to fit this financial support into well-integrated transportation systems—incorporating the facilities of both rail and rubber—must be made by agencies responsible to the State governments.

In the same way, the Federal Government must provide the means by which the agencies, at all levels of government, responsible for urban renewal and redevelopment, can coordinate their efforts with those responsible for transportation. Here I would add insistence that State and local authorities accomplish their utmost under their own steam, rather than sit back and impose the entire problem on the Federal Government.

In short, the existing Federal-State partnership in the effort to provide new and improved highway transportation should be preserved, and it should be extended to the effort providing better mass transit facilities—on the same terms.

CRUX OF THE RAIL PROBLEM

Recognition that mass transit must be a major part of any solution to the traffic strangulation plaguing our urban areas has gained ground rapidly in recent years. Municipalities and regions threatened with loss of the rail service they had taken for granted

over a period many decades suddenly have awakened to its value.

But the problem of how to curb the slow rot that had set in, how to modernize the existing rail facilities, and how to integrate them in a well-planned transportation system has seemed financially insurmountable. There has been no lack of complicated and expensive plans, advanced by "experts" and commuter groups; the only thing missing has been the money to pay for them.

NEW JERSEY'S EXPERIENCE

Experience in New Jersey has shown that a State agency, in this case the railroad transportation division of the State highway department, can do the job if given adequate legislative support. The most essential rail commuter service has been preserved under a system of contracts with the carriers. Action taken in cooperation with the State of New York has cleared the path for rehabilitation and efficient operation of a vital interstate facility, the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad. Comprehensive plans have been developed for construction of new facilities to link all of the North Jersey commuter railroads, and thus provide proper transportation for the thousands of workers who travel between the two States every day. In south Jersey, action in cooperation with the State of Pennsylvania has likewise provided for expansion of rail commuter service in the Camden-Philadelphia metropolitan area. All of the progress so far has been without the assistance of Federal funds and without imposing an added tax burden upon the people of the States at interest.

The key to success in the effort outlined above was, of course, "adequate legislative support." The railroad industry had for decades been regulated as a profitmaking monopoly. The legislation which authorized passenger service contracts in New Jersey also turned much of this regulatory power over to the agency responsible for executing the contracts—the highway department. The highway department has also been designated as the prime mover in negotiations between States involving the transportation activities of bi-State agencies.

Without such authority, no State agency can do much more than merely advance its point of view. With it, the decisions which must precede action can be made.

THE STATE'S SHARE IN FINANCING

To implement the highway department's transit plans for New Jersey, further legislative action will be required. While these plans are based on full utilization of existing facilities in the most economical manner possible, large expenditures ultimately will be necessary. Neither the Federal Government, nor the railroads themselves, nor interstate agencies financed by tolls, nor a combination of any of them can be depended upon to bear the entire burden of financing the needed improvements. This situation is not confined solely to New Jersey.

Here again, the State government comes to the fore. Past history has shown that local governments are unwilling to contribute ready cash for transportation facilities, particularly those which extend beyond municipal boundaries. It is evident that the States will have to assume a large part of the financial responsibility.

Thus it becomes the duty of the States transportation agencies not only to develop plans for providing adequate rail transportation, but also to recommend the best way to finance these plans. In all likelihood, such recommendations will in the future contemplate contributions by both State and Federal Governments as well as by the carriers.

WORKING WITH LOCALITIES

In the background of this situation, we see renewed activity by many local and regional citizens' groups concerned with the details of urban renewal, transportation, and most of all, overall planning. The interest of these groups, their studies and recommendations, are a welcome and worthwhile addition to the activities of the State agencies which have been given the responsibility for developing and executing transportation improvements.

Knowledge of what the local communities need and want, of how proposed highways and transit lines will fit into the local scheme of things, is essential to the State; it is being acquired by both parties jointly considering each area's needs. It forms the base for decisions by the executive as well as the legislative branches of the government.

Too often self-formed groups, rather than the people's duly elected representatives, seek to put themselves in the position of charting the course and making the decisions. This cannot be permitted, for such groups neither provide the funds nor are able to spend them. As the responsibility rests with the State governments, so must the authority.

KEY ASPECTS

State governments can provide the kind of coordinated highway and rail transportation (particularly mass transit) that is so urgently needed by our urban areas. As we see it:

The railroad industry as a national institution should remain in the hands of private ownership and should be prevented from moving, by default, into the shifting quicksands of public ownership and operation.

States must recognize that railroads are no longer monopoly utilities and should adopt a modernized set of rules to recognize their situation.

The cost of providing rail transit service should be reduced through technological efforts.

Labor should make its contribution if for no other reason than to protect its employment opportunities.

The State transportation agency entrusted with the task of providing well coordinated transportation facilities for the public should avoid the complacent hands-off attitude of the past, as well as the stringent regulation which comes with public operation.

It is the job of the State agency, and not always an easy one, to act as mediator among the various and sometimes conflicting interests of the transportation industry. Carriers of all types must be persuaded to work together. The convenience of the commuter who catches the 7:05 each morning must be maintained, as well as that of the commuter who relies on his private car.

The most positive thing the State can do is let the mass transit carriers know, in no uncertain terms, that they have not been abandoned. Let the railroads know that a State agency is vitally interested in helping them to get back on the road to economic health, and that they are supported by legislative authority and appropriations, and you will witness a remarkable change in the current attitude of railroads and their willingness to help themselves. In New Jersey, the major commuter railroads have begun to think in terms of helping themselves, and have cooperated in preparation of the highway department's transit program.

Once this has been accomplished, the technicians can get down to work drafting the detailed plans. Commuter railroad stations should be shifted, if necessary, to serve the present centers of population, and suburban stations should be located where ample parking is available. Schedules should be revised to tie in with bus movements. Duplicate and unnecessary service should be eliminated by providing transfers between lines.

It has been said that the commuter passenger service business will never be a paying one. Whether this is true or not, only time can tell. Meantime, it is the function of the State government to help keep the transit lines alive by eliminating operating costs wherever possible without curtailing essential service. It is that simple.

Numerous new modes of transportation are currently offered as substitutes for existing travel facilities. All cost real money; they have yet to prove their effectiveness, and if adopted would mean scrapping all existing facilities and the securities behind them. Moreover, we must still determine if the public will return to mass transit. Let us, accordingly, "half sole and heel" what we have, and give it a try.

LEADER OF THE TEAM

What is the role of State government in solving the transportation problems of our urban areas? It is to be the leader of the team, the quarterback. The solution is not beyond our reach, but we cannot reach it by grasping at butterflies. State government has a tremendous stake in providing safe, convenient, and speedy transportation facilities. Without them, our economic life must wither away. More than that, State governments have the responsibility, the knowledge and the experience needed to build and maintain the essential arteries of commerce. No commissions, no council or committee, can substitute for the State in assuming the responsibility of enlightened public officials for the job at hand.

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## What's Wrong in Our State Department?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an excellent editorial edited by Mr. E. L. (Ted) Burwell, manager, radio station WTYC, Rock Hill, S.C. I might comment on the happy fact that this editorial received much favorable comment from the listeners and I am happy to bring it to the attention of the Nation in this manner.

The editorial is as follows:

WHAT'S WRONG IN OUR STATE DEPARTMENT?

Russia's latest scorching rebuke against the United States involving another U–2 flight, which they allege violates Russian air zones, is being met with dismay in the minds of many Americans—and for these reasons. Again the Russians have put us in a position of trying to justify ourselves and our actions in the eyes of the world—making us look like warmongers and aggressors. The average American citizen, we believe, is tired of these verbal attacks and threats by the Russian Government. What's wrong in our State Department when we sit idly by while Russia does what she wants to do and continually indulges in acts of aggression against the United States. While at the same time, the President reports to our people, as in the Cuban situation, that, at the present time, there doesn't seem to be too much cause for alarm concerning Russian technical and military help to Cuba. The United Press International reported that Soviet citizens reacted with "shock and dismay" at the disclosure of another U–2 flight. The American people have long been shocked and dismayed at Russian aggression against the free world. But we continue to wage a "no win" cold war while Russia piles up propaganda victories. We ask ourselves: "Is this Russian aid to Cuba an act of friend-

ship on Russia's part?" "No", we say. It is an act of aggression of the worst kind, making our U–2 flights look like childs play in comparison. President Kennedy reported to the American people:

"There is no evidence of Communist bloc combat troops or other significant offensive capability."

The Russian note to the United States with reference to the U–2 flight stated that the incident was a "deliberate provocation." They warned of possible retaliatory attacks on foreign bases where U–2's are stationed and demanded "immediate measures to prevent future violations of Soviet airspace."

The recent incident at the Berlin wall of shame found us sadly lacking also, and to our Berlin allies we lost face. Russian "fishing" boats just off our coastline recently—and we could go on listing Russian acts of aggression. Are we so dumb that we cannot fight a propaganda war also? Can we not also blister, and we mean blister, the Russians verbally for these acts of aggression and play them up to their full significance and make our rebukes ring throughout the world? Where is our backbone? The Cuban situation should have never risen to today's proportions. We should have taken a stand at the Berlin wall of shame. We should have ordered the Russian boats off our coastline. Let's not play games; we know those so-called "fishing" boats were fishing for bigger game and so does our State Department. All of these "should haves." Must we always seem to cower at the growl of the Russian bear? Will we sit by and let the Russians literally camp on our doorstep while the State Department and President Kennedy say they are no threat?

We're proud to be Americans and most of us had not rather be "Red than dead." So to the State Department and President Kennedy we plead—let's let the Russians know in no uncertain terms that we're proud of what we have and that we plan to keep it that way. Let's fight propaganda with propaganda. Khrushchev is not afraid to call us "American warmongers" and "despised capitalists" while our State Department trembles that we may offend the Russians in some way by what we say.

There are bills being introduced in Congress for a full-scale investigation of the State Department. We sincerely hope we don't wait too late.

## Repeal Counterpart Privileges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be widespread agreement among the Members of the House that something should be done to prevent repetitions of abuses in the use of counterpart funds by those who travel abroad.

With that in mind, I have today introduced a bill which prohibits the use in the future of counterpart funds by committees, Members of Congress, or employees. Apparently the only way to prevent abuses is to stop the privilege completely. There are means of financing legitimate and essential travel expenses without using counterpart funds, and retain better surveillance and control over the money spent for such purposes.

It is my hope that the committee will explore this subject thoroughly.

## Housing and Urban Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the President in his budget message requested funds to enable the Housing and Home Finance Agency—the fourth largest agency of the Government in terms of expenditures—to undertake a series of important research studies in such areas as the inflation of land prices in urban areas, the development of satellite towns, ways of achieving greater efficiency in providing community services, the construction of shell homes, and so forth.

The distinguished Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS of New Jersey has been fighting a losing battle to obtain the funds needed for such a project.

Mr. Speaker, the Passaic Herald-News in an editorial of September 4, 1962, makes some very cogent comments on the efforts of Senator WILLIAMS, noting the enormous disparity in the sums provided for agricultural research and the sums provided for housing and urban research. I join with the Herald-News in hoping that some day the Congress will eventually recognize and cope with the urgent problems of urban growth that face such heavily urbanized States as New Jersey.

The editorial follows:

[From the Passaic (N.J.) Herald-News]

MILLIONS FOR FARMS, THOUSANDS FOR CITIES

A complaint by Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey has merit. He says that $150 million is being appropriated for farm research this year, whereas the most that Congress seems ready to give for sorely needed urban research is $375,000.

The Senator has gone over the plans to spend the $150 million carefully. He finds such items as "$281,000 to accelerate research on avian leukosis * * * $25,000 to strengthen research on dried peas and lentils * * * $100,000 to intensify research on soybean breeding."

"I am not opposing this research," he says. All he wants is a little more consideration for the need for more information about the Nation's urban areas, in which the majority of the American people now live.

Just as farm research provides knowledge that enables the American farmer to produce food in abundance, so Senator WILLIAMS believes that information about such subjects as interstate mortgage lending, construction and financing of shell homes, and development of satellite towns would "give us a better understanding of where we are going, or * * * insure the maximum benefit to the taxpayer from all the expenditures that are going into brick and mortar."

The Congress will eventually come around to see the Senator's point of view. Senator WILLIAMS needs only to be patient. The farm people have been tapping the Federal till for research funds for more than a century and they have become expert at it. And to be fair, they have made the research pay off in a better life for all Americans.

Urban research could be just as productive of good results. Senator WILLIAMS should keep up the campaign.

## Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg—Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for the past 19 months, we have witnessed a truly commendable series of accomplishments amassed in the Department of Labor's endeavor to fend off inflationary settlements between labor and management and to prevent strikes, and moreover, in its effort to allay the fears and suspicions of both toward each other. In a large sense, this enviable record of achievement has been a reflection of the time and energies spent by that great American, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, to make certain that union and business officials remain ever conscious of their respective responsibilities to not only the public interest, but to the economic growth of the country as well. To be sure, Arthur Goldberg has been one of the most active Secretaries of Labor that the Department has ever known.

In the role of peacemaker, Arthur Goldberg has helped to solve a goodly number of labor disputes, notably the one of steel. From the very outset of his career as Labor Secretary, he regarded any big and threatened strike as a challenge, and as we have seen, he has invariably moved into the thick of the labor-management line of fire. He has done so as the basic key for the successful realization of the administration's policy of wage-price restraint. Without Arthur Goldberg, an early and noninflationary steel settlement this year would have been put in doubt.

Now that Arthur Goldberg's service as Labor Chief is quickly drawing to a close, I feel it necessary to express my regret over losing his extraordinary talent and dynamic capability from the Kennedy administration. I support his appointment to the Nation's highest tribunal. His appointment to the Supreme Court will bring to it a capacity for abstract reasoning of difficult issues. In addition, it will bring to the Court a vigor for objectivity and restraint which are necessary qualities a jurist must possess. If past performance can be said to accurately gage future levels of achievement, then it may be said that Arthur J. Goldberg will undoubtedly be one of the High Court's most energetic and vigorous members.

An eminent and successful practitioner of the law, Arthur Goldberg first became renowned as one of the country's leading labor lawyers. He embarked on his legal profession during the hardship period of the 1930's, and became first identified with labor law when he took on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union as a client. In 1948, he was chosen by the late Philip Murray to serve as general counsel for both the old Congress of Industrial Organizations and the United Steelworkers. With the former, he served until 1955 when it was merged with the American Federation of Labor, an event in which he was quite instrumental in effecting; with the latter, he served until 1961. After the 1955 merger, Goldberg became special counsel to AFL–CIO and general counsel to its industrial-union department, serving in this capacity until 1961. With his association with the labor movement, he was acknowledged as being the author of the standards for organized labor that separated the good from the bad unions; those standards took the form of the AFL–CIO's Code of Ethical Practices. Besides this, he coauthored the constitution of the new AFL–CIO, an accomplishment regarded by many as the greatest achievement in the labor field.

When he first took over his duties at Labor, it was generally felt that Secretary Goldberg would be the spokesman for the organized labor movement in the Kennedy administration. The words and deeds, the level of performance of the Secretary of Labor have pointed out the ridiculousness of this supposition. Instead of serving as a functionary of labor, he has served as a dedicated public servant with a keen interest in the primacy of the national interest in labor-management affairs.

I feel quite certain that the dedication of Arthur Goldberg to the public interest that has been characteristic for the past year and a half during his service as Secretary of Labor will follow him to his new assignment to the High Court. In addition, he takes with him to his new position a credence in the very real need to extend Government activity in order to fulfill the complex requisites of a growing American industrial society.

And so at this time I reiterate my commendation of the President's choice of Arthur J. Goldberg as the new Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. His wealth of legal talents and capacities, along with his integrity and character, will do much, I believe, to make Arthur Goldberg an indispensable member of the Court.

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## Monroe Doctrine Is Challenged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of the Senate very strong and eloquent editorial comments on our policies in regard to Cuba and the Communist cancer which is growing there day by day. The editorial is entitled "Monroe Doctrine Is Challenged," and was published in the September 6, 1962, issue of the Greenville News. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, Sept. 6, 1962]

MONROE DOCTRINE IS CHALLENGED

"The American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subject for future colonization by any European power.

"We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing (the former colonies) or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any light other than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States"—President James Monroe in a special message to Congress delivered on December 2, 1823.

In these words nearly 140 years ago were expressed the heart of the Monroe Doctrine which bears the name of the President who first stated the American policy of opposing intervention by any European power in the affairs of any nation in the Western Hemisphere.

During the interim, the policy has been invoked and even expanded by a succession of Presidents who found it necessary to issue firm warnings or to take direct action (even using military force) to prevent:

(1) Intervention, meddling or a direct takeover of power in a Latin American country by a European country, or

(2) A deterioration of political or economic conditions in one of those countries which would make it easy for a foreign power from the Eastern Hemisphere to move in either insidiously or overtly.

Time and space do not permit a discussion of how many times and by what methods the Monroe Doctrine has been invoked. But there has been many such times, some of them more recently than most people realize, and each time the action has been at least temporarily successful—up to now.

The matter of momentous and grave concern right now is the fact that the situation in Cuba presents the greatest challenge to the Monroe Doctrine and American policy in the history of the principle enunciated by President Monroe and probably the gravest problem the Nation has faced, short of a major war, in its history.

With the acquiesence of Fidel Castro's government, or because of its impotence to resist, the Soviet Union is engaged in moving into Cuba in force, through both political influence and the power of troops and modern weapons. And it is senseless to pretend that Russia is merely assisting Cuba at its request to set its governmental and economic house in order, or that the weapons and technicians known to have been landed there are for purely defensive purposes.

The plain fact is that the Soviet Union is deliberately violating both of the principal parts of the Monroe Doctrine as quoted above.

The Communists may claim that they do not intend to make of Cuba a Russian colony, but that is nothing more than red dialectics, a play on words. For, at least, Cuba will be turned into a Soviet satellite after the fashion of the Iron Curtain countries—unless the move is stopped. What is this if it is not colonialism and imperialism in its grossest and most aggressive form?

Khrushchev and company may claim that their purpose is merely to help Cuba defend itself from aggression on the part of the United States and the other countries of Latin America. But even the most naive pacifist knows that the same troops and weapons ostensibly recruited and manufactured for defense also can be used for offense.

No Latin American country is strong enough to invade its nearest neighbor, much less to mount a water or airborne offensive against Cuba. And the United States has given no overt indications that it plans to invade Cuba and throw Castro out—up to now, that is—although it has made no move to stop refugees and soldiers of fortune from making abortive attempts.

The conclusion is obvious:

If present developments continue, the Soviet Union soon will have established in Cuba, less than 100 miles from the southernmost coast of the United States, a bastion, a beachhead from which it can threaten anything from a small invasion of Florida to a missile attack on any part of the United States.

It is ironic that the Monroe Doctrine was aimed primarily at Russia at the time of its enunciation and during its period of formulation which reached back in time before the Monroe administration.

From the earliest days of the American Republic, Russia has had designs on the North American continent. The czars, who were imperialists in much the same sense that the Communists are imperialists now, made several attempts to establish colonies in Alaska, mainly because of the fishing and fur industries.

In 1821, the czar issued a ukase forbidding vessels of any other country to approach within 100 miles of the northwestern coast of North America. The United States resisted this and war was avoided only by the negotiations which culminated in the purchase of Alaska from a czar who was hard up for cash.

At about the same time, the United States was fearful that an unholy alliance which included Russia, Prussia and, yes, France which for a time held a foothold in Mexico, would attempt to gain for themselves the colonies which Spain had lost or was rapidly losing.

So, Russia, under two different but strikingly similar sets of tyrants, has been a constant threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and, hence, to that of the United States. The primary purpose of the Monroe Doctrine was not to protect weaker countries out of altruism but to protect our own country from just what is happening now.

In years past, the United States has been able to enforce the principle by adroit diplomacy and well-timed action. Cuba is not the first Latin American country to be threatened by Communist infiltration as late as the last decade. But the Reds have been checkmated or submerged elsewhere.

Cuba is another matter entirely and it presents new complications. Our diplomacy in this instance has been inept and such action as we have taken has been both halfhearted and shamefully ill timed.

President Kennedy has said this country will do what is necessary to prevent aggression by Cuba with its newly acquired arms. But when he says Cuba he means the Soviet Union.

The problem, or perhaps it is more of a dilemma, is quite apparent. The methods by which it can be solved are not so clear. In the days of Monroe and of his successors up until recent years, such things were simpler to handle.

Now we have to contend with the fact that, with few exceptions, the countries of Latin America are incapable of governing them-

selves. They have been stabilized either by dictators or by powerful military cliques which have kept the heads of the so-called republics in line.

And we also must find a way to reconcile our commitments to the United Nations and to the Organization of American States, for we have pledged ourselves to avoid intervening in the affairs of other countries. So, it isn't as simple to do something as it is to say that we should send troops and planes and weapons into Cuba and throw the rascals out.

What, then, to do?

By all means—at the very least and at once—we should demand that the U.N. and the OAS convene in extraordinary session, at the same time or successively, to take concerted action to counter what can be defined only as an act of aggression. We should demand, at the very least, sanctions against the Soviet Union and the Castro regime.

Failing that, we must consider unilateral action, up to and including the force of arms.

For the United States cannot tolerate the present situation in Cuba and the further developments which can be easily predicted if we do nothing.

## St. Louis Meets an Education Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Merrimon Cuninggim, executive director of the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis, Mo., was the guest editorialist for the May 12, 1962, issue of the Saturday Review. Mr. Cuninggim's article tells of the establishment of the Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship composed of the St. Louis County public school system, the private schools of the area, the Catholic and Lutheran parochial schools and the area's two universities, Washington University and St. Louis University.

The author feels that the real significance of the group, apart from its purpose, is the joining of public, private, and parochial schools for a cooperative educational program—this is the first time they have joined in such an endeavor.

The purpose of the council, as Cuninggim notes, is to "enable the schools to do a better job of educating their students in an understanding of America, an awareness of the dangers we face at home and abroad, and an appreciation of the meaning and marks of freedom in our society."

This is a pilot project in a joint endeavor to face up to a national problem, a project which, if successful, has ramifications that could be evidenced in the curriculums of our school systems throughout the country. I believe this constructive effort deserves recognition and I am placing Mr. Cuninggim's editorial from the May 12 Saturday Review in the RECORD to more fully explain it:

ST. LOUIS MEETS A PROBLEM

(By Merrimon Cuninggim)

At least one good thing can be said for the present crop of know-nothings. Sometimes they wake the educators up.

In many a place across the land schools and colleges have been under raucous attack—they use dangerous books, they examine alien ideas, they probably harbor Communists. But every time a State legislature gets pushed into requiring its high schools to provide a course on communism, educators become alert to the invasion and determined to fend off the efforts of propagandists. Every time a vigilante spreads his—or her—suspicion in the PTA, the schoolmen respond, sometimes in fright, always in self-analysis, often in constructive action.

But two other alarms have also waked up the educators. The second negative one is the real, as distinct from the imagined or under-the-bed, threat of communism. Schoolmen have begun to realize that they are indeed vulnerable to the charge that their students have not been sufficiently informed about the nature of the Communist ideology and the spread and power of its system. Even when a legislature has not invaded the school's domain, the educators themselves have been eager to repair this deficiency in their programs. Solid instruction about communism, perhaps not in a separate course—at least not on the high school level—but certainly in the regular curriculum, is long overdue.

The third factor is the only affirmative one, and the most powerful. The chief reason that schools and colleges want to provide better instruction in civic understanding is not fear and distaste either of the far right or of the far left, but is the positive belief in the idea of America, the meaning of freedom, the value of a democratic society. That students do not sufficiently understand and appreciate these is now everywhere recognized. The handwringing stage is passing fast; educators are hard at work in a number of ways—overcoming their embarrassment at the use of simplicities in language that the general public will applaud, retooling their courses of study, upgrading the teaching of democracy's meaning and its denials, and striking common cause.

An illustration of this new mood and activity on the part of educators is furnished by recent happenings in metropolitan St. Louis. A year ago things were rocking along pretty much as usual—no special attention paid to communism, a few pseudopatriots buzzing around, and faith in America pretty much taken for granted. But an uneasiness among the educators themselves, sparked perhaps by a local anticommunism "school" last spring, produced a willingness among representatives of various educational agencies to talk about the problem informally. Through the summer and fall their conversations removed initial distrust of others' motives, provided for exchanges of similar experiences, fears and hopes, and produced a desire for a cooperative program.

Accordingly, announcement was made in December of the formation of an agency which they called the Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship. Its constituent members at the time of formation were the public school systems of St. Louis County (including some of the strongest small systems in the country), the private schools of the area, the Catholic parochial schools, the Lutheran parochial schools, St. Louis University, and Washington University. Never before had this group of institutions come together for a cooperative educational program; and apart from the particular task to which they pledged their common effort, their very cooperation was a significant departure from customary unilateral action.

This is reflected in the first slate of officers: Chairman of the Council Herbert Schooling, superintendent of Webster Groves public schools; Vice Chairman Thomas Eliot, chancellor elect, Washington University; Father Robert Henle, dean of the Graduate School, St. Louis University; Treasurer Paul Lange, superintendent of Lutheran high schools. The council's first executive secretary was recently chosen: R. M. Inbody, presently assistant superintendent for the St. Louis public schools.

The council has already developed an ambitious program of analysis of existing curricula and teaching resources, locally and nationally, and a varied group of projects to improve their current efforts. Each project is administered by one or more of the constituent member institutions of the council, under the general aegis of the total group; every project must be submitted to and approved by the council as a whole. Some of the projects are: Two 6-week summer study institutes for selected high school civics teachers, one on freedom, the other on communism, offered by St. Louis University; an intensive 5-week summer seminar for gifted high school students on the principles of American democracy, offered by Washington University; a workshop in American and un-American ideologies, for high school teachers of various subjects, sponsored jointly by the public, Catholic, and Lutheran school systems of St. Louis; a continuing study by 18 or 20 high school social science teachers of syllabi and bibliographical materials, sponsored by the county public school systems. The general response can be gauged by the excellent attendance at a series of 12 late afternoon lectures on "Freedom Under Law" arranged by the Bill of Rights Committee of the Bar Association of St. Louis as its contribution to the program of the council (of which the bar association, along with two or three other community groups, is an associate member); a total of 125 high school teachers have actually attended these lectures for graduate credit.

The point of it all, of course, is to enable the local schools and colleges to do a better job of educating their students in an understanding of America, an awareness of the dangers we face at home and abroad, and an appreciation of the meaning and marks of freedom in our society. Those who would argue that this could easily become indoctrination and propaganda would find ready agreement among the educators of St. Louis—and this is why they mean to keep this task in their own hands. But those who would argue that this is not the proper business of education at all (yet are there really any such these days?) would provoke strenuous rebuttal from the local group. They believe that we Americans are long overdue for a genuinely educational effort at building an informed, inspirited, and responsible citizenry.

Thus, backed by generous local support, the Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship is making a conscientious try in St. Louis at meeting and solving what is, surely, a national problem. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat editorialized, "The council can be a positive force for good, and set a pattern here in St. Louis which eventually, we hope, might be emulated in countless cities and communities throughout the Nation." And the St. Louis Post-Dispatch said: "The schools are wise to emphasize the positive side of American life in this way. The Nation will be more secure when more of its citizens understand what it stands for."

## The Drain on Our Gold Supply Threatens the Security of Every Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BRUCE ALGER**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the continued policies of fiscal irresponsibility being followed by this administration cause a constant drain on our gold supply and pose a permanent threat to the value of our dollar. The end result will be tragedy for every citizen of this country and it's time the people do something to halt the wild spending of President Kennedy.

The following column by Lyle C. Wilson in the Washington Daily News should be read by every Member of Congress and every American citizen:

MORE DOLLAR GOSSIP
(By Lyle C. Wilson)

Americans who are condemned to earn and spend a dollar which continues slowly to shrink in value are not alone in questioning the stability of U.S. money.

There is gossip abroad that the United States will be compelled soon to devalue the dollar officially in its relationship to the price of gold. There is more than gossip. There is the fact that Europe's central bankers are so doubtful of the paper dollar's staying power that some prefer not to hold dollars in their vaults as a backing for their own currencies. Many of them prefer to hold gold.

U.S. citizens may not exchange their paper dollars for gold. F.D.R. withdrew that privilege in 1933 in the process of taking the United States off the gold standard. Foreign governments' central banks, however, can exchange for gold the dollars they accumulate. Foreign nationals who gain dollars in trade with the United States may exchange those dollars through the banks.

When a foreigner exchanges an accumulation of U.S. dollars for U.S. gold, that foreigner has protected himself against a further slide in the dollar's real value, its purchasing power. Most especially, he has protected himself against any action by the United States to devalue the paper dollar by increasing the price at which the U.S. Treasury will exchange U.S. gold for U.S. dollars.

The gold price fixed by F.D.R. in 1933 was $35 an ounce. This was the effect of reducing the value of the dollar in terms of gold from 100 cents to 59 cents. President Kennedy found it necessary some weeks ago firmly to deny any intention of hiking the price of gold and thereby reducing the gold value of the U.S. dollar.

Perhaps the President will find it necessary to repeat that denial this month when the Governors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development meet here. The date is September 17.

The mere fact that Mr. Kennedy has had to deny once and may need to deny again that he intends to devalue the dollar is disquieting evidence the U.S. dollar is sick. The necessary remedies are obvious but difficult.

One remedy would be to prevent the further rotting of the paper dollar by the process of currency inflation. This dollar rotting is caused in large part by bigtime Government spending beyond revenues with ensuing Treasury deficits.

Another remedy would be an adjustment of the U.S. balance of trade with all the world so that at the end of a trading year the balance would be in favor of instead of against the United States. When the balance of trade is against the United States, foreigners accumulate dollars or other claims against the United States in excess of any currencies or claims against foreigners that may have been accumulated by the United States.

This excess of foreign claims in dollars and otherwise against the United States represents a potential direct or indirect drain on U.S. gold stocks. The American Institute for Economic Research calculates that foreign claims of all kinds against U.S. gold now exceed the total of U.S. gold stocks by $1.9 billion.

The almighty dollar is in a bad way at home and abroad although the voters seem not to know or, maybe, to care.

## A Plan for the Solution of the Macedonian Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a communication which I have received from the Macedonian Patriotic Organization of the U.S.A. and Canada, presenting a plan for a solution of the Macedonian question.

The declaration follows:

FOR A SOLUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION

Macedonia occupies the very center of the Balkan Peninsula and comprises a country of about 25,000 square miles with a population of almost 3 million people. For over five decades she has been the bone of contention not only among the neighboring states of Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria, but among some European powers as well. On numerous occasions the Balkan countries have resorted to war for the possession of Macedonia and it has been, and still is, the cause for friction, antagonism and mistrust among the Balkan peoples.

The Bucharest Treaty of 1913, which precluded the Second Balkan War, unjustly and arbitrarily divided Macedonia between Greece, Yugoslavia (then Serbia), and Bulgaria and this very artificial political settlement, loaded with explosives, was sanctioned by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1919 and thus, instead of settling the most crying problem of the Balkans, the peacemakers of Bucharest and Paris created a more acute political problem and placed the people of Macedonia under an oppression which is a disgrace for our 20th century civilization.

The treaties that followed the World War II did not alleviate the situation in Macedonia. The country remained divided and oppressed. The noble stipulations of the Atlantic Charter like the 14 points of President Wilson 20 years before, remained a dead letter as far as Macedonia is concerned.

The Communist regime of Yugoslavia treats it spart of Macedonia like a conquered territory. It has imposed severe police decrees which are steadily destroying the cultural, religious, and economic life of the people. To expediate the serbianization of the Macedono-Bulgarians they have created by decree a new Macedonian language. The Communist Party and its enormous secret police are the sole governing body of the country and they control the life of the people in every possible way. All criticism of the regime and of Tito is strictly prohibited and when discovered it is treated as treason. One has only to mention the name of Milovan Djilas to illustrate the point and in Yugoslavia there are thousands of others who like Djilas have been thrown in jail because they dared utter a few critical words of the regime. In Macedonia under Yugoslav rule there is no freedom of religion whatsoever and most of the oldest Bulgarian churches are either closed or turned into museums. As in every country under Communist domination, the church is completely subjugated to the State. All church functionaries, who do not abide by the Communist approved rules, are jailed or persecuted. In order to expedite the serbianization of christened as Macedonian Orthodox Church the people the centuries old Bulgarian Orthodox Churches in Macedonia were rechristened as Macedonian Orthodox Churches and placed under the rule of the Serbian patriarch.

Public meetings and freedom of speech are strictly prohibited in that unfortunate part of Macedonia which is under the Tito regime. However, to impress the politically gullible foreigners and foreign representatives, when necessary, the government agents organize such meetings on a grand scale. The purpose of these meetings is to show the people's devotion to the regime in general and dictator Tito in particular. Private enterprise is almost nonexistent in Macedonia under Yugoslav rule. And in spite of false stories emanating from Belgrade, the economic noose becomes tighter not looser. This is especially true in Macedonia which the Belgrade regime treats like a subjugated colony.

In spite of historic facts and treaties, which it has signed in the past, the Greek Government persists in its refusal to recognize the existence of Bulgarian speaking people in Macedonia. The hundreds of Bulgarian schools and churches which flourished in that part of the country during the Turkish regime prior to 1912 have been taken over and closed by the Greek administration. The people are forced to pray and to study the Greek language and not the Bulgarian which has been the language of these people for many centuries. We maintain that an international inquiry commission at any time could verify the presence of Bulgarian speaking people in Macedonia under Greek rule.

In the part of Macedonia which is now under the rule of Communist Bulgaria the inhabitants are subjected to all the terror and arbitrary laws which characterize the governments behind the Iron Curtain. The people cannot participate in activities which the government considers contrary to its policies. The one-party rule in Bulgaria does not allow any divergent political activity and the press and radio are exclusively in the hands of the ruling Communist Party.

Thus, nearly 20 years after the Second World War, the establishment of the United Nations, the proclamation of the universal declaration of human rights and the European Convention on Human Rights, the Macedonian question—the powder keg of the Balkans—remains unsolved, Macedonia continues to be divided and her people to be subjected to forceful denationalization. At this propitious time of history, when the world has seen the emergency into statehood of many Asian and African nations, it is a crying injustice that Macedonia should still be divided and oppressed. The world must remember that nearly 23 centuries ago she spread her name in the glaring pages of history and that she was the first among the

European nations to open the door to Christianity. To avoid new disturbances in that part of Europe and to put an end to the oppression under which our brothers and sisters live in Macedonia today, the nations of the world must act, and act quickly. They should not remain indifferent to the plight of the Macedonian people.

What is the best possible solution of the Macedonian question?

Guided by the cause of peace and brotherly understanding among all people the 41st Annual Convention of the Macedonian Patriotic Organizations of the United States and Canada, held September 2, 3, and 4 in Buffalo, N.Y., deems it as its imperative duty to propose this simple and best suited solution of the Macedonian problem:

Give the Macedonian people the right to govern themselves, to organize the country into an independent State of Macedonia, to create a Switzerland of the Balkans. The creation of an independent Macedonia State will unite all freedom-loving people in the country and will eliminate the bone of contention among the Balkan peoples. This in itself will be a great contribution toward European and universal peace.

To facilitate this solution of the Macedonian problem we recommend as a first step that the three divided parts of Macedonia be place temporarily under the protectorate of the United Nations and we are certain that the people in Macedonia will cooperate fully with such United Nations Commission. A few years after this, when the United Nations Commission deems it is the right time, a free plebiscite, under United Nations supervision should determine the future organization of an independent Macedonia with equal rights and equal obligations for all its inhabitants.

We believe this to be the only and just solution of the Macedonian question and urge all men of peace and good will to help us attain it.

Very Rev. VASIL MIHAILOFF,
*Convention Chairman.*
DAN THEODOROFF,
*Secretary.*

## United States Won't Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, a disturbing reaction of the Soviet, is reported by Robert Frost, the poet, who says that Khrushchev thinks we will not fight for principle.

Ever since President Kennedy assumed office he has talked big and acted little.

In its usual, hard-hitting fashion, the New York Daily News expresses its concern for our pussyfootedness.

The article follows:

KHRUSH: "UNITED STATES WON'T FIGHT"

Chattering to reporters at Idlewild Sunday after a 10-day tour in Russia, the poet, Robert Frost, inserted his foot several times, it seemed to us, in his mouth.

One thing the 88-year-old New Englander said, though, keeps worrying us.

Mr. Frost reported that N. S. Khrushchev told him that the United States is too loaded with liberals to fight for anything.

This, though the Kennedy administration satisfied itself long ago that it had convinced the Red Hitler of U.S. willingness and ability to fight for Western Allied rights in West Berlin.

Apparently Khrushchev isn't yet convinced. That could account for his renewed threats to West Berlin, and for his brassy impudence in publicly admitting that he is beefing up Communist Cuba.

Hence, it seems to us that the administration, in hope of insuring continued peace, should redouble its efforts to show Khrushchev that we mean business.

How about some Berlin and Cuba moves which Khrushchev will scream are aggressive and imperialistic, but which will hammer into his skull the realization that when we say we'll fight we mean we'll fight?

## The Federal Pay Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, the postal and Federal employee pay bill is one of the most important measures remaining for consideration by the 87th Congress.

During my 14 years in Congress I have always favored bringing Federal employees' salaries in line with those paid by private industry.

We are still far from that goal.

As President Kennedy said in his special message on Federal pay reform:

Federal salaries generally do not compare favorably and cannot compete successfully with private industry.

Every objective study—

The President continued—

demonstrated that salaried Government employees at almost every work level receive less compensation, on a national average basis, than private employees performing similar work.

In certain areas of Federal employment the servant of all the people—which is exactly what the Federal employee is—has fallen behind other occupational groups so far as his financial status is concerned.

We can all remember the time when the postal employee, for example, was considered to have one of the best jobs in his community. Now, however, even a carrier who has reached the top step of grade 4 after 25 years of postal service still earns less than the amount which the Bureau of Labor Statistics considers necessary for a family of 4 in 20 leading cities and their suburban areas.

Over the years I have become personally acquainted with hundreds of postal employees and their families. These people perform a vital service and should be paid accordingly.

I hope, therefore, that we soon will have an opportunity to consider H.R. 9531, the pay bill sponsored by our colleague, Mr. MORRISON, which recently was ordered reported favorably by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

This bill contains many of the pay reforms requested by the President but it provides more adequate compensation for several employee groups, particularly rural mail carriers and classified employees in the lower grades, than the administration's original proposal.

## Quality Stabilization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on February 21, 1962, I introduced H.R. 10340 which is known as the quality stabilization bill.

This bill would enable the manufacturer and the retailer to protect legitimate prices on nationally advertised brands of merchandise.

The following manufacturers' and retailers' associations have endorsed this bill:

NATIONAL TRADE AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE QUALITY STABILIZATION BILL

Quality Brands Associates of America, Inc; National Retail Hardware Association; National Office Machine Dealers Association; Independent Garage Owners of America; National Association of House to House Installment Cos., Inc.; National Sporting Goods Association; National Association of Retail Clothiers & Furnishers; National Retail Furniture Association; Retail Jewelers of America; Master Photo Dealers & Finishers Association; National Appliance & Radio-TV Dealers Association; National Wholesale Jewelers Association; National Stationery & Office Equipment Association; Wholesale Stationers' Association; Toy Wholesalers' Association of America; Billiard & Bowling Institute of America; Gift & Decorative Accessories Association of America; Marine Manufacturers Safety Equipment Association; Sporting Goods Jobbers Association; American Fishing Tackle Manufacturers Association; Archery Manufacturers & Dealers Association; National Wholesale Hardware Association; Fountain Pen & Mechanical Pencil Manufacturers' Association, Inc.; American Watch Association, Inc.; Watch Material Distributors of America; Automotive Service Industry Association; National Association of Bedding Manufacturers.

The National Association of Shirt, Pajama & Sportswear Manufacturers; National Industrial Distributors Association; Christian Booksellers Association; National Congress of Petroleum Retailers; National Shoe Manufacturers Association; Wallcovering Wholesalers Association; National Small Business Association; American Research Merchandising Institute; American Retailers Association; National Art Materials Trade Association; National Shoe Retailers Association; Motor & Equipment Manufacturers Association; North American Heating & Air-conditioning Wholesalers, Inc.; National Association of Women's & Children's Apparel; Salesmen, Inc.; American Watch Manufacturers Association; National Bicycle Dealers Association, Inc.; National Audio-Visual Association, Inc.; National Office Furniture Association, Inc.; National Outerwear & Sportswear Association; National Frozen Food Association, Inc.; the Automotive Warehouse Distributors Association, Inc.; National Association of Glove Manufacturers; American

Association of Small Business; National Marine Products Association; National Association of Retail Druggists; Paint & Wallpaper Association of America, Inc.; Retail Tobacco Dealers of America; National Association of Tobacco Distributors; National Retail Farm Equipment Association; American Pharmaceutical Association; National Conference of State Pharmaceutical Association Secretaries; Metropolitan Cities Drug Association Secretaries.

## Barbara Frietchie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, just a century ago yesterday, September 10, 1862, Confederate troops passed through Frederick, Md., on their way from their bivouac south of the city to engage the Union forces at Sharpsburg on the battlefield of Antietam. As a result of the occupation of Frederick by the army under command of Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson there were several incidents reported by the press which indicated a strong loyalist sentiment among the citizens of Frederick. The discussion of these incidents led John Greenleaf Whittier to compose "The Ballad of Barbara Frietchie."

Historians are divided on the subject of Barbara Frietchie as an actual heroine. Her biographers, William R. and Dorothy M. Quynn, have reached the following conclusion:

In the face of much conflicting evidence it is impossible to decide exactly what happened. Certain facts emerge. There is no proof that Mrs. Frietchie or Mrs. Quantrell waved a flag at the Confederate Army or any part of it. It seems certain that neither Stonewall Jackson nor any other Confederate general was involved in any way, and almost equally certain that no serious altercation occurred, or anything which involved firing. On the other hand there unquestionably were minor incidents connected with the display of Union flags during the occupation which tradition may have confused with the demonstrations staged on the occasion of entry of the Union troops after it. Barbara Frietchie's obituary states definitely that she participated in the latter. Many women waved flags on this occasion. Since we have no unimpeachable evidence that she also waved a flag at the Confederate Army, we can state only that there exists a tradition that she did so.

There is no controversy, however, on the question of "Barbara Frietchie" as a living legend and a symbol of passionate patriotism. The ballad has been translated into many languages. It is known to distant people to whom it is a familiar folk legend of America.

On a recent visit to my house near Frederick, General Eisenhower recalled that "Barbara Frietchie" had been discussed during World War II at his headquarters in North Africa. In his memoirs, Winston Churchill claims victory in a recitation contest between himself, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mr. Harry Hopkins. They were reciting "Barbara Frietchie" by memory, as they drove through Frederick to Shangri-La, now Camp David.

A century of dust and change today obscures the facts of the "Barbara Frietchie" story beyond any reasonable hope of clarification. But the passage of a century has not dimmed the interest of the world in the basic emotions that underlie the poem. A century of familiarity has, in fact, made "Barbara Frietchie" a part of the legend of America. There is no better way to commemorate the passage of a century than to spread the words of Whittier upon the pages of the RECORD and so I append the "Ballad of Barbara Frietchie":

BARBARA FRIETCHIE

Up from the meadows rich with corn,
Clear in the cool September morn,
The clustered spires of Frederick stand
Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.

Round about them orchards sweep,
Apple and peach tree fruited deep,
Fair as the garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished rebel horde.

On that pleasant morn of the early fall
When Lee marched over the mountain wall;
Over the mountains winding down,
Horse and foot, into Frederick town.

Forty flags with their silver stars,
Forty flags with their crimson bars,
Flapped in the morning wind: the sun
Of noon looked down, and saw not one.

Up rose old Barbara Frietchie then,
Bowed with her fourscore years and ten;
Bravest of all in Frederick town,
She took up the flag the men hauled down.

In her attic window the staff she set,
To show that one heart was loyal yet.
Up the street came the rebel tread,
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.

Under his slouched hat left and right
He glanced; the old flag met his sight.
"Halt!"—the dust-brown ranks stood fast.
"Fire!"—out blazed the rifle-blast.

It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.
Quick, as it fell, from the broken staff
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf.

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.
"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag," she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came;
The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word;
"Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!" he said.

All day long that free flag tost
Over the heads of the rebel host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well;
And through the hill-gaps sunset light
Shone over it with a warm good-night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the Rebel rides on his raids no more.
Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave,
Flag of Freedom and Union, wave!

Peace and order and beauty draw
Round thy symbol of light and law;
And ever the stars above look down
On thy stars below in Frederick town!

## The New York-Montreal Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I have on several occasions in the past pointed out the need and the desirability of a new seaway; namely, the New York-Montreal Seaway. I have pointed out that an inland seaway would not only restore the former paramount position which New York enjoyed, but would carry with it economic advantages in times of peace and would provide safer shipping facilities in time of war. A New York-Montreal Seaway would reduce the cost of shipment of goods, would be a boon to industry along the Erie Canal and the areas in which the seaway runs and would eventually reduce the consumer cost of foods and commodities. The advantages, the need, and the desirability of a New York-Montreal Seaway were described in full and graphically by one of my constituents, William Lathrop Rich, a retired colonel who testified before the Joint Legislative Committee on Commerce and Economic Development of the State of New York in the senate chamber in Albany on August 28, 1962. His remarks merit consideration and reading. They are as follows:

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM LATHROP RICH

Mr. Chairman, members of the joint legislative Committee on Commerce and Economic Development of the State of New York, honored guests and ladies and gentlemen, your chairman has invited me to participate in these hearings and to submit comments and recommendations on the proposed construction of a deepwater seaway between the State of New York and the St. Lawrence River in Canada, commonly referred to as the Champlain Waterway.

The committee for the New York-Montreal Seaway, of which I am chairman, has been advocating just such a deepwater seaway since the fall of 1956 and we have consistently recommended that it follow the historic route, used since its discovery in 1609 by Samuel de Champlain, because it was and is the shortest practical route between the St. Lawrence River in Canada and the Hudson River in New York State.

Six months after we had first proposed that this route be adequately modernized, we were informed that our recommendations were in accordance with those in a report made by the International Joint Commission in 1937, that concluded with the statement that the route from the St. Lawrence River at Sorel, Province of Quebec, up the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain and by way of the Champlain Canal to the Hudson River at Fort Edward, "is the most practicable from an engineering standpoint and the least impracticable from an economic point of view of all the five routes that had been considered."

Since its discovery, this route has, from time to time, been improved and its capacity increased but no improvements have been made upon the Canadian part since 1938 and on the United States part since 1918, that would alter its capacity.

This so-called Champlain Waterway has now become so uneconomical and obsolete that the New York State Legislature constituted a joint legislative committee on the barge canal in 1960 to determine the future of the barge canal system, of which the Champlain Canal is a part. What conclusions that committee has reached are not known to us or whether it ever reached any.

It is my understanding that these hearings today are to assist your committee in your study of this proposed Champlain Waterway.

Our committee's 6-year study of this proposed waterway has caused us to reach certain conclusions that I will now enumerate.

First, may I state that we firmly believe that the future economic expansion and prosperity of the New York-New England section of our United States is contingent upon the building of an adequate deep-water seaway, that will connect the Hudson River in New York State and the St. Lawrence River in Canada and make available a "short cut" for ocean shipping to compete with the St. Lawrence River.

Up to the 5th of July 1962 all of our efforts had been concentrated upon securing the updating of the 1937 survey because, without a current survey of this route, all statements, pro and con, about it would, of necessity be based upon opinions and not upon facts.

On July 5 last, our efforts were crowned with success when "the Department of State announced that the United States and Canada have agreed upon the text of a joint reference to the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada, concerning the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain Waterway. The Governments in similar letters on July 5, 1962, requested the Commission to conduct a study on the feasibility of improving the existing waterway or developing other routes for a waterway from the St. Lawrence River in Canada through Lake Champlain to the Hudson River at Albany, N.Y.

We, therefore, have not made a detailed economic survey of this proposed seaway route, and we are of the opinion that it can be done best by the Corps of U.S. Army Engineers, by a survey similar to the one that they made for the Joint Commission in 1937.

We have heard numerous opinions as to the saving of time and money that this shortcut between New York and Montreal would make possible, such as a saving in freight rates for newsprint from the Quebec region to the New York metropolitan area of from $9 to $10 a ton and an estimated reduction of 4 sailing days with a saving of $10,000 for a ship like the *Santa Rosa* of the Grace Line, for a round trip between New York City and Montreal, Canada, and that this saving in time and money would put such similar lines into a competitive position so that they could secure tonnage that is now not available or economically feasible for them to handle. These and similar comments are estimates and opinions and we shall have to await the completion of the new survey until we can deal in facts.

We have repeatedly asked ourselves, Is this shortcut feasible, desirable, and necessary? To all of which we have concluded in the affirmative.

It is feasible because previous research studies have indicated that there are no great engineering problems involved.

It is desirable because it makes available to ocean shipping, sometimes called the salties, a short cut from the heartlands of the American Continent, also called the fourth coast to the ports around the world, by some few up to 2,700 miles for a round trip, with accompanying reductions of shipping costs.

It is necessary first, because it will be a latent factor in our national survival, which of necessity I will not detail here.

Second, because it will stimulate the economic revival of the regions through which it passes by making them more accessible and it will also make seaports possible, at any point along its route, from which direct shipments can be made to any port in the world.

We believe that the completion of this proposed seaway will result in the following benefits provided that this waterway is designed to have adequate capacity for the purpose for which it is intended.

Adequate capacity, to us, means capacity, ultimately, at least equal to that of the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, Canada, which interms of controlled depth, at present, means not less than 37 feet deep. It will:

1. Hasten the return of the port of New York to its former position as the greatest seaport in the world.

2. Provide justification for the modernization of all the facilities of the port of New York.

3. Justify the construction of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan.

4. Make available a fresh water supply for the States of New Jersey and New York and for Long Island and eliminate all future demands upon the Delaware River watershed for additional fresh water for this same area.

5. Stimulate the tourist trade to and from New York City and make practical the introduction of scenic tours, to the Adirondack Mountain-Lake Champlain-Richelieu River regions, to the Montreal-Quebec-Saguenay River regions, and via the St. Lawrence Seaway to the Thousand Islands-the Great Lakes ports and other lake points of interest, such as the Great Bridge across the Mackinac Straits and the new Soo locks near Sault Ste. Marie.

6. Encourage foreign tourists to visit the United States and make use of those tourist facilities to visit the heartlands of our country and Canada.

7. Stabilize the water level of the Hudson River at Albany, N.Y.

8. Make possible the development of a steel center in the vicinity of Albany, similar to that of the Pittsburgh area.

9. Make desirable the building of subsidiary pleasure boat plants in this same general area.

10. Reduce the number of locks between Waterford on the Hudson River and Lake Champlain.

11. Stimulate the economic and financial growth of the regions all along its route.

12. Provide jobs during its construction, the result of which will be growth of employment in all the regions through which it passes.

13. Stimulate population increase through economic expansion of all facilities and services near its path.

14. Make possible the transformation of all locations along its route into seaports.

15. Materially reduce the present industrial and natural contamination of the waters of the south end of Lake Champlain.

16. Provide a means of flood control for the Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River regions by the stabilization of the water level of Lake Champlain.

17. Result in the elimination of the annual losses in this same region, due to spring flooding, estimated to be more than $20 million since 1938.

18. Make accessible all these same regions to the motor and sailboat mariners, which they are now denied through lack of accessibility.

19. Benefit all transportation facilities, for movement in and out and through its regions, as well as all communication facilities.

20. Make possible the reduction of the number of locks around the Chambly Rapids in the Richelieu River in Canada.

21. Make possible the restoration of the necessary water level in the Sorel-Montreal regions, which can materially reduce the strength of the currents at the docks at Montreal and assist in the elimination of the pollution along the shores of Lake St. Louis due to the at present alltime low-water level of the lake.

Again I state that all those benefits can be secured by the construction of an adequate deepwater seaway.

May I now close my remarks by asking your serious consideration of the following points during your study of this proposed Champlain waterway:

1. That the design of this proposed deep waterway provide it with an ultimate capacity, at least equal to that of the St. Lawrence River, with which it must compete to justify its existence as a shortcut for ocean shipping, sometimes called "The Salties."

2. That the locks have a sill depth of not less than 40 feet; the present depth of the St. Lawrence River plus a 3-foot factor of safety. That sill depth will make it unnecessary to rebuild the locks when traffic demands that the capacity of this waterway be increased to equal that of the St. Lawrence River.

3. That the initial depth of this waterway be, at least, 32 feet between the locks. That depth is the depth that the Hudson River is now being deepened to, from New York City to Albany. Of the 450 mile length of this proposed waterway, within a short time more than half of that mileage will be 32 feet deep or deeper.

4. That provisions be incorporated in the planning that will allow the use of this passageway by small as well as the large boats.

5. That the bridges, necessary for the passage of vehicular traffic across this waterway, be of the bascule type, so as to eliminate any restrictions in overhead clearances and that their footings be placed far enough back from the banks of this waterway to permit free and clear passage of any ships that can make use of this waterway.

6. That provisions be incorporated in the design to assure the maintenance of a constant water level at both Albany, N.Y., and the Sorel-Montreal, Canada regions.

7. That the number of locks along this route be kept down to the minimum, to possibly only 2 large locks along the Canadian section, in place of the present 11 small ones, as the total lift in this section is not more than 80 feet, because the level of the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, Canada, is 20 feet above sea level. The New York State section may only require 3 large locks in place of the 12 small ones, because there the total lift will not be more than 98 feet. The water level of the Hudson River at Albany is only plus or minus 1½ feet, due to the tidal fluctuations. This 98-foot maximum lift, which is the lift up to the proposed level of Lake Champlain, is secured by the leveling off of the hump in the route of the present Champlain Canal, making the water level of Lake Champlain the maximum water level of the whole route.

8. That provisions be made in the design layout of this waterway for the future twinning of the locks, without their rebuilding, when the increase in volume of traffic so demands.

9. That this seaway be set up as a self-liquidating project and to be so amortized that the initial tolls can be kept down to a minimum to stimulate its use as a shortcut.

10. That naval and commercial large ship navigators be consulted during the design of this seaway so that the mistakes, inherent in the design of the St. Lawrence Seaway, be not repeated in this seaway project, particularly the lack of consideration given to the basic requirements for the proper navigation of large long boats through a restricted waterway.

For confirmation of that last statement, read "The Freshwater Cruise" of the U.S.S.

*Macon*, by Capt. J. C. Wylie, U.S. Navy, in the April 1960 number of the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings. The *Macon* escorted H.M.S.S. *Britannia* up the St. Lawrence Seaway for the opening passage in June 1959.

We are aware that some interests historically oppose the use of waterways for commercial purposes, because they represent competition, but, when it can so easily be proven, that when any region is opened up and it prospers economically and financially, all means of transportation prosper and gain new business.

You ask, What is my interest in the seaway project?

It is to try to assure that this waterway shall have a capacity to justify its existence.

Let all of us cooperate to assure that this seaway be so designed that it will not have to be rebuilt in the foreseeable future.

I have endeavored to compress the results of our 6 years concentrated study into this statement.

May I now end by stating that I shall be pleased to interpret and explain how we reached our conclusions at any other time at our mutual convenience and that I have attached copies of four other statements, which contain additional pertinent information relating to this proposed seaway, for the convenience of your committee.

## What Is a Republican?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Stamford Advocate has written a thoughtful definition of the meaning of republicanism today. He has, I think, successfully expressed the dynamism of Republican principles which seek to preserve the grand heritage of our country as a foundation for creatively meeting the needs of the people. I congratulate the writer of this piece and am happy to submit it for the RECORD.

WHAT IS A REPUBLICAN?

Dwight Eisenhower said that a Republican was a social progressive and an economic conservative. Richard Nixon said that a Republican believed in doing as much for himself as possible depending on the Government only for those things which the private citizen could not do for himself. Both of these statements are in accord, not only with the Constitution as drawn, but with the spirit of those who drafted the Constitution.

The Republican today is one who believes in the fundamentals of the American heritage.

The Constitution as drawn had as its purpose the formation of a government full of checks and balances designed to secure man's natural God-given rights. This government was to be, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "a wise, a frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from labor the bread it has earned."

The Constitution as drawn and conceived by our Founding Fathers protected the individual from the Government. It did not envisage a huge bureaucracy so costly that even those intent on adding to it speak of its depressive burden. The Republican today opposes a general expansion of Government social agencies not because he is reactionary but because social progress can be advanced more effectively by the individual and by agencies at the local level. The Republican opposes the expansion of Government at a time when those running the Government admit its burden is too great to bear, because he does not want to pass on to his children even greater burdens.

The Republican is not an ultrarightwinger, he believes in a Constitution which includes protection for individuals in a Bill of Rights. The Republican cannot be a "liberal" because he believes in a Constitution which protects a minority from the tyranny of a "democratic majority." A Republican is a conservative in that he would conserve the American heritage. He is a progressive in that he would free our citizens of the burdens and controls of a huge Federal bureaucracy so that he might progress to a better life for himself and his family, in accord with his initiative and ability.

In short it could be said that a Republican is also a patriot who believes in supporting the word and spirit of our Constitution under which our Nation became the envy of the world.

## The Hanford Power Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a covering letter to a comic strip type presentation about the 1962 Hanford project entitled "Only the name's the Same." The comic on the cover says, "I am aware! I know about things." The entire presentation apparently is an attempt to convince the 232 Members of the House that voted against the Hanford power proposal that black is white and night is day and "Only the Name's the Same."

Let us look at the record. However, before we do I think it well to remark that this Hanford proposal may be comic strip stuff to the proponents but it is deadly serious business to the consciencious Members of Congress who are seriously concerned about their taxpaying constituents who will have to bail this project out of the red when it goes sour.

Here are the facts:

THE PLANT IS THE SAME

In 1961: The comic strip author told us last year that the Hanford generating plant was to be more like the Robert Fulton steam engine of 154 years ago. He also said, referring to the proposed Hanford powerplant, "the people overseas are going to look at such foolishness and laugh at us."

In 1962: The Hanford generating plant is to be exactly the same old Robert Fulton vintage type plant which would make the people overseas laugh just as hard as they would have last year, perhaps harder. The only difference actually is that it will cost about $35 million more than last year.

COST TO TAXPAYERS COULD BE MORE

In 1961: Hanford power cost estimated to be $95 million to be put up by the U.S. taxpayers.

In 1962: A bond issue of $130 million is now contemplated for financing the construction of the Hanford powerplant. Bonneville Administrator admits contract would be security for this bond issue. Also, under the contract, conditions could occur that would obligate the U.S. taxpayers to pick up the check for the entire $130 million.

POWER WOULD BE DELIVERED TO BONNEVILLE IN EACH INSTANCE

In 1961: AEC would deliver Hanford power to Bonneville.

In 1962: Washington Public Power Supply System would operate Hanford plant under Bonneville direction and control and would make actual delivery of power to Bonneville. There is only a theoretical or paper transfer of Hanford power to participating utilities with contract providing for immediate retransfer of the Hanford power to Bonneville.

HANFORD POWER NONFIRM POWER IN EACH INSTANCE

In 1961: Even the proponents admitted Hanford power was nonfirm. Actually, no one knows how unreliable it really would be, as serious incidents could occur that would put plant out for indefinite periods of time.

In 1962: Construction difficulties and unsolved problems at Hanford may well make Hanford power less reliable than ever.

HANFORD POWER COULD BE ALL PUBLIC POWER IN EACH INSTANCE

In 1961: Hanford power would be Federal public power to be distributed by Bonneville Power Administration.

In 1962: The comic strip says that Hanford in 1962 would have no Federal public power and that one-half would be local private power and one-half local public power. Actually, all the Hanford power is to be turned over to Bonneville Power Administration, a Federal agency. An amendment was proposed which theoretically would have required the offer of 50-percent participation to privately owned organizations. Offer could well be made to private industrial organizations whose refusal of offer would permit 100-percent retention of Hanford power by Washington Public Power Supply System and Bonneville. Nothing in the proposed amendment requires that the offer be made to a competing private utility system. Even if offer were made to privately owned utility companies there is a serious cloud over their position under the existing preference provisions of the Bonneville Power Act.

U.S. TAXPAYERS WOULD PAY FOR ALL LOSES

In 1961: As a Federal project U.S. taxpayers would assume all losses.

In 1962: Proposed contract could result in U.S. taxpayers paying off entire $130 million bond issue. In actual fact, the Washington Public Power Supply System takes no risk since Bonneville pays completely for all the operation, maintenance, repairs, replacements,

bond amortization, interest, and everything else imaginable. This payment is made with firm kilowatts of power rather than dollars, but the payment is still made by Bonneville. Use of Bonneville firm power for payoff of Hanford power costs could result in losses much greater than under the 1961 deal.

ALL HANFORD NET REVENUES (IF ANY) WOULD GO TO U.S. TREASURY

In 1961: The comic strip, speaking of Hanford power revenues, says "All revenues to Bonneville Power Administration."

In 1962: The comic strip, speaking of Hanford steam revenues, says "Up to $125 million to U.S. Treasury."

Even a comic strip character should know all Bonneville's revenues go to the U.S. Treasury. To say this latest Hanford proposal could result in payments for steam that would put up to $125 million additional revenue in the U.S. Treasury with $50 million as a firm estimate is fantastic. The payment for steam is still going to be made by Bonneville in the form of firm kilowatts. So, to argue that the taxpayers will be better off by taking from one Federal agency and giving it to another Federal agency is political chicanery of the first magnitude.

The Hanford power deal could easily cost the taxpayers of the Nation anywhere from $130 million to $400 million. The proposed payment for the so-called waste steam would be only $100,000 for the first year of dual-purpose operation, with a total of only $600,000 for the first 4 years of dual-purpose operation. If dual-purpose operation should then cease, the $600,000 would not pay 10 percent of the interest cost to date on the convertibility features alone.

In conclusion I urge each of my colleagues who voted with me in opposition to the Hanford power proposal to continue to oppose this uneconomical project. As much as the 1961 proposal deserved thumbs down, the 1962 proposal deserves even greater thumbs down, as the pitfalls for and potential cost to the taxpayers are boundless.

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## The Will Behind the Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, various reports have been made that the United States is taking steps to persuade our European allies to help counteract the Communist menace in Cuba through helping to isolate Cuba economically.

U.S. officials are reported to have asked the NATO Allies to take steps to discourage ships flying the flags of allied nations from being chartered to ship Communist supplies to Cuba, to cooperate in preventing U.S. embargoed goods from being shipped to Cuba through their countries, to examine their trade in materials with Cuba to determine what goods of strategic military and economic importance are being shipped to Cuba, and to maintain close check on commercial credits being extended to Cuba.

It is my view that while much more is needed to rid our hemisphere of this Communist beachhead, a move to obtain cooperation from our allies along these lines is definitely needed and should be pursued aggressively. I wonder however just how aggressively the administration is going about trying to accomplish these ends. The following will show one of the reasons for my concern.

It will be remembered that earlier this year there were various reports that the United States had spoken to representatives of NATO nations with regard to the U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba. Mr. Walt Whitman Rostow, Counselor and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State, went to Europe at that time. The reports on what occurred varied but many of them appeared to be designed to leave the impression that our position was firmly stated and that strong representations were made in behalf of getting our allies to cooperate on embargoing Cuba.

I was interested in knowing at that time just how the administration had gone about this task so I addressed a letter dated February 28, 1962, to Secretary of State Rusk asking to be advised "as to whether the United States through Mr. Rostow specifically requested various NATO nations to curb trade with Cuba in line with the action by the United States and, if so, the response of the nations to such request. Which nations, through their representatives, were contacted by Mr. Rostow?"

I am setting forth the Department's reply to my inquiry and invite close attention to it.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, D.C., March 12, 1962.*

Hon. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. LIPSCOMB: I refer to your letter of February 28, 1962, to the Secretary concerning Mr. Rostow's report to the NATO Council on the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics held at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

The Secretary stated on March 1 that Mr. Rostow had told the members of NATO about the discussions and the decisions reached by the Organization of American States Foreign Ministers. Mr. Rostow, said the Secretary, had requested the NATO countries to take into account the attitudes expressed at Punta del Este in the formulation of their own policies toward Cuba. The Secretary cited as an example the resolution of the Foreign Ministers to suspend immediately the trade and traffic in arms of every kind, and expressed the hope that our friends in NATO would aline their policies accordingly.

Please call on us if we can be of any further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,
*Assistant Secretary.*

Mr. Speaker, as far as I am concerned there is nothing set forth in this letter which does not describe anything other than the fact that the trip by Mr. Rostow was a "hat in hand" mission and the complete lack of favorable results obtained certainly appears to bear this out. There is nothing in the letter to show that there was any firmness about our request, or anything specific to indicate that the embargo was represented as a matter of much importance to the United States. Mr. Rostow's trip in my view is a prime example of how not to go about getting the results necessary to deal with Cuba.

It is a matter of concern to me and I know it is to many others who are wondering whether the same type of thing is happening again and whether we will see another example of the all too familiar technique which calls for strong words and tragically little real action.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the September 9, 1962, issue of the Los Angeles Times entitled "The Will Behind the Words." The Times is absolutely right when it says that we must have immediate action in dealing with Cuba and that the President should demand, not merely ask, that our NATO Allies cooperate in this regard.

Concerned citizens everywhere are watching with interest just how effectively we deal with the Communist menace. They are expecting what the Times alludes to in the title to the editorial: A will behind our words.

The editorial follows:

THE WILL BEHIND THE WORDS

The defiant warning issued by President Monroe against the designs of imperialist Russia was composed of strong words—and a strong will to enforce them. Our capacity to resist was slight but it was magnified many times by our great determination.

Ten days ago the reverse seemed true. President Kennedy said at his press conference April 29 that the Monroe Doctrine still "means what it meant" in 1823. But many Americans wondered if it did; many nations were acting as though they were sure it did not.

The will that had first given meaning to the words of the doctrine seemed strangely lacking in the months that followed the disastrous Bay of the Pigs expedition.

Caution and inaction were interpreted as weakness by the Soviet Union as it boldly stepped up its transformation of Cuba into an armed Communist base. Our close NATO Allies—Britain, West Germany, Norway, and Greece—were so unimpressed with our passive attitude that they stood by as their merchant ships carried arms, equipment and technicians to the island outpost.

Not until Moscow publicly admitted its coarse intervention did the will of the Government again manifest itself.

Mr. Kennedy issued another reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine last week. This time, however, he began to take the first steps in demonstrating our determination. There could be no doubt as to the impatient mood of the Congress and the Nation: they possessed the will; they lacked only the leadership.

When the President asked Congress, Friday, for permission to call up 150,000 reservists, the bipartisan support was immediate and strong. Its leaders did not need to be told that the Reserves were necessary "to permit strong, prompt, and effective challenges * * * which may be presented anywhere in the world."

Mr. Kennedy should now act upon the proposal of Republican leaders that he request permission to use armed forces "as he sees necessary," just as President Eisenhower did to meet the Communist threat in the Formosa Straits. Congress will not say "No."

There should also be no hesitation on the part of the President in taking other necessary responses.

He should demand, not merely ask, that our NATO Allies cease allowing merchant vessels carrying their flags to aid our common enemy. It is an outrage that those nations whom we have helped to defend and to rebuild should repay us in this way.

He should in fact insist that NATO countries and the members of the Organization of American States immediately join us in collective action against the Cuban threat, including an effective embargo. It is late, yet, not too late.

If our friends are irresolute, we must act alone, reserving to ourselves the right to take any action necessary "aginst those who would endanger hemispheric peace and safety."

We will surely be accused of rattling our saber. We are not, but we have drawn it from its scabbard and it will stay unsheathed.

## San Leandro's Sister City Is Explained by Brazilian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the great programs currently being pursued throughout the Nation by municipal governments is the so-called sister city program of the Town Affiliation Committee, which is formed as a part of the people-to-people program for better international understanding.

Several of the cities in my congressional district have been pursuing this project with great enthusiasm. A new association is being formed between the city of San Leandro, Calif., and Ribeirao Preto, Brazil.

From past experience, I know that the results of such an affiliation between communities can be very productive of greater understanding between the citizens of the respective communities. The projects undertaken under the sister city program allow various facets of the community, such as church groups, chambers of commerce, employee associations, unions, schools, league of women voters, and businessmen to exchange ideas and to exchange visits with the cities concerned.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an account of San Leandro's first endeavor of town affiliation, in the visit of Walter B. McNealy, president of a Brazilian Baptist college, and his first-hand account of the activities in sister city Ribeirao Preto:

[From the Morning News, Aug. 28, 1962]

SAN LEANDRO'S SISTER CITY IS EXPLAINED BY BRAZILIAN

(By Josephine Roberts)

"The most influential people in Ribeirao Preto, Brazil, are highly conservative with family histories dating back to the earliest days of the South American nation's colonization," Walter B. McNealy, president of a Brazilian Baptist college in a nearby town, told Vice Mayor Valence Gill and a group of town affiliation committee members on Sunday.

The American-born educator, who has spent most of his adult life in Brazil, indicated that because the officials of Ribeirao Preto are inclined to move slowly in making important decisions, it is bound to take time to complete arrangements for a sister city program.

MORE FORMAL

"Brazilians are quite different in their attitudes which are far more formal than those of the breezy, informal North American," he said. "I have spent 25 years in Brazil and have returned only four times to the United States in those years, so I have a rather good idea how the officials of Ribeirao Preto would react to any new and revolutionary suggestion.

"The town affiliation or sister city program is entirely new to me and so I presume it is quite new to South Americans.

"The rather unpleasant image of the North American which has been a stereotype in South American history and political life has to be destroyed and this sister city program is an excellent start toward better understanding and harmony between North and South American countries," the visitor remarked.

"Ribeirao Preto is a beautiful city with an almost ideal climate," according to McNealy. "The city's population is quite cosmopolitan. However, its most important businessmen and officials are descended of good families of long residence and bearing names famous in Brazilian history."

STABLE GOVERNMENT

"The city has long had a stable government and economy. It is considered one of the wealthiest of the 'interior or feeder cities' through whose banks and mercantile establishments flow millions of dollars worth of commerce, raw materials, and finished goods."

The educator indicated that he was very much opposed to "giveaway programs" which he says are rarely ever appreciated.

"Exchange, if possible, high school and college students; invite a bank employee to come to San Leandro for 3 or 4 months and send a well-mannered, highly capable banking employee to represent you in Ribeirao Preto. Make contacts in other lines of business so that there is a real people to people program in operation."

Walter B. McNealy, who maintains a U.S. address at 196 Jules Avenue, New Orleans, La., or can be reached at Caixa Postal, 145, Est do Rio, Brazil, said he was most willing to help establish contacts with Ribeirao Preto.

FRIENDSHIP ESSENTIAL

"Sound friendships between South American countries and the United States are essential for the survival of the free world. This is a tense time in history and the sister city program could help foster international understanding which is so desperately needed these days."

The Baptist college president was introduced to Vice Mayor Valence Gill and town affiliation committee members by William Chandler of the Second Baptist Church on Pacific Avenue in San Leandro. McNealy had made a brief talk before members of the church. Chandler is a charter member of the sister city program.

## Communist Cuba a Dagger at Our Throat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, communism in Cuba has grown to the second most powerful military force in this hemisphere since President Kennedy has assumed office.

The President has no one to blame but himself for this. He cannot pass the buck anymore. Why he does not take action, I do not know. Where is his courage?

David Lawrence in the New York Herald Tribune for September 4 and 11, respectively, discusses this problem, as does Robert G. Spivack, in the newspaper's September 9 issue. Both show concern and pinpoint the urgent need to change this policy of appeasement by President Kennedy:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 4, 1962]

WHAT POLICY NOW ON CUBA? COMPLETE BLOCKADE URGED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Soviets have political control of Cuba and now have openly acknowledged that they are supplying Castro with military aid. This action flagrantly violates and denounces the Monroe Doctrine. President Kennedy, however, said, in effect, 6 days ago that he will not "invade" Cuba at this or any other time. Does this mean that the Soviet Government can consider it has obtained a free hand to take over any Central American or South American country and can assume there will be no opposition by the military forces of the United States?

This is the dilemma in which the Washington Government finds itself today as news dispatches from Moscow tell of the issuance of a formal communique in which the Soviets inform the world they have agreed to comply with the request of the Cuban Government to supply it with "help by delivering armaments and sending technical specialists for training Cuban servicemen."

The Soviet Government contends that "all Cuba's true friends have every right to respond to this legitimate request" and that the Cuban Government has "every justification for taking necessary measures to insure its security and safeguard its sovereignty and independence."

HOW FORMULA WORKS

So the Soviet formula for conquest is at last made clear. The Communists infiltrate a country, get possession of the government there, and cause it to file with Moscow a request for military aid. This is supposed to be the legal justification for sending armament and military personnel to "train" the local troops. It so happens that the Monroe Doctrine, since the 1820's, has warned the world that no European country would be permitted to get a military foothold anywhere in this hemisphere.

President Kennedy may not realize it, but what he said at his news conference last Wednesday could be responsible for his present embarrassment. Had he not responded at the time to an impromptu question and had he consulted with the Secretary of State

before issuing any statement, it is doubtful whether Mr. Kennedy would have given the reply he did on the spur of the moment. A correspondent had asked the President to comment on the suggestion of Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, of Indiana, that Cuba be invaded by the United States. Here is the verbatim reply as taken from the tape recording:

"The PRESIDENT. I am not for invading Cuba at this time. No, I don't—the words do not have some secondary meaning. I think it would be a mistake to invade Cuba——

"Question. Mr. President, the Soviets, as you well know——

"The PRESIDENT. Because I think it would lead to—that it should be very—could be very casually suggested; an action like that, which could lead to very serious consequences for many people."

Just previously in the same news conference, the President, in discussing possible action in Cuba, had referred to American "obligations all around the world, including West Berlin and other areas, which are very sensitive," and had added:

"Therefore, I think that in considering what appropriate action we should take, we have to consider the totality of our obligations and also the responsibilities which we bear in so many different parts of the world."

This comment could mean that the President is fearful that, if he takes action in Cuba, it might lead to greater pressures in West Berlin—a reaction which the Soviets doubtless are trying to foster. The Soviets, on the other hand, may be waiting to see whether the United States is hesitant to use military force even as close as 90 miles away from its shores. They could misconstrue the President's reluctance as implying that the United States might not even fight to protect West Berlin or any part of Europe when a showdown came.

The situation strangely parallels the 1930's, which Winston Churchill describes in his book, "The Gathering Storm," published in 1948. He speaks of the "milestones to disaster" in the 1930's and of the series of acquiescences in Hitler's aggressions in the Rhineland, in Austria, and in Czechoslovakia, until finally the climax came in Poland. Mr. Churchill writes:

"Here is a catalog of surrenders, at first, when all was easy and later when things were harder, to the ever-growing German power.

"Still, if you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly, you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival.

"There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

NOW WHAT?

What could Mr. Kennedy really do now? He could order a complete naval and aerial blockade of Cuba and demand that all Russian advisers brought in by the Cuban Government to train military forces in that country be expelled at once. He could proclaim that no further shipments of any kind, either by air or by sea, military or nonmilitary, will be permitted to enter Cuba from any country until the Cuban Government restores to American citizens the properties taken from them in the last few years.

To apply this policy could lead to some fighting. But whatever sacrifices are made would achieve the patriotic purpose of preventing any misunderstanding as to the resoluteness of the West in and around Berlin. It could prevent a world war.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 9, 1962]

ACTION ON CUBA AND BERLIN URGED TO BAR MAJOR WAR

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Vacillation, indecison, irresoluteness and a policy of wavering from day to day by the Western powers brought on World War I and also World War II.

History may be repeating itself. The West is again giving the impression of weakness. The United States, the most powerful military force in the West—without whose aid World War I and World War II could not have been won by the Allies—is wobbling in its policies. This could lead to a gross miscalculation by Nikita S. Khrushchev, just as indecisiveness on the part of Washington misled Kaiser Wilhelm in 1914 and Adolph Hitler in 1939 as each assumed that the United States would not go to war over any European question.

Today, the situation seems to be growing more serious, as it is being assumed in Moscow that the United States will not even go to war over an American question—the taking over of control in Cuba by the Soviets, who are supplying military equipment to the Cuban regime under an open agreement between the two governments.

This defiance of the Monroe Doctrine has been ignored by President Kennedy. He has made no public protest over Soviet policy. He has announced, in effect, that he agrees with the Soviet viewpoint that Cuba is merely engaging in a "defensive" operation with Soviet help.

CHANGE CALLED STARTLING

This startling change in America's historic policy has apparently been accepted by supporters of the administration in Congress, though here and there some exceptions are noted.

The President, in his public statements, shows that he considers the Cuban situation not to be an American question by itself, but as somehow directly related to the Berlin crisis The Soviets may be interpreting this stand to mean that Mr. Kennedy is hesitant to do what he would perhaps like to do in Cuba for fear that the Soviets might intensify the East German problem and might be tempted to take chances on a belligerent move against West Berlin.

President Kennedy doubtless hoped to give an impression of resoluteness when he asked Congress for standby authority to call up 150,000 reservists. The trouble with the move is that it implies vaguely that some time in the future he might use the troops somewhere—he doesn't say whether in Berlin or in Cuba. The Reserves aren't actually being ordered up now. Mr. Kennedy says he might call them up if matters get critical somewhere.

This ambiguity in American policy implies that the United States isn't really acting on principle, but is feeling its way expediently from one crisis to another while it waits for its adversary to continue step by step with its aggressive course.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, assistant Democratic leader, gives the reasoning back of the administration viewpoint. In an interview quoted by the Associated Press, he says:

"I think it should be clearly understood that the President has no immediate intention for use of this authority. Prompt congressional approval will be a demonstration to our allies and our enemies that the elected representatives of the people are firmly behind our Commander in Chief."

But will the men in the Kremlin take this to mean that Congress approves inaction in Cuba? If the United States will not fight on a clear issue that arises 90 miles away from its shores, will the passage of a resolution authorizing the call for Reserves produce the psychological effect which the administration intends to create? The resolution itself makes no mention of Cuba, and in all probability the regular Marine Corps—not the 150,000 reserves—would be used if there were any intervention in Cuba by the United States.

Not a word has been spoken publicly to Moscow, moreover, by the Washington Government about her violation of the Monroe Doctrine in shipping to Cuba arms and technicians. Does this mean that the administration acquiesces in the Soviet move and that all that's necessary now for the Communists to gain a foothold in a Latin American country is to infiltrate a government there, call the military buildup defensive, and the United States will not object?

OTHER MEASURES URGED

The same hesitation and vacillation that characterized American policy between 1914 and 1917 and between 1939 and 1941 are being repeated. The end result then was war, because America was believed to be unwilling or unable to fight. At least in those days, however—both with respect to protesting the violation of American rights on the high seas and in supplying destroyers to the British Navy—the United States wasn't entirely inactive or inarticulate, though at no time in the prewar period was the German Government convinced that the United States would fight.

Is entry into a world war the only way a nation's resoluteness can be expressed? There are many measures short of war—a sea and aerial blockade of Cuba and an economic boycott of East Germany and of the Communist bloc—which could multiply Moscow's troubles and prevent a major war.

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[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 9, 1962]

OCCUPIED CUBA

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON.—The Soviet invasion of Cuba poses a grave threat to the future of democracy in the Western Hemisphere and to the military security of the United States.

To pretend otherwise is to underestimate the dimensions of Soviet ambition, to misread Communist history and to delude ourselves about the potential of the Alliance for Progress.

President Kennedy's promise by "whatever means" to oppose the "aggressive purposes" of Castroism is a first effort to meet the Nation's and the hemisphere's present needs. It reads well and sounds tough, but is open to misinterpretation because it is too vague. The real question about the presence of Soviet "technicians" in Cuba is: Why are they there?

The overriding issue is no longer whether Castro plans aggression against his Latin neighbors; it is that Cuba herself is a Soviet-occupied satellite.

Soviet troops are not there to repel an attack from the United States. They are there to keep the restive Cubans from overthrowing their Communist dictatorship. If we continue to talk about defensive Soviet weapons and possible aggressive purposes we could wind up accepting the presence of the Red army much as we accepted the wall in Berlin.

Cuba has been a problem for American Presidents for more than 60 years. We have made many mistakes there from the time when we practiced dollar diplomacy through our close alliance in the Batista era with reactionary elements, political and clerical, right up to the abortive CIA-sponsored attempt to overthrow Castro.

That long history helps to explain White House hesitancy in the present situation. But it is one thing for the President to proceed carefully in the troubled waters of the Caribbean. It is something else to proceed cautiously while the enemy is proceeding boldly.

If you proceed carefully the implication is that you know where you are going; while cautiousness could be interpreted throughout Latin America as timidity.

Recent developments force us to consider these questions:

How do we get Soviet troops out of Cuba, without delay?

How do we prevent future Soviet troops, as well as military equipment, from being landed on her shores?

What are we prepared to do to help Cuba free herself from Soviet domination?

None of these are easy questions and the President has declined to put the problem in these terms. Perhaps he is reflecting on his own comments during the 1960 political campaign when he castigated the former administration for failure to do anything about the Soviet menace "90 miles off the coast of the United States."

Undoubtedly he hopes to avoid the same kind of criticism. That's perfectly understandable. It was wrong in 1960 to oversimplify the issues posed by Castroism and it is just as wrong now to make a domestic political issue of Cuba.

But the problems remain. Second-guessing about the Russian reasons for indulging in their provocative demonstration of contempt for the Kennedy administration is, for now, a fruitless enterprise.

What should we do? A first step would be to blockade all shipments of materiel and men to Cuba, whether carried on Soviet or Allied vessels. The second would be to encourage with all means at our command a democratic Cuban revolution. Third, would be to bring before the Organization of American States the whole issue posed by the Soviet occupation of Cuba.

Fourth would be to intensify the work of the Alliance for Progress, setting target dates for starts on public works projects. Fifth, would be to let the world know we are ready and willing to work with reform-minded, genuinely democratic elements in all Latin nations, not with military juntas as in Peru.

Along with all these activities we should inform Soviet Russia that we regard the presence of her troops in Cuba as inimical to the welfare of the Cuban people and to our own welfare. The Soviet "technicians" must be given a deadline for departure. If they are not gone by deadline time then we must be ready by "whatever means" to oppose their "aggressive purposes" against the Cubans and all others of this hemisphere.

## Latin American Problems and U.S. Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Latin America remains confused and is no nearer a solution now than it was a year or two ago. Cuba, Brazil, and British Guiana represent a threat from the left. The situation in Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Peru, and other countries has not been resolved.

In recent months I have inserted several articles dealing with Latin American affairs by Fred A. Orleans, who is an expert in the field. These articles have aroused considerable interest. Mr. Orleans has lived in several Latin American countries for a number of years. A prominent international lawyer, he is a member of the Academia Mexicana de Derecho International—Mexican Academy of International Law—one of the leading organizations in that country to which not many U.S. citizens have been admitted to membership.

I have before me seven short articles written by Mr. Orleans in which he deals with such problems as the policy of nonintervention in Latin American affairs, the economic squeeze, a look at Brazil and Cuba, the need for a doctrine of self-preservation, and the need for qualified policymakers. Some of these articles have been written recently, others about a year or so ago, but they still remain timely in essence and the problems they raise are still unsolved. Developments over the past year, particularly in relation to Cuba, indicate the validity of the views expressed by the author.

Although I do not subscribe to all the views expressed in these articles, they are accurate and to the point, the criticism is nonpartisan, and the purpose is definitely constructive. I feel they are a worthy contribution in this field and should help bring greater clarity into our thinking on the subject. I commend these articles to the attention of my colleagues.

They read as follows:

NONINTERVENTION

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The word "nonintervention" has assumed major significance in the relations of the United States and the other nations of the Americas.

In 1936, at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the United States agreed to subscribe to the doctrine of nonintervention in its most absolute form. The United States voluntarily deprived itself of the right to send American marines to any Latin American country, no matter how badly American property or American citizens were treated. The United States voluntarily relinquished the right to use her own judgment in dealing with violations of American rights and agreed to the establishment of mutual security arrangements.

This doctrine of nonintervention has been the main restraining force which has prevented the United States from unilaterally acting to rectify the Cuban situation. This doctrine of nonintervention has forced the United States to depend upon collective action by all nations of the Americas in regard to Cuba, and, accordingly, little action has been taken.

The glaring inconsistencies in our so-called policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries comes into sharp focus when we allow a Communist dictatorship to exist a few short miles from our border and we are unable to do anything about it; when we maintain relations with, and aid governments in, Latin America which were not constitutionally elected by the people, but are in power as a result of uprisings, or governments which originally constitutionally elected by the people, but continue to maintain their position through dictatorial means.

But our Government does not hesitate to break relations with a friendly Peruvian Government and deprive the people of Peru of badly needed Alliance for Progress programs because a military group stepped in to prevent a leftist government from taking power. Our Government chose to ignore the fact that the military takeover in Peru was not the result of a bloody revolution and that new elections and return to civilian rule was promised by the military group. Our Government chose to ignore the fact that the people of Peru are not objecting to the temporary change in government. If this is not intervention in the internal affairs of a friendly nation, then just what does constitute intervention?

If the United States feels justified in intervening in the internal affairs of Peru, then it should give more thought to many more "situations" in the Western Hemisphere which merit and cry out for active U.S. intervention. Some thought should be given to the unfortunate people of Cuba, shackled by the chains of international communism and deprived of the rights to which every human being is entitled; some thought should be given to freeing the many American citizens, including both men and women, who are still languishing in Cuban prisons.

Just what or who determines when the United States should or should not intervene in the affairs of a Latin American nation?

ECONOMIC SQUEEZE

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The writer has repeatedly stated for many years that one of the greatest motives which disturbs the cordiality of the relations between the United States and the Latin American nations is the exchange of our products. Latin America produces strategic materials and agricultural products of basic worldwide consumption. The United States, in turn, is the supplier to Latin America of machinery and industrial products needed for its economic development. This interchange takes place under conditions that are adverse to Latin America.

Briefly it can be explained as follows: The United States has had until now the power to set by itself the prices of its own products. These prices are fixed in accordance with costs of production, but in these costs the just and fair wages of its workers are strongly protected. Latin America, on the other hand, does not have the power to set its own prices. Until recently its principal consumer and practically only customer has been the United States. Latin America fixes prices also in accordance with production costs, but in these costs the wages of the Latin American worker lack equitable protection. The wage of the American worker on an average is 10 times higher than that of the worker in Latin America. This can be explained in accordance with the blind forces of economics, but we should not forget the new forces which are working throughout the world.

The weak foreign trade situation of the Latin American countries brought about by their poor earnings on basic commodities and the continuous rise in the cost of the manufactured goods they import has placed these countries in a serious economic squeeze.

Neither the Alliance for Progress nor any other U.S. plan to assist Latin America can succeed until the Latin American countries are able to develop a favorable balance of trade. Countries which are unstable economically and unable to earn enough from exports to pay for their imports and pay back their debts cannot successfully implement an Alliance for Progress program.

LET'S LOOK AT BRAZIL

(By Fred A. Orleans)

Earlier this year the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul State, Brazil, expropriated a

telephone company without offering adequate compensation, and then continued to make additional expropriations of U.S. investments in his State. At the time he complained that Brazil was like a sieve and Alliance for Progress funds will just flow back to the United States without material benefit to the people of Brazil.

This gentleman was obviously very confused in his presentation of the facts since a report by the Swiss Bankers' Association indicated that the total amount of Latin American deposits held by Swiss banking institutions are, according to a most conservative estimate, well in excess of $10 billion. Swiss, United States, and other banking institutions probably hold at this time close to $20 billion originating from Latin American sources.

In order to smooth the way for continued aid to Brazil, a plan was devised for "compensation" of the telephone company and other expropriations. However, no indication was made as to just how Brazil, which is on the verge of financial insolvency could pay for these companies. It is quite obvious that aid grants from the United States which should be used for the maximum benefit of the people of Brazil would have to be diverted to make the aforementioned payments for expropriated industries. Accordingly, the U.S. taxpayer would, in the final analysis, have to pay the U.S. companies for their property seized in Brazil. This in itself is the height of folly and can lead to many dangerous repercussions by setting a precedent which the governments of every other Latin American nation will feel free to follow.

The political philosophy of the President of Brazil is well known from his past actions and open acknowledgments demonstrating his leaning to the left. Recently a new Prime Minister, Francisco Brochado da Rocha was elected in Brazil. Mr. Brochado is a political protege of the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul who expropriated the U.S. Telephone Co. It should be pointed out that the Governor, who is anti-American, is the brother-in-law of the President of Brazil, Joao Goulart, who has never indicated any displeasure or disagreement with his actions.

The new Prime Minister of Brazil was the chief legal officer of the State of Rio Grande do Sul and assisted in the expropriation of the U.S. companies. In his initial address to Congress, Prime Minister Brochado threatened to crack down on foreign investments, called for closer relations with the Soviet bloc and indicated his support for Communist Cuba in its dealings with the United States. With the Prime Minister, who was handpicked by the President and the President now voicing the same views, these views can very well become the official foreign policy of Brazil in the near future.

The big question remains as to why the United States was so completely unaware of what has been and is taking place in Brazil that President Goulart was invited to this country and wined and dined in New York, Washington, and Chicago, and addressed Congress. He then proceeded to "cash in" on this tacit support and approval from Washington by going to Mexico to be hailed and cheered by the leftist elements who could point to the prior welcome and reception he had received in the United States.

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### Let's Look at Latin America—Cuba

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The plane incident involving a Pan American plane being forced to change its course of Mexico City to Guatemala City, to land in Havana, resulted in statements from Washington to the effect that the American people should not become too excited or concerned about the matter since it was not actually Castro who was involved in this plane incident or previous ones, but psychopaths who were not even Cuban citizens.

The psychopaths were merely emulating the most successful psycopath of modern times, Castro, and the more he gets away with, the more others will try throughout Latin America to carry on an eventual wholesale takeover or expropriation of U.S. property.

By allowing Castro to go his merry way, the United States emphatically encourages many others of his ilk to try to do the same he has done. It is not important if the Cuban Government actually encouraged the attempted theft of the plane at El Paso and the theft of the Pan American plane since the important thing is that they forcibly hijacked an Eastern Airlines plane within the sovereign boundaries of the United States and they kept possession of that plane for over 2 weeks despite our State Department's "requests" for its return, and then only returned the plane on the so-called exchange deal for a Cuban "patrol boat" through which the U.S. Government provided Castro with his usual "out" and also headed off congressional demands for action on the Cuban situation.

The United States became the laughing stock of the world through these plane incidents.

This recent series of plane incidents, preceded by the drawn-out drama of tractors for prisoners, preceded by the series of expropriations, and all overlapped by a continuous series of insults, threats, and abuses from Castro and Cuba, have effectively distracted the people of the United States from what should be their primary concern and that is the occupation of the island of Cuba by those who are the sworn enemies of the United States and who are allied with those who are on the record to destroy our Government, country, and way of life.

The people of the United States have been so distracted that they lost sight of the fact that Cuba is daily becoming more and more a threat to the future survival of many countries in the Western Hemisphere and through the building of short-range missile bases, even an eventual threat to the United States.

We are losing sight of the fact that Czech technicians are in Cuba in ever-increasing numbers, surveying and planning the establishment of modern industries which can produce indirect competition with the United States and induce many countries of Latin America to forsake their trade ties with the United States and depend instead upon Cuba and its Communist bloc supporters.

We are losing sight of the fact that every day that the Cuban situation remains unresolved, more and more political leaders in Latin American countries, eye with a more covetous eye the U.S. investments and industries in their countries with the thought that if Cuba can get away with it, why can't they.

We lose sight of the fact that many countries in Latin America are inclined to blackmail the United States for more and more aid on the threat of turning to those who back Cuba, and also of expropriating U.S. property in their countries.

In the latter part of 1960, responsible experts in the United States recognizing the danger inherent in an uncorrected Cuban situation enumerated the minimum steps the United States must immediately take. We have finally taken step one, although most reluctantly, after unnecessary delay and only because Castro pushed us into it. We have been too indecisive, too timid, and too unnecessarily afraid of world opinion to take all the proposed and necessary steps.

The suggested steps were as follows:

1. Break diplomatic relations with the Cuban Communist regime.

2. Recognize a responsible Cuban government in exile.

3. Give the government in exile full support with arms and money.

4. Invoke a blockade of Cuba so that she would not be able to trade with the Communist nations and induce other countries to desist from trading with her.

5. Once the Communists have been driven out of Cuba, assist and guide the country back to freedom and constitutional representative government.

The simple fact remains that as long as Castro or his ilk remain in control of Cuba, the United States will continuously face problems in Latin America.

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### Where Do We Make Our Stand?

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The hijacking of an Eastern Airlines plane enroute from Miami to Dallas has sharply brought into focus the fact that the sovereignty of the United States has again been flaunted and the inviolable rights of its citizens again violated by a two-bit dictator.

Are we to assume that American citizens flying from or to Miami do so at their own risk in view of the proximity of Miami to Cuba? Is Miami now off limits to U.S. aircraft and have we finally reached the stage, despite all the brave talk of making a stand in Berlin and Laos, of not only being unable to cope with the Cuban situation, but to even protect U.S. citizens within the United States of America?

As a weak nation, not yet established as a world power, we went halfway around the world to met and beat the Barbary Coast pirates in their own lair and defend the rights of American citizens to travel any place without fear of mistreatment and abuse by anyone.

In recent years, we have read about Americans being murdered, abducted and mistreated in faraway places as Korea, countries of southeast Asia, Africa, Egypt and Iraq.

All these places seemed distant and remote and the average American remained apathetic and unconcerned with this startling change in world attitudes towards the United States and its willingness and ability to protect the property and person of American citizens abroad.

Recently, the happenings in Cuba, including the wholesale theft of the property of all Americans working or residing in that country, including both the big companies as well as individuals owning small businesses and Americans who lived and worked in Cuba for many years as well as descendants of American families who have resided in Cuba for generations, has brought into sharp focus the tremendous decline of both the prestige of the United States abroad as well as respect for our country and its citizens by foreign nations and their nationals.

We have now arrived at the sad state of affairs where neither Americans nor their personal property are even safe in the United States itself from personal abuse or actual theft by any foreign government that seems so inclined.

Exactly where do we make our stand?

If Cuba is not close enough, will Miami do, or do we draw the line at Jacksonville, or do we give up Florida because it's close to Cuba and we do not want to antagonize Castro or his friends? Exactly what is to stop Castro or any like him from abducting American citizens from any part of the United States if they disagree with their views or oppose their acts?

When the United States ceases to be on the defensive and again becomes the vigorous and positive leader of the past, giving definite and firm leadership and acting with a purpose with policies both full expounded and backed up, then and only then will our growing international problems diminish and eventually disappear.

U.S. NEEDS A DOCTRINE OF SELF-PRESERVATION

(By Fred A. Orleans)

British Guiana, a small country with slightly more than one half million people, is located on the northeast coast of South America and borders Venezuela and Brazil.

This country is a British crown colony which in 1963 will be released from the British Empire and become completely autonomous. It is expected that Chedi Jagan, a Communist, will be elected to power and the United States will then face the unusual situation of a constitutionally Communist government in the Western Hemisphere.

The United States, sooner or later, could find some justification on its own or in combination with the Organization of American States, to rectify the Cuban situation. However, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to intervene into the affairs of a country where the government has been established through a democratic election.

British Guiana represents a far greater threat to Latin America and to the Western Hemisphere in general than Cuba because it will be a government which has come into power through popular election, is located on the mainland of South America, and can act as a base for Communists throughout Latin America.

The advances of communism into the Western Hemisphere must be stopped immediately and neither the United States nor our friends in the Western Hemisphere can wait for any "plan" to become an effective instrument in stopping the inroads of communism in the Americas. It is feared that by the time our present plan for Latin America becomes effective, it will be too late since communism will already have made too great inroads.

Cuba has proven, and British Guiana will further prove, that the Monroe Doctrine, which in effect warned European powers against taking control of countries in the Western Hemisphere, is no longer effective since the Monroe Doctrine referred to physical intervention through armed might by a foreign power which would constitute military intervention.

In the war we are currently fighting against communism, the Russians are unlikely to send troops to any Latin American country. Their blueprint for taking over the Latin American nations is through subversion from within and then arming the government friendly to them with the guns, tanks, and planes needed to maintain power. Communists send technicians of all types, but not actually troops in uniform. This leaves the United States out on a limb and brings into sharp focus the need of a new doctrine to replace the outdated, obsolete and inoperable Monroe Doctrine.

The Russians have set the precedent in their actions toward Hungary in 1956 on the basis that a hostile, non-Communist government in Hungary would constitute a threat to the actual security of Russia. This, in effect, brings into force a new doctrine—the doctrine of self-preservation.

The United States, sooner or later, will have to take whatever steps deemed necessary to eliminate any threat to its security in the Western Hemisphere or face the ultimate danger of being completely isolated.

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QUALIFIED LATIN AMERICAN POLICYMAKERS NEEDED

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The Latin American policy of the United States can be compared to a man putting new furniture into a burning house.

While the United States pours monetary and economic aid into Latin America, the fires of communism being fanned from the blaze in Cuba, continue to burn and spread. Commonsense would dictate putting out the fire before furnishing the house.

We are continuously being informed about the inevitability of "social revolution" and the necessity that we support it in order to hold the good will of the people of Latin America; that we must support Socialists in Latin American countries as an antidote to communism. The truth is that our reform program for Latin America is inoperable until communism is driven out of the Western Hemisphere.

The question still remains unanswered as to why a nation so well endowed with qualified experts on Latin America, should have to resort to the use of the services of persons so poorly equipped to give counsel, because of lack of experience, as those who "mastermind" our Latin American policy.

As long as our most vital Latin American policy continues to be formulated by sincere but inexperienced policymakers, we continue to face the ever-increasing danger of Khrushchev soon burying us in our own backyard.

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## Agricultural Research To Ease the Cost-Price Squeeze

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, so that we may be better informed of the extremely valuable service performed by the Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the following article which appeared in Successful Farming, September 1962:

SUCCESSFUL FARMING ASKS: WHAT'S AHEAD IN AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Bryon T. Shaw, Administrator of USDA's Agricultural Research Service, heads up one of the largest research organizations in the world. Here, he tells what new developments you can expect, and what they may mean to you.)

Question. First, Mr. Shaw, could you put on a "dream cap" and give us a peak at some possible farm research breakthroughs?

Answer. One possibility that's not as fantastic as it may sound is a product which will form a film on the surface of the soil—letting water in but not out. It might be applied right along with fertilizer or pesticide The significance will assume even greater importance as new varieties, new insecticides, and the like, make moisture more and more the limiting factor in plant growth. We are working on such a product now.

Another breakthrough may be discovery of a way to enable nonlegumes, like corn, to fix their own supply of nitrogen—as legumes do now. We did this in one test.

Question. Now, what specific crop developments may soon be out of the test tube and into the field?

Answer. One of the most promising is the use of surfactants—soaps, detergents, and shampoos—in combination with herbicides. These are commonly used as sticking, spreading, and wetting agents. Now our scientists are finding they greatly increase the killing power of some herbicides.

Because surfactants improve the effectiveness of herbicides, less chemicals will be needed per acre. They can also make today's herbicides effective against weeds that are now difficult to kill.

What's more, surfactants may have a future in plant disease control. We've found that certain of them inhibit plant viruses that may also stop insects from infecting plants with disease organisms.

Question. What about promising developments in fertilization?

Answer. Our most promising research in this area concerns ways farmers can use fertilizer more effectively. For example, you can expect to hear much more about the relationship between fertilizer and moisture. One result will be that we will be able to show farmers how, during periods of short rainfall, they can "save" water by using the proper amounts of fertilizer. To illustrate, on experimental plots, native grass that yielded 85 pounds of forage per inch of rainfall when unfertilized, jumped to 349 pounds when fertilized with nitrogen and phosphorus.

Question. Any other soil and water research that may pay off soon?

Answer. One illustration is that, in the years ahead, farmers and ranchers in dry areas will be harvesting and storing rainwater for their livestock and themselves. Even a scant 8 inches of rainfall a year translates into 217,000 gallons per acre—enough for 200 cattle for 100 days.

Research has demonstrated that butyl rubber sheeting can be used to make a catchment basin to successfully gather rainfall. The water can be stored at low cost and without evaporation losses in collapsible butyl-covered nylon bags.

Question. We've been hearing about research dealing with the effect of light on plants. What does this promise?

Answer. That's difficult to say, specifically. So far, the application of this research has been limited largely to nurserymen, but from a broader view, it means we are one step closer to controlling plant growth.

Question. Can you mention examples of livestock research?

Answer. Our most promising research is in two areas—breeding and nutrition. For example, we are finding that an animal's blood antigens may identify associated hereditary characteristics of economic importance. Certainly, it will be a major breakthrough if we are able to accurately predict—at birth—such things as the animal's rate of gain, ratio of lean meat to fat, etc. The implications are obvious to livestock producers and to breeding research.

As to nutrition research, though it is difficult to pinpoint specifics, new research-proved diets should add 10 percent gains per animal in yields of eggs, broiler meat, and milk in the next few years.

Question. What about farm machinery?

Answer. One target, nearly within reach, is the mechanical harvesting of tree and bush fruits, now mainly a hand job. Harvesting equipment has been designed and tested with good success.

Still another possibility may be development of a corn drill which would plant all kernels the same direction. We know from experiments that this will control the direction of the plant leaves. So with all leaves growing across the row, there would be a maximum exposure to sunlight and a sharp cut in evaporation and erosion.

Question. How is the outlook for improved insect control?

Answer. There are several interesting developments just around the corner. Prospects, for example, are good that the chemical residue problem in using insecticides can be largely solved in the next few years. Development of better methods of formulating pesticides and more precise application will give farmers effective pest control with much smaller pesticide dosages than they use today.

Combining pesticides with baits or attractants is another way around chemical residues. Toxic baits placed near—but not on—crops would lure insect pests away from the crops and to their deaths.

One more promising possibility is the use of chemical sterilants against insects. Our scientists have discovered several organic chemicals which, used in minute amounts, prevent sexual reproduction in insects. Sterilants, combined with effective attractants, will be used by farmers for rapid elimination of an insect species.

Question. What are the most promising developments in new uses for farm products?

Answer. There are a number of them that are hope may "break" soon. In the food field, dehydrofreezing is just now coming into its own and should result in increased use of fruits and vegetables.

In a second area, if our early successes are borne out, expanded outlets for cereal derivatives in paper manufacture could result in new uses for 100 to 180 million bushels of grain a year.

Third, we're close to developing new paints from vegetable oils, to help offset the inroads made by synthetic resins.

A fourth is the development underway of high-stretch all-cotton yarn. This may prove as valuable to the cotton industry as did earlier USDA research on all-cotton wash-and-wear fabrics.

Fifth is our encouraging work toward a commercial process for making wool shrink-proof and wrinkle-resistant.

A sixth example is our research to develop new crops. Three, in particular, which are suitable for growing on land now in food and feed grains, are the African-daisy, crame, and lesquerella. All three have seeds that contain unusual and valuable oils that are different from each other and from other domestic oilseeds. They are definitely promising.

Question. Finally, Dr. Shaw, it's suggested American agriculture might be better off—for a while at least—with fewer research breakthroughs. Do you agree it's time to "slow up"?

Answer. Anyone who concludes from surpluses in a few commodities that we've "over-researched" has simply failed to keep abreast of the kind of research we are doing. Some people still think of agricultural research as an all-out effort to make two blades of grass—or bushels of corn—grow where one grew before. But research has many other objectives.

Question. You mean objectives other than just to increase production?

Answer. Yes—the whole area of reducing farm costs, for example. If our farmers were still using the same production practices they did at the start of World War II, it would have cost about $15 billion more to produce what we did last year. It's noteworthy that $15 billion is roughly $2 billion more than present net farm income.

So, I'd say one of our most important objectives has been—and is—to help farmers reduce their costs. There are dozens if not hundreds of such projects in various stages of our research right now.

Another area is seeking to develop new and broader markets for farm products.

Question. How's that?

Answer. One way is quality improvement. Our scientists are making real progress toward developing cattle that produce a higher proportion of lean tender meat, dairy cows that produce milk with more solids in proportion to fat, and hens that lay eggs which stay fresh longer.

A second way our research is pointed toward selling more farm products is through new uses, such as by industry.

To sum up, a major goal of our research is to give farmers some dollars and cents relief from the cost-price squeeze. This will become more apparent as the "breakthroughs" just ahead begin to unfold.

## Biography of Guy Cardillo

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to call to the attention of the Members of Congress the dedication ceremony held in the Roslindale section of Boston, Mass., in honor of Guy Cardillo, a young man who gave his life for our country during World War II.

A biography of Guy Cardillo is as follows:

BIOGRAPHY OF GUY CARDILLO

Guy Cardillo, service No. 31931684. Born February 10, 1915, in Roslindale, Mass.

Private First Class Cardillo was killed in action May 23, 1944, in Italy.

Guy Cardillo was born and raised in Roslindale. He attended the John D. Philbrick and Washington Irving Schools and Hyde Park High School. Before his induction he resided at 729 American Legion Highway, just a few houses down the street from the Army Reserve center. His parents still reside at this address.

Before entering the service, he was employed as an optical technician at a local firm and was among the first group to be inducted from the Roslindale area on March 19, 1941.

In January 1942, he married the former Marie V. Hiatt, of Roslindale, in Washington, D.C. In Christmas 1943 he last visited his wife and son, Stephen Guy, before his departure overseas.

After induction, Guy Cardillo was assigned to Company H, 181st Infantry, which at that time was stationed at Camp Edwards and later at Fort Dix, N.J. In January 1944, he was sent overseas where in March 1944 he joined Company E, 7th Infantry in Italy.

Pfc. Guy Cardillo, U.S. Army, was killed in action May 23, 1944, on the road to Rome from the Anzio beachhead as a member of an Army advanced infantry patrol. Private First Class Cardillo is believed to be the first person from Mount Hope district to lose his life in World War II.

Private First Class Cardillo was authorized Bronze Star Medal; posthumously awarded Purple Heart for having made supreme sacrifice; Good Conduct Medal; American Defense Medal; American Campaign Medal; European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal with two Bronze Stars for participation in the Anzio and Rome-Arno campaigns; World War II Victory Medal and Combat Infantryman Badge.

Pfc. Guy Cardillo was credited with active service from March 19, 1941, to May 23, 1944.

THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF GUY CARDILLO, U.S. ARMY RESERVE CENTER, 675 AMERICAN LEGION HIGHWAY, ROSLINDALE, MASS., SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1962, 2:30 P.M.

PROGRAM

Col. John E. O'Neil, U.S. Army Reserve, program committee chairman.

Processional march: The national anthem, 18th U.S. Army Band, Fort Devens, Mass.

Invocation: Rt. Rev. Edward G. Murray, S.T.D., Sacred Heart Church, Roslindale, Mass.

Introduction of distinguished guests.

Presentation of decoration: Hon. JAMES A. BURKE, Member of Congress.

Unveiling of plaque: Hon. JAMES A. BURKE, Stephen G. Cardillo.

Benediction: Chaplain (Maj.) John J. Keilty, U.S. Army Reserve.

*Distinguished military guests*

Maj. Gen. William J. Verbeck, commanding, XIII U.S. Army Corps.

Maj. Gen. Michael J. Galvin, U.S. Army Reserve, commanding, 94th Infantry Division

Brig. Gen. Seymour A. Potter, commanding, U.S. Army Engineers.

Col. Robert A. Claffee, commanding, Massachusetts sector.

Rear Adm. C. L. Harding, represented by Commander Weiland, 1st Coast Guard District.

Rear Adm. J. H. Wellings, represented by Captain Burke, 1st Naval District.

*Distinguished civilian guests*

His Excellency, John A. Volpe, Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, represented by Brig. Gen. Paul Mozzicato.

Hon. John F. Collins, mayor, City of Boston, represented by Mr. Robert DeSimone.

U.S. Army Reserve units in Roslindale: Headquarters, 3d Battle Group, 13th Infantry, Col. John E. O'Neil, commanding officer; Headquarters, 319th Engineer Battalion, Lt. Col. John D. Marr, commanding officer; Headquarters, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 10th Artillery, Lt. Col. Clinton A. Petersen, commanding officer; Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 3d Battle Group, 13th Infantry, Capt. John E. Fitzgerald, commanding officer; Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 319th Engineer Battalion, Lt. John W. Steiner, commanding officer; A Company, 319th Engineer Battalion, Lt. John R. Poskus, commanding officer; D Company, 319th Engineer Battalion, Capt. John F. Connolly, commanding officer; Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 10th Artillery, Capt. Henry K. Bramhall, commanding officer; A Battery, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 10th Artillery, Capt. Paul J. Carey, commanding officer; B Battery, 5th Howitzer Battalion, 10th Artillery, Capt. Louis J. Totino, commanding officer; A Troop, 4th Reconnaissance Squadron, Lt. Robert J. Tamulis, commanding officer; C Troop, 4th Reconnaissance Squadron, Capt. Walter F. Laughlin, commanding officer; B Company, 94th Signal Battalion, Capt. Randall Burrell, commanding officer; 245 Ordnance Company, Capt. Michael M. Albanese, commanding officer.

U.S. Army Advisory Group, Roslindale Reserve center; Officer in charge, Capt. Charles R. Voccio; chief clerk, M. Sgt. Alfred Marzilli; armor adviser, M. Sgt. Luca DeFillippo; artillery adviser, M. Sgt. James W. Smith; engineer adviser, Sfc. Hugo A. Kalns; infantry adviser, M. Sgt. Gordon A. Morris; infantry adviser, Sfc. P. H. Sandifer; supply noncommissioned officer, Sfc. LeRoy E. French.

Dedication committee: Col. John E. O'Neil; Capt. Charles R. Voccio; Capt. Robert M. Stapleton; Capt. A. Wickstrom; Capt. William J. Cavanaugh; Lt. Angelo C. Sciarratta; Mr. Fred Hubrich, American Legion; M. Sgt. Alfred Marzilli; M. Sgt. Luca DeFillippo; M. Sgt. James W. Smith; and Sfc. Hugo A. Kalns.

Refreshments served by Shea Post, American Legion, Roslindale, Mass.

Refreshments by Supreme Markets, Zayre, Woolworth, Household Finance Corp., American Legion Barber Shop, Selma's Shoe Store, Abbott & Rocco Hair Styling, A. & P. Markets, Sherbros, C. & C. Landscaping, Anderson-Little Co., Heritage Coffee Shops, all located in American Legion Shopping Center, Roslindale, Mass.

ROSLINDALE SUBSECTOR COMMAND, XIII U.S. ARMY CORPS

Roslindale Command was activated on August 1, 1958. Prior to that time it was part of Boston Area Command. This command encompasses the general geographical area of Roslindale, Dorchester, Roxbury, West Roxbury, Mattapan, Hyde Park, Milton, Randolph, Weymouth, Hull, Hingham and Quincy.

Here is Roslindale we have a Government-constructed, standard-design 1,000-man, 5-unit facility. This facility was initially occupied during March 1958, and formal opening was held on Armed Forces Day, 1958. It presently accommodates 11 U.S. Army Reserve units.

The mission of this command is to provide advisory support to Reserve units located in this area. The principal duty of this command is in furthering the efficiency and mobilization readiness of Reserve units assigned to this Reserve center. This is accomplished by assisting and advising units on matters pertaining to organization, administration, training, and operational capabilities. The form and substance of this advice and assistance may be indefinite.

At the present time there are 13 persons involved in the accomplishment of the above mission, consisting of 1 officer advisor, 7 enlisted advisers, and 5 civilian aids.

The advisers are the Active Army representatives to the Army Reserve units and the civilian community. They are highly qualified in the newest developments in doctrine, tactics, techniques, and the modernization of weapons and equipment. Advisers' effort, action, and enthusiasm plays an important part in the achievement of the objectives of the Army Reserve.

The 11 Reserve units assigned to Roslindale Subsector Command consist of approximately 900 men.

## Facts Not Fancy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Herald Tribune—the paper the President does not read—has rendered a great public service by the reprinting of the report of a British reporter on what has actually happened in Cuba. I submit the two articles for the consideration of the House.

It would seem that President Kennedy should read facts instead of the fairy tales his advisers have told him about how the Communists mellow and how we really can do business with Castro.

FOR CONVENIENCE OF HOLIDAYERS, WE REPRINT CUBA REPORT NO. 1

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Because of the Labor Day holiday, many Herald Tribune readers may have missed the first article on "Inside Cuba Today," by Keith Morfett, of the London Daily Mail. Its significance is so great in the light of the Soviet buildup in nearby Cuba that the Herald Tribune is reprinting the article today.)

(By Keith Morfett)

Thousands of strapping young Russians are moving quietly into tented military encampments close to the outskirts of Havana in a vast Soviet buildup that is causing deep concern among diplomats in the Cuban capital.

From 5,000 to 8,000 Russians have arrived so far.

A Western ambassador in Havana told me categorically:

"I have reported to my government, despite all denials, that many of these men are Soviet troops, that they are arriving in increasing numbers, and that this is all part of a carefully planned military operation to underwrite the Castro regime."

Many of the Russians are in their early twenties. All have reached Cuba aboard three Soviet passenger liners.

At the same time, a continuous armada of cargo ships is now stretched out between Russia's Black Sea ports and Cuba, carrying trucks, jeeps, machinery, food, guns—and ground to air missiles for Fidel Castro's armed forces.

Arrivals of the Russians in such large numbers is seen by many diplomats in Havana as driving a final nail into the coffin of the Monroe Doctrine—the statement of U.S. foreign policy which established, over a century ago, the hands-off attitude to outside powers with ambitions in the American Hemisphere.

This much is certain from what I have just seen in Cuba:

No large-scale attempt to overthrow the Castro regime could now be launched by the United States or Cuban exiles without Russian blood being spilled in the process.

I watched the Russians in two separate encampments—after being told they were a ghost army existing only in the imagination of Americans.

They looked pretty healthy ghosts to me.

Hefty, athletic, and looking a lot better fed than their Cuban hosts, they crowded up to barbed-wire fence at the first camp I found near the village of El Cano.

They appeared to be members of the kind of unit usually moved in advance of regular fighting troops to set up camps, establish communications networks and accomplish other related chores.

In the tropical heat they looked unhappy and homesick. They had cloth caps and denim trousers and clustered together for comfort like sheep on the range in a rainstorm.

The contrast between the El Cano crowd and the next lot I looked at was so great that it became clear Cuba's Russians fall into two distinct categories.

The El Cano Russians were recruited into labor battalions rather like the British Army's Pioneer Corps. They will dig trenches, lay cables, and do all the donkey work.

A few miles away, down a rutted side road the whole countryside was suddenly swarming with Soviets. This time they were obviously on different business. Hundreds of them moved around among military vehicles parked under trees, in fields alongside hedges and between row upon row of khaki-colored tents.

Nearby, antiaircraft guns in freshly dug pits were manned by Cuban militiamen. Machineguns were mounted at all approach roads into the camp. By the tasks they were doing, checking their equipment on radio trucks, command vehicles, and signal equipment, these Russians appeared to be military technicians such as signal, staff, and electronic engineers.

Out in open spaces around the camp, dozens of them were dressed in identical physical training outfits of the kind troops would wear. They were doing gymnastics under the direction of instructors. Others were playing volley ball—dressed in the same dark blue trunks and running shoes. Still others were out on an improvised running track.

In every field for a couple of miles around were military vehicles, including some armed cars. Groups of heavily armed Cuban militia patrolled the camp's perimeter.

Many of the Russians at this encampment were billeted in what was the former boys reformatory at Torrens, about 14 miles from Havana. But they had quickly spilled over into tents.

Still more tents were being erected by the Russians as I drove past. Trucks filled with more Russians were rolling in through the bright red dust from the port town of Mariel, where a high wall—called little Berlin by the locals—is being built to screen off the dock area. Three miles from the Torrens encampment in the direction of Havana is a big Soviet vehicle park.

More Russian vehicles are packed in neat rows near Havana's seafront Malecon Drive, behind the American memorial commemorating the sinking of the battleship *Maine* during the war against the Spanish. These vehicles are all painted blue and stamped with the name Zil.

Down in Havana's dockyards, trucks were leaving the Soviet vessels from early morning until late at night piled high with huge, unmarked wooden crates.

All dock entrances are heavily guarded. Hundreds more military trucks, jeeps, and command vehicles were lined up five deep for quarter of a mile along the street called San Pedro on the Havana waterfront. These vehicles are all marked in Russian "Goriskovsky Avtozavod" and are being moved quickly to all parts of the island.

The Soviet liner *Gruziya*, yellow hammer and sickle painted on its scarlet funnel, was unloading while I was in the dock area.

In addition to its Russian passengers, the *Gruziya* brought back to Havana hundreds of young Cubans who had been on special courses in Moscow and Leningrad. All carried cheap Russian travel bags which matched their blue uniforms. They were met at the docks by their families. The next day about 2,000 young Cubans boarded the *Gruziya* for the return journey to Russia.

The Cuban Government insists that the young Russians now pouring into Cuba—yet to be seen on the streets of Havana—are all civilians.

The tightest censorship ever imposed since Castro came to power is now operating in the Cuban capital. Extent and scope of the Soviet buildup is being deleted from cable dispatches by military censors.

Twenty Soviet ships have reached Havana harbor in the last 3 weeks. In addition to the Soviet vessels, a fleet of chartered ships including some flying the British flag are under commission for the Cuban buildup.

Ten more Soviet vessels are at this moment Havana-bound on the high seas. They include the *Ustiuzhna*, the *Ivan Polzunov*, the *Usoliet*, and the *Ojotsk*. From Soviet ports also now Havana-bound are the East German *Westfalen*, the Norwegian *Tive Lilian*, the Greek cargo ship *Parnow*, the Italian *Airone*, the West German *Atlas*, and half a dozen ships flying the Liberian flag.

A number of British vessels are on the way to Russian ports to begin the long haul to the Caribbean.

What is behind it all? It began following the recent visit to Moscow by Fidel Castro's brother Raul Castro, who heads the Cuban armed forces, and economic chief Ernesto (Che) Guevarra.

I understand the Cuban Government urged Soviet Premier Khrushchev to provide the revolution's leaders with some sort of guarantee that the now openly Communist Cuban regime would not be allowed to collapse in the face of mounting economic chaos and shortages.

The Cubans sought similar guarantees against the possibility of direct American intervention to topple Castro's regime. They suggested Cuba might join the Warsaw Pact.

Instead of a pact, Mr. Khrushchev gave them a promise—and a better guarantee than they had bargained for. "I'll send you Russians," he reportedly said. "What better guarantee could you ask than that?"

While the Russians continue to arrive, Castro is anxious to keep his part of the bargain. This is that no incident of any kind involving the Americans should be allowed to arise while the Russians are still settling in.

This, it is believed in Havana, is why no fire was returned when an exile group steamed into Havana Bay 10 days ago and pumped cannon shells into a seafront hotel housing Communist technicians. It is also why Fidel Castro not only denied that his ships fired on an American plane last Friday, but also why he was reported enraged at the trigger-happy gunners who allowed it to happen. The Russians want no trouble, not at the moment anyway.

An air of anxiety now pervades Havana. It's as though everyone knows something big is about to happen—but no one knows quite what it will turn out to be. The presence of the Russians has given many Cubans a sense of quiet despair. They are convinced that "the Yanks won't come now—it's too late and they know it."

The city itself is almost totally Sovietized. The only hint of efficency anywhere is in the big bright posters everywhere extolling the glories of the revolution, the workers, and solidarity with the Soviets. The posters are superbly painted and lend the only color to the city of drabness and despair.

During the last few hours before I left Havana, six more Cubans went to the firing wall. Four hundred Cubans were rounded up amid rumors of a plot to topple Castro. Communist newsmen in the city—whose sources are usually good—say they expect a Castro speech soon giving details of how the plot was smashed.

The militia has been mobilized for a week. The food shortage is worsening daily. More Cubans are guardedly critical of Castro than at any time in the past 2 years. They must be careful. The "Committee for the Defense of the Revolution" has its ears on every street and block.

Notices I had not seen before in the bare shelved shops say "no dogs here—but we have teeth to bite those who talk against the revolution."

All security has been tightened. Every Cuban must now get not only police permission but also clearance from his local vigilante committee before he can even apply for an exit permit to leave the island.

The once elegant splendor of the big hotels is no more. Havana Hilton, where I stayed, is dirty, and everything is breaking down including the bathroom taps. Instead of a menu in the hotel restaurant, two plates of cold food are carted 'round on a trolley, and guests have to point to the plate they prefer.

At Havana Airport I watched a pitiful sight. Clothes of all kinds taken from departing Cubans as well as other cheap belongings were piled into a big heap. I was taken by militiamen to a small room and searched in case I was taking out anything for Cubans. Rings, watches, family heirlooms, all these must be left behind.

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UNCENSORED EYEWITNESS REPORT NO. 2—LIFE IN CASTRO'S SOVIETIZED CUBA

(By Keith Morfett)

Forty-three months after the sweep of his bearded heroes into Havana from the mists of the Sierra Maestra, Fidel Castro has turned Cuba into a tropical 1984.

The swelling concentration of Russians in camps beyond the capital has coincided, over the last 10 days, with a final, unsecretive spurt toward total Sovietization and the creation of a closed society of 6 million people barely 50 minutes by air from the Florida coast.

All pretense is now tossed aside. Cubans are at last learning the meaning of the Migs in their skies and the "Big Brother" images of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung that look down from walls, billboards, and banners across the islands, towns, and cities.

Before a crowd of Campesinos the other day Fidel Castro, speaking with the simplicity of a schoolmaster addressing children, said: "Put up your hands all those who think they knew what a revolution was 3 years ago?" Not a single hand went up.

Castro said: "Put up your hands, all those who think they know what a revolution is now." Suddenly you could not see the heads for the waving hands.

Castro was unquestionably correct as Cubans are just discovering, the revolution was not the mountain battles against the troops of Batista; it was not the heady sense of victory at the seizure of Havana, nor the long, bitter wrangle over taking from America what Cubans considered their own.

The revolution is now. Even the slight degree of cautious gradualism of former days has gone out the window. The Soviets have arrived, and today the curtain is falling on Cuba with a finality that is startling even to many of those once proud of the name, "Fidelista."

From this week on, Cuban citizens increasingly will be prisoners in their own homeland. Exit permits will be hard to get. Every obstacle against leaving is set up.

All emphasis on the country's future direction will be unashamedly Communist. Minister of Industry Ernesto (Che) Guevarra was in Moscow to set the final seal on the massive movement into the Caribbean of Russian personnel, armaments, food and oil that will now form the island's lifeline.

In Sloppy Joe's Bar just off the Prado, where Alec Guinness shot scenes for "Our Man in Havana," I looked across the world's longest bar at the barman with the world's longest face.

"No, senor. No hay beer. No senor. No hay whisky. No senor. No hay gin. No senor. No hay orange juice."

His face brightened—but saddened just as suddenly with an awareness of the bitter irony of what he was saying.

"Senor, solo Cuba Libre." We both laughed. And he made me up the rum drink that is known nowadays as "Free Cuba."

The bare-shelved shops of Havana are no better. I cannot buy an egg—but I can buy a newly arrived booklet by Mao Tse-tung on "Correcting Contradictions in the Minds of the People."

I cannot buy a beef sandwich or a tin of milk or a pair of shoes—but I can buy a badge with Lenin's head on it or a dozen records of Russian folksongs.

I can make a telephone call, but I must not mind if a vibrant recorded voice comes on before the number goes through, chanting: "You are in the glorious free territory of Cuba. Venceremos (we will win)."

This is the lot of Cubans in Havana and throughout the island.

Cut this Soviet lifeline and Cubans must starve. Attack this island and Russians must die. It is now as simple as that.

I found Havana a strange city. Its streets are almost as free of traffic as a country town on a Sunday afternoon. Its restaurants are dismal, deserted places that you telephone first to see if they have food to serve at all.

Even the fish that abound off Cuba's coasts and the big Morro crabs from Havana Bay are seldom on sale in the city. The fishing fleets are tied up most of the time for "security reasons." And the chances are that if Ernest Hemingway's "Old Man" put out after marlin at the Gulf Stream's edge, he would be blasted out of the water by a Cuban gunboat.

But if Cubans are going short of things to eat, there's plenty of "new thought" to fill their minds. While I was in Havana a new batch of school textbooks, fresh from the printers, was going into the schools. There is a "new" geography book for 7-year-olds. Its author is Castro Cabinet member, Nunez Jimenez. Its title "This Is My Country."

It is superbly printed and illustrated, but all the maps of Cuba and its countryside are inset with little pictures of the revolution's leaders. Its first five pages consist of extracts from Castro speeches and under an early chapter heading, you read:

"Imperialism and the exploitation of the people."

The first grade learns that "in our schools before the triumph of the revolution, Yankee imperialists taught our children the theory that our country, 180 kilometers from United States, would never be able to free itself from the tentacles that imprisoned Cuba. Today, the struggle of the people destroys the lies of the false geography."

After this and other glimpses into the "new" geography in the same vein, it is no longer surprising to come across columns of slogan chanting schoolboys, marching like a miniature militia through Havana's streets.

The Castro revolution is creating its own art, its own music, its own poetry. A new volume of poetry has also gone into the schools. I have it beside me at this moment. Here is a poem written in tribute to Castro troops that fought in last year's disastrous invasion attempt by the Florida-based exiles.

The poem's title: "Bay of Pigs."

"With my useless hands, that know nothing
else but how to write,
I wish to gather your heads, my brothers,
compatriots.
The heads of those who died under a different sun, the heads that flew to
undo the abuses.
And in my being will be your blood, and
the need for avenging your deaths.
Now I do not fear the words: 'Justice; liberty; bread'."

Or this one—the lines of which will soon be known by heart by a million schoolchildren:

"I believe in the life that is to come for all,
I believe in the life that was born out of
the fires of hatred,
I believe in the Communist Party,
I believe in the revolution,
I believe in the budding roses,
And in the peasants of my country."

With this "Orwellian world," comic contrasts sit strangely in the sadness of its streets.

Like the stickers on all the buses saying: "Consume the produce of your country"—when Cubans would quite happily consume anything from anywhere to supplement beans and dry bread.

Like the single island of elegance atop Havana's highest skyscraper where diplomats (and an occasional Cuban Cabinet Minister) eat duckling while Cubans far below go empty bellied to their beds.

Said one Cuban: "It's way up there in the sky so no one can see what's on their plates."

Like the new tourist literature, superbly done, that claims in bold letters across the front of gay brochures: "Cuba has a flavor all its own."

Like the barmen in the world-famous "Floridita," who have removed the solid gold brooches, shaped into their names, from the lapels of their white jackets.

They stand now before the large lettering along the bar, "Da Cuna del Daiquiri" (the cradle of the daiquiri) and explain a little sadly: "It seemed all wrong to keep wearing the gold brooches—with customers coming in with open-neck shirts."

Like the taximan who jerks his thumb toward the building that housed the U.S. Embassy and says reassuringly: "I tell you frankly, senor, the Yanquis will be back in there 12 months from now."

But when you hope it will be nice for him he adds, apologetically: "Ah senor, I am leaving soon with my family for Florida."

Through all of this the Cubans have retained their infinite capacity for courtesy and friendliness.

In many visits to Cuba I have never once been treated with discourtesy—despite being taken much of the time for an American. The same applied on this occasion, even though I tried to buy American magazines. The shelves were stacked high with Mao and Lenin, and a flood of Communist-bloc literature.

From the harbor wall where boys still cast for snapper, I looked back, before leaving, on a city that has worn itself out.

Russians move in by the thousands; but the heady fervor of rebellion has spent its force.

For Havana, 3 years and 7 months later, the "Barbudos" (bearded ones) are but a memory of what might have been.

Nothing is left now but the soldiers—and the slogans—and everywhere the guns.

## Home Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 13, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am pleased to include an editorial and feature article printed in the East Side News, a local publication with wide distribution in my congressional district relating to a "home peace corps" proposed by one of my constituents, Mr. Joseph Fisch.

I have, in this session of Congress, introduced legislation to create a domestic peace corps whose primary purpose would be to combat the problem of juvenile delinquency. Mr. Fisch's proposal would, in my opinion, foster better international relations between our country and the nations abroad. I think Mr. Fisch is to be commended on his excellent proposal and am contemplating the introduction of legislation based thereon:

HANDS ACROSS THE SEAS

Never before has the home peace corps been presented to the American people.

It is a novel plan which should merit the earnest consideration of our President. It is replete with unlimited potentialities to foster a better understanding between our Nation and the countries abroad.

Under the plan proposed, American hosts would have an opportunity at firsthand to show the American image in action. Foreign visitors would see how we live at home, how we work in factories, plants and businesses, how our schools and universities are conducted, how we spend our leisure time, etc.

With the adoption of such a plan, America's true national image could be projected, which would do more to create good will and better international relations than the propaganda we constantly hear on radio or read in the foreign press.

We urgently call upon the editors of our city's newspapers to help us in bringing this plan to the attention of the American people, because we believe that a better appreciation of our way of life could best be promoted between ourselves and those who visit our shores.

HOME PEACE CORPS PROPOSED TO PRESENT TRUE AMERICAN IMAGE TO THE WORLD AT LARGE

A bold plan which would permit virtually all Americans to participate personally and directly in the objectives of President John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps was proposed today by Joseph Fisch, lifetime East Sider, attorney, and prominent community leader, in an interview with Abraham Schlacht, publisher of East Side News. Fisch's idea would enable Americans from every walk of life to become part of a "home peace corps" and serve their country without any interruption of their normal life or business routine, and without the necessity of leaving America.

President Kennedy's Peace Corps program, Fisch explained, has basically two objectives: (1) The export of specialized technical skills to select underdeveloped countries, and (2) the dissemination abroad of a favorable American "image" by Peace Corps members who serve, in a sense, as American ambassadors overseas. These Peace Corps members promulgate, indirectly rather than as militant propagandists, America's true national character and purpose.

Fisch stated that his program would supplement the second objective of the Peace Corps plan; namely, the presentation of the true American image to the foreigner. His plan, he explained, "is designed for the millions of Americans who were stirred by the President's inspiring call to service, and who are eager to serve, but who either do not possess the technical skills required for service abroad, or who are unable to leave the country."

Fisch's proposal does not require sending additional Americans abroad, but is aimed instead at the hundreds of thousands of foreign visitors who come here to America each year.

"Unfortunately, these foreign visitors see little more of America than its tourist sights, national monuments and museums. A country's true national image is reflected not in marble edifices but in its people and their manner of life. Access to an average American family is rarely available to the visitor from abroad. Because of this, we are failing to utilize our most valuable evidence of America's true image and purpose—our people," he said.

Under Fisch's plan, a foreign visitor would be invited to meet and visit a typical American family with whom the visitor shares a common interest. Basically, the program would operate as follows: Home peace corps offices would be established, under the auspices of the U.S. Information Agency or Peace Corps, in major American cities. These offices will maintain files of volunteer Americans who have offered to invite foreign visitors to their homes, listing the professions of these Americans, their educational background, hobbies, etc.

A foreign visitor wishing to avail himself of this service merely contacts a home peace corps office, indicates the intended length of his visit, his background, profession, hobbies, etc. The files will then be examined and an appropriate American family contacted. Arrangements can be handled through the home peace corps office which will contact the foreign visitor, inviting him to visit the American on a particular day. Or the American can contact the foreign visitor himself. In this way, a foreign visitor who, for example, is a teacher by profession, might be invited to meet an American teacher and his family and dine with them at home.

The program need not be limited to merely a dinner invitation, of course, but has unlimited potential. The cost to the American host is completely a matter of his own discretion, as is the amount of time he wishes to allot to a foreign guest. These matters would be part of the information on file in the home peace corps office and would be checked again when an American host is being selected for a particular foreign applicant. If the volunteer American so chooses, he can take his foreign guest to a concert, to the theater, etc. There are many free attractions and amusements which would have greater appeal to a foreigner if he were in the company of an American. The Greenwich Village outdoor art exhibition, the free concerts at Central Park, and the East River Park Amphitheater, are but a few examples.

The foreigner can also be invited to visit with his American host at work. Thus the foreign teacher can visit a class taught by his American teacher host, the lawyer from abroad can see our courts in session, and the merchant can visit the shop of his American friend. Of course, it need not be a similarity of occupations or educational back ground which bring the American and foreign visitor together, but perhaps a mutual hobby. It may, therefore, develop that an American officeworker is selected to act as host to a physician from abroad because they share a strong interest in amateur photography, or stamp collecting, or Dixieland jazz music, or abstract art.

"The most important advantage of this plan," Fisch declared, "is that it permits direct personal contact and communication between people."

"I am confident," he continued, "of the enthusiastic support for such a plan by Americans who wish to do their share for their country. How many of us would not be willing to invite a foreign visitor to our home for dinner, to meet our family and friends and to discuss matters of mutual concern?

"The foreign visitors should be afforded an opportunity to see more of America than the Empire State Building, and more of Americans than the tourist guide or hotel clerk. He should be permitted to communicate with our people so that he may return to his country and inform his countrymen of what he has seen. This program would extend to countless average Americans the opportunity to further personally the interest of universal understanding."

Mr. Fisch is a Phi Beta Kappa member of New York University, a graduate of Harvard Law School, assistant counsel to the New York State Investigation Commission, and chancellor commander of the Albert Einstein Lodge, Knights of Pythias.

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian in my congressional district, has written a series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River, particularly in the Pittston area. The latest installment in this series appeared in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch on September 9, 1962, and as part of my remarks today I quote the text of that article.

The article follows:

FROM LOCAL HISTORY: SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—PITTSTON FERRY BRIDGE VICTIM OF WINDS, ICE, AND FLOODS

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

As early as 1858, H. Litts was employed as the tolltaker on the Pittston Ferry Bridge.

In February, 1858, a windstorm carried away one-third of the bridge roof. This damage was completely repaired by May 28, 1860.

A contract for a new two-lane, covered bridge was awarded on August 28, 1863, to Kellogg & Canner, contractors from Easton, Pa., by the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co.

The new bridge was to be erected in approximately the same location as the old bridge.

Regarding the old bridge, soon to be replaced, an oldtimer of that era later remarked: "The first bridge became moss and dust covered—dingy, like the old oaken bucket. He stated "Old Hoyt" was the toll-taker at that time.

While the new bridge was being built, temporary ferry service was established. Toll rates on the ferry were: double team, 5 tickets for $1; one horse and vehicle, 10 tickets for $1. Many boats were also pressed into service to carry passengers back and forth across the river at this point.

Mr. Phillips' raftload of oak plank, for the bridge's construction was washed away in the high water on Sunday, May 15, 1864.

Harry Polen was the foreman in charge of construction work on the new bridge. Barnet Serfass was a carpenter.

On August 31, 1864, B. F. Snyder and Harry Stetlar, both employed as carpenters, were hit by an overhead crane and were knocked from the bridge into the river, falling 30 feet into 5 feet of water, without serious injury to either of them.

The initial crossing on the new bridge, by teams, took place on the south side of the structure on Saturday, September 17, 1864. This bridge, withstood the high water of St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1865, the biggest flood in Wyoming Valley up to that time. Houses, barns, canalboats, lumber, trees, fences, horses, cattle, chickens, sheep, pigs, and other valuable property were swept away.

Paving of the bridge's east side approach with cobblestones on November 23, 1865, was considered a great improvement and was beneficial to pedestrians and wagons.

PLANKS RELAID

J. S. Carpenter and several men cleaned and relayed the planks in the bridge roadway, on June 15, 1868. About the same time a director's room was erected on the south side of the Pittston end of the bridge.

Footwalks on the bridge were widened, after January 4, 1869.

It was mentioned on July 14, 1870, that West Pittston Borough Council had built an iron railing on the bridge's west end, at a cost of $2.50 per foot. Jonah Howell modeled and installed the railing.

Officials of Pittston Ferry Bridge Co., on October 13, 1870, placed hemlock brush and stones around the piers to catch and settle dirt at the pier bases.

FLOODWATERS

Ice and floodwaters, which rose 8 feet in 1 hour devastated the area on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1875, and washed the Ferry Bridge away.

The Lackawanna & Bloomsburg (D.L. & W.) Railroad bridge was wrenched from its moorings by the seething ice gorge and turbulent waters and it floated down the Susquehanna River where it struck and lifted the Ferry Toll Bridge clear of its piers and carried it to a point 3 miles above Wilkes-Barre where remnants of the debris were left on the riverbank.

FINAL CROSSING

The last persons to cross the Ferry Bridge before it was swept away were Mr. and Mrs. John Hurlbut and Mrs. Charles Law. They first rode to the Water Street Bridge in Mr. Hurlbut's wagon but, finding it in a precarious position, they hurried to the Ferry Bridge which they crossed over safely to the west side.

Immediate plans were formulated by Ferry Bridge Co. officials for the construction of a new, iron bridge at the same site.

A contract for the erection of a new, iron bridge was awarded to the King Iron Bridge Co., of Cleveland, Ohio, at a cost of $71,931.62.

On April 5, 1875, bridge company officials requested permission of Pittston Borough Council to extend and raise the proposed bridge to the level of North Main Street. The borough solicitor, Stark, rendered the opinion that council had the right to grant such a permit. Attorney Ferris, the representative of the regional property holders, took the opposite view. The permit to raise the bridge 15 feet and extend it to connect with North Main Street was granted by Pittston Borough Council on April 15, 1875.

NEW BRIDGE

The new bridge, 1,100 feet in length, was completed within 11 months from the commencement of its erection. It was opened to public traffic on July 1, 1876.

Acting on the authority of borough council, the burgess and borough engineer of Pittston hired E. W. Miller on April 30, 1877, to construct a railing on the wall at Ferry Bridge, on the Pittston end of the structure, at a cost of $125.

## If Red Cuba Was a Threat Before, It's More So Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I include the following in the RECORD:

IF RED CUBA WAS A THREAT BEFORE, IT'S MORE SO NOW

"If the circumstances in 1960 and early 1961 justified decisions by two administrations that a U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba was essential, how can the far worse circumstances of today require less? Inaction can be justified at this point only by a no-win policy of paralysis. The longer the United States waits to expel communism from Cuba, the more difficult will be the job."

The inescapable logic of that analysis Sunday by Senator STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, of the situation facing the United States cannot be disputed. The debacle of the Bay of Pigs remains to haunt President Kennedy and those advisers who prevailed upon him to withhold the vital American assistance that the valiant Cuban freedom fighters needed to make their invasion a success.

Even those who formerly thought that Castro should be let alone to fall eventually to internal forces have changed their thinking. John S. Knight, publisher of the Miami Herald, wrote the other day:

"I am among those who long ago opposed the idea that Castro should be thrown out simply because we did not approve of him. Cuba had a right to have a revolution. * * * But today's situation is totally different. Castro has betrayed the people who supported the revolution. He is a Communist dictator who would spread that insidious ideology throughout Latin America.

"He has collaborated with a foreign power—Russia—to extend its system to the Western Hemisphere. This is a flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and should be dealt with as such."

Unfortunately, the people who have the President's ear on foreign affairs are the Walt Rostows and the Arthur Schlesingers who are not unfriendly to leftwing dictatorships. In fact, Professor Rostow merely considers communism a "disease of modernization." He holds to the belief that Communist regimes eventually will "mellow."

As far as we can see, the only mellowing that has taken place in recent years has been in the official backbone of the Nation's leadership. We suggest that the President scorn at this time the advice of Messrs. Rostow and Schlesinger, and ask a famous Democrat from Missouri what he would do about Castro. Even Harry Truman's most bitter critic knows that something would have been done long before now if he were still in the White House.

The first thing we think should be done is the setting up, as Senator SMATHERS has suggested, of a Cuban government-in-exile. And then we should take whatever steps are necessary to put it back in power in Havana—regardless of Moscow's threats.

As it is, President Kennedy can always switch his cool-weather vacation spot from Palm Beach to southern California. But we south Floridians must live here and face the daily reality of an ever-stronger Red menace just over the horizon.

We say something should be done to dispose of that menace, and done fast.

## President Kennedy's Views on Amending Constitution Questioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy's recent declaration in apparent support of the process of amending the Constitution by interpretation, has aroused considerable concern.

The President delivered an extemporaneous address at the White House to a group of students in which he discussed the Constitution, and spoke of the need of men to "make it work," in the light of new and changed conditions.

The President told the students:

Well, the American Constitution is an extraordinary document and it is certainly the most extraordinary written Constitution in the history of the world, but it has required men to make it work, and it still does today.

After all, the Constitution was written for an entirely different period in our Nation's history. It was written under entirely different conditions. It was written during a period of isolation. It was written at a time when there were 13 different units which had to be joined together and which, of course, were extremely desirous of limiting the central power of the Government.

That Constitution has served us extremely well, but all of its clauses, the general welfare, and due process and all the rest, had to be interpreted by man and had to be made to work in an entirely different world from the day in which it was written, both at home and abroad.

The President said it "had to be interpreted by man," meaning—I assume—the Supreme Court, "and had to be made to work in an entirely different world from the day in which it was written."

But the Constitution does not provide for making it work by the technique of interpretation, if the effect of that interpretation is to change the document, and nowhere does it permit a change by interpretation by virtue of the fact that the times may be quite different now from what they were.

This doctrine thus enunciated by the President is obviously a dangerous one. The late Franklin D. Roosevelt complained that the process of amendment as contained in the Constitution was "too cumbersome," and he deliberately called on the Congress to enlarge the Supreme Court in order that he could appoint new Justices who would interpret the Constitution to suit F.D.R. And when that failed, he achieved the same objective by filling several vacancies which occurred shortly after that.

That marked the beginning of the end of constitutional government in this country as was provided and contemplated by the Founding Fathers. To be sure, we still have a Constitution, though somewhat tortured and battered as a result of repeated judicial assaults upon it since the Supreme Court was packed. And those attacks upon the supreme law of the land have been somewhat intensified by decisions rendered since Mr. Chief Justice Warren's appointment. The result is that the Constitution no longer has either the sanctity or the meaning that was formerly the case.

The President in his August 29 speech said the Constitution "had to be interpreted by man and had to be made to work," apparently by interpretation, to meet changed conditions.

In other words, the President rules out the principle of interpretation according to what was said and intended by those who wrote the Constitution and according to the time-honored principle of conformance to precedent in applying the interpretation.

If the President did not mean just that, then he owes it to the American people to restate his position and to clarify the meaning of what he did say.

The conclusion is inescapable that Mr. Kennedy means to imply that he shares the views of the late F.D.R. to the effect that it is alright to amend the constitution through a process of interpretation.

F.D.R.-KENNEDY DOCTRINE IS DANGEROUS

Mr. Speaker, I cannot emphasize too strongly my conviction that such a doctrine is dangerous, and if followed by the Supreme Court in the future it can lead to the destruction of our Republic.

Indeed, irreparable damage has already been done by the application of that rule of interpretation. Perhaps it is not too late to mitigate that damage, but in that respect there is certainly no solace to be gained from the President's speech to the students.

In fact, the practice of judicial restraint by the Supreme Court became prevalent by several 5-to-4 decisions last year and the year before, following several years of irresponsible judicial abuse by a majority of the members of that tribunal. But with the recent resignations of Mr. Justice Frankfurter and Mr. Justice Whittaker, it now appears quite likely that the trend will be reversed.

It would be foolish to argue that precedents should not be changed if they are manifestly wrong. Yet well established precendents have been ignored and all but held in contempt by the majority of the Court in many decisions that have been handed down in recent years.

The late and lamented Judge Learned Hand, one of the wisest and most respected jurists in modern times, in discussing the place that precedents has in our jurisprudence, once referred with approval to his friend and colleague, Judge Thomas Swan. "He will," Hand commented, "not overrule a precendent unless he can be satisfied beyond peradventure that it was untenable when made; and not even then if it has gathered around it the support of a substantial body of decisions based on it."

It follows that such precedents would be tenable if interpretations when made were in keeping with the intention of those who wrote the Constitution. As Justice Miller once wrote:

> We are to place ourselves as nearly as possible in the condition of the men who framed that instrument.

JOHN MARSHALL OPPOSED INTERPRETATION TECHNIQUE

Chief Justice John Marshall in Gibbons against Ogden, a historic decision, declared that:

> The enlightened patriots who framed our Constitution and the people who adopted it must be understood * * * to have intended what they said.

Judge Cooley, author of "Constitutional Limitations," often used as a textbook or dependable reference work by most of our law schools, declared that:

> A Court * * * which should allow a change in public sentiment to influence it in giving to a written Constitution a construction not warranted by its Founders would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty.

Mr. Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo, who graced our Supreme Court for many years, in his "Judicial Process," referred to the contention that a judge may substitute his individual sense of justice for rules of law, and stated:

That might result in a benevolent despotism if the judges were benevolent men. It would put an end to the reign of law.

The late Justice Edward Douglas White, one of the most eminent and respected men who has ever served on the Supreme Court, discussed the subject with great wisdom and foresight, in these words:

> In the discharge of its function of interpreting the Constitution, this Court exercises an august power * * *. It seems to me that the accomplishment of its lofty mission can only be secured by the stability of its teachings and the sanctity which surrounds them * * *. The fundamental conception of a judicial body is that of one hedged about by precedents which are binding on the Court without regard to the personality of its members. Break down this belief in judicial continuity, and let it be felt that on great constitutional questions this Court is to depart from the settled conclusions of its predecessors, and to determine them all according to the mere opinion of those who temporarily fill its bench, and our Constitution will, in my judgment, be bereft of value and become a most dangerous instrument to the rights and liberties of the people.

Thus, it can be seen that if the Constitution is to be interpreted in accordance with the whims of a sitting Justice, without regard to precedent or the intention of the Founding Fathers, then that great document must become unstable and uncertain, and of little beneficial value in maintaining constitutional government in this country.

James Madison, the Father of the Constitution, spoke of the probable "useful alterations" of the Constitution "to be suggested by experience." And Madison said that with that in mind the delegates who drafted the Constitution included article V, which describes the method by which that document may be amended. He said the Convention preferred that method because "it guards equally against that extreme facility which would render the Constitution too mutable, and that extreme facility which might perpetuate its discovered faults."

It seems crystal clear that the framers of the Constitution thought they were guarding against allowing that document to be amended by mere interpretations that might reflect the changing moods of public opinion, or in order to conform with the views of a President, or of the philosophies of a group of men who might sit on the Court at any particular time.

WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON WARNED OF DANGERS THROUGH JUDICIAL ABUSE

Mr. Speaker, there has been a radical departure from those basic principles in recent years. That fact is widely recognized. Not long ago 36 chief justices of the then 48 States in a meeting in California approved a report that expressed that view:

> It has long been an American boast that we have a government of laws and not of men—

They stated—

> We believe that any study of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court will raise at

least considerable doubt as to the validity of that boast.

That group of distinguished jurists went on to state that members of the Supreme Court were exercising insufficient judicial restraint and were in effect enacting law as well as interpreting it.

It will be recalled that many of the Founding Fathers foresaw the appearance on the American scene of those who would change the Constitution by interpretation. And they warned of the dangers inherent in such a turn of events.

In his farewell address George Washington, in referring to possible attempts to change the Constitution without conforming to article V, stated:

> Let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.

And Thomas Jefferson, the father of separation of powers, and a stanch defender of the Supreme Court where its powers are judiciously exercised, solemnly warned:

> There is no danger I apprehend so much as the noiseless, and therefore unalarming, instrumentality of the Supreme Court.

There can hardly be any question but that if the President's speech regarding the Constitution could have been submitted to Washington, Madison, and Jefferson for censure, it would never have been given, because it condones amendment by interpretation, and therefore by usurpation.

That is not the constitutional way of doing it. The Supreme Court has the power to do it that way, but it does not have the right to do it.

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## German Harvest Festival Held in Philadelphia, September 3, 1962, by the Cannstatter Volksfest Verein, a German-American Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was a privilege to accept an invitation on September 3, 1962, to deliver the principal address on the opening day of the 90th annual commemoration of a German harvest festival sponsored by the Cannstatter Volksfest Verein, a German-American organization of Philadelphia, Pa.

The 3-day festival which was held from September 3 through September 5 commemorated a German folk festival instituted in 1818 by William I, of Wuerttemberg, after the years of starvation and hunger in 1816–17 in Cannstatt which was the city district of Stuttgart.

In attendance at the festival were members of German societies from various counties in Pennsylvania together with a group of 200 tourists from Germany who joined in the 3-day festivities.

The visiting Germans included public officers, business and professional men who live near Stuttgart in Wuerttemberg a state in West Germany. Philadelphia is their first stop on a tour of 12 American cities.

One of the highlights of the festival was a 40-foot-high tower of a variety of vegetables and fruits and 20,000 nails used to attach them to a wooden structure.

My address delivered on September 3 follows:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE 90TH COMMEMORATION OF A GERMAN HARVEST FESTIVAL SPONSORED BY THE CANNSTATTER VOLKFEST VEREIN, A GERMAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., SEPTEMBER 3, 1962

I consider it a genuine privilege to join with the Cannstatter Volkfest Verein and other German societies represented here in a spirit of gratitude and thanksgiving. Today we pay homage to a lasting tradition that was born out of hardship.

The United States is not listed among the oldest nations of the world but we have rapidly developed a tradition of celebrating important local events through what we term "festivals." This type of grassroots community party is an expression of our desire to join in fellowship.

This has been a good habit for Americans.

In days past a similar urge sparked quilting bees, helped to build a neighbor's barn or a local church, brought about town meetings and afforded fire protection. We are reminded that this "folk festival" was instituted in 1818 by William I of Wurttemberg after the years of starvation—years of hunger—in 1816–17 in Cannstatt, which was the city district of Stuttgart. The wish to commemorate and give thanks resulted in the tradition of building "the column made from fruits of the lands."

It is good for America that this celebration has survived the years. America has had an opportunity no other country has ever had, the opportunity of assimilating the old traditions of many lands into a new tradition of her own.

In the complexity of our modern industrial life we too often forget the seasonal consciousness which has so potently influenced the development of other races. Our great cities are so congested and the pressure and tension of the daily routine is so tremendous, that little heed is paid to the significance of a long-ago event.

The festival was the channel through which early man poured forth his wonder at ever-changing events. Through the medium of festivals we in America may preserve much of the idealism and beauty of other peoples. We recall that tradition has been a mighty power in Germany. For that reason the vast majority of German festivals stem from circumstances that prevailed many years ago.

Incidents, including the desire to give thanks, have been plucked from the records of victories and heroism and fashioned into an array of pageants and festivals.

Someone has said, and I quote:

"The folklore of a land constitutes the unobliterated tracks of both individuals and nationalities that have crossed and dwelt on that land."

From the number of reasons why it is worth while for a community to hold a festival perhaps the best is that it fosters a new respect for one's neighbor. A fair may show the rest of the country what excellent farmers live there. A commercial exhibition may show how keen and forward are the businessmen. But a festival, based on tradition, brings all together.

It is the expression of a community, the expression of a native spirit. Nothing reaches more directly to the roots of a people than their legends and history. A folk festival brings "lost" backgrounds to the front. In so doing it brings also a new understanding to a community.

A day of thanksgiving is not in all respects a solemn occasion. It is a feast day in the clearest meaning of the term, but beneath the surface there is a note of solemnity.

Americans have always been able to find ample reason for thankfulness in a free land, in a land of great abundance. Each individual has his own private reasons for feelings of gratitude for the things he has or the things he has escaped.

We are in the midst of a great commonwealth. We are surrounded by the rich resources of nature. Science and industry through the "mind of man" are providing us with physical comforts in great abundance.

Certainly no people on earth have more reason for gratitude for material things. These material blessings carry with them responsibilities as well as privileges and opportunities. Material abundance affords opportunities for development of the Nation's spiritual and cultural values, without which material wealth is empty.

The state of the Nation's material welfare places upon it grave responsibilities for wise and careful and generous leadership in a world in which so many other peoples are denied the abundance that is ours.

The freedom which we enjoy—such freedom as few other nations have ever known—represents our bounty in all its fullness. And this carries the responsibility to use our means and our energies and our resources where they can be used best to help keep the world free.

I do not think this celebration is a matter of any particular creed. It is an occasion for all—each in his own way—to give thanks to Almighty God for the bounty of a free land which has provided spiritual and material blessings.

Within what is now this great commonwealth many peoples of different cultures, customs, and tongues came to lay the foundations of an experiment in government that might well be termed a wellspring of liberty and freedom. Today the descendants of the first pioneers, together with those of later immigrants who sought the opportunities afforded free men, have grown into millions. They enjoy that priceless heritage and are living witnesses to the fulfillment of the concepts and ideals of freedom.

Is it not fitting, therefore, that such cherished shrines as Independence Hall—the Nation's birthplace; Valley Forge—where the cause of liberty lived through its darkest hours; and Gettysburg—where the Union survived its greatest wound, should all rest within the borders of Pennsylvania?

The Germans were a most important element in the early population of America. A number of the artisans and carpenters in the first Jamestown Colony were of German descent. In 1710 a body of 3,000 Germans came to New York.

Most of the early German immigrants settled in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Carolinas. The ethnic pattern of Pennsylvania was complex from the earliest days of the province and each group brought with it its own social ideals and cultures. Immigrants from the German states formed a large group. A reliable estimate of their numbers at the time of the Revolutionary War places their total number at 110,000 out of a total population of 225,000.

In 1776 Benjamin Franklin stood before the Parliament of Great Britain answering

questions. The inquiry went something like this:

Question. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

Answer. I suppose there may be about 160,000.

Question. What number of them are Quakers?

Answer. Perhaps a third.

Question. What number of Germans?

Answer. Perhaps another third—but I cannot speak with certainty.

We do not know by what means Franklin arrived at his estimates. William Penn had traveled in Germany. His mother was Low Dutch and through his continental associations he had formed a high opinion of the husbandry of German farmers.

The Mennonites and other members of the plain sects held many religious beliefs which were similar to those of the Quakers.

"They are very near the truth," Penn declared in a letter to his confidant, James Logan.

Here were desirable settlers for his far-off wilderness. Consequently his invitation went forth. It spoke a message of hope to the forlorn victims of centuries of strife; it proclaimed a new chance for those who wished for a sanctuary.

For almost a century thereafter the Germanic states were being depopulated by emigrations Pennsylvania bound. Love of liberty was innate among the German people of Pennsylvania. They had suffered much and traveled far to find it.

The repressive acts of 1774, by which Parliament and the British King tried to punish the American colonies, struck a blow at liberty. The particular punitive measure—which incensed the people of Pennsylvania—was the closing of the port of Boston. Such arbitrary actions reminded the Germans of the dreaded Hussars who had swept down upon their farms, pillaging and slaughtering as they mercilessly ravaged those in their pathway.

The colonial Germans joined in the protests which were raised against the intolerable acts and they helped to raise money for the relief of Boston.

Committees of correspondence were formed in most of the German communities. Once involved in the conflict for American liberty the Pennsylvanians of German parentage entered into the fray with a zeal commensurate with their new born status as American citizens.

One summer day in 1783 Gen. George Washington stood on the long veranda at Mount Vernon and said farewell to the escort of mounted men who had accompanied the victorious leader to his estate on the Potomac.

The horsemen were a detachment from Maj. Von Heer's Independent Troop of Horse, which had served the Commander in Chief as his bodyguard during the last years of the war. The original bodyguard was disbanded in 1777 when a plot of treachery had been uncovered.

In organizing a new guard Washington selected the Independent Troop of Horse, a body of troops recruited largely from the Germans living in Pennsylvania and Maryland. The Germans of Pennsylvania were among the first to answer Washington's call and they were the last to leave his side at Mount Vernon.

When the War of Independence had ended the Germans in Pennsylvania and neighboring States were no longer foreigners living in America. They were Americans entitled to the full enjoyment of the freedom which they had helped to win. Diverse cultures were free to integrate and blend into a new and distinctly American pattern. By the time the Constitution was formed a new nationality had developed in the New World, the American nationality.

We recall that the State convention, elected in Pennsylvania to ratify the Constitution of the United States, numbered persons of German descent in the delegations from most of the counties. Many discussions of the provisions were conducted in the German tongue.

The first Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States was Frederick August Conrad Muhlenberg. It would be an endless task to call the roll of distinguished persons who have sprung from Pennsylvania German stock.

But their contributions to our culture and our freedom should be a portion of the spirit of thanksgiving that rests in us today. The Great Seal of the United States—adopted at the very birth of the Republic—bears the Latin phrase "E Pluribus Unum." The years have made those words familiar to countless Americans.

Even those who do not know their precise meaning have a deep understanding of the significance of the phrase "Out of many—one." The achievement of that goal has been one of the central experiences of the United States.

The Founding Fathers had two elements in mind when they adopted that motto. They recognized by it that the Nation they were creating would emerge one and united out of the 13 separate Colonies. They did not wish to destroy the peculiarities of Pennsylvania, or New Jersey, or Georgia or the other new States, but they were striving to make them one country. By the same token they recognized that the population of the United States had been drawn from many different sources.

It included Germans, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, French and Huguenots, Jews and Catholics in a variety that could be found nowhere else on the globe. The Founding Fathers had no desire to weaken any of these strains or to subordinate some to others, but they wished them all to blend into one people. It was in that spirit that the "Letters of An American Farmer" explained as the Revolution drew to a close that the Americans were "A mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes."

"From this promiscuous breed," the quotation continues, "that race now called Americans has arisen; here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world.

"Americans are the Western Pilgrims who have carried along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry which began long since in the Near East.

"They will finish the great circle."

In the 180 years since then the prophecy of the "American farmer" has been amply fulfilled. In that period about 45 million newcomers entered the United States. They and their descendants form the American people.

Still are retained many of the cultural signs of their origins. But they have been welded into one Nation, capable of acting constructively together. We in America have gained from your festival of thanksgiving.

It has given us—through the years—opportunities to pause and be grateful. It has provided us with the time and place to look over our shoulders into the events of the past that have contributed so vastly to the cultural pattern of this commonwealth and this Nation.

As I join you in thanksgiving today for the blessings of the past, I am particularly aware that today's events represent a spirit of cooperation which brings individuals, races, and institutions together in a common community interest.

The problems of learning how to live together within the boundaries of the United States have been solved with practical and satisfying results.

But the problems of nations learning to live together in the world under rapidly changing conditions are still with us. But so long as Americans retain their faith in the institutions under which they grew great they have much to teach the rest of the world.

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[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 4, 1962]

VAN ZANDT STRESSES U.S. LEADER ROLE IN GERMAN FESTIVAL TALK

Although the problems of many creeds and nationalities learning to live together "have been solved with practical and satisfying results in the United States, the problems of nations learning to live together in the world—under rapidly changing conditions—are still with us," Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, said here Monday.

VAN ZANDT addressed the 90th annual 3-day Canstatter Volksfest Verein of Philadelphia, at 9100 Frankford Avenue. The festival opened Sunday and will continue through Tuesday.

MUCH TO TEACH

"So long as Americans retain their faith in the institutions under which they grew great, they have much to teach the rest of the world, the Altoona Congressman said.

"As I join you in thanksgiving today, for the blessings of the past, I am particularly aware that today's events represent a spirit of cooperation which brings individuals, races, and institutions together in a common community interest," VAN ZANDT stated.

TRIBUTE TO PIONEERS

He paid special tribute to the pioneer German immigrants as "a most important element in the early population of America," but he added:

"Within what is now this great Commonwealth, many peoples of different cultures, customs, and tongues came to lay the foundations of an experiment in government that might well be termed a well-spring of liberty and freedom."

PRICELESS HERITAGE

"Today the descendants of the first pioneers, together with those of later immigrants who sought the opportunities afforded free men, have grown into millions," VAN ZANDT said.

"They enjoy that priceless heritage and are living witnesses to the fulfillment of the concepts and ideals of freedom," he said.

Tuesday night, VAN ZANDT is scheduled to invade the home area of his democratic opponent, Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, in a speaking tour. It embraces the 21st, 22d, 38th, 42d, 49th, 50th, and 59th wards in the Germantown, Chestnut Hill (and Northwest section of Philadelphia. His first appearance will be at 8:15 p.m. at the 50th Ward Republican Club, 6618 Wyncote Avenue.

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[From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Sept. 4, 1962]

TWO HUNDRED TOURISTS FROM GERMANY FIND TORRESDALE FESTIVAL IS JUST LIKE HOME

(By Lawrence M. O'Rourke)

A group of 200 tourists from Germany felt right at home in Torresdale last night.

They drank and swayed to the "oom-pah-pah" of a 12-piece German brass band, danced old German folk dances, ate bratwurst and sauerbraten, and drank German beer.

It was the annual harvest festival of the Cannstatter Volksfest Verein, a German-American organization.

Nearly 15,000 persons, including many of the more than 4,000 society members, attended the festival on the organization's grounds at Academy and Willits Roads.

COME FROM STUTTGART

The Germans who felt right at home came a long distance to attend.

They are public officers, business and professional men who live near Stuttgart in Wuerttemberg, a State in West Germany. Philadelphia is their first stop on a tour of 12 American cities.

The visitors and the society members belong to the Federation of Schwabian Societies, an international organization with many local groups in the United States.

The picnickers yesterday ate their lunches in view of a 40-foot-high tower made of a variety of vegetables and fruits and 20,000 nails used to attach them to a wooden structure.

BUTCHER, FARMER, AND BAKER

Depicted on the tower were der metzer, der bauer, and der becker, the butcher, the farmer, and the maker, the three principal trades in old Wuerttemberg.

The tower also noted the fact that the organization is celebrating its 90th year in Philadelphia.

One of the attractions was Alt Weiber Muehle, the old lady's mill.

Grotesque dummies were tossed into the top of the mill. Through a door and down a sliding board came a number of attractive young ladies.

The brass band of Rottenburg, which is making the tour, provided some oldtime German music, including the drinking song, "Ein Prosit."

FIRST TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES

For most of the visitors it was their first trip here.

"President Kennedy has asked Europeans to visit the United States, and so we came, to see the country and our German-American relatives and friends," said Miss Anna Liese Schuhholz, a travel writer for German newspapers.

Walter Baerlin, mayor of a town near Stuttgart, said he was "enjoying himself immensely" talking with Philadelphians.

"This festival is much like the one we have in Stuttgart," said Joseph Handgretinger, a businessman. "But there is some difference in the people. Here everbody is so friendly to us. In Germany people are more reserved."

QUESTIONED ABOUT WALL

Several of the visitors were asked what effect construction of the Berlin wall by the Communists had on their lives.

They said they sympathized with the people of Berlin but it is their hope that a peaceful settlement can be reached that is agreeable to all parties.

Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, spoke to the picknickers yesterday afternoon.

The German visitors will see Washington, D.C., next and will go to 10 other U.S. cities before returning to Germany in 3 weeks.

The money raised in yesterday's festival, a spokesman said, will go to provide food and fuel for the needy and to assist in other charitable works.

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## The Power of Monopoly Is Not a Phantom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement presented to the Joint Economic Committee on August 21, 1962, by Dr. Walter Adams, professor of economics at Michigan State University:

STATEMENT OF DR. WALTER ADAMS, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, BEFORE THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

It is reported that when Galileo made his telescope and discovered the satellites of Jupiter, his findings were disputed by the head professor of philosophy at the University of Padua. "We know," he said, "that there are seven planets and only seven, because there are seven openings in the human head to let in the light and air: two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, and a mouth. And the seven metals and various other examples also show that there have to be seven. Besides, the stars are invisible to the naked eye; therefore they do not influence human events; therefore, they are useless; therefore they do not exist. (Quod erat demonstrandum.)"—(Quoted in Frank H. Knight, "Intelligence and Democratic Action," p. 57.) The event occurred in 1610—long after man had supposedly emerged from the darkness of the Middle Ages to the light of the Renaissance.

That type of reasoning has not yet disappeared. It has survived in fields other than astronomy, in lands other than Italy, and times even more enlightened than the 17th century. Today, for example, one can still find economists who argue as follows: (1) monopoly power exists in theory but is rare in practice. (2) It cannot be measured with elegant precision. (3) Being unmeasurable, it cannot possibly be widespread. (4) Even if it were widespread, it would be held in check by interindustry competition, the corporate soul, the gales of creative destruction, countervailing power, congressional investigations, and presidential admonition. (5) In any event, there is no urgency for public action until further research has unearthed the "final answers."

I do not happen to share this Panglos view of things. Conceding the fact that monopoly power is never absolute—that no system of price administration is ever foolproof—I submit that concentrated economic power is a fact of American life. It exists; it is pervasive; it is dangerous. It poses what I consider the No. 1 domestic problem of our time—the prevalence of private socialism in what we like to think of as a free enterprise economy.

Let me explain the different types of market power—conglomerate, vertical, and horizontal—by using the General Motors Corp. and the auto industry as an example.

1. Conglomerate power: This means that a firm's operations are so widely diversified that its survival no longer depends on success in any given product market or any given geographical area. Its absolute size, its sheer bigness, is so impressive that it can discipline or destroy its more specialized competitors.

General Motors, of course, possesses conglomerate power. Until recently part of the giant Du Pont empire, this corporation is not only the largest automobile company in the world, but also a significant factor in diesel locomotives, buses, trucks, refrigerators, electric ranges, auto financing, batteries, earth-moving machinery, etc. This corporation could decide to enter the ice cream industry—intent on capturing 20 or 40 or 100 percent of the sales—and succeed in this endeavor. It would matter little whether G.M. was indeed an efficient ice cream manufacturer or whether its ice cream was indeed tastier than more established brands. By discreet price concessions, saturation advertising and attractive promotional deals, it could commit its gargantuan financial power to the battle until only so much competition as G.M. was prepared to tolerate would be left in the industry. Remember that, in good years, the annual profits of General Motors are roughly as big as the combined assets of Borden and National Dairy.

Put differently, in a poker game with unlimited stakes, the player who commands disproportionately large funds is likely to emerge victorious—regardless of ability, virtue, or luck. He has the one asset the others lack, viz, the power to bankrupt his rivals. Given the laws of probability, his power alone tends to be decisive.

2. Vertical power: This means that a firm engaged in successive stages of production and distribution can squeeze its suppliers by denial of access, or its distributors by denial of supplies, or both by manipulation of price. In the case of General Motors, congressional committees have received ample evidence of the corporation's power over automobile parts manufacturers and automobile dealers. The record on this score requires no elaboration here.

3. Horizontal power: This is market control in its pristine, classical form. It consists of dominance over an industry (in relative, percentage terms), and is manifested in entry controls, price leadership and followership, and other assorted forms of oligopolistic cooperation.

General Motors, with its more than 50 percent control over the automobile industry, is a prize example of horizontal power. Its decisions what to produce, where to produce, how to produce—what price to charge, what target profit to aim at, what means of raising capital to employ—these and similar decisions have a profound impact not only on its fellow oligopolists, but the whole automobile industry, the American businessman, the American consumer, the American worker, and the American economy. These are decisions which affect the general public, but they are made by a private government—subject to only the loosest public control and involving only the remotest participation of our democratic citizenry.

(a) Pricing: General Motors sets its prices so that—over the long run and assuming "standard volume" (operation at roughly 80 percent of capacity)—they will yield an average profit (after Reuther and after taxes) of 15 to 20 percent on invested capital. This is called target-rate-of-return pricing. It is the same cost-plus system of pricing used in the regulated industries—with this difference: the rate of return allowed a public utility is determined by a Government regulatory commission, whereas the General Motors rate is determined by the company itself. It is not imposed by the autonomous forces of the marketplace as in a competitive industry; it is not imposed by a public regulatory commission; it is the private exercise of discretionary power by a corporation with dominant control of the market. Not only does General Motors possess this market control, but as the Kefauver committee hearings showed, it has been amazingly successful since World War II in exercising such control and achieving its self-determined and predetermined target rate of profit.

That it was able to do so is partly due to the slavish pliability of its major rivals. The latter have simply not chosen to challenge GM's price leadership and contented themselves to follow, within rather narrow limits, the lead of the industry's giant. One dramatic illustration revealed by the Kefauver hearings involved the pricing of the 1957 models: Ford had announced an average 2.9-percent price increase—"no more than our actual costs for materials and labor have gone up;" "General Motors 2 weeks later announced an average 6.1-percent increase on comparable models; whereupon Ford quickly revised its price list upward—no doubt to "meet the higher price of a competitor." When Chrysler later fell in line,

the traditional pattern in the "low price" field was maintained. The deleterious effects of such conduct, I trust, will become apparent later in my presentation.

(b) Product design: While the automobile industry in the days of Henry Ford I was an arena of price competition—with companies reaching out for "the other 95 percent of the market" by competitive price reductions, the rise of General Motors ushered in a diversion of the industry's competitive energies into nonprice rivalry. Whereas Henry Ford told his customers that they could choose any color automobile as long as it was black, the industry by 1960 was offering more than 300 different passenger models and the manager of GM's Chevrolet division boasted that his factories were turning out a custom-made car for almost every buyer. Chevrolet, he said, offers the buyer so many combinations and permutations of body style, color, trim, and equipment options that (without counting accessories) Chevrolet could have produced its entire 1960 output of 1,850,000 passenger cars without making any two of them exactly alike. Price cutting to tap new layers of domestic or foreign demand had become an anachronism, only to be replaced by advertising outlays, annual model changes, and the horsepower race. The automobile, no longer a mere vehicle for transportation, was made a complex and luxurious amalgam of superengines, tailfins, quadruple headlights, and a cornucopia of chrome. Inevitably, its cost of production and price increased steadily and alarmingly.

For the Big Three, according to the Kefauver committee, depreciation and obsolescence costs rose from $183.2 million in 1950 to $679.8 million in 1957; selling and administrative expenses from roughly $450 million to $1,200 million; and the annual cost of special tools from $182.3 million to $762 million. (It should be noted that production volume in 1950 and 1957 was 7 million cars which makes these comparisons especially relevant.) At Ford, the dollar cost of major model changeovers increased more than 6½ times between 1948 and 1957, and at an increasing rate: in 1957 these costs were more than three times as high as in 1953. Since sales increased at a much slower rate, the ratio of styling costs to sales (and production costs) increased significantly—doubling between 1948 and 1957. In economic terms, the effect of this nonprice rivalry was to raise overhead costs and exert an upward pressure on price; this in turn, given the elastic demand for automobiles, tended to depress volume and raise unit fixed costs even further. The consequences, as we shall see presently, were far from gratifying.

(c) Export policy: How should American automobile companies supply their oversea markets? Should they utilize and expand their domestic facilities or rely on their foreign subsidiaries? Should General Motors supply its oversea markets from Detroit, Flint, and Lansing, or from the Opel factory in Germany, the Vauxhall factory in Great Britain, or the Holden factory in Australia? Should Ford turn to River Rouge or to Dagenham, England, and Cologne, Germany? The choice that is made has an obvious impact on the volume of private investment at home, on employment, on purchasing power, on economic growth—and even on Government tax receipts.

Shortly after World War II, according to press reports, General Motors was contemplating the marketing of a new "small" car to be produced at a new plant built somewhere in the United States. This was the Holden, and its production facility was eventually located in Australia. This decision apparently became a policy trend in the industry. In 1958, J. Wilner Sundelson, manager of facilities and operations planning, Ford International Division, openly said: "* * * in our planning, we have taken the view that vehicle exports from the United States, which are playing a declining role in Europe, will virtually vanish. * * * Given the geographic penalty of the U.S. exporters in the European market * * * it will readily be understood why we do not anticipate selling many U.S.-made cars in 1970 in the Common Market. Not only vehicles and vehicle components but parts and accessories will be exported from the United States in limited quantities."

In 1961, Frederic G. Donner, chairman of the board of General Motors, echoed these sentiments: "* * * we will build cars and trucks in the United States for the home market and for those markets that want American-type cars, and we will continue our longtime policy of building cars abroad for sale in our oversea markets."

No wonder that American automobile exports between 1950 and 1959 declined from 120,000 to 104,000 while GM's Opel exports from Germany increased from 25,000 to 169,000, the German Ford exports rose from 8,000 to 65,000, and Chrysler's Simca exports from France rose from 7,000 to 121,000. No wonder that the percentage share of American automobile exports declined radically not only in Europe and the world at large but also (and significantly) in the Latin American market at our back door.

Again I say that the effect of these decisions by American companies had an obvious effect on domestic production, employment, payrolls, growth, tax receipts, and the U.S. balance of payments.

(d) Market results: What then are the effects of these corporate decisions with respect to pricing, product design, and exports on the economic performance of the automobile industry—and, indirectly, the levels of production and employment in the American economy? To approach an answer, let us first examine the domestic automobile market, and then the world market.

In the domestic market, European imports became a significant factor between 1955 and 1959. Their number increased from 57,000 to 668,000, and their relative share of the American market rose from less than 1 percent in 1955 to more than 10 percent in 1959. The reasons, according to a survey of the National Automobile Dealers Association, was that the imports were cheaper to operate and gave better gas mileage; that the original purchase price was lower; that they were easier to park; and that they were easier to handle in traffic. In other words, the American consumer was in open revolt against the Big Three's price policy and product design. While the price of the standard 6-cylinder 2-door Ford increased from $1,707 in 1955 to $2,261 in 1961, the comparable Plymouth from $1,738 to $2,260, and the comparable Chevrolet from $1,685 to $2,230, the European makes effectivly held the line. The Volkswagen went up from $1,495 in 1955 to $1,565 in 1961; the Fiat "600" from $1,298 in 1957 to $1,398 in 1961; and the Renault Dauphine actually reduced its price from $1,645 in 1957 to $1,385 in 1961. (These are all delivered prices in the United States, after payment of transport costs and import duties.)

The reason for the success of the European imports obviously was not that American producers were incapable of turning out a competitive model, but rather that they had chosen not to do so. They had become sufficiently insensitive to consumer desires—persuaded by their own propaganda that they could foist ever larger gas-guzzling monsters at ever higher prices on the hapless American public. Once the oligopolists were brought back to reality by the marginal competition of the European imports, they proceeded to bring out the compact cars which quickly terminated the import threat. Since 1959, both the number of imported cars and their percentage share of the American market has decreased steadily. A different price and product policy by the Big Three—forced on them by "outside" competition—had obviously turned the trick.

In the international arena, too, there is dramatic evidence that the Big Three's price, product, and export policies have caused the United States to lose out in world markets. In motor vehicle exports to the world at large (excluding the United States), according to the Department of Commerce, the U.S. share has declined from 41 percent in 1954 to 26 percent in 1960. At the same time, Germany's share rose from 16 to 24 percent, and that of the other OEEC countries from 15 to 25 percent. Even in Latin America, an area in which we enjoy massive advantages and which by geography and tradition is so closely tied to the United States, the U.S. market share declined from 81 percent in 1954 to 65 percent in 1960, while the United Kingdom's share increased from 5 to 7 percent, Germany's share from 8 to 15 percent, and the other OEEC countries' share from 7 to 12 percent. Put differently, the shortfall in U.S. automobile exports between 1954 and 1960 amounted to some $656 million—i.e., if American exporters had been able to command the same share of world markets in 1960 as they held in 1954, the United States would have earned an additional $656 million through automobile sales abroad. (This, incidentally, is the largest shortfall of any manufactured commodity group—followed by a $395 million shortfall in iron and steel, a $335 million shortfall in industrial machinery, and a $108 million shortfall in agricultural machinery and tractors.)

Clearly, the Big Three have priced and designed themselves out of world markets, on the one hand, and have made a conscious decision to supply overseas markets from their foreign subsidiaries, on the other. The impact of these private corporate decisions on domestic production, employment, and growth require no elaboration.

By using General Motors and the Big Three in the auto industry as an example—and no more than an example—I have tried to illustrate the existence of the vast discretionary power in the hands of some large corporations. "That power," as Justice Douglas once said, "can be used with lightning speed. It can be benign or it can be dangerous." In a democracy, dedicated to free competitive enterprise, such power should not exist. It should be decentralized. "It should be scattered into many hands so that the fortunes of the people will not be dependent on the whim or caprice, the political prejudices, the emotional stability of a few self-appointed men." The fact that they are not rapacious robber barons, but respectable and social minded is irrelevant. The fact that they are imbued with the "corporate soul"—a sense of social responsibility—may qualify them to decide what is good for General Motors; it does not entitle them to determine what is good for Detroit or for the United States. Such decisions, in a democratic economy, are the function of the competitive marketplace. And, when a corporation or group of corporations become so big that they are immune from the regulation of competition—so big that they constitute what amounts to a private government—then those corporations are too big for their own good and certainly too big for society's good. They then become an instrument of private socialism which is incompatible with both free enterprise economics and political democracy.

# Appendix

## Padre Island National Seashore

SPEECH
OF
### HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes of my time to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 776 provides for the consideration of S. 4, a bill which provides for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore. This is an open rule, and provides for 1 hour of general debate.

Mr. Speaker, S. 4 is the third of a series of three such bills which the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has considered in detail during the 87th Congress. The others, both of which have passed the House, provided for the creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore, Mass., and the Point Reyes National Seashore, Calif.

Padre Island is a barrier reef lying off the coast of Texas with the Gulf of Mexico to its east and Laguna Madre to its west. Its northern end is about opposite Corpus Christi, its other end is 113 miles to the south and almost at the Mexican border. The Intracoastal Waterway, which was proposed for its western boundary, runs parallel to the island in Laguna Madre.

In width, Padre Island varies about 3 miles to a quarter mile or less. It is practically pure sand and fragmented shell. There are few trees on it, and such vegetation as is visible to the layman is low beach grass and similar species. Its climate at the northern end is similar to that of St. Petersburg, Fla., and at the southern end to that of Fort Lauderdale.

As is evident from its description and as was pointed out by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. RUTHERFORD], the chairman of the subcommittee which handled this bill, when he appeared before the Committee on Rules to request a rule, Padre Island is distinctively different from Cape Cod and Point Reyes, the former of which is for the most part a fairly closely settled area with centuries of history behind it, and the latter primarily a lush cattle area with mountains and forests in addition. As is pointed out in the committee report, both the location of Padre Island and its present comparative lack of development will make it an admirable complement to these two areas. Its establishment as a national seashore will also help to overcome a serious deficiency in our national life and that is the need for adequate access to our shorelines for public recreation.

Padre Island is well located to serve a very substantial portion of the Nation's population. With proper development, its easy accessibility and year-round usability will make it attractive to millions every year for swimming, boating, fishing, hiking, camping, picnicking, the observation of its birdlife, and the study of nature. It is, at the same time, sufficiently large to afford those who prefer solitude to find it within its confines.

The committee has recommended that S. 4 be amended to include a length of about 80 miles. The national seashore will encompass about 47,000 acres of firm land, with additional adjacent water areas both on the gulf side of the island and in the northern part of the Laguna Madre.

The committee has also recommended an authorization of $5 million for the acquisition of this land.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no opposition to the resolution and I urge its adoption in order that the House may consider this very worthy legislation.

## Congress and the Nation's Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the Honorable WALTER ROGERS, chairman of the Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, presented an excellent speech before the American Bar Association in San Francisco on the longstanding problem of the Federal Government versus State governments with respect to the control and jurisdiction of water rights. Mr. ROGERS discussed the history of Federal jurisdiction in the field of water resources, explained how conflicts developed between the Federal Government and the States, and discussed the congressional attempts which have been made to resolve the problem. He concluded his speech by requesting the legal profession to join with the Congress in finding a solution to the Federal-State conflict over water.

Mr. ROGERS' speech follows:

CONGRESS AND THE NATION'S WATER RESOURCES

(Speech of the Honorable WALTER ROGERS, Member of Congress from the 18th District of Texas, before the Section of Mineral and Natural Resources Law of the American Bar Association, Wednesday, August 8, 1962, in San Francisco, Calif.)

Mr. Chairman, members of the American Bar Association, and your distinguished visitors and guests, unlike the others who will appear before your several sections with good counsel and advice in the solutions of your problems, I come before you in search of help and would beg your indulgence while I attempt to lay before you the problem at hand. It is probably the most refractory conflict in the whole field of law, and will no doubt tax the abilities of the legal profession to the utmost if and when it is solved within the framework of the Constitution as written. The problem, in short, is the Federal Government versus the State governments with reference to the control and jurisdiction of water rights.

As a predicate to a discussion of the conflicts that have arisen in recent years, a discussion of the history of Federal jurisdiction is in order.

I. HISTORY OF FEDERAL JURISDICTION

Congressional responsibility in the field of water resources stems directly from constitutional provisions establishing the right of the Congress "to regulate commerce * * * among the several States," "provide for the common defense and general welfare," and "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The constitutional power of the President to make treaties, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has been a further foundation for Federal activity affecting water resources. A long line of court decisions has upheld the right of Congress to legislate in matters pertaining to these fields, and the right of the executive branch of the Federal Government to take such actions as it believes to be needed to carry out its constitutional and statutory authority.

For more than a century and a half the Congress of the United States has taken an affirmative interest in the development of water resources. It is interesting, in retrospect, to note that the early congressional efforts to legislate in this field were made against frequent and long-sustained objections of the executive branch of the Government. In the early period, between 1800 and 1840, the Congress, under the leadership of such statesmen as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and others just as well known, recognized the desirability of establishing the policy of using Federal funds for the improvement of waterways for navigation. The first legislative efforts met with varying degrees of opposition from the administrations of Presidents Madison through Pierce. The opposition generally was based on the theory of strict construction of the Constitution. It was not until 1824 that Chief Justice Marshall, in the famous case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (9 Wheat. 1, U.S. 1824), gave the Congress judicial support, by his finding that "the power of Congress comprehended navigation within the limits of every State in the Union insofar as that navigation was connected with commerce."

Funds were appropriated as early as 1820 for a navigation survey of tributaries of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Further surveys were authorized in 1824, and by 1826 the Congress had adopted the general policy of appropriating Federal funds to carry out improvement of rivers and harbors, work which had previously been considered to be the responsibility of the States. However, several of the early river and harbor bills were vetoed, based on the strict construction

theory of constitutional interpretation, until, in 1865, the Supreme Court reaffirmed, in *Gilman* v. *Philadelphia* (3 Wall. 713, U.S. 1865), the power of the Congress to regulate commerce and have control of navigable waters. Since that case there has been no opposition from the executive branch with regard to the constitutionality of legislation in the area of navigation.

Federal activity in the field of water resources next expanded to take in flood control. Flood control had long been considered a local problem and was not regarded as a proper concern for action by the Congress. Therefore, early efforts to appropriate Federal funds for the building of levees along the Mississippi River were frequently camouflaged with an argument about the right and duty of the Federal Government to build levees to improve navigation. The foundation for national flood control policies was begun in 1874 when a commission of engineers was appointed to investigate and report to the Congress a permanent plan for reclamation and prevention of inundation in the Mississippi Basin. Their report led to the creation of the Mississippi River Commission in 1879.

The interests of flood control continued to be served in the name of navigation improvement until, in 1917, Federal works for flood control along the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers were authorized. However, it was not until passage of the Flood Control Act of 1936, only 26 years ago, that Congress moved to establish a national flood control policy, under which the present massive program of multiple-purpose river basin development has evolved.

Multiple-purpose water resources development in the Western States had been initiated much earlier under the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902, as amended from time to time. Through this act, the Congress exercised its authority under the property clause of the Constitution to provide for the expenditure of funds derived from the sale of public lands for building irrigation works, with the provision that the costs were to be repaid by the water users. The program was expanded beginning in 1906 to include domestic water supply and hydroelectric power in connection with irrigation projects. Over the years many large multiple-purpose projects have been authorized under the Federal reclamation laws.

In the field of hydroelectric power, aside from a few early developments under the Reclamation Act, congressional action was limited for years to the granting of licenses to non-Federal entities to develop power in such a way as not to impede navigation. By the Federal Power Act of 1920, Congress authorized the licensing of sites on the public domain and on navigable rivers to non-Federal interests for the development of hydroelectric power in the circumstances when the proposed development was found to be best adapted to a comprehensive plan for development of the river.

In 1928, Congress authorized the building of Boulder Dam, the first of the massive multiple-purpose water development projects that have characterized the more recent development of the West. It was followed by the Bonneville, Grand Coulee, Central Valley, and other great projects. The great depression of the decade of the 1930's gave impetus to the movement toward multiple-purpose development, and saw congressional authorization of the Tennessee Valley Authority to develop the water resources of a whole river basin. This development grew out of a long struggle in Congress over the use of the great powerplant that had been built at Muscle Shoals during World War I under the war powers clause of the Constitution.

In the years since World War II, Congress has expanded Federal activity in the field of water resources into many fields. The 1944 Flood Control Act included provisions authorizing recreational developments at reservoirs built by the Corps of Army Engineers. 1946 the Wildlife Coordination Act authorized Federal expenditures for the preservation and propagation of fish and wildlife in connection with water resources developments for other purposes.

The Water Pollution Control Act in 1948 authorized a Federal program in that field which was limited at first to planning, research, and assisting the States. This was expanded in 1956 to include grants to States and municipalities for construction of sewage treatment works, and the program was further extended in 1961.

While municipal and industrial water supplies had been provided under the Federal reclamation and flood control laws for many years, in the Water Supply Act of 1958 the Congress explicitly declared the Federal policy to cooperate and participate with States and local interests in developing domestic, municipal, and industrial water supplies in connection with existing and proposed Federal water resources projects.

In addition to the programs I have mentioned, there are many other Federal water resources activities, such as the small watershed development program, research and basic data collection programs, international development programs on the Rio Grande and St. Lawrence, and others too numerous to mention in this brief review.

Thus, over the years, Federal activity has expanded to encompass almost every phase of water resources development, with annual expenditures of about $1½ billion in recent years. With programs of this magnitude, and always increasing, conflicts brought about by the dual Federal-State sovereignty over water have been on the increase. Let me discuss briefly the nature of these conflicts.

II. CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES

Potential conflicts between Federal and State sovereignty over water rights in the Western States have been the subject of concern to water users and their lawyers for many decades. In recent years the conflicts have grown more frequent and more serious. Let us say a few words as to the background for the conflicts.

On the one hand, several Federal statutes enacted in the latter half of the 19th century, in connection with the disposition of portions of public lands, made it appear that the United States had permanently transferred control over water rights to the States. I refer particularly to the act of July 26, 1866, where the Congress specifically provided for upholding existing water rights, and that all patents to the public lands were to be subject to vested water rights; and to the Desert Land Act of March 3, 1877, which provided that water rights were to depend on prior appropriation, and that surplus waters of the public lands were to be free for appropriation and use by the public, subject to existing rights.

Furthermore, in legislation admitting certain States to the Union, the Congress accepted the State constitutions, which included provisions recognizing and confirming existing water rights, setting up procedures for acquiring water rights under State law, and in some instances specifically declaring State ownership or control of waters arising or flowing within the States concerned. Also, section 8 of the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902 includes express provision that Federal activity in the field of reclamation was not to interfere with State laws relating to the control, appropriation, use or distribution of water used in irrigation, or any vested right acquired thereunder, and the Secretary of the Interior was directed to proceed in conformity with State laws in carrying out the provisions of the Reclamation Act, thus implying, according to some students of the problem, a recognition of State sovereignty over the use of water for irrigation in the Western States.

Again, section 27 of the Federal Power Act, enacted by the Congress in 1920, states that that act was not to be construed as affecting or intending to affect or in any way to interfere with the laws of the respective States relating to the control, appropriation, use, or distribution of water used in irrigation or for municipal or other uses, or any vested right acquired therein. Furthermore, the law required the applicant for license to furnish satisfactory evidence that he had complied with the requirements of the State or States within which the proposed project was to be located.

Thus, the use of water in the West developed, and there seemed to be a good basis for believing that water rights acquired under State laws were secure.

On the other hand, none of the legislative enactments I have just mentioned made any effort to change Federal responsibilities in the field of commerce, nor was any reference made to their effect on Federal responsibilities in the fields of national defense and general welfare, or on the treaty-making powers of the President. To the contrary, the Congress on several occasions, going back to the latter years of the 19th century, has reaffirmed by statute the Federal sovereignty with respect to navigation.

Likewise, certain cases, particularly *United States* v. *Rio Grande Dam and Irrigation Co.* (174 U.S. 690) in 1899, and *Winters* v. *United States* (207 U.S. 564) in 1908, made it clear that the sovereignty of the United States over waters needed under the commerce and the treaty-making clauses of the Constitution had not been broadly relinquished by any statutory enactments.

Several other cases and statutory enactments are worthy of mention in this necessarily brief discussion of the emerging conflicts between Federal and State sovereignty.

In one case, *United States* v. *Appalachian Power Co.* (311 U.S. 377), sometimes called the New River case, decided in 1940, the broad definition of navigable waters stated by Congress in section 3 of the Federal Power Act was broadened further by the Court's dictum that the tributaries of navigable streams also come under the Commerce power. This had the effect of broadening greatly the navigation servitude.

As mentioned earlier, Federal activity in the field of water resources had also been greatly expanded in 1936, by the congressional declaration of policy on flood control, in which that function was stated to be a proper activity of the Federal Government because of the adverse effects of floods on commerce between the States and on the National welfare.

Potential conflicts between Federal flood control activity in the Western States and State laws having become very apparent and very widespread in the first few years of operation under the 1936 Flood Control Act, Congress, in the 1944 Flood Control Act, declared its policy to recognize the interests and rights of the States in determining the development of the watersheds within their borders, and provided, in section 1(b) of the act, that the use of works authorized for navigation shall be only such use as does not conflict with any beneficial consumptive use of water in the 17 Western States.

These provisions have been reiterated in each successive rivers and harbors and flood control authorization act since that date, thus seeming to indicate a continuing willingness on the part of the Congress to relinquish the sovereignty of the United States over navigable waters in specific cases. The constitutional issue has not been finally settled in connection with these projects, however, because it is a fact that one Congress

cannot bind future Congresses; thus, the waiver of navigation rights could be repealed at some future date.

Two other cases have tended to increase concern among western lawyers. The first was a 1946 decision by the Supreme Court, in the case of *First Iowa Electric Cooperative* v. *Federal Power Commission* (328 U.S. 152), which made it clear that State laws governing the use or control of water of navigable streams were not applicable when they trespassed in a field also covered by Federal law.

The second case, and the one which has greatly intensified the Western States concern over potential conflicts between Federal and State laws over water rights, is *Federal Power Commission* v. *Oregon* (349 U.S. 435). In this case, usually referred to as the Pelton case, which was decided in 1955, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the supremacy of Federal jurisdiction over unappropriated, nonnavigable waters arising from or flowing over reserved lands. Soon after the Pelton case was decided, the fears of western water users were heightened by certain pleadings made by the Department of Justice in various lawsuits pending in the West over the water of certain streams, particularly the Blue River case in Colorado, and the Hawthorne case in Nevada. Pleadings made by the Government in these cases, asserting paramount rights to water under the so-called reservation doctrine of the Pelton decision, led many westerners to fear that the United States proposed to take away, without compensation, existing water rights acquired under State law. This has been denied by the Department of Justice, although questions remain as to which water rights have been acquired under State law in such manner that there is no future question as to the existence of a valid property right.

Even before the Pelton case was decided, attempts were made to have the Congress decide the issue in favor of the States through enactment of legislation assuring the supremacy of State water laws.

### III. CONGRESSIONAL ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM

Numerous bills have been introduced in Congress seeking to resolve the problem by Federal legislation. The parade of bills started in the 82d Congress, several years before the Pelton case was decided, and has extended right down to the present time. There are about a half dozen bills now pending before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I am a member.

The bills have taken many forms, ranging from a blanket directive for all Federal activities in the water resources field to be carried out in accordance with State laws, to a compromise bill which would have been limited to repealing, in effect, the reservation doctrine of Federal water rights expressed by the Supreme Court in the Pelton decision. Hearings have been held in the 84th and each successive Congress on one or another of these bills. The bill which received the greatest amount of consideration was S. 863, which was introduced in the 84th and again in the 85th Congress under the same number. This bill would have provided that (1) Federal agencies or employees could not interfere with rights to the use of water acquired under State law unless authorized by Federal law and upon payment of just compensation; (2) all unappropriated navigable and nonnavigable ground and surface waters were reserved for appropriation and use under State law; (3) the Federal Government, and its licensees or permittees, must acquire rights to water under State law, except for flood control; (4) the use of water for navigation in the Western States shall be only such use as does not conflict with beneficial uses for domestic, municipal, stock water, irrigation, mining, or industrial purposes; and (5) all withdrawals of public lands were to be deemed as having no effect on rights, acquired under State laws, to the use of water originating in or flowing across such lands. Lengthy hearings were held on this bill in March and June of 1956. The bill was vigorously opposed by the executive branch of the Government, led by the Department of Justice. The Federal Power Commission and the Department of Defense also objected to the legislation. The Departments of Interior and Agriculture, however, indicated a willingness to go along with the general purposes of the bill. After lengthy consideration the bill was amended and reported to the Senate by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, but no further action was taken.

The opposition to the bill by Justice, Defense, and the Federal Power Commission appeared to be based on legal and constitutional grounds, whereas the favorable position taken by Interior and Agriculture Departments appeared to be based on policy grounds.

This reflected the fact that the latter agencies have found it desirable to work in conformity with State laws, since the projects they undertake are generally for the benefit of individuals and groups within the State.

When the Barrett bill, as it was called, came up again in the 85th Congress, the agencies of the executive branch were able to agree on a draft of a short substitute bill which if enacted would have the effect of repealing the "reservation doctrine" of the Pelton case. The draft was transmitted to the Congress in May 1958, in connection with departmental reports on S. 863 and companion House bills. However, the draft bill failed to receive support from the West, as it appeared that acceptance of this simple bill, correcting only one of the causes of the Federal-State water right conflict, would make it difficult to complete action to clarify the other aspects of the water right situation. As a result, no action was taken in the 85th Congress.

In 1959 the draft submitted by the executive branch of the Government was modified by the addition of a clause which would have affirmed the right of States to exercise jurisdiction over water rights conferred by the act admitting such States to the Union. Bills including this modification were introduced by four Members of the House of Representatves. I introduced, as H.R. 5555, a bill to recognize the authority of the States over the control, appropriation, use, and distribution of water within their boundaries, and to require Federal agencies and their employees to abide by State water laws in connection with Federal projects or activities for the conservation, development, and use of land and water resources. The Barrett bill was also reintroduced, and several other bills, so that there were, in total, 11 bills in the House of Representatives, some of which were also introduced in the Senate.

The Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, which I have the honor of serving as chairman, held hearings from July 20 to August 10, 1959. There must have been 50 witnesses presenting testimony and filing statements. In addition to hearing witnesses representing the western point of view, representatives of the Department of Justice and other Federal agencies were interrogated at length. To make a long story short, let me say only that the Justice Department was unwilling to accept even the minor modification proposed to the reservation doctrine bills, and of course, remained adamant in its opposition to the more comprehensive bills. Therefore, no action was taken on any of the bills in the 86th Congress. However, one favorable thing came out of the hearings.

Counsel to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs made a careful analysis of the situation, and prepared a bill which he thought would clarify the situation within the constitutional framework expressed by the Department of Justice. His analysis, together with the draft bill, was issued by the committee as Committee Print 19, 86th Congress, which also included papers by former Under Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson and the Assistant Attorney General Perry Morton discussing the issue from the viewpoint respectively of western water interests and the Justice Department. I commend this committee print to the attention of those of you who are seeking background on the issues I am discussing today, even though I don't think it contains an acceptable solution to the whole problem.

A number of bills proposing solutions to Federal-State water rights problems have been introduced in the 87th Congress. I have introduced two bills myself, to serve as a basis for consideration of the problem. On January 3, 1961, I reintroduced the bill calling for recognition by the Federal Government of the authority of the States over the control, appropriation, use, or distribution of water within their boundaries. This is numbered H.R. 151 of the 87th Congress, and has the same objectives as H.R. 5555, the bill I introduced in the 86th Congress. Specifically, it would call for Federal agencies and their employees to be bound by water rights acquired under State laws and recognized by decisions of State courts, and for the Federal Government to acquire water rights in the same manner as an individual citizen of the State. Furthermore, the bill would require that the Federal Government could not acquire or interfere with the exercise of any water rights acquired under State laws and recognized by the decisions of the State courts, except upon the payment of just compensation.

Subsequently, consideration was given to the draft of a bill prepared by the counsel to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and published in the committee print. This draft, with some modifications, was introduced by me on March 6, 1961, as H.R. 5224, of the 87th Congress, a companion bill to H.R. 5078, H.R. 5100, and H.R. 5207, introduced by some of my colleagues on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

These bills have the title "To promote harmony between the United States and the States of the Union with respect to the administration of water, to strengthen rights to the use of water acquired under State law, and for other purposes." In essence, the bills would: (1) Repeal the reservation doctrine of the Pelton case; (2) prevent the United States from taking water rights existing prior to the authorization of the Federal project for which they are needed without just compensation; (3) provide that water rights for Federal projects be acquired under State law, either by the Federal agency proposing the project or loaning money for a project, or by the beneficiary of such a project; (4) provide for every department or agency of the United States to file a complete list of its claims of rights to the use of water for any Federal project with the Secretary of the Interior, and for the Secretary to maintain and keep such list up-to-date; (5) grant the consent of the United States to the continued storage and diversion of water for consumptive use for any project which had obtained a water right under State law at least 10 years before the date of the enactment of the bill providing the right had been exercised during the said 10 years and was presently being exercised, and was not in conflict with (a) any rights of the United States other than for navigation or (b) any international obligation of the United States; (6) provide that those water users not included in the aforementioned grant of consent could obtain rights to store or divert water for consumptive use from navigable streams for limited periods by applying to the Secretary of the Army for a

license, such license to be issued only when the storage or diversion of water did not interfere with probable navigation requirements; and (7) revise the portion of the Desert Land Act of March 3, 1877, restricting it to nonnavigable streams. The bill would also repeal a portion of section 8 of the Reclamation Act of 1902, so that future projects would come under the new legislation. We have asked for views of the Justice Department and the other executive agencies on these bills, and have not yet received them. As I said before, this does not represent my idea of a final solution to the problems, but it has been introduced as a starting point for further congressional consideration. However, with the pressure of other work on our committee, I do not see how we are going to be able to do anything further in this session of Congress.

Just to complete the story, let me mention also the bills under consideration by the Senate during the 87th Congress. Only two bills have been introduced. The first, S. 211, was introduced by the Senators from Nebraska, Colorado, and South Dakota, and has the purpose of affirming and recognizing State water laws in the Western States. It follows generally the form of the former Barrett bill. More recently, S. 2636 was introduced by the senior Senator from California. The latter bill, introduced after the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs had held hearings on Federal-State water rights problems, would repeal the reservation doctrine, would extend the provisions of section 1(b) of the Flood Control Act of 1944 to all works constructed in the future by or under the authority of the United States in the Western States, and would provide that any right to the use of water claimed by the United States, under the laws of any State, should be initiated and perfected in accordance with the procedures established by the laws of that State. Also, the bill would provide that no vested rights to the beneficial consumptive use of any waters, as recognized by the laws of the States in which such use is made, could be taken by the United States without just compensation. No action has been taken by the Senate on either of these bills.

IV. CONCLUSION

As advocates, many of us have taken a position on one side or the other of this great issue. This is the traditional rule of the lawyer. As chairman of one of the subcommittees having jurisdiction in the matter, I can tell you that the position of the western water lawyer has been strongly and most persuasively presented to the Congress. I personally happen to agree with that position. But on the other side, attorneys for the Department of Justice have made a good case. As a Member of Congress I have respect for that position. And let us not forget for a moment that it is backed up by the veto power of the President.

In recent years, eastern lawyers are becoming more concerned with the problem. I am sure that with the background they have, and the interests they represent, they could propose a solution that they felt would solve emerging problems of dual sovereignty over water in the humid States. But would it be a solution that could be agreed to by either lawyers representing western interests or the Justice Department? I doubt it. It would merely present another facet of the problem, and add to the magnitude of the impasse at which we now find ourselves.

Therefore, as I said at the beginning, we in Congress who know that a solution to these problems must be reached are asking for help. The plea which I make today is for the legal profession to abandon the traditional role of advocate of a position on this great issue, to study it objectively, and to join with the Congress in finding a solution to the Federal-State conflict over water.

Make no mistake about it, a solution must be found, and must be found promptly, if the dual sovereignty of our Federal and State Governments is to be preserved in this and other fields.

## Department of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, an article in the Sunday, September 9 edition of the New York Times relating to the post of Commissioner of Education which will be vacated by Dr. Sterling M. McMurrin at the end of a years service, should be read by all Members because of its reflection on the problem of filling high posts, particularly in the most important field of education.

The writer says that the greatest deterrent keeping men of action out of many top educational jobs is that the positions offer too little power to justify the titles. The prestige of the office of Commissioner of Education is expected to enable him to raise the sights of all American learning, but his rank in the governmental structure is so low that he is largely reduced to pleading rather than leading. The scarce leadership talent is not likely to be attracted by a vague promise that a weak position may eventually be given some new powers.

I have introduced a bill to establish a Department of Education—H.R. 12883. It was referred to the Committee on Government Operations on August 13, 1962. The establishment of such a Department on Cabinet level will provide the necessary change to attract outstanding leadership talent and emphasize the importance of education to the welfare of our country.

The article follows:

ROOM AT THE TOP: DIFFICULTY IN FILLING HIGH POSTS INDICATES LEADERSHIP CRISIS

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

Last week, Dr. Sterling M. McMurrin delivered his farewell address to the staff of the U.S. Office of Education before leaving Washington at the end of a year's service as Commissioner of Education. His is not the only post in education leadership where a search is under way for a new man. In New York State alone, three top-level positions display the "Help wanted" sign: The State University's presidency will be vacant by the end of the year; the New York City University's chancellorship is unfilled, and the search for a New York City school superintendent continues.

Committees are frantically at work, considering the few acceptable names and even fewer available ones. An adviser on education matters, who went to Washington last week to offer counsel and suggestions to those concerned with the selection of Dr. McMurrin's successor, said: "It's shocking how few names come to mind."

Education suffers from a crisis of leadership. But there are increasing signs that, in addition to the chronic shortage of men of stature for the key posts, a perhaps even more serious crisis is created by flaws in the jobs themselves.

THE PROBLEMS LISTED

Dr. McMurrin, in an exceptionally frank farewell speech, pointed to some of the trouble by describing the weaknesses of the post he was leaving as being due to a spirit of conservatism among most people in the educational field and at the institutions of learning themselves; the character of the slow-moving bureaucratic structure, and the failure of Congress to supply resources. This offers a basis for analysis of the considerations which keep good men out of important educational jobs. These are some of the problems:

1. The status quo: "The more urgently a situation requires resolute action, the greater the inherent challenge to an able leader. Both the New York City school system and the New York State University network are perfect examples. Each has been beset by problems and shown in need of either drastic changes or dramatic expansion.

Yet both are anchored to established procedures, strongly entrenched interests and in large measure to provincial self-satisfaction.

A new man coming into the State University presidency, for example, appears to be faced with the established tradition of a university system without a central campus and a presidency whose headquarters is not on a campus but in an Albany office, closer to politicians than to professors.

A new man coming into the city school superintendency, unless he is chosen from the local hierarchy, has already been served notice by several important teacher-administrator organizations that he will be opposed as an outsider whose unfamiliarity with the local scene makes him suspect.

CANDIDATE HANDICAPPED

Another problem, perhaps an insoluble one, faces all newly appointed administrators in public education: to be asked to provide dynamic new leadership without a chance to pick their lieutenants. Since maximum job security, known as tenure and essentially a laudable instrument of stability and humane conditions, prevails in the schools, obstinate resistance to the new ideas of a new boss requires little courage.

2. Fiscal dependence: Dr. McMurrin's complaint that Congress failed to supply the funds to do the job properly has its counterpart in most public education jobs. The new State University president would be foolhardy to overestimate the legislature's readiness to translate academic proposals into active programs. The New York City superintendent of schools, must keep in mind that, although many schools are on double sessions and some on triple sessions, the capital budget is in the process of being cut at this moment.

Unlike a new chief executive recruited by a corporation, neither the new superintendent nor his trustees (the board of education) have any real power over their institution's financial destiny. The chief executive of an independent school or university does have at least the chance to raise funds to support his plans.

3. Power Failure: Perhaps the greatest deterrent keeping men of action out of many top educational jobs is that, as a result of blurred chains of command, jealous empires and bureaucratic anachronisms, the jobs offer too little power to justify the titles.

POORLY DEFINED JOB

The city university chancellor's authority was quietly opposed by the presidents of the municipal colleges, even before the first chancellor was found. To pour oil on troubled waters, the fiction was created that the chancellor and the presidents were to be equal in all but name. The inevitable result is that the real powers and functions of the office are now inadequately defined.

In much the same way, the relationship between the State university president and the presidents on each of the many local campuses, on the one hand, and the board of regents, the university trustees, the State commissioner of education and even the Governor, on the other hand, is so tangled that it would seem a nightmare to any corporation president.

As for the U.S. Commissioner of Education, the prestige of his office is expected to enable him to raise the sights of all American learning, but his rank in the governmental hierarchy is so low that he is largely reduced to pleading rather than leading. The scarce leadership talent is not likely to be attracted by a vague promise that a weak position may eventually be given some new powers.

These appear to have been some of the problems Dr. McMurrin had in mind. He charged that the country has wasted its talent "in a most disgraceful manner" and asked education to lead to a cultural renaissance. The question is how education can so reorganize itself to bring about a rebirth of its own leadership.

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## Attorney William P. Brewster: 1877–1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, one of the illustrious citizens of the Wyoming Valley, Hon. William P. Brewster, left a great heritage to his adopted clime. He left knowledge. His three most widely known books on history are: "History of Certified Township of Kingston," "The Pennsylvania and New York Frontier," and "The 14th Commonwealth."

Mr. Brewster was born in that portion of the Hopbottom settlements in Susquehanna County, Pa., known as Brooklyn, and it is more than coincidental, perhaps providential, that the three most outstanding historians of Wyoming Valley migrated to the valley from the Hopbottom settlements of Susquehanna County. They were Isaac Abel Chapman, who wrote the first history of Wyoming Valley and who was one of the first railroad men in the United States; Charles Miner, a Wilkes-Barre news publisher, who wrote the second history of Wyoming Valley. Miner served as a Representative in the U.S. Congress from the district encompassing West Chester, Pa., between 1825 and 1829. He coined the phrase: "That man has an ax to grind."

The third historian of monumental stature to write on Wyoming Valley was William Brewster. Mr. Brewster was a man of modest manner. He was a good neighbor and was ever ready to lend a hand to those in need. He was very considerate of young lawyers and was most helpful to scholars interested in history. In this regard he made his valuable library collection of books on American history available to those who sought his counsel on this subject.

This treasury of our Nation's history, which Mr. Brewster accumulated over the past 60 years, has been bequeathed to the Hoyt Public Library of Kingston Borough. He also left sufficient funds for the construction of a building adjacent to the Hoyt Library building to house these books—the addition to be known as the William Brewster Reference Library.

Learned in the law, Mr. Brewster was regarded as an authority on the Constitution of the United States. His knowledge of school law and property law made him a lawyer's lawyer who was sought out for advice and whose opinions were highly respected.

Mr. Brewster was the last of his family and as part of my remarks today I wish to quote the text of the detailed obituary which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News on Wednesday evening, August 29, 1962, which marked his passing.

The article follows:

WROTE SEVERAL BOOKS: ATTORNEY W. P. BREWSTER, HISTORIAN, DIES AT 85

Attorney William P. Brewster, 85, a nationally known authority on and author of several books on northeastern Pennsylvania and American history, died this afternoon at 1:05 at his home, 252 North Sprague Avenue, Kingston.

Attorney Brewster served Kingston Borough School District for 4 years as school director and 50 years as Kingston School District solicitor until his retirement in 1956. He served as president of Hoyt Library, Kingston, an office he held for a number of years. He also was an honorary member of the board of directors of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

For more than a half century he had been a leading figure at the annual exercises of the Wyoming Commemorative Association at the Wyoming Monument, memorializing the battle and massacre of Wyoming in July, 1778.

FUNERAL SATURDAY

The funeral will be held from the family home on Saturday afternoon at 1 with Rev. Dr. George M. Bell, retired Methodist minister, officiating. Interment will be in Brooklyn Cemetery, Brooklyn.

Friends may call after 7 p.m. on Friday.

The prominent Kingston barrister was descended from Elder William Brewster who came to America on the *Mayflower*. On his mother's side, he was descended from Orlando Bagley, one of the minutemen who fought at the battles of Bunker Hill and Saratoga.

Attorney Brewster was born at Brooklyn, Susquehanna County, on June 23, 1877, an only child. His father was Charles Miner Brewster, a descendant of William Brewster, who organized the Pilgrim Church at his home, the Scrooby Manor House, Scrooby, England, in 1606 and of which he became ruling elder of the congregation, which he led in their flight to Holland and voyage on the *Mayflower* to Plymouth, Mass., in 1620. There he served as the first minister for many years. The latter's uncle, Rev. Henry Brewster became vicar of St. Wilfrid's Church, Scrooby, in 1565, and his father, William Brewster, became bailiff of the Archbishop of York in the county of Nottingham, succeeding Thomas Wentworth in 1575. The latter's daughter, Mary Wentworth, was the wife of Elder Brewster of the *Mayflower*.

Attorney Brewster was the 10th generation of that family in this country. His mother, Mary Adelaide Bagley Brewster, was the daughter of Washington Bagley and Lydia Williams Bagley, a descendant of Roger Williams. The father of Mrs. Bagley, Washington Bagley, was a son of Orlando Bagley, one of the Minute Men of Amesbury, Mass., where he was born. He took part in the Battle of Lexington and with the minutemen pursued the British troops in their retreat to Boston. He also participated in the Battles of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. He was a descendant of Orlando Bagley who was born in England and who was one of the original proprietors of Amesbury, Mass., in 1655.

FORMER NEWSPAPERMAN

Attorney Brewster graduated from Brooklyn, Pa., High School and from East Stroudsburg Teachers College, in 1895, after which he was employed as a reporter and news editor of the Stroudsburg Daily Times. In the fall of the same year he came to Kingston as west side representative of the Wilkes-Barre Times until 1898 when he became employed in a similar capacity for the Wilkes-Barre Record, succeeding the late Thomas F. Heffernan.

While employed on the Wilkes-Barre newspapers, Mr. Brewster studied law, being registered in the office of the late Judge Daniel A. Fell and B. W. Davis. Later he attended the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He was admitted to the Luzerne County bar in July 1900, and subsequently was admitted to practice in the superior and Supreme Courts of Pennsylvania and in the U.S district court of appeals.

In politics he had always been a Republican and was for several years successively secretary and chairman of the Third Legislative District Republican Committee. Attorney Brewster was a delegate to the last Republican State convention just prior to the enactment of the State primary system. He was sheriff's attorney during the first administration of the late John MacLuskie. In 1933 he was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a member of the commission which sat in Philadelphia and conducted the adjudication of all World War I veterans' claims in the district comprising eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

In February 1902, Attorney Brewster was elected a member of the Kingston Borough School Board for an unexpired term and the following year was reelected for a full term of 3 years. At the expiration of the second term he was chosen solicitor of the school district and was annually reelected without opposition for 50 years, declining reelection in 1956 owing to the state of his health. He also served for many years as solicitor for the school district of Wyoming Borough and Franklin Township.

PROSECUTED PROPRIETORS CASE

During his tenure as solicitor of Kingston School District Attorney Brewster prosecuted what was widely known as the Proprietors case, which resulted in the distribution of nearly 200,000 to the various school districts into which Kingston Township had been divided, and which was the proceeds from the public lands set aside for the support of the schools by the Connecticut Proprietors in 1786. For nearly 30 years he had been counsel for the Trustees of the Proprietors of the Certified Township of Kingston, the organization having control of these public funds.

For about 30 years the deceased had been a member of the board of trustees of the Hoyt Library, Kingston, and had been president of the board the past 20 years.

Always interested in history, Attorney Brewster devoted considerable of his time to its study. In 1926 he began writing his widely known "History of the Certified Township of Kingston," including all the subdivisions of the original township and containing nearly 600 pages. This fine work was published in 1930. He also was author of a second book, a history of the "New York and Pennsylvania Frontier" from 1720 to the close of the Revolutionary War, published in 1954 under that title. A third book of Mr.

Brewster's, "The 14th Commonwealth—Vermont and the States That Failed," was published in 1960.

During the last 40 years Mr. Brewster delivered numerous addresses on historical and kindred subjects before historical societies, sevrice clubs and patriotic and other organizations. "Origin and Influence of the Pilgrims" he read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the arrival of the *Mayflower*, and published in the report of the society. "The Connecticut Claim," an address delivered by him at Wyoming Monument at annual exercises of the Wyoming Commemorative Association on July 3, 1939, also was published by the society. He also gave an address on the history of the anthracite mining industry before a convention of the Mine Inspectors' Association of the United States and Canada, later published in a report of that convention.

Mr. Brewster was a member of the Luzerne County Bar Association, a member and officer for many years of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and also a member and officer of Wyoming Commemorative Association.

## Waterfront Communists Threat to Merchant Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Robert S. Burns:

WATERFRONT COMMUNIST THREAT TO MERCHANT FLEET

(By Robert S. Burns)

The National Research Council of the National Academy of Scientists says that merchant ships are very likely to be the least damaged during a nuclear attack. Since railway and highway systems are the most vulnerable, ships would provide the main source of transportation in the early stages of recovery—the ships are not sabotaged. Coast Guard officials are worried because they are prevented by law from keeping suspected security risks off merchant ships. A bill is now before Congress that helps remove this danger.

Communists and other suspected security risks have had easy access to the Nation's merchant ships and waterfront facilities since the Federal courts outlawed the Coast Guard's screening program in 1955.

The Coast Guard has been forced to issue seamen's documents and waterfront passes to over 300 suspected security risks. At least 1,500 declared security risks are eligible to have their papers returned.

Now that nuclear war is a threat. Communists in the maritime industry are a danger to civilians at home as well as to soldiers overseas. The National Academy of Scientists has found that, in the event of a nuclear attack, merchant ships are the least likely to be put out of commission. Railway and highway systems are the most vulnerable. Experts have testified that, after an attack, our chief means of transportation, at least in the early stages of recovery, will be on merchant ships.

Top officials in the Coast Guard, maritime unions, and maritime industry have testified that the billions of dollars the United States is spending for defense still leave us "woefully unprepared" until Communists are barred from the waterfront.

THE DANGERS

They told the House Un-American Activities Committee that a single skilled man can sabotage a great ship. Today there are hundreds of potential saboteurs legally eligible to ship out. They could block the Panama Canal by sinking or blowing up ships. They could also smuggle Communist agents aboard passenger ships and stop the flow of war material by inciting seamen and longshoremen to strike.

For example, Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, told the House committee that in the event of a war in the Far East, he would do all in his power as head of the union to impede shipments of supplies going from the United States to our allies.

His west coast union, which was expelled from the CIO for being Communist dominated, is one of the few unions opposing a House approved bill designed to keep Communists out of the maritime industry.

The Communists have proclaimed their intention of regaining the foothold they held in the maritime unions throughout World War II and up until 1955. Fortunately, they did not show their true colors after Hitler declared war on Russia.

A 1960 STATEMENT

A member of the Communist waterfront section declared in 1960: "Some of us who have carried this fight over a period of years have learned not to stand in the way of history. We expect to get ourselves back into the industry * * * and in the long run I think that the maritime industry is meant to be one of the militant sparkplugs of the labor movement as it was in time gone by."

The speaker was one of the security risks who had his seamen's papers returned by the Coast Guard. His speech before the Seamen's Defense Committee is on file with the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A gala anti-HUAC social was scheduled here last night by this same committee. Frank Wilkinson, an identified Communist and one of the alleged leaders in the anti-HUAC riots in San Francisco, was listed as the guest of honor. The committee is fighting to prevent the enactment of the bill to keep Communists off merchant ships.

As written, the bill (H.R. 4469) would compel persons subpoened by any Federal agency or congressional committee to tell about their membership or activity in the Communist Party, Fascist Party, or any other subversive party. Those who refused, or invoked the fifth amendment or perjured themselves while testifying would be denied seamen's papers and waterfront passes by the Coast Guard.

PASSED UNANIMOUSLY

The bill was introduced by Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee. It was passed unanimously by the House in March. It is one of the measures held up in the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee by the long wrangle over the tax reform bill.

Mr. WALTER said yesterday that his bill has a good chance of being approved by the subcommittee and passed by the Senate once it gets on the floor.

The law was proposed after a 1955 Supreme Court decision outlawed the Coast Guard's screening program because, among other reasons, the service could not allow its informants to be identified and cross-examined. As a result, about 1,800 of the 500,000 men checked lost their seamen's documents.

Although they were considered security risks by the Coast Guard, the law required that their papers be returned. So far, 361 of this group have had their papers returned. The Coast Guard said yesterday that about 63 other security risks have been issued court validated documents.

OPTIMISTIC

Mr. WALTER is fairly optimistic that his bill will be passed because of a 1960 Supreme Court decision. It is patterned after a California statute held valid by the Court. The law provides for the discharge of any State employee who refuses to give information concerning Communists and their activities or who invoke the fifth amendment.

The Supreme Court ruled that a State may legitimately discharge a public employee who refuses to give information on the field of security.

In two later cases the Court said that a State may deny licenses to practice law to applicants who refuse to answer such questions. In one case the Court said: "Where * * * a State may withhold privilege available only to those possessing the requisite qualifications, it is of no constitutional significance whether the State's interrogation of an applicant on matters relevant to these qualifications—in this case Communist Party membership—is prompted by information which it already has * * * or merely from a good faith belief in the need * * * for questioning the applicant."

The Coast Guard is the Federal agency charged by law to pass on applications for seamen's papers, certificates, and officers' licenses.

## The Youth of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, the youth of today will be the leaders of tomorrow and many of our youngsters are demonstrating such abilities that we need have no fear of what tomorrow will bring.

As an illustration, I should like to have inserted in the RECORD two poems by a young girl in my district, Bettie A. LaVeck.

The first poem describes the typical antics of third graders.

The second poem shows that the youth of America followed the launchings and landings of our astronauts with great concern and they are very proud indeed of the achievements that we have made to date. Regardless of the Russian boasts, we Americans are voluntarily behind our space programs and know that we will always forge ahead, for it is the ready support of free people that paves the way for progress.

The poems follow:

THE THIRD GRADE

(By Bettie A. LaVeck)

We are little children in the third grade that is true,
Every little trick we pull, it isn't very new.
Our teacher said to study about Abraham Lincoln,
And John, he just sits there, thinkin.

Paul puts his pencil in his mouth and chews,

While Susie's tellin Sally all the latest news.
Jack has got Linda by her pony tail
Richard has a ship that's ready to sail.

Our teacher catches us and says we better quit,
And I can see she's headin for that old yard stick.
So we buckle down and study hard, but yet
We are in the third grade, don't you dare forget.
We are intelligent our teacher tells us so,
But there's an awful lot, we just gotta know.
No grade like the third grade, our teacher says so,
And she knows everything there is to know.

ASTRONAUT MALCOLM SCOTT CARPENTER

The space ship is all set,
The countdown has begun,
And you, Carpenter,
You're the selected one.

The buttons have just been pushed,
Your journey has begun,
History in the making,
U.S.A. has won.

You're the master of your ship,
Your gadgets all intact,
And now you know it's much too late,
There's no turning back.

You pluck a washer
From the air,
So it doesn't get stuck—
Anywhere.

You suck your food
From a straw
It crumbles and floats off—
Last you saw.

Inflate your balloon,
It trails your ship
With every minute,
It turns a dip.

The heat in your suit
Gets a little hot,
Adjust it a minute
And then it's not.

You talk to all countries
From out in space,
Your name is splattered
All over the place.

You've circled once
And then again
Another time,
Well, if and when.

For now your fuel
Is running low,
But yes,
One more time you shall go.

Your reentry is now,
The time is here,
No contact,
You fill us all with fear.

Forty-five minutes we waited,
Prayed and waited more;
A signal—and we know that you
Had hit the floor.

So our ships began to steam up,
Our planes flew loud and fast,
And then we had found you,
At last.

It seems that you had landed,
Cleared your ship and all,
Setting in your liferaft,
You looked 10 feet tall.

Man made by God
Enstowed here upon the earth,
We are proud
That you were given birth.

Sent to be our astronaut
In this our U.S.A.
With brave men such as you
America great will stay.

—BETTIE A. LAVECK.

## On the Plus Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Blytheville Courier News, published in Mississippi County, Ark., understandably devotes a great deal of its editorial comment to agriculture, for that rapidly expanding area is one of the most productive farming localities in the world. Mississippi County, Ark., leads in rain-grown cotton production; is No. 1, I understand in soybeans, and rapidly is gaining a position of leadership in other branches of agriculture.

Mr. H. A. Haines, associate publisher and editor, is carrying on the fine tradition of community responsibility that has endeared his father, Mr. H. W. Haines, to all who know him. In the August 27 issue of the Courier News "Hank" has written a most thoughtful editorial on agriculture and some of the problems of this basic endeavor to our economy. The editorial will be of interest to farmers and consumers alike; certainly to all taxpayers, and, I know, to the Members of the Congress:

ON THE PLUS SIDE

Of all agencies of the Government, the Department of Agriculture probably comes under the heaviest fire.

Chief reason for this, of course, is that the bill for subsidizing crops, paying farmers for nongrowing of crops, and storing of excess crops keeps getting bigger. This is a problem neither party has been able to solve.

Agriculture Department expenditures ($9.9 billion in fiscal 1962) rank second only to those for defense and are felt by many to be about as worth while as the billions eaten up by paying the interest on the national debt.

Scandals like the Billie Sol Estes case and the yearly hassles between Congress and the President over farm legislation have also served to give the public the impression that the whole situation is just one big boondoggle.

Thus a look at some of the Department's positive accomplishments may help put a better perspective on its operations. Rather than trying to kill off the small, independent farmer, as some critics charge, the Department has actually done much to insure the prosperity of farms and farm communities.

Since it is technology that has brought the farmer to his present pass by enabling him to raise far more on far less land than his father, it is only fitting that technology be utilized to provide new outlets for his abundance.

For instance, a few years ago cotton was seriously threatened by synthetic fabrics. Thanks to the Agriculture Research Service, new markets were developed for cotton by making it flame and water resistant and by aiding the development of wash-and-wear fabrics. The latter use alone consumes a billion bales of cotton a year.

In 1945, Florida was close to overproduction of oranges with no new markets in sight. ARS helped develop a frozen orange juice concentrate. Today, more oranges go into cans alone than were grown in 1945.

As a result of new potato products ARS has devised, 12 potato dehydrating plants are now in operation in potatogrowing areas around the country. Their yearly consumption of $6.3 million worth of potatoes has reversed the downward trend in per capita use of this staple.

Research into improved frozen poultry has helped bring about a 2.5-billion-pound increase in the consumption of turkeys and chickens in the past 5 years. Even waste feathers that once cost processors money to get rid of are now made into fertilizers, feeds and plastics.

The list of such examples could be extended. Unfortunately, the good men do oft lies interred with the bones of contention concerning other issues.

Mr. Speaker, this fine article properly points out the role of our Department of Agriculture in its service both to farmers and to consumers. In its two decades of operation, the utilization research and development efforts of our Department have added over $2,500 million of value to farm commodities at a cost of less than $200 million—representing a benefit-to-cost ratio of 15 to 1. Pretty good return for our money, I would think. It has been stated that in the most recent 5 years, utilization research enhanced agricultural commodities $1,750 million, which is 70 percent of the total gain made in the 20 years of this program. This increased rate of return is expected to continue.

It is only just that mention be made of the Senators who served on the Senate Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations and who participated in the writing of a report—Report No. 1908. Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia, is chairman. With him are Senators CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona; LISTER HILL, of Alabama; A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia; SPESSARD HOLLAND, of Florida; JOHN STENNIS, of Mississippi; GAIL MCGEE, of Wyoming; HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota; MILTON R. YOUNG, of North Dakota; KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota; ROMAN HRUSKA, of Nebraska; CLIFFORD P. CASE, of New Jersey; and JACOB JAVITS, of New York. In addition, the committee has the advantage of the three top Senators of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry as ex officio members; Senators ALLEN J. ELLENDER, OLIN JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, and GEORGE AIKEN, of Vermont.

From the tenor of the editorial written by Mr. Hank Haines for one of the leading newspapers in the agricultural delta, it is evident to me that these Senators have touched on a phase of the agricultural problem close to the hearts of our farmers and to all interested in and knowledgeable of the farm situation.

## Higher Interest Rates on Foreign Time Deposits

SPEECH
OF
## HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH], pending which I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 780 provides for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 12080) to permit domestic banks to pay interest on time deposits of foreign governments at rates differing from those applicable to domestic depositors. The resolution is an open rule, and provides for 1 hour of general debate.

H.R. 12080 exempts from interest ceilings now imposed by regulation under the Federal Reserve Act and the Federal Deposit Insurance Act the time deposits of foreign governments, their central banks or other monetary authorities, and international financial institutions of which the United States is a member.

According to the statement of the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], who appeared on behalf of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, the objective of the bill is to encourage foreign governments to maintain dollar accounts in this country rather than convert these dollar accounts into gold or transfer these funds to other financial centers whereby they could be acquired by financial institutions of other countries and be converted into gold.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no opposition to the rule.

## The Hidden Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to read excerpts from an address delivered on January 3, 1962, before the Professional Engineers of Oregon by Col. Sterling K. Eisiminger, district engineer, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers District, Portland.

Presented as it is by a Federal official whose primary responsibility is to the national economy, I consider this the most objective statement and at the same time the strongest justification I have yet seen for the proposed widening and deepening of the navigation channel of the Columbia River—a project now before the House Public Works Committee to be considered for inclusion in the omnibus rivers and harbors bill.

Colonel Eisiminger titled his address, "The Hidden Project."

Mr. Chairman, members of the professional engineers of Oregon, and guests, I am honored to have been invited to speak to you today.

You may know that the Army Corps of Engineers strongly encourages all civilian and military engineers in its employ to seek professional registration, and to participate actively in the activities of their professional societies. Our experience has indicated that such registration encourages the highest standards of preparation, ethics, and responsibility, with resulting benefits to the general public, the Corps, and the professional man himself. I take pride in being a registered professional engineer and proudly display my shingle on my office wall.

Recently I forwarded a review report on the proposed widening and deepening of the navigation channel in the Columbia and lower Willamette Rivers between Portland-Vancouver and the sea. Studies leading to that report, the actual writing, and local review of the document, have been in progress for roughly 4 years. This report is now being further scrutinized by the Office of the Chief of Engineers and the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, in Washington, D.C.

These navigation review reports are prepared primarily for the use of Congress. They use them in making decisions as to where the limited amount of funds available may be spent with the maximum benefit to the national economy.

The method employed in these reports, very briefly, is to summarize the value of the anticipated benefits and the estimated costs, and use the ratio of benefits to costs as a guide to the relative merit of the project as compared with other projects throughout the Nation.

I shall say very little today of the economic aspects of the study, although they were a major portion of the enterprise. As professional engineers, I thought you would be more interested in the physical problems encountered and evaluated in the report.

The title of my remarks, "The Hidden Project," derives from the fact that most of the physical evidence of navigation channel work is hidden beneath the water, where it arouses far less interest, as a rule, than does our work with dams, jetties, and other prominently exposed structures.

The physical problem in expanding the navigation channel of the Columbia and lower Willamette Rivers may be regarded as primarily a huge earthmoving project. The project we have recommended would involve removal and disposition of some 45 million cubic yards of materials, ranging from fine silt to basalt. Normally this material is excavated from beneath the water and deposited, for the most part beneath the water, so that the general public remains unaware of the volumes involved. If all this spoil were to be deposited in the main business district of Portland, between Burnside and Jefferson Streets and the river and the stadium on 18th, an area of 210 square blocks, only those buildings over eight stories in height would rise above this enormous fill. (I might add that currently our annual maintenance dredging of roughly 10 million yards would represent a layer some 18½ feet thick over the same area.)

Now, of course, this material is not excavated from a concentrated area, nor disposed of in any such concentration as described above. We're working with over a 100 miles of river in the Columbia and lower Willamette, extending from Portland and Vancouver downstream to river mile 3.

Because this downstream limit of the project is a purely arbitrary one, perhaps I should explain that point briefly. A separate and distinct Federal project exists, authorizing an entrance channel from river mile 3, off jetty A, to deep water in the Pacific Ocean. Navigation and channel maintenance in the mouth of the Columbia River are completely different problems from those encountered upsteam. Today we will discuss only the channel from mile 3 to Portland and Vancouver. The present channel dimension of 35 by 500 feet were authorized by the River and Harbor Act of 1930. The largest vessels seeking to call at Columbia River ports at that time approximated 10,000 deadweight tons, and the average deadweight tonnage of vessels transiting the river was in the order of 7,000 to 8,000.

*Vessel sizes and drafts*

| Deadweight tonnage | Length | Beam | Loaded draft | Example |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Feet* | *Feet* | *Feet* | |
| 8,000 | 400–450 | 50–55 | 24 | |
| 10,000 | 450–470 | 55–60 | 27–29 | Victory. |
| 12,000 | 500 | 65–70 | 28–30 | C–3. |
| 15,000 | 525 | 70–75 | 30–33 | C–4. |
| 20,000 | 575 | 75 | 31–33 | T–2–J. |
| 28,000 | 625 | 85 | 33–35 | |
| 35,000 | 700 | 90–95 | 34–36 | |
| 46,000 | 750 | 100 | 37–39 | |

This table sets forth some of the vessel sizes and drafts, as well as lengths and beams, together with vessel types which you many recognize. The Victory-class vessels are typical of the 10,000-deadweight-ton class. The C–4 is typical of the finest modern berth liners and converted troop transports. The T–2–J is an enlarged version of the oil tankers which were built at Swan Island in Portland in such numbers during World War II. The T–2 was originally about a 16,000-deadweight-ton vessel. The T–2–J, or jumbo, is a version of this vessel to which an enlarged new midship cargo section has been added, bringing the capacity up about 25 percent from the original. The 28,000-, 35,000- and 46,000-ton vessels are typical classes of modern tankers or bulk carriers. Of course many tankers are presently fitted out to handle dry bulk cargo as well as petroleum products.

Before we leave this table, I would like to call your attention to the column headed "loaded draft." Note that while the 10,000-deadweight-ton vessels which were roughly the largest transiting the river prior to World War II drew only 27 to 29 feet, vessels of the 46,000-deadweight-ton class, such as the *Transeastern* which loaded grain here last year, have loaded drafts of 37 to 39 feet, or about 10 feet more than the 10,000-ton class drew. Also I call your attention to the horizontal line between the 20,000- and 28,000-ton vessels. The next table refers only to those vessels below this line.

*Larger vessels in world fleet—Composition of world tanker [1] fleet*

| Year | Number of vessels over 25,000 deadweight tons | Percentage of fleet 25,000 or more deadweight tons |
|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 119 | 4.8 |
| 1954 | 177 | 6.8 |
| 1955 | 221 | 8.7 |
| 1956 | 285 | 10.3 |
| 1957 | 394 | 13.3 |
| 1958 | 522 | 16.6 |
| 1959 | 666 | 20.3 |

[1] Many tankers also haul bulk grain.

Let's look at the rising importance of these large vessels in the world fleet. As recently as 1953, less than 5 percent of the world's tankers were over 25,000 deadweight tons. Note the rapid rise, from year to year, in the number of vessels of these large sizes, until 1959, over 20 percent of the fleet were in these so-called supertankers. A somewhat comparable, but less dramatic increase in average tonnage is taking place in dry-bulk and general cargo vessels.

The relation between the channel depth required and the salt-water loaded draft is another factor not understood by everyone. The loaded drafts we examined in the table of vessel sizes and drafts refer to the vessels amidships draft when carrying a full load, at rest, in sea water. A number of factors operate to increase the channel depth

requirements over the salt-water loaded draft of the vessel.

*Required channel depth, typical 28,000-deadweight-ton tanker or bulk carrier*

| | Feet | Inches |
|---|---|---|
| Salt water loaded draft | 33 | 5 |
| Added draft in fresh water | | 8 |
| "Drag" (trim down at stern) | 1 | 8 |
| Open water "squat" at 10 knots | | 7 |
| Added "bottom effect squat" | 1 | 8 |
| Total | 38 | 0 |
| Minimum safe bottom clearance | 2 | 0 |
| Total channel depth required | 40 | 0 |

The first item in the above table is the salt water loaded draft of 33 feet 5 inches for a typical 28,000 deadweight tons tanker. This vessel, carrying that load, will sink approximately one-quarter inch additional as she enters fresh water for every foot of draft in salt water, or about 8 additional inches. To improve the vessel's steering characteristics, she is normally loaded so as to set her down at the stern perhaps three inches or a trifle less for each hundred feet of vessel length, or for this vessel about 1 foot 8 inches. The next two items concern squat and I will discuss them later. I will also explain the added 2 feet for minimum safe bottom clearance. Note, however, that in total, our 33½-foot draft, 28,000-ton vessel, requires a 40-foot channel to safely navigate in our fresh water channels.

I will now discuss the matter of squat. Ignoring for the moment any outside disturbance of the water, the vessel sits at a depth determined by the relation between her average density and the density of the water which she displaces. When the vessel begins to move forward, however, water is piled up by the pressure of her bow, and a bow wave starts moving away from the vessel. The vessel itself steadily moves forward into the space from which this bow wave has departed. We can see how the vessel underway typically moves in an artificial wave trough created by her own bow, so that she rides lower than she did when at rest. This effect is greatly exaggerated when the vessel cross-section is a considerable fraction of the channel cross section. When this is the case, the vessel tends to push all the water in the channel ahead of it up or down the stream. Of course this is literally impossible, but in such situations, the water velocities alongside and under the vessel are greatly accelerated with respect to the vessel. These increased velocities, and the flow lines which they follow, interact with the channel bottom and cause a marked increased in squat which we refer to as bottom effect.

There are other effects which add to channel requirements, none of which are considered important once vessels are inside the entrance proper. One of these effects, which indirectly we do take into consideration, is that of roll, or heeling in a sharp turn. A vessel riding level in the water requires less channel depth than the same vessel when rolled or heeled over even as little as 5 degrees. We have acheived a channel alignment on the Columbia and lower Willamette which reduces heeling to a negligible amount.

The 2-foot minimum bottom clearance is needed to avoid damage to ships' screws from every sunken log or other debris which may be carried into the channel, and to minimize displacement of bottom sand by the ships' screws, which might easily scoop out a foot or two of sand and pile it up a short distance away to ground the next passing vessel.

It should be remembered that grounding on the solid sands of the Columbia River is quite a different matter from touching the soft flocculated colloidal muds which make up the bottom of tidal estuaries in many parts of the country. Touching bottom there may be no cause for concern at all, but nearly every grounding, however slight, in the Columbia calls for a vessel inspection. This is costly even when no repairs whatever are needed.

Safe navigation of large vessels requires that channel width as well as depth be engineered to adequate standards. Vessels passing close to the bank of the channel tend to yaw toward a collision course due to what is commonly called bank suction. Of course this is just another way of expressing the forces exerted by the lines of hydraulic flow around the vessel as they react with the nearby bank.

The bow has water piled up alongside it on the crest of the bow wave and the vessel tends to sheer away from the bank while at the same time the stern is traveling in a trough, which attracts the bank, from which the term bank suction derived. These lines of flow interact as the vessels meet and pass each other. As the bows meet, they repel each other, while when the sterns pass each other, they are mutually attracted.

The formula we and other authorities have adopted for calculating the required width allows the beam of one vessel, or a minimum of 100 feet, between vessel and bank and between vessels. In addition, we allow 180 percent of the vessel beam for each vessel traffic lane, much as the highway engineer allows a 14-foot traffic lane for an 8-foot truck or a 6-foot car.

Totaling these allowances, we come up with a 600-foot channel for two 26,000-ton vessels, or a comparable combination of one larger and one smaller one, which we considered the most demanding situation occurring often enough to be economically justified as a design assumption.

I mentioned at the beginning that this channel improvement is largely an enormous earthmoving job. What I did not say then is that it would be a much greater earthmoving job had we not learned, to at least some degree, to make the river do as much of our earthmoving as possible. Our men have studied sedimentation, measured the particle sizes in the water, and made studies of current velocity and direction.

Authorities on open channel hydraulics of erodible channels generally agree that the tractive force imposed by the stream on the particles varies approximately with the square of the velocity. It can be appreciated, therefore, that even rather minor differences in velocity will markedly affect the erosion and deposition of bottom particles. Although experimental studies and field observations have not yet given engineers any generally accepted correlation between precise particle sizes and the bottom velocities necessary to start them in motion or keep them moving, we have learned quite a bit about helping the river scour itself clean.

I do not want to imply that we have all the answers to sediment transport. Quite the contrary. This is still a relatively new branch of engineering. Design of erodible channels is still as much an art as a science. Men like Bob Hickson, who have spent a lifetime studying this river, have been able to give us some measure of control over the natural processes, but we still have a great deal to learn.

We are placing more emphasis on research. We have under construction at the Corps of Engineers Waterways Experiment Station at Vicksburg, Miss., a complex model of the estuary reach of the Columbia River, up to about river mile 52. Tide generators are included and we hope to learn a good deal about the many baffling habits of the river from this model. It will make it possible for us to try out experimental control measures whose cost would prohibit gambling on their success in the river itself. We expect this model to save many times its cost over future years.

We have prepared an information bulletin to summarize for the general public the principal points covered in our report as it was submitted to Washington for approval. Copies are available from the Portland district office.

I would like to leave these thoughts with you: An estimated 45 million yards of excavation will need to be completed to make this proposed channel a reality. After it is completed, an estimated 14 million yards per year will have to be dredged to maintain it. Even small percentage improvements in our techniques will save large sums of money for the taxpayers. Only extremely low unit costs and sound engineering keep total costs low enough to make feasible such projects as a 40-foot channel from Portland and Vancouver to the sea.

## The Cuban Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, all of us are concerned with the Cuban situation. None of us want communism or Communists on our doorstep. At the same time, we do not want war, if we can avoid it.

We have heard many proposals and solutions to the Cuban problem. We have heard many accusations, but neither the proposals nor the accusations have produced to date.

In my district I am privileged to have many fine ministers and priests. One in particular has given me suggestions, from time to time, of great value, and he has written to me a letter about the Cuban situation. I have looked the letter over carefully and I thoroughly subscribe to the reasoning contained. I have written to this fine citizen and told him of my intention to bring this to the attention of everyone I could contact, and under leave previously granted me, I include his letter and commend it to the thinking of our leaders and our people as a whole.

The letter is as follows:

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOUR,
*Rock Hill, S.C., September 7, 1962.*

The Honorable ROBERT HEMPHILL,
*The House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR BOB: I am writing to the Senator and congressional Representative whom I count as my friends on a matter that to my mind as a Christian American, and as an officer in the Naval Reserve is of momentous importance.

There is to my mind no doubt but that Soviet Russia is engaged in the process of making Red Cuba into a military base, developing an offensive potential which will be directly aimed at our Nation. There is also in my mind no doubt that the Monroe Doctrine has for some time been violated by this move on Russia's part.

It appears to me that the whole matter has reached a sharply urgent and critical point.

Therefore I, as a citizen, offer a proposal which I have been turning over in my mind for some months—a proposal short of actual invasion of war—and yet, I believe, one as effective under the circumstances.

In international law the phrase "pacific blockade" is used, I understand, which describes the sort of maneuver which I have in mind.

I propose a "pacific blockade" with certain variations which I feel will make such an action work, and keep it also within the bounds of the international morality which characterizes the United States' relationships with other sovereignties.

Therefore, let a complete air-sea blockade be thrown around and over Red Cuba, as a unilateral action undertaken by the United States in implementation of the Monroe Doctrine. Let it be sternly and clearly stated to the whole world that we do this out of moral necessity to defend our freedom, and to keep the peace.

Let it be stated with equal clarity and sternness that no ship on or under the sea will be permitted through the blockade either Cuba-bound or outbound; and that no aircraft will be permitted to fly in or out of that country; and that any attempt to run the blockade either by air or sea will result in the ship being sunk or the aircraft shot down; but that no shooting or harassment will be done by our Armed Forces otherwise.

Let it be stated that by airlift and parachute drop we will bring in to Cuba such food and medical supplies as will prevent starvation and epidemic disease on the part of the people of Cuba, oppressed as they are.

Finally, let it be stated that the blockade will continue indefinitely and will be discontinued only at the pleasure of the United States.

As I say, I write this to you with a sense of great urgency, and leave you to implement the idea—or tell me it cannot be done—as you see best.

Most sincerely,

WILLIAM W. LUMPKIN,
*Rector.*

P.S.—This letter is also being sent to Senator STROM THURMOND.

## Speaker Won Pat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article from the Morning Star of Okinawa on the Honorable A. B. Won Pat, speaker of the Legislature of Guam whose frequent visits to Washington when his own legislature is not in session has made him almost one of us. Speaker Won Pat presides over the most farflung legislative body under the Stars and Stripes. The article follows:

DEDICATED SOLON GUIDES GUAM PROGRESS

(By Richard R. Williams)

About 1,200 miles southeast of Okinawa lies a relatively small island that in recent years has come to be known as the "gem of the Pacific."

Back in 1898 the United States accepted the island of Guam, principal island in the Marianas chain, as the spoils of war following the Spanish-American War. At the signing of the Treaty of Paris, U.S. officials shrugged their shoulders and said, "we'll take the island, but we don't know what we'll do with it."

The U.S. Navy was given the responsibility of administering the island and the some 20,000 Guamanians. The Navy acted with foresight. The first thing the Navy did was move the well known "little American red schoolhouse" to Guam.

So, for more than half a century the Guamanians have been English speaking, American thinking, and probably our most sincere Americans.

Guam has come a long way in a relatively short period of time—50 years. The population is now about 70,000. For most of that 50 years the Guamanians have and had some semblance of a government by and for the people, thanks to the Navy's foresight.

And this brings us to the subject of this story, for this is not a story about Guam. It is a story about a man who has been an integral part of Guam's progress for the past 30 years.

Antonio B. Won Pat, better known as Pat, has been more than an integral part, he has been the hub on the wheel of progress for the newest American citizens.

Pat, speaker of the Guam Legislature, has never been a successful businessman. He has never had time for himself. He has been working for his people since he became a schoolteacher in 1928 at the age of 20.

But he did find time to father eight children with the former Ana Perez, who has encouraged her politician husband through many periods of heartbreaks and victories alike.

The congenial political leader was born in the southern village of Sumay, which was destroyed during World War II. Just 2 days before his 33d birthday Japanese bombers destroyed Pat's home village.

He has been so affirmative for his people that he sometime becomes negative.

Two years after World War II ended one political element started a campaign for a territorial status to get out from under a military government. With a fellow congressman, Eduardo T. Calvo, Pat fought vigorously against such a move. He believed that for the sake of the Guamanian people, the navy government should remain until the island was rehabilitated and the island economy fully recovered.

Debunking harsh criticism brought about by American columnists and bids by other U.S. Government departments for control of the island, all of which brought Guam to the fore in world news, the Guam congress on September 7, 1947, unanimously passed a resolution urging continuation of the naval government.

But, almost immediately Pat took a 380° turn. He started working for a territorial status. He knew it would be a long, hard fight and time was important. By the time Washington could be convinced, Guam would be in a position to handle the new status.

Three years later there was a new era for Guam. The organic act, which Pat helped draft, made Guam a territory of the United States and the Guamanians American citizens.

During that 3 years Pat gained invaluable friends in the U.S. Congress. Through his efforts the organic act provided a free port, the only free port under the American flag today. Anything that is the growth of or manufacture of Guam leaves there duty free and enters any other American ports duty free. In addition, there is not one red penny in export or import duties levied in Guam. One may import or export anything and in any quantity without the burden of duty charges.

Guam was also given a nice deal for the territorial treasury. All U.S. income taxes due the U.S. Government by residents of Guam, U.S. civil service employees, and American servicemen stationed on the island does not go to the National Treasury. It goes to the Guam treasury. This is in lieu of U.S. Government appropriations to run the territorial government. The more earnings, the more money in the local coffers.

The organic act also provides for a 21-seat, single house legislature, and the legislators are elected at large by the people. The legislature is empowered to enact laws for the territory not inconsistent with national laws. And there are provisions by which the legislature may override the veto power of the Governor.

Since the first Governor was appointed in 1950, Guam has had six Governors. Speaker Won Pat has never been a yes man for any of them. He has fought them with all his resources when it became necessary for the welfare of the people. Under Pat's leadership the Guamanian people have developed a stirring pride in the right and ability to govern themselves.

One of the Governors, Ford Q. Elvidge, of Seattle, left Guam in a huff when he learned the island was not a sleepy little Pacific island without problems. He later wrote a story for a national magazine entitled, "I Ruled Uncle Sam's Problem Child."

Guamanians took a bitter exception to the story. But not the reference to being a problem child. They objected to the inference that Elvidge ruled them. "No one rules us," retorted Won Pat, "we rule ourselves."

But the legislator has also joined forces with the Governors, and even has caused resolutions to be passed commending Governors—when he thought it was deserved or for the welfare of the people.

After more than 50 years under a military government the Guamanians, with the leadership such as that of Pat, it seemed it was time the islanders and their political leaders should be satisfied and feel as though a long, hard battle had been won.

True, it was a big victory, and Guam was jubilant. But Won Pat believes in exploiting your successes. The stabilizing influence of the dedicated Congressman was again felt at home and in Washington.

"This is not the time to relax," he said. "On the contrary, the fight has just begun. There is much yet to be done and there will be much to be done from now until eternity. We are on our own and we must make good, not only for ourselves but for our country. Guam is a picture window facing the Bamboo Curtain. We are the closest Americans to that curtain. We must make good under a democratic form of government and at the same time create a favorable atmosphere for our military forces."

Pat has always gotten along with the military commanders better than he has with the Governors. At his instigation a resolution was passed commending the late Rear Admiral William H. Erdmann, commander, naval forces, Marianas. At the time the resolution was passed the Governor and the admiral were not on speaking terms.

Since the Organic Act was passed, Guam has received several Government grants with which to improve medical and educational programs of the island. These and other "favors" were given to Guam through the efforts of Pat's lobbying in Washington.

While the legislature is not in session the speaker is in Washington working for Guam. He receives expense money from the legislature, but this money does not fully cover his expenses in the Nation's Capital. He is continuously digging into his personal funds to make up the difference.

Probably the greatest and most valuable political victory since the passage of the Organic Act was won only recently. Until a year ago there had been an economic stranglehold on Guam in the form of a security clearance required for all persons, including American citizens, entering Guam.

A tourist industry has long been desired there and foreign investments are needed.

But the security clearance requirement scared away potential investors. A year ago the Navy suspended that part of the Presidential Executive order that pertained to American citizens. But aliens still could not enter and the Navy could at any time put the clamps back on for American citizens. As far as enticing investments were concerned, the island was not much better off.

Won Pat joined with Gov. Bill Daniel in lobbying where it would do the most good—in Washington. Last week their efforts paid off. President Kennedy lifted the entire Executive order, throwing Guam open to the world.

The modest lawmaker does not take full credit for concessions that have been gained from the "big brothers" in Washington. "No one man can take credit for anything like that," he says. "My fellow Congressmen, the Governor, and our Navy friends have all had a hand in mapping Guam's future, and they always will have."

"I have been extremely fortunate in finding U.S. Congressmen who are sympathetic with our desires and who have an open mind to problems outside the continental United States."

Pat has been not only a political leader, but active in civic affairs as well. He is a member of the Guam Junior Chamber of Commerce and, in 1947, represented the Guam Junior Chamber of Commerce at the international conclave in Dallas, Tex. He was the first president of the Guam Lions Club and Fraternal Order of Eagles.

He frequently participates in committee hearings in Washington. At home he is constantly being called upon to speak before civic and professional clubs.

The veteran politician was elected speaker of the first Guam Legislature and has held that post ever since, except during the third legislature (1954–56) when there was a revolt on the floor of the legislature by a minority group of independents who failed to abide by an agreement reached during the caucus.

As busy as he is, Pat always has time for his constituents, regardless of their social position. At receptions, which he attends because it is politically neecssary, he invariably talks business and listens to complaints and suggestions. He never takes them lightly. Every complaint or suggestion is taken seriously and he always provides an answer to querries.

When Congressman Won Pat visited Okinawa last summer as a guest of the Morning Star his first request was an opportunity to meet with Guamanian servicemen stationed here. He, as all Guamanians are, is proud of the record of Guamanians who have entered the Armed Forces. He never misses an opportunity to pass on words of encouragement and appreciation to Guamanians in uniform.

One of the probabilities in the future for Guamanians is the election of their own Governor. There has been much speculation that Won Pat would throw his hat in the ring. But he scotches these speculations. There is still another probability for Guam's future—a delegate to Congress such as Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines at one time enjoyed and such as that now enjoyed by Puerto Rico.

Pat is mum on the subject but it is believed that he is interested in this job. "This is the area in which I can best help my people," he once said. "It would mean leaving my home to live in Washington, but I'm away from home so much now that it would not be much different."

Guam is on the threshold of another new era, and it would be a safe bet that the 54-year-old popular politician will be in there fighting even more vigorously. It's the new eras that prompt Pat to fight harder for his people.

## The Menace of Communist Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States cannot permit the establishment of a Communist slave-state in Cuba.

Mr. William S. White, one of Washington's most knowledgeable writers, has written an article which appeared recently in the Washington Star. Entitled "The Menace of Communist Cuba," the article states the problem and makes certain suggestions for a solution to the matter. Since earliest solution to the problem is demanded, Members will be particularly interested in the proposals Mr. White makes:

THE PASSING SCENE: THE MENACE OF COMMUNIST CUBA

(By William S. White)

The Soviet Union's publicly boasted military penetration of the Western Hemisphere in Castro Cuba is many things, apart from the most insolent menace to the New World that the United States has ever tolerated.

It destroys forever the airy assurances of pseudoliberals that "revolutionary movements" are fine things, indeed—so long as they involve leftwingers and not rightwingers.

It places a terrible responsibility before history upon all those Americans who cheered Fidel Castro on in Cuba long past the point where it was plain that he was transplanting the evil fungus of armed international communism to within 90 miles of our Florida coastline.

UNMASKS COMMUNISM

It bankrupts the whole evangelistic theory, parroted with religious fervor, that communism results from capitalistic injustice, et cetera, and will vanish at once, given the spreading of sufficient welfarism among the masses. Cuba, before Castro, was never half so underprivileged as dozens of other lands which have nevertheless never sought the lethal embrace of Moscow.

It fully supports what has long been fully obvious—that communism, like Hitlerism before it, is a movement of bandit ferocity and cannot be explained by old-lady minds as simply springing from too little milk for the kiddies and too little free land for the workers and peasants.

It brings into the gravest question the practicality of the vast effort being made by the United States through the Alliance for Progress to cure all the ills of Latin America with economic aid. Foreign aid is a sound and splendid thing—when it is given to nations willing and able to use it for freedom's strength and openly and unashamedly against communism.

But the bulk of the more powerful Latin American nations, while avidly ready for our economic aid, repeatedly have refused to follow us in any total quarantine of Castro Cuba. It is fashionable to say that we, the United States, should never force our views upon the recipients of our aid. This is the line even when precisely our views are essential to maintain that freedom from "foreign domination" for which the Latins so endlessly clamor—especially those who have snuggled up closest to international communism.

And brought into question, too, is the very validity of the Organization of American States. This association of the nations of this hemisphere was created to prevent just the kind of foreign penetration which is and long has been so openly involved in Castro Cuba.

But an effective majority of the OAS has thus far been unwilling to take any fully rational step against Castro Cuba. The most ironic of all excuses is given by the nation closest in geography to us, Mexico. She has said that while she would like to help, she just can't find any precedent for it in international practice. There is a sour jest in this—for Mexico, of course, is famous for its scrupulous respect for both law and justice.

COURSE FOR UNITED STATES

So what is now left to the United States? We should try one more time to persuade the Organization of American States to act in honesty and honor against the Soviet cancer in the Caribbean.

Failing this, we should raise a new collective military organization from among the minority who are our real friends in Latin America. Much the same was done in 1949, when we created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from within the United Nations when it became clear that the U.N. would do nothing about Soviet aggression in Europe.

And failing this, the United States should act alone to clear the Soviet military apparatus from Castro Cuba, come what might.

## Knowles Stockholders To Vote on Liquidation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, those who have suggested that American industry is safe under the provisions of the new foreign trade bill just recently passed by the House of Representatives should have cause to fear.

Recently in my district, the Edwin M. Knowles China Co., which had been in business in this Nation for 63 years, announced it was closing its doors and liquidating. By this decision, 500 employees have no place to go.

The reason for this decision was that under present tariff policies, wherein imports of foreign made pottery are encouraged, a company could not operate profitably.

Mr. Speaker, if this is so under existing trade policies, I hesitate to think what will be the fate of many like industries after the new foreign trade bill becomes law.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article from the East Liverpool (Ohio) Review which covers the announcement that this company will cease to do business:

KNOWLES STOCKHOLDERS TO VOTE ON LIQUIDATION

Stockholders of the Edwin M. Knowles China Co. have received notice of a special meeting Thursday, September 13 at 2 p.m. in the company's office at Newell to vote on accepting or rejecting a plan for liquidating the corporation.

The letter revealed that the shareholders at their annual meeting on March 20 authorized the board of directors to sell the corporation. Unable to secure a purchaser, the board voted unanimously August 21 to recommend to the stockholders that the corporation be dissolved and its assets be liquidated, the letter said.

CONTINUING LOSSES CITED

Continuing operating losses made the action appear desirable because it seems unlikely the operation will become profitable in the foreseeable future, the letter to the stockholders said. It was signed by Roger A. Hall, as secretary of the corporation.

"This action is deemed desirable and necessary by the board of directors because of the continuing operating losses being suffered by the corporation," the letter said.

"Due to the present tariff policies which encourage increasing imports of foreign pottery produced with low labor costs, it does not seem possible for the operation of the company to become profitable in the foreseeable future."

The 63-year-old company employes approximately 400 to 500. It was established at Chester about 1900 by Edwin M. Knowles, a son of Isaac Watt Knowles, founder of the Knowles, Taylor & Knowles Co.

PRODUCT OF QUALITY

He erected a six-kiln plant in Chester, which he named the Edwin M. Knowles China Co., and "soon won fame for the quality of his product," according to contemporary newspaper accounts.

In 1913, Knowles erected a 15-kiln factory at Newell. The Chester plant was sold about 1930 to the Harker Pottery Co.

Here's the text of the letter sent to the stockholders:

"You are hereby notified that a special meeting of the shareholders of the Edwin M. Knowles China Co. will be held at the office of the corporation at Newell on September 13, 1962, at 2 p.m. to consider and approve or disapprove a plan of liquidation of the corporation and the subsequent dissolution of the corporation. A copy of the proposed plan of liquidation is enclosed herewith.

SALE IS AUTHORIZED

"At the annual meeting of the shareholders on March 20, 1962, the Board of Directors was authorized and directed to sell the corporation. The Board of Directors and officers have been unable to secure a purchaser for the corporation, and at a special meeting of the Board of Directors held on Tuesday, Aug. 21, 1962, the board unanimously decided to recommend to the shareholders that the corporation be liquidated and dissolved.

"This action is deemed desirable and necessary by the Board of Directors because of the continuing operating losses being suffered by the corporation. Due to the present tariff policies, which encourage increasing imports of foreign dinnerware produced with low labor costs, it does not seem possible for the operation of the company to become profitable in the foreseeable future.

SIXTY-PERCENT VOTE REQUIRED

"For the plan of liquidation and the dissolution of the corporation to become effective, a favorable vote of at least 60 percent of the outstanding shares of the corporation is required. If you cannot attend the meeting in person, you are urged to promptly sign and return the enclosed proxy in the enclosed envelope.

"An executed proxy, upon which no approval or disapproval is noted, will be voted by the proxies named therein for approval of the plan of liquidation and in favor of the dissolution of the corporation. Any proxy may be revoked by a shareholder at any time prior to the meeting upon notice in writing delivered to the secretary of the corporation."

FOUR STEPS PROVIDED

The proposed plan of liquidation sets forth four steps. It would authorize the corporation's officers, if they deem it advisable, to seek the advice of consultants "knowledgable in such matters" concerning the various steps to be followed in the liquidation.

It would authorize the officers to take necessary action to (1) dispose of the present inventories in a manner most advantageous to the corporation; (2) terminate all manufacturing operations as rapidly as possible consistent with the greatest possible realization of cash from the inventories and (3) collect the accounts receivable.

DISPOSE OF ASSETS

Upon liquidation of the current assets, the plan would authorize the board to dispose of the fixed assets in the manner which would be most beneficial to the corporation, either by a negotiated sale or sales or by the employment of a professional liquidator.

The plan would authorize the board to satisfy all debts and liabilities of the corporation and distribute the remaining assets to the shareholders.

## The Spurious Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, as action on the trade bill, H.R. 11970, approaches in the other body, we in this body should not forget that the tariff and trade question is still a very live issue.

It is true that this body passed the bill late in June; but the bill came up under a closed rule and the House membership was not able to work its will on amendments, important amendments, that might have been adopted had the opportunity presented itself.

The trade bill as passed by this body was therefore the bill as it came out of committee. Numerous bills under an open rule are amended on the floor. This is not regarded as a reflection on the committee that reported such legislation but a reflection of the will of the House.

It is therefore not too much to say that had the trade bill been open to amendment on the floor some much-needed amendments might have been adopted. The escape clause, instead of being weakened by gutting it, might have been strengthened. The peril point, instead of being thrown overboard, might have been reinstated. Other important changes might have been made.

The bill has some very objectionable features and much of the endless propaganda that was poured out in its support by the White House, various governmental departments, and numerous other Government officials was misleading. No other bill has perhaps been more thoroughly oversold than this one. The public is beginning to sense this and questions are being asked that must be most embarrassing to the official propagandists.

A searching analysis of the bill and what has been claimed for it in the form of larger exports of both industrial and farm products, was recently made by Mr. O. R. Strackbein, whose intimate familiarity with the trade program and the legislation relating to it needs no affirmation by me.

I would hope that those who disagree with Mr. Strackbein's conclusions would show, not by simple assertion, but by a factual presentation, where he is wrong if they so regard his statement, in whole or in part. There has been no reply. I feel that the absence of a refutation in so controversial a field, itself is strong evidence that none can be made.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I offer the analysis made by Mr. Strackbein and presented over TV channel 5 on August 22:

THE SPURIOUS TRADE BILL

(By O. R. Strackbein)

A few weeks ago I spoke on the subject of the trade bill that will shortly come before the Senate.

This legislation has been described on numerous occasions as the most important to come before the Congress during this session. I would say that its importance extends beyond that, and believe that you will agree as we go along.

The original Trade Agreements Act was passed in 1934, or 28 years ago. Under it the President was authorized to enter into foreign trade agreements with the purpose of reducing our tariffs and other trade barriers in return for similar action by other countries.

The first act was for a 3-year period and there have been 11 extensions of it since 1934, usually for a 1-, 2-, or 3-year period. The last extension, passed in 1958, was for 4 years.

Previously the tariff was written by the Congress itself, as provided in our Constitution. However, this became a laborious and highly technical process. The new system of changing tariff rates through trade agreements was substituted by a limited delegation of authority to the President in 1934. Today a much broader authority is sought.

Since 1934 we have negotiated many trade agreements and have brought down the protection afforded by our tariff from an average of a little over 50 percent on dutiable items to about 11 percent. This represented a decline of 80 percent. Beyond that, well over a third of our imports are admitted free of duty. If these are included in the calculation, the average tariff on our total imports would be equivalent to only about 6 percent.

The upshot is that the United States is now one of the low-tariff countries of the world. Moreover, we impose fewer other import restrictions, such as import quotas, import licenses, special taxes, etc., than most others of the leading trading nations.

This is the record and I do not think that anyone will gainsay it.

Why then the vastly overdrawn campaign to strip away nearly all of what is left of the tariff? It has all the earmarks of a diversionary campaign.

Consider that few other countries have matched us in this type of economic disarmament; that few have gone as far as we, and that therefore few have as liberal a form of trade as we; consider that we are four-fifths of the way to free trade and that we have no import quotas on any industrial product and have only two on mineral products and a few on farm products: keep in

mind another basic fact; namely, the small stature of exports in relation to our total economy; namely, 3.8 percent of our total national product; consider all this, and the vastness of the illusion about the importance of increasing our exports become apparent.

This is not to say that the trade bill and what has been said about it is much ado about nothing. Indeed, it has implications that extend far beyond the amount of trade involved, as we shall see. Low-cost imports in competition with our producers may cause more damage than a similar increase in exports helps the economy; and this is an important consideration.

Passage of the trade bill, specifically, would not buoy our economy by raising our export levels. To repeat, the handle and the leverage are too small, only about 1 out of 27 workers being employed in export and related activities. Moreover, in order to increase exports it would be necessary to increase imports, and this might, and indeed could be expected to, cause retardation of domestic expansion.

All this is to say that the trade bill is indeed important; but for reasons quite different from those advanced by official statements and by the bill's other proponents.

The bill is not important, for example, for any contribution that it would make to our industrial expansion and employment. The favorable effects in this respect, in any case, as already said, would be offset and probably much more than offset by the increased import competition that further tariff reductions would generate. Even if exports could be increased 10 percent in a year only some 250,000 workers would be added to our payrolls, assuming that none would be displaced by rising imports, as they surely would be. Every year about a million workers are added to our work force and a similar number is estimated as the toll of automation. This adds up to 2 million or more new jobs that have to be found in this country each year, and 250,000 would be a little over 10 percent of this number. Beyond that we still have some 4 million already unemployed workers.

The trade bill would help little in that direction and, if anything, would aggravate our economic difficulty by confronting scores of our industries with job-shrinking import competition. Companies simply do not expand and put additional people to work when the market outlook for their products is discouraging; and rising import competition will supply the discouragement in heavy doses. More and more of this could be expected with further tariff reductions; and the discouragement would reach into industries not previously affected. If this discouragement is not lifted, we will look in vain for the industrial growth and expansion that we need.

That saying this does not represent a gospel of doom and gloom, as is sometimes charged, may be gathered from what has already happened as a result of our past tariff reductions and the consistent failure of other countries to lower their trade barriers in proportion.

The U.S. share of world trade has shrunk from 33 percent in 1950 to 27 percent in 1960. A part of this shrinkage was, of course, accounted for by European and Japanese recovery of prewar markets. Nevertheless, our portion has receded in the face of the trade program that was to boost our exports by removing foreign barriers against them.

There should be nothing surprising about any of these trends. Anyone who has kept abreast of economic developments here and abroad and has taken note of our foreign and technical aid, should have expected what did in fact take place. That the public is not aware of the trends is the fault of official propaganda and failure of the press to puncture it or to give the other side.

Some very simple and understandable facts have either been ignored, concealed, or brushed aside.

It is an indisputable fact that wages in this country were and are the highest in the world and that because of the high purchasing power thus generated, hand in hand with productivity, we have the highest per capita consumption of most consumer goods. It is also a fact that our labor, because of vast machinery installations, which were formerly lacking in other countries, was the most productive in the world. We were therefore able formerly to compete readily in world markets in numerous products, such as automobiles, typewriters, sewing machines, steel, petroleum, etc., despite our higher wages. Mass production was our special magic. Our high wages were offset by high productivity; and we came out with relatively low unit costs.

This was before we had shipped some $50 billion worth of modern machinery overseas, much of it under foreign aid. It was also before the other industrial countries adopted our production methods, including the moving production line and mass production. Once industrial production was modernized in Europe and Japan the lower wages prevailing there conferred a rising competitive advantage on them. We had not lost our magic; we merely gave it freely to other countries.

To be sure, wages are going up in those countries; but wages have not stood still here either, and the gap is still very wide, and can be expected to remain so unless American labor should decide henceforth to say "No, thank you," to wage increases.

Another fact that has been hidden is that more and more we have come to import what are called labor-intensive goods, i.e., manufactured goods, where labor is applied through all the stages of production, and export more and more of the labor-sparse goods, i.e., raw materials and agricultural products, where labor has been applied only through one or two stages. This is precisely what would be expected under the circumstances. It is a trend, however, that hits at employment in this country. It means that dollar for dollar we import many more man-hours of work than we export.

Another result, the effects of which are being felt in terms of relative stagnation in this country, has been the flow of our capital into Europe and Japan, to be invested there in manufacturing. This is not said in condemnation of the movement but rather in explanation of it. Money goes where its owners think it will beget the highest returns.

This movement, again, has had the inevitable effect of producing less employment here than would have been the case if the owners of the money had thought that the returns on the dollar would be higher if invested here rather than overseas. Obviously the business judgment has been the other way to such a degree that over a thousand of our companies have invested billions of dollars overseas since 1958. They have bought into foreign manufacturing enterprises, built new branches overseas, expanded existing ones, set up subsidiaries, or they have licensed foreign companies to use American patents, processes and formulas.

Because there has been neither pressure to produce this outflow of capital nor any restraints against it, its movement overseas was an eloquent commentary on the gloomy competitive situation caused by imports in this country and the brighter outlook abroad.

To date the indications are that the decisions were economically well founded. European countries and Japan have enjoyed an unprecedented boom in the past few years; but please note that this lively boom was not at all confined to the Common Market countries but included most of the European countries and Japan. Their productivity per man-hour has increased faster than in this country.

Again, none of this is surprising if we keep in mind the energy, skill, and enterprise of the Europeans and the Japanese. Having seen what our industry and agriculture accomplished during the war and afterward, they concluded that it was the most productive and effective in the world and welcomed the system with open arms and adapted their own economy to it.

Their prosperity lagged about 10 years behind ours but it gained momentum once it got underway. It too may be expected to falter and to slow down when the producers catch up with the pentup demand, even as we did. They will then become more hungry for export markets than they are now; and we will be at the receiving end.

Within Europe the acceptance of our economic system has been so complete that it has led to extraordinary efforts to create mass markets where they did not exist before. The modern technology, including highly intensive and expensive machinery, made the smaller national markets obsolete just as expensive farm machinery in this country has made the small farm economically obsolete. As a result the Europeans have launched Common Market and free trade areas by knocking down or beginning to knock down the tariffs on the inside. They hope in this way to gain the economic advantages of a mass market such as we have enjoyed since our population grew to the proper proportions.

For Europe this trend is to be applauded; but it confronts this country with a difficult problem in several directions.

For one thing, our agriculture has become so efficient in point of output per acre that we have accumulated great surpluses. We look to exports to absorb an increasing part of these surpluses; and Europe has been an important market.

When we adopted our farm price supports we placed heavy restrictions on imports of wheat, wheat flour, raw cotton, butter, cheese, etc., to avoid a flood of imports that would have broken down this system; and they are still in effect.

Now European agriculture is also becoming more productive and these countries will become more self-sufficient in some of the farm products that we wish to continue to sell them. The Common Market, however, once more taking a leaf from our example, has adopted a common agricultural policy. In order to avoid its breakdown from imports they will levy import fees or duties to bring import prices up to the supported prices in the six countries. Thus they will be doing what we did and the outlook is not good for an increase in our exports of farm products to that area.

It is therefore suggested that we reduce our duties on industrial products, in some important cases removing them completely, to induce the Common Market countries to let in more of our farm products.

This assumes that our industries could withstand more European competition than they face even now. Our general surplus of $5 billion in exports in 1961 is often cited as evidence that we are indeed competitive; but it is not explained that this surplus is spurious since it includes foreign aid shipments, exports of heavily subsidized farm products, such as cotton and wheat, and sales for foreign currencies and outright gifts.

It is true that we are still exporting more to Europe, in dollars, than we are importing from there; but a great part of our exports consist of industrial machinery and equipment. This, in turn, will increase European productivity. Once Europe is fully equipped and caught up at home, the balance of trade will shift rapidly unless we defend ourselves. European wages will not move

upward fast enough to bring production costs up to ours.

It would therefore be an act of economic folly or stupidity to reduce our industrial tariffs in order to sell more farm products to Europe that Europe will not accept for the same reason that we refuse to accept Canadian wheat, Danish butter, French cheese, Egyptian cotton, etc., in sufficient volume to upset our farm program.

It is also said that we must reduce our industrial duties to gain duty reductions from the Common Market on industrial products so that we will be able to enjoy a vast outlet for consumer goods such as refrigerators, dishwashers, washing machines, TV sets, etc., in Europe. The per capita consumption in Europe is still far below ours. Therefore a vast internal market may develop within these countries.

Yet, the same was and still is true of automobiles. Does that mean that we have a vast market in Europe for our cars? It does not. To be sure Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler have a good share of the European market, but with a difference: Their participation is through plants within those countries, not through exports from here. Why then should anyone believe that the Common Market would open a vast market to our exports of these other products? There is no longer any question about our companies going over there. They have already gone; and they will sell in those markets from within, rather than shipping there from three or four thousand miles away.

If the trade bill will not accomplish what it has been so feverishly advertised to do, what then is its purpose?

Four sources of support have their confluence in the bill.

One consists of those who believe that freer trade will help pacify the world. These are good people who take their cue from noncompetitive trade, such as our imports of coffee and bananas, but who overlook the international rivalry and bitterness caused by highly competitive trade.

Another element consists of export and import interests who have a dollar interest or jobs at stake. Their support is natural and readily understood.

A third element is found in the academic and doctrinaire free-trade adherents who take a long-range view that may some day prevail when the world disarms and the world stands on a nearly even economic level.

The fourth element consists really of two groups. One consists of those in Government and out who look upon the Communist menace as requiring economic sacrifices in behalf of free world political and economic unity and the other, those whose political philosophy quite apart from the Communist menace leads them to seek a somewhat different system of government from the traditional one in this country. They seek a government of heavily concentrated Federal power, with ascendancy of the executive within that government. This again means subordination of the economic to political considerations.

Of these groups the latter is today most vocal and feverishly in cry behind the trade bill. In the field of international economic affairs, including trade, it seeks ascendancy of the State Department over Congress. Essentially this means subordination of the well-being of domestic industry to diplomacy and the submerging of U.S. sovereignty in an international trade organization in which we would have one vote.

Since the end of World War II our State Department has dedicated itself to this goal. Until now they have not fully succeeded because Congress has kept its hands on the reins, even if the reins have been loosely held.

Passage of the present bill would for a 5-year period hand the reins to the executive branch and the State Department in particular. The Department's views would be imbedded in international agreements and thereafter Congress would be helpless, short of an upheaval, to recapture its constitutional power.

The trade bill confronts Congress with the choice of not passing legislation that contains many objectionable features or indeed passing a bill that will not accomplish what is so vociferously claimed for it, namely, stimulation of industrial growth and expansion in this country through rising exports, opening of foreign markets for our farm products and consumer goods, and pacification of the world; for these things it will not do; and at the same time accepting what it would accomplish, namely, greater concentration of power in the hands of the White House and the State Department, relegation of Congress to the status of a debating society, so far as regulation of foreign commerce is concerned, and submerging the United States in an international economic organization wherein this country would be leveled downward to meet other countries on a halting and very uneven movement upward.

Do we want a system under which one group in many, because of its size or strategic political position in terms of votes in Congress, may enjoy accommodation and favors while others, no less entitled under law will be turned aside? Shall we, in other words, substitute political patronage for rights under law? That is what vast enlargement of the presidential discretion, as provided in the trade bill, would accomplish.

That is the choice. It should not be difficult to make.

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## Our American Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to an address delivered in my district before the Rotary Club of Ridgewood, Ridgewood, N.J., by Mrs. Geraldine Earlin of West Englewood, N. J. This same address, it should be pointed out, earned Mrs. Earlin a national award from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, announced on George Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1962.

Her subject is that of "Our American Heritage," and the necessity for and means of preserving it, particularly among our youth. Although delivered on July 3, the eve of Independence Day, it is just as timely today as then. I know it will be a source of inspiration and a stimulant to thoughtful review of America's position in today's world to all that read it.

The address follows:

LET'S CHERISH OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

(By Geraldine Earlin before the Rotary Club of Ridgewood, N.J., at Ridgewood, N.J., July 3, 1962)

Thank you Mr. Hollestelle. It is indeed, a great honor and privilege to address this audience, The Rotary Club of Ridgewood, N.J., on such a vital subject as cherishing our American heritage, especially since a great deal of the success of the American Revolutionary War hinged on this very section of our country.

Tomorrow, July 4th, we celebrate our country's most sacred patriotic holiday, Independence Day, the day our independence as a new and free Nation was proclaimed throughout the world. Let us never becloud this day with other issues.

Recently, one of our great generals, Gen. Mark Clark, said that he believes most of our people would be better Americans if they were more demonstrative and more sentimental and emotional in the performance of their patriotic duties. Suggesting that there should be more frequent and more enthusiastic occasions for patriotic demonstration in America, he noted that the observance of such days in the United States gives all our people higher concepts of loyalty.

The fundamentals of good Americanism, said General Clark, are faith in our country, its Constitution, its laws and history, and its spiritual and religious dedication. Teach these fundamentals to young Americans, and they in their turn and time will keep America great.

It is not old fashioned, he said, but the duty and challenge of Americans in all generations, to give youth faith, to teach youth conviction and courage, to inspire youth with religious and moral guidance and to make youth worthy of its American heritage.

Today, as never before, we as Americans must realize that there is this extreme and urgent necessity for teaching our youth love of God, love and loyalty to family, and to our country and its Constitution as written by our Founding Fathers, if we are to survive as the great Nation which is by right our heritage.

To show these needs I have taken further statements made by prominent people in various walks of life, the first being from a sermon which I was recently privileged to hear: It is love, not the vaunting of authority, that can make a happy home. The happiest home is the home in which father and mother and children are one in love of God, and of one another. Riches do not make happy homes. When husband and wife truly love each other, they have treasures which no wealth can give, and no poverty can take away. Loving God, they abide by His holy will. Their home is a sanctuary built for God's glory, a haven of refuge wherein love and peace are ever found, a nursery from which good citizens are given to the State and saints to heaven.

We need homes like these for the support of honesty and decency and truth in this Nation. No country is stronger than its homes. They are the foundation upon which ultimately, under God, all hope for sound and solid progress must rest. No nation, whatever its wealth and influence and power in the world may be, has ever been able to tear the Almighty out of the hearts and homes of its people without witnessing the forboding of approaching disaster.

In a statement, March 28, 1955, by the New York State Board of Regents on "America's Moral and Spiritual Heritage," which will be hailed by all who believe in God, the moral law and the principles laid down by our Founding Fathers, they reiterate the principle that "Belief in and dependence on God is the very cornerstone upon which our Founding Fathers builded" and they cite the Declaration of Independence, the pronouncements of Washington, Franklin, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Dwight Eisenhower as proofs.

The regents call on schools to stress spiritual heritage; to have the children inspired by the example of their ancestors;

to be guided by the faith and love of their parents; to be encouraged by their spiritually sensitive teachers, so that there will be renewed in their daily lives America's moral and spiritual heritages: "Liberty under God—respect for the dignity and rights of each individual—devotion to freedom."

Throughout our entire history as a nation, these fundamental beliefs have been our guiding star and compass in time of storm and troubles.

In my original address on which I won the award from Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa., which your program chairman asked me to give today, I was warning of the test case before our U.S. Supreme Court to take prayer out of our public schools. You all are aware, now, of the shocking decision of the Supreme Court.

Our Founding Fathers never meant that freedom of religion would be misinterpreted as freedom from religion.

As one U.S. Congressman has said, this decision is only one of many strange and shocking decisions by our Supreme Court and another Congressman has stated that this shocking decision by our Supreme Court places America just about 40 years behind godless Russia. It should make Americans pause to consider that perhaps those persons who have been criticizing the Supreme Court were not, after all, too far wrong.

The impact of this decision will not be felt for some time to come but it should make us realize that some day we might wake up and find that we have even lost our independence through some decision of the Supreme Court, or through an Executive agreement by our President, or through a treaty passed by our Senate, whereby we find ourselves in some sort of world government under which we no longer would control our own destiny. Americans must awaken to the dangers which surround us.

In the words of the chancellor of the New York Board of Regents, "Freedom is not free—it must constantly be defended and cared for lest we lose it. This is the price we pay for it. We must root deeply in our hearts faith in the unimpeachable dignity of the individual and in the unquenchable spirit of freeman. We must reinterpret for our children the initiative, the courage, and faith of the Founding Fathers."

Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, chief Scout executive of the National Council, Boy Scouts of America (now retired), wrote an article entitled "Our Answer to Brainwashing," in the September 1956 issue of Scouting magazine, in which he discussed the Scouts' 4-year program, "Onward for God and My Country," and in which he also discussed how the Chinese Communists in Korea were able to break many of our American boys, taken prisoner, because in his words:

"Too many of them proved woefully lacking in basic knowledge of American history, institutions, and ideals and quite unable to produce reasons for their belief in democracy."

In discussing the study made by the committee appointed by the Secretary of Defense, he said it found: "There was often a failure to know about or appreciate the hardships endured by our forefathers in building a free nation, or to accept the need for similar sacrifices today to keep our Nation strong. On the other hand there were those who found that their faith in and loyalty to family, country, religion, and comrades were shallow and weak under stress."

"The committee * * * concluded that the weakness of the men who broke involved traits that cannot be imparted in a few months of military indoctrination but are the product of years of training in home, school, church, and community. Our whole system of education, formal and informal, needs to make sure that our young people are thoroughly grounded in moral and religious principles. Our children as they grow up must not merely take American values for granted. They must be so familiar with the fundamental facts of American history, American Government, American economic and social life that they know why they believe in our way of life and need not be confused and embarrased when critics challenge these beliefs."

From an editorial of May 20, 1956, New York Journal American, we read that Joseph B. Cavallaro, chairman of New York City's Board of Higher Education suggested that American history courses should be compulsory in every tax-supported educational institution. This editorial said that from surveys made in 1950 it was learned that 76 percent of institutions of higher learning did not include American history as a required course for enrollment and 66 percent did not make American history a required course in their own classrooms. Reportedly there has been some improvement but not enough for in 1955 a specimen college inquiry in Ohio revealed that a surprising number of freshmen did not know when or how the United States began.

Mr. Cavallaro emphasized that American history must be taught rightly—that our youth must know what is meant by American heritage and American ideals.

The editorial asks: "How is any American to be a good citizen if he has little or no knowledge of the proud and aspiring origin of his country, its magnificent traditions and ideals?"

Both the paper and Cavallaro are in agreement that the antidote for communism lies in the full and proper study of American history. The best way to defeat subversion is for Americans to know what the subverters are trying to subvert.

Since it seems to be agreed by divergent opinions that belief in God and belief in loyalty to our country is the recipe for molding our children's character, what better way is there to instill this belief than in teaching our children the real meaning of our patriotic and traditional holidays?

We should teach them that September 17 is Constitution Day, the Constitution of the United States of America having been adopted by the Continental Convention and signed on September 17, 1787. Only because of the Constitution do we have the right of citizenship. This year marks the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution and our Government is, through a national commission, sponsoring Constitution Year. The celebration is taking place in Philadelphia, Pa., where the Constitution was adopted and the flag of each State is to fly from Independence Hall for 1 week, in the order in which they were admitted to the Union, and, adopted the Constitution. Our week is over, for New Jersey was the third State to ratify and the celebration started January 2. Since we have 50 States there are 2 extra weeks and 1 week will be known as Freedom Week from June 27 to July 4 when all the State flags will fly and then, again, the week of September 17 to 25 which is always celebrated as Constitution Week all the State flags will again fly.

I do hope your organization will plan an appropriate program commemorating Constitution Day, September 17, and Constitution Week, September 17 to 25. Remember, the Constitution of the United States of America is the blueprint for your freedom.

October 12 is Columbus Day and was so proclaimed by Benjamin Harrison, when he was President of the United States, "as a general holiday," commemorating the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

In February we observe the birthdays of three great Americans, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Thomas Edison, who symbolize in their divergent achievements America's immortal heritage, and are representative of the great men who toiled and died to develop our resources and to win and maintain the freedom necessary for the pursuit of happiness. We all must realize that we enjoy the blessings of this free land due to the hardships endured by the Father of Our Country, George Washington, and those men who felt that personal liberty was to be placed above all their worldly possessions. We know that when the hour arrived that someone must rise up to preserve this Union that the weight of that burden lay on the shoulders of Abraham Lincoln. We should also realize, and you businessmen in particular, that the life of Thomas A. Edison exemplifies what can be accomplished under our "capitalistic" or "free enterprise system" which is truly American; for where else in the world could a poor boy like Edison have risen to be the wealthy man that he was? Of course, we also realize that this was before the Government restrictions on business that we have today.

June 14 is Flag Day, our own Continental Congress having designated June 14, 1777, as the first birthday of the Stars and Stripes as our national emblem with the following resolution:

*"Resolved,* That the flag of the United States be 13 stripes alternate red and white, that the union be 13 stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

July 4 is Independence Day, and I repeat, our most sacred patriotic holiday and we must never allow it to be beclouded by other issues. We must ever be watchful that we retain our own independence as a free nation. No other flag but the U.S. flag should fly, in our country, on Independence Day.

Properly observing our American patriotic holidays gives us the opportunity, as adults, to rededicate our belief in our American form of government as it was intended by those patriots who suffered so much in order to hand us this great country; and it most certainly can be a constructive move toward strengthening the loyalty and background in basic American principles of our youth. This great need was evidenced by General Dean, upon his return as a prisoner after the Korean war. You will remember that all the press agreed that there was something lacking in the background of those soldiers who refused to come back and in those who collaborated with the Red captors. General Dean said we had failed these soldiers.

Americans have forgotten the meaning of July 4, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution; they have forgotten the warnings of George Washington about foreign entanglements. Failure to recognize this danger and failure to combat it will bring about the loss of all that has been accomplished for the freedom of men in 2,000 years.

Let us use our patriotic holidays to instill knowledge and pride in young folks of the great heritage that is theirs.

Let us reevaluate all that the United States has stood for—for only this knowledge and the determination to fight for it will halt the advance of foreign ideologies in our country.

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## The Emancipation Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the significant features of the commem-

oration of the Civil War Centennial in Maryland was the exhibition of Abraham Lincoln's handwritten draft of the original Emancipation Proclamation in Hagerstown. This priceless document was loaned by the New York State Library through the courtesy of the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York.

The proclamation was exhibited in the Nicodemus National Bank at Hagerstown, Md. The bank distributed an interesting history of the relic, which is appended because of the unusual world-wide interest in the proclamation in this centennial year.

The history follows:

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION: A GREAT WORLD DOCUMENT

The Emancipation Proclamation is a precious document in President Lincoln's own handwriting which the Library of the State of New York has the honor of safeguarding as a public trust. The proclamation is part of the heritage of the American people, and is to all of the people of the world one of our noblest symbols of the American dream.

In 1862 Abraham Lincoln began the completion of the unfinished work the Founding Fathers had so well begun with the Declaration of Independence. Although the sounding prose of Thomas Jefferson made no specific exceptions to the phrase "all men," certainly at least a part of the assemblage which cheered its reading assumed that for "all men," "all white men" should be read. It took 85 years and a War Between the States to provide a proper setting for the document which spelled out specifically the fact that all men regardless of color should be "then, henceforth and forever free."

Physically the proclamation is actually two proclamations. The first was proclaimed on September 22, 1862.

This is the document which Lincoln worked over all summer long, after the heartbreaking defeat of General McClellan in the Seven Days Battles in June of 1862. Much of it was probably composed in the Cipher Room of the War Department, while awaiting the arrival of the latest intelligence from the Army.

On July 22, 1862, at a regular Cabinet meeting, Lincoln announced that he had determined upon a course of emancipation and informed the Cabinet of the substance of the proclamation he was drafting. New York's William H. Seward, of Auburn, the Secretary of State, agreed in principle with Mr. Lincoln but urged him to delay the publication of the proclamation until a victory for the Union Armies should provide a more suitable setting. It was not until qualified success of Union Arms at Antietam was achieved that such a moment came to hand. On Sunday the 21st of September Lincoln stayed at the Soldiers Home and prepared a new copy of the proclamation.

The following Monday, September 22, Lincoln met with his Cabinet, having first consulted with his Vice President, Mr. Hamlin, and presented the memorable document which is the subject of this essay. He had, on Sunday at Soldiers Home, smoothed it out a little and, as he thought, made it a more acceptable document for his Cabinet to consider.

Although Lincoln had most seriously considered all of the phraseology of his document, the distinguished New Yorker, Secretary Seward, had some suggestions to make to strengthen the text. Mr. Seward said, "The general question having been decided, nothing can be said further about that. Would it not, however, make the proclamation more clear and decided, to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President, and not merely say that the Government 'recognize' but that it will maintain the freedom it proclaims?"

The Cabinet, agreeing with Seward, convinced the President of the wisdom of his suggestions. These were incorporated into the document which was then corrected and prepared that afternoon for publication. It is this manuscript, in Lincoln's own hand, on which he lavished such loving care, that is now the cherished possession of the people of the State of New York.

The text declares that all slaves in the States presently in rebellion against the United States, which were still found to be in a state of rebellion in 100 days, would be declared to be freed by chance, according to Lincoln, the 100th day fell on the first day of the year 1863. Despite the fears and trepidations of some of the more devoted of the abolitionists that he might fail to do so, Lincoln, true to his word, issued on January 1, 1963 a second proclamation activating the promise of the first. This was the document which carried out the plan of freeing the slaves so carefully prepared for in the first Emancipation Proclamation. Taken together these two are actually instruments of equal importance since neither has any meannig or effect without the other. President Lincoln prepared the final Proclamation on December 29, 1862. Manuscript copies in the handwriting of secretaries were distributed to members of the Cabinet at a meeting on the morning of December 30 for their comment. At a meeting on the following day a new closing sentence was added, and on the following day the Proclamation was published. Some delay in the actual publication was caused by the necessity for determining those parts of Louisiana and Virginia which were not in rebellion.

The two proclamations have been severally styled "first" and "second"; "preliminary" and "final"; "Emancipation Proclamation" and "Proclamation of Freedom"; but the fact remains that both are really part and parcel of the same act and that the various arguments which had been indulged in by pedantic scholars as to their relative importance are doomed to sterility.

The manuscript text of the Second Proclamation, which would compare with the New York State Library's copy of the first was, unfortunately destroyed in the Chicago Fire. The New York State Library was fortunate enough to acquire from Benjamin Lossing what is probably the only photograph of this text and what is undoubtedly the best facsimile of the original.

How the people of New York State became the owners of this milestone of freedom is a fascinating tale. The U.S. Sanitary Commission, which has been described as "Mr. Lincoln's fifth wheel," sponsored a relief bazaar, one of a series conducted for the benefit of sick and wounded soldiers, in Albany in February 1864. Mr. Lincoln asked Mr. Seward to forward to this bazaar the now famous manuscript of his First Proclamation for sale, the proceeds to go to this worthy cause. It was determined that the manuscript should be raffled off. Some 1,200 tickets were sold and the bazaar reaped a profit of $1,100 on this item alone.

The bazaar was a highly colorful affair, and really deserves an extensive description which would not be appropriate here. The drawing for the proclamation resulted in its being won by Gerrit Smith, whose fame as a New York abolitionist is probably second only to that of John Brown. The assembled multitude cheered so appropriate a result of the drawing. Mr. Smith gave it to the Sanitary Commission, where it reposed until 1865.

Inspired by Lincoln's funeral services in Albany, the New York State Legislature wisely appropriated $1,000 and purchased it for the collections of the New York State Library, where it survived a fate similar to its companion piece when it came through the Capitol fire undamaged because it was in a fireproof vault. Except for those rare occasions when it is displayed, the document spends its time in an even more effective fireproof vault in the education building in Albany. A suitable shrine is planned for the permanent public display of the document in Albany.

Printed copies, both official and unofficial, of both Proclamations are legion. It is interesting to note that the first printing of Proclamation No. 1 gives on its heading the date for freeing of the slaves as January 1, 1865. Some printer or compositor who has long since gone to his reward must have had difficulty in living that one down.

How important was the Emancipation Proclamation? Perhaps a quotation from Charles Eberstadt, an acknowledged authority on the document, will answer this query.

"The Proclamation has been called by responsible persons one of the three great documents of world history, ranking with the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence. An even more enthusiastic proponent has extolled it as 'the greatest document even penned by mortal man.'"

## U.S.S.R. Propaganda Materials in U.S. Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is well recognized that the Veterans of Foreign Wars is one of the leading anti-Communist organizations in this country. The Veterans of Foreign Wars, like many other patriotic organizations, does not believe that our Post Office Department should deliver Communist political propaganda free or at subsidized rates. The position of the VFW on this issue is stated in a resolution adopted at their 63d annual convention, held at Minneapolis, Minn., August 12 through 17, 1962.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 252: U.S.S.R. PROPAGANDA MATERIALS IN U.S. POST OFFICE

Whereas the U.S. Post Office Department annually reports a deficit in excess of $500 million allegedly due to insufficient income; and

Whereas postal rates to overseas areas are in the process of being raised as of July 1, with further raises in domestic rates under consideration upon approval from the U.S. Congress; and

Whereas the U.S.S.R. is mailing to the various citizens of the United States, particularly to schools, colleges, the youth of the Nation and various organizations, tons of propaganda material each and every month; and

Whereas the handling and distribution of the U.S.S.R. material is subsidized to a great extent by the U.S. Post Office, thereby aiding in increasing the annual deficit in the income in Post Office Department; and

Whereas the mailings from the United States to the U.S.S.R. is on a greatly reduced scale, with no definite proof that it ever reached its addressed destination: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the 63d national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States,* That this matter be brought to the attention of the proper Government agencies to take immediate remedial action to correct the situation.

## Cuba Presents New Challenge for Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I ask that the following be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Pompano Beach (Fla.) Sun-Sentinel, Sept. 5, 1962]

CUBA PRESENTS NEW CHALLENGE FOR LEADERSHIP

Our foreign policy is based on the idea we must lean over backwards to avoid doing or saying anything that might offend the Russians.

The Soviets, on the other hand, proceed in the confident belief that nothing they do or say will offend or provoke the United States.

So, we had the announcement Sunday that Russia will arm Cuba.

One State Department spokesman appeared little concerned about this. He told newsmen the statement was an attempt to make what the Soviets have been doing sound legitimate.

The prospect is that missile launching sites are being built or have been built to place U.S. targets within range of even relatively short-range weapons.

Certainly all of Florida is "under the gun," so to speak.

The same is true of much of Latin America.

Vast power is in the hands of a ruthless band of cutthroats—Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, Ernesto (Che) Guevara, Aragones Navarro and their ilk.

They have shown no mercy in dealing with their own people. Surely these hate-America fanatics cannot be expected to pull any punches against us if they feel an attack will serve their purposes.

Certainly we have ourselves to blame in part. The Cuban problem has developed over the past 2 years and 9 months because we have been unable or unwilling to cope with it.

The Eisenhower administration, in the first instance, either did not have sound intelligence reports on Castro or it chose to ignore them. January 1959, would have been the proper time to have started checking the Fidel myth.

The Kennedy administration muffed an opportunity in April 1961, when it failed to support the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Along the line, we abandoned entirely a source of America's great strength and security—the Monroe Doctrine.

President James Monroe, in a message to Congress on December 2, 1823, laid down the principle that the United States would not permit any European nation to extend its holdings or use armed force on the two American Continents.

Ironically, that doctrine was set forth because of Russian moves at that time. The then czarist country planned to establish a colony on the Pacific Northwest coast.

Another factor in stating the doctrine was a plan of several European nations to help Spain win back her former colonies in Latin America.

Pertinent to our present situation was the statement of the Monroe Doctrine that any European attempt to control independent American governments would be an unfriendly act to the United States.

The control Russia exerts in Cuba certainly is an unfriendly act today.

Unfortunately, the New Frontier holds of little value that which served our Nation well in the past. So, it is a lot to expect that we would use the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to save the situation at this late date.

Our choices are not at all appealing in any event.

We could assert ourselves along the lines of the Monroe Doctrine, but to be sure of success, we would have to be prepared to back up our words with arms, if necessary. That, of course, could mean war.

Other than that, we can let things drift as they have for 45 months. Sooner or later, the screwballs of the Castro regime can be expected to attack or brazenly kill Americans under circumstances which may force us into war.

Naively, we have sat back during the past 2 years in the belief Castro would collapse. That has not happened and there is little chance it will happen.

All of this directs our thoughts back to the presidential campaign of 1960. At that time, Candidate John F. Kennedy told us time and again that America had slipped to a second-rate power.

We did not accept that at the time.

But now, we are looking and beginning to feel like a second-rate power.

What is needed desperately at this time is some first-rate leadership from Washington. It must be leadership founded in wisdom, stiffened by courage, and activated by a conviction that right makes might.

It is possible that such leadership might avoid fighting over Cuba, but without it, it seems inevitable that we will have to fight—on our terms or the enemy's.

## The Immorality of President Nasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the August 28, 1962, issue of Near East Report.

Is there no limit to the lengths the Egyptian dictator will go to provide his ragtag army with war materiel?

The article follows:

THE IMMORALITY OF PRESIDENT NASSER

Thousands of Egyptian children, between the ages of 6 and 9, are paying the price for the bombers and fighters which Nasser gets from the Soviet bloc. They are giving up their schooling to grow the cotton Nasser uses to trade for Soviet weapons.

The low state of education in Egypt is revealed in Egypte by the French journalist Simone Lacouture, recently published in Paris:

"The regime will soon have to make its crucial decision: whether to abandon the method of cultivating Egypt's cottonfields with the aid of hundreds and thousands of school-age children or have these children miss school the bulk of the scholastic year. * * * Only in dead seasons do children attend classes. What are the dead seasons? If there is no cotton, there are the donkeys and the oxen to pasture and the thousand other daily chores to do. For these children, going to school is a holiday, a sort of vacation and joy."

According to Mme. Lacouture, higher education also has its problems:

"The Egyptians are affected by the low standard of their universities. Hardly any students are permitted to leave abroad for studies. * * * The Egyptian university student does not read, does not debate, does not struggle. A special police force has even been created to watch him closely and if there is the slightest suspicion of something wrong, the university doors are shut forever in his face."

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a com-

mittee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts are sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

HOUSTON, TEX.,
*July 2, 1962.*

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: We fully support your House Resolution 211 establishing a permanent Committee on Captive Nations.

We will lose the struggle against communism as long as we are on the defensive. One of the best ways to take the offensive is to expose the colonialism of Russia and let the people of the captive nations know that we support their desire for freedom.

Yours truly,

MRS. JOSEPH J. LOVING, Jr.
JOSEPH J. LOVING, Jr.

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SOUTH ST. PAUL, MINN.,
*July 2, 1962.*

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I note you are the sponsor of House Resolution 211. On this you are to be congratulated. And, please, by all means, do all you can to establish a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

I thank you for your efforts on behalf of this resolution.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH KURTZMAN.

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HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Your proposal, House Resolution 211, is the best weapon at the present time against colonial Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

MYKOLA OTRUN.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

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SYRACUSE, N.Y.,
*July 1, 1962.*

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I wish to offer you encouragement for your efforts to have a permanent Committee on the Captive Nations established in the House.

It would certainly be appropriate if this measure were voted on in the coming Captive Nations Week.

I have written to Congressman SMITH, Rules Committee, and my own Representative asking that they support your House Resolution 211.

I can't understand why the White House and State Department oppose your bill. Perhaps they don't wish to annoy Mr. Khrushchev.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM A. BURNS.

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FREEHOLD, N.J.,
*July 5, 1962.*

HON. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Committee on Rules, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: As an American citizen of Cossack descent, I would like to ask you to support House Resolution 211 introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, for the establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations.

I am very glad to see that the resolution included, among the various nations submerged by Moscow, the Cossack nation and my old homeland, Cossackia.

With best wishes for your work,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE MOROZOFF.

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## Supreme Court Prayer Decision

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER H. MOELLER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, confusion reigned in the minds of many American citizens with respect to the Supreme Court decision relative to its ruling on prayer. Now that the schoolrooms have been opened to hundreds of thousands of American children and teenagers, we should soberly review this decision and ask ourselves what, if any, damage has been done to our great American heritage of religious liberty?

I submit for my colleagues' reading an editorial that I think will pinpoint the problem from the church's point of view, as well as from a legal point of view. This is done in an editorial by the Reverend Professor Robert K. Menzel, Concordia College, Portland, Oreg., entitled, "The Supreme Court Ruling on Prayer."

The editorial follows:

THE SUPREME COURT RULING ON PRAYER

More than a month has gone by since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a 22-word prayer used in many schools in New York State violates the first amendment to the Constitution. By this time some of the sound and fury has quieted down, and reasonable Americans can begin to look at the controversial decision in a more sane and objective way.

Sound and fury there was during the June week following the ruling by the Supreme Court: One Congressman called the decision "ridiculous, blasphemous, anti-Christian, almost atheistic." Another labeled it "asinine," adding that American schools would now "resemble those in Russia, where the mention of the Supreme Being is not permitted." A third charged that the Court had "dealt a deathblow to the faith of every believer in a Supreme Being." Several hastily authored bills called for a constitutional amendment making religious exercises in public schools permissible.

One religious leader said he was "shocked and frightened," another was "shocked and disappointed." A Roman Catholic newspaper called June 25, 1962, "The Blackest Day" in the Nation's history and compared the Supreme Court judges to enemies who declared war against the United States in 1776, 1917, and 1941.

On the other hand, a prominent religious leader felt that "many Christians will welcome this decision," while many Congressmen and educators also expressed their approval. The independent Protestant journal Christian Century editorialized: "The Supreme Court has rendered a service of the greatest importance to true religion as well as to the integrity of a democratic state."

A PRAYER TO PLEASE EVERYONE

The prayer at the center of the storm and strife reads "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

The New York State Board of Regents, which oversees the schools of the State, composed the prayer in 1961 and recommended its use in public schools. The prayer was suggested as one way of fostering "moral and spiritual values" in the public school. The regents had taken what they thought to be every precaution to see than no child would be forced to say the prayer, and that any child could be excused from the room while the prayer was read or recited. Many Protestant and Catholic leaders hailed it enthusiastically.

Although the regents thought the nondenominational prayer ought not offend, many did find it unacceptable. Jewish groups protested its use. Officers of a Lutheran congregation in New York called the prayer an abomination because the name of Jesus Christ had been omitted.

RULING APPEALED

In 1959 5 parents of 11 children in the public schools of New Hyde Park brought suit in the State courts to stop the use of the prayer on the ground that it violated their beliefs. When the highest court in New York upheld the use of the regents' prayer, the parents appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

On June 25 the Court, in a 6-to-1 decision, reversed the action of the State court, which found nothing unconstitutional in the prayer. Justice Hugo L. Black wrote the majority opinion, four other justices concurring, in which he declared that the regents' prayer "breaches the constitutional wall of separation of church and state." Justice William O. Douglas agreed with the ruling in a separate opinion, in which he suggests that all religious practices for which public funds are expended violate the first amendment of the Constitution.

Only Justice Potter Stewart dissented. "I think this decision is wrong," he stated, because "to deny the wish of these schoolchildren to join in reciting this prayer is to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation."

Justice Felix Frankfurter, who was ill, and Justice Byron R. White, who was appointed after the New Hyde Park case was argued before the Court, did not participate in the decision.

NO OFFICIAL PRAYERS

It is evident that many spokesmen responded to the questions of reporters with "off the top of the head" judgments before they had read exactly what the Court had ruled—and had not ruled. Time (July 6) reported that a Georgia clergyman called the decision the most terrible thing that's ever happened to us—then admitted that he did not really know what the decision said.

Unlike other recent Court decisions on questions involving the relationship between religion and public education, which have gone into lengthy philosophical and historical detail, the ruling on the regents' prayer confines itself to one main point: "Each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers."

Focusing on the "establishment clause" of the first amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," the majority opinion holds the regents' prayer to be "inconsistent with both the purposes of the establishment clause and with the establishment clause itself." The Court felt that since the prayer was composed by government officials, it tended to promote an official religion. "This very practice of establishing governmentally

composed prayers for religious services was one of the reasons which caused many of our early colonists to leave England and seek religious freedom in America," the opinion points out.

GUARANTEE OF FIRST AMENDMENT

The first amendment, according to the ruling, is "a guarantee that neither the power nor the prestige of the Federal Government would be used to control, support, or influence the kinds of prayer the American people can say." Government "is without power to prescribe by law any particular form of prayer which is to be used as an official prayer in carrying on any program of governmentally sponsored religious activity," the Court concluded. The provision of the first amendment limiting the power of Congress is made applicable to the individual States by the 14th amendment.

The ruling admits that the regents' prayer is far from an actual "establishment of religion," that is, an officially recognized state church. Although many people see no danger to religious freedom in a prayer so brief and so general, Justice Black voiced agreement with President James Madison's warning that "it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties."

Exactly what does the decision mean? In previous Court rulings in the area of religion and public education, one main principle has been enunciated. The Pierce decision (Oregon, 1925) established the right of parents to send their children to parochial and other nonpublic schools. The Everson decision (New Jersey, 1947) held that transporting parochial school pupils in public school buses does not violate constitutional provisions. The McCollum case (Illinois, 1948) ruled out the use of public school properties for religious instruction. However the Zorach opinion (New Jersey, 1952) declared that released-time religious education programs conducted away from public school facilities are permissible.

SINGLE PRINCIPLE ESTABLISHED

What single principle is established in the Engel decision—as the regents' prayer case will probably be called? Simply this, that any and every unit of government is prohibited from prescribing or sanctioning by law any official prayer or act of worship.

That such a limited application of the ruling is the intention of the Court is evident from Justice Black's footnote to the decision: "There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that schoolchildren and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity, or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God."

The footnote has the effect of assuring the Nation that the Court has no intention of interfering with such religious practices as Senate and House chaplaincies, the ritual call of the marshal at the opening of each session of the Supreme Court ("God save the United States and this honorable Court"), the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance, and "In God We Trust" on currency. Justice Black said that these are "patriotic or ceremonial occasions," bearing "no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise" at issue in the Regents' prayer case.

The Hicksville (N.Y.) school district promptly took the cue by deciding to substitute part of the fourth stanza of "The Star-Spangled Banner" for the banned prayer.

TOWARD A VIEWPOINT ON THE DECISION

At the recent Lutheran Laymen's League convention in Portland, Oreg., Prof. John Strietelmeier of Valparaiso University pointed out that equally dedicated Christians often disagree on the proper course to follow in such moral issues as nuclear testing, Federal aid, etc. Undoubtedly among Lutheran Christians there will be different points of view on the debated Court decision. Several observations may be made, however, to point the directions in which thoughtful Christian citizens may move in evaluating this and other related decisions which, we may be sure, will face the Court in the near future.

1. God has not been barred from the classroom, as some have charged. Dr. Oswald Hoffmann, director of public relations of the Missouri Synod, recently stated that "elimination of God and His law from all teaching in the public schools" does not necessarily follow upon the elimination of officially composed prayers from the public school curriculum. Nor can the Court action be termed "anti-Christian," Dr. Hoffmann added, since the Regents' prayer was "not a distinctively Christian prayer, neither conceived nor offered in the name of Christ."

2. The decision reminds the Nation of the positive meaning of "the doctrine of separation of church and state." Far from fostering a doctrine of "absolute separation" of church and state, the decision emphasizes that church and state must each do its own job with its own tools. Speaking for the Court majority, Justice Black said: "It is neither sacrilegious nor antireligious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave the purely religious function to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance."

"Prayer is an act of commitment or faith, [which] cannot be imposed by governmental or community fiat," Dr. Hoffman stressed in this connection.

3. Home and church will have to do their jobs better. Louis Cassels, UPI religion columnist, noted: "The Supreme Court ruling means that Protestant parents must face up to * * * the reality that the average Protestant child is not receiving much religious education."

Nothing really beneficial will result from denouncing the Court or from attempting to push through constitutional amendments permitting religious exercises. Rather, Protestant churches should take constructive steps to provide children with the religiously oriented educational experience which the Court action has ruled out of the public schools. Such steps include making radical improvements in the Sunday school, opening Christian day schools, and broadening released-time, Saturday, and weekday schools through employment of personnel trained in religious education.

4. Lutherans should be acutely sensitive to the rights of religious minorities. The church that hails Martin Luther's lonely stand at Worms, where he declared that "to go against conscience is neither right nor safe," should be extremely hesitant about settling matters of faith and conscience by majority vote.

The New Hyde Park parents who protested that the Regents' prayer was contrary to their religious beliefs and practices were vilified and harassed. That these minorities were Jews or Unitarians makes little difference. In some distant tomorrow Lutherans could be such a minority group.

Protestant Americans must face up to the fact that the United States is not now and never has been "a Protestant country," and that a broad religious pluralism which includes many shades of religion and irreligion characterizes our culture today. Spiritual descendants of Luther should be the first to stand behind constitutional principles which protect the rights and conscience of minorities.

5. Whether or not religious observances, school prayers, and other public ceremonial religious exercises have any significant value is currently a subject for lively debate. Justice Stewart probably expressed the conviction of a majority in the Christian community when he wrote in his dissenting opinion that prayers in school, the words "In God We Trust" on our currency, and other religious symbols are meaningful reminders of "highly cherished spiritual traditions of our Nation." In the elimination of all religious symbols some see a surrender of the public school to total secularism and implicit atheism. On the other hand, many would agree with Sterling M. McMurrin, U.S. Commissioner of Education, who holds that "prayer that is essentially a classroom function has not much religious value." He would probably be ready to add there is only slight educational value in such prayers.

Others see an actual threat to genuine religious commitment in these practices and charge that "public school religion is neither Christianity nor Judaism, but something less than either." Public school religious practices, some church leaders point out, are so general and ambiguous that they water down rather than reinforce genuine Christian faith.

6. An evident need exists to explore acceptable ways for public expression of what Time calls "the unique American proposition—that of a government of freedom under God." Such demonstrations of our spiritual heritage should emphasize the voluntary character of religious expression and should be dissociated from governmental sponsorship as much as possible. The amazingly successful Kirchentag movement in Germany, where hundreds of thousands of Christians gather for large-scale religious programs, might be tried in the United States. All churches, for example, could observe national days of prayer before major elections and during significant national events. Other creative suggestions as to how the "unique proposition" can be kept alive and nutured are very much in order.

No external, contrived religious expressions, however, will provide a substitute for a dedicated, witnessing, and serving Christian community. Here one must reckon with the very real possibility, as St. Peter visualizes it, that judgment may already be beginning in the house of God (1 Peter 4: 17). If the salt has lost its "saltiness" and Christianity is weak and ineffectual, then neither acts of Congress nor constitutional amendments nor token religious exercises can keep the United States from being "godless." Such a fate would be the judgment of God on both the church and the state.

7. Christians must work more diligently on the local level to resolve community tensions over religion in the public schools. Often in the past minorities have resorted to the courts only after efforts to work out the problem on the local level have failed.

MORE STORM AND FURY AHEAD

The 1960's will witness further clarification of the "establishment of religion" and "free exercise thereof" clauses of the first amendment, particularly as they pertain to the role of religion in public education. Issues on which Supreme Court rulings can be expected in the near future are Bible reading in schools, free textbooks for parochial school children, Christmas and other religious holiday observances, informal prayers in school (such as grace at meals), baccalaureate services, religious censuses, religious tests for teachers and others. A case that will bear particular watching is one arising from practices of Dade County, Fla., schools, where nine distinct religious practices are being challenged. Other cases have gone through State courts in Pennsylvania (Bible reading) and Oregon (free textbooks).

The decision on the regents' prayer, it would seem, will have bearing only on those exercises which are prescribed by Government; for example, Bible reading. Statutes which call for compulsory daily Bible reading will very likely be declared unconstitutional. If the free-textbook decision comes before the Court, it would appear unlikely that a ruling of the Oregon Supreme Court declaring this practice unconstitutional will be reversed.

Speculation as to the outcome of other issues aside, periodic flurries of storm and fury will accompany each new Supreme Court decision that touches on the controversial religion-in-public-education question. Time (July 6) expresses a reasonable point of view which God-fearing Americans may well adopt: "The United States evolved * * * as a country with 'a godly tradition.' Unless emotions released by the (regents' prayer) decision are strangely perverted, the country will stay that way."

Past tradition, let it be remembered, however, is no guarantee of future faith. Laws, school practices, courts, and even constitutional amendments cannot assure that the Nation's "godly tradition" will be carried on. Whether or not the United States will continue under the "unique American proposition—that of a government of freedom under God"—will remain, under God, with the Nation's churches and Christian homes.

## The Escape Clause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, as the other body continues consideration of the foreign trade bill which is H.R. 11970, certain of the membership of the House who voted for that bill have been defending their vote on the basis that the foreign trade bill, as it passed the House, was an improvement over the existing trade laws that are now in effect. Nothing could be further from the truth and any Member of the Congress who defends his vote with this excuse is absolutely misleading the people of his district who work in industries that will, without question, be adversely affected by the foreign trade bill. For instance, it has been suggested that an individual Member of this House voted for the foreign trade bill because it strengthened the escape clause provisions of the law. Nothing could be further from the truth. This is what happened to the escape clause.

The escape clause has had its teeth drawn. Under the old act, the one being replaced by the present foreign trade bill provided that if employment had declined, if output had dropped and if the domestic industry was losing in its share of the market, all these trends were to be considered by the Tariff Commission as evidence of serious injury.

The proposed bill has dropped these yardsticks completely. The escape clause has been weakened seriously as a result.

Also, previously if a part of an industry, such as the flat glass branch of the whole glass industry was injured the tariff on that product could be raised, as it was on flat glass. It was not necessary to prove injury to the whole glass industry.

Under the present bill the definition of industry would be greatly broadened and it would be much more difficult to get relief under the escape clause.

Altogether the value of the escape clause would be virtually destroyed. This is the opinion of leading tariff experts who have had long experience with the escape clause.

So far as the bill as passed by the House is concerned, it would also be more difficult and not easier to override the President if he rejects a Tariff Commission recommendation.

Under the old law, it is true, it required a two-thirds vote of the Congress to override the President, but it was two-thirds of those present and voting.

Under the new bill it would require a constitutional majority of the House membership or a minimum of 218 votes. This might be more difficult to achieve than a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

Also, under the old law, the motion to override the President was highly privileged. It did not have to go through committee hearings and could not be bottled up. Under the new bill such a motion would have to come through the Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee and could easily be bottled up. There would be no way to assure even a hearing. This would make the overriding of the President a most unlikely possibility.

The upshot is that the escape clause would become a dead letter.

Mr. Speaker, any Representative who would defend his vote on the foreign trade bill in this manner is weak indeed. This certainly should lead everyone to the conclusion that that Member of Congress did not take time to personally acquaint himself with the provisions of the bill or that his vote was dictated to him by someone else and he blindly refused to vote in the interest of the working man and woman of his State.

## Great Polish-American Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a remarkably well-written letter to the editor of the New York Times by my valued friend, authority on Polish affairs and outstanding Polish-American leader, Mr. K. Stefan Pomierski.

This learned expert on the plight of free peoples enslaved by the Soviet under so-called World War II diplomatic agreements, has keen, well-informed awareness of the very challenging situation confronting the free world as the result of the continued subjugation of Soviet satellites who were once respected, loyal members of the free world community and yearn for their renewed freedom.

Mr. Pomierski has labored tirelessly and intelligently for many years in support of the Polish cause, and for liberation for the distressed Polish nation and other oppressed nations. He has repeatedly, vigorously and ably set forth a sound program for liberation of the pitiful victims of oppression, and it is to be hoped that this Nation and the free world will act resolutely to press such a program in the interests of freedom and justice for those noble souls suffering under abysmal, Communist tyranny.

This is a crucial hour in the disordered affairs of mankind. It is an hour which will test the staying power, the determination and courage of free peoples, and especially of this great Nation born in freedom. It is an hour that will determine the future course of free government and the fate of personal liberty in the world. We will be resolute now, or forever hold our peace, for if we stand by, unprotesting and weak, while Marxist communism overruns the world, in a relatively short time, there will be little, if anything, left of Western civilization as such, and the lamps of freedom, decency, democracy, and justice will be extinguished all over the world.

Let us, therefore, heed this timely message and bring some impelling courage, as well as vigor and intelligent, firm action, to bear upon the great problems of liberation and freedom. That is the very least we can do in the name of those who throughout the centuries, have bled and died bravely and without fear, in order that man may be free of shackles and live in peace, brotherhood, and freedom.

I congratulate our esteemed, patriotic friend, Mr. Pomierski, upon his heart-moving message:

AUGUST 20, 1962.

EDITOR, THE NEW YORK TIMES,
*New York, N.Y.*

DEAR EDITOR: September 1 will mark the 23d anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. The Polish Nation bore the brunt of Hitler's powerful armies and after 19 days of heroic resistance was treacherously stabbed in the back by the armies of Red Russia.

More than 8 million of Poland's people gave their lives in World War II.

The Poles were the first nation to resist aggression, and in spite of warm words of praise and sacred pledges of freedom from responsible allied leaders, Poland was the first European nation to be sacrificed on the altar of appeasement at Yalta in 1945, when she was shamefully turned over to godless communism. Ever since that time, a chilly wind begun to blow in all parts of the world, and we are living in a state of a cold war as a result of our appeasing policy at Yalta. Communism is today in control of almost half of humanity and is continuing to advance in all parts of the globe, including our own hemisphere.

On this 23d anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, let us be mindful of the historical fact that two bitter enemies, France and Germany, have not so long ago entered into a deal with each other in regards to their permanent frontier and for the purpose of jointly opposing communism, the greatest menace to mankind. And on

this anniversary of the brutal attack upon Poland by the Nazis, a strong request should be made by the Governments of the United States, France, and Great Britain addressed to the Government of West Germany toward a rapprochement between the Poles and the Germans by an official recognition on the part of the Bonn Government of the present Oder-Neisse border and by asking the Polish people to forget and gradually forgive the brutal crimes committed by the Nazis.

If we shall be able to achieve such a Polish-West German understanding, underwritten by the Western Allies, it will be a great victory for all God-fearing people in this cold war, and it will bring hope and encouragement to millions of enslaved people.

At the same time, let us rededicate ourselves to the faith that says that only firmness in our dealings with the Communists, preparedness, unity and constant alertness as well as religion and prayers in our houses of worship, in our homes and in our schools are the greatest weapons in our fight against the evil forces of godless communism, which is menacing our own freedom and our great American values.

Faithfully yours,

K. STEFAN POMIERSKI.

## Retraining: Massachusetts Experience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Journal of Commerce in its August 29 issue gave an interesting report in editorial form on a retraining activity in Massachusetts which predates the enactment of Federal legislation to assist in this field. The experience of this program is encouraging and it is to be hoped that with sound planning a return in similar success can cap the Federal efforts. I am placing this editorial in the RECORD to help show the possibilities in retraining as an answer to some of our most critical employment problems:

RETRAINING THE JOBLESS

Far more encouraging as a contribution toward possible solution of some of our unemployment problems than outworn spend-and-spend idea is an arresting first installment of a Massachusetts report on job retraining. It is a survey undertaken jointly by that State's division of employment security and the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and has been issued by the bank.

Retraining of jobless persons soon will be vastly increased by the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, but the whole idea is relatively new and up to now little tried. However, two New England States, Massachusetts and Connecticut, have pioneered in retraining, and their pilot projects anticipated by several years the first Federal plan under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961.

A redevelopment area by definition does not have a normal demand for labor.

The Massachusetts survey is of special interest in connection with technological unemployment, both as respects jobless whose skills no longer are needed and those whose services are required only intermittently. Many of the State's retrainees were those who lived precariously from one layoff to another.

The retraining survey covered 900 persons, 300 of whom had completed their first year in new jobs won through their training. In this first year they increased their annual incomes by 35 percent, some by much more.

They averaged 7 workweeks longer employment, which in part accounted for their higher income. In comparison, a similar group of unemployed who had landed jobs without retraining averaged 10 percent more annual income.

The Bay State's unemployment compensation benefit law, beginning with 1956, provided that anyone out of work taking a vocational training course could be considered "available for work" and therefore eligible to receive benefits, with an 18-week extension of benefits if this was necessary to complete the training.

The unemployed selected their courses, paid the tuition, if any, subject to approval by the appropriate State agency. In Massachusetts it is possible to quit a job to take training, after serving out a 10-week "disqualification period." Some of these persons' records were studied, too.

This "voluntary quit" group, interestingly enough, did better than a "control group" who had not had retraining benefits, but not quite as well as those who lost jobs through "involuntary separation." Maybe the voluntary quits were more ambitious.

The Boston Reserve Bank notes that 77 percent of New England trainees under the Area Redevelopment Act have been placed in jobs, related to the training, with another 5 percent in other jobs, some outside the redevelopment area.

Any plan that accomplishes 82 percent of its objectives normally is considered successful both for the individuals affected and their sponsors. So far, of course, the statistics are not sufficiently comprehensive and cannot yet be.

Incidentally, a crying need is for more exact figures on this technological or "structural" unemployment attributed to automation and what percentage of all unemployment it is, for this segment of the jobless can be aided more efficiently and at less total expense than is involved in new and more grandiose "make work" plans of the pump priming variety.

We would think that trade unions could help materially in plans to gather more useful statistics.

The unemployed are not going to be permanently aided and their problem, which is a national problem, is not going to be solved without intelligent study, of which the latest report from New England on retraining is an example.

Tax reform is going to help, but promiscuous and temporary tax cutting isn't. Nor is there anything more than temporary aid to the jobless in huge "planned deficits" which create inflationary booms that are followed by busts which make unemployment worse.

## Statement of George J. Burger in Opposition to H.R. 10518, Which Would Eliminate Set-Asides of Construction Contracts for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement of Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, before Subcommittee No. 2 of the Banking and Currency Committee on September 6, 1962.

Mr. Burger—speaking on behalf of 181,078 members of his organization—opposed the ending of set-asides in the construction industry. There is no question in my mind that if this bill is enacted it will be a serious blow to a program which has provided equal opportunity to small business in the competition for Government contracts.

Mr. Burger's statement follows:

STATEMENT OF GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

I am George J. Burger, vice president and in charge of legislative activities through the Washington office of the National Federation of Independent Business. Our head office is located in San Mateo, Calif., and division offices located in Cincinnati, Ohio, Chicago, Ill., and New York City.

Our membership in the 50 States now totals 181,078, all individual members comprised of independent business in the production and distribution field, and also professional men.

While we have not polled our members directly on the specific bill before your committee, we are committed by membership vote to support all programs which will secure for all smaller, independent businesses a fair chance to compete for Government contracts.

This was one of the reasons why our members committed us to work for the creation of the Small Business Administration in 1953, to steps which strengthened it in the years following, and to the moves made in 1958 which resulted in securing permanent status for the agency.

Since 1953 we have made it our business to maintain an active, not academic, interest in the agency's functioning. Executives of the federation have made regular personal visits with the agency's national headquarters and with its regional and branch offices. Our last visits were made in the fall of 1961. Our inquiries have covered the entire range of the agency's services, including the functioning of its set-aside programs. For that reason, when we speak with you on this phase of the agency's program we do so on the basis of firsthand knowledge.

Our observation is that in line with the duties and authority vested in it by the Congress, and consistent with the responsibility placed on it to render services only to smaller, independent business units, the Small Business Administration has performed an effective job. This holds true on the set-aside program as well as in all other phases of its work.

We would add that, based on firsthand knowledge derived from our own contracts with smaller, independent business people, and from the reading of the countless hearings by committees of the Congress, it has been doing a most necessary service for the small business people of this country if they are to have the opportunities they vitally need, not only in the field of Government contracts but also in all other areas covered by the agency.

Now, we know that the agency has been criticized and is under constant fire. On the one hand, there is a tendency among the smaller independents to say it is too liberal in aiding what they consider as "big" independents. On the other, the larger independents have complained that the cutoff points in its regulations are too restrictive. Just recently, one of our members wrote in to complain that since he had suc-

cessfully competed for sizable subcontracts with a truly large Government prime contractor his volume had grown to a point where he could not benefit by the set-aside program. Quite naturally he resented the fact. However, it occurred to us that if the agency is to be charged with assisting smaller independents, then it must limit assistance to such firms. If this latter be not true, then the agency must become a general help agency. But the Congress has not so created and charged it. For our part, our members have not supported it on such a basis.

We are not arguing here in favor of the status quo in set-aside size limits in the construction contracting or any other fields. Wisely these limits are always open to revision, upward as well as downward, as conditions require. Possibly revisions are in order for greater fairness and more reality in the contract construction field. We understand that proposals are under consideration by the SBA right now to raise the size limits from $5 million volume in 3 years to $7.5 million in 3 years. We hope that the construction contractor associations will counsel with and advise the agency in that connection, for the true welfare of all in their fields, smaller independent contractors as well as the larger independent units. If any changes are needed in the Small Business Administration handling of set-asides for the construction contractor industry we hope they will be suggested.

While we are wholeheartedly in favor of reasonable revision of size standards, and while we cannot take and do not take a position directly on the bills before your committee, we are concerned about their implications which clearly seem to point in the direction of a step by step, but finally complete, breakdown of the set-aside system. Exempt that industry, and precedent is set for exempting all others. In this sense, the bills directly affect not only those in the construction contract industry but also those in the electronics field, the precision industries, the clothing field, in fact, the entire range of industries in which smaller independents have the desire and capability of supplying the needs of government. This must not be overlooked by anyone, especially those of the Congress who are members of this subcommittee.

Frankly, we are convinced that it would be a sorry day for small, independent business people, who are the backbone of our economy and whose continued existence and fair opportunities are so vitally important to the maintenance of our individual liberties, should the Congress consent to any move which would deprive them of any necessary assistance such as is afforded in the set-aside program.

It is our earnest hope that the members of this subcommittee will give long and serious consideration to these facts before reaching decisions on the bill now before you.

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## Comments About Tax Reduction Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy has indicated that in January of next year he will submit to Congress an extensive series of administration recommendations for tax reduction and tax reform.

We all realize that there is considerable difference among our economists about the interrelationship of tax reductions, deficit financing, and increased public spending.

The President has given all of us an opportunity to make preparation for the great debate on this subject next year and with this in mind I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following comments which I consider to be extremely valuable and thought provoking:

[From the National Observer]

ILLUSIONS ABOUT TAXES

There's a good deal of disagreement over who should get the biggest cuts. Labor spokesmen argue the emphasis should be on the lower and middle-income brackets. Business leaders stress the higher income brackets. Businessmen naturally want a cut in the corporate tax rate, too. But despite the obvious squeeze on profits, many labor leaders contend companies have plenty of money ready.

* * * * *

Despite all the dissension, there is broad agreement on the theory behind the tax-cut proposals. If Uncle Sam only takes less in taxes, the reasoning goes, consumers will spend more on autos, appliances and other goods, and businessmen will spend more on capital equipment. If all this comes to pass, the economy will start spiraling upward and fears of a business recession will vanish.

This theory rests on the assumption that additional demand can be created at any time by Government action. Administration economists have been enviously eyeing the swift pace of consumer spending in Western Europe. This demand is pressing against the productive capacity of Europe's factories, keeping its boom spinning.

But Europe-United States comparisons are illusory. There is no assurance at all that the United States by twisting the dials of its tax machinery, could set off a Europe-style boom. For Europe is now at a stage somewhat similar to the United States in the 1920's, with automobiles and many other consumer goods only now beginning to come into common use. America has no comparable backlog of demand to draw on. And there is no reason to think that consumers are going to rush out and buy a lot of things they neither need nor want.

Many people would use the tax-cut cash to pay Junior's college bills or settle up old accounts with the doctor or the dentist. But these are not the things that put more men to work in factories. Many other people probably would salt away much of the extra cash. In fact, the feverish taxcutting atmosphere in Washington these days could frighten people into a real rush to savings.

Taken by itself, this would be no calamity though it's hardly what the planners have in mind. More savings are needed, for savings supply the funds to build new factories, expand old ones—in short, they finance the economic growth the administration is so urgently seeking.

The real danger is the idea that the Government, already spending far more than its taking in, should cut its income by reducing taxes but should go on spending just as freely as ever. Even the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is urging Uncle Sam to live it up.

Tax-cut advocates argue that reductions in Federal levies would fuel a boom that would send revenues soaring. But this, they admit, would be true only if the tax cuts touch off the great upsurge in demand that they hope for.

* * * * *

If prices rise on the things our factories produce, businessmen will find it increasingly difficult to sell goods abroad—and foreign companies may find our markets even more tempting. America's dollar would fall still lower in world esteem and our gold would continue to flow into foreign coffers. It is simply not so that a nation can go on forever running deficits at home and abroad and forever inflating its money without dangerous consequences.

Though it's hard to predict the precise results of tax cuts, it's certain the only responsible way to grant them is to tie them to a sharp cut in Federal spending. To argue otherwise is to foster an illusion that could blow up in our faces.

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

FOR A TAX CUT NOW

In recent years our rate of economic growth has been declining and at this time the economy is listlessly balanced on a high plateau. A stimulus is required to restore a healthy and vigorous rate of growth, and there is a remarkable unanimity of opinion among businessmen, labor leaders, and economists that the best stimulus available is a tax cut.

The compelling argument for a tax cut rests upon sound principles of economic analysis.

If personal income taxes are cut while the current level of Government expenditure is maintained, the economy will be stimulated by the ensuing increase in the total expenditures for goods and services. It is important to bear in mind that the effects of a tax cut will be multiplied by successive rounds of expenditures so that a $1 tax reduction will, after about 6 months, result in a $2.50 increase in expenditures. In addition to this multiplier effect on the consumption side, there will be a powerful but not readily calculable stimulus to investment as the rising volume of sales presses upon productive capacity.

A token tax cut will not sufficiently stimulate the $550 billion American economy. What is required is a substantial reduction. The tax rates for all income brackets except the highest one should be reduced by 5 percentage points to increase after-tax income by $10 billion. The nearly confiscatory 91-percent rate for the highest bracket should be reduced to 65 percent, thus reducing tax revenues by an additional $650 million. This reduction for the highest income bracket, which has long been recommended by proponents of tax reform, will increase investment and diminish the efforts to establish tax shelters. In addition to the reduction in personal income taxes an across-the-board reduction in corporate income taxes by 2 percentage points would add $1 billion to business income which would be useful in financing the anticipated rise in the volume of investment.

In total these tax cuts would result in an $11.6 billion loss in Treasury revenues, but the personal-income tax reduction alone will increase the volume of total expenditures by $26.5 billion and the dynamic effects of these increases upon the volume of investment should add much more to the gross national product. Thus the fiscal deficit that is incurred will be sharply reduced as a rising level of economic activity generates greater tax revenues.

* * * * *

On countless occasions during the campaign of 1960 President Kennedy reiterated the necessity for "getting America moving again." The time has come for injecting new vigor into the economy. The admin-

istration should advocate, with all the force that it can muster, an immediate tax cut.

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[From the Christian Science Monitor]

BEYOND A TAX CUT

(By George H. Favre)

Most economists agree that a basic fact behind the sluggishness of the U.S. economy is simply a lack of demand for goods, especially of the high-priced hard-good variety. Having satiated in large part its need for refrigerators, washing machines, etc., after the war, the buying public's demand for these items is back to more normal levels.

Tied to this is the fact that many sectors of industry, geared up to the heavy postwar demand, now find themselves with idle productive capacity as demand diminishes.

In the face of these two factors, it may be reasoned that a 3-percent tax cut is not likely to spur most individuals into heavy new spending. Nor is it likley to cause manufacturers to rush to invest in new equipment.

When tax cuts are put into context with overall tax reform on a permanent basis, they may be expected to accomplish more. This doubtless is why President Kennedy is holding off on a decision about immediate tax cuts. As a matter of overall reform, tax cuts that take into consideration the long-run impact on corporate profitability, on individual incentive to increase earning power, and similar long-range factors will be all to the good.

But on whatever basis tax cuts may be made, they raise the specter of budget deficits, at least in the short run.

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Some economists argue that just by cutting taxes and letting all that money flow through the economy business will pick up naturally and the resultant higher profits and higher pay checks will repay the Treasury with interest.

This argument is tenable under conditions where there is demand for goods but insufficient money. But today demand seems to be apathetic even though there is plenty of money. Personal income is at an all-time high. So is personal saving, although in the first quarter of 1962 the saving rate dropped slightly while spending increased.

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Whatever the reasoning, all would doubtless agree that a tax cut today will involve a deficit in the budget. The justification for this deficit is the premise that money released by a tax cut must find it way into those sluggish gears in the economy that most need this fiscal lubricant. Only then will it have the desired effect.

For some time now economists have been arguing that if more of the gross national product (GNP) were devoted to the public rather than the private sector, this would help speed up economic growth. This presumes Government spending or "public works."

But tax cuts, as such, tend to divert money into the private rather than the public sector.

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Dr. Böhler says that "tax cuts through larger writeoffs or lower income taxes would help business, but they would hardly bring rapid growth as long as there is considerable surplus capacity."

Rather than build Federal deficits in this manner, Dr. Böhler feels the United States should be concentrating on improving education, research, housing, transportation, building schools and hospitals, and so forth. It is in these areas, says the world-famed expert on business cycles, that the most beneficial expansion would take place.

Interestingly, some of the same economists who advocate a tax cut now are those who would argue for a redistribution of the gross national product, with greater emphasis on the public sector. The two are not necessarily incompatible, but it should be clear that once tax cuts (hopefully) have done their work and stoked up the economic engine, there will be fresh demands upon the Government to redistribute these gains from private to the public sector.

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Many economists—including the President's Council of Economic Advisers—are convinced that the economy is in a state of sluggishness, that unless tax cuts are made promptly and meaningfully, the economy will falter and slip into a recession, or worse.

These fears reflect the fact that despite continuing advances in the major economic indicators, under the surface there are signs that the economy is sputtering. Also contributing to the uneasiness of many economists has been the agitated state of the stock market of late, which some interpret as a signpost of things to come.

On the other side, opponents of an immediate tax cut—of whom Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, is the outspoken leader—insist that a tax cut now would be fiscally irresponsible.

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Senator BYRD cited the current $300 billion debt level as one major argument against tax cuts now. To cut taxes at a time when the Government is already running heavy deficits, he asserted, would stimulate inflation and encourage fiscal irresponsibility.

Were it possible to confine the debate to the question of simply a temporary tax cut that would stimulate the economy into a new superboom, it would not be so difficult. For one thing, any inflationary impetus of such a move would tend to be countered by the fact that consumer goods are in plentiful supply.

More money jingling in the pockets of the American consumer, it could be reasonably argued, would find its way quickly into the cash registers of automobile dealers, furniture and appliance salesmen, home construction and repair firms, and so forth.

But there are larger considerations. Not the least of these is the impact of a tax cut on the psychological value of the dollar overseas.

The dizzy descent of the stock market in recent weeks, and its subsequent queasiness has been felt in stock exchanges around the world. As a result a renewed lack of confidence in the dollar is being felt, signaled by freshened interest in the London market in gold bullion, as well as in diamonds and gold mine stock at home and abroad.

In these ways does world opinion telegraph its punches when it is about to take flight from the dollar.

In recent transatlantic debate over the dollar's stability it has been argued that the European central bankers—who currently hold claims against the United States sufficient to more than wipe out this country's entire gold reserves—are less concerned about a manageable Federal budget deficit then they are about the country's balance of payments and inflation.

It is this larger question of the dollar's integrity which dampens enthusiasm for any sudden tax cut. Any more that has even the appearance of undermining the stability of the dollar is bound to have serious repercussions.

The very fact that European central banks hold the huge pools of dollar assets that they do is one very stern moral reason why the dollar's integrity must not be jeopardized.

To deliberately take any step that might further weaken the dollar would ultimately weaken confidence in even the strongest European currencies as well, for the dollar is kingpin of the whole Western monetary system.

FOR A TAX CUT NOW

(By Walter Lippmann)

Since the Wall Street crash at the end of May there has been a sharp and rapid change of responsible and expert opinion. The crash alerted those who watched the economy, causing them to ask whether the Kennedy recovery of 1961 was going to peter out before it went much further. There had been a very few who had predicted this last January when the administration, using what had proved to be erroneously optimistic estimates, adopted a restrictive and deflationary fiscal policy.

The unfounded optimism ended a few days after the crash. The business reports which have come in during June and the first half of July show that with a few exceptions, automobile sales and residential construction, the recovery is sluggish and is slowing down. Employment and industrial activity, profits, inventory replacement and capital investment are so sluggish that the recovery appears to be nearing its end. It would seem that by the onset of winter there will be a recession.

Professor Samuelson says that the peak of total profits was in fact reached at the end of last year and that the rate of unemployment, which has never gone below 5.4 percent, will from now on be rising.

We are not, let us repeat, as yet in a recession. But, we are on the verge of one. This is the critically important time for the Government to act in order to stimulate the expansion of economic activity. The longer it waits, the stronger will the medicine have to be. It has already waited 6 months too long, and so it will need to use stronger medicine today than it would have needed last January. If it waits until the recession has actually begun, the chances are that the comparatively agreeable medicine of a tax cut will not be enough, and will need to be supplemented by more Government spending.

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In 1957, when the coming of the third Eisenhower recession was indicated, President Eisenhower was, so I understand, advised to reduce taxes. He refused, not only because he did not want to enlarge the deficit, but because he was afraid that to talk about preventing a recession would bring it on. So, the President waited. The result was an enormous budgetary deficit, the largest in time of peace, a painful recession, and, we may add, a mighty contribution to the Republican defeat in the election of 1960.

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[From the Wall Street Journal]

TAX-CUT FEVER: MOST ECONOMISTS FAVOR REDUCTION, SPLIT ON TECHNIQUE

(By Arlen J. Large)

The uncomplicated appeal of money will certainly fuel much public support for the proposed Federal tax cuts.

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Economists still differ, of course, on whose taxes should be cut most and on the significance of the resulting budget deficits. But there is now a remarkable consensus among economic soothsayers on the main point: Uncle Sam's tax burden is throttling economic growth and should be lightened.

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It's the investment lag on which most of the tax cut theories now converge, though some of the paths are meandering. Depending on the theorist, it's reasoned that a tax cut will (a) make ordinary consumers so rich that they'll buy more goods, luring company presidents into building and modernizing factories to produce the extra merchandise, or (b) let individuals and companies have more of their money for investment in new factories, which will create more jobs and make wage-earning

consumers rich enough to buy the extra merchandise.

These twin circles of argument lead to the same essential: a reduced Federal tax burden on the economy. But because the two theories disagree on whether wealth trickles up or down, they permit continued side arguments among theoreticians over which taxpayers should get the most relief.

Thus organized labor contends that when tax cuts are passed around, business and rich people should be left out. "Tax cuts for the low and middle income groups," declared AFL–CIO President George Meany last week, "find their way into the spending stream, while tax cuts for upper income recipients usually move into savings." Reduction of the 52-percent corporate tax rate, he added, would be "very unwise" because companies already have plenty of funds for new investment.

Organized business groups base their own arguments for tax reduction on just the opposite line of technical reasoning. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce declares that people in the 60-percent-plus tax brackets want to invest wealth productively, but that they have little left after Uncle Sam takes his share.

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Some tax-cut advocates refuse to enter this hoary trickle-up-versus-trickle-down debate, but urge an even-handed distribution of relief.

The Kennedy administration also tries to avoid taking sides, stressing the need to encourage both consumer demand and business incentives for "productive investment." Thus, its tax program is a mixed ideological stew of bigger depreciation allowances, cuts in both high and low individual tax brackets, and a probably small reduction in the corporate rate.

Economists who join the parade of tax-cut advocates have found various technical ways of making their peace with the nagging question of deeper budget deficits. Some boosters of an immediate cut argue the economy would revive so much that when lower tax rates were applied to larger incomes the Government would actually lose little revenue. Another school of theorists contends there would be a deficit, but that it wouldn't be inflationary as long as there's high unemployment and the money supply swells no faster than the economy as a whole.

Of course, the tax-cut army also contains economists who openly contend a budget deficit is positively desirable in today's circumstances. Laced heavily with the doctrines of John Maynard Keynes, the late British economist whose name still sends everyone running for the ideological trenches, their argument runs thus: There has been a basic change in the postwar economy. Consumers aren't so eager as before to go into debt; businessmen have plenty of capacity in existing factories and little incentive to borrow expansion funds. This leaves too much money lying around in savings compared with the demand for borrowed money. A Federal deficit is the way to channel the savings surfeit into more productive debt.

SPENDING CUTS URGED

Still other economists agree with one or the other of the theories supporting a tax cut but are unable to swallow the resulting deficits. Raymond J. Saulnier, the Eisenhower administration's chief economist in its closing years, thinks it would indeed be "enormously helpful" to reduce the total tax load, but he argues it must be accompanied by an attack on lofty Federal spending. "Neither our domestic nor our international affairs will permit us to go for very long on a spree of higher spending, lower taxes, and bigger deficits," Dr. Saulnier declared in a speech last week.

Except for deficit-worriers, though, outright opponents of a tax cut are rare. John Kenneth Galbraith, an economist who advocates channeling more resources into the public sector, divorced himself from Washington's tax-cut talk during a recent trip home from his ambassadorial post in India.

## Professor Demos of Harvard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a recent article by the able reporter for the Boston Globe, Mr. H. Kenny, regarding the career and retirement of the distinguished Prof. Raphael Demos who, for many years, has been an outstanding professor of philosophy at Harvard University.

Professor Demos is a great man. Born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, under the Turkish flag, he worked his way up from humble beginnings to one of the highest posts in American academic life.

Noted scholar and author, known throughout the world for his brilliant intellect, significant writings, and great talents as a lecturer and teacher, Professor Demos has made a very deep imprint upon the times, and particularly upon our educational and intellectual affairs.

Of proud Greek blood, he has always exemplified the finest, most exalted traditions of the noble people from whom he is sprung. Not only a great professor, but a great human being, warmhearted, understanding, and interested in people, particularly the boys who came under his gifted tutelage, Professor Demos has left a very deep impression upon the intellectual life of Harvard University as well as upon the world of scholarship and the students who were fortunate enough to study under him.

His retirement at this time will be regretted by his colleagues of the faculty and the student body. But it has its compensations in that Professor Demos, whose work continues with vigor and intellectual fruitfulness, will now have more time for his own studies, writings, travel, and relaxation that he has denied himself for many years. But perhaps it is a pious hope that this dynamic intellect could ever be relaxed. Chances are that, if anything, he will intensify his work.

In any event, generations of Harvard men as well as the university itself and the world of abstract thinking are greatly indebted to this intellectual genius for his unselfish contributions and untiring labors. His former students and a host of others will want to wish for him and his beloved family at this time, as we congratulate him heartily upon his most constructive career at Harvard, continued good health, success in all his undertakings, and peace of mind and true happiness for many years to come.

Professor Demos will always symbolize for us the innate nobility of a great and memorable philosopher king, radiating reason, hope, and compassion in a world that desperately needs the generous measure of his fellowship of the human spirit.

The article follows:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Aug. 19, 1962]

HARVARD'S DEMOS TO LEAVE ATHENS OF THE EAST FOR ATHENS OF SOUTH FOR ATHENS PHILOSOPHER TAKES RETIREMENT PHILOSOPHICALLY

(By Herbert A. Kenny)

Question. How does a philosopher accept retirement?

Answer. Philosophically.

So it proves in the case of Raphel Demos, since 1945 Alford professor of philosophy at Harvard University, who will retire this fall. He has taught at Harvard since 1916.

All philosophical questions are complex and so is the matter of retirement. First of all, Professor Demos is presently teaching at the Harvard-Radcliffe summer school and in the fall will go to Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., for a year.

"From the Athens of the East to the Athens of the South," he said with a smile.

"And then?"

"To Athens."

The fountainhead of Western philosophical traditions.

But it is not its ancient tradition of philosophy alone that will take him there. His brother, Stephen, is dean of a school; his sister, a librarian. Five years ago on a trip there, his wife and children fell in love with the country.

He was born in Smyrna in Asia Minor under the Turkish flag. As Raphael Demetracopoulos he became "a poor student at the poorest of colleges, Anatolia."

"We washed at the village fountain. It was very primitive. Even the Christian women covered their faces with a veil. But the students, ah—they all had the fire of learning."

There he read his first book on philosophy and his future was destined. His face darkens with an old grief when he recalls that the teachers at the college were massacred by the Turks in the Greco-Turkish conflict following World War I. His philosophy professor was hanged.

By that time, he was teaching at Harvard he had earned his Ph. D. To earn his keep, he had washed dishes in a boarding house—"I was no good at washing dishes"—and swept out the offices of the Harvard Lampoon—"I was shocked by all the empty beer bottles."

He shortened his name to Demos which was already in his family tree, and went to Cambridge University and Paris for further study. In 1921 he became an American citizen conscious of a great debt.

"I remember, from the first moment I arrived, the friendliness of America and its people. I cannot emphasize that enough.

"Nowhere else could my life have happened. Even when I went to Cambridge University 10 years later there was no one there earning his way.

"There was no thought there of anyone washing dishes and doing chores to pay his way through as I did at Harvard. The chores paid my way; later I taught English to immigrants at night school.

"Those were happy years. At Harvard I found the utmost kindness, the utmost

friendliness. Ralph Barton Perry was chairman of the philosophy department, and I can remember our first meeting.

" 'Any Greek,' he said, 'is welcome to my home.'

"And besides the friendliness—the stimulation. Bertrand Russell came to teach. He was like a bomb; he exploded and excited us so. T. S. Eliot was a year ahead of me and president of the Philosophy Club.

"When I went to London on a fellowship later, Russell received me very warmly and took me to musical shows. Eliot gave me his first book of poems. I looked at it and couldn't make anything of it so I threw it away.

" 'You'd have made money by keeping it,' he told me later when I confessed. Since then, of course, I have come to appreciate his poetry."

In the post of Alford professor, he succeeded such distinguished figures as Josiah Royce and William Ernest Hocking.

Professor Demos describes himself as a Christian Platonist. He has edited the complete works of Plato and has written his own study of him.

"Although America has no major philosophical figures today like William James," Professor Demos said, "I think her role in the field of philosophy has risen remarkably. When I was in Greece, I had one small fault with them.

"Why do you all go to Germany for philosophic study?" They still do, you know. Although that is changing, too. The German occupation in World War II had something to do with the change, of course. But the intellectual ferment in the United States has much to do with it. We are now in a position to give back to Europe what it gave us for many years.

"The United States, like Harvard, is not dominated by any one philosophical tradition. In England, linguistic analysis is supreme, but it is an ivory tower philosophy; while on the Continent, the existentialists dominate. They differ from the linguistic analysis school by their insistence on engagement in society, with the problems of life and death.

"But the United States has a more diverse ferment. And it needs the philosophic attitude badly. It has accomplished so much; for all major intents and purposes, it has abolished poverty. Now it is facing up to the problem of world peace. This is not so easy. Previously, America solved its problems by tackling them head on. Now they must not expect ready answers and quick solutions.

"We have produced all the material goods we need. We cannot produce the good life so easily. It requires time. That is a growth more than a goal. It must come from within. Peace takes time. We are learning the tragic aspects of greatness. And this struggle for peace may never end.

"Why should we expect it to, necessarily? The struggle within man against the effects of original sin will not end. Just so this crisis may be permanent. You cannot always have certainties. We must meet the crisis without becoming overoptimistic and without becoming cynical. More college courses in philosophy would help citizens develop the proper state of mind."

Leaving Harvard is "unpleasant," he said, as is the impending fact of leaving his home for the past 21 years, 10 Francis Avenue.

During the past weeks, he has been making all the poignant arrangements with his wife, the former Jean MacMorran, herself a Ph. D., and dean of the graduate school at the New England Conservatory of Music. Their children are John P. and Penelope.

## A Voice From the Hinterlands on the Washington Cesspool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I recently spoke of the degree of corruption which now is prevalent in Washington and I hoped out loud that this corruption would not contaminate the country as it has this city. Mr. Ed Delaney, a columnist syndicated in various of the small- and middle-sized California newspapers, recently commented on my remarks. I appreciate Mr. Delaney's interest, and I am placing his column, as it appeared in the Santa Ana, Calif., Register, in the RECORD, to help give fuller exposure to his thoughts:

TRUTH FORUM

(By Ed Delaney)

"Washington, D.C., is becoming a cesspool where rottenness swirls around and no outlet. Today we have to rely more and more on faith rather than reason that this cesspool has not contaminated the entire Nation and that the people of our country still become shocked when they hear of corruption."

Those are not the words of a John Birch Society member or one of those persons whom the leering liberals characterize as an "extremist." They are the words of Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Missouri, spoken on the floor of the House in Washington and may be read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 30, 1962. The words are a serious indictment of the present administration in Washington and cannot be brushed off lightly. They should be strongly impressed in the minds of millions of our people.

Among other disgraceful connivings and maneuverings in Washington, Representative CURTIS cited the Billie Sol Estes case and its unprobed ramifications. The Attorney General, the President's brother, appears to be up to his neck in partisan politics, says CURTIS. Not only does he fail to enforce the laws, asserts the Missouri Congressman, but he seems to encourage violations of the laws. He has moved with snail's pace in the Estes case and seems inclined to brush the whole matter under the rug, at least until after the November elections. The reason is obvious. Disclosures to date involve fraud, connivance of Federal officials, corruption and even murder. There undoubtedly would be repercussions of a scandalous nature if the whole affair were made public now for it appears likely some Federal and administration appointees will not be able to absolve themselves of blame. The Estes case is shot through with politics, rotten, disgraceful partisan politics and it is small wonder that Representative CURTIS calls Washington a "cesspool" which threatens to contaminate the entire Nation.

Machiavelli, the cunning conspirator and devil's disciple of the Middle Ages appears to be the patron saint of the juvenile pressure boys whom the White House has employed to importune and cajole Members of Congress into rubberstamping legislative measures or projects which the President deems desirable for the country. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say, measures which his corps of neo-Socialist advisers and the illuminati of the Council on Foreign Relations prescribe for our domestic and foreign ills.

The inordinate pressure that was exerted by the administration for passage of the foreign aid bill and for giving the President discretion in the matter of giving or withholding funds from Communist countries, is a positive example of sinister influences in Washington—the "cesspool" as Mr. CURTIS calls it. Aid to Communist countries does not aid the captive people toward their hoped-for freedom. It only strengthens the power of the oppressor. But of course in the words of Prof. Walter W. Rostow, the President's foreign policy planner, the Communists are mellowing. The building of the wall through Berlin and the imprisonment of some 16 million people behind those barricades across the heart of Europe, shows how the mellowing is being applied.

The one hopeful omen Representative CURTIS sees for our people is, that reporters and commentators in the hinterland of these United States, refuse to be deceived by the propaganda emanating from the White House and kindred sources. The grassroots editors and writers cannot be intimidated nor are they susceptible to the blandishments of the Washington hierarchy. In the last analysis the Government nabobs in Washington are not our masters but are servants of the people. It is just possible that our small town opinion makers, editors and publishers may yet save us, by putting the servants in their proper place.

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### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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# Appendix

## Tom Storke Receives New Newspaper Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLAIR ENGLE**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, Tom Storke, the 85-year-old newspaper owner-editor from Santa Barbara, Calif., is a journalist of courage, integrity, skill and patriotism.

He has waged many crusades in his 61 years of putting out newspapers. Most recently he rebuked the John Birch Society in the editorial columns of his Santa Barbara News-Press.

For this attack, he won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing for calling attention to what his newspaper said was "a campaign of hate and vilification by the Birch Society."

And he won the Lauterbach Award for "pointing out the dangers to American freedom created by extremists of the radical right." The Lauterbach Award is given each year to a newsman for outstanding work in the field of civil rights.

Now Mr. Storke is about to receive a new honor—the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award in memory of a newspaper editor who died upholding the freedom of the press. The award cites Mr. Storke for "integrity, craftsmanship and character."

In the following Associated Press dispatch, which appeared in the Fresno Bee August 20, 1962, this latest award to Mr. Storke is reviewed along with some of the more important achievements in his very productive career.

I ask unanimous consent at this time to have the Associated Press dispatch included as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COAST PUBLISHER IS HONORED FOR CRUSADE

WATERVILLE, MAINE.—New honor today came to an 85-year-old fighting California newspaperman—already twice honored for distinguished journalism since he challenged, last year, the activities of the John Birch Society, a militantly conservative group.

A committee, including noted newspapermen, now has named Santa Barbara publisher Thomas More Storke to be the 1962 recipient of an award given yearly by Colby College in memory of an alumnus, martyred Editor Elijah Parish Lovejoy. When shot to death in Alton, Ill., November 7, 1837, Lovejoy was defending—against a mob—his newspaper plant and his right to publish truth as he saw it. He has been hailed as America's first martyr to the freedom of the press.

The award, to be presented November 8 at Colby's observance of the 125th anniversary of Lovejoy's slaying, will recognize Storke as a newspaperman of "integrity, craftsmanship, and character," who has continued the Lovejoy heritage of fearlessness and freedom.

Owner-editor of the Santa Barbara News-Press, Storke is dean of California publishers, having given 61 of his 85 years to running his newspaper.

Today's Colby College announcement notes that Storke last November received the Lauterbach Award given each year to an American newspaperman for outstanding work in the field of civil liberties. He was cited for pointing out the dangers to American freedom created by extremists of the radical right.

In May this year, the Colby announcement also notes, he received the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing—for calling attention to what his newspaper said was a campaign of hate and vilification by the Birch Society.

The committee that chose him for the Lovejoy Award consists of Herbert Brucker, editor of the editorial page of the Hartford (Conn.) Courant; Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor; Dwight E. Sargent, editor of the editorial page of the New York Herald Tribune; Robert E. L. Strider, president of Colby College; and Reginald Sturtevant, chairman of the Colby College Board of Trustees.

The ruddy-faced Tom Storke includes in his ancestry Spanish Lt. Jose Francisco de Ortega, who discovered San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate in 1769. Storke went to work as a $6 a week cub reporter in 1898 in his native Seaside City. Three years later, with $2,000 he borrowed from a druggist, he bought the Santa Barbara Daily Independent.

Storke's News-Press, a daily of more than 31,000 circulation, is the lineal descendant of the little Independent and other newspapers Storke acquired.

Still working 6 days a week, he continues his long-held belief that "a newspaper will not be listened to or win respect if it pussyfoots in stating its editorial beliefs."

He used his newspaper for many a crusade—against the Southern Pacific Railroad, which once dominated California; for the Santa Ynez Dam, which guaranteed Santa Barbara's water supply. He strove successfully for the rebuilding of his city in neo-Spanish architecture after a 1925 earthquake. He played a key part in swinging the California Democratic Convention delegation to Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932, thus assuring Roosevelt his party's nomination.

Among his many honors have been service as a U.S. Senator, as a regent of the University of California, and as a leading citizen in his home city.

Concerned when the influence of the Birch Society began to show itself in Santa Barbara, he took the position that any organization seeking to influence American opinion should be exposed to the judgment of the public.

After Birch Society Leader Robert Welch assailed former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Storke's close friend, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Storke's newspaper attacked the society in feature articles and editorials.

"How," Storke asked, "can anyone follow a leader absurd enough to call former President Eisenhower 'a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy'?"

His newspaper contended Birchers used Communist-style techniques to fight communism and accused them of "indiscriminate character assassination."

Within a year, Storke reported that disclosure of Birch Society activities was all that was needed and that the temperature of the city's body politic was about back to normal.

His Pulitzer Prize award brought congratulatory messages from all over the country, including one from President John F. Kennedy, praising Storke's "sturdy conviction and judgment."

Tom Storke said "it should not be considered courageous to stand up and defend what God and the Constitution have given us."

## Our Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of September 5, 1962:

OUR CONSTITUTION: IS IT JUST A SCRAP OF PAPER?

President Kennedy says that while the U.S. Constitution is a remarkable document we have to remember that it was designed for an agrarian society which feared the power of central government. In the long history of the Presidency there has not been a more casual dismissal of the basic instrument of our system of government and of our freedoms.

Mr. Kennedy's remarks were made off-the-cuff to an assembly of high school students brought to Washington to study the value of Government service. The President of the United States, standing on the lawn before the White House, told them the Constitution was written during a period of isolation, that it does not provide an automatic light to the future in that all we have to do is to follow the very clear precepts it lays down for us, and it will have to be made to work in a different world from the day in which it was written, both at home and abroad.

Was this a careless statement of a harassed and troubled President, one which in retrospect might be regretted? We don't think so. It has been said before by spokesmen for an adminstration that chafes under constitutional restraints and legislative processes. Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a speech prepared for a conference at Stanford University, said: "The President is hobbled in his task of leading the American people to consensus and concerted action by the restrictions of power imposed on him by a constitutional system designed for an 18th-century agrarian society."

There has been a tendency to separate Mr. Kennedy from the men who surround

him, or even speak for him, as if a President was so indifferent to his office that he chose for personal advisers men whose opinions he would not welcome or accept. More than 30 former members of the ADA, Americans for Democratic Action, sit in policy positions in the White House and executive offices. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a former ADA chairman, is a Presidential speechwriter. Schlesinger has described the ADA as the non-Communist organization of the American left and once wrote that capitalists are cowards and socialism will come about through a succession of New Deals.

It has been hard, perhaps, to face the reality that Mr. Kennedy came to the White House without real strength of conviction or purpose. He even said he felt uncomfortable in the company of liberals. The White House was a prize. He is still acutely self-conscious in public. During his campaign he tried to proclaim his position in history in the light of Christopher Columbus and George Washington. He asked us to depart from our past and follow him.

While he was vague then, he now listens to what he obviously wants to hear. He speaks of the "cliches of our forebears," of our economic "myths," of the need to adjust ancient prejudices to new realities, and to look ahead to some international "grand design." The ADA has pointed the way for him—left.

In accepting the Presidency, Mr. Kennedy took an oath "to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign or domestic." A million men have fallen in its name. Are we now going to say it is only a scrap of paper?

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## International Due Process and the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on August 7, 1962, at the Law and Layman Conference in San Francisco, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., delivered an address entitled "International Due Process and the Law." In it, he discussed the possibility of an international writ of habeas corpus to protect individuals throughout the world from denial of personal liberty without due process of law. Justice Brennan points out that although article IX of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations Charter declares that "no one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile," this guarantee is merely empty rhetoric until some international agreement sets up machinery for its enforcement. He further states that this would not require a world superstate, but could be done by treaty. In the past, the State Department has opposed proposals for world habeas corpus on the grounds that few nations would be willing to enter into the necessary treaty. This address by Justice Brennan, which I view as related to the general movement for a world rule of law, may well justify reexamination of the problem. A New York Times editorial of August 9, 1962, points out that although the world habeas corpus proposal could not be expected to receive immediate and universal acceptance, this task some day will have to be attempted and suggests that the United States should take the lead.

Justice Brennan pays tribute in his speech to Luis Kutner, a Chicago lawyer, who has studied and written widely and worked hard toward the realization of world habeas corpus. I, too, want to pay tribute to Luis Kutner. As a boy, he was wrongfully arrested by a policeman and confined in a basement cell without arraignment for 2 days without food or water. As a result, he has devoted his life to helping and defending those who are wrongfully imprisoned or deprived of personal liberty. It has been estimated that he has won the release of more than 1,000 wrongfully convicted people. He is president of the Commission for International Due Process of Law, which has the support of many leading international lawyers in its endeavors for world habeas corpus. Those who hope for ultimate protection of the dignity and freedom of the individual on an international basis under a world rule of law should applaud the efforts of Mr. Kutner and should carefully consider the address by Justice Brennan.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Mr. Justice Brennan and the New York Times editorial of August 9, 1962, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks of Mr. Justice Brennan and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL DUE PROCESS AND THE LAW

(Remarks of William J. Brennan, Jr., Law and Layman Conference, San Francisco, Calif., August 7, 1962)

Faith in fundamental human rights, and the dignity and worth of the human person, is the inspiration and the guiding spirit of the movement for a world rule of law. We would create a world rule of law, in the words of the consensus of San Jose, "to the end that the rule of law will govern all men and all nations and any man can then walk any place on the face of the earth, or travel through endless space, in freedom, in dignity and in peace."

But our time has known in full measure the tragedy suffered by countless human beings over the face of the globe who, deprived or their liberty without accusation, without trial, upon nothing but the arbitrary fiat of a sovereign government, have been helpless to challenge their detention in a world forum. Yes, the world community has declared in ringing words its moral condemnation of such detentions. It is in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the Charter of the United Nations. Article IX of that declaration, among other things, reads that: "No one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile." But this is and must remain empty rhetoric until implemented by some international structure and procedure for enforcing compliance by an offending signatory state with the great principles it guarantees. Concepts of personal and territorial supremacy—national sovereignty—leave each member state free to grant its nationals only that measure of due process provided by its own laws, however far short that measure is of the standard contemplated by the universal declaration.

Some have conceived that world peace through the rule of law can be achieved only with the creation of a full-fledged superstate in which all nations are merged—a supranational organization that has political and military control over all of its units. My own view accepts Roscoe Pound's premise that "all states need not be merged in a great world state, in which their personality is lost, in order that their conduct may be inquired into and ordered by authority of a world legal order." The all-important—indeed the most important—end of a world rule of law, the securing of individual liberty, can be attained without the creation of a world state.

All that seems necessary is that the United Nations signatories ordain by a simple treaty statute a structure and scheme for securing international due process of the nature of the national due process familiar to every American: a prompt and speedy trial; legal assistance, including assistance for the indigent; prohibition of any kind of undue coercion or influence; freedom to conduct one's defense; the right to a public trial and written proceedings; the presumption of innocence and the burden upon the State to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt; security against cruel and unusual punishments. These standards of due process, and thus of effective justice, only words now in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have their counterparts in our own U.S. Constitution. The vital difference, however, is that our Nation has vitalized them for our people through a national forum and a national procedure for their enforcement.

We are a Nation of 50 States—each not of course so sovereign as a sovereign nation, but nevertheless sovereign in important respects. But a State which prosecutes and imprisons an individual under procedures which violate the fundamental principles of liberty and justice embodied in the guarantees of due process in the Federal Constitution may be called upon by the individual to answer for its conduct in a Federal forum. Almost a century ago the Congress extended the ancient writ of habeas corpus—that most important writ known to the constitutional law of England, affording as it does a swift and imperative remedy in all cases of illegal restraint or confinement—to any person claiming to be held in State custody in violation of the Constitution or laws or treaties of the United States. The individual may petition a Federal court to hear his claim that his detention is in violation of Federal constitutional guarantees. It avails the State nothing that the detention does no violence to State law or the State constitution. The guarantees of the Federal Constitution are the higher law. It is true that the Federal court will not hear a State prisoner who has not first exhausted any available State remedies for decision of his Federal claim. For upon the State courts equally with the Federal courts rests the obligation to guard, enforce, and to protect every right granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States. However, the State prisoner is not concluded by any determination of the courts of the State that his Federal claim has no merit. The prisoner may seek review of that holding in the Federal courts including the Supreme Court of the United States. Since he asserts a Federal claim the last word as to its merits is for the decision of Federal and not State tribunals.

Here then in our own country is almost 100 years of experience with the feasibility of a suprastate procedure for realizing the concepts of decency and fairness which are the foundation of our free society. And a most important corollary effect of the existence of this suprastate remedy has been its influence toward keeping the separate States on the path directed to securing those who run afoul of State laws against invasion of the procedural rights guaranteed them by the basic law of the land.

Why should we not internationalize the writ of habeas corpus along these lines to enforce the guarantees of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? The research of Prof. Luis Kutner and others has demonstrated that it can be done. Professor Kutner has performed an invaluable service for the world in blueprinting a plan for world habeas corpus including a judicial structure and a procedure. He proposes doing this within the present United Nations structure through a treaty statute. It is a concrete program whereby the now only morally binding Universal Declaration of Human Rights would be made, by the voluntary consent of the nations of the world, a legally binding commitment enforcible in an international court of habeas corpus which would function through appropriately accessible regional courts. Regional world attorneys general would either prosecute or resist application for the writ. Of perhaps equal or greater importance, in the reflection of what happens in our States under the regime of Federal habeas corpus, the sovereign nations would commit themselves to enforce the guarantees of the Declaration in their own tribunals, authorizing review of their decisions by the international court of habeas corpus. Thus individuals would have relief in the international tribunal only upon a proper showing either that relief was wrongly denied under available remedies in the courts of the member state, or that that state provided no such remedies.

I do not say that this plan for world habeas corpus following the outlines of the structure of our Federal habeas corpus is the only or the best plan. That's not important for our purposes here this afternoon. What is important is the obvious utility of world habeas corpus as a tool for the avoidance of the dangers of the police state, and its great promise as a contribution toward preserving and furthering world peace by repudiating, through an enforcible international rule of law, systematic and deliberate denial of human rights. The plan requires no surrender of national sovereignty to a supranational state and there is more than a feeble hope that the nations of the world would perceive that this plan would indeed serve their national interests. For as Professor Kutner has said: "If there are any denials of human rights which all nations might in principle agree violate standards of fairness, certainly arbitrary arrest, i.e., a wrongful custody without color of legal justification, is one. If individuals may be arrested or incarcerated without cause, or for causes which clearly violate fundamental human rights, they do not have the most elementary fundamental freedom."

Indeed a beginning has already been made in the creation in 1953 by the 15 countries of the Council of Europe of the European Court of Human Rights, and a Commission of Human Rights which may receive complaints from individuals or groups, or from member nations, of alleged violations of a wide range of human rights established by the convention as a bill of rights. The Conference of Lawyers from the 23 nations of the Americas who convened in San Jose, Costa Rica, last June also made the creation of a world court of human rights a specific goal. No nation should be ahead of our own in furthering the goal. Objections once expressed by the Department of State that "with the many deep-seated political and ideological differences which exist among the various nations, it would not appear to be practical to seek meaningful agreement upon a statute for such a court on the part of most countries," if they still obtain, must surely be subject to reexamination. At all events American lawyers cannot in good conscience fail wholeheartedly and completely to devote themselves to the achievement of the goal. That they feel so is implicit in their joinder in the consensus at San Jose that "the need for a legal, definitive writ through appropirate machinery in order to exercise collective and individual protection of human rights is not only regarded as essential and necessary but as moral and right."

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 9, 1962]

A COURT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Speaking with the frankness we are beginning to expect from members of the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., has proposed an international court of habeas corpus. The principle of habeas corpus is that governments may not hold prisoners without due cause. As the Constitution's sixth amendment states, "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial." The eighth amendment further stipulates that "excessive bail shall not be required."

These rights were won by British citizens from reluctant British monarchs over a long period of time, and with some sacrifice of life and liberty. We took them over with the British law when we declared our independence of the British Government. Manifestly they do not exist in Communist countries or in most other dictatorships, and not in the same form in all so-called democracies. Even the best-intentioned government may sometimes find the practice of preventive detention convenient, so that a man is punished for the crimes he might commit if he were at liberty.

Justice Brennan's proposal would not, therefore, secure immediate and universal acceptance. He recognizes this fact when he cites a passage in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights—"no one 'shall be' subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile"—as nothing but "empty rhetoric" so long as it is not enforcible. Something could be done, however, by setting up a new court through treaties among the nations. Such a tribunal, once established, might give the individual citizen in any member country a new appeal to mankind's sense of justice. If the system worked even with a limited number of nations, it might influence countries where individual rights are not now respected.

This task will some day have to be attempted. Why not now under the auspices of the United States?

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## The Sketchbook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, after reading daily in the newspapers throughout our country stories of the tensions of our time, it is somewhat relaxing and enjoyable to read a newspaper article of homey, down-to-earth, real-life people and matters. Such is the article entitled "The Sketchbook" written by William A. Kealy and appearing a recent edition of the Lowell Sun.

Here is a real-life story of Miss Mary Memos, a comparative newcomer to my home city of Lowell, who has gotten to know and love our people and they in turn have taken her to their hearts. She is performing a very important assignment in the daily business life of our community. I am certain that those reading this article will appreciate it as much as I have:

THE SKETCHBOOK: SHE LOVES SELLING AND IS CRAZY ABOUT LOWELL

(By William A. Kealy)

LOWELL.—Working as a clerk in a retail store usually involves long hours of standing, with hard work and plenty of frustration when you end up with a "no sale."

Mary Memos, manager of the Bell Shops on Central Street, has been at it for 15 years. Her opinion: "If you're in retailing for long you've got to either love it or go crazy. I love it."

Although she has had offers in other fields she stanchly maintains she doesn't know any other job she'd rather do. "I find that meeting many different people every day of your life is fascinating," she said.

She began retail clerking in Nashua, N.H., shortly after graduating from Nashua schools and has been at it ever since. First she worked for her brother who owned a cleaning-plant in the upriver city.

When the plant closed she went to work for Bell Shops in Nashua and worked there for a few years as a salesgirl. Her pleasant personality and obvious interest in the customers was noticed by her bosses, and Mary was assigned to a special crew working for the large retail chain.

Her crew specialized in store openings, a difficult operation in which a group of men and women go into a new city, start from scratch, and set up a new store.

The important part of the job, however, is to build as much good will in a new city as possible and then to choose responsible people to take over the new store while the opening crew moves on to another territory.

Her chain operates more than 50 stores throughout New England and Mary has worked for short periods of time in many of them.

In 1955 she was made manager of Nugent's in Lowell and in the next 3 years fell in love with this city and its people. She says no city can compare to Lowell because of the warmth of the people. "They're so friendly that selling becomes a pleasure and sociable job rather than a frustrating chore."

The glamorous and witty Miss Memos became manager of the Central Street store 4 years ago and has been busy there ever since. She directs the whole operation of the store which includes three floors of merchandise, a dozen clerks, and extensive bookkeeping.

She has no idea how many hours a week she puts in although she's there every hour the store is open.

When she's not working, Mary spends her time sightseeing in her new car, reading the current bestseller, and skiing.

"I'm really crazy about skiing," she said, "but lately I've become a little wary of it. I was getting pretty good at it 2 years ago but not good enough because I broke my ankle." She was on crutches for 6 weeks, and limping for many weeks after that. "I haven't been on skis since then" she said, but, after a pause, added that she still might give it another try.

She's heard so much about golf and people that play the game she's determined to start taking golfing lessons soon. "Golfing seems, so—well so safe—compared to skiing."

Mary has two sisters and a brother all married, and lives what she calls a "quiet life," but a very active quiet life.

## Tribute to Lad Lake: Wisconsin's Home for Boys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on September 4, 1962, Lad Lake, Wisconsin's Home and Farm School for Boys, marked its 60th anniversary.

Created to fulfill a fundamental need in our society, that is, providing a home-school life for underprivileged boys, Lad Lake has not only made a wonderful contribution to improving the life—hope of underprivileged boys; but also stands as an outstanding nongovernmental accomplishment in meeting a fundamental need in our society.

Established in 1902, Lad Lake has provided a home, opportunity for education, recreation and work, and a brightened outlook for the future for hundreds of boys, generation after generation, both from Wisconsin and other parts of the Nation.

Recently, the Wisconsin Home and Farm School's publication "Our Boys" published an article highlighting the milestones in Lad Lake's 60-year history.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MILESTONES IN LAD LAKE'S 60-YEAR HISTORY

Wisconsin Home and Farm School Association organized by small group of people from Plymouth Congregational Church in Milwaukee, 1902.

Ignatius Dega becomes the first Farm School boy when directors authorize the payment of his board in a private home. Site of first home selected—a farm on lower Lake Nemahbin, near Delafield, at an annual rental of $150. Prof. James Melville, a civil engineer, elected first superintendent. School opens first time in October with six boys, 1903.

Special meeting of the directors considers the advisability of purchasing a permanent location, 1904.

Farm purchased near Dousman as permanent site, 1905.

First schoolhouse, a one-room frame building, constructed. Completed in 8 days, its total cost, including furnishings, was $600, 1906.

Our Boys published for the first time. This newsletter for friends of Lad Lake has been in continuous publication ever since, 1907.

Wisconsin Hall dormitory completed, 1909.

New brick school building dedicated as part of 15th anniversary observance. Gov. Woodbridge N. Ferris, of Michigan, featured speaker, 1917.

Seventeen boys serve in World War I, one missing in action, 1919.

Purchase of lake frontage surrounding Dutchman's Lake, 1923.

Half-mile lane of American white elm trees planted to form Elm Tree Avenue leading from Highway 18 to main grounds, 1932.

Additional 100-acre tract purchased, 1943.

Announcement that 507 boys from 81 Wisconsin cities and villages had been served at the institution since its founding. These boys had lived at the Home and Farm School for periods ranging from several months to 8 years. Admission records dating back to 1911 show that a number of boys from outside of Wisconsin had also lived here, 1950.

Institution becomes known as Lad Lake. First executive director with child care training and experience named. Major remodeling of Wisconsin Hall completed to conform to modern child care concepts, 1951.

First boy admitted under new program. Admission limited to boys between 10 and 14 years of age. Just prior to this change, the population at Lad Lake ranged in age from 8 to 17. In 1903, a boy of 6 was eligible to enter. All boys attending school in surrounding communities, 1952.

Casework department started with the addition of a professionally trained social worker. First psychiatric consultant named. State approval received to make foster home placements, 1954.

Plans approved for a new cottage to house teenage boys. First major building program in 40 years, 1955.

A $50,000 fund drive for cottage launched, 1956.

Lad Lake, Inc., adopted as official name. Second caseworker added to staff. Cottage dedicated, with Gov. Vernon Thomson, of Wisconsin, as dedication speaker. Added emphasis on upgrading of houseparent staff through increased inservice training, 1957.

First professional social group worker employed. School opens for boys who cannot attend regular community school classes because of severe emotional disturbance, 1958.

Second psychiatric consultant named, 1960.

Consolidating program gains and continuing to seek improved methods of serving emotionally disturbed boys more effectively, 1962.

## Foreign Policy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Ted Lewis:

CAPITAL CIRCUS
(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON, September 10.—Let's be honest about it. President Kennedy did not really invite Ike to drop in for a private luncheon at the White House today just to chat about Ike's recent European tour.

He wanted something from his GOP predecessor. And despite buoyant expectations that he would get it, Ike really let him down.

What Kennedy obviously was after was a flat statement from the former President that he was backing the administration's foreign policy, particularly on Cuba. Arrangements had been made for Ike to use the White House sounding board for this purpose, but Kennedy's distinguished guest disappeared from the scene without using it.

This vanishing act was a real blow to the smart White House operatives. They had been surer than sure that Ike would fall for Kennedy's college try and at the least come out with a forceful statement to the effect that the Berlin and Cuban issues should be kept out of the sordid arena of partisan politics in this fall's elections.

There had been valid reasons for believing that Ike would give Kennedy a lift on the foreign policy front. Just last week at a GOP rally in Frederick, Md., General Eisenhower had said just what it was hoped he would repeat today.

Before fellow Republicans, Ike had given a frank reminder that the President is responsible for the conduct of foreign relations. He then went on in this fashion, which was most pleasing to the White House "It would be silly to expect that any group like the one gathered here would not have any opinion. But we are on the outside, and we do not have all the information. I think all good Republicans have the right to offer constructive suggestions, but this does not mean that we should make Cuba, or any other part of our foreign relations, the object of partisan fighting in this country."

Just why did Ike pass up the opportunity Kennedy offered him today to say to the national audience the same thing that he had said to a local Republican gathering?

We are not privy to Ike's mental processes. But there is reason to suspect that he had begun to doubt that the Democrats intended to run their campaign this year on the high level, so far as foreign policy is concerned, that he had in mind for his own party.

H.S.T. GAVE IKE SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

What the last Democratic President, Harry Truman, said in Hartford, Conn., in a Sunday political speech was enough to put Ike on his guard. Harry's nasty slur that Ike was "the laziest President we ever had" was not one-two with Truman's harsher injection of the foreign policy issue as it pertains to Cuba.

It was Ike, according to blabbering Harry, who was responsible for the mess in Cuba because he "didn't have the guts to enforce the Monroe Doctrine."

Our guess, therefore, is that when the real lowdown is available on why Ike was standoffish after breaking bread with Kennedy today, the whole failure of the Kennedy approach can be blamed on Truman's demagogic political mouthings.

Unfortunately, Kennedy has no way of controlling Truman. Apparently no one has. Adlai Stevenson found this out in 1952 when Truman, during that presidential campaign, insisted that the American people would be more than sorry if they elected a general to run the country.

KENNEDY REFUSES TO JOIN NAME CALLING

Kennedy deserves a certain amount of sympathy for having Truman fudging up his efforts to put foreign policy matters an edge above partisan politics. For if there is any single job that Kennedy has been trying to do well and until now, with some significant success, it was the task of keeping Ike agreeable and helpful with the administration's foreign relations efforts.

Kennedy has refused to get involved in any partisan name calling with Ike. He has said so publicly. For instance, when Ike charged he was "grabbing for power," Kennedy said softly he did not care to mix in a controversy with his predecessor.

Until today this hands-off-Ike policy had paid Kennedy considerable in dividends. After the Cuban Bay of Pigs fiasco Kennedy prevailed on Ike to come down to Camp David from Gettysburg in the Presidential helicopter. Ike gave Kennedy the lift he needed—a statement to the effect that all the people should back the President as the only man who had all the facts.

Since then the Ike-Kennedy relationship has been carefully cultivated along this same line. In Palm Springs, Calif., last March, the President saw to it there was a congenial meeting with Ike and he briefed the former President on the whole foreign policy situation.

It may be that what Truman said at Hartford has not knocked the Ike-Kennedy foreign relations setup into a "cocked hat." But what happened at the White House to-

day more than suggests some quick repair work is in order.

AND THERE'S MORE TO COME FROM HARRY

But it may be too late for Kennedy to get Ike back on the reservation, for Truman has a political speaking schedule across the country in the next 2 months which is made to order for more demagogic below-belt socks at Ike. And who can get Truman to cramp his style?

Harry can be expected to follow up his Hartford diatribe in his 3-day swing through California this week. And in California Richard Nixon also is certain to get the back of Harry's lusty hand in a way which will inject the Cuban issue into the gubernatorial campaign, where it certainly does not belong.

Ike knows that Truman will be in the thick of this election. He plans to be himself. But it is now obvious that Ike wants to feel free to throw a counterjibe on the Cuban issue at Harry. Hence he abstained today from giving Kennedy the support he wanted, which was smart politics.

## More Cultural Programs Needed in Our Telstar Broadcasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, a recent editorial in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner makes the observation that our first Telstar broadcast to Europe was confined almost entirely to materialistic subjects. On the other hand, the article points out, when Europe made its return telecast the accent was primarily on culture. I agree wholeheartedly with the suggestion that this great advance in telecasting be used to let the world know that we too are formidable in culture and not just "grubbers for the almighty dollar."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner]

FITTING MESSAGE TO EUROPE

Now that we have Telstar and the power to broadcast television programs to Europe and other sections of the globe, we should provide in those programs good cultural entertainment.

It is noteworthy that in the first Telstar telecast from this country to Europe our program was confined almost entirely to materialistic subjects. On the other hand Europe's return program to this country contained considerable culture, including an opera singer in Rome.

It is time that more of Europe learns the truth that we are not a nation of untamed savages and grubbers only for the almighty dollar. They should be given the advantage of learning that we, too, are formidable in culture.

What would be wrong with, in the near future, telecasting to Europe by Telstar one of our fine concerts from the Hollywood Bowl in its entirety, including a view of the tremendous crowd attending?

## A Tribute to the Honorable Victor L. Anfuso

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of the 87th Congress, the Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO will retire as a Member of the House of Representatives. This dedicated American has faithfully and effectively served people of the United States and the cause of democracy and brotherhood throughout the world. He has now heeded the call to further dedication in other areas of public service in his own State of New York.

I take this opportunity to pay personal tribute to him as a public servant. Throughout the many years of his service, his achievements and character have earned for him the respect and commendation not only of the public officials of this country but of those of many other countries of the world. He was a patient and wise mentor to me during my years in the House of Representatives. His wisdom and counsel have enabled me to perform my duties in the best interests of all of the people. I know that this is true also in the case of many of my other colleagues.

It is appropriate at this time to set forth the distinguished biographical and public record of Representative ANFUSO as an example to future generations of Americans for their inspiration.

Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO was born in Sicily, Italy, March 10, 1905. He came to America with his mother, two older brothers and two sisters in 1914. They settled in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn and have lived there ever since. He was educated in New York City's public schools and Commercial High School, studied law at St. Lawrence University Law School—now Brooklyn Law School—from which he received an LL.B. degree in 1927. He was admitted to the New York State bar in 1928 and has been engaged in private law practice since then, specializing in civil and criminal law.

During the early 1930's Mr. ANFUSO formed the Citizens Welfare Association to help people in Brooklyn who were hardest hit by the economic depression. In 1936 he organized the Italian Board of Guardians, now affiliated with the Catholic Charities in Brooklyn, to aid delinquent children and children from broken homes. He served as president of the organization for four terms.

From 1941 to 1943 Mr. ANFUSO served on Selective Service Board No. 221 and later as a member of Selective Service Appeal Board No. 26 by appointment of the Governor of New York. In 1946 he received the Selective Service Medal. In 1943 he served under Gen. William "Wild Bill" Donovan with the Office of Strategic Services—OSS—in the Mediterranean Theater. He was later awarded the Certificate of Merit by the Regular Veterans Association "for distinguished achievement and meritorious service." Upon his return from Europe in 1945 he became Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

In 1946 Mr. ANFUSO was appointed by Pope Pius XII as Knight Commander of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre for his "humanitarian work on behalf of youth." Two years later, during the crucial elections in Italy in 1948, he drafted and mailed over 250,000 letters to the Italian people urging them to vote against the Communist candidates and to help keep Italy a free nation. For this effort, he was described by the New York Times as "the one-man crusader."

Mr. ANFUSO was elected a Member of the 82d Congress in November 1950, and served on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He was instrumental in obtaining a much needed salary increase for postal workers in 1951. He sponsored legislation to create a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Department of Justice to curb juvenile delinquency.

Due to reapportionment of congressional districts in 1952 and the elimination of a district in Brooklyn, he was forced to withdraw after serving one term in Congress. He was later appointed by Mayor Wagner as a city magistrate and served until August 1954, when he resigned to become a candidate for Congress again. He was elected to the 84th Congress on November 2, 1954, and took his oath of office on January 5, 1955.

Upon his return to Congress, Mr. ANFUSO asked that he be appointed a member of the House Agriculture Committee, in order that he could be the spokesman for big city consumers. He has been serving on this committee since then and has become known as a forthright representative of the consumer. At his instigation, a Consumers Study Subcommittee was set up in March 1957, with Mr. ANFUSO as chairman, to study the high cost of living and seek ways to prevent further rises.

He was appointed by Speaker Rayburn as a member of the U.S. congressional delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Conference in Paris in 1955. In 1956 he served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization Conference in Rome. In 1957 he undertook a special mission for the House Agriculture Committee to study stockpiling and disposal of U.S. food surpluses in Europe and the Middle East. In the same year he made a tour of New York State to study farmer-consumer problems, and submitted an extensive report to Congress on his findings.

Mr. ANFUSO was reelected to Congress for a third term on November 6, 1956, and to a fourth term on November 4, 1958.

During his years in the House of Representatives, he was the author and sponsor of forward-looking and progressive legislation which enhanced the democratic ideal and benefited all of the people of the world.

Mr. ANFUSO supported aid to the people of Poland through the sale of

surplus food in the belief that strengthening Poland in this way would make her less dependent on Russia. For this effort he was lauded by Polish groups in the United States. Mr. ANFUSO urged greater economic aid to Israel, as well as military assistance to assure Israel's security and continued existence.

In recent years Mr. ANFUSO was the recipient of many awards, including the Liberty Award from Governor Harriman on behalf of the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee for championing the cause of minority and nationality groups; the American Legion award for Americanism activities; the Commander of the Order of Merit from the Italian Government for his efforts in behalf of the people of Italy; the Humanity Award from the Order Brith Abraham for 30 years activity in behalf of "human welfare, world peace and justice."

Mr. ANFUSO is a member of the American Bar Association, New York State bar, and Brooklyn bar. He has been admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court. He is active in civic, religious, philanthropic and political organizations. He was a delegate to several Democratic State conventions and to all Democratic National Conventions since 1948.

In January 1959, he was appointed a ranking member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and also a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He was subsequently made chairman of the Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Security, and in the latter capacity led the U.S. delegation to the International Astronautical Federation Conference in London in September 1959. He was also appointed congressional adviser to the U.S. representative on the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In November 1960, he was again a member of the U.S. delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference in Paris.

On November 8, 1960, Mr. ANFUSO was reelected to his fifth term in Congress. He is married to the former Frances Stallone of Brooklyn since 1930 and they have five children, three sons and two daughters.

To him and to his loved ones I extend my best wishes for a healthy and happy life.

## End of Monroe Doctrine?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of the Senate an editorial from the Times and Democrat, of Orangeburg, S.C., on the subject of the Communist military buildup in Cuba and the U.S. foreign policy on Cuba. I feel that this editorial entitled "End of Monroe Doctrine?" merits the attention of the Members of this body. I ask unanimous consent that this September 11, 1962, editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Orangesburg, S.C., Times and Democrat, Sept. 11, 1962]

END OF MONROE DOCTRINE?

The recent announcement by Moscow that she is materially aiding Cuba and threats from Moscow, that an attack on Cuba would bring rocket retaliation on the United States from Russia, seem to make a shambles of the Monroe Doctrine.

While it can be argued that Russian aid does not make Cuba a Russian stooge, it cannot be argued successfully that Cuban communism is independent from Moscow communism. And if Russian aid to Cuba is not in many ways the same as old-time colonialism, then Russia today would not control so many countries it is aiding.

Certainly the boasts of Nikita Khrushchev that Russian rockets are ready to help reply to any U.S. action against Cuba, and his statement that the Monroe Doctrine is "dead" are both signs that Russia has her hands in the affairs of the American hemisphere.

And no one in his right senses can doubt that Russia does not seek to control events in Cuba. Eventually the Russians will control Cuba, if that is not already the case, and when that day comes, a foreign power will have flouted the Monroe Doctrine's vital principle.

That principle was stated first by President James Monroe in 1823 has been in effect for 139 years. In essence, President Monroe told European powers to let Latin America alone. He announced that the United States would look upon any attempt to gain colonies in the hemisphere as dangerous and a threat to peace.

Yet both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy have not invoked the Doctrine in the case of Cuba. We have said we are relying on joint action of all the American republics but in the last meeting of Organization of American States, Secretary of State Dean Rusk utterly failed to win any significant action against Cuba.

During President Eisenhower's term of office, an undercover effort was initiated for the invasion of Cuba. Under President Kennedy this plan was bungled. Since that time, our faces have been red.

All of which goes to show that as soon as it was established that the Communists were in control in Cuba, and in league with Moscow, our best policy would have been to immediately invoke the Monroe Doctrine and to have taken action. But we hesitated, as usual, ignoring the vital Monroe Doctrine, and the situation gets worse month by month as we do practically nothing.

## Not One More Surrender

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Evening Tribune of June 28, 1962:

NOT ONE MORE SURRENDER—ADA SEEN THREAT TO U.S. DEMOCRACY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the fourth of five articles excerpted from a speech entitled "Not One More Surrender." It was made before the San Diego Rotary Club by Paul A. Terry, manager, education department, the Evening Tribune and the San Diego Union.)

(By Paul A. Terry)

History shows that 21 recorded civilizations have gone into oblivion not by conquest from without, but because of the surrender of individual freedom to all-powerful government.

History also records that socialism and welfare statism are preludes to communism.

There are many informative reports, books and studies that to me prove beyond any question of doubt that the Fabian Socialists have moved into the most sensitive positions in our National Government. They advise on foreign policy, economics, military strength, health, education, and you name it.

BOOKS TELL THREAT

I hope you will take the time to read a study known as "Keynes at Harvard." This is a factual report on the Fabian Socialists by a Harvard alumni group known as the Veritas Foundation.

A new book, "America: Listen," by Frank Kluckhohn, ranking officer of the U.S. State Department from 1955 to 1961, deals with this threat. This report reveals that the threat to our survival is greater than most Americans have been permitted to realize.

A Washington correspondent recently wrote a series of seven articles which reveal we are well on the road to losing our freedoms.

COMMENT ON ADA

Here is what this newsman has to say about the Americans for Democratic Action.

"The ADA is a very small, but very dedicated and articulate minority, striking like the British Fabian Socialists. The socialism they want to bring about would be quite as total industrially as that in Russia, but would be accomplished by legislation."

We must be on guard against the ADA in government.

For the sake of review, I want to deal with how the Socialists go about destroying a government. It is important that we have a thorough understanding of their sinister plans. To help us in this, Congressman Pettengill, as long ago as 1944, said the 12 points which follow are the "Socialist Manifesto."

"First: The people must be made to feel their utter helplessness and their inability to solve their own problems. While in this state of mind, there is held up before them a benign and all-wise leader to whom they must look for the cure of all their ills. This state of mind is most readily developed in a time of economic stress or national disaster.

"Second: The principle of local self-government must be wiped out, so that this leader or group in control can have all political power readily at hand.

"Third: The centralized government, while appearing in form to represent the people, must dutifully register the will of the leader or group in control.

"Fourth: Constitutional guarantees must be swept aside. This is accomplished in part by ridiculing them as outmoded and as obstructions to progress.

"Fifth: Public faith in the legal profession and respect for the courts must be undermined.

"Sixth: The lawmaking body must be intimidated and from time to time rebuked, so as to prevent the development of public confidence therein.

"Seventh: Economically, the people must be kept down by high taxes which under one pretext or another, they are called upon to pay.

"Thus they are brought to a common level, and all income above a meager living is taken from them. In this manner economic independence is kept to a minimum, and the citizen is forced to rely more and more upon the government that controls him. Capital and credit are thus completely within the control of government.

"Eighth: A great public debt must be built up so that citizens can never escape its burdens. This makes government the virtual receiver for the entire nation.

"Ninth: A general distrust of private business and industry must be kept alive, so that the public may not begin to rely upon its own resources.

"Tenth: Governmental bureaus are set up to control practically every phase of the citizen's life. These bureaus issue directives without number, but all under authority of the leader to whom they are immediately responsible.

"It is a government of men, and not of laws.

"Eleventh: The education of the youth of the nation is taken under control to the end that all may at an early age be inoculated with a spirit of submission to the system and of reverence for the benevolent leader.

"Twelfth: To supplement and fortify all of the foregoing, there is kept flowing a steady stream of governmental propaganda designed to extol all that bow the knee, and to vilify those who dare raise a voice of dissent."

How do we best clean up government? As I said earlier, we outcompete the opposition and restore our constitutional form of government. We must demand that men who represent us in government—regardless of political party—stick to the fundamental concepts of our Constitution.

In other words, men who represent us in government should be for national security, and against appeasement and capitulation to an obvious enemy, either outside or within our country. Our representatives should be for private ownership and against governmental ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

They should be for private, competitive markets, and against unnecessary intervention in those small areas where the Constitution expressly delegates such authority to the central Government. They should be for States rights, and opposed to the welfare state.

Let me ask you a sincere question: How far down the road of appeasement have we gone? The record speaks for itself. You be the judge.

THIRTY-FOUR HUNDRED ACCORDS MADE

Right now we are talking about a summit conference, disarmament, and trade with the Communists. During the past 25 years we have had 3,400 meetings with the Reds. From these meetings came 52 major agreements. The Soviet Union has broken all but two of them.

The Soviets meet with us not to negotiate peace, but to disarm the West intellectually and psychologically. The liberals, Socialists, Communists and some members of the current administration favor summit conferences with Soviet leaders.

## Al Davies Addresses North Dakota Dedicatory Ceremonies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, on the occasion of the ground-breaking ceremonies for the new National Metabolism and Radiation Research Laboratory in Fargo, N. Dak., Al Davies, vice president of the American Meat Institute, was featured as one of the ceremonial speakers. His address is both informative and interesting.

During his address, Mr. Davies pays some well-merited tribute to the senior Senator of North Dakota, MILTON YOUNG, who is recognized in Congress as being one of the best agricultural authorities in Washington. MILT YOUNG was also very instrumental in having this great new national laboratory located in Fargo, N. Dak.

I ask that the text of the Davies address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY ALED P. DAVIES, VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN MEAT INSTITUTE, AT THE GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONIES OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE'S NATIONAL METABOLISM AND RADIATION RESEARCH LABORATORY AT FARGO, N. DAK., SEPTEMBER 9, 1962

It is an honor to be invited to take part today in this ceremony, breaking ground for this new National Metabolism and Radiation Research Laboratory which will be built here on the campus of North Dakota State University.

As a representative of the American Meat Institute, national trade organization of the meat packing industry, I should like to reiterate our continued devotion to the purity and wholesomeness of the Nation's meat supply.

In the spring of 1959 I went to our friend, Senator MILTON YOUNG, who, as you know, is the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations of the U.S. Senate. He and I discussed the potential problems facing the livestock and meat industry which might be created by the increased use of chemicals in agriculture. I asked for his help, which as always, he freely gave. At Senator YOUNG's suggestion I testified before the Senate committee and urged that an appropriation be made for the establishment of this laboratory for which ground is being broken today and urged the U.S. Department of Agriculture to take the lead in the program that will be carried on here.

Senator YOUNG gave untiringly of his time in seeing to it that his colleagues, both on the committee and in the Senate, became aware of the need to move forward to meet the challenge of the hazards created by science at the same time that we use science to develop a more abundant and better food supply. What we are doing today is largely a result of the vision and untiring efforts of Senator YOUNG in recognizing the significance of this problem early.

While I share the concern of those people who are worried about the residual effects of the use of chemicals in agriculture, we have to recognize that man is in a constant struggle for survival within his environment. This has been so since the beginning of time. Through increased knowledge and his God-given ability to think, man has emerged into dominion on this planet only because he has been able to control his environment to some extent. Probably the most significant advance has been in developments in the field of agriculture. Without scientific research developing new methods and new plants and new chemicals, we would not today be surrounded with the abundance of food that we enjoy as the best fed nation on this earth.

The year 1920 will some day be recognized as a great milestone year in American economic history. In that year we attained an acreage of developed cropland which has not since been significantly exceeded—and in fact may never be exceeded. For four decades we have lived on a nearly static amount of crop-producing land. During these same 40 years our national population has increased from 106 to 186 million—an increase of over 70 percent.

The 186 million are now eating better than the 106 million did in 1920—but the major factor in our ability to feed this sharply increased population and to upgrade the diets of all of us has been increased food yield per acre of land and per head of livestock.

All aspects of agronomic and biologic science have gone forward together with the result that we now eat better than any other people ever have before. A truly indispensable part of this scientific advance has been the development and use of the vast array of chemical material in crop and animal production, as well as in food preservation and processing.

In future years our national population will continue to grow. Any one who lives to ring in the year 2000—just 38 years from now—will be living among a population in this country of between 300 and 350 million people. This larger population will have to be fed from an acreage of farmland probably no greater than we are using at the present time but probably less. We will have to strive for constantly higher yields per acre and per animal. In other words, we will have to look to the increased use of science in feed products and food handling of which chemistry will be a major part.

According to experts in the Department of Agriculture, American farmers today spend at least a billion dollars a year for chemicals and services required for application. This is exclusive of fertilizers. The use of these chemicals, including insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, and plant growth regulators saves products with a current farm volume of at least $4 billion. The $3 billion thus saved has been a major factor in farm income and has resulted in lower food prices to consumers and greater protection to human health and comfort. Significantly, we should be aware that the Government of the United States through the Department of Agriculture and the Pure Food and Drug Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, screen at least 5,000 new compounds per year in preliminary evaluation as to effectiveness and safety to man, crops, and livestock. Industry spends nearly $30 million annually in the research and development of new safer and more effective chemicals for agriculture.

All this means that we have no choice, at present or in the future, but to depend upon a greater use of chemicals in our agriculture. We will not be able to eat except upon that basis. This, of course, places an ever-increasing responsibility on the producers of crops and animals, the processors and handlers of food, and the Government constantly to be aware of and have as their watchword the fact that the wholesomeness and purity of our food supply is paramount. We have been especially fortunate in this great land since the establishment of the Department of Agriculture just 100 years ago that we have had as Secretaries men who are dedicated to scientific research and the use of scientific knowledge to increase agriculture productivity. They are men who have been aware of their responsibilities to both agriculture and the great consuming public.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, as Benson was before him, is deeply interested in this effort and he is to be congratulated that the plans for the building of this laboratory are moving apace. The program which will be carried forward here is in conformity with the expressed concern of President Kennedy that we need to know more about how to control better our eternal enemies in the insect world and how to do it with a minimum upset of the balance which is necessary to our health.

Dr. Byron Shaw, Administrator and Dr. M. R. Clarkson, his associate, of the Agricultural Research Service of the Department of Agriculture, as Senator YOUNG will testify, have been working diligently for many years in this field, and I know that they and their dedicated colleagues in the Department of Agriculture are as grateful as I am that we are moving ahead in this forward-looking venture. The American National Cattlemen's Association, especially, and the National Wool Growers and other farm organizations are to be complimented that 2 years ago they worked with Senator YOUNG and the Department of Agriculture in urging Congress to appropriate the funds for this laboratory. They also are deserving of praise for their educational effort for the intelligent and safe use of pesticides and other chemicals in agriculture. This has been a most effective program.

Three years ago, speaking on a scientific panel on "The Good in Our Food," Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of the National Academy of Science, said: "If we are to achieve a more desirable way of life, we shall require more research, a more general understanding of science by the people of our country, and wiser administrators who will, with understanding of science, guarantee freedom to the investigator and apply scientific knowledge in the formulation of policies affecting the people of our country."

The results of research in the future that will be done in this laboratory will be aimed in this very direction. I am proud and happy to be associated with this program.

Thank you.

## Right-To-Work Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress the highly questionable nature of an alleged survey of public opinion by the antilabor propagandist organization known as the National Right To Work Committee.

This obviously stacked poll has been widely circulated among Members of the Congress in a devious attempt to influence action against repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Act at such time as it may come before the Congress for consideration.

The survey purports to demonstrate that the great majority of Americans favor enactment of so-called right-to-work laws to outlaw in individual States the federally guaranteed freedom of labor and management to negotiate union shop provisions in collective bargaining contracts.

Among other claims aimed at destroying national labor-management policy and the collective bargaining process, this poll purports to prove that overall public opinion opposes repeal by Congress of the section of the Taft-Hartley Act which made these antilabor State laws possible, and favors placing the Nation's working people under the antitrust laws.

The alleged findings of this loaded survey are contradicted by far more believable evidence of American public opinion, notably the results of the 1958 election when the right-to-work law issue WAS on the ballot in six States and was rejected by voters in five of these States by overwhelming majorities.

At the same time, this anticollective bargaining law has been repeatedly rejected year after year by the legislatures of many of our States.

I point out that questions in this poll, which were loaded to evoke favorable antilabor answers, were submitted to only 1,413 persons throughout the United States but are being widely advertised as representative of the considered viewpoint of 180 million Americans.

I am concerned additionally about the misleading nature of this survey because this same National Right to Work Committee is financing a campaign presently in the great industrial State of Pennsylvania in an attempt to undermine our consistent record of sound labor-management relations and to disrupt industrial peace. At the same time, this group of hired propagandists has mounted similar antilabor campaigns in the States of Oklahoma, Maine, Michigan, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, Vermont, and New Mexico.

I believe it a service to my colleagues in Congress and to the American public to call attention to the real nature of this poll. It has come to my attention that President George Meany of the AFL–CIO has analyzed this so-called survey and presented his findings to his membership. In order that my colleagues in Congress may have a counter viewpoint of the purported findings of this poll, under unanimous consent, I insert Mr. Meany's statement in the RECORD as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
*Washington, D.C., August 29, 1962.*

*To All National and International Unions, State, and City Central Bodies:*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: This letter is a warning against a new malicious attack on the trade union movement launched by the viciously antilabor National Right-To-Work Committee.

This group operates in a manner that is as dishonest as its name, for, of course, the committee is not at all interested in finding work for workers, but only in smashing their unions.

The latest attack by this notorious propaganda front group for big business is an alleged poll in which the viewpoint of 1,413 persons interviewed is publicized as representative of the opinion of 180 million Americans.

The poll is loaded on its face. The antilabor committee confesses that it "worked with" the Opinion Research Corp. in "getting up the poll." It is obvious that the questions have been designed so as to draw answers harmful to labor.

Already the alleged survey has been picked up by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER and shown in film form to more than 100 conservative Congressmen. This survey obviously did not change any of these Congressmen's enmity toward labor. It did give them alleged facts for continuing their fight against legislation labor seeks.

The survey seeks to prove that unions should be brought under antitrust law. It displays figures which purport to show that the average American fears union power.

They say that among these Americans who have heard of the so-called right-to-work laws sentiment is a solid 4 to 1 in favor of such laws.

The principal question of the poll reveals its loaded nature: "No American should be forced against his will to join a church, union, or political organization."

On this point the claimed result was 93 percent.

It is small wonder that the result was not nearer 100 percent because the whole question is based on an exploitation of human, religious, and political ideals.

It goes without saying that a Presbyterian, Methodist or Baptist would not agree that he should be forced to become a Catholic and that a member of the Jewish faith would not agree he should be forced to become a Protestant, Catholic, or member of the Moslem religion. Wars have been fought and new nations founded on such a fundamental issue.

Likewise the answer is a foregone conclusion when a Democrat is asked whether he believes it would be right to force him to become a Republican.

To equate membership in a trade union with man's religious and/or political beliefs, to inject this question into the same sentence and to surround the whole with the imputation of force, is not only dishonest but malicious as well.

The claims by those making the poll contradict proved fact in a number of important instances.

In the nine Western States, grouped by the pollsters, they claim that 59 percent of the population favor right-to-work laws.

This fingertip sampling ignores the result of the 1958 national election when the so-called right to work issue was placed before the electorate of the Western States of Washington, California, Idaho, and Colorado with the result that voters in those States voted against the right to work proposals by overwhelming majorities. In California, for instance, the vote against this proposed law was by a plurality of 1 million. In Montana, in the same year, an attempt to gain a scant 25,000 signatures on an initiative petition to place the issue on the ballot failed.

Likewise, in nine Northeastern States the pollists claim that 62 percent of the population favors a right-to-work law. Here again the facts prove these figures false.

These are leading industrial States and not a single one of these States has a right to work law. On the contrary, repeated attempts to have a right-to-work law enacted by the State legislatures have failed miser-

ably. And in Maine and New Hampshire, right-to-work laws have been repealed.

By contrast, in the 11 North-Central States, 6 of which have right to work laws, the pollists claim only 55 percent are favorable. It should be pointed out that this group of States includes Ohio, where voters in the 1958 election defeated the right-to-work law by a plurality of nearly 1 million.

It is pertinent to note that the National Right To Work Committee had an earlier poll conducted in 1957 which also made glowing findings that the right-to-work issue would win at the 1958 election.

The fact is that the latest and most conclusive demonstration of public opinion in the Nation over the merits of the union-busting right-to-work laws was at the polls in the 1958 election.

Some 7 million persons voted on this issue in 6 States, and in a seventh, Montana, rejected the law on a petition basis.

The proposal was rejected by voters at the polls in five States by overwhelming majorities. It was approved in only one State, Kansas, and there by a small majority.

Including Montana, the result was a 6 to 1 rejection of the right-to-work law—a fact that far outweighs the fiction of an obviously loaded poll.

Since 1958, not a single State has enacted such a law, despite the fact that such laws have been introduced by the right to work mercenaries and propagandists at almost every session of every legislature. Presently we are engaged in bitter fights on this issue in Maine, Oklahoma, Vermont, Idaho, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Mexico, and Wyoming.

As is well known by labor-management authorities, the manner in which a union shop agreement comes into being is carefully set forth and conditioned by the Federal Taft-Hartley Act. It is a demonstration of the democratic process, the will of the majority, and the exercise of freedom of contract in collective bargaining.

However, these facts are not generally known to the public or to the average individual.

It is up to the labor movement itself to tell the true facts. In your respective areas you will be hearing much of this poll in the near future. It will be your task to carry the brunt of the fight for the truth.

You can expect this poll, especially in the filmed version Senator GOLDWATER is now using, will appear in your area in the near future. These paid propagandists, who have admitted using 42 percent of the funds they raise from the American business community just to raise more funds, plan to make wide use of this new propaganda device.

Therefore, I urge you to be on your guard. When this stacked poll is used in your area, demand the right to be heard so that the public will learn the truth about this issue. Remember, the American people believe in fairplay and when they know the facts they will turn their backs on those who use lies for political purposes.

I have given you a few examples you can use in your presentations to the people. In addition, there are materials available at this headquarters that effectively answer these hired hands of big business on the goals of their campaign. I hope and expect that the leaders of labor at every level will obtain these materials, and use them to counter the mounting campaign against not only the unions which make up the labor movement but the people whose hands and hearts make up unions.

Fraternally yours,

GEORGE MEANY,
*President.*

## Where Are the Jobs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, as a backer of the retraining approach to overcoming the very serious unemployment problem that continues to burden our economy, I am frequently faced with the question, "Where are these jobs for which you will retrain the unemployed?" It has been my contention that there are hundreds of thousands of jobs in our country going begging, jobs seeking men and women but unable to find those qualified to fill them. From time to time some very concrete example of these jobs are found in the news columns of our daily press. A constant reminder of them can be found in the help wanted columns of any major newspaper.

A large step forward in finding a more extensive answer to the question of "Where are the jobs?" is now in process in the Labor Department. It is the "Directory of Occupational Titles," a work designed to help classify the skills which our economy needs. It is real progress for one of the most basic problems in fighting unemployment is that of recognizing the skills which are becoming obsolete with the dynamic movement of our economy and tagging those which are increasing in demand.

The Washington World, in its September 4 issue, included a statement by Mr. H. H. Pope, a cafeteria owner from my own part of the country, St. Louis. Mr. Pope spoke of the need which his firm has for workers, and this in an area of considerable unemployment. I should like to place Mr. Pope's remarks in the RECORD, along with the introduction by the World, and note an earlier item which I placed in the RECORD also pointing out this matter of jobs going begging in the restaurant industry—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 30, 1962, page A6534. On the same page as Mr. Pope's remarks the World comments on the lack of accurate statistics in this field. The "Directory of Occupational Titles" will help meet the need which is noted in this item, which appears following Mr. Pope's statement. Finally, another step forward is noted in the September 3 issue of Newsweek. I am placing that, too, in the RECORD to help indicate the paths that progress may take:

[From the Washington World, Sept. 4, 1962]

UNEMPLOYMENT HEIGHTENED BY REFUSAL OF UNSKILLED TO TAKE AVAILABLE JOBS

(NOTE.—Unemployment, at some rarefied levels, is a heady statistical draft used to induce talk of vast public works programs, shorter workweeks and other labor-thinning tactics. Down at the working level of everyday business, it becomes a dollars-and-cents, horsesense matter of practical concern—and it also produces some surprises. Here, for instance, is an unsolicited letter from H. H. Pope, of Pope's Cafeterias, Inc., St. Louis, Mo. It is presented here as possibly symptomatic of a growing question that has profoundly important implications for every American seriously concerned about employment.)

(By H. H. Pope)

For some time I have been puzzled by reports of widespread unemployment in the United States. Apparently, President Kennedy, Congress, the unions, and other people are concerned about the alleged unemployment situation.

Many proposals, such as tax reduction and public works, are motivated by desire to "do something about the unemployment situation." What has puzzled me is our difficulty in finding applicants who are neat, clean, dependable, willing, and able to work.

Our starting rates range from $1.12 to $1.25 per hour, plus approximately 35 cents per hour in fringe benefits. Admittedly, this is not so much money as a worker could earn in certain factories, but we think it is a fair salary in view of our working conditions and the fact that we require no skills. We hire unskilled employees and train them ourselves.

A few days ago the local director of employment security was quoted in the local newspapers as saying that there are over 15,000 unskilled unemployed in the local area. Many years ago we had given up trying to get employees through the local employment security office as they were never able to supply applicants who were neat, clean, dependable, willing, and able to work.

After reading the report of the large number of unskilled unemployed, we again tried to get applicants through the employment security office. We have met with limited success in getting applicants from this source. In order to get sufficient people to meet our employment needs, we must still spend several hundred dollars per month advertising in newspapers.

Early this week, while attending a meeting of the Regional Food Service Management Guild in Buffalo, I discussed our experience with other guild members and found that the failure of the employment security office to supply unskilled applicants is rather typical in many parts of the United States. Our member from Boston, for example, reports that the employment security office there frankly admits its inability to supply applicants.

There is a growing suspicion in my mind that a great proportion of the so-called unemployed are either unavailable, unemployable, or underqualified for the jobs they hope to obtain.

Is it possible that the expectations of our unemployed have been raised to the point that they are setting their sights on positions which they can never obtain? Is it possible that many of the people who could and should be working as babysitters, housemaids, or lawnmower operators are trying to secure high paying jobs in industry?

We see statistics about the total lack of unemployment in most European countries. Is it possible that these statistics are not obtained in the same way that we obtain unemployment statistics in the United States? Or, is it possible that the lack of unemployment in Europe is the result of the willingness of unskilled people to accept menial jobs?

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[From the Washington World, Sept. 4, 1962]

WHAT CAN I DO?

Sadly lacking in the talk of unemployment in America are statistics to illuminate this all-important question: To what extent is unemployment a result of lack of qualified workers rather than lack of job openings?

Top economists in Congress, notably Representative TOM CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, cite this factor as the key to the problem. To help shed some more light on it, the Washington World asks its readers to write directly to the editor describing the help-wanted situation in their hometowns.

Do the classified ad sections of your newspapers indicate there are as many, or less, job open than jobs wanted?

Does your own experience in business indicate any difficulty in finding qualified workers?

Are local employment offices (particularly State operated ones) able to supply all the trained and willing workers needed in your area?

Answers to those questions, which will be passed along to appropriate Members of Congress for their consideration, may help do something about the situation.

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[From Newsweek magazine, Sept. 3, 1962]

LABOR DEPARTMENT

The day may not be very far away when unemployment listings will be accompanied by a tally of job vacancies. All that's necessary, experts here say, is a little experience with the new retraining act which will force the Department to keep up on what jobs are available and where. These experts are convinced there is usually a worker shortage in many areas even when unemployment is a burden.

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## Coinage of a Medal in Recognition of the Distinguished Services of Sam Rayburn

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SPEECH

OF

### HON. RAY ROBERTS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support Senate Joint Resolution 133. This resolution would provide for a service medal for the distinguished late Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn, my predecessor as Representative, from the Fourth Congressional District of Texas.

Prior to this recommendation, the only other gold medal struck for service as a Member of Congress was for Alben W. Barkley while he was Vice President. The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency stated in their report that the committee was making this recommendation "only because Sam Rayburn was an extraordinary man, one of the truly great men of his generation."

The language on this medal will relate to Mr. Rayburn's service to the people of the United States. He often said "service" was the most beautiful world in the English language. No man exemplified service to his fellowman and his beloved House of Representatives more than Sam Rayburn.

His heart was big enough to love each of the more than 3,000 Members with whom he served, and he inspired the confidence and trust of all who knew him.

Because of his dedication and devotion to his district, his State, and his Nation, his memory will be a living inspiration to all of us.

I consider it a great honor and privilege to recommend the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 133.

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## Cuba: Red Police State

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Robert Betts on September 11, 1962:

SAN DIEGO REPORTER ESCAPES FROM CUBA; CONFIRMS SOVIET BUILDUP, GRIM RED POLICE STATE

(By Robert Betts)

KINGSTON, JAMAICA.—Communist Cuba's Iron Curtain is closing down fast as the Russian military buildup continues.

A British corespondent, Edwin Tetlow, of the London Daily Telegraph, and I scraped under it by the skin of our teeth this morning after four correspondents were picked up during the previous 24 hours by the G–2, Cuba's secret police.

During 4 days spent around Havana watching the buildup in progress, our every movement was closely watched. We were trailed wherever we went, on foot or by car.

We could not leave the hotel without the G–2 being close behind. Telephone calls were so difficult to make that it soon became obvious every call was being tapped.

SPIES, MILITIA WAIT TO POUNCE

Meanwhile, there were Russians, Czechoslovakians, East Germans and others of the Soviet bloc milling all around us—in the hotel, in cafes and nightclubs and on the streets. There were stocky young Russians who might have been in any part of the Soviet setup, from engineers to intelligencemen.

In addition, we had to contend with the Cuban Communist spies and militiamen. Along the narrow streets we were passed from one tracker to another. Obviously they were waiting only for us to make one move against the strict regulations which now govern this country to justify an arrest and a charge that would keep us there.

Preferably they wanted to catch us spying. Nobody can be trusted in Cuba now. If you order a taxi you do not know which side the driver is watching, for no Cuban will be drawn into conversation.

Everywhere there is fear of watching eyes and listening ears. This was the Communist police state in grim reality.

TECHNICIANS HAVE MILITARY BEARING

The island we escaped from yesterday morning after three searches, one by the customs followed by two more searches by G–2, is no longer Prime Minister Fidel Castro's Cuba. It is Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's Cuba. Bearded Big Brother Castro still keeps watch from stickers on public buildings, hotels and places of entertainment. But the paunchier face of Bigger Brother Khrushchev grows daily larger beside him, together with portraits of Lenin, Marx, and others and the usual Communist slogans.

Khrushchev's sturdy young men, who have been described as technicians but who by their bearing could easily be trained military men of varying rank, can be seen in the hotel, strolling in groups along the street or being driven in trucks to some unknown destination on the island.

Trying to visit some of these camps was presumably what put the four correspondents into the clutches of G–2.

We were lucky to have been released yesterday morning to fly to Kingston and safety. We were trailed as far as the airport, accompanied by seemingly friendly fellow travelers.

The plane, loaded with Cuban passengers anxiously waiting to get away, was kept waiting an hour while the G–2 men searched every piece of our luggage and clothing. They released us, then called us back and searched again.

When finally they let us proceed to the plane, we received a last-minute message that four missing correspondents had not been traced.

As we watched Cuba drop behind us in the calm Caribbean sky, a KLM steward brought us a drink and two little packets containing a moisture pack to freshen you up. He smiled. We took them gratefully.

We needed them.

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## For a Better Way on Cotton

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Boston Herald on September 8, 1962:

FOR A BETTER WAY ON COTTON

The refusal of the Tariff Commission to grant a compensatory extra duty on cotton textile imports will be no tragedy if other and better means are found to stabilize the domestic industry. The Kennedy administration will be under sharp pressure to find those other means.

Today the Government provides two conflicting forms of protectionism on cotton. To enable American grown raw cotton to be sold on the world market it grants an export subsidy of 8½ cents a pound on all cotton sold abroad. This means that competing foreign textile manufacturers can buy American cotton for less than our own manufacturers have to pay for it.

Thus the subsidy that helps to keep the American cotton farmer happy is a special charge on the American manufacturer.

To even up this competitive injustice the Tariff Commission was asked to provide a special fee of 8½ cents a pound on imported cotton goods. But the Commission found, 3 to 2, that it could not properly consider the manufacturer's problem, but must confine itself to the needs of agriculture, which did not take in the fee. (There is a regular duty on imported cotton goods of about 14 cents a pound.)

What has been basically wrong here is not the lack of a compensatory fee for the manufacturers but the export subsidy itself. We ought to be finding out why American agriculture, which has been so immensely successful in increasing productivity, cannot compete with far less mechanized foreign farming.

If we progress toward an agreement with the European Common Market, as we must,

the export subsidy is going to be one of the serious obstacles.

But if our curious farm policy still compels such a subsidy, we must fully face the cost of it and provide the same subsidy for cotton sold on the domestic market as for that sold abroad. It is economic dishonesty to force a kind of reverse subsidy on our own textile industry.

The Tariff Commission's decision cannot be considered bad if other and better means are found to adjust our textile economy.

## Unemployment in the Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the August 21, 1962, issue of the Washington Post a full page advertisement sponsored by the National Coal Policy Conference, the extract of which will follow. The emotional appeal of this advertisement is perhaps unexcelled. Its objective of full employment has unquestionable merit and my complete support. But there I must end my plaudits, for the disregard of facts in drawing conclusions is astounding. The National Coal Policy Conference has concluded that the unemployment in coal communities and all the problems of the coal industry are due to the importation of residual oil. This is ridiculous.

With specific references to the claims of this advertisement, Mr. E. A. Evans, managing director of the Oil Users Association has drawn together in a letter to President John F. Kennedy well known facts which disprove these claims of the National Coal Policy Conference.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of the advertisement and Mr. Evans' rebuttal letter to President Kennedy:

AMERICANS NEED JOBS, NOT A DOLE, MR. PRESIDENT

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: We must end unemployment and move the economy ahead, as you said in your recent television address on the state of the Nation's economy.

But a dole and a handout of surplus food are not the answer.

Only jobs will solve America's economic problems.

Extended unemployment compensation, aid to children of the unemployed, job retraining, work camps for unemployed youth—all of these things are fine and what you have done to ease the hardship of America's unfortunate unemployed families is commendable. But they are only stopgap measures.

You say that employment and income are rising nationally and that other economic indicators do not warrant the conclusion that we are entering a new recession.

Unfortunately, this is not true of coal communities. Unemployment in some coal communities is not 5 or 6 percent—like the national average—but as high as 35 or 40 percent.

Our people want jobs.

You can help put them to work—right now—in the coal fields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois, and Ohio—pockets of persistent unemployment and economic distress in which, as you said in your TV address, coal miners can no longer find jobs to support their families.

How can you create the jobs our people want and need?

By using the powers of your office to stem the flood of foreign residual fuel oil imports.

This imported waste product of foreign refining operations is taking jobs away from American coal miners in those very pockets of distress where the Government has been forced to undertake expensive temporary remedial action. If you cut back the amount of residual oil which can now be imported, and limit imports in the future, many of the unemployed miners will again find work and become self-supporting. No longer will their families be subjected to the degrading experience of living on Government handouts. They will again become taxpayers—good customers of the local merchant.

The coal industry is the key to economic recovery in many of the Nation's pockets of unemployment.

But the coal industry cannot expand production and employment—it cannot put these unemployed miners back to work at productive jobs—as long as imported waste residual oil is permitted to take over coal markets.

The power to end this threat to economic expansion—to expanded employment—to economic vigor and growth in widespread areas of the Nation—rests with you, Mr. President.

We respectfully urge you to act today.

This message is published by the National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., in behalf of the following State committees working for the economic recovery of the bituminous coal industry: The Illinois State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Indiana State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Kentucky State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Maryland State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Ohio State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Pennsylvania State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Tennessee State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; the Virginia State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference; and the West Viriginia State Committee of the National Coal Policy Conference.

OIL USERS ASSOCIATION,
*Miami, Fla., August 31, 1962.*

THE PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On August 21, 1962, there appeared in the Washington Post a full page advertisement of the National Coal Policy Conference.

The Oil Users Association, whose members consist of organizations such as manufacturing industries and utilities that use large amounts of energy-producing fuels, take strong issue with the statements contained in this advertisement.

The statements of the National Coal Policy Conference, in reference to their claim that coal miners of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois, and Ohio could be put to work "right now" by stopping all imports of residual oil, is clearly misleading and does not follow the facts as pointed out in our formal presentation of July 1, 1961, to the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization.

Residual oil has long been in short supply in this country and the imports of this product over the years has had very little, if any, effect on the employment of miners in the coal States. That this is true can best be pointed out by the three principal factors which have been responsible for such unemployment.

First. The "mechanization" of the coal industry, as shown by the data provided by the coal industry itself in "Bituminous Coal Data, 1960." In 1950, the bituminous coal industry employed 415,582 men and produced 516,311,000 tons of coal. The output per man-day was 6.77 tons. Ten years later the industry employed 159,100 men and produced 413 million tons at a productivity rate of 13.25 tons per man-day. In the 10-year period over a quarter of a million men have left the industry, yet the output of those that have remained has doubled. During the same 10-year period the use of residual oil in the United States remained relatively constant: 554 million barrels in 1950 and 556 million barrels in 1960.

Second. The railroads have caused a tremendous decline in the demand for coal. They used 114 million tons of coal in 1947 and they have now switched almost completely to diesel fuel and today use only about 2 million tons of coal per year. This is a loss in volume of approximately 112 million tons per year, or nearly half the total decline in coal demands since 1947.

Third. Millions of families throughout the country stopped shoveling coal into basement furnaces and installed oil burners or gas burners in their homes. In 1947 the figure for retail coal deliveries was 137 million tons; in 1960 the figure was 29 million tons, a loss of 108 million tons per year.

It is of interest to note that the National Coal Policy Conference chose to completely ignore all of these facts in attempting to present their case and it is also of interest that in addition to ignoring them, they chose not to base their case on whether or not the present import program is or is not in the best interest of national security—the only reason why imports of residual oils should or should not have their imports restricted.

Again, as we have clearly outlined in our reports to OCDM and OEP, a reduction in residual oil imports is not in the best interests of national security but do, in fact, have the opposite effect. We have the greatest confidence in the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning and feel that at the proper time his report will be submitted to you with recommendations which will be fairly made. All of the inequities created and the increased costs suffered by the public, because of import restrictions on residual fuel oil, continue to exist in ever-increasing quantities and we, therefore, urge that the question of the possibility of entirely removing import restrictions on residual fuel oil be considered by you as soon as conveniently possible.

Very truly yours,

E. A. EVANS.

## Town of Wales, Mass., Bicentennial—1762–1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the beautiful town of Wales, Mass., in my congressional district celebrated its bicentennial, 1762–1962, from August 11 through August 26. I had the distinct pleasure of speaking to the townspeople on the opening day of the 2-week-long observance. I will insert my speech at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD,

along with the names of the town officers, and the members of the bicentennial committee:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN ROLAND DELIVERED AT WALES, MASS., BICENTENNIAL

I am grateful for the invitation of the bicentennial committee for inviting me to be a part of this celebration.

This is a historic event that occurs but seldom in the annals of this community.

Fortunately, no words of mine are necessary to embellish the significance of the occasion. The program that has been arranged for the next 2 weeks gives greater vitality and spirit to the meaningfulness of this celebration than wordy proclamations of mine.

But, believe me, I did seize the opportunity to come here for it brings back fond memories of years ago as a Springfield Boys' Club camper that hiked the magnificent and challenging woods that surround this town—to explore the abandoned lead mines and trails of yesteryear and to plunge into the invigorating and sparkling blue waters of Lake George.

No one who has done these things and glanced at the history of this town could ignore the significance of this bicentennial. We see this town today as a peaceful, quiet, charming, picturesque and beautiful place. It is difficult to picture it as a rather thriving, humming community of yesteryear. But it was. Craftsmen in currying, tanning, shoe building, experts in weaving cloths—wools, cottons and satins—all of these people added to the luster of the 1800's. And these were the people who followed the hardy pioneers of 1726 and the founders of this town in 1762.

And one could not read the information contained in the little yellow bicentennial history pamphlet without catching the spirit of America—without recognizing the basis upon which our national existence was built.

For the people who came to this place 200 years ago came to build a better life for themselves and their families. The hardships they endured and the sacrifices they made are difficult to realize by us in this year of 1962. For the year of 1762 was fraught with dangers and totally without conveniences. It was their own indomitable will—their pulling together with their neighbors—their faith in the Almighty and their lives revolving around their church—it was all of this that helped them to succeed and to survive. It was indeed this spirit that was sewed into the fabric of our system that has enabled this Nation to grow and prosper.

We have a duty in this day and age to preserve what has been handed down to us by those who walked this ground 200 and more years ago.

We can best perform this obligation by doing the best we can in the job that is ours—by understanding the meaning and significance of the kind of government under which we live.

As a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, so too, a nation is only as strong as smallest and weakest adjunct of government. It is the decay at the bottom that weakens the structure to a point of collapse. This Nation needs to be strong at all levels of government—good morally, spiritually—embued with the finest realization of how much good citizens mean to the continued existence of our country—the overriding importance of a well-educated and informed people.

And so it is well to pause and reflect during the period of this bicentennial celebration of the heritage that has been draped around this good little town and to ask ourselves if we have kept faith with those who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their honor to build this town 200 years ago.

I congratulate the committee, the people of Wales—present the town with a flag—high honor and personal privilege, to bring to this gathering and to the town of Wales the congratulations, best wishes and greetings of the President of the United States.

TOWN OFFICERS

Selectmen and board of health: Wallace H. Adam, Robert Archambault, Ithamar B. Davis, Jr., chairman.

Moderator: Holywell Dreyer.

Town clerk: Agnita Baker.

Town treasurer: Lois Carrier.

Tax collector: Agnita Baker.

Town accountant: Sylvia Worth.

Assessors: Walter Worth, Ithamar B. Davis, Jr., and Robert McKay.

Cemetery commissioners: Samuel Dickinson, Jr., Guy Johnson, and Albertie Dunham.

School committee: Holywell Dreyer, Helen Adam, Peter Pernoski.

Tree warden: Guy Johnson.

Library trustees: Jules Slepian, Mary Bushey, John Blakely.

Constables: Robert McKay, Donald Morgan, Myron Heck.

BICENTENNIAL COMMITTEE

David S. Terrill, chairman; Ray Allen, town parade; Mrs. Donald Morgan and Mrs. Charles Reynolds, queen; William Bowden, beards; Mrs. George Brelsford, publicity; Mrs. Walter Worth, decorations; Mrs. Clarence Brown, Jr., block dance; George Gregoire, old home day; Mrs. I. B. Davis and Mrs. Albert Green, town history; Mrs. Roland Poirier and Mrs. Cutler Heck, fashion show; Joseph Poirier, etchings; Mrs. Rena Bowden, bi-cenball; Walter Worth and Roland Poirier, barbecue; Peter Pernoski, tickets for ball; Mrs. Mary Bushey, field day; Mrs. Roland Poirier, square dance; and, Mr. and Mrs. H. Sebolt, tickets for barbecue and square dance.

## Anderson—Uncensored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Anderson Free Press of Anderson, S.C., is one of the most outspoken and courageous newspapers in this country. It is edited by Mrs. Beth Klosky, and its publisher is Mr. H. G. Anderson. This newspaper is noted for taking strong editorial positions regardless of the consequences which may flow from doing so.

One of the most interesting features in this newspaper is a front page column entitled "Anderson—Uncensored." I ask unanimous consent that this column as printed in the September 6 Anderson Free Press issue be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANDERSON—UNCENSORED

A posse of preachers, mostly from New York and New Jersey, who went to Albany, Ga., last week to support the integration efforts of Dr. Martin Luther King—and were lodged in jail after staging a demonstration at city hall and refusing to obey police orders to move on—should be ashamed of themselves. Certainly, their exhibition was unworthy of the cloth they wear.

Northern ministers have plenty of problems at home to which they could devote their energies—take, for instance, the sorry stories of sin and degradation in the housing jungles of New York and other northern cities. But instead, these preachers chose to come all the way down to a small Georgia city which, without agitators and their allies—including intruding white ministers—would continue to maintain harmony in race relations.

The Albany police chief's remarks to these northern ministers massed around city hall should have been enough to shame any responsible citizen of decency and conscience. However, the very fact that the ministers had advertised their coming, knew what to expect, and deliberately set about to create a disturbance which could have easily led to bloodshed inclines us to liken their conduct to that of any other hoodlum who defies the authority of the police to protect lives in the community and maintain law and order. Such misguided actions in the name of the clergy serve no good purpose and, we fear, may lessen the influence of the pulpit.

We wish it had been possible to present to every one of the 70-odd preachers, for required reading in jail, a factfinding memo of Rev. Martin Luther King whose efforts at racial agitation they so ardently champion. We are of the opinion that this memo would also be good reading, between sailboat outings, for President Kennedy who intervened in King's behalf back when the President was campaigning for office.

The research department of the Grass Roots League has come up with the following facts:

Martin Luther King, Jr., started his academic education in Morehouse (Negro) College, Atlanta, Ga., where he was noticed by president Benjamin E. Mays, a notorious Negro radical with a public record of affiliation with some 25 fronts of which 7 were Communist Party fronts operating among the Negroes. (Report of hearings by the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, Mar. 6–9, 1957, p. 57, and also the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Feb. 23, 1956, p. 2831.) Mays played a major part in putting King's feet on the road which eventually led to Montgomery (bus boycott). (New York Post, Apr. 10, 1957, article by Ted Poston.)

After graduating from Morehouse, King entered Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa. At Crozier, he was influenced by president Mordecai Johnson (Negro) of Howard (Negro) University, who has a public record of 14 Communist-front citations, with 2 Communist affiliations (Florida Legislative Investigation Committee hearings, Feb. 10, 1958.)

A scholarship won at Crozier took King to Boston University for a Ph. D. degree. Two influential members of the Boston University faculty were professors of religion, Allen Knight Chambers, treasurer and a director of the NAACP, with at least five Communist-front affiliations; and Rev. Howard Thurman (Negro), dean of the Boston University Chapel, with a public record of six Communist-front citations. Chalmers and Thurman were early members of the Advisory Committee of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), believed to be a Communist front with directing Red cell in the advisory committee of which Martin Luther King is now a member.

While Reverend King appears to have been well trained in Red ideology, revolutionary aims and tactics, it is evident that the commies are making sure King operates according to their plans. According to the Communist Daily Worker of April 12, 1957, Reverend King has a secretary or manager named Bayard Rustin (Negro) who claims to have been one of the founders of CORE. Rustin is described as an expert on "civil disobedience" and advocates violent "nonviolence." (Associated Press dispatch, Apr.

11, 1960.) Rustin not only is one of eight "impartial observers" who attended the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., but also was identified as a member of the American Forum for Socialist Education, cited as a Communist front by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, December 19, 1957.

Further evidence that the Reds make certain that Martin L. King follows the Communist line by keeping Bayard Rustin, his secretary at King's side is seen in the fact that, although Reverend King led the Montgomery bus boycott, he was aided by organizer Rustin in the 1958 march on Washington which included three busloads of Communists from New York. Actually this march was a Communist project (Communist Worker, May 17, 1959).

King was a speaker at the Labor Day seminar (1957) of the Highlander Folk School (known as a Communist training school), and was photographed in company with Communist leader Abner Berry, Negro, and other racial agitators.

The factfinding memorandum concludes: "Rev. Martin L. King's leadership of Negro malcontents, in our opinion, could succeed only by the overthrow of the Government of the United States. Clearly, any citizen whose activities are likely to result in the undermining and downfall of the American Republic, whether done wittingly or unwittingly, must be regarded as a traitor to his country."

How many clerical dupes may one day find themselves in this category?

## Five Big U.N. Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the issue in H.R. 2768 is whether we believe in the United Nations as an effective means of peace. Other persons subdivide the issues and find more than one. One of the most interesting analysis was made by Peter Edson, editorial writer for the Washington Daily News. I believe it merits reading as a capsule form of the situation facing the United Nations. The editorial follows:

FIVE BIG U.N. ISSUES
(Second of a series)
(By Peter Edson)

Disarmament, the nuclear test ban, peaceful use of outer space, colonialism, and United Nations financing are considered the five most important isues before the General Assembly opening in New York next Tuesday.

The Cuban situation, the Congo, admission of Red China, and possibly the Berlin and the U–2 flights may be noisier issues during general debate. But only the Congo issue in this second five is on the agenda this year and the U.N. will do little or nothing about the others. Admission of Red China is again expected to be defeated.

The issues with top priority are probably the nuclear test band and disarmament. There isn't anything the U.N. can do about disarmament except recommend that the major powers keep on negotiating and come up with an agreement. But another resolution of this kind is needed by U.S. Chief Negotiator Arthur Dean before the recessed Geneva Disarmament Conference reconvenes November 8.

The test ban is a more immediate question. Only 4 of the 104 U.N. members have nuclear weapons. Theoretically India should have no difficulty getting nearly 100 votes for its resolution for an uninspected test ban. U.N. Secretary General U Thant reports the members about evenly divided on this issue, however.

The United States must oppose this resolution or stop testing to support it. Russia may support the resolution but go right on testing whenever it pleases. The United States must therefore work for another resolution calling for an inspected test ban.

Since Americans, British, and Russians will be continuing test ban talks at Geneva while the General Aseembly is in session, an inspected test ban resolution will strengthen the West's hand.

The 28-nation U. N. Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space began its deliberations a week before the General Assembly opening with the Russians orbiting procedural monkey wrenches.

Last year the General Assembly approved extension of international law and the United Nations Charter to outer space. This invalidated Russia's flag of conquest on the moon.

The American position now is to try to get agreement on establishment of worldwide weather observation and communications satellites as soon as possible. The Russians oppose this as an attempt to begin military reconnaissance in space for aggressive purposes.

The American reply to this is that military reconnaissance is a necessary peaceful use of outer space until there is a signed agreement on disarmament. And in the American disarmament plan there is a ban on military use of outer space.

The colonial issue is due for heated debate again. Russian membership on the Committee of 17 considering this question has converted its deliberations into a rabble rousing, cold war harangue to free all colonies at once.

There are still seven African territories under British colonial status—Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyassaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Zanzibar—as well as British Guiana. Portugal still has two colonies of much interest to the U.N.—Angola and Mozambique.

One move under consideration is to get Russia off the Committee of 17 so that its African, Asian, and Latin-American majority may adopt a more sober policy on colonialism.

United Nations financial affairs will be extensively debated this year in getting the General Assembly to implement the World Court's recent opinion that U.N. special assessments must be paid, the same as regular contributions, by all members. The General Assembly must approve this by a two-thirds majority.

## Failure To Lower Taxes Blamed for Business Lag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, many Members of this body have long been convinced of the need for true tax reform. National economic growth is essential, and this Government's role in that growth is keyed to our tax system. I have introduced legislation on this subject, and I regret that there has been no real congressional progress in tax laws this year.

Seldom has the case for tax reduction and reform been more cogently stated than in a recent article by the noted columnist, Sylvia Porter. This article, which appeared in the August 29, 1962, issue of the Minneapolis Tribune, is worthy of the attention of all lawmakers.

FAILURE TO LOWER TAXES BLAMED FOR BUSINESS LAG
(By Sylvia Porter)

NEW YORK.—"Why is it that our tax system is now getting so much blame for being a drag on our economy?" asked the woman across the dinner table the other evening.

"I listened to President Kennedy's TV address on taxes, heard him condemn our high rates, promise tax cuts in 1963, and refer to how much faster the Common Market countries are growing than we are. But I've not heard a simple explanation of why the system is a drag and how our tax rates compare with those of Europe."

These are pertinent observations. So here goes with my "simple explanation."

No other government takes so big a bite out of the paychecks of workers and the profits of businessmen as ours does—and this goes from Communist Russia to the socialistic and totalitarian nations of Europe and South America. None hampers employment and production with such confiscatory tax rates as the United States, proud upholder of free enterprise and capitalism.

In our capitalistic nation, 86 percent of the Government's take comes from taxes on paychecks, profits, estates, or gifts. In Russia, in complete contrast, only 15 percent comes from taxes on incomes and the 85 percent balance comes from direct taxes on Soviet citizens when they buy food, clothing, shelter, etc.

In the prospering Common Market nation of West Germany, only 22 percent of the Central Government's collections comes from income and capital taxes; the rest is raised from sales, excise taxes, customs duties. In prospering Italy, the income-capital tax bite is only 26 percent. The closest to the United States in relying so heavily on income and profits taxes is New Zealand, which collects 65 percent from these sources.

No other government penalizes individuals or businessmen with extraordinary abilities and ambitions to the extent that our tax structure does. Our top tax rate of 91 percent on individual incomes is frankly confiscatory, can't possibly be justified on financial grounds, for few individuals who qualify for this bracket permit themselves to get into it.

A personal income tax rate which reaches 50 percent on as low as $16,000 of taxable income is distinctly discouraging to individual risk taking. As for the 52 percent tax rate on corporations, the evidence is overwhelming that this has retarded American industry's ability to reinvest earnings in job-creating activities.

No other government has held to an oppressive tax structure as long as we have—with the possible exception of Great Britain, another nation turning in a sluggish performance.

Every other nation which slapped on steep taxes during World War II has long since reformed them—which is what President Kennedy was referring to when he mentioned in his TV address that "by lightening tax burdens," the Common Market countries have achieved "full employment and an economic growth rate twice ours."

No other government has "accepted" four recessions since the end of World War II without its leaders getting down to work and saying flatly our tax structure is at least partially responsible and reform is overdue.

There is no doubt that our tax rates helped strangle the 1959 recovery. They bit so substantially into rising income and profits that the advance didn't have a chance to survive.

Tax reduction reform was bypassed in 1960, though, bypassed again in 1961, and now it's dead for 1962. Meanwhile, as Mr. Kennedy pointed out, during the past 15 months of economic expansion, Federal taxes have siphoned out $5 billion more from our economy than increased Federal spending has poured into the business stream. This is a measure of the way our high rates tend to brake a recovery almost automatically as it proceeds.

## Attorney General Speaks of Efforts To Combat Communist Activity in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an interview broadcast on the NBC "Monitor" program, Sunday, September 2, 1962, in which the Attorney General spoke of the efforts of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to combat Communist activity in the United States.

A portion of the transcript of that interview follows:

Question. "Monitor" over the past several weeks has been examining the work of the FBI and its efforts in, among other things, the fight against subversives. Recently, J. Edgar Hoover was described as an ineffective "spy swatter" in this work. How would you characterize the work of Mr. Hoover?

ATTORNEY GENERAL. Well, I think that he has contributed one of the outstanding jobs of public service over the period of the last 30 years, and I think that if it hadn't been for his efforts, his direction, his organizational ability, that the Communist Party and subversion in the United States would be far stronger, far more dangerous, and would have received—the Soviet Union, Communist countries abroad—would have received far more security information than they have. I think that the ineffectiveness of the Communist Party in the United States at the present time is due more to Mr. Hoover and the FBI than to any other individual or group.

WARD. Mr. Kennedy, what is the status of the Communist Party in this country? Is the Nation's security actually threatened from within or have we been given a scare campaign blown up out of proportion?

KENNEDY. The Communist Party, I don't believe, has any political following in the United States. I think it's been overwhelmingly rejected by the American people. I think that there is a problem, even though the Communist Party is few in numbers, now down to probably less than 10,000 with some others on the fringes who follow its concepts, but it still poses some danger in that as the Supreme Court held 8 to 1 that the Communist Party in the United States is dominated and directed, controlled by the Soviet Union which is, whose aim is, the destruction of the United States, so when they have even a relatively few number of people here in this country which are working for them against the interests of the United States, I think it always poses a security problem for the country.

WARD. "Monitor" over the past several weeks has been examining the work of the FBI and its efforts in, among other things, the fight against subversives. Recently, J. Edgar Hoover was described as an ineffective "spy swatter" in this work. How would you characterize the work of Mr. Hoover?

KENNEDY. Well, I think that he has contributed one of the outstanding jobs of public service over the period of the last 30 years, and I think that if it hadn't been for his efforts, his direction, his organizational ability, that the Communist Party and subversion in the United States would be far stronger, far more dangerous, and would have received, the Soviet Union, Communist countries abroad would have received, far more security information than they have.

I think that the ineffectiveness of the Communist Party in the United States at the present time is due more to Mr. Hoover and the FBI than to any other individual or group.

WARD. Mr. Kennedy, there seems to be a division of political opinion regarding the threat of communism. Some conservative groups on the one hand warning that we must keep our guard up; some liberals on the other hand discounting the threat. Does this division indicate a weakness in our ability to cope with the problems affecting national security?

KENNEDY. I think it is a disservice to discount it, the Communist Party, Communist Party activity, to say it means nothing, because that is untrue. It's also, I think, a disservice to say that there is a Communist under every bush or behind every tree. Or when the State Department or the Government does something with which you disagree to indicate it must be run by a bunch of Communists. The John Birch Society, for instance, said that there are all these Communists. I have written, contacted them to ask them for the names of any that they said existed in Government and never received a reply. The only one that they have identified at all, Mr. Welch has identified, is Dwight Eisenhower, and I think that that is an indication of the disservice of this kind of an operation can bring to the country.

WARD. Since you have occupied the post of Attorney General have you noted a change in Communist activity in this country? Has there been any change in goals or method of operation?

KENNEDY. No. I think that they have, the Communist Party U.S.A. has continued. There has been more effort over the period of the last 12 months to—more effort in the field of universities and colleges, but in my judgment, with not much success.

They also attempted to penetrate into some of these internal disorders that we have, as far as racial questions are concerned, but I think that this is a continuation of their goals that have existed over a period of some years. Communist operations of the representatives of Communist countries abroad who were stationed here in the United States, their activities are steadily increasing, and this is focused mostly on espionage and in attempting to learn security secrets of the United States.

WARD. Thank you, sir.

## Rostow's Peace Plan Seen as Good Bargain for Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Tribune of July 5, 1962:

ROSTOW'S PEACE PLAN SEEN AS GOOD BARGAIN FOR REDS

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—Unilateral disarmament, or disarmament by example, is the heart of a plan by Chairman Walt W. Rostow of the State Department Policy Planning Council.

Why has the administration slowed up the development and production of the mighty, manned missile bomber, the B–70? There are technical and financial difficulties, to be sure, but the reason under the Rostow plan is that Russia will interpret a slowdown on this B–70 as a voluntary example of partial disarmament and will follow suit.

Why has the administration planted the idea with friendly writers that we are preparing only for a war against weapons, not a war against people?

Why have we let it out that, in the event of hostilities, we would bomb military targets only, and would spare Russian cities? The answer is the same. We hope that the Kremlin will get the message and will follow suit.

The following quotation is from a broadcast interview with Richard Fryklund, author of "One Hundred Million Lives," which he calls an administration-inspired book. The author said over the air waves: "Now if people from the Russian Embassy are watching this program, it would make some of our defense officials very happy because they want, through every means possible, diplomatic and public, to encourage the Russians to think through this problem."

Why do we have such an inconsistent policy in southeast Asia?

In South Vietnam, our troops are engaged in combat training missions against the Red invaders. But we do not attack North Vietnam, where these invasions are mounted.

Our troops stand defensively on the Thailand side of the Mekong River. But instead of sending troops to Laos, where another invasion was recently in progress, we agreed to a troika plan for a neutralist Laos. We have resumed aid to Laos at the rate of $3 million a month. Well, why? The answer is the same under the Rostow plan.

Let us hear Dr. Rostow speak for his own plan. In a June 28, 1951, speech at the U.S. Army Special Warfare School, Fort Bragg, N.C., attended by guerrilla warfare trainees from Vietnam and 18 other nations, Rostow, then a White House adviser, said these things:

"We have, indeed, begun to take the problem of guerrilla warfare seriously * * *. This will not be a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union. It will not be a victory of capitalism over socialism * * *. If Americans do not seek victory in the usual sense, what do we seek? * * * The United States has the primary responsibility for deterring the use of nuclear weapons

[and] over aggression with conventional forces.

"The sending of men and arms across international boundaries and the direction of guerrilla war from outside a sovereign nation is aggression." (Something, by inference, which the United States must never commit against sovereign nations like Communist North Vietnam, Red Cuba or a neutralist Laos.)

In this address Rostow was performing a partial, voluntary disarmament of the United States. He ruled out use of nuclear weapons. He ruled out the strategy of attacking Red nations. He was, in effect, inviting the Communists to follow suit, and to some extent they have done so.

They have returned several American military personnel who were taken prisoner in Vietnam. They have agreed to accept an American-aided neutralist Laos. They have not crossed the borders of Thailand.

All this is a good bargain at a small price for the Communists. They are safe from our mightiest weapons and from any counter-invasion.

But is the Rostow plan good for the United States? Manifestly, it is a very poor bargain for the United States.

We are letting the enemy choose the weapons, the battlefields, the strategies.

In Laos we are even paying him good money for doing so. Although choosing disarmament and peace, we are discarding a victory policy and are accepting defeat.

## F. L. Megginson: Outstanding Postal Employee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the high caliber of the civil service employees in our U.S. postal service.

I have received a report from Postmaster Roland F. Wooten at Charleston, S.C., that, I think, would be an excellent rebuttal to any criticism of our civil service employees.

Included in his report of outstanding achievements by postal workers is a superior accomplishment award won by Carrier F. L. Megginson.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert this report so the Nation can read of the caliber of the people I have the honor to represent in the Congress:

F. L. MEGGINSON: OUTSTANDING POSTAL EMPLOYEE

U.S. POST OFFICE,
*Charleston, S.C., September 5, 1962.*

Hon. L. MENDEL RIVERS,
*House of Representatives, 326 House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MENDEL: Please note enclosed copy of citation to Mr. Megginson. As you know, he has been awarded the U.S. Post Office Department's top citation, the Superior Accomplishment Award. Mr. Megginson is among the very few to have received this recognition.

Until my arrival at the Charleston Post Office, no Superior Accomplishment Awards had ever been made here. Since then, eight have been awarded to Charleston postal personnel.

Also please note brief official mention in Bulletin of August 2, 1962, that Charleston was not only leader in its group but leader for the Nation with top number of outstanding suggestions offered during fiscal year 1962.

You will note that the general average for suggestions per 100 employees at large post offices runs about 35 to 40. Here in the historic city we registered a new record at 276.

While we are proud of this achievement, it is our hope to set another top record during this current fiscal year.

To all of Charleston's 400 postal employees go the credit for this fine performance.

Some 160 of these suggestions have already been adopted locally, some nationally. Numerous cash awards were received and are still coming in.

Our suggestions are all ideas for an improved postal service at reduced cost.

It is a pleasure to report our progress for your consideration.

Sincerely,

ROLAND F. WOOTEN,
*Postmaster.*

CHARLESTON, S.C.,
*July 23, 1962.*

Mr. F. L. MEGGINSON,
*Carrier, U.S. Post Office,*
*Charleston, S.C.*

DEAR MR. MEGGINSON: It gives me considerable pleasure to present to you a Superior Accomplishment Certificate, a lapel emblem, and an award of $25 less withholding tax, in recognition of the superior work you are performing as a carrier in the Charleston Post Office.

The recognition which is given in this presentation is the result of sustained efforts by which you have achieved the constant, high degree of efficiency in performing all assigned duties, the excellence of service rendered to the patrons whom you serve, and the superior spirit of cooperation always evident in your associations with fellow workers and your supervisors. These attributes, which you have displayed during your many years of postal service, reflect favorably upon you as an individual, upon your fellow workers, and upon the postal service as well.

I am extremely proud of your achievement, as I believe you are, and take this means to express my sincere appreciation and congratulations to you.

A copy of this letter will become a part of your official personnel record.

Sincerely,

ROLAND F. WOOTEN,
*Postmaster.*

SUPERIOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

MAY 24, 1962.

SUGGESTIONS AND AWARDS COMMITTEE,
*Charleston Post Office,*
*Charleston, S.C.:*

I respectfully recommend carrier Francis L. Megginson for a Superior Accomplishment Award.

Carrier Megginson serves residential mounted route No. 44 out of the St. Andrews Branch. He has served this route for 1½ years out of a total of 21 years postal service. He is 45 years of age. He often serves his route in intense plain as he is suffering with a ruptured disk and must wear a back brace.

I have observed his work in the office, on the street, and reviewed records on file of his past performance of duty. He is consistent in his work, courteous to the public, and gets along excellently with coworkers and supervisors. Mr. Megginson serves a heavily populated area. I have received no complaints from any patron on his route.

The week of count and inspection for this fiscal year shows Mr. Megginson to have an average of 118 minutes under maximum office allowances. On this type route, 40 to 50 minutes under maximum office allowance is considered excellent. Mr. Megginson not only attains this high degree of efficiency on the week of the count, but consistently. Records are on file to substantiate this. Mr. Megginson very seldom needs assistance or overtime to complete his delivery on schedule.

In terms of monetary savings, Mr. Megginson has saved the Post Office Department approximately 60 minutes a day above the average carrier. He has attained this high production rate through application, willingness, and diligence. Intangible benefits are numerous because of his conduct and devotion to duty. This has greatly improved public relations for the Post Office Department.

F. C. PLATTS Jr.,
*Superintendent, St. Andrews Branch.*

## Further Progress in Defense Supply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe of August 12, 1962, on the subject, "Pentagon To Unify Machine Tool Buying."

I am certain that this article will be appreciated by you, Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as it is another example of Secretary McNamara using his authority under the McCormack-Curtis amendment to unify common activities in the Department of Defense. While the article to which I refer is not explicit as to the number of machine tools available in the Defense Establishment, it does state that "$3 billion worth" are now being used by the armed services. It is my understanding that these tools are scattered in numerous agencies and inventories. Obviously, there must be a controlled inventory as a precedent to efficient requirements determination and procurement. I wish again to laud Secretary McNamara for his courage and determination to bring about more efficiency and effectiveness through integration of common areas under the broad and flexible authority provided by the McCormack-Curtis amendment.

I would be remiss if I did not pay a tribute to our Speaker for his foresight in sponsoring this legislation.

The article follows:

PENTAGON TO UNIFY MACHINE TOOL BUYING

Defense Secretary Robert J. McNamara plans to unify all machine tool buying that previously has been scattered throughout the Pentagon. In the next few weeks a new unit will be placed—at least temporarily—under Assistant Secretary Thomas Morris and it will also control the $3 billion worth of machine tools now being used by the armed services.

McNamara, who is personally knowledgeable of modern production methods, is expected to give emphasis to automation and new processes that are needed to fabricate

the new exotic space age metals for our new weapons. These light, heat resistant and very hard metals cannot be handled by ordinary machine tools.

The new metals now being developed include titanium, beryllium, tantalum, niobium, molybdenum, and zirconium. New processes now being studied to handle these metals include explosive forming, ultrasonics, electric erosion, ultra speed grinding, radial draw forming, and chemical milling.

Considerable savings in manufacturing costs have been made by some of these processes. Convair makes such claims in the exploding forming methods they have developed. Several firms are developing the ultrasonic and high speed grinding processes but they are not yet practical for close tolerances.

Many titanium, beryllium, and molybdenum parts for our largest missiles and aircraft are now formed by the Bath process, a method of stretching the metal in one direction and compressing it at right angles.

A mammoth radial draw former is now being installed by the Air Force at the Convair plant in Fort Worth, Tex. It will be used to shape complete wing sections of new all-steel aircraft now being designed. It will eliminate the enormous cost of riveting required in aluminum aircraft. It will also eliminate thousands of employee jobs.

The new unit that will handle the unified machine tool buying will also distribute the hundreds of millions of dollars of surplus tools now in Federal warehouses. These are available to other Federal, State and local agencies and to public schools, colleges and other institutions.

The 10-day concept of a nuclear war has laid emphasis on "weapons in being" and has made obsolete the need for standby plants and equipment. The distribution and sales of this surplus is being handled in a manner so as not to disturb the machine tool industry.

One of the largest of these standby arsenals is in South Chicago where the Ford Motor Co. was given the contract for an alternate J–57 and J–75 jet engine factory. Under the regime of ex-Secretary Charles "Engine" Wilson over $400 million was spent in tooling this plant. Only two small production runs were made.

A study group appointed by Mr. McNamara recommended that unified buying of machine tools be assigned to the new Defense Supply Agency which handles expendable common use items such as food, clothing, parts, medical supplies, and office supplies. However, the three armed services, stating that machine tools were in a different category, asked that their functions be transferred gradually from the Navy bureaus, the Army arsenals and the Air Force bases and be placed under a production management unit.

## A Worthy Queen of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, a beautiful girl, a lovely trophy, and a host of proud admirers are back in Roscommon, Mich., today, following a strenuous week of competition for the selection of Miss America of 1962.

Miss Carole Jean Valin of Roscommon, proved herself a worthy queen even though she was edged from the race in the homestretch which narrowed contestants down to the final five young women.

Michigan is proud of Carole Jean and even though she did not capture the highest honor, she captured the admiration of millions, won a trophy in the swimsuit competition, and brought added fame to Michigan.

The Bay City Times has given her an appropriate editorial salute which follows:

A WORTHY QUEEN OF MICHIGAN

She failed to win the coveted crown but she captured the hearts of millions.

In so doing, Carole Jean Van Valin brought renewed fame to Michigan as the home of lovely girls and won for herself a $1,000 scholarship and the right to the claim of being one of the 10 most beautiful girls in the 1963 Miss America contest.

Her hometown of Roscommon, that backed Miss Van Valin with a busload of supporters at the Atlantic City contest, gave its Miss Michigan a gala welcome home last night.

Featured was a torchlight parade to show the Miss America contestant how proud the entire State is of the fact she was one of 10 girls selected from a field of 54 of America's most beautiful women to compete in the semifinals.

The hometown folk all agreed it was during the long, drawn out "talent" part of the program that Carole failed to score heavily enough to win the Miss America crown.

Any Roscommon resident will tell you there was no contestant lovelier than Miss Michigan. Nor was there any one of the girls more popular with the thousands crowded into the huge auditorium or the millions watching the nationwide telecast of the event.

And as for looking good in a swimsuit—those loyal Roscommon fans pointed out that Carole had taken first place in her swimsuit division and thereby won the big trophy she brought home with her.

Roscommon residents are quick to point out that the Ohio beauty who won the Miss America title, Miss Jacquelyn Jeanne Mayer, is 2 years older than the blue-eyed blonde from Roscommon and boasts a wealth of stage experience, having sang with Fred Waring's Pennsylvanians before attending Northwestern University.

Beauty, charm and personality our Miss Roscommon has in abundance, and she used these attributes to win national acclaim for Michigan and Roscommon.

Now she also has the memories of an experience most girls can only dream about.

Roscommon, northern Michigan, our entire State were proud to be represented by such an outstandingly beautiful and charming contestant.

Miss Van Valin has proven herself a worthy Queen of Michigan.

## Red Arsenal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States are very much concerned over what is happening to our neighboring island of Cuba just 90 miles off the coast of Florida and our massive missile base at Cape Canaveral. The President has expressed his viewpoint on the situation and daily leading citizens of our country are calling for assurances that our position will not further deteriorate. I share this concern of our people and I want our Government to take every proper step to protect our country and hemisphere from Communist infiltration. I enclose an editorial from the September 7 edition of the Lowell Sun of Lowell, Mass., which I believe is timely.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun, Sept. 7, 1962]

RED ARSENAL

The Nation should probably take its mind off politics long enough to cast a long and hard look in the direction of Cuba. The Soviet technical and military build-up of Castro's island must be considered a serious threat, if not to the United States, at least to small nations in the Caribbean, Central and South America. And when the time comes that Castro figures he can become aggressive, hostilities in the general area could ignite major trouble.

For many years the United States has proudly and defiantly advised European nations that "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere will be considered as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Since the Monroe Doctrine was announced to the world 140 years ago the United States has told foreign countries to keep away from the Western Hemisphere "or else."

The United States has now been put in the peculiar position of either modifying its interpretation of this famous document or of taking the big risk of enforcing it. President Kennedy and other leaders of our Government have shown they are well aware of and greatly concerned by what is going on in Cuba, but they are conscious of the dire results of making a rash move. Therefore, they must watch and wait.

And in the meanwhile, the Soviet ships, loaded to the gunwales with military goodies for Castro, continue to arrive in Cuban ports.

All the while the huge U.S. Naval base at Guantanamo Bay must be on a constant alert in case the day might come when Castro might feel big and strong enough to take over. This the United States would resist, Russia or no Russia.

## Description of President Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the World dated September 18, 1962:

DESCRIPTION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

A Democratic National Committee publication just now going into circulation contains this description of President Kennedy: "* * * a leader who had beat down Khrushchev at Berlin, reshaped an Army, orbited a space man, committed troops to Vietnam, isolated Cuba, restrained labor, chastised steel, launched a revolution in trade and aid

policy and turned around the American people to face the direction of the enemy."

There are one or two little points, however, with which one might quibble. For instance: "* * * beat down Khrushchev at Berlin." Russia's sum concession so far has been to soft-pedal talk of deadlines in regard to continuing insistence that we get out of the walled city.

"Reshaped an Army." Along with an admittedly fine emphasis on guerrilla warfare units, this reshaping also has left our Allies in a state of open and worried doubt as to our resolve to use nuclear weapons—the real edge of our sword—in opposing Soviet aggression. Some, perhaps unduly cynical, observers have commented that the reshaping of the Army may commit us to fight grinding land wars against the largest land force in the world—the massed troop array of the Soviet and Red China. This technique was not oustandingly successful in Korea.

"Orbited a space man." The orbital programs were begun under previous administrations. Such programs also, it is reported, have been undertaken by the Soviet.

"Committed troops to Vietnam." Effectively true. At the same time, however, the work of those troops has been somewhat complicated by the diplomatic negotiations that turned neighboring Laos into a guaranteed privileged sanctuary for local communist and Red Chinese troops fighting in Vietnam.

"Isolated Cuba." This does not refer to any actual blockade of this now hostile island 90 miles off our shores. Nor does it refer to any isolation that has prevented the Soviet and the Red Chinese from pouring troops and weapons into Cuba. It presumably refers to the smashing diplomatic rebuff dealt Castro when we, and a few other nations, stopped talking to him.

"Restrained labor." The verb here as ambiguous. Whereas price rises have become taboo, wage and fringe benefits have risen apace.

"Chastised steel." The one, clear case of understatement in the description. It could also, without false modesty, be applied to big business in general.

"Launched a revolution in trade and aid policy." This refers, apparently, to the Alliance for Progress which, although launched, is not notably full-sailed, and to the President's request for personal tariff-lowering powers, a revolution still being debated by Congress.

"And turned the American people around to face the direction of the enemy." The government, although facing them, also has been carefully instructed not to say anything that would seriously anger them (e.g. State Department censorship of military speeches, refusal of the President to sign a "Captive Nations Resolution" singling out the Soviet as the captor."

K.H.

## Visitors to Rushmore Break All Records

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, with the reckless drive toward socialism that this Nation is now experiencing, I believe the words of Gutzon Borglum, the great sculptor who carved Mount Rushmore, should be quoted again and again and again.

While working on this great monument in the Black Hills of South Dakota, Mr. Borglum said:

I want, somewhere in America, a few feet of stone that bears witness to the great things we have accomplished as a Nation, carved as close to Heaven as we can, then breathe a prayer that wind and rain alone shall wear them away.

The editorial of F. C. Christopherson in the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader of September 9, 1962, warrants not only space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, but consideration of every Member of Congress and every good American. The editorial follows:

VISITORS TO RUSHMORE BREAK ALL RECORDS

MOUNT RUSHMORE, S. DAK.—They all come to Mount Rushmore—rich man, poor man, beggar man, and perhaps thief.

It is an ever-changing pattern of faces at what is rapidly becoming the Nation's best known memorial. By the thousands and the hundreds of thousands, they travel up the mountain in the Black Hills to see the heroic figures that Gutzon Borglum carved out of the solid rock.

The daily crowd, as many as 12,000 to 15,000 persons in the busy tourist season, is a cross section of America. Included are persons from all walks of life and from all of the States.

The appeal of the memorial, it seems, is so broad that it reaches every group.

The Labor Day weekend visitors provided a typical example—artists and artisans, city folks and country folks, teenagers and their elders, the cultured and the uncultured.

But all had one thing in common. They marveled at what they saw and gazed in awe at the massive sculpture high in the sky.

BORGLUM'S OPTIMISM

This is a recordbreaking year for visitors at Mount Rushmore. The million mark was reached in early August and it is now estimated that the total this year will reach 1,250,000. That will be approximately 200,000 above the previous high mark.

As I watched the steady procession of cars and people, I recalled a previous visit to this spot. That was back in the twenties when Rushmore was just a gleam in the eyes of imaginative men such as Doane Robinson, then State historian, and Senator Peter Norbeck. They had asked Borglum to look over the possibilities.

Borglum, as imaginative as they, was interested. The place he had selected—the present site—was off the beaten track.

A conference was to be held near the mountain to study the possibilities. Mrs. Christopherson and I attended but not without difficulty. First we drove along a makeshift mountain trail out of Keystone for a mile or two. Then we tramped on foot over rock, creek, and valley for a considerable distance to an eminence from which Rushmore could be seen.

Borglum was there, so were Norbeck, Robinson, and a few other hardy adventurers.

"This mountain is just right for what I have in mind," Borglum explained.

"But," someone asked, "shouldn't it be carved closer to a highway so that the people can see it?"

That comment irked Borglum a bit. "If I build the monument," he answered, "the people will come."

And most certainly his confidence was justified, as the attendance figures show.

Now there's a broad two-lane highway up the mountain from Keystone and a four-lane highway is being constructed from Rapid City to Keystone.

GROWING PAINS AT MEMORIAL

Purpose of my visit here last week was to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society and a basic problem was that associated with growing pains.

Though much has been done to accommodate the many visitors, it is realized that much more is required.

Already parking lots are being crowded and other facilities require expansion.

It is confidently assumed that the Mount Rushmore attraction will grow and that something must be planned now to avoid future congestion.

People throughout the Nation are beginning to realize that Rushmore is one of the "must see" features of the country. And, as the Interstate Highway System is completed, it will be easier to make the trip to this area.

TAX PROBLEM

Incidentally, a matter that is creating no little amount of conversation here, is the effort by the Internal Revenue Service to assess an amusement tax on the Rushmore diningroom revenues.

This came about because the college students, employed here during the summer as waiters, waitresses, clerks, and aids, sing occasionally during meal hours.

They have been doing so voluntarily because they like to sing and the diners like to hear them. They aren't asked to do this by the management, they aren't paid to do it and singing ability is no condition of their employment.

They were flabbergasted and disappointed by the action of the Internal Revenue Service. "It's ridiculous," said a pert little miss. "How stupid," said another.

The matter is now in the hands of the tax authorities in Washington for such determination as they see fit. But if they rule that the tax must be levied, they'll terminate a delightful and wholesome feature of the Rushmore scene and take some fun out of the lives of a hundred and more eager youngsters. And no good purpose will be served.

RUSHMORE'S PURPOSE

Visitors occasionally wonder about the purpose of Rushmore and the selection of the men whose faces are sculptured out of the granite.

Borglum said his intention was not to glorify individuals but to emphasize ideals and achievements.

The objective is best told in these words uttered by Borglum as he started work on the extraordinary memorial:

"I want, somewhere in America, a few feet of stone that bears witness to the great things we have accomplished as a nation, carved as close to Heaven as we can, then breathe a prayer that wind and rain alone shall wear them away."

F. C. CHRISTOPHERSON.

## Coach Paul Bryant, of Alabama, Picks the Eight Teams To Watch for 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a great article that I found in the Sunday

Star. It was in This Week magazine section of the Star of August 26, 1962. It is about a great man and a wonderful man, whom I have known practically all of his life. I am speaking of Coach Paul Bryant, of Alabama. We call him "Bear" Bryant and he is a "bear," too.

I remember, Mr. Speaker, a long time ago—it must have been 25 years ago—think of it, a quarter of a century, when I was asked to go down and meet the University of Alabama's team when they were coming here to play. They said they needed some help and they needed to be pepped up. We went down and they were a tired, weary-looking bunch, and they said they had not won a game in a good while. I asked them over to the Willard Hotel to have breakfast with me, and in that group was my son-in-law, Riley Smith, along with "Bear" Bryant and all of that other great group. Well, we had a wonderful breakfast and it was time for the team to soon finish, and I said:

What can we do to make you win this game?

So, "Bear" Bryant said:

What Riley and I want is a job.

I said:

Well, if you win this game tomorrow, I will guarantee you I will get you a job.

Well, they not only won it, but they went on to win more. You know what they did in California and all over the country, and what a great team Alabama had.

Well, after these two men left, Riley Smith went into business. "Bear" Bryant kept on, and he was covered with glory all over the country, wherever he had charge of these football players, making them into great and good players. At last we succeeded in getting Paul Bryant back to Alabama, and all of you know and this story will tell some of the things he did last year. Well, he will keep doing better just as long as he lives. He is a great man, and he is a good man; he was a wonderful football player, but he has brains and ability, as well as energy. He would have to have, to have a wife like he has; and you know what they say about a good man having to have a good woman behind him. Mary Harmon Knight, I remember her; she was there with my daughter, Frances Boykin. Mary Harmon married "Bear", and Frances married Riley.

Well, here they are now. This picture doesn't suit me, because it shows that "Bear" has a few gray hairs coming along on his temples; but if he did what he did, even if he wasn't but 21, he would have to have some gray hairs, because he has done a lot of thinking, a lot of work, a lot of praying and a lot of pulling; but he has done a superhuman job and made us so proud of him down in Alabama. Wherever you go, you will hear men and women, boys and girls, talking about "Bear" Bryant and his great team at the University of Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, the Sunday Star tells a great story about our hero, and it tells what this great expert, "Bear" Bryant, thinks will happen in 1962.

Well, we have another great football coach, "Shug" Jordan, of Auburn University, our other great college. These two men were out talking over old times, and so forth, in a boat on Bankhead Lake. The boat they were in turned over and "Bear" Bryant fished out "Shug" Jordan. So, this fellow Jordan said:

Bear, I thought you could walk on water.

Well—

He said—

if you won't tell the people at the University of Alabama that I can't walk on water, I won't tell them I saved your life.

Well, he has walked on water; he has done everything, because the superhuman jobs he did will just show you that "Bear" Bryant, this great athlete, this great manager, this great football coach, made such a great record for so many States, and the crowning glory is on our own University of Alabama there at Tuscaloosa. It is a great story and I know, Mr. Speaker, that everybody will enjoy this, and that this story will go to every library in the Nation and many foreign countries, and I would just like for everybody to know about "Bear" Bryant and his great work and the men who helped to make it possible. We could not have gotten the advertising of what he did as coach of this great team for a million dollars.

So, God bless "Bear" Bryant and give him strength to carry on.

The article follows:

COACH PAUL BRYANT OF ALABAMA, PICKS THE EIGHT TEAMS TO WATCH FOR 1962—WHAT'S NEW FOR 1962?—THE PRO GAME GOES TO COLLEGE

(By Paul Bryant as told to Frank Litsky)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This season you're going to see more speed, more passes, more scoring on the college gridirons—and the champs will be those who take more risks. Here 1961's Coach of the Year spots 1962's eight teams to watch.)

TUSCALOOSA, ALA.—Which college football teams will be the best in the country? That's always a tough question, and to complicate matters this year, college football will be a changed game because it is borrowing many of the best parts of professional football. This is a fair exchange because the pros have borrowed from colleges through the years.

This new look doesn't mean that the Green Bay Packers will be playing for my University of Alabama team—though the thought sure is pleasant. It does mean that the colleges are doing a facelifting job on their plays, formations and strategy.

In short, you will see college teams play more wide-open football this year. They will gamble much more, not because it is sounder football—it isn't but because each coach realizes he must take risks to keep up with the opposition.

Before I outline these trends I want to point out the differences between college and pro football. They really are different games.

MORE BIG PLAYS, MORE SCORING

Professional football is a business. Like any other business, its purpose is to make money, and to make money it must provide constant entertainment. That means heavy emphasis on the offense—more spectacular plays, more scoring, much more passing.

Under these circumstances, it is no surprise that defense takes a back seat. Technically, that doesn't make for better football, but the pros know that few people will pay $5 a seat to watch them play a 0 to 0 game.

So the pros play gambling football. They use red-dogging—sending linebackers crashing through the line to rush the passer but risking a long gain if the play is a run and not a pass. Their defensive backs use the dangerous man-to-man system of covering pass receivers. If the receiver breaks away, a touchdown is likely. They will pass on third down with their backs to the goal line instead of playing it safe with a punt.

The pros also have great builtin advantages over the colleges. Their players are bigger and stronger. They should be, because the pros draw talent from an unlimited pool.

Free substitution rules allow them to alternate offensive and defensive platoons and use other specialists whenever the need arises. If a man must learn only one job instead of four or five, he can master that job and become a real expert at it.

In addition, the pros have the same players year in and year out, except for changes of their own making. Graduation doesn't leave them high and dry. This continuity makes for better teamwork.

What about college football? It needs no apologies because it is a fine sport. Constant emphasis on defense creates a balance that makes for a sounder game, even with the increased accent on the attack.

There is an aura around college football, too, that makes it a wholesome sport. The pros have nothing to match its campus atmosphere, its spirit, the personal loyalties it fosters.

Bearing these differences in mind, here are the major changes college teams are making this year:

1. Red-dogging: It's a pretty sight when the linebackers crash through and flatten the passer before he can get rid of the ball. It's a pretty sight, that is, unless you're the passer. The colleges are putting so much more emphasis on passing that the defense will be forced to red-dog much more often. But woe to the defense when it guesses wrong.

2. Passing: You will see more—and better—passing in the college game. And you will see more unorthodox pass plays. Coaches have come to realize that they can't remain conservative and drive 60 or 70 yards on the ground for a touchdown against good defense. You will also see more situation passing—saving an assault on a defensive weakness for one big play that could mean a touchdown. Scouting of opponents has beecome so refined that no team can hide a serious weakness.

3. Platooning: College substitution rules allow a player to reenter each period only once, except that a team may make one uncharged substitution (known as a wild card) after each play. But to keep fresh players in the game, more and more colleges will substitute by units as widely as the rules allow. For example, Army, North Carolina, and Georgia have adopted Louisiana State's three-platoon system. Ohio State, among others, will alternate two platoons. Other colleges will try one of those systems if they can find sufficient manpower.

4. Specialization: The colleges will make more use than ever of special men for special jobs. Look for more defensive specialists, more place-kicking specialists, more passing specialists. These men will go into the game when their particular services are needed, utilizing the wild-card rule.

5. New formations: Many colleges are discarding or augmenting offensive formations because they have found others more suited to their talent. Here are two striking examples: UCLA has abandoned its traditional single wing attack for a homemade T formation that will allow it to use its best runners and passers in the same backfield. And Iowa State has thrown out its single wing for what

it calls a single-wing T just to keep two gifted players in the same backfield.

All these changes make it more precarious than ever to predict which college teams will be the best. Every team must alter its game to keep up with the times—and its opponents. The ones that make the changes successfully are the ones that will be sitting on top 3 months from now.

And now—for better or for worse—those predictions. My nominees as the eight teams to watch this fall are Georgia Tech in the Deep South, Duke along the Atlantic coast, Texas in the Southwest, Southern California in the Far West, Wyoming in the Rockies, Missouri in the Midlands, Ohio State in the Midwest and Penn State in the East.

I can hear the voices already demanding: "What about your Alabama team, coach? Aren't you selling it short?" True, we were the national champions last year, but that was last year. This year, we're a question-mark team. Spring practice didn't answer my question about our young linemen. We may have real trouble with our linebacking and with our offensive and defensive quarterbacking. So reality—not modesty—forces me to rate Alabama no better than a threat in the Southeastern Conference.

Let's take a closer look at the top teams in the Deep South and other sections of the country.

THE DEEP SOUTH

Most crystal-ball gazers this year are picking Louisiana State, Mississippi, or Alabama to dominate this football hotbed. My choice is Georgia Tech because its first unit is so strong. The line averages 222 pounds, and its anchorman, Dave Watson, could make All-American on his blocking alone. Coach Bobby Dodd also has an abundance of promising backs. His only fear is injuries at key spots. If Tech can escape those injuries, its experience should prove the difference in what I consider the strongest conference in the country.

ATLANTIC COAST

Coach Bill Murray of Duke again will use his imaginative offense, which combines features of the split T, drive series, sweep series, and swing formation. He has seasoned players everywhere except at fullback. Jay Wilkerson, the son of Oklahoma coach Bud Wilkerson, has been shifted from end to halfback. He is a terror when he breaks into the clear. Duke's line is still light, but it is quick and hits hard. Coach Murray tells me that his team will win or lose on aggressiveness. I think it will do a lot of winning.

THE SOUTHWEST

For a coach who lost seven starters, including a wonderful halfback named James Saxton, Darrell Royal, of Texas, faces a bright season. He has a host of reliable men from his fine 1961 team. Except at tackle, where there will be two new straters, there is no concern about the line. The backfield has speed to spare. On defense, no other team in the country can offer two linebackers as skilled as Pat Culpepper and Johnny Treadwell. If the players injured in spring practice return to shape, Texas could win every game.

THE FAR WEST

Southern California, like Texas, lost seven starters via graduation. Coach John McKay's task to strengthen the middle of his line. Otherwise, he's optimistic, though wary of a repetition of his team's 1961 injury jinx. His fullback, Ben Wilson, is a hardworking bread-and-butter runner. The passing attack, with Pete Beathard and Bill Nelsen throwing and Hal Bedsole catching, must be respected. Oregon actually may have a better team than Southern Cal, but its schedule is so rugged that a 5 to 5 season would do it credit.

THE ROCKIES

The Skyline and Border Conferences have disbanded, and six of their strongest teams will start play this season in the new Western Athletic Conference. Wyoming seems the best of the lot, although it must adapt to a new head coach (Lloyd Eaton) and a new offense (multiple T with balanced line). Blending with this something new will be some items traditional at Wyoming—a stout defense and power running with crisp blocking. The pass attack will be better, although Coach Eaton still is searching for a starting quarterback. Mike Wright may be his man.

THE MIDLANDS

Coach Dan Devine has never had it so good at Missouri. He is quick to point out that he must replace his two starting tackles and two starting guards, but his team nevertheless is experienced and sound. He will start nine seniors and two sophomores—Quarterback Keith Weber and Halfback John Roland. Both are potential stars and will add punch to a backfield already rich in talent.

Though the line may slip somewhat from last year's high standard, it will be fierce on defense. Andy Russell, the fullback, has few peers as a linebacker.

THE MIDWEST

Mark down Ohio State as the team to beat for the national championship. Coach Woody Hayes has a typical Ohio State team—big and tough. And this one is faster than usual and deep enough for offensive and defensive platoons. Magnificent is the word for the line, led by Bob Vogel at tackle and Matt Snell (a halback last year) at end. The backfield has no apparent weakness, though Bob Ferguson, twiicei an All-American fullback, has been graduated. Coach Hayes has no Ferguson-type fullback to replace him, but then, who has?

THE EAST

This is Rip Engle's 13th season as head coach at Penn State. He has had a winning team every year. He will have one this fall, too, and most likely an eastern championship as well if his boys can beat Navy in their opener. Penn State's line is hefty and rugged but not really fast. It needs help at center. The backfield is strong, versatile, and explosively fast. Halfback Roger Kochman is the type of breakaway runner every coach dreams about. Coach Engle says his prime concern is filling out his second and third units. And when a coach talks like that—beware.

Those are the eight teams that should be the best in their sections this year. Here are the teams I think will win in conferences we haven't covered: West Virginia in the Southern Conference, Wichita in the Missouri Valley Conference, Bowling Green, in the Mid-American Conference, Princeton in the Ivy League, Connecticut in the Yankee Conference, and Delaware in the Middle Atlantic Conference.

And now that I've gone out on a limb and made my predictions on the 1962 football winners, I've got to return to those problems of my Alabama team. More than anything else, I'd dearly love to make Alabama a winner, too.

## Health Care: The Issue Becomes Clearer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the very unfortunate aspects of the debate which has been conducted in the Halls of Congress, on national television, in the daily press, and elsewhere on the subject of the administration's limited hospital care proposal financed by social security is the fact that the real issues and arguments have been so overlaid with a veneer of emotionalism and propaganda—and both sides are to blame for this, I must add—that they have been almost ignored. The real issues in this matter have, however, come more and more to the fore and, I believe, if the President lives up to his pledge to make the health care controversy the major campaign issue in this election year, we will find that this helps to strip the matter to its bare factual bones.

Nation's Business, in its September 1962 issue, has done an excellent job in trying to weed out distortion and present the facts of the matter. I believe that this is a real step in the right direction and I hope that other publications will provide similar services as this matter comes more and more under discussion in the political campaign which now has started. Along with this article, "Politics Distort Health Care Facts," the magazine printed an interview with Senator ROBERT KERR, of Oklahoma. Senator KERR is a leading figure in the Congress in this controversy and I believe his words supplement the matter presented by Nation's Business to help give a better understanding of our health care situation. I am placing the Nation's Business article and the interview with Senator KERR in the RECORD to help further real understanding of this issue.

The article and interview follow:

POLITICS DISTORTS HEALTH CARE FACTS—FAST-GROWING PROGRAMS PAYING MEDICAL COSTS OF THE NEEDY AGED

The heated domestic political issue of costly health care for the aged is actually based on a shrinking problem.

The Kennedy administration's pleas for a new law to buy hospital and nursing home care for the aged with social security taxes have failed to win over Congress. The President has promised to take the issue to the people as a key feature of the fall congressional election campaigns.

Meanwhile legislation is pending in Congress to provide more help for the elderly through private financing. A bill sponsored by Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Missouri, would allow employers to take tax deductions for contributions they make to employee pension plans that include health care protection features.

The law currently permits tax deductions of contributions to employee pension funds to provide retirement income. But the Curtis measure would extend this to let employers claim deductions for contributions they make to health plans for employees after they retire. Millions of elderly could be covered in the future.

Moreover, the existing programs of medical care for the aged are rapidly paring the size of the problem.

The much maligned State-operated medical aid for the aged program, known as the Kerr-Mills law, is the major source of help for elderly with limited resources. It is now operating in one form or other in nearly all the States. Private health insurance protection for the aged is spreading at such a rate that 12 percent more of the aged are now covered than in 1960.

The political alarm about the condition and finances of the Nation's 17 million persons 65 and over has largely drowned out word of the progress in meeting the elderly's health needs.

Little known are these facts:

About 65 percent of the elderly now are able to get a wide array of medical services under State medical assistance plans without going on relief.

Another 15 percent of the elderly now get medical help regularly through old-age public assistance, commonly known as relief.

Some 55 percent of the elderly now have health insurance.

Hospital-surgical insurance for the aged is now available for as little as $76 a year on a group basis and from $66 to $99 a year on an individual basis for a man 65, for example.

The number of recipients of medical care under new State plans has risen rapidly in recent months, by as much as 70 percent in Illinois and 269 percent in Pennsylvania.

About 10 percent of the heads of families 65 or older earn $10,000 or more a year.

Over 10 percent of the aged live with younger relatives; half of those with small assets do.

Around 15 percent of aged men are World War I veterans and can get free care in VA hospitals if they are needy.

Although Congress enacted the Kerr-Mills medical program in 1960, the pressure has been on to pass a health care program under the social security system to provide limited care to older persons whether they are able to pay for it or not.

Critics have attacked the Kerr-Mills law with four major charges. They say it is not meeting the need because most of the benefits are going to only a few States, that some States have not adopted it, that it requires recipients to make known their financial affairs, and that benefits are unequal among the States.

From the start of Government old-age assistance or relief programs in 1935, the cost of medical care could be paid by the monthly cash payments to the needy.

In recent years as the older population has increased, more aid has been given.

In 1950, Congress amended the law to permit payments for medical care directly to suppliers. In 1958 payments were increased. In 1960 a double-barreled program of assistance was provided in the Kerr-Mills law. First, medical care payments under old-age assistance were raised. Second, a new form of aid was provided to help persons not on relief who have enough resources to meet ordinary living expenses but who can't pay unusually high medical bills.

Some 31 States have adopted plans to implement the most important part of the Kerr-Mills program, known as the medical assistance for the aged (MAA) program, for those not on relief but with limited resources.

All except one of the States have put into operation increases in medical payments for aged under relief, which is the other part of the 1960 law.

Critics of Kerr-Mills have complained that almost 90 percent of the MAA money is going to only 4 States: New York, Michigian, California and Massachusetts.

This is true. It is also true that about 25 percent of the aged live in these 4 States. Even more important is the fact that these were among the first States to adopt the program. Naturally most of the money spent so far has gone into these areas.

Critics also have charged that the program is a failure because many States have not adopted it.

Several States have not yet put the MAA portion of Kerr-Mills into effect. But adoption of the program has certainly not lagged as compared with any recent similar program. For example, in 1950 Congress passed a program of aid to the permanently and totally disabled. It was intended to provide payments for needy persons over 18 who had severe disablements or handicaps. Payments are made on a matching basis, similar to the Kerr-Mills program. By mid-1951, about 18 months after the program began, some 27 States had it in operation. The same number of States and territories had adopted the Kerr-Mills MAA program after the first 18 months.

By 1961, 47 States and three territories had adopted the aid to the permanently and totally disabled program. In the program's first decade of operation, the number of persons aided had increased fourfold. The Kerr-Mills MAA program, however, can be judged a success even if all the States don't adopt it. Several States have extensive programs of medical care for needy aged similar to help given by Kerr-Mills. For example, Colorado has not adopted MAA because the State has had an elaborate program of medical care for the aged for the past 4 years. Some $10 million a year is being spent for health costs of needy elderly there.

In Texas, a medical program was started at the beginning of 1962 which provides hospital and surgical-medical services through a contract between the State and Blue Cross-Blue Shield. Direct payments from the State are made for nursing home care. It has been called a model program for elderly on relief.

Three other States not among the 31 that have approved MAA have expanded their relief programs so as to include residents not now on relief rolls, but whose financial situations are such that they need public help.

So the insistence that the success of MAA will be proven only when it is adopted in all States is unrealistic.

Another major criticism of Kerr-Mills is that there is a test as to financial need of recipients. This is held to be undignified and at odds with the American way. The argument is made that the administration's proposal to give health care to the aged under the social security system assures beneficiaries of this help without the indignities of a "means test."

Proponents of the social security approach overlook the fact that a form of "means test" is applied to persons drawing social security checks in their retirement.

Even though a retiree may have paid his social security taxes for 30 years, he starts losing benefits if his earned income is over $1,200 a year. And his social security retirement checks stop altogether if he earns as much as $3,000 a year and is under 72 years of age. Those who favor giving medical care to all the 12 million aged eligible to receive social security benefits overlook the fact that many of these persons are well-fixed enough to pay their own hospital bills. The social security taxes on unskilled factory workers, domestics, or other low-pay people, as well as their employers, would be used to pay health costs for some who don't need Government subsidies.

Another major charge against the Kerr-Mills MAA program is that the program is inequitable and has limitations in different States.

The fact that the programs differ in the different States is seen by some as an advantage, not a disadvantage. For example, the program in Hawaii provides for air transportation to obtain necessary care which is available only in another county. Many States wouldn't need to fly patients great distances to get medical care. But patients in the island State of Hawaii might often need just such service.

In New Hampshire, eye care is excluded from the scope of MAA because it is available through the sight conservation division of the State department of public welfare.

In North Dakota, the aged can get help under MAA depending on their income and assets. In this sparsely populated State a homestead of 2 acres in town is exempt and a rural homestead of 160 acres is exempt in figuring whether the applicant for aid has assets limited enough to qualify for aid.

Kerr-Mills plans in some States require needy persons to make cash contributions toward the cost of care. This is looked upon with grave concern by some proponents of the social security approach. However, the social security proposal would also require any beneficiary of health care to pay $10 a day for the first 9 days toward the cost of hospital treatment.

It is also pointed out that some States do not provide dental care, some don't pay for drugs prescribed by the patient's doctor, a few do not pay for visits in a doctor's office or for house calls. The social security legislation proposed by the administration would pay for none of these.

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AN INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR ROBERT S. KERR, DEMOCRAT, OF OKLAHOMA, A LEADER IN THE HEALTH CARE FIGHT

Question. Senator KERR, what are the advantages of the existing Kerr-Mills medical care program over proposed health care under social security?

Answer. In the first place, the Kerr-Mills program provides greater benefits to those over 65 years who need those benefits. The benefits include doctors, surgeons, hospitalization, nurses and nursing care, medicines and drugs, dentists and dental benefits—even false teeth. Each State can provide what is needed by the people within the State. The administration's social security approach for aged care would provide mainly hospital and nursing home payments.

In the second place, the Kerr-Mills program is administered on a basis where both the doctors and the patients have the freedom of choice, the patient being able to choose the doctor wanted or the hospital wanted, the doctor being free to make his service available in accordance with what kind of medicine he practices.

Next, the Kerr-Mills program, being available to all over 65 who need it and cannot provide it for themselves, is paid for out of the general revenue fund, by taxes received from everybody, rather than being paid for by a limited group, primarily the self-employed and the employed workers and their employers.

Question. From a cost standpoint how does the Kerr-Mills program compare with the social security approach?

Answer. The Kerr-Mills plan if fully implemented in all of the States would cost much less than the Anderson-Javits proposal, which is the latest administration version.

The Anderson-Javits amendment had a tax beginning in 1963, a payroll tax that would have collected $810 million. Beginning January 1, 1964 the Anderson-Javits amendment would have increased the social security tax $2.2 billion a year. All evidence is that if it were fully implemented that would have been inadequate to pay for it.

Now, the estimate for the Kerr-Mills plan for fiscal 1964 is less than $500 million.

Question. Some States have not yet adopted or implemented the Kerr-Mills program. Why are they holding back?

Answer. Many States have anticipated that a social security tax-supported medical care program would be initiated and figured they would wait until that happened. Now, what those people don't realize is that amendments thus far offered for a social security tax-supported health program do not provide more than one-fourth of the medical or surgical or health requirements for the aged who need medical care that is provided under Kerr-Mills.

Then, some States have not done so, because their legislatures have not yet provided the funds for the State to put up its part of the money. However, when more people realize that the Kerr-Mills program is available to the States on a matching basis, in my

judgment, more and more States will implement the Kerr-Mills plan, especially now that it's apparent that the other program will not be put into effect in the next 2 years. The social security plan could not be put into effect until 1965 even if it should be passed in 1963, which I gravely doubt.

Question. Do you think that medical care for the aged under social security is a proper partisan issue for the 1962 election?

Answer. I do not, for the simple reason that the Anderson-Javits amendment was defeated by the vote of 31 Republicans and 21 Democrats. It was supported by 43 Democrats and 5 Republicans. I think in the final analysis it will resolve itself into a personal issue in the various States, and within both parties, not between the two parties.

## Corrections Made in Bills Prior to Final Approval

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, August 31, I asked unanimous consent that the Clerk be directed to request the Senate to return to the House the bill S. 2965, with the House amendments thereto, and that when said bill and amendments were returned, the Clerk be authorized and directed to make a correction in the engrossed copy of the House amendments as follows:

On page 6, lines 12 and 19, strike out "section 9" and insert "section 3".

The request was made to correct an inadvertent error in the bill—the Public Works Acceleration Act—which passed the House on August 29.

The RECORD will show that an objection was made to the unanimous-consent request, and at this time I want to point out that this was not an unusual request as evidenced by the following instances where Congress has, by concurrent resolution, made corrections in bills prior to final approval with no objection by the House or Senate, or by both, as the case may be:

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

Senate Concurrent Resolution 51: Small Business Investment Act amendments. To rescind Speaker's action in signing S. 902 in order to make technical correction (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 18, 1961, p. 18785, Senate; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 19, 1961, p. 19029, House). No objection in Senate or House.

House Concurrent Resolution 399: Civil Service supergrades. To make corrections in H.R. 7377 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 23, 1961, p. 19632, House; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 23, 1961, p. 19768, Senate). No objection in House or Senate.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 78: Transit fares for school children in District of Columbia. Requests return of S. 1745 to make correction (word left out) (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 11, 1962, p. 9386, Senate; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 18, 1962, p. 10141, House). No objection in House or Senate.

House Concurrent Resolution 493: Regulation of imports and agricultural commodities and products. To correct error in spelling in conference report (H.R. 10788) (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 14, 1962, p. 9725, House; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 14, 1962, p. 9811, Senate). No objection in House or Senate.

House Concurrent Resolution 506: Work Hours Act. To correct error in enrollment of H.R. 10786 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 26, 1962, p. 13842, House; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 1, 1962, p. 14218, Senate). No objection in House or Senate.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 83: District of Columbia Hospital Center. Requests return of S. 3550 to make correction in bill (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 5, 1962, p. 11853, Senate). No objection.

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

Senate Concurrent Resolution 109: Norman, Okla., project. To make corrections in engrossed copy of S. 1892 (106 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 11905, Senate). No objection.

House Concurrent Resolution 706: Hawaii, amending laws. To make corrections in enrolling H.R. 11602 (106 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 15248, House). No objection.

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Senate Concurrent Resolution 75: Rio Grande rehabilitation project. To make corrections in enrollment of S. 2120 (104 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 5740, Senate; 104 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 5840, House). No objection in Senate or House.

House Concurrent Resolution 372: Albeni Falls Reservoir, Idaho. To correct an error in the enrollment of H.R. 13209 (104 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 16566, House; 104 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 16625, Senate). No objection in House or Senate.

House Concurrent Resolution 380: District of Columbia teachers' salaries. To correct errors in the enrolling of H.R. 13132 (104 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 18559–18560, House; 104 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 18617–18618, Senate). No objection in House or Senate.

## Old Granddad Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, the president of the Borough of Queens, New York City, the Honorable John T. Clancy, is declaring September 16, 1962, as "Old Granddad Day." This occasion will be appropriately observed and marked by the final community concert in Forest Park Concert Stadium in my congressional district. The concert will be given by the Seuffert Band, conducted by its outstanding conductor, George Seuffert, Jr.

The principles of this day are well set forth in the proposed proclamation which reads as follows:

Whereas the American way of life is built upon the foundation of a solid and respected family unit; and

Whereas the keystone of any family is its head, its patriarch, its senior member; and

Whereas sound social values consistent with Western culture and civilization, as stated in the Ten Commandments, require that senior citizens, our fathers and mothers, grandmothers and grandfathers, be accorded honor and respect always; and

Whereas, as they live longer and granddads are younger than ever before, the position of these senior citizens grows ever more important, more influential, in our way of life:

I, therefore, as a sign of our deep regard for the head of the family do hereby proclaim and establish Sunday, September 16, 1962, as Old Granddad Day, to be fittingly observed and marked on the occasion of the final community concert in Forest Park Concert Stadium, in our beautiful Borough of Queens and hereby request that all our citizens cooperate with the Old Granddad Club to make this day an occasion to show their deep respect and honor for all granddads, long to be remembered.

## Plebiscite for West Berlin—Political Countermove Against Khrushchev's Miscalculations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, Khrushchev's "war of nerves" campaign for the seizure of West Berlin is a critical phase of the Communist international politicomilitary war against us.

In Berlin, as everywhere else, our vacillating defensive policies and their resulting concessions not only fail to stop the Communist advances on all fronts; they actually invite more and more reckless Communist "miscalculated risks."

The United States is in dire need of a complete reorientation of its foreign policies. If we are to survive, we must seize the political initiative in this world civil war.

A plebiscite for West Berlin would serve to publicly expose the fraudulency of Khrushchev's proposal to make West Berlin a free city.

If Khrushchev is not totally committed to wage a nuclear war for West Berlin, the plebiscite would provide him with a face-saving opportunity to withdraw from his miscalculations for the seizure of West Berlin.

I am indebted to Mr. Joseph G. Whelan, and the Legislative Reference Service, of the Library of Congress, for the excellent background material furnished me on this subject.

The following article is an excellent summary of my address to this House on September 11. It was written by Mr. Frank Fortune, a most able writer and analyst for one of the Nation's finest newspapers, the Buffalo Evening News.

The article follows:

POLITICAL OFFENSIVE TO HOLD WEST BERLIN IS SOUGHT BY PILLION

(By Frank Fortune)

WASHINGTON, September 11.—Representative PILLION, Hamburg Republican, today told the House that a political offensive is needed to block the Communist drive to take over West Berlin.

He rejected as a "puny gesture" President Kennedy's call for authority to activiate 150,000 reservists if it becomes necessary.

Mr. PILLION warned that "this callup will only serve to further lull this country into a false sense of security and peace—the

callups is complete proof of the vacuous policies that emanate from our State Department.

"It is another defensive posture that is both self-deceptive and self-defeating."

In his House speech, Representative PILLION renewed his call for an immediate plebiscite in West Berlin.

WANTS CLEAR STAND TAKEN

Besides the plebiscite, Mr. PILLION said that initial steps in the political offensive also should include—

"A reassertion by the President that we intend to keep open all communication lines between West Germany and West Berlin.

"A new note from the President to Russian Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev reasserting our determination to use all necessary means to protect the freedom of the people of West Berlin."

As for the plebiscite, Mr. PILLION said he is confident that in free voting, between 90 percent and 95 percent of the people of West Berlin "would vote to retain the status quo and maintain the city's association with the West German Government," rejecting Khrushchev's proposals to turn West Berlin into a free city.

CALLS POLICY DEFENSIVE

Representative PILLION said "it is clearly evident that the tempo of the Comunist-conducted world civil war is being accelerated on all fronts."

"Our inhibited, our limited, and our defensive political strategy is not halting the Communist advances anywhere," he said. "Our country's margin for survival is being reduced day by day. * * *

"The seizure of West Berlin is not Khrushchev's final objective. It is another tactical, immediate objective. His strategic, long-range objective is the destruction of our NATO alliance."

As for President Kennedy's new request for authority to call up reservists, Representative PILLION said:

"It is a whistle in the darkness of our own cemetery.

RECALLS EARLIER CALLUP

"I would like to recall to the Members of the House that on August 1, last year, this Congress authorized the callup of 250,000 reservists; 150,000 of these were called up.

"A special subcommittee of this House found that last year's callup was shortsighted, badly managed, deficient and totally inadequate."

Representative PILLION declared that the 1961 callup had failed to prevent Communist successes in Laos, South Vietnam and Korea, nor the completion of the "Communist Berlin 'wall of shame.'"

"The callup of 150,000 men will not delay, by even 1 day, the construction of the nuclear missile silos and bases in Cuba," he said.

## Advertising for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much lately of the need to sell the virtues of our way of life, and it stands to reason that we should be vigorous international proponents of our economic system that has contributed to our Nation's greatness.

This theme is most effectively presented in a recent editorial in the Lansing Journal, Lansing, Ill., entitled "Advertising for Freedom," which I ask leave to insert into the RECORD at this point;

'ADVERTISING FOR FREEDOM

Since the personal enterprise system is the foundation stone on which rest individual freedom and freedom in government, those engaged in business in America have a responsibility and an opportunity to fight antifreedom ideas with all the strength at their command.

What can they do? For one thing, it is incumbent upon American business people to give their support to worthwhile organizations that spread the facts about our personal enterprise system; and, equally important, not to support any organization that, openly or covertly, goes along with the ideas of those forces that work to eliminate freedom.

Furthermore, the heads of all business enterprises, large or small, should make certain that their own policies are in line with the principles of personal enterprise. These policies should be made clear to each individual in every business organization.

Also—and this is of vital importance—business people should take the lead in avoiding the kind of timorous thinking that looks upon patriotism as controversial. American business, with an overall advertising budget this year of about $11 billion, has the means and the ability to make a great contribution toward the preservation of freedom in America by adding patriotism to its advertising.

Patriots who are the customers of business also have a fine opportunity in this connection, the opportunity of letting patriotic advertisers know that they approve.

The personal enterprise system has a wonderfully inspiring story to tell in terms of human happiness and satisfaction. The number of hours of work necessary for an American to earn his daily bread is far less than under any other economic system now or ever known to man.

## Another Decision—Another Retreat?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Frank B. Best, owner and manager of radio station WDIX, in Orangeburg, S.C., is noted for his interesting and informative broadcast editorial comments. On September 10, 1962, he broadcasted over his station an outstanding editorial entitled "Another Decision—Another Retreat?" which has also been used over a number of other radio stations in South Carolina. It is concerned with our policy in Laos, Berlin, and Cuba. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER DECISION—ANOTHER RETREAT?

The current U.S. News & World Report puts it this way. President Kennedy has made three "fateful decisions." They are Laos, Berlin, and Cuba. The decisions are stated in these words: "Laos—The decision was, after saying on March 15, 1961, that the United States was determined to defend Laos against the Communist rebels, Mr. Kennedy, on March 27, 1962, agreed to seek a deal with Russia for a 'neutral' Laos."

The second fateful decision was: "Berlin—The decision was, after the East Germans at dawn on August 13, 1961, completed the barrier cutting Berlin in two, President Kennedy decided against using U.S. troops to knock down these wire barriers by force."

The third fateful decision is the one the President made on April 16 of last year. It was a Sunday evening. An armed force of Cuban refugees was at sea. This is the report from the U.S. News & World Report. The Cuban invaders had knocked out all but seven of Castro's planes on the day before. The invaders landed with little opposition. They destroyed 2,000 of Castro's troops. They had success at their fingertips. They were faced by Castro's tanks. No air support came to protect them from the tanks. Castro put up what planes he had left, bombed the invaders' supply ship and destroyed their ammunition reserves. President Kennedy had canceled the air support of the invaders own planes. The President of the United States forbid this air support repeatedly during the 3-day ordeal of the Cuban patriots. They did not die in battle. They were nearly all captured. They were without ammunition and communications which the air cover that they had provided for themselves would have given them.

Now the President is faced with another fateful decision. Shall we fight to repel the Soviet invasion of Cuba? The alternative is to accept an enemy submarine base which could and would ring the eastern seaboard with Soviet missile-carrying subs. It would cut off the U.S. Navy and shipping access to the Panama Canal. With the enemy at the door, what could be the solution to United States interests in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America? Obviously the solution would be whatever the Soviet might dictate.

The President, because of three retreats, now faces the ultimate decision. Shall we fight in Cuba? Is this to be another retreat? Is there any end to retreat except slavery?

Shall we continue to follow the leadership of men who have demonstrated their folly? House Resolution 512 would permit investigation of State Department policy. House Resolution 512 will be adopted when you require it.

## Platform of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the Affiliated Young Democrats is a very vital and vigorous force in the political life of New York State. At its annual convention it adopted a platform reflecting the progressive zeal of its delegates. I am pleased to insert it in the RECORD.

PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE 15TH BIENNIAL STATE CONVENTION OF THE AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK STATE—AUGUST 24, 1962, AT THE HOTEL PICCADILLY, NEW YORK CITY

Once again the people of the State of New York exercise the solemn responsibility of selecting those to whom the government of this State shall be entrusted for the next 4 years, and of electing a U.S. Senator and a

congressional delegation to represent them in Washington.

The Affiliated Young Democrats of New York State, therefore, without being hampered by narrow partisan advantage has for an extended period been analyzing and evaluating the multivarious policies and problems that confront the present State administration and will confront future administrations.

It is therefore with a profound degree of mature reflections and serious consideration that the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., as it has done for almost three decades of dedication to the concept of good government, respectfully submits herewith its platform for the 1962 State elections.

We have always stated clearly and without equivocation our position on the vital issues, and we do so now.

1. Reapportionment: We favor at once a program of reapportionment that would give the urban areas of the State a more equitable representation in the Legislature by population.

2. Primary elections: We advocate the speedy passage of legislation permitting and requiring statewide primaries.

We recommend that all primaries are to be held on a definite day in the spring of such election year.

We urge that change of voting in national elections to 2 days, the first Monday and Tuesday in November.

We support the enactment of legislation permitting presidential preference primaries giving the voters in each party the right to indicate their preference for candidates for President and Vice President of the United States and to elect delegates committed to the nomination of such candidates.

3. Presidential vote: We favor the abolition of the electoral college and the election of a President and Vice President by direct popular vote pending such amendment to the Federal Constitution, and in order to obtain an equitable division of the electoral vote. We urge the enactment of legislation at Albany permitting the allocation of the State's electoral vote among the candidates for President and Vice President in direct proportion to the popular vote.

4. Home rule: We favor a reexamination of the city-State relationship, with a view to effectuating a greater degree of home rule for the cities.

5. Education: We urge a study be made as to the reasons for the great degree of dropouts from high school and other such distressing data that so adversely affects the young, to ameliorate this condition and to institute programs to correct this disturbing situation.

We also favor a study to determine how to keep our teachers in the school system and how to attract talented and able people to the teaching profession.

We favor an increase in State aid for education so that New York City and other municipalities will receive a fair share of the taxes paid by their residents.

6. Higher education: We favor the restoration of the mandate assuring free tuition at city colleges.

We endorse granting parents a deduction for tuition costs of their children attending college.

We also favor free tuition to all community colleges.

We urge the building of a new science college in our State to help meet the new advances in science.

7. Housing: We urge the building of more middle income homes to meet this need in our State.

We favor a bill to extend the ban on racial discrimination in housing to all multiple dwellings and to one or two family houses throughout the State.

8. Child care: We advocate a program of State aid for child day care in the public schools.

9. Eighteen-year-old vote: We again urge that right to vote be given to those 18 years of age.

10. Board of elections: We favor a revision of the board of elections in New York City that the counties of Queens, Bronx, and Richmond have representation on this board as Kings and New York Counties have now.

11. Taxes: We favor a more equitable distribution of State revenues, whereby New York City would receive a commensurate proportion from the State.

We urge a reduction of State taxes to the greatest extent compatible with a solvent State government.

12. Fair Sabbath law: We favor the enactment of a law permitting the city of New York to enact a fair Sabbath law.

13. Home rule: We urge a reexamination of the city-State relationship, with a view to effectuating a greater degree of home rule for the cities.

14. Subway fare: We favor maintenance of the present 15 cent subway fare in New York City by requiring the State to contribute its fair share to the cost of operating the subway system.

15. Juvenile delinquency: We favor a study of the entire penal system as it relates to the juvenile and to recodify the statutes in order to properly resolve this grievous problem of our society.

We also favor a crash program which will coordinate all the facilities of the relevant agencies in order to guide and help our young to help themselves.

16. Off-track betting: We favor off-track betting by a referendum by each city or community that wants this legislation.

17. Pollution: We favor a study and research to be conducted to help curtail the pollution of our air and water.

18. Natural resources: We favor legislation for an extensive program by our State to conserve and develop our natural resources.

19. Public health: We urge more State aid for public health, more assistance to the mentally ill, and to build more rehabilitation centers.

20. Liquor laws: We favor the raising of the drinking age to 21 years.

21. Old age care: We favor a system that would render medical care to the aged with out requiring that the recipients submit to a degrading means test.

22. Narcotics: We favor a study of the problem of drug addiction to ascertain an effective means where possible for treatment and for the presentation of this dreadful evil. Urge Federal narcotics hospital be built in New York State.

We also urge more stringent penalties to dispensers of narcotics and the purveyors of this poison.

23. State bonus: We urge a State bonus for Korean veterans.

24. Transportation: We urge the building of more roads and better transportation to all our suburban areas of our State because of the fast growing of these communities.

We favor a transit agency that would study and attempt to coordinate and to integrate the public and private facilities available to make access to the various cities of our State more effective.

25. Motorists: We support the exclusive allocation of funds collected from gasoline and motor vehicle licenses to the development of the State highway system.

We favor examinations of all motor vehicle operators to be given every 3 years to help curtail automobile accidents.

26. East Hudson Parkway Authority: We urge repeal of the law creating the East Hudson Parkway Authority, and a return of the Westchester County parkway and the responsibility for their maintenance to the county authorities.

27. Three-day weekend plan: We favor the 3-day weekend plan that celebrates all holidays with the exception of religious holidays, on Monday and a bill be enacted to bring this about.

28. Legislature: We again advocate that a printed record be published and made available to the public of the full proceedings of the legislature.

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## Another Example of Deceit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, when will the Kennedy administration start telling the truth to the American people?

It seems that instead of improving, as the President said recently, our gold supply crisis is worsening. In the September 11 edition of the Washington Daily News, Henry J. Taylor gives us the real facts:

THE GOLD CRISIS

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Down goes our gold again—down and out.

On July 23 President Kennedy said: "Our gold situation is improving." He documented this by announcing: "Our loss based on the first and second quarters of this year, is half of last year."

Unfortunately, Mr. Kennedy was not free to make his claim. It hadn't happened. And impressing the uninformed can be very dangerous business.

In truth, our loss in the first and second quarters of this year ($455 million) was more than double the loss of last year ($217 million). These are Treasury official figures and, of course, Mr. Kennedy has them. So do informed financiers and governments abroad.

Mr. Kennedy wished to quash anxiety about his high spending. He even pointed out that he was on Telstar TV and thus his declarations were to a world audience. But nothing is so disastrous to confidence as misinformation. Revitalizing world confidence in our dollar this way is like revitalizing an automobile tire by shooting it full of holes.

By now our gold loss for 1962—less than 7 weeks since the President spoke—has exceeded the entire loss for all of 1961. Throughout 1961 we lost $837 million. Through August 28, 1962, we lost $549 million. And even though we gained an unexpected $190 million this spring from Canada.

Treasury figures for the last week of August show our gold knocked down to another new 23-year low. The United States now has less than $4.1 billion to meet $18 billion net foreign short-term demands, payable in gold. For all of Fort Knox—including our $11.5-billion currency reserve required by law—is mortgaged to creditors abroad, plus some $2 billion in gold we do not even have.

Thus the gold problem the President inherited became a gold crisis and now can only be described as a run on America's depleted gold.

Mr. Kennedy refuses to cut his unlimited-debt proposals and excess spending. He talks all around the point and sponsors other palliatives but refuses to stand up to this. Anxious foreigners exercise their option to

call for our depleted gold (as some depositors draw money out of what they suspect is a badly managed bank) because they distrust the up-up-upping of the debt limit, the irresponsible spending, the alibis and—most importantly—the official misinformation to the American people that accompanies much of this.

Unless Mr. Kennedy reverses himself in the matters that now destroy international confidence, most world observers insist the New Frontier is carrying us smack toward a devaluation of the dollar.

## The John Birch Society in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, a years ago the Detroit Free Press reported that there were "more than 20" John Birch chapters in Michigan. A conservative estimate today is nearer 100.

In this fourth of six articles, staff writer Barbara Holliday takes you behind the scenes to watch the birth of a new chapter:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IN MICHIGAN

If you could put a John Birch Chapter, or cell, as it is often called, on a glass slide and slip it under a microscope, you would see a curious thing.

Every now and then, almost as if by some natural biologic law, you would see the cell divide and form two where only one had existed a moment before.

I saw the results of this curious process at the second John Birch meeting I attended.

The previous month there had been 12 persons present. The next month eight of these had vanished, along with two others on the roll.

I never saw those eight persons again. It was as if they had never existed.

But chapter 69 was still at full strength. Eleven names remained on the roll and some faces new to me appeared to replace those who were gone. These were members who had been absent the previous month.

Steve Crane, it was reported, had taken over the newly formed chapter as leader.

This process of growth and division follows the structural outline proposed by Robert Welch, founder of the society:

"The John Birch Society will function almost entirely through small local chapters, usually of from 10 to 20 dedicated patriots.

"Each will have a chapter leader, appointed by headquarters, or appointed through officers of the society, who themselves have been duly appointed by headquarters.

"We shall build the organizational framework from the bottom up, as made necessary by sufficient membership, in order to keep strict and careful control of what every chapter is doing, and even every member of every chapter so far as the effective work of the society is concerned."

However, once in a while, a cell starts to die.

Then, an entirely different mechanism is put to work.

It was just such a case that led me into one of the most intriguing situations I encountered in my 5 months as a member of the society—a situation where I actually became the nucleus around which a new chapter was to be built.

It was an unusually pleasant June night when I first met the Michigan State coordinator of the John Birch Society—Edward A. Kelly, of Roseville, no relation to Brian Kelly, the leader of Chapter 69.

The reason for his appearance was to give a transfusion to Chapter 290 which had fallen on evil days in suburban Huntington Woods with the loss of its leader, Dr. Dan. Dr. Dan had been "promoted" to section leader to assist Kelly.

CLAIMS REDS LAND TROOPS IN MEXICO

Edward Kelly and I met in the Huntington Woods home of Les Crane, who had been recruited from another chapter to act as chapter leader. Through default, I was the only member of Chapter 290 present.

Kelly is an agreeable athletic looking man about 36, with prematurely gray hair cropped short and light blue eyes that miss very little that's going on.

He has a rich timbre to his voice and speaks quietly, persuasively. He parrots the Blue Book but leaves out the vehemence. The more outrageous the statement, the more matter-of-fact he sounds.

We chatted briefly while we waited for other possible arrivals.

I mentioned an article in the June issue of the Welch magazine, American Opinion, about the Communist threat in Mexico.

"I don't know if you read about this," Kelly said conversationally, "you don't get the news in the papers any more—but 20,000 fully armed and trained Chinese troops have been landed in Mexico.

"One of our people was in Texas not long ago and he went over into the border towns to see what was going on. Villages that normally have 5,000 to 6,000 persons were bulging with 20,000 to 25,000—Mexicans—who are coming out of the bush, trying to get over the border into the United States.

"They sense danger like rats on a sinking ship. It looks as if our time is running out. They (the Communists) are getting ready to take over."

He fished around in his brief case and came up with another pamphlet about the "phantom cells" in Cuba.

"Listen to this," he said. "Word has been passed along to the loyalists to harass in anyway they can. Power failures, disruption of minor services, even the breaking of crockery and dishes in restaurants is part of the scheme. All reusable containers are being destroyed from large cartons down to cigaret packages—even pots and pans. Public toilets are filled with cement. There's hardly a usable public restroom left in Cuba."

This reminded him of the "little old ladies in tennis shoes" in California.

"You know what they do, don't you—or at least so I've heard secondhand—they go into a bookstore chewing bubble gum, get some of this modern filth off the shelves, stick a wad of gum in the pages and saunter out."

He laughed. "Not that this is a recommended Birch activity but it's the same kind of thing they're doing in Cuba."

We began to talk about how to get the chapter on its feet.

"I think we ought to do something spectacular—get some publicity," said Les Crane.

SEVERAL LINED UP AS NEW MEMBERS

"I think we should organize a 'Review of American Foreign Policy of Detroit, Inc.'—it only costs $35 to incorporate—and hold a 2-day school with some good speakers. It doesn't have to be described as a Birch activity. Just interested conservative people in Detroit taking action."

I asked Crane when he was moving (to Grosse Pointe). He said sometime in August.

Kelly commented that he had several persons lined up to come into the chapter.

"One can probably take over as chapter leader to replace you, Les—he's well qualified. I asked him to come tonight but it looks as if he couldn't make it. He's anxious to get in though. He's in investments—and he's pretty busy."

Crane explained that the people he had called were mostly Dr. Dan's friends and relatives and that perhaps they still felt a loyalty to him as chapter leader.

"Also," he added, "one of the most active is a Mrs. L. from Southfield. Antifluoridation is her pet. At any rate, she got the idea the chapter was Catholic dominated.

"I tried to tell her that as long as I was influential in the chapter (I'm an agnostic) it would not be dominated by Catholics or Protestants but by John Birch principles.

"I don't think religion or race has any bearing in the society except, of course, we stand behind the principles. But I say, if you've got a racial or religious peeve, fight it out somewhere else.

"Of course," he added thoughtfully "we get some of those."

"That's a point I want to make," said Kelly. "Before you take in a new member, spend some time with him, find out his background and let's try to steer clear of nuts."

Kelly stood up.

"Well, we might as well get underway," he said, and turned toward the American flag standing in the corner.

Crane and I followed suit, repeated the Pledge of Allegiance, and then sat back down to resume the discussion.

I lent Kelly my British bulletin because he had forgotten his.

He started down the Welch directives for the month explaining as he went along how a good meeting should be conducted.

First on the June list was the King-Anderson bill. Write your Congressman.

The second, display flag on the Fourth.

"We fly the flag at home every day," Kelly said. "Of course, the people where we live think we're nuts but I'd rather be a patriotic nut than just a nut."

FOUR-AND-ONE-HALF-YEAR-OLD STARTS DAILY FLYING OF FLAG

"It all came about rather strangely, he explained. "When we moved out to this house, I had just bought a flag and of course it needed a standard. So we put one up. Right away my 4½-year-old wanted to fly the flag. So we did. The next day he came running in and said, 'Why haven't you put the flag up?'

"So just to satisfy him, I ran it up.

"Because I was new in the neighborhood, one of my neighbors came over and said, 'You a nut or something?'

" 'Why?' I asked.

" 'Why, you're flying the flag every day.'

"It took me off guard," said Kelly, and I couldn't think of what to say. So I came back with, 'Well, I pay taxes every day—so I guess I've got a right to fly the flag every day if I want to.'

"While I was mouthing these words," Kelly continued, "I thought—why, you don't have to be ashamed of your country's flag—so right then and there I held forth for about 30 minutes on why I was flying the flag. Just as it occurred to me. And we've flown it ever since.

"We've sold about 20 flags in our neighborhood—my wife deserves the credit—and you ought to see us on holidays. It looks like a military encampment out there."

We arrived at last at the real issue of the meeting—recruiting.

"There are several good ways," said Kelly. "One of the best is to organize study groups. Talk to your friends and explain that this in an anti-Communist educational course.

"If you can get about a dozen together I will come or send someone once a week to show films such as "Communism on the

Map," "Operation Abolition" and "The Red Web."

"We'll save the new Welch film for the last night. We ought to be able to get at least eight out of the 12.

"Another way is hold a mock Birch meeting and bring along a friend. Attend other conservative groups. Get a conservative speaker for your P.T.A. and watch the reaction of individuals. There are good conservatives everywhere."

DECIDE ON PLAN FOR RECRUITING

Crane and I said we were in favor of placing a small box ad in the newspaper.

Crane said he was anxious to talk to people really interested—"but I want them to come to me," he said.

"Why can't we list a phone number—then they could come to my place of business or here—and we could direct all inquiries to the proper geographical area.

"In my business, I'm a closer. You've never sold a man a car regardless of his verbal commitment until he has put $5 or $10 down. Then he'll never let that $5 or $10 go.

"I think I can close for John Birch. If I know a man is a little interested I can sell him the rest of the way—and I'll get his $2 down. After that he'll feel committed."

Kelly and I agreed this plan sounded like a good one—I could take some of the calls and Crane the others.

As we were about to break up, Kelly's friend arrived. He was a stocky man of medium height who seemed somewhat nervous and ill at ease.

He was a conservative but not a member of John Birch. Kelly filled him in on most of the things we had talked about to reactivate the chapter.

"I don't know," the man said finally. "I'm tied up in so many things right now and I hate to say I'll do it and then not be able to find the time. However, I'll think about it and try to come to the next meeting."

Kelly shook his head good naturedly. "I wish," he said, half-seriously, "that people wouldn't be so transient. It makes my job so much harder trying to keep chapters together."

"What we have here," he said to his friend, "is the remnant of Chapter 290. I'm going to bring in Charlie and two or three others. But it looks as if we'll have to build on Mrs. Holliday."

## The Need for a Tighter Gun Law To Check Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr Speaker, in recent months I have called attention to my bill, H.R. 613, which would require the filing of a registration statement with the FBI with respect to pistols and revolvers possessed by private persons. I have always stressed that this bill is intended only as a means to help fight crime and juvenile delinquency, which is today a tragic national problem. I have no desire to take away guns from those who have a right to keep them, such as hunters, sportsmen and others, but I do maintain that immature youngsters and minors have no right to have guns in their possession.

A very tragic situation in the Washington area recently illustrates the point I wish to make. On Saturday, September 1, a 17-year-old from nearby Fairfax County, in Virginia, named John Vinson, Jr., brutally shot and killed another 17-year-old, Lewis M. Goldfein. A young life of a brilliant student who had looked forward to a career as a scientist was snuffed out for no reason whatsoever. As it turned out later, the murderer had a record of crime despite his youthfulness, including also a stay at a mental institution. He had no right and no reason to have a gun in his possession. He was able to purchase that gun without the least difficulty.

If my bill, H.R. 613, had been enacted into law the murderer would not have been able to purchase a gun or to have one in his possession without prior registration with the FBI, and he could never have obtained it as a minor. The result is two very brokenhearted and tragic families, one having lost its son, the other having its son branded as a murderer and a criminal.

More than ever there is a need now for enactment of a law such as proposed in my bill, in order to prevent crime. Now it is finally beginning to dawn on the public that unless such a law is enacted the crime wave, already enormous, will grow even greater. Women and children are no longer safe on our streets, and few people will venture out in the evenings in our large cities. How many more such innocent victims will have to pay with their lives before we take steps to check this menace?

Mr. Speaker, in its issue of September 12, 1962, the Washington Daily News published an excellent editorial on the subject. Although the editorial does not mention my bill, it is actually an endorsement of the principle and the idea proposed in my bill. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD this editorial, as well as an earlier story from the same newspaper in the issue of September 6.

I commend these two items to the attention of all my colleagues, and most especially to the members of the House Judiciary Committee to whom my bill has been referred for action. I urge the committee to act on the measure while Congress is still in session. Every day's delay means the further loss of lives.

The articles referred to above read as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 12, 1962]

SHOOT THE WORKS—TOUGHER LAWS FOR OWNING GUNS

Despite the innocent uses to which they are often put, guns are plainly designed for one main purpose: To kill. They manage to do this quite regularly, efficiently, and illegally.

The recent shooting of one Fairfax boy by another has led to some understandable soul searching by various officials as to whether the laws controlling the sale and possession of guns—particularly in respect to minors—are adequate.

We realize that nothing is so bound to bring the red-blooded devotees of guns to the barricades as to question the free circulation of these instruments of death.

It is argued that people who like guns, respect guns. That they know how to use them, and do so safely. This myth is exploded by the annual toll throughout the Nation of deerslayers slain by fellow deerslayers, by the fact that men with loaded shotguns are still trying to find a way to get over that fence—alive—and by the fact that mentally retarded types, like those who join Nazi groups and other such racial and political idiocies, strut guns.

We're not inveighing against skeet and target shooters, or even against those people who, for fun, like to shoot birds and other small creatures. However: As things stand today, isn't it too easy for despondent husbands to get guns? For wives who feel in need of a change? Or children who get pop's pistol to show it to a playmate? Or roulette players, Russian-style? Or homicidal psychotics? Or teenager killers? Or criminals of all sorts?

True, many property owners do arm themselves in order to give their homes and families a modicum of protection that in many urban and suburban areas local police are unable to furnish. They are within their rights, although it should be noted that these people are preparing themselves to mete out punishment to trespassers and housebreakers far in excess of what society would exact, if society caught the transgressor.

Actually, armed householders seldom get the chance to protect themselves; their guns are always in the other room, or unloaded, or jammed from disuse. So, as it stands, the criminals' guns kill far more law abiders than the law abiders' guns do their attackers.

Mind you, we've nothing against the constitutional right of citizens to bear arms. But today it seems that the outlaws bearing arms outnumber the law abiders bearing arms. We're outgunned. We'd like to see some sensible controls, because we think it would cut down the firepower of the enemy, even if it inconveniences the sporting duck slayers.

The obvious place to start is with a law requiring all guns to be licensed and registered.

We license automobiles and nobody objects. Some States license boats. In Washington today, you are much more likely to be shot by an armed criminal than to be bitten by a dog. Yet we license dogs. So do most communities. If dogs, why not guns?

Licensing may not stop people from killing themselves and each other—by whatever means are at hand—but it would make shooting somewhat more difficult and would protect the innocent bystander.

It would be the first step toward some rational control of the sale and use of lethal weapons.

Just to kick off the discussion, we suggest:

No gun, of whatever caliber or style, should be sold without special police license.

No gun, of whatever caliber or style, should be sent through the mails, or across State lines, except by registered mail or some Federal equivalent.

No police license should be granted to anyone with a criminal record.

No license should be granted to anyone except those who, on personal application and after police check, qualify as responsible, employed, taxpaying citizens of legal age.

Fingerprints should be taken of all persons so licensed, in duplicate; one for police, the other for the licensee. The duplicate (showing the fingerprints of the purchaser) should be mailed to the police by the seller after the transfer.

That will do for a starter.

A set of regulations along those lines would make it more inconvenient—but not impossible for legitimate ownership by de-

votees of sporting guns or of firearms for home protection.

But they would make it much tougher for criminals, delinquent minors and nuts to get firearms. And it would make it much tougher on those other irresponsible delinquents in the business of selling guns to such people.

Such regulations should not give legitimate dealers or purchasers heartburn; but the plain fact is that the laws now in effect operate to put guns most easily into the hands of those who should not have them.

We think the District, Maryland, and Virginia would do well to give thought to tightening these laws. In fact, we like the idea of an overall Federal law.

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 6, 1962]

TIGHTER GUN LAWS SOUGHT FOR FAIRFAX

The Fairfax supervisors yesterday asked staff members to draw up suggestions for tightening the county's laws on guns so that they can't be bought by anyone under 18.

Both a county ordinance and State law make it illegal for anyone other than a parent to sell or give a firearm of any type to a juvenile.

However, as Supervisor Robert C. Cotten pointed out, a 17-year-old bought a gun recently simply by telling the shopkeeper that he was 23.

With that gun, the teenager, John Vinson, Jr., told police he shot and killed Lewis M. Goldfein, also 17, a former schoolmate, early last Saturday.

Vice Chairman Anne Wilkins, who seconded Mr. Cotten's motion, said the staff also should look into the possibility of registering the sales of all guns in the county.

The District makes a police check of prospective gun buyers, who must be 21 and of good moral character. Arlington and Alexandria have a similar rule and swap information on gun buyers with the District.

In Montgomery and Prince Georges minors can buy guns with their parents' permission. Without it, buyers must be 18 and take an oath they haven't been convicted of a crime of violence. In both counties purchase records are sent to State police and county court clerks.

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## Freedom Is in Trouble in Haiti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding student at Yale University, Mr. William Wangensteen, worked with me this past summer as part of the Yale intern program for work in Washington. Mr. Wangensteen, whose home is in Minneapolis, traveled to Central and South America later in the summer and has written the following useful article concerning one of the areas he visited:

FREEDOM IS IN TROUBLE IN HAITI

(By William Wagensteen)

HAITI.—a Negro republic in the Caribbean, proud of its historical parallel to the American Revolution, a land strikingly beautiful in its setting and its verdant floral coverings, a land characterized by city neon lights and a strong, functioning voodoo religion, American automobiles and barefoot women bearing baskets on their heads. Haiti—the police state, the paradox of the New World, and a thorn in the side of New World democracy and progress.

The approach to Port-au-Prince, the capital city of some 250,000 population, presents the visitor with a stark study of contrast which is exemplary of the Haitian situation today. One is impressed, indeed overwhelmed by the beauty and harmony of this lovely harbor surrounded by towering mountain ranges—a vision soon marred, however, by the emergence of dozens of small boats from the shoreline bearing scantily dressed Negro children who swarm around the incoming vessels to beg. Two or three to a boat—usually including one specially emaciated or underfed little fellow to attract the heartfelt sympathy and thus pocket money of arriving tourists—these beggars crowd around the ship in a single mass and vie with each other in screaming up to the passengers for money—preferably quarters or halves nowadays (pennies are largely scoffed at), then diving in the water and fighting over the recovery of some coin which is quickly pocketed by the eldest of the group.

The sight is at once terribly fascinating and yet pitiful; and it is only a prelude to the other forms of indigence on this half-island country. Poverty and stagnation—the most prevalent indications that Haiti has been experiencing little but decline since the midfifties; decline in the realms of individual freedoms, economic well-being, and social harmony. The causes of this blight on Haiti are of course manifold; nevertheless, it can safely be asserted that primarily it is due to the progressive usurpation of dictatorial powers and gradually accelerated extortion of the people by President Francois Duvalier.

On May 2, 1961—now commemorated in Haiti as the Second of May Movement (the celebration of which this year our Ambassador discreetly excused himself from attending)—Haitians went to the ballot boxes in response to Haitian provisions of compulsory vote for legislative representatives. Interestingly enough, the presidential election was scheduled for the following November, a race from which the President, Duvalier by name, was automatically debarred from entry because of Haitian law forbidding a President from succeeding himself in a second term of office. The ballot on May 2, 1961, did offer a free choice for legislative candidates; however, at the bottom of each ballot was plainly printed the name of President Francois Duvalier. The effect of this ballot, as devised and interpreted by Duvalier himself, was that a vote for any legislative candidate was also a vote for the incumbent Duvalier for an unprecedented second term as President. The November elections never materialized and Duvalier reigns supreme today. And as has been true of other dictatorial governments in the past, the role of the legislative branch of Haitian government is farcical: the legislature is unicameral and serves as little more than a sounding board for approving and eulogizing Duvalier and his actions. Duvalier announces and implements a new law of his making and the legislature approves it at a later date, retroactively.

The depreciating effects of this type of democracy which Duvalier operates in Haiti are obvious to the inquiring visitor. For example, the roads in Port-au-Prince, and elsewhere in Haiti, are very poor due to consistent neglect. It is interesting to note that the main arteries of transportation in Haiti today, including the wharf in Port-au-Prince, were built by the U.S. Marines some 30 years ago.

Today, where an ounce of upkeep could have served to maintain the good quality of these roads, one experiences little more than eroding and crumbling surfaces.

Also interesting is the presence of propaganda posters and signs along the streets of Port-au-Prince—"Duvalier, spirit of the people"—a strange phenomenon in view of the nonexistence of any forthcoming elections of the Presidency. Then too, there are bulletins praising the "model town" which Duvalier is supposedly planning to build with taxes collected from road travel. This road tax is quite rigidly enforced—in fact the British Ambassador to Haiti was made persona non grata for refusing to pay the highway tolls—and it works a special hardship on the commuters from Petion-Ville, a suburb in the hills a few miles beyond Port-au-Prince who are subject to daily taxation of amounts exorbitant by even American standards.

To supplement the revenues derived from the road tax, Duvalier has instituted the stamp tax to fight illiteracy, a sizable portion of the proceeds of which thus far have gone into Duvalier's gift to his daughter upon reaching her 21st birthday, in the form of a gold Thunderbird (with the license plate, DD 21, for Diane Duvalier), now complete with an escort of guards.

In the center of Port-au-Prince there stands a huge, ominous prison, directly across from the presidential palace (appropriately enough), furnished with armed guards and a machine gun nest facing the road—al of which suggests a strong resemblance to France during the occupation. The impression of police state control is then hightened by the fact that the highways outside of Port-au-Prince are dotted every 3 to 5 miles with Government-installed road stations at which travelers must stop for registration and fingerprinting.

The results of this extortion and Government autocratic rule are self-evident to the returning travler and American personnel worker in Haiti today. The Haitian people now are more poorly dressed than a few years ago; shops close earlier; there are more idlers and beggars on the streets, especially children. Utilities are faltering; road repairs and maintenance are seemingly nonexistant; electricity is turned off in various districts in Port-au-Prince at different times of the day—certainly not a novel development of late in Haiti, but presently more distressing than ever before because of the increased amount of time during which houses are left without electricity and because of the irregularity with which the shutoffs occur—with resulting fear on the part of many Haitians of perhaps a total loss of electricity. And the situation regarding telephone service is even more precarious. There are telephones in Haiti, but they never seem to work. Ambassador Thurston says that he can expect to be able to make a telephone connection 1 time out of 30 attempts. The phone may ring, but no connection is usually effected.

When receiving calls from Washington, the Ambassador has to venture over to the telephone company itself to find a reliable phone; those in the Embassy cannot even be relied upon.

Illiteracy in Haiti is an ever-vexing problem. Educational facilities are being built and staffed by various interest groups, but the pace is slow and burdened by the added confusion arising from the fact that there has as yet been no settlement to the 40-year squabble over a written language for Creole, which is the spoken tongue of the majority of Haitians.

The Haitian agricultural economy is beset with the dual problem of drought and poor handling of distribution of landholdings. The watershed problem is a longstanding barrier to a growing agricultural economy in Haiti, a situation aggravated by Haitian ignorance of the means to handle watershed and by President Duvalier's rebuff of American supervision of the expending of money which the United States offered to grant

Haiti for the purpose of bringing thousands of acres of land in the interior of Haiti into irrigation.

Moreover, though Haiti does not suffer from the evils of the hacienda system, as still do Chile and Peru, Haitians have difficulties resulting from the fact that the private landholdings in the country are too small rather than too large, making it too difficult to eke out a living; and many holdings which formerly represented some of the best coffee plantations in the New World have now fallen into neglect and the coffee grows wild. Perhaps the most depressing factor, however, is that the Haitians on the whole do not seem to care, or are resigned to a disintegrating economy. True, the U.N. and Protestant missionaries have greatly enhanced the possibilities of inculcating a capitalistic spirit in the Haitian people through their establishment of cooperatives and workshops which have served to overcome the problem of undersized farm plots. But there is still no concept of tomorrow in their minds or in their hearts; the people, especially those outside of Port-au-Prince, even though growing ever poorer, are less sullen about it. The situation, however, is transitory; the state of apathy may easily erupt into violent political dissension and recourse to rebellion against the government forces which dominate and drain the economy.

Finally, added to the economic and political distresses is the serious issue of racial prejudice, a problem which has really been unknown in Haiti since the early 19th century when the natives rebelled against their French overlords. Today, with the rise to power of Francois Duvalier, there has emerged a definite campaign of prejudice against light Negroes (Duvalier's is the "dark regime" which represents a distinct change from the "light government" of former President Maguier), with growing fears among lighter Haitians of land confiscation and job discrimination.

Haiti today is a true police state, complete with effective and towering censorship, rigid and discriminating taxes and national lotteries which all are obliged to purchase every 3 months of the year, and an elaborate informer system of "bogeymen" comprising one-tenth of the population of the "republic" whose Gestapo-like methods and purposes infuse a strong element of terror into an already unstable and deprived society, kindling the embers of dissent.

Haiti is an anchronism; at one time a rich colony in the New World under early French dominion, later the second land to claim and win its independence from European colonialism at the beginning of the 19th century, Haiti has in the last century and a half failed to progress in the path of Western, modern-day standards of political freedom and economic well-being established by her sister republic to the north. Instead, she stands as a black mark on the pages of progress in the Western Hemisphere, an island of backwardness and corruption in a sea of rising expectations.

## Problem: Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the September 12, 1962, issue of the Washington, D.C., Star. The editorial, entitled "Problem: Time," points out how little time remains for the Congress to enact effective legislation closing loopholes in the Food and Drug Act and strengthening the hand of the Federal Food and Drug Administration to protect the American people from dangerous, contaminated, improperly labeled, and inadequately tested drugs.

Unless vigorous and early action is taken, it may well be 2 years or more before the Congress acts to protect American citizens from things like thalidomide and Mer 29, which caused so much heartache to so many American citizens.

The editorial follows:

PROBLEM: TIME

The drug-control bill which the Senate approved by a 78-to-0 vote on August 23 would impose effective and, in our opinion, needed new safeguards on the production and distribution of pharmaceuticals. On Friday, the House Commerce Committee, headed by Representative HARRIS of Arkansas, will meet in executive session to develop a companion version. The committee's decisions at that time could well determine the fate of the remedial legislation during this session.

For the problem is that the time remaining for Congress to act is rapidly running out, and if the House version should differ substantially from that already approved by the Senate, there is danger that the entire package could bog down in controversy. The Harris committee should not permit this threat to arise. And it can best be avoided if the committee will accept the Senate-passed bill, at least as a basis for its deliberations.

Presumably the alternative is to report an amended version of an omnibus bill introduced some time ago by Mr. HARRIS, the scope of which far exceeds the Senate measure. Admittedly, the Senate bill does not reach all the shortcomings of the statutes under which the Food and Drug Administration operates—shortcomings which should be dealt with later. Its provisions, however, do correct the most glaring of the deficiencies which handicap the FDA in its job of assuring the safety and the usefulness of the flood of new drugs emerging from the laboratories of the Nation.

## America's Profile Is Losing Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of this House a very fine editorial which appeared in the Ashland Times-Gazette, an outstanding daily newspaper in the 17th Ohio District. It was written by Mr. Robert M. Beer, publisher, who is now in West Palm Beach, Fla., close to the scene of the Cuban cancer.

I commend it to my colleagues in the House:

AS REDS SAIL WITH THE SUNSET—AMERICA'S PROFILE IS LOSING FACE

Those who live within a hundred miles of Cuba are probably more acutely aware of the triple threat that Castro, Russia and Communist China are so arrogantly demonstrating.

It would seem, by the mild interpretation that our President has made of this latest unloading of military personnel, crates with missile silhouettes and the firing upon one of our military aircraft far beyond the international limit of Cuba's shores, that all is well—Pearl Harbor a lost lesson.

Are we to believe that all of this activity is for no serious purpose? Are we actually afraid to enforce the Monroe Doctrine because some neutral nations might take offense?

Where in the name of humanity is our courage and sense of danger?

President Kennedy writes of "Profiles in Courage," yet he projects a Caspar Milquetoast image to the rest of the world by tolerating a slap on each cheek as a gesture of friendship.

Our continued withdrawal from the ominous facts is neither consistent with the proved valor of President Kennedy nor the traditional bravery of our past generation.

We fail to conceal our horror of war by flinching from a crude and brazen campaign of Red effrontery.

If war is to be prevented it is difficult to understand why this country dissipates it's prime physical assets to buy support for a type of government that is losing all aspects of a republic and world power.

Soviet soil lies only 20 miles across the Bering Strait from our most northern State of Alaska.

Ninety miles from the southern tip of Florida sits the impudent and stupid Castro—responding to the strings of the puppet master of the Kremlin.

Many of our real friends are beginning to wonder how much longer this seeming timidity and evidence of faint heart is to continue. Those who are really weak can hardly be blamed for considering the prudence of joining communism if Uncle Sam is either unable or unwilling to stop the surge—the driving progress and slashing insolence of hammer and sickle.

Will we never learn that a bully can be stopped only when he is rebuffed with a dose of his own aggressive tactics?

Our space developments cost the people many billions, yet we broadcast our failures and illustrate our successful efforts in detail for the enemy to copy at our expense.

Certainly a barricade of Cuba would be no more provocative than the wall that divides Berlin.

## Rickover's Thesis Is Debatable in Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY**
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover has been among the most prominent critics of the public education programs in this country. The debates which have centered around his proposals, including his two special appearances before the House Committee on Appropriations, are causing many Americans to consider the desirability of changing education practices in this country to incorporate ideas from abroad. While we need to adopt a critical attitude toward our own education programs, we also need to be care-

ful that we do not become deluded as to the wisdom and soundness of practices in other countries simply because they are different from our own.

The following article, which appeared in the Washington Post on Sunday, September 9, 1962, written by Mr. John Rosselli, deputy London editor of the Manchester Guardian, contains some words of caution for those who would transfer to the United States education practices which the British are about to discard. Under unanimous consent, I include this in the RECORD:

RICKOVER'S THESIS IS DEBATABLE IN BRITAIN

(By John Rosselli)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Deputy London editor of the Manchester Guardian, Rosselli spent 3 years in American schools and holds degrees from Swarthmore College and Cambridge University. He writes on educational subjects for the Guardian.)

LONDON.—The grass always looks greener on the other side of the wall. This is likely to be the comment of many here when they hear that Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover has extolled the British educational system at the expense of American schools.

By an ironic coincidence often found when one country looks at another's institutions, Rickover has praised those very features of the English system that are now most controversial and that many teachers want to get away from.

At the same time, some of the American practices which he attacks are now winning approval from Britons who only a few years ago would have scoffed at any idea of imitating them.

In his testimony to the House Appropriations Committee, Rickover praised British schools for grouping pupils according to ability, sometimes from the earliest years and always through the "11 plus" examination, which channels children at 11 into one of three types of school—grammar schools for the academic minded, technical for the machine minded, and secondary modern for the nonacademic majority.

Rickover said that all three types concentrated on basic education rather than "life adjustment," pointing to the advanced examination questions which British 18-year-olds are expected to tackle and to the study of calculus and coordinate geometry by 15-year-old students.

These are matters for fierce controversy in Britain. The last few years have seen a quickening opposition to practices that divide children and lead them to specialize from an early age. The trend of recent policy has been to undo or blur some of the arrangements that most attract the admiral.

Because they were solidly taught, Rickover's testimony added, British grammar school pupils who passed the advanced school examination at 18 reached a standard almost comparable to an American bachelor's degree. It followed that "an English student working for his first degree will be doing graduate work largely." Of all Rickover's claims, this has been most widely quoted here.

It will confirm many people in their opinion of American higher education—but will be skeptically received by a growing number of academics who know American universities at first hand and are not above wanting to imitate them.

Finally, the admiral praised British schools for sticking to a longer school day and school year than prevails in America, for holding examinations to a nationwide standard and for avoiding such frills as semiprofessional sport and fully professional fundraisers.

The delay in issuing the admiral's testimony, delivered on May 16, has insured its coming out within a few days of two remarkable and highly authoritative statements, both of which seem almost purposely designed to undermine his main thesis.

The new British minister of education, Sir Edward Boyle, has just declared that "old fashioned tripartism," the irrevocable channeling of 11-year-olds into one of three distinct types of school—is virtually dead.

By this he meant that measures taken by local government authorities in recent years had so blurred the frontiers between the three types as to make the tripartite system a misnomer.

These measures have come about because of widespread anxiety among parents and some teachers in the face of a system which appeared to determine at the age of 11 the future academic chances and—equally important in England—the future social status of most children. Those who did not get into grammar school were unofficially but universally said to have "failed the 11 plus"—a prospect that caused many sleepless nights and bitter tears.

Some local groups, such as the London County Council, have tried to get around this by setting up "comprehensive" schools. These still group children according to ability but under the same roof, so that switching from one group to another is easier and no status distinction arises.

Others, generally supported by the conservative government, have preferred to give late developers and other gifted children in secondary modern schools a footing on the academic ladder. Much prominence is now given to stories of secondary modern pupils who have won through to first-class university degrees.

Though there is a lot of leeway to make up, this is the way Sir Edward Boyle hopes to push the system, and few would wish to hold him back.

Grouping by ability is still a hotly controversial subject and the admiral would still find a good many British supporters. Early specialization, however, is fact becoming an educational dirty word. Here the admiral already looks like something of a lone seawolf.

"Looking at puddles of knowledge instead of the incoming tide" was how Percy Wilson, senior chief inspector to the Ministry of Education, described the early specialization common in nearly all schools.

Academic work, he said, "is semispecialized to a degree which, at the age of 14 or 15, makes no sense at all, and is indefensible in any circumstances or by anything other than the naked admission of competitive pressures."

In universities, too, a reaction has set in against the highly specialized honors course. Only one university, Keele, still requires students to combine arts and science subjects, but new universities at Brighton, York, and Norwich all demand a novel breadth of studies.

Rickover's most striking statement to a British ear, his comparison of a British grammar school finisher with an American college graduate, will confirm the prejudices of old-style academics here. The more wide-awake teachers, however, are now well aware of the difference between Harvard and Toonerville Tech.

Some go further and, like Professor Ely Devons of London University, have urged that Britain should go some way at least toward adopting the American pattern of graduate studies as a sequel to the normal undergraduate course—on the ground that knowledge is now too complicated for the average undergraduate to pick up more than a limited technical competence in answering examination questions.

The moral may be that the two systems already are more alike than the admiral thinks, that they may need to grow still more alike but that if they are to imitate one another it would be a pity to copy the model of the day before yesterday.

## The Will Behind the Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very impressed with two articles which were printed in the September 9 edition of the Los Angeles Times. One is a column entitled "Foreign Policy Drains United States of Main Weapon," by Ayn Rand. The other is an editorial entitled "The Will Behind the Words." I ask unanimous consent that both of these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN POLICY DRAINS UNITED STATES OF MAIN WEAPON

(By Ayn Rand)

Those who do not understand the process by which the morality of altruism is destroying the world may observe it in the disgraceful nightmare of America's foreign policy.

We are draining our lifeblood—our economic power—on the sacrificial altar of global needs, asking nothing in return. Allegedly, what we expect to gain is the friendship of other nations. But we are betraying the friendly nations that trust us—we are destroying the recipients of our help—and we are delivering the world into the power of the very evil we are calling men to fight.

We are proclaiming that it is our duty to lead a world crusade against communism—and we are destroying its only opposite, the only system that can fight it, our own.

ESSENCE OF ALTRUISM

This is the essence of altruism: the first sacrifice it demands—of a man or of a nation—is the abandonment of self-esteem.

In a recent interview with a group of Brazilian university students, President Kennedy made it clear that we have no direction to offer the world, no political principles, no ideals, no goals. He declared that socialism was as acceptable to us as any other system.

"If by socialization you mean ownership of the means of production or of the basic industries," he said, "that is a judgment which you must make * * * We prefer the competitive market economy here * * * You may decide that or you may decide on another course of action. We would accept that as long as it represented a free choice."

I quote two definitions from the American College Dictionary:

"Communism: a theory or system of social organization based on the holding of all property in common, actual ownership being ascribed to the community as a whole or to the state."

"Socialism: a theory or system of social organization which advocates the vesting of ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, etc., in the community as a whole."

Is this what we are asked to crusade, sacrifice, fight, and die for?

MEANS ONLY DIFFERENCE

There is no difference between communism and socialism, except in the means of achieving the same ultimate end: communism proposes to enslave men by force, socialism—by vote. It is merely the difference between murder and suicide.

The uniquely, specifically American political principle was the rights of man—not the rights of mob.

The American system, based on the rights of the individual, was capitalism. Freedom, progress, prosperity, and all the other values of a civilized society were the product of capitalism and have never existed (nor can ever be maintained) under any other system.

But it is capitalism that our statist-collectivist intellectuals reject—and our foreign policy is the monument to the bankruptcy of their leadership.

People the world over understand the nature of the global conflict, even though their leaders do not have the courage to name it: individual rights versus brute force—freedom versus slavery—capitalism versus socialism.

By condemning, denouncing, and apologizing for her own system, America is disarming them intellectually and killing their only hope.

Soviet Russia does not need to do much propaganda about altruism or about the right of the underprivileged to everybody else's property—we are doing it for her. She is cashing in on our ideological suicide, secure in the knowledge that communism is the most consistent political embodiment of altruism—of general self-sacrifice—and that the crude brutality of her conquests will encounter no resistance.

KNOW ONLY FORCE

Which side will the people of the world choose in such circumstances—particularly those new nations, emerging from savagery, who understand nothing but the power of brute force?

The gullible sentimental collectivists of the West are puzzled by Russia's current atrocities. They are wondering why Russia does not seem to care about the public opinion of the world, why she is dropping her humanitarian image and showing her naked soul in such acts as the detonation of the biggest nuclear bomb, the erection of the concentration-camp wall in Berlin, the sadistic horror of shooting fleeing children.

Those Western parlor pinks miss the nature of the message that Russia is conveying to the world.

The message is the boast of a brute, deliberately defying every value of civilization, every vestige of respect for human life and rights, proving that their champions are impotent to defend them—and thus declaring to the uncivilized hordes of the globe that the world is theirs to take over.

This is the purpose of shooting an 18-year-old boy who tried to escape from East Berlin, and letting him bleed to death at the foot of the wall, in the sight and hearing of the Western people.

FREEST ECONOMY

West Germany is the freest, the most nearly capitalist economy in Europe. The constrast between West and East Berlin is the most eloquent modern evidence of the superiority of capitalism over communism. The evidence is irrefutable. Russia does not intend to refute it. She is staging an ideological showdown: she is spitting in our face and declaring that might is right, that brutality is more powerful than all our principles, our promises, our ideals, our wealth and our incomparable material superiority.

Such is the silent symbol now confronting the world: the steel skyscrapers, the glowing shop windows, the glittering cars, the lights of West Berlin—the achievement of capitalism and of capitalism's essence: of free, individual men—and, lying on its doorstep, in the outer darkness, the bleeding body of a single, individual man who had wanted to be free.

Soviet Russia understands the heart of the issue.

When are we going to begin to understand it?

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THE WILL BEHIND THE WORDS

The defiant warning issued by President Monroe against the designs of imperialist Russia was composed of strong words—and a strong will to enforce them. Our capacity to resist was slight but it was magnified many times by our great determination.

Ten days ago the reverse seemed true. President Kennedy said at his press conference April 29 that the Monroe Doctrine still "means what it meant" in 1823. But many Americans wondered if it did; many nations were acting as though they were sure it did not.

The will that had first given meaning to the words of the doctrine seemed strangely lacking in the months that followed the disastrous Bay of the Pigs expedition.

Caution and inaction were interpreted as weakness by the Soviet Union as it boldly stepped up its transformation of Cuba into an armed Communist base. Our close NATO allies—Britain, West Germany, Norway and Greece—were so unimpressed with our passive attitude that they stood by as their merchant ships carried arms, equipment, and technicians to the island outpost.

Not until Moscow publicly admitted its coarse intervention did the will of the Government again manifest itself.

Mr. Kennedy issued another reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine last week. This time, however, he began to take the first steps in demonstrating our determination. There could be no doubt as to the impatient mood of the Congress and the Nation: they possessed the will; they lacked only the leadership.

When the President asked Congress Friday for permission to call up 150,000 reservists, the bipartisan support was immediate and strong. Its leaders did not need to be told that the Reserves were necessary "to permit strong, prompt, and effective challenges * * * which may be presented anywhere in the world."

Mr. Kennedy should now act upon the proposal of Republican leaders that he request permission to use Armed Forces "as he sees necessary," just as President Eisenhower did to meet the Communist threat in the Formosa Straits. Congress will not say "No."

There should also be no hesitation on the part of the President in taking other necessary responses.

He should demand, not merely ask, that our NATO allies cease allowing merchant vessels carrying their flags to aid our common enemy. It is an outrage that those nations whom we have helped to defend and to rebuild should repay us in this way.

He should in fact insist that NATO countries and the members of the Organization of American States immediately join us in collective action against the Cuban threat including an effective embargo. It is late, yet not too late.

If our friends are irresolute, we must act alone, reserving to ourselves the right to take any action necessary "against those who would endanger hemispheric peace and safety."

We will surely be accused of rattling our saber. We are not, but we have drawn it from its scabbard and it will stay unsheathed.

## Small Business: An Important Cog in the Wheel of Progress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, several feature editorial writers have been criticizing the Kennedy administration as being hostile to business. A study of legislation which the 87th Congress has enacted and the attitude of the administration show that small business has been encouraged and protected from unfair competition. Such has not been the case always.

For the past 50 years there has been a growing conviction in the United States that American economic life and big business is synonymous, yet this conviction is one of those chronic stereotypes that seems to gain strength with age rather than from any intrinsic truth in its makeup. Actually, the small business is, as has always been, the backbone of American economic strength.

The 4½ million firms which can be considered small businesses carry on over 40 percent of America's total business activity and employ nearly 30 million people. They produce and distribute an immense variety of goods and services worth billions of dollars annually. If they were all to close tomorrow, the United States could not exist in spite of the presence of General Motors and even American Telephone & Telegraph would begin to lose money.

Yet the small businessman has often been the stepchild of the American Government, fighting against unfair competition, complicated tax laws, and conflicting regulations. In a time of general business prosperity, the small business has often felt the pinch of falling profits and business failure.

The advent of the Kennedy administration to office has made a significant difference in the attitude of the Federal Government to the role of small business in the United States. No better proof can be given than in the growing activities of the Small Business Administration. In New York State alone, small business investment companies increased almost threefold since January 1961. They grew from 25 to 73 in a period of a year and one-half.

In 1960, the SBA made only 52 business loans in New York State totaling almost $2,771,000. This number was increased to 178 loans of over $8.5 million in 1961 and in the first 6 months of 1962, 94 loans of almost $8 million were made.

One of the first actions taken by President Kennedy after coming into office was to reverse the trend of taking defense contracts away from small firms. A 10 percent increase in the number of defense contracts granted to such firms was ordered and today the number of defense contracts held by such companies is the highest since the Korean war.

The Kennedy administration instituted a more liberal allowance for the depreciation of machinery and equipment which in effect meant a generous tax cut for the businessmen of America. More important—regulations have been simplified and new guidelines were published which will make it possible for the small businessman who cannot engage high-priced tax specialists to make full use of these benefits. In addition to the new depreciation allowance, the Revenue Act of 1962 also allows any business the credit of 7 percent of an investment in new equipment against their tax liability.

A vital bill that is now under consideration is designed to help small concerns to obtain leases in prime commercial locations such as shopping centers. At present, it is often difficult for the small, one- or two-man business to obtain leases in such areas; the owners preferring to deal with larger companies that they feel are more stable and will be better able to meet long-term lease obligations. The bill would authorize the Small Business Administration to guarantee, directly or in cooperation with others, the payment of rentals of small retailers. Laws such as these, and a pending amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act, to permit issuance of temporary cease-and-desist orders are all evidence of the importance the Democratic administration attaches to the well-being of the small businessman.

My own city, New York, is a city of small businessmen, specializing in vital retail, wholesale, small manufacturing and service activities. The financial center while publicized is only a part of city life. A law that helps these businesses cannot help but improve the economic tone of our city by increasing its prosperity, help keep our people working.

It is important in evaluating the progress of this administration to reflect upon the action which this Congress has taken and the policy the administration has pursued. Sober reflection will show that business has a rosy future and New York City will continue to grow.

## Gift to St. Joseph's Shrine, Lowell, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the pride and traditions of the French people are deeply rooted in the large Franco-American community in my district. One of the outstanding citizens and leader in this community is Father Armand Morissette, OMI, of the oldest French church in Lowell, Mass., St. Jean Baptiste.

Recently, St. Joseph's Shrine in Lowell was endowed with a gift of great beauty and of very great significance. The gift consists of a chalice, ciborium, and ostensorium made in the highest standards of craftsmanship and orginally presented to Father Morissette, who has now donated this unique gift to St. Joseph's.

I enclose an account of this presentation which appeared in the Lowell Sun of September 9:

FRENCH NAVY PRESENTS CHAPLAIN GIFT OF DEEP SIGNIFICANCE

(By Marguerite Lyons)

LOWELL.—Yesterday, quaint, old and devotion-inspiring St. Joseph's shrine in downtown Lowell was endowed with a gift and symbol of deep significance, so valuable not only in the gold of which it is made, but in the art and European craftsmanship that went into its making, that its value could not be adequately estimated in this country.

Donor of the gift, a personal one to him, was Rev. Armand Morissette, OMI.

For years, 25 to be exact, sailors and enlisted men from the newest recruit to the highest ranking officer in the French Navy have been engaged in a project to which each man took pride in making a personal contribution. Object of the project was to donate a tangible expression of the French sailors' gratitude to their beloved chaplain.

It took much thought, planning, and consideration to decide upon an appropriate memento that would henceforth be a constant reminder of them to their chaplain. And the occasion for giving it would be his silver jubilee of ordination. This anniversary was in 1960, but so demanding were the sailors in their specifications that it took 2 years longer for the artists to complete their work. The veritable chef d'oeuvre consisting of a chalice, ciborium and ostensorium finally arrived at St. Jean Baptist rectory.

As an added example that he believes it is more blessed to give than to receive and because St. Joseph's is the oldest French church in Lowell, there did Reverend Father Morissette wish that the unique threefold gift of the French Navy be enshrined.

All three sacred vessels styled in the richest of the pre-Renaissance were made in Spain. The chalice is an exact replica of the original chalice of St. Remi, one of the priceless treasures of the Cathedral of Reims.

St. Remi, the apostle of the Franks and archbishop of Reims, was born in the year 437. His chief aim in life was the propagation of Christianity in the realm of the Franks and he is comparable to them, as St. Patrick is to the Irish. The story of the return of the sacred vessels which had been stolen from the church of Soissons testifies to the friendly relations existing between the saintly archbishop and Clovis, King of the Franks, whom he converted to Christianity. A miniature of St. Remi, begging Clovis to restore the sacred vessels, which we had the pleasure of admiring 2 years ago, hangs in the library of the arsenal in Paris.

The chalice of St. Remi is one of the richest surviving examples of that foremost among all sacred vessels. Of solid gold, its cup is broad, its base and knop circular and its stem elongated. Like the original, the gold is enhanced by the details arrived at by the expertly skilled craftsmanship of the goldsmith. The patterns of tiny, handset mosaics and minuscule clusters of linked reliefs are of inestimable artistic value. In addition to this, the chalice is encrusted with hundreds of precious and semiprecious stones.

The luster of pearls emanates from the richly artistic, gold-toned accents reflected in an agglomeration of rare beauty that glitters and gleams from the countless rubies, emeralds, and sapphires. Subdued iridescence shines forth from the numerous amethysts and varied jades. Bathed in the sun, cascades of shimmering multitinted light from these jewels glisten in a nacreous setting that dazzles the viewer. The ciborium and ostensorium were made on the same elaborate pattern.

Because of the great difference in paid workmanship that has always existed between the European and this country, plus the fact that time is seldom considered by the European artist engrossed in his masterpiece, it is impossible to arrive at adequate valuation of this gift.

The chalice was consecrated and the ciborium and ostensorium blessed and dedicated by Most Rev. Louis J. Collignon, OMI, bishop of Les Cayes, Haiti, who celebrated the noonday mass, opening the novena in honor of St. Joseph the Worker, Labor Day. Hundreds viewed the sacred vessels on display in the rear of the church after the mass.

They will henceforth be treasured at the shrine not only for their material and artistic value and the significant roles they fulfill in the order of Divine Worship, but because they are symbol of the gratitude of men in the military service of a mother country, to an American citizen, the son of her descendants, who serves that mother country in a quite unique capacity.

## Commodore John Barry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, as sponsor of House Joint Resolution 776, calling upon the President of the United States to proclaim the 13th day of September as Commodore John Barry Day, I am pleased to call the attention of the Members on this day to the numerous commemorations and celebrations taking place in our country on this notable occasion. In the city of New York the Honorable Mark J. Glynn, Jr., chairman of the New York Committee for the Commemoration of Commodore John Barry Day observance is engaged in appropriate ceremonies at the Commodore Barry Monument in New York City.

In order that my colleagues will be apprised of the stature of this great American I take this opportunity to recount some of the significant events in the life of Commodore Barry.

They follow:

COMMODORE JOHN BARRY

On the 13th of September 1803, one of the great men of the Revolutionary War died in Philadelphia. It is appropriate that the anniversary of his death be honored by brief remarks on the life, achievements, and patriotism of Commodore John Barry.

His most successful cruise started in February of 1781 when he sailed from Boston for France commanding the *Alliance*. He captured the privateer *Alert* en route. He put down a mutiny, and then captured the privateers *Mars* and *Minerva*. After a fierce engagement he forced two British brigs, the *Atalanta* and the *Trepassey* to strike their colors. Barry was severely wounded in the action.

To Barry belongs the distinction of having fought the last naval action of the War for

Independence. Aboard the *Alliance* he arrived at Martinique early in January of 1783 and found orders to proceed to Havana. Leaving that port he encountered the *Sybille*. His first mate, John Kessler, wrote as follows about the engagement:

"Two of the enemy's ships kept at a distance on our weather quarter as if waiting to ascertain about the French ship, while the other was in our wake with topsails only and courses hauled, as was also the case with the *Alliance*. The French ship approaching fast, Captain Barry went from gun to gun on the main deck, cautioning against too much haste and not to fire until the enemy was right abreast. He ordered the main topsail hove to the mast that the enemy (who had already fired a bow gun, the shot of which struck into the cabin of the *Alliance*), might come up as soon as he was abreast, when the action began, and before a half hour her guns were silenced and nothing but musketry was fired from her. She appeared very much injured in her hull. She was of 32 guns and appeared very full of men, and after an action of 45 minutes she sheered off. Our injured were, I think, 3 killed and 11 wounded (3 of whom died of their wounds), and 1 sail and rigging cut. During all the action the French lay to as well as the enemy's ships.

"As soon as the ship which we had engaged hove from us, her consorts joined her and all made sail, after which the French ship came down to us, and Captain Barry asked them why they did not come down during the action. They answered that they thought we might have been taken and the signal known and the action only a sham to decoy him. Their foolish idea thus perhaps lost us the three frigates, for Captain Barry's commencing the action was with the full expectation of the French ship joining and thereby not only be able to cope, but in fact subdue part, if not the whole, of them. The French captain proposed, however, giving chase, which was done; but it soon appeared that his ship would not keep up with us, and the chase was given over."

John Barry was born at Tacumshane, County Wexford, Ireland. He went to sea as a boy and in about 1760 settled in Philadelphia, where he eventually became a prosperous shipmaster and shipowner. In 1776 he showed an Irishman's enthusiasm for the cause of the Colonies against British tyranny and was placed in command of the brig *Lexington* by the Continental Congress. On April 17, 1776, he captured the British tender *Edward*. This was the first capture in actual battle of a British warship by a regularly commissioned American cruiser.

Barry received the personal congratulations of General Washington on his "gallantry and address" in the performance of a daring exploit on the lower Delaware in 1777. With four small boats he had cut out an armed British schooner without the loss of a man, and captured at the same time a number of transports and a large quantity of supplies destined for British troops.

Barry then volunteered for duty with the American Army and participated with distinction in the Trenton campaign. After this, he was given command of the *Raleigh*, 32 guns, with which he fought a gallant and obstinate battle against superior forces, finally being obliged to beach his ship, but saving most of his men from capture.

Years later, in 1794, when the Congress of the United States ordered the construction of six frigates to combat the depredations of the Algerian pirates, Barry was named senior captain and placed in command of the *United States*, being, as was said, "of all the naval captains that remained * * * the one who possessed the greatest reputation for experience, conduct, and skill."

During the hostilities with France, Barry was placed in command of all the naval forces in West Indian waters, remaining there until the beginning of May 1799. In December of that year he escorted the American envoys to France. On his return he took command of the Guadaloupe station in the West Indies, a position he retained until 1801. He died 2 years later at the head of the Navy.

This great man deserves our admiration and respect. Most of all, he deserves not to be forgotten.

## For Fastest Growth—What Kind of Tax?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, one of the ablest economists in the country, Prof. Henry C. Wallich, of Yale University, formerly a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has written one of the clearest articles on the subject of tax reform that I have yet read. It appeared in the September 9 issue of the New York Times magazine and it should be widely read.

I am pleased, with the permission of the House, to insert Professor Wallich's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with the hope that as many Members of the House as possible will examine it:

FOR FASTEST GROWTH—WHAT KIND OF TAX?

(By Henry C. Wallich)

More Americans pay a sales tax, and pay it more often, than any other kind of tax. Yet because so much of it is in pennies, the take from sales taxes is relatively modest. It does not begin to compare with the massive sums that some 40 million income-tax payers annually turn over to the tax collector.

The present national argument about taxes—whether to cut them or to reform them, definitely not to abolish them—has brought out the interesting fact that Americans pay a higher proportion of their total taxes in the form of income taxes and other direct taxes than the citizens of almost any other industrial country. Conversely, they pay a lower proportion in the form of sales taxes and other indirect taxes.

The argument has also brought out that the industrial countries which have recently enjoyed the fastest economic growth are among those that rely much more on sales and similar taxes than on income taxes. This is strikingly true, for instance, as Prof. William J. Fellner, of Yale, has shown, of the European top-growth countries (France, Italy, and Germany) as well as of Japan. Other countries, relying more heavily on income taxes, have by and large grown less rapidly.

Findings like these do not prove anything conclusively, of course. The members of the fast-growth club may owe their success to some other factors, most likely to a variety of causes. And among the less developed countries of the world there are many that grow painfully slowly while relying exclusively on indirect taxes.

But in the cases of the successful countries of Europe, and of Japan, some logical connection between the tax system and growth does seem to emerge. No country can grow rapidly unless it plows back a high proportion of its output into productive investment. High income taxes probably tend to reduce the supply of savings that are needed, because they weigh most heavily on high-income earners who do the most saving. They may also undermine the incentive to invest, as well as the urge to work and make money.

The successful countries are all countries that save and invest a high proportion of their incomes. Recently, the rate of growth has slowed in some of them, for instance in Germany, though to a level still well above the growth of the United States. This has been accompanied by some slowing of investment. The Germans attribute this to overfull employment, shorter hours worked and a squeeze on profits through rising wages. The tax system, insofar as it has favored investment and growth in the past, still does so today.

The United States has been very successful throughout most of its history, but today it has become a low-investment country and our growth has slowed. These are grounds for suspicion, at least, that our tax system may have been one of the culprits in a complicated case.

Tax comparisons among countries are the most odious of comparisons, because in no two countries are tax laws ever exactly comparable. The variety of taxes is a monument to the ingenuity of governments. The simple distinction of income and sales taxes does not begin to do it justice. Even the economists' distinction of direct and indirect taxes, which covers roughly the same ground, does not really bring order into this chaos.

In the United States, the Federal Government levies no sales taxes proper at all. It manages, however, to raise about 13 percent of its budgetary revenues from exercises on gasoline, liquor, and tobacco, on transportation, telephone calls, and entertainment, and on a number of other articles and activities as well as from customs duties.

These are sales taxes in economic effect, if not in legal terminology. All the rest comes from taxes on income in one form or another. State and local governments do get a much larger share of their considerably smaller income from sales-type and property taxes.

The net result is that we hand over 62 percent of our taxes in the form of income taxes and 38 percent as sales and similar taxes. Only Sweden levies a slightly higher proportion of direct taxes. Meanwhile, France obtains only 26 percent from income taxes, the rest as sales and similar imposts; Italy 30 percent, including in all cases State and local revenues, but excluding social security taxes which do not seem to fit properly into either category. It is quite possible that these figures contain some of the European growth secret for which President Kennedy told his advisers to go looking.

How did the United States get so far out of line with the tax policies of the most successful countries? The United States had its first brush with the income tax during the Civil War. The tax was dropped thereafter, and did not rear its head again until 1913, following the passage of the 16th amendment. Introduced just in time to help finance World War I at rates up to 77 percent, it was cut back to a top rate of 24 percent during the 1920's by Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon. As a peacetime tax, it came to full flower (if that is the word) during the great depression. Its sponsors had in mind two principal purposes—to discourage people who want to save (their money is needed to fiance growth), and to redistribute income. Politics aside, both purposes had their justification in the climate of the times.

Those were the days when it was believed, with some apparent basis in contemporary fact, that the U.S. economy had reached full maturity, that it offered few opportunities for new investment and could look forward to but little future growth. This meant that there there was little need for new sav-

ings. Wealthy Mr. Smith, who saved a good part of his income, thereby merely cut down consumption and destroyed jobs. By taxing him and easing the tax burden on impecunious Mr. Jones, who spent most of what he earned, it was thought that a positive stimulus to the economy would be achieved. Redistribtuion of incomes, through taxes and public expenditures, seemed the only means of raising lower bracket living standards in the absence of genuine growth.

Then came World War II, and with it tremendous financial needs and still higher taxes. In the different social climate of the post-World War II period, rates did not come down drastically as they did during the twenties. Today, with a lowest bracket rate of 20 percent and a top rate of 91 percent, we are very close to alltime peak levels.

Income tax adhrents rightly argue that the income tax is much more sophisticated than a tax on commodities. Taxes on the sale or transportation of commodities are easy to administer. Since time immemorial, princes and potentates have levied them—at the city gate, at the harbor dock, at the places of primitive manufacture, or in the town market. The income tax is a tax on an abstract number which cannot be arrived at, for the larger taxpayers, without subtle accounting concepts like depreciation.

The income tax has been described as a fair tax because it demands more from the wealthy than from the poor. It also permits account to be taken of individual circumstances—such as the number of children, the age of the taxpayer, expense through illness, and the like—through appropriate exemptions and deductions. It is thought to encourage good citizenship because it is a clearly visible tax, allowing everyone to know exactly what the Government costs him, in contrast to sales and excise taxes that can be concealed in the price.

Finally, the income tax seems attractive to many because it is flexible in recessions. When a taxpayer's income falls, the progressive feature of the tax, which makes the rate rise with the income bracket, goes into reverse. The taxpayer's liability falls faster than income and affords him relief.

But in the postwar years, the income tax has also revealed grave weaknesses. Tax rates designed to cope with supposedly permanent stagnation are out of place in an economy geared for growth. We can no longer afford to discourage saving—it is needed to finance growth. Even though, in the present state of the economy, there seem to be more savers than investors, that is largely a question of the business cycle and should not determine longrun tax policy.

We also have every reason not to discourage the willingness to work or invest. And we need no longer look to the redistribution of Smith's income to Jones as the principal means of raising Jones' living standards. Economic growth is a much more powerful lever than redistribution. If the two conflict, more is to be gained, for both Jones and Smith, if we go for growth than if we go for redistribution. All this suggests that a tax system relying less heavily on high income taxes may be more in tune with our times.

Practical experience with high tax rates has tarnished the glamour of the income tax in other ways. Tax avoidance and tax evasion have become familiar terms in the economic dictionary. Tax avoidance is the legitimate effort of the taxpayer to take advantage of all the facilities the law provides to hold his taxes down. A whole profession of tax specialists has been reared in the overheated tax climate of a 91-percent top rate. In this strange world, a penny saved is 10 pennies earned, and a penny of deductible expenditures is almost no cost at all. When a large part of a businessman's time is devoted to tax problems, and a large part of his decisions governed by their tax consequences, little good can be expected for the economy.

Tax evasion is the name for illegitimate efforts to minimize taxes—tax cheating, for short. The U.S. taxpayer is probably one of the world's most honest—many other countries do not trust their taxpayers to assess themselves, as we do, but prepare returns for them. Yet high taxes put a strain on the honesty and raise the possibility that tax morale may soften and be neglected.

The tremendous pressure of the top rates has knocked some highly inequitable breaches in the wall separating pretax from posttax income. Groups with strong political backing have molded the law to fit their interests. It is possible today to write off the same building several times over, to deduct depletion on an oil well long after the investment has been repaid, to charge off business expenses that are pure fun, and to stash away income for the future with a minimum of present tax.

Whatever the logic behind these devices, they make a mockery of the rate structure, and they create invidious distinctions between those who have oil wells, expense accounts or deductions and pension funds and those others with similar incomes who have not.

Even decisions regarding public expenditures are vitiated by high tax rates. When Mr. Jones, who has three children and pays a top rate of 20 percent, looks at a proposal for Federal aid to higher education, he may feel that he would be sending his offspring to college rather cheaply at that price. Mr. Smith, who also has three children but pays a top rate of 70 percent, figures that private education would cost him less.

Since in our taxable society there are more Joneses than Smiths, there is a chance that the Joneses may outvote the Smiths, and get the legislation passed. But the Smiths are apt to get more vocal about the matter, and perhaps they can pull the Congress their way. In any event, an ordinary and irrational element is injected into national-expenditure decisions that distorts them one way or the other.

Even the ancient faith that income taxes cannot be shifted from seller to buyer has begun to wane. That many corporations can, in certain circumstances, pass along part or all of their income tax by raising prices has long been evident. Many corporate executives insist that this is precisely what they do. The personal income tax may be a little harder to shift. But the level of taxes certainly is a feature in wage negotiations. And would many corporate salaries be quite so high if executives could not point to the need to compensate for the tax bite?

The troubles of the income tax are beginning to make the sales tax intellectually respectable again. The new support comes from curiously ill-assorted elements. There are those who are concerned about economic growth and who believe that a little less income tax and a little more sales tax would be an improvement over the present mix. There are old-fashioned conservatives who are mainly concerned with getting their high rates down, and who see in a Federal sales tax a means of making that possible. And there are the liberals who want to raise public expenditures and who, feeling that the income tax has been milked almost dry, are trying to overcome their innate aversion to sales taxes.

For most liberals, to be sure, the sales tax still carries a stigma. But avant-garde thinkers like Harvard professors Alvin Hansen and John Kenneth Galbraith have given support to a Federal sales tax. Galbraith has argued, possibly to the chagrin of some of his disciples, that in an age of affluence a sales tax no longer means what a bread tax or a salt tax meant in ages gone by. Hansen has calculated that the income tax simply cannot yield the kind of money he believes the Government should spend. Some former critics have sought to make their peace with the sales tax by suggesting that it be coupled with a special tax on luxuries. All in all, the sales tax seems to be coming up in the world. And there is work for it to do.

In trying to establish priorities among the various objectives of contemporary tax policy, the goal of faster growth strikes me as by far the most important. Faster growth will, in fact, give everybody pretty much what he wants. It will make the cost of big Government easier to bear for the well-to-do. It will permit larger public expenditures to satisfy the proponents of social priorities. If we can speed up growth by cutting back the income tax and introducing a Federal sales tax, the effort would be worthwhile.

The evidence that the maneuver will succeed is not conclusive, to be sure. In any case, no very striking result could be expected from such a reform alone. But there probably is enough sensible economics behind the case to justify moving in that direction.

We would have to move cautiously, however, because pitfalls are sure to beset the unwary sales tax enthusiast. Sales taxes have been the province of State and local authorities. A Federal sales tax would have to be designed so as not to interfere with this traditional source of revenue.

The question of coverage needs to be faced. Should the tax cover only goods, or also services? Should food be excluded? Should the rate be the same for all items? If a great many things were excluded, to which purpose tremendous political pressures are sure to be mobilized, and if the rate were severely fragmented, we might end up with little more than what we have now—a set of arbitrary Federal excise taxes.

I do not believe that in the near future there is much hope of reaching a national consensus on any of these questions, or even on the basic principle of a Federal sales tax. The experience of this year's tax bill, on its tortuous way through Congress, has made clear how very difficult it is to reach agreement even on relatively minor tax reforms. As a practical matter, the most likely way in which we might some day get a Federal sales tax is through a national emergency calling for large extra revenues. A sales tax might then be introduced instead of or along with the traditional income tax hike. Obviously that is not a consummation to be wished.

Meanwhile I would not propose to include a sales tax among the changes in next year's tax reform. The chances are that such a proposal would merely delay or altogether block other reforms that now seem within reach. We need time for a national conversation over an issue of this magnitude. But this conversation should proceed. Then, when the merits of the case are demonstrated, we might get somewhere.

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## The Kennedy Cult

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Mary Paul Paye, who is now on leave from her or-

der, the Sisters of Mercy, wrote the following article while preparing for a Ph. D. in mass communications, at Syracuse University.

The article has such depth and logic and makes necessary reading, especially today. I am pleased, therefore, to insert it in the RECORD for the whole country to read:

[From U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 10, 1962]

THE KENNEDY CULT

The gentleman smiles, the youngster sidles up to a pony on the lawn, the lovely lady bows. Cameras click, tape machines whirl, and the American public is exposed again to that dangerous phenomenon: the personality cult of the President.

I protest—vehemently, vigorously, apolitically and, almost, alone.

Three threats are inherent in this constant projection of the personal image of the President: the suppression or the obscuring of significant news; the amassing by the President of personal power; and—most insidious of all—the irrational worldwide identification of him with the country as a whole. We all—mass media and mass audience—could well pause to assess the ramifications of what less sophisticated societies termed hero worship—a phenomenon that, in our own electronic age, has become both more complex and more potent.

Because of the cult of personality, to the average man everywhere, Mr. Kennedy has become synonymous with the United States; his victories are American victories; his health, American health; his smile, his family, his hobbies, his likes and dislikes, become symbolic of the country. And the danger of this equation is that, should the President fail, then the country fails; should he make a mistake, the country errs.

This identification of the Nation with its Chief of State was clearly evident at the time of President Roosevelt's election for the third and fourth terms, and, also at the time of his death in office. It was evident when Mr. Eisenhower suffered a heart attack. As a single recent example, it was militantly apparent when Mr. Kennedy addressed the assembled nations of the world at the U.N.

A President is not the country, Mr. Kennedy is not the United States. If he should fail—as well he may—the country will not disintegrate. But if the personality cult continues, if it increases during coming administrations, it will be very difficult to convince the people of that fact. And in the measure that the cult grows, the tendency will grow stronger to elect Presidents not on the basis of reason, but on the basis of the emotional pull the candidates engender.

A combination of causes has conspired to bring the personality cult to full strength in the current decade. Experts agree that changes in American society have made it necessary for a presidential candidate to appeal directly and personally to the mass of politically unalined voters; thus, when elected, he can maintain a certain independence vis-a-vis his party. The trend, in other words, is away from Government by party toward Government by a personalized Presidency.

Mr. Kennedy has exploited this tendency to a greater degree than any of his predecessors. Unlike Mr. Eisenhower, for instance, he uses the mass media directly to project his personality to the people; and, to the degree that he appoints nonpolitical men to decisionmaking offices, he stifles the political personalities of others.

It's time to examine the effect of this situation upon the collective public mind.

The President and his family are naturals for publicity, and journalists have not been slow to exploit the color, the drama, the human appeal that emanate from the White House. No day passes without the appearance of some news or feature about the Kennedy clan, and, while I admit that some of the items revealed are interesting or amusing, much is of questionable value.

In this category fall recently published articles on the following subjects: the President's preferences in clothes—illustrated, with sizes and patterns; the man who "trims" the President, the barber; the life in the White House of the puppy sent to Mrs. Kennedy by Khrushchev; the President's salary and his budget ("He and Jacqueline are determined to get along on his Presidential pay—of course, they don't have to" is the tag line on this).

On a slightly higher level are scores of articles like those about the trips abroad by Robert and Mrs. Kennedy, the plans for refurnishing the White House, the cultural interests of the family, the entertainment of distinguished guests, down even to the kind of napkin folding employed at the White House dinner parties.

Galleys of type and yards of picture spreads about the birthdays of the children, the social affairs of the First Lady, the horsemanship of a sister, the recreational habits of the Attorney General's family, feed the public's desire to know all about the White House inhabitants. Everything goes to deepen the cult.

That the mass media should so exploit the President and his family for circulation purposes is serious enough, but I submit that even more dangerous implications arise: the danger of the imbalance of news.

In newspapers and on the air, time and space are limited and every inclusion means a corresponding exclusion. Important events and decisions may well be obscured in the welter of feature material. And even when significant news is reported, as prisoners of the cult, we may be tempted to overlook it.

Readers, too, are pressed for time; and too often they prefer to be amused rather than informed. Who doesn't gravitate toward the human-interest story, perhaps to the neglect of the duller but more significant news?

The Christmas illness of the President's father is an example. Is it heartless to suggest that the event was woefully overplayed, that the international involvements of the United States became no less worthy of reporting because the elderly Mr. Kennedy had suffered a stroke? A spot check of newspapers reveals that the Kennedy story crowded out, in many cases, the following important international developments: Nehru's stand on Goa, and Tshombe and the Katanga peace talks.

Most papers gave No. 1 treatment to the President's talks with Prime Minister Macmillan. But, because of the emphasis that had been placed upon the father's illness, it is unreasonable to suggest that, for many Americans, the vision of the "anxious son" in conference became more important than the conference itself?

This is no imputation of machination or of deliberate preying upon public sentiment by the President or his associates. It exemplifies, rather, the furtherance of the cult through circumstances beyond the President's control. But, whatever the cause, the effect is the displacement, or downgrading, of significant events.

Stemming from this overemphasis on personality is the danger of the amassing of personal power. A grievous error was made in the American press regarding Fidel Castro, who survived in the media as a hero for a rather long period.

If the same kind of mistake had been made by the American people in selecting President Kennedy, how long would it have taken for the media's projection to reverse itself and present the true picture? But such a situation, you will say, could never arise in a democracy.

Or could it? As President, F.D.R. had a powerful impact upon the public. He was able to bring about action which would have been rejected if proposed by another; his personal magnetism obtained agreement to treaties and policies which were greeted with cheers when they should have been examined critically and unemotionally.

The same was true during the Eisenhower administration, when the public repeatedly absolved the President of responsibility in actions for which he should have been held to some degree accountable.

For the sake of argument, I am willing to concede that President Kennedy will never consciously be guilty of duplicity, or of evil or even of error. But, even in argument, it must be admitted that he will act. His actions should not be judged emotionally, but on the basis of reason.

While the political trend may be toward a personalized Presidency, with the substitution of career experts for politicians in key positions, certain facts are still true. No individual is capable of managing all aspects of Government. The Nation and the cult to the contrary, there are other politicians whose opinions and actions are essential. Truth is not served, nor the common good, if these men are not adequately reported by the mass media.

This is not to imply that the press is in any danger of approving all President Kennedy's proposals. But the media may cast a cloak of oblivion over political figures who, in other times, would be prominent in the public eye. Granted that the President makes decisions, and that the decisions are news; others make decisions, too, or have opinions worthy of publication. Now, as elections draw near, other politicians do capture a share of publicity, but the Kennedys obtrude successfully even here.

Since 1960, probably the only politician who competed noticeably with Mr. Kennedy for publicity was the late Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn. During his illness, he briefly captured the spotlight on the national stage. Daily bulletins, eulogies, reviews, and features about his impressive public record had prime coverage. But he was dying, and then dead, and the dividend waters of the cult converged again upon Mr. Kennedy.

Strong words, I admit, in a situation in which it is difficult to be objective. But they emphasize the extent of the monopoly and the readiness of the press and the public to accept it.

The cult has its causes in current social and political trends. It is caught in a conveyor belt: The supply increases the demand, and the demand increases the supply. Pressures far removed from politics further it, for it is influenced by insecurity, by the anonymity of the man in the crowd, the public desire for status—even if vicarious.

The cult is dangerous because it seems as innocent as a baby's picture, as simple as a man's smile, because it is public and yet unseen. Even if events conspire so that no limitation of freedom occurs because of it, it is still an appalling trend; for it is symptomatic of an American disease: mental apathy.

The best defense against it is awareness—by the President, the public, the press. The White House—elections or no elections—should guard itself more stringently against frivolous reporting. Editors and program directors should weigh news and features for inherent value. And the American people—all of us—should be aware that we are beginning to respond to the Chief of State as we have responded to movie stars—and as other nations have responded to their monarchs.

Adulation of a monarch or a star may be permissible; similar treatment of a President, considering the power he wields, can never be.

## Springfield Chapter, Aiding Leukemia Stricken American Children, Raised $20,000 To Maintain St. Jude Research Hospital; Entertainer Danny Thomas Thanks Teenage Volunteers for Efforts in His Life Dedicated Cause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, more than 500 teenage volunteer workers who raised more than $12,000 for ALSAC of Springfield, Mass., earlier this year were told by entertainer Danny Thomas during an August 31 reception at Springfield's Technical High School auditorium that America is not overrun by juvenile delinquents. Mr. Thomas, who describes himself as a "philosophizing bum," thanked the volunteers for their contribution for Aiding Leukemia Stricken American Children—ALSAC—and said they had raised more money per capita in Springfield than any other chapter in the United States.

The popular comedian has been traveling throughout the country to raise funds for St. Jude Research Hospital in Memphis, Tenn. Both the St. Jude Hospital project and ALSAC have grown out of a vow that Thomas made 20 years ago, when penniless and jobless, to St. Jude Thaddeus, the patron saint of the hopeless. Largely through his efforts, $2 million had been raised by 1957 to construct the hospital to combat leukemia in children. ALSAC was formed to provide permanent maintenance for the hospital.

Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure to be with Danny Thomas that night when we spoke at a fundraising dinner for ALSAC. Mr. Joseph Demos, the Springfield chapter chairman, was toastmaster. He is to be commended for the very fine fundraising drive put on by his chapter and the teenage volunteers who so generously cooperated in this great cause. At this time I include with my remarks the following excerpt from the Springfield Union's news account in the September 1 edition of Danny Thomas' appearance:

Thomas told the teenagers that "there is no more juvenile delinquency today than there was when I was a teenager. Your age is an awkward one and too many of you are taking the blame for a few juvenile delinquents," he said.

After telling jokes he sang two songs and signed autographs in the corridors where he was mobbed by admiring teenagers.

FOUR HUNDRED AT DINNER

In the evening about 400 guests attended a $25-a-plate dinner in the Sheraton-Kimball Hotel where Thomas and his charity were praised by such dignitaries as Most Rev. Christopher J. Weldon, bishop of the Springfield Roman Catholic Diocese; Rev. Harry Struckenbrook, president, Greater Springfield Council of Churches; Representative Edward P. Boland; Mayor Charles V. Ryan, Jr.; Judge Abraham I. Smith; Rev. Stephen Papadoulias and others.

A telegram from President Kennedy lauding the work of ALSAC and Thomas was read before Danny went into one of his famous after dinner monologs.

Some excerpts of his famous wit: "Behind every famous man is a woman who thinks he's an idiot." "People accuse me of voting for the President because he's a Catholic. It's not true. I voted for him because I'm a Catholic."

CRACKS JOKES

His penetrating humor included jokes on Israel, Lebanon, and an imitation of Representative BOLAND.

In a more serious vein, he said that in the early days of ALSAC persons accused him of "coming into their territories and stealing their money. It's not true and never was. ALSAC benefits all, for some day there will be a cure for leukemia and other catastrophic diseases that will be shared in with the world."

Children are admitted free to St. Jude Hospital regardless of race, creed, or residency, he said.

"St. Jude Hospital was designed by a Negro, built by a Jew, and is staffed by Protestants," he said.

TOTAL OF $20,000 COLLECTED

He announced that money from the dinner will bring the total amount of money collected this year in this city to more than $20,000.

In a special interview with the Union, the cigar-smoking veteran of show business said he first got the idea for the hospital in 1955. He said he consulted with a group of scientists who decided that the one catastrophic disease they should center on should be leukemia. Since that time he has spent all his free time on the project, he said. "I'm like the businessman who can't get away from his business as far as ALSAC and St. Jude Hospital are concerned. It's with me all the time," he said.

FRIENDLY CITY

Of the 250 ALSAC chapters in the country, he said that the Springfield chapter was one of the best. "This is a fine and friendly city. Walking down Main Street I received more 'Hi Danny's' than I thought possible," he said. "Guess much of it is due to television. You see, television is a friendly medium. It allows you to enter the privacy of many, many homes," he said.

He said his program, "The Danny Thomas Show," seems to have a good affect on teenagers "The family problems in the show are as old as man, and have to be solved by the entire family. I don't think that father always knows best," he said.

Thomas, who was presented with two plaques of merit and appreciation by Michael P. Pagos, executive director, on behalf of the Springfield Boys Club, said that the first seminar of scientists from all over the world will be held at St. Jude Hospital in November in order that they may be able to discuss catastrophic diseases and the progress the hosptial has made in combating them.

Among the many contributors to the ALSAC at the banquet were five girls from Holyoke who recently wrote and performed a play in Holyoke that raised more than $100 for the fund.

Joseph Demos of this city, local chapter chairman, acted as toastmaster. He was assisted in arrangements by Dr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Ferris, and Dr. and Mrs. Emil M. Ferris.

Mr. Speaker, I also include with my remarks the story of how Danny Thomas made a vow to St. Jude to build him a shrine if he would help him find his place in life, followed by my remarks at the fundraising dinner, and the program listing honored guests, the patrons and patronesses and members of the committees who worked to make the fundraising a huge success:

A PRAYER, A PICTURE, AND PEOPLE

(ALSAC, of Springfield, Mass., presents Danny Thomas for the St. Jude Research Hospital, Sheraton-Kimball Hotel Friday, August 31, 1962)

Twenty years ago Danny Thomas was a struggling, unknown entertainer when he made a vow to St. Jude Thaddeus to build him a shrine if he would help him find his place in life. St. Jude, 1 of the 12 apostles was a forgotten saint for many years because of the similarity of his name to the betrayer, Judas Iscariot, and he became the patron saint of the helpless and hopeless.

Danny Thomas never forgot his vow. He devoted countless hours of his great energy, gave freely of his talent and funds to start a great hospital for research in leukemia and kindred catastrophic diseases of childhood.

The history of St. Jude Hospital really began on February 2, 1962, the date of its dedication, but the research hospital already had an exciting past and promises a future of seeking cures for diseases of children.

On his knees in that church 20 years ago, Danny Thomas had no idea of building a huge research hospital. It was the late Cardinal Stritch who suggested that he build a hospital for underpriviledged children. Armed with only a drawing of the nonexistent hospital he soon learned that blueprints and construction money were not enough to build a free hospital; somebody has to pay to operate the place, however noble its aims.

The ALSAC (Aiding Leukemia Stricken American Children) organization was formed in 1957 to support and maintain St. Jude Hospital. Good Americans decided to share this work, so that today in over 200 chapters they work and give for ALSAC on a completely voluntary basis. Because of this dedication over 90 cents of every dollar contributed goes for research at St. Jude.

St. Jude Research Hospital is a $5 million institution, with a maximum capacity of 100 beds. Since it is primarily a research center, the major areas are devoted to laboratories and research units. The entire institution is dedicated to the care of children stricken with catastrophic diseases and to research aimed at developing superior methods of treatment. Patients are limited to those with diseases involving the blood and blood-forming organs with particular emphasis on leukemia. Hemorrhagic diseases, aplastic anemia and hereditary diseases are also included.

The hospital is operated by a full-time paid staff and is not dependent on volunteer professional services. Physicians employed devote their entire time to the care of patients and to basic and clinical research, and do not engage in private practice. Graduate fellows and hematology residents carry part of the clinical load. Nursing services and day-to-day administration of the hospital are carried out by the Sisters of St. Francis.

Children will be admitted to St. Jude without regard to race, creed or residency. In general, patients who have diagnostic problems, or the type of disease being treated will be admitted. The cost of diagnostic service and hospitalization will be borne by ALSAC and patients will not be charged for care, drugs or any services. Children in St. Jude will receive superior medical care at no cost.

This is what can be done with a picture, prayers, and people—not just a hospital, but a research center with beds, staffed and equipped to give the finest of care to children suffering from leukemia and allied blood diseases—free to all.

HONORED GUESTS

Danny Thomas, president of ALSAC.

Michael F. Tamer, national executive director of ALSAC.

Hon. Charles V. Ryan, Jr., mayor of Springfield.

Hon. Edward P. Boland, Congressman.

His Excellency Christopher J. Weldon, D.D., bishop of Springfield.

Rev. Harry Stuckenbruck, president, Greater Springfield Council of Churches.

Hon. Abraham I. Smith, judge of probate.

Rev. Stephen Papadoulias, pastor, St. George Greek Orthodox Church.

Rev. Roland Abijaude, St. Anthony's Maronite Parish.

PATRONS AND PATRONESSES

Mr. George Abdow, Miss Phyliss Abdow, Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Aborjaily, Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Abrahams, Mr. Edward H. Allen, Mrs. Paul Alonso, Mr. and Mrs. Cosmo Ansara, Miss Nancy Ansara, Mr. Peter Ansara.

Mr. and Mrs. Francis Balicki, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Barkett, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Black, Mr. Stephen Bodolay, Mr. and Mrs. Angelo Bressani, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Bshara.

Dr. and Mrs. Sante M. Caldarola, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph C. Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Card, Miss Janet Caserio, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Cataldo, Mr. and Mrs. David Chase, Mrs. Edward Ciccarelli, Mr. Donald Cohon, Dr. and Mrs. William E. Coons, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Coughlin, Mrs. Annie Couri, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Couri, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Craft, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. James E. Davis, Mr. Louis Del Padre, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Demos, Mr. Louis Demos, Mrs. Michael Demos, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Dion, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Doubitz, Miss Diana Dowaliby, Mrs. John A. Dowaliby, Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Duclos.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Elkas, Mrs. Edward Ellis, Dr. George R. Ellis, Miss Hilda Ellis.

Dr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Ferris, Dr. and Mrs. Basil M. Ferris, Dr. and Mrs. Emil M. Ferris, Mr. and Mrs. Francis M. Ferris, Miss Laurice Ferris, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Ferris, Mrs. Michael Ferris, Miss Theda Ferris, Mr. and Mrs. William Ferris, Mr. and Mrs. William Foley, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Fournier, Dr. and Mrs. George Franklin.

Dr. Bronislaus A. Galuszka, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Gampel, Mr. and Mrs. Ned Gareeb, Mr. Frank Gatti, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Ghareeb, Mr. George Ghareeb, Mrs. Hykel Ghareeb, Mr. Joseph K. Ghareeb, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Ghareeb, Mr. Anthony Gianetti, Mr. John Gioias, Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Good, Mrs. Henry Goodnough, Mr. Jack Grace, Miss Barbara Grenier, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Grosso.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Habin, Mr. and Mrs. Eli Haddad, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Hafey, Mr. Charles Hapcook, Mrs. George Hapcook, Mr. and Mrs. Manser Hapcook, Mrs. Raymond Hapcook, Mr. and Mrs. William J. Hartt, Mr. Laurence Hashim, Mrs. Fred Hemsworth, Mr. and Mrs. Sol Herskowitz, Mr. and Mrs. Moses Hyder, Mr. Robert Hyder.

Mr. and Mrs. George Joseph, Mr. Joe Joseph, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Joseph.

Mrs. George Karam, Miss Marlene Karam, Mr. and Mrs. Milton M. Katz, Mr. and Mrs. William Kavaney, Miss Eve Kawie, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kawie, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Kawie, Rev. Francis J. Keaney, Mrs. Donald Keefe, Miss Linda Kinnenan, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Kosiorek, Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Kresock.

Dr. and Mrs. William Licht, Mr. and Mrs. William Lynch.

Mr. Alex Makol, Mr. Frank Makol, Mr. Edward Margolis, Mrs. Sheila Mariani, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Marieb, Mr. Taffy Marieb, Mr. and Mrs. Harry E. Marrewa, Mr. and Mrs. John H. McCarthy, Miss Sheila McCarthy, Mr and Mrs. Timothy McCarthy, Dr. Paul J. McKenna, Miss Roberta Menard, Dr. and Mrs. Irving Meyer, Miss Abbey Michaels, Mr. James Michaels, Miss Marilyn Monahan.

Miss Elsie Namnoun, Mr. and Mrs. George J. Nassar, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Edward Nassif, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Nassif, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Norman, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Paul Norman.

Rev. Raymond W. O'Brien, Miss Dorothy Oliari, Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. O'Neil, Mr. and Mrs. John Ostrowski, Dr. and Mrs. Walter J. Pacosa, Dr. Helen Papaiounau, Mrs. John Papaiounau, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Phaneuf, Dr. Henry W. Polchlopek, Rev. and Mrs. W. K. Price, Mr. Edward J. Prybyla, Mr. Angelo Puppolo, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Puppolo.

Miss Joanne Ramah, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Ramah, Miss Martha Ramondetta, Miss Mary Ann Ramondetta, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Raverta, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Richmond, Mr. and Mrs. Normand Rouillard.

Mrs. Michael Salem, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Salem, Miss Elizabeth Saliba, Mrs. Mandabell Salcomey, Mrs. James Schoenenberger, Miss Jane Schoenenberger, Dr. and Mrs. Irving Selsby, Mr. Fred Semanie, Mr. James Semanie, Mrs. Domit Shaer, Miss Jamelie Shaer, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Shaer, Miss Mary Shaer, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Shapiro, Mrs. Bruno Sileski, Mr. Keith Silver, Mrs. Sarah Spano, Mr. John Satchowicz, Mr. and Mrs. David J. Stevens, Dr. and Mrs. Joseph R. Stirlacci, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Steinberg, Mrs. Esther C. Stone, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Sullivan, Mr. and Mrs. Ben Swirsky, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Szlachetka.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Ventl, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Vester, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Norman Vester, Sr. Mr. Joseph Wihbey, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest B. White, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Wright.

Also Dr. and Mrs. Bruce B. Alicandri, Mr. and Mrs. Ignatius J. Andreis, Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Angelica, Mr. Michael X. Andrews, Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. Breck, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel J. Bresnahan, Dr. and Mrs. John C. Bryson, Mr. A. Calderigi, Casty-Faneuil Associates, Mr. Alvin Chase, Dr. David O. Cohen, Mrs. Louis Consiglio, Mr. Joseph Czaja, Dr. and Mrs. William M. Davis, Mr. Joseph J. Davitt, Mr. Edward L. Donnellan, Mr. Isaac L. Eskenasy, Mr. Irving Fein, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Hyder, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Jasinski, Mr. Abraham Kamberg, Dr. Robert L. Kantor, Dr. and Mrs. Aldo J. Leani, Mr. and Mrs. Robert R. Lepak, Dr. and Mrs. F. A Mahoney, Menzel and Menzel, Mr and Mrs. Charles F. Miller, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Moriarty, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Moynahan, Dr. and Mrs. Meran Nakashian, Mr. John J. O'Neil, Dr. and Mrs. John Prybylo, Student Prince and Fort Restaurant, Daniel M. Keyes, Jr.

COMMITTEES

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Demos, Cochairmen.

Tickets: Dr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Ferris, cochairmen; Dr. and Mrs. Emil M. Ferris, cochairmen; Mr. Manser Hapcook, Miss Jamelie Shaer, Mr. Joseph Kawie, Mr. George Joseph, Dr. Basil Ferris, Mr. David Stevens, Mr. Edward Barkett, Mr. Louis Demos, Mr. Joseph Ghareeb, Mr. Joseph Ramah, Mr. Philip Nassif, Mr. Sam Salem.

Marchers reception: Mrs. Philip Nassif, cochairman; Mr. and Mrs. Manser Hapcook, cochairmen; Miss Joanne Ramah, Mr. Joseph Ghareeb, Mr. Joseph Wihbey.

Public relations: Mr. Eli Haddad.

Reservations: Mr. and Mrs. Francis M. Ferris, cochairmen; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Ghareeb.

Invited guests: Mr. Cosmo Ansara, Mr. George Ghareeb.

Hostess committee: Mrs. Joseph Demos, chairman; Mrs. David Stevens, Mrs. Andrew Elkas, Mrs. Eli Haddad, Mrs. Philip Bshara, Mrs. William Kavaney.

Treasurer: Miss Jamelie Shaer.

Entertainment: Mr. Alex Makol, Mr. Frank Makol.

Decorations: Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Phaneuf, Mrs. Joseph Kawie.

Program: Mr. Joseph Demos, Mrs. Clifford Phaneuf, Mr. Peter Couri.

Sound: Mr. Andrew Elkas.

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN BOLAND

This is not the best time of the season for any kind of a gathering. Labor Day weekend.

Neither is it for Danny Thomas. But, knowing as he does that leukemia is no respector of time or people, he gives up the rest and solace and quiet of this pleasurable time to carry on the magnificent work to which he is devoted. So, this is one of the reasons why I wanted to be a part of this wonderful world of Danny Thomas.

And what a world it has been from a horse farm in Deerfield, Mich., where his daughter Marlo says, "Daddy was not only born on the farm—the veterinarian, delivered by—from Deerfield to Toledo—Good old Toledo—to Detroit to the dizzying heights of Hollywood—from saloon entertainer to the gayest richest and most expensive spots of the entertainment world into radio and movies and television. What a wonderful world indeed, it has been and is.

He has worn the crown of success and fortune and accepted the honors—as many as ever have been conferred upon a working actor—because he never forgot from whence he sprung.

You will find it wrapped up in his own words: "My purpose in life is to propagate the philosophy of man's faith in man—based upon my own belief that, unless man reestablishes faith in his fellow beings, he can never establish faith in God.

"In order that others to follow may be inspired to do likewise, I have to leave something. I'm not so unforgettable I can do it only with words. I must leave something that men can touch, feel and see. That will be the St. Jude Hospital. Me? I'm a philosophizing bum."

And from this philosophy, he has built masterpieces—his own magnificent, devoted family, his monument to the patron of the hopeless, St. Jude's Hospital.

I'm delighted to be in your presence and to join with this gathering to make the wonderful world of Danny Thomas, a little more wonderful for the untold numbers that will enter the doors of an institution that was built on faith—the faith of a wonderful guy.

## Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, we pause in our legislative activities today to pay tribute to the memory of the founder of the Czechoslovakian Republic. Thomas Masaryk, statesman and philosopher, died on September 14, 1937, 25 years ago today. No Eastern European statesman has ever embodied the liberal democratic tradition more effectively. The leader of a small political party, Masaryk succeeded in conveying the ancient tradition of liberty, equality, and equal justice under law, not only to the Czechs and Slovaks, but also to neighboring peoples.

Masaryk was born in 1850 near the Moravian border, the son of a coachman who was employed on one of the Austrian imperial estates. Working as a lock-

smith's apprentice at the age of 14, the young Masaryk later struggled as a poor student. By the age of 32 he had made a major contribution to the field of sociology, and was appointed a professor at the University of Prague. While his sociological work led him to a critical study of Marxism, Masaryk embarked on a political career, crusading for the improvement of the Czechoslovak people. Masaryk was no narrow nationalist; he was deeply imbued with the liberal tradition of Western thought, and all his life advocated "European and world politics." He viewed the complex nationality problems of central Europe from a broad perspective. Freedom, in Masaryk's conception, mut always be based on friendship with neighboring peoples, never on hatred.

This outlook did not keep him from vigorous activity in defense of the subjected Czechoslovak people. During the first decade of the 20th century Masaryk, then a representative in the Austrian Parliament, fearlessly criticized Austria's aggressive policy in the Balkans. During World War I he further revealed the corrupt and feudalistic character of the Austria-Hungarian Empire to the whole world, through his writings, and campaigned in Western Europe, Russia and the United States for Czechoslovak liberation from Habsburg rule. Partly as a result of Masaryk's visit to this country, the United States on May 29, 1918, officially declared its sympathy with the cause of Czechoslovak independence, and the Allied Governments associated themselves with this declaration. The Czechoslovak National Council, of which Masaryk was president and Eduard Benes was secretary, was granted American recognition as the de facto government of the coming Czechoslovak state.

A few months later Thomas Masaryk was elected the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic. He was reelected to the same position three times before his retirement in 1935. After seeing his beloved pupil, Eduard Benes, elected to succeed him, Masaryk died on September 14, 1937, and was mourned by the entire Czechoslovak nation. Throughout his life, Masaryk worked for the liberation of man and for a community of nations based on law. The heritage which he has left the Czechoslovak people, presently suffering under the yoke of a foreign dictator, is a great one, deserving the devotion of freedom-loving people of all nations.

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## Address by Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of the City of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following remarks of the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the great city of New York. Mayor Wagner addressed the fifth annual convention of the New York State Building and Construction Trades Council and pointed out the many problems—both social and economic—facing the city in the coming decade. These same problems will be facing all of the Nation and particularly our metropolitan areas. The mayor addressed the convention delegates on September 6, 1962. The address follows:

REMARKS BY MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AT FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF NEW YORK STATE BUILDING & CONSTITUTION TRADES COUNCIL

I greet you as very old friends with whom I have worked closely for more than 20 years.

We have worked together on many critical problems through the years—and resolved most of them. We have worked together on many long-range tasks, and have made a great deal of progress toward their fulfillment—a lot more than most people, most cynics ever thought possible.

You as members of the building trades unions—and as builders—have helped give this city a keynote famous throughout the world. The sound of the piledriver, the riveter, the welder, the concrete mixer, and of hammer and saw have become the chief theme and chorus of New York City. In Manhattan, up and down Sixth Avenue and Third Avenue and all over this skyscrapered borough from Harlem to Greenwich Village—and downtown, too—new buildings have been and are springing up in unprecedented numbers, size, height, and suitability to meet the city's need. And the story is the same in Brooklyn, in Queens, and certainly in Staten Island.

We are, I believe, having in this city the biggest building boom in recent times.

Let me say at this point, for the benefit of those who view with alarm and fear that the bubble will break—that based just on our present known needs, and on plans we already have on the drawing board, or are even further advanced, there is much, much more to be done than has already been done.

We have really only begun to build, to restore, to rehabilitate, to provide the homes—and I like that word much better than housing—that the people should have and must have, to eliminate slums completely, to provide the modernized facilities and installations, and structures, to meet the needs of our businesses, our commerce, our industry and our trade, to complete the renewal of our piers and other waterfront facilities—to build the streets and bridges and access roadways and expressways which are necessary to move the traffic into and through and around this growing bustling, dynamic city of ours. And I am sure that the same may be true or can be true in the other parts of New York State.

Here in New York City we need and are planning to build new industrial centers, new amusement centers, new cultural centers, educational centers, world trade centers, market and produce centers, and lots more.

All of this adds up to saying that the prospects for future construction in New York City, based on present plans and on the needs we now recognize are much, much greater than we can possibly hope to fill with even the present great construction resources of this city. Fully to meet these needs, we must show imagination, courage and energy. We must have faith in our future, and in our town and in our State and country.

Of course, I am not saying that we have no problems or trouble ahead. We all know better than that. I want to refer briefly to one of them—the one that ought to be and is concerning us more and more these days.

The chief problem confronting the construction industry, along with many others, is technological and social change. Indeed this is the chief problem of the civilized world today. The world is changing so fast that it will not stand still long enough to be mapped. It is moving so fast that what was practically new only yesterday is practically obsolete today. Machines are replacing men; they are making it possible for fewer men to build more today and tomorrow than more men did yesterday.

This is a very serious problem. All of us had better face up to it.

The problem is especially serious because there is no agreement on what to do about it. In fact, the greatest progress we have made on this problem consists of the fact that today we recognize it as a problem, and are turning to meet it, rather than trying to hide from it, as there was a tendency to do a couple of years back.

Recently the division of labor research of our own New York City Labor Department made and published a very incisive study of the New York City phase of this problem. This study, entitled "The Manpower Outlook in New York City—1960 to 1970," shows clearly that by 1970 totally unskilled manual labor will be in drastically less demand than it is today, when it is already in surplus supply.

By the end of this decade, in 8 years, according to this study, the number of unskilled blue collar jobs will drop by 19 percent from the 1960 level. The number of laboring jobs classified as semiskilled will drop by 8 percent. At the same time, there will be an increase of 20 percent in the number of technical and professional jobs and an increase of 6 percent in jobs for craftsmen, foremen, and skilled workers. There will be a 4-percent increase in service jobs and an increase of 5 percent in clerical positions.

All these changes are predicted as taking place against the background of a projected 3-percent increase in the total number of available jobs.

The implications of these statistics are so clear that they scarcely need to be pointed out or underlined. Our universities, colleges, professional schools, our vocational schools and your apprenticeship programs must assume the responsibility for more training and more specialization.

Of course, this is a long-range approach. It scarcely meets today's problems or tomorrow's, nor does it meet anything but the bare employment problem. It does not face up to the many related social and economic problems which require immediate treatment, action and leadership by government.

We cannot and should not wait to press for action on these vital action fronts. I am thinking, for instance, of action in Washington on medical care for the aged and in Albany for the elimination of the means test under our State's very limited medical aid program.

I am thinking of Federal and State action to establish a $1.50 minimum wage level, not some years from now, but next year. We, in New York City are going to pass a local law for $1.25 this year and $1.50 next year, and I don't see why what is good enough for New York City is not good for the rest of New York State.

I am thinking of action in Albany to do the hundred and one things that need to be done for the people, that have never been done or have been left undone because they were politically hard or embarrassing to do.

As some of you may know by now, an election is coming up in November—a statewide election and a congressional election. In case you haven't heard, I am not a candidate. I had to insist a little, but I finally won recognition of my right, based on some sort of seniority, to work as a campaigner rather than as a candidate.

Not being a candidate, I think I can view this coming election with a certain amount

of dispassion. Even though I will be campaigning, my first interest must and will be to tend to my duties as mayor.

In fact, I really think that my job as mayor—as leader and spokesman of the 8 million people of New York—requires me to take an active part in the campaign. The issues demand it, including the issues I have just been talking about.

The coming campaign will furnish the opportunity to make the issues, to bring home to the people and to bring home to those who stand for election the urgent need for legislative and executive action to meet these and many, many other pressing social and economic problems.

Courageous leadership is needed—the kind of leadership that will stand up and fight for a statewide $1.50 minimum wage, that will fight for the overhauling and replacement of the Condon-Wadlin Act, and that will fight for a fair reapportionment of the seats in the State legislature so that legislative representation will be based on the number of people rather than on the number of cows.

And there are many, many more issues which are vital to the people, including the members of your unions.

We must never lose sight of the fact that one of the great benefits of the democratic process at election time is in the way it brings the great public issues to the fore and provides the mandates that must guide public officeholders between elections.

The leadership and membership of the unions represetned here are going to play a big part, I know, in giving the mandates I have been talking about. I am sure that you will be weighing and deliberating on these matters for the next several days.

I know you are going to have a fine and useful convention and are going to join in a fruitful State convention of the entire labor movement a few days later. I will be greeting you again at one of the first sessions of that convention. I look forward to that, too.

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## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I would like to thank you very much for sponsoring the House Resolution 211, and to urge you to continue your fine work in bringing to light the dastardly condition of the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain. Please enlist the support of your fellow Congressmen to speed the passage of this resolution.

Gratefully yours,

RUSSEL NESWICK.

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SHEVCHENKO MEMORIAL
COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK,
*New York, N.Y., June 29, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: The Shevchenko Memorial Committee of New York City, at its meeting held on June 15, 1962, unanimously decided to appeal to you for a speedy passage of the flood resolution (H. Res. 211), regarding the establishment of a special Committee on the Captive Nation in the House of Representatives. Our committee, founded on February 25, 1961, consists of 70 Ukrainian American organizatons, youth clubs, women's and veterans' associations.

We firmly believe that such a committee, which would be dedicated to the study of the plight of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain, would serve best the interests of the U.S. Government and its objectives in the world. The captive nations, such as Ukraine, home country of our fathers, and many of us, constitutes a weak link in the totalitarian structure of the U.S.S.R. colonial empire, as do some other 21 nations, which are languishing under the direct or indirect control and enslavement of Moscow.

A Committee on the Captive Nations in our Congress would mean that the United States is vitally interested in the plight of the enslaved nations. This may give a pause to Mr. Khrushchev that he should carefully consider his own restless and unhappy captives before he starts "liberating" the colonial people of Asia and Africa. It is with this in mind, sir, that we urgently appeal to you with a sense of our duty as American citizens, to expedite the passage of the flood resolution (H. Res. 211). Thank you.

Respectfully yours,

DR. IWAN KOZAK,
*Chairman.*
MYKOLA TURETSKY,
*Secretary.*

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The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Alexei Skrilov, a Cossack by origin, and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to establish a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,

ALEXEI SKRILOV.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.,
*June 26, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: While I respectfully request your support in favor of the House Resolution 211, I must state that the State Department's opposition to the creation of a Special Committee on Captive Nations reflects timidity as opposed to the impudent statement made by Mr. Khrushchev on June 19 in Bucharest, Rumania, about the inevitability of the triumph of communism in the United States.

If we are to avoid war as everyone hopes and prays, we will not do so by way of timidity. While we must avoid the other extreme of seeming to propose attacking the U.S.S.R., we must not let anything stand in the way of our learning as much as we can about our enemy, his strengths and weaknesses alike. To follow the State Department's advice on House Resolution 211 would be to give in to Red blackmail and to encourage our enemy to further adventures which in the long run could only lead to war.

We may recall at this point that in 1950 the vagueness of Secretary Acheson with regard to U.S. policy in Korea led Moscow to draw erroneous conclusions about American resistance and to sponsor a war which led to unnecessary slaughter and hardship. Similar timidity and indecision on the part of our authorities in Europe and Asia could lead not just to another Korea but to a world war, another Armageddon. There is a direct relationship between our tendency to soften our defensive position along the perimeters of Soviet expansion and our failure to concern ourselves adequately with the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Empire—the captive non-Russian nations within and outside the U.S.S.R. For a purely defensive strategy always ends by becoming a strategy of retreat and compromise.

In the present conflict between the free world and Soviet Russia we are not against opponents who are interested in compromise. It is a truism which can never be repeated enough that the Soviet Russians regard every compromise as a stepping stone to final victory. And unless we discard our false notions of compromise agreement with them, final Soviet Russian victory will not be indefinitely delayed.

As a young American student of Soviet affairs without any official or academic position but with a number of contacts among Russian and East European emigre circles, I have come to feel deeply concerned about this problem and about the obvious failings of official U.S. policy in this area not only today but indeed ever since 1917.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES E. A. WOODBURY.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your measure House Resolution 211 is the best and the most appropriate one at the present time to wage the cold war against the Soviet Russian colonialists.

Sincerely yours,

VERA PECHENIUM.

## How Are We Treating Our Fighting Men After the War Is Over?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the recent furor over the Denton petition to discharge the Veterans' Committee from consideration of H.R. 3745, the bill to give World War I veterans a pension without regard to service-connected disabilities, raises a serious question as to the manner in which we are treating our veterans. A pension for World War I veterans who were not injured has been labeled a "handout" and an act of fiscal irresponsibility. Others claim that it would give World War I veterans belated consideration for their past services in their old age. Most of them are over the age of 61. In evaluating this proposal, consideration of what our Nation has done for the GI of World War II and the Korean veteran is indicated and necessary.

I take this opportunity therefor to review some of the major accomplishments in the field of veterans' benefits which were enacted into law mainly through the efforts of the Democratic Party.

During the administration of our great President Roosevelt, the World War II bill of rights was enacted, providing a comprehensive plan for the rehabilitation and readjustment of returning veterans. Millions of GI's in service at that time looked forward to the utilization of these benefits. They knew that upon return to civilian life, they would have to make up for lost time and the GI bill of rights would help them to accomplish this.

As it turned out, millions of ex-soldiers, sailors, and marines received college education or other types of vocational training which helped them attain the standard of living they now enjoy. Many other disabled veterans also received this training to assist them to overcome their service-incurred disabilities. The compensation awards provided by the GI bill also assisted them in their transition to civilian life.

The home loan provisions of the GI bill were a major force in providing the housing so desperately needed. Whole communities like Levittown, Long Island, were built, permitting veterans to buy a home with little or no downpayment. Many were able to pay off their mortgage on a 30-year basis which meant lower monthly payments.

Thousands of other veterans availed themselves of the provisions of the GI business loan which was of immeasurable assistance in providing the working capital so necessary for the establishment of a small business. Today, these same veterans are prosperous businessmen helping to keep our economy healthy and vigorous. Recently the GI loan program for World War II and Korean veterans was extended by Public Law 87-84 which was approved by President Kennedy. This law gives all World War II veterans 10 years from the date of their discharge from active duty during World War II plus an additional period equal to 1 year for every 3 months of active duty or part thereof during World War II but in no case beyond July 25, 1967, to use their loan entitlement. It also provided that those World War II veterans with service-connected disabilities be given until July 25, 1967, to use their loan benefits. Korean veterans will have 10 years from the date of their discharge from active service during the Korean conflict plus an additional period equal to 1 year for every 3 months of active duty or part thereof during the Korean conflict, but in no case beyond January 31, 1975, to which to use their GI loan benefits. Korean veterans with service-connected disabilities will have until January 31, 1975, to use their GI loan benefits.

The GI insurance program provided a means of protecting the veteran's family at very reasonable cost. This insurance program was the subject of a bill before Congress. This bill permits the reinstatement of national service life insurance up to a minimum of $10,000 in any of the permanent plans. This bill was amended on the House floor and permitted disabled veterans a period of 1 year to take up their lapsed life insurance policy if they could not get a normal policy because of their disability.

Another benefit being considered is the payment of an extra dividend for GI insurance. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, John S. Gleason, Jr., has directed his fiscal experts to review the agency's finances to determine if extra funds are available for insurance policy dividends. The White House is interested in the possibility of extra or accelerated dividend payments for economic reasons. Payment of this extra dividend or paying the regular dividend early would add to the purchasing power of over 5,300,000 veterans. This money is likely to be spent during the Christmas shopping season or if it is received in January most of it would go to pay off debts incurred during the holiday season.

Recently, President Kennedy approved plans for a new Veterans' Administration hospital on Long Island. This will alleviate the heavy loads now being carried by the other Veterans' Administration hospitals in the New York metropolitan area, and will provide a much needed facility for the care of veterans in the Long Island area. In this connection, President Kennedy recently signed a bill providing medical and hospitalization benefits for veterans with service-connected disabilities incurred during peacetime. This important piece of legislation corrects a serious inequity. Previously, these injured veterans could not be hospitalized through the Veterans' Administration.

When danger threatens, we depend upon our fighting men. When danger disappears, we in civilian life, are apt to forget the debts to our men who placed their bodies and lives on the line for their families and those in civilian life, just as we forget the snow in the summer time. We remember on Memorial Day with parades and speeches. But there are 364 other days. Our Democratic Party has not forgetten the GI and Korean veteran. Can we say the same of the veterans of World War I?

## Needed: A Radiation Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. SILVIO O. CONTE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago our distinguished colleague from New York, the Honorable JOHN V. LINDSAY, called to our attention the failure of the administration in adopting a clear-cut policy for the protection of the American people against possible radiation danger resulting from nuclear testing. I was privileged to join with Congressman LINDSAY in his efforts.

Mr. Speaker, the Pittsfield, Mass., Berkshire Eagle on Tuesday, September 11, 1962, published an editorial entitled "Needed: A Radiation Policy," bearing on this very subject. I include the editorial in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

NEEDED: A RADIATION POLICY

Representative JOHN V. LINDSAY, of New York, was simply stating the truth the other day when he said the administration had failed to establish a clear policy on protecting the public against possible radiation dangers from nuclear testing.

If there is any policy on the matter, it is invisible to the naked eye. The ordinary citizen doesn't understand it. The newsmen and commentators don't seem to know it. And Representative LINDSAY, who devoted 3 months of research to the question, says he still isn't able to figure it out.

Our one approach to a policy is contained in the radiation protection guides established by the Federal Radiation Council. But these are so vague and so hedged about with qualifications as to be almost meaningless. Though the guides are sometimes referred to in discussions of radiation dangers, the Council itself says they apply only to industrial exposure, not to radiation from fallout. For this reason, Mr. LINDSAY rightly characterizes the radiation guides as "some of the most ingenious administrative doubletalk of our time."

Plainly, what is needed is a straight-forward approach to the subject along the lines suggested by the Manhattan Republican. It is up to our Federal Government, which is responsible for national security, to set forth definitions of dangerous radiation levels, countermeasures to be instituted when radioactivity nears those levels, and officials in charge of the countermeasures. Then we would have some idea of where we stand.

That this has not yet been done may be laid in part to honest differences among the scientists. Simple formulations to cover the radiation problem call for compromises, and on those the experts do not readily agree. Also militating against clear-cut governmental action, however, has been an influential minority which maintains that the dangers of nuclear testing are overstated. In this view, fallout hazards are negligible, if not merely scarce talk whipped up by the Communists.

To that argument, a conclusive rebuttal has just been presented by a United Nations committee including representatives of all the nuclear powers. Communist and non-Communist. After an exhaustive review of the literature on atomic radiation, the committee finds that any exposure to nuclear radiation, however slight, is to be avoided when possible.

Warning that further nuclear testing will harm present and future generations, the committee says that radiation even in quantities below those causing acute illness may result in cancer, leukemia, and inherited abnormalities. The report cites evidence that "some genetic damage may follow any dose of radiation, however small."

This is the sober conclusion of investigators with no national ax to grind, with no aim in view save the welfare of mankind as a whole. It should add strength to the movement for a worldwide ban on nuclear testing. It also should lend poignancy to the plea of people like Representative LINDSAY, who call on our Government to plan for the emergencies that will arise if testing continues.

## The Nation Needs Wayne L. Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I am quite proud of my subcommittee chairman and want to especially commend Chairman WAYNE L. HAYS, of the Subcommittee on State Department Personnel and Foreign Operations, for the outstanding job that he and his subcommittee did in handling the legislation before them this session.

I am including with these remarks, Mr. Speaker, an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of June 22, 1962, an editorial from the Lorain, Ohio, Journal, which is not in Congressman HAYS' district, of May 9, 1962, and one from his local paper, the Times Leader, on another subject in the issue of March 30, 1962. The tenor of all of these is the same and that is that Congress needs more people like WAYNE L. HAYS.

The editorials follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 22, 1962]

THE GIMLET EYE OF MR. HAYS

We were sorry to see the State Department walk up Capitol Hill with requests for a $300,000 home for the U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus and a $1,370,000 apartment building for U.S. diplomats in Japan. Because it just got itself kicked unceremoniously down again by Representative WAYNE HAYS, Ohio Democrat, and chairman of a House subcommittee which passes on oversea construction for U.S. diplomats.

Of the Cyprus project, Mr. HAYS said: "Even Billie Sol Estes only lives in a $150,000 house." And: "There are only 587,000 people on the whole island." Of the apartment proposal, he said: "You are going to get that over my dead body." He added that there has to be an end someplace to sending innumerable people to Japan and that this is a good place to start.

The upshot of the Department's collision with the Congressman from Ohio is that the figures for both projects will be reworked without, one supposes, doing U.S. diplomacy irreparable harm.

The taxpayer watching this exchange can't help wondering what would happen to Federal expenditures generally if every congressional committee had on it just one gimlet-eyed HAYS.

[From the Lorain (Ohio) Journal, May 9, 1962]

AN OHIOAN PROTESTS

One Congressman who speaks out bluntly against some of the ridiculously wasteful practices of the foreign aid program is an Ohioan, Representative WAYNE L. HAYS.

Congressman HAYS, whose home is at Flushing, Ohio, represents the 18th District, comprised of Belmont, Carroll, Columbiana, Harrison, and Jefferson Counties. He is a Democrat. He was first elected to the 81st Congress in 1948, and has been reelected in succeeding terms.

Just for the record, it is briefly mentioned that Mr. HAYS has a solid background. He is a college graduate, a former teacher of history, was mayor of Flushing for three terms, volunteered for military service in World War II, served a term in the Ohio Senate, and served as a county commissioner in Belmont County.

In other words, he has adequate educational qualifications and extensive political experience.

Obviously, Representative HAYS can speak with as much authority about some of the flaws of foreign aid as various other Congressmen, bemused with the theory of giving away money to win friends, can speak of its merits.

About a week ago Mr. HAYS declared in a protest to foreign aid officials that American taxpayers are footing the bill for $3,000-a-month Cabinet members in the Congo.

Foreign aid spokesmen offered the usual argument, this being that the funds being supplied by the United States to the Congolese are not the same funds from which the Cabinet members are drawing their exorbitant salaries.

HAYS replied with biting logic that if the Congolese had to pay for the food and other expenses met by U.S. funds, that the officials wouldn't have money available for their fabulous salaries.

"Don't give me that old argument that it isn't this money," said Congressman HAYS. "That is the argument Trujillo used when we gave him $600,000 in 1 year and he gave his son a $600,000 allowance. He said it wasn't the same money."

What HAYS said is clear enough to an ordinary citizen or to a schoolboy. Unfortunately, it does not seem very clear to many other Members of Congress and not clear at all to the foreign aid officials who keep dishing out the money—our money—to other countries. As long as we keep giving, the recipients will remain needy and greedy.

The question is, How can Congressman HAYS retain his clear vision in the Washington atmosphere that seems to becloud the eyes of many of his compatriots on the foreign aid issue?

Whatever the answer to that question may be, Mr. HAYS deserves encouragement from all parts of the State and Nation to continue to fight against foreign aid wastefulness.

Letters addressed to Representative WAYNE L. HAYS, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., will reach him.

[From the Times Leader, Mar. 30, 1962]

CONGRATULATIONS DUE HAYS

We wish to commend Congressman WAYNE L. HAYS for voting against President Kennedy's tax bill.

While there are many of the facets of the bill we don't like—probably more than those with which Mr. HAYS takes exception—that is not the case in point.

It must have been pretty tough for the Flushing Congressman to go against the wishes of his fellow Democrats, even the President, and the fact that he did follow his own convictions demonstrates he has the courage to represent his district to the best of his ability. And it has been our observation that he has always tried to do just that.

We need more Representatives in Washington who put the real interests of the people above political expediency and personal ambition.

## FAA Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, some years ago I heard a rather crass definition of politics when someone described it as "the science of who gets what from whom."

This is hardly an ennobling sentiment. Those of us who participate in the political judgments of this country would like to argue that our efforts hardly have the exactness of a science and that they are certainly motivated by loftier sentiments than who gets what from whom.

I mention this because I want to discuss a matter that has occupied the attention of several distinguished Members in recent weeks, namely the merits and demerits of the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, Mr. Najeeb Halaby. But first I must disavow and disclaim any desire to take anything from one group of people and give it to another.

The people in the district I represent are not trying to take an FAA facility from the people in another district. Of course, they would like, if possible, to keep the air traffic control center they now have rather than see it move to another district a few miles away. They are not trying to gain a big regional airport that would route another city's traffic to their own. They have not even made a fuss about standing at the bottom of the list when airport appropriations were recently handed out. And I do not know of any of them that are trying to get nonscheduled airline certificates issued or revoked.

In short, the people in my district are not trying to gain a favor from FAA or its Administrator. Yet, they have a quarrel with the Administrator. And I have a quarrel.

Our quarrel is that this man's deficiencies do not dwindle in significance when weighed against his contributions. We do not want to detract from his accomplishments in earning a pilot's license at 17; we do not want to minimize his abilities as a test pilot or a parachutist; we do not pass judgment on him as a lawyer or a corporation official, nor do we say he rendered no service as one of President Eisenhower's appointees to

the group which recommended creation of FAA. We do not doubt that he is eager and on the go, and we think it was proper that he fine himself $50 when his eagerness to move ahead of other planes waiting on the flight apron caused him to collide with another plane.

We agree with the able Member who listed such things as these to his credit. And we certainly agree that Mr. Halaby never hesitates to speak up for what he believes. However, I would hope that all my constituents do not share the view Mr. Halaby expressed when he said I was simply a freshman acting like a freshman. But even such frankness as this serves a purpose, for it gives an insight into the man's attitudes when he is opposed.

We in the 20th District of Texas oppose this man, not for any of the things I have mentioned, but as Administrator of this Agency. In the past weeks I have examined many aspects of FAA's operations that are under this Administrator. Other Members of this House have taken him to task for matters within their knowledge. One of our distinguished and senior colleagues has called on the President to discharge this Administrator.

It is apparent that no one of us here has full knowledge of all that is to his credit or his discredit. We can only speak from our own knowledge independently arrived at.

Therefore, it is good and it is timely that my esteemed colleague from Texas, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Activities, has scheduled next Monday an inquiry into the activities of the Federal Aviation Agency for the purpose of determining its economy and efficiency. This is good, and I welcome it.

Much that has been said, and to which I have contributed, concerns facts that are involved, obscure, and technical. It is well that a regular committee of this House will now take such facts under consideration. No group up to now has done so. The Subcommittee on Appropriations announced that it was not the experts to do this, that the experts in this field were within FAA itself. The Comptroller General of the United States advised me that he could express no opinion on the reasonableness of economic data from this Agency. Therefore, it is good to know that a regularly constituted body of this House will make this inquiry.

This inquiry must surely examine one central question of conflict that bears directly on both the efficiency and economy of the Agency and the abilities of its Administrator. That question is: How many air route traffic control centers are being planned within the contiguous United States?

Mr. Halaby says 21. The experts in his Agency recommend 15. Why should this Congress appropriate funds for new centers, for dismantling centers, for consolidating centers until Mr. Halaby and his own career experts resolve their difference? Not only the number but their location and the configuration of their boundaries must be settled before anyone can determine if it is efficient or economical to close down, move or build these ARTC Centers . This is so elemental, I can assure you the voters of America can understand the necessity of answering this question even though many here would rather it not even be asked.

I urge the subcommittee to put the question.

## The Wonder Drugs of Yesterday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the recent furor over the degenerating drug thalidomide has caused the medical profession, the public, and the legislators to pause and pay serious attention to the use and misuse of drugs. I have been exploring the possibility of the dissemination of information obtained by outstanding doctors in the analyses of drugs, their effects, and consequences. The New York Post has commenced a series of articles which are informative, revealing, and horrifying. Everyone who has a headache, a family, or a functional problem should read, study, and beware. The medical profession and the drug industry should reevaluate their practices so that they will carry out their primary function of aiding humanity and not destroying it.

The article from the New York Post of September 11, 1962, follows:

THE WONDER DRUGS OF YESTERDAY

(By Barbara Yuncker)

Where are the wonder drugs of yesterday? What has become of all the miraculous chemicals that were going to conquer resistant germs, halt pain without addiction, tame the dread killers?

Every year nearly 300 new drugs pour through the Food and Drug Administration to the market. They're usually billed as safe, effective, more potent, lower in side effects. What becomes of these marvels?

A few, a very few, are genuine wonders. Penicillin was; cortisone was; the broad-spectrum antibiotics known as tetracyclines were; the potent tranquilizers known as phenothiazines were. Plagued by side effects though they all are, such breakthrough drugs confer benefits which make them well worth the risks. Equally worthwhile are the efforts to fiddle with their structures to maximize benefits and minimize perils.

The bulk of each year's "wonders" are no such thing, of course, and after the first ballyhoo they get pushed to the back of the shelf to make room for the new marvel on the new promotion budget.

But a few (13 in 3 years) are so dangerous that they have to be pulled off the market, the only "wonder" being how they ever cleared in the first place.

Don't these withdrawals represent errors by the FDA? "In a sense they do," concedes Deputy Commissioner John Harvey, who reviews such cases, "though usually they represent widespread clinical use revealing toxic effects which were not anticipated."

The key, he said, is the promptness and the completeness with which FDA gets information. "Some firms cooperate; some obviously do not."

Altafur (Eaton Laboratories) came on the market in 1959 as the bright new star in systemic antibacterial therapy * * * especially effective against staphylococcus aureus, the dread drug-resistant hospital infection, and enjoying a low order of side effects * * * minimal and avoidable.

By late 1960, FDA wanted the drug off the market (on the grounds that it could, indirectly, kill seriously ill patients because it is useless—besides being implicated in blurred vision, gastric difficulties and other side effects). Under fire, it was withdrawn from sale only last November, removed legally only last month; the case may yet be appealed in court.

(One typical piece of evidence on which FDA cleared Altafur was a report of phenomenal success in curing perilous staphylococcus pneumonia. Experts have since demonstrated there was no clear evidence the patients even had staph pneumonia.)

Flexin (McNeil Laboratories) was cleared in 1956 for use as a muscle relaxant and 3 years later, with fanfare from U.S. Surgeon General Burney, for gout. It was advertised as "well tolerated and effective * * * seldom produces side effects."

"In late 1960 or early 1961," says an FDA official, "we became aware that the firm knew of a number of cases of hepatitis, some fatal, associated with the drug. We moved to suspend their right to sell the drug and the company conceded last October 31. It is our information there were 54 cases of liver damage begining in 1956, 15 of them fatal."

This case is of exceptional legal interest. There is now no law that a firm must tell FDA any bad news it gets after a drug clears; however, it must disclose all facts if it comes back to FDA to sell for a new use (in this case, gout) or in a new form. Zoxazolamine, generic name for Flexin, is a major ingredient of McNeil's Flexilon, cleared in 1957, and Triurate, cleared in 1960, both now withdrawn.

Monase, a psychic energizer, represented the entry of the respected Upjohn Co. into the mood drug market. Cleared in April 1961 it was advertised as having only "mild and easily handled effects" with "no evidence of liver, kidney, or hematologic toxicity" in extensive clinical tests.

"In early 1962," says an FDA official, "we learned that some patients had got agranulocytosis [a serious blood—i.e., hematologic—disease] and that this had been brought to Upjohn's attention some time before * * *. We did not get the full story the first time we asked the firm, but our investigation led us to believe that Monase should be taken off the market. The firm acquiesced in April. Our information about the seven fatal cases did not come from Upjohn."

Dornwal (Wallace & Tiernan, Inc.) is a tranquilizer with the same occasional dismaying effect on blood. It was cleared by the FDA in April 1960 and promoted as "particularly well suited for the ambulatory patient (i.e., out of the doctor's close supervision) * * * usually free of side effects."

In January 1961 the Medical Letter pointed out that the claims were based on small, poorly controlled tests. In October, the FDA another doctor at a medical meeting that Dornwal was causing agranulocytosis. We found they had been collecting evidence for some time and knew of 11 cases with 3 deaths." Dornwal was off the market in November.

Mer-29 (William S. Merrell Co.) was cleared for sale as a cholesterol-lowering drug in April 1960. By late in 1961 the FDA learned four patients on Mer-29 had developed cataracts and many more had lost hair and suffered other effects. Because the company fought back the drug stayed on sale till April.

The Post has revealed in its news columns how the firm rushed the drug into human testing after sketchy trials with animals and omitted from its promotion possibly dangerous effects in body metabolism. A U.S. grand jury is now probing whether the firm also violated Federal law. A key question is whether the firm told FDA the truth about cataracts in test rodents and later in dogs.

In addition to withdrawn drugs there are others still on the market which were advertised as unusually safe but which have since been the subject of warnings of scattered severe damage.

Why are not such dangers discovered in advance so drugs can be kept off the market—or at least so that doctors can be warned?

Part of the answer is some companies' haste and carelessness. Part is within FDA, which has only 12 medical officers to handle some 400 new drug applications every year. Part is the still rudimentary knowledge of how drugs work. (We don't even know how that old, old wonder drug aspirin does its job.) Part is the immense variability of side effects.

Dr. M. L. Rosenheim, a London specialist, recently gave a symposium this six-part classification:

Overdose effects: Damage may result from simple excess dosage, or "alterations in the metabolic state of the patient may lead to the normal dose producing an excessive effect." Morphine is more potent, for example, if the liver is impaired.

Intolerance effect: A "lowered threshold to normal [drug] action" is partly due to the natural variety of humans, partly to enzyme defects.

True side effects: "Therapeutically undesirable but unavoidable effects of the [normal] action of the drug." The antimetabolites used to fight cancer are an obvious example; the hope is that they will harm cancer cells more than normal ones.

Secondary effects: Such as a vitamin deficiency or a superinfection because antibiotics have altered the bacterial balance inside the body, or an uncontrolled infection because cortisone lowers immunity defenses.

Idiosyncrasy: An inherent abnormal reaction apparently inheritable. An example is a hemolytic anemia, suffered to excess by Negroes given Primaquine (an antimalarial drug of Winthrop Laboratories).

Hypersensitivity: Conditioned by previous exposure. This allergic reaction explains the fatal shock reactions from penicillin and may explain many blood complications with other drugs.

Allowing for the fact that animals are not men, most of the damage from overdose, true side effects and secondary effects can be anticipated from animal tests if enough species are used, if dosages are big enough and if care is taken at autopsy to pinpoint the clues in subtle damage. The other perils are virtually impossible to foretell.

Dr. V. B. Mattia, vice president of Roche Laboratories (one of the few drug officials who publicly says the Kefauver hearings were a good thing), stressed these difficulties when asked about Marsilid, the first psychic energizer taken off the market last year because of deaths from hepatitis.

It had been tested for 5 years and marketed for 2 more as an antituberculosis drug before it was marketed in 1957 as an antidepressant.

Later that year the company got its first reports of possibly connected hepatitis and says it immediately alerted the FDA. Early in 1958 a west coast doctor publicly blamed a hepatitis death on Marsilid—something he couldn't actually know from one case since all damage to the liver looks a lot alike.

Despite 33 fatal hepatitis cases among some 450,000 treated, the FDA left the drug on the market then because it had no rivals to combat depression; now it does. Promotion stopped in late 1959. Sales were officially canceled early in 1961 in the United States but it is still on sale overseas.

Whatever criticism might be made of the delay in stopping sales, it is a fact that Marsilid's liver damage has not been duplicated in animals. And there is the puzzle that no hepatitis was laid to it in all the years of TB use. Is there a protective factor in TB or a danger-disposing factor in mental illness? No one knows.

Who is to blame for the hard sell, the deliberate effort to make every drug the drug? Mainly the companies, of course, with varying degrees of guilt. But the doctor who writes the prescription must take a share, because sources of evaluation do exist. The AMA's Council on Drugs does a creditable job. And for more trenchant judgments, there are the Medical Letter, an independent biweekly newsletter, and Dr. Walter Modell's biennial "Drugs of Choice." Unfortunately, their sales are small.

Also importantly to blame is the yearning of the public to believe in a miracle and the occasional unjustified enthusiasm of the Government. The history of the miracle painkiller of 1959 is instructive.

In January HEW Secretary Flemming called in the press to make an announcement which he said gave him "more satisfaction than any other I have ever made"—the development at the National Institutes of Health of a new painkiller "10 times as effective as morphine, 50 times as effective as codeine" and with negligible addicting effect. The story of NIH–7519, phenazocine, was widely told, with only Time magazine, in the lay press, skeptical.

Gradually, quietly, the various professional evaluations cut NIH–7519 down to size. In "Drugs in Current Use—1962" Modell identifies it tersely as an "addictive analgesic related to morphine. No advantages * * * have been established."

Though few drugs get such a high-level launching, the NIH–7519 story is repeated again and again.

On the basis of the examples in this article and scores of others, the Medical Letter advises doctors:

"Except in serious disorders where older and safer drugs are ineffective, no new drug should be employed in [private] practice unless controlled clinical trials and extensive experience have clearly established its effectiveness and safety."

"Most drugs clear FDA," the newsletter went on, "on animal experiments, very limited human toxicity studies, physicians' testimonials, and usually uncontrolled clinical trials.

"All promotion statements that a new drug has few, mild, or no side effects should be ignored."

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## Address of Mayor Wagner at Fifth Annual Convention of New York State AFL-CIO

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include herein the address made by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, on September 10 at the opening session of the Fifth Annual Convention of the New York State AFL–CIO, which was held in New York City this week.

Because of the exemplary and forward-looking program put into effect by the city of New York to assist and safeguard our labor force there, I believe the mayor's address should be given widespread coverage, and for that reason I am taking the liberty of inserting it in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AT OPENING SESSION OF FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF NEW YORK STATE AFL–CIO, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1962

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome this convention to New York again.

You should, of course, feel very much at home here. With 1 million organized workers in this city, it is widely and wisely regarded as a labor town. We are glad to wear the union label.

But when I say that New York is regarded as a labor town, it doesn't necessarily mean what some might think it means. What it does mean is that here the problems of working people are recognized as being of primary concern to the city government.

New York City cares about the welfare and interests of those who work for a living with hand or brain. With the help of the labor movement, among others, we have been able to translate our concern into programs of meaningful social and economic action. But we still have far to go. And in these times of change, we must look ahead to tomorrow's problems, today.

Here in New York City, we have made an economic study of the shape of the labor market as it will be in 1970. This was undertaken by our city's own department of labor. The results of this study constitute a challenge to us all.

First, it shows a growing need for the training of workers in specialized skills because the demand for unskilled labor will continue to decline at an increasing rate in the years immediately ahead.

Furthermore, this study shows that by 1970 our labor force will include more women, more young people under 25, and more nonwhite Americans.

By 1970, one out of every three workers in New York City will be a woman. Today, only one out of every four is a woman. One of the steps we must take to anticipate this development is legislation requiring equal pay for equal work. I have favored this for a long time. We must also take steps to create additional day care centers for the children of working mothers, under the terms of the Federal Welfare Act of 1962 which extends Federal grants-in-aid for this purpose, but requires enabling legislation by the State.

By 1970, our survey predicts that one in every five workers in New York City will be under 25 years of age. At present only one in seven is in this category. This too represents a challenge.

Every one of these young people should have his chance to measure up to his top capacity for useful work. Discrimination on the basis of race, in regard to both employment and promotion, must go. We can't afford the cost in delinquency and crime which results when talent is frustrated and opportunity is denied.

By 1970, the number of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in our city and State will have substantially increased. According to our projection for New York City, these groups will account for almost 3 out of every 10 workers within 8 years' time. It is in our common interest to see that these new workers are not left on the fringes of our economy. To do so is to invite social and economic dangers of major proportion.

My administration has, I am pleased to say, taken several strides forward to meet our responsibilities. I am sure I need not tell you what we are going to do about minimum wages—$1.25 now and $1.50 1 year from now. And we will have the broadest coverage under any minimum wage law on any statute books anywhere in the country. By thus elevating our wage minimum, we shall be attacking a root cause of misery, crime, and injustice. In this attack, we must succeed.

In this city we believe in the right of collective bargaining. We put our beliefs into action. Under an executive order of mine which has earned the title of "Little Wagner Act," we guarantee to more than 100,000 employees of city agencies directly under the mayor's jurisdiction the right to organize and bargain collectively. Thousands of city workers have availed themselves of the right and now enjoy the benefits of union representation.

Nor do we willingly tolerate abuses which interfere with the legitimate practice of collective bargaining anywhere within our jurisdiction. Thus, we have just enacted a local law prohibiting the recruitment, transportation, or employment of professional strikebreakers to replace employees who are on strike or locked out.

These are some of the steps which we in New York City have been taking. And I don't see why what is good enough for New York City is not good enough for the rest of the State.

I know that since this is a State convention, you will be giving thought to the actions which can be taken in Albany to achieve a better life for the people of this State. I offer you the example of the city of New York. Consider this program: (1) Establish the $1.50 minimum wage on a statewide basis in 1963; (2) overhaul the Condon-Wadlin Act; (3) extend the right of collective bargaining to employees of nonprofit institutions; and (4) ban the importation and recruitment of strikebreakers.

You might use this program as a test to separate those friends of labor who pay lipservice to the cause from those who are really willing to work for the betterment of the conditions of labor.

I am sure that in any event your deliberations will result in a challenging program—a program keyed to the needs of our times.

## Cotton Import Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, because of my deep concern with the welfare of the cotton textile industry which is so vital to the economy of my own district and to the national prosperity, I have introduced today two measures which, if enacted, could mean continued survival and growth of a basic manufacturing enterprise, and the stability of numberless jobs of textile workers.

The first of these bills seeks to limit the imports of cotton textiles to the volume imported in 1961—the base year of the short-term Geneva agreement by the major textile-producing nations. The other is a joint resolution which would equalize the competitive positions of foreign and domestic manufacturers of cotton textiles by imposing an import duty so long as we maintain a cotton export subsidy.

To extend statutory protection to our textile industry and its workers is particularly urgent at this time because of the shocking and unexpected unfavorable decision by the U.S. Tariff Commission on the equalizing fee for cotton imports. Too, one of the principal international agreements for the limitation of foreign textiles into the United States expires September 30. It is to be hoped that a new 5-year agreement will be reached before the end of this month, but there is no certainty that it will be done, I am informed.

But even if a new Geneva agreement for a longer term than the present 1-year agreement is reached, the textile industry of this country needs the stabilizing influence which statutory protection would bring. It would certainly encourage modernization and expansion, and it would act as an insurance against fluctuating rates of imports of foreign textiles. The President has assured the industry that he intends to keep the import rate at 6 percent, but it has been at 8 percent during the term of the present agreement.

The American textile industry is and will be at a great disadvantage as long as it must pay high support prices for American raw cotton which foreign manufacturers can obtain for 8½ cents a pound less. This price advantage, coupled with lower wages and often lower taxes, provides a ruinous competitive position for our domestic industry.

This session of Congress approaches adjournment, and if there is no protection available against a flood of cheaply produced foreign cotton products, our own industry faces a highly inequitable and dangerous position in its home market.

The textile mills of the Far East, Europe, and the Middle East are among the world's most modern. In many if not most instances, this modernization has been made possible through American aid. To now deny the American textile industry a measure of protection while it modernizes to meet outside competition would be, in my opinion, exceedingly shortsighted and economically disastrous.

There is, as you know, now a case before the Office of Emergency Planning, in which it is sought to have the textile industry declared vital and necessary to the national security. If such a finding is made, the President would then have the authority to take measures to protect the domestic textile industry just as the mandatory oil imports program is operating to protect, to some extent, the domestic petroleum industry. I have no assurance, of course, when and if the Office of Emergency Planning will make such a finding. Meantime there is little outside of the prospective international agreements which offer the prospect of a reasonable amount of protection.

If statutory protection for the textile industry is not provided by this Congress, it might well be 2 years before such legislation could be made effective. Such a period would prove catastrophic to our domestic textile manufacturers if the flow of foreign cotton products is not otherwise stemmed.

There have been other important segments of American industry which have been threatened by ruinous foreign competition arising from inequities in production costs and failure to impose reasonable and adequate limitations on imports. Some of those industries have not survived.

I think none would seriously debate that the textile industry is vital to the economic health and the security of the United States. The time to insure its continued existence and to aid toward permanent health and growth is now.

## Kennedy Do-Nothing Policy on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is hard for the American people to understand why Mr. Kennedy refuses to face the facts on Cuba. Everyone else in the United States seems to realize that the shipments of military men and material to Cuba are a danger to our national security. Our President fumbles about and says he has no indication that these arms are going to be used offensively. Since when did the Communist stop his offensive?

In yesterday's New York Herald Tribune both Roscoe Drummond and David Lawrence elaborated on Kennedy's appeasement of Cuban communism:

THE BASIC ONE DESCRIBED: MONROE DOCTRINE BROKEN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—If we are to have a fair chance of lifting Soviet rule—not just Castro rule—from the backs of the Cuban people, the first thing we must do is face the facts.

We are not doing so yet. There is a dangerous tendency to blur the facts in order to avoid facing the consequences instead of looking the facts head on in order to deal with them.

Let me illustrate.

President Kennedy says that "the gravest issues would arise" if Cuba provided Russia with a "military base."

Can anyone seriously question that all of Cuba is today a base of Soviet power and that Moscow will determine how that power will be used? The fact is that the "gravest issues," which the President suggests "would arise" if something happened in the future, have already risen. It has happened. To assume that these "grave issues" lie ahead is, it seems to me, the most perilously wishful thinking. They are here now.

THEORY IS ASSAILED

A number of officials are taking comfort from the theory that, in their view, the massive flow of weapons the Soviet Union is pouring into Cuba does not show "any significant offensive capability."

Can anyone seriously argue that Soviet control of Castro's Cuba does not confront us with "the gravest issues" now because the Soviet weapons do not yet look "significantly offensive"? The fact is that the "gravest issues" are upon us.

To be comforted by the theory that the current flow of Soviet weaponry into Cuba seems to be mostly defensive—a defense against the Cuban people?—is to ignore the meaning of what is happening. The significant fact is that Mr. Krushchev is now in charge of Cuba. If we blink at this fact and wait until his weapons are pointed at Cuba's neighbors, not just at the Cuban people, then we are neglecting the danger.

"To pretend otherwise," writes Washington Commentator Robert G. Spivack—and I believe he is profoundly right—"is to underestimate the dimensions of Soviet ambition, to misread Communist history and delude ourselves about the potential of the Alliance for Progress."

All this easy talk about the Monroe Doctrine and how the United States is just as determined to implement it as ever is buncombe. The commitment of the Monroe Doctrine is that no non-American power should be allowed to colonize or obtain control anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. The fact is that under the statutes of the Organization of American States, the United States while as committed as ever to the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine, has struck from its own hands any certain means of applying it. The guarantee against "foreign intervention" in the Western Hemisphere no longer rests upon the unilateral power of the United States. It has been made the commitment of the 22 American member states—with the proviso that it can be brought into being only by a two-thirds vote of all the governments.

How, then, can we say that the Monroe Doctrine is being used to shield the Western Hemisphere from foreign intervention when there is no means of invoking it without a two-thirds vote by the Organization of American States? People say it by pretending that the facts are different than they are. They say that the Monroe Doctrine will be assuredly invoked if Khrushchev's Cuba turns its guns against any other American state or even threatens to do so.

THE CLEAR PRINCIPLE

How escapist can we get? The clear, undeviating, historic principle of the Monroe Doctrine is that it was to protect against the setting up of a foreign power anywhere on the two continents, not to wait until a foreign power had acquired a hemisphere stronghold and then try to shield the rest from the consequences.

What are the facts? The facts are that the Castro regime now rests on Soviet guns aimed at the Cuban people by Soviet direction. Cuba is today a Soviet satellite as East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia are Soviet satellites. Castro has as much to say about his country—and what is to be done with it—as Ulbricht about East Germany.

The fact is that the Monroe Doctrine has been successfully breached, and many are still talking as though the gravest issues were somewhere in the future, not in the urgent present.

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SOVIETS MAKE CUBAN HAY WHILE THE UNITED STATES DOES NOTHING

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Nearly 2 weeks have passed since the news was given out that the Soviets had begun an arms buildup in Cuba. The United States so far as known has sent no protest to the Soviet Government against its flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Government has taken advantage of America's silence and has filled the broadcast waves of the world with one propaganda blast after the other, characterizing President Kennedy's callup of Reserves as a provocative action. The latest accusation actually turns the tables on the United States and warns the Washington Government that it must not do anything in Cuba to interfere with the Castro government's policy of acquiring Soviet arms. The claim is reiterated that Cuba is arming for defense. President Kennedy thus has given away a propaganda advantage by appearing to accept the Castro and Soviet arguments that the supplying of arms and the sending of "technicians" are simply for "defensive" purposes.

It is a puzzle just why Mr. Kennedy chooses to forfeit the initiative in propaganda. Time was when the American Government uttered its protests through formal diplomatic channels and made them public in situations comparable to the present controversy over the Soviet buildup in Cuba. The action of the Moscow government not only affects the Monroe Doctrine as a policy but is directly related to America's own security. To place missile pads and missiles in Cuba, which is just 90 miles away from our own shores, is an act that can be construed as hostile to the United States. Yet the administration prefers to say nothing by way of formal protest.

ADMINISTRATION FEARS

The seriousness of the situation is not diminished but actually increased by the failure to make any protest before the world. Unfortunately, the Soviets may come to believe that they have successfully bluffed the United States into silence and they may take further chances in the cold war. Moscow in its latest outburst even hints at a nuclear war if the United States does anything about Cuba.

The impression in Washington is that the administration has all along been afraid of "increasing tensions" by saying anything to Russia about the Cuban buildup. Still, the Soviets do not mind increasing tensions by their propaganda statements. These could be regarded as of little importance if they were merely part of an exchange of words between the Soviet Union and the United States. Unhappily, the propaganda is circulated all over the world. The peoples of allied as well as neutral countries can thus be influenced to believe that the United States is afraid to speak out and is being shoved into a corner by the aggressive pronouncements of the Soviet Union.

The administration has known for a long time about the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba. On September 2, United Press International in a dispatch from Washington said:

"A State Department spokesman said today that the Soviet announcement of arms aid to Cuba 'merely confirms what has been going on in recent months.' The spokesman said:

" 'The announcement doesn't seem to represent anything new. We've been saying right along that the Soviet Union has been sending military equipment and technicians to Cuba.' "

But the American people were not told officially about this until about 2 weeks ago and there is no public record that the United States has filed any protest with the Soviet Government concerning the arms building. Naturally, the Soviets would construe this as an acquiescence and would be inclined to increase their military buildup in Cuba and begin to send arms to other parts of Latin America which they are planning to infiltrate through agents already on the job.

THURMOND COMMENT

Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, Democrat, referring to some of Mr. Kennedy's recent statements, said the other day in the Senate:

"The President's comments indicate strongly that the Monroe Doctrine has recently been reinterpreted with major omissions to the extent that the Monroe Doctrine is no longer a bulwark of U.S. foreign policy which it was for over 100 years."

In Congress, Members of both parties are restive and uneasy about the apparent surrender of the initiative to the Soviet Union. Authority to call up 150,000 reserves has been overwhelmingly endorsed, but this does not overcome the feeling in Congress that the United States is being portrayed over the airwaves as afraid to stand up to the Soviets. Paul Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs, in a television interview over the ABC network Sunday, really summed up the situation. He wasn't trying to be critical of the administration and, in fact, was endeavoring to defend it. But he unwittingly stated the case against the administration's policy of silence when he said:

"I think the grounds for concern are, first of all, that this assistance the Soviets are giving Castro makes it more difficult for the Cuban people ever to restore their freedom and, secondly, this helps Castro consolidate his position in Cuba and thereby might increase the possibility that Cuba could be used as a base for Communist infiltration into the rest of the hemisphere."

Yet nothing has been said officially for the last several months to the Soviet Government in protest about all this.

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## How To Save Your Life on the Most Dangerous Weekend of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD another timely and wonderful article by our great U.S. Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Luther H. Hodges. I had the pleasure of putting another one of his great articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which goes to every part of our beloved Nation, and have had so many wonderful letters from every end of the country congratulating us on what Secretary Hodges had to say in his article.

It seems to me that this article is even greater than the last one, and I believe all of us appreciate the great work that Secretary Hodges has done, is doing and will continue to do in the Cabinet of President Kennedy. Secretary Hodges is just a genius in so many ways. He has brains and ability and such an understanding heart, and you will always find him, in my judgment, doing the things that will help all mankind. This article was a timely warning and we know now, since the Labor Day has passed and we have the record, that it was the most dangerous weekend of the year.

God bless Luther Hodges and give him strength to carry on the great work he is doing for this great Nation as Secretary of Commerce.

The article follows:

HOW TO SAVE YOUR LIFE ON THE MOST DANGEROUS WEEKEND OF THE YEAR

(By Luther H. Hodges)

I am addressing this article to you, Mr. and Mrs. Motorist, in the hope that you will not be among the thousands killed or injured next weekend.

All signs point to the fact that Labor Day 1962 could be the worst holiday for traffic deaths in the history of the United States. That's the grim assessment of our U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, which recently completed a study of accident records. Over the years, it was discovered, Labor Day weekend has been the most dangerous holiday of all.

This year's Labor Day is even more ominous because it will be the only long holiday weekend in 1962. Every other major holiday falls in midweek. That means thousands of Americans—perhaps you too—have been waiting all summer for Labor Day to hit the highways.

As Chairman of President Kennedy's new Interdepartmental Highway Safety Board, I've been directed to throw the full weight of the Government's scientific and engineering resources into reducing the staggering annual totals of auto deaths.

DRIVER REGISTER STARTED

We're working, for example, to build into the great new Interstate Highway System lifesaving features that will prevent 2,000 deaths in 1962 alone. And we've started a driver register, a permanent list of drivers whose licenses have been revoked. If a violator tries to get a license in another State, authorities can ask us for his record and act accordingly.

We're sure these new programs will help. But in the last analysis, safety is still your job. You and your fellow motorists are the only ones who can reduce the number of Americans killed and injured next weekend—now predicted at 60,000.

To help you help yourself, we have selected the following 10 watchwords for safety from the research findings of the Bureau of Public Roads. These are the most important things to do. Read them; check yourself against them. Then use them on the road this weekend.

Before you start:

1. Safety-check your car. At the very least, make sure your tires, brakes, and lights are fully serviceable. I've put safety belts in my own car, and advise everyone to do so.

2. Plan your trip. Get good maps and information; lay out your trip thoughtfully. Estimate realistically how far you can go each day by staying within the speed limits. Plan to drive not more than 8 hours a day; if that is impossible, include plenty of rest stops.

3. Safety-check yourself. Too often drivers take better care of the car than themselves. They'll run themselves ragged trying to clear everything up at the office and at home, staying up much too late the night before leaving.

While en route:

4. Stay alert. Some tips: eat lightly so you don't become drowsy. Abstain completely from alcohol at least until you've stopped driving for the day. Stop periodically to stretch your legs.

5. Obey the speed laws. Serious accidents increase drastically at speeds above 65 miles per hour. High speeds pay off poorly for the risk involved. On the New Jersey Turnpike, for example, you can observe the legal limit of 60 and travel its length in 118 minutes. If you gamble and go 70 the most you'll save is just 17 minutes.

6. Use judgment. The law sets limits, but within those limits you have to use commonsense. On a good, dry, 60-mile-per-hour highway, for instance, driving at less than 40 is actually dangerous. But on a wet road at night, you should stay under the legal speed.

7. Make courtesy a habit. Psychological studies show that accident repeaters tend to be overly aggressive. Don't work off your tension on the highway. You'd do better to tell off your boss—it could cost you your job, but not your life.

8. Exercise self-control. We all know the "big George" type of driver who weaves in and out of line, cussing everyone else on the road. Remember you're traveling for enjoyment. Relax.

9. Communicate. We must cooperate with other drivers to stay alive. Let the fellow behind know what you're going to do. Use all four kinds of signals—not just left turn or right turn, but "slow down" and "pass me." If your car breaks down, warn other drivers by tying a handkerchief on the traffic side of the car or, at night, keeping dome and tail lights on.

10. Be imaginative. Imagine yourself in that other car in the next lane, for example. Think what you would do if you were its driver, and guide your own car accordingly. Of course, you can't anticipate everything; expect the unsuspected and be ready to act promptly.

Every driver can and should add items to this list. But I guarantee that if each of us concentrate on these 10, we'll soon make a change in the present intolerable situation, where it's at least 50 percent more dangerous to drive a car than to ride an airliner, where almost 5 million people are injured each year—equal to the combined population of Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

Labor Day is a time to work for safety. Let's put these 10 watchwords into practice then—and every other day too.

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## Edward E. Ting, Native American of Chinese Ancestry, Flees 13 Years of Captivity in Red China Through Aid and Assistance of High School Classmate, Samuel L. Cutler, of Springfield, Mass.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues are fully aware of the profound gratification that comes to a Member of Congress upon the successful resolution of casework, particularly those cases we handle involving human beings. I had such an experience recently when a native American of Chinese ancestry, Mr. Edward E. Ting, who grew up in my home city of Springfield, Mass., managed to flee from his Communist Chinese captors after living for 13 years in mainland China under Red oppression. I had worked for several years on this case with Mr. Ting's high school classmate, Mr. Samuel L. Cutler, of Springfield, in an effort to establish Mr. Ting's American citizenship and the fact that he had been issued an American passport to travel to China in 1928. Mr. Cutler is to be commended for his dedication and persistence in trying to help out his old boyhood friend, and his devotion to this cause has paid off for Mr. Ting is now back living in Springfield in Mr. Cutler's household.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert with my remarks the very moving human interest story by Foster L. Spencer that appeared in the Springfield Republican, August 26, concerning the flight to freedom from Red China by Mr. Ting:

TECH HIGH GRAD IS HOME AFTER FLEEING RED CHINA—EDWARD E. TING REUNITED WITH BOYHOOD PAL WHO HELPED FREE HIM FROM TYRANNY

(By Foster L. Spencer)

"I learned in my college days that he who holds your money, holds your freedom; and whoever holds your food, holds your life. Well, my money and food were held for more than a decade by the rulers of that Red hell."

So said Edward E. Ting, a former Springfield resident and Technical High School graduate, who arrived in this city just recently after 35 years in China, the past 13 of those years in what he aptly calls a "Red hell." Mr. Ting arrived safely in the United States from Hong Kong, after a harrowing and dramatic escape from the Communist-held land behind the Bamboo Curtain.

AT CUTLER HOME

Now again in the land of the free, this Chinese-American is staying at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel L. Cutler, 79 Eckington Street. Mr. Cutler, a teacher at Technical High School and a close friend of Mr. Ting during their high school days here, is the man most responsible for Ting's return to the United States. Ever since the Communist takeover in China, Mr. Cutler has made continuous efforts, to get his high school chum out of China. And his unflinching perseverance was duly rewarded when Mr. Ting arrived in Springfield via bus on August 9.

Mr. Ting's story is one of resolute determination and bravery in the face of deprivation, starvation, tyranny and death. But today, at age 61, Mr. Ting actually is living a dream which taunted him for many years when he worked 16 hours a day at forced labor in Red China.

AGAIN IN PARADISE

"I'm once again in paradise," was Mr. Ting's comment on his safe arrival in the United States after enduring incomparable hardships at the hands of the militant, ruthless Red tyranny.

But let Mr. Ting tell his story—a story which needs to be told to freedom-loving people everywhere. It's a dramatic and heart-rending story—but more important—it is a firsthand report by an American citizen about a land where Americans have been forbidden.

ESCAPE FROM RED CHINA

"Repeatedly since the Communists consolidated their position in China, I made application to leave the country for Hong Kong or Macao. I first applied for permission to leave when I was a civil engineer with the Canton and Hankow railroad, stationed at Hung Yang in 1950. My application was denied and so were succeeding applications, until I was finally notified by the Red bureaucracy that a person must be at a port city in order to emigrate."

*Grew old*

"When I learned that I must go to a seaport to apply for emigration, I knew that I wouldn't be permitted to leave Hung Yang without some excuse.

"It was then I decided to 'grow old.' I grew a long beard, wore a long, drab, black habit, carried a cane and crept around while at work. I luckily developed arthritis in one hand as time went on. After I had let myself appear sufficiently old and useless to the Communist bosses, I asked permission to leave for the seaport of Canton, where I said I knew a doctor who could help cure me. This was over 2 years ago—in 1960.

"The authorities eventually allowed my request, and I left for Canton, where I immediately petitioned to leave the country. I was told that I must establish residence in

Canton for 1 year. Thus, a full year went by with no money for food or clothing, and no roof over my head."

*Substandard diet*

"I scavenged about, making the best of a substandard diet, until my year's residence was up. Then I reapplied for emigration to Macao, but again was turned down. Finally, after five or six applications had been refused, I told them that I had relatives in Macao (the Portuguese peninsula colony on the southern coast of China), and I could get money there to bring back to Red China to help make me well again.

"The lure of money was too great for the Red hierarchy to turn down. In March, I was granted 1 month's stay in Macao, and on April 30 with $1 given me by the Reds, I boarded the bus that carried me once again to freedom.

"My brother, Sui Jun who lives in Hong Kong came across the bay to see me in Macao, and told me of a Portuguese missionary, Father Pires, a Catholic priest, who had all the papers to prove my American citizenship and would allow my entry into Hong Kong. These papers had been given Father Pires by Mr. Cutler when he and his wife, Sara, came to the Orient in 1960.

"After some minor delays in Hong Kong, it wasn't long before I was given my passport and was aboard a Pan-American jet to the United States, my native land—the land I left some 35 years ago. Without the persevering efforts of my great friend, Sam Cutler, I would never have reached this cherished land. He worked many years in my behalf, and underwrote all the expenses for my return to the United States."

EARLY LIFE

Mr. Ting was a victim of hardship in America long before he came under the awful oppression of the Communists in China. Born in San Francisco at the turn of the century, his parents perished in the tragic San Francisco fire in 1906. Besides taking the lives of his beloved parents and forcing him to live with relatives, the great San Francisco fire played another heartbreaking role which almost thwarted Mr. Ting's reentry into the United States from Red China. But that story comes later.

*Came to city in 1917*

This Chinese-American boy, after his parents' demise, lived with an uncle and aunt on the west coast, coming to Springfield to live in 1917 during his high school days.

Mr. Ting lived with his uncle, the late William Wu, who for 45 years resided in Springfield and operated the Canton Restaurant on Worthington Street. He went all 4 years of high schoo lat Tech, and this is where he and Sam Cutler became fast friends.

"Eddie Ting used to spend countless hours at our house during those days," Mr. Cutler recalled. "We did our homework and played together. And we kept contact through college days, too."

*Reserve officer*

Upon graduation from Tech in 1921, Mr. Ting went to Norwich University, Northfield, Vt., receiving his degree from that school in 1925. Mr. Cutler, who was graduated from Massachusetts State College of Agriculture, and Mr. Ting were both commissioned second lieutenants in the Officer Reserve Corps, and in 1925 they served the summer together in field training for the cavalry at Fort Ethan Allen, Vt. That summer, too, the two friends further cultivated what was to become a fast and unceasing friendship.

After receiving his diploma from Norwich, Mr. Ting then attended Columbia University where he received his master of arts degree in political science and economics in 1927.

The following year, Mr. Ting, unable to find work in the United States, spent his meager savings to go to the Far East on a tramp streamer to do research on ancient Chinese history.

He arrived at Hong Kong broke, and through comtacts there, he was successful in securing a position on the faculty of Ling-nan University in Canton, teaching English. Little did he realize then that his stay in China was to be a long one—one that was to span a 35-year period, in which the country was to be overrun by, first the Japanese, and later the Communists.

He taught at Ling-nan University for 3 years, the moving to Canton Military Academy, where he taught English and military science. Here, the military education he secured at Norwich came in handy, and in addition to his classroom teaching, he taught equestrianism to aspiring Chinese cavalrymen.

*Served as civilian*

In 1934 the Chinese nation was attacked by the Japanese, the precursor to Pearl Harbor and World War II. Mr. Ting immediately availed his services to the Nationalist Government, offering to act as an interpreter in a civilian capacity, so as not to jeopardize his American citizenship. He was an interpreter until the end of World War II.

After the war, he went to work as a civil engineer with the Canton & Hankow Railroad, where he stayed until the Communist takeover.

In 1929, Mr. Ting married a Chinese woman, and they had three children. When it was learned that Mrs. Ting inherited land from her father, the Chinese Communists charged her with being a capitalist, took her land and separated her from her husband. She was sent to hard labor, and her children were scattered.

*Hasn't seen family*

In a manner of resignation which belied the gnawing bitterness in his heart, Ting said: "I don't know where my wife is now. I haven't seen her for 4 years. My children? Who knows? I learned that my daughter was married." His two sons, who would be 17 and 13 now, were separated from their father 9 years ago and Ting hasn't seen either of them since.

His courage faltered at last. Tears streamed uncontrollably down his brave and resolute face. He buried his head in his hands to hide them. Then gathering control once again, he spoke.

"It is heartbreaking for me that I may never see my family again. I could not bring them with me—even if I knew where they were. This is all part of the great sorrow inflicted upon people by the Communists, you see.

"This sorrow I must carry with me the rest of my days, even though I am safe in freedom forever. Yet, it is indeed fortunate that I don't know my family's whereabouts, because the Communists would make them responsible for my escape. This is the Communist way of retribution, you know."

FRIEND IN NEED

Sam Cutler's efforts to bring Eddie Ting back to American soil is a story in itself. Mr. Cutler, who kept tabs on his high school friend through the years of their separation, became greatly concerned over Eddie's safety when the Communists gripped the Chinese mainland.

*Curtain up to stay*

In 1950, he began sounding out methods to have Eddie returned to his native land. But, alas the Reds had such magnanimous control over life in China that Washington sources said it was impossible to spring Mr. Ting loose from the country. The Bamboo Curtain was up—to stay.

Mr. Cutler wrote Congressmen, Senators, the Department of State and even contacted the Far Eastern Bureau of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) to see if Voice of America could make a plea behind the Bamboo Curtain to learn of Ting's whereabouts. This was, of course, turned down, and all other attempts by Mr. Cutler proved equally fruitless.

Mr. Cutler had to establish that Edward E. Ting was an American citizen, first, then he had to arrange many other papers if Ting were to ever return to the United States. And proving Mr. Ting was a citizen was a chore in itself.

*Disheartening reply*

Sure, it was just a matter of acquiring a birth certificate from San Francisco's City Hall. But when Mr. Cutler wrote there, he received this disheartening reply:

"This is to certify that all birth records of the city and county of San Francisco, State of California, prior to July 1, 1905, were destroyed as the result of a general conflagration on April 18, 19 and 20, 1906; therefore, this office is unable to furnish a copy of the birth record of any person who was born in this city prior to the above mentioned date."

*Success achieved*

Not to be dismayed, Sam Cutler was fortunate in securing records of grammar school attendance in San Francisco, along with diplomas from Tech High, Norwich and Columbia. At long last, the passport division of the U.S. State Department was ready to admit that Edward E. Ting was an American citizen.

Largely through the efforts of U.S. Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND, this paperwork was handled. Boland, according to Cutler, was a vital link in clearing the way for Mr. Ting's arrival in the United States. "Congressman BOLAND and his office have been of immeasurable help in bringing Eddie back home," Mr. Cutler said. "These efforts in clearing the redtape of Washington officialdom were extremely helpful."

*Congressman elated*

Congressman BOLAND and his office, obviously elated at Ting's arrival in the United States, commended both Mr. Ting for his repeated and dogged attempts to flee Communist tyranny and Mr. Cutler's unflinching determination to clear the way for Ting's reentry.

Said Congressman BOLAND: "I am highly pleased that Mr. Ting has returned to freedom. He endured untold torment and hardship at the hands of the Communist rulers in China for the past 13 years, and I welcome him back to his native land.

"This office was only too glad to do what it could to help secure the release of this brave man from the bondage and suffering of communism. The role we played was indeed difficult, and at times, the efforts to free Mr. Ting seemed hopeless. We are glad, however, that these efforts have been rewarded by the return of Mr. Ting to Springfield.

"I want to congratulate and commend Samuel Cutler for his persistent and undiminishing fight for Mr. Ting's cause. Without the inspired determination of this Springfield man, Mr. Ting might still be in bondage in Red China. I look forward to meeting Mr. Ting in the near future."

Actually Congressman BOLAND and his staff had little documentary evidence with which to work. But painstaking research of State Department files resulted in proving Mr. Ting an American citizen.

Congressman BOLAND was instrumental in arranging an interview for Mr. Cutler with the American legation in Hong Kong in 1960, and played a really vital role in asking the Portuguese Government in Macao to hold Mr. Ting until he could travel to Hong Kong for his return to the United States.

*Went to Orient*

After Congressman BOLAND had supplied the passport division of the State Department with the documents which proved Ting

an American citizen, Mr. Cutler and his wife, Sarah, took a tour to the Orient 2 years ago. On that trip, the couple visited Eddie's brother, Sui Jun, in Hong Kong. There, they found all the letters Sam had written Eddie in care of his brother, which couldn't be sent to him because of Communist postal ban.

Mr. Cutler visited the U.S. legation in Hong Kong and learned that all the paperwork was in readiness for Mr. Ting's coming to the United States. "All you need is a body and we'll send him home," the consulate told Mr. Cutler.

Going to Macao, Mr. Cutler visited a Portuguese missionary, Rev. Benjamin Pires, S.J., a Catholic priest. Mr. Cutler left with Father Pires documents necessary to prove to Macao authorities that Eddie was an American citizen. This evidence was required in order for Ting to get a visa to leave Macao for Hong Kong.

*"It was worth it"*

Two years have passed since Mr. and Mrs. Cutler returned home, and since then prayers and determination have succeeded in Eddie Ting once again returning to Springfield and his dear friend, Sam Cutler. Mr. Cutler not only spent years of effort in effecting Ting's return, but the enormous expenses were underwritten entirely by the Springfield man.

"It was worth it," the Tech High teacher said, passing off his role in this triumph. "Eddie's like a brother to me, and it's great to have him with us again."

LIFE UNDER REDS

Mr. Ting related many incidents about Communist life which are particularly informative, and rare, inasmuch as they are firsthand reports.

For instance, the standard of living—which Ting says is at the starvation point.

*Inflation struck*

"When the Communists took over, I was making the equivalent of $40 American a month. This was a good average wage, and I lived in comfort. Just before the Reds took over, the bottom fell out of the economy because the people knew that the Nationalist Government was about to fall. Inflation struck suddenly. It cost $20,000 for a pound of pork, $50,000 for an airmail stamp.

"Then communism set in. My salary, once $40, became 50 cents a month. Food was rationed. All private property was taken by the government. Propaganda became rampart."

*Meager allowances*

"Now, rationing is such that one person gets 20 pounds of rice, 2 ounces of fresh fish, and one-half pound of salted fish per month. I had meat for the first time in 5 years on Chinese New Year's in January. When the Reds first took over we could purchase 30 feet of cloth per year, now the allotment per person is 1½ feet per year, not even enough for patching clothing.

"They have kangaroo courts in China now," Mr. Ting said. "Workers report on their fellows and charges are trumped up against innocent people. I was grilled for 3 weeks for owning two goats which I tended after completing work. I was told I was a capitalist because I didn't share the milk with the people.

"As soon as the Communists took over, the working day went up from 8 to 10 to 16 to 20 hours for 7 days a week. They tell us there is an 8-hour workday in China, but it's a lie. Quotas are established for each job. In the electrical machine shop where I worked, I had to turn out 300 pieces a day. This was considered 8 hours' work. But it took me double that and more."

*People are unhappy*

"And there are compulsory indoctrination meetings for every worker. Schoolchildren are fed Communist propaganda.

"The people are very unhappy. They are starving. They are forced to work, yet they don't yield the benefits of hard work. The Communist incentive system is the only reward for a community. That is, if a given community's industry or farms turn out high production, then a Communist movie is sent for the people to see. These are the only movies they see."

Mr. Ting added, "Propaganda is such that it turns your stomach. One day, just to give you an example, I was walking by a school and I heard children singing 'Yankee Doodle' to Chinese words. I asked a young man in the yard about the song and he said, "That's the newest song from Russia. Our teacher, who just came from a Peiping school [Red indoctrination center for teachers] taught it to us.'"

*Great leap failing*

Asked about the Chinese Communists 5-year plan, the great leap forward, Mr. Ting said it is failing miserably. "It has gone from bad to worse, especially this year, when the government had to take people out of industry to bolster falling farm production."

Mr. Ting reported that China is producing only the crudest of machinery, and now that Soviet technical aid has been withdrawn, little advance is being made.

Mr. Ting said it was rumored earlier this year in China that Russia had demanded payment for arms given China to fight the Korean war. And when China refused, the Soviet Government withdrew its technical experts, taking with them even the blueprints for factories which had been planned.

*Story differs*

Of course, the West learned that Soviet aid was withdrawn because of an ideological rift between Premier Khrushchev and the sterner, pro-Stalinist Chinese line.

The opposition of the oppressed Chinese people stands out behind the Bamboo Curtain today, Mr. Ting says. Communism has proved itself as an unsuccessful government, and fear of death alone keeps the people from rebelling against this gigantic tyranny.

BACK HOME AGAIN

Mr. Ting, who is amazingly articulate despite not having used the English language for over 15 years, looks young for his 61 years. His hair has only tinges of gray and he stands erect.

He is overjoyed to be back in Springfield, and is literally amazed at the progress which has taken place in this country. "I feel like Rip Van Winkle. Television, big supermarkets, and department stores—these things I had never heard of. And automobiles—well, the Model T was all I ever knew."

*Amusing incident*

An amusing incident took place when Mr. Ting first arrived in Springfield. Mr. Cutler gave his friend five or six clip-on bow ties to wear along with other clothing. Mr. Ting said: "You know, I spent over a half hour trying to figure out how to put that tie on my shirt. Can you imagine that? And I'm an engineer—supposedly."

He has toured Springfield to some extent since coming "home," and recalled many landmarks in the city he left years ago. What particularly caught his eye, however, was the bust of Andrew Carnegie in City Library, a place where Mr. Ting spent many hours as a student in his high school days. Also, the statue of Deacon Chapin outside the library was a landmark he recalled.

SEEKS INTELLIGENCE WORK

Mr. Ting hopes to land a position in the United States in which he can put his vast experience in China to use. He is among the very few, if any, who have firsthand knowledge of modern-day China who are both well educated and English speaking. He thinks he could be especially helpful in intelligence work.

He hopes to meet with Congressman BOLAND to discuss these opportunities, and further, "to meet another fine American gentleman who was instrumental in making it possible for me to return to my beloved homeland, Mr. BOLAND."

Mr. Ting fondly recalls many of his high school and college classmates and would like to meet and talk with people who attended Tech or Norwich during his schoolboy years. Those who meet with Eddie Ting won't be disappointed. For Edward E. Ting is a fascinating man whose past has been strewn with heartbreak and misfortune—but, most of all, he is a courageous man—whose dedication to freedom and to humanity has few parallels.

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## A Parkersburg, W. Va., High School Exchange Student Visits the Philippines

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KEN HECHLER
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, the student exchange program is every day providing lasting benefits in strengthening the bonds among nations and their peoples. It is heartening to note the experiences and reactions of Miss Louise Callahan, a Parkersburg, W. Va., high school senior, as contained in the following articles from the Parkersburg Sentinel:

[From the Parkersburg Sentinel, July 26, 1962]

LOUISE CALLAHAN WRITES OF LIFE IN PHILIPPINES

Louise Callahan, Parkersburg's first Americans-abroad exchange student has written to her parents, Reverend and Mrs. Griffin Callahan since she arrived in the Philippines and given most interesting accounts of her trip and her arrival.

The following letter, written after she had been there a while, gives a vivid account of her activities.

Louise is typical of the teenage exchange students who become ambassadors of good will wherever they go, and her amazing comprehension and acceptance of people who live in a different environment is well expressed. Not many people, young, or old, can tell of personally embarrassing events with such sincere acceptance that the world really won't come to an end—and immediately puts the events in the background, with the proper consideration, to make way for the next adventure.

"I have been gone nearly a month now. You know, I think of you every other minute but by the time I write everything in my little black book, it is almost torture to take pen in hand—poor excuse, but if our thoughts are of each other then I think we communicate anyway. You must be praying for me because God is always with me. Right now I am in Pilipino class (national language.) Needless to say it is one of those that is impossible to participate in. But I do get something out of the first year class—oh! Those kids are so little. You know 'Bing' is only in the fourth grade but she is bigger than the freshmen here at the high school.

You are still in the middle of continual activity and it's the same here. I rise at 6 a.m. on weekends and 5:30 a.m. on school days and my schedule is down to the last hour—especially weekends. I have met several Americans and they have all been different types—the Air Force captain and other Air Force personnel with their young wives.

Then there was a girl from Detroit married to a Filipino in the Air Force who at present is away from her. She has been living here alone for a year and is so lonely for home that to see me brought tears to her eyes. My heart went out to her because when we visited, she hadn't received a letter from home in 3 weeks. But enough of that—there are so many new experiences and new people and Filipino friends—if I get started I can't stop.

I have spoken on two radio programs and one was in celebration of the first Philippine-American Friendship Day—nothing like being historical. It was really an inspiring program and we sang national songs from both countries and I gave a speech and the Air Force captain gave a speech and a Catholic priest and the Governor and the superintendent of schools. I was going to send you my speech but the press (h-mmmm) wanted it—yet, they haven't printed it. We have had surprising good weather so far, but the rains are starting. Anyway, it has made it possible to make outings and although I haven't been swimming yet, I have seen the beautiful ocean twice. Once I went with the foster family of Janet Lake, the first AFS (American field service) here. It was a very successful visit. They love her so she must have been a wonderful ambassador (from Colorado).

I've seen ricefields, carabaois, cornfields, birthdays, funerals, weddings, and one of our neighbors has asked that I be a sponsor at her child's Baptism Buddy. The queen of the May. Everything is new and everything is exciting. I've spoken at Rotary—where discussions got pretty serious—especially on segregation, but I think that it was constructive. I've been to two elementary schools and although it doesn't make too much sense to them when I speak, we become great friends.

I eat about 20 pounds of food a day and it's beginning to show. My hair is really mangy now—but Dahlia's hair is similar to mine—people are always saying we look alike—she's an inch or two shorter than I—we have a great time and it is very often that you will see us doing some kind of comedy act, attracting great crowds—she was elected president of senior class and I was her campaign manager—oh, those memories—but this time victorious. She was also elected president of senior Scout council, which proves she's a high-minded kid, anyway. I've had my little speech at the Girl Scouts and you can imagine how choice that was. Too bad they got such an inferior member of GSA. They gave me a pin and a patch which says 'Ilocos Norte." Next Saturday we are going on a Girl Scout cook-out.

(Later.)

Last Sunday I was supposed to visit the Independent Church—mass at 6:30 a.m. Well—and I almost don't have the nerve to write this—I overslept—they waited mass 15 minutes and they announced my name and oh they had prepared for me. Geeee. Talk about being small. So today after school, Mamma Sagisi and Dellie and Bing and I paid a visit to Bishop Yoro and we were lucky that he and his wife were at home. They have seven children and only one girl. Their oldest son is 22 and all his children are successful scholars—Sadiri is in my class at the high school.

They are very poor in money but that's all. I am tempted to wait till I get a picture before I tell you his age, but it is hard to wait. He is 62 years but looks about 49. And they have good teeth and warm smiles. While we were there he just kept saying "We are one" and "we all believe in the same God and we are one church." No wonder he is youthful. Oh Dad, you would like him very much, I think. He also stressed how wonderful it was to be married and I assured him he had a family to be proud of. They live very humbly. He was supposed to go to Canada to visit or study but he couldn't get the money. Then he was going to go to Switzerland but from his pocket money he sent his boys to college so was not able to go. But he won't die soon.

The skies are more beautiful than "South Pacific" which we saw last week at the movies. I am so glad that you are seeing the A.F.S. people. Please tell them when I write you—there goes the torture of writing letters again. Will you give the local chapter my very best and tell them that they couldn't have given me anything greater than this. It is a privileged dream coming true. I got the letters from Lissa and Christine and they were very good. You know I have so, so much to tell you about but I don't think this letter should be postponed anymore. But before closing I'll add that school is school wherever it may be and the same with world history."

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[From the Parkersburg Sentinel, Aug. 7, 1962]

LOUISE CALLAHAN HAS WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE

(By Ruth Morgan)

There are many places in the United States which are unaware of the existence of West Virginia—and of Parkersburg, but we venture to say that Laoag, Province of Ilocos Norte, Philippines, knows all about it.

Letters from Louise Callahan, Parkersburg's first student to live abroad under the American field service program of scholarships for Americans abroad, certainly tell vividly the value of the exchange student program.

There is no better way for the people of the many nations of the world, both old and new, to learn of others than by sending these carefully selected students to live with ordinary families, participating in the events of everyday living as an average citizen.

Here is another letter:

(Letter from Louise Callahan, American field service student to Philippines, July 17, 1962, to her parents, the Reverend and Mrs. Griffin C. Callahan, Parkersburg, W. Va.)

"MY DEAR, DEAR PARENTS: I feel that I haven't been fair to you with my few and far between letters, so I am just taking this time to write before going to bed. Tomorrow is Bing's birthday and I will give her the 'Etch-a-sketch' game. You know what Dahlia really wants—sheet music for piano—especially from 'Oklahoma' and other musicals. Her birthday is the 30th. Maybe you could send some for her? It's just an idea, but it would be perfect.

"You know there is so much news that I'm afraid to begin. * * * went to the 10th anniversary of the Bureau of Agricultural extension today. It deals with 4-H Clubs and I liked that, too. Mr. Saguiguit the foster father of Dial Barnwell, the last AFS'er, is very important with the program and afterwards he took me to his home for lunch. They have eight kids—two girls in college, and six boys ranging from 14–2 years and their family is really nice. There was another American at the meeting, a Dr. Thomas from California. He is doing research this summer for a book about agriculture and environment in Ilocos Norte.

"So far I have been to many parties with the kids, but this last weekend was my favorite. On Friday we went bowling and pingponging at the YMCA and the boys paid the girls way and bought refreshments. It was great.

"Then on Saturday I went to my first 'jam session' which was given by the boys in one of their huge, big Spanish-type houses. It turned out to be a twist party and I went insane and had a blast. Maybe a little too uninhibited for the rest of the crowd. Dahlia refuses to dance but she knows how and it makes me unhappy. She is really good, but too self-conscious I guess.

"I think I will help put on a dramatic production with this club here. Miss Ligot, the adviser, has chosen a choral speaking play which deals with patriotism in United States for World War II. I suggested that we try to rewrite it cause it's a little out of date, etc. So maybe that will be something good. I am learning native dances painfully because of uncoordination.

"Saw first Filipino film yesterday—'El Filibusterismo' based on the book by Jose Rizal. It was so tragic that if it had been in English I could not have stood it. Am reading book now. As result of four centuries under Spain, all literature and songs have been sad up until now.

"Tomorrow an interview on radio and next day speak before student body. Every minute is filled with something new, but it's a month today I've been gone and time has really flown by. Love to all and AFS representatives. We all send our very best."

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[From the Parkersburg Sentinel, Aug. 8, 1962]

MISS CALLAHAN GIVES SPEECH

(Louise's note to her parents concerning speech: "This is the only written speech and this is only written so I wouldn't clod up on the radio. Sort of hasty, but an idea of my P.R. and I really mean every word of it. Am also sending one of the pictures—when I was giving this little gem. My foster mom is the head right in front of me.")

Speech follows:

"It is a great privilege to have this opportunity to represent my country, in your country on the first Philippine-American Friendship Day. But even more so because my stay will be extended for 2 months, in hopes of making Philippine-American friendship a lasting thing. This exchange of students from the Philippines to America and from the United States to the Philippines is made possible by the American Field Service, which is one of the projects of the American people to promote better understanding and communication in the world.

"The American field service was originally begun by a group of ambulance drivers in France after World War II. In an effort to work toward peace, through the exchange and exploration of ideas, students were brought to the United States from other countries to study. Later this expanded in the Americans Abroad program, sending U.S. students to study in other countries.

"At first these students were on a college level, but high school students proved more susceptible to new ideas, so that now the exchange sends students in the summer of their junior years in high school. Students from other countries study the whole year in the United States, but the yearly program is just now being introduced for American students abroad.

"I was fortunate enough to be among the 31 students coming to the Philippines; to a country which is a true friend to the United States yet one full of new customs, new ideas, and exciting discoveries in a different culture. Nearly everything is a different experience, resulting in a richer and fuller visit. For the exchange student learns firsthand by living with a family and experiencing their everyday way of life, and by attending school with classmates his own age.

"I am sure that when I return to America, I will have stories and experiences to tell for the rest of my life, and lasting friendships. The American field service is only one of the outward signs being made to maintain and strengthen the ties that bind the United States and the Philippines together. I am only glad that I, too, could be a part of that outward sign."

Rev. and Mrs. Griffin C. Callahan, 1316 Market Street, have reason to be proud of their daughter, Louise, an American field service student in the Philippines.

She has been officially adopted as a daughter of the town in which she is living, and

of the Province in which the town is located.

Louise is the first student to be so honored, and a copy of the resolution was sent by the Philippine officials to the family here in Parkersburg. Copies also were sent to the New York and Philippine offices of the American field service.

Another Parkersburg resident who has reason to be proud of the action is Julius "Jay" Stern, who, as president of the Wood County Bank, provided the AFS scholarship for Louise to spend 2 months in the Philippines this summer. Stern, well known for his interest in the progress and development of the mid-Ohio Valley, has now added to international understanding through the impression Louise is making at her "home away from home."

The resolution concerning Louise's adoption follows:

"Whereas Miss Louise Callahan, charming young blonde of 1316 Market Street, Parkersburg, W. Va., U.S.A., was one of the lucky recipients of the American field service international scholarship summer program and was assigned as Laoag, Ilocos Norte, Philippines, as her home away from home;

"Whereas it is hoped that during her short stay in our municipality, Miss Callahan will actively acquaint herself with our local customs and traditions and share the bounty of our place and the hospitality of our people;

"Whereas the presence of Miss Callahan in our midst is a constructive manifestation of a mutual and intimate understanding and good will between the people of the Philippines and the people of the United States of America;

"On motion by Councilor, Dr. Francisco Ranada and duly seconded by Councilor, Attorney Mariano H. Rabageo, it was—

*"Resolved, as it is hereby resolved by the Municipal Council of Laoag in its regular session duly assembled,* That on this 16th day of July 1962, Miss Louise Callahan be an adopted daughter of the municipality of Laoag, Province of Ilocos Norte, Philippines;

*"Resolved finally,* To direct the secretary to deliver a copy of this resolution to Miss Louise Callahan, Panganiban Street, Laoag, Ilocos Norte, Philippines and to send copies to the Reverend and Mrs. Griffin Callahan, Parkersburg, W. Va., U.S.A.; to the American Field Service, New York, 313 East 43d Street, New York 17, U.S.A.; and to the American Field Service of the Philippines, 707–708 Valson Building, Intramuros, Manila, Philippines.

"Carried.

"FLORENDO B. MARTIN.,
*"Municipal Secretary."*

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[From the Parkersburg Sentinel, Aug. 9, 1962]

MISS CALLAHAN ENJOYS LIFE IN PHILIPPINES

(By Ruth Morgan)

Will the letters which the girl from Brazil and the boy from France, American field service students to attend PHS next winter, write to their homes be as enthusiastic about our community as those which Louise Callahan has written from her Philippine home? We wonder.

Is Parkersburg, as a thriving small industrial city, doing all it can to promote international understanding when the opportunity comes to their midst as this will? We wonder.

Ariane A. Cavalcante, of Brazil, will live with the family of Dr. Charles F. Whitaker next winter, and attend PHS as a senior student, as will Gerard Taveau of France, who will live with the Wade W. Trout family.

The Parkersburg-Vienna American Field Service Chapter is requesting the assistance of area industries, organizations, and individuals in making their stay as interesting and educational and as welcoming as Louise has found her life to be in the Philippines.

Here is another letter telling of the life of a typical American high school student who is living with a Philippine family and her exuberant reaction to learning the "hows" and "whys" of their way of living, not critically, but in a way which will prepare her for better understanding of the world problems when the time arrives for her active participation arrives.

"JULY 23.

"DEAR DADDY: Do doubt you must be worried when there is no correspondence from this end. You also know how the Sagisis must have felt last spring. Your big fat letter really did come unharmed and was really appreciated by this family."

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Newspaper clippings about Louise and her trip.)

"You know they did a lot before my arrival, and I have made so many wonderful friends that it is really hard to beat. Last night it hit me where I was, but I could not think about it too long for some reason—it was just so thrilling my lil ole nervous system could not stand it.

"You mean the daughter of G.C.C.? Really in the Philippines? That average immature, uninterested in scholastic achievement or higher education, or any education for that matter, Callahan? An AFS scholar?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Louise is too modest, for she is a fine scholar and makes excellent grades.)

"Well, naturally I don't study a bit and gradewise it's really bad, but I'm learning a lot and making terrific good friends and that's what counts. By the way, and one reason I don't knock myself out in schools, is that 'memory work' is the educational system, in a word. They have to memorize all that is dictated in class and say it back in the exact words. Buddy, I'm lucky to understand it. Oh, well, enough of school, for which I will be thoroughly ruined for next year.

"This is the fifth day of the actual rainy season 'cause it's been raining a week straight and we've also had a typhoon with winds up to 160 miles per hour. How exciting—and I've enjoyed every minute of it. Of course, I know now that I should have brought more sweaters and warmer clothes. It really gets a little chilly and I think of you sweltering wid de heat. * * *

"Activities go on as usual even though the streets are flooded. We go wading and waltzing in the rain quite gleefully and I really love it. Saturday we took a bath and washed our hair in the rain and in spite of the typhoon, we went to two parties, one of which really jammed.

"I'll have to send a box home early with all the beautiful things I have so far. My native costumes are indescribably beautiful and it is all really more than I deserve. You probably know by now that I am an adopted daughter of Laoag and the first scholar to be adopted by Ilocos Norte, the Province. When awarded these fantabulous things, I was assured that these things weren't had for the asking and it made me feel pretty good. And pretty unworthy, too.

"No one has given me any 'Yankee, go home' treatment, but sometimes when we are walking down the street people yell 'pura' meaning 'white.' It's the only time I feel different.

"In fact, I hope I don't take things for granted too much, just cause I feel so much at home.

"This letter may be long in reaching you cause every place else has flooded out except here and the rain is still coming down. Lazy weather, you bet, and if we didn't have school we'd simply eat and sleep.

"Really like my family and my foster dad. It is so wonderful to have two good fathers—you can't be beat, though. He is getting me a native hat for Griffin and if he doesn't appreciate it (Like I know he will) I'll keep it, cause it is really tough. Made out of half a big squash and used for rain hat.

"Marion must be growing up too. I have a lot of Girl Scout things for her. Everyone says she is beautiful. You know, like me—Ha. You know what Pop Sagisi said? 'You aren't as beautiful as your sisters.' Then he asked why.

"When the boys (they sometimes come to visit en masse for protection) saw Lissa's picture they were really snowed. She must be having a wonderful summer—I can't help thinking we're about the luckiest family in the world.

"Love to all my family and to anyone who asks about my trip."

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

# Appendix

## Kansas Fourth District Opinion Poll Tabulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER**
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, tabulations in my second annual opinion poll of the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas have been completed. Like many of my colleagues from both sides of the aisle, I have found this sampling of constituent opinion most worth while. It has been especially gratifying to me to note the interest in government which exists in my district.

I believe this yearly questionnaire provides many citizens, who ordinarily might not take the time to write their Congressman, with an opportunity to express their personal views on the important issues of our day.

Many of my constituents included interesting additional comments with their votes in the opinion poll. The two polls which I have taken since coming to Congress have been most helpful to me in my approach to the legislative problems before the 87th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to express appreciation to all those who took the time to participate in the 1962 opinion poll of the Kansas Fourth District, and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the final tabulations recorded from the questionnaires:

KANSAS FOURTH DISTRICT 1962 OPINION POLL RESULTS

The matter of medical care for the aged is receiving increased attention. Please indicate the system you would favor:

(a) Coverage extended to those within the social security system, and financed by an increase in social security taxes, 24.45 percent.

(b) Federal grants to States, each State to administer the program on the basis of need, 5.28 percent.

(c) Voluntary health insurance for everyone over 65, with Federal assistance where the individual is unable to pay premium, 39.83 percent.

(d) No Federal program in this field, 25.66 percent.

1. Do you favor establishment of a Cabinet post of Secretary of Urban Affairs and Housing in the administration? Yes, 33.44 percent; no, 60.90 percent; no answer, 5.66 percent.

2. Do you believe the Congress should grant the President new authority to increase or decrease taxes? Yes, 13.63 percent; no, 82.56 percent; no answer, 3.81 percent.

3. Do you favor the administration's proposals to reduce farm surpluses through stricter controls and marketing quotas? Yes, 29.20 percent; no, 63.39 percent; no answer, 7.11 percent.

4. Do you believe the Federal Government should institute a nationwide fallout shelter program? Yes, 19.95 percent; no, 76.22 percent; no answer, 3.83 percent.

5. Do you believe the Federal Government should expand its responsibilities in education? Yes, 41.45 percent; no, 54.14 percent; no answer, 4.41 percent. If answer is "Yes": (a) Do you favor Federal aid for school construction? Yes, 33.90 percent; no, 6.72 percent; no answer, 0.83 percent. (b) Do you favor Federal aid for teachers' salaries? Yes, 22.25 percent; no, 17.81 percent; no answer, 1.39 percent.

6. Do you favor establishment of a Federal Youth Conservation Corps to offer training in conservation projects or on-the-job vocations? Yes, 52.81 percent; no, 40.29 percent; no answer, 6.90 percent.

7. Do you favor the purchase by the United States of $100 million in United Nations bonds to help the U.N. overcome a deficit caused by special operations? Yes, 38.64 percent; no, 55.65 percent; no answer, 5.71 percent.

8. Do you believe Congress should approve legislation extending the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and granting the President new authority to reduce tariffs? Yes, 47.67 percent; no, 41.47 percent; no answer, 10.86 percent.

9. Do you favor continuation of present U.S. programs of foreign aid? Yes, 38.16 percent; no, 51.37 percent; no answer, 10.47 percent.

10. Do you believe that U.S. military and economic assistance should be given to Communist nations outside the Soviet orbit, such as Yugoslavia? Yes, 19.85 percent; no, 72.96 percent; no answer, 7.19 percent.

11. Do you believe the United States should provide assistance to the Latin American Republics through a long-term Alliance for Progress fund? Yes, 61.92 percent; no, 27.69 percent; no answer 10.39 percent.

## Education: Big and Still Growing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, schooldays are back again. Across the Nation, students at all levels of curricular study are trooping back to our educational institutions.

In Congress, there is still pending legislation relating to further improvement and expansion of our educational system.

Recently, the Wisconsin State Journal published a thoughtful editorial on the educational outlook in Wisconsin. The article deals with problems and progress, not only in my home State, but elsewhere in the Nation. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wisconsin State Journal, Sept. 10, 1962]

EDUCATION: BIG AND STILL GROWING

Looking back at a first-day-of-school editorial of only 5 years ago, we learned that in 1957 the Madison public schools expected some 16,000 youngsters to begin classes.

The estimated enrollment for the 1962 school year which opens today is some 27,500 boys and girls.

That enrollment jump in only 5 years—along with rapidly rising enrollments at the University of Wisconsin and the State colleges—is the clue to one of the biggest stories of this decade and the next. Only the kind of words used on a Hollywood spectacular seem to fit what is happening to education these days.

This year in Wisconsin, more than a million pupils will be in school from kindergarten through the 12th grade, about 775,000 in the public schools. There will be more than 31,000 teachers, and literally hundreds of new schools. The enrollment boom is so huge, in fact, that it is estimated about half of all the pupils starting school in Wisconsin this month will use classrooms built since 1950.

But size is not the only significant feature of the schools in 1962.

Courses are tougher, particularly in high school. Standards are higher, with special emphasis on more work and new challenges for the brighter pupils.

And the pace certainly will get faster at the high school and college levels from the pressure of the times and the burgeoning of new knowledge.

This month brings a change of pace for the younger set, back to books and classrooms after a 3-month layoff. It must mean a change of pace, too, for motorists, whether on city street or open highway.

Those school zone signs in every part of Madison will mean a sharp revision in driving habits for many accustomed to scooting by vacant buildings all summer. The limit is 15 miles per hour when children are present, and motorists can expect it to be enforced.

On other streets and highways, watch out for those big yellow schoolbuses. Watch for the flashing lights when the bus is stopped, and remember the Wisconsin law requires a full stop while the lights are flashing.

There was the feel of fall in the air most of last week. Now that school is "in," we know that it doesn't just seem like fall; it really is.

## Republican Party of the Sixties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Raymond Moley, noted author,

columnist, and political observer, has offered in the September 10 issue of Newsweek an analysis of the Republican talents and activities in the House of Representatives. Speaking for the Republicans in this body I wish first to thank Mr. Moley for his very kind remarks. Next I wish to urge my colleagues on this side of the aisle to continue to live up to the standard which Mr. Moley has set for us. This is a demanding task, but if Mr. Moley is correct in his evaluation of our talents, and I believe he is, we can meet the challenge it poses. Finally I call upon my colleagues and friends in the Democratic Party to join with us on the Republican side in assuring that there is meaningful and sincere debate on the issues which divide us, that a record of honest controversy is made, first to help us reach the important decisions that face us and second to give those whom we represent and those who will follow us an understanding of precisely what we have worked to accomplish in this Chamber.

Mr. Moley's column, "The GOP's Young Men," follows:

PERSPECTIVE: THE GOP'S YOUNG MEN

(By Raymond Moley)

I wonder if you have noticed that there are fewer and fewer references these days to the GOP "Old Guard"? This is because it is now difficult to make people believe that the Republican Party is a worm-eaten antique when so many of its active and most influential leaders have not reached threescore. This accent on youth is especially notable in the House of Representatives, the port of entry and training ground for party leadership. Witness Messrs. Kennedy and Nixon, who entered that Chamber in 1947 at the ages of 29 and 34 respectively.

This predominance of youth was brought home to me forcefully when I was the guest speaker at the breakfast meetings of two groups of Republican House Members this summer. One, called the 87th Club, is composed of Members elected in 1960. The other, called the SOS Club, is made up of Members elected in the 1950's. The 50 Members of these groups alone have an average age in the middle forties. Some of them are in their thirties.

The younger Republican Members of the House have a remarkable habit of working together. They meet together and develop joint policies on legislation. They specialize. One will concentrate on military affairs, another on the budget, another on taxes, still others on welfare policies, foreign trade, international affairs, etc. They issue interesting and informative policy papers which collectively could constitute a party platform, strong in specifics and marked by constructive alternatives to the policies of the administration and the Democratic leadership.

DOING THEIR HOMEWORK

An examination of these papers, together with the speeches of their authors on the floor, shows that they are not mere criticism of the Democratic opposition. These Members have viable and attractive plans for meeting public problems. They are preparing the way for the time when the country will entrust leadership to a majority of their own party.

Their letters to their constituents, generally issued weekly, and which I receive in considerable numbers, are meaty and highly informative.

In short, these men are doing their homework well. And also they are quite aware of political realities, which means that in forthcoming elections they will be hard to beat.

In their voting record on vital issues, under the leadership of the sage and experienced Minority Leader CHARLES HALLECK, they have shown remarkable cohesion.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD mirrors this new intellectual vigor. Time was when the House section of that daily parliamentary journal deserved little more than a glance from its constant readers. It was full of routine affairs. The real business of the House was carried on in committees. Now, however, there are meaningful debates and speeches which inform and impress their hearers and readers. Democratic sponsors of administration measures are compelled by searching questions to come to the nub of things.

THE PARTY'S FUTURE

This improvement in the quality of the House is the more notable because of the quite apparent decline in the character and quality of Senate proceedings. There, the RECORD is marred by the effusions of demagogs and windbags. A close reader of the RECORD said recently that "the House RECORD used to be the throwaway. Now it is the Senate part."

Capable Republican Congressmen are scattered among the major committees of the House. In some cases they work well with the veteran Democratic chairmen. When they disagree with the majority, their minority reports are well worth reading.

The future of the Republican Party is there among the younger Members of the House. There is the reserve from which will come the Senators and Governors—maybe Presidents—of the future. These young men are the assurance that the policies of the Republican Party will be neither a limp imitation of the liberalism of the Democrats nor mere opposition and criticism. Such policies will generate public support because they will be the assurance of progress through the framework of tested principles—progress that is "never wholly new * * * never wholly obsolete."

## The U.S. Supreme Court's Ruling in the New York School Prayer Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the August 10, 1962, issue of the Intelligencer, of Wheeling, W. Va., carries a provocative letter to the editor which is worth reading. The letter is by Lena M. Worthington, of Wheeling, and it deals with the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision on the recitation of a simple nonsectarian prayer in public schools. The editor of the Intelligencer featured the letter on page 10, not only because of space limitations in the usual section of the newspaper devoted to such letters, but because he rightly considered that the writer was making an important contribution to the current controversy engendered by the Court's decision in the New York school prayer case.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Lena M. Worthington's letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER TO THE EDITOR—PRAYER RULING: THE SUPREME COURT HAS OVERSTEPPED LIMITS OF POWER

EDITOR, THE INTELLIGENCER:

A cry of protest went up all over the Nation when the U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that it was illegal for New York State students to recite a simple, nonsectarian prayer.

Some people argued there should be a new constitutional amendment, to guard against what they called abuse of the judicial power. Your able columnist, Holmes Alexander, was one of these.

Actually, the fault of the Supreme Court in this case is not in their decision, which many people approved, but in the fact they took jurisdiction, when the Constitution so clearly states they had no right to consider the issue at all.

This may amaze many citizens, who are otherwise well informed about government, but careful reading of the Constitution will show the truth of the claim.

Amendment 1 of the Constitution reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech; or of the press; or of the rights of the people peacefully to assembly, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

It will be noted that the Constitution does not forbid the States to have an established religion. Actually, two States had established churches at the time the Constitution was adopted. It is quite probable that these States would never have ratified the Constitution, had they felt the Federal Government, or the Supreme Court, would undertake to limit their power over their own churches and choice of worship.

This will surprise many people. But any good history of the era will confirm the statement. The authoritative "Foundations of American Nationality," for instance, by the noted historian, E. B. Greene, in chapter 25 says: "Complete separation of church and state did not come either in Massachusetts or Connecticut until the 19th century." And in Virginia, a bill relieving citizens from the legal duty to support an established church by their taxes was not passed until 1785.

The illegal prayer case recalls numerous other instances where the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled against the collective conscience of American citizens, and—in the estimation of many thoughtful people—has hurt the Nation.

Practically every Communist who has come before the Supreme Court in recent years has been turned free. The State courts have in effect been denied the right to try cases of treason. So treason flourishes.

Patriotic organizations of attorneys have expressed incredulous amazement at some of the Supreme Court decisions, which have overturned the best legal thinking for more than a century, and have spread turmoil and discord over the Nation.

While there can be little doubt that effective steps must be taken, if the Nation is to protect itself from enemies within and without, there is a quicker and easier way than to ask for a constitutional amendment, which could take years before it is adopted.

This method is fully and clearly set forth in the Constitution, which recognizes that for every wrong there should be a reasonable and quick remedy. The Founding Fathers recognized that the Nation might be threatened by tyranny of the courts.

Article 1, section 1 says: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time

ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

Section 2 says: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdictions; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects."

"In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and facts, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

In other words, the Congress has the power to decree that only cases affecting Ambassadors, and those cases affecting a State, may come before the Supreme Court.

If there were no limits to the power of the Supreme Court then its members could claim more and more power until both the President and the Congress became figureheads, without real authority.

Many of the most substantial and respected Members of the Senate and House have complained that the Supreme Court has legislated in its more recent decisions.

Let me explain. If the Congress passes a law meaning one thing, and the Supreme Court, using some plausible excuse, says the law means something different than it originally did, then the Supreme Court has, in effect, passed a new law. This is legislating.

But the Constitution, under article 1, section 1, clearly says: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives."

When the Supreme Court so twists the Constitution or the law, to compel Americans to do things which the Congress has never decreed, the Supreme Court is violating the first article and section of the Constitution they are sworn to uphold.

This suggests the question: Can a simple and easily understood bill be written, to restrict the power of the Supreme Court, in the hope of saving American liberties from the unreasoning caprice of the group which Franklin D. Roosevelt attacked as "nine old men?"

People with more knowledge and experience in Government than myself can doubtless suggest many improvements, but to get the ball rolling, I suggest the following measure:

"The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, as provided by article 111, sections 1 and 2 of the Constitution.

"The Supreme Court, from this time on, until and unless this law is changed by the Congress, shall have no appellate jurisdiction over any decision made by any District Federal Court, a diversity of legal opinions, to conform with the conscience and custom of the people in the various States, being both morally right and desirable.

"All Federal Courts are denied jurisdiction in any case or opinion founded only on such vague and controversial ideologies and concepts as "the general welfare," unless such purpose of prior decision is legally sanctioned by legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States. All Federal Courts are specifically forbidden to exercise jurisdiction to deny the rights of either individuals or States, as provided in amendment IX to the Constitution, which states: 'The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people' and amendment X, which states: 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"When offenses, treason being one of many possible examples, are forbidden both by Federal and State statutes, jurisdiction shall not be taken from the State courts, when prosecutions are initiated in such courts. The existence of parallel or similar Federal and State legislation shall never be used as an excuse to deny State courts jurisdiction unless the Congress, by specific mandate, has voted to set aside the State statutes and clearly so states. This prohibition shall extend to civil and labor legislation, and, in fact, to all legislation.

"No precedents established by the Supreme Court in cases which may no longer be brought in Federal courts, or where the appellate rights are hereby abridged, shall be binding upon this Nation, its duty elected lawmakers or executives, or on any political subdivision or its legally chosen officials, or any individual, from this time on.

"It is the purpose of this legislation to confirm the exclusive rights of the Congress of the United States to initiate legislation, and to strike down and rebuke the usurpation of power by any other agency of government, under any pretext, however popular, potentially profitable or plausible."

Even if legislation similar to this is not immediately enacted, the fact it is being discussed will be a powerful lesson to the Supreme Court that they are not all powerful, but should abide strictly by the limits on their authority, as set forth in the sovereign safeguard of our liberties, the Constitution.

LENA M. WORTHINGTON.

WHEELING.

## Participation in Our Political Processes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, nothing is more important to the future of our Nation and to the achievement of our national destinies than the participation by every American in our political processes. Respected leaders in business, in government, in the labor movement, in education and in the professions have exhorted their fellow citizens to support candidates of their choice, but I know of no better demonstration of citizenship than that of the Western Electric Co., which has developed a companywide program designed to encourage individual contributions to political parties. Mr. W. C. Brooks, manager of Western Electric's Merrimack Valley Works in North Andover, Mass., has sent to me a copy of a letter from President H. I. Romnes to company employees describing the program. I congratulate Western Electric on this important contribution to the public good, and under leave to extend my remarks, I submit Mr. Romnes' letter for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD.

WESTERN ELECTRIC CO.,
*New York, N.Y., September 4, 1962.*

*To All Employees:*

Our political parties today are more than just worthy causes. They are the means by which we make our democratic form of government work. But the costs of political organizations and campaigns are skyrocketing.

Unfortunately the number of people who contribute to political campaigns is relatively small. I think you would agree, though, that all of us have a responsibility to do whatever we can to be sure that our personal political convictions are adequately voiced. We can help fulfill that responsibility by contributing to the parties and candidates we support.

Both parties have pointed to the coming elections as important to the Nation's future. Between now and November, all of us will be reviewing the issues and assessing the character and competence of the candidates. We shall make our decisions at the polls. But before that time comes, I hope that Western Electric people will also support their convictions financially.

To that end, the company will conduct its own "back your party" campaign, which will run from September 10 through 28. You will hear further about this from your manager who will be sending you materials that will make it convenient for you to contribute, anonymously, and in the amount you want. I hope you will take advantage of this opportunity.

H. I. ROMNES.

## Labor and Steel Persecution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Labor and Steel Persecution," written by David Lawrence and published in the Washington Evening Star of September 14, 1962.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR AND STEEL PERSECUTION—APPREHENSION FOUND AMONG UNIONS THAT MORE PLANTS MAY BE CLOSED

(By David Lawrence)

Persecution of the steel industry by liberal or radical Democrats in Congress has reached the point where even the labor unions are becoming apprehensive that the end result may be more plants closed down and more jobs lost. If present proposals are carried out, it could mean a form of Government control of the automobile industry, of aluminum, coal, copper, iron ore and other basic materials, and of related manufacturing enterprises.

Some of the radicals have gone so far as to concede that the purpose of their current demand for cost figures the steel companies to be submitted to a Senate committee is to determine whether a public-utility sys-

tem of regulating prices, and perhaps also fixing wages, may be desirable as a public policy for Congress to enact.

A memorandum authorized for distribution by Senator KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, Democrat, to the entire membership of the Senate Judiciary Committee, says flatly that, if a company seeks efficiency through the size of its operations, it may have to pay the penalty for it in a system of public-utility regulation. On this point, the memorandum reads as follows:

"If efficiency is assumed to be closely and directly related to size, the appropriate public policies would include such measures as requiring notification and defense before a public body of price increases, imposing some form of public-utility rate control.

"But if size is assumed not to be related to efficiency, dissolution and companion measures designed to promote competition become a logical course of public policy. Only by obtaining cost data can an intelligent judgment be made on the merits of this difficult issue."

The Senate subcommittee memorandum, in effect, declares war on the steel industry and threatens it either with laws that would establish a public-utility system of Government regulation or a splitup of existing companies into smaller units, irrespective of whether they will be efficient or make a profit adequate to insure further funds for investment in plant and equipment.

All this is being done in the face of statements from steel industry executives that net profits in their rate of return on invested capital have declined in the last 10 years by almost 50 percent. Thomas F. Patton, president of the Republic Steel Corp., said to the committee: "A product-by-product breakdown of the American steel industry's costs, whether published by groups of 3 companies or even 12 companies, would be invaluable to foreign competitors engaged in penetrating our markets."

Mr. Patton testified also that disclosure of cost data would have a serious domestic impact in that producers of competitive products "would have for the first time steel-cost information which could prove of great benefit to them and great damage to us in the steel industry." Describing current conditions in the steel industry, Mr. Patton added: "Wheeling Steel Corp. has reduced its dividend, Lukens Corp. has reduced its dividend, Pittsburgh Coke & Chemical Co. has reduced its dividend, and if you look at the profits of the steel companies for the last quarter, you will see that a number of them did not earn enough to cover their dividend, and I am sorry to have to say that when you look at the earnings of the current third quarter when they are published they are going to look even worse."

Mr. Patton predicted that, if foreign competitors could get the cost figures of American steel companies, they "would be better able to take business away from us—we would have our steel works working less, and more people out of work, and the towns in which our plants are located would be suffering even worse than they are today."

Senators SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, and KEATING, of New York, Republicans, asked whether plants in their respective States would be affected and received the reply that the impact would be serious everywhere if foreign competitors obtained access to the cost data of American companies.

Whether President Kennedy approves of the direction which the Kefauver subcommittee now has taken is not yet known. Last April he supported the efforts of the Tennessee Senator to undertake an inquisition into the affairs of the steel companies. There were reports around the Capitol then that Mr. Kennedy told Senator KEFAUVER bluntly "to go after" the steel companies. But the situation since last spring has changed for the worse. Unemployment in the steel industry has increased, and investors are suffering a loss of dividend as profits have been steadily reduced.

It looks now as if the Democratic Party candidates for Congress generally may be adversely affected if the President continues to stand behind the Kefauver committee's crusade. There have been rumors that the White House and the steel union leaders are taking another look at the whole situation. For it could become a potent issue in the current congressional campaign.

## Attacking Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, I have a genuine concern for any person who is unemployed despite efforts to find a gainful occupation. It is because of my concern for such persons that I have resisted administration efforts to give away our American jobs to foreigners through tariff cuts leading to increased imports. I have opposed extravagant foreign aid to build new factories abroad, which prevents tax reduction at home. Those individuals who have been displaced as a result of such action need and want jobs, and it is my hope that with the completed action on the depressed-area public works bill and the release of funds for retraining unemployed workers unemployment will be alleviated not only in the 11th Congressional District of Michigan, but throughout the Nation.

I am placing in the RECORD a copy of an editorial appearing in the Washington Evening Star, September 12, 1962, calling attention to the fact that the inauguration of these programs is a significant step in qualifying and utilizing manpower.

The editorial follows:

ATTACKING UNEMPLOYMENT

Two lines of Federal attack upon the overall unemployment problem made notable headway in recent days. One was the completion of congressional action authorizing a $900-million depressed-area public works bill. The other was clearance by the Labor Department of an initial 70 retraining projects for unemployed workers, the beginning of a nationwide program authorized in the new Manpower Development and Training Act.

The public works bill, for which funds must yet be appropirated, would permit Federal financing of certain types of capital improvement projects in more than 1,000 areas qualifying under the Redevelopment Act of 1961, or in communities that have had 6 percent or more unemployment for 9 of the last 12 months. Administration sponsors of the program have defined water, sewer, hospital, and airfield improvement projects as representative of the qualifying type, with further requirements that they could be started quickly and completed within a year. Testifying in support of the measure before he left the Cabinet, former Secretary of Labor Goldberg said that "no leaf-raking projects" would be approved and he estimated that at least 95 percent of the work would be done by workers employed by private contractors rather than on public payrolls.

Not surprisingly, consideration of this legislation in an election year has prompted charges that it would be used as a vote-getting scheme. For this reason, the Senate went on record as indorsing administration of the program "on a basis that would be free of any partisan favoritism." Certainly, it should be so. As a practical matter, with no funds yet available, there is relatively little opportunity for politicking with the program before election day less than 8 weeks hence.

For the long term, of course, a public works program is not a real cure for unemployment. More far-reaching benefit may accrue from the manpower retraining. Under this program, the first of its kind on a national scale, workers whose jobs have been eliminated by technological developments will be instructed in new or different skills that offer employment promise. Two Federal Departments, Labor along with Health, Education, and Welfare, will collaborate in directing the program. With a first-year appropriation of $70 million, it is estimated that 70,000 workers will be the first to benefit under this effort to combat the chronic unemployment that stems from modern technology. It is a small beginning, but potentially a significant one in the double sense of qualifying and utilizing manpower.

## Taxes Weren't Cut but Debate Helped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Taxes Weren't Cut but Debate Helped." The article was written by Sylvia Porter, a highly respected and noted writer and commentator on questions of economics.

The article reminds us that it is healthy for the country to have frank, thoughtful, and meaningful debate over economic policy, particularly tax policy.

It was my privilege to be one of the Members of Congress who participated in that debate. I had a point of view which I expressed early and often, namely, that I was of the opinion that our tax laws were in need of a general overhauling, in order to provide both equity and incentive—equity, by plugging tax loopholes; and incentive, by recognizing that modern American industry must improve its mechanization, and that that is a costly item, and that therefore in writing the tax laws that fact should receive due consideration.

The article by Miss Porter concludes with the following statement:

Finally, the debate paved the way for the reduction-reform bill in 1963.

The debate over whether to cut taxes has been finished; the answer is "Yes." The debate over when also is finished if the President's stated timetable is accepted. The cuts will be effective January 1, or 130 days from now.

The article was published on August 23.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Aug. 23, 1962]

TAXES WEREN'T CUT, BUT DEBATE HELPED

(By Sylvia Porter)

NEW YORK.—Several significant pluses have come out of the debate over a tax cut to spur our economy. Here are four of them:

The debate focused attention as never before on the extent to which the huge tax load being carried by businessmen and individual taxpayers is retarding our expansion. This new public awareness that our tax rates are, as the President said, "so high as to weaken the very essence of the progress of a free society" marks progress indeed.

Not in memory has there been a debate on our tax systems' defects so frank, so objective, so informed and widespread as this summer. When in January in his Economic Report, the President declared, "Later this year, I shall present to Congress a major program of tax reform" which "will reexamine tax rates" and be aimed "at strengthening of incentives for individual effort and for productive investment," few people heard his promise (and probably fewer remember he made the promise that long ago).

But when in June he said, "Our tax structure * * * exerts too heavy a drain on a prospering economy" and pledged to offer to the next Congress a program for "an across-the-board reduction in personal and corporate tax rates," millions got the message.

And when in his address to the Nation, August 14, rejecting an immediate tax cut but repeating he would offer a 1963 bill to "include an across-the-board, top-to-bottom cut in both corporate and personal income taxes," the entire Nation and free world were listening. We are at last on our way to basic reform.

2. The debate has created some startling new lineups among business and labor leaders, among liberal and conservative lawmakers, and shattered alliances that seemed unbreakable—another good omen for positive action on tax reform in coming months.

On the same day—June 29—that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce called for a tax reduction, Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers came out for tax cuts, too. Their programs are different, but their objectives are the same—stimulating the economy. While the president of Du Pont was urging Congress to give top priority to personal tax cuts, a Detroit union leader was saying, "Business should have some relief too."

3. It has forced thinking people for the first time in years to ask some of the right questions about our economy's unsatisfactory rate of growth in recent years. Only when we ask the right questions will we come to the right answers.

Finally, the debate paved the way for the reduction-reform bill in 1963, a bill which woud slash the top 91-percent rate on individuals, cut the 20-percent bottom rate, scale reductions in between and reduce the 52-percent corporate tax rate, too. The debate over whether to cut taxes has been finished; the answer is "Yes." The debate over when also is finished if the President's stated timetable is accepted. The cuts will be effective January 1, or 130 days from now.

## Growth of Misericordia College at Dallas, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] had the honor of presenting the principal address at groundbreaking ceremonies held at Misericordia College at Dallas, Pa., last Saturday, September 8, where construction began on two new buildings for that fine women's college. I understand Mrs. Flood is a graduate of Misericordia and the Congressman a member of the board of visitors.

I was born in DAN FLOOD's district and, therefore, know of the growth and impressive progress of that outstanding institution.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to insert in the RECORD today the address delivered by Mr. FLOOD on the occasion of the groundbreaking.

Address follows:

Today's ground-breaking ceremony marks another milestone in the history of Wyoming Valley's first college. The spadeful of good earth lifted this afternoon by College Misericordia's president, Sister Mary Celestine, is a symbol of the remarkable growth of this institution, as well as of the progress of the educational apostolate of the Sisters of Mercy in northeastern Pennsylvania.

On September 8, 1875, just 87 years ago today, eight Sisters of Mercy arrived from the motherhouse in Pittsburgh and took up residence in the old St. Mary's rectory on Canal Street, now Pennsylvania Avenue, Wilkes-Barre. After a brief month of preparations, this small band of teaching Sisters opened school on October 11 in St. Mary's Church on Canal Street, with 400 pupils enrolled. The rapid, almost ungovernable growth that was to be characteristic of all their institutions began immediately, for the enrollment of old St. Mary's quickly rose to 500, and before Christmas in 1875 two more Sisters arrived from Pittsburgh to assist in the school. The following September, the Sisters opened an academy, with 50 girls registering for classes.

Pupils of St. Mary's Parish came carrying their "dinner cans" from what seems to us now unbelievable distances, since most of them walked. They came from Ashley, Miners Mills, Plains, Parsons, Plymouth, Nanticoke, and Sugar Notch. One young scholar from Parsons, who would become the eminent Dr. James J. Walsh, noted physician, writer, and lecturer, never tired of recalling the excellent foundation he received at old St. Mary's, enabling him to enter Fordham College as a sophomore.

All of this early pioneering in education by the Sisters of Mercy in Wilkes-Barre was in full accordance with the ideals and principles established by Mother Mary Catherine McAuley, who founded the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy in Dublin, Ireland, in 1831. Although Mother McAuley's first endeavors were in the field of social welfare, she soon saw the need for free schools providing education for the poor children and the great middle class. Prior to her time, the Catholic schools that existed admitted rich children exclusively. With her enlightened mind, Mother McAuley saw that the Irish people could not be raised from their degradation unless the masses were brought under the influence of Catholic education. With no models to imitate, no examples to enlighten or encourage, no forebears to consult, this valiant woman devoted her fortune, her talents, and all she possessed to the poor of Dublin. Through visiting the best educational institutions in Dublin and observing their programs and methods, she was able to adapt the finest that she found in the teaching of secular subjects, permeating them with the queen of all studies, religion. "Let us fit our pupils for earth," she said, "without unfitting them for heaven."

Mother McAuley's educational framework was much in advance of her time. After establishing the first purpose of the work of teaching, "All for the honor and glory of God," she next put emphasis on scholarship, requiring that each Sister have a thorough English education, and in addition, specialization. She likewise stressed progressiveness and required her teachers to study to become acquainted with every improvement in the manner and method of imparting instruction. The importance of daily preparation of lessons before presenting them to a class, and the forestalling of discipline problems by giving the children plenty of occupation, were principles instilled into the first teaching Sisters of Mercy—principles which are now accepted practice in any educational system.

As can be seen, the philosophy and psychology which formed the foundation of the earliest free Catholic schools in Dublin can be, and were intended to be, adapted to any conditions under which the Sisters might be called upon to educate the young. Catherine McAuley was not one to rest upon what she had accomplished in the educational field; she stood for progress and fresh ideas. "In the instruction and education of youth," she admonished her teachers, "the Sisters shall be inspired by a sound and modern pedagogy so that their schools will not only be equal but superior to other schools." Here she clearly indicates that she expects her religious to move forward with the times, to keep pace with all that is best in modern methods and techniques, within the framework of a Catholic philosophy of education, and all that is good in traditional learning and culture.

When the first Sisters came from Pittsburgh to Wilkes-Barre, they were imbued with these ideals. Before long, they were working for and receiving their bachelor of arts degrees and teaching college courses in St. Mary's High School. These courses were accredited by colleges and universities, and beginning in 1921, normal school courses were given.

Then came the first great ground breaking for the Sisters' venture in higher education on this beautiful hilltop in Dallas. On June 3, 1921, Bishop Hoban officiated at the ceremony, which was also attended by Mother M. Mercedes, superior, the other Sisters, and a representative delegation from Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley. What is now the administration building of College Misericordia was completed and blessed by Bishop Hoban on August 15, 1924. Among the dignitaries present on that historic occasion were Attorney James W. Stack of Wilkes-Barre, Dr. James J. Walsh, and Mayor Daniel L. Hart, who was also an alumnus of "old St. Mary's" on Canal Street. On Sep-

tember 24, the first academic year began with 50 students enrolled. Mother M. Catharine, the former Delia McGann, of Wilkes-Barre, and the first candidate to enter St. Mary's Novitiate and persevere became the first dean. She, who now had her doctorate, was assisted by 15 fully qualified faculty members and 3 lecturers. Chartered by the State of Pennsylvania on January 31, 1927, College Misericordia held its first commencement exercises in Irem Temple, Wilkes-Barre, conferring bachelor of arts degrees on four young women, and the bachelor of science degree on one. Since that date, the labor of educating the daughters of this anthracite region, and far beyond its limits, has expanded so rapidly that it has been difficult to meet the demands for classrooms, living quarters, and other facilities required by an academic community. Today's beginning toward the erection of a new dormitory and a student union building will help meet the demands of the exploding enrollment.

Never losing sight of their foundress' intention of providing opportunities for those unable to finance a costly education, this institution of higher learning has interested itself first and foremost in the young women of the nearby mining area. About two-thirds of the college population is comprised of day students who travel to classes from all over Wyoming Valley and even from points farther away. Many of these students are studying on full- or part-time scholarships, or by means of some other type of financial aid provided by the college, which tries never to turn away a deserving girl with the aptitude for college studies. Although this has always been a liberal arts college, solicitude for the needs of every type of student has led to the introduction of specialized vocational courses such as secretarial science, home economics, and nursing education. College Misericordia aims to educate girls "for life and a livelihood," and she believes that liberal education cannot be divorced from the practical needs of life.

Besides the students of the valley and its environs, most of whom travel back and forth to the campus each day, the college attracts young women from many other States, as well as from distant parts of this State, and from several foreign countries. Many of these students, too, are assisted by scholarships. For all, there are plentiful opportunities to develop professional and practical skills, if they select a vocational field for concentration; for all, there is provided an atmosphere in which to acquire culture, poise, and self-confidence; for all, there are numerous incentives, through classes, extracurricular activities, and counseling, to live a generous and noble life, so that they may become active, useful citizens in their respective communities, and a positive influence for good as career women or married women in the family.

This work of developing the intellectual, cultural, and moral capacities of young women is spearheaded by a faculty of 11 priests, 52 Sisters, and 40 laymen and women, who teach the 724 regularly enrolled students. To afford educational opportunities for those who cannot pursue a full-time program, there is the extension school, which brings the full enrollment up to 1,103, making College Misericordia the sixth largest Catholic women's college in the United States. In addition, the college now operates an educational guidance clinic in Wilkes-Barre. And finally, since 1960, this college, in cooperation with the University of Scranton, offers graduate study in English, history, and education, leading to a master of arts or a master of science degree. During the past summer, 90 students of both sexes pursued graduate courses on this campus.

The music department and the department of drama, as well as such campus clubs as the literary club and the modern language club, supplement the oportunities offered for cultural enrichment in the humanities program. However, a need for professional entertainment of a high level was felt by the administration, both for the student body and for the people of Wyoming Valley. For their diversion and pleasure, 3 years ago the Theater 3 series was initiated and has enjoyed spectacular success. The three performances of each season by musical groups internationally famous have attracted full houses of enthusiastic audiences at Wilkes-Barre's Irem Temple. This year a fourth attractions, Molière's comedy, "A School for Wives," staged by Players, Inc., will be presented as a gift performance to the patrons of Theater 3. The college, in its role as guardian and mother of the arts, thus serves the community as well as its own student body by providing cultural recreation.

A college may review its lofty purposes and traditions, count the sacrifices of its administrators and faculty, examine its curriculum and campus activity; but its success can be calculated only from the achievements of its graduates. The true luminosity of College Misericordia is revealed in her alumnae, whose impact is felt in many fields, not least of those, the home, and family. To the classrooms of the nation this college has contributed 60 percent of its graduates as teachers on all levels. Seventy-five percent have entered the professions—medicine, law, teaching, and the social services. Not lagging behind in this age of science, the college has sent chemical and biological researchers, not to mention public relations officials and secretarial workers, into such major corporations as Westinghouse, Eastman Kodak, Standard Oil, Merck, Hoffman, La Roche, and Parke-Davis. Misericordia graduates are laboring with the physically and mentally handicapped; they are teaching in American schools overseas; they are active in business administration, advertising, and government. Each year a number of graduating seniors are awarded valuable fellowships and assistantships leading to master's and doctor's degrees.

The growth and progress of this college has been remarkable as it continues to increase in enrollment and to branch out in new ways year after year. To the alumnae, for whom the new residence hall will be named, much credit is due. To the religious women, such as Sister M. Annunciata Merrick, in whose honor the new student union building will be named, and who have worked so selflessly for the expansion of this educational institution, high praise is owed. Continuing the endeavors of the first dean, Sister Mary Catharine, and others who succeeded her, such as Sister M. Pierre and Sister M. Annunciata, are Sister M. Celestine, president of College Misericordia, and Sister Marianna, academic dean. Theirs is a great work, a priceless contribution to American life, for in the words of Orestes Brownson: "The United States is a country of diverse theologies and one creed, of many churches and one temple, of a thousand theories and one conviction. The creed is education, the temple is the schoolhouse, and the conviction is the healing power of learning."

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## Report to Moose Lodge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, last week the National Baseball Congress tournament was held in Wichita, Kans., and the Alaska Gold Panners, of Fairbanks, Alaska, my hometown, finished second. Arriving in Fairbanks on September 7, the team was given a rousing reception at the local Moose Lodge, a spontaneous expression of public pride in an excellent accomplishment. In finishing second out of a field of 33 teams representing all parts of the country, the Alaska Gold Panners, it should be noted, prevailed over teams having former major league players, such as Enos Slaughter and Dee Fondy.

Having duly noted that many of my colleagues have, from time to time, called attention to the exploits of teams representing their areas, I wish to call attention to the fact that the Alaska Gold Panners have demonstrated that the national pastime is not only popular in the far North, but that we also produce good baseball players.

I submit herewith the September 7 editorial of the Fairbanks News-Miner, which is descriptive of the enthusiastic reception accorded the Fairbanks, Alaska, Gold Panners upon their return to Fairbanks:

REPORT TO THE MOOSE LODGE

Sentiment is still running plenty strong for the Alaska Gold Panners, and the fact they barely missed seizing the championship laurels isn't going to dampen the homecoming festivities.

That 7 to 6 final score was a heartbreaker, especially since the Panners outhit the Wichita hometown champs and had fewer errors. But after all, coming in second out of 33 teams in the National Baseball Congress 1962 tournament isn't exactly what you'd call a poor showing, especially since none of the experts figured the Alaska team would get very far. New to nightlight baseball and facing teams loaded with the top semipro talent in the Nation, the Panners weren't given much of a chance of finishing in the top 20, let alone the finals.

On top of that, the Panners bring home with them a record number of awards. For the first time in the 28-year history of the event, a manager other than the manager of the No. 1 team received the All American Manager Award. This went to Red Boucher, with the same honors going to the Wichita manager.

The Panners received awards as the best dressed team, the team traveling the farthest, the most popular team, the most aggressive team, the team with the best first-time showing in the NBC tournament, the best young team, and the second place trophy. And John Stapp was honored as All American pitcher.

They also return as public relations ambassadors who not only won the hearts of thousands of fans, including those from rival team cities, but performed the sort of publicity job for the 49th State that would be the envy of any chamber of commerce, either on the local or State level.

Nor does it stop here. The Panners are automatically invited to enter the nationwide semiprofessional baseball tournament again next year.

The official homecoming celebration will start at 8 o'clock tonight at the Fairbanks Moose Lodge. This will be a fine occasion for the community to turn out and pay tribute to the team members, who in turn express their gratitude to all Fairbanks citizens and businesses who pitched in to make the Wichita trip possible.

Seems to us this is one time when a mutual admiration get-together is well justified. Let's all turn out for it. See you at the Moose Lodge tonight.

## Pressures by Right and Left Discussed by Freedom House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the more scholarly and responsible private groups discussing the political process in our country today is Freedom House, of New York. This group of men and women of both political parties issues policy and study statements from time to time. Since its founding during the Second World War, Freedom House has been a respectable, responsible voice avoiding extremism. The noted columnist of the New York Herald Tribune syndicate, Roscoe Drummond, is the present chairman of Freedom House. In the New York Times of September 7, 1962, there was published an article which discusses the latest Freedom House report on the use of labels, both regarding communism and fascism. As this is a subject about which we can all learn more, I think the new Freedom House booklet, "What's 'Right' and 'Left?'—A Guide for Responsible Anti-Communists," is well worth our study and discussion:

REPORT CRITICIZES "RIGHT-LEFT" TAGS—FREEDOM HOUSE COMPARES COMMUNISM TO FASCISM

Communism and fascism are the same breed of cat, and it creates a false image to call one "left" and the other "right," a public affairs reported by Freedom House asserted yesterday.

The report, an analysis of political extremism, is called: "What's 'Right' and 'Left'?—A Guide for Responsible Anti-Communists."

Freedom House, an organization of liberal, moderate and conservative leaders in public affairs who support democratic principles, said: "We emphasize that the Communist conspiracy is a counterrevolutionary movement on the reactionary right—the totalitarian twin brother of fascism and nazism."

"CONFUSING EFFECT"

In their analysis, the directors of Freedom House also commented:

"We deplore the confusing effect of the 'right-left' image. It is in essence a false representation of the political spectrum to position democracy in the middle, flanked by two forms of totalitarian dictatorship."

Communism and the reactionary right, the analysis said, are basically alike in that their main attack is aimed at democratic institutions, and that they use similar conspiratorial tactics.

Democracy then, the report said, is not cast in the middle role between two kinds of dictatorship; it is clearly the alternative to all forms of oppression.

The report urged believers in democracy to oppose the extremist "irresponsibles" who support communism and the reactionary right, since both represent forms of tyranny.

Freedom House said in its report that its stand for freedom was "necessarily coupled with a strong anti-Communist posture."

It is no easy thing to be responsibly anti-Communist, the report declared because "both extremes harass those who disagree with them, not hesitating to question the integrity, patriotism, or even the sanity of their opponents."

ATTRACTION TO RIGHTISTS

"We believe that rightist groups have attracted many who could not find a firm leadership in the center for effective expression of their profreedom and anti-Communist convictions," the report continued.

"Freedom House believes it is essential to expose and oppose Communist imperialism by education and to counter it by economic, social, and political measures as well as by a strong military posture.

"It [Freedom House] distinguishes itself from the rightists particularly by its support of actions to unite allies, aid and befriend new nations and neutrals, create broader economic foundations for free world progress through new trading patterns such as the Common Market, and foster the wider application of human rights.

"It differs from the left by its conviction that social progress is not enough; that unequivocal resistance to Communist expansion is also necessary, and that this is not only more honorable but far less risky than making compromises that add up to appeasement."

Freedom House, whose chairman is Roscoe Drummond, has its headquarters at 20 West 40th Street.

## Political Slush Fund Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Monroe, Mich., Evening News of August 31, 1962:

POLITICAL SLUSH FUND EXPOSED

The sudden emergence of the administration's $900 million public works bill raises questions as to how the proposal will be administered. The anxiety over how the bill will be put into effect is heightened by charges that the administration has used similar programs for partisan, political ends. The public works bill dragged for a while in the House as some Congressmen feared the same thing might happen to the $900 million proposal. This fear was greatly substantiated last week with the revelations made by Republican Congressman DURWARD HALL, of Missouri.

Representative HALL believes that he has caught the administration playing politics with the food stamp program which cost $25 million last year and has $50 million budgeted this year. "The food stamp pilot program being administered by the Department of Agriculture has become a brazen political slush fund," Representative HALL declared on the House floor last week.

Looking into the situation, Chicago Tribune writer Frank Holeman noted that there are two possible conclusions:

"1. Nearly all of the needy, unemployed people in the United States live in congressional districts represented by Democrats, or,

"2. There is some real hanky-panky going on, which should be exposed immediately for the good of the country."

Shortly after he was inaugurated, President Kennedy set up, "on a pilot basis" in eight areas of chronic unemployment, the food stamp program. The areas were picked by Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman. All eight areas were represented in Congress by Democrats. Early this month, the Department said that the program had been so successful that the program was going to be expended into 18 new congressional districts. All but one of these was a Democratic district.

In choosing its areas of chronic unemployment, the Agriculture Department somehow slipped up and forgot to include the area which has the highest rate of unemployment in the Nation, according to Labor Department statistics—Johnstown, Pa., with more than 12 percent of the work force idle. This area wasn't overlooked, however, because Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, a Republican, pleaded with Agriculture to include his area and give relief to his area. But his pleadings were ignored, as were other Republican Members from areas of high unemployment.

Secretary Freeman has complete autonomy in picking the test areas. The only criteria are that the test area must be an area of substantial unemployment or eligible for area redevelopment aid and that local officials are willing. Interestingly enough, these are the same requirements for projects to be approved under the pending public works bill.

## Rivalry Prods New England Fishermen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting article written by a staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor in Boston:

RIVALRY PRODS NEW ENGLAND FISHERMEN

BOSTON.—When Soviet fishing boats appeared on Georges Bank off Cape Cod last year, they dramatically reminded Americans of the foreign competition facing the fishing industry.

The Soviet boats, to be sure, fish primarily for herring and ship them back to the U.S.S.R. (Americans eat very little herring.)

Nevertheless, it emphasized that more nations than ever before are fishing the North Atlantic.

The steady rise of foreign competition has, more than anything else, spotlighted the weaknesses of New England (and American) commercial fisheries. In New England, imports come primarily from Canada, followed by Denmark, Iceland, and Norway.

Danish and Norwegian fishing industries were partially rebuilt with U.S. aid following World War II, and Iceland, which became completely independent from Denmark only in 1944, built its first competitive fishing fleet with American economic help.

OLD U.S. BOATS

These new fleets by contrast point up the antiquity of American boats. The average trawler in the New England fleet is 25 years old. The boat presently being built for the Boston fleet will be the first new one in 14 years.

Older boats cost more to insure, repair, and operate. They lack capacity, refrigeration facilities (fish are highly perishable, and are caught a long way from port), and living conditions that would attract new, younger men to become fishermen.

Despite sharply advancing costs, gross revenues and returns per pound of groundfish landed have declined in constant dollars during the postwar period, according to a study done last year by the Bureau of Business Research at Boston College.

American fishermen point out that foreign boats are often (though not always) built

with heavy Government subsidies, sometimes around 50 percent.

FEDERAL SUBSIDY

A 1792 law restricts Americans from building boats overseas, and shipbuilding, steel, and electrical industries and workers oppose any attempt to change the law. A Federal subsidy passed several years ago pays for a third of the cost of contruction in the United States (about $450,000 for a trawler), but owners assert this is not enough and are urging Congress to raise the support.

Supply of fish is another problem. The quantities of haddock and ocean perch, two of the major New England catches, is stabilized with no prospects of increase. Yet an ever-greater number of boats are seeking the fish.

Also, fish on the banks closest to New England ports are not as abundant as before, and boats must go farther north, thus putting Canadian boats at an advantage over U.S. boats.

There are other problems, lack of latest technological equipment aboard the boats, labor problems on the fish piers, lack of quality consciousness among some fishermen (that is, in handling the fish and keeping boats clean), and widely fluctuating prices for fresh fish that make the fisherman's role uncertain.

But looming larger than all other problems and in a sense, causing them all, is the industry's "free enterprise ad absurdum," according to one close observer. Boatowners and fish processors seem unwilling to combine interests.

Most boats are individually owned. In some cases, the crew, not the captain, of a boat determines what fish shall be caught on a given day. (The crew's pay depends on the take, and that day's market prices.)

## United Nations Loan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2768) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the purchase of United Nations bonds and the appropriation of funds therefor.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I was among those who listened with a great deal of interest a little earlier this afternoon when the suggestion was made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], that we might well give consideration to an amendment whereby section 5 of the pending legislation would be amended in order to make it mandatory that the United Nations, before we would subscribe to any of this bond issue, would accept by the necessary two-thirds vote the recent decision of the International Court of Justice.

Mr. Chairman, I also listened to the arguments made by the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER], a member of the committee, in which the gentleman stated that he thought this would be equivalent to waving a red flag in front of some of the members of the United Nations. In addition he said that he thought it was unnecessary because he felt that in view of the fact that about 80 members of the United Nations had already agreed to subscribe to this bond issue, that more than the necessary two-thirds could be counted on to accept the decision.

Mr. Chairman, I must confess that I have read carefully the entire hearings—record of hearings—in this matter, and that, frankly, is the only reason that I deign to take the time of the Committee and appear here in the well of the House at this late hour this afternoon. I certainly must respectfully disagree with the very sanguine estimate that has been made by the gentleman from New Jersey as to the likelihood that this decision would be adopted, for this reason: I call the Committee's attention to the very interesting colloquy that occurs, beginning on page 97 of the committee hearings and extending through page 100 of said hearings, between Mr. Plimpton, the Deputy Representative of the United Nations, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS], a member of the committee, whom I regret to say is not on the floor at this time. But the gentleman from Ohio points out, in any event, in this very important colloquy, that when the question of Hungary was brought before the United Nations as to whether or not that should be submitted as a question for the agenda of the United Nations, that there are 52 members of the United Nations who are Afro-Asian nations, and that 42 out of those 52 voted against us on that particular issue. This was largely on the question of whether or not this should be on the agenda. Now, I ask the members of the Committee when a vote comes in the General Assembly of the United Nations as to whether or not powerful Soviet Russia shall accept this decision of the World Court or else be deprived of its vote altogether in the General Assembly by the mandatory acceptance of this decision, how do the members of the Committee think those same 42 members of the Afro-Asian bloc in the General Assembly are going to vote? I, for one, am much less optimistic than some about the acceptance of that decision. I see no reason at all why we should not insist that this be made mandatory before we accept this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I would also say something in commenting upon what was mentioned by my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL]. Some of us who rise in opposition to this bill as presently written are involuntarily cast in the role of being opponents of the United Nations. I do not classify myself in that category. I realize that there is a role for the U.N. in the world, that it is useful to have an international forum for the discussion of peacekeeping tasks which can be safely carried out by a world body but, frankly, I have been sorely disappointed, as I have sat here on the floor throughout most of the debate this afternoon, that we have not heard more discussion about some of these peacekeeping operations of the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, I sat here yesterday throughout an hour's special order and listened to a very well documented suggestion or charge by one of my colleagues, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRUCE], that there might well be certain international economic and financial interests that are prompting the strange goings-on that we are sanctioning today in the Congo. Yet I have not heard anything today in response to anything he said in the course of that hour, except that yesterday afternoon one gentleman—I think my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA], who went so far as to suggest that this is extraneous and that the issue of Africa has nothing to do with this.

Another man went so far as to say that this $100 million is sort of an insurance premium, that we have to pay this in order to keep the peace.

I wonder why it is that at the very hour, almost, that we are considering this bond issue here, another committee of the House of Representatives is sitting elsewhere in the Capitol deciding whether or not we should authorize the President of the United States to recall 150,000 reservists. Why is it that tonight peace hangs by a more fragile thread than it has in many a year? Why is it that we are threatened by Cuba, 90 miles from our own mainland? Why is it we have a war raging in southeast Asia, if the United Nations has been all that some of these men would lead us to believe it has been? I am afraid there have been some gross exaggerations in the course of the debate. I would suggest we look more carefully at the role the United Nations has been playing in the last few years.

Mr. Chairman, some weeks ago the Nation listened to a very remarkable address by one of our most dintinguished living Americans, former President Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover, of course, has a reputation as an internationalist who supported not only the idea of the founding of the United Nations Organization, but also many years ago urged our membership in the World Court in a time when this was decidedly not a popular course of action to advocate. Therefore, when his remarks are viewed against this background I think it is fair to say that they represent the point of view of a man who subscribes thoroughly to the principle of international cooperation. As the members of the Committee will recall, former President Hoover advanced the idea that a Council of Free Nations should be established in view of the inability of the United Nations to carry out its functions in some instances because of the oft-exercised Soviet veto in the Security Council. I wish that today we were discussing an authorization of $100 million for the establishment of such a Council for Free Nations for I think that it would contribute far more to the safeguarding of the peace of the world than the blood transfusion which we are today being asked to administer to the United Nations.

I speak as one who believes that there is a need for an international organization both as a forum for the discussion of those issues which affect the people

of the world and also to provide machinery to safeguard the peace of the world when it is threatened. However, I am also obliged to number myself among those who decry the double standard that has been employed by the United Nations in adjudging the role that it should play in those disputes that threaten the peace. A couple of examples will certainly suffice to illustrate what I mean. The U.N. has cast a benevolent eye and given its blessing to a plan whereby the Papuan natives of West Irian will be turned over after a period of time to the administration of Mr. Sukarno of Indonesia. We were recently criticized by both the Premier and the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, heretofore one of our stanchest allies, for our failure to render them any moral encouragement whatsoever in their initial protest against this forced transfer of sovereignty and control.

Likewise, the U.N. with our assistance and under the urging of the Afro-Asian bloc has engaged in the condemnation of the colonialism practiced by Portugal. However, we fail to hear any urging by the Afro-Asian bloc that there be an equally strong denunciation of the far more repressive type of colonialism carried on by the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Finally, we come to the sorry record that the U.N. has made for itself in the Congo. This is of particular importance, of course, because it has been admitted that the proceeds of this bond issue will be used primarily to support the continued maintenance of the U.N. forces in that unhappy country.

In August 9, 1960, the Security Council passed a resolution which specifically affirmed this principle that "the U.N. forces in the Congo were not to be a party to or intervene in the resolution of any internal political conflicts." Despite that resolution it is a well-known fact that in the so-called December war the forces of the U.N. proceeded to involve itself in an internal dispute in an operation of which Paul Henri Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, was able to say that it had been in certain respects carried out under conditions that were truly inhuman. We are often told that the U.N. is merely a policeman on the beat, and only its presence in the Congo has prevented a confrontation of the great powers, which in turn would lead to the holocaust of nuclear war. It has been pointed out by persons far more expert in the field of foreign policy than I that the suggestion that the Soviets will dispatch troops or otherwise militarily intervene in the Congo in the event of a withdrawal of the U.N. troops is an entirely unreasonable hypothesis. The record conclusively shows that the Sino-Soviet bloc has committed its forces only when it has been in control of an adjoining land mass. This was shown to be true both in the case of Korea and in southeast Asia. Furthermore, at this particular juncture of world affairs there is every reason to believe that the Soviet Union may be so busy in such areas as Berlin and Cuba that the disorders in the Congo have been relegated to a secondary status in their plans for fomenting disorder. Be that as it may, I think that a fiction is being perpetrated upon the American people to suggest that the only alternative to the U.N. operations in the Congo is a military confrontation in that area of the great powers.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BRIGHTWATER, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,
*June 22, 1962.*

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Pray tell, what does it take to get House Resolution 211 (establishment of a Captive Nations Committee) out of the House Rules Committee?

The Suffolk County American Legion, representing more than 6,500 Legionnaires, 2 weeks ago passed a resolution favoring the establishment of a Captive Nations Committee. Add this to the hundreds of letters entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Congressman DAN FLOOD, of Pennsylvania—from all parts of the Nation, and many of which forwarded petitions representing en toto thousands of aroused Americans—and you must get a picture of an American people who are demanding that this bill get out of committee.

I recently wrote to Congressman H. R. GROSS, who is doing a tremendous job, in my opinion, of trying to hold the line on spending and idiocy in governmental affairs. I asked Congressman GROSS what could possibly be holding up the bill. His reply points out that 10 Democrats and 5 Republicans are on your committee.

It would appear to me, then, that it is the party of Rusk and Kennedy, who have already acquired a reputation of shying away from any action that might embarrass the Communists; it is that party which is responsible for keeping this bill in committee. I urge you to bring it to the floor, where I know it will pass by something like 400 to 2.

You must know this, too. Are you not in favor of establishing a Captive Nations Committee? Who could it possibly harm, other than Khrushchev? And why should we be so afraid to harm him (who has sworn to bury us)?

Sir, I believe that the establishment of this committee can go a long way toward victory in the cold war; victory, that is, without nuclear, or any other kind of war. The people who are now enslaved are our best allies. They know what communism really means; they will not vacillate if given a choice; if they know that we mean business when we say that the United States stands for world freedom.

Yours sincerely,

E. LEE NORTH.

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Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Valerian Sksylov, a Cossack by origin and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to create a special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,

VALERIAN SKSYLOV.

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CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I support your proposal House Resolution 211 to create a special House Committee on Captive Nations. It is the best at the present time to win the cold war against the gangsters of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

PETER KONSTANTINE.

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JUNE 22, 1962.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for remembering the Baltic nations on the occasion of the 22d anniversary of the mass deportations by the Soviets.

Also, I wish to express my appreciation for the resolution urging the establishment of the Captive Nations Committee. Let us hope that this resolution is approved without too much delay, so that these nations would not be forgotten.

Once again, thank you for all the interest you show in behalf of the suffering peoples of the Baltic nations.

Yours truly,

HELEN SHIELDS.

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BALTIMORE, MD.,
*June 25, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, as a Cuban refugee, am very grateful to you for introducing this measure of the establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of

Representatives. At the same time, would like to intercede with you as to include Cuba among these captive nations, for as you know we are at the present time facing the terror and barbarism of communism in our nation.

Let us pray and hope that your House Resolution 211 will favorably be in effect very soon.

Thanking you very much in advance for the interest you are giving to this noble cause.

I am respectfully yours,

MIRTA A. GARCIA.

## The John Birch Society in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, a major technique of the John Birch Society is to promote its program through "front" organizations. Sometimes these are Birch organized. More often, they are established groups in which Birch members may exercise some influence.

In this fifth of six reports by Staff-writer Barbara Holliday, some of the inner workings of the John Birch Society in Michigan are revealed:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IN MICHIGAN

To gage the strength of the John Birch Society in Michigan by its 1,000-plus members is folly.

This figure may be tripled if strength is gaged in terms of activity.

The John Birch Society is a crusade—and its members are never allowed to forget for a moment that they are fighting the good fight.

In the July-August joint issue of American Opinion, edited by Founder Robert Welch, an annual "scoreboard" of Communist domination in the world was published.

In the section devoted to the United States, it was noted that Communist "control" in this country remained constant during the last year at just below the "critical" 70 percent.

The article continued:

"It must be accounted one of the great feats of our century that a comparatively small, but courageous and resolute band of Americans was able to halt—at least for a year—the Communist advance.

"We have won a delaying action but we have yet to win the victory. * * * There can be no moment of rest or safety until the conspiracy is destroyed. Americans must realize, and we mean this literally, that the alternative to liberty is death."

With this kind of clarion call urging them on, Birchers seldom make waste motions. Wherever they go, whatever company they are in, they are under orders to "spread the words," to recruit, to influence where possible, to "educate."

To follow them through all the areas of their activity is like trying to catch a school of minnows in your bare hand.

But I was able to trace some of the Birch front groups in Detroit by focusing on individual members.

Brian Kelly, whom we met as leader of chapter 69, is one of the most active members of a Birch-front group, Education for American Freedom.

You may remember that in September, 1961, this group sponsored a highly successful 5-day conference called counterattack at the University of Detroit.

This group is still active as an educational force against communism. Its forte is showing anti-Communist films such as "Operation Abolition" and sponsoring anti-Communist speakers.

("Operation Abolition" is a film considered to be slanted and inaccurate, purporting to show the Communist influence in student riots in San Francisco when the House Un-American Activities Committee was meeting there.)

Brian Kelly is also an individual Birch contact for a group called the crusaders which cosponsored a well-attended public meeting late in 1961. "Crusaders" is also an anti-Communist group utilized as a Birch front.

Kelly also recently joined the 17th District Conservative Club which is already overflowing with John Birchers.

Tom Staffin, a member of chapter 69, was one of those who launched the Michigan Independent American Party in 1960 with the late R. Roy Pursell, of Plymouth, known for his anti-Semitism, as a gubernatorial candidate.

Staffin regularly attends meetings of the States Rights' Council whose charter was denied in 1958 by the Michigan Corporation Securities and Exchange Commission because of a stated goal of complete racial separation.

Wilma Oswolt, who was present at a 17th District Conservative Club meeting I attended, and a very active member of Birch Chapter 61, is secretary of the National Civic Association.

The association locked horns in 1958 with the Michigan Fair Election Practices Commission for "injecting racial and religious issues" in an election campaign.

Mrs. Oswolt was instrumental in organizing the Northwest Parents Club to protest busing Negroes to three Detroit schools in her neighborhood.

She also appeared with Donald Sargent, president of the National Civic Association, before the Michigan House of Representatives State Affairs Committee to speak against the fair housing legislation in 1961 with 4,000 antifair housing cards and a petition of 28,000 names.

The pair also met unsuccessfully with Governor Swainson to urge his signing Senate bill 1344, the antirule 9 proposal passed by the legislature. (Rule 9 forbids discrimination on the part of licensed real estate brokers and salesmen on the basis of race, religion, color, or national origin.)

Mrs. Oswolt is a member of the States Rights' Council and takes part in Independent American Party meetings. Usually on display at these meetings is racist literature such as Gerald L. K. Smith's "Cross and the Flag," National States' Rights "Thunderbolt," and Conde McGinley's "Common Sense."

Mrs. Oswolt joined the Birch Society last September shortly after she was appointed Michigan representative for the National States Rights' Party.

This spring she was one of the most vigorous picketers in protest of integration at the Post School in northwest Detroit.

Edward A. Kelly, Michigan coordinator of the John Birch Society, is also one of the most active members of Education for American Freedom.

One of his jobs as coordinator is to appear before as many groups as possible with films such as "Operation Abolition."

During the past year Birchers have picketed the Leningrad Ballet when it appeared at Masonic temple and the tractors-for-freedom meeting at which Eleanor Roosevelt spoke.

Ann Byerlein, a nurse, and Don Lobsinger, a student at Wayne State University, are the most energetic picket line organizers. They have also organized protests against Communist speakers on the campus.

Neither of them is identified as a member of the John Birch Society but work closely with members to achieve Birchist aims.

Lobsinger recently reported he sent letters to the board of governors at Wayne and the board of regents at the University of Michigan asking if they were going to uphold the ban on Communist speakers.

The replies from Michigan were ambiguous, he said, and not a single reply had been received from Wayne.

Ann Byerlein is an active member in Education for American Freedom and the Crusaders.

A continuing project for all Birch members is the placement of Birch-approved anti-Communist literature in libraries. This is usually attempted through letters requesting specific books repeatedly or offering the donation of anti-Communist literature.

Birch members in this area are especially aggressive in school board elections, trying to be elected themselves or supporting one of their own.

They apply pressure on school board officials concerning the approved books for school libraries, seeking removal of those the Birchers deem obscene.

Ed Kelly suggests that the best method is to appear at a board meeting with an "objectionable" book and demand to have selected passages read aloud.

The current major local front for John Birch is antifluoridation.

Tabloid-size newspapers with articles on mongoloidism purportedly caused by fluoride and other literature were put into my hands by a Bircher at a 17th District Conservative Club meeting.

A chapter leader, Alma Ambrose, read exhaustively from the paper before a group of about 50 people who were ostensibly there to organize conservative Republicans for precinct work.

One speaker addressing the meeting referred repeatedly to President Kennedy as "our dictator President."

Following the meeting, which was held in a community center, the club president was advised that the center would not permit further meetings of this group.

Political activity by the Birchers has received a remarkable assist through the organization of the District Conservative Clubs which started out as affiliates of the Conservative Association of Michigan organized by Prof. Dan Stewart in Lansing.

I attended the first meeting of the 15th District Conservative Club in the home of a member of chapter 69, Lois M., an attractive young mother of four children, and an ardent Bircher.

The Wayne County Conservative Association has as its Secretary Richard Kelly, a brother of Ed, also a member of the society.

Mailings for the association contain far-rightist literature and American Opinion is displayed on the secretary's desk.

The meetings are attended regularly by a number of Birchers including Grosse Pointe's Richard Durant, the best known member of the society here since the battle for control of the 14th District by the society reached the headlines.

The fight was spotlighted in mid-May when Senator John Stahlin, who was to run unsuccessfully for the GOP nomination of Lieutenant Governor, accused Durant, GOP vice chairman of the 14th District, of trying to take over the Wayne County GOP organization by bribery, intimidation, misrepresentation and threats of physical violence.

Durant retaliated by filing a million dollar libel suit.

On June 15, Governor Swainson ordered an official investigation into the Stahlin charge of unfair election practices.

A major directive to all Birchers this spring was to run for precinct delegate, a minor job that is virtually ignored most election years.

The reasoning: Precinct delegates elected this year choose delegates to the State convention which in turn will name the Michigan delegation to the national convention in 1964.

In a surprise move, Romney met with the 14th District precinct delegates and personally asked Durant and other extremists to give up their jobs in Michigan's Republican Party.

When Durant declined then to withdraw, Romney said that election of Durant would repudiate his party leadership.

With the battle lines clearly drawn, a small group of Birchers retaliated with a drive to nominate Durant as the Republican candidate for Governor.

Spokesman for the group was Mrs. Howard Crawford who recently became a Birch chapter leader along with her husband.

Mrs. Crawford says that more than 10,000 Durant stickers are to be mailed out across the State.

To oppose Durant, a number of prominent Michigan Republicans formed a Republican Action Committee. Among them was Wilber M. Brucker, former Governor and Secretary of the Army under former President Eisenhower, who engaged in the battle to the point of stating his political career all over again by running for precinct delegate.

Riding on the outcome of this factional fight, moderate Republicans felt, were George Romney's chances of being elected Michigan's first Republican Governor since 1948.

In the August 7 primary election, the Action Committee swept all but 2 of Grosse Pointe's 29 precincts, defeating many of Durant's delegates. Brucker was among those elected.

I asked Kelly how well the society was represented when petitions were filed in May.

"We had one to three delegates from every chapter," he said.

"Why, we have one chapter with only six members, three of whom filed petitions. The only reason the other three didn't was because they were spouses. However, that's where we made a mistake.

"We should have had one member of the family file Republican, the other Democrat, and we would have improved our chances."

Kelly says the 14th District is a "shambles" but it still represents the stronghold of Birchism in Michigan.

Kelly also says the society is running into heavy sledding—in the State and especially in Detroit—that a general overhaul is underway and that the rolls are going to be cleaned of discontents and inactive members.

He expects to see a considerable loss of membership in the process.

One gets the feeling that Detroiters are cooling off on the society at the same time that it's making inroads in the suburbs. During the past year new chapters have formed in Birmingham, Royal Oak, Redford Township, Warren and Grosse Pointe.

Apparently the sturdiest growth is taking place outstate where parent chapters are keeping a foothold and are forming new ones.

There are chapters in Lansing, Grand Rapids, Flint, Saginaw, and Benton Harbor and a number have been formed in nearby smaller communities.

A breakdown would indicate that there are about 60 chapters in the Detroit and suburban area and another 35 to 40 outstate.

"What we need," says Kelly, "is working dedicated people. If they aren't, we're better off without them."

When a Bircher makes that statement—to paraphrase Robert Welch—he means business all the way.

## Reflections Upon U.S. Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the evolution of history, amid changing times and the sequence of events and progress, there is a need, from time to time, to take an evaluative look at significant aspects of our national policy.

Recently, the Wisconsin State Journal published a thoughtful article, by the distinguished commentator, Eric Sevareid, entitled "Our Age of Innocence Ends."

As in all broad-scope evaluations, we find there are, of course, differences of views on significant features of policy. The article, however, I believe, deserves the thoughtful consideration of the Congress. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR AGE OF INNOCENCE ENDS

(By Eric Sevareid)

If political thinkers find joy and surcease in the sports pages, it is not only because most sports authorities write better than most political writers.

It is because a baseball inning, game, or season comes to an end and you can add up the score. In politics, especially in world politics, all you can do is add gains, subtract losses, and try to estimate the general drift of the contest, which never ends.

For the past month, this reporter has been sitting with groups of public servants, businessmen, writers, and historians engaged in this cosmic guessing game. There was no unanimity; yet there seemed to be a general optimistic consensus about the prospects for America and Western ways of living.

Ruling out a fatal push on the wrong push button, there was a deep feeling that the gathering of Western military, political, and economic strength is now, and is going to be, more than the totalitarian oppositions can cope with.

The rise and thrust of American, European, and Japanese economic power and pressure seemed to most a giant fact, hardly susceptible to overestimation. The irresistible contagion of Western popular arts and materials could only be noted with the inescapable conclusion that in this realm, at least, the West has already won the world.

None thought the Soviet Union is "ahead of us in science," not even in military science, save for rocket thrust. Very few expressed fears that the United States would break its democratic stride and fall under the essential control of any military cum scientific elite, while virtually all accepted that Soviet society has become measurably more liberal, more open to foreign influences.

Most discounted the alleged deadlines of Soviet propaganda, observing that no "newly emergent" people in the world, since the war, had voluntarily chosen the Communist raod.

All seemed agreed, however, that strategic regions of the globe could still be lost to subversion and coup and that still other regions could become unmanageable by reason of population growth.

When we considered the course of American foreign policy in this country, agreement emerged on what seemed fundamental alterations, but other uncertainties remained.

It seemed clear that this Nation has permanently put behind her notions of political imperialism. There seemed agreement that in terms of "economic imperialism" there has been a great change, however, gradually (and imperceptibly, to hostile young idealists abroad) it has come about.

There was a feeling that at long last, for the first time since the days of our somewhat irresponsible meddling in China with the open-door performance, we have come to understand the realities and responsibilities of power and to roughly equate our practical commitments abroad with our military and economic strength. We can back up our alliances anywhere around the globe; we can provide the money we have committed to foreign societies.

But a great doubt remained. It concerns our moral commitments abroad.

We persist in thinking that we know what is best for other people in terms of their own domestic institutions and political mores, and what we think is best is the Anglo-Saxon concept of life.

We can insist on national freedom for any emerging country and perhaps get away with it, because that is the drift of the world; but we cannot insist, or so many of us felt, on internal, individual freedoms. We cannot act as a transmission belt to give virtues that are essentially personal ones to sovereign states, either by imposition or by persuasion.

This Calvinistic approach to a widely varied world is as dangerously futile now as it was in the days when Woodrow Wilson, the "Presbyterian priest," was saying that we would "teach the Mexicans to elect good men."

There was a current of conviction in these discussions that we have hastily, foolishly, and in the face of 50 years' bitter experience morally overextended ourselves; that in this realm our commitments far outbalance our resources.

We can hold up political democracy and the rule of law as an aspiration and help others toward it by many quiet, unofficial actions. What we cannot and must not do is make it a requirement—for our aid, our friendship, or our recognition.

Most of the roundtablers could see no alternative to a frankly pluralistic foreign policy—aiding here, withdrawing aid there, giving de facto recognition to one, de jure recognition to another, intervening where necessary. None could formulate an overall, governing principle, moral or otherwise, that really fits the mosaic of this political world; none argued that our moral responsibilities could extend beyond our practical capacity to implement them.

Some may see in these conclusions the abandonment of the great American tradition; but most of us in the Aspen discussions saw, rather, the end of the age of American innocence in foreign policy.

## Congressman Bonner Reviews Merchant Marine Policy at Propeller Club Dinner in Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, Defenders Day, September 12, is observed annually in Baltimore to commemorate

the defense of the city from the British invaders, during the War of 1812. For some years, the Propeller Club, port of Baltimore, has been observing this day with a dinner.

This year we were privileged to have as our principal speaker, our colleague from North Carolina and chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, HERBERT BONNER. His remarks merit careful study by the Congress and therefore I am inserting them in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF HON. HERBERT C. BONNER, DEMOCRAT, OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BEFORE PROPELLER CLUB, PORT OF BALTIMORE, MD., WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1962, AT THE SHERATON-BELVEDERE HOTEL

I always find a visit to the port of Baltimore very pleasant because this city is one of the foremost maritime ports in our country. I know this—not only from the point of view of the recordbreaking tonnages passing over your docks—but from the point of view of the recognition and interest of your people in the significance of the port to the entire life of the community.

It is a special honor and privilege to be here tonight as we commemorate the 148th anniversary of the bombardment of Fort McHenry here in Baltimore and the composition of the great and inspiring poem by Francis Scott Key—which is now our national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner." This occasion is a major milestone in our precious national heritage.

In the closing days of a Congress—as I hope these are—it is customary to review matters considered by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries during the previous 2 years. It is a good time to appraise the status and future of our vital American Merchant Marine, and other major, and related, areas of our committee responsibility such as our all-important fisheries; the Coast Guard; the Coast and Geodetic Survey; the Panama Canal; and finally, oceanography, the new field of activity which means so much to our future economy and security.

In my remarks tonight I have chosen a topic from among all these things that is of the greatest importance to the future of the port of Baltimore, and, indeed, to the entire country. I think my subject is especially fitting when we think of Francis Scott Key watching the "perilous fight," anxiously seeking for "proof through the night that our flag was still there."

I do not refer to the spectacular record being made by the new ships being placed in operation by our subsidized lines, their performance, and the manner in which they are overwhelming their competitors in the shipment of cargo. I could only wish that there were more of them available than there are.

Nor do I refer to our newest bid for peaceful supremacy on the seas, the nuclear ship *Savannah*, which despite an unfortunate series of troubles, both mechanical and human, offers great promise as a prototype for the pattern of the future.

I refer instead to the woeful position in which the United States finds itself with respect to oceangoing bulk carriers—those specially designed vessels needed for the carriage of the critical and strategic ores and fuels upon which our security depends.

Until about World War II, we could probably boast that we were fairly self-sufficient in the matter of raw materials to enable our essential industrial machinery to function.

We had the iron ore from the Great Lakes region. We had our vast American coal and oil supplies.

The end of World War II saw the virtual depletion of the formerly rich Mesabi Iron Range of Minnesota. It is no longer a dependable, major source for iron ore production.

Competent authorities said our oil resources were also approaching the limits of their production. Of necessity, therefore, we had to look elsewhere for our supplies.

You, in the port of Baltimore, have come to realize that we are securing our iron and related ores from such farflung places as Liberia, Venezuela, Brazil, and Peru. As new sources of raw materials are developed, and political conditions change, we may have to seek other, or additional sources in distant overseas areas.

In this connection, the cost and assured availability of ocean transportation are vital factors in the ability of the United States to sell its products and services in the markets of the world. Ore, being a low rate commodity as far as freight is concerned, is particularly sensitive to increases and decreases in cost. As freight rates fluctuate around the world the availability of ships likewise fluctuates.

The depletion of our own resources, and the growing demands of our economy and security have vastly increased our need for specialized and efficient transport of bulk materials. As the needs of the United States—the world's greatest consumer of raw materials—have grown, new technology has led to the development of modern ore carriers capable of serving our vast requirements—as long as our business is more attractive than someone else's. Foreign-flag carriers of 40,000, 50,000, and even 60,000 tons are common sights in our ore receiving ports. Recent figures reveal that some 100,000 tons of iron ore, alone, are daily imported in ships—nearly all under foreign flag. Yet, despite our dependence on foreign ore sources and the need for economical and certain transportation, the U.S. Government has not seen fit to encourage the construction of American-flag bulk carriers.

It is true that a number of conversions of warbuilt ships have been made. They are presently operated under the American flag. But, these have only a limited remaining life, and do not operate with the efficiency of specially designed new carriers.

The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 contemplates a balanced fleet under the American flag.

There have been drastic changes in the pattern of commerce since World War II. Prior to the war most of our commerce moved in liner vessels. Today, over 70 percent of our commerce moves in bulk carriers—tankers, ore carriers, and tramps. We cannot say, with any truth, that our fleet is balanced.

Our tanker fleet is rapidly becoming obsolete with no particular inducement for its replacement. Rather the contrary. The uncertainties of labor in this field have led to the construction of other means of domestic oil transportation. Foreign-flag ships dominate the movement of our petroleum imports. Our tanker fleet faces a very lean future. Our aging tramp fleet is barely afloat.

With respect to ore carriers, you here in the port of Baltimore are fully aware of the application made for the construction, in American shipyards, of two modern ore carriers to sail under the American flag. You remember the action of the Department of Commerce. Construction subsidy was refused.

Small as the number of vessels proposed, it would have represented more than a 50-percent increase in modern American-flag bulk carriers. It would at least have been a short step in the right direction for the future. Denied subsidy to help offset the unfavorable cost differential between building in the U.S. economy and abroad, the applicant contracted for construction of the ships abroad. Denial of the subsidy not only aggravated the imbalance of our fleet, but hurt our prospects for an assured supply of ore in the future, and deprived our shipyards of much needed business.

In passing, it is interesting to note that the shipyard in Hamburg that received the business has gone into bankruptcy, thus delaying for a further period the addition of two ships to serve the port of Baltimore, and its great steel industry.

While the construction of these two vessels in the overall picture is relatively small, nevertheless, it would have represented an approach to the problem of meeting our woeful shortage in this vital field.

It is well for us to have the finest cargo liners in the world and the finest and fastest passenger vessels. But, unless we plan for the construction of a balanced merchant marine—dry cargo liners, passenger ships, tankers, and bulk carriers—we will find ourselves at an extreme disadvantage, competitively, in peace and in war, by reason of shortages in the various major categories of essential vessels.

In the field of passenger ships we are justly proud of the magnificent SS *United States*. Believing that the national interest and American prestige required it, some years ago we succeeded in having legislation enacted for the construction of a sister ship to the *United States*, as well as a superliner for use in the Pacific. Successive administrations, in their wisdom—or perhaps lack of it—have not seen fit to implement this legislation. The result is that since that time we have seen the new French liner, *France*, go into operation. The Italian Line is building superliners to serve substantially the same trade. Others are active in building their passenger fleets. In this field we are at a disadvantage in having but one fully modern passenger liner to carry the American flag to support the prestige of the United States.

In the dry cargo field, we can be proud of the few vessels recently placed in operation. They are among the finest vessels in the world. But, we should be greatly concerned that a slowdown in the replacement program means that we will be unable to replace our entire fleet in time to reap all the advantages of our present advanced designs.

In my opinion, it is vital that the administration be jolted from its present "penny wise and pound foolish" policy in the conduct of its merchant marine. Too late, we will awaken to the fact that our deficiencies will prove far more costly than any current investment that we might make.

The Propeller Club of the United States can render a great service, not only to the American merchant marine, but to our country in using all its efforts to secure the abandonment of a negative policy in favor of the development of a true awakening to the realities of our needs.

We are all familiar with the various tangible argument for having an adequate merchant marine as a vital element of national seapower—as an indispensable adjunct to our economy and to our defense posture. But there is a deeper reason and meaning for this which is brought to mind by the words of the brilliant Henry Ward Beecher: "A thoughtful mind when it sees a nation's flag, see not the flag, but the nation itself. And whatever may be its symbols, its insignia, he reads chiefly in the flag, the government, the principles, the truths, the history that belong to the nation that sets it forth. The American flag has been a symbol of liberty and men rejoiced in it."

Let's stand together—all of us who meet here tonight—for the development of a greater and stronger American merchant marine to carry the message symbolized by "The Star-Spangled Banner" on all the trade lanes of the world.

Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to present Congressman BONNER at the din-

ner and my introductory remarks were as follows:

INTRODUCTION BY HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ OF CONGRESSMAN HERBERT C. BONNER, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, AT PROPELLER CLUB DINNER, SEPTEMBER 12, 1962, SHERATON BELVEDERE HOTEL

I am very honored, indeed, to be accorded the privilege to present tonight's principal speaker on the occasion of this Defender's Day dinner of the Propeller Club, port of Baltimore.

To those of us who are interested in the American merchant marine, the presence of this distinguished Member of Congress with us this evening, is a source of genuine pleasure and an occasion to which we have eagerly looked forward.

A Member of the House of Representatives for the past 23 years, and chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries for the past 8, this outstanding legislator has gained the cooperation and earned the respect of Members on both sides of the aisle, Republicans and Democrats alike.

His record of progress and achievement in the area of maritime legislation is one which has attained for him a stature that is recognized not only nationally, but—if you please—internationally as well.

To recount all of his accomplishments would require much time; therefore, I shall endeavor to be brief, touching on some of the highlights of his service.

Because of his dedicated interest to, and his keen insight in merchant marine affairs, he has been responsible for and instrumental in the enactment of legislation ranging from the Small Boat Act of 1958—a major contribution in the field of small boat safety—to the construction of superliners and the nuclear-powered merchant vessel.

Also, we can point with justifiable pride that under his chairmanship, we have seen the development of mortgage insurance which is so vital to the rebuilding of our merchant marine. We can likewise point to his sponsorship of legislation for the construction of a nuclear-powered icebreaker.

It is fitting and proper, therefore, that his activities in these varied fields have been recognized by the Ole Evinrude Award and the Robert L. Hague Award, which stand out among the many honors bestowed upon him.

And, I should like to add, that those of us who have had the pleasure of working with him, are the first to acknowledge that these honors are fully deserved. May I say that my personal association with him for nearly 16 years has more than convinced me that he is the "propeller"—the guiding force—in the work of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

The American merchant marine and shipping industry are indeed fortunate to have a man of his exceptional caliber and attainments to safeguard their interests in the face of growing competition.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely proud to present to you my respected and devoted colleague, my chairman, and our friend, the Honorable HERBERT C. BONNER, of North Carolina.

## The Cuban Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the September 11, 1962, issue of the Vision Letter which is a weekly analysis of Latin American Affairs by Vision, Inc., New York, N.Y.

With the Cuban situation worsening practically daily, and with claims and counterclaims flying through the air, it is time for clear-cut assessments of the Cuban problem as to basically what issues are involved, what the responsibilities are, and what must be done.

I believe the Vision Letter presents a very good analysis of the Cuban problem which should be brought to the attention of the American people.

Of interest is an introductory note to the editorial by the editors of Vision telling of their overall policy with reference to commenting on the Cuban matter and the reasons they feel compelled to speak.

The editors say:

Until today, the editors of Vision have refrained from harsh criticism of the Kennedy administration's handling of hemisphere affairs out of a sense of restraint and the recognition that a new government deserves time to "shake down" its operation. However, the gathering storm in Cuba and the apparent futility of the Government's attempts to cope with it have reached a point where it becomes our duty and responsibility to speak.

The Vision Letter on Cuba follows:

[From the Vision Letter, Sept. 11, 1962]

CUBA, THE HEMISPHERE, AND THE FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON

Candidate John Fitzgerald Kennedy, in 1960, was outraged that international communism had reached Cuba—"just 90 miles off our shores." As an issue, it helped put him in the White House. Today, 20 months after the New Frontier was staked out in Washington, Cuba is still there—still Communist, still 90 miles away, but now armed to the teeth and pointed like a spear at the heart of America.

For more than a year and a half the people of the United States have waited for a straight answer to this one vital question: When are we going to drive the Communists out of Cuba?

Since the failure of the Bay of Pigs landing in April of last year, the administration has given no honest answer. A year ago the word was "watchful waiting." Last week it was "close surveillance."

But what have we been watching and what are we surveying? And what has happened in this hemisphere over the past 20 months while Washington has been focusing its microscope? The answers are shocking.

Important nations, once stanch U.S. friends, have drifted toward neutralism. Despite administration efforts to quarantine Cuba, leftwing elements throughout the hemisphere have continued to receive moral and material support from Fidel Castro. The young in every Latin American country continue to be contaminated by his image and ideology.

The administration's failure to provide its Latin American friends with the leadership they expect has surrendered by default the political initiative to the growing ranks of ultranationalists, leftwingers, and other extremists. Coming at a time of spectacular Soviet political and scientific advances, this seeming U.S. paralysis is driving impressionable Latin American masses first into neutralism and, ultimately, the arms of the Kremlin.

Those who had been our friends in former times—and could be again—are becoming frustrated and disgusted. Unable alone to halt the trend to the left, they are beginning to grow cold to our ineffectual pleading, ridiculing our policies in public forums, and using the threat of closer relations with the Soviet as blackmail to elicit economic concessions.

In this poisonous atmosphere our vaunted Alliance for Progress, which was to have been the salvation of the hemisphere, is "dying on the vine"—a fate which Washington's wishful thinkers had reserved for Communist Cuba.

In Cuba itself, Castro's band of bearded irregular has been turned into a modern army of 300,000 men. The Cuban people are killed and held in a slavery more tyrannical than that of any other Soviet satellite. Russian technicians and equipment have built bases capable of hampering the U.S. radar-defense system, of interfering with our space program, of conducting long-range electronic intelligence, and, if necessary, hurling even medium-range missiles deep into the United States from the comfortable distance of 90 miles away.

This is the factual, undeniable political and strategic picture of our hemisphere today. But incredible as it may seem, some administration spokesmen still proclaim the success of the quarantine policy—because, it is said, Latin America has now seen Castro's true face and will, therefore, not follow Cuba into the Soviet web. Incredibly, too, Democratic leaders are trying to alibi this administration's ineptness by accusing Eisenhower of allowing the Communists to establish a toehold in Cuba.

All this is dangerous nonsense. The time has come for plain talk, not out of political partisanship, but out of due regard for the interests and even survival of our country. In this hemisphere, Kennedy's policies are not winning in Cuba and they are not winning anywhere else. While Cuba is central to the entire problem, it is not the only factor. To see this and why, it is only necessary to review the record of this administration's promise and performance.

President Kennedy came into office at a time when a steadily deteriorating U.S.-Latin American relationship, owing to neglect under both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, was being rectified by President Eisenhower in his last year in office. In successive moves, Ike had already announced a half-billion-dollar aid program for Latin America as a forerunner of the Alliance, had finally installed a brilliant, able Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs in the person of Thomas Mann, and had shown insight and courage by setting the plans for a Cuban invasion.

From the day of his inauguration, however, Kennedy has failed dismally to live up to his promise for new talent and new activity in our Latin American policies. Decisionmaking became a compromise of views among such men as Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles, Arthur Schlesinger and, in the case of Cuba, New York Times editorialist Herbert Matthews who, until recently, was still splitting hairs over whether the Cuban revolution was "doctrinally Communist" or merely "under heavy Communist influence". Finally, Kennedy assigned a young campaign aid, Richard Goodwin, as his personal watchdog. Goodwin's credentials: he invented the term "Alliance for Progress".

Fanning out from center, things went from bad to worse: J.F.K.'s brother Teddy, now a senatorial candidate, got a factfinding tour; Jimmy Symington, son of the Senator from Missouri, took his guitar on a food for peace mission; Igor Cassini, a New York cafe society columnist, was a cloak and dagger go-between with the Dominican Republic.

Today, despite the worth of some of the men now at the top, the crisis of leadership continues. Who really runs our hemisphere affairs—Edwin Martin, Teodoro Moscoso, Fowler Hamilton, Dean Rusk? No one man has a final say up to the President himself. But the lack of leadership only underscores a more dangerous failure: an inability to understand our historic relationship with the

Latin American states both singly and collectively.

It is this inability to understand Latin American facts of life that has led to: the complete misunderstanding of the military role in Latin American history, culminating in the fiasco of suspended relations with Peru; the cliche-ridden over-emphasis on miracle reforms—land, tax, etc.—that were to provide an overnight solution to all development problems, but instead have frightened away domestic and foreign investment capital; the naive pandering to Latin American "resentments" as interpreted by leftwing critics; and the weak, hat-in-hand quest for inter-American action to thwart the Communist intrusion into the Caribbean.

Worst of all has been the administration's inability or unwillingness to comprehend that when the chips are down, slogans and airy ideals are no substitute for the reality of power and the will to use it. In a recent dispatch from Washington, New York Herald Tribune columnist Marguerite Higgins wrote that "Americans of great stature, both in and out of government, Democrats as well as Republicans, are now asking whether President Kennedy will preside over the decline of America as a great power".

The future will tell whether this is unduly alarmist, but it is not unduly alarmist to state that the decline of America as a hemisphere power has already set in and that this decline cannot be stopped as long as Castro is in Cuba and Cuba a Soviet base. For what goes for Laos and Berlin goes for Cuba, too; namely, that timidity—or caution as it is referred to among the White House liberals—in the face of Soviet challenge only invites further Communist encroachment, and that firmness forces a Soviet backdown.

Soviet prestige rises at the same rate as U.S. prestige drops. In Latin America today U.S. prestige is dropping rapidly every day that Castro remains in power. The Kremlin and Cuban propaganda machines grind out the same message throughout the hemisphere: that the future lies with the tough-minded Soviets rather than with the decadent and luxury loving Yankees.

In a region that puts great stress on being "muy macho"—very manly—this is a telling argument. We should not forget that the administration was seriously misreading Latin American political opinion when it reached the conclusion that Latin Americans will not tolerate any modification of the principle of nonintervention no matter how politically necessary this may be. Latin Americans, including such leaders as Quadros, Lopez Mateos and Frondizi, were not shocked by the Bay of Pigs—but by its failure. There was no official reaction during the 2 days in which the issue was in doubt. It was only when the invasion failed that the reaction started. And the administration's caution because of possible Soviet countermoves in several other danger spots throughout the world is regarded as plain softness.

At the moment of writing, the Soviet Union is blatantly testing U.S. nerve by threat of nuclear war should we decide to put the Monroe Doctrine and the existing inter-American defense treaties to a test. In this context the solutions offered by the administration in recent days—that is, to isolate Castro even further economically with hopes that the discontent in Cuba will blossom into revolution; to blockade the island; and to convoke another foreign ministers' meeting—are either naive or foolhardy. The first is plainly ludicrous, the second is a case of locking the barn after the cow has been stolen, and the third would only cater to even more irresponsible fence sitting by Latin American governments.

With the Russian threat in the open, it is clearly too late for wordy and meaningless OAS palliatives. Nor can we be cowed into inaction by the possibility that we may have to engage in strategic and political struggles on other fronts. The argument is already being advanced that we cannot address the Cuban problem for fear the Russians will repay in kind in Berlin or elsewhere. This is mealymouthed defeatism. It is patently obvious that if the Kremlin used similar reasoning, it would have had to give up its present incursion into Cuba—for fear of U.S. counteraction in, say, Albania or Germany.

On April 20 of last year, 3 days after the Cuban invasion began, President Kennedy in a speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors stated that U.S. "restraint is not inexhaustible," and that the United States does not intend to abandon Cuba to communism. He said: "Should it ever appear that the inter-American doctrine of noninterference merely conceals or excuses a policy of nonaction if the Nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration, then I want it clearly understood that this Government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are the security of our Nation."

We believe the time to meet the primary obligations of which the President spoke has now arrived. Kennedy must make it known to the people of this country and to the Nations of this hemisphere that he is willing to accept the challenge and will now move to reverse the policies of inaction and retreat. He must also state clearly that he no longer considers a Soviet base in this hemisphere a matter for the OAS or a subject for international debate, but one for the United States alone to resolve.

The technicalities—whether to act through the instrumentality of a Caribbean NATO, a Cuban Government-in-exile, or U.S. power alone—are up to the President and his military advisers. But as a first step and without further delay, the President must announce that he is taking personal charge of this threat and that it is his own determination as Commander in Chief to eliminate the Russian beachhead from this hemisphere.

## Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Los Angeles Times written by Henry J. Taylor:

PRESIDENT SPOKE STIRRING WORDS ON CUBA, BUT WHERE ARE DEEDS?

(By Henry J. Taylor)

In Washington, the American Society of Newspaper Editors cheered the President of the United States as he finished a speech. The date: April 20, 1961, 3 days after the Cuba fiasco.

The President stated: "On that unhappy island the news has grown worse instead of better. But let the record show that our restraint is not inexhaustible.

"Should it ever appear that the inter-American doctrine of noninterference merely conceals or excuses a policy of nonaction, if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration, then I want it clearly understood that this Government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are the security of our Nation.

"Should that time ever come, we do not intend to be lectured on 'intervention' by those whose character was stamped for all time on the bloody streets of Budapest, nor would we expect or accept the same outcome which this small band of Cuban refugees must have known they were changing. There are lessons from this sobering episode for all to learn. Some are clear today.

"First, it is clear that the forces of communism are not to be underestimated, in Cuba or elsewhere.

"Second, it is clear that this Nation must take an even closer and more realistic look at the menace of external Communist intervention and domination in Cuba. The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than 90 miles from our shores. The evidence is clear and the hour is late.

"Third, and lastly, it is clearer than ever that we face a relentless struggle in every corner of the globe. The armies * * * serve primarily as the shield behind which subversion, infiltration and a host of other tactics steadily advance. * * * Our security may be lost without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border. We intend to profit from this lesson."

It was a fine speech. The great applause of the Society of Newspaper Editors spoke the Nation's enormous approval. Those who question whether we know what we should do about Cuba should reread what the President said.

We have the words, we have the policy. We do not have the followthrough. Where is the deed?

Is Cuba farther away than 90 miles today? Are there fewer Iron Curtain dangers there now to let us be complacent? If "the evidence is clear and the hour is late" in April 1961, what would you call the evidence and the hour in September 1962?

Where, oh, where, in our inaction is the "profit from this lesson?" What action was there in the President's statement August 29 and September 4?

The chief decay in any nation's strength is the loss of morale resulting from failing to do what it says (and knows) it must do. Nations can stand many strains, but they cannot stand the loss of moral fiber either in their leaders or within themselves.

Editors everywhere, citizens everywhere, should ask, "What happened, Mr. President, to that speech?"

There is nothing more dangerous for America than to be a paper tiger.

## Cleanest City in Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. T. A. THOMPSON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, it is always a privilege to observe development in the areas which one represents, and especially is it gratifying when the leaders of our municipalities and their organizations make monumental efforts to give our people a better place in which to live and rear their families.

Only recently, the city of Jennings, La., has earned a most significant title under the guidance of Mayor John L. Conner and the city council, along with the inspired assistance of civil-minded residents, in that for the third consecutive year—despite hardy opposition from

other cities in the State of Louisiana—Jennings has been declared "cleanest city in Louisiana."

Because over the years of competition this signal honor was accorded to no other city, the Louisiana State Legislature in its regular session this year unanimously passed a resolution declaring Jennings the "world's cleanest cities capital."

Mr. Speaker, this display of community spirit is the type thing that makes America great, and I commend to the membership of this body the following resolution which was unanimously passed by the Louisiana State Legislature:

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 73

A concurrent resolution to declare the city of Jennings, La., the "world's cleanest cities capital."

Whereas the city of Jennings, La., has been adjudged the cleanest city in Louisiana for 3 successive years, and

Whereas such consecutive recognition has entitled the city of Jennings to permanent possession of the cleanest city contest trophy, and

Whereas the city of Jennings is believed to be the only city in the United States to have achieved such statewide honor for so continuous a period of time: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (the House of Representatives thereof concurring)*, That the legislature does hereby extend its congratulations to the city of Jennings, La., for its achievement in being designated for the third consecutive year as the cleanest city in the State of Louisiana; and be it further

*Resolved*, That in recognition of the civic pride thus exhibited by the citizens and the governing authority of the city of Jennings and the honors which have been bestowed upon the city, the legislature hereby declares the city of Jennings the world's cleanest cities capital; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this concurrent resolution shall be transmitted to the mayor and governing authority of the city of Jennings, La.

C. C. "TADDY" AYCOCK,
*Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.*

J. THOS. JEWELL,
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

Jennings, La., is certainly to be congratulated for this position of leadership earned through the untiring efforts of a truly American community.

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## Afro-Indian Ocean Area

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the transcendent geopolitical event in Asia since the collapse of Japan seapower in 1945 and the withdrawal of the British from India, is the takeover of Indonesia.

Strategically located islands in that vast area dominate the barrier separating the Pacific and Indian Oceans and form an avenue from southeast Asia to Australia. These facts serve to emphasize the importance of the Indian Ocean in the future.

In the July-August 1962 bulletin of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of South Carolina, its distinguished director, Anthony Harrigan, deals with this weighty subject from the naval viewpoint, as follows:

THE AFRO-INDIAN OCEAN AREA

(By Anthony Harrigan)

Until the Second World War the American interest in the Afro-Indian Ocean area was virtually nonexistant. American diplomacy was minimal, for the region was largely under British control. Such economic interests as U.S. citizens had were concentrated in the Arabian peninsula where oil exploration rights had been obtained. Elsewhere, Americans sought no more than the conventional rights of trade, though American churches had missionary activities in some areas. American opinion was profoundly ignorant of the Afro-Indian oceanic region. As a government and a nation, the United States took no stand on the Afro-Indian world and was without a settled policy.

World War II brought the United States into this area of the globe. A supply line to Russia was established in Iran. Military air communications were set up between the United States, Africa and the Indian subcontinent. The importance of oil from the Persian Gulf area was increasingly understood as a result of war operations. With outbreak of the cold war and revolutionary changes in the Afro-Asian world, the United States began to look toward this arena of history. President Truman, in telling Stalin of U.S. resistance to Soviet designs, warned that he "would move the fleet as far as the Persian Gulf."

In the world epoch now emerging, it seems certain that the Afro-Indian Ocean will be the cockpit of history. Along its rim are ancient nations—only now finding a place in the modern world—and new nations that seek both independence and prosperity on a Western scale. Dreams of national destiny are numerous and conflicting. Little if anything unifies the Afro-Indian Oceanic nations except a burning desire to assert a new status. Over these nations—from the countries of southeast Asia to those of east and southern Africa—is the threat of Chinese expansionism.

For Communist China, the Afro-Indian world is the hope of new Chinas beyond the seas—the prospect of outlets for population burdens and for raw materials to create a new Chinese empire.

The Chinese aim of southward and westward expansion is manifested in many ways—in ceaseless pressure on India's northern borders, in guerrilla war drives against the old countries of Indochina, in fomenting of Chinese elements in Indonesia, and in political efforts from Burma to the Horn of Africa.

China's dreams of destiny relate to an historic past. For few Westerners realize that China has played a major role in the Afro-Indian Ocean in centuries past. In the 15th century, China occupied Ceylon—now an independent country. Chinese traders worked up and down the east Africa coast in ancient times.

It is in the interest of all the Afro-Indian nations aspiring to freedom that Communist China not control the ocean on which they are dependent and that ties them together, one to another, by trade. It also is of high importance to free Japan that the Indian Ocean not become a Chinese lake. For Japan's great industrial postwar resurgence is built in large measure upon oil from the Mideast. This oil moves by tanker down the Arabian Sea, into the Indian Ocean, through the Malaccas and north to the home islands. This is an economic lifeline for Japan as significant as was Britain's lifeline through Suez during the years the Indian subcontinent was in British hands.

The interest of the Afro-Indian nations and of Japan also is the interest of the United States. For if these nations were to be overwhelmed by China or another aggressive power, the entire continent of Africa would lie exposed to domination. Chinese activity in Algeria and Morocco is evidence of the sweep of Chinese ambition. The prospect of a Chinese drive from the South China Sea to the Mediterranean is no more fantastic than Portugal's incredible conquest from the Atlantic to the Bay of Bengal in the 15th and 16th centuries. With the Afro-Indian nations and all Africa under its control, the Atlantic powers would be outflanked and Latin America would be imperiled.

It is essential therefore, that the United States help check Chinese aggression on the strategic frontiers. And one of the most important—perhaps the most important—strategic frontier is in the Indian Ocean. It is on this watery vastness of 23 million square miles—14 percent of the earth's surface—that Chinese expansionism can be contained. If the Chinese can be deterred from extending their influence across the Indian Ocean, it will be one of the great feats of modern history—as important as stopping Hitler's drive into Russia or toward Suez.

This then, is the key world area, and it is a strange idea to Americans for they are unaccustomed to think of the Indian Ocean. They are unfamiliar with its world and history. The names on the land of Europe, North Africa—and the island-dotted vastness of the Pacific—are known to the people after two world wars, after struggles in the motherlands of Europe and the coral islands of the South Pacific.

But the Indian Ocean has never played an important part in the national experience of Americans. Throughout the period of our history as a nation the Afro-Indian Ocean has been a British lake. The Royal Navy kept the peace from Singapore to Simonstown, and from Aden to Fremantle, Australia. But the Royal Navy is today gone from that ocean, except for a small force for showing the flag and handling emergency situations. The Indian Ocean is the last remaining power vacuum on the globe. No strong naval forces or air forces stand guard there as deterrent or determinant.

But that day is soon drawing to a close. Communist China already is the third submarine power on the globe. These submarines menace the shipping on which the Afro-Indian Ocean community depends—as much so as German submarines threatened the Atlantic community in World War II.

The Indian Ocean is essential to the Afro-Indian nations. Indian textiles, Japan's fuel, Arabian oil, wool and foodstuffs from Australia, iron ore to Japan, copper from the Rhodesian copper belt, Pakistan's communications between the two areas of her country—all depend upon water routes. The rich traffic of the Indian Ocean feeds the economies of a score of nations. An indication of the extent of the Indian Ocean commerce from east to west may be gaged by the fact that when the Suez Canal was blocked in 1956 approximately 400 ships a day passed Cape Town, South Africa.

It is clear, therefore, that the vast oceanic region must be afforded protection in the form of naval forces against Chinese imperialism at sea. Here is the immediate task for the United States—creation and deployment of a naval force, preferably a nuclear task force—capable of deterring aggression against the free countries of the Afro-Indian world precisely as the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean has deterred ag-

gression against Greece, Turkey and other lands.

There is, however, a mammoth task before Americans, a task of understanding in the Afro-Indian world. The history of the Afro-Indian Ocean is ancient and complex. It bears lessons that are important to the United States and other free world countries if they are to survive in an age of ruthless aggression.

The basic lesson is that masters of the Afro-Indian world—the dominant powers—have been the great seafaring peoples. While India was strategically located for the domination of the ocean, it was the Arabs who in past centuries controlled the ocean and its trade. Indeed the wealth of the Arab world had its source in seapower in the Indian Ocean.

This Arab seapower continued down to the 15th century when the Portuguese, another great seafaring people, realized that the way to stem Moslem expansion in the Mediterranean world was to deprive it of riches at the source. By projecting Portuguese power around Africa to India and Java and beyond, they showed what comprehension of seapower could achieve for a nation. Indeed this Portuguese development of an empire from Europe to the Orient is one of the incredible feats of history. It should be a lesson to the American nation, whose resources are so tremendous but whose vision is not so wide. If the Portuguese could dominate the Afro-Indian Ocean trade routes in the 15th and 16th centuries, then, surely, the United States can deter aggression in the Indian Ocean without unduly stretching its resources. Moreover, the United States has the tremendous advantage of possessing a strong and utterly reliable ally at the eastern end of the Afro-Indian Ocean in Australia—a land that shares strategic and political objectives with the United States.

From the military standpoint, the advantages are immense. Australia offers a secure storage area for special weapons. Australian naval bases, air facilities and military depots provide the backstop facilities that an Afro-Indian ocean fleet would need. Even more than that, Australia offers a base for all the studies—scientific and cultural—needed for a massive projection of American influence into the Afro-Indian Ocean.

The distances are staggering. From Cape Town to Karachi is 4,693 miles. From Fremantle to Karachi is 4,437 miles. To understand what this means, one should bear in mind that from New York to Southhampton England, is 3,355 miles.

Control of the Afro-Indian Ocean means control along a tremendous perimeter—almost a world in itself. It means, for example, control of key areas, such as the Cape of Good Hope, the Strait of Bab el Mandeb at the mouth of the Red Sea, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Bay of Bengal.

From the purely naval standpoint, a central operating base or anchorage is needed—what has been described as "a pre-World War II Japanese type of Truk Island, if you please."

Such a spot exists. It is the atoll of Diego Garcia in the Chago Archipelago, almost in the center of the Indian Ocean. This atoll, with an anchorage 10 miles by 7 miles and an average depth of 80 feet, has a tiny population of only 900. Most important of all, it is a British possession. The likelihood of political dispute over this atoll is virtually nil. At Diego Garcia, fuel and supplies could be stored and central communications established.

From here could be deployed units of the fleet that would have the entire Afro-Indian Ocean as their operating area in support of cold war missions—guarding U.S. and friendly shipping from submarine attack; providing a strong strategic deterrent against missile attack of friendly nations, buttressing friendly governments threatened by Communist agitation or guerrilla-type wars, and providing a strong force to deal with any of the conflict situations likely to appear on the spectrum of war in this distant arena of world history. An Afro-Indian Ocean Fleet could well be the single most important stabilizing and protective factor in the history of the new nations around the rim of the ocean.

Two generations ago, wise and far-seeing Americans understood the American responsibility in the Pacific. They urged the spread of U.S. influence, diplomacy, and naval activities to the far Pacific. They worked unceasingly for a naval force in the Pacific—seeing the challenge from an aggressive Japan. They saw that the power vacuum required U.S. action.

Japan engaged China in a long war. It is not inconceivable that some similar type of protracted war may be started by Communist China against India, a nibbling war—that would duplicate the situation. Or the Communist assault might come from within Africa and move toward the shores of the Afro-Indian Ocean.

The possibilities are numerous and the threats grave. Time is short for Americans to see the challenge and opportunity posed in the Afro-Indian Ocean in an era of global conflict.

## Spy Swatters Under Siege

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, I am herewith placing in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Cincinnati Enquirer of August 10, 1962, dealing with the speech of W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Fund for the Republic, at the 15-State conference of Western Democratic leaders in Seattle. The Fund for the Republic has temporarily shifted its attack from the Committee on Un-American Activities to the FBI and its Director, J. Edgar Hoover.

The editorial follows:

SPY SWATTERS UNDER SIEGE

For nearly two decades, the anti-anti-Communists in America have been urging the rest of us to leave the internal Communist threat ("if, of course there actually is such a threat") to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Upon this theme, they have based their opposition to the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and every other organization and individual interested in calling our attention to the threat of Soviet subversion.

In so arguing, of course, they ignored the fact that the FBI is, as its name suggests, an investigatory agency. Its agents can amass voluminous material on a suspected Soviet agent (as they did in the case of Harry Dexter White). And they can submit this material to the appropriate authorities in the executive branch of the Federal Government (as they also did in the White case). But unless the executive branch chooses to act (as in the White case, it didn't), the Soviet agent is free to proceed with his malevolent handiwork (as White did).

Nonetheless, "Leave it to the FBI" has been a convenient theme song. And because of the enormous esteem in which the FBI and its Director, J. Edgar Hoover, are held by the American people, great segments of the U.S. public have, we fear, allowed their anxieties to be quieted.

Now, curiously, the anti-anti-Communists have begun wearing the shoe on the other foot. They are now besieging the FBI itself.

The first of the siege guns was fired the other day by one W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Fund for the Republic, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation. Speaking before a 15-State conference of Western Democratic leaders in Seattle, Mr. Ferry spoke derisively of the FBI as an agency of "spy swatters."

And he went on to say that if there are as many "spies and saboteurs percolating through the Republic" as Mr. Hoover has suggested, we can only infer that the FBI "is not up to finding and prosecuting them." Hence, "let us set up an agency that can."

If, of course, there should be any step toward the creation of such an agency, we wager that Mr. Ferry would fight it hammer and tong—just as he battled the recent effort of the New Hampshire Legislature to investigate alleged Communist infiltration into New Hampshire's educational apparatus.

The fact of the matter is that the Ferrys of America have erected every conceivable obstacle to impede the campaign against Communist subversion and infiltration—from trying to abolish congressional committees in the investigatory field to destroying the reputation of individuals who have been alert to the nature of the Soviet threat, and from seeking to destroy the few legal weapons we have to combat subversion to fighting to the death for the "civil rights" of traitors.

We hope that the fact that Mr. Ferry delivered his onslaught under the auspices of the Democratic Party does not mean that his fellow Democrats share his convictions about the FBI. We are confident, in fact, that a vast majority of them do not. Just the same, it would behoove those responsible for Mr. Ferry's address in Seattle to set the record straight just as quickly as they can.

## The Golden Eagle: Wildlife Expert Defends This Magnificent Bird

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important bills in the area of wildlife conservation is Senate Joint Resolution 105. The bill which was introduced by the distinguished Senator from Texas, the Honorable RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, would extend Federal protection to the golden eagle.

One of the outspoken proponents of the bill is Dr. Maurice Broun, the curator of Hawk Mountain Sanctuary—Rural Delivery 2— Kempton, Pa. Dr. Broun is one of the world's outstanding experts on birds of prey. For the past quarter of a century, he has devoted his life to conservation and conservation education. During that time he has been the curator of Hawk Mountain Sanctuary, one of the most unusual wildlife sanctuaries in the world. Thousands of migrating hawks, as well as other migratory birds, are observed at Hawk Mountain every fall.

One of the most disturbing trends in the migrations observed at Hawk Mountain is the declining number of eagles that are seen each year. It is this decline which, among other things, makes Dr. Broun believe in the urgent need for passage of the bill to protect the golden eagle.

On September 4, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD carried an extension of remarks by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. FISHER], in which he opposed the golden eagle protection bill. In order to assure that the Congress receives the views of an outstanding conservationist on Senate Joint Resolution 105, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of a letter from Dr. Broun to Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON and a statement by Dr. Broun in reply to Congressman FISHER's remarks of September 4.

The letter and statement follow:

HAWK MOUNTAIN
SANCTUARY ASSOCIATION,
*Kempton, Pa., June 14, 1962.*

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
*Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: I am writing in behalf of the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association, a conservation group which embraces a farflung membership of 3,000 persons and 41 affiliated organizations dedicated to the preservation of our natural heritage.

Hawk Mountain is one of the few places in the East where golden eagles may be seen regularly in migration. Thousands of people from all over the country come here every fall, to see the eagles—a tremendous attraction—and to draw inspiration from the sight of these magnificient birds.

During a span of 25 fall seasons we have seen 1,277 golden eagles as against 1,686 bald eagles. Most of these birds, however, were seen prior to 1950. Our data indicate a steady erosion in the numbers of both species of eagles: a 33-percent decline in the numbers of golden eagles, and a 30-percent decline in the bald eagles, during the 7-year period from 1954 to 1960, as against a similar period, 1935 to 1941. More alarming, the decline of immature birds during this same period has been over 50 percent. These figures are in accord with the findings of field biologists everywhere. We are deeply concerned over the decline in reproduction of these birds.

Both species suffer persecution because of the unprotected status of the golden eagle. Both species are up against tremendous odds in the battle for survival. Both species must be given rigorous protection, if they are to survive, since hunters and trappers are unable to tell apart the two species in the immature stage.

We are grateful for your interest and concern for the future of the golden eagle. And we are hopeful for prompt, favorable action on Senate Joint Resolution 105.

Sincerely yours,

MAURICE BROUN,
*Curator, Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association.*

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DEFENSE OF THE GOLDEN EAGLE

(By Maurice Brown, curator, Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association, Kempton, Pa.)

I have read, with dismay, Representative FISHER's attack on "The Golden Eagle—A Predatory Bird" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, A6611). This attack is pure propaganda; it is unfair, biased, designed to defeat any legislation sorely needed to save this magnificant bird from extinction.

In my opinion, the "eyewitness accounts" of eagle depredation in the ranchlands of southern Texas are unconvincing, grossly exaggerated. All wildlife experts with any familiarity with the golden eagle admit that occasionally eagles do attack larger animals, and domestic lamb as well. There is no question that in the area discussed by Representative FISHER, the golden eagle is a serious problem for those individuals whose livelihood depends upon sheep and goats.

But consider the area. I have traveled through Alpine and adjoining areas of southern Texas, and I have been appalled to find nothing but wasteland—an enormous area denuded, devastated by overgrazing. Here the ruined range, with too many sheep and goats, points up the basic problem. As Ian McMillan, a cattle raiser of California has pointed out: "As overgrazed land deteriorates, perennial vegetation gives way to annual, seed-producing shrubs and weeds. Rodents multiply on the abundance of seeds, bringing an increase in the predator population. Ranchers are then quick to blame the predators for their troubles whereas the vasic cause is their abuse of the land"—(Audubon Magazine, March–April, 1962).

Granted then, the golden eagle may do considerable damage to flocks of sheep and goats. But why condemn all golden eagles when the problem is strictly local? It seems to me that if the Texan sheep ranchers were "conservationists" as Representative FISHER would have us believe, they might turn their energies from eagle killing to developing cover which would give protection from the eagle.

The argument that the eagles have been responsible for the depletion of the antelope ignores the fact that antelopes, eagles, all forms of game and predatory creatures lived together on these ranges, before they were disturbed, for millions of years. Impoverishment of the range by overgrazing, and overshooting by hunters, have alone caused the declines in the antelope population. There are plenty of authentic cases where antelope and eagles have raised their young in close proximity, in undisturbed country.

A cattle rancher in the Texas Panhandle, interviewed by Lee W. Arnold, biologist for the Fish and Wildlife Service, had this to say about a pair of golden eagles that nested near a cattle watering trough: "The birds have been there for 5 or 6 years. Year before last I destroyed their eggs in an effort to discourage them, but last year I let them raise young so I could see for myself what they were doing. During the season every time I checked the nest there were rabbit feet under it. In all, I would say they had a barrel full. I did not find any parts of antelope even though I was looking for them. I have heard that sometimes they eat calves, but now I am beginning to wonder if perhaps they do me more good than harm."

If Representative FISHER would get out to see for himself the deterioration of the land wrought by his constituents, and open his mind to ecological principles which govern the role of predators, he might find it in his soul to be less cynical and hostile toward a bird that no true outdoorsman wishes to see exterminated.

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## The Boom in Western Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, not long ago President Kennedy asked his Council of Economic Advisers to study the reasons for the remarkable economic advance of Western Europe during recent years. The President's hope was that we could learn something which could be applied to the task of speeding up our own economic growth.

There are many persons who expect and, indeed, hope that this study will show that the conscious use of heavy Government budget deficits and central economic planning were largely responsible for the boom in Western Europe.

I am confident that an objective study of recent Western European economic history will lead to different conclusions. On July 27, an article, entitled "West Europe's Boom," appeared in the Wall Street Journal. The article convincingly demonstrated that the key to recent economic advances in Western Europe has been government-business cooperation which has led to heightened business confidence and a surge of economic activity.

As the article says:

Europeans discussing the causes of this success talk of adequate depreciation allowances, taxes geared to promote expansion and exports, sound fiscal policies, government stands against big wage hikes and, above all, business confidence that governments are really trying to encourage free enterprise.

It is also useful to note that the economic planning in France, which is of great interest to our own would-be planners, was designed not simply to stimulate consumer demand, but rather to encourage business expansion and investment.

Interestingly enough, the article also points out that such budget deficits as have been incurred have been held within the limits of national savings in order to prevent inflation. Furthermore, interest rates have been about 2 or 3 percent higher than in the United States—a fact which has lead to the attraction of both foreign and domestic investment funds.

I should add that we could also learn something from the remarkable economic recovery of Japan. An article in the Wall Street Journal of July 24 discusses this recovery and points out that:

No heavy Government spending—deficit or otherwise—lies behind the boom.

It does, indeed, appear as though there are useful lessons to be learned from both the European and Japanese experiences. I only hope that the economic theorists of the New Frontier can lay aside their bias long enough to draw the proper conclusions.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles from the Wall Street Journal be included in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 24, 1962]

BRAKING A BOOM—JAPAN'S DOLLAR DRAIN, INFLATION SPUR TIGHTENS CONTROLS

(By Igor Oganesoff)

TOKYO.—Japanese officials, worried about some recent turns in their roaring economy, are now trying to take some of the zoom out of the boom.

While Americans are debating ways to stimulate economic growth, Japan is wrestling with the problem of sharply reduced holdings of dollars and concurrent spurt of inflation.

Both problems reared their heads late last year. Exports, one-quarter of which go to

the United States, leveled off at just under $4 billion, but imports of raw materials and machinery for new plant expansion continued to expand rapidly. The result was that Japan spent $1,085 million more for foreign goods and services than it earned from exports. The other danger sign was a 10-percent rise in consumer prices in 12 months, the first touch of real price inflation in more than a decade.

U.S. BANKS HELP OUT

Japan's dollar position, of course, is important to American producers, who find a $2 billion annual market here, second only to U.S. exports to Canada. American banks last year lent Japan over $600 million in short-term credits to help offset the heavy trade deficit and keep Tokyo's monetary reserves—and public confidence in Japanese economic stability—high. The Japanese Government, for its part, is trying to place some kind of checkrein on the economy without antagonizing the people or bringing on a recession.

Some of the measures taken by Tokyo thus far appear to be loosening the country from its financial bind—but it's still to early to be sure. One such measure was action taken by the central bank of Japan a few months ago to reduce its loans to commercial banks, which in turn have tightened credit for businessmen. Too, Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda's Cabinet members and other top aids are doggedly cajoling and pressuring big firms to hold back on expansion programs and on imports of capital goods.

Thus, prices have leveled off in recent months, largely due to a drop in business spending. Reflecting slackened investment, steel, paper, and truck makers made production cuts of 10 percent or more this month. Heavy machinery producers report new orders are down substantially from last year. All this, Japanese economists say, will soon reduce imports of iron ore and other basic materials and help balance the foreign accounts.

RETAIL BUSINESS BRISK

But, in some respects, the Japanese economy seems to be hurtling along as fast as ever. Downtown Tokyo streets are clogged with cement mixers and giant cranes at the sites of rising office buildings. Eager shoppers continue to throng to Tokyo's 10 big department stores for kitchen appliances, television sets, colorful summer kimonos and the latest Tetoron synthetic fiber suits. And downtown traffic congestion seems to grow almost daily.

Statistics seem to bear out this impression of continued brisk commerce, at least on the level of consumer goods, and cast some doubt on the extent of the slowdown and perhaps on the impact of the monetary measures taken so far. Department store sales are running 20 percent over last year and overall industrial production in May was still up 2.3 percent from the previous month, a nonseasonal rise.

Though slimmer, the trade deficits continue ($45 million in the red in May) and American banks are still helping to balance the Japanese accounts (with loans in May amounting to $32 million). Gold and foreign exchange reserves, however, are holding fairly steady at around $1.6 billion.

"This is a real balancing act," observes an American bank representative here. "A little too much pressure from the Government and the economy could go into a tailspin. Not enough and Japan will run out of dollars to cover imports."

Though Japan's trade accounts are still deep in the red, the Japanese Government hasn't even hinted at anything resembling an austerity program. Premier Ikeda hasn't yet seen fit to clamp down hard on imports, restrain installment buying or discourage wage hikes. He's counting on the slowdown in heavy industry and construction to spread gently and moderately through other industries.

Should the current measures prove inadequate, the Japanese Government still retains a full arsenal of postwar economic controls which could be applied in an emergency. They range from full authority to halt any imports down to a system of rice rationing and price control. The Government can, if it desires, curb credit drastically. And a structure of industrial cartels functioning under Government supervision, which was resurrected after the American occupation, gives the state enough levers to enforce its demands on business.

So brisk was business and so high were profit expectations last year that an increase in the Bank of Japan's rediscount rate (the rate at which it lends money to commercial banks) from 6.57 to 7.3 percent failed to discourage borrowing significantly. It took the present loan ceilings to do the trick.

Japanese authorities are counting on the heavy industry slowdown to bring their international commodity and invisible trade accounts into rough balance by early autumn. And exports to the United States and other markets are up around 15 percent in the last couple of months, compared with a year earlier. Japanese steel makers the other day won a 57,000-ton contract to supply India with steel plates, their second biggest foreign order to date.

Some officials, however, are also concerned about the effect of the Common Market on Japan's European sales. In addition, the "Buy American" policy for U.S. economic aid to underdeveloped countries has slashed such offshore procurement of equipment and materials in Japan from $147 million in 1960 to half that figure last year. This purchasing will probably vanish completely this year, depriving Japan of an important source of dollars. And many Japanese businessmen fear a rise of protectionist sentiment in the United States could lead to import restraints and diminished earnings for their industries.

MAY DRAW ON IMF

Adding to the normal burden of balancing monthly trade, Japan this winter will have to start repaying foreign short term loans granted to tide the nation over its financial crisis. For example, three American banks, First National City Bank of New York, Chase Manhattan Bank, and the Bank of America, provided a joint loan of $200 million last November, to be repaid 12 months later. Seven other U.S. banks opened credits totaling $125 million early this year. But if dollars are still scarce Japan can utilize a "standby" credit of $305 million from the International Monetary Fund to pay off the foreign banks.

However the Japanese economy may fare in the months ahead, its record in the postwar years is truly remarkable. In fact its climb from wartime devastation to prosperity may even outshine West Germany's economic miracle.

Japan possesses no iron, coal, or oil resources to speak of. All rubber, cotton, and wool, and great quantities of food, must also be imported. Yet today Japan is the world's fourth largest steel producer and ranks third in petroleum refining capacity.

In the last decade manufacturing production has more than quadrupled and the gross national product has risen 2.7 times, with prices remaining fairly level. And at the expansion rates of recent years, Japanese industrial output and national income would double every 5 or 6 years. The Labor Ministry reports that not only is the country enjoying practically full employment (just over 1 percent jobless out of a labor force of 45 million), but that there's a shortage of 1,260,000 skilled factory and construction workers.

GOVERNMENT DEFICITS BANNED

No heavy Government spending—deficit or otherwise—lies behind the boom. Japan's defense expenditure is extremely modest and deficit Government spending is actually forbidden by law, except for bonds issued to cover specific development projects, such as highways. The major factor was a great expansion in the volume and range of Japanese exports, now running at $4 billion yearly, which permitted import of all the raw materials and machinery Japan needed. Pepped-up wages and consumer demand did the rest—and a bit more than the straining economy could handle.

"Our expansion really reached a limit last year," declares scholarly Okita Saburo, a top economist of the Economic Planning Agency, which plots the nation's business course. "The economy was getting out of balance," Mr. Okita continues. "We saw prices going up, foreign deficits growing, a labor shortage developing. Private companies last year invested $11 billion in new plants and equipment, 30 percent more than in the previous year. And we felt we had gone a little too far."

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[From the Wall Street Journal, July 27, 1962]

WEST EUROPE'S BOOM—BEHIND IT LIES BROAD GOVERNMENT-BUSINESS COOPERATION

(By Ray Vicker)

PARIS.—At a time when the U.S. economic slowdown is being blamed in some quarters on the Kennedy administration's "anti-business" policies, Western European industries are demonstrating the validity of an old success formula: government-business cooperation.

In recent years, the economic gains of West Germany, Italy, France, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg have shown that when a state takes measures to increase business confidence, there follows a surge of commercial activity that has a marked and almost immediate effect on the national prosperity. The six member nations of the Common Market, aside from the historic move of forming the Common Market itself, have employed a variety of measures calculated to stimulate competition and investment. As a result, nobody here or in the United States seriously doubts that the Common Market nations are going places.

There are, of course, reasons other than favorable government attitudes and arrangements for the boom in West Europe. There is, for instance, the fact of pent-up demand for consumer goods which Americans have long enjoyed but which have still been beyond the reach of Europeans. Too, most European manufacturers have not yet been caught in the profit squeeze that bedevils many U.S. firms. But the chief reason the Continent is prospering is that climate has been created which entices businessmen to unlease their capital, energy, and ingenuity.

OPTIMISM IS THE RULE

Business confidence is practically ubiquitous in West Europe, with recent signs of some tapering off in the boom spurring only isolated pockets of caution amid the general optimism.

True, some West Germans complain about wage-price inflation, while a few Italians are wondering if their country's economic upsurge is cresting. Yet the Common Market growth rate—forecast by its authorities at "under 5 percent" for 1962—still is high enough to attract envious attention in Washington.

And there is no doubt about the lusty gains already achieved by the Six. In the 4 years since the European Economic Community, or Common Market, became operative, the gross national product of the six nations has risen 21 percent, or better than a 5-percent-a-year rate.

Europeans discussing the causes of this success talk of adequate depreciation allowances, taxes geared to promote expansion and exports, sound fiscal policies, government stands against big wage hikes and, above all, business confidence that governments are really trying to encourage free enterprise.

"You don't get record growth unless people who contribute to that growth are confident that they can sell what they produce," says J. Downie, assistant secretary general of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a multination group with headquarters in Paris.

NEED FOR COOPERATION

"Cooperation between business and government is necessary to stimulate growth," says Cesidio Guazzaroni, vice director for economic affairs in Italy's Foreign Ministry. He adds, "The economic dynamism of the Common Market has helped create a psychological reaction, too—a spirit of confidence in the future. And the Common Market, of course, represents a positive example of how governments, industries, and other segments of the economy are cooperating to build something new and better."

"Economic environment is dependent not only on circumstances but also on policies of governments and on attitudes of businessmen," says Rene Sterkendries, economic adviser to giant Societe Generale, the big Belgian banking and holding company. He emphasizes how even such government programs as France's national economic plan depend upon willing cooperation of private business for success.

An analysis of France's economic planning shows it was not designed to pump more money directly into the hands of laboring men to try to stimulate consumer buying power. It was and is designed to encourage business to invest and expand. The reasoning is that if business expands, more jobs will be created, incomes will rise and the whole country will benefit.

The French experience, moreover, provides a concrete example of how to stimulate an economy. In 1950, industrial production was scarcely higher than the 1929 level. Monetary and political instability prevented solid growth.

The French economy started to move when Paris joined the Common Market in 1958, and De Gaulle put Parisian politics on something resembling an even keel. French businessmen at first lobbied against the Common Market and cried for more protectionism—they had scant faith in their own resourcefulness.

But De Gaulle, anxious to streamline France for Common Market competition, swept away centuries of protectionism. The franc was devalued by 17.5 percent. Currency convertibility was introduced for nonresidents. Quota restrictions on imports were drastically reduced.

Elimination of protectionism hit French industry like a pail of cold water. For the first few months industry stagnated, nearly paralyzed by the thought of sudden robust competition. But spurred by faster depreciation allowances, capital expenditures began to rise. Machine tool sales soared. Advertising campaigns were greatly beefed up to ballyhoo French products in export markets, and the whole complex of French business undertook internal reforms to increase efficiency and capacity.

The French experience is dramatic but hardly exceptional among Common Market countries.

West Germany allows certain tax exemptions to promote investment. Holland permits manufacturers in some cases to figure depreciation allowances at higher than costs. Italy's generous corporate tax treatment has led to the erection of dozens of new plants, equipped with modern machinery, which can turn out autos and TV sets at prices far lower than an American producer can meet.

Although payroll costs have begun to edge upward, plants in Europe until recently had clamped a lid on wages and, with government support, kept pay increases behind productivity gains.

SOMEONE HAS TO PAY

Prof. Glauco Della Porta, mayor of Rome and chief economist for the Banco di Roma, one of Italy's biggest banks, declares: "Somebody must pay for growth. In Europe, growth was paid by workers. Until recently, workers have held wage-increase demands below increases in productivity. This has permitted large investments in industry, and has contributed to monetary stability.

With productivity savings going into lower costs, European plants were able to capture foreign markets. Moreover, Europe has been placing much heavier stress on exports than has the United States.

"Our whole mental outlook is geared to exports," says Pierre Cabon, a prominent French economist. Exports represent around 15 percent of the gross national products of France, West Germany, and Italy versus only about 4 percent for the United States, he adds. Netherlands exports amount to over a third of its GNP. Belgium exports a quarter to a third of its national production. Some 85 percent of its glass production, 80 percent of nonferrous metals, 75 percent of its steel, and 40 percent of its engineering industry now go into export markets.

Here again government action plays a part. Taxes on various commodities are rebated to exporters, and sometimes exporters receive a better tax depreciation formula.

It is in the realm of fiscal policies that governments have made their most direct contribution to Europe's prosperity. Generally budgets, even if unbalanced, have been held within limits of national savings, so inflation has been contained. Interest rates have been around 2 to 3 percent higher than in the United States, so domestic savings and foreign capital have been attracted.

RISE IN EMPLOYMENT

Prof. Rudolf Meimberg of Mainz University, economic adviser to the Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt, West Germany, says: "Experience has shown that this policy of monetary stability could very well be combined with a high level of employment. Since 1950, the number of employed persons (in West Germany) has increased by 6.8 million, or 49 percent."

Economists don't agree on the part the Common Market has played in Europe's prosperity. Some declare the internal tariff slashing has stimulated trade, and business generally. Others claim economic benefits of the Common Market still are to be realized. But, nearly all agree that formation of the European Economic Community has set loose a psychology of expansion.

"Factories started reequipping for the Common Market as soon as it was formed. Moreover, management people in the different countries began to trade ideas and technology, improving managements in all countries," says Mr. Guazzaroni in Italy's Foreign Office.

There are differences in the causes for prosperity in various European states, of course. All the countries of the Common Market have had comparatively low defense budgets, except for France. This has permitted more money to go into productive purposes.

SUPPLY OF CHEAP LABOR

West Germany's economy was devastated by war, with reconstruction playing a big part in its boom. Moreover, 10 million refugees poured into West Germany in the postwar period, expanding the population by 30 percent, and providing an enormous supply of cheap labor. Construction of the wall in West Berlin, however, has stopepd the influx, a factor now contributing to some of West Germany's economic problems.

Italy has a big reservoir of unemployed labor in the southern part of the country. This helped manufacturers to contain wages, and to keep products highly competitive in world markets. Now the steam generated from this boom is heating workers' wage demands, and labor is beginning to share increasingly in the prosperity.

Sums up one German banker: "In a free world, business and development go where they can make money easiest, fastest, and safest."

Western Europe has found it's just about as simple as that.

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## Joe Helfert and the Open Eye Club for Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to see a recent feature article in the September 1962, Wisconsin AAA Motor News which described the Open Eye for Safety Club founded by Joe Helfert, editor of the Beaver Dam Daily Citizen.

Joe Helfert's Open Eye Clubs have preformed a wonderful service. Through the clubs, many parents and children really learned the first principles of safety. Indeed, I owe a personal debt of gratitude to Joe Helfert, for when I was a youngster in school in Beaver Dam, Wis., I was a member of the Open Eye Club.

Mr. Speaker, all too often people make important contributions to their community with all too little recognition. Far too little has been done to show the appreciation and recognition of Joe Helfert's contribution. Though much more ought to be done, I think it would be fitting for the readers of the RECORD to be acquainted with the dedication and service of Joe Helfert and I am honored to include in the RECORD the following article:

BEAVER DAM CITIZEN, JOE HELFERT, CONTRIBUTES TO CAUSE OF SAFETY

(By Arthur Wichern)

If our Nation ever gives an award to a newspaper for the most beneficial continuous safety promotion program, it will, in all probability, be given the Beaver Dam Citizen.

And, if such an award is ever bestowed upon a Wisconsin newspaperman for the most significant contribution to the cause of safety, it will have to go to Joe Helfert, editor of the Citizen.

STARTED OPEN EYE CLUB

Back in March of 1928, Helfert started the Open Eye Club for Safety. At the same time he started a daily column by the same name in the Daily Citizen. Thanks to his dedicated interest and untiring efforts over the years both are still going strong.

It is a question if even Joe knows how many members there are in the Open Eye

Club. A conservative estimate would be well over 1 million. That many membership cards have been distributed in schools throughout the United States, Canada and other parts of the world.

Open Eye Club members have to abide by four rules, as follows:

1. Never to play in the street or cross it without stopping to look both ways. Then I will walk, not run, across.
2. Never to ride with nor accept favors from a stranger.
3. Never to play with fire in any form.
4. Never to be disloyal nor disobedient to mother and father.

HOW IDEA ORIGINATED

Joe's interest in safety started back in the 1920's when he was a reporter in Milwaukee. On a fire-chasing assignment one day, he nearly struck a small child with his car as the youngster darted out into the street.

Helfert, a little shaken, continued on his assignment. But in the back of his mind, as a result of the near-accident, an idea formed. And it wasn't long after he became editor of the Citizen that he put his idea into practice. He started writing about something he called the Open Eye Club. His idea was that even though drivers may be as careful as possible, the small fry would have to be taught to look out for themselves.

He had "Open Eye" buttons made, knowing there is nothing which impresses a youngster so much as a button. Later, he substituted membership cards.

DEDICATED HIS LIFE

He talked to children and parents. He taught the young people a set of rules, as listed above. He dedicated a lifetime of service to a cause in which he believed wholeheartedly.

Nobody can estimate the number of lives he has saved or accidents he has helped prevent.

Helfert's idea, starting as it did in Beaver Dam, has spread throughout the world. Today, the first members of the club are adults. Many have children of their own, and entire families are pledged to safe habits through the Open Eye Club. Anyone can join the Open Eye Club. Everyone does.

His daily column in the Citizen has pounded safety lessons into receptive minds. When he felt the community was 100 percent behind his program he took to the road, visiting rural schools, selling safety to teachers and pupils alike. He expanded his visits to all parts of the State. Even today, he is available for safety talks or participation in safety programs of all kinds, regardless of where it might be in Wisconsin.

Cooperating with Helfert are individuals, civic groups, and local, county, and State organizations. The American Automobile Association, Wisconsin division, is one of these, making available hundreds of thousands of safety lessons and safety posters for schoolchildren in the State each year. The Wisconsin AAA has been proud to help Joe explain the reason for greater emphasis on safety while walking or driving.

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## The John Birch Society in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the John Birch Society has several projects lined up for fall. Midwest coordinators and chapter leaders heard plans outlined at a recent closed meeting in Chicago. Detroit Free Press staff writer, Barbara Holliday, on assignment as member of the society for many months, but not identified as a reporter, tells in this last article of a series what the Chicago meeting means to the Birch movement in the Midwest.

In closing this series of articles, I would like to express my appreciation to Mrs. Holliday for her work. In my judgment she presented her story in a straightforward and factual manner, with little if any editorial comment on propaganda. This series exemplifies intelligent journalism at is best.

The locale of the meetings was my own congressional district; the subject was of tremendous local interest; but, judging from the response I have received I would say that it is of interest throughout this hemisphere.

The article follows:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IN MICHIGAN

On June 30, several members of the council of the John Birch Society and Founder Robert Welch met in Chicago at a closed meeting for midwest coordinators and chapter leaders.

The pressure was on. Welch wanted to know personally how the political picture was shaping up in the Midwest, how many Birchers were running for precinct delegates and what the chances were for conservative candidates.

Two major announcements were made:

1. The big project for the next 12 months—the establishment of reading rooms across the country under the name, American Opinion Libraries.
2. A council decision to publish "The Politican," by Robert Welch, the book which first brought notoriety to the society for Welch's denunciation of former President Eisenhower and others as "conscious agents of the Communist conspiracy."

"Our goal for the reading rooms," said Welch in Chicago, "is to have 1,000 of these established within a year."

AGENT ASSIGNED TO LEASE STORES

Michigan Birch coordinators learned that a staffman from Belmont, Mass., John Zimmerman, would be in Detroit early in August to start leasing space for the "stores." Plans call for incorporating under the name "American Opinion Libraries of Michigan."

Welch's plan for such reading rooms will apparently be executed just as he outlined it in 1958 when the John Birch Society was founded. He listed it then as project No. 1.

Here's how he put it in the "Blue Book," bible of the society:

"We would establish reading rooms, somewhat similar to Christian Science reading rooms, but small and inexpensive, just as rapidly as we could.

"They would be manned, utilized and promoted in every feasible way by volunteers who were local members of the organization. The space would either be contributed or obtained at a very low rental.

"How many books each of these reading rooms would have, especially which books, and under what arrangements, would of course have to be tightly controlled from headquarters."

Birch members hope to locate the first of these in the neighborhood of Wayne State University.

As of December, Welch reported that only about a dozen such reading rooms across the country had been started through the initiative of individual members.

ONLY TWO GENUINE BOOKSTORES IN STATE

According to Edward A. Kelly, of Roseville, Mich., coordinator of the society, there are now only two bookstores in the State, which handle conservative literature exclusively, one in Grand Rapids, the other in Flint.

Another bookstore in Plymouth he discounted as being a combination party store and bookstore, although it is a source for a volume of conservative literature.

The council's decision to publish a new edition of "The Politician," or "Black Book" as it is also known, is a reversal in position for the society.

This is the book written by Welch before the society was formed.

The politician of the title is Dwight D. Eisenhower, "the most completely opportunistic and unprincipled politician America has ever raised to high office."

Welch also wrote: "In my opinion, the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party."

"I defy anybody who is not actually a Communist to read all of the known facts about his career and not decide that since at least sometime in the 1930's George Catlett Marshall (Chief of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II), has been a conscious, deliberate, dedicated agent of the Soviet conspiracy."

"POLITICIAN" SPURNED BY FIRST BIRCHERS

When the John Birch Society was formed in 1958, the 11 men who met with Welch turned "thumbs down" on "The Politician" and it was withdrawn from circulation.

It has since become almost impossible to obtain a copy and the Birch Society disclaimed it as having any official connection. It is not registered with the Library of Congress since Welch had it printed privately.

The council's decision to release the book indicates it thinks the society has suffered as much as it will from this document and that John Birch may as well capitalize on public curiosity.

The council is convinced this curiosity is great enough to put the book on the best seller list.

But just to avoid taking too many chances, publication is to be held up until after the fall elections.

As a corollary to this major factor to "educate" the American public, Welch made a rather extraordinary request in the July Birch bulletin.

Members of local chapters have been instructed to estimate how many drugstore stands and other newsstands there are in their vicinities where each month they can personally place 6 to perhaps 50 copies of American Opinion, Welch-edited magazine.

For reasons he doesn't detail, Welch said that it was utterly out of the question for us even to try to obtain distribution through the national or large wholesale distributing agencies.

Members were urged to place a standing order for copies of the magazine, but to underorder rather than overorder, as "we simply must ask each member-distributor to be responsible for and thus eventually to pay us for all of the copies shipped and billed to him."

Goal: 1,000 members to become the means of distributing an average of 100 copies per month per member.

The projects are becoming more demanding, the message more urgent.

What, then, are the chances of John Birch for survival? Has the society reached its peak or is its well-oiled machinery just beginning to click? What are the odds on the society exercising real pressure as a minority political group by 1964?

At the moment they look substantial. The patient is thriving, and it is taking on new blood, and its founder can match Khrushchev in determination and energy to establish a Birch republic.

Until the United States begins to see the scales weighed more heavily on our side in

the cold war, thousands of restless and jittery Americans will continue to eye the far right with favor.

In Michigan the society is brash and lusty and is unquestionably the most virile element in conservative Republican circles.

Except for chapter 290. With Les Crane moving, this chapter has again fallen on evil days.

I suppose it is fitting, as I close my John Birch file, that I write off my own name as the last surviving member.

It is of interest to know that a John Birch bookstore has been opened in Detroit.

## A Recipe for Peace: Garnish With Nuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Arthur Hoppe has written an article on how peace may be obtained through food, which was published in the San Francisco Chronicle, September 12, and under unanimous consent, I insert the article in the RECORD:

A RECIPE FOR PEACE: GARNISH WITH NUTS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

I guess we all agree no more gracious hostess has ever graced our White House than Mrs. Kennedy. She's attractive, charming, and knows her salad forks. I'm glad she's won the highest accolade any gracious hostess can get.

"No other First Lady in history has sparked such international interest and enthusiasm," enthusiastically writes Miss Clementine Paddleford, "in food."

Miss Paddleford's enthusiasm stems, presumably, from her position as food editor of This Week magazine. But gracious food is very important these days. Because, says Miss Paddleford, "Mrs. Kennedy believes that the dinner table, whether at the White House or your house, can do its part in bringing 'peace in our time.'"

It just goes to show you. All along I've secretly felt that Mrs. Kennedy, while most charming, might devote a little less attention to the gracious affairs of the evening and a little more to the grievous affairs of the day. And it turns out she's really been struggling to bring us peace in our time. I feel awful.

The way Mrs. Kennedy is bringing peace in our time, says Mrs Paddleford, is by serving delicacies from 60 different nations. Which is unquestionably a new path to peace. Through the esophagus.

Miss Paddleford, despite the Secret Service, has ferreted her way into the White House recipe files and has reproduced the specific plans for five of Mrs. Kennedy's weapons for peace. Like "broiled fish a la Grecque."

Because of national security, Miss Paddleford is necessarily vague as to exactly how Mrs. Kennedy employs these weapons to achieve peace. I assume she must pore over her husband's diplomatic dispatches before announcing the evening's menu.

"So Austrian elements are flirting with the Comintern," she will say thoughtfully. "Never mind, I shall cement Austro-American bonds tonight with a strawberry mousse." Or: "Aha. De Gaulle is threatening NATO, is he? Hand me a quarter cup of leek strips and I shall brew some consumme Julienne."

Of course, the question arises: What is Mr. Kennedy doing for peace in our time? I hate to tell you. Miss Paddleford dismisses his contribution in a paragraph. "Mr. Kennedy," she says, "is a soup drinker." And New England fish chowder, at that.

But there are hints of worse. For Mrs. Kennedy's two strong right arms are her French chef and Italian assistant chef. Absolutely indispensable to world peace. And "perhaps," says Miss Paddleford darkly, "these two ambitious chefs find their most difficult task is to reproduce the Kennedy's favorite New England dishes, and do it without a continental flair."

Not even a pinch of tarragon in the New England boiled dinner? It could drive a French chef mad. And who in the White House demands New England boiled dinners? Not Mrs. Kennedy. But let us not talk of impeachment. Yet.

So hats off to Mrs. Kennedy for sparking the world's interest in food. It's about time as two-thirds of the world goes to bed hungry each night. Some say this is due to a shortage of bread.

Nonsense. Let them, I say, eat strawberry mousse.

## The Bookies Close Up Shop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Sports Illustrated which tells of Attorney General Kennedy's success in wiping out illegal gambling under the "package" of anti-gambling laws passed last year:

THE BOOKIES CLOSE UP SHOP

(By Robert H. Boyle)

In 1951, after all the whoop-de-do kicked up by the Kefauver investigations, the House of Representatives and Senate passed two antigambling laws. One required a bookmaker to buy a $50 Federal wagering stamp; the other called for a 10-percent tax on all bets. But inasmuch as few bookies either paid the tax or bought the stamp, the laws were a joke.

A year ago this month Congress, under prodding from Attorney General Robert Kennedy, took another crack at gambling. This time Congress passed three more bills. Altogether, they could be described as a Mann Act for bookmakers. They prohibit the sending of odds, wagers, or gambling paraphernalia across State lines under maximum penalty of a $10,000 fine and/or 2 or 5 years in prison.

In view of the tax-stamp fiascos, it would have been reasonable to expect the Government to come up a loser again. But the truth, as a Sports Illustrated survey shows, is that the new laws have succeeded surprisingly well. This is not to say that illegal gambling is dead—during the football season it is still possible to get down a $5,000 bet on a game if you know the right person. However, bookmakers all over the country are up against it as they never have been before.

In the first 10 months since the laws were passed, the Federal Bureau of Investigation looked into 4,000 possible violations. Of these, 809 cases were forwarded to the Department of Justice for further study. So far, 95 persons have been indicted and 11 convicted. Eleven out of 4,000 may seem a small number, but the key figure is 809; the FBI does not send agents on a case unless it is considered "hot."

KEFAUVER put the Continental Press Service, which furnished results to bookmakers, out of business. Now the new laws have put an end to Continental's illicit successors. Chief among these was Nola News in New Orleans, which closed down for good last fall. This year the Federal Government charged Tom F. Kelly, Tom F. Kelly, Jr., and George Kelly, of Chicago, scratch-sheet publishers, with shipping gambling information across State lines. The Government argued that 80 percent of the sheets were going directly to bookmakers, and on July 31 the Kellys were convicted and fined $5,000 each in Louisville. They are appealing on the grounds that the new laws specifically exclude "newspapers and other similar publications." The Kellys are also fighting a Government attempt to cut off their race-result telephone service, which has handled up to 60,000 calls a day.

While off-track betting has declined, at-the-track betting has increased. Frank Pape, former Chicago police lieutenant, now chief of the Arlington-Washington Park police, says, "I think the lack of wire services has curbed activity. The old days of the big bookie giving you the call of the race to determine how you would bet the next race are over. It has made a big crimp in the operations, and, as a result, our mutuels are up considerably even though attendance is about the same."

Other sports betting—baseball, football, and basketball—has been cut sharply. Gil Beckley, the No. 1 bookmaker in the country for the last few years, was reduced to operating out of pay phones in Miami hotel lobbies last winter. This winter may be more confining: in October he goes to trial in Federal court in New Orleans. Beckley's chief rival for bookmaking honors, Maurice (Red) Dodson, is wandering around seeking haven. He has left Birmingham and last week was in Las Vegas, where gambling is legal, looking for a home. One vendor of football parlay cards has already been sent to prison; Richard A. Styles of Toledo drew 3 years for transporting them across State lines.

The leading sports handicappers in the country are, shall we say, handicapped. Leo Hirschfield, president of Athletic Publications, Inc., in Minneapolis, has quit. The so-called Minneapolis line is no more. Hirschfield is using the company presses, which used to churn out football and basketball schedules, to print hunting and fishing books. The other top oddsmaking firm, Angel-Kaplan in Chicago, is about to go out of business. Bill Kaplan, the Runyonesque founder of the firm who goes by such pseudonyms as Pigskin Pete, Patrick F. Gilhooly and Coach Goldberg, suffered a heart attack recently, what with all the wear and tear, and Don Angel, his partner, says he is putting out a daily baseball line "just to keep in." Says Angel, "We're just going to stick around for the World Series to make a price for some guys, then we're going to quit. You can't cross a State line, and it doesn't pay us to operate locally." There are simply not enough bookmakers in Chicago to make oddsmaking worthwhile.

In Miami, Chief Investigator Mike Peyton, of the Dade County State's attorney's office, says, "One thing you can say about the law, and that is that it really struck fear into the bookmakers." A year ago a sport could walk into any one of a hundred Miami stores or hotel cabanas to get down a bet. Now it is difficult to find a bookie. Only a few will take more than $100, and horse odds have slumped from 20, 8 and 4 to 15, 6 and 3. That is, the bookies will pay no more than 15 to 1 for a winning horse, 6 to 1 for place and 3 to 1 for show—alltime lows. Round

robins, parlays, and even the daily doubles are out.

Miami bookmakers have declined in quality as well as quantity. Says one bettor, "There used to be, well, call it a sense of honor among bookmakers. But now there are nothing but rats left. If you do win, you take a chance on not collecting." This bettor is owed $9,000 by two bookies. "This couldn't have happened a few years ago," he says. "If they didn't pay off then, there were people who would see that they did. Now there aren't."

Throughout the South the refrain is the same. Only a few bookies in New Orleans will take a $100 bet on a horse, and in Hot Springs, Ark., the bookies operate on the sneak. This in a town with two gambling casinos, the Vapors and the Southern Club, running wide open.

Up North the pattern persists. New York bookmakers have taken to using telephone answering services to avoid tapped wires. In Washington it is possible to get a bet down across the street from the Justice Department, but the police keep bookies on the run. "Anything is possible, but these operations are not as big as anyone would like to believe," says Deputy Chief Roy E. Blick of the Metropolitan Police. Recent raids have included a big one at the Pentagon, the Navy Department, Walter Reed General Hospital, and the Old Soldiers' Home.

A bookie isn't even safe these days in the traditionally wide-open towns in the Ohio River Valley. Evansville, Ind., which nurtured such gambling celebrities as Ray Ryan, the oilman, and Jimmie (the Greek) Snyder, the Las Vegas handicapper, is dead, or close to it. In the late 1940's Evansville had 48 books handling anything. But that was all B.K.—Before KEFAUVER, Before Kennedy. After KEFAUVER, the number of books dipped at 20, but you could still get a sizable bet down. With Bobby Kennedy, the number has been cut to 10, all furtive "two-bit operations."

* * * * *

Says an involuntarily retired bookmaker, "This Bobby Kennedy is doing the job. Without a wire service, without a telephone, how can you make it? Everybody's afraid to call across the State line into Kentucky. Sometimes I've needed a result in Louisville. Well, I'd drive over to Henderson and call Louisville. But that's a 30-, 40-minute round trip. I had to have my information quicker than that.

"It's not like it was before the Kennedys put through that interstate law. Listen, Dan Topping, you know, the guy who owns the Yankees? Yeah, well, Topping had a friend in Evansville. Every day Topping used to call this friend and give him some horses. He played pretty good, I'm telling you. But no more. I guess Topping is afraid of the interstate law."

Evansville is so bad that during a recent card game at the Elks Club, a former golf pro said he would give any one of his brother Elks $200 as a gift if he could make a $200 bet on a horse for him.

"Here's $400," said the pro, laying the money on the table. "You book me $200 on a horse here in Evansville, and you can keep the other $200." A brother Elk tried to book the bet. It was late evening, and every bookie he called begged time until morning. They needed the time to lay off. Finally, not one would book his bet, and the golf pro wound up with the $400 back in his wallet.

The ex-Evansville bookie has been looking for work in the Newport area, just across the river from Cincinnati. But there, in addition to Government heat, George Ratterman, the ex-Notre Dame quarterback, is in office as reform sheriff. It is indicative of Newport's present moral state that the Club Flamingo, a gambling joint run by "Sleep Out Louis" Levinson, is now a twist parlor. Unemployment among gamblers is so rife that several months ago, the local fathers of Newport and next-door Covington went to Washington to ask for assistance as a depressed area. Of all things, they asked the Government to locate an income-tax processing center in the vicinity.

"I tried to get on in Newport," says the bookie. "It was laughable. I tell you the town is dying. You think Evansville is clean, Newport is in a coma. I saw this friend up there. He used to be in the numbers racket. He's out on bail now, but he's gonna do at least a year.

"The only action in town was a bingo game. It was going crazy with people, but it was for charity. I saw a sign in Newport. I swear to it. This big club was for sale. There's a sign on the front that read, 'For Sale—See George Ratterman.'

"They got big hotels in Newport worth maybe $800,000. You can buy 'em today for $200,000, but what would you do with 'em? You see, Newport depended on its out-of-town business, the business brought there by gambling. The shutdown has hurt everything in the town. Business people are screaming, everybody is dying. You heard of the Glenn Hotel? That's the place where Ratterman was framed with that stripteaser April Flowers. The Glenn has burned down. How lucky can they get?"

Internal Revenue Service figures bear out the clampdown on Newport. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, Kentucky bookmakers reported accepting $7,650,000 in bets. In the fiscal year ending last June 30 that figure was cut to $2 million. The drop can be directly attributed to Newport, whose bookies took in almost $6 million of the $7,650,000.

In Seattle, "nickel-and-dime town," the situation is worse than ever. One horseplayer, trying to make a bet on the Kentucky Derby, couldn't find a bookie. He had to trust a friend to take the cash down to Portland to bet it. Clifford Winkler, Jr., a Seattle horseplayer, says, "Suppose a fella came to town and said, 'Here's $200 on a horse at Longacres (the local track). I'll give you $100 of it, but I want you to bet it off the track so I can get a better price.' Well, buddy, there's no place to take him."

Of course, it is possible to bet legally in Nevada. But despite the clampdown elsewhere, betting on sports or horses will not grow appreciably in Vegas; the bettor must pay the 10 percent Federal tax. Business is so bad that Jimmie the Greek, the last of the oddsmakers, plans to quit at the end of the year. There is not a book in town that isn't up for sale or losing money. One bitter Vegas bettor says, "They lost in Laos, they lost in Cuba, they lost in East Berlin, but they sure are giving the gamblers a beating."

## In Memory of Thomas Masaryk—1850–1937

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago on September 14 Czechoslovak people lost their Founding Father and the first President of their Republic, Thomas Masaryk.

Even at the time, his grievous death was seen as a great loss to the Czech people, but today we are all much more aware that in the death of this elder statesman, great teacher, eminent philosopher, illustrious man of letters and wise leader, freedom and democracy lost one of the stanchest champions in Central Europe.

Thomas Masaryk was the greatest Czechoslovak of modern times. As the unrivaled and beloved leader of his people during the last quarter of the last century and the first third of this, he did more for his country and his people than any one man, or group of men. This gifted-born teacher was destined to be the liberator of his people, and the real architect of the Czechoslovak Republic. He was elected to the Presidency of the Republic in 1918, which position he then held through four successive elections. In 1935, at the age of 85, he resigned, and died 2 years later. Today we pay our respects to the memory of this great and good man, Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, whose long, arduous and fruitful life was an inspiration to all.

## Thomas Garrigue Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues, and with freemen everywhere, in paying tribute to the memory of a great man and a true champion of liberty who passed away 25 years ago today.

I am referring, of course, to Thomas G. Masaryk, philosopher and statesman, who contributed probably more than any other single individual to the founding of the modern Czechoslovak Republic.

His name, his writings, and his concrete achievements in establishing working democratic institutions in prewar Czechoslovakia should be known to all freemen. He stood as a giant among men. It was most fitting, therefore, that the U.S. Government, in recognition of his achievements, has honored his memory by issuing a commemorative stamp in the Champion of Liberty series. It is equally fitting that we here today pay tribute to his works.

It is with profound sadness that we must reflect on this occasion upon the current tragic plight of the Czechoslovak people. Of all the once-free nations behind the Iron Curtain, Czechoslovakia is probably the one which has been least affected by the passing away of the Stalinist era. Stalinist methods of overt repression are still being inflicted upon her people by the Soviet-supported Communist regime of Dictator Novotny. Her people live in dire bondage, denied their inalienable rights and freedoms, cut off from all effective contacts with the West. Their plight is indeed tragic.

On this occasion of the 25th anniversary of Masaryk's death, we should, and

we must, reaffirm our determination to continue to support the legitimate aspirations for self-determination of the Czechoslovak people. We shall not rest until freedom and liberty are once again restored to them.

## Radio Stations Salute Congressman Wilson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EARL WILSON**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, radio stations throughout the South this week have broadcast a tribute to my military procurement study that I find gratifying and humbling. Under the title, "We Salute Indiana Congressman EARL WILSON," these radio stations have again called attention to the fact that millions are wasted each year in buying military hardware.

Mr. Frank B. Best, of Orangeburg, S.C., wrote the radio editorial and it was supplied to stations throughout the South by Broadcast Editorial Service.

The editorial shows the concern of the Nation's communications media with the continued squandering of tax dollars.

WE SALUTE INDIANA CONGRESSMAN, EARL WILSON

In June, an Indiana Congressman, EARL WILSON, was making national news by his disclosures of Defense Department contracts at excessive cost to the Government. Congressman WILSON was explaining to the people of the United States that there are two kinds of defense contracts—those that are placed by competitive bid and those that are placed with "sole source" contractors. A "sole source" contract is one in which there is no competitive bid. The Defense Department places the "sole source" contract because it is in a hurry for delivery—or, because the contractor has developed an idea—or, because only that one contractor can best provide that particular item. That makes him a "sole source" contractor to the Defense Department. What did Congressman WILSON show? He showed that in contract after contract when he forced the procurement officer to get a competitive bid, the product cost about a third less than the "sole source" price. In a few months, with the help of the watchdog of the Treasury, the General Accounting Office, Congressman WILSON showed the Defense Department and the Congress where the taxpayer was being imposed on for $6 million in six little contracts. At the rate of these savings, Congressman WILSON was showing that instead of $46 billion a year for defense, maybe all we need is $30 billion.

You would think that Congressman WILSON would be praised by the Pentagon for his devotion to duty. Here he was, scrutinizing these procurement notices about what the Defense Department was buying, the specifications and the prices they were paying and he was showing them where they could save about a third of the money they were spending.

This would seem a most laudable thing for Congressman WILSON to do. But, no. The Defense Department cut him off the list to receive the procurement notices. Secretary of Defense McNamara said the "administrative burden" was too great to mail Congressman WILSON the procurement notices.

We encourage Congressman WILSON to procure the unprocurable procurement notices and to continue to show the Congress that procurement by "sole source" instead of competitive bids is costing the taxpayer billions and billions of dollars.

We salute Indiana Congressman, EARL WILSON.

## Farm Debts, Time Deposits Hit Peak in 1961

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS**
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article from the September 7, 1962, issue of Washington Financial Report:

FARM DEBTS, TIME DEPOSITS HIT PEAK IN 1961

Farm debts rose to a record high $27.7 billion in 1961 but liquid financial assets of farmers, after dropping steadily for 3 consecutive years, leveled off at $13.3 billion.

This improvement in the financial condition of the American farmer was due to a rise in farm receipts, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. "Although expenses rose, the realized net income of farm operators increased by more than $1 billion, or close to 10 percent," USDA said in its 1962 Balance Sheet of Agriculture.

Here's the complete picture, as drawn by USDA:

Time deposits owned by farmers rose by $100 million to an alltime record of $3 billion but were offset by a corresponding decrease in U.S. savings bond holdings. Demand deposits held steady at $4 billion and currency at $1.8 billion. The rise in time deposits hiked total farm deposits from $8.7 to $8.8 billion or 1 percent.

Half of the $2.2 billion increase in farm debts in 1961 reflected a sharp rise in the volume of mortgage lending. Real estate values, boosted by the improved income situation, rose 4.7 percent, from $131.8 to $135 billion.

However, USDA reported, there "were some indications of a slackening" in this high level of mortgage lending in the first quarter of 1962.

All farm mortgage lenders participated in the accelerated business of 1961 but the bulk of the loans were made by private and cooperative lenders at rates ranging between 5½ and 6 percent. About one-half of the total amount lent was for refinancing mortgages or other indebtedness; about one-third for actual purchases of real estate.

The outstanding farm mortgage debt at the yearend rose 8.5 percent to $14.2 billion. The dollar increase, $1.1 billion, was the third largest on record and the second time since the close of World War II that it exceeded a billion dollars.

Farm debt not secured by real estate increased 6 percent, or $673 million, in 1961. The same moderate rate of increase carried over in the first quarter of 1962. Excluding Commodity Credit Corporation loans, farmers owed $11.6 billion on non-real-estate debt at the end of 1961. Of this, 45 percent was owed commercial banks and 35 percent to merchants, dealers, and similar sources.

USDA reported regionally above average increases in non-real-estate loans in the Central and Western States and scattered States in the South and East. Increases ranged from 36 percent in Delaware and 21 percent in Florida to no change in Nevada and a drop of 12 percent in Massachusetts.

From 1955 through 1959, bank non-real-estate loans increased 64 percent or about 10 percent a year. Over the same period, loans by production credit associations rose 136 percent, or about 19 percent annually, while Farmers Home Administration non-real-estate loans declined by 5 percent.

But in 1960 and 1961, the situation reversed: production credit associations had annual increases of around 10 percent, banks around 5 percent, and the Farmers Home Administration gains of 6 percent and 18 percent, respectively. This additional loan activity reflected both an increase in funds appropriated to FHA and a strong demand by farmers for loans.

The year 1961 also saw a continuation of the trend toward loan renewals. In 1954, the renewal rate was 25 percent. This rate dipped to 23 percent in 1957 and 1958 but has been rising ever since, reaching 28 percent in 1961. According to USDA, no overall information on renewals of farm loans at banks is available but scattered reports indicate the trend is similar to that for production credit associations.

Two causes were advanced by USDA for this growth in renewals: (1) farmers' use of longer term credit is increasing more rapidly than short-term credit and part of the increase is being supplied by an increase in renewals; and (2) some farmers are experiencing increased difficulties in meeting debt obligations.

The overall farm debt—$27.7 billion including Commodity Credit Corporation loans and $25.8 billion excluding them—is at its highest point in history. It represents an increase of 158 percent over the debt in 1950 and an 8-percent increase over 1960.

The rate of rise of mortgage debt has been more rapid than that of non-real-estate debt but the difference has not been great. On January 1, 1962, total farm debt equaled 13.4 percent of the value of farm assets, compared to 9.5 percent in 1950.

## Kennedy's Fateful Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES B. UTT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article appearing in the September 17 issue of the U.S. News & World Report, entitled "The Inside Story—Kennedy's Fateful Decision: The Night the Reds Clinched Cuba."

THE INSIDE STORY—KENNEDY'S FATEFUL DECISION: THE NIGHT THE REDS CLINCHED CUBA

Look at Castro's Cuba now: a Communist base. To see how it got that way; look back to 1961—to an invasion that failed and left Castro even stronger than before. The story of that invasion, as revealed by insiders, shows the far-reaching effect of a President's decision.

A fateful decision, made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961, is rising now to plague the United States.

On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion.

Only the day before on April 15, a surprise attack by B–26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force.

A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's planes and to provide air support for the invasion.

Secure in this assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the preinvasion planning.

Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B–26s was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away, waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots.

But those planes didn't take off.

The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

That was the fateful decision President Kennedy made on that Sunday evening. He decided that the anti-Castro Cubans could not have the support of their own air force during the invasion. Without that support, the invasion failed.

When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need of air support became apparent. Worried, the nonmilitary officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used to fly air support for the invaders.

Two U.S. carriers, their decks loaded with fighting planes, were standing by not far away throughout the entire invasion. Their planes were readily available.

In the planning of the invasion—planning begun under the Eisenhower administration—the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of U.S. air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea.

ANOTHER "NO."

Once again, in the early morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said "No" to the use of U.S. planes.

On the beaches, in the Bay of Pigs, the invaders fought on. They did not know that an American President in Washington, 1,400 miles away, was in tight control of their every military move. They were not aware that President Kennedy had taken away their air cover.

With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble. Castro brought up the few planes he had left. Castro jets—made in America—bombed and sank two of the five ships of the invasion fleet. One carried most of the invaders' reserves of ammunition. The other was their communications center. Castro tanks, safe from attack by air, moved into effective action.

In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But bad weather interfered at first. Finally, an air strike was set up for early Wednesday.

On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate. The invaders, fighting without air support, were driven back under pressure of Castro's superior numbers.

By Tuesday night, April 18, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy.

On this night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left the party to confer with his advisers—both civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier's planes for just 1 hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for the planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes, still, were not to attack land targets.

Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communications mixups. The Cuban fliers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action. And anyway, it developed, it was too late.

By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives.

American military officials who followed this operation closely say that it came within a hair's breadth of success. They say: Given early air support, the invaders could have destroyed Castro's air force and tanks. Defections from his militia, which had started, would have spread. Underground forces, waiting for word of success before rising against Castro, would have sprung into action. When that word did not come, they remained underground.

It was in the White House that the decision was made that guided the course of that unsuccessful invasion.

Out of that fateful decision of the President have flowed many of today's problems. Soviet Russia today is entrenched in Cuba, a few miles from continental United States. Some Members of Congress charge that the Monroe Doctrine, which guided U.S. policy in Latin America for 139 years, is now, in effect, being turned into a scrap of paper. With a base in Cuba, Communist forces are penetrating deeply into the Western Hemisphere, building up their base for more takeovers.

What lay back of that fateful Kennedy decision?

The record suggests: An important factor was a fear of offending public opinion in Latin America and in the so-called "new nations" of the United Nations.

Throughout the discussions of invasion policy, the idea was put forward repeatedly that the United States must not place itself in the position of using force against a smaller neighbor. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, strongly backed President Kennedy in his decisions.

WHAT MILITARY RECOMMENDED

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Nation's top military experts, had no part in the actual military operations. Those military leaders had recommended early that, to insure success, some U.S. Armed Forces should take part in any invasion, and that air cover and support should be supplied by the United States.

The recommendations of the military leaders were rejected. It was the Central Intelligence Agency and the White House that finally ran the show and fixed the terms on which the anti-Castro Cubans could fight.

The fateful decision was a political decision—not a military decision.

One civilian official who was close to the whole invasion operation now makes this judgment:

"In retrospect, the political decision was wrong."

A military man, also close to the operation, said this:

"If you go back to that time and look at the whole problem, you find that this country faced one fundamental question: Can we permit a Communist country in this Western Hemisphere? Now, if the answer is 'Yes,' then you do one thing. If the answer is 'No,' you do another.

"But if you weasel on that answer, start compromising, then you wind up in confusion—with no real answer. One thing we should have learned from this Cuban fiasco is this: You can't run a military operation that way."

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TWO OTHER U.S. DECISIONS ON TROUBLE SPOTS

LAOS

The decision: After saying on March 15, 1961, that the United States was determined to defend Laos against Communist rebels, Mr. Kennedy, on March 27, agreed to seek a deal with Russia for a "neutral" Laos.

Today: United States has pulled its Marines away from the Lao border; U.S. military advisers are leaving Laos. But Russia shows no sign of taking Communist North Vietnamese out of Laos as agreed. A Red takeover of all Laos behind the screen of "neutrality" is feared.

BERLIN

The decision: When East Germans, at dawn on August 13, 1961, completed barriers cutting Berlin in two, President Kennedy decided against using U.S. troops to knock down these wire barriers by force.

Today: Red barriers dividing Berlin have become a wall of concrete and steel. Some East Germans escape over, through or under the wall. Others die trying. United States, early in September, found the Berlin crisis warming up over the Communist shootings of East Germans at the wall.

After reading of these bungling decisions which have endangered the security of the United States, it is more than ever apparent that the President should not have more "rubberstamp" Congressmen in Washington. We must have a Congress made up of Members of faith, vision, and wisdom, men who will think for themselves and will place the security of the Nation about the desire of personal universal popularity.

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## Effect of Davis-Bacon Act on Operation of Texas Distributors, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a good personal friend of mine, Mr. Jack B. Lowe, president of Texas Distributors, Inc., of Dallas, has written me concerning the Davis-Bacon Act and its

effect on his company in their contractual relations with the Federal Government.

I am including Mr. Lowe's letter in my remarks, as I believe it will be interesting reading to the Members of this body:

EFFECT OF DAVIS-BACON ACT ON OPERATION OF TEXAS DISTRIBUTORS, INC.

Texas Distributors, Inc., operates as a distributor and contractor in the field of air-conditioning, heating, refrigeration, and ventilation. We have approximately 135 permanent year round employees in Dallas, Fort Worth, Longview, Tyler, Waco, and Wichita Falls. About 40 of these employees are construction mechanics who actually do installation work.

We operate entirely on a nonunion basis but have what we believe to be probably the most highly skilled group of mechanics in our field in this region. Our men are paid at various hourly rates dependent entirely upon their skill and productivity. These rates are based upon the recommendation of their superintendents who are thoroughly familiar with the work done by each mechanic.

After being with Texas Distributors 6 months, our employees are all eligible to participate in a profit sharing plan under which the company contributes 28 percent of its net profits before Federal income taxes.

After being with Texas Distributors 2 years, each employee participates in a retirement plan. The entire cost of it is borne by the company in an amount equal to 5 percent of each employee's total compensation.

Each of our employees receives 2 weeks paid vacation each year, and, atfer 10 years of service, 3 weeks paid vacation each year.

Due to the nature of our company's operation, we guarantee our employees full year-round employment. They are not laid off when it rains and the construction job they happen to be working on is closed down. They are not laid off during slack periods. We believe we have probably the highest employee moral and the lowest employee turnover of any company in our field in this region.

Texas Distributors would be perfectly happy to quote on Government projects based upon our standard pay rate and so would our employees. However, we are forced by application of the Davis-Bacon Act to figure on a substantially higher hourly rate on any Federal projects on which we quote. If we are the successful bidder, we complicate our pay records so that we pay the designated rate to our mechanics while they are working on the Government project. The same mechanics doing the same type of work are paid a substantially lower rate with which they are perfectly happy and well compensated on private work.

As far as Texas Distributors is concerned, this results in a complete and ridiculous loss to the taxpayer at a time when our country is straining every ounce of its strength to meet its necessary commitments.

You will perhaps be interested to know that there has been a strong trend toward open shop contracting in the commercial and industrial field in the Dallas area within the last 2 years. Residential contracting is and always has been virtually 100 percent open shop.

It seems to us that it is unrealistic and unfair to the taxpayer for the Labor Department to designate the highly inflated union scale as the prevailing rate in the Dallas area. I do not have statistics to support this statement, but it is my belief that there is a great deal more dollars worth of construction put in place in the Dallas area by open shop labor, skilled as well as unskilled, than by union labor.

J. B. LOWE,
*President.*

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## Dr. and Mrs. George A. Denison Cited for Achievements in Field of Public Health

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, August 29, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, September 7, 1962, Dr. and Mrs. George A. Denison retired from active work with the Jefferson County Department of Health. Dr. Denison has headed the health department for 21 years. Mrs. Denison is director of the bureau of public health nursing.

They will be sorely missed by all who have had the opportunity to work with them and to know them. Hundreds of their friends in Birmingham joined in paying tribute to them and I would like to insert the following article from the Birmingham News of September 8, 1962, and the editorial from the Birmingham Post-Herald.

The article and editorial follow:

[From the Birmingham News, Sept. 8, 1962]

HEALTH OFFICER HONORED BY MANY FRIENDS

(By Jo Ellen O'Hara)

Imagine yourself in this situation:

You attend your weekly civic club luncheon which turns out to be a program in your honor attended by 150 persons.

As a part of the program, your son, whom you haven't seen in 6 years, walks in.

Later you are invited to a small dinner party which turns out to be a testimonial dinner your honor with 350 persons there.

Such was a day—Friday, September 7—in the life of Dr. George A. Denison, county health officer.

The veteran health officer and his wife, who directed the bureau of public health nursing, were retiring Friday from a combined 76 years with the health department.

The plans the Denisons had made for Friday were simple. The plans their friends and longtime associates had made, however, were elaborate.

The Civitan Club presented a "This Is Your Life" program.

Former employees, friends, associates, and a very special guest were the "parts" of Dr. Denison's life that appeared on the program.

The special guest was George A. Denison, Jr., the health officer's son, who is a general contractor in Soldotna, Alaska. The last time Dr. Denison had seen his only child was in 1956 when young Denison left for a career in the Far North.

Tears filled the eyes of the 63-year-old veteran health officer as his son appeared on the stage. And as soon as the program ended, the proud father seemed to forget the honor that had been his and hurried to talk with his son.

But that was just the first half of the day.

Dr. and Mrs. Denison had been invited by the board of health to a "small" dinner party that evening by Dr. Donald A. Sweeney, board chairman.

Dr. Sweeney and his wife, after picking the Denisons up for the "small" party, then ushered them to Mortimer Jordan Armory where 350 persons awaited the arrival of the health care couple for a testimonial dinner in their honor.

As they entered the auditorium, they were awarded a standing ovation, one of four they received throughout the evening.

Tributes, resolutions, momentos and gifts abounded at the dinner.

Dr. Denison became the second man ever to receive the Heacock Medal from the Alabama Tuberculosis Association for "distinguished service in the crusade against tuberculosis."

The only other medalist is Senator LISTER HILL.

Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwell, who presented the medal, pointed out Denison's many contributions to the crusade against TB.

And there to see the medal awarded was the man for whom the high honor was named—Dr. J. D. Heacock, sole living founder of the Alabama Tuberculosis Association. The snow-haired physician, now 93 years old, retired from active practice of medicine earlier this year.

Denison was credited with coordinating the work of the Health Department, tuberculosis sanitorium and the association. He also founded the office of TB controller in his department and triggered work on the chest X-ray center in the medical center.

Many awards came to this outstanding statesman of health: They included:

A portable typewriter from the Board of Health; Birmingham Chamber of Commerce certificate of merit; 40-year service pin from Jefferson County; key to the city of Birmingham, Jefferson County Medical Society distinguished service plaque; parchment scroll with signature of all Health Department workers (scroll was attached to rollers made of walnut salvaged from old city hall); honorary membership in the Birmingham District Dental Society; medallion mounted on marble from American Cancer Society; a book including some 75 resolutions from local, State, and national organizations.

Mrs. Denison was presented a bouquet of red roses from the Public Health Council, a scrapbook from the Alabama Nursing Bureau, a 35-year service pin, and other gifts for both her and her husband.

Mayors of many county municipalities, county officials, leading medical names in the city and State, and fellow workers filled the auditorium for the occasion. Maurice Bishop, county attorney, served as master of ceremonies.

Dr. J. Carroll Chambers, who succeeds Dr. Denison as county health officer, said upon his taking over the position, "For us who are in public health, the path has been well paved."

The health officer, filled with emotion and humility, quietly explained why he chose a career of public service in health at the evening's conclusion:

"If you would like to know why we have spent our entire professional lives in Birmingham, just look at yourself and the person next to you. That's why."

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[From the Birmingham Post-Herald]

DR. DENISON'S SERVICE

Twenty-one years as head of the Jefferson County Health Department lie behind Dr. George Denison, who is retiring from that post today.

It will be generally agreed, we believe, that he leaves the patient in a "good state of public health."

Dr. Denison has worked diligently at this job and the public has benefited. In enforcing health regulations he has stepped on some big toes. But that has not de-

terred him from taking action which he believed to be in the public interest.

In a metropolitan area such as Jefferson County, this position is a major one. It is also proof of the effectiveness of having one governmental organization for the whole county, instead of dividing it between city and county.

Dr. Denison's retirement is well earned. We salute him as he steps out of office.

## Meet Mr. Pearson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, each of us remembers a teacher who marked our lives with his or her wisdom, a rare and precious gift to our education and our growing up. Dracut High School students are fortunate in having as the chairman of their social science department one of these memorable persons, Whitman Pearson. Pat Collins, Lowell Sun feature writer, recently did a splendid story on him.

The article follows:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun, Sept. 7, 1962]

MEET MR. PEARSON—EDUCATOR SAYS, "OLD PRACTICES GIVEN NEW NAMES"

(You're in a classroom at Dracut High School and you are lucky enough to be in Mr. Pearson's class. He is not only the chairman of the social science department, but brings with him to the classroom the experience of a onetime principal (at Tewksbury High School) and an administrator (for the Air Force dependent schools in several foreign countries), a superintendent (in Acton and North Reading) and a student (at Lowell High School, where he was captain of the track team), Worcester Academy, University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and Boston University.)

(By Pat Collins)

PELHAM, N.H.—Educating and being educated over the span of 30 years in the countries of Japan, Germany, England, France, Holland, and the United States, would be an accurate, yet superfluous thumbnail sketch of worldwide traveler, educator, former administrator and athlete, Whitman Pearson.

Here is a colorful personality that must be explored beyond the impressive, one-sentence introduction.

Speaking of his familiarity with the field of education "I haven't seen any radical changes, but old practices given new names." There will be those who challenge this statement, but I believe I have many reasons for this theory. I am a great believer in H. G. Wells' idea that our future will either be education or catastrophe. Our young generation faces the biggest hurdle, but the most exciting challenge the world has seen. They face the keenest competition within their classroom and around the world. Is there pressure? Of course, and, in many ways, it may be unfortunate. However, other people in other times have to confront obstacles. This seems to be it for our younger generation. In a matter of fact voice that projects an opinion that has been the result of much thought and not a casual remark, Mr. Pearson interpreted the competition in education as a struggle for survival. We are threatened by Communist forces, pledged to defend our American way of life as well as preserve peace and extend democracy. That won't be easy.

How many parents have you heard say that "nothing is too good for our children?" asked Mr. Pearson. This is all part of the slogan mania because, in effect, a man of means doesn't hesitate to bestow a new Cadillac on his 16-year-old daughter, but when he finds out that to educate her is an expensive proposition, he shrugs it off with a "Well, she's only gonna' get married anyway." (Most college educations cost a Cadillac and a half.) "It's the same old theme—a sense of values. Perhaps sometime, and I hope it's soon, it will have more prestige to have a son at MIT than a four-car garage. It may be interesting to know that it costs more money to keep a boy in a speedboat all summer than it does to keep him in school. But when the town needs more money for better teachers and equipment, what a hue and cry. We need a respect for mental and not material possessions."

On the subject of the degree phobia currently sweeping the country, I have to agree with whoever said that Americans are degree conscious and not knowledge for knowledge sake conscious. This has relegated the gaining of masters and doctorates to the scoreboard realm.

This is an age-old subject, said Mr. Pearson about athletics versus scholastics, but one that is, because it still applies that most communities support the sending of a football team to Florida but squelch any idea of the debating team doing the same thing. This is the fault of the older generation. The younger set is more education conscious, more realistic about the threats that the future contains, and respect the scholar as well as the athlete—and they are smarter too. Not that they have more native intelligence, but it's cultivated at an earlier age, they are exposed to educational TV, etc.

Responding to another question, Mr. Pearson stated, I disagree with the child psychologists and parents who say junior will get an inferiority complex because he is categorized in school. The boy in the B or C history group knows he is there, accepts it as he would the fact that someone in his gym class can run faster than he can. But parents have a fetish about their children's abilities, thinking all of it has to measure up to their preconceived ideas.

I encourage my pupils to think—not to be parrots. Copying information out of an encyclopedia and handing it in, only proves that a child can write. There's more to education, the classroom, the development of the mind, than forcing it into a cataloging of facts and figures. To quote former President Hoover. "Education is what remains when you've forgotten what you learned."

## The Other Side of the U–2 Story: Soviet Union Spies in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an article by columnist Victor Riesel entitled, "The Other Side of the U–2 Story: Soviet Union Spies in America."

It is important for all Americans to be aware of the massive Soviet espionage effort in the United States and I believe Mr. Riesel has performed a very worthwhile public service in discussing this serious problem:

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE U–2 STORY: SOVIET UNION SPIES IN AMERICA

(By Victor Riesel)

Moscow's shrillness over U–2 spies in the skies is matched only by our stillness over the Soviet's massive espionage in the United States. Someone should lay it on the line. There's enough to be revealed—without exposing our counterintelligence—to prove that the Red bloc has sufficient agents operating in the United States to man a vast fleet of U–2's.

It was none other than J. Edgar Hoover who reported late in January that the FBI had 84 wiretaps operating strictly in defense of the internal security of the country. All were approved by the Attorney General—in advance and in writing. Naturally, the FBI Director would not discuss them. But the revelation of the wiretaps means that at least 84 important Soviet agents or spy rings were operating inside crucial areas in the United States this winter.

Many of these are Soviet bloc diplomats.

Hoover and his counterintelligence agents have evidence that some 70 to 80 percent of the Soviet officials in the United States have some type of intelligence assignment. It can be assumed that the FBI knows the real names, military and intelligence agency rank, and special assignment of most of these Communist bloc diplomats. Hoover has said that his estimate is based on the reports of a high Soviet counterintelligence agent who defected to the United States.

Obviously, the Russian apparatus has considerable manpower. Not only are the Iron Curtain nations' embassies involved, but, according to the FBI Director, "with privileges and immunities, Soviet-bloc personnel attached to the United Nations are becoming increasingly more active in Soviet-bloc intelligence operations."

"These countries," Hoover said, "are expanding their representation on the U. N. Secretariat, Soviet representation alone having jumped from 30 on July 1, 1957, to 72 on January 1, 1962."

The Soviets take no chances on their satellites' astuteness, proficiency, and perhaps, loyalty. The Russians not only have automatic access to all data obtained by the so-called peoples democracies but Moscow also maintains an adviser system at satellite headquarters level.

There is positive evidence in FBI records that the Soviet diplomats are regularly organized into mobile task forces to scour the United States.

For example, during 1961, Soviet officials alone made more than 14 intelligence and reconnaissance trips across the United States. They visited areas of strategic significance. They noted military installations. They mapped industrial facilities. They collected maps, photos, and other detailed data on powerplants, transportation systems, missile bases, and space shooting gallery operations.

Not only does the FBI have evidence of attempted infiltration of "our most critical intelligence and counterintelligence organizations"—and here I use Hoover's own words—but also Red operatives have sought entry into the secret headquarters controlling codes, the latest scientific developments in the electronics, jet and missile fuel and atomic energy fields.

Their agents have been busy gathering information on U.S. industrial facilities, political and economic data, and "material with which they can compromise American Government officials." Meaning blackmail.

Deep in the heart—literally and figuratively—of the Soviet strategists, is the dream

of piercing more than 3,000 American defense facilities—many of them factories almost impossible to protect against infiltration.

Up front in the Soviet industrial espionage network, according to a special report to Congress by Hoover, is the Amtorg Trading Corp. It represents 25 Soviet trade organizations behind the curtain.

Despite Hoover's outright charge that Amtorg is part of the Communist international industrial spy network, it operates freely out of New York City.

The only way to stop this activity is to dissolve the 38-year-old Amtorg Trading Corp. and send its agents home.

They, and their diplomatic colleagues—not to mention the anonymous undercover agents—really outnumber our entire batch of U–2 pilots.

## Secretary Freeman Asked To Study and Act on National Farmers Organization Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the so-called farmers' strike, led by the National Farmers Organization, has aroused considerable interest among consumer groups in my area. After some study, I sent the following letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, which I hope will result in a thoughtful and constructive review of the important problems raised:

SEPTEMBER 14, 1962.

Hon. ORVILLE FREEMAN,
*Secretary of Agriculture,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Reports of the "farmers' strike" led by the National Farmers Organization in the Midwest disturb me greatly. If the strike is a success, it will raise the price of pork to consumers by at least 16 percent, and the price of hogs to processors by 22 percent or more. The price of pork is reaching the highest level in several years. A further increase—set artificially by a small group of producers—would put a tremendous burden on the food budgets of millions of consumers.

Such an increase—made even heavier by processor kick-ins and checkoffs—endangers as well the future of hundreds of small independent meatpacking concerns which could become the innocent victims in a pitched battle between the organized producers and the giant packinghouses.

It is still too early, it appears, to make an accurate judgment on the success or failure of the effort. But whether it is a success or failure is not really the point. What is the point, it seems to me, is whether or not any group of individuals can be allowed to arbitrarily dictate the basic price at which America's 180 million consumers will be allowed to buy their food.

Certainly the problem of farm income is a difficult one. And it is unquestionably true that the farm population, in general, has not shared with other segments of the American economy the unsurpassed prosperity of our age and time. But unilateral action by a small group of producers, unsupervised in any way by any representative of the public interest is not, in my opinion, an acceptable solution.

As a result of my fear of the long-range implications of this movement, I urgently request that you study the matter carefully and report to the President, the Congress and the people of the United States on what action the Department is taking to assure that this and any other similar movements are properly administered and supervised by public representatives, acting in the public interest, and that no individual or group of individuals will profit unreasonably from their position of potential power.

The National Farmers Organization is trying to insure the withdrawal from the market of a number of important consumer and commercial food products until it has signed contracts with major processors of these products guaranteeing minimum prices which they, the producers, have set arbitrarily and without any apparent consideration of interests of the millions of consumers who must eat these products.

These figures were set without the supervision or influence of any representative of the public. I have no way of knowing whether or not the prices now demanded by NFO are "reasonable" or not. But assuming they are, what assurance have the American people that they will be reasonable in the future?

While this kind of bargaining does allow farmers to arbitrarily set their own prices for these products, there is serious question about whether this short-term road to self-enrichment might not turn out to be a long-range trail to disaster for these same producers. Studies of meat retailing operations show that there is, for example, a 1-to-1 relationship between pork and poultry. That is, retail studies show that when poultry becomes cheap in relation to pork, people will buy poultry instead of pork. When pork becomes cheap in relation to poultry, people will substitute pork for poultry. There are other substitution ratios for other meat products. As a result, unless NFO can gain control of the price of all meat products, NFO members may find themselves getting a high theoretical price for hogs which few consumers will buy.

NFO says its contracts with processors will go into effect when they control 60 percent of the market. This would mean that a relatively small group of producers would have a readymade market for the things they produce. But what of non-NFO members? And what of small independent packers who cannot afford to sign? Presumably, many of them would be frozen out and they would have little recourse but to the Federal Government.

At the same time, economists have estimated that in order to reach the 16 percent increase in consumer pork prices the NFO group is after, there will have to be a 12 percent or more decrease in the number of hogs brought to market. In order to finance the "disposal" of the excess of its own members, the organization is demanding a percentage checkoff from the purchase price. But, again, what of non-NFO members? What are they to do with their surplus? And how do small packers afford the extra money? Again, the Federal Government will be the answer.

In short, I submit that this matter requires careful and thoughtful study quickly by those of the administration who are charged with assuring the Nation of a steady supply of the food it must eat, with an eye toward maintaining reasonable prices to consumers and the economic well-being of independent meatpacking operations.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES ROOSEVELT,
*Member of Congress.*

## The Monroe Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the Cuban problem continues to exist, and recent activities in that area have reawakened America to ask, What ever happened to the Monroe Doctrine?

With Russia announcing that it has entered into a military aid pact with Castro, it is our duty to reaffirm our faith in the sage principle laid down by our fifth President and to announce to the world that the Monroe Doctrine, after 139 years, still represents our official position with respect to any invasion of our hemisphere from abroad.

The Lowell, Mass., Sun, in an excellent editorial appearing in its issue of September 10, has stated this so well that I am pleased to insert that editorial herein.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Russia's announced military aid pact with Castro's Cuba has brought the famous Monroe Doctrine down from the history book shelf and into the active foreign affairs arena.

What is it, and what meaning does it have for us today?

In 1823, at a time when it was feared European nations were intending to reimpose colonial rule over Latin American lands newly independent, President James Monroe decreed: "We should consider any attempt on their part to extent their system to any portions of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety."

He added that any European effort to control the destiny of Latin countries in any fashion would be taken by the United States as an unfriendly act.

This doctrine in subsequent years was restated by Presidents Polk, Cleveland, Wilson, and others. Most diplomatic historians regard it as a cornerstone of American foreign policy, substantially effective in warding off foreign intervention or control in this hemisphere.

Yet, when put to the severest test, we did not implement the doctrine with military action. While distracted by the Civil War, we watched three countries intervene in Mexico and did not go beyond verbal protest. France even set up a puppet regime.

We seem to have regarded the Monroe Doctrine as a big stick which we have been willing to brandish but have hoped we would not have to use. Even decades ago, we showed signs of discomfort that our Latin neighbors' hands were not gripping the stick with us.

Often U.S. leaders said we would welcome adoption of a similar policy by the other American nations. President Wilson once sought to give nonintervention substance of the doctrine a worldwide application.

Grover Cleveland's top diplomat, Secretary of State Olney, went to great pains to affirm that the doctrine did not establish any general U.S. protectoriate over Latin America, or justify interference with any Latin nation's internal affairs.

Later Theodore Roosevelt modified the policy to embrace such interference, but in 1933 this country scrapped that idea in signing the so-called Montevideo Declaration.

During and after World War II, we finally allied ourselves with the other American Re-

publics in compacts which assert our joint purpose to defend the hemisphere against external threat or attack. Since then we have preferred to rely on these pacts rather than the Monroe Doctrine.

Yet both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy have seen fit to reassert the living character of that policy.

Kennedy intimated recently that it is an implementing of the doctrine to work with other Latin lands to isolate the Communist menace in Cuba. Historians like to point out, however, that in purest sense the doctrine is a national policy.

Are we ever likely to act under it, unilaterally, to the extent of using force—against Cuba or any other?

Many Presidential utterances, including one by Kennedy after the Cuban fiasco of 1961, suggest we might—but only in the last extremity of national danger.

## A Way To Stop the Reds in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as I mentioned in addressing the House at the opening of the session today, I am including for the RECORD an article by Prof. Samuel Flagg Bemis, which appeared in the December 28, 1959, issue of U.S. News & World Report.

The article follows:

A WAY TO STOP THE REDS IN LATIN AMERICA—A NOTED HISTORIAN SETS A COURSE FOR QUICK ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES

(By Samuel Flagg Bemis, professor of diplomatic history and inter-American relations, Yale University)

(NOTE.—Communists are marking up gains in the Caribbean, just off the U.S. coast. How can the United States move to checkmate a Red takeover before it happens? A course of action is laid down by a distinguished historian, a Pulitzer Prize winner who has made a specialty of inter-American relations, in this article contributed to U.S. News & World Report. What happens if international communism leaps the Atlantic and emerges in control of one of the nations of this hemisphere? The author suggests a formula for stopping the Reds now, before it is too late.

(Samuel Flagg Bemis, 68, is widely recognized as an outstanding historian and authority on the diplomatic relations of the Americas. Professor Bemis, now Sterling professor of diplomatic history and inter-American relations at Yale University, has taught at many of the leading universities in the United States and in Latin America. Among his many books is "Diplomatic History of the United States," which is regarded as a classic on the subject. Professor Bemis won the Pulitzer Prize in history in 1927. His "John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy" received the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1950. He has been described as a scholar who has "developed a continental and hemispherical, and finally a world outlook on American history.")

Prof. Arnold Toynbee, in a recent, 1958, brilliant study of "The Eve of War, 1939," has called attention to the fact that in 1940 no power was threatened on more than two fronts, east and west, whilst now, 1959, each of the two surviving power groups—United States and U.S.S.R.—is threatened on three fronts, east, west, and north, "a first-class revolution in international affairs * * * that is not easily grasped or taken into account."

Now suppose the United States should be threatened on all four fronts, including south as well as north, from the Caribbean, as well as the Arctic? Instead of an expansive and friendly ally like Canada stretching for thousands of miles between us and Soviet jet, submarine, and missile bases, with a double line of distant early warning trips, we suddenly become exposed to such bases almost within sight of our southern coastal cities, and right athwart our naval communications from Atlantic to Pacific by the Panama Canal. Would this not tip the balance of power fatally against the United States in the present deadly crisis of power and politics which we call the cold war?

Since 1934, the first line of our defense has shifted from Panama to Europe and Asia. In this geopolitical framework, the strategical paths over the Arctic regions have indeed become of more immediate significance than the Caribbean. It has even been argued by some strategists that, in the atomic age, the Panama Canal is no longer a lifeline for the defense of this country; that we could well afford to have it neutralized under an international authority, so great is the danger that one atomic bomb could neutralize—i.e., paralyze it by knocking it out.

Scarcely anything short of withdrawal of American forces from Europe and the Asiatic littoral, or the dissolution of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), or SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) would please the Red imperialists more than the neutralization of the Panama Canal or the transfer of its control and defense to the Republic of Panama, like the Suez Canal to Egypt. It would split our present global strategy into a two-ocean strategy and prevent the Panama Canal's being used by the West as a substitute for a blocked Suez Canal, or to relieve the burden on our flagging railway system in case of war.

The Communist conspiracy is on its toes today in Panama trying to dislodge the United States from control of this still-vital American lifeline.

The United States should make it clear to the world that in the Panama Canal Zone it will continue to act as if it were sovereign, as, indeed, it has an explicit treaty right so to do, and to stick beyond any cavil to the military defenses of that waterway.

MORE THAN THE CANAL CAN BE LOST

Much more than the canal, and all that it means to American defense, can be lost. If international communism is allowed to jump the Atlantic and set up a rule in a state of the New World, the way it recently tried to leapfrog over Turkey into Syria and Lebanon, it would mean not only effective neutralization of the hemispheric lifeline in a strategic sense; it would create an active fourth front for the defense of the United States. We simply cannot allow that to happen.

Latin-American Communists schooled in Moscow have studied just how to set up their system in the Americas. They tried it once already in Guatemala, while the United States stood by with arms folded around the doctrine of nonintervention, awaiting the uncertain action of a conference of foreign ministers which, thanks only to the counterrevolution of Carlos Armas, never had to meet.

When, finally, the diplomatic doctors did an autopsy on the fallen Arbenz regime in Guatemala, they found the disease of international communism to be far more deep-seated than they had suspended. In fact, it still lingers as a cancer in the body politic of honest liberalism, not only in Guatemala but in all the States of Central America and the Caribbean. It is festering now in Cuba, in Panama, in Venezuela where they spat on Vice President Nixon. The cancer is spreading.

What is there, within the inter-American peace system—pledged as it is to the doctrine of nonintervention—to prevent such a disaster in the New World?

Nonintervention is the keystone of the inter-American peace structure, put into place by the good-neighbor policy. In numerous treaties since 1933—subject to honorable denunciation by any of the parties on 1 year's and, in some cases, 2 years'' notice—the American republics have declared inadmissible the intervention of any one of them (1933, 1936) or group of them (1948) directly or indirectly or for whatever reason, within the internal affairs of another American State.

There is, however, one outstanding exception to this sweeping pledge: It does not affect existing treaty obligations. For example, it would not affect the existing treaties of the United States with Panama or Nicaragua by which the United States guarantees the protection of the Panama Canal and the Nicaraguan canal site; it would not affect our treaty with Cuba giving us the naval base at Guantanamo; it would not affect the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty or Reciprocal Assistance, of Rio de Janeiro, of 1947.

The Rio Pact—the first regional alliance of the diplomatic revolution which now binds the United States to defensive alliances today with some 46 countries of the globe—provides for joint intervention, if two-thirds of the American States shall agree to assist in meeting an armed attack against an American State—the group acting within the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. The treaty also provides, article 6: "If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independenec of any American State should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack, or by an extracontinental or intercontinental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation (of the Organization of American States) shall meet immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the continent."

The Rio Pact of 1947 is the same bond which brought inter-American diplomatic intervention to stop local wars between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It is the same bond and principle which animated the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs last August, in Santiago de Chile, invoked by four Republics, including the United States—that gentle Pan-American huddle which weakly empowered the Inter-American Peace Commission to watch and study military movements in the Caribbean and report to the next (11th) Conference of American States at Quito, Ecuador, in February 1960.

This is the same casus foederis (a case within the provisions of a treaty) to which appeal had been made, upon the insistence of Panama, in the case of Guatemala in 1954, for a meeting of foreign ministers of American States to consider the crisis of Guatemala, but did not meet because of Carlos Armas' successful counterrevolution.

Today it is very doubtful whether the Organization of American States, through its Organ of Consultation, could muster the necessary two-thirds majority of the high contracting parties, quickly enough to give a mandate, under the terms of the Rio Pact of 1947, for joint intervention to suppress a Latin-American government gone Commu-

nist by infiltration of a popular-front government or capture of a liberal revolution, and thereby threatening the peace and security of the American Continent.

It might be tried, but, if it failed, what then?

There remains the Monroe Doctrine, which declares that interposition by any European powers to extend their system to any region of this hemisphere is dangerous to our own peace and safety. There remains the inherent right of self-defense, both individual and collective, even if it is not agreed on by a two-thirds majority of American States.

"We owe it [therefore] to candor," pronounced President Monroe in his famous message of December 2, 1823, "and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety—we could not consider any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States"—which would induce measures on the part of the United States "indispensable to their security."

An important corollary to the Monroe Doctrine since its origin—indeed, a vital dictum of the doctrine since 1869—prohibits the transfer of any colony in the New World from one European sovereign to another—lest such an occurrance upset the balance of power against the security of the United States in this hemisphere.

This "no transfer" principle has been bound up in the Monroe Doctrine throughout its history. President Grant officially proclaimed it a part of the doctrine in 1869.

A 1940 PRECEDENT FOR ACTION

As Hitler's armies were overrunning Western Europe and threatening to take over French, Dutch, and British colonies in the Western Hemisphere—i.e., Guadalupe, Martinique, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, British Honduras, the Guianas, Aruba, etc.—a joint resolution of the U.S. Congress of June 18, 1940, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, implementing the sense of an earlier declaration by a meeting of the foreign ministers of the American republics of Panama in September, 1939, at the beginning of the war, stated: "(1) That the United States would not recognize any transfer, and would not acquiesce in any attempt to transfer, any geographic region of this hemisphere from one non-American power to another non-American power; and (2) That if such transfer or attempt to transfer should appear likely, the United States shall, in addition to other measures, immediately consult with other American Republics to determine upon the steps which should be taken to safeguard their common interests."

Shortly thereafter, a special conference of foreign ministers of the same republics, facing the danger of Nazi conquest of Europe and England, gave a mandate to any one or more American republics, in case of the imminent danger of transfer of colonial territory in the American continents from one European sovereign to another, to step in and act quickly to forestall such a transfer. A special convention provided for an inter-American committee to administer the government of the rescued region, pending its restoration to its inhabitants upon the return of peace.

But the Havana mandate of 1940 looks only to the actual transfer of an existing colony in America from one European sovereign to another European sovereign. It does not explicitly envisage the case of a European sovereign in fact, if not in name, extending its Communist system to a republic of the American system à la Guatemala—and will it be à la Cuba, à la Panama, à la Venezuela?

The Pact of Rio of 1947 does anticipate such a fact or situation endangering the peace and security of any republic of the New World, but it requires a two-thirds vote of the 21 Republics to give a mandate to 1 or more Republics to act in time to stop the danger.

It would be nice if there could issue from the 11th meeting of American states, to meet at Quito, Ecuador, in February 1960, a declaration on the lines of the act of Havana of 1940, giving a mandate for individual or joint action to prevent the international Communist system of the Old World extending itself to an American state, directly or indirectly, and thereby threatening the peace and security of the American Republics.

It is not known whether our Department of State is endeavoring to put such a business on the agenda for the Quito Conference. It ought to be a major goal of our Government to secure this kind of declaration. Such a proposal, incidentally would be a touchstone to reveal the degree of Communist power within the various delegations.

However, it is not likely, in the present condition of inter-American relations, that such a declaration would be accepted by even a bare majority of the states—and the emergency may be upon us even before the meeting at Quito next February. Already, the Cuban dictatorship has announced its intention to buy jetplanes from inside the Iron Curtain.

The dilemma of our Latin American policy today is whether, on the one hand, to interpret the inter-American doctrine of nonintervention so as to permit a non-American power to extend its revolutionary system to the New World by capturing a republic in the Caribbean or Central America, now within easy bombing range of the United States and of the Panama Canal; or, on the other hand, to prepare some anti-interventionist action within the framework of the inter-American peace structure that would really prevent the intervention of international communism. That is: inter-American intervention to prevent non-American intervention, one horn of the dilemma; or the other horn of absolute nonintervention to permit the intervention of international communism to establish its system in the Western Hemisphere.

In 1940, the Congress acted promptly in the face of the danger arising from the war in Europe. Let it now pass an analogous resolution, to make it clear to our friends and enemies, all over the globe, that this Government is determined within its inherent right of self-defense, and within the purview of the pristine Monroe Doctrine, and indeed of the Pact of Rio and the inter-American peace structure, not to permit the intervention of international communism to endanger the peace and security of the United States, and of all the republics of this hemisphere—indeed, the balance of power for freedom against slavery in the entire globe.

Such a resolution again the intervention of international communism-couched in the language of the Monroe Doctrine, the Rio Pact, and the nonintervention declarations of Washington (1951) and Caracas (1954), and the recent Declaration No. XI of Santiago (1959)—should provide for the administration of the state thus defended or rescued, by the same inter-American authority and machinery set up in the Havana Convention of 1940 for the provisional administration of European colonies and possessions in America threatened by a transfer of sovereignty.

Thus stipulated, there need be no apprehension on the part of our good neighbors that the United States would be reverting to the old system that characterized the interventions against European imperialist intervention in this hemisphere during the first quarter of our century.

Such a policy would protect the doctrine of nonintervention against the new technique of intervention by international communism, and would do so within the spirit of the inter-American peace and defense treaties. It would not wait for the accomplished fact of a leap of the Communist revolution across the Atlantic to uproot the Monroe Doctrine in the New World, as it has already destroyed the "open door" policy in China. By thus assuming the initiative in the new world, we can also defend the global balance of power on which the pecae and security of the United States and of our sister Republics of America in the world most depend during the coming decade.

WHY "WAIT FOR THE BLOWS TO FALL"?

It is too much the practice of the United States, in the continuing world crisis of our time, to let the initiative rest with the enemy, to wait for the blows to fall and only then endeavor to improvise some action to fend them off.

Let something be done now, before it is too late, to deter the action. Congress ought, at the beginning of the next session in January, immediately, on the eve of the Quito Conference, to pass a joint resolution analogous to that of June 18, 1940, explicitly pointed at the present fact or situation.

If the Quito Conference doesn't back it up, then the United States, acting under the pristine Monroe Doctrine, must do so. The act of faith known as the good neighbor polcy, and the freedom of the New World—but, most essentially, the security of the United States and the blessings of liberty invoked in our Constitution—are more at stake.

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RESOLUTION THAT PROFESSOR BEMIS WANTS U.S. CONGRESS TO ADOPT BASED ON HISTORIC U.S. POLICIES

(Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, 1947)

Whereas the intervention of international communism directly or indirectly in an American Republic would constitute a fact or situation threatening the sovereignty and political independence of the states of the entire New World; and

(Monroe Doctrine, 1823)

Whereas the American Continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, have long since ceased to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power or powers; and

(Declaration of Washington, 1951, and Declaration of Caracas, 1954)

Whereas the intervention of international communism, directly or indirectly, or however disguised, in any American state, would be in effect such a colonization by a non-American power or powers, and would violate the sovereignty and political independence of an American state; and

(Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and Monroe Doctrine, 1823)

Whereas such a fact or situation extended to any portions of this hemisphere would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States and the American Continents; and

Whereas in the rapidly developing contingencies of the atomic age there might not be time to assemble a meeting of the Inter-American Organ of Consultation to provide

for joint action to repel the danger, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States hereby

*Resolve*, That if such a fact or situation should present a sudden emergency, then any one or more of the high contracting parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance would be justified, in the exercise of individual or collective self-defense under article 51 of the charter of the United Nations, in taking steps to forestall intervention, domination, control, and colonization by international communism in the New World.

(Act of Havana, 1940, with Convention of Havana, 1940, and Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, 1863)

In case of such defensive measures having been taken by the defending state or states, it or they should report to the Inter-American Organ of Consultation, to the end that an emergency committee, after the manner provided by the Convention of Havana of 1940, be set up for the provisional administration of the state thus defended, pending its restoration to a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# *Appendix*

## Address by Senator Thomas J. Dodd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address by Senator THOMAS J. DODD which he made on September 7 to the members of the Peace Corps graduating class at Howard University here in Washington, D.C.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend Senator DODD for his thoughtful speech in which he so well sets forth the fine and constructive work which these dedicated American men and women are doing throughout the world.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD TO MEMBERS OF THE PEACE CORPS GRADUATING CLASS AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1962

A year and a half ago a man came to see me in my office for the purpose of explaining a new project in which he was vitally interested. His name was Sargent Shriver and he wanted to describe a proposal which he called the Peace Corps. I had heard a little about it, and a good deal of what I had heard was criticism by those who felt that it was a visionary, fuzzy-minded scheme that could never work.

Mr. Shriver made an impression on me that day that I shall never forget. The Peace Corps was a visionary idea, and he made no bones about it. But he described its plans and purposes with such practicality, with such clarity, with such buoyant enthusiasm, that I was convinced then and there that the Peace Corps could make a remarkable contribution to our country and to the world and that it deserved a fair chance.

From the earliest days of its consideration by the Foreign Relations Committee and on the floor of the Senate, I have supported, first the establishment and then the enlargement of, the Peace Corps. I have watched its amazing success with growing satisfaction. It is a real honor for me to be invited here today to take part in the graduation exercises of this Peace Corps class and I am proud to be able to come here as a friend and a supporter of this great program to which you have dedicated the coming months and years of your lives.

The Peace Corps has succeeded because it is based upon a concept that has always been very close to the hearts of the American people. More than a century ago Abraham Lincoln, then a rather obscure candidate for the U.S. Senate against the renowned Stephen A. Douglas, said that the life of every great nation and of every great civilization had a central theme and that the controversies and conflicts, the laws, and even the wars were largely manifestations of the gradual unfolding of that central theme.

The central theme of American history, Lincoln said, was equality of opportunity, the right of all men and women to have a fair chance to improve their lot, to develop their talents, to realize their full potential.

It is this striving for an equal chance for all that has sparked the great political, social, and economic struggles and movements that have characterized our American history and it is the progressive realization of this ideal that has brought us to our present posture in world affairs.

Our great objective at home today is to complete the task of making equality of opportunity, in all of its broad aspects, a reality for every American.

Our great objective abroad is to make this same equality of opportunity available, in peace and in freedom, to every man and woman in the world.

In the pursuit of these goals we find ourselves engaged in a mortal struggle, a struggle for our very survival, a struggle forced upon us by an enemy who opposes our ideal with his own ideal, which is the equality of slavery and the destruction of the individual.

There are many aspects of this struggle for survival, and we must succeed in all of them. All of these facets, I suppose, could be broken down into two broad divisions.

The first division consists of those defensive programs which we must pursue to meet the ever-present threat of force and military aggression by the Communists.

The second division includes those more agreeable policies, the propagation of our ideas, the improvement of international trade, assistance to other nations such as the Marshall plan and the Alliance for Progress, and the other positive programs through which we attempt to foster the independent of other nations and the improvement of living standards for the peoples of the world.

But though we may for purposes of discussion break down our policy into two broad divisions, we should never lose sight of the fact that this policy is one seamless cloak, that it is all of one cloth and that all of its parts are interwoven.

It is not enough to support a great military buildup and to ignore those programs of foreign assistance, trade cooperation, and cultural exchange which are vital parts of our policy.

It is not enough to support the more peaceful and altruistic aspects of our policy while at the same time to shun those programs of military preparedness and nuclear development and stiff resistance to Communist aggression that are absolutely indispensable to our survival as a free nation.

In this great struggle which is being carried forward on so many fronts and at so many levels, each of us has a role to play.

For many, that role entails great personal sacrifice. The scientists who under incredible tensions strain their mental and physical faculties to the outer limits in order to gain for our country a year or a month in the arms race that has been forced upon us; the Foreign Service officers who labor under the American flag at great risk to themselves and their families in a thousand dangerous environments; the men in uniform who patrol the barren wastes and who occupy the lonely islands and stations which make up our vast Atlantic and Pacific missile ranges; the sentries of freedom who at bases and installations around the globe are today sacrificing some of the most important years of their lives in your defense and in mine; all of these deserve the gratitude of the American people and of all the people of the free world.

The members of this graduating class are today embarking upon a special kind of sacrifice, a special kind of service, the importance of which cannot be magnified or exaggerated.

By the end of this year, 5,000 of your fellow Peace Corpsmen will be serving in 38 countries.

They have brought something new into these countries.

They are not there to exploit the labor of others; they are there to labor for others.

They are not there to make a profit for themselves; they are there to return a profit to others.

They are not there to be served but to serve, to do a job, to train teachers, engineers, mechanics, carpenters, home economists, soil specialists, tractor and farm equipment operators, agricultural extension workers, and laboratory technicians.

Unlike their Communist contemporaries, they are not in these nations to subvert and enslave; they are there to liberate.

These young Americans are, as Sargent Shriver has described them, a blend of the statesman and the scholar. Every country that Peace Corps volunteers have gone to has asked that their number be doubled and tripled.

And as the Peace Corps has been of great service to other nations, so has it been to our own Nation.

As it has raised the esteem of our country around the world, so too has it helped to restore our own confidence in ourselves.

Never again let it be said that the young people of America are soft and selfish and incompetent. Never again let it be said that the students on our campuses have lost the traditional idealism of former days.

The brief history of the Peace Corps has already proved that whenever we give our young people an opportunity to serve, they will serve; whenever we clearly hold up an ideal, they will pursue that ideal; whenever we offer a challenge, they will respond to that challenge with a heroic effort.

The labor of everyone of the thousands of Peace Corps volunteers around the globe is living testimony to the truth that we in America are still working at the task of expanding human freedom and opportunity.

The Peace Corps is a reminder to all of us that if from time to time we have wandered from our mission, or temporarily forgotten about it, we are now back on the track.

Every Peace Corps volunteer that we send abroad is further proof that we in America still believe, after the passage of almost two centuries, that if a man is given a fair chance, he will elevate himself and transform the environment around him and that if man is given a real choice he will choose freedom and will stand with those who defend freedom in the world.

I understand that the members of this class, which include doctors, medical assistants and master fishermen, are going to Africa to work with the people in Togo and in Sierra Leone. We are endeavoring to keep the peoples of that great continent from sinking into the pit of despondency, despair, and hopelessness that will promp them to

turn to communism as a possible solution to their grave problems.

The best way to do this is to make them realize that through our material assistance and through the person-to-person help and instruction which the Peace Corps provides, we can help them to solve their problems, to make progress, to build the kind of society they want for themselves and for their children, and to do it in individual freedom and in national independence.

Those of you who are going forth from this class are playing a direct and vital and indispensable part in preserving and extending and enlarging the American tradition.

As you render a service to less fortunate peoples around the world, you render even greater service to your own country. And as your labor rewards those whom you seek to help, so will it prove to be the most personally rewarding experience of your lives. I envy you your journey ahead.

I am proud and honored to have been invited to come here to take part in this ceremony and I wish to express to each of you the gratitude and the admiration of the American people for the work you are doing in the cause of human freedom and human advancement, the cause to which our country is dedicated and which shall prevail.

Thank you and good luck to you all.

## Speaking to You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I think that the following column which analyzes the problem of structural or hard core unemployment that confronts us as a nation is both timely and thought provoking. While I do not necessarily concur in all of the things the author has suggested, I do think that his column should be spread upon the RECORD, and I do commend it to the thoughtful reading of the Members of the House.

The article follows:

SPEAKING TO YOU

(By John Burlend)

The Labor Day speeches this year centered around the sticky and persistent problem of unemployment. The solution proposed by the chief of the AFL-CIO, the 35-hour week, has kindled little public support nor is it likely to. It would add an insupportable burden to American industry as it faces a decade of grueling competition from the Common Market and other foreign rivals. The central problem however will not go away, nor is there an easy solution.

The strikes of today are less and less concerned with wage increases. The two headline strikes of this summer have been flight engineers of Eastern Airlines, and the telegraphers, so called, of the Chicago and North Western Railroad.

Both strikes are against improved technical efficiency; both are completely inexcusable. I know that some one will say, "Ah, yes, but if you were one about to lose your job, you would have a different viewpoint." There can be no defense of a strike called for purely selfish purposes that punishes not only management and investors but thousands of workers as well.

There is a grave warning here for society and for labor. Society is on notice that there are small groups in this country that are willing to destroy healthy companies and inflict injury on their fellow workers in order to protect an unnecessary job. If the same pattern should continue with every new laborsaving device, the cost would be as great as a depression. These strikes are a warning to society that a new approach may be necessary.

There is a warning to labor as well. Our Government deliberately fostered the growth of labor unions because the individual workman was unable to bargain effectively for himself. In the past few years we have seen examples of corrupt and gangster-controlled unions flaunting their power and defying public opinion.

We have been slow to take punitive measures because action that would correct the evils might well destroy unions as well. But if union power is exercised to destroy rather than to promote and protect, the reluctance of the public to take drastic measures may be swept away. Labor must be responsible or it will lose its protected position.

Even so, our problem is not solved. Automation has destroyed jobs; it will destroy many more. We face a situation that is unlike anything we have previously met. These ranks of unemployed are likely to be unemployable. These are the ones who drop out of school early because they lag behind, because they cannot maintain the pace. A large percentage are Negro, Puerto Rican, and migratory workers although each community has its own contingent.

These are people who cannot qualify for a job in this technical age. They cannot be retrained; they have never been trained for the kind of jobs that are now available.

Once upon a time there was an almost unlimited demand on farms for unskilled labor; today no farmer will trust expensive machines to untrained, low ability casual workers. Railroads employ less and less unskilled labor, even road construction requires men with skills and abilities.

We have hanging over us today an unemployed army of some 4 million; it is likely to get larger. They still need to eat even if they can't find jobs. If crime is the only occupation open to them, then they will be gradually recruited into the ranks of the enemies of society. Even if we have no feeling of charity for the unfortunate our own self-interest would prompt us to discourage crime.

There has been a great deal of talk about job retraining; there are areas where it may accomplish a good deal; there are other areas where it is little more than a cruel hoax. Some of the problem will be corrected as the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the migratory worker get better educational opportunities.

The problem of what to do with the youngster who has not the ability to find and hold a job in an age of technology remains. It seems to me that we will deliberately have to drain off these unemployables into a new type of job where their lack of skill and ability will be no great handicap and where they can perform services useful to society.

Perhaps this calls for the formation of a new CCC; perhaps, as was recently suggested, there should be an attempt to make domestic service more attractive. Before you raise your voice in anguish against any and every proposal to meet the problem, best that you answer two questions:

1. What would you do if you had neither the training or the ability to get a steady job?

2. Are there better ways of dealing with the problem of unemployment than battling an ever-increasing crime wave?

## Bayh Says Free World Learning Lesson From Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today our young men and women of the Peace Corps are making history in that they are teaching all Americans and all nations in the free world a lesson in foreign affairs.

This fact has been clearly defined by the Honorable Birch Bayh, the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from Indiana, who in a recent speech delivered at Goshen, Ind., told his audience how this "bold program of the Kennedy administration is proving to be one of our most potent cold war weapons in combating communism."

Because Mr. Bayh's statement is worthy of consideration by all Members of this body, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from his Goshen speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREE WORLD LEARNING LESSON FROM PEACE CORPS

Government officials in Washington and throughout the free world are learning a lesson in foreign affairs from young American men and women who have volunteered and are serving as good will ambassadors abroad in the Peace Corps.

This bold program of the Kennedy administration is proving to be one of our most potent cold war weapons in combating communism and providing underdeveloped nations with the skilled hands needed to aid in development and growth. These helping hands are making strides for the cause of freedom where American dollars have failed to win friends in the past. We are winning friends for freedom by helping the less fortunate friendly people of the world learn the skills necessary to help themselves.

The program has been so successful that at the present time some 50,000 requests for volunteers have been received from nations around the globe, more than 5 times the number of trained volunteers available for oversea service.

The program has been so widely accepted in Washington congressional circles that approval for additional funds to finance the effort has virtually no opposition.

Despite its success, the Peace Corps has been a vehicle which has been used to level personal attacks upon the President and other administrative officers. Regrettably, one such attack was launched by the senior Senator from Indiana, Mr. HOMER CAPEHART, my rival for election this fall to the U.S. Senate.

Last October Mr. CAPEHART, in criticizing the Peace Corps, was quoted as saying "Communist battle lines are no place for inexperienced, immature New Frontiersmen."

Apparently Mr. CAPEHART is not aware of the fact that Peace Corps volunteers are skilled in a trade or profession. Surveyors, engineers, agriculture technicians, nurses, teachers, and others with similar training receive vigorous apprenticeship before leaving on their respective missions.

It may be interesting to note that today we have 613 teachers serving their country in the Peace Corps; 151 agricultural and forestry workers; 78 volunteer workers in vocational training; 63 nurses, 28 surveyors, 25 engineers, and scores of others in various fields of endeavor. Twenty-four Hoosiers are presently fulfilling their tour of duty overseas ranging in scope from teacher's aids in the Philippines to electrical engineers in Pakistan. Bear in mind that these are not wildeyed liberals or migratory beatniks, as the Senator infers, but skilled and mature individuals who have realized achievement in their respective fields and are willing to devote 2 years of their lives to the cause of freedom. Still the Senator fails to recognize the need for vision and imaginative thinking in the area of foreign policy.

With this sort of judgment, I wonder how far this opinion can be trusted in other areas of vital concern to State and Nation.

The future belongs to the Nation that shows imagination and initiative in selling a sound philosophy. Our training program for the backward nations of the world is marked with these two qualities. With this program, we can achieve far better results with fewer dollars.

It is imperative that we have representation in the U.S. Senate that is capable of understanding the times in which we live and has the objective foresight necessary to deal with 20th century problems.

I personally feel that the Peace Corps program could be improved with the addition of more trained teachers to represent democracy accurately before the other nations of the world. Dollars, when given, are spent; food is consumed after donation; but education in the basic fundamentals and in the traditions of the American way of life will live forever in the minds of our less fortunate neighbors who are striving to improve their lot in life.

In the past, the Communist cause has gained considerable following by placing teachers in classrooms who expounded communistic indoctrination in addition to the subjects they were engaged to instruct.

In our way of life, we have a superior product to sell. American teachers can serve as our "secret weapon" in the cold war between ideologies.

We cannot solve space age problems with stone age reasoning. We must have capable representation with vigorous and direct action. A U.S. Senator from Indiana must have the vision and imagination so necessary to help America win the most important battle for the minds of men.

## How Temporary Is a Temporary Tax?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mrs. St. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Maurice Stans appeared in the Washington Post of September 16.

It brings us back to the unfortunate truth that although you "cannot fool all of the people all of the time," you can certainly "fool most of the people most of the time."

The temporary taxes are a perfect example of this. People, including majorities in Congress, vote for these so-called temporary measures, and then like Ole Man River, they just keep rolling along.

The article follows:

HOW TEMPORARY IS A TEMPORARY TAX?

(By Maurice H. Stans)

If Webster were alive today, he would concede that the most inaccurate word in the Washington vocabulary is "temporary."

Members of Congress and of the Government bureaus know that one of the easiest ways to start a Government program is to give it a short life. Once it gets going, it is as certain as Pikes Peak to survive all attempts to cut it down.

The visible evidence of this phenomenon is the enduring existence of the many "temporary" buildings erected in Foggy Bottom and along Constitution Avenue during the war years. Some of them still survive almost 20 years later.

Taxes are very much the same. Most of the temporary taxes of the Korean war still are in effect. It will be a historic event when the tax on train, bus and boat transportation finally expires on November 15 this year and the tax on air travel is reduced to 5 percent.

An especially striking case history is the gasoline tax. The States originally had preempted this area of taxation, and the Federal Government moved into it gingerly and "temporarily" for the first time in 1932. Here's what happened after that:

1932—Temporary tax of 1 cent per gallon enacted.

1933—Temporary tax extended and increased to 1½ cents per gallon.

1934, 1935, 1937, 1939—Temporary tax continued at 1 cent.

1940—Temporary tax increased to 1½ cents, made permanent in 1941.

1951—Tax increased temporarily to 2 cents.

1956—Tax boosted to 3 cents (temporary).

1959—Tax raised to 4 cents (temporary) for 2 years.

1961—Tax at 4 cents extended temporarily to October 1972.

The fiction of a temporary tax goes on, and the present law specifies that in 1972 the rate shall drop to 1½ cents. Want to bet on it?

The National Defense Education Act was a temporary law, enacted in 1958 to stimulate scientific education as a result of the clamor following Russia's first entry into space with sputnik. Its proponents argued that 4 years of student loans, teaching fellowships, loans for scientific equipment and foreign-language instruction were all that would be needed to bring us back to rightful scientific leadership.

Now the administration has also asked for a further large program of student scholarships to supplement the loans, and the other parts of the act are sure to last a long while.

Another important temporary program was Federal public assistance grants to the States. They began in 1935, to provide assistance to those in need who did not qualify for social security benefits. It was confidently predicted that, as social security payments grew, this program would phase out.

Its costs in 1937 was $44 million. By now it has grown in scope, its benefits have been enlarged, its beneficiaries have increased and this year's budget is $2.7 billion.

The Small Business Administration, created temporarily in 1953, became permanent in 1958. The Rural Electrification Administration, created in 1936 to provide electric service to farms, has long since achieved its purpose. With 98 percent of American farmers having central-station electricity, President Eisenhower proposed that the Agency become privately financed for any future needs, but it still flourishes on appropriations of about $350 million a year.

A special milk program, established in 1958 as a temporary measure to help the dairy industry, continues to cost about $100 million a year. Temporary programs of grants for library services (1956) and for nurses' training (1946) were extended in 1962 for longer terms.

The granddaddy of all is a temporary program under the Morrill Act of 1862 granting $50,000 to each State to help land-grant colleges. It still carries on, supplemented by additional amounts under other laws in 1935 and 1961. Veterans' direct loans "to assist World War II veterans in their readjustment to civilian life" were extended again in 1961, 16 years after the war, despite President Eisenhower's plea that the need "has long since passed." The 1962 provision is $200 million.

And the most expensive of all is the temporary farm price support program enacted in 1938 to solve the farm problem. It now costs $3 to $4 billion a year, with no end in sight.

No matter how temporary their origin, Government tax programs, facilities, and personnel always continue and proliferate.

The happy delusion that fixing an ending date will bring such things to a close may help to satisfy the consciences of the lawmakers, but the taxpayers may as well be realistic and recognize that, once on the books, temporary programs never die, they just divide and multiply.

## President of Salem College (W. Va.), K. Duane Hurley, Writes Inspiring and Purposeful Letter to Faculty Members as College Year Begins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, my alma mater, Salem College, located in Salem, W. Va., is a growing and progressive institution of higher learning which this year is marking its 75th anniversary. Under the able leadership of President K. Duane Hurley, Salem's dedicated faculty and staff are earning for it a place of respect among the colleges and universities of the East.

A recent letter from President Hurley to his faculty colleagues gives true insight into the high standards of personal and professional excellence exhibited by those educators. The letter came to my attention through the thoughtfulness of T. Edward Davis, chairman of the board of directors of Salem College, a body in which I am privileged to serve. Chairman Davis asserts that "this strong and challenging letter should be read by us all."

Mr. President, at this season when millions of our young citizens are returning to their schools and universities it is appropriate that we pause to remember those devoted and sincere men and women who administer and teach in the colleges of our Nation. Today, as never before, we realize that education is truly

a vital key to the future, and without its inspiration and light America cannot hope to maintain its position of preeminence.

I request that President K. Duane Hurley's letter to his colleagues be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEPTEMBER 3, 1962.

DEAR COLLEAGUES: As another college year begins—probably Salem College's most significant year—I want to emphasize how pleased I am to be associated with you in this important educational enterprise.

Never before have the opportunities or challenges been greater. Full accreditation is in the offing for our institution; and, even more important, an increasing number of individuals are depending upon us for superior training and guidance in these critical days.

Therefore, with my pledge of cooperation and with the prayer that all petty and insignificant differences among us may be submerged for the greater good, I am proposing the following theme as our guide for the year: "achievement through teamwork."

In keeping with our constantly improving professionalism, the Benedum Foundation with a special grant has made possible a higher level of compensation for this year and the next. Now it is incumbent upon us to keep our performance superior in order to attract and merit such continuing support.

Some staff members were employed with the higher wage scale already in mind. Others will find attached to this letter a note from the business office indicating their revised salary for the coming academic year.

A number of factors were given careful, objective consideration in determining adjustments. First, conscientious effort was made to arrive at a generally equitable level of pay for all, commensurate with years of service and experience. This procedure required varying amounts of increase.

Other factors considered include degree standing, academic growth, graduate study, attitude, cooperation in campus activities, participation in community affairs, and teaching effectiveness. In addition, allowance was made for extra administrative and for other responsibilities, adjusted in keeping with the classroom load and other pertinent factors.

Of course, all of us have basic teaching and other assignments that are a part of the job: counseling, sponsorship of clubs, classes, and organizations; attendance at chapel, assemblies, and special convocations; participation in faculty meetings, and the like. We also have the obligation of setting the standard for the campus community in such matters as conduct, attitude and scholarship. How else are students expected to learn to be professional: handling grievances maturely; keeping matters of salary, et cetera, confidential; refraining from gossip and backbiting conversation about friends and associates; being willing to give one's best under all circumstances without thought of praise or compensation; and maintaining meaningful spiritual and religious influences in life?

Our college is a friendly, Christian, academic community in which each member has a basic concern for the welfare of the others. Our primary objective is to serve, rather than to be served. Ours is divine vocation.

In this spirit and as a fully cooperating happy team, I am confident that we can make this—our college's 75th anniversary—the greatest year of achievement. May God's guidance and blessing abide with us, assuring success.

Sincerely,

K. DUANE HURLEY,
*President, Salem College.*

## Senator Robert Byrd Defends His Relief Roll Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, Senator ROBERT BYRD is one of the newer members on the Senate Appropriations Committee but one of our most effective and hardworking Members. I have followed with great admiration and respect his investigations into the scandalous relief situation in the District of Columbia. He has done a remarkable job of disclosing the inefficient and scandalous manner in which this program has been operated.

At all times during the investigations he has tried his best to help and protect the rights of needy people. Few people know better than Senator BYRD that if these programs are not honestly and efficiently operated, it is the needy who are hurt the worst. I have only the highest commendation for the fine work carried on by the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, ROBERT BYRD.

Mr. President, his efforts in this field have won recognition and commendation all over the United States. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in North Dakota's largest newspaper, the Fargo Forum, of Fargo, N. Dak., under date of September 13, 1962.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR ROBERT BYRD DEFENDS HIS RELIEF ROLL STAND

Senator ROBERT BYRD, Democrat, of West Virginia, chairman of a subcommittee investigating welfare fraud in the District of Columbia, has been checking closely into the welfare situation. He has brought out some astounding evidence of fraud. But he has been charged with plucking bread from the mouths of women and children.

Because of these charges that he was not doing the right sort of job, that he was not being honest with those on relief, he made a statement in his defense which he prefaced with this statement:

"There is nobody here who can tell me about hard times—because I have seen them," he said. He explained that his mother had died when he was 10 months old and that he was raised by penniless foster parents, who "never took 5 cents" in welfare funds. He continued: "Some people may think we don't know what it is to wear tennis shoes in the know. I went from one end of the community to the other with a little wagon gathering up scraps saved for me by housewives so I could feed the hogs. I was out of high school for 16 years before I could go to college. So never let it be said that I look at this problem from any ivory tower."

He made it plain that he was not trying to take bread out of the mouths of honest relief recipients. He was simply trying to get chislers off the rolls.

The District of Columbia's welfare payments shot up from $9,500,000 to $21,300,000 in the past 7 years. In his position as chairman of a subcommittee charged with investigating this situation, he wanted to find out the whys of this stepped-up welfare outlay.

He found some strange goings-on. Of the cases reviewed, investigators found that 78 percent of the persons on general relief were really ineligible for aid, as were 57 percent of the mothers receiving checks for dependent children.

These are large percentages. If that is the case in the Nation's Capital, what would a check show elsewhere? On the basis of the Byrd findings, Anthony Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is planning a review of the situation throughout the country. He takes the view that what happened in Washington might be happening elsewhere.

## Making Our Words Stick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## Hon. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following strong statement from the Waukegan News Sun of September 6, 1962, expressing the necessity for firm thinking, firm intention and firm declaration to protect this hemisphere against Communist aggression.

MAKING OUR WORDS STICK

On today's editorial page, three of our columnists survey the tangled problem of Cuba.

Even a hasty reading reveals that there are no simple answers. Plainly, Cuba is no longer a country but a fortified Russian bastion 90 miles off our shores. But whether the threat is great enough to risk direct U.S. military intervention—and all the world-shaking consequences that might flow from such intervention—is still unclear.

President Kennedy draws a rather subtle distinction concerning the Cuban stockpiling of Russian arms. He says the evidence so far suggests the buildup is for defensive, not offensive, purposes; therefore, the President concludes, we do not have immediate cause for counteraction. However, he warns that if the Cuban Communists try to use these arms to export their odious "people's revolution," the United States will clamp down "by whatever means may be necessary."

We suppose that's all right as far as it goes. But surely the President must realize that the military buildup is only an opening move, that the rockets and jet planes which today will be used to further subjugate the Cuban masses can tomorrow be turned against the Dominican Republic or some other Caribbean nation. To be sure, we must not be stampeded into a rash move. At the same time, there is a need to fully convince the world that we mean what we say, that aggressive acts by the Kremlin's puppet regime in Cuba will not be tolerated in this hemisphere.

Actually, there is a certain irony in the present situation. Some 140 years ago, President Monroe proclaimed his famous Monroe Doctrine, boldly telling imperialistic European powers to keep their political noses out of this hemisphere. At the time, the United States was a comparatively weak country. But Mr. Monroe uttered his words firmly and we made it plain we were dedicated to making them stick. Today, the United States is the most powerful Nation in the world. Yet, many observers abroad feel our words lack a clear sense of resolution.

The task ahead is to make it starkly apparent that we mean what we say. Perhaps, as David Lawrence suggests today, a joint congressional resolution pointedly authorizing the President to act as he sees fit regarding Cuba is in order. Technically, it would be of little importance because the President already has broad powers as Commander in Chief. But the psychological impact could be considerable.

## A Central Place of the Bible in Our Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Chaplain—Major General—Ivan L. Bennett, U.S. Army, retired, former Chief of Army Chaplains, presented an important manuscript to the Twelfth Washington Pilgrimage to the Religious Heritage of America at the National Gallery of Art on August 23.

Chaplain Bennett served in the Pacific during World War II and was staff chaplain at general headquarters, Tokyo, during most of the Japanese occupation. For his outstanding military service he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CENTRAL PLACE OF THE BIBLE IN OUR HERITAGE

The coronation of Elizabeth II of England was an impressive event. I think that the whole world felt that it was fortunate that she came to the kingdom for such a time as this. Those who observed the coronation will long remember the Archbishop of Canterbury holding a Bible, and giving it to the young queen, saying, "This is the greatest thing in the world."

A COMMON CONFESSION

This is a common confession among men who have carried the burdens of great responsibility over extended periods of time, and have made the decisions involving the weal or woe of this Nation. The list includes George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and nearly everyone of the later Presidents.

Said President Grant: "To the influence of this Book we are indebted for the progress we have made, and to this Book we must look as our guide in the future."

Theodore Roosevelt expressed it in this way: "Almost every man who by his lifework added to the sum of human achievement of which the race is proud, of which our people are proud, almost every man has based his lifework largely upon the teachings of the Bible."

Woodrow Wilson wrote: "A man has deprived himself of the best there is in the world who has deprived himself of this (a knowledge of the Bible)."

Calvin Coolidge, surely not a man given to overstatement, goes on to say: "The foundations of our society and of our Government rest so much upon the teachings of the Bible, that it would be difficult to support them if faith in these teachings should cease to be practically universal in our country."

A STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCE

This place of centrality accorded the Bible is a circumstance for which you would expect officials of Western nations to have no predilection. It is not of the West. It has its affinities in the ancient East. America, England, France, Germany all received it in the form of a translation. It is an extraordinary circumstance in our culture that the Bible is the great Epic of our languages.

IMMENSITY OF DEMAND

Consider also how extraordinary is the continuing demand for this Book.

Margaret Hills, in collaboration with the New York Public Library, has been able to list 2,573 editions of the Bible published in America between the years 1777 and 1957.

A few years ago I arranged for the American Bible Society to present to President Eisenhower the Bible that marked the completion of the first half-billion copies of the Scriptures distributed by the society.

Almost simultaneously, the publishers of the Revised Standard Version announced the availability of the revised translation. Orders for 700,000 copies of this Bible were received before it came from the bindery. The first printing was for 900,000 copies. That exceeded any single printing of one book in the history of book publishing.

What is more noteworthy about the immensity of demand is the fact that it now assumes worldwide proportions. The American Bible Society is only 1 of 23 national Bible societies engaged in translating, producing, and distributing the Bible. Last year from 68 countries there were calls for more than 30 million volumes.

IN THE PAGEANTRY OF HISTORY

The first English translation of the entire Bible of which we have record was done by John Wycliffe in the 14th century. The first printed New Testament was the translation made by William Tyndale, printed in Germany in 1525. The first printed English Bible was the translation by Miles Coverdale, published in 1535. These dates are a reminder that it was a time of upheaval and transition. Old landmarks were being removed. The fall of Constantinople had caused ancient manuscripts to be brought to Europe, and these were awakening new interest in the Greek and Hebrew texts. The printing press, invented by Gutenberg, had proved itself a practical instrument for commercial use. Out of the resettlements imposed by the migrations of northern and eastern tribes, new nationalities and languages were taking form. The demand that had been voiced by St. Jerome in the fourth century and by St. Caesarius in the sixth century for the Word of God in the language of the people was now becoming general, and it was coupled with a suspicion that some sinister policy was depriving the common man of his birthright.

Victor Hugo once remarked that no army can withstand an idea whose time has come. A single idea now dominated the common people of Europe and England, the idea of the Bible in the native tongues of the people, and it was irresistible.

Alfred Lord Tennyson, in his "Dream of Fair Women," writes of "The Spacious Times of Great Elizabeth." In the reign of that remarkable queen there was a notable quickening of the national consciousness and the general intelligence. The "New Heavens" of Kepler, Copernicus and Galileo, and the "New Earth" of Columbus, Drake and Magellan, widened the intellectual horizon. In the prevailing passion for foreign travel the races of mankind were discovering one another. Nothing was wanting for a new epoch in English adventure and achievement but the signal. The signal came in the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Wealth increased, and with wealth came ampler leisure, which for the most part was turned to good account for a new era of adventure in art and literature. A new England sprang forward into a place of sustained leadership in a vast and growing empire of many peoples. The Queen authorized the English Bible for reading in the churches and in homes. And however materialistic the aims of the great companies exploiting colonial and commercial resources of the times, this could not be done without the labor of the common man, and the common man demanded that he be allowed to have his Book. If trade followed the flag, the Book went with the trade.

Of the period John Richard Green in his "Short History of the English People" had this to say:

"No greater moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years that parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a Book, and that Book was the Bible. It was the one English book that was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at the churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell upon ears that custom had not deadened, kindled a startling enthusiasm. * * * and all the activities that had been called into life by the age that was passing away were seized, concentrated, and steadied to a definite aim by the spirit of religion."

William Wordsworth wrote (1770–1850):

"But to outweigh all harm, the sacred Book,
In dustry sequestration wrapt too long,
Assumes the accents of our native tongue;
And he who guides the plow or wields the crook,
With understanding spirit now may look
Upon her records, listen to her song.
Transcendent Boon. Noblest that earthly King
Ever bestowed to equalize and bless
Under the weight of mortal wretchedness."

How powerful the Bible's influence was is indicated by this statement of the historian, Trevelyan:

"By the end of Elizabeth's reign the Book of Books for Englishmen was already the Bible, although the authorized version that is still in use was only drawn up by James the First's bishops in the years immediately following her death. For every Englishman who had read Sidney or Spenser, or had seen Shakespeare acted at the Globe, there were hundreds who had read or heard the Bible with close attention, as the word of God. The effect of the continual domestic study of the book upon the national character, imagination and intelligence for nearly three centuries to come was greater than that of any literary movement in our annals or any religious movement since the coming of St. Augustine. New worlds of history and poetry were opened in its pages to people who had little else to read—indeed, it created the habit of reading and reflection in whole classes of the community and turned a tinker into one of the great masters of the English tongue."

When in later years other rulers who lacked the acumen of "great Elizabeth" and her "spacious times" tried to curb the religious liberties the Book had inspired, a steady stream of people with Bible in hand came to these shores. When the oppressor reached out across the wave there was a revolution, and "a new star appeared in the constellations of the nations."

AREAS OF INFLUENCE

Perhaps the most noteworthy areas where the influence of the Bible has been greatly registered are art, language, education, law, and literature. It is my understanding that you will be favored with a discussion of religious art by the curator of the National Museum. It may be worthy of note to say that the art galleries of the world list among their masterpieces more than 800 paintings by American and British painters who drew upon the Bible for their subject matter.

IMPACT UPON LANGUAGE

The translation of the Bible into English had a profound influence in stabilizing English speech. John Wycliffe drew upon upward of 200 dialects of England, Scotland and Ireland in making his English translation. Even so, it was often impossible to find among the dialects words with meaning equivalent to the words of the Vulgate from which Wycliffe worked. Thus it became necessary to anglicize words from the ancient tongues. Scores of words found their way into the English language by this process. It was thus that we got our word "beauty," among many others. These words were laid hold upon by men like Bacon, Shakespeare and Milton, and perpetuated. They were woven into our great hymns, oratorios, and liturgies by men like Cranmer, Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, George Frederick Handel, and Bishop Heber.

Someone has compiled a list of 53 poets and 35 prose writers whose works have survived with honor the publisher's ax, all of whose works are enriched with references and allusions to the Bible. No one can read them appreciatively without a knowledge of the Bible. More than 1,400 book titles have been taken from this book. We are indebted to the Bible for such expressive combinations of words as "peacemaker," "brokenhearted," "long-suffering," and "loving-kindness." It introduced scores of phrases theretofore unknown in English speech: "a coat of many colors," "the valley of decision," "the salt of the earth," "the widow's mite," "clear as crystal," "the fat of the land," "whited sepulchers," "the wings of the morning," "righteous overmuch," and many more.

While the English language received the Bible and was enriched and stabilized by it, the Bible in English gave to conscience a new vocabulary of expression; and it gave to men doing battle for freedom their trumpet and their sword. It gave a standard of conduct by which government would be brought into judgment; it gave to the weary and the heavy laden a song for their lips. It articulated hope beyond tragedy, with previous promises of redemption for the suffering and the destitute; and it had the needed words of solace and courage for the bereaved and the brokenhearted. For multiplied scores of thousands who had read no history, and had not traveled beyond their villages, it conveyed a sense of history so that the humblest peasant became aware of other peoples, other lands, and felt a kinship with Abraham of Chaldea, Joseph of Egypt, Moses of the Wilderness, and Ezekiel of Babylon. In spiritual companionship the peasant went to jail with Peter and John and companioned with them when they "could but speak the things they had seen and heard." (Acts 4:20.) He traveled with Paul; was shipwrecked with him; shared his stripes; and preferred his martyr's crown to that on the head of the emperor, attesting the preference by naming his son Paul and his dog Nero. The common man was equipped with the language of freedom and personal dignity.

IMPACT UPON EDUCATION

One of the greatest, if indeed not the greatest, incentives for mankind to free himself from the darkness of illiteracy, has been the desire to be able to read the Bible. Schools for children in England and America arose out of a desire to teach children to read. The textbook was the hornbook, which was not a book at all. It was a paddle, usually a thin oak paddle. It contained the digits, and it contained the alphabet in capital letters and in small letters. It also contained the "Lord's Prayer."

To protect the digits and the letters, the paddle was covered with thin sections of transparent horn. When you visit the London Museum again, ask to see the Hornbook. The Hornbook was used in the colonial schools of America for nearly a half century. It was replaced by primers printed on paper, but which drew more abundantly from the storehouse of the great passages of the Bible.

Whatever of all the sound and great fury concerning court decisions relating to the Bible and prayers in schools, serious-minded men and women will not overlook this difficult fact in the state of the Nation: that there are 50 million Americans who are ignorant of the Bible, who do not attend church or synagogue, and who make no provision at home or in the community for their children to gain a knowledge and an appreciation of the Bible.

Prior to the Revolutionary War there were 10 colleges in the colonies, which have survived to this day. Nine of these 10 colleges opened with faculties made up of men trained in theology. These colleges were set up for the express purpose of training men for the ministry. The 10th, without a denominational church background, was the University of Pennsylvania. It stemmed from a charity school founded by George Whitefield, best remembered as an evangelist of whom it was said that he could speak to an open-air audience of 20,000 people and make himself clearly understood.

It was the impact of the Bible that moved our colonial fathers to lay the foundations of common school and higher education in America.

IMPACT UPON LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE

In the 18th century Sir William Blackstone (1723–1760) made an epochmaking research in English law and jurisprudence, and this research led him to the conclusion that these laws, while mainly arrived at by court decisions, became articulate in decisions which rested back on two foundations which he called the laws of nature and the law of revelation. The laws of nature were the customs and rules of conduct that had prevailed in village and hamlet since ancient times. The law of revelation was articulate in Holy Scripture. In order to claim the benefit of a custom or unwritten law, a person going into court had to satisfy the judge that the rule had been the custom in the hamlet or shire "from the time when the memory of man ran not to the contrary." But the law of revelation, epitomized in the Ten Commandments, could outweigh established custom, since courts were bound to recognize that the law of God preceded all as the immutable principle of right and justice.

He found that King Alfred the Great had compiled his Domboc "from the Bible and from the laws of former Christian kings," and that he, after adding some laws of his own, appended a copy of the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer (887–890).

He found that the English Barons who forced King John to affix his seal to the Magna Carta (1215) had had the assistance of an archbishop in drawing upon the resources of the Bible in their delineation of human rights. Magna Carta not only became the basic constitutional Law of England in the centuries that followed, but it greatly influenced the language of the Bill of Rights contained in the first amendment to the American Constitution.

It was this impact of "the law of revelation" upon English jurisprudence that resulted in the later system of courts of chancery to relieve the rigidity of universal application of legal principles in courts of law. The chancellor was designed as the "King's conscience."

Such was the Biblical foundation of the laws of which Leonard Bacon wrote in his great hymn:

"Laws, freedom, truth and faith in God
Came with those exiles o'er the waves;
And where their pilgrim feet have trod,
The God they worshipped guards their graves."

After the commentaries had been in use by law students in America for more than a century, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, of Michigan State University, commended its continued use to his students, saying that "even by way of explaination or illustration, the original work of Blackstone is much the most useful as presenting us the law in something near the condition in which our ancestors brought it to America."

The need for understanding the commentaries was patent. This body of law had become the common law of all of the States of the American Union save Louisiana alone. Large as is the body of rules modified by statute and constitutional provision, or that have become obsolete through changes in the habits and modes of thought among the people, the fact remains that the serious student of the rudiments of our law still reads Sir William's Commentaries and the English Bible.

IMPACT UPON LITERATURE

If you would catch the simple and appealing literary charm of the Book's prose, read the story of Joseph and his brethren and ask yourself where else in the world's literature can one find this story matched in mingled simplicity with such mentally appealing involvement in the telling.

Or read the story of Ruth, following her husband's mother into an unknown land, leaving behind her homeland, kindred, friends, and saying in unreckoning abandon: "Where thou goest, I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God. Where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." (Ruth 1: 16, 17). See her under necessity, going to glean in the fields of Bethlehem, and finally being numbered among the who's who of the nation, holding an honored place in the genealogy of Him of whom it is said that "His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace."

Or read the story of Esther, the Hebrew maiden in captivity, following the circumstances through which she became queen to Ahasuerus. Observe her in spiritual crisis, boldly facing the capricious tyranny of her king, taking her life in her hand, thrusting herself into the royal presence in a manner forbidden by law, that she might plead the cause of her people, simply saying, "If I perish, I perish."

Or for the beauty of the Book's poetry, muse upon the pellucid imagery of the great Psalms: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." Or witness the lyric majesty of the prophet's cry, "Awake, awake, put on thy strength O Zion, put on thy beautiful garments O Jerusalem." Or "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." Or consider this from the writings of a man who had been falsely accused by his own people, imprisoned, placed under the

lash, and subjected to conditions of life that would have embittered any ordinary man:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up."

HUMANITY'S BIRTHRIGHT

This priceless literary treasure belongs to the human race. It was produced over a period of 1,500 years. Its authorship included king and shepherd, lawgiver and prisoner, prophet and slave, tax collector and doctor, men in the seat of jugment, and men under sentence of death. It was culled from ancient Egypt, from Palestine and Syria, from the slopes of Lebanon, from Pontus and Ephesus, from isles of the sea, and from regions beyond the sea, Macedonia, Attica, Corinth, Rome. If it were an American or European product it would be difficult to share it. But just because it is a translation, we can share it with the nations of the world, not as a product of Western religion or Western culture, but as the birthright of all mankind: the Word of God in the languages of man.

Some portion of it has been translated into 1,181 languages. The day will come when the entire Book will be translated into all of these languages, and the nearly 1,000 more, now spoken but still unwritten. Just as Christian missionaries devised an alphabet for the translation of the Bible into the Slavic tongue in order to reduce it to writing, for translating the Bible in the Russian language, they have done as much for hundreds of others, and when the work is completed nothing in the literary history of the world can ever quite match it. For all mankind will have a written language; and every language will have the world's greatest masterpiece; and all nations will draw upon this greatest of all literary storehouses for moral insights, literary style and beauty, spiritual wisdom, and light upon the common pathway of life.

## We Cannot Ignore It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, August 14, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville News of August 29, 1962:

WE CANNOT IGNORE IT

During the past few days it was reported in Washington by the Copley News service that between 16,000 and 20,000 combat-ready Soviet troops have landed in Cuba since July 29.

Cuban exiles say the Soviet troops could be used as a bargaining point for the Russians to pressure the United States to withdraw troops from Berlin and Vietnam.

It appears that now we not only have a Communist nation 90 miles offshore, but at least a division of Russians—Russian troops, armed and ready, according to the Copley report. The State Department first denied the landings, then said something about "technicians." The silence from the White House and State Department since the botched "invasion" more than a year ago has been deafening—indeed, the administration has almost acted as if Cuba has ceased to exist. The attitude seems to be "maybe if we ignore the danger it will go away."

The truth would more likely be that if Russian troops can be landed, missile-launching sites also can be built—and it appears the day is rapidly approaching when the President is going to have to face up to Cuba despite the obvious distaste for recalling the monumental foulup last year over the Bay of Pigs.

A division of Russians 90 miles from Miami cannot be ignored or swept under a rug.

## The 175th Anniversary of the Constitution of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Rare Odyssey of Our Constitution," written by Sid A. Levy and published in the Washington Star of September 16, 1962, in commemoration of the 175th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RARE ODYSSEY OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(By Sid A. Levy)

The Constitution of the United States will observe its 175th anniversary tomorrow at the National Archives, snug in a mechanized sanctuary made of glass, bronze, steel, concrete, and marble. The parchment's present security couldn't differ more than the almost casual way it was handled during most of its early life.

At one point, for example, the priceless document was unceremoniously dumped into a coarse linen bag and hauled out of town in a farm wagon—just a few jumps ahead of the invading British. That was in 1814. Before then, it had been handed about from one office to another in the fledgling National government, and for one brief period was even housed in a former tavern.

And it was another 137 years after that flight from Washington before the Constitution was finally encased in its own permanent protective covering. The 5-page original, which includes a 1-page resolution of transmittal to the Continental Congress, is in surprisingly good condition, considering its travels and travails—not to say its age. Despite treatment which would horrify a modern archivist, the document has suffered nothing worse than a moderate fading of its iron-based ink, which even so remains legible.

Unlike the more badly faded Declaration of Independence, which resides with it at the Archives Building, the Constitution wasn't put on any sort of display and was exposed to sunlight only infrequently between the March morning in 1790 when it passed into the custody of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, and the summer day in 1951 when technicians at the Bureau of Standards sealed it into its permanent enclosure.

QUIET SIGNING

The signing of the Constitution in Philadelphia on Monday, September 17, 1787, was completed in the late afternoon. It was a quiet ceremony, with little of the pomp and less of the exuberance that had set the city's church bells to clanging on July 4, 11 years earlier, when the Declaration was adopted.

The five sheets of parchment left Philadelphia the next day in the custody of Maj. William Jackson, secretary of the Constitutional Convention, who delivered them 2 days later to the Continental Congress in New York. For the next few years, the Constitution remained in New York, spending most of the time in various rooms at the city hall, where Congress met, though occasionally it was sent out for brief periods of safekeeping elsewhere while the hall was restored.

For a little while in 1788, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, John Jay—whose position was replaced the next year by that of Secretary of State—occupied rooms in a house at the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl Streets, which in earlier years was known as Fraunce's Tavern, a favored colonial social spot.

The following year, Congress established the Department of State and assigned it the job of keeping custody of the basic State papers. When President Washington signed the new law on September 15, 1789, the Constitution, along with the Declaration, was turned over to Secretary Jefferson. The documents traveled in his luggage to Philadelphia again, where he established his office, and remained there until 1800, when the Capital was moved to the District of Columbia.

Crated along with other state documents, the Constitution arrived by ship at Lear's Wharf near the foot of G Street West on May 27, 1800, and was carted off to the Treasury, then located at the south end of its present site. It was the only building suitable for storing them in the still uncompleted new Capital.

That August, the State papers were moved to one of the so-called "Seven Buildings" at 19th and Pennsylvania where most of the Government's offices were to be located. The next May, they moved again to the War Office, a large brick building on 17th Street, long since gone.

There the Constitution stayed for 13 years—until the British came. The War of 1812 had begun 2 years earlier, and now a British fleet was in Chesapeake Bay, preparing to land troops along the Patuxent. It was August, and Washington was full of rumors and alarms.

ORDERS FROM MONROE

From Secretary of State James Monroe, who had galloped out to see what was really going on, came urgent orders to rush vital papers off into safe hiding. Three State Department clerks dashed off to a downtown shop and bought a quantity of linen bagging material, had it run up hastily into sacks, and stuffed the Constitution, the Declaration and other documents into them.

The precious cargo was hauled away in wagons on the evening of August 23, 1814, to an unused grist mill belonging to one Edgar Patterson, 2 miles above Chain Bridge on the Virginia shore of the Potomac. But there was a cannon factory nearby and, fearing it would attract raiders, the clerks who were guarding the sacks borrowed farmers' wagons and set off again the next day for Leesburg, 35 miles away.

There the documents were stowed in an empty house and the keys were given to a local clergyman named Littlejohn. That night, Washington was in flames.

The Constitution returned home several weeks after the August raid, and for the next few years occupied temporary quarters, along with the Department of State, on G Street near 18th, then returned to the War Office, and finally moved to a building at 15th and Pennsylvania, where the Treasury now stands.

From 1820 to 1866 the Constitution remained stored away—there is no record of exactly how—until the Secretary of State leased a building on 14th near S, where he maintained his office until 1875. In July of that year the Secretary and his papers moved to the State, War and Navy Building—now called the Executive Office Building—next to the White House.

ON PUBLIC VIEW

Oddly enough, it was nearly 50 years before the thought occurred to officials that the American people might like to see the Constitution—or at least, before that thought resulted in action. In 1921, at the urging of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes—who in turn got the idea from a committee headed by the Department's archivist, Dr. Gaillard Hunt—President Warren G. Harding ordered the transfer of the Constitution and the Declaration to the Library of Congress.

There, said he, the Government could "satisfy the laudable wish of patriotic Americans to have an opportunity to see the original fundamental documents upon which rest their independence and their Government."

The transfer took place in September. Two years later the Constitution and Declaration went on public view for the first time in a shrine on the second floor of the Library. The shrine provided safety "from touch and injurious light, while insuring their complete visibility without formality," according to an account prepared several years later by David C. Mearns and Verner W. Clapp of the Library staff.

STORED IN FORT KNOX

World War II brought a threat of enemy action against the continental United States, and so the documents were wrapped in special acid-free paper, sealed in bronze containers packed in rock wool inside a heavy metal-bound box, and were taken by Pullman car to a 3-year exile in the gold-bullion vaults at Fort Knox, Ky.

As early as the 1880's people who knew of their condition had begun to worry about the need for a more scientific approach to the safekeeping of the documents. In 1881, for example, the National Academy of Sciences recommended that the Declaration be taken down from the office wall where exposure to sunlight had faded it grievously, and be put under cover. Again, in 1903, a similar recommendation was made and in 1920 a committee, headed by Archivist Hunt, of the State Department, urged that both documents be sealed under glass.

The Bureau of Standards began research on how to do this, just before World War II. And this in turn stemmed from plans to put the two documents on view at the new Archives Building, for which President Hoover had laid the cornerstone in 1933. But it took nearly another 2 decades for Washington to get around to the job of installing them in the exhibit hall that had been designed especially for them at Archives.

SEALED IN CASES

It was 1951, in fact, when the Bureau of Standards finally sealed both the Constitution and the Declaration into the hermetically tight cases in which they now reside. These consist of several layers of tempered glass, paper, and light-filters, soldered and bound in bronze; the containers are filled with helium to prevent the deterioration which oxygen would cause.

The packages are roughly an inch thick and are the outgrowth of extensive research not only by the Bureau but also by the Libby-Owens Glass Co., which provided the special glass, and by Eastman Kodak, which developed a yellow filter cover for the exhibit case.

The case which visitors see on the second floor of the Archives Building contains the first and last pages of the Constitution, and is actually only the upper portion of an elaborate complex of machinery. Each evening at 10, a guard presses a hidden switch which activates a ponderous mechanism. This lowers the documents 20 feet into a steel and concrete vault which rests at ground level.

A heavy steel lid slides into place, and the Constitution and Declaration are then protected by 46 inches of steel and concrete in every direction, not counting the outer walls of the building itself. The second and third pages of the Constitution, plus the Letter of Transmittal, are permanently stored in the vault.

ATOMIC VAULT

When it went into use some 11 years ago, the vault was considered adequate protection against the atomic bomb, save for a direct hit. That notion has had to be discarded since then, however, for the hydrogen superweapons have changed a lot of ideas about bomb-blast protection. In fact, the Government has even abandoned earlier blueprints for whisking the documents out of town on an evacuation helicopter; there just wouldn't be warning-time enough.

Still, the vault is topnotch protection against virtually any other kind of disaster, and it can be pressed into action in a matter of seconds. It has its own emergency power unit, should the main electrical source fail.

Except for routine tests every 6 months to make sure the bronze-and-glass enclosure hasn't developed helium leaks, the Constitution remains untouched in its mechanical repository. And more and more Americans come to visit it each year.

This year already has set a record even though it has 3½ months to go. Between January 1 and the end of August, visitors numbered over 1.1 million. That's more than the total for all of 1961, when just over 771,000 showed up.

April is the peak month when the flood-crest of visiting school classes seems to hit. But June is a close second. The fall and winter months are relatively slack, yet even at the height of last winter's worst weather, February brought a total of 25,000 viewers.

## Drug-Test Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in the current concern over the testing of new drugs we must be careful that we are not swept away in our enthusiasm to protect the public to the extent that we seriously damage or inhibit the development of new drugs which can be of great benefit to us all. I believe this is very well expressed in an article in the New York Times of Sunday, September 16, by Dr. Howard A. Rusk. Dr. Rusk is one of this Nation's most highly respected physicians. He is medical editor of the New York Times and chairman of the Department of Rehabilitation and Physical Medicine at New York University.

The article follows:

DRUG-TEST REGULATIONS—U.S. PROPOSALS INNOCUOUS ON SURFACE, BUT LOWERING OF STANDARDS IS FEARED

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

Forty years ago the late Mrs. Evelyn Walsh McLean was entertaining at her Washington home. One of the guests, whose husband was a prominent jurist, excused herself during the dinner.

When Mrs. McLean followed the guest out to ascertain the difficulty, the lady broke down and wept. "My teenage daughter is a juvenile diabetic," she said. "She is in a coma, may die and there is nothing that can be done."

Mrs. McLean immediately telephoned a physician friend on the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University in nearby Baltimore. When asked if there was anything new that might help this girl, he told Mrs. McLean he had heard that scientists in Toronto had developed a new compound that controlled diabetes.

The girl was rushed to Toronto by private railroad car. She received the new compound and is alive today.

The compound, of course, was insulin. It had just been discovered by Drs. Frederick G. Banting and Charles H. Best.

NEW REGULATIONS PROPOSED

New regulations on the clinical testing of new drugs have recently been proposed by Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Among other things, these regulations would require written approval of the Food and Drug Administration to give an experimental drug to a patient, who might die without it.

Under the new regulations, drug companies and individual clinical investigators would be required to file complete plans of their studies with the Federal Government.

This would include "Outline of the plan of investigation, including approximation of the number of patients to be treated with the drug and number to be employed as controls, if any; clinical uses to be investigated; characteristics of patients by age, sex, and condition; the kind of clinical observations and laboratory tests to be undertaken prior to, during, and after administration of drug; the estimated duration of the investigation; and a description or copies of report forms to be used to maintain a complete record of the observations and the test results obtained."

On the surface this requirement appears innocuous. But how does an investigator know 6 months in advance the exact age and condition of his caseload of patients for whom the drug might be indicated?

How can he know the exact clinical uses he may wish to investigate? A patient may show up with an unusual disease for which in his judgment the drug might be of value.

BARS PROFESSIONAL JUDGMENT

To use the drug in such a case would require both the investigator and the sponsor to file a long brief with the Food and Drug Administration asking for permission. By the time it was received, the patient's condition might have changed considerably.

The opportunity to vary clinical investigation to take advantage of unanticipated findings would be lost.

Under these proposals scientific study would be limited to confirming or denying a hypothesis and this could be done only when the Federal Government approved of the hypothesis.

In essence, they would eliminate the use of professional judgment which is the basis for true investigations.

The new regulations would also require that investigators maintain all records and case histories for 2 years after the study and that "any officer or employee" of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare could inspect and copy such records at any time.

In 1958 the ethical drug industry tested 114,600 substances, of which about 40 became marketable. In the United States new compounds are first given the most rigid series of tests in animals of any place in the world.

This testing reduces the number of compounds that show promise of efficacy and safety down to around 2,000 to 3,000 a year upon which clinical tests in humans are held.

About 25,000 clinical investigators are involved in these tests. It is difficult even to visualize the tons of reports from these 25,000 investigators that would come into Washington under these proposed regulations.

MIGHT LOWER STANDARDS

Unfortunately there is no reason to believe that the proposed new regulations would actually improve the already high standards imposed by the drug industry on clinical testing. In fact, they might accomplish the reverse.

Our objective in clinical testing should be to encourage more testing and larger scale trials. The nature of the proposed regulations, the impingement on confidentiality of patient records, and the legal risks to which investigators would be subject should tend to reduce the number of physicians interested in doing this type of research.

During the last month, this writer has talked with scores of leaders in the drug industry and the scientific community.

All agree that everything possible should be done to strengthen the clinical testing procedures of new drugs. All also agree that the proposed new regulations would not accomplish this objective.

There is also resentment of the precipitant in which the proposals were issued.

Usually in matters of this kind, the Federal agency involved meets informally over a period of months with the parties affected for an exchange of views.

This was not done. Even from the language of the proposals it is apparent they were hurriedly drawn.

They were then issued on August 9 and interested persons were given 60 days in which to express their opinions.

EXTENSION CALLED FOR

It is to be hoped that Secretary Celebrezze will extend this time period so that the Nation's scientific community will have an opportunity to evaluate these proposals carefully and make its views known.

There is no doubt that the new regulations have stemmed directly from the thalidomide incident. The thalidomide incident, however, illustrates rather well that our present regulations are effective.

There was sufficient toxicity data available from animal experiments to justify its clinical use with humans. The Food and Drug Administration did keep it off the market.

Had the new proposals been in effect, the thalidomide incident would have been the same except in one respect. The Food and Drug Administration as well as the producer of the drug would have had a record of the clinical investigators who had the drug in their possession.

Dr. Louis C. Lasanga of the Johns Hopkins University, has commented, "One final paradox: on the basis of the best available information, Marilyn Monroe would be alive today if she had been given thalidomide instead of barbiturates for sedation. This fact is one which illustrates difficulties in dealing glibly with the advantages and disadvantages of useful drugs."

## Profitless Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the financial writers, and others, in the country are discussing corporate profits these days. They write of a "profitless prosperity." One businessman, head of one of our largest corporations, has come to believe that the general public feels that somehow profits are not a good thing. This gentleman, Mr. Charles Mortimer, chairman of the board of General Foods, recently spoke to his shareholders about this at the company's annual meeting. With the thought that his remarks may be of wider interest, I ask unanimous permission to have his remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

What I want to talk to you about today transcends the interest we share as stockholders of General Foods in our own company's well-being. It is the stake we all have—186 million Americans—in bringing about a prompt turnabout in the widespread fallacious notion which persists that while our American profit system is good, the profits which make it possible are, somehow, bad if they exceed a bare minimum.

My remarks are dictated by my considered conviction that this misunderstanding and the consequent stigmatization of adequate profits constitute a grave and growing threat to the entire economic structure of our country and, therefore, to our very survival as a nation. This concern is by no means unshared. My point is that it needs to be shared much more widely and with more conviction by the American public.

I have purposefully chosen this forum because, quite frankly, it is my earnest hope that it may be possible to avoid the usual discounting as just self-pleading which all too often attends any businessman's undertaking to champion the cause of business profits. Perhaps there won't be the customary discount for bias when I speak of the role of profits in the American economy right after you have heard General Foods' report on our increase in net earnings for the 10th successive year. It should be clear that I am not indulging in a lament about our own company's profit situation.

Rather, I want to delineate the indispensable function of profits—and I use function in the most active sense of the word—in helping our national economy retain its outstanding and traditional characteristic of consistently being a rising economy. There can be no standing still—for nations any more than for individuals or businesses. Our national economy must move ahead or it will fall behind.

What is the status of our economic momentum? Are we going forward fast enough to meet our needs—future as well as present? Is our progress assuring that we will be able to fulfill the growing demands of our burgeoning population?

The answers to these questions are negative—so completely negative that among leaders in Government, business, and labor as well as outstanding economists and educators there is no difference of opinion as to whether we need to speed up our rate of economic growth.

This one area of agreement holds our brightest hope. It could become a rallying point for letting the world know that we are also agreed on raising our economic level in the only way possible—by strengthening our time-tested, private enterprise, free-choice system—called for short the profit system, because profit is at its core.

Instead, the picture we present to the world is a sorry one, marked by name calling, finger-pointing, and blame-fixing which serve only to entrench further some of the antagonisms and the bitterness we have inherited from bygone generations.

We need to dispel the most harmful of all the myths that have been handed down from the past—the myth which holds that conflict must exist between economic groups under capitalism. This belief is founded on another century's concept of capitalism. It utterly ignores the simple fact that what we have in the United States today is what has been aptly called a people's capitalism. Ours is a system in which the savings of millions of men and women in all walks of life provide the capital for investment in the various industries and businesses of America.

Like it or not, our profit system is on trial before the world today. To prove it is successful, we must shake our economy out of its current sluggishness. This will be a do-it-yourself job, and it begins with understanding.

We can do it if each of us will see clearly that he plays more than one role in our economy. I invite every American, regardless of his economic status, to look into what I visualize as a three-way mirror of good citizenship in which our overall well-being is reflected.

First of all, everyone sees himself as a consumer. That's obvious from a straight-ahead look in the citizenship mirror. Then, by looking simultaneously in one of the mirror's side panels, some 70 million of us who are employed can see ourselves not only as consumers but also as producers or earners. Of these, some 17½ million are members of labor unions.

In the mirror's other side panel, about 120 million of us are reflected. These are all the investors, thanks to the savings made possible by our American abundance which yields discretionary income—money above and beyond what we need just to live. More than a hundred million are indirect shareowners through a variety of financial institutions such as mutual savings banks, insurance companies, pension funds, and so on. Sixteen and a half million adults—very close to the number belonging to unions—are stockholders in American corporations.

Those of us who limit their visions to any one of the three panels of the citizenship mirror see only a pocketbook issue. And this accounts for the great apathy toward the infinitely more important overall issues—the national interest issues having to do with our very economic survival.

The consumer is primarily interested in prices. He lives by them. To the worker, wages are all important. He lives on them. The investor looks to profits. He lives because of them. Business must live with, on, and by all three—prices, wages, and profits.

Despite the fact that profits are generally regarded as merely something left over after consumption has been taken care of by production, that's not the way our economy works. Profits are vital to investment, and we must invest before we can produce and we must produce before we can consume.

Our economy moves forward only when both the investors' money and the workers' labor are combined efficiently to produce profitably what the consumer wants. This combination must provide: Prices that represent value to the consumer; the wherewithal for good wages for the worker; an adequate reward for the investor for risking his funds;

and, of great importance, the capital so necessary for business expansion.

I need not labor how dependent we are on sufficient profits for the continued health and vigor and economic growth of our Nation. Anyone who gives the matter even passing thought is bound to realize that a squeeze on profits necessarily results in a squeeze not only on investors but also on business investment in plant modernization and expansion which alone will provide more jobs in the future.

Commentators and columnists, educators and economists, are writing about the profit squeeze daily. Many have made the point that the present soft economy is not due to the lack of purchasing power but to the squeeze on profits, with the resultant erosion of confidence in businessmen's minds.

As one example, in a signed article in the Journal of Commerce, Henry C. Wallich, professor of economics at Yale University, made these observations: "The mounting conviction that more profits are needed derives from growing concern over the slow growth of the economy. Faster growth depends upon more investment in plant and equipment. Larger plant and equipment purchases require larger profits."

It is my premise today that every person in the United States old enough to be concerned about his own future and the future of the country must comprehend one simple concept. It is that to provide the greater number of jobs our country needs, profit margins must be substantial enough to encourage industry to increase investment. If this concept becomes understood and accepted, public opinion—which is the final arbiter of all great issues in this country—will soon see to it that the profit anemia, from which our body corporate is suffering is corrected.

During my lifetime I have seen some amazing and dramatic examples of what public opinion can accomplish, once it is correctly informed. During the war, as most of you will remember, there was a period when too many of our transports were being sunk by German submarines, accurately located as a result of loose talk in public places. A War Advertising Council-sponsored campaign asking that we "button our lip" soon eliminated much of this unnecessary tragic loss because it got through to the public that "loose talk costs lives."

In another instance—this one in peacetime—we are witnessing what the better schools campaign of the Advertising Council is doing to arouse interest and dispel apathy on the part of the public in getting a sufficient number of adequately trained teachers for our increasing student population.

The public can easily accept and act upon such understandable concepts as that loose talk can cost lives or that schools cannot be properly conducted—much less expanded—without a sufficient number of good teachers. Can the public understand that if profits are squeezed between lids on prices and constantly rising costs, our economic machine will slow down to the point where it will cease producing more and more jobs and actually, in time, even come close to stagnation?

The simple truth, as we all know, is that profits—and only profits—provide the incentive for investors to continue investing and that undistributed earnings must be available for ploughing back in the interests of keeping business modern and growing.

Unfortunately, John Q. Public is far more concerned about holding prices down and getting more wages for himself. He is not at all concerned about the level of corporate profits because he is looking into only one panel of the citizenship mirror. He does not understand that the favorable level of price he pays for a wanted item has frequently been made possible by the efficiency of the machines which made it. Nor does he grasp that it is only a sufficient profit which has made it possible to buy modern machines to replace obsolete ones.

He is as unconcerned about all this as his counterpart in World War II days was when he bragged to his next door neighbor, when he stopped for a glass of beer on the way home, that his son was sailing on a troopship leaving Hoboken the following midnight.

Loose thinking about America's economy—especially with respect to the profit picture as it has deteriorated in the last 10 years—is as dangerous to our Nation's well-being as loose talk was during World War II. Just a few figures demonstrate the need for balancing the profits factor more sensibly with the rest of our economy.

In the 1951–61 decade, our gross national product grew more than 58 percent. Employee compensation rose 68 percent. But the increase in corporate profits was only 8 percent. Retained earnings—that portion of corporate profits available for ploughing back into the business—actually were lower by nearly 18 percent in 1961 than it was in 1951.

It is obvious that profits are heading in the wrong direction if our economy is to be able to finance growth at a rate commensurate with the demands of our times.

All thinking Americans today are concerned about the future of the economy, with the accent on immediate future. I am one of those who fear that without prompt, sound actions which would avert it, there will be increasing erosion of confidence. This will take two forms:

Businessmen tend in times of uncertainty to become more cautious and conservative in their investment and spending policies. Loss of confidence on the part of the public takes the form of postponement of purchases. I have said before, and I strongly believe, recessions and depressions in this country start and end in the minds of men. Confidence is a delicate thing—an illusive, mercurial state of mind—and a severe flight of confidence usually ushers in a recession.

Many able people in government, in business, in labor and in our academic community are today pondering and discussing the lack of momentum now so apparent in our economy, trying to determine what should be done about it. In my opinion, what we do now, as always, should be the result of a sound, bifocal approach to the problem. There is a closeup immediacy, to be sure, but the long-range view is by far the most important.

For a short- and long-pull revival of the desired rate of economic growth, attended by growth in jobs and a better state of economic health, we need, of course, the currently promised fundamental revision of our tax laws. Such a revision will stimulate consumer confidence and spending on the one hand, and business confidence and investment for both the short and the long term. But this alone won't do the job. Combined with tax reforms, we must also have an administration-sponsored drive to reduce Government spending in a sincere effort to cut costs.

In addition, and I think of transcendent importance, it is essential to accomplish a turnabout through understanding in the American public's attitude toward the essential function of profits in a growing economy.

Only through such an understanding can we bring about a lasting change in political policies, thus enabling us to end the profit anemia which has sapped our corporate vigor. A changed public attitude on this score will provide a turning point from which we can resume the lusty economic growth of which this Nation is entirely capable—beginning right now.

I would like to close with an analogy from our own food industry. We all know that the food the human body requires must contain a balance of certain basic nutrients if good health is to be maintained. When we fail to get enough of any important one, the result is ill health.

The economic body cannot survive without a balance of nutrients any more than the human body can. Profits are the protein of our national economy. Profits revitalize our economic body and insure its future growth.

We must bring about public understanding that a healthy, growing economy requires a balanced diet of competitive prices, good wages, fair profits, and sound investment.

To get our economy rolling, all we have to do is free profits from the isolation ward of American economic thinking.

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## Drug Testing and Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks for the benefit of all colleagues in this day of adverse publicity to our drug industry and the possibility of prejudging in the other body's hearings without all facts available, I extend herewith a statement on "Drug Testing and Safety" prepared in a special issue of the Abbott News Digest, which clearly shows the other side of the coin.

The statement follows:

DRUG TESTING AND SAFETY

A new medical story, this time a tragic one, has raised questions in the public mind about the safety and testing of modern drugs.

Widely publicized have been cruel deformities in newborn infants, some of them claimed to be traceable to the drug thalidomide during its wide usage in Europe. With such spectacular coverage, the pharmaceutical industry finds itself in a position similar to that of a few years ago, when ill-founded charges in Senate subcommittee hearings blazed in headlines across the country.

At that time, the question of drug prices attracted the most attention. Today it is drug safety. For this reason, we believe all employees should have an accurate picture of the thalidomide incident and its possible implications.

DEVELOPED IN GERMANY

Thalidomide was first discovered and tested in West Germany. While animals did not respond to it, the molecular structure pointed to possible sedative properties. So it was tried in epileptics, where its sleep-producing activity became apparent. Marketed as Contergan, it became by 1960 the most popular sedative in West Germany, sold without prescription, and so seemingly safe that even would-be suicides could not take enough of it to be harmed. Thalidomide was combined with other products. It was also sold in a number of other countries, including England, Canada, and Australia.

The Wm. S. Merrell Co. in Cincinnati obtained a license from the German producer, Chemie Grunenthal G.m.b.H., and began clinical testing in January 1959. A new drug application (a request to the Federal Food and Drug Administration for permission to sell the drug in the United States) was submitted in September 1960, at a time

when years of usage abroad and testing in this country showed no indication whatsoever of harmful side effects.

In fact, Dr. Helen Taussig, Johns Hopkins University authority on birth deformities, wrote on "The Thalidomide Syndrome" in the August 1962 issue of Scientific American, in which she stated that when the Merrell Co. initiated its new drug application, the tragic developments in Germany "could not have been anticipated * * * it was an excellent sedative and appeared to be safe."

SIDE EFFECTS REPORTED

The first side effects reported were those of polyneuritis (mainly tingling of the fingers), usually after long-term use. For this reason, thalidomide was put on prescription in Germany in April 1961. However, widespread and successful usage continued.

Meanwhile, Dr. Frances Kelsey of the Food and Drug Administration, concerned about the failure of animals to respond to it and noting the polyneuritis, delayed allowing the new drug application to become effective and asked for more data.

In the summer of 1961 an increase in deformed births in West Germany began alarming physicians and led to investigations. By mid-November, thalidomide was implicated. The Merrell Co. first learned of this from Europe late on November 29. Within hours, the company had notified the Food and Drug Administration and began warning physician investigators not only to avoid giving the drug to pregnant women but also not to give it to women of childbearing age.

MANY FACTORS IN BIRTH DEFORMITIES

To a large degree, the evidence on the relationship of thalidomide to birth deformities is circumstantial. Because the treatment of nausea of pregnancy (usually a problem during early pregnancy) had not been a recommended use for thalidomide on clinical trial in this country, and because thalidomide apparently can cause deformities in the fetus only if the mother takes the drug between the third and sixth week of pregnancy, the danger of repeating even a small part of the European tragedy now seems extremely remote.

Still to be checked are other factors. One is the degree of inbreeding among affected families, always a consideration in some European communities. Another is measles, which can cause birth deformities, and possibly other virus infections. Significantly, the drug was not taken at all by approximately 50 percent of the mothers of the deformed European babies. The causes of malformed births go far deeper than one drug, or any series of drugs. Understandably, research is now being intensified in this area.

Much remains to be learned about thalidomide and its mode of action—which conceivably could still be excellent for some classes of people, especially the aged. Mice and rats have failed so far to produce congenital malformations, even at high dosage levels. Some American and European scientists have reported ill effects by giving massive doses to rabbits, but the significance of these findings is not yet understood.

MERRELL STOPS TESTING

As evidence continued to point to thalidomide, the Merrell Co. stopped clinical testing in March of this year. The company began to recall and destroy test quantities, using letters, telephone calls and its sales representatives, along with follow-up telegrams and registered letters. Drug stocks of deceased physicians were checked.

Merrell collaborated fully with the Food and Drug Administration and with local and State health officials. Mr. George Larrick, Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, testified that the company had acted promptly and correctly. Clearly, it displayed responsibility at every point in keeping with the high standards of the prescription drug industry.

PRESENT CONTROLS ARE EFFECTIVE

In some quarters, hastily drawn conclusions from the thalidomide incident point to an aftermath that could be damaging not only to the pharmaceutical industry but to medical progress and the public at large.

For example, politically inspired remarks can delude the public into thinking present law is weak and inadequate. Rather than weakness, the thalidomide story disclosed the power of the Food and Drug Administration to keep a drug off the market indefinitely, even on scanty evidence. It showed how Government and industry team together at the first danger signal. Thus the stringency of existing law, not its weakness, made it possible to withhold thalidomide from public use.

SAFETY RECORD IS GOOD

The quality of the testing process for all drugs, in cooperation with the Food and Drug Administration, has brought about an industry safety record that must rank as very good, especially when viewed against the potency of modern medicinals. In the last 4 years, only 15 of 784 products have been withdrawn from the market because questions of safety arose. In most of these cases, action was taken by the involved company after independently finding side effects and reporting them to the Food and Drug Administration. One of the products that was withdrawn had been marketed only after clinical trials in 6,000 cases and was found to produce a serious side effect in approximately one of 35,000 patients.

It has been estimated that a thorough safety study in animals for just one drug may cost as much as $100,000. An average new product takes 5 years of preparation. And pharmaceutical companies average about one new product for every $5 million they invest in research. Obviously, no company can afford to risk its reputation—and its integrity—with unsafe products in the medical marketplace.

Within the limitations imposed by the present boundaries of scientific knowledge, drugs are as safe as human skill and dedication can make them. The record of the United States in medical progress and the effectiveness and safety of drugs is unsurpassed.

INDUSTRY ESTABLISHES SAFETY COMMISSION

But science has no boundaries. Referring to thalidomide, Dr. Austin Smith, President of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, said, "The phenomenon of a drug which may cause widespread malformation of infants has not previously been reported in the history of medicine." We are limited by knowledge, not law.

Thus the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association moved swiftly in the wake of the thalidomide disclosures to set up a new Commission on Drug Safety. Its goal—to broaden knowledge for research and testing of potent drugs likely to emerge in the future. Chairman is Dr. Lowell T. Coggeshall, distinguished scientist and administrator. Abbott is especially proud of the appointment, since Dr. Coggeshall serves on our board of directors. Other top scientists from industry, medicine and the Government will serve on the new body.

Dr. Coggeshall has pointed out that the objective will be to provide "maximum assurance to the public of the safety of new drugs, without imposing unnecessary delay in bringing the dramatic fruits of this research to the public."

SAFETY RESEARCH NOT NEW

Of course, intensive research into the side effects and safety of drugs is not new to science, industry, or the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association. Within our industry's trade association, a specially selected group of top scientists in toxicology (including Abbott's Dr. Robert J. Stein) has long studied the problem. This year, for example, 33 members of the drug evaluation committee are working in teams to prepare papers on 11 topics—all assigned prior to the publicity explosion on thalidomide.

As another example, our own pathology department routinely checks for changes in animal tissue after drugs are given, not only at the cellular but at the subcellular level.

Other independent groups, on which industry scientists serve, have long worked in this vital field.

VITAL TO UNDERSTAND RISKS

It is the responsibility of the industry, then, to help the public understand the thalidomide tragedy so that "panic buttons" will not be pushed for extreme legislation.

It must be realized that just as new and improved aircraft could not come into use without test pilots, so new and improved drugs could not appear without trials in human beings. No matter how extensive prior animal testing—and these techniques are quite effective—the proof of value rests in results with human patients, often over a period of years. Complete absence of toxicity in animals cannot guarantee complete safety in human tests. These involve risks, even though every effort is made to reduce them to a minimum. They may always involve risk. It is the acceptance of risk that makes progress possible.

REGULATION COULD IMPEDE PROGRESS

We do not believe the public would be willing to go along with legislation that could unduly slow down or curtail clinical testing of drugs. Such a step, if it would entangle clinical research in a web of regulation, could keep useful drugs from the market for years. In effect, regulatory excess could shift to Government agencies those responsibilities that belong to physicians devoting their lives to the advancement of medicine. As we stated in a recent advertisement, "Evaluation of drugs by the medical profession is difficult enough without being rendered more complex by Government agencies bound to enforce unrealistic regulations."

Thus we hope that our Federal officials will await the findings of the Commission on Drug Safety and other responsible bodies like the American Medical Association before recommending changes in American drug research and testing programs.

Unneeded and stifling regulation, then, is the danger raised by the thalidomide incident, which must be used as a guide to new knowledge, not as a barrier to continued medical progress.

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## Kenosha: Booming Port on America's Fourth Seacoast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, progress in America reflects the dedication of men—imbued with good ideas and willingness to work hard to achieve ever-brighter goals for the future.

To illustrate: Kenosha, Wis., in the recent past, was only a haven for small pleasure vessels and fishing boats. Now, it has become a full-fledged national harbor.

How was this accomplished? By far-sighted leadership and a great spirit of

enterprise, reflected by citizens of the community. As a result, Kenosha is now a significant and growing port on the Great Lakes.

Fortunately, the St. Lawrence Seaway, for which I was privileged to sponsor legislation, also came along to open new opportunities and speed progress.

Currently, legislation is pending before Congress for further improvement of Kenosha and other harbors. This, I believe, should receive speedy approval.

In times of economic problems, which persist plaguingly, we need adequate priority for forward-moving programs that create jobs, business, and industrial activity, and general economic progress.

Recently the Kenosha News, one of our outstanding Wisconsin newspapers, published a series of articles on the fast growth and development of Kenosha Harbor.

Reflecting the way in which the spirit of enterprise and hard work have helped to promote progress in this splendid community, I ask unanimous consent to have two of these articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kenosha (Wis.) News, Sept. 10, 1962]

KENOSHA'S HARBOR BIG BUSINESS NOW

(By Mary-Anne Smoler Thompson)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The City of Kenosha's Harbor can boast an amazing progress, but it is a story few Kenoshans understand fully. It is the tale of how a natural harbor, once only the haven for some pleasure vessels and a handful of fishing boats, became a full-fledged port, handling cargo on its way to and from world ports. This is the first of three articles about the city's million-dollar harbor.)

There was a day when a large ship in the Kenosha Harbor was an oddity.

But that day is past. Now a large ship docked at the port of Kenosha no longer means a treat for Kenoshans. It means business, and big business at that, for the city.

Every year more and more ships find their way into the harbor's 220-foot-wide entrance channel and to load or unload an ever-increasing amount of cargo. Last year alone, 76 foreign ships visited the port of Kenosha, importing and exporting a total of just under 50,000 tons of cargo.

By the end of August this year, 68 ships had used the harbor, as compared with 38 by the end of the same month in 1961, a record-breaking year. Tonnage, too, will be far above its 1961 total by the time the harbor ends its shipping season provided the North Western Railway strike is settled.

To handle this amount of traffic, the Port of Kenosha is business on a grand scale. It is, in fact, so large that few Kenoshans realize its tremendous impact.

When a ship docks, there must be longshoremen on hand. In addition, there must be rail cars close to transport cargo to and from the docks. The men aboard ship, too, have needs which can be supplied only by ports.

What this adds up to is hundreds of thousands of dollars which find their way into the city.

In 1961, Kenosha's total income resulting from harbor operations was just under $350,000. Dock payrolls, taxes, and estimated retail sales to ship crews all went into this figure. If and when the railway strike is settled, indications point to an even larger total this year.

In addition to the cash dividend the harbor has been paying, it has made the city a livelier railroad center. In 1961 a total of 1,189 railroad cars were used for the harbor as compared with 520 cars the previous year.

Today's harbor, which has brought this business to this relatively small city, is an example of what can be made of a natural advantage by farsighted city leaders. It is something Kenoshans can point to with pride.

Nature did its part by providing a fine natural harbor with a turning basin 600 feet in diameter. Along this harbor the city has helped to develop three loading and storage docks, the north dock, on which the Kenosha Yacht Club is located, the Haas dock on the west side of the harbor channel from the turning basin north toward the 50th Street Bridge, and the south dock.

All three docks are run by the Endee Co., stevedore contractor and warehouse operator. Endee leases the Haas and north docks from the city on 10- and 25-year leases, handing over yearly rent payments to the city as well as a percentage of whatever the firm earns in cargo handling activities.

Endee and city officials made trips to Washington and abroad telling shippers about the advantages of the port and urging them to make use of it.

The advertising has been successful and there remain few shippers in Europe who have not heard of this small city.

W. Casey Schmitz, chairman of the Board of Harbor Commissioners, has stated that one port was needed between Chicago and Milwaukee and that Kenosha is it.

But he never neglects to point out that we are no tiny port taking the few loads of cargo the larger harbors can't handle. Kenosha competes, very often successfully, with these larger ports so that many shippers specify they wish their cargo handled through Kenosha.

Vehicles, flour, corn meal, lard tallow, grease, steel, liquors, electronic devices, military equipment and countless other items are loaded on the Kenosha docks when they might have been loaded at Milwaukee or Chicago.

The reason for local success is simple economics—often the operation can be handled most rapidly and cheaply in Kenosha. A foreign-flag vessel, Schmitz explained, cost $1,500 a day to operate. If it docks at Lake Calumet in Chicago, it must waste time—4 to 12 hours traveling the 7 miles down the Calumet River from Lake Michigan and must pay a tug charge of $2,400.

There is no tug charge in Kenosha's harbor since tugs are seldom needed. In addition, ships have been able to tie up and start unloading within 11 minutes after passing the breakwater at the mouth of the harbor.

Experience has shown shippers that the more than 100 local longshoremen can handle the loading operation more rapidly than Chicago workers, matching times recorded by far more experienced longshoreman in ocean ports.

Economically, Kenosha's popularity with shippers seems secure for the present. Still, the board of harbor commissioners is working on plans for the future so that the harbor can not only maintain but enhance its position.

Moving of the Kenosha Yacht Club from the north dock, further dredging of the harbor, now 21 feet deep, and arranging for more railroad yard space near the harbor and rail service to the north dock are all considerations now being studied.

Once gained, the city is doing all it can to see that this great economic advantage will never be lost.

[From the Kenosha (Wis.) News, Sept. 11, 1962]

ONCE SCOFFED AT DREAMS OF PORT

(By Mary-Anne Smoler Thompson)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The port of Kenosha, now a booming business dumping profits into the city yearly, was not always a harbor used, or even noticed by major shippers. At one time, it was considered little more than an unsightly spot too near the downtown area. This is the second in a series of three stories explaining the development and growth of the harbor, one of Kenosha's greatest assets.)

Harbor? What harbor?

Why spend good taxpayers' money to improve harbor facilities and to buy up shoreline property when no ships even use the harbor?

These were questions asked by Kenosha citizens as late as 1957, when the city was considering a purchase of the Haas Coal Co., dock property on the west side of the channel from the turning basin, north toward the 50th Street Bridge.

And the citizens had a point. Looking backward, they could see a long history of declining use of the harbor until it was virtually worthless to the city.

At the end of the 19th century, back in the days of the Allen Tannery, Kenosha's natural harbor was busy. Small ships buzzed in and out, carrying coal and other supplies for the city.

Of course there was no St. Lawrence Seaway open then, so all of the shipping was lake traffic, carrying cargo from one Great Lakes port to another. And with the advent of railroad and motor shipping, this limited lake traffic gave way to the newer, cheaper ways of transporting goods. Soon only a few items, including coal, could profitably be shipped on the lakes, and even this shipping was declining.

In 1954, lake traffic in Kenosha reached an all-time low. Tonnage amounted to the negligible total of 19,157 tons, so low that the Federal Government removed the port from its formal listing of tonnages for Great Lakes Ports and placed it in another special listing of "project harbors having tonnage totals of less than 25,000 tons."

Understandably, a future port of Kenosha handling cargo from all over the world and dumping hundreds of thousands of dollars into the city through payrolls, taxes, and sales looked like the impossible vision of a dreamer. Even the fact that Kenosha could ever again be considered a commercial harbor seemed farfetched.

And the concept of doing business in our harbor was almost—but not quite—lost in these years of shipping lull, with recreational boaters enjoing the harbor and beginning to consider it exclusively theirs, hoping and expecting no longer to be bothered by cargo ships getting in their way.

Luckily, however, the city was not without foresight. There were those who could see how greatly our natural advantage—an almose perfectly shaped natural harbor—could pay off for the city of Kenosha.

These citizens, some of them officials in the city government, some Kenosha's representatives to the State government, some on the harbor commission, some associated with local industry, others just interested citizens, knew what the harbor record showed. But they insisted that the city look forward, not backward.

They realized Kenosha had to take a chance. The problem of making Kenosha's shoreline a commercial harbor looked as hard to solve as the problem of which came first, the chicken or the egg. And the two problems were similar.

To get shippers to use the harbor depended upon deepening and improving the harbor. This work depended upon the availability of a great deal of money—usually

Federal money. But the availability of Federal money depended on proof that the local harbor had enough shipping to justify the expenditure. Of course it did not—that was the problem.

It appeared in 1954–55 that the only way to improve the harbor was to take steps on a local level and to spend city money on the projects.

The objections of taxpayers who asked "What harbor?" were well founded at this point, considering the low level of shipping here and the lack of any concrete indications of what was to become a booming Great Lakes trade with the opening of the improved St. Lawrence Seaway.

Still, those who believed in the possibilities of the harbor managed to have their way, and the city invested more than $250,000 in harbor development between 1955 and 1959—taking the chance that the port would still never be used.

## Good Faith of U.N. Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the Evening Star of Washington, D.C., on Friday, September 14 published the following column by William S. White.

This, of course, was just after the House of Representatives, with a whoop and a holler, had passed the $100 million bond issue. I have never heard that Mr. White was, or is, an isolationist, that he is anti-Kennedy, or that he does not love the underdeveloped portions of our universe. If he did any of these things or believed any of them, he would, of course, be unworthy of notice.

It is therefore interesting and perhaps instructive to read what he has to say about the United Nations and to find that, according to the caption, he may even believe that its good faith can be challenged.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 14, 1962]

GOOD FAITH OF U.N. CHALLENGED—LATEST KATANGA INCIDENT PROMPTS IDEA THAT SOMEONE DOESN'T WANT PEACE

(By William S. White)

It rather looks that somebody up there in the United Nations doesn't like the prospect of any real settlement of the difficulties in the Congo.

On September 3, President Moise Tshombe of separatist, anti-Communist, Katanga agreed in principle, under heavy pressure, to a U.N. scheme for placing the province under the general authority of the Central Congo Government.

He agreed, even though the U.N. put the thing to him with rare arrogance, throwing down an ultimatum with the public warning that it was to be neither debatable nor negotiable. Putting aside all questions of ordinary manners and tact, this was an extraordinary way to appeal for unity in the Congo. After all, the very right of the U.N. to intervene at all in the internal affairs of this or any other country is open to honest dispute.

But to repeat, Mr. Tshombe went along, largely through the good offices of the Belgians. Though long since driven from the Congo themselves as evil "colonialists," they have patiently tried to help pick up the pieces there. The United States also was of great assistance in the proposed compromise, our people having meantime dropped some of their excessively harsh early attitude toward anything connected with Mr. Tshombe.

But once Katanga had promised to go along, new provocations followed. The U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant of Burma, needlessly slapped Mr. Tshombe again by allowing some of the troops of his opposition in the controversy, the Central Congo Government, to become part of the U.N. force in Katanga.

The Central Congo Government, meanwhile, had done its bit by provoking some of the Western Allied governments. With loud huzzahs, it donated a base on Congo soil to train Angolan rebels who intend to take the colony of Angola from Portugal by arms. This, of course, was a great contribution—in reverse—by those who say and say again they want to end bitterness and disunion in Africa.

Some would think, quite simply, that it was a preparation for aggression. But the U.N., these days, can rarely find anybody guilty of aggression unless he is a Westerner. When the good "excolonial peoples" mount an aggression it is only self-defense, or simple justice, or something. Anyhow, since the Central Congo Government is a creature of the U.N., it is perfectly obvious that the U.N. could have stopped this pointless provocation of Portugal, had it wanted to do so.

And now, to cap it all, there has been another armed clash in Katanga between U.N. troops—troops supplied by Premier Nehru's India, which has gone unrebuked for its little aggression in Goa—and the Katangans. Mr. Tshombe says the U.N. first opened fire. The U.N. says Mr. Tshombe's troops did. It is possible that in this area of tough power politics and maneuvering the U.N. may be right as to the details this time—through its past record for candor is not impressive.

But the U.N., which claims itself to be terribly responsible and Mr. Tshombe to be terribly irresponsible, had the plain duty to avoid this incident in the first place, particularly in the present circumstances. Surely, avoiding it could not have been too desperately difficult if, as the U.N. itself claims, there were no casualties whatever. If the Katangans really did open fire first, how did they manage to hit nobody at all? And what of the bodies of Katangans which Mr. Tshombe displays in a mortuary?

In any case, who fired first is not the real point. The real point is that Mr. Tshombe now can and does challenge the good faith of the U.N.

Again, does somebody up there in the U.N. really like the idea of a peaceful settlement? Or is somebody up there in the U.N. more interested in making more bitter incidents rather than in settlements?

## Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, 230 years ago Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was born in Germany. It is fitting that we today honor his birth because of the great contribution he made to our cause during the Revolutionary War.

General von Steuben arrived in the United States at Portsmouth, N.H., on December 1, 1777, with letters from Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Beaumarchais. He offered his services to the Continental Congress, waiving all claim to rank or pay and asked only that his expenses should be paid while acting as a vounteer with the Army. The "Dictionary of American Biography," volume 17, states as follows:

He proposed that if his services should contribute to the eventual success of the American cause, he would then expect compensation for his sacrifices in leaving Europe and such reward as Congress might be pleased to grant him, but that if the cause should fail, or if his services should not prove beneficial, he would make no claim whatever. This proposal to stake his fortunes upon the success of the cause made a deep impression upon the Congress. His services were accepted and he was directed to report to Washington at Valley Forge where he arrived on February 23.

The dictionary continues:

Washington was so favorably impressed by his practical knowledge and experience that he prevailed upon him to serve as acting inspector general and to undertake the training of the Army * * *. He formed a model company of 100 selected men and undertook its drill in person. The rapid progress of this company under his skilled instruction made an immediate appeal to the imagination of the whole Army. Drill became the fashion and within a few weeks the new gospel, imparted day by day to the model company, had spread throughout the Army. This is perhaps the most remarkable achievement in rapid military training in the history of the world. The baron's success was so speedy that on April 30 Washington recommended his appointment as inspector general with the rank of major general. On May 5 the appointment was confirmed by the Continental Congress.

The contribution that General von Steuben made to the cause of our independence is well documented. He was a valued adviser and friend of Gen. George Washington.

Today is General von Steuben's birthday—on Saturday, September 29, 1962, he will be honored at the fifth annual Steuben Day parade in New York City. It is my pleasure to invite my colleagues and all citizens to join with us in New York in paying tribute to this great American of German descent, because he did become a citizen of our country by act of the Pennsylvania Legislature in March 1783 and by act of the New York Legislature in July 1786.

## McNamara's Defense Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News on Friday, August 17, gave a well directed boost to the efforts of Secretary Robert McNamara in an editorial entitled, "Let the

Man Alone." The editorial chronicles the savings and efficiencies which Mr. McNamara has produced in the huge Defense Establishment and points to places where further progress will be made in the effort McNamara is making. I join with the Washington Daily News in its commendation of Secretary of Defense McNamara and wish him well in carrying further the goals of efficiency and economy in our military plant. The editorial follows:

LEAVE THE MAN ALONE

The House Armed Services Committee is off base in charging that Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's drive for real unification at the Pentagon "endangers our national security."

"No one," an Armed Services Subcommittee said in a report filed this week, "questions the need to eliminate unnecessary duplication." Everyone, it says "applauds intelligent savings." To which we add "Amen." But then the committee calls for new legislation—a congressional veto over any further unification—which would make it much more difficult to root out duplication and achieve further savings.

We don't think many will fall for this sort of doubletalk. Just what has Mr. McNamara done to raise these fears? For one thing, he's created a Defense Supply Agency—the committee's principal target—which already has saved several hundred million dollars and soon will count its savings in the billions. He's set up a Defense Intelligence Agency to bring order out of chaos there. He's done the same thing for the sprawling electronics empires, and a few others. It is pure claptrap to say these intelligent, long-overdue moves, endanger our security. They enhance it.

For each these steps Mr. McNamara has ample legislative authority. More—if we are to believe Senate Armed Services Chairman RICHARD RUSSELL, Democrat of Georgia—than he has yet used. He also has the support of the majority of Congress and the American people. They applaud intelligent savings and approve the elimination of waste—with no strings attached.

Mr. McNamara has done a remarkable job. He has earned the right to expect our support. We have this message for those who would tie his hands:

Leave the man alone.

## The Answer Is "No"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we move closer to the climax of the so-called tax reform bill, it would be well for us to keep in mind the interpretation that the public is giving the measure. We must also keep in mind the elemental fact that Government spending is the single basic factor in determining increases or decreases in the Federal tax structure.

This element is very effectively discussed in an editorial which appeared in the Thursday, September 6, issue of the Blue Island Sun-Standard, Blue Island, Ill., which I insert under unanimous consent into the RECORD at this point. The editorial is entitled "The Answer Is 'No' ":

THE ANSWER IS "NO"

The President's report to the Nation on tax policy contained no surprises. His main points had been anticipated. The salient ones: That the economic situation does not justify a tax cut at this time; that, if conditions worsen he will ask for one at any time in the future, even if this requires a special session of Congress; and that, in any event, a comprehensive bill including both tax reductions and tax overhaul will be presented in January.

The difficulties that confront this program are easily foreseen. There are, for instance, almost as many different views on what tax reform should encompass, and just who and what should be most favored with tax reductions, as there are Members of Congress.

That aside, a more important question instantly arises. If taxes are to be reduced without resulting in deficits of literally disastrous size, the reductions must be of a nature that will spur capital investment—not just consumer purchasing power—and thus create new sources of taxation for the future. Realistic depreciation allowances for industry and a lower corporation tax are examples of this need.

To compound the problem the administration has made it clear that it will continue to press for major, new and expanded spending programs and for increased concentration of power and responsibility in the Federal Government.

There's the main rub. Can we have tax reduction on anything even resembling the necessary scale and have, along with it, an insatiable welfare state without running the risk of ruinous inflation? The answer—unless all precedent is meaningless—is "No."

## Some Questions, Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 20, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Muncie, Ind., Star, of September 6, 1962:

SOME QUESTIONS, MR. PRESIDENT

President Kennedy has failed to tell the American people the truth about Cuba.

The President has told no active falsehood. He has simply refused to set forth facts to which every citizen of the United States is entitled. It is possible to tell considerably less than the truth by maintaining silence. This is what the President has done and is doing about Cuba.

The facts now seem to be that several thousand Red "technicians" have landed from at least five or more passenger ships at various ports in Cuba. These "technicians" are not Latin Americans. They are either Russians or East Europeans who are moving into Cuba under the sponsorship of the Castro regime. The alliance between Castro and Communist Russia is a recorded fact of international life, and the Cuban press has admitted both the military nature of aid it receives from Russia, and the diplomatic support offered by Moscow.

There is every reason to believe that the President has had and now has accurate knowledge about the military buildup in Cuba. Could ship movements of this nature have escaped the eye of the world's largest Navy only 90 miles away from the shores of the United States? If ships bearing the Red "technicians" unloaded at night in Cuba ports, they had to steam in broad daylight to arrive off the island just south of this country.

The first reports of these landings in late July and early August were brushed off by the administration as the exaggerated claims of excitable Cuban refugees. If anything, the orignal reports seem to be conservative in nature. If the administration was unwilling to admit the nature of these military movements, the Cuban official press is only too happy to boast about the Red intrusion into the Western Hemisphere. A reliable press report also tells of a landing at Mariel, a port mentioned earlier in these columns as a place where "technicians" came ashore.

In an effort to excuse the lack of American policy regarding Cuba, some intellectuals have tried to draw a parallel to Quemoy and Matsu. Americans are supposed to be "mature enough" to tolerate a Red strongpoint only a few miles from Florida. The groups of Chinese face each other across the Formosa Strait. The Communists who moved into Cuba have no claim on any part of the two Americas, other than the old Red drive for empire.

Some questions are in order. We direct them to the President.

Has the Monroe Doctrine been discarded?

Are there Russian troops, technical or otherwise, in Cuba?

Will a buildup of Red power be permitted to continue in Cuba?

Why has the administration failed to inform the American people fully and fairly about the situation in Cuba?

If no one says anything about the Reds in Cuba, will they go away?

The Kennedy record regarding Cuba is sorry enough to date. It should not be compounded further by a failure to inform the people of this country about the situation as it truthfully exists, not as we might wish it to be.

Where is candor, where is vigor, where is courage we were promised?

## Memorable Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star, Friday, September 14, 1962:

MEMORABLE ANNIVERSARY

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, founder of the Czechoslovak Republic, died 25 years ago today, believing he had laid the foundation of the only durable democracy in Eastern Europe. It did, indeed, survive the inroads of fascism, only to fall prey to the long tentacles of communism.

A patriot as well grounded in democracy's principles as our own Jefferson, Masaryk is still the inspiration of those trapped behind the Iron Curtain as well as champions of freedom everywhere. Educator, philosopher, statesman, Masaryk in the words of one admirer "taught the nation to accept democracy as the only modern and satisfactory way of public and private life."

He was a humanitarian who spent a lifetime seeking, and living, the truth; fighting for his country's liberation while gently teaching the creed of "Love thy neighbor as thyself." We join with the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in honoring the memory of a noble and eloquent man, who said: "If people could understand each other, we should have had democracy at one stroke; without mutual understanding, without tolerance, there is no freedom. Only when we are completely truthful and open with one another can we learn to know one another; but without love there is no truth; without truth and love we cannot know our fellows."

## Would Federal Help Kill or Cure U.S. Arts?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the New Frontier has adopted another ADA program, this one calling for subsidization of the arts by the Federal Government. President Kennedy has recommended such a course of action and has already set up a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, with promised handouts of subsidies and other gratuities to artists.

Russell Kirk, a distinguished writer and expert on this subject, pointed out the dangers to art and artists inherent in this course of action in an article which appeared September 9 in the Los Angeles Times. Under unanimous consent I include it as a portion of my remarks in the RECORD:

WOULD FEDERAL HELP KILL OR CURE U.S. ARTS?

(By Russell Kirk)

Last year and this, certain manipulators of public opinion and enterprising politicians have been demanding the creation of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts—with subsidies and plums.

And a very able gentleman, August Heckscher, has been appointed special Presidential adviser on culture.

No doubt American arts and letters could stand improvement. But will Federal grants accomplish this?

"The problems of the performing arts in America today are not the problems of decline," Arthur Goldberg, former Secretary of Labor, declared recently. "They are the problems of growth; a growth so rapid, so tumultuous, so eventful as to be almost universally described as an explosion."

If this is so, why do the performing arts need subsidies?

But perhaps the "explosion" in the American theater is of the sort described a generation ago by a critic of Dos Pasos' novel "Manhattan Transfer"—"an explosion in a cesspool."

Some months ago, a big Brazilian audience walked out in disgust from a Tennessee Williams' play presented at the American Government's expense: They thought it an explosion in a cesspool—and they weren't Communists, either.

Early this year, pressure was brought to persuade our State Department to finance Julian and Judith Beck's Living Theater for a trip to the Theatre des Nations, in Paris.

But in March, when the zealots for Federal subsidies to the drama were thumping tubs, Julian Beck himself was recuperating in Bellevue Hospital from injuries he received during a clash in Times Square between the police and demonstrators protesting President Kennedy's decision to resume nuclear testing.

When at length money was found for this expedition, the Living Theater went abroad to display American culture to Parisians: They presented four plays, concerned principally with addiction to narcotics, homosexuality and the horrors of American capitalism.

Now American players and performers abroad ought not to become propagandists for the American way of life.

But neither should they be paid to be propagandists against our civilization.

The height of absurdity was reached, perhaps, when State Department-subsidized actors presented, as representative of American theater, a grim Marxist drama by Bertolt Brecht, who happens to be a Communist playwright of East Germany.

To judge by what our bureaucratic guardians of culture have accomplished so far, I suspect that large Federal patronage would smother, rather than nurture, the theater and arts and letters generally.

And if all we possess nowadays is the art of nihilism or of ideology, we may do well to let laissez faire take its course until such silliness is swept off the boards.

## The Price of Timidity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial which appeared in the Rochelle Leader on September 14, 1962. I think that this editorial presents very concisely and tersely the whole tragic chronology of the series of mistakes that have been made with respect to Cuba. I am particularly impressed by the fact that the writer points out that if we had only moved firmly in the early stages that we would not today be confronted with what seems almost an unsoluble problem. I would further express the hope that this administration, and yes, the American people, have learned a lesson; namely that dictators from the left, no matter how much they may be romanticized, are just as dangerous and destructive of freedom as the fascistic dictators of the right.

The editorial follows:

THE PRICE OF TIMIDITY

It is humiliating and frustrating to stand idly by while Russia converts the island of Cuba into a heavily armed Communist stronghold 90 miles off our shores but this is the price we are forced to pay for our indecisions of the past.

This country's handling of the Cuban situation has been one long series of bungles and while the chief blame must rest on the shoulders of our policymakers there are few Americans who are completely free of guilt.

In the early days of Castro's uprising he was romanticized by the press and other mediums of the United States as a heroic fighter for the freedom of his people.

Our State Department adopted policies that helped make it poesible for Castro and his followers to dispose the corrupt and dictatorial Batista regime and take over the rule of the island.

Our State Department, writers and others who welcomed the Castro takeover were willing to shut their eyes to the fact that Fidel Castro had for years been associated with Communist movements.

They continued in their blindness when they apologized for his bloody purges, supression of civil liberties and his seizure of American property and high-handed treatment of American citizens.

We were told repeatedly that all would be well if only we were patient with the bearded leader and tried to understand his viewpoint.

The apologists went so far as to say that the United States was in some mysterious way to blame when Castro began to villify this country and hysterically accuse it of being the enemy of the Cuban people.

If we had moved firmly in the early stage of the Castro takeover and demanded that the stolen American property be either returned or paid for in full, if we had demanded an immediate end to the mistreatment of American citizens and taken steps to sponsor a free election in Cuba we would not be faced with a Cuban problem that seems insolvable.

But we humbly accepted the insult and made no move to protect our interest or to save the people of Cuba from the chains that were forged by Castro and his Communist cohorts.

We belatedly declared an economic boycott in hope that it would weaken the Castro regime and lead to its overthrow but we took no decisive action when Russia and Red China moved in to strengthen the Communist domination of the island.

During the closing months of the Eisenhower administration the United States quietly supplied money, arms, and training for a Cuban invasion force and gave encouragement to the Cuban underground preparatory to an assault on the Castro regime.

But when the appointed day came there was a new administration at the helm in Washington, the promise of air cover for the invasion army was withdrawn and the landing force was sacrificed in the Bay of Pigs because of our timidity.

The fiasco was a severe blow to American prestige, it practically wiped out the Cuban underground and resulted in the even more humiliating "tractors for prisoners" episode.

Our actions to date have been an open invitation to the Kremlin to do whatever it wishes on the island 90 miles off our shores and strategically located to permit spying on our Cape Canaveral operations.

The Russians have accepted the invitation, are forging an even stronger hold on the island and are converting it into a Communist fortress.

Like the Berlin wall the fortress of Cuba is now an accomplished fact. We failed to act when action would have been effective. The only course open to us now is to watch and wait in the hope that events will give us a chance to make up for our blunders.

## Very Well Spoken

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star, Friday, September 14, 1962:

VERY WELL SPOKEN

The President, in this single sentence, has said all that needs to be said now about Cuba:

"If at any time the Communist buildup in Cuba were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way, including our base at Guantanamo, our passage to the Panama Canal, our missile and space activities at Cape Canaveral, or the lives of American citizens in this country, or if Cuba should ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force or the threat of force against any nation in this hemisphere, or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies."

The President does not think any of these conditions has as yet arisen in Cuba, and neither do we. The warning, however, is both timely and unmistakably clear. We believe it will be correctly understood by Fidel Castro and his blustering friend in Moscow.

## Restoring Historical Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, September 16, was Barry Day in Philadelphia. In memory of the founder of the American Navy, a luncheon was held in my district at the Commodore Barry Club. A parade downtown followed, and it was concluded by the laying of a wreath at the statue of Commodore Barry in the center of Independence Square. The audience in the square was addressed by the Honorable John Morgan Davis, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, the Honorable James H. J. Tate, mayor of Philadelphia, and Rear Adm. John B. Hefferman, former historian for the Navy.

After the ceremonies, Mrs. Tate, my wife, and I accompanied Mayor Tate on an unscheduled short tour of Washington Square East—Society Hill—to see the latest developments. The changes in the physical appearance of this center-city area under the redevelopment program are astonishing. The outside structure of the 536-unit Hopkinson House is impressive and attractive. The voluntary rehabilitation of historic residences and structures was most interesting. The area also includes newly constructed contemporary homes, one of which we visited in the 200 block on the east side of South Third Street. These were erected across the street from the 18th century Powell House.

At this point and others, we ran into hundreds of people participating in the Society Hill house tour, sponsored by Christ Church, to raise funds for the restoration of the Pancoast-Lewis-Wharton House at 336 Spruce Street, which will eventually become a rectory.

The 12 family row homes of contemporary design with spiral staircase and parking compound were very striking. Dramatic changes have taken place in the Spruce Street area where private initiative was transforming deteriorated buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries into charming modern town houses. Many are also restoring quite a number of historical features.

One of the most interesting homes we visited was restored by Mr. and Mrs. Jared Ingersoll, who personally and proudly participated in the showing of their home on Spruce Street and the historical features which they rebuilt or restored. They graciously showed the attractive and interesting changes to hundreds of people who came into the house as part of the special Christ Church tour.

Federal agencies such as the FHA and the Urban Renewal Administration are helping to develop much of this area which borders on the south side of the Independence Mall National Park. In addition, the private initiative, spurred by public investment and the leadership of the Philadelphia city government, is greatly aiding in the development of a city area which will become one of the showplaces of the Nation.

## The Will Behind the Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Los Angeles Times, September 9, 1962:

THE WILL BEHIND THE WORDS

The defiant warning issued by President Monroe against the designs of imperialist Russia was composed of strong words—and a strong will to enforce them. Our capacity to resist was slight but it was magnified many times by our great determination.

Ten days ago the reverse seemed true. President Kennedy said at his press conference August 29 that the Monroe Doctrine still "means what it meant" in 1823. But many Americans wondered if it did; many nations were acting as though they were sure it did not.

The will that had first given meaning to the words of the doctrine seemed strangely lacking in the months that followed the disastrous Bay of Pigs expedition.

Caution and inaction were interpreted as weaknesses by the Soviet Union as it boldly stepped up the transformation of Cuba into an armed Communist base. Our close NATO allies—Britain, West Germany, Norway and Greece—were so unimpressed with our passive attitude that they stood by as their merchant ships carried arms, equipment and technicians to the island outpost.

Not until Moscow publicly admitted its coarse intervention did the will of the Government again manifest itself.

Mr. Kennedy issued another reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine last week. This time, however, he began to take the first steps in demonstrating our determination. There could be not doubt as to the impatient mood of the Congress and the Nation; they possessed the will; they lacked only the leadership.

When the President asked Congress Friday for permission to call up 150,000 Reservists, the bipartisan support was immediate and strong. Its leaders did not need to be told that the Reserves were necessary "to permit prompt and effective responses * * * to challenges which may be presented anywhere in the world."

Mr. Kennedy should now act upon the proposal of Republican leaders that he request permission to use armed forces "as he sees necessary," just as President Eisenhower did to meet the Communist threat in the Formosa Straits. Congress will not say "no."

There should be no hesitation on the part of the President in making other necessary responses.

He should demand, not merely ask, that our NATO allies cease allowing merchant vessels carrying their flags to aid our common enemy. It is an outrage that those nations whom we have helped to defend and to rebuild should repay us in this way.

He should in fact insist that NATO countries and the members of the Organization of American States immediately join us in collective action against the Cuban threat, including an effective embargo. It is late, yet not too late.

If our friends are irresolute, we must act alone, reserving to ourselves the right to take any action necessary against those who would endanger hemispheric peace and safety.

We will surely be accused of rattling our saber. We are not, but we have drawn it from the scabbard and it will stay unsheathed.

## United Nations Loan

SPEECH
OF
**HON. B. F. SISK**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2768) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the purchase of United Nations bonds and the appropriation of funds therefore.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, along with many other California organizations and individuals strongly supporting the purchase of U.N. bonds by the United States, the California Farm Research and Legislative Committee sent me the following telegram which I wish to read into the RECORD:

SANTA CLARA, CALIF.,
*September 14, 1962.*

Hon. B. F. SISK,
*Member of Congress,*
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

As per our telephone call to you this date, please place in the RECORD tomorrow, September 14, when the House takes up the matter of U.S. purchase of United Nations bonds, that the California Farm Research and Legislative Committee strongly favors such purchase.

GRACE MCDONALD,
*Executive Secretary.*

## A Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

**HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, throughout the time I have been entrusted with public office responsibilities, it has been my custom to periodically publish a summary account of my activities, and I have continued this practice during my service in the Congress during these past 16 years.

It is manifestly impossible to present here a detailed account of my every legislative word and action over these past years because of the limited time allowed, and the newly restrictive rules of the Joint Committee on Printing; and, more particularly, this year, because the ending date of this Congress is still uncertain with the legislative fate of many measures yet remaining undetermined.

However, because of our desire to present a timely recital of stewardship, in accord with the Biblical mandate, and for the public benefit, I shall try to comment upon some of the more widely publicized issues of this Congress and further reveal my fundamental philosophy of government, and life, by including various extracts of speeches on other basic legislative subjects of national significance. This summary is being submitted, of course, with the realization that the great majority of our people are currently aware that most of our important legislative actions these days are for the continuation and amendment of laws already in effect and which are expanded or modified, by our determinations here, through the succeeding years.

THREE FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS: MILITARY SECURITY, COMMUNIST CONTAINMENT, FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. Speaker, the manifest destiny of this Nation, in opposition to atheistic communism, is to safeguard our own freedoms and thereby preserve the light of liberty in a threatened and frightened world.

It is equally obvious that to accomplish this task we must ever strive to be war deterrently equal, or even superior, to the Kremlin dictatorship in military might and space exploration; anything less than that could well provide a desperate temptation to reckless and ruthless individuals.

At the same time, it would be the height of folly and imprudence and an invitation to economic disaster for ourselves if we lessened our vigilance, or relaxed our supervision, in preventing waste and extravagance in our required military procurement and space research programs.

The largest item, by far, in our national budget, now reaching into the 40 billions of dollars, is the military defense appropriation; nobody will argue against an adequate defense appropriation. However, the duty of the Defense Department to maintain our defense system does not carry with it any right of profligate spending. Frugality can be a mark of military efficiency as well as it is of an enterprising business or individual.

Our problem, then, is to provide for our full security against the Communist projection but to do it within a financial system and atmosphere of the most careful planning and the most frugal spending. This is the conviction with which I considered our military appropriations in this Congress, as well as in the past, and such conviction is revealed in the following extract from my speech in the House on this subject:

Mr. Speaker, indeed, there is no question about the imperative necessity, in the light of the belligerent attitude of the Kremlin, of our military forces being fully prepared to protect the security of the United States against any surprise move by the Soviets.

When the House returns to the consideration of this grave subject, in the near future, I most earnestly hope we will not be of a spirit to disregard the necessity for including every reasonable safeguard against and restriction upon wasteful and extravagant military spending that we can. Thirty-nine and a third billion dollars is an awful lot of money and its very enormity provides an avenue for careless and negligent expenditures.

On this score the Comptroller General, in his recent report, pointed out the existence of waste and inefficiency, by the Defense Department, in its management of electronic supplies of the military services.

In past reports multitudinous examples of extravagance and waste by the Defense Department have been disclosed through the use of negotiated contracts instead of competitive bidding and confused and antiquated bookkeeping methods.

Mr. Speaker, it is the duty of the Congress, and of the administration itself, to insure that the purse strings operated by the various departments of the Defense Department are kept sensibly and economically tight. Closer supervision of negotiated contracts to prevent exorbitant profits and a wider use of competitive bidding practices would do much to save the taxpayers' money.

A more strict adherence to the provisions of the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950, and a better organized central procurement unit would go far toward preventing duplication and waste.

Adequate national defense is indeed vital but the people of this country are seriously disturbed by the continuing revelations of wasteful and extravagant spending by the military without regard to the fact that each and every penny spent comes out of the hard earned, and highly taxed, pay of the average American workingman and business. The duty of the Defense Department to guarantee our security does not carry with it any license to indulge in loose and careless financial practices.

With past experience in mind I hope that this House will continue to impress upon the Defense Department that economic frugality and wise spending can be a mark of efficiency in the military field as well as it is of an enterprising business.

WE MUST PERSEVERE IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE

Mr. Speaker, while we indeed have every right to provide for our fullest defense against any aggressor, I most earnestly believe, a I have repeatedly stated here, we have an accompanying duty, to ourselves and to others, to perseveringly pursue every honorable means that might bring blessed peace to this troubled earth.

It appeared to many of us that the most practical and effective way to promote peace would be to seek mutually satisfactory agreements, with guarantees, on disarmament with other nations. A great many of us very deeply felt that this Government should have a special unit or branch which would concentrate its activity on the objective of disarmament.

That is why I personally introduced H.R. 7950, in this Congress, which was designed to establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency. A similar bill was finally approved and it is a matter of gratification to me that we now have in the executive department of this Government a new U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency whose fundamental purpose is to promote peace through disarmament. I am pleased to include extracts from my remarks in the House when this important legislation was under discussion:

Mr. Chairman, as a sponsor, in this Congress, of a similar bill (H.R. 7950) I most earnestly urge my colleagues here to conscientiously consider the basic objective of the legislative proposal contained in this measure (H.R. 9118) to establish a U.S. arms control agency.

To my mind the fundamental objective of this, and companion bills, is to provide a concrete demonstration of our willingness to explore every honorable means and avenue of reducing and eliminating the terrible potentialities of a nuclear catastrophe being visited upon this Nation and the world.

I realize there are some very sincere individuals who question the timing of this legislation toward arms control agreement when the two strongest nations in the world are engaged in an arms race. However, in my considered opinion, it is indeed just the time when there is the greatest urgency to deal with this problem. The heightening tensions, and the increasing arms race, is just the period when we ought to devote our best efforts to find the means to avoid war and cut down the arms development competition because of the frightening dangers, that are contained in such competition, of a world-wide holocaust.

Associated with this primary purpose of conscientiously attempting to prevent total destruction of humanity, there is the vitally important propaganda benefit that surely would accrue to us, in the eyes of the world, from the creation of an official agency of this Government to seek peace through honorable agreement for arms control.

Thus far, and unfortunately, we are forced to admit that the deceptions and falsifications of Communist propaganda announcements have been extremely difficult to overcome and have tended to influence unwitting and unknowing peoples elsewhere toward the conviction that it is the Kremlin leaders rather than ourselves who are honestly seeking peaceful negotiations.

The United States has certainly been most earnest, most serious, and most honest in its aims for world peace; we are not an aggressive nation. We are not, however, a spineless people who shun war when the alternative is base servitude; as our glorious history demonstrates, we can fight, when forced to, and we can win, but as a God-fearing people and Nation we prefer honorable peace.

What this new Agency, proposed to be established in our Government by this legislation, would do for us would be to find realistic ways to bring about a reduction in armaments, to find formulas which would protect the national interest, and at the same time promote the cause of peace.

Very likely some well-intentioned persons, will be inclined to say that the creation of an Arms Control Agency implies that we

may be bowing to the opposition and moving toward a modified pacifism as a national policy. An examination of our history, our traditions and our intentions clearly demonstrates that nothing could be further from the fact.

What we are demonstrating to the world, however, is that the United States, first among all the nations, has established in its official Government pattern a conscientious effort for a policy of peace. An effective Arms Control Agency certainly does not mean, or imply, that we are willing to settle for peace at any price; but it will most surely prove to any enemy, and the world, that we are not afraid to pay the price of peace.

Mr. Chairman, I earnestly urge the Members here to exercise their patriotic judgment of the merit and value this legislation would contribute to the strengthening of our position of world leadership today and approve this measure without extended delay.

SELF INTEREST—MUTUAL SECURITY

Mr. Speaker, in the face of the continuing and harassing Communist design of conquest of all, and suffocation of freedom everywhere, I remain most deeply impressed with the foundation principle involved in our mutual security and foreign assistance programs. That principle is the prevention of the necessity for American fathers and sons to fight, and perhaps die, again, all over the world.

At the same time, I have been steadfastly concerned that the assistance was absolutely needed, that the security projected was, in reality, mutual, and that every possible safeguard was implanted into the program for the most frugal spending, the fullest return, and the absolute removal of waste and extravagance.

Since we originated this program back in 1948, the facts increasingly have shown that many of the countries we have assisted have gradually reached the point of economic productivity beyond any previous capacity, and in many instances, it is clear no expanded aid is warranted in earnest mindfulness of our own inexhaustible resources.

It did appear to me that the measure we acted upon in 1961 should include, as a practical and effective projection, Executive authority to plan development assistance to friendly countries on an assured basis of 5-year duration. The burden is upon the Executive to determine when such assistance is important to the advancement of the U.S. interests.

However, while it is indeed practically wise to carefully contribute to the rehabilitation and development needs of our friendly allies, it would be the height of foolish generosity to bankrupt ourselves in doing so.

Mr. Speaker, these are the basic principles which have governed my actions on our foreign assistance programs and they are indicated in the extract of my remarks which follow:

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, as I see it, this debate on the reasonable continuation of our mutual security aid program should begin with a concrete demonstration of our deepest concern for our overburdened American taxpayers.

That legislative concern should be even more concentrated and emphasized because of the factual evidence in the record "of waste and extravagance—a pattern of loose, lax administration through the entire complex of foreign aid."

I earnestly hope that in the phases of the program where this extravagance and waste has been displayed the recommended reductions will be approved.

The divisions of this program which appear to have been operated and projected in the best interests of ourselves and the advancement of our foreign allies are the technical assistance and Development Loan Fund extensions. I hope that these features will be adequately supported as their worth has been substantially proven.

Let us strive today to conscientiously enact a measure that will provide reasonable assistance to our allies, in the fields where such help is most needed, while we insure elimination of those parts of the program which have been proved wasteful and worthless.

A HIGH NATIONAL MORALE IS IMPERATIVE

Mr. Speaker, it is true that in modern times, especially since the end of World War II, our legislative activities here have increasingly extended and expanded, in their import and impact, upon areas all over the world.

These legislative projections which we have had, of necessity, to deal with are, at times, so technical and complex, it is extremely difficult, for even the most expert, to understand them thoroughly.

However, in their development and execution, it is quite simple to see that they have thrust ever increasing burdens upon the American taxpayers and American industry.

Although our American people have accepted these burdens with loyal understanding, I have questioned, over these past several years, the possibility of a too rigid concentration upon world alinements and too little regard for the essential interest and welfare of our own taxpayers.

During this period, I have attempted to point out that the most important need for the furtherance of any Government objective is a continuation and encouragement of a high morale among our own citizens. If they lose confidence in this Government and its officials, and if they feel their welfare is being disregarded then we are, indeed, inviting deep domestic difficulty.

The preceding Chief Executive of this Nation told the people, upon assuming his office, that his yardstick of measurement of Government activities he would recommend would be—"Is this good for all Americans?" At that time, I urged that the Congress adopt it as our rule of legislative action also, and I have conscientiously attempted to follow that rule myself.

The fundamental strength of the United States is the combined will and determination of each individual to support his elected officials in their conduct of the Government.

My convictions and actions, in support of this rule and principle, are, I believe, revealed and demonstrated in the remarks I made at the time the legislative issues that follow came before the Congress.

LEGISLATION FOR THE GOOD OF ALL AMERICANS—APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE OF AMERICAN CITIZENS

Mr. Chairman, it was the unanimous judgment of our Original Thirteen States, as expressed in their Independence Declaration, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In my opinion there is no measure coming before this body more fully designed to promote the enjoyment of these rights to American citizens than the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies. The basic units and activities of these executive departments are more closely connected with the lives of our citizens than any other agency of our Government "for the people."

Mr. Chairman, to attempt to either regulate or improve the health and happiness of human beings in terms of dollars and cents is a most difficult, if not impossible, task. We are all, I am certain, agreed on the necessity for practicing economy in Government expenditures and to preserve our financial stability and world position. However, I think we are further agreed that gestures of doubtful economy at the expense of lowering national standards of working conditions, health protection, and educational advancement is most unwise and impractical, more especially in these days of communistic competition.

Mr. Chairman, the appropriations we grant under this measure are designed to continuously improve the Christian, civilized working conditions of our people and to protect and advance the health of all our citizens, particularly children, women, and the aged. It is obvious, therefore, that this appropriations bill is of the greatest importance to the progress of our national welfare and that is why each of us have the highest obligation to devote the most conscientious attention to it.

At a time when we are generously granting billions of dollars to aid our foreign allies, let us not be neglectful of our own citizens. At a time when we are telling the world of our better way of life, as opposed to Communist barbarism, let us not dangerously reduce any of these public services whose contributions to national progress have been universally acknowledged. At a time when we are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the curse of communism, let us take no unwise chances of disrupting the high morale of our own good people. In conscience, let us vote in support of the continuing and full functioning of these units and agencies whose services are, indeed, in the national interest and emphatically good for all Americans.

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AMERICA'S ANSWER TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA—SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Speaker, in my firm opinion adequate social security legislation is one of the soundest barriers we can erect against the advancing scourge of communistic propaganda and philosophy challenging us this very hour and forcing us to fight for the survival of our democratic system. If the sunset of the American worker's life, without individual fault, brings only the despairing darkness of fear of want, then there is grave doubt our democratic way of living can hope to match the appeal of Communist state paternalistic promises. When this subject was discussed in the last Congress I reminded this body of how much stronger, how much more resistant to Communist entreatment and intrigue the Nation would be when its citizens are assured that our great business system and our Government working harmoniously together establish a dignified, humane financial operation making them eligible to receive what every worthy working American deserves,

namely, security in time of adversity and dire need.

Here on the floor in 1950 I emphasized our action then was on the first comprehensive change in social-security laws proposed since 1935. I remarked that the entire scheme was antiquated and obsolete and would require continuing revision for adjustment to the complex changes of economic life in an atomic age.

Again this year, I spoke on the amending bill, as follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS, 1961

Mr. Chairman, I very earnestly hope that this House will promptly approve the modest improvements recommended in this bill, H.R. 6027, the Social Security Amendments Act of 1961.

Although the improvements included in this proposal are not as liberal or expansive as a great many of us have recommended, the changes suggested will benefit almost 4½ million American people within the first year of operation.

As has been more technically explained here, the bill in summary provides a small increase in the minimum benefit with a 10 percent increase in the benefits for widows, widowers, and parents, makes benefits available for men beginning at age 62, liberalizes the insured status requirements, and establishes a further period of disability.

These increases and changes are all in accord with the policies established by the Congress in the past and add to our present law improvements that are sound and desirable.

The increases and improvements are fully financed by the very slight addition to the contribution rates and insure that the social security system continues in actuarial soundness.

There is no question but what the overwhelming majority of the American people approve and desire the continuation and reasonable expansion of our social security system in accord with the economic trends. This measure offers us the opportunity to meet the desires of our people and more toward reasonable adjustment of the program in line with the economic standards under which we live. It offers us, also, the further opportunity to demonstrate to the American taxpayers that, while we have true concern for the rehabilitation and progress of peoples in foreign lands, our primary concern is, and ought to be, for our own people who are making tremendous sacrifices for the promotion of peace and progress throughout the world.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS AMENDMENTS, 1961

Mr. Chairman, the declared policy written into the original Fair Labor Standards Act is "to correct, and as rapidly as practicable, to elimininate labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

I doubt very much that there are any here who seriously dispute that policy; there are indeed many here who sincerely differ about the ways and means by which this accepted policy can be best extended at this time. Our challenge and duty today is, then, to exercise the fullest measure of study, patience, and tolerance in working together for legislative agreement on a bill to further project our basic policy of advancing the general welfare of workers in the present economy while conscientiously enadeavoring to insure its impact upon all industries and individuals is as equitable as we can humanly make it. I hope our discussion here will proceed with mutual understanding and deference so that we can fulfill our duty.

In determining our action on this measure it seems to me primary consideration should be granted to such fundamental factors involved as the advanced living costs affecting the average American family in our modern economy, the essential need of placing more purchasing power in the hands of those who will surely spend it, thus accelerating recession recovery, and implementing the basic objective of moving our economy ahead to meet the Russian challenge, as the President recommends.

The authoritative statistics presented to us show that last year there were some seven and a half million families in this country who had incomes less than $2,000 annually, this in the most prosperous country in the world. It has been expertly estimated that the average family needs a minimum of between $4,000 and $5,000 a year to live at the barest level of respectability.

Let us further realize it has been 6 years since the last minimum wage was approved by the Congress, and the Department of Labor has revealed that, with the advanced livings costs in the intervening period, even raising the minimum wage immediately to $1.25 would only provide a third of what is presently required to maintain a modest but adequate standard of living for the average worker.

These and other statistics recited here are, in my opinion, impressively convincing and should influence our decision in favor of improving the structure of our general wage system and the national economy.

It is our proud boast that the standards of ordinary family living under the American system are the best and highest in the world. We are engaged in a desperate struggle with Communist Russia for survival and the elements of that challenge more and more seriously involve the economic factor.

Under the dedicated and inspiring leadership of our great President, John F. Kennedy, let us prove that our proud boastings are a reality and let us move the economy of this country forward in keeping with our destiny of freedom, progres, and leader of the civilized world.

HOUSING ACT OF 1961

Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly hope this House, without extended delay, will approve this housing bill of 1961, H.R. 6028, designed to assist in the provision of housing for moderate- and low-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to extend and amend existing laws relating to housing, urban renewal, community facilities and other purposes.

As one who has, in patriotic concern and consistency, supported an adequate housing program for the American people over the past 14 years here, I sincerely believe the measure now before us contains the most comprehensive and most commonsense program in my experience. Its embracement of a 4-year period is a sensible and practical attempt to rescue us from the emergency housing legislation phases that have confronted us in the past.

The various sections and provisions of this bill have been clearly and specifically spelled out in detail by proponents and opponents and there is no need for repetition now. With but one or two innovations all the basic provisions of this measure have been passed, in one form or another, by this House before. It is strongly supported by the industries involved, civic officials, most housing authorities, the majority of economic experts and the President himself.

The testimony and the statistics revealed here demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that there is a vital and imperative need for more housing in this country; the evidence further shows, and clearly, that the impetus that will be provided to the construction and related industries will encouragingly accelerate our advancing economic recovery and further reduce the unfortunately great number of American workers still unemployed.

Despite the hesitation of some sincere and conscientious questions here there can be no doubt, on the record, of the essential national benefit already derived from our previous programs of urban renewal and slum clearance, college housing, housing for the elderly, community facilities, farm housing, FHA mortgage insuring authority extensions, and related activities. I submit it is unhappily too seldom that we have such a realistic record of actual performance and experience upon which to base our continuing legislative judgment in promotion of the general welfare.

TAX REFORM AND REDUCTION

Mr. Speaker, the power to tax is the power to destroy. The conflict and competition between the various States, municipalities, and Federal Government in the collection of taxes is robbing the American wage earner of his birthright and will bankrupt the country unless we institute corrective steps in the immediate future.

INTERNAL REVENUE CODE REVISION

Mr. Chairman, as my colleagues here well know, I have, for the past 7 years, repeatedly urged the vital necessity of complete revision and recodification of our entire Internal Revenue Code. In three successive Congresses, I have introduced bills whose purpose was to accomplish that objective. We all fully realize that our present internal revenue laws are jumbled, complicated, often contradictory, little understood by the average person, and filled with obsolete regulations, imposing multitudinous inequities, irritations, and too often great hardships upon the American taxpayer.

The time is long overdue for a complete and thorough revision of our tax system in the public interest.

One of the most compelling and forceful reasons for supporting this measure arises out of the alarming current unemployment trend throughout the country. We, all, I know, earnestly and sincerely hope this trend is short lived and will be eliminated when the administration readjustment policies and programs are completed. Nevertheless, and without any partisanship, we would indeed be lax in our duty if we pretended that dangerous unemployment did not now exist. It is, therefore, imperative and timely that some effort must be made to increase consumer purchasing power, thereby stimulating production and helping to reverse the rising unemployment rate. It is fundamental in the American system that our tax policy should, to the fullest possible extent, encourage a constant expanding economy.

Let us plan now, barring any national or world emergency, to expand this program of tax reduction and elimination so that the entire American purchasing public and all affected industries will be treated alike with fairness and justice.

We have abundantly fulfilled all our pledges to our foreign allies and friends; let us keep faith with our own people who have suffered too long from too much taxation.

OUR OBLIGATION TO THE VETERAN AND DEPENDENTS

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the people of this country wish to turn their backs in forgetfulness of the substantial sacrifices made by our war veterans and their dependents in protecting this Nation from armed enemies. On the contrary, I believe the great majority of the American people realize there is only one safeguard for this Nation in time of emergency, and that is the willingness of American men and women to fight and die to preserve our national security. I am sure they further understand that the efficiency of our fighting men is governed by the morale of their families and dependents. In these tense days of international turmoil, it is not only just but patriotically wise to inspire the

veteran of the future with the example of our real concern for the veteran of the past.

SMALL BUSINESS ASSISTANCE

Mr. Speaker, it has been always an unquestioned American tradition that this Government shall aid, counsel, assist, and protect the interests of small business in order to preserve our democratic system of free competitive enterprise.

That is why I advocated and voted for the passage of the original legislation establishing a permanent, independent Small Business Administration agency. Recognizing the importance of our small businesses in defense production efforts and the national economy I have consistently urged every reasonable Federal assistance and guidance to them throughout my congressional service.

WAGE JUSTICE FOR WORKING WOMEN

Madam Chairman, as our immediate inspiration to unanimously approve this measure, H.R. 11677, the Equal Pay Act of 1962, we need only to look around us and observe the most competent, industrious, distinguished, and gracious ladies whom we are privileged to call our colleagues. I know we unanimously agree that these distinguished lady legislators work as hard and as diligently as any male Member of the Congress and indeed, by their gracious presence, contribute more to this body than any male Member. There is no thought here of a differentiation in legislative salary because of sex.

For our background inspiration to promptly and favorably act on this bill, we need only to reflect that it is designed simply and solely to provide wage justice for working women.

We all realize that the origin of the wage rate differential for men and women performing comparable jobs in the false concept that a woman, because of her very nature, somehow or other should not be given as much money as a man for similar work.

This antiquated concept has been long and completely demonstrated to be false and it is indefensible from every standpoint. This being so, we may wonder why this legislation is necessary.

The answer is furnished to us in the authoritative information provided by witnesses before the House Committee on Education and Labor and the impressive array of statistics unhappily proving that discrimination in wage payments, on the basis of sex, continues to exist even in this modern space age.

Recognizing that the concept of wage payment discrimination against women is false; having before us the surprising but overwhelming evidence that such discrimination still continues to exist; and realizing that this measure represents the correction of basic injustice being visited upon women in many fields of endeavor, let us, I urge you, firmly reject any crippling amendments and proceed immediately and unanimously to the enactment of this measure extending simple wage justice to the increasing corps of America's working women.

CHALLENGES THAT MUST STILL BE MET—CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT

Mr. Speaker, a return to the patriotic soul and spirit of a morally operating democracy is essential to our national security and the peace of the world. Our constant struggle must be to keep our governing machinery at all levels free from the blight of special privilege and grants to the few at the expense of the general welfare. Freed from the vices of corruption and favoritism our governmental institutions will work as our forefathers intended them to work—for the common good of all.

NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY IS OUR GREATEST POTENTIAL DANGER

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues well know that many times during past years I have repeatedly stated my belief that the not too subtle strategy of the Communist leaders is to encourage us to spend ourselves into national bankruptcy and thus take over our country and the world, without the necessity of engaging in any real war. I, and I think a good many of my fellow Representatives here, am determined not to become an unwitting Russian ally in that cunning Communist purpose.

THE HOOVER COMMISSION ECONOMY OBJECTIVES MUST BE PERSISTENTLY PURSUED

Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege, in past years, to be a member of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. As is so well known, the Expenditures Committee acted upon the Presidential reorganization plans based on the Hoover Commission recommendations. More than half of the Hoover Commission recommendations have been adopted, with tremendous savings resulting and I am proud to say I voted for them all.

MORAL LEADERSHIP IS OUR MOST URGENT NATIONAL NECESSITY

Mr. Speaker, if the citizens of the United States do not retain confidence in their duly elected Government Representatives then even the most astronomical appropriations of money will not save us from national disentegration and Communist tyranny. It is not the amount of dollars appropriated that will save this country in the long run; it is only a morally confident people united in common respect for proper Government authority that has ever preserved a nation in time of emergency.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Mr. Speaker, limited as this summary necessarily is, it would be even more inadequate if a partial list of some of the measures I introduced in this, and past, Congresses were not included; they follow:

House Joint Resolution 335, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

H.R. 2473, a bill to provide for the issuance of a series of special postage stamps to be known as the "Signers for Freedom Stamps," honoring the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

H.R. 3194, a bill to create a National Peace Agency and to prescribe its functions.

H.R. 5263, a bill to establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas.

H.R. 5957, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an accelerated amortization deduction for industrial or commercial plants and facilities constructed or established in economically depressed areas.

H.R. 7950, a bill to establish a U.S. Disarmament Agency for world peace and security.

H.R. 9421, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer a deduction from the gross income for one-half of the expenses incurred by him in the construction of a civil defense shelter of approved type and design.

H.R. 10357, a bill to provide for the settlement of claims against the United States by members of the uniformed services and civilian officers and employees of the United States for damage to, or loss of, personal property incident to their service, and for other purposes.

H.R. 10375, a bill to amend sections 1821 and 1825 of title 28, United States Code, to increase the per diem, mileage, and subsistence allowances of witnesses, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12773, a bill to amend title 35 of the United States Code to permit a written declaration to be accepted in lieu of an oath, and for other purposes.

House Resolution 109, a resolution calling upon Congress to take effective action against the spread of inflation and the high cost of living.

H.R. 2395, a bill to provide for the establishment of a U.S. Foreign Service Academy.

H.R. 2471, a bill to establish the Federal Agency for Handicapped, to define its duties, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2473, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a 30-percent credit against the individual income tax for amounts paid as tuition or fees to certain public and private institutions of higher education.

H.R. 2475, a bill to provide assistance to communities, industries, business enterprises, and individuals to facilitate adjustments made necessary by the trade policy of the United States.

H.R. 2529, a bill to amend section 201 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, so as to provide that all quota numbers not used in any year shall be made available to immigrants in oversubscribed areas in the following year, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12106, a bill to eliminate discriminatory employment practices on account of age by contractors and subcontractors in the performance of contracts with the United States and the District of Columbia.

CONCLUSION—TIMELY COUNSEL FROM A GREAT AMERICAN

Mr. Speaker, the words of wise authority remain forever as comforting beacons of guidance in troubled, distressing hours. A counseling message to all Americans is contained in the following extract from a speech given at Harvard University graduation exercises on June 30, 1910, by the late great Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes:

"The most important agencies of democracy are, after all, not the organs of government, but the influences that shape public opinion. * * * Democracy must prize its public life. It has stripped it almost altogether of ceremonial and of meaningless and absurd forms. It has placed the public officer in a position of power, to be used for service. * * * Having surrounded him with none of the pomp which makes appeal to the thoughtless and ignorant, it must invest him with the higher honor which should be the reward of fidelity. Those who cultivate the true democratic spirit will be as earnest in their support of faithful officers as they are unsparing in their condemnation of the faithless."

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## H.R. 10080

SPEECH

OF

## HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, on February 5 of this year, I introduced the pending bill, H.R. 10080, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide charitable contributions deductions to be taken for gifts made to nonprofit organizations which are created and operated exclusively to consider proposals for the reorganization of the judicial branch of government, to make recommendations and provide information with respect thereto, and to seek public support or opposition to such proposals.

Mr. Speaker, I introduced this bill at the request of the Chicago and the Illinois State Bar Associations in order to deal with an immediate problem that

exists in my home State of Illinois. At the present time, the backlog of undecided cases in the courts of my State has become such a problem that the leadership of both political parties has joined in support of the adoption of a new judicial article to our State constitution. This issue will be decided by a public referendum in the coming November election, at which time a two-third's majority of those voting on the issue will be required for the adoption of this article. Past experience has indicated, however, that adequate funds cannot be obtained to finance the kind of vigorous statewide campaign that is necessary to inform the public on this matter and to insure voter participation at the polls unless contributions for this purpose are made tax deductible. This is what my bill is designed to provide.

As reported to the House, the bill H.R. 10080 includes appropriate safeguards to insure that no private individual may benefit from these tax deductible contributions and that the donee organizations cannot involve themselves in any political campaign for or against any candidate for public office. However, this reported bill will achieve the objective of granting tax deduction for gifts made in 1962 to nonprofit organizations considering judicial reform proposals with respect to which a referendum will occur during this year, thereby being of aid to the situation presented in my State of Illinois.

I strongly urge my colleagues in the Congress to give favorable consideration to this bill.

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## Textiles Kicked Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the recent decision of the U.S. Tariff Commission in the proceeding filed by the Department of Agriculture under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act was the cause of great disappointment and concern to the people of my congressional district. Many of us feel that the decision was in utter conflict with the evidence presented to the Commission and totally inconsistent with the best interest of our domestic economy.

No one can accurately contend that the decision was to the advantage of those who earn their livelihoods in the textile plants of the United States. This causes all of the citizens of my area grave concern regardless of their personal employment since the textile industry constitutes our principal industry.

On Sunday, September 9, 1962, the Gastonia Gazette, published in Gastonia, N.C., presented a very splendid and well written editorial entitled "Textiles Kicked Again" dealing with this subject. Since the editorial should be of interest to all who are interested in preserving our domestic economy I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Gastonia (N.C.) Gazette, Sept. 9, 1962]

### TEXTILES KICKED AGAIN

Gaston County may not be 100 percent dependent upon the textile industry, but it is certainly not far from it. Every merchant, every salesman, every businessman, and every laborer relies to some extent on the textile industry.

The bulk of the taxes in Gaston County are paid by the textile industry or people employed by it or related industries. Our civic and charitable organizations are largely dependant upon contributions from this industry.

The next time you pass a school, or the library, or the YMCA, or look at any public building, say to yourself "This was largely built by textiles," and you will be right.

This is not designed as a glowing tribute to our industrial leaders. The Gazette is keenly aware that there have been times when our manufacturers were wrong. They are human, they make errors. There have been some instances, although few in number, where the industry has exploited our county and our people.

Still, over the years, this county and most of what is in it has been built by textiles. If the industry falls on hard times, so does Gaston County.

While most of our citizens are vaguely aware of the foregoing facts, they are not aware of the crisis facing the industry. The textile industry, and Gaston County with it, is being castigated in Washington. It is being sacrificed on the altar of "good international relations."

Make no mistake about it. It is not the wealthy industrialist who is being sold down the river—in most instances, he has other investments, other sources of revenue, or cash stashed away—it is not, then, the rich man who will suffer, though he will feel the effects—it is you—it is John Q. Public.

It is you, Mr. Businessman—it is you, Mr. Worker—it is you, Mr. Salesman—it is you, Miss Secretary. All of us are in the same boat. If textiles goes, so go we all.

Is textiles going? "Of course not," our leaders will tell us, "we don't want so many people out of work, and above all we want the economy good."

Then what's all the yelling about? Why all the sound and fury? Is it coming from a bunch of chronic complainers?

The answer is no. It's coming from people who are normally calm and reasonable. Why then the yelling? The headlines on last Thursday's Gazette gave a part of the reason—"Cotton Import Equalization Fee Nixed." In a story exclusive to this paper, Managing Editor Bob Hallman reported that the Tariff Commission had turned down the industry's plea for an 8½ cents surtax on foreign textile products.

Why should our industries have wanted this in the first place? Don't they believe in free enterprise? Can't they compete? Of course they can compete, but an army wouldn't be expected to fight if it had its weapons taken away by its own commander who delivered them into the hands of the enemy.

Our industries want to charge 8½ cents on foreign goods because our Government forces them to pay 8½ cents a pound more for the cotton it takes to produce these goods. The mills of Gaston County cannot buy American cotton at the same price foreign competitors buy it. Even if foreign labor were not cheap, even if Japan, Portugal, and other nations did not have modern mills built with equipment and money furnished by the American taxpayer, even if all these hurdles were not in the way of competition, our own textile industry would start off with a costlier raw material, though of no better quality. A Japanese merchant can buy the same American cotton, off the same American farm, much cheaper than an American can buy it.

Why? Why this seemingly senseless system? The answer is—naturally—we subsidize our farmers. The Government of the United States guarantees our farmers a certain price for their cotton. It also guarantees them a market for a certain amount of cotton. Thus, if the American cotton broker won't pay the farmer a price as high as that guaranteed by the Government, then the Government will simply buy the cotton at that price and none will be available to the broker.

What about foreign countries? Why can they buy it cheaper? Well, it seems that our Government is buying up a great deal more cotton than our own industries will use, so it has to do something with the excess cotton. It elects to sell this on the world cotton market. Naturally, since other countries aren't subsidizing their farmers, the Government can only get the going market price on the world market. For quite some time now the going price has been below what American industries have to pay. Therefore, foreign countries are buying the same American cotton much cheaper.

Last year, in North and South Carolina alone, the little 8½ cents extra charge cost our industries some $247 million. That's quite a bit of money for any industry to pay and still try to compete.

What has this expenditure accomplished? Supposedly the cotton subsidy would help the poor cotton farmer who could not otherwise make it. What has actually happened, however, is quite different. In approximate figures, some 70 percent of our cotton is grown by some 30 percent of the cotton farmers. In other words, most of the subsidy money is going into the pockets of the big cotton farmer, who has the machinery and efficient work force to make it even without a subsidy. Remember Billie Sol Estes?

What of the little farmer—the fellow who owns 3 or 4 acres instead of 10,000? He's still just barely scraping by. Subsidy or no subsidy, his lot is a hard one. The fact of the matter is we are squeezing the life out of our textile industry, the Nation's third largest employer, just to line the pockets of some businessman who own big farms.

To put it another way—our Government has made it very clear that, while it does not believe in the free enterprise system for the farmer, it feels that our industries should compete on a free world market. It is willing to maintain a false market for the raw product, but feels that the finished product must stand on its own. Tariffs would not, says our State Department, be good for "international relations." And like willing sheep that have been told by their master, the Tariff Commission follows suit.

Where to from here? The State Department has suggested the voluntary quota agreement route. Get all the nations who are willing to agree to restrict their shipments to a certain number of pounds and then there will be no trouble. This agreement is supposed to be entered October 1 for a period of 5 years.

There is only one trouble with this system. The same nations that are being asked to sign this agreement, signed a similar agreement last year for 1 year's time and almost without exception, not a single one abided by it. These same nations have enough cotton products stored in bonded warehouses to flood our market and put our industries out of business. Can we believe that they will now honor an agreement that they have failed to in the past?

But, says the State Department, if they don't honor it we will simply confiscate their excess goods or at least refuse to let them in the country. What if the State Department decided that this was not in the interest of good international relations?

Some quarters have suggested there is another alternative, and this is the one that the Government will probably take if one can judge by precedent. It has been said that the Government may simply subsidize the industry—with whose money, pray tell? Will the subsidy come from the cotton farmers who are in turn being subsidized by industry? Will we all simply subsidize each other while paying the salaries of the hundreds of thousands of Government workers required to administer these schemes and dream up new ones? Will we just swap money with each other while the rest of the free world moves ahead?

Thank the good Lord we have a sensible and courageous Congressman who has fought, often against pressure from his own party, to preserve our jobs. Thank the Lord we have two Senators who have done the same. They have heard the voice of our people crying out to them.

But that voice has not been heard by others in the halls of Government. It must become a roar that cannot be ignored. It must be sounded and sounded time and again until it penetrates into the administrative branch of our Government. If it fails to do so, we might also fail.

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## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

# HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of September 15, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT: CUBA

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

President Kennedy's recent statement on the Cuban situation at his news conference is almost unbelievable. He said it, he must have meant it—yet, his statements and the facts are in obvious direct conflict. The President has full authority to act, by his own admission, and when asked then why he is asking for Congress' approval replied, "I think it would be useful, if they desired to do so, for them to express their view." Well, I shall express mine as my normal procedure requires in representing the people of Texas' Fifth District. Well do we Texans remember the earlier mistake of calling up our Texas reservists.

He, the President, downgraded Castro's position, his strength and popularity in Cuba and Latin America. Facts are that he, Castro, is consolidating his power and control over Cubans, reducing their ability to revolt, and becoming a pipeline for infiltration of Latin America, Castro is winning, as communism has won everywhere, by force, not popularity or the free election or choice by the people. The President reported the Government's long knowledge of the increased shipment of technical and military personnel and weapons to Cuba from Russia, and lately the acceleration, and then stated, "These new shipments do not constitute a serious threat to any part of this hemisphere." Facts: Such shipments violate the Monroe Doctrine and are a terribly serious threat to the United States and this hemisphere, including the ultimate danger of increased loss of life when these weapons are used, as weapons always are used. The President said, "unilateral military intervention on the part of the United States cannot currently be either required or justified." Fact: The invasion of Cuba was justified, even planned by both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, in the abortive April 1961 invasion. Seventeen months later the danger of Cuba to us is far more acute. And we do nothing but keep the situation under "careful surveillance." No blockade, not even a protest on arms buildup and Russian intervention. President Kennedy claims that our base at Guantanamo, our passage to the Panama Canal, our missile and space activities at Cape Canaveral, or the lives of Americans are not endangered. Fact: They are when we permit the construction of missile sites within range of our shores and in the hands of an enemy who has warned that his goal is our destruction. He then said, "We intend to do everything within our power to prevent such a threat from coming into existence." He even recognized how our NATO allies are trading with the enemy and using their ships to transport weapons of destruction into this hemisphere. Facts: We continue to do nothing except watching and "surveilling, not even a protest."

President Kennedy said, to meet this or any other crisis he has asked for authority to callup 150,000 Reserves. Fact: He already has such authority and 2.8 million men under arms for such action as is necessary in Cuba, requiring no further act of Congress. Calling up 150,000 is almost insignificant and without an adequate explanation as to why it is necessary is creating a wrong impression and may invite miscalculated action by Khrushchev who is already convinced that we will not fight to protect ourselves and our principles. President Kennedy pledged to "continue to work with Cuban refugee leaders." Fact: We backed down before on our promise to help—will they believe us now? "Continue to keep the American people and the Congress fully informed." Fact: He has not, at any time, given adequate information to Congress or the people. We have been told repeatedly that "it is not in the best interest of the country for the people and Congress to know all that is happening." Quote from the President: "Rash talk is cheap * * * American people should keep cool their nerve and their head." Fact: Official indecision, inaction, and lack of policy is our greatest danger—the American people will support strong, decisive, knowledgeable leadership but will not agree to supine acceptance of Monroe Doctrine violation, Communist aggression in this hemisphere, and invite the war by miscalculation of our strength or determination by our Communist enemies who may judge our inept State Department leadership as indicative of our military capability. It's happened before.

Let's get hard-headed and start making our own policy instead of timidly waiting for others and their actions and demands to shape our next move. Let's remember the American blueprint. In 1823 the blueprint was known as the Monroe Doctrine, an American statement of policy which courageous Americans have always supported. Today, the Communist dictator, Khrushchev says: "The Monroe Doctrine has outlived its usefulness. It has died a natural death. The only thing left to do is to bury it, just as you bury anything dead so it will not poison the air." So President Kennedy has and is letting Khrushchev with the aid of his puppet, Castro, dictate our conduct, the great United States. Khrushchev backs up his threat by rocket rattling and the threat of nuclear destruction if we do not agree to his demands and junk the Monroe Doctrine. Perhaps some think that "Better Red than dead," should replace the "Give me liberty or give me death" of Patrick Henry and our Monroe Doctrine forefathers. Both Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Kennedy are assuring the American people that weapons and troops in Cuba are defensive and therefore no threat. Weapons, any weapons, are both offensive and defensive. What difference does it make what they call the Russian troops and weapons now in Cuba? So they are defensive. Whoever frees Cuba from communism will be just as dead by the action of the weapons and troops which will be used to keep Cuba Communist. Who else but Americans will implement the Monroe Doctrine? Should we wait until they're completely fortified to make it more of a fair fight and so that more American boys will die?

Now we are told the answer to all this cold war jockeying and invasion of our hemisphere, the Berlin wall and a divided Germany, Vietnam, Laos, Africa, and our overall foreign situation is to call up 150,000 Reservists, upset the homes and businesses of 150,000 families. Is this the bold New Frontier firmness to replace the firm action the Monroe Doctrine states is our policy? What nonsense.

The Cuban invasion which we caused to fail, a failure for which President Kennedy assumed full responsibility, demonstrated that the military policy of victory requiring force was replaced by a State Department political decision of "no force" since that might offend our Latin neighbors and others. We know now the decision was wrong and this pertinent statement from one civilian official who was close to the whole invasion operation now makes this judgment in the September 17, 1962, issue of U.S. News & World Report: "In retrospect the political decision was wrong." A military man, also close to the operation said this: "If you go back to that time and look at the whole problem you find that this country faced one fundamental question: Can we permit a Communist country in this Western Hemisphere? Now, if the answer is yes, then you do one thing. If the answer is no, you do another. But if you weasel on that answer, start compromising, then you wind up in confusion—with no real answer. One thing we should have learned from this Cuban fiasco is this: You can't run a military operation that way."

To understand our present indecision and inability to act it is necessary to remember that we have no policy. The abortive Cuban invasion timetable of events shows this. We must learn from experience, so here is the Cuban fiasco timetable from the same issue of U.S. News & World Report:

"Predawn hours of Monday the invasion began and President Kenneday called off the promised air support. Two administrations planned it. Monday noon he reversed his decision and ordered the planes used but bad weather prevented such use and he said use them Wednesday. Tuesday, the invaders were losing because of lack of support."

"Tuesday night the President was attending a White House party for Congressmen and received another appeal for help. He approved the use of one carrier for 1 hour Wednesday morning as a cover to land supplies. Specified no land attacks. Wednesday there was a communications mixup, the Cuban fliers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action and, anyway, it was developed, it was too late, the invasion was a failure. U.S. military officials, in close touch with the invasion, said it came within a hairbreadth of success. The invaders inflicted 2,000 casualties on

Castro's troops and suffered only a 100 prior to the collapse because of lack of support. Out of that fateful decision by President Kennedy Soviet Russia is entrenched in Cuba and communism is a real threat to the whole hemisphere."

To those who say we must show unanimity of teamwork behind our President by burying our heads in the sand and by not criticizing the indecision and lack of policy is to say our type of free society has already ceased to exist. With this I do not agree. The people are entitled to know, to judge, and to order a change in course when our Nation is following a road to national suicide. This is freedom of speech and action. We need more than the empty gesture of calling up 150,000 Reserves. We need a determined policy clearly stated by the President which would use effectively the 2.8 million men now under arms, an immediate blockade of Cuba to prevent further Russian troops and arms from being landed, and whatever action it takes to rid the Cuban people of the Communist masters who now enslave them and threaten us and the rest of the free countries of this hemisphere, action which is obviously called for by the Monroe Doctrine.

## The Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in the days of the 1960 presidential campaign and subsequently, during the months of the Kennedy administration, reference to the President as a skilled politician has been frequent. Great things were predicted for legislative output when in the White House there was one with political acumen gained from experience in both Houses of Congress, one having, what many commentators considered, perfect political mastery.

This aura of political invincibility seems to have been dispelled. Or we might say the Kennedy political sloop has run aground shortly after its skipper indicated it was in full sail.

The Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial on July 25, notes the efforts of Kennedy the politician and how he has sought to shift the blame for his political failures. I believe the Monitor has made an excellent evaluation of this and its editorial follows:

KENNEDY THE POLITICIAN

Mr. Kennedy is now talking frankly partisan language about his stalled domestic legislative program. He blames the Republicans for his lack of success. There was a long series of statements to this effect in his latest press conference.

Mr. Kennedy respects both logic and objectivity but in this case he seems to be taking leave of both. Why should he blame members of the opposition party for predictably voting against bills with which they traditionally disagree? He could more logically blame the voters. The voters gave him an insufficient number of Democrats who agree.

And how can he shrug his shoulders so fatalistically about the conservative Democrats while pointing such an accusing finger at the Republicans? Where is consistency?

Mr. Kennedy also argues that because Republicans oppose his program they are for inaction. He is for action. But in many cases enough Republicans agree with the broad aims of Kennedy domestic bills to pass them, if they had been drafted with more attention to the national need and less to Democratic politics and power.

But his frankly partisan approach to most of the major domestic bills provoked a frankly partisan answer. He knew that the conservative Democrats would vote with the opposition. Logic would suggest that his strategy was at fault, and not either the conservative Democrats or the Republicans. He misjudged the election returns.

This is all the more curious because at the start of his second year in the White House the President told reporters he was going to follow an entirely different strategy. He recognized the need for emphasizing national needs and deemphasizing party politics.

A few weeks thereafter he proposed a Department of Urban Affairs in a highly political manner. For whatever reason, perhaps a rising political self-confidence, his approach to Congress radically changed. With this more recent approach Mr. Kennedy created his own frustration.

He has now explicitly described his plan for the coming congressional campaign. To the degree that it can be separated from recrimination over the past, it is a partial return to logic again. The President is tackling the real cause of his difficulty in the narrow decision of the voters. "The areas I'll be campaigning in are seats * * * where there will be a very clear choice between Republicans who oppose these programs and Democrats who support them. That's where I am going to go."

The voters will be there waiting. It remains to be seen whether they will consciously choose to base their vote on what kind of Congress they want to give Mr. Kennedy. (Many of them probably didn't, last time.) But they have this opportunity now and they should use it.

Meanwhile it is curious that Mr. Kennedy should be gauche about allocating blame for his plight, when he is supposed to excel at the political arts. It could be that he misjudges the future voting as well as the past. He may find that the same actions on his part which drove the moderate votes in Congress into opposition will cause the voters in November to prefer more conservative candidates.

## The Future of America's Growth Depends Upon a Vigorous, Efficient Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, perhaps one of the major problems this Congress has faced deals with agriculture—we have an abundance of agricultural production and, consequently, have billions of dollars of surplus in storage.

All of us must agree that the real problem is distribution for even today half the world is starving. Our acres lie idle while other nations struggle to produce food from land drained of its fertility by centuries of cultivation.

It might be well, at this time, to examine our position and some of the circumstances which have led us to where we now are.

An interesting and factual presentation has been given by Mrs. John F. Kirk, executive vice president of the Velsicol Chemical Corp.—a producer of insecticides and other basic chemicals.

His speech, entitled "Price Support Costs Now 5 Billion—Have We Created a Frankenstein?" goes to the basic problem and gives an excellent analysis of the overall problem. Some of his more impressive arguments are in charts, and it is indeed unfortunate that they cannot be reproduced in the RECORD for I am certain that these charts would be able to demonstrate more readily the real circumstances under which agriculture operates today and what we can expect in the future.

His speech is doubly interesting because of the many articles which are appearing regarding the use of insecticides and herbicides to protect our growing crops. Questions have been raised about use of these chemicals.

I have been assured, Mr. Speaker, that these questions are without foundation. I have checked with the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as well as the National Academy of Sciences and have been given unequivocal assurances that our food supply is safe.

How can they be so sure? I have been advised that these chemicals are subjected to more scrutiny, more pretesting than anything which might find its way into our food supply.

I have had letters from constituents asking what if anything the Congress is doing regarding these chemicals used in agriculture. The Congress has done all we can do in that we have vested in the proper agencies of Government the authority they needed to require specific data from manufacturers in order that they might intelligently pass on the toxicity of the various products. They check these products themselves and then arrive at safe levels.

Mr. Kirk points out in his speech that in the not too distant future, our real problem will be more serious than the one we are facing today—a problem of an insufficient food supply. We need these chemicals—today, as well as tomorrow. The Department of Agriculture estimate that only about 8 of the 72 major crops produced in the United States could be commercially grown without the use of agricultural chemicals. Can you imagine what our diet would be like with only eight different crops from which to choose? I shudder at the thought.

In order that my colleagues might have an opportunity to read Mr. Kirk's speech, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. Kirk's speech was given at the Western Agricultural Chemicals Asso-

ciation meeting this year in Yosemite, Calif.

The speech follows:

PRICE SUPPORT COSTS NOW 5 BILLION—HAVE WE CREATED A FRANKENSTEIN?

I am certain that all of us in the agricultural chemical industry have experienced occasional conscience pangs—occasional moments of doubt about the economic desirability from an overall patriotic point of view, of the contribution of our industry and of our personal contribution to the ever-growing efficiency of agricultural production.

We, as U.S. taxpayers, through the Commodity Credit Corporation, now have more that $7 billion invested in surplus commodities. During 1961, we as taxpayers, spent more than $5 billion in price support activities to buy up, store, give away, or barter agricultural products. Out of every $100 that we paid in either income or Federal excise tax, $6 was used for this price support activity.

Meanwhile, our industry's scientists are at work developing new and more effective insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, nematocides, growth regulants, and feed additives. The fertilizer industry is developing better plant foods. The equipment manufacturers are developing larger and more efficient agricultural production machines. The plant breeders are developing improved varieties—higher yielding, more resistant to insects and disease, better adapted to machine harvesting. The poultry and animal breeders are developing faster growing, higher producing strains. The nutritionists are developing better feeds. The experiment stations are working "hand in glove" with us in all of these developments. The county agents, farm advisers, farm press, and our own commercial men are educating the farmer about new developments and improved practices—showing him how to profit by using these developments and improvements in his own farming operation.

These efforts of the scientists, the manufacturers, the educators, and the farmers, have been coordinated under our free enterprise system. We have been spurred on by the profit motive and driven by the lash of competition to ever increasing efficiency.

Man-hours of labor required to produce the crops and animals needed to feed and clothe one person per year, as well as provide surpluses for exports and CCC storage, have declined from 155 in 1940 to 100 in 1950 and only 60 in 1960.

Farm population has dropped from 31 million in 1940 to 25 million in 1950 to 21 million in 1960. As a percent of the total population, the drop was from 35 percent in 1910 to 23 percent in 1940 to 17 perecnt in 1950 and 11 percent in 1960.

Truly a remarkable picture and one much envied by the Russians who have the scientific knowledge to duplicate our performance, but lack the catalyst of our free enterprise system.

But where are we going? With more and more crops being produced with less and less land and labor and with less and less pounds of feed required to produce a pound of meat, eggs, or milk, will we finally be drowned in our abundance and we taxpayers bankrupted by the burden of our surpluses?

Is there any moral justification for our continued collective efforts to further improve agricultural efficiency? Are our efforts merely compounding the surplus problem for the future and adding to the taxpayers' burden?

The obvious answer is that increasing population and land diversion for housing, recreation, and highway use ultimately will restore the balance and our surpluses will disappear. But how long will this process require? Estimates and projections can be based on past trends.

The U.S. Department of Commerce publishes extensive information in its annual edition "Statistical Abstracts of the United States." Using these Government figures, we can start with population. In 1890, we had 63 million people in the United States. This nearly doubled by 1930 to 123 million and nearly tripled by 1961 to 180 million. The Commerce Department makes projections through 1980 on four different fertility assumptions. The most conservative forecasts 231 million by 1960. The most optimistic projection forecasts 275 million people by 1980.

Next we can look at housing units. The Government figures show the total number of units by years. Dividing the number of units for a given year into the population for that year, we find that the number of people per housing unit have declined each year from 4.85 in 1890, to 4.42 in 1920, to 3.78 in 1940, and 3.38 in 1960.

Although we are having more children per family, our higher incomes have reduced the doubling up of generations and permitted more second houses for summer or vacation use. Assuming that this trend will continue, we have estimated figures for each 5-year period and project that by 1980, we will average 3.15 people per housing unit. Applying each of these figures to the population estimate for that year, we have estimated that housing units will increase from the 30 million of 1930, the 43 million of 1950, the 53 million of 1960, to 73 to 86 million in 1980. With the accessory streets, schools, and shopping centers, we assume that we will average one acre of land for each two housing units. We calculate that we will divert for this use 2.5 to 3.5 million acres between now and 1965, another 2.5 to 3.5 million acres by 1970, another 2.0 to 4.5 million by 1975, and a further 3.0 to 3.5 million acres by 1980.

Next, look at automobiles. Motor vehicle registrations have increased from 27 million in 1930, to 49 million in 1950, and 74 million in 1960. This is equivalent to one car for each 4.5 persons in 1930, one car for each 3.1 persons in 1950, one car for each 2.4 persons in 1960. We estimate that there will be one car for every 2.2 people by 1980. Based on the population projection, we expect that by 1980 motor vehicle registrations will reach 105 to 124 million.

Obviously, our present highway system will not be able to accommodate the resulting increased traffic. Our State highway system totalled 324,000 miles in 1930, 608,000 miles in 1950, and 702,000 miles in 1959. In 1959 there were approximately 100 cars for each mile of State highways. Assuming that we continue to expand our highway system to maintain this ratio, we will need approximately 800,000 miles in 1965, 900,000 miles in 1970, 1 million miles in 1975, and 1,100,000 miles in 1980. Assuming 200-foot right-of-ways to accommodate divided lane highways, 24 acres of land will be required for each mile of new highway. This will result in a diversion, for highway use, of 2.4 million acres during each of the next four 5-year periods.

As urban population increases, it is expected that park and recreational needs will grow. The State park system totaled 4.6 million acres in 1945, 5.1 million acres in 1955, and 5.7 million acres in 1959. We have estimated that the growth rate will accelerate and will total 6.5 million acres in 1965, 7.5 million acres in 1970, 9 million acres in 1975, and 11 million acres in 1980.

Totaling the expected amount of acreage diverted for highways, parks, and housing, we have estimated that the cumulative diversion by 1980 will total from 25 to 31 million acres. Unfortunately, highways, housing, and parks usually take the best agricultural land and can be expected to subtract directly from the area available for crop use.

The area used for growing crops in the United States increased from 220 million acres in 1889 to a peak of 362 million acres in 1929. Since 1929, the increase in virgin lands converted to crop use and areas reclaimed by irrigation and other methods have been more than offset by the diversion of cropland for housing, industry, roads, and parks. As a result, land used for crop purposes had dropped by 1960 to 328 million acres.

Of this total, the Government estimated that 59 million acres were devoted to the production of crops that were exported, leaving 269 million acres to produce the food and fiber consumed by our population of 178 million people. Thus, in 1960, we required 1.51 acres of cropland for each person in the country.

Through the years, the acreage required per capita has dropped as our agricultural efficiency has increased. In 1889 the figure was 3.5 acres per capita, by 1939 it was 2.39 acres, by 1949 it was 2 acres, and by 1960, 1.51 acres. If progress stops and there is no further drop below the current 1.5 acres per capita, the population increase alone will require by 1980 the use of 347 to 410 million acres for domestic consumption.

By 1980 we are expected to have diverted 25 to 31 million acres of cropland from the present total of 328 million. Thus, we will have no land left for the production of export crops and, in addition, we will have an indicated deficit of 44 to 113 million acres of the minimum needed to produce food and fiber required for our domestic population.

This deficit can be met by one, or a combination, of the following: (1) Reclaiming land now not suitable for crop use; (2) changing our dietary habits to consume a higher proportion of vegetables and grain products and a lower proportion of animal protein, thus following the example of overpopulated areas of the world such as India and China; and (3) further increasing farm efficiency to the point that we will need only 1.09 to 1.31 acres per capita to merely maintain our existing dietary standards.

If we fail to further expand our agricultural efficiency and do not reclaim additional land, the land available for production of export crops will drop from the 59 million acres used in 1960 to 22 to 33 million acres by 1965. By 1970, the acreage available for export will range from a maximum of 13 million acres to a deficit below our domestic needs. The deficit will increase by 1980 to 44 to 113 million acres. To maintain our present dietary standards and continue our present level of exports, farm efficiency will have to be increased by 1980 so that only 0.95 to 1.12 acres per capita are required.

If our assumptions and projections are correct, we can expect only a few years of agricultural surpluses. If we are going to continue to enjoy our steaks and not accept a rice and beans future for our population, our industry's efforts to help improve the efficiency of agricultural production must be continued.

Meanwhile, what of the 5 billion price support cost? Figured per person, it is less than $28 per year, less than 6 cents per day * * * actually, a small insurance premium to the consumer for assurance of an adequate food supply. Although our surpluses may seem large today, these projections of our future needs show that we will have to speed up our efforts to improve agricultural efficiency if we are going to prevent today's surpluses from turning into tomorrow's shortages.

Thus, our industry's and our personal contribution to the growing efficiency of agriculture actually is socially desirable and in the country's best interest.

Our position is vindicated.

## Relief for Senior Homeowners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was especially pleased to note that the Senate included in its consideration of the tax bill an amendment introduced by Senator DIRKSEN, providing that citizens over 65 would not be subject to a capital gains tax on the paper profit realized from the sale of their personal residences.

This type of tax relief as a most practical manner of directly aiding our senior citizens. I was particularly interested in this amendment since earlier, in conjunction with Senator DIRKSEN, I had introduced legislation which called for this same tax relief for persons over 60 years of age. I am certainly hopeful that the conferees will retain this amendment in the final version of the tax bill.

This tax relief has drawn widespread favorable comment across the country, and I insert into the RECORD an example of its support in an editorial from the September 9, 1962, issue of the Chicago Heights Star, Chicago Heights, Ill., entitled "Relief for Senior Homeowners":

RELIEF FOR SENIOR HOMEOWNERS

The U.S. Senate has adopted an amendment introduced by Illinois Senator DIRKSEN providing a measure of tax relief for persons over 65 years of age.

Under terms of the amendment, people in this age group will no longer have to pay a capital gains tax on profits realized from the sale of their homes. At present, all property owners who sell their dwellings must pay 25 percent of the so-called profit in taxes, unless they purchase another home within a year.

In one sense, the present law is unfair to persons under 65 as well as older citizens. This is due to the fact that the increase in the property's value over the original purchase price is not profit at all, but merely evidence that inflation has boosted the valuation by reducing the worth of a dollar.

It is appropriate to provide relief for at least those over 65, however, because they are the least likely to buy other residential property. Many of them, their families having achieved maturity and departed, find apartment living preferable to maintaining unnecessarily large homes.

An attractive feature of the amendment, too, is the fact that it gives the oldsters tax relief to which they are entitled, rather than imposing new or higher taxes to subsidize them. Few things are so rare as a day on which lawmakers vote to benefit one group of constituents without penalizing another.

Meanwhile, action is needed at the State level to provide tax relief for older persons who retain their residential property.

This can be attained through overhauling the revenue article in the State constitution. The tax burden imposed on real property cannot be eased markedly until other sources of revenue are provided to finance schools and other essential services.

The real estate levy falls hardest on taxpayers relying on a fixed income, particularly when the actual buying power of the income is reduced periodically by increases in the cost of living.

## The President's Textile Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, the failure of the various agencies of the Government to implement the President's textile program is a matter of serious and grave concern to the Nation and increasing alarm to those of us who live in the textile areas of the South. We are afraid that the State Department which has a horrible record of failure insofar as the promotion of the best interest of this country is concerned, may add to its record of failure, a record of an indifference to the needs of the people in the textile areas of this country. We feel they are in opposition to our best interest and we are most unhappy.

Recently the U.S. Tariff Commission, in a devastating decision, destroyed much hope for relief. The President of the United States has indicated his unhappiness with that decision and so have people from all walks of life in the district I have the privilege to represent.

The Chamber of Commerce of Rock Hill, S.C., has evidenced its concern, and I enclose here, as part of my remarks, a resolution passed by the chamber and forwarded to me by their very efficient manager, Mr. Vernon Grant of Rock Hill, S.C.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION BY THE ROCK HILL (S.C.) CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Whereas we, the members of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of Rock Hill, S.C., are concerned about the serious threat to the American textile industry created by the increasing flood of textiles from low wage foreign nations; and

Whereas in general, we agree with the overall conduct of our foreign policy and commend this administration for its efforts to strengthen the national defense and bolster democracies around the world. We are willing to assume our share of the sacrifices necessary to promote world trade and good international relations, however, we feel that it is asking too much to require the domestic cotton manufacturers and the American textile workers to compete at home and in the world market with low-wage foreign-made textiles and at the same time pay 8½ cents per pound more than foreign competition is paying for American cotton. Especially does this seem unfair when this difference in the price of cotton is artificially created by our own governmental policy. This inequity is even more unjust when you consider the fact that, following the destruction of World War II, the recovery of much of the foreign textile industry was promoted at the expense of American taxpayers, including the very industries that are being threatened by this favored foreign competition; and

Whereas the action of the U.S. Tariff Commission in turning down the proposed "import equalization fee" places the textile industry in an even more precarious position thus defeating what we believe to be the intent of Congress and the President of the United States: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the board of directors*, That the Chamber of Commerce of Rock Hill, S.C., respectfully urge President Kennedy and the Congress of the United States to immediately take all steps and pass all legislation necessary to eliminate or offset the adverse difference in the domestic and foreign cost of cotton and to adjust the tariff rate and the import quotas sufficient to give reasonable protection to our domestic textile industry and secure the jobs of millions of American workers.

J. ED MARSHALL, JR.,
*President.*
VERNON GRANT,
*Manager.*

Adopted September 11, 1962.

## Our Fine Federal Bureau of Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, the president of the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police, Mr. Wayne Ethell, sent me two resolutions recently adopted by that association, which I feel are noteworthy.

One resolution calls attention to the 13th anniversary of the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Laboratory by its able Director, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover on November 24, 1932. The Laboratory long ago proved to be most effective in combating crime, and the resolution adopted by the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police is demonstrative of the esteem all the law enforcement agencies have for this Laboratory.

The second resolution commends the book "A Study of Communism," written by the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, for incorporation into the high school and college curriculums throughout the United States. This great book, which I have read, is indicative of Director Hoover's constant fight to protect the internal security of the United States.

I have the highest regard for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I feel that there is no other public servant who has given so much to the betterment of our country than its fine director, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I take great pleasure in bringing these two resolutions to the attention of all of my colleagues:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the FBI Laboratory was established by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on November 24, 1932, for the purpose of serving all law enforcement agencies throughout the United States in the scientific examination of evidence in criminal cases, and has rendered scintillating, effective, harmonious, and gratis services in this direction; and

Whereas the law enforcement agencies of Ohio have used the facilities of the FBI Laboratory to a degree rarely exceeded by that of any other State; and

Whereas the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under Director J. Edgar Hoover, constantly strives in all scientific matters and in many other service aspects to improve the professionalization of police work and effective service to citizens; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police in conference assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 11, 1962, does hereby commend Director J. Edgar Hoover, FBI, for his multifold services, and congratulate him on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the FBI Laboratory which will occur on November 24, 1962; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police expresses deep gratitude for the many aspects of FBI cooperation and for its efficient, effective, economical service to the people of the United States and to the people and the law enforcement agencies of the great State of Ohio.

WAYNE ETHELL,
*President,*
*Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police.*

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RESOLUTION RE "A STUDY OF COMMUNISM," BY DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER

Whereas J. Edgar Hoover is eminently qualified as an authority on communism and since his assumption of FBI directorship in 1924 has held responsibility for protecting the internal security of the United States, and conducting investigation into all aspects of subversive activity, espionage, sabotage, and related functions with emphasis on communism; and

Whereas the book "Masters of Deceit," written by Director Hoover was an outstanding compilation of Communist ideology, tactics, and strategy, and served a vital need in the United States; and

Whereas the recent intensification of Communist activity directed toward the capture of the minds of young people and the overt actions of the international Communist conspiracy are directed at the destruction of the United States, and thus emphasizing the importance of all citizens being aware of Communist challenges against law and order; and

Whereas it is fundamental that the Communists seek to destroy confidence in established agencies of government, including the dedicated public servants in the police profession, and it becomes important for each citizen to be aware that the Communist world membership of 40 million, its false appeals, its propaganda, front groups, infiltration of non-Communist organizations and other subtle tactics, including the all-out systematic campaign to recruit members from the college campuses, can be combated only through enlightened citizens; and

Whereas Director Hoover has now performed another characteristic service to the American people through the issuance of his new book, "A Study of Communism," designed to help high school and college students, as well as adults, more effectively serve in the protection of the United States and in contributions to government under law; and

Whereas Director J. Edgar Hoover has, without remuneration to himself, offered in "A Study of Communism" the most modern, complete, factual compendium of the entire Communist picture in textbook form, especially designed for use in the schools, as well as in adult education: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police does hereby express its hearty commendation to Director J. Edgar Hoover for his latest book, "A Study of Communism," and for his selfless services in providing this penetrating analysis of the Communist threat to freedom as well as for his many years of protecting the internal security of the United States; and be it also

*Resolved*, That the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police endorses "A Study of Communism" and urges its incorporation into the high school and college curricula throughout the land, as well as the widest possible dissemination to citizens everywhere as a means of enhancing democratic government under law.

Adopted by the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police in conference assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 11, 1962.

WAYNE ETHELL,
*President, Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police.*

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## The Birthday Anniversary of General Von Steuben Is an Appropriate Time To Remember His Contribution to This Nation

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, September 17 is the anniversary of the birth of Maj. Gen. Frederick Wilhelm von Steuben, one of the most important military figures in the American Revolution. He had been successful militarily in his native Prussia where he had been personally appointed to a high military post by Frederick the Great. He was selected for the general staff duty at the royal headquarters and in this position gained experience which enabled him to perform a unique and extremely valued service later when he came to the United States to aid the struggle for American independence.

After initial contacts with Benjamin Franklin in Paris, he came to the United States and joined General Washington's army in 1777. It is typical of this man who served us so well, that he offered his services free of charge to the Continental Congress. When they sent a commitee to ask him what his desires were, he told that he did not care about rank or pay, and that he was willing to volunteer to serve the American cause, confident that he would receive just reward if America was victorious and so confident of her success that he made no mention of the possibility of failure.

Steuben was a soldier's soldier. George Washington was so impressed by his practical knowledge and experience that he was appointed acting inspector general and given the difficult and key job of training the Army. The Americans at this point in their history were high on enthusiasm and good intentions but low on professional training. This one serious shortcoming which threatened their success was overcome by General von Steuben who drilled the troops to perfection and wrote the basic training manuals for those he could not personally direct.

His "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States," contained the essentials of military instruction and procedure skillfully adapted by this brilliant man to the needs of the American soldier. It has not received the place in history that has been awarded to the writings of Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison; but it clearly contributed as much or more to the early history of this Nation.

Washington obviously had high faith in this man for he appointed him to a number of key and important posts in which his talents and skills contributed immeasurably to the American cause. One of the most important tasks he had was to serve as Washington's representative in the discussions which were held with the Continental Congress in the efforts to reorganize the Army.

After the surrender of the British to which he so importantly contributed, General von Steuben continued to work for his adopted Nation. He assisted Washington in the preparation of a plan for the future defense of the United States and the mobilization of her Armed Forces. Washington's last official act before relinquishing command of the Army in 1783 was to write a letter of commendation to von Steuben for his invaluable services to the United States throughout the war.

After the peace, Von Steuben permanently stayed in the United States and eventually became a citizen of the Nation he had served so well.

I hope that the time is not far off when our Nation will remember this man in a fitting fashion. Early in the first session of this Congress, I introduced legislation—H.J. Res. 344—which would authorize the President of the United States to proclaim this date—September 17—each year General von Steuben Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the birth of Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben. I hope that action can be taken in the near future to approve this legislation—the text of which follows:

JOINT RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO PROCLAIM SEPTEMBER 17 OF EACH YEAR GENERAL VON STEUBEN MEMORIAL DAY FOR THE OBSERVANCE AND COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF GEN. FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON STEUBEN

Whereas it is sought to pay homage and respect to the memory and achievements of Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, who came to our shores on December 1, 1777, to offer his heart and his hand to assist in our struggle for independence, and his heroic deeds are emblazoned in the history of our country; and

Whereas the hero, born in Magdeburg, Prussia, on September 17, 1730, did join with Washington at Valley Forge and devote himself with great resolve and effect to the bolstering up and reorganization of our then tried soldiers, and distinguished himself at Monmouth and Yorktown; and

Whereas, by historical coincidence, Constitution Day and the birthday of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben both occur on September 17; and

Whereas the said Major General von Steuben was instrumental in promulgating the drill regulations and regulations for order and discipline of the troops of the United States which were adopted by Congress on March 29, 1779, and in addition he is historically credited with the fundamental idea of the establishment of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States of America is author-

ized to issue a proclamation calling upon officials of the Government to display the flag of the United States on all governmental buildings on September 17 of each year, and inviting the people of the United States to observe the day in schools and churches, or other suitable places, with appropriate ceremonies in commemoration of the birth of General von Steuben.

It is interesting to note that the Constitution, which General von Steuben helped to make possible, was signed on the anniversary of his birth—September 17, 1787. It is fitting that these two anniversaries be celebrated jointly. Governors of many of the States have already proclaimed September 17 as Steuben Day. The States which now observe the anniversary are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Washington, and my native State of Wisconsin.

## Whatever Happened to the Monroe Doctrine?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

Florida news media have been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own Florida beaches. Our broadcasters and our editors report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Miami television station WTVJ has been one of the leaders in this reporting, calling attention to the problem to all. In an editorial broadcast September 4, News Vice President Ralph Renick asks, "Whatever Happened to the Monroe Doctrine?" As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens regarding the Russian move into Cuba, I ask that this fine editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

Tonight marks the beginning of our sixth year of daily editorializing. This is the longest continuing series of editorials carried on any American television station. We don't expect unanimous agreement on these opinions and you can be assured our daily mail count upholds that expectation. Please know that your comments are most welcome and we thank you for your continued interest as we broadcast tonight editorial No. 1072.

President Kennedy's admission late today that Russia is supplying Cuba with defensive missiles with ranges up to 25 miles, serves to emphasize the growing danger near our borders.

The President said Russian equipment and technicians are being used primarily for "defensive" purposes. He indicated that when any "aggressive" capability is reached by the Cubans with U.S.S.R. help, the situation would be "turned back by whatever means may be necessary."

Several other items point up the gravity of Cuban developments.

One is Pan American World Airways announcement that it is having financial difficulties in operating its "lifeline" airlift flights from Havana to Miami. To shut off this transportation link would in effect be erecting another "Berlin-type wall" to keep refugees trapped in a Communist state. Some 20,000 Cubans who have been cleared for transportation to the United States are still awaiting an airlift from Cuba. We must not allow this refugee flow to be cut off even if it means help from our Government to keep the planes flying.

A second item is the status of the two 35-foot boats which defecting Cubans brought to Key West. The craft are owned by the Cuban Government. The U.S. State Department has asked the Federal Court to remove the boats from the jurisdiction of a Miami lienholder in order that they may be sent back to Castro.

This is tantamount to giving a killer a weapon. Testimony in Federal court today indicates the vessels can be used as gunboats. We recall the shooting fracas 15 miles north of the Cuban coastline with a U.S. Navy plane as the target. Let's keep the boats impounded here.

Finally, the landing of a Cuban training plane at Key West today makes us wonder if Sunday's Operation Skyshield did any good. The North American Air Defense Command won't say whether the Cuban craft was detected prior to its landing today. This makes us suspect our air defense spotting system between Florida and Cuba still has some hole in it.

And, oh, yes, there was one more thought which we expressed here a week ago Friday. Whatever happened to the Monroe Doctrine?

## Dag Hammarskjold's Creed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, a year ago today, the rich career of one of the most extraordinary men of our generation came to a tragic end. While pursuing his persistent and courageous search for peace in the Congo, Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations, along with 15 of his aids crashed to death in a plane. The peace that he sought has not yet been altogether achieved. When it is, it will be a living monument to this dedicated man who gave his life to its cause.

Much has already been written about Dag Hammarskjold, the man and the leader. More remains to be written—the full story of his deeds in a life of service to his nation and humanity. But perhaps nothing will ever be written which captures the spirit of the man better than Dag Hammarskjold's own words, spoken as he accepted his election to Secretary General.

These words were recalled by Pauline Frederick, the distinguished news reporter and analyst, in her broadcast on the National Broadcasting System's program "Emphasis," on Friday, September 22, last year. On this said anniversary, I would like to read Miss Frederick's script into the RECORD so that all who read this may have an insight into this gifted and truly great human being:

FREDERICK. This is Pauline Frederick, "Emphasis," United Nations.

The first words Dag Hammarskjold spoke in the General Assembly, on April 10, 1953, on accepting his election to Secretary General were his creed. Here it is:

"With humility I accept an election, expressing a confidence in me which I have still to justify—with a humility inspired as much by my knowledge of personal limitations as by my awareness of the extraordinary responsibility which you impose on me by your election.

"My background is, as you know, the civil service of my country—a civil service strengthened by a long tradition and firmly founded on law. It is the bodies by which the nations of Europe are trying to shape the future of that part of the world that I have gathered the experience I have of international cooperation. There I have learned the vital importance of loyalty, devotion, and integrity of those engaged in the work.

"I bring to this task a firm will to devote myself without any reserve to the work carried out by the United Nations Organization in pursuit of its high aims. I am here to serve you all. In so doing, I shall count on your understanding, on your advice and on your will to give to what I have to say the attention that it may deserve. I am animated by a desire to meet all problems with an open mind. It is for you to judge how I succeed. It is for you to correct me if I fail."

Dag Hammarskjold went on, "Ours is a work of reconciliation and realistic construction. This work must be based on respect for the laws by which human civilization has been built. It likewise requires a strict observance of the rules and principles laid down in the charter of this organization. My work shall be guided by this knowledge.

"This great Organization grew out of the pain and turmoil of the last war. It welded together in what should be a continued cooperation for world peace all those who had fought against oppression. By all who have sacrificed themselves, by all sacrificing themselves in the fight for freedom and peace this Organization has—in the words of one of the greatest leaders of democracy—been 'consecrated far above our poor power to add or detract.' May I quote also these other words from the Gettysburg address. 'The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did * * *. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished task which they have, thus far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us.'

"In concluding, may I remind you of the great memory just celebrated by the Christian world, may I do so because of what that memory tells us of the redeeming power of true dedication to peace and good will toward men. We are of different creeds and convictions. Events and ideas which to some of us remain the very basis of our faith are elements of spiritual heritage of man which are foreign to others. But common to us all, and above all other convictions stands the truth, once expressed by a Swedish poet when he said that the greatest prayer of man does not ask for victory but for peace."—Dag Hammarskjold's creed.

This is Pauline Frederick, NBC News, at the United Nations.

## U Thant, U.N. Helmsman, Takes Wrong Turn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the menace of communism to the United States and to the free world is well known to all of us. Yet, periodically, we find disturbing signs that the danger and basic evil of the Communist philosophy is underestimated and overlooked.

The September 7 issue of the New World, the official publication of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, contains two interesting commentaries by its editor, Rev. J. M. Kelly, one on the subject of the attitude of Acting Secretary General of the U.N., U Thant, toward the philosophy of communism, and the other a most pertinent commentary on public concern over the Soviet buildup in Cuba. I ask leave to insert the articles into the RECORD at this point.

The articles follow:

U THANT, U.N. HELMSMAN, TAKES WRONG TURN

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the 19th century German philosopher, is reported to have said of himself: "One man has understood me, and even he has not." This could well be true. Hegelianism is one of the most difficult of all philosophies. In it God comes off rather poorly. It would be impossible to discuss his philosophy in this brief space. Nor is it necessary. It is better to consider the quote. It applies very well to Burmese U Thant, acting Secretary General of the U.N., who recently quoted Hegel to back up his own concept of the U.N. Presently he is on a tour of the Communist-bloc nations. "I firmly believe," Thant said, "that the world is heading for a synthesis," predicting that the conflicting ideologies of East and West will eventually merge, producing another kind of political system in the march of history. He quoted Hegel's contention that each philosophy "contains the seeds of its own destruction." We may fervently hope that this is true of U Thant's own philosophy.

Thant, speaking to (Red) Polish officials and diplomats, said further that history proves that "various strong religious and political convictions are not a permanent feature of society—just a passing phenomenon"—and that the United Nations is "the only hope for the future of mankind."

These remarks have secured for Mr. Thant the blessing of Nikita Khrushchev, who is now willing to accept him as acting Secretary General, and shelve his demands for a U.N. troika directorate—at least temporarily. For the rest of us, they leave much to be desired, unless we are willing to shelve our own ideals—religious, moral and social. It is not a happy thing to find this type of philosophy being expounded by the man who is expected to steer the U.N.—the "only hope for the salvation of mankind." If he steers it long enough in this direction, it could well become a guarantee of the destruction of a good part of mankind.

In spite of Mr. Thant's rationalistic and materialistic approach (which is not far removed from atheistic communism) God remains the only hope for the salvation of mankind, and the U.N. and all of us had better keep it in mind. Religion is in no sense a passing phenomenon. It was designed by the God Who made us. If we ever lose track of this idea, we will succeed in making the world safe for tyranny, Communist or otherwise.

SOVIET BUILDUP IN CUBA IS CAUSE FOR CONCERN

The Cuban fiasco grows uglier all the time. The ingress of Russian troops, advisers, technicians, etc., can have only one meaning—a Russian airbase, missile base, all-out military position within 90 miles of the United States of America. It may be doubted that the Soviets need this; they probably had us pretty well covered some time ago. This may be only another propaganda move. But the move is only a few miles away—as close to our continent as Milwaukee is to Chicago.

There is a disturbing contradiction between the estimates of Soviet strength in Cuba made by our administration and other observers. Our administration says there is no significant buildup of Cuban offensive capabilities through recent Soviet military aid. Other sources tell us of as many as 5,000 Russian military personnel being landed in Cuba—plus a wealth of military supplies and equipment. In addition, there is the promise of further military and industrial aid from Moscow.

It is not always easy to sift fact from propaganda. We can be quite sure that the Soviet is trying to capture Cuba. Mr. Kennedy has said that "it continues to be the policy of the United States that the Castro regime will not be allowed to export its aggressive purposes by force or by threat of force. It will be prevented by whatever means may be necessary from taking action against any part of the Western Hemisphere."

A small group of American troops backed the Russians away from Checkpoint Charlie in West Berlin. The U.S. Navy kept Quemoy and Matsu in the free world. What could be accomplished by a cruise around our little neighbor to the south, I wonder?

## United Nations Loan

SPEECH
OF
**HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2768) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the purchase of United Nations bonds and the appropriation of funds therefor.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Chairman, the President is requesting authorization from the Congress to purchase up to $100 million of United Nations bonds. This request follows action by the General Assembly of the United Nations, making it possible for the Acting Secretary General to issue $200 million worth of bonds to finance the United Nations peace and security operations in the Middle East and the Congo. This decision gives rise to two questions: Has the United Nations authority to carry out peace keeping operations in accordance with its charter? And why is it necessary for the United Nations to have to issue bonds?

For nearly 17 years the United Nations has served the national interest of the United States as well as the interests of most of its members through its many regular functions and its peacekeeping operations. The United Nations capacity to act has certain limitations, limits set by the willingness of its members to support extension of the United Nations' executive role.

These limits are gradually widening. Besides and beyond its much-publicized military operations, the United Nations provides various kinds of advice and self-starting aid for all of its less developed members. It also provides a wide range of peaceful settlement procedures, ranging from single representatives of the Secretary General to peace observation teams, mediators, conciliation commissions, and the general supervision of progress toward self-government. The peacekeeping role of the United Nations is seeking to avert small wars that could germinate into large-scale global conflicts. While some of the crises taken to the United Nations continue to be dangerous, in many instances the trend has been reversed.

THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF)

The United Nations Emergency Force—UNEF—which was established on November 5, 1956, by a resolution of the General Assembly during the Suez crisis, has maintained relative peace and order in the Gaza strip and along a border of about 140 miles separating Israel from its neighbors, the Arab Republics. An estimated 5,160 troops in the UNEF maintain law and order. The United States does not contribute any troops for UNEF.

The Secretary General's estimate for the expenses of the Force during the first half of 1962 totaled $19,836,800. A short time later it was agreed that the expenses be kept within a target level of $19,500,000.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATIONS IN THE CONGO (ONUC)

One week after the Congo gained its independence from Belgium on June 30, 1960, army mutiny, followed by widespread civil disorder and pillaging, broke out. Belgium immediately rushed troops back into its former colony to protect Belgian nationals and commercial interests.

In the face of this disintegration the Central Government of the Congo appealed first to the United States and then to the United Nations to restore the internal situation and to protect the national erritory from Belgian aggression.

An emergency session of the United Nations Security Council on July 13–14, 1960, authorized the Secretary-General to provide military and technical assistance to the Congolese Government—12 African, 1 Irish, and 1 Swedish battalions were flown into the Congo within 8 days.

At successive Security Council meetings, the then Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, was unable to obtain specific instructions. The Soviets were bent on continuing chaotic conditions in the Congo and were for the with-

drawal of U.N. forces. Internally, Mr. Hammarskjold tried to maintain civil order—U.N. troops were ordered to shoot only in self-defense—stave off economic and social chaos and remain aloof from quarrels among rival Congolese leaders. Externally, Mr. Hammarskjold tried to get the Belgians out of the Congo and to prevent other powers—African as well as Communist and Western—from intervening in the Congo.

Meanwhile the internal situation in the Congo deteriorated rapidly, and the U.N. found itself caught in the crossfire not only between the Central Government and several secessionist provinces, but also between National President Joseph Kasavubu and Premier Patrice Lumumba. Subsequently, Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union for military aid.

In defiance of Security Council resolutions calling on all states to refrain from intervention in the Congo, Russia sent plane loads of "advisers," "technicians," and arms to Lumumba. It began to appear that, in spite of all efforts to keep the cold war out of the Congo, Soviet diplomats and Communist advisers had all but captured the machinery of the Central Government.

On September 20, 1960, after Russia had vetoed a compromise resolution in the Security Council, the General Assembly took up the Congo question and, by a 70 to 0 vote, urged the Secretary General to "continue to take vigorous action."

Western experts agree that the heart of the problem, insofar as it affects the office of the Secretary General, is article 100 of the charter, which specifies that he and his staff "shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or any other authority external to the Organization." Secretariat staff are "international officials responsible only to the U.N." And, finally, all member nations are pledged "to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them."

One of the significant accomplishments of the 1st part of the 16th General Assembly was its provision for financing the U.N. operation in the Congo—ONUC—for the period November 1, 1961, to June 30, 1962.

ONUC was established and its mission defined by decision of the Security Council on July 14, 1960, and further defined on July 22 as "the complete restoration of law and order in the Republic of the Congo."

LEGALITY OF U.N. TROOPS IN THE CONGO

There has arisen on several occasions the legality of the United Nations troops in the Congo. Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is entitled "Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression." Articles 39 to 51 under this chapter describe the authority and responsibility of the Security Council and such action as is deemed necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security. The action that the Security Council took through the instrumentality of the United Nations Forces in the Congo was action pursuant to article 40 which states:

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided in article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Accordingly, if the United Nations had not intervened in the Congo there would have been confrontation between the East and the West. The situation in the Congo was no simply an internal affair, but rather it was a situation of great danger to international peace, and a situation calling for the very wisest measures that the United Nations could possibly take.

A further and substantiating reason is the fact that the Congolese Government asked for the action of the United Nations to help preserve peace in the country, and the Congolese has at all times since given its consent and agreement to the operations of the United Nations there.

AUTHORITY TO ISSUE U.N. BONDS

The question has been raised whether the United Nations has the authority to issue bonds. That the United Nations has a legal personality has been established by the International Court of Justice in the case of Reparations for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations—I.C.J. Reports, 1949, pages 174, 179:

The Court has come to the conclusion that the Organization is an international person. That is not the same thing as saying that it is a state, which it certainly is not, or that its legal personality and rights and duties are the same as those of a state. Still less is it the same thing as saying that it is a "superstate," whatever that expression may mean. It does not even imply that all its rights and duties must be upon an international plane, any more than all the rights and duties of a state must be upon that plane. What it does mean is that it is a subject of international law and capable of processing international rights and duties, and that it has capacity to maintain its rights by bringing international claims.

The capacity of the Organization to exercise its legal personality in the territory of member states is reflected in article 104 of the charter:

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

The Reparations case, when read together with article 104, further demonstrates that the Organization has the authority to carry out, by necessary and proper means, the functions entrusted to it:

It must be acknowledged that its (the Organization's) members, by entrusting certain functions to it, with the attendant duties and responsibilities, have clothed it with the competence required to enable those functions to be effectively discharged (loc. cit.).

The United Nations is endowed with the authority to levy mandatory assessments to meet the expenses of performing its functions. Article 17 of the charter provides in part that:

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.
2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

Political entities that enjoy legal personality and possess fiscal power characteristically have the right to issue bonds.

The authority of the United Nations to borrow was exercised in 1948, when the organization borrowed $65 million from the U.S. Government to finance construction of its headquarters. No question about its capacity so to borrow was raised. The members have been regularly assed to repay the loan, as part of the organization's annual budget, and no question about such assessments has been raised.

It is accordingly concluded that the United Nations is authorized to issue bonds in view of (a) the provisions of articles 17 and 104 of the charter, (b) the holdings of the International Court of Justice, which confirm that the organization may implement its express powers by appropriate means, and (c) the organization's undisputed practice in exercise of those powers.

DECISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice recently held that, by 9 votes to 5, assessments levied to finance UNEF and ONUC were "expenses of the organization" within the meaning of article 17(2) of the United Nations Charter. Because of the effect it will have on the financial situation of the U.N., and on peacekeeping activities, the opinion is widely regarded as one of the most significant in the Court's history. Opinions rendered by the International Court of Justice in response to requests from the General Assembly are advisory. While they authoritatively state the law, they are not legally binding until accepted or endorsed by the General Assembly. There have been nine previous advisory opinions; all were accepted and acted upon by the General Assembly. There is every reason to believe that the General Assembly will similarly accept this opinion of the Court.

The impact of the Court's opinion, once it has been accepted, will be twofold. First, many States have justified their refusal to pay UNEF and ONUC expenses on legal grounds; this they will no longer be able to do. Now that the legal issues have been resolved, it will be more difficult for States to refuse to pay UNEF and ONUC expenses. Second, the decision of the Court will affect the operation of article 19 of the United Nations Charter.

Article 19 deprives any member of its vote in the General Assembly when its arrearages equal or exceed the amount due from the member for the preceding 2 full years. Prior to the Court's opinion, there was a legal question whether UNEF and ONUC expenses were to be included in computing these arrearages.

Assuming General Assembly acceptance of the Court's opinion, however, there is no question that a failure to pay UNEF and ONUC expenses is, for the purposes of Article 19, the same as a failure to pay regular assessments.

Article 19 is, by its terms, mandatory and automatic. It says quite simply that when a member is in arrears by a certain amount, that member "shall have no vote in the General Assembly." No action by the General Asembly is needed to deprive a member of its vote under this article. However, the General Assembly may affirmatively permit a member to vote if it is satisfied that the arrearages are "due to conditions beyond the control of the member."

The impact of the Court's decision is already apparent. Shortly before the Court's opinion was handed down seven members were in arrears in an amount sufficient to result in the loss of their vote in the General Assembly this fall. Five of these have now paid enough of their arrearages to prevent the application of article 19; and it is anticipated that the other two will pay a substantial portion of their arrears, and by the time the General Assembly meets in September, will be in the clear under article 19.

The Secretary-General, reinforced by the opinion of the Court and after acceptance of this opinion by the General Assembly, will have solid backing for pressing vigorously for the payment of the organization's arrears. The position of the United States on these matters is clear and has been stated often; we will exert our greatest efforts to insure that the Court's opinion is accepted by the General Assembly, that article 19 is applied automatically to any member which is in arrears by 2 years or more, and that the Secretary-General's efforts to collect arrearages are successful.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that we have no workable alternative but to help the United Nations meet its financial crisis and move on to more solid ground. The amount of money involved is relatively small; the stakes in terms of world peace are very high. I am hopeful that this bill will pass in the House by an overwhelming majority.

## Unilateral Action a Must for United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the United States are rightfully concerned with the unmolested buildup by the Soviet Union of its forces in Cuba, and the inability of the administration to develop a program that has even faint possibilities of restoring freedom to that island.

This subject of course is being discussed throughout the country, and it is apparent that public reaction is overwhelming in its demand that an effective policy on Cuba be developed.

One of the most exceptional articles on the subject was written by Milburn P. Akers in the Chicago Sun-Times of Monday, September 17, 1962, which I insert under unanimous consent, into the RECORD at this point:

UNILATERAL ACTION A MUST FOR UNITED STATES

(By Milburn P. Akers)

The Kennedy administration's effort to obtain support from Latin American countries for a tougher policy toward Cuba appears to be getting nowhere. It is, as was to be expected, Punta del Este all over again.

Over the years, the United States has forsworn unilateral action in most world areas. In so doing it has created a difficult, almost impossible situation for itself. As the lone challenger to Soviet expansion, the United States continually is called upon to act and, as continuously, has to consult with and, in many cases, obtain the approval of lesser nations before it can do so.

The U.S. State Department long has been convinced that such is the proper course. As a consequence, the United States, the only nation capable of restraining the Soviet bloc, is continually on the defensive in the cold war.

Forced by circumstances into leadership of the Western World, and possessed of the only military capability which the Soviets respect, the United States too frequently conducts itself in the manner of a chairman of a board who has only minority support among his directors.

For several decades we have been busy establishing and supporting regional organizations, as well as the United Nations, to meet regional and world problems. In democratic theory, such procedure is good. But it is becoming evident that in practice the theory is not workable in a world constituted as ours presently is.

We have voluntarily limited our course of action to a degree that the approval of the Latin American members of the Organization of American States is considered essential before we feel free to embark on a new course toward Cuba. And it is now apparent that the Latin American nations are today no more ready for a tough policy insofar as Cuba is concerned than they were at the Punta del Este Conference.

In our pursuit of brotherly love among the Latins we have ended up with few brothers and little love, plus a quantity of I O U's. But we continue our efforts to solve the Western Hemisphere's political bankruptcy by consultation with debtors rather than considering the needs of the solvent creditor. As a consequence the solvent creditor is rapidly getting into trouble.

A concerted action by Western Hemisphere nations insofar as the present Cuban situation is concerned is desirable. Such action would be better understood elsewhere in the free world and among its uncommitted nations. But such concerted action is unlikely. Punta del Este demonstrated that. And now it is being again demonstrated. Meanwhile, the Soviet buildup in Cuba goes on, aided, of course, by those European allies of ours who have provided the Soviets with sufficient ships to carry military hardware and foodstuffs to Fidel Castro's Cuba.

The Cuban situation could have been solved long ago, were the United States free to act on its own motion.

But the philosophy which long has dominated the State Department and still does is that no action is better than unilateral action. And so we go from bad to worse in Cuba and elsewhere as we seek to checkmate a resourceful enemy that imposes no such limitation on itself. A somewhat similar situation in southeast Asia led to the Lao compromise, a deal under which a Communist takeover is an almost certain eventuality.

If the United States is to be an effective leader of the Western World in any test of strength with Communist Russia the United States must be free, legally and morally, to act when action is required. Our obsession with the idea that we can act only as we act with the approval of Cambodia, Mali, or Bolivia, or similar nations, is going to be our undoing. It is one thing to be concerned with their welfare. It is another to permit them to control ours.

Sooner or later, the Kennedy administration will have to face reality. That administration inherited the regional commitments which limit our power to act. That administration inherited the State Department's philosophy that unilateral action is indefensible. It is responsible, however, to the extent that it is satisfied with its inheritance.

Ordinarily, concerted action by the nations of the free world would be preferable. But when concerted action cannot be had inaction should not result. Unilateral action by the only nation capable of taking unilateral action where the Soviets are involved becomes imperative.

## Our Forgotten Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, recently, I have been privileged to receive a copy of a most inspiring speech. The speech was delivered by Miss Jean Kathleen LeVander, of South St. Paul., Minn., as a contestant in the American Legion National High School Oratorical Contest of 1962. Out of some 90 entries, it was the winning oration in the State of Minnesota.

The Good Book says that a little child shall lead us. Although Miss LeVander is no longer a child and indeed is a very fine young lady, one cannot but be impressed with the fact that so wise a message comes from one so young.

Jean's speech speaks for itself; there is no need for me to summarize it. I simply want to add that it is a wonderful summary of what has made America great in the past; of the awesome responsibility we have toward the rest of the world; and of how we can renew our greatness and carry out our responsibility.

I am certain that all of our colleagues will benefit from being able to read Jean's speech which I am including at this point.

The speech follows:

OUR FORGOTTEN CONSTITUTION

This has been a year of expanding horizons for the United States. Twenty-four days ago Col. John Glenn circled the earth 3 times in a little over 4 hours. After traveling 17,500 miles per hour, he landed 9 seconds behind schedule. Truly his was a fantastic accomplishment.

Or contemplate the recent announcement by the medical professions that they expect to be able to extend the life span to over 100 years.

Nineteen hundred and sixty-two will also witness tremendous engineering marvels. We will see the completion of the $10 million Denver tunnel which bores 23 miles straight down through rugged mountains to reach a water supply.

Think a moment of the advancement in mechanical precision. A 100-inch camera took a picture of a putting green of a Fort Worth golf course from 8 miles in the sky which showed clearly two golf balls on the green.

Consider the growing use of computers which now solve problems in 18 seconds that formerly took a group of mathematicians weeks to calculate.

Truly the collective advancements and inventions in the industrial field have made America preeminent in the technological sphere.

But not only have we excelled industrially, we have grown militarily. An examination of the boxscore of our missile and nuclear program will demonstrate that we are unquestionably ahead of Russia.

Coinciding with our growing industrial, scientific, and military supremacy there has been a simultaneous expansion of our political influence in the world.

We are looked upon today as the leader of the free world as well as the most powerful and wealthy Nation on earth.

But so rapid has been our widening sphere of achievement and influence that we have been unable to make adequate preparation for the accompanying responsibilities.

We are somewhat in the same position as the inexperienced shepherds of Judea in the Old Testament times. Being accustomed to flat pastures of their local area when they had to move to rugged hillsides, where high winds were continually blowing, they found difficulty in pitching their tents so that they wouldn't blow over in a high wind. They had been used to using only as short a rope as possible from the tent pole to the ground and anchoring the rope to a short stake driven only a few inches into the soil. It was then the wise old prophet Isaiah gave them the sage advice, "Lengthen your ropes but be sure to strengthen and drive deep your stakes." I admit we are lengthening the ropes of our technological, industrial, and political influence, but have we given any attention to our stakes in this process?

What are the stakes that have anchored the structure of America. I contend they are the principles embodied in our Constitution.

Individual freedom by the 10 amendments we call the Bill of Rights. Separation of power into three branches of Government; the executive, the legislative, the judicial. Two Houses, one immediately responsive to the electorate. The courts with power to declare laws unconstitutional making a Government of laws instead of men.

A federation of States with certain powers exercised close to home yet the National Government to speak in foreign affairs, defense, coinage of money, and regulating commerce. The freedom of religion.

These are but a few of the stakes that have allowed and protected liberty, fostered a free enterprise economic system and encouraged our citizens to have ambition for self-improvement.

But the irony of our day is that we who have built the greatest Nation on eath upon these principles are now becoming less and less concerned about keeping them constantly in the minds of our people, while the poorest nations on earth are fervently seeking to establish them in the fabric of their society.

Witness Nigeria's Constitution providing for a speedy judicial trial confronted by your accuser but no one being compelled to testify against himself; Burma's Constitution providing for a legislative body of two houses; Malaya's Constitution providing revenue measures must originate in the lower house; the Republic of Cameroun's Constitution providing for separation of church and state; Cyprus Constitution containing a bill of rights; India's Constitution setting up an electoral college for the selection of the President.

Whose principles have these countries been studying? Ours.

But what study are we Americans making of our Constitution and the reasons it has the provisions it contains?

Let us make a confession. I have learned more about our Constitution in a week of study preparing this talk than I have in the 12 years attending school. And I suspect I speak for every contestant here tonight.

How many high school graduates can name the principal drafter? How many can tell you Delaware was the first to ratify and that it became effective upon the ratification by New Hampshire? How many could outline the difference between the Virginia or Patterson plan? How is the Constitution amended? Who was the oldest delegate at the Convention? How many delegates were there?

Or how many adults even though they be interested in politics and active in their party can tell why judicial appointments are made by the President and approved by the Senate, why constitutional lawyers claim there is no provision justifying Federal aid to education.

The United States has now attained a position of greatness. Historians are becoming concerned that wealth, indifference, and complacency will make us fat and dissipated. They fear we will crumble and fall into the same fate as Egypt, Greece and Rome.

Today, when we are looked up to as a model by every emerging and new born democracy, when our influence is felt in every corner of the world when we are called on to compare our foundations with those of the communists, today when we have greatly lengthened our ropes, we have need as never before to strengthen our stakes.

How shall we make the Constitution known to Americans and thereby give moral strength to our country? How shall we prevent the predictions of modern historians from coming true? First our schools must require a study in depth of the provisions, the history, the drafters, the debates, the safeguards, the prohibitions, the checks, and balances of the Constitution. This is not to be hurried over in a week but should be at least 6 weeks or preferable a whole semester.

Every American boy and girl who graduates from high school must be given a thorough knowledge, understanding and familiarity with the document that forms the cornerstone of our Government. How else can we expect voters to properly analyze how they should vote? How else are they to choose between those who would destroy our liberty or those who would preserve it?

Secondly, our political parties through their caucuses and workshops must provide a continual adult educational program, discussing, enlightening and informing our citizens about what Lord MacCauley has termed the greatest government document penned by man. This must be done because it is easy to forget and vigilance must be eternal if freedom is to be preserved.

Thirdly, your organization, the American Legion, its counterpart, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and all similar organizations who have a deep and abiding love of their country must be encouraged to continue and expand contests such as these. They must also constitute themselves as watch dogs to see that our schools, our political parties, our service organizations are used as vehicles to educate, inform and inspire all Americans, young and old, concerning the virtue of our Constitution.

Lastly, I plead with each one of you as a citizen, as a voter, as an American, to make it your personal resolution that you are going to make it your avocation to be thoroughly familar with the Constitution. Get out your history book, your "World Book." Make a trip to the library but above all, see to it that you and your children understand the philosophy of our God.

Then as America assumes its mature position of leadership among the nations of the world and as we broaden our influence, we will do so on sound foundations and we will have heeded the advice of the wise old prophet Isaiah.

We will assure ourselves and all mankind that we can safely continue to lengthen our ropes because we are at the same time strengthening our stakes.

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## The Housing Shortage in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 10, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of the best ways to help the people of Latin America is attaining a higher standard of living, stability, and a degree of security, is to provide them with housing. There is a crying need for housing in every Latin American country. Here is an opportunity where we can render a great service from the social and humanitarian standpoint in helping our neighbors, as well as from the political standpoint in helping to safeguard the future of the Western Hemishpere.

In recent months I have inserted into the RECORD several articles by Mr. Fred A. Orleans, who is thoroughly familiar with Latin America, its people and their problems, having lived in those countries for a number of years. Today I am pleased to insert another article of his in which he discusses the housing shortage. I urge all my colleagues to read it. Not only does it point up the situation existing in Latin America, but it also indicates a most realistic way how we can help the people of Latin America.

The article reads:

LATIN AMERICA NEEDS HOUSING

(By Fred A. Orleans)

In my articles "A Latin American Program" which appeared in the U.S. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 5, 1962, I touched upon section 224 of the "Act for International Development" which relates to the establishment of self-liquidating pilot housing projects through investments by private U.S. capital in Latin American countries, protected through a guarantee from the U.S. Government. At this time I would like to go a little deeper into the subject of the need for low-cost housing for low-income groups in Latin America and related matters.

Housing, or the lack of it, represents the most serious problem in the nations of the Americas. Although some progress has been made in attempting to solve this most critical problem, it has been made even more severe by the mass migration of people from rural areas to cities which lack sufficient homes suitable for human habitation to even meet the requirements of the original inhabitants for housing. The new influx of large bodies of individuals results in the cre-

ation of a large population who are homeless or at best live in the worst imaginable kinds of slum areas which spring up around major Latin American cities. These slums areas are comprised of shacks and shanties which rarely have floors but are thrown up directly on dirt, and consists of the most flimsy and "jerry-built" construction imaginable. Construction, if we can even call it such, merely consists of throwing together odds and ends and any pieces of scraps which can be picked up from the garbage dumps including packing crates, sheet metal, pieces of cardboard, old boards, all combined with a few old bricks and perhaps a piece or two of concrete slab or block. Needless to say that, aside from being an eyesore, these shacks are not fit for human habitation and even lack basic sanitary facilities and water. There is, of course, no provision for sewage nor any basic utilities as gas or electricity.

Accordingly, the acutely serious housing situation in Latin America stems from unrestricted population increases coupled with continuous migration from rural areas to the cities. This migration creates other problems which will not be covered at this time, including the development of shortages among agricultural workers and a corresponding decrease in agricultural production, as well as a saturation of the labor forces in city areas resulting in the acute problem of chronic unemployment.

Accurate statistics from Latin America are not available but it appears that the annual rate of new housing construction in that area is only sufficient to meet the requirements of one-third of the annual population increase with no consideration being given to the large numbers of existing homes that are substandard or those which are destroyed by fire, earthquakes, floods, etc. It can readily be determined that the housing shortage in Latin America is continuously increasing and not in the least decreasing and is already beginning to reach alarming proportions.

Latin America is one of the fastest population-growing areas in the world with an average growth of approximately 2.4 percent per year. The population of Mexico alone, which at present is approximately 34 million, is expected to reach 100 million by the end of this century and Latin America in general 600 million. The extent of this population explosion can be better understood when measured against the population of the United States. At present the population of Latin America is approximately 10 percent greater than that of the United States, but by the end of the century, if present growth rates continue, it will be double that of the United States, based on an expected U.S. population growth to 300 million people. The large scale migration from rural to urban areas has resulted in even greater population increases in the cities with annual increase reaching as high as 5 percent.

Accurate statistics as to the exact housing needs in Latin America have not been fully compiled but it has been indicated that Mexico, which is one of the more advanced countries of Latin America, has a shortage of well over 2 milion homes for the low-income groups and of the existing homes in Latin American countries, two out of three are below the minimum requirements for human habitation. In urban areas of Latin America, approximately 90 million people dwell in 18 million housing units. The mere replacing of the units not meeting minimum housing standards would involve an investment which could reach as high as $30 billion. In addition, new homes to keep pace with the growth of the cities would require approximately $4 billion yearly additional investment. The needs covered above are merely for urban areas and do not cover the rural areas as well.

The following supplements the figures already given and helps to bring into sharp focus the severity of the problem.

The housing shortage in Brazil is estimated at a minimum of 8 million homes with 400,000 required annually to meet the population increase. Venezuela requires approximately 600,000 homes plus an additional minimum of 40,000 homes annually for the expanding population. Colombia is short approximately 300,000 housing units in cities without taking into consideration rural needs. Statistics regarding the quality of housing in Mexico City, which is a city of approximately 5 million inhabitants, indicate that only about 20 percent of the homes for low-income groups are classified as being of good quality while approximately 41 percent of the people live in urban slums or shacks.

The solution to the overall problems, originating from the need for substantial construction of low-cost housing in Latin America, cannot emanate from the United States in its entirety, but for the most part will have to originate within the individual countries involved. While admittedly, technical know-how relating to newest, quickest, and most economical methods to construct homes in mass production basis must originate from the United States, actual construction of homes must be done by local builders who are established in each locality and possess the necessary experience and local organizations to do the job. While seed capital as well as the guarantees to make initial funds available for pilot projects, must originate from the United States, it is not even suggested that U.S. Government sources or private investment sources even attempt to entirely provide the tremendous amount of capital which will be required to meet current construction needs in Latin America and keep abreast of the future needs of an area in the midst of such a great population explosion. Capital from within will have to be accumulated in each Latin American country, through savings of the people in order to meet the bulk of this capital need.

The housing needs of Latin America can definitely be met through the establishment of savings and loan associations which will be able to provide the funds needed from increased and new savings. If a substantial increase in savings does not take place, it would be necessary to provide a substantial diversion of investment funds from other uses to housing, which is something that cannot be done in Latin America, in view of the minimum amount of investment funds presently available to meet the requirements of the various countries. In addition, the diversion of resources from other forms of investment would result in a drastic reduction of the overall growth in output which would prove most detrimental to the countries involved, and would hardly offset for the gain in housing.

It has been estimated that at least one-half or more of the 18 million families residing in urban areas in Latin America can afford to either buy a home or rent a new home. What is needed is a home both meeting the requirements of being inhabitable and available at a low price, coupled with availability of financing under equitable terms.

Although there is a misconception in many circles where it is assumed that the solution to the housing problems of Latin America rests with the governments of the various countries and that somehow the governments will provide mass production of low-cost housing to meet the needs of the people, this cannot succeed since the tremendous expenditures involved would necessitate the governments substantially increasing their sources of funds through selling bonds to the public, increasing taxes or through actual loans from abroad. Any of these means would result in inflationary developments, which would be highly detrimental to the long-range plans and programs of the various countries. Accordingly, private initiative will have to provide the greater part of the housing needs of Latin America.

An example of what can be done in the field of savings and loan has been amply demonstrated in Peru where Father Dan McClellan has set the wheels in motion for the establishment of numerous savings and loan associations to finance long-term mortgages. Savings and loan associations are presently being established in other countries of Latin America through "seed" capital being provided by the Agency for International Development and matched by contributions from the governments of the various Latin American countries applicable.

People saving for a home which they will eventually own are given hope and tend to lose the feeling of futility and desperation had by many who lack decent homes in which to live and who do not see any possibility of ever improving this situation. The feeling of hope can in itself provide a great stabilizing influence in the lives of people who had no hope before.

A partial solution to the housing needs of Latin America can be provided by the strong determination of the people to own their own homes. This determination must be coupled with the availability of large numbers of local builders ready and able to devote their efforts to the mass construction of low-cost homes, technical know-how from the United States on how to finance mass home construction, the injection into the populaces of Latin America a strong desire to save their money on a regular basis as in the United States, and moreover, substantial amounts of working capital.

Urban planning methods in Latin America are for the most part not advanced as in the United States. The Latin American countries must learn more about modern methods in urban planning as well as the most suitable methods of land assembly, mass construction at minimum costs and providing the maximum quality, proper selling methods, and the employment of adequate financing procedures. The aforementioned, plus cooperation from government on local and national levels, must be implemented in Latin America if solutions to the critical housing needs are to be found in the near future.

It is my personal opinion, based on many years of firsthand observation, that it is now extremely late to successfully cope with the acute Latin American housing problems. If a complete breakdown of orderly government is to be avoided in areas which are in the midst of tremendous population explosions, the people must be, as a very minimum, provided with decent homes, sanitation systems and potable water. Concrete assistance from the United States to date has been very slight, taking into consideration the magnitude of the overall problem. There have been an insignificant number of homes built in Latin America with U.S. assistance, compared to the unfilled need. It is obvious that well planned and concrete action should have been taken many years ago and the U.S. Government is long overdue in undertaking a program to encourage international investments in mortgages in Latin America through the organization of international organizations to provide the means through which private, long-term investment capital can be invested in Latin American mortgages.

Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, through his S. 582 has proposed the organization of an International Home Loan Bank which would provide, among other things, the means through which some of the resources of American savings and loan associations could be invested in Latin American mortgages.

The lack of concrete congressional action on this most vital legislation coupled with far too little emphasis being given in the past by the U.S. Government to the need for doing something specific about the most serious Latin American housing needs, and the general indifference which has existed in Government circles, based on the belief that the problem is far too vast to be solved, has resulted in the present situation. If any further deterioration is allowed and prompt action not undertaken, there can be consequences most detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

It must be realized that the provision of adequate housing is by far the most important economic problem of any society and that political stability is most emphatically affected by housing conditions in any country. In our modern and most complex society it has become even more important than in the past that good housing be provided the people since the conditions under which people live has a great influence on their dignity as human beings and the outlook they have on the society in which they live.

Concrete, specific, and well directed action must be taken. Homes must be built now and in large numbers or all the efforts of the United States to help Latin America through the Alliance for Progress will be in vain. Those who can do the job, must be allowed to proceed and any and all redtape must be eliminated.

## Rogers Calls for Return to Jeffersonian Concept of Constitutional Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the observance today of the 175th anniversary of the adoption of our Constitution is reason sufficient for jubilation, and I wholeheartedly rejoice with every free American on this great occasion. But as I reflect upon the real significance of this event, my heart tells me that we, as legislators, must redouble our efforts to return to the true concepts of the Constitution. I speak not as a Democrat but as an American to Americans. Patriotism is universal and transcends all narrow partisan confines. Let us unite in marking this day with a vow to heed the danger signals that are so prevalent today and resolve to restore the principles of constitutional government expounded by Thomas Jefferson, one of the founders of our great American democracy.

Historians regard Jefferson as the sculptor of the first 10 amendments which we commonly refer to today as the Bill of Rights—the real key to Americanism.

Otherwise this great document has been amended 13 times. But just a few weeks ago, right here in this Chamber, under parliamentary procedure which blocked free and open debate, another amendment to the Constitution was approved. But approved, I might point out, over the protestations of Members like I who believed that the abolition of the poll tax was just one more abrogation of States rights—and another insult to Thomas Jefferson who said, as long ago as 1825:

I see * * * with the deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the Federal branches of our Government is advancing toward the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the States.

This is not to suggest that I have lost faith in the Constitution nor in the American people. On the contrary, the Constitution has withstood the fire and brimstone of practically daily attack from both within and without and, I am proud to say, it stands today as the bedrock of the government of free man. It is the perfect answer to communism or any other ideology of those who would subject mankind to slavery.

The theme of my protest is rather that "the people, to whom all authority belongs," as Jefferson put it, are being robbed. The authority of the people, according to the Constitution, should be voiced through duly elected representatives in Congress. But the prerogative of the Congress, if we are not more prudent, will be further encroached upon by the executive and judicial branches. Did we not have repeated examples of this piracy during the reign of the reorganization plans when the executive branch sought repeatedly to vest adjudicative powers in civil service employees?

And the judiciary branch has sought by "constructions" to usurp the rights reserved to the States. Certain decisions of the Supreme Court in recent years have absolutely nullified many State laws by the doctrine of Federal preemption which is predicated upon the supremacy clause contained in the Constitution. I do not propose that we alter that. However, there is an area of concurrent legislative juridiction where both the Federal Government and the State government may constitutionally legislate and where both a Federal and State law may be effective at the same time. It is from this area that the Supreme Court by its "constructions" is evicting the jurisdiction of the States.

Thus it remains for us, the legislative branch, to protect the people whom we represent and whose rights are thus being usurped. This we have attempted to do and will continue to pursue either by Congressman HOWARD SMITH'S bill, H.R. 3, the States rights bill, or any other proper legislative means. To correct this trend, I have introduced House Joint Resolution 70 which proposes an amendment to the Constitution to empower Congress, by statute, to limit the authority of the courts of the United States to determine that statutes of the United States or of any State are repugnant to the Constitution.

If left unchecked, the Supreme Court can stray far afield of the powers given to it under the Constitution. Should it do so, and many recent decisions would indicate a definite trend in that direction, we may witness proof of the soundness of the fears of Thomas Jefferson when he warned:

The germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the constitution of the Judiciary * * * a * * * body * * * working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little today and little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the fields of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the States, and the Government of all be consolidated into one.

Let us, proudly in our full constitutional right to do so, and humbly as mere mortals, pray to God to help us return to the concepts of our Constitution, the concepts for which our fathers, sons, and brothers have laid down their lives, and the concepts which have so nobly guided us for 175 years.

## Conflict Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for me to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress a most incisive and penetrating series of four articles on positive methods which American businessmen and the private sector of our Nation's economy can adopt and apply to counter and to debilitate the massive propaganda and subversion of Sino-Soviet communism.

This series of thought-provoking articles was written by Edward Scannell Butler, for Challenge, the official weekly publication of the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson Parish, the newest and fastest-growing civic organization in the New Orleans, La., area. Mr. Butler is a founding member and the staff director of the Information Council of the Americas—Inca—and a member of the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson; as a specialist in Sino-Soviet fourth dimensional warfare, he has presented his ideas on positive strategy for defeating communism before more than 25 civic, professional, and religious groups in the New Orleans area, and I have been assured that his thoughts have been favorably received.

I might point out here that as staff director of Information Council of the Americas, with its headquarters in New Orleans, Mr. Butler is actively engaged in the defeat of the Communist movement in Latin America through Information Council of the Americas "Truth Tapes" program—a program which provides scores of refugees from Communist tyranny the opportunity and the forum to relate their experiences on tape recordings for broadcast by radio stations throughout the Americas. In this worthy counterattack, Mr. Butler has been joined by many highly-respected private citizens in my community, including Dr. Alton Ochsner, president of Information Council of the Americas and internationally famous surgeon from New Orleans. Such a program is a solid, forceful way to counteract Red propaganda, infiltration, and subversion in Latin America, and I know it is being well received.

The Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson has endorsed and is supporting wholeheartedly the Information Council of the Americas and its "Truth Tapes" program; and through its publication, Challenge, the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson has provided a public service by publishing Mr. Butler's articles on "Conflict Management" in last month's issues.

The first of Mr. Butler's four articles on "Conflict Management" entitled "Part I—Agitprop Against America," follows; the other three articles will follow it on successive days in the RECORD:

[From Challenge magazine, July 31, 1962]

CONFLICT MANAGEMENTS PART I—AGITPROP AGAINST AMERICA

(By Edward Scannell Butler)

(NOTE.—With this issue, Challenge begins an exciting new four part series dealing with the greatest challenge of our time, and the way we businessmen can personally meet it.

The author, Edward Scannell Butler, is a specialist in Sino-Soviet fourth dimensional warfare. A former advertising executive, he has published articles in Public Relations Journal and other professional magazines, which describe positive strategies for the defeat of communism. Mr. Butler is a founding member and staff director of the Information Council of the Americas (INCA), a member of the National Advisory Committee of the Cold War Council, and a member of the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson.)

Discover a new need, fulfill it, and you'll make a million. So goes the old slogan. Yet for 16 years a crying need—a need that increases daily, matters deeply to 3 billion people, and involves the wealth of the whole world—this tragic need has been virtually ignored by those who have the most to gain or to lose from it.

The need of course, is a practical method of counteracting Communist colonialism, and liberating the 1 billion people the Red empire now dominates, without triggering a hot war.

American businessmen do have the most to gain, and have already lost millions, because the average businessman just doesn't consider the cold war his business, or realize that he holds the way to win at his fingertips.

THE DISORGANIZED ORGANIZATION MAN

One outmoded idea stands between America and cold war victory.

In spite of the Constitution's statement that "We the people * * * shall provide for the common defense" the average businessman believes that our limited Government should do the job—alone. He is more or less willing to help with tax dollars, but he feels his responsibility ends there, and that his time, talent and personal profit are not needed or necessary to win.

Unfortunately, in 1903 Nicolai Lenin disregarded our tradition of "nation versus nation" general warfare, waged by uniformed, salaried soldiers. Instead he thought of war as class versus class, and developed a second, new kind of international army to wage this sort of nibbling war.

The global Communist Party now mobilizes 36 million civilian conflict managers in 81 nations, who riot and revolutionize, using words as weapons, and pay dues for the privilege of destroying the societies in which they live.

Every Communist Party member is trained to manage class conflict. So today the Reds not only have the Red Army and diplomats, but a monopoly of the biggest business in the world—"conflict management"—the profession of revolution. This conflict cartel at the mass level is the key to Communist success.

Here are the present odds:

Manpower: Our limited government of about 3 million people and our population of 180 million is confronted by the forced output of over 1 billion Communist subjects, plus 36 million trained Communists operating from 81 distinct parties within all of our alliances and the United States itself. Even in the unlikely event that every government employee, from paratrooper to postman were trained as Communist conflict managers are, the Reds would still have 12 to 1 manpower advantage vis-a-vis the United States.

Organization: We have seen Cuba, Eastern Europe, and China colonized, the Peace Corps paralyzed with a post card, our former Vice President smeared with student spit, and the annexation of Algeria nearly accomplished. Much of this has been done by the use of native conflict managers waging psychological and guerrilla warfare for the Soviet Union by proxy. The Soviets have thousands of front groups and conflict organizations arrayed against us. The organizational odds are so overwhelming they defy computation.

Money: The total budget for the U.S. Information Agency is about $125 million per year. The Soviets spend an estimated $4.5 billion to do all that USIA can do, plus much more. The budgets of the few private organizations are relatively minute, and in money spent the odds are 36 to 1 against us.

President Kennedy himself has revealed the deep flaw in a purely governmental approach; speaking from the official viewpoint he recently said: "We can assist these [threatened] countries by our guarantees * * * against outright military invasion. We can assist them through economic assistance to improve the life of their people [and] through defense support against internal guerrillas.

"But in the final analysis—and we cannot do it for them—they have to organize the political and social life of their countries in such a way that they maintain the support of their people. There is a limit beyond which our efforts cannot go."

It is precisely beyond the limit, where no government can go, where the Communist parties can go and work hardest, to disorganize the political and social life of free countries. This is where the Reds have gained their victories with riots and demonstrations, posters and placards, and mobs as militants.

If there is a solution, it is most likely to be found (1) in an analysis of Red organization, and (2) in the development and support of adequate organized competition which can work at the base of power—with the people. That is where capitalists and Communists, but not diplomats or dictators, work. These are the organizational tasks of the American organization man.

THE MARKET AREAS

As Col. William Kintner puts it, in a well-known book of the same name, the front is everywhere. However, the Reds have pointed the organizational way for us by dividing conflict management into two broad market areas, domestic and foreign.

THE MODEL MACHINE

In 1939 the Soviets finally evolved, after much trial and error, the master component in their great leap forward toward international human automation. World War II delayed its use briefly, but afterward the machine shifted into high gear. We know the results.

Few businessmen have even heard the name of the Communist's not-so-secret weapon for thought control—but the human machine grinds out victories day after day. Its primary target, directly or indirectly, is American businessmen, because it seeks to destroy the civilization they represent. The machine for mental manipulation of masses is called Agitprop.

Agitprop (Section for Agitation and Propaganda) is the external conflict management machine for all the Communist parties. It functions through a maze of front organizations, subsidized authors and artists mass media and local party cells throughout the free world. Agitprop sells international markets. Glavlit, the internal machine, sells domestic markets. In combination the Reds have perfected a most appropriate means of organizing brains for bondage at home and abroad.

Add these two thought-control machines to a well-equipped secret police and military establishment, all based on the same kind of forced-draft inhumanity that helped the Egyptians build their pyramids on the bodies of galley slaves centuries ago—and you have the answer to Communist victories today. Under communism life and liberty are luxury items. They can be, and often are, traded for the necessity item—power. Organization is power.

## United Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the August 23, 1962, issue of the News and Courier of Charleston, S.C., there appeared a thoughtful article on the defense of Western Europe by Mr. Anthony Harrigan, associate editor of that influential newspaper.

In this article, written by Mr. Harrigan as part of a series during naval maneuvers off Portugal, he emphasizes with strategic insight the importance of the Iberian Peninsula in the defense of Europe.

The article follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Aug. 23, 1962]

A UNITED DEFENSE

(By Anthony Harrigan)

WITH THE NATO STRIKING FLEET.—"Europe's main reason for Atlantic unity is a military one."

That's the view of a Netherlands parliamentarian, and it's realistic. But Western Europe is a long way from making an all-out military effort, especially in naval defense. Several countries have the capability of augmenting NATO sea forces. In concert, these countries have a military capacity equal to their economic capacity.

But impediments to full development of Western Europe's military potential are many. The Kennedy administration's nuclear policy is a blocking factor, but it isn't the only one. Old European divisions and reluctance to sacrifice for security are part of the overall cause.

France has one carrier and three destroyers in Exercise Riptide III. The fleet commander reports excellent cooperation from the French. Yet France is still one of the world's leading naval powers. Why France isn't more heavily represented is a key question.

But France has had grave internal troubles. Maybe the French Government felt that it might be necessary to run warships

to Algeria to evacuate French citizens from a country controlled by the Ben Bella politbureau. Whatever the reason, good or bad, the French impact in the Atlantic is not particularly strong at this time.

While there is plenty of talk about need for West Germany to assume a larger share of the economic burden in defense of Europe, no one talks about the equal need for West German seapower.

The German Navy has come back fast—much faster than the American public realizes. She has acquired six U.S. destroyers in recent years. She is building 12 new destroyers on her own designs. Her new fast frigate *Emden* is one of the most advanced small warships in the world, driven by an experimental combination of diesels and gas turbines.

The smaller countries of Western Europe are not without valuable warships. Portugal has a first-class antisubmarine frigate built a few years ago in Italy. The Netherlands has an excellent aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers, and 12 first-class destroyers. Belgium has a large number of minesweepers. Denmark has two new frigates. Other countries have vessels to contribute.

If some of these ships lack modern missiles, that's not a lag impossible to overcome. France sells missiles overseas to South Africa. Sweden also manufacturers missiles for sale. There's no question about German know-how. Three German scientists recently designed missiles for Egypt.

Two key NATO countries are France and Germany. Together, they have the scientific and industrial skills to produce all the armaments needed in the 1960's. France has exploded nuclear devices. The Germans have keyed their thinking to nuclear war conditions, though they lack tactical atomic weapons at the present.

Clearly, there must be a German presence in the Atlantic in the years ahead. As one of the great trading nations of the World, Germany has markets in South America, Africa, and in the Near East. To the extent that Germany fails to make a bigger contribution at sea, Germany is depending on the United States and the United Kingdom. Nor is it proper that Germany's naval effort be confined to the Baltic and the North Sea. It is needed in the Atlantic as well. It is absurd for the most powerful anti-Communist nation in Europe to have a naval commitment on a par with a small power. The other side of the issue is that all restrictions should be removed from German naval construction.

If France and Germany have the skills and the means, Portugal and Spain occupy the strategic territories. And if Western Europe is a beachhead on the Eurasian continent, Iberia is the beachhead area of Europe. It is an arrow pointing at Africa and, at the same time, the zone of opportunity for communist aggressors from the south. In addition, Spain and Portugal are the semideveloped countries of Europe—countries deficient in economic resources and politically most in danger of Communist subversive attack. Spain and Portugal are in need of NATO assistance in many ways. First of all, in the case of Spain, NATO membership is needed. To have the key strategic country of southern Europe outside of NATO is to leave a gap in the West's defenses.

Spain is a test case of Western thinking about NATO. Either there is an Atlantic community, or there is not; either Spain belongs in NATO and Portugal deserves full support, or the community is a myth. It makes no sense to defend part of the European perimeter and leave one part undefended or shabbily treated. Logic dictates a NATO Atlantic-Iberian command.

Western defense demands community and continuity. It calls for military alliance from Norway south to Spain; from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. The communists are moving their power down the North African land bridge, with Iberia as the goal before striking at the heart of Europe beyond the Pyrenees. It must not come to pass that the road to Paris and Bonn is through Madrid and Lisbon. NATO military power, especially its seapower, provides the ideal deterrent and determinant—the floating barrier for Europe.

No part of Western Europe is expendable, certainly not strategic Portugal and Spain—the gateway to France. Nothing but a military united Europe can preserve a politically united Europe. This means full cooperation with Portugal and Spain to an extent not contemplated in recent years.

If the two countries of Iberia aren't against the other Western countries, then they are with us and deserve full support from the rest of the Atlantic community—economic, political and military—three dimensional support.

## The Centennial of the Battle of Antietam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, today, September 17, 1962, marks the centennial of the Battle of Antietam. On this day, 100 years ago, 22,700 Americans gave their lives for their own concept of constitutional government.

Yesterday, in the company of our colleague, the Honorable J. GLENN BEALL, Senator from Maryland, and many distinguished Members of this House and of the other body, I witnessed a reenactment of the Battle of Antietam. The scene was the same as it had been 100 years before. The reenactment was conducted with dignity and was impressive for its historical accuracy and serious purpose. I, for one, feel that I understand better today some of the story of what happened at Antietam and appreciate more the courage and the sacrifice of those who died there.

The ceremonies on September 16 were opened with an invocation delivered by the Right Reverend Noble C. Powell, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Maryland. Bishop Powell's prayer so well expresses the feeling of those who attended this climax of the centennial commemoration that I am appending it herewith in order that the Congress and the country can know of the sincere feeling and the reverent interest which accompanied the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Antietam.

THE CENTENNIAL OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

Almighty God, creator and ruler of men, we commend this Nation to Thy gracious keeping. O Thou who turnest men's puny plans and efforts to Thy glory, lighten our minds with a deeper understanding of what men did on this ground, hallowed by its baptism in the blood of our fathers.

In this hour of confusion and timidity before the great issues of justice, brotherhood, righteousness, and freedom, may we see more clearly the height of courage to which men may climb, and inspire our hearts to follow where they have led the way.

In this day when clamorous voices would lure us into the byways of life, enable us to hear the summons to a cause sufficiently great and noble for the investment of our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor, and enlist us in that cause.

Now, when the hearts of men yearn with passion for comradeship, give us deeper and clearer knowledge of ourselves and of our fellowmen, the work of Thy fingers.

Here, where men made the last great sacrifice of life's greatest treasures—life itself—teach us the meaning of sacrifice and strengthen us that we may be ready to give and not to count the cost, to fight and not to heed the wounds, to labor and to ask for no reward; save Thy "well done."

Strengthen in us the aspirations toward noble and spacious thinking; in Thy good time bring us to Thy holy hill where, listed above the clouds of prejudice and the mists of passion, we shall love and serve there with all our hearts and minds and souls and strength, and to Tee shall be the praise and glory forever and ever. Amen.

## Speech by Gen. Wilfred Kitching

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 16, Gen. Wilfred Kitching, the distinguished world leader of the Salvation Army, delivered a brief spiritual message to the people of New York. I am pleased to bring his fine address to the attention of my colleagues:

SPEECH BY GEN. WILFRED KITCHING GIVEN AT ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1962

Thank you, Governor Langlie, for your very kind words which I accept not as a person but as a representative of the Salvation Army.

Here, in this world-famous spot, amidst the achievements of man's mind and ingenuity, it would be difficult to imagine the reality of the problems facing mankind. Somehow it seems more understandable when such sorrow is reflected upon in more uncivilized surroundings.

And yet reality must be faced—and face it we will. We live in a day of rapidly decaying moral values and in a day when virtues are attacked and crumble with every beat of the passing second. Perhaps the most disturbing feature is the apparent piecemeal solutions that are offered and proffered as real answers to the gnawing need of man to know himself and to know his God. Pills, powders, mental gymnastics are among only a few of the more extreme suggestions while parliaments, preachers, and pacts are in session often to find the answer to a more durable and lasting peace.

But man needs more than legislation and programs—he must realize more than reform and rehabilitation and refurbishing. Man needs redemption and pardon and peace. Man needs a Saviour.

The Salvation Army in each of its 86 national expressions remains true to its basic reason for existence. True indeed to the spirit of the Master who said, as if in direct answer to the known need of this day, "He who finds himself shall lose himself. He who loses himself for my sake and the Gospel shall find himself."

Man cannot find redemption in parts—he finds it in a wholeness. We need hospitals and schools and mental clinics, boys' clubs, camps and rehabilitation centers—and the Army has all of these but these alone are not enough, man is a total entity—body, soul, and spirit—and the Salvation Army, if it is to truly serve mankind, must minister to the whole man.

A man without God is lost. A world without God is without hope.

Our message in this hour is the same here in New York, in Berlin, in Tokyo, in Calcutta—that every child of man needs a Saviour—and the great message of the Christian church is that the Saviour is able to meet every need of the human heart. The hope of the world is Jesus.

Thank you once again, my dear Governor, for this opportunity along with the hundreds of other Salvationists joined here in New York in this congress, for the privilege of sharing our message.

## Random Thoughts on President's Remarks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most comprehensive summaries of the President's recent speech to the Nation which I have read was a recent editorial in the Winona Daily News, Winona, Minn. For the benefit of all of our colleagues, I am including the entire editorial at this point.

The editorial follows:

[From the Winona (Minn.) Daily News, Sept. 5, 1962]

RANDOM THOUGHTS ON PRESIDENT'S REMARKS

In a recent television talk, President Kennedy said he would not ask this Congress for a tax cut. Here are some random thoughts on his comments.

Tax reform: The President said he would submit a comprehensive tax reform to Congress in January of 1963. This is reminiscent of his words spoken over 16 months ago on April 20, 1961: "I am directing the Secretary of Treasury to undertake the research and preparation of a comprehensive tax reform program to be placed before the next session of Congress." No such program was submitted.

Economy: The President said that the gross national product "has gone up 10 percent" since he took office. Actually, this represents the rise from the trough to a peak; the actual increase in the gross national product from 1960 to 1961 was 1.8 percent; for 1962 over 1961, it will be about 5 percent.

Historical: The President said that, when he came into office, the country was in a recession and "we have since made a recovery from that recession." The mild recession of 1960–61 reached bottom in February 1961, a month after the President took office, and recovery began before any Presidential or congressional action took place. On July 19, Leon Keyserling, economic adviser to President Truman, said that Mr. Kennedy had inherited "the beginnings of a recovery from President Eisenhower and had only succeeded in turning it into the shortest recovery since World War II."

Unemployment: The President said that the unemployment rate has gone down 23 percent, which is true enough, although the decrease has been substantially less than in other recoveries. What he did not mention was the fact that the civilian labor force, for an unexplained reason, for the first time since 1929 at least, declined in 1962. The drop was over 280,000 in contrast to increases averaging a million a year in recent years.

Savings: The President said that $3 billion a year can be saved in the Defense Department and similar savings can be made in other departments. This would indeed be good news if true, but the fact is that the Defense budget will rise to record peacetime heights this year and so will the budgets of other governmental agencies.

Training: The President said that 400,000 unemployed men are receiving retraining so they can find new work. Actually, there are no unemployed receiving retraining under the Republican-written Manpower Retraining Act because Congress only recently provided funds for a start on the program. If the President was referring to the retraining of unemployed under the depressed areas program, the total of trainees on June 30 was only 9,000.

Public works: The President said he needed a bill to step up local and Federal public works. His administration has on hand over $2 billion in authorized funds for various works and construction programs; only recently were $1.9 billion in highway funds unfrozen.

Blame: The President made scathing reference to the "opponents of progress" in Congress who "veto every forward move" but it it not known at this point whether he was referring to Southern Democrats who have bottled up his rights program or to Northern Democrats who held up all Senate business for 20 days by filibustering against the administration's Telstar bill.

Government spending under the Kennedy administration is soaring, and apparently will continue to do so, at a steady rate of more than $6 billion a year. Actual Federal expenditures for the last fiscal year (1962) hit a peacetime peak of $87.7 billion—up $5.2 billion from the previous year. Unofficial but authoritative administration sources estimate today that spending this year (fiscal 1963) will top $94 billion—another $6.3 billion increase.

At this rate by next June 30, after 2½ years in the White House, Mr. Kennedy will have boosted Federal spending $17.5 billion above the level of fiscal 1960—the last year that President Eisenhower was in complete command of the budget. It will mean that by next year (fiscal 1964) Government spending will rise above $100 billion for the first time in history, in war as well as peace.

## General von Steuben: German-American Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, throughout the country today the Steuben Society of America is celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Maj. Gen. Frederick William von Steuben, the firm ally of the American Revolution whose efforts helped launch our country. Many States have proclaimed today, which is also Constitution Day, as Steuben Day in honor of this great German military leader whose part in giving America its freedom is taught along with the deeds of George Washington and Lafayette.

The creed of the Steuben Society and the emphasis of the celebration of his birthday center entirely on the theme of Americanism. Although a German, Von Steuben was an American patriot and those who honor him do so as an expression of their loyalty to America and to the principles for which the general fought.

I am happy to join with those in all parts of America who look upon today as a day of rededication to the ideals of this country. I commend the spirit of General von Steuben in coming to the aid of a battered, rag-tag Army, but an Army fighting for a great principle. And I commend those who, in honoring him, once again turn themselves toward the great principle of the American Revolution.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I intoduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thought and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to

House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BALTIMORE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE FOR CUBAN FREEDOM,
*Baltimore, Md., June 25, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Mr. Marta Cuervo, member of the Baltimore Committee for Cuban Freedom, take this opportunity to ask and wonder why Cuba is not considered as a Captive Nation.

We, Cubans that live in the exile, beg you not to forget our country is living under the terror of a Communist regime.

We pray and urge for the establishment of your House Resolution 211, and thank your interest for this human cause.

Yours very truly,
MRS. MARTA CUERVO.

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JUNE 26, 1962.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Nikandr Moltschanow, a Cossack by origin, lawfully admitted to and residing presently in the United States, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to create a special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,
NIKANDR MOLTSCHANOW.

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UKRANIAN SPORT CLUB,
*Detroit, Mich., June 23, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Our organization, the Ukrainian Sport Club "Chernyk" in Detroit, Mich., wholeheartedly supports the resolution (H. Res. 211) calling for the establishment of a permanent Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

We ask you to consider favorably House Resolution 211 in your House of Representatives. It would supply us with necessary information on the various captive nations in the U.S.S.R. and thus help us to formulate our policy toward all nations enslaved by the Soviet Russian empire.

We strongly oppose the views of Mr. Dean Rusk, our Secretary of State, to such a committee because they show a basic lack of information with respect to the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain, especially Ukraine.

With kind respect from all of us, we remain,

Respectfully yours,
ZENON BREEDEN,
*Secretary.*
WALTER KEEYMA,
*Chairman.*

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JUNE 23, 1962.

Hon. JOHN F. KENNEDY,
*President,*
*White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am in favor of House Resolution 211 creating a Captive Nation's Committee. I have participated in the observance of Captive Nation's Week in Chicago.

We must do all in our power to liberate the nations that are subjugated by communism. This is an effective way to do so.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,
VINCENT L. KNAUS.

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CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your measure, House Resolution 211, to be the best and the most appropriate at the present time to defeat the Russian totalitarians in Moscow.

Sincerely yours,
SOFIA MAJDRANSKI.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## A Young American's Interpretation of Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, anyone who might have a tendency to become depressed over current world affairs will find a pleasant stimulant in an essay on Americanism prepared by Carol Gay Powers, of Portage, Cambria County, Pa. It is a tribute to the patriotic fervor and scholastic genius of this young Portage High School student, a proud reflection on the leadership qualities of her teachers, and another bright light in the beacon of accomplishment of the American Legion auxiliary, sponsor of a contest which prompted this winning manuscript.

We who are exposed to blatant preachments in favor of subordinating America's sovereignty to world government find Miss Powers' observations especially refreshing. I can assure you that her sentiments represent the prevailing and eternal attitude of the vast majority of citizens in our communities in Pennsylvania.

I commend this excellent essay, which won third place in State competition to the attention of all my colleagues:

AMERICANISM: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME
(By Carol Gay Powers)

Americanism, to me, expresses a feeling that develops in an individual as a result of living in America. This feeling is like a circle divided into three equal parts, one part marked "physical," another marked "mental," and the remaining marked "emotional." The circumference of the circle might be marked "devotion."

The physical part of Americanism is a result of environment, contacts, and vicarious experiences which make this land real and tangible. It includes for me the town in which I live, the places I have visited, the oceans I have seen from our shores, and the pictures and stories I have encountered throughout my life. It also includes the people I have known or seen. The mental part of this feeling concerns my ability to compare my land with others, to understand how a democracy ranks with other forms of government, and to constantly strive to think deeply and clearly about issues in which my country is involved. The emotional part of Americanism is the part that gives it heart and makes it live. It is made up of love and honor and devotion. It expresses itself at the sight of the stars and stripes waving in the breeze, or the Statue of Liberty standing in New York Harbor. It makes Americans willing and proud to shed blood when such a need is justified.

Americanism is a big thing composed of many small things. Americanism is the lump in the throat when the band plays "The Star-Spangled Banner." It is the walk up the avenue, noticing the cars standing like silent servants at even the lowliest of dwellings. It is the evening paper thrown on the doorsteps of the people privileged to know what is going on in this big whirling ball. It is the Little League baseball team, with the whole community turning out to cheer. It is the wallet, sometimes filled, sometimes empty, but carrying hospitalization cards, social security cards, book-club membership cards, doctor and dental appointment slips, and of course, green stamps. It is the bowling team, striving to win the championship. It is the county fair with pigs, paintings, pumpkins, and pizza.

Yes, Americanism is all of this, and more. It is the spirit that collects food and clothing for a burned-out family. It is the generosity that donates money, time, and effort to find two boys lost in a mine. It is the desire to help other countries through gifts of money, food, clothing, and medical supplies. It is the zeal which prompts surviving missionaries to continue their work after some of their number are murdered by unfriendly tribes.

Americanism is a bundle of lovely sunsets and purple mountains sprinkled by deserts and streaked with rivers. At its center is a love and respect for all mankind, and a desire for peace on earth. Holding it firmly are the arms of God, who created this world and peopled it with creatures in His own image. It is too big and too great to describe, but so real and so personal that it dwells within the heart of every true American. This is what Americanism means to me.

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## Youth in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BARRY GOLDWATER**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Youth in Politics," delivered by W. P. Shofstall, dean of men, Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz., before a meeting of Young Americans for Freedom, held in Phoenix, Ariz., last Saturday.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUTH IN POLITICS
(By W. P. Shofstall)

I stood by the Berlin wall August 13, 1962. The next day I talked with people in the East Berlin "paradise." I also saw the West Berlin memorials for those who lost their lives trying to escape from this paradise. On these 2 days I saw clear evidence of the difference between the theory of a Socialist paradise and the reality of a Socialist concentration camp.

There is a powerful trend in the United States toward the same kind of paradise I saw behind the Iron Curtain. This fact plus my experience this past summer convinced me that politics in 1962 is not a game. Politics has become a matter of life or death, freedom or slavery.

Let's take a brief look at American history. In 1936 the Liberty League was a well-organized, well-financed, and powerful group of conservatives determined to defeat those who were at that time promising us "paradise on earth." But this fine, conservative organization failed to get a majority vote in the 1936 presidential election, anywhere, except in Maine and Vermont.

Why did the Liberty League fail in politics? They had noble objectives. But, the Liberty Leaguers did not see then and many people do not see now that "tides cannot be changed by blowing upon the surface of the waters," or that to cure a disease we must remove the cause and not just the symptoms. Consequently, the Liberty Leaguers did not win then nor can conservatives win today only by narrow concentration on an election. In order to win, we must change the mind-set of the majority, which involves something deeper and more than getting out the vote.

The Liberty Leaguers felt they could "save the Constitution" merely by the effective broadcasting of sound principles of government, economics, and freedom. But, this theory failed because voters had already given up their belief in such things as States rights, the sanctity of economic contract and the divinity of human rights years before the Liberty League was organized. During the 1930's the trouble went much deeper than the New Deal legislation and goes more deeply today than the superficial proposals of the so-called liberals, whether they be Democrats or Republicans. The Liberty League was preoccupied with symptoms instead of the causes of the disease. Errors in action are always preceeded by errors in belief.

For example, in 1913 we legislated a confiscatory tax. Today nearly 50 years later, most of us now accept as right the belief that what a man can keep of his paycheck, is a matter for the Government to decide. The demagog who preaches such ideas as the redistribution of wealth, the welfare state, or the classless society will get a majority of the votes so long as people take for granted that a man no longer has a right to his property. How long can it be before he will also have no right to his life or his liberty?

What can young people interested in politics learn from experience such as that of the Liberty League? We can all learn that the task of saving the individual from chronic manipulation by socialistic bureaucrats is a matter of recreating a philosophical fabric before we can hope to elect good men to office. This means some of us must first carefully recheck our own beliefs. To recreate a philosophical fabric is essentially a personal problem of belief for you and me.

In other words, the way we can most effectively influence Government to change is by personal example. The people who have been effective leaders have always been those who have known clearly what they believe, why they believed it, and, especially those who believe so strongly they were willing to die for their beliefs, if necessary. This clarity of purpose and conviction was true for Roosevelt, Hitler, Stalin, and Churchill. The same clarity of purpose and conviction

is true for Khrushchev, DeGaulle, Adenauer, Sweitzer, Nehru, and any other effective leaders of our time.

If you have clear-cut convictions, you can also change your Government, personally, by merely waiting. Time is on the side of the well-informed young man or woman. You will soon be the Government.

Clarity of purpose and conviction, therefore, is the key to effective leadership. But, effective leadership is not necessarily good leadership in the right direction. Conservatism is the key to good leadership. So, what is conservatism? Conservatism is the dedicated use of intelligence with respect for time-tested principles in the solution of our problems by ourselves. By contrast, liberalism is the dedicated use of intelligence without respect for time-tested principles in the solution of our problems by Government.

In conclusion, the conservative youth in politics should accept both in theory and practice the truth of the often repeated quotation of Santayana: "Those who will not learn from history are doomed to repeat it."

All we have learned from history about the physical world is called science. All we have learned from history about the spiritual world is called religion and all we have learned from history about the world of politics is called conservatism. Science alone is materialism. Religion alone is dogma. Science, religion, and conservatism combined are the keys to our progress and our survival.

I challenge you to be politically conservative, scientifically efficient, and religiously convinced. If you accept this challenge you will apply all your intelligence in the use of the history of the past or time-tested principles in solving the problems of the future welfare of all mankind for the glory of God.

We are beginning to know the truth about the paradise being promised by pseudo-liberals and Socialists nowadays. To paraphrase the words of Abraham Lincoln, "To sin by apathy, when they should act, makes cowards of men."

## Memorable Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, all of the free world mourns the death of Thomas Masaryk 25 years ago. He was a great statesman and, as one of Czechoslovakia's outstanding leaders, he played a prominent role in the development of that nation after the First World War.

An editorial, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on September 14, 1962, embraces the thoughts and ideals of the people who hope and pray that some day all nations will be free.

The editorial follows:

MEMORABLE ANNIVERSARY

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, founder of the Czechoslovak Republic, died 25 years ago today, believing he had laid the foundation of the only durable democracy in Eastern Europe. It did, indeed, survive the inroads of fascism, only to fall prey to the long tentacles of communism.

A patriot as well grounded in democracy's principles as our own Jefferson, Masaryk is still the inspiration of those trapped behind the Iron Curtain as well as champions of freedom everywhere. Educator, philosopher, statesman, Masaryk, in the words of one admirer "taught the nation to accept democracy as the only modern and satisfactory way of public and private life."

He was a humanitarian who spent a lifetime seeking, and living, the truth; fighting for his country's liberation while gently teaching the creed of "Love thy neighbor as thyself." We join with the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in honoring the memory of a noble and eloquent man, who said: "If people could understand each other, we should have had democracy at one stroke; without mutual understanding, without tolerance, there is no freedom. Only when we are completely truthful and open with one another can we learn to know one another; but without love there is no truth; without truth and love we cannot know our fellows."

## Knowledge: The Key to a Century of Agricultural Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, recently at a joint USDA-Purdue centennial observance, Claude R. Wickard, former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture and a native Hoosier, delivered an important and thoughtful address entitled "Knowledge: The Key to a Century of Agricultural Progress."

In his remarks, Mr. Wickard outlined the parallel between the progress of American agriculture and the advancement of the United States to a position as world leader. He pointed out, howver, that despite the efforts and advances by the Department of Agriculture in the last 100 years, "return per dollar invested and income per hour of work is lower in farming than for other essential industries. If farmers cannot receive enough financial return to further increase their investments, farm progress will slow down, sooner or later, and the American agriculture system will be in real jeopardy." He stated also that he believes we should continue to preserve America's traditional land policy.

Mr. President, I believe our former Secretary's statements and conclusions are significant and noteworthy and I ask unanimous consent that the text of this important address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KNOWLEDGE: THE KEY TO A CENTURY OF AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

(Address by Claude R. Wickard, USDA-Purdue Centennial Celebration, Purdue University, July 27, 1962)

It is fitting that we celebrate this USDA-Purdue Centennial. This celebration will be useful and profitable if it gives us occasion to reflect upon what has been accomplished during the last century and how it has been accomplished. Such reflection should help us plan the future more wisely.

Progress in American agriculture during the last century has played a most important part in the advancement of our Nation during the same period, to the position of the world's leading Nation.

Agriculture was the foundation for bridging our continent. It has furnished manpower, raw materials and purchasing power to build our Nation's economy. Its unequaled efficiency has made the American consumers the best fed in the world, at the lowest cost in terms of their disposable incomes. It has sustained this Nation and its Allies during two world wars. American agriculture is a most potent force in today's worldwide struggle to influence the lives and minds of men.

I do not have to prove that the American agricultural system is the most successful in the world. Khrushchev admits it. He has repeatedly promised the Russian people that someday his communistic agriculture will catch up with American agriculture. His pronouncements have drawn the attention of the entire world to the superiority of the American agricultural system. He has even done much to correct an apathetic and even critical attitude of many of our own citizens toward American agriculture.

I have little confidence in my ability to see far or clearly into the future of American agriculture. I am not too apologetic about my lack of foresight. I feel that it is widely shared. I am positive that those statesmen who so wisely sponsored the legislation creating the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 100 years ago, had little conception of most of the activities undertaken by the Department in more recent years. Perhaps it was just as well. I doubt that this legislation would have been enacted if anyone could have foreseen that the Department, several decades later, would actively engage in the slaughter of millions of innocent little pigs.

Lack of ability to see the problems of agriculture in future years should not deter us in trying to agree upon an overall goal for American agriculture. I think our goal should be to constantly improve the American agricultural system so that it will enable American agriculture to make its maximum contribution to our national welfare and to the peace, freedom, and happiness of the world.

If this is our goal, it seems that it would be wise to retain the tenets of the American agricultural system which has served the Nation so well in the past. Briefly, the key to the success of the American agricultural system is that it has provided the incentive, the knowledge, and the means for American farmers to constantly improve their farming methods.

The incentive to better farming in America is the hope and belief that better farming is rewarding. It means more security for the farm family and more opportunity to share in the good things of life that this Nation has to offer.

Much of this incentive arises from what I choose to call the American land policy. Under this policy almost all of our farms are operated by the farm families who live upon them, and in the great majority of cases, own them. Through this land policy we have avoided land reform movements which have caused costly revolutions in many nations. Lack of land reform is the greatest obstacle to progress in several other countries.

American land policy has been a controversial issue in our Nation's history. When the Nation was new, it was confronted with the question of disposition of the public lands in the Northwest Territory. Wealthy and powerful interests advocated the selling of these lands in large blocks to the highest bidders. These interests stood to benefit in many ways by their proposal. Their Federal taxes would be lower because of the receipts from such sales. They would obtain control

of much of the Nation's resources and be in a position to reap large speculative profits. It would be much easier to control wages and working conditions for workers in the industrial areas, along the eastern seaboard, because it would be difficult for such workers to escape low wages and intolerable living conditions by taking up homestead claims in rich agricultural areas, west of the Allegheny Mountains. Those who favored homesteading won more victories than their opponents in the disposition of land in the Northwest Territory. Then came the question of disposing of the public lands west of the Mississippi River and the renewal of the controversy over land policy. The homestead bill, not slavery, was the big issue in the 1860 political campaign when Lincoln was elected President. It played an important part in his victory and led to the passage of the Homestead Act 100 years ago.

It is impossible to comprehend how much the development of this Nation would have been retarded if the opponents of our national land policy had been successful in their efforts. An interesting question is whether the turning over of public lands to speculators and to large land holding companies would not have made the financing of the founding of the land grant colleges impractical and unacceptable. There is the further question of whether there would have been a demand or a need for these great institutions as we now know them. It may be significant that the Land Grant College Act was passed just a few weeks after the Homestead Act was passed 100 years ago.

There are today some forces which tend to eliminate or change our traditional land policy.

There are those who believe that our agriculture would be more efficient and less of an economic problem if farming was done under large scale operations, using centralized financing, management, and control such as has already taken place in the poultry industry and in some instances in the cattle industry.

Quite recently the Committee for Economic Development issued recommendations to solve the agricultural economic problem. These recommendations received much publicity and considerable acclaim. It seems to me that the methods suggested are impractical and the objectives most undesirable.

To train and transfer to cities in the next 5 years 2 million farmworkers, two-thirds of whom are over 45 years of age, seems most difficult and even inhuman with millions of unemployed already in the cities. Under the recommendations of the committee those who remain would find it increasingly difficult to meet the financial burdens of larger units and lower prices. Conditions would be created which would decidedly change the American system of farming which has proven itself during the last 100 years.

One of the greatest threats now to our traditional farming pattern is the difficulty our enterprising farm boys and girls who want to farm have in establishing themselves as farmowners and operators. Even if financing can be arranged, the low returns for capital and labor make the commitments involved hazardous. Personally I have much more faith in the ability and willingness of farm boys and girls to preserve and improve the American agricultural system than I have in those who would replace them as owners and operators of our farms under the recommendations of those who believe the American farming system is inefficient, outmoded and obsolete.

In this connection I would like to call the attention of those who think we should go to some kind of large-scale financing and operation of agriculture that the efficiency of American industry under such a system has not increased as fast as that of agriculture under its present system. Furthermore I would like to warn the consumers of the Nation how much more their food will cost under a system where return for investment and pay for executives and workers is as high as it is under the industrial system of production.

The most serious aspect of large-scale operations, financing and control is that it destroys the incentives for farm families to work hard, and to farm better. This lack of incentive is the root of weakness in the systems of agriculture in many other nations and the cause of the failure of communistic farming in Russia and China.

I now turn to the phase of the American agricultural system which has provided the knowledge which has made the system so successful. The first great strides in this direction were made 100 years ago by the passage of the acts creating the U.S. Department of Agriculture and establishing the land-grant educational institutions. These acts, together with later acts, providing for the establishment of State agricultural experimental stations and the creation of the cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics have given this Nation the most far-reaching and effective means of gathering and disseminating knowledge the world has ever known.

The act signed by President Lincoln 100 years ago creating the U.S. Department of Agriculture contained these words. I quote them: "Be it enacted that there is hereby established at the seat of Government of the United States, a Department of Agriculture, the designs and duties of which shall be to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States, useful information on subjects connected with agriculture, in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and to procure, propagate, and distribute among the people new and valuable seeds and plants."

During the first half of the past century there was considerable evidence that the Members of Congress and their constituents were more enthusiastic about the procurement and distribution of seeds than about the acquisition and diffusion of information.

The acquisition, packaging and distribution of millions of packages of seeds became a costly and laborious task for the Department of Agriculture. In 1894 the Secretary of Agriculture called attention to this fact and also to the fact that in reality the seeds were not new because they could be procured on the commercial markets. He recommended to the Congress that the practice be stopped and that farmers bulletins be distributed instead. In his words "new ideas were of more permanent value than old seeds." The Congress did not accept the Secretary's suggestion that no more funds be appropriated for seed distribution. It added bulbs, trees, shrubs, vines and cuttings to the list for distribution and this language to the appropriation act for free distribution: "The Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized, empowered, directed, and required to expend said sum."

I do not know if this was the first congressional rebuke to a Secretary of Agriculture but I do know it was not the last because a half of a century later, I gained some firsthand knowledge about the sting of such rebukes.

Although the free distribution of seeds continued until 1923, the Congress did appropriate some money for the distribution of farmers bulletins in 1895. However, the Congress has never appropriated as much money annually for these bulletins as it did many years for seeds.

I think it appropriate to note that the Department and the land-grant college scientists are today engaged in the propagation of new varieties of seeds, to the great benefit of the Nation, and the seeds are really new and valuable. The yields gained from these seeds are much higher than anyone would have believed possible even a few years ago.

During this centennial year, I have often heard or read the statement than no one today can imagine what farming was like 100 years ago. I am forced to take exception to that statement. I don't have to draw upon my imagination to know what it was like. I merely draw upon my memory which goes back almost two-thirds of a century. From what I learned from my ancestors there was not too much change in farming or farm living during the first third of the last century.

My first awareness that there was some kind of an agricultural etsablishment "at the seat of Government of the United States" arose from the receipt each spring, when I was a boy, of a sizable package of what we called free Government seeds, mostly garden seeds. In those days my grandfather was the technician in charge of the family garden. I was the boy with the hoe. Sometimes we received more than one package of free seeds and my hoeing increased proportionately.

My grandfather's chief source of technical knowledge was the Hagerstown Almanac. It contained general information and monthly suggestions for the husbandman. Most important of all it gave detailed information on the moon phases and signs of the zodiac. My grandfather, like most farmers of his age, did not undertake anything without consulting the almanac to be sure that the phases of the moon and the signs of the zodiac were right for the undertaking. He may have been a little more expert in interpreting the almanac than some because he had gone to college and had taught school for several years. He knew the exact day for doing such farm jobs as farm butchering, putting the pork cuts in the brine, pruning the fruit trees, deadening the trees in the clearing, laying the worm for the new rail fence, altering the male animals on the farm, and above all, planting the free Government seeds.

If the seeds did not germinate or yield properly, the Government, not the almanac, was blamed.

When I graduated from high school a little over a half a century ago I told my father that I wanted to go to Purdue to take an agricultural course. This did not make sense to him and others including my high school principal whom I consulted. If I wanted to be a professional man like a doctor or a lawyer, I should go to college. It was a waste of time and money to go to college to learn to farm. I only had to follow the methods of my father and other successful farmers in the neighborhood.

In addition there was the danger that I would acquire theories which would prove impractical in application. I do not want to seem critical because the farmers of half a century ago were often very skeptical about the information and advice offered them by the USDA and the land-grant colleges. The farmers of those days had suffered the hardships and the frustrations of pioneer families. They had gone through periods of very low prices. They felt they could not take chances on unproven methods. Only those who worked hard, were cautious, and were frugal, could be successful.

As we plan the future, the important consideration is what were the factors which caused the farmers of the Nation to become so responsive to the USDA and the land-grant colleges. Why have they become so eager to obtain the knowledge which these institutions have to offer them—the knowledge which has set the American farmer apart from those in all other parts of the world.

I would say first that farmers have learned that this knowledge is based upon thorough scientific and reliable research.

Demonstrations at the local levels have broken the barriers of suspicion and disbelief. Seeing is believing.

Enlistment of local groups in the educational and administrative processes has increased neighborhood awareness and interest in what the land-grant colleges have to offer. Vocational training, 4-H Clubs, and for the youths in agriculture and homemaking have been one of the most effective, perhaps the most effective, means of creating interest in better methods.

During the past half century there has been a huge expansion in the mediums of communication between the farmers and the land-grant college institutions. The daily rural mail delivery, the farm press, the automobile, the telephone, the schools, the radio, and now television have reached into every corner of rural America to impart the knowledge without which the American farming efficiency could not set the standard for the world.

I wish to refer to another reason why the confidence of farmers in their land-grant colleges has grown so much. These institutions have been remarkably free from the influence of partisan politics, and from the influence of speculative and commercial interests whose designs and purposes are inimical to those of farmers. These interests in recent years have become powerful and strongly entrenched. In the future sound judgment and strong courage will be required to resist the pressure of those interests in their endeavors to enhance their profits and positions at the expense of producers and consumers.

Very probably the great majority of our citizens believe that the farmers have been the chief beneficiary of the USDA and the land-grant colleges' very successful efforts at acquiring and diffusing information among all the people. I think a good argument could be made that farmers have benefited less than anyone because better farming methods have usually meant increased production, and increased production has meant lower prices. It does seem clear that the consumers have benefited much more than farmers. Dr. Byron Shaw, Administrator of Agricultural Reserach of the USDA, said recently the average yearly cost of food for American families would be $288 higher if farmers today were using the same farming methods they were using 20 years ago. The total annual costs for all the U.S. consumers would be $13 billion higher than it is now. That is about twice the amount of all money spent on agricultural research during the last 100 years.

I do not want to leave the impression that many governmental programs have not been of direct and substantial benefit to the people who live on the land. I refer to such activities as those of the credit agencies, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Farm Cooperative Division, the Marketing Service and the helpful but controversial programs to support farm prices, including increased export opportunities.

Despite these efforts return per dollar invested and income per hour of work is lower in farming than for other essential industries. Farmer indebtedness has been increasing during recent years for several reasons. One is lower farm commodity prices. Another is increased costs due first to the increased prices paid by farmers for materials and services and second, to the increased investments required by modern farming methods. The investment per farm worker is higher now than it is for industrial workers and if farmers cannot receive enough financial return to further increase their investments, farm progress will slow down, sooner or later, and the American agricultural system will be in real jeopardy.

It is a rather severe indictment of the agricultural leadership of our Nation when it cannot devise and agree upon an effective and economical program for maintaining farm income at a level which will provide the means for continuing progress on the farms of America and for the preservation and strengthening of the American farming system.

Farm income and farm living must be kept attractive so that a good portion of our farm boys and girls will want to come to Purdue and other land-grant colleges to obtain the knowledge which is available here and which is so essential to the attainment of our goal of constant improvement of the American agricultural system.

During the latter half of the last century, I have had the opportunity to be fairly closely associated with the agricultural part of Purdue University. This association has been most pleasant and profitable. I am most grateful for it. It has given me an opportunity to see how much this State and other States have benefited by the land-grant institutions.

For 20 years I was involved in administrative work in the U.S. Department of Agriculture at about all levels. This gave me an unusual opportunity to observe the great contributions which were being made to our national welfare by the various bureaus and divisions of this Department.

I hope that this years' centennial celebrations will serve to better acquaint all Americans with the accomplishments of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges. I am sure much will be written and said about these accomplishments. Before I conclude, I wish to say something which I fear won't be said often, if at all.

I have had an unusual opportunity to observe the people who work in the U.S. Department of Agriculture and land-grant colleges and to compare them with other workers in and out of Government. It is my conviction that no workers are more capable, more devoted to their tasks, and more anxious to be of service to their fellow citizens. I am just giving credit where credit is due—in this case long overdue.

In conclusion I again want to refer to the acquisition of and diffusion of knowledge among all the people. Man's most precious possession is knowledge. He will never have a surplus of it. In fact, he will never have enough.

Right now we seem to have a singular shortage of knowledge as to how best to use the knowledge we now have for the benefit of mankind everywhere.

If we are to meet the challenges of the future as well as we have met the challenges of the past century, we must relentlessly pursue the acquisition of knowledge, be positive that it is diffused widely, and unselfishly, and provide wise, and effective means for its application.

## Community and Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, the fine community of Albany, Ga., was recently invaded by a group of clergymen with the evident design of gaining a bit of national publicity for themselves. In this respect they have done right well. The national press, radio, and television carried numerous reports and photographs of their public prayer demonstrations. I do not believe, however, that they have been accorded any space in the RECORD. How shameful. Indeed, they should be accorded this courtesy. So, Mr. Speaker, I wish to accommodate by including in the RECORD a statement made about them by Mr. Thurmond Sensing, of the Southern States Industrial Council, Nashville, Tenn.

I feel sure that Members will find this statement most interesting; and I know that clergymen will appreciate it as it provides a type of publicity which they evidently were seeking.

The statement follows:

COMMUNITY AND CONSCIENCE

Responsible moderate people throughout the country have had reason to look with disgust and dismay at the caravans of would-be martyrs who have invaded the law-abiding community of Albany, Ga., in recent weeks.

This is, it is generally acknowledged, the age of publicity seeking. Confirmation of this truth can be found in the number of northern clergymen who have gone to Albany by the busload with the hope of getting their names and pictures in the metropolitan press.

Certainly, the clerical invaders of Albany have not gone to that community to offer religious witness. For they have not gone in the role of missionaries who wanted to find a place in the community and minister to the needs of its people. The martyrdom envisioned is strictly of the quickie kind—perhaps a fine at the police station or a night in jail. The witness is invariably in a position in front of a wire service or news magazine cameraman.

This kind of hypocritical publicity seeking is disgusting and dismaying to genuinely religious Americans because it is contrary to the traditions of the Christian religion. The founder of Christianity went to great pains to deplore the action of those who make a spectacle of prayer.

This is not to say that the commotion over Albany has been without questions of conscience. Thoughtful citizens must ask themselves what is in the minds of those northern clergymen who chose to take heavily publicized bus rides to Albany. How could clergymen, in good conscience, suggest by such a ride that the sin center of the United States is Albany? How could they believe that no need existed for missionary efforts in their own communities and that the big moral cleanup was needed in a small southern city?

Those who took the ride to Albany must have suffered an attack of moral blindness. They came from Chicago and New York City, to cite only two great metropolitan cities. Yet these cities are notorious for their crime conditions and for the extent and depth of entrenched vice.

Haven't the clerical riders to Albany read the newspapers of Chicago and Manhattan in recent years? Aren't they aware of the caligiri scandals, the existence of organized prostitution, the growth of the narcotics racket, and the waves of violence against persons and property? Only a few years ago, the Chicago Police Force—the supposed guardians of that city's law and order—were found to have thieves in their midst. Is sin conquered in Chicago? Is lawlessness at an end in New York City?

One can hardly believe that the clerical riders have no duties or obligations at home that could stir their conscience to activity. The New York Journal American has been publishing a series of stories detailing the number of rapes and robberies in the public housing projects of New York City. The

Chicago press continues to describe vice conditions.

Countless opportunities exist for northern clergymen to display their conscience, to engage their minds and efforts in crusades to return their own people to a more law-abiding and respectable order of civic and personal life. But, instead, large contingents run off to Albany, Ga., to condemn those citizens who are obeying the laws of their community.

It is a sad example that the clergymen on their roving prayer vigils have set for their own congregations and communities. One's first task in life should be to set one's own house in order. If moral conditions are awry in this country, then the leaders of morality should start in their own bailiwick. After they have cleaned up the moral mess in their own backyard, then they can properly advance to offer assistance to other communities. But to leave an ugly mess of vice and crime behind, to ignore the moral disease in one's own city and State, and to point a finger of blame at some far-distant community, that is reprehensible in the extreme.

It is to the credit of southern clergymen that they do not go to the Harlems of the North and conduct prayer pilgrimages and prayer vigils for the sins of the Harlems, where crime and vice exist on every hand Nevertheless, those who have made ill-considered clerical freedom rides to the South should somehow acquire a sense of shame and express regret for their actions, which are without justification.

## America's Power System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the struggle against communism, we, as a Nation, need not only to promote maximum progress but also to evaluate as well as possible our competitive position with the Communist world, particularly its leader, the Soviet Union.

Recently, the Green Bay Press-Gazette published an editorial entitled: "America's Power System."

The editorial reflects thoughtfully upon the comparative production of electrical power in the United States and the Soviet Union. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S POWER SYSTEM

The United States, with one-sixteenth of the world's population, has one-third of the world's power capacity. The total electric power capacity of the United States is 174,998,000 kilowatts. This is more than the total capacity for Russia, Great Britain, West Germany, Canada, and Japan.

This information is given in a small booklet published by the Investor-Owned Electric Utility Industry. It points out that more than three-fourths of the powerplant capacity in the United States is furnished by some 400 investor-owned companies. The remainder of the capacity is furnished by Government-financed power suppliers. Approximately 300 companies pool their resources with one another in order to provide good service, efficiency, and at a reasonable price to the public. An example of how the pooling operates is supplied by 12 companies supplying electric power in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland. They have a total capacity of 15 million kilowatts in an area of about 48,000 square miles and serve a population of 19 million persons.

One of the interersting facts about the American power system is its growth. The booklet shows this development in a series of maps beginning with 1908 when the lines were few and far between, following along successively through the years until the lines upon the map in the eastern part of the United States extending out possibly to the Mississippi River and slightly beyond were so cluttered with lines as to appear almost black. The lines correspond almost exactly with the development of the population of the Nation. In the beginning there were but few small powerplants serving individual communities. Later on, the development of the transmission lines permitted the replacement of the small plants with a large central station serving many communities. Then, as the power companies began interconnecting their lines, giant power pools were developed which today supply power for all of the needs of the particular area in which the companies have pooled their resources.

The growth of the net production of electrical energy in the United States has averaged about 7.15 percent compounded per year. The growth during the postwar years has been at an average rate of 8.6 percent. This, the booklet points out, is about 2½ times the rate of growth of the whole economy as measured by the gross national product (GNP). The booklet points out that the transmission lines and power capacities follow the population densities closely. However, the powerplant and transmission capability has always remained ahead of the demand for electricity.

The investor-owned utility companies have invested $46 billion in power facilities. The money for this purpose has come from the people's savings. In order to attract such investments of course it is necessary for the utilities to offer a rate of return comparable to that offered by other companies with similar risks. The utility industry has been spending about $3.2 billion per year for new plants and equipment. This is about 10 percent of the new construction for all American business.

The United States with a total of 3,022,387 square miles of area has a total of 304,000 miles of transmission lines. Russia on the other hand with an area of 8,607,553 square miles has only 62,000 miles of transmission lines.

Thus America with about one-third of the area of Russia has about five times the miles of transmission lines. Production of electricity per capita in the United States is about three times that of the U.S.S.R. And since the United States is building at an increasing capacity Russia will fall further behind in the immediate future. The American home uses about eight times the electricity of the Russian home and Americans use twice as much for lighting as the Russians do.

There are approximately $46 billion invested in electrical plants and facilities at the moment. It is estimated that by 1970 there will be an investment of $88 billion and by 1980, $168 billion will be invested. Since the increases in electrical production capacity usually coincide with the increases in population and business development, the outlook for business in America is bright indeed.

It should be noted that America's favorable position is due to the free enterprise system. Its continued expansion can be expected so long as this system is preserved in America.

## The U.S. Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 175th anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution. In this connection, Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, recently gave a particularly outstanding talk on the Constitution before the weekly prayer breakfast group of the House of Representatives. The talk was so excellent and presented such a comprehensive historical background of the deliberations which led to the drafting and signing of the Constitution that I would like to insert it in the RECORD for the information of the thousands of our citizens who read the RECORD daily:

AMERICA'S GREATEST INVENTION

(By Hon. PAUL FINDLEY of Illinois)

Have you ever considered this question: What was America's greatest invention?

Was it Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, which opened a new era in communications? Was it Thomas A. Edison's electric light, which turned a world of flickering nightime into one in which night can be as brilliant as day? Was it the Wright brothers' airplane, which gave mankind wings, for good and for ill? Was it Henry Ford's assembly line which led to a mass production and a sharply rising standard of living? Was it atomic energy, which ushered in an age that is now only beginning to unfold?

Each has a claim to greatness. Each is uniquely American. Each has contributed immensely to progress. Which would you choose?

My choice may surprise you. It is none of these. My choice is nothing more tangible than a manuscript, and yet it has become the most vital force for freedom and progress history has known. It is uniquely an American invention. It is the Federal Union plan for Government as embodied in the U.S. Constitution.

The laboratory where Federal Union was created was Independence Hall in Philadelphia. The year was 1787. In the same hall 11 years earlier had been signed the Declaration of Independence, the vital spark that was to ignite this torch of freedom.

The inventors were farmers, professors, businessmen, lawyers—39 men representing 12 American States.

In 3 months they created the Federal Union idea, an accomplishment which Historian John Fiske called "'The 'Iliad,' the Parthenon, the 'Fifth Symphony' of statesmanship."

You have all seen Christy's massive painting of the signing of the Constitution. It shows a room filled with distinguished bewigged gentlemen. At the Speaker's desk with austere bearing is George Washington. One has the feeling that here were the beloved statesmen of the Colonies commissioned by a grateful people to fashion a new government now that the British yoke had been lifted. It is an illusion of peace, unity, good feeling, solidarity, confidence and high purpose untainted by usual human frailties.

The true picture was one of disunity, open warfare between States, rebellion within States, bitterness and sectional strife, and in Independence Hall itself, a constant struggle between lofty purpose and provincialism, between freedom and slavery.

The American States were on the verge of anarchy. The Central Government, organized under the Articles of Confederation, was weak, nearly bankrupt and without support abroad. The league was unable to meet its own current expenses and too weak to enforce payment of debts, public or private. The league was so weak foreign governments refused to enter into agreements. Barbary pirates were seizing American ships and American citizens. The league was too poor to build a Navy, and too poor to buy off the pirates.

States erected a maze of foolish discriminatory tariff walls among themselves. New York levied a high import duty on Connecticut firewood, for example, so Connecticut voted to forbid all trade with New York.

Connecticut and Pennsylvania quarreled over a river valley. One winter and spring was especially rough on the valley. Floods, ice floes, and storm were almost devastating. Under the pretext of helping the population, Pennsylvania sent a militia into the area. Their conduct would have disgraced barbarians. They stole and plundered, naturally got violence in return. On one occasion, the militia emptied a Connecticut town of 500 people, burned the homes and at bayonet point forced the inhabitants, children and all, into the wilderness.

Currency collapsed in most of the States, and efforts to establish fiat paper currency led to rebellion, a new high in bitterness, hatred. The only sound currency was a meager and assorted supply of foreign coins, called specie. Clipping of coins was so common, many people carried scales with them to verify weight of gold coins before accepting them.

In Rhode Island, money-hungry citizens forced the legislature to issue paper money, even thought it was doomed to failure. Realizing there was no public confidence in paper money, merchants refused to accept it at the same value as hard money, or specie. Laws were passed providing fines or imprisonment for refusing to accept paper money at the same value as hard money. Rather than go to prison, merchants shut up shop.

In defiance to merchants, farmers dumped their produce, burned corn for fuel and tried to starve city people into accepting paper money at face value. All trade, except on a barter basis, stopped. In 6 months, paper money dropped in exchange value from $1 to 16 cents. There was virtually no money to pay debts, and imprisonment for debt became commonplace.

In Massachusetts, a mob angry over currency collapse, took it out on established authority. The mob stormed the courts and forced the State supreme court to leave town. Rebels seized leading citizens as hostages in other communities.

Such was the American mood and times in 1787, the eve of America's greatest invention: An impotent Central Government, unable to defend American rights abroad, or to make foreign agreement, unable to meet its own expenses; bloody warfare between States, and rebellion within States, a maze of tariff walls separating one State from another; looming anarchy because of the collapse of currency; jealousy, hatred, chaos, rebellion, anarchy.

What was the mood of delegates at Independence Hall? The mood was despair. A year earlier a convention had been called for the purpose of strengthening the Central Government. The convention ended before it began, because only five States sent delegates.

The second convention was called for May 14. There was very little interest in it among the State governments. Indeed, New York thought so little of it that State did not send its best men as delegates. John Jay, who could have added strength to the Convention, was left at home.

The one fact which added hope to this second convention was the news that General Washington was to be in the Virginia delegation.

Washington arrived at Convention Hall on schedule. So did 28 other delegates. They had to wait 11 days before delegates from the seventh State arrived, providing a quorum. Before the Convention was concluded, 12 States participated. Rhode Island never did send delegates.

The night before the Convention was to have its opening session, some of the delegates were gathered before the fireplace shooting the breeze. The Convention was called for the purpose simply of revising the Articles of Confederation, and several delegates warned that the country was in no mood for any radical changes in the Central Government. It would be better for the Convention to deal with mild changes, and avoid anything very sweeping.

Washington could not bear this talk in silence. He rose and delivered his shortest and one of his greatest speeches. He said, "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work?"

Perhaps thinking of the border warfare, the low estate to which America had fallen in the eyes of the world, the rebellion in Massachusetts and elsewhere, the crying need for a strong Central Government, Washington added these words, "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

But in the Convention, the outlook fell from bad to worse. Big States vied with little States. Southern interests opposed New England. The longer the delegates debated, the more remote seemed agreement.

After 6 weeks, Washington wrote a note to Alexander Hamilton, who had left the Convention for a few days' business in New York. In the note Washington said, "I almost despair seeing a favorable issue to the proceeedings and do therefore repent having had any agency in the business."

At a critical moment when the Convention appeared to be on the verge of collapse, Ben Franklin had this to say: "In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending providence in our favor. To that kind providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity, and have we now forgotten that powerful friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need his assistance? I have lived a long time and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth: that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel: we shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and byword down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

"I therefore beg leave to move—that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be heard in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service."

Franklin's suggestion was adopted, and without doubt the daily prayer helped to calm frayed nerves and added the inspiration needed for perseverance.

Tempers were snapping. Angry words were heard. Delegations threatened to go home. But out of desperation and adversity, one by one, were hammered out the great principles which formed America's greatest invention:

The United States was to be a Union of people, not a Union of States. The citizen was to be the sovereign power, and he was to have dual citizenship, being a citizen of a State and a citizen of the Nation.

The Central Government was to have strictly limited powers, with a balance of these powers among the two Houses of Congress, the executive, and the judiciary.

Senators and Congressmen were to vote individually and not by State blocs. This permitted a vigorous party system to develop in the United States.

States were to have equal representation in the Senate, and Congressmen were to be chosen on the basis of population. This was the result of compromise, and the agreement was reached only after long dispute, and because the final debate occurred on a day when the New York delegation happened to be absent.

Laws and treaties of the Central Government were to be supreme.

Free trade was to be established throughout the area of the Union. It was the first time a group of sovereign States had agreed to abolish all tariffs. This act made possible America's tremendous economic growth and our sharply rising standard of living.

But it was a gain not without cost. The price paid for free trade and for the right of the Central Government to control foreign commerce was a grisly deal that later was to haunt the United States.

Involved was the problem of the slave trade. Ten of the twelve States—including Virginia—favored stopping import of slaves, and many freely predicted that slavery would soon be abolished.

Only South Carolina and Georgia resisted. There rice was the principal crop, and the death rate in the sickly rice swamps was so high, the planters needed a steady supply of new slaves to replace those who died.

So a compromise provided that import of slaves could not be halted for another 20 years. By that time, the cotton gin had changed the principal crop of the South to cotton, and a new expanding demand for slaves was created.

It is ironic that much of the opposition to the deal was from Virginia, soon to become a center of slave activity. George Mason was so incensed that he refused to sign the Constitution, despite Washington's fervent appeal for unity. Said Mason, "I would sooner chop off my right hand than put it to the Constitution as it stands."

Yet, without this and other compromises, the Federal Union would not have been created in the summer of 1787. America would likely have gone the way of Europe with numerous small warring States. Instead of one war on a great moral issue, there would have probably been several wars on petty issues. But for this slave deal, a mighty force for freedom might never have been created.

And who is to say it was a wrong compromise?

America's greatest invention was a creature of compromise from start to finish, and yet the invention created a strong Central Government, and protected the liberty of citizens and retained the authority of the States.

William Gladstone said the U.S. Constitution was the greatest work ever struck off by the mind of man.

Considering the obstacles, the rivalries, open warfare, suspicion among the States, it is all the more remarkable that the Convention of 1787 should have produced this "Fifth Symphony" of statesmanship. As Washington had predicted the event was in the hand of God.

Surely a power greater than man contrived to resolve the antagonisms of the day and to inspire those 39 men to create in this greatest of all American inventions a shield for liberty that would survive the test of time and become an example for others to follow.

Here indeed was raised a standard to which the wise and honest can repair—in 1787—and in 1962. How fully we understand and appreciate this great charter will determine in large measure how well we fulfill our stewardship in keeping high the torch of freedom.

The great historian of ths period, John Fiske, concluding his study entitled "The Critical Period of American History," had this to say: "In some future still grandeur convention we trust the same thing will be done between States that have been wholly sovereign, whereby peace may gain and violence be diminished over other lands than this which has set the example."

Fiske wrote these words 80 years ago. And today leaders in both political parties speak hopefully and confidently of this still grander convention Fiske foretold.

"Sail on, O ship of state.
Sail on, Union strong and free.
Humanity in all its fears
In all its hopes for future years
Hangs breathless on thy fate."

## Cuba: Watchful Waiting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, I am glad that Walter Lippmann, with his usual clarity and good sense, has spoken up on the Cuba issue. I commend his article appearing today in the Washington Post to the attention of my colleagues—and ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CUBA: WATCHFUL WAITING
(By Walter Lippmann)

Although there are some who say that we are doing nothing about Cuba, the fact is that we are doing just about everything that can be done short of going to war.

Besides the economic embargo, we are keeping the island under surveillance. We are watching every ship that comes to and goes from the island, and we are keeping a close watch on the loading and unloading of these ships. We have accurate and current records of building operations and the deployment of aircraft and tanks and artillery.

There may be some doubt whether we have located every missile site in the vastness of the Soviet Union. But in Cuba, unless our cameras are failing us, we are completely informed.

As a result, we are quite able to know about the development of anything like a Soviet missile base directed against the United States, and what may be more realistic, we are able to spot anything like an expeditionary force against Cuba's neighbors in the islands and in the Caribbean.

Our policy at the present is to keep ourselves completely informed, and to wait and see whether Castro and his Soviet helpers do any overt act, against the United States or its neighbors. Beyond this, there is no serious action the United States can taken to remove him that would not be an act of war.

The United States is, of course, able easily to blockade Cuba. But stopping ships under threat of seizure or sinking would be an act of war not only against Cuba but against the Soviet Union. For we would be seizing or sinking Soviet ships.

The invasion of Cuba would, of course, be an act of war against Cuba. To be sure, the United States could easily win a war against Cuba. We could close the Cuban ports within a few hours and we could occupy very quickly Havana and a few big cities. The countryside might be another story.

But what we could not be sure of doing is to prevent the retaliatory moves to which we would have laid ourselves wide open, moves against Berlin, or against Turkey, or against Iran.

For we would have acted on the rule that a possible threat against our security or our interests justifies us in going to war.

We would be saying that because Cuba, which is only 90 miles away, is in the grip of an unfriendly European power, we have a right to blockade or occupy the island; we would be saying too that the Soviet Union has no such right to act against the American military positions in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, right on her own frontier.

Let us not fool ourselves. Such an argument will not wash. It would be rejected, probably even laughed at, not only by all neutrals but by powerful elements among our closest allies.

There are some who think foreign opinion doesn't matter. But when it comes to war, it means a great deal to the belligerent who is for him and who is against him. We could go to war if Castro injures us. But we cannot go to war, even against Castro, because of what he may conceivably do in the future.

We cannot wage a preventive war against Castro without establishing the rule that a preventive war is legitimate against our military position in Berlin, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Taiwan, Okinawa, South Korea and Japan.

It is true, of course, that the Soviet lodgment in Cuba is a gross violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Yet we cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine. Why not?

The Monroe Doctrine declares that "any interposition" by a European power in this hemisphere would be "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

But, and this is the crucial point, the American claim for the isolation of the Western Hemisphere was coupled with a renunciation of American interest in the Eastern Hemisphere: "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do."

This fundamental passage in Monroe's message is, of course, a restatement of the principle laid down by Washington in his farewell address: "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation."

This basis of the Monroe Doctrine disappeared in the 20th century, in the two World Wars, the Korean war, and the cold war, We cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine without meeting the question of what we are doing all over Europe and Asia.

Our right to put Cuba under surveillance, and if necessary to blockade and invade it, rests not on the Monroe Doctrine but on the elementary right of a people to insure its own security.

For two centuries the British felt that way about the occupation of Belgium by an unfriendly power. The Russians felt that way about Turkey. This right can, however, be exercised only when there is a clear and present danger.

Castro is an insulting nuisance but is not, and is not now remotely capable of becoming a clear and present danger to the United States. So we must practice watchful waiting, and hold ourselves in readiness, never for a moment forgetting the vastly greater dangers elsewhere.

In a time of watchful waiting, Congress and the newspapers are compelled to remember that the President is conducting a delicate and dangerous operation, and that he is seriously interferred with if he is forced to dot every "i" and to cross every "t" in advance of a decision.

The President should not be asked to say whether he will go to war. He should not be driven to say that he won't go to war.

A certain mystery and uncertainty are desirable, and will be deterrent to our adversaries.

## Role of Lawyer in Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, perhaps no organization has as potent an influence on hemispheric thinking as the Inter-American Bar Association. William Roy Vallance is the secretary general of the association. Mr. Vallance retired a year or so ago after an outstandingly distinguished career with the State Department.

By unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include an address by F. V. Garcia-Amador at a meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association on September 13, 1962, at the National Lawyers' Club in Washington. Mr. Garcia-Amador is the Director of the Department of Legal Affairs of the Organization of American States.

His address follows:

The great undertaking in the hemisphere today, the one to which all our attention is turned, is the Alliance for Progress. As you are well aware, the Alliance for Progress programs for economic development and social improvement are of such magnitude that profound transformations in the legal institutions of the Latin American countries are inevitable. As a matter of fact, these changes, particularly as to land reform and taxation, are explicitly contemplated in the Punta del Este Charter. The question which concerns us is what is the role of the lawyer in this program? What can we do to aid the transformation and adaptation of the exist-

ing legal institutions so that they can better serve the ends and the aims of the Alliance?

We, at the Pan American Union, occupy a very strategic role in the development of the Alliance. We have the facilities of the entire hemisphere at our disposal, and we can speak in an impartial voice to the entire hemisphere. We recognize our role; we recognize our responsibilities. It is, however, so vast an undertaking that we cannot possibly begin to do it all ourselves. To the contrary, it is a never-ending task in which the more help we will have, the more we will have to do. That is why the most important thing which I have to say to you today is that we of the legal department at the Pan American Union welcome your help. We welcome your suggestions, your cooperation. We welcome you and invite you to join with us in attacking these problems which must be solved before the political stability and well-being of our entire hemisphere is to be secure.

What are some of these problems? Let me name a few to you. To begin at the base of the structure there are the legal rights and role of the new national planning agencies. These agencies are comparatively new in administrative law. What is their legal status to be? What will their administrative role be? Are they to be created simply to make recommendations, formulate plans, and then disintegrate? Should they take the form of an overall commission on the order of the great Tennessee Valley Authority here in this country? Is it better, in the alternative, that they become some sort of superagency to oversee and administer other agencies which will carry out the work? If so, what sort of powers will be available to them to insure that their plans and recommendations are properly carried out? Will they be able to investigate, to correct and compel? Should they be insulated from political pressures and influence? And if that is a desirable end, how can it be accomplished? We have here, you see, a myriad of problems relating to this one initial aspect of the program, the purpose, role, and functioning of the development agency itself.

In the substantive field, the list is potentially endless, and it touches all phases of economic activity and cooperation. To mention just a few there is the pressing problem of agrarian reform. What are the different possibilities in fair and equitable yet uncumbersome agrarian reform laws? What legal protection can be devised for the new land owners, many of whom will be illiterate, against those who may seek to take advantage of them, while, at the same time, safeguarding bona fide creditors' rights. How shall the new programs of agricultural credit be administered and protected? What about insuring good title, and simplifying methods for clearing title?

In tax law, I don't have to describe the problems to you. Even the most developed of developed countries have their share of problems here. What kind of tax laws most effectively suit the needs of the Latin American nations: Direct taxes as you have in the United States, or indirect? What are the rights to be established to ascertain that all levels of Government, National, State, and local, get their proportional share of the revenues, and to what extent is it possible to insure that those revenues are properly allocated on the local levels. The obvious problems of improving the administration of tax laws and the elimination of tax evasion are ever present in our consideration. There is also the great problem, as economic activity between nations increases, of avoiding double taxation and inadvertent burdens on the type of economic activity which we desire to encourage. Much fine work is already being done on the problem, especially by the Harvard University tax program. But the work is still unfinished.

There are also the problems of commercial law, techniques of public control of business, including the problems of, monopoly and restraint of trade about which you here have so much to teach us. The problem of expropriations and of nationalizations is one which will be with us for a long time. How can this be handled in a fair manner with aggravating international tensions? What can the law do to promote and facilitate the flow of capital across national borders?

What means can be devised for encouraging small business while, at the same time, preventing fradulent operators and professional manipulators from taking advantage of those laws? What are the possibilities for protecting international creditors, improving the security of secured transactions? Is there a possibility for paving the legal road to international security transactions in stocks and bonds so that private investors may be encouraged to put their money into the public securities of foreign firms? What about labor law and protection for honest, responsible labor unions?

There are, gentlemen, all these and more, I haven't even begun to mention the possibilities in banking regulations; improvement of judicial procedures and remedies both within the individual countries and in international intercourse; improvement of the civil service laws; the problems of the law of civil rights; methods for improving the election laws and procedures, and many others. Some of these problems are already being dealt with in respect to individual countries; in others general studies are well underway.

Many thing remain to be done. Preliminary studies will have to be made. There are no general solutions which will serve in all countries. The existing record will have to be detailed so that we can know the existing situation in all of the Latin American States. This means research and digging at a moment when we have little time for research and digging. We must begin to act, but we have also to understand fully the kind of action we must take. We must know what we are talking about—what problems we are facing—and what we are going to do about it. We must acquaint the lawyers of the hemisphere with these problems. This means discussion, seminars, exchange of ideas.

We at the legal department of the Pan American Union are getting ready to undertake a vast program in this sphere. It is simmering now, and we invite you to join with us in making it a reality. We invite your suggestions and proposals of topics, plans of action, and methods of disseminating our call to the lawyers of the hemisphere. You have a conference scheduled in Panama early next year. That conference could make a tremendous contribution to our progress and we should like very much to discuss the possibilities with those of your officers who are responsible for it. Together, let us hope, we can begin to chip away at the tremendous task in front of us.

I thank you.

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## Captioned Films for the Deaf

SPEECH

OF

## HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of this legislation in the House and as chairman of the subcommittee that considered this bill, I am an enthusiastic supporter of the proposal to expand the program of captioned films for the deaf.

The New Jersey State School for the Deaf, which is outstanding among such institutions in this country, is located in my district and I have long had an interest in its work. They use the present loan service of captioned films to the fullest extent possible, but they are well aware of the great potential in this medium for making significant strides forward in the education and training of the deaf.

The value of this legislation to the deaf population of our country has been well stated by Mr. August P. Herdtfelder, from the National Fraternal Society of the Deaf. I would like to include at this point Mr. Herdtfelder's statement to my subcommittee:

Representative THOMPSON and honorable members of the committee, I am August P. Herdtfelder, of Silver Spring, Md., and the appointed representative of the National Fraternal Society of the Deaf, a fraternal life insurance association of deaf men and women. This society is based on the lodge system and has branch lodges, called divisions, in over 100 principal cities in the United States.

The National Fraternal Society of the Deaf is strongly in favor of the legislation now being considered by your committee to expand the captioned films for the deaf program. Thousands of deaf people of all ages stand to benefit from an expanded program. Since its inception 3 years ago, the captioned films program has played an increasingly important role in the lives of deaf people everywhere. The realization that the present program is inadequate is the basic reason for the wide, general movement for a larger organization better adapted to meet the social, cultural, educational, and training needs of the deaf.

Educationally the deaf child stands to benefit the most. There is much potential for enhancing his educational achievement through the use of captioned educational films. The young deaf child does not acquire language through normal channels and often does not acquire any language at all until taught by special methods when first attending a school for the deaf at approximately 6 years of age. This lag in the development of language is difficult to overcome, but through the use of captioned educational films the deaf child will be exposed to experiences and language simultaneously providing an opportunity for growth and understanding.

We, deaf people, have always been proud of our independent role in that we have held full-time jobs, raised families, owned homes, driven cars, and paid taxes just like anyone else. And just like anyone else we are concerned with the advent of automation which will undoubtedly result in the loss of jobs for the deaf worker as well as the normal-hearing worker. Retraining of the deaf worker will not be so easy because of the communication problem. Thus there is a growing need for specialized materials for the adult deaf and an increased captioned films program will be able to take the proper steps toward the development of training and educational films for the adult deaf resulting in the opportunity for the deaf to prepare themselves for technical changes and the chance to compete on the labor market.

I strongly urge in behalf of the deaf of America that every consideration toward the enactment of this legislation be given.

## Part I: Cuba's Soviet Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Daily News, whose editorial policy I consider to be one of the outstanding for America, is running a series of articles by Anthony Burton, its reporter, who was in Cuba just a few days ago.

The New York Daily News is rendering a great public service in bringing to the American people the facts of the situation and not the fancy that some of the Kennedy idealists seem to want to dish out.

The situation is serious, even if the President doesn't think so.

Following Mr. Burton's article, I include the editorial which appeared in today's issue of the New York Daily News:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Daily News, Sept. 17, 1962]

BEHIND CUBA'S SOVIET CURTAIN FIDEL LAUNCHES CRASH PROGRAM TO HOUSE HORDES OF REDS

(NOTE.—This is the first eyewitness report to an American newspaper from behind the "Calypso Curtain" since Cuba all but totally blocked communications with the free world more than a week ago.

(News Staffer Anthony Burton entered Cuba 8 days ago. "Only by slipping away unnoticed from Castro's G–2 agents was I able to risk the dash to the Russian camps outside Havana," Burton reported. "The next day three agents shadowed me everywhere I moved." Yesterday morning Burton flew to Miami from Havana—"I was so glad to get out of that place, for a time I thought I wouldn't." The following is the first of a series of inside Cuba stories he will file.)

(By Anthony Burton)

MIAMI, September 16.—So many Russians are landing in fortress Cuba that Premier Fidel Castro has been forced to launch a crash program to house them.

I can reveal this after flying here today from the Sovietized island.

Large buildings are being expanded hastily and converted into barracks for the Russians who are landing by sea and air in the Soviet's first bastion in the Western Hemisphere. Clearly, the men from the East are in Cuba to stay.

Now packed in field tents, their bunks only a few inches apart, they already have been troubled by tropical rains, which can turn a trampled field into a mudbath in minutes.

PUPILS TURNED OUT OF SCHOOL FOR RUSSIANS

About 10 miles southwest of Havana, near Chico, a few days ago I saw workers being urged to greater speed as they labored on the conversion of a large school for the use of Russians encamped nearby. The pupils were turned out of the school a few weeks ago.

More than 800 Russians are in this square-mile area alone, living in three tent towns, with field kitchens.

Their camps, not seen by Western observers until last week, lie along little-used country lanes and are invisible to main highway traffic.

The camps lie between Chico and El Cano.

Only the bravery of a Cuban prepared to risk imprisonment enabled me to find them.

Walking along the lanes last week were two fairhaired girls, poorly dressed and in their late teens or early twenties. My guide insisted that they were Russians and said the Reds have other women with them.

I can also reveal that Castro is ramming new dirt roads through the rugged back country to strategic points near the coast.

He is worried that a beachhead might be established at an inaccessible point and a defense perimeter thrown out before his army and militia could smash the invaders back to the sea.

SOVIET TRUCKS BEING MASSED

Castro's concern about the need for a highly mobile strike force—he described the throwing up of his ramparts last week as "extraordinary defense measures"—could explain the huge number of Russian trucks now leaving Cuban docks.

Their olive-drab outlines can be seen parked in fields and woods as in the buildup in England before D–Day.

Yesterday, yet another truck convoy escorted by motorcycles was driven west along the sea road from Havana.

While the buildup goes on, Castro, angered by newspaper reports of the Russian camps, has tossed away his last pretense at press freedom in Cuba.

Agents from G–2, his secret police, arrested and jailed two Western newsmen and held them without charges, refusing at first even to admit they were being held.

The two—John Bland of Reuters and John Barnes of Newsweek—were finally deported to Kingston, Jamaica, yesterday. Both are British subjects.

When I left Havana this morning, two Cuban nationals—Raul Casanas and his wife, Sarita—were still being held. Employed by the New York Times and the National Broadcasting Co., they had done nothing more than acompany British reporter Bland on an auto ride in the country.

Knwing they were being tailed, the three kept clear of Russian camps and military installations, but G–2 seized them anyway. The other Western reporter, Barnes, was dragged from his hotel bed at 3 a.m. by agents with drawn guns.

A third prisbner, Nicholas Lacey, an English student still in his teens, was arrested September 5 after an argument with some young Cubans about the regime. Lacey had been hitchhiking through the United States and Mexico before he went to Cuba.

HELD PRISONER AND THEN BOOTED

He had visited Miramar to inspect damage done by a hit-and-run sea raid by Cuban refugees. When the argument became heated, one Cuban said: "Come with me around the corner where the Cuban position will be explained."

Lacey went. Around the corner was G–2 headquarters. There the Cuban denounced the Briton, who was held in jail until yesterday. He was expelled with the reporters.

Although Government officials had promised me every help in covering last week's Castro speech, I was ejected from the meeting only a few minutes after entering.

The cold-eyed G–2 men behind the scenes who thrust me out were in startling contrast to the row of benevolent faces on the dais smiling at the applause of their stage-managed supporters.

Later, I had some questions for Senor Lazo, the charming young Foreign Ministry official who deals with foreign visitors.

Sitting in an air-conditioned office guarded by armed militia, he said the questions would have to be submitted on paper.

After 2½ hours of waiting he finally saw me, merely to accept the questions.

Told that at least Cuba had learned one thing swiftly from the Russians—weaving the strands of bureaucracy—he lost his bland manner and exploded that I should remember I was a guest in his country.

Answers came to none of the questions. The officials were always busy from that moment on.

The Castro meeting itself at the Chaplin Theater, in the immediate area of the hit-and-run sea raid, was frightening.

Early in the evening, claques gathered on the sidewalks in Havana and clapped and sang revolutionary songs before converging on the theater.

The area was thick with young militiamen, many in their teens. As I approached I could hear from half a mile away the loudspeaker broadcast. At the theater the noise was deafening, the harsh voices grating the eardrums.

MOST OF THEM YOUNG

Inside, the audience was nearly all young people—the main support of the regime. At the nod of their leader, each section burst into song. Immediately arc lights shone on the group for the benefit of the television cameras.

The expressions on the faces of the audience were like those seen in audiences at evangelical meetings. Above it all, Fidel Castro, the father image, smiled down in approval.

I didn't hear his words in person because of the expulsion, but his voice was inescapable. Every television and radio station was tuned inexorably to his hour-long lecture.

OVERSEA PHONES BUSY

Press communications from Cuba have been cut before, but never so drastically as last week, after reports about the Russian camps got out.

Newsmen in Havana found that whenever they tried to telephone overseas the lines were busy. They tapped out messages on their teletype machines which were never received. Cables also were blocked, so that the newsmen were left frustrated and helpless.

Newsmen leaving Cuba ran the risk of being stripped and searched at the airport to prevent tape recordings, photographs, and the like from being smuggled out to the free press.

Exactly that did happen to Tetlow of the London Daily Telegraph, who was flying to New York.

Only by slipping away unnoticed by Castro's G–2 agents was I able to risk the dash to the Russian camps outside Havana. The next day three agents shadowed me everywhere I moved.

In fact, hunting Russians in Cuba is no trick since they are all over the damned island—in hotels, in the streets, driving convoys or riding packed in the backs of trucks.

Except for the Russians and the Czechs with their inevitable briefcases staying in the once-plush Havana hotels—who may really be technicians—all wear the same type of open-necked checkered shirt and slacks.

Their faces are burning an unbecoming red and their tow hair is bleaching under the Caribbean sun.

AT LEAST 10,000 THERE

Their numbers are only a matter of guess since travel outside Havana has become restricted by shadowing and the threat of sudden arrest.

But conservative observers who poohpoohed early figures now believe there must be more than 10,000 on the island. And that is a minimum figure.

HOW MANY ARE THERE?

(News military editor Jerry Greene had reported from Washington on August 23 that 18,000 Russians were said to have reached Cuba. President Kennedy on September 4 had put at 3,500 the number of Soviet military technicians who were in Cuba or en route there. But others, including Senator KENNETH KEATING, Republican, of New York, have said that close to 5,000 men in Soviet uniforms have landed in Cuba.)

Their presence may be able to ward off invasion, attempts—and make no mistake, only a full-scale mass landing now has any hope of success—but it will be years before the tottering economy can be revived.

Cuba is slipping deeper and deeper into economic morass. Food is scarcer than it ever has been. The sugar crop estimates this year predict such a low yield that if export quotas are to be filled, rationing of this native crop will have to be initiated. And the smear of Communism is making the whole country run to seed.

At the end of the customs table just before I left Cuba this morning was a box in which lay personal belongings stripped from refugees before they were allowed to leave their country. There were jewelry and perfume and a few well-worn coats—that was all.

But Cuba was so desperate that it took these pathetic items from its own people as a farewell gesture.

Perhaps the story of Cuba today lies in that box at the end of the customs table.

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Daily News, Sept. 18, 1962]

NEWEST CAPTIVE NATION

Your attention is urgently asked to Anthony Burton's series of articles on Cuba, now running in the News. Mr. Burton spent a week in Cuba, got out Sunday morning, and filed his dispatches from Miami.

The Burton reports constitute the latest evidence to date that N. S. Khrushchev is turning Cuba into a Communist slave state and building up its defense so as to make the price of rescuing it as high as he can.

Cuba, in short, is fast becoming the Kremlin's newest captive nation, and the first in the Western Hemisphere.

If Khrushchev's plans are not interrupted, he will use the island as a base from which to finance and equip native Communist revolutions in mainland Latin America and/or other Caribbean islands. Each country where such an uprising succeeds will be turned into another captive nation.

This is the plain, perilous, and spreading violation of the Monroe Doctrine which President John F. Kennedy up to now refuses to combat, saying it is no threat as yet to the Western Hemisphere.

It must be delightful to be as carefree as all that; but somehow we can not share the President's nonchalance, and we don't think many of our fellow Americans can, either.

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## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district, has written a highly informative series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River, particularly in the Pittston area. The latest installment in this series appeared in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch on September 16, 1962, and as part of my remarks today I quote the text of that article.

The article follows:

FROM LOCAL HISTORY: SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—MOTORISTS GOING OVER BRIDGE FASTER THAN WALK FINED

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

A fire destroyed spans 6, 7, and 8 on the eastern side of the Pittston Ferry Bridge on July 20, 1885.

The day after the fire John Berry, a civil engineer, offered to rebuild the three spans, including masonry, painting, etc., for $4,300. Instead, a temporary span was installed. On May 4, 1894, Attorney James L. Morris appeared before Pittston Borough Council and requested a permit to rebuild that segment of the bridge. Permission was granted and after years of litigation the actual work was completed in July 1896.

On January 18, 1896, Judge John Lynch, of the Luzerne County Court ordered the Ferry Bridge Co. to remove the temporary bridge piers from Carbondale Road.

The ferry bridge was out of commission on March 7, 1904, due to high flood waters. Train service on the Lehigh Valley Railroad was stopped for 3 days.

On September 9, 1909, arrests were made for violation of the ordinance forbidding the driving of automobiles over the Pittston bridges at a speed faster than a walk. At the same time, a warning was issued against the running or trotting of horses while crossing the bridges.

On Sunday, August 19, 1876, a day on which no toll fees were charged, 400 vehicles crossed the ferry bridge, between the hours of 8 and 11 a.m.

A traffic count made between the hours of 6 a.m. and 1 p.m. on July 23, 1914, enumerated 500 wagons and 80 automobiles.

Bridge traffic on Fort Jenkins Bridge, between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. on November 20, 1926, totaled 2,971 motor vehicles and 45 horse-drawn wagons.

TRAFFIC MOUNTS

The average daily traffic count on the Fort Jenkins Bridge in 1954 was 15,736 vehicles.

L. B. Ensign, superintendent of the Pittston Gas Co. was preparing to install gas pipes, to light the bridge, on May 7, 1863. However, before the lights were turned on, the bridge was torn down.

Gas lights were being installed on this bridge August 7, 1871. They were turned on the following evening. At this time, the lights were left on each evening until midnight.

The 1844 act of the Pennsylvania Legislature regarding bridges which was amended on April 12, 1855, at which time reference was made to the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co., was further amended on April 8, 1873, to include data on bridge lighting.

MONEY FOR SCHOOLS

Section 2 of this amendment provided that: "On and after passage of this act the Pittston Ferry Bridge is to be lighted by at least five good lamps of the capacity of ordinary street lamps 'from dusk of the evening till dawn of the following day and any failure to comply with the provision or to keep the bridge properly lighted, shall be punished by a fine of not less than $5 for each and every offense, to be collected in the same manner as other debts now collected by law and when so collected to be paid by the alderman or justice of the peace before who judgment is had to the school directors of Pittston Borough, for the use of school purposes.'"

LIGHTING DEVELOPS

A single electric light, the first use of this type of power to light the bridge, was placed on the east side of the bridge on Thursday, December 18, 1884. By Wednesday, January 15, 1885, the entire structure was completely lighted by electricity.

In 1886 a total of four electric lights was used on the bridge. Each lamp cost 30 cents per week and was lighted every weekday night until midnight.

Gas lights were again being used on this bridge in 1888. They were lighted each night until midnight.

Electric lights were again in use on this bridge in 1890. Light was furnished all night.

COLLECTING TOLLS

The Ferry Bridge Co. began collecting tolls on the new bridge on January 12, 1877.

In 1882 the two Pittston toll bridge companies pooled their interests; Water Street Bridge Co. receiving 52½ percent and Ferry Bridge Co. 47½ percent of all income. The total income in 1897 was $1,000.

Toll charges in 1887 were 1 cent per foot passenger and 20 cents per team.

Special rates were offered by the bridge companies on August 3, 1898. Foot commutation tickets for a family were reduced in half to $2.50; a total of 20 crossings was permitted for $1.

FREE BRIDGES

At a Pittston Borough Council meeting held on December 17, 1894, the borough solicitor was instructed to begin proceedings toward making Pittston bridges free of toll.

Ou August 12, 1907, Attorney William White Hall, counsel for the Pittston Merchants Protective Association, prepared a petition for presentation to Luzerne County officials requesting that both Pittston bridges be made free bridges.

Luzerne County Court approved the purchase of Pittston Ferry Bridge in January 1908, at a stipulated price of $75,000. On October 21, 1908, stockholders of the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. voted to sell the bridge to the county.

On Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1908, the ferry bridge was made free to the public.

Pennsylvania Department of Highways took over the maintenance of this structure in 1938.

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## Knowles China To Liquidate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, on June 28, 1962, the House approved a sweeping, far-ranging, and unprecedented foreign-trade bill, the so-called Trade Expansion Act of 1962, H.R. 11970.

On September 6, 1962, the Washington Post carried a small item reporting that one of the oldest china manufacturers in the country was planning to liquidate its activities. The manufacturer is the Knowles China Co., an important employer in my home district. The reason for the liquidation: present tariff policies of the U.S. Government.

Inasmuch as the foreign-trade legislation passed by this body earlier in the year clearly presents a much greater threat to American industry than any previous legislation in this field, I shudder to think of the industrial decimation that will occur if H.R. 11970 becomes law. As a foretaste of what we will be reading daily in our newspapers in that unhappy circumstance, I include the newspaper report:

KNOWLES CHINA TO LIQUIDATE

EAST LIVERPOOL, Ohio.—Stockholders of one of the oldest dinnerware manufacturers in the Nation will vote at a special meeting September 13 on a plan to liquidate the Knowles China Co. of nearby Newell, W. Va.

Directors of the 63-year-old corporation said present tariff policies make it impossible for the company to continue operating or to make a profit in the near future. The board, given stockholders' approval in March to sell

the corporation, said it was unable to find a purchaser.

The plant now has 500 on its payroll and has been operating on a curtailed basis for some time, a company spokesman said.

## Movement of Communist Supplies to Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, while it is being widely publicized that ocean vessels under registry of some of our NATO allies are carrying, under charter, Communist goods to Cuba, less attention is being given to this Government's consultation with its allies on the problems such commerce imposes.

In a dispatch from Moscow, September 15, the Soviet Minister of Sea Transport is quoted as boasting that the United States is failing to influence its allies in the matter of stemming supplies to the Castro government. I think this boast is premature.

As chairman of the House Select Committee on Export Control, and as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I am concerned with the movement of material to any Soviet bloc country which would strengthen their economic or military potential to the detriment of the United States. I believe that there is evidence that our allies in Europe, South America, and the Far East would support an embargo of Cuba if ever this Government decided that to be necessary.

While I take a decidedly dim view of the movement of Communists goods to Cuba in ships of Western European registry, and certainly to the movement of any materials of either economic or military cold war significance, this country has not yet laid the groundwork or applied full diplomatic pressure to isolate Cuba from free world trade.

Late in August and again this month, the President has expressed concern over the chartering of Allied ships by the Soviet bloc to move Communist goods to Castro. Reportedly Norway, Britain, West Germany, and Italy are making inquiries into the part vessels under their registration are taking in this Cuban buildup.

While at present these inquiries may actually be little more than polite diplomatic response to this country's disturbed view of commerce with Cuba, more direct consultations with the NATO countries are underway, I am informed.

This week a top diplomatic spokesman for Peru indicated that country would go along with a U.S. blockade of Cuba and predicted other OAS countries would do likewise. Not every move being made by this Government is being shouted from the housetops.

Before Castro turned Cuba into a Soviet satellite, we supplied 80 percent of Cuba's imports. This country and my own State of North Carolina sacrificed millions in profitable trade with Cuba and we recognize that as part of the payment of leadership in Communist containment. Our food and drug exports to Cuba now amount to a trickle of little more than $50,000 a month.

It is understandable that American producers look askance while countries like Canada and the Netherlands double their Cuban trade and ocean tonnage of Allied nations is put at the disposal of Soviet countries to carry Iron Curtain commodities to the Caribbean.

However, a progress report received by the House Select Committee on Export Controls indicates that a much tighter clamp is being put on the movement of strategically significant goods to Communist countries including Cuba since Congress amended the Export Control Act this year. Now there is some indication that the President's concern over Allied commerce with Cuba is getting some attention abroad despite Moscow's claim to the contrary.

The select committee is charged with watchdogging the movement of goods, economic and military, which would prove detrimental to the interests of the United States. The committee intends to make further inquiries into the Cuban buildup and expects to inform Congress of its findings before adjournment.

## Concern Over Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the concern of the American people over the increasingly dangerous situation in Cuba is illustrated by the September 12, 1962, editorial in the Livingston County Press, Howell, Mich. This reaction to an analysis of the President's recent remarks makes clear that recent events are most disturbing to thoughtful American people:

IGNORANCE NO LONGER BLISS

It should be reassuring to all Americans to hear from President Kennedy's own lips in his latest televised press conference that: "The Monroe Doctrine means what it has meant since President Monroe and John Quincy Adams enunciated it, and that is that we would oppose a foreign power extending its power to the Western Hemisphere. And that's why we oppose what is happening in Cuba today."

But it is disturbing to hear from the same source at the same time (in reply to other questions on Cuba) that the White House does not know whether there are an Russian troops in Cuba, whether antiaircraft missiles have been shipped in—yet in the absence of information on what is going on, that there is no thought at the Commander in Chief's level of invading Cuba.

When it is admitted that shipping into Cuba has grown so sharply that NATO ships have been pressed into service to aid Russian ships in delivering whatever mysterious cargoes of men and goods they are carrying; that the Soviets are supporting the Castro regime against economic collapse; that the island is crawling with Russian technicians, why—in the name of the billions that have been spent on intelligence over recent years—don't we know what goes on?

And, more basically, when we know from bitter experience that every Communist of whatever calling is a faceless, order-taking minion of the Red menace, why do we have to know his name, rank and regiment to know whether he is an enemy? Why do we have to know whether the technicians are working on airstrips for fighters or bombers, or on submarine shelters, or on sabotage plans, or on Cubans who may still cherish dreams of freedom, in order to brand them for what they are? And finally, why should we cling to the myth that Castro retains any authority in Cuba when he has bragged for so long of his sellout to the Kremlin?

But, as the President has said, we are opposing "what is happening in Cuba today," because of the Monroe Doctrine. This opposition, he pointed out, has consisted of cutting off trade with Cuba, working in the OAS "and in other ways to isolate the Communist menace in Cuba." The rising tempo of the Red buildup, however, should suggest that our opposition is not working very well.

Thus, it is cold comfort to know that the Monroe Doctrine—swept under the rug by Eisenhower—has reappeared as a toothless instrument of U.S. policy.

## Views on a Proposal To Designate September 17 as Constitution Day and as a Legal Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from a capable, conscientious editor of a distinguished weekly in my district in which she expresses her views on a proposal to designate September 17 as Constitution Day and as a legal holiday.

I ask that the letter from Fern Hilson, editor of the Sellwood-Moreland Bee, of Portland, Oreg., be placed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in order that all views on the proposal be brought to the attention of the Congress.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that recognition of the Constitution is a most commendable goal. I fear, however, that it may be doing a disservice to the Constitution, a hallmark in the development of human freedom and political institutions, by assigning it a recognition in the form of a holiday. I would be afraid such a holiday would become one of those half-hearted holidays marked by hollow oratory and lipservice of which we have a surfeit already.

I suggest that the best tribute to our Constitution is a daily observance of its principles by all Americans. Our inspiring Constitution will be more honored if we work toward the many unrealized aspects of the philosophy imbedded in it—equal justice for all, equal representation for all citizens in our legislative halls, and equal treatment for all wheth-

er at the polling booth or in the factory or in the schools.

The letter follows:

SELLWOOD-MORELAND BEE,
*Portland, Oreg., September 5, 1962.*

Hon. EDITH GREEN,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MRS. GREEN: In a recent news story it was reported that the U.S. Senate has passed a resolution calling for September 17 to be designated as a legal holiday. The story said this matter would now be considered by the House of Representatives.

I wish to enter a strong protest. Designation of the day as Constitution Day would reult in nothing more than a day off with pay for Government employees and for those people who could get the holiday added to employer cotracts. It would not add one bit of significance to the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. It would be of particular inconvenience because it comes so soon after Labor Day, which does not disrupt industry and business too much because it always falls on a Monday, while this day would vary from year to year. It would also detract from the beginning of the school term, inserting a holiday within a week of the beginning of the year.

I have observed that the schools pay no attention to Veterans' Day, other than to give the teachers a day off, and see no reason to believe Constitution Day would be any different.

Disruption of the work schedules of business and industry, suspension of mail delivery and other legal business and the cost to the taxpayers for the holiday for public employees are all strong arguments against the resolution. I also believe workers would much prefer to move toward shorter hours, by the day or week, than to have additional holidays which often cannot be utilized for any real leisure.

I hope you and the other Oregon Representatives will not only vote against this resolution but use your influence against it.

Sincerely,

FERN HILSON,
*Editor, Sellwood-Moreland Bee.*

## International Farm Youth Exchange Delegate Reports From Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, Bill Frederickson, of Moses Lake, Wash., is spending 8 months in Germany as an international farm youth exchange delegate. He has written of some of his experiences, and I feel his letter is one of interest. Bill is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Bill Frederickson, of Moses Lake, Wash.

His letter follows:

ERDING, GERMANY.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am now spending a month in the heart of Bavaria in southern Germany. I am living on a fully mechanized farm. The farm is a little larger than the average farm in Germany. My host father's farm is 70 acres and the average farm in Germany is 20 acres. The farm is fully run by the Richard Von Dall'armi family. The family owns two tractors, which do most of the work. On this farm there is very little handwork.

Every morning we chop alfalfa with a new hay chopper. Many new and modern machines are used on my host father's farm. The farm is too small for my host father to own a potato or a wheat harvester. But he has it done with new and very efficient loan machines.

The crops that are grown on my father's farm are: Hay, potatoes, wheat, oats, barley, and pasture. Also some sugarbeets are grown. But they and most of the other crops are used to feed the livestock on the farm.

My host family has 16 cows, which are milked twice a day. The milk is then sold to the people in the city and to a local dairy. They also have 20 other young cattle, 200 pigs, which are grown to sell on the market.

In addition to the cows and swine, they have 400 chickens. The eggs are sold to a college in a nearby town.

The farm was built in 1959, so all the equipment is very modern. They have a new American pipeline milker in the dairy barn.

The house is very typical of German houses. It is a large two story house. On the first floor there are the dining rooms and kitchen, upstairs are the bedrooms and bathrooms. The whole house is filled with beautiful flowers. The house is very nice in appearance and is kept very clean. Outside the house there is a large garden and some fruit trees. They have apple and cherry trees as well as strawberries.

All the family help do the work on the farm or in the house. The family members are Mr. and Mrs. Dall'armi and three children. The girls are 12 and 8 and Herman is 5. The two girls go to school from 8 to 12 6 days a week and 10 months a year. In the afternoon they are expected to do their homework as well as help around the house.

So far I have lived on a large and a small farm, as well as an average farm. My next host family has a very large farm near Heidelberg.

BILL FREDERICKSON.

Bill's personal notes are so interesting that we wish to share some of them with you. He apologizes for not having written more often—we think he has done a fine job.

I just haven't been able to write. I know it seems easy. When I was at home in Washington I thought I would be able to write two or three letters a day. And two or three reports a month.

To give you an idea of what our day was like (on the farm described above). First we got up at 5 a.m., then we worked till 8. Boy, we worked, then we ate, and at 8:30 we were working again. We then worked without a break till 12. We ate again and went back to work. Then at 6 we milked and at 7:30 we ate. After eating we then started cleaning and boxing eggs till 10:30 or 11.

But I really liked it very much there. I want to return to see the family in November for a few days. I worked 7 days a week with the family and I really got to know them. After I was finished with work I didn't even feel like sleeping. I really learned how to work. But I really loved it. It is so hard to write and tell someone this without them getting the wrong idea.

## Supports Balanced Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, of particular concern to me and the people of my congressional district is the Glacier Peak Wilderness Area which straddles the Cascade Divide for some 30 miles. This area is about 20 miles wide and is situated in the Mount Baker and Wenatchee National Forests.

This 458,505-acre wilderness in addition to the 801,000 North Cascades Primitive Area will provide adequately for the wilderness needs in the national forests of northern Washington in years to come. These are areas put aside by the Forest Service under the principles of multiple use.

Mr. Speaker, an editorial appeared in the Mount Vernon, Wash., Skagit Valley Herald on August 24, 1962. The editorial presents a strong case for what it calls balanced management, another name for multiple use. I believe this editorial will interest the Members of Congress and, under leave to extend my remarks, I include it in the RECORD:

FOREST MANAGEMENT

One of the last battles in the winning of the West is being fought today here in our own North Cascades in Skagit and neighboring counties.

The issue is whether these magnificent countains with their glacier-worn peaks and timbered slopes are to be preserved in large measure as a wilderness national park or managed, as they have been for years, by the U.S. Forest Service as a balanced resource for commercial logging, mining, grazing and outdoor recreation.

The Skagit Valley Herald emphatically supports the balanced management of the North Cascades under the multiuse policies and practices of the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service. In the face of massive group pressures from wilderness advocates, both within our State and throughout the United States, the Forest Service job is made far more difficult than it should be.

The organized supporters of wilderness concepts have proposed that a large area of the North Cascades be made into a national park in which no logging or other commercial development of the resources of the North Cascades be permitted. In this campaign they have enlisted the support of some Western Congressmen, including a few from Washington State.

Congressman PELLY, on June 19 of this year, wrote a letter to Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, urgently petitioning that the Secretary halt all logging in certain areas of the North Cascades which, in the opinion of Mr. PELLY, and others, should be designated national park areas. There are 20 of these zones in all, totaling some 350 square miles of area.

Learning of the Pelly letter, our own Congressman, JACK WESTLAND, on August 15, wrote a letter to Secretary of Agriculture Freeman requesting that the Secretary "ignore Mr. PELLY'S letter and continue to

manage our national forests as you have in the past." Mr. WESTLAND made the important point that the livelihood of thousands of people in the area of the northern Cascades depends upon the commercial harvest of the resources of the national forest. "These people," Congressman WESTLAND points out, "believe in the multiple use of our forest, not a single use for a few. They believe in the use of our forests for recreation, wilderness and commercial purposes. They do not want their means of livelihood taken away from them."

We should be thankful that we have a Congressman who is going to bat for the preservation of this important part of our area's economic base. The National Forest Service has long experience in the management of the forest for the good of all people. We have today, under the direction of the U.S. Forest Service, several large areas in the North Cascades set aside for scenic wildlife and outdoor recreation preservation. These areas are the 425,000-acre Glacier Peak Wilderness Area and the 850,000-acre North Cascades Primitive Area.

The wilderness proponents are not satisfied with more than 1 million acres in wilderness and primitive area, but want to place most of the high Cascade country north of Glacier Peak and the Canadian border in a national park.

Such an area would remove much potential timberland from commercial development and would restrict the logging potential in this area. It's time that northwest Washingtonians join in his great battle for our self-interest by letting our Congressman and Secretary Freeman know that the wilderness proponents are not the only ones who can write letters.

To let Secretary Freeman, Congressman WESTLAND and our Senators know exactly how you feel, write them and tell them. Secretary Freeman's address is: The Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. JACK WESTLAND'S is: Room 1419, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

## Union-Made Racial Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the most thoughtful students of job discrimination in America today is Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the NAACP. The September 15, 1962, editorial page of the Saturday Evening Post has its lead editorial on the subject of "Union-Made Racial Discrimination." Because this is one of the most serious problems facing our Nation both at home and abroad, I wish to bring Mr. Hill's remarks and those of the editors of the Saturday Evening Post to the attention of my colleagues:

UNION-MADE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

One form of discrimination that affects the American Negro more directly than anything else—including segregated schools, lily-white lunch counters, Jim Crow buses, and unequal voting rights—is job discrimination, the denial of economic opportunity because of race. Last month the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced an all-out attack, starting in the fall, against this form of bias. The target of the NAACP's attack will be a longtime vocal champion of civil rights: organized labor. The national labor secretary of the NAACP, Herbert Hill, charges the unions with four categories of discrimination: (1) Outright exclusion of Negroes; (2) segregation of locals; (3) adhering to separate racial seniority lines in collective-bargaining arrangements; (4) exclusion of Negroes from vital apprenticeship programs.

"The pattern of union responsibility for job discrimination," says Mr. Hill, "is not limited to any one area of the country or to some few industries or union jurisdictions, but involves many unions in a wide variety of occupations in manufacturing industries, skilled crafts, railroads, and maritime trades * * *. There is a profound disparity between the public image presented by the national AFL–CIO and the day-to-day realities as experienced by many Negro workers." The NAACP's attack, says Mr. Hill, will be two-pronged—through the courts and the National Labor Relations Board. Its purpose "is to attempt to devolp a new body of labor law or legal theory which in the long run will be as significant as the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases."

The AFL–CIO, as might be expected, emphatically denies Mr. Hill's charges. Boris Shishkin, director of the Department of Civil Rights, terms them "uncalled-for distortion." "There is discrimination," says Mr. Shishkin, "but it is much greater in nonunionized employment. We are making every effort to eliminate it in union ranks." He points to the detailed civil-rights program adopted by the AFL-CIO's convention last December, to labor's long espousal of civil rights and to the success (in some cases) of the AFL-CIO's efforts to eliminate discrimination at the State and local levels.

"There are 131 national and international unions in the AFL–CIO," Mr. Shiskin says. "We have no punitive powers. All we can do is to throw the unions out. What we are trying to do is to bring them around to our point of view, and we are making a great deal of headway in that area."

Even so, there is widespread discrimination in union ranks, especially among the old AFL craft unions. Last year the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported: "A 1957 Urban League study of Negro membership in construction unions in 32 cities showed a uniform pattern of exclusion from certain craft unions. Commission studies reveal the same pattern." Negroes still are generally excluded from white plumbers, electricians, and steamfitters locals, among others. The situation isn't much better among the sheet-metal workers and carpenters.

When the affluent AFL–CIO put up its handsome new national headquarters building in Washington a few years ago, Negro electricians were excluded from working on the building by the lily-white local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The same situation applied later to the new House of Representatives Office building and to Federal Office Building No. 6, where the Office of Education and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration are housed, although one Negro was temporarily employed. Local 26 is an AFL–CIO affiliate, but to this day it does not have a single Negro member.

If some of the fervor that characterized organized labor's origins could be aroused in behalf of the Negro, labor could put its house in order much faster. At the same time it could wipe out an ugly blot on democracy's record.

## The Story of Our First Surrender in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is important to refresh the recollection of the American people concerning the powerful Communist buildup in Cuba.

In the September 17 issue of U.S. News & World Report, President Kennedy's decision to retreat from the Communists is described in detail. His decision is now plaguing the United States through our shattered prestige, resulting from this inept handling of an invasion which could have been successful, with very few casualties.

The U.S. News & World Report article follows:

THE INSIDE STORY—KENNEDY'S FATEFUL DECISION: THE NIGHT THE REDS CLINCHED CUBA

Look at Castro's Cuba now: a Communist base. To see how it got that way: Look back to 1961—to an invasion that failed and left Castro even stronger than before. The story of that invasion, as revealed by insiders, shows the far-reaching effect of a President's decision.

A fateful decision, made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961, is rising now to plague the United States.

On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion.

Only the day before, on April 15, a surprise attack by B–26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force.

A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's planes and to provide air support for the invasion.

Secure in this assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early-morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the pre-invasion planning.

Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B–26's was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away, waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots.

But those planes didn't take off.

The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

That was the fateful decision President Kennedy made on that Sunday evening. He decided that the anti-Castro Cubans could not have the support of their own air force during the invasion. Without that support, the invasion failed.

When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need of air support became apparent. Worried, the nonmilitary officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used to fly air support for the invaders.

Two U.S. carriers, their decks loaded with fighting planes, were standing by not far away throughout the entire invasion. Their planes were readily available.

In the planning of the invasion—planning begun under the Eisenhower administration—the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of U.S. air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea.

ANOTHER "NO"

Once again, in the early-morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said "No" to the use of U.S. planes.

On the beaches, in the Bay of Pigs, the invaders fought on. They did not know that an American President in Washington, 1,400 miles away, was in tight control of their every military move. They were not aware that President Kennedy had taken away their air cover.

With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble. Castro brought up the few planes he had left. Castro jets—made in America—bombed and sank two of the five ships of the invasion fleet. One carried most of the invaders' reserve of ammunition. The other was their communications center. Castro tanks, safe from attack by air, moved into effective action.

In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But bad weather interfered at first. Finally, an air strike was set up for early Wednesday.

On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate. The invaders, fighting without air support, were driven back under pressure of Castro's superior numbers.

By Tuesday night, April 18, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy.

On this night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left the party to confer with his advisers—both civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier's planes for just 1 hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for their planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes, still, were not to attack land targets.

Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communications mixups. The Cuban fliers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action. And anyway, it developed, it was too late.

By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives.

American military officials who followed this operation closely say that it came within a hair's breadth of success. They say: Given early air support, the invaders could have destroyed Castro's air force and tanks. Defections from his militia, which had started, would have spread. Underground forces, waiting for word of success before rising against Castro, would have sprung into action. When that word did not come, they remained underground.

It was in the White House that the decision was made that guided the course of that unsuccessful invasion.

Out of that fateful decision of the President have flowed many of today's problems. Soviet Russia today is entrenched in Cuba, a few miles from continental United States. Some Members of Congress charge that the Monroe Doctrine, which guided U.S. policy in Latin America for 139 years, is now, in effect, being turned into a scrap of paper. With a base in Cuba, Communist forces are penetrating deeply into the Western Hemisphere, building up their base for more takeovers.

What lay back of that fateful Kennedy decision?

The record suggests: An important factor was a fear of offending public opinion in Latin America and in the so-called "new nations" of the United Nations.

Throughout the discussions of invasion policy, the idea was put forward repeatedly that the United States must not place itself in the position of using force against a smaller neighbor. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, strongly backed President Kennedy in his decisions.

WHAT MILITARY RECOMMENDED

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Nation's top military experts, had no part in the actual military operations. Those military leaders had recommended early that, to insure success, some U.S. armed forces should take part in any invasion, and that air cover and support should be supplied by the United States.

The recommendations of the military leaders were rejected. It was the Central Intelligence Agency and the White House that finally ran the show and fixed the terms on which the anti-Castro Cubans could fight.

The fateful decision was a political decision—not a military decision.

One civilian official who was close to the whole invasion operation now makes this judgment:

"In retrospect, the political decision was wrong."

A military man, also close to the operation, said this:

"If you go back to that time and look at the whole problem, you find that this country faced one fundamental question: Can we permit a Communist country in this Western Hemisphere? Now, if the answer is 'yes,' then you do one thing. If the answer is 'no,' you do another.

"But if you weasel on that answer, start compromising, then you wind up in confusion—with no real answer. One thing we should have learned from the Cuban fiasco is this: You can't run a military operation that way."

TWO OTHER U.S. DECISIONS ON TROUBLE SPOTS

*Laos*

The decision: After saying on March 15, 1961, that the United States was determined to defend Laos against Communist rebels, Mr. Kennedy, on March 27, agreed to seek a deal with Russia for a neutral Laos.

Today: United States has pulled its marines away from the Lao border; U.S. military advisers are leaving Laos. But Russia shows no sign of taking Communist North Vietnamese out of Laos as agreed. A Red takeover of all Laos behind the screen of neutrality is feared.

*Berlin*

The decision: When East Germans, at dawn on August 13, 1961, completed barriers cutting Berlin in two, President Kennedy decided against using U.S. troops to knock down these wire barriers by force.

Today: Red barriers dividing Berlin have become a wall of concrete and steel. Some East Germans escape over, through, or under the wall. Others die trying. United State, early in September, found the Berlin crisis warming up over the Communist shootings of East Germans at the wall.

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## Byron B. Gentry, New Commander in Chief of Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on August 17 the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at its annual national convention, held this year in Minneapolis, Minn., elected a new commander in chief. The man who was selected to lead our Nation's largest organization of overseas combat veterans is Mr. Byron B. Gentry, of Pasadena, Calif.

The new commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is a man who is already nationally recognized for his many constructive contributions to the betterment of our Nation. As a leader in veterans activities in California, and later as junior and then senior vice commander in chief, Commander Gentry is known as a highly effective spokesman on issues pertaining to our constitutional concepts, our governmental institutions, and our national security.

In addition to his public service as a VFW leader, Mr. Gentry in private life is recognized as a distinguished lawyer and is currently the city prosecutor of Pasadena, Calif., a position he has held for 10 years.

It will also be recalled that Commander Gentry was a nationally known star of the University of Southern California football team, and had the distinction of playing in two Rose Bowl games. Following graduation from USC, he played professional football and in 1938 was selected as a member of the United Press professional all-American football team out of Pittsburgh. As a professional he participated in two professional bowl games and was a member of the all-American All Stars who toured Japan.

Appropriately, this new commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is a veteran of extensive combat overseas. As a result of campaigns in the European theater in World War II, he was awarded six battle stars, Presidential citation, Belgian Fourragere, and three commendations.

Among his many achievements, Commander Gentry is a noted poet. A collection of his poems has recently been published under the title of "Voices of the Airways," and has received widespread and favorable reviews by the critics.

A very interesting news account concerning Commander Gentry appeared in

the New York Times on Sunday, August 19, 1962. This very informative article by Austin Wehrwein discusses Mr. Gentry's views on pertinent national issues, and, additionally, includes some very interesting observations concerning the Veterans of Foreign Wars which Commander Gentry now heads.

I invite the attention of this House to the article from the New York Times.

The article follows:

NEW VFW CHIEF A POET WITH AIMS—GENTRY ENDORSES REALISTIC APPROACH TO PATRIOTISM

(By Austin Wehrwein)

MINNEAPOLIS, August 18.—Byron B. Gentry, a Pasadena poet, is the new commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He was elected at the annual convention of the 1,300,000-member organization that ended yesterday.

In his new book of published verse, a poem entitled "Americanism" has these lines:

"Invariably the first to recognize
The legal and the moral rights of other men
We yet remain alert to guard our own.
Within these sane and realistic bounds,
Essential to the freedom we hold dear,
We dare to pursue the phantom Golden Rule."

Lest it sound odd that a veterans' organization should be headed by a practicing poet, it should be noted that Mr. Gentry is also a city prosecutor and a former star lineman at the University of Southern California and with the professional Pittsburgh Steelers.

That a poet can become head of the VFW suggests the maturing, expanding scope of the 63-year-old organization.

"We've reached a point," Mr. Gentry said in an interview, "where we are too old and have too many other responsibilities just to gather at a bar and recount our youth."

The resolutions passed at the convention, attended by 25,000, bear on this viewpoint, which is shared by the top leaders and the more thoughtful members. Of 10,000 posts represented, the majority are in small towns east of the Mississippi.

Patriotic nationalism is still the dominant chord. To Mr. Gentry "superpatriotism" is a term of approbation, not mockery. But he said the approach should be "realistic and intelligent."

The group's code of ethics, reaffirmed at the weeklong meeting, says in part: "We will not resort to gossip-mongering, name-calling tactics, or characterize any individual or organization as Communist on our own authority. We regard such actions as threatening the basic freedoms which we are striving to defend."

A high official said privately: "We are taking stands no veterans' organizations would have dared to take a few years ago."

This hardly means that the V.F.W. is walking hand in hand with the Americans for Democratic Action. But the delegates rejected a resolution asking an investigation and a reorganization of the State Department to "eliminate disloyalty and incompetence, affixing individual responsibility for the decisions made," and charging that the Department's policies "served the Communist cause."

They voted to support the participation by competent military personnel in anti-Communist seminars. But they rejected a resolution accusing the administration of imposing a gag rule on the executive branch to balk congressional investigation of "communism in high places in the Government."

Both issues have been favorites with the far right, and the use of the words "competent military personnel" was a cautious limitation by the V.F.W.

BARS BREAK IN RELATIONS

Also rejected was a resolution asking the termination of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union and its satellites, and with any nation that became identified with the objectives of international communism.

However, the delegates opposed aid to Yugoslavia and to "any nation under Communist control," and also opposed "sending food to our enemy, Red China."

They asked Congress to reappraise U.S. participation in the United Nations, suggesting that withdrawal be considered as a last resort.

On domestic issues, the delegates, backed the House Un-American Activities Committee. They also backed a constitutional amendment to permit the offering of prayers in public schools.

When V.F.W. officals characterize the organization as "middle of the road," Mr. Gentry replies:

"We are middle of the road because Americanism is middle of the road."

The membership is now three-quarters World War II and Korean war veterans, who are mostly in the $6,000–$7,000 income bracket.

## Where Milk Loses Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, soon the House will begin debate on the conference report of the agriculture bill. In this regard, all too often people assume that any and all problems that face agriculture today can be solved by Government action. It was interesting for me to read an editorial in the Red Wing Daily Republican Eagle, September 5, entitled "Where Milk Loses Out." This editorial suggests another solution for the problems of the dairy industry and I am sure that it will be of interest to all of our colleagues.

WHERE MILK LOSES OUT

Dairy banquets will be coming up shortly—one in Red Wing September 25—and leaders in the dairy field will be rising to address the dinner audience. A favorite subject on such occasions is America's woefully mediocre record in consuming milk and milk products in comparison with other Western nations.

And this is no joke. Americans like to think of themselves as the best fed people in the world, but we're only 7th in per capita consumption of fluid milk and cream and 11th in cheese. As for butter, the U.S. meager 7½ pounds per person per year is pitifully small in comparison with New Zealand's 43 pounds, Ireland's 38 pounds, Finland's 33, and Australia's 26.

Here are the national figures, as assembled by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, on annual per capita consumption of milk and dairy products in whatever form:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ireland | 1,448 |
| Finland | 1,236 |
| New Zealand | 1,320 |
| Sweden | 1,038 |
| Switzerland | 1,007 |
| Denmark | 974 |
| Australia | 966 |
| Belgium | 896 |
| Canada | 894 |
| Norway | 893 |
| France | 853 |
| United Kingdom | 835 |
| West Germany | 806 |
| Netherlands | 725 |
| United States | 653 |
| Austria | 647 |
| Italy | 389 |

Now why should the United States rank so low?

Howard Carpenter, manager of the big Ellsworth cooperative creamery, touched on one important answer in speaking before Red Wing Kiwanians a little while back. U.S. supermarkets, he pointed out, have such a remarkable variety of foods all competing for space in the consumer's budget and stomach that milk products encounter much tougher going in the marketplace here than in most other countries.

An indication of how true this is—and of where the dairy industry seems to be falling down—showed up in an issue of Food Field Reporter last June. This publication listed, in order of dollar volume, the advertising effort put behind the first 10 product categories commonly found in food stores. Dairy products are obviously far behind in promotion:

| | *Advertising* |
|---|---|
| Cigarettes | $160,575,000 |
| Soaps and detergents | 140,405,000 |
| Beer and ale | 91,584,000 |
| Cereals | 70,693,000 |
| Soft drinks | 53,463,000 |
| Coffee | 49,558,000 |
| Bakery products | 38,203,000 |
| Prepared mixes | 37,645,000 |
| Dairy products | 32,022,000 |
| Fats and shortening | 31,786,000 |

## Wilkesboro Dam and Reservoir Dedication, September 16, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a timely and instructive address by our distinguished Secretary of Commerce, Luther H. Hodges, delivered at the dedication of the Wilkesboro, N.C., Dam and Reservoir on Sunday, September 16.

I also wish at this time to express to the Congress and the people of the United States the profound thanks and gratitude of the people of North Carolina, and especially the citizenship of the Eighth Congressional District, for the Federal assistance on this splendid flood control and water conservation project.

The pride that I personally feel on the completion and utilization of the Wilkesboro Dam is exceeded only by the vastness of this reservoir and the sustaining waters which it controls.

The long and tedious efforts of all those responsible for this wonderful project is relegated now into the archives of man's efforts to constantly improve his environment and harness the forces of nature to meet his ever-expanding needs.

Progress is born of sacrifice, and sacrifice is the element that makes for a more sincere appreciation of all progressive endeavors.

The community and the area which has provided this lastingly useful project is to be congratulated for giving this

monument of achievement to the State of North Carolina and deserves the congratulations of all. This hard-won project carries with it the great lesson that always where there is a will there is a way.

Secretary Hodges was Governor of North Carolina during a crucial period when this project developed. I am honored to include in the RECORD his remarks on the occasion of the dedication of the Wilkesboro Dam and Reservoir:

SUMMARY OF REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE LUTHER H. HODGES AT DEDICATION OF WILKESBORO, N.C., DAM AND RESERVOIR, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1962

I am delighted to be back in North Carolina for this happy occasion. This is a great day for Wilkes County and for Winston-Salem, and I consider it a privilege to be included in your celebration.

It is more than 2 years since I had an opportunity to speak in Wilkes County. I was here in 1960 to talk to your chamber of commerce—a fine organization which has led the struggle to make this great flood control project a reality.

I came to Wilkes to talk about the development of North Carolina's water resources, and especially to urge you to support local financial participation in this project. I was pleased then when you said you would and I am happy now to see the results of your efforts.

Your vote of 40 to 1 in favor of Wilkes County's participation demonstrated your conviction of the project's importance. Winston-Salem gave similar proof of this project's broad popular support by approving its financial participation in an election in which the five other propositions on the ballot were defeated.

The Wilkesboro Dam and Reservoir have been an ambition of the people of this county for more than two decades.

That is not a long time in the life of a county which is older than the United States. Wilkes was a county and Wilkesboro a town before the U.S. Constitution was ratified and George Washington elected as our first President.

But 20 years is a long time for those who remember the flood of 1940, or the flood of 1916. Only those who know what the floodwaters of the Yadkin can do, can fully appreciate the significance of this control and water supply project.

The farmlands and industrial potential of Wilkes County can now be developed to their fullest, in the presence of an abundant supply of water but free of the flood danger to life and property. The county can anticipate a spur to its growth comparable perhaps to that which followed the arrival of the railroad spur in 1891. That created North Wilkesboro and made it the commercial center of this area of North Carolina.

This great reservoir should add a healthy tourist and recreation business to the county's diversified agriculture and developing industry. I urge you to make the most of all your opportunities because the development of your local economy helps spur the growth of our national economy.

Our national economy is, after all, only the aggregate of a multitude of local and regional economies. What strengthens part of America strengthens the whole.

To Winston-Salem, as well as to Wilkes County, this dam and reservoir bring the realization of a long-time ambition.

Every large metropolitan area—especially when it is the home of major industrial plants—needs an assured supply of fresh water. Water is life for industry, for the farmer's crops, for the suburbanite's lawn. The lack of adequate water can do more to limit the growth potential of a community than the lack of any other natural resource.

Now Winston-Salem's future water needs are assured. This dam will store in its reservoir enough water to maintain the minimum flow of the Yadkin at three times its previous minimum. The water will be there when it is needed, and Winston-Salem, under its agreement with Wilkes County, will have first call on this valuable water supply.

I cannot praise too highly the officials and civic leaders of Wilkes County and Winston-Salem who have worked to make this wonderful dam and reservoir possible.

I especially want to commend the Wilkes County Chamber of Commerce, which has spearheaded this effort since the chamber was organized in 1946. I had the privilege of working with your chamber officials and your State legislators in overcoming some of the legislative hurdles to your local participation in this project, as required by the 1958 Federal law.

I also want to commend your U.S. Senators and Congressmen for their continuing support of this project. Their efforts have made available nearly $7 million in Federal appropriations for this joint Federal and local project.

Many others, I am sure, have made valuable contributions to this whole effort, especially the dedicated men of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. And the contractors who have brought this project to completion months ahead of schedule deserve special mention.

I understand it will be possible to open some of the recreation areas next summer instead of in the summer of 1964 as originally planned. In this connection, I want to commend the chamber of commerce and the county commission for the steps they have already taken in planning and zoning to assure the proper development of the lands around the reservoir. It is much easier to prevent undesirable development than it is to correct it. May I urge that you plan ahead and set high standards for your development.

To all who have had a part in this wonderful project, may I extend my sincerest congratulations and commendations.

You have not only made your dream a reality. You have also been pioneers in developing this type of flood control and water supply project under the 1958 law. You have helped to set a pattern of Federal-local cooperation for North Carolina and the Nation.

This is only the first of the works that will be necessary to assure full control of the waters of the Upper Yadkin. I understand that you are already working for surveys of the river down to High Rock Lake. This is the way we progress in America: never resting on our laurels, but moving on from one accomplishment to the next problem, the next challenge.

This is the way we can get America moving at a rate more in keeping with our needs. We can get growth by planning ahead, by moving ahead with the public and private investments upon which to build future growth, and by working together to accomplish our goals.

In talks around the country President Kennedy has been pointing out how important projects such as this are to the entire Nation. They do not benefit only the people of a single community, or a single State or region. They benefit us all, wherever we live, by developing the resources of the Nation.

The President pointed out that we are one country and one people, "and I believe," he said, "that those programs which make life better for some of our people will make life better for all our people."

I think he summed it up very well when he said: "A rising tide lifts all the boats."

That's what we should all be doing—working together to raise the tide of economic activity in America so we can all prosper and have a better life.

Most of this activity must be through private enterprise. That's where we get the bulk of our solid economic growth—through the efforts of private individuals—businessmen, farmers, workers, and all the rest.

But we must have public investment in our economic future, as well. This dam and reservoir provide a wonderful example of how we can use the instruments of government to strengthen our free enterprise society.

Another example is the $900 million accelerated public works program. This program will help stimulate our economy by speeding up many of our existing Federal works projects and by enabling local communities to move forward with the water and sewer programs, street building, hospital construction, and other projects they have been planning.

Wilkes County is eligible for Federal matching funds under this new program. It is eligible, along with adjoining Surry and Yadkin Counties, because the unemployment rate has been 6 percent or more in 9 of the past 12 months. In addition, all of the North Carolina counties designated as redevelopment areas are eligible.

These matching funds will be available for a wide variety of local projects, although not for schools. An important consideration in project approvals will be how quickly the projects can be started and completed. The aim is to have the bulk of the construction work and employment take place in the next 12 months.

To build a greater America, we must join together—through local, State, and Federal Governments and private organizations and enterprises—to conserve and develop our water supplies, our power resources, our transportation arteries, our recreational opportunities, and improve our schools and hospitals and the other facilities that expand the skills and strengthen the vitality of our greatest resource—our people.

There need be no conflict between the various jurisdictions of government, or between government and business, or business, labor and farmers. We can all work together to serve our country and our fellowmen.

And with the rising tide of a faster growing America our individual boats will be lifted and we can move forward toward our personal goals in life.

This wonderful dam and reservoir shows what we can do. It shows that the cooperation and participation of many people, organizations and official bodies to obtain common objectives is a practical approach to getting things done.

I am delighted to be here for this inspiring dedication of another monument to the capacity of men to build together for the future.

I thank you for inviting me.

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## Department of Education Should Be Cabinet Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, a topic of major concern to the Congress and the administration is the role of educa-

tion, and the place of the Office of Education in the Federal structure. The Congress has received, and unquestionably will continue to receive, bills calling for the creation of a new Department of Education. Former Secretary Ribicoff advocated the creation of a new Department of Education, Science, and the Arts to bring together the related areas of education and cultural development in one Cabinet-level Department. Sterling M. McMurrin, who recently resigned as Commissioner of Education, evidently believes that the Commissioner of Education should play a greater role in the affairs of the administration. The article which follows and was recently published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch quotes Commissioner McMurrin as favoring a new Cabinet-level Department of Education. Thoughtful citizens everywhere will wish to consider his views.

Under unanimous consent I include this article in the RECORD:

U.S. EDUCATION COMMISSIONER SHOULD HAVE CABINET STATUS IN OPINION OF OUTGOING OFFICIAL—RETIRING CHIEF, STERLING M. MCMURRIN, SAYS SCHOOL OFFICE AND NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION SHOULD MAKE UP NEW AGENCY

(By William K. Wyant, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, September 8.—The United States should have a Department of Education headed by an official of Cabinet rank, in the opinion of the outgoing Commissioner of Education, Sterling M. McMurrin, of Utah.

The major components of the proposed new Department, McMurrin suggested in an interview, should be the Office of Education—now part of the huge Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—and the National Science Foundation.

Together, the two agencies administer a large part of the approximately $2,500 million a year the Federal Government now spends in support of education at various levels. The lion's share of Federal money goes for projects connected with defense and health.

Cabinet status for education has been advocated for a long time, not only to bring order out of chaos, but to emphasize the importance of schools to the Nation. It is controversial because of fears, shared by many, that it might endanger State and local control.

McMurrin's advocacy of a strengthened Department of Education, capable of forward leadership, contrasts with his opposition to the establishment of a National Board of Education. Such a Board would, he believes, bring a real threat of Federal control.

In his brief tenure as Commissioner, McMurrin presided over the streamlining and reorganization of the Office of Education. He fought also for higher standards and voiced sharp and penetrating criticism of the American educational structure.

McMurrin, 48 years old, was academic vice president of the University of Utah when President Kennedy appointed him in 1961. He resigned recently to return to the university as professor of philosophy. He said that he wanted to resume teaching and to do research.

Most of the 14 men who preceded McMurrin as national Commissioners of Education were professional educators—that is, they were associated with colleges of education or had a background of experience as public school administrators.

McMurrin's lack of such background was both a blessing and a hindrance. It left him free to criticize the status quo and struggle against vested interests. But it exposed him to the charge that he was an ivory tower scholar who did not understand the problems of the public schools.

The National Education Association, which has more than 800,000 members, was unenthusiastic about McMurrin at first, but on closer acquaintance came to regard him highly. In fact, an NEA spokesman told the Post-Dispatch this week that McMurrin's departure is a cause for regret.

But the NEA is satisfied with the position of the Office of Education as a part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It thinks the Office should provide "professional leadership in meeting educational problems of nationwide concern."

McMurrin has been emphatic in insisting, like the NEA, that the State and local control must be preserved, but in a farewell speech this week he said this of the Federal Agency: "It must be the chief source of leadership in American education—of leadership in ideas, leadership in incentive, and of genuine inspiration for the forward movement of American education."

In short, McMurrin said, the Office of Education should not be apologetic about playing its national role. He said, "It stands over and above any educational organization that we can identify simply by reason of its being a basic function and Agency of the Federal Government."

The Office of Education dates from 1867 and became a unit of the newly established Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1953. It has tended to serve as a fact-finding, data-gathering and informational agency rather than an originator of national educational policy.

Before World War II, the Agency had fewer than 100 employees. The recent upsurge of interest in education, augmented by Russian scientific exploits, brought sprawling growth without redefinition, to any extent, of the Agency's task.

In the current fiscal year the Office of Education will spend $661 million. This includes $12 million for administration of all research and grant programs. The agency has more than 1,100 employees and is responsible for a multiplicity of grants and loans authorized by Congress for various special purposes.

These programs have international as well as national ramifications. They include a variety of activities carried out under the National Defense Education Act of 1958, school assistance in Federally affected areas, grants-in-aid for vocational education, and others.

Science, the publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, praised McMurrin in its August 10 issue, but called his Office of Education "the most unloved, abused, and timid of all Federal agencies."

As the magazine noted, McMurrin in his short period in office, started a curriculum research program aimed at improving English instruction along lines of the successful science programs carried on by another Government agency, the National Science Foundation.

The National Science Foundation, which McMurrin suggests bringing into the proposed Department of Education, got a boost also from the Russian sputnik. Some of the Foundation's activities closely parallel those of the Office of Education.

For the current fiscal year the Foundation, which has 800 full-time employees, expects to have more than $10 million to spend. Of that, about a third will be channeled into programs aimed in part at helping improve instruction in biology, chemistry, physics, and other sciences.

This summer the National Science Foundation spent $27 million for 421 institutes in which 20,500 secondary school teachers were enrolled. The Foundation has supported the upgrading of high school physics courses and is now doing similar work in mathematics, biology, and chemistry.

As is well known, Congress has been generous in its support of Federal aid to education projects that can be related to national defense—science and language instruction being the foremost examples. It has done little for the humanities.

There are major obstacles standing in the path of any serious move to consolidate the Government's education programs under one roof. The programs now are spread out among eight agencies.

But McMurrin in his departure from office has called attention to an administrative tangle that many educators believe must one day be straightened out if the Nation is to make the kind of progress in education that the future demands.

## Soviets Repeatedly Avoid Showdown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Flint Journal of September 14, 1962, which recapitulates a series of Russian ultimatums over Berlin and the various excuses or justifications for not acting upon them.

Since it is so easy to let ourselves become alarmed by Soviet threats and warnings, I believe this editorial should remind us that the Communists often use words, not for their truth or validity, but for the effect they will create. The future will no doubt bring other occasions when we will need to remember this Soviet characteristic.

The editorial follows:

SOVIETS REPEATEDLY AVOID REAL SHOWDOWN WITH WEST

In the anxiety over the newly-created Cuban crisis, another Soviet postponement of a showdown over Berlin was missed by many Americans who tremble at the thought of the Russian bogyman. We imagine that the master Soviet stringpuller Nikita Khrushchev hoped that his latest backdown would go completely unnoticed.

Toward that end, the postponement was buried in a yard of threats and propaganda about Cuba.

Nevertheless, the fact is that after blowing hard about running out of time and patience in Berlin, Mr. K announced that he had decided to wait until after the U.S. elections in November before resuming talks about the sticky situation in the divided German city.

For almost 4 years the Soviets have been setting deadlines and then finding excuses not to carry out their threats when the West has refused to be bullied.

In November 1958, Khrushchev gave the West 6 months to come to terms. At the end of the period, having frightened no one into action, he postponed the deadline.

Again in 1960, in the midst of pressing for a Berlin solution, he made the most of the American U–2 spy plane incident to break relations with President Eisenhower. But Khrushchev shied away from a Berlin showdown.

The Soviet leader said he could wait until after the presidential elections and then he would deal with Mr. Eisenhower's successor.

Last year, after his Vienna meeting with President Kennedy, Khrushchev announced another 6-month deadline on Berlin. Again the established date arrived and Khrushchev backed off, denying he had meant his deadline warning as an ultimatum.

Only recently, Khrushchev tried to foment a new Berlin crisis by announcing the Soviets' withdrawal from East Berlin. He insisted henceforth the West must deal directly with the German Democratic Republic.

When this bluff failed to panic the West and the United States in turn talked about a military increase in both money and standby manpower, Khrushchev again decided to pull in his horns. The result was his postponing of further Berlin consideration until after the November congressional elections.

Today Soviet guards in East Berlin bowed to a Western ultimatum and traveled to the Soviet war memorial located in the British sector of West Berlin by bus instead of armored car. This compliance came a day before the Saturday deadline set by the Western allies.

The pattern remains the same. Khrushchev blusters and talks big, but again and again when the showdown comes he backtracks. Of course he tries to cover his compliances by creating a fuss in another area, as in Cuba. But his record shows he has no stomach for pushing the United States to the limit.

This is why it is so important for this country to remain determined without showing any semblance of wavering in the face of tough Soviet talk or threat regardless of the area Khrushchev might pick to create a crisis.

It's the only safe course we dare to follow.

## Khrushchev's Smugness Justified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder that Khrushchev believes we do not have the courage of our convictions. President Kennedy has not even been talking a good game about Cuba.

Robert G. Spivack's article and Marguerite Higgins' report, both of which appeared in yesterday's New York Herald Tribune, amply and dramatically point out why Khrushchev is so confident.

The articles follow:

KHRUSHCHEV'S MESSAGE

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON.—Robert Frost said on his return from Moscow that N. S. Khrushchev, the amiable ruffian, had given him a secret message for the President. What it was, and how important, we have not been told.

But Khrushchev gave the New England bard another message that was of great significance, for it shows how the Premier sizes up the Kennedy administration and, perhaps, the President personally.

The United States, by which he meant its people and its present administration, is too liberal to fight. Mr. Frost explained that the Soviet dictator regards us as indecisive and vacillating and, inferentially, undedicated. In his taunting peasant manner, Mr. Khrushchev said that we'd "stand there for the next 100 years saying, on the one hand—but on the other hand."

By what logic does Mr. Khrushchev arrive at his conclusion?

The starting point, of course, is the Bay of Pigs and then Mr. Kennedy's visit with Khrushchev at Vienna on June 3 and 4, 1961. There was also former Ambassador Menshikov's appraisal of the American attitude, namely, that Americans would not fight for Berlin. Since then Mr. K., in his own manner, has been saying, in effect, "Berlin? Why Americans aren't even concerned about Cuba."

The dispatch to Cuba of an armada of some 64 ships and about 10,000 Soviet and Eastern bloc technicians undoubtedly has persuaded many in the Communist world that Mr. Khrushchev has sized up the situation correctly.

In talks with American visitors, Mr. Khrushchev has often spoken of "your young man," leaving the impression that he thought Mr. Kennedy was a fine fellow but not a strong opponent.

Is there any reason why he should change his mind? Soviet troops have been permitted to occupy Cuba, without any effort on our part to stop them, or to demand their immediate withdrawal, or even so much as a formal protest. All we have done is to say what we will do if they export communism somewhere else or become aggressive.

The key to understanding Mr. Kennedy, it has long seemed to me, is his frequent comment that this is a technical age, that the problems are very complex and do not lend themselves to the passions of other times. He has said this in a variety of ways in response to critics who have remarked about the absence of passion in his approach to civil rights for Negroes.

Sometimes he seems so preoccupied with techniques one wonders if he is taking a managerial view of the Presidency. While no one expects or wants the President to act rashly or in a rage, there is a danger in being so dispassionate that an opponent thinks you do not feel deeply, or do not care, or are afraid of risking his wrath.

Put another way, the President is not the manager of a huge corporation, of a political campaign manager either. If he wants to hold the people with him and keep their respect, as well as that of people in other lands, he must show by deeds his feeling for principle. That is what ran through his campaign speeches, but seems to be missing now.

It is this apparent unwillingness to stand up to bullying that leads Mr. Khrushchev to equate liberal with indecision.

In corrupting the word liberal as he has democracy, people's republic, and socialism, Mr. Khrushchev demonstrates an ignorance of American history.

Who are the American liberals? When we use the term we think of George Norris, of Nebraska; Ralph McGill, of Atlanta; Herbert Lehman, of New York; ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee; Bob LaFollette, of Wisconsin; Martin Luther King, of Alabama; the freedom riders and the sit-in demonstrators.

Whether fighting domestic trusts, or segregationists or foreign enemies, they have always presented profiles in courage. Mr. Khrushchev will have to find another word to convey his thoughts, although his message is clear enough.

KHRUSHCHEV'S NEW FRONTIERS

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—Although it is upsetting to the conventional wisdom prevailing in Washington about Khrushchev's life and hard times, there are some diplomatic mavericks who, undeterred by their lack of impact in high places, persist in the thesis that the Soviet leader has good reason to feel that he is not doing badly for a country boy. Much has been made of Soviet Russia's agricultural difficulties, the challenge of the Common Market, and the pressures to which Mr. Khrushchev is allegedly subjected by the bad, old Stalinists, in and out of Russia. Granted all these realities, they do not obscure the substantial gains made by Mr. Khrushchev in the cold, hard, strategic facts of geography and international politics.

It is, for instance, Mr. Khrushchev who can factually boast to his politburo cronies, Stalinist and non-Stalinist alike, that he has established and consolidated the only new frontiers brought into being on the face of the globe during the past 2 years.

The first new frontier runs right through the middle of Berlin, where 1½ million people who were formerly free to breathe the air of West Berlin any time they chose (and go to its shops, attend its concerts, buy its newspapers, engage in its political arguments) have been enslaved by the wall.

The second new frontier is in Cuba, where (according to the latest figures) some 10,000 Soviet bloc soldiers, sailors, and technicians are helping Castro to install "defensive" missiles, and generally providing the Red army that is invariably required to install Communist-style dictatorship.

The third New Frontier appears to be dawning in Laos, where, with American attention diverted elsewhere, there seems little will to resist a creeping Communist takeover.

Some of Mr. Khrushchev's accomplishments have been more subtle, although they would be properly appreciated in the Soviet bloc where the daily measure of Western responses, or lack of responses, is charted as carefully as a sputnik in flight.

It must have been a source of satisfaction in Moscow to have Mr. Kennedy agree with Mr. Khrushchev's prior public pronouncement that "the Monroe Doctrine is dead"—at least to the extent that the President indicated that it would be unjustifiable to apply it to Cuba under present circumstances. Before the New Frontier theoreticians began thinking up rationale for the exceptions to the rule, the Monroe Doctrine held it to be a threat to this hemisphere for an extracontinental power to control the political institutions of any American state.

But, according to the New Frontier, Moscow's domination of Cuba is tolerable so long as the Soviet military buildup is only defensive. Thus the Monroe Doctrine can be violated so long as the violation is purely defensive.

Not surprisingly, the Soviet press congratulated President Kennedy for that part of his press conference statement implying that those who wish to do something about Cuba (and Khrushchev himself is an expert on the many things there are to do short of such clumsy devices as a declared blockade or outright invasion) are rash and unable to keep their nerves or their heads. The Russians characteristically went the President one better and described the activists on Cuba as Fascists.

Joseph Curran, president of the 40,000-member National Maritime Union of the AFL–CIO and a proletarian who does not cotton to the label Right Wing, is a leader of the "do something" school as evidenced last week when he called for a worldwide boycott of non-Communist ships carrying Soviet supplies to Cuba. This, however, is not likely to disturb Mr. Khrushchev unduly so long as Mr. Curran's Government takes the stand (more pronounced in official Washington in private than in public) that the real problem is not to neutralize the Soviet gains in Cuba but to contain the "hotheads" who want to do the same.

Mr. Khrushchev's self-confidence has not been diminished by all these things. In-

deed, his rough and ready critique of things American reached an extraordinary point in the annals of international relations when he dared to tell Robert Frost, the New Frontier's poet laureate, to his face in Moscow that the American people and the President of the United States have no guts. What else could possibly be the meaning of Khrushchev's taunt that "the American people are too liberal to fight"?

In image-conscious Washington, President Kennedy has gone to great lengths to create the portrait of a man of peace, reasonableness and liberality. Do Moscow's reaction and the gains of Mr. Khrushchev's new frontiers perhaps suggest that the time has come to emphasize the image of an American leader who, when he says "thus far and no further," really, for a change, means it?

## Part 2—Tricks of the Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues the second in a series of articles by Edward Scannell Butler on the machinations of the agents of Sino-Soviet communism, and the methods which American businessmen can utilize to help defeat the Reds' plot to conquer the world. Mr. Butler has written these four articles for Challenge, the official weekly publication of the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson, and his ideas have been very well received by members of civic and professional organizations in the Greater New Orleans area. In this second article Mr. Butler cites the artful tricks used by Communist conflict managers in their efforts to stir unrest, then near revolution in nations throughout the world.

His second article on "Conflict Management" is entitled "Part II—Tricks of the Trade," and follows:

PART II—TRICKS OF THE TRADE

(By Edward Scannell Butler)

Conflict management is political warfare as an operational science. The 36 million trained Communist conflict managers, daily waging political warfare, are the world's greatest threat to peace and progress. Yet what does a Red conflict manager do?

Termite tactics, thought control, mob psychology—these are the Red conflict manager's stock in trade. However, scare words mean little to the average businessman, who may not realize that his immediate profit and long-range prospects are affected by conflict techniques more strongly than by his keenest orthodox competitor.

To understand conflict management, look over the shoulder of a hypothetical Communist conflict manager at work, in the following case study.

THE CASE OF COMRADE X

Comrade X is a Latin American native conflict manager, trained in the Lenin School of Strategic Studies in Moscow. He wears the local garb and speaks the Spanish dialect fluently.

His mission is to destroy a dam which is being built with U.S. technical assistance and matching funds in his Latin nation. To destroy the dam, comrade X doesn't use explosives. He uses explosive words.

Arriving at the dam site, Comrade X hires on as a construction worker (1). He soon hears, or generates, whispers about a rank-and-file desire for higher pay (2). Comrade X helps form a committee which decides to ask for a 20 centavos daily increase (3). A delegation meets with management. This could be collective bargaining at its best, but once "inside" comrade X elbows forward as chief spokesman, demanding, not a 20 centavos but a 200 centavos increase. Management refuses. Granting the demand they say, might upset the labor scale of the entire community. Comrade X makes telling comparisons to high wages paid U.S. workers for similar jobs (3). Management cringes guiltily but holds firm, and comrade X becomes belligerent and abusive. He is finally ejected from the meeting room * * * bodily. The 20 centavos increase is negotiated in his absence. But recalling that comrade X had bargained hard for 200 centavos, the workers feel cheated. Comrade X, "the little man who fought alone against overwhelming odds for our rights" becomes a hero (5).

From the moment comrade X becomes a hero, problems multiply. Comrade X consults his actuarial tables, determines the probability of construction casualties on the dam project, then simply waits for an accident to happen. When an unlucky worker falls from a scaffold and is fatally injured, comrade X soon appears, brandishing a frayed rope and belowing defiance at the capitalist cutthroats whose greedy negligence has martyred the worker, widowed his wife, and orphaned his six children (6). Other representatives of Agitprop in the Americas—Castro's Prensa Latina—miraculously drive to film piteous group shots of the weeping wife and children. Next morning, the funeral procession is treated to a stirring eulogy by comrade X and becomes an angry mob which stones the USIA building, 3 miles away (7). Cameras grind and presses roll. After the hoopla, the Communist press departs and the dam authority provides a pension for the dead worker's wife and kids—but this doesn't make headlines.

Comrade X eventually produces a forged document, complete with official seals and signatures, which proves a conspiracy between the U.S. State Department and high Latin American government officials to cheat the surrounding farmers, by charging them exorbitant fees for irrigation and electricity (8).

The charge balloons into an international incident. The pro-American Presidente's political opponents, both Communists and opportunists, rise in his legislature to slander him. Pressure mounts. Throughout the country, sympathy riots occur spontaneously (9). Six weeks later the forgery is meticulously exposed. But by then, it's yesterday's news.

CONFLICT BYPRODUCTS

El Presidente, who once saw the dam as a monument to his benevolence, now fears it may become his political headstone. He politely informs the U.S. Ambassador that the dam project must go.

The dam, a half-finished skeleton of Yanqui imperialism is left to mock a ghost town of angry peasants, who only a few months before were anticipating a higher living handard, cheap power, irrigation, and the benefits of burgeoning industry. Millions of dollars of potential purchasing power has evaporated. Worse, increasing pressure is put on El Presidente to reduce Yanqui trade for tempting Sino-Soviet offers (10).

CONCLUSIONS OF CONFLICT

Conflict managers like comrade X probably have their own technical language for the seemingly spontaneous crises they engineer. Here are typical examples of Communist jargon keyed to the numbers in the above story:

(1) Penetration at the mass base.
(2) Identifying problems of the proletariat.
(3) Unifying the toiling masses.
(4) Drawing the lines of class conflict.
(5) Assumption of the proletarian trust.
(6) Creation of the anticause.
(7) Mobilizing the masses in the streets.
(8) Crushing reactionary reformism.
(9) Forming the prerevolutionary surge.
10) Reorientation toward communism.

The case of Comrade X is a typical example of the way in which one man, backed up by Agitprop, can inexpensively engineer the destruction of a multi-million-dollar foreign aid project.

The lesson is clear. Foreign aid alone is no substitute for conflict management, and in fact is extremely vulnerable to misrepresentation. On the other hand Communist-style conflict management without a worthwhile goal is antidemocratic. Together, conflict management and foreign aid can become a double-pronged spearhead for success.

MORE CONCLUSIONS FROM CONFLICT

Comrade X had little to fear from U.S. officials. As foreign guests, USIA's allegedly biased statements would have been ignored or misinterpreted. So the USIA men wisely kept silent. Even the Voice of America, which can talk against communism, loses much of its audience when it does. Many audiences just don't consider the U.S. Government an objective source for anti-Communist information.

CONFLICT CASE STUDIES

Management case studies by the Harvard Business School and other enlightened institutions, include no pat solution. Neither does the case of Comrade X, nor will similar conflict case studies which could become primary training aids. Different conflict managers will solve problems in different ways. However, clearly necessary for any solution, are trained on-the-spot free conflict managers, backed up by aimed, nonofficial (hence, objective) information.

CONFLICT ENGINEERING

The priorities in Communist thinking are: first destroy the existing order, then build the new. They attack each project with precision. On the other hand our own thinking is imprecise, in that we attempt to build on, and reform, the overall existing order without first destroying the destroyers. So while we build, they bust; and because destruction is inherently quicker and cheaper than construction, the Reds retain the offensive. Hence, the destruction or neutralization of Communist Party organizations—which exploit misery and injustice for power—this is the priority job, if we are ever to have true peace and progress.

## International Farm Youth Exchange Delegate Writes From Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, on August 28 of this year I read into the RECORD a most interesting letter from Mary McGreevy, International Farm Youth Exchange delegate from Washington State

to Poland. Mary is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. F. McGreevy, of Colton, Wash. I have another letter from her, and I include it at this point in the RECORD:

SZOXDEY, POLAND,
*August 1, 1962.*

DEAR FRIENDS AT HOME: Every morning at 7:15 and noon and at 1:15 the field foreman on my state farm disturbs the peace by ringing the "time to go to work" bell calling the workers from their homes.

You no doubt wonder what a state farm is. There are two types of state farms in Poland: The PGR or Panstwowe (Pan-stove-ve) Gospodarstwa (Gos-po-dar-stva) Rolne (Roll-knee) which means state farm agriculture; and the other type is institute farms. The PGR farm is land that is owned by the state and farmed for the state. The institute farms are similar to the U.S. experiment stations and public institutions.

In an effort to increase production they are starting to group state farms into combines or kombinate with a central head or director. My farm is 1 of 10 in such a kombinate. Each of these farms has its own special agricultural products to raise. Our farm emphasizes the production of grain, breeding sheep, dairy and feeder pigs. A state farm of 300 hectares (750 acres) would be considered small; mine is 927 hectares (2,409), the largest in the Kambinate. The average size is about 600 hectares. (1,500 acres.)

These may seem like large units to you but many of the state farms are located on war devastated land and if you can remember war really destroys soil. I am convinced it would destroy a soil as good as that in the Palouse country and Poland did not start with a soil that good. Everywhere one looks whether walking through the fields or down the road the scars of war are evident and perhaps permanent. As my father explained to me Sunday, "war ruined Poland. First the Germans marched across it and fought on it, then the Russians marched across and fought on it."

My father is manager of this farm and he has a livestock foreman, a mechanical foreman, and 2 field foremen to help him direct the work of his crew of 80 men and 14 women.

You would like our livestock foreman. He is a fellow not much taller than I, completely bald, and was with the American troops in Italy. He has deep respect for the armored tank division and the American soldier in general. His attitude is like that of everyone I've met here. The American soldier is almost a "little God."

We keep on feed about 650 feeder hogs. They maintain the breed is a Polish breed and it no doubt is, but somewhere along the line much Chester White blood got mixed in with them. At 3 months the pigs come to this station, vaccinated and castrated. There are three groups on feed at a time, the finishing group, the middle group, and the starting group.

The swine barn is as modern as any large swine operation in the States. Running water, overhead storage with automatic self-feeders, a central alleyway for cleaning and transporting, cement-floored feeder space, with slats over the cement in the nonfeeding area. Their ration is a potato base supplemented with minerals and vitamins portioned on a protein-to-body basis. These pigs are fed out and exported to England. We recently sold 250 for 19 zloty/kilogram (about $0.36/lb.) and it cost us 18 zloty/kilogram (about $0.34/lb.) to produce the porker.

Most of our dairy stock is young and would be classified as high-grade Holstein stock. The bloodlines were imported from Holland and presently they are using bulls brought over recently to breed artificially. Tuberculosis has been a constant plague to the dairymen in Poland and especially in the Poznan area. We presently are milking 78 cows. One of the reasons for such a small number is that all of these cows are tested Tuberculosis free, one of the few places in the Poznan area where this is so.

One of the most interesting sights of the day is the milk wagon at noon when it passes through the area where the workers live, distributing the noon milking to the people. The shout "Mleko" (Ma-lek'-o) sends someone in every family scurrying to find a container and get to the milk wagon.

The cows are fed a bran and forage ration based on a protein to production ratio. They are tested monthly and milk production records are kept. It costs us about 1.95 zloty per liter (about $0.08 per quart) and we sell for 2.20 zloty per liter (about $0.09 per quart) in summer and 2.50 zloty/liter in winter. However costs are higher in winter. Hence, we have the same price squeeze here that is present in the United States.

The crops are very good this year and very similar to the Columbia Basin area if you can imagine that area with all the natural water it needed. There is so close a similarity that you would think you were in Moses Lake as the dirt rolls when the wind blows, which it does almost continuously, it seems.

I'm right at home with wheat being our largest crop, 136 hectares (354 acres) and most of it winter wheat. Some of the seed is imported from Sweden and this looks very good. Except for the color, which is that of Brevor, you would think you were looking at a field of Rex wheat. My host father tried a Hungarian variety this year and really didn't have much success. However I feel this may develop into a good strain here because it matures early. Most of the wheat needs a good week and a half of ripening weather, however this Hungarian variety is already harvested. This is helpful, because this climate is almost enough to make this "Palouse County farmer" develop ulcers. Much, much rain, if we go 3 days without rain we've had a dry spell. Hence their farming practices must adjust to this factor.

Mowing the grain is necessary in order to let the kernels harden. The grain is then harvested with a "Vistula" a Polish-made self-propelled combine. Our next largest crop, rye (270 acres), is harvested and the straw is stacked. The potatoes and sugarbeets (about 200 acres each) are very good. However, the continued cold weather has caused a problem of cut worms in the sugarbeets. This has also caused a small problem of root rot in the wheat. Oh yes, we have leaf rust in the wheat but so far I have not seen any on the stems. The rest of our acreage is seeded to typical Columbia Basin crops with the corn, which is planted for silage, not very good because of the continued cold weather. Close to 60 acres is allowed for the worker's houses and gardens. .

I might explain that a draft showing the plan of my farm hangs in the wall in our office or biuro as it is called. This is so detailed that even I alone could easily figure out the number of hectares in each crop and where it was. Then if I wanted I could figure out how many hectares were cut for roads, ditches, buildings and fertilizer pits. Going even further I could figure out how much of a hectare was swept each Saturday in our courtyard. By the way, it's a lot of surface area, over an acre.

With a lump in my throat, I will leave this wonderful family August 7, and join the other three International Farm Youth Exchange youths in Poland at a work camp in Kasmier. According to information I have we will be testing our roadbuilding ability. This will be interesting, I am sure, as this is a youth camp with people present from many European countries, and besides, building roads is one thing I've never done. You might be interested in knowing that one poor fellow here lost a bet because he was certain I wasn't an American.

You will be harvesting or starting to get that harvest fever. My thoughts are with you and I sincerely hope you have a good harvest. Take care and may God be with you.

Your International Farm Youth Exchange in Poland,
MARY MCGREEVY.

## The Truth About Our Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, is it not time the American people were told frankly by President Kennedy the actual condition of our gold supply?

I am shocked that there should be so much deceit by this administration on this subject. In yesterday's Washington Daily News, Alice Widener gives us the truth about our dangerously low gold supply and the reasons why we are in such financial danger as a result of the Kennedy policies.

WHY NOT TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RUN ON GOLD?

(By Alice Widener)

NEW YORK.—Each time the flow of gold from our reserves is temporarily halted, the administration raises our hopes that the flow is stopped. Then comes the alarming news that we have lost more gold, as was announced early this month.

The administration and Congress should reveal the whole truth about our financial situation.

OVERSPENT

Our Nation is bleeding gold because it is suffering from excessive Federal Government spending. The Federal Government is solely responsible for the financial excesses which have impaired the national fiscal health.

The September 1962 National City Bank Letter says that the U.S. dollar is a key currency "not by divine right but only so long as it is sought and retained voluntarily. It has achieved its international standing because of the productivity, flexibility, and efficiency of the American economy, capable of producing exportable goods eagerly in demand throughout the world. Europe today also has strong economies and currencies worthy of respect. This has greatly strengthened the world monetary system, which can be only as strong as each of the individual links in the chain. This calls for policies in the United States that will maintain the dollar as a reliable currency."

We cannot maintain the dollar as a reliable currency without sufficient gold reserves. Most of the principal trading nations of the world keep the bulk of their reserve in gold. We must do so.

OVERTAXED

Tied to currency reliability in the modern industrial society is the private citizens' power to buy goods and save money. This power is being eroded by creeping withholding and other taxes.

Representative Ross ADAIR, Republican, of Indiana, points out that regardless of any new tax bill, "In one segment of the economy, social security, taxes are definitely going up next year. On January 1, 1963, the social security rate will be increased to 3⅝ percent for both employer and the employe; rate for self-employed persons jumps to 5.4 percent on the first $4,800 earned."

Representative ADAIR reports, "With the Federal Government operating in the red and winding up nearly $7 billion more in debt at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1962, it was truly alarming to discover * * * the total of Federal employment is the highest in the last 10 years. In June 1962, alone, the Federal payroll was up by 34,921 employes. For fiscal 1962, the Federal payroll cost the taxpayers $14 billion—this is $6 billion more than we paid for 3.5 million employes during the alltime peak Federal employment period during World War II."

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce points out in its August 31 Washington Report that contrary to Government bureaucrats' assertions, salaries in private industry are not generally much superior to those in Federal Government. Top executive positions are, but here are the most recent available averages:

| | Year 1961 |
|---|---|
| Federal civilian employees | $6,285 |
| Transportation | 6,085 |
| Mining | 5,835 |
| Communications and public utilities | 5,886 |
| Contract construction | 5,660 |
| Manufacturing | 5,509 |
| Finance, insurance, and real estate | 5,035 |
| Wholesale and retail trade | 4,523 |
| Services | 3,738 |
| Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries | 1,776 |

Conservative, thrifty politicians, such as Senator HARRY F. BYRD and Representative ROSS ADAIR, are doing their best to save us from falling flat financially through a break in the dollar link of the currencies chain. If we continue to lose gold because of our wrong economic policies, that break will occur.

The administration's chief economists and braintrusters tell us we must discard economic myths and stop thinking of gold as good and unbalanced budgets as bad. But if there is a money crisis, Americans will find out to their chagrin that sound ideas regarded by Presidential Economic Adviser Dr. Walter Heller as myths are actual hellish realities.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

IDEL-URAL INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE,
*Ankara, Turkey, July 10, 1962.*

Mr. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*Congressman, U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Our committee represents the aspirations of all Idel-Uralians for freedom and independence; and this is why we, members of the Presidium, are glad to hail Captive Nations Week and to express our best wishes for the success of our common cause, the liberation of all captive nations.

Idel-Ural has every right to be free and independent because of the following:

Idel-Ural, a country of about 1 million square kilometers, includes parts of the former Kingdoms of Kazan, Astrakhan, Nugai, and Siberia. Indigeneous inhabitants of this country, presently known under the names of Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashes, Mordvins, Udmurts, Mari, Mishars, Krashens and Nugais, joined together in 1917 in an effort to form an independent state of Idel-Ural with a total population of 10 million, which de facto remained until April 1918. In the past these peoples enjoyed continual national freedom for at least 3,000 years. They formed seven states, of which the three below were the most advanced culturally and economically: (1) Bulgar Khanate, 900 years; (2) Golden Horde, 250 years; (3) the above four kingdoms of Kazan, Astrakhan, Nugai and Siberia, which became victims of Russian imperialism late in the 16th and 17th centuries.

With respect to the present level of technical and cultural development the indigenous population of Idel-Ural is comparable with or higher than the majority of independent nations of today. Reportedly, a number of Tatar engineers and technicians have been sent by the Russians to Afghanistan, Indonesia, Egypt and other Muslim countries to help in their efforts to develop industries Tatar and Bashkir cultural teams had great success while they toured the Middle and Far East. No doubt, without Russian interference they would have accomplished a great deal more.

Very truly yours,

DR. KEMAL LOKMAN,
*President.*
ALI AKISH,
*Secretary General.*
HAYRULLAH BATU,
*Treasurer.*

BALTIMORE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE FOR CUBAN FREEDOM,
*Baltimore, Md., June 28, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I praise very highly your understanding for the enslaved peoples and hope you will realize that since you are trying to pass your House Resolution 211 my country has been more and more in need for you to include it in this resolution.

Actually it is Cuba, one of the captive nations, that is in more need of the reassurance of the free world that they have not been written off as a lost cause. The spirit of my oppressed people has not been broken. They have not and will not give up their hopes for freedom.

In order to keep alive this spark of resistance these people must know that they have not been forsaken.

I fully suport your Resolution 211. Thank you for it.

Gratefully for the freedom fighters and for my country,

MARTHA ALPENDER.

SOUTH RIVER, N.J.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Nikolay Kaschirin, a Cossack by origin, lawfully admitted to and residing presently in the United States, respectfully, urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to create a special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,

NIKOLAY KASCHIRIN.

WATERBURY, CONN.,
*July 8, 1962.*

DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on your sponsorship of House Resolution 211, Captive Nations. Never should we in the free world forget the victims of Communist tyranny. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM WALSH.

JACKSON MILLS,
*Freehold, N.J., July 5, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Committee on Rules, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: As an American citizen of Cossack descent, I would like to ask you for support of the resolution, House Resolution 211, introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, for the establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations.

I am very glad to see that the resolution included, among the various nations submerged by Moscow, the Cossack Nation and my old homeland, Cossackia.

With best wishes for your work.

Very truly yours,

PAUL MOROZOFF.

## United Nations Plan for the Congo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, because of the wide interest in the Congo among my colleagues and the

American people generally, I am extending my remarks to include an address by the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistance Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the Jewish War Veterans national convention at Detroit, Mich., on August 30, 1962.

The address follows:

Fellow veterans, I am pleased to address a veterans' group today because I want to speak about a country balanced between strife and progress—the Republic of the Congo. I can think of no more timely or more important topic to discuss with you who have experienced past failures to find peaceful solutions.

A United Nations plan for Congo unity was announced on August 20 by Acting Secretary General U Thant, and its early acceptance was indicated by Congolese Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula. Last Friday, Robert Gardiner, chief of the U.N. operation in the Congo, presented the United Nations plan for uniting that unfortunately divided country to representatives of Katanga Province.

Since its presentation to the Katangese provincial government of Mr. Moise Tshombe, Mr. Adoula announced that his government had studied the Secretary General's plan and gave its agreement to it. He noted that his government's only criterion for judging the Congo problem was in the context of 14 million human beings aspiring for a better life, and added:

"We hope all countries will adopt this view and support in all phases the Secretary General's plan, which takes into account our observations and is in accord with the Government of the Congo's point of view. If all of these conditions are realized, we do not doubt an era of peace and prosperity would begin for the Congo, which could, in fruitful cooperation with all nations, make its contribution to the international community."

Over this past weekend, the U.S. Government also announced its support of the Acting Secretary General's efforts to reach a settlement in the Congo.

The U.S. announcement pointed out that the U.N. plan offers a reasonable basis upon which Congolese leaders can settle their differences. Our Government said that the plan offers compelling reasons for other nations to lend their support and that statesmanship in the Congo can put that nation on the road to federal unity and progress.

Such progress, the United States concluded, will enable the United Nations and countries like the United States to devote greater resources to economic and technical assistance in the Congo.

It is gratifying to be able to say today that many interested nations have indicated their firm support for the U.N. plan. For example, last weekend, Britain announced its support of the plan, and on Tuesday the Belgian Government issued a statement of support.

While there has not yet been time for an official acceptance of the United Nations plan from the Provincial government of Katanga, provision for a federal system of government for the Congo enhances the possibility of its acceptance by Katanga. Evariste Kimba, who handles foreign affairs for Mr. Tshombe, said in a letter to Secretary General U Thant following his announcement of the plan on August 20 that the plan "contains a number of positive elements." There is considerable reason to hope that Mr. Tshombe will support the plan. On August 1 and August 21, he stated his belief that Katanga was ready to join a Congolese federation.

On the initial evidence, then, we are hopeful that the U.N. plan is the basis for Congolese unity and can put an end to Katanga's secession.

The resolution of this problem is naturally one which the Congolese themselves must achieve. You will recall the United Nations was invited into the Congo by the Congolese Government to assist that new nation in overcoming postindependence disorders, in safeguarding Congolese unity, and in rebuilding the nation's administrative and economic health. The United Nations prevented unilateral Soviet intervention and succeeded to a large extent in keeping order. It has helped maintain Congolese administrative services and assisted in the reestablishment of parliamentary government.

The principal block to Congolese unity and economic progress today is this Katangan problem. Prime Minister Adoula's government was established under orders from Parliament to end this secession, and no Congolese Government can long hope to remain in office without demonstrating progress toward this goal. Until this is achieved, Congolese resources, both human and material, will be diverted from the essential long-range task of nation building and economic progress. Until unity is achieved, the threats of chaos and renewed Soviet intervention are ever-present dangers.

We welcome the plan put forth by Acting Secretary General U Thant, because it offers a reasonable way to achieve these goals and head off these dangers.

Because this U.N. plan was not widely publicized at the time of its announcement, I would like to take a few minutes this morning to point out its salient features. There are seven principal points in the U.N. plan:

1. The National Government, after consultation with the Provincial governments and interested political groups, will present a Federal Constitution to the Parliament in September. The United Nations is providing legal experts to assist in drafting this document. Under present law, this Constitution cannot become law without a two-thirds vote of the Parliament, in which all Provinces and parties are represented, plus approval by the provincial assemblies. Under the proposed Federal Constitution, certain powers will be delegated to the National Government. These include:

(a) Foreign affairs.

(b) National defense (other than local police functions).

(c) Customs.

(d) Currency, exchange control, and fiscal policy.

(e) Interstate and foreign commerce.

(f) Taxing powers sufficient for National Government needs.

(g) Nationality and immigration.

(h) Post and telecommunications.

Powers not delegated to the National Government will be reserved to the Provincial governments.

2. The National Government, after consultation with the Provincial governments and interested political groups, will present to the Parliament a new law to establish definitive arrangements for division of revenues between the National and Provincial governments, and regulations and procedures for the use of foreign exchange. U.N. experts also will assist in the preparation of this law.

Until that process is completed, the National Government and Katanga should agree to share revenues, duties, and royalties equally, and all foreign exchange earned by any part of the Congo will be paid to the Monetary Council of the National Government or an agreed-upon institution.

The Monetary Council should control use of all foreign exchange and make available for essential needs in Katanga at least 50 percent of the foreign exchange generated in that Province. This provision is of particular importance because upon Congolese independence Katanga generated 50 percent of the Congo's foreign exchange earnings.

3. The National Government will ask the International Monetary Fund to help with a plan for national currency unification, which will be implemented within the shortest possible time.

4. Rapid integration and unification of all military units must be accomplished. A commission composed of representatives from the National Government, Katanga, and the United Nations should prepare a plan within 30 days to go into effect within the following 60 days. Provision is made, however, for the Provinces to retain control of their local police forces.

5. There should be a general amnesty.

6. All Congolese authorities—National, State, and local—should cooperate fully with the United Nations in carrying out U.N. resolutions.

7. The National Government should be reconstituted to provide a suitable representation for all political and Provincial groups.

The U.S. Government believes that this program is eminently reasonable and necessary. It provides for full consultation and hearing of interested groups, and the plan provides for democratic approval of the Constitution and other laws. We believe that if prompt action is taken on this plan by all Congolese authorities, it will get the Congo back on the road to a peaceful and viable future.

This, then, is the Congo situation as it stands at this moment. It is delicate; it is difficult; but it is by no means devoid of hope.

In some respects, the current Congo situation is reminiscent of the young, radical America of 1783, when the Dean of Gloucester said:

"As to the future grandeur of America and its being a rising empire under one head * * * it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that was ever conceived. * * * The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes, and manners indicate that they will have no center of union and common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever."

However, as our Constitution led us to unity and an integrated nation, so the U.N. plan offers a path to peaceful reconciliation of differences in the Congo. And this country has pledged its full support to that plan.

Today, I want to call on you and all other Americans to back your country's support of the United Nations on this important issue. I know you share our hope and our desire that reason will prevail over ruin in the Congo. And there really is no alternative to Congolese unification except chaos and civil war.

If the United Nations is unable to achieve unity in the Congo, there is a strong, possibility that country will be plunged into a destructive civil war as the rest of the Congo seeks to reintegrate Katanga by whatever means available or necessary. These conditions, in turn, would breed external subversion and loss of true independence.

This is the principal reason why the United States is so concerned with the Congo situation. This is why our policy continues to be to help establish a unified and stable Congo—a Congo on good terms with the West and able to resist extremist and Communist influence and penetration. This is why we continue to welcome all steps toward political reconciliation of the Congo.

Since the beginning of the crisis, both the United States and the United Nations have looked on reconciliation as one of their major tasks. This is why we look so favorably on the plan drawn up by Secretary General U Thant.

Once a peaceful reunification of the Congo is achieved, then all parties involved can turn to the really important job of helping the Congo build itself into a strong, viable

nation. The U.N. plan offers real promise for a settlement under which the United Nations can work itself out of the expensive job of peacekeeping and policing the country and into the constructive job of economic and technical assistance.

Once this transition is accomplished, we will have made a major contribution toward lasting peace and security, not only in Africa but throughout the world.

This is what we hope will be achieved through the United Nations Congo plan of reconciliation. And this is why we are giving our full support and best efforts toward making this plan succeeed.

We hope you will join us in support of this endeavor.

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## Appeasement in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, both Roscoe Drummond and David Lawrence, in the September 17 issue of the New York Herald Tribune, discuss the history of authoritarian grabs for power and the current dangers in President Kennedy's do-nothing policy on Cuba:

PEOPLE SHOULD BE INFORMED: WHAT ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST THE REDS IN CUBA?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—In pouring a massive volume of Soviet arms, including military men and missiles, into Cuba, Mr. Khrushchev is embarking on a policy of brinksmanship, the end result of which cannot possibly be foreseen.

One thing is clear. The planting of Soviet power in Cuba is creating a depth of uneasiness and anxiety among the American people which can hardly be overstated. It is evident in the country; it is evident in Congress; it is evident in private conversations.

Quite properly, President Kennedy has addressed himself to this uncertain and frustrated state of public opinion. At his latest press conference, he appealed to the American people to "keep both their nerve and their head."

Mr. Kennedy is hopeful that this new stage in the Cuban crisis will not become a lacerating partisan issue in the coming elections. I know of only one way it can be prevented. That is for the President to convince the American people that they will get an absolutely straight and frank account of the gravity of what is happening and that the administration will take measures equal to the danger.

It is my present conviction—which I put down for whatever it is worth—that the administration is not yet forthrightly stating to the country the gravity of the challenge we now face, nor embracing an adequate course of action to counter and to liquidate that challenge.

For my taste there is too great a tendency to belittle the problem and to pretend that it is something we need only meet in the future, rather than something we have to begin to deal with now.

At the outset of his statement, designed to put the Cuban situation "in perspective," the President pointed out that "it is Mr. Castro" who is in trouble. This is accurate but, as I see it, exceedingly irrelevant. It is true that Castro's communism has failed so totally and has turned most of the Cuban people so implacably against the regime, that Castro has only two choices before him. One choice was to turn Cuba over to the Cubans and submit himself to a popular election. The other was to turn Cuba over to the Kremlin and remain as its figurehead.

Castro chose the Russians, and what confronts the United States today is not a deteriorating Castro dictatorship but a powerfully armed Soviet satellite which the Kremlin can now use in its own way at its own will for its own purposes, and if Mr. Castro gets in the way that will be just too bad for Mr. Castro; he will be a dead deviationist.

Castro's troubles don't ease our troubles one iota, now that Castro's Cuba has become Khrushchev's Cuba.

Spokesmen for the administration continue to suggest that the Monroe Doctrine will be applicable and will surely be invoked if Soviet arms in Cuba become big enough to be "offensive" and are turned against other American nations. The truth is that the Monroe Doctrine has already been breached by the very takeover of Cuba by a foreign power. On this point the influential Washington Post goes to the heart of the matter in saying: "The ships and arms that Khrushchev has sent to Cuba are as menacing as the fleet that Emperor Alexander gave to Spain to help her subdue her former American colonies in 1818. This country resisted Russia then, it must resist its penetration of the Western Hemisphere today."

President Kennedy rightly counsels against provocative talk and rash action. But the only thing which will counter both is adequate action by the administration to resist and in the end liquidate Soviet penetration of the Western Hemisphere. Thoughtful people will agree, I think, that unilateral military intervention is not the beginning of such a course—but the last resort if other steps fail.

Obviously the Soviets approve intervening to deprive a people of their freedom—as in Hungary—but oppose others intervening to restore freedom.

Mr. Khrushchev threatens war if we do anything to lift the Khrushchev-Castro dictatorship from the backs of the Cuban people. I think the American people are not going to scare very easily.

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TODAY IN WORLD AFFAIRS: COMMUNIST GRAB IN CUBA: THE 1930'S ALL OVER AGAIN?

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Is it the 1930's all over again? Fear of war led then to inaction by the West—and this brought on the big war itself. Will history repeat?

The parallel with events from 1935 to 1938 is startling. Then, as now, a dictator—Mussolini—grabbed Ethiopia. Just as Khrushchev today has grabbed Cuba. The West protested feebly in 1935, and the League of Nations voted 50 to 1 for an economic blockade in November of that year. But the United States was indifferent, and the commercial interests of the world succeeded in causing an abandonment of the blockade after 8 months of spasmodic effort.

Then, as now, in respect to Cuba, a blockade was characterized as useless unless all nations participated wholeheartedly.

Then, as now, the pacifists and appeasers expressed in speeches and newspaper advertisements the fear that a blockade would bring on war and implied it was better to recognize the steps taken by Mussolini as "accomplished facts." The Chamberlains and the Baldwins led Britain into a mess, out of which war became inevitable.

CHURCHILL'S WORDS

The United States wobbled then, too. Let Winston Churchill tell the story. He writes it frankly and bluntly in his book, "The Gathering Storm," published in 1948. He refers pointedly to the economic blockade of Italy as a means of persuading Mussolini to lay off Ethiopia, previously called Abyssinia—a country which also was a member of the League—and declares:

"A large number of commodities, some of which were war materials, were prohibited from entering Italy, and an imposing schedule was drawn up. But oil, without which the campaign in Abyssinia could not have been maintained, continued to enter freely, because it was understood that to stop it meant war. Here the attitude of the United States, not a member of the League of Nations, and the world's main oil supplier, though benevolent, was uncertain. Moreover, to stop it to Italy involved also stopping it to Germany."

Mr. Churchill then criticizes the failure of Britain to back up her economic blockade with naval power, and adds: "The Italian armies in Abyssinia would have famished for supplies and ammunition. Germany could as yet give no effective help. If ever there was an opportunity of striking a decisive blow in a generous cause with the minimum of risk, it was here and now."

BLUFF SUCCEEDED

"The fact that the nerve of the British Government was not equal to the occasion can be excused only by their sincere love of peace. Actually it played a part in leading to an infinitely more terrible war. Mussolini's bluff succeeded, and an important spectator drew far-reaching conclusions from the fact. Hitler had long resolved on war for German aggrandisement. He now formed a view of Great Britain's degeneracy which was only to be changed too late for peace and too late for him."

What Mr. Churchill describes as the "irresoluteness" of those days finds its counterpart in what is happening today. Here is a brief extract from a summary by William L. Ryan of the Associated Press in Sunday morning newspapers this week:

"Moscow today just about owns Cuba—lock, stock, barrel, and beard. Inexorably, Soviet communism is closing its steel grip. Challenging the United States in the sensitive Caribbean and the Western Hemisphere, Moscow has given the world a lesson in imperialism. When the Russians colonize, they colonize for good * * * the Soviet takeover will be complete when Fidel Castro is shoved aside * * * this will be a slow and cautious process, but signs of party conflict are clear."

ALLIES INDIFFERENT

The United Press International reported last Saturday from Washington as follows: "The United States has been making quiet diplomatic efforts for more than 6 months to persuade allies in European countries and elsewhere to help isolate Communist Cuba.

"The Kennedy administration was receiving little encouragement today from Latin American and European allies in its attempt to tighten the diplomatic and economic squeeze on Cuba."

A London dispatch by the United Press International on the same day said: "Britain has politely but firmly discouraged any American ideas that it join the United States in an economic blockade of Cuba, it was reliably learned today. Other European member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were reported also to have backed away from tentative soundings as to whether they would go along with the United States in any possible embargo against Cuba."

KENNEDY BACKS AWAY

Thus, as in the 1930's, the free world is in disunion, and the enemy dictators are taking advantage of such disension.

President Kennedy, meanwhile, has also backed away. He has disregarded the all-important principle in the Monroe Doctrine

which declares against European colonization or imposition of their system in the Western Hemisphere. He says the Doctrine means only resistance to an armed attack against the United States or against other countries in this hemisphere with the aid of a European power. This gives Khrushchev a free hand to infiltrate any country in America, take over the government there with a puppet ruler, and send in military supplies and forces without running the risk of any countering action by the United States.

For all practical purposes has the Monroe Doctrine now been buried, as Khrushchev in 1960 said it would be? Resolutions in Congress introduced last week by administration leaders, still mention the doctrine in their "whereases" but not in the text of the conclusions reached. Their theory evidently is that only if America is attacked should any action be taken.

Communist imperialism is thereby given the unchallenged opportunity to extend its system anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. If the United States will not fight when historic American policy is being violated 90 miles away from its shores, the dictatorship in Moscow may conclude that pacifism has won a big victory in the Americas and the West, and that there will be no resistance to Communist aggressions anywhere else in the world, including Berlin. It could be the 1930's all over again.

## Urban Mass Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, one of President Kennedy's proposals earlier this year called for Federal assistance for improvements in mass transportation for urban areas. There is an increasing need for this legislation in many sections of the country, and, of course, I am particularly interested in and familiar with the problem affecting my own city of New York, and the many thousands of my own constituents in Queens County.

The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1962 was favorably reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency on July 3 of this year, and since that time has been waiting for a rule from the House Rules Committee. The bill would provide $500 million in Federal assistance over a period of 3 years to State and local governments for the construction, acquisition, and improvement of mass transportation services, facilities, and equipment. The grants can cover up to two-thirds of the project costs, and the remaining one-third must be contributed in cash by the local community. The measure would be an expansion and continuation of the temporary program currently in effect under the provisions of the Housing Act passed by the Congress last year, which authorized $50 million for a loan program for facilities and equipment in an effort to meet mass transit needs.

It is true that the passage of this bill would mean much to New York City, but strong support for it has come from varied sources including large and small communities, public officials, private transportation companies, and others. For New York City, it could mean that millions of dollars of Federal money could be made available to help meet the urgent need for new and improved facilities in our metropolitan area, now served by the New York City Transit Authority. With the thousands upon thousands of New Yorkers residing on the fringes and in the suburbs—and I refer primarily to those residents of my district in Queens County—who must use public transportation to and from Manhattan and other parts of the New York City area, it would facilitate travel and would mean a tremendous savings in time, energy, and money.

An efficient and economical mass transit system is absolutely essential if we are to provide those who live in urban areas with adequate means of transportation. Our cities have been experiencing fantastic population explosions, and lack of adequate transit facilities has caused an increased use of private passenger automobiles, which in turn has resulted in traffic congestion and a transportation problem which is growing more serious year after year. I believe that it has been estimated that traffic congestion and traffic jams cost the country about $5 billion each year in time and wages lost, fuel consumption, vehicle depreciation, et cetera. We must take prompt action in effecting a solution to the problem. In my own area of Queens County, a Queens transit committee, composed of prominent civic and business leaders, has been formed for the purpose of pressing for transit improvements in Queens, which is the largest borough in New York City.

The mass transit bill is only 1 of some 22 bills which have been bottled up in the House Rules Committee during the 87th Congress awaiting action, even after the attempted reform of the committee last year. I believe that this more than demonstrates the need for further changes in the rules of the House to permit the orderly and prompt consideration of legislation, which otherwise would never reach the floor for debate. It is my understanding that an effort to bring the bill up under the Calendar Wednesday rule will be made in the House of Representatives tomorrow, and I shall certainly do whatever I can to force consideration of this legislation. I sincerely hope that it will be possible for the majority of my colleagues to support this move to bring this necessary and desirable bill before us.

## Fire Island National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 11, the New York World-Telegram and Sun wrote an excellent editorial on the question of Fire Island and the importance of bringing a portion of the island into the national park system.

The New York World-Telegram and Sun has been progressive and ahead of the times on this subject, as on many others.

The article follows:

FIRE ISLAND NATIONAL PARK

In the few weeks since he announced it, Representative JOHN V. LINDSAY, of Manhattan, has drawn heavy popular support for his proposal to establish Fire Island as a national park.

This is LINDSAY's alternative to the Robert Moses plan to build a highway on Fire Island as a means of controlling erosion. The highway proposal is bitterly assailed by many, and probably most, residents of the island and nearby communities—and by visitors and prospective visitors throughout the metropolitan area.

Moses could be 100 percent right from the engineering standpoint, but his plan bats just about zero in emotional and esthetic appeal—or even sufferance.

Under the circumstances, a sensible alternative becomes a must. Representative LINDSAY seems to have it.

Congress' approval last year of the Cape Cod National Seashore bill was designed to protect the beaches and dunes against both natural erosion and commercial ruination. The same principle motivates support for Representative LINDSAY's Fire Island bill.

Congress should give that bill at least its preliminary blessing before this session adjourns.

## Chester Bowles Found

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the American people were wondering what had happened to Chester Bowles. No one had heard of him since he spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on his African jaunt.

This is the same individual who was the disappointed nominee for Secretary of State and was shifted almost daily within the Department of State. He is one of the best friends Communist China has.

Sunday, in a speech at Pittsburgh, Mr. Bowles called all those who want to protect our American rights "hot blooded and hot headed extremists." This is the same Chester Bowles who advocated our surrender in Laos and who is dedicated to defeatism insofar as communism is concerned.

It is no wonder that in the September 18 editorial of the New York Herald Tribune it is aptly pointed out that Kennedy censorship of this subject is not the answer. Let there be free discussion.

The editorial follows:

TYING OUR HANDS ON CUBA

The Kennedy administration has still a good deal to learn about the conduct of foreign affairs.

Apparently regarding criticisms of its stand on Cuba as simply campaign material, the President and his associates are dealing with the question as if it were a domestic issue. That is to say, Mr. Kennedy, and more recently, Chester Bowles, have devoted more energy to castigating critics at home than to warning opponents abroad.

This is unnecessary, unwise and dangerous.

The President bears a very heavy responsibility. As a man, it is quite understandable that he should feel annoyed at those who jog his elbow while he is working, particularly if he believes the jogging will have a political effect. But as the President, he cannot permit this annoyance, above all in matters of foreign affairs, to show in his own utterances, or those of his subordinates in the administration.

There are concrete reasons why, in the case of Cuba, it is wrong for the administration to denounce those who call for action now as "extremists," who play "directly into the hands of our adversaries," to use Mr. Bowles' words.

Mr. Kennedy himself has admitted openly that the situation in Cuba, as a result of the Soviet intervention there, is potentially dangerous. He has set up certain criteria which would call for strong action by the United States. Where he differs from his critics, then, is only that they want strong measures now, while the President may want them later.

This is, to be sure, a very important difference. But it is not important enough to justify the terms that have been used by the President and Mr. Bowles. Those expressions may be taken by the American public as an indication that the Cuban question is not serious now, and probably never will be; in other words, the President may want the popular emotion and will to sustain vigorous steps some day—and find only apathy.

Even more dangerous is the virtual certainty that Messrs. Khrushchev and Castro will take the President's strictures on the extremists more seriously than his warnings against converting Cuba into an offensive Soviet base. That could create the very crisis the President is trying to avoid by his studied moderation toward the Soviets.

Very few will envy Mr. Kennedy his joint and often contradictory task of acting as head of a major political party and as President of all the United States. But part of that task is to let politicians and publicists fight out these issues, if they wish, as party matters, while he confines himself and those who speak for him to higher levels.

The President can and should affirm the policy he proposes to execute. He can, if he sees fit, state the case against any alternative course. But to beat those who argue the alternatives over the head does not channel the powerful currents of public opinion toward ends useful for the Nation and for peace. Rather, it wastes them in confusion and internal strife.

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## Tax Credit Needed for Cost of Health and Accident Insurance

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JOHN W. BYRNES**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on July 25, 1962, I introduced a bill—H.R. 12693—to provide a 20-percent tax credit for premiums paid by the taxpayer for health and accident insurance. The 20-percent credit is the equivalent of allowing a full deduction for insurance costs for a taxpayer in the first tax bracket.

This bill is intended to serve a twofold purpose: First, it remedies an inequity in the provision of existing tax law providing for a medical deduction; second, it will encourage more persons to obtain accident and health insurance.

The medical expense deduction presently available is confined to expenses in excess of 3 percent of the taxpayer's adjusted gross income. This penalizes the taxpayer who insures himself and his family through accident and health insurance.

For example, taxpayer A, whose income consists of wages of $5,000 per year, purchases a medical insurance plan at a cost of $150 per year. Since $150 is not in excess of 3 percent of $5,000, he would not be allowed a medical deduction in any year for the cost of his medical plan. Taxpayer A continues the plan for 5 years at a total cost of $750. In none of the years was he able to deduct this as a medical expense. In the fifth year, he incurs $750 of medical expenses. This $750 of medical expenses is covered by his insurance. He gets no deduction because his medical expense was covered by insurance, although he has paid out a total of $750 over the 5 years for the coverage.

On the other hand, taxpayer B, who has the same $5,000 income as our first taxpayer, has no medical insurance. Taxpayer B deposits $150 a year in a savings account, on which he earns interest. In the fifth year, taxpayer B also incurs $750 of medical expenses. He uses the $750 which he has saved to pay his medical bill. The first $150—3 percent of his income—is not includible as a medical deduction. Taxpayer B subtracts this $150 from his $750 medical bill, and takes a medical deduction for the balance—$600.

Thus, while both taxpayer A and taxpayer B had identical annual incomes and medical costs, B gets the benefit of interest earned while his $750 was invested, plus a tax deduction of $600. From this simple illustration it is apparent that the present medical deduction favors the uninsured taxpayer, to the detriment of the insured taxpayer.

While I have taken taxpayers with an income of $5,000 for purposes of comparison, the effect is the same irrespective of the taxpayer's income. The taxpayers who carry medical insurance are penalized under the Federal tax laws because those taxpayers will not obtain any benefit from the medical deduction, while the taxpayers who do not carry medical insurance will have the benefit of a tax deduction if their medical expense in any year exceeds 3 percent of their income. Taxpayer A is, in effect, penalized for protecting the Government's revenues against the risk of a medical deduction.

In providing a tax credit for medical insurance for the taxpayer, the bill includes amounts paid by the individual for himself, his spouse, his parents, his spouse's parents, and his dependents. Thus, whether or not his, or his spouse's parents qualify as dependents within the meaning of our tax laws, the taxpayer would be permitted to claim the 20 percent credit. This will act as an incentive for children to adequately insure their parents against a major illness.

The effect of this will be to encourage individuals to provide for adequate medical protection: First, for themselves; second, for those dependent upon them; third, and for those who might later become dependent upon them, and, fourth, beyond this, it will encourage individuals to provide for adequate medical insurance in advance of their old age.

Some may find that if they waited until age 65 or over to take out medical insurance, the cost would be such that adequate coverage is not within their means. This credit would apply to the purchase of level-premium policies or paid-up policies during their younger years which would provide health insurance coverage for their later years.

In providing for a credit instead of a deduction, the bill would still permit the taxpayer to use the tax tables or to take advantage of the standard deduction. The standard deduction—which is reflected in the tax tables—is the equivalent of a deduction of 10 percent of the adjusted gross income. This use of the tables makes it unnecessary for the taxpayer to itemize all his personal deductions. It is in lieu of any other deductions permitted under our tax laws—such as charitable deductions, interest payments, personal taxes, and nonbusiness casualty losses. If medical insurance premiums are treated as an additional personal deduction, the 37 million taxpayers who today elect to use the standard deduction and the tax tables would either lose the benefit of the insurance deduction or the simplicity of the standard deduction and the use of the tax tables. They would have to account for each and every item of personal expense allowable as a deduction. This would materially complicate the filing of returns, particularly for those in the lower tax brackets.

On the other hand, with a 20-percent tax credit for medical insurance, the taxpayer who had an income of $5,000 would still be entitled to the $500 standard deduction. The tax credit provided by my bill would be taken in addition to—not in lieu of—the standard deduction. In other words, the medical insurance credit would be treated in the same manner as the 4-percent credit for dividends received and the $1,200 retirement income credit, both of which are taken in addition to the standard deduction.

In recent months, we have heard a lot about establishing a Government plan of so-called medical insurance for those age 65 and over through the social security system. The Kennedy administration's proposal, embodied in the King-Anderson bill, would be financed through an increase in the social security tax, under the control of the Federal Government.

The Kennedy administration's plan—which was voted down by the Senate—applied only to those age 65 and over.

Furthermore, it offered them only limited coverage. It did not cover doctors' or surgeons' fees, drugs prescribed outside the hospital, or dental care—to name a few. It was even limited in its in-hospital care in that the individual must pay the first $20 to $90 of hospital services—$10 per day for the first 9 days, with a $20 minimum. The Kennedy administration's plan at most would only cover 25 percent of the medical needs of our elderly. The remaining 75 percent of their medical needs would go unattended.

We must recognize that medical care is not solely a problem for those under the social security system, or those 65 years of age. A major illness can befall both young and old. Legislation which limits relief to a segment of the population is deficient. A young father may be just as hard pressed to meet the expense of illness in his family as would the retired person who himself became ill. The bill I have introduced provides tax relief for meeting the medical expenses of both through private insurance. It does not attempt to socialize medical insurance as the Kennedy administration would do.

This bill makes no attempt to regiment our elderly citizens into a Government-conceived, adopted and controlled system of compulsory health insurance. It does not require that the taxpayer's insurance conform to certain standards set by the Federal Government before favorable tax treatment can be obtained. Many of our elderly citizens are at present adequately providing for themselves through private plans of their own choosing, and prefer to continue to do so. This bill recognizes that it is the right of the individual—young and old—to select the type of insurance program which best meets his needs—and to select it in a free and competitive marketplace.

H.R. 12963 approaches the problem through the encouragement of private insurance—without Government interference and control. Unlike other concepts, it realizes that it is not only the role of the Government to encourage adequate health protection among those age 65 and over, but that our Nation is faced with a problem which transcends both age and economic standards. The bill would encourage individuals of all ages and income levels to provide health and accident insurance as a means of protecting themselves against catastrophic and prolonged illnesses.

The bill advances one of the needs recognized recently in the Republican Declaration of Principles and Policy, wherein it was stated:

> Effective tax relief for medical and hospital insurance should be given to all. We support government action to increase the coverage of voluntary insurance plans and to help older citizens having difficulty meeting the costs of adequate coverage.

We have made tremendous gains in public acceptance of health and accident insurance over the past decade. The problem is that medical expenses are so treated under existing law that the taxpayer, instead of being given an incentive to enroll himself or his family in a medical plan, is penalized for doing so. Recognition in the tax laws of the desirability of private health insurance is long overdue. The tax credit I propose, by correcting this inequity, would build on the gains we have made in the field of private health insurance.

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## Conversation Piece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following article by Marguerite Wright, women's editor, Capital Press, Salem, Oreg.:

CONVERSATION PIECE

(By Marguerite W. Wright)

For thousands of Oregon housewives (and hundreds of thousands more throughout the country) summer vacation time does not mean the traditional 2 weeks of family togetherness, with excited planning of trips to mountains or beaches.

It means 2 weeks of Army Reserve or National Guard summer camp training for the head of the house, and 2 weeks of waiting for daddy to come home for the family.

To the average civilian citizen, the significance of this simple fact is little known and little understood. Yet it is a fact that vitally affects the welfare and security of every American family, including yours and mine.

What the training of reservists and guardsmen means to all of us should be better understood by all Americans, not just from the standpoint of the families involved.

As the wife of an Army reservist with 16 years' experience, perhaps I can explain some of the factors in a widely misunderstood situation.

GRAND STRATEGY

The fact that this Nation may, at any time, become involved in war is, I think, generally accepted by the American public. This is why the taxpayers, through Congress, are willing to invest billions of dollars in defense, and that is why the opponents of nuclear weapons testing have had little response from the general public.

The majority of Americans do not seem to think they will be directly involved in all-out nuclear war (the holocaust of world war III) anytime in the near future, else they would not be so apathetic about building personal fallout shelters. But they do seem to take it more or less for granted that this Nation will, inevitably, as part of its role as a major world power and leader of the free world, be forced to take part in limited military conflicts, such as Berlin, Vietnam, Laos, etc.

The military strategy of the present administration in Washington is based on the principle of freedom of action, sometimes called the fundamental principle of the art of war. This, according to George Fielding Elliot, one of the Nation's best known military writers, "requires nonnuclear military forces with a continuing capability of producing reactions both adequate and timely."

President Kennedy said last year: "We need the capability of placing in any area at the appropriate time a force which, combined with those of our allies, is large enough to make clear our determination and ability to defend our rights at all costs—and to meet all levels of aggressor pressure with whatever levels of force are required."

In October 1961, under the presures of the Berlin crisis, 150,000 reservists and national guardsmen were mobilized. "For the first time in history, a President of the United States found it possible to rely on trained citizen reserves to support his foreign policy objectives." The swift, decisive buildup of American forces is generally rated as the prime factor in influencing Khrushchev in his slowdown on Berlin.

And the time had finally come when the United States would no longer need to throw untrained men into battle or delay decisive action until enough civilians got enough training to be able to move effectively.

THE GRIPERS

Of course, there were some gripers and snafus. The complaints of some individuals were widely publicized and perhaps sometimes politically inspired. Mobilized members of established units, however, reacted with the esprit de corps they had built up through years of training, especially at their summer encampments, and the mobilization as a whole has been rated by competent observers as the most successful mobilization of U.S. citizen forces that has ever taken place. The 32d Division from Wisconsin, just now demobilized at Fort Lewis, Wash., has been highly praised for its promptness in achieving combat readiness, after the unfavorable publicity brought upon it last year by a few misfits. Legitimate shortcomings brought out by the mobilization, mainly the snarling of redtape, constituted a valuable lesson, and can be corrected.

VITAL TRAINING

Meanwhile, the training goes on. This summer, thousands of men in the Reserves learned about new equipment and continued their education in all the factors that affected their readiness to take effective action should the need arise.

My husband's unit, the 364th Civil Affairs Headquarters B, for instance, concentrated their summer camp training on Laos, the big question mark country in southeast Asia. They conducted classes, for hundreds of soldiers, on the history, geography, population, and government of this area, which may or may not become a major point between the cold war antagonists, East and West, U.S.S.R. and the United States.

In preparation for summer camp, these men (including County Agent Wilbur Burkhart whose article appears on this page and Don Shaffer) spent countless hours in advance study. Between them, three Salem members of the unit (Oregon Supreme Court Justice A. T. Goodwin, Farley Morgan of the State police, and my husband Tom Wright, newspaperman) read almost every book and information reference on Laos the State library could provide. They sent for the latest information material available in Washington.

This type of background for citizen soldiers, which was largely lacking in previous wars and which is essential if men are to know why they are fighting, is being done all over the Nation by reservists who might be called to go anywhere in the world.

TENTING TONIGHT

But summer camp is not all classroom work. Reservists are required to maintain their ability to use the basic weapons of combat, pistols, rifles, etc. They take part in chemical warfare drills (gas masks out in the woods at night), etc. And they must be kept up-to-date in whatever their technical specialties may be, in a highly mechanized, technological type of armed force.

Their housing was in open tents, cold at night, hot in the daytime, with only such concessions to comfort as some of the men thought to bring from home themselves. They got a chance to remember, if they had

ever forgotten, how to wash out their own messkits again.

And they all agreed (at least the ones I talked to) that it had been a hard working but extremely valuable summer camp.

THE DIVIDEND

What all of this training—at weekly drills, weekend drills, and annual summer camps—adds up to is that now there are, dispersed in every community throughout this State and Nation, millions of Americans experienced in military discipline and training. Stockpiled in armories all over are the arms and other equipment they know how to use.

This is meaningful not only for the limited types of warfare we expect to face, but extremely urgent for the Nation's survival if full-scale nuclear war should break out.

Thus, if the worst should happen, every State now has combat-type units "capable of providing internal security, helping to handle masses of frightened, homeless people, and controlling sabotage and looting," Elliot points out in his recent book, "Reserve Forces and the Kennedy Strategy."

These men, with the training, experience, and discipline necessary for maintenance of public order, are less likely to panic in a disaster than people with no realistic background whatever. The survival of the Nation would depend very largely then upon the readiness of the citizen-soldier.

EXTRA DIVIDENDS

Another factor, which Elliot does not mention and which I have never seen brought out, is the fact that the wives and families of the well-prepared citizen-soldier also would be less likely to panic than civilian wives and families who have never had to face the realities of the military facts of life.

The wives and children of reservists and guardsmen can't afford the soft luxury of "going all to pieces" when the head of the house is called to duty, whether it is on a holiday weekend for which the family had other plans of its own, or whether it is an annual vacation, which the family never gets to spend together, or whether it is a far more serious matter of life and death.

Military dependents, even part-time military dependents, are expected to acquire some of the same self-discipline and sense of proportion that military men must have.

FIRST THINGS FIRST

Families of reservists and guardsmen learn early that "first things come first," and that the real requirements of the father's military duty come first of all. There isn't any real question or argument about it, even though there may be the usual amount of complaining and fidgeting allotted to wives anywhere.

For many women, who have never had to be alone, the departure of a husband for any length of time constitutes a major crisis: "What will I do if the washing machine breaks down or one of the kids gets sick?"

But the well-disciplined military wife, whose husband's interests and duties always gets precedence, has learned through the years how to cope with crises and inconvenience and uprooting, and is therefore more able to be self-sufficient and self-confident of her ability not to be thrown out of kilter by circumstances beyond her control. Not only that, but chances are that through sheer self-interest, she is better informed about national and world affairs than her unaware and apathetic civilian sisters. She is better prepared to face the worst.

This byproduct of training and experience of reservist families is, I submit, the extra dividend the Nation's taxpayers get when they pay for the maintenance of a large and efficient Armed Forces Reserve. It could, in a time of major national crisis, have a great deal to do with the survival of this country, too.

## Part II: Cuba's Soviet Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the second article on Cuba, by Anthony Burton, as it appeared in the New York Daily News, follows:

INSIDE CUBA: THE GUN RULES IN CASTRO'S REDLAND—GAIETY IS ALL GONE—EVEN THE LOTTERY'S A FAKE

(By Anthony Burton)

(NOTE.—This is the second eyewitness report on Sovietized Cuba by News staffer Anthony Burton, the last reporter for a U.S. paper to get out of the island. He describes life there and how Premier Castro has won the support of Cuban youth.)

MIAMI, September 17.—The symbol of Cuba today is the gun.

From the moment you touch down in the heat of Havana's airport they are everywhere. Painted in heroic size on a hangar is a picture of Castro fluorishing a gun.

Young soldiers, boys and girls still in their teens, carry pistols in holsters and rifles in their hands. Every building of any importance in the city sprawled around glittering Havana Bay is guarded by the gun-toting youngsters.

Along the coast and ringed around Havana, antiaircraft guns poke their snouts toward the azure sky. At first, the guns seem ludicrous against the background of guitar and bongo drums which not even communism can take from the Cubans.

Then they become depressing, a sight to be avoided.

USED TO BE FUN BUT FUN'S GONE NOW

"Earlier, there was a gay atmosphere about the revolution," one Western diplomat said. "The militia girls wore low-necked shirts and the tightest pants they could wriggle into.

"It's not fun any more. Rigid discipline has been imposed everywhere. The grip of the regime grows stronger every day."

Nothing in Cuba is fun any more. Even the lottery has been stripped of its kick. Now, winners receive government certificates which cannot be cashed.

NO EGGS, NO BACON FOR CUBAN BREAKFAST

Socialist slogans are posted on walls, shelves are bare, bookstores sell only Communist literature, the cost of living soars, and there is nothing to buy when you have the money.

Breakfast in Havana's best hotels is fruit juice, toast, and sometimes coffee—no eggs, no bacon, no milk. And Conrad Hilton would weep if he could see the run-down condition of the Havana Hilton, now the Havana Libre.

The only enthusiasm for the revolution remains with the soldiers and with the youngsters, Castro's main propaganda target.

A young soldier guarding the Brazilian Embassy, where Cuban dissidents had taken refuge, saw my fair hair and called out with a wide smile, "Russian?"

BEST OF THE FOOD GOES TO YOUTHS

Told, "No, English," his smile faded. A pretty militia girl, her uniform unable to discipline her abundant curves, asked the same question. To the indoctrinated youngsters, the Russians are saviors come to help the island against the Yanqui imperialist aggressors.

Young students live in the plush homes abandoned by the wealthy and they get the best of what food there is.

When I left Cuba Sunday, hundreds of students were setting off into the hills to pick coffee. For them it was a great adventure and their young faces were eager with desire to help their country.

Castro knows well that youth will always respond to challenge and he makes use of it. The scene was touching, but the fact is that last year amateur sugar cutters almost ruined the next crop by cutting the cane too high from the ground.

Youthful enthusiasm was not quite equal to the back-breaking labor of cutting the cane just above the earth.

PEASANTS JUST WON'T WORK FOR SOCIALISM

The use of students in agriculture makes a mockery of Castro's claims that the peasants have never had it so good now that the evil landlords have been vanquished.

The truth is that the peasants will not work for socialism. Before the revolution they had a rough life of hard work for little money, but they ate well enough, they were clothed and they were left alone.

Now, even when they earn money, there is nothing to buy on their trips into town. In some areas, they are living on beans, corn and coffee. They have not had meat in 9 months.

They speak longingly of the good American steel in the machetes which are part of their strong right arms. Now they get machetes from China. The steel chips and the handles shatter.

Nobody could support the repressions of Batista, but they have been exchanged merely for another type, the repressions of hunger and something worse.

FORGET ANY HOPE OF AN UPRISING

One Western observer, just back from the interior, told me: "The campesinos (peasants) seem to have lost faith in the one thing they had—work. Now there is nothing for them.

"They are apathetic and intimidated by the soldiers. They are a gentle people and you can forget any hope of an uprising among them. They are dumbly accepting the situation."

In Havana, however, the atmosphere is militant. Now that Khrushchev has promised to defend his outpost in the Americas, the regime has become cocky.

"The Yanquis are suffering from insomnia but we sleep better every day," said Fidel's brother, Raul Castro.

THE NEW LEADERS GET STEAK AND WINE

Already, only 3½ years after Castro and his bearded bravos rode into Havana on a wave of wild cheers, the new class of privileged leaders has been formed.

Of the Cuban people, they alone can enter the exclusive club where they can choose from a menu that offers tender steak, duck, turkey, and good wines.

They wear well-cut suits—Castro and the publicized leaders, of course, still stick to their crumpled uniforms to show their solidarity with the people—and sit in air-conditioned offices.

When I suggested to one official that a Socialist government should share the troubles of its people, I was told that the question was offensive.

And the grip of the regime grows firmer every day. From my hotel room the day before I left I could see children being drilled on a roof below.

KHRUSHCHEV CONTROLS REGIME THROUGH FLOW OF AID

"Spontaneous" meetings were being held in offices, factories, and on street corners to thank Khrushchev for his threats on behalf of Cuba.

Russian economic aid, as well as military forces, flows in so that the Soviets in turn gain more and more power, able to turn on and off the tap of assistance if Castro steps out of line.

The surface picture in Havana, glossed by the Caribbean sun and the bright faces of the idealistic youngsters, might be interpreted as that of a united people bravely facing the imperialist menace.

Apart from the Russian buildup, there is one inescapable fact that destroys the picture.

Every day, Cubans of all types—workers, professional men, young and old—fill the daily refugee plane to Miami. Simple fishermen risk their lives to sail to Key West.

## Private and Social Insurance—Complimentary or Competitive?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD the following excellent explanatory statement on the current subject of health insurance:

PRIVATE AND SOCIAL INSURANCE—COMPLIMENTARY OR COMPETITIVE?

(By Wilbur J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare)

(NOTE.—Mr. Cohen's many years of activity in the field of social security have gained him national recognition as one of the leading experts on this subject. He interrupted his career in Government briefly to join the University of Michigan faculty, then returned to HEW as Assistant Secretary in 1961. Although his views often are contrary to those of the insurance industry, they merit thoughtful attention, generally reflect the philosophy of the administration.)

The Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program now provides protection for practically all employed people and their families. More than 9 out of 10 people who work are covered under the program. Already, 87 percent of the people becoming 65 are eligible for retirement benefits, and this figure will gradually rise to 95 percent or more.

Nine out of ten mothers and young children can count on monthly survivors benefits if the worker of the family dies. Almost 50 million of the Nation's workers are currently insured for extended disability benefits should they become disabled before age 65. Currently, more than $1 billion a month is being paid out to over 17 million people, aged and disabled people, and widows and orphans.

This, then, is where the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program stands today—in its 27th year of successful operation. And I use the word insurance purposely because it is descriptive and appropriate, and legally correct, although social insurance differs, in some respects, in operation and philosophy from private insurance.

Social insurance is similar to private insurance in that both provide for a prearranged method of pooling funds to assure the payment of specified benefits in the event of certain occurrences. Under private insurance, the conditions under which benefits will be paid and the amount the insured will pay for this protection are established by contract between the insurer and the insured.

In social insurance, both the payment of benefits and the payment of contributions are statutory rights and responsibilities established by legislation.

The end result, then, is the same for the individual whether the insured is protected by contract with private insurance or by legally enforceable statutory rights under social insurance. In either event, the insured may expect and plan on receiving his insurance benefits under certain specified conditions. Both contractual insurance and social insurance are underpinned by law and by constitutional requirements.

Our Federal social insurance program in the United States reflects our traditional concept of individual responsibility that security for each person should grow out of his own efforts. Protection is earned as the worker earns his living. Entitlement to cash benefits are based on and directly related to the worker's level of earnings. In a general way, the higher a person's earnings, the more he will contribute while earning, and the higher the cash benefits will be for him and/or his dependents when earnings are disrupted by old age, disability, or death.

Over and above the soundness of this approach from a financial standpoint is its psychological value to the insured person and his family. Since each person's protection under the program grows out of his own work, social insurance benefits are viewed as an earned right by the receiver.

In addition, since benefits will be paid as a matter of earned right, regardless of other nonwork income and the value of the receiver's assets, the insured is not discouraged from making additional financial arrangements on his own in anticipation of retirement, death, or disability.

An important principle followed consistently in the development of Federal social insurance has been to provide for sound longrun financing. Assets of the two social security trust funds stand at about $21.7 billion. All of the invested assets are in U.S. Government bonds and a small portion of the total is in cash.

No aspect of the OASDI program has received more careful consideration by Congress than its sound financing. No modification of the program ever has been enacted by the Congress without consideration of the longrun actuarial costs. In 1959, the Advisory Council on Social Security Financing, made up of distinguished economists, private insurance actuaries, bankers, and social insurance and financial experts, as well as representatives of management and labor, after an exhaustive study of the system, arrived at this conclusion:

"The Council finds that the present method of financing the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program is sound, practical, and appropriate for this program. It is our judgment, based on the best available cost estimates, that the contribution schedule enacted into law in the last session of Congress makes adequate provisions for financing the program on a sound actuarial basis."

Social and private insurance ar complementary, rather than competitive. When the Social Security Act became law in 1935, life insurance purchases were running around $12 billion yearly. Today life insurance purchases by U.S. companies are over $75 billion yearly, and life insurance in force has risen from $100 billion to over $600 billion.

Certainly, then, social insurance did not depress the private insurance market and may have actually increased the market by making people more aware of the risk to be faced in a highly industrial society such as ours, where a continuation of income to the family is a necessity for its survival.

The same will happen, we expect, when health insurance for the aged is added to social security.

Under President Kennedy's proposal, people over 65 who are eligible for either social security or railroad retirement benefits, as well as others 65 and over, would be eligible for the health insurance protection to be included under the social security program.

This extension of social security would provide for the payment of up to 90 days of hospitalization for a single illness, with the patient paying $10 a day for the first 9 days. It would provide for the payment of up to 180 days of specified nursing home care following discharge from a hospital. In addition, the program would provide payment of all costs over $20 for hospital outpatient diagnostic services, as well as payment for up to 240 home health care visits per year. An individual could elect to have hospital benefits made available to him through a private voluntary health insurance plan. The beneficiary would have the benefits paid by the private carrier. The private carrier would be reimbursed by the social security program.

The costs of this program for those already covered by social security or railroad retirement would be met by increasing the taxable earnings base for social security purposes from $4,800 to $5,200 and increasing social security contributions of employees and employers by one-fourth of 1 percent each, and by four-tenths of 1 percent for the self-employed.

People who are now 65 or over or who will reach 65 in the next year but who are not eligible for social security or railroad retirement benefits would get the same health insurance protection. The cost of services provided older people not eligible for social security or railroad retirement benefits would be met from the general revenue of the Federal Government.

This plan, of course, will not meet all the health insurance needs of our older people. It is, however, designed to meet the most pressing and most expensive medical needs of our aged. It would still leave a substantial area for private responsibility and initiative.

We believe that health insurance for the aged will have an effect on private health insurance—a beneficial effect.

Insurance against the basic risk of hospitalization in old age under the social security system would enable private insurance to take advantage of these opportunities:

1. Aged individuals under the social security system would be able to exercise an option to continue their private insurance protection.

2. Supplemental and more comprehensive protection could be provided through private health insurance for older people who can afford it.

3. Private insurance would be able to sell more and better insurance programs for younger people—and the more younger people with voluntary health insurance coverage the more likely they would be in a position to continue voluntary protection when they become aged.

Pay-as-you-earn health insurance during a person's working years—whether public or private—is a sound way around the stubborn factor of high costs of health care in the high-risk, low-income years.

The administration's program would make it possible for individuals and their employers to pay in small sums during the working years—when they can best afford it—to provide insurance protection against the high costs of basic health services—at a time when aged individuals most need this protection and can least afford to obtain it solely through their own resources.

This program, in short, is a conservative and businesslike approach to the problem

with which it deals. It is a fiscally sound approach. It stresses individual responsibility and the contributory nature of insurance protection. It relates costs and benefits in the same package. And it does this in a way which stresses the complementary relationship of private and social insurance.

Health insurance under social security—reinforced by private savings and private health insurance and supplemented where necessary by medical care through public assistance—would together form a strong line of defense against the high cost of illness in old age.

## Gov. William P. Daniel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, we Texans are very proud of the service that has been rendered to his country by retiring Governor of Guam, William P. Daniel.

To the great regret of the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the people of Guam themselves, Governor Daniel presented his resignation over the weekend. His motive was characteristically unselfish.

The keystone of Governor Daniel's program for Guam was a high degree of local government. He thought this program would be enhanced by the appointment of a native Guamanian and he so advised the President.

Governor Daniel's administration has been characterized by the President himself as "one of the most successful in the history of Guam." Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall said that Governor Daniel inaugurated "a New Frontier program which has made Guam into a showcase of democracy."

And the members of the executive committee of the Democratic Party of Guam, which includes all the members of the Sixth Guam Legislature, said that his accomplishments went "to a degree beyond expectation within such a short term."

Fortunately for the United States, Governor Daniel has agreed to accept an appointment as consultant on territorial matters after his retirement. His experience will be invaluable.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the exchange of correspondence between Governor Daniel and the President, a statement by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, and a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party of Guam on September 8, 1962:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I appreciate the opportunity of service as Governor of Guam afforded by your appointment early in 1961. I have been very pleased with the assignment and the progress made during my administration as Governor. This progress is best evidenced by the unanimous resolutions recently adopted and forwarded to you by the legislature and the elected commissioners of Guam.

During my period of service, I have formed a real attachment to the people of Guam and the work that I have done has given me deep personal satisfaction. I have great faith in the future of Guam and I hope that I can always maintain the close friendships that I formed during my stay. However, the keystone of the program which I have advocated is more self-government for the people of Guam, including enactment of legislation by the Congress providing for the election of a Governor.

Upon careful thought, I have become convinced that the success of this legislation would be enhanced if a Guamanian was serving successfully as Governor while it is pending. Therefore, in order that you may have the opportunity to consider such an appointment, I hereby respectfully submit my resignation as Governor of Guam, effective January 20, 1963.

I sincerely thank you for the confidence you expressed in my appointment and for the opportunity of service which this afforded me.

Sincerely yours,

BILL DANIEL.

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THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, September 14, 1962.*

Hon. WILLIAM P. DANIEL,
*Governor of Guam,*
*Agana, Guam.*

DEAR GOVERNOR DANIEL: It is with great regret that I accept your resignation as Governor of Guam. Your administration as Governor has been one of the most successful in the history of Guam, and it is evident that the people of the island hold you in a great deal of affection and esteem for the work you have performed in their behalf.

I understand and fully appreciate the reasons that led to your decision, and I hope to make an appointment which will attain the objective you have set forth. In the event your successor has not been qualified by next January 20, I hope you will agree to continue in office until there is a qualified successor.

You have performed an important mission with distinction, and I am pleased to learn from the Secretary of Interior that you have agreed to become a consultant to the Interior Department on Territorial Affairs upon your resignation. Your experience and your dedication are valuable to our country and should not be lost.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

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GOV. BILL DANIEL OF GUAM RESIGNS TO OPEN WAY FOR APPOINTMENT OF GUAMANIAN

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall today announced that President Kennedy has notified him he has accepted the resignation, effective next January 20, of Gov. Bill Daniel of Guam, who is stepping aside to permit a Guamanian to take the top position in the territory.

The Governor has agreed to become a consultant to the Interior Department on Territorial Affairs after he leaves office, Secretary Udall said. The Interior Department administers the U.S. territories of Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands, and, under a United Nations trusteeship, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

A Presidential appointee confirmed by the U.S. Senate, Governor Daniel took office May 20, 1961.

In his letter of resignation, Governor Daniel wrote that "the keystone of the program which I have advocated is more self-government for the people of Guam, including enactment of legislation by the Congress providing for the election of a Governor. Upon careful thought, I have become convinced that the success of this legislation would be enhanced if a Guamanian was serving successfully as Governor while it is pending. Therefore, in order that you may have the opportunity to consider such an appointment, I hereby respectfully submit my resignation as Governor of Guam, effective January 20, 1963."

President Kennedy's letter accepting the resignation with regret said "I understand and fully appreciate the reasons which led to your decision, and I hope to make an appointment which will attain the objective you have set forth." He added that he hoped Governor Daniel would continue in office past next Jaunary 20 in the event a successor has not been qualified by then.

Secretary Udall said:

"I deeply regret that Governor Daniel is leaving this important post. I understand and applaud his motives. But he will be missed because Guam has made important progress under his administration and the people of the island have expressed their affection for him and their high esteem for his services.

"Under Governor Daniel, restrictions which prevented free access to the island have been lifted—thereby opening the way for increased economic activity and for the establishment of a tourist industry. Important public works have been set in motion to enhance both the health standards of the people and the natural beauties of the island.

"Such great strides have been made that private industry is now engaged in establishing adequate tourist facilities. Highways have been improved, as well as schools and parks. Major agricultural programs have been launched and Guam is well on the way toward a prosperous economy.

"Governor Daniel inaugurated a New Frontier program which has made Guam into a showcase of democracy.

"I am very pleased that Governor Daniel has agreed to accept an appointment by the Interior Department as Consultant on Territorial Affairs, effective on the date of his resignation. His advice will be invaluable in helping to draft and enact legislation which will raise local self-government to even higher standards."

Guam, with a population of more than 41,000, is about 6,000 miles southwest of San Francisco and 1,500 miles southeast of Manila. It is the largest and most populous of the Mariana Islands. Its people are U.S. citizens, although they cannot vote in national elections and have no representation in Congress.

Governor Daniel's home in the States is the historic Plantation Ranch, Texas' oldest settlement.

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GUAM,
*Agana, Guam.*

I, the undersigned, chairman of the Democratic Party of Guam, do hereby certify that the attached resolution was duly adopted by the executive committee of the Democratic Party of Guam at its headquarters in Agana, Guam, on the 8th day of September 1962; that the same has been duly recorded in the minutes of said committee and remains in full force and effect.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 8th day of September 1962.

R. J. BORDALLO,
*Chairman, Democratic Party of Guam.*

Attested:

JOSE I. CRUZ,
*Acting Secretary.*

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RESOLUTION BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GUAM, AGANA, GUAM

*Resolved*, That the 52 members of the executive committee of the Democratic Party of Guam, consisting of all the members of

the Sixth Guam Legislature, all the Democratic commissioners of the various districts, and the Democratic Party precinct chairmen of all districts within Guam, do hereby respectfully bring to the attention of the Honorable John F. Kennedy, President of the United States; the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President of the United States; the Honorable John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; and the Honorable Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of Interior; the fact that the economic program of the present Democratic Governor of Guam, the Honorable Bill Daniel, has the whole-hearted support of the Democratic Party of Guam per se and the Sixth Guam Legislature, whose members are all Democrats duly elected by the people of the territory of Guam under the Organic Act of Guam.

Gov. Bill Daniel, upon assumption of the highest office within the territory of Guam as its Chief Executive sometime in May, 1961, has achieved and accomplished most worthy objectives to a degree beyond expectation within such a short term, and far in excess of his three preceding Republican predecessors, some of which accomplishments are as follows:

1. The general cleanup of the city of Agana after many years of unsightly jungle growth and debris;

2. His support for the revocation of Executive Order No. 8633 (naval entry clearance) by President Kennedy;

3. The highly needed return-to-the-soil program and the upbreeding of livestock, largely through the personal efforts of Gov. Bill Daniel;

4. Active effort and support in the development of the tourist industry for Guam, including the impending construction of a hotel for the accommodation of visitors to Guam;

5. The successful intervention and negotiation on behalf of the people of Guam for the return of unused Federal lands to the Government of Guam;

6. The development of park and beaches for public recreation;

7. The continued improvements of arterial highways and major trunk line;

8. The installation of street lights in the various districts and villages of the territory;

9. The implementation of the intent and letter of section 9(a) of the Organic Act of Guam, which section provides that preference be extended no persons of Guamanian ancestry in all positions of trust and confidence;

10. His courageous stand in cooperation with the Sixth Guam Legislature to increase taxes in the midst of declining revenues which permitted the continuation of the public programs and services now being enjoyed by the people of the territory, without which the curtailment of such services and facilities would have resulted, causing the people undue hardship.

Gov. Bill Daniel is the only civilian chief executive of Guam since the inception of the Organic Act of Guam who has been commended twice officially by the Guam Legislature which is in itself one of the most remarkable events in the political history of the territory of Guam.

Wherefore, the Democratic Party of Guam, by its executive committee, desires to express by this resolution its highest and deepest appreciation to the constituted authorities of the United States of America for the meritorious appointment of Bill Daniel as Governor of Guam, to whom complete support has been extended during his tenure of office, the party furthermore pledging to continue such support as his program advances so that the record of the present Democratic Governor shall remain one unparalleled in the history of the territory.

## Do We Have the Guts?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, historically, Americans have never been "pushed around." Today they are being pushed around with the consent and acquiescence of the Kennedy administration.

In the September 17 Washington Daily News, Henry J. Taylor gives us plenty of food for thought as to the results of the situation, and Virginia Brewett tells us how we are facing disaster and losing face in South America because we do not have the courage of our convictions.

The above-mentioned articles are as follows:

WE MUST FACE REALITY

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Khrushchev wants us to dwell on the horrors to the United States of atomic attack if we upset his Cuba position and forget the horrors to the Soviet Union. It is an ancient trick. The best—and only—counteroffensive to this is our own bravery. With it, praise God, there will be no war.

Deep in our national heart we live by our fine old American saying, "Don't tread on me." We must live by it now and have security, or soon we will not live at all. For if we are afraid to fight, you and I will do nothing but die in a war that need not be.

In Geneva and elsewhere I have experienced countless meetings officially with the Kremlin regime. For 4 years I encountered them all. You are lost in dealing with the Communists until you realize that great stupidity and great cunning can go together. We are merely rationing Khrushchev as, piece by piece, he eats Berlin. Similarly he eats Laos, eats Cuba, even eats the shoreline of the United States. It is too late for half measures in Cuba, and certainly too late for no measures.

The choice is no longer ours. Humanity cries out for peace and the assurance of peace. But we cannot avoid war if we refuse to risk it, as we did in the Berlin airlift, the Quemoy intervention by the 7th Fleet, the Lebanon landings. This much we know. In fact, forgetting this is what caused us our agony today in Cuba.

Al Capone used to say, "We don't want no trouble." Neither does Khrushchev. These Kremlin khans are not going to knock the world into radioactive rubble, including mother Russia. They have a better idea. They expect us to knock ourselves out by appeasing them. For aggressor nations choose their victims among the bluffers, not among those of sober strength; among the craven, not among those with stout hearts, great productivity and an absolute determination to fight if they are trod upon. This is the key to our security. We have no other.

The Russian expression for someone who has very little power is "short hands." Communists say, "Promises are words which inferior people exact from each other when they are not sure of their own strength." We must not be unsure of ourselves or have "short hands" in nearby Cuba.

We cannot do with words, we cannot do with dollars, what we fail to do with guts. A nation that doubts itself enlists in the ranks of the enemy and bears arms against itself, guaranteeing its own defeat by being the first to be convinced of it. Accordingly, Khrushchev told poet Robert Frost we would not fight. "Khrushchev thinks," said Mr. Frost, "we will sit on one hand and then the other." Well, if we will not fight in Cuba, where will we fight? And what will Khrushchev demand next?

On April 20, 1961, 3 days after the Bay of Pigs debacle, President Kennedy stated that "if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration, then I want it clearly understood that this Government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are the security of our Nation. Should that time ever come, we do not intend to be lectured on 'intervention' by those whose character was stamped for all time on the bloody streets of Budapest."

What we must face are present realities. In effect, Cuba has been invaded. A great U.S. naval base (Guantanamo) in the shade of the Panama Canal stands surrounded now by a solid ring of enemy artillery. It is my opinion that the U.S. Navy, Marines, and Air Force either enter Cuba to relieve this intolerable danger, with all that it implies, or the Soviet Union will hereafter control the entire Western Hemisphere, including the United States.

WE'RE FACING DISASTER IN SOUTH AMERICA

(By Virginia Prewett)

President Kennedy's announced determination to act against Castro only if Russia makes Cuba strong enough to attack the United States or Latin America militarily is inviting the anti-American mice out to play throughout the hemisphere.

As result, Latin America is rapidly slipping toward anti-U.S. neutralism or pro-Communist control without the firing of a single shot by Castro.

The Organization of American States, our hemisphere defense system, is being nibbled to death.

Haiti, with two Communist cabinet ministers, recently warned the OAS it's preparing charges against the Dominican Republic. Informants say Haiti will accuse it's Dominican neighbor of "plotting an invasion."

Haiti is thus generating counter-pressure for Moscow against the Dominican Republic since the Dominicans are pushing charges in the OAS that Cuba is inciting subversion in their country. The United States is trying to get the republic started in self-government after 30 years of Trujillo dictatorship.

Bolivia, which has a Communist vice president, recently bolted the OAS. The trumped-up excuse is a dispute with Chile over use of the River Lauca waters. This argument bumbling along for years, was only lately blown up as a reason for disrupting the OAS.

BRAZIL SLIPPING

Brazil, already "neutralist," is slipping deeper into the power of President Joao Goulart's anti-American associates. Sr. Goulart has maneuvered his supoprters into top army commands, but civil war is still a possibility.

Sr. Goulart's triumphal visit to the United States last April rescued his then tottering prestige and fostered his power drive.

Argentina, only 2 years ago a showcase of recovery with the cooperation of U.S. private and public capital, has been economically shattered by the upsurge of totalitarian Peronism aided by communism.

Peronism and communism are manipulating labor. Huge packing plants and textile factories are closed, with slowdowns in other industries. Millions of letters are undelivered in paralyzed post offices. Newspapers are reduced to skeletonized forms. The government is 2 months behind in paying civil servants.

DIVIDED

While the Peronist-Communist combination gathers momentum from Russia's strong

play in Cuba, antitotalitarian forces are divided, disoriented, virtually leaderless.

Central America's President Luis Somoza of Nicaragua has just warned that U.S. inaction against communism in Cuba may "force" Latin Americans into the Soviet bloc. This hints that President Somoza, who inherited a family dictatorship but is now being pressured to "democratize" his country, may soon start playing the Communists against the United States.

President Kennedy's limited defense on Cuba is inviting our hemisphere opposition to boil furiously, while we are a noncontender.

## Dedication of the New Harrison, N.J., High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, there are few honors and privileges associated with the office of a Member of Congress that compare with participation in an important civic event in a community within the Member's congressional district. A week ago last Saturday, on the 8th, I was so privileged, as the town of Harrison, N.J. dedicated its new high school.

Fortunately, I had been able to procure and present to the high school a flag that had been flown over this building where we are now assembled. So, I was especially honored and pleased to be a part of the occasion, both solemn and happy, of the dedication of an institution charged with the challenging responsibility of training the leaders of tomorrow.

In addition to an address by the distinguished Governor of New Jersey, Richard J. Hughes, the event was marked by three short, but stirringly effective speeches by Miss Sandra Marie Maszak, a senior in the high school who represented the student body; by Martin F. Honan, superintendent of schools of Harrison; and by T. Gerard Manning, assistant superintendent of schools.

I would like at this time to read into the RECORD the texts of these three fine speeches:

REMARKS BY SANDRA MARIE MASZAK, MEMBER OF SENIOR CLASS, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW HARRISON HIGH SCHOOL, ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1962

Governor Hughes, officials of the town of Harrison, school officials and teachers, fellow schoolmates, distinguished guests, citizens of Harrison, and friends, our principal has honored me by asking me to say a few words at this proud assembly on behalf of the student body. I hold no office in school life, I represent nobody really, but I feel that the pride and the happiness that are mine today on this glad occasion are the same emotions that fill the hearts of all our students.

For some time, each class, as it entered the old high school, hoped that before its collective career was finished, a chance would arise to be housed in a beautiful, modern, new high school building. Fortune has indeed smiled on us. We are the darlings of Lady Luck, and have we been surprised! Never in our fondest imaginings had we hoped for such a "dream" high school. We have lived in it for the past few school days now, and there are no words to tell you of the deep pleasure that we have taken in it.

I know that I echo the thoughts of each and every one of our present students and the students of years to come when I tell you that we feel a deep-rooted and sincere gratitude toward the board of education and the other town officials who have made this day possible. It is a wonderful thing they have done for us, and for the entire town of Harrison, and I am confident that the keen desire to improve ourselves that comes to all of us who are privileged to live in such a delightful school atmosphere will result in increased learning and more dedicated citizenship.

Speaking for all my schoolmates, I again give all of you a fervent "thank you" for this magnificent structure, and I pledge you that we will repay your trust with a greater devotion to learning than we have ever felt before.

REMARKS BY MARTIN F. HONAN, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW HARRISON HIGH SCHOOL, ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1962

Right reverend and reverend clergy, Governor Hughes, Congressman Rodino, County Superintendent Chase, Mayor Rodgers, members of the board of education, municipal and school officials, distinguished guests, school personnel, my fellow Harrisonians, and all our friends from wherever I bid you a very sincere welcome to the dedication of our wonderful new Harrison High School.

What any community thinks of itself may best be judged, not by what the leaders say but what they do, for the younger generation. On this criterion, Harrison may justly be placed in a position at the top for the citizens of Harrison have certainly provided well for its youth by making available for their education, training and social development this magnificent building that we are dedicating here this day to the youth of our community.

This school and civic center was indeed a community undertaking. It had the encouragement and support of our mayor and council. The Board of Education devoted themselves wholeheartedly to its planning, construction, and equipment. The school officials, the teachers, the office staffs, the auxiliary personnel, all gave their utmost in their diverse responsibilities. The town workers in all departments as well as private citizens cooperated to the fullest. I would like to name names but there would be many, and it always happens that one or more deserving of special mention are inadverently omitted. To avoid this I would like to embrace all who helped in any way in a very sincere and heartfelt "thank you."

This, of course, is a joyous occasion for us all. However, this jubilation of ours is certainly more than tinged with a note of sadness. As you all are aware I am referring to the untimely death of our late and beloved board president, Mr. Robert B. Millea. I say untimely because all of us who worked with him and knew of his condition hoped and prayed that he would be spared for this day. Nothing I or any other speaker might say, could adequately describe his devoted efforts in making this school become a reality nor could his contribution to it be properly put into words. Truly, we could very well devote the entire program to a tribute to his tremendous part in making this day possible, but you who knew him will agree he would not want it to be that way. I will, however, ask you to honor his memory in the best possible way—by standing for a period of silent prayer for our departed board president and good friend, Mr. Robert B. Millea.

Thank you.

We are fortunate to have here with us our Congressman from the 10th Congressional District who has always shown great interest in the people of Harrison, the Honorable PETER W. RODINO, JR. He has very graciously made available for our high school an American flag that has flown over the U.S. Capitol. This same flag will grace our flag staff. Congressman RODINO will present the flag to Mr. John M. O'Neill, principal of Harrison High School.

REMARKS BY T. GERARD MANNING, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW HARRISON HIGH SCHOOL, SEPTEMBER 8, 1962

In acknowledging his invitation to these dedication exercises a now prominent member of the class of 1937 of this high school wrote in part—"We wish all of you the best in your new building. It has been coming for many, many years and it is nice to know that the faculty, administration, and student body finally have an adequate workshop."

As you go through this building today I am quite sure you too will agree we finally have an adequate workshop for our secondary school program.

As to the many, many years this building has been coming permit me to delve for a few moments into the pages of history.

In the 57 years of its existence our high school was never housed in a building expressly designed for it. It was started by the board of education in October of 1905 with a class of seven students, three boys, four girls, who met for all their subjects in the office of the principal of the old Hamilton School. In May of the following year it was transferred from Hamilton to Lincoln School where it remained until 1912, when space was provided for its classes in Washington School. When the new elementary school on Hamilton Street was completed in 1921, the high school was assigned 7 of its 14 rooms. In 1934 the high school took over the entire building because of increased enrollment and the elementary classes were divided among Washington and Lincoln Schools.

It was during this period as enrollments increased that plans were formulated to build a new secondary plant. However, 28 years were to elapse before our dreams of a new facility were to become a reality.

And for these 28 years our secondary workshop, our school, was to prove inadequate to meet fully the needs of our growing secondary school population. Our pupil mortality during our peak enrollment years when we were forced to resort to double sessions was 100 to 125 pupils per year. Now you may wonder what brought about this sad situation.

One of the answers to this dropout problem can be found in the evaluation report of the Middle States Association, the accrediting agency for all secondary schools in our area. This report rated our curriculums as below standard and gave as the reason for such an inferior rating the lack of offerings in music and fine arts, and the physical sciences. At the same time the report recognized the impossibility of increasing these offerings because of building space. In fact the committee bluntly stated: "It can hardly do less than to recommend a new and more adequate plant for Harrison High School."

Today, thanks to the efforts of your mayor and councilmen, and the members of your board of education, you citizens of Harrison have that new and more adequate school. As you walk through it today you will note that space has been provided for the teaching of music and the fine arts. You will find

that the industrial arts program has been broadened to embrace both wood and metal work, as well as a separate room for the teaching of mechanical drawing. The library which was criticized by the committee as not large enough, will now comfortably accommodate more than the 10 percent of our school population as recommended by the National Library Bureau. The physical science laboratories are a far cry from their rooms in the old building with their limited floor space and equipment. The home economics department will now offer courses in clothing, food, and homeliving in three separate rooms.

The auditorium, I dare say, is second to none in this area in beauty and appointments. This spacious gymnasium, with its two teaching stations, will comfortably seat 1,000 spectators. Our pool beggars description. Nowhere in this State will you find a more beautiful one, and nowhere will you find one, which we hope, will provide more lasting pleasure and enjoyment for both young and old.

In short, the boy and girl of high school age in this community now has every modern educational facility at his or her disposal in this beautiful building. With a very superior staff of teachers and a superior instructional program, so designated by the Middle States Association, there is absolutely no reason why a conscientious student, once enrolled in this high school, should not complete the 4-year course. The old excuses of lack of facilities or curriculum offerings are no longer valid ones. We are firmly convinced that with the tools at our disposal we can help every student reach his or her fullest potential for a creative and useful life. We are convinced we have the teachers who are anxious and willing to give to every pupil a quality of education which will make possible his fullest development on the secondary level.

In closing permit me to stress this thought that today more than ever before, graduation from an accredited high school is an absolute minimum requirement for effective commercial or industrial careers and for a happier and more meaningful life in this complex social and economic society of ours.

## Dictator Nkrumah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I wonder what the bleeding hearts for President Nkrumah, of Ghana, are saying today. He has just been made the dictator of Ghana, for life.

More than ever, the American people should be thankful that they still have a Congress which may disagree with the President—although the latter would like us to be a rubber stamp for him.

The September 17 Washington News has an excellent editorial on what could happen here:

DEMOCRACY A LA GHANA

The news from Africa recalls a Huey Long story.

The legislature of Ghana, by unanimous vote, has approved a one-party system—the Convention Peoples Party of President Kwame Nkrumah, who has been invited to remain President for life.

The action was taken on the announced theory that democracy means one man, one vote, one parliament, one ruler. Hereafter elections in Ghana will be open and honest with each citizen free to vote his choice so long as his choice is Nkrumah.

Oh, yes, the Huey Long Story. He was asked, so the legend goes, whether we ever could have Fascism in America. "Certainly," he replied. "We would just call it democracy."

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### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

# Appendix

## Time for Realism on the Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to appear today by invitation of the chairman, Mr. MONAGAN, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Europe, on the burning public issue of the captive nations.

The purpose of my appearance was to raise eight basic questions related to the national security of the United States in the context of this vital but neglected area of our foreign policy. I raised these questions because I am convinced that Congress, in these trying times, must be more than the voice of the American people. Congress must, in my considered judgment, be the conscience of the American people in the development and execution of a foreign policy that accords with the great traditions of our country. Nothing more is needed to pull us out of the depths of our dilemma, but nothing less will suffice to meet the global challenge of imperial Russian communism.

Under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD my testimony:

TESTIMONY OF HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, CONGRESSMAN, 20TH DISTRICT, OHIO, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SEPTEMBER 19, 1962

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate receipt of your letter of July 25, 1962, inviting Members of the House to submit testimony concerning the captive nations.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to present my views on the issue of captive nations because I have long been an advocate of the rights of all nations and all peoples to self-government and national independence. Such views accord with the basic traditions of our country, with our political ideals, with our moral principles, and with our oft-stated intentions toward all the nations and people of the world.

I observe from your communication of July 25 that the subcommittee has taken testimony from persons having expert knowledge of conditions in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. It struck me as peculiar that testimony before this subcommittee would be limited to a select few of the captive nations held by force within the present day Russian Communist empire. It may be that geographical limitations placed upon the Subcommittee on Europe result in this condition. I trust this is the case, because any other reason could not survive the honest test of what constitutes a captive nations, expertly defined in Public Law 86-90, known as the Captive Nations Week Resolution.

Let me make this clear, Mr. Chairman, I stand for the freedom and national independence of all the nations and which this subcommittee has taken testimony. But let me make this equally clear—I stand without reservation for the rights of all the nations spelled out in Public Law 86-90 in their quest for freedom and national independence. Freedom is indivisible. The worldwide movement toward national independence is equally indivisible. I maintain that the unity of freedom's cause is vital to the survival of freedom anywhere in the world. I maintain with equal conviction that any effort, accidental or intentional, to divide the cause of freedom—expressed through the desires of all the captive nations to regain their national independence is divisive, dangerous in the extreme, self-defeating and a black mark upon the historic traditions of our Nation.

It will be a sad day for the peoples of Asia if, by these hearings, the impression is created that our Government is concerned only with those captive nations which fall within the purview of the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. A casual examination of geography reveals that the 600 million or more people of mainland China are captives of the mythology of Marxism supported by the imperial power of Moscow. Such an examination will also reveal that the people of ancient Tibet are no less captives of this tyrannical scourge—as are the people of North Korea and North Vietnam.

It will be equally damaging to the cause of American leadership if, as a consequence of these hearings, word goes out that our Government is not interested in the aspirations or the future of the captive nations in the central Asian part of the modern day Russian empire. I have particular reference to such ancient nations as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Cossackia, and Idel-Ural. All of these nations declared and won their national independence and complete separation from imperial Russia during the period 1917-21. Acts of Russian Communist aggression which robbed these nations of their newly won national independence must not be allowed to purge the honest judgment of history. Genuine scholars are thoroughly acquainted with the historic struggles of these nations against the imperial encroachments of Moscow. Those who are not inclined toward or do not have the time for genuine scholarship in regard to these nations, can find a quick summary of the history and aspirations of these nations in the reports of the House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression, 83d Congress. Eyewitness testimony taken under oath and supported by reliable documents establish the facts concerning the rights of these nations to be regarded as captive nations. Popular ignorance concerning the history of these nations is no excuse for our failure to give them equal consideration in any deliberations relating to the issue of freedom versus human slavery.

Turning to the captive nations of Europe, I raise the question as to why the Ukraine nation and the Byelorussian nation have not been considered within the immediate purview of the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee as expressed in the letter of July 25, 1962, of Hon. JOHN S. MONAGAN.

These two nations have long been considered a part of Europe by competent historians. As far back as the 13th century European cosmographers and cartographers have identified Ukraine as part of the European geographical area. Noted in this regard is the work of a Frenchman, Beauplan, whose maps and charts of Ukraine were published in 1651. I admit that the work of early cosmographers and cartographers may be difficult to include in hearings of this type, but I submit that any scholarly examination of the issue of the captive nations requires an understanding and appreciation in depth of geography.

The world atlas of the Encyclopaedia Brittannica divides the U.S.S.R., the contemporary land mass of the Russian Empire, into its European and Asian parts. Both the Ukrainian nation and the Byelorussian nation are listed as European parts of that Empire.

Mr. Chairman, I maintain that it is a dangerous exercise in folly, if not political suicide, to disregard the long history and the contemporary aspirations of the people of Ukraine, a nation inhabited by some 42 million people, among the great European powers, and holding unbreakable attachments to the history and culture of Europe. The same may be said for the Byelorussian nation whose population today approximates 15 million people, but which has no less an attachment to the history and to the future of Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I now come to the reason which compels me to appear before this subcommittee. My purpose is best expressed in a series of questions which I present for the consideration of the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Those questions are as follows:

1. Does the committee believe that the only captive nations within the present-day Russian Empire worthy of our consideration and solicitude are those which, by an arbitrary decision, are considered a part of Europe? I trust this is not the case because no one but imperial Russia could be served by such a decision.

2. Does the committee, in its considered judgment, agree that captive nations, regardless of their geographical location, merit equal concern and solicitude by the Government of the United States? I trust this is the case, because any other approach to this vital issue will divide freedom's cause, support the propaganda of imperial Russia, spread despair among multitudes of captive people, and in the end, earn nothing but contempt for our purposes among the suffering masses of the non-European parts of the present-day Russian Empire. We must not permit these things to happen.

3. Has the Subcommittee on Europe been limited in its purview of this Eurasian problem in any manner which prohibits an honest and open examination of the captive non-Russian nations within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? There is current public suspicion that these hearings seek to avoid an objective and deliberative examination of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, either because of the feelings of the State Department expressed in the letter of Secretary Rusk to the chairman of the House Rules Committee in connection with the pending resolution—House Resolution 211—or because an open examination of the rights

of those captive nations would interfere with or impair delicate negotiations now under way with the leaders of the U.S.S.R.? I trust this is not the case, because any concealment or delay of freedom's cause, accidental or deliberate, can only increase the prospects of war over the long run.

4. Is the committee aware of the special interests in the Department of State which hold that there is nothing wrong with the Soviet Union that a change in Moscow from a Communist government to a non-Communist government would not cure? These special pleaders appear to be completely unaware that the Russian empire under the Czars, was a constant threat to the survival of Western civilization, as it is today under the commissars. Russian imperialism—whether red, black, or white—is out of tune with the rising tide of self-determination so well described by President Kennedy in his address before the United Nations. Moreover, any action, statement or omission on the part of our Government which tends to favor or support a Russian empire, under any name, brands us as ignorant reactionaries in the eyes of our proven allies behind the Russian curtain. I urge a thoroughgoing public investigation of what I have called the doctrine of Russia, the sacred cow, and its practitioners in our Department of State.

5. To what extent has the committee probed into the policy conflicts within the Department of State with regard to the political principle of self-determination and its application to the global problems of colonialism and imperialism? For example, a policy of Africa for the Africans heralds our support for the full application of self-determination for all of Africa. What prevents our announcing a policy of Russia for the Russians as an expression of our support for the aspirations of the people in the captive, non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union? We have invited the charge against our country of discrimination on a massive scale for failing to give universal application to the principle of self-determination. This policy conflict is underscored again by the opposing points of view expressed by Secretary Rusk and Ambassador Stevenson. At the United Nations Ambassador Stevenson properly charges the Russian Communists with colonial aggression for robbing Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and other once free nations of their national independence in the years immediately following World War I. Here in Washington Secretary Rusk lends his signature to a letter which holds in effect that these same captive nations never had their national independence, and worse, they are regarded by our Government as traditional parts of the Russian state. This confusion at the highest policy levels of our Government indicates someone needs a few basic lessons in history—and I do not mean Ambassador Stevenson.

6. To what extent is the committee interested in establishing the connection between the collapse of the Red army before the invading German armies during World War II and the aspirations for freedom and independence long held by the people of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, the Caucasus and others? It is time that we flushed up the truth on this chapter of history. What motivated in excess of 2 million Red army soldiers to lay down their arms in the thick of battle? Were these soldiers Russians or nonRussians? What proposition did these soldiers make to the German commanders and what prevented the German commanders' accepting the proposition? How did the civilian populations of Byelorussia, Ukraine, the Baltic States, and the Caucasus react to the German armies in the early months of conflict on the eastern front and what caused them to change their attitude as the war wore on? Answers to these questions have a vital bearing on the question of which is and which is not a captive nation. It would be a tragedy of immeasurable magnitude if we, in the conduct of the cold war, made the same ideological mistakes as those made by the fanatic Nazis in their conduct of a hot war. For the cold war with the Russians holds no less a danger for our country than a hot war.

7. Is the committee aware of the organized assault being made by Russian emigree organizations in the United States against Public Law 86–90 and the parallel which exists between their propaganda line and that of the Russian commissars on this issue? Is the committee aware of the enthusiastic support for Public Law 86–90 given by all the non-Russian emigree organizations in the United States? A worthy public service would be rendered by this committee if it probed fully into the similarity of position on this issue assumed by the Russian emigrees, the Russian commissars, and the State Department doctrine of Russia, the sacred cow. Such a probe conducted within the framework of what policy position best serves the security of the United States and what policy position best serves Russian imperial ambitions would be a most rewarding exercise.

8. Has the subcommittee sought testimony from responsible representatives of the American Committee for Liberation, which sponsors "Radio Liberation," a powerful radio signal beamed to the U.S.S.R.? I raise this question because I observe in the letter of Mr. MONAGAN of July 25, 1962, that testimony has been taken from the president of the Free Europe Committee. I urge that representatives of the American Committee for Liberation be brought before an appropriate committee of the Congress to testify as to its political aims and objectives with respect to the captive non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. Such a quest for information, if properly conducted, would be most revealing in terms of Public Law 86–90 and the basic question of the indivisibility of human freedom and national independence.

Mr. Chairman, I am well aware of the problem which engages the leadership of the House with regard to the establishment of a Select Committee of the House on the Captive Nations, as proposed in House Resolution 211. Strong public support favors action by the House to establish such a committee. The trend of the times underscores the need. I have favored the establishment of such a committee because I believe that the geographical limitations inherent in the present subcommittee structure of the House Foreign Affairs Committee would make it unduly cumbersome, if not impossible, to do justice to this vital issue. I submit that if the House does not establish a Select Committee on the Captive Nations, it is incumbent upon the House Foreign Affairs Committee to establish a subcommittee on the Captive Nations, which should not be limited by geographical considerations and which should concern itself with all the captive nations identified in Public Law 86–90.

My appearance before this subcommittee today, I hope, will contribute to a resolution of one of the most burning issues before the 87th Congress. If the House Foreign Affairs Committee is to be held responsible for a full, objective, scholarly, and purposeful examination of matters relating to the captive nations, it must take steps properly to assume this responsibility. Otherwise there is no other course open to Members of Congress who are informed on and concerned about the cause of the captive nations, as identified in Public Law 86–90, but to advocate the establishment of a select committee of the Congress on the captive nations.

I urge that this problem be resolved before the adjournment of the 87th Congress. The power of decision on this question rests within your committee. It is time that action was taken.

## Woolgrowers Face Bright Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Mr. Robert T. Stevens, former Secretary of the Army and presently owner of the American Fork Ranch near Two Dot, Mont., spoke in Montana recently regarding amendments to strengthen the national security provisions of the present foreign trade bill. Mr. Stevens is also president of a 150-year-old textile manufacturing firm which uses Montana wool. And, I would add, my hometown, Stevensville, was named after one of Mr. Stevens' illustrious ancestors. He was Gen. Isaac J. Stevens, first Governor of the Northwest Territory, which included part of Montana.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Addison R. Bragg's article entitled "Woolgrowers Face Bright Future," containing Mr. Stevens' remarks and found in the August 31, 1962, issue of the Billings Gazette be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RANCHER DECLARES WOOLGROWERS FACE BRIGHT FUTURE

(By Addison R. Bragg)

A Montana cattle rancher spoke Wednesday with feeling and concern for the future of Montana's woolgrowing industry—and with good reason.

Robert T. Stevens, owner of the American Fork Ranch near Two Dot, is also president of a 150-year-old textile manufacturing firm which uses Montana wool.

"We have a high regard for wool from here," Stevens said, "and we buy a lot of it."

But, said the former Secretary of the Army, many wool producers seem discouraged by the fact that nearly half of the wool-textile manufacturing industry has disappeared since the end of World War II.

"It's my opinion," said Stevens, "the bottom has been hit in wool consumption—in the next few years there's no place to go but up."

USE MORE NOW

For example, said Stevens, his firm, one of the seven oldest members of the New York Stock Exchange, uses more domestic wool today than ever before in its history.

Fighting synthetics, he declared, isn't the answer.

Giving up, he implied, isn't either.

"Woolgrowers shouldn't get mad at blends," Stevens said. "Anything that provides an outlet for domestic wool is good for the industry—and blends are doing just that."

Stevens drove to Billings with Ralph Cordiner, top executive of General Electric, who caught a plane here after visiting Stevens.

"He's got a place he calls a ranch in Florida," Stevens grinned. "I told him to come up here and I'd show him what a ranch really looks like."

The tall grey-haired man who probably became best known to the public audiences during the celebrated Army-McCarthy hearings is no stranger to Montana.

BOUGHT RANCH

He came out here 13 years ago and got into the cattle business with the purchase

of Wallis Huidekooper's American Ranch. Every year since then he and Mrs. Stevens have tried to spend "at least a month" in Montana.

"And it's no secret," he volunteered, "that, when I retire, I'll be spending a lot more time out here."

Even though the Plainfield, N.J., executive, who lives today only 5 miles from where he was born, is a summertime Montanan, he's far from being a carpetbagger.

The town of Stevensville was named after Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, first Governor of the Northwest Territory, which included part of Montana, and an ancestor of Stevens'.

It's probably due to his military background—which includes service as an officer in both World Wars as well as the cabinet post he held during the Korean war—that Stevens finds it difficult to talk about his industry without talking about national security.

SEES WOOL LACK

In case of another war, he said flatly, the domestic wool industry could not possibly supply military and civilian requirements.

"Think of this country," he said, "having to buy army blankets and uniforms from Japanese and German mills—yet this is essentially the position in which we're in today."

Stevens added that he doubted if the American public was aware of this fact.

"I'm not opposed to foreign trade," Stevens said, "but the fact remains that this country today is one of the least protected nations in the world."

Competition with the European Common Market, said Stevens, is one thing. "But competition with wages paid in the Middle and Far East is an entirely different thing," he added. Pointing out that the Common Market nations themselves have imposed "stringent restriction" on imports from Japan, Stevens said he felt this makes the United States even more of a target for Japanese goods.

The whole question, Stevens said, boils down to: Are we taking as good care of our mobilization as we should?

American plants abroad, said Stevens, don't help American workers—and they would, he added, be of little use to this country in the event of a war. Further slashing of tariffs overseas, he said, will only hasten the existing trend for American industry to supply American markets from abroad.

"I don't think the administration or the Congress wants this," Stevens said, "but what is being done to prevent it?"

NEED SAFEGUARDS

Amendments to strengthen the national security provisions of the present foreign trade bill, Stevens declared, are "desperately needed."

"Some people think of a future war in terms of a few hours or a few days but our Department of Defense is planning for all types of wars of any duration—wars which we must be able to win, long or short."

If the United States is ever called upon a third time as "the arsenal of democracy," Stevens said, it must not erode vital industries in the meantime.

"This," he said, "is what's happening in the machine tool, as well as in the textile and other industries."

The ex-Government official, who served under both Democratic and Republican administrations, said he was distressed at present laws which permit representatives of foreign governments to speak before the Office of Emergency Planning on matters concerning national security.

"Can't we agree," he asked, "that in matters concerning our security, the American Government is fully capable of making decisions without foreign interference?"

## New Frontier Quiz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, in the September 18 Washington Daily News, Mr. Richard Starnes gave us the feeling of the American people about our Kennedy administration policy of appeasement:

IF YOU WERE PRESIDENT

(By Richard Starnes)

Every American boy runs the risk of some day becoming President, but how many are really prepared for that exalted task by training and character?

The following quiz prepared with the assistance of that noted phrenologist, V. K. Meachley, is designed to find out:

You are President, and some volunteers begin to land in a peaceful Central American republic long friendly to the United States. These volunteers say "da" instead of "si" and wear droshky drivers' caps, but are otherwise indistinguishable from authentic Cubans. As President, you immediately:

(A) Make a speech declaring that the invaders are armed only with defensive weapons, but that we are watching the situation closely; (B) release a report disclosing that the youth of America is soft and urging schools to institute a program of pushups; (C) send a regiment of marines to clean out the invaders, and warn the Soviet Union that if she interferes you will send two regiments of marines to deal with the Red army.

You are President, and you are on record as saying the United States will take a most serious view of further Communist encroachments into a flyblown southeast Asian kingdom which, unfortunately, is vital to U.S. interests in the area. Communist aggression against the kingdom continues, of course, until our tame native Army is thoroughly defeated. As President, you—

(A) Take a very serious view of the situation, but do nothing else; (B) announce that we will be first on the moon (if Russia is already first on the moon, announce that we will be first on Venus); (C) decide that a moral commitment is a moral commitment, give the Communists a week to get out, and this time mean it.

You are President, and the United States is one of four powers occupying the wartime capital of a defeated enemy. The occupation agreement guarantees free access to all parts of the city, but the Soviet Union builds a wall effectively sealing off its area. When you protest, you get a telegram from the Kremlin telling you to go climb a tree. As President, you:

(A) Find a tree you can climb; (B) make a speech saying we will never fear to negotiate, and then sit down and negotiate like mad; (C) send a bulldozer and a squad of GI's to push down the wall, and warn Russia that there are more bulldozers and troops where the first ones came from.

Scoring the test: If you selected the (A) response to each question, you can't miss going to the White House, perhaps even ahead of Teddy. If you picked (B) in reply to all the questions, you have a great deal of talent for the job and may make it if you can swim the width of a swimming pool while fully clothed.

If you selected (C) in answer to any question, you are automatically disqualified. What do you think you're going to be, President of a first-rate nation?

## Trade Expansion Act of 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 has been passed by the Senate. I believe that the importance to the future economic progress and the free world leadership role of the United States residing in the final implementation of this bill cannot be overestimated.

It must be pointed out that whatever may be the boldness of vision embodied by the trade legislation, it could become obstructed by actions and policies designed to avoid the implications of trade expansion—and which would disadvantage consumers. It is an almost immutable law of economics that restrictions and controls meant to affect only one small sector of the economy often translate themselves into shockwaves which strike down unexpected targets and, sometimes, even boomerang on the very elements they were designed to help.

It is for this reason that I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate a letter which I have received from a constituent, a small businessman, who is a member of an important segment of the textile apparel industry of the United States—who is entitled to have the data and the views presented in his letter receive our attention. I invite particularly the attention of our distinguished colleagues on the Special Senate Subcommittee To Study the Problems of the Textile Industry—the subcommittee which has been engaged in such exhaustive work for the benefit of our domestic industry—to this letter. The continued health and expansion of the U.S. textile-apparel industry and of our whole economy demands that we take the broadest possible view of the consequences of our actions, and be willing to examine varying points of view with expressions of dissent as important as assent.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the letter of August 24, addressed to me by Mr. M. I. Cushing, as well as the August 29 article by Frank C. Porter and the August 30 editorial in the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the letter, article, and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(NOTE.—The following is the complete text of the August 24, 1962, statement of M. I. Cushing, president, Pierre Imports, Inc., in New York to the Honorable JACOB K. JAVITS, U.S. Senate.)

Unnerved by its lack of legislative success, the administration appears ready to go to any length to save the Trade Expansion Act. Operation "sellout" is underway once again.

The price for getting the bill through the House of Representatives earlier this summer was unprecedented—massive tax relief for the domestic cotton textile operators, plus a special international cartel agreement to protect them from oversea competition. Now the same men, this time wearing their caps as wool fabric producers, are out to

block Senate action on the vital trade act. Their minimum price for allowing the Nation to move ahead with an up-to-date trade bill is another "international agreement," this time restricting world trade in woolen textiles.

The pressure, as you know, has been turned on full blast in Washington. The nabobs of the domestic textile industry gathered at the Capitol several days ago openly threatening the trade bill unless "taken care of." An August 6 report by Secretary of Commerce Hodges referring to the progress of the (textile) industry was angrily dismissed as misleading.

The textile chiefs knew what they wanted. Presidential Assistant Myer Feldman was finally compelled to extend further assurances to the corporate executives and their lobbyists; the administration is giving considerable attention to an international restriction of wool fabric trade, he said, and it will not tolerate any level of wool textile imports that might threaten market disruption.

And just within the last few days, the State Department has had to request a meeting of the International Wool Study Group to discuss present and future problems. Perhaps this is only a maneuver, a means of temporarily appeasing the protectionist forces, while retaining future freedom of action. But whatever the administration's possible inner reservations, the truth is that a definite step has been taken toward the sort of world wool fabrics cartel that the big textile producers of this country demand. It is not yet inescapable, but it surely looms as more and more probable.

What substance is there to the hue and cry? Has the American market actually been disrupted by imports of wool apparel fabrics?

Every indicator points in the exact opposite direction: The domestic industry is, right now, in the midst of a vigorous upsurge, while imports of wool apparel fabrics lag.

The Wool Bureau reports that mill consumption of apparel wool will this year top 300 million pounds. That is a jump of more than 14 percent above last year's 263 million pounds and is 23 percent higher than the figure for 1960.

The August 23 Daily News Record characterizes domestic worsted plants as being sold up and notes that they are even requiring extended delivery dates on U.S. military orders.

Meantime, the import share of total U.S. consumption is down. Projecting figures released by Secretary of Commerce Hodges earlier this month, 1962 imports of woolen products may run about 51 million pounds. Adding that to the estimated 300 million pounds of domestic production (and that figure may well prove too low) would set aggregate U.S. consumption at 351 million pounds. Imports would, therefore, constitute 14.5 percent of the total. That figure compares with an import share of 14.9 percent in 1961, 18.6 percent in 1960, and 15 percent in 1959.

In the key field of woolens and worsteds, imports suffered badly in 1961, plunging to 18.8 million pounds, down 36 percent from the preceding year. The figures for the first 6 months of this year still show market weakness, 10.4 million pounds against 10.5 million pounds for the comparable period of 1961. Only the last few weeks have given any signs of renewed market stability.

No matter how you slice it, that just doesn't spell market disruption.

The lobbyists' howling cannot dim the recent progress of the domestic industry. Data from the Survey of Current Business reveal, for instance, that the wholesale price of wool products had by this June climbed 3.4 percent over the low point of last year. In the allied apparel field the gain was only about one-half of 1 percent.

Unfilled orders had also soared, according to Commerce Department reports, from 46 million linear yards at the low point of 1961 to 85 million yards. That is a gain of more than 84 percent. And the figures on average weekly wool fabric production jumped about 50 percent between the low of 1961 and the latest 1962 figure.

Per worker productivity in the domestic wool fabric industry gained more than 8 percent between 1961 and 1962.

Accordingly, woolen mill labor has benefited. Average weekly earnings advanced $7.27 between the first quarter of this year and the same period of 1961.

Earnings of the big, all-fibers companies that now dominate the field are even more exuberant. Recent headlines from the Daily News Record make the situation very clear:

June 8: "J. P. Stevens Sales Set Record, Net Up in Half."

July 25: "Burlington Sales, Net Up in 3 and 9 Months—Profit Rises 36.9 percent for Third Fiscal Quarter and 74 Percent for First Three Periods."

August 7: "Lowenstein Net Up 88 Percent in Second Quarter, Sales 14 Percent to Peak."

The record of the privately held Deering-Milliken complex is believed to be equally good.

Such import competition in wool as these companies have experienced has had to surmount an amazing variety of obstacles. In fact, I doubt if there are many manufacturers that have been more rigidly protected than woolens and worsteds.

You are well acquainted with the recent history of our world trade in this item.

In the last quarter of 1956, the Eisenhower administration established a tariff-quota system of protection for wool apparel fabrics. It permitted imports equal to 5 percent of domestic production to enter the country at the ad valorem duty of 25 percent (a specific duty, 37½ cents per pound, was also charged). When the 5-percent cutoff point was reached, the duty jumped 80 percent.

The premium, obviously, was in beating the cutoff date. The crush became worse each year. In its last year of operation, 1960, the cutoff came on March 4. The business year was just 63 days long.

Finally recognizing the destructiveness of this system, the administration abandoned the tariff-quota. But care was taken to avoid disquieting the domestic wool fabrics producers.

Ad valorem tariffs on medium- to high-priced fabrics were, in 1961, hiked 52 percent from the former base rate of 25 percent up to 38 percent. Moreover, the specific duty of 37½ cents per pound was continued.

At the other end of the scale, the duty on the cheapest imports (principally from Italy) rocketed to 50 percent, plus 37½ cents per pound. The total, effective rate of the impost in this case came to a stupifying 111 percent.

These astronomic tariffs can be usefully compared with the average rate on U.S. dutiable imports—12 percent. In that light, I say, it takes real gall to demand even more protection.

The greatly increased tariffs of 1961 had their intended effect. Imports from the three major oversea sources of supply (each a key ally of the United States) plummeted.

Imports of Japanese woolens and worsteds were off nearly 9 percent, from $24.9 million in 1960 to $22.7 million last year. British imports dropped off from $26.9 million in 1960 to $22.3 million last year, a loss of 17 percent. Imports from Italy fell 44 percent, from $19.9 million in 1960 to $11.2 million in 1961.

These few facts suggest, I believe, what a full review of the problem would certainly prove: The domestic industry does not merit further protection, there is no reason to restrict the importation of wool apparel fabrics further—whether by means of an international agreement or otherwise.

The consequences of further harassment are clear. Both American importers and the American apparel industry would suffer.

Let me express the self-interest of myself and my employees. This firm employs 20 persons and maintains an annual payroll well in excess of $175,000. We were significantly injured by the inanities of the tariff-quota period, suffered a marked downturn thanks to the tariff rise of last year and would lose even more as a result of further protective action at the behest of the Deering-Millikens, Burlingtons, and Stevens.

What is more, I deeply believe that international agreements and all other protective devices strike hard at our area economy. As you pointed out to the Senate Finance Committee earlier this month, "one-fourth of the personal income generated in the port of New York and its metropolitan area results from foreign trade." In view of this foreign trade orientation of our regional economy it seems evident that we cannot countenance further damage to imports—particularly in a sector as locally important as textiles.

And on the basis of my 38 years of experience and leadership in every sector of the textile-apparel field, let me add that tougher restraints upon wool apparel fabric imports would be harmful to the American clothing industry. Its economic well-being depends to a high degree upon imports.

The fact is that imports are not necessarily competitive with domestic production, all the protectionist propaganda notwithstanding. On the contrary, imports very often are a necessary supplement to domestic output—and thus essential to the immediate consumer of wool fabrics, the clothing manufacturers. To make my point, allow me to borrow from a letter that I sent to you on March 7, 1960:

"Why * * * don't the apparel manufacturers exclusively rely on U.S.-made textiles? The answer is simple enough: the domestic woolen textile producers are unable to supply the high quality needs of the U.S. clothing market. A good part of the Nation's woolen textile imports, accordingly, are made up of high-priced fabrics upon which great amounts of craftsmanship and artistic inventiveness have been lavished. The bulk of U.S. production, on the other hand, is in staple fabrics.

"Let me cite one recent shipment from Japan as an example. The fabrics included gabardine 272, 2-ply, both ways; tropical 266, 2-ply, both ways; and iridescents 260 and 266, 2-ply, both ways. These varieties are simply not made here in the United States in the same quality. And yet these are the sorts of textiles upon which clothing manufacturers must depend for their lines of suits in the $100–$125 bracket.

"The mass production techniques of U.S. woolen textile manufacturers also have the effect of stimulating imports. Very few U.S. producers are able to manufacture, or can afford to sell, in lots of one or two pieces (each piece is approximately 75 yards in length). It is upon such quantities, however, that the custom tailor relies. Imports, therefore, are again indispensable."

I argue, therefore, that there is abundant reason that no further barriers to wool apparel fabrics imports be erected.

Nevertheless, the administration is clearly on the brink of taking this step. One more blow against free world commerce, it appears, is to be delivered in the name of the administration's free trade bill.

It is apparent, however, that this move is being made at the sole initiative of the executive branch. I urge that the legislative

branch, equally invested by the Constitution, at least consider the matter.

To be sure, the Special Senate Subcommittee To Study the Problems of Textile Industry (the Pastore subcommittee) has in the past busied itself with allied questions. But it has been the undisguised advocate of the protectionist interests within the textile-apparel industry. Its chairman has gone so far as to admonish witnesses who did not, despite expectations, echo the anti-import line.

What is needed, instead, is a fully objective study. The domestic wool manufacturing interests have been notably reluctant to submit their case to the Tariff Commission, the body established by law to grant tariff relief. Apparently the industry has thought that the facts of the case made it necessary to play politics instead.

Inasmuch as the protectionists' strategy to avoid the Tariff Commission has kept that body from reviewing this question, I believe the best possible panel before which it could be taken would be the Foreign Economic Policy Subcommittee of the Joint Eocnomic Committee. You have played a leading role on that committee, just as you have gained distinction as a friend of the textile industry. I have for those reasons written to you.

I propose that the subcommittee hold hearings and investigate this matter in its entirety. The facts on woolen and worsted imports must be exposed to national consideration. In addition, attention could also be given to the questions of imported wool yarns, wool knitted apparel, wool tops, etc.

The great value of such a subcommittee investigation is that it would restrain the administration from a precipitate, politically motivated action and would provide an opportunity for the representatives of the people to consider the question.

At the urging of colleagues in the textile-apparel industry, I shall, with your permission, make this recommendation available to the press in the next few days. Meantime, my colleagues and I would welcome hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

M. I. CUSHING,
*President.*

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 29, 1962]

WHITE HOUSE SAID TO BOW TO WOOL MANUFACTURERS

(By Frank C. Porter)

Reported White House plans to extend limitations on cotton textile imports to cover wool products as well have brought angry charges against the administration of a new sellout to domestic textile interests.

Importers charge that a 1-year freeze on cotton cloth imports at existing levels was engineered earlier as part of the price for saving the President's foreign trade bill from congressional protectionists. The bill passed the House and now awaits Senate action.

"Now the same men, this time wearing their caps as wool fabrics producers, are out to block Senate action" on the bill, M. I. Cushing wrote Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, yesterday. "Their minimum price for allowing the Nation to move ahead with an up-to-date trade bill is another 'international agreement,' this time restricting world trade in woolen textiles," Cushing said.

Cushing is president of Pierre Imports, Inc., of New York City. He proposed that the Foreign Economic Policy Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, of which JAVITS is a member, investigate the wool situation.

Recently the State Department requested a meeting of the International Wool Study Group "to discuss present and future problems."

Earlier this month Myer Feldman, deputy special counsel to President Kennedy, wrote the National Association of Wool Manufacturers that "we intend to implement" the administration's policy of limiting textile imports to prevent market disruption "with regard to all textiles." He also noted that the Interagency Textile Administrative Committee has been expanded to cover all textiles.

Trades sources have reported that the administration will seek to seat American woolen manufacturing representatives as delegates at the Wool Study Group parley, expected to be held this November in London. At deliberations of a similar cotton study group which preceded an international agreement to limit cotton imports last February, domestic cotton textile interests were permitted as observers only.

Although its provisions are being carried out under a 1-year stopgap authority expiring in October, the cotton agreement has not yet been ratified by all 18 signatories. Several nations say they will refuse to ratify it if the United States puts into effect an 8½-cent additional "equalization" tariff on cotton textile imports. The proposal is bottled up in the Tariff Commission, where some critics predict it will languish until after the Trade Bill is enacted.

In his letter to JAVITS, Cushing ridiculed claims of disruption in the wool market. He cited burgeoning sales and profits of textile firms, a drop in wool imports from 18.6 percent of domestic consumption in 1960 to an estimated 14.5 percent this year, a substantial rise in domestic prices for wool products, a big jump in unfilled orders and a $7.27 increase in weekly earnings of wool mill labor since last year.

In a letter to President Kennedy earlier this month, William J. Barnhard, Washington attorney representing a number of importers, blasted Feldman's "abject surrender to the political pressures of the textile lobby."

"The giveaway to the cotton textile industry," Barnhard wrote, "has encouraged the same sort of pressure on wool textiles, lumber, oil, fruits and nuts and a variety of other products * * * It has, in short, stimulated and encouraged protectionism at a time when, as you well know and have often stated, the urgent need is for trade expansion."

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 30, 1962]

SELF-DEFEATING TACTICS

In its efforts to secure the passage of the Trade Expansion Act the administration appears to have ignored a lesson which every victim of blackmail has learned through painful experience. Once paid off, blackmailers refuse to stay bought.

In order to appease the strongly protectionist elements in the cotton textile industry a long term Cotton Textile Agreement was negotiated at Geneva this year which, when fully implemented, would oblige its signatories to place quotas on cotton exports to the United States when requested to do so. But this concession failed to satisfy the domestic cotton interests, and they are now busily lobbying for an additional 8½-cent equalization tariff on cotton-textile imports.

Having been burned by the cotton interests, the administration is taking still another step along the primrose path of appeasement. Myer Feldman, deputy special counsel to the President, informed the National Association of Wool Manufacturers that: "Limitation of textile imports to prevent market disruption is an essential element of administration policy. We intend to implement this policy with regard to all textiles, and particularly to prevent market disruption such as would result from an increase over current levels of exports * * *. The functions of the Interagency Textile Committee have just been expanded to cover all textiles."

This implied commitment to extend the protectionist quota system to woolens comes at a time, when that industry is experiencing rising sales and high profits.

The willingness of the administration to buy off the protectionist opposition with piecemeal concessions is causing growing suspicion abroad and alienating the supporters of the Trade Expansion Act at home. According to the terms of the original cotton agreement, negotiated at Geneva in 1961, the base period of imports is specified as a guaranteed minimum. But the program appears to be administered in such a way as to establish that base level as a maximum above which "market disruption" is automatically presumed. Cotton imports are now cut off without attempts to determine public damage, and as a result a suit has been filed which challenges the constitutionality of the cotton quota agreements.

The administration has made remarkable progress in breaking down traditional protectionist sentiment and garnering nationwide support for the Trade Act which now has an excellent chance of passing the Senate. When passed, the act will empower the President to enter into negotiations for the lowering of international tariff barriers, but his chances of success will be severely limited if his hands are tied by the concessions which are now being made to the enemies of freer world trade.

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## Communist Ships Carry U.S. Aid Cargo After Delivering Russian Goods to Cuba

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

COMMUNIST SHIPS CARRY U.S. AID CARGO AFTER DELIVERING RUSSIAN GOODS TO CUBA

The American Maritime Association has called upon the President to withdraw the approval of the Department of Agriculture in the chartering of the M.V. *Drzic*, a Yugoslavian vessel, scheduled to load Public Law 480 cargo at Houston for delivery to the United Arab Republic on or about September 28, 1962. The letter dated September 17, followed a September 12 letter by the association to the President which showed that the Yugoslavian vessel has been carrying cargo to Cuba, then coming to the United States to carry American aid cargo to the United Arab Republic. The association has also informed the President of similar charter fixtures, approved by the Department of Agriculture, in which foreign-flag vessels alternately carried cargo for the U.S.S.R. or other Communist countries, and the United States. On June 21, 1962, the association transmitted this information to the Department of State. Replying for the Secretary of State, Mr. G. Griffith Johnson, Assistant Secretary, said that after consultation with agencies most concerned with aid movements, the Department of State did not consider that any "meaningful facilitation" by the U.S. Government to Communist trade was involved in the carriage by such foreign-flag vessels of the U.S. Government-generated cargoes. The American Maritime Association feels that this abuse of admin-

istrative practice in the chartering of Public Law 480 cargo results in American foreign aid dollars being used to subsidize Communist shipping. In addition to this, the use of NATO ships and so-called flags of convenience ships in transporting Communist cargo releases Russian ships and permits them to concentrate on more strategic objectives.

The use of American dollars to subsidize Communist shipping lessens popular support for the foreign-aid program at a time when that support is most needed.

The September 12 letter to the President also noted that on April 2, 1962, the American Maritime Association submitted to the President's Petroleum Study Committee of the Office of Emergency Planning, a list of the foreign-flag vessels which alternately carried oil for the United States and for the Soviet Union. Thus far no action has been taken by that Committee.

## Foreign Atmosphere in American Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 19, 1962]

EXCLUSIVELY YOURS: FOREIGN ATMOSPHERE IN AMERICAN TOWN

(By Betty Beale)

If you want to vacation in a foreign city, don't go to Rome, Paris, or London. Go to Santa Fe, N. Mex.

I bet you if Jacqueline Kennedy and little Caroline, who have been swamped in Italy, had gone to Santa Fe, those Indians squatting behind their silver work in the colonnaded front of the old Spanish governors' palace facing the square—wouldn't have moved a muscle.

They haven't changed their style of clothing or their hairdos or, in some cases, their pueblo way of living, in over 300 years, so why should they change their facial expressions?

Because it is so different they say that Santa Fe is the fourth city and the only small town on the list of preferred places to see requested by foreign visitors here under State Department sponsorship.

Small wonder. In New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, Europeans run into the same clothes, same customs, same jazz, and even the same language that are engulfing their own countries.

But in Santa Fe a man may be dressed like Wyatt Earp or in a Navaho velvet blouse with a $160 silver belt round his hips. Not everybody even speaks English there where the courts of law were conducted in Spanish as late as the 1930's.

NO PHOTOGRAPHS

And Mrs. Kennedy would really envy the way some of these Indians handle camera fiends. At the corn dance put on by the nearby Santo Domingo Indians a couple of weeks ago, a woman tourist from a Midwestern State plainly ignored the signs warning visitors not to photograph the dance, which is a religious one. She went ahead and took pictures anyhow and was suddenly flanked by two braves who informed her they would have to confiscate her film.

She protested, saying she also had pictures of Aunt Minnie on the same roll. Unimpressed they took the camera and exposed the film, with the woman crying out all the while in indignation, "You can't do that. I'm an American." Those within earshot are still rolling in the aisles over that one.

And Americans who point with pride at having attended the outdoor operas in Rome staged in the ruins of the ancient Baths of Caracalla, would be flabbergasted by the dramatic beauty of Santa Fe's outdoor opera right in their own country—started singlehandedly 6 years ago by the then 31-year-old Conductor John Crosby.

SUPERB OPERA SETTING

Here on top of a hill, altitude over 7,000 feet, sky overhead brilliantly starlit, air so starkly clear the lights of Los Alamos about 30 miles away look like nearby electric bulbs—Igor Stravinsky has been watching or conducting one of his operas after another. Exquisitely graceful Vera Zorina, who spends the day sunning by the pool at Bishop's Lodge, danced the leading role in his "Persephone" last weekend, and also acted the title role in the downright gripping performance of "Joan of Arc at the Stake." The latter was written by former French Ambassador to the United States, Paul Claudel, with music by Arthur Honegger.

What's more, nearly every opera given out there is presented in English, and I must say it's kinda nice to know for a change what all the shoutin' is about.

Other biggest source of interest in Santa Fe right now is the news that it is about to get the first secular liberal arts college in the whole Southwest. Scholastically tough St. John's College, of Annapolis, Md. (that has two male students to every one female, girls), is going to build its western twin right here on the slopes of Twin Mountains, and will be ready to open in 1964, says President Richard D. Weigle.

NEW COLLEGE GOING UP

Santa Fe was chosen over 36 other places that were pleading for the college because of its beauty, its champagne climate, its cultural bent, the eagerness of the atomic brains at Los Alamos to cooperate, and because noted southwestern Architect John Meem donated 214 acres and tossed $400,000 into the kitty as well, which, as they say, ain't hay.

Glimpsed on the active social circuit in the adobe city: Mrs. John Dempsey tossing a cocktail to-do for Mrs. Millard Tydings, who was also feted by Gen. and Mrs. Patrick Hurley. Composer Virgil Thomson whipping into the latter's party. Pulitzer Prize-winning authors Paul Horgan and Oliver La Farge at Laura Harvey's vernissage greeting young Peter Hurd, Jr., son of the noted artist and himself an expert on Jacobean music. Oliver saying he has to write another book because he's running out of cash.

Part Indian himself, Mr. La Farge told about his recent trip to Pierre, S. Dak., where he and his wife went into a bar and were soon surrounded by some French Indians who recognized him as one of the same. "There I was," said the author of "Laughing Boy," "having to polish up my French to talk to a group of Indians in Pierre, S. Dak., with names like Rene de Montigny."

Mrs. John Murchison, daughter-in-law of billionaire Clint Murchison and wife of the young Dallas financier who won control of the Allegheny Co. last year, lunching at her favorite Mexican food restaurant in the tiny town of Gallisteo with her sister, Mrs. Stewart Hunt, wife of the nephew of Texas billionaire H. L. Hunt. Yours truly and the Ben Briggs, of Dallas, going to little Cerillos, N. Mex., where the oldtime Western Tiffany Saloon, that looks like a movie set with its boardwalk and columns on the outside and is often used for same, is still going strong at night.

BILLBOARD PARTIES

Santa Fe socialites grinning to themselves and professing complete ignorance as to who's been sawing down the billboards of late on all roads to their lovely city except the one to Albuquerque. The State can't seem to get an antibillboard law through, so Santa Fe's most distinguished citizens have taken the law into their own hands. They take turns having parties at each other's houses, arriving with saws and hatchets, then under cover of darkness, they sally forth and topple over any road advertisements that mar the scenery. Nobody in the city calls it vandalism because only in this way can the charm of the countryside be preserved.

If you ask me, the State ought to award each billboard toppler the distinguished service medal.

## Kenosha Realizes Dream: A Port City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the St. Lawrence Seaway—transformed from a dream into a reality—has opened new doors of opportunity not only for my home State of Wisconsin, but for all of the Great Lakes States and the Nation.

Through the deepened and improved waterway flows an expanded volume of traffic that brings new economic life into America.

True, there are also problems; for example, this less expensive water route provides opportunity for foreign produced goods—often produced at less cost—to come into America. Of these, some are noncompetitive—not being available in this country; others, however, do compete with domestic industries.

On balance, however, the overall impact of the increased flow of trade has been of benefit to my home State of Wisconsin and to the country.

With the prospect of a deep-sea route to markets around the globe, ports on the Great Lakes undertook improved programs for participation in expanded flow of trade and commerce.

For many, this has meant immeasurable progress.

As a sponsor of the seaway law, this has been particularly gratifying.

Realistically, we recognize, however, that progress is not created for a great agricultural and industrial complex like the Great Lakes by the wave of a magic wand; rather, this must be done through the foresight, dedication, and hard work of each community and port throughout the Great Lakes.

Today, I would like to refer further to one such port which—awakening to its potentials—put its community shoulder to the job and created one of the great ports of the Great Lakes: that is, Kenosha, Wis.

In 1955 the port had suffered from a decline in use of the harbor, decaying

facilities, and little prospect of a bright future.

Thanks to community foresight and strong leadership, however, the community awakened to its potentials—undertook the needed effort—and by hard work aimed toward high goals, has created within the span of about 7 years one of the outstanding ports of the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent to have an additional article by Mary-Anne Thompson, entitled "Kenosha Realizes Dream: A Port City," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kenosha (Wis.) News, Sept. 12, 1962]

KENOSHA REALIZES DREAM: A PORT CITY

(By Mary-Anne Smoler Thompson)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The years 1955 through 1959 were the crucial ones in the making of the Kenosha Harbor. These were the years in which far-sighted Kenoshans went all out to make the port of Kenosha a reality. This article, about those crucial years, is the last in a series of three about the growth and development of the Kenosha Harbor.)

A record of declining use of the harbor, a knowledge of its decaying facilities and no concrete indication that its use would ever again increase lay before Kenoshans in 1955. The harbor seemed virtually useless.

Still, it was at this time that some citizens with high hopes for the city's natural advantage began to push for harbor development. They managed to persuade the city to spend $250,000 on the harbor and to work on State and National levels for the promotion of the harbor—just in case there was any future Great Lakes traffic to be had.

In January 1957, when Kenosha appealed to the Army Corps of Engineers to recommend Federal aid for the harbor here, citizens could proudly present a record of city progressiveness for Federal inspection.

That record of 18 months of community-wide efforts to reestablish Kenosha as a major Great Lakes port was an impressive one. It included the following items of progress and many others.

Backing of a bill which officially closed Pike Creek to navigation, opening the door to an eventual rail link to harbor facilities on the Haas Coal Co. property.

Sponsorship of a bill which added 52d Street to the State trunk highway system, linking the harbor area to American Motors, the site of the proposed municipal airport and Highway 41.

Approval of a preliminary survey of port potential by professional harbor consultants. The preliminary survey, completed in December 1955, showed that Kenosha was in a position to regain its role as a major part city.

Ordering of a full survey of the harbor's potential by the consultants.

Off season soundings of the local harbor taken by Army Engineers to gather data in view of the promise of renewed activity in the port of Kenosha.

Passing by the harbor commission of a unanimous resolution reopening the 1,000-foot city dock on Simmons Island for commercial use after it had lain idle for 10 years.

Agreement of American Motors Export Division to do its share to promote the local harbor by transferring its shipping from the Milwaukee Harbor to Kenosha, after 10 years of shipping through Milwaukee.

Loading of American Motors cars plus a significant load of cars from the Studebaker plant in Indiana, driven here in preference to Chicago or Milwaukee, aboard the Swedish motorship *Rigoletto*.

Finally, the city council took two giant steps toward a booming port of Kenosha at the end of 1956 and beginning of 1957. First it passed the 1957 budget which provided for the construction of an $80,000 warehouse to serve the municipal dock. Then, as 1957 was beginning, it voted to purchase the Haas property, doubling city-owned harbor frontage. This purchase, alone, cost the city $198,000.

With this move, the last mentioned in its 1957 progress report, the city moved into the Great Lakes shipping picture. It had acquired a new dock and had succeeded in letting out leases on the waterfront property which were expected to bring the city at least $200,000 profit along with other indirect benefits.

The city had taken the initial chance by purchasing the property and now could sit back and earn money as the renters sent money into Kenosha coffers to cover the cost of the dock, with a profit besides.

Three of the leases were granted to the Endee Co., current operators of the harbor, which, like the city, trusted that the harbor would pay off in spite of the fact that the St. Lawrence Seaway was not finished and Kenosha shipping was minimal when the long-term leases were signed.

By 1958, the harbor was on its way. The warehouse approved in 1956 was completed in October 1958. A week before it was to have its formal opening, a Swedish ship loaded with automobiles docked. The warehouse was filled with English-built Fords and the ceremonies had to be held outside.

From that point on, the road for the local harbor extended straight upward. Tonnage soared, the number of ships using the port went up, and Kenosha's reputation as a forward-looking city was never better.

The year 1959, marking the official opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, was a year of firsts for Kenosha, the port. The harbor had its first big year. It became the Midwest's automobile port, unloading 2,285 foreign-made automobiles. It replaced Green Bay as the State's second-ranking port. It handled more defense and military cargo than any other Great Lakes port, save Detroit.

The Kenosha Harbor became an official Federal port of entry in 1959 and gained State and National recognition when the Ford Motor Co. announced its plans for utilizing the port as the Midwest port of entry for English-made Fords.

Since 1959 the city has continued to improve its harbor, finally being able to see in terms of hard cash what a well-developed harbor can do for a city. Steel sheeting projects, improvements in recreational boating facilities and dredging work have made local headlines recently and certainly the harbor will continue to need work to maintain and enhance its position as a major Great Lakes port.

But Kenoshans can revel in the truth of a statement made in 1959 by a Racine columnist who said about local harbor action: "Kenoshans weren't sleeping at the switch and they didn't fail to take advantage of their opportunities. Way back in 1954, they became awake to their possibilities." And now citizens' awareness is paying off in the port of Kenosha.

## Inquiry Into Political Morality and Lobbies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two excellent articles by my colleague, Mr. MCCARTHY, which appeared this summer in the New York Times magazine.

The first one is entitled "An Inquiry Into Political Morality"; and the second is entitled "A Senator Looks at the Lobbies."

I know that all who are interested in government and in the legislative process will find these articles of great interest and value.

I wish to commend my colleague for the fine quality of these two articles.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times magazine, July 1, 1962]

AN INQUIRY INTO POLITICAL MORALITY: A SENATOR EXAMINES THE REASONS FOR THE TOO FREQUENT LAPSES IN PUBLIC ETHICS AND SUGGESTS WHERE RESPONSIBILITY LIES FOR CREATING AND ENFORCING HIGHER STANDARDS

(By EUGENE J. MCCARTHY)

(NOTE.—EUGENE J. MCCARTHY is a former professor of economics and sociology who took office as Senator, Democrat, from Minnesota in 1959. He wrote "Frontiers of American Democracy.")

WASHINGTON.—The morality of men who hold public office—a matter being brought forcibly to public attention in the case involving Billie Sol Estes—has been a subject of concern throughout the history of the United States.

An essay, attributed to Alexander Hamilton, in the "Federalist Papers" in 1788 states: "The aim of every political constitution is, or ought to be, first to obtain for rulers men who possess most wisdom to discern, and most virtue to pursue, the common good of society; and in the next place to take the most effectual precautions for keeping them virtuous."

One hundred and fifty years later, Peter Odegard, in an article on corruption written for the "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences," observed that among the great modern nations the United States had had the least enviable record with regard to the morality of its public officials.

Fourteen years later, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, in commenting on the investigations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, said: "As our study of the RFC progressed, we were confronted more and more with problems of ethical conduct." He asked these questions: "How do we deal with those who under the guise of friendship accept favors which offend the spirit of the law, but do not violate the letter? What of the men outside Government who suborn those inside it? Who is more at fault, the bribed or the bribers?" How, he asked, do we deal with the disturbing problem that "among so many influential people, morality has become identical with legality."

The findings of congressional and executive investigations, reports of State and local governments—official and unofficial—indicate that the moral and ethical standards of public officials have not improved much since 1951. Congressional committees are now looking into not only the Estes case but also scandals in the national highway-construction program, price fixing, and excessive profit taking on Government contracts, even on those vitally related to national defense.

It is not important to determine whether present conditions are better or worse than those of the past; what is, is bad enough. It is important that two questions be asked and answered, if possible.

First, what are the causes of the present state of morality or lack of morality; and,

second, what can be done to bring about a change for the better?

The explanation of the present state of public or political morality or immorality is not to be found in simple one-cause statements such as in a recent Senate report "that corruption is the inevitable result when one party or one faction remains too long in power." Neither is it to be found in sweeping generalizations regarding the inevitable corruption of democratic government; nor can it be explained away in terms of technique, codes and procedures of government. We must look for more fundamental causes.

There are, I think, at least three distinguishable ones: first, the general level of morality prevailing in the United States; second, the level of morality in business and in the legal profession, as well as in those other professions that directly bear on government and politics, and, third, the lack of a strong tradition of political responsibility and of the honor of public office in the United States.

Let us look first at the general level of morality in the United States. Americans by and large are concerned about the ethical aspects of politics and business. There is widespread protest against clear cases of bribery and graft and outright theft. "Throw the rascals out" is a popular campaign slogan. On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge, sustained by reports and statistical records, that the level is not so high as we would like it to be. Why?

Ideas do have consequences. There is less respect today for old-fashioned morality and for the hard-and-fast principles of honesty that were formerly enforced by religious conviction. Today there is rather wide acceptance among philosophies of the relativism of morality. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find some government officials and business men making up rules which, although convenient to their own purposes, are not based upon traditional or reasoned standards of right and wrong, truth or falsehood.

The level of strength of the virtue prevailing among citizens will inevitably be reflected in the conduct of officials—since they are drawn from the body of citizens and are formed and influenced by the moral standards which are generally accepted and observed.

The conduct of public officials is likely to be affected particularly by the standards of conduct prevailing in business and in the professions that touch most directly upon government. It is significant that, in many cases in which public officials accused of wrongdoings have attempted to defend themselves, they have argued that their actions were fully within the bounds of accepted practice in the business or professional world from which they had come.

Disclosures of dishonesty and misrepresentation in the fixing of radio and television programs a few years ago turned the spotlight of publicity on those associated with the communications and entertainment industry. These findings, however, have significant bearing upon other fields of business and professional activity and especially upon politics, in which the temptation to oversimplify and misrepresent is always strong.

In our society falsification is universally condemned, yet the practice in greater or lesser degree is widespread and to some extent condoned. The problem is complicated. Carl Sandburg, in "The People, Yes," asks the searching question: "What kind of a liar are you?"

"People lie because they don't remember clear what they say.

"People lie because they can't help making a story better than it was the way it happened.

"People tell white lies so as to be decent to others.

"People lie in a pinch, hating to do it, but lying on because it might be worse.

"And people lie just to be liars for crooked gain.

"What sort of a liar are you?

"Which of these liars are you?"

Carl Snyder, in his book, "Capitalism the Creator," observes that despite our prejudices we must acknowledge that avarice and greed have been the great forces in the building of America. This is too harsh a judgment, but certainly it is true that the opportunist and the sharp dealer are not unknown in the business world.

They may not sit at the head of the table, but often the high-pressure artist, the dealer in influence, the public-relations man skilled in expanding doubt or contracting truth as the case demands, and the disciples of Hermes, sit at the right hand.

The term, "free enterprise," which has a good and defensible meaning, has been abused. For many it has been the excuse for sweeping rejection of social justice and responsibility; for the rejection of traditional conceptions of right and wrong. "Legality" for many has become the watchword; they see little wrong in avoiding legal obligations, as indicated in the Internal Revenue Service estimate that something over $25 billion of taxable income goes unreported in the United States each year.

John Cassidy, who argued the question of political morality with Mr. Dooley at the turn of the century, insisted that he "niver knew a pollytician to go wrong until he's been contaminated by contact with a businessman."

This oversimplifies, but it does point to the fact that there is in nearly every case of corruption a double responsibility or a shared responsibility.

In the long run, the indirect and more subtle influence resulting from the transfer of an exploitative and self-seeking philosophy can be more destructive of morality in public office than the direct influence of bribery.

The third general cause bearing on morality in public service in the United States is the lack of any strong tradition of the responsibilities and special obligations—and the honor—of public office.

In the beginning of our national existence, we cut ourselves away from the aristocratic traditions of the Old World and adopted an egalitarian political philosophy. Every citizen was given a share of the political power which, in the old order, had been restricted to the aristocracy.

In transferring political rights to each citizen we failed to transfer a corresponding sense of responsibility which the old traditions and institutions had imposed and institutions had imposed upon the nobility. We failed to develop new institutions or a new tradition attaching obligations and responsibility to position and to office directly, as a substitute for a system that fixed such responsibility through birth or class.

Montesquieu declared that that honor was the basis of monarchy and virtue the basis of democracy. History has demonstrated that honor without virtue is an insufficient basis for monarchy, so history is demonstrating that virtue is also inadequate unless sustained by honor.

What can be done to bring about an improvement in public morality in the United States?

First, there must be a broad effort to transform the whole social and cultural environment—that is, to transform it by eliminating whatever pushes man toward evil or leads him into error, and whatever establishes or sustains conditions which encourage man to easy response in action that is morally objectionable and wrong.

Government has a clear responsibility in this field, but it a residual and sustaining responsibility; the primary and principal responsibility rests on all persons and on all institutions that affect moral judgment and actions, primarily those whose work is religious and educational.

Second, ethical standards in business and in the professions must be raised primarily for the sake of businessmen, but also because of the effects such improved standards will have on public morality and morality in public service.

We have come to accept that only a few fields of activity are truly professional—for instance, medicine and the law—and that all others are, somehow, nonprofessional or unprofessional. It is essential that other groups be indentified, like professions, with special public responsibilities, and consequently be expected to develop self-discipline and individual codes of ethics—a true sense of profession.

I cite as examples physical scientists in some fields, certified public accountants, public-relations personnel and others acting as consultants and advisers on matters touching directly on the social and public good.

Third, we must take immediate action to develop in the United States a code of ethics for men in public office, for those with responsibilities for making laws, interpreting laws and administering the affairs of Government, and to lay the foundations upon which we can build a tradition reflecting the high honor and responsibility of Government service.

The responsibility rests first with the Congress and the President, who have the authority to set standards for Government service. In a more general way it is a responsibility of the colleges and universities. They should be willing not only to fill the demand but also to create a supply of men who view Government as a professional career and who are liberally educated and professionally trained for such service.

Lindsay Warren, as Controller General of the United States, testified in 1951 before a special subcommittee to study ethical standards in Government:

"For a long time I thought that no code of ethics or morals would insure a high standard of conduct of the Government's business. I have felt that moral integrity is something innate, the result of a person's conscience, upbringing, and education and not something controllable by regulation, no matter how rigid. * * * Without good administration the best written codes will fail.

"However, the things I have seen in my 25 years in Washington, especially the shocking disclosures of the war and postwar period, have made me more receptive to an official moral code. In the first place, I no longer feel that we can rely on the moral training of all those who come into or deal with the Government."

We must not expect perfection. It will not be possible to eliminate all abuses through changes in rules and procedures. But there is a continuing need for reexamination of the methods and processes through which the great powers of Government are exercised, and a need, also, for penalties and punishments which are adjusted to the new and varied ways in which public officials today may violate public trust.

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Times magazine, Aug. 18, 1962]

A Senator Looks at the Lobbies: Groups That Have Stakes in Pending Legislation Clamor To Be Heard in Congress—This It Is Argued, Is Their Right, and There Are Safeguards Against Their Abusing It

(By Eugene J. McCarthy)

(Note.—Eugene J. McCarthy has served as a Senator, Democrat, from Minnesota

since 1959. He wrote "Frontiers of American Democracy.")

WASHINGTON.—The word "lobbying" has a derogatory ring. This is not surprising, for good or bad lobbying occurs in the processes of democracy at the point of rough transition where interests conflict and judicial processes fall short. Lobbying is a test—sometimes a raw test—of the judgment and integrity of political officeholders, both elected and appointed.

Who are the lobbyists? What do they do in order to affect the course of Government? How effective are they? Is lobbying a threat to democracy? Do Government officials need more protection from lobbyists? What can or should be done about lobbying? It is important that these questions be asked and that an attempt be made to answer them.

This has been a most active year for lobbyists in Washington. They were drawn especially by the tax bill, the Trade Expansion Act, the medical insurance program and by the Sugar Act.

The activities of lobbyists on the Sugar Act, which involves foreign countries, have moved the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to make a special study of lobbying—or, as the committee described it, of "nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments or their agents in promoting the interests of those governments." Investigation or inquiry into the operation of lobbyists in other fields has been suggested by some Members of Congress.

By statute, the lobbyist today is any person who solicits money or anything of value to be used principally to secure or influence the passage or defeat of any legislation by the Congress of the United States.

Lobbying has a long history. The word "lobby" appeared first in the English language about the middle of the 16th century. It was derived from the medieval Latin word "lobium," a monastic walk or cloister.

Three hundred years later the word was in politics. It was used both to identify a hall or corridor in the British House of Commons and as a collective noun applied to all those who frequented these lobbies. It covered those who sought to influence men in office as well as newspapermen and others looking for news and gossip.

Today the word "lobbyist" is used both in its narrow legal sense and, more broadly, as a description of all attempts to influence not only the legislators, but also any agency or officer of Government. Registered lobbyists in Washington number approximately 1,100, but the number of persons and agencies involved in efforts to influence the Government is much greater.

Some lobbyists represent big interests and well organized groups. The chamber of commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have registered lobbyists along with the AFL–CIO; so do the American Petroleum Institute, the Association of American Railroads, and nearly all major industrial and financial interests. The so-called little people and the unorganized or less organized also have lobbyists. For example, the American Committee for Flags of Necessity, the Hualapai Tribe of Hualapai Reservation, and the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation are among those groups or organizations represented by lobbyists.

Some lobbyists are well paid; some get little more than expense money. Some operate directly on Government officials, others primarily by indirection through appeals to constituents or voters. Some are professional, others amateur. Some lobbyists represent only one position or program, while others are available as free lancers on an issue-by-issue or client-by-client basis.

Some lobbyists are quite open—they seek their own gain, the protection of an economic advantage, or the elimination or reduction of advantages held by their competitors. These cry more often for equity than they do for justice. Others speak for the arts, for morality, for aid to the sick and for the oppressed among the family of man.

What do lobbyists do in order to affect Government decisions?

The methods used by the lobbyists are almost as varied as their causes. Some appeal on a purely personal basis, as friend to friend. Some undoubtedly use monetary or material appeals, but there is little evidence of direct payoff in lobbying activities affecting the Congress. In some 14 years of membership in the Congress, I know of no case in which a Member was moved to support or to oppose a position in response to any kind of direct financial or material reward. The indirect influence of campaign contributions is more difficult to assess but it is, I believe, more important.

The most common method of lobbying is that of simply appearing before a committee of Congress or speaking to individual Members in an attempt to bring them to understand one's position or to influence them to support that position.

How effective are the lobbyists?

Some are wholly ineffective but take credit for what happens without, in fact, having in any way influenced events.

Among the regular lobbies, the postal employees' organizations are usually very active and, whenever postal pay legislation is before Congress, they are listed at or near the top in terms of total expenditures. In order to raise wages or to change working conditions significantly, the spokesmen for the postal workers of the country must influence either the Congress or the administration—or both—for Government employee unions are not recognized and dealt with in the same way as other labor unions are by private employers. There is little doubt that the existence of this Washington lobby has influenced the Congress and successive administrations to raise salaries and to improve working conditons not only for postal employees, but for all Government workers.

The major farm organizations in the country maintain regular lobbies in Washington. The American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Farmers Union usually take opposite sides on farm legislation. The apparent success of the two organizations parallels closely the success of the two major political parties. The Farmers Union position is favored when the Democrats are in power, and the Farm Bureau position when the Republicans are in power.

One of the most interesting and continuing lobbying efforts of recent years has been that in support of a bill which is known as H.R. 10. This bill proposes to change existing income tax laws to allow members of professions and other self-employed persons a limited income tax credit on money invested in private pension or retirement programs. Starting almost from scratch, the supporters of this legislation have secured the approval of the House of Representatives and of the Senate Finance Commitee. Victory in this case—if it comes—must be credited in great measure to the efforts of a lobby registered as the American Thrift Assembly, a kind of holding company or organizing lobby, which was supported in testimony by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Farm Bureau, the American Medical Association, and others.

In this session of Congress, lobbies have been most active in four major areas: taxes, trade and tariffs, medical aid for the aged and extension of the Sugar Act. Undoubtedly the lobbyists did have or will have some effect on action in each of these areas.

Any significant change in tax laws attracts the attention of those who may be affected. The changes being considered this year were significant and controversial and the lobbying effort extensive.

Industries likely to be affected by trade and tariff policies are always well represented in Washington. Whenever an issue even remotely bearing upon trade is brought up for consideration, the representatives of these industries seek permission to testify. The hearings on the President's new tariff and trade program have attracted them in great numbers. Members of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, which ordinarily hold trade and tariff hearings, are generally familiar with the testimony of these witnesses. They have been described as somewhat like professional soldiers who regularly go to battle, seldom win wars and suffer few casualties.

One of the most active Washington lobbies this year, and through the years, is that of the American Medical Association—better known in Washington for what it is against than for what it is for. The spokesmen for the AMA have effectively opposed the inclusion of doctors in the social security retirement program. They were strongly opposed to amending the social security law to provide for the payment of social security pensions to people who are permanently or totally disabled after they pass the age of 50. And in the present session of Congress, the AMA lobby led the opposition to the establishment of a medical insurance program for the aged as a part of the social security program. Action in this congressional session has been a real test of the power of the AMA lobby.

Lobbying activities with reference to the Sugar Act revision this year involved lobbyists in greater numbers than ever in the past, and the lobbying activities were more intensive. At least 22 lobbyists testified before congressional committees in behalf of the countries they represented. The list of lobbyists included former members of both the Eisenhower and Truman administrations, Washington lawyers, and public relations men. Their agreements with their principals varied from flat fees to contingency agreements, depending upon the action taken by Congress.

The massive lobbying activity this year arose from the fact that the administration recommended that the Cuban sugar quota of some 3 million tons, withdraw from Cuba because of Castro, be purchased in the world market at something like 2.8 cents a pound rather than on a quota basis from designated countries at traditional premium prices. At the premium price the supplying country would receive approximately $54 a ton more than it would receive at world prices. The administration's counterproposal was an open, almost demanding invitation to every sugar producing country interested in getting a share of the premium market to seek representation. Most of them did.

We now come to the basic question: Is lobbying a threat to democracy?

The effects of lobbying can be good or bad, helpful or harmful to democracy, depending upon two things: the purposes or objectives of the lobbying effort, and the methods or devices by which the lobby seeks to accomplish its objectives.

There are some who take the extreme view that lobbies are by their very nature power blocs and therefore inconsistent with democratic government; that since lobbies represent special or limited interests, their objectives are of necessity not directed to the general welfare and, therefore, they should be abolished.

There are some who see nothing wrong with lobbies except when they represent economic interests.

There are some who hold that the dangers in lobbying arise from secrecy and behind-the-scenes operations and from the amount of money that may be spent by lobbyists.

There are regular demands that more publicity be given to lobbying activities, that lobbying be more closely regulated, and that the amount of money which can be spent by a lobbyist or lobbying groups be limited and fully reported.

Positively, the activity of lobbyists is often very helpful. Lobbyists can help maintain a balance between Congress and the executive branch of the Government. The executive branch has a prepared case, usually sustained by expert witnesses. The Congress can offer in opposition the knowledge and experience of its own Members and that of the committee staff or congressional assistants. Often this is an unfair contest. The expert testimony of lobbyists or witnesses from outside may help to bring the contest closer to balance.

Congress, of course, does not depend entirely upon lobbyists for its information. It is the usual practice to call upon governmental experts and also on independent experts drawn from groups directly affected by the legislation under consideration or from related fields and from the academic profession.

For example, in special hearings on unemployment in 1959, invitations to testify were sent to these organizations; the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Coal Policy Conference, the AFL–CIO, the United Mine Workers, the National Small Businessmen's Association, the Railway Labor Executives Association and others. Representatives of the United States Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Defense were called. Leading labor economists were asked to submit papers, to testify, and to meet with the members of the committee. Hearings were also held in the field. These hearings were open to the testimony of anyone who wished to speak on the subject.

Apart from laws and regulations, there are some built-in protections against the power and influence of lobbyists. One safeguard is that usually there are organized lobbies on both sides of contriversial issues; protectionists on the one hand versus free-traders on the other; the AFL–CIO opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers; growers' associations against those seeking to improve working conditions of migratory farm workers; antivivisectionists against those who favor medical experimentation with animals.

Sometimes the opposition is not direct but involves competition for a larger share of a quota or a subsidy, or for greater participation in advantageous tax concessions.

Political party positions and programs, too, tend to eliminate large areas of political action from the influence of lobbyists. The political compaign in the United States is a rather severe testing. Most of the important national issues are raised during political campaigns, and most men who are elected to office have made firm commitments on most issues.

The President of the United States is called to account and judged by the people every 4 years; Members of the U.S. Senate must run for reelection every 6 years, Members of the House of Representatives every 2 years.

The activities of Members of Congress are watched closely by colleagues, particularly by those of the opposite party. They are watched by newspapermen whose reputations in many cases are based upon their ability to ferret out and report any action and conduct unbecoming Government officials.

In addition, of course, everyone who holds office must assume that there are at least two or three people—perhaps in his own party and certainly in the opposition party—who are quite willing to replace him and consequently are likely to give more than ordinary attention to his conduct in public office.

What can or should be done about lobbying?

Members of Congress cannot be fully protected from lobbyists by regulation. They cannot be expected to keep a checklist of registered lobbyists or demand proof of registration or defense of nonregistration before responding to a request for conversation or for a conference. Yet, Members of Congress and other Government officials can be given some protection by law.

The present lobby registration act should be fully enforced, and financial reporting should be checked carefully. Fees contingent on successful lobbying should be outlawed. Care should be taken to remove from direct legislative determination those questions which should be settled by other branches of Government: by the President, by special commissions, by departments and agencies of Government or by international agreement.

Much of the agitation over the Sugar Act could have been prevented if the administration, acting directly or possibly in cooperation with the Organization of American States or the signatories to the International Sugar Agreement, had determined the way in which the Cuban sugar quota was to be allocated. These would have been some congressional protest, since in a broad way Congress has determined sugar allocations since the Sugar Act was passed in 1934. But the protest would have been limited and the compromises so minor that extensive lobbying activities, brought on when the whole question of reallocation was left open by the administration, would have been discouraged.

Better salaries for Government officials and sounder methods of financing campaigns would also lessen the likelihood of undue financial influence on public officials by lobbyists and others.

There is always the risk that public officials may be unduly subject to outside influence. But it is hard to imagine a meeting of a national legislature today that could or should be insulated from public pressure or demand. The practice of some primitive tribes, in which the wise men or elders withdrew from society periodically to consider laws and practices, is not likely to be revived.

The whole concept that lobbying opposes the majority, that it seeks to manipulate and subvert the majority will and the public interest, is unrealistic. Lobbyists seldom manufacture a problem. They call attention to an existing problem and try to guide the course of events. Action in Washington sometimes supports the judgment of J. B. S. Hardman, the philosopher and intellectual mentor of industrial trade unionism in America: "Majorities never rule, they merely give credentials to contending minorities."

Although lobbying does not usually involve a physical assembly—such as the 1932 veterans' bonus march on Washington or current picketing of the White House—it does involve organization, a bringing together of citizens seeking a common objective. Thus, the act of lobbying is basically an exercise of the right to petition the Government—a right set forth in the Constitution. Lobbying also involves, in a way, the exercise of the right of assembly.

In a democratic society there must be a point at which influences, both good and bad, are brought to bear upon government. The point at which these influences meet finally is in the elected and appointed officials of the country. They are supposed to be men skilled and experienced in politics and possessing the character to withstand improper pressures and improper demands.

Until a clear case can be made against the lobbyist, his voice should be heard in Washington. But his voice must be identified and, insofar as possible, restricted to that influence which is justified by the facts and the conclusions to be drawn from those facts.

THE BIG ONES

As reported, according to law, to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate, the 10 biggest spending lobbies in Washington in 1961 were:

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|---|---|
| American Medical Association | $163,405 |
| AFL–CIO | 139,919 |
| American Farm Bureau Federation | 111,364 |
| American Legion | 103,566 |
| U.S. Savings & Loan League | 101,801 |
| National Committee for Insurance Taxation | 90,058 |
| National Farmers Union | 88,273 |
| National Housing Conference | 88,141 |
| American Trucking Associations, Inc | 84,986 |
| International Brotherhood of Teamsters | 81,918 |

## Wrecking Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following statement, with which I agree, extracted from an editorial published in this morning's New York Times:

WRECKING FOREIGN AID

The House Appropriations Committee has gutted a large part of the economic aid program, cast what is in effect a vote of nonconfidence in the Agency for International Development, and revived the old prohibition against aid to Poland and Yugoslavia. If the committee had set out deliberately to undercut the prestige of the United States among its friends and allies, and to destroy confidence in the foreign aid program, it could hardly have done a more effective job than has been done, or one more pleasing to the Soviet Union.

The most damaging single recommendation is the cut in the development loan program's funds from the requested $1,250 million to $775 million. This is clearly an attempt to repudiate this long-term program for which Congress only last year gave an annual authorization of up to $1,600 million. In the words used by an administration official last week, final passage of the committee's recommendation would be "a colossal breach of faith by the United States with the underdeveloped half of the free world." The $75 million cut in the $600 million requested for the Alliance for Progress strikes similarly at the confidence the nations of Latin America may have in the promises of the U.S. Government.

Since the quality and impact of the aid program must depend in large measure upon the supervision given allocation and expenditure of funds, the 15 percent cut for the AID also is alarming. This slap at the agency comes after a period in which AID's workload has increased very substantially, yet the appropriation request would require reduction of the staff. This is not the way to build morale or improve performance.

It is in the revival of the Polish-Yugoslav issue that the spirit of the committee's recommendations is most apparent. This question has already been discussed and debated at incredible length, and decided in a

sensible fashion which gives President Kennedy the flexibility he needs. Now the House Appropriations Committee seeks to upset this satisfactory arrangement.

## The Foreign Aid Program for Fiscal Year 1963

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter addressed to Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House, by Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
*Washington, September 19, 1962.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am gravely concerned by the drastic cut of over $1,100 million which the Appropriations Committee has recommended in the appropriation requested by the President to conduct the foreign aid program for fiscal year 1963.

That program has a central and major role in our foreign policy whose objectives are to protect the security and promote the welfare of our country. I know that you and your colleagues of both parties in the House are as deeply devoted to the achievement of these high objectives as I am. I feel impelled, therefore, to bring to your attention my deep conviction that those objectives will be greatly endangered if this cut is allowed to stand.

You are as familiar as I am with the worldwide struggle for freedom in which the United States and other nations of the free world have been engaged against the aggressive power of totalitarian communism and of the indispensible role which our foreign aid program has had in preserving freedom in the world. It quite literally saved Europe from chaos and the spread of communism and made possible its regrowth as a strong partner in collective security. It rescued Greece and Turkey from Soviet domination, maintained stability in Iran, preserved the Philippines from Communist insurrection and made possible the continued existence of the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China. It has provided the military assistance vital to creating the free world shield of NATO. It has made possible the economic survival of Israel and the development of India and Pakistan where a fifth of the world's people are showing that progress can be made in freedom—in contrast to the failure and human misery of communism in China.

The great struggle for freedom still continues. Dangers in the Far East are still present. The importance of progress in South Asia is still as great. NATO remains essential to our safety. The Communist effort to penetrate and control the many new nations of Africa goes on. Communism has actually succeeded in establishing a beachhead in our own hemisphere, in Cuba. It is attempting to infiltrate and destroy the freedom of our Latin American neighbors, with whom we are joined in an Alliance for Progress.

Our aid program is a principal and vital instrument of our foreign policy for maintaining the integrity and freedom of the nations of these regions and for helping them in their own efforts toward economic and social progress. Its significance to our own security and welfare is fully recognized by the legislation enacted by the Congress last year and renewed this year.

It is important to realize that the appropriations requested by the President for fiscal year 1963 are intended to carry out the policy authorized by the legislation and initiated last year. The appropriations requested for fiscal year 1963, $4,754.8 million, including funds for the Alliance for Progress, are in fact only 1 percent more than the appropriations actually made and available last year, including the funds for the Alliance for Progress. They are only 3 percent more than was appropriated for fiscal year 1961 (leaving aside the Alliance, which did not then exist).

It is obvious that a drastic cut of the nature recommended by the Appropriations Committee would compel an equally drastic change in and weakening of the policy now carried out by the President pursuant to the legislation itself. I do not believe that any such change in policy is desired or intended by the Congress.

Although the reductions as a whole and in several categories will impair our ability as a nation to pursue the central objectives of our foreign policy, I would like to emphasize the effects of two reductions in particular: those in development lending and in supporting assistance.

Development lending was enacted by the Congress last year as the keystone of our aid program. The new aid agency was to move as rapidly as possible from grants for short-term purposes under the supporting assistance category to dollar-repayable loans for long-term development under the development lending category. Last year the Congress appropriated $1,112.5 million for development lending for fiscal year 1962 and authorized $1,500 million for fiscal year 1963. The President has now asked $1,250 million for fiscal year 1963 under this authorization. The increase over last year is intended to carry forward the policy of transferring aid from grants to dollar-repayable loans. The Appropriations Committee has recommended $775 million—a cut of 38 percent. (The provision of funds for the Alliance for Progress does not reduce this cut. Funds of a comparable amount were provided for the Alliance last year by a separate act.) This cut would obviously make it impossible for the President to carry out the policy established by the Congress of shifting the emphasis from grants to loans. It would reverse that policy.

In fact, the action of the committee would make it impossible to extend any significant new loans beyond those already committed in the past. Let me emphasize that underscored statement. You will recall that last year the Congress provided statutory authority to the President to make long-term commitments, subject to appropriations. Commitments made under this authority, with others already made and explicitly recognized last year, will call for loan funds in fiscal year 1963 amounting to $700 million. The committee recommendation would leave only $75 million for additional lending to such important countries as Greece, Israel, Turkey, the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea.

Such a reversal of established congressional policy would paralyze U.S. leadership in this tremendous task of development and progress in the most dangerously critical areas of the world.

I would urge on you and all Members of the Congress the sober necessity of providing the funds needed to continue that leadership.

Supporting assistance is needed, as you know, primarily to help sustain the economies of nations heavily burdened by military programs which they maintain as part of our agreed free world defense effort. These nations are on the very edge of Communist power, living quite literally under the continuing threat of infiltration, subversion or attack. Supporting assistance also goes to a few nations which provide us with bases or other special facilities—and to others whose internal stability is endangered by serious economic problems and whose collapse could set in train consequences potentially dangerous and highly expensive to our own Nation.

It is our policy to end supporting assistance to any country as soon as its circumstances and our national interest allow it in each case. But until that time comes, it is a dangerous economy to fail to do what needs to be done. The $415 million the President has requested under the authorizing legislation is already well below the $481.5 million for which he asked authorization. The further cut to $350 million recommended by the committee will make it impossible for us to act—or to act adequately—where we should in our own national interest.

The sum requested by the President for development grants, $300 million, is substantially identical with the sum appropriated last year. These funds are needed for basic education, technical training, and the preparation of the public administration officials, particularly in those nations which most recently attained their independence. They are directed toward developing the human resources which are so fundamental to the firm establishment of these new nations and their growth in freedom. The committee cut of $75 million—or 25 percent—would seriously impair our ability to provide fundamental help at a most critical time.

The contingency fund provides the essential margin of safety in our conduct of a highly complex aid program in support of our worldwide foreign policy. The demands on this fund which have arisen since the legislation was originally submitted have already been heavy. The President's request of $300 million is well below the $400 million authorization originally requested. The further cut of $75 million recommended by the committee narrows the margin dangerously below the level of safety.

I warmly welcome the action of the full Appropriations Committee in partially restoring the military assistance funds cut so heavily by the subcommittee. Nevertheless, the $1,500 million which the President has requested—and which is below both the appropriation for last year and the authorization for this year—is in fact needed.

The reduction in the Alliance for Progress, though less severe than the cuts I have discussed, does not support our call to the governments and peoples of this hemisphere to mobilize to defend the freedoms of our own continents.

The sharp reduction in the sum requested for administration of the program can have costly effects far greater than the apparent saving. In our aid program, not only are we engaged in the expenditures of very significant sums, but the wisdom with which we use them can have effects on the future of our Nation far beyond the immediate value of the funds involved. The administrative funds requested are needed to employ the most capable personnel to man the most effective organization we can devise. We cannot do this with the reduced funds recommended.

Finally, I understand the effect of section 109 of the appropriation bill, as recommended, would be to undo the work of the Congress only a few weeks ago in the foreign aid authorizing legislation to give the President authority, under certain circumstances carefully spelled out in the law, to provide aid to such nations as Yugoslavia and Poland. This matter has been extensively discussed in the Congress and I shall not, therefore, repeat the reasons why it is of the highest importance that the authority provided by the Congress in the authorizing legislation be continued.

Our aid program has always been a great national effort. Over the past 14 years, it has always been bipartisan in nature, springing from the needs of our country, not the ambitions of either party. It has been strongly supported by successive Presidents and by both parties. I trust and am confident that support will continue.

I am sending a substantially identical letter to Mr. HALLECK.

Sincerely,

DEAN RUSK.

## Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, V.I.

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2429) to revise the boundaries of the Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, V.I., and for other purposes.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remaining time on this side to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. WESTLAND].

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Chairman, a couple of weeks ago when this bill came before the House under suspension of the rules I protested the condemnation features that were in the bill. I thought that the people of the Island of St. John should have the right to decide themselves whether or not they wished to dispose of their property and dispose of their homes, so I opposed the bill and it failed to get the necessary two-thirds vote at that time. It now has been brought to the floor under a regular rule.

I think as a result of that failure of passage quite a few things happened. Mr. Laurance Rockefeller had announced his opposition to the condemnation features. Governor Paiewonsky subsequently announced his opposition to the condemnation part of the bill. I can assure you that I got a great many letters from the people of the Virgin Islands, particularly from the Island of St. John, in opposition to the condemnation features.

I also want to compliment the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RUTHERFORD] for his diligence in going down there to get the views of the people who were basically concerned, and coming back with the proper solution. I think the House should also know that Senator Moorhead of the Virgin Islands, who lives in St. John, visited me in my office the other day, as I am sure he did other members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and expressed his view that if the condemnation features were eliminated the bill would meet with the approval of the residents of that island. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. RUTHERFORD] has informed me that he is going to offer this amendment, which will eliminate the condemnation features. Therefore, I will support the bill.

I do not know whether another 3,000 acres on the Island of St. John will be acquired or not. I frankly think that 6,000 acres, which amounts to half of the island, is adequate. I would like to see private development, homes built by many people who would like to live there. But whether these other acres are acquired or not is up to the judgment of those people who own the properties. They can decide for themselves whether or not they want to sell. They will not be subjected to condemnation proceedings. They can do it of their own volition. This is the kind of legislation that I think the House should approve.

## Bird's Eye View of New York Democratic Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, for the edification of the country, I place in the Appendix of the RECORD this report from the September 18 issue of the New York Herald Tribune on the actual happenings at the recent New York State Democratic Convention:

A DEMOCRATIC RIOT: NOTHING EVER LIKE IT
(By James F. Clarity)

SYRACUSE.—The bands were blaring and the delegates were still having a happily raucous blast on the floor of the Onondaga County War Memorial Auditorium at 11:30 Monday night.

It was something to tell the neighbors about when you got back home to Cortland, or Elmira or Rego Park, a spectacle to make the faithful Democratic hearts beat fearlessly and hopefully against the enemy Rockefeller.

A few seconds later about 200 angry people from Queens began a demonstration that turned the convention into a riot of screaming, cursing and fist shaking unique in the history of State conventions.

The Queens people thought their favorite son, District Attorney Frank D. O'Connor, was being cheated out of the nomination for Governor by Mayor Wagner and other party chiefs.

They shouted down speaker after speaker who tried to make speeches heard from the auditorium stage. They stood up at the front of the hall, near the stage, and waved O'Connor placards as if by sheer motion they could dissuade the party fathers from their decision to make Robert M. Morgenthau the candidate.

Mayor Erastus Corning II, a tall, tanned, imperious man who is mayor of Albany and the convention's permanent chairman, beat on a small wooden block repeatedly with his gavel. He was totally ignored by the O'Connor zealots.

Mayor Wagner sat in the back row of chairs on the stage and smoked filter-tipped cigarettes, his face as expressionless as stone.

The demonstrators shouted: "Down with bossism. Down with Morgenthau. Who's running this, DeSapio?"

James A. Farley sat on the stage and glowered. Mr. Farley, the party's grand old man, who attended a convention for the first time in 1918, said later: "It was terrible. Corning was inept. He should have gavelled them out of order and had the hall cleared for an hour. Rayburn did it once. Why didn't they stop the damn bands from playing after 10 or 15 minutes? I've never seen anything like it in my entire political life."

Another party veteran, Representative CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, of the Bronx, was asked for his opinion.

Mr. BUCKLEY, whose delivery of his delegation to the Morgenthau camp was the turning point of the preconvention maneuvering, said: "I didn't hear any noise in my section."

What did he think of the noise elsewhere? "I didn't hear a thing," Mr. BUCKLEY said.

Gradually, the anti-Morgenthau force swelled to include supporters of Representative SAMUEL S. STRATTON and Howard J. Samuels. The drums continued to thump throughout the hall.

The first rollcall of counties began shortly after 1 a.m. There was shouting and ranting as each non-O'Connor was announced. The Brooklyn delegation went almost solidly for Mr. Morgenthau, but one delegate called for polling of the entire delegation by individuals. According to the State election law, individual polling can only be done on the request of a delegate for his particular assembly district delegation. One Brooklyn district was polled individually and Mr. O'Connor gained one vote.

At 2 a.m., the auditorium was filled with one huge cacophonous roar as the first ballot ended with Mr. Morgenthau seven votes shy of the necessary majority.

The O'Connor people acted, simply, as if they were insane. They had their opponent on his back with a swordpoint at his jugular—they thought.

Nassau County Chairman John F. English, an O'Connor supporter, grabbed a microphone on the floor and demanded a vote be taken on a motion to adjourn until 10 a.m.

Mr. Corning, after a hurried conference with party officials on the stage, called for a voice vote.

There was an undeniable roar in favor of adjournment, which, presumably would give the O'Connor forces more time to talk to irresolute Morgenthau delegates, if there were any.

A lesser roar was voiced against the motion. Mr. Corning ruled the motion defeated. The screams of the O'Connor enthusiasts reached a new pitch of uncontrolled outrage. Their faces were red and savage.

Mr. English jumped over a 3-foot high wooden barrier, bounded through the press section, climbed onto the stage, and appeared on the verge of punching Mr. Corning. He shoved his right fist within inches of Mr. Corning's face and shrieked, "You're going to give us a delegate poll."

State Chairman William H. McKeon, who weighs 120 pounds, stood to the side of Mr. Corning and said, "All right, all right. Just get down off here." Mr. English pointed a finger at Mr. McKeon and repeated his demand.

Syracuse policemen jumped to the stage to prevent delegates from climbing up, but none tried.

The polling of the delegates was conducted and, ironically, it resulted in a defeat of the adjournment motion when some 50 Queens delegates who supported Mr. O'Connor on the first nominating ballot switched their votes.

It was these same 50 who swung the nomination to Mr. Morgenthau on the second nominating ballot, which followed.

By 4 a.m. it was all over.

Beaten and exhausted, the O'Connor people filed sullenly out of the auditorium, and the great attempt to buck city hall had failed.

Mr. Morgenthau left his room on the sixth floor of the Hotel Syracuse and made

a brief statement in a banquet room, expressing his desire to have the party united against Governor Rockefeller for the campaign.

Still, there was no celebrating at the Friends for Morgenthau headquarters in the hotel. There was no liquor. There were no sandwiches. There wasn't much left but the disturbing thought that, after all, underdogs hardly ever win anything.

## Fairleigh Dickinson Comes of Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, in the Newark (N.J.) Sunday News of September 16, 1962, there appeared a very interesting article by Staff Correspondent Richard Johnston, with respect to Fairleigh Dickinson University which has now reached the age of 21 years. I doubt if any educational institution in the world has progressed from a 2-year junior college with 59 students to a university comprising 6 schools and 39 buildings, on 3 campuses, with 16,000 students, in so short a time.

This modern miracle is largely the product of the inspiration, the leadership, and the hard work of Dr. Peter Sammartino, Fairleigh Dickinson's president, and his many enthusiastic coworkers both in and out of the university.

In order that all who read the RECORD may have the opportunity of learning more about the miracle of Fairleigh Dickinson, I include this interesting article about this great university, as follows:

FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON OF AGE

Fairleigh Dickinson University, having reached the age of majority, is now ready to settle down and mature.

"We won't be getting any bigger," says Dr. Peter Sammartino, president and motivating force behind the school's phenomenal growth since it was founded in 1942. "Now all we want to do is develop and improve what we have."

To facilitate the university's improvement, Dr. Sammartino will announce this week the appointment of Dr. Clarence R. Decker, university vice president, to devote his time exclusively to creative and experimental educational activities.

LOOKING TO FUTURE

In addition, a committee of the future, made up of members of the faculty and educational trustees, will be organized to develop the university park in the Teaneck campus for a research center; develop a research program at the graduate and undergraduate level; develop contacts with international educators to improve the school's summer institutes in Italy, Mexico, England, and southeast Asia; develop similar educational activities in the Middle East and Africa; increase the services of all kinds of placement services, extracurricular services and services for foreign students; increase facilities at the international house opened last week in Teaneck, and establish a college for outstanding students.

Fairleigh Dickinson, which started in 1942 as a 2-year junior college with 1 building on an 8-acre campus, 59 students, 8 teachers, and $60,000 in cash, today has 6 schools in 39 buildings on 3 campuses (Teaneck and Madison-Florham Park are the others), 16,000 students, 784 teachers, a $6-million endowment fund, and properties valued at $24 million.

SIX MAGAZINES

In addition to the great strides the university has taken in the fields of arts and sciences, it now publishes six nationally and internationally distributed magazines.

It has schools in liberal arts, science, and engineering, dentistry, education, business administration, and a graduate school.

In 1948 the school became a full 4-year college, acquiring Bergen Junior College, Teaneck, in 1954 and the luxurious Twombly Estate in Florham Park in 1957. "The Florham Park campus is probably the most luxurious campus in the country and it is the only time in the history of higher education that a college has established three campuses in less than 20 years," said Dr. Sammartino.

Sitting at a modern version of a desk in his tastefully decorated, paneled office in the Old Castle Building, Mr. Sammartino recalled the humble beginnings of the school that had developed in his imagination for more than 10 years before it was founded.

VERSATILITY REQUIRED

"Right where we're sitting was a cafeteria when the school was first opened," he said, "and when no one was eating we used it for a classroom." He taught psychology and modern political history then. "That was between the many other chores I had," he smiled, "like stoking the furnace."

His wife, Sylvia, now the dean of admissions, then "did everything else that had to be done * * * like registering students, handling the social functions, and doing the office work.

"What a job it was reading the place for our first term," Dr. Sammartino recalled. "The new teachers, even some students, came to work with us in dungarees. We cleaned and painted and made most of the repairs ourselves.

"The castle, built as a summer home for a New York book company executive in 1888, later became a private club for men known as the Union Club. It hadn't been occupied since the depression," he said.

ADMIRED CASTLE

The idea for a college here first took form in the mind of Dr. Sammartino in the early 1930's when he was courting his wife who then lived at 220 Montross Avenue here.

"I used to pass the castle and think about what a wonderful school it would make," he said. At that time he was an associate in New College, Teachers College, Columbia University. He received his masters degree and doctorate at New York University and studied at the University of Paris.

"Over the years I became acquainted with many high school principals in this area through Dr. Guy L. Hilleboe, then superintendent of schools here," said Dr. Sammartino. "Being educators, we frequently discussed the need for a college in this area.

"Then one day the idea just seemed to take form and we started."

Louis J. Scaramelli, Dr. Sammartino's father-in-law, was a member of the board of directors of the Rutherford National Bank, now the National Community Bank. Col. Fairleigh S. Dickinson was the chairman of the bank's board of directors.

Scaramelli approached Dickinson with the idea for the college and solicited his financial support. "Colonel Dickinson said he would match any amount Scaramelli put up," Dr. Sammartino said, "and he matched the money both of us put up."

Dr. Sammartino and Scaramelli then called a meeting of 16 high school principals in the area along with the assistant commissioner in charge of higher education, formed a board of educational directors and voted to form a junior college.

The next step was the purchase of the Old Castle Building, on which the bank held a $25,000 mortgage. When they purchased it, Dickinson reimbursed them for the money.

They then hired six instructors and opened the first class for 59 girls and 1 boy in September 1942.

## Quincy Lights Its Bridge Without Tax Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, earlier this session I called the attention of this House to the Quincy, Ill., good neighbor policy found so successful in solving one community problem. Today I call attention to another story of the accomplishments possible when good citizens get together to solve their own problems in their own way without interference of government.

A few months ago a group in Quincy, Ill., felt that the bridge over the Mississippi River ought to be better lighted than it was. One way to solve this problem would have been to ask the city council to vote tax dollars for this purpose, or to turn to the State, or since the bridge crosses a navigable stream, to ask Congress to appropriate money for the needed lights.

Many people in west-central Illinois are hardy and self-reliant. They believe a man ought to do those things for himself which he can do best and call government in only when the problem is too big for him or for his neighbors. Lighting a bridge over the Mississippi is not too big a chore to be solved locally in west-central Illinois.

I am including with these remarks, Mr. Speaker, an editorial of the air which was carried over radio station WTAD and TV channel 7, KHGA in Quincy, and under unanimous consent take pride in inserting in the RECORD this editorial so that the Nation can be reassured that the spirit which made this country great still flourishes in the 20th Congressional District of Illinois:

The city of Quincy has passed a milestone during the past week. On Friday morning Mayor Wes Olson's office announced that the bridgelighting campaign had gone over the top by some $500. This means that Quincy, through it's own efforts entirely, will have beautiful lights on it's bridge.

This was a unique effort. It was a united effort—in which Quincyans pulled together to reach their goal. The fine leadership, so necessary for such a campaign, was furnished by Mayor Olson. But the real solid effort came from the people of Quincy themselves. It was a grassroots effort to solve a problem which had become almost impossible for the bureaucracy of two States to solve.

All of us who live in Quincy can be very proud of this effort. And, when the lights are up and lighting the way across the bridge, each of us can rejoice in the fact that we had a part in this fine community effort. We can also rejoice in the fact that taxpayers will not have to pay 1 penny of this expense.

An effort of this kind should surely make Quincy well qualified to become an all-American city. Because this was a cross section of the community, working together. This was in the fine American tradition of doing something for yourself—and was in very sharp contrast to the accepted practice these days of running to our Government for everything we want and need.

America was built and settled by pioneers who wanted no help from anybody. They were rugged individualists who worked for what they got. That their system works is apparent to any American—or anyone else who takes the trouble to travel across our great country.

Now, many years later, we have proved that this system works once again—and right here in Quincy.

Mayor Olson gives the credit for this achievement to all Quincyans—and all those who gave him such splendid cooperation. It is well to remember, however, that this was Mr. Olson's own idea—and that he worked extremely hard to push the campaign to a successful conclusion himself.

Quincyans will work hard and they will work together. We have always known this. In the past sometimes they have worked in opposite directions. But, now they have the leadership so necessary to make their work effective.

With this kind of spirit—and cooperation—and leadership—there is literally nothing that Quincy cannot do. No task should appear too formidable to us from this point on.

## Administration of the Davis-Bacon Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to refer to a letter from Mr. J. B. Lowe, of Dallas, Tex., inserted in the RECORD of September 14, 1962, by my colleague, the Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE. In his letter, Mr. Lowe makes some fallacious assertions about practices of the Department of Labor under the Davis-Bacon Act. In clarification of those assertions, I submit the following:

SEPTEMBER 18, 1962.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
*U.S. House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I read with interest the letter of Mr. J. B. Lowe, of Dallas, Tex., which you inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 14, 1962. Unfortunately, Mr. Lowe made a few erroneous statements concerning administration of the Davis-Bacon Act by the Department of Labor.

The Special Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am chairman, has recently concluded extensive hearings on the Davis-Bacon Act and its administration. I would like to apprise you of the actual practices of the Department in contradiction to Mr. Lowe's statements.

Mr. Lowe's letter indicates that only union rates have been considered by the Labor Department in determining prevailing wages. This is not correct. The Department considers whatever rate is prevailing in a given area, whether it be union or nonunion.

Another fallacy in Mr. Lowe's letter is his assumption that residential construction rates would determine construction rates for nonresidential projects. This is incorrect. Under the Davis-Bacon Act the Secretary of Labor is required to determine prevailing wages from projects of a character similar to the contract work.

The Special Subcommittee on Labor has heard various criticisms of the Davis-Bacon Act and its administration. Such criticism, if constructive, is very helpful. The instant leter, however, raises some criticisms that, to me, seem unfounded. I am sure you would want to be informed of what the subcommittee has learned to be Labor Department practice under this important act.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES ROOSEVELT, *Chairman.*

## Buffalo, N.Y., Host to Polish Union of America's 25th Quadrennial Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the week of August 19, 1962, the city of Buffalo, N.Y., was host to the Polish Union of America on the occasion of their 25th quadrennial convention.

The highlight of the convention was a banquet held on Sunday, August 19, at the Hotel Statler-Hilton in Buffalo, under the careful guidance of Mr. Alfred F. Wolinski and Mr. John Krysinski, the reception chairman.

The toastmaster for the evening was the Honorable Chester C. Gorski, president of the city council of Buffalo.

The invocation was given by the Right Reverend Monsignor Peter J. Adamski, P.A.

Greetings were extended to the delegates and guests by Mr. Walter J. Lohr, president of the Polish Union of America.

His message follows:

Mr. Toastmaster, as president of the Polish Union of America, it gives me more than usual pleasure, to extend a hearty welcome to His Excellency Bishop Leo R. Smith, our honorary chaplain of the Polish Union of America, whose friendship, is one of the most precious possessions one can hope to enjoy, always interested in the good of our organization and the welfare of its members. I also want to extend our welcome to the right reverend, the very reverend monsignories, the reverend clergy, to Congressman Thaddeus Dulski, to Senator Walter Mahoney, to Mayor John Ogarek, mayor of the city of Lackawanna, to Mr. Frank Luchowski, representative of mayor Chester Kowal, mayor of the city of good neighbors, Buffalo, who unfortunately cannot be with us, for reasons known to all of us, to Mr. Stanley Turkiewicz, president of one of the largest Polish Roman Catholic organizations in America, to the representatives of our brother and sister organizations, to the delegates and members of our organization and to all our friends, who have honored us by their presence here tonight, the opening of the 25th quadrennial convention.

I also want to thank Mr. John Krysinski, our national vice president who has labored, most earnestly and most cheerfully, to make this banquet a success.

Ladies and gentlemen, anyone who lives fully and makes a contribution to the community in which he lives, is a success.

This motto, can be applied to the fullest extent, to the Polish Union of America, a fraternal as well as a beneficial, organization of American citizens of Polish extraction.

Its worth reflects the wisdom of the founders of the Polish Union of America, the late John Pitass, pastor of St. Stanislaus Parish, Buffalo, N.Y., and the late Reverend Dominik Majer, of St. Paul, Minn., who built this organization on the enduring foundation, and religious principles, to support its purposes and religious practices, on the part of its membership, to insure its perpetuity.

Through their guiding genius, the stupendous undertaking, was launched as the Polish Union of America.

The Polish Union of America, was a product of historic necessity, it helped to preserve, what is best in the Polish background and tradition, of its members and incorporate it, into the American way of life, of which they are an integral part.

The members of the Polish Union of America contributed, to American industry, commerce, education, religious and charity. It may not be widely known, but cannot be ignored and minimized.

America to some of us, may be an adopted land, but to most of us, born here, is a home of the free and mighty, in the championship of freedom, to all peace-loving countries of the world.

While some of us despair about the future of the Polish American status, and point out, that the Polish language is spoken less and less, that the Polish American press is losing support and our fraternal organizations are not gaining enough new members, and generally claim, that our Polonia is doomed, I say, have faith

Work and work hard, because Polonia is not wasting away, falling apart and sliding into an abyss, but on the contrary, it is living a healthy normal life, based on strong and enduring principles, principles which have guided the life of the Polish American community in its religious, family, social, intellectual, economic, cultural, political and fraternal manifestations.

It is based, on positive established principles, so well embodied in the Polish Union of America, for the past 72 years, in this motto: "Unity is Strength."

Again I repeat, let us have faith, and upkeep, what our forefathers built, and as long as we have organizations, such as the Polish Union of America and others, we will succeed and benefit. As I said at the very outset of my address of welcome, anyone who lives fully and makes a contribution, to the community in which he lives, is a success, and the Polish Union of America is a success.

In conclusion, it is our hope, that you will enjoy the program arranged by the committee, but perhaps, more than that, we hope that all our thinking will be provoked, so that we will renew our efforts to promote fraternalism in its purest form.

Fraternalism, has a definite mission. Fraternalism, is a patriotic and democratic institution, founded on the principles of democracy.

It has always been a strong and beneficial influence in our Nation's history and is sorely needed today, when we are beset on every side, by other concepts of life—isms, which would destroy our Government, of, by, and for the people.

The Honorable Walter J. Mahoney, New York State senator, delivered the following address:

In a few days, September 1, we will mark the 23d anniversary of the infamous day when Poland was invaded by Hitler's Nazi hordes and World War II began. The gallant defense by Poland will go down in history as one of the most heroic chapters in the never-ending fight for freedom. Today, that fight is still going on against an equally vicious tyranny, the forces of atheistic communism. The Polish people are still in the forefront, and they deserve our prayers and encouragement. I am confident that one day they will throw off the chains of dictatorship.

The great contribution the Polish Union makes in providing insurance for its membership is well known outside your community. This is, of course, vitally important. But you are to be congratulated also for the lesser known social-service aspects of your organization. In these days when the concept of family life is under attack from all sides, and when people more and more are being encouraged to depend on government for the things which might better and more properly be done by themselves and their neighbors, this is indeed a heartening thing.

America's greatness has been its ability to draw upon the cultures of all of the many peoples who have come to her shores, preserving the best of each while uniting all under a common devotion to their adopted land. We must strive to retain the interest of our young people in their respective heritages, so that while we all fuse in the great melting pot, we do not lose sight of the great contributions each national group has made.

Senator Mahoney brought the following message from the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York:

STATE OF NEW YORK,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
*Albany, August 17, 1962.*

MR. WALTER J. LOHR,
*President, Polish Union of America,*
*Buffalo, N.Y.*

DEAR MR. LOHR: The 24th quadrennial convention of the Polish Union of America affords me the welcome opportunity of sending my cordial greetings to all present at the preconvention dinner.

The Polish Union, thanks to able leadership, has done a remarkably good job. It has maintained the ideals of ancient Polish traditions. It has preserved among the Americans of Polish origin respect for Polish history and Polish customs. It has contributed to the happiness and welfare of its members. It has encouraged fidelity to Poland's passionate belief in man's right to his own soul and his own integrity. God did not make the Poles to be slaves.

Among the finest of our citizens are those of Polish origin. Your great generals, Pulaski and Kosciusko, helped us win our freedom, and those who came after have defended, expanded, and enhanced it. You helped to build our railroads. You helped clear and till our fields; you helped man our factories; your thriftiness helped finance our economic growth; you have made distinguished contributions in the arts and professions; and when the call to arms has been sounded, Americans of Polish origin have customarily responded in numbers far beyond your proportion in our population.

You have been freedom fighters, not only when freedom was threatened by tyrants but also in the day-to-day struggle to keep it viable and strong.

My best wishes for a happy convention.

Sincerely,

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER.

Greetings were extended by the Honorable Chester Kowal, mayor of Buffalo, who was represented by Mr. Frank Luchowski.

Choral selections were offered by the Kalina Singing Society No. 221 P.S.A., under the direction of Mr. Peter Gorecki.

Greetings were also extended from the Polish Clergy Association by the Reverend Joseph Stelmach, president.

It was a pleasure for me to address the delegates and guests and my text follows:

It is an honor and a great personal pleasure to address this great convention of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America.

As I am sure you are all aware, the Polish contribution to American life extends back to the time of the earliest voyages of exploration. Poles have participated in every American conflict. They made notable contributions to the American Revolutionary effort. At the time of the Civil War there were some 30,000 Poles in the United States. Of this number, 4,000 fought in the Union Army and 1,000 in the Army of the Confederate States. When President Lincoln made his appeal for volunteers, typical of those who responded was General Kryzanowski who distinguished himself at the battles of Cross Keys, Bull Run, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. He was appointed the first Governor of Alaska, served in Panama, and died in 1887. In 1938 his remains were transferred to the Arlington National Cemetery. Polish-Americans have fought in the Spanish War, both World Wars, and the Korean war. Their heroism is one of the great parts of the tradition of the Polish people in America. But an important part of that same tradition is the history of the organization met in convention here today, the great patriotic, religious, fraternal, Polish Roman Catholic Union of America.

The founding, growth, and tradition of service of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America grew naturally out of the history of the Polish people in the United States. In 1870 there were some 50,000 Poles and 10 Polish parishes in America; in 1875 there were 200,000 Poles and 50 parishes. By 1880 there were 800,000 Poles in 132 churches led by 126 priests. At that time Wisconsin had the largest number of Polish settlements, and Chicago had the largest Polish population. Today there are more than 1,000 churches with Polish parishioners. Most Polish Americans live in the regions of the Great Lakes, lower New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Chicago, with a population of over a half million Poles is the second largest Polish city in the world; Warsaw is the first.

The first Polish mutual aid society established in the United States was that of St. Stanislaus Kostka, in Chicago, in 1864. In time, Polish parishes were established which became the centers of social and cultural activities. The tendency toward concentration grew stronger. At the turn of the century, for example, two Polish parishes alone were larger than many dioceses. In 1899, St. Stanislaus Kostka parish of Chicago had a membership of over 50,000 parishioners, and the Buffalo parish of St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr numbered 30,000 parishioners. The parish church in America took on the form of a Poland in miniature. With the establishment of the parish, new institutions, especially the parochial school came into being. The purpose of the parochial school was not only to impart Christian education but to acquaint the child with its Polish heritage.

Since the Polish parishes were the centers of all community activities, an informal federation of parish leaders joined Father Gieryk to promote unity among the American Poles. The first convention met in Detroit; the name "Polish Roman Catholic Union" was adopted.

Thus, the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America became a fraternal organization which not only insures its members, but also gives help and assistance to them in commercial and educational endeavors. It helps its handicapped and unfortunate members in the spirit of brotherhood.

From the beginning, the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America has contributed to the founding, building, and expansion of the Polish-American school system. Various schools throughout the United States have been recipients of this aid. They include St. Stanislaus Kostka College in Chicago, and St. John Cantious College in Erie, Pa. Every convention of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in America has shown a strong interest in education.

The union, by using funds from assessed dues, also laid the foundation for the Polish Seminary at Orchard Lake, Detroit, Mich., the oldest Polish institution of higher learning in the United States.

The fifth convention of the union devoted itself to the problem of Polish orphans. The plans then made were realized in 1885 with the establishment of an orphanage in Chicago under the direction of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. In 1891 the union helped establish in New York City the Polish Emigration House of Saint Joseph, a social agency for the protection of Polish immigrants. In 1894 it helped build a Polish-American pavilion at the Polish National Exposition in Lwow, Poland. In 1901 and again in 1903, at Pittsburgh, the union took a leading part in the second and third Polish Catholic Congresses which strove for Polish representation in the American Catholic hierarchy. In 1904 the union contributed to the Chicago monument to Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the American Revolutionary War hero.

In 1918 the union established its juvenile department whose primary purposes were to insure the future growth of the organization and the training in character of Polish youth born in the United States. In 1935 the sports department was formed; in 1937 the youth department replaced the sports department.

In 1908 the library was established; today it is a nationally know institution having the largest collection of Polonica in English. The union has published a series of books dealing with the history of Polish-Americans. These annals are the organ of the archives and museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. In 1897 the union established Narod Polski as the official organ of the organization. Issued on the first and third Mondays of every month, it is free to members.

This great tradition of service and achievement deserves commemoration here today, and I am well aware that all in attendance at this convention intend that the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America will add new and further triumphs to its splendid record.

The convention was honored by receiving a message from the President of the United States, the Honorable John F. Kennedy, which was read at the opening meeting on Monday, August 20.

The President's message follows:

It is a pleasure to send warm greetings to the members of the Polish Union of America on the occasion of your 25th quadrennial convention. I am delighted to convey these words through Congressman DULSKI.

As Americans of Polish descent, you may be proud of the contributions made by Generals Pulaski and Kosciusko, so many others of your countrymen, and you of this generation to the American way of life and to the ideals of freedom and democracy throughout the world.

With every good wish for a successful convention and for continuing progress in the important work you are doing.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

The principal speaker was Dr. Stephen A. Graczyk, K.S.G., medical director, Care of the Aged, Catholic Charities, diocese of Buffalo, who gave a very interesting address on medical care, a topic on which he is well qualified to speak. Dr. Graczyk is an authority on this subject, because of his vast experience and the many positions he holds.

The concluding speaker was his excellency, the Most Reverend Leo R. Smith, D.D., who lifted us spiritually by stressing our obligations to God and our country.

## Dick Reeves: Master of Gullah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, when raconteur Harold (Dick) Reeves, district manager of the social security office, retired recently at Charleston, S.C., an excellent tribute to his faithful service was published in the Oasis, an HEW magazine.

Dick Reeves' talents are many, but aside from his topnotch reputation as district manager, he is probably best known for his efforts to preserve the distinctive Gullah dialect in the low country of South Carolina.

This colorful dialect is spoken in the coastal islands by the descendants of members of a West African tribe. And throughout the low country, Dick Reeves is known as a master of Gullah.

His knowledge of this language has taken him on lecture trips throughout at least 10 Southern States, and he frequently is called upon to speak at social and civic gatherings.

I know of no one else who has worked so unceasingly to help preserve this lingual phase of our history.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I hereby insert this article in tribute to an outstanding South Carolinian:

RACONTEUR REEVES RETIRES

On May 26, 1937, a Charleston, S.C., newspaper, the News & Courier, feared the worst when it contemplated the sort of employees a new Social Security Office was likely to attract. "Any gent who has friends," the editorial declared, "may be given an office at $3,000 or $5,000, and he will be especially eligible if he be prominent and influential in a State or a congressional district. Later, he may acquire some knowledge of the insurance business, but, unlike clerks in private insurance companies (managed by economic royalists), will never be expected to work more than 35 hours a week exclusive of time devoted to the 'public interest' whose name can be found in the Congressional Directory."

Had the paper checked its facts more thoroughly, it would have learned that Harold "Dick" Reeves, the then recent appointee to the post of district manager at Charleston, had actually left a vice presidency and partnership in an insurance business to seek employment with the Social Security Board at $2,600 a year. Since then, not only the manager, but many of his staff as well, have often put in uncompensated hours of overtime to insure that potential beneficiaries learned what their rights were.

Now Dick Reeves has retired: June 30 was his last day at work. And last March, when he had completed 25 years at the same job, the same newspaper which had been so critical appraised those years as follows: "Here in the low country, social security has been administered with the competence and rectitude characteristic of Dick Reeves. He has leavened a Federal welfare operation with humor and comprehension of the problems of ordinary people. It is a pleasure to note Mr. Reeves' fine performance of a public task. * * * Well done."

Dick Reeves is a native of Charleston, "America's most historic city." Married to Roberta Lanier Taylor, father of two children, he received his education in Virginia and at the University of South Carolina. Upon retirement, he has plans to keep busy and, among other things, he will devote much time to the preservation of the distinctive Gullah dialect. Gullah is spoken in the South Carolina and Georgia coastal islands by the descendants of members of a West African tribe, brought to this continent as slaves in the 17th and 18th centuries. Dick is a master of Gullah. His weekly 15-minute social security radio program was devoted to a recitation of Aesop's Fables, first in Charleston-style English, then in Gullah—both sandwiched between the public-service BOASI announcements. But he omitted the moral of each tale. The announcer would request the listener to write in and tell what he thought the moral was. In return, Dick would send his version, along with some Bureau literature.

Dick Reeves has lectured in 10 Southern States, winning the applause of many, including at least one President of the United States. He is a member of the American Dialect Society, S.C. Dialect Society, and the Society for the Preservation of Spirituals. He is secretary to the Charleston Society of the Cincinnati, and is a lay reader for his church. Some of his stories in the Gullah dialect have been recorded and distributed nationally by BOASI; some can be heard through the facilities of the Folklore Section of the Library of Congress and various museums.

The BOASI Office of Information hopes to be able to include numbers sung by the Society for the Preservation of Spirituals with commentary by Dick Reeves, in its well-known series "The World of Folk Music."

"Gradually," as another Charleston paper—the Evening Post—summed it up recently, "through personal calls, buttonholing citizens on the street, public appearances, and many miles of travel, Dick Reeves has eliminated much of the hostility toward the OASI program, and many who once opposed his efforts, now are receiving benefits."

Dick's great modesty is touching. He sincerely believes that "there is really not much to be said" about him. And here is the "petition" that he offers to the Bureau employees with whom he has been associated over the years:

"Give me a sense of humor when I hear
Men speak a language other than my own;
And tolerance when things I once held dear
Are thrown aside like garments long outgrown.
The world moves on—the changing years unfold—
Please hold my hand when I am growing old."

## A Time for Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, seldom is a State fortunate enough to have a man with the wisdom and stature as Dr. Perry E. Gresham, president, Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. It has been my privilege to know Dr. Gresham for a long number of years professionally, socially, and politically. Under his guidance, Bethany College has grown tremendously and the people of the First Congressional District have come to love and admire this man, Gresham.

At a time in the history of our State when all dedicated West Virginians are anxiously trying to solve our difficulties on our own. Dr. Gresham has come forth with an article entitled, "A Time for Leadership," which is a ringing challenge to all West Virginians. Under unanimous consent I insert this article to be included with my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I accept Dr. Gresham's challenge:

LOOK TO THE WEALTH OF WEST VIRGINIA: A TIME FOR LEADERSHIP

(By Dr. Perry E. Gresham, president, Bethany College)

Leadership is the present crying need in West Virginia.

Without the hands and minds of men, timber remains uncut, ores unmined, fields unsown. No terrain, however veined with minerals or carpeted with loam, has wealth until men work it and develop it, and shape their dreams and lives out of it.

In our people, we have a wealth still greater than our natural bounty. Their diligence and simple virtues built us a mighty heritage. And these things still count: we have the human resource to face the altered challenges that face us now.

But a modern, complex society makes different demands of that human resource, our youth, than the difficult but simpler, individual obstacles that dared our pioneers. Now is a time for leadership—for the man who can join the many of us against vast undertakings, the man with broad-ranging knowledge of the world's tools of progress, deeply understanding of history's lessons.

Youth is the wealth the future rests with. Like a mineral wealth, it must be developed. And the unearthing, refining, shaping, tempering, and polishing of our youth is a task, desperately important, as difficult and costly as the development of any natural resource.

Producing leaders is a use of education. Yet the schools can do only what the people want them to do—too often as little as possible, as cheaply as possible. We have not everywhere been interested enough in learning; our schools are uneven in quality, our teachers unevenly prepared. Too many of our youngsters drop out of high school. Not enough go on to college—and, of those who do, far too many go out of West Virginia, leaving her bereft of the leadership they might have given.

There are bright spots. In public education we have those who are knocking themselves out to give us better schools. Some civic and community leaders and public servants have enormous dedication to school improvement. And some enlightened indus-

tries are now doing things to keep our young people in West Virginia, providing employment for them, spurring their pursuit of graduate studies, encouraging them to return afterward if their studies have taken them out of the State.

We have upward trends in gifts to private institutions, and in appropriations to State colleges; improved attitudes toward education on the citizen's part; expansion in facilities and curriculums; more schools accredited. Marshall is now a State university; West Virginia University has its remarkable new medical facility. Yes, there are bright spots.

But is it enough?

History tells us on every page what just one man of leadership can do—to change a people's philosophy from one of looking back to one of progress, to open a multitude's eyes to vistas of great new economic opportunity, to melt regional barriers and spark massive marches upon shared goals. How sadly remiss we are if we allow but one potential leader to drop out of high school and forgo such a destiny.

Ignorance has gone out of style. Pride in backwardness today is deadly. We cannot starve our schools, then wonder why they are not producing leaders. We must see; we must care; we must increase our support.

We must persuade our young people that there is every opportunity here for accomplishment and dignity, that their gumption and ideas will meet with welcome and encouragement. We must find ways to interest our bright youngsters in higher learning, and ways of pointing them toward the rewarding achievements that await anyone who will help guide West Virginia across the threshold of her hundredth year and into greatness.

Let those who can lead stand forward.

## Safeguarding Our Future Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it has been vividly brought to my attention by a New York constituent who wrote me a letter that our children are returning to school and we must again be watchful for them as they are crossing streets on their way to school and playing on their way home in the afternoons. I think my constituent, Mr. Arthur Murray Aibinder, has made a very fine and constructive observation about the importance of each child to our Nation, and therefore ask unanimous consent to have the text of his letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
*September 4, 1962.*

Hon. JACOB JAVITS,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: School resumes. At this time I feel it is appropriate to respectfully appeal to you to convey the following safety message to your colleagues in the Senate. Together, each of you could spread the following safety precaution to your constituents:

School resumes, little Billy is anxious to see his schoolmates and tell them about his summer trip to Washington. He even met his Senator. Motorists are urged to drive carefully as this freckle-faced kid crosses the street. He might grow up to be President of the United States.

I am very grateful for your consideration of the above.

Thank you so very much, Senator JAVITS.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR MURRAY AIBINDER.

## The Way of the Aggressor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, in the last month, because of two recesses, many of us have "felt the pulse" of our people in the various congressional districts, and realize that, as usual, they are ahead of us in matters pertaining to the national security. At a Joint Armed Services and Foreign Affairs Committee briefing last Wednesday, the Secretary of State, and others, were clearly, but not so succinctly, told that they want no more indecision, vacillation, evasion, lack of policy and/or "fiddling while Rome burns." I have said to the House in a recent talk on the floor that we have dealt from a policy of fear for too long. The accompanying editorial from the National Observer, dated Monday, September 17, 1962, summarizes the fears of our Nation at this time. Two resolutions pending before this body will enhance action instead of words and use of power before it becomes mutually annihilatory. The article summarizes how we got that way, the question of whether or not we will erase the obstacles while there is still time depends upon the will of the people, and is a function of command. We must recede from an appearance of vacillation, and we must forego appeasement.

I strongly urge, not only reading of this summary and editorial, but it's reflective study by all Members of this body:

THE WAY OF THE AGGRESSOR

In many a week for many a year the cold war has dominated the news. Last week, that war seemed to be heating up perceptibly. Many Americans wondered how, at the least, some kind of showdown over Cuba could be long avoided—if, that is, the U.S. Government planned to do anything at all about the Khrushchev-Castro combine.

The Soviet Union, having put Cuba under military occupation without opposition from the United States, proceeded to blast the United States with yet another lengthy and vicious tirade. The gist of it: Don't dare invade poor little Cuba or you will be unleashing what could be a worldwide nuclear war.

While few experts believe the Soviets actually would fight for an island so remote from them and so near us, this assessment hardly gets the United States off the hook. Its own strategic interests are directly involved if the Soviets turn Cuba into a military base for offense against other Latin nations or, in any eventual East-West war, against the U.S. mainland. That the Soviets have even gone this far, pouring masses of weapons and troops into Cuba, makes a pretty sorry spectacle of the U.S. role as defender of the Americas.

President Kennedy at his news conference declared that if ever the security of the United States or its hemispheric allies become directly threatened by Cuba, "then this country will do whatever must be done." Perhaps he is right that the time has not yet come, or perhaps there are compelling reasons, unknown to the public, for not taking a strong stand at this time.

The question today nonetheless is: If the current Soviet provocation in Cuba is not enough to move the United States to action, what if anything will?

The United States, to be sure, was making responses of a sort last week to the provocations in Cuba, Berlin, and all along the cold war front. On Cuba, Secretary of State Rusk slated an informal meeting later this month with other members of the Organization of American States—though what good it would do, on the basis of that assembly's past performance, is hard to imagine.

More broadly, the Senate gave quick approval to the President's request for standby authority to call up 150,000 Reserves. Almost everyone, and notably General Eisenhower, said we must support the President. But many people, including us, can see in the request little more than a gesture, and a somewhat baffling one at that.

President Kennedy did call up Reserves last year as a partial reaction to what he regarded as a grave intensification of the long-standing Berlin crisis. Rarely has there been a bigger military-administration foul-up, in peacetime anyway, with the Reserves' recriminations still ringing in the Pentagon's red ears. Worse, the flailing of Reserve arms seems not to have faced Khrushchev in the least; the Berlin wall stands, and Khrushchev goes grimly on concocting new provocations in the world's No. 1 problem city.

Now, with those Reserves scarcely sent home, the question is: Will authority to call up more Reserves impress the Kremlin any more than last year's action—anywhere in the cold war cockpit?

Another kind of response last week, designed to demonstrate America's determination to Moscow and enlist American public support for the administration, was Mr. Kennedy's soaring speech on space. In Houston he said the United States must forge full speed ahead to the moon and first place in space over Russia so that those reaches of infinity will be an area of peace and never a "terrifying theater of war."

"We have vowed," the President declared, that the peoples of the world shall not see space "governed by a hostile flag of conquest, but by a banner of freedom and peace. We have vowed that we shall not see space filled with weapons of mass destruction, but with instruments of knowledge and understanding."

Though there may be good reasons for urgent exploration of space, some of the President's logic is a little hard to follow. How can we be first in space all over, in the sense of barring the Soviets from it, when they are already in it? Even if we beat them with a man on the moon, how does that preclude them from using space as a terrifying theater of war? Meantime, back on earth, they are pressing and pressing, gaining and gaining, not with spacecraft but with guns and tanks, and we are giving little by little.

The questions about the scope and unprecedented pace of our space program are not so easily answered. They are, we think, deeper than the President's inspirational language suggests.

In the midst of all this, last week also offered a footnote to the history of the cold

war. In London, at the age of 61, died Dr. Robert Soblen, naturalized American citizen but convicted Soviet spy, the victim of his own overdose of drugs in a final effort to escape serving a life sentence in the United States.

Soblen's death was not only the climax of a spy thriller international goose chase that held the headlines for weeks. It should also be a reminder of the Soviet espionage apparatus in this country; Soblen was busily transmitting our intelligence secrets even during World War II when Russia was our ally.

The damage that apparatus has done needs no elaboration. But we should also remember the climate in which it thrived: The attitude, in Government and elsewhere, that Red Russia (under Stalin, yet) was really a democracy like ours, and that if only we would be understanding the Soviets would cooperate with us in building a peaceful postwar world.

Out of this tragic illusion came our disastrous agreement with Stalin that made possible communism's conquests in Europe and in Asia. Out of it came the cold war. Out of it came Korea. Out of it came the confrontation of Soviet armor 90 miles from Florida.

Looking at that dismal past does not, perhaps, tell us what to do about Cuba. But it does tell us one thing: Whether with Hitler or Stalin, Khrushchev or Castro, whether in cold war or hot, an appearance of vacillation and weakness and excessive reluctance to employ the power we so fortunately possess—that appearance will never stop the aggressor.

## Patrol Dog Teams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the high incidence of crime in housing projects and outlying areas requires the enforcement agencies to use every means available to prevent crime and to apprehend criminals. The District of Columbia has recognized that an effective deterrent to crime is the use of police-dog teams. I have communicated with the New York City Police Department and urged that department to use police dogs in their police work. The New York City Police Department has indicated that it is taking the matter under advisement.

My interest in the matter has caused me to inquire into the use of police-dog teams, and I find that dogs are used in police work in the following cities, counties, and States:

Cities using dogs in police work: Birmingham, Ala.; Sacramento, Calif.; Bridgeport, Hartford, and Milford, Conn.; Norwalk, Conn.—program about to start; Miami, Fla.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Lexington, Ky.; New Orleans, La.; Baltimore, Cumberland, Ocean City, and Mount Rainer, Md.; Brentwood, Kansas City, Overland, and St. Louis, Mo.; Clifton, Elizabeth, and Trenton, N.J.; Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Rochester, N.Y.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Tulsa, Okla.; Lancaster, and Reading, Pa.; Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; Alexandria, Newport News, and Richmond, Va.; and Washington, D.C.

Counties using dogs in police work: Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Md.; and St. Louis County, Mo.

States using dogs in police work: Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, and Virginia.

Our citizens have a right to be protected and we have a right to call upon our enforcement agencies to use whatever means available to decrease the rising incidence of crime.

## Wasted Years of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of all Members of Congress, through insertion in the RECORD, a very excellent statement on the lack of youth employment, which appeared last summer in the editorial columns of the Seattle Times. These observations on the economic and social consequences of this problem provided strong support for H.R. 7536, the Youth Employment Opportunities Act of 1961. I deeply regret that the House of Representatives has not had the opportunity for debate on the measure, which I feel would have resulted in its passage with subsequent benefits to our Nation and its young people.

The editorial statement follows:

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times, July 16, 1961]

WASTED YEARS OF YOUTH

The Nation is climbing steadily, if not spectacularly, out of economic recession. But despite swelling employment and wage totals, the blight of unemployment increased sharply last month.

One reason is obvious. Millions of young people, just out of school, are looking for work.

This problem is going to get worse, no matter what the general trend of the economy. According to Labor Secretary Goldberg, some 450,000 young people were unemployed last fall, and by 1965, an additional 800,000 youth will be seeking jobs.

The outlook for young persons, says Goldberg, is "extremely dark unless constructive plans and programs are developed to assist them."

We need not belabor here the social evils that could grow out of a situation in which more than a million active, energetic, restless young Americans have no useful means of occuying their time.

Suffice it to say on this point that spokesmen at the National Conference of Juvenile Court Judges, meeting last month in San Francisco, described the growing numbers of unemployed in the 16-to-22 age bracket as an "army of youngsters roaming around at loose ends, creating a tremendous delinquency potential."

This is a situation that demands something more immediate than longterm studies, nor can it be remedied—as noted above—exclusively by the expected longterm growth in the economy.

Many of the youth now "roaming around at loose ends" cannot qualify for colleges or the armed services—nor is it the purpose of either of those institutions to take people off the labor market.

Last month, President Kennedy proposed a threefold attack on the problem. One part of the Kennedy program would provide on-the-job training on a private basis for young men and women between 16 and 22 over a 3-year period. Another would provide federally aided job opportunties in public service and on local public works projects. A third would set up a youth conservation corps somewhat on the model of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's.

The CCC experiment today is generally regarded as one of the most successful of the New Deal innovations. Some of the Western States, including Washington, still are benefiting, in terms of physical assets, from the conservation work of the CCC. The benefits in human terms are incalculable.

The Kennedy CCC proposal is a modest pilot project that would affect, at the beginning, only 6,000 young men. Senator HUMPHREY has introduced legislation which would authorize a first-year corps of 50,000 young men.

It is not our purpose here to urge passage of either of these measures in detail. HUMPHREY may be putting too much emphasis upon a CCC solution to youthful unemployment; Mr. Kennedy perhaps too little.

The point is that both these gentlemen are clearly right in emphasizing the urgency of the problem—the need for Congress to take effective steps this summer.

On a longer-range basis, and in regard to youth of a younger age, Congress might well explore the possibility, suggested last week by Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, that child-labor laws be eased to allow today's children a "valuable" taste of useful, gainful employment.

Neither Ribicoff nor anyone else on record is advocating a return to sweatshop conditions. Nor do the Secretary's remarks constitute advocacy of children usurping adult jobs.

But there is no doubt that some laws to prevent exploitation of children may have, in Ribicoff's words, become too strict for the public good.

This is a difficult, delicate problem, but one worthy of close congressional scrutiny.

However, the problem demanding more immediate attention is that of the unemployed older, out-of-school youth—the problem that is the target of the Kennedy and HUMPHREY programs.

Our State can take satisfaction in the small beginnings this month of a youth conservation corps program in Washington. Forty young men are at work developing State park facilities at Lake Easton as a pilot project.

Unemployment is tragic at any age. But in the case of youth, the long-range effects—the acquiring of habits of aimlessness and shiftlessness that could persist a lifetime—could be especially detrimental.

Action on this problem should not be a matter of partisan politics or something to be put off until an election year.

## It's Time for Foreign Aid to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, because of the tremendous concern on the part of every American about our future relations with Cuba and the threat to our

security which results from the establishment of a Communist base so near our shores, I insert, under unanimous consent, an editorial which appeared in the Union City, N.J., Hudson Dispatch, on September 13, 1962, in the Appendix.

This forceful editorial sets forth, in language that anyone can understand, the urgent need for the United States to demand that its allies do not aggravate the present Cuban situation by allowing the shipment of arms to Cuba in their ships to continue.

The editorial follows:

IT'S TIME FOR FOREIGN AID TO UNITED STATES

An insupportable anomaly in the Communist buildup of military supplies in Castro's Cuba which cries for elimination is the spectacle of a number of our NATO Allies permitting their commercial ships to carry cargoes of Soviet goods to the Red island bastion which is becoming an ever-greater threat to the United States and our Latin American allies.

NATO, which gets the largest part of its manpower as well as its financial support from the United States, was set up for the purpose of keeping the free world free, yet our partners in this allied defense organization are ignoring a vital phase of their overall commitments in that direction by providing more than half the shipping carrying arms and strategic materials to the Red-bloc satellite.

The United States has the means and unquestionably should act to bring about a speedy cessation to the practice of allowing Russia to charter private vessels of our allies to haul food, consumer goods, and arms, including missiles, to the Communist puppet regime only 90 miles off our shores. Even before Soviet Premier Khrushchev had the supreme gall to threaten this country with nuclear war over Cuba, American appeals to NATO Allies to discourage this aid to the Moscow stooge in Havana were voiced.

The United States brought up the Cuban question at North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council meetings in Paris last month. On August 31, when Washington revealed that the appeals had met with a limited but generally satisfactory response, it was stated that further insistence on the part of this country was certain.

Following President Kennedy's remark at his first September news conference that NATO countries should consider what steps they could take to prevent usage of their ships for Russia's Cuban trade and arms buildup, our request were officially repeated.

Since mid-July through the end of the week of the current month, our State Department reveals that about 60 ships have left Soviet bloc ports for Cuba. Of these, 25 were said to be Soviet-owned while most of the rest were chartered from free world countries.

American officials are continuing talks with European countries on whether their trade with Cuba hampers the U.S. policy of trying to isolate the Castro regime economically and whether goods embargoed to Cuba by the United States might have been transhipped through Europe.

Countries approached on the charter question included Greece, Norway, Britain, and West Germany. These are said to be the NATO nations whose vessels most frequently are chartered by Russia. Yesterday, Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, assistant Democratic leader in the upper Chamber, speaking against the backdrop of Soviet threats over Cuba, urged that stronger pressure be applied on our allies to halt military and strategic shipments to the Communist outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. HUMPHREY was joined by Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican of New York, in urging some plain talking with U.S. allies. The Empire State Senator said he had been urging such a course for some time. We, too, join in this call for action that will get results. All the billions we have spent on foreign aid certainly entitle us to this kind of foreign aid.

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## Part III: Cuba's Soviet Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the third article on Cuba, an eyewitness report by Anthony Burton, appears in the September 19 issue of the New York Daily News:

CASTRO'S CUBA IS BEING SOLD DOWN THE VOLGA

(By Anthony Burton)

(NOTE.—This is the third and final eyewitness report on Sovietized Cuba by News Staffer Anthony Burton, the last reporter for a U.S. newspaper to get out of the island. He describes Castro's secret police at work and Soviet penetration.)

MIAMI, September 18.—At first when you discover that agents are shadowing you in a police state like Cuba the reaction is one of amusement, even flattery, that you should be considered so important.

Then, gradually, you find a tautness overtaking you, a tugging at nerve ends. You can't help looking over your shoulder.

It was a taxidriver who first tipped me off that the Castro government was taking more than a friendly interest in my visit to the Sovietized island.

"D'you know you're being followed?" he asked, looking into his rearview mirror. About 100 yards behind was a green and white Chevrolet carrying three men.

HAVING SOME FUN WITH THE SHADOWERS

Wherever I went that day I never lost them. The three, in the casual dress of ordinary Cubans, became as familiar as friends.

The only light moments in the grim tailing came when they rammed another car in their eagerness to keep up with my taxi.

And, while driving with two other newsmen, we deliberately tucked ourselves behind a stopped bus, leaving the Chevrolet in the mainstream of rush-hour traffic. Refusing to move ahead and so lose us, the shadowers stubbornly halted in the middle of the road.

Traffic backed up behind them for blocks until the bus drove off and the chase resumed.

The secret police, called G–2, are not funny, however, as the many people who have been picked up and taken to their headquarters will testify.

There is still no news of two Cuban nationals, Raul Casanes and his wife, Sarita, who work for U.S. news mediums. They disappeared into G–2 headquarters more than a week ago.

So far, there has been no talk of torture by the secret police as there was in the days of Dictator Batista. The worst is the cold room treatment in which a prisoner in light clothes is put in a room at 45° temperature for hours. He is later told it was a mistake and returned to his cell.

A government official told me while boasting of improvements since the revolution: "We kill them better now. A clean death with no torture. It is better."

There are still a few good things to be found in the island. The color bar is absent and people of every shade, from deepest black to European white, mix freely.

GUITARS, DRUMS PLAY AND REDS CONSOLIDATE

The tropical weather makes the lack of good clothes less noticeable. Nearly every ordinary Cuban wears an open-neck shirt and slacks.

The pretty girls, once among the most elegant in Latin America, still retain some of their former smartness as well as their love of wiggling to the "Cha-cha."

The Russians, with their prudish background, must have tightened their lips when they first encountered the exotic walk of well-built Cuban girls and the happy-go-lucky attitude of the ordinary Cuban.

"They're being sold down the Volga and they don't care so long as they can still have their music," said one disgusted Westerner.

While the guitars and drums play on, the Russians consolidate their hold on the island. When they found that mismanagement of the Castro regime was dissipating their economic aid, they demanded control of the projects in which they were involved.

SOVIET ECONOMIC CZAR ORDERED SHIPMENTS

The Soviet economic czar in Cuba is Said Usamanov, who made a reputation in Khrushchev's virgin lands project. Only when Castro had agreed to fall in with his plans did Usamanov authorize shipments of Russian economic aid.

All military items are carried in Soviet ships. Economic aid comes in Greek, Liberian, Italian, and West German ships.

Tractors that have broken down through misuse are seen all over Cuba. Usamanov vetoed further tractor shipments until those already in Cuba were repaired and set to work.

His job is to revive the staggering Cuban economy and his method is the stark austerity which the island is now suffering.

Time will tell whether the Russians, having used Castro and his men, will move them aside.

SEEMS CASTRO STILL RUNS THE MILITARY

The issuance of cards to workers is a sign of tightening discipline. If you don't work you don't get a card. The card is needed for everything, even renting a cabin at hotel swimming pools.

Military control, however, still seems to be in the hands of the regime. Castro, backed now by Russian guns, radar, patrol boats, tanks, armored cars, and trucks, would have little trouble dealing with a repeat of the small-scale Bay of Pigs invasion.

The Cuban threat will be to Central American nations.

The official line now is that the Cuban revolution is not for export, that the Cubans are not interested in encouraging communism to spread in Latin America. They just want to be left alone to rebuild their country.

A Western diplomat told me: "It's the classic Communist procedure. The Russians want quiet so that they can consolidate their gains here, like the snake digesting its prey.

"When they are completely in control they will set about fomenting trouble in other countries. They are very anxious for all this fuss to die down until then."

SOVIET TECHNOLOGISTS BUILDING AND TEACHING

To that extent, it may be the truth when Cuba says that the Russians arriving there are helping with defenses.

The present emphasis is on defense. Bridges are being mined, military roads built, antiaircraft guns, and rockets point skyward alongside radar installations.

Russians train the Cubans in their use and oversee the construction of factories. The Russian camps I saw could well have

held the equivalent of U.S. Signal Corps troops.

Castro is setting up a network of communications so that he can get speedy warnings of any invasion attempt.

But the question is: When does a defensive position become so powerful that it becomes offensive? The United States will have to decide.

THE HAPPY MOMENT WHEN FREEDOM CAME

For me, the 8 days in Cuba were intensely depressing, relieved at the end by some heart-warming moments.

There was the time when the Pan American plane swept into Havana airport to pick up fleeing refugees. It was a needed reminded of another world where guns do not swing at everybody's hip.

There was the moment on board the plane, packed with 108 men, women, and children, when the pilot quietly welcomed them aboard in Spanish—a nice touch by Pan Am—and even raised a laugh.

And there was the moment when the plane touched down at Miami and the refugees burst into spontaneous applause. I found myself clapping too.

## On the Myths and Realities of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James Reston's column in the September 19 New York Times is particularly deserving of attention, and I most heartily recommend that each and every one of my colleagues not only read it carefully but give thoughtful consideration to Mr. Reston's arguments in behalf of the administration's foreign aid appropriation request.

The article is as follows:

ON THE MYTHS AND REALITIES OF FOREIGN AID

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, September 18.—Every year the administration's foreign aid gets in more trouble. The House Appropriations Committee has now cut President Kennedy's request by over $1,124 million—the deepest slash in the 15 years of the program—and it is important to analyze why.

The popular explanation within the administration is that the man who presides over the program in the House of Representatives, OTTO E. PASSMAN, of Louisiana, is a narrow and spiteful man, hostile to everything outside his own parish. This is a hard charge to disprove, but it is certainly not the true explanation.

THE BASIC COMPLAINTS

There is, for example, a growing feeling here, not only on Capitol Hill but within the administration, that the United States is carrying an undue share of the burden of helping the developing countries. President Kennedy himself has called on the increasingly prosperous industrial countries of Western Europe to do more.

Over the last few months, Congressmen have been told that the administration was sending officials to Europe to study why the European economies are growing so much faster than ours, why they are so prosperous with so little unemployment. Yet the same Congressmen are asked to vote more funds to carry the foreign aid load, as if Europe were still recovering from the war.

After 15 years of foreign aid, there was some expectation here that more countries would be phased out of the program. Instead, new countries come into being each year, and each assumes, usually correctly, that it will get an independence grant from Washington, followed by substantial payments to keep the new state going.

Under Secretary of State George Ball, for example, was warning the underdeveloped nations at the World Bank meeting here this week about this "What have you done for us lately?" attitude.

"It may be thought by some," he said, "that a developing country should be able to look with confidence to a perpetual inflow of public funds to supplement its internal savings and thus feel free to discourage private investment."

The foreign aid cut in the Appropriations Committee, therefore, is not merely the action of a willful minority of provincial Congressmen. The truth is that the administration is getting the votes of devoted internationalists like Senators FULBRIGHT and MANSFIELD, but not their enthusiastic support.

Increasingly, they complain that the administration is trying to do too much in too many places, that it is going the easy way of attempting to buy friends, and that it is administering the program very badly.

Accordingly, the atmosphere has been charged here this week with demands for a new appraisal of Washington's relations with its allies and the underdeveloped countries.

Eugene Black, the President of the World Bank, told the 17th annual meeting of the Bank today, for example, that aid must be offered economically and effectively 'if it is not to become an intolerable burden on the lenders."

Earlier he had wondered out loud whether the starting rise in population of these underdeveloped countries was not outrunning the capacity of even the richest countries to maintain even the present low standards of living in many areas. And today he suggested that foreign aid from one country to another be replaced increasingly by international aid programs.

"My most serious criticism of bilateral aid programs," he said, "is their susceptibility to political influences, whether overt or otherwise. Even at best there is always the risk that political influences may misdirect development aid * * *. I have known cases where, as a result, a splendid new sports stadium has been built while the highway system remains primitive, or where the national airport has acquired a strikingly modern terminal building while parched but fertile land is left without irrigation."

The attitude of the prosperous Western allies to America's expenditures for defense was, meanwhile, the topic of a solemn article by McGeorge Bundy, the President's foreign policy adviser, in this week's issue of Foreign Affairs. He called for a greater degree of "reciprocity" on the part of the Allies and complained that Washington's power and responsibility in the world were now so evident, that they were taken for granted in many quarters.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOCK

All these things help illustrate the growing opposition to the foreign aid program. When President Kennedy went to Yale University to make his now famous speech on economic policy, he complained about being trapped in the mythology of the past and called for an end to stereotype thinking and the substitution of reality for myth.

Essentially, this is what the Congress and even many of his friends and associates are now saying about foreign aid: that (to use his own words) "mythology distracts us everywhere * * * We must move on from the reassuring repetition of stale phrases to a new, difficult but essential confrontation with reality."

## Cuba: Watchful Waiting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, we, in this Congress, and Americans across our country have become greatly, and justifiably concerned about recent developments in Cuba.

Along with other of our colleagues I have joined in introducing a resolution supporting the President in his announced determination to prevent the Castro regime from exporting its aggressive purposes to any part of this hemisphere by force or the threat of force; to prevent in Cuba the establishment of an externally supported military base capable of endangering the security of the United States; and, to work with other free citizens of this hemisphere in support of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Cuba for a return to self-determination.

Mr. Speaker, in this context, I believe the editorials by the distinguished columnist, Walter Lippmann, which appeared in the Washington Post, on September 18, goes to the heart of the problem and I commend its thoughtful analysis to our colleagues' attention:

CUBA: WATCHFUL WAITING

(By Walter Lippmann)

Although there are some who say that we are doing nothing about Cuba, the fact is that we are doing just about everything that can be done short of going to war.

Beside the economic embargo, we are keeping the island under "surveillance." We are watching every ship that comes to and goes from the island, and we are keeping a close watch on the loading and unloading of these ships. We have accurate and current records of building operations and the deployment of aircraft and tanks and artillery.

There may be some doubt whether we have located every missile site in the vastness of the Soviet Union. But in Cuba, unless our cameras are failing us, we are completely informed.

As a result, we are quite able to know about the development of anything like a Soviet missile base directed against the United States, and what may be more realistic, we are able to spot anything like an expeditionary force against Cuba's neighbors in the islands and in the Caribbean.

Our policy at the present is to keep ourselves completely informed, and to wait and see whether Castro and his Soviet helpers do any overt act, against the United States or its neighbors. Beyond this, there is no serious action the United States can take to remove him that would not be an act of war.

The United States, is, of course, able easily to blockade Cuba. But stopping ships under threat of seizure or sinking would be an act of war not only against Cuba but against the Soviet Union. For we would be seizing or sinking Soviet ships.

The invasion of Cuba would, of course, be an act of war against Cuba. To be sure, the United States could easily win a war against Cuba. We could close the Cuban ports within a few hours and we could occupy very quickly Havana and a few big cities. The countryside might be another story.

But what we could not be sure of doing is to prevent the retaliatory moves to which we would have laid ourselves wide open, moves against Berlin or against Turkey, or against Iran.

For we would have acted on the rule that a possible threat against our security or our interests justifies us in going to war.

We would be saying that because Cuba, which is only 90 miles away, is in the grip of an unfriendly European power, we have a right to blockade or occupy the island; we would be saying too that the Soviet Union has no such right to act against the American military positions in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, right on her own frontier.

Let us not fool ourselves. Such an argument will not wash. It would be rejected, probably even laughed at, not only by all neutrals but by powerful elements among our closest allies.

There are some who think foreign opinion doesn't matter. But when it comes to war, it means a great deal to the belligerent who is for him and who is against him. We could go to war if Castro injures us. But we cannot go to war, even against Castro, because of what he may conceivably do in the future.

We cannot wage a preventive war against Castro without establishing the rule that a preventive war is legitimate against our military position in Berlin, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Taiwan, Okinawa, South Korea, and Japan.

It is true, of course, that the Soviet lodgment in Cuba is a gross violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Yet we cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine. Why not?

The Monroe Doctrine declares that "any interposition" by a European power in this hemisphere would be "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

But, and this is the crucial point, the American claim for the isolation of the Western Hemisphere was coupled with a renunciation of American interest in the Eastern Hemisphere: "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with out policy so to do."

This fundamental passage in Monroe's message is, of course, a restatement of the principle laid down by Washington in his farewell address: "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation."

This basis of the Monroe Doctrine disappeared in the 20th century, in the two World Wars, the Korean war, and the cold war. We cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine without meeting the question of what we are doing all over Europe and Asia.

Our right to put Cuba under surveillance, and if necessary to blockade and invade it, rests not on the Monroe Doctrine but on the elementary right of a people to insure its own security.

For two centuries the British felt that way about the occupation of Belgium by an unfriendly power. The Russians felt that way about Turkey. This right can, however, be exercised only when there is a clear and present danger.

Castro is an insulting nuisance but is not, and is not now remotely capable of becoming a clear and present danger to the United States. So we must practice watchful waiting, and hold ourselves in readiness, never for a moment forgetting the vastly greater dangers elsewhere.

In a time of watchful waiting, Congress and the newspapers are compelled to remember that the President is conducting a delicate and dangerous operation, and that he is seriously interfered with if he is forced to dot every i and to cross every t in advance of a decision.

The President should not be asked to say whether he will go to war. He should not be driven to say that he won't go to war.

A certain mystery and uncertainty are desirable, and will be deterrent to our adversaries.

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## Attorney General Robert Kennedy's Address to the Polish Roman Catholic Union Convention

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy addressed the Polish Roman Catholic Union convention in Baltimore. I should like to call his inspiring remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union is the oldest Polish American fraternal organization in America. In its 89 years of existence, this dedicated organization, which has chapters in virtually every State in the Union, has written an impressive record of contributions toward helping Americans of Polish descent become better versed on the strength of the democratic process and also to become better American citizens.

It is most reassuring to know that the Attorney General of the United States would take time out from his very busy schedule to meet with this very worthwhile organization and discuss with them the problems which confront freedom-loving people throughout the world. I might add, Mr. Speaker, that Attorney General Kennedy was given one of the greatest ovations ever accorded a guest of the Polish Roman Catholic Union Convention in its 89 years of existence.

Attorney General Kennedy's eloquent message follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION CONVENTION, LORD BALTIMORE HOTEL, BALTIMORE, MD., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Fathers, officers, and delegates to the Polish Roman Catholic Union Convention, the one characteristic which distinguishes us as Americans in the world today is that in the United States we have a land of 180 million people whose cultures and background come from virtually every nation in the world, and yet we live virtually as one people.

I am particularly happy to be with you here today to participate in the opening session of your convention because Americans, regardless of ethnic background, will agree that the Polish Roman Catholic Union, through its 89 years of existence, has made an indelible contribution to the growth of America.

Over the years you have assisted Polish immigrants make an orderly transition from the customs of the Old World to those of our country. Your efforts have helped these people become dedicated Americans and made your communities across the country better places in which to live.

Although Poland is a much older nation than the United States, our destinies have been closely and profitably intertwined.

A few years after its founding, Jamestown, the first permanent settlement in America, was in trouble. The gentlemen adventurers who formed Capt. John Smith's company had little taste for the hard task of building a colony in a hostile wilderness. They were more interested in vain searches for gold than in clearing stubborn forests or plowing fields.

Smith sent to London for help. He asked for men who would work and who had the skills necessary to create a civilization in the wilderness.

The next ship brought help, not more gentlemen seeking a quick fortune, but six skilled craftsmen—Lowicki, Stefanski, Mata, Bogdan, Zrencia, and Sadioski.

These first six Poles in the new world went to work. They established a glass furnace—the first industry in America—and helped the Colony to start a soap works and a sawmill. John Smith credited their example of skill and industry with saving Jamestown.

A few years later, when the Colony was to elect the first representative legislature in America, the Governor ruled that only those born in England could vote. The Poles promptly put down their tools and proclaimed "No vote, no work." The Governor relented and the annals of the Jamestown Colony for 1619 note that Poles were extended the full rights accorded other settlers.

It is not surprising that this first strike in America was by Poles and that it was staged in the name of freedom.

The Polish love of freedom served this Nation well then and in the Revolution. The names of Pulaski and Kosciusko brighten the pages of our history.

Pulaski died in an attack on the British at Savannah after distinguished service at the Battle of Brandywine and at Valley Forge. But Kosciusko lived to serve the cause of freedom both here and in Poland long after the war.

A large cash award and a valuable tract of land were bestowed upon him by a grateful Congress, but he never used this bounty for himself. Before leaving to fight again for Polish freedom in 1794, he placed his will in the hands of Thomas Jefferson.

That last testament, as did his entire life, struck a blow for freedom and human dignity. It directed that his estate be used to buy Negro slaves and set them free.

Down through the years, Americans and Poles have shared the burden of fighting for freedom. Several years ago, I climbed that steep, rocky Italian hillside where Polish troops, under General Wladyslaw Anders, took Monte Cassino from the Nazis, climaxing some of the hardest fighting of the Second World War.

I shall never forget the inscription on the memorial to the Polish soldiers buried there:

"We Polish soldiers, for our freedom and yours, have given our souls to God, our bodies to the soil of Italy, and our hearts to Poland."

On the day the Poles captured Monte Cassino, American GI's were moving forward through the hills on their left and the Americans who died in that battle are buried a few miles from their Polish brothers.

This has been the theme of the relationship between the Polish and the American peoples—working and fighting together in the cause of freedom.

Time after time, Americans have been inspired by the stubborn courage of the Poles. We cannot forget that at the outset of the Second World War, Polish cavalrymen charged their horses against Nazi tanks.

Nor can we forget General Bor's uprising against the Germans in Warsaw, holding out for 63 days against the might of the German occupation force.

We have been able to make partial payment on the debt we owe to the sons of Pulaski and Kosciusko.

Nor have we forgotten our friend in the troubled days since the Second World War. We welcome and support the advances that have taken place in recent years.

We will continue to be concerned for the welfare of the Polish people and to maintain our traditional close ties of friendship with them.

I am happy that this Government has been able to extend over a half billion dollars in assistance to the Polish people in the past 5 years, and I am happy that this program is going to continue. This aid has been supplemented by the fine work of private organizations and citizens who have been sending generous assistance since the war.

American private and Government aid and assistance joined to build the new children's hospital which is nearing completion in Kracow.

We have invited leaders of the Polish Government and leaders of thought and opinion in Poland to visit America and see this land for themselves.

Cultural exchanges are continuing to increase. The Warsaw philharmonic and the Polish folk dance groups have toured this country. A band from Warsaw played at the Washington, D.C., and Newport jazz festivals this summer.

Our program of exchanging students, teachers, and technicians is continuing and I hope it will grow as both nations can benefit from it.

Each year, more and more American tourists are going to Poland. I hope that trend will increase and will flow both ways so that more Poles will visit us and see America.

These exchanges are but tangible evidence of the close bond between the people of Poland and the people of the United States.

Today, more than ever before, we need the courage and dedication to freedom which have made Americans and Poles such good friends through their history.

We face a resourceful foe who seeks to impose his totalitarian way on free men everywhere. The threat takes many forms. It may be a wall in Berlin, occupied domination of proud old nations, guerrilla warfare in southeast Asia, military aid to Cuba, or espionage in our own country.

We are alert to this threat and as President Kennedy said last week, we intend to do everything within our power to meet it—and our power is very great.

We are making a consistent, carefully planned effort to turn the arms race into a peace race to spread respect for the rule of law, and dedication to man's God-given right to be free.

We are convinced that a supreme effort must be made to halt the arms race, but until some progress is made, we are and will remain prepared to do what is necessary to protect our own interests and the security of our friends and allies.

As we face this challenge through the difficult years ahead, another of the great attributes of the Polish people—their loyalty and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church—will serve us well.

Poles are now celebrating their 1,000th anniversary as a Christian people. Think of it—40 generations of faith.

Ten centuries of Christianity have given the Polish people a collective dynamism and a sense of great continuing national purpose. Indeed, the birth of Poland as a nation is closely tied to the arrival of Christianity and its long and proud history has continued this close bond to the church.

We have a rich heritage of our own—revolution, toughness, industry, and unswerving belief in the fundamental rights of the individual—but we are a young nation. We look back to many lands for our basic beliefs and traditions.

The Poles brought to this country strength, courage, faith, and perseverance—and America is indebted to its Polish citizens for helping to forge our national character with this steel.

A thousand years of history shows beyond a doubt that the spirit of freedom and human dignity is so ingrained in the Polish soul that no tyrant will ever succeed in destroying them.

I know from my own experience, for on the same trip that I saw the monument at Monte Cassino, I also visited Poland. I came there from the Soviet Union, and it was inspiring to enter a country where the people yearn for the principles of freedom and meaningful democracy. It was like emerging from darkness into the sunshine.

During those thousand years, Poland has been conquered and partitioned six times. Yet Poland has never lost its concept as a nation. Stubbornly and passionately, the Poles have clung to their determination to be free. They have refused to quit. They have always come back.

This is the strength and tradition of the Polish character. This is your heritage.

So, it is a privilege to be here for not only do I feel a close bond with the Polish people, but the President shares this regard and feeling. His sister-in-law is married to a Pole. The President has visited Poland as has my mother, my brother, Ted, and my sisters. With virtually no other group has my family had a closer affiliation.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, speaking on Memorial Day, 1884, in Keene, N.H., said:

"It is required of a man that he should share the passions and actions of his time at the peril of being judged not to have lived."

I can think of no other people who have shared the passions and actions of their time as have the Poles.

I hope you will have a successful conference and that you will return to your homes with renewed dedication to our common ideals of freedom and human dignity.

And I know you share with me the conviction that Poles everywhere are dedicated to these ideals and that they will triumph, for imbedded throughout the pages of Polish history and our own is the slogan which is apt today—"Polak nie sluga"—a Pole—and I might add an American—will never be a serf.

## Farmer-Elected ASC Committeemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, keeping farmers and the public informed is a major responsibility of USDA's county Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation committees known throughout rural America as the ASC committees.

Because of the millions of farmers and the billions of dollars involved, I think a little explanation of the work of key people involved is in order here today as we consider the 1962 farm legislation. We all know what a tremendous success the wheat and feed grain programs are which we enacted in 1961 and again this year. Much of the credit for the success of these two congressional actions, I firmly believe, should be directed at the system of farmer-elected ASC committeemen. They have the ultimate responsibility. How they primarily meet that responsibility is through effective communication.

They are responsible for seeing that farmers and others are informed about the agricultural programs that are available and the requirements for eligibility to participate in those programs.

In every State there are usually three county committeemen, and the local extension service county agent usually is an ex officio member.

Day-to-day contacts with other farmers by committeemen and county office employees are a necessity in order to achieve the most effective distribution of information on farm programs enacted by the Congress. It is the committee's responsibility to see that the programs are carried out fairly and in full accordance with official regulations. Thus the committee could be described as a board of directors, with the county office manager responsible for carrying out the committee's policies and decisions and serving as a focal point for information activities.

So it was this year of 1962 that nearly 2 million farmers are signed up to participate in the wheat and feed grain programs. However, hundreds of thousands of other farmers also are participating in congressionally enacted programs for cotton, peanuts, tobacco, wool, soybeans, sugar, rice, beans, dairy products and others. Additionally there are the conservation programs and the soil bank. All are a part of the work of the ASC. They all add up to a formidable task for the county ASC committeemen.

So I think we owe the ASC committees a vote of thanks today as we take action on still another farm program effective for 1963 and the years beyond.

## Real Estate in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents is Alexander Summer, of Teaneck, N.J., who is a past president of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards as well as the National Association of Real Estate Boards. He is regarded throughout the country as one of the real leaders in the real estate, construction, and property management fields.

Earlier this year, Mr. Summer was one of a group which made a housing study in Europe. A report by him on this study appeared in the August 1962, edition of the New Jersey Realtor, the official publication of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards. There is much for us to learn in this interesting and thought provoking article.

Under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REAL ESTATE IN EUROPE

Earlier this year I was fortunate to be included in a group interested in housing.

which, under the sponsorship of House & Home magazine, made a housing study tour of Europe. The participants inspected private and government-sponsored developments and held conferences with housing officials, builders, lenders, and architects in England, Denmark, and The Netherlands. After the tour I stayed on and visited Paris, Munich, and Madrid as well.

Anyone involved in any facet of the housing industry could learn a great deal from visiting projects in Europe, not only from the viewpoint of obtaining constructive ideas, but in learning what not to do as well.

European developers seem to be ahead of most Americans in land use. Much of their progressiveness is probably the result of increasing scarcity of land in and around the major cities, a scarcity even more acute than here.

Europeans make more liberal use of land planners, landscape engineers and architects than we. The results of using such professional services more extensively is very evident. I was impressed by the liberal use of walls and fencing, often of brick or masonry, which was not only more pleasing to the eye, but, more importantly, created greater privacy than is normally possible in areas of high density.

Supplementing the above with maximum utilization of land contours and generous planting, Europeans have demonstrated the practicability of intermingling high rise apartments, attached houses, and one family homes and still achieve a homogeneous effect. I got the impression, however, that they do not make adequate provision for the rapidly expanding use of the automobile, a trend definitely discernable in all of Europe.

IMPRESSED

I was particularly impressed by the fact that the newer developments install the utilities, including sewer, water, and electricity under the sidewalks. We Americans are all too familiar with the traffic snarls created by the continuous opening of streets for the purpose of repairing or enlarging utilities. This headache and expense could be avoided if our communities were to emulate Europe in this respect.

In many subdivisions over there the sidewalks are wider than here and are made of separate precast blocks, making access to the utilities still easier and less expensive. In some of our colder northern States the latter may not always be practical because of the possibility of frost getting underneath and lifting the blocks. We were all also impressed by the scarcity of ugly telegraph poles. The installation of telephone and electric lines underground enhanced even further the pleasing impression these developments left with us.

PARKS

Little parks and park strips seem to be everywhere. It seems to me that numerous small parks in a community are more beneficial and pleasing than one or two large ones, though in Europe the latter are also in evidence.

The great green belt surrounding London should set an example in planning for our newer major cities though, for the older ones, it is too late. A green belt not only represents a pleasing change from the concentration of masonry buildings to an attractive countryside made up of small farms, estates and small houses, but has many practical benefits.

It eliminates the awful monotony and strain of driving through a congested city and then discouragingly encountering dozens of miles of suburban communities which, to the stranger, seem like an endless extension of the central city itself. A change of pace somehow adds charm to the communities created beyond this buffer zone. In addition such green belts help reduce air pollution.

HIGH RISE

It was evident, especially in England, that high rise apartments and other multifamily structures are designed primarily to reduce future maintenance, an important factor in keeping rents at a minimum.

RAPID TRANSIT

Because rapid transit is still the major form of transportation, rolling stock and equipment are well maintained and have not been allowed to deteriorate as is the case in the eastern portion of the United States.

NOVEL APPROACH: MORTGAGE FINANCING

A novel approach to mortgage financing is the variable interest rate. Currently 6½ percent in England, the availability of money determines the interest rate which varies during the life of the mortgage, and may fluctuate between 5 percent and 8 percent. The monthly payments remain fixed, and the variation in interest affects only the duration of the mortgage, which is automatically lengthened or shortened to compensate for the variation in interest. Such an approach in this country, preferably with lower interest ceilings, conceivably might eliminate (or at least minimize) the extremes in availability of mortgage funds, a fluctuation that has bedeviled and slowed down building in the United States.

EUROPE BEHIND THE UNITED STATES IN CERTAIN PHASES OF LAND PLANNING

At present England has 1 car for each 11 families. The percentage of cars per family, not only in England but throughout Europe, is steadily increasing and there is little evidence that their programing, so effective otherwise, is making provision for this obvious trend. The inadequacy is not only in lack of planning for main highways and arteries, but there is a surprising lack of foresight in providing space for future parking requirements in the subdivisions, particularly where high-rise apartments are concerned.

UNITED STATES AHEAD

The United States is far ahead of Europe in providing amenities and luxury within the home and the apartment. Especially in England, the interiors are most disappointing. Rooms are tiny, windows small and inadequate in number, closets too small and too few. In some apartments there are none at all. It is true the English use wardrobes, but these consume valuable wall space and increase housekeeping problems. Kitchens and bathrooms are minimum specifications. Refrigerators are so tiny that a family cannot stock up for more than a day or 2 in advance. With the exception of some luxury homes, I found the interiors of English housing rather depressing. In the Netherlands, and especially in Denmark, the interiors are more livable but still lack the warmth and convenience of American homes and apartments.

PARIS THREATENED

In Paris I did not have the benefit of meeting with top housing officials, but was informed by my guides of some interesting facts concerning the redevelopment of their city.

According to them the rapid expansion of industrial and office buildings is threatening Paris' No. 1 moneymaker, the tourist trade. High-rise commercial structures alongside of historical buildings on Paris' famous boulevards are hardly conducive to maintaining the tourist trade at its present high rate.

Also the business expansion downtown is taxing to the limit public transportation facilities and the streets and boulevards themselves.

CO-OPS

The program now underway in the outskirts of the old city is to develop a ring of industrial and commercial areas, where all new office buildings and industrial structures will be concentrated. Already, in the vicinity of Le Bourget Airport, high-rise apartments are being erected in great numbers to provide adequate housing facilities in the new scheme of things. Most of these are co-ops.

The ultimate objective is to reverse the usual pattern of cities by having the core of Paris maintain its beauty and dignity and tradition and have commerce and industry further out. To make this possible, the subways of Paris are being extended out to Le Bourget and other outlying areas to provide two-way mass transportation and take the pressure off the present one-way load.

NO SLUMS

Madrid, too, is enjoying a tremendous boom of high-rise apartment construction, with commercial buildings not far behind. When I asked my guide to show me the slums of Madrid I was told by him there just weren't any concentration of these. By instructing him to drive me through the poorest areas of the city, I had to admit there were no slum areas as we understand them though, of course, in portions of the city there are side streets with antiquated houses, but even these had exteriors that seemed in reasonably good repair.

An interesting note. In New York one often witnesses long queues of people waiting to see a show in Radio City or movies like "Never on Sunday." In Madrid there also were long lines of people, but these were waiting to get into church.

ATTITUDE WHOLESOME

I found the attitude of the common people generally wholesome. Unlike those in London and Copenhagen, they did not seem to be all reconciled to the fact that they should let government take care of them. The considerable evidence of initiative, self-reliance, and willingness to work both amazed and encouraged me.

COMMENTS

The countries we visited as a group are countries small in area—England, Netherlands, and Denmark. Because land is so scarce and expensive, the individually owned one-family house is fast disappearing. Emphasis is on multifamily houses with the construction of high-rise apartments in the ascendancy. Available vacant land for building is so scarce that near London, land cost represents as much as one-quarter or one-third of the selling price of the finished product. To a lesser degree this is also a problem in the major metropolitan areas of our country.

LEASEHOLDS

In my opinion, the only practical solution for too high land costs, if we are to avoid socialism, is the long-term leasehold. Leaseholds, where the sales price of land is excessive, will substantially reduce the monthly cost of shelter. Certainly it is preferable to a philosophy that has been suggested, to transfer all ad valorem taxes to land only, instead of the established method of taxing land and improvements. There is still an awful lot of land in the United States, and it is obvious that the entire country cannot be built up simultaneously. If adopted, the proposals to transfer all taxes to vacant land can result only in wholesale tax foreclosures and would force the cities into the real estate business. Putting it more bluntly, it would establish immediate and complete socialism in our industry, instead of the creeping socialism with which we are confronted.

SOLUTION?

The townhouse concept of subdivision may be a happy solution here in the United States for those able to afford something a little better. It could combine the virtues of Europe's land planning and our knack of

making even a modest home cheerful and livable inside. Its economy of construction, minimum requirements of streets and utilities, and reduced responsibility for maintenance of lawns and grounds, while all the time maintaining a country-like atmosphere, deserves greater attention by the industry. It is a sound, sensible approach that needs to be sold. Most of the public and most municipal officials don't even know what it is.

During the meetings of the International Real Estate Federation last June, we were told that it took from the time of Christ until today for the world population to double, and that the population will double again in 30 years. We are aware of the population explosion expected to begin during the middle sixties, but I don't think many of us have realized how acute indeed is the problem of housing the people of the world.

Although the United States is currently building twice as many units as the increase in population, and England three times as many units as its increase in population, this rate is far from adequate. Housing units are constantly being lost because of obsolescence, fire and demolition brought on by expansion of highways, industry, commerce, schools, and other public buildings. The net gain in housing units is small indeed. If the problem is great here, imagine what it is in nations such as Russia, China, India, and all the backward countries.

Leaders responsible for housing, whether private or in government, must plan ahead, and plan well, and plan quickly, or the worldwide housing dilemma can cause housing, even here, to become completely socialized.

GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER

In England and the other countries we visited, over 50 percent of all housing we visited was public or quasi-public. We were concerned about the attitude of people in those nations who seem to take it for granted that government will supply their housing for them. In Europe there is, at least, more justification for expecting subsidy because of the great gap that exists between housing costs and family income, especially for those in the lower income brackets.

DELIBERATE PROGRAM?

In the United States, however, subsidy is too often not based upon need, but is being crammed down the throats of the American people as, for example, the so-called middle income housing legislation adopted last year. At one time many of us thought that this type of legislation was politically inspired to attract more votes, but we are becoming convinced that it has a more sinister significance. It now seems to be part of a deliberate program by those high in Government to have the Government gradually take over. Intellectuals, similar to the Fabians of England, perhaps sincerely, believe that they, and they alone—not the people—are fit to govern. There are too many in Washington who feel that housing, and eventually all real property, should become public, i.e., belong to all the people. We often hear that in 5 or 10 years we may face a serious threat to private ownership. I believe the showdown, private ownership versus socialism, is right now.

FIRST STEP

There are intelligent businessmen and politicians in this country who are not a bit alarmed over the prospects of real estate becoming socialized. They don't seem to realize that it would be only the step No. 1 in the socialization of the entire economy. All socialistic and comunistic regimes started with "land reform." As in Sweden, there need not be a bloody revolution or even a radical upheaval in the form of the central government. Sweden is unquestionably the most socialistic of all Western nations and is often pointed out as a model of how effective socialism can function.

NO UTOPIA

It should be realized that Sweden has stayed out of wars for over 100 years, had absolutely no debt, had a surplus, and therefore the financial stability to make socialism economically feasible. What has been the result? Sweden today is reputed to have the lowest morals of any nation in Europe and the highest rate of suicides in the world. Are these not positive signs that being free of care and responsibility is not the utopia suggested by its advocates, but rather a most frustrating existence, where the basic human traits to strive and achieve and earn the satisfaction of accomplishment are completely absent? It is frustration complete and no better evidence exists than its standard of morals and its rate of suicide. Socialism, even if paternal and free of graft, should be abhorrent to all thinking people.

## The New Haven Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, early this year, the administration stepped into the New Haven Railroad situation in a dramatic way, heralded by much fanfare and advance publicity. At the President's direction, the Secretary of Commerce named a nine-man panel of railroad experts to survey the operations of the New Haven and make suitable recommendations. The panel was headed by Mr. Frederick B. Whitman, president of the Western Pacific Railroad. It has apparently done a thorough job and filed its report in July. Since then, it has been buried over at the Commerce Department.

Public interest in this report is intense in Connecticut and among all those who are concerned for the health and welfare of this important railroad. Those responsible for planning the future of the New Haven should have the benefit of the Whitman report before going ahead.

But for the diligence and interest of John Alsop, Republican nominee for Governor of Connecticut, and of my colleague, Representative AB SIBAL, I strongly suspect this important study, in all too typical New Frontier fashion, would never have been mentioned again.

I submit the following article from the New York Daily News which describes the situation very well and take this opportunity to call on the Commerce Department to release the Whitman report at the earliest possible date.

The article follows:

CONNECTICUT WARBLER

(By Marion and Henry Lee)

While its paint goes on peeling and its broken windows stay broken, the future of the New Haven Railroad crawls forward on the little flat wheels of Federal bureaucracy.

Way back in March, the White House announced with some fanfare that Frederic B. Whitman, veteran railroad executive and president of Western Pacific, would head up a nine-man task force of Midwest and Far West rail experts to study their ailing New England sister.

Their specific assignment: "to inquire into the condition of the railroad facilities and equipment, the commuter problem and general financial condition and prospects of the line and to evaluate studies being sponsored by the trustees."

REPORT FILED IN JULY

Of course, it's a dull week when some committee or another isn't studying the New Haven, so we clean forgot about the Whitman report. But Congressman AL SIBAL didn't.

The report, he tells us, was filed with the Department of Commerce last July, and he has been unable to prod it loose. Now he has written to President Kennedy that presumably, as the work of experts, the study is of considerable value—but "of no value at all bottled up in the Commerce Department files."

Through our associates in Washington, we tried to take it from there, and here is a Warbler report on the Whitman report.

The findings—whatever they are—have been turned over to the Federal rail experts assigned to Undersecretary for Transportation Clarence D. Martin, Jr. The feds are mulling them over as grist for their own recommendations on the New Haven that eventually will go to President Kennedy.

MAY NEVER BE HEARD

Thus, the Whitman report itself may never see the light of publicity. Obviously, if Commerce makes an official report of its own, this study by nine knowledgeable civilians will get lost in the bureaucratic shuffle.

Laid end to end, all the studies, recommendations, etc., that have been made on the New Haven would cover its shrinking trackage. But the Whitman report seems especially important to us, and for the life of us, we can't understand what damage would be done by its release.

After all, forget the commuter woes of Fairfield County and the general prosperity of New England that are involved in the New Haven and its future, if any. The public at large has a stake in this carrier—the Government having guaranteed about $35 millions worth of loans.

How's our investment doing, Mr. President?

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special

Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I support your proposal to create a Special Committee on the Captive Nations. It is the best and the most appropriate one at the present time to defeat the Soviet Russians in the cold war.

Sincerely yours,

ALEX MAJOHANSKI.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

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LAKEWOOD, N.J.,
*June 24, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Andrew Boyko, a Cossack by origin and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to create a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,

ANDREW BOYKO.

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Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your measure, House Resolution 211, to establish a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations would equip us to do battle against the emperio-colonialists of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

W. DUSENKO.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

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LAKEWOOD, N.J.,
*June 23, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee,*
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, John Korsh, a Cossack by origin and presently an American citizen, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution.

Very truly yours,

JOHN KORSH.

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SOUTH RIVER, N.Y.

Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH,
*Chairman, House Rules Committee, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I, Hayharry Buchar, respectfully urge you to support favorably the enactment of the Flood resolution to establish a Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

Very truly yours,

HAYHARY BUCHAR.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your resolution, House Resolution 211, to be the best and the one we most need to win the cold war against the imperio-colonialists of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL RADTCHEURO.

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## Law Observance Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, in this age of rising crime I think the country should be aware of an important project which is bringing together the efforts of law enforcement agencies, bar associations, civic organizations and private industry.

The Federal Bar Association through its law observance committee is engaged in a program of promoting respect for law and those who enforce it. The committee consists of the following: Harry D. Shargel, Esq., chairman; Hon. Tom C. Clark, Justice, Supreme Court of the United States; Hon. Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General; Hon. Emanuel Celler, chairman, House Judiciary Committee; Hon. Cyrus H. Vance, Secretary of the Army; Abram Chayes, Esq., Legal Adviser, Department of State; Robert H. Knight, Esq., the General Counsel, U.S. Treasury Department; John T. McNaughton, Esq., General Counsel, Department of Defense; Daniel B. Mitchie, Jr., Esq., president, National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions.

The committee is assisted by an advisory staff composed of the following personnel: Radio and Television Advisory Subcommittee: Alfred R. Beckman, vice president, American Broadcasting Co.; Leon Brooks, Esq., Columbia Broadcasting System; Robert F. Hurleigh, president, Mutual Broadcasting System; Howard Monderer, Esq., National Broadcasting Co.; William J. Wheatley, Storer Broadcasting Co.; public information adviser; Charles R. DeHaven, manager of public relations, Philadelphia Gas Works; outdoor advertising adviser: Arthur G. Petry, director of public service, Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc.; community relations adviser: Milton A. Eisenberg, vice president, Yellow Cab Co. of Philadelphia.

This national committee is arranging to have the 50 local chapters of the Federal Bar Association organize chapter law observance committees to engage in activities to educate the public on the importance of respecting the law and law enforcers, raising the morale of law-enforcement agents, attract the best personnel to the field, and inform the public about the fine work that is being done in the law-enforcement field.

I think we must especially commend the Pennsylvania District of Kiwanis International for underwriting the cost of large outdoor posters bearing the Federal Bar Association slogan, "The Law Protects You—Respect It, Uphold It, Obey It." These posters have already been placed on billboards in the Philadelphia area donated as a public service by the General Outdoor Advertising Co. They will make possible a program pursuant to which such billboards will appear throughout the country. Industry will be asked to cooperate and the first billboard donated by a large industrial firm has already been unveiled in the Camden, N.J., area through the public-spirited contribution of the Radio Corp. of America.

The Federal Bar Association is currently making arrangements for radio and TV participation in the program and I know that we will soon see and hear a great deal about this.

The law observance committee has published a "Manual for Law Observance Committees," to assist in the formation and functioning of such committees and these manuals will be made available to any organization which is willing to participate in the program.

It would be advantageous for Government agencies and private firms to participate in this program.

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## Eisenhower's Coming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger, Gaffney, S.C., September 18, 1962:

EISENHOWER'S COMING

South Carolina Republicans and their allies have been jubilating over the coming visit this Saturday of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President of the United States, to the Palmetto State's capital. Mr. Eisenhower, who will confer with Republican candidates from several Southern States, is scheduled to speak from the statehouse steps at noon.

It is probable that some Gaffney and Cherokee County people will make the trip to Columbia to see and hear him. But that will not indicate by any means that all who do will vote for the Republicans in the November general election.

An interesting viewpoint, which the editor of the Ledger believes is correct, was presented by Editor A. M. Secrest in the last issue of the Cheraw Chronicle. Mr. Secrest said:

"Eisenhower's coming back to Columbia.

"That's the big political news in South Carolina this week. The former President will be here next Saturday, September 22, to give W. D. Workman, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, a boost. Later he will go to Pinehurst, N.C., to mix a little politics and golf in the hope of strengthening Representative JONAS' chances of defeating Wadesboro's PAUL KITCHIN.

"Democrats need not be unduly alarmed by Mr. Eisenhower's plans. There must be many Carolinians who remember the former

President's ringing declaration for States rights from the steps of the Capitol in 1952.

"It later turned out that Candidate Eisenhower's campaign promises did not jibe with President Eisenhower's action. During the 8 years of the Republican administration, the Federal Government steadily increased its power at the expense of the States, the national debt grew larger, and the budget was seldom balanced. For the first time since Reconstruction, Federal troops were sent south to enforce a court order, when, as hindsight proved, a few Federal marshals could have achieved the same results.

"We do not blame Mr. Eisenhower for the way things turned out, because much of it was simply inherent in the national and international situation. What we do emphasize is that the President's words did not coincide with his deeds.

"Mr. Eisenhower, furthermore, was singularly unsuccessful in transferring his hero status to other candidates whom he supported. He was never able to erase the image of the old Republican Party, as valiantly as he tried. Mr. Eisenhower was thus the only President in recent times who failed to carry the Congress with him at midterm elections, and he was not able to name his successor. Despite his appearance here at the peak of his personal popularity, which coincided with a new low in popularity for the Democrats and former President Truman, Mr. Eisenhower could not carry the State in 1952.

"There is no chance that he will be able to carry it for the Republicans and Mr. Workman in 1962. The News & Courier, Republican mouthpiece for Workman, says 'OLIN D. JOHNSTON can no more survive in the South of the future than a mule can compete against a tractor.' Remember that when the votes are counted in November. You'll get a good laugh.

"As for Workman's comment that Mr. Eisenhower's decision to come to Columbia might 'spur President Kennedy into coming here also to try and defend his New Frontier,' that's absurd. The President, unlike his predecessor, is a very busy man. He is not retired. He has something more to do than play golf and make routine political appearances on behalf of candidates who can win without his help."

## "We Asked and Now We Answer" Results of District Poll by Representative Hugh L. Carey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report the results of a survey on Federal issues which I recently conducted in my district. The response in the tens of thousands speaks well for the public interest of the people of Brooklyn.

The questions I asked and the results are as follows:

1. Medical care for aged under social security: Yes, 62 percent; no, 35 percent; no opinion, 3 percent.

2. Aid to education in some form for pupils of all schools: Yes, 60 percent; no, 37 percent; no opinion, 3 percent.

3. Authorize the President to negotiate tariffs with trade blocs such as Common Market and other countries: Yes, 65 percent; no, 25 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

4. Federal subsidy or financing of (1) family fallout shelters, (2) community fallout shelters: Yes, 41 percent; no, 52 percent; no opinion, 7 percent.

5. My bill to revise tax deductions to afford greater allowances for student dependents to cover education expenses: Yes, 82 percent; no, 12 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

In addition to publishing the results of this survey I have decided to live dangerously and adopt a new wrinkle. The practice among some Members who conduct these surveys is to ask questions but seldom to answer them. I submit that since I am now aware of how the residents of my district feel they have an equal right to know my position. Addressing myself first to the question which generated the most comment and controversy—No. 2, I favor a fair share in any educational assistance for every child in every school. As a sponsor of the "GI bill for junior" with my distinguished colleague, Representative JAMES J. DELANEY, of Queens, I advocate that financial assistance to preserve the right of freedom of choice in education be extended through the States and to the parents of all children in all schools. This bill is an absolute prohibition against any Federal control, interference, or monopoly in education. Since it follows the same pattern of distribution as the GI bill after World War II and the Education Act for the pages of Congress, it is modeled on constitutionally unquestioned legislation which has worked well and is nondiscriminatory. The bill does not provide aid for teaching religious subjects and it is therefore not subject to objection under the first amendment.

The "GI bill for junior" is in keeping with the concept of distributive justice that every parent has an equal right to share in the proceeds of tax funds allocated to education. I believe that at every level of government, Federal, State, and local, that the parent should not be compelled to forfeit his right to freely choose a school and direct the education of his children as a condition to receiving an equitable share of his own taxes. Parents rights in education are paramount and inviolate and must remain so. This was recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations General Assembly at article 26 which reads:

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given their children.

It is significant that when this resolution was passed in the General Assembly the Communist bloc nations abstained from voting. Under their system of education the parents have no control over the education of their children and they become creatures of the state. To avoid that in our Nation it is essential that we recognize and preserve parents' rights in education. This is particularly important in the light of the further secularization of the schools in our State resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court in the New Hyde Park regents school prayer case. Children must not be forced to attend a school where prayer is forbidden. We must move on twin fronts to restore the right of prayer to the public schools and serve the right of the parent to choose education with religion added through a fair plan of assistance. That plan is the bill for which I urge consideration as vital to our junior citizens—the "GI bill for junior." These junior citizens are voiceless and voteless but they have a right to educational excellence and I will continue to work in their interest.

On the other issues I have supported a plan of medical care for all our citizens over 65 and I intend to work for a solution which will provide that care with adequate safeguards against any threat of socialized medicine.

I strongly supported the Trade Expansion Act, a legislative blue ribbon of the 87th Congress. New York City clearly depends on trade for jobs and well-being and that trade could only be increased by effective interest in the Common Market. This legislation passed by a vote of 298 to 125.

I am in accord with the recent action of the Armed Services Committee in deleting $460 million allocated to the fallout shelter program.

Our strong defense effort, the largest in peacetime history, is the best approach to deterring Communist aggression. I favor continuing surveys to maximize the use of existing shelter facilities.

My bill to increase the tax deduction for children from the present unrealistic amount of $600 to a gradually higher figure, based upon the age of the child and therefore his needs has received universal support. The deduction would finally rest for all dependents at a new level of $800. The other provision of this bill allowing deductions to cover educational expense has been similarly well received.

Unfortunately, until the residents of our district express themselves further on these questions as only constituents can, I will not know how many disagree with me. If a majority do, then I will not be around to run this risk again, but while I am here at least my stand is clear so that, while some may question the prudence of stating my views on the questions I have asked, it must be conceded that the policy is positive.

## Equality in Business Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, considerable progress has been made by this administration in the field of equal job opportunity. The scope of the administration's efforts to establish the principle of equality in many fields has now been broadened to include equality in business.

A talk on the subject was recently made by David A. Sawyer, an outstand-

ing leader in the field of human relations. Mr. Sawyer is presently Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations in the U.S. Army Materiel Command. His address was delivered before the 62d Annual Convention of the National Business League in the city of Philadelphia.

I believe the Members of Congress will be interested in Mr. Sawyer's remarks and I am including them below:

ADDRESS BY DAVID A. SAWYER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR INTERGROUP RELATIONS, U.S. ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND, BEFORE THE 62D ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE, SYLVANIA HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., SEPTEMBER 13–14, 1962

I am delighted to be here this afternoon to participate again in the plenary sessions during the annual convention of the National Business League.

I feel honored, indeed, that you have asked me to return for the second year in a row. Last year Ruth Bates and I participated in a radio dialog discussion on "the needed role of businessmen," and particularly Negro businessmen, in developing good community relationships and in developing community programs for improving human relationships.

Glancing at this year's program, I am especially thrilled to see that you are devoting an entire afternoon of followup and assessment of our last year's discussions.

In returning today, I wear a different hat. I no longer am affiliated with the government of the District of Columbia, though I am engaged in exactly the same endeavor.

Although I am wearing the hat of the Army Materiel Command, I am still concerned with problems resulting from bias in employment. I am still concerned with promoting job and training opportunities in such a manner that race, color, and creed will no longer be barriers to such opportunities.

Thanks to the concern of our national leadership, I have been charged with the responsibility to oversee a program within the Army of the United States which will insure equal opportunity for all persons either employed or seeking employment on such work as may be done under Government contract with the U.S. Army. This is a tall order and the stakes are very high. I trust that I will be worthy of the confidence of those who have given me these responsibilities.

In recent weeks a new name has appeared in the press of the United States in connection with Army contracts and Army procurement. Many people, including some in my own household, have asked what is the Army Materiel Command? How old is it? What does it do?

As a result of a recent Army reorganization program, the Army Materiel Command has control of a nationwide complex of military installations and activities which are engaged in developing, producing, and supplying weapons, equipment and other types of materiel for the Army. We are responsible for most of the materiel functions which were formerly performed by the Army's various technical services. We operate through seven major subordinate commands and we, at Army Materiel Command, direct the activities of depots, laboratories, arsenals, proving grounds, test ranges, procurement offices, and transportation terminals throughout the continental United States of America. The establishment of the Army Materiel Command represents a single integrated organization—and a vast one at that—especially conceived and designed to provide the Army's weapons and equipment.

Within the Army Materiel Command, are major commands which are responsible for research, development, production and procurement of such assigned commodities as weapons, munitions, transportation type materiel, including planes, tanks, automotive equipment, ballistics and guided missiles and rockets. They also include such responsibilities as communication and electronic warfare systems and such additional responsibilities as delivering supplies of Army materiel to installations both within the continental United States of America and to oversea commands. In a nutshell, the Army Materiel Command had begun operations with approximately $25 billion inventory and an anticipated annual expenditure of about $5 billion; making the command one of the biggest contractors of all times.

Under the Army Materiel Command concept of operations, its Washington headquarters will furnish overall policy direction for its farflung operations. Our major subordinate commands will serve as the midmanagement level to supervise performance, while our many individual installations and activities will accomplish the actual execution of the Army materiel program.

Well, where in this vast structure is there room for an intergroup relations program?

The Army Materiel Command, as I have indicated, is big business. It is one of the largest contracting agencies of all representing the United States.

In planning the operational activities of the Army Materiel Command, the Secretary of the Army directed that seven experienced and knowledgeable intergroup relations specialists be recruited and assigned to the personnel staffs of the commanding generals of the headquarters and the major commands.

The six other intergroup relations technicians who will make up my complement will serve as policy advisers and compliance reviewers on the equal employment opportunity program policies and of the basic procedures on Government contracts as set forth in President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925. My staff and I are charged with the responsibility to oversee the implementation by Army Materiel Command contractors of the President's Executive order which insures equal opportunity for all qualified persons either employed or seeking employment—equal opportunities without restrictions and barriers of race, color, creed or national origin.

Important too, we are assigned the task of advising and assisting contractors in their efforts to implement the Executive order and to comply with the rules and regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. We'll be helping firms develop affirmative action—develop programs which will actually open doors to people previously barred.

The Federal Government has for a long time insisted that all who do business with it agree not to discriminate against those seeking employment or those already in their employ because of race, color, creed or national origin. All contracts awarded have for several years contained nondiscrimination clauses. At various times during the last 25 years emphasis has been given to the need for compliance.

Regrettably, for many who have enjoyed these contractual relationships with the Government, this nondiscrimination clause was a meaningless addition to an otherwise forceful contract.

By and large most contractors conformed to the letter of the contract and fulfilled all of the agreements and stipulations, all except the one which said that there shall be no discrimination in employment, in training, in upgrading, or in salaries to persons because of their color, their religion, their race or their national origin.

In the last 18 months a new look has been introduced to this old problem.

In March of 1961 President Kennedy injected a new philosophy to the work of combating discrimination in employment.

He made it clear that discrimination because of race, creed, color, and national origin is contrary to the constitutional principles and policies of the United States.

He declared to the American public that it was the plain and positive obligation of the U.S. Government to promote and insure equal opportunity for all qualified persons without regard to race, creed, color, and national origin. Important, too, the President added his "new look" to combating this problem when he said that it was the "policy of the executive branch of the Government to encourage, by positive measures, equal employment opportunities for all qualified persons no matter of their race, color, creed."

The President has repeatedly said that he felt it was in the general interest and welfare of the United States to promote its economic security and national defense by the most efficient and effective utilization of all available manpower. He expanded and strengthened the previous existing Executive orders and the practices in Government agencies procedures related to Government employment and the compliance with the nondiscrimination contract provisions.

These efforts of the Chief Executive to promote full equality of employment opportunities have set a pace which is without precedent.

The tone set by the President has been echoed by Vice President JOHNSON, who, in referring to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity which he chairs has often said that his Committee "means business."

In its short span of life—about 15 months—the President's Committee has racked up a record of achievement and "breakthroughts" which reflects that the President and Vice President registered their sincerity and intent to rid the serpent of discrimination from all work engaged in, for, and on behalf of the Government—Yes, people for the first time understood that the Government really "meant business."

This is the tone set by the Chief Executive and it is reflected throughout all Departments of Government. Secretary of Defense McNamara has directed that programs similar to the one I have been honored to head for the Army be instituted within the Air Force and the Navy.

I am delighted to tell you that I believe sincerely—and I am gambling 15 years of professional reputation and integrity on this—that the Army also "means business" in its efforts to insure equal employment opportunity for those seeking employment or those who are already employed on Government contracts.

In this new assignment, I am a member of the personnel staff of Lt. Gen. Frank E. Besson, who is Commanding General of the Army Materiel Command. He has insisted, and correctly so, that each of his major subordinate commanders have a full-time civilian assistant who will be an experienced and qualified intergroup relations specialist.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, this is an expression of intention—it is more than that—it is an announcement of sincerity from a commander who has said "I mean business, too."

I am reminded that in just a few days—Monday to be exact—we will commemorate the 175th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States. That history was written only a few blocks from where we now convene. The anniversary of the signing of our Constitution brings to mind what that sacred document has meant in the lives of our peoples, and to mankind.

The Declaration of Independence asserts our will to freedom—the Constitution asserts our will to self-control.

The Declaration determines that we should not be subject to any foreign powers, while the Constitution determined that we should

use our new found freedom to establish justice and peace within our own borders.

No one has ever said that the Constitution was a perfect document—no one has ever claimed that its framers had divine revelation. They realized, and admitted their own limitations. They provided that the generations which were to follow them and who were to live by the Constitution, possessed the right to amend it.

But these signers were determined to produce a firm foundation in law for a free, a just, and harmonious national life, and in this they succeeded.

They made our Government one of laws and not of men. They made it of laws which were designed to protect the rights of the weak against the encroachment of the strong—of laws to defend the liberties of the individual, not only against the tyranny of autocrats and privileged groups, but also to defend the individual against the tyranny of the multitudes. They wanted human law to reflect and enforce the divine law of justice and equity.

Our law has perpetrated some abuses but it also preserved all of our liberties. The abuses are in no way essential to our law and can be eradicated, but without the law our liberties would be ours only on sufferance.

Yes, our Constitution, is a great document, and it is with a good feeling that we sit here today almost at the hour of its 175th anniversary.

The Constitution has been the key to the door of our liberties. I would like to suggest that we be reminded of that key, as we ask business men throughout the United States to recognize that they hold the keys to whatever doors we have opened for our young people to pass through as they step from youth to the role of adulthood.

These are the keys that must be made for the young people who will make up our future workforce, our adult communities, and who will be the workers in the institutions we have built throughout this great land. These are the keys that will point to the skill or unskilled and the keys that point to employment or unemployment.

We can determine whether a man will be socially responsible, or impeded and irresponsible. Our actions today, and in the days ahead will determine whether our young people will be trained and whether they will be able to gain employment according to their talents and skills.

Yes, businessmen hold the power to eliminate the major roadblocks which now prevent the full contribution of the Negro to the work product of any community in this country. I am convinced, and I hope you will agree with me, that as any community succeeds in combatting racial bias in employment it shall find many of its other problems resolved.

How better can a community eliminate the problems of rising welfare costs, delinquency, and increased crime, than to get to the root of the problem itself?

The outlook for many communities is rather grim unless leaders of business will open the doors for minority workers and youth to develop new skills and know-how through work experience, which up to now has been denied them.

I hope management will make a set of keys for its personnel officers which will fit the doors of a program that can assure merit employment. I hope that they will develop a program that will assure that job opportunities will be extended to job applicants and to minority youth who really need and want apprenticeship opportunities.

If they can do this, businessmen will have helped to rid their communities of the major contributing factor to all of the problems surrounding dependency and poverty.

If we, in our communities, can break down the prejudice against hiring skilled and white-collar Negro workers, we shall have overcome the greatest challenge to our communities and to our Nation as a whole.

It is my hope that business and labor will agree to relax their timidity toward instituting merit employment programs. Businessmen take much greater risks in the many other things they do in their daily business ventures—and some of these risks show much less prospect of gain—gain not only to business, but in reality, gain to the total social and economic welfare of the communities in which they do their business.

As we talk about the building of our great municipalities—realizing the greater the cities, the greater the nation—there comes to mind a meditation on the lives of nations, was written by Franklin Roosevelt during a period of low ebb. The aptness and the timeliness of the Roosevelt statement come home today in September 1962.

"Lives of nations are determined, not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The lifetime of man is three score years and ten; a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to life. A nation, like a person, has a mind—a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and needs of its neighbors—all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world. A nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to the future, which calls for the most sacred guarding of its present."

We Americans are now living in the most critical era of our Nation—we are at the point where previous civilizations have broken down through luxury, softness, and degeneration. We are now being brought to face—some perhaps are being forced to face—the real values of life. We are being forced by a powerful, a false ideology to demonstrate that we can and will practice what we preach—and that it is good.

In order to be strong enough—strong enough to win the struggle for free minds and the freedom of the world—we must be honest enough, to recognize the need to utilize all of our resources. Like it or not, we—all of us—are the Americans who are pitted against subversion and communism. And we had better be wise enough to like it; because it is only by uniting in good fellowship, and accepting, with total colorblindness, the common cause, that we shall attain the necessary strength and worthiness to prevail.

As we plan our big buildings and our new roads, we must plan far beyond the drawing board and blueprints. We must superimpose on our blueprints a plan that includes the human and the social aspects of all that is about us; because everything that we do involves people. Whether we are building a road, a bridge, a tank, or planning urban development, people are affected. And we must make certain that these people are always considered when we make our initial plans, rather than when we reach the final stages.

The Vice President and the Attorney General of the United States have recently returned from visits to a number of countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. They have reemphasized the concern of many of our national leaders that some of our domestic problems reflect so badly on our Nation abroad.

It is disturbing that, on an international level, the integrity of the United States is measured by hundreds of millions of people on the basis of our racial practices. And it is good that it is disturbing.

The delegates and diplomatic missions of nonwhite countries have been encountering difficulties and embarrassment as they seek appropriate places to live and work in our country—which is the seat of the United Nations.

Too many of us don't give a second thought (or even a first thought), to the fact that these difficulties will influence the personal and international attitudes of officials in other nations toward the United States. In this year of 1962, it is imperative that those of us in Washington and our citizens throughout the land—reexamine their consciences.

Many a monument stands with an inscription: "Erected by the people—of whether the place—in honor of the martyrs who fell and the heroes who fought in defense of liberty and union." This inscription is dated 1861–65.

We are now meeting nearly a full century after the close of the war which these monuments commemorate. Today we can, in honesty, say that the indissolvability of the Union is all but universally accepted. However, if we should speak to the fallen who have fought in freedom's cause at any time in the long history of man, we would tragically have to report that victory is not yet won.

The struggle for the rights of man is endless. Each past generation has witnessed, and each future generation may expect, assaults on the dignity of the individual and onslaughts against liberty and justice. The annals of history disclose the discouraging difference between man's intended state and his reality. In the past, and even now, man has been relegated to second-class status, denied his liberty, or deprived of his life, because those in power and authority disagreed with his religious beliefs—or lack of them—his racial identification, his economic theories, his national allegiance, or his politics. Those who do not believe in, and those who do not trust, the democratic processes have been given aid and comfort by such indifference.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

This is an audible drumbeat in the halls of history that cannot be stilled. Men who value freedom march to its cadence. Today, the drummer increases the tempo, and no one, in the ranks of the free, dares stand at parade rest.

Ladies and gentlemen, it shall never be a secret that I will always be playing my favorite tune about merit employment. I am thrilled that so many of our Nation are now singing this tune. I hope that the millions who are now only humming it, will soon be singing it aloud. And maybe, then we will have a best seller—a record we will all be proud of—yes we will have that tune of merit employment on the top of the hit parade.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## What Nuclear Power for NATO?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF


**HON. HUGH SCOTT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA


IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, since the Second World War, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been the central bulwark against Communist expansion in Europe. It is through this Organization that countries upholding Western principles have presented to the Communists a united opposition. But in spite of the basic unity which guides the larger policy of the NATO members, a number of points of divergence unfortunately exist. Most of this disagreement centers around the use of conventional military forces and tactical nuclear forces in Europe.

The two questions on which a number of NATO members find themselves in disagreement are, first, should the Western countries build up their conventional military forces to provide a nonnuclear deterrent to Communist expansion; or, second, should nuclear forces be built up, and, if so, who should have final control over them? These questions must be resolved to the satisfaction of dissenting parties if unity is to be maintained. To find these answers and to maintain this unity will indeed require the wisdom and patience of a Solomon.

Not only we and our allies disagree on the use of nuclear and nonnuclear forces. In the United States itself, some military experts support a course of action different from that of the administration. But, whatever differences of opinion do exist, they exist only because each person concerned is sincerely trying to answer the larger question underlying the debate: What is the best way to counter aggressive Soviet moves?

The problem requires careful analysis and investigation. An excellent presentation of the issues involved in our attempts to keep NATO unified is to be found in an article by Maj. Gen. Max S. Johnson, retired, in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report.

I ask unanimous consent that this penetrating article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 17, 1962]

### A MILITARY EXPERT SIZES UP U.S. STRATEGY IN NO. 1 DANGER AREA

**(NOTE.—An independent nuclear force of its own for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? That's what signs indicate now. But that prospect raises grave problems for the United States.**

Maj. Gen. Max S. Johnson, retired, former commandant of the Army War College, now on the staff of U.S. News & World Report, analyzes a major issue of strategy in this report.)

The United States is beginning to face up, under pressure of a nuclear arms race, to the tough problem of finding a more effective defense for Europe.

That problem is a dual one, centering on these questions:

1. Should the West beef up its conventional forces in Europe, to provide a nonnuclear deterrent against limited Soviet attack and thus lessen the danger of nuclear war.

2. Or should tactical nuclear forces be stressed and built up to provide a stronger defense for Western Europe—and, if so, in what form and under whose control?

At a time when this country is changing its commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's military structure in Europe and its Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, this problem is emerging as the biggest single strategy decision facing U.S. planners.

Top-level U.S. officials, at this time, clearly prefer some solution that will not build more nuclear force in Europe.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has warned more than once against the "proliferation" of nuclear weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain. He is strongly advising U.S. allies against building atomic weapons of their own, thus duplicating U.S. nuclear efforts.

There is increased nervousness among some civilian planners, too, over the idea that any use of nuclear arms would "escalate" into a general nuclear war and worldwide chaos.

However, the hard facts of military defense today were laid down by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, newly appointed Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, in testimony before Congress on August 9, in the following way:

"In my judgment, if an attack on Western Europe comes, we must use whatever weapons and forces are necessary to defeat it. To meet a massive attack today, because of the lack of adequate conventional forces in the West, it would be necessary to resort to atomic weapons early in the conflict."

Right now, NATO forces in Western Europe have many deficiencies which almost guarantee that if the West does not resort almost at once to a nuclear defense much of West Germany would be lost, even if the attack were mounted by no more than the Russian forces now in East Germany.

To fight a "conventional" defense in Europe, NATO has:

A tactical Air Force that is outnumbered 2 to 1 by Communist jets, and is not nearly large enough to carry out its missions using conventional weapons.

A shortage of armored forces, particularly in the northern sector.

A lack of adequate conventional artillery support everywhere, to meet a Red attack.

No mobile, midrange missiles to match the numerous Soviet missiles with ranges from 200 to 2,000 miles.

Too few Allied divisions that are properly deployed, adequately trained and appropriately equipped.

Not enough air defense of Allied ground forces and air installations.

Too few ready replacements for ground forces and air forces—either in units or as individuals.

Inadequate logistic support for many of the national contingents of forces now assigned to NATO.

No integrated, common supply system, needed under war conditions in Europe.

An insufficient defense against chemical or radiological attack, and inadequate means for retaliatory attacks.

Thus, for the time being, there is no adequate defense of Western Europe without the use of nuclear weapons. Most NATO planners agree on this.

Some battlefield nuclear weapons are deployed in Europe at present in support of the U.S. 7th Army and Allied forces. These are the Honest John, Little John, Corporal, Redstone, Lacrosse and Davy Crockett missiles, and the 280-millimeter and 155-millimeter artillery pieces. All are capable of firing nuclear warheads, but their ranges are far below 200 miles.

There are also a few IRBM's—Thors in England and Jupiters in Italy and Turkey—but these are at vulnerable, fixed emplacements. There are Polaris submarines as well, assigned to back up NATO.

#### BIG NEED: MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES

But what European planners particularly want, in addition, are large numbers of light, mobile, accurate, quick-firing, land-based missiles with ranges between 200 and 2,000 miles. These are referred to as MMRBM's—mobile midrange ballistic missiles. At this time the West has no such missiles on hand, and is not likely to have for several more years.

Equally troublesome are the issues of how to organize such an expanded nuclear force, and who should control and direct its use. There has been pressure for some time, notably from France and Germany, for a reduction in the almost exclusive U.S. nuclear control that is now in effect.

One prime reason is the suspicion that, as Russia develops intercontinental nuclear forces able to blanket the United States, then the United States will want to avoid launching any nuclear retaliation against Russia in defense of Europe, unless America too has been directly attacked.

There have been a number of suggestions for a nuclear force under other than exclusive U.S. control.

Why not set up, it is suggested, an independent nuclear force controlled by all of NATO, or by several NATO nations, with or without a U.S. veto?

Early in 1962, the undercurrent of European resistance to American nuclear domination of NATO crystallized—partly in response to repeated American offers to consider modifications in the nuclear control pattern.

Both President Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk have indicated publicly that they have some willingness to appease the nuclear ambitions of our principal European allies.

The President, at Ottawa in May 1961, said that the United States looked forward to "the possibility of eventually establishing a NATO seaborne missile force, which would be truly multilateral in ownership and control, if this should be desired and found

feasible by our Allies once NATO's nonnuclear goals have been achieved."

In November, Secretary Rusk said the offer was still good, provided that the organization and the guidelines for the control and use of a NATO nuclear force were agreed upon.

As of now, only a first step toward such guidelines has been accomplished by NATO. This covers the circumstances under which nuclear weapons would be used. There is little agreement, however, on just how to organize the tactical nuclear forces.

France's De Gualle, for example, is putting his emphasis on a national nuclear force for France, not a NATO force utilizing jointly controlled weapons.

Germany, which is denied nuclear weapons by treaty, is more anxious for NATO to have a tactical nuclear force of mobile midrange missiles that could strike Soviet targets, to stop any Soviet attack before it could make West Germany the battlefield.

Both the Germans and De Gaulle want real voices in the control of nuclear strategy as well as tactics.

The Germans refer to "positive" and "negative" controls—permitting the use of tactical nuclear forces as soon as they believe them to be required, and to veto the use of such forces if they believe the time is not ripe.

The British position is less clear. The Labor Party opposes the use of nuclear weapons. The Government does not. But it is preoccupied with the question of entering the European Common Market, and must therefore avoid offending both Germany's and France's leaders on the subject of nuclear weapons and their control. On the other hand, London is reluctant to lose its preferred position as a junior member of the present "nuclear club," with a national nuclear force of its own—a situation which irks De Gaulle.

The U.S. position is almost as hard to pin down. At a NATO policy conference in Athens last spring, which Secretary McNamara attended, U.S. representatives offered to consider a fully integrated, multilateral NATO nuclear force. It now appears that if U.S. allies in Europe should come up with a proposal instead for a European nuclear force—a French-German, British-French-German, or even Common Market force—this too might be acceptable.

To be fully acceptable to the United States, the European nuclear force would probably have to be linked to NATO control. But any of these proposals could involve American participation, and an American veto over the use of U.S.-made arms. The Kennedy administration might even agree to take to Congress some proposal to curtail our veto, although this would probably involve a hassle over revising the McMahon Act, which restricts the United States on sharing atomic weapons.

WHAT THE PENTAGON WANTS

There are also some grounds for thinking that Pentagon leaders would go along with a French national nuclear force, not subject to joint control.

U.S. officials, however, are on record as opposing any further proliferation of nuclear weapons, including the development by our allies of their own strategic nuclear power and nuclear production facilities.

Secretary McNamara spelled out this viewpoint at the Athens meeting in May 1962, and later in a public speech at the University of Michigan. His thesis was this: The U.S. superiority over the Russians in nuclear warheads and vehicles for their delivery is so great that the development of further strategic nuclear forces by any of the other members of NATO would be an unwarranted duplication of effort. Needed in Europe instead, he said, are more conventional forces from the European members.

This U.S. logic, however, appears to be making no impression on De Gaulle, who is still going all out for a French nuclear force.

Where is all of this leading U.S. policymakers? As of now, it looks as though world and allied pressures will push this country toward accommodation to the French drive for a nuclear capability, and that NATO will end up with some form of tactical nuclear deterrent of its own.

Just what kind of NATO-controlled force this will be, to provide a more effective defense for Europe, is still unclear. But the signs point to at least a semistrategic force, designed to strike deeper than the tactical nuclear weapons that now accompany and support the ground forces, but limited in range to targets short of Russia itself. In addition, an increase in the number of present tactical weapons appears almost certain.

As the United States faces up to this issue, important questions are in the offing.

Will the United States soon be producing tactical A-weapons for its allies? How much, if any, control over these weapons will it retain? Will the Germans, as well as the French, soon own nuclear weapons? Will the Common Market attain its own nuclear defense? How much will the present U.S. role in Europe change, if nuclear control shifts? Can the United States reduce its conventional forces now based in Europe?

No answers are yet available. But they are to be sought diligently in the months ahead, as U.S. defense planners turn to the big problem of a better defense for Europe.

## Defense Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am fully aware of the great strides that all States are taking to procure defense contracts.

I found the attached correspondence, which includes a letter from Mr. Charles R. Diebold, president, Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo, N.Y., very interesting:

(NOTE.—Below is a copy of a letter from Buffalo, N.Y., area Chamber of Commerce President Charles R. Diebold to Los Angeles Chamber President Stephen Bilheimer. The letter is in reply to Mr. Bilheimer's recent comments (quoted in the Aug. 22 Space Daily) to the effect that if the United States is to overtake the Soviet Union in the space race "it is imperative that defense contracts be awarded on the basis of merit—and not on the basis of population, tax payments, number of voters, unemployment, or any other yardstick unrelated to the capacity to best perform the work. In the interest of national security, defense contracts must be awarded to achieve procurement of the highest quality, reliability and at the lowest cost, in the shortest time possible." Mr. Bilheimer also said that "recent attacks aimed at taking away defense business from the southland (southern California), if successful, could seriously negate the progress the United States has made to date.")

AUGUST 29, 1962.

Mr. STEPHEN BILHEIMER,
*President, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles, Calif.*

DEAR MR. BILHEIMER: I read with great interest your recent comments to the effect that defense contracts must be awarded on the basis of merit, rather than any political considerations. We in western New York have long maintained that price and quality should become the criteria for the expenditure of our Nation's defense dollars and it is heartening, indeed, to learn that such views are shared in the State which has received the largest share of defense work.

We have never questioned the premise that national security must be the overriding consideration, that defense business should go to the companies which have demonstrated that they can contribute, that they can produce.

While we obviously are in complete agreement as to the basis on which defense contracts should be awarded, I must take exception to your stated concern that any decrease in California's defense business "could seriously negate the progress the United States has made to date."

No State or any group of States has a patent on quality, economy, and production. New York State, for instance, has excellent resources for outstanding engineers and scientists and highly dedicated and competent executive personnel. Modern equipment for research and extensive production facilities are available for the development and manufacture of space age products. Western New York, in particular, has compiled a remarkable record of industrial and scientific achievement in times of war and peace.

The free enterprise system precludes the award of a disproportionate share of defense business to any one State or industrial complex and I know you will agree that our traditionally competitive way of doing business will provide the best defense possible.

The defense industries of New York State accept fair and open competition as their guiding principle and will be judged on this basis. We will continue to compete on a high level and we will continue to produce the most advanced and reliable equipment that it is possible to produce, at the earliest possible date and at the lowest possible cost.

Sincerely,

CHARLES R. DIEBOLD,
*President,*
*Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce.*

## Address of the Honorable Robert N. Giaimo Before the 65th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Musicians, Pittsburgh, Pa., Tuesday, June 12, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the advancements of science invariably produce both social and economic consequences which must be dealt with by our political institutions. We have only begun to come to grips with the novel problems inherent in the development of Telstar—others will arise in the very near future to command the attention of Congress.

In an address before the 1962 convention of the American Federation of Television & Radio Artists, my good friend and colleague from Connecticut, Representative ROBERT N. GIAIMO, directed the attention of his audience to some of the new issues raised by Telstar. Inasmuch as these issues will, in some form, be before this body in the near future,

I wish to call the attention of this House to Representative GIAIMO's remarks, and I ask that they be included at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT N. GIAIMO BEFORE THE 65TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS, PITTSBURGH, PA., TUESDAY, JUNE 12, 1962

It is with great pleasure that I extend my greetings and best wishes to you at your 65th annual convention. I am happy to have this opportunity to meet with you and share with you reports of the fight in which you and I are engaged. I refer, of course, to the struggle to improve the status of the American performer and to achieve for the arts of America their proper place among the more cherished activities of a mature nation.

Too often, in the past, your union and its sister organizations devoted to the performing arts have fought a lonely battle against powerful odds. The musician knew in the early thirties that bad times for him would last longer than the depression. The sound movie drove him from the theater pit, and he learned that progress is not an altogether unmixed blessing. In the early 1940's, your president, James Petrillo, saw a storm gathering. He knew that the promiscuous use of recorded music would drive not only the musician from radio and TV but all live performers as well. His warnings were unheeded. Congress preferred to take its cue from the broadcasters, and the Lea Act was passed—paving the way for broadcasters to convert their franchises into glorified jukeboxes.

More recently, however, the strong solo horn of the American Federation of Musicians is being joined by a growing number of "sidemen." In Congress, in the White House, in many State capitals and cities the values of living art are being extolled, and there are definite signs that concern for the plight of the performing artist in America may well rival that demonstrated for the whooping crane in the halls of government.

During the past half year, a series of significant congressional hearings have been held. Pursuant to the authority granted by House Resolution 141, which I introduced in the first session of the current Congress, the Select Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor heard testimony in New York, San Francisco, and Washington on conditions affecting the income and employment of America's performing artists. The records of those sessions make interesting, if alarming, reading. The committee, in extending its invitations, tried to collect the most authoritative and articulate representatives available from all the fields directly or indirectly concerned with the financing, production, and performance of works of art. The roster of witnesses included actors, dancers, and musicians, as well as producers, impresarios, critics, record manufacturers, legislators, educators, and spokesmen for the country's major institutions devoted to the performing arts.

To my knowledge, these hearings represented the first major attempt by Congress to compile, in one place, the pertinent facts and attitudes relating to the problems faced by the performing arts in this country. This is an accomplishment in itself; but it should be, and is, only a beginning.

Those of us who were alarmed before at the situation in which the arts today find themselves had our worst fears confirmed. In addition, however, the testimony brought home the fact that the problems are extremely complicated ones and there are no simple solutions.

It is precisely for the reason that we are aware of the complexities that I and my interested colleagues have pushed legislation which would establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. The bill proposing this, introduced by Representative FRANK THOMPSON of New Jersey with bipartisan support, last year, is threatened with a slow death on the shelves of the House Rules Committee.

Frankly, it is amazing that any proposal could meet with such an extraordinary amount of misunderstanding. Unfortunately, many of my fellow Representatives have no interest in any legislation pertaining to the arts. But even among those who count themselves as friends to the arts, many have insisted on viewing the idea of the Council as either "visionary," or vague to the point of meaninglessness, or as an attempt to establish just one more bit of self-perpetuating bureaucracy.

How can we ever hope to make an intelligent and comprehensive appraisal of so complex and delicate a problem without providing for some central and representative panel which is qualified to consider the mass of facts involved and offer guidance to those who have the power to take action? The Federal Advisory Council is not meant by its supporters to be merely a group of bureaucrats collecting information. It is intended that the appointments will be limited to the country's most outstanding and authoritative people, as far as the arts are concerned. It is simply beyond the power of a congressional committee to do the kind of job these people would be qualified to do. We will, in all likelihood, have difficulty enough in evaluating the ultimate proposals of such a Council, but that at least can be done. It is, however, those who have spent a good part of their lives dealing with the issues in question who should do the spadework and thus offer the Congress and the administration the necessary guidelines for action.

There is no obligation that the recommendations of the Federal Council, as proposed, be followed. The bill reflects only a desire that we have the best possible guidance for the decisions we may eventually have to make.

A Federal Council on the Arts would be a first step toward the clarification and then—we trust—solution of those knotty problems which underlie the discussion that has raged for many years on the proper and desirable relationship of the arts and government.

However, in the meantime, there are some very immediate problems which we can deal with—matters which have a direct bearing on the economic plight of the musician.

Those of us who have studied the situation have been struck by one great paradox. More Americans like and listen to music, of all kinds, than ever before. Why, then, are performing musicians in such difficulties?

The answer is that their products are being consumed but are not being paid for.

As I see it, our first concern lies here. We must do something to diminish these inequities.

The development of recording techniques has proved to be the greatest imaginable boon to music lovers. Comfortably established in my living room armchair, I can hear a complete and superb performance of a favorite symphony. The production of long-playing records and playing equipment means that I can do this with minimal interruption—either on my own set or on radio. Not only have these developments affected the individual consumer, they have also had a tremendous impact on the broadcasting industry. First, live performances were no longer necessary for good radio programs. Then, the LP's simplified matters even further. Technical quality and ease of handling meant that a full schedule of excellent entertainment could be offered by a station with even a very small staff.

With proper care, a record can be played over and over again. Even if the broadcasters paid for their records—and they don't; the recording companies send them gratis—the cost would be infinitesimal when contrasted to the mileage they get from them.

I have been informed by the Library of Congress that 80 percent of air time is consumed by music. But what do the people who made the product that is being used to such an extraordinary degree get out of it? Absolutely nothing.

The same holds true for the tremendous exploitation of records by the jukebox industry. They can make fortunes, with minimal expenditure, through one record, which represents the combined efforts of composer and musicians. Not one penny does either get, however, except for the sale of the record, if it was indeed sold, to the jukebox concern. Even then, the musicians benefit only, as you know, indirectly, through the recording industries music performance trust funds. The establishment of the fund was certainly a constructive step through collective bargaining, but it has by no means supplied a final answer to the vexing question of how the specific individual performer is to share in the profits made through his own efforts. The answer to this problem can only be supplied by Government.

I would like to see a revision of our antiquated laws of copyright. There is no reason at all for the all but complete exclusion of the performing artists from the profits which are made from the continued and widespread use of his unique effort. The performance itself is a creation; this the copyright laws must be made to take into account.

The U.S. Government is presently considering the question of whether or not we should endorse an international convention, drafted last fall in Rome, which among other things, concerns the protection of the performing artist from just such exploitation as I have described. Your own president, Mr. Kenin, was one of the advisers to the American delegation at the conference which drew up the convention. The problems touched on in the convention are very complex; the final draft was the end result of a continuing effort which reaches back nearly 40 years.

Although our ratification of the convention does not necessarily mean that Congress will pass new domestic copyright laws, at least it will have the force, for the administration, of a moral obligation to press for such passage.

In the case of records and transcriptions, then, there are two very important steps that should be taken. First is adoption of the Rome Convention. The second step, of course, is to guarantee to the performer an interest in the use made of his recordings and thus put an end to the exploitation being made of his talent through the use of records and transcriptions by the broadcasting and jukebox and other commercial industries. This would also require a change in our present copyright laws.

I wish to bring up one other matter. Although "subsidy" is not the dirty word for me that it is for some, I nevertheless think it makes sense to use all possible existing channels for relieving the plight of the performing arts before we think about creating new ones. For example, are there any revisions in the Internal Revenue Code which would help?

The cabaret tax was reduced, in 1960, from 20 to 10 percent. I think this tax should be eliminated entirely. From the time of its reduction to the date of our December hearings in San Francisco—the Select Committee on Education was informed—the 10-percent drop had resulted in the employment of 500 additional musicians in that city alone.

I am also interested in the repeal of taxes on admissions to all musical performances, whether or not they are produced by groups which can qualify as civic or community membership associations. It is possible that these latter may be made the beneficiaries

of further liberalizations in the tax laws; but, regardless—for the sake of the general economic health of the musical arts in this country—I feel that we can well afford to include the presently nonexempted concerts in the favored category.

I believe that if we put our minds to it, we can get results in the areas I have emphasized. This administration has a noticeably friendly attitude toward the arts. It has created an atmosphere in Washington, reflecting that attitude, which may yet drift up into the corridors and cloakrooms of Capitol Hill. At any rate, my colleagues are impressed by specific, well-planned programs which take advantage of existing structures. May I suggest that you all try to promote such efforts as these?

In a recent article, Mr. Richard Coe, drama critic for the Washington Post, stressed the gap between promise and performance regarding arts legislation today. "The differences must be faced," he wrote, "by those who presume to think that a new era is here and spout enthusiastically of ideas as though they are facts. Representatives of the performing arts must inspire the grassroots to speak up. Dilettantism, an inherited disease of the arts, can all too easily waste this richly promising atmosphere."

The American Federation of Musicians has been a valiant fighter for arts legislation in the Nation's Capital. You can be proud of the work done in your behalf by your national officers and representatives. But I have told them, and I now tell you. The battle lines drawn at the White House gate and the Capitol steps have their beginnings on Main Street of your own hometown.

I have little patience with those who denigrate Congress and dismiss those who oppose the program I have outlined as uncultured persons. Congress, by and large, reflects the will of the people as it is expressed. I believe the people of this Nation do perceive the value of a living culture; they do want to enhance the status of the performing arts—for confirmation I refer you to the great concern recently demonstrated for the Metropolitan Opera. This interest was found in all corners of our land. But this interest, this concern, this appreciation for the talents of the American musician and performing artist must be communicated to Washington.

The job of doing this rests with you people who will soon return to your local organizations. Are you going to report to your membership and exhort them to write their Congressmen and then rest content? You cannot. You must not be satisfied with talk among your own group. Get out and talk to the chamber of commerce in your hometown and explain to them how the arts in America are suffering a slow death. Talk to the Kiwanis and the American Legion and explain to them how good theater, good professional concerts and live performances not only bring tourist dollars to their town but also makes their town a better place in which to live. Talk to the Lions and Elks and the League of Women Voters. Tell them how mechanized music is destroying the training grounds for tomorow's musicians. Explain to them the gross inequities of our present copyright laws.

And to all of them, bring this message. They must tell their Congressmen that they are truly as concerned with America's cultural life as with their material well-being.

The production of wealth is a technique. And we in America have mastered it well. But the use of wealth is an art.

The American musician converts wealth into art. He must be encouraged. He must be supported in his endeavor.

I know it is not easy to sell such a message to audiences that may not perceive the problems as requiring immediate attention. But as a Congressman, as an elected leader in my community, I must do this nearly every week. A major portion of my work must be in educating the people I serve to the problems—national, international, and local—which they face today or will face tomorrow. So, certainly I know that what you must do is hard work. But only you who know the score the musician is forced to play from—only you can see the trends—only you can bring the cause of music and musicians to America's Main Street.

I can promise you that my own efforts in his behalf and in behalf of all of America's artists will continue, on all levels, until they achieve their rightful place in this Nation—a place of honor and reward.

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## Defeat on the Great Lakes: U.S. Ships, Mines Lose Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the economic progress of our country depends upon the adoption of a realistic policy relating to our national resources.

Important among these are minerals, including iron ore, not only for production of specific goods and materials but also in terms of the jobs and business and industrial activities created for the economy.

Unfortunately, however, the mineral industry in this country, particularly in iron ore—of which we have significant quantities in Wisconsin—is facing especially difficult problems economically.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal published a thought-provoking article by Leo J. Hertzel entitled "Defeat on the Great Lakes: U.S. Ships, Mines Lose Out."

Reflecting upon the need for a new look at U.S. policy, both domestic and foreign, affecting this field, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Sept. 16, 1962]

DEFEAT ON THE GREAT LAKES: U.S. SHIPS, MINES LOSE OUT—COMPETITION OF FOREIGN IRON ORE SHUTS DOWN LAKE SUPERIOR AREA PITS WHILE SUBSIDIZED FOREIGN VESSELS CAPTURE GROWING SHARE OF SHIPPING AND AMERICAN LINES FAIL

(By Leo J. Hertzel)

In the second week of August, the mine at Montreal, Wis., largest underground iron ore mine in the Lake Superior area, ceased operation. Six hundred men were put out of work. No effort will be made to prevent flooding in the mine, since it is considered permanently closed. The Montreal mine was opened in 1886, and has provided U.S. furnaces with more than a million tons of ore each year since then. Mining officials say that at least several million tons of rich ore still remain in the mine.

E. W. Sloan, president of the corporation that operated the mine, commented on its closing: "It is with the greatest reluctance that we are forced to this decision. This mine and its employees have been outstanding performers for the iron and steel industry and for the Nation over almost three-quarters of a century, including two great world conflicts * * * [but] a thorough testing of the markets and our research efforts have convinced us that the future is hopeless."

FOREIGN ORE IMPORTS UP

A few days after the closing of the Montreal mine, the Peterson mine in Bessemer, Wis., announce it would lay off 80 employees and close down one shift. About the same time, the American Iron Ore Institute announced that foreign ore imports in 1962 were up more than 60 percent above last year. As the foreign ore imports continue to rise year after year, the once vigorous Lake Superior ore fields are worked less and less.

Along with the cutbacks in production and the closing of mines comes the rapid decline of the U.S. Great Lakes ore fleets. The ships that were the critical link between mines and furnaces during two World Wars are now fast being retired and cut up for scrap. Meantime, the Canadian fleet on the lakes grows rapidly, and present signs indicate that it will eventually control Great Lakes shipping.

Behind the curtailment of mining, the decline of the American fleet, and the rise of the Canadian fleet is a complicated political-economic situation made further difficult by certain technical advancements in the making of steel.

For many years, U.S. ore boats have carried iron ore mined in the rich Lake Superior area from upper lake ports like Superior, Duluth, Two Harbors, and Ashland to lower lake ports like Detroit, Toledo, and South Chicago. Blast furnaces at the lower lake ports, conveniently located near both coal and limestone deposits, turned the ore into pig iron and eventually steel. Upper lake ports have sent down an average of 58 million tons of ore a year for the last 50 years; in 1953 the tonnage reached an incredible 95.5 million tons.

With almost no variation in 50 years, the quality of the ore shipped from the Lake Superior mines has been 52 percent natural iron.

Almost every pound of this ore was shipped on the Great Lakes in U.S. vessels that were built in U.S. shipyards and manned by U.S. crews.

VENEZUELAN SHIPMENTS

The earliest act regulating commerce in our history, passed in 1789, restricts all domestic trade by water between the States to vessels of U.S. registry built and owned by citizens. Thus the Lake Superior ore deposits made jobs for American sailors as well as miners and the shipyard workers who built the long maneuverable ore boats that came to be a trademark of the Great Lakes.

But during the late years of World War II, signs of a decline in the American fleet began to appear. In the first place, a concern for the future of our ore supplies caused American corporations, often with Federal financial aid, to seek sources outside this country that could supply raw ore. It was said that the Great Mesabi was not inexhaustible. Enormous deposits of high quality ore were soon uncovered in Canada, Chile, Venezuela, Africa, and other spots throughout the world.

Today, these foreign sources of ore are beginning to produce at a high level. Venezuelan and Canadian deposits have begun to produce at particularly high rates. In 1957, for example, imports of ore from Venezuela totaled 12 million tons; by 1960 they totaled almost 15 million tons. The rate increases yearly. Canada shipped about 11 million tons in 1960.

Along with the increase of foreign ore to American furnaces came a demand for ore of a higher iron concentration than the 52 percent traditionally maintained by the Lake Superior suppliers. New refining tech-

niques called for a richer blend, and the foreign deposits, particularly those in Canada, Venezuela, and Chile, could deliver it with ease.

To complicate matters still further, the Lake Superior ore delivered at lower lake ports was expensive, because it had by law to travel in ships built and manned by American labor. But ore from Canada, Chile or elsewhere could move in foreign bottoms.

When the St. Lawrence Seaway opened the Great Lakes ports to foreign shipping, when Canadian ore deposits began producing at a high rate, and when South American shipments began arriving at the furnaces in ever-increasing quantities (often via barge shipment on the rivers), the competition began to take its toll of the Lake Superior mining vigor and the U.S. fleet on the lakes. Upper lake ore shipments to U.S. mills declined from 80 percent of the total used in 1954 to 54 percent in 1958 to 47 percent in 1959. With yearly fluctuations, the percentage continues to drop.

In the early 1950's, American fleet owners began scrapping their less economical vessels. According to the Lake Carriers Association, the American fleet tonnage declined 20 percent between 1945 and 1961. The number of American vessels actually sailing, however, was reduced even more sharply, since the smallest vessels were dropped first. One industry survey shows that the number of U.S. lake vessels actually sailing fell from 330 in 1955 to 186 in 1962.

NO NEW U.S. VESSELS

At least 10 U.S. lake fleets have gone out of business altogether since 1955. No new U.S. vessels are now under construction, nor are any planned. At a time when larger hulls are the only economical means of transporting ore, when naval architects talk only of super-supercarriers, the American fleet on the lakes is composed chiefly of old, small, inefficient vessels. This year a Canadian shipping official observed, "The simple fact is that, from a shipping cost point of view, all but a handful of the U.S. lake fleet is today as obsolescent as are the Canadian canallers."

The effects of this decline in domestic ore mining and shipping have been severe in States bordering Lake Superior. Unemployment is widespread among miners, railroadmen, sailors, shipyard workers and all of the service trades that relied on ore and its transportation for economic health. For example, some lake vessels this year sail with four licensed captains aboard. The captain oldest in seniority is master of the vessel; the remaining "bumpback" captains serve as mates.

Two years ago John S. Wilbur, vice president of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co., summed up the situation: "It looks as though Lake Superior mines producing standard ore may be used as a safety valve with rather low rates of production until a real big year or some emergency comes along."

On the other side of the lakes, the Canadian fleet grows rapidly. Between 1945 and 1961 it expanded 80 percent in numbers and 194 percent in carrying capacity. At this rate of growth the Canadian fleet will soon surpass the U.S. fleet.

The monthly cost of operating a 20,000- to 25,000-ton Canadian ore carrier is about $54,000; cost of operating a similar United States vessel is about $78,000. Labor accounts for a substantial part of the difference. Pay for U.S. crews averages about $8,000 per man, with captains drawing as high as $20,000.

Another factor accelerating the growth of the Canadian fleet is the support it has received from the Canadian Government. Seemingly aware that Canada could now dominate lake commerce, the Canadian Government announced in May of 1961 an assistance program for Dominion shipbuilders. It provides subsidies for 40 percent of construction costs of vessels built or contracted for up to March 31, 1963, and 35 percent thereafter.

U.S. SHIPS TOO COSTLY

In effect, the subsidy means that a Canadian ore carrier can be constructed at a cost to its owner of about $188 per carrying ton, as compared to a cost of about $340 per carrying ton for U.S. owners. Total cost of a 25,000-ton Canadian carrier is now about $4.7 million as compared to $8.5 million for a carrier of like capacity built in the States. In addition to the subsidy, the Canadian Government had done much to stimulate the growth of the fleet.

In view of all this, it is clear why the Lake Carriers Association, in a report to the Secretary of Commerce last year observed: "While not a single Great Lakes vessel is under construction or conversion for a U.S. owner, Canadian owners have six ships with a combined trip capacity of 152,000 tons under construction or conversion. * * * American-flag operators have witnessed their Canadian counterparts grow in stature until newly constructed Canadian vessels now dominate the trade in bulk commodities between the United States and Canada."

Although the demand for a higher grade ore than that mined in the Mesabi is a large factor in the general picture of decline, many Great Lakes management and union officials believe that much could be salvaged for the American ore economy on the lakes if the U.S. fleet could compete successfully with Canadian operators. At worst U.S. vessels could vie with Canadians in the transportation of Canadian ore to U.S. furnaces.

The Lake Carrier Association last year appealed to the Secretary of Commerce for a four-part program that would assist in modernizing the American fleet, a program that would in some way duplicate the advantages now enjoyed by Canadian shippers. In addition to asking for construction subsidies, the lake carriers asked for a faster tax write-off scheduled for vessels, the authority to trade in obsolete ships to the U.S. Government for credit on the cost of building new ones (now done in the case of subsidized ocean shipping lines, with the requirement that the new vessels be built in U.S. yards) and authority to deposit earnings before taxes in a special construction fund.

The appeal was transmitted in part to Congress by a Wisconsin Republican Congressman, ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, who introduced legislation that would provide construction subsidies for the lake vessels. In what was an almost unique case of cooperation, the bill was supported by the Seamen's Union as well as the shipowners. Fred Neubauser, president of the Lake Sailors Union, observed in the union newspaper: "We have no quarrel with our brothers in the Canadian labor movement. We are sure that they recognize that Canadian lake shipping has certain advantages not now shared by American fleets. We in the United States feel justified in seeking similar advantages."

LAID UP SHIPS IN JULY

The Department of Commerce did not look with enthusiasm on O'KONSKI's bill and early in July recommended that Congress not pass it. O'KONSKI then issued a statement accusing the Department of "strangling" the Great Lakes shipping industry and said: "Unless our Nation's leaders wake up, it will be the end of U.S. shipping on the Great Lakes with additional thousands of unemployed because of foreign competition." But O'KONSKI's statement, like his bill, received scant attention. The bill is now considered dead.

In the meantime, some U.S. shippers began laying up their vessels in July this year instead of the usual November. A Federal food stamp program on the iron range feeds people who once earned their keep by mining and shipping ore.

Hard facts indicate a continued growth of Canadian activity and a decline of U.S. importance on the Great Lakes. The vigor and the strength seem to lie to the north.

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## Comments on Mississippi Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, following are comments on the Mississippi situation by two Washington newspapers, both of which have been friendly to the southern viewpoint on many of these issues:

[From the Evening Star, Sept. 16, 1962]

CRISIS AT "OLE MISS"

If Mississippi's Governor ROSS BARNETT stands by his guns, it is conceivable that he, as well as other State officials, will wind up serving jail sentences for contempt of court. But we do not see any way in which this can prevent the enrollment, pursuant to Federal court order, of a 29-year-old Negro in the University of Mississippi.

The Governor's defiant stand has been generally applauded in Mississippi, and he may mean it, when he says he would rather go to jail than bow to the court's edict. There is no prospect, however, that the doctrine of interposition, which he has invoked, can serve to halt enforcement of the order. This point has already been settled adversely to the doctrine by the courts. There is only one way to prevent the admission of the Negro to "Ole Miss," and that is to shut down the university. We doubt that even Governor Barnett would want to go to such an extreme.

One Mississippi legislator, Representative FRANK SMITH, has spoken out forthrightly and courageously on this matter. The Governor, he says, "would lead the State down another blind alley. The course he proposes threatens the existence of our great university, whether we like it or not, the question of State versus Federal law was settled 100 years ago."

This comment will not be palatable in Mississippi. But there is no doubt that it is the truth.

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 19, 1962]

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

"Whether we like it or not, the question of State versus Federal law was settled 100 years ago." That was the comment of Representative FRANK SMITH, the only U.S. legislator from Mississippi to speak out against Gov. Ross Barnett's demand that school officials defy U.S. court orders to admit one Negro student to the University of Mississippi.

"Governor Barnett would lead the State down another blind alley," Representative SMITH said of Governor Barnett's demands that State school officials either resign or pledge themselves to suffer possible jail terms for defying "tyrannical edicts" of the Federal Establishment.

It is an unhappy commentary on political leadership that the only U.S. legislator from Mississippi who had the temerity to speak out had already been defeated for reelection.

Representative SMITH will soon join the board of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Representative SMITH spoke the plain truth. It was decided in a bloody century-old struggle that Federal law must prevail. Decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, including the 1954 school case, are the law of the land. The ruling in the school case has been applied in Mississippi's neighbor States of Tennessee and Arkansas and Louisiana. It will eventually apply in Mississippi.

The tragedy is that the State's political leaders dare tell the people only what they want to hear. Should civil strife result from Governor Barnett's unreasoned stand, a jail term might not suffice to atone for the human misery spawned by fear or failure to face the facts.

## The Case of Kelly Versus Disorganized Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, our country has become justly alarmed over the crime wave that has been sweeping our Capital city, where recently a congressional secretary was stabbed while praying at noon in a church within the shadow of the Capitol. Just this week another Capitol Hill secretary was viciously attacked within a block of the Capitol.

Many have been attempting to discover where to fix the blame for this vicious condition existing in Washington. The Washington police apparently have been doing a good job. Who is responsible for the breakdown in law enforcement in our Capital City?

An article appearing in the Washington Daily News of September 20, which is attached, apparently gives the answer to the question that is troubling so many:

THE CASE OF KELLY VERSUS DISORGANIZED CRIME

This is the story of how the office of the U.S. attorney here tried very hard to keep a criminal case from coming to court.

And of how it might have succeeded were it not for the stubborn insistence of a citizen named Tom Kelly and the energetic interest of a municipal judge, Thomas C. Scalley, both of whom seem to think it is the business of the U.S. Attorney's Office to prosecute—not to sit listlessly on its hands.

The case involves Tom Kelly intimately. He was the complaining witness.

Mr. Kelly happens to be a reporter for this newspaper, but what happened to him could have happened to almost any adult male in the District of Columbia.

Here is Mr. Kelly's story:

"Last June 30, I was stitting on a step in front of my house near the Capitol cleaning and painting a bike. It was a warm, bright, Saturday evening. My two older children were playing a few feet away. My wife and our youngest daughter, who is 2, had gone to the grocery store some time earlier.

"The time was 7 p.m.

"As I was working, I looked up and saw my wife at the corner, some 40 feet away. Two men, one in his thirties, one in his teens, were standing beside her. The men appeared to be talking to her and she to them. She looked angry and outraged.

"I put down the rag or brush or whatever I was working with and walked over.

"My wife told me one of the men had made an obscene and insulting remark to her—which she repeated to me. She said she had told them I was her husband and suggested that they tell me what they'd said.

"I turned to the younger man and asked: 'What did you say to my wife?'

"The younger man stammered a few words, not very clearly.

"The older man, who, I learned later, was an ex-convict named Andrew Redwood, shouted at me and hit me on the jaw with his right hand. I did not see the blow coming since I was facing the younger man.

"I was still on my feet and I turned toward Redwood. He drew a knife from his pocket, held it out, opened the blade, and dared me to 'come on.'

"I stayed where I was and tried to decide on a cool, logical course of action.

"I told my wife to call the police and then I ran into the house and got an empty shotgun. The gun had been empty for years. Because of the children, I've never kept any shells in the house."

THE CHASE

"When I came out I saw that Redwood and his companion were walking rapidly away. I told my wife that I would follow them and that she was to send the police after us as soon as they came. I was angry but under control.

"I trailed them for a block, keeping them in sight but not getting any closer, before they noticed me. Then they broke into a run. I ran too. I lost sight of the younger man but I followed Redwood to Massachusetts Avenue where he jumped in a cab.

At that moment two policemen drew up beside me in a scout car. I got in and told them what had happened. So we started after the cab and the cab stopped and Redwood jumped out and ran.

"The policemen sounded their siren and drove up beside him.

"As they approached, he tried to get rid of his knife, placing it on the ledge of a mailbox.

"The police got out and took him into custody. They took the knife, too.

"At the ninth precinct, Redwood denied having a knife. He also denied knowing the younger man who'd accompanied him. He admitted having done time for armed robbery.

"Precinct Detective Frank Ford, a courteous and intelligent man, questioned both of us impartially, and told us to appear at municipal court Monday for a hearing at the U.S. attorney's office."

THE FIRST GO-ROUND

"The hearing was held before an assistant U.S. attorney, a very young man. He said that he sympathized with me, but that there was no case against Redwood and that I had better drop the whole thing. Redwood was there, along with his companion of Saturday night.

"As a newspaper reporter for 15 years I have covered hundreds of court trials. I like to think I know a solid case when I see one.

"I pointed out that there were plenty of witnesses and that there could be no question that Redwood had slugged me and threatened me with a knife.

"The young U.S. attorney replied that he could charge me, too, since I had carried the empty shotgun while trailing Redwood.

"I told him to charge me if he wished, but to charge Redwood, too.

"He said, 'You know he helps the police.' My wife said, 'You mean he's an informer?' I said I didn't care what he was. I wanted to swear out a warrant against him.

"The young prosecutor said I'd better talk to Assistant U.S. Attorney William Greenhalgh, the man in charge that day and the second-ranking man in the office.

"So everybody involved went in to see Mr. Greenhalgh.

"I told Mr. Greenhalgh what had happened and I told him there were plenty of witnesses.

"Whereupon Mr. Greenhalgh sent Redwood and his companion out of the room. Then he turned to me.

"'There is no case,' he said.

"I told him there certainly was a case.

"Mr. Greenhalgh said a jury whose members included Negroes would never convict Redwood since he was a Negro—and particularly since he was an ex-convict who might have to go back to the penitentiary.

"I told him I had a lot more faith in the integrity of Negroes on juries than that. I asked him if he honestly meant that the processes of law had so broken down that a convict out on good time from the penitentiary could pull a knife on a citizen, without provocation, and get away with it?

"I mentioned that, as a newspaper reporter, I was somewhat familiar with the courts. By saying this, of course, I let Mr. Greenhalgh know that I was a newspaperman. I don't know whether he knew this before.

"Mr. Greenhalgh then allowed that, if I insisted, he would permit me to swear out a warrant. But he certainly wasn't saying that Redwood could ever be convicted. I said I expected no guarantee from him, I merely wanted to see the case come to trial.

"So trial was set for August 21."

THE GREAT PREPARATION

"A month before the trial date I found that I would have to be out of town that day and I called the U.S. Attorney's office to ask if they could have the case continued.

"The young man who answered told me I was certainly putting the office to a lot of trouble but he'd see about it.

"I heard no more from him. When the trial date arrived, I was laid up in the hospital.

"On September 1, I called the U.S. Attorney's office again and asked if the case had been continued.

"The young man who answered said it had. It was now set for September 17. I told him that I had not yet received any notice.

"On September 14 I called again. I said I still had not received any notice and neither had any of the witnesses to the incident on the sidewalk.

"The young man said the folder on the case did not list any witnesses who should be notified.

"I asked him if I should bring witnesses with me on September 17.

"He said not to bother. Just come myself. He said if witnesses were needed, they could always get them at the last minute. That was last Friday."

WE GET STARTED

"On Monday, September 17, I was in court, alone, at 10 a.m. I was called as the only listed witness. I stood up.

"Assistant U.S. Attorney Henry Jones, who was to prosecute the case, said we would all go downstairs for a hearing. We went downstairs.

"Prosecutor Jones, obviously, had just been assigned the case. At the hearing, the attorney for Redwood asked for another continuance. The Assistant U.S. Attorney who held this hearing said, 'no.' He said the prosecution was ready to go to trial.

"Then the defense attorney said he wanted me charged too, for carrying the empty shotgun. The hearing examiner said, 'no.' He would not charge me. And he didn't.

"After some haggling, all hands agreed to ask the judge for a continuance to October 2.

"At 1:30 p.m. we were back in court. Judge Thomas C. Scalley was presiding. The

Redwood case was called. Prosecutor Jones asked for the continuance.

"Judge Scalley said, 'No.' He said the U.S. attorney's office should be prepared and the case was going to trial.

"Mr. Jones, obviously upset, asked how he could be expected to prosecute a case he knew nothing about. The trial began nevertheless."

FIRST WITNESS

"A jury of 12 persons, six Negroes and six whites, was chosen. I was called as the first witness. I recounted what had happened that evening in June.

"When I started to repeat what my wife had told me, the defense attorney objected on the grounds of hearsay. I turned to Judge Scalley and told him that, for reasons known only to itself, the U.S. Attorney's Office had failed to call my wife as a witness although she would be glad to testify.

"After I was examined and cross-examined, Judge Scalley called the attorneys to the bench and roasted the U.S. Attorney's Office for not preparing the case properly. (Mr. Jones, let it be clear, had nothing to do with the handling of the case until that every day, thorough his colleagues in the U.S. Attorney's Office certainly had.)

"Judge Scalley then postponed the trial until the next day to allow the calling of needed witnesses.

"I told Mr. Jones I would get them. I got my wife. A neighboring family, which included several witnesses, had moved away and I didn't know where to find them now.

"The next morning my wife and the arresting officers testified. Andrew Redwood and his companion—a 16-year-old boy—testified for the defense.

"Prosecutor Jones made an intelligent and effective closing speech to the jury.

"The jury left and returned within an hour.

"Negroes and whites together, they found that Andrew Redwood was guilty as charged of both simple assault and carrying a dangerous weapon. He will be sentenced soon.

"This was the case that the U.S. Attorney's Office tried so hard to do nothing about.

"If I hadn't gotten angry enough to force the issue, the case obviously would never have come to trial."

How many cases like this are quickly and quietly dropped before they begin?

What's wrong with the U.S. Attorney's Office?

"Is it lazy, incompetent or what"

## Pakistan Gets $31 Million U.S. Loan for Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Bender, of Greenwich, Conn., has sent me a very interesting clipping from the New York Herald Tribune. The brief article describes a $31 million loan made September 10 by the United States to Pakistan for the purchase of railway equipment. It is an interest-free, long-term loan.

Now Pakistan is a very good and valuable friend of ours. We have great respect for the people of that country and its President who visited us a short while ago.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Bender points out in his letter to me, while "Our Old New Haven and many railroads are dying on the vine, our own administration is blithely doling out interest-free American cash to help foreign roads."

Admittedly, the New Haven has received many millions in loans guaranteed by the Federal Government, but it does seem odd that a country which balks at solving its own transportation problems is so free to oblige a distant foreign country to accomplish precisely what is needed at home.

The article follows:

PAKISTAN GETS $31 MILLION U.S. LOAN FOR RAILROAD

KARACHI.—Pakistan and the United States have signed a $31 million loan for purchase of railway equipment.

The long-term, interest-free loan was signed September 10 by Osman Ali, Secretary, Economic Affairs Division of the President's Secretariat, and John Heilman, director, U.S. Agency for International Development mission to Pakistan.

The new loan is designed to help modernize Pakistan's railroads. Under its terms Pakistan will purchase U.S. diesel electric locomotives, materials for baggage coaches and freight cars, rails and construction materials for bridge and other engineering works.

## The Monroe Doctrine Is Still Alive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, there is probably no issue of more vital importance to our Nation's security today than that of the Soviet Russian encroachment in Cuba. This bold Kremlin aggression is in direct conflict with the Monroe Doctrine, which has been the keystone of U.S. policy since 1823.

Unfortunately, there is altogether too much misunderstanding and fuzzy thinking with respect to the Monroe Doctrine today, as we hear doubts as to its applicability and assertions that it is no longer a living doctrine.

Because of the importance of this subject—the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine in our current crisis—I include at the end of these remarks a very pertinent article, "The Monroe Doctrine Is Still Alive," by Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, director of national security and foreign affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in the August issue of the VFW magazine. This article by General Hittle is extremely timely and I believe it noteworthy to point out that it was written, and appeared prior to the recent landing of Soviet Russian military equipment and technicians in Cuba. Therefore, this article is of the more significance because it does not involve hindsight, but rather is based upon a sound analysis of the Cuban problem and the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine.

This article is another fine example of the sound and constructive approach to national security problems which we have come to expect from the Veterans of Foreign Wars. That organization, comprised of 1,300,000 oversea combat veterans, is an increasingly influential factor in our national security.

I believe that all those who read this article will find it to be highly informative and constructive, sound, and well presented:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MONROE DOCTRINE IS STILL ALIVE

(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired)

The Veterans of Foreign Wars was among the first to recognize the deadly seriousness of a Red Cuba. This base of communism, within 90 miles of U.S. shores, creates strategic and political threats without precedent in the hemisphere of the Americas. Castro's public embracing of Marxism-Leninism and his "pledge of allegiance" to the Kremlin removes once and for all any doubts as to the inherent Communist nature of Castro's government.

It was with realization of the dangers of a Castro-controlled Cuba, and with full understanding that Castroism is communism, that the 62d VFW national convention in Miami Beach, Fla., unanimously adopted resolution No. 105, calling for the application of the Monroe Doctrine.

The increasing seriousness of the Cuban situation resulted in Commander in Chief Hansen's decision to include the call for "strict enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine" among the key objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in 1962. This decision by Commander in Chief Hansen was one of the basic recommendations of the joint meeting of the national legislative, national security, and civil defense committees, held in the VFW Memorial Building, Washington, D.C., December 9–10, 1961.

In calling for the application of the Monroe Doctrine the VFW proposes a basic remedy to counteract the penetration of the Caribbean and the Western Hemisphere as a result of Cuba's fall into the Red orbit.

This VFW action is based upon the realization that the Monroe Doctrine, contrary to some fuzzy thinking today, is not dead. It could be a vibrant and potent instrument of U.S. foreign policy and national security. It is a powerful weapon against Communist incursion into this part of the world. Its use awaits only the willingness of our Nation to utilize this historic statement of principle. This is the action the VFW proposes.

Following are some basic facts with respect to the Monroe Doctrine:

It was first proclaimed by President Monroe on December 2, 1823. The principles, referred to as the Monroe Doctrine, were contained in the first two paragraphs of the President's message of that date.

The key passage of the Monroe Doctrine states that the United States "should consider any attempt on the part of foreign powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and security." This is clear, concise, and understandable language. It means that this hemisphere cannot be a target for foreign colonization, infiltration, or political control of any kind. Communism is a system in a governmental, political, and ideological sense. The prohibition against a foreign system as was enunciated in the Monroe Doctrine, is today a prohibition against communism.

The doctrine further states that such effort to extend a foreign system, or gaining control of an American nation in any manner, by European powers, is considered "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The Monroe Doctrine was designed to protect the Americas from European imperialism and to shelter young nations in their struggle to maintain their independence. And yet there is an aspect, oft forgotten, of the doctrine that bears striking resemblance to the basic situation that confronts the Americas today.

It is frequently overlooked that the first portion of the Monroe Doctrine was pointed squarely at Russian encroachment on the American Continent. At that time Russian imperialism was exerting increasing pressure on the northwest coast of North America. Consequently the genesis of a major portion of the Monroe Doctrine was this Russian intrusion on our shores.

Thus the thread of historical continuity becomes apparent. The Monroe Doctrine is just as applicable today in resisting Soviet Russian encroachment, by proxy or otherwise, in the Caribbean, as it was when implemented by President Monroe in blocking czarist Russian threats to our national security well over a century ago.

The Monroe Doctrine has been a keystone in the defense and foreign policy of the United States. It has been reiterated and amplified by Presidents following Monroe. The doctrine, in essence, places the United States squarely in opposition to any encroachment, direct or indirect, by a non-American nation upon the independence of any nation in the American hemisphere. Clearly, this makes the Monroe Doctrine applicable in the case of a Kremlin-alined Cuba.

The Monroe Doctrine has long been looked upon by authorities in international law as a demonstration of the determination of the United States to take those steps which are necessary for her own defense. Elihu Root, a distinguished lawyer and a great Secretary of War, stated that the Monroe Doctrine was based upon "the right of self-protection and that right is recognized by international law."

It is indeed significant that the Monroe Doctrine was considered so vital following World War I, that the U.S. Senate, in the discussion of the Treaty of Versailles, declared the Monroe Doctrine to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of the League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in said treaty of peace with Germany. It was also reserved for the United States to have the sole right to interpret the Monroe Doctrine. Thus, at so relatively recent a time as the end of World War I, the U.S. Senate recognized the Monroe Doctrine as a living, applicable and dominant feature of our national policy.

President Wilson in 1916 said, "The Monroe Doctrine demanded merely that European governments should not attempt to extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic."

That reflects what the VFW so firmly believes—that the Monroe Doctrine be implemented to prevent the extension of communism to this side of the Atlantic.

The Monroe Doctrine still stands as a principal feature of a U.S. policy of enlightened self-determination. Its application would be thoroughly justifiable in view of international communism's seizure of Cuba through Castro and his bearded henchmen. Under the Monroe Doctrine, a Communist-controlled Cuba, working under the direction of the Kremlin, is certainly, if we use the wording of the doctrine, "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

A nation, to protect its own independence, freedom and destiny, must take whatever action is necessary to counter an unfriendly act. Thus, under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States would be justified in taking economic, political and even military steps to eradicate this growing threat to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

The increasing oppression of the Communist police state in Cuba, the importation of Communist armament to the end that Cuba today has one of the largest and most modern armed forces in the Western Hemisphere, and the capability of Cuba to be the base for Red submarines and missile launching sites aimed at the United States and the Panama Canal, make the provisions of the Monroe Doctrine more meaningful than perhaps at any time in history.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars is strategically realistic, politically perceptive and historically sound in urging the application of the Monroe Doctrine today.

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## Remarks of U.S. Representative John E. Fogarty, Second Congressional District, of Rhode Island, at the Providence Association of Medical Assistants, Providence, R.I., September 19, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address which I delivered at a meeting of the Association of Medical Assistants in Providence, R.I., on September 19, 1962:

REMARKS OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE JOHN E. FOGARTY, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF RHODE ISLAND AT THE PROVIDENCE ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL ASSISTANTS, PROVIDENCE, R.I., SEPTEMBER 19, 1962

There is a special satisfaction in addressing the members of a young organization such as this. And when the spirit, the energy, and the planning of the members are directed toward the twin goals of better medical practice and of educational self-improvement, I feel that we have much in common.

When the people of Rhode Island sent me to Congress in 1941, I went with a determination to serve the people of my State and of this country, but I had no idea at that time that circumstances would enable me to become familiar with the financing of medical research for a healthier America. But I can assure you that since 1949, when I became chairman of the subcommittee of the House of Representatives directly concerned with the levels of Federal programs attacking health and research problems, I have had an extensive and intensive education in these fields. This day-to-day, first-hand education has convinced me that we share enormous but conquerable health problems. Though I have the privilege of participating in health programs that affect every community in the Nation, you are privileged to advance our Nation's health on perhaps the most rewarding level—on a person-to-person basis.

You who work in doctors' offices as medical secretaries and receptionists are brought directly into contact day by day with disease and suffering. Your knowledge of human relations, law and economics in medicine, medical ethics and etiquette is vital to the physicians for whom you work, and even more important to the patients with whom you work. You—and the physician—are, together, in the minds of the patients you see, that concept we call modern medicine.

To do your jobs most effectively you must know medical terminology, some anatomy and physiology, and office management practices. Or, if you specialize in assisting the physician, you have to know examination room techniques, sterilization procedures, and have an orientation to bacteriology and hematology, and to laboratory techniques.

It is, I think, particularly creditable to you that you have organized—here in Rhode Island, and though your national group, in more than 30 States. You have been encouraged in this by the physicians—the American Medical Association has supported the American Association of Medical Assistants, just as the Rhode Island Medical Society has supported your efforts. And I am much in sympathy with your certification plans through medical assistant examinations. I understand that next week, at this year's national convention in Detroit, pilot examinations will be given. Such self-examination is mutually advantageous—it advances the cause of medical practice, because it would enable a physician to more easily select qualified office assistants, and it advances the cause of the members of this group seriously dedicated to the alleviation of the suffering of those among us who are victims of disease.

I have long been impressed with the vital role voluntary associations have played in American life. Groups of citizens get together to achieve something—frequently this is something in the health field, where the authorities—local, county, State or Federal—have failed to act or were powerless to do so. Seldom has an aroused citizenry failed to achieve the action it sought.

Organizing for action is, of course, the story of American politics. Long ago someone said that in no country in the world had the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to more causes than in America. But organizing for causes has served ends other than politics. Your organization, for example, serves to raise the standards of medical practice and is as valid a contribution to health as was the organization of the American Cancer Society in 1913 or the March of Dimes in 1938. The only difference is one of degree.

Let me return to the subject of cancer. In 1937 cancer was generally considered a hopeless disease by the public and by the physicians. Only seven States had cancer control programs and young scientists were hesitant to enter upon research careers investigating this disease. Today, all that is changed.

In 1937, when the Congress passed legislation creating the National Cancer Institute, cancer research was so inadequately supported that even the meager supply of trained manpower could not be utilized. Today research is being conducted on cancer by more than 6,000 scientists, successful treatment is common, and thousands of practicing physicians—as no doubt some of you know—have received postgraduate instructions in the early detection and treatment of cancer and all the States have active cancer control programs.

Twenty-five years ago only 1 in every 7 Americans stricken by cancer was saved; today 1 in every 3 is saved. Twenty-five years ago cancer of the uterus was the leading cause of cancer death among women; today, 60 percent of the 40,000 women who develop uterine cancer are being saved—and almost all deaths from this cause could be prevented if the American woman would take a simple test for the early detection of this type of cancer.

Twenty-five years ago, surgical techniques in the field of cancer hardly existed. Today surgery—combined with newly developed radiation techniques or with some of the

newer chemical compounds—is saving thousands of lives. But this record of progress gives us little cause for complacency. We cannot afford to be complacent in light of the fact that each year there are 500,000 newly diagnosed cases of cancer. We cannot shrug off the fact that half of this number—a quarter of a million people—will die this year of cancer. And, it is even more sobering to consider that 16 in every 100 people born are destined—according to our current rates—to die of some form of cancer.

For these reasons—and others—I introduced legislation which was enacted to make 1962 "Cancer Progress Year." The National Cancer Institute and the American Cancer Society have cooperated in this enterprise which looks both forward and backward—noting progress, noting future needs—and encourages support of cancer research in this country.

I want to emphasize two things, here tonight, in connection with cancer research. I want to point out that the Cancer Act of 1937 was a milestone on the road to man's conquest of disease because for the first time the resources of the Federal Government were brought to focus on a particular disease, and I want to point out that the progress we have seen against this disease is a tribute to both Federal and non-Federal support and effort.

This should never be forgotten. Those in Congress in the late 1930's well remember that the creation of a National Cancer Institute, and the demand for Federal support of its research activities, was urged most strongly by the American Cancer Society and the Women's Field Army of the American Society for the Control of Cancer. There was no stronger support anywhere for Federal assistance in combating cancer than from these most knowledgeable private citizens who were fighting the battle with inadequate support. This cooperation has continued, and will continue, as has been publicly stated by such men as Dr. John R. Heller—former Director of the National Cancer Institute and new president of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center.

The National Cancer Institute was the first disease-oriented unit of our medical research center at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md. This has now become the greatest medical research center in the world. The Cancer Institute—and the other Institutes set up to concentrate on other diseases—represents a new concept of Federal responsibility for the conduct and support of medical research to supplement the resources of philanthropy, contributions, or commercial enterprise.

This new concept has given this Nation world leadership in medical research. I am proud of having had the great good fortune to be in a position—as chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for almost 15 years—to do everything I could to advance this concept. And I am even prouder of the public awareness and spirit that has backed the steady expansion and growth of Federal support in all areas of public health, especially that of research.

And I would like at this point to remark upon one little-appreciated aspect of the Federal growth of support for medical research: the fact that Federal aid, far from stifling private enterprise, actually stimulates local non-Federal activities. For while Federal support of research has grown from $45 million in 1940 to $800 million today, this growth has been paralleled by a remarkable increase in non-Federal expenditures for medical research—from $42 million in 1940 to more than $300 million, today.

Those of us in Congress—responding to the will of the people for a healthier, happier life for each and all of our citizens—can and must make certain that adequate funds are provided to continue to stimulate our progress against the major diseases that still plague us until they are ultimately vanquished.

Through my committee assignments, through a keen personal interest in the need for medical research programs, I have become pretty well acquainted with the health needs of our people and also with the people who do the research and with those who plan and administer our Nation's research programs. I have been privileged to talk with scientists in their laboratories and have discussed their problems and their accomplishments in the hearings before my committee on annual appropriations requests. It is a fascinating glimpse into the future.

Just now an all-out effort is being made to develop vaccines against the widespread respiratory infections—that is, the common cold. This is the largest single disease problem of man—it causes more time lost from work than any other disease, and cost us about $3 billion, last year. Big as the problem is for adults, you who are mothers know that respiratory illnesses are even more pervasive in children, and the first vaccines will be developed to combat the viruses known to cause about 60 percent of the serious respiratory illnesses of hospitalized children.

And while cardiovascular diseases are still the Nation's No. 1 killer, testimony before my committee indicates that more progress has been made in the past decade against heart disease than in all the preceding history of medicine. Damaged heart valves can be replaced; holes in the wall that separates the auricles of the heart can be closed; new anticoguiants have been developed to help prevent recurrence of heart attacks.

Many of our research accomplishments are only signposts toward the future—hopeful signposts toward a better world. New drugs have been developed to combat hypertension—no doubt many of your own practitioners are using them—but still hypertension kills more than 100,000 a year and disables some 5 million. We must support more research in this area.

We live in an age of medical miracles beyond that dreamed of by any previous generation of men. Toward the end of the 19th century a great surgeon warned that any of his colleagues who would attempt to repair a wound in the heart could count upon it: he would lose the respect of his colleagues. But medical miracles trip over each other, in our time. An artificial kidney has been developed as a permanent replacement for patients with seriously damaged kidney function, and a handful of men and women are now alive, thanks to this device. This device, by the way, was developed by your and my tax money—appropriated by the Congress and administered by the National Institutes of Health. But the end is not in sight: it costs about $10,000 a year to treat one patient—what is needed is a way to simplify the treatment and reduce its cost, so that many more may live.

Because I am so vitally concerned with Federal support of medical research and so often identified with it, I want to emphasize once more that the Federal Government alone could not, has not, and does not pretend to have singlehandedly produced today's medical miracles. Perhaps the most striking conquest of our generation, that over polio, was a triumph of the people at first hand: the mothers who participated in the March of Dimes raised most of the funds for the research that resulted in the Salk vaccine.

That was a triumph of the people at first hand. What I want to make clear to you here tonight is that the Federal support of research has made possible many triumphs—less heralded than that over polio—at second hand.

Those of you here tonight—and the almost 10,000 members of your national organization—know clearly enough of one contribution you are making to modern medicine. You know that, through the performance of your various duties, you are helping to improve the practice of medicine. But you are making another contribtuion to modern medicine which is as important—perhaps more important, in the long run.

Through your tax dollars you are now supporting more than one-half of the medical research of this country.

These are the funds which it is the responsibility of your Representatives to invest wisely in the health of your children and their children. Your taxes are helping to support the development of better and cheaper artificial kidneys, a better anticoagulant, the eradication of the common cold, cures for the various kinds of cancer. The task cannot be done without those tax dollars; with them, it can, and will be done.

The Federal Government must concern itself with the interrelation of the resources for the desired ends. This means, in modern medicine, three inseparable tasks must be attended to: there must be more medical and medical-support personnel, more and better training for the personnel we need, and more and better physical facilities. Early in this session I introduced into the House bills intended to meet these problems, and my colleague, Mr. HARRIS, of Arkansas, consolidated these measures into one bill, H.R. 4999, now in the House Rules Committee.

This bill proposes a 10-year program designed to alleviate critical shortages of professional health personnel, provides for a 10-year program of matching grants for the construction of teaching facilities for medical, dental, and other public health personnel, and provides a student loan program. I hope that the House Rules Committee will report this bill out, so that this Congress may take action on this worthwhile legislation.

The kind of long-range planning reflected in H.R. 4999 is not to be forthcoming from any local, State, or private agency, but must come from Congress. Such planning is inescapable, if we are to avoid a slowdown in our medical research efforts and a deterioration of our health standards in this country due to a shortage of physicians and other medical support personnel.

I have talked to you at some length about the role of Congress, and of your tax dollars, in support of modern medicine. In summary, let me stress the importance of the conquest of disease—a problem so pressing and of such magnitude that all of us must do everything within our individual capacities to serve in that conquest. Some of us will serve in Congress, some of us will serve as physicians, some of us will serve—as you are serving—as supporting personnel in this great onslaught on disease and suffering. Our collective strength and our eventual success lies in our diversity. The Providence Association of Medical Assistants is to be congratulated for adding the diverse talents and skills represented by its members to the total effort. You are also to be congratulated for the contributions you are making directly to the patients you serve. I am confident that as the association continues to push for and achieve its goals, your contributions to an improvement of health and conquest of disease will be even greater.

## District of Columbia Commissioners' Council on Human Relations Assessment of Activities and Developments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, August 8, 1962, was the fourth anniversary of actual operations of the District of Columbia Commissioners' Council on Human Relations. This is the agency established by the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to help give meaning and put into effect the nondiscrimination policies and practices of the District of Columbia government.

The Council has accomplished a great deal in its 4 years of operation. The Council has dealt successfully with many problems, which, prior to its establishment, had been largely ignored within the government of the District of Columbia and within the community at large.

I requested, and received, the final report prepared by the Council's first and only executive director to date, Mr. David A. Sawyer, who is now transferring from the District government to become intergroup relations specialist for the newly created Army Materiel Command.

Mr. Sawyer's final report contains an array of accomplishments which clearly demonstrates that the Council—in only 4 years of operation—has taken giant steps toward correcting some of the problems in the District of Columbia caused by discrimination, as well as bringing a greater awareness to the entire community of the public policy of nondiscrimination in the District of Columbia government and in the U.S. Government. Mr. Sawyer's report will undoubtedly greatly assist the District government as it takes additional steps to make Washington, D.C., truly a symbol of democracy for all men and women. I believe his report will also provide useful information to all Members of Congress and all others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. His report will also provide renewed hope to all Americans that the task of promoting justice and equality for all persons in the District of Columbia is being handled with vigor and wisdom. Under unanimous consent, I therefore include Mr. Sawyer's report as part of my remarks today:

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, THE COMMISSIONERS' COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS,
*Washington, D.C., August 8, 1962.*

Memorandum to: Members, Commissioners' Council on Human Relations.
From: David A. Sawyer, Executive Director.
Subject: Assessment of Council activities and developments.

Four years ago today the Board of Commissioners appointed seven outstanding community leaders to serve as members of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations. This was a historic day for the government of the District of Columbia because it marked the first real step taken by the Board of Commissioners toward assuring that there would be compliance with the Board's policies on nondiscrimination in District government and in the use of District-owned facilities and services.

The appointment of these seven outstanding community leaders served to point up further assurances that there would be compliance with the nondiscrimination employment obligation entered into by contractors engaged in work under a District government contract. These appointments also served to mark the first formal recognition by the government of the District of Columbia of its responsibility to engage in a program to encourage, foster, and promote the observance and practice of fair employment policies by persons or firms in the District of Columbia.

Today, August 8, 1962, the fourth anniversary of the actual operations of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations marks another turning point. For me, it marks the termination of the signal honor and privilege of serving as the Council's first Executive Director. Within 2 days, my services to the government of the District of Columbia will have ended.

As I reflect on the developments of the last 4 years—especially the 3½ years that I have worked with you—I am indeed impressed and proud of the Council. Its members have been devoted and dedicated and have given unstintingly of their talents and time.

I have been blessed, too, with an exceptionally good staff. Whatever impact the Council on Human Relations has made in the community, it has been because of the exceedingly good rapport and relationship the members of the Council and staff and I, personally, have enjoyed together.

It is always good to look back at the foundation on which one builds and examine the structure and determine its soundness for the future. As I look back and think of the many problems and concerns with which the Council has dealt, I believe that the Council may be credited singularly with stimulating an awareness of human relations concerns in the District of Columbia. I believe also that the Council must be credited with the widescale cooperation it has secured in dealing with these problems and concerns.

The efforts and accomplishments of the Council on Human Relations are many and varied. A glance through the minutes of the Council meetings reveals many activities and developments. The following is a capsule of these activities:

1. Nondiscrimination poster issued by the Council for posting on all Government contract sites and by all firms doing business with the District Government.

2. Negro union carpenters referred for employment due to Council intervention with AFL–CIO Civil Rights Department.

3. Negro reinforced rodmen referred by union to variety of Government and non-Government projects.

4. Fire Fighters Union enrolls Negro members.

5. Fire Department corrects grievances of Negro firemen and sets up procedures to assure compliance with the Commissioners' nondiscrimination policy.

6. YMCA admits Negro members in central branch (1960).

7. Woodward School adopts policy to accept Negro students, fall, 1961 (no students available for 1960).

8. Developed human relations training institute for recreation department staff.

9. Resolved complaints of discrimination in various District of Columbia departments.

10. Capital Park Apartments accept Negro tenants.

11. Developed plan for expanded training for minority youth.

12. District Government conducts surveys of Negro personnel (1960 and 1961).

13. Established District of Columbia Conference on Community Relations (40 civic organizations).

14. Conducted inquiry for Commissioners into charges of race bias in urban renewal. Recommended the establishment of community relations service and relocation service.

15. Provides counsel to private firms regarding merit hiring.

16. Convened real estate industry and State Department heads. Secured assurances which will assist the personnel of new nations in matters of housing and other accommodations. Provides counsel to Office of Protocol regarding problems relating to non-white diplomats.

17. Serves as consultant to Cultural Exchange, Foreign Service Institute, and International Cooperation Administration.

18. Served as consultant to the Commission on Human Resources of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies.

19. Department of Labor agreed to forecast area skill needs for next decade.

20. Counseled publishers as intermediary for community organizations in successful efforts to remove racial designations in newspaper real estate ads.

21. McCloskey Co. hired Negro bricklayer to work on House Office Building and other Federal building sites (resulted from a complaint concerning District of Columbia Stadium).

22. Conducted human relations training at Police Academy.

23. On Council's recommendation: (a) The Commissioners warned contractors to comply with the nondiscrimination contract clause; (b) the Commissioners warned unions to train and accept Negro members on government construction; (c) the Commissioners issued a memorandum on human relations to each employee of the District Government; (d) the Commissioners appealed to private employers to institute merit hiring; (e) the Commissioners appealed to private business training schools to remove racial restrictions in admissions policies (Iota Phi Lambda Sorority complainant).

24. Intermediary for Delta Sigma Theta Sorority and officials of daily newspapers in the matter of removal of racial designations in newspaper employment ads.

25. Intermediary for the Ministerial Alliance, bank officials and recruiting agencies in the matter of merit employment in financial institutions.

26. Intermediary in threats for boycott of Hecht's Department Store, resulting in expanded merit employment and in a commendation from Hecht's Department Store and the complainant organization. Other stores to be included in this group are Hahn's, Lansburgh's, and Woodward & Lothrop.

27. Advised formation of volunteer counseling service to be provided by Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity for high school youth.

28. Prepared pamphlet checklist for carreerists as a "guidance tool for high school students."

29. Survey to determine full representation and participation on regulatory agencies by cross section of the community has been completed by the Commissioners and is now being implemented.

30. Desegregation of the District of Columbia Fire Department has now been completed.

31. New orders, which include compliance checks and regulations, have been issued by the Commissioners to assure that there is meaningful compliance with the nondiscrimination clause in government contracts.

32. Publication of a Council pamphlet, "Human Relations in the Nation's Capital," designed to promote an understanding of the purposes of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations and the methods by

which the Council works to improve human relations in the Nation's Capital.

33. Publication of a pamphlet, "Employer's Handbook on Merit Employment," offering suggestions to private business firms on the recruitment, selection, placement, and promotion of minority workers: (a) Cooperative arrangements with the Merchants & Manufacturers Association for use of this publication in the Merchants & Manufacturers program to guide local business firms in the development of their merit hiring programs; (b) distribution of 18,000 through cooperation arrangements with the District of Columbia Office of the U.S. Employment Service. This distribution reached every employer, large and small, in the entire District of Columbia.

The above list presents an impressive array of accomplishments by the Council. It by no means indicates that the job is done. On the contrary, it indicates that the Council, along with its members and staff, has been able to deal successfully with problems which heretofore had been ignored within the government of the District of Columbia and within the community at large.

It indicates, too, that government—in partnership with leaders of business, labor, and civic interests—has been able to discuss and resolve manifold intergroup relations problems.

This array of accomplishments is a clear demonstration that the Council—in exactly 4 years of operation—has taken a substantial step toward correcting some of the problems in our community caused by discrimination. At the same time, this record of activities indicates that the Council has taken other substantial steps on the ladder of progress as it has made the community aware of the public policy of nondiscrimination of the District of Columbia government and the U.S. Government.

There are still many more steps to be taken by the District government, business firms, and the community at large to make our community truly the symbol of democracy for all men and women.

Washington, D.C., is a showcase city; it is the Capital of our Nation. All of its residents must share equally in the rights and responsibilities of our democracy.

I am delighted that the continued concerns of the Council include the expansion and improvement of on-the-job and apprenticeship training opportunities in the skilled trades for young people of all races, backgrounds, and creeds. This is an area of activity on which hangs the future of our youth, and it can never be treated lightly.

It is regrettable that the Apprenticeship Council of the District of Columbia has, until very recently, deliberately excluded or ignored this vital community need. It is heartening that the Board of Commissioners, in recent months has assumed a responsibility in this field and has become concerned about those who administer the apprenticeship program on behalf of the government of the District of Columbia and the Department of Labor.

One of the easiest approaches to the end of racial restrictions in the building trade craft apprenticeships may be found within the varied facilities of the District of Columbia government. It is here that we find craftsmen and apprentices possessing abilities in almost every building trade craft. Unfortunately, the apprenticeship selection process within the District of Columbia government has been backward and reflects discriminatory patterns in the trade at large.

Within the last several months, we have noted the strengthening of the nondiscrimination clause which appears in all contracts awarded by the District government. The order of the Board of Commissioners and the rules and regulations for carrying on this program are as clear and as forceful as the program engaged in by the Federal Government as it seeks to implement President Kennedy's Executive order No. 10925.

I believe, that it is incumbent upon the Board of Commissioners to make it known to the contracting officers that the staff and members of the Commissioner's Council on Human Relations are available to them for counsel and assistance in all matters relating to compliance with the Commissioners' non-discrimination policies and orders. The Board of Commissioners must point out to all persons administering and supervising contracts that the council is an arm of the Commissioners and it is to be used in cases dealing with discrimination in the very same manner that the Corporation Counsel is called upon for advice on legal matters, or the manner in which the Department of Public Health is called upon for its specialization.

There has been marked improvement in the hiring and promotion practices within the various departments of the District government. The plan of the Board of Commissioners to appoint a fair employment officer in each department will enable the District government to move forward in its program of merit hiring and promotion and, at the same time, the plan will relieve many misunderstandings and misapprehensions.

The Council on Human Relations has been privileged, in the last several weeks, to experiment with this program in one department. Within the last few days, I have reported the success of this experiment to Commissioner Duncan. It is important in this activity to again point out the need for the Board of Commissioners to direct those persons who serve under them to utilize the Council in an advisory and consultative capacity.

In every instance in which the Council on Human Relations has been privileged to give counsel to other departments, the results have been successful.

The Superintendent of the Public Schools of the District of Columbia has had to cope with manifold problems in human relations. His task has not been an easy one. It has been a privilege, therefore, to have assisted the school officials in their assessment of human relations concerns, in their recognition of a need for human relations programs, and in the development of plans for manifold, long-range school-community relations programs.

We have surveyed successful human relations programs in other city school systems, and we recommended the adoption of similar programs for our public schools. We feel that it is incumbent upon the Council on Human Relations to continue to serve the school officials as they seek to develop positive human relations training programs for administrators, teachers, pupils, and parents.

Over this past weekend, the Police Department announced the first step in the implementation of a program dealing with police-community relations. This is a matter of vital concern to all who reside in this community. The knowledge that the Police Department will utilize its skills and training in an area of community relations is a matter of personal pride to each member of the Council and its staff.

Police work, at best, is not an easy job. Without a positive police-community relations program, the task has been most difficult. This void has produced many misunderstandings and many unfortunate grievances. I hope that the Police Department will continue to utilize the good offices of the Council on Human Relations, and that together they may be able to develop the best techniques and training programs in this important field of police-community relations.

The hearings on housing discrimination, conducted by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, brought forth much testimony, many ideas and suggestions. Among these was the lawyers' survey which suggested that the Board of Commissioners had the authority to develop a program designed to relieve the abuses of discrimination because of race, color, and religion. The Board of Commissioners has requested a ruling on this point from the Corporation Counsel in order to determine whether the Commissioners, in fact, have such authority under the police, licensing, and zoning regulations. It is imperative that the Board of Commissioners urge that such an opinion be written and released immediately to the Commissioners.

The Commissioners' Council on Human Relations has sought to correct injustices caused by racial and religious discrimination. It has done this through negotiation and persuasion. The Council has been an effective mediator in scores and scores of situations.

It is not mere coincidence that the Council has received accolades from many business firm executives, labor leaders, private agency heads, Members of Congress, the Vice President of this administration and his predecessor, and the President himself.

To have been a part of the machinery of the District of Columbia government which has made this recognition possible is a matter of personal pride to me. I am sure that each of you share in this pride.

It is to the credit of all who live and work in the District of Columbia—those in government and those in private business—that the members of the Council on Human Relations had the foresight in the fall of 1958 to seek and secure a grant from the Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation which permitted the professional staffing of the Council. This grant also permitted the operation and activities of the Council to get underway. It was possible to begin work immediately and to establish a record of achievement which made it possible, within a few months, for the Council to request that the Board of Commissioners include the Council in the Budget of the District of Columbia government.

Congress has not been generous, but it has made allotments since the beginning of the fiscal year of 1961. The initial appropriations permitted funds for the Executive Director, Assistant Director, and Secretary. These are now to be augmented by funds for program and activities. In my judgment, the assumption of the financial responsibilities for carrying on the operations of a government activity is among the most important achievements of the Council.

Without the backing of the Council members, and without the devoted and loyal staff with whom I have worked, very little of the rewards of the past 3½ years would have come my way. For all of this I am indeed grateful.

## Robert Kennedy on Purchasing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Members of Congress will recall the great deal of fanfare that accompanied the Department of Justice launching of its study of identical bidding for Government contracts. The implication was that identical bidding had become a nefarious and venal process in American industry.

The Justice Department's final report on identical bidding has now been made,

Mr. Speaker, but for one reason or another, the report has seemingly received little publicity, much less the fanfare of its launching. Perhaps the reason for this is that it has turned out that the hullabaloo that was previously raised over identical bidding was unwarranted.

The September 10, 1962, issue of Purchasing, a news magazine for industrial buyers, contains an enlightening editorial on the subject, as follows:

ROBERT KENNEDY ON PURCHASING

(By Paul V. Farrell)

Attorney General Robert Kennedy eagerly awaited report on identical bidding for Government contracts has turned out to be a very mild bit of lid lifting after all.

"It appears," reports Mr. Kennedy, "that identical bidding in Federal, State, and local procurement is somewhat less pervasive than it was believed to be." Since the Justice Department began its investigation in April 1961, following the electrical industry price-fixing scandal, it has found that identical bidding was a factor in only 1 percent of public procurement.

And, says Mr. Kennedy, "the listing of the names of the firms involved does not imply that they have engaged in collusive bidding."

The report will undoubtedly disappoint those who believe big business in the United States is just one huge conspiracy to defraud the consumer.

It will relieve those who believe (or at least publicly claim) that competition in American industry is as pure as the driven snow and that Government is the enemy of business.

It will interest, but not surprise, those who understand that the pricing process in industry is a very complicated affair, and not simply a matter of the good guys versus the bad guys.

"There are a number of reasons for the phenomenon of identical bids," Mr. Kennedy says. And the report analyzes them in terms that should be familiar to the readers of this magazine.

The most fascinating thing about the report for industrial purchasing agents, however, is the indirect tribute it pays to the kind of heads-up buying they have been doing for years.

"Identical bidding may even be encouraged by unsophisticated procurement procedures and policies of public agencies which advertise for bids," Mr. Kennedy states. And the report goes on to recommend a few methods for improving public buying: using transportation charges as a lever to get lower prices; putting pressure on other identical bidders by giving all the business to one; and—lo and behold—using negotiation after rejecting all identical bids.

This kind of official endorsement for progressive purchasing techniques should be satisfying and encouraging to industrial procurement executives. And coming from the present Attorney General it is most encouraging.

In addition to the foregoing editorial, Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD, an article which appears in the same issue of Purchasing, entitled "Identical Bid Problem Gets Second Look," by A. N. Wecksler, Washington editor for Conover-Mast Publications, publishers of the magazine.

The article follows:

IDENTICAL BID PROBLEM GETS SECOND LOOK

(By A. N. Wecksler)

After considerable prodding by Congress, the Department of Justice issued its first report on identical bidding in public procurement, and offered the conclusion that the practice was less frequent than had been thought, but that identical bidding is "nonetheless a significant problem in about 10 product areas."

The report covers roughly a 6-month period and represents a canvass of Government procurement agencies—plus 2,000 State and local agencies.

Using rough statistical projections, the Department of Justice estimates that possibly 1 percent of Government procurements by advertised bids might involve identical bids—also that firms that submitted identical bids did not necessarily engage in collusive bidding.

As to the causes of submission of identical bids, the Justice Department says there are diverse factors—among them "unsophisticated procurement policies and procedures which tend to induce and perpetuate it." Collusive agreements are also cited as leading to identical bids.

BID PROBLEM IN 10 AREAS

While identical bidding as a total factor in Government buying is not as large as the Department of Justice originally suspected, it is a problem in 10 broad product categories.

There were 83 identical bids reported in road construction material contracts; 47 in chemicals; lumber, 35; textiles, 22; compressed and liquified gases, 17; stationery, 17; iron and steel plate, 16; pipes and tubes, 15; paint and related products, 14, and electrical testing instruments, 13.

In dollar amounts identical bids in textiles led with $13,100,000, followed by fruits and vegetables, $4 million; liquid propellants and fuels, $3.5 million; fuel oils, $3.3 million, and tires and tubes, $2 million.

JUSTICE PRESENTS SOLUTIONS

None of these figures wararnt all the hullabaloo that has been raised over identical bidding, but the Department of Justice report goes on to suggest methods to discourage identical bids:

"1. When identical bids include delivery costs, contracts should be awarded to the identical bidder farthest from the delivery point.

"2. When bids remain identical on successive procurements, continue to award bids to the same bidder.

"3. Empower procurement officers to reject all identical bids and utilize negotiated procurement."

## Hon. Fred Marshall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I include herewith an editorial appearing in the St. Cloud Times, St. Cloud, Minn., Monday, September 17, 1962, concerning the services of our friend FRED MARSHALL, which is well deserved.

Mr. Speaker, seldom have I known a person who possessed the fine qualities of FRED MARSHALL. Strong in his opinions, courageous in his stand on issues, he possesses such a sense of fairness which is so evident, that those who may have differed with him at times are among his best friends and admirers.

Personally there have been few places where we have differed. We worked together for years on the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations. Here his knowledge, his devotion contributed greatly to the welfare of the people of the Nation.

A trained farmer himself, he not only served well on the subcommittee but elsewhere. In the words of an outstanding lawyer, who is chairman of another subcommittee on which he served, said of FRED MARSHALL, "He truly can reach the meat in the coconut. His questions are direct, to the point and when he finishes, he has proved something."

Mr. Speaker, this House will miss FRED MARSHALL, but his work here will have lasting benefit. Truly he has set a high standard for his successor.

The editorial follows:

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

(By Harold Schoelkopf)

You may have read the article published a few days ago about Representative FRED MARSHALL preparing to close his office in Washington. His 14 years as our Sixth District Congressman will come to an end at the close of the year.

Since 1948 when he made political history by unseating the veteran Harold Knutson who had served 32 years, he has represented the district with a considerable degree of ability and understanding. We have known him well these 14 years, and while we have not always seen eye to eye with him on public issues, we have respected his judgment.

While elected as a Democrat, FRED MARSHALL was a conservative Democrat, more and more so, in fact as the years went by, and he had the courage to oppose many of the measures directed toward furthering the socialistic welfare state. He could not be bluffed or bullied when his mind was made up.

He was an able campaigner as witness his seven successive terms in office, and there is little doubt he could have been elected again this year in the new Sixth District had he chosen to be a candidate. And he campaigned without malice. We never heard him say a word against an opponent either on the platform or in his literature. His job was to sell FRED MARSHALL to the voters and he did a good job, too.

As he prepares to clear out his desk and close his office door in a few months, we feel it must be rewarding to him to know he has done his work well in Washington, and that in his almost 14 years his record has never been under fire and his integrity has never been questioned.

FRED MARSHALL stands tall and straight among his associates and friends. May his successor do as well.

## Toward European Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, at a time when the Soviet Union is successfully setting up stooges in the Western Hemisphere, it is imperative that the free Western nations present an undivided face to Khrushchev's colonialist endeavors. A companion necessity to a cooperating Western Hemisphere is a unified Europe. The Common Market, President de Gaulle's visit to Germany a short while ago, Chancellor Adenauer's trip to France, the nearing entry of Brit-

ain in the Common Market—all these recent events reveal an inexorable trend toward the strengthening of European solidarity. One wishes the best of luck to all those who are untiringly working for a Europe free and united.

Such an achievement will be no easy matter. The different views held by political leaders as to the role of their countries, differences in the economic structures of various countries, differences in tradition and temperament—these are only a few of the general obstacles which the builders of a united Europe must surmount. Yet these differences are not insurmountable. Perhaps the best proof of this is the historically amazing cooperation between the members of the Common Market in general, and the close relationship between France and Germany in particular. The number of events pointing toward at least a partial solution to common European problems is increasing daily.

Two excellent articles in the Sunday New York Times, September 16 issue, present the problems faced by the individual and groups working toward this truly constructive goal. The first article, by Mr. Robert C. Doty, deals with the political obstacles to unity. The second, by Mr. Seth S. King, discusses the economic problems.

I ask unanimous consent that these two perceptive articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPEAN UNITY: THE DIFFERENT POLITICAL GOALS—THE CONCEPT HAS GAINED WIDE ACCEPTANCE BUT THE DEBATE MOUNTS OVER THE DEGREE OF UNITY AND WHICH NATIONS IT SHOULD EMBRACE

(By Robert C. Doty)

PARIS, September 15.—The underlying purposes of the European economic groupings—notably the Common Market—and the underlying problems of British membership revolve around the idea of political unity.

Over the last 15 years, that idea has become one that no one with a claim to political respectability in Europe can openly oppose. But seldom before now have the questions of what kind and how much unity and with whom and for what ultimate purpose been the subject of more intense and sometimes acrimonious debate.

The recent public triumphs and private consultations by President de Gaulle in West Germany have served to fuel the debate with suggestions, denied by the principals, of some sort of French-German unity as a basis for further growth.

Fundamentally, the drive for unity, in all of its varieties, stems from a growing realization among politicians and ordinary citizens of this Continent that, divided, Europe cannot pull anything like its proper weight—diplomatically, economically or militarily. United, 150 million to 300 million (depending on the ultimate size of the European unit) of the best educated, most creative and skillful people in the world, living in a rich, temperate zone area, could hardly fail to become a power to the measure of the 20th century.

DE GAULLE'S IMPACT

Until the reappearance of General de Gaulle on the European political scene 4 years ago, the orthodox Europeans were confident that political unity would flow naturally out of economic integration and would follow roughly the same pattern. This would involve supernational control, producing a real federation to which individual members states would yield a substantial degree of sovereignty.

This was the concept created and put into operation by the first generation of "makers of Europe"—Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman of France, the late Alcide De Gasperi of Italy, Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium.

But General de Gaulle, with his strong views on the national idea as the continuing motor force for anything worthwhile, made his own tardy conversion to the unity idea in the form of proposals for a loose confederation of sovereign states. It was Utopian, he held, to imagine that nations were ready to yield to a denationalized central body the same degree of control in such sensitive fields as diplomacy and military affairs as they had sacrificed in the fields of economy and trade.

The best that could be hoped for the present and for a long time to come, according to the De Gaullist theory, was that by regular, organized consultations at all levels from chief of state down, the members would achieve a pattern of agreement by unanimous consent that would eventually produce something like a common European will in an ever-widening range of affairs.

FIRST-STEP STRATEGY

Whether or not it is true in theory that sacrifice of political sovereignty is unattainable, it is certainly true in practice so long as General de Gaulle is France and France is the keystone to any kind of unity in Europe. Therefore, although such profoundly orthodox Europeans as Mr. Spaak are fighting a rear-guard action in defense of the more ambitious theory, others, notably Dr. Adenauer, have accepted the Gaullist first step, and it seems likely that Europe will first take form as a confederation.

However, when Britain, more than a year ago, knocked at Europe's door for admission to the Common Market, she profoundly modified the terms of the political debate among Europeans and the prospects for the ultimate shape of Europe.

Britons were obviously even less ready than the continental peoples to sacrifice political sovereignty. This should have made of them the natural allies of General de Gaulle, the natural enemies of Spaak and the orthodox Europeans. But for a series of complicated reasons, avowed and unavowed, the reverse was true.

All were agreed that, as Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville of France once put it, Europe with Britain would be a very different thing, perhaps more impressive and in the long run more powerful, but also looser and less homogeneous than the grouping the continentals had foreseen.

No one but Chancellor Adenauer has been blunt enough to cast doubt on the desirability of British participation in the political community as well as the economic one. But it is apparent to all that the French President shares that view.

General de Gaulle sees the future Europe as an independent power center radiating influence—cultural, diplomatic, economic, even, if need be, military—on the rest of the world. To him, Britain with her special links, constitutional or sentimental, with the Commonwealth and with the United States, links she is obviously unprepared to modify, would be more likely to serve as a transmission belt for world influence on Europe than for European influence on the world.

In plain terms, never voiced so plainly here, General de Gaulle sees Britain as a Trojan horse for Washington influence in the New Europe. His will to reject that influence is not indicative of a will to switch alliances in the cold war or to reject, out of hand, President Kennedy's grand design for interdependence between the Old World and the New.

BIG-POWER CONCEPT

It does mean, however, that if Europe, ultimately, is to enter some sort of larger Atlantic community, formal or informal, General de Gaulle and an increasing number of other Europeans want it to be not as half a dozen Rhode Islands but as a New York or California. In other words, the Europeans of this school want to consolidate their own unity before risking it in a larger community.

But for Mr. Spaak and other orthodox Europeans, Britain's bid for membership posed an intellectual dilemma. On the one hand, it virtually ended prospects for the sort of tight federal European union they had always urged. On the other, it offered the smaller countries of the Continent a tempting counterweight to the threat of French-German domination of the smaller grouping.

WEST GERMAN ROLE

They have resolved the dilemma by temporizing until the question of British membership is finally resolved. If Britain is to be in the eventual political community, they say, she should have a hand in shaping it, even if on loose terms of collaboration, rather than being confronted with a de Gaulle-Adenauer accomplished fact. If Britian is not to come in, the argument runs, then there is no reason why the New Europe of the Six should not be built on supernational lines.

The other focus of interest and some suspicion in the debate on Europe is the role of West Germany, present and future.

One factor is the obvious incompatibility of Germany's two current aspirations—integration into a Western European community and reunification with East Germany. They are incompatible because no one can currently foresee the Russians accepting any form of reunification that would involve the assumption by a united Germany of the political, economic, and military commitments—to political Europe, Common Market and Atlantic Alliance—that West Germany has accepted. This raises the question as to which would exercise the stronger pull in the future, present ties or an eventual opportunity to reunite involving sacrifice of those ties.

GERMAN PRESSURES

The second question is whether the developing French-German association—presented by General de Gaulle and Dr. Adenauer as a nonexclusive practical nucleus for the growth of political Europe—will serve to restrain or ultimately to encourage possible German adventures to recover unity with East Germany and the amputated eastern territories.

So long as General de Gaulle is in power here, France is likely to be the dominant—and restraining—partner. But some observers foresee a time when France and any other adherents to a loose confederation might be swept along dangerous paths by a strong irredentist Germany. It is for this reason that they would welcome a large infusion of sober British and Scandinavian political influence in the future Europe.

U.S. economic aid in the postwar period made European recovery possible and was purposefully administered in such a way as to encourage both economic and political union. Today, the Gaullist concept of Europe arouses some concern in official U.S. circles for the reasons outlined above.

PROSPERITY AHEAD

But, on the economic front, most economists still believe that Common Market Europe, even within a common tariff wall favoring trade within it to trade across it, would be so increasingly prosperous that it would continue to be a source of thriving two-way trade with the United States.

And politically, at least in terms of alinements in the cold war, these same observers cannot easily imagine a powerful, united, and independent Europe exercising its independence in ways inimical to basic U.S. and Western interests.

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EUROPEAN UNITY: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS—BRITAIN MEETS STRONG OPPOSITION OVER JOINING SIX FROM COMMONWEALTH WHICH FEARS TRADE SETBACKS

(By Seth S. King)

LONDON, September 15.—Britain is the mother country of the Commonwealth and this year she has 14 youngsters, all different in makeup, outlook, and age, in her loosely arranged household.

LAST Monday Prime Minister Macmillan, as leader of the mother country, opened the family's annual gathering with an eloquent explanation of why Britain must rearrange the apron strings.

In one of those apocalyptic speeches, of which he is so fond, he unfolded his version of an expanded European Economic Community, with Britain as a member, becoming a unit rivaling the United States and the Soviet Union. He reminded the family that Britain's greatest economic service to the Commonwealth was in the growing market she offered and the capital she could provide to stimulate growth.

Britain can increase these efforts, he said, only if she can increase her wealth.

Britain's chances of doing this, he told them, are far better inside the Common Market than outside.

POLITICAL UNION

The Prime Minister recalled that neither Britain nor the rest of the Commonwealth could remain isolated from Western Europe. It would be to the members' advantage, he declared, if Britain could participate, as a member, in shaping the political union that is certain to evolve from the economic union.

When the Prime Minister finished, Edward Heath, the Lord Privy Seal, gave a sweeping review of what he had accomplished in his painful negotiations with the six members of the Common Market on economic safeguards for the Commonwealth. He also recounted what remained to be done at Brussels to secure further protection.

These matters had been explained in detail to each Commonwealth leader long before he came to London. Mr. Macmillan's Olympian words were to be the cement binding them together.

However, one after another the heads of Commonwealth governments or their representatives stood up at the huge conference table in Marlborough House and registered his doubts.

The British had not expected the Prime Ministers to endorse the idea of membership outright for there are still too many questions to be answered in Brussels, but Mr. Macmillan had hoped that the Commonwealth would at least indicate that there was a case for Britain's entry provided more safeguards could somehow be found.

The British were also aware that the leaders of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, in particular, had political problems at home. The British were prepared for the old dominions to talk tough for local consumption; what they were not ready for was the casual way in which many Commonwealth leaders brushed aside what had been accomplished in Brussels.

The Prime Ministers of the old dominions and those of India and Pakistan were particularly critical of the vagueness of the agreements in principle already reached.

Prime Minister Robert Gordon Menzies, who leads Australia with a 1-vote majority, summed up this reaction by asking if Britain expected the Commonwealth to "sign a blank check" for a step whose full effects were so unpredictable.

Even more disappointing for the British was the African members' abrupt rejection of the offer of association with the Common Market. This was something British negotiators had worked nearly a year to secure.

Under the association plan, African and Caribbean members, like the former French colonies in Africa, would be able to sell their tropical products duty free to the Common Market. At the same time, they would be able to impose tariffs to protect their infant industries from Common Market competition. The African leaders professed to see in this the danger of continued political dominance by Europe. Ghana, in fact, curtly labeled the idea an imperialist plot.

BIG TASK AHEAD

After skimming off all the parts that seemed purely for home consumption, it was apparent to the British that a great deal of laborious persuasion was still needed. What makes this difficult is that so many of the Brussels agreements are only on broad principles.

The political future is even more obscure. The Six have not settled what they want; neither have they decided exactly how the common agricultural policy will work. until they do, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, in particular, cannot be sure of the chances their wheat, beef, butter, and mutton would have in an enlarged Common Market.

Britain has thus been asking the Commonwealth to put its trust in her, and so far the 14 widely varied independent members have not been willing to agree.

As the conference ended its first week, the British believed they had made it quite clear to the Commonwealth that Mr. Macmillan was determined to take Britain into the European bloc unless he was prevented by his own Parliament and people from doing so.

British Ministers, who since Thursday have been meeting in groups with the Commonwealth Ministers, have emphasized that Britain has no intention of going back to Brussels to change the agreements already reached. They have also been explaining just how far they can expect to get on the unresolved questions when they return to Brussels early in October.

From these explanations they hope to convince the Commonwealth leaders to announce, at the least, that they acknowledge Britain's need to enter the Common Market and that somehow the Commonwealth will be held together if she does.

The sessions of the Commonwealth leaders are closed but a great deal of what has taken place has been made public. On the basis of this the British are stiffening their backs and looking for the good rather than the bad.

"We do know that after they list their own fears and requirements, they say they still want a strong Britain at the center of the Commonwealth," a British official said.

NO ALTERNATIVE

"None of them has, so far, come up with an alternative to the Common Market," the official added. "Most of them are aware that the Commonwealth is changing and that we cannot stand still. This, we believe, is in our favor."

The Commonwealth does not make decisions as a group. No votes are registered at conferences and no resolutions are passed. When this conference ends Tuesday or Wednesday, there may be nothing more solid than a vaguely worded communique.

Prime Minister Macmillan will have to take this and send Mr. Heath back to Brussels for further battle. It is also possible that some individual Commonwealth members may want to talk with Common Market ministers.

When all this is ended, Mr. Macmillan will have a better idea of what chance he has to persuade a large segment of his own party, plus parts of the Labor Party, that the Commonwealth can be held together if his dream of joining the European community is realized.

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## What Do We Fear? Why Our Inferiority Complex?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the Cuban problem is uppermost in our minds at this time, it seems to me that the remarks of Capt. J. H. Morse, U.S. Navy, retired, are worthy of our attention.

This speech by Captain Morse made before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco on August 31, is as follows:

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Commonwealth, Sept. 17, 1962]

WHAT DO WE FEAR? WHY OUR INFERIORITY COMPLEX? FORMER U.S. SECURITY COUNCIL ADVISER LAYS IT ON THE LINE—FACTS ABOUT MR. K.'s POWER—AND OURS

(By Capt. J. H. Morse, U.S. Navy, retired)

Should we fear the Soviets?

The recent Soviet feat of putting two astronauts tandem into orbit seems to add substance to these warnings which come from every side, from governmental advisers, from fearful allies and from most of the neutrals, urging that we compromise on almost every occasion.

Has U.S. power and national determination sunk so low that we must now violate our principles as to how one deals with a bully—principles instinctive with most Americans? Has the nuclear weapon changed human nature so drastically as to outmode the lesson that England had to relearn through Munich?

Perhaps we heard a clear answer to such questions more than 30 years ago, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first act was to declare a 3-day closing of all banks and in a fireside chat declared "We have nothing to fear except fear itself."

The effect of that message was dramatic: bank runs stopped; people took hold of themselves; the country started back on the long pull toward eventual prosperity.

Perhaps similar conditions prevail today except that the danger seems to threaten from outside rather than from within.

What happens to a man's judgment if he is fearful? Is he clearheaded? Does he assess facts realistically? Is he not more likely to resort to wishful thinking; to avoid problems by trying to deny their reality or gravity? To compromise, or to hope things are not so bad as they seem; or to assume they will go away? Is his a healthy frame of mind, likely to achieve success? Obviously not.

Where is his initiative?

Military leaders know this problem as morale. They know that without morale no army can possibly win; that one of the greatest enemies of morale is fear and uncertainty; doubt about what the enemy can and will do; and whether or not his side can win.

People in masses must believe in themselves—in the rightness of their cause and in their strength even to survive.

Khrushchev knows this and is keenly aware how much it will aid Soviet objectives if he can sow fear and uncertainty

worldwide—particularly inside America, his greatest obstacle.

Brice Harlow, formerly an assistant to President Eisenhower has listed a few facts which reflect Russia's weaknesses. He says: "In order to enjoy the glories of the present Soviet system, we would have to abandon three-fifths of our steel capacity, two-thirds of our petroleum capacity, 95 percent of our electric motor output, destroy 2 of every 3 of our hydroelectric plants, and get along on a tenth of our present volume of natural gas. We would have to rip up 14 of every 15 miles of our paved highways, and 2 of every 3 miles of our mainline railroad tracks. We'd sink 8 of every 9 ocean-going ships, scrap 19 of every 20 cars and trucks, and shrink our civilian fleet to a shadow of its present size. We would cout our living standards by three-fourths, destroy 40 million TV sets, 9 of every 10 telephones, and 7 of every 10 houses; and then we would have to put 60 million of our people back on the farm. It is plain to see that we have a lot of work to do if we catch up with the Soviets."

But some people ask, what about the Soviet rate of growth which is faster than ours; is the basis of Khrushchev boasts that they will pass us soon?

Walter Heller, Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers answers: "The Soviet gross national product is less than half that of the United States—exactly the same relationship as existed in the pre-Communist Russia of czarist days in 1913."

In other words, no change in relative position for almost 50 years, so far as economic productivity is concerned. When we hear people say that we must "win the economic contest" with the Soviets it might be well to ask, "What contest?" We won economically more than 50 years ago.

What about our relative military strength? Before the last presidential election we heard a great deal about the missile gap. After election there was less yap about the gap—and within a few months we heard we had a missile surplus; obviously the most stupendous production feat ever accomplished by American industry in the space of a few short months. Yet no one boasts about it today. Why? Are we ashamed?

The July Reader's Digest contains an article entitled, "We Can Bury You, Mr. K." In it Bob Considine surveys Western military strength after having been welcomed and given information at every military base he visited.

He says: "The collective might defies description, and makes almost ludicrous Khrushchev's boasts and threats." Some of his statistics are: "60 H-bombs of megaton size on Thor missiles in England, ready to go with 75 percent of Soviet cities larger than 100,000 population within their range; 30 more such weapons in Italy; the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean with carriers loaded with nuclear weapons for delivery by supersonic aircraft; 6 Polaris submarines assigned to NATO, cruising with 30 megatons each from the North Pole to the Persian Gulf; additional U.S. Polaris submarines similarly equipped; 99 intercontinental ballistic missiles with megaton warheads in the United States and more to come; the Strategic Command with its air-launched Skybolt nuclear missiles; 630 B-52 bombers; 55 supersonic B-58's; 1,000 B-47's.

"Secretary of Defense McNamara has still further emphasized our military power. Probably Mr. Khrushchev reads Mr. McNamara's speeches, or has someone do it for him. If not, he still has access to what may be the most efficient spy and infiltrater system ever devised. It is, therefore, highly probably that he knows better than anyone in this room how strong we are. Certainly he knows better than anyone in this country how strong or weak he is."

Does this mean we should be complacent or arrogant? Of course not. But perhaps, as the Reader's Digest says, we should realize that Khrushchev will do his utmost to avoid a nuclear war; and the West is in a position to negotiate from strength, not weakness. We do not have to compromise anywhere, and the risks involved if we should refuse to compromise are much less than many people would have us believe.

But can we hold our relative lead? Scientific competence may hold the answer. Certainly, where the Soviets concentrate their scientific efforts, results are good—as good or better than ours in some cases.

MAY BE DECISIVE

Both nuclear weapons and space are fields representing national power and have terrific propaganda aspects. Either or both may well be decisive in weapon development—although this country still seems to believe that space will be used for peaceful purposes only—that we can thus solve in space the problems we have failed to solve on earth.

Because they put high priority on weapons and space and started early, the Soviets may be ahead of us in both. But that does not necessarily mean Soviet science is better than ours. The Soviets started intensive efforts with a lead of several years and with clear objectives. That alone would account for their being ahead in space.

In nuclear weapons they tuned our former President into a testing moratorium, which for all practical purposes was unpoliced. This gave them the option of testing secretly. They are now ahead of us in this field. Our internal fears and indecision stopped our own development.

WESTERN SCIENCE STILL AHEAD

Despite the situation in these two areas of applied science, it seems reasonably clear that as yet Western science is still ahead of Soviet science in both scope and depth. Wherever we have the vision and courage to use our science as an element of national power, we do all right. Vision and courage are the key in science as in everything else.

From the standpoint of our more tangible relative assets of national power we still have no reason to fear the Soviets but from the standpoint of our equally important relative mental attitudes there seems to be more doubt, despite the fact that commonsense should tell us that it is unhealthy to the point of being fatal for us to be seriously afraid of any opponent.

KHRUSHCHEV KNOWS FEAR

Khrushchev is well aware of what fear can do to a nation. He is a man who bides his time and strikes only when the odds are in his favor. Otherwise he would have disappeared long ago.

He has a natural affinity for power and knows exactly how to use it to advance his nation's interest. He suffers no illusions about public opinion among nations who lack real national power. He knows how to use propaganda superbly; how to turn the pressures of weak but vociferous neutrals to his advantage.

His objectives: to divide and destroy his personal or national opponents in any way he can, no holds barred.

USES LIES, MURDER

Lies and cheating and murder are normal and legitimate ways to gain his objectives. If 6 million Ukrainians must be destroyed, he doesn't hesitate. He gives the orders and goes home for a happy evening with his grandchildren.

When the Hungarians revolt, he waits a few days until it is perfectly clear America will not move—then he sends in his armies and crushes them.

He knows the real strength of any nation is (1) its military and economic strength; (2) the courage and determination of its leadership to use those national strengths.

It is instinctive for Khrushchev to strike at this second most vulnerable element of national strength—the will and determination of his opponent.

Such tactics have been used by every Soviet leader since 17 men around a table statred the Communist Party with no physical assets other than their bodies and their brains, but with ideas, objectives and a keen appreciation of how to use terror and fear to control other people.

HOPELESS PEOPLE HELPLESS

They knew, and you know, that hopeless people are helpless, and that terror and blackmail are enemies of hope. And so the Communists use them at every opportunity.

His skilled scientists and psychologists have analyzed carefully the temper of the American people—at present, quite fat and happy (though perhaps a bit uneasy). They stir occasionally, particularly at times like Cuba, but nothing happens so Mr. K. goes ahead. Here and there a few extremists appear to shout alarm, but they are easily discredited as being what they are. Americans don't like extremists, even when they happen to be right.

He watches Americans carefully. If they seem to stir too much, it is easy to withdraw temporarily from a probing venture until they quiet down, as you have done on many occasions.

It is clear to him that America is so physically strong that he cannot reduce or exceed its strength for many years, if ever. But maybe he can kill our hope and spirit, sow uncertainty, break our will. He must convince our Government and people it is hopeless to fight. And so he sets about it.

KHRUSHCHEV STOPPED WESTERN TESTS

He starts by shouting about the dangers of radioactive fallout. Many Americans, particularly scientists, are eager to inflate the dangers of testing fallout. Some are sincere and some are not. Some are his active agents. Mr. K. doesn't care who they are or what their motives, so long as they help achieve his objective.

In only 5 years of intensive and coordinated effort he stopped all nuclear testing in the West and greatly inhibited the Western nuclear weapon development program and weakened its weapon laboratories.

Meanwhile, he has done whatever he wished with regard to his own nuclear weapon progress since there is no effective policing. He nonchalantly resumes open testing when he no longer cares about any American response.

By convincing almost everyone that any use of any nuclear weapons anywhere leads inevitably to all-out nuclear war he says there is no hope for anyone. And again in every such endeavor he finds many Americans eager to help.

PEOPLE WANT TO BELIEVE KHRUSHCHEV

Usually, it is the same fearful or calculating people—who first made so much fuss about radioactive fallout. He finds it easy to discredit the few eminent scientists, like Dr. Edward Teller, who say that his theories are both false and deliberate. People somehow want to believe Khrushchev more than they do these knowledgeable and worried scientists who understand what he is doing.

It is all so easy. He delivers ultimatums, and then withdraws them after gaining a few concessions (which the grantors seldom admit as such) and further erodes their world image of courage and strength.

He evaluates our new President in personal discussion at Vienna, then, 2 weeks later, ventures for the first time a wall which violates agreements and cuts Berlin in two. When no one even protested for 4 days and no one tore the wall down, he chalked up another easy victory.

TO SHOW UNITED STATES WAS NO HELP

He sneered at the West Germans who rioted in angry protest over an 18-year-old boy who bled to death before spectators on both sides of the wall. The effect of this was to show America was no help.

He hopes to create the feeling that America will not help any of her Allies in areas where he can make such help seem risky.

On the other hand, Mr. K. must watch a few things: the satellites cannot be trusted. They never could. He must keep them convinced that no one will help them, that there is no hope. The Americans fortunately have announced that they have no intention of supporting trouble in the satellites. That gift was unexpected, but appreciated.

Khrushchev need have no serious worry about the satellites so long as he avoids a major war—which is easy to do by watching Western reactions and drawing back at the proper time. However, if he ever got involved in major war, every satellite might rise in revolt.

We know what happened when Hitler got delusions of grandeur. But—we tell ourselves—he was a maniac. What about the Japaneses warlords? Were they crazy too?

I entered Japan immediately after the armistice which ended the Pacific war. As we looked at the Japanese tangible assets lying in ruins around us, the obvious question was, "How could the Japanese warlords have been so foolish as to start a major war with only this?"

The warlords had attacked free China, and watched us: they had sunk our Navy gunboat *Panay* with loss of American lives, and watched us; they had taken Manchuria, and watched us. They saw only formal diplomatic protests as our response.

HITLER REACHED WRONG CONCLUSIONS

Hitler had already gone through a similar probing process with the British—and reached similar wrong conclusions—culminating in Munich and World War II. The Kaiser had made similar mistakes in 1914—leading to World War I. Were all these people stupid? Or, did we give them some reason to make mistakes?

Could Khrushchev make similar disastrous errors after similar probings which he could be trying now?

If so, what can we as individual, ordinary Americans do about it? We can do many things:

We can remind ourselves that there is no recorded instance in which we have stood up firmly to Soviet bluster and ultimatums—and fared badly; that there is no instance in which we have compromised or conceded to them—and fared well.

We can remind ourselves of our own great strength—of our economic and military and manpower superiority which, together with that of our allies, should have Khrushchev really worried rather than ourselves.

We can remind ourselves of the very serious internal Soviet weaknesses, of the fact that they can never socialize or enslave individual farmers or solve their internal food problems by centralized planning or by dictum which is bound to fail.

We can remind ourselves that the last thing Khrushchev wants is a major war: that we are negotiating from overwhelming strength, not weakness.

We can remind ourselves that Theodore Roosevelt would never have accepted ultimatums quietly; numerous American planes shot down over international waters; insults across a Paris summit table; Berlin walls; ad infinitum; that he would know that the nuclear weapon cannot make that much difference in people.

We can recall the courage and vision of our ancestors who made America and try to recapture for ourselves some of their approach to a dangerous and challenging life, remembering that even nuclear weapons do not change basic principles, or reform all bullies.

We can stand for more pride in America than seems to be popular in many sophisticated circles today.

We can recall the answer of General McAuliffe to the German ultimatum that he surrender in the Battle of the Bulge, "Nuts."

There are many, many things we might do to avoid a Khrushchev miscalculation and to regain the initiative which should be ours as leader of the world.

## Oh, "Savannah"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, all too many years ago the idea of a ship of the future was borne in the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. It was expected that the ship would be the the prototype of a new series embodying nuclear power and the latest in equipment.

The nuclear ship *Savannah* came into being and now we find that aside from its powerplant it is equipped with electronic and associated gear that would be more at home on a World War II liberty ship. A detailed analysis of its shortcomings in this field are set forth in an editorial in the Baltimore Sun of September 16, 1962 by Helen Delich Bentley.

The allegations set forth in the editorial are serious and should be fully and carefully examined by the Secretary of Commerce, the Maritime Administration, and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. The defects should be promptly corrected. And to the extent the vessel is not equipped with the best and most modern equipment immediate remedial steps should be taken.

The editorial follows:

AN ARK OF THE ATOMIC AGE: OH, "SAVANNAH"

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

Whether the nuclear ship *Savannah* should be sent around the world as the prestige ship of the United States is debatable, unless a number of improvements and changes are made.

The doubt stems from the revelation that there are obsolete and nonworking pieces of equipment in many parts of the ship, not to mention the failure to solve the labor problem even now.

The fact that the entire communications setup on the $53.5 million (some say $50 million) vessel is of Liberty ship vintage seems incredible even to the average person.

Since the *Savannah* was designed to demonstrate to the world that the United States could surpass all nations in peaceful application of atomic energy, people think of the *Savannah* in terms of the ultimate—of being the leader and the best in everything, of being the real pride and queen of the American merchant marine. She should have the best of everything.

Her shortcomings range from the ship's internal communications being limited to a single 19-party-line telephone system to the use of a passageway for the chemistry laboratory because provision was not made originally for this important area, where radiation tests must be made constantly to assure that none of the crew is receiving too much exposure from the nuclear reactor.

Shortly before the ship sailed from Norfolk to Seattle, three different conversations were going on at the same time over the complicated party line and, as a result, none of the men got their messages across until they hung up and took turns, one at a time. The communications arrangement within the vast engine-room setup has some 40 outlets; if one goes bad, the entire system is unusable. An engineer often has to resort to the old-fashioned thumping method from deck to deck to let another know he is wanted.

Dripping pipes in the air-conditioning system not only have ruined rugs in the staterooms, but only last Wednesday flowed so heavily in the hospital area that the doctor was soaked as he gave smallpox vaccinations and other shots; the floor was covered with drenched towels and pans catching the drips.

The refrigerated and dry-cargo stores are scattered over four decks. Their availability is limited to movement on one of two small elevators whose doors open only one way. If the elevators opened on both sides (they could, since the elevator rears run along the galley) it would save manpower used in toting the food around to the main entrance of the galley.

These and items like a modern loran (location finder) and a 250-watt telegraph transmitter (500-watt ones are commonplace on today's freighters) may appear to be simple or unimportant things to the average person, but they are important to anyone associated with shipping and world trade. They are important when the prestige of the United States might be at stake in maritime countries where the *Savannah* most likely is to visit.

Although Greece is the only nation to give a definite "Yes," 11 other countries—all maritime-minded—are negotiating with the Maritime Administration for a visit by the *Savannah*.

This world tour probably will not begin for almost another year, which will be 3 years behind the original schedule proposed when Congress authorized the construction of the *Savannah*. If many items already are considered obsolete, what will they be in another year?

The general public, in viewing the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship, will see only the sleek-lined hull and the decorative, bright public rooms. It will have no basis for comparison and think the ship is great. Maritime specialists visiting the ship will use other criteria.

The charge that some sections of the ship were obsolete was made publicly first by the unions which recently staged a strike, tying up the nuclear ship for 2 weeks and getting paid for so doing. The unions also claimed that the quarters of the officers were not good enough to display to other countries. However, the individual men aboard the ship are satisfied; their quarters might be compared to the simpler quarters of officers aboard naval craft rather than to the more elaborate ones aboard foreign freighters. The unions noted that they did not compare with those on the foreign ships, but they do compare with American freighters' quarters.

The fact that the staff captain and chief mate do not even have access to the 19-party telephone in their quarters appears ridiculous when one knows how often men in these capacities aboard ship must be contacted. The radio transmitter is weaker than those on freighters, and the radiotelephone is of the same strength and type as those on many yachts and ordinary freighters. It is not of the caliber of those used aboard the passenger ships, over which

people can talk "just like in the living room" from the middle of the ocean.

With the exception of the weather-map producing machine, the radio shack does not appear as modern or workable as those on older ships. The workbench is a discarded card table left over by the shipyard. Tools for checking equipment efficiently and quickly are on the scarce side in this area.

A new automated Japanese freighter visiting the port of Baltimore recently had a compact, sleek, 500-watt radio transmitter mounted in a modernistic round desk. The operator handled his typewriter by simply pressing a button to move it into or out of the wall. The S.S. *African Comet*, an American-flag freighter making its maiden trip up from Savannah just ahead of the nuclear ship *Savannah*, carries a 500-watt transmitter, a neatly designed, modern radiotelephone, and a built-in workbench.

Unimportant perhaps, but again the opinion is that the nuclear ship *Savannah* should have nothing but the best in everything—from communications equipment to thermometers that work. Everything should be of the same standard as the planetary gears which are the one item referred to constantly as being as much of an innovation in the engine room as is the reactor.

From talks with Maritime Administration officials, the shipyard officials, and the crew, it seems that most of the many millions spent on the *Savannah* went into the reactor and the back-up mechanisms which are not necessary on the Navy's nuclear ships because the prototype reactor was first built and tested on land.

The Maritime Administration was given a budget of $18 million by Congress and told to build the "ship part" of the *Savannah* out of that. But even then the ship part of the vessel was under the direction of Atomic Energy Commission personnel who headed the joint committee of the two agencies.

Rather than go back and ask the Maritime Administration for more money, the "Marad" people bought the cheapest and most economical, or the minimum, equipment rather than the maximum.

Because of the budget limitations, the "Marad" personnel cut down on quarters for passengers from 100 to 60. Then as a result of the extra nuclear staff, extra training engineers and others going along as "necessary crew members," half of the passenger cabins are not available to the public.

The money spent by the AEC on press kits alone would have paid for a 500-watt telegraph transmitter with a high-seas radiotelephone adapter. Money to be spent for a special $50-a-day public relations consultant, plus expenses, could probably pay for a modern dial intertelephone setup so the commodore would have a direct hookup to the man he wants.

While the "Marad" budget was tight, the AEC spent $5,000 on a "charm course" for the officers. The course consisted of running two movies produced by the Bell Telephone Co. and another major company and throwing a cocktail party in New York so the officers would learn to greet people.

The *Savannah* is scheduled to go into a shipyard in Galveston in January to have her hydraulic control rod system replaced with electromagnetic drives. New York Shipbuilding, where the vessel was originally built, said they wanted to install the new system in the first place, but were overruled.

Other items that the Maritime Administration's Trial and Acceptance Board have written down as not satisfactory from the shipyard also will be repaired. They include a malfunctioning of the air-conditioning system and poor welding on pipes.

The asbestos shielding on one of the major pipes in the engineroom is oil drenched and must be replaced—a tough and expensive task. Whenever this occurs in a yard, it is usually straightened out before the vessel leaves.

However, the Maritime Administration—given the responsibility more or less for the ship's operation at this time—was under excessive pressure to get the *Savannah* to sea. Therefore, the agency decided to get it out of the Camden shipyard in February, regardless of the fact that everything was not satisfactory.

While the ship is there for this work, it might be the time to check over the obsolete equipment and put the vessel in the best possible shape in every way. The cost would be infinitesimal compared to the original price and would not even approach the $3.5 million invested in spare parts that are carried in her holds just to have them on hand.

The *Savannah* donnybrook on both the labor and mechanical fronts can be attributed to the fact that two Government agencies were assigned to her. No private ship operator was involved in the actual construction. Maritime experts believe that a private ship operator would never have permitted the *Savannah* to become such a boondoggle.

Instead of just being a home for the engineers of the Atomic Energy Commission whose interest is limited to the reactor, the *Savannah* should be made a proud ship all the way as she carries the Stars and Stripes around the world.

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## Proposed Drug Regulations: Safety or Scientific Stagnation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, in the field of scientific study, experimentation and clinical testing are taken for granted. Not so, bureaucratic redtape. The problem of balancing the safety of the public against the possibilities of scientific stagnation, therefore, can be answered to a large extent by comparing the restrictive influence of endless reports, investigations, records, and plans against the need for more and larger scale trials and the use of professional judgment.

This is the comparison that must be made when considering the proposed regulations on new drugs promulgated by the Food and Drug Administration. Such a comparison has been made by Dr. Howard A. Rusk, in a column appearing in the New York Times of Sunday, September 16, 1962, as follows:

DRUG-TEST REGULATIONS: U.S. PROPOSALS INNOCUOUS ON SURFACE BUT LOWERING OF STANDARDS IS FEARED

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D)

Forty years ago the late Mrs. Evelyn Walsh McLean was entertaining at her Washington home. One of the guests, whose husband was a prominent jurist, excused herself during the dinner.

When Mrs. McLean followed the guest out to ascertain the difficulty, the lady broke down and wept, "My teenage daughter is a juvenile diabetic," she said. "She is in a coma, may die and there is nothing that can be done."

Mrs. McLean immediately telephoned a physician friend on the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University in nearby Baltimore. When asked if there was anything new that might help this girl, he told Mrs. McLean he had heard that scientists in Toronto had developed a new compound that controlled diabetes.

The girl was rushed to Toronoto by private railroad car. She received the new compound and is alive today.

The compound, of course, was insulin. It had just been discovered by Drs. Frederick G. Banting and Charles H. Best.

NEW REGULATIONS PROPOSED

New regulations on the clinical testing of new drugs have recently been proposed by Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Among other things, these regulations would require written approval of the Food and Drug Administration to give an experimental drug to a patient, who might die without it.

Under the new regulations, drug companies and individual clinical investigators would be required to file complete plans of their studies with the Federal Government.

This would include "Outline of the plan of investigation, including approximation of the number of patients to be treated with the drug and number to be employed as controls, if any; clinical uses to be investigated; characteristics of patients by age, sex and condition; the kind of clinical observations and laboratory tests to be undertaken prior to, during and after administration of drug; the estimated duration of the investigation; and a description or copies of report forms to be used to maintain a complete record of the observations and the test results obtained."

On the surface this requirement appears innocuous. But how does an investigator know 6 months in advance the exact age and condition of his caseload of patients for whom the drug might be indicated?

How can he know the exact clinical uses he may wish to investigate? A patient may show up with an unusual disease for which in his judgment the drug might be of value.

BARS PROFESSIONAL JUDGMENT

To use the drug in such a case would require both the investigator and the sponsor to file a long brief with the Food and Drug Administration asking for permission. By the time it was received, the patient's condition might have changed considerably.

The opportunity to vary clinical investigation to take advantage of unanticipated findings would be lost.

Under these proposals scientific study would be limited to confirming or denying a hypothesis and this could be done only when the Federal Government approved of the hypothesis. In essence, they would eliminate the use of professional judgment, which is the basis for true investigations.

The new regulations would also require that investigators maintain all records and case histories for 2 years after the study and that any officer or employee of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare could inspect and copy such records at any time.

In 1958 the ethical drug industry tested 114,600 substances, of which about 40 became marketable. In the United States new compounds are first given the most rigid series of tests in animals of any place in the world.

This testing reduces the number of compounds that shows promise of efficacy and safety down to around 2,000 to 3,000 a year upon which clinical tests in humans are held.

About 25,000 clinical investigators are involved in these tests. It is difficult even to visualize the tons of reports from these 25,000 investigators that would come into Washington under these proposed regulations.

MIGHT LOWER STANDARDS

Unfortunately there is no reason to believe that the proposed new regulations would actually improve the already high standards imposed by the drug industry on clinical testing. In fact, they might accomplish the reverse.

Our objective in clinical testing should be to encourage more testing and larger scale trials. The nature of the proposed regulations, the impingement on confidentiality of patient records, and the legal risks to which investigators would be subject should tend to reduce the number of physicians interested in doing this type of research.

During the last month, this writer has talked with scores of leaders in the drug industry and the scientific community.

All agree that everything possible should be done to strengthen the clinical testing procedures of new drugs. All also agree that the proposed new regulations would not accomplish this objective.

There is also resentment of the precipitant way in which the proposals were issued.

Usually in matters of this kind, the Federal agency involved meets informally over a period of months with the parties affected for an exchange of views.

This was not done. Even from the language of the proposals it is apparent they were hurriedly drawn.

They were then issued on August 9 and interested persons were given 60 days in which to express their opinions.

EXTENSION CALLED FOR

It is to be hoped that Secretary Celebrezze will extend this time period so that the Nation's scientific community will have an opportunity to evaluate these proposals carefully and make its views known.

There is no doubt that the new regulations have stemmed directly from the recent flurry over thalidomide. The thalidomide incident, however, illustrates rather well that our present regulations are effective.

There was sufficient toxicity data available from animal experiments to justify its clinical use with humans. The Food and Drug Administration did keep it off the market.

Had the new proposals been in effect, the thalidomide incident would have been the same except in one respect. The Food and Drug Administration as well as the producer of the drug would have had a record of the clinical investigators who had the drug in their possession.

Dr. Louis C. Lasanga, of the Johns Hopkins University, has commented, "One final paradox: on the basis of the best available information, Marilyn Monroe would be alive today if she had been given thalidomide instead of barbiturates for sedation. This fact is one which illustrates difficulties in dealing glibly with the advantages and disadvantages of useful drugs."

## Witness in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year a number of students at Goshen College in my congressional district came to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of expressing their concern about a number of the important issues to officials of our Government.

They were moved to come to Washington in response to the question they posed themselves, "Can the Christian witness to the Government?"

I had the opportunity to talk with these students in my office and was most impressed by the depth and genuineness of their concern about some of the great problems facing our country as well as by their willingness to listen to points of view other than their own.

An excellent summary of the experience of the group is contained in an article by one of the students, Alan Kreider, in an article entitled "Witness in Washington," which was published in the journal, Youth's Christian Companion, a publication of the Mennonite Publishing House.

Under unanimous consent I insert the text of this article in the RECORD:

WITNESS IN WASHINGTON

(By Alan Kreider)

What should be the relationship of the Christian to the state? There is no easy answer to this question. It has been debated since the founding of the Christian church, and has not yet been answered to the satisfaction of everyone.

The difficulty and remoteness of this problem have led Christians to ignore it in the hope that it will go away. But the impact of the cold war, with its constant threat of nuclear devastation hanging over our heads, has recently raised this question with new intensity to young Christians throughout the world.

"Can the Christian witness to the government? If he can, what should he say and how should he say it?" These questions were discussed by six young people in the January 28 Companion. They have also been debated by a large group of students at Goshen College during recent months. Many of us felt that it was time for us to speak directly to our government concerning national policies. After much discussion, work, planning, and prayer, a group of 17 Goshen students traveled to Washington, D.C., on February 21–24 to convey our concerns to the Government.

Our group based its action on the belief that the Christian can and must witness to his government. As Christ was concerned about men's physical as well as spiritual well-being, so we must work to bring happiness and justice as well as salvation to the multitudes. Where there is discrimination and hatred, we must bring love. In witnessing to the state, we go as followers of Christ who have a unique message to present. If we fail to present it, we are hiding an important part of the Christian Gospel from those who desperately need it.

What specific issues should the Christian witness to? Our group faced this problem, and decided to present two major concerns. Since we believe that the arms race is leading the world to military disaster, we urged the U.S. leaders not to resume nuclear testing and to make every effort to achieve disarmament agreements.

A second major concern which we presented dealt with possible alternatives to the arms race. If the United States would exercise its responsibility for international moral leadership, we believe that there is hope for a peaceful way out of the current trend toward war. As alternative programs, we urged carefully supervised economic aid to underdeveloped nations, continued support of the United Nations as an international force for peace, and increased efforts to strengthen the Peace Corps (which, like our Pax service, has a great potential for building international understanding on a personal level).

After much discussion, we decided that the best way to communicate with our Government leaders was to go to Washington ourselves and speak to them personally. So on February 21 a group of 17 students and 1 faculty member went to the Capital.

While there, we spoke to two Senators, five Representatives, and the executive assistants of nine more Congressmen. We also met with a member of the President's Disarmament and Arms Control Commission and presented petitions to the President and the Russian, French, and British embassies.

We were received cordially everywhere. Our Representatives apparently felt (as we do) that absolute answer are hard to find in government. They were willing to hear our opinions. Several of them said that they believed that the contact between the representatives and the represented is crucial in a democracy, and they expressed appreciation for what we were doing. A few of them lectured at us, but most of them engaged in a genuine conversation about our ideas.

Those that disagreed did not hesitate to tell us so. The First Secretary of the Russion Embassy gave us a fascinating half-hour sermon on the righteousness of the Soviet Union and the treachery of the United States. We were less impressed with the validity of his ideas than the complete conviction with which he uttered them.

After 2 days of hard work in Washington, we were relieved to come home again to more familiar surroundings. In evaluating our trip, we cannot know what effect our ideas had on those to whom we spoke. But we can know that we did give our witness to government—we refused to hide our lamps under a bushel.

We can say that we learned a great deal, and had an experience which we will remember all our lives. In going to Washington, we did not resolve the problem of the Christian's relation to the state. But we did attempt to find a solution, and to put that solution into practice.

## Robert Soblen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, radio station WGAC in Augusta, Ga., has recently broadcast an editorial which I feel should be read by the Members of the Congress and should receive the special attention of the Justice Department. This excellent editorial raises the question as to the assistance which the American traitor Robert Soblen received in trying to maintain his freedom from American justice. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Apepndix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOBLEN'S BILLS

We believe that the citizens of the United States are entitled to know who paid convicted spy Robert Soblen's bills.

Soblen is dead—dead by his own hand—and Scotland Yard is reported to be trying to find out who gave him the barbiturates with which he committed suicide.

We hope Scotland Yard solves that riddle—but we believe it is much more important for the American people to know who financed and helped this spy in this country.

Soblen was not a wealthy man. His legal bills were huge and he was obviously able to

pay them. Somebody forfeited $100,000 bail when Soblen escaped custody. Why was bail made for a convicted spy? Who put up the money? Who paid his other bills, his passage to Israel? Who drove him to the airport? Who helped him get away?

We agree that Soblen was entitled to his day in court. We believe he should have adequate counsel whether or not he had money. But—Soblen was a convicted spy. Who backed him? Who paid his bills?

If our public officials know the facts—we are entitled to know them. If they do not know the facts—what are they doing about it?

We believe the American people are entitled to know who paid Robert Soblen's bills.

## The Van Zandt Amendment in the Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VAN ZANDT] for his diligent and dedicated efforts that culminated in amending the Atomic Energy Commission authorization bill. Without that amendment, the Federal Treasury would have been liable for any losses resulting from the operation of the proposed generating facilities at the Hanford, Wash., new production reactor.

Congressman VAN ZANDT has compiled an outstanding record in his years in the Congress of the United States, but his vigorous leadership throughout the numerous skirmishes on the Hanford issue was an inspiration to his colleagues. Recognizing the threat of the Government-sponsored electric generating station proposed for Hanford last year, he immediately undertook aggressive action against it. He took the floor time and again to call attention to the inefficiency of such a facility, to the fact that its construction would provide a key link in the nationwide transportation grid envisioned by public power proponents, to coal markets it would usurp, and to the unfair advantages this subsidized project would bring to the Pacific Northwest in its competition for new and expanded industry with other areas interested in redevelopment programs.

The 1961 battle of Hanford proved to be a long struggle. Congressman VAN ZANDT successfully mustered his forces on four different occasions before supporters of the project finally surrendered. When the program was presented under an entirely new guise in this session, Congressman VAN ZANDT recognized that, as presented, the project would still not relieve the Federal Government of losses that were certain to result. Once again he led the House to an overwhelming victory.

Sensing the futility of continuing the struggle for Government liability, the conferees finally succumbed to the Van Zandt demands and accepted the amendment originally proposed by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania. Here is the final result of Congressman VAN ZANDT's effort, as explained by the chairman of the conference committee when H.R. 11974 reached the House for final action last week:

Mr. Speaker, in the argument which I made on the Van Zandt motion to instruct the conferees on their first conference I made a pledge. I said, "I guarantee you that we, the conferees, will bring back for a vote the issue which is involved in this matter."

This we, the conferees, have done. We have brought back language which not only contains the Van Zandt amendment, but we have also gone further than the prohibition against the Atomic Energy Commission's entering into contractual arrangements for the construction and operation of generating and transmitting facilities; we have inserted another prohibition against the sale of steam from these facilities, and we have directed—and listen, please, to this—we have directed the Atomic Energy Commission to withhold from beneficial use and waste this 800,000 kilowatts of steam unless the Atomic Energy Commission could make three important determinations in the public interest. If they could make such administrative determinations, and if they could impose upon the contracting entities terms and conditions which would, First, guarantee that all of the fears of additional Federal expenditures were groundless; second, that any losses which might occur in the future as a result of these contractual arrangements would be borne not by the Federal Government but by the Bonneville Power Administration system's customers through rate adjustments in their electricity—and this is written into the statute that is offered in the conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that, in these concessions and pledges incorporated into the bill which passed the House last week, Congress will find a precedent on which to base its decisions when similar proposals arise. By including the Van Zandt principle when assorted power projects are drawn up, Congress can protect the public from underwriting inefficient and wasteful programs that have no place in America's industrial complex.

## White House Double-Track

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial which appeared in the New York Times on Saturday, September 15. It indicates very clearly the untenable double standard which the President is assuming as far as labor relations are concerned. I commend it to the Members of the House.

The editorial follows:

WHITE HOUSE DOUBLE-TRACK

If President Kennedy wonders why so many businessmen consider his administration unfair, he might find part of the explanation in the inconsistency of the positions he took at his latest news conference on two labor disputes, both heavily weighted with public interest.

Mr. Kennedy put all his prestige behind the recommendation of a special Presidential board for union-shop elections to avert a threatened strike in plants manufacturing missiles, planes and spacecraft. The two powerful unions in this field—the United Automobile Workers and the International Association of Machinists—welcome the board's recommendation; the employers are cold to it. The President asserted that, if the latter rejected the panel's peace plan, the country should blame them for any work stoppage.

The story was quite different when Mr. Kennedy was asked about the 2-week-old strike on the Chicago & North Western Railway, which is inflicting great economic injury on nine Midwest States. This tie-up stems from the rejection by the Order of Railroad Telegraphers of a Presidential emergency board's recommendation that the union abandon its demand for a veto over job reductions caused by changing technology or other factors. The panel recommended a formula for cushioning layoffs through liberalized unemployment, retraining and severance benefits.

Mr. Kennedy had no word of personal endorsement for the emergency board's report, nor any censure for the union. Ignoring the fact that the North Western had always been ready to negotiate a contract based on the board's proposals, the President called on both sides to make "sufficient concessions" to effect an accord. This is not the first time Mr. Kennedy has made an orphan of a Presidential factfinding report that railroad labor did not like. A similar fate befell the comprehensive recommendations for eliminating featherbedding in train crews, which are still being resisted by all the unions involved.

The current application of a double standard of White House judgment is made more conspicuous by the differing legal status of the two boards. The board the President is supporting in the aerospace industry was created outside Taft-Hartley, without any specific legislative authority. The board he is ignoring in the North Western strike represented the final step in the exhaustive machinery of the Railway Labor Act. Mr. Kennedy will have to exhibit more consistency if the Nation is to be convinced that his sole yardstick in such matters is the public welfare.

## Revolt and Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of September 19, 1962:

REVOLT AND REFORM

All this year the attacks on foreign aid, in both houses of Congress, have been unusually severe. And this week a House Appropriations subcommittee voted to cut $1.5 billion out of the President's request for new funds of more than $4.7 billion in the current fiscal year.

Whatever figure Congress finally agrees on, it is significant that this is the largest reduction in foreign aid the group has ever proposed and that the full Appropriations Committee yesterday went along with most

of the cut. Combined with the other congressional criticisms of the program, these actions show that many lawmakers are not only rebelling against the incessant and excessive spending; they are also beginning to sense their responsibility for forcing foreign-aid reforms.

Certainly the administration, for its part, has shown little disposition to effect basic reforms. It has rearranged the bureaucratic machinery, an exercise which has been performed over and over in the past. It has devised the Alliance for Progress subsidies for Latin America, an undertaking which is already demonstrating that it was both ill-conceived and oversold.

What has been left undone is the formulation of an effective aid policy. Our military aid is so heavy because our diplomacy has failed to persuade others to do more in their own defense. As for economic aid, the basic trouble is not waste, flagrant though that often is. The roots of the trouble, we think it should be clear by now, are these:

The assistance has gone on so long on such an indiscriminate basis that it has largely lost its leverage in influencing world affairs to our advantage. In many cases it promotes the wrong things, like socialism, and thus does more harm than good to the receiving nation. And the yearly totals of foreign aid contribute both to the Federal budget deficits and to the deficits in our international payments.

Congress alone cannot remedy all these ills. But if it will follow through with substantial reductions in aid money, it can powerfully underscore the need for fundamental reform.

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## Outmoded Waste Collection Systems Polluting Our Waters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is presently embarked on a determined and serious effort to bring about effective prevention and control of the pollution that menaces our precious water resource. Municipal and industrial wastes are admittedly the major contributory sources of this pollution. Accordingly, the predominant share of the current effort is focused on these two major contributors.

The stimulatory grants-in-aid to municipalities for construction of waste treatment works provided by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act have been greatly successful in this respect, so much so that the Congress has authorized a continuation of this program at twice its previous rate.

And yet little or no regard has been given to the outmoded waste collection systems in many of our older cities that in themselves serve to greatly reduce the benefits to be expected from the installation of new treatment plants. This is because, on an annual average, 10 percent of the municipality's sanitary sewage never reaches the treatment plant. This amount of the city's raw wastes is carried off by storm overflow directly into the nearest waters. Adding to the gravity of this situation is the fact that many cities collect the wastes from their industries in their municipal sewers to receive treatment at the central plant.

At the turn of the century, many municipalities constructed a system of combined sewers to carry their sanitary wastes and to collect the runoff from their streets after a rainfall. At that time, this was an economic course for the cities to take. The sanitary wastes from their smaller populations used only a small portion of the combined sewer capacity. The portion of this sanitary sewage that was carried off by storm overflows into the receiving wastes was readily diluted by the proportionately larger street runoff collected by the sewers.

Now the populations of these cities have increased at an unforseen rate. The continuation of this growth rate is expected at an even higher level. Already the huge population centers like New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and others find that their combined sewers are sufficient only to handle the sanitary sewage with little or no capacity remaining to cope with storm runoff. Thus, with these combined sewers filled to capacity with sanitary wastes, the runoff resulting even from a short summer afternoon rainfall causes the sewers to overflow at spillways necessarily provided for this purpose directly to the stream. It is conservatively estimated that as much as 35 percent of the sanitary sewage bypasses the treatment plant and is carried directly into the watercourse after a heavy rainfall fills the sewers and pours out of the convenient spillways.

It is this factor, which in the opinion of experts, is directly responsible for the serious interference with recreational and other legitimate uses of the waters that are adjacent to our larger communities. For example, the city of New York administers conscientious treatment of its sanitary waste discharges. Its bathing beaches, however, are to a great extent posted as unsafe due to the unusually high coliform count samples obtained there. This situation is attributed in large degree to the storm overflow from its combined sewers, carrying a large amount of raw sanitary sewage. Similarly, the closed beaches at Milwaukee, now an annual affair, are also traceable to storm overflow. The pollution of the Potomac River caused by storm overflow from the combined sewers in the Nation's Capital was recognized and cited as a principal cause of the shameful condition of this stream in the Federal enforcement action begun in 1957 to restore the quality of these waters. The conferees recommended as one of the absolutely necessary remedial measures that pollution from storm sewer overflows be substantially alleviated by the end of 1966.

It can well be understood, therefore, that our programs of municipal treatment works construction should be accompanied by the construction of separate storm and sanitary sewers in our metropolitan areas. This is necessary and imperative to assure the efficiency of the treatment plants themselves, which are designed to handle sanitary sewage without the complicating factor of intermixture with storm runoff. And, more importantly, the deleterious discharge of raw sewage will be effectively halted—allowing our streams to recover without the necessity of experiencing periodic heavy doses of the pollutants that have so long plagued them.

To alleviate this problem, I am introducing a bill which should provide for the orderly conversion of these outmoded systems.

The bill is as follows:

A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide financial assistance to municipalities and others for the separation of combined sewers and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That section 5 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (33 U.S.C. 466e) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(g) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, municipality, or intermunicipal or interstate agency for separation of combined sewers which carry both storm water and sewage or other wastes on the date of enactment of this subsection to prevent the discharge of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste into any waters and for the purpose of reports, plans, and specifications in connection therewith.

"Federal grants under this section shall be subject to the following limitations: (1) No grant shall be made for any project pursuant to this subsection unless such project shall have been approved by the appropriate State water pollution control agency or agencies and by the Secretary and unless such project is included in a comprehensive program developed pursuant to this Act; (2) no grant shall be made for any project in an amount exceeding 30 per centum of the estimated reasonable cost thereof as determined by the Secretary; (3) no grant shall be made for any project under this subsection until the applicant has made provision satisfactory to the Secretary for assuring proper and efficient operation and maintenance of the separated sewers after completion of the construction thereof; (4) no grant shall be made for any project under this subsection unless such project is in conformity with the State water pollution control plan submitted pursuant to the provisions of section 5 and has been certified by the State water pollution control agency as entitled to priority over other eligible projects on the basis of financial as well as water pollution control needs.

"In determining the desirability of projects for separating combined sewers and of approving Federal financial aid in connection therewith, consideration shall be given by the Secretary to the public benefits to be derived by the construction and the propriety of Federal aid in such construction, the relation of the ultimate cost of constructing and maintaining the separated sewers to the public interest and to the public necessity for the separated sewers, and the adequacy of the provisions made or proposed by the applicant for such Federal financial aid for assuring proper and efficient operation and maintenance of the separated sewers after completion of the construction thereof. The sums appropriated pursuant to this subsection for any fiscal year shall be allotted by the Secretary from time to time, in accordance with regulations, as follows: (1) 50 per centum of such sums in the ratio that the population of each State bears to the population of all the States, and (2) 50 per centum of such sums in the ratio that the quotient obtained by dividing the per capita income of the United States by the per capita income of each State bears to the sum of such quo-

tients for all the States. Sums allotted to a State under the preceding sentence which are not obligated within six months after they were allotted because of a lack of projects which have been approved by the State water pollution control agency and certified as entitled to priority, shall be reallotted by the Secretary, on such basis as he determines to be reasonable and equitable and in accordance with regulations promulgated by him, to States having projects approved under this section for which grants have not been made because of lack of funds. The allotments of a State under the immediate preceding two sentences of this subsection shall be available, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection, for payments with respect to projects in such State which have been approved under this subsection. Any sum made available to a State by reallotment under the preceding sentence shall be in addition to any funds otherwise allotted to such State under this Act. For purposes of this subsection, population shall be determined on the basis of the latest decennial census for which figures are available, as certified by the Secretary of Commerce, and per capita income for each State and for the United States shall be determined on the basis of the average of the per capita incomes of the States and of the continental United States for the three most recent consecutive years for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce.

"There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year through and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, the sum of $70,000,000 per fiscal year for the purpose of making grants under this subsection. Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended.

"The Secretary shall make payments under this subsection through the disbursing facilities of the Department of the Treasury. Funds so paid shall be used exclusively to meet the cost of construction of the project for which the amount was paid. As used in this section the term "construction" includes preliminary planning to determine the economic and engineering feasibility of separation of combined sewers, the engineering, architectural, legal, fiscal, and economic investigations and studies, surveys, designs, plans, working drawings, specifications, procedures, and other action necessary to the construction of such separated sewers; and the erection, building, acquisition, alteration, remodeling, improvement, or extension of such separated sewers; and the inspection and supervision of the construction of such separated sewers.

"The Secretary shall take such action as may be necessary to insure that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on projects for which grants are made under this section shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing for the same type of work on similar construction in the immediate locality, as determined by the Secretary of Labor, in accordance with the act of March 3, 1931, as amended, known as the Davis Bacon Act (46 Stat. 1494; 40 U.S.C., secs. 276a through 276a–5)."

## The Postal Rate Hike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following editorial from the Warren, Pa., Times Mirror, of September 5, 1962:

THE POSTAL RATE HIKE

As of this writing, the U.S. Senate is still reviewing the postal rate increase, H.R. 7927, based on a request from President Kennedy. The bill has been attacked by many publications, by labor unions and others. It will destroy jobs, cut down the effectiveness of many of the smaller, more thoughtful magazines, hurt the farm press and hurt the American public.

Here is what the AFL–CIO has to say about the proposed rate increase:

"To put it simply, doubling the second-class rate on labor papers wouldn't help the Post Office much, but it would raise havoc with the primary means of communication within the labor movement.

"Doubling the rate would mean a cost of better than 10 percent (of the total budget of a typical trade union publication) which seems unduly high to us.

"Some weekly papers would be cut back to twice a month. Some twice-a-month papers would become monthlies. A few publications might suspend publication entirely."

Leading authors also have added their voice to the protest. They point out—and rightly—that the rate hike would hurt them by cutting down the number of markets to which they can sell their material. This means more jobs lost. The International Typographical Union has opposed the hike because of what it would do to men in the printing trades.

The Government argues that it cannot meet its post office deficit unless rates are hiked, yet, as always, the Government ignores the obvious solution: cutting expenses.

First of all the Post Office should divest itself of all the side issues it has taken on, like handing out tax forms, collecting migratory bird fees by selling special stamps, and other unimportant duties which have been dumped on the Department over the years.

The second solution is to modernize the 1890 rule book and to mechanize the Department. Why isn't our system mechanized as it is in many so-called backward countries overseas?

This question was put to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service by A. L. Cole, vice president and general manager of the Reader's Digest.

"The population of this country has increased 33 percent since 1945," he said. "Since 1945 mail volume has increased about 79 percent. Not only has population been rising but there have been more and more pieces of mail per year. More than half the mail in the post office is still first-class mail—over 33 billion of the 66 billion pieces of mail in 1961.

"If governments overseas find that money can be saved by machines, then, if it has not been done, an immediate appraisal should be made of our 60 largest post offices to find out what machines can be used, how much they'll cost, and how much money they will save.

"Most businessmen would be happy to buy machines which will pay for themselves in 6 years. Postal cost studies made in 1958 showed that the one Transorma letter sorter installed in Silver Spring, Md., would pay for itself in 5.9 years. Since that one was installed in 1957, this means there'll be some savings next year—and for years thereafter.

"This year the Post Office asked the Appropriations Committee for enough money to buy only 21 letter sorters. We have seen estimates that 400 or 500 sorters are needed. Why should we wait until 1970 to get 400 or 500 machines that could have been saving us money for the last 5 years of this decade?

"We submit that the Post Office cannot be asked to judge its own progress in mechanization. Some experts have suggested that a joint congressional committee is needed to study continuously and report to the Congress and the people on post office efficiency.

"We appeal to this committee and the administration to modernize the post office as rapidly as possible. We realize that this is the province of the Congress; we hope you will push it. The American people are entitled to the lowest possible rates for postage, and without continuing deficits. The only way to get this happy combination is through a post office of high efficiency.

"Some people say that mechanization will cost a lot of jobs for postal employees. We do not believe that the installation of modern mail-handling machinery will put any of the 582,000 postal employees out of work. Postal authorities themselves state that they do not believe they can properly handle the load without new machines."

## The Integral Train Brings New Hopes to Pennsylvania's Coal and Railroad Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on April 26, my good friend and colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] issued a joint statement to call attention to the development of the new high-speed shuttle freight train developed for lowering costs of transporting coal between mine and market. At that time we promised to arrange for interested friends here on the Hill to accompany us on a trip from a western Pennsylvania coal mine to a electric utility on the east coast.

Because of the uncertainty as to adjournment date, Members of Congress cannot be certain that it will be possible to leave the Capital at any specified time between now and the end of the session. For this reason we have decided to wait until some time in the future to ask our colleagues to join with us on a trip featuring the new concept in coal transportation. Because, however, it is so important that large scale industrial consumers recognize the potential of the integral train, the gentleman from Pennsylvania's 22d District and I have accepted the invitation of the New York Central Railroad, with which we have been in communication since shortly after our April 26 statement, to take part in ceremonies planned with the departure of an experimental unit coal train from Clymer, Indiana County, Pa., on Friday of this week. We look to this event with eager anticipation because the advent of the coal flyer is going to make 1962 one of the most important years in the history of the coal and railroad industries.

Although specially designed shuttle trains that will provide even greater efficiency are now on the drawing boards, the railroad industry is not content to

stand by for the fruition of long-range plans. The New York Central's coal special will be made up of equipment heretofore used in conventional freight trains, yet it will demonstrate through special delivery and quick car turn around that the price of coal at the plant site can come down substantially and make this fuel an even better bargain than it is today.

Large consumers now on other fuel but equipped with standby coal boilers must take notice of this prospect in planning for future operations. More important, industries planning new or expanded operations should look into the price of coal to be delivered by the unit train before considering use of another fuel.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the coal industry's experience in markets where advantages have long been on the side of competitors, the coal industry recognizes that the integral train is not the complete answer to its problems. Despite the general inflationary trend, coal is sold at the mine today for less than its price of 1948. The lowering of transportation costs that will be made possible through the new train will make coal an even greater attraction in areas remote from producing fields.

Congress and the executive branch should make two indelible notations in their official records of September 21: the average selling prices of coal and foreign residual oil in east coast markets. This record is most important in view of the fact that, when the integral train goes into regular operation, foreign oil is going to take a beating at a great many points of consumption unless shippers continue their jackknifing prices. Over the years, whenever railroads and coal were able to negotiate substantial cost reductions as a means of meeting foreign competition, the international oil companies invariably dropped rates to whatever levels were necessary to undersell coal, with business economics having no place in the maneuver. Opponents of excessive residual oil imports have contended that rate adjustments are always possible because first, the selling price of other products of the crude can always be raised as a means of absorbing losses incurred in reductions on residual oil; and, second, ocean shipping rates can be shifted from residual oil to other products whenever it is desirable.

Under the circumstances, coal suppliers to heavy industrial consumers on the east coast will be at the mercy of importers unless the Federal Government takes steps to prevent continued unfair and unrealistic price-fixing practices.

While a complete review of the importers' pricing tactics over the past 15 years is in order, holding the line on foreign residual oil at this week's price levels would at least give domestic producers a mark to shoot at with the assurance that there will be no more of the mysterious manipulations that would not be tolerated on the part of any domestic producer, manufacturer, or processer, or distributor.

The experimental integral train is on the move. When coal begins its ride on a regular schedule under a new rate structure, Pennsylvania's mining and rail centers will enjoy a welcome robust economic upturn. This program must be encouraged and—if necessary—Congress will have to clear the way to make certain that the advance continues in the years ahead.

## Orville L. Freeman, the Farmers' Champion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, during the time I have served in Congress I have worked with many Secretaries of Agriculture, but I have never known a Secretary of Agriculture who was more devoted to the cause of agriculture than Orville L. Freeman. He has not only been devoted to the cause of agriculture, but he has dedicated his life to the welfare of farmers, consumers, and to all of the people of America.

Orville L. Freeman has provided fine leadership and by his intelligent devotion to duty he has endeared himself to the Members of Congress and to his countrymen. He had proven himself to be worthy of the confidence placed in him by the President and I am certain that he will continue to administer the duties of his high position in a manner which will be compatible with the ancient traditions of our country.

Drew Pearson, the cruel critic of many public officials, this morning in his article which appeared throughout the length and breadth of this vast and great country, paid tribute to this public official, Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman, and I submit for publication in the RECORD this article by Mr. Pearson.

The vote on the farm bill in the House today is a compliment to the Secretary of Agriculture who is now trying to solve the perplexing problems which at this hour confront all the people of our Republic.

The article by Mr. Pearson follows:

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, THE FARMERS CHAMPION

(By Drew Pearson)

When Senators heard a top Government servant, Under Secretary Charley Murphy, say that his Agriculture Department was so big he was not surprised a Billie Sol Estes scandal could take place, they did a double take. For most bureaucrats are usually not that frank.

However, what most people don't realize is that the Agriculture Department has become the third largest agency in Government, ranking after the Defense Department and the Post Office. Also what the public doesn't know is that the Agriculture Department is not solely engaged in farm problems and farm surpluses. It does a lot of other work for the taxpayer—such as meat inspection, poultry inspection, insect eradication, supermarket design, even the school-lunch program.

Without any fanfare, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman had plodded patiently along cutting down the farm surpluses, so that this year he has 700 million bushels less in storage. He has also cut $250 million a year from his farm surplus budget—and a quarter of a billion dollars ain't hay.

CAMPING COSTS MONEY

But simultaneously, Freeman's overall budget has increased—due not to farm problems but to the public's growing demand for recreation.

In 1961, city tourists flocked to the national forests—which are under Freeman—for a total of 102 million visitor days. This was the rate which had been expected for 1970, and it meant extra rangers to prevent forest fires, extra personnel to handle campsites, making a total of 27,198 men, and a Forest Service budget of $279,400,000 for the 154 national forests spread over 185 million acres in 42 States.

A lot of Freeman's budget also goes into firefighting. He even used up part of it in the recent fire in the Los Angeles suburbs, though movie star homes are a long way from farms. When the Los Angeles Fire Department needed help, however, the Forest Service responded. Eighteen forest rangers were killed fighting fires last year, 11 so far this year.

Incidentally, the Forest Service is permitting private firms to cut 10 billion board feet of timber in 1962, which will net Uncle Sam $114 million.

The surge of cityfolks into the country has also bulged the soil conservation program, which now employs 17,189 men, with a budget of $16,500,000 to handle 312 watersheds and 18 million acres.

All this is a long way from farm surpluses and farm programs.

FOOD STAMP TO PHONES

Orville Freeman's farflung organization also governs the commodity exchanges of the Nation, regulating 500 commission merchants and 775 floor brokers. It supervises the food-stamp plan, inspects poultry in 979 plants, meat in 1,500 plants, does research in human nutrition, and administers the Rural Electrification Administration, which lends money for low-cost electricity and telephones.

Closer to farm problems is agricultural research, which employs 17,272 men in pest control. Its enemies are the Japanese beetle, grasshoppers, the fly and the mosquito.

Busy Orville Freeman also extends loans to farmers, handles crop insurance, makes crop reports which project months in advance what the crops are going to be; researches in farm machinery, has even developed machines for shelling peanuts and the commercial harvesting of pears.

Finally, the Secretary of Agriculture has the most complete records of dairy cows of any man in the world. Freeman has 6 million records on the milk production and calves of 2.8 million cows.

No wonder the Secretary of Agriculture keeps busy.

## Our Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Norwalk Hour, the newspaper in my hometown of Norwalk, Conn., recently conducted an essay contest on "Our Flag." Miss Kathleen Dowling, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E. Dowling of 12 Edith Lane, Norwalk, and a sophomore in the

Norwalk Senior High School, was the top winner in the contest. Because of her heart warming and stirring dissertation on the subject, I feel compelled to bring it to the attention of all the Members of this House. It is with pride and pleasure that I offer Miss Dowling's essay, which follows, for insertion in the RECORD.

OUR FLAG

"We take the stars from the heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her; and the white stars shall go down to posterity representing liberty."

This was how George Washington, the father of our country, splendidly interpreted the meaning of our new flag. Through the years, people have been trying to find new meaning in the different parts of our flag—but they have always reached the same conclusion.

This flag of ours, this Old Glory, is the symbol of a free and democratic people, the banner of liberty and peace, the emblem of honest effort. Unfurling its beautiful waves in the blue skies of America, it hails and welcomes the masses from far-off shores, assuring them that, indeed "Our cup runneth over."

The Stars and Stripes is a welcome sight to Americans wherever they may be. It is the United States itself—all thoughts, concepts, sacrifices, joys, and dreams which made our country great—in one visible, tangible, sacred piece of cloth. It has the feelings of Francis Scott Key, the Marines at Suribachi, Boy Scouts on Memorial Day, and every man, woman, and child of America woven into its threads. It is a reminder, a dedication, and an inspiration for us all. The Flag of the United States of America holds the beating heart of humanity.

KATHLEEN DOWLING.

## Retraining the Unemployed: Little, Late, and Limping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the September 27, 1962, edition of the Reporter magazine by Julius Duscha:

RETRAINING THE UNEMPLOYED: LITTLE, LATE, AND LIMPING

(By Julius Duscha)

"Four hundred thousand unemployed men and women," President Kennedy told the Nation one evening in August, "are now receiving retraining so that they can find new work in new industries and new jobs." The retraining program, he noted, was one of the praiseworthy acts of a Congress that "has done more in the last 18 months to combat the recession and strengthen the economy than any Congress since the end of the Second World War." Mr. Kennedy went on to tell his radio and television audience about 52-year-old George DeMartz of Carbon County, Pa. DeMartz, said the President, had lost his job in the coal mines but had found a new life as a welder after participating in "our retraining program."

The story of George DeMartz added a nice human touch to an otherwise rather dull speech, loaded with statistics designed to show why the President had decided not to ask Congress to reduce taxes this year.

Among the many Americans who were struck by the DeMartz story was Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, Republican, of New York. As coauthor of the retraining bill, GOODELL knew that the program that the President said was already retraining 400,000 Americans had not even begun, because Congress had approved funds for it only the week before. "At this point," GOODELL told the House 3 days later, "there are exactly zero people being retrained."

Representative CARL D. PERKINS, Democrat, of Kentucky, disagreed with GOODELL and said that the President was referring to retraining programs enacted by previous Congresses. This was also the explanation offered by the White House—Mr. DeMartz had studied welding under one of the small earlier programs—but privately administration officials conceded that Mr. Kennedy was indeed in error.

The Labor Department had told Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, who collected material for the no-tax-cut speech, that more than 400,000 unemployed workers would probably be trained for new jobs by the end of the 3-year program approved by Congress last March. But, the Department added, the program was not yet underway because of a 4-month congressional delay in providing appropriations. Somewhere between Heller's office and the final draft of Mr. Kennedy's address—apparently in the speechwriting office of Presidential Aid Theodore C. Sorensen—a rather hopeful goal of 400,000 became, on paper, an accomplished fact.

COMPOUNDING THE DELAYS

By prematurely claiming credit for an administration accomplishment, Mr. Kennedy inadvertently drew attention to another of his programs that is lagging because of faulty staff work within the executive branch as well as inept Democratic leadership on Capitol Hill.

Although there has never been much opposition among either Republicans or Democrats to a retraining program, it has taken more than 18 months to get one started. (The first projects were finally approved early in September.) The story of the delays and frustrations that beset the program illustrates many of the shortcomings of the administration's relations with Congress and helps to explain why the legislative record of the 87th Congress is so disappointing.

Late in 1959, State employment and education officials began to suggest that the Federal Government provide funds to help retrain men whose skills had been replaced by machines or made obsolete by changing production and consumption patterns. Coal miners were the classic example. If an unemployed miner were ever again to find work, he would have to learn a new skill because machines were stripping jobs as well as coal from the mines.

The retraining proposal was included by Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, Democrat, of Minnesota, in a report issued early in 1960 on hearings that he had conducted on automation and unemployment. Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, introduced a new retraining bill and presidential candidate Kennedy picked up the idea as he campaigned in the depressed areas of West Virginia and other States.

Soon after Mr. Kennedy entered the White House in January 1961, he asked Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg to draw up retraining legislation. Goldberg conferred with Senator CLARK and others in Congress who were concerned about long-term unemployment.

The concept of a retraining program seemed simple enough. Surveys would be made to see what kind of jobs were open. Then training programs would be set up to provide workers for the jobs. To encourage the unemployed to take courses, the Government would pay them the equivalent of unemployment compensation (the national average is now $34 a week) while they took training that could last for as long as a year. Unemployment-compensation laws prohibit payments to men who are going to school; a man on the compensation rolls is supposed to be actively looking for a job.

As an approach to what the economists call structural unemployment, retraining seemed to have all of the prerequisites for speedy bureaucratic and congressional approval. It fitted in perfectly with the conservative view that nothing is basically wrong with the economy that cannot be solved by getting capital and labor to the right place at the right time.

After several weeks of consultations between the Labor Department and Members of Congress, a bill was finally drafted and sent to the Budget Bureau, where it stayed for 2 months. The Budget Bureau has become the rules committee of the executive branch. Instead of functioning merely as a clearinghouse for a Presidential program, the Bureau more often is a bottleneck. In the case of the retraining program, it was waylaid because a lower echelon bureaucrat with a strong dislike for vocational educators wanted to write a bill that would leave all existing vocational education institutions out of the retraining program. The directors of public vocational high school programs and of private training schools may indeed be behind the times, but their political power on Capitol Hill is such that their support was essential for the passage of retraining legislation.

The bill that finally emerged from the Budget Bureau included the vocational educators in the program. It provided for a 4-year, $700 million program to retrain an estimated 700,000 persons. But the legislation was so loosely—even ungrammatically—drawn that its backers immediately became alarmed. "The bill seemed made to order for attacks by HALLECK and DIRKSEN," one Senator has since commented.

What concerned the proponents of the legislation were the broad grants of power it would have given to the Secretary of Labor. He could set up retraining schools where and as he desired—which presumably included desegregated institutions in the Deep South. Money would be given retrained workers so that they could move to cities and States where jobs were easier to find. Other undefined "qualified persons" in addition to the unemployed could be included in the program. No limit was set on subsistence and travel allowances. Youths from 16 to 21 who had dropped out of school but had no work experience would be eligible. To some legislators this amounted to rewarding delinquent and shiftless youths with Federal scholarships while those who stayed in school had to pay their own way.

Once the legislation got to Congress late in May 1961, hearings were promptly held by both the Senate and the House Labor Committees and bills were quickly approved. Before the end of August the Senate had passed its revised version of the administration's proposals by a comfortable two-to-one majority. To assure passage, Senator CLARK, who managed the bill on the floor, persuaded the administration to drop its relocation proposals, which senators from the smaller and stagnant States regarded as an open invitation for pirating of workers and perhaps industry too. CLARK also drastically tightened up the discretionary authority in the original bill and included a provision giving eligibility for retraining to persons on farms that brought in an annual cash income of less than $1,200.

CAUTIOUS LEADERSHIP

The bill that emerged was one that its Senate sponsors as well as administration

lobbyists thought the House could quickly accept. The House Labor Committee, however, had approved only a 2-year program, and had not made any of the changes that the Senate had, except for dropping the relocation proposals.

But it was August, the late Speaker Sam Rayburn was ill, the House was becoming increasingly unpredictable, and the leadership decided it would be best to put over the retraining bill until 1962. The White House was jittery about what the unruly House was doing to the program and concurred in the decision to postpone action. And Representative ELMER J. HOLLAND Democrat of Pennsylvania, the chairman of the House Labor subcommittee that was handling the retraining legislation, did not like the Senate amendments.

So retraining became the first priority in the House for the 1962 session and was approved late in February by an overwhelming vote of 354 to 62. The vote indicated that the White House as well as the House leadership had been needlessly cautious the summer before.

Representative GOODELL, a Rpublican, proposed the amendments to the bill that assured its passage. "All GOODELL did was to steal our amendments," one of Senator CLARK's aids commented bitterly. But if the House leaders had been alert they would have realized that such amendments would have quickly pushed the legislation through the House in 1961.

A Senate-House conference committee promptly agreed on a 3-year, $435-million program that was expected to retrain more than 400,000 workers and also provide limited on-the-job training for another 250,000. The legislation confined youth-training expenditures to 5 percent of the program. It provided that youths be given only $20-a-week living allowances and be at least 19 years old to qualify for training.

When the bill finally got to the White House early in March, more than a year after it had first become part of the President's program, Mr. Kennedy hailed it as "perhaps the most significant legislation in the area of employment since the historic Employment Act of 1946." He promised to "move promptly and vigorously to launch this program." Goldberg called the law "a powerful new weapon to alleviate long-term unemployment."

However important the President may have considered the retraining program, it languished from March until late summer because the two most stubborn octogenarians on Capitol Hill, Senator CARL HAYDEN, Democrat, of Arizona, and Representative CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat, of Missouri, could not agree where their Appropriations Committee members should hold conferences to resolve differences between Senate and House bills. In midsummer a truce between HAYDEN and CANNON was finally arranged, appropriations bills began arriving at the White House, and early in August $70 million was provided for the first year of the retraining program. This is only enough money to retrain from 50,000 to 70,000 workers, which is far less than the first-year goal of 100,000 and not even one-sixth the number the President told the Nation were already being retrained.

George DeMartz, the former coal miner singled out by Mr. Kennedy, had done some welding before and learned advanced techniques under the small retraining program run by the Area Redevelopment Administration. Only some 12,000 persons have been enrolled in this depressed-areas program. Of the 2,300 who had completed their ARA courses by the end of this June, only 60 percent found jobs.

To be successful, of course, a retraining program must graduate workers into jobs. Under the limited ARA program, jobs have been easiest to find for welders and machine-tool operators. Other persons have been retrained as auto mechanics, machine operators, farm-equipment operators, and clerical workers.

The ARA program has been so limited that it will be at least a year before enough results will be in to indicate whether the new retraining program will help to reduce unemployment. But even if 70,000 men and women can be retrained by next June 30, this figure amounts to a tiny fraction of the nearly 4 million unemployed, 934,000 of whom have been out of work for at least 15 weeks and 593,000 of whom have been unemployed for 6 months or more. Surveys have shown that it is among these long-term unemployed that the need for retraining is greatest.

Advocates of retraining have been careful to warn that it is not a panacea for unemployment. The Labor Department and Health, Education, and Welfare Department officials who will jointly administer the new program are aware of the difficulties encountered by other retraining projects in persuading middle-aged men to go back to school. Some of these problems stem from the inability of the men to read and write well enough to be auto mechanics, television repairmen, or supermarket clerks. (There are no provisions for basic reading and writing courses in the new retraining program.)

Yet so much attention has now been focused on the program by the President's mistake in his August speech and by the administration's new determination to get courses under way quickly that the retraining expectations have been accordingly increased. The expectations may soon turn to resentment if the slow-starting program fails to live up to the administration's superlatives. Then the White House may have reason to consider some retraining for its speechwriters and for the strategist who so badly misread the mood of Congress last summer.

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## The Cuban Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, our good friend Art Hoppe has inserted the following four articles in the San Francisco Chronicle on September 2, 17, 6, and 7. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I hereby insert the abovementioned columns at this point:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 2, 1962]

WELL, THAT'S THE WAY IT GROWS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

That acute crisis in Cuba has grown like Topsy. Which is the way crises grow these days. In hopes you might care to know more of the way crises grow these days I've been studying the growth of this one. It's the darnedest thing you ever saw.

The seed was planted a week ago by "The Cuban Report—Information Direct from Communist Cuba," a periodical published in non-Communist Miami by Cuban refugees. Who understandably wouldn't mind a little action.

The report said 12,000 Soviet bloc troops and "heavy armament" were landing in Cuba, "a transcendental event that threatens the peace of the Western Hemisphere." To prove it, the report gave details. Like one whole garrison was "mainly from Russia, Red China, and South Africa." South Africa? That's very transcendental.

Our ace newsmen, deleting only the South Africans, happily retyped all this information direct from Miami, crediting "eyewitness reports." Banner headlines. As usual, editorials viewing with alarm. As usual Congress going out of its mind. As usual.

Senator LAUSCHE demanded an investigation. Senator YOUNG said the Russian troops were in Cuba to crush a revolt. No, said Senator LAUSCHE, they were in Cuba to invade Jamaica. It was quite an argument. Republican Campaign Chairman BOB WILSON said it was both and, whatever it was, it would be a major campaign issue. "It wouldn't have happened," said WILSON, "under Teddy Roosevelt." Which there is no denying.

Meanwhile, back at the old State Department, U.S. officials armed with all the U.S. official reports kept plaintively denying any Soviet troops had landed in Cuba. Those weren't 12,000 troops, they said, those were 5,000 civilian technicians. Nonsense. Which source are you going to trust, Washington or Miami?

Senator HOMER CAPEHART demanded we invade Cuba. Every conservative in the country said "bully," and began polishing up his cavalry saber.

What a crisis. It was the top issue at Mr. Kennedy's news conference. Okay, now, what was he going to do about these 12,000 Russian troops who had nefariously snuck into Cuba with who knows what evil intentions to * * *. What troops, said Mr. Kennedy. "We have no evidence of troops," said Mr. Kennedy. "I am not for invading Cuba," said Mr. Kennedy firmly. "At this time."

So that's how a crisis grows these days. It is planted by the hopeful, fertilized by the sensational, and nurtured by the righteous. I am proud Mr. Kennedy nipped it in the bud. It makes me feel better to be an American. I admire his steadfast courage and morality on this issue. At this time.

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[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept 9, 1962]

CAN OUR BOYS LICK THE AMERICANS?

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to another in the distinguished series of Nutshell Lectures, designed for busy people who wish to keep abreast of world affairs so they will know whom to root for. Today's lecture is "Our Military Aid Program in a Nutshell."

In a nutshell, our military aid program is perfectly understandable.

Currently, for example, we are making plans to increase our military aid to our friends, the Cambodians. So they can better shoot it out with our friends, the South Vietnamese. But it's perfectly understandable.

You see, our Cambodian friends and our South Vietnamese friends have been happily shooting each other up in border incidents for years. But we had to go and send South Vietnam $2 billion and 8,000 American troops to shoot up the Viet Cong guerrillas, who are the Bad Guys. And we only sent Cambodia a couple of hundred million or so. Because they were not fortunate enough to have a revolution on their hands.

Our South Vietnamese friends have naturally been pursuing the Viet Cong Bad Guys across the border into neighboring Cambodia. Unfortunately, their motto seems to be: "If you can't shoot a Viet Cong, pot yourself a neighbor." And underarmed Cambodia is naturally sore. They're demanding we equalize things a little. It's the least we can do for our friends.

It's perfectly understandable. The only problem arises with our troops. You see, our troops often accompany our South Vietnamese friends on their raids into Cambodia. And now if we send more American troops to our friends in Cambodia, then eventually.

Well, as the Associated Press puts it in a dispatch from the Cambodian capital:

"U.S. officials here do not discount the possibility that American servicemen might face other American servicemen in a border clash involving a Cambodian unit and Vietnamese forces."

As you can see, this would be perfectly understandable. But the question arises as to whom a loyal American should root for in such a battle: The Americans or the Americans?

The results may cause some confusion. The patriotic newspapers will announce: "Big Victory: Americans Clobber Americans." While the more sensational press will decry: "Terrible Defeat, Pentagon Shake-up Ordered."

Politicians will have an awful time castigating "the deviously cruel and pitiless enemy our boys in the trenches are facing." War bond rallies may well turn into riots and the producers of Hollywood war movies will go smack out of their minds.

But it's perfectly understandable. As long as we send guns and bullets overseas to help our friends shoot each other up, it's only logical we send them Americans to show them how to do it.

The only alternative is to knock off all military aid to our friends forthwith. We might mail the money to Russia instead. Russia could then send Russian troops to Cuba, Red China, Albania and so forth. Eventually, by the perfectly understandable laws of military aid programs, the Russians would exterminate themselves.

If our military aid program is good enough for our friends to put it in a nutshell, it's good enough for our enemies.

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[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 7, 1962]

FLORIDA, SI; MICHIGAN, NO

(By Arthur Hoppe)

The grave crisis in Cuba, which used to be a simmering crisis until it exploded into an alarming crisis, has now exploded once again into an alarming crisis, if not a perilous crisis, and thank goodness for my friend, Mr. Robert Hardin.

The crisis became alarming because Cuba today is, or is not, swarming with Russian troops. Many of our militant Congressmen, like Senator GOLDWATER, wish to invade Cuba immediately. Just in case. Mr. Kennedy says there are definitely no Russian troops in Cuba, but just let them try to start anything and we'll show them.

The heart of the Cuban crisis all along, of course, has been that we are bigger than they are. They can't invade us because they're too small. And we can't invade them because we're too big. We'd look like bullies. It would be immoral. So it's very frustrating.

That's where Mr. Hardin, an ace newsman, comes in. "What we do," he says, "is let Cuba fight it out with Florida. If we win, we win big." But what if we lose? "So," says Mr. Hardin with a shrug, "we blow a State."

It's a fine, fair idea Mr. Hardin has there, all right. If anything, it's a little too fair. There are 6,743,000 Cubans and only 4,951,000 Floridans.

Better odds for our side would be to sic Michigan on Cuba. We have more than 7 million Michiganders. But invasions either way would prove most difficult. Not to mention expensive, due to the high tolls on the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Besides, innocent States lying between might be severely damaged by artillery shells falling short.

Personally, I would prefer tossing Mississippi in the pot instead. It's handier to Cuba than Michigan. True, Mississippi's population is only 2.1 million and it would probably be captured in a week. But look at it this way: what have we got to lose?

Realistically, however, I suppose it must be Florida, because Florida is, when all is said and done, closer to Cuba than the United States. And we have to be practical, above all.

It's a question of anticommunism. Everybody says we have to be practical, above all, in world affairs because we are engaged in a cold war with an immoral enemy. And being moral would be a handicap.

So we have to be practical, above all, and support, arm, and protect dictators all over the world in order to save their people from being enslaved by dictators. Which is very practical. If not very moral.

Of course, some may argue that democracy, by its very nature, cannot be rammed down people's throats. It can be spread only by emulation and can exist only in a moral world. And that morality, therefore, is not our handicap, but our strength.

Thus I'm against the great big United States invading Cuba. It's immoral. But tiny little old Florida? That's moral. In fact, it's overly moral. I think we ought to let Arizona, say, in on Florida's side to equalize things. It would solve everything:

Go get 'em, Floridans. And take Senator GOLDWATER with you.

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[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 17, 1962]

ONE SNICKER, NIKITA, AND YOU'VE HAD IT

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Mr. Kennedy keeps telling us to remain calm over the Cuban situation. Communists in my life. What do they think we are? Squares?

I admit it took me some time to tumble to their little game. I think I first suspected what they were up to during the grave troubles in Laos when their Prince, who was supposed ot be a Communist, demanded everybody address him as "Your Royal Highness." These nagging suspicions grew in the Ruanda-Urundi crisis when the Russians backed a native tribe known as the Tutsis. But with Cuba, they've overplayed their hand.

Look at the facts: Somehow the false rumor is spreading that 12,000 Russian troops have landed. Cuban refugees in Miami retaliate by shelling a Havana night club and shooting up a British ship. Half of America wishes to invade Cuba to wipe out these nonexistent Russian troops. The Kremlin issues a grim statement saying this could mean WAR.

And then, way down at the bottom of the statement, the Russians say that, by the by, they've decided to postpone the Berlin crisis until after the November elections in the United States. Until after what? I can take a joke as well as the next. But this time they've gone too far.

Obviously, Kremlin foreign policy has fallen into the hands of a nefarious bunch of practical jokers. And they're getting carried away. As I see it, they probably meet daily over vodka martinis to lay their plots.

"Comrades," say their ringleader, Nikita Sergeyevich, "it's been pretty dull since the shoe bit at the U.N. But I got a great one. We'll start the rumor that we got—ho, ho, ho—12,000 troops in Cuba. Five rubles gets you 10 the Americans'll buy it. They'll believe anything these days." He slap his thigh and they all go off into peals of laughter.

A week goes by and the reports roll in. "Listen," says Nitika, spluttering. "They got so excited they shoot up a night club and a British ship. Maybe they'll declare WAR on England. Or the Diners' Club. Tell them they better not invade Cuba or our 12,000 troops will cream them. GOLDWATER will die of apoplexy." And they all guffaw like crazy.

"But what," says one, gasping for breath, "about Berlin?" Nikita ponders a moment. "I got it," he says, bursting with glee. "Tell them we won't start a nuclear WAR over Berlin until after their November elections." There are cries of "But that's too preposterous" and "Who'd believe that?"

"And in November," says Nikita, tears in his eyes, "we'll say we're postponing the holocaust until after the next Miss America pageant." It's too much. They all dissolve in hysterics and several of them, holding their sides, fall off their chairs to roll helplessly in the aisles.

A joke's a joke. But I don't think it's very funny. The panicky reaction of our Congressmen to the goings-on in tiny little Cuba has made this great Nation a laughing stock. And I'm getting pretty sick and tired of these Kremlin comedians goading us into all sorts of harebrained positions.

Keep calm? I demand we drop an ICBM on the Kremlin. Those pranksters will die laughing. And we should announce immediately that we're going to do it. Right after the Greater Smolensk Crape and Folk Art Festival.

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## The Constitution: A Living Document

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the document we revere as the Constitution of the United States is no ordinary scrap of paper with written inscription upon it. Long after all original member States of the Union have revised their own fundamental law at least once, the Constitution stands with but a few changes in its original makeup.

This week we honor as Constitution Week, for 175 years ago this past Monday, September 17, 39 members of the Constitutional Convention signed the ageless document.

As a timely tribute to the Constitution, I offer the following editorial from the September 17 edition of the Paterson News:

THEY BUILT WELL

It probably won't last more than 20 years, Washington WAS said to have predicted. James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution" no less, called it only "the best that could be obtained from the jarring interests of the States."

Rhode Island had failed to pick any delegates at all to the Convention that drew up the document in 100 days in Philadelphia. Nine of the 74 delegates selected from the other 12 States flatly refused to serve, 10 others didn't bother to show up. So the number actually at the Constitutional Convention WAS 55.

Only 39 of those 55 signed the Constitution 175 years ago today, the beginning of "Constitution Week." Some of the 16 nonsigners abstained because they had had to go home, but at least 7 because they were opposed to it—including George Mason, Edmund Randolph, Elbridge Gerry. Others who wanted the Constitution rejected were Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and over 45 percent of the delegates in the ratifying conventions of Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Virginia, and Rhode Island.

As every school child knows, or should know, the first 10 amendments, the Bill of Rights, are for all practical purposes part and parcel of the original Constitution. Much later one amendment was adopted simply to repeal that on prohibition. So

really only 10 lasting changes have been made in the Constitution an average of only one every 17 years.

Yet every one of the Thirteen Original States has completely replaced its original Constitution at least once. And as a sign of the veneration today for the document that was damned with faint praise 175 years ago, the bitterest opponents of racial integration in public schools don't blame it on the Constitution but on the Supreme Court for allegedly distorting the Constitution.

In forwarding the amendments to the States, September 25, 1789, Congress recommended their adoption in the belief that "extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best insure the beneficient ends of its institution." The rights guaranteed by the amendments became part of the fundamental law on December 15, 1791.

The Constitution's protections of civil rights are not limited to those set forth in the Bill of Rights amendments. The Constitution itself insured the individual rights of habeas corpus and jury trial, and forbade convictions under ex post facto law. It prohibited religious discrimination in qualifications for Federal office and sought to promote equality through provisions which prohibit titles of nobility and require uniformity of taxation. Safeguards against reckless charges of treason were provided by a specific definition of that crime and special legal requirements for conviction.

The American Constitution is the oldest written document of that sort now in force anywhere in the world. The fact that it has served for the better part of two centuries with a minimum of change is testimony to the wisdom of its authors and to the skill of jurists who have found ways to adjust its requirements to modern needs.

Even in these days of turbulence, dissension and rancor, the basic commonsense of the document is still sound. What is needed is adherence to its tenets and perhaps less of personalized interpretation.

## Attorney Fees in Connection With the Litigation of Social Security Cases Before the Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been concerned as to the rights of applicants for social security benefits in proceedings before the district courts of the United States. This concern comes from a generally expressed opinion by members of the legal profession with reference to adequacy of compensation allowable to counsel for these applicants which has resulted in attorneys avoiding such cases. The inescapable result of this attitude of the profession has been to deny to many worthy people an opportunity to have their cases adjudicated once the Appeals Council of the Social Security Administration has denied the claim.

Every applicant who is dissatisfied with the administrative decision in his case has a right to take his case to the district court for determination. At that stage of the proceedings it is absolutely necessary that he have competent legal counsel. Under our system of jurisprudence these are deemed to be elemental propositions.

Due to my concern for the many social security applicants I wrote to former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff, on July 9, 1962, requesting a formal opinion on this important subject. Due to the retirement of Secretary Ribicoff an answer was not forthcoming. On August 29, 1962, I addressed the same request to the present Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Hon. Anthony J. Celebrezze. Under date of September 19, 1962, Secretary Celebrezze, gave me his reply, together with a written report on the subject prepared by Hon. Robert M. Ball, Commissioner of Social Security, and a copy of Bulletin OASI 856, dated March 1962.

It is apparent from data provided by Secretary Celebrezze and his associates that the opinion generally held that attorneys in social security cases before the Federal Courts are limited to a fee of $10 per case is completely in error. I believe that the dissemination of the correct information on this subject will be of tremendous value to many hundreds of social security claimants who may lose their benefits by reason of their difficulty in employing competent legal counsel if the misapprehension as to the law is not removed. I, therefore, insert under unanimous consent, my letter of July 9, 1962, to Secretary Ribicoff, the replying letter of Secretary Celebrezze, the report of Commissioner Ball, and Bulletin OASI 856 be made a part of the RECORD of today.

In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, these data will be of great interest to many of our citizens. I express the hope that the public interest will be served through this interest.

The letters, report, and bulletin follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., July 9, 1962.*

Hon. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF,
*Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have been quite concerned for some time about the inability of claimants for social security benefits under the disability provisions of the law being able to litigate their claims before the Federal district courts.

This concern arises out of my observation that members of the bar are reluctant to represent claimants in the courts because of what they believe to be drastic limitations upon the compensation available to attorneys in such cases. Just last week in discussing it with one lawyer in my district he expressed the view that an attorney was limited to a $10 fee in an action brought to recover such benefits under the Social Security Act.

Since this is a matter of great concern to me and to many of our people who have claims under the Social Security Act, I would appreciate your advising me as to whether you know of any limitation upon compensation available to attorneys in such cases.

I am aware of the statutory authority of the Secretary to limit fees paid to attorneys for appearances in such cases at the departmental level, and this inquiry is, therefore, confined to the question of attorneys' compensation in judicial proceedings before the courts.

I will greatly appreciate a prompt relpy to this communication.

Sincerely yours,
BASIL L. WHITENER,
*Member of Congress.*

SECRETARY OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
*Washington, September 19, 1962.*

Hon. BASIL L. WHITENER,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. WHITENER: This is in reply to your letter of July 9 to Mr. Abraham A. Ribicoff and your letter to me of August 29, concerning attorney fees in connection with the litigation of social security cases before the courts.

Your letters were referred to Mr. Robert M. Ball, Commissioner of Social Security. Enclosed are two copies of his report on this matter.

Sincerely yours,
ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE,
*Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION REGARDING THE INQUIRY FROM REPRESENTATIVE BASIL L. WHITENER

Mr. WHITENER expresses concern about the inability of claimants for social security benefits under the disability provisions of the law to litigate their claims before the Federal district courts. This concern arises out of his observation that members of the bar are reluctant to represent claimants before the courts because of what they believe to be drastic limitations upon the compensation available to attorneys in such cases. In a recent discussion one lawyer expressed to him the view that an attorney was limited to a $10 fee in an action brought to recover such benefits under the Social Security Act.

Mr. WHITENER mentions that he is aware of the statutory authority of the Secretary to prescribe the maximum fee which an attorney may charge for servies performed in connection with a claim before the Social Security Administration. His inquiry, therefore, concerns principally the question of whether or not the Secretary also may prescribe the maximum fee which an attorney may charge for services performed in a court case.

When the Social Security Administration regulations on representation of parties were amended, effective April 26, 1960, there was included section 404.974 (20 C.F.R. 404.974) which clearly provides that services rendered by any representative in connection with any State or Federal court proceeding are not services before the Social Security Administration. Therefore, the Social Security Administration regulations governing fees for services in a social security matter do not apply to fees charged by attorneys for services rendered in a court proceeding.

With respect to the attorney's view that the fee was limited to $10 in an action brought to recover social security benefits, it is possible that he gained that impression from the amount set out in the regulations, prior to their amendment, as the amount any attorney could charge without prior approval. This $10 figure was never, however, an absolute limitation on the amount of the fee an attorney could charge his client for services before the Administration on a claim for benefits. The regulations of the Administration, even prior to their amendment, allowed an attorney, as they do now, upon petition therefor to the Administration and good cause shown, to charge and receive fees in keeping with the nature and value of his services on a claim, and our records indicate that in many instances attorneys have been allowed substantial fees for their services on claims for benefits. Moreover, the $10 figure to which the attorney referred is no longer

in effect. Section 404.976 of Regulations No. 4, 20 C.F.R. 404.976, provides that an attorney may charge, without obtaining prior approval therefor, $20 for services before the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance; $30 before a hearing examiner, and/or the Appeals Council only; or $50 before the Bureal and a hearing examiner and/or the Appeals Council.

Over the years we have, through various mediums, disseminated information with respect to the right to representation and the charging of fees under the law and regulations. The Social Security Administration pamphlet, "Right to Representation," is furnished a claimant, and his attorney, or other representative, by the local social security district office when it is learned that the claimant has, plans to have, or inquires about having, a representative to assist in the prosecution of his claim. This pamphlet mentions that a representative's services performed before a State or Federal court are not subject to the fee provision in the Social Security Administration regulations. It also sets forth the requirements for approval of a representative's fee for services performed in a social security matter before the Social Security Administration.

ROBERT M. BALL,
*Commissioner.*

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RIGHT TO REPRESENTATION

You have the right to be represented by a person of your choice in any business you might have with the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance or the Office of Hearings and Appeals.

This does not mean that you will need a representative. Most people handle their social security affairs with the help of the people in the social security office.

If you wish to be represented, the people in your social security office will be glad to work with your representative just as they would work with you.

This leaflet explains your right to be represented and gives additional information which might be helpful to you and your representative.

Who may represent you? You may be represented by an attorney or other qualified person of your choice. A corporation or organization cannot be recognized as your representative, but an employee of one may if he acts in an individual capacity.

How do you designate a representative? An attorney may act as your representative without written appointment, although a written statement may be requested to make the record complete. If you want to be represented by someone who is not an attorney, his appointment and acceptance must be in writing. A form for this purpose may be obtained at your local social security office.

What can your representative do? When you appoint a representative, he may act for you generally on social security matters except for signing the claims application. He may request a reconsideration, hearing, or Appeals Council review. Any notice or request sent to your representative has the same effect as if sent to you. A copy of any determination or decision made in your case will be sent to your representative.

A representative's authority generally ends when final action is taken in your case or when you request it.

How much can a representative charge you? Under regulations established by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, an attorney without prior approval of the Social Security Administration may charge you a fee which may be no more than: (1) $20 for representation before the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance only; (2) $30 for representation before a hearing examiner or the Appeals Council of the Social Security Administration or both, and; (3) $50 for representation before the Bureau and a hearing examiner and/or the Appeals Council.

An attorney who wishes to charge a higher fee must secure the approval of the Social Security Administration.

A representative who is not an attorney may not charge or receive any fee for his services in a social security matter without prior approval of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, a hearing examiner, or the Appeals Council.

The Social Security Administration, when asked, may approve the charging of a fee. Any fee approved will compensate the representative for his services and yet be consistent with the purposes of the social security program—one of which is to give a measure of security to the aged, the disabled and widows and children.

The fee provision applies to any services performed regarding social security matters, including the advising and assisting of claimants in the representative's office, home, etc., even though the representative does not personally contact a social security office or employee. A representative's services performed in a proceeding before a State or Federal court are not subject to the fee provisions.

What is required for approval of a fee? To secure any needed approval of the amount of a fee for services performed in connection with a social security matter, the representative should submit a written request to the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, the hearing examiner or the Appeals Council, which ever last handled the claim. The request should show the services performed, the date his services began and ended (if ended), the nature of the services, the type of each service, the time spent on each, and the amount of the fee he wishes to charge. If the representative is asking reimbursement for expenses, his request should list and describe each item of expense. When the fee applies both to services in a social security and a nonsocial security matter, the request should explain and state the amount of the fee that is for each of those services.

Who cannot act as a representative? A person may not act as a representative if he has been disqualified or suspended from representing claimants before the Social Security Administration. Such action may be taken where a representative has participated in a fraud against the Social Security Administration, charged an unauthorized fee, or violated any other penal provision of the Social Security Act. Also sections 281, 283, and 284 of title 18 of the United States Code make it a criminal offense for certain employees and former employees of the United States to render the Government or to aid or assist in the prosecution of claims against the United States.

Criminal prosecution: A representative who charges or collects an unauthorized fee may be subject to prosecution under the penal provision of section 206 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 406), which provides that such individual, upon conviction thereof, shall for each offense be punished by a fine not exceeding $500, or by imprisonment not exceeding 1 year, or both.

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## J. L. Sims, Times & Democrat Publisher, Dies

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on September 14, 1962, South Carolina lost one of its most distinguished citizens and the journalism profession lost one of its best newspapermen when Mr. James Loyal Sims passed away. Mr. Sims was publisher of the Times & Democrat of Orangeburg, S.C., and served as president of the Sims Publishing Co., president of radio station WTND and president of Orangeburg Theaters, Inc.

Mr. Sims was a very respected leader of the newspaper profession and was greatly admired and beloved in his community.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorial comments on Mr. Sims' passing from the following newspapers: The State, of Columbia, S.C., of September 19, the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., of September 18, and the News & Courier, of Charleston, S.C., of September 16, and also an article from the September 15, 1962, issue of the Times & Democrat.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Sept. 19, 1962]

J. L. SIMS

The death of J. L. Sims was a loss to the daily press of South Carolina. He had lived a brave and productive life. Even while in a long struggle with disease, he retained a spirit that helped build the Orangeburg Times & Democrat into a strong and serviceable instrument. Orangeburg and the daily press will miss him and the qualities which endeared him to his colleagues.

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[From the Columbia (S.C.) Record, Sept. 18, 1962]

DEATH WAS NOT A STRANGER

Death was no stranger to J. L. Sims. He lived in its shadow for more than half his years.

From his student days at 21 until his passing last week at the age of 48, he was the victim of cancer.

Life was a series of reprieves and he valued it more highly than ordinary men. He saw each day as a special gift. Each respite was a time of opportunity "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

He kept his work before him. Even the last day before his final coma was spent busily at his desk.

Possessing infectious enthusiasm and joie de vivre, he had an abounding interest in the opportunities and privileges of life.

He was a man of many attainments and several vocations, not the least of which was the executive leadership of the Orangeburg Times & Democrat.

The newspaper fraternity of South Carolina was honored to claim him as a fellow member of the fourth estate and was enriched by his cooperation, example, and counsel.

His career was marked by friendliness, kindness, and brotherhood.

He gave death no easy victory.

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[From the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, Sept. 16, 1962]

J. L. SIMS

In the death of J. L. Sims at the age of 48, Orangeburg has lost a prominent citizen and South Carolina journalism has been deprived of an active leader.

Taking over as publisher of the Orangeburg Times & Democrat after his father's illness, Mr. Sims soon gained prominence in the newspaper business. He held high offices in the South Carolina Press Association and pioneered in the South Carolina Associated

Press News Council. Though afflicted with a grave illness while a student at the University of South Carolina, he played a leading role in the business and civic life of Orangeburg. Mr. Sims came of a family that has made many contributions to the State, and in his span of life he compiled a solid record of achievement.

The News & Courier joins with his many friends around the State in expressing profound sorrow at the death of this prominent citizen of South Carolina.

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[From the Orangeburg (S.C.) Times & Democrat, Sept. 15, 1962]

J. L. SIMS, TIMES & DEMOCRAT PUBLISHER, DIES—FUNERAL RITES TODAY AT 5 P.M.

James Loyal Sims, 48, publisher of the Times & Democrat and president of the Sims Publishing Co., died in the Orangeburg Regional Hospital Friday at 3 p.m. after an extended illness.

Funeral services will be conducted Saturday at 5 p.m. at St. Paul's Methodist Church, of which he was a member. The pastor, the Reverend Ted E. Jones, will officiate, assisted by the Reverend Thomas S. Tisdale and the Reverend Dr. Carl B. Caughman. Burial will be in Sunnyside Cemetery.

Death did not come unexpectedly to Mr. Sims. Afflicted with cancer while a student at the University of South Carolina, the condition had slowly, but progressively, grown worse and for the last 2 years he had submitted to an increasing number of surgical operations. Every treatment known to medical science was given, but in vain.

"J. L." as he preferred to be known to his friends—and he had no known enemies—was born in Orangeburg, February 15, 1914, a son of the late James Izlar Sims and Mrs. Isabelle Wannamaker Sims. He attended the Orangeburg public schools and, despite his small size and lack of weight, was an outstanding football player and took part in other student activities at the Orangeburg High School.

He later attended the University of South Carolina where he studied business administration and journalism. While there he was a member of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon social fraternity.

He immediately became associated with the Times & Democrat, a newspaper founded by his grandfather, the late James Loyal Sims, for whom he was named, in 1876. He and his father, the late J. Izlar Sims, were the only three of the newspaper's publishers in its 86-year-old history.

His association with the newspaper came at a time when Orangeburg was in the midst of the depression in the 1930's, when at the age of 19 he joined the circulation staff.

Under Mr. Sims' aggressive leadership the newspaper experienced a tremendous circulation hike within a short period of time. He expanded the Times & Democrat's distribution area over Orangeburg, Calhoun and Bamberg Counties and into parts of Dorchester, Lexington, Clarendon, and Aiken Counties.

By 1936, the Times & Democrat's growth warranted a move into the daily newspaper field—prior to that it was a triweekly—and began publishing on June 13, 1936, every day but Sunday and Monday. Later he carried the paper to even greater heights—six-day and finally full-week publication.

From the day he moved into the circulation department, the Times & Democrat became one of the greatest interests of his life. The other was his family. Progressing slowly through the circulation, advertising, mechanical, and editorial departments of the paper, he became thoroughly conversant with all phases of its operation.

In the mechanical field, his aptitude was unusual. He was able to determine the reasons for failure of the complicated linotype machines, the rotary press, and had a thorough knowledge of all the functions and operations of all other typesetting and stereotyping equipment in the newspaper's composing rooms.

In the editorial department, he was a writer of unusual ability and, through his hobby of photography, was one of, if not the first, publisher to push, and actively take part in, photojournalism in the South.

Through his keen interest in things mechanical, he was the first publisher in South Carolina to install typesetting machines for use in setting type mechanically from punched tape—a procedure that is followed to this date in the Times & Democrat's composing room.

In this connection, he and his late father encouraged and supported an out-of-State company which serviced other newspapers with prepunched tape of syndicated articles and features which have found wide use all over the Nation.

And it was through the teletypesetter installations in the Times & Democrat office that a team of girls from the News & Courier in Charleston were trained to punch type at a time when that paper faced a renegotiation of a union contract and a strike, or walkout, was feared there.

Further indication of his long-range planning was the installation of a photoengraving machine in the Times & Democrat office, the first for medium-sized dailies in South Carolina, and it is believed, one of the first in the South.

It was not until 1947, when his father suffered the first of a series of heart attacks to which he finally succumbed August 14, 1957, that J.L. became publisher of the paper, his father becoming president of the Sims Publishing Co., Inc.

It was after that, that the two became instrumental in the establishment in Orangeburg of Paintset Fashions Inc., a garment manufacturing plant which has become Southwide although no factory now exists in Orangeburg.

They also became interested in the sale and erection of Gunnison Homes, one of the first of the prefabricated dwellings to be offered on the national market. Some 25 were built in Orangeburg.

His interest in journalism was not confined to Orangeburg. He held many high offices in the South Carolina Press Association since its organization and had missed few of its meetings. He also attended the annual meetings of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, and pioneered in the South Carolina Associated Press News Council.

It was only a few years ago that J.L. began to turn his interests more strongly to the business end of the newspaper. But even then, employees would find him seated in his office into the early hours of the morning discussing photography, current events in the city, county, State, Nation, and over the world.

In his relationships with those who worked with and under him, he was kindly and understanding. He had a great compassion for the physically and otherwise handicapped and gave many job opportunities to such people.

A man of infinite patience, it was his wont to give anyone the benefit of the doubt, often overlooking occasional failures on assurance of readjustments. But he was also an intensely loyal man and had little patience with those of whose disloyalty he felt assured.

With the Times & Democrat by far his greatest business interest, "J. L." also had other business connections. He was also president of Radio Station WTND and of Orangeburg Theatres Inc., which operates the Edisto Theatre. He and his two brothers-in-law, Dr. James H. Gressette and Dr. John B. Rembert, were owners of Edisto Homes Inc., operating a number of duplex apartment houses in Orangeburg off the Columbia Road.

He evidenced a keen interest in the Masonic Order, having the unusual distinction of being a Master Mason, a Scottish Rite Mason, a York Rite Mason and of the Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. He was a member of the Edisto Shrine Club, and was one of those instrumental in obtaining its clubhouse on U.S. Highway 301, north. He was also a former member of the Rotary Club and a member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

He married the former Miss Alice Culler, of Orangeburg, who survives along with two daughters, Miss Alice Culler Sims, a student at Converse College in Spartanburg, and Miss Georgia Sheridan Sims, 9, of the residence; two sisters, Mrs. James H. (Mary) Gressette and Mrs. John B. (Cherry) Rembert, both of Orangeburg; his mother, Mrs. James Izlar Sims of Orangeburg.

And, two uncles, Rear Adm. Gelzer L. Sims, U.S. Navy, retired, of Orangeburg, and Henry R. Sims, of Rock Hill, a former president of Winthrop College; three aunts, Mrs. Julian S. Smith, of Alexandria, Va., Mrs. Willie Lew Griffith, Miss Georgia Sims and Mrs. Alma Cherry, all of Orangeburg, and Mrs. Lois Wannamaker Pettit of West Palm Beach, Fla.; and eight cousins, Edward H. Sims, editor of the Times & Democrat now on leave of absence in Germany, Hugh S. Sims and Henry R. Sims, II, acting editors, both of Orangeburg, Lt. Gelzer L. Sims, Jr., of the U.S. Navy, Mrs. Charles Marshall, of Lancaster, Mrs. Georgiana St. Amand, of the University of Mississippi at Jackson, Mrs. Annette Griffin Parker, of West Palm Beach, Fla., and Bill Griffin, of Palm Beach, Fla.

Pallbearers will be Fred H. Carr, Dean B. Livingston, Herman T. Bass, Thomas O. Crowell, T. Edward Hall, Ray Linn, L. Richard Rhame and Larry Styles.

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## Overdue Safeguards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an important article by Josephine Ripley which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of August 24. This article outlines the desperate need for the passage by the Congress of the drug legislation proposed by Senator KEFAUVER. As the article points out, the tragic thalidomide case merely highlighted the necessity for legislation—a necessity which, as Senator KEFAUVER has shown, has existed for a long time. I hope that my colleagues will read the following article and that the drug bill will be passed without delay:

OVERDUE SAFEGUARDS

(By Josephine Ripley)

The very fact that Congress is now speeding legislation to impose new and stronger curbs on the sale and distribution of drugs is in itself an indication that something needs to be done.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, has been saying this for more than 2 years. He has brought out in long and searching hearings the fact that many drugs on the market today are overpriced and oversold.

But in trying to force down the price of drugs and promote greater honesty in their

sale, he was up against some powerful adversaries.

Comparatively little might have come of his efforts, or even the President's appeal for more stringent drug regulations, had it not been for the thalidomide scare which shocked the public into sudden awareness of the extent and extremes of drug promotion.

Few people realized until then the fact that new drugs are eventually tested on human beings before they are approved for sale.

The effect of a drug on humans is a part of the necessary record submitted to the Food and Drug Administration when the product is up for approval.

A Massachusetts physician, Dr. Chester S. Keefer, Wade professor of medicine at Boston University School of Medicine, and senior member of the Evans Memorial Department of Clinical Research and Preventive Medicine at Massachusetts Memorial Hospitals, recently told a congressional committee that "there is no substitute for the trial of drugs in man," no matter how many animal tests may precede it.

He went on to state that "medicine is at best an uncertain science. There is no way of putting a new drug application through a computer and knowing what adverse side effects may occur."

One question which has arisen in this respect and put to witnesses by legislators is: Should a person be told by his physician that he is being given an experimental drug?

Most have responded in the negative, saying the decision should be left to the physician. It is considered unlikely that the Federal Government will step in and insist upon such disclosure.

But there are many areas in which it does intend to exert greater control, if Congress passes pending legislation.

For instance, the Government wants to make sure that physicians are fully warned of the side effects of new drugs. In the Kefauver hearings, evidence was produced to show that some drug companies in their eagerness to promote the use of a new drug by physicians played down possible serious side effects in the interest of playing up the drug.

In one case, the FDA had instructed the company to put the warning at the head of circulars to physicians descriptive of the drug. Instead, the drug was extolled at length, while the possible side effect, found, and even fatal in some cases, was brushed off in a sentence at the end.

The Government also wants authority to remove a drug from the market immediately if there is reason to feel it is a hazard to public health. Representatives of the drug industry are objecting.

They contend the Government already has such authority. However, it may only do so, under present law, after hearings have been held, or a court injunction ordered. Hearings are timetaking, and to obtain a court injunction there must be specific evidence, such as that in the thalidomide case, to warrant court action.

The Government also wants an extension of time in which to consider a new drug application. FDA now has 60 days in which to register objection before a new drug automatically goes on sale. The industry indicates it will go along with some extension of time, to 90 days, but not up to 180 days or more.

The Government is asking for more authority to examine the manufacturer's investigatory records with respect to drugs, and authority to make certain it is produced under sanitary conditions.

These and numerous other regulations for greater public protection are set forth in the Kefauver bill just passed by the Senate.

The House has just begun hearings on two bills, one relating to drugs, the other to cosmetics. While other bills have been introduced, these two represent the wishes of the administration and are now under consideration.

The bill dealing with cosmetics requires that all cosmetics should be pretested for safety before they are put on the market. It would also repeal the exemption of hair dyes which at present are not subject to tests like other coal tar dyes.

All this is considered needed and long overdue legislation. And except for the "recent unpleasant situation," as one drug industry representative called it, these bills in all probability would not have made much in the way of headlines or progress.

## Assembly of Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most capable Members of the House of Representatives, and I assure you one of the most capable members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, gave an address at the plenary meeting of the Assembly of Captive European Nations in New York. His address is of note and I feel that all should read it with care.

He emphasizes the grave mistake of Hungary. This mistake was reported by my committee in this manner:

The Hungarian revolution which broke out October 23 was catastrophic in nature and caught the free world totally unprepared.

In this address he referred to one of the reports made by the Subcommittee on Europe of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I am the chairman of this Subcommittee on Europe and at the time the report was written, I was fortunate to have the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] as a member of my committee.

He was a member of the special study mission to Europe following the Hungarian revolution which was the subject of the study mission's report. His contribution to the study mission is now equalled by his reports on Cuba and the enormous problems involved in the Communist takeover with the assistance of Fidel Castro, of these peoples by the leaders of the Kremlin.

I regret that the aggression and seizure of the peoples of eastern Europe was not a lesson and forewarning to us and to the nations of the Western Hemisphere in meeting the subversion of Cuba by the U.S.S.R.

We must meet the problem of Cuba with calm deliberation. I regretted the day President Eisenhower withdrew recognition of Cuba. Recognition has not been withdrawn from other Communist controlled nations and by not withdrawing recognition, a nation can always maintain a foothold in a country by maintaining an embassy, even though small.

I know my colleague, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN], will help to keep the spark of liberty alive in the hearts of the peoples of the captive nations throughout the world and I hope we will all see the day when we will again see them a free people.

I am happy to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address of our colleague, the Honorable ARMISTEAD SELDEN:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE ARMISTEAD SELDEN AT PLENARY MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT INTERNATIONAL CENTER, NEW YORK CITY, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1962

Five years ago, following the Hungarian Revolution, the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs undertook a special study mission. In Paris, Vienna, Munich, Bonn, London, Warsaw, and Belgrade, members of the subcommittee sought to determine the effect of U.S. policy toward Soviet satellite nations, in the wake of the massacre of Budapest.

As a member of the subcommittee I learned firsthand, from Hungarian refugees, the grim results of the failure of the United States and the free world to meet the challenge of Budapest.

Five years have passed since our subcommittee, in its report to the Congress, said:

"The forces of communism are committed to making colonies of all nations by any means available, with no recognition of any standard except that might makes right. In any consideration of policy, it must be remembered that peace will not be secured by any evidence of weakness in the free world's struggle against Soviet power and Soviet propaganda.

"The survival of Western civilization," said the 1957 subcommittee report, "depends on the influence exercised by the United States, not alone upon the nations which are free today, but, more important, upon those nations which yearn for freedom now—the satellite nations. We have reached a turning point in history where, unless we formulate and implement policies of action, courageously and firmly executed, scholars might someday read the history of the decay of Western civilization under faltering U.S. leadership."

As a member of that subcommittee and as a Member of Congress, as well as an American concerned about the future of freemen and men who would be free, I regret to say that these words are as true today as they were in 1957.

Indeed, the subcommittee report has proven prophetic—tragically so.

Today, Soviet power subjugates not only the people of Eastern and Central Europe, but the people of a nation a mere 90 miles from the shores of the power center of the free world.

Today, Soviet propaganda works unceasingly to corrode not only the will of captive nations, but the power and will of free nations as well.

Today, the Soviet threat to the survival of civilization is greater than ever before in history.

This is not alarmist talk. It is not defeatist talk. It is simple historical truth, and to ignore it is to compound the errors of the past. For the bitter fact is that during the half-decade which has elapsed since Budapest, time has worked against the free world.

Yet I submit that the reason for this weakening of the free-world position is not that which Soviet propaganda and dogma would have us believe. Our power has not receded because the march of communism is inexorable, but because we did not learn the lesson of Budapest.

In short, the history of the cold war since 1957 is not so much that of Communist success as of free world failure—let me quote again from the subcommittee report—to

"formulate and implement policies of action, courageously and firmly executed."

Incredibly, there remain policymakers in the free world who still cling to illusions regarding the true nature of Soviet imperialism. These people continue to urge on the free world a policy based on their illusions—a policy not of action, but of inaction.

We therefore have witnessed in the past 5 years the emergence of a cold war policy which denies the existence of the cold war, the so-called policy of coexistence.

"Coexistence," "accommodation," "relaxation of tensions"—these are the current words and phrases of the free world's diplomatic vocabulary this autumn of 1962. They are words which gloss over the essential truth of the world in which we live today.

The value of the Assembly of Captive European Nations lies in your continuing efforts to cut through these illusory words and phrases—to lay bare for the people of the free world the grim realities of Soviet power.

Your organization is not simply a symbol of hope for the captive peoples. It is also an instructor and guide for the people, as well as the policymakers, of the free world.

This assembly understands, from the harsh experience of recent history, that Soviet communism allows for only one kind of coexistence, the coexistence known by the captive peoples of Russian imperialism.

This assembly knows, from the cruel lessons inflicted upon your nations and your compatriots, that Soviet communism permits only one form of accommodation—the accommodation forced upon captive peoples by Russian brutality and deceit.

And this assembly can see through the cloud of illusion to reject the foolish and dangerous notion that there can be any true relaxation of tensions in a world half slave to the Kremlin.

No, the cold war continues relentlessly, and those who counsel coexistence, accommodation, and relaxation of tensions do not understand our adversary. As a strategy for survival of our civilization, any policy based on such illusions must fail. It can only hasten a time when, and I quote again from the subcommittee report of 1957, when "scholars might someday read the history of the decay of Western civilization under faltering U.S. leadership."

As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, I am especially aware of the free world's failure during the past half decade to learn the lesson of Budapest. For during this period we have seen the arm of Soviet imperialism extend, from the bloody streets of Budapest to the bloody prisons of Fidel Castro's Cuba.

From Kadar to Castro—from the enslavement of Eastern and Central Europe to the enslavement of a people neighboring the United States—that is the tragic summary of our failure to act, courageously and firmly, against Soviet aggression.

Cuba today is a captive nation in every sense. All the implements and apparatus which enforce Soviet domination of Central and Eastern Europe, including Russian military personnel and equipment, are today present on that island.

But while the American people are immediately concerned about the Soviet threat in Cuba, and while our attention is focused there, it would be well to trace the policy steps leading to this crisis of the Western Hemisphere.

In my opinion, the free world's failure to formulate a purposeful and sustained policy concerning the captive nations of Europe is a direct cause leading to the establishment of the first captive nation in the Western Hemisphere. A policy which grants and permits the Soviet Union's subversion and overthrow of legitimate governments in Europe has resulted in the Kremlin's challenging the United States on our own frontier.

This course of events is really not surprising. For although there are those policymakers in the free world who think in terms of so-called spheres of influence, the Communists neither know nor respect any limitation on their world aspirations.

"The forces of communism," declared our congressional report 5 years ago, "are committed to making colonies of all nations by any means available, with no recognition of any standard except that might makes right."

Predictably, when the free world assures the Communists that they need fear nothing from us in their own so-called sphere, the Communists intensify their efforts to extend that sphere. Their goal remains world domination, nothing less.

In 1956, when Khrushchev declared "hands off Hungary," the West accommodated. We heard much expert talk then about so-called spheres of influence and the alleged political and military realities of Eastern and Central Europe. The result is that today the Soviet dictator is emboldened to tell us, in the same strident tone, "hands off Cuba."

Where now are the experts who ceded the freedom of 100 million Europeans on the basis of their inhabiting areas within the so-called Soviet "sphere"? Surely these authorities must now recognize that Soviet imprialism is not satisfied by concessions, nor is it derived from or limited by geography.

Cuba, we may be assured, is not a Soviet satellite because of its geographical proximity to the Soviet Union. I submit that the same can be said for the captive nations of Europe. Subversion, force, denial of the right to self-determination, these are the political and military realities which support Soviet domination over Budapest and Havana.

The point is clear, if only our experts will see it. The nations of Eastern and central Europe are not Communist-dominated because of political inevitability, but because the forces of Soviet tyranny have been permitted a free hand by vacillating and indecisive Western policies.

If we begin by accommodating ourselves to Rusian domination in Eastern and central Europe, we inevitably must end by accommodating ourselves, whether we like it or not, to this same domination in the Western Hemisphere.

But this the people of the United States, who bear the greatest share of responsibility for free world policy, will never permit. And that is why I am hopeful that we may yet learn from Havana the lesson of Budapest.

Let us hope that these points are now brought home, to our policy framers as well as our people.

First, that we cannot cede or abandon any people or nation anywhere to Soviet tyranny, but must hold as a tenet of our world policy and faith the ultimate self-determination of all peoples.

To believe or to act otherwise is not simply immoral—it is irresponsible to the interests of Western civilization.

Second, that Communist ambition is global in scope and must be met by global counterstrategy.

Our failure has been that we continue to meet the Communists on cold war battlefields, within the bounds and upon the terms which their interests dictate. Berlin, Vietnam, Cuba, these are the stakes in the world struggle today. Significantly, they are all Western stakes.

A global counterstrategy for the West would mean that Khrushchev would not be given a free hand to pick and choose pressure points convenient only to the Soviet timetable. The vulnerable segments of the Soviet empire can and should be targets for Western political strategy.

Third, that we take the lead in extending the meaning of anticolonialism to include the nations of eastern and central Europe, as well as those in other parts of the world.

If the principle of self-determination means anything, it must be universal and unqualified. Our policymakers speak of taking the lead in the so-called revolution of rising expectations. Let us not overlook the expectations and hopes of the suffering peoples of eastern and central Europe, and let us not forget the brutal suppression of their revolutionary goals.

Here the United Nations faces one of its longstanding challenges, a challenge that cannot be evaded. For the repression of the European captive nations cannot be ignored by the United Nations if its pronouncements concerning self-determination are to be taken seriously.

Self-determination of peoples and nations is not subject to two definitions, one for the underdeveloped parts of the world and the other for Soviet captive peoples and nations. Let the moral finger of the United Nations point accusingly at Communist repression—and let the free world exert its influence in the United Nations toward that end.

Lastly, let the lesson be learned that the greatest hope for world peace and the security of the free world lies in carrying the cold war battle to the enemy—in extending the boundaries of freedom. Communism and Soviet imperialism will not recede or soften or mellow of its own accord. History shows that only the unremitting pressure of freemen, and men who would be free, can subdue tyranny.

Can we then look ahead to "policies of action, courageously and firmly executed?" We may hope that the swift pace of events in this hemisphere in recent weeks may spur courageous and firm action. Two years ago, almost to the day—on September 28, 1960—a program for such action was put forward in simple and direct language.

"I am tired of reading what Khrushchev is doing," said John F. Kennedy to an audience at Erie, Pa. "I would like the people of the world to be reading what the American President is doing, and what the United States is doing, not merely what Castro is doing or Khrushchev is doing or Kadar or Gomulka is doing."

These words of a man who is now President of the leading Nation of the free world reflect the feeling of the people of the United States and of anti-Communist lovers of freedom everywhere.

The time is overdue for this country and its Allies to be up and doing. We must seize the initiative in the cold war through policies aimed at the ultimate elimination of Soviet imperialism—not only in the Western Hemisphere, but throughout the globe.

We live for a day when there need be no assembly of captive European nations. Only, however, when the lesson of Budapest and of Havana is truly learned by freemen—and acted upon by the forces of freedom—can we be assured that this day will come.

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## Anthony J. Celebrezze: An Excellent Appointment

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in selecting Anthony J. Celebrezze as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, President Kennedy has added another truly

outstanding member to his official family.

Mr. Celebrezze brings to his new position the sort of proven talent and character that are at once so difficult to find and so absolutely essential for the direction of one of the Government's most complex and important Departments.

Rarely has an appointment been greeted with such universal applause—and deservedly so. Members of both parties and new mediums espousing many shades of political opinion have been united in their enthusiastic support of this choice.

Mr. Celebrezze comes to the Federal Government from the position of mayor of Cleveland. Five times the people of this great city elected him as their chief executive, and his popularity seemed to increase the longer he stayed in office. For example, the last time he was elected, in 1961, he received almost three-fourths of the total votes and carried every ward in the city.

This overwhelming endorsement was thoroughly deserved. He brought tremendous energy, skill, and dedication to duty to city government.

One of his chief sources of pride lies in the accomplishments under his administration in the fields of slum clearance and urban renewal. This, however, is only the beginning of the rich heritage he has left to the people of Cleveland. His terms also showed great gains in the construction of streets and roads, airports, and seaway facilities. His long-range program to revitalize the central city is well under way.

His interest in education dates at least as far back as his service in the Ohio State Senate where he introduced legislation on this subject, and both welfare and health problems have long engaged his attention and concern as mayor.

He has always been an outspoken supporter of civil rights. When some "reverse freedom riders" were sent from their homes in Alabama to Cleveland, he declared that no action would be taken to bar other Negroes from coming to this city. "They're Americans," he said, and "have a right to free movement."

Mr. Celebrezze has a reputation for frank talk and full discussion about public problems under his jurisdiction. He is soft spoken and blessed with a lively sense of humor. But he cannot be pushed around, as some of his opponents have found out.

He is a former president of the American Municipal Association, a member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and, at the time President Kennedy appointed him, he was president of the United States Conference of Mayors. These are positions of honor and distinction, as well as being demanding in terms of hard work. They are additional measures of his capacities and of the esteem in which he is held by his colleagues.

The new Secretary was born in 1910 in Anzi, Italy. His parents were naturalized American citizens who were visiting in Italy when young Anthony arrived. He is, incidentally, the first Cabinet member of Italian descent in American history.

His career in the public service has been, in the words of the Christian Science Monitor, "something akin to Horatio Alger." One of 13 children, young Anthony started working as a newsboy and at other odd jobs when he was only 6 years old, and he has been working hard ever since.

After receiving his law degree from Ohio Northern University, he practiced law, served in the Navy in World War II, and entered public life through election to the Ohio Senate. In 1953 he began his remarkably successful administration as mayor of Cleveland.

As head of a Federal department administering more than 100 programs, employing almost 80,000 people, and spending annually several billion dollars, Anthony Celebrezze will have his hands full. We cannot, of course, know now what sort of Secretary he will be, but surely the evidence indicates forcefully that he could be a great one.

We know about his character, his courage, his integrity, and his great administrative ability.

We know that when he accepted President Kennedy's appointment he said: "I took the job because I like to help people and am interested in what happens to them."

What more practical and more meaningful philosophy could we hope for in the man upon whom millions of Americans depend for their health, security, and well-being.

## Russian Roulette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Reverend A. McKay Brabham, Jr., editor of the South Carolina Methodist Advocate, has written an excellent editorial in the September 13, 1962, issue of the South Carolina Methodist Advocate entitled "Russian Roulette." I commend it to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIAN ROULETTE

(By A. McKay Brabham, Jr.)

For quite some time past, critics of our Nation's moral life have pointed out that we are doomed to God's retribution if we do not remember our heritage and seek to return to Him in penitence.

Recalling the days when the Hebrews, the chosen people of God, were reduced to slavery and carried away into exile by pagan armies of Assyria, of Babylon, and of Rome, the critics have wondered if this fate is to be our own, with Russian armies in the role of the ancient captors.

Some have believed this so extensively that they have appeared also to believe that "peace at any price" is better than risking the destruction of the world by any forceful opposition to the enslavement of great portions of the world.

Whatever the motivation may have been, our generation has seen the abandonment of China to the Communists, the utter waste of clear-cut victory in Korea, the desecration of freedom in Hungary, the walling in of Berlin, and now it views the occupation of Cuba by Russian troops.

Shortly we expect to see the Russian flag raised over that island and the announcement that Russia is protecting it from the United States.

We believe our Nation is at a crossroad in history's unfolding.

Our Nation's history discloses that we have been willing to preserve human freedom by the use of force when necessary. Many valiant men have died for that preservation.

If this is still a part of our Nation's belief and action, then the time has come to move swiftly, without announcement, and before further rottening of the world situation sets in.

Either we invade Cuba now by all of the force necessary to remove Communist forces from that land, or we as a nation and as individuals, had best go down upon our knees and ask God to teach us every available technique of nonviolent means of living in slavery.

If we believe in pacifism as the solution to our problems, we had best be learning how to practice it as a nation, for we now have a gun at our heads, a knife at our throats, and the Communist needle is ready to inject the virus of abject slavery into our veins.

If, however, we believe that God still treasures human freedom, and if we believe that we have a moral obligation to preserve that freedom for ourselves, for our children, and our children's children, then we had best ring Cuba round with ships, fill the skies overhead with planes, move into the island, send the Russians home, and without fear or equivocation declare to the world that this is still the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

We must make no mistake about this. Russia is dedicated to the destruction of freedom in this land of ours. In Cuba, she has the foothold which will make it possible. To allow her to retain control of Cuba will simply signal to her that the fear of death has infected this Nation to such a point it will take no steps to preserve its very life.

## The Lincoln Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, as a student and collector of Lincoln books, memorabilia and lore, I have been fascinated by and greatly interested in a recent discovery by the charming corn tassel lady, Margo Cairns. Her avid interest and persuasiveness in promoting the corn tassel as a national flower is well known, but her great interest in the heritage and history of our country is unfortunately not so well known. In order to make known her interest in the patriots and the early fabulous development of our country and to help her at the same time to advance the cause for which she works with such charm and diligence, I am inserting, under unanimous consent, the fine article entitled "The Lincoln Memorial," by Margo Cairns, in the RECORD so that this interesting revelation may get wide distribution:

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

(By Margo Cairns)

Inspired by the highest precepts of Americana architect and sculptor have given to the people of the United States that which is considered as being one of the finest memorials in modern times.

This superb tribute to a man who has become an immortal is many things to many people. To the architect, it is a notable example of a Grecian temple. To the sculptor, it is a shrine worthy of his great statue of the Emancipator. To the student of symbolism it is a marble tablet to be read with spiritual senses alert.

To the lover of Lincoln lore it seemed to lack the vital link that gave meaning to the whole. Amid all the exquisite symbolism reflecting the glory of his mature life was there nothing to tell of Abe Lincoln's early year spent in three log cabins, and of that which sustained his life? The memorial would not, could not, be complete without some beautiful tribute to our native American plant—corn.

Born in a crude log cabin on a rocky farm in Kentucky little Abe was put to work early by his improvident father dropping seed corn in holes made with a pointed stick. His boyhood years were spent in a cabin in Indiana. Here the trees had to be felled and the land cleared before the corn could be planted. In Illinois, again his home was in a log cabin and cornbread the primal necessity of life. As a country lawyer he lived in close proximity to fields of the golden grain.

I had visited the Lincoln Memorial several times, drawn in reverence up into the inner chamber and embraced by the monastic hush that always pervades this shrine, but I saw no evidence of corn. I inquired of guards and guides, searched descriptive literature, but found no answer to my seeking. Sunday I called a cab to again search for what I was sure must be there. It was. Skillfully, with deep understanding, the sculptor had placed the tribute to corn at the approach to the edifice, in the beginning as corn was in Abraham Lincoln's life.

On each side of the wide flight of gleaming marble steps leading up 45 feet into the inner sanctuary are tripods chiseled from Tennessee marble and mounted on mammoth blocks of stone. On each of the 3 sides of the tripods is a stalk of corn bearing 5 ears of corn, 30 ears in all. The numeral 30 is fascinating, symbolizing the first 30 years, or the formative years of Abraham Lincoln's life. Born in 1809 he was 40 years of age when he entered the fuller life of public service in Springfield, then in Washington.

Writing of Lincoln the poet Malone says:

"A blend of mirth and sadness, smiles and tears;
A quaint knight errant of the pioneers;
A homely hero, born of star and sod;
A peasant prince; a masterpiece of God."

## Tuscaloosa, Ala., News Pays Tribute to Samuel A. Hobson, Brother of Spanish-American War Hero, Adm. Richmond Pearson Hobson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Tuscaloosa News about the passing of Samuel A. Hobson, brother of Spanish-American war hero, Adm. Richmond Pearson Hobson.

I might add that both of these distinguished citizens of Alabama were the uncles of my distinguished colleague from Louisiana, Congressman JAMES H. MORRISON, their sister, Florence Hobson Morrison, being his mother.

The following is what the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News said in its editorial:

HIS LIFE WAS UNUSUAL ONE

They buried a man in Greensboro the other day who had lived a full and useful life. He was Samuel Augustus Hobson, brother of Spanish-American war hero Adm. Richmond Pearson Hobson.

Trained in law, experienced in journalism, and active in geology, Hobson didn't realize his dream and great ambition—to develop a major oilfield in northwest Alabama. But before ill health caused him to retire from active efforts in oil exploration, he had made arrangements for 10 wells to be drilled in the Phil Campbell area where he had great hopes that a producing field could be developed.

Hobson is credited with bringing in the State's first gasfield in Fayette County and was among those who brought in the White House gas well near Haleyville. In the latter development he was associated with local businessmen. Haleyville had been his headquarters in recent years as he endeavored to widen the scope of the White House well area and to develop a field that would make the northwest portion of the State realize its full potential as an oil-producing area.

He often told his friends that his ambition was to develop a great oilfield that would bring prosperity to this area of the State. He didn't realize that ambition but the work he did has laid the foundation for others to take over his efforts amid the hope that his dream will come true before too many years pass.

His life was an unusual one.

## What Total Government Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a recent editorial from the Elkhart (Ind.) Truth, which is published in my congressional district. The editorial is an excellent succinct declaration of what totalitarian government means:

The editorial follows:

WHAT TOTAL GOVERNMENT MEANS

The new Soviet triumph in space has given the free world an awesome glimpse of what the "total" means in totalitarian.

Why are the Soviets ahead in space? Basically, because they decided this was an area in which it was to their advantage to excel—from the propaganda standpoint at least, perhaps also from the military standpoint.

Having so decided, the Kremlin channeled people and materials in that direction, ruthlessly, inexorably.

High up in the Kremlin, it was decided that space science would come before everything else—the people would have to get along without both luxuries and what many Americans consider necessities.

Once this was decided, there were no labor unions to protest by strike, no investors to protest by withholding their funds, no legislature to filibuster, no Supreme Court to hear an appeal, no informed public opinion to raise serious questions.

That's what total means.

And when a government like Russia's has total control, all the elements are like puppets on a string.

The movements are coordinated and timed, for total effect.

Note that the Soviets timed this space spectacular to coincide with the first anniversary of the shame wall in Berlin. Undoubtedly they wanted to take the world's attention away from that wall.

Within a week after Cosmonaut Gherman Titov orbited the earth 17 times last August, the Communists gambled that the West would not react and erected the wall dividing Berlin.

In September 1959, just prior to Khrushchev's first visit to the United States as a guest of President Eisenhower, the Russians landed their famous lunik rocket on the moon.

During his American tour, Khrushchev constantly referred to the lunik shot in his claims of Communist superiority over capitalism.

That's what "total" means: Economics, politics, science, and propaganda welded into a single instrument aimed to dominate the world.

Abraham Lincoln raised the challenge whether a nation so conceived and so dedicated as ours could long endure.

We believe the answer is a resounding yes. But it will take a great deal more plain hard work, sacrifice, and cooperation within the framework of freedom to get the job done.

## Reminder on Genocide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Speaker, on July 26, 1962, a framed certificate of honor was presented to Mr. James Russell Wiggins, editor of the Washington Post, by Mr. Louis E. Shecter on behalf of the American Jewish Congress, for the excellent editorial on the Genocide Convention which appeared on May 24, 1962, in the Post.

In view of the general interest in the Genocide Convention, I would like to call this excellent editorial to the attention of our citizens:

REMINDER ON GENOCIDE

It is peculiarly appropriate that the prosecutor of Adolf Eichmann, Israeli Attorney General Gideon Hausner, should remind the American people that their government has not yet ratified the Genocide Convention a decade and a half after its adoption by the United Nations. Genocide, designated a crime under international law by the General Assembly in 1946, means the deliberate destruction of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group.

Although the American delegation was largely instrumental in bringing about unanimous acceptance of the Genocide Convention by the General Assembly, the U.S. Senate faltered over ratification. The reason lay in a neurotic anxiety, rooted no doubt in a

sense of guilt, that the convention might be invoked against this country because of discrimination here against Negroes. The anxiety was absurd, of course. The convention defines genocide in such a way as to forbid its application to any denial of individual rights; it does not outlaw discrimination but only an attempt at outright destruction. It is aimed, obviously, at the sort of extermination of a whole ethnic group planned by the Nazis against the Jews.

Ratification of the Genocide Convention is important as an elementary step toward the establishment of a rule of international law. The United States should no longer lag behind the rest of the civilized world in taking this step.

## Our Foreign Aid Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, if the United States is to continue to set an example to the world with the generosity of its foreign aid contributions, perhaps it is time to think of what other examples we can set as well. We have at our disposal, in this country, the most effective economic system as yet conceived by man. With it, we have maintained a degree of freedom for the individual unequalled by any nation. Though neither system and state of conditions is perfect, both are available as examples to follow and goals to strive for by other human societies.

Our failure to exploit our unique position in this regard, both for our benefit and for those abroad seeking freedom and economic improvement is vividly illustrated in the following editorial which appeared in the Cortland (N.Y.) Daily Standard of September 11. The article is particularly timely in view of our present consideration of the foreign aid bill, now before the House:

WHY POISON OUR OWN WELL?

For a nation which has established the highest living standards in the world out of its hard-headed knack for creating wealth, we certainly have developed a strange way of showing others how it is done.

The trouble appears to be that in sharing our abundance with other nations through aid programs to help them build their own economies, we have persistently refused to point out that if these funds are used to destroy the free enterprise that generates them, then obviously the funds must eventually dry up.

This theory holds that we can't intervene in the plans of other nations by laying down certain spending conditions, despite the fact that the lack of such conditions has continued to operate to the detriment of these programs and against the best interests of the free world economy.

Take India. In face of a desperate national need for schools, roads, dams, and other social facilities, our aid funds are being poured into projects that compete directly with private enterprises which operate much more efficiently.

As a case in point, some time ago the Tata Iron & Steel Co., a private firm in India, was licensed by Mercedes-Benz to develop with its patents a cheap automobile badly needed to meet transportation requirements. The Government refused to grant Tata permission to produce the automobile, and instead assigned the job to the public steel mills which Tata outproduces by a 3 to 1 ratio. The result: India's Government officially announced this month that they had given up on the production of a cheap automobile.

No wonder manufacturers and financiers take a dim view toward committing private investment in foreign aid countries. And without such private investment, our aid programs will continue to drag their feet.

The Alliance for Progress in Latin America, launched only a year ago, is no exception. It is compounding the same fatal error of allowing funds to be expended for projects which work against the free enterprise which generated those funds.

The objectives of our overall aid, however desirable and essential, are not enough. We must safeguard the means of achieving them. We must adopt the inflexible rule that no aid funds will be granted to those countries which use them directly or indirectly to compete with free enterprise.

Let's give ourselves a chance.

## London's Lessons for New York's Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, one of the best articles on the subject of the importance of parks in crowded urban centers has recently been written by Whitney North Seymour, Jr., and was published in the September 9 issue of the New York Times magazine.

Mr. Seymour makes a comparison of New York parks and the London parks. Having long been an admirer of the parks of London and spent many hours in past years exploring them, I know first hand some of the things that the city of London has done in this regard. New York City can learn much from this. Mr. Seymour, a distinguished constituent of mine who has long been active in civic causes in New York, has brilliantly laid out the case for improved parks in New York City. He has done so by portraying the great comparison that exists between the park systems of two of the world's leading cities.

I commend Mr. Seymour's article to the attention of all of those who are interested in urban growth and development.

LONDON'S LESSONS FOR NEW YORK'S PARKS

(By Whitney North Seymour, Jr.)

(Whitney North Seymour, Jr., has been active in civic groups in New York for many years. He is currently chairman and a director of the Park Program Committee of the nonprofit Park Association of New York, Inc.)

When Maj. Gherman S. Titov, the Russian astronaut, visited New York last spring, he was asked by reporters what he thought of the city after the first day of his visit. His answer was quick and disconcertingly accurate. "There are too many cars here," he said, "and there is very little green in the town."

Major Titov would not have been able to say the same thing about London if he had been visiting there instead, certainly as far as the amount of green was concerned. London boasts one of the finest collections of city parks in the world. Yet, not satisfied with its past achievements, the city is currently engaged in a new and exciting program of park development which would make any visitor gape in wonder.

The basic components of London's current open-space program are three. First of all, there is an ambitious working plan for land acquisition, particularly aimed at creating green acres in slum areas. Second, each new park currently being developed in London is custom made to fit its neighborhood. Third, the aim of the whole park program is to give greater enjoyment to the people who use the parks, from infants to octogenarians.

The contrast between London's park program and New York's is dramatic. The near-sighted policy of New York City in fixing austerity budgets for both park operations and park expansion has made our parks unattractive and unappealing. Much of the glory of New York's existing parks goes back to the 19th century. Hard pavement, concrete benches, iron fences and "Keep Off the Grass" signs are the hallmarks of the city's newer parks. In sharp contrast, London's parks are bursting with flowers, inviting green expanses and decorative physical facilities. Moreover, London's park program is producing new and attractive sitting parks every year.

At this moment there are three brandnew large parks being created in heavily populated parts of London where no open space existed before. The most ambitious of the new projects is in North Camberwell. The London County Council has planned a 135-acre park in the midst of a large slum area, to be developed over the course of several decades as land is acquired and cleared.

Thirty acres of new park space have already been created in a jigsaw pattern, with pieces ranging from one-fifth of an acre up to 5 acres. Each piece has been developed into an operating park available for immediate use, yet with an eye toward its inclusion in an overall park area over the course of 30 or 40 years. A similar project to create new park land is underway in London's East End, with the ultimate goal being a green area a mile and a half long.

Typical of the enterprise being used in the new park acquisition program is Haggerston Park in Shoreditch. This 3¾-acre sitting park is the first stage of a proposed 27-acre park in an overcrowded neighborhood. It is laid out on a site formerly occupied by a canal and defunct gasworks. The canal has been transformed into a sunken garden and the rusted gas tanks have been replaced by a broad green lawn. Additional reclaimed land will be available for public use this fall, while on adjoining blocks other buildings are marked for future demolition.

London's current open-space program is not limited to these larger projects. The County Council also hopes to create more parks along the banks of the Thames River, which runs through the heart of London. In recent years three new sitting parks have been created along the river as well as a number of other small sitting parks scattered throughout the city's heavily populated districts.

London's park achievements include more than the creation of open space. They also include the manner in which the space is used. Each new park is custommade to serve the community in which it is placed. Instead of grinding out concrete benches and pavement like urban sausages, London has planning teams which make a study of existing facilities and expected future developments in schools, population change, and similar factors, and then reconcile the various needs for quiet areas, children's playgrounds, playing fields for older children,

and other use requirements to achieve the best possible balance.

In the process of creating new parks, the London County Council has kept the pleasure of citizens uppermost in mind. The results can be seen in a number of park features that would make any New Yorker jealous.

Probably the most striking thing about London's parks is the profusion of flowers. Some parks, like the Victoria Embankment Gardens, have splendid floral displays all summer long. Others provide particular seasonal attractions like the spectacular rhododendron and azalea blooms in Dulwich Park. But virtually every sitting park in London has flower beds of some sort. The tiny sitting areas have flowers growing in tubs, or raised beds, while larger parks frequently boast formal gardens. Flowers are obviously the pride of the Park Department personnel, who tend them with loving care. Many of the medium-sized parks have special fenced-in nurserywork areas where seedlings are started in cold frames to be later set out in the beds.

Another appealing feature about London's parks is the frequency of expanses of green grass. Any well-indoctrinated New Yorker is surprised to see how many parks have only two or three benches, instead of endless rows. If you ask a park department employee why, he will give a forthright explanation: most people sit on the grass. They are glad to have them do it. London's horticultural experts have apparently found a variety of grass that is a good lush green and yet tough enough not to suffer from shoe leather or elbows.

A delightful aspect of the general use of lawns is the availability of deck chairs for rental at a nominal fee. Particularly in the downtown parks such as Lincoln's Inn Fields and Victoria Embankment Gardens, hundreds of happy Londoners can be seen reclining in canvasbacked chairs enjoying the out-of-doors.

Another agreeable London park feature is the intentional creation of "depressions" in grassed areas to make them more comfortable for reclining. These are shallow, bowl-shaped areas 15 to 20 feet across which provide comfortable reclining slopes that just fit the curvature of the spine. They are designed deliberately to encourage more people to use and enjoy the grass.

London probably has some advantage over New York when it comes to growing grass and plants because of the higher incidence of rain and fog there, but this does not give it as great an edge as one might suppose. London, like New York, also has an air pollution problem, which means that flowers and grass have to fight for survival against fumes and soot just as much as they do here. The occasional flowerbeds in New York's parks, like the one at the base of the Holley statue in Washington Square or on the mound in Madison Square, amply demonstrate that the main reason for the flower shortage in our town is the city's budget and not the city's climate.

Some of the "furniture" in the parks in London also deserves admiration. There are picnic areas which consist of nothing more than large flat rocks set out on the grass to serve as tables for picnickers. Refreshment stands have brightly colored umbrellas as well as attractive tables and chairs for open-air use. There are well-designed wooden fences instead of chain-link where parks abut on private property. Attractive shelters have been built as protection against sudden showers.

Sundials are frequent items of park decoration, as are raised flowerbeds and tubs. Low brick walls, just the right height for sitting on, are often worked into park layouts. Park lighting fixtures and even water fountains reflect enterprising contemporary design. Special attractions often add to the delight of park users, such as the dovecote in Haggerston Park and the group of peacocks on the lawn in Holland Park.

London helps insure public enjoyment of parks by an ambitious program of entertainment throughout the warm-weather period. There are some 1,500 performances given in public parks in London during the summer season. These include symphony concerts, open-air "grass theater" performances, where ballet, opera and drama may be seen, and folk music and folk dancing. The most popular performances, of course, are brass-band concerts of which there are often over 30 a week.

Children are particular favorites under the London County Council's entertainment program. During 1962, over 500 children's shows will have been given, with performances by magicians, clowns, ventriloquists, puppets and Punch and Judy. Mobile motion-picture trucks will have visited 60 different locations during the summer with films especially selected for children. There are also special children's symphony concerts.

London's parks also boast exciting sculpture exhibitions, which are held every 3 years. Two years ago, the pieces of sculpture shown in Battersea Park included works by Picasso, Henry Moore and Epstein.

To make sure that all Londoners know about the wealth of entertainment available to the public in the parks, the park department publishes a sixpenny handbook which gives a comprehensive listing of the program for each day in complete detail. On a typical Saturday during the summer, one can choose among a symphony concert, a play, a ballet, several band concerts, 3 or 4 music-hall variety shows, dancing for older persons in several parks, 8 to 10 children's programs, plus 1 or 2 other special events such as swimming competitions and bicycle races.

The Sunday program is almost entirely given over to band concerts, with upward of 20 different concerts available in different parks throughout the city. A similar schedule of varied entertainment also is available on weekdays. On any day there are half a dozen band concerts or musical entertainments, as well as a score of children's shows.

The London County Council distributes other official publications to increase public park enjoyment. One is a comprehensive pocket map of London parks which not only itemizes the recreation facilities available in each park, but also gives precise directions on how to reach particular parks by bus or subway.

In 1961, the council started another innovation by publishing special annual booklets to encourage public interest in particular parks in various parts of the city. These attractive publications include maps, color pictures and a full description of the features of parks in some sections of the city, including a full walking tour. A comprehensive guide book also exists for the royal parks of London.

Two other recent London park developments deserve special mention. One is the concept of "play parks," a program instituted in 1959. Scattered throughout London, there are a total of 10 park areas specially set aside for use by children under supervision but without strict controls. Play leaders are instructed to let the children play freely without unnecessary interference. The play parks operate after school hours during the year and all day on holidays, which permits the recruitment of qualified play leaders on a part-time basis.

The play park areas usually comprise about 2 acres and are divided into as many as five sections. One is a "quiet area," another is for team games, a third for games played by girls, a fourth is an "adventure area," and the fifth area usually a sand pit for very small children.

The new playgrounds being built in London, both in conjunction with the new parks and in the new public housing projects, are highly imaginative, with frequent use of bright colors. Each one is designed separately with its own special facilities, and one may find such varied playthings as steam rollers, castles, rowboats, and giant maps. A spirit of adventure is encouraged through the use of devices like stockades, climbing nets and log piles.

All in all, the current park program in London sets a standard which New York could emulate to great advantage. Make no mistake, not everything in the London parks is perfect—there appear to be not enough trees in the newer parks, for example, and sometimes the effect of newness gives a somewhat clinical feeling—but the tremendous advances of the current program far outstrip anything we are doing here.

Slowly but surely we New Yorkers are coming to the realization that urban living is here to stay, and that we need to give more and more attention to making city life tolerable. Our parks are obviously one of the major areas that need expansion and improvement. With increasing leisure time through a shorter working week, retirement, greater longevity and mechanized household worksavers, we must make more and better recreation space in the heart of the city for leisure-time use by citizens.

Happily, our present parks commissioner, Newbold Morris, has expressed a fresh interest in the need for small sitting parks in congested areas. He points out that such parks pay for themselves eventually because of the increased property values in the adjoining neighborhood. Commissioner Morris deserves full support in his efforts to obtain new open space in the built-up parts of the city. Those efforts, however, should not be timid. What is needed is a bold approach to the actual creation of new parks by clearing the space to build them.

The real stumbling block to such a program lies at City Hall in the failure of the board of estimate to authorize an adequate budget for the acquisition and maintenance of parks in the first place. Interested citizens could help turn the tide by reminding the mayor, the comptroller, the borough president, the president of the city council, and the individual councilmen, that we citizens want more parks and better parks just as much as we want decent schools and hospitals. The city planning commission needs to be told, too.

The park department can in turn do its part by discarding its fixed-formula approach to park and playground design and by giving stimulus to custom-made recreation areas and park entertainment programs with a premium on greenery, imagination and enjoyment.

There is no reason why we could not have all that London has, and more, if we would only speak up and demand it.

## Conflict Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

**Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to continue my insertions on a series of articles, this being the third article, by Edward Scannell Butler, of New Orleans, La., on the conflict management schemes of Communist agents, and the manner in which American businessmen**

can meet this threat to our free institutions by establishing conflict management corporations of their own. Mr. Butler, who is the staff director of the Information Council of the Americas—INCA—in New Orleans, wrote his series of articles for Challenge, the publication of the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson Parish and the thoughts he presents in them are important for us as Americans to grasp.

The third article on "Conflict Management" is entitled "Part III: Conflict Corporations for Counterattack" and follows:

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: PART III—CONFLICT CORPORATIONS FOR COUNTERATTACK

(By Edward Scannell Butler)

Conflict management is a new business for American businessmen. Conflict management can help existing businesses insure themselves against expropriation and outright confiscation, preserve and extend the total market, defend individual life, liberty, and property—while at the same time providing a challenging new career field for thousands.

At present there are only a few hundred non-Communist conflict managers in the free world. To utilize their talents and know-how best, private industry should grant funds immediately for the following purposes:

CONFLICT CONSULTATION

Political warfare counsel at the top-management level should become a recognized requirement for every U.S. business with foreign interests. With proper counsel, standard trade missions, advertising and public relations, could become both selling aids and cold war weapons. Similarly, our farflung corporate personnel (both United States and foreign nationals) could be taught to perform conflict management tasks of great value to freedom, without impairing their normal business functions. Business today has a willing, but untrained army which it could mobilize to defend itself, with the proper counsel at the top level.

CONFLICT COLLEGES

In the United States, public demand has created a legion of professional, semiprofessional, and amateur anti-Communists. It's difficult to determine who the proportionally few conflict managers are.

To complicate matters more, in spite of giant Soviet expenditures on it, and proven successes with it, there is still some debate as to whether conflict management exists—i.e., whether political warfare can be studied and practiced as an operational science. Business could end the debate, chase the charlatans, and provide the needed stream of accredited manpower by earmarking funds to establish chairs of conflict management within the universities. From these seeds would come the private "colleges of conflict management" needed to compete with the annual massive manpower advantage of the Communists.

CONFLICT CORPORATIONS

There are huge areas of conflict—too big for any normal business to cover, but too low for any free government to reach. These conflict twilight zones are vitally important nevertheless, because the mass base is where the Communists now concentrate. Here is the arena of the conflict corporation—a private, nonprofit, usually tax-exempt enterprise, geared specifically and exclusively to counterattack Red psychological, political, and economic probes beneath the official level.

Because conflict corporations are a most practical way to mobilize private enterprise ("The one weapon we have that the Communist cannot duplicate"), let's take a closer look at what they are and how they operate:

FREE CONFLICT CORPORATIONS IN CROSS SECTION

Today the United States has about 150 recognized groups and organizations, uniformly underfunded and understaffed, which claim to be anti-Communist. Scores of local discussion groups are growing up each day. Obviously, not all of these organizations can be called bona fide conflict corporations. They range from childish to extremely professional. In the latter category are: The University of Pennsylvania's Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Rand Corp., and the Institute for American Strategy.

All of these scholarly organizations are engaged in research on Communist conflict management and the development of affirmative strategies to overcome the long Communist leadtime. The IAS adds an extra dimension by sponsoring seminars for executive personnel in education, government, and industry, all have published studies on conflict management.

The most noteworthy books are "Protracted Conflict," "A Forward Strategy for America" (FPRI), "The Organizational Weapon" (Rand), and "American Strategy for the Nuclear Age" (IAS).

A new kind of conflict corporation which operates domestically is the recently chartered Cold War Council, headed by Henry Mayers, a Los Angeles advertising executive.

The Cold War Council's top-priority job is to make legislators aware of cold war issues by informing "the folks back home." Mr. Mayers believes that ironically, although there are literally hundreds of lobbies for various special interests, there is no lobby for freedom to explain conflict management to the electorate and its representatives, yet conflict management should be everyone's special interest.

One special interest which the Cold War Council (as a political action group) is currently pressing, is the freedom academy bill designed to inaugurate a West Point of cold warfare. The Communists have 177 such propaganda colleges in Russia alone, the United States has none.

Another of Cold War Council's efforts will be to focus publicity on little-known facts which will forewarn the public. For instance, events suggest that few businessmen have any idea that there are specific Red propaganda themes beamed toward them now, in 1962, much less what they are. Hence they can't act to protect themselves.

There are numerous conflict corporations operating internationally. One, Radio Liberation, is beamed at Russia itself. Another, the recently founded Information Council of the Americas (INCA) is the first conflict corporation designed to help prevent the communization of an entire continent. It will operate throughout Latin America. INCA's program is aimed at supplying the need for eyewitness information on Communist tactics from an effective source. INCA will feature testimony of Cuban refugees and other living proof of Red lies. Its first project, weekly half hour truth tapes, will be broadcast by local Latin radio stations. INCA will establish regional councils in several Latin nations.

The best known and biggest conflict corporation is Radio Free Europe. Radio Free Europe is privately financed, nonprofit and beamed at the Iron Curtain countries. Many people confuse Radio Free Europe with the Voice of America, which is the official voice of the U.S. Government, operated by the U.S. Information Agency. Voice of America is doing a magnificent job on a relatively small budget.

Radio Free Europe has grown from a little 7½-kilowatt mobile transmitter in Germany, to a professional organization which employs about 1,200 people and is budgeted at about $10 million per year.

THE ECONOMICS OF CONFLICT

Those U.S. businessmen who consider the cold war their business know that the Reds fear Radio Free Europe so much, they spend $100 million per year trying futilely to jam its broadcasts. This is a 10-to-1 ratio in our favor, and an estimated 75 percent of the Radio Free Europe message gets through.

Russia, whose gross national product is still far below ours, just can't afford to spot us a Radio Free Europe-like 10-to-1 advantage very often. So they must diagnose our greatest weakness and focus upon it their greatest strength.

Logically then, we have tried to pinpoint our own weakness by closely analyzing the Red effort, in comparison with our own competition to it.

In so doing, the preceding articles have not stressed the free world's many victories—from Greece to Guatemala—over Sino-Soviet expansion. In the public sector, the Marshall plan, NATO and now the concept of an interdependent Atlantic Community and the Alliance for Progress, are positive programs which can succeed, if they are shielded from continual sniping and harrassment at the nonofficial level.

The mass base is the battleground of the free conflict manager. Here, decisive battles of today and tomorrow will be won or lost.

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## End of Segregation of Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the best informed persons on Indian affairs in my State is retired Superior Court Judge Joseph Wicks. I have known him for many years as one of our outstanding citizens. He has established an enviable record as a jurist. He is an enrolled member of the Cherokee Tribe and his interest in Indian affairs is understandable. His excellent and timely article "End Segregation of Indians" appeared in the September 13 issue of the Omak Chronicle.

For the information of the Members of the House I insert it in the RECORD:

END SEGREGATION OF INDIANS—JUDGE WICKS FEELS RESERVATION SYSTEM SHOULD GO

(By Joseph Wicks, superior court judge, retired)

(Few if any persons in Okanogan County might be considered more competent to discuss the question of State jurisdiction over the Colville Indian Reservation than former Superior Court Judge Joseph Wicks of Omak. Recently Judge Wicks expressed some of his thoughts at the request of the Oroville Chamber of Commerce. His letter is printed here virtually in its entirety.)

It is true that I have some knowledge of the issue of State jurisdiction over our Indian citizens other than my contact with it as superior court judge of this district for approximately 15 years.

In fact, I have been in personal contact with the issue all of my life. This is by reason of the fact that I am an enrolled member of the Cherokee Indians, one of the five civilized tribes of the State of Oklahoma.

On the issue of jurisdiction, I have never been able to see eye to eye with the policies of the Federal Government in its dealing with the Indian and his property and have very often found myself at variance with many people of Indian blood, wherein they have sought to have the Federal Government to continue its supervision and jurisdiction over the Indian and his property.

The fact that the Indian was here before the coming of the white man, the black man, and the oriental, does not, in and of itself so far as his rights, powers, privileges, responsibilities and obligations, make him any different from the other American citizens.

Specifically, it is my observation that in many instances the more vocal Indian is the first to demand the benefits provided under State laws for its citizens, but is often reluctant to assume the responsibilities those laws impose upon its beneficiaries. This attitude is wrong in any segment of our people.

I find among the people of Indian blood the learned, the intelligent, the stupid, the industrious and the lazy, just as are found in those of our people who boast a different ancestry. But I also find an attitude among many people of Indian blood of a wish and desire to have the Government support and supervise their property and actions.

This, I think, has been brought about because of the continued policy of the Government to act as a guardian and in many instances as a nursemaid of the Indian. In my opinion this policy is wrong.

That this policy should be changed, and the Indian placed upon the same footing as any other citzen has been recognised by the Federal Government for more than half a century.

There are many instances where the Federal Government has terminated its relation with many of our people of Indian blood, sometimes as individuals, sometimes as a group. In some instances this termination has been on an individual basis by measuring the degree of Indian blood of the individual.

It apparently was the thinking of the powers that be, that if the individual was only of half or a quarter Indian blood, through some mysterious process, he was more intelligent and capable of handling his own affairs than if he were a full-blooded Indian.

This to my mind is fuzzy thinking and reasoning. How can you measure a man's capabilities by the degree of blood he bears from certain of his ancestors?

INDIANS GRANTED U.S. CITIZENSHIP

But, be that as it may, the Federal Government has, as stated above, sought to divorce itself from its paternalistic influence over the Indian. To this end, in 1924, the Congress enacted a law making all Indians citizens of the United States.

This citizenship does and should carry with it responsibilities and obligations. But at the same time the Government held onto the supervision of the Indian and his property. Many States have provisions in their laws that an Indian who does not pay taxes is deprived of the right to vote. (Examine proposition No. 19, a proposed amendment to our State constitution to be voted on by you in the election this fall.)

In 1953, the Congress enacted a law enabling the States to assume jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters over the Indian and the Indian country within their respective borders. (Indian country is defined by Federal statute as Indian reservations, Indian villages, Indian allotments, and lands held by the Government for the exclusive use and benefit of the Indian.)

In 1957, our State legislature enacted chapter 240, which provided the State "assumes, as hereinafter provided, civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indians and Indian territory, reservations, country and lands within this State in accordance with the consent of the United States given by the act of August 15, 1953 (Public Law 280, 83d Congress, 1st sess.)."

If this act had embodied only the portion previously stated, we would not, in this country, be confronted with some of the issues now facing us and which are vital to our local economy and law and order. But the act went further and provided that in the State assumption of this jurisdiction:

"Whenever the Governor shall receive from any tribal council or other governing body of any Indian tribe, community, band or group in this State, a resolution expressing its desire that its people and lands be subject to the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the State of Washington to the extent authorized by the Federal law, he shall issue within 6 days a proclamation to the effect that such jurisdiction shall apply to all Indians and all Indian territory, reservation, country, and lands of the Indian body involved in accordance with the provisions of this act."

Comment: It will be observed that for the State to assume jurisdiction over the Indian and Indian country, it had to come about at the instance of the Indian by the governing body of the tribe presenting a resolution to the Governor. Upon receipt of the resolution, the Governor had no choice but to issue his proclamation assuming jurisdiction by the State.

The choice is all left up to the Indian, with the State powerless to act, but if the Indian desires to come under State jurisdiction, the State has no choice but to accept. Since when must a sovereign State act at the whim of a small group of men representing a small group of our people?

But the law also has a proviso added to the above-quoted section that vitally affects our community. To quote further:

"*Provided*, That with respect to the Colville, Spokane, or Yakima Tribes or Reservation, he shall not issue such proclamation unless the resolution of the tribal council has been ratified by two-thirds majority of the adult enrolled members of the tribe voting in referendum called for that purpose."

Comment: Now we see the question of the State assuming jurisdiction further limited so far as these three tribes are concerned. Not only must the resolution be approved by the tribal council, but it must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the adult enrolees of the tribe who vote upon a referendum called for that purpose. Thus, first who would call for a vote on such a referendum? Must the vote be called for by the State? The act does not so provide. Must it be called by the tribal council? The act does not so provide. Can it be called by petition of the tribal members petitioning the Indian council or the State? The act does not so provide. Can it be called by the Indian agent? The act does not so provide.

Now, what has been the result of this law? Some seven or eight small bands of Indians who had no means of protecting themselves from the criminal element or any police protection of any consequence, have seen fit to place themselves under the protective cloak of our State government.

The three largest tribes of the State have not only refrained from doing so, but have taken strenuous action to prevent it.

JUSTICE BLACK RULES ON SEYMOUR CASE

Now this has been known to us whose duty as public officials it was to meet and contend with the issue, and these are some of the tools with which we had to work. More than 40 years ago the supreme court of this State handed down a decision holding that what was known and referred to as the diminished Colville Indian Reservation was no longer an Indian reservation and that the State courts had jurisdiction over criminal offenses committed by an Indian when the incident did not occur on an Indian allotment, title to which was held in trust by the Government, or on tribal lands.

Under the authority of that decision, your local State court took jurisdiction over cases so long as the offense did not occur on an Indian allotment of tribal lands by an Indian. In that field the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction.

But recently in the case of *Seymour* v. *The Superintendent of the Washington State Penitentiary* (363 U.S. 351; 7 L. Ed. (2d) 346, 82 Supreme Court 424), Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court held our local and State supreme court were in error and that the Diminished Colville Indian reservation is still an Indian reservation, is Indian country over which, so far as criminal offenses committed therein by an Indian, the Federal has exclusive jurisdiction.

The effect of this decision is that though more than half the lands in that portion of the reservation lying in Okanogan County are privately owned, the State has no police powers therein over an Indian who might violate our State laws. He may steal, assault, commit homicide or any other vicious crime against which the citizens of our State are protected against our laws, but the State is powerless to act.

It must rely on the Indian police and Federal officers to protect both the Indians and non-Indians therein. There are four incorporated towns in this territory. They are helpless to enforce their police ordinances against an Indian.

This is an unhealthy and, to say the least, an extremely unusual situation to exist in a sovereign State. It is an unhealthy situation for both Indian and non-Indian. They are both deprived of the police protection of the State against an Indian offender.

Since the Indians and governmental agencies are not equipped to meet this problem, by lack of facilities or personnel, there are many offenses the Indian may commit with practical impunity from punishment. This does not make for good citizenship.

The State having no jurisdiction in civil matters in this territory, the Indian being deprived of the rights to contract, so far as his property is concerned, is to deprive him of one of the basic freedoms of American citizenship.

In short, when he is deprived of the use of our court from the criminal element and deprived of the right of contract, he is made a second-rate citizen and I, for one, do not believe there should be any second-rate citizen in this country, no matter what his origin, so long as he conducts himself as an American citizen.

If he violates our laws he should pay the penalty for his transgression. We give the criminal the right to rehabilitate himself and regain full citizenship, but not so with the Indian.

It is my humble opinion that the sooner the Indian is required to assume the responsibilities of American citizenship as well as the acceptance of its benefits, the better for him and the better for all of our people.

Now this situation could very easily be corrected so far as it affects us locally. The Congress has, by Public Law 280, enabled the State to assume jurisdiction over the Indian and Indian country. A simple law declaring that the State, under the Federal statute does assume such jurisdiction is all that is necessary.

Such a bill was before the last session of our legislature. It passed the senate and the house, but in the dying hours of the session it was referred back to the committee for further consideration, and there died.

During this session, the members of the legislature were pressured by members of the councils of these three larger tribes of the State and their attorneys, and even some of our county offices, not to pass this law. In that they succeeded.

Since then, the Seymour case has brought the matter to a head. It has dawned upon the people of this county the seriousness of the situation.

So today we find many of the Indians themselves advocating the legislature to pass a law whereby the State assume and perform its obligations. It would seem an act of folly for such a law to fail to pass at the next session of the legislature in 1963.

JUVENILE SITUATION IS ALSO CONFUSED

There are many other aspects of the issue not here discussed. For instance by the case of *Adams v. Superior Court* (57 Wash. (2) 187) it is held that the juvenile court has no jurisdiction over a dependent or delinquent Indian child residing in the Indian country.

The Indian child may be deserted or neglected by its parents or those responsible for its care and education, but your local State court is without power to protect it. It can freeze or starve, but the State courts are powerless to act.

There is a serious question as to whether the State has jurisdiction over the mentally incompetent Indian. May a State court admit him to a State institution for care? May a State court appoint a guardian to protect him and his property that is not held in trust for him if he resides on the reservation?

If the welfare department in its program of aid to dependent children provides a foster home for the child, how can a delinquent parent be prevented from removing the child from such foster home care? If an Indian child is a delinquent, the State is powerless to act, if he resides on the reservation. If the parent refused to send the child to school, may the State enforce its compulsory school law? The ramifications of this tragic situation are endless.

Segregation of the American Indian should end. No other segment of our people have been so segregated as the Indian under the policies of the Government, in its dealing with these people. No other people have been rounded up as cattle and placed on a tract of land and compelled to remain there.

No other of our people have had their children rounded up and shipped off to schools hundreds and even thousands of miles from their homes, and compelled to associate with only members of their race, deprived of association and education with those with whom they must rub elbows, if they attempt to take their place in our society where there should be equal opportunity for all, with special privileges to none.

I repeat, to place any man or any group of people in such a category, is to brand him as a second-rate citizen, which is contrary to every principle of our American way of life.

## Is the Reserve Callup Really Needed?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, an Illinois citizen who is subject to call as a member of the Reserves questions in the following letter the wisdom and justice in calling Reserves short of an acute emergency. Those of us not subject to call can hardly realize the disruptions in family life, job opportunities, and financial resources which can result from a sudden callup. I invite the attention of my colleagues to this letter as they ponder the Presidential request for standby authority to call up 150,000 Reserves:

Rarely do I write a Congressman. For one thing, I do not like to impose on the time of any busy person who has important things to do. For another, I realize the futility of trying to impress my view on a person who is ordinarily firmly committed to a point of view.

The matter which I write about, however, is important to me and I would hope to all of the people. Hence, this letter. It concerns the President's request, recently approved by the Senate, for authority to call up 150,000 reservists to meet an emergency which might arise between now and February 28.

The Senate was told, and the people were informed by the press that this authority was needed to "meet a possible emergency." We were told that there was no present intention to use it. Yesterday, however, the reliable Wall Street Journal reported as follows: "Reservists face some callups even without new blowups abroad. Defense officials expect they'll need sooner or later some of the 150,000 Congress will empower Kennedy to summon. First calls would likely go to communications, supply, transportation specialists. * * *"

This is a double fraud. It is a fraud upon the Congress of the United States and it is a fraud upon the members of the Ready Reserve. Unless an emergency exists, not a single reservist ought to be called up to active duty. The personal hardship involved in the callup of a reservist is almost beyond comprehension to any person not directly affected. This is a different and more severe hardship than being drafted or being held in service while still on active duty. This is expected. A reservist who is called up, however, is snatched up from his home, family and job with disastrous consequences.

In my own case, I have approximately 10½ months obligated Ready Reserve time remaining. For the past 4 years I have been endeavoring to build up a private law practice and have been successful at it. If I am called to active duty for a year, my law practice is finished. It will not take a year out of my life. It will take 5 years out of my life. Being self-employed, I don't have a job to go back to. I will get to start over again from scratch. How many others are similarly situated? Does anybody know or care?

If I am called up, it will be as a so-called specialist E–4. If ever a rank were misnamed, it is the rank of specialist. It is a ridiculous designation. The specialists are not specialists at anything. They are almost to a man, mere flunkies.

A friend of mine, also an attorney, was called up by the President a year ago as a private first class. He did nothing for 10 months but sit on his posterior and grit his teeth. He is back now. His life's savings are exhausted. He is starting over. How futile and unnecessary it all seems.

Would you be good enough to call this situation to the attention of the Congress?

Yours sincerely,

——— ———.

## Third Annual Southeastern Fife, Drum, and Bugle Muster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, last month I had the honor and pleasure to participate in a parade in Arlington, Va., processing to the Third Annual Southeastern Fife, Drum and Bugle Muster, sponsored annually by the American Legion, Department of Virginia, in commemoration of V–J Week, August 12 through 18.

Arlington Post 139, sponsor of this year's muster, did a truly magnificent job of making it a success, and I sincerely believe all my colleagues, as well as many other patriotic citizens throughout our Nation may be interested, as I was, in this unusually beautiful way of remembering V–J Week. I am, therefore, pleased to include in this RECORD correspondence describing the affair in more detail:

THIRD ANNUAL FIFE, DRUM, AND BUGLE MUSTER, SPONSORED BY ARLINGTON POST NO. 139 AND THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA, THE AMERICAN LEGION, AUGUST 18, 1962

The Boston Tea Party aroused our forefathers, to seek freedom from the shackles of the King of England. The action at Lexington and Concord inspired our Revolutionary patriots. George Washington and his men pledged their lives and fortunes and made many sacrifices to attain a form of government, the like of which has never been duplicated.

Our effort to keep alive the "Spirit of '76," is with the hope that nothing will dampen the strains of our patriotic music or our American way of life.

Cosponsors: Arlington Chamber of Commerce; Arlington Fire Department; Clarendon Trust Co.; Ida's Reweaving Shop; Edmonds Motor Co.; honor guard, Arlington Post 139; Virginia Square Shopping Center; Northern Virginia Sun; Park Arlington Motel; Northern Virginia Beer Wholesalers; Washington & Lee Rug Cleaners; J. W. Ayers 5 & 10 Cent Stores; Arlington county manager; Bob Peck Chevrolet; Tops Drive-Inn; S. Kanns Sons Co.; Yeonas Realty Co.; Southgate Motel; Safeway Stores; Arlington Trust Co.; Peoples Drug Stores; Drug Fair; Balderson's Grill; Virginia Venders, Inc.; Lansburgh & Bros.; Grand Union; Arlington Police Department; Bauserman's Service, Inc.; Colonial Village Bowling Center; L. C. Smith, Inc.; Motor City Chevron Service Station; Woodbridge Clay Products, Roger T. Moure & International Hospital Service; Old Dominion Bank; King James Furniture; Paddock Swimming Pool Co.; Frank Bowman's Restaurant; American Finance Co.; Arlington County Board.

We have brought to you a blending of the modern martial music of the Revolutionary type. We hope you have enjoyed yourselves during you stay with us. We hope you go away feeling proud that there still exist in this country groups of people, young and old, who will give of their time and energy to remind you of the wonderful country we live in, its traditions, mores and heritage.

Our sincere appreciation is extended to those businessmen of Arlington who have a patriotic interest in the community and the land.

May we see you at our annual muster next year.

ALBERT C. ELLISON,
*Commander, Post No. 139.*
HENRY L. LAM,
*Department Commander.*

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA, INC.
*September 11, 1962.*

Hon. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

GENTLEMEN: The Third Annual Southeastern Fife, Drum and Bugle Corps Muster held on August 18, 1962, was a grand success. Twenty-five corps competed for trophies in the junior and senior classes. There were over 30 contestants, respectively, vieing for medals, in junior and senior individual snare drum, bass drum, fife and bugle competition.

The parade of 1-hour duration and the exhibition by the 3d Infantry, Old Guard, from Fort Myer, was tremendously received by several thousand spectators. It was an awe inspiring afternoon.

We, of the American Legion, are justly proud of this annual spectacular program of patriotic pagentry.

Your interest and financial assistance has made this all possible for the people of Arlington and its environs, and we wish to convey to you our deep appreciation for your spirited cooperation.

We are also grateful to the corps which traveled from distant points to participate. They too, contributed to the success.

Sincerely,

ALBERT C. ELLISON,
*Commander, Post 139.*
HENRY L. LAM,
*Department Commander.*

## Problems of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress—as you know—has been exceptionally long and the almost continuous activity of the Education and Labor Committee, of which I am a member, has made it impossible for me to return to the district as frequently as I did in previous years.

Last week I was able to address the residents of the 20th District by means of television, channel 4—WTAE—in Pittsburgh, and give them my views on the major issues confronting us on the national level.

With the thought that you may not have known of this program and had not heard it, I am taking this means of letting you know my position and my proposals on health care for the aged, retraining for our unemployed, and additional public works projects.

The address follows:

I am happy to have this opportunity to discuss with you what I believe to be the main issues of this election, especially in this section of our Nation.

The major problem for which we are trying to find a solution is the constant unemployment rate. Pennsylvania has the dubious honor of ranking second, among the States, for having the highest number of jobless workers—New York is first.

This condition has developed during the past 8 or 9 years—for it is a matter of record that with each recession—and we have had three of them—the ranks of the unemployed increased. It is also a matter of record that with each period of recovery, which followed the recession, less people were recalled to work and we slowly but surely developed what is now known as the hard-core unemployed or a group of workers whose jobs had been eliminated and whose skills were no longer needed, for machines had replaced them.

Automation in our mines, our mills, and our factories had made the production worker's job obsolete. Unless the worker learned another skill or trade, the future held nothing for him but to wait for his relief checks.

For quite a few years I tried to get a program started—on a national basis—but not until President Kennedy took office could I find anyone in the executive branch of Government who realized the seriousness of this situation and recognized action was needed if we hoped to stop the rising unemployment rate.

I served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Unemployment and the Impact of Automation and, after numerous public hearings—at which representatives of management, labor, education, and government testified, we secured proof that production in the United States had grown by leaps and bounds; but jobs for production workers were steadily being eliminated.

We found out that we would have approximately 2 million or more young men and women graduate from high school each year—hoping to enter the labor market and start to work. However, we also found that jobs, once available to this group were also disappearing as technological advancement had eliminated clerical jobs, sales jobs, and numerous other jobs in the service field. Computers were replacing people.

There would be employment opportunities in the technical field, but our young people are not trained for this work in our high schools. If these young unemployed people cannot secure additional education and training, their future will be bleak.

Actually, we found there was much to be done if we were to get our people back to work and keep our economy expanding.

We had to start somewhere, and 6 years after I first tried to get a program organized, I witnessed President Kennedy signing into law the Clark-Holland Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

This month we have seen the first courses started to retrain our unemployed and, during the first year which will end next July, the Department of Labor expects to be able to have 70,000 of our unemployed back in schools or in on-the-job training projects learning new skills. This will enable them to become an active member of our economy and secure work rather than remain stagnant and collect relief checks.

We know, of course, this program in its present form will not provide the full solution for our unemployment problem. It is the Nation's first major attempt at broad manpower planning and, as one of our prominent newspapers stated last Sunday, "it is regarded as probably the most significant piece of manpower legislation in the Nation's history." The paper went on to point out that this is just the beginning, for the time has passed when a man can reasonably expect to work at one occupation or craft all his life. It continued, "the swift advance of science and technology make it imperative to provide effective ways to retrain workers whose skills are no longer in demand."

I am glad that I persevered and fought for this prgoram over the last 6 years. However, the program must be continued, the coverage broadened, and the opportunities increased for our underemployed workers and our inadequately trained youth.

Another approach was made, during this session, to help those of our unemployed who cannot take advantage of the Clark-Holland Manpower Training Act. We passed the accelerated public works bill which will permit communities to initiate programs that are for the benefit of the people.

This act will permit the Federal Government to give up to 75 percent of the cost of a project if necessary; however, the State or local government requesting this aid must prove it does not have economic and financial capacity to assume the normal 50-percent share of the cost.

Since this act was passed primarily to ease the unemployment problem, those projects which will require the greatest amount of employment will be given priority. Our State of Pennsylvania will be eligible for $90 million in aid.

There are several other measures which have been introduced that would help our unemployed—but, as yet, they have not been reported to the floor by the Rules Committee.

Legislation providing funds for a program for adult education is one of these. This is necessary, for we have found that a high school diploma is a must today in order to get employment. Accelerated programs would be provided permitting adults to make up lost schooling and secure either their diploma or a certificate of accomplishment.

The Youth Opportunities Act is a similar program for those of our young people who dropped out of school before graduation and who cannot find employment because of insufficient education.

As I said earlier, the amount of information we secured from the hearings of my Subcommittee on Unemployment and Automation was both startling and somewhat frightening. We have so much to do to correct the present unemployment situation and prevent a recurrence in the future that it was difficult to find a way to start.

I can assure you a solution must be—and will be—found, and I firmly believe we are on the right road with the Clark-Holland Manpower Development and Training Act.

Now, another important issue should be discussed—that of proper health care for our elder citizens.

In the State of Pennsylvania over 10 percent of our population has reached or passed the age of 65. In the congressional district which I have the honor of representing, almost 15 percent of the residents are 65 years of age or older.

I am well aware, therefore, of the need of these older people for help with their health expenses.

I think we all will admit, the older you get—the greater is the need for health insurance. I might add, the harder it is to get—or keep—at a nominal fee.

Those of our older citizens, who have no income and own no property, can—if it is proven their sons or daughters cannot afford to pay—received both medical care and hospitalization under the much talked about Kerr-Mills bill. This program is conducted under the supervision of the Department of Welfare and, even before the Kerr-Mills Act was in effect, this care was provided for our people in Pennsylvania.

However, for our older citizens who are living on social security pensions or railroad pensions—very, very few can qualify for care under this program.

To get aid, they must pass a means test showing their income, their property, their insurance—then, if that should happen to meet the requirements they must show the incomes and expenses of their married sons and daughters to prove they cannot pay for the needed care of their parents. If this is proven, and care is given then the costs will be paid by the State. But a lien will be placed against the property our elder citizen owns, and either upon his death or his desire to sell his property, the State will collect the amount it had paid for the medical care and hospitalization our patient had received.

I know, as I am sure you do too, that the majority of our senior citizens, who are receiving pensions, are proud and have worked hard all their lives in order to be able to have dignity and respect during their retirement. They will do without care—no matter how greatly needed—before they will accept "relief" or even ask for it.

Under President Kennedy's health program for our senior citizens, the King-Anderson

bill as we know it, these senior citizens could receive hospital care, nursing home care, diagnostic services, and home nursing care and therapy when needed.

There would be a small charge of $10 a day for hospital care for the first 9 days, but they would then be eligible for 81 days at no charge.

In regard to the diagnostic services, an initial charge of $20 is required, but everything over and above that amount would be provided free.

Care in a nursing home would be provided for 180 days at no cost—and home nursing care and therapy treatments would be provided at no cost.

This is President Kennedy's program for our pensioners receiving social security benefits or railroad retirment benefits.

These older people now getting aid from the Department of Welfare will continue to receive this care under the Kerr-Mills bill as no mention has been made of discontinuing this service—and, as I pointed out previously, our people in Pennsylvania received this care before the Kerr-Mills Act went into effect.

There have been so many conflicting stories regarding the financing of this program, I should like to have you know the correct one.

Those now receiving pnsions will not be taxed in any way.

Those now employed and participating in the social security program will be asked to contribute an additional one-fourth percent, or approximately $1 a month—$12 a year. However, when you reach the age of retirement, you will have this care at no additional cost. It is a prepaid hospital insurance plan.

You know the familiar expressions, "Fly now—pay later," "buy now—pay later." Well, this is the reverse, actually—"Pay now—use later."

Not only will you benefit yourself eventually but the average young married couple, raising their own children and meeting their own expenses, will benefit now as their parents will be able to receive proper and necessary care without depriving their grandchildren of the necessities of life.

These are the important problems facing the Nation.

These problems deal with people.

With—how government, your Federal Government, can help people, with—what government, your Government, can do to help people, and, with—why government, our Government, should help people.

I am proud to be a member of the Kennedy administration in Washington, for this administration has dedicated itself to work for the best interests of the people of the Nation.

President Kennedy has said many times, "There are sufficient lobbyists here in Washington looking out for the interests of specialized groups, I feel, as did President Truman, that the office of the President must act as the lobbyist for the people of the country."

I agree with both—however, I will go even further and say this, too, is the duty of a Congressman.

## The GI Bill for Junior—Suffer the Little Children and Let Their Needs Be Served

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the opponents of a fair share of aid for the children in nonpublic schools would practice discrimination where it is most obnoxious—among infants. These members within the NEA or nonequal aid group would deny assistance to those who exercise their constitutional right of freedom of choice. They are monocular where they should be visionary. Instead of looking on the whole spectrum of education with 20–20 perspective they prefer to cover one eye and see only the 85 percent in the public classrooms. This question can be swiftly resolved if primary consideration is given to the interests of the children excluding all extraneous factors. Paraphrasing the Biblical text: "We should suffer the little children to receive the benefits of our bounty and let their needs be served." This point was graphically made in an endorsement of the "GI Bill for Junior," H.R. 9803, by our distinguished colleague, Representative JAMES J. DELANEY, of Queens. I am proud to have sponsored this bill with him and I invite the attention of the Members to the article which appeared in the Tidings, August 24, 1962, Los Angeles, as follows:

AID BILLS NEED SCRUTINY

(By Msgr. Joseph F. Sharpe)

The sleeping giant of discriminatory legislation is quiet, but not dead. Congress has run into some economic and political problems that shelved activity on the Federal aid to education bills, but the American voter is not fooled into thinking that the lobbyists have hung up their tools and gone home.

The most powerful of the lobbying groups gathered its forces together early in summer in the beautiful city of Denver, and notably did not come forth with any startling program to teach Johnny to read or write or multiply, but did issue a resolution opposing only one kind of Federal aid to education—aid to nonpublic schools.

They begged the question, of course, but that was to confuse the public. The school does not need aid—in fact it does not even have to exist—if we are not concerned with the child.

But if the child needs financial aid to get a sound education, and he must get the aid from the Federal Government, then the Federal Government should help the American child. However, it would not sound very nice if the National Education Association issued a resolution opposing aid to the American child, would it?

ATTEMPT BLOCKED

Fortunately, the lobbyists are not the only ones who are determining policy in Washington. There are some forceful men in Congress who have made it quite clear that they will stand for no nonsense or tampering with the rights of Americans through discriminatory legislation.

For these, there is more at stake than the economic and political adjustments of the moment. They have a sense of the quality that makes statesmanship in not losing sight of the fact that political expediency must not eliminate justice.

At certain political risk, in fact, Congressman DELANEY blocked the last attempt to bring about Federal aid to schools and came up with a new bill labeled the "junior GI bill" which prevents discrimination in Federal expenditures for education.

At the same time, the bishops of the United States have been protecting the rights of non-public-school children by opposing any laws that would create an injustice for them.

Each of the many bishops throughout the land, taking apostolic authority seriously and trusting in the assistance of the Holy Spirit, has been a source of strength to the people in his charge.

CHILD HELPED

This was manifest in a startling manner a year ago when they met together and issued their unanimous statement which is a straightforward and unconfused declaration in favor of justice. They called attention to a virtue very much in their competence in matters of morals.

With the courage of Mr. DELANEY as an inspiration, and the statement of the bishops as a guide, the Committee on Education recently formed in the archdiocese of Los Angeles has asked the people of the area to give active support to the Delaney bill now before Congress.

Not only does this suggested legislation deny discrimination, it also avoids questions of constitutionality, of separation of church and state, of religion.

Through this bill, the individual child is helped equally with all other children if Federal aid is to be given to all. Of all attempts in Congress to deal with educational financing, DELANEY's bill is the only one to coincide with the view of the American bishops.

If American is to avoid the secularism to which it seems to be tending and God is to be worshiped as the source of all truth and goodness, the Catholic school must continue as an instrument of the Catholic parent in a well-rounded education of his child.

It must not be forced out of existence by the device of taxation or of Federal control of education. Catholic children must not be forced into a school where prayer to God is forbidden by law or where religion is damned by silence.

# Appendix

## Suspending Due Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, there are many urgent problems confronting the people and the Government of the United States—problems such as Cuba, a $300 billion national debt that is still increasing, an economy that has failed to demonstrate the buoyancy that we desire. Each of these problems is of urgent concern and demands courage and foresight in their solution.

However, Mr. Speaker, I submit these problems are neither as compelling nor as urgent as a lesser noticed problem that confronts every American. I refer to the threat to our individual liberty that is growing as a consequence of our growing Government that seeks to pursue a government of men rather than a government of law. When these men see what they regard as the need for more power, they either unilaterally act to assume greater power without statutory authorization or they urge Congress to enact legislation under the guise of a national security need.

An instance of an attempt to have Congress unwisely act to provide virtually unrestrained power to certain Government officials occurred earlier this week—the same week in which we observed Constitution Day. Under this proposed legislation persons could have been labeled security risks and dismissed from their jobs without any semblance of due process and the basis of only the flimsiest pretext. It is significant to note that this far-reaching legislation was authorized for floor consideration by the House Democratic leadership under suspension of the rules which allowed only 40 minutes' debate. Fortunately, these measures failed of passage.

In the September 19 edition of the Washington Post there was a perceptive editorial comment on this precipitous endeavor to force unsound and dangerous legislation through the House without adequate consideration. I will include the editorial as a part of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I would say that no American ever wants any subversive person to ever be in a position to injure our Nation, but at the same time, we must never forget the need to protect the liberty of our citizens against assault from oppressive government from without or within.

The editorial follows:

SUSPENDING DUE PROCESS

The House of Representatives observed Constitution Day on Monday by considering two bills which would permit American citizens to be dismissed from their jobs and disgraced without any semblance of the due process guaranteed by the Constitution. These bills, one concerning all employees of the National Security Agency, the other affecting the employees of all defense contractors, were sponsored by the Un-American Activities Committee and brought up under suspension of the rules. This means that debate on them was limited to 40 minutes, and amendments were precluded.

Because there was not so much as a quorum present on Monday to listen to the brief discussion of the bills, voting on them was postponed to today. A two-thirds vote will be required for passage; but most of the House knows little or nothing about these bills. They are far too important to be dealt with so cavalierly and carelessly. They involve fundamental rights for which Americans have fought and died.

It goes without saying that rigorous precautions should be taken in the selection of personnel for the National Security Agency and that the utmost care should be taken to safeguard military secrets in the possession of defense contractors. But these purposes do not require or call for denying employees a fair chance to defend themselves. Security does not have to be insensate.

Representative JOHN LINDSAY called attention to an implication of the industrial security bill which has been accorded little thought—and which is worth thinking about:

"I think all persons who are worried about the excessive power of a big central government ought to vote aaginst this bill, because for the first time—under the terms of this bill—you have the Central Government in a position where it can come between a man and his private employment arbitrarily and without the usual standards that are known as due process."

Why is Mr. WALTER in such a hurry about these bills? They are not likely to go through the Senate this session. Why should they not be considered under the normal, orderly procedure of the House with careful hearings by the Un-American Activities Committee, with full floor debate and with opportunity for perfecting amendments? A bipartisan group of Congressmen led by Representative TOM CURTIS has asked that the industrial security bill be recommitted for this purpose. Its sensible, reasoned plea should be heeded. It is more than its rules which the House has suspended. It has suspended its own powers of judgment; and it is being asked to suspend the Constitution for any defense worker who may be made the target of accusation.

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## A Constructive Suggestion on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON KARL E. MUNDT**
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, recently I have received one of the most thought-provoking letters concerning our foreign aid program ever to come to my attention. This letter, written from the heart, comes from a 77-year-old former resident of my State of South Dakota who has spent 50 years in agricultural research and education and participated in three foreign missions.

At this crucial time in our history when the Congress is again being asked to appropriate gigantic sums for foreign aid programs, the sentiments in this letter are especially thought-provoking. I call the attention of my colleagues to the information assembled by Congressman OTTO E. PASSMAN that on June 30 of 1962 there were $6,712 million of unexpended foreign aid funds on hand. I commend a careful reading and study of this letter to my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. KARL MUNDT,
*Senator, Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MUNDT: I am writing you as a senior (77 years of age) American citizen who is much disturbed regarding our foreign aid program, as a former South Dakotan (Emery, Spencer, Brookings, and Newell), and as one with some 50 years experience in agricultural research and education, including three foreign missions. I am writing you because of your well-known interest in good government and in foreign aid.

There are, of course, many reasons for our less-than-spectacular success in our foreign aid programs, especially as related to the less developed countries. I propose to mention only two or three of the more important. One, I feel is that we have promised or seem to have promised too much too soon. This is especially evident in the Alliance for Progress for South America. It may easily fail before it really gets underway.

Another serious defect is our neglect of agriculture and, of agricultural research in the countries we desire to help. Agriculture is the basic industry in most of the less developed countries. In many of them 70 percent of the people live on the land or derive their livelihood directly from the land. Poverty, hunger, and malnutrition are widespread. It would seem obvious that the improvement of their agriculture so they can find themselves and develop their own economy should rate a high priority. Instead we build concrete roads which few will use, build factories whose products cannot be sold because of the lack of local purchasing power, build houses for middle income groups, schoolhouses for countries that cannot support an educational program, and do many other things that under different circumstances would be desirable. They might be advisable in the current situation if agriculture was also improved.

We have, it is true, attempted in a small way to improve the agriculture of some countries. But it has been based largely on the unrealistic assumption that all that is necessary is American dollars, American know-how and American varieties, breeds of livestock

and cultural practices. As every agriculturist knows, and as of course you know, improvement of agriculture is not that simple. Practices must be adapted to the climate, soil, and economic conditions of the countries where they are to be used. South Dakota farmers do not grow corn hybrids adapted for Iowa conditions, nor varieties of wheat, oats, and barley developed in Illinois, Kansas or Oklahoma. They are relatively successful because they and the experiment stations have developed varieties and practices that fit South Dakota conditions. The same must be done for the less-developed countries if we expect to be successful. It can be done only by research or by the more expensive cut-and-try method.

The United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, and many of the countries of Western Europe have conducted extensive agricultural research for many years. It would be claiming too much to attribute their present eminence solely to this fact. But certainly the plentiful supply of agricultural products obtainable at reasonable costs has been an important factor. Based on these many years of experience in many countries, it should be possible to improve the agriculture of the less-developed countries by relatively simple methods and at relatively little expense. It cannot, however, be done at once, and it will not be done if policies are determined by lawyers and economists in the State Department. Hence it seems to me that some reorganization is necessary; such, for example, as will assure that men with experience in agriculture, including agricultural research, have the responsibility for determining policies and carrying out any program that is initiated.

Sincerely yours,

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## The Battle of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following editorial, with which I thoroughly agree, published in this morning's New York Times:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Sept. 21, 1962]

THE BATTLE FOR FOREIGN AID

President Kennedy has properly declared that "it makes no sense at all" for Congressmen to oppose communism with oratory and then to approve crippling cuts in the foreign aid program, which is a central weapon in the fight to preserve freedom. But last night the House of Representatives ignored the President's good advice and approved the completely inadequate foreign aid funds recommended by its Appropriations Committee. Today Moscow is rejoicing; and we can only look to the Senate to prevent the damage which would result if this irresponsible action of the House were to be confirmed.

The chief argument advanced against the foreign aid program is usually some variant of the idea that we cannot afford it. The President's request for $4,752 million is, however, less than 1 percent of the country's total annual production. This is true even now when we have substantial unemployed human and material resources. The United States is spending more than 10 times as much money for military strength, and there has been congressional pressure for spending even more in this area than the administration believes is wise. President Kennedy pointed out last week that this year's space budget is $5,400 million, almost a billion dollars more than he asked for foreign aid.

But neither nuclear weapons nor space ships affect the proverty which is the chief source of world instability and the chief breeding ground of communism. It is incomprehensible that this Nation can afford what it is spending for arms and for space research purposes and cannot afford the modest foreign aid request. In respect to the alleged drain of the foreign aid program on our balance of payments, the fact is that almost 80 percent of economic aid funds are spent in this country. The great outflow of American tourists abroad each year is a far larger burden on the U.S. balance of payments position than is foreign aid.

The United States alone cannot meet the entire problem posed by the underdeveloped nations, nor should it. Bilateral aid is actually in many ways less desirable than multilateral aid, and certainly the newly prosperous nations of Western Europe and Japan can and should contribute more to meeting the need. But a drastic reduction in our contributions to this purpose is not the way to persuade these nations to be more generous on their own account.

The President's statement on the cuts by the House Appropriations Committee was so much to the point that we reproduce it here: "The drastic cut in foreign aid funds recommended by the House Appropriations Committee poses a threat to free world security.

"It makes no sense at all to make speeches against the spread of communism, to deplore unstability in Latin America and Asia, to call for an increase in American prestige and an initiative in Eastern Europe—and then vote to cut back the Alliance for Progress, to hamper the Peace Corps, to cut off surplus food shipments to hungry Poles, to repudiate our long-term commitments of last year and to undermine the efforts of those who are seeking to stave off chaos and communism in the most vital areas of the world. Foreign aid has increasingly meant trade, sales, and jobs in this country, and reform, progress, and new hope in the developing countries.

"The aid program is just as important as any military spending we do abroad. You cannot separate guns from roads and schools when it comes to resisting Communist subversion in underdeveloped countries. This is a lesson we have learned clearly in South Vietnam and elsewhere in southeast Asia. To mutilate the aid program in this massive fashion would be to damage the national security of the United States.

"I cannot believe that those in both parties who have consistently voted in the course of three administrations to fulfill this Nation's obligations of leadership will permit this irresponsible action to go uncorrected."

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## Masaryk and European Unification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLAIBORNE PELL
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on September 18, I inserted in the RECORD a tribute to the 25th anniversary of the death of Thomas G. Masaryk. In my statement, I referred to the devotion of Dr. Peter Zenkel, the president of the executive committee of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia to the ideals of Masaryk.

As an additional gesture of recognition to the 25th anniversary of the passing of Thomas G. Masaryk, I ask unanimous consent that a translation of an article by Dr. Zenkel entitled "Masaryk and European Unification," which appeared in the September 1962 edition of the newspaper Ceske Slovo published in Munich, Germany, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MASARYK AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

It is history, not friends or enemies, which bestows final recognition of the greatness of a man. Time verifies true greatness. It is an arbiter from whose sentence there is no appeal: a judge at once just and incorruptible. Twenty-five years represent a long span in our dynamic and hurried era in which events rush by at such a pace that what seemed correct yesterday, is no longer true today. If 25 years after a politician and statesman's death, the ideas for which he fought in his lifetime are being carried out, then proof of his greatness has unmistakably been established. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the death of T. G. Masaryk. Let me illustrate his greatness by discussing one single problem.

The heart of every freedom-loving man is filled with joy over the developments in Western Europe. In the wake of the economic success of the Common Market uniting France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries, political unification is finally being negotiated as well. Moreover, Great Britain and other European nations seek admission to the Common Market.

Recently, in Reims, a city which has witnessed the crowning of French kings, the city of Joan of Arc, the capital of Champagne whose soil has been soaked with the blood of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, troops were reviewed by President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer—troops that form the core of the army of future federated Europe.

Addressing the Governors of the United States, President Kennedy greeted the new Europe and outlined a new era of interdependency. On the other hand, Khrushchev correctly underscoring the import of these events, condemns a unified Europe which signifies the end of his plans for global domination.

It is most appropriate that acclaim be extended not only to those who have worked for European unification in recent years, but also to those statesmen-prophets who years ago, called for a federated Europe. Indeed, we see today a federated Europe rising like Phoenix, from the ashes of two World Wars which were, above all, horrible civil wars of Europe.

When one thinks of those who advocated a federated Europe, one recalls Briand, Coudenhove-Kalergi, and many others. Frequently neglected is the man whom Bernard Shaw wished to be the first president of a United States of Europe, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk.

Yet, anyone can read his "The New Europe," the book which he wrote during the First World War and which discusses his goals. Only those who are Masaryk's enemies; and those who were—and perhaps still are—opposed to a federated and unified Europe, have depicted Masaryk as destroyer of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Knowledgeable men—those who are acquainted with the history of the 19th, and of the beginning of the 20th century—are aware of the fact that Masaryk was a confirmed federalist in relation to central-European Austria-Hungary. It only was the shortsighted policy of the Hapsburgs, who had been captured

by German imperialism, which forced Masaryk to seek a unified Europe over the grave of the Austrian and Hungarian monarchy.

For Masaryk, European federation was not some opportunistic scheme of the moment, but an organic outgrowth of Czech policy, a policy which had striven to transform the Hapsburg monarchy into a federalized structure of free and self-governing peoples, a federation which could have been the model for all of Europe. Federalization of Austria had, after all, been the goal of lifelong efforts of Masaryk's teacher and great predecessor, Palacky, who as a politician and historian had analyzed the history of Europe, as seen from its very center, with a thoroughness few others possessed. And when Masaryk found himself within the focal area of European politics during the First World War, he—despite his longing for the liberation of Czechs and Slovaks from centuries-long oppression—did not forget "mother" Europe. He conceived of the liberation of his own people as a useful and necessary step on the road to a voluntary and free European unification. Masaryk's enemies reproach him for the "balkanization" of Europe. Yet, the Second World War did not originate in the liberated nations, but in dictatorial states. Masaryk wrote, on page 436 of the Czech edition of his "Svetova Revoluce" (world revolution), that "the United States of Europe ceases to be a utopia." He clearly defined in this book his faith in a unified Europe.

Masaryk did not believe that nationalism and internationalism excluded each other, but that they were complementary. In "The New Europe" he said: "Nations are the natural organs of humanity. Humanity is not supernational, it is the organization of individual nations. If, therefore, individual nations struggle for their independence and attempt to break up states of which they have heretofore been parts, that is not a fight against internationality and humanity, but a fight against aggressors, who misuse states for the purposes of leveling them and enforcing political uniformity. Humanity does not tend to uniformity, but to unity; it will be the liberation of nations which will make possible the organic association, the federation of nations, of Europe, and of all mankind." Let us take note of the contemporary appropriateness of those words. The present central-European struggle against oppressors is a fight for European federation. And the struggle against the phenomenon which Masaryk had termed "uniformity" is the fight against the concept of satellite Communist leveling.

In all his prewar works, Masaryk pointed to the twilight of sovereignty for small and large states alike and to the need for wider political entities and international organizations. However, Masaryk did not connect state sovereignty with power, with the might of individual states after Machiavelli's fashion. He related sovereignty to the state's internal structure, saying that it was only an absolutist state that could perhaps attain full sovereignty, never a democratic one. Masaryk knew that in the case of even a large state full sovereignty could not be practiced except at the cost of inhuman isolationism. When reading his works, one gets the feeling that he was forecasting the erection of the Iron Curtain and of the Berlin wall, which are nothing but inhuman and despicable means for the preservation of Soviet sovereignty and Soviet fear of a Europe that is going through the natural process of unification. For what is the fundamental basis of Masaryk's concept of a world revolution? It was the democratization of Europe and of the world. And, indeed, this democratization which, in the past, prevented European unification by force has in the 20th century, grown so strong that nothing but violence and brute force can stay the unifying process. Masaryk consistently fought against unification by violence and for an organization of free nations which would be led by freemen.

Masaryk wrote a work which, in its English version, was titled "The Spirit of Russia." I do not consider this translation especially fortuitous, as the original name reads Russia and Europe, and the work is devoted to an analysis of the interactions of Europe and Russia. We find, within the whole context of this word, that Masaryk did not consider Russia as a part of Europe. Better, he thought of her as a special sociological, ethnic, and historical unit. He obviously did not see the border dividing Russia and Europe as set upon the Elbe. The greatest tragedy of our time is that the peoples which Masaryk helped to liberate, so they could form an integral part of a unified Europe, are today subjected by Russia. It is a tragedy that 100 million inhabitants of central and eastern Europe are unable to join the 160 million or so of west Europeans. Europe, thus unified, would have a population exceeding the 200 million of the U.S.S.R., to mention just the demographic aspect.

Europe will never be truly unified so long as unification remains restricted to Western Europe. Military reasons alone demand that the 550,000 square miles of central and eastern, non-Russian, Europe be jointed with the 450,000 square miles of Western Europe; a Western Europe which is too shallow for countering the Soviet onslaught through its own means alone. In terms of geopolitics and history, central Europe is a part of Europe. This fact, which was so clear to Masaryk and which was so masterfully documented in his work, should not be forgotten today when we rejoice in the progress of the nascent federated Europe, lest our joy be short lived.

Twenty-five years have passed since Masaryk's death. It is not Masaryk's dreams which are becoming a reality—for Masaryk was no dreamer. It is rather that the seed which he planted is at last sprouting through the soils of the concealed history of Europe; a history which Masaryk understood so well. Even we may not be dreamers as we put our faith today in the certainty of his idea and as we cherish hopes that another seed, of even greater promise, is germinating below the surface of present-day political events, a seed which will yield a harvest more joyous still in the form of a Europe undivided, a Europe actually unified, a Europe free, and a Europe truly new.

## To John W. Anderson, of Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, my district, Lake County, of Indiana, has one of the Nation's outstanding creative citizens in John W. Anderson, the president of the Anderson Co., of Gary, makers of automotive equipment.

His long experience in distribution and his concern with the trend toward oppressive retail monopoly led Mr. Anderson to the pioneering of the movement on behalf of quality stabilization of trademarked products. I am proud to be the first of many sponsors of the quality stabilization bill in this Congress.

Mr. Anderson's determined leadership on behalf of the consumer, the small businessman, and all ethical resellers, was recently saluted by Sid McKay, himself a small businessman of Los Angeles and an owner of McKay's Prescription Pharmacy there. Of Mr. Anderson, the president of Quality Brands Associates of America, Mr. McKay wrote:

You have made a true, all-out effort and a "thank you" just doesn't fit here because it just could not be loud enough, or long enough, to be heard enough.

Your energy has emphasized the weakness and apathy of too many of us, and for that, I am truly sorry.

Mr. McKay's keen and incisive analysis of the quality stabilization bill, and his appeal to all Members of this Congress to enact it quickly, is most deserving of your close attention:

FOR SMALL BUSINESS AND EMPLOYMENT

As you are well aware, a great number of words have been written, perhaps even more have been spoken, on the merits of Senate Joint Resolution 159, the Quality Stabilization Act, also referred to as House Joint Resolution 636, the quality stabilization bill. It is possible that the opposition to this proposed legislation has been equally eloquent and emphatic. However, I am confident that decisions resulting in support, or in opposition, by the individual Members of Congress, are determined by the weighing of facts, rather than mail. Frankly, if our positions were reversed (and that shouldn't happen to you or to Congress) and I were deluged with letters and telegrams, I might say to myself, "To hell with all of this advice. I will use the judgment attributed to me, when I was elected to this office." Neither did you solicit my advice, nor will I offer it. The following comments are intended as an expression of opinions, based on the experience of one individual, owner and operator of one small business, a retail pharmacy. This enterprise does enjoy and share, one distinction. It is one of 50,000 independently owned and operated retail pharmacies throughout the entire United States, according to statistics supplied by the 1960 census.

This small business employs five full-time employees, other than the owners, and during the past fiscal year $49,000 was paid out in wages, from annual gross sales of $190,000 and, after deducting all costs of operation and all taxes, the net profit was $1,543.72. This profit was possible only because of a pricing policy based on so-called minimum fair trade retail prices. Any alternative method of pricing without stability, regardless of the wishful thinking of well intentioned economists, would result in the elimination of this business enterprise—and more important and more unfortunate—a large number of other businesses, in the same category or similar status.

According the manufacturer a legal right to exercise a protective control over the retail value of his product, as outlined by and in, the Quality Stabilization Act, should give reasonable and fair assurance of costs and profits to those concerned in the transition of the product, from the manufacturer to the consumer. This should also serve as encouragement and incentive for expansion in production, and attendant increased employment. In competitive business enterprise any abuse of this right, would be impractical and unprofitable. Sound business principles have never been associated with evil business practices, whether it be a huge shopping center or a small store on Main Street, United States of America.

Creativity, as applied to opportunity for the individual in business enterprise, as applied to the opportunity of creating employment for others, as applied to the opportunity to be self-employed and self-support-

ing, ranks equally in importance with the opportunity to paint a portrait, to author a book, or sculpture a statue. Permit me one quote attributed to philosopher-author Arnold Toynbee, "To give a fair chance to potential creativity is a matter of life and death for any society." Small business, without this fair chance to survive in our society, is facing death.

This, I believe—and because I believe, I ask for your most serious consideration of the Quality Stabilization Act. I am extremely hopeful that such consideration will result in your support.

Respectfully,

SID MCKAY.

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## Soviet Domination Reaches Into Every Phase of Cuban Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, yesterday, the Senate—in its good judgment—adopted Senate Joint Resolution 230, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to Cuba.

Because of the significance of a Red foothold so close to our own Nation, it is important that we stay as well apprised as possible of the processes and progress of Communist domination over the Cuban people.

The Milwaukee Journal of September 16 published an article entitled "Soviet Domination Now Reaches Into Every Phase of Cuban Life."

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOVIET DOMINATION NOW REACHES INTO EVERY PHASE OF CUBAN LIFE—OBSERVER SEES LITTLE HOPE OF PRYING REDS FROM BASE EXCEPT BY ARMED INVASION

(By William L. Ryan)

Moscow today just about owns Cuba—lock, stock, barrel, and beard.

Inexorably, Soviet communism is closing its steel grip. Challenging the United States in the sensitive Caribbean and the Western Hemisphere, Moscow has given the world a lesson in imperialism.

When the Russians colonize, they colonize for good. Short of armed invasion, there seems little hope of prying the Communists out of a base 90 miles from U.S. shores.

The Soviet takeover will be complete when Fidel Castro is shoved aside, along with his 26th of July movement revolutionaries. This will be a slow and cautious process, but signs of party conflict are clear.

CASTRO LOSES SUPPORT

Daily, Castro appears more and more in the role of a bumbling and confused man, loudly demanding everything his own way, but bowing to what he now calls the "collective leadership." He has lost much popular support. Havana reports suggest only 20 percent of the people back him now. That is much more than the percentage backing the old guard Communists, but they do not need popular support. They have their tight, disciplined, spy ridden organization—and they have Moscow on their side.

The Communists are patient. They can wait until popular disillusion and economic chaos make Castro no longer important. They are letting him shoulder the blame for Cuba's internal woes. They are letting his entourage of "new Communists"—men like Ernesto Guevara; Fidel's brother, Raul Castro, and others of his Sierra Maestra revolution following—hang themselves with ropes fashioned of their own confusion. The time will come when Castro can safely be removed.

A close examination of just how tightly the Soviet Communist grip has seized the Pearl of the Antilles produces a sense of shock. From documents and official regime statements, and from reports of diplomatic travelers, this picture emerges of a Cuba as tightly bound to Moscow as is Bulgaria:

THE ARMED FORCES

The rag-tag 26th of July army of bearded romantics who marched into Havana January 2, 1959, is no more. In its place is a force of about 300,000, made up of more than 50,000 trained regulars and a heavily armed militia. The training is by Communist bloc officers. The equipment is modern. The discipline is strict and Soviet style. The facilities are installed and expanded by Russians and east Europeans.

Even now the army has political commissars, carbon copies of the politruk officers of east bloc armies, assigned to nail down party authority. One group of 750 revolutionary instructors was graduated this month from a special school and is being infused into the army. Castro says their mission is to "teach the class struggle character of the revolution" to the army.

THE ECONOMY

Moscow owns the economy. Fantastic numbers of trucks and other vehicles pour in from the Red bloc, each batch making Cuba more dependent upon Soviet petroleum shipments.

Imports for 1962 from the U.S.S.R. include: Wheat flour, cereal grains, edible oils, canned, frozen and cured meats, condensed milk, baby foods, rice, butter, lard, peas, canned fish, beans, potatoes, fertilizers, rayon and other textiles, superphosphates, trucks, jeeps, buses, tractors, a petroleum tanker, rice harvesters, machine tools, power shovels, graders, bulldozers, compressors, rolled steel, tinplate, steel pipes, cast iron, cardboard, raw materials for soap manufacture, cement, lubricants, ammonium nitrate and even containers for sugar.

Czechoslovakia is sending textile yearns, artificial leather, steel products, chemicals, glass, foodstuffs, newsprint, buses, tractors, trucks and tow trucks, machinery and tools, diesel motors, electronic units. Red China sends soybeans, rice, canned meat, medicines. Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland send food. The bloc also sends swarms of technical assistants.

Cuba's sugar goes to the bloc in part payment. The sugar industry, always the backbone of the Cuban economy, is dominated completely by the Soviet bloc. Bloc equipment runs the refineries.

AGRICULTURE

In a speech to farmers in May 1961, Castro ridiculed the idea that farms would be collectivized. He said: "The revolution would never do such a foolish thing * * *. Although this is a Socialist revolution, the land will not be socialized. * * * If a farmer prefers to keep his bit of land, then the revolution will never try to socialize it."

An agrarian reform law a year before had broken up big holdings for distribution. Peasants, in order to make any economic sense of their production, had to form cooperatives, especially in such fields as sugar, coffee, rice, and cattle raising. The number of cooperatives grew to 622.

As late as 2 months ago, Castro repeated the pledge against collectivization. Then he changed his mind—or it was changed for him.

As in other Communist lands, production quotas are laid down. Norms are set for cattle and livestock reproduction, and, as in the other lands, the big drawback is that the cattle cannot read instructions. The economy is prey to all the ills that afflict other Communist agriculture.

LABOR

Regimentation is on the Soviet model. The workingman is subject to production quotas. "Socialist emulation," the speedup device invented by Moscow, was formally introduced April 16. The speedup worker is known as "distinguished worker."

The Cuban workers' central directs 25 national unions and automatically approves what the regime orders. As in other Communist countries, it does not represent the labor force, but the state. Workers are subjected to lectures, work discipline, warning about such things as a "formal bureaucratic attitude." They are punished for lateness or absenteeism. Directors are punished for failing to make quotas or for distorting figures.

Cards were issued August 15 to all workers over 18. The information about each worker took up 15 pages. Fourteen pages went into regime files. The worker got the 15th as his card. He cannot work without it.

Before the Castro era, few women in Cuba did heavy labor. Now they—along with workers, students and even aged people—are dragooned into "Socialist Sundays." They are supposed to be volunteers to save sugar crops. Women also cut hay, pick coffee and cotton, and do other agricultural labor.

YOUTH

Cuba now has a Communist Youth Union, with the same cell structure which marks the Soviet Young Communist League (Komsomol). Its purpose, said Castro, is to "mold youth into a Communist attitude * * * war against intrigue * * * against gossip, against rumors behind the back * * * to correct errors of others."

There is an organization committee controlling all activities of students in both school and vacation time. It guards against absenteeism, watches student unions, mobilizes students for work in the field, provides monitors to watch teachers, presides over sports and all student activities.

INTERNAL ENEMIES

All the ills of an emerging Communist regime afflict Cuba: Shortages, hoarding, black marketing, clandestine slaughter of livestock. Those who complain are labeled enemies of the people.

In a Catholic country, the regime goes slowly about cracking down on religion. Castro proclaims religious freedom. But church activities are curtailed and confined inside church buildings.

The regime carries on a gigantic indoctrination campaign. Hundreds of thousands of Communist manuals are distributed. Communist Boss Blas Roca's "Fundamentals of Socialism in Cuba" was distributed in 700,000 copies—1 for each 10 or less persons.

THE OUTLOOK

On the surface, Castro still does not appear to have lost any of his authority but that is only a surface appearance. The old guard Reds weave their power web carefully, move slowly. The time is approaching for the final phase of envelopment. When Castro's presence is no longer necessary, when he has taken all the blame for Cuba's economic disaster, he can safely be put aside, and that will be managed by men responsible to Moscow.

Right now, Roca, Carlos Rodríguez, and other old guard Communists seem to be spending much of their time trying to outfox Castro. The Premier appears to flounder more and more in a morass of mixed-up

ideology. Is he being insidiously undermined by the old guard? There is much evidence to suggest that he is, and he seems resentful.

When Castro finally is shoved aside it will be small consolation for the United States. It will mean Moscow's domination is complete.

Castro sounded a little bitter about things in a recent speech.

"A revolution is not as easy thing," he said. "It is easy in books. It is difficult in reality."

## Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, September 20, 1962:

FAMILIAR STORY

The anguished cries which have greeted the $1.124 billion cut in foreign aid would be more impressive if they did not have such a familiar ring.

President Kennedy says this slash by the House Appropriations Committee, deepest of any year, is "irresponsible" and a "threat to free world security." Secretary of State Rusk says our foreign policy objectives will be "greatly endangered" unless Congress votes the full $4.752 billion requested by the President.

We are not so sure. For the record on foreign aid, and former statements made with respect to it, do not inspire unlimited confidence.

Last year, for example, the subcommittee handling this matter recommended $3.357 billion for the mutual security program. Secretaries Rusk and McNamara said a workable program could not be maintained under the cut proposed by the subcommittee. So Congress finally appropriated $3.9 billion. But only $3.196 billion was spent during the year—$716 million less than Congress appropriated and, believe it or not, $159 million less than the amount recommended by the subcommittee—the recommendation which brought the protest from Messrs. Rusk and McNamara.

All of this is taken from this year's report of the subcommittee headed by Representative PASSMAN, of Louisiana, and adopted by the full committee. As far as we know it is an accurate report. And it shows other things.

The President's budget requests for foreign aid are sent to Congress in January. Not until 2 months later are foreign aid officials ready to testify in support of their requests, and even then they cannot justify many items. Does this mean that the President's budget figures are mere guesses? During this year's hearings it was established that 101 of the 113 nations of the world have been, are or will be recipients of aid from the United States since the end of World War II. By any standard, that is covering a lot of territory. Finally, it is estimated that there was $6.712 billion in the foreign aid "pipeline" at the end of fiscal 1962. We realize that this money is committed. But the 1962 pipeline is almost $2 billion more than the 1960 figure. And this suggests to us that Congress has been appropriating money faster than it can be spent. It also raises doubts in our mind that Mr. PASSMAN, his critics to the contrary, really is bent on wrecking the foreign aid program.

Perhaps this year's cut is too deep—we do not know. If so, if this can be shown, some of the money should be restored. The restriction which would ban aid to Poland and Yugoslavia should be knocked out on a point of order. This matter was decided earlier in the session and, furthermore, it is legislation which has no place in an appropriation bill. On the whole, however, we think the committee did a creditable job. And we also believe its final action was an accurate reflection of the temper of the country.

## Address by Vice Adm. H. A. Yeager, U.S. Navy, at the Christening and Launching Ceremonies of the U.S.S. "Vancouver"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. SYMINGTON. Madam President, members of my family were honored to be present at the christening and launching of the U.S.S. *Vancouver* at the New York Naval Shipyard.

Adm. H. A. Yeager, commander amphibious force, U.S. Pacific Fleet, gave the major address at the ceremony. He discussed the role of the new class of ships—of which *Vancouver* is the second—and the role of our great amphibious forces in keeping the peace in all parts of the globe.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by Admiral Yeager be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY VICE ADM. H. A. YEAGER, U.S. NAVY, COMMANDER, AMPHIBIOUS FORCE, U.S. PACIFIC FLEET, AT THE LAUNCHING OF U.S.S. "VANCOUVER" (LPD 2), NEW YORK NAVAL SHIPYARD, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1962

We meet here today to christen and launch a new ship of the U.S. Navy. This is a happy occasion for all of us. With this ceremony we take the first step in giving life to the creation of the skilled minds and hands of the planners, designers, and craftsmen. And with this ceremony, we assign a name to the ship and wish her good luck as she first enters her natural home—the waters of the great oceans of the world.

I know that as we gaze upon this ship we have our separate thoughts. The men who designed and built her look with pride and satisfaction on a job well done. Those who will serve in her, examine her lines and configuration with a professional eye to the tasks ahead. And those of us who see this ship as an important addition to the naval power of the United States, view her with patriotic pride as a symbol of the determination of the American people that, come what may, this Nation and this people shall remain forever free.

The name this ship is to bear is a most fitting one. The beautiful city of Vancouver in the great State of Washington is the oldest permanent settlement of our Pacific Northwest.

Vancouver was the center of the pioneering movement of our people into that area, and there were established the first industries and the first school in the Northwest.

It is also fitting that this ship bear the name Vancouver because in that city, more than a century ago, was built the first seagoing craft to be constructed in the Northwest. Vancouver was also the place where the first steamboat to enter the Pacific Ocean made her first trip under steam.

In naming the ship *Vancouver*, we also honor the great English navigator, whose historic survey of the northwest coast of the continent contributed so much to opening the area for development.

And so the name Vancouver represents many of the finest traditions of our Nation's history which should be, and will be, a part of this ship.

But today we look forward. This is a ship of the future. Those who conceived of this new design, those who drew her lines, and those who are building her, have had the future in mind.

She is the second ship of her type to be built. She follows the first of her class, U.S.S. *Raleigh*, which was commissioned here just a week ago.

These ships represent hard-earned experience in the field of amphibious warfare, but they represent also a vision of the future needs of the Navy. For this ship is to be part of the new Navy—a Navy being built in this shipyard and in shipyards throughout our great country—a new Navy which will give the United States the kind of naval power we shall need in the foreseeable future.

Some 20 years ago, the Navy's amphibious forces sprang into being almost overnight in response to the urgent requirements of the Second World War. Every major campaign of that war began with an amphibious invasion. Every one was successful.

But at the close of that war, some experts said that the advent of nuclear weapons meant the end of amphibious operations—that the Navy would no longer need an amphibious capability.

How wrong they have been. Within 6 years after the end of World War II, we made the large-scale amphibious landing at Inchon which effectively turned the tide in Korea. In the decade following that conflict, our amphibious forces were called on to act in connection with almost every occasion of international tension—at places like Suez, Vietnam, the Tachen Islands, Lebanon, and the Congo. Just a few weeks ago, ships of my Pacific Amphibious Force landed the Marines at Bangkok, Thailand.

The fact is that our ability to deter nuclear war has placed even greater emphasis on our ability also to deter or to resist limited aggression. The fact is that our great Navy-Marine Corps amphibious team is becoming increasingly important in view of the kind of nibbling aggressions to which our adversaries have turned.

Whenever such aggressions occur or are threatened, our amphibious forces can move promptly to the area across the free oceans, unhampered by diplomatic considerations, and supported by the full might of our mobile and powerful fleet.

Often, just being there, over the horizon, we can convince those who contemplate aggression that such an act would be unwise and perhaps self-destructive.

Or we can, at the request of a friendly government, promptly place our combat-ready marines ashore, and support them there indefinitely. We did so at Lebanon, and we kept the peace. We did so more recently in Thailand, and we helped to preserve the integrity of that country's borders.

This capability is, indeed, one of our country's important military assets, and it will continue to be important in the foreseeable future.

*Vancouver*, and the other new amphibious ships we are building today, will greatly en-

hance our Nation's limited-war deterrent power. But if an aggressor should be so unwise as to begin hostilities, these ships will enable us promptly to place American fighting men on the scene, together with their necessary weapons, equipment and supplies, and in such strength that they can effectively deal with the enemy.

Our new amphibious forces will be fast—able to move across a thousand miles of ocean within 48 hours. We will be able to land across the beach or, if the tactical situation dictates, we can strike through the air by helicopter-borne assault, hitting the enemy's flanks, surrounding his defense, interdicting his support, and successfully establishing our fighting marines ashore, following up the airborne assault with heavy logistic and combat support across such beaches as are available.

*Vancouver*, and her sister ship *Raleigh*, represent the means we need to carry out such operations. These ships combine the most useful characteristics of several other types of amphibious ships. Like the dock landing ships which they resemble, they can carry in their large well deck various types of landing craft. Like amphibious assault ships, their flight decks provide for the operation of troop and cargo-carrying helicopters. Like the attack transport and attack cargo ships, they can carry troops together with their combat equipment and the supplies necessary to support and sustain them ashore.

These ships provide the kind of versatility we need in our amphibious forces. Too many of our present amphibious ships, though still useful, are becoming obsolete in terms of present and future technology. Many of these ships, converted from merchant ships in the early days of World War II, were actually in service before most of the men who serve in them were born.

But ships like *Vancouver* and *Raleigh*, *Iwo Jima* and *Okinawa*, are taking their places. These new ships are a tribute to the wisdom and foresight of American people and of their representatives in the Congress. These ships are part of the American answer to those who promise to bury us.

God forbid that it should come to pass, but some Americans may indeed be buried before the great conflict of our times is ended. And if Americans should fall in defense of freedom, I know that history will say we buried our own, with honor, in heroes' graves, and that we did so as freemen.

These qualities of the American spirit—vision, determination, courage—these qualities are built into this ship.

And these are qualities which Captain Harbert and his officers and men will take into her when, a few months from now, the word is given, "Set the watch."

Let our adversaries take notice that we Americans are always on watch, that we recognize and fully assume our responsibilities to each other and to the great ideals which inspired our forefathers and which today inspire men struggling for freedom throughout the world.

Let those who despise and threaten freedom know that, with God's help, we Americans shall always defend and preserve our freedom, not matter what the cost.

## Company Health Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch is a news item reporting a speech by John T. Connor, president of Merck & Co., which deserves both thought and action:

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Sept. 19, 1962]

COMPANY HEALTH AID PLANS URGED FOR PENSIONERS

CHICAGO, September 19.—A business executive whose firm already has adopted the program urged other large companies yesterday to provide health insurance for their retired employees.

John T. Connor, president of Merck & Co., a pharmaceutical concern, told the annual convention of the American Hospital Association: "If all major corporations and businesses across the country made similar provisions for retired employees * * * the nature of the national program which we face together might be totally changed."

Connor said that every unit of government which does not now do so should devise adequate plans for taking care of the health needs of its own retired employees. He said:

"It is a national scandal that those most in need of financial help during sickness in their declining years are often women and men who have served faithfully and well for many years on inadequate salaries as teachers, policemen, firemen, and civil servants of all kinds."

Connor said he shares the concern of many physicians that placing the health-care payments for any segment of the population under Federal control represents a dangerous precedent, but he said: "At the same time, I think opponents of the social security approach should ask themselves, in all candor, whether the so-called voluntary solution to the problem is as practical as they like to imagine."

He said that if most corporations and most local and State governments and the Federal Government provided voluntary and contributor insurance for their retired employees, the move "certainly would represent such an appreciable improvement that the remainder of the problem would be more manageable."

Connor said his firm has provided retired employees and their dependents with a hospital and surgical insurance program for the last 4 years, with the company bearing the entire cost.

## Hartke Urges All Americans To Accept Personally the Vice President's Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on September 18, 1962, Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON addressed the United Steelworkers convention in Miami, Fla. His remarks to the delegates and honored guests of the convention were more than inspirational. The Vice President offered a real challenge to America. Every American should accept this challenge personally.

I ask unanimous consent to have our Vice President's remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that all may have the opportunity to read and understand the wisdom of our distinguished and able Vice President, LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

(Remarks by Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, United Steelworkers Convention, Miami, Fla., Tuesday, September 18, 1962)

President McDonald, delegates, honored guests, being here today is something of a surprise for me. As you know, Arthur Goldberg was supposed to fill this place that I occupy. But at virtually the last minute, Secretary Goldberg found that he had another appointment. I had hardly stepped off the plane that brought me back from the Middle East, when I encountered the Goldberg charm and the Goldberg persistency.

So I find myself here in Miami trying to fill the shoes of a man with whom you have been intimately associated for many years and whom I consider one of the great public servants of our time.

Arthur Goldberg insisted that out of my experiences in the Middle East could come a message that would be meaningful to you. I told him that I did not think you had traveled all the way to Miami to listen to a travelog. But he said that this was not the point. He said, and I agree, that we are living in a world where all who love freedom—regardless of the race, creed, color, or section of origin—are bound together in common interest. In this, he is right, and about this I want to talk today.

SHEPHERDS AND KINGS

Less than 2 weeks ago, I was in a region of the world crucial to the future of freedom—the Middle East. I walked the teeming streets of Ankara and Izmir—and through the bazaars of Tehran and Istanbul. I talked with shepherds in Greece and roadworkers in Lebanon; with shipwrights in Naples and factory workers in Nicosia.

I had specific missions from the President. These required me to discuss points of common interest to the whole free world with presidents and prime ministers and with two kings.

But American foreign policy does not interest itself solely in diplomatic negotiations. We are deeply aware that the opinions of people are ultimately controlling. Therefore, I tried to learn from both the high and the low—from royalty in Greece and from a boy peddling watermelons in Beirut.

CRUCIAL REGION

It is difficult to find an area of the world of greater importance to the long-range interest of the United States and of freedom. The Middle East represents the cradle of Western civilization. The Middle East is where we first drew the line against communism after World War II—and that line has yet to be dented. The Middle East represents a vital flank of the NATO shield against aggression.

The major Middle Eastern nations that I visited have dedicated themselves to preserving their independence at any cost and have backed their determination with men and resources. No sensible man would pretend that he had become an expert on this area of the world in a visit that lasted less less than 3 weeks. Nevertheless, there are certain impressions that I wish to share with you—because they have a direct bearing upon our problems.

THE BRIGHT HOPE

First, the so-called ugly American has made very little impression upon the people of the world—if he exists at all.

The throngs that turned out by hundreds of thousands to greet me in virtually every country certainly did not turn out to see LYNDON JOHNSON. They did turn out because I was there representing the United States which remains the bright hope of hundreds of millions throughout the world.

Nothing in my travels has made me so proud as the deep reservoir of respect and affection for our country.

Second, communism has virtually no appeal to people in the Middle East or elsewhere in the world. The triumphs of communism do not arise out of Soviet success in capturing the hearts and the minds of men and women. Where the Communists have succeeded, they have done so only by taking advantage of confusion and division.

Third, and most important, the people of the world are no longer content to live in poverty, ignorance, and disease. They believe—quite rightly—that in the light of modern knowledge these ancient enemies no longer need be tolerated.

They are looking to our system to show them the way into the 20th century. And we must not fail because the alternative is anarchy and through anarchy the enemies of freedom will triumph.

This means that our system must work. We cannot hold ourselves forth as the hope of the world unless our own house is in order. The most important objective of our foreign policy is to maintain freedom as a way of life and a crucial element in achieving our goals is our own economic strength and our own prosperity.

A ROSY PICTURE

By selecting certain facts—and turning our backs upon others—it is possible to paint a rosy picture of America. I am afraid that some have succumbed to that temptation. Personal income has set new records. The average worker took home $85.53 a week last July, 3 percent higher than a year ago. Employment in August was at an alltime high and the unemployment rate dropped from nearly 7 percent of the labor force to 5.8 percent.

But this is not the whole picture. Despite the high rate of employment, 3.9 million people remained jobless and many of our finest plants are producing at rates well below capacity. In your own industry, steel production is at less than 60 percent of its potential.

These facts need not give cause for despair. We are not in a depression nor are we close to one. But these facts do present us with a challenge. Can we—a nation which prides itself upon our humanitarian philosophy and our economic efficiency—continue to permit this waste of human and physical resources?

A CLEAR ANSWER

President Kennedy has given the answer loud and clear. He has affirmed unemployment as the major domestic challenge of the sixties. And he has pointed out that this administration has no intention of learning to live with unemployment. We will not be content until this enemy is licked and American workers can live in the security to which they are entitled by their brains, their brawn, and their willingness to work.

The first need when this administration took office was to come to the relief of those who were suffering from the long months of dreary joblessness.

The President put into action the food stamp plan. Unemployment compensation was extended to those who had exhausted their benefits. The Area Redevelopment Act became a cornerstone of policies to cushion the impact of automation. The U.S. Employment Service was strengthened. The minimum wage was increased and its coverage extended for the first time in 22 years. A great new Housing Act was passed.

The President established the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity—and as Chairman of that Committee, I want to congratulate your leadership upon its unswerving devotion to the principles of that Executive order. These measures, however, represented only the beginning. Longer term programs must be put underway.

One of the most vital is the Manpower Development and Training Act. Already, 70 projects in 11 States have been approved. In a very short time, more than 8,000 people will be trained for 51 different jobs and this will soon grow into the hundreds of thousands.

Earlier this month, Congress passed the President's $900 million public works program. It also passed the tax credit bill, while the administration has developed new tax depreciation schedules.

Still before Congress is new employment insurance legislation; the youth employment opportunities bill; the college aid bill and the most significant trade measure since the early days of the New Deal.

I cannot predict the outcome of all of these measures. We live under government by consent—and we intend to keep it that way. But I can tell you that this administration will not rest until it has secured adequate measures to combat unemployment.

NOT A LONG JUMP

I started my remarks today by reminiscing on the streets of Ankara and the bazaars of Istanbul. This may seem like a long jump to a convention in Miami. But the jump is not as far as it seems.

Often during my visit to the Middle East, I was reminded of a statement by one of your great leaders—one of the greatest names in the American labor movement—Phil Murray. He said, in naming labor's objectives, that what the workingman wants is a rug on the floor, a picture on the wall, and music in the home. This is a modest statement of what we have achieved. But for millions of people it is literally what they aspire to. And their aspirations are tied—very directly—to the leadership that we can give the free world.

Leadership comes only from those who are strong—strong morally and strong physically.

TRIPARTITE DIVISION

We live in a world which is divided roughly into three parts. One-third is under Communist domination; one-third is committed to the institutions of freedom; one-third is groping its way toward the institutions of the 20th century.

These people of the latter third are hoping that they can achieve what we already have. We cannot afford to let them down. Our Nation, in its prime, must not falter or fail.

We shall not succeed, however, if we maintain an artificial division between our foreign and domestic policies. We must realize that our foreign policy is not a separate thing—to be held in the hands of a few skilled specialists and to be divorced from the total overall policies of our Nation.

The extent to which we ourselves are making full use of our productive resources has a direct bearing upon the example we offer the rest of the world. The extent to which we achieve physical stability is an immediate factor in our capacity to help others less fortunate to help themselves. Our capacity to govern ourselves through mutual agreement is the measure of our capacity to attract others to the institutions of freedom.

And in the last analysis, we must all remember that in everything we do—including labor-management relations—the public interest has become everyone's silent partner and the public interest calls upon us for the very highest form of responsibility.

TRENDS AT WORK

There are six trends at work in our land which calls for national unity of purpose as we have never had such national unity before. These trends are:

1. Our rate of economic growth has been inadequate to ward off long-term unemployment.

2. Since the end of the war we have experienced four recessions—and many of the jobs lost during those recessions have been lost for good.

3. Profound changes in our technology are leading ultimately to greater capacity and more abundance—but for the time being they are making obsolete the skills that formerly meant steady work for millions of American workers.

4. The geographical base of American industry is shifting—and thereby causing dislocations in our labor force.

5. The exhaustion of resources has economically isolated some towns and communities that once were prosperous and flourishing.

6. Our success in aiding foreign economies to recover after World War II has increased competition for world markets. We do not seek to eliminate competition but we do seek to meet it intelligently.

Never before in our economic history have the stakes been so great and the need for national unity so paramount. And it is to face the trends that I have cited already that this administration has presented its programs.

There is no one answer and no one solution. We must, as a nation, march forward in overall unity tackling our problems as a whole.

I would like to leave you today with a thought expressed by the man who was originally supposed to occupy this platform—Arthur Goldberg.

He said, "We all, in the end, have only one interest at heart, that this great and mighty Nation of ours continue in strength and vitality as the champion of human freedom."

I thank you.

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## The Senate Versus McCarthy

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Senate Versus McCarthy," published in the Saturday Evening Post issue of August 25–September 1, 1962.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SENATE VERSUS MCCARTHY

DEAR SIRS: Your article on the censure of Senator McCarthy ["The Final Irony of Joe McCarthy," by Edward Bennett Williams, June 9] demonstrates the forensic skill of his lawyer, Mr. Williams. But it doesn't help The Post's reputation for responsible treatment of history.

Mr. Williams says nothing critical of me, although the Senate's action on the McCarthy censure resolution of 1954 followed in train from my own resolution of 1951 asking for McCarthy's expulsion from the Senate. Wholly unjustly, Williams traduces the Senate of the United States and the fairness of its procedures—and you make no comment.

Senator McCarthy was censured largely on two counts: (1) His outrageously contemptuous treatment of the Gillette committee studying my resolution, and (2) his contemptuous treatment of the Watkins committee studying Senator Flanders' censure resolution. In my judgment, the Senate and the public saw these as parallels to the contempt McCarthy had shown for the rights of scores of Americans over the previous 5 years.

Mr. Williams claims that, had the Watkins committee or the Senate discovered that the Gillette committee had ordered a "mail cover" on McCarthy, "the outcome might have been different." Williams fails to report that the "mail cover" was discussed on the floor of the Senate before the final vote for censure. Senator HAYDEN, one of the Senate's most respected members, described the "mail cover" as legal (no mail was opened) and customary in investigations, said that it had become necessary in this case because of McCarthy's refusal to testify and gave its purpose as an attempt to learn the identity of McCarthy's brokers—for a followup on the charge that McCarthy used contributions to his "anti-Communist crusade" for personal investment.

Mr. Williams implies that McCarthy's contempt of the Gillette committee was accidental—that the telegram inviting McCarthy to testify arrived while he was on a hunting trip. Williams fails to report that in the weeks and months preceding this telegram the committee sent McCarthy seven different written requests to testify; McCarthy either ignored these or answered with derisive "open letters"; even the telegram delayed by the hunting trip evoked an insulting reply.

Williams suggests McCarthy wasn't in contempt because no subpena was issued—but he surely knows that the Senate doesn't subpena its own Members, and a request of this kind is a courteous kind of command.

Williams claims censure might have been avoided had McCarthy agreed to a compromise resolution. He fails to report that several proposed compromises were resoundingly defeated on the floor before the final crushing vote of 67 to 22.

Above all, Williams gives no inkling of the depths of McCarthy's abuse of Senators. One example: McCarthy warned Senator Hendrickson, the Republican who remained on the Gillette committee, to expect a blast if he signed the Gillette report. Hendrickson signed and was promptly dubbed by McCarthy, on the front pages, "a living miracle, with neither brains nor guts." Senator Watkins was termed a "coward" and his committee a "lynching bee." Senator Flanders was "senile—they ought to bring a man with a net."

There is a vital national lesson in the censure of Joseph McCarthy. Mr. Williams' article blurs and undermines that lesson. The lesson is that the U.S. Senate will put up only so long with the kind of tactics McCarthy made notorious.

WILLIAM BENTON,
*Southport, Conn.*

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Former Senator Benton is now publisher and chairman of Encyclopaedia Britannica.)

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## Part I: Aid to Dependent Childern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, aid to dependent children has become one of the most controversial subjects in the country. Detroit News Reporter Jo Ann Hardee has done a serivice by writing a six-part series on the subject which I am pleased to insert in the RECORD:

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(By Jo Ann Hardee)

Outside neighbor children amuse themselves by filling broken beer bottles from a pool of stagnant water and splashing the muddy contents onto littered pavement.

In the apartment a 24-year-old woman is being interviewed by a caseworker from the aid to dependent children (ADC) program.

Miss Adams' case is being reinstated a year after the birth of her third illegitimate child. Her home declared unsuitable, she was cut off aid to dependent children, had been supported by the Detroit Public Welfare Department.

MOTHER'S CASE IS TYPICAL

Miss Adams is as typical of the current aid to dependent children caseload in Wayne County as any one person could be.

Like 60 percent of the county's aid to dependent children mothers, she is a Negro.

She lives in the crowded, crime-ridden Petoskey Precinct. Her apartment is clean, though poorly furnished. Prominent in its small living room is an old television set, her last gift from a long-gone boy friend.

The building in which she lives is ill kept. Hallways are dirty, stairs in need of repair, corridors filled with stale cooking odors and swarms of flies.

LANDLORDS "MILK" PROPERTY

"Part of the fault lies with absentee landlords who milk their near-slum properties for all they are worth, letting them crumble while they live off the rents."

Rents are cheaper in city housing projects where nearly 1,400 aid to dependent children families live. Averaging $37 a month for public assistance cases, housing project rents are nearly $30 less than private housing and buildings are usually better maintained.

But there are waiting lists for public housing apartments with more than one bedroom.

Frustration pervades neighborhoods where large numbers of public assistance families live.

TEEN'S COMPLAINT: "NOBODY CARES"

One aid to dependent children-supported teen told a settlement house worker: "We're poor. Nobody cares about us. The teachers don't care, the police don't care, my friends don't care. And I don't much care either."

This feeling of neglect is heightened by the 40 percent annual turnover in aid to dependent children social workers who leave for higher paying jobs, more schooling, or marriage and families. This amounts to a new work staff every 2½ years.

The caseworker processing Miss Adams' application is the third to handle the 120-case zone in 3 years. "It takes several visits to reach a point where a client trusts you and accepts your advice," one aid to dependent children worker said.

"Sometimes you only see a client once. Another persons sees her the next time, another the next."

Every month 600 to 800 of the 16,394 Wayne County recipients move, complicating casework and disrupting children's school life.

Aid to dependent children officials and their critics both ask: What kind of an investigation and rehabilitation job can an agency do when it's up against such alarming mobility rates?

SURPRISE VISITS MADE TWICE A YEAR

Swamped with paperwork, aid to dependent children caseworkers are required to pay a surprise home call on their cases only twice a year. (The Detroit Welfare Department with roughly 12,000 clients—85 per worker—visits its caseload at least every 2 months.)

Problem families on aid to dependent children may receive more frequent home calls.

One worker told of a client who had had seven illegitimate children by seven men.

The woman had an intelligence rating of 60 (normal is 90–110) and had to be reminded nearly weekly that she was not to have children while unmarried.

When her worker returned from a 3-month sick leave the client disclosed she was pregnant. The woman's excuse: "But you weren't here and I didn't remember what I wasn't supposed to do."

Eventually all but one of this woman's children were taken from her. They are in foster homes or mental hospitals.

Within her limited capacities she is trying—almost pitifully—to make a good home for the remaining child.

Critics often characterize aid to dependent children recipients as lazy, neglectful chiselers who spend money meant for their children on booze and boy friends.

COUNTY ADOPTED PROGRAM IN 1940

Federal depression legislation, aid to dependent children was adopted in Wayne County in 1940 to supplant a mothers' pension fund. During 22 years, the program has remained essentially the same. Its recipients have changed.

Only 6 percent of the State's 32,000 recipients are widows; 7 percent are incapacitated fathers.

The rest of the caseload includes:

| | *Percent* |
|---|---|
| Divorced or legally separated | 24 |
| Deserted | 11 |
| Separated without court decree | 20 |
| Unwed | 26 |

In Wayne County percentages of those separated without court decree and unwed are considerably higher—28 percent and 35 percent respectively, of the caseload.

The dramatic change in aid to dependent children recipients is illustrated by one policeman's recollections. "When the program started you could visit gleaming clean homes and be offered a sociable cup of tea," she said.

Balance this against a current slum area caseworker's comment: "As for a straight-backed chair so you don't have to sit on any overstuffed furniture that might be pestinfested."

Miss Adams' home was clean as were her two older children, alert youngsters of 6 and 4.

They stood wide eyed while their mother explained to her caseworker that she received regular support payments of $10 weekly from each of their fathers.

Only 15 percent of the fathers of illegitimate children on Michigan aid to dependent children rolls support their children.

PRESS LEGAL HUNT FOR MISSING "HUSBAND"

Her last "husband" left the State before Miss Adams knew she was pregnant. Aid to dependent children will try to locate him through a social security check. If the agency finds him, paternity and support suits may be initiated in the State where he is living.

If, like many such men, he is infrequently employed, he may be hard to find.

Last year aid to dependent children referred 725 women to the friend of the court to establish paternity. This is a first step in getting aid to dependent children support.

If a woman is divorced or separated she goes to the friend of the court or recorder's court adjustment division to secure support payments, assigned directly to the agency.

Miss Adams is cooperative, unlike some mothers who try to protect their exhusbands or boy friends or are afraid to bring them to court.

In a screening interview 2 months earlier, a caseworker established that Miss Adams' parents cannot give her any support. Her mother and father are divorced. (Aid to dependent children recipients frequently come from broken homes.)

Her father is unemployed, her mother's whereabouts is unknown.

An assistance budget was also prepared, set at $223 monthly. Support payments will be credited to this budget and aid to dependent children will add $137 in Federal-

State funds. If the men fail to pay, Miss Adams will receive a maximum State grant of $160.

The top State grant is $240 monthly for a family of eight or more.

CITY, COUNTY CUT SUPPLEMENTAL AID

Until September 1 the city and county were supplementing these ceilings by from $1 to $45 per case.

In an economy move Mayor Cavanagh dropped city supplementation to 7,000 families. Cases of overage dependents and medical hardship may be accepted by the Detroit Welfare Department, but only after reinvestigation of need.

Wayne County, which followed Detroit's lead in dropping supplementation, will consider hardship cases on an individual basis.

Aid to dependent children mothers protest that the slashes will create great hardship and will increase crime among deprived teens.

Miss Adams is unemployed.

Only 4.5 percent of Wayne County's aid to dependent children mothers work while 17.1 percent of those out of State do.

According to W. J. Maxey, State head of the department of social welfare, this is because of limited job opportunities in the Detorit area and poor child-care facilities.

Unlike the city welfare department, aid to dependent children has no employment service attached to its office although it makes use of Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC) facilities.

Under aid to dependent children rules a woman is encouraged to find employment only if her children are at least 2 years old and "an adequate child care program is available."

In 1961 more than 60 percent of nonworking aid to dependent children mothers in Wayne County said they were "needed in the home."

REFUSAL TO WORK MEANS LOSS OF AID

If a woman refuses to work when aid to dependent children says she is able, she is cut off the program. Last year 21 of 4,619 case closings in Wayne County were because a woman refused available work.

Another 572 were closed because of employment.

Miss Adams is qualified for low-paying jobs. Nearly 80 percent of the county's aid to dependent children mothers are classed as service workers (laundries, restaurants), domestics or unskilled labor.

There are nearly 80,000 unemployed in the tricounty area, one quarter of them women. A Michigan Employment Security Commission spokesman said one of the few fields where work is available is as a domestic.

He said some prospective employers were reluctant to have someone on public assistance in their homes.

"We've had special drives to place aid to dependent children recipients," he said. "But the big stumbling blocks have always been child care and lack of training."

TRAINING OFFERED DOMESTIC WORKERS

The Michigan Employment Security Commission offers a 7-week course for domestic workers, costing $3.75. There is a long waiting list for it.

Often caseworkers advise mothers to remain at home because of emotionally disturbed children or special medical problems.

How much emphasis is placed on getting jobs for fully employable women often depends on the caseworker's persistence.

Aid to dependent children mothers complain that any money they make is subtracted from their total grants. "When they take away what you earn, what reason is there to leave your children and go to work?" one aid to dependent children client asked.

Just before she leaves after an hour-long interview, the caseworker gives Miss Adams a lecture on maintaining a suitable home.

The three children are obviously happy. Clean and neatly dressed, they show signs of affectionate care. There is no concern about neglect.

Church-going is encouraged as is Parent-Teacher Association membership for mothers with school-age children, and block-club membership where such an organization exists.

Miss Adams is warned: No overnight visits from boy friends, no excessive drinking, no trouble with the police or courts.

The application will be approved and in perhaps 2 months the first check will arrive.

Once given monthly, the checks are now mailed twice a month "to minimize the temptation to spend foolishly and to help these women manage their grants better."

From years of experience, the caseworker predicts that Miss Adams will eventually be cut off the program again as she has been twice before because of an illegitimate birth.

SOCIAL PATTERNS PRETTY WELL SET

"You can spot the hopeless cases," the worker says tiredly. "She will make a good home for these children; she'll love them and care for them.

"When it comes to a choice between something for herself and something for them, she'll do without.

"But the odds are very good that she'll find another boy-friend and have another baby.

"By the time we see these women, their social patterns are pretty well set. We can work with the young ones, the kids who made one mistake and don't want to make another.

"Despite what people think, these are the majority.

"But with her record and her intelligence, it isn't too hopeful."

Of nearly 40,000 children on Wayne County's aid to dependent children rolls last year, 42.6 percent were illegi*imate. This does not include children born to married women but not fathered by their husbands.

Outstate where the remaining half of the Michigan caseload is located, only 19.2 percent are illegitimate. This is compatible with the Wayne County—outstate legitimacy rate.

It is this factor in the fatherless family program that arouses public ire and plagues caseworkers.

With new Federal funds and community help, aid to dependent children officials hope to strike at the social factors which create illegitimacy and attempt to provide guidance for hopeful cases among unwed mothers.

Perhaps the other most often repeated criticism of aid dependent to children is that it is riddled with fraud, top heavy with ineligible clients. One critic even calls the day aid to dependent children checks arrive "Christmas for the chiselers."

## The Textile Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger, Gaffney, S.C., of September 20, 1962:

THE TEXTILE SITUATION

Allegation is one thing. Fact is apt to be something very different.

This truism applies to the discussions, political and otherwise, regarding the situation faced by the textile industry.

Charges that President Kennedy could eliminate the conditions complained of by the manufacturers, if he only would, are completely misleading.

There are many other elements affecting the industry besides the importation of foreign goods and the two-price cotton system.

For instance, the cotton mills are facing competition that is increasing day by day from manmade fibers. That probably has something to do with sales of cotton textiles.

It is nothing less than foolish to say President Kennedy is "playing politics" with this question. How can Mr. Kennedy or the Democratic Party gain anything by hurting one of the country's biggest industries?

By far the greater number of people who work in cotton mills in the South, at least, are Democrats of lifelong standing.

Does anyone believe Mr. Kennedy is so dumb that he would let this industry, which provides so many of his supporters with their daily necessities, suffer if he could prevent it?

A Gaffney textile executive who has been in the business all of his life said:

"If I were given the authority and told to take whatever action was needed to eliminate the textile industry's woes, I would not know what to do."

This executive went further and conceded that President Kennedy has made greater efforts to help the industry than anything that was done during the 8 years of the Republicans under Eisenhower.

## Independence Day of the Federal Republic of Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Heinrich Luebke; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karl Heinrich Knaptstein, on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the German Federal Republic's independence.

On September 21, 1949, the United States, Great Britain, and France recognized the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. During the summer of 1948 the three wartime Allies, acting as occupying powers, agreed that the French zone of occupation should join up with the British and American zones to form a single economic and political unit. A German Parliamentary Council, elected by the state parliaments, drew up a basic law—a provisional constitution to serve pending the unification of the divided country. The basic law was approved by the Allied Commanders in Chief, and the following August elections were held for the Bundestag, or Federal Assembly. Prof. Theodor Heuss was elected Federal President, a post which he held for 10 years, winning the respect and veneration of his own people and countless friends of Germany

abroad. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, leader of the Christian Democratic Union, the largest party in the Bundestag, was elected Federal Chancellor. Chancellor Adenauer has provided strong leadership for the second German democracy for a period which almost equals the entire life of its predecessor, the Weimar Republic.

September 21, 1949 did not mark the complete independence of the Federal Republic. But while the actual return of sovereignty took place in 1954, the establishment of the new state was a milestone on the road which the German people chose, the road to democratic government and full and equal partnership in the Western alliance. On the same day that the Federal Republic was established, an occupation statute went into force which defined the powers to be reserved to the occupation authorities as long as the occupation lasted. But this document proved to be a relic of the past rather than an omen of the future; from the date of its promulgation the wartime Allies reduced as rapidly as possible the reserve powers retained by them, giving the Federal Republic increasing control over its own affairs. Germany's integration into the Western World proceeded rapidly, as the Bonn Government joined the European Coal and Steel Community, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and then in 1957 shared in the creation of the European Common Market.

Events have moved so rapidly during these last 13 years that it is appropriate to recall how much has changed. Americans have admired the recovery of Germany, which has been aptly labeled an "economic miracle." We have watched with satisfaction as Germany resumed its place among the freedom-loving nations of the world, and demonstrated its convictions with a major contribution to Western defense. Americans have recognized that their own freedom is at stake in the freedom of Berlin. We share the anguish of Berliners over Herr Ulbricht's monstrous wall. We have ignored national boundaries in commiting our strength to the defense of Berlin, just as Germans have ignored national boundaries in espousing the cause of European unity. We salute the Federal Republic of Germany on the 13th anniversary of its establishment.

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## The Thayer Family: Great Benefactors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article written by the very able, eminent journalist of the Worcester Telegram Gazette, Mr. Frank Crotty, entitled "Birds, Birds, Birds."

This learned, well-documented, most interesting article was written concerning the Thayer Bird Museum of South Lancaster, Mass., in my district, established by the famous philanthropist, outstanding citizen, and great American, the late John Eliot Thayer.

Mr. Thayer was a scion of a very famous New England family whose members have been noted for many generations in the history of Massachusetts for outstanding leadership in many fields of human endeavor and whose astonishingly generous philanthropy and charity have been so noteworthy in the affairs of the beautiful town of Lancaster, in my district and our Commonwealth.

The Thayer family gives living expression to the precept that wealth, like ability and power, is impressed with moral and social responsibilities and should be wisely utilized to promote the public benefit as well as private interest.

It would be quite impossible to enumerate the benefactions of John Eliot Thayer and the Thayer family. It will suffice to say that many very good causes have been greatly indebted to the members of this family, and many individuals, the town of Lancaster and other communities, Harvard College, other institutions of learning and numerous charities and public bodies, have been rich beneficiaries over a long period of time of their most generous gifts.

The Bird Museum, so well described in the article, is but one of many cultural, charitable, educational, and social benefits conferred upon community, State, and Nation, and literally upon an army of individual people, by the Thayer family.

For the most part, not only broad, worthwhile, charitable, and religious works were supported by this great family, but cultural, civic, and educational objectives were systematically pursued. Many artists, singers, musicians, painters, scientists, talented people of many callings were patronized, educated or immeasurably assisted through the bounty of the Thayer family without fanfare or ostentation. Churches, public buildings, libraries, schools, museums, monuments, hospitals, agricultural fairs, bazaars and band concerts, public entertainments, and a host of personal charitable objects were most generously endowed.

I would not venture to estimate the longrun, total sum of these benefactions, but even today the figures would be staggering.

There is a great lesson in the generosity, philanthropy, and good works of the Thayer family that Americans today might well ponder as we view the receding springs of private philanthropy and the growth of materialistic philosophies.

Our modern tax systems, local, State, and National, are taking such a large share of income and principal of our well-to-do citizens these days that they have much less for charitable, cultural, civic, religious, and public contributions.

Modern philanthropy is, in truth, large-scale production and is based to no inconsiderable degree upon objectives of tax avoidance rather than the true spirit of philanthropy which comes from the heart.

I am exceedingly proud of the contributions of the Thayer family, past and present. Lancaster, Clinton, and other communities that I am honored to represent in the Congress, my State and our Nation can be thankful for the nobility of purpose, the generosity, the high mindedness, and the deep, human concern which the Thayer family has demonstrated through the years.

If America had more families like the Thayers working for human betterment and the elevation of human standards, giving unselfishly and generously of their means to promote good causes, holding out the hand of succor and assistance to the weak, the poor, the helpless, and the lowly, we would have a better nation.

If we could replace current day materialism and its naked disregard of human values with more thoughtful, compassionate regard for human beings, the Nation and the world would be much the better for it.

The article follows:

BIRDS, BIRDS, BIRDS

(By Frank Crotty)

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of John Eliot Thayer, noted philanthropist and founder of the Thayer Bird Musemum at South Lancaster.

The date, which is being observed both at Harvard University and Lancaster, has focused new attention on the museum and is drawing more and more visitors to it.

Erected and opened to the public in 1904, the museum attracted more than 10,000 visitors during its first 6 years. Since than no tally has been kept and many people today do not even know of its existence.

At the time of the founder's death in 1933 the museum housed the finest privately owned collection of ornithological specimens in the world. There were some 3,500 mounted birds, plus 30,000 bird skins, rare eggs, and bird paintings by John James Audubon, Alexander Wilson, John Singer Sargeant, and others. All these he bequeathed to Harvard University with a provision for a continuing exhibition on loan at the museum in Lancaster of specimens not needed at Cambridge.

Most of the collection—including some 2,000 birds—is at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology in Cambridge today and is set up in a special room as "the Thayer Collection of North American Birds."

Currently in the Lancaster Museum are about 1,500 birds, including a passenger pigeon and great auk babies, both species extinct, and a whooping crane, almost extinct. Eleven great auk eggs—one-sixth of all that are known to exist—were carefully transported from Lancaster to Harvard University shortly after Thayer's death.

The Thayer Bird Museum—16 miles from Worcester and 35 from Boston—is open to the public from May to October on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays from 1 to 5 p.m. There is a 25 cents admission charge, with children under 12 being admitted for 10 cents. John Thayer Hemenway, of Milton, a grandson of the founder, is president of the directors and Herbert H. Hosmer, president of the Lancaster Historical Society, is honorary curator.

The building is of Georgian architecture and is located right in the center of the Atlantic Union College buildings. The college campus was once part of the vast Thayer family property in the town.

In Lancaster, Thayer is a revered name. The first of the family to reside in the town was Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., who was

called there as its minister in 1793. He was born in Hampton, N.H., in 1769 and, after serving as Lancaster's clergyman for 47 years, died in 1840. He was graduated from Harvard in 1789.

He had five children who lived to maturity, including John E. Thayer (1803-57) and Nathaniel Thayer (1808-83) who were outstandingly successful as bankers and brokers in Boston. Their firm—called John E. Thayer & Bro.—amassed much wealth in railroads, Chicago real estate, Kansas City stockyards, and the general expansion of the country. After John's passing Nathaniel ran the business alone and when the latter died he left the largest fortune ever accumulated up to that time in Massachusetts, according to Historian George E. Ellis. The concern later became Kidder, Peabody & Co.

In 1846 Nathaniel married Cornelia Van Rensselaer of Albany, N.Y. She was a daughter of Gen. Stephen van Rensselaer, the last patroon. This designation was applied to proprietors with certain large tracts of land with manorial and other rights, granted under the old Dutch government of New York and New Jersey.

One of their seven children was the ornithologist—John E. Thayer—who was named after his uncle. He was born in Boston, April 3, 1862, a twin son. The other twin was named Bayard. Both spent most of their lives in Lancaster. Bayard died in 1921.

Over the years the Thayer family has engaged in extensive philanthropies, many of them benefiting Harvard University and Lancaster. Nathaniel, the twins' father (there were several Nathaniel Thayers), gave a dormitory—Thayer Hall—to Harvard and financed expeditions of its noted naturalist, Prof. J. Louis R. Agassiz. The Lancaster Town Library was erected in 1868 at a cost of $30,000 of which he paid two-thirds and gave an endowment of $5,000 for the purchase of books. Other family gifts include the present library, built in 1908, and its children's room—a subsequent addition—which the late Mrs. Bayard Thayer gave in memory of her son, Nathaniel Thayer 2d. She also gave a Bayard Thayer book fund of $10,000.

Another Thayer gift to Lancaster was the townhall, built in 1907 in memory of Nathaniel Thayer, the banker-broker, by his sons. The family has also given generously to the Unitarian Church. Its building, designed by Charles Bulfinch and considered one of the best of its type in the country, was constructed in 1816-17 as the town meeting house when Dr. Nathaniel Thayer was minister. It's a combination of beauty, dignity, and utility. Its minister today is Rev. Alexander St. Ivanyi.

These buildings—the townhall, library, and church—surround the town green in the center of Lancaster. Other buildings there are elementary schools.

Ancestors of the Thayer family came to this country from England and settled in Braintree about 1630. The family produced many clergymen, all ministers except one who was the priest of the first regularly organized Roman Catholic Church in Boston. This was Rev. John Thayer, who was a brother of the great-great-grandfather of the ornithologist. The priest was born in Boston in 1758, trained for the Congregational ministry, and served for a time as chaplain to Gov. John Hancock. He became pastor in Boston in 1790 and died in Limerick, Ireland, in 1813.

John Eliot Thayer was educated at Hopkinson's School in Boston and Harvard, having graduated from the latter in 1885. He played baseball and football at both schools. At Harvard he was also captain of the crew for 2 years and class president in his senior year.

After commencement he took an around-the-world voyage and within a year married Eveyin Duncan Forbes, daughter of Franklin Forbes, a Clinton manufacturer. They had 47 years of married life and were the parents of two sons and three daughters.

The children were: John E. Thayer, Jr., who married Katherine Warren; Evelyn, who married I. Tucker Burr; Nora, who married F. Abbott Goodhue; Natalie, who married Lawrence Hemenway; and Duncan Forbes Thayer, who married Priscilla McHenry.

The children living today are John E. Thayer, Jr., of Milton, a Boston broker, and Mrs. Goodhue of Hewlett, N.Y., who has a summer home in Bolton.

The only members of the family residing in Lancaster now are Mrs. Duncan F. Thayer, two of her four daughters—Miss Priscilla Stewart Thayer and Mrs. Pauline Revere Sears—and the latter's 3-year-old son, Thayer David Sears. The other daughters are Cornelia, wife of Samuel Adams, a Boston lawyer, and Miss Juliana M. Thayer, also of Boston. Mrs. Thayer has three other grandchildren, all Adamses.

The Thayer home today is the one built by the ornithologist on George Hill Road, South Lancaster, in 1897. On property adjacent to it was Bayard's home, which for the last decade or so has been a convent and women's retreat house of the Sisters of the Cenacle.

Mrs. Duncan F. Thayer, a native of Green Spring Valley, Md., is a great-great granddaughter of James McHenry, who was Secretary of War in Washington's and John Adams' Cabinets and for whom Fort McHenry, located near Baltimore and of Star Spangled Banner fame, was named. She is also a descendant of Thomas Jefferson's family. The third President of the United States was her great-great-great-uncle. As a young bride she lived in New York for 3 years before settling in Lancaster 30 years ago.

"When I first came to Lancaster," she says, "there were six other Mrs. Thayers here. People used to refer to us by our husband's first names * * * such as Mrs. John, Mrs. Bayard, Mrs. Duncan, etc."

In those days John E. Thayer had 10 or a dozen servants, most of them working on the grounds. He had his own nine-hole golf course on the estate. It was the second privately owned one in the country, the first having been installed by Hunnewells in Wellesley. Thayer brought a golf course expert here from Scotland to do the job.

While a student at Harvard he helped finance the education of needy friends and at the time of his graduation gave $15,000 to the school to start a Harvard Journal of Economics.

He called his Lancaster estate his "farm." Raising Baldwin apples was his major agricultural object. His orchards were successful. He kept careful accounting of the capital investment and all costs * * * and made a satisfactory profit.

He was Massachusetts delegate to the American Apple Congress at Denver in 1911, a founder of the Worcester East Agricultural Society, and a trustee of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture.

Animals always interested him and he first turned to fine breeds of dogs, and then of horses. He was outstandingly successful at dog and horse shows and on trotting parks over a large part of the Eastern States. His twin brother Bayard was interested with him in these activities. Their Hillside Kennels became famous for their bulldogs, Scotch terriers, and Scotch deerhounds, winning many prizes and establishing popularity for these breeds.

As a horseman he was president of the New England Trotting Horse Breeders Association, and Boston Horse Show Association; vice president of the Grand Circuit of Trotting Horses, and the Gentlemen's Driving Club; director of the Metropolitan Driving Club, and the American Horse Breeders Publishing Co.; and a founder of the Myopia Hunt Club.

The pleasure he derived in these interests—apples, dogs and horses—was small, however, compared with the satisfactions he enjoyed and the distinctions he won in the field of ornithology. He was absorbed in this branch of zoology the last 30 years of his life and it was during this time that he put together his signal collection. He sent expeditions to Mexico, Alaska, Northern Siberia, Queen Charlotte Island, and lower California, seeking bird specimens. The late Dick Harlow, Harvard football coach, was a member of one of the expeditions.

It was to house his collection adequately that he built the museum. Over its main entrance is the word "Aves" (Latin for birds) and near the roof are these names of outstanding ornithologists: Audubon, Wilson, Bonaparte, Nuttall, Richardson, and Townsend.

Thayer's gull was named for him in 1915 by Ornithologist W. Sprague Brooks, of Orleans, who spent many years collecting specimens for the Museum of Comparative Zoology.

"It is an arctic bird, a subspecies of our herring gull," Brooks says.

Thayer was vice-president of the National Audubon Society; vice-president of the American Ornithologists Union, and clerk of the Nuttall Ornithologists; also a member of the Boston Zoology Society; the faculty of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology; Boston Society of Natural History; American Academy of Arts and Science; Associated Committee for Wild Life Conservation; and the New England Turkey Breeders Association.

As a result of a fully developed appreciation for trees, he was instrumental in having the office of tree warden created in Lancaster, was elected to fill the position and held it for many years. He contributed funds for tree planting and sought protection and preservation of trees.

Other Lancaster offices he held were: chairman of selectmen, road, water and building commissioner, school committeeman, member of charity board, cemetery and other committees. He was a library trustee for 45 years and for 27 years of that time was chairman of the board.

He took great pride in the Bulfinch Church which was built during his grandfather's ministry. He financed complete restoration of the interior, made the outside safe, enlarged and beautified the grounds attached to it, and in his will set up a substantial fund for its permanent support.

He was a member of the standing committee of the church and also a director of the American Unitarian Association. He was also a standing committeeman of the First Church of Boston, which he attended when spending winters in that city.

He was a trustee and member of the finance committee of the Clinton Hospital. He was president of the First National Bank of Clinton—now the Clinton Trust Co.—for more than 10 years and president of the Clinton Savings Bank for 19 years. He was a trustee of the latter for 45 years.

He was also vice president of the New England Forest, Fish & Game Association, president of the Sportsmen's Show of Boston, and on the executive committee of the Massachusetts Fish & Game Association.

John E. Thayer was proud of his grandchildren, of which there were 20. Today there are around 40 great-grandchildren and 4 great-greats. Of all these there are only two males named Thayer—his son, John E., Jr., and grandson, John E. III, of Tokyo, Japan.

In order to promote a constructive and coordinated public interest in civic affairs, he organized and served as president of the Lancastriana, a club composed of the leading men of the town. He headed it for 25 years.

Other groups with which he was affiliated were numerous, including the Somerset Club, Harvard Club, Algonquin Club, Prescott Club, Country Club of Brookline, Bunker Hill Monument Association, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Society of Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, and Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

Death came to him July 22, 1933, and his funeral, simple in character, took place in the Bulfinch church. A large congregation, including a considerable number of his Harvard class, attended. He was interred in the Thayer Burying Ground, adjacent to the Old Settlers Burying Ground in Lancaster. It is a beautiful tree-shaded spot.

In addition to President Hemenway, the directors of the museum are: Mrs. I. Tucker Burr of Needham, Mrs. Sylvia T. Ferry of Montpelier, Vt., Mrs. F. Abbott Goodhue of Hewlett, N.Y., Mrs. Lawernce Hemenway, and John E. Thayer, Jr., both of Milton.

## Winchell Columns Still Being Censored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, I called the attention of this body to the censorship which was imposed on the columns written by Walter Winchell because of his criticism of the New Frontier. It has been brought to my attention that portions of his columns dealing with this subject are still being deleted. He still receives letters from readers who complain that their local newspapers frequently drop Winchell columns—because they have obviously become too hard hitting.

Despite the fact that the full content of his columns may not always see the light of day, I am pleased to say that this crusading writer has not softened his remarks, that he has not bowed to the pressure to lay off the New Frontier.

Mr. Winchell is not the only newspaper man of long standing who has felt the "heat" because he has had the courage to say what he thought.

Recently, Reporter Clark Mollenhoff, author of "Washington Coverup," a book which attacks administration efforts to suppress information unfavorable to it, was personally lectured by the President for some critical passages in the book about Mr. Kennedy. Knowing this gentleman of the press, I am sure the incident will not intimidate him.

I have nothing but admiration for these journalists who print the truth despite official pressure to do otherwise. Although I would not suggest that they cannot take care of themselves, or that they ask anyone's sympathy, I think a few examples of the kind of material that has been cut from Winchell's columns will help to show what is going on here in this land of freedom.

Referring to comments that the Kennedys play a hard political game, Winchell wrote: "Definitions of hard political game: Bribery, blackjacking and blackmail." This was stricken from his column.

Unfavorable references to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., frequently are cut out.

The following by Winchell also was stricken:

Unemployment is a growing problem. Business failures and mortgage foreclosures are increasing. And the cost of living is at an all-time high.

In the next sentence: "The economy is not healthy," the word "healthy" was changed to read "robust."

Mr. Speaker, why in heaven's name would anyone censor such a passage when the same facts have been published on the financial pages of every newspaper time and again? Members of this Congress have said the same things many times. The statements are backed by statistical data from the Government itself.

I will say again that newspaper people can take care of themselves. They do not ask for any help. But the issue here is not the problems of individuals in the newspaper profession. It is, of course, freedom of the press, free speech, and other guarantees that were in the Bill of Rights the last time I looked.

Has someone repealed them?

## Part II: Aid to Dependent Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, aid to dependent children has become one of the most controversial subjects in the country. Detroit News Reporter Jo Ann Hardee has done a service by writing a six-part series on this subject which I am pleased to insert in the RECORD:

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(By Jo Ann Hardee)

At 2 a.m. there is a knock at Mrs. Clark's door.

A special investigation team from the aid to dependent children (ADC) program is checking on charges that Mrs. Clark's supposedly estranged husband is living at home while his wife collects $180 monthly in aid to dependent children grants.

After several minutes, a rumpled Mrs. Clark appears. Although she stalls for a few minutes, the team discovers that a man is trying to escape through a back window.

Mrs. Clark is cut off the program, as were 826 Wayne County recipients caught defrauding aid to dependent children last year. Since Clark is rarely employed it would do no good to prosecute Mrs. Clark to recover aid to dependent children funds.

DEPRESSION MOVE

Depression legislation, aid to dependent children was adopted in Michigan in 1940 as a substitute for widows' pensions.

In 22 years the depression baby has grown to a giant which devours $40 million annually in Michigan. It is frequently the target of public criticism.

Mrs. Clark's case is the type that critics use to support charges that aid to dependent children is a fraud-riddled haven for the lazy.

More ammunition was given aid to dependent children's detractors recently when an investigation of the Washington, D.C. program disclosed widespread cheating. Out of 380 families selected for investigation, 184 were ineligible for the aid to dependent children payments they were receiving, a national magazine reported.

Cases that alarmed taxpayers included:

An unmarried mother receiving $154 monthly was living with the father of the youngest two of her four children. He posed as her brother, earned $85 a week.

In 102 homes there were 136 telephones. In 155 homes, there were 167 television sets.

Supposedly deserted by both her husband and her boy friend, a 24-year-old mother of four was receiving $117 a month from aid to dependent children. Investigators discovered that her husband was living in her home and that the boy friend was paying $43 a month to support his child.

OFFICIALS SHOCKED

The Washington disclosures shocked the head of the District's Welfare Department, who said: "everything on paper showed we were doing a good job."

Michigan's welfare chief W. J. Maxey was shocked, too.

"I thought every State had better controls against fraud than they seem to have had in Washington.

"The kind of antifraud program that the Federal Government is now demanding as a result of the Washington investigation has been operating in Michigan at least 5 years.

"We know that 5 percent of the clients attempt to defraud us every year, because we catch them. Perhaps there's another 5 percent putting one over on us. How can we estimate?"

CHARGE LAXITY

"If we knew where there was fraud, we would find it and close the case."

Critics say that aid to dependent children fraud is like an iceberg—the visible portion is just a hint of what is hidden beneath the surface.

They say the aid program is lax in screening applicants and in allowing ineligible ones to be enrolled and that it is haphazard in investgation.

Privately, aid to dependent children officials note that Maxey has often been criticized by Federal officials for being "too tough" on fraud cases.

In the wake of 1959 fraud charges, the late Circuit Judge Frank FitzGerald requested the friend of the court to investigate aid to dependent children's handling of cases being supplemented by Wayne County. Five special investigators screened 319 cases.

CUT OFF ROLLS

They found 85 "suspicious cases." Of these only 14 were dropped from aid to dependent children rolls, 71 being cleared during the 2-month investigation. After a check of records, the agency found that 10 of the dropped cases were in process of being dropped when the investigation uncovered them.

Investigators reported:

"In any program as large as that conducted by the aid to dependent children, there always are a few so-called chiselers. It becomes a Herculean task to find those that could be charged with fraud or failure to abide by the rules and regulations.

"Only a small percentage of the recipients were conducting their lives in a manner offensive to the State and Federal statutes. Any sensational case is a rarity."

SUBMITS REPORT

Judge FitzGerald transmitted the report to R. Bernard Houston, head of the bureau of social aid, which administers Wayne County's aid to dependent children program. The judge wrote.

"Perusal of the report has given me pleasure to learn that well over 99 percent of the recipients are using the funds for the proper purpose.

"I feel it is a pity that better than 99 percent should be humiliated and embarrassed by the publicity received from the misuse of the funds by the very few recipients guilty of fraud.

"The report also points up quite emphatically that social workers and investigators administering the funds are overworked and underpaid.

HITS WORKLOAD

Houston said a resounding "amen" to this last statement.

He said his agency could do a better job of investigating and counseling if each worker had a caseload of 75 instead of 120.

"To have complete control over fraud," he said, "you would have to have one worker on each case and he would have to live with the family."

Asked how he could cut down the 40 percent annual turnover in his staff, Maxey said: "Pay them enough so that a man can support a family. And don't hire women."

He said women were good workers but many leave to marry. Workers in aid to dependent children earn $5,000 to $6,150. But Maxey said many social workers with master's degrees do not want to work in public assistance programs.

He said he hopes that Federal money will create an improved in-service training program and permit development of a special service unit to follow "problem cases."

DANGEROUS JOB

Officials say it would be helpful to have a larger staff of special investigators. There are now eight investigators and a supervisor in Wayne County, the only Michigan county with such a unit.

Maxey said he isn't sure he could find more if funds were available. He calls their job "dangerous."

Armed with a flashlight and a glib line these former caseworkers are assigned to ferret out fraud.

Where there is fraud, they are hardly welcome.

Maxey does not think special investigation is a cure-all.

"Some people want us to be a police force, not a social agency," he said. "These clients have as much right to be trusted as anyone."

POLICEMEN CRITICAL

Policemen—often severe critics of the program, because they feel it robs them of better wages, admit that sifting rumors about aid to dependent children fraud from reality is difficult.

"It is the same as any kind of investigation," one detective said. "You get a beef—maybe somebody's mad because Miss Jones stole her boy friend. So all the sudden Miss Jones is running numbers or a still.

"You check it out—90 percent of it is not true. It takes time to find that 10 percent."

In the search for that 10 percent, the truth sometimes is a surprise.

BROUGHT TO COURT

One case involved a woman called into court for violating the building code on a home that she and her estranged husband owned. She lived less than a block from him, leading to suspicions that it was a phony separation.

After months of special investigation, including several surprise night calls, aid to dependent children concluded that the separation was real. But the investigation revealed undeclared income from a son in the Army.

Last year a bill was introduced in the legislature to limit special investigation activities which the bill's sponsors believe, infringe upon personal rights.

Now aid to dependent children must notify a recipient that she is under special investigation although they do not warn her when they will call.

Although she does not have to admit investigators to her home, she faces being dropped from aid to dependent children if she does not.

The bill was intended to safeguard recipients against what some critics call "gestapo tactics."

GET COMPLAINTS

Special investigation is initiated on complaints, usually from neighbors, landlords, or caseworkers. Sometimes citizen complaints aren't too helpful.

A case in point was contained in a letter written during the 1959 aid to dependent children investigation.

The letter said:

"Right now at the minute, I know of 14 married women on aid to dependent children—husbands working every day and still staying with their wives.

"I know of a club with nothing but aid to dependent children ladies in it that holds a Mother's Day card party every first of the month, over a thousand dollars being won or lost.

"I know cause I have won over $600 two or three times. One girl lost her whole check of $189."

UNSIGNED LETTER

"I know of a lady on aid to dependent children who gets a check every month, has three roomers in her house that brings her $30 a week—$120 a month plus other income of $50 a week plus what the children's daddy drops by and gives her."

The writer omitted her name and any indication of where such activities were occurring or who was involved. Even if the charges were true, the agency would have no way of checking them.

Critics of aid to dependent children like to compare its investigation record unfavorably with that of the Detroit Welfare Department.

In 1961, welfare workers found 863 fraud cases, aid to dependent children found 826. This is only one-fifth of the total aid to dependent children and welfare closures.

FINDS MISSING 490

One welfare investigator assigned specifically to finding missing husbands, located 490 last year.

The aid to dependent children has no special investigator to locate such men. According to Houston, the aid to dependent children feels that this is the job of agencies like the friend of the court and recorder's court adjustment division.

This is not a view shared by the head of the adjustment division, Mrs. Miriam Hewlett, who has frequently feuded with aid to dependent children over laxity in pursuing men who are delinquents in support payments.

Periodically, someone calls for an investigation of aid to dependent children procedures. Houston and Maxey both say they would welcome one to clear the air—if it were conducted by a "competent agency."

With the city and county no longer contributing to aid to dependent children grants, this would have to be a State or Federal agency.

Some experts on public assistance have charged that the nature of the fatherless family program encourages broken homes and phony separations. Designed to keep families together, aid is granted only when the father is absent or, in a small percentage of cases, incapacitated.

One critic said:

"A man may not leave his wife just so that she can get on aid to dependent children, but if she is getting that check every month to spend as she please, who cares if he comes back?

"Some of these husbands are pretty hard to live with. Who needs 'papa' if you have aid to dependent children?"

HOME WRECKING

The 1959 friend of the court report bore out this view. The report said: "There was a complete lack of interest in locating the missing spouse. Many of the women said they were living under better conditions than when the spouse was at home."

This "home-wrecking" aspect of aid to dependent children was criticized in a speech by Alvin L. Schorr of the health, education, and welfare department. He commented:

"That aid to dependent children is available only if a parent is absent or incapacitated operates precisely counter to any cohesive forces in the family.

"When rent money is a week-to-week issue, the inclination of parents to reconciliation, or to live together again, or to marry tends to be deterred by the fact that even if need continues aid to dependent children will end."

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## Hanford Powerplant: Several Questions Must Be Cleared Up Now

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday, September 14, the House approved the conference report on H.R. 11974 which included a section relative to the Hanford proposal. Under the act as passed, the Atomic Energy Commission is required to make certain determinations and report to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy before it can execute a contract for sale of steam from the new production reactor at Hanford.

I am convinced that under this act AEC must make a complete reanalysis of the matter taking into consideration all the factors brought out in the discussion on this legislation. In this regard I insert a letter I have sent to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and one which I sent to the Bonneville Power Administrator.

If the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy keeps faith with its assurances to the House it will take no action on this matter until complete and honest reappraisal is made of the Hanford proposal.

Following letters speak for themselves:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., September 20, 1962.*

Dr. GLENN T. SEABORG,
*Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR DR. SEABORG: The action of the House in approving the conference report on H.R. 11974—the AEC Authorization Act for fiscal year 1963—places a responsibility on the Atomic Energy Commission to make certain determinations and reports before it enters into any contract for the sale of steam from the new production reactor at Hanford.

In my opinion the legislative history is such as to require that these determinations are to be new ones, based on a complete re-

analysis of the entire matter. This is as it should be, as the record is quite clear that prior AEC determinations and statements on the economics of power generation at Hanford and on the payments to be made to the Federal Treasury for use of steam and/or lease of the new production reactor were based on highly questionable assumptions and methods of analysis.

In order that I may have up-to-date information on the Hanford matter, I hereby request that you furnish me with a copy of the data called for in section 112(g) of the act in question, as soon as such data has been completed and concurrent with its presentation to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

It is to be noted that the legislative history on the requirement set forth in section 112(e) is somewhat conflicting. In certain instances in the hearings and on the floor of the House reference is made to offering 50 percent participation to "private utilities;" in other instances and in section 112(e) as written, the offer is to be made to "private organizations." I now ask whether in your interpretation of this section of the act you will rule that the requirement has been met, if Washington Public Power Supply System makes an offer of 50-percent participation to one or more private industrial organizations who then refuse such offer.

The requirement in section 112(b)(2) is that the Commission shall make a determination that "The sale of byproduct energy could provide a substantial financial return to the U.S. Treasury for the benefit of the taxpayers." The joker placed in this requirement by the Hanford proponents is the use of the word "could" instead of the word "shall." As I interpret the proposed Hanford contract as now written, Washington Public Power Supply System total payments into the Federal Treasury for the use of byproduct steam from Hanford could be a maximum of $100,000 if the plant were operated dual-purpose for 1 year only and for power only the balance of the 30-year contract. Is this not so? Do you consider that such a total payment for byproduct energy meets the "substantial financial return" criteria, when interest costs would be over $2 million annually on the convertibility features alone and nearly $8 million annually on the new production reactor as a whole?

Is it not also true that even under dual-purpose operation until 1970 (which is one of the dates previously given in some of the hearings as the probable end of dual-purpose operation) and power only thereafter, the total payments for steam from Hanford would be only $1,200,000? Would this $1,200,000 potential maximum payment, in your opinion, meet the "substantial financial return" criteria?

My point is that the taxpayers of the Nation through their representatives in Congress were sold a bill of goods by Hanford proponents that by making the new production reactor convertible, material savings would be made in the cost of producing plutonium as compared to the cost from a single-purpose production reactor. We now know, of course, that this is not the case, even in the unlikely event of continued dual-purpose operation over the entire 30-year contract period. Even then the present Hanford proposal would not return the capital and interest on the actual convertibility cost, let alone reduce the cost of plutonium. The taxpayers are entitled to receive a substantial financial return on their investment, and if the present proposal will not assure such a return this proposal should be abandoned.

It is to be noted that an AEC official during hearings on the matter admitted that during power-only periods "* * * there would be no substantial financial return to the Atomic Energy Commission."

It is my understanding that the Department of Defense is not willing to certify that there is any need for additional plutonium over and above that presently on hand or capable of being produced from existing facilities. In view of this, what is your opinion as to whether there will be any requirement for dual-purpose operation of the new production reactor after its completion? In other words, what is the probable extent of dual-purpose operation of Hanford, based on the need for plutonium over and above that which can be produced at existing production facilities?

It is noted that during power-only periods of operation a nominal $10 annual charge is to be made for the lease of a Federal project costing nearly $200 million. If this Hanford powerplant is as economically justified as AEC and other proponents would have us believe, why should there not be a more realistic annual charge for use of the new production reactor during power-only operation? What is your justification for this minimal charge?

It seems to me that the proposed contract between Washington Public Power Supply System and AEC as now written will not assure substantial financial return to the Federal Treasury. If your reanalysis of the matter substantiates this opinion, which it must do if the taxpayers' interest is given the proper consideration it deserves and all costs properly chargeable to Hanford power are included, will you then refuse to execute the presently proposed contract and propose substantial changes in the contract which will assure a proper return to the taxpayers?

Sincerely yours,

BEN F. JENSEN.

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington D.C., September 21, 1962.*

Hon. CHARLES F. LUCE,
*Bonneville Power Administrator,*
*Portland, Oreg.*

DEAR MR. LUCE: The passage by the Congress of H.R. 11974—the AEC authorization act for fiscal year 1963—giving provisional approval of the use of steam from the new production reactor at Hanford raises certain questions relative to Bonneville's participation in such use.

I believe the legislative history is such that a complete reanalysis of the Hanford proposal is mandatory in order for AEC to report on and justify the determinations required by the act prior to any action on the proposed contracts. Such a reevaluation must of necessity include a review of Bonneville's action and the effect thereof on the returns to the Federal Treasury.

I assume Bonneville intends to make a new study of future power supply and requirement conditions in the Pacific Northwest, together with a new economic evaluation of the Hanford proposal and a comparison with other potential sources of power such as new coal burning steam plants. Such a new study appears mandatory in view of the delay in the completion and operation date for the Hanford powerplant and in view of the various questions raised by opponents of the Hanford proposal. I for one am more convinced than ever that the Hanford proposal is completely uneconomic and that Bonneville's participation can not be justified. Any other conclusions can only be based on a failure to include all the proper charges against Hanford power and on highly questionable assumptions and methods of analysis.

During the hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy you were asked about a Bonneville staff report which purportedly showed that without Hanford there would be a $40 million or $50 million surplus at the end of 50 years, and that with Hanford you would show around a $200 million or more deficit for the same period. Your answers appeared less than candid. I request that you supply me with a copy of the report in question.

I have a number of other questions relative to this Hanford matter which I believe need clearing up before final action is taken on the Hanford contract. I ask that you furnish complete and detailed answers at your earliest convenience. The questions follow:

1. What is Bonneville Power Administration's present average annual transmission cost per kilowatt of Bonneville Power Administration's power, using a 4-percent interest charge?

2. Will Washington Public Power Supply System be charged for transmitting the Hanford power at this rate? If not, why not?

3. What is the average annual cost per kilowatt of Federal hydro capacity on the Bonneville system?

4. At what point in the regional load growth of the Pacific Northwest will all existing Federal hydro, together with that under construction, become dependable on the load? At that time, would not this Federal hydro capacity have its greatest value in serving the peak of the load, while at the same time all potential energy production could be fully utilized for firm load and steam replacement?

5. In order to firm up Hanford power where 26 or more outages annually are expected, will not Bonneville Power Administration have to maintain 800,000 kilowatts of ready reserve? Is this not particularly so when Federal peaking capacity rather than energy production becomes the dominant value?

6. Will Washington Public Power Supply System be charged for reserve capacity at a unit rate equal to the cost shown in answer to question No. 3?

In your testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, you stated that installation or generating capacity at Hanford would involve no structure in the river and its only effect on fish would be beneficial.

7. Is it not true that condenser intakes and discharges structure will have to be constructed in or adjacent to the river?

8. Is it not also true that over 80 percent of the heat generated by Hanford will be transmitted to the Columbia River during dual-purpose generation? And that 100 percent of the Hanford heat will have to be dissipated into the Columbia River whenever the Hanford generating units are out of service, which can happen at any time?

9. Inasmuch as you have testified that "The only effect of this plant on fish would be beneficial," I assume you are conversant with present conditions on the river. What is the present temperature of the Columbia River during the various stream flow periods with the existing Hanford plant in full operation, and what increase in such temperature would result from the heat transmitted to the river by the new production reactor and the Hanford generating plant during dual-purpose operation? During power-only periods?

The question was raised in hearings earlier this year relative to the excess energy which Bonneville must now waste during periods of high stream flow and the effect thereon if the Hanford generating plant was constructed. The answers given were not very clear. I now ask you these questions relative to the matter:

10. Is it not true that during periods of excess energy such as Bonneville estimated would occur under median water conditions in 1966 and 1971, with or without Canadian storage, there would be from 5 to 7 months of the year when no Hanford steam power could be utilized without wasting an additional amount of hydropower equivalent to the Hanford power production?

11. If Hanford power is used and an equivalent amount of potential hydroelectric generation is wasted, will this wasted hydroenergy be charged against the Hanford project?

In the House discussion on the conference report on H.R. 11974 we were assured that if Bonneville sustains any losses from the Hanford proposal that immediately this act would have to be brought into play and rates increased. In this regard I ask:

12. Could you, as Bonneville Administrator, act immediately to increase rates without regard to the present 5-year review requirement of present contracts?

13. If, as it appears extremely likely, only a minor part of Bonneville's customers will be involved in the Hanford deal, do you believe it is proper and just to raise the rates on all Bonneville customers in order to bail out losses on an exchange contract involving only a few of Bonneville customers?

In conclusion I again reiterate my belief that this Hanford proposal is completely uneconomic under the conditions that could and probably would occur and should be turned down under your assurance that you would do so if it was found to be uneconomical. In any event, a new study appears mandatory, which, if made on an honest and factual basis will surely disclose this lack of economic justification.

Sincerely yours,

BEN F. JENSEN.

## Foreign Aid Foolishness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues editorials from the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press with regard to the foreign aid appropriations bill:

[From the Plain Dealer, Sept. 19, 1962]

FOREIGN AID FOOLISHNESS

Congress apparently is getting fed up with the ineffectiveness of foreign aid, and it comes as no surprise that the House Appropriations Committee yesterday recommended a slash of about 19 percent—$1,278,177,000—in new funds for the foreign aid program.

The program for the present year proposes economic assistance for 73 nations, 7 foreign territories and possessions and military aid for 58 countries. In this last category, according to the committee, one nation has been given enough rifles and carbines to provide two weapons for every one of its soldiers.

Certainly, every American taxpayer who has to help foot the bill has every reason to be vitally interested in the subject of foreign aid, which is described extensively in U.S. News & World Report of September 24. These are some of the things which were brought out:

Between 1955 and 1961 the Communist bloc spent $4.37 billion in "aid" to 27 countries. In the same period the United States spent $9.45 billion aiding the same 27 countries, plus many billions more to other parts of the world unaided by the Reds. But Russia, in delivering the money, makes loans or barter deals with a reasonable or high rate of interest. The United States makes outright gifts or longtime loans at low interest or no interest at all.

Certain of our foreign-aid dollars have come in for bitter criticism, particularly those spent in these ways:

The $3.1 million spent for an air-conditioned ship for Ethiopia, presumably to be used as a flagship for Ethiopia's coastal patrol, but actually a "luxury floating palace for Haile Selassie * * * furnished by the overburdened American taxpayer."

The $15 million loan to Ethiopia to buy two jet airliners, which caused Representative SILVIO O. CONTE, Republican, of Massachusetts, to say: "They needed those two jets like I need a hole in the head."

The $10 million palace being built for President Tubman of Liberia, while Liberia is still accepting aid from the United States, and despite the fact that "there is misery, poverty, and sickness all over the country."

The $12 million loan made to Mali by Ghana, a nation which is receiving aid from the United States. If Ghana can afford to make $12 million loans, why does she need help from us?

The $400,000 for 1,000 television sets to bring educational TV to remote jungle villages which have no electricity; the sets to be powered (in addition to generators) by windmills and children's merry-go-rounds—"about the screwiest proposition I ever heard of," in the opinion of Representative PORTER HARDY, JR., Democrat, of Virginia.

Anyone likes to get value for the money he spends; a nation should be no different. And from the looks of things, the American taxpayer is not getting his money's worth.

[From the Cleveland Press, Sept. 19, 1962]

CUTBACKS IN FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid appropriations have been reduced $1,300 million by the House Appropriations Committee. This slash is described as the deepest ever by this committee, which annually has pared administration requests.

The taxpayers, of course, haven't been relieved of this much spending yet. By the time the bill gets through Congress a large part of the reduction may be restored.

But the severity of the House committee's cut reflects the growing public skepticism over the foreign program, which frequently has been found to be wasteful and sometimes scandal ridden.

## Ivan Allen, Sr., Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, each year Dixie Business magazine published at Decatur, Ga., by Hon. Hubert F. Lee, honors an outstanding southerner with its "Man of the South" award. The distinction for the year 1961 has gone to the Honorable Ivan Allen, Sr., respected Atlanta businessman and prominent leader in the business, civic, educational, governmental, and religious life of the State of Georgia for more than half a century.

There is hardly a facet of Georgia life in which Mr. Allen's influence and leadership have not been felt. And now his son, the Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr., is carrying on the family tradition of public service as the city of Atlanta's distinguished new mayor.

The junior Senator from Georgia is pleased to join Dixie Business magazine in paying tribute to the Honorable Ivan Allen, Sr., and his many significant contributions to the advancement of the State of Georgia. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Lee's article, "Man of the South for 1961," as it appears in Dixie Business magazine be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAN OF THE SOUTH FOR 1961

(By Hubert F. Lee)

"Here is a man whose spirit breathes in the hearts and minds of people identified with good works and fair play in business and profession * * * in boys' work, in fraternal society and community and State and Nation.

"Here is a man who has given Atlanta a son for its mayor, whose position and attainments certainly and inevitably will advance this great city of the Southeast into achievements far beyond its early dreams," wrote Frank E. Spain.

Frank E. Spain is past president of Rotary International and his tribute to the founder in 1913 of the Atlanta Rotary club is typical of the esteem all Rotarians have for Ivan Allen.

Mr. Spain was master of ceremonies when Frank P. Samford was honored as "Man of the South" for 1958 at the Birmingham Country Club and I was his guest the following noon for Rotary. I saw the way his friends esteemed him. He was honored with the Chevalier Legion of Honor. He and Mrs. Spain gave $50,000 to make possible the Medical Center. He is one of the great lawyers of our time and as I walked the length of a floor of the First National Bank Building which houses his law library I saw the reason for his legal reputation.

The late Thomas C. Law, who was the president of Atlanta Rotary club when I got out of the old Army Air Service in 1921 and got a job as cub reporter, wrote:

"Ivan has been one of the finest citizens Atlanta has ever had and he still keeps busy doing things for the city and its environs. I heartily endorse him for this honor."

One of my prize souvenirs is an old clipping from the August 12, 1921, issue of the Atlanta Constitution, written by Parks Rusk, now editorial page editor of the Miami Beach Daily Sun, who received the "Outstanding Citizen's Award" from the Taxpayers' Association last January. The 1921 clipping:

"Thousands of successful businessmen were questioned last year regarding the age at which the crisis of their life came; the unanimous reply was 'between 14 and 18.' Therefore teach teamwork and fair play to youths of that age and they will practice it years later," declared Tom Law, Rotary president.

In 1950, when Mr. Allen was named to the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living," the honor group now limited to 200 living leaders, which the "Man of the South" is elected each year, I was trying to syndicate a newspaper column. Here is the column for July 20, 1950:

"BUSINESS IN DIXIE

"(By Hubert F. Lee, editor of Dixie Business)

"Ivan Allen, named by Dixie Business as one of the South's foremost leaders, has played a leading role in the building of Atlanta for half a century. We remember his work for the Boy Scouts before and during World War I, when we were patrol leader of the Devil Fish Patrol of old Troop 31. And as a cub reporter on the Atlanta Constitution in 1921; a member of the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1922; and in 1931 reprinted in Dixie Business parts of his book 'Atlanta From the Ashes.'

"It took 273 pages for Eleanor Williams to record the highlights of Ivan Allen's achievements in the book, 'Ivan Allen, A Resource-

ful Citizen,' Chapter I of which we quote in part:

" 'Spent half his time on public work—and the other half in making a fortune.

" 'One of the founders of a new, nationwide merchandising industry—office outfitters.

" 'Bought a mountain—and gave it to the State for a park.

" 'A resourceful citizen—salesman, merchant, manufacturer, banker, politician, builder.

" 'The romance of a country boy, come to town.'

"Ivan Allen has had a hand in the building of most every organization and helping every movement for the betterment of Atlanta and Georgia for half a century."

"I think this is a wonderful choice," Dan J. Haughton, president, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Burbank, Calif.

"Certainly I approve," Dr. Jas. A. Jones, president, Union Theological Seminary.

Alvin B. Cates, one of the men who made Atlanta a great city who heads the Adams-Cates Co., wrote: "He, in every way, measures up to the type of man that makes Atlanta an outstanding city and, in my judgment, is entitled to the honor."

Reuben B. Robertson, the "Man of the South" for 1950, honorary chairman of Champion Papers Inc., and one of the great men of our time, wrote:

"Ivan Allen, Sr., is an outstanding gentleman who will honor the title of "Man of the South" for 1961 and of course I approve of his selection.

"Won't you extend to him my hearty congratulations and cordial welcome to the ranks of the 'Man of the South.'

"I am glad to gain 'Distinction by Association' through Mr. Allen's inclusion in the 'Man of the South' group.

"His career in the business world and in public affairs has been outstanding and is something the whole South may take pride in."

TEAM OF LEADERS

Senator Ivan Allen, Sr., is one of the finest examples of the old "Atlanta spirit" as personified by a host of civic leaders I have known for 40 years.

He is a real Horatio Alger hero and a legend in his own lifetime.

He came to Atlanta from Dalton in 1895 to sell typewriters—a new machine that sold for $100 and he stayed to found the Ivan Allen Co. which now does more than $8 million business a year and is the third largest in the Nation.

Ivan Allen learned merchandising as a boy working in his cousin's grocery store in Dalton, Ga.

His big heart prompted him to give too full measure to the poor. So he resolved never to go into any kind of business in which a lump would come into his throat in making a sale at a profit.

His dream of a preferred business dealing with firms who had money to spend for equipment, rather than to individuals, came in 1900.

With money furnished by his widowed mother * * * his dream of a departmentalized office outfitters store, where businessmen could buy all their needs in one place, was realized when Fielder & Allen was formed.

Atlanta's merchants were his customers.

They, like Ivan Allen, saw visions of a growing Atlanta and they did something about it.

Each new enterprise that came to Atlanta was a customer day-after-day and year-after-year.

It would take books to record all the things good Ivan Allen has done.

He founded Rotary in Atlanta.

Helped start the Atlanta Retail Merchants Association. The Southeastern Fair; was president of the National Stationery & Office Equipment Association.

His fund raising ability was responsible for the refounding in 1913 of Oglethorpe University.

Dr. Donald C. Agnew, president of Oglethorpe University, wrote, "Ivan Allen is indeed worthy of this title.

"Of course we believe that the refounding of Oglethorpe University was a notable contribution * * *. This is certainly not the least of Senator Allen's accomplishments for the South."

J. Leonard Reinsch, who helped honor Norman Cocke, the "Man of the South" for 1959 at the Charlotte Club, wrote: "This is a top-notch selection that will meet with universal approval. The selection of Ivan Allen, Sr., should be one of the most popular in the history of the South's Hall of Fame."

"Who's Who in America," in the volume 24 had this sketch:

"Allen, Ivan (Earnest), business executive; born in Dalton, Ga., March 1, 1877; son of Daniel Earnest and Susan Reese (Harris) Allen; education public schools, Dalton; Dr. Public Service (honorary) Oglethorpe University; married Irene Beaumont, 1908; one son, Ivan, Jr. In business at Atlanta, 1895; chairman Ivan Allen-Marshall Co., Ivan Allen Building, Atlanta Blank Book Manufacturing Co., Brookhaven Estates; past chairman Federal Home Loan Bank Board; director Trust Co. of Georgia. Director War Savings of Georgia, World War I. Member Georgia State Senate, 1919–21; chairman Governor's communication on simplification and coordination of administrative departments of State government, 1929. Chairman Board Southeastern Fair Association, chairman Industrial Bureau, Democratic Campaign Commission, 1940, 1944; past president Atlanta Con. Bur., Atlanta Merchants Association, National Stationers Association; trustee Oglethorpe University, High Museum of Art. Vice chairman County Welfare Board. Lieutenant colonel on military staffs of 3 governors. Awarded certificate of distinguished service, city of Atlanta and Chamber of Commerce 1926. Gave to State of Georgia, Fort Mountain, now one of State parks. Democrat, Presbyterian, Mason (K.T., Shriner) K.P., Elk. Clubs: Rotary: Capital City, Atlanta Athletic, Piedmont Driving. Author: "Atlanta from the Ashes," Rotary in Atlanta, consolidation of Georgia, 159 counties. Home: 2600 Peachtree Road. Office: 27–31 North Pryor Street, Atlanta, Ga."

As Ivan Allen, Jr., is now the mayor of Atlanta and his dad is prouder of him than his own vast achievements—here is the sketch from the 1952–53 issue of "Who's Who in America":

"Allen, Ivan, Jr., merchant; born, Atlanta, March 15, 1911; son of Ivan and Irene (Beaumont) Allen; graduate Georgia Institute of Technology, 1933; married Louise Richardson, January 1, 1936; children—Ivan III, Inman Beaumont. With Ivan Allen Co., Atlanta, 1933—, president, 1946–57, vice chairman of the board, 1957—; director, Georgia International Life Insurance Co., Rich's, Inc., Southern Airways (Atlanta). Scout, scoutmaster, area president, regional committeeman, member national executive board. Boy Scouts of America awarded Silver Beaver, Silver Antelope, Silver Buffalo; chairman, Greater Atlanta Community Chest, 1949. Lieutenant colonel Governor's staff, 1936; treasurer, Georgia State Hospital Authority, 1936; secretary, executive department, State of Georgia, 1945–46. Trustee, Georgia Foundation. Served as major, infantry, AUS, World War II. Recipient Armin Maier award, Atlanta Rotary Club, 1952. Member, Georgia Technical Alumni Association (president, 1953–54), Georgia Chamber of Commerce, president, 1956–57, director), Atlanta Chamber of Commerce (director), National Stationery & Office Equipment Association (district governor 1938–40, president 1955–56); Sigma Alpha Epsilon, Rotarian. Home: 3700 Northside Drive. Office: 29 Pryor Street NE., Atlanta."

"I heartily approve of Ivan Allen." Dr. Rufus C. Harris, president of Mercer University, Macon, Ga.

Each year the election of the "Man of the South" is ratified by a group which includes those on the ballot, the past "Man of the South" honorees and others. Do you approve? is asked.

"I am happy to cast my vote for Ivan Allen, Sr. I know he is a grand, good man," Bishop Arthur Moore.

"He is a fine citizen and worthy of the award," Frank P. Samford.

"The choices through other years have been well approved, indicating your system is dependable and gets right results. The Senator has had a sense of leadership in civic and community life * * * Ivan Allen, Sr. is the man of this year." Dr. J. Ross McCain, president-emeritus Agness Scott College.

"Mr. Allen is certainly entitled to all the honors that can be heaped upon him, and he would certainly be my first choice," John A. Sibley.

"Mr. Allen has a wonderful record and I am glad to concur in your suggestion that he be honored," Thomas W. Martin.

R. M. Wilson, M.D., who founded the R. M. Wilson Leprosy Colony in Korea in 1909, "A Great American for 1961" wrote from Richmond, Va.:

"I wish to cast my vote for Mr. Ivan Allen, Sr. Also wish to thank you for past honors and kindness and congratulate you on this good service you are rendering.

"I get good reports from Dr. Stanley Topple and think he is fitting well into the picture out there. (Leprosy Colony in Korea). The colony work progresses well and Dr. Boyer has just purchased land to set up a home for cured and burnt-out cases. My good friend Frank Brown, formerly of China, had leprosy but is cured and now attends various church meetings and well received back into society. He now resides in Norfolk.

"May God richly bless your good work."

"I know something of Mr. Allen's very fine background. I concur in the selection and commend you for your continued civic efforts. Senator Allen's joining the ranks of past "Men of the South" will bring further stature to all past members," Joseph T. Lykes, "Man of the South for 1960."

"Yes, I approve and congratulations to you for this worthy project."

SCOUTING IN ATLANTA

The Ivan Allens have been leaders in scouting from the beginning—Ivan, Sr., fundraising, executive committee; Junior as scout, vice president of council, board director, among many.

Phillip Weltner recommended Bayne Gibson for Scout commissioner, a post Noble Gibson held until 1917.

In 1916, a campaign in 3 days raised $12,000 and Allen A. Jameson was engaged as the first Scout executive in Atlanta. He was coauthor of the first "National Handbook for Boys." I remember Mr. Jameson well as I was a charter member of old Troop 52 and patrol leader of the old Devil Fish Patrol and later assistant scoutmaster. We made a 650-mile hike in 1918 selling war savings stamps through Tennessee and Alabama, with a trip down the Tennessee River.

ROTARY IN ATLANTA

Ivan Allen, with others, founded the Atlanta Rotary Club in 1913 and has been one of its loyal leaders since.

As members of the Atlanta Ad Club, he, along with Henry W. Grady, Jr., Joel Chandler Harris, and Howard Geldert, were delegates to a convention in Baltimore. There Ivan Allen attended Rotary and on the way back discussed the idea of a Rotary Club with his fellow delegates.

Back in Atlanta, Mr. Allen got busy and soon had plans formulated. He got together with his Ad Club delegates in his office—

the room Woodrow Wilson used as a law office—and the three handpicked a list of 32 businessmen and sent out invitations to a meeting on July 2, 1913, in the chamber of commerce.

Mr. Allen wrote to Chas. R. Perry, secretary, and Glenn C. Mead, president, of Rotary International. These men named Ivan Allen as the organizer for Rotary in Atlanta. He received the charter on August 1, 1913—No. 79—which hung in Mr. Allen's office until a paid secretary was employed and an office established years later.

SOUTHEASTERN FAIR

The boll weevil had crossed the Mississippi River, heading east about 50 miles a year, in 1914, when the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to promote a fair. The chamber of commerce had sponsored the Boys Corn Club since it was started in 1910 by Harry G. Hastings and others.

The committee included Walter G. Cooper, chamber secretary, Preston Arkwright, V. H. Kreigshaber, Harry G. Hastings, Brooks Morgan, S. B. Turman, Chas. Whiteford Smith, C. H. Kelly, Beaumont Davidson, Mell R. Wilkinson and Ivan Allen.

Ivan Allen headed the committee that sold $75,000 stock to match the same amount from the city of Atlanta and 75,000 in money, labor and materials from Fulton County.

CONVENTION BUREAU

Ivan Allen was first president of the Atlanta Convention Bureau, which opened for business April 2, 1913, when Wilmer L. Moore was president of the chamber of commerce. Col. F. J. Paxon was vice president; J. K. Ottley, treasurer; Fred Houser, executive secretary. Among others who are due credit: J. R. A. Hobson, J. Lee Barnes, H. N. Dutton, D. C. Knight, and St. Elmo Massengale, civic leaders.

JURY OF PEERS

"I am delighted that you are giving the 'Man of the South' Award for 1961 to Ivan Allen, Sr. That could also go for Ivan Allen, Jr.," Hugh Comer, one of the South's finest men and brother of Donald Comer, "Man of the South" 1947.

"I am pleased to note that Ivan Allen, Sr. is the 'Man of the South' for 1961," Carl D. Brorein, who was master of ceremonies when Mr. Joe Lykes was honored as "Man of the South, 1960" in Tampa.

"I am glad to concur in your selection," J. Oliver Emmerlich, publisher, McComb (Miss.) Enterprise-Journal, a brother of Charles O. Emmerich, of the De Kalb County Board of Commissioners, Decatur, Ga.

"Ivan Allen deserves the plaudits of all Atlantians for his great civic interest and pride in his city," Donald Hastings, son of Harry G. Hastings, one of the great leaders who was on the team of leaders that included Ivan Allen—who made Atlanta a great city.

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## Part III: Aid to Dependent Children

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, aid to dependent children has become one of the most controversial subjects in the country. Detroit News reporter Jo Ann Hardee has done a service by writing a six-part series on this subject which I am pleased to insert in the RECORD:

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN
(By Jo Ann Hardee)

It was graduation day at a suburban high school and the proudest one in the class was a 24-year-old mother who was rearing seven children on aid to dependent children (ADC) grants.

With a hard-won diploma in hand and a good job in prospect, Mrs. Grant knew she soon would be off aid to dependent children and selfsupporting.

Two years before, with her youngest children in the care of her mother, she had wanted to get a job. Her caseworker talked her out of it.

With only 2 years of high school education and no work experience, could she get a permanent job, one adequate to support eight people?

EXAMPLE FOR TIMID

How long would it be before she was back on aid to dependent children again?

The caseworker persuaded a reluctant school principal to let the woman enroll in day school classes, cutting years off the time it would take her to graduate in night school. As junior and senior years continued, the caseworker offered encouragement and the agency continued monthly checks of $240.

"Sometimes it's hard to convince a taxpayer that this kind of money is an investment," the caseworker said. "This woman now is totally selfsupporting in a job that offers security and advancement.

"She won't be on public assistance again, nor will her children.

"And she's an example to more timid women that it can be done.

"This is the difference between real rehabilitation and the phony kind. So you get somebody a temporary job and cut her off the program. What good does it do if she is back again 6 months later?"

Rehabilitation is the new look in the aid-to-dependent-children program—22 years after it was adopted in Michigan as a substitute for widows' pensions. With Federal-State costs topping the 1 billion mark, Congress finally recognized that "money isn't enough."

Critics have long been screaming for rehabilitation—even a limited sort. "If all you do is impress on some of these mamas that they have the responsibility to get the children off to school in the morning, that's a start," one caseworker said.

Conscientious caseworkers have been doing a rehabilitation job whenever possible. But as caseloads have grown and the character of aid-to-dependent-children recipients changed, rehabilitation has become more complicated.

AGENCIES SWAMPED

Mountains of paperwork bogged down a staff already too small to do an effective job. Turnover in personnel made any rapport between worker and client difficult. Clients moved at an incredible rate (600 to 800 of a 16,394 caseload move each month).

Efforts were concentrated on establishing and maintaining continuing checks on eligibility. Critics complained this function was not being performed at top efficiency.

In addition, rehabilitative resources in the community were, like most social agencies, swamped.

An independent research firm surveyed Chicago's aid-to-dependent-children program in 1960 and criticized its limited scope:

"While the aid-to-dependent-children program has done much to preserve family unity and strengthen family life, its primary emphasis has been to provide to those who qualify the barest necessities of life."

SOCIAL SAVINGS

"It has been essentially a program of financial assistance only.

"Little attention has been given to the underlying problems which create the need for aid to dependent children and little has been done to help the families solve these problems."

Congress this year passed a new welfare bill which is designed to change the orientation of aid to dependent children from relief to rehabilitation. It will increase Federal expenditures by about $300 million a year in the immediate future.

Its architect is Dr. Wilbur J. Cohen, former University of Michigan professor now Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He predicts social savings in human resources will eventually result in fiscal savings through lessened welfare bills.

"People who have been on relief for many years cannot be rehabilitated quickly by shortcuts or gimmicks," he said. "But we do believe that this law gives us the basic tools for an effective, long-term approach to the problem of chronic dependency."

States will be encouraged by 75 percent Federal financial participation to provide new services. Federal standards will be worked out at a September 26 Washington meeting.

POINTS IN "NEW LOOK"

Tentatively, the aid to dependent children's "new look" is this: Job training for adults to combat the low rate of employment among aid to dependent children mothers (4.5 percent in Wayne County, 17.1 percent out of State).

In the Federal law there is provision for work relief programs similar to those utilized by the welfare department to permit able-bodied recipients to work out a percentage of their grants. No such program is currently planned for Wayne County.

Contributions for child welfare services will be doubled to provide day care centers for working mothers and expanded adoption agencies and foster home care for children of unfit parents. The State's children's division has already been moved from its separate office and is now under the direction of R. Bernard Houston, who also directs the Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid, aid to dependent children's parent organization.

Incentives for working mothers include enabling them to set earned money aside for future identifiable needs of children, particularly education and medical expenses. Currently earned income is deducted from budgeted needs after an allowance is made for job-related expenses such as transportation.

Special projects aimed at preventing recurrence of illegitimate pregnancies.

"Protective payments," made to responsible persons when a grantee is found incapable of managing her money in the best interests of her children.

Staff upgrading which includes inservice training and improved supervision. Being studied is a special staff to follow up "problem cases" or those in which prospects of rehabilitation are good. This unit would try to counteract the problem of staff turnover and client movement.

CHANGING GOALS

Currently aid to dependent children is reviewing its caseload, dividing it into types of problems and perfecting rehabilitative techniques.

Houston outlined the new program's objectives:

"We have to change the opinion of those who consider public assistance an inevitable way of life. We must destroy the chain of dependency. This means concentrating on the children, changing their goals, their aspirations, their attitudes.

"Often nothing can be done for an adult once she is on aid to dependent children, the roots of dependency are in her family life. The factors that create a public as-

sistance case are broken homes, limited education, limited job skills, limited employment opportunities. This is not original, but it's true.

PLEA FOR HELP

"Rehabilitation is the community's job, but it is most incumbent upon us as a public assistance agency to attack as many of these social problems as we can.

"Any dent we can make in the chain of dependency is worthwhile. It's wrong not to make an effort just because results are small.

"But aid to dependent children cannot be the only keeper of the public conscience. We need community help."

His superior in Lansing, W. J. Maxey, echoed Houston: "The saving to the taxpayer in a rehabilitation program is hard for him to visualize. You can sell people on crash programs that mean an immediate caseload drop."

LACK OF SKILLS

"But if you merely transfer these cases to welfare, what have you accomplished?"

Maxey decried what he views as a let-Washington-do-it attitude.

"Citizens in the local community must realize that serious social problems such as illegitimacy, unemployment, lack of job skills and low standards are not solely the property of aid to dependent children.

"For too long citizens have shunted their social problems off to the highest level of government. These must be fought at the grassroots." He cited the great cities project which spots potential problem children and the job upgrading program for school dropouts as examples of community attacks upon social problems."

DIFFERENT APPROACH

Msgr. Clement Kern, whose Holy Trinity parish is heavily populated with public assistance cases underscored Maxey's comments:

"We tend to tuck away the poor.

"We take the attitude, ain't it a shame that visitors must look at the panhandlers on Michigan Avenue as they are driving to the Sheraton-Cadillac? Maybe it's time we all looked at the poor.

"They are hidden and ignored—except when they cost us money. Then they are reviled."

A different approach is taken by Mrs. Miriam Hewlett, head of recorder's court adjustment division, the agency which attempts to get support payments from estranged husbands.

PUBLIC IS PAYING

"It's a social cancer that these women lack a sense of responsibility. That's rehabilitation too—teaching them that they can't come and go as they please when the public is paying the bill.

"Within the limits of their capacities—and for some that's not very great—they should be taught that with public money goes responsibility."

Observers remark that rehabilitation could be aided with more assistance from the Negro community since 80 percent of aid to dependent children recipients in Wayne County are Negro.

CITES ENVIRONMENT

From many sources comes the image of the middle-class Negro as someone reluctant to be associated with public assistance clients of his own race. One civic leader rapped the "lack of responsibility shown by the Negro community toward its own members."

A settlement house worker said: "When Negroes move to middle-class standards, they tend to become more punitive and rejecting toward lower class people of their own race. They want to dissociate themselves from that stereotype."

The same social worker spoke of effective rehabilitation:

"You can domesticate these teenagers, but that isn't enough. They will check their knives at the door, play games fairly, be polite. But all that vanishes when they get back into an environment where such values aren't respected.

PROBLEM OF POVERTY

"You have to show them there is another life—and they can have that life."

Francis A. Kornegay, of the Urban League, agrees that changing the values of children reared on public assistance is a keystone of the fight against chronic dependency. His organization sponsored a program for teens designed to do this.

"We cannot sit by and say this is not our job—leave it to aid to dependent children," he said.

"Currently aid to dependent children is not doing the casework and giving the counseling necessary," he continued, "It has an inadequate budget to provide rehabilitative services. Taxpayers are paying a tremendous social price, which will become a welfare burden, for this pet economy.

"A person can't lift himself by his bootstraps when he is surrounded by a ghetto of poverty and frustration."

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## Conflict Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 17, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress, I am pleased to insert the fourth article in a series on "Conflict Management" by Edward Scannell Butler, of New Orleans, La., in which the writer shows how American businessmen can take the initiative and the offensive to help defeat communism around the world. In this last article in Challenge, the publication of the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson Parish, Mr. Butler outlines those ways to win over communism, which our country's businessmen can and should adopt for an effective campaign against the Red conflict managers.

This fourth article entitled "Part IV: Ways To Win," follows:

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: PART IV—WAYS TO WIN

(By Edward Scannell Butler)

"If we back the attack and begin to win the cold war, won't we tempt the Communists to launch an annihilating atomic attack?" This unspoken fear—"Is political warfare worth winning?"—lurks in minds of many thoughtful Americans.

To find the answer, we must glance backward into recent history.

CONFLICT QUOTATIONS

In 1956 an American wrote: "Throughout the Soviet Union there are about 6,000 special schools maintained by the party and devoted exclusively to training professional propagandists. These have an enrollment at any one time of 185,000 students. Above these schools are 177 regional propaganda colleges to train 135,000 alumni of the local schools. And above the regional schools are a dozen higher institutions giving graduate training to several thousand advanced students. Propaganda is by far the biggest industry in the U.S.S.R."

In 1961 a Communist said: "Comrades. There is only America. And this country can be compared to a wornout runner. He had the prize—but others have been born, trained, and are now running.

"The United States is now running on its past reputation but at the finish line the young, fresh, strong runner will break the tape and our Socialist country—young, strong, organized, mobilized—is snapping at the heels of America—not silently, but saying, 'Look, we are in the race. Hurry up or we will overtake you.'"

The first statement was made after a study of the subject by William Benton, former adman and U.S. Senator, who now publishes the Encyclopedia Brittanica.

The second statement was shouted by Nikita S. Khrushchev, at a party rally in Alma Ata Kazakstan. Khrushchev also said that American experts were reporting to President Kennedy that the Soviet Union would overtake the United States by 1970 and added: "This is our date."

These statements go together like a man in a missile. For although Khrushchev's speech was reported in the United States as an economic challenge, neither reporters nor the American public was aware (as every Communist is) that the biggest business in the Soviet economy is propaganda. To the initiated Communist courtiers Khrushchev was promising, not economic parity, but propaganda warfare victory by 1970. Be certain he meant it.

Point 1: Cold war is real war.

THE GRAPH OF POWER

Business statisticians distrust the unstable line that shoots to the pinacle of the chart, then often topples on a whisper of suspicion. The Red line has soared from 25 men under Lenin in 1903, to over 36 million under Khrushchev today. It has accounted for the extermination of millions of human beings and the enslavement of a billion.

And yet communism, based as it is on "a pseudoscientific residue of the 19th century," trembles violently whenever an organized nudge is given one of its weak spots. Its hysterical attacks on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation are one example, another is the frenzied fear of U.N. debate on Hungary, a third is the massive guilt hysteria surrounding the Berlin wall.

Point 2: The Reds can lose, if we help them.

THE NEW TREND

Once American business begins buying private insurance for freedom, dramatic changes could occur quickly.

Abroad, an adequate private investment in cold war offense could mean the gradual reopening of Iron-Curtained markets, and the free development of underdeveloped nations.

At home, a whole new career field in conflict management will develop. Our concern about the necessity of creating 13 million new jobs by 1970 may become meaningless, when American youth begins to discover the rewards of professional involvement in the greatest challenge of the century. However, if the present trend continues, it is equally possible that no private enterprise jobs will exist by 1970, as Khrushchev shouted in Alma Ata.

Point three: We can win, if we will.

DEFEAT BY DEFAULT

Unfortunately, there are some few Americans who still advocate throwing sops to Cerberus in the forms of the lives, liberty, and property of millions of once-free Allies. They are willing to sacrifice peripheral interests to buy time and seek accommodation with a milder Soviet dictatorship of the future. Aside from any moral considerations, a strategy of nonoffense in cold war can result in continual nibbling at the perimeter and ultimately in a "citadel America," a lonely armed island in a sea of enemies, free to choose only between thermonuclear war, or surrender.

No sane citizen wants nuclear war, and no liberty-loving American wants Red domination. Fortunately there is a third, rational path between detonation and domination: i.e., to maintain obviously superior weapons, civil defense, and will-power which will keep Soviet challenges beneath the hot war level (Herman Kahn suggests specific, and practical ways and means in his excellent RAND study "On Thermonuclear War," for the Center of International Studies at Princeton). Having capped the nuclear volcano, we must also develop offensive strategies to win the cold war, a goal which Life magazine has suggested should become our primary national purpose.

VICTORY THROUGH VITALITY

Far from endangering peace, a positive public-private effort for cold war victory will insure it.

There is every reason to believe the Reds are as concerned as we are about avoiding thermonuclear war, unless they can make it risk-proof through the psychopolitical methods of conflict management. Red strategists denounce "military adventurism" (meaning any high-risk move that endangers "Mother Russia"). Moreover, the Reds seem to believe their own myth of invincibility. They appear certain that Communist conquest is "historically determined"—hence only a question of time. Understandably therefore, the Reds will always prefer a Leninist "step backward," to avoid doomsday warfare, unless the odds are conclusively in their favor.

The basic question then is: Will Red dictators be more belligerent when we are strong, or when we are weak? When we are winning or losing?

Events of the past 16 years, and the whole philosophy of communism from Lebanon to Laos, have proven that against the Reds—power means peace; weakness, war.

Point four: We can win without losing.

CAPTAINS OF CONFLICT

As technology advances and democracy seems to decline, it has been said that the modern world faces an alternative between a new Renaissance and new Dark Age. Required today are Renaissance men, for the destruction of Red imperialism and the expansion of a system of liberty under law to all the peoples of the earth.

Mentors like Drs. Robert Strausz Hupe, and William R. Kintner of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Frank Barnett of the Institute for American Strategy, Gerhart Neimeyer of Notre Dame, Phillip Selznick of the University of California, and Stefan Possony of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford, are unfamiliar names to the average businessman. But the future of freedom may well depend on these little-known experts, and the lights are on the ivory towers.

TASKS FOR TODAY

Most businessmen cannot personally manage conflict, but all should support those who can. A nation which contributes nearly $8 billion a year to orthodox charity can certainly allocate a small margin of its resource to insure its own survival. It surely will, when we eliminate the "let Uncle Sam do it alone" mental block. But since a philosophy of private investment for survival doesn't yet exist, the few free world conflict managers are forced into pauperism (if they practice) or prosaic "peacetime" pursuits (if they don't). Lacking either monetary or mental incentive, new talent is not attracted to the field. But once even modest pay becomes possible, an academic discipline will develop, and professionalism will proceed. However, business must begin the cycle. Money is mandatory, but often the job can be done with a tax-deductible dollar.

WAYS TO WIN

Someday soon perhaps United Freedom Funds will operate in every community in the Nation, to finance the work of free conflict corporations throughout the world. One top civic leader per community could rally the support of his city for such a United Freedom Fund, and strike thousands of blows at Red weak spots.

Until then, top management should: (1) Hire qualified conflict consultants to defend and guide their business in cold war combat, (2) endow a conflict course or college to train top-flight talent, (3) select a free conflict corporation and support it with regular corporate contributions.

Junior executives should work to initiate corporate contributions through their companies. Every means, from the trusty suggestion box and bulletin boards, to small group discussions, assemblies and the house organ, should be used to inform fellow workers and/or employees of the grave responsibility they bear.

If the American businessman will make conflict management his business, if he will fulfill the great unfulfilled need of our time, America can win. Conflict management is the way.

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## "Research and Development as a Factor in Defense Procurement," Address by Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric, South Bend, Ind., September 5, 1962

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, last July several of my colleagues from the Midwest and I met with Defense Secretary Robert McNamara at the Pentagon to discuss a Defense Department report which documented the awarding of an increasing share of defense contracts to the West and East coast and Mountain States at the expense of the Midwest.

Secretary McNamara emphasized that part of the report which indicated that production contracts tend to be awarded in areas where research and development work on the items in question has been performed. The evidence in the report suggested strongly that areas most successful in winning defense work are those in which there is close cooperation between industry and universities on basic and applied research.

In response to a request of mine at the meeting, Secretary McNamara authorized Defense officials to meet with representatives of industry, universities and local government to discuss ways in which the Midwest can improve its capabilities in competing for Government contracts.

I am glad to say that such a meeting in South Bend in my congressional district on August 11 proved very useful.

Interest in this problem was further evidenced by the Management Club of the Bendix Corp., South Bend, whose officers asked me to invite the distinguished Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roswell L. Gilpatric to discuss the tie between research and defense procurement at a meeting attended by business and university leaders in our area.

The able Deputy Secretary was kind enough to attend this meeting September 5 and to deliver this excellent speech on this most important subject:

REMARKS BY DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROSWELL L. GILPATRIC BEFORE A DINNER MEETING OF MIDWEST INDUSTRY AND UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES, SOUTH BEND, IND., SEPTEMBER 5, 1962

The opportunity to discuss the subject of research and development as a factor in defense procurement here in South Bend, in the heart of the Middle West, is most welcome for several reasons.

First, this is the section of the United States which has been most adversely affected by changes over the past decade in the patterns of defense procurement, and the people of this area deserve a straightforward explanation of the factors involved in these changes.

Second, this is the home of JOHN BRADEMAS who has taken a most active, and I may say a most enlightened, interest in the events which have taken place, and who is engaging in a vigorous search for solutions of the resulting problems.

Third, there is an exceptional awareness in this community of the basic nature of these problems, as witnessed by the conference held here on August 11, with university, industry, and civic leaders meeting with Mr. BRADEMAS and representatives from the Department of Defense in a candid discussion of the issues.

Fourth, South Bend is the site of one of our great American universities, a university which has made major contributions of quality manpower to our Nation, and which has even greater potential significance for industrial and economic growth for the future. Father Hesburgh and I served together on the Rockefeller Study Group 4 years ago, and I well remember his keen understanding of national security problems.

Finally, South Bend is the home of some of the great names in American enterprise, Bendix, Dodge, Studebaker, U.S. Rubber, Wheelabrator, and is therefore a vital part of the world's greatest and most productive industrial complex—this vast region bounded by the Great Lakes on the north, the Ohio River and its tributaries to the east, and the Mississippi and its tributaries to the west.

DISCUSSION OF CHANGES

During recent months there has been a great deal of discussion in the Congress, in the press, and among the general public, over the loss of defense contracts in this area, and it is appropriate that I treat with that state of affairs quite frankly and in some detail.

In the first place, it is significant that these discussions are occurring now, in 1962, rather than in 1954, 1955, or 1956, when the major changes actually occurred. The fact is that the geographic distribution of military prime contract awards between the midwestern area and the rest of the Nation has been relatively stable over the past 3 years.

The recent trend is upward. In fiscal 1962, total prime military contract awards for the 5 States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were $3.1 billion, up 20 percent from the $2.6 billion of fiscal 1961, and up 32 percent from the $2.4 billion of fiscal 1960. Each of the 5 States participated in these gains; Indiana, however, had the greatest increase of all. Awards for fiscal 1962 were $635 million, compared with $350 million in fiscal 1961, and with only $310 million in fiscal 1960. This doubling of defense contracts in only 2 years should be most welcome to the industries, universities, and the citizenry of this State.

Why then, should there be such evidence of concern over this area's share of total defense procurement? It appears to be a belated reaction to something that happened

between the close of the Korean hostilities and the year 1960. It is true that the midwestern share of defense contract awards dropped sharply during those years. The 5 States of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin had over 27 percent of total prime contract awards during the Korean hostilities. By fiscal 1960 this percentage had fallen to less than 12 percent. This was a loss of $6 billion per year in prime contract awards and one that can be translated, literally, into hundreds of thousands of jobs. The excellent recovery of fiscal 1962 restored only half a billion of this $6 billion loss, or less than 10 percent.

Why this momentous change could have taken place with so little attention at the time is hard to understand, or to explain. Perhaps it may have been due to the fact that there was a huge pent-up demand for civilian goods at the end of the Korean hostilities—for automobiles, for television sets, for many of the other "big ticket" merchandise items which could not be produced in adequate quantity during Korea. You will recall that 1955 saw 8 million passenger automobiles produced in the United States, a figure never equaled before or since. It was also at that time that mass markets in television opened up; and there were profitable opportunities in abundance for the highly efficient mass production efforts typical of industry in this section of the Nation. In other words, this area achieved a successful conversion from a warfare economy to the civilian markets characteristic of the time since Korea.

In contrast, the economies of the east and west coasts were much harder hit during the conversion years of 1954 and 1955. These areas naturally intensified their efforts to expand their share of defense procurement and to adapt themselves to the new requirements of the armed services. This is where the great increase of emphasis on research and development had a major role.

During Korea, for example, missile contract awards were only one-half of 1 percent of all Defense contracts; by fiscal 1961 these were 33½ percent of the total. Electronics awards accounted for only 11 percent during the Korean war; but these rose to 18 percent in fiscal 1961. These increases came chiefly through the severe reduction in tank-automotive items, weapons, ammunition, and other heavy equipment, which accounted for 50 percent of the total during Korea and only 12 percent in fiscal 1961. The Middle West area supplied a large part of these wheeled vehicles and ammunition items, but it has enjoyed a much smaller and less significant share in the production of new and highly sophisticated weapon systems.

WEAPONS IN SPACE

Speaking of sophisticated weapons, there has been, as you all know, a good deal of public discussion recently about our military space program. If I may interrupt for a few moments my main theme, I should like to say something to you about this program.

On December 20, 1961, the United States sponsored the unanimous adoption of U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1721. This resolution, which recognized the common interest of mankind in furthering the peaceful uses of outer space and which expressed the belief that space should be used only for the betterment of mankind, established the principle that outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states in conformity with international law and the charter of the U.N., and are not subject to national appropriation. We see no reason to change our position about this resolution.

The United States believes that it is highly desirable for its own security and for the security of the world that the arms race should not be extended into outer space, and we are seeking in every feasible way to achieve that purpose. Today there is no doubt that either the United States or the Soviet Union could place thermonuclear weapons in orbit, but such an action is just not a rational military strategy for either side for the foreseeable future.

We have no program to place any weapons of mass destruction into orbit. An arms race in space will not contribute to our security. I can think of no greater stimulus for a Soviet thermonuclear arms effort in space than a U.S. commitment to such a program. This we will not do.

At the same time that we are pursuing cooperative scientific efforts in space through the United Nations and otherwise, we will of course take such steps as are necessary to defend ourselves and our allies, if the Soviet Union forces us to do so. This is in accordance with the inalienable right of self-defense confirmed in the United Nations Charter.

We now have an active and extensive military space program, addressed to two objectives:

First, as part of our overall defense effort, we have continuing programs to insure that the United States will be able to cope with any military challenge in outer space. Our programs in this area are under constant review, and this review indicates that our present rate of effort is entirely adequate.

Second, as a part of our national space program, we in the Defense Department, along with NASA, are actively exploring the potentialities of outer space as a useful part of our expanding universe. We are developing through activities in space and observations from space our ability to improve our capabilities in fields such as communications, navigation, meteorology, mapping, and geodesy. Many branches of industry are contributing to this endeavor by improving propulsion, electronic, photographic, communications and other components of systems for space research and utilization. These programs have great significance not only for our military forces but for the economic and scientific advance of the United States and of the whole world. The progress that they represent, like all scientific advances, is neutral in its political and moral content. We all recognize that the atom can provide energy for peace or for war. A navigational satellite in outer space can guide a submarine as well as a merchant ship.

We are conducting our national missile and space program with the maximum openness consistent with national security. We register with the United Nations each space launching. I only wish the Soviets would be as open about all their military activities as we are about ours.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INDUSTRY

Returning to my principal topic, the refusal of the United States to launch a thermonuclear arms race in outer space clearly has implications for industrial planning. Too many contractors may be attempting to crowd into the space spotlight, while other important but less highlighted defense problems do not receive the attention which they deserve. For example, research and development accounted for 58 percent of all defense awards for space technology and missiles in fiscal 1961 while R. & D. accounted for only 2½ percent of the contracts let for military vehicles.

Yet our need for improved vehicles has increased, not decreased. In Vietnam the problem of rapid surface transportation across rice paddies and swamps has yet to be solved. Over 20 years ago the Army, faced by the problem of rapid movement in snow, turned to South Bend and the Studebaker Co. for an answer. The solution, the M-29 Weasel, designed and developed by Mr. Harold Churchill, was a distinct and vital contribution to our victory in Europe. I am certain that there are other imaginative Hoosiers who can assist the Defense Department with new and more effective solutions to Defense Department problems. If they are to do so, strong, vigorous university and industrial research and development programs are essential.

This year Defense Department research and development awards are expected to exceed $7 billion. The research and development budget for the whole Federal Government will be approximately $12.5 billion, which is three times the amount spent 7 years ago. This is a most important trend, with profound significance for our whole economy. States such as California and Massachusetts have up to now been the principal beneficiaries of this trend. States which lag behind in this field can hardly expect long-term growth in defense contracts.

The vast importance of research, development, test, and evaluation contracts derives from the fact that they are often forerunners of future production activity. The placement of these contracts is even more closely concentrated in a few States than is true of the remaining three-fourths of defense procurement. In 1961 the West Coast and Mountain States had 54½ percent of the total; the New England and Middle Atlantic States 27½ percent; and the East-North Central States had only about 6½ percent.

These indicators are of major importance because a company which has conducted or managed the research, design, development, and test work on a new weapon system—or a major component—may thereby acquire a scientific, engineering, and technical staff highly skilled in advanced technology. Such a concern is obviously in a strong position not only to compete for follow-on production contracts but also for new design and developmental contracts. It is logical, then, that production contracts for modern weapons and equipment which will figure heavily in future procurement, may tend to be placed in areas where research, development, test, and evaluation effort has been centered. A region that gains a long headstart in a new and expanding field of procurement is bound to enjoy an enduring advantage, especially when research and development is a primary element.

Factors influencing the location of prime contracts and subcontracts include availability of highly specialized scientific, engineering and technical manpower, specialized facilities, labor skills, production experience, and know-how, together with competence and familiarity in presentation of bid proposals. All these factors tend to be associated with research and development capability, and their presence fosters the climate in which long-range research and development may flourish.

Although the dollars devoted to basic research amount to only 2½ percent of the total defense research, development, test, and evaluation program, its long-range importance far exceeds its dollar allocation. National security in the 1970's, and military procurement patterns in that decade, may well depend upon the creativity of our basic reasearch community, whether conducted within Government laboratories or contracted out.

AWARDS NOT PROPORTIONED

Most basic research contracts are awarded to universities and other nonprofit organizations. In fiscal year 1961 the total of prime awards to educational and nonprofit institutions, including many which would not qualify as basic research, was $431 million. The fact that half these dollar amounts went to Massachusetts and California, while only 14 percent went to the entire Midwest, has attracted considerable attention as an example of the clustering of industry around centers of learning. Yet, the Midwest, with its great university resources and its large annual output of Ph. D's and other profes-

sionals, did not in 1961 obtain a share of defense prime contract awards, for production, for general research, development, test, and evaluation, or for nonprofit research, which was proportional to its share of the Nation's scientific and technical skills.

A special problem faced by the Midwest in this connection lies in its heavy export balance in trained and talented manpower. Two or three facts may serve to establish the point. Of 200 physicists and electrical engineers receiving graduate degrees in the Chicago area over a 6-year period, who were then employed by industry, only 3 remained in that area. Of 100 aeronautical engineers graduated by the University of Michigan last year, none was employed by Michigan. There were some 950 Ph. D's granted in the five States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin in 1959; but only about 500 Ph. D's obtained employment there, and many of these were from other areas. This situation is even worse than it seems, because about half of our annual Ph. D product goes into university teaching—which means that few Ph.D's are going into Midwestern industry. They are trained here—in your excellent schools—but they find employment elsewhere. The recruiters—the headhunters—find this a happy hunting ground.

At least one conclusion can be drawn from these facts. Certain institutions, certain companies and certain communities have been far more successful in their quest for Defense research, development, test, and evaluation contracts than have others. The primary objective of the Military Establishment has been to find and to use the strongest capabilities for each essential requirement, whether for research and development or for production. It is a matter of concern to the Defense Department that we make full use of all research resources available to us, nationwide, in ways suited to their capabilities in each case. It would be good for Defense, and for the economy of the Midwest, if these capabilities were found here more often than they now are.

Defense policy rightly stresses awards on merit. Local initiative seeking Defense business must, therefore, direct itself to the creation of capability responsive to the exacting needs of modern warfare. Communities which fail to recognize this fact, and which fail to energize and mobilize their institutions to adjust to it, cannot reasonably anticipate a major role in future Defense procurement.

If it be true, as I believe, that our research program does indeed foreshadow future patterns of Defense procurement, it is apparent that the national interest requires a solid understanding of the implications of this fact. Last month, Secretary McNamara and I requested the development of a study plan for an analysis in depth of the fundamental issues in these industry-academic-defense relationships. We need answers to a number of significant questions.

SEARCH FOR ANSWERS

We want to know why the concentration of defense research and development has developed over the past decade, and especially what, if any, connection there is between this concentration and the concentration of university and other nonprofit research efforts. We would like to learn both the advantages and disadvantages from the defense viewpoint of such concentration. It would also be interesting to find out to what extent defense research activity spills over into the civilian economy to encourage local growth and the development of business enterprise. The Department of Defense has a special interest in finding out whether there are, in the United States, research and development capabilities and potentials not being fully utilized for the optimum advantage of the Nation.

It will not be easy to get precise answers to questions involving so many complex elements, but we intend to make as much progress as possible.

The points I have been making tend to emphasize the relationship of national defense to jobs, prosperity and industrial expansion. But it would be a distortion of our basic problem to ignore the fact that 91 percent of our overall national production lies in the civilian sector; only 9 percent is accounted for by Defense procurement. Civilian markets will always attract exploitation and development, and most industries will seek some part of such markets for their products.

It is possible, in other words, to exaggerate the importance of the Defense contract award pattern in relation to the whole of our economy. Nevertheless, there is some spillover from the research and development efforts associated with defense, whether in industry or in universities, or in nonprofit research establishment, into the civilian sphere. New products, new processes, new techniques, open up new opportunities for improvement in our standard of living through expansion in the production and distribution of civilian goods. That is why it may well be highly desirable for this Middle Western region to give earnest attention to strengthening its research and development capabilities, expanding its pools of top research talent, as well as to maintaining its productive efficiency.

What are the practical means available to these industries that deserve consideration even in advance of the conclusion of the studies now in process? Tentatively, I would offer these possibilities.

First, every possible encouragement might be given to those industries and those companies which already maintain successful research and development activities. There are in this region companies with a progressive, positive attitude toward research. It is easier to build on existing strength than to create wholly new capability.

Second, I would emphasize the need for a close relationship between industry and university resources. This relationship has developed to a high degree around Boston, Mass., involving MIT and dozens of companies large and small with factories in the vicinity. The same kind of close relationship exists around Palo Alto, Calif., involving Leland Stanford University, Stanford Research Institute, and, again, dozens of corporate organizations with plants near by. And, of course, there is the Los Angeles area, with the giant industrial organizations maintaining close relationship with the university resources of that area.

PRAISE FOR BENDIX

What Bendix has been doing in this field deserves mention. Bendix personnel, I am informed, have worked closely with the University of Michigan faculty, sharing the use of the university's nuclear reactor in significant research. The Bendix Systems Division, the university, and the Federal Government have been associated in joint meteorological programs in field tests. Bendix has employed consultants from the university faculty; Bendix technicians have given part time service as faculty members; and Bendix personnel are encouraged to take advanced courses and to secure degrees from the university—with 30 percent of all the company engineers having taken some courses. I am pleased, also, to learn that Bendix maintains contact with other great educational institutions in this area, including Michigan State University, Wayne State University, and South Bend's own Notre Dame. These activities may help explain why Bendix received $172 million of prime military contract awards in fiscal 1961 and an even larger total in fiscal 1962.

An outstanding example of university leadership in this field is found in the industrial research park now established and functioning at Purdue University. That project, together with the Department of Defense (ARPA) grant for a material research center there should go far to guarantee the continuing excellence of Purdue, while benefiting industry in the area and the community at large.

Secretary McNamara has said, and I here repeat, that the Department of Defense would welcome a broadening of the base of research and development work in this midwestern area, and a greater utilization of the capabilities of universities and industry in this area. At the same time, we stand firmly upon the policy enacted by the Congress, with full concurrence from the executive branch, that defense contract awards are to rest upon merit. In the case of research and development awards, this means capability and, because national security is at stake, we must seek out the best and use it.

In the long run, the solution for the midwestern problem of defense contracting cannot be manufactured in Washington, however sympathetic those of us there may be. We can, however, respond to the kind of local initiative, local energy, and local cooperation which is being fostered right here in this community, under the leadership of men like Congressman Brademas, Father Hesburgh, Franklin Schurz of the South Bend Tribune, Sherwood Egbert of Studebaker, and Arthur Omberg of Bendix. Here lies the strength of American society, and our future as a nation rests in strong hands like these in every industrial city of the land.

In conclusion, let me stress once more the values which each community and each State will certainly derive from a searching review of its own resources and capabilities. By this means greater opportunity will be found both for contributions to the defense effort and for enjoyment of a rightful share in the vast economic growth and development which has characterized our history as a nation.

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## Part IV: Aid to Dependent Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, aid to dependent children has become one of the most controversial subjects in the country. Detroit News Reporter Jo Ann Hardee has done a service by writing a six-part series on this subject which I am pleased to insert in the RECORD:

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(By Jo Ann Hardee)

The employer was livid.

A clerk in his store had quit her full-time job, paying $200 monthly, and was now receiving aid-to-dependent-children (ADC) payments for herself and four children. Grudgingly he kept her on as a helper for 2 days a week.

He did not blame the woman, he was angry with aid to dependent children.

"Wouldn't anybody quit a job if he could make more sitting at home, sipping beer? Here I work day and night so that I can pay taxes—just so she can live in the lap of luxury like those other lazy loafers."

This is the image many taxpayers have of the aid-to-dependent-children program. Launched in the depression years as a substitute for widows' pensions, it has grown into a $40 million annual program in Michigan.

PUBLIC ATTACK

It has drawn a barrage of charges that it is a cushion to the lazy, the chiseler, the unwed mother.

The irate employer is correct in that "Mrs. Grierson" as she will be called here, is getting nearly as much money staying at home as she would at work. Her monthly grant is $180.

She pays no taxes on this. Free or minimally priced medical care is available to her. She can purchase food stamps, getting $3 worth for every $2 spent. Her agency-established food budget is set at $125 a month. She is permitted to purchase $96 worth of food with stamps, for which she pays $64.

(Until September 1, only 20 percent of aid-to-dependent-children clients qualified for food stamps; 87 percent of these used them. Under new rules, all aid-to-dependent-children recipients now qualify for the 3 to 2 advantage.)

CHILDREN'S PROGRAM

The employer's ire seemed justified. Why should a woman be permitted to quit a job to earn nearly the same on public assistance?

"People forget that this is a children's program," said W. J. Maxey, State head of the bureau of social welfare, aid-to-dependent-children's parent organization.

"What concerns us is the kind of youngsters we are turning out. If the mother is needed in the home, she should be in the home.

"We have an agency policy that women are expected to work if there is an adequate child care program available; the emphasis is on adequate."

In Wayne County last year, only 4.5 percent of aid to dependent children's 16,000 recipients were employed. Outstate, with the other half of the caseload, 17.1 percent were working. In Wayne County, 60 percent of nonworking mothers said they were needed in the home.

GRANDMOTHER AILING

Mrs. Grierson had been leaving her children, aged 8 to 14, with her mother. Her employer did not know it but the grandmother, suffering from arthritis, was close to a nervous breakdown.

Her emotional breakup was a result of trying to cope with four difficult youngsters, especially the 14-year-old daughter.

Deserted by her father when she was 6 and left alone while her mother worked, the child was seeking affection. She found it with a number of older men, and finally came to the attention of the juvenile court.

Counseling by court officers and getting the mother back into the home seemed to be the best therapy.

WHY PART TIME?

"Granted she is needed in the home," the employer said, "Why not every day? Why do they let her work 2 days a week?"

Mrs. Grierson's caseworker said that, figured on assistance standards, the mother and her children need $346 monthly. The State ceiling on a family of five is $180.

From her part-time job she earns $68.80 and is allowed $20.16 as work expense. The remaining $48.64 is deducted from her budgeted needs, still leaving her $17.36 of unmet need.

If Mrs. Grierson earns more, or obtains support from her husband, the amount will be subtracted and grant lessened accordingly.

LACK INCENTIVE

Some aid-to-dependent-children mothers have complained that this system creates little incentive to work. A new Federal law, to encourage employment, allows additional exemptions from income for "future identifiable needs" of children, particularly education.

"Unmet need," snorted the employer. "I have unmet needs too, I'd like a new car, my wife would like a mink coat."

His view is often expressed by irritated taxpayers who believe that aid-to-dependent-children recipients get fabulous sums on public assistance and that they are lazy, shunning jobs.

Agency officials say there have been instances of women "putting one over" on them. But they also say the bulk of the women on the program are honestly needed at home.

LAP OF LUXURY

Whenever the program is discussed, certain statements about aid to dependent children almost inevitably appear. One of these is that grantees live in the "lap of luxury."

The average Wayne County aid-to-dependent-children grant in 1961 was $149.72 per month for the average family of mother and 2.7 children. Outstate, the grant was $126.23. This was before Detroit and Wayne County dropped supplementation of $1 to $45 a case above State ceilings.

Ceilings on aid-to-dependent-children cases begin at $120 a case for mother and one child and range upward at $20 for each additional person to the top State grant of $240. This covers a family of eight or larger and, according to aid-to-dependent-children standards, is at least $120 short of its needs.

START OUT WELL

A 1959 investigation of aid to dependent children by the friend of the court did show that recipients "in a good percentage of the cases were living better and had more nonessentials than neighboring working taxpayers during the first part of the month."

R. Bernard Houston, head of the Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid, said this might be true, but he added: "We found the cupboard pretty bare, however, by the end of the month. That is why we have changed from issuing monthly checks to bimonthly ones. We think the women can budget better now."

Investigators were also disturbed when they found private telephone or high fidelity sets and television-phonograph combinations in some of the 319 homes they visited.

But they observed that, under Federal law, then operating, the cash grant could be spent according to the recipient's discretion, as long as children were not neglected.

GRANTS PROTECTED

A new law permits the agency to make "protective payments" in 5 percent of its 32,000 Michigan cases. Grants go to a responsible person who would spend for an irresponsible grantee.

Is it true that the day the checks arrive is known as "Mother's day," or "gin day," taxpayers ask?

"Sure it's true," a liquor store owner said. "They come in here on the first of the month. I won't cash the checks, no sir. But I know they're on aid to dependent children or the welfare.

"I'm a taxpayer and it makes me sick," he said and then shrugged. "Business is business."

JUDGE ANGRY

A recorder's court judge was furious when a man being sentenced for being drunk and disorderly said: "We was just havin' an A, D and C'ing party. You know, judge, that's for the day the ladies get their checks."

The inspector of a heavily welfare-loaded precinct commented:

"There's a flurry of family fights about the time the checks come in—kids and boy friends wanting their share. When we break up a wild drinking party, we can't really prove whose money bought the liquor."

UP TO AGENCY

He said any suspicions that policemen have about improper use of public aid are passed through Deputy Superintendent James Berg's office for agency investigation.

"Years ago, I reported what I thought was a fraud to aid to dependent children," the inspector said. "I was told in effect, 'mind your own business.' It pretty well discouraged me. But in 1959 (after revelations by the Detroit News of aid to dependent children fraud) they set up this report system.

"Evidently the men aren't skeptical now about the agency following through. They make the reports."

WORST CASES

Officials of aid to dependent children concede that not all recipients spend their money for the benefit of their children. They question the public image however that many aid to dependent mothers are in this category.

Houston said: "People forget that the courts, the police, the liquor store owners and bartenders see just our worst cases. They see the women who fail to live up to this program.

"If they will tell us about such cases, we will clean them up.

"I see just the worst cases too, and sometimes it's hard to remember there are 16,394 in Wayne County, with the great majority doing a fine management job."

CLOSE WATCH

This view was supported by the owner of a neighborhood grocery:

"These women come in here shopping," he said. "I'm a taxpayer, so I watch them close. They do a good job—95 percent of them. They're careful shoppers, they shop for bargains.

"Then there are the rest. I try to talk them out of buying beer or fancy foods. I tell them, 'think of the kids.' You can't seem to do much with them."

Mismanagement has led some critics of aid to dependent children to demand the agency give relief-in-kind such as the welfare department does.

Welfare pays rents, gives food stamps, provides clothing orders for designated stores, provides coal and utilities.

Maxey chides people who expect the agency to exercise complete control over aid funds.

GET COMPLAINTS

"There are people who complain about drinking, smoking, even of wearing nail polish, when a woman is on public assistance. You aren't going to change people overnight because they are on welfare.

"Bimonthly checks and protective payments will tend to cut out misspending. But you can't expect these people to do a better management job than we would."

A charge sometimes leveled at aid to dependent children is that caseworkers do not ferret out fraud or ineligibles because they would lose their jobs if caseloads dropped significantly.

CRITICIZES LOAD

Maxey laughed at this and said: "There isn't a month when we don't have an uncovered caseload of 120. This is where we lose money—through lack of supervision."

Houston agreed. He said: "Our ideal caseload would be 75 a worker, 45 less than we now have. At that rate we would have to drop 6,435 cases, more than a third of the county load, one-sixth of the State cases, before we would have an ideal working relationship.

"We would have to drop still more before we would need to fire one worker."

Recipients of aid to dependent children have their rumors, too. One is that there are aid to dependent children committees in each neighborhood to spy on them.

HEAR OF BONUSES

"They get $50 every time they get something on us and the aid cuts us off," one wide-eyed aid to dependent children mother said solemnly.

Another rumor is that social workers get a $50 bonus for each case dropped. The

Christmas season is viewed as a time when caseworkers become particularly zealous about reducing caseloads.

A persistent comment among aid to dependent children critics is that mothers have children just to increase their grants.

"No one can convince me a woman has a baby just to get $20 a month more," Kathryn van Zoren, local aid to dependent children director said.

COMMUNITY PROBLEM

"There are social factors which create a high illegitimacy rate (42.6 percent of Wayne County aid to dependent children are born to unwed mothers). These factors must be corrected.

"I would like to see the agency do some casework with young unwed mothers to prevent recurrence of the pattern.

"But this is a problem that confronts the whole community in raising standards."

An independent research report on Chicago's aid to dependent children program concluded: "Mothers do not have illegitimate children to get aid to dependent children benefits, because most of the illegitimate pregnancies are unwanted."

MANY ON ROLLS

"However, since a mother who has an illegitimate child has little chance of support from the father, a large number of illegitimate children are found on aid to dependent children rolls.

"This is particularly true if the child is Negro."

Juvenile Judge James A. Lincoln said that Negroes have no tradition of adoption.

He commented: "When an unwed Negro girl has a child, she keeps it. Whites tend to conceal the birth and release the child for adoption."

When the Detroit News published a series on adoption it discovered moreover, that foster homes were extremely hard to find for Negro children.

The Chicago study found that 90 percent of the unwed mothers did not want to have the child, but accepted it and loved it once it was born.

The same study concluded, however, that the existence of a program which placed a premium on the absence of the father might contribute to family breakups or prevent marriage.

ASKED TO LEAVE

"A number of mothers reported that they did not marry the father because he could not support the family," the report said.

"In some cases where the mother and father were married, the mother reported that she had asked the father to leave because he could not earn enough to support the family.

"Only if all families with needy children were given assistance, regardless of the status of parents, would this reason for family breakup be averted."

In this session of Congress—such a program—aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers (ADC–U)—was launched.

## Objective Look at Farm Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, those of us who attempt to take an objective look at the farm problem in the interest of our farmer constituents and the taxpayer and the consumer are quite disturbed over the fixation which evidently prevails at policy levels of the Department of Agriculture with the idea that the only rational solution to the farm problem for almost all commodities is an incentive level of price support with the multiplication of controls, which such a program requires. A concomitant proposition is that farmers should be forced to choose between this course or no programs at all because there is no other tenable alternative. On these premises opponents of the recent farm bill were depicted either as enemies of the farmer or friends of the farmer, who were uninterested in reducing the cost of farm programs.

This charge is simply not true because there is a third alternative—a solution to the farm mess which involves less cost, less regimentation of farmers, and the preservation of a necessary remainder of the traditional laws of economics in farm commodity production and marketing. I refer to the establishment of lower support levels, which will require only occasional or otherwise reduced regimentation, which will permit some areas of business judgment to farmers, and which will allow the operation of economic principles in the allocation of farm resources.

The best comment I have read on the high price-support proposals and their inevitable rigid controls was that of the editorial writer of the Christian Science Monitor, who likened it to driving a car by applying braking and acceleration to the car simultaneously. Such a mode of operation might serve the purpose of transportation for a short distance but the wear and tear on both the car and the driver would cause a rapid breakdown of both.

The basic premise back of this full-acceleration full-breaking philosophy is that the effort should be made to establish commodity prices at such levels as will insure every farmer and every acre a profitable production. The sad effect of this premise in operation has produced additions to the policy of raising price levels by Government action, to-wit, paying farmers for not producing or so-called direct payment plans of paying them more for a given commodity unit while keeping market prices relatively low. The unfortunate fact is that, however the plans are varied, the premise destroys them or creates unfortunate side effects for large numbers of farmers which should make us pause in endorsing them. These programs cannot be long sustained and for so long as they are in operation they profit a minority of farmers not only at the expense of the taxpayer but also at the expense of other farmers. These programs guarantee uneconomic production by a class of distress farmers and make millionaires at the corporate farming end of the farm community to the detriment of the middle-class farmers who are squeezed by quotas into uneconomic production activities by the product of the pigmies and the giants.

The fact is that our farm programs should be primarily directed at the welfare of these same middle-class farmers who are the custodians of the farm values, both economic and sociological, of which we boast. Unfortunately, concern for them has not been the primary concern of past farm programs.

It is my judgment that the American Farm Bureau Federation is the farm organization which has best presented the viewpoint of this deserving class of farmers on the subject of agricultural policy.

The high price-support philosophy has traditionally been operated through the device of support loans and the mechanism has fallen into such disfavor that there is talk of revising the mechanism by adding another gimmick to it, to wit, adding a direct-payment principle which would maintain the principle while permitting somewhat lower support levels and lower commodity prices. This addition carries with it new evils, some of which are stated with respect to cotton in the following letter:

DELTA COUNCIL,
*Stoneville, Miss., August 3, 1961.*

Mr. JOHN S. MACRAE,
*Chairman, National Affairs Committee, Atlantic Cotton Association, Greensboro, N.C.*

DEAR MR. MACRAE. This is with further reference to your letter of July 17, which I promised to answer in detail just as soon as time would permit.

You asked specifically if the Delta Council favored in principle a compensatory payment type of program for cotton. We do not. We think the principle involved here is wrong for cotton, wrong for agriculture, and wrong for the country.

In the first place, the direct-payment principle is directly opposed to, and would destroy, the normal function of price in the American economy. Some of the advocates of payments claim that this approach would allow price to function, but the exact opposite is true.

With our American economic system, price is the essential mechanism which guides resources into, and out of, various kinds of production. The only other alternative to price, as a means of keeping our economy organized, is Government dictatorship over how our resources are to be used. In essence, for agriculture, that is the alternative represented by compensatory payments. Such an approach would destroy the whole meaning of price. Cotton mills would pay one price, and cotton producers would get something higher, with the Government taking care of the difference. Government, rather than the consumer, would dictate the farmer's return. We don't think this could lead anywhere except to a further loss of freedom and complete reliance on Government.

Payments also are wrong in principle because they assume that farmers must forever rely on Government subsidies for their income. While it is true that at the present time we are vitally dependent on an export subsidy, we believe that, for the long pull, cotton farmers should look and work toward standing on their own two feet, with the help of a loan program as an orderly marketing tool, in meeting competition and making decent profits. Furthermore, we think there are enormous potentials for doing this through research to reduce production costs and improve cotton quality, and through domestic and international sales promotion. In fact, cotton farmers currently are in the midst of launching a movement aimed at raising many millions of additional dollars for cotton research and promotion. This movement promises to be highly successful, and could very well become a tremendous force for improving cotton's competitive position. It is a concrete indication, I think, of

the cotton farmer's determination to move toward greater reliance on himself, and less reliance on Government. If cotton farmers were prepared to resign themselves to the payment approach—and the inevitable Government regimentation that would come with it—they certainly would be ill advised to plow millions into research and promotion in an effort to build their markets and competitive strength. Why invest in progress if your welfare is going to depend first and foremost on the size of, and the limitations on, the payments you get from the Government?

And make no mistake about it, there would be sharp limitations. You indicate that there might be some way to avoid limitations especially if the industry is unified against them. My answer is that there is no conceivable way to be sure about something like this. With the farm vote small and getting smaller, and politics being what they are, we couldn't be sure about anything except the eventual certainty of limitations. The record on this appears very clear. For instance, in 1959 between January and April 28, there were 14 speeches made on the floor of Congress in support of limitations of one kind or another. During this same period, 15 bills were introduced calling for limitations.

Historically, the story of payments is the story of limitations. For example, the ACP maximum has been reduced from $10,000 down to $1,500. And how can we forget that the Administration's farm bill authorizing compensatory payments also required that they be limited. This certainly indicates the direction in which the USDA leadership is thinking. Having already gone on record for a limitation, do you thing that Congress would take a USDA endorsement of an unlimited payment program seriously?

From the standpoint of cost alone, it is simply wishful thinking to hope that there can be a large-scale payment program without limitations. You indicate that the taxpayer might accept the payment approach because the "reduced cost of textiles would be tremendous." Anyone familiar with the facts knows that this won't hold water. Since a $5 shirt contains less than a pound of cotton, a price reduction of even 10 cents a pound couldn't possibly have more than a very small effect on the price the ultimate consumer pays. Domestic mills obtained cotton at reduced prices during the period of the "choice program." We failed to note any reduction in across-the-counter prices for cotton apparel items. The fact is that it almost surely wouldn't have any effect at all. This is typical of many textile products.

This is not to say that price is not a vital factor affecting cotton consumption, for it most certainly is. But where price is vitally important is at the door of the spinning mill. This is the crucial point at which American cotton, as a raw material, must meet the test of price competition from synthetics and other materials. By the time an end product gets to the retail counter, the cost of the raw cotton that went into it has usually become a very small part of the price paid by the consumer. So it is just a myth that lower cotton prices, through payments to farmers, would bring substantial savings for end-product consumers of textiles.

You also indicate that the cost of the payment approach would be no more than under the present program, and I wish you would explain the mathematics of this to me.

Under the present program, only the export share of our total market is being subsidized—currently at 8½ cents a pound. Under an unlimited payment program, with the price for all cotton dropping to the world level, the Government would be directly subsidizing the entire crop, instead of just the part that goes overseas. So how can the Government have a payment program, with all cotton selling at the world price, without more than doubling its direct subsidy costs? The inevitable answer is limitation of payments based on a farmer's size. And this would be disastrous for the medium and larger farmers who produce the great bulk of American cotton.

Now you might ask, as others have, if there isn't just as much danger of limitations on loans as on payments. Perhaps so. In one recent year, we had a limitation on the loan. There is clearly a danger that the farmer's ability to use the loan will be restricted again in the future.

But there is all the difference in the world between living with a limitation on loans and a limitation on payments.

Even if the loan is limited, enough of the crop would be covered so that ordinarily the farmer producing in excess of the limitation could still sell his cotton in the market at something approaching the loan level.

But with a payment program which envisions all cotton selling at the world price, the medium or larger producer would be forced to sell most of his cotton at less than it currently costs him to grow it.

What this means is that the farmers who grow most of our cotton would certainly be hurt by a loan limitation, but they would still be able to avoid bankruptcy. A payment limitation which forced them to sell at world prices would not just hurt; it would put them out of business.

In essence, these are our views on the compensatory payment approach. We have studied this approach just as carefully and objectively as we can. We know that quite a few sincere cotton people are strongly for it. But we do not believe it represents a sound approach to the price or income problems of the American cotton farmer.

I hope you will send me a consensus of the replies you have received to your letter.

Cordially,

B. F. SMITH,
*Executive Vice President.*

## The Continuing Fight for American Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to receive the following correspondence relating to the continuing fight for American jobs.

It seems strange that we have reached the stage in the American economy where we pass out awards for those apparently few Americans who still believe Americans can produce goods and services equal to or better than any other nationals.

I commend the producers of "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and the IATSE for promoting the American economy by producing in America:

SEPTEMBER 14, 1962.

Representative JOHN H. DENT,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DENT: It occurred to me that you might be interested in the enclosed release reporting the official commendation received by George Stevens at the IATSE convention in Las Vegas.

I know of your efforts to combat so-called runaway motion-picture production, and it seemed to us that you would find interest in the effort of Mr. George Stevens to attack runaway production in the only way he knows how—by producing "The Greatest Story Ever Told," entirely in the United States.

Should you desire further information about this very significant motion picture, I would be happy to supply it to you at your request.

With all best good wishes.

Sincerely,

MAXWELL HAMILTON,
*Coordinator, Publicity and Promotion.*

RESOLUTION

Whereas George Stevens, the eminent producer and director, is about to embark upon a magnificent motion picture production entitled "The Greatest Story Ever Told," which will be made in its entirety in the United States; and

Whereas George Stevens used his untiring efforts and influence to produce this motion picture in the United States to prove to the world and particularly to the American people that great motion pictures can be made in the United States despite the fact that other producers of motion pictures have elected to make films in other lands; and

Whereas George Stevens in making this inspiring story into a motion picture in this country will be giving employment to hundreds of citizens of the city of Los Angeles and also aiding the merchants and people who service the motion picture industry: Therefore be it

*Resolved,* That this convention go on record commending George Stevens for his patriotic and loyal spirit and also extending to him its deepest appreciation for his everlasting efforts in behalf of all Americans; and be it further

*Resolved,* That each local of the IATSE be requested to read this resolution at a regular meeting and urge its members and their families to support this great film by making plans to attend the showing of this film when it is released; and be it further

*Resolved,* That a copy of this resolution be sent to the following:

1. The President and the Vice President of the United States.
2. The Cabinet members of the U.S. Government.
3. All of the U.S. Senators and all of the Members of the House of Representatives.
4. The Governors of the 50 States of the United States and the mayors of Los Angeles and New York City.
5. All of the presidents of the international and national federations of the AFL-CIO.
6. All of the State federations of labor, AFL-CIO, in the United States.
7. All of the county central labor councils in the various States of the United States of America.

TELLING "THE GREATEST STORY EVER TOLD"

"The Greatest Story Ever Told," the culmination of George Stevens' 40-year career as a motion-picture producer and director, will attempt to present with reverence and all possible fidelity the sublimely mystical story of Jesus, in terms of striking, vivid theater.

Mr. Stevens, one of the film industry's most respected professionals, already has two Academy Awards to his credit. He is not at all interested in making another Biblical spectacular. His avowed purpose is "to take a very new look at a very old story, and to make a valid and lasting picture, one that will lose no part of that validity even four decades from now, when the second millenium of the birth of Jesus Christ will be celebrated."

It will take 6 months of actual production to get "The Greatest Story Ever Told" onto film, from September of 1962 to March of 1963, but Mr. Stevens' research actually

began many years earlier, in 1958. For those 4 years he and his associates have been diligently combing the 50,000 volumes that have been written on the subject of Jesus and Christianity, and they have examined some 30 different editions of the Holy Bible. The six major translations of every word spoken by Jesus during His lifetime have been subjected to intensive comparative study, and religious leaders of every faith—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Islamic, Hindu, and Buddhist—were consulted during the preparation of the script, which is a collaboration between Mr. Stevens himself, the Pulitzer-prizewinning Carl Sandburg, Ivan Moffat, and James Lee Barrett.

Although Mr. Stevens inevitably shies from superlatives, and is even more reticent than usual because of the very nature of "The Greatest Story Ever Told," it may still be pointed out that this will be the biggest motion picture to be produced entirely in Hollywood and its surrounding area in more than 20 years. The physical ravages of 20 centuries and the steel and concrete overlay of modern civilization have exacted such a toll from the Holy Land that it proved out of the question to attempt to shoot the picture in its natural settings. Thus members of Mr. Stevens' staff spent many months traveling through the American West in a painstaking search for locales that would best approximate the sacred sights identified with Christ's mission on earth—Nazareth, Bethlehem, the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River where He was baptized, the holy mountain from which He delivered the Beatitudes, the Via Dolorosa, Golgotha. The result was the selection of three huge location sites, in Utah's Monument Valley, at Pyramid Lake in Nevada, and in California's Death Valley. These locations will be small, self-sufficient cities, each with its own theaters, hotels, restaurants, post offices, playing fields and churches. The balance of the film will be shot at the Desilu-Culver Studios in Culver City, where a half-dozen sound stages will be utilized for the many necessary interiors, and where the ancient city of Jerusalem will rise again on a 26-acre lot.

In the vitally important casting of Christ, Mr. Stevens' worldwide, years-long search ended in the selection of Max von Sydow, a distinguished Swedish actor known in this country for his leading roles in a succession of Ingemar Bergman films. Charlton Heston will appear in the key role of John the Baptist, and other Hollywood stars have already accepted roles much smaller than those to which they are normally accustomed, purely for the sake of being involved with Mr. Stevens in a project of such far-reaching proportions and implications. John Wayne, for example, will play the centurion who guards the Cross; Sidney Poitier will be seen in the small but vital role of Simon the zealot.

"The Greatest Story Every Told" will be distributed by United Artists, and will be ready for release during Easter week of 1964, or possibly sooner.

While research of the most intensive kind will guarantee the authenticity of all of the physical appurtenances of "The Greatest Story Ever Told"—replicas of fishing boats of the period will sail over the blue Sea of Galilee, Roman soldiers will swagger through teeming Jerusalem in fighting garb that will be correct down to the last scuffed sandal—it is the giant idea of Christ, and its presentation in as dramatically valid a manner as possible, that has always been uppermost in Mr. Stevens' heart and brain. In a troubled, confused world, man has always sought for hope, and peace of mind; and whatever his formal belief, no reasonable man doubts the love of Jesus for mankind.

Carl Sandburg had this to say in "The Woodcarver": "The Christ head, the Christ face, what man will ever paint, chisel, or carve it? When finished it would float and gleam, cry and laugh, with every other face born human. And how can you crowd all the tragic and comic faces of mankind into one face?"

How can you, indeed? But Mr. Stevens is determined to try. That try will be the most honorable one of which he is capable.

Film Producer George Stevens yesterday won unprecedented official commendation from the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE) for his announced plans to photograph "The Greatest Story Ever Told" entirely within the United States at a time when runaway production overseas has sorely sapped American employment.

Eleven hundred delegates in biennial convention at Las Vegas unanimously passed a resolution putting the unions on record commending the veteran filmmaker for proving that "great motion pictures can be made in the United States despite the fact that other producers of motion pictures have elected to make films in other lands" and for "giving employment to hundreds of citizens of Los Angeles" and aiding subcontractors and suppliers who service the industry.

Introduced by Herb Aller, business agent of the cameramen's union (local 659), the resolution further commended Stevens for his "patriotic and loyal spirit" and extended the convention's "deepest appreciation for his everlasting efforts in behalf of all Americans."

"The Greatest Story Ever Told" is the life story of Jesus Christ, inspired by Fulton Oursler's book of that name.

Passage of the resolution underscored the intention of the IATSE alliance of theatrical unions in Canada and the United States of America to fight the trend to foreign shooting of American pictures by organized support of important features made here. Each of the members of IATSE and the more than 13 million AFL–CIO members nationally will be involved in a grassroots campaign to support "The Greatest Story Ever Told," when it is released late next year.

The Stevens film for release by United Artists will be studio-filmed in Los Angeles with Holy Land locales duplicated in Nevada, California, Arizona, and Utah at a cost of many millions. Los Angeles area construction trades alone will benefit by over 35,000 man-days of labor and well over 100 speaking roles will be supplemented by an estimated 30,000 man-days of employment for extras and bit players. This comes as manna at a time when film industry payroll rosters are at a critically low ebb. Preproduction work has covered over 2 years to date with actual photography to start in the near future.

It is the hope both of Stevens and the AFL–CIO guilds that successful completion of this mammoth undertaking here will stir other film makers to return their operations to this country from overseas. Many of the film guilds have clarified their contracts to facilitate filming of "The Greatest Story Ever Told" here, mitigating what Stevens in the past has scored as unfair penalization of large-scale production in this country.

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## Encouragement of Trade With Communist Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, over the years those of us who have the interests of our merchant marine at heart have had a continued struggle to assure that our 50–50 law, which requires the transportation of at least 50 percent of Government-aid cargoes in American ships, is observed by our executive agencies. Now we find that the remainder is being allocated to vessels active in trading to Communist countries. To add injury to insult, the following item from the Baltimore Sun tells of a Yugoslav ship on its way from supplying Cuba with Russian material, which is being chartered by our Government to carry foreign aid cargo abroad. The ability to secure cargoes on this side of the Atlantic for carriage to Europe and Asia enables these ships to quote lower rates on a return voyage to Cuba:

UNIT SAYS SHIPS TAKE CARGO TO CUBA, THEN U.S. AID EAST

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

NEW YORK, September 18.—Ships carrying cargoes—some presumably carrying military supplies and perhaps troops—to Cuba are in turn picking up aid cargoes in the United States and returning to Europe and Africa, the American Maritime Association asserted today.

Specifically, the shipping group asked President Kennedy to withdraw the approval of the Department of Agriculture in the chartering of a Yugoslavian ship to load flour at Houston late this month after discharging cargo in Cuba.

REQUEST SENT LAST WEEK

This vessel—the MV *Drzic*—has picked up other aid cargoes—all of which are financed by the U.S. Government—after discharging in Cuba.

The request to the President regarding the *Drzic* was sent last week, but made public only today.

A cursory check of Lloyd's weekly shipping index, which records the ports of call and destinations of more than 10,000 ships engaged in world trade, also shows that the Swedish vessel *Otto Bank* sailed from Leningrad to Cuba and then to Houston.

HOUSTON MAJOR GRAIN PORT

Another vessel, the Lebanese-flag *Nictric* picked up a cargo at Novorossisk, Russia, for Havana, Cuba, and from there went to Freeport, Bahamas. Vessels frequently pick up bunkers at Freeport before proceeding to the United States for additional cargoes.

Houston is one of the principal ports for grain exports under the aid program, provided for by Public Law 480.

The American Maritime Association said that the *Drzic* is picking up aid cargo for the United Arab Republic.

The association said it has informed the President of similar charter fixtures, approved by the Department of Agriculture, in which foreign-flag vessels alternately carried cargo for Russia or other Communist countries and the United States.

This information was sent to the Department of State on June 21, 1962, by J. Max Harrison, president.

STATE DEPARTMENT COMMENTS

After consulting with the agencies most concerned with aid movements, the Department of State replied that it did not consider that any "meaningful facilitation" by the U.S. Government to Communist trade was involved in the carriage by such foreign-flag vessels of the Government-generated cargoes.

This was in a letter by G. Griffith Johnson, Assistant Secretary, in behalf of Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

"This abuse of administration practice in the chartering of public-law cargo results in American foreign-aid dollars being used to

subsidize Communist shipping," the Maritime Association said.

"FLAGS OF CONVENIENCE" HIT

"In addition to this, the use of NATO ships and so-called flags of convenience ships in transporting Communist cargo releases Russian ships and permits them to concentrate on more strategic objectives.

"The use of American dollars to subsidize Communist shipping lessens popular support for the foreign aid program at a time when that support is most needed."

The *Drzic* and the *Otto Bank* appear to have been chartered by the same parties since both originally loaded in Novorossisk, discharged in Havana, and are proceeding to Houston.

REPORTED WITH GRAIN FOR CUBA

Paradoxically, the *Drzic* is reported to have loaded grain in Russia for Cuba. The vessel loaded on July 21, 1962, and discharged September 9. It is due to pick up its flour in Houston, September 28.

The cargo of flour bound for the United Arab Republic will be Government-generated aid cargo, the association said.

Similarly, the SS *Miyet*, also Yugoslavian, sailed from Galveston, Tex., July 7, 1962, with a cargo of Government-generated aid cargo of flour for the U.A.R. it continued. After discharging its cargo in Alexandria, it proceeded to Cuba to load sugar for delivery to Yugoslavia.

"FLAGRANT DISREGARD"

"This flagrant disregard of shipping patterns by U.S. Government agencies when approving charter fixtures has resulted in foreign-flag ships obtaining American-aid cargo at higher rates than they could get in any other trade, which constitutes a subsidy to Communist trade," the steamship group declared.

"The facts of this unfortunate situation, Mr. President, indicate that:

"1. American foreign aid dollars are used to subsidize Communist shipping.

"2. The use of NATO shipping in the carriage of Communist cargo releases Russian ships and permits them to concentrate on more strategic objectives.

"3. So-called flags-of-convenience ships and NATO country vessels have completely disregarded U.S. economic and political objectives and are motivated strictly by economic inducements, regardless of their source.

"4. The depressed state of the U.S. merchant marine is further aggravated, lessening its national defense potential and its usefulness in any emergency."

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## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonalism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE BALTIC COMMITTEE
IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON,
*Seattle, Wash., August 22, 1962.*

Hon. D. J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The Baltic Committee, representing Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians residing in the State of Washington, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas we are engaged in a cold war which cannot be terminated by our own wishful thinking; and

"Whereas this conflict is no matter of military supremacy or economical challenge, but a clash of ideas; and

"Whereas the ideology of our adversary is a threat to our survival as a free nation under God; and

"Whereas in our survival we depend on our determination to keep alive the spark of freedom around the world and to kindle the hopes of those encased in the great prison of many nations; and

"Whereas many of us cannot grasp the truth behind the edifice of the Soviet propaganda and thus convey this truth to those so-called uncommitted, who still are enhanced by the Communist ideas but unconvinced by the Communist realities of which the fate of captive nations is a glaring example; and

"Whereas there is an urgent need to collect and evaluate facts concerning the captive nations and to pierce the mesh of lies surrounding the land of glowing promises and frustrating realities, where to avoid bloodshed more blood is shed, where liberation means expanding colonial rule and in a classless society a new class of mighty is emerging: Therefore, to gather facts and avoid guesswork, be it

*Resolved,* To establish a permanent Committee on Captive Nations at the House of Representatives.

Respectfully yours,

KORNELIJS PURGALIS,
*President.*

JURIS SEKSTE,
*Secretary.*

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WORCESTER, MASS.,
*August 1962.*

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: As a Lithuanian-American I say many thanks for your kind remarks of July 16 in behalf of the captive nations.

Sincerely yours,

ALEX KARDOKAS.

BREMERTON CAPTIVE NATIONS COUNCIL,
*Bremerton, Wash.*

To: Kitsap County Republican Central Committee, Washington State Republican Central Committee Convention.

Subject: Establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations.

America must continue its interest and Congress must not swerve from its efforts in behalf of the legions of Lithuanians, Germans, Poles, Albanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians and others.

President Eisenhower, in two proclamations on Captive Nations Week, summoned the American people "to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the people of those captive nations."

The Governor, U.S. Senators, U.S. Representatives and city mayors of the State of Washington issue annual proclamations and statements on Captive Nations Week.

We all know words are not enough if we truly desire to help these people. As Republicans in the State of Washington, we must take action—clear, direct, affirmative action through statewide endorsement of a special Committee on Captive Nations in the Congress of the United States.

This committee, as embodied in House Joint Resolution 211, would be empowered to make a careful and precise study of conditions in the captive nations of the world with the aim of recommending policies by which the United States can assist these unfortunate people, by peaceful means, to regain their freedom and independence.

It is all too clear to everyone that being a Russian captive nation is not synonymous with being a Russian affiliate. Does anyone need more proof than Berlin in 1953, or Hungary in 1956? Or, for that matter, the infamous slithering wall that faces us now in Berlin? But these are just the more dramatic instances. It is the thousand and one daily deeds of oppression which make heavy the burden of these captive peoples. It is this burden that the Committee on Captive Nations would seek to lighten.

From the viewpoint of our own national security, there is a hazardous gap in our official and private facilities as concerns this necessary task of studying systematically, objectively, and continuously all of the captive nations, especially those in the U.S.S.R. Nowhere is there any agency, public or private, performing this essential task.

In every area of the Soviet bloc, within the Soviet Union itself, there are human beings striving for freedom, for safety, for dignity. Such aspirations can be nurtured by the work of the proposed special committee. Among the many functions of the committee would be its service in becoming a storehouse of knowledge which could be drawn upon for future policy decisions.

We urge that Washington State Republicans at their convention adopt the plank in the Kitsap County Republican Central Committee platform which states: "We recognize the plight of the Communist dominated captive nations. In the interests of national security we endorse and support the establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations, now pending in the U.S. House of Representatives."

JAMES K. MORGAN,
*Chairman.*

RAYMOND A. NORTON,
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

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Briefly, the proposed special Committee on Captive Nations is endorsed by:

1. Congressman THOMAS M. PELLY is one of the original sponsors of a resolution calling for the establishment of a special Committee on Captive Nations.

2. The House Republican Policy Committee endorsed the creation of the special Committee on Captive Nations May 23, 1961.

3. Republican members on the Rules Committee have urged its adoption.

(Items 2 and 3 from the Republican National Committee news release of Sept. 30, 1961.)

4. Thirty-nine nearly identical resolutions have been introduced by Members of both parties in the House of Representatives.

5. On the occasion of the introduction of House Resolution 211, Representative FLOOD and more than 20 Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle, held the floor for several hours with a stimulating and enlightening discussion of "Russian colonialism and the necessity of a special Captive Nations Committee" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 8, 1961).

6. All the major general organizations with a knowledgeable interest in this basic subject have endorsed House Resolution 211 and their representation exceeds 20 million American citizens (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 16, 1962, p. 12796).

7. The 1962 proclamation issued by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller states: "The United States, in the eyes of the enslaved peoples, is the citadel of human freedom. They look to us for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and restoring the enjoyment of their religious freedoms. If we fail to provide this leadership, we not only doom these captive peoples, but place our own freedom in jeopardy" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 16, 1962).

## Progress in Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of our good neighbors to the south is Mexico. We are extremely interested in maintaining good relations with that country, as well as to see it make progress economically and in other ways.

Mr. Fred A. Orleans of San Antonio, Tex., is thoroughly familiar with United States-Mexican relations. He has lived in Mexico for a number of years and has visited it on various occasions. About a year ago he wrote a short article on "Impressions of Mexico," based on a visit to the northern part of the country. Recently he has revisited that area and has noted considerable progress. I believe his views are of great interest and importance, and therefore insert these two brief articles in the RECORD.

They read as follows:

IMPRESSIONS OF MEXICO, 1961

(By Fred Allan Orleans)

There has been too much written recently which gives the impression that the excellent relations between Mexico and the United States have suddenly descended to an all time low. Banner headlines in many parts of the United States would indicate that our good friends have suddenly become estranged from us.

Isolated incidents do not represent the feelings of the people of Mexico nor do the statements of individual Mexicans represent the policies of the government. These policies were very well expounded by President Adolfo Lopez Mateos on June 7, Freedom of the Press Day, when he stated that Mexico will not tolerate activities which tend to disrupt the national life. The President of Mexico further indicated that Mexico must never permit the freedom enjoyed under democracy to be used in order to destroy democracy and that Mexico must never permit the freedom which its people won to be used in order to destroy freedom.

It is felt in Mexico that statements made by one of their former presidents, considered as adverse to Mexico-United States relations, were unduly publicized throughout the United States without enough stress being given to the fact that these statements brought practically no response from the people of Mexico and that this gentleman has no position in the Mexican government; that he spoke as a private citizen expressing his own views and not necessarily the views of the people. The views as expressed by this former president of Mexico no more affect Mexico-United States relations than any statement made by a former President of the United States.

In order to obtain first-hand information regarding the real feelings of the people of Mexico toward the people of the United States, I have just completed an extensive trip through the northern part of Mexico, including Monterrey, Saltillo, Monclova and border states. Every place visited, I was accorded the usual warm hospitality of Mexico and the feeling prevailed that the true friendship that the people of Mexico feel for the people of the United States is a bond which cannot easily be broken.

In Monterrey, I renewed many old friendships and spoke with those in many walks of life who reaffirmed that the average Mexican will go more than half way to meet his friends from the United States and make them feel at home. It is most unfortunate that the few incidents which cause unpleasant impressions are overemphasized in the United States while the good treatment accorded most visitors is accepted as normal and never mentioned.

While in Monterrey, I had the opportunity of being the only foreigner at a reunion of the leading attorneys of Monterrey in honor of the next Governor of Nuevo Leon, Eduardo Livas. This gentleman was secretary general of the State of Neuvo Leon in the late forties and since then a Federal Senator. He is a very popular and dedicated man and a well-known attorney. He indicated that he intends to strive to solve the social, economic and political problems of the state; that we would uphold and enfore the constitution of Mexico against all enemies; that he would encourage private initiative and help to create and maintain a climate to encourage further development of industry and agriculture in the State of Nuevo Leon. He will do all in his power to help raise the living standards of the people and will encourage and assist in every way possible the construction of homes, hospitals, and schools. The next Governor of Nuevo Leon, Eduardo Livas, is a vigorous and dedicated man of the new political school in Mexico which represents the interests of the people. In Eduardo Livas, an outstanding political star is rising on the horizon of Mexico and a man with the background, knowledge, and experience to both wisely govern his state as well as contribute to the further development of good will between the people of Mexico and the United States.

MEXICO REVISITED, 1962

(By Fred A. Orleans)

In the past year I have had many opportunities to visit again Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, and observe firsthand the efforts of Governor Edurado Livas, to transform into reality the programs he outlined as a candidate. After 1 year in office, he can boast of more road construction than in many previous years as well as plans for extensive additional roads to make Monterrey a true hub of Northern Mexico. A new section of the Monterrey-Laredo Highway will eliminate the dangerous mountain stretch north of Monterrey by routing the highway through a valley. Further improvements are being made on the road from Monterrey to the U.S. border and a highway is being built to connect Monterrey with the industrial center of Monclova in the state of Coahuila.

Aside from roads, the Governor has done much to encourage tourism, improve agriculture and build schools and hospitals. While running for office, he indicated a strong desire to provide decent housing for the people of his state and set as a goal the minimum construction of at least 15,000 homes for low-income groups. The construction of these homes would represent great progress since approximately 72,000 homes are needed in the City of Monterrey alone. Considering lack of funds and business conditions not being up to par in the last year, I believe that Governor Livas has made great strides in implementing his programs.

In many parts of Mexico, as Nuevo Leon, state governments are moving ahead with constructive programs that will result in ultimate benefits to the entire Mexican nation. Although relations between countries relate to international matters, and therefore, emphasis is always given to the policies of a Federal Government, I believe that in the case of Mexico, we should not overlook the great strides forward being made on the local levels.

## Dean Pound—Great Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article entitled "Grand Old Man of the Law Honored." The article refers to the great, inimitable Dean Roscoe Pound, for many years dean of the Harvard Law School and one of the foremost legal scholars, teachers, and authorities of our times.

The career of Dean Pound has been fabulous beyond description. His life's work has covered an incredibly wide range of constructive activities. Few, if any, men have ever attained his stature in the teaching of the law. His public contributions have memorably influenced many fields of human endeavor, and he still engages in his legal studies, research, and writings.

I am proud to hail and salute this great American and great teacher who for more than 60 years has been dominant in the educational, legal, political, and public affairs of the Nation. I would not presume to evaluate the extent, importance, sweep, or penetration of Dean Pound's contribution to legal education and the improvement of legal and judicial institutions. It is enough to say that his voice and pen have served to bring necessary changes and reforms in the administration of justice and in the format and shape of our American Government.

The versatility and range of this great American almost staggers the imagination, but his noteworthy, historical, ac-

complishments are in plain sight for everyone to view. One of our greatest Americans, a man of outstanding distinction and dedication, Dean Pound enjoys the high esteem, regard, admiration, and affection of all those in the Nation who are interested in American legal institutions, in the integrity of the American system as an instrument for preserving and buttressing the role of law in our own country and throughout the world.

I compliment and congratulate Dean Pound upon his outstanding career and the wealth of his achievements and wish for him continued good health, success, and happiness for many years to come. May the good Lord bring him many more blessings, peace of mind, and contentment.

The article follows:

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Evening Gazette, Aug. 10, 1962]

GRAND OLD MAN OF THE LAW HONORED

Fifty-six years ago this month, a little-known mayor from the plains of Nebraska rose to address an evening session of the 29th annual meeting of the American Bar Association in St. Paul, Minn.

The speaker, then 35 years old and dean of the college of law of the University of Nebraska, was Roscoe Pound, later dean, the Harvard Law School, and now, at 91, the venerated grand old man of the law who was honored by the American Judicature Society in San Francisco Wednesday.

SPEECH IS LANDMARK

Dean Pound's 1906 speech, a landmark of modern jurisprudence, was entitled "The Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction With the Administration of Justice." He proceeded to denounce the archaic system of courts procedure that was behind the times, the lavish granting of new trials, frittering away of the court's time on mere points of legal etiquette and the theory that justice would somehow triumph when opposing lawyers used all the tricks of oratory, surprise, and cross-examination that were available.

Iconoclastic as it was in 1906, the address has received a major share of credit for the changes in legal thinking and methods of the succeeding years. The upstart from Nebraska came to be called the schoolmaster of the American Bar Association. Years later, with the promulgation of "The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure of 1938" Dean Pound was to remark how long it had taken to overcome the doctrine that the law ought to be left to change itself.

Dean Pound was already recognized as a great botanist when the speech at St. Paul thrust him onto the center stage of the law.

Born in Lincoln, Nebr., on October 27, 1869, the son of a lawyer, he received most of his education as a young boy from his mother. At the University of Nebraska, he majored in botany and did graduate work in plant geography, ecology, and parasitic fungi, earning bachelor and master of arts and doctorate degrees in the field. He was the first director of the botanical survey of Nebraska, which resulted in two books that he edited. A byproduct of his career as a botanist is that in Nebraska there grows a rare plant, a lichen known as Roscoepoundia.

Although he attained far greater prominence in the law, Dean Pound never received a law degree. Admitted to the Nebraska bar in 1890 after a year's study of law at Harvard, he practiced for a time in Lincoln, served as commissioner of appeals in the Supreme Court of Nebraska, taught jurisprudence and Roman law at the University of Nebraska and became dean there in 1903.

After further stints of teaching at Northwestern University and at the University of Chicago, he returned to Harvard in 1910 as Story professor of law. Six years later, still one of the newest members of the Harvard faculty, he was appointed dean.

PLEA FOR ENDOWMENT

Dean Pound continued to carry a full load of teaching, writing, lecturing, and advising, though his critics later said he devoted too much time to the petty details of administration. His first report to the president of the university was a plea for a national endowment. On Dean Pound's faculty were such men as Edward H. Warren, James Landis, and Felix Frankfurter. The number of students rose from 791 to a peak of 1,440 in 1925. Among them were Thomas Corcoran, David E. Lilienthal, and Dean Acheson.

Witty, a great storyteller and a powerful yet matter-of-fact speaker who never lost his Nebraska accent, Dean Pound was one of the school's most popular lecturers, though he once was described as a basically unknowable person. In his teaching, he followed the traditional case method adding others of his own out of his philosophies of sociological jurisprudence. He often used illustrations from actual practice, and he treated the ideas of the students seriously.

When he resigned as dean in 1936, Pound became Harvard's first roving professor—entitled to teach in any faculty of the university he wished. Eleven years later he was bound for China at the invitation of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to help reorganize the courts of the Nationalist Government.

Returning to this country in 1949, Dean Pound sharply attacked America's China policy, charging the United States with having aided the Communists and having put unreasonable pressures on the Nationalists.

During the New Deal, and after, Pound assailed what he called "administrative absolutism," asserting that the new administrative agencies were seeking exemption from judicial scrutiny. His critics recalled that in the celebrated speech of 1906 he had condemned the "Spectacle of Law Paralyzing Administration." He continued to attack these agencies even after a conservative Congress had enacted the Administrative Procedure Act to rectify the shortcomings of which Dean Pound complained.

RENOWNED FOR LEARNING

Dean Pound is renowned for his encyclopedic mind and his vast learning. At 76, already a master of French, German, Italian, Spanish, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, he studied Chinese for his trip to China.

A prolific author, he was revising two articles on labor unity and the law when he flew west to be honored by the American Judicature Society, of which he is the only surviving founder.

Heavy framed, standing 5 feet 10 and weighing 200 pounds in his prime, Dean Pound was long possessed of great physical stamina. According to one apocryphal tale, he could still run a mile in less than 5 minutes at the age of 50. It was his habit for years not to wear an overcoat in the winter. He formerly put in as much as 16 hours of work a day.

Still wearing the green eyeshade he has worn for most of his life to protect his poor sight, Dean Pound now works an 8-to-5 schedule 5 days a week, going to his law school office from 9 to 1 on Saturdays. He takes his exercise in walking and his relaxation in philosophy.

"You'd think he's about 60," says Miss May M. McCarthy, his secretary since 1961.

Twice a widower and childless, Dean Pound met his second wife while serving in Washington at the appointment of President Herbert Hoover as a member of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, known as the Wickersham Commission. The Commission was appointed to recommend whether prohibition should be continued. Dean Pound, never a teetotaler, voted with the majority of the Commission that prohibition should be given a further trial.

## On Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the Gastonia Gazette at Gastonia, N.C., carried an excellent editorial on September 19, 1962, entitled "On Federal Aid to Education."

The editorial presents some sound recommendations on the question of Federal assistance for institutions of higher learning.

Under request previously granted I ask that the editorial be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

[From the Gastonia (N.C.) Gazette, Sept. 19, 1962]

ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The Congress, in the past, has given specific subsidies for education.

Even now, conferees of the Senate and House are meeting to work a final compromise on the $2.35-million college education aid bill.

This is another specific subsidy that tends to become more general with each meeting of Congress.

This is just one education bill, with its own set of restrictions. Next year, there will be another bill, and it will have restrictions—though, in all probability, not as stringent.

This is the way with socialistic tendencies. First you get your foot in the door, and then you squeeze in your leg, then your big fat body. And, by that time, resistance has worn thin and nobody cares anyhow.

It's easier just to lean back and relax and let somebody else do your thinking for you.

We have no more objection to this education bill than any of the other paternalistic endeavors by this administration. In fact, it is our inclination to lean over backward to give education a push, for we see in education the cure for many of man's problems.

But, if this compromise bill is worked out, and it certainly shall be, then let us not overlook the fact that the Government has taken a tremendous plunge into the field of education.

The amount to be spent during the next 5 years is $2.35 billion, certainly not snuff-box money.

The Government will be willing to "give" this money to private and public institutions, but any legislation which "gives" money away must have some restrictions to insure that the money is spent for the intended purpose.

Those restrictions, however broad and reasonable as they might be, cannot fail to diminish the variety and the flexibility of the internal operations of the separate educational institutions.

College executives, no matter how determined they are to maintain independence of planning and programing, will find it necessary to tailor their educational programs to meet the legal requirements of governmental subsidy on one hand and the personal views of the men who designate the recipients of grants on the other.

This subsidy business is like the Berlin wall. If you sneak a little of it in at a

time, nobody's going to yell loud enough to make it fall down. Then, once it's up, there's not much anybody can do about it.

We would be blind not to recognize the fact that the Government must concern itself profoundly with the extent and character of educational services. The GI bill, for instance, some loans, too, for needy, worthy students, have been outstanding examples of the Government's specific worthwhile efforts in education.

But, Congress must refrain from providing a general subsidy of higher education.

This is wholly contrary to the best interests of the separate educational institutions and to the general welfare of the people of this country as well.

## Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1963

SPEECH
OF
## HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13175) making appropriations for foreign aid and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, the hour is late. It is now 8:30, and I shall seek to set the good example of brevity.

First, I would join in the universal acclaim of the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN], with whose praise this Chamber has been ringing. During the long weeks and months that the distinguished gentleman has been working with his subcommittee on the pending bill I have seen him at close range as a fellow guest at the Congressional Hotel. How he has kept up the gruelling pace day after day, 7 days and nights a week, 1 month after another, has been the wonder of his colleagues living at the Congressional. Early breakfast, then to his office. Less than an hour for dinner, then back to his office until midnight at the earliest, usually much later. The same schedule on Saturdays and Sundays as on the other 5 days of the week.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with OTTO PASSMAN on all his conclusions—and, Mr. Chairman, it would be a sorry day for the country if everyone in this Chamber ever was in complete agreement on everything—all his colleagues will admit that he is a dedicated public servant who never spares himself. This is especially true among his colleagues living at the Congressional who have been privileged to observe at close range his working habits.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would express my concern for the African program if the cut in the Development Loan Fund stands. Africa is tremendously important to us and to the future of the world. This I could not overstress.

The administration requested $1.25 billion in funds for development loans for fiscal year 1963. The House Appropriations Committee reduced this figure to $775 million. At the present time the administration has commitments to Pakistan, India, and Greece totaling $715 million. This would leave a total of only $60 million for the rest of the world excluding Latin America—for which separate funds are provided.

I followed closely the remarks of the able gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD] in which he said that the commitments to India and Pakistan were not final. I doubt, however, whether our country would wish to give the appearance to the world of reneging on an arrangement that has had so much of world notice and which has created such tremendous expectation.

Even assuming that the remaining $60 million were to be allotted entirely to Africa—which is highly unlikely—it would be inadequate even to move forward on the long-term commitments we have made to Nigeria, Tanganyika and Tunisia. For these three countries alone, it is estimated that we would need $120 million to $140 million in fiscal year 1963. While we can stretch out our programs somewhat since we have not made commitments that must be met specifically in fiscal year 1963, a cut far below this level would not only cause bitter disappointment but would raise serious questions as to the ability of these countries to continue with the development plans on which their hopes for future viability must rest. The proposed assistance from the United States is essential to the success of their plans, and a drastic cut would also undermine the careful groundwork we have been laying with other friendly countries to secure additional help needed from them.

There are also many important projects in other countries which are well advanced and toward which the countries concerned have had reasonable expectations for U.S. assistance. These include loans for major educational and health facilities in Liberia, roads in the Sudan, a development bank in the Ivory Coast and transport facilities in Ethiopia. In Morocco, where we had proposed cutting back sharply on supporting assistance, it was with the understanding that we would provide development loans. If this should now not be possible, the situation with respect to our bases will force us to seek additional supporting assistance—presumably from the contingency fund.

In a number of countries, including those mentioned above, we had moved items heretofore provided on a grant basis to development loans. These include funds for school and hospital construction, as well as traditional loan purposes. None of this will be able to go forward in any significant amount if the appropriation cut holds.

Mr. Chairman, I am not presenting an amendment to restore to the Development Loan Fund sufficient additional money to take care of the modest African programs that are vital to our national interest. I know how hard and conscientiously the subcommitiee has worked. I know how difficult it is intelligently to work these things out when we are sitting as Committee of the Whole. I trust, Mr. Chairman, that the House conferees, when they meet with those from the other body, will consider an increase to the Development Loan Fund item at least sufficient to maintain our position in the huge and tremendously important continent of Africa. Our stake in Africa is large. That, Mr. Chairman, again I say we cannot overstress.

## "Visit U.S.A." Program Paying Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, as cosponsor of the International Travel Act of 1961, I was pleased to read in this morning's Washington Post that the "Visit U.S.A." program, though less than a year old, already "is paying swift dividends."

The U.S. Travel Service of the Department of Commerce has had considerable success in persuading residents of foreign lands to visit our country.

Tourism was a neglected industry in this country for many years. Americans are enthusiastic travelers themselves but until the entry of the U.S. Travel Service in the worldwide competition for the tourist's dollar this Nation did very little to promote our many attractions for foreign tourists. In fact, the United States was about the last major nation to develop a Government travel program. As a result, there was a billion dollar gap each year between the amount American tourists spent abroad and foreign tourists' expenditures in the United States, thus contributing to our international payments deficit.

As an indication of the progress being made by the U.S. Travel Service to solve this problem, I include here the Washington Post article:

VISIT U.S.A. PROGRAM PAYING DIVIDENDS
(By Ernest A. Lotito)

America's visit U.S.A. program apparently is paying swift dividends. And 130 Italian architects and engineers are only part of the proof.

The Italians, members of the Italian National Association of Architects and Engineers, arrived in New York September 17 for a 10-day tour of the United States. They and groups like them, from countries all over the globe, are responsible for an increase in the number of tourists.

According to Berney Wilburn, Director of the Commerce Department's Division of Facilitation and Planning, 18 percent more tourists visited the United States in the first 5 months of the 1962 than in the same 1961 period.

"I have seven single-spaced pages with names of groups that have come or are planning to come," Wilburn said yesterday. "And that's not all of them. One carrier estimates that his charter flights originating in Europe have risen by 300 percent."

Like the Italians, many are professional people. There have been contingents of Swiss dentists and French industrialists, for example.

The Italians, all carrying blue airline cards with President Kennedy's "invitation to all peoples" on the back, found that American redtape had been trimmed to facilitate their trip.

"Normally it takes a month and a half to get a visa to the United States," said Civil Engineer Giorgio Pomardi. "Your embassy in Rome gave us ours in 5 minutes."

Pomardi and the others arrived in Washington Wednesday night and left at 1 p.m. yesterday. They plan to spend 3 days in Pittsburgh and 2 in Boston.

"Our primary reason for coming is to intensify the relationship between American and Italian industries," said the group's president, Mario Pinchera. "We have little time and want to see Pittsburgh and Boston."

Because they have been here so short a time, the Italians have few permanent impressions of the United States. Signor Pinchera's wife, Teresa, describes the District as "una citta signorile"—a refined city.

Signora Dirce Rebicchini thought New York has "grandiose." Her husband, Paolo, felt the same.

Asked what he thought of New York modernistic Guggenheim Museum, Signor Pomardi replied: "An act of courage."

## Socialism?—Boo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Cheraw Chronicle, Cheraw, S.C., of September 20, 1962:

SOCIALISM?—BOO

Bill Workman says he believes in the Constitution.

So does OLIN D. JOHNSTON.

Workman criticizes liberals.

So does JOHNSTON.

Workman criticizes the Supreme Court.

So does JOHNSTON.

Workman is against more taxes.

So is JOHNSTON.

Workman supports the Bill of Rights, in so far as they limit the power of the Federal Government.

So does JOHNSTON. Neither pays much attention to the 14th amendment, which made the first 10 amendments binding upon the States as well as upon Washington.

Obviously, these are not campaign issues in South Carolina's senatorial campaign this fall.

Any effort to paint Senator JOHNSTON, who was governor for 4 years and has been Senator for 18, as a pink, a Socialist, or even a liberal, is foredoomed to failure.

If the voters didn't believe it when Governor Hollings tried to picture the Senator as a radical during the primary, they're not likely to buy the same thing from Bill Workman. It's most unlikely that the conservative voters of this State would have maintained a radical in office for over 20 years.

Senator JOHNSTON is a politician. He's a member of a team, he plays ball, and in the process, he scores home runs for South Carolina more often than he strikes out.

Senator JOHNSTON, heaven knows, is not without fault, but he's a more experienced, moderate, and sensible purveyor of the political arts than his challenger. That's why the voters will return him to office in November by a large margin.

## Man And Disappearing Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, technological advancement is proceeding at such a rapid pace today that many of our Nation's working men and women are finding that their skills are becoming obsolescent. The painful personal hardships which this creates could be avoided by foresight and planning. This is an area in which the Federal Government, as well as State and local governments, private business and labor must cooperate in the coming years of economic progress in order to minimize the hardships of adjustment which automation and technological change will force upon us.

An article by Ralph McGill, appearing in the Washington Star of September 13, discusses this problem. Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. McGill's article in the RECORD, as follows:

MAN AND DISAPPEARING JOBS

(By Ralph McGill)

A human problem halted the Chicago & North Western Railway. It is the plight of human beings which soon may bring all rail lines to a stop.

The dilemma poses a question. If work is perhaps man's supreme value, what happens when the work he has been doing for much of his life becomes unnecessary? What, if anything, is the responsibility of society, our competitive system, and government?

The trains of the C. & N.W. Railway were halted by a very small union with fewer than 1,000 members. Thousands of men and women, members of other unions, were thrown out of work. Many thousands of passengers, regular and occasional, were left without transportation.

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers called the strike. Its old-fashioned name gives a hint of its troubles. Time was when the telegrapher with his Morse-code skill was one of the glamorous figures of railroading. He sat by his clicking bug and typed out the messages received. The movement of trains depended on him. The safety of passengers and freight was in his hands.

But time moved on. Trucks and buses took a toll. Teletype machines replaced the code operator. The machines were faster. They gave the same message instantly in all stations. No relays were required. The ORT today represents chiefly station managers, tower operators, and maintenance workers in communications. The station manager has little to do. He actually "works," in the meaning of the word, very little of his 8 hours. The railroad wanted to consolidate suburban stations no longer needed.

Many of the men who would have been "consolidated" out of a job have worked from 20 to 30 years at the job they hold. A majority of them reportedly are of an age which would not permit retraining for new employment. Pensions would be some years away—and small.

Management refused what the Southern Pacific Railroad had granted—a negotiated plan of 2-percent dismissals per year with severance payments. North Western argued it is not as prosperous as the Southern Pacific. The strike closed the lines. Losses will be severe.

It is in this sort of situation that Arthur J. Goldberg, as Secretary of Labor, has been trying to produce an alternative to a strike. He was never a supporter of actual featherbedding. (Nor is W. Willard Wirtz, the able and experienced man who will succeed to the job, which, next to that of Secretary of State, is the most difficult and thankless.) Both men, however, believe that the industrial present brings forth new realities.

The issue of firemen in the cabs of diesel is another which must be resolved if there is to be peace in railroading. Nonpartisan boards have, after exhaustive review, recommended that firemen be phased out of diesel cabs. Arguments to the contrary are not convincing. But here again we have a human situation. What about the human beings involved? We could say, with truth, that the managements of railroads and the unions (the airline flight engineers are a similar example) inexcusably have failed them. Planning should have begun years ago to make these inevitable transitions as painless, and as decently humane as a civilized society would wish it to be.

Why wasn't it done?

This problem of the man and his value was neglected because labor contract negotiations traditionally have been a power struggle, rather than genuine bargaining. Today's economic and industrial revolution in techniques and machines has been a long time along the road. Everyone has seen it coming. Yet rare was the man in management or the unions who tried to inject reality and new ideas into the processes of negotiations in the big industries which are so vital to the national need. The Congress has been equally blind.

The odds are we—as a nation—will learn the new lesson the hard and expensive way. And this is a great pity because it is needless. The national need and the human need cannot, finally, be ignored in a free society. Capitalism, which is the basis of our economic society for both labor and management, cannot afford to ignore human costs. New concepts are badly needed.

## Other Values, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the editorial in Wednesday's Jersey Journal concerning my constituent, Mrs. Frank Cornin, very ably states the benefits which can be obtained from higher education.

Mrs. Cornin's words are an eloquent restatement of the American philosophy of education. She has contributed greatly to stimulating thought in our community and I commend her remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

OTHER VALUES, TOO

Possibly in urging youngsters to stay in school we have been missing a bet by stressing the fact that education usually pays off in better jobs.

The economic value of education does not explain why Mrs. Frank Cornin, mother of a married daughter and a teenage son and busy in civic organizations, is enrolled in Jersey City State College.

Her explanation:

"For personal satisfaction and for what one can contribute to the community

through further education. For growth and character. So much opportunity is afforded people today, there is no reason anyone should be misinformed."

The economic value of an education is important, but it is clear from the experience of this mature student and many others that there are countless benefits to be obtained in the quest for knowledge.

## Statement of David C. Acheson, U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, there are usually two sides to almost every question. In yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRAY] inserted a newspaper article critical of the office of the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia. Today, I ask leave to extend in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a statement of David C. Acheson in connection therewith.

Mr. Acheson's statement follows:

STATEMENT OF DAVID C. ACHESON, U.S. ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The U.S. attorney's office for the District of Columbia through the years has evolved, with the approval and under the supervision of the municipal court, a system for handling complaints by citizens which we believe to be efficient and fair.

Where arrests are not made by officers on the spot, citizens and officers come to the office and register their complaints. Where probable crimes are discovered, hearings are set to discover all the facts and when these hearings bring out evidence of a crime, prosecutive action is taken.

The Municipal Court Division at our office, where Mr. Kelly's complaint was lodged, hears 50,000 complaints a year, takes further prosecutive action in approximately 22,000 cases, and sends to court approximately 10,000 of those cases.

I have carefully read Mr. Kelly's account and carefully review the matter in detail with the attorneys on our staff who handled the case at each step from the initial complaint to the termination of the trial. Our assistant in this case made the kind of judgment that they have to make hundreds of times daily, and the exercise of their judgment and discretion is indispensable to an orderly, efficient, and fair disposition of the high volume of complaints in municipal court.

The initial hearing that we held in this case covered all of the witnesses involved. On their statements there was a substantial conflict of evidence. On the basis of this evidence a judgment had to be made as to the prosecutive, triable merit of the case, and our assistant who first heard the case decided that, while a close one, the case did not warrant further prosecution. Nevertheless, Mr. Kelly obtained immediate action on his complaint and the defendant was then and there charged.

By Mr. Kelly's own account the trial continuances in this case were in large measure for his convenience, and at his request. As he listed no witnesses on the form provided for that purpose, none could be notified.

The painstaking process and careful scrutiny of the facts which Mr. Kelly points out are the necessary and desirable safeguards of our system and not due to any reluctance to prosecute where prosecution is warranted.

While the particular facts of this case were understandably distressing to Mr. Kelly, the assistant U.S. attorneys involved had a duty to be fair to both sides of the case before initiating prosecution. In such situations, similar to hundreds that come to municipal court daily, not every complainant can go away entirely satisfied.

In my opinion the Federal Government and the citizens of the District of Columbia can be proud of the office which is the subject of Mr. Kelly's article. The assistants in my office are here because they are unusually able; they perform an outstanding job under great pressure, and work long and irregular hours. They serve the public well and have my confidence and support.

## The Monroe Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the people are away ahead of the President on recognizing the threat of communism in Cuba and coming up with an answer that is stronger than appeasement. The following excellent editorial appeared in Long Island's Newsday, on September 15:

THE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

At his press conference Thursday, President Kennedy attempted to quiet the criticism ranging about his administration over the blatant shoring up of Cuba's military power by the Soviet Union. Those who were calling for military action to back up our Monroe Doctrine were accused of making rash talk, and Kennedy drew up his own ground rules for when military action would be deemed necessary.

The time for such action, he said, would be only if the Communist buildup in Cuba were to interfere with our security, our Guantanamo Bay base in Cuba, our passage to the Panama Canal, our activities at Cape Canaveral, or the lives of American citizens in this country. Other possible provocations he listed would be for Cuba to try to extend communism to any other nation in the hemisphere or if Cuba became an important offensive military base for Russia.

We would, of course, countenance none of these intrusions. But we already have permitted Khrushchev to grossly violate our Monroe Doctrine to the point where he now has what amounts to a Russian satellite just 90 miles off the U.S. mainland. But President Kennedy carefully skirted this and in so doing left too many questions unanswered.

First, how long are we going to continue to let Khrushchev send arms to Cuba? How can we hope for the internal collapse of the Castro regime, as Kennedy indicated we are hoping, when Khrushchev will keep working to build up Cuba both militarily and economically? Why cannot the United States impose a military blockade of Cuba, to make dead sure that no more arms are added to Cuba's already replenished arsenal?

Kennedy talked about Cuba's military capacity as being only a defensive threat to the United States which would be dealt with when it became an offensive threat. How will we know when that fine line has been crossed? And isn't this the time to make sure it remains a defensive threat? He said we had support on our Cuban position from our friends in Latin America. What about the big Latin American countries that deserted us at Punta del Este when we wanted to apply sanctions to Cuba? How are we beefing up our friends in the Organization of American States?

These are questions the President must answer now, while the Soviet violation of the Monroe Doctrine is going on. The answers the President gave us at his news conference covered only half of the questions. We are not looking to be lulled into complacency. But there is no place in this Western Hemisphere for a Soviet-dominated Cuba.

## Congressional Franked Mail—A Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, Senate amendment No. 44 to the legislative appropriations bill denies the use of any simplified form of address on congressional franked mail.

As pointed out by able members of the committee, the House, by record vote, rejected this identical proposition last April. There is no reason, in my opinion, for the House to change its opinion on the vital matter simply because election time is at hand.

Henceforth, all franked mail—rural and star route mail as well as city and town mail—has to include the full name and address even for such mailings as ordinary lists of publications, farm bulletins, and other informative Government pamphlets and reports that were previously distributed and still are widely sought by a great many people in our respective districts all over the country.

Franked mail sent out by Members of Congress to their constituents now does not even have parity with private mailers on either rural, star, or city routes of boxes since private mailers can send rural mail addressed to "Postal patron, local" and city mail without a name.

Present simplified addressing procedure reduced the cost in congressional offices and in the post office. The Post Office Department states:

The per piece handling cost of congressional mail, addressed to "Postal Patron" without street address on city carrier routes and post office boxes, will be less than the same mail fully addressed to each householder.

Of course, the same held true for rural mail.

The House Doorkeeper testified at the March hearings in this matter that—

This patron mail, so-called, has not affected the workload of the House folding room whatsoever.

I share the view that Congress should protect the use of the frank as a practical means of effectively and economically getting Government publications and other information to the people and if any isolated abuses are deemed to be present regarding these matters, they should be considered and acted upon by appropriate legislative committees.

One of the great services we render our constituents is to provide them with valuable informational services available in the Government and I believe it is definitely against the public interest and the welfare and interest of our people to curtail or restrict these privileges in any way. That is why I voted against adoption of Senate amendment No. 44.

Let me make it clear that I have not made use of the simplified patron mail provision authorized last year. However, I see no reason why Members of Congress should be denied the right of the franking privilege in serving their people through less costly simplified patron mailings.

## Depreciation Revision Not a Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the July 13 issue of the Wall Street Journal contains a very penetrating editorial commenting on the recent revision in depreciation schedules. It points out some important misconception, such as the idea that this revision is a tax reduction, and helps to quash them.

In order to give a better idea of the nature of this revision, I am placing this editorial in the RECORD:

A REDUCTION OF ABSURDITY

As Treasury Secretary Dillon says, the revised depreciation rules are long overdue; and certainly the Kennedy administration is to be commended for concluding this particular project begun by its predecessor. It is a little surprising, though, how many misconceptions of it are floating around.

The reform is widely discussed as a tax break or even a tax cut for business. Far from being any such windfall, it does not necessarily diminish ultimate tax liability; it constitutes a tax saving only in the early years of an asset's life. That is important, but it is no handout.

Morevore, it is hard to see how something can be called a windfall when it merely brings more up to date a hopelessly complex set of regulations that bore no relation to the current obsolescence of equipment and machinery. The virtues of the new rules are that they both shorten the taxable life of such assets and greatly simplify the categories; hosts of separate listings are now lumped under broad headings. If anything, the new flexibility underscores the absurdity of the rules with which business and industry had to struggle for so long—and even the new rules could stand a lot of improvement.

Another misconception, common in union circles, is that the reform is pointless because industry now has so much excess capacity that it does not need new plant and equipment. Actually, a good deal of that so-called excess is obsolete or obsolescent, and industrty does have a need to modernize—not least because of rising labor costs. President Kennedy is far closer to the mark when he emphasizes the importance of modernization to compete with modern plants abroad.

Whether the revision will stimulate business spending any time soon is another matter. But whether it does or not, it cannot be regarded as some kind of basic economic solution. The basic way to get the economy moving is to relieve the burden of Federal spending, deficits and debt that presses so heavily on all the people.

This depreciation overhaul is indeed a long-overdue step in the right direction. It is no depreciation of the Treasury's careful work to say that many more steps must be taken on the road to sound economic growth.

## Political Nepotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, under the heading of "Pragmatism to Nepotism in One Easy Lesson," Mr. James Reston, of the New York Times, writes the story of the recent Massachusetts primary election and its contribution to the growing Kennedy dynasty.

The implications of this election are of concern to all Members of Congress and the Nation. For that reason I submit for printing in the RECORD Mr. Reston's article as well as an editorial on the same subject from the New York Times.

PRAGMATISM TO NEPOTISM IN ONE EASY LESSON

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, September 19.—Washington has its own special reasons for resenting Teddy Kennedy's spectacular victory in the Massachusetts primary election.

This city lives on political influence. Nobody blushes about that. There is scarcely a man in the Senate who didn't get there because he knew somebody who did something to get him the nod. But Teddy gave the whole influence game away. He was so obvious, the terms of the battle were so unfair, and the margin of his victory was so large that even many of the President's most loyal aids here find the whole thing distasteful.

If the President himself had come to office defending the old familiar rules of political patronage and influence, Washington might have taken Teddy with a cynical shrug. But the President didn't do that.

He came proclaiming a new pragmatism for a new age. Ability was to be the test in all things. Even political advantage was to stand aside for talent. The best man for every job. This was his theme in the election of 1960, and he followed it better than most.

SOME GOOD APPOINTMENTS

His appointments to the Cabinet are a case in point. It is a ministry of machine-tooled technicians.

His appointments to the big fashionable embassies in Europe follow this same line. David Bruce in London was for a time a Foreign Service officer, and for the first time in the history of the country professional Foreign Service men are now heading the embassies in Paris, Madrid, Rome, Bonn, and Moscow at the same time.

It is noted here, however, that this impersonal and nonpolitical approach vanished whenever the President's own family was involved. His brother Robert, competent as he is, certainly did not meet the test as the best man available for the Attorney General's post. The same things can be said, perhaps with less force, about his brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver, at the Peace Corps. And of course Teddy's bid for the Senate, at 30 years of age, with the careful connivance of the President, is widely regarded here as an affront and a presumption.

This is not to say that the Senate of the United States is spangled with genius. In fact, it is virtually impossible to push through the swinging doors of that illustrious Chamber without knocking over some character of less ability than Teddy. But that is not the point.

The point is that the Kennedys have applied the principle of the best man available for the job to almost everybody but themselves. Teddy's victorious headlines are resented here partly because he is demanding too much too soon on the basis of too little. They are also resented within the Democratic Party because some prominent members of that party have felt that both the President and the Attorney General themselves expected to much in the way of public office too early.

THE MESS IN BOSTON

One other factor contributes to these sour reflections out of Washington. Over the last few years, the President and the Attorney General have talked with considerable earnestness in private about the need to clean up Massachusetts politics. In fact, they have been eloquent on the theme that since they were so intimately identified with the politics of that State there was perhaps a special responsibility for the family to take on the job themselves.

Teddy worked at it for a few months in a minor capacity, and then began dreaming of Georgetown and the loftier political and social life of Washington.

It is distasteful to pursue this personal line of criticism, but it is also unavoidable, for the personal activities of the First Family have important political consequences. These activities are the talk of the town. They influence political judgments about the President and his programs. In fact, there is now so much discussion of the Kennedy family here that many people seem to have little time left over for the Kennedy program. What is particularly surprising about all this is that the Kennedys do not see this line of criticism at all, and in fact deeply resent it. They have invoked the new pragmatism, but cannot see that, where the family was concerned, they applied the old nepotism.

This may not trouble the sensitivities of the voters in Massachusetts, and it will now be argued that George Lodge, like Teddy Kennedy, is in the race because of his name. But it does trouble a lot of people here, and in the end it is likely to cost the President more votes in the Senate than Teddy will ever give him.

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LITTLE BROTHER WINS

The Democratic voters of Massachusetts have evidently decided that if a man has the right connections, those are all the qualifications necessary for nomination to the U.S. Senate.

That is the only credible explanation we can find for their designation in yesterday's primary of Edward M. Kennedy, whose record of public service comes close to absolute zero. His campaign revolved around a boast that "He Can Do More for Massachusetts"—a none too subtle reminder that he has one brother who is President and another who is Attorney General.

The insinuation that the State would receive favored treatment in Washington if young Mr. Kennedy went to the Senate should have been equally insulting to the White House and to the people of Massachusetts. Apparently it created no deep resentment in either quarter. We recognize that nomination carries no certainty of election. Nevertheless, this initial victory for Edward Kennedy is demeaning to the dignity of the Senate and the democratic process.

## Raymond R. Corbett, Newly Elected President of the New York State AFL–CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JACOB H. GILBERT**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the acceptance speech given by Raymond R. Corbett, the newly elected president of the New York State AFL–CIO, on September 11, 1962, at the fifth annual convention of the organization, held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City.

Because of the exemplary and forward-looking program announced by Mr. Corbett, I invite the attention of my colleagues to it.

The speech follows:

SPEECH OF RAYMOND R. CORBETT, PRESIDENT, NEW YORK STATE AFL–CIO, FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1962

From the bottom of my heart I want to say thanks to you in the humblest way possible for the high honor that you have bestowed on me today. I can assure you that in meeting my responsibilities it will be my sincerest desire to do the best I can for the welfare of our membership and for the welfare of all citizens of this great State of ours. I promise you, with the good Lord willing and his His help to carry on my work according to the high principles upon which the labor movement of this State is founded, I will find inspiration and a sense of rededication from the struggles of those who went before us, of men like William Green, Philip Murray, Tom Murray, and from the leader of free workers of the world, George Meany, who is still with us, thank God, and we trust he will be with us for many years to come.

At this convention, as in all past conventions, we meet to chart our course for the future. And if we are objective rather than selfish, if we are constructive rather than destructive, we will chart our course in the light of our past experiences and the problems which will confront us in the next few years.

I am fully aware that in discussing these problems we may, as we have in the past, have disagreements and debates amongest ourselves. However, in the face of the opposition which our organization and every union in our State is confronted with today, we must resolve our differences intelligently and constructively. To do otherwise would aid and abet the very forces which now seek to divide, to weaken and to destroy us. It is about time, it seems to me, that we give a lot of thought to the importance of working as a team, to the idea that we must close our ranks, stand solidly behind our program, to preserve and expand what labor has gained over the years. It is my hope that when this convention is over every delegate and every officer of this organization will leave here with a warm sense of accomplishment, of purpose, of dedication and above all, a solidarity that no forces can destroy.

I make this plea to you with special emphasis—because in the present antilabor climate and in the face of even more serious threats—we in the united labor movement of this State cannot afford the luxury of internal feuding, friction and dissention. We must solidify our ranks and strengthen our entire labor movement. We must seek progress, not for ourselves alone, but for all the people of our great State. Historically labor's progress has always served as the basis for the State's progress. Our gains have been the State's gains and our losses have been the State's losses.

We are meeting here at a very critical time in the history of our Nation when on the international scene the whole world is in turmoil. We see additional evidence, if additional evidence is needed, that our enemies are determined to impose their dictatorial and most cruel form of government on the rest of the free world. In view of this enormous Communist threat to democracy we are duty bound as citizens and free trade unionists to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a bastion of freedom and democracy. I want to take this occasion to assure our State and the whole Nation that we, the members of the New York State AFL–CIO, shall do our part in defense of our beloved country against those who are determined by infiltration, by open aggression, or by subversion to place the entire world under the domination of those cruel tyrants in the Soviet Union.

But this is not the only problem we are facing here today. We have also to face the economic problem that is demonstrated quite dramatically when our economy starts skidding downhill again and when despite a general illusion of prosperity, a large part of our potential resources for growth have been translated into stagnation and unemployment.

It is incredible that in this supposedly richest, most abundant, and most productive State of ours, 1 family in 5 remains in the $2,000 yearly income bracket and that 1 out of every 11 families has an income of $1,000 or even less.

It is incredible that in a time when we have reached the peak of productivity there are 465,000 or 5.9 percent of the total State's labor force unemployed excluding the thousands of youngsters, older, and women workers who were forced to give up the search for a job and although jobless are no longer counted unemployed.

It is incredible that the number of those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits in this State increased from some 70,000 in 1956 to about 207,000 in 1961; this is approximately 300 percent.

It is incredible, that in a time when built-in economic stabilizers are to be strengthened and expanded, our whole system of unemployment insurance, sickness disability and workmen's compensation is faltering and failing badly with benefit payments recovering a smaller and smaller portion of the total wage loss.

It is incredible that 85 percent of our State's population live in urban areas but our rural dominated legislature, unfamiliar or unsympathetic to the needs of the cities does so little to solve the problems—problems like slum clearance, urban traffic congestion, juvenile delinquency, health problems, education, occupational safety, social insurance—and a score of others that plague city people but are often unknown in the rural areas.

All these things and more are certainly most incredible but unfortunately very true. Against this background our mission becomes clear. The problems which confront our State, the problems that confront our members are the problems that your elected officers must and will constantly consider and meet in the coming years.

We must be aware that our State government cannot solve these problems by itself. No single State has sufficient control over our entangled and complex economy to put its people back to work if the Congress of these United States sits on its hands.

There are no buttons in Albany that our Governor can push that would put one-half million working people back on the job. But something can and must be done to pump some purchasing power into the bloodstream of our State's economy and alleviate the distress that afflicts so many of our members and their families.

First of all, we need establishment of a minimum wage that would put a $1.50 floor under the wages and extend its protection to all workers in this State. There must be immediate elimination of all wage boards.

Second, our workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, and disability benefits should be increased to insure that workers more nearly receive their benefits to replace their wage loss. For this purpose we will continue our fight for enactment of a provision that would make possible an automatic adjustment of maximum benefit rates at two-thirds of the average weekly wages.

In the field of unemployment insurance we are determined to fight for a permanent extension of the duration of benefits up to 39 weeks—repeal the unjust qualifications that emasculates the law and raise the tax base from the present $3,000 to $4,800.

In the field of workmen's compensation we will follow with the greatest interest the work of the Governor's review committee that is now investigating the procedures and administration of the workmen's compensation board. We sincerely hope that out of this committee, recommendations will come that will put an end to the intolerable anticlaimant attitude that is now prevailing in the workmen's compensation board and designed to destroy or limit the benefits to which injured workers are justly entitled. We also expect from this committee that it will take a hard close look at the entire workmen's compensation financing system that permits benefits to constantly lose ground while more than 40 percent of the premium dollar is being retained by insurance companies. We also hope that a permanent watchdog committee will be established composed of representatives of labor, management, and the public at large to maintain constant vigilance over the administration of the workmen's compensation law. We are convinced that only a continued and unbiased scrutiny can check lax or arrogant administration and safeguard the legitimate rights of injured workers.

Third, we will continue to press for legislation granting to all government and public authority workers as well as workers in hospitals and nonprofit organizations the same rights of union representation, collective bargaining, grievance and impartial arbitration procedure as workers in private industry have enjoyed since enactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

At the same time we are determined to resist all efforts to undermine the protective standards of our labor relations laws and once again reaffirm labor's traditional policy of opposition against compulsory arbitration and Government interference with the sub-

stance of bargaining agreements. We will continue to be guided in the coming years by the proven wisdom of the famous saying that government is best which governs least.

Fourth, to find an answer to declining job opportunities resulting from automation and increased productivity we will give full support to the campaign initiated by the National AFL–CIO for a 35-hour workweek without a reduction in take-home pay. For this purpose we intend to achieve changes in our labor law. And at the same time give every necessary support to our affiliates in their endeavors to achieve this shorter workweek at the bargaining table.

Fifth, a State Department of Urban Affairs should be immediately established. Its purpose would be to coordinate and provide leadership for the State's urban development programs, including urban renewal, community facilities, water pollution facilities, housing, school construction, transportation, and countless other programs of service to our cities and towns. It would seem to be simple logic to provide some one place within the State administration where these programs now administered by a variety of agencies may be coordinated in some logical manner; some one place which can serve as a clearinghouse for the relationships of the cities and towns to the State. The one place must be an agency at a department level, in order to give it the necessary status and prestige.

When the Department of Agriculture was established, less than one-fourth of the population was urban. Today not much more than 15 percent of the population is rural. Yet the Department of Agriculture continues as one of the most important of the State's agencies, while the urban population is not receiving and cannot receive its full share of justice and fairness to give this 85 percent of the population a voice that would be heard at the State level of government and secure for them the so critically needed vital services.

Sixth, we of organized labor recognize that heavy expenditures of this State require a heavy burden of taxation borne by all the people of the State. The wage earners of this State do not shirk their responsibility for paying their fair share of these taxes. We insist however that the State tax system as a whole be fair and equitable to all, regardless of source or level of income. We do not see any reason why wages and salaries should be subject to a very efficient tax collection system while the wealthy are allowed to escape taxes on dividends, interest and rent. To assure that taxes be levied on the basis of ability to pay and not ability to evade, we will urge our Governor and legislature, first, to withhold interest, rent, and dividends in the same way wages and salaries have long been withheld for tax payment; and, second, to restore the $2,500 allowance for a married couple and $1,250 for a single person and with tax exemptions for dependents raised from the present level of $600 to $1,000.

Seventh, we are urging the enactment of a law which makes the importation of professional strikebreakers a criminal offense.

And last but not least, the failure of our State government to give adequate representation to our expanding urban population is the root cause of the evil of misrepresentation both in Albany and in Washington. Therefore an action must be launched by labor to eradicate the minority rule over our legislature. Our senate districts vary in population from 207,000 to 366,000—our assembly districts vary in population from 15,000 to 150,000. Thus one citizen of one district has 10 times the voice of a voter in another district. Therefore, we have a situation where thousands and thousands of our citizens are denied the full value of their vote.

In view of this gross unfairness to the urban population—in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court on apportionment—we believe that it is the solemn duty of our State government to offer an amendment to the constitution that would produce a fair and equitable representation in the legislature and thus restore the principle of a truly repersentative government of the people, by the people and for the people.

These, then, are the things that concern us, this is our program of action. This program is logical and sound as labor's program has always been. This is not a partisan program and neither are the issues partisan. They are human issues. I sincerely hope that these issues will be so understood by men of good will in our State government because these are issues that affect our daily lives, our standard of living, our ability to maintain a home and raise a family. These proposals must be treated on their merits alone without any partisan connotation.

What is needed right now is unity of mind—unity of purpose in the house of labor. Out of this convention must come a united and concerted action.

If we utilize our resources and abilities to our full potential then there is absolutely no question that we will see the day when decent and adequate legislation covering our social insurance system, our health laws, our education system, our safety laws and all the other things we have been fighting for will be placed on our statute books.

We have the membership. We have the organization. We have everything that it takes to turn the tide of an antilabor climate and to achieve our objectives.

We can do it. It is going to depend on how well you cooperate with the officers and how sincere and how dedicated, and how devoted you are to the program that we have enunciated here.

I am convinced that if we work together, if we dedicate ourselves to combining our efforts and strengthening our position in the legislative and political field, we will all live to see a much better tomorrow for our membership and for the whole community.

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## A Doctor Evaluates the Political Scene

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, in the Rutherford (N.J.) South Bergen News, of September 6, 1962, there appeared an essay by Dr. Walter Wahrenberger, of Englewood, N.J., who is president of the Bergen County, N.J., Medical Society. The intelligent moderation advocated in this brilliantly written and unusually perceptive article should be carefully read by all of us who serve in Congress.

Under unanimous consent, I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A DOCTOR EVALUATES THE POLITICAL SCENE

(Walter Wahrenberger, M.D., president of Bergen County Medical Society)

If recent political events in the field of medical legislation have taught doctors anything, it is that we must maintain a social awareness concerning our profession. We must make the scientific armamentarium, the individual relationship of patient and his physician, and the business of medicine as a means of livelihood for doctors fit reasonably, modestly into this modern cultural pattern of living. It rests upon us, therefore, to analyze the medical needs of society as a group as distinguished from the need of an individual patient. Toward this end we should be better suited than anyone—the legislator, the economist, the sociologist, certainly the labor union leader. None of these would question our better understanding of medical techniques, but in the sphere of medical ethics and our modus operandi of practice, they presume to challenge us with increasing frequency and vigor. I submit this is as wrong as if we were advised on the use of the stethoscope. But in order that we may properly discharge this responsibility, we must safeguard our thinking from the ways of narrow-mindedness.

Organized medicine—and therefore you—is engrossed deeply in an ideological battle between the individual and the state. On either side, it is surprisingly simple to fall into the habit of extremist thinking. The administration has given ample evidence of its purposeful yet thoughtless expressions of liberalism in pursuit of the welfare state. We, as doctors, must be careful not to champion conservative extremes and fall backward off the cliff as we recoil from the enemy. We must be careful not to aline ourselves with those who espouse the defiant opposite extreme and do so with equal denial of truths. I wish to recommend the importance, albeit the difficulty, of accepting the challenge of the middle road. This is not to call for vacillation, uncertainty, unprincipled compromise, but to encourage the wisdom that grows only out of moderation.

While Republican and Democratic as labels of political philosophy have become comparatively meaningless, we are caught in a crossfire today of New Frontier liberalism and old guard conservatism. Both are radical. And being radical, both are dangerous. They parade a high road of would-be forthrightness, they challenge because they stimulate conviction; they are startingly intellectual; but they both lack wisdom. Wisdom grows only out of weighing and evaluating facts, and neither the radical liberal nor the radical conservative are so interested. Having made up their minds at the outset, they simply define what is fact. Just as the clever statistician has shown that figures can be made to prove anything, so the "facts" are made to bend to the principle. In final analysis, this is the weakest kind of thinking because it substitutes a pattern, e.g., Birchism or New Frontierism, for a delicate and considerate evaluation of each situation on its own merits.

Our challenge in thought today is not distinguishing right from wrong. Except in the deranged or constitutionally inferior mind, this is no problem. We all know the pure difference between good and bad or faith and doubt. Such dichotomous extremes we learn early in our schooling, but the finer nuances of recognition in the gray areas between come only from leaving the mind open and being willing to let it challenge itself. This is the middle road of maturity, of wisdom and not the wild adventure into extremism of the intellectual radical. From such deliberate self-analysis and criticism rises the confidence and conviction of truth. Through the eclectic acceptance of that which is useful and truthful from all sides, grows a happy medium of moderation that transcends the doubt of uncertainty and vacillation.

While progress implies change, to alter without purpose or accomplishment is not progress. This is unbending devotion to an attractive but illogical idea. The art and the challenge is to distinguish between real values and their distorted exaggerations. One confuses piety with goodness, weakness with humility, intellect with wisdom, stubbornness with purposefulness, material gain with wealth, complaisance with happiness. Hence, in this atmosphere of devotion to extremes, a very pragmatic government threatens carelessly to destroy the balance of relationship between doctor and patient. As citizens, we are obliged to defend prin-

ciples of government that are moderate, and as physicians we must maintain a professional equanimity that allows for steady advancement and yet protects itself from the brave new world of the welfare state.

In this house of philosophy, there is no room for offering mule-like stubbornness in dedication to an opposite extreme. We must rise to the greater challenge of accepting the maligned middle road, not because it is weaker, because it is courage, not because it is surrender, because it is truth.

## Castro's Champion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of September 12, 1962:

CASTRO'S CHAMPION

It is reassuring—but not too much so—to read that our officials and statesmen are not "frightened" by Mr. Khrushchev's warning against an attack on Cuba by the United States.

Perhaps these officials are right. Mr. Khrushchev may be bluffing. Possibly he is setting up a straw man just for the fun, not to mention the propaganda value, of knocking him down. Especially so if he is quite certain that the United States is not planning to attack Cuba. Still, the threat is there, and our hasty official reactions may take too much for granted in so blithely brushing it aside.

One thing is certain—the record of Cuban-American judgments respecting Castro and communism is filled with tragic errors.

It was only 4 years ago, though it seems like a decade, since the "best people" in Havana were clamoring for the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista. They said he was an ironfisted dictator who had trampled on the liberties of the then-prosperous Cuban people. And perhaps he was. But where today are those Cubans who signed the anti-Batista manifesto—the university professors, lawyers, doctors, architects, journalists, religious, and civic leaders? They have been ground down under an oppression such as they never dreamed of when Dictator Batista was all they had to fear. There are no such manifestoes being circulated in Havana today. The Castro firing squads have seen to that. And where are our own eminent journalists, television commentators, and public officials who damned Batista and cheered for Castro 4 years ago?

The point is, we think, that the United States today cannot afford to make any more errors of judgment with respect to Castro's Cuba. Mr. Khrushchev may or may not be bluffing. But the price and the hazards of "doing something" about Cuba now are certainly much greater than they were 4 years ago. Still, for the sake of the record, some things should be put straight.

We do not think it is true that a "clear issue" has arisen in Cuba over which we should go to war at this time. It is not true that weakness and vacillation now on the part of the United States may lead to war, as in 1914 and 1939. Prior to those two World Wars the United States, in a relative sense, was militarily very weak. Today we are tremendously strong. Furthermore, in contrast to 1914 and 1939, we now have formal treaty commitments to go to the aid of our allies if they should be attacked by the Communists. We think the Kennedy administration, terrible though the consequences may be, will honor those commitments. And we think that Mr. Khrushchev also believes this to be the fact.

If this is correct, it follows that the problem of Cuba should be kept in proper perspective. So far, Khrushchev seems to be doing in Cuba about what we have done in South Vietnam, Turkey, Iran, etc. He is (or says he is) sending in military equipment and technicians to help Cuba build its defenses. This, of course, may be a semantic coverup for a program designed to establish a really dangerous Communist beachhead in Cuba. But we do not think this has happened yet, and our intelligence system in Cuba certainly should be efficient enough to keep us from being caught again dozing at the switch.

In a year or 2 years from now we may have to move in with American forces and smash a Communist buildup in Cuba. If so, it will be harder and costlier then than now, and it certainly will be much harder than if the President, for whatever reason, had not faltered and canceled the air support for the abortive invasion of Cuba in April, 1961. But no clamorous calls for ill-defined "action" now, no ringing speeches about a Monroe Doctrine which hardly can have the meaning in 1962 that it had in 1823, should be permitted to stampede this country or President Kennedy into any misconceived or poorly executed Cuban venture at this time.

One of the most sensible comments we have read recently came from Kentucky's Senator COOPER. He said: "Whatever the Government does with respect to this dangerous situation must be done, not as a gambit, but as a careful policy which we are fully prepared to follow up." In other words, no phony heroics, please. Let's not blockade Cuban ports unless we are resolved, if necessary, to sink a Russian (or even an Allied) ship which might try to force its way through when loaded with "technicians" or military supplies.

Out on the American frontier, or so the TV westerns have led us to believe, the word among the gunslingers was: "Don't draw unless you intend to shoot." This must have some application—both at home and in the Kremlin—to those who, in this H-bomb age, would like to draw if they could be sure they wouldn't have to shoot—or be shot.

## Amendments for Substitute Wilderness Bill Advocated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks appearing in the body of the RECORD today, I wish to include the release, comments, and proposed amendments for a substitute wilderness bill as advocated by the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources on the 16th of August 1962, 1 week after the Subcommittee on Public Lands, of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, had reported out the Aspinall amendment.

The release follows:

AMENDMENTS FOR SUBSTITUTE WILDERNESS BILL ADVOCATED

Some 15 amendments are being advocated by the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources to make a sound preservation measure out of the subtitute wilderness bill approved on August 9 by the House of Representatives Public Lands Subcommittee.

The measure, now before the full Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and expected soon to be reported to the House, would without amendment, according to Ira N. Gabrielson, chairman of the citizens committee, hamper the wilderness designation even of areas now being handled as wilderness. It would also, he said, make difficult the preservation as wilderness of areas that would be designated.

Pointedly criticized was inclusion, as a special title I in the substitute wilderness bill, of a separate measure dealing with land withdrawals in general. This, said Gabrielson, should be considered separately and not be attached to the wilderness bill.

The substitute wilderness bill in its present form Gabrielson described as a massive crippling amendment.

The Public Lands Subcommittee, it was explained, replaced the Wilderness Act which had been passed 78–8 by the Senate with a House bill that had been introduced by Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pensylvania. The subcommittee then struck out all of the Saylor bill after the enacting clause to make way for the substitute proposal.

Both the Senate act and the Saylor bill are supported by wilderness bill advocates.

"Their purpose," said Gabrielson, "is to provide for the establishment of wilderness for the benefit of the whole people. The purpose of the substitute seems to be to preserve for a minority of commercial interests an opportunity to exploit any area of the public's land that may attract them."

The amendments now being advocated by the citizens committee are intended principally (1) to restore essential features of the Saylor measure that have been omitted, and (2) to eliminate subcommittee additions that would be contrary to wilderness preservation purposes.

Especially criticized were provisions permitting mining to continue in wilderness areas and a proposed requirement that wilderness areas be subjected to reconsideration every 25 years.

Joining Gabrielson in his criticisms and proposals was also Howard Zahniser, committee vice chairman and a prominent advocate of wilderness legislation. He was especially critical of the proposal to make the wilderness areas run a gantlet of opponents every 25 years.

"The nature of our civilization," said Zahniser, "is such as to make wilderness preservation difficult at the best. That is the reason for wilderness legislation. To make it tentative and to provide for the mobilization of forces working against it every 25 years—four times each century—is to be as dubious in a Wilderness Act as in a marriage vow would be inclusion of a similar periodic review."

Gabrielson is president of the Wildlife Management Institute and Zahniser is executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, but both spoke on the wilderness legislation as officers of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, a task force organized by individual conservationists to advance conservation and sound management of natural resources in the public interest, espeially concerned with legislation affecting natural resources. Secretary and full-time employee of the committee is Spencer M. Smith with headquarters at 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

The citizens committee statement including specific amendments proposed is as follows:

"HOUSE PUBLIC LANDS SUBCOMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE WILDERNESS BILL

"(A comment with proposed amendments by Ira N. Gabrielson and Howard Zahniser, chairman and vice chairman, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources)

"The substitute wilderness bill approved by the House of Representatives Public Lands Subcommittee on August 9, 1962, and incorporated in committee print No. 23 of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is immediately recognized as the sort of proposal referred to as crippling amendment by advocates of the wilderness legislation as passed by the Senate or sponsored by Representative JOHN SAYLOR and others in the House. Unless further amended, it would be a massive crippling amendment.

"The purpose of the Wilderness Act is to provide for the establishment of wilderness for the benefit of the whole people; the purpose of the substitute seems to be to preserve for a minority of commercial interests an opportunity to exploit any area that may attract them.

"The effect of the substitute would be (1) to hamper the wilderness designation of even areas now being handled as wilderness, and (2) to hamper the preservation as wilderness of any areas that would be designated.

"The substitute as a whole is not only apparently proposed legislation to prevent true preservation of wilderness and to promote and encourage continued exploitation of remaining areas of wilderness; it also includes provisions that are inimical to wilderness preservation.

*"Detailed comments*

"At its outset the substitute bill includes as a title I a piece of proposed legislation that incorporates the substance of other bills that the wilderness bill, proposals that deal with the broad public-land policies of Congress, especially with withdrawals.

"This title has not been discussed on the Senate side in connection with the wilderness legislation, nor was it a part of the hearings held on the Wilderness Act by the House public lands subcommittee.

"The wilderness legislation at this late time in the closing session of the Congress should not be used for such an extensive rider as this.

"Title I should be removed from the wilderness bill and considered on its own merits.

*"Substitute bill contrary to Wilderness Act*

"Confining comments to title II then, which it is provided 'is to be cited as the Wilderness Act', we can see apparent a purpose contrary to that of the Wilderness Act as passed by the Senate and advocated by Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR and other sponsors in the House and by its proponents throughout the Nation.

"The purpose of the Senate's act and similar House proposals is to preserve wilderness for the benefit of the whole people. A particular purpose is (1) to designate, as wilderness, areas that are within parks, refuges, and the specially classified wilderness portions of the national forests. These areas are thus susceptible to wilderness preservation without interference with other programs. A further particular purpose is (2) to provide for the accommodation of this wildnerness policy and program to other interests.

"A central statement, for example, in the Senate act is in the first sentence of section 4 which say that nothing is to interfere with the purposes now being served by the park, refuge, and forest lands involved except that they are to be administered for these purposes in such a way as to continue to preserve their wilderness character. (The same statement is in the first sentence of sec. 3 in Congressman SAYLOR'S H.R. 776, p. 12, lines 5 to 13.)

"The proposed substitute states no such purpose of accomplishing wilderness preservation for the common good as something that is compatible with other purposes of land administration and that is readily feasible.

"On the contrary, the substitute wilderness bill requires the wilderness areas to run the gantlet of opponents every 25 years in a review that has been advocated by opponents of wilderness legislation.

"It is of the nature of wilderness preservation to provide, if possible, for preserving forever something that has always so far been that way, although of course future Congresses can alter any such preservation.

"The nature of our civilization is such as to make wilderness preservation difficult at the best. That is the reason for wilderness legislation. To make it tentative and to provide for the mobilization of forces working against it every 25 years—four times each century—is to be as dubious in a Wilderness Act as in a marriage vow would be the inclusion of periodic review.

*"The substitute is an act to protect miners*

"To read the Senate Act is to see that preserving any areas as wilderness is difficult in our civilization, with its increasing mechanization and growing population, and, therefore, because it seems desirable to so many people, wilderness preservation is something to be provided for by the Congress.

"To read this substitute is to feel ironically that there is a grave danger that wilderness preservation will threaten our civilization and its dependence on commercial activities to such an extent that the Congress of the United States must protect the embattled miners, grazers, and others against a rampant wilderness preservation movement about to take over the whole Federal estate.

"For commercial interests to succeed in combating a program that would preserve only a few areas unspoiled and succeed to such an extent as to bring about this kind of legislative proposal to restrict and control the preservers would be a gross perversion of a very good purpose.

*"Substitute bill serves wilderness opponents*

"The apparent effect of the provisions of the substitute would be to serve the interests of those who have opposed the wilderness program. Instead of ratifying sound wilderness-preservation accomplishments of administrative agencies to date and making these more orderly and more secure in accordance with the national purpose, this proposed substitute puts in jeopardy some of the areas and administrative policies now established. It would hamper the secure wilderness classification even of areas now being handled as wilderness.

"Even with regard to the very small remnants of our once vast wilderness that are now protected as wilderness, this substitute for the Wilderness Act mobilizes the forces that represent the developments in our civilization which make wilderness preservation difficult.

*"Areas to run a gantlet*

"Even our protected remnants of wilderness (with few exceptions) would be given congressional protection by the substitute only after running a gantlet and surviving the representations to be made after examination by county boards, State agencies, Bureau of Reclamation, Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Mines, and other Federal agencies (10 in all) who are to bring out every possible alternative to preserving even these comparatively few protected remnants. Many of these primarily represent user interests.

"Finally, as to the effects of this substitute, its section on 'Use of Wilderness Areas' actually takes care to provide for maximum possible nonconforming use of a wilderness. The Senate Act already includes liberal special provisions to avoid unnecessary interferences. This substitute even would allow mining to continue in the wilderness areas of the national forest for another 10 years, and even thereafter the areas would continue to be examined for minerals.

"Thus the proposed substitute goes so far in providing for nonconforming uses as to threaten to frustrate the preservation as wilderness of even the areas that would survive the gantlet through which the substitute would require all proposed areas to be carried.

*"Amendments proposed*

"Study of the measure, however, shows that a series of amendments to restore provisions of the Saylor bill thrown aside by the subcommittee, and to remove damaging additions, can make of this proposed bill a sound measure to serve the public interest in wilderness preservation.

"These amendments are as follows, approximately in the order in which they occur in committee print No. 23:

"Proposed amendment No. 1: Take out 'Title I', drop the heading "Title II', and drop the '200' series in numbering sections: The separate legislation included as a title I rider for the wilderness legislation should be considered on its own merits. Wherever reference is made to 'Title I' the bill should be corrected. Thus on page 28 in line 6, the word 'title' should be changed to 'act.' On page 32 in lines 6 and 7, the words 'and notice, if any, required under title I of this act' should be removed. On page 33 in lines 11 to 13 the words 'which shall include, in addition to other pertinent data, the information required by section 103 of this act' should be removed.

"Proposed amendment No. II: Remove 5,000-acre limitation from the definition: In section 202(a), in item (3) of the second sentence of the definition the words "has at least 5,000 acres of land and * * * therefore' have been added (p. 28, lines 22 to 25). The Senate act requires simply that the area be 'of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition.'

"This act does elsewhere use the 5,000-acre size as a criterion for a minimum national park system roadless area to be considered, and 5,000 acres has been the Forest Service minimum for wilderness classification (such areas being called 'wild areas'); but the addition of this formal requirement in a definition is questionable, for it seems to indicate that 5,000 acres is a large enough area or, on the other hand, that it is always a minimum. Some islands might be smaller but suitable. Some areas of 5,000 acres because of their surroundings might not qualify.

"It would be better to omit this addition or at least to delete the word 'therefore." Requirement (3) of the definition (lines 22 to 25 on p. 28) should read as follows:

"'(3) is of sufficient size to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition;'.

"Proposed amendment No. III: Clarify the definition by adding the omitted last sentence of the definition in Representative SAYLOR'S H.R. 776: H.R. 776 has the following last sentence in its definition (sec. 1(d)), which is omitted in the proposed substitute: 'For the purposes of this act wilderness shall include the areas provided for in section 2 of this act and such other areas as shall be designated for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System in accordance with the provisions of this act.'

"Without this sentence in the act's definition, in the absence also of definite declarations as to areas later, the phraseology in the proposed substitute's section 203(b) could be obstructive later.

"This is true because certain existing intrusions that literally or by nature do not conform to the first two sentences of the

definition can be tolerated for practical purposes, and indeed are so tolerated in establishing the system in accordance with S. 174. Yet under the substitute bill's provisions such existing nonconformities could be used to frustrate inclusion of an area later.

"Accordingly, the following should be added (on p. 29, line 2) to section 202(a): 'For the purposes of this act, wilderness shall include the areas provided for in section 203 of this act and such other areas as shall be designated for inclusion in the national wilderness preservation system in accordance with the provisions of this act.'

"Proposed amendment No. IV: Provide for establishment of the wilderness system: In section 202(b) there is no establishment of the national wilderness preservation system, although the title does state the purpose of establishing such a system. Accordingly, on page 29, in line 6, following the comma and quotation marks after the word 'areas,' there should be inserted the words: 'shall comprise the National Wilderness Preservation System and.'

"Proposed amendment No. V: Limit provisions to Federal lands: In the last clause of section 202(b) the word 'lands' should be qualified to refer only to Federal lands (p. 29, line 12).

"Proposed amendment No. VI: Provide for immediate designation of areas as wilderness to be followed by review: Section 203(b) should be revised to provide for the immediate designation of the areas it refers to, with a provision for review over a 10-year period. As it is, this proposed substitute makes the same provision that was decisively defeated in the Senate for requiring separate action on each of all these areas that are now in fact protected as wilderness. They should be given legal status at once so as to continue to be protected until Congress determines otherwise.

"Section 203(b) should be changed to read as follows:

"'(b) The following federally-owned areas are hereby designated as wilderness areas subject to review as provided in section 204 of this act:'.

"In accordance with this amendment, the words 'section 203(a)' should be removed in lines 21–22 on page 36 and 8–9 on page 37 and in place thereof in each place there should be inserted the words 'or under the provisions.' The words 'or under the provisions of' should also be inserted after the word 'by' in line 10 on page 41.

"Subsections (2) and (3) of section 203(b) should also be changed to provide for the 5,000-acre criterion of roadless areas in refuge and park system units, by making the subsections read as follows, the added words being in black brackets:

"'(2) Roadless portions [comprising 5,000 acres or more] of parks, monuments, and other units of the national park system; and

"'(3) Roadless portions [comprising 5,000 acres or more, or islands,] within wildlife refuges and game ranges under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior on the effective date of this Act.'

"Proposed amendment No. VII: Provide for protection of areas under review until Congress determines otherwise: The areas involved in this legislation, there provided for in section 203 (a) and (b) of the substitute bill, are relatively few and all are within what is at present viewed as the Nation's wilderness preservation resource. These areas all should be protected as wilderness till Congress says otherwise.

"Section 204(a) should be revised to provide for continuing protection of each area until such time as Congress has determined otherwise. It might then read as follows (the added words being in black brackets):

"'SEC. 204(a) To assist Congress in determining which of the areas described in section 203(b) shall [continue] to be designated as wilderness areas, the Secretary of the Department having jurisdiction of the lands involved shall, within 10 years after the effective date of this Act review the suitability of said areas for continued protection as wilderness and report annually his recommendations to the President and Congress, together with a map of each area and a definition of its boundaries. [The areas shall continue to be preserved as wilderness in accordance with the provisions of this Act until Congress, following the review hereby required, shall have determined otherwise.]'

"The word 'continued' should be inserted as the second word in line 25 on page 32. The words 'continue to' should be inserted after the word 'should' in line 7 on page 33. The words 'to continue' should be inserted at the beginning of line 1 on page 34.

"Proposed amendment No. VIII: Remove the requirement for reconsidering wilderness designations every 25 years: Section 205 on pages 34 and 35 should be removed in its entirety. A review every 25 years of wilderness areas, can only unreasonably subject to the pressures that make wilderness preservation difficult in our culture, the few areas established as wilderness for preservation. The Congress, of course, at any time in the future may change the designation of any area and can be expected to do so if this is desirable in the public interest.

"Proposed amendment No. IX: Make plain that the wilderness character of areas is to be preserved and that this in accord with the purposes of the areas. Section 206 on 'Use of Wilderness Areas' should make plain that the areas involved must be so administered as to preserve their wilderness character. It should also make plain that such preservation is consistent with other purposes of the lands involved. This could be accomplished by including the first sentence in section 6 of Representative SAYLOR'S H.R. 776—the sentence already referred to in this statement.

"This would be accomplished by inserting at the end of line 7 on page 35, at the end of the first sentence in section 206(a), the following:

"'Nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purposes stated in the establishment of or pertaining to any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, or other area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the Wilderness System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such other purpose as also to preserve its wilderness character.'

"Proposed amendment No. X: Correct mistake in providing for accommodations and installations in wilderness. In the second sentence of section 206(a)(3) a change in phraseology from what is substantially otherwise the same sentence in the Senate act makes a drastic and undesirable change. The accommodations and installations referred to would not be permissible 'in wilderness areas' as stated in this sentence in the proposed substitute. Instead of the phrase, 'in wilderness areas,' the sentence should have the words, 'in such designated areas,' referring to the designation of an area (as referred to in the preceding sentence) for roads, etc., as provided in H.R. 776. Accordingly, in line 3 on page 36 the word 'wilderness' should be removed and in its place inserted the words 'such designated.'

"Proposed amendment No. XI: Remove permission for mining but provide for mining and prospecting when in the national interest: Section 206 (c) (2) with its proposed damaging permission of mining should be eliminated except that: (1) mining could be included in the possible authorizations set forth in section 206 (d); and (2) the provision in the last sentence of section 206 (c) (2) providing for studies by the Geological Survey and Bureau of Mines would seem consistent with wilderness preservation and thus might be retained.

"This would be accomplished by the following amendment: Strike out in section 206(c)(2) all beginning on page 37, line 16, and ending on page 39, line 13, to the word 'designated' and all beginning in line 19 on page 39 with the word 'with' and continuing to the end. This would make the subsection read as follows:

"'(2) Designated and proposed wilderness areas shall be surveyed on a planned, recurring basis consistent with the concept of wilderness preservation by the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines to determine the mineral values, if any, that may be present; and the results of such surveys shall be made available to the public and submitted to the President and Congress.'

"Proposed amendment No. XII: Correct provisions for exceptions to be made in the national interest: Section 206(d) should be amended so as (1) to limit the wilderness areas involved to national forest areas, (2) to entrust to the President rather than the Secretary the authorizations, as the Senate determined after the change to a Secretary had been proposed in an amendment on the floor, and (3) to include provision for authorized mining when in the public interest. The first four lines would then read as follows, the added words in black brackets:

"'(d) Within [national forest] wilderness areas designated by this Act, (1) the [President] may, within a specific area and in accordance with such regulations as he may deem desirable, authorize [mining, prospecting,] prospecting for water resources," etc.

"Proposed amendment No. XIII: Bring grazing provision in line with Forest Service and Department of Agriculture established policy: In accordance with Forest Service and Department of Agriculture policy, the grazing proviso at the end of section 206(d), in lines 11 and 12 of page 40, should be removed; the word 'well' should be inserted before 'established' in line 8; and the words 'restrictions and' should be inserted after the word 'reasonable' in line 10. This would make the provision read as follows, the added words in black brackets:

"'(2) the grazing of livestock, where [well] established prior to the effective date of this Act, shall be permitted to continue subject to such reasonable [restrictions and] regulations as are deemed necessary by the Secretary of Agriculture.'

"Proposed amendment No. XIV: Limit hunting provision to national forest areas: The special provision regarding hunting in section 206(h) should be limited to national forest areas, by inserting the words 'national forest' before the word 'wilderness' in line 10.

"Proposed amendment No. XV: Include provision for gifts: In the final subsection (section 207(d)) relating to acceptance of gifts, the Secretary of the Interior should be included as the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Senate provision for accepting contributions and gifts should also be included. This can be accomplished by inserting in line 15 on page 42 after 'Agriculture' the phrase 'and the Secretary of the Interior' and at the end of line 23 adding the following:

"'The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture are each authorized to accept private contributions and gifts to be used to further the purposes of this act. Any such contributions or gifts shall, for purposes of Federal income, estate, and gift taxes, be considered a contribution or gift to or for the use of the United States for an exclusively public purpose, and may be deducted as such under the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, subject to all applicable limitations and restrictions contained therein.'"

## Rehabilitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, for a long time I have been interested in the rehabilitation of our handicapped citizens so that they could become self-supporting and enjoy the dignity of personal work and achievement.

The fact is that handicapped people can perform many jobs as well—and sometimes better—than those without handicaps. This was demonstrated at a press tour arranged by the Federation of the Handicapped in New York City recently. As the executive director of the federation said, the handicapped person is a perfectionist and takes pride in his work, which is all too rare these days.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the New York Times of September 13, discussing this program of the federation, be included in the RECORD.

The article follows:

DISABLED EXHIBIT TECHNICAL SKILLS—SHOW PLANT WHERE CLASSES FOR MISSILE JOBS ARE HELD

(By John C. Devlin)

When the first American lands on the moon, there is a strong possibility that he will have found his way with the help of handicapped persons in metropolitan New York.

This was suggested yesterday at a press tour of the Federation of the Handicapped, 211 West 14th Street, where the determination and skill of handicapped persons have made them experts in assembling key units in guidance systems for both missiles and spacecraft.

The handicapped persons are working under contracts with such concerns as the Bendix Corp., Western Electric, and the Minneapolis-Honeywell Co. and are doing specialized industrialized packaging for such companies as the General Instrument Corp. and Dialight Corp.

Because of their skills, most of them will take full-time jobs with these and other prominent companies.

SHOW PRIDE IN THEIR WORK

"It is easy to see the very special quality of the handicapped," Milton Cohen, executive director, said. "Each one regards himself or herself as an artist and they have the pride of craftsmanship of the type one finds in an artist with his paintings. They are perfectionists."

The function of the federation is to train the handicapped in 18 to 24 months to handle more and more meticulous tasks so that they can take on full-time jobs as experts in industry.

Hundreds have been graduated from the free courses during which they received pay for work done, to jobs with some of the Nation's major industries. Their special assets are quality work, high performance rate, and an ability to get work done on schedule.

Some of the handicapped have had polio, others have birth defects, heart conditions, or epilepsy. Others have been injured in accidents; some are paraplegics.

YOUNG PERSONS BEING TRAINED

Some of high school age are being trained to use typewriters, adding machines, telephone switchboards, or shop equipment. Some will become electronic experts.

All punch timeclocks as part of the job of establishing discipline.

"They respond to it extremely well," Mr. Cohen said. "They love challenges. They all do their best because they have become perfectionists."

He said attitudes in industry had changed greatly in recently years because personnel directors had learned that the handicapped, instead of being a liability, have made themselves industrial assets in an area where skill was badly needed.

## New Spencer Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my remarks at the dedication of the Spencer, Mass., Post Office on August 25, 1962.

The material follows:

NEW SPENCER POST OFFICE

Reverend clergy, distinguished guests, and friends, it is a special pleasure and privilege for me to join you today in this historic, meaningful dedication of this beautiful new post office.

Your town and its loyal people are very close to my heart, and I rejoice with your distinguished Representative and Senator, town and post office officials and all your people upon the completion of this useful, post office facility.

I compliment and congratulate the Post Office Department, the builders, and all those who have had anything to do with the completion of this building, which will fill an important need in this community for years to come.

Our great Post Office Department with its farflung organization and innumerable units spread over our great country is the largest and most efficient communication and mailing system in the whole world.

It enjoys outstanding leadership and outstanding personnel whose painstaking devotion to duty and efficient service is unmatched in any nation.

These faithful postal workers in Spencer and elsewhere throughout our great postal system give us daily proof of their unswerving purpose to serve us with complete dedication. This facility we dedicate today with such satisfaction, pride and gratitude is but another instance of the determination of our Government, the Department and Congress to support and improve our postal service in every way we possibly can to keep pace with every modern development. So this, my friends, is an occasion which we may all well appreciate and cherish, since it marks a distinct improvement in the postal facilities of this beautiful town.

There is a broader significance that we all are mindful of today and that is that facilities like this one are the product of free, democratic government. The loyal spirit which the people of Spencer have always manifested, and particularly your devotion in war and peace to the cause of freedom is greatly needed in the Nation and the world today.

We must constantly have in mind that those who would destroy freedom and democracy, not only here, but throughout the world, are working unceasingly with skill and vigor to achieve their evil purpose of destroying freedom in the world and enslaving mankind.

While our great Nation is dedicated to peace based upon freedom and security, our people are resolutely determined to preserve our birthright and our heritage, and we do not propose to allow any other nation, or group of nations, to steal away our hardwon liberties or to challenge the safety of our shores and the security of our homes.

As we carry out our high purpose for peace, and earnestly work to bring about a better world, organized under the rule of law, let it be well understood by those who conspire against us, that we are unalterably pledged to the perpetuation of free government, just as we are resolutely committed to the cause of world peace.

It is for us to try to build and shape a greater, stronger and more prosperous nation, and to hold out the hand of friendship and assistance to other nations who earnestly seek peace, and who wish to live and develop under free institutions.

It is for us to maintain our strength at every level, military, economic and spiritual, and to uphold at all times the moral precepts and spiritual truths upon which our great Nation was founded.

If we pursue these ends, tomorrow may be a brighter day for all humanity, and we and other nations pledged to freedom may well be able to persuade the leaders of the Communist conspiracy to outlaw war, effectively control nuclear weapons and substances, agree to universal disarmament and adopt world, legal institutions to promote world cooperation, unity of the human family, and order and justice for mankind.

In that way, tyranny will cease and peace with justice will prevail.

In the presence of this distinguished group of officials, dignitaries and honored guests, and so many people of this great community, I am happy to express the hope that this new postal facility will serve your beautiful town and its devoted people for many years to come. It will do much to strengthen your municipal posture and provide for the convenience of your people.

Not only this generation, but future generations, will have reason to be grateful for the place it will have in the affairs of the people of Spencer. May your beautiful community continue to grow in strength, unity, prosperity and the ways of freedom.

Let me thank you warmly for the privilege of being with you, today.

## Public Access to Commission Dissents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN E. MOSS**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on July 26, 1962, I brought to the attention of the Members of this House the fact that the Federal Trade Commission was attempting to suppress information about dissenting opinions of its minority members. This fact was uncovered by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information shortly after the same practice by the Federal Power Commission had been discovered and corrected. When I last informed the House on this subject I provided the text of a letter sent to the Federal Trade Commission urging it to reverse the policy of secrecy and to adopt a positive policy assuring that majority and minority decisions and

opinions would be made available to the public.

I have been informed by the Federal Trade Commission that it has adopted a new policy that follows, generally, the suggestion made by the subcommittee. The new policy declares that a dissenting Commissioner "shall have the right to have his dissent and reasons therefor shown on the document or accompanying papers evidencing such action." The new policy does not apply to actions of the Commission that are not made public, such as a decision to drop a matter or a decision on some nonpublic procedural matter. The language of the FTC letter could be interpreted to hold that, in such a case, a dissenting member has no right to make known his objection to the decision of the majority. There is no valid basis upon which the majority of the Commission—or two Commissioners constituting a majority of a three-man quorum—may muzzle or delay the issuance of the views of dissenting Commissioners with regard to any Commission actions. The subcommittee has asked the Commission to state whether the new policy prevents a nonconcurring Commissioner from expressing views on any Commission action which is not made public. The pertinent letters follow:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
*Washington, D.C., September 6, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN E. MOSS,
*Chairman, Special Government Information Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in further reference to your letter dated July 23, 1962, in which you requested me to advise the subcommittee subsequent to the Commission meeting the first week in September as to the action taken by the Commission in regard to any procedure adopted by the Commission for noting dissents and issuing dissenting opinions.

At the Commission meeting on Tuesday, September 4, 1962, the following action was unanimously adopted by the Commission:

"When the Commission takes any action which it makes public, and a member of the Commission does not concur in such action, such member shall have the right to have his dissent and reasons therefor shown on the document or accompanying papers evidencing such action."

Sincerely yours,

PAUL RAND DIXON,
*Chairman.*

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SPECIAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
*Washington, D.C., September 18, 1962.*

Mr. PAUL RAND DIXON,
*Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. DIXON: Thank you for your letter of September 6, 1962, advising that the Federal Trade Commission on September 4, 1962, unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing that any Commissioner who does not concur with any action with the Commission makes public is entitled to have his dissent and the reasons therefore shown on the document or other accompanying papers evidencing such action.

The Commission's new policy is excellent, as far as it goes; however, it does not cover actions which the Commission fails to make public. The language of the Commission's new policy, as quoted in your letter, could thus be interpreted as denying the right of a Commissioner to make known his objections to a Commission action such as a decision to drop a matter, or a decision concerning Commission procedure, or any other Commission matter, if the Commission does not make the action public.

There is no apparent basis upon which the majority of the Commission (or two Commissioners constituting a majority of a three-man quorum) may muzzle or delay the issuance of the views of dissenting Commissioners with regard to any Commission actions. Please, therefore, clarify whether the policy statement of September 4, 1962, is intended to prevent a nonconcurring Commissioner from expressing views on any Commission action which is not made public.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. MOSS,
*Chairman.*

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## Retraining for What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the major causes of our unemployment problem is that many of our jobless men and women lack the skills to fill the new jobs opening up in our dynamic American economy. This problem is certain to grow more severe in the future unless we launch a national program to upgrade the skills of our people.

This problem was discussed by the respected financial writer, Sylvia Porter, in her column in the Washington Sunday Star of September 16. Miss Porter points out that while total employment is scheduled to rise 20 percent in the 1960's, the need for workers to fill the jobs in professional, technical, managerial, and service occupations will grow much faster. One sound remedy offered by Miss Porter is for young people to stay in school in order to prepare for these jobs.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting this column by Miss Porter at this point:

RETURN TO SCHOOL—FOR WHAT?
(Sylvia Porter)

"Return to school," urged President Kennedy in his Labor Day message to America's youngsters—and he quoted the familiar but always shocking projection that "7.5 million boys and girls will fail to complete high school during the decade of the 1960's unless we, as a nation, take positive steps to prevent it."

Yes, return to school, for the facts submitted in Thursday's column about the warning that if you're among this 7.5 million—or worse among the 2.5 million, who Labor Department studies indicate won't even complete elementary school—you're dooming yourself to the job underworld. You'll be in a self-made minority, handicapped group.

But return to school for what? Stay in school to train yourself for what fields or jobs? Here's that story.

GENERAL OUTLOOK

First, the general outlook: Total employment is scheduled to rise about 20 percent in the 1960's. But rising twice as fast—40 percent—will be professional and technical occupations, and particularly bright are job prospects for engineers, scientists and such technicians as engineering aides and electronic specialists.

Also rising much faster than average—30 percent—will be clerical and sales jobs. Third in line in the white-collar class will be the manager, official and proprietor occupational group, with a fastest growth rate within this group among salaried officials in business organizations and government.

Among the blue-collar or manual occupations, the great rise will be in jobs for skilled workers—craftsmen, foremen and, particularly, building trades craftsmen, mechanics and repairmen.

By industries, the highest rates of growth in employment will be in construction, finance, insurance, retail sales, trade, government and all the services.

SPECIFIC OPPORTUNITIES

Now here are specifics about job opportunities which can be filled by normal youngsters without the extraordinary aptitudes or intelligence needed to qualify as an engineer, mathematician, physician, physicist, etc.

Technicians: The Department of Labor's most recent "Occupational Outlook Handbook" lists technicians who work with engineers and physical scientists as among "the fastest growing occupational groups in the United States." The significant point here is that you might qualify after only a 2-year technical college course or after a comprehensive high school program and may then get additional training on the job. The field is wide open.

Secretaries, typists, stenographers: Despite automation, the "supply" of these, says the handbook, "never seems to catch up with demand." Girl high school graduates with these skills will find jobs waiting and the secretary with a college degree, too, will have a superb choice.

Construction workers: Skill is the need here, not a batch of degrees. But you must have skill to earn the high wages in this industry, which will skyrocket in the decade of the 1960's.

Nurses: The jobs are begging for the workers. It is a top profession for a woman and there are many types of training programs.

Teachers: This tale needs no elaboration. The demand is huge; it will continue to grow for the indefinite future.

Accountants: A high school diploma may be sufficient in this fast-growing professional field, but a college degree is preferred.

Social workers: There were 12,000 vacancies in this field in 1960, reports the handbook. The shortage of workers is "acute."

School counselors: In every State, there were shortages of school counselors in 1960–61 with the situation "expected to continue for at least several years." Another wide-open field.

This listing just skims a tiny part of the surface. The "Occupational Outlook Handbook" includes thousands of statistics about 650 occupations in its 800 pages and each is a valuable guide.

One of the soundest moves communities the Nation over could make is to obtain copies of this handbook for placement in any center where youngsters gather. What this book could say to a lost, confused dropout could be worth more than a million words of general advice, no matter how kindly or well meaning. It even might save his life for him.

## Soviet Propaganda on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. LEON H. GAVIN**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Star of September 12, 1962:

SOVIET PROPAGANDA ON CUBA—MOSCOW BELIEVED TAKING ADVANTAGE OF U.S. SILENCE ON VIOLATION

(By David Lawrence)

Nearly 2 weeks have passed since the news was given out that the Soviets had begun an arms buildup in Cuba. The United States, so far as known, has sent no protest to the Soviet Government against its flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Government has taken advantage of America's silence and has filled the broadcast waves of the world with one propaganda blast after the other, characterizing President Kennedy's callup of Reserves as a "provocative" action. The latest accusation actually turns the tables on the United States and warns the Washington Government that it must not do anything in Cuba to interfere with the Castro government's policy of acquiring Soviet arms. The claim is reiterated that Cuba is arming for "defense." President Kennedy thus has given away a propaganda advantage by appearing to accept the Castro and Soviet arguments that the supplying of arms and the sending of "technicians" are simply for "defensive" purposes.

It is a puzzle just why Mr. Kennedy chooses to forfeit the initiative in propaganda. Time was when the American Government uttered its protests through formal diplomatic channels and made them public in situations comparable to the present controversy over the Soviet buildup in Cuba. The action of the Moscow Government not only affects the Monroe Doctrine as a policy but is directly related to America's own security. To place missile pads and missiles in Cuba, which is just 90 miles away from our own shores, is an act that can be construed as hostile to the United States. Yet the administration prefers to say nothing by way of formal protest.

The seriousness of the situation is not diminished but actually increased by the failure to make any protest before the world. Unfortunately, the Soviets may come to believe that they have successfully bluffed the United States into silence, and they may take further chances in the cold war. Moscow in its latest outburst even hints at a nuclear war if the United States does anything about Cuba.

The impression in Washington is that the administration has all along been afraid of increasing tensions by saying anything to Russia about the Cuban buildup. Still, the Soviets do not mind increasing tensions by their propaganda statements. These could be regarded as of little importance if they were merely part of an exchange of words between the Soviet Union and the United States. Unhappily, the propaganda is circulated all over the world. The peoples of allied as well as neutral countries can thus be influenced to believe that the United States is afraid to speak out and is being shoved into a corner by the aggressive pronouncement of the Soviet Union.

The administration has known for a long time about the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba. On September 2, the United Press International in a dispatch from Washington said:

"A State Department spokesman said today that the Soviet announcement of arms aid to Cuba 'merely confirms what has been going on in recent months.' The spokesman said:

"'The announcement does not seem to represent anything new. We've been saying right along that the Soviet Union has been sending military equipment and technicians to Cuba.'"

But the American people were not told officially about this until about 2 weeks ago, and there is no public record that the United States has filed any protest with the Soviet Government concerning the arms buildup. Naturally, the Soviets would construe this as an acquiescence and would be inclined to increase their military buildup in Cuba and begin to send arms to other parts of Latin America which they are planning to infiltrate through agents already on the job.

Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, Democrat, referring to some of Mr. Kennedy's recent statements, said the other day in the Senate:

"The President's comments indicate strongly that the Monroe Doctrine has recently been reinterpreted with major omissions to the extent that the Monroe Doctrine is no longer a bulwark of U.S. foreign policy which it was for over 100 year."

In Congress, Members of both parties are restive and uneasy about the apparent surrender of the initiative to the Soviet Union. Authority to call up 150,000 Reserves has been overwhelmingly endorsed, but this does not overcome the feeling in Congress that the United States is being portrayed over the airwaves as afraid to stand up to the Soviets. Paul Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs, in a television interview over the ABC network Sunday, really summed up the situation. He wasn't trying to be critical of the administration and, in fact, was endeavoring to defend it. But he unwittingly stated the case against the administration's policy of silence when he said:

"I think the grounds for concern are, first of all, that this assistance the Soviets are giving Castro makes it more difficult for the Cuban people ever to restore their freedom, and, secondly, this helps Castro consolidate his position in Cuba and thereby might increase the possibility that Cuba could be used as a base for Communist infiltration into the rest of the hemisphere."

Yet nothing has been said officially for the last several months to the Soviet Government in protest about all this.

## Three Hundred Soviet Tracking Stations Bob Off Eastern Coast of United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the reading of the following article which was printed in the September 4, 1962, issue of the Washington World:

THREE HUNDRED SOVIET TRACKING STATIONS STATIONS BOB OFF EASTERN COAST OF UNITED STATES

Floating leisurely 50 miles off the coast of Long Island, heavily equipped Soviet tracking stations are serving as a vital communications link between Soviet space vehicles and their Moscow headquarters.

The three tracking ships, sailing as fishing trawlers, mingle easily with other vessels in the ever-growing Communist fishing fleet off the North American coast. Today, with virtually no public notice, there are more than 300 such Soviet vessels off our coasts.

The experimental Mackay Radio tracking station at Southampton, N.Y., recently reported that high-powered radio activity from three Soviet trawlers coincided with space signals as the twin Red space craft passed overhead.

The signals from both the trawlers and space craft were beamed on the ones Moscow reported for the orbiting capsules. Tape recordings of the radio conversations have since been translated by CIA interpreters.

RUSSIANS A FAMILIAR SIGHT IN NOVA SCOTIAN TOWN

Russian seamen are now a familiar sight on the streets of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Russians' visits are the consequence of a tremendous expansion during the past 4 years of Soviet fishing operations on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland, and on George's Banks to the south of Nova Scotia.

Today there are some 325 Communist fishing boats, including Polish and East German craft, at work all year round in the western Atlantic.

Each unit in the Russian fishing fleet is a self-contained floating industry, able to process, can, and refrigerate the catch at sea. Every unit is self-sufficient, containing a factory or mother ship, a tug, a repair vessel, and a fuel tanker.

Last year the Soviets had an entertainment ship in the fleet, the *Riga*, which moved among working ships showing movies and providing other recreation. The *Riga*, like many Red ships, had a number of women aboard.

Even so, there are times when the Russian vessels must put into Halifax or St. John's for repairs, tackle, food supplies, or fresh water. During the past 18 months. Soviet craft have made more than 80 calls at Halifax alone.

SOME CANADIANS VOICING CONCERN

While officials of the Halifax Port Authority, and the agents for the Communist vessels, I. H. Mathers & Son, Ltd., are pleased with the good relations that have developed ashore, some Canadian fishermen are voicing concern at the extent of Russian operations at sea.

R. G. Smith, general manager of National Sea Products, Ltd., concedes that the Russians are entitled to fish in these international waters but points out:

"There are only so many fish out there. The more the Russians take, the fewer there are for us."

Another point of friction is the size of the trawls and drift nets used by the Soviets. The Russian nets are often spread out for 3 miles behind the boats. Often these nets are poorly marked and cannot be seen at night. Nova Scotian and American fishing boats sometimes plow through them, damaging the Soviet equipment and fouling their own propellers.

One Halifax skipper became so incensed at the size and bad marking of Russian nets that he armed his crew with shotguns for one trip last year. The crew, however, refrained from using them.

Mr. Speaker, this article poses the immediate and critical problem faced by New England in the loss of local resources to fleets of other countries, especially that of Russia. Each of the many Russian stern trawlers is capable of catching and processing during one trip as much fish as is landed by an average American trawler in 1 year. The question as to whether the fish stocks can sustain the proposed increase in fishing effort remains to be answered.

The time has arrived when we urgently need information on the natural habits of important food fish and their ability to withstand increased fishing pres-

sure. This is most important for the fishing banks off New England which support one of the world's greatest ground fisheries. The major species are haddock, cod, redfish, flounders, herring and scallops. These fisheries have a strong international flavor that has existed since before 1600, and which is, in fact, becoming more obvious with the development of better fishing vessels with filleting and freezing plants aboard. Until recently, the fishing banks directly off the U.S. coastline were fished very little by other nationals. On George's Bank today, however, one is as apt to see a 300-foot Russian factory trawler or a Canadian scalloper as an American fishing vessel.

This threat to the resource will not be resolved quickly, but scientists are working toward overall management and conservation procedures which may be proposed and placed into effect by international agreement. The information needed for this is not all available, but it can be obtained through oceanographic research.

In addition, oceanographic and fishery explorations can develop new fisheries which will help relieve the new foreign fishing efforts. There are stocks of several species of ground-fishes on the banks, the whiting and hake, for example, which may occur in considerable quantities, but which are underexploited because of the more valuable haddock, redfish, flounder, and scallops. Studies must be conducted on these species also to determine their true abundance and the effect which fishing will have on the populations. Similarly new fisheries on the high seas and in deeper waters might be found, but new intrumentation and fishing methods will be required to explore the resources which lie deep in the oceans.

Mr. Speaker, the House has passed S. 901, as amended, which provides a comprehensive, long-range, and coordinated national program in oceanography. I believe that this legislation is a practical and realistic answer to the serious problem of foreign competition in fisheries. It is my hope that the Senate conferees will agree to the House amendments that the 87th Congress may lead the way for significant advances and discoveries in the oceanography field.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

# Appendix

## Address by Arthur W. Steinfeldt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the acceptance speech of Arthur W. Steinfeldt on receiving the National Equal Opportunity Employer Award, presented to the Missile and Space Division, Philadelphia, of the General Electric Co., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The speech is well worth the attention of Members of this body and those who subscribe to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It shows what one great corporation, enlightened at least in the field of race relations, has been able to do to implement the President's policy of fair employment practices.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(NOTE.—Acceptance speech by Arthur W. Steinfeldt on receiving the National Equal Opportunity Employer Award presented to the Missile and Space Division, Philadelphia, of the General Electric Co., in recognition of its policy of equal job opportunity and its contribution to a program of career guidance. The award was presented by Mr. Hobson Reynolds, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of the Elks of the World at its national convention in Detroit, on August 29, 1962.)

Thank you Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Vaughn, and members of the Elks.

A minister, a priest, and a rabbi were walking together down the street when suddenly there appeared before them a fairy godmother. She said to them, "I'll give each of you one wish, whatever you would like." The minister was the first and he said that well, he wished she'd do away with all Catholics. The priest was second and he wished that she would do away with all Protestants. The fairy godmother turned to the rabbi and asked what he would like. He said, "Oh, don't bother about me, nothing for me, just take care of my two friends."

About 25 years ago I had a taste of discrimination and I have never forgotten it. I hesitate to bring it up here, because it is so minor as compared to the things that you have to put up with. Because it did make such an impression on me, however, I would like to share it with you.

Back in the late thirties I attended a large public high school which had a sizable Jewish student body. I am not of Jewish origin, but my name can easily be thought to be. Because some of the students though I might be Jewish, I found I was not invited to certain fraternities or social events. Actually, later on it turned out to be a blessing in disguise, because with the help of my Jewish friends I was elected president of the 3,000-member student body. But, I can still remember what it felt like to be rejected; not because of what I was as an individual, but rejected because I might be of a certain religion. I have never forgotten how hurt I felt at the time and how angry, because it seemed so unfair. Ever since that time I have tried to do what I could to work positively toward solving the problems created by our blind and stupid prejudices.

And so, it is a real source of satisfaction for me personally, to be receiving this award. It also means a great deal to the management of the Missile and Space Division of the General Electric Co. and particularly to the people who have worked so hard to make our employment and career guidance programs a success. The people you see up here—Charlie Dates and Judge Allen, also Dr. Floyd Flom, manager of public affairs, and Helen Ruddy of his staff, and also my secretary, Mrs. Sarah Smith, a wonderful Negro lady and efficient and charming secretary and administrator.

The fact that you have paid us this honor means a great deal to all of us. I hope that it also means a great deal to you, for it is recognition—not of me or of the General Electric Co.—but of the success story of Negroes, performing magnificently as engineers, scientists, supervisors, secretaries, technicians, personnel experts, as well as in maintenance and development shopwork. And, they are doing these jobs in the most complicated and complex industry in the world—the missile and space industry.

We accept this award, then, with considerable pride in our people, but more in the hope that it will accomplish two important things.

First, that it will be successful in publicizing to other business firms that your large and influential organization is endeavoring to open up employment opportunities by giving recognition to businessmen who carry out their responsibilities in this area, and secondly, that it will further inform Negro youngsters that the doors of opportunity are beginning to swing open to them more than at any time in history.

In your efforts with businessmen you can rest assured that many of them will be anxious to cooperate with you. Any smart businessman facing tough competition hires the best personnel available. He cannot afford to restrict himself to a particular race, color, or creed. This is particularly true in the space and defense industry. Here the competition is for keeps, with national survival at stake. Whether employees are Negro, Caucasian, or Mongolian American makes no difference at all. The critical need is to tap all sources of talent and provide for the future by making available the best educational system we can to train people for the jobs ahead.

Offering equal employment opportunities to all segments of society is good human relations policy and good business policy. Also, by providing jobs and improving skills and abilities, we increase the national income and swell the revenues to national, State, and local governments. In the long run, these things too, mean tangible dollar-savings to business.

With all these good reasons on your side, your job will still be difficult in many cases. There is no kidding ourselves. Discrimination still exists. For example, in interviewing several of our employees for a series of vocational guidance articles in the Philadelphia Negro press, we found that many of them batted their heads against prejudice's walls for 5, 7, and 10 or more years before getting the jobs they sought and were trained for. Today's youth must be prepared for such disappointments, but at the same time should be appraised of and urged to follow the example of those who have accomplished workins through perseverance and determination.

However, there are many encouraging signs. Employment practices, in the past few years indicate that doors have opened in the walls of discrimination. As the doors open, it will be your task to see that there are qualified Negroes ready to step through them. I predict that the formation today of the career guidance program by your organization will someday be looked back upon as a milestone in the struggle to equalize future employment opportunities by equalizing education and counseling opportunities today.

The crying need today is to provide youth with the education and training that will be needed in the future. It is an unfortunate and unforgivable commentary on this land of opportunity that Negroes for years have been discouraged from preparing themselves.

The caliber of education provided them, whether in the South or in the large urban schools, has often been of submarginal quality. In most cases, the Negro youth has had to make his way in spite of, rather than because of, the education he received. I congratulate you on your sense of social responsibility in working to improve this situation.

It is of the utmost importance that we work together at all levels to encourage our youth to prepare themselves. Business careers and scientific research and development work require long years of study and hard work. In the sports world Negro baseball players, football players, boxers, and track stars have always provided a source of inspiration for the youth. Now, they need the same inspiration and even more help and encouragement to stay in school and study.

Encouragement is needed from teachers, guidance counselors, business leaders, and most important of all, from you parents in the home. It is often tempting for Negro youngsters to develop a defeatist attitude. This must be replaced with the realization that the opportunities are there if they will prepare themselves, and furthermore, that there are many people of all races who care very much and want to help them succeed.

Our own vocational guidance work has uncovered the hopeful sign that your youngsters, with only a little evidence of hope, will respond with determination.

At one high school it was cited as being an important factor in cutting the dropout rate in half.

We think the primary selling point in the conference was that many of our employees who spoke to the students were Negroes who had made the grade and with whom the youngsters could identify. This experience indicates that the youth, when they see attainable goals, can be encouraged to greater educational heights.

At this point, I would like to extend one very special thank you to Postelle Vaughn. His inspiration and cooperation have been important ingredients of the success of our vocational guidance programs. He has done a wonderful job. As you know, his work in Pennsylvania in the field of career guidance has earned him recognition by the State in

his appointment as the Philadelphia Youth Placement Officer of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service.

With men like him working on this problem and the support of a large organization like the Elks, I expect 20 years from now, when you hold your convention, the problem will not be: How are we going to get Negroes into industry? but How de we pay tribute to all of the outstanding business leaders and scientists of your race?

## New Attacks on Communist Control Measures Due This Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the VFW American Security Reporter, September 1962:

NEW ATTACKS ON COMMUNIST CONTROL MEASURES DUE THIS FALL

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Internal Security Act of 1950 (the McCarran Act) will come under increasing attack from a variety of sources during the next few months.

U.S. Communists are launching a souped-up campaign to break the back of Government agencies and laws which now restrict Communists' freedom to deceive and to subvert.

A primary target for this campaign will be the McCarran Act. It is under this act that the U.S. Communist Party and certain Communist leaders have been ordered to register with the Attorney General as agents of a foreign power.

Such registration would destroy U.S. Reds' pretense that they are a domestic, American political party. Once registered they would be tagged as agents seeking support in the United States for the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union.

The campaign—which also will attack the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee—will get its main steam from three regional mass meetings scheduled for September, October, and November. One will be on the east coast, one in the Midwest, and one on the west coast.

Political Affairs (August 1962) says that the meetings will be designed to expand local activities aimed at "deluging the Attorney General and the President with demands to halt all the proceedings under the McCarran Act."

Political Affairs further urges like-minded individuals and groups to demand that candidates for public office in November "take a stand against the McCarran Act" and to step up the distribution of "anti-McCarran Act" bulletins, leaflets, and pamphlets.

Being a hard-hitting political campaign, its climax is scheduled for early January 1963. Two national conferences are scheduled for Washington, D.C., then to coincide with the opening of the new Congress.

One will be composed of some of the civil liberties and peace groups. The other is being set up by forces in the "anti-House Un-American Activities Committee movement." Both are expected to demand the repeal of the McCarran Act and abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The aim of non-Communists who become involved in such attacks is a matter of debate. Each individual is guided by his own conscience. But it can be stated without reservation that the Communist aim is to work through such mass rallies and conferences to force Congress to repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950 and to deny operating funds to the House Un-American Activities Committee if not to abolish it entirely.

U.S. Communists want more freedom for their efforts to win support for Soviet foreign policies, to undermine our free society, and eventually, to gain political power for Communist leadership in the United States.

The most effective countermeasure at this time to (a) make the general public aware of Communists' interest in abolishing the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act), and their active support of any and all meetings, conferences, and demonstrations which promote this end, and (b) make sure that Congress and the administration as well as the general public is fully aware of your positions in respect to the Internal Security Act of 1950, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Communist Party, U.S.A.

## Railroad Mergers and Monopoly—Address by Senator Kefauver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ESTES KEFAUVER**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, since my statement to the Senate on August 27, 1962, on railway mergers, I have become impressed with the growing concern among my colleagues with respect to this problem and the need for some stopgap legislation to give the Congress and the administration sufficient time and opportunity to analyze what now appears to be a broad proposed reorganization of our Nation's rail plant.

In this connection, I had the privilege of addressing the Metropolitan Railway Employees' rally at Manhattan Center in New York City on September 19. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RAILROAD MERGERS AND MONOPOLY

(Address by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, chairman of Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, before the metropolitan railway employees rally at the Manhattan Center, New York, N.Y., Sept. 19, 1962)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am very grateful for your invitation to appear on this very important occasion this evening.

I want you to know that I am also concerned with the problems which you forsee in the giant rail consolidations proposed by the trunkline carriers. In these efforts, I see an attempt by a large part of the rail industry to contract its plant and diminish rail service in an effort to reduce its capacity and achieve short-run savings at the expense of long-run growth and service. At a time when we need to grow as a productive and inventive nation, when our citizens are eager and ready to put their hands and minds to work for that growth, it is incredible that we talk of the abandonment of lines, the elimination of trackage, the reduction of passenger and freight schedules, the destruction of terminals and facilities and the laying off of hundreds of thousands of workingmen over the next 5 years. This is negative business thinking which places the maximization of profits above the basic transportation standards of competition, service adequacy, and community growth. It is a type of thinking that has filtered into some other industries in this country and it is, I believe, partly responsible for the dangerous slowdown we are experiencing in our economy.

Admittedly, some railroads are not in good shape financially. But there is too much reliance on merger as the simple way out. The railroads say they want to concentrate into a few firms, eliminate duplication and competition, stabilize the price and keep it high, and contract the plant, which generally means layoff the work force and reduce capacity.

That kind of philosophy has proved to be dangerous in the past, and it is a pitiful sight to see it being rejuvenated now, at such a crucial point in our continued effort to preserve our world leadership as a productive nation.

We need to expand and grow at a rate far greater than we are growing. We will enjoy such expansion and growth when those in positions of policy both in government and industry begin to apply the incentives for that growth. We will need all the railroad plant we have, and more, when that upturn begins to accelerate, and it will be the competitive and independent innovators of the railroad industry which will be quick to take advantage of that growth in lower rates and greater revenues.

In the meantime, it is dangerous for us to move into this panic philosophy of concentration in every field. Merger and consolidation of the big companies may result in short-term savings, appreciation of stock values, new credit, and in more acceptable business status, but it is a serious question whether in an industry already greatly concentrated, such short-time success is best for the long-range security of all the people or for the rail industry itself.

Thus, the dedicated intention of most of the rail industry, as well as a substantial part of the airline industry, to merge trunkline systems, and to reduce facilities and the work force, is a national economic problem of the very first order. It is not just a problem for railroad or airline "labor" alone, as the carrier's managements would like to have the people in this country believe. It is an issue which everyone must understand, for in one way or another, these proposed transportation mergers and the consequent intention of the rail and airline industries to shrink their facilities and employment will affect transportation service and economic development in nearly every community of the United States.

In the railroad situation, over 75 percent of the Nation's rail assets are involved in merger petitions before the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the airline field, over 50 percent of airline assets are either before the Civil Aeronautics Board for merger review or are presently in merger negotiation stages expected to lead to Board consideration within the near future. By far the key transportation mergers presently proposed in these industries are the Pennsylvania-New York Central rail merger and the American-Eastern airline merger. These mergers represent a combination of the first and third largest carriers in the railroad industry and the second and fourth largest in the domestic airline field. There is little doubt in my mind that approval of these two mergers will lead to vast counter-mergers resulting in a massive concentration of economic power in the

hands of a few companies and in the loss of vital competition and independent business action which are the basic ingredients to a healthy private enterprise economy. In addition, I believe they would trigger additional concentrations in the trucking and water carrier industries, and might drastically accelerate the present trend toward concentration throughout the country in many other industrial fields.

Today, I believe, we are at the crossroads in our national transportation policy. We either retain the structure of a competitive, balanced, multifirm system in each transportation mode, or we move on to regional monopolies and eventually to nationalization accompanied by massive contraction of facilities and service. The choice is ours today, for when once this proposed reorganization by the railroad and airline industries gets started, there will be little chance to turn back and try it a better way.

THE PRESENT INADEQUACY AND INABILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO COPE WITH THE RAIL MERGER PROBLEMS

During the past 6 months, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, of which I am chairman, has been looking into the merger problem with respect to the railroad industry. The situation which we have found can indeed be described as a failure of responsibility and policy for which both government and industry must share equally. It is a confused situation without necessary direction, guidance, or present resolution.

In the first place, the existing law delegating sole authority to the Interstate Commerce Commission to permit mergers and consolidations is totally lacking in appropriate and definitive criteria for the acceptance of such transactions. Instead, the law gives to the Commission only the vague instruction to find rail mergers "consistent with the public interest" before allowing them to go forward.

There are no adequate prerequisites which must be determined, no norms or minimum standards which must be met, nor are there proper guides in the statute for Commission participation in the directions of merger. The Commission is quite free to approve mergers resulting in national or regional rail monopolies, the elimination of vital competition, the undue contraction of railroad facilities and service, substantial unemployment of workers, discrimination of areas and communities, and the like, if it feels that the enhancement of railroad profits and financial conditions are of paramount importance, or that other similar advantages can be achieved in "the public interest."

This type of broad legislative determination may have been workable in some of the smaller rail consolidations or acquisitions in the past, but it would seem to have serious implications, and might lead to substantial economic imbalances, when applied to the huge trunkline amalgamations being presented to the Commission today. Thus, this is an area where Congress should take action to impose upon the Commission protective and definitive safeguards and prerequisites which must be met before any large consolidations are allowed to be consummated.

In the second place, the Commission is not presently equipped to test and appraise the impacts of these mergers being proposed by the rail industry, and it has not yet developed its own specific criteria applicable to the broad plans being presented. Considering the wide latitude which the Congress gave to the Commission in rendering these vast social and economic judgments which will affect the businesses, the jobs, and the lives of so many people in this country, it is most alarming to observe such an inadequacy on the part of this regulatory body.

For instance, at a time when this agency is allowing major rail merger cases to be completed and submitted for final argument, its Bureau of Transport Economics and Statistics is still conducting a research study into new and useful criteria, the susceptibility of such criteria to measurement, and procedures and tests for economic analysis of public interest factors. It further appears that there is no definite pattern for testing the statutory criterion of adequacy of service and no overall procedures for analyzing the effects of plant contraction on economic growth of communities. In fact, the Commission's staff has raised the issue of whether these big trunkline mergers may well result in increased costs per unit of output, and in other inefficiencies because of size and utilization, but the Commission has developed no methods for proper consideration of this matter.

Further, this agency has made no helpful studies concerning the density of rail traffic along major rail routes and between major points in order to determine the extent to which many areas can support rail competition. Likewise there have been no independent and across-the-board studies made by the Commission of the impact of diversion of traffic at major interchange points resulting from mergers. In addition, the Commission is without adequate information for the determination of the effects of truck and water carrier competition over specific routes and between major points, in order to test fully the allegations of the merging roads that they are suffering from competition from other modes of transport.

Most important, is the admission by the Commission that it has no details as to what groups actually control railroad companies and the actual influence exerted upon present systems, and to be exerted upon proposed systems, by commercial banks, insurance companies, investment banks, and other financial and investor institutions. Except what by chance may be brought out in the hearings of each merger case, the Commission will not be aware of the true picture of financial overlay which may result if these gigantic mergers and consolidations are permitted to go forward.

Finally, the Commission rigidly adheres to a policy of considering each merger application on an isolated basis and renders its decision only on the particular facts developed within the separate proceeding. It has not adopted procedures to consider the merger's impact in relation to other proposed mergers in the region, or other possible mergers which might be effected to counter the strength of the combination being proposed. The Commission has so far refused to consolidate cases and make any broad determinations. It does not make independent investigations of its own, in order to develop its own appraisal of sound merger directions by which it can more sensibly test the mergers proposed. Consolidation of all merger proposals would appear to be fundamental at this stage in the eastern merger proceedings. Only by such consolidation, can we get, for the record, an adequate opportunity to examine the real economic imbalances between the proposed systems, the possible effects of traffic diversion, the discriminations to communities and areas, and most important, the long-range impact which a Pennsylvania-Central merger will have on transportation in the East. There is too much to be determined here to continue on with this piecemeal approach, basing each decision on a limited, and many times, untested, case.

The big carriers like the case by case approach, because they know that approval of the B. & O.-C. & O. merger will justify similar approval of the Norfolk & Western-Nickle Plate-Wabash combination. They also know and they know that the Commission knows, that the effective establishment of these new systems is conditioned upon the Commission's acceptance of the Pennsylvania-Central merger at best, a very questionable combination in the public interest. At the recent hearings before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, the chief executive officer of the Pennsylvania Railroad boldly admitted that these three eastern mergers were a package deal, and that we had to buy the Pennsylvania or nothing at all.

What kind of responsible planning is this? The only merger plan presented to the Commission for decision requires approval of the consolidation of the country's largest railroads. For this reason, I have urged that the Commission consolidate all petitions in the East, and issue a stay on the final decision of all pending merger cases, so that a realistic, unencumbered determination can be made on this Pennsylvania-Central amalgamation, and appropriate appeals taken upon that decision before any of the other mergers are allowed to go forward.

Third, it was hoped that the administration would vigorously cope with the serious inadequacies of the present law with respect to rail mergers and the inability of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give a sufficient and perceptive testing of this complicated problem.

On January 17 of this year, in my speech on the Senate floor, and also by special letter to the President of the United States, I called for the establishment of an executive commission composed of representatives from management, labor, the Government, and the public to begin without delay a thorough study of the rail merger problem and to make recommendations both to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to Congress with respect to the development of a national transportation merger policy. Some 2 months thereafter, in his transportation message to the Congress, President Kennedy specifically recognized the administration's responsibility to recommend more specific guidelines and procedures with respect to transportation mergers and he announced the formation of an interagency group composed only of administration officials to formulate general administration policies on mergers and to assist the Department of Justice in "developing a Government position" in merger cases before regulatory agencies. Although this type of organization was a far cry from my recommendation, I nevertheless supported it as a good first step in obtaining some objective and independent analyses of what was developing as a national domestic problem.

At the hearings of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly in early July, I learned that this group had met only twice since its formation, that its meetings were devoted substantially to procedure and organizational matters, and that except for the circulation of certain staff papers and memorandums among its members, there has been no real attempt to investigate and analyze the present transportation merger movement, in general, and the rapidly moving individual cases in particular. It appeared that the bulk of its staff work was done by a few employees of the various agencies and that there had been no substantial hearings or consultations conducted with interested parties. Over 6 months have now transpired since that interagency group was formed and it has yet to make any recommendations or any official announcement as to the particular work it has been doing or as to the information which it has obtained in its analysis of the rail merger problem. From what I have been able to learn, there is some type of final draft of a general criteria statement being circulated among its members. However, I was specifically informed yesterday that at no time has railway labor been given an opportunity for a hearing or consultation with all members of the group, or the chance to make a personal presentation of their position on these merger issues. One can only conclude that either the interagency

group needs considerably more time to analyze the problem before it or that it is not too serious about meeting the issues at hand. Either way this group, made up of members who I am informed have had very little experience in the transportation field, does not appear to be the type of organization best fitted for the responsibilities created by the crisis we have before us.

Also, I have learned that the Department of Commerce, which appears to be a basic source for furnishing information to the interagency group, has made no investigations, studies, reports, or analyses concerning existing competition along major routes and within areas of the country, the existing ownership, control, and influence by investors, banks and other financial interests over the railroads, or the interlocking directorates and interests between the railroads and other carriers, shippers, customers, banks, and institutions. No investigation has been made by the Department with respect to the effects of the reduction of freight and passenger service upon economic growth in the areas involved in these prospective mergers. In particular, the Department has not compiled any information on the operation of the various rate bureaus in order to assess the impact of these large mergers on the ability of independent action in ratemaking. In fact, it appears that the Department has made no substantial independent analysis of the rail merger problem whatsoever, but rather intends to rely on the opinions of interested parties and reports from outside institutions and writers.

Thus, at this late date, when Congress is only a few weeks away from adjournment, we have not yet received an assessment of this problem from the administration, nor any constructive legislation or policy recommendations for meeting the inadequacies and inabilities which obviously exist in the handling of the industry's reorganization proposals.

Fourth, the carriers themselves have come up with vast proposals for the combination of their trunklines which would seem to create great imbalances and inequities within the various regions served. In their helter-skelter search for attainable mergers satisfactory to owners and investors, they have inevitably been drawn to merging the strong with the strong, and to eliminating competition and creating regional monopolies. It is their own aggressive desires to reduce capacity rather than to increase competition and fulfill capacity which has brought them now into a questionable plan for reorganization.

In the Northwest, the proposed Northern Pacific-Great Northern-Burlington combine will be over four times larger than its nearest competitor in assets and over three times its size in operating income. In the Southeast, the prospective Seaboard-Atlantic Coastline merger will produce a system almost twice the size of its only substantial competitor and will result in a number of monopoly situations through the Southeastern States. The present intention of the Southern Pacific to acquire the Western Pacific as well as the Rock Island has most certainly raised many questions among the experts with respect to the imbalance of power in the Southwest.

However, the most far-reaching and, to me, the most inadequately planned proposal by the railroad industry, is the proposal to merge the New York Central with the Pennsylvania Rialroad. These two roads are in effect the two largest railroads in the United States. They have traditionally been powerful influences in the rate associations and in the trade associations, which to a large measure effectuate rail policy. They presently provide the largest share of the rail competition in the Central, Eastern, and Great Lakes regions of the country which area contains over 50 percent of the country's production and population. It is incredible to me and I am sure to those of you who have spent your careers in railroading, that of all the possible savings which could be derived, joint ownership and leasing and other methods which might have been effectuated by each of these carriers to improve their conditions, they would end up in urging a joinder of their properties creating such an imbalance of economic power in the railroad industry.

It should be noted that a combination of the Pennsylvania and the Central was not a part of Prof. William Ripley's draft plan for consolidations of the Nation's railroads under the 1920 Transportation Act, nor was it even suggested in the Commission's tentative or final plans under that act. The four-system plan of 1932 proposed by the eastern carriers specifically kept the Pennsylvania and the New York Central as separate competitive systems. Indeed, such a combination of giants was not even recommended by proponents of the Prince plan, which plan provided for two separate competitive systems in the East, one centered around the New York Central and another around the Pennsylvania.

Experts have testified before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly that a combination would have over 50 percent of the assets, trackage, operating revenue, employees, and slightly less than 50 percent of the carloads originated and terminated, and freight cars owned. It has been estimated that this merged company would be about twice the size of the next proposed system (C. & O.) and about three times the size of the third proposed system (Norfolk & Western, Nickel Plate, Wabash).

These percentages indicate a position of monopoly control over rail operations in the respective area. As stated by the experts, it would give the big company excessive power in the purchasing of railroad supplies, the influencing of rates throughout the Nation, and in effectuating rail transportation policy. There seems to be little doubt that such size and power would give the company a big advantage in its dealings with the Interstate Commerce Commission and with other branches of the Federal and State Governments which could be detrimental not only to other railroads but to alternative modes of transportation as well.

One of the more serious implications of the bringing together of the Nation's two largest carriers concerns the diversion of traffic to the favor of these companies at the major southern and western interchange points and at various other interchange points within the area served. The Pennsylvania and the New York Central carry a great percentage of freight traffic to the western gateways of Chicago, Peoria, and St. Louis, and to the southern gateways of Washington, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Over the years they have built up traditional relationships with the interchanging carriers. One such relationship which is well known is that between the Pennsylvania and the Santa Fe. By combining the Pennsylvania with the New York Central, a tremendous bargaining advantage at these interchange points can be used to swing a substantial amount of freight traffic away from competitive roads. Furthermore, the bringing together of the large and experienced staffs which over the years have handled freight solicitation and given this company a superior position over all other remaining carriers in its area, will put this giant company in a most advantageous competitive position. Already these companies have large freight offices in nearly every important city in the United States.

Finally, the Congress itself, perhaps assuming that the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board were adequately equipped to handle this stepped-up transportation merger movement and that the executive arm of the Government was prepared to assess the matter and make the necessary recommendations to Congress for straightening out any incapabilities and inequities which might exist in the process of such movement, has not yet undertaken any sufficient extensive study of the transportation merger problem. The Surface Transportation Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee recommended in 1958 that there should be an examination of Federal policy on the subject of the large-scale consolidations and mergers in the railroad industry. A draft report of a Special Study Group on Transportation Policy in the United States, known as the Doyle Report (Rept. No. 445, Senate print, 87th Cong., 1st sess., dated June 26, 1961), devoted some 40 out of 732 pages to a discussion of a history of rail mergers and rail merger policies and gave some broad suggestions for a new transportation policy dealing with rail consolidations. This was in no sense an adequate and perceptive investigation and analysis of the social and economic impacts of transportation mergers and consolidations being proposed today.

CONCLUSION

Now, in conclusion, let me say this: I am not opposed to railroad and airline mergers, as such. I recognize that there may be some types of mergers which will improve economies and services, and retain a healthy, competitive balance among systems. Mergers among small and medium lines, or small lines into the larger trunklines may be helpful. End to end mergers coupled with traffic protections might be acceptable. What I am concerned about are these giant consolidations among the Nation's largest trunkline carriers, which mergers tend toward monopoly throughout vast regions of our country.

The railroads claim mergers the size of the Pennsylvania and the New York Central are necessary to improve their earnings, but we have learned from our study of this problem that there are a number of effective ways, short of merger, that the larger railroads can help themselves toward financial improvement. They can reduce their capacity in areas which no longer support them and expand capacity in areas where growth is taking place. They can work out joint uses of trackage, repair shops, terminals, accounting procedures, and management responsibility. They can improve their management, conduct efficiency studies, reduce costs, and revamp working procedures. They can, under present law, adopt flexible competitive pricing methods to recapture for them profitable freight lost to other modes of transport. Thus, they should strive to help themselves.

There has never been a time when such a large measure of the Nation's rail properties have been involved in such a serious and dedicated intention to consolidate. It is my great fear that we are moving too fast without realizing the consequences, and that once this is done, there will be no undoing it. That is why I introduced S. 3097, the railroad merger moratorium bill, to give us breathing time and a chance for Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the administration to investigate thoroughly this proposed reorganization of our rail plant. This bill is not an absolute moratorium. It is a fair and reasonable piece of legislation. It seeks to prevent for a limited time merger approvals by the Commission involving a railroad of over $200 million in assets, not then in bankruptcy, where such merger would not substantially lessen competition and tend toward monopoly. Thus, it would permit many necessary and good mergers to go forward today.

Time is indeed necessary to determine whether we really want to tread the path to monopoly in the railroad industry. Time

is necessary to develop ways in which we can be absolutely certain the smaller and weaker railroads will be protected and improved by any merger plans accepted. Time is necessary for us to study the effect of these mergers on communities and areas of the country in terms of their long-range growth. The problem of the future of New England rail transportation is an example in this area.

All I am asking, and all I am intending, is that we have the time and opportunity to analyze these vast anticompetitive and, in many instances, monopolistic plans which are being put together by the industry.

S. 3097, the moratorium bill, has been reported favorably by the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly and is presently on the agenda of the Senate Judiciary Committee awaiting action. I urge you to support this bill with all the enthusiasm you can muster. The session is growing short, and we need to get that bill out for a vote. I am very pleased to find support increasing for the bill. Both the majority leader and the deputy majority leader of the Senate are cosponsors of the bill and are working for its passage.

Thus I urge you, and I want you to urge your friends, to stand behind this legislation, and work for it now so that Congress can become alerted, and so that we can have a strong and healthier private transportation system in this United States.

Thank you again, my friends, for allowing me this opportunity to associate with you and discuss what I consider one of the most important domestic issues of the day. This has been an important evening for all of us. I hope I have helped in a small way to make it so.

## The C. & N.W. Railway Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. E. Y. BERRY**
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have another long list of letters and telegrams this morning demanding action on the part of the administration in settling the C. & N.W. Railway strike. Mr. Speaker, I place a few of these in the RECORD because I think this is of national interest, not simply affecting the Midwestern States:

HURON, S. DAK.,
*September 22, 1962.*

Representative E. Y. BERRY,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

We have been encouraged by the action of President Kennedy in demanding the opposition arbitrate immediately. If an immediate settlement isn't made, the sugarbeet crop of 1962 in South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa can be written off as a total economic disaster to all concerned and such economic loss can seriously affect the future of the sugar industry in this State.

JAMES VALLEY BEET GROWERS ASSOCIATION,
DUANE BUCKLEY,
*Vice President.*

SIOUX CITY, IOWA,
*September 24, 1962.*

Congressman E. Y. BERRY,
*U.S. Congress,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

Vacationing and campaigning is wonderful for the President, but tied up railroad strike crops rotting in the fields are more important and vital to the Nation. Thanks for keeping the public informed on the New Frontier program.

KATHERINE V. FRANK.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
*September 22, 1962.*

Hon. E. Y. BERRY,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

The following wire sent today to Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, chairman, Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate and Hon OREN HARRIS, chairman, Committee on Commerce, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.: "Early settlement of C. & N.W. Railway strike and immediate resumption of service imperative to assure harvest by hundreds of South Dakota, Iowa, and Nebraska farmers of 150,000-ton sugarbeet crop solely dependent on C. & N.W. for shipment to Belle Fourche, S. Dak., sugar factory. Failure to provide cars and full service of railroad immediately will prove disastrous to farmers and sugar company if delay is followed by early freezing so frequent in that area. Similar situation said to prevail in other beet-growing areas served exclusively by C. & N.W. Continued failure of parties to agree on terms of arbitration after accepting President Kennedy's request to arbitrate issues involved in present strike indicates necessity that Congress enact legislation to prevent widespread public injury by strikes resulting from deadlocks by requiring that all parties be bound by decisions of emergency factfinding boards."

D. W. LOVE,
*Executive Vice President and General Manager, Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.*

BELLE FOURCHE, S. DAK.,
*September 21, 1962.*

Hon. E. Y. BERRY,
*Washington, D.C.:*

We have been encouraged by the action of President Kennedy in requesting the opposing sides immediately submit the arbitrations but the strikes continue and every day the sugarbeet situation becomes more critical. A few weeks more of talk and negotiations and South Dakota, Iowa, and Nebraska sugarbeet growers can write off their 1962 sugarbeet crop. Such an economic loss can materially effect the future of the sugarbeet industry in the three States.

KEN ANDERSON,
*President,*
*Black Hills Sugarbeet Growers.*

## Soviet Propaganda About the U–2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BARRY GOLDWATER**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, at the time when our U–2 supposedly was shot down over Russia, I expressed great dissatisfaction about the way in which the affair was handled. I continue to feel that the way it was put to the American people and to the world was a propaganda mistake on our part.

Mr. Bill Henry writes very enlighteningly on this subject in the Los Angeles Times, with a dateline from Las Vegas, where he was attending the Air Force Association convention last week. I think my colleagues should read this column, so I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BY THE WAY—DO YOU WINCE AT MENTION OF U–2?

(By Bill Henry)

LAS VEGAS.—Everybody talks about propaganda, especially the Soviet variety. Have you ever tested yourself? What's your reaction when somebody brings up the subject of the U–2? Do you blush a little and stir uneasily as if they'd mentioned the no-good uncle who robbed the bank? If so, you're a sucker for the Kremlin's line. There are even people up here at the Air Force Association and Defense Orientation Conference meetings who are inclined to lower their voices and glance uneasily around the room when the U–2 is mentioned—as, indeed, it is, because of recent Russian and Red Chinese yelps that they've been spied upon. The U–2 seems to be a little like a gal with a shady reputation. Everybody wants to hear all the gossip about her and wouldn't miss the chance to see her. But nobody wants to take the responsibility of being caught with her. Actually, of course, that isn't entirely true. The Lockheed people, who are well represented at the big space age show, are mighty proud of the U–2 as all Americans ought to be. The wide-winged plane is one of the most astonishing products of the air age—in every way. Nearly 10 years old, the U–2's performance still hasn't been equalled, much less surpassed. The very idea of proposing to build such a plane was a fantastic bit of pioneering. When Kelly Johnson, Lockheed's vice president in charge of advanced development projects, thought up the idea and proposed it to the Air Force they not only turned it down but officially informed him that he was nuts. No plane could be built, they said, to develop such speed and carry such loads at the utterly implausible height of 80,000 feet. Later, they wanted it and Kelly turned out his first hand-built model in a fantastically short 8 months.

IT'S STILL A VERY USEFUL ASSET

The U–2 has been in ill repute through guilt-by-association. Nobody seems to think of it as an amazingly successful aerial development which, even now, supplies us with enormously valuable information about weather, radiation, fallout and no end of other scientific subjects. Everybody remembers the headlines when Francis Gary Powers was downed and Nikita Khrushchev built it into a great world event by using it as an excuse to call off a summit conference. Our own news people unwittingly aided "Nikky's" cause by calling the U–2 a "spy plane" and a "snooper plane." The actual fact is that without the information gleaned by the U–2 we would still be almost totally in the dark about Soviet air and missile bases. In the dozens of flights over Russia we gained an enormous amount of information, not to mention a complete mapping of a great part of the Communist empire. What we are learning nowadays from our latest photographic satellites becomes more intelligible because of the basic knowledge supplied us by the U–2.

THERE'S NOTHING PASSÉ ABOUT IT

When the big air show comes to an end tomorrow with a spectacular firepower display at a nearby base, nothing would please the spectators more than a good look at a U–2, even though, on the ground, its vast droopy wings give it the appearance of an exhausted carrier pigeon. Nevadans have a claim of sorts on the U–2 success. It was to a strip at Watertown, Nev.—see if you can find it on a map—that Kelly Johnson surreptitiously trucked the first U–2 to assemble and test-fly it. It is a superb technical development, produced so far ahead of its time that even today, many years after it was

proposed and built, it is absolutely unique in its great capacity for usefulness. It offers one great and good reason why our enemies would like to shame us into not continuing to fly it.

## Soil and Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the California Farmer, of September 15, 1962, contained the following editorial by Jack Pickett on the subject of soil and water conservation districts:

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING: WE BELIEVE
(By Jack Pickett)

One of our subscribers wrote us to say she was canceling her subscription and went on to say that she thought this editor hated the State of California and hated his country because he was so critical of both.

Lady, we love this country and State with a consuming passion. We all have differing ideas of what is best for our country. Personally, we put the country way above political party. In fact, to our observation, the two political parties have sort of swirled together into an indiscriminate blob. The main idea of both seems to be to outpromise the other to obtain votes.

For this reason we still think the individual is much more important than the party. To this you might add that the type of people that our leaders surround themselves with is also of great importance.

Yes, we think this country is the greatest and we saw some of the others during the war. This State is the greatest and has a remarkable virility. We are admittedly biased in favor of agriculture and, as our father before us said, we are proud of our enemies and we have dedicated a great deal of time and research developing our prejudices.

Some people say, "Don't discuss politics or religion." Unfortunately, religion has got itself immersed in politics and politics has immersed each and every one of us right up to our necks.

If organized labor confiscates part of their members' dues for the purpose of electing politicians and influencing legislation, and businessmen abstain from political action for fear of losing a customer, who will end up owning the legislative halls?

We will fight for our country, for our State, and for agriculture, and we will criticize any and all political parties that wander away from the ideals that made this country great.

SOIL CONSERVATION IS REACHING AGAIN

In the past we have referred to the propaganda outfit called the National Association of Soil & Water Conservation Districts. All this outfit does is try to figure out new ways that the Soil Conservation Districts can, first, get more Federal funds; second, get more powers; and, third, encroach on or absorb other Federal and State agencies and their functions.

Their newsletter of August 14 is beating the drums for new responsibilities. They say they are restless under the limited power of just attending to soil erosion and the conservation of soil and water resources.

Now, get a load of what they want in the way of new responsibilities: We use their own words. "These responsibilities include not only watershed development and the upstream share of the flood prevention job, but farm forest development and marketing of farm forest products, the development of recreational facilities on farm and ranch lands where such facilities are physically and commercially desirable, adjustments in land-use in accordance with physical and economic needs, rural and community development programs designed to fortify the local economic base and relieve rural underdevelopment, water resource and river basin development, conservation and resource development activities on public lands, and the enhancement of fish and wildlife resources."

Now isn't that a modest demand? What they are saying is, "Let us take over the main functions of the Army Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, State, and Federal forestry services, fish and game, etc."

The truth of the matter is that if an impartial board of honest men were called in to make an appraisal of the present effectiveness and value of the entire soil conservation set-up they would recommend that the entire deal be abolished and that a few functions that they do perform be absorbed by other more efficient agencies already in the field.

DUPLICATION AD INFINITUM

This National Association of Soil & Water Conservation Districts keeps us all stirred up with their tactics. Never did an organization work harder at self-perpetuation and expansion.

In their August 21 newsletter, they are trying to make a point but in our estimation they defeat their own purpose. We all know they want to greatly expand the soil conservation districts' activities in the field of soil and moisture conservation. Trying to get more money, they make quite a point of the increased appropriations of other Government agencies in this same field. We don't know how this affects you, but to our mind it just drives home with tremendous force the duplicating services and overlapping services of a great number of Government bureaus.

Take a look at these budget figures of five Government agencies for this same service:

| | 1962 estimated | 1963 appropriated |
|---|---|---|
| Bureau of Land Management: Soil and moisture conservation | $6,413,530 | $10,074,200 |
| Bureau of Indian Affairs: Soil and moisture conservation | 5,166,692 | 5,577,000 |
| National Park Service: Soil and moisture conservation | 106,540 | 200,000 |
| Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife: Soil and moisture conservation | 208,000 | 700,000 |
| Forest Service: Forest land management | 127,641,000 | 130,400,000 |

## Wiley Program for Improved Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the conservation, best management, and utilization and possible replenishment of our soil, water, and natural resources is a major challenge confronting the Nation.

In a weekend address over Wisconsin radio stations, I was privileged to review fundamental principles of what I believe to be a sound conservation program. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the address and a supplemental statement on conservation.

There being no objection, the excerpts and supplemental statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY OUTLINES 11-POINT CONSERVATION PROGRAM

(Excerpts of address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, over Wisconsin radio stations during weekend of September 22 and 23, 1962)

For the future, Wisconsin, and the Nation, will require ever-greater resources. According to predictions, this will include: By 1980, we will need twice our current utilization of water now totaling 300 billion gallons of water a day; timber requirements, too, are expected to double in the next 40 years; preserving a fertile, productive soil to feed an ever-growing population.

In Wisconsin, fortunately, we are blessed with a rich natural, heritage, including: A beautiful, scenic outdoors; a bountiful water supply; a fertile, productive soil, and great forest lands.

For the years ahead, however, we must assure not only enough, but good use of our natural resources. The goals to shoot for, and which I have fought for, include:

1. Generally improving soil, water, and forest conservation programs.

2. Further expanding the Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wis. (of tremendous value to wood products industries, and now providing over 50,000 jobs and a billion dollars in income, annually).

3. Guarding against pollution of Wisconsin's lakes and streams.

What else should be done?

4. Expanding watershed projects (in Wisconsin, a leading State, for example, plans for 33 projects are underway; of these, 18 have been approved for planning, and 11, covering almost 500,000 acres, have been approved for operation under the small watershed program).

5. Improving flood-control programs.

6. The Congress, too, should approve the Wiley-sponsored legislation creating the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in Wisconsin (now getting favorable consideration). The Reserve would serve not only to protect Wisconsin's unique formations of the glacier age but also valuable outdoor areas of scenic, geological, and historical significance; and, as well, create more tourist attractions.

7. In addition, we need to guard against threats to Wisconsin's water resources (for example: The Chicago water steal, still pending before a special master, would threaten to lower water levels, not only of Lake Michigan, but all the Great Lakes).

8. Improve and further expand fish and wildlife habitat programs.

9. Improve and extend highway, including primary and secondary roads, and access roadways to all of Wisconsin, including the northland.

10. Expand airports to provide better air access to all of Wisconsin.

11. Enactment of Senate-passed bill S. 3117, to provide $50 billion for assistance to States in expanding outdoor recreational programs.

All of which I have voted for and shall continue to fight for.

WISCONSIN'S CONSERVATION NEEDS OF THE FUTURE

Over the years, Wisconsin has had a remarkably good record in conservation; however, there is still real work to be done.

According to the "Inventory of Soil and Water Conservation Needs," recently completed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and cooperating State agencies, for example: More than 60 percent of the agricultural land in Wisconsin still needs conservation treatment of some kind; of the State's 12 million acres of cultivated cropland, 7½ million acres need soil and water conservation measures. Erosion is the dominant problem on 53 percent of the cropland needing treatment; excess water on 27 percent; and other unfavorable soil conditions on 20 percent; establishment of new grass is needed on 1,186,000 acres of pasture, including land to be shifted to this use by 1975—more than one-half million acres of existing pasture needs improvement of cover; of nearly 14 million acres of privately owned forest and woodland, 8½ million acres needs conservation treatment—this includes establishment of new stands on 5 million acres, and stand improvement on 3¼ million acres.

In creating a more effective conservation program, the challenge, of course, is not just to preserve, but to better utilize our resources: For the needs, and enjoyment, of our people; for industry and the economy; and to serve our children, and children's children of the future.

In accomplishing many of these objectives, I can be of special service now that I have been appointed by Vice President JOHNSON to the National Forest Reservation Commission.

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SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT ON CONSERVATION

As Senator of Wisconsin—a State with an outstanding record in conservation—I would like to review my other efforts—and goals—in establishing a more effective conservation program in Wisconsin:

Introduction of legislation to provide Wisconsin a fair share of funds annually apportioned under the Pittman-Robinson Act for wildlife restoration and management projects.

A more effective antilamprey program to prevent further killing off of lake trout—of great importance to Wisconsin's commercial fisheries.

Cosponsorship of legislation to establish a program for making saline, or brackish water suitable for industrial, agricultural, and human consumption purposes.

Supported acceleration of onfarm soil and water conservation practices.

Expanding public education on the need for conservation of natural resources.

Improvement of the Necadah National Wildlife Refuge and the Horicon National Wildlife Refuge.

Improvement of and expansion of fishery management programs.

Expanding research studies on weather forecasting to minimize losses from unwarned-of storms.

Improvement of our national forest, including the Nicolet and Chequamegon Forests.

Expansion of our highway program to provide better access to more communities.

Supported passage of the 1962 Outdoor Recreational Act: (1) To carry out operations of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation; and (2) authorizing the appropriation of $50 million for aid to States in developing outdoor recreational programs; and support of additional funds for forest antidisease research.

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TWELVE-PRONGED ATTACK ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WISCONSIN

In Wisconsin, particularly the northland, there are extremely serious economic problems.

Tragically, a great many communities have been hard hit—for example, by the closing of the Montreal Mine—resulting in loss of jobs, diminished income, lower living standards and generally, a very bad economic situation.

Recently, I urged the Area Redevelopment Administration to provide "crash" economic assistance.

In response, Mr. William L. Batt, Administrator of the area redevelopment program, stated that "within limitations of personnel and funds, work was (a) underway in a few areas of Wisconsin; and (b) the administration is developing more task force teams."

Because the situation is critical in northern Wisconsin, however, I have urged high priority for efforts to develop not only immediate—but long-range—programs for improving the economy. This includes creation of task forces for exploration of the following possibilities:

1. Survey, and discuss with local labor, business, and civic leaders, problems—and economic potentials—to determine the best way to break out of the economic doldrums.

2. Explore the possibility of channeling more Government contracts—particularly defense—to these hard-hit communities. Under present procurement policies, contracting, unwisely, is shifting away from Wisconsin and the Midwest.

3. Promoting greater use of Wisconsin ports for shipping, both by Uncle Sam and private enterprise and by so doing, increase trade and commerce, creating more jobs, business, and industrial activities and economic progress.

4. Expand efforts to attract new industries in these communities blessed with wonderful environment, plenty of manpower, ample water supplies, and other resources.

5. Development of tourist attractions projects to promote greater tourism (now one of our State's largest industries).

6. Develop facilities for winter sports to make Wisconsin an all-year-round tourist mecca.

7. Tackle the problems confronting fishermen in Bayfield, and other communities, now prohibited from taking lake trout (because of the diminished supply resulting from lampray killoffs).

8. Extension of better roadways into the northland to bring tourists, fishermen, hunters, and vacationers, and to promote trade and commerce.

9. Exploration for development of new, wood-using industries to utilize the growing surplus of uncut timber (of which about 50 percent of the present annual harvest is now going to waste in the woods).

10. Expanded research for beneficiation of low-grade iron ore, of which there are tremendous reservoirs in Wisconsin. The goal would be to find a way to economically process this ore and thus make it more competitive on the market.

11. Take a new, hard look at imports now damaging domestic mining with the object of recommending changes in import policy.

12. Provide all possible economic assistance, including distribution of surplus foodstuffs, to enable the good folks of the north land to stay on the land they love—until a new, dynamic, economic program can be set up there to brighten the future.

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## Who's in Charge Here?—Not Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a recent issue of the New York Times magazine carried an article on the subject of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. It is entitled "Who's in Charge Here?—Not Women."

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times magazine, Sept. 2, 1962]

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?—NOT WOMEN: SPACE-AGE WOMEN, SAYS A WOMAN, ARE STILL IN THE 19TH CENTURY

(By Lee Graham)

(NOTE.—Lee Graham is the author of "If You Are a Woman," and conducts weekly TV and radio interviews on stations WUHF and WNYC.)

There has been a tendency in recent years to picture the American woman—at home and abroad—as a domineering mom who exploits the male, destroys his masculinity and reduces him to a quivering Milquetoast. This image is a serious distortion of reality.

The truth is that women may have been considered emancipated when the 19th amendment gave them the vote in 1920, but in various areas— particularly the economic, political, and legal ones—they are still second-class citizens; in the middle of the 20th century, women are subject to prejudices that smack of the 19th century.

The fact that women are still far from emancipated is accented by recent moves to remedy the situation, among them these:

Item: President Kennedy has found it necessary to order Federal departments and agencies not to practice discrimination against women in Government career service.

Item: Congress has before it legislation embodying the principle of equal pay for equal work by women employed by firms engaged in interstate commerce.

Item: The President has established a Commission on the Status of Women.

The last is a particularly interesting development. The 26-member commission, under the chairmanship of Eleanor Roosevelt, plans to report its findings by October 1, 1963. This is the first time so broad a study of discrimination against women has been undertaken. Racial prejudice has certainly received its share of analysis, but, as Dr. Goodwin Watson, Columbia University psychologist, has pointed out, "Prejudice on the basis of sex has been largely neglected up to now."

In the areas of discrimination, some of the worst examples lie in the area of employment. Although job-evaluation techniques may indicate that a woman is doing the same work as a man, surveys made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics reveal a double wage standard in every business, industry, and profession.

A 1961 Board of Labor Statistics study of wages in a number of Chicago firms, for example, showed that women assemblers earned $1.68 an hour; men, $2.07. Women machine-tool operators were paid $1.71; men earned $2.05. In retailing, women averaged $1.15 an hour; men averaged $1.74. In a special review of basic take-home-pay guarantees, women could count on $35 a week; men, on $45.

Women do no better in offices and banks. The National Office Management Association asked 1,900 companies in the United States and Canada whether they had different wage scales for men and women, and more than one-third answered "Yes." When a large number of banks were asked the same question, it was found that women tellers, with the identical background and experience as their male counterparts, were paid anywhere from $5.50 to $31 a week less.

Nor is life any easier for the woman who is professionally trained. Her annual salary, Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg said in a recent talk, is about $1,000 less than that of a comparably trained man.

If women worked only for mink coats and new cars, this inequity might not be dam-

aging. But, contrary to many popular conceptions, almost all women work from economic need. Esther Peterson, an Assistant Secretary of Labor, and the Commission's Executive Vice Chairman, is adamant on this point.

"I get so annoyed," she recently said, "when I still hear people say that women work for pin money. Are the 4,600,000 women who are the sole support of their families working for pin money? Are the 7,500,000 mothers whose husbands earn less than $3,000 a year working for pin money? Are the widowed, separated and single women who have no man to support them working for pin money? Our studies show that these women work for the same reasons that men do—to support themselves and make life brighter for their dependents."

Another form of discrimination against working women is the denial of equal opportunity. True, the latest census report lists women in almost every imaginable job classification—including welders, stonemasons and nuclear physicists. But the number of women in top-level jobs is astonishingly small, even in traditionally feminine fields like library work and teaching. How many women, for example, are college presidents? Or, for that matter, how many women fashion designers, interior decorators or chefs are their own bosses?

In some fields, a woman has virtually no chance at all. The New York Stock Exchange will not allow one on its floor—even if she is a partner in a member firm. Seventy-five percent of bank employees are women; yet they are refused admission to three of the four graduate banking schools run by bankers' associations and, with rare exceptions, are barred from interviewing loan applicants or handling trusts.

Insurance companies are also reluctant to promote women to top positions. Clients, they explain, have no confidence in a woman's suggestions or decisions. Law firms relegate whatever aspiring Portias they do employ to routine cases. And most churches refuse to allow a woman in their pulpits.

In contrast, women receive a much warmer welcome from newspapers, magazines, advertising agencies and department stores. They also face no perceptible bias in the creative arts. But in the performing arts it is otherwise. Thus, for example, while they are irreplacable as coloraturas, ballerinas and ingenues, women find careers as instrumental soloists, just about impossible (a Morini or a Novaes is a great exception).

Women's progress in politics is also not very encouraging, in spite of the fact that they now hold 52 percent of the votes. The Senate has 2 women members; the House of Representatives, 17. There are close to 350 women in State legislatures, as well as some assorted mayors and judges. But the figures are hardly impressive, considering that women outnumber men in the United States by 100 to 97.

Nor have women made much headway in obtaining appointive offices. To be sure, there is Mrs. Peterson in the Labor Department—not to mention the White House physician, Dr. Janet Travell. But despite these appointments and the President's order on women in the career service, many women, including Mrs. Roosevelt, feel that he still has not named enough of their sex to policymaking posts. He is the first Chief Executive since Herbert Hoover, for example, not to have had a woman in a full-fledged Cabinet position.

One politican who has done well by women is Mayor Wagner. He has put three into important jobs in New York City's administration. They are Hortense Gabel, head of the rent and rehabilitation administration; Anna Kross, commissioner of correction, and Dr. Leona Baumgartner, commissioner of health. All seem to be doing effective work.

But in the area of legal rights, the American woman has yet to achieve full equality. The Constitution contains nothing that would bar her from any elective or appointive office, yet there are three States which refuse her the right to serve as a juror. There are also certain States where she can't open a business of her own without her spouse's written permission. But for a truly feudal abrogation of her rights, the place to go is Texas. There the law provides: if a husband catches his wife in an act of adultery, his killing of the lover is justifiable homicide; if a wife slays her husband's mistress in the same circumstances, she may be tried for murder.

Do such inequities have a valid basis? Or are they simply vestiges of outmoded custom?

Members of the valid-basis school—all men—seem to subscribe to the Aristotelian theory of "the natural defectiveness of the female nature." In their opinion, women are biologically and intellectually inferior, and thus deserve the second-rate treatment they receive.

One misogynist, after admitting that there were, of course, exceptions, said, "Women don't get top jobs because they don't know how to handle men. They have no initiative, no sense of responsibility. They spend more time fixing their hair and making personal phone calls than they do on their work. Their main interest is in landing a husband who'll give them babies and a split-level house. Or if they are already married, just when you've finished training them, they suddenly ask for maternity leave. Any sailor will tell you that a woman on board ship brings hard luck. Well, that's how I feel about women around an office."

An insurance company vice president, who agreed that women are their own worst enemies, explained his viewpoint this way: "The gals who want to get ahead generally make one of two mistakes—both fatal to their progress. Either they try to use their sex appeal with utter ruthlessness. Or they go to the other extreme, and try to act like men. Too feminine or not feminine enough I don't know which is worse, but we have no room for either type. The ironic part of it is that they claim they can't compete with us. That's nonsense. It's we who can't compete with them."

The president of an advertising agency had another objection. "I hire quite a few women because I like the different approach they bring to many of our problems," he said. "But there are numerous instances where their sex is an obstacle. How can I send a gal account executive to lunch with a male client who's an alcoholic? If she's married—or even if she isn't—how can I ask her to spend the night on the town with a married man whose business we want? Or how can I take her to stag meetings where the air is full of cigar smoke and offcolor stories? No woman can successfully deal on equal terms with men—and remain a woman. If she tries it, she becomes ridiculous or repulsive."

The head of an employment agency was more terse in explaining why women don't get top jobs. "It's been my experience," he said, "that nobody wants a woman boss. Men certainly don't—and women don't, either."

Bernice Fitz-Gibbon, one woman who has become a successful executive as an advertising and public relations consultant, retorts: "I have yet to meet the man or woman who wouldn't work for a woman as long as it meant getting ahead. This is just another one of those myths invented by men to keep women from occupying that corner office with 'vice president' on the door."

As for the masculine complaint that career women lose their femininity, Miss Fitz-Gibbon says: "Just another one of the fictions that the typists and salesgirls will lose their jealousy. If you'll notice, they don't worry that the typists and salesgirls lose their femininity. Their concern doesn't begin to show until a woman is on the way up."

Mrs. Roosevelt finds another element in men's discrimination against women. "Although I've seen enormous progress in the field of women's rights," she said during a recent interview in her office overlooking the United Nations Building, "we can't deny that inequality of opportunity between the sexes still exists. Why is this so, in light of the fact that women can compete favorably with men except in areas of physical limitation? It's simply a matter of tradition—a tradition that dies hard."

Ruth Tomlinson, vice president of the International Federation of Business & Professional Women, reiterated Mrs. Roosevelt's views, rather more bluntly. During a recent visit here from England, she said: "Men have been giving women second-class treatment for years—and have managed to get away with it. Naturally, they're reluctant to give it up now. What master relinquishes a slave voluntarily? This is too much to ask even from the noblest of men. We'd better settle this through legislation."

Did any of the women interviewed believe that women were to blame for some of the discrimination against them? Yes. Mrs. Roosevelt felt that women's greatest drawback was their oversensitivity to criticism. Miss Tomlinson conceded that women could improve themselves by organizing their time better. And Dr. Baumgartner suggested that women take the chips off their shoulder and concentrate on doing the best possible job.

Nevertheless, it will need more than a course in self-improvement to sweep away the barriers to full partnership for women in the United States. As Miss Tomlinson said, it will take legislation.

The Commission on the Status of Women has already given full support to what many insist is the most important legislation in this field right now: The equal-pay bills passed last month by the House and pending in the Senate.

If a Federal equal-pay law is not enacted, the United States will fall behind many countries which have written the principle into their constitutions. These countries include Canada, Mexico, all the nations of the European Common Market, and the majority of the nations in Africa and Southeast Asia.

Nor is the idea a totally new one in the United States. Twenty-two States already have equal-pay laws, although they are of varying types and limited application. The Federal Civil Service Commission adopted the standard of equal pay for equal work as far back as 1923. So have many State and local civil-service bodies. The National War Labor Board insisted upon it during World War II. Both political parties wrote it into their national platforms in 1960. And labor and management alike have endorsed it as a desirable principle.

The most ardent supporters of a Federal equal-pay law do not claim it would be the entire answer to bias against women. But, in the opinion of Mrs. Peterson, "We will be satisfied with specific bills for specific ills. This is the ill which we think should have top priority. Once this is accomplished, other solutions to other problems will inevitably follow."

Many influential women's organizations, however, will not settle for less than an equal-rights amendment to the Constitution. One has been introduced at every session of Congress since 1920. It reads, in part, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be abridged or denied by the United States or any State or account of sex." Still, it does not guarantee equal pay for equal work. And those who oppose it point out that it would remove certain laws which, in Mrs.

Roosevelt's opinion, "rightfully discriminate in favor of women."

Although equal pay has been the most urgent issue before the Commission so far, the group will cover much ground before it turns in its report. It will complete an investigation of the employment practices of the Federal Government as well as those of companies holding Federal contracts. It will study Federal and State labor laws dealing with such matters as hours, night work, and wages to see if they are benefiting women as originally intended.

It will analyze the effects of Federal social insurance and tax laws on the net income of women. (Why should a man be allowed to deduct the salary of his secretary, for example, while a working mother can't deduct the expense of a babysitter?) It will probe the differences in the legal treatment of men and women. And it will propose new and expanded services for working wives and mothers.

But broad as it is, the Commission's mandate from President Kennedy does not include the newest area of discrimination against women—outer space. The House Space Committee has been investigating complaints from a number of women that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has chosen only men as astronauts—in spite of the fact that some doctors say women are better adapted to the stresses of orbital flight. Women, it seems, must continue to fight bias even in the space age.

## Teddy's Victory Hurts Entire Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial entitled "Teddy's Victory Hurts Entire Nation," written by Charles L. Dancey, in the Peoria Journal Star, Thursday, September 20, 1962, be reprinted in its entirety in the Appendix of the RECORD:

TEDDY'S VICTORY HURTS ENTIRE NATION

As expected, Teddy Kennedy has won the Democratic nomination for Senator in the State of Massachusetts, and we can only hope that this is as far as that farce goes.

This race (in which in the words of a top Democrat quoted in the Journal Star by Inez Robb some weeks ago "the Kennedy's own the stables, the racetrack * * * etc.") has demonstrated that there is still a lot more of "Honey Fitz" about the Kennedy clan than there is of Harvard.

The demonstration has gone a long way toward reversing the long love affair between John Kennedy and the Washington press corps, has sickened responsible Democratic leaders, and is on its way toward making the United States look pretty silly in much of the world.

This is becoming a comic-opera affair of the sort that used to be more typical of Nicaragua, or the Dominican Republic than of American democracy.

Even Mayor Daley doesn't have a brother as police commissioner, another as an alderman, and a brother-in-law in charge of poor relief in the city of Chicago.

Yet, that is pretty much the situation developing in the Government of this great leader of the world—the United States of America.

There is a lot more to "good taste" than having Pablo Casals to a publicized concert, or inviting Nobel Prize winners to tea, and that has nothing whatever to do with knowing which fork to pick up at dinner.

The tremors have been visible for some time; the sick, queasy, unease of many of the professional folk and many of the political folk on both sides of the aisle who are close observers of the Washington scene.

Teddy's inevitable victory merely tells these folks, including many nervous top Democrats, that their fears were well grounded.

When it comes to things that really matter, obviously the Kennedy clan will do things that would make Harry Truman retch.

The whole thing now provokes a reaction less of fire or anger than one of sadness and a slight nausea.

At a time when American democracy is on trial in the eyes of much of the world, and trying to prove itself as "the way," we are making ourselves look cheap, gauche, and silly.

A little thing, but a big one—and very, very sad.

C. L. DANCEY.

## Lack of Fiscal Responsibility in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, following is the text of a letter I sent to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare this past Friday, which is self-explanatory in its message:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., September 21, 1962.*

Hon. ANTHONY J. CELEBREEZE,
*Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CELEBREEZE: I always have and shall continue to oppose waste in spending the taxpayers' dollar.

Yesterday a 520-word telegram over your signature was sent to each Member of the House. Friends with legal training assure me this is a direct violation of the United States Code which prohibits the use of appropriated funds by departments of the executive branch for influencing legislation.

Western Union stated at straight-wire rates the cost would have been $12,800. Apparently someone in your Department did some quick footwork, anticipating unfavorable reaction, which the transaction deserved. It appears Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public will now pick up the apparently illegal check for $3,562 to send the message 2 blocks.

Recent figures indicate a great increase in personnel in your Department. It would appear it would not have been too difficult to find a mimeograph operator and a messenger, which probably would have saved at least $3,500.

Isn't it about time those in high positions of trust display some sense of fiscal sanity? Here it was completely lacking.

I shall await your justification of this expenditure.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE A. GOODLING,
*Member of Congress.*

## Need for Inspiration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, in our preoccupation with programs and policies, armament and aerospace, we often forget the power of compelling ideas to alter events. Today, as all mankind searches for survival in the shadows of rockets, missiles and satellites, the need for guidance flowing from new inspiration has never been more apparent.

The following excerpt from an address delivered at the 1962 commencement exercises of Hamilton College, located in my congressional district, challenges us to reassess freedom's heritage and to think and act anew. Its author is a distinguished American, Dean Alfange, a former resident of my community of Utica, N.Y., and a famous alumnus of Hamilton College. I am confident all who read his remarks will find them a source of deep inspiration.

[From the Utica (N.Y.) Observer Dispatch, June 15, 1962]

NEED FOR INSPIRATION

(By Dean Alfange)

Forty years have wrought a new world, but not a better one. We have more security but less liberty; more income but less character; more leisure but less dignity. I fear we are living in the twilight of freedom; and our colleges and universities cannot escape their share of responsibility.

About 10 years ago I wrote a small piece on what it means to be an American, which was published in Reader's Digest:

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon—if I can.

"I seek opportunity—not security.

"I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled and dulled by having the State look after me.

"I want to take the calculated risk; to dream and to build, to fail and to succeed.

"I refuse to barter incentive for a dole.

"I prefer the challenges of life to the guaranteed existence, the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopia.

"I will not trade freedom for beneficence nor my dignity for a handout.

"I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat.

"It is my heritage to stand erect, proud, and unafraid, to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creations and to face the world boldly and say, this I have done with the help of God.

"All this is what it means to be an American."

That breed of American is fast disappearing. Instead, we are developing a softer bellied breed that keeps on wanting more and more for less and less. Labor leaders want a 30-hour week with still more benefits and featherbedding to boot. Politicians want votes and play it safe by keeping quiet. And thus the downward slide continues unabated.

The stock market collapse reflects, I think, a worldwide awareness that American leadership is in a great decline on all fronts—moral, political, and economic.

This crisis of leadership, this melancholy trend away from solid values, will not be arrested by the fanatics of the John Birch Society nor by the equally fuzzy-minded

left. Nor will it be arrested overnight by anyone. But the place to start is here. The colleges and universities provide the last clear chance to reverse this trend.

We need inspirational leaders and inspirational ideas much more than nuclear weapons or flights to the moon. The Roman Empire was not destroyed by force of arms. It was destroyed by a simple idea put forward by a young Jew. The young Jew was Christ and His idea simply: "Thou shalt not kill," "Love thy neighbor." The physical power of Rome was destroyed by the spiritual power of that idea.

The need, therefore, is not alone for generals, admirals and scientists. The need is greater still for men who can inspire; yes, even for dreamers and poets.

The preservation of our peace and the survival of our heritage are both conditioned upon the restoration of America's mental health. That is our greatest present challenge; and we hope this little college will contribute its share in meeting that challenge.

## College Academic Facilities and Student Assistance Act

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the distinguished lady from Oregon, Congresswoman GREEN, for her able and capable presentation of the conference report on H.R. 8900 this morning.

I would also like to thank her on behalf of the young people of this Nation for the long hours she has spent on the conference committee working on the legislation before us today.

I am supporting this conference report because I feel it is one more step in the development of educational facilities to meet the tremendous needs of this century in the field of education.

The president of one of my larger junior colleges in the State of Washington at Vancouver, the distinguished Dr. Dwight C. Baird, wired urging support of this conference report. He says:

This could give some much needed help to the growth and development of the community college program in Washington. I hope you will give it your support.

May I say at this point that the State of Washington is one of the outstanding junior college States in the Nation. These institutions of higher learning have met a genuine need, for our universities and colleges are unbelievably crowded, and the present junior colleges in my district—four of them I may add—have made possible higher education for many young people who otherwise would have no opportunity for it.

The distinguished president of our great University of Washington in Seattle, Dr. Charles E. Odegaard, has also wired and said:

Urge your support for H.R. 8900 conference report bill since universities desperately need assistance now.

Mr. Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education, which has member institutions and organizations of colleges, universities, and junior colleges, both public and private, representing more than 90 percent of the student enrollment in the United States, urged passage of the bill.

In contrast, I was deeply disturbed that the National Education Association and its member State associations found occasion to oppose the conference report. This is a saddening stiuation, for at this time in American history, education should not be divisive, but positive and approaching the complete problem as unified Americans seeking better solutions to their needs.

I had the privilege of serving as chairman in the education committee in the Washington State legislature for many years and was a member of the committee through my 22 years of legislative service. I am not a teacher, but a parent, interested citizen and taxpayer and it is from this background in the field of education legislation that I say I am genuinely sorry that education must speak group against group.

Our junior colleges, our universities, and the young people who attend them, genuinely need our assistance in programing now. The vitality of democracy lies in educated citizenship, for the challenge of tomorrow is great. We must waste none of our youth and the resources of youth. Each person, poor or rich, who has the ability to contribute to the understanding and development of America's future, must be given the tools to meet the national challenge.

The distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon has reviewed for you the history of higher education, and she has reviewed for you title II which broadens the opportunity of young people who have no other opportunity to attend a college other than through this title.

I am happy to associate myself with the members of this conference committee who worked long and hard to develop the best possible bill and I am particularly happy to join with the distinguished lady from Oregon in her support.

## Amending Section 305, Communications Act of 1934

SPEECH
OF
## HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11732) to amend section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, I am perfectly aware of the good intentions of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER]. We all know of his intense interest in matters of national security. We all know how intensely interested every Member of this House is in our security. I do not think any one of us can say that we hold any particular claim to the interest of our country more so than anyone else. I am not an expert on foreign affairs, I must acknowledge that fact. I wish I knew more about our foreign affairs. I wish I had the answer to many of these questions with reference to Cuba, Berlin, Russia, and the Communists. However, the Constitution of the United States says the President of the United States has that responsibility. For 8 years prior to 1961 we had a man as President who should have been, because of his experience as President of the United States, who should have known since he was involved and experienced with communism, with Berlin and with the foreign relations of this country. He gave 8 years of his life and we had a lot of confidence in him. That was President Eisenhower. During the time he was President he would do the best he could.

Mr. Chairman, we have got to depend upon the President of the United States to lead and direct these affairs. I am as interested as the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER], and all of us in this House are interested, in the President and anyone else giving us as great assurance as he or they can as to what is best for us. We want to contribute to it in the best way we can, and we want and strive for it as an objective.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I yield to the distinguished Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. I want to call attention of my colleagues to the fact that the amendment says "the approval of two committees of Congress." We pass a law, and we say that it cannot be operable unless two committees of Congress approve it. My friend, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] talks about a review. A review is different than approval. There is a serious constitutional question involved here, but outside of that, after the amendment is adopted, then there has to be not a review but approval. If the gentleman provided for 30 days' consideration, as is provided in other matters as, for instance, the Armed Services in the selling of real estate, and so forth, that is an entirely different proposition. This bypasses the House and the Senate, and bypasses the Speaker. I am not expressing any pride. A review is one thing, but vesting in a committee the power to disapprove, why, that is an entirely different thing and is an unwise precedent, in my opinion, for the Congress to institute.

Mr. HARRIS. The Speaker is eminently correct, and I was going to come to that. That is precisely what I was leading up to. I thank the Speaker for calling it to the attention of the Members of the House much better than I.

I do think it is a dangerous precedent to give committees of the House the power and authority to override a decision of the President of the United States.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I would suggest to the distinguished Speaker, with whom I do not particularly relish taking issue, that in the first place the amendment is limited to Communists and Communist-dominated nations insofar as congressional approval through committees of specific licenses is concerned. Much of this information has to be confidential in nature and could not be made available to the House in the first place. The committee is the best place to make the decision without dealing in this area with confidential information. May I say, in the second place, that I am sure the distinguished Speaker is fully familiar with precedent with respect to committee approval and I specifically cite to the distinguished Speaker the Jones-Cramer Public Buildings Act in which the Public Works Committee of the House and the Senate were given specific authorization and authority with regard to public buildings, without the Congress acting in any of them. There is precedent for it. As a matter of fact, I understand there is precedent in the trade bill for exactly the same thing.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, I insist that it would be a very bad thing to do. I hope the Committee will not approve the amendment.

## Amending Section 305, Communications Act of 1934

SPEECH
OF
## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11732) to amend section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am rather impressed with all of these amendments that spring from lack of confidence. There is nothing that I know of that we can put in legislation that is going to instill confidence in anybody. I was quite impressed with the gentleman from South Carolina, who was very honest and confessed that if it were left in the hands of the President he would not complain too much about it, but he had the idea that it would be handled by the State Department and he had no confidence in the State Department. In legislation we cannot put confidence in the hearts of anybody. It cannot be done.

The objection that I have to this amendment is that it brings something entirely new into our foreign relations. So far as I know, there is no precedent at all for the Members of the House, certainly not our committee, to have anything to do with foreign relations. If it were limited to approval by the Senate, considering that this relationship between the two countries was in the form of a treaty and should have to be approved by the Senate then I would say there was certainly some precedent, some reason for it. But in its present form I certainly could not approve the amendment, and I hope the House turns it down.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNGER. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. On the latter point—and I, of course, have great confidence in the gentleman's opinion—the gentleman takes the position that the bill under consideration, involving foreign affairs, but coming out of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, should not have been here in the first place. All I am asking is that the gentleman's committee and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate be given a chance to look at what was done for the very reason the gentleman indicates; and that is that this involves foreign affairs and the Foreign Affairs Committee should have the opportunity to consider it. That is the very purpose of the amendment. It amends the action of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in bringing it out in the first place.

Mr. YOUNGER. The gentleman also realizes that even on the matter of treaties the House Committee on Foreign Affairs does not approve. It is the Senate that has that power of approval. These reciprocal agreements might very well be considered in the form of treaties. I did not have the assignment of this bill to our committee. As it develops, perhaps it would have been better if it had not been given to our committee. Nevertheless it came to our committee and we did the best we could with it. It is something that the administration needs, something they are very anxious to have, and so far as I am concerned I am perfectly willing to give it to them.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNGER. I yield gladly to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman seems to indicate that the House has nothing whatever to do with foreign policy, or at least very little. I am under the impression that we will be called on next week to pass a resolution dealing with Cuba. That certainly puts the House of Representatives very deeply into the matter of foreign policy and foreign affairs.

Mr. YOUNGER. That is a guideline and this bill is a guideline. In this bill we have definitely set forth guidelines and instructions and legislative history as to what we believe the President ought to do.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield further, only yesterday we did something more than set up guidelines and yardsticks, in the foreign give-away bill. We dealt with transportation of various materials to Cuba, did we not, and we put definite prohibitions and restrictions into the bill.

Mr. YOUNGER. That is correct; and we can do that. But it has to be approved by the Senate, also.

## Constitutional Rights of American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, recently, Nelson Jose, chairman, National Congress of American Indians Constitutional Rights Committee, submitted a report relating to the constitutional rights of American Indians. I consider it to be a very good summary and commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the report printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

(By Nelson Jose)

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

This is the preamble to the Constitution of this country, and in its various sections are spelled out the powers of Government and the rights of the people.

Article 14 of the Constitution states: "All persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of laws."

As Indians, we sometimes overlook the fact that we, too, are all people, and that we, too, have constitutional rights. Even before the adoption of the Constitution, it was recognized that Indians possessed full rights to the lands they occupied, "until that right should be extinguished by the United States with their consent." Indians were regarded as having a semi-independent position, not as states or nations or sovereign groups, but as a separate people with the power of regulating their internal and social relations.

Neither are many Indians aware of the fact that the American Constitution developed from that of the Iroquois confederacy. Both Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson admitted that they had drawn upon the governmental philosophy of these Indian groups in charting the plan for the new United States of America.

It remained for Andrew Jackson to deviate from this recognition of Indians as independent people, and it was his influence that brought about the declaration by Congress in 1871 that Indians were no longer in this state of independence.

As we all know, for many years the Indian was then a ward of the Government, held on restricted reservations and under the complete domination of the Government. True, wardship came about through the request of Indians themselves, who wished protection from avaricious men. But Indians today are no longer wards. The protecting hand of the Government does not apply to the person of any Indian, and in ever-lessen-

ing degree—in some areas, in no degree—does it apply to his property other than trustee land.

Through the Citizenship Act of 1924, all Indians became citizens of this country. Some Indians, long before, had been granted citizenship by treaty stipulations, by special acts of Congress, or through military service. Now, in 1924, every Indian automatically became a citizen, vested with the same rights, privileges, and responsibilities of any other person of this status yet having certain special services and privileges by virtue of their Indian blood.

These special services include health care, education, and property administration as well as the exemption of taxes on property held in trust.

It can be argued that it is not possible to confer citizenship upon a people native to the country and indigenous to the soil and this would be a point well taken. However, strange indeed are the ways and the laws of the white men and like it or not, under the law we are citizens and we have these constitutional rights: We have freedom to come and go, to any place and in any way we see fit. We have the freedom to choice—to leave or to stay upon our reservations which are the lands belonging to us. There are no limitations placed upon us.

We have the rights to vote in every State on the same basis as others, whether or not we live on a reservation. In recent months, the matter of reservation voting was challenged in New Mexico when a defeated candidate for the office of Lieutenant Governor contended that ballots cast by Navajos were illegal. He said that Indians were not subject to State laws, that reservation residence was not legal residence in the State, and that violations of the New Mexico elections code could not be prevented or punished on Indian lands. The State supreme court upheld the voting rights of reservation Indians with a qualifying statement. The complexities of the Indian situation under law at times can snarl up logic and it is true that the rights to vote on a reservation which is not under the control of State laws gives Indians an advantage over other people. The Constitution does not sanction that any group have larger rights than others. Voting, however, is a privilege and a responsibility in which we should all participate. Ballots are our modern weapons and the means by which we can put men and women in office who will help us.

We have the rights to religious freedom. Many of us still observe our native forms of worship, while many of us have accepted the white man's road to God. This is our inherent right, as it is the right of others, to determine for ourselves how and in what way we shall worship.

We have the rights to freedom of speech, to hold our own meetings, to say and write what we think and to express our opinions. We have this privilege, but we do not exercise it enough. Our voices should be heard and our thoughts given wings. Often our silence confuses people, for silence can be interpreted as acceptance. We must ask for what we want, and ask and ask again, without being discouraged if there is no answer or the answer is no. This is also true for others—the continued asking, however, will make its own impact.

We have the same protections of the due processes of law as anyone else. We may hire our own lawyers and except in the case of certain major crimes, our tribal courts are recognized by both State and Federal Governments as the authority on reservations.

We are entitled to the same social security benefits as other Americans, and this includes special assistance for the aged, the orphaned, the physically and mentally handicapped, and those in need of temporary relief. Indians who go into the cities and become eligible under the laws of residency are entitled to these welfare assistances. This is not often understood and charitable groups will deny Indians aid in the belief that this is taken care of by the Federal Government. It must be understood by Indians, however, who can then protect themselves when such rights are endangered.

We are free to work anywhere and in any type of occupation without restriction. We even have special hiring and retention rights in Federal positions which service Indians.

We are entitled to all extension services provided by the Government to any citizen. Our farmers can secure the advice of agricultural experts along with other farmers; our women can have homemaker services; our youngsters can form 4–H Clubs.

Our veterans are entitled to participate in any of the programs open to veterans.

We are a free people, Americans all under one flag and united in love of country. Freedom is not given to us, or to anyone else. It is ours. To borrow the title of a wonderful book, we are "Born Free," and as we made use of our freedom and call upon our constitutional rights, we strengthen ourselves and our country. As Indian citizens, we need to grow in our understanding of what we can do with this freedom we have.

## The People Must Continue To Elect Their Public Servants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been reliably informed that there is a move on foot to do away with the election of county Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation boards at a duly called election of their neighbors, and instead, to have the county boards appointed by the respective State ASC boards, or from national headquarters, which does not appeal to me at all.

During the past 30 years the present system has evolved a broad foundation of experience and know-how.

An overwhelming majority of these committeemen and their office staffs are devoted and dedicated citizens who hold a trust and an obligation—and who are elected annually by their neighbors to see that the ASC farm program is carried out in a fair American way to conform with the intent of the Congress.

An interlying strength of this system is the decentralization of operations at the point of contact with our farmers. Authority and responsibility for the administration of the program is placed on the individual county committees. Final application of farm programs is under the constant check of fieldmen, program reviewers, internal auditors and investigators. Further, day-to-day supervision and direction of all farm programs is divided up among 50 State committees—each responsible for the direction of county offices in its State.

The more than 3,000 elected ASC county committees in the 50 States constitute a vital element in the applied legislation. They stand as an example of that American principle wherein we elect all our public servants to insure that the rules are applied in a fair and impartial manner. Generally speaking, these farmer-citizen committees have served in the high tradition of civic endeavor.

This public service would cost millions more annually if these services had been delegated to paid full-time employees.

The farmer committee system is truly American and should be recognized as such and continued as such.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say in conclusion, that I would hope to see the time come and soon, when politics is kept out of our ASC farmer committee system completely. However, even though I know there are relatively few cases where committees have been unduly influenced, such as the one in Texas recently, still I do not want to see the farmer-elected committee system traded for a State or Federal dictatorship.

## Revolt and Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Wall Street Journal of September 19.

There is no question that the people are becoming increasingly doubtful as to the value of the foreign aid program to the strength and welfare of the United States. The editorial makes this very clear in the closing sentence where the proposal is made to make "fundamental reforms."

The time for these reforms is now:

REVOLT AND REFORM

All this year the attacks on foreign aid, in both Houses of Congress, have been unusually severe. And this week a House Appropriations subcommittee voted to cut $1.5 billion out of the President's request for new funds of more than $4.7 billion in the current fiscal year.

Whatever figure Congress finally agrees on, it is significant that this is the largest reduction in foreign aid the group has ever proposed and that the full Appropriations Committee yesterday went along with most of the cut. Combined with the other congressional criticisms of the program, these actions show that many lawmakers are not only rebelling against the incessant and excessive spending; they are also beginning to sense their responsibility for forcing foreign-aid reforms.

Certainly the administration, for its part, has shown little disposition to effect basic reforms. It has rearranged the bureaucratic machinery, an exercise which has been performed over and over in the past. It has devised the Alliance for Progress subsidies for Latin America, an undertaking which is already demonstrating that it was both ill conceived and oversold.

What has been left undone is the formulation of an effective aid policy. Our military aid is so heavy because our diplomacy has failed to persuade others to do more in their own defense. As for economic aid, the basic trouble is not waste, flagrant though that often is. The roots of the trouble, we think it should be clear by now, are these: The assistance has gone on so long on such

an indiscriminate basis that it has largely lost its leverage in influencing world affairs to our advantage. In many cases it promotes the wrong things, like socialism, and thus does more harm than good to the receiving nation. And the yearly totals of foreign aid contribute both to the Federal budget deficits and to the deficits in our international payments.

Congress alone cannot remedy all these ills. But if it will follow through with substantial reductions in aid money, it can powerfully underscore the need for fundamental reform.

## A Refreshing Touch to Serious Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Arthur Hoppe, who always gives a refreshing touch to serious problems, has published the following four columns in the San Francisco Chronicle on September 10, September 12, September 20, and September 21:

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Sept. 10, 1962]

OUR MAN HOPPE: A BIG LOCOMOTIVE FOR MR. KENNEDY

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Mr. Kennedy now wishes authority to call up 150,000 reservists. As I understand it, he desperately requires this authority because the Russians don't have 12,000 troops in Cuba. I think Mr. Kennedy's making a mistake. I think he ought to seize the railroads.

As every expert will tell you, Mr. Kennedy doesn't want the reservists to fight anybody. He just wants them to look as though they'd fight anybody. This is called diplomatic pressure. Last time, Mr. Kennedy called up 155,000 reservists to show Mr. Khrushchev he would stand firm on Berlin. It was very effective. Only it was a little hard on the reservists.

While it is true that "They also serve who stand and pick up cigarette butts," the reservists were never convinced. They looked on themselves as trained fighting men. So they fought 7 days a week with their officers, their Congressmen, and their wives. And if they have to go through that again—

Well, you can see why I think Mr. Kennedy ought to seize the railroads instead. Railroads have a practical, utilitarian use. You can do something with railroads.

Seizing railroads, of course, is a fine American tradition. Whenever the Nation is in dire straits, any President worth his salt immediately seizes the railroads. I have never been quite clear as to what he does with them after he seizes them, but there is no question such action would panic the Kremlin.

"Ho-hum," says Mr. Khrushchev, picking up his Pravda as Mrs. K. serves him his morning platter of scrambled shashlik, "I suppose that Kennedy has called up the reservists again to—Madre de Dios. He has seized the railroads. He must mean business. Quick, rush another 100,000 nonexistent troops to Cuba to reinforce the 12,000 we don't have there already."

If seizing the roadroads should, somehow, fail to prove Mr. Kennedy is standing firm, there are many other steps he could take. For example, he could really show Mr. Khrushchev a thing or two by imposing gasoline rationing. This is very warlike.

He might also quicken the Nation's pulse by reimposing the World War II 35-mile-per-hour limit on the highways in order to speed our effort up, or down. New tires could be confiscated and while we have plenty of sugar at the moment, patriotic housewives might all volunteer to appear at their supermarkets at a given hour daily so that we could have long lines of housewives waiting to buy sugar.

I'm sure we each would be willing to cut down on our cigarettes, if we couldn't get any. And the American Tobacco Co. could loyally send Lucky Strike green off to war again. No, wait a minute. Lucky Strike green never came back from the last one. In fact, Lucky Strike is the only gold star cigarette we've got. Well, we all must make sacrifices.

That's the key to the whole thing. The longer we live in a warfare state, the more sacrifices we will be asked to make. And the more authority we will delegate to our leaders.

But I'm willing to do my part. In return for a self-addressed, anonymous envelope, I will be glad to send you six black-market pork chops. Stock up before the hoarders get them.

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[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Sept. 12, 1962]

OUR MAN HOPPE: A RECIPE FOR PEACE—GARNISH WITH NUTS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

I guess we all agree no more gracious hostess has ever graced our White House than Mrs. Kennedy. She's attractive, charming, and knows her salad forks. I'm glad she's won the highest accolade any gracious hostess can get.

"No other First Lady in history has sparked such international interest and enthusiasm," enthusiastically writes Miss Clementine Paddleford, "in food."

Miss Paddleford's enthusiasm stems, presumably, from her position as food editor of This Week magazine. But gracious food is very important these days. Because, says Miss Paddleford, "Mrs. Kennedy believes that the dinner table, whether at the White House or your house, can do its part in bringing 'peace in our time.'"

It just goes to show you. All along I've secretly felt that Mrs. Kennedy, while most charming, might devote a little less attention to the gracious affairs of the evening and a little more to the grievous affairs of the day. And it turns out she's really been struggling to bring us peace in our time. I feel awful.

The way Mrs. Kennedy is bringing peace in our time, says Miss Paddleford, is by serving delicacies from 60 different nations. Which is unquestionably a new path to peace. Through the esophagus.

Miss Paddleford, despite the Secret Service, has ferreted her way into the White House recipe files and has reproduced the specific plans for five of Mrs. Kennedy's weapons for peace. Like "broiled fish a la Grecque."

Because of national security, Miss Paddleford is necessarily vague as to exactly how achieve peace. I assume she must pore over Mrs. Kennedy employs these weapons to her husband's diplomatic dispatches before announcing the evening's menu.

"So Austrian elements are flirting with the Comintern," she will say thoughtfully. "Never mind, I shall cement Austro-American bonds tonight with a strawberry mousse." Or: "Aha, De Gaulle is threatening NATO, is he? Hand me a quarter cup of leek strips and I shall brew some consumme Julienne."

Of course, the question arises: What is Mr. Kennedy doing for peace in our time? I hate to tell you. Miss Paddleford dismisses his contribution in a paragraph. "Mr. Kennedy," she says, "is a soup drinker." And New England fish chowder, at that.

But there are hints of worse. For Mrs. Kennedy's two strong right arms are her French chef and Italian assistant chef. Absolutely indispensable to world peace. And "perhaps," says Miss Paddleford darkly, "these two ambitious chefs find their most difficult task is to reproduce the Kennedy's favorite New England dishes, and do it without a continental flair."

Not even a pinch of tarragon in the New England boiled dinner? It could drive a French chef mad. And who in the White House demands New England boiled dinners? Not Mrs. Kennedy. But let us not talk of impeachment. Yet.

So hats off to Mrs. Kennedy for sparking the world's interest in food. It's about time as two-thirds of the world goes to bed hungry each night. Some say this is due to a shortage of bread.

Nonsense. Let them, I say, eat strawberry mousse.

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[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Sept. 20, 1962]

OUR MAN HOPPE: IN DEFENSE OF MR. KENNEDY

(By Arthur Hoppe)

I thing it's terribly unfair. Every supposedly respectable newspaper in the country is dragging up this 20-year-old unsubstantiated scandal involving Mr. Kennedy and this beautiful girl, Miss Durie Malcolm.

And what's most unfair is that all the papers are saying the same thing: headlines claiming Mr. Kennedy and Miss Malcolm weren't even legally married at the time. No wonder it's a scandal.

You'd thing just one single responsible publication would rush to Mr. Kennedy's defense and say they were, too, lawfully and morally wed. But, no sir. Every paper flatly says the same thing; there isn't one shred of evidence to show the young couple was ever joined in legal matrimony.

But let's be fair, is there one shred of evidence to show they weren't? If I were Mr. Kennedy, I'd sue.

Even so, you have to hand it to the American press. The whole unsubstantiated-scandal illustrates how polished we of the American press have become in the difficult technique of not publishing unsubstantiated scandal.

As you know, no respectable newspaper ever publishes unsubstantiated scandal It merely publishes the news that other newspapers are publishing unsubstantiated scandal. So every paper worth its ad rate avoids like the plague breaking a scandal. Because this would be yellow journalism.

The current case is a highwater mark in this technique. Because nobody broke this scandal. Absolutely nobody. True, the Washington Post was first on the streets. But it wasn't breaking the story. Heaven forbid. It was merely breaking the story that Newsweek was going to break the story.

So then, of course, the national wire services broke the story that the Washington Post had broken the story that Newsweek was going to break the story. And I assume Newsweek's story will be about how the wire services broke the story that the Post broke the story that Newsweek—and so on. So you certainly can't accuse the American press of yellow journalism.

But, yellow or not, the technique is most unfair to Mr. Kennedy. Whom can he sue? Besides, I think Mr. Kennedy is not only an honest and intelligent President, but a very respectable one, these days. So what if he weren't married way back then? What's that got to do with Cuba or Berlin?

The scandal's bound to hurt his image, though, I just wish I could come up with an old marriage certificate to help him out.

The best I can do for his image, I suppose, is to start a new television series called "Just Plain John's Other Wife." This will—hold it. Some people are saying I've got the whole thing backwards. And it would only be a scandal if he and Miss Malcolm were married at the time. But it wouldn't be a scandal if they weren't. Nonsense.

Our national morality hasn't dipped that low. Besides, this would mean the American press had broken the story that the Post had broken the story that Newsweek was going to break the story that there wasn't any story. And that's ridiculous.

Why, that would be like me breaking the story denying that Senator GOLDWATER beats his wife. Come to thing of it, next time he's in town I'll have to ask him.

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[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Sept. 21, 1962]

OUR MAN HOPPE: TED PROVES ANYBODY CAN BE A SENATOR

(By Arthur Hoppe)

"Have you seen the Massachusetts election results?" cried my good friend, Assistant District Attorney Edward M. (Teddy) Pichsvwck, bursting in and sailing his snap-brimmed fedora ceilingward in glee.

"So what did they prove," I said. "They prove," he said, hand over heart, "that in this great land of opportunity, even a humble assistant district attorney can aspire to the grandeur of the U.S. Senate."

"True," I said. "I knew that sooner or later," said Mr. Pichsvwck nobly, "the voters would recognize how well qualified for national and international leadership being an assistant district attorney makes you. And now that they have recognized this in Massachusetts, I am confident they will recognize it here. I feel it is thus my duty to toss my hat in the ring."

Mr. Pichsvwck was going to run for Senator? "No," he said, modestly lowering his eyes, "I am merely going to run for Governor. I wish to begin in a small way."

"Most commendable," I said. "Actually," he said, "I have been closely following the Massachusetts campaign and I have more than enough qualifications for the U.S. Senate."

Such as? "Take my lengthy career in public service. I have been an assistant district attorney a full 16 months, which is 45 days longer than necessary. True, my advanced years might be a handicap as I am already 32, or 2 years over age. But I'm sure the voters can be convinced this is evidence of increasing maturity rather than encroaching senility, don't you?"

"Without question," I said. But had Mr. Pichsvwck cheated in school? "Cheat" he snapped indignantly. "I not only cribbed my way to a solid D-minus average, but I ran the biggest hashish ring in Greater Pomona. While only a sophomore. And speak not about prissy touch football. I dragged down $50 a week as stanch right tackle for the Pismo Beach Junior Chamber Panthers, for 6 long years."

I said I had to admit he appeared highly qualified as to experience, morality, intelligence and vigor. But in politics you have to be practical. What about his family? "That's where I really shine," said Mr. Pichsvwck, really shining. "I've got 14 brothers and 11 sisters. All of them registered voters."

"Grand," I said. But what did his oldest brother do? "Jack? Jack's got a good, solid job and nobody hates him. He drives a garbage truck. And, best, everybody in the family is already employed."

If anything, I said, Mr. Pichsvwck appeared overly qualified, even for the Senate. "Confidentially," he said, "in view of the Massachusetts returns, I am thinking of skipping all those minor posts and stepping directly into the Presidency. As soon as there is an opening."

Confidentially, in view of the Massachusetts returns, he should live so long.

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## G.O.P. Team Needs Slogan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, politics sometimes cause us a great deal of anguish and pain especially when as Democrats we are bombarded regularly and mightily by the traditional Republican press.

There are other times, rare, admittedly, but nevertheless welcomed, when a good solid Republic press will revolt at the ineptness and silliness of their own chosen people.

Such an incident took place in the City of Brotherly Love, that ancient citadel of Republicanism now the great fortress of democracy spelled with a capital D.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, long a friend of the Republican cause, no matter how forlorn its cause may have been, has finally and publicly admitted that the Grand Old Party has reached a new low in political strategy.

Faithful Democratic workers can be forgiven for chuckling a little over their scrapple and eggs when they read the following feature story this morning, September 24.

This morning the sun shone brightly, the winds were fair, and the climate warmer and cheery. The old Inquirer had turned its guns away from city hall and let loose a barrage toward the Union League with its lone soldier; standing solitary guard with his plugged rifle.

Thanks for our good day, Mr. Inquirer, for the following faithful reporting:

GOP TEAM NEEDS SLOGAN

(By Harold J. Wiegand)

If you have been wondering how large numbers of Philadelphians will be induced to vote Republican instead of Democratic in the November election, the answer is simple:

They will be reminded that they are downtrodden.

This is the wonderful prescription for Republican success brought to Philadelphia by a traveling big city team sent here by the GOP National Committee.

Members of this team are supposed to be specialists on capturing the urban vote for the Republican Party. Their record has been none too good, but this has not kept them from hopping from city to city, happily telling local GOP workers how to repair their dented machines.

Thus, Edward Derwinsky, a member of the troupe, solemnly bade a gathering of Republican committeemen in the Bellevue-Stratford the other day to "invade Democratic areas and remind the people that they are downtrodden."

Some careless citizens may have forgotten that they are downtrodden. Others may never have known it. This is a defect, in the eyes of the GOP campaign experts, that should be remedied at once. It would be a terrible shame, and almost un-American, not to realize that somebody is making a doormat out of you.

Mr. Derwinsky, who hails from Chicago and is therefore qualified to tell Philadelphians what to do, is even prepared to cope with citizens who don't think they are oppressed at all and who don't want to be rescued by the Republican Party.

The thing to do, he told the local committeemen, is to blame everything on the Democrats.

If the voter is sore about the price of bread going up: blame the Democrats' farm program. If something irritates a voter about his local, State or Federal Governments: it has to be the fault of the Democrats; doesn't it?

The weather? The poor performance of the Phillies? Traffic tieups? An overdone steak? A ketchup bottle that won't pour? You're downtrodden, see? So vote for Scranton.

Now it must be admitted that Wilbur Hamilton and Billy Meehan, who run the rusty antique known as the Philadelphia Republican organization, are badly in need of all the help and advice they can get. Their unenviable task is to cut down the Democratic majority in Philadelphia to the point where the statewide election could be saved for Scranton. Judging from their past performances, this assignment would seem utterly beyond their capabilities.

If someone would come along with a magic slogan like "A chicken in every pot and a car in every garage" or "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," Wilbur and Billy would probably welcome him with open arms. They could hold torchlight parades, with transparencies showing a bull elephant on one side and maybe a picture of William McKinley on the other, and really drum up a hell-for-leather campaign in the Grand Old Party style.

They would probably try almost anything at this stage to gain Republican votes, short of resigning from the city committee and allowing more capable and more respected leadership to take over.

But to make the keynote of their campaign a call to all good Philadelphians to rise from their downtrodden state and vote Republican, as the national committee team has urged, is too fantastic even for them to accept.

Can you imagine a flag with legend "Don't tread on me!" draped over the headquarters of the Scranton-for-Governor campaign?

If this is the best the national committee can do to recapture the big cities for the GOP, it should disband its team of urban experts and send Mr. Derwinsky back to Chicago, where there are quite a lot of Democrats he can talk to.

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## The Massachusetts Primaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article appears in the National Review for October 2. The article points out in a humorous manner the tremendous change in the American people that has taken place in this 20th century. Oh, yes, we always loved a parade, but

now we must have our kings, our queens, our princes and our courtiers. Yes, indeed, there has been a great change—but is it progress?

The article follows:

THE MASSACHUSETTS PRIMARIES

Teddy Kennedy beat Ed McCormack 2 to 1 in the Democratic primary, and George Lodge beat Laurence Curtis. Only a pedant would quibble over the victors' qualifications. The big question these days is: Who has the name?

Nobody cares who cheated at college. Nobody blushes at public or private delinquencies. Nobody asks for proof of competence. Why, Maj. John Eisenhower is a cinch for Senator from Kansas the day he quits the brass and buys a quarter-acre of Abilene. Henry Cabot Lodge's little boy, any little Rockefeller, and John Fitzgerald Kennedy's little brothers, are all supremely qualified for public office ipso facto, a priori, in vacuo, ad aeternam, and ad nauseam—the name.

We want kings; we shall have kings. And queens, princes, courtiers. It has been otherwise here; once we showed some devotion to ideas, principles, law, substance, meaning, policy, direction, consequences. Voters aren't voting that way any more. Give 'em that big name, the glitter, give 'em their king. De Gaulle is France; Nkrumah is god; Kennedy is king. Castro, Sukarno, Nehru, Nasser, Khrushchev—it reads like the age of the giant ego. They are in, and that means they are all. And you better damn well get out of their way. Shut up, Roger Blough, and you there, Dr. Fred Annis: businessmen are sons of bitches; and doctors, fascists.

Okay. But there are 600 hundred men in Congress, and they can't all be kings, and they don't all want to be courtiers. That looks like our best chance to make a stand against monarchy, as the Fathers used to call it. Congressmen have pride, and we should not let them deny it.

## Remaking the Image of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in a recent issue of the Montgomery Advertiser and written by one of the most outstanding jurists of our times, Judge Walter B. Jones, one of the South's leading spokesmen:

OFF THE BENCH: REMAKING THE IMAGE OF AMERICA

(By Judge Walter B. Jones)

"Just Friends and Brave Enemies," is the title of a book published by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. The theme of the book is "Our Image Abroad." Attorney General Kennedy does not like our image abroad and he never will like it until we give up our Constitution, our customs, and our traditions and put our country on a level with the Congo and the Afro-Asian bloc. The Kennedy book plays up what he calls the "crucial question of civil rights." If you read his book, you will think that this is the only question in the world.

Kennedy visited several foreign countries earlier this year and he says that in all the countries visited he was asked "about the violation of civil rights in the United States." As a result of his brief tour abroad, and his conversations with a few crackpots in each country and listening to the question asked him, Kennedy comes up with the absurd prediction that America's position in the world will be affected by the way we treat "freedom riders or sit-ins or any others who are struggling for equality." Presumably he speaks for his brother, President Kennedy.

Continuing in the book, the Attorney General says that, "if major progress is not made in these purely domestic areas now and in the next decade, our world position will be seriously shaken." This Kennedy conclusion is strained, forced, and without any real facts to base it on.

The writer doubts seriously if many foreigners have ever heard of freedom riders, or racists who want to sit-in where they are not wanted. Of course, "freedom riders" is an unhappy use of the term. These rabble-rousers, white and Negroes, who seek to go into a community and stir up racial trouble are people who are not interested in any freedom ride, unless it be freedom on their part to violate and hold in utter contempt the laws and customs of the communities where they visit as troublemakers. Scores of the so-called freedom riders were paid so much a day by organizations at the North who wished to disturb racial relations in the South.

These people had no standing in their own community and all on earth they are is included in the term "rabble-rousers." As far as sit-ins are concerned, no person has the legal or moral right to go into a private place of business where he is not wanted, or where he is not invited, and where his presence is offensive.

Right-thinking people in America are nauseated and fed up with all the talk about what sort of image the United States presents to other nations of the world. Those who are always denouncing their home country and are worrying about the image we make to foreign nations might well turn their thoughts to other countries and the image they make for America. Of course, the only image the Afro-Asian countries and other countries have of the United States is the rich old uncle with millions and millions of dollars to be given to their country. These people want the world with a fence around it and Uncle Sam ceases to present a good image when he cuts off the flow of American dollars to foreign countries.

Foreign aid is based on the tragic idea that you can buy the friendships of foreign nations. Practically every country in the world is the beneficiary of the dollars of the American taxpayer. To list all of these countries would be to name 90 percent of the nations of the world.

Some of the people who would remake the image of America want us to change our way of life so that we might look well in the eyes of the savages in the Congo, brutes who hardly know what civilization is and who daily pass their time with murder, robbery, and rapine of white people. None of these Negroes in the Congo ever heard of civil rights.

So instead of the Kennedys, the Lyndon Johnsons, the Cellers, the Javits, the Humphreys, and others criticizing our country they might take a look at the rest of the world. I note that in the Congo about a year ago the Deputy Prime Minister ate his own grandchild. Maybe the Congo, instead of worrying about the American image could do something to improve its image. Take Liberia, into which country America has poured millions of dollars, they still sell their own people into slavery. They do not permit any white man to hold office or to own real estate in Liberia. Take Liechtenstein—this little principality has a bad image for people who believe in self-government because it is ruled by hereditary princes of the House of Liechtenstein and there is no real freedom there. Take Ghana—its image could be rebuilt. There is no freedom whatever there and to differ with the blacks who run the government is to either be sent into exile or kept in prison for years without a trial. Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia—certainly the United States should not try to pattern after them. Yugoslavia, like Russia, permits only one political party and they do not permit a free press.

So, when the people Attorney General Kennedy visited in West New Guinea in Jogjakarta, or Abidjan, or Montevideo criticized the United States and wanted us to remake our image to be like theirs, they just suggested that the United States be a big fool.

I wonder if these people who are so dissatisfied with the American Constitution and Government, the American people and the American way of life, could not find something good in America. What other country in the world enjoys the prosperity and the freedom that we have? Is not the right of free speech, the right of a free press, the right to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience, the right of trial by jury some kind of image that other countries might follow? Instead of remaking the image of America, Bobby Kennedy, the President, and others might do a little image, remaking beyond the United States, but that wouldn't get votes in the United States.

## Khrushchev's Enemies Inside Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very worthwhile article entitled "Khrushchev's Enemies Inside Russia," written by the Honorable Allen W. Dulles, former Director, Central Intelligence Agency, and published in This Week magazine of September 23, 1962.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KHRUSHCHEV'S ENEMIES INSIDE RUSSIA

(By Allen W. Dulles, former Director, Central Intelligence Agency)

(NOTE.—The man who knows the Kremlin's problems better than any other American tells how Russia is changing—from within.)

WASHINGTON.—I have come away from 10 years of intensive study of communism and all its works, a confirmed optimist. I believe that the Communist position is becoming more and more vulnerable.

I am not speaking now so much in a military sense, though certainly overall the free world has a military superiority.

I am speaking rather of the manifold vulnerabilities and weaknesses that the system is showing, of the fact that some of the steam has gone out of the early evangelical, fanatical drive of communism.

STALIN'S RECORD OF TERROR

And it is a tarnished thing. It can never really live down Stalin's record of terror. Khrushchev may talk of burying us. The facts are that he must not only bury Stalinism, but also his own association with the Stalinist terror.

He must try to bury the world's deepening realization that conditions of life under communism are below those which prevail generally in the free industrialized countries of the West.

He must try to bury the implications of the massive flight from communism which, despite walls and barriers, has been taking place over the years from Eastern Europe, Communist China and even from Cuba.

He must try to bury the fact that the Marxist theory of the inevitable and self-generated collapse of capitalism has been proved false; that the free society is everywhere exhibiting superior powers of self-regeneration, and that the dreariness of the Communist world is made more evident each passing day by contrast with the rising social, cultural and spiritual opportunities of our free society.

He must try to bury the fact that communism is running out of credible political issues; and that today the only expanding imperialism, the only still agressive colonialism, are those deployed under the Red flag.

My confidence in the future is also based on the increasing evidence from inside Russia that the revolution is failing to convert its grandsons—the rising educated generation, twice removed from Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

We know more about the true feelings of the people of Russia individually nowadays. Given a free and safe opportunity to do so, they will almost unfailingly demonstrate a basic friendliness toward us and toward the West generally. The regime has told them little that is truthful about life in America and in the West. But the educated Russian has learned enough in other ways to have the yearning to gain for himself some of the advantages—and not alone the material advantages—which he associates with the western way of life.

And, believe me, they do not want to take the eastern way. Their troubles with Communist China are not exclusively political. Individually and collectively, they haven't liked the Chinese Communists.

I grant that the Russian people themselves today have no direct say in the decisions of their Government. Nevertheless, it is my impression that there is slowly building up inside Russia a latent pressure for more freedom, for a fairer sharing of the produce of their labor than the system now allows. Life in the Communist world is drab compared to our own.

No one, I believe, is more sensitive to the readings of the public pulse than is Khrushchev himself. More than once he seems to have taken account of the people's temper, something Stalin rarely did. As an earthy example of this, when Khrushchev let Benny Goodman into Russia, it was not because he likes jazz music. He doesn't—but many of his people do.

HOLD HIM TO HIS CHALLENGE

And finally let us recall that Khrushchev claims that he wants a peaceful competition between communism and all its works and our Western civilization. But he dare not, in my judgment, risk any real confrontation between the two systems.

In any event let us steadily seek it. Let us hold him to his challenge. Let us do all we can to bring about an honest weighing of the value of the two systems. Let their economy be compared with ours, their culture with ours, their basic philosophy of life with ours, in every significant field of human endeavor.

I have no doubt as to the outcome.

These are certain of the conclusions I presented in an address to the American Bar Association at its 85th annual meeting at San Francisco. I'm glad to have this opportunity to present them also for the consideration of a wider audience. I trust they will help toward a better appreciation of where we and the Soviet Union stand today.

Recent Soviet accomplishments in space do not, in my opinion, affect these conclusions. The high competence of the Soviets in the field of science and technology has long been recognized, as well as their ability to put into orbit larger space vehicles than we can today. But far more important to world peace and security than the opening up of outer space would be for the Communists to open their closed society to the human freedoms we enjoy.

## Realistic Book

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Daily News editorially comments on Allen Drury's latest book, called "A Shade of Difference," which I hope to have the pleasure of reading as soon as possible.

In my opinion Allen Drury has proven he has the courage of his convictions. During the run of his play, "Advise and Consent," there was liberal pressure to have him change the script but he remained firm.

He writes with conviction and I commend the following editorial to all:

BETTER THAN "ADVISE AND CONSENT"

Three years ago, a longtime Washington newspaper correspondent published a smash-hit novel which many readers and critics considered one of the best pieces of major fiction ever written about the U.S. Government.

That book was "Advise and Consent," later turned into a successful Broadway play, and then into watered-down movie by Otto Preminger. It is now a pleasure to notify the readers that "Advise and Consent," in our opinion, has been outdone by the same author in a new novel published a few days ago.

The new arrival is "A Shade of Difference," by Allen Drury; Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y.; 603 pages, $6.95.

This is a sequel to "Advise and Consent," with many of the same characters proceeding a few miles farther down the roads of their respective lives and meeting with remarkable experiences on the way.

The principal characters are listed at the beginning—a convenience to the reader which, as we were saying in this space recently, we think ought to be a standard feature in all U.S. novels published from here on.

We believe "A Shade of Difference" is better written and even more dramatic than "Advise and Consent."

But the reason why we think the book is worth a column of news editorial space is that it deals with two important problems which face the American people today and promise to trouble them for some time to come.

UNITED NATIONS AND DESEGREGATION

The first of these is our membership in the United Nations, as affected by the recent entry into that organization of numerous small, half-busted, and extremely proud new nations.

The second is the problem of getting rid of race segregation in our own country with the least possible friction, violence, and injustice to both whites and Negroes.

Much of the action occurs at the U.N.'s big headquarters in East Midtown Manhattan.

As his story gallops along, Mr. Drury succeeds in showing the reader what a colossal bind the United States has got itself into as a leading member and principal bankroller of the U.N.

We're wide open there to insults, nose thumbings and shin kicks from every little pipsqueak nation that envies our wealth and power. What happens to us in that respect in "A Shade of Difference" shouldn't, to use the old World War II expression, happen to Hitler.

Mr. Drury doesn't try to force a solution of this problem on his readers. He merely states it, in full and from all angles and with great storytelling skill, for them to ponder.

He is equally astute in his analysis of the desegregation problem and all the extremely human hatreds, jealousies, loyalties and idealisms that are bound up with it.

In the course of the book, the reader comes to know intimately an admirable Negro Congressman, a contemptible professional Negro agitator, their opposite numbers on the white side of the integration argument, and, for good measure, an African native leader who is a combination of Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, and Jomo Kenyatta and then some.

THE LIBERALS WON'T LIKE IT

Here again, Drury shows no race prejudices that we can detect.

He spreads the desegregation challenge before his readers so interestingly that it is hard to lay the book down, and so illuminatingly that we believe any American who reads "A Shade of Difference" will be able to think more intelligently about racial matters from that time forward.

Our advice would be to pay no attention to a lot of liberal columnists and book reviewers who we expect will be tearing their curls out by the roots and trying to murder this book as soon as they find out what is in it.

"A Shade of Difference," like "Advise and Consent," walks all over a choice assortment of these people's pet corns, prejudices, and fixed ideas. Naturally they will detest it.

But for Americans who want to learn more about what makes their beloved country tick these days, we think "A Shade of Difference" is must reading.

## Educational Principles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of the House the article by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr. entitled "Education Principles." Mr. Reuter, research director of the American Federation of Teachers, is a conscientious student of the problems that face us in the field of education. It is my privilege from time to time to commend to my fellow colleagues and the audience of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD his articles which are constantly searching out new approaches and offering new solutions to the ever-increasing problems in education.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I therefore, am happy to include the following article which contains pertinent

suggestions toward the constructive answers for the needs of American education:

EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., research director, American Federation of Teachers)

The American Congress will soon adjourn and a new one will convene next January. Many educational issues have yet to be solved and current Members of Congress should be thinking in terms of how they can improve the educational product in the years ahead.

Below are four educational principles that should be carefully considered by the Congress in 1963, and the current Members may well want to consider these during the intervening period, on a personal basis:

I. IMPROVEMENT OF PERSONNEL RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOLS

My study entitled "Personnel Relations for Teachers," indicates many of the issues here. Under conclusions, the following 26 points are recommended:

1. A single salary schedule unencumbered by merit rating and based upon training and experience for all teachers.
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. Collective bargaining agreement between the teachers and the board of education of the school district.
4. An extracurricular activities program optional for teachers, but providing extra pay for those teachers who so elect.
5. Severance pay of at least 5 days for each year of service.
6. Duty-free lunch period of at least 30 minutes.
7. Health insurance program financed by the board of education of the school district.
8. Sabbatical leave granted, at least, every 7th year of service, for study, travel, or other professional reasons, with no less than full pay for a half school year or half pay for an academic year, and with full right to return to the same position without penalty of any kind.
9. Sick leave of at least 10 days a year, accumulative to 200 days.
10. Military leave provision for teachers.
11. Maternity leave provision for teachers.
12. Paid personal leave annually of at least 5 days.
13. Sundry leave provision for teachers.
14. Right of teachers to seek public office and to obtain adequate leave for such service.
15. Retirement programs that provide for Federal social security for teachers desiring these benefits.
16. Observation of all State and National holidays.
17. No loyalty oath requirement.
18. Tenure laws (job security) for all teachers.
19. A school day not to exceed 5½ hours of assigned duties.
20. Complete freedom for teachers in selecting their professional organizations.
21. Application blanks free of reference to professional organizations, race, or religion.
22. Textbook evaluation in consultation with teachers.
23. Certification based on general education and a bachelor's degree from an accredited college or university.
24. Maximum class size of 25 students.
25. Curriculum that provides a well-rounded education, with constant revision in accordance with the previously established collective bargaining agreement.
26. Continuation of the traditional school year.

II. IMPROVEMENT OF FISCAL POLICIES OF THE SCHOOLS

My study entitled "Fiscal Independence versus Fiscal Dependence of School Boards," indicates many of the issues here. Under conclusions, the following 9 points are recommended:

1. School districts should be fiscally independent.
2. School districts should operate under general laws.
3. School districts should cooperate with the city and/or county government in using their facilities for school elections.
4. School boards should have the authority to levy the school tax and this action should not be subject to review by other officials.
5. School boards should have the authority to issue school bonds and the percent of the maximum bonded indebtedness of the district should be 15 to 20 percent of the assessed valuation.
6. School board members should be elected by the general public, and the term of office should be between 4 and 6 years.
7. School levies and bond issues should require only a majority vote.
8. School levies should not have a maximum statutory ceiling, nor should periodic referendums be required to retain levies.
9. School employees who are noncertified should be under a city and/or county civil service system.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF CLASS SIZE IN THE SCHOOLS

My study entitled "The Limitation of Class Size," indicates many of the issues here. Under conclusions and recommendations, the 10 points enumerated:

1. That many studies of class size conducted by authorities in the field indicate the urgent need for smaller classes in order to provide all youth with quality education.
2. That these studies indicate the necessity of smaller classes in order to maintain high staff morale.
3. That most teachers and administrators favor small classes.
4. That these studies indicate some progress has been made in reducing class size, but that few schools have planned for small classes as a part of their educational philosophy.
5. That of the 120,304 classes studied, there was a student population of more than 4 million, and this represented all areas of the Nation and both elementary and secondary schools, and about 10 percent of the students.
6. That of the 120,304 classes studied, there was the following division as to number of students:

| | |
|---|---|
| Classes with 25 or more | 93,775 |
| Classes with 30 or more | 66,206 |
| Classes with 35 or more | 29,539 |
| Classes with 40 or more | 9,417 |
| Classes with 50 or more | 1,236 |

7. That each category in Number 6 should be extended tenfold to approximate the entire enrollment of American yotuh in public education.
8. That the class size ceiling of 25 students in a classroom is sound policy and is a step in the direction of quality education.
9. That steps should be taken at once in planning the total needs of public education based on a class size ceiling of 25 students per classroom so as to insure all American youth adequate and equal educational opportunities. This would currently increase the classroom shortage by at least 130,000.
10. That the public should be informed of the actual need for classrooms and teachers based on a class size ceiling of 25 students per classroom.

IV. IMPROVEMENT OF TEXTBOOK SELECTION IN THE SCHOOLS

My study entitled "Reforms Needed in the Selection of Textbooks," indicates many of the issues here. Under conclusions and recommendations, 16 points are enumerated:

1. That textbooks have played an important part in the history of American education and will continue to do so in the future.
2. That textbooks have gone through a series of evolutions, and more change is necessary in the years ahead.
3. That free textbooks are an essential part of public education.
4. That there are current weaknesses in textbook selection in some American schools.
5. That the American Federation of Teachers is keenly concerned with the textbook issue. This concern has been expressed in the various areas of adequate textbooks for the public schools, quality textbooks for all children, textbooks selected in a democratic fashion by the teacher, and textbooks that tell a complete story of American heritage.
6. That private printing of textbooks is superior, as a concept, to State printing.
7. That continued progress should be made in readability of textbooks.
8. That greater effort should be made to secure competent teachers as authors of future textbooks.
9. That greater effort should be made to encourage teachers to provide educational leadership via the textbooks they author.
10. That textbook publishers should continue to make necessary reforms in their publications.
11. That textbook publishers should resist uniformity of textbooks throughout the Nation.
12. That textboks should lead in curricular reforms.
13. That textboks should contain all types of issues, including controversial ones.
14. That greater effort should be stressed as to the need of the textbook content, rather than the ability of the book to sell.
15. That the textboks should be recommended by the teachers who teach the subject, and the teachers have a voice in the final selection.
16. That where the State type of selection exists, that it be repealed and that each local district select its textbooks.

If each Member of Congress is willing to discuss these four educational principles with the voters back home, I feel confident that constructive educational legislation will be forthcoming in 1963.

## Mrs. Jud Collier, Leader for Good Government in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, "Good Politics Is Good Housekeeping for the Community," was the theme of Mrs. Jud Collier, of Mumford, Tex., at the recent Texas State Democratic Convention in El Paso, Tex.

Mrs. Collier is entitled to speak with authority in political matters, and she is listened to with respect in Texas. Singlehandedly she organized the Texas Democratic Women's State Committee. Mrs. Jud Collier is president of that group.

By its activities she has proved the truth of her theme that "Good Politics Is Good Housekeeping for the Community." Inside her party and out, Mrs. Collier has fought for honor, integrity, political morality, and governmental progress. For years she has battled against corruption in office in Texas and in the Nation.

Her organization is a true example of democracy in action. It is a true grassroots movement. It was not organized by the parent party; it was organized directly, by Mrs. Collier and other ladies, by the people themselves, without call from any party leaders. On the contrary, it was organized years ago against party leaders who put self and pelf above their country's welfare.

Mrs. Jud Collier's Texas Democratic Women's State Committee was organized to put the country's interest above any politician's interest, and that is what she and they have done. No other person or group can give them orders; they meet and decide on Democratic programs for the good of their State and country, and they work for those programs. They mold public opinion; they create and consolidate opinion for the common good. They are and they represent a true grassroots movement in the best traditions of the purest American democracy.

Texas and the Nation need more leaders like Mrs. Jud Collier, and Texas and the Nation need more active participation in politics by the good housekeepers of the Nation. Good housekeeping in the home, translated into good politics at the local and State level, means good government at the national level.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the El Paso Herald-Post of Tuesday, September 18, 1962, entitled "Women Urged To Take Active Role in Politics."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOMEN URGED TO TAKE ACTIVE ROLE IN POLITICS—GOOD CITIZENSHIP DEMANDS INTEREST, SAYS STATE LEADER

Women have an important place in politics because politics is just "good housekeeping for the community."

This is the opinion of a lady—naturally—and a Democrat—strongly. She is Mrs. Jud Collier, delegate from Mumford in the 11th Senatorial District and State chairman of the Texas Democratic Women's State Committee.

"You've got to be interested in politics if you're interested in good citizenship," says Mrs. Collier, who is warmly enthusiastic on the topic.

Mrs. Collier got her first taste of politics when she decided to get a farm road for her community. Today, she is as justly proud of Farm Highway 50 as if she had paved it by hand.

Mrs. Collier learned politics at the grassroots level. When her daughter was ready for school Mrs. Collier decided the community needed more than two teachers. So she ran for president of the school board and was elected.

Over the years the school grew from two to five teachers, then seven, and finally, to a fine independent school district.

Mrs. Collier, also served her community as postmaster in 1938:

"I considered running for county commissioner, too," she confided, "but I was postmaster at the time and decided against it for this reason."

Her husband is the postmaster, and when he retires this month, her daughter will take over as acting postmaster. But neither is as active in politics as Mrs. Collier.

"A delegation of women is attending the Democratic convention here as observers for the Democratic Women's State Committee," she said. "We are also here as duly accredited delegates from our respective counties.

"In the past there has been abuse of the rules of conduct as set down in the Texas Election Code. We've been assured that this convention will be conducted with fairness and respect to nominees of the Senatorial district for the executive committee."

Mrs. Collier's eyes twinkled as she remarked, "Of course there's going to be a basis. There always is—but no real split. The Republicans are working like beavers and we've all got to work harder to beat them."

She praised the work of Mrs. Hardy Miller, who is in charge of the El Paso County Hotel Paso del Norte.

Democratic Women's Committee desk at

"I hope all Democratic women will take as much interest and work as hard as she has," Mrs. Collier said.

## Minute Editorial, 105 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, our mission here today is the ever-present one of trying to decide what is best for the country. I contend that trying to keep our U.S. Treasury in the black makes more sense than squandering it on a hundred and one nations across the seven seas. The advocates of foreign aid insist that without this constant outlay we might lose all our friends to the Socialist doctrine and the collectivist powers. I maintain that even with nearly a hundred billions of our taxpayers' money we have failed quite noticeably to keep them solidly on our side.

Right now ships flying the flags of our so-called foreign friends are delivering goods including war-making supplies to Moscow-controlled Cuba. That problem is close to home, and must be effectively dealt with and soon.

The troubles of the world continue without abatement. We deplore the situation today just as we did 105 years ago. To relate the present world picture to that of more than a century ago, Mr. Speaker, I conclude these brief remarks by citing a short piece which appeared in the Guthrie Center, Iowa, Guthrian for September 18, 1962. Editor Gonzales entitles it "Minute Editorial, 105 Years Old." I think it will intrigue my colleagues for its coincidence, but I fear the design is far too serious to be amusing:

MINUTE EDITORIAL, 105 YEARS OLD

"It is a gloomy moment in history. Not for many years—not in the lifetime of most men who read this paper—has there been so much grave and deep apprehension; never has the future seemed so incalculable as at this time—in France the political caldron seethes and bubbles with uncertainty; Russia hangs as usual, like a cloud, dark, and silent upon the horizons of Europe; while all the energies, resources, and influences of the British Empire are sorely tried.

"It is a solemn moment and no man can feel an indifference—which happily, no man pretends to feel—in the issue of events of our own troubles no man sees the end."

When was it written? October 10, 1957. in Harper's Weekly.

## Vice President's Speech on President's Commission on Status of Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the President's Commission on Status of Women is a hard-working Commission, meets frequently, and by report time next year a great deal of pertinent information will have been collected.

The Vice President of the United States spoke to a group of people in connection with the President's Commission on the Status of Women, particularly employment opportunities for women in private industry, and I ask unanimous consent that the Vice President's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON BEFORE A CONFERENCE OF THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 24, 1962

I have watched with interest and admiration all the things which this Commission has done and I want to congratulate the members for wasting no time in getting started in a solid and purposeful way.

No problem can be licked—no great progress made—by Washington alone. That is why you are here today, and we appreciate your taking the time and expense to come.

I consider the work of this Commission to be really trail-blazing.

We have spent so many years ignoring the reality that it is difficult even to find elementary facts and figures. For the first time, they are now being assembled in a purposeful manner that can lead to purposeful action.

Certainly no one more clearly exemplifies the capabilities and the pioneering spirit of the American woman then does Mrs. Roosevelt. She has been called the First Lady of the World, and her leadership of this Commission offers a guiding light everywhere.

If all of our problems were due solely to evil men and evil women, a solution would be simple. Good people in this world outnumber bad people overwhelmingly.

Unfortunately, most of our problems arise out of ignorance—slothfulness—and a desire to avoid change, even when the world around us is changing at a rapid rate. I think this is what is happening in terms of the problem of equal opportunity for women.

One of the major revolutions of the 20th century has been a revolution in the pattern of living of women. In our grandfather's day, the average working age of the career girl was 26. Today, it is 40.

Between those two figures lies a fantastic change in the whole fabric of our society.

Modern technology has created new patterns of production which rely much more

upon brains and nimbleness than upon brawn and endurance.

At the same time, the traditional arts and crafts which made the housewife of half a century ago a skilled technician—dishwasher, baker, seamstress, nurse, laundress, often even teacher—have disappeared.

This means that we have a far greater market for brains and ability in the world of economic production and we have also, at the same time, created the supply to fill that demand. But somehow we have failed to bring the two together—our productive system that needs more brains and skill and the women who have the brains and skill to supply the need.

It is a mistake to think that this is a question of viciousness or prejudice—even though many men long nostalgically for the grandmother who could do everything from sewing up a rip in his britches to teaching him to read and write. The real cause is that we have not faced up to the changes that have taken place in one lifetime.

I have a daughter who has just entered college. It does not take a crystal ball to forecast the probable course of her life.

She will graduate from college into the labor market. Somewhere along the line, she will probably decide that there is something to life other than an office. Like most women, she will be in and out of the economic process. But according to the experts, she has a life expectancy of 70 years. And no matter how she manages her own life, she will probably have more time to devote to the economic process than to simply stay at home and take care of a family. She will need to know, not only how to be a good homemaker, but perhaps at some time a breadwinner, and at all times a participating member of society.

Children do grow up. Children do leave home—as inevitably as summer follows the spring—and fall follows the summer.

Therefore, it will be important to my daughter, and to all our daughters, that she have an opportunity to make use of whatever skills she has learned—and it is equally important to society that it have the opportunity of making use of her skills.

Somehow, someway, we must find a method by which this talent may not be lost or grow stale. If we have enough brains to send a sophisticated communications system hurtling within 10,000 miles of Venus, surely we have the brains to organize a society in such a way that talent will not be wasted.

Furthermore, I think we have to consider a simple justice. No governmental or social program will ever succeed that leaves justice out of consideration.

One of the oldest injunctions of the wiseman is that the laborer is worthy of his hire. I, for one, am weary of systems which differentiate between compensation for work well done for any reason other than merit.

We live in a never, never land if we believe that this is still a society in which women who work are merely supplementing income from male relatives. The reality of our society today is that we need the productive talents of every single person. We must abolish discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin. We must retrain those workers who have been caught in the eddies of technological unemployment. We must find ways and means of using our people of middle age who have many productive years ahead of them.

And we must find forms of social and economic organization that will elimininate sex as a barrier to the fulfillment of talent and capacity.

To solve this problem of discrimination because of sex is going to require some adjustments and changes. But they are adjustments and changes that must be made because they will enhance the prosperity and the security of our country.

We must realize that few women will spend their entire adult lifetime behind a desk, in a laboratory, or on a production line. But it is worth some time and some effort to take advantage of the many years of work that are open to us.

And let us be unmistakably clear. Equal employment opportunity is not a luxury in which we indulge out of a fuzzy-headed motive.

It has become, not only a question of justice, which alone should be enough, but a question of grim and urgent necessity.

Some time ago I made a very careful and painstaking survey of space installations on the west coast. I visited the great universities where the basic research is being performed. I visited the factories where they are making the rockets and the payloads. I visited the centers where the cool, clear-eyed test pilots are making the first tentative thrusts outside of the atmospheric envelope around the earth. Everywhere I heard the same story: "We need more brains."

Right now, it is a question of competition between the Government and private industry for the physicists, the biologists, the mathematicians, the astrophysicists, the metallurgists, and the systems managers. But I talked to some men who speculated—convincingly—that within a 3- or 4-year period we would have to start rationing brains just as we rationed coffee during World War II.

The only difference is that if we had run out of coffee, many people would have been uncomfortable. If we run out of brains, the whole world may lose its freedom. I don't believe that we are at the stage yet where we must ration brains. I think before we reach that stage that there are resources which we have not tapped—but which can be tapped.

As Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, I am trying to tap some of these resources which have not been used for reasons of ancestry, irrelevant to merit.

There is a Senate committee which is attempting to find means of tapping resources which are now denied to us because of unrealistic considerations of age.

We have passed the Manpower Retraining and Development Act which is attempting to do something about those who have been fired by a machine.

And you have the responsibility of finding ways and means of tapping the resources of half of our society that may be closed to use because of outmoded customs and habits.

There is one other point that I would like to make in this regard. The slogan "equality of opportunity" can no longer, and will no longer, serve as a mask for social injustice. We are past that stage of history.

Anatole France once said, "The law, in its equal majesty, forbids both the rich and the poor to sleep under bridges."

Similarly, there was a time when equality of opportunity meant the right to exploit women by working them 16 to 18 hours a day in sweatshops at substandard wages.

We are not going to return to those times. That is not involved in the work which you are doing.

What we are seeking is justice and prosperity. And this can only be found through assuring opportunity to all of our people.

I am not going to say that a woman can do a job better than a man (except for motherhood) just because she is a woman any more than I am going to say that a man can do a better job than a woman, except for fatherhood, because he is a man. But I am going to say that everyone should have the opportunity to compete for a job on the sole basis of merit—and when that is our single test, we can be certain of the survival of our way of life.

This has become apparent not only to us but to people all over the world.

The Reza Shah or Iran did not walk his wife and female relatives though the streets of Iran without veils because he thought it was a clever innovation. He did it to tell his people that they should begin removing the veil from the vote—so women could become active in the life of their country.

President Atsburk did not invoke the vote and compulsory education for women in Turkey out of whim. He did so because he realized that women were sorely needed for Turkey to gain its true place in the sun.

Throughout the Middle East, I found women playing an increasing role in national life and yet, this is the area where, traditionally, women have been at the very bottom of the ladder.

One of the byproducts which the free world is inheriting from this progress of women in the Middle East in the impetus they have given to social reform in their own countries. This is crucial in that part of the world that sits on the rim of the Soviet Union.

One of the most important weapons that we have in the cold war struggle is the continuing evidence that social reform is more of a reality on our side of the Iron Curtain.

But above all, in this world in which we live, we are engaged in a struggle to demonstrate which way of life affords the best hope and the best promise for the individual human being. To the individual, the most important thing is fulfillment—fulfillment of his or her capacity to serve.

In all that we do, we are going to face a very harsh judge—the judge of history.

We shall be known for our ability to bring the greatest good to the greatest number. We shall be judged for our capacity to adapt ourselves to the changing facts of the world and to the changing circumstances of history.

I do not think that you have come here today to devise ways and means for extending special privilege or for creating new vested interests. I do think you have come here to solve a problem which presents us with an injustice and with a disruptive force in our national life.

You have excellent leadership, dedicated workers, and the backing of your government. I wish you every success and I am ready to help you whenever I am called upon.

## Priceless Books Presented to Southern Methodist University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, there has been presented to Texas' great Southern Methodist University a magnificent collection of 206 books, all printed before the year 1500, and worth millions of dollars.

No collection of incunabula comparable in size and importance of this gift to Southern Methodist University has changed hands in the 20th century.

The gift to this Texas school was made by Mr. J. S. Bridwell, a Wichita Falls oilman and rancher and benefactor of Southern Methodist University, and Frank V. DeBellis of San Francisco, well known for his cultural interests.

One of the books, St. Augustine's "City of God," was printed in 1467, only about 14 years after printing was developed by Gutenberg.

The addition of this rare collection to a Texas institution is a magnificent demonstration of the increasing cultural awareness and development in Texas and the Southwest.

The Dallas News, in an article September 20, 1962, quoted Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University, as stating that this gift is "one of the most important things ever to happen to Southern Methodist University."

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Dallas News of September 20, 1962, captioned "Priceless books donated to Southern Methodist University," and another article of the same date, captioned "Receipt of Book Collection Remarkable Tribute to Southern Methodist University," and an editorial from the Dallas News of Saturday, September 22, 1962, captioned "Southern Methodist University Book Gift."

There being no objection, the articles and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Sept. 20, 1962]

PRE-1500 WORKS—PRICELESS BOOKS DONATED TO SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

(By Jack Castleman)

Southern Methodist University has been given 206 books printed before the year 1500—the first time such a major collection has changed hands in the 20th century.

The rare collection—containing many books printed before Columbus discovered the New World—was given to the Perkins School of Theology by J. S. Bridwell, Wichita Falls rancher and long-time benefactor of the seminary, and Frank V. DeBellis, a San Francisco cultural leader who assembled the collection.

Dr. Willis Tate, Southern Methodist University president, called the gift "one of the most important things ever to happen to Southern Methodist University."

The books will be known as the Bridwell-DeBellis Collection of 15th-Century Printing and will be on public display September 27 and 28.

The university will officially mark its reception of the gift with an academic festival, "The Renewal of Man," September 27 when both Bridwell and DeBellis will be honored.

University officials gave no estimate of the collection's value other than "priceless."

The value of the books—many which could not be replaced—is difficult to appraise though their worth would run into millions of dollars.

The importance of the collection can be measured in these terms:

One book, St. Augustine's "City of God," was printed in 1467—only 14 years after Gutenberg introduced printing.

Seven of the books appear to be the only complete copies in North America.

Eighty-three of the books are first printings.

Forty-nine of the books are held by as few as one other library and not more than five other libraries in North America.

The collection makes the Perkins Library the largest repository of 15th century printing between the east and west coasts.

The collection is certain to enhance Southern Methodist University's efforts to develop its master plan for a first-rate university as the books—all in remarkable shape—are invaluable research tools.

Decherd Turner, Perkins librarian, said the collection will form a cornerstone of knowledge previous impossible to provide.

The books cover a number of subjects including classical texts, humanism, theology and science.

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[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Sept. 20, 1962]

RECEIPT OF BOOK COLLECTION REMARKABLE TRIBUTE TO SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

(By Jack Castleman)

The designation of Southern Methodist University to receive a collection of books printed in the 15th century is a milestone in the life of the university.

Further, it is a remarkable tribute to the young university and its backers, for such collections almost always go to much older institutions or well-heeled libraries or private collectors.

The 206 books—all printed before 1500—were given to the Perkins School of Theology by J. S. Bridwell, Wichita Falls rancher, and Frank V. DeBellis, of San Francisco, who assembled the collection.

Pointing up the importance of the collection is the fact that one book—St. Augustine's "City of God"—was printed in 1467—only 14 years after Gutenberg developed printing.

To formally mark the reception of the gift, Southern Methodist University will hold an academic festival, "The Renewal of Man," September 27.

Two of the Nation's outstanding scholars, Dr. Curt F. Buhler and Dr. Myron P. Gilmore, will be guest speakers.

The outstanding authority on 15th century printing, Dr. Buhler is keeper of the printed books at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

Dr. Gilmore is professor of history at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Bridwell and DeBellis will be honored with a dinner as part of the festival.

On both September 27 and September 28, 200 items in the collection will be on public display from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m.

Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University, called the collection one of the most important things ever to happen to the university.

"This collection gives us a foundation of knowledge and wisdom for all other studies in the university by providing cornerstones of culture practically impossible to come by.

"We feel more than fortunate that the wisdom and generosity of Mr. DeBellis and Mr. Bridwell which have brought this collection to this university.

"With it comes a high responsibility, and we shall keep and use this remarkable collection well. * * * It is somewhat as if we had added such names as St. Augustine, Euclid, Apuleius, Cicero, Dante, Nicolous de Lyra, Petrach and Boccaccio to our faculty."

The gifts come to Southern Methodist University at a most opportune time as the university is in the midst of a program to develop a first-rate institution of higher learning.

These early writings will be valuable research tools and will greatly advance Southern Methodist Universities academic research.

From any aspect, the collection is impressive.

Prof. Decherd H. Turner, Jr., Perkins librarian, called the gift a breakthrough beyond the 18th century.

"A young school usually has to start building on the third or fourth story. Suddenly, we are now on the ground floor," Turner said.

Material printed before the 18th century is often difficult it not impossible to obtain except through collections such as this.

The books—which have survived 400 years of wear and tear—are in remarkably good shape. The pages, which were printed a page at a time and then hung up to dry, are on very heavy paper.

Many of the books are beautifully illustrated—all done by hand. On some of the books, the printers left instructions for artists to paint in initial letters.

"The artists often weren't too careful," Turner said as he pointed to a wrong letter painted in.

Though the period covers less than 50 years, one can see great advances made in printing as books published near 1500 are illustrated with woodblock cuts.

Though objects of treasure, the books will not be kept under glass but will be used by graduate students and faculty.

The texts—written in either Latin or Italian—cover such subjects as medicine, science, theology and the humanities.

Turner said the books open up a "new frontier in Protestant theological education." Traditionally, it started with 1517 when Martin Luther broke away from the Roman Catholic Church.

"We can quite seriously now concern ourselves with the years from 1467 to 1517."

The collection makes Southern Methodist University the largest repository of 15th century books between the east and west coasts.

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[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Sept. 22, 1962]

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY BOOK GIFT

Acquisition by Southern Methodist University's Bridwell Library of the priceless Bridwell-DeBellis collection of 15th century printing is one of the longest strides made by the university in its accelerating progress toward first-ranking status.

The farsighted gift made by Wichita Falls rancher J. S. Bridwell and San Francisco Bibliophile Frank V. DeBellis—who assembled the collection—has profound meaning for the cultural advancement of Dallas and the Southwest: With this significant gesture, the city becomes repository for one of the largest collections of its kind in America.

Thus, scholars from all over the world will add Dallas to their research itinerary. They will come here to study the 7 of the 206 items in the collection which are the only complete copies known to exist in North America; or the 49 volumes found in only a half handful of other libraries on the continent, and the 83 books that are first printings.

Enrichment of Southern Methodist University's campus cultural atmosphere—already vibrating with construction of a fine-arts center, plus other facets of a master plan for attainment of excellence in all areas—is incalculable.

The administration of President Willis Tate has given Southern Methodist University a new vigor and excellence. He has become an outstanding figure in education, and the Dallas institution is meeting its challenges with proper vision.

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## Socialized Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is an eye opener to note how Great Britain's socialized medicine is working

out. In today's New York Herald Tribune Tom Lambert tells us how much care the doctors use on their individual patients:

OH, DOCTOR, PLEASE

(By Tom Lambert)

Britain's exasperated Medical Defense Union, which assists doctors in lawsuits, pleaded again yesterday with hospitals and doctors to halt mixups in which wrong patients are operated on—or right patients operated on for wrong ailments.

The plea seems unlikely to afford much mental comfort to Britons awaiting surgery.

The MDU said the following mixups occurred last year:

"Due to a mental aberration," a doctor who had been treating an 81-year-old woman for a fractured left femur (thigh bone) operated on her right femur.

A doctor performed a hernia operation on a 4-year-old boy who had been admitted to a hospital for removal of a cyst on his knee.

Because of a nurse's dereliction, a patient who had been taken to surgery for removal of his second left toe came out with his second right toe amputated.

An anesthetist injected a patient with surgical spirit instead of a local anesthetic.

A doctor intending to swab a man's arm with alcohol sluiced him down with formic acid.

The MDU issued a comparable "be careful" plea last year to doctors and hospitals here, noting then that a surgical mixup can be a "haunting reproach to the surgeon." The plea obviously was not heeded fully.

As it did last year, the MDU called on doctors again to visit patients in their rooms before operating on them, and called on hospitals to identify patients with discs or labels before they are wheeled into surgery.

Doctors should summon patients to the operating table by name and number, the MDU said, and not call for "the patient from such and such a ward."

## Career of Director of Legal Affairs, Organization of American States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, some days ago I extended my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to include an address before the Inter-American Bar Association by F. V. Garcia-Amador, Director, Department of Legal Affairs, Organization of American States. Since then I have received numerous favorable comments. In view of the interest in this distinguished gentleman, and his important role in hemispheric affairs, I know my colleagues will be interested in the following sketch of his background and of his career:

F. V. GARCIA-AMADOR

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

1. Doctor of laws and of political sciences (University of Havana).
2. Master of arts (Columbia University).
3. Master of laws (Harvard University).
4. Doctor of philosophy (Columbia University).

ACADEMIC RECORD

1. Former professor of international law of the Inter-American University (1944–46, Panama).
2. Idem of the University of Villanueva (Havana, 1956–57).
3. Idem of the University of Havana (1959–60).
4. Lecturer at the Académie de Droit International (The Hague, 1958).
5. Occasional Lectures at the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationaux (Geneva), Escuela de Funcionarios Internacionales (Madrid), Universidad de San Marcos (Lima), etc.
6. Visiting scholar, international legal studies program, Harvard Law School (1960–61).

PUBLICATIONS

*Books*

"El Proceso Internacional Panamericano" (La Habana, 1943).

"La Explotación y Conservacion de las Riquezas del Mar" (La Habana, 1956).

"The Exploitation and Conservation of the Resources of the Sea, a Study of Contemporary International Law" (The Hague, 1959).

"Introducción al Estudio del Derecho Internacional Contemporáneo" (Madrid, 1959).

*Other publications*

Reports (6) on international responsibility, in his capacity as special rapporteur of the United Nations International Law Commissions. (U.N. docs., published from 1956 to 1961).

A number of articles in United States, European, and Latin American legal periodicals.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Legal Official, U.N. Secretariat (1948–49).

Member of the Inter-American Judicial Committee (Rio de Janeiro, 1949).

Member and President (1956) U.N. International Law Commission, elected by the General Assembly in 1953, and reelected in 1956, for a total period of 8 years.

Legal Counsel of the Cuban Foreign Ministry and Ambassador-at-large-from 1950 to July 1960.

Deputy Representative of Cuba to the U.N. Security Council, and President of its Committee of Experts (1950).

Representative to five regular sessions of the General Assembly, and President of its Legal Committee (1954).

Delegate to the X Inter-American Conference (Caracas, 1954) and the fifth meeting of consultation of the Foreign Ministers (Santiago de Chile, 1959).

Representative to the first four meetings of the Inter-American Council of Jurists (1950 to 1959).

Delegate to the U.N. Fishery Conservation Conference (and Deputy President thereof, Rome, 1955); and to the first and second U.N. Conferences on the Law of the Sea (Geneva, 1958, and 1960, respectively).

Adviser, Department of Legal Affairs, Organization of American States (from October 1961).

Director, Department of Legal Officers, Organization of American States (from August 1, 1962).

## For Cuba, Move Against Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am strongly impressed with a timely editorial from the pen of Malcolm B. Johnson which appeared in the Tallahassee Democrat of Wednesday, September 19. I concur wholeheartedly in his position. He has suggested a course of action which should prove much more effective than the present policy of attempting to kill the heads of the Hydra singly.

The editorial follows:

FOR CUBA, MOVE AGAINST RUSSIA

Florida's Senator GEORGE SMATHERS proposes in Senate resolutions that the United States move against Cuba by recognizing a government-in-exile dedicated to invasion and that we seek a NATO-type force among Western Hemisphere nations to help free the island from its captors.

These proposals sound sensible to us. So do many of the other suggestions made by Members of Congress in response to pleas from an angry nation discouraged by the timidity of our national administration.

But aren't such moves, directed against the Castro government and the island he occupies, merely sideshow action—necessary, but preliminary? Isn't it time for us to move into the center ring and take over?

Castro is a puppet, a yapping puppy unworthy of the indignation—much less the alarms—of Americans. The real villain is Soviet Russia. If Russia were not meddling in this situation, we Americans wouldn't care any more about which dictators controlled that island than we have cared about a hundred other little Latin American tyrants.

So let's go further than talk about blockading or invading that island, and turn our attention directly to the primary menace—Communist Russia.

There are ways to deal with Red Russia, short of shooting, that, for some elusive reason, we have not taken.

Let us treat Russia like the carrier of an evil, contagious disease she is. Shun her. Move to put her under quarantine.

From the floor of the United Nations and through the forum of the world's free press, let us scorn her. Every day, let us move against her with resolution, and with action. Every day, let us read a new indictment against her for her countless transgressions.

Stop selling her anything. Stop buying anything from her. Stop letting her people and her officials come among us to spy and to lie about us. Call on our allies and those other nations which profess love of freedom and morality to join us.

Move for her expulsion from the United Nations for numerous U.N. Charter violations and lapses of obligation. (The record is there.)

Make it known to the world, without question, that we are ready to sever all diplomatic and economic relations with Russia and her allies. Hound her out of the society of decent nations. The Communist world cannot stand such censure.

Oh, certainly, we will find timidity among our allies and the neutrals we finance in the U.N., and even in NATO.

It is far past time for us to test their professed desires for liberty and right. Let them decide whether to stand with us, or to lie down with the forces of evil, blackmail, and tyranny.

If such action results in breaking up the United Nations, so be it. We'll save money, and in the process avoid being caught in further embarrassing kangaroo court proceedings where we must humble ourselves to grovel for supporting votes of upstart pigmy nations.

Let us find out—right now, before lifting another finger for foreign aid—where our helpfulness has found grateful friendship.

The whole world knows this situation in Cuba is a test of our determination to resist the advances of communism—a clearer test of the will of the United States than Berlin, or Laos, or Korea.

Although some of our allies would desert us, others would stand; but we are strong enough to stand alone, and we could stand better without any false friends to depend on. Russia can't, yet count on such support from even her own satellites.

So let's throw down the gauntlet. Now. In Washington, and in the U.N. General Assembly meeting in New York.

No person, no nation, ever gained anything worthwhile by pussyfooting and compromising to avoid coming to grips with an evil force that constantly abused good intentions to grow stronger and bolder.

## Trial of Criminal Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS**
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, recently there have appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a number of statements by Members of the Congress concerning a pending criminal prosecution in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida in which the defendants, James R. Hoffa and Robert E. McCarthy, are charged with fraud by mail, telegraph, and telephone. I have confidence that the Federal court in Florida will set the case down for trial and will grant to the two defendants the speedy trial to which they are entitled under the sixth amendment. While I believe quite strongly that criminal cases should be tried in the courtroom, and not in the newspapers or in the Congress, the following facts concerning case No. 1282–61 Southern District of Florida, United States against Hoffa and McCarthy, seem worth setting forth.

The record will disclose that the Government first asked for a trial date under an earlier indictment in March 1961. On June 25, 1962, the defendants argued that they could not go to trial on September 10, 1962, because one of their attorneys was involved in other litigation on that date. Judge Lieb ordered the defendants to be prepared for trial on October 15, 1962.

According to record the defendants in this case have not always appeared to be as ready, willing and able to go to trial as they would now seem to want to make the people believe. Witness the fact that the defendants have filed 40 motions in the case. The defendants have filed appeals to the Supreme Court on two of these motions and the Supreme Court cannot even commence to consider these appeals until next month at the earliest.

In the most recent hearing in this case on August 20, 1962, when the matter of the trial date was discussed, there was read into the record an affidavit from the personal physician of the defendant McCarthy which read in part as follows:

Mr. McCarthy has * * * a grave condition in any instance (which) by extension can be fatal. In fact, it very often is. I have continued to treat Mr. McCarthy for this condition to date * * * exposure to any excitement or unusual situations would only serve to worsen Mr. McCarthy's prognosis. Assuming that Mr. McCarthy was exposed to a trial of any protracted length involving signal intensity at this time or any time within the next 120 days, it is my professional opinion that such an ordeal would involve a serious sequel to his immediate condition which might well result in total future incapacition or a fatality.

It would appear from this evidence that defendant McCarthy could not have gone to trial at the date suggested by defense counsel. This is, however, a matter which the court should decide and a matter which the court did decide.

The real basis for the court's decision not to try this case on the date previously set, October 15, 1962, appears to lie neither with the defendants or the Government but rather with an action taken by Congress. It is for this reason that I as a member of the Judiciary Committee of this House, which considered the legislation involved feel obliged to set the record straight.

On July 30, 1962, Public Law 87–562 became law. It created a new middle judicial district in Florida, which had previously been divided into a northern and a southern district. The new district will come into existence on October 28. The case of United States against Hoffa and McCarthy is now in the Tampa division of the southern district, to which it had been removed by order of court. At the present time the Tampa division is in the southern district, but after October 28, some of its counties will be in the new middle district, and others will remain in the southern district.

The new middle district of Florida will be the first new judicial district created by the Congress in 35 years. Its creation will bring to the courts a number of problems of transition, including the question of what should be done with untried cases and cases which might, if started before October 28, not be completed by the date that the new district is created.

The judges of the southern district met concerning these problems, and determined as a matter of judicial administration that southern district cases which fall in the new district should be recalendared in the new district October 29 if their trial could not be completed prior to that date. This was in my opinion a wise decision, avoiding the possibility that doubts might be cast on the validity of convictions in cases where the trial was started in one district and completed in another. U.S. against Hoffa and McCarthy was but one of a number of cases which were affected by this decision.

## Too Partisan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM**
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Ryan Leader of September 20, 1962, by Editor J. T. Daniel, concerning the partisan cries on Communist Cuba:

TOO PARTISAN
(By J. T. Daniel)

When wars were of the conventional type, rifles, cannons, tanks, airplanes, and other weapons of destruction, they were terrifying. But in this day of missiles, atom and hydrogen bombs, they are horrible and annihilating.

This being true, it would seem that men of any sense of responsibility for the safety of their own lives and those of their countrymen would at least try to refrain from inflaming the minds of the people.

The United States of America is a democracy. And a democracy is much different to a dictatorship. In a democracy, its rulers must listen to the voice of the people, or they will be defeated at the next election. This is not true in a dictatorship. A dictator is not subject to the whims of pleasure groups. Public sentiment is not so important in a dictatorship. Khrushchev can rave and rant all he pleases without building a war sentiment that will force him to start to shooting. In the United States this is different.

The people of the United States are rather suspectible to warlike propaganda. And when politicians and others try to inflame public sentiment here about Russia's disregard for the Monroe Doctrine, they should be honest and tell the American people that the Truman doctrine of 1947 actually supplanted the Monroe Doctrine. If it hadn't, we would not have our guns pointed at Khrushchev's head in all the countries of Europe surrounding him. The Monroe Doctrine prohibited this.

If people are given the facts they will not become the victims of a war frenzy that will force a big war. Heedlessly, recklessly, and wantonly some men seem to be so obsessed by a desire for partisan gain they would risk blowing themselves, the American people, Cuba, and the Russians off the face of the earth, just to try to make votes.

It is time the American people woke up to the dangers of such a course of action. They should tell the hotheads in and out of Congress to keep their big mouths shut. It is no time to become spooky and do something foolish because a bewhiskered addlepated Cuban mouse happens to take a wild run across the international stage.

## A Tribute to County ASC Committeemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WM. J. RANDALL**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, last week this body approved the farm bill as reported by the conferees. We believe this bill will do much toward solving our farm problems, but I had hoped that we could have passed long-term legislation which would have been effective for 1963 and thereafter, and would have given farmers more time to make plans.

In an effort to ascertain what farmers wanted in the way of farm legislation, if any, we conducted a poll earlier in the year. The response, in our opinion, was excellent for out of 25,000 questionnaires mailed out, we received back about one-fourth completed returns. We will have to say though, we were greatly surprised at the many varied opinions as to what

farm legislation should or should not accomplish. The majority of those who completed the questionnaires, favored some type of farm program, and each of us know that even if a program were excellent in every particular, if there is no one to carry out the program, it would be worthless, or of very little value.

One of the questions asked on this survey was, "Do you favor farmer-elected committees as the best means of administering farm programs on the local level?" After compilation had been made of the returned completed questionnaires, we found that 84.3 farmers favored the county elected committees, 9 percent did not, and 6.7 percent had no opinion.

Today, I rise to pay tribute to these dedicated men who give of their time and energy in behalf of their neighbors and indirectly to the Nation as a whole. Those consecrated men in the Fourth Missouri District, are chosen by their fellow farmers to make the necessary decisions, to explain and to generally supervise the administration of the farm programs at the county level.

Our country is blessed with an overabundance, and each of us should give thanks each night before we close our eyes that we live in America where overabundance and not starvation is one of our major problems. Mr. Speaker, I repeat, regardless of what kind of farm program is finally adopted, it will not work—it cannot succeed, unless we encourage our farmers to supervise themselves to administer these farm programs by those chosen from their own ranks.

I am a firm believer that the family farm is the great symbol of freedom and free enterprise. And I believe that we owe the family farm a great debt of gratitude for its contribution to our American heritage. In our deliberation I say again, I hope we will not forget the people, the individuals, the folks who carry out or administer our farm programs on the county level. It is a privilege to salute you, our county ASC committeemen, dedicated to the cause of better farming, and devoted in your efforts for the improvement of farm income and the contentment of our people who would perpetuate the family farm.

## Cuba Lifeline Can Be Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the recent action by the Government of West Germany in restricting German-flag ships from taking part in the Cuban Russian buildup deserves the praise of all of us who have been seeking the halt to such activities by our friends in the free world.

Now that West Germany has led the way, it is hoped that all others who have been involved in this traffic will follow with like action.

Victor Riesel is one of those who can justly take credit for this first break in the Cuban supply line. His disclosures of those involved have been fully documented with the names of ships and their flags. He has pointed out time and again that this trade could be stopped, if we would insist that it be stopped. When action was not forthcoming he pointed out the facts for the American public.

In a recent article, Mr. Riesel points out that some shipping firms are making millions of dollars from the United States by carrying American cargo across the world; and yet these same ships not only supply Cuba but Communist China as well.

Thus, not only do the foreign vessels strengthen our enemies, but they weaken the United States by depriving our seamen of jobs and our shipping firms of profits, as Mr. Riesel points out.

Because of the importance of the information contained in this article, I include it at this point in the RECORD:

CUBA LIFELINE CAN BE CUT

(By Victor Riesel)

NEW YORK.—Cuba's waterborne supply lines can be cracked with the stroke of a pen.

What's needed is a Presidential directive shutting U.S. ports to vessels and ship-chartering companies which deal with the enemy. This means a blacklist. Why not?

There are many foreign firms now making millions of dollars from the U.S. Government itself by carrying heavy tonnage of Federal cargo across the world. And yet these same ships—lists of which any Federal agency can get along this waterfront—not only supply Cuba, but Communist China, Russia, Poland, and even weird Albania. This the foreign-flag ships often embark on immediately after delivering American cargo abroad.

Thus, not only do the foreign vessels strengthen our enemies, but they weaken the United States by depriving our seamen of jobs and our shipping firms of profits.

Tankers of our NATO Allies, for example, have been running Soviet oil to Cuba for many, many months now—long before the Soviet landings on the island needled some of us into an outcry over the current merchant fleet supplied to the Soviet bloc by nations to which we have been giving billions of dollars.

Those tankers are chartered by the Russians because the Soviet ministry of the maritime fleet is short of these big floating fuel tanks. The tankers, owned by Greek and British firms, or by complex companies operating under Panamanian, Liberian, and Honduran flags, first deliver the Russian oil to Havana. Then the empty tankers put into U.S. ports for profitable cargoes.

This may be cut down some day. The Soviets have just completed the *Bucharest*. This is the fifth in a series of huge tankers which they call "Peking-type vessels." They have been built in the Leningrad "Baltic shipyards." So desperately does Cuba need this fuel that it has become traditional for the Soviet ministry to put its new tankers immediately into the Cuban run. But still there are not enough. Yet ships of our "friends" continue to help them.

And then there are the ship operators who get business from the American Government because of our efforts to feed a hungry non-Communist world. There is a Federal directive which states that only 50 percent of our shipments of surplus foods to needy nations must be shipped in U.S. "bottoms." So, to lend a hand and a dollar to freighters of friendly nations, we give them the cargo job.

Many of these foreign-flag ships carry grain to the Orient. Sometimes to India. Sometimes to Africa or the Near East. Then they steam into the China Sea and the Pacific. There they shuttle back and forth for the Peiping Communist Government. In Hong Kong recently I talked to masters and mates of such ships.

They discolsed that after handling some of the "Chi-com" business they heave back to Europe's Communist bloc ports. There they load up with heavy cargoes for Cuba. Of course, they carry armaments. But almost as vital are the vast quantities of prefabricated factories and plants, machine tools, spare parts, steel mill sections, and electronic equipment.

These will create a Soviet-type industrial system in Cuba. In a few years it will begin producting for export to the South American market—thereby undermining local producers and therefore chances for recovery amongst our Alliance for Progress allies.

After the NATO nation ships unload in Cuban ports they have only one chance for a new payload there. That is sugar. But sabotage and sheer inefficiency have slashed the harvesting of this crop. So there is only enough for part of the chartered supply fleet. The ones who get the loads then steam to Russia and Poland or through the Panama Canal to China. But all the other vessels face going back light.

Thus many of them, after dropping their Red cargoes in Cuba, head for the United States to make certain they can pick up a paying shipment and thus make a profit from both sides.

There are waterfront union leaders here who say they have evidence that the Yugoslav merchant fleet is running cargo for the Communist bloc. This cargo, they say, is mostly military. It comes from the Czech munition-making complex built around the famed Skoda works. Waterfront experts here report that Yugoslav ships regularly put into Havana.

Furthermore, the union leaders assert bluntly—sometimes in anger fully peppered with sailor's language—that the State Department has all this information. And that it has had it for some time.

Why then does everybody in official circles seem so surprised these days?

Why not blacklist those ships which make a dollar out of trading with enemies who already are shooting at American soldiers, sailors and airmen? Why not?

## Senator Johnston Merits Reelection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a very fine editorial from the Winnsboro, S.C., News & Herald of Thursday, September 20, 1962, which I commend to every citizen of my State who is interested in the continuation of good government.

The article is as follows:

SENATOR JOHNSTON MERITS REELECTION

Bill Workman is among the finest journalists one could meet in a day's journey between sunrise and sunset on the 21st of June. He is a gentleman, a scholar, an author, and—to his credit—he is probably not a judge of good whiskey because, like his opponent, he is a teetotaler.

The News & Herald wishes him exceedingly well in every respect save one: we want him to remain in the newspaper fraternity and serve his people there—not in the U.S. Senate, from a standing start. The ink looks good on his fingers and, as he will probably recall, his onetime chief, the late Dr. W. W. Ball, longtime editor of the Charleston News & Courier, avowed that newsmen had no business running for public office, because, for one thing, they sacrifice their objectivity. And, in Dr. Ball's lexicon, there was no higher profession than that of a journalist.

Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, in our opinion, has earned the right to reelection to a fourth term. His 18 years' experience is an asset to the people of South Carolina and will become increasingly so during the next 6. Patently, the Republican press in Columbia is missing no trick, either in news or editorial columns or in cartoons, in a determined effort to see that Senator JOHNSTON is defeated, but, we believe, this is another case of a lost cause. Characteristically, the Columbia Record, in one of its too, too clever cartoons titled "The Little People's Coloring Book," compares the Palmetto State's senior Senator to "Captain Kangaroo," disparages his ability, acumen, decorum and voting record in this and other extreme ways. Ofttimes, however, he who laughs last, laughs longest, and our inexpert guess is that these self-styled big, journals may find that much-maligned OLIN is, after all, "the little people's man," come election day.

One concedes that Senator JOHNSTON is no silver-tongued orator, the likes of William Jennings Bryan, and he is not a Woodrow Wilson-type scholar and grammarian, either. But, since when has this become a political crime? Not one in a million of us have such attributes and few people can aspire to be as literate as those masters of the "big word"—when a little one would serve 'em better—who write for the GOP press in South Carolina. On occasions too numerous to catalog, these papers delight in downgrading both President and Senator, when it suits their political progaganda purposes.

Neither is Senator JOHNSTON the ultraliberal that his enemies try to paint him. Often he worked and voted against excessive spending and waste in foreign and domestic programs; he is, perhaps, ultraconservative on the race question, but his views here probably reflect those of a majority of his constituents. If he can be accurately tagged a "liberal" or "progressive" in any field—and such labels really have little meaning—it is in his votes and views on labor legislation and, from our vantage point in a minor managerial post, we cannot conscientiously say he is wrong. Labor, in South Carolina and in other parts of the Nation, has not precisely been living high on the hog of late—due to considerable unemployment and part-time jobs—and if labor has a moderate friend in Washington who is aware of its needs, who can raise legitimate objection? Senator JOHNSTON, in our view, is not radical even in the labor field and he kowtows to no overbearing, unscrupulous labor bosses.

It is, of course, understandable that the rank and file likes the senior Senator and the stands he takes because he came up through the ranks, himself. He worked in the mills to earn money for his education.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286 to 3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CLARINDA, IOWA,
*August 24, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned members of We the People Study Group acknowledge our support of House Resolution 211 for the establishment of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations. We feel that exposure to the world of the captive nations situation constitutes a great potential weapon against the Communist conspiracy. We therefore urge you to do all in your power to activate this bill now before the House Rules Committee and to effect its adoption by the Congress.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Harold Witthoft, Mrs. Martin Mier, Una Cole, Mrs. Ross Miller, Clarinda, Iowa; Mrs. John Bicknese, Wheatland, Iowa; Mrs. Jessie F. Shambaugh, Mrs. Herb J. Sunderman, Herb J. Sunderman, Harold Witthoft, Mrs. Floyd Wagoner, Floyd Wagoner, Laura Edmonds, Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Stickelman, Mr. and Mrs. Darrell Damewood, Mr. and Mrs. Jake Stimson, Clarinda, Iowa.

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AUGUST 28, 1962.

DEAR FRIEND OF LITHUANIA: Congratulations on your efforts for Lithuania and the other captive, colonial nations of the U.S.S.R. Let us hope that free elections can be held there someday.

Sincerely,

A. D. YUKNIS.

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NORTHBROOK, ILL.,
*August 27, 1962.*

Hon. ROMAN L. HRUSKA,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR HRUSKA: Thank you for so clearly pointing out, in your speech of August 8, the startling contrast between President Kennedy's proclamation of Captive Nations Week 1962, and the congressional resolution of 1959.

For some time I have been following the attempts to establish a House Committee on Captive Nations. This would provide a sorely needed encouragement to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as well as putting their slavemasters on notice that we have not abandoned these peoples to perpetual slavery. And yet the attitude of Secretary of State Rusk and the State Department is that we must not do anything which might antagonize the Communists. This same thinking has motivated the President's weak Captive Nations Week declaration.

I am thankful that we have men such as yourself in the Senate, who realize the folly of trying to be nice to the Communists.

Sincerely,

MRS. STEPHEN KRAYCHY.

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DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FLOOD: Please keep up the fight for a Captive Nations Committee.

MARY M. KRAYCHY.

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BREMERTON CAPTIVE NATIONS COUNCIL,
*Bremerton, Wash., September 3, 1962.*

Re Report of 1962 activities in relation to Captive Nations Week and House Resolution 211.

1. Lectured in Seattle, Bellingham, and Tacoma on the captive nations concept and the working procedures of a captive nations organization, providing guidelines for operational methods and activities.

2. At the Kitsap County Republican Central Committee Convention, we proposed, from the floor, a plank stipulating support of the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations as set forth in House Resolution 211, now pending in the U.S. House of Representatives. The proposed plank was debated and adopted.

3. Participated in the public meeting at the Seattle Chamber of Commerce building on Monday of Captive Nations Week, at which time we presented and read the annual proclamation by the Honorable H. O. Domstad, mayor of the city of Bremerton.

4. Printed and distributed 10,000 copies of a document entitled "The Third Week in July." This paper included the text of Public Law 86-90, President Eisenhower's 1959 Captive Nations Week proclamation, and President Kennedy's 1961 proclamation.

5. At the request of the Washington State Republican Central Committee Convention, we supplied 50 copies of a statement explaining the proposed establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations, a sheet setting forth the elements and extent of support for this legislation, and copies of "The Third Week in July." (The plank, identical to that adopted in Kitsap County, passed through the platform committee without debate; and was adopted by the convention, again without debate.)

6. At our suggestion, the Bremerton Chamber of Commerce studied the question of the proposed bill, House Resolution 211, and as a result of this inquiry into the matter, did pass and forward to Representative FLOOD a resolution in support of the House

measure and the resultant special committee embodied therein.

The Bremerton Captive Nations Council takes pleasure in commending the owners of local stores who took the initiative by presenting pertinent window displays during the week, the several ministers who saw fit to hold special services, the Bremerton Chamber of Commerce for its cooperation and interest in House Resolution 211, the many individuals here and in Washington, D.C., who labored to make the State observance a success, and Mayor Domstad and Governor Rosellini for their moving and heartfelt proclamations.

JAMES K. MORGAN,
*Chairman.*

## Problems of the Domestic Lumber Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of this Congress who has worked long and hard to assist in the solution of American lumber problems, particularly in my Northwest area, and who has had the privilege of working with the administration in this effort, I would like to present some replies to recent charges made on the floor of this House that "the economy of our lumber communities is being seriously disrupted by the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, and the administration."

The lumber industry has not yet come back from the serious deterioration which has been growing year by year for the past several. There are problems to be met and no one knows it better than any Member of Congress from the west coast; however, I feel this administration has attempted to work with us. It has been serious and attentive to the problem and while there is, as I repeat, a long way yet to go, particularly with reference to the Canadian problem, I do feel a statement of the facts is now in order.

Because of the number of allegations which have been made from time to time, I would like to take this opportunity to respond to each of them in turn.

The first which I wish to consider is the President's lumber economy announcement of July 26. The charge has been made that nothing has been done to implement any of the six points in that announcement. Those acquainted with the situation know otherwise, and I wish to bring those not acquainted with the situation up to date.

First. The initiation of negotiations with Canada concerning the amount of softwood lumber imported into the United States.

A delegation consisting of officials of the Department of State, Commerce, and Interior, and their advisers, met with Canadian officials on August 28–29.

Commenting on the discussions, Daniel L. Goldy, Administrator of the Department of Commerce's Business and Defense Services Administration, and adviser to the U.S. delegation, had this to say:

> The U.S. representatives, as a result of the discussions with Canadian representatives, were afforded an opportunity to present clearly the full range of grievances adversely affecting the U.S. softwood lumber industry. It was apparent to all present that the message was received and understood.

NLMA Executive Vice President Mortimer B. Doyle, expressed U.S. lumber industry gratification at the progress made in Ottawa, saying:

> We are encouraged that the preliminary discussions by the Canadian and United States Governments of the critical problem of excessive imports of Canadian softwood lumber resulted in agreement to undertake further discussion.
>
> We are sure that when the situation is fully explored, and all facts examined, the two Governments and their respective lumber industries will agree to affirmative action providing a friendly and practical solution of the problem.

A second meeting with the Canadians is scheduled to take place in October, and it is my earnest hope that industry technicians will be available to assist our negotiations.

Second. The submission of a request to the Congress for additional funds for forest development roads and trails program to assure the prompt harvest of national forest timber.

While statements have been made that the Department of Agriculture, and specifically the Forest Service, does not intend to use the appropriated access roads funds for the purpose of roads and trails into timber areas unless they are forced to do so. Nothing could be further from the truth.

I am advised that authorization for additional funds will come from the Biennial Federal Aid Highway Act. The appropriation bill under this act which is now in conference shows substantial increases for roads for the fiscal years 1964 and 1965 as well as an extra $20 million for the 1963 fiscal year. In addition, 10 percent of national forest gross receipts are allocated for timber access roads. The regular Forest Service appropriation provides from $2 to $5 million for roads. Another potential source of money for access roads is the public works program, which amounts to $900 million.

Although the money made available under these appropriations is specifically designated for multiple-purpose roads, I have been assured that the U.S. Forest Service intends to use more than 95 percent of the total amount for timber access roads.

The Forest Service is keenly aware of the log supply problem and is interested, I am sure, in making the full allowable cut available. This is evidenced by the fact that in the major western regions—Forest Service regions 1, 5, and 6, consisting of Washington, Oregon, California, Northern Idaho, and Montana—the Forest Service sold 2,937 million board feet of timber during the second quarter 1962, compared with 1,660 board feet during the second quarter of 1961. Furthermore, the average appraised price of the timber sold in 1962 was $8.90 per thousand board feet compared to $10.02 in 1961.

Third. The amendment of the intercoastal shipping laws to permit use of foreign vessels when those conditions exist which indicate severe hardship to American shippers. This amendment will reduce the handicaps suffered by American producers in the intercoastal shipment of lumber.

The claim has been made that legislation modifying the Jones Act for the benefit of the Pacific Northwest lumber industry "would be passed if the administration would only lend just tacit assistance." The fact that step 3 of the President's announcement of July 26 specifically called for amendment of the intercoastal shipping laws is evidence not only of tacit but expressed approval.

Those of us interested in really helping this segment of the lumber industry should unite behind the legislation which provides for a subsidy to American-flag vessels transporting lumber, which would enable ship operators to offer rates to U.S. lumber shippers comparable to rates available to Canadian lumber shippers. This is what is proposed in my bill—H.R. 9820—and Senator Magnuson's bill—S. 2737.

Some of our southern colleagues may be opposed to any modification of the Jones Act because the southern pine lumber industry fears an increase in competition in the Eastern market from U.S. Pacific coast lumber.

To this I would reply that historical records show that the combined waterborne shipments from the United States and Canada to the U.S. Atlantic coast remained relatively stable during the period 1952–61, ranging from a low of 1.3 billion board feet in 1952 to a high of 1.6 billion board feet in 1953. However, our concern, and we hope it is also the concern of our southern colleagues, is that British Columbia's participation in these shipments spiralled from 17.4 percent in 1952 to 65 percent for the period January–June 1962. Each of us should be anxious to see this market restored to the U.S. lumber industry.

Fourth. An immediate increase in allowable cuts which will make available 150 million board feet on the lands managed by the Department of the Interior.

If we are to be of help to the domestic lumber industry, we must be fully informed as to each remedial action taken by the administration. It does not benefit the lumber industry to scream that nothing of value is being done. I make specific reference to the charge that the Department of the Interior failed to act in response to the President's request to increase the annual allowable cut by 150 million board feet of timber on the lands managed by that Department. The Department of the Interior immediately acted upon the President's request and the lumber industry was most pleased by this action.

I quote from Random Lengths of September 10, 1962:

> Recently a relatively important and pace setting revision in forest management planning was accomplished by the Bureau of Land Management on the O. & C. lands in western Oregon. As a result, the allowable

cut on this relatively small forest acreage was increased about 15 percent.

Fifth. The establishment of a preference for American products in the purchase of lumber by the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration, and other Federal departments and agencies. This could be particularly significant in connection with the various aspects of the AID program.

Perhaps we can be of greatest assistance to our lumber industry insisting that the U.S. Government patronize the domestic lumber industry.

I understand that agencies throughout Government have tried to follow this policy; for example, the Department of Defense in fiscal year 1962 awarded 95 percent of its lumber procurement contracts to domestic small business firms. However, the Department of Defense has no means of assuring that the lumber obtained from these small business firms was all of domestic origin. I believe that we should look into all Government procurement with the thought of encouraging the procurement of 100 percent domestically produced lumber.

Under the Armed Services Procurement Regulations, the Canadian lumber industry is given equal opportunity to bid on U.S. military purchase contracts. We should request the Department of Defense to review its policy and amend its regulations to limit purchases to U.S.-produced lumber.

In response to this point in the President's program, the Agency for International Development has instructed its oversea offices to review their lumber procurement programs with respect to species and countries of origin with a view toward purchasing from the United States to the maximum degree. However, I am convinced that we should prevail upon AID to go much further. Our lumber and lumber fabricating industries are geared to produce high-quality, low-price houses for world markets, particularly for the substantial Latin American housing market for which U.S. financial assistance has been made available. I believe that those acquainted with the current situation in our lumber industry will agree with me that the benefits of this trade should accrue to the domestic lumber industry rather than to its foreign competitors.

Sixth. Increased attention to loan applications filed with the Small Business Administration and the Area Redevelopment Administration by lumber mills in order to enable them to upgrade their production and better compete with imported lumber products.

I know of no instance where a small lumber firm, qualified to receive and in need of financial assistance, has been refused help by either the Small Business Administration or the Area Redevelopment Administration. This statement is made to correct the erroneous remark that such requests for assistance have fallen on deaf ears.

Both the Small Business Administration and Area Redevelopment Administration have been alerted to the President's interest within this area. I know these agencies are anxious to make their total facilities available to lumber and wood products industries and to process such applications with the utmost speed.

Loans under these programs, according to my information, will be made to upgrade production of existing facilities and obtain better utilization of raw materials, including wood residue, and manpower. For example, loans will be considered for the addition of dry kilns, chippers and debarkers, resaws and remanufacturing equipment, and establishment of particle board and hardboard plants.

I am also advised that loans will be used to establish new facilities in areas where raw materials are now underutilized. Loans will not be used to create new primary capacity in areas where a shortage of logs exists or where the log supply would not support the new and already established plants on a sustained-yield basis.

A number of loans in this field have been approved by both the Small Business Administration and Area Redevelopment Administration and several applications are being considered. However, action on the part of either the Small Business Administration or Area Redevelopment Administration is dependent upon specific requests from firms in need of financial assistance.

Just last month permanent year-round jobs were created for 80 workers in a new plywood plant at Chehalis, Wash., in my own district, as a result of a $140,000 ARA industrial loan made to Cowlitz Forest Products, Inc.

REVIEW OF FOREST SERVICE ALLOWABLE CUTS

I would like to comment on another statement to the effect that the Forest Service does not offer sufficient timber for sale and that which is offered is put up at a price which the small operator cannot meet. This statement was obviously made without knowledge of recent changes in the timber sales policy of the Forest Service. I recognize that the potential obtainable goal has not been reached, but we must all recognize that substantial advancements have been made. Furthermore, I have been advised that additional improvements are soon to be announced.

Secretary Freeman has appointed a committee headed by a professor from the Forestry Department of the University of Michigan assisted by the most competent employees in the Forest Service, who are experts in the particular study area, to formulate a report to the President reviewing allowable cut determinations. This report, in response to the President's request, will be submitted to the President on October 15.

While we cannot prejudge the conclusions of the report, I am told that recommendations will be made, such as shorter rotation periods, which will increase the allowable cut. Such action will place more national forest timber on the market and consequently lower the price of stumpage, thereby placing the domestic lumber industry in a more competitive position.

INTERAGENCY COOPERATION

I understand that there will be a continuing review of the problems of the lumber industry. Since the President's directive, an interagency committee, which has the full support and endorsement of the heads of all departments and agencies, has been active.

At the Ottawa Conference, the latter part of August, the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, State, and Interior were represented. In addition, consultations were held with knowledgeable principals in all concerned departments and agencies and with industrial leaders. I have been assured that there is every intention to maintain this committee on an active status in order to benefit from its advice in preparing for future meetings with the Canadians, and in implementing other parts of the President's program.

IMPORT QUOTA

Certain of my colleagues have criticized the President for his failure to establish an import quota on softwood lumber. These same individuals were equally critical of the fact that the first Ottawa Lumber Conference did not result in the establishment of a quota.

It must be pointed out that the President has taken the only actions open to him with respect to the imposition of import quotas.

The President has authority to impose quotas only (a) under the Agriculture Act of 1956, as amended, by section 204 providing there is a voluntary agreement between the countries concerned and (b) under the escape clause provision section 7, or the national security clause section 8 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958. He has taken all feasible steps under these alternatives.

As you know, he has requested the Tariff Commission to complete as expeditiously as possible consideration of the application filed by west coast lumber interests for an escape clause investigation. The Commission has scheduled hearings to begin on October 2. He has also instructed the concerned Governmental departments to initiate negotiations with Canada concerning the amount of softwood lumber imported into the United States. It is in this connection that the President has authority to impose an import quota under the Agriculture Act of 1956, as amended.

BUSINESS TRIPS AND TRADE MISSIONS

We are all familiar with the national export expansion program of this administration. In this connection, the Department of Commerce has and continues to work closely with the domestic lumber industry in promoting business trips and trade missions abroad for the expansion of lumber export markets. Currently, I have learned, preparations are underway for a privately financed business trip of five lumber industry executives scheduled for October 5 to 11 to the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and Italy. The Department of Commerce has handled the necessary preparatory work and will furnish an "advance" man to arrange, through our Foreign Service posts, meetings with principal lumber importers, lumber-using industrial and residential contractors, and wood household and office furniture manufacturers.

Work also is underway relative to a softwood lumber trade mission scheduled for spring of 1963. This specialized trade mission, which will be financed by the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, is tentatively scheduled to visit potential softwood lumber markets in Europe, Australia, and Japan. The Department of Commerce is working closely with this industrial segment to assure the success of the trade mission, which is directed toward expanding existing markets and creating new markets for U.S. softwood lumber abroad.

We in the Congress should do all in our power to enhance the opportunities of the lumber industry to expand its trade in world markets. Along this line, I have introduced a bill to exclude cargo which is lumber from conference agreements under the Shipping Act, 1916, and from certain tariff filing requirements under such act. An identical bill has been introduced by Senator MAGNUSON. This proposed legislation would enable the lumber industry to compete more effectively with Canada in world markets.

I also urge your support of the bill, S. 3517, which would apply 50 percent of the duties on lumber and other forest products which would amount to $7½ million, to promoting new markets for the industry. This bill has passed the Senate and its companion, H.R. 12472, which I introduced should be passed by the House.

In closing, I would like to quote from one of our western timber companies who says:

> Many creditable gains have been made by the forest industries through legislative efforts in 1962. The outstanding gains are in creating unity within a big but loosely hung industry and in developing better acquaintance with the Congress. This helps create a foundation upon which much progress can be anticipated.

Our lumber communities' welfare, our national lumber welfare, need every ounce of our assistance.

## Nikola Petkov—15th Anniversary Observance of His Execution by Bulgarian Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, since the end of the last war many stouthearted and outspoken champions of freedom and democracy have been betrayed, blackmailed, and treacherously murdered or executed by Communist tyrants. Only by silencing and liquidating their actual and potential opponents have Communist leaders attained power, only through such foul and treacherous methods they have managed to stay in power in Communist-dominated countries in Europe.

Nikola Petkov, as a great popular and democratic leader in Bulgarian politics, had emerged as the bravest champion of democracy towards the end of the last war. He headed the powerful Agrarian Party and hoped to set up a democratic government in postwar Bulgaria. Of course he had no illusions about the difficulties he was to encounter in this constructive task; he knew that Communists and their friends were his formidable and deadly opponents, but he felt that as long as he could count on the support of the majority of his countrymen in a fair and honestly conducted election, he was certain of success. For 2 years this gallant son of the Bulgarian people fought the forces of communism, showing his unshakable faith in free and democratic way of life. In June 1947, when the Communist regime was firmly established there, he was blackmailed, arrested, tried on trumped-up charges of treason, and then executed on September 27. In observing the 15th anniversary of Nikola Petkov's treacherous execution by Communists, we pay tribute to the memory of this gallant Bulgarian leader, a true fighter for the cause of freedom and democracy.

## U.N. Is Seen as U.S. Foe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Yorkville Enquirer, York, S.C., of September 20, 1962:

U.N. IS SEEN AS U.S. FOE
(By Rose White)

Last Friday, Americans learned that the U.S. House of Representatives had approved the purchase of up to $100 million in United Nations bonds. This legislation will now go before the House-Senate conference where the differences between the House and Senate will be ironed out.

Of the 104 member nations of the U.N., 66 are in arrears on payment of their Congo account, and 56 on their Gaza strip assessments.

A vital question seems to be, "Has the United Nations, in its role as peacemaker, really succeeded?"

Lord Beaverbrook, a noted British publisher has said, "Here in New York City, you Americans have the biggest fifth column in the world—the United Nations."

The late Senator Taft declared, "The United Nations has become a trap. Let's go it alone."

Winston Churchill, of worldwide fame, says, "Don't pay attention to the U.N."

A quick look at the U.N. record book will show exactly why these statements were made:

Trygve Lie, longtime Secretary General of the United Nations, stated flatly that there was a secret agreement between Alger Hiss and Molotov to the effect that the head of the United Nations should always be a Communist. That agreement has never been broken, and a succession of Communists have filled that post, the present one being Mr. Arkadev. As a consequence of this treasonous agreement, this country lost its first military engagement in Korea at a cost of 145,000 American casualties and more than $20 billion to say nothing of the honor and prestige of this Nation. This was the first war in which we engaged, not as the United States, but as the United Nations force, although we contributed 90 percent of the men and money.

How very convenient this was to the Communists to have one of their own men as head of the U.N. military staff, who reviewed all orders going from the Pentagon to General MacArthur and gave them to the enemy before MacArthur received them.

The enemy, which consisted of the Red Communist army, Russian equipment, and fliers, was driven back to the Yalu River and given sanctuary on the other side. General MacArthur could have made short order of the enemy had he been permitted to pursue them. We were sold the U.N. on a promise of peace, but what we failed to realize was, this peace was on Communist terms.

The United Nations has not even passed a resolution of condemnation or censorship against Russia for its Hungarian blood bath, but stood by and helped to betray those courageous Hungarian freedom fighters into the hands of Russia. Those brave lovers of liberty fought in the streets with sticks and stones while the red blood of freedom flowed beneath Russian tanks and machineguns.

The United Nations could not even get a censorship resolution against India for its military invasion of Portuguese enclaves. In fact, the U.N. has passed no resolution of condemnation against Russia or any of its satellites or against the so-called neutral countries, but busies itself with resolutions of condemnation against our own allies such as Portugal, Holland, and France.

The United Nations actually sent troops into the Congo to prevent self-determination of a civilized and Christian province which wanted no part of a Communist-controlled Congo. This action in Katanga is beyond comprehension.

We can, by retaining our membership in the U.N. look to see the United States condemned for having a naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. You say this is fantastic? The same 66 votes which threw France out of its legal position in Bizerte can vote the United States out of Guantánamo Bay.

Make no mistake, communism is dedicated to the destruction of freedom in the world.

William Z. Foster, former head of the Communist Party in the United States of America, stated, "the final aim of the Communist international is to overthrow world capitalism and replace it with world communism—all the capitalist parties—Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Progressive—will be liquidated. Studies will be revolutionized, being cleansed of religious, patriotic, and other features of the bourgeois ideology."

Last week, the FBI made public the case of espionage by Soviet citizens in the U.N. These two citizens had paid a New York politician $3,000 to give them secret information and make pro-Russian speeches. The politician, Richard Flink, worked with the FBI to help uncover the illegal activities. Both spies have left the country. How many more remain?

Former President Herbert Hoover recently told the American people that "we must realize that the United Nations has failed to give us even a remote hope of lasting peace. Instead, it adds to the dangers of wars which now surrounds us for it contains the disintegrating forces of the Communist nations in its membership. The time is here when, if the free nations are to survive, they must have a new and stronger worldwide organization. It should include only those who are willing to stand up and fight for their freedom."

## Higher Education in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS J. LANE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very interesting article issued by the New England Board of Higher Education:

The development of streptomycin, the conquest of rickets and pellagra, technical assistance teams to underdeveloped countries, the first educational television station, the low price of poultry—these are but a sampling of the impact of the land-grant movement.

Now celebrating their first century, the land-grant colleges are helping to achieve the goal that Justin Smith Morrill, of Vermont, set for them of "the wider dissemination of knowledge." Today they enroll 20 percent of the Nation's college students, award 40 percent of the doctoral degrees, provide about half of the country's Regular and Reserve Armed Forces officers, undertake research projects costing millions, and train much of the Nation's scientific manpower.

Until the middle of the 19th century, American higher education remained resolutely classical. Few students went to college, and then only those entering what Morrill called the "sedentary" professions of law, medicine, the ministry, and teaching. Yet agitation was increasing for institutions that would provide an education that "will be useful," as one writer put it, "not a piano, French, Spanish or flower daub education."

Morrill's Land-Grant Act of 1862 remade American higher education. To promote both "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes," it awarded 30,000 acres of public land (or scrip if land was not available) for each State's Members of Congress to support "at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

In New England, Massachusetts allotted a third of its land-grant income to assist the new Massachusetts Institute of Technology and two-thirds to create a Massachusetts Agricultural College (now the University of Massachusetts).

Elsewhere in the region, Brown University, Dartmouth College, and Yale's Sheffield Scientific School received early land-grant support; but following the Second Morrill Act of 1890—which gave each State up to $25,000 a year to aid the struggling colleges—Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut assigned the funds to State institutions. Since then, the region's seven land-grant institutions have included MIT and the six State Universities.

Established to meet the Nation's need for agricultural and engineering education, the land-grant colleges for the first time made the new scientific and vocational subjects equal with the traditional liberal arts; and in addition to teaching, they accepted two other tasks; research and extension service. Moreover they held that every willing American was entitled to some form of higher education at public expense, and they demonstrated how the Federal Government could aid this effort without controlling education.

In New England, the land-grant universities, long neglected, have come of age. In 1957 the University of Rhode Island was finally authorized to grant the Ph. D.; in 1961 Connecticut authorized a State medical-dental school; and this summer Massachusetts laid plans for a medical school and gave the university its long-awaited fiscal autonomy.

The land-grant movement has not only changed the course of higher education in New England and across America; now its influence is felt overseas. New European colleges are following American patterns, and those in the new countries of Asia and Africa are adopting the land-grant philosophy, in Paul A. Miller's words, "that all work is dignified and relevant and that intelligence is as widespread among the common people as it is within the elite." In sum, the land-grant goal of the wider dissemination of knowledge through teaching, research, and extension is spreading around the globe.

Many New Englanders know that their State universities will test soil samples or provide information on garden care. Few, however, are aware of the multitude of projects at their universities' agricultural and engineering experiment stations.

Last year, for instance, at Rhode Island's agricultural station, 28 full-time scientists plus parttime researchers and graduate assistants were working on 67 Federal and 40 non-Federal projects. Seventy projects were in progress in Vermont, and 75 in Connecticut. Their scope ranged from the development of new forage crops to studies of animal genetics, plant diseases, and population trends.

In 1875 Connecticut helped Wilber Atwater create the first American agricultural experiment station at Wesleyan University, and by 1887 Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont had established similar stations. In that year the Hatch Act granted each State $15,000 annually to support research stations as part of its land-grant college, and by 1955 Federal contributions to agricultural research had reached $19.5 million a year. In addition without Federal aid engineering stations similar to the agricultural stations have been formed at the Universities of Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

The contribution of the agricultural experiment stations to the American consumer can be seen from two projects in poultry science. One, a University of Maine study 50 years ago of inheritance factors in egg production, keyed the development of the Nation's table egg industry. The other, a series of Connecticut studies during the 1930's, revolutionized broiler, turkey, and egg production by providing the basis for high-energy poultry rations.

Besides their plant and animal research, the agricultural experiment land use and resource development, and in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture they are providing research for the rural area development program, designed to accelerate economic growth in low-income rural communities.

Local problems often prompt research. Massachusetts has set up a separate research station in East Wareham to aid its cranberry industry, and the Connecticut station is studying adjustment problems caused by the declining market for shade-grown tobacco.

One fact reported by the Department of Agriculture points up the benefits from these stations. If farmers still used 1940 methods, the extra cost of $13 billion a year would be passed onto consumers, adding over $5 a week to every family's grocery bill. But the bill for all agricultural research over the past 100 years comes to less than $6 billion. Research, in short, has been a bargain, and in the years ahead it will prove an even bigger bargain.

## Eleanor Roosevelt Reports on Progress of President's Commission on Status of Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER**
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, public understanding of the special problems which confront working women is one of the objectives of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. As a member of the Commission, I am pleased to report to the Senate that significant strides have been made toward this goal during 7 months in which the Commission has been functioning.

The Commission has achieved clarification of Federal Government policies so that women in the Federal service shall have equal employment opportunity. President Kennedy has issued a directive that appointment or promotion in the Federal career service shall be made without regard to sex. The Commission's subcommittees are working on a variety of subjects which affect the 24 million women in America's labor force, such as equal pay for equal work, and the special tax problems of working women.

A short time ago, the able and beloved Chairman of the Commission, the Honorable Eleanor Roosevelt, delivered an interim report to President Kennedy on the progress which has been achieved in this important field. Mrs. Roosevelt's wise guidance and unstinting energy have been major factors in the achievements made so far by the Commission.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the Labor Day statement of Mrs. Roosevelt about the Commission's work and an exchange of correspondence between Mrs. Roosevelt and President Kennedy.

There being no objection, the statement and correspondence were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR DAY STATEMENT BY MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, CHAIRMAN, THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

On behalf of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, I feel it is appropriate on this Labor Day to acknowledge our appreciation of two groups of American women. As Chairman of the Commission, I send grateful greeting to the 24 million women who comprise one-third of our total work force and to the millions of our working men's wives, many of whom are numbered among our 24 million working women.

Since early colonial days, American women have shouldered their workloads alongside American men. Our country's present abundance stems from the partnership of our men and our women in creating a strong economy in a free society.

The President's Commission on the Status of Women is concerned that the opportunity to contribute to our dynamic society be extended without discrimination to all citizens. This opportunity will become even more attainable as we expand our economy to meet the challenge of the times.

MRS. ROOSEVELT'S REPORT AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S REPLY ON THE PROGRESS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

(NOTE.—On August 26, 1920, the then Secretary of State of the United States, Bainbridge Colby, issued a proclamation certifying final adoption of the 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Just 8 days earlier, after a legislative battle and close vote in the Tennessee House of Representatives, Tennessee had ratified the 19th amendment to become the 36th ratifying State of the necessary two-thirds of the 48 States. Thus, 26 million women of voting age became enfranchised in this country.

(In 1962 on the weekend of the 42d anniversary of that momentous event—an event that enabled this Nation's women to become voting citizens, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women which was created by President John F. Kennedy in December 1961, sent the President a letter and progress report on the work of the Commission and received from the President a letter of reply. The exchange of correspondence and the progress report follow:)

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN,
*Washington, D.C., August 24, 1962.*

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is with great satisfaction that we submit the attached report and some of the thinking of the President's Commission on the Status of Women.

The Commission has asked me to tell you that we are undertaking the responsibility you have placed upon us, aware of its significance and confident that more rapid progress can indeed be made toward full partnership of women in our American democracy.

Respectfully,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT,
*Chairman.*

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THE WHITE HOUSE,
*August 25, 1962.*

Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT,
*Chairman, President's Commission on the Status of Women, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MRS. ROOSEVELT: I was very pleased to receive your report on the work of my Commission on the Status of Women, which you head, and I commend you and the other members of the Commission for the work done so far.

You can be especially pleased with the advances you have brought about by opening increased opportunities for women in the Federal service and in the higher ranks of our Armed Forces. These are but two examples of the areas you are attacking where this type of discrimination has prevented the full use of talents and skills.

It will be 42 years tomorrow since women gained the right to participate fully in the governing of our country through the right to vote. It is appropriate on this date, therefore, that we take note of the progress made and the distance to be traveled to achieve full equality for all of our citizens.

Please accept my thanks for the important part you are playing in this difficult task. I know that the Commission will continue to make a beneficial contribution to our society.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

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PROGRESS REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

In appreciation of the responsibility placed upon us and of the support you have given us, we now have the honor of submitting this report to you on the first 6 months of our activities as members of the President's Commission on the Status of Women.

August 26 will mark the 42d year since the ratification of the 19th amendment. This, we believe, is an especially appropriate time, therefore, to report to you.

Our experience fully confirms the wisdom of your decision to establish the Commission. Our work, even at this early stage, has aroused widespread interest both here in the United States and abroad. We are confident that we shall, in the end, make significant advances toward a more general understanding of women's progress and problems.

Our work has already produced important results. We have reinforced the notable efforts of Chairman John W. Macy, of the Civil Service Commission, to carry out your objectives in making the Federal service an example of both the feasibility and the benefits of a vigorous policy of equal employment opportunity.

During our Hyde Park meeting on June 16 and 17, we were especially gratified to receive your letter conveying the opinion of the Attorney General that the President has authority to regulate whether a position in the career service may be filled by men only or by women only or by qualified members of either sex, followed by your directive that appointment or promotion in the Federal career service shall be made without regard to sex. These actions will be of the greatest assistance to Chairman Macy in furthering the removal of barriers to the employment of women in the Federal service, an effort which has already produced major results.

The Department of Defense is giving sympathetic attention to our recent recommendation that they eliminate separate statutory restrictions on the number of colonels/captains and lieutenant colonels/commanders in the women's components of the Armed Forces. You have already approved H.R. 4783 which corrects an inequity regarding service of women in the Spars.

The Commission has planned a representative conference on September 24 to consider various approaches intended to promote equal employment opportunities for women in companies with Federal Government contracts.

These actions have resulted from interim reports by committees established to review progress and make recommendations as needed for constructive action in the six areas specified in your executive order. The seven committees include more than 70 representative persons in addition to Commission members, one of whom serves as chairman for each committee. The enthusiastic and illuminating contributions of these people, who come largely from important organizations or are experts in the fields under analysis, are of great aid and encouragement to the Commission.

The committees, which are to complete their final reports by May 1, 1963, are being assisted by our own small staff and by appropriate Government agencies. We are grateful to the cooperating departments for their collaboration and for the financial assistance they have given us.

EQUAL PAY, MINIMUM WAGE PRINCIPLES ENDORSED

As you directed, we have been seeking the cooperation of a wide variety of individuals and civilian groups and are requesting information from the States on their laws and experience, especially in the areas of civil and political rights, property and family relationships and protective labor legislation. We have endorsed the principle of Federal and State minimum wage legislation and its further extension to both men and women. We have also endorsed the principle of equal pay.

We are at a point in history when the capacities of all our citizens must be developed and used. Although people generally agree that women have basic rights which should be respected and fostered as part of our Nation's commitment to equality, freedom, and democracy, many attitudes and institutions have not yet responded fully to changing conditions. Even legal provisions affecting civil, political, and property rights have lagged badly in some areas.

You have asked for constructive action. This is our emphasis. In focusing on women's needs, we are face to face with basic problems of modern society, and measures we are considering will, we believe, benefit the entire community.

Better services and protection for families will strengthen home life and promote good family relationships upon which the general welfare of the Nation rests.

IMPROVED EDUCATION NEEDED AT ALL AGES

Expanded community activities, both paid and volunteer, to rear the young, heal the sick, and cherish the aged will aid those who give as well as those who receive, and will bring our entire Nation closer to realizing its ideals. Improved education at all ages will help to reveal our full human talents and release the creative abilities needed to end poverty and build understanding among people of all continents.

The right to contribute fully on the basis of individual choice and ability can be exercised with dignity in many ways—in the home, through volunteer work, through private and Government employment. Aware of the realities of today's world, women—and men—can better plan to carry out the family and community responsibilities which they consider important.

Many women must work outside the home to support themselves and their families and to satisfy other needs. For those women who desire and seek employment, genuine equality of economic opportunity requires that they be judged and rewarded on the basis of what they show themselves able to do. We cannot consider our economy sound if women who have a contribution to make are not fully enabled to do so.

The Commission's success in contributing to the full partnership of women will depend in no small measure on expanding opportunities for all our people. A rapidly rising national output is the strongest weapon against substandard jobs, poverty-stricken homes, and barren lives.

A wider range of areas will, of course, be covered in our final recommendations next year, as requested in your Executive order and statement of December 14, 1961.

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## Helium Conservation: An Ideal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the long-range program in which industry and Government are working together to save helium now lost when natural gases containing it are burned as fuel is one of the most forward-looking and commendable efforts ever made in the field of conservation.

When the Federal Government acts to curb waste of a limited, irreplaceable resource, esential to the Nation's scientific and industrial progress, such action surely can be called worthwhile. When the Government's program also manages to attract private capital at private risk,

creates many new jobs for industry, stimulates the national economy, and brings rapid advances in technology, it can even be termed praiseworthy. But when this same program is so conceived and carried out that it accomplishes all of these things and also pays for itself in the process, then it must inevitably be rated close to ideal.

The helium-conservation program is destined to achieve this, and more. It is my conviction, to, that the program is providing for the world an outstanding example of how industry and Government can cooperate in an enterprise that is beneficial to both, and to the entire Nation as well.

Consider what has already been accomplished.

Enabling legislation for the helium-conservation program was enacted by the 86th Congress in September 1960; however, funds for the program did not become available until August 3 of the folowing year. On August 15—only 12 days later—Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall announced approval of the first long-term helium-purchase contract between the Department's Bureau of Mines and the Helex Co., a subsidiary of Northern Natural Gas Co.

Within 90 days, three additional helium-purchase agreements had been negotiated and approved, with Cities Service Helex, Inc., National Helium Corp.—a Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Co.—National Distillers & Chemical Corp. subsidiary—and Phillips Petroleum Co. The four 22-year agreements to date have obligated all of the Bureau's purchasing authority, originally limited by Congress to $47.5 million worth of helium a year.

At about the time these remarks are being made—that is, in little more than a year from the date of the first contract—helium from the Helex Co.'s new extraction plant at Bushton, Kans., will be on its way to the Cliffside gasfield, operated by the Bureau of Mines at Amarillo, Tex., some 350 miles away. There, the helium conserved by the program will be stored underground until it is needed to meet future demands.

Building and equipping a multi-million-dollar installation at Bushton in a matter of months is remarkable enough, but is only one of a series of well-timed and carefully coordinated steps that have brought helium conservation to the verge of reality in a fantastically short time.

Besides the Helex plant at Bushton, four other helium-extraction plants are being built—and will be maintained and operated—by private industry under the contracts approved thus far. Work is well along on all of these installations, as their scheduled operation dates indicate. Two of the plants, under construction for Phillips, in Sherman County, and Dumas, Tex., are expected to begin delivering helium in December. The National Helium Corp. plant near Liberal, Kans., and the one being built by Cities Service Helex at Ulysses, Kans., are both due to go on stream next March.

To get the crude helium from these five industrial plants to the Cliffside gasfield with minimum delay and expense, the Bureau of Mines arranged for construction of a 430-mile pipeline system running north from Cliffside to a terminus near Bushton. This line, designed by William Bros. of Tulsa, Okla., and built under two construction schedules by Groninger & King of Pampa, Tex., and R. H. Fulton & Co., of Lubbock, Tex., is all but complete. The main section already has been laid and is ready to receive helium from the Bushton plant. Laterals that will connect the mainline to the other new plants are being installed while I am speaking. Between October 1961, when the design-engineering firm was selected, and mid-July 1962, when the main section of the line was completed, the Bureau advertised and awarded more than 90 contracts totaling over $4.2 million, on items ranging from telemetering and flow-recording equipment to pipeline wrapping, paint, and milepost markets. These were in addition to the two construction contracts.

The speed with which the helium-conservation program has moved forward is a tribute to the care that was taken in planning it. The Department of the Interior realised, for example, that the price of helium would have to be increased to make the program self-liquidating. Accordingly, the price of the element f.o.b. the Bureau's plants was raised from $19 per thousand cubic feet to $35. This price, calculated on the basis of present and anticipated demand, will enable the Bureau to pay back in 25 years, with interest, all funds that must be borrowed from the Treasury to purchase helium during the early years of the conservation program. Thus, the users of helium will pay the costs involved in insuring the continued availability of this valuable substance.

Foresight has characterized the helium-conservation program from its inception. It was foresight that made the Department and Members of Congress from helium areas recognize the urgent need for prompt action to conserve the relatively small percentages of helium being lost in natural gases serving fuel markets. After all, the helium content of these gases average only about one-half of 1 percent, and the Government's own helium plants in the Southwest already are producing more than enough to satisfy present requirements. Where, then, was the justification for a large-scale conservation effort?

The answer, of course, is that half of 1 percent of the billions of cubic feet of helium-bearing gas now produced annually is an impressive figure—representing waste of approximately 4 billion cubic feet a year, or more than 9 times the amount of helium we now consume. And demand for helium has been increasing rapidly ever since World War II, with no end to the upward trend in sight. In fact, essential uses for helium in electronics, nuclear energy, missiles and space exploration, and the growing field of cryogenics research promise to increase further the Nation's requirements.

It was obvious that unless conservation began quickly, helium requirements could be expected to exceed supply as early as 1985. Hence, immediate efforts were instituted to formulate legislation to meet the problem. The entire matter was originally heard by the Mines and Mining Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I was chairman. The impressive facts that had been gathered together caused an awakening in the Congress as to the need for conservation of such an essential resource. There was one strong school of thought to the effect that helium, wherever found, should be taken over by the Government under the exercise of the right of eminent domain. This was based primarily upon the theory that helium would become an indispensable element in our defense structure and the space exploration activities. Nevertheless, those of us who have long supported the basic free enterprise theory were successful in defeating moves to make this an all-Government project. The development of the oil and gas business to its present world-leadership position is due to the exercise of private initiative and not Government ownership. Therefore, it is logical to assume that the proper development of our helium resources can be accomplished through the same route.

Experience in the helium-conservation program has refuted irrevocably those who would malign the natural gas industry as self-interested and hungry for profits. The program has been implemented more rapidly, more efficiently, and at less cost to the taxpayer than would have been possible had the Federal Government attempted to go it alone.

Under contracts negotiated by the Bureau of Mines, the dynamic capabilities of a free industry in a free economy have come into full play. Five private helium-extraction plants, incorporating technological advances undreamed of at the start of the program, are now nearing completion in less time than it would have taken the Government to build one installation had it been forced to tackle the job by itself.

This can be illustrated with a single example of the technological innovations that have been stimulated by the cooperative program: the helium plants built by Bureau of Mines during World War II utilized multiple-extraction units that could process only 2½ million cubic feet of helium-bearing natural gas daily. The Bureau's newest plant, which began operating at Keyes, Okla., only 3 years ago in 1959, has three extraction units each capable of processing gas at the rate of 25 million cubic feet a day. In contrast, the private plants now in construction are designed to process between 400 and 500 million cubic feet of gas daily in a single extraction unit.

I want to emphasize here that some of this advanced technology is so new that it is virtually untried on a commercial scale. Of course, the companies incorporating it are confident that it will work; but if by any chance it does not, the companies themselves must invest whatever additional money is needed to make it work. They are taking the risk, not the Government. Under the present contracts, the Government guarantees only to pay a fixed price—negotiated

separately with each company and depending on the helium content of the gas and the difficulty of extracting it—for the helium it receives.

Another advantage has been realized by having industry participate in the conservation effort. The terms of the purchase agreements now in effect provide private companies with maximum incentive to make adjustments in their natural gas operations that will enable them to process as much helium-bearing gas as possible. Pipeline systems, for instance, might well be worth modifying if such modifications would mean increased efficiency in extracting helium for sale to the Government. In this way, the fullest possible conservation of helium has been encouraged.

Many side benefits also have accrued from the program. Hundreds of new jobs have been created, not only in the companies participating directly in helium conservation, but also in industries supplying structural materials and equipment for the new industrial plants. The scientific and technological progress resulting from the program can be expected to lead to additional improvements in processing and transporting natural gas and, possibly, to economic extraction of larger quantities of such desired products as propane, butane, and ethane. Moreover, removal of inert helium—nitrogen, which is used in the low-temperature helium-extraction process—automatically increases the capacity of pipelines to transport burnable hydrocarbons. Finally, gas consumers no longer will have to pay for the transmission and distribution of a substance that has no value as a fuel.

Of course, helium could have been conserved without the gas industry's help. The Bureau of Mines could have paid the companies for the helium in fuel gases and then built its own plants to extract the element, under arrangements similar to those now governing helium production at four of the Bureau's five helium installations. However, such a course would not have achieved the program's objective—to obtain maximum conservation at minimum cost to the taxpayer.

To attempt to save the quantities of helium that will be conserved through Government-industry cooperation, the Bureau would have had to expand its staff enormously. Even then, the Government could hardly hope to amass and concentrate efficiently the manpower and other resources that industry has poured into the program.

From the very beginning, the most vital factor in helium conservation has been time. With every day that passed, more than 10 million cubic feet of an indispensable resource was being lost forever to the atmosphere. The saving of time has been industry's major contribution to the program. By cutting drastically the time that would have been required to get the conservation effort moving, industry has made it possible to conserve even more helium than was originally considered possible. Furthermore, this saving has been accomplished at an extremely low cost.

While much pride can be taken in the fact that great progress has been made over a relatively short period of time, it should be pointed out that the job is not finished, nor is it near completion. In the early analyses of the current situation, the Department of the Interior proposed the conservation of 52 billion cubic feet of helium in addition to meeting current demand to 1985. Of this total, about 41½ billion cubic feet will be saved at plants operating under purchase contracts already in effect. This means that 10½ billion cubic feet remain to be conserved; perhaps even more if progress to date is any indication. So, our efforts must continue to the end that this country will not be caught short because of waste and lack of foresight.

## Recent Reforms in Judicial Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very enlightening article by Judge Sterry R. Waterman, of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, who is now a vice president of the American Judicature Society:

RECENT REFORMS IN JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

(By Sterry R. Waterman)

In the summer of 1906 Roscoe Pound, then a young Nebraska lawyer, made a speech to the American Bar Association on "The Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction With the Administration of Justice."

In the fall of 1912 Herbert Harley, a young Michigan lawyer, sent his "circular letter concerning the administration of justice" to some 200 of the leading judges, law teachers, and lawyers in the Nation.

The speech analyzed the reasons behind some of the failures in the administration of justice of the time, suggested cures, advocated reform. It became, to use John H. Wigmore's words, the "catechism for all progressive lawyers and judges." As Arthur T. Vanderbilt has rightly said, it "should be required reading once a year for every judge, practicing lawyer, and law student on the day he returns from his summer vacation."

The letter called for organized leadership by the legal profession so as to achieve the needed reform and the writer proposed that a national organization be founded for "energizing and elevating the administration of justice." This letter of 50 years ago led to the founding shortly thereafter of the American Judicature Society—to promote the efficient administration of justice.

Most of the judicial reform in America may be traced to these two beginnings.

Dean Wigmore's assessment of Pound's speech needs no embellishment. Glenn Winters' description of the activities of the American Judicature Society under the leadership of Herbert Harley, together with the excerpts from Vanderbilt's "The Challenge of Law Reform" reprinted in this first of the golden anniversary issues of the Journal of the American Judicature Society, include most of the major reforms achieved prior to the last decade. It remains for me only to note briefly some of the dimensions of the improvements in the administration of justice during the past dozen years.

Even a superficial review of recent reforms in judicial administration reveals two significant developments. First, one is impressed by the extent of the knowledgeable interest in the field and the breadth and variety of enthusiastic leadership. It is good to note that these recent needed changes have not been brought about by just a few dedicated, determined and talent men or by a minimum number of organized groups working against wide-spread professional inertia. On the contrary, responsibility for reform has been accepted as a professional responsibility. Many improvements have been initiated by court rule; judges and associations of judges working as groups have effected substantial changes; law schools and their faculties have assumed new roles of leadership; more and more State and local bar associations and their committees have joined with the American Judicature Society in spearheading a growing movement toward more efficient administration of justice.

Second, one finds that these reforms are of many different kinds and have been made at many different levels. There has been internal correction within existing judicial structures. There have also been replacements of obsolete structures and the discarding of outworn functions These advances have occurred in magistrate's courts and in courts of last resort—wherever justice is administered. Since 1951 traffic courts have been the object of nationwide concern. Minor court reform has been achieved in many jurisdictions. Following the leadership of New Jersey and Delaware, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1952 adopted a unified court system that has become a model of efficient judicial administration. In following years major court reorganizations were secured in Florida, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. In 1956 Alaska adopted its State constitution containing a judicial article that provided for a unified State court system. In 1960 Arizona joined the growing number of States with unified courts. New York scored a smashing victory for State court reform last year. In the past dozen years more court reorganization has taken place than ever before in our history, and this year in November the voters of at least five more States will pass on major court reorganization proposals.

All of these procedural and administrative reforms are too numerous to list, but any representative sample of them demonstrates how significant the achievements are. A large number of States have enacted new rules of civil and criminal procedure comparable to the Federal rules. Many State supreme courts have made significant advances through the use of their rulingmaking powers. The Federal courts have continued to improve their procedural and administrative operations. Representative samples are California's mandatory civil pretrial procedure, and the first use, in 1955, of a certificate of readiness in a Federal court. As one would also expect, there has been a comparable growth during this time in the number of court administrators, and a steady increase in the use by courts of sound administrative practices. The superior court of Los Angeles is representative of many other State and metropolitan courts where enlightened administrators have made drastic advances both in practice-procedural and in intracourt techniques.

THE INSTITUTE OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

Since its founding in 1952 one cannot overstate the importance of the Institute of Judicial Administration in this field. Not

only has the institute pioneered in supplying modern research methods for the resolution of court problems, but it has also shown law schools and their faculties how to assume active leadership in court reform and how to include the field of judicial administration in their curriculums as a serious subject for instruction and research. In addition, no other single organization has done so much to bring the problem of court congestion and delay to the attention of the courts, the legal profession, and the public.

Not all the progress has been made in modernizing judicial structures and functions. It is a delight to observe stimulating advances in the choice of judicial personnel. In the last 5 years the selection and tenure of State judges have received more attention than at any time since 1940 when Missouri then led the way. Alaska included merit selection and tenure for all of its State judges in its new constitution. Kansas placed its supreme court under the same plan in 1958. Iowa became the first State, by constitutional revision, to place all of its State judges under such a plan just 2 months ago. Many States have passed legislation requiring that minor courts be competently staffed. The terms of many judicial offices have been lengthened in many States. Responsible participation by our professional associations in the selection of judges has shown a marked increase. Following the lead of the Committee on Federal Judiciary of the American Bar Association, many State and local bar associations have assumed more active roles than they formerly chose to assume.

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The organization of judicial councils and judicial conferences has been accelerated following the 1958 recommendations of the Conference of Chief Justices. Adequate compensation, and basic retirement and pension provisions for all judges received an impetus in 1954 when Federal judges received their long overdue salary increases. The following year judicial salary increases were enacted in 27 States and, according to a recent survey (45 J. Amer. Jud. Soc. 231-264, March 1962) all but 2 States have raised salaries since 1952. Too, more effective techniques for the discipline and removal of judges have been recently devised, such as the model legislation in this field that was adopted in California in 1960.

What may become the most important recent achievement of all is the extent to which the organized bench and bar have started to bring the crises in judicial administration to the attention of the American public. In contrast to the negative response of the bar to Pound's 1906 speech, the current warnings of Chief Justice Warren, Justice Brennan, and other knowledgeable students of judicial administration have been welcomed by most of the bench and bar. Spearheaded by the National Conference on Judicial Selection and Court Administration initiated in 1959 by the American Judicature Society and cosponsored by the Institute of Judicial Administration and the American Bar Association, the movement to enlist the Nation's leaders and the general public in the effort to improve the administration of justice culminated last year in the formation of the Joint Committee for Effective Administration of Justice under the chairmanship of Justice Tom C. Clark. The report of the first conferences and seminars for judges and year's work (46 J. Amer. Jud. Soc. 5-41, July 1962) promises well.

Due to the efforts of the society, the institute, and others, the attention of the Nation's press to the problems of judicial selection and of court organization and administration has increased. Articles in magazines of national circulation such as Fortune's "The Crisis in the Courts" that appeared last December, television documentaries, and other programs, have produced a growing, if yet partial, public awareness that our courts face serious problems demanding effective solutions.

This all too brief and episodic review of some of the steps taken in the past few years suggests that we are only just now beginning to move with purpose toward a realization of Pound's 1906 hopes.

Whether these hopes are to be realized during the next few years will depend upon how seriously the bench and bar of this Nation assume their professional responsibility, the responsibility that Pound, Harley, Vanderbilt, and others influenced by them, accepted with so much dedication. These men took the giant steps. Ours is the opportunity to make their dreams come true.

## Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this week as we in the House provide the President with standby authorization to call up Reserves, and pass an overdue, but watered-down resolution dealing with the Communist enslavement of Cuba, a constructive review of our foreign policy posture is certainly in order.

Such a review is found in an article by the nationally syndicated columnist, Marguerite Higgins, in the Chicago Sun-Times of today, Monday, September 24, which is a frank, dramatic and sound analysis of our recent foreign policy gyrations. Under leave granted I insert the article entitled "Foreign Policy 'Realism' Gives Rise to Doubts" in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FOREIGN POLICY "REALISM" GIVES RISE TO DOUBTS

(By Marguerite Higgins)

NEW YORK.—Said the Latin American: "If the United States were to do something effective to checkmate Soviet intervention in Cuba, my government would congratulate you privately and lacerate you publicly."

This quotation, noted on a brief visit to the United Nations, was not offered as a scientific sampling of opinion. Still it did not deviate from roughly similar sentiments expressed along Embassy Row in Washington.

Therefore it raised some interesting questions about the "new realism" in U.S. foreign policy that Chester Bowles, apparently speaking with White House blessing, recently expounded in a speech denouncing those who wish to do something about Cuba.

According to Bowles, the new realism is founded on the contention that if the United States did something about Cuba it would "undercut our influence in world affairs, blacken our reputation in the United Nations, forfeit our traditional claim to moral leadership * * * set the stage for sweeping Soviet victories in the critically important fields of diplomacy and politics * * * and a lessening of our influence in world affairs."

AN URGENT QUESTION IS INSPIRED

If this truly represents the New Frontier's assumptions, then the questions needs urgently to be put: Does unwillingness to apply U.S. power effectively in Cuba and elsewhere save us from the dire consequences outlined by Bowles?

To put it another way: Does inaction heighten our influence in world affairs, whiten our reputation in the United Nations, and enhance our traditional claim to moral leadership?

Since the New Frontier has taken to labeling its critics in foreign affairs as rash, hotheaded, and trigger-happy, it would be appropriate to introduce some views on the uses of American power of a diplomat who has never been known to be anything but cool—and even pragmatic.

He is Robert Murphy, former Under Secretary of State, who in a commencement address at Boston University reported on a visit to Latin America during and after the Bay of Pigs.

Said Murphy: "I was in Brazil at the time of the Cuban operation. I was a bit startled to be told that the reason the United States failed to intervene openly in Cuba was bebecause our Government feared it would provoke war between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. I found little or no recognition of the consistent effort our Government has loyally made through the years to adhere to a policy of nonintervention."

So, if Murphy is a good reporter, U.S. willingness to use its power got the worst of all possible verdicts:

Murphy based his views on the uses of U.S. power on these observations: "We must take at face value the threat of world conquest * * * we are faced with a continuing situation of probe and thrust.

"I can only suggest power and more especially American determination to use power intelligently and, if necessary, ruthlessly. I am not sure which is more important, the possession of adequate sources of power, or the determination to use even a lesser amount of power. If the opponent is convinced that there is a national will to use available power, his behavior alters in proportion to that determination.

SEES A FEAR OF RISK

"There is little evidence that the Sino-Soviet leadership believes we are determined to use our power."

"One of the principles to which we have been firmly attached is the collective approach to international questions," Murphy continued, "but again I feel that we have gone too far in our pursuit of a basically sound idea of resorting to the collective approach indiscriminately.

"At times, I believe we do this because of reluctance to face up to a risk on our own national account. Leaning on a collectivity that includes many weak inexperienced and frankly selfish nations leads us into situations where we are reduced to the lowest common denominator. * * * Therefore we have no alternative to asserting our independent national will and judgment, letting our associates as well as our opponents know that on issues involving our fundamental national security we are capable of going our own way."

Thus, according to the old realism of Murphy, the United States of America, which holds in its own destiny the decline or survival of freedom in our time, should not be deterred from doing anything necessary to that survival because other nations refuse to hold its hand.

## Space Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am highly privileged to insert

in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech delivered by my colleague and member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, the Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO, of New York, before the Pan American Management Club on September 11, 1962, at Cape Canaveral, Fla.

This speech indicates the depth to which Mr. ANFUSO has gone in the matter of our space effort:

It is most appropriate that I should speak to you tonight about our national space program, why it is important to us as a nation, and the progress which we have made toward achieving our goals in space.

It is appropriate, first of all, because of my special knowledge of the program, by virtue of my service on the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Advanced Research and Technology. It is appropriate, also because of the emphasis given it this week by the tour of space installations being made by the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, the head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Director of the Budget.

Finally, it is appropriate because of the important role which the State of Florida has in this program.

Our space program is very new, although imaginative people have been writing about space exploration for many years. About 100 years ago, for example, Jules Verne, who might be described as the father of science fiction, wrote a novel entitled "From the Earth to the Moon."

In that novel Verne described a space adventure which, while not accurate in all of its details, was prophetic on at least one point.

The space ship was launched from the east coast of Florida.

A century later this rocket launching site has caught the attention of the world. Later this month, when we undertake the next step in our manned exploration of space, the eyes of the free world will be riveted on Cape Canaveral. In years to come, as we advance toward exploration of the moon and other planets, Florida will remain the focal point of world attention.

The U.S. efforts in the manned exploration of space—represented in the missions of Shepard, Carpenter, and Glenn—have made the country most aware of this aspect of the space program. It is best known, too, because it has as its goal the landing of men on the moon before the end of the decade, and this daring and dramatic objective is one which cannot fail to capture the imagination.

We have heard the Apollo, or moon program called a race and a stunt. I wonder if the people who think this way haven't failed to grasp the true significance of the most prodigious adventure in human history. But the true nature of all expeditions, of all new knowledge, has been misunderstood throughout history.

Greek mythology offers us the earliest and perhaps the best example of this point. These legends that have been handed down by word of mouth and by different authors in different time periods have perhaps become distorted. But their importance lies in the fact that, without them, we would know little or nothing about an important period in the development of our own culture.

To me, the story of Jason's search for the Golden Fleece holds many a pertinent lesson for us, lessons that should be applied to our own mission to send man to the moon.

Jason and his Argonauts found their Golden Fleece, but they found it only after many years of searching and after many unscheduled side trips. And in their quest, they found far more than the Golden Fleece. They uncovered vast new secrets about the world of their day.

They learned how to navigate.

They established new trade routes.

They found the answer to many things other than the location of the Golden Fleece.

And, in the doing, they spread the knowledge and the power of Greece throughout their world.

The lesson is clear. And it doesn't need belaboring. We will get man to the moon. But, in the process, we will also make many side trips and we will discover many things that we didn't plan to learn. And we will widen freemen's knowledge and understanding of his universe along the way.

We are already getting important feedback from the Apollo program.

We are discovering new metals and alloys. Improved automation techniques spew from our advance guidance system technology. We're finding more efficient fuels and engines. Microminiaturization and microcircuitry have wide consumer applications. Self-contained power sources offer whole new fields of industrial effort. Medicine, communications, weather forecasting—literally no phase of our economy and our culture will be unaffected by what we are learning while we try for the moon.

By far the most important bonus from this adventure will be its affect on the human spirit. We can look for Americans to walk with a quicker step and to hold their heads higher. A people who have become a little satiated by the greatest standard of living the world has ever known will be refreshed by the new frontiers we will open. Vaulting ambition will be restored, the kind of ambition that made us great in the first place.

No, the people who look on Apollo as a race or a stunt haven't grasped its real significance. The people who complain of the cost haven't reckoned its benefits.

One thing strikes me as odd. We haven't heard any of these cries from the Soviet Union. It seems to me that the Soviet leaders have a very fine grasp of the significance of space. But what alarms me is that their motive—unlike ours—is sinister. Their primary objective of placing men in orbit around the earth is the eventual dominance of space.

Remember that their vertical launches of animals to altitudes of 60 to 250 nautical miles began in 1949, to determine environmental effects and to develop life support systems. Their second satellite contained a biological specimen, a dog. The majority of their space experiments, unlike ours, have been biological in nature.

While the Russians have propagandized their "peaceful" pursuits of space exploration, and talked at length of going to the moon and the near planets of Mars and Venus—they have continued to concentrate their major effort in the near-earth space, i.e., from 100–300 nautical miles altitude, which leads me to the inevitable conclusion that they aim to control the space around the earth and try to prevent us from going to the moon—and at the same time present a danger to our security here on earth. We must explore this possibility to the fullest extent and see to it that we are not caught asleep.

Our national space program is characterized as a peaceful quest—and, indeed, it is. Our interest is in the extension of man's knowledge and the betterment of man's condition. And it should remain so.

In this respect, in the much shorter period that we have been engaged in space exploration, we have made much greater progress toward our goal of bettering all mankind than have the Russians.

Witness the most recent successful launching of Mariner II.

This feat is impressive not only because of the mysteries which we hope it will unlock about the planet Venus, but because of the remarkable mid-course correction which was performed to permit Mariner II to rendezvous with Venus. This capability, of a nature similar to that which will be required to rendezvous two spacecraft preparatory to a flight to the moon, has yet to be demonstrated by the Soviet Union.

Although it did not receive the worldwide publicity which recent Russian achievements received, it is generally conceded by most of the world's space scientists to be the most brilliant space achievement to date.

I doubt, also, that many Americans, as well as other peoples of the world, realize that in the past 4½ years the United States has successfully launched more than 70 spacecraft—four in orbit around the sun, the others in orbit around the earth. Even fewer would be aware that about 40 of these are still in earth or solar orbit, or that we are still receiving information on our universe form a dozen of them. This is a record we Americans can be proud of, and something which could not have been said less than 5 years ago.

Recognizing, therefore, the very significant contrast between our mission in space and that of the Russians, we must do three things:

1. Convince the world that our venture into space is a peaceful one—to bring back benefits which will create a world of abundance, making war and strife among nations unnecessary. We have the propaganda media, including the Telstar communications satellite, to do this.

2. We must, at all costs, achieve dominance in all phases of space exploration for our own security and that of all peoples of the earth.

3. We must establish freedom in space and invite all nations of the world, having a contribution to make, to join our efforts.

To accomplish all these three things requires an all-out effort on our part—a mobilization of all our resources—sacrifices on the part of Government, business, industry, and labor.

America stands for free enterprise and a free labor movement, but unless we win the battle in which we have been forced to engage in, free enterprise and the labor movement as we know it will be dead in America, and all of us will become slaves of a diabolical force which recognizes no moral values—not even the existence of God.

You, who represent the front line management of the Atlantic missile range, have a great responsibility in this task of assuring the United States of America its rightful supremacy and leadership in space.

I have visited the Atlantic missile range at Cape Canaveral on two previous occasions on behalf of the Committee on Science and Astronautics. On each occasion I devoted part of my attention to the management of this great facility. Based on my reviews, I am convinced that, under the guidance of General Davis, the Pan American organization, under the leadership of your able vice president, Mr. R. S. Mitchell, has rendered an outstanding contribution to our Nation.

This contribution is one that is based on patriotism—the profit motive is decidedly secondary.

The unique relationship of your company with the Air Force here at the Atlantic missile range began over 9 years ago, in July 1953. The milestones that have been passed during this period bear testimony to your efforts.

The milestones that lie ahead present challenges that will dwarf the past. However, you have the talent, the determination, the brainpower, and the ability to reach every goal.

Most of all, you possess a management team—unsurpassed—that is dedicated to the

task of meeting economically, effectively, decisevely and on time all requirements, regardless of obstacles encountered.

The Pan American Management Club, in appreciation of Mr. ANFUSO's effort, passed the following resolution:

Whereas the Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO has shown his intense dedication to country in service in the Mediterranean Theater Office of Strategic Services Operations during World War II; and

Whereas throughout his life, he has combated communism at home and abroad; and

Whereas as member of the Science and Astronautics Committee of the U.S. Congress, he has fought to secure a preeminent position in space for this Nation; and

Whereas, while personally examining the national space efforts, he has made frequent visits to Cape Canaveral and down range stations during many critical launches; and

Whereas his thorough and penetrating studies over the years have proven highly beneficial to our mission: Be it hereby

*Resolved*, That the Pan American Management Club of the guided missiles range division express to the Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO, lawyer, warrior, statesman, space authority, its admiration, respect, and esteem.

In witness whereof the Management Club set its hand and seal this 11th day of September 1962.

E. H. SERVESON, *President*.

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district, has written a highly informative and interesting series of articles on the early history of the Susquehanna River, particularly in the Pittston area. The latest installment in this series appeared in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch yesterday, September 23, and as part of my remarks today I quote the indicated article.

The article follows:

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—MANY SERVED AS TOLLTAKERS AT THE PITTSTON FERRY BRIDGE

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

Tolltakers employed on the Pittston Ferry Bridge were as follows: 1858, H. Litts; 1863, "Old Hoyt"; 1873, James Friant; David Shelly, on duty on April 4, 1878, was taken ill and died on April 25, 1878.

J. H. Andrews, the tolltaker in 1879, left this position on August 19, 1880, to take a job at the Water Street depot newsstand.

H. M. Harding resigned on January 3, 1881, and was succeeded by Jacob Kern, who was named tolltaker on January 13, 1881.

Coray E. Jenkins, who was on duty here in 1888, moved from the borough by 1890. His successor, named in 1890, was George F. Van Tuyle.

Van Tuyle resigned on February 20, 1901. When he moved to Linden Street, West Pittston, on March 25, 1901, John "Doc" Hughes took over as tolltaker.

Hughes remained as toll collector until the bridge was sold to Luzerne County in 1908.

TOLLHOUSE BUILT

An act of the Pennsylvania Legislature, approved on April 23, 1852, permitted the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. to locate a tollhouse on lands near the eastern end of the bridge.

Accordingly, a tollhouse of stone was constructed on Pittston end of the bridge, on Franklin's Knob, about 100 feet from the river bank.

When the old bridge was replace in 1864, a new tollhouse was erected on the southern side of the Pittston end of the structure.

ADD TENEMENTS

On completion of the iron bridge in 1876, the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. decided on July 7, 1883, to erect a tenement tollhouse on the upper section of the Pittston end of the bridge, between the trackage of the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the river. Jacob Kern, the toll collector, moved into his new building on March 6, 1884.

The new tollhouse was a two-story brick building. Its upper floor was on a level with the bridge walk and was utilized as an office. A short platform-type walk connected the bridge and the house.

Pedestrians and wagon drivers leaving Pittston for the west side paid a fee to the tolltaker stationed outside and adjacent to the tollhouse.

HOUSED MANY

In addition to the tolltakers and their families, other persons resided there. Henry Vandenburg was listed as a resident in 1890. After the bridge was sold in 1908, John Hughes, maintained a residence in the tollhouse until at least 1913.

Philip Apple's family were listed as living there between 1905 and 1918. Mary E. Leaman was a resident between 1905 and 1911. Thomas Peel's family commenced living here by at least 1918. The structure was razed when the Fort Jenkins Bridge was built.

COMPANY OFFICERS

Officers of the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. included the following:

Amos York Smith was elected president on December 12, 1865. On January 4, 1869, Daniel Harding was named president, a position he held until his death on April 17, 1880. Others named at this period included: Secretary, Isaac Everitt; treasurer, Daniel Jones; managers: George Miller, J. S. Carpenter, William Schooley, I. C. Shoemaker, D. S. Stark, and Holden Tripp.

J. S. Carpenter was elected president June 30, 1880, as successor to Harding.

The officials named on January 3, 1881, were: President, John S. Carpenter; secretary, C. H. Foster; treasurer, Joseph Hileman, managers, William Schooley, Ferdinand Brune, J. J. Shoemaker, Isaac Everitt, and George Rice.

In May 1886 all of the above officers were again named with the exception of Ferdinand Brune who was succeeded on the board of managers by J. S. Jenkins.

MEETING, 1892

Isaac Everitt was named president at the January 4, 1892, meeting. Charles H. Foster was named secretary, Joseph Hileman, treasurer, and the following were elected to the board of managers: John S. Carpenter, George Johnson, J. I. Shoemaker, and George Rice.

At a meeting held on December 27, 1897, the company declared a dividend of 3 percent, the first such outlay since the iron bridge was erected in 1876.

as president on April 5, 1898.

George Johnson succeeded Isaac Everitt

Joesph H. Glennon offered an option to buy the Ferry Bridge from the company at a reported price of $71 per share on October 16, 1899. The deal fell through.

At a reorganization meeting held on January 7, 1901, Joseph H. Glennon was elected president of the Pittston Ferry Bridge Co. William M. Fay was elected secretary, Joseph Hileman, treasurer, and the board of managers named included: J. H. Andrews, H. J. Luchsinger, Jmes L. Morris, William M. Fay, M. F. Sacks, and R. M. Hughes.

The same set of officers was in charge in June 1907, except that George Van Tuye was listed as successor to H. J. Luchsinger.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of September 22, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

SEPTEMBER 22, 1962.

FOREIGN AID—ITS COST AND DANGERS IT IMPOSES

The House this week approved a foreign aid bill which will cost the taxpayers of this Nation $7,254,852,000, by a vote of 249 for to 144 against. ALGER against. Interesting note: the scheduled time for debate was cut in half, the bill debated and passed in 1 day, Thursday, in order that one of the Democratic leaders could get back to his district for a testimonal dinner on Friday. In that 1 day the House was asked to digest the results of 72 days of hearings by the Appropriations Committee on foreign aid, comprising 9,000 pages of transcript and 3,200 pages of printed hearings. This brief report can only highlight the most basic arguments which are backed up by a wealth of facts and material.

The following 11 points (from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD) sum up the status of foreign aid: (1) The appropriations for foreign aid, including interest on the public debt for fiscal 1963 on the money that we have borrowed to give away, and backdoor financing will exceed $12 billion this year. (2) The foreign-aid program is a major factor contributing to the continuing annual increase in our public debt. (3) Foreign aid is primarily responsible for our annual budget deficits. (4) Foreign aid is almost entirely responsible for our balance-of-payments deficit. (5) Foreign aid is responsible to a very large extent for the flight of our disappearing gold reserves to other nations all over the world. (6) The cost of foreign aid is the major reason for our ever-increasing noncompetitive position in world markets. (7) Foreign aid is rapidly depleting our wealth and resources. (8) The claim to the effect that 80 percent of our foreign-aid money is spent in America and thereby creates prosperity is a myth, and a calculated misrepresentation intended to keep the American people supporting the program. Foreign aid contracts are now carefully shuffled out to manufacturers, schools, colleges, universities, workshops, and consultants in the 50 States of the Union, so as to attract support and cause it to appear that this giveaway of our wealth is making our Nation prosperous. (9) The foreign-aid program as presently operated is uncontrolled and uncontrollable. (10) Many of the nations which are recipients of our aid are rapidly losing faith in America's ability to manage its economic and monetary systems. (11) We are, in this bill, setting up the machinery by which to borrow money from former and present aid-recipient nations in order to in-

directly finance the aid program for this year if other means fail.

The debate brought out some very potent specific points on foreign aid which should be considered by every American citizen. We are now giving foreign aid to 101 of the 113 nations of the world. Furthermore, by special permission, we have started aid programs in practically every British possession and territory in the world. The aid programs are not limited to so-called free nations. We are pouring the American taxpayers' wealth into dictatorships, so-called neutral nations, Communist-influenced and Communist-dominated nations, and into outright Communist countries. We have been giving our wealth and earnings for years to people who tax themselves not at all, or at least at far lower rates than we. And many of these nations which not only accept our gifts, but demand more, are no nearer now to self-support than when we started to pay their bills. Foreign aid money is handled so loosely that if we were to use the same procedure in financing domestic programs such as public works, the people would rise in wrath to ridicule the authors of such proposals. Agency witnesses before the Appropriations Committee said they do not know the projects to which they are going to obligate funds until after they get the money. One witness said in fact that the United States kept these matters secret from the recipient countries until after the money had been made available. Fantastic as this sounds it is true.

The military phase of the foreign aid program is not military in the sense that we think of our own Defense Establishment. What it is, primarily, is a State Department military program through which military equipment is being provided to from 65 to 71 nations of the world; and much of it is given to please or appease some potentate, or some ruler of a newly created country. In some cases this is causing resentment such as Thailand's protest against our supplying fighter planes to Cambodia. Another project in this category is the donation of a newly rebuilt air-conditioned yacht for the private use of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia with staterooms covered with gold-leaf wallpaper. The reconditioning of the airplane tender cost $3,100,000.

The balance-of-payments problem and the outflow of gold is also the direct result of foreign aid. The drain on our gold reserves, much of it through outright purchase of gold with our dollars by foreign nations which have received our aid, is excessive. During the last 11 years the net outflow of gold from the U.S. Treasury has amounted to over $6,305 million. Our gold holdings are currently just above $16 billion. During the same 11 years in which we lost gold, other free world countries increased their holdings by $10,655 million, to just under $24 billion. We require $11.6 billion as gold backing for our domestic dollars by law. We have, therefore, scarcely $5 billion in gold to meet our international obligations and our free world friends now hold short-term dollar assets just under $23 billion redeemable in our gold. In spite of the fact that the executive branch is not able to spend all the money appropriated they have asked for an increase in this year's foreign-aid appropriation. In last year's session of Congress an appropriation of $3.9 billion was approved. The administration was only able to spend $3,198,100,000. Congress appropriated $716,500,000 more than was spent and this amount was transferred to the pipeline. There is enough money now in the pipeline, already appropriated by previous Congresses to continue the foreign-aid program for 25 months without a cent of additional appropriations.

Direct quotes from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD point up the dismal failures of our foreign aid programs and the increasing danger they impose upon us. "The country cannot go along in this fashion and survive. Our national debt in the last 12 months increased by $8 billion. Our governmental expenditures in the last 2 months, the first 2 of this fiscal year, increased by $2 billion," Congressman TABER, of New York. "Cambodia recently bought $3.1 million of our gold; Lebanon purchased $21 million of our gold; Nigeria bought $20 million; Saudi Arabia, $47 million, and Spain $156.2 million. These transactions neither enhance our gold reserve situation nor improve the living conditions in those countries," Congressman HARSHA, of Ohio. (They buy our gold with dollars we give them.) "The gentleman referred to the purchase of television sets for Africa. There were 1,000 23-inch transistorized battery-operated television sets purchased at a cost of $400,000. It was proposed to use them in areas where there is no electrical power supply. So how did they propose to charge the batteries? They were going to charge them with a hand crank, or they were going to get a merry-go-round and charge the batteries by the merry-go-round's operation. The batteries would be charged while the children were playing on the merry-go-round. But in case they did not have a merry-go-round they were going to get one of these squirrel cages, a treadmill affair where the squirrel runs around, to charge the battery while he was running around getting nowhere," Congressman MEADER, of Michigan. "I am convinced that we are being widely oversold as to the prospective results to be obtained from our generous intervention. We give food, fuel, fertilizer, seeds, clothing, raw materials, machinery, development grants and loans, technical services, military hardware, and now even the Peace Corps. Are all these things actually bringing old and the newly emerging nations into our camp to offset the encroachments of communism? I think it is obvious that they are not. Or, do many of them accept our aid on the one hand and then look in the other direction to see what Russia can do for them?" Congressman PASSMAN, of Louisiana. "With this country having a debt of $301 billion, with the interest on that debt desperately close to $10 billion a year, with this country's public and private debts totaling nearly $1.1 trillion, Congress ought to regain its senses and put a stop to these lavish giveaways. * * * I was astounded by the fact that were produced by the committee * * * this Government is spending $6,000 a year on Iraqi students in this country each school year, $6,000 plus a year. * * * I doubt if there are very many Members of the House of Representatives who can afford to spend $6,000 a year on each of his or her children in a university or college in this country," Congressman GROSS, of Iowa.

How does the Kennedy administration get approval for its foreign aid program? Look at the RECORD (p. 19031, Sept. 20, 1962) citing the "seven-point formula used by 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue" to get its program through. "That formula is comprised of the application of prestige, personality, propaganda, persuasion, power, pressure, and maybe, punishment."

In summary the foreign aid program is not in the self-interest of the United States. It drains our wealth, depletes our gold supply, fails to help the people in the countries receiving it, in many cases it actually goes to our enemies and strengthens those governments which have vowed to destroy us, it does not win friends but instead creates ill-will, jealousy and envy, creates unfair competition for American business contributing to loss of jobs by American workers, it is mismanaged, it is reckless, it has led to outright waste and in some cases dishonesty in handling money belonging to the American taxpayers. The least we can do and should do, and I have so urged for the 8 years I have been in Congress, is to stop appropriating any more foreign aid funds until we have had an opportunity to restudy the whole program and to determine where our money should be spent in our own interest, and to develop adequate guidelines for protecting the American taxpayers from being gouged further of their hard-earned tax dollars.

## Our Further Retreat in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the President is resigned to doing nothing but watching in Cuba.

Several disturbing observations have been made on the subject, including that of Ted Lewis in the New York Daily News of September 21, and David Lawrence and Marguerite Higgins in today's issue of the New York Herald Tribune:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Daily News, September 21, 1962]

CAPITAL CIRCUS

(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON, September 20.—A most disturbing aspect of the Cuban crisis was revealed today. It was simply to the effect that Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and presumably President Kennedy and the military, are not getting the information they want about conditions inside Cuba.

This alarming fact comes from Rusk himself in an otherwise well-expurgated transcript of his closed-door testimony last Monday before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees.

The disclosure is astounding. One of the chief lessons which should have been learned from the Bay of Pigs fiasco 17 months ago was that our intelligence reports on the Cuban internal situation were lousy.

It had been presumed then that Kennedy, burned up about the advice he had received before the abortive invasion, had his mind set on clearing up the intelligence mess.

He did name a special committee, including his brother, Robert, the Attorney General, and Gen. Maxwell Taylor, to find out what was wrong in the CIA and come up with a revamping program. This was followed up by naming John McCone, a man of great administrative ability, as CIA Chief to succeed Allen Dulles.

These actions, plus a few changes in top CIA personnel, including the resignation of Richard M. Bissell, were supposed to straighten out the intelligence mess. No longer would the President get stuff from the cloak-and-dagger boys that was unreliable. No longer would our spies in Red Cuba talk to the wrong people and pass back to Washington a prejudiced report—as before the Bay of Pigs—about how the people were ready to explode in revolt once their exiled brothers were on an invasion beachhead.

Well, it is now 17 months later, and here is what two top Cuba policymakers, Rusk and McGeorge Bundy, the President's foreign affairs adviser, have to say under questioning by Chairman RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, of the Senate Armed Service Committee.

HOW CAN WE BE SURE? THE SENATOR WANTS TO KNOW

RUSSELL (questioning Rusk). "What do you think about the quality of the information we have about what is really taking

place inside Cuba? We have been deceived in that area before. We were before the invasion, and I just wondered if we have improved our means of getting our information in Cuba on which we could rest the security of this country."

RUSK (after saying he believed we had good information on Soviet missile sites). "In terms of political information, we do need to get more than we do. We do not have as much information as we should like about the political attitudes and the effect upon the Cuban people of the stringencies which they have been facing in the last several months and to an increasing degree."

RUSSELL (now questioning BUNDY). "How can we determine what he (a Soviet specialist) is doing? We get such scanty information over here, how can we tell whether he is teaching them to build a powerline or whether he is teaching them to engage a radar set so as to fire missiles against the United States?"

IT'S ENOUGH TO GIVE AN AMERICAN THE REAL SHIVERS

BUNDY. "I don't think we can be sure of that, Senator."

RUSSELL. "Is there any truth in the news stories that these people (the Russians) live in colonies?"

BUNDY. "Yes, sir. I think they do, sir."

RUSK. "That has been a pretty general pattern throughout the world, particularly when they are in substantial numbers."

The Rusk and Bundy responses should scare the daylights out of some of us peasants, at least. They aren't even positive that the Russians are living in guarded enclaves. Rusk isn't even sure whether or not Khrushchev's technicians are teaching the Castroites how to shoot missiles at the United States.

But Rusk is most sure about one thing—he is not getting hard intelligence guidance about how the Cuban masses feel about their furry fuehrer, Castro. And until this information is supplied on a solid basis, how do you launch another invasion of exiles? Or more important, how do you plan our own invasion without a clear idea of whether the peasants will embrace you or knife you?

Ten miles from the White House, on a wooded hill overlooking the Potomac, is the home base of all our spies, master and otherwise. In this $50 million structure, well guarded with barbed wire from curious Americans, the ways and means of surreptitiously spending $700 million annually of taxpayer funds around the world are decided on. But where is the money going as pertains to Cuba?

OUR SPIES WERE TOO HOITY-TOITY TO TALK TO PEASANTS

Here is a two-bit island, 90 miles from Key West, now fast becoming a fortress citadel of Moscow. It has a shoreline 2,175 miles long with thousands of uninhabited inlets where any one of our highly paid CIA agents, if he could swim, could clamber safely ashore every night in the week. It has a population of 6,750,000 scattered over 44,206 square miles—an area and population about that of Florida.

And yet, 17 months after the Bay of Pigs, our CIA intelligence about what is going on under Castro leaves much to be desired.

Can't any secret agents talk Spanish like native Cubans? Just what is the matter? One guess is as good as another, but it could be that our Cuban operatives are the same old bunch that messed up the Bay of Pigs. And what was really the matter with them then, including our hired operatives among the exiles? They were class conscious. They talked to the wrong people in Cuba, the rich or white-collar workers, not the peasants with dirt in their fingernails.

While Senator RUSSELL and other committeemen were clearly upset about this CIA situation, they were generally satisfied with Rusk's estimate of the reliability of our intelligence concerning Russian arms shipment and missile sites.

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Sept. 24, 1962]

ON SOVIET GRAB IN CUBA: WHY DOESN'T UNITED STATES SPEAK UP?

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Time was when a President of the United States didn't hesitate to speak forthrightly and to act in support of the principles of human freedom anywhere in the world. Two Presidents, both Democrats—Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt—led the American people as they made sacrifices for that same basic principle in two world wars.

But today there is a strange silence—even a fear that it is indiscreet or that it's loose talk to urge that America speak and act in behalf of human beings in Cuba or against the cruelty of their oppressors or against the autocratic government in Moscow which is giving military assistance to a tyrannical dictatorship in Havana.

The latest excuse or alibi now given wide currency by advisers of President Kennedy—and fed out to the press here—is that the Monroe Doctrine has been repealed because America entered World War I and World War II. It is averred that the United States, by militarily assisting certain governments in Europe and Asia during the cold war, has forfeited her right to act in behalf of peoples in this hemisphere who have had their freedoms taken from them by Communist imperialism.

If this concept gains strength, it cannot but encourage the Soviets to penetrate with impunity North and South America as well as every other continent. For, in effect, the advocates of this philosophy are saying that this country has not right to interfere with Soviet conquest of Cuba because the United States now has, under the North Atlantic Treaty, military bases in various European countries. This can only mean that America must, therefore, recognize the Soviet occupation not only of Cuba but of the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Can the Soviets point to a single example of the grant of American military aid that has resulted in any political control by the United States?

RETREAT IN EXPEDIENCY

The whole thing is an illustration of how expediency leads to one retreat after another. For the United States has just announced, through White House and State Department pronouncements, that America's Armed Forces will be used only to repel military attacks on this country or its neighbors. This is a doctrine of isolation reminiscent of the days when prominent Republicans opposed American entry into either of the two World Wars on the grounds that the interests of this country were not directly affected. It was of course, just a means of appealing to pacifistic sentiment.

Twice the dictatorship government in Berlin misconstrued this attitude as an unwillingness on the part of the United States to fight. In the end, the deliberate attack on American rights on the high seas forced this country into World War I in 1917. While it was Japan and not Germany that attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States accepted the challenge as a direct attack by the Nazi regime as well. Indeed, the United States made its main war effort on the Continent of Europe and in north Africa.

Thus, the United States in two World Wars has refused to narrow the concept of its participation in world affairs to either the Western or Eastern Hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine has not been narrowed. It has been broadened. From 1945 until a few weeks ago, American policy has been worldwide and has been based on the principle that every people has a right to self-determination and that it is the duty of the United States to help rid the world of any sinister force that now may invade only smaller countries but in the end will invade the larger ones as well. Woodrow Wilson said to Congress in 1917 that "the world must be made safe for democracy." It is not safe today for any free government.

SILENCE MISCONSTRUED

The Soviets are talking loud because they think they can bluff America into inaction and silence. Foreign Minister Gromyko's brazen speech at the United Nations a few days ago, charging this country with aggression, is an example of how readily American silence can be misinterpreted. If the U.S. Government continues to make excuses for abandoning the people in a little country 90 miles away, how can it ever be expected either to lift its voice or render any aid to the peoples of the captive countries in Europe and Asia? To draw back into Fortress America and contend that the United States has no obligation to speak out or act in behalf of the Cuban people because this might offend Soviet Russia means that a bigger test under even more dangerous circumstances may come later on at a time when it will be more difficult, more hazardous, and more costly in human lives than it is now.

Today the vocal chords of the U.S. Government have been silenced by a strategy of fear, of hesitancy, and of vacillation, which keeps on emphasizing the totality of the world situation—as if this means that the principles of democracy and the aspirations of peoples at present under the yoke of Communist imperialism have become secondary. Yet this Nation could mobilize—by exhortation of foreign peoples—forces that would inevitably thwart the aims of the aggressors.

War or the threat of war isn't the most powerful weapon in the world today. Moral force plus economic force are even more powerful. But if there is fear even to speak, then, in the end, war comes because the enemy misinterprets silence for timidity and inaction for weakness.

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Sept. 24, 1962]

THE NEW REALISM

(By Marguerite Higgins)

UNITED NATIONS.—Said the African diplomat: "Berlin? Cuba? That's not our worry. They are really the white man's burden—so to speak."

Said the Latin American: "If the United States were to do something effective to checkmate Soviet intervention in Cuba, my government would congratulate you privately and lacerate you publicly."

Now these quotations, noted on a visit to the United Nations, are not offered in any pretense that they are a scientific sampling of opinion. Still they do not deviate from roughly similar sentiments expressed along "Embassy Row" in Washington. Therefore, even as a random sampling they raise some interesting questions about the "new realism" in American foreign policy that Chester Bowles, apparently speaking, for once, with White House blessing, has expounded in a recent speech denouncing those who wish to do something about Cuba.

According to Mr. Bowles, the doctrine of the new realism is founded on the contention that if America did something about Cuba it would "undercut our influence in world affairs, blacken our reputation in the United Nations, forfeit our traditional claim to moral leadership * * * set the stage for sweeping Soviet victories in the critically

important fields of diplomacy and politics * * * and a lessening of our influence in world affairs."

If this truly represents the New Frontier's assumptions, then the question needs urgently to be put whether unwillingness to apply American power effectively in Cuba and elsewhere does in fact save us from the dire consequences outlined by Mr. Bowles. To put it another way, Does inaction, as per the new realism, heighten our influence in world affairs, whiten our reputation in the United Nations, and enhance our traditional claim to moral leadership?

Since the New Frontier has taken to labeling its critics in foreign affairs as rash, hotheaded, and trigger-happy, it would seem appropriate, for the purposes of perspective, to introduce some views on the uses of American power of a diplomat who has never been known to be anything but calm, cool—and even pragmatic. He is the former Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy who, in a hitherto unpublished commencement address at Boston University, made a report on a visit to Latin America during and after the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs.

Said Mr. Murphy: "I was in Brazil at the time of the Cuban operation. I was a bit startled to be told that the reason the United States failed to intervene openly in Cuba was because our Government feared it would provoke war between the United Socialist Soviet Russia and the United States. I found little or no recognition of the consistent effort our Government has loyally made through the years to adhere to a policy of nonintervention."

So, if Mr. Murphy is a good reporter, the U.S. unwillingness to use its power got the worst of all possible verdicts: our moral leadership, far from being enhanced, yielded to the suspicion that we were merely motivated by fear of Russia.

Mr. Murphy based his views on the uses of American power on these observations: "We must take at face value the threats of world conquest * * *. We are faced with a continuing situation of probe and thrust and the most facile and articulate bourgeois negotiators the West can produce will be unable to deter the Sino-Soviet leadership from this line. So where is our refuge? I can only suggest power and more especially American determination to use power intelligently and, if necessary, ruthlessly.

* * * * *

"One of the principles to which we have been firmly attached is the collective approach to international questions," Mr. Murphy continued. "But again I feel that we have gone too far in our pursuit of a basically sound idea in resorting to the collective approach indiscriminately. There are situations, for example, where we are too ready and eager to merge our national identity in the United Nations. At times I believe we do this because of reluctance to face up to a risk on our own national account. Leaning on a collectivity that includes many weak, inexperienced and frankly selfish nations leads us into situations where we are reduced to the lowest common denominator * * *. Therefore we have no alternative to asserting our independent national will and judgment, letting our associates as well as our opponents know that on issues involving our fundamental national security we are capable of going our own way."

Thus, according to the old realism of Mr. Murphy, the United States of America, which holds in its own destiny the decline or survival of freedom in our time, should not be deterred from doing anything necessary to that survival because other nations refuse to hold its hand.

## The Ink Was Badly Faded but the Message Was Clear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Yorkville Enquirer, York, S.C., of September 20, 1962:

THE INK WAS BADLY FADED BUT THE MESSAGE WAS CLEAR

(By Chuck DeLoach)

(About as apt as anybody could put it, one American, who admits he is sick, recently described how he—and many like him—are bringing on the downfall of this once great Nation. For some time, he sat in his home in San Francisco, read his newspaper, listened to the news over the radio and television, quietly. Inside, however, he felt a gnawing, a burning. Finally, of a day, he seized upon pen and paper and scribbled a letter to the Copley newspapers. What he had to say was soon picked up for editorials by other newspapers around the country, including the Columbia Record and the Greenville News. His letter is must reading for this Nation's "sick".)

I am one of the Americans who heard Mr. Khrushchev tell our Nation that my great-grandchildren will grow up in a Communist world. For some time now that has bothered me. I am not a brave man—not even a big one.

I suppose I would have to admit that I am, among my own neighbors and in my own culture, the typical, average, well-educated, genteel, suburbanite to whom family, the mortgage, and security have been the all-important items.

I am now 50, and soon my wife and I will see the first of our three children married. I paint my own house, repair my own car, grub my own devil grass, and nurse a modest savings account at the Bank of America. I am a law-abiding man on the quiet side, and dissension makes me terrible nervous. Frankly, I am the kind who simply doesn't have it in him to fight anyone ever.

My wife had me cleaning out an old trunk in the storage room the other day, and I ran across the huge old family Bible that I had not thought about for years. My great-grandmother had kept a journal of the trip across the Great Plains with a wagon and oxen when she and great-grandpa were youngsters coming out to settle in California in the great migration. Great-grandma wrote about it as the wild, new land, rich and abundant in mythical proportions.

On the trail she wrote of sickness and hunger, and heat and cold, and dust and thirst, and the deaths and births like beads strung together on a thread of hope of freedom and a land of plenty for their children yet unborn. And when she viewed the new land she wrote in simple word pictures of the cities and farms and schools, and happiness that would some day bloom in the greatness of the vast new land. She wrote of her tomorrow and my today.

The ink was badly faded, but the message was clear. As I read, I began to think about America and being an American and what it all stands for; and I thought about our enemies and what they intend to do to America, to those rich lands and farms, to the cities and the people, to its freedom and its hope.

And, suddenly, I realized that I am a sick American. I mean really sick. I am sick of panaceas and of backing up. I am sick of reactions where there should be initiative. I am sick of bureaucrats who tell me that my enemy is not really my enemy, and that I should live together with murderers and tyrants.

I am sick of government that hasn't the guts to clean traitors out of its own offices. And I'm sick of being a nice, patient guy about it. I am sick of placidly accepting excuses instead of successes; of being a silent gentleman for fear of controversy. I am sick of my country being ridiculed all over the world. I am sick of pink-livered politicians who place personal career above the fate of the flag.

I am sick of 40 years of relentless, creeping, cancerous, communistic godlessness that never once has wavered from its avowed purpose of conquering that flag and seeing it trampled in the mud under Russian boots. I am sick of my genteel desire to stand pat and pray while the enemy advances.

I am sick of educators who teach tolerance of subversion and of clergymen who would have me quail at the specter of battle and turn my cheek in fear of what our enemies might do.

In all honesty, the thing of which I am most sick is the man who let these things come to me—myself.

And by the living God who made me, sir, I am a sick American who intends to get well.

Are there any "sick" Carolinians?

## Thoughts on Labor Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as each new Labor Day comes and goes on annual schedule, our thoughts naturally turn to comparing working conditions today against the intolerable conditions that existed in long past years.

Gone are the sweat shops and child labor that existed before constructive legislation was enacted to correct these abusive evils and mercenary practices that befell the luckless laborer.

The real drive for recognition of the rights of labor started with the economic depression of 1873, and Peter McGuire, father to the inspiration that created Labor Day, was a forceful component of the small group that led the way to the many substantial gains made by organized labor during the ensuing years.

Much has been written and said about the gains made by organized labor, which gains are principally appreciated by members of the joined labor groups. Would it not be wonderful to know how many others outside the organized labor groups realize and appreciate just how much these hard-earned gains have benefited their respective positions in

life? We should all be grateful for the dedicated life struggle of Peter McGuire in his pioneer efforts to bring into reality the favorable labor conditions as they exist today.

James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, AFL–CIO, has eloquently revived and focused our attention on the meritorious efforts of this great man in his speech at the graveside of Peter McGuire in Camden, N.J., on Labor Day, September 3. I know that Peter McGuire everlastingly sleeps in the knowledge that his efforts were not in vain and that his name will be forever perpetuated in the annals of organized labor.

He may also rest better in the knowledge that the world of the laboring man today is in far better shape than when he entered and departed this earth, and that many of his dreams have become a reality.

May I now, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, include Mr. James B. Carey's 1962 Labor Day speech in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY JAMES B. CAREY, VICE PRESIDENT AFL–CIO; PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS, AFL–CIO, AT ANNUAL LABOR DAY CEREMONY AT GRAVE OF PETER MCGUIRE, CAMDEN, N.J., SEPTEMBER 3, 1962

Four score years ago this week Peter J. McGuire's dream came true. Down New York City's fashionable Fifth Avenue, on a bright September morning in 1882, marched more than 30,000 men and women who proudly called themselves cigarmakers, railroad men, printers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, dressmakers, and ironworkers.

But they also called themselves, with even greater pride, something else—unionists—and they sang union songs as they marched down the avenue and into Union Square carrying signs and placards that read: "Labor Will Be United," and "Eight Hours for Work, Eight Hours for Rest, Eight Hours for What We Will."

Peter McGuire's dream, the Nation's first Labor Day, had been proposed by this Camden labor leader, the general secretary of the Carpenters Union, at a meeting of the New York City Central Labor Union 4 months earlier.

Today, 80 years later, we honor Peter McGuire not alone for the inspiration that created Labor Day; we honor him also as one of the truly great leaders in the long and bright history of the American labor movement.

Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, now a Justice-designate of the U.S. Supreme Court, has given me a brief message to present at this Labor Day ceremony. This is his message:

"Peter McGuire, perhaps as much as any man, turned the key that freed the American worker from a life of oppression and hardship. By his untiring activity on behalf of the working men and women he certainly helped them to be free.

"I wonder, though, what Peter McGuire would have to say if he could visit us today, nearly a half-century after his death.

"He would find more people at work in America than lived here when he was alive. He would find them enjoying the highest standard of living the world has ever known. And he would see every sign that the men who run his country's affairs are determined that the future will be safe, peaceful, and prosperous.

"I think Peter McGuire would be proud to be an American in 1962."

We all, I am sure, will agree with Secretary Goldberg. Yes, Peter McGuire would most certainly be proud to be an American in 1962.

I am equally sure that Peter McGuire would be proud in 1962 to be a member of the American labor movement.

He would be proud of its size, because size connotes strength; and Peter McGuire was ahead of his time in believing in the complete organization of all workers. He said, "The interests of the working classes are everywhere identical and we should do all in our power to organize all trades and callings in every city, town, and hamlet in the country."

Peter McGuire would be proud of our labor movement's democracy, because he insisted on internal democracy in the union he founded, the carpenters, and in the American Federation of Labor which he helped to organize in 1886, just 4 years after the first Labor Day.

Peter McGuire would be proud of our labor movement's militancy, because McGuire himself was not only a brilliant and aggressive strike leader; he was a two-fisted fighter for the cause of justice whenever he encountered injustice. The depression that started in 1873 was the most terrible that had ever struck the United States; the unemployed literally starved in Philadelphia and New York. McGuire headed a group of union leaders which met with the New York City Board of Aldermen to demand unemployment relief. There was a heated discussion. McGuire first begged and pleaded with the aldermen. When begging and pleading failed, he threatened (according to a historian) "to throw them out of the window one by one if unemployment relief was not granted."

Peter McGuire would be proud of our labor movement's political action, because far more than any other major labor leader of his time McGuire believed in political action by organized labor. In fact, he spent most of his time from 1876 to 1878 persuading unions to take up political action, and he himself campaigned tirelessly in State and local elections on behalf of the workingman's party.

Peter McGuire would be proud of our labor movement's economic gains, because he himself was probably the most sensational organizer and bargainer of his time. In a single year in St. Louis, McGuire not only organized four large local unions but was able to increase carpenter's wages by 100 percent.

Peter McGuire would be proud of our labor movement's internationalism, because he himself believed devoutly in the internationalism of labor and the brotherhood of workingmen of all countries. Only 2 months after he had founded the Carpenter's Union, McGuire traveled to Europe to participate in an International Socialist Congress.

There is no more appropriate place than here at his grave, 110 years after his birth and 80 years after the first Labor Day, to suggest that Peter McGuire has suffered at the hands of history. The evidence accumulates that he was a more impressive and effective leader of men, a more inspired pioneer of unionism, and a greater genius of organizing, negotiating and strike action than history has generally acknowledged.

Two things, perhaps, have served to dim the picture of his genius and the towering stature of his talents and accomplishments. First, he has become known to millions solely in his role as "father of Labor Day." Second, in his lifetime and afterward he was overshadowed by his close friend and associate Samuel Gompers.

It does not detract from this historic importance of Gompers to note that some historians contend that McGuire was Gompers equal but that the major capabilities of the two men were in different areas of trade union leadership. Thus, Labor Historian Herbert Harris, writing of the AFL's early attitudes and policies, tells us, "In the main they were the ideas of a brilliant Irishman, P. J. McGuire, secretary of the new federation. But he was the braintruster rather than the administrative personality, and the executive direction of the federation fell into the hands of a London-born, Dutch-Jewish cigarmaker named Samuel Gompers."

We know that Gompers himself was one of Peter McGuire's warmest admirers from the time the two met while still in their early teens. Gompers, in his autobiography, recalls how he drifted into the debating club room at Cooper Union, where he and McGuire attended the free classes and lectures. Says Gompers: "I came in contact with young men, many of whom were striving to learn. One of these was Peter J. McGuire, then an alert attractive young Irish-American hungry for information and opportunities to discuss current problems."

Later Gompers described him as "a fiery young orator with a big heart." In the 1880's during the nationwide campaign for the 8-hour day, Gompers wrote, "P. J. McGuire spoke almost continuously. He threw himself into the work with all the enthusiasm and ability that distinguished his leadership."

In this period the newly formed AFL had a major problem with its affiliates, a problem that could have proved fatal to the infant AFL. Many of its affiliates wouldn't stay affiliated. They would join and depart from the federation almost on whimsy, on the merest of excuses, in again, out again.

"Sometimes," wrote Gompers, "I was fighting singlehanded to hold the federated organization together. The only other officer of the federation who felt a real responsibility for the work was P. J. McGuire. The mainstay of his own struggling organization, he found time for the problems and the work of the federation."

If it were for no other reason than this Peter McGuire should go down in American labor history as a major figure; because in Gompers' words, only he and McGuire understood the importance of keeping the AFL effectively federated, only he and McGuire struggled against the periodic fragmentation of the American Federation of Labor.

But for McGuire it must also be said, there were heartaches in this dedication to the labor movement. During the Christmas period of 1873 the unemployment situation became worse. Peter McGuire was probably the outstanding leader, Gompers related, as "the unemployed filled the city's streets and squares and marched to conferences with aldermen and mayor at the city hall."

The press worked itself almost into an insane rage over McGuire. "Then began efforts to thwart the movement by trickery. P. J. McGuire's father was employed in one of the large departments stores. He was an honest hard-working man, accustomed to yield obedience to authority. He was made to feel that Peter was disgracing him by idleness, consorting with unemployed "bums" and freethinkers. One Sunday morning he stood on the steps of the Catholic Church and denounced and disowned his son. The city hall politicians tried to use the incident to break McGuire's spirit. He was tenderhearted and the treatment hurt, but he stood by the cause."

Certain it is that only Samuel Gompers played a greater, a more historically crucial role in the origins and early development of the AFL than did Peter McGuire.

In November 1882, 2 months after the first Labor Day but 4 years before the founding of the American Federation of Labor, Peter McGuire, in an appeal to the federation of trades and labor unions, called in effect for the creation of the AFL.

McGuire said that he "urged not political but industrial unity as the prime object that the federation should aim at."

The federation, he said, should not attempt to antagonize or destroy existing organizations "but by preserving all that is integral in them and by widening their scope so that each, without submerging its individuality, may act with the others in all that concerns them. The benefit of this federation is not only to render monetary and moral assistance in case of strikes or lockouts, but its very existence would lessen the number of these conflicts by causing unscrupulous employers to hesitate before declaring war on employees reinforced by such a body."

Above all else McGuire was vigorously, loudly and relentlessly an advocate of the 8-hour day. He told the federation: "We want an enactment by the workmen themselves that on a given day 8 hours should constitute a day's work, and they ought to enforce it themselves."

This was a militant, even a supermilitant position to take—that labor would win the 8-hour day not through legislation but through its own economic power—but it reflected the mood of the trade union movement of the time. McGuire, for example, was acclaimed when he told a mass meeting, "The way to get the 8-hour day is by organization. In 1868 the United States passed an 8-hour law, and that law has been enforced just twice. If you want an 8-hour law, make it yourself."

The international labor holiday, known as May Day, originated with the struggle for the 8-hour day in the United States, as is well known. But what is not at all well known is that May Day may also have been inspired by Peter McGuire. In 1882 McGuire and his Carpenters Union proposed that May 1, 1886, should be the deadline date for establishment of the 8-hour day.

It is possible, therefore, that Peter J. McGuire can be credited with the inspiration for both the American labor holiday and for the international labor holiday.

Throughout the country on May Day 350,000 workers went on strike for the 8-hour day. More than 40,000 struck in Chicago and an additional 45,000 won a shorter workday without striking. In Detroit, more than 11,000 workers paraded for the 8-hour day.

In short order, the carpenters won an 8-hour day for 46,000 workers in 137 cities and were able to reduce hours from 10 to 9 for 30,000 more. And, proving the appeal of the 8-hour day, they organized 22,000 new members that year compared to 3,000 the previous year.

And so it went in city after city. Sometimes gradually, sometimes like a swiftly rolling snowball, the 8-hour campaign picked up size and strength and speed. Before long it became clear that nothing could stop it.

One reason it could not be stopped was Peter McGuire. He had emerged as one of the most influential leaders of his time. He was one of five union chiefs who issued the call to the AFL's founding convention.

On December 8, 1886, in Columbus, Ohio, it was Peter McGuire who was chosen to convene the founding convention of the AFL. A few minutes later he was elected, by acclamation, temporary secretary of the convention. Dramatically at the end of the AFL's founding convention, McGuire was unanimously elected secretary of the new American labor movement, but immediately resigned because he felt that his duties as general secretary of his own union would prevent him from being an effective secretary of the new AFL. The convention rose, almost as one man, and "unanimously rejected" his resignation.

And so a new career for Peter McGuire began, a career resulting in a partnership with Gompers that kept the AFL from being fragmentized, the new labor movement from being disrupted and destroyed by the affiliates flying off on tangents.

McGuire could not be discouraged, not even by the experience of Congressman Murch who reported on a visit he had made, with a committee, to President Chester Arthur to ask for enforcement of the 8-hour day. The President received them coldly and, history records, when he heard what the committee wanted, he replied: "I do not think the 8-hour law is constitutional, and no power on earth can make me enforce an unconstitutional law."

Secretary of Labor Goldberg is right when he says that, "I think Peter McGuire would be proud to be an American in 1962."

Peter McGuire, as I said earlier, would also be proud in 1962 to be a member of the American labor movement.

He would be proud above all else because he would find that in this 80th anniversary year of the Labor Day he founded, we are renewing the fight for the cause he held most dear—the shorter workweek.

Eighty years after the successful fight was launched for the 8-hour day, we—the grateful inheritors of Peter McGuire's dedicated life and struggles—have pledged ourselves, in 1962, through the labor movement Peter McGuire helped create—to establish the 35-hour week for all American workers.

If Peter McGuire could rejoin us on earth today he might not understand such of our problems as cyclical unemployment and automation.

But he would understand, and join us in the struggle for the shorter workweek; because this was his cause from the beginning.

Therefore, here at his honored resting place on the 80th anniversary of the holiday he created to honor workingmen, we rededicate our labor movement to his cause, the shortening of the laboring man's workweek.

There was a song that was sung by tens of thousands of workers' voices at meetings during the 1880's—meetings that spread from city to city, town to town.

It swelled and lifted and brought workingmen's hearts higher. Peter McGuire found himself in many meetings that sang this song, and we can imagine how his voice led the others so many times in what was called the "Eight-Hour Song." These were the words:

"We mean to make things over;
we're tired of toil for naught
"But bare enough to live on: never an hour for thought.
"We want to feel the sunshine; we want to smell the flowers;
"We're sure that God has willed it, and we mean to have 8 hours.
"We're summoning our forces from shipyard, shop, and mill:
"Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will."

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Review of Poetry by Avis Turner French

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], together with a review of the latest edition of poetry by Avis Turner French of Antrim, N.H., written by Mr. Teenus Cheney and published in the Salisbury (N.C.) Post of August 21, 1962.

There being no objection, the statement and review were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR COTTON

On August 21, Mr. Teenus Cheney, in the Salisbury, N.C., Post, wrote an excellent review of the latest edition of poetry by a well-known New Hampshire woman, Avis Turner French, of Antrim.

Avis Turner French has attained international recognition for her poetry. Mr. Cheney's review is of her last book entitled "Flickering Lights."

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POST SCRIPTS

(By Teenus Cheney)

WISTFUL ECHOES, MOTHER

"A morning in September; golden sunlight;
One cricket's cheery voice, and far apart
Across the hills, the village church bells ringing;
All echo through my heart.

"For I remember one whose soul was bell toned;
Whose absence often brings such lonely tears.
Like distant bells I sometimes hear her calling,
Across the long long years."

—AVIS TURNER FRENCH, Antrim, N.H.

OBONS

For more than a decade Obons' northeasternmost contributor has been Avis Turner French, of Antrim, NH., a lady whose skillful colligation of words in metric measure long has elated the myriad. Her every entry has been of poetic excellencies. Now she has assembled half a hundred of her choicest verses in a stiffback binding and she has given it the title of "Flickering Lights."

It delighted me to note that the Salisbury Post is listed on the acknowledgments page.

This deucedly dexterous woman owns one of the keenest rhythm senses it ever has been my lot to observe. It can be corroborated by glancing at the example above, or by reading any within the pages of this eximious volume. Most of them rhyme, but some do not. Notable among the latter classification is the title poem, on page 35. It veers somewhat from the norm, too, in that it totals nine lines. But—it's beautiful.

The lady writes only in a serious vein, a factor which does nothing but add to the beauty of her lines. Let me give you the first four of poetry, found on page 8:

"I am the ocean touched by sunset gold,
Rose, clouds across the dawn, wild geese in flight,
New snow Christmas Eve, blue distant hills,
Home lights that beacon softly through the night."

Memorials are a favorite topic with her, including one here to Edwin Markham.

Sonnets palpably are among her most prominent assets. While I like them all, I am forced to tenor here a preference for "The Dearest Miracle":

"The deep of God is everywhere to see
In sunset glow, the stars like promises.
Through hymns forever sounding wild and free.
From tides, or wind-swept mountain majesties
While clearly and so cleverly defined.
The arts and science well revealing man.
His growth and depth through magnitude of mind.
According to the great eternal plan.
But finer than all these from out the vast-
The dearest miracle
Let all rejoice.
When loved most tenderly, who learn at last.
That they have looked on God, have heard His voice.
They know creation, mankind, stars and sod
Are for one reason, love, the soul of God."

Another element which adds to the beauty of Avis' writing is that it is foundationed on simplicity, like in "The Little Things":

"I know I shall remember
While I am growing old
How much she loved the starlight,
The sea, the sunset's gold.
The way she had of laughing
Just over little things.
She graced the years with beauty
Because her soul had wings.
I know I shall remember
The songs she sometimes sang.
Her voice was pure as crystal
Like bells that softly rang.
The ways she always kissed me
Was very sweet to know.
She was so dear, my mother
Who loved me long ago."

Space paucities forbid my giving you more. Albeit, I am well convinced that from these bits you can believe readily that Avis Turner French has few equals in the active practice of the poetic arts.

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## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thought and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MAYWOOD, N.J., *August 29, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Please accept my sincere thanks for the statement which you made on July 16 in the House of Representatives in behalf of the captive nations, among which is Lithuania.

Your efforts are appreciated by Lithuanians everywhere.

Respectfully yours,

DOROTHY DUTKUS.

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KNIGHTS OF LITHUANIA,
*September 9, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for your kind remarks concerning the captive nations.

Yours truly,

VETO ANGELIUS.

WORCESTER, MASS.

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DEAR SIR: I am very grateful for your statement in behalf of the captive nations on July 16 in the House of Representatives. A statement such as this serves to remind the free world that these countries are still suffering under Communist domination.

With best wishes,

ANN I. KOKERNAK
MRS. JOHN F. KOKERNAK.

WORCESTER, MASS.

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SEPTEMBER 11, 1962.

DEAR DANIEL J. FLOOD: Thank you for your kind remarks concerning captive nations.

Yours truly,

VETO ANGELIUS.

WORCESTER, MASS.

KNIGHTS OF LITHUANIA COUNCIL 116,
*Worcester, Mass., September 10, 1962.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Thank you very much for your statement in behalf of the captive nations.

I appreciate your efforts in helping us support Lithuania which is among one of the captive nations.

Sincerely yours,

Miss RITA SKAMAROCK.

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KNIGHTS OF LITHUANIA,

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: I wish to thank you very much for your statement of July 16 in behalf of the captive nations. Thank you again.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY GLASTER.

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WORCESTER, MASS.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Thank you for mentioning the captive nations on July 16, 1962.

Your support is deeply appreciated.

Gratefully,

MRS. BARBARA MAZEEKA.

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## Commendation of Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a recent special edition of Overseas Report, a newsletter published by Julius Klein Public Relations, Inc., has been devoted to commending the job being done by Radio Free Europe. Quite justifiably, I think, it points out that not enough is known here in the United States about the vital work being performed by this service in the cold war.

Major General Klein, who is known on both sides of the aisle as a dedicated American patriot, recently was escorted on a guided tour of the Radio Free Europe operation in Munich by Maj. Gen. C. Rodney Smith, U.S. Army, retired, a former NATO officer and International Telephone & Telegraph Co. executive who is now director of Radio Free Europe.

In summing up his impressions of Radio Free Europe, General Klein said:

It is my conviction that this radio station deserves the unlimited support of the American people. On my return to the United States, I intend to tell the men and women of America about the tremendous job I have seen performed at this outpost of democracy on the very fringe of totalitarianism.

General Klein continued:

I would like to assure all Americans that Radio Free Europe is an important link between the peoples of the free world and the Iron Curtain countries, in keeping alive their hope and spirit, looking toward the day when they will be liberated and their countries are again free. I found that Radio Free Europe is providing vital communications with the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries—that their programs are enormously appreciated by the Hungarians. They listen to the programs eagerly and comment on them. The programs represent one of the most important links with freedom in their lives.

Elsewhere in Overseas Report it is pointed out that:

BUDAPEST STILL LISTENS

The effectiveness of Radio Free Europe since the abortive Hungarian revolution of 1956 has been questioned in many European circles. It has been said Radio Free Europe hasn't had the confidence of the Hungarian audience ever since it gave the impression it was speaking for the U.S. Government when it talked of military support for any uprising.

The question raised by these critics is impossible to answer. Would the Hungarians have attacked Russian tanks with stones without expectation of American military intervention? History would seem to say "Yes." Throughout the annals of civilization there are stories of the oppressed rising up against the oppressor.

Surely the Hungarians were oppressed just as were the East Germans and the Poznan Poles who rioted before them.

To those who say Radio Free Europe spoke with the authority of Washington we can only point to the radio station's formation in 1950 by private citizens with private donations. There is no connection here with the high councils of American policymaking.

And as for the reports the station has declined in effectiveness among its Hungarian audience, the fact that 48 percent of Hungarians still listen to Radio Free Europe broadcasts at least twice a week is hardly an indication of a loss of effectiveness.

Radio Free Europe is supported solely by private contributions. I think it is vitally important to remind all Americans that by aiding its effectiveness they are making a significant contribution to victory in the cold war, and I congratulate General Klein's organization for having done so.

I ask unanimous consent to have the articles referred to printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Overseas Report, Aug. 10, 1962]

RADIO FREE EUROPE PLANS MAJOR EFFORT FOR WALL'S ANNIVERSARY

The first anniversary of the construction of the Berlin wall, to be noted on August 12, will be marked by a concentration of effort by Radio Free Europe to illustrate the true workings of communism and to tell the peoples of East Europe the true causes of the wall's erection.

For the 18 hours of itsw broadcast day, Radio Free Europe will be using its 20 transmitters and 22 studios at its Munich headquarters to beam news, music, drama, and comedy to the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, as it does every day of the year. On August 12, however, Radio Free Europe will concentrate its efforts on countering the propaganda issued by the Communist monopoly of radio and press.

This is Radio Free Europe's assignment. On July 4, 1950, when the first signal emitted from a Radio Free Europe mobile transmitter in a wooded area near Frankfurt, it was the beginning of a vast attempt to break the monopoly of communications the Communist regimes had imposed in their countries.

With such a monopoly the satellite regimes hoped the captive peoples would lose their identity with the Western free nations; that the memories of the older generation would be deadened and the younger generation would belong to the state.

WINDOW OF TRUTH

The Free Europe Committee, New York parent organization of Radio Free Europe, vowed it would break that monopoly by keeping a "window of truth" open between West and East. The radio station established in southern Germany with funds donated by private citizens has redeemed this promise.

Today Radio Free Europe's daily programs are tailored for the greatest impact on its different listeners in each of the five target countries. For each target nation there is a separate division at Radio Free Europe's Munich offices. Each division has varied programing including 10-minute hourly newscasts, sportscasts, music, drama, comedy, religious, and cultural programs. There is on-the-spot coverage of worldwide events. Programs are aimed at adults and children, farmers, factory workers, and professionals.

Although the radio station is directed by Americans, most of the programing is done by nationals of the five target countries. Each of the national divisions is headed by a well-known exile. Native East Europeans are chosen for their skills as newsmen, commentators, writers, announcers, performers, and specialists in agriculture, business, science, economics, and culture. Besides 190 Americans the Radio Free Europe staff is comprised of 540 persons from the 5 target countries, 520 Germans, 360 Portuguese (Portugal is location of Radio Free Europe transmitters) and 70 from other nations.

To gather the news of the Western and Communist worlds the radio station relies on: Radio Free Europe's central news bureau and bureaus in major cities of Western Europe; Western news agencies such as Reuters, AP, and UPI; Radio Free Europe's New York offices; a special events section; free lance reporters; study of Western and Communist publications; interviews with refugees and travelers from behind the Iron Curtain.

Besides all this, Radio Free Europe has an elaborate system of monitoring East European radio stations. This operation, one of the world's largest, is located near Munich at Schleissheim and keeps tabs on more than 60 Communist radio stations. By knowing what is being said behind the Iron Curtain, Radio Free Europe can comment on, and correct, false information.

The evaluation and analysis departments of each of Radio Free Europe's five divisions carefully scan all material to prevent the use of incorrect data and maintain the station's credibility. New data is checked against Radio Free Europe's file of information in which there are over 7 million entries on people, places, and events.

Once Radio Free Europe's network has assembled and corroborated the raw material for its programs, broadcasts are prepared. Daily discussions earmark each bit of information for its best use—a news program, a dramatic play, a comedy show.

The August 12 programing will be an example of how Radio Free Europe uses special opportunities to unmask the lies of communism. A year ago, when the Berlin wall went up, Radio Free Europe broke the Communist blackout of information on the wall with detailed analysis of what happened and why. Refugees from East Berlin told their personal stories to Radio Free Europe listeners in Eastern Europe.

Another example of the use of a special event was Radio Free Europe's reporting of the 1958 changes in the Rumanian penal code. The unpublished changes made, among other things, "unauthorized contact with foreigners" an offense punishable by death. Rumanians were unaware of this change until Radio Free Europe broadcast the full text.

How successful is Radio Free Europe's efforts? The radio station's audience research department continuously interviews refugees and visitors from the East to learn their listening habits. It has been discovered that:

LISTENERSHIP HIGH

An average of 70 percent of the peoples of the five target countries listen at least occasionally to Radio Free Europe. Of these,

66 percent of Poles, 48 percent of Hungarians, and 35 percent of Bulgars, Czechs, and Rumanians regularly listen to Radio Free Europe at least twice a week.

There are other proofs of listenership. Polish radio and press made only minor references to then Vice President Richard Nixon's Warsaw visit in 1960. Yet thousands of Poles, given the tour route by Radio Free Europe, turned out to cheer the visitor. And when Col. Joseph Swaitlo, a top Polish secret police official defected and gave Radio Free Europe information for over 100 broadcasts, the Polish regime was forced to dissolve its secret police.

As for its future, Radio Free Europe stated in a recent annual report: "So long as the Iron Curtain, a symbol of modern barbarism, continues to divide East from West, so long as the men and women behind it are deprived of a free press and of the right of self-determination—so long will this voice of the free world continue to speak."

GENERAL KLEIN TOURS RADIO FREE EUROPE OPERATIONS

MUNICH.—Maj. Gen. Julius Klein (U.S. Army, retired), noted American soldier and international public relations expert, was given a guided tour of the Radio Free Europe operation in Munich by Maj. Gen. C. Rodney Smith, retired, former NATO officer and International Telephone and Telegraph Co. executive who is currently Radio Free Europe Director.

After a thorough briefing on the freedom network's operations by General Smith, General Klein inspected the five broadcasting departments that transmit program to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. General Klein showed particular interest in Radio Free Europe's techniques of monitoring some 40 Communist radio stations, and in the extensive east European archives maintained at Radio Free Europe headquarters here.

SAW PROGRAM PRODUCED

Other points of interest to General Klein, who is founder of a Chicago broadcasting service, were the master control room connecting 28 transmitters with Radio Free Europe, the production of a program slated for Czechoslovakia and the central newsroom. He also sat in on a policy meeting attended by Bernard Yarrow, executive vice president of Radio Free Europe's parent organization in New York, the Free Europe Committee.

Following the inspection tour General Klein attended a luncheon with General Smith and Mr. Yarrow. Among 10 Radio Free Europe officials present was Hugh Elbot, a friend of General Klein for 20 years, who arranged the general's visit to Munich and the tour of the Radio Free Europe installations here.

In summing up his impressions of Radio Free Europe, General Klein told the luncheon gathering "It is my conviction that this radio station deserves the unlimited support of the American people. On my return to the United States I intend to tell the men and women of America about the tremendous job I have seen performed at this outpost of democracy on the very fringe of totalitarianism."

"Since visiting the Radio Free Europe installations—and after much difficulty—I obtained a visa to go to Budapest just 2 weeks ago. I shall not attempt to go into detail regarding my visit behind the Iron Curtain, or give my impressions gained from several days' stay in Budapest.

"But, I would like to assure all Americans that Radio Free Europe is an important link between the peoples of the free world and the Iron Curtain countries, in keeping alive their hope and spirit, looking toward the day when they will be liberated and their countries are again free.

"I found that Radio Free Europe is providing vital communications with the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries—that their programs are enormously appreciated by the Hungarians. They listen to the broadcasts eagerly and comment on them. The programs represent one of the most important links with freedom in their lives."

## Alabama's Largest Oil Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, August 28, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks for the RECORD, I include therein an article from a wonderful newspaper at Citronelle and Mount Vernon, Ala., called the Call. The headline in this paper—and I think it deserves headlines—is "Oil Fields 7 Years Old Today"—and it says that the local field reaches 30-million-barrel mark.

Well, I wish all of us could think back to 7 years ago, when they brought in that field. Really and truly, as some of our people said, that was the day—the day that the black oil came pouring out—and think now—it reaches 30 million barrels a year. But this wonderful little paper that covers Citronelle and Mount Vernon and all that part of north Mobile County, tells the story in no uncertain terms; and think what it means.

Most of this wonderful feat was caused by the great Gulf operation—that "good Gulf," as they call it. Well, I believe they sold out to some wonderful people—our own men living right there in Mobile, Bart B. Chamberlain and George Jett, of Louisiana, who have made such a wonderful success in the oil business—not only have, but are, in putting down, this very Sunday morning, when I am dictating this on the dictaphone, they are drilling and drilling, day and night; and there is no telling where it is going to end. They have been trying to get oil there as long as I can remember. I had a great partner, J. C. Prine, who went to Heaven a long, long time ago, that used to just keep on telling me we were going to get oil at Citronelle; and he did put down several wells, trying and trying hard; but we didn't go deep enough.

But now, Mr. Speaker, we have that. I would like to say, though, had we not had depletion, these great oil companies—and there are many of them—would not have been able to put on this great development. H. L. Hunt put many wells down there, and so did many other oil companies. I will not try to name them, but I know that Bart Chamberlain and George Jett put one down to, I believe, 20,000 feet—almost 5 miles deep—at Citronelle. All of the wells, of course, are not that deep. They go to about eleven thousand and some-odd feet.

But, as I say, this story in the Citronelle-Mount Vernon Call, that was established way back in 1896, tells the story and tells it well. Had it not been for the depletion that we worked so hard to keep here, we would have never gotten this great development. This well that is only 7 years old has accounted for about two-thirds of all crude oil produced in Alabama since oil was discovered in Gilbertown, Choctaw County, 18 years ago; and some day I believe they will go deeper at Gilbertown and get more oil there; but they, too, are doing wonderfully well with their oilfield there.

Then, we have another oilfield just across the great Tombigbee River, between the Tombigbee River and the Alabama River, owned by Ellis Jordan, a great timber, land, and lumber man there, who is doing wonderfully well. These high waters interfere with him and drown him out ever so often, but that does not stop Ellis Jordan—he goes right on and, as I have said, is doing well.

That gives us four fields in Alabama. Well, you will note that in all, the oilmen from all over this country have spent in development and drilling $68 million—in drilling the 335 wells—and as I see by this article, they only have 7 dry holes. Is that not wonderful? The gross returns have amounted to $82½ million.

I notice that the unit manager, Mr. William L. Horner, of Mobile, estimates that the field could turn out 26,000 barrels of oil every day. That is about $70,000 worth of oil every day, or $25 million in a year—over $2 million every month. Mr. Chamberlain tells me that they have plans for many, many more wells—not only in the proven part of the field, but in other places where their geologist tells them they can expect to find oil.

So, the future up in that Citronelle country and on clear over to the salt dome at McIntosh looks good—very good—for a successful year ahead and for many long years to come. One other article that I was reading, too, I will put in here. It is what some of the Texas people said—and what goes for Texas—and a lot of this work was done by Texas people—goes for us down there in Mobile and Washington Counties. And it says this: "Oilmen—Most Independent Breed of Men." Well, they are, too, and they are wonderful go-getters; they have nerve; they have stamina; they have perseverance; and they have brains and ability; and that is the reason these men in Texas succeeded in bringing in oil, and that is the reason the men at Citronelle, Ala., at Gilbertown, Ala., the Clarke Oil Co., in Clarke County, Ala., and over in Escambia County—they had all of this, too; and we will bring in other fields as long as we have the great leadership we have in the development of our oilfields in Alabama and all over this country.

We in Alabama are very proud of all of the men and the women that have helped make this oil business so successful and so wonderful, and has helped every man, woman, and child in that part of the country.

The articles follow:

[From the Citronelle-Mount Vernon (Ala.) Call, Aug. 16, 1962]

OILFIELD 7 YEARS OLD—LOCAL FIELD REACHES 30-MILLION-BARREL MARK

Alabama's largest oil field, Citronelle, today celebrates it seventh birthday and 30 million barrels of oil following its discovery on August 16, 1955.

The past year oilmen have drilled 56 new producers and 3 dry holes. This was said to be the best drilling year since 1958–59 which recorded 68 wells.

A shutdown killed what would have been a record, except for a collapse in the crude market. The shutdown of 6 weeks had the field producing at half capacity in June and July.

Drilling activity since January 1, has been at a near record rate despite the age of the field. Forty-two wells have been completed as producers, second only to 1957, when 45 wells were recorded in the field.

The most important event since the field's sixth birthday was the actual beginning on the secondary recovery waterflood project.

In January of this year, the secondary recovery project began to hit its stride. The 138 wells jumped their production to 524,848 barrels, or more than half of the field output.

The crumbling market, conditions for Citronelle oil kept the unit from really flexin its arms. In March, the last month of full production, the unit had only 45 percent of the producing wells at Citronelle but accounted for 56 percent of the field's crude output.

Efforts are currently underway for a sizable expansion of the secondary recovery unit.

The field, in its 7 years of operation, has accounted for about two-thirds of all crude produced in Alabama since oil was discovered at Gilbertown 18 years ago.

What Citronelle could produce today is mainly a theoretical problem until the market problem is solved.

In all, oilmen have spent nearly $68 million in drilling the 335 wells and 7 dry holes in the field.

The gross return has been an estimated $32.5 million.

Unit Manager William L. Horner, of Mobile, estimates that the field could turn out 26,000 barrels of oil per day. That's about $70,000 worth of oil a day or $25 million a year.

What does Citronelle's eighth birthday foresee? Citronelleans visualize a successful year ahead.

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OILMEN: MOST INDEPENDENT BREED OF MEN

Texans did not discover petroleum. There is unmistakable reference to the substance in the Bible and in ancient Greek and other early writings. Few recall that it was lamp oil Colonel Drake was drilling for at Titusville, Pa.

Not until the turn of the century did man discover more use for petroleum than as a lubricant and fuel. The advent of the automobile and the airplane began the gasoline era. The age of natural gas soon followed.

Texas' claim to petroleum "firstness" is its largest production of any State, its ownership of nearly half of the Nation's underground reserves of both petroleum and gas, but especially its oil manpower.

For oil is not only made of wells, petroleum, gas, and the tremendous industry that has grown in its wake. Oil is men, a strange and different breed of men, daring, driving, and definitive. They seek all the scientific data they can get, but upon hard-learned experience they risk all with a "Yes" or "No" as casual as were the game penny ante. They're as independent a lot as only Texans can be.

Oilmen don't always win. Nearly 90 percent of wildcat wells are dusters, and 75 percent of discoveries have been by go-it-alone independents. In these days of regimentation and edict, it would be to their advantage if these individuals were better organized. They'll fight fiercely as did those in the Alamo or at San Jacinto, but as individually, too.

As one said, "No bureau ever drilled an oil well. Things are bad the way the bright young men are interfering. Things may get a lot worse before they get better." These Texans, who take their dry holes along with their strikes, are playing this hand out, but with an eye on a new shuffle. It is to the welfare of all Texans, the Nation, and the free world to see that they get it. It's that important.

ED MAHER, INC.

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## Airlines Must Cut Costs To Increase Markets—Wayne W. Parrish Notes Areas Where Revisions Are Needed

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in recent weeks the Nation's airlines and their problems have been much in the news. Not only here in Washington, D.C., but throughout the country, people are cognizant of America's growing dependence on this rapidly expanding mode of transportation, and particularly attuned to its crises.

In his column, "Personal View," in the September issue of Airlift magazine, aviation authority Wayne W. Parrish comments effectively on the current search for means of expanding existing air markets, and the problems which confront that growing industry.

Mr. Parrish notes that airlines are to attract increased percentages of automobile travelers they must do it on the basis of competitive costs. Three vital cost matters which would therefore bear close scrutiny are: Labor, safety, and airports. Only by successfully overcoming difficulties present in each of these areas can air travel fulfill its rich potential for service to the consumer and the economy.

I ask unanimous consent that "Personal View," by Wayne W. Parrish in the September 1962 issue of Airlift magazine be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANDICAPS: LABOR, FEAR, AND AIRPORTS

The air transport industry is being surfeited with advice and counsel on how to expand its market.

But we note an absence in almost all of the speeches, panels, discussions, and reports, of three important factors which go into operating costs. And it doesn't take even a New Frontier economist to figure out that cost has a very essential bearing on the price of the product or service being offered.

At the moment there is a flurry of interest in winning over to air the automobile user. Market research is being conducted and more is being urged. But the automobile is a vast competitor of air service often on the basis of cost to the user. It would be wise to look first at this whole business of cost.

Here are three vital areas:

1. Labor: A tragic situation has developed by which the unions are eating cancerously at the vitals of the industry by constant, unending demands which go much beyond the national economic trends. Labor strife alone (strikes and threats) has cost high into the millions. Witness as one example the stranglehold which a few hundred flight engineers put on Eastern Air Lines to the exclusion of the rights of thousands of other employees and of the traveling public.

The industry has become a patsy for labor organizations. Threats of strikes and strike deadlines have been in the news headlines almost continuously, thereby losing millions of dollars in advance ticketing for the carriers involved. Pan American, as one example, went through costly deterioration from the flight engineers only to be hit in fast succession by the TWU ground employees. It is a travesty of the times that the very employees wanting to benefit from their demands are so very ready and willing to smear strike threats in the headlines, thus taking business away from the carrier from which they earn their living.

It has been tragic that the trunk airlines have been unable to maintain a solid front. Individually, they have become sitting ducks. Only a handful of managements have stood up and fought against unreasonable demands. Every time there appears to be unity among managements, one airline crumbles and breaks the front.

How can managements turn their thoughts to long-range planning, to market research, to experimentation with lower fares, when labor strife is continuous. When the pressure of one segment eases up, another begins. Labor, and we speak chiefly of those labor operators who have no personal interest whatever in the airlines, but who call the shots as union professionals, is tearing down instead of helping to build. Expansion of the market (and growth in jobs) will continue at a slow rate as long as the present deadly situation continues.

2. Safety: In virtually all of the mass of material on expanding the air market, there is little if any mention of fear. In our opinion fear is not only a continuing major factor among a very large segment of the traveling public, but should not be brushed under the carpet.

We would go so far as to state that fear is a greater factor today—even among those who do fly—than it was several years ago. No matter what the statistics say, the truth is that the headlines and radio news reports have not been very pleasant in the past year, especially in international operations. And let's face the truth of the matter—too many airlines of the world are flying too many hot big jets to too many places.

The jet age came 5 years too soon. It is not the equipment that is at fault, although the operating demands leave too little room for safety margins. It is the pure and simple fact that pilot training, airport facilities, and air navigation aids were not ready. Plus the fact that too many airlines are taking these jets on infrequent schedules to faraway places where crews are not sufficiently familiar with local conditions. A big jet is a demanding vehicle. It has few built-in margins for sluggish reflexes and wrong decisions.

The world airline safety record is good. But it isn't good enough. And if anyone thinks fear has been eliminated from the bulk of the public, he'd better take another look. A great many people travel by air because they have no alternative. How many more trips would they make if fear was not a factor? And how many more customers would there be by the same token? We think there would be quite a few. No program of education is going to cure this one. The only cure is a better safety record and that isn't coming fast enough.

3. Airports: No one has calculated, so far as we know, the enormously increased costs to the airlines in the past few years of the huge monuments to civic pride that have been erected all around the United States and other countries. Certainly new terminals were needed. But most of the new ones represent investments far beyond the needs of today and tomorrow, mostly because of the urge to create the biggest and finest. But let no one think that these monuments of steel, marble, and glass are not having an impact on airline costs, and thereby on fares. They are having plenty, and for all time in the future. So any market research designed to expand the air travel market had best take airport costs into consideration—they are up many, many times over a decade ago, far and away at a greater rate than the national economic trend.

WAYNE W. PARRISH.

## Part V: Aid to Dependent Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

**Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in this fifth of a six-part series, Detroit News Reporter Jo Ann Hardee discusses the need for a revised aid-to-dependent-children program which is being urged by many officials.**

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

"Aid to dependent children (ADC) should be abolished." This is the belief of the man who heads the State program, of welfare officials, of city and county leaders—and of many irate taxpayers.

Some of the latter exclaim that there should be no public assistance for their image of the aid-to-dependent-children recipient: a lazy chiseler or an unwed mother.

COSTS $40 MILLION

Aid to dependent children, which began in the depression as a family-saving program for widows and orphans, now costs $40 million annually in Michigan. In 22 years it has changed to a program which primarily supports divorcees, deserted and separated women, and unwed mothers.

Public criticism has mounted through these years until some disgruntled citizens scream: "Abolish it."

W. J. Maxey, head of aid to dependent children's parent organization, the State department of social welfare, has long been an advocate of ending all aid categories—old age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to the disabled, aid to dependent children.

THOSE THAT FAIL

Juvenile Judge James A. Lincoln sees the kinds of cases that irritate the public most—those in which aid to dependent children are neglected or mistreated or become juvenile delinquents.

"I see the worst of aid to dependent children and welfare," he said. "I see those that failed. This is what other courts, the police, and the public see."

Last year the court had 10 percent of its neglect petitions brought by aid to dependent children. Consistently less than 10 percent of its delinquency cases involved aid to dependent children.

"Go ahead and abolish the program," he said. "Then you can spend the money on law enforcement because you'll need it.

"When aid to dependent children, welfare, and community leaders say they want to abolish the program, they mean in its present form.

"The program has outlived its usefulness, its original intent. The character of the caseload has changed while the law has remanied static," said Maxey.

He applauds the recent change in the Federal law placing emphasis on rehabilitation rather than relief.

But Maxey would go a step further.

HAS NEW PLAN

"The only eligibility requirement for any aid program should be need. My staff spends more time deciding in which little cubbyhole of public assistance a case should go than it does at anything else."

Maxey wants one general assistance program financed by Federal, State, and local funds, run under State supervision. He believes such a program, in addition to administrative savings, would stop the aid to dependent children welfare merry-go-round.

He says the Wayne County aid to dependent children gets 60 to 70 percent of its 16,394 cases from the welfare departments of Detroit and the county as soon as technical eligibility is reached.

For example: A woman has been separated 6 months, she has lived in Michigan 1 year, it has been 1 year since the birth of her illegitimate child.

His estimate is borne out by welfare sources.

ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED CUT YEARLY

Cases cut off aid to dependent children rolls are likely to wind up at city and county welfare offices at a rate of nearly 1,700 yearly. Those who believe that welfare does a better investigation job welcome this opportunity for these departments to ferret out fraud.

In addition to ending this merry-go-round, critics say a general assistance program would eliminate a bad feature of aid to dependent children—placing a premium on the absence of the father. Some welfare experts think this fosters illegitimacy and hinders reconciliation of separated couples.

A 1960 survey of aid to dependent children in Chicago concluded: "Aid to dependent children is not the basic cause of family breakup. However, it probably precipitates desertion in cases where the father is unable to support his family."

CALLED FIRST STEP

"Only if all families with needy children were given assistance, regardless of the status of the parent, would this reason for family breakup be averted."

With aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers, (ADC–U), Congress last year initiated such a program. Observers also believe aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers is the first step toward eliminating aid categories and installing a Federal-State-local general assistance program.

First passed in 1961 as a year-long emergency measure, aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers was not adopted by the Michigan Legislature despite Governor Swainson's pleas reinforced by tax-burdened Detroit and Wayne County.

BILL KILLED

Party lines were drawn and the enabling bill died in a House committee, costing Michigan an estimated $20 million in Federal money. In addition to the objection of Republican legislators the bill was also questioned because of its temporary nature.

The State Association of Social Welfare Boards questioned a program that would require turning large caseloads on local welfare over to the State, disrupting personnel.

This year Congress extended aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers until 1967.

One welfare official commented: "Let's not kid the public, that means it's a permanent program."

Republican leaders in Lansing refused to reconvene the legislature before the November election to consider the measure. When the lawmakers meet, observers expect opposition on the grounds that the Federal Government will be assuming too many local prerogatives.

BURDEN LIFTED

Welfare officials welcome the lifting of an estimated $10 million burden from local taxpayers.

Daniel J. Ryan, head of Detroit's welfare department, estimates aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers would remove 5,000 cases from direct city payment County Welfare Director Walter Dunne figures 1,700 cases would be dropped from county rolls.

"We think a sensible program of public assistance would do away with categories, placing all relief programs in a federally and State supported agency under local control, with local financial participation," Ryan said. "This kind of program will relieve the local community of a financial burden it can no longer face."

LIST DIFFERENCES

Here agreement between Ryan and Maxey ends.

Ryan would like to see a plan for general assistance similar to welfare's operation. Basically the differences between aid to dependent children and city welfare are these:

Under aid to dependent children the father must be absent (97.5 percent in Wayne County cases, 88.3 outstate) or incapacitated (2.5 and 11.7).

An aid to dependent children applicant must have resided in the State 1 year; welfare applicants also must have been self-supporting for 1 year. (The county maintains a fund for nonresidents who do not qualify under city welfare residence requirements.)

Aid to dependent children allows its clients to keep $750 worth of property, excluding their homestead. Welfare demands that all resources be utilized before aid is granted. An automobile may be retained when the head of the family is employable and loss of the car might hinder employment.

Aid to dependent children grants are in cash under Federal law. Welfare used relief-in-kind, giving food stamps, clothing orders, paying rent.

Under welfare more than one-quarter of the cases are engaged in work relief projects, earning portions of their grants at city jobs. Aid to dependent children has no work relief program.

Although new Federal law provides for such programs, local officials wish to spend the money for job retraining.

Unannounced investigations of the home are required twice yearly under aid to dependent children where caseloads are 120 per worker. Welfare investigators with caseloads of 75 each investigate every 2 months.

Welfare emphasis is on employment. Aid to dependent children's emphasis is on adequate child care.

CHANGE IN LAW

Ryan would particularly like to see relief-in-kind maintained. This would require a change in present Federal law which demands cash payment.

R. Bernard Houston, head of the Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid, the parent organization for aid to dependent children, said that administrative expenses of in-kind payments would be prohibitive.

His boss in Lansing balked for a different reason. "There is more dependency in-kind payments. People develop responsibility by dealing with reality and nothing is more real than money," Maxey said.

GIVES DIGNITY

"When families move from welfare to aid to dependent children it helps their morale," Father Clement Kern of Holy Trinity parish said. "Aid to dependent children gives them cash to spend. They aren't marked as a public charge. They can become part of the community. They have a feeling of dignity."

Countering the argument that payments in kind reduce dignity, Ryan said: "We are just as concerned in preserving dignity as any highly professional social worker, but I personally can't accept the theory that you must have cash in hand to preserve that dignity."

City officials attempting to get aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers adopted by the State legislature realize that once adopted it will be more difficult to prescribe the kind of general assistance program they might wish.

CONTROL FEARED

One said: "If it is passed, it will be the beginning of the Federal Government taking in the whole relief spectrum—on its own terms."

Viewing aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers as skeptically as he does the current program is Willis Hall, member of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors and director of the Detroit Board of Commerce.

"Aid to dependent children is operated by such remote control," Hall complains. "There is inadequate casework or counseling to make sure money is actually expended for child care, the purpose for which it was intended."

He believes the recent slash in supplementation funds will give the city and county greater supervision over some cases since they will be reinvestigated before being accepted by either of the two welfare agencies.

GRANTS CUT OFF

As an economy move both the city and county ended the addition of from $1 to $45 to aid to dependent children grants to help make up the difference between State ceilings and budgeted needs.

"Under supplementation, we had no control over the aid to dependent children caseload. We were giving them a blank check to spend county and city money," Hall said.

Hall and other critics of aid to dependent children hail the end of supplementation as a step toward fixing financial responsibility for the program on the Federal and State Government.

CALLED MISTAKE

"Supplementation should never have been initiated. It is the responsibility of the Federal Government to finance whatever budget is necessary," he said.

"Our mistake in Wayne County was yielding to pressure rather than forcing the State and Federal Government to pay proper support."

Supplementation was established by the board of supervisors in 1940 a few months after it switched from a county mothers' pension fund to the Federal-State aid to dependent children program. Mothers picketed the county building, complaining that aid to dependent children checks were too low. The added funds were granted.

TELL OF HARDSHIP

The first year it cost $700,000. When it ended, September 1, it was costing the city nearly $3 million and the county $300,000.

While some have praised Mayor Cavanagh for ending supplementation, aid to dependent children mothers protested it will create enormous hardship.

A group of 250 persons Tuesday told Mayor Cavanagh that the trimmed grants would lead to school dropouts, poorer nutrition, and increases in juvenile crime. Aid to dependent children groups asking for restoration of supplemental aid have been joined by social work associations and the Trade Union Leadership Council.

URBAN LEAGUE WAITS

The Urban League is taking a wait-and-see attitude.

"We don't want to say a program is wrong until it has been given a chance to operate," Director Francis A. Kornegay said. "We will be observing applications at the welfare offices during October to see if real hardship is being suffered."

Houston said the slash would free one-third of his staff from bookkeeping chores for "more imaginative and creative work." He said there was no statistical evidence that living in Wayne County was more expensive than living anywhere else in the State.

Hall questioned the need for surplus grants. "When Wayne County cut grants in 1959, there was very little complain," he said.

The next few months will probably be a turning point in the hectic history of aid to dependent children.

They may mark the beginning of a national general relief program and an end to the familiar assistance categories. Unless city and county officials yield to mounting pressure, they will also mark the end of a 22-year tradition of supplementation.

## John F. Kennedy Tells Youth of America How To Prepare for the Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, for the first time an incumbent President of the United States has given frank counsel and advice to young Americans on how they may best train to be of service to our country should they rise to be President.

In a brief article in the September 23 edition of Parade magazine, President Kennedy writes about the Presidency and advises youth of some of the qualifications needed to be President, some of the demands that are made upon the President, and offers advice upon how our American youth may prepare for this responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, believing this writing unique and worthy of preserving I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

JOHN F. KENNEDY TELLS YOUTH HOW TO PREPARE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

(NOTE.—Parade's Fred Blumenthal asked President Kennedy this question: "Somewhere in our land today there is a high school or college student who will one day be sitting in your chair. If you could now speak to this future President, what advice and guidance would you give him or her?" Following is the President's answer. This is the first time that an incumbent Chief Executive has given such frank counsel to a young American destined to succeed him.)

(By John F. Kennedy)

The first lesson of the Presidency is that it is impossible to foretell the precise nature of the problems that will confront you or the specific skills and capacities which those problems will demand. It is an office which called upon a man of peace, Lincoln, to become a great leader in a bloody war; which required a profound believer in limiting the scope of Federal Government, Jefferson, to expand dramatically the powers and range of that Government; which challenged a man dedicated to domestic social reform, Franklin Roosevelt, to lead this nation into a deep and irrevocable involvement in world affairs. And when you assume the Presidency you too will face problems, difficulties, crises and challenges which no one can now foresee.

In 1645, John Winthrop, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, after a long and stormy trial acquitting him of impeachment for exceeding his authority, reminded his fellow citizens that "when you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess nor undertake to have sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts * * * therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability."

This insight into the nature of governing affirms the lesson of our history that there is no program of vocational training for the Presidency; no specific area of knowledge that is peculiarly relevant. Nor are qualities of great leadership drawn from any particular section of the country or section of society. Nine of our Presidents, among them some of the most brilliant in office, did not attend college; whereas Thomas Jefferson was one of the great scholars of the age and Woodrow Wilson the president of Princeton University. We have had Presidents who were lawyers and soldiers and teachers. One was an engineer and another a journalist. They have been drawn from the wealthiest and most distinguished families of the Nation, and have come from poor and anonymous beginnings. Some, seemingly well endowed with great abilities and fine qualities were unable to cope with the demands of the Office, while other rose to a greatness far beyond any expectation.

Thus I cannot counsel you about what subjects to study or what vocation to follow. But whatever you do you would be well advised to practice stern discipline and vigorous, unremitting effort. For high qualities and great achievements are not merely matters of chance or birth. They are the product of long and disciplined toil.

Yet, in a more general way, ther are experiences which you can pursue, experiences which will support you in the conduct of your great office.

It will help you to know the country you seek to lead. It was one of the great strengths of a President such as Theodore Roosevelt that he knew and loved the diverse magnificence of our fields and mountain ranges, deserts and great rivers, our abundant farmlands and the thousand voices of our cities. No revolution in communication or transportation can destroy the fact that this continent is, as Whitman said, "a Nation of nations," which you must see and know before you can govern.

Nor is it accidental that many of our outstanding Presidents, men such as Jefferson or Wilson or Truman, have had a deep sense of history. For all of the disciplines, the study of the folly and achievements of man is best calculated to help develop the critical sense of what is permanent and meaningful amid the mass of superficial and transient events and decisions which engulf the Presidency. And it is on this sense, more than any other, that great leadership depends.

Most important of all, and most difficult to consciously pursue, is an understanding of the people you will lead. You, and at times you alone, will be the spokesman for the great and often silent majority. And the final measure of your administration will, in large measure, rest on how well you respond to their inward hopes while leading them toward new horizons of ambition and achievement. Perhaps you will derive this quality from your origins, as did Lincoln; or

from the application of understanding and compassion to the problems of government, as did Franklin Roosevelt. Yet, although the possible sources of this understanding are many, if you find the opportunity to know and work with Americans of diverse backgrounds, occupations, and beliefs, then I would urge you to take eagerly that opportunity to enrich yourself.

As a great world leader you will have problems and responsibilities which were not faced by Presidents throughout much of our history. As President of the United States you are a focus of the attention, ambitions and desires of people and nations throughout the world. It will help you to travel and to learn about these other lands. For the welfare and security of the United States, the future of your own country, is bound to your capacity to exercise leadership and judgment on a global scale.

The most important human qualities of leadership are best embodied in that most towering of American Presidents, Lincoln: a combination of humility and self-confidence, inner resolution and energy, which gives a President the capacity to listen to others, to be aware of his own limitations, but also to follow the command of John Adams that "in all great and essential measures the President is bound by honor and his conscience * * * to act his own mature and unbiased judgment." I can advise you to be aware of the importance of these qualities, but no one can tell you how to develop them. I only hope, for the welfare of our country, that you will possess them when you come to office.

No one can guarantee that if you follow this or any other advice you will become a great President. For the Presidency is is peculiarly an office which is shaped by the individual who holds it. And greatness depends on the times as well as the man. But if you work toward your goal, practice discipline and unremitting effort, wish Godspeed to those who will hold and protect the great office of the Republic so that it may pass unimpaired to you and those who will follow you, then, if some chance keeps you from the Presidency, you will still know that you are prepared to serve well your nation as a citizen.

## American Legion of Maryland Pledges Funds for Antietam National Battlefield Site

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, not long ago I advised the House of the unusual action of the American Legion, Department of Maryland, in pledging a substantial sum of money to the Federal Government for use in acquiring historic lands to be included as a part of the Antietam National Battlefield Site. This action is representative of the high standard of citizen participation which characterizes the American Legion in Maryland. It represents not only an expression of interest in, but an active desire to promote, knowledge of the traditions of this country. The letter from Mr. Francis R. Saunders transmitting the donation to the National Park Service sets out both the intention of the American Legion and the means by which the donation was made possible. It is a pleasure to append such a testimony of the patriotism and initiative of the Legion:

LANDS PRESERVATION COMMISSION,
THE AMERICAN LEGION, DEPARTMENT OF MARYLAND,
*Sharpsburg, Md., September 21, 1962.*

Mr. RONALD F. LEE,
*Regional Director, Northeast Region, National Park Service, Philadelphia, Pa.*

DEAR MR. LEE: The Lands Preservation Commission for the Antietam National Battlefield Site at Sharpsburg, Md., an agent of the American Legion, Department of Maryland, takes great pleasure in presenting to the U.S. Government, National Park Service, an initial payment in the amount of $4,000 by check enclosed, to be used to acquire historic lands on the Antietam National Battlefield Site. We hope to supplement this initial payment in the very near future that this added help will be ready for your use when needed. We are very much concerned with the delays in acquiring land here and are of the opinion the scenic easement plan, as imposed in the Antietam bill, is of no value at Antietam and is an unnecessary burden to the taxpayers.

The centennial program at Antietam is now past and widespread interest has been reflected to this area. Regular visitation to the area has been constantly expanding and arrangements must be made now to accommodate increased visitation in the years to come.

This first payment of obligation to the Antietam acquisition reflects the interest of many people of all walks of life. This money has been collected in very small amounts (pennies, nickels, and dimes) with the majority of the revenue coming from the sale of an American Legion Sterling Silver Commemorative Medal.

Our association with the representatives of the National Park Service has been very satisfying and our joint participation in this most worthwhile venture to preserve the Antietam battlefield for posterity is representative of the wishes of the general public in this effort.

It is our intention to support this endeavor until it is accomplished and we believe this should be done with all haste possible inasmuch as we have already had several examples of encroachment which will deteriorate the outward appearances of this area, not to mention rising land costs and the loss of economy.

Again, we are proud to present your agency this check and look forward to an early expenditure by you.

Very truly yours,
LANDS PRESERVATION COMMISSION,
F. R. SAUNDERS, *Chairman.*

## Now Let Us Start Captive Nations Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, when the 1962 Captive Nations Week observance was proclaimed in Chicago, Mayor Richard J. Daley said, in effect:

We must never permit the captive peoples to believe we have forgotten them.

These words resounded in other cities and States. In Buffalo, N.Y., the letter and spirit of these words not only motivated our groups and citizens to stage their finest observance yet but also inspired them to intensify their fight for the creation of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in this Chamber of Congress.

As speaker after speaker pointed out in Buffalo's week-long observance, the constructive existence of a Special Committee on Captive Nations would not allow the American people to forget the captive nations. Those who enjoy freedom have the heavy obligation of seeking freedom for those deprived of it. Such a special committee would inform and enlighten our own people as to the existence of numerous captive nations which they are unaware of. With positive legislative intent it would go beyond this to find the ways and means of securing the eventual freedom of the captive nations.

We still have time in this session of Congress to establish a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. The long delay and inaction on the part of the Rules Committee to at least take a decisive vote on this vital proposal are inexcusable. I share with numerous other Members the confident feeling that once this proposal reaches the floor of the House, it will be passed overwhelmingly. I, for one, should like to return to my district this fall to inform my constituents that every fair opporunity for the passage of this important measure has been given. I know scores of my colleagues are of like mind.

A fair opporunity for the two dozen and more resolutions on the special committee has yet to be given. I call upon the members of the Rules Committee to bring this proposal to a vote so that the people of this Nation may see who is for it and who is against it. In our democracy there cannot be anything fairer than this. The arguments and reasons for a special committee are quite persuasive and well understood by our people in many different sections of the country. Not a single solid argument or reason has been offered in opposition to the proposal.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, on August 11, 1962:

NOW LET US START CAPTIVE NATIONS YEAR

Captive Nations Week is past; but it would be well for Americans to begin to observe Captive Nations Year—or Years. For it is incumbent on devotees of freedom everywhere to keep a light of hope aglow for the millions entrapped and enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

A modest beginning for a more intensive American effort in behalf of those millions can be found in House Resolution 211, introduced by Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, calling for establishment of a special Committee on the Captive Nations, composed of 10 members, not more than 6 to be members of the same political party and of whom 5 would be members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The function of this committee would be to "conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these

nations and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms."

While the resolution would empower the committee "to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States * * * as it deems advisable," it is obvious that there would be insurmountable obstacles to holding sessions within the captive countries concerned—to say nothing of requiring "by subpena or otherwise" attendance of witnesses and production of documents therein. The fact remains, however, that the committee could obtain much useful testimony from refugees from the captive lands and from Americans and others who have had opportunity to gain information as to conditions there either by personal visits or by correspondence with friends and relatives behind the Iron Curtain.

It is significant that the resolution does not apply merely to neighboring countries overrun or subverted by the Communists but also to the captive peoples within the Soviet Union itself—those who were conquered by czarist Russia and have been held ever since. These would include the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Georgians and others in Europe and practically all of the Soviet "republics" (actually colonial possessions of the Russian Empire (in Asia).)

So establishment of the proposed committee would accomplish at least three important purposes: (1) Kindle renewed hope in the captive lands; (2) direct American and other free-world attention to the captives' plight, and (3) proclaim to the world the hypocrisy of the "anticolonial" pretensions of the most ruthless imperial and colonial power on earth—"anticolonial" pretensions to which, unfortunately, American policy frequently has lent aid and comfort.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Rules Committee of the House will be reasonably prompt in releasing the resolution for action by the Foreign Affairs Committee and the whole House.

## "Iliopsoas"—Muscles and Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, last week I was thrilled to be appointed by Mr. Clarence Cannon to the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Health, Education, and Welfare. These are subjects in which I have been keenly and vitally interested, not only by reasons of early misfortunes, but because of the sensitivity to the needs of my fellow man and the youth of our country.

I owe a great deal to the medical profession. I admire those who follow the vows of the Hippocratic oath. Their profession is one of the noblest of all. Few violate their great responsibilities and few pursue the golden calf to the detriment of their patients.

In my present congressional district is the New York Medical College Flower-Fifth Avenue Hospital, which for the past hundred years has made, and is still making, numberless contributions to advancement in medical science, in which field lies the primary responsibility of determination and maintenance of physical fitness.

Dr. Arthur Michele, professor and chairman of the Department of Orthopedic Surgery, New York Medical College, has written a book, published just recently by Charles C. Thomas, of Springfield, Ill., in which he presents the results of 5 years of intensive research, study, and experiment, culminating in the establishment of unequivocal criteria of physical fitness. The title of the book, "Iliopsoas," does not connote the discussion of a muscle per se, but rather of an intrinsic force harbored by man within his own body and which in a maladapted individual is capable of bringing into activity a host of disorders and bodily deformities. Incredible as it may appear at first glance, this force or power represents a potential of destruction to the human race far beyond that of the H-bomb.

When I venture the opinion that the significance of Dr. Michele's accomplishment is immeasurable, I know whereof I speak, for I have suffered greatly by reason of a childhood disorder, whose infirmity and blemish remain with me. And I can well testify to the efficacy of the doctor's work, for he is my orthopedic surgeon.

The need for the White House Conference for the Study of Physical Fitness, stemming from the status as determined during mobilization of our forces in World War II, is in itself a challenge to all workers in the field of man's physical well-being and to the medical profession in particular. It goes without saying that in a situation where survival of a nation may depend upon the activities of its defensive forces, there must not be even the shadow of a doubt as to the fitness of the members of those forces.

Discovery of the sulfonamides and antibiotics has done much toward eradication of specific infectious diseases; steroids have been effective in arresting the devastation caused by rheumatoid diseases, and vaccines have erased severe poliomyelitis epidemics. There remains with us, however, an ever expanding group of youths who inevitably will fall into the category of the physically unfit. The burden of responsibility inherent in the task of classifying and preparing the military and other services for possible active combat is a heavy one; there must be cognizance of the repressions, progressions, and adjustments of the human biological organism incidental to the demands of ever changing environmental conditions, so that their reflective manifestations may be discerned, and identified and interpreted and their significance weighed in arriving at a true evaluation of fitness. Ponderous as the burden may be, it may be assumed with confidence in the light of total comprehension of the vital, pivotal factor involved, the kinesiology of the human body.

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection defines body mechanics as "the mechanical correlation of the various systems of the body with special reference to the skeletal, muscular, and visceral systems and their neurological association. Normal body mechanics may be said to obtain when this mechanical correlation is the most favorable to the function of these systems." This again implies a study of kinesiology, both physiological and pathological, and recognition of the significance of "Iliopsoas" influence.

Too often deformities which Dr. Michele has perceived to derive from nothing more than maladaptation by the individual to his environment have been found causes for rejection by the military, as well as deterrents to the full enjoyment of life and chosen vocation. A fundamental knowledge of the principles of kinesiology and their application in given situations would have expedited early detection of maladaptation and its correction, with consequent restoration of the nonvulnerable individual to a status not only acceptable by military standards, but also enabling him to follow his life's normal pattern insofar as physical well-being is concerned.

There is no doubt that much can be done to rectify in some measure the results of abnormal body mechanics. Greater attention should, however, be directed toward eradication of those maladies that follow maladaptation, lag in or failure of readjustment during the rapid growth period in the development of our youths; adjustment made mandatory by man's achievement of his self-appointed goal, the erect posture. According to Dr. Michele errors of posture are but reflections of maladaptation, and one must be competent to recognize circumstances and situations favorable to the incipience of malposture; furthermore, that the first to be considered are hip dislocations in infants and their classification, for the doctor believes that any program for physical fitness of the future citizen should commence with the mother-to-be.

In his book, "Iliopsoas," Dr. Michele offers his concept of the formation of deformaties in man, a plan for the earliest detection of physical unfitness or its potential, and a rational approach to management and correction of infirmities revealed. He is confident that any fitness program formulated in the light of a complete comprehension of the principles expounded in his book may be undertaken with the assurance that it will achieve its goal, a physically fit individual in perfect balance with his environment, capable of a full and productive life and of service to his country should the need arise.

## Soblen the Spy: How Did He Leave the United States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, because of numbers of letters I received after

publishing an article in my weekly papers and a letter sent to the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, I am inserting the article together with correspondence between the Attorney General and myself. This matter deals with two subjects, namely, how was the convicted spy, Dr. Soblen, allowed to escape the United States and why have not avowed Communists been prosecuted for not having registered a year ago in accordance with the law.

I am sure my article, together with the corespondence, will provide some eye-openers in respect to the freedom Communists enjoy in the United States.

The material follows:

AUGUST 27, 1962.

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
*Attorney General of the United States, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: I am enclosing herewith copy of a story I am releasing to my weekly newspapers on August 29, 1962. I am sure it is self-explanatory in every respect.

You will note in the last paragraph of this article that I have stated that I am sending this to you and asking that you attempt to get or give me an answer as to how Dr. Robert Soblen, after having been permitted bail, escaped from the United States.

Many people in my district have written me letters condemning the lack of care attendant in this case and wanting to know why. A frank and open reply from you would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK J. BECKER,
*Member of Congress.*

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SOBLEN THE SPY: HOW DID HE LEAVE THE UNITED STATES?

I have been asked this question many times in recent weeks. Soblen was convicted as a Soviet spy, released on $100,000 bail pending disposition of his appeal to the Supreme Court, then he got up and left the United States and fled to Israel. Israel would not give a spy a haven and shipped him out. The big question, How did he get out of the United States? How did he escape from the country? It is strange, but very little is said about this, the most important aspect of the whole case.

This was a matter that the Attorney General had in his hands. He has the instrument of the most effective police and investigative force in the world, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. After Soblen was convicted as a spy and released on bail, it seems only reasonable that the Attorney General would have assigned enough personnel to keep an "eye" on this spy so that he would be "available" to serve the life sentence imposed upon him. But apparently, Attorney General Robert Kennedy was too busy harassing the steel industry people and reporters to crack down the scheduled price rise of steel. There is something strange, to say the least, about this whole case.

An ordinary law-abiding and patriotic citizen who, perhaps, makes a mistake on his income tax form is very suddenly called into the Internal Revenue office and, if he does not come in, it is just too bad for him. An upstate dairy farmer, trying his best to serve his customers with milk and cream, buys it on the market to make up an unusual shortage of his own supply, is hauled in and fined $29,900.

The average citizen who makes these and other honest mistakes is hit hard and cannot get away with it. But a convicted spy, such as Soblen, can be released on bail, walk out of court, and shortly thereafter go to the airport, purchase a ticket, get on a plane, after first having passed customs, and fly away to another country seeking a haven and avoiding the penalty for having betrayed his country, the United States.

You and I, reading some fictional novel, would say, "Well, that was only fiction. In real life, we wouldn't let that happen." But it did happen, just as it has happened that up to the present time, going on 1 year now since the Court upheld the law prescribing that all Communists in the United States must register with the Attorney General, none have done so and none have been prosecuted as yet. Why?

Do Communists or Communist sympathizers in our country have a certain charmed freedom that does not apply to the average citizen? It would seem that way, and I am sending this to the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, in an attempt to get the answers and I will publish his reply in a later column. From the number of letters I have received expressing interest, I think you would want to know.

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OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
*Washington, D.C., September 12, 1962.*

Hon. FRANK J. BECKER,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In reply to your letter of August 27, I am sure you know that the release of a prisoner on bail and the amount of bail is a matter set by the court. In the case of Dr. Soblen, his wife had put up $10,000 of her own money by borrowing from her personal savings and from her life insurance. The remainder of the $100,000 was borrowed from or put up by friends. There was no indication that Dr. Soblen intended to flee and because a large amount of bail had been furnished by his family and friends—and would be forfeited—it was not believed that he would do so.

It is standard procedure that unless the Government has reason to believe a person convicted of a crime may attempt to flee the country, such persons are not placed under surveillance while on bail. The reason for this is to employ the manpower of the Federal law-enforcement agencies in the most effective way. A surveillance normally requires the deployment of a large number of men and, therefore, is not undertaken without good reason.

I am sure you also know that the Department of Justice has taken every step possible to enforce the Internal Security Act of 1950. The law requires members of the Communist Party to register if the officers and the party itself do not register. However, the Department of Justice must appear before the Subversive Activities Control Board and get a ruling on each individual member before the members can be required to register. The Department has petitioned the Board to require 10 Communist Party members to register. Hearings will be held in which the respondents will have an opportunity to present evidence in their behalf.

As you know, the Supreme Court did not rule on the constitutionality of this provision of law and so a complete review by the courts of this procedure is in the offing.

If I can be of any further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

ROBERT KENNEDY,
*Attorney General.*

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SEPTEMBER 17, 1962.

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
*Attorney General of the United States, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: I appreciate the courtesy of your reply to my letter of August 27. However, I must insist that the answers you give in the two unrelated cases are quite unsatisfactory.

In the light of history of previously convicted and escaped people and the fact that Dr. Soblen was convicted as a spy, it would seem that only good commonsense would dictate that a hundred thousand dollars would be nothing to escape the penalty imposed by the court.

I am enclosing herewith a little marked article that was written in the New York Post (you will admit quite a liberal paper) that points this up very carefully. I think it was a travesty that such an escape became possible.

In reference to the failure of Communists to register here, too, it would seem that a long period of time elapses, whether the Supreme Court has ruled or not, or whether a complete review of the courts is in the offing, there seems to be more reason for haste and action.

I feel in both of these instances the people of the country are somewhat disenchanted, as I am, with the lack of action by your Department in matters of this great magnitude.

In closing, I would merely like to say that if haste and action and care had been applied in the Soblen case, as well as in the registering of Communist Party members, as was applied by you in the steel price incident earlier this year, you would go down in history as a really great Attorney General. I would like to be in a position to say that to you rather than to write in a spirit of criticism.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK J. BECKER,
*Member of Congress.*

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## The Free Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, freedom of the press is one of this Nation's most precious possessions. The responsible press has done much to further the cause of freedom through keeping our people informed of important events in this country and around the world.

Mr. Speaker, the September–October issue of Liberty magazine printed a short article on freedom of the press entitled, "Extra! Read All About It." This brief article clearly points out the importance of the free press. Under unanimous consent, I include this article to be preserved by being reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

EXTRA! READ ALL ABOUT IT

Today I sat in town meeting and heard the city fathers debate the future of our community.

I also observed a dispute between a great labor union and the President of the United States.

Then, too, I dropped into the mayor's office to explore a water-supply problem.

I looked in on the stock exchange with some trepidation.

But then I was reassured by an inspection of a booming new factory development in our county.

I sat in on the trial of a man charged with selling on Sunday and heard public comments against the law itself.

Also today I heard teachers talking about wage rates, and I saw a 10-year-old boy who had inherited $35 million.

I heard important disclosures at a congressional hearing and took in an outdoor art exhibit.

It has been a busy day.

Of course I did not do all these things in person. I covered all this ground in less than an hour—the local newspaper was my magic carpet.

Through the press, in all its forms, we see, we hear, and we feel the force of events far beyond our powers of personal participation.

More important, through the press the agencies of government feel our presence. Because the press is there, we are there. Because the press is free, we are free.

Shut out the press, still its voice, and we go back through the centuries to a serfdom our forebears knew. We become pawns of powers at work in secret, controlling in secret, fearing no exposure.

We salute the world's free press—our eyes, our ears, our voice.

## Protest Against Rent Hikes for Navy Enlisted Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Assistant Navy Secretary Kenneth E. Belieu today signed an order boosting rents as much as $22.60 monthly in the Long Beach-San Pedro area's Savannah, Cabrillo, Lexington, and Portsmouth naval housing projects. The rent raises will be effective November 1.

Sagging service morale will be the principle result of this dismal action. It will cost the United States far more because of reenlistments which will not occur than the sums collected by way of additional rents.

Naval authorities are bound by regulations and policies of higher authority in making this upward adjustment. On August 28 I wrote President Kennedy pointing out the seriousness of the situation and requesting him to take action to permit dropping the matter of the rent hikes.

The housing involved contains a total of 1,983 units. Of this number the Navy plans over the next 3 years to raze 1,583 of the units because they are so disreputable, inadequate, and substandard.

I feel the Navy would, if it could, have junked this whole incredible matter of increasing the rental rates in such patently undesirable housing. From my own years of naval service I know one of the most pressing, serious, and constant concerns of all naval commanders is the welfare and happiness of the families of men serving in the fleet. It reflects itself not only as to the reenlistment rate of skilled, trained personnel in whom the Government has made considerable investment, but also in the fighting abilities and morale of the fleet itself.

My appeal to the President pointed out these things and asked him to permit the Navy to take the course I believe it would, if it could, in this matter; namely, the course of wisdom and justice.

It appears that failure by the President or his close advisers in this matter to act left Secretary Korth no alternative except to place the increases into effect.

Hundreds of the Navy wives involved signed a resolution to be forwarded to the President begging his action in the matter. Their spokeswoman is Mrs. Phyllis A. Duffy, a resident of one of the projects, living at 2103 West 20th Street, Long Beach.

The wives' resolution points out that "service people ask for little, they must depend on the action of those responsible in Washington to be ever mindful of the needs of Navy men and their dependents."

The text of the resolution is as follows:

*Be it resolved*, That we wives of Navy men shall place our faith in the administration, and the Congress, to bear the burden of listening to our appeal in regards to the housing situation in Long Beach, Calif.

Navy wives stand by the men, who, in turn, must always be ready to serve in behalf of our Nation, knowing a strong defense depends on the dedication of these men who serve.

In this, the most critical period of our Nation's history, it is of utmost importance that the morale of service personnel be at the highest degree possible.

President Kennedy said, "Ask not what can your country do for you, but rather, what can you do for your country?"

Service people ask for little. They must depend on the action of those responsible in Washington to be ever mindful of the needs of Navy men and their dependents.

As citizens of the greatest democracy ever founded, we are initiating our prerogative of enlisting the aid of our representatives in the U.S. Congress in our behalf.

Service life has problems peculiar to itself. Never before in our history have so many personnel in the U.S. Navy been family men.

The following seems to be the problems taxing the patience, morale, and financial affairs of the service personnel in this area:

1. The basic allowance quarters raise, effective in January 1963, will not, in most cases (i.e., Cabrillo Lanham Act housing) cover the proposed increase in rent.

2. In the past, the difference of lower rent and the basic allowance quarters, was used to supplement the financial needs of the family, such as medical bills, due to limited facilities here. The new increase will deplete further usage of the basic allowance quarters for family needs.

3. We will be paying more than values received with the new rates. Already it is obvious through the cutback of maintenance standards.

4. The units in which we reside do not have cupboard doors, closet doors, or light fixtures. Any improvements in this manner is done at the expense of the tenants. The same is true in shrubs and flowers for beautifying and maintaining the surrounding grounds. In some cases, tenants have painted the old wooden clothesline posts, and patched sidewalks to prevent the appearance of a slum area. Higher rents will deteriorate further incentive along these lines.

5. Not knowing the area with which we were compared in private rentals, we could not argue either pro or con if the comparison was fair in determining a fair market value; however, it is worthy to mention that our rents have never fluctuated so much in the past as they have on this recent survey. Our question is, "Why is there such a difference of opinion?"

STIPULATED HOUSING PROBLEMS

1. Long Beach is roughly two families for each unit.

2. Long Beach needs 10,200 units and is short 5,400.

3. Five hundred and eighty men would move their families to Long Beach if they could find adequate housing.

(Nos. 1, 2, 3 results of survey of housing; reference Navy Times dated September 19, 1962.)

4. Our new housing bill was cut from 500 units to 250 units.

5. All units of Lanham Act housing in the Cabrillo, Savannah, Portsmouth, and Lexington projects of the Long Beach-San Pedro area are to be razed by 1965.

STIPULATED WAGE PROBLEMS

Even if the Navy man should be successful and be given a 10-percent increase in pay in the future, he will still be 15 percent behind the home guard within the past 4 years of expanding cost of living and salaries (reference Naval Affairs, February 1962).

STIPULATED MEDICAL PROBLEMS

1. The Navy hospital was slashed from 750 beds to 350 beds. This smaller number will not be sufficient now or in the future.

2. Dependents must continue to pay for medical expenses not covered by medicare.

It is our sincere belief that due to the aforementioned facts, morale is and will continue to be seriously affected.

Navy people do not want charity. They want only to be represented in good faith, to be able to pay their own way, a sufficient income, and adequate housing facilities, so they may have as high a standard of living as is due our country.

Your jobs, as servants of the people, are probably understood by few and criticized by many. We, therefore, respectfully ask, in due course, to have our problems considered.

The text of my August 28 letter to the President is as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., August 28, 1962.*

Re naval housing, Long Beach, Calif.; proposed rent increases.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am greatly concerned about the above captioned action proposed by the Bureau of Yards and Docks office in San Diego and request that you give careful consideration to the facts involved that prompted Capt. F. W. Silk, commanding officer of the naval station, Long Beach, to appeal for a review at the Navy Department level of the findings, of the appraiser and the validity of the application of the new rent schedule. It is my understanding that the recommendations of the Bureau which support the proposal of its San Diego office will be presented to the Secretary of the Navy shortly.

About three-fourths of the 2,000 Navy families—almost all in the low income levels—live in Savannah, Cabrillo, and Lexington projects in Long Beach and Portsmouth in San Pedro. These projects, with 1,938 units, were built from 1940 to 1945, and most of them were considered temporary at that time. In 1960 an act of Congress ordered all substandard Government housing discontinued by 1965. Of the units in those four projects about 75 percent fall in the substandard category.

Typical problems in this substandard Navy housing are: plasterboard walls; inadequate wiring (some wired for 15 amperes, compared to a modern home's 100-ampere wiring); no showers; small rooms; slab decks; exposed heaters; inadequate drainage (one tenant cannot use the toilet, for example, while her washer is draining); inadequate quarters for children; and clotheslines in front yards of the Savannah project.

For instance, consider the rent increase proposed on two apartments: A three-bedroom duplex is to be boosted from $58.20 to $64.80; a two-story three-bedroom from

$64.80 to $84.90. The latter boost absorbs a $9 electric bill monthly. But these figures do not tell the story. Neither of these apartments have standard heating facilities nor standard wiring, and the rooms are small.

I understand that the Navy Department takes the position that service families, who can afford private housing in an area, should not live in Government housing. But the average Navy family using Government housing has 3.2 children. If you refer to information obtained in a housing survey, conducted early this spring, in the Long Beach area by officials of the Bureau and of the Federal Housing Administration, I believe you will find that there are few units available for a large family requiring three or four bedrooms and that these are completely out of the financial reach of the low-income Navy families living in the Long Beach area. On those that are available, the rent starts at about $125 per month, and in most cases the tenant must provide his own stove and refrigerator. If he does not, he is charged something like an additional $10 per month for each of these pieces of equipment.

The Navy plans to raze 1,583 of the 1,983 units by July 1, 1965—333 units during this year, 250 in 1963, 500 in fiscal 1964, and the remainder by July 1, 1965. I realize that 500 units of new housing were requested and that the House approved the authorization of this number, only to have the Senate slash the number of units to 250.

But what is to happen to the Navy families in the Long Beach area? Some cannot afford to pay the proposed increase in rent which in some instances will be as much as $22.60 per month for the substandard unit in which they are living. Where will the displaced Navy families go? How can the Navy expect the men in its service and their families to have any kind of morale when faced with these situations? The top basic allowance quarters allotment to men in these four projects is presently $96.90 for a man, his wife, and two children. The proposed higher rents will eat up the small household fund upon which these men depend to help feed and clothe their families.

The rent adjustments, made through the years since these temporary units were constructed from 1940 to 1945, have usually been $2 or $3 per month, and the decision to increase them at this time, as much as $22.60 per month in some cases, is unreasonable. It is claimed that the proposed increase will establish realistic rents which are comparable to rents for like housing in the Long Beach area. However, I do not believe this to be the fact. Can it be said that these proposed rents are in fact realistic when one considers the substandard condition of the units, the fact that they were constructed some 22 years ago and have had little, if any, repair or improvements?

I respectfully request that careful thought be given to these problems and that the Secretary of the Navy analyze and accept the reasons given by the commanding officer of the Long Beach naval station for rejecting the increase. He is more familiar than anyone with conditions in these housing projects and knows the hardship that the Navy families will experience when faced with the additional cost of rent for the very units in which they are living—the units that are considered substandard.

I understand that similar hardship situations are about to be imposed at other naval housing locations, including the Bellevue project here in the District of Columbia.

Very truly yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,
*Member of Congress.*

Mr. Speaker, the one saving grace in the matter is that the Secretary's order permits the commanding officer of the Long Beach naval station to put the rent hikes into effect on a step-phase basis. It is my understanding this permits him to put the increases into effect over a period of a year in equal monthly installments. I am confident he will take this ameliorating action.

## Effect of Rail Tieup on South Dakota Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the South Dakota Industrial Development Expansion Agency has made a hurried survey of the cost to South Dakota industries of the Chicago & North Western Railway strike. According to the Associated Press release the cost to industry alone has been more than a million dollars.

This does not include the millions of dollars in damage and costs to farmers and ranchers of the State.

Attached is the article which certainly points up the seriousness of this strike:

[From the Aberdeen (S. Dak.) American-News, Sept. 21, 1962]

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT EXPANSION AGENCY SURVEYS 49 INDUSTRIES IN STATE—RAIL TIEUP COSTS $1,160,000

PIERRE.—The 3-week-old strike on the Chicago and North Western Railway has cost 49 South Dakota industries a total of $1,160,000, a survey conducted by the Industrial Development Expansion Agency (IDEA) indicates.

That is about $58,500 per day.

Eugene H. Stearns, director of IDEA, said the Agency conducted a survey in an attempt to place a dollars and cents evaluation upon the rail tieup.

"Our study was made with only one thought in mind—that of assessing the impact of the strike upon South Dakota's economy to the best of our ability," Stearns said.

A total of 230 firms located on or near the North Western line were issued questionnaires. As of today, 88 had been returned and tabulated.

Forty-nine of those replying said the strike was affecting their business while 39 reported no effect. Firms contacted in the survey are among those listed in the South Dakota industrial directory. Contractors who are members of the highway and heavy chapter, Associated General Contractors of South Dakota, also were surveyed.

The $1,160,000 loss reported by the firms from the strike thus far has resulted from increased costs or from loss of sales, the survey indicated.

Aberdeen Block Co., Aberdeen, reported "up to now we have lost 2½ days of production. Our sand supply has been cut off, as a result we had to find other means to get sand from another railroad. Also our raw haydite will cost us about 15 percent more because of extra handling at the haydite plant. If this strike continues, it will certainly hamper our winter operations because we will not be able to get our stock built up in raw materials for winter use."

Firms participating in the survey also were asked to report how many jobs have been or would be affected by the strike. Tri-State Milling Co., of Rapid City, reported payroll losses of about $6,000 per week because 100 men were working only half time.

Utah & Idaho Sugar Co. at Belle Fourche said that if the strike continues, about 300 employees will not work during the processing season.

Another 4 firms said a total of 37 men have been laid off because of the strike.

Comments from other firms replying to the IDEA survey.

Dakota Steel & Supply Co., Rapid City: "If the strike continues beyond 30 days, we expect to lose a minimum of $250,000 of business by not being able to get materials for jobs. This can affect one-fourth of our payroll or 12 men being out of work. An average of $200 per day in extra trucking and handling cost."

Farmers Cooperative Co., Brookings: "There is a real problem in getting coal into Brookings and Brookings is the only source of coal in this area."

Paramount Pipe Co., Salem: "We have laid off 7 of a 14-man crew and may have to shut down for lack of steel mesh and cement."

Pierre Development Co., Pierre: "Shortage of concrete and floor joists for residences. Winter approaching and we can't close in without these materials."

Huron Sash & Door Co., Huron: "The indirect cost is terrible. We are entirely dependent on the economy of this area for our business. The local economy is largely dependent on the farmer. Already there have been countless jobs canceled because of the possibility that the beet crop will be a total loss. Then, too, several jobs have been canceled because of the impossibility of getting sand and rock along the line."

McCook County Feed Co., Salem: "Normal marketing procedures must be abandoned. So far no personnel have been released but a long strike will necessitate laying off several men."

Utah & Idaho Sugar Co., Belle Fourche: "Harvest (of sugarbeets) would be delayed if the strike ends tomorrow. The effect of a delayed harvest could be disastrous. If harvest weather remains good for longer than normal, a slight delay would not be too serious. Fifty permanent employees and 300 part-time employees could be affected during the 100-day processing period."

Tri-State Milling Co., Rapid City: "We are operating 3 days per week in flour mill and 2 days in feed mill but must haul all flour and feed in trucks to cars on the Milwaukee line, thus adding a lot of expense. Farmers and ranchers who depend on us for feed are also suffering."

Wilson Ready Mix, Miller: "Have not laid men off yet, but will have to if strike continues a week longer."

Black Hills Clay Products Co., Belle Fourche: "The present time is a critical time in construction since the contractors must close the buildings in before cold weather hits. We have approximately 50 cars of brick which should be moving right now."

## Good Advice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, because of the propensity of Congress to engage in ever increasing spending on programs of questionable need, I would like to recommend to the readers of the RECORD an editorial containing what I consider to be excellent advice. Its brevity is

striking and its contents convincing. I feel it should be carefully considered and heeded by all of us in these days of deficit spending. The editorial, penned by the very capable editor of the Laurel, Miss., Leader-Call, Mr. J. W. West, appeared in the September 17, 1962, edition of his fine daily newspaper. It follows:

GOVERNMENT CAN LEARN HOW TO REDUCE EXPENSES

Just 22 little words. Less than a good size sentence.

But they said more than all the thousands of words that have gone into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this year. More than even the public utterances of Senators, Congressmen, yes, even the President, Vice President Lyndon Johnson and the whole shooting match, Republican or Democrat.

"If we can reduce expenses at United States Steel, then I'm sure there is room for reduction in the U.S. Government."

They were spoken by Roger W. Blough, board chairman of United State Steel.

Private business knows it cannot survive on red ink. Some day Government will learn it, too.

## Minority Staffing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, A cut and edited version of Roscoe Drummond's thoughtful and constructive column about staffing was included in my remarks of September based upon having read this column in the Washington Post on Saturday, September 8. Within a few days, mail arrived in my office that this column had appeared in very different form, more complete and with its concluding paragraphs intact, in various newspapers throughout the country from the New York Herald Tribune to the Los Angeles Times. One of the key portions of the Drummond column which was edited out by the Washington Post was a request for persons who were interested in this matter of the need for minority staff on committees in the Congress to write to Senator HUGH SCOTT, 355 Old Senate Office Building. As chairman of the House-Senate ad hoc Republican staffing committee, Senator SCOTT has received scores of letters every day since the Drummond column appeared, from people all over this country who are worried about the situation and want something done about it. It seems, therefore, only right and proper that the full, unedited, uncensored column, as written by Mr. Drummond for the New York Herald Tribune syndicate be part of the RECORD of this body. It is a source of great encouragement to those of us interested in this important matter, both in this body and in the other body, to know that men and women taken from so many parts of our country have taken the trouble to write personal, handwritten, individual letters and postcards to Senator SCOTT urging Republican action on this matter and improvement in House and Senate minority staffing on committees.

The column follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Sept. 7, 1962]

CRUSADE COULD HURT DEMOCRATS—REPUBLICANS CARRY FIGHT FOR STAFF JOBS TO PEOPLE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The Republican crusade to correct the intolerable and crippling imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees is taking on new force and drive. It is at last being taken into the hands of high-level and influential party leaders and is now being pressed in a manner which, in the end, cannot be denied.

Senator HUGH SCOTT, himself a former chairman of the Republican National Committee and the most powerful Republican leader in Pennsylvania, and Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, who has been stirring up opinion on this issue almost singlehandedly for a long time, are creating an ad hoc committee of three Senators and three Congressmen to make this crucial reform a national crusade and to enlist the active support of party leaders and independents in every State.

They merit this support. When the facts are widely known, I think they will get it.

The facts are not in dispute. There are eight joint Senate-House committees. They are served by a total professional staff of 72 persons, 70 of whom are controlled by and responsible to the Democratic Members and 2 of whom are responsible to the Republicans. The imbalance is 35 to 1.

The comparable professional staff of the 22 House committees is 461 responsible to the Democrats, 42 to the Republicans. The imbalance is 11 to 1. The Senate Democrats have a professional staff of 462 on 16 committees, the Republicans, 39. The imbalance is 12 to 1.

These are the facts which justify Senator SCOTT in saying to his Democratic colleagues in Congress—and to the voters across the country—that "the majority party is not playing by the rules of the game, and if the American people knew the full facts of the story, their sense of justice and fair play would cry out against the shame of a loaded legislative procedure."

That's strong language, accusing the Democratic leadership of "loading" the legislative dice against the minority party. It is a valid complaint. It is a truthful complaint. It will stand as a fair and factual charge until the Democratic Party puts an end to the egregious imbalance in the professional staffing of the congressional committees.

I am convinced that unless the Democratic leadership corrects this injustice before Congress adjourns next month—or gives assurance that it will do so next January—the Republican Party has in its grasp an effective congressional campaign issue. If the Republicans find it necessary to make this an issue at the polls this fall—and I find it hard to believe that the Democratic congressional leaders will make the mistake of leaving their party exposed to this issue—here are the questions which they can properly put to the voters:

Do you wish to endorse a ratio of 12 to 1 between the majority and minority staffs in Congress?

Do you approve of a system that places virtually complete control of the congressional committee staffs under the majority chairman—with the majority chairman free to hire and fire at will, set salaries, and determine tenure?

Do you wish to condone the limitations placed upon the minority in terms of inadequate office space, very limited travel, telephone calls, secretarial services, and other essentials of the mechanics of adequate staff work?

The real issue here is not the welfare per se of any particular minority party, whether Republican or Democratic, but the preservation of the two-party system of government and the effective functioning of Congress itself.

At a time when a Democratic President is frequently petitioning Congress to increase his powers, does the Democratic Party in Congress want to go before the country this fall supporting such a one-sided monopoly of congressional staffing that it has every appearance of being in Senator SCOTT's words, "an attempt to exterminate the party in opposition"?

Readers often ask what they can do to make their influence felt. If there are citizens who want to further a reform of this injustice in congressional staffing in the interest of both parties, they can write to Senator HUGH SCOTT, 355 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., and he will tell you how to help.

## UNESCO Treaty Convention Against Discrimination in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent request to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a letter addressed to Mr. J. Boyer Jarvis on the subject of UNESCO. The letter is from a constituent of mine, Mrs. Richard M. Kuhn, of Laguna Beach, Calif.:

LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF.,
*August 28, 1962.*

Mr. J. BOYER JARVIS,
*Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Department of State, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. JARVIS: Our concern over the UNESCO Treaty, Convention Against Discrimination in Education," stems from the study of UNESCO documents. Information, printed by this Organization, which the State Department and U.S. Office of Education are not giving to the Congress and people of the United States.

The mass of material published by this agency of the United Nations is overwhelming! It is dishonest and traitorous to keep the Nation in ignorance regarding what is being planned by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. If we are going to be inched into a different kind of government, we have the right to know about it.

Both the State Department and the U.S. Office of Education were involved in the drafting of this treaty from 1954 on. Our delegates were James Simsarian, of the Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, and Fredrika Tandler, Assistant Director of International Educational Relations, U.S. Office of Education.

You misstated these facts when you said officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were "consulted" and guidance received from officials in the Department of State—they were working on this treaty from its beginning.

It is of interest also that Sterling McMurrin, the U.S. Commissioner for Education (a hearty supporter of UNESCO) was the U.S. delegate to the 25th International Conference of Public Education held in Geneva July 2–13 under the auspices of UNESCO. Mr. McMurrin's ideas as published in "Edu-

cation for Freedom and World Understanding" are also worth pondering. He says: "Our past local and national isolations are gone and the provincial attitudes that arose from these isolations are doomed to die. The instruments of education must be employed to more adequately prepare us for the new world-mindedness that must replace those attitudes." And the soft-on-communism line, "the answer to our present challenge is neither fearful retreat nor a demand for total victory."

The people should know in connection with the statement of Mr. McMurrin, that in 1952 Congress attached a rider to Public Law 495 (the 1953 appropriations bill for the State Department) which provided as follows: "None of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used to pay the U.S. contribution to any international organization which engages in the direct or indirect promotion of the principle or doctrine of one-world government or one-world citizenship." This provision of law enacted by the Congress and signed by the President is a specific directive against the teaching of one-world citizenship or one-world government in the schools of this country. It has been renewed every year since 1953 and is still in effect.

Your statement of the purposes of UNESCO sound wonderful. But you should tell your readers who some of the "world scholars" are. For example, the "scholars" behind "A History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind" (which is due to be released to the American people soon and has been in preparation since 1948) are men such as Julian Huxley (the London zookeeper who became the first Director-General of UNESCO), Bertrand Russell (of "ban the bomb" fame), John K. Fairbank (identified under oath during the Institute of Pacific Relations hearings as being a Communist Party member), Ralph Turner (discussed in all his atheism by William Buckley in "God and Man at Yale"), and ADA's Prof. Arthur Schlesinger (who will be the top consultant on the "Social and Cultural History of America"). UNESCO document 9C–PRG–9 (revised) gives the list of Communist nationals such as A. A. Zvorikine, U.S.S.R., V. S. Nemtchinov, U.S.S.R., V. V. Strouve, U.S.S.R., and countless others. There is nothing like having the Communist and atheistic viewpoint thrust upon innocent children in their textbooks—this may be acceptable to the Russians, but not the Americans.

And remember the U.S. taxpayer pays just under one-third of the UNESCO regular budget, which has reached staggering proportions.

You stated that UNESCO is prevented from interfering in the educational policies or in any other domestic concerns of its member states—that the UNESCO constitution restricts this. Mr. Marvis, this is just so much hot air. In the State Department document, "The Defenses of Peace," part II, page 18, State Department publication No. 2475, confidential series 81, we read, "The states which belong to UNESCO will already be bound by the charter of the United Nations, which in a similar clause protects legitimate domestic concerns from outside interference, but at the same time makes it clear that the maintenance of peace and security is not a matter of domestic jurisdiction. If a member of UNESCO utilizes its educational and cultural facilities in such a way as to endanger peace, it runs the risk of having to submit to an investigation, and if the matter proves serious it may have to answer to the Security Council of the United Nations for its conduct."

There are three authorities on law whom I shall quote, whose statements are diametrically opposed to yours. Benjamin Cohn, legal adviser of the United Nations, says: "When states deal with a matter in a treaty, it no longer can be considered a matter of domestic jurisdiction—but one of international concern." Also Mr. Moses Moskowitz, in the American Bar Association Journal, April 1949, page 352, says: "Once a matter has become in one way or another the subject of regulation by the United Nations, be it by resolution of the General Assembly or by convention between member states—that subject ceases to be a matter of being essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the member state."

John Foster Dulles, in the American Bar Association Journal, June 1952, said: "Under our Constitution, treaties become the supreme law of the land. They are, indeed, more supreme than ordinary laws, for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty law can override the Constitution * * * they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights."

From the report of the Federation of Malaya in UNESCO document 10C–4, 1958, we learn that Malayan citizens are not exactly panting for cultural development and that if they were, it would be for their own nation's culture. Malaya reports: "This country would appreciate it very much if UNESCO could offer scholarships for Malayan painters and musicians to study in Europe without requiring the assurance they would be given a job on their return. The most serious obstacle to our taking advantage of this scheme is that UNESCO has stipulated the condition that we should undertake to employ these scholars on their return to this country. Another difficulty is that the amount given to the scholar seems to be insufficient to support a student while abroad."

From this statement it would seem that UNESCO has no real interest in education, science, or culture per se—only in creating "UNESCO Typhoid Marys" who will carry political poisons back to their native lands.

This brings to mind all the tax money spent by the State Department and U.S. National Commission for UNESCO in putting out whitewashes of UNESCO. Telling us that UNESCO never instructs anybody about anything. UNESCO only suggests and recommends. The Malayan report says just the contrary—"We are being instructed to give lectures and encourage students to learn about the United Nations" (the iron fist within the velvet glove).

From your letter one might get the idea that Brooks Hays is an authority on this treaty—the last word. While a Representative, Mr. Hays became well known for his support of world government legislation—this was before he was thrown out by his constituents. Nowhere does anyone say that our Government will not seek ratification of this treaty. Mr. Henry J. Kellermann, U.S. Permanent Representative to UNESCO, made the statement that "We preferred the recommendation" (p. 38, ed. 167, add. 2, "Questionnaires that the U.S. Government answered on the treaty").

Also, you neglect to point out that the U.S. Government is obligated by its national honor and by its adherence to UNESCO's constitution to make a full report to UNESCO of action taken to obtain U.S. ratification or adoption, and what legislative measures have been taken to implement the convention or recommendation by September 1962. The Conference manual, "UNESCO Rules of Procedure," section V, article 16, paragraph 2, says: "Initial reports relating to any convention or recommendation adopted shall be transmitted not less than 2 months prior to the opening of the first ordinary session of the General Conference following that at which such recommendation or convention was adopted." Article 19 contains the threat that "The General Conference reports on the action taken by member states in pursuance of a convention or recommendation shall be transmitted to member states, to the United Nations, to the National Commission, and to any other authorities specified by the General Conference" (again the iron fist within the velvet glove).

Most important for the American people to realize is that one administration has nothing to say about what the succeeding administrations do. This treaty will forever be a threat to our Nation as long as a treaty supersedes our Constitution in becoming the supreme law of the land. Frank Holman, past president of the American Bar Association, in the 1960 hearings on Senate Resolution 94, "For Repeal of the Connally Amendment," page 469 states: "It should be pointed out that even though a treaty like the Genocide Convention has failed of ratification, it does not cease to be pending at the expiration of a particular Congress, as do other forms of proposals or resolutions. The State Department can bring it up on the calendar of the Senate at any succeeding session of the Senate no matter how much time has elapsed meanwhile."

Thomas Jefferson warned us thusly: "Don't trust your basic rights to the whim of a man. Tie them down in the Constitution and then they can't step out of bounds."

It is a known fact recorded in UNESCO document 11C/PRG/SR.19 (prov.), Paris, November 28, 1960, that our delegate James Simsarian states that "His government, which had participated in the work of the special committee, would vote for the approval of both the draft convention and draft recommendation." Since it has participated in the writing of this treaty from the beginning and voted for both the convention and recommendation, it will have to make an effort to get it ratified or stand before the court of world opinion and answer questions as to why no moves have been made to obtain ratification since it is evident that they are in full agreement with both convention and recommendation.

Abraham Feller says in his book "United Nations and World Community," "We have seen how the charter has grown as a foundation for world law. Less dramatically, the body of law outside the charter has been growing through the United Nations organs. The Assembly has sponsored a number of lawmaking conventions, which, as they came into force, expanded the boundaries of law," (p. 135). Thus, whether or not we ever ratified this treaty doesn't stop the expansion of international law in every provision. Since we helped to draft it and we voted for both versions we are involved in this new world law and can be held accountable by the U.N. court, at least to that degree of our participation.

Lastly, the differences between the convention and recommendation: UNESCO doc. 11C/15, p. 19, states: "Subject to the difference in terminology inherent in the character of the instruments, the text of the (draft) recommendation is the same as that of the (draft) convention. The recommendation is divided into sections, the numbers of which parallel the numbering of the convention." The words of UNESCO's top legal adviser, Hanna Saba: "As indicated above, the draft recommendation adopted by the committee contains similar provisions. The only difference between the two texts are those that arise necessarily from the different juridical natures of the two instruments" (UNESCO Chronicle, October 1960).

Mr. Jarvis, "Americans have the right to know if we are to live under a different economic and social system than that provided in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." It is treason, as well as dishonest, to withhold facts involving the security and sovereignty of our Nation. Let the promoters of socialism, communism, and one-worldism come from behind the idealistic phraseology which they use and lay their cards before the American people honestly. If they are com-

pletely sold on the idea that the American way of life and the Constitution are failures, let them say so.

Sincerely,

Mrs. RICHARD M. KUHN.

## Hon. Kenneth A. Roberts, Guest of WBC's "Washington Viewpoint" Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include a transcript of the interview of my colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, and chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Safety, the Honorable KENNETH A. ROBERTS.

Congressman ROBERTS on September 24 was a guest on the television program "Washington Viewpoint," and was interviewed by Miss Ann M. Corrick and Sid Davis:

WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT

(Produced by the WBC Washington News Bureau)

Miss CORRICK. Good evening. This is Ann Corrick with Sid Davis in the House Radio-Television Gallery on Capitol Hill. Our guest on "Washington Viewpoint" this evening is Democratic Congressman KENNETH ROBERTS, of Alabama. Now serving his 12th year in Congress, Mr. ROBERTS is chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health and Safety. Mr. ROBERTS, your committee has long been concerned with the continuing problem of smog and air pollution generally. This is not merely a hazard to the health of our citizens, but it involves our outdoor recreational facilities, our wildlife, and the problem isn't getting any better. It's getting worse. In the absence of adequate action by local communities and industries to tackle this problem, don't you think it's time for the Federal Government to launch an allout comprehensive attack against air pollution?

Representative ROBERTS. I would agree with that statement, Ann, except to this extent—that is, that I doubt if there's enough money in the Federal Government to completely do away with this problem. I think we have to depend upon the local jurisdictions to do a good job, and, therefore, I conceive it to be the purpose of the Federal Government to provide leadership, technical advice, and try to appeal to the civic minded people in the various local jurisdictions to do their parts.

Miss CORRICK. How do you draw the local jurisdictions into this program. Apparently they are not moving fast enough?

Representative ROBERTS. Well, a good many of the county health departments and State health departments are fully aware of the seriousness of this problem. And we have had some instances—I think Pittsburgh may be one example, where they have done a very good job, not without some Federal help. But the major portion of the effort was supplied by the city authorities.

Miss CORRICK. Earlier this year, the House Appropriations Committee said that the Public Health Service had shown commendable vigor in studying the problem of air pollution, but it doesn't have a comprehensive enough program. Can't Congress put the heat on the Public Health Service, so to speak, to get going on this problem?

Representative ROBERTS. Well, I doubt if any heat is necessary. It may be that they have not had enough money to do the job that we feel is necessary. However, this problem of air pollution breaks down into a different problem from that, for instance, of water pollution. We have in that instance an interstate problem. Yet with air pollution we have some local situations where the problem is almost completely local. Take Los Angeles, for instance, and many people when they think of the smog problem, the city of Los Angeles automatically come into the fore. Now in some other cities the problem may be one that's mixed—that is, it may be some of the pollution is coming from outside the State. And one of the reasons why the House did not go all out this time on the air pollution—that is, we didn't adopt as strong a bill as some of us would have liked to have seen passed—was that we want to study the problem and find out how much of it is local and just how far can the Federal Government go.

Miss CORRICK. How are you going about making this study? Are you planning to go into the various communities?

Representative ROBERTS. We hope to go into the other communities that are affected. We have held, between the two sessions of this Congress, we held a very fine hearing in the city of Birmingham, Ala., which is in my native State. Birmingham has quite a problem. The lung cancer instance there is about three times that of the national average. Birmingham is an industrial city. We found out, however, that other cities, such as Washington, D.C., and Nashville, Tenn., and many other cities throughout the country, which are not primarily heavy industry cities, have maybe a problem that's even worse than that of Birmingham, Ala. This leads us to believe that the auto exhaust has a great deal to do with this problem. And, as you know, my subcommittee has sponsored the Schenck Act which is now on the books to provide the Public Health Service with the necessary authority and funds to try to develop a device that will be effective when used on automobiles, trucks and other vehicles, which we think contributes largely to this problem.

Miss CORRICK. Sid Davis.

Mr. DAVIS. Congressman, tests so far indicate that the so-called blowby device has been effective in many instances in eliminating some of this exhaust pollution. Why don't we get the automobile manufacturers by Federal law to make it standard equipment on all cars?

Representative ROBERTS. Well, that's a very good question. Of course, in the automobile itself you have two problems there. You have the crankcase gases which the blowby device takes care of. But you also have a problem with the engine exhaust. And as I understand it, this device that we hope that the Public Health Service will develop will take care of this entire problem. I think some tests have shown that in the Los Angeles area, almost half as much sediment or unburned hydrocarbons is deposited in that area by engine exhaust as comes from the crankcase exhaust or the unburned gases which go into the crankcase. Now what we hope to do is that when we come up with a device that will do the entire job, that we will make an attempt to see that these devices are placed on every vehicle that's manufactured and sold to the public.

Mr. DAVIS. If we can reduce at least a part of this now with eliminating the fumes from the crankcase with the blowby device, and they only cost an estimated $5 per car—I think I've seen figures to that extent—why not take the first step now and say let's made this mandatory now and when we get to the point where we develop something better that will eleminate both the exhaust and the crankcase fumes, we'll put that on?

Representative ROBERTS. I would certainly go along with that approach to the problem. But I believe that by the time Congress meets next year that the Public Health Service will be far enough along on this device that we can do the entire job at one time. This is what, of course, I would hope to see.

Mr. DAVIS. How much opposition do you think making that a Federal law—making it mandatory nationwide—would face? Would there be a great deal of reluctance on the part of the manufacturers to go ahead and install this device?

Representative ROBERTS. We find that our field hearings are very helpful in educating the people to the danger of polluted air. I believe that if our subcommittee could hold hearings in a few of the major cities, and we could let the public know what the Government is trying to do, that we would have fine support for the movement that we hope to see come about.

Miss CORRICK. Congressman ROBERTS, is the petroleum industry as cooperative in these studies and in handling this problem as you think it ought to be?

Representative ROBERTS. Yes, I think that they realize it affects their public relations quite a bit. And I think, too, that the main opposition that would come, and has come in the past, has been from some of the heavy industries involved. I think some of them feel that they have been singled out in this matter. We, of course, believe that before very long people will attach as much importance to the clearing of the air as they do to pure water and other things that we know are necessary.

Mr. DAVIS. Congressman, do we really attach enough importance to clear water, cleaner water, and cleaner air? We seem to be a lethargic nation when it comes to situations like this. There are many streams and rivers in this country that are terribly polluted—for instance, the Potomac here in Washington is a terribly polluted river. And I've read statistics where some of the water we're drinking here at this very moment has gone through somebody's bathroom several times. Are we really interested in cleaning up our rivers and cleaning up the air? Or would we rather go fishing on Saturday and Sunday and forget about some of these important things?

Representative ROBERTS. Well I think you're entirely correct. I think we've been too slow to recognize the importance of pure water, pure air. You know they say that a person can live for almost 5 days without food. You can live, I think someone has said, several hours without water. But you can't live, I would say, more than a few minutes without air. And certainly it's my feeling, and I think the feeling of the members of the Health and Safety Subcommittee on which I serve, that this has not had the attention of the public as it should have.

Mr. DAVIS. The elimination of streetcar tracks in some of our major cities puts more of the gasoline-type engine on our city thoroughfares. And even now when you drive across a turnpike, it used to be that you could enjoy the beautiful scenery, but there are so many trucks and buses now that even there the air is polluted. So it isn't only in the metropolitan areas that we find this, we find it all over. Isn't there something that we can do to educate people a little better, perhaps in the rural areas and get some support there? I think that most people who live outside the cities think this is a city problem. It really isn't. It's a problem for the whole country.

Representative ROBERTS. I think if they could see some of the agricultural damage, if you want to put it in the realm of mil-

lions of dollars of damage, and also to flowers and shrubbery and other things, I think that we coud bring this fact home to people better than we've done in the past.

Mr. DAVIS. In your thinking on legislation then, you're not only thinking of putting these devices on automobiles or passenger cars, you're thinking in terms of commercial vehicles, too?

Representative ROBERTS. That's correct.

Mr. DAVIS. And this could also be a stumbling block in getting it to be a nationwide legislation, because this would be another faction of the economy that would have to go to some expense to do this?

Representative ROBERTS. There is one thing that I might mention, I think would eliminate some possible opposition. We believe that with the device now being worked on at the Public Health Service, it may contribute a great deal to better mileage and more miles per gallon of gasoline. I think if that does happen, if we can say to the consumer that this device is going to give you about 10 to 20 percent more mileage, that this will be a factor that would have to be considered not only by the consuming public, but also by the commercial part of it also.

Miss CORRICK. How far along is the Public Health Service on perfecting this device? You mentioned a moment ago that you hoped by the time Congress reconvenes that it will have been completed. Can we expect it next year for sure?

Representative ROBERTS. I would hesitate to say for sure, but they have been at work on this particular device now for over 2 years, and a great deal of work has gone into it, and there's no opposition so far as I know to the effort that they're making, and I feel that they will be successful.

Miss CORRICK. Has the auto industry been consulting with the Public Health Service on this device?

Representative ROBERTS. I'm sure that there have been meetings between the manufacturers and the Public Health Service, and I know that some of the manufacturers are trying to come up with their own devices.

Mr. DAVIS. Congressmen, are you convinced in your own mind that air pollution could be a cause of cancer? I notice you mentioned Birmingham, Ala., where you have a high percentage of lung cancer. Does air pollution figure into that? I know that you have a lot of soft coal smoke down there too. What is the breakdown in this? Do they think it's the automobile exhaust, or is it any type of air pollution?

Representative ROBERTS. They have tested small animals—the effect on small animals and have actually produced tumors in these animals when they're exposed to polluted air. So far they have not been able to find that that causes cancer in human beings. But there is a very definite suspicion of that happening, and we do know that in the elderly and in people who suffer from some type of lung ailment, such as emphysema or some type of tuberculosis, that the polluted air can certainly be an irritant, and we feel that in many cases it can be very dangerous. Now some of the scientific evidence before my committee points out deaths in Denore, Pa., a few years ago. We know that during the blackout in London during the war, that several hundred people, we believe, were killed because of the heavy concentration of smog. We've also detailed some other instances which make us believe that this can be very dangerous, particularly to the people I mentioned.

Mr. DAVIS. We were talking mostly about automobile exhaust. Let's get to the industry problem in air pollution. You said this is a local matter. How reluctant is industry to go along with smoke abatement programs, for instance, in steel centers—areas like that—where they could curb smoke but it costs fantastic amounts of money? How reluctant is industry to cooperate in some program like this?

Representative ROBERTS. Well, I would say that where there has been no education of the problem that they are reluctant to spend huge sums of money unless they know that there is an answer to the problem which is practical. That's one of the reasons why it's my feeling that these field studies must be made, and we must do a better job of educating the public to the need for this type of legislation.

Miss CORRICK. Congressman ROBERTS, in a little different area that also concerns your committee, advance word from Detroit indicates that the 1963 model cars will be still bigger, still more powerful, and go still faster. Yet from the advance information, the auto manufacturers don't seem to be building in any new safety devices that would accommodate this greater power, and provide the safety factor. Do you think that the auto industry is fulfilling its responsibility to build safe cars?

Representative ROBERTS. I definitely do not think they are. Recently the House passed my bill, H.R. 1341, which would require reasonable safety devices on all Government-purchased vehicles. That bill is now in the Senate for the second time. We passed it in the House in the 86th Congress by a vote of over 2½ to 1. We passed it in the House this year on the Consent Calendar. Now we believe that this would furnish Federal leadership in the field of safety devices, and that the industry would then have to tool up for everyone, and we believe that the public, once they see these devices on federally owned cars, would naturally desire them on their cars. And it's my feeling that if this horsepower race continues in Detroit, it will be necessary for us to pass a bill in the House which will go across the board and require these devices which we believe will save many, many lives and will reduce injuries which are serious to injuries that are not so serious. And we think that eventually if they continue to pursue this philosophy of more speed and more power, that we will be in a position to enact legislation that will affect all of the consuming public.

Miss CORRICK. One of the safety devices, Congressman ROBERTS, that I believe now is going into federally operated automobiles are safety belts—seat belts—and I know many cities and communities now are debating whether to make seat belts mandatory, and in many communities also there have been insurance companies and gasoline stations that have launched advertising campaigns to get the driver to go in and have seat belts installed for as little as $5.95. Well, that brings up this question. There are seat belts and there are seat belts. How does the average citizen know which is a safe seat belt?

Representative ROBERTS. I appreciate very much your mentioning that fact because my subcommittee made the first report to the Congress recommending the use of seat belts back in 1957. And believing that these belts should be adequately made and should be properly anchored to the frame of the automobile, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 134, which requires that these belts meet certain adequate Federal standards. This is to do away with the flimsy type of belt which will not hold the passenger and which will not do the job. This bill has been well received. We held hearings recently and there was no opposition to the bill, and I am hoping this week that the full committee will take action and we can get this bill to the floor of the House. Naturally, we are racing against a deadline—the adjournment of Congress—and it may not be possible for this bill to clear the Congress this time. But I would hate to see this fine movement which is taking effect all over the country defeated by the use of a belt that is inadequate and is not properly made and is not properly attached to the vehicle. We have had adequate testimony of the safety of these belts and that they do in many instances save lives, and I think that even one or two instances where they have failed to do the job at the crucial time might mean that the people would become discouraged again and would refuse to put these belts in their automobiles.

Mr. DAVIS. This is a hypothetical question, but it is possible that 1 day the Federal Government could pass legislation requiring the devices you talk about to be used, not only put on the car, but to be used on something like the Federal interstate system—the highway system. Could we have that much control over these roads to insist that people actually use the safety devices that are in a car?

Representative ROBERTS. I think it would be very hard to do that. Now we have about six States which have enacted legislation to require these belts on all automobiles. Now I think it's much better for the States to pass these laws and to enforce them at the State level. It would be very hard, in my opinion, for you to enforce—rather, to force people to wear belts. They have to be educated to the fact that they will prevent loss of life, and they have to desire to use belts, because even though they have them in the car, they're not worth anything if they're not used.

Mr. DAVIS. I notice a lot of people who have them will use them, say, on a long trip, but never use them to go three or four blocks, which defeats the whole purpose.

Representative ROBERTS. The trouble is that most of the accidents occur within a few blocks of home, in many cases—I wouldn't say most of them—but a great many of the accidents occur right at your front doorstep, so to speak.

Miss CORRICK. Congressman, this brings up kind of a general question, and that is—which is related to Sid's last question about the extent of the Federal Government's responsibility in the matter of safe driving. How far does it go? Does the Federal Government provide good highways and safety standards and then stop?

Representative ROBERTS. The Federal Government, in my opinion, could go a great deal farther into this problem than we've done in the past. It's to be hoped that the States will do a better job than they have been doing. But failing that, I think that the Federal Government will have to recognize that we provide about 90 percent of the funds for our Interstate System. And it's one thing for a person to drive in a small community. It's another thing for a person to be on some of the fast freeways of this country. And it seems to me that we could at least attach some conditions to the granting of Federal highway funds, or we could require that a person driving in interstate commerce should be subjected to some type of physical examination or hold a license from a State which has adopted the uniform motor vehicle code.

Miss CORRICK. Thank you Congressman ROBERTS. I'm sorry to have to bring this discussion to a close but our time is up. Our guest on "Washington Viewpoint" this evening has been Democratic Congressman KENNETH ROBERTS, of Alabama, chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health and Safety. This is Ann Corrick with Sid Davis in the House Radio-Television Gallery on Capitol Hill.

## Health Care Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, along with many others, I was very pleased when the House, on September 11, unanimously approved H.R. 10117, introduced by my able friend, Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri.

The House Committee on Ways and Means, I might point out, previously had been unanimous in their support of this bill. In brief, H.R. 10117 will encourage companies to protect their employees against the expenses of sickness, accident, hospitalization, and medical expenses by allowing certain tax deductions which are not now available.

This proposal to help millions of Americans meet their health needs will receive, I am sure, strong support in the Senate. Enactment of H.R. 10117 will be a landmark in the field.

As an example of the widespread favorable comment on Mr. CURTIS' bill, I ask unanimous consent to include the following remarks by Mr. Fulton Lewis III, over the Mutual Broadcasting System on August 17, 1962:

THE TOP OF THE NEWS WITH FULTON LEWIS, JR.

(By Fulton Lewis III)

Health care bill: The House Ways and Means Committee, in a surprise unanimous vote, gave approval today of a bill which would give business a major incentive for setting up medical funds to cover the health expenses of their retired employees.

The legislation would, for the first time, allow a tax deduction on company payments to such funds as a current business expense.

As it stands now, companies may claim a deduction on pension fund contributions but current law provides that if medical expenses are included, the entire deduction is lost.

Representative THOMAS CURTIS, a Republican from Missouri, and sponsor of the new legislation, told committee members that because of the present severe tax penalty involved, industry has consciously avoided adding medical expenses for retired employees to their pension plans.

He said, and I quote, "Passage of this bill would provide another meaningful step in finding effective ways to provide for the health needs of Americans. It involves some of the most advanced techniques of health insurance, including that of prepayment, allowing the individual to provide for financing his own future health needs by payment, through fringe benefits, on health insurance during his working years."

Congressman CURTIS' bill was originally conceived last February in an effort to find a constructive alternative to President Kennedy's medical care program for the aged which would have created a federally controlled and federally administered compulsion system for medical care.

Congressman CURTIS' approach to the problem is part of an overall Republican campaign to begin solving social problems not by inviting the Federal Government to walk in and take over but by creating incentives for private industry, and the private citizen to solve their individual problems by themselves.

Republican leadership has become worried over an image their party had begun to receive: that of simply being opposed to liberal welfare-state schemes. For years, they had simply registered their votes against the liberal programs without offering any positive solutions of their own.

The Republican Party, in the past 2 years, has held numerous conferences and has adopted a positive policy position on all legislation, offering a constructive free enterprise solution to each problem the radical liberals would create.

The health care issue is one of the best. In this case, President Kennedy has asked for an elitist-controlled compulsion system * * * which in the long run would give medical benefits only to those on social security at the expense of the taxpayer and in competition with free enterprise insurance corporations. Republican Congressman CURTIS, in opposing this step to socialized medicine, suggests that a more effective, and less dangerous approach, to the problem would be to use a tax-credit system and give the individual and the industry the incentive to set-up their own health-care plan, free from governmental control and supervision.

The Republican proposals have become increasingly appealing to the Members of Congress, as was evidenced by the unanimous recommendation Congressman CURTIS' bill received today from the House committee.

The adoption of a positive approach to pressing social problems will strengthen the Republican Party's position immensely in the upcoming November elections.

## Rollcall Record of Congressman Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, individual responsibility of elected legislators is one of the requisites of successful representative government. The record of rollcall votes, which becomes a public document, plays an essential part in our governmental system under which Members of the House of Representatives render regular accounts to their constituents at the close of each Congress.

I have today received from the Clerk of the House a record of rollcall votes that I have cast in the 2d session of the 87th Congress up to and including rollcall No. 216. I am appending, herewith, a short résumé of my rollcall record including the 1st session of the 87th Congress and the 2d session through rollcall No. 216. The only rollcalls omitted from this brief summary are, of course, the quorum calls:

*Rollcall record of Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., House of Representatives*

1ST SESS., 87TH CONG.

| Rollcall No. | Legislation | Explanation of action or title of the bill | Mathias' vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | Election of Speaker | Halleck. |
| 3 | | Terminate debate on investigation, Indiana election | Nay. |
| 5 | H.R. 127 | Enlargement of Rules Committee | Yea. |
| 7 | H.R. 4806 | Temporary extension Unemployment Compensation Act | Yea. |
| 8 | H.R. 167 | Un-American Activities Committee's budget | Yea. |
| 9 | H.R. 5188 | Impacted area aid to education | Yea. |
| 13 | H.R. 4510 | Motion to recommit feed grain program | Yea. |
| 14 | H.R. 4510 | Feed grain program | Nay. |
| 17 | H.R. 4510 | Conference report on feed grain program | Nay. |
| 19 | H.R. 5463 | To extend the Sugar Act | Yea. |
| 20 | H.R. 4806 | Conference report on extension Unemployment Compensation Act | Absent. |
| 22 | H.R. 5000 | Cancel Army research project in Natick, Mass | Nay. |
| 23 | H.R. 5000 | Military construction appropriation | Yea. |
| 27 | H.R. 3935 | Kitchin-Ayers amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Amendment of 1961 | Yea. |
| 28 | H.R. 3935 | Motion to recommit the Fair Labor Standards Amendment of 1961 | Nay. |
| 29 | H.R. 3935 | Fair Labor Standards Amendment of 1961 | Yea. |
| 32 | S. 1 | Motion to recommit bill on depressed areas | Nay. |
| 33 | S. 1 | Depressed areas bill | Yea. |
| 38 | S. 912 | New Federal judges | Yea. |
| 40 | H.R. 6027 | To increase benefits under social security | Yea. |
| 42 | H.R. 6518 | Latin-American aid program | Yea. |
| 44 | S. 1 | Conference report on distressed areas | Yea. |
| 46 | H.R. 3935 | Conference report on Fair Labor Standards Amendment of 1961 | Nay. |
| 47 | H.R. 6441 | Motion to recommit with instructions the Federal Water Pollution Control Act | Yea. |
| 48 | H.R. 6441 | Federal Water Pollution Control Act | Yea. |
| 53 | H.R. 2010 | To extend the law to admit Mexicans for farmwork | Nay. |
| 54 | H.R. 6094 | Motion to recommit bill for increase on salaries of Council of Economic Advisers | Yea. |
| 55 | H.R. 6094 | To increase ceiling on salaries of Council of Economic Advisers from $345,000 to $2,000,000 | Nay. |
| 58 | H.R. 284 | To consider establishment of U.S. Office of Travel and Tourism | Yea. |
| 61 | H. Con. Res. 226 | To urge Organization of American States to impose sanctions on Cuba | Yea. |
| 62 | H.R. 4514 | To establish U.S. Office of Travel and Tourism | Yea. |
| 64 | S. 1852 | Appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval ships | Yea. |

*Rollcall record of Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., House of Representatives*—Continued

1ST SESS., 87TH CONG.

| Roll-call No. | Legislation | Explanation of action or title of the bill | Mathias' vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 65 | H.R. 1986 | Motion to recommit bill to repeal express company information requirement | Nay. |
| 67 | H.R. 7371 | State and Justice Departmental appropriation | Yea. |
| 70 | H.R. 7444 | To reduce agricultural conservation program | Nay. |
| 71 | H.R. 7444 | Agriculture Department Appropriation | Yea. |
| 75 | H.R. 7446 | To repeal tax on transportation fares | Yea. |
| 76 | H.R. 7446 | To extend excise tax rates | Yea. |
| 78 | H.R. 7053 | Motion to recommit bill to admit certain evidence in courts of District of Columbia | Nay. |
| 82 | H.R. 303 | Disapproving reorganization of Federal Communications Commission | Yea. |
| 83 | H.R. 302 | Disapproving reorganization of Securities and Exchange Commission | Yea. |
| 85 | H.R. 6765 | To amend charter of International Finance Corporation | Yea. |
| 86 | H.R. 7712 | Supplemental appropriation for State, Justice, Treasury, and Defense Departments | Yea. |
| 88 | H.R. 304 | Disapproving reorganization of Civil Aeronautics Board | Yea. |
| 89 | H.R. 305 | Disapproving reorganization of Federal Trade Commission | Yea. |
| 95 | H.R. 6028 | Motion to recommit Housing Act | Yea. |
| 96 | H.R. 6028 | Housing Act | Nay. |
| 99 | H.R. 7677 | To increase debt limit to $298,000,000,000 | Yea. |
| 104 | H.R. 7851 | To retain price differentials in defense contracts in favor of depressed areas | Yea. |
| 105 | H.R. 7851 | Defense Department appropriation | Yea. |
| 106 | S. 1922 | Conference report on Housing Act | Nay. |
| 107 | H.R. 354 | Congressional flag | Yea. |
| 108 | H.J. Res 108 | Delaware River Basin compact | Yea. |
| 109 | H.R. 187 | Federal court review of alien deportation orders | Yea. |
| 110 | S. 857 | Cape Cod National Seashore Park | Yea. |
| 112 | H.J. Res. 435 | Centennial observance of Department of Agriculture | Yea. |
| 113 | H.R. 2555 | Emergency evacuations of civilian employees in overseas areas | Yea. |
| 116 | H.R. 6874 | National Aeronautics and Space Administration appropriation | Yea. |
| 117 | H.R. 328 | Disapproving reorganization of National Labor Relations Board | Yea. |
| 118 | H.R. 336 | Disapproving reorganization of Federal Maritime Board | Yea. |
| 119 | H.R. 8302 | Cancel Army research project in Natick, Mass | Nay. |
| 120 | H.R. 8302 | Military construction appropriation | Yea. |
| 124 | S.J. Res. 120 | Reserve mobilization | Yea. |
| 127 | S. 2311 | Additional appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval ships | Yea. |
| 128 | H.R. 30 | Northeastern water and related land resources compact | Yea. |
| 130 | S. 1643 | Farm bill | Nay. |
| 132 | H.R. 7856 | Reorganization of Federal Communications Commission | Yea. |
| 133 | H.R. 7856 | To permit emergency sales of military supplies for aircraft | Nay. |
| 135 | H.R. 404 | To table motion to delete public power provisions from Hanford atomic plant authorization | Nay. |
| 136 | H.R. 404 | To instruct conferees on H.R. 7576 not to agree to Hanford electric generating facilities | Yea. |
| 138 | H.R. 8033 | Reorganization of Interstate Commerce Commission | Yea. |
| 140 | H.R. 404 | To consider H.R. 6882 to provide an additional Assistant Secretary of Labor | Yea. |
| 142 | H.R. 6302 | Transfer Freedmen's Hospital to Howard University | Yea. |
| 144 | H.R. 7851 | Conference report on Defense Department appropriation | Yea. |
| 157 | H.R. 8400 | Foreign aid | Yea. |
| 160 | H.R. 8384 | Airplane hijacking bill | Yea. |
| 164 | H.R. 7763 | New York World's Fair | Yea. |
| 167 | H.R. 84 | Lead and zinc subsidy | Nay. |
| 169 | H.R. 8181 | National Fisheries Center | Yea. |
| 170 | H.R. 8181 | National Fisheries Center | Yea. |
| 171 | H.R. 7176 | Hog cholera eradication program | Yea. |
| 173 | H.R. 8773 | Readjustment payments for reservists | Yea. |
| 175 | H.R. 6242 | To increase Justice Department attorneys' salaries | Nay. |
| 177 | H.R. 8890 | To consider for 1 day on Calendar Wednesday a substitute for the President's eduction bill | Nay. |
| 179 | H.R. 8028 | Limitation on juvenile delinquency program to pilot plan in District of Columbia | Nay. |
| 180 | S. Con. Res. 34 | Opposing admission of Red China to United Nations | Yea. |
| 181 | S. 1983 | Conference report on foreign aid | Yea. |
| 184 | H.R. 9033 | To increase military aid appropriation | Yea. |
| 185 | H.R. 9033 | Foreign aid appropriation | Yea. |
| 188 | H.R. 9000 | 2-year extension of Federal aid to schools in impacted areas | Yea. |
| 190 | H.R. 8723 | Amendment of Pension Plans Disclosure Act | Yea. |
| 191 | H.R. 8066 | Cultural exchange bill | Yea. |
| 197 | H.R. 8302 | To cancel Army research project in Natick, Mass | Nay. |
| 198 | H.R. 7317 | Extension of Civil Rights Commission | Yea. |
| 199 | H.R. 9076 | To prohibit construction of public power hydroelectric grid lines | Yea. |
| 200 | H.R. 9076 | Public works appropriation | Yea. |
| 202 | H.R. 7576 | Conference report on public power facilities at Hanford plutonium production reactor | Nay. |
| 203 | H.R. 8102 | To limit extension of Federal Airport Act to 3 years | Yea. |
| 205 | H.R. 7500 | Peace Corps | Yea. |
| 207 | H.R. 455 | To send Mexican farm labor bill to conference | Nay. |
| 208 | H.R. 464 | To consider raising postal rates under closed rule preventing amendment | Nay. |
| 210 | S. 2393 | Extension of National Defense Education Act and impacted areas aid | Yea. |
| 211 | S. 1450 | To increase longevity pay for postal workers | Yea. |
| 212 | H.R. 5751 | To publicize dissemination of Communist propaganda through the mails | Yea. |
| 213 | H.R. 8914 | To permit wheatgrowers in summer fallow areas to plant barley | Nay. |
| 214 | H.R. 7377 | To increase the number of supergrade positions under civil service | Yea. |
| 216 | H.R. 9118 | U.S. Arms Control Agency | Yea. |
| 219 | H.R. 7500 | Conference report on Peace Corps | Yea. |
| 220 | H.R. 5628 | National Tropical Botanical Garden | Nay. |
| 221 | H.R. 4172 | Federal Advisory Council on the Arts | Yea. |
| 223 | H.R. 258 | Conference report on District of Columbia sales tax | Yea. |
| 225 | H.R. 7377 | To increase civil service salaries | Yea. |
| 226 | H.R. 9118 | Conference report on U.S. arms control | Yea. |
| 229 | H.R. 258 | Reconsideration of District of Columbia sales tax | Yea. |
| 230 | H.R. 9033 | Conference report on foreign aid appropriation | Yea. |
| 231 | H.R. 9033 | To concur in Senate amendment No. 27 to "Foreign aid" appropriation relating to certification of certain data | Nay. |

2D SESS., 87TH CONG.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | Election of Speaker | Halleck. |
| 8 | H.R. 8900 | Aid to higher education | Yea. |
| 11 | S. 383 | To acquire a mining claim on south rim of Grand Canyon | Absent. |
| 12 | H.R. 6360 | To authorize an additional Secretary of Commerce | Nay. |
| 17 | H.R. 549 | To consider a further temporary increase in the public debt limit | Yea. |
| 18 | H.R. 10050 | To increase the public debt limit | Yea. |
| 20 | H.R. 530 | To disapprove plan No. 1 of 1962 (Department of Urban Affairs) | Nay. |
| 22 | H.R. 6747 | To amend the Juvenile Court Act of the District of Columbia | Yea. |
| 26 | H.R. 8396 | Manpower Training Act | Yea. |
| 30 | H.R. 132 | Educational television program | Yea. |
| 34 | S. 167 | Civil investigation in antitrust cases | Yea. |
| 37 | H.R. 8723 | Motion to recommit conference report on bill to amend Pension Plan Disclosure Act | Nay. |
| 38 | H.R. 8723 | Conference report on amendment of Pension Plan Disclosure Act | Yea. |
| 39 | H.R. 10606 | Motion to recommit bill to extend social security benefits | Yea. |
| 40 | H.R. 10606 | To extend social security benefits | Yea. |
| 43 | H.R. 9751 | Appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels | Yea. |

*Rollcall record of Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., House of Representatives*—Continued

2D SESS., 87TH CONG.

| Roll-call No. | Legislation | Explanation of action or title of the bill | Mathias' vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 45 | H.R. 10904 | Appropriation for Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Departments | Nay. |
| 47 | H.R. 876 | To consider tax bill | Nay. |
| 48 | H.R. 876 | A rule to debate the tax bill | Nay. |
| 51 | H.R. 10650 | Motion to recommit tax bill | Yea. |
| 52 | H.R. 10650 | Tax bill | Nay. |
| 54 | H.R. 10162 | To authorize the United States to participate in loans to International Monetary Fund | Absent. |
| 55 | H.R. 10743 | To suspend rules and consider bill to increase rates of disability compensation | Absent. |
| 57 | H.R. 10700 | To amend Peace Corps Act | Yea. |
| 59 | H.R. 11038 | Motion to recommit supplemental appropriation bill | Nay. |
| 61 | H.R. 4441 | Motion to recommit bill for ex gratia payment to New York City | Yea. |
| 63 | H.R. 4441 | Ex gratia payment to New York City | Nay. |
| 65 | H.R. 589 | To consider amendment sec. 204 of Agricultural Act | Yea. |
| 68 | H.R. 10788 | To amend sec. 204 of Agricultural Act | Yea. |
| 69 | H.R. 11151 | Legislative branch appropriation | Yea. |
| 76 | H.R. 11289 | Defense Department appropriation | Yea. |
| 80 | H.R. 8031 | Television reception regulatory authority | Yea. |
| 82 | H.R. 11040 | Communications satellite | Yea. |
| 84 | H.R. 8617 | Philippine war claims | Yea. |
| 85 | H.R. 625 | To send higher education bill to conference | Yea. |
| 98 | H.R. 11737 | NASA appropriation | Yea. |
| 99 | H.R. 11665 | Motion to recommit a bill to amend School Lunch Act | Yea. |
| 100 | H.R. 11665 | School Lunch Act amendment | Yea. |
| 103 | H.R. 5532 | To amend Armed Services Procurement Act | Yea. |
| 110 | H.R. 11990 | Motion to recommit bill to provide for increase in public debt limit | Yea. |
| 111 | H.R. 11990 | To increase public debt limit | Nay. |
| 114 | H.R. 601 | To consider a bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948 | Absent. |
| 117 | H.R. 12154 | Motion to recommit bill to amend Sugar Act of 1948 | Yea. |
| 118 | H.R. 12154 | To amend Sugar Act of 1948 | Yea. |
| 123 | H.R. 11222 | To amend farm bill with respect to deficit feed areas | Yea. |
| 124 | H.R. 11222 | Motion to recommit farm bill | Yea. |
| 127 | H.R. 11500 | To extend Defense Production Act | Absent. |
| 128 | H.R. 11309 | To continue regulation of exports | Absent. |
| 134 | H.R. 11970 | Motion to recommit Trade Expansion Act | Nay. |
| 135 | H.R. 11970 | Trade Expansion Act | Yea. |
| 137 | S. 1658 | To prohibit interstate transportation of gambling devices | Yea. |
| 138 | S. 1969 | To amend Federal Aviation Act | Yea. |
| 141 | H.R. 12154 | To amend Sugar Act of 1948 | Yea. |
| 144 | H.R. 11586 | To amend Merchant Marine Act | Yea. |
| 145 | S. 2775 | To continue civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands | Yea. |
| 146 | H.R. 714 | Class I-A clear channel operations | Yea. |
| 153 | H.R. 11921 | To amend Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 | Yea. |
| 157 | H.R. 726 | To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 8050 | Yea. |
| 160 | H.R. 11974 | To delete Hanford new production reactor from Atomic Energy Commission appropriation | Yea. |
| 162 | S. 167 | Motion to recommit bill to authorize Attorney General to compel production of evidence | Yea. |
| 163 | H.R. 12135 | Highway construction appropriation | Yea. |
| 165 | H.R. 10606 | Conference report on extension of social security benefits | Absent. |
| 166 | H.R. 12391 | Farm bill | Nay. |
| 169 | H.R. 12580 | Appropriation for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, etc | Yea. |
| 173 | S. 2996 | To amend Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 | Yea. |
| 175 | H.R. 12648 | Department of Agriculture appropriation | Yea. |
| 178 | H.R. 529 | Mann Creek Federal reclamation project | Yea. |
| 184 | H.R. 12711 | Sundry executive appropriations | Yea. |
| 185 | H.R. 575 | Baker Federal reclamation project | Yea. |
| 186 | H.R. 10904 | Motion to recommit bill providing appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare | Nay. |
| 187 | H.R. 10904 | Appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare | Yea. |
| 192 | H.R. 4083 | Monetary reward for recipients of National Medal of Science | Yea. |
| 193 | H.R. 7283 | To provide compensation for certain World War II losses | Yea. |
| 196 | S. 1005 | To amend Federal Reserve Act | Yea. |
| 198 | | To dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House | Yea. |
| 201 | | To dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House | Yea. |
| 202 | S.J. Res. 29 | Poll tax amendment to Constitution | Yea. |
| 203 | H.R. 708 | To agree with H.R. 11040 as amended by Senate | Yea. |
| 204 | H.R. 12026 | Housing for aged | Yea. |
| 208 | H.R. 10113 | Motion to recommit public works acceleration bill | Nay. |
| 209 | H.R. 11974 | To amend bill authorizing appropriation for Atomic Energy Commission to prohibit Hanford new production reactor | Yea. |
| 212 | S. 4 | Padre Island National Seashore | Yea. |
| 215 | S. 2768 | Motion to recommit bill authorizing purchase of United Nations bonds | Nay. |
| 216 | S. 2768 | Purchase of United Nations bonds | Yea. |

## Human Aid or Wild Words?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Post, Monday, September 24, 1962:

HUMAN AID OR WILD WORDS?

Hope for a more rational approach to foreign aid now rests with the Senate. The House has finished its butchery. We do not doubt that Representative PASSMAN'S success this year in getting his colleagues to go along with a $1,124,400,000 slash in the administration's request, reflects some domestic disenchantment with a burdensome program. This is a rich field for demagogs.

Yet President Kennedy is profoundly right when he says that mutilation of the aid program imperils our national security. It makes little sense to spend $50 billion on an arms race, $5 billion on a space race and to quit on the human race.

Our foreign aid program is a unique weapon. It goes to the root of contemporary instability by seeking to reduce the gap between the haves and the have-nots. The wealthiest, most affluent society in human history dare not forget that, even if there were no Soviet Union, backwardness, poverty, disease, and illiteracy would still constitute a danger to world stability. In the face of the Soviet challenge, to disregard our obligations toward the underdeveloped world is to court disaster.

It has become a truism to say that the great contest between East and West, given the nuclear stalemate, will be decided in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But it bears repeating, if only to emphasize the corollary proposition that the development race is a contest we are better equipped to carry on than the Russians, providing we have the will, the staying power and the ability to see beyond our noses.

With an economy half the size of ours, the Soviet Government no doubt is hard pressed to meet the competing claims of armed forces, rising consumer pressures and foreign clients. It has, nevertheless, embarked upon a massive economic aid program to Cuba.

Can the United States afford to deal less generously with the Alliance for Progress?

A domestic fiasco in Cuba, at a moment when the rest of Latin America moves ahead economically with U.S. help, could well be the end of Castro. Conversely, a Cuban advance while the U.S. defaults on its pledges to Latin America could cause Castroism to spread like wildfire.

The same is true in Asia. If the nations on the periphery of Red China move ahead economically with the help of the West while China, denied Soviet aid, approaches economic disintegration, the consequences could be enormous. Either there would be revo-

lution in Red China or the regime would be obliged to moderate its policies drastically.

None of this will happen overnight. The stagnation, decay, and backwardness of a millenium will not be overcome in 5 years or 10. What is important is that the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America should have a sense of hope and a confidence that we want and intend to help.

Do we offer them only wild words, or do we pledge them enduring help?

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## Aid to Dependent Children—Part VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, one of the main problems involved in public assistance is providing job opportunities and training. In this last of a six-part series Detroit News Reporter Jo Ann Hardee described the vital need for new job skills.

The article follows:

(By Jo Ann Hardee)

A 500-piece jigsaw puzzle.

This is what Juvenile Judge James A. Lincoln called the aid to dependent children (ADC) program.

Everyone, from taxpayers to community leaders, has his own idea of which piece is most crucial to the puzzle.

LACK DIRECTION

Starting as depression legislation, aid to dependent children was designed to save families by providing support to widows and orphans. In 22 years it has grown into a $40 million annual program in Michigan. It is a frequent target of public criticism.

"The keystone is jobs," Lincoln said. "The permanency of public assistance does terrible things to people, especially to children.

"They absorb a lack of purpose when they live with an adult who has no direction."

Many citizens agree with the judge.

Willis Hall, a member of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors and executive vice president of the Detroit Board of Commerce, said:

"It is a long, slow, evolutionary program, but at the very root of public assistance is the problem of providing job opportunity and training."

PLEAD FOR JOBS

Spokesmen for aid to dependent children mothers said at a recent city council meeting:

"Give these women jobs. They are willing, qualified and eager to work. You hear about aid to dependent children mothers who have beer parties and boy friends. But you don't hear that these women want to work."

John Bartholomew, director of the Sophie Wright Settlement, had this to say:

"As long as there is hard-core unemployment and racial discrimination, it is easy to give up—to rationalize lack of energy as lack of opportunity.

"Economic security would solve 99 out of 100 welfare problems."

One community house worker lamented that no aid to dependent children money has been available, above State grant ceilings, to pay for education of recipients.

She pointed to a mother of five who wanted to take computer school training and become self-sufficient.

But purchasing school supplies for her children was a serious financial drain on her $245 monthly grant (now $200 since city supplementation has been cut off.)

LAW IS CHANGED

The woman could not afford the training and so remained on ADC, the caseworker said; commenting:

"Think of the money they could have saved in the long run if they had included tuition, babysitter's fees, and carfare in the woman's grant 4 years ago.

"It is incredible that we are spending money on special programs like this $200,000 juvenile delinquency study while we could be stemming such problems with so little expense by providing an adequate living standard."

Under new Federal law, local ADC officials will concentrate on upgrading employment skills of their clients.

Currently 80 percent of Wayne County's 16,394 recipients are classed as domestics, service workers, and unskilled labor.

Upgrading may not be an easy task. A welfare test designed to predict job retraining success found one-third of the clients too illiterate to take the test, and one-third not trainable.

FOCUS ON TEENAGERS

ADC also want to steer as many as possible of its teenage children toward upgraded job skills.

"The key to the welfare problem is prejudice," said Urban League Director Francis A. Kornegay.

"How much in welfare costs are we willing to pay for the privilege of discrimination? If Negroes could get jobs, it would reduce the welfare load."

The "Negro ghetto" is cited as another factor complicating rehabilitation of ADC recipients.

POLICING JOB

Often pervaded by a deep-rooted sense of frustration, it is an area of poor housing, crowded conditions, high unemployment, high welfare loads.

"Outside Wayne County, the job of policing ADC recipients to see that money is adequately spent is often done by the community," a caseworker said.

"In Detroit that job is made nearly impossible by the existence of these ghettos."

"A civic leader said:

"One answer to the problem of low standards among aid to dependent children clients is to break up these welfare ghettos through urban renewal.

"Then distribute these people into other neighborhoods where there are incentives for higher cultural and moral outlooks."

Another often-advanced answer to "the aid to dependent children problem" is birth control.

Appalled by the fact that 42.6 percent of Wayne County's aid to dependent children are illegitimate, one of the agency's severest critics said angrily:

"There isn't nearly enough birth control information available to these women, nor are they encouraged to use the eight birth control clinics that are available.

"Here we are spending U.S. money to set up birth control programs in India and Japan, but we won't use the knowledge here."

OFFICIALS HESITANT

Officials balk at forcing clients to attend birth control clinics. They are reluctant even to institute a vigorous program of encouraging such attendance, leaving this to the discretion of the caseworker.

"A public agency has to be careful" the State welfare head, W. J. Maxey, said. "There are religious issues involved."

Father Paul Hickey, head of Catholic Social Services in Detroit, indicated that Maxey's apprehensions were well founded.

"The State has no business interfering in personal life," he said.

TERRIBLE DAY

"It would be a terrible day when a person felt he had to order his personal life according to State dictates to be assured of the basic necessities of food and shelter."

The church has no published doctrine on giving birth control information to non-Catholic public assistance recipients, Father Hickey said. He added however, that "it considers all artificial birth control methods immoral."

STERILIZATION HIT

Welfare officials in Fauquier County, Va., are being severely criticized by Catholic and Jewish clergymen for a voluntary sterilization program instituted there 33 months ago for public assistance cases.

Another attack on illegitimacy was suggested by an aid to dependent children critic:

"We need more stringent discipline over these mothers. Take the children away if there are more than two illegitimate children.

"If a woman has three or four illegitimate children, it ought to arouse some suspicion of an inadequate home."

Juvenile authorities are reluctant to follow such a plan.

"We never take a child from his home unless it has to be done," Judge Lincoln said. "Our standard is whether the child is a success in his emotional adjustment, his school life, his relationship with other children and adults."

Foster care is also expensive costing at least $60 a month for each child. Under the State ceiling, a mother can care for four children at $36 monthly for each child.

FUNDS INCREASED

Under the new Federal law, more money is available for foster care. But another problem is to find foster or adoptive homes for the large percentage of Negro children on ADC. Such homes are extremely difficult to locate.

Better supervision is often demanded of ADC, usually in reference to rumors of widespread cheating and misspending.

"An indication of effective supervision will go a long way in convincing mothers to police themselves," a Wayne County official said. "There is now an open invitation to be profligate with the money. Only the most flagrant cases are dropped."

HITS AT LOAD

"I imagine 75 percent of ADC mothers are doing a good job, but it is the 25 percent that should be better policed."

Denying that there is widespread ineligibility, Rev. Bernard Houston, head of the Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid, said his staff could do a better job if caseloads were smaller than the current 120 for each caseworker.

Kornegay said:

"ADC is not giving the casework and counseling necessary because of its inadequate budget. We are paying a tremendous social price for this pet economy."

A special section attached to the friend of the court has been advocated since 1958 for pursuing men who are delinquent in support payments.

QUESTIONS BACKLOG

"We must urge the court to do a better job on paternity and support," Hall said.

"A backlog of 700 support warrants indicates that the court is not doing its best job of bringing in delinquent husbands or fathers. Nor is it tough enough in enforcement."

He criticized judges who permit men to settle, for less than the full amount, support payments that are in arrears.

Maxey also says that the courts could help his agency by "enforcing support, restricting divorce, adopting a more uniform system of payment, and developing some method of directly attaching wages for support."

ASK CRACKDOWN

Some citizens want to go a step beyond the current support law.

They want legislation passed to permit courts to assess support payment from fathers of illegitimate children born to married women.

Michigan's "conclusive presumption of legitimacy," designed to protect children from stigma, also protects these fathers from support payments.

Maxey, who has argued the possibility with lawmakers, feels that the law would "cause more trouble than it would solve."

Officials of ADC are counting on $300 million in addition Federal money to upgrade staff work and change ADC's emphasis from relief to rehabilitation. They hope to launch what Houston calls "a direct attack upon chronic dependency."

Still in the planning stages, these services may include:

Special caseworkers assigned to follow up "problem families" or those with high rehabilitative potential.

Day care centers for children of mothers who are working.

Work incentives and job training for ADC mothers.

Transfer of the State's children's division to Houston's office where it can better serve ADC clients.

Programs for unwed mothers to prevent recurring illegitimacy.

SEES HURDLES

While Houston is enthusiastic about these new services, he said that his agency cannot go it alone in combating factors which create dependency, such as broken homes, unemployment, racial discrimination, lack of education and job training, low "aspirational levels."

The Urban League has been working for 3 years in two limited projects designed to reduce dependency and to upgrade standards of those receiving public assistance. Both projects, although small, have been judged successful.

A seminar series to help ADC mothers to solve common problems has been taken over by several settlement houses.

The second program was aimed at high school students, to show them the value of education and to guide them away from admiring socially unacceptable occupations.

UP TO COMMUNITY

Kornegay agrees with Kathryn Van Zoren, local ADC head, that these programs are "drops in the bucket."

Officials of ADC would welcome a coordinated community attack on chronic dependency, perhaps through the United Foundation.

They agree with the civic leader who said:

"The community has shoved off on government its responsibilities toward upgrading its welfare load. Now the community must shoulder this burden."

## It Doesn't Grow on Trees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, apparently the hucksters are at it, with the help of President Kennedy, to try to get from Congress every cent the President requested for foreign aid.

I think the Appropriations Subcommittee did an excellent job on the subject and today's article by Richard Starnes, in the Washington Daily News, buttresses this viewpoint:

BLUNT WARNINGS ON AID

(By Richard Starnes)

Whether they are ultimately restored or not, sharp cuts made in the foreign aid appropriation bill contain a blunt warning to the administration that Congress means to force reforms in the program.

The President, of course, understands this, even if his faintly melodramatic plea for restoration of the cuts disingenuously ignored it. Mr. Kennedy's defense of the program contained no suggestion that shocking abuses in foreign aid were to be corrected. Anticommunism is still a splendid stock in trade for any American politician, but it is wearing thin as an excuse for chronic waste and mismanagement in the foreign aid program.

There is no reason to doubt the will of the American people to continue to support foreign aid. There is, however, considerable ground for believing that they are fed to the ears with endlessly underwriting profligate administration of the program, and with subsidizing legions of foreign potentates whose knaveries would long since have jailed them in any civilized society.

It is this wholly justifiable resentment that motivated the Appropriations Committee of the House in reducing the proposed foreign aid bill, not some dark relapse into know-nothing isolationism.

It is easy enough to deride Representative OTTO PASSMAN as a curiously comic, sinisterly benighted yahoo who is an implacable foe of foreign aid. But it does not explain why the sweat of the American taxpayer should buy a $3 million floating palace for some African despot. Nor does it justify such chronic scandals as the multi-million-dollar highway in Cambodia, which began to crumble before the ribbon could be cut to open it.

And it is not know-nothingism, surely, when Eugene R. Black, retiring president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Redevelopment, expresses grave doubts about foreign aid programs as they are now constituted. It cannot be brushed aside as "irresponsible" (Mr. Kennedy's word for foreign aid cuts) when Mr. Black, a distinguished supporter of the concept of mutual assistance, decries the stupidity of building lavish airport terminal buildings and sports arenas in nations whose crop irrigation systems haven't emerged from the stone age.

Some of the Appropriation Committee's explorations into the never-never land of mutual assistance bureaucracy are illuminating to any discussion of irresponsibility. For example, the committee cited as "typical" of unreliable information submitted in support of appropriation requests one for $1,260,000 for 23 U.S. technicians. Representative PASSMAN pointed out this "means these technicians are costing $54,000 a year, each."

The committee report, anticipating the outcry the proposed reductions would trigger, pointed out that last year's cuts had provoked much the same sort of lament. It quoted a letter signed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara warning that a workable program "cannot be done with the cuts proposed by the subcommittee."

The House and Senate dutifully increased the appropriation from the committee's figure, which was $3.3 billion, to $3.9 billion. But, as Representative PASSMAN's subcommittee cheerfuly pointed out, actual expenditure totaled less than $3.2 billion—a fact which may help put the President's protest in some reasonable perspective.

## Bill Robb and the Elks Youth Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation owes a debt of gratitude to men who give unselfishly of themselves in the interest of developing healthy, alert, and patriotic young citizens. A splendid example of this type of American is William P. Robb, of Milwaukee. For more than 6 years, William Robb has devoted countless hours to developing the championship Milwaukee Elks Youth Band. Hundreds of youngsters can thank Bill Robb not only for the opportunity to become musicians, but to benefit by a growing community experience.

I commend to Members on both sides of the aisle the inspiring account of Bill Robb and his work contained in the current National Elks magazine:

NO ONE BEATS ELKS YOUTH BAND

Organized 6 years ago, the Youth Band sponsored by Milwaukee, Wis., Lodge, No. 46, has had a meteoric rise to fame. In 24 contests against the finest bands in the country, these youngsters have won 15 first prizes and 4 national championships.

A great deal of the credit for this enviable record goes to its manager, William P. Robb, who, as exalted ruler in 1955, was responsible for the formation of this group. Since its inception, under his guidance, the Milwaukee Elks Youth Band has been almost entirely self-supporting and self-governing. The group makes its own decisions, through which its members learn leadership, tenacity, thrift and cooperation; all are growing to make a definite contribution to the community as responsible adults.

Founding Director George Zoske started the band on solid ground with strict membership requirements and performance standards. When he was called into the Army he relinquished the baton to an untried 19-year-old assistant James A. Walker; it was under Mr. Walker that the band began its rise to fame; discarding the normal parade band repertoire, the band devoted its talents to contemporary band music. It began to attract to its ranks outstanding musicians from nearby colleges to act as section coaches and soloists. As a result of this instruction many former players are now music students at Julliard, Eastman, and the University of Michigan. Among the band's erstwhile members are Fred L. Hemke, student-instructor at Eastman; Bob Smith, a trombonist with Ralph Marterie; Thomas Mason, recent first-prize winner in a national jazz contest sponsored by Downbeat magazine, and Richard Metzger and Rogers Bloemers, both full-time members of the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra.

Then Mr. Walker, just 23 years old, was named director of bands at Harvard and the job of finding a replacement was begun. After screening about 20 applicants, Mr. Robb presented 2 to the band itself; each conducted a few rehearsals and talked with the players whose choice was Wayne M. Becker, a member of the exclusive American Bandmasters Association. Mr. Becker's ability was unquestioned, and under his leadership the band swept to a record score to win first place at the Cedarburg Festival of Music in 1960–61.

Last fall, the band started its own cadet band of grade school children trained by

Nick Contorno with the assistance of the youth band members who have underwritten most of the cost of this new venture.

Now Milwaukee lodge has two bands to carry its banner, and as a reward for their hard work each year, and out of their earnings from contests and parades, the youngsters vacation at beautiful Camp Bird in northern Wisconsin in August when all the recreational facilities of the camp are enjoyed, in addition to 4 hours of voluntary rehearsing each day.

Is it any wonder Milwaukee's Elks are proud of this rewarding project?

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## Congressman Green of Pennsylvania Aids Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, the hospitals of the northeast section of Philadelphia have been particularly fortunate in having the dedicated service of the senior Congressman from Philadelphia, the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR. I am pleased to be associated with a legislator who has been so persistent and diligent in his determination to accomplish favorable results in a field which is so beneficial to the community.

The securing of help for hospitals is a difficult task. The competition is very great, and the conditions are hard to meet. My distinguished colleague, Congressman GREEN, left no stone unturned in his efforts to procure favorable results. His work has been reported by the press of the city and particularly by the Mayfair Times and Northeast Times, newspapers in the northeast section of Philadelphia.

I have attached the news report in the Times newspapers and the editorial which was presented to the public in recognition of his extraordinary efforts on behalf of the people:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Mayfair Times, Sept. 20, 1962]

GREEN HELPS NORTHEAST HOSPITALS GET $4,670,000 IN GRANTS

(By Stewart G. Ettinger)

Northeast hospitals have received $4,670,000 in Federal funds during the past 4½ years.

The awarding of these grants was the culmination of 7 years of planning, maneuvering, and perseverance on the part of a small group of private citizens and civic leaders headed by Congressman WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., of the fifth district.

His behind-the-scenes work has resulted in a total of $7,070,000 in Federal grants to Philadelphia hospitals.

Congressman GREEN is the man who "turned on the lights" during Nazareth Hospital's "darkest hour" and pushed through to a record $2½ million grant.

JUST ANNOUNCED

Last week, in Harrisburg, the Hill-Burton Advisory Committee, charged with the distribution of these Federal funds on a State level, awarded $500,000 to Frankford Hospital to complete its building program.

Other hospitals in the Northeast who got Hill-Burton funds last week are Jeanes, $170,000, and the soon-to-be-completed AFL-CIO Hospital, at Cheltenham Avenue and Langdon Street, $1,500,000.

The Jeanes grant will be used to complete construction started 2 years ago. It will include renovation of a 16-bed area of vacated space in the old hospital building and the installment of mechanical equipment for the new wing, including air conditioning.

One floor of the new wing also remains to be completed.

The hospital began applying for Hill-Burton funds in 1958 and reapplied each year until they got the grant. They were in the same predicament as Frankford and Nazareth—they were too low on the priority list due to the fact all of Philadelphia was in one hospital service area.

The AFL-CIO Hospital, at Cheltenham Avenue and Langdon Street, has also been under construction for several years. The completion date for the 220-bed hospital is set for June 1963.

"It was the end of a very successful and hard fought battle," Congressman GREEN told the Times when reached at his Washington office.

He stressed that it was not necessarily the end of hospital appropriations for the Philadelphia area. He said he would continue to work for funds for any hospital that needed them.

SPECIAL CATEGORY

When Nazareth was unable to get Hill-Burton funds, GREEN came up with a provision of the act that allowed allocations to "areas of special need" regardless of their standing on the list of priorities.

It was this clause through which he was able to get the record Nazareth grant in 1960. However, this "area of special need" was then written out of the law.

As a result, when Frankford applied for its grant, another way had to be found to get an appropriation.

"The Northeast could get no Hill-Burton funds the way the districts were set up," explained Congressman GREEN. "It was necessary to get a resurvey."

RESURVEY NEEDED

GREEN approached Harry Shapiro, secretary of public welfare, in 1957 and asked him to have the Philadelphia Board of Health resurvey the hospital service areas.

Shapiro agreed, but left office when the new administration was elected, without having initiated the resurvey.

GREEN approached the new secretary, Mrs. Ruth Grigg Horting, and asked when the resurvey was going to be started. She knew nothing of the action.

The facts were presented to her and she immediately authorized the resurvey, for she was thoroughly convinced that something should be done about the situation of Philadelphia's hospitals as soon as possible.

As the situation stood before the resurvey, all of Philadelphia was in a single hospital service area. This meant that the hospitals in the Northeast which desperately needed more beds because of the rapidly expanding population were in the same area with the large downtown hospitals which had more than enough beds.

This put the Philadelphia area very low on the priority list for appropriations. GREEN helped that by resurveying the area; the Northeast could be put into a separate area and get the funds it needed.

A LITTLE TOO MUCH

The resurvey was finally made in 1959 after many delays and proddings. Unfortunately, the new area that the Northeast found itself in included such hospitals as Einstein Northern and Temple University. Furthermore, part of the Northeast above Pennypack Creek was included in an area set up in lower Bucks County.

This took just enough population away from the Northeast service area to again put it too far down on the priority list to get funds.

Once again GREEN had to go to bat for the Northeast and get enough of the area back to give the Northeast hospitals a chance at getting the necessary grants.

That he was successful is shown in the amount of funds subsequently awarded to Northeast hospitals.

As Richard Sawyer, administrator of Frankford Hospital, put it, "Before the resurvey, there was no chance at all for us to get any funds. After the hospital was placed in the new district, it was an outside chance that we might get a grant—but at least it was a chance."

FRANKFORD ANXIOUS

Frankford Hospital is anxiously awaiting the arrival of the State commissioner of general and special hospitals and representatives of the U.S. Public Health Service.

It is up to this group to look at the situation at each of the hospitals allocated money and fix the exact amount the Government will contribute.

The provisions of the Hill-Burton Act state that the Federal funds will cover one-third of the cost of construction. However, this is based only on unfinished work. Frankford has already started and is well along on its construction program. Each day it moves nearer to completion and each day means less money they will get from Hill-Burton.

Nazareth was awarded its record $2½ million grant before any construction was started and as a result got one-third of all money they must spend.

Congressman GREEN informed the Times that one of the hospitals in Philadelphia still in need of funds is Episcopal. They need to replace one of their old buildings.

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[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Times newspapers, Sept. 20, 1962]

EDITORIAL VIEWS OF THE TIMES: FEDERAL AID RESULTS FROM LONG, HARD EFFORT

The Times was proud last week to have printed well in advance of any other newspaper, daily or weekly, the report that more hospital aid will be coming to the Northeast from the Federal Government.

Obtaining this Federal aid was another step forward for the Northeast.

Residents from Frankford Creek on the south to Poquessing Creek on the north, and from the Delaware River to Montgomery County were happy to hear the news. They know that the fine hospitals of the Northeast will now be able to expand their facilities to handle the rapid population growth.

One thing they may not know, however, is that the Federal grants to Northeast hospitals were the outcome of hundreds of meetings, phone calls, and letters by a group of Northeast citizens.

It took 7 years, altogether.

It was a long, weary, often discouraging effort.

NOT LIST THEM

We will not attempt to name all the people who took part, for it would be a near certainty that we would leave out someone who played a quiet but vital part.

But two things must be mentioned: (1) It is likely that none of the hospitals—Nazareth, Frankford, Jeanes, nor the AFL-CIO Hospital—would have received Federal aid if the hospital service areas had remained as they were at the start of the effort. (2) It is also likely that the boundary lines for those hospital service areas would not have been changed had it not been for the persistent efforts of Congressman WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr.

When the effort began, the hospital service area that included the Northeast also included the other parts of Philadelphia. This meant that the large downtown hospitals,

with their many extra beds, were averaged in with the Northeast hospitals, which were desperately in need of additional beds. Thus the single Philadelphia area figure for hospital beds per thousand population showed no great need yet in th Northeast the need was great.

The Times has rarely reported a continuing series of negotiations with Government officials as complex and frustrating as that in which the Northeast sought to change the boundaries of the hospital service areas.

On a number of occasions it appeared that the effort had failed and that the Northeast would continue to be figured in with the other hospitals of Philadelphia.

GREEN GOT BUSY

But each time this happened, Congressman GREEN would begin making phone calls, writing letters, and making personal contacts.

His opponents will, of course, remark that he did it because it was good politics. But this is like saying that a reporter worked persistently at a news story because it was good newspapering, or that a salesman worked hard to sell because it was good salesmanship.

The point is that GREEN did a good job. To argue that it helped him win votes is silly. After all, that's the business he is in.

The others who took part in the effort through the years also deserve great praise. Some were hospital officials, some were politicians, one was a highly effective public relations man, and others were just citizens interested in improving vital parts of their community.

Thousands of patients who benefit from the improved and expanded hospital facilities in the years to come will owe much to this persistent group.

## Synonyms for Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the dramatic domestic struggle within the country is raging between the fanatic forces of socialism and those Americans who have faith in and respect for our free enterprise economic system. This issue is becoming of major importance to citizens throughout the country, and I was recently proud to note that the Blue Island Sun-Standard, a local community newspaper in my district, very succinctly and dramatically pointed out to its readers in editorial of Thursday, September 13, the subterfuges which are being used by advocates of socialism in the United States. Under previous leave I insert into the RECORD at this point the editorial entitled "Synonyms for Socialism":

SYNONYMS FOR SOCIALISM

"Social progress" or "social reform" or some other pretty sounding phrases, is used by the misnamed liberals as a substitute for the word socialism, which they are working toward in the United States.

By clever devices they seek to create distrust of private enterprise, the capitalistic system, and the profit motive, the foundation on which our U.S. economy rests. Our Government itself is the greatest beneficiary from profits through its tax take.

Mr. Khrushchev has boasted that we will destroy our private enterprise system from within by accepting the socialistic doctrine piece by piece—then we will be ripe for the takeover.

That fate will be up to our people themselves. If they sanction, through their elected representatives, the continued extension of Government ownership of business and industry, they will set the trap that will ultimately crush their liberties and individual opportunity.

Looking at the world today the handwriting is as plain as the nose on your face—we will uphold our representative form of government, our profit system, and our individual property rights—or we will go down the socialistic drain along with the other subjugated nations.

## Doctrine Again Is Challenged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted, here in the RECORD, stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I insert, under unanimous consent, the following in the RECORD:

[From the Boynton Beach (Fla.) Star, Sept. 13, 1962]

DOCTRINE AGAIN IS CHALLENGED

Way back during the administration of President Monroe, Russia under the rule of the tzars landed fishermen in the islands off Alaska, almost in Russian waters but our President didn't like it. Congress, alive, patriotic, and brave, and under the guidance of Monroe, acted—and the Monroe Doctrine was born. Russia got out.

The Monroe Doctrine (so much in the papers about it these days) prohibits any foreign power to land materials of war, or men in any number on sovereign soil of any nation in South, Central, or North America, without permission from the President of the United States.

Last week Premier Khrushchev of Russia advised the President that his country was shipping and had shipped war materials and men into Cuba and that he would continue to do so—and he didn't even ask permission. If ever the Monroe Doctrine was directly challenged, it is challenged today.

It may be that Nikita doesn't understand the wording of the Monroe Doctrine. But we understand what Nikita wants. It is not likely he thinks so much of Fidel that he risks the chance of war to send him aid: more likely he is acting merely to annoy the United States, testing us to see how far he can go before he is stopped or possibly it is a form of blackmail—he will get out of Cuba if the United States leaves West Germany.

You can depend upon it, Khrushchev is after bigger game than little Cuba.

## Aid to Dependent Children—Everyone's Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Detroit News Reporter Jo Ann Hardee has performed a valuable service in describing the problems involved in running an effective aid to dependent children program. In closing this series of articles I would like to insert an editorial from the Detroit News which emphasizes the fact that aid to dependent children is a problem—everyone's problem:

What to do about aid to dependent children? Reporter Jo Ann Hardee's stories in the News have described the problem. They have not (and could not have) provided the answer.

Almost everyone has an idea on the subject. No one seems to have an answer—at least not an answer with validity so obvious and practicality so clear that nothing remains but to put it into practice.

All that can be said with certainty is that the program is sick. There is little agreement on why, even less on the cure.

Aid to dependent children is not as sick as some of its detractors shout it is. Many aid to dependent children homes are paragons of all a genteelly poor middle-class home should be. Aid to dependent children mothers do not live in luxury at taxpayers' expense; the grant is far from luxurious. They do not have more babies to get another $20 a month; only males and childless women, we suspect, would give that notion much credence. They do not uniformly neglect their children to live it up on their aid to dependent children checks; many aid to dependent children get more love, interest, and genuine care than their luckier fellows in more than a few better-furnished but far colder middle-class homes.

Yet aid to dependent children is floundering and drifting, in too many cases, far from its original humane purpose, which was to provide support for children deprived of their father's support, so that mother could maintain a decent home for them. If it does not foster the social ills its critics lay at its doorstep, aid to dependent children is at least reigning benignly over their spread.

An unhealthy percentage of aid to dependent children mothers do not have the talents of self-discipline to use their grants wisely. There are unkempt homes. There are such things as "A, D, and C. parties" when the checks arrive There are husbands and boy friends who leave by the rear when the aid to dependent children worker knocks at the front. There are illegitimate children, and children growing up in a pattern of chronic dependency upon public funds.

There are enough abuses, arising both from intent and from ignorance, to give

know-nothing critics ammunition, to stigmatize the good and successful aid to dependent children mother, to bring into question the validity of the whole concept.

Some reply that only 25 percent of the caseload make the problems. "Only" is a poorly chosen word.

Its not enough to say "Throw out the program" or even "Throw out the offenders." The children are there; they must be housed, fed, cared for.

It is not enough to say "Take the children away," if a mother doesn't shape up by middle-class standards. The supply of good boarding homes is far less than the need, and a natural mother would have to be bad indeed to make institutional care preferable—even if there were enough institutions.

It is not enough to say "Let 'em work." For many there is no work. Their skills are too limited, or their work potential undeveloped, and there is little being done or available to upgrade their skills. More important, the primary purpose of aid to dependent children is to maintain a home for the children. Some mothers can make child-care arrangements which leave them free for work; no doubt more could do so. But for many there will remain a genuine need to stay at home and care for the children.

Yet with all the good reasons why the simple answers won't work, there remains the need to do something. The program as it stands is becoming a bottomless pit, into which more taxpayers' money and more human beings disappear every year.

An immediate need is obvious: Better case supervision But cases are assigned to caseworkers by geography, to cut unproductive travel time. With half the caseload moving each year, plus a 40 percent annual turnover in caseworker staff, many caseworkers and clients can hardly get to know each other. And with workers' caseloads far in excess of any practical limit, interviews must be sketchy or scarce—if not both. Under such conditions, "better casework" is more a slogan than a practical cure.

Better enforcement by aid to dependent children and by courts of child support orders against fathers is worth a try, if for no better reason than to cut the drain on tax funds. But it's a complex and difficult job; a father in jail is surely no help. And it bears little on aid to dependent children's basic ills.

The long-range answer lies, of course, in education and training—to prevent the dependency habit and rehabilitate those who have fallen into it; to upgrade moral standards to curb illegitimacy; to upgrade personal skills and habits; to develop work skills for those in position to work—and some are, despite the bleats of some social workers; and most crucial, to pull the children in these families out of the rut into which their parents may have fallen, either through personal failings or through no fault of their own.

But all this would take a far more massive effort than is now being made. And those who run aid to dependent children can hardly do the whole job by themselves. The roots of the problem run beyond aid to dependent children; the cures are far beyond its single-handed capacity.

One plain requirement is salary levels which permit aid to dependent children to recruit and to hold well-trained caseworkers—enough of them to do a proper job. Under present conditions they can hardly do a good job as bare policemen, much less as the guide and counselors they are supposed to be.

With that must come both the authority and the determination to keep a close rein on recipients who demonstrate that they cannot keep rein on themselves. There are those who take offense at the notion of a caseworker telling someone how to behave. But there are obviously some people who badly need someone to do just that.

This is no call for midnight raps on every aid-to-dependent-children door, payment in kind, not cash for every case. Many have no need for such supervision. Others obviously do need it, and if the public is to pay the piper, it must claim some right to keep the tune from becoming too discordant.

Needed are ways, now lacking, to help aid to dependent children mothers acquire job skills. If some have little potential, others have more, and it should be treasured and cultivated. Certainly a mother's first responsibility is home and her children, but there's much to be said for work for its own sake, especially for these mothers. Part-time work at least, for those who can get their children cared for (day care centers are needed), would do much to mitigate the dulling effect of chronic dependency.

And when these mothers are training for work and their children properly tended to, there's the matter of jobs. Many aid to dependent children mothers are Negroes. Fair employment laws notwithstanding, we've probably not yet reached that millenial point where this fact is of no significance.

Then there's the problem of the children—the problem which more than all the other items takes more than aid to dependent children can provide. The schools, the settlement houses, the other social agencies, all must take major roles in lifting their standards and their aspirations above those their surroundings impose. The ways are being charted, what it takes now is the community's will—and its bankroll.

There's the rub. It's hard enough to discern the things which need doing, harder yet to work up the resolve to do them. It's hardest of all to allocate funds for them, in these days of ever-rising competitive demands on both public and private treasuries. Yet not to do them is the grossest of false economies, for we then are doomed to keep feeding the bottomless barrel forever.

## The Record on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, while talking to a very influential Democratic member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs yesterday, I was astounded by his statement that Eisenhower was responsible for today's Khrushchev-Soviet buildup in Cuba. Of course, we all know the Hitler technique was to tell an untruth long enough so that finally everyone believed it and I suspect President Kennedy will push this untrue statement.

To set the record straight again, today's article by David Lawrence, which appears in the New York Herald Tribune, places the responsibility exactly where President Kennedy, himself, said it belongs—on President Kennedy. Apparently the President has not learned, because he does nothing while the Soviets send to Cuba such "defensive" weapons as landing craft and missile pad equipment.

The article follows:

AT LAST, THE STORY BEHIND CUBA INVASION THAT FAILED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—President Kennedy in his speeches likes to refer to his troubles—particularly Cuba—as having been "inherited" from the Eisenhower administration. Former President Truman says in his political outbursts that Mr. Eisenhower was a "lazy" President. The real question is not how much time a President gives to golf or yachting or campaigning or social events, but how he uses the time he does give to official business—the kind of decisions he makes.

Members of Congress in the last few days put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a lengthy article that was published 2 weeks ago in U.S. News & World Report giving a comprehensive account of the fateful decision President Kennedy made when he first withdrew and then—when it was too late—actually approved of air support for the Cuban exiles in their invasion of their homeland in April 1961.

Ever since that time there have been attempts to blame the whole fiasco on the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff or on the Central Intelligence Agency. But President Kennedy told the truth when he himself assumed full responsibility. What hasn't been generally known, however, is how he came to make the mistake he did. The magazine article was the result of many weeks of investigation and research among official sources, particularly among persons who were in the know at the time. Certain administration officials have since conceded the accuracy of the article. It reads in part as follows:

"A fateful decision, made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961, is rising now to plague the United States. On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion.

"Only the day before, on April 15, a surprise attack by B–26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force."

INVADERS FELT SECURE

"A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's planes and to provide air support for the invasion.

"Secure in the assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

"In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the pre-invasion planning.

"Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B–26's was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away (in a Latin American country), waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots. But those planes didn't take off. The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

"When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need of air support became apparent. Worried, the non-military officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used to fly air support for the invaders.

"In the planning of the invasion—planning begun under the Eisenhower administration—the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of U.S. air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea.

"Once again, in the early morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said 'no' to the use of U.S. planes."

AT LAST THE SHIFT

"With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble * * *. In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But bad weather interfered at first. Finally, an airstrike was set up for early Wednesday.

"On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate * * * by Tuesday night, April 17, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy. On this night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left the party to confer with his advisers—both civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

"This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier's planes for just 1 hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for their planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes, still, were not to attack land targets.

"Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communications mixups. The Cuban fliers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action. And anyway, it developed, it was too late. By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives."

Criticism and analysis in retrospect by those who know the full story is concentrated today on one point—full authority should be given in advance and a military operation should be handled by military men near the battle scene and not many hundreds of miles away in the White House or even in the Pentagon.

## Textilemen Calm Over Trade Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from a recent issue of the Christian Science Monitor:

TEXTILEMEN CALM OVER TRADE ACT

(By Richard Neff)

PORTSMOUTH, N.H.—The textile industry—second largest employer in the United States and largest in New England—is not expected to feel any great and direct impact from passage of the trade expansion bill.

Textile leaders care, of course, but their industry is not as directly affected as other New England manufacturers, particularly the possibly endangered jewelry and shoe industries.

The reason textile leaders stand apart is that special problems, and arrangements already made with the Federal Government, place international textile trade in a special category.

All this was obvious here Wednesday as leaders of many major textile firms in New England and some other Northeast States gathered in Portsmouth for the 2-day, 108th annual meeting of the Northern Textile Association.

THREE RESOLUTIONS

First-day discussion was not about the trade bill. Rather the textile officials focused on three resolutions, unanimously passed, calling on the Federal Government to:

Adjust the present "two-price" arrangement under which U.S. textile firms must pay the world market price for American cotton while foreign manufacturers pay 8½ cents less per pound for the same cotton. The U.S. Tariff Commission recently rejected an industry plea to equalize these prices.

Provide for strict administration of the 19-nation, long-term cotton-textile agreement due to go into effect October 1, greatly restricting expansion of cotton textile imports into the United States.

Restrain imports of wool and synthetic fiber products to the 1961 level, on the grounds that expanded imports of these products would have adverse effects on the domestic industry and in turn on the Nation's security.

AGREEMENT SOUGHT

A fourth goal mentioned here, though not passed in a formal resolution, is early Federal Government negotiation of a long-term agreement with wool- and synthetic fiber importing nations, similar to the long-term agreement on cotton.

If these actions are taken, textile officials feel they will have the basic protection needed regardless of tariff negotiations now authorized by the Trade Expansion Act.

Textiles form a special category in world trade because (1) so many people are involved—4 million people directly and indirectly employed by U.S. industry and some 200,000 of these in New England—and (2) because so many nations produce quality textiles.

Thus the world market is extraordinarily competitive and unregulated in the absence of international laws, making special international agreements and national safeguards necessary, in the view of textile producers.

President Kennedy, despite his drive for freer trade, conceded the special needs of textiles on May 2, 1961, when he issued a seven-point program to bolster the industry. Some parts of the program have been carried out; others still are being worked on.

Despite agreements presently in effect, cotton-textile imports will have risen by the end of this year by some 25 percent over 1961. In the absence of such agreements on wool and synthetic textiles, imports into the United States are expected this year to increase by 60 percent over the 1961 figure.

At the business meeting here Wednesday, Seabury Stanton, outgoing chairman of the Northern Textile Association and chairman of Berkshire Hathaway, Inc., of New Bedford, Mass., stated: "It is my opinion that the entire industry is suffering from a lack of confidence engendered by fear of the future and that this fear is unjustified and will be overcome."

Mr. Stanton and others expressed confidence that President Kennedy would take the actions necessary to protect American textiles.

## Cheap Imports: A Great Threat to Labor and Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the United States is a great trading nation. We desire and seek trade with all nations of good will and peaceful intentions. We have done much in our own Congress and Government and in international councils to foster and promote mutually beneficial foreign trade that would be of benefit to this country and all well-motivated trading nations.

The United States today is one of the least protected industrial nations in the world. This cannot be said for the Common Market which has already shut out goods from Japan. But it should be kept in mind that tariffs here have been reduced by more than 75 percent since 1934, notwithstanding the fact that tariff barriers to American imports to countries to whom we made important tariff concessions have been increased. In effect, our concessions amounted to additional foreign aid.

At stake in this picture are not only the prosperity of many basic American industries and investments, but of great moment to us, the jobs and skills in these industries—electronics, textiles, plastics, woodworking, steel and its fabrication, chemicals, sewing machines, boots and shoes, rubber goods, watchmaking, typewriters, machine tools and many other industries—skills that are desperately needed in our arsenal of democracy.

Absolute free trade, or anything approaching it, such as proposed by some, would undoubtedly greatly impair or even destroy our mobilization potential as well as our domestic economy and job-producing potential, and could be the difference between victory and defeat if we were ever attacked.

As has been so well stated, it is a myth that greater productivity in the United States offsets the low-wage rates in Europe and the Orient. American jobs are now being exported to plants overseas set up by American management and capital and, in many instances through the use of American foreign aid funds. Trends are undoubtedly increasing to supply the American market from overseas. These trends are extremely ominous and should be noted and acted upon, if we are to preserve the strength, vitality, and prosperity of this Nation and the jobs, well-being, and personal and family security of millions and millions of American workers and their families.

It would be interesting in that connection for us to note and keep in our minds the warnings in this regard of some of our great national leaders, past and present.

For example, President Roosevelt said in 1934:

I have advocated a lowering of tariffs by negotiations with foreign countries. But I

have not advocated, and I will never advocate, a tariff policy which will withdraw protection from American workers against those countries which employ cheap labor and operate under a standard of living that is lower than our own great laboring groups.

President Truman said in 1945:

I have had drawn to my attention statements to the effect that this increased authority might be used in such a way as to endanger or trade out segments of the American industry, American agriculture, or American labor. No such action was taken under President Roosevelt and Cordell Hull and no such action will take place under my Presidency.

President Eisenhower said in 1955:

Obviously, it would ill serve our Nation's interest to undermine American industry or take steps which would lower the high wages received by our working men and women. Repeatedly, I have emphasized that our own country's economic strength is a pillar of freedom everywhere in the world. This program, therefore, must be and will be administered to the benefit of the Nation's economic strength and not to its detriment. No American industry will be placed in jeopardy by the administration of this measure. Were we to do so, we would undermine the ideal for which we have made so many sacrifices and are doing so much throughout the world to preserve.

I am sure that our great President Kennedy also shares the basic views expressed in these three impressive statements.

In any event, if we are to retain and strengthen our great free American economy, we would do well to pause and ponder before we plunge into international arrangements and agreements that would permit this Nation to be flooded by huge quantities of cheaply produced foreign goods and products from all over the world. This policy, if pursued to its ultimate logical end, would bring ruin and destruction to our great free system and leave most of it in shambles; it would leave our faithful workers and their families on the relief rolls; and our country a wasteland of human misery.

## To Congress, Our Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very interesting editorial which appeared in the September 21, 1962, issue of the Christian Science Monitor:

TO CONGRESS, OUR HAND

Passage of the trade bill is a victory for the President of course. But in a much larger sense it is victory for the American political system.

Who would have said, even a few years ago, that the Congress of the United States would wade upstream against the pressure of protectionist lobbies with such irresistible force? The Senate vote for the bill was 78 to 8. This was phenomenal. The vote in the House earlier was a thumping 2½ to 1.

It is not enough to say that international trade has become more important to the United States. This has been the case for decades and the Hull free-trade policy of the thirties has nevertheless been recently in steady retreat. It is not enough to say that key industries like textiles and oil were bought off by the administration by agreeing to protect them. This was in fact done and it will not be easy to live with the consequences however compassionate in the case of textiles.

Nor is the explanation to be found with Lawrence O'Brien and his adroit corps of Kennedy liaison officers with Congress, or with the No. 1 priority which the President handsomely attached to this bill.

The plain fact is that Congress rose to the occasion. This much embroiled, much harassed, heavily bludgeoned group of men who face biennial reelection and know how damaging a protectionist pocketbook issue can be, crashed through.

We are obliged, deeply so. Our confidence in this group of men who serve for so little and in the face of such skeptic obloquy from the American people, is strengthened. This was an adult, far-sighted assertion of the interest of the whole country over an unavoidable hurt to some of its parts.

Fortunately this is a temporary hurt, and we are convinced, a transient one. The express object of the bill is to help industries and workers who cannot compete with the new vigor abroad to convert into new lines where they can compete. The hurt should turn soon into advantage.

But this is beside the point, which is Congress. We wish to thank every Member who this week stood for a national conviction against a self-serving pressure. This is a day to cut a benchmark of progress under the Constitution of the United States.

## Henry Poellnitz Johnston Tells of Trip Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, recently my good friend and constituent, Mr. Henry Poellnitz Johnston, had occasion to visit a number of countries behind the Iron Curtain. He was one of the American delegates to the eighth cancer conference held in Moscow, Russia, this summer, and on his trip he visited in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. He delivered the following address to the Birmingham Rotary Club on September 19, 1962, giving some of the details of his trip and his reaction to what he saw. I think that all Members of the House will be interested in these observations by a keen observer and competent reporter:

WE MUST BE READY

(By Henry Poellnitz Johnston)

I have been an Alabamian all of the 50-odd years of my life. I have visited all of her 67 counties. I have read many of her history books. I still do not feel I know all about my State or her people.

Certainly, you would not expect me to imply that I know all about Marxism, Leninism, or communism, or about these people, their customs or their habits.

Given two eyes with which to see, two ears with which to hear, and a single tongue with which to ask questions, I carefully observed and I came home with definite and positive conclusions—yes, some very definite and some very positive conclusions.

Please remember everything I say will be my personal reactions, observations, or my personal conclusions.

It is quite possible I saw things differently from others who have visited the same spots I visited. There can be no controversy over what I saw through my own eyes, though some may disagree with my conclusions.

If you disagree with my conclusions, I hope you will concur with Voltaire who said "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

Remember, any time you cease to defend the right of any man to express his beliefs or conclusions, you are taking the first major step towards communism.

Back in 1947 I served as Jefferson County campaign chairman of the American Cancer Crusade; and each year since then, I have dedicated some of myself to cancer work. I am serving my third year as a member of the national board of directors of the American Cancer Society, and this past summer the eighth cancer conference was held in Moscow.

Five thousand delegates from all over the world gathered in Moscow to exchange information on cancer. Five hundred delegates from the United States traveled some 5,000 miles at their own expense to learn about cancer. Not 1 cent came from the American Cancer Society.

Cancer has not confined itself to Americans, British, French, or other Western Allies. Cancer is worldwide in scope * * * those living behind the Iron Curtain, the Communist * * * those atheist, living without belief in God, living in a state of constant fear, are also dying of cancer.

Now, where did I go? I was scheduled to fly from New York to Paris, thence on a Russian plane to Moscow. We had a forced landing at Leningrad * * * due to bad weather, so we were told.

It was in Leningrad that I learned for the first time the magic of the words "cancer conference." Picturetaking from, or in an airplane, in or about an airport is forbidden.

My itinerary took me from Moscow to Warsaw on a Polish plane; Warsaw to Prague on Air France; and then to East Berlin on a Rumanian plane; to Checkpoint Charley in a taxi; and afoot across the harrowing wall into West Berlin; and a taxi to my hotel. From hustling, happy West Berlin, I went to pleasure-loving Paris, to sleepy London over a long rain-soaked weekend, to Edinburgh on Great Britain's fastest train, the Flying Scotsman * * * 392 miles in 360 minutes with one stop; and by car through the Annandale section of the border country of Scotland of which Sir Walter Scott wrote:

"Within the bounds of Annandale
The Gentle Johnstons ride;
They have been there a thousand years
And a thousand more they'll bide."

And from Dumfries to Glasgow, to Belfast, and along the northern coast of Ireland, back to Glasgow, and then to my America—the land of the free.

And how long was I gone * * * a total of 35 days from Birmingham to Birmingham with 16 days behind the Iron Curtain.

Before I tell you what I saw, perhaps you will be interested in knowing that I read several booklets on Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia and a comprehensive Russian history. I contacted officials of these three Embassies before leaving. When I visited these countries I discussed habits; customs and the beliefs of these people with our State officials.

I had made contacts with the chief of bureau of the the Associated Press in Moscow and Warsaw, and visited with them while there. I even covered a news beat in Warsaw. There is no AP correspondent in Czechoslovakia—the climate there is none too healthy.

I carried two color slide cameras, one with Kodachrome II, the other loaded with fast speed Ektachrome. I brought back pictures taken in subways, department stores, art galleries, and of jamming stations.

And, along with my camera went my 7-pound Swiss typewriter on which nightly letters were written.

What did I see: In Moscow—the subways fascinated me. Some nine different lines—one circling the city buried under ground more than a 100 feet deeper than the Comer building; and eight lines running from the center of the city to the end of populated sections. These lines are almost 20 feet deeper than our Comer Building. The trains are completely air-conditioned. So are the stations and the tunnels. There are two escalators going up and two down from the ground to the first level, and a like number on to the lower level.

Why are the subways so deep? Why do the escalators go so fast? Why are they completely air-conditioned? * * * Very simple. * * * Moscow has a population of 8 million; it will be the center of any future war. It is a subway system to be used for evacuation and bomb shelters.

I saw the Exhibition of Progress. I went in most of the 15 buildings representing the 15 Republics which comprise the U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics); their circlorama; their automobile show; their textile and grain exhibits; their exhibit on electric power development and I came out feeling quite happy and safe about our United States * * * then I went into their space exhibit. I quickly realized they had withheld their proudest exhibit to the last; and it is a good thing, for had I seen it first, I might not have felt like walking through the others * * * a bench on which to catch my breath was welcomed.

As I sat reloading my camera, I thought of my first visit to the Embassay when I had remarked about the scarcity of food in the stores, that I had seen practically no vegetables, a limited selection of canned goods * * * that all the women's clothes looked so lacking in style and fit; that the men's clothing looked worse than our pawn broker suits; and that few men worse shoes * * * sandals were prevalent and neckties were oddities * * * that streets were wider than our widest, and there were no traffic problems, and on and on I had gone. My friend had listened quietly * * * all of this was running through my mind again, and then he had said, "You have observed things closely * * * Russia is behind us in most everything, and only if they did not know how to make so many destructive things so fast, and so efficiently, we would all take it easier."

I then remembered having been shown, from a window in the Embassy, one of the three jamming stations in Moscow and I had listened to a Voice of America program being jammed. I then realized and understood the personal sacrifices the Russians were making in order to place themselves ahead in this space parade. It was mid-afternoon and I was ready to return to the hotel, the quickest way to the Ukraine was not quick enough.

I saw the Lenin Library and I was most impressed—a library with 22 million volumes printed in 173 different languages, with a total of more than 8 million books in other than the Russian lauguage. I was told that between 5,000 and 6,000 American books were added to the library each year. This was to imply the freedom of selection, but I learned these were scientific or medical books, and not a single book told of our way of life.

By this time, I had learned their technique. They never told the whole truth. It is always a percentage increase, and a hundred percent of one is one. Another practice is to compare todays figures with those before the Revolution of 1917, or comparing today with 45 years ago.

Russia has made wonderful strides in the past 45 years, so have we. When you compare our electrical consumption and our automobiles, you'll realize our economic strieds far outstep the Russians.

Practically all of our roads today are paved against almost none in 1917. Most of Russia's rural roads are still unpaved; and even their highways compare with ours of several years ago. But, let's not be too relaxed. Russia is building freeways too, and fast. They must be able to move troops faster than ever before.

Missile and space progress, and their building of better roads are not Russia's only progress. She has made tremendous progress in education. In 1917, the literacy percentage was under 17 percent whereas today, it is well above 90 percent—education is compulsory.

Training of their youth literally begins at the crib. Over 45 percent of the working force is composed of women. A woman and her husband work in a factory, frequently, the same factory. They live in an apartment and their apartment is close to the plant. When the baby is born, mother returns to her job as soon as possible and the baby is left in a nursery manned by people who have proved their party loyalty. When the baby outgrows the nursery, it moves to a kindergarten manned by party loyal people; and from there to the elementary school where they become pioneers and are further indoctrinated (brainwashed, if you please) in communistic doctrine. Advancement depends on their mental capacity, plus their loyalty to the party, and when they reach 14 through 28 * * * high school through college and the first years of adulthood, they are members of Komsomol. Then, if they have proven themselves capable of advancement, mentally, and through loyalty to the Communist Party, they can then become party members.

From the time a child is born until death, he is schooled, indoctrinated, and brainwashed * * * not to believe in God, and to believe his only freedom from imperialistic capitalistic slave labor rests solely in the socialistic-communistic state.

We must ever bear in mind that Russia was a slave or serf state until 1861, and their living conditions were worse and more restricted than our very worst during southern slavery. Our Negroes were emancipated in 1865, but the 1861 freedom of the Russian serfs was far from complete and, though technically freed, they remained under the tight-fisted rule and dominance of the few until their Revolution of 1917.

Russians do not know the luxuries we enjoy in America and you might wonder why they are not restless and demanding of better living conditions. The answer is simply they never knew it better before. Little by little, living conditions are improving, but you never miss a necessity (yesterday's luxury) if you have never had it.

Living quarters have improved. New apartments are going up all over Moscow and, month by month, crowded living quarters are being eased. Their hope is to someday eliminate all dual apartments. That is, a joint apartment where one bathroom and one kitchen is shared by two families who have one bedroom each in which mother and father and their two to four children live. These dual apartments are quite common.

My guide, a proud member of Komsomol, told me not a private home had been built in Moscow since the 1917 Revolution. Everyone lives in apartment houses.

They have been taught to believe we are a pretty immoral nation. Their papers (I take the Russian's word) constantly tell about our lewd and sordid magazines, sexy moving pictures, wild beach parties, juvenile delinquency, and I was asked to tell about our system of 3 months of free love before a couple marries.

I found, and was assured from the Embassy and the Associated Press, that there were no lewd magazines, or sexy movies, and that juvenile delinquency was unheard of * * * the pioneer and the Komsomol and the party, itself, keep constant vigilance to prevent such.

The communistic countries have organized recreational facilities and compulsory participation. Every park I saw in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin was open and being used. I was asked about Birmingham's closed parks and was reminded that juvenile delinquency always fomented where there was no organized guidance, or supervision, for youngsters.

Alcoholic beverages: Yes, there is such a thing, but I did not find it in abundance.

The Russians are friendly and the few who speak English speak it with apparent freedom. They remind you they want peace * * * and are interested in our customs and our economic levels * * * they enjoy our cigarettes, our chewing gum, and love our ball point pens, and were fascinated with our scotch tape. They are anxious for us to be more desirous of peace so they can devote more of their efforts to some of the necessities which would improve their standards of living.

They say they have labor unions and strong ones, but they do not, and cannot, understand "your unions striking your space and missile plants—a Communist would never strike himself, or his government," they say—"such a thing could only happen in an imperialistic state where slave labor and a lack of loyalty exists." I could not argue the point. I'll admit I cannot understand how people who live in a country which enjoys our economic position, and our four freedoms, would be willing to strike against the Government, thereby giving our enemies the opportunity, and maybe just the needed time, to completely annihilate us. A day or two lost could mean the end of our way of life.

There is a scarcity of hotel accommodations everywhere. Before you enter these Iron Curtain countries you have been booked through Intourist, Orbis, or Codek. You have paid for room and meals in advance, and they know when you are scheduled to leave. Another is waiting for your room when you vacate.

There is no doubt that the Communists live in, and under, a constant state of fear. We believe in God, and through our trust in Him, we trust our neighbors. The Communist are disbelievers and they disbelieve their neighbors, too. They have never been taught "love thy neighbor as thyself." Each person is looking out for himself; and if to speak out against a neighbor might aid in his own progress, he speaks out.

My final conclusion is that we came home too early in 1918. Had we finished the job then, we would not be so concerned about missile and space weapons today. We were given a second chance to finish things in 1945. We again came home some too soon.

If, a third chance comes, will we make the same mistake again?

Americans, thank God, are peace-loving people, and may we never be the aggressor. America is a land where we enjoy the four freedoms—"freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear, and freedom from want."

These freedoms cannot exist in a Communist country.

I don't believe we can long survive this world half free and half slave—Cuba is now on our doorsteps.

I stand solidly for a two-party system, but it's time we put aside name calling.

It's time to unite. It is time to quit striking against ourselves. And, if the occasion arises, we must be ready—ready to strike—to strike hard and fast. We must keep this a free country, and make this a free world.

## Views on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, at the request of my constituent, Mr. Carl Hedstrom, I submit the following two articles by James Reston and Walter Lippmann.

In my opinion both writers follow the policy of the pacifist. They cling to the new slogan of the New Frontier—"Watchful waiting." You will never again hear two words with less meaning or which offer a more dangerous opiate. I ask them to observe Mr. Khrushchev. Has his show of strength brought war to Russia? What has our policy of indecision brought us? Has it not made our ability to defend ourselves a thousand times more difficult and reduced to its lowest level our prestige in the eyes of the world? Have they learned nothing from our experience with Hitler, or must they learn it all over again?

A third article which I submit appeared in the New York Daily News on September 21. In its usual plain talk, the Daily News called on the President to be frank with the American people on the subject of Cuba.

The above-mentioned articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 16, 1962]

### How About a Blockade on Nonsense?

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, September 15.—The urge to do something about Cuba is growing in the country. As Soviet arms and men pile up in that island, even those who reject invasion find it intolerable to do nothing. Accordingly, there is now considerable talk about blockading Cuba as a third course.

Senators GOLDWATER, TOWER, and THURMOND, among others, have been advocating some form of blockade—with the support of other American Republics, if possible; without them, if necessary. This is usually discussed at political rallies as if a blockade were a kind of military America's cup race in which we could strangle Castro without too much risk, and it usually wows the citizenry because it seems a cheap way to relieve their frustrations.

Maybe we will have to come to this in the end, but the thing is not that simple. A blockade is defined in international law as "an act of war carried out by the warships of a belligerent, detailed to prevent access to or departure from a defined part of the enemy's coast."

To be valid, a blockade must be effective and must be continuously maintained and impartially enforced against all vessels—allied and neutral, as well as Communist.

#### SOME QUESTIONS

This raises some interesting questions Senators GOLDWATER, TOWER, and THURMOND have so far failed to answer. Are they prepared to declare a formal state of war with Cuba, which is the only way to establish a legal blockade? If so, are they ready to halt the ships of our allies in the Atlantic and the hemisphere when those allies oppose both war and blockade?

Beyond this, what do we do if Soviet, British, or Norwegian ships carrying Soviet arms and technicians to Cuba refuse to recognize the blockade and continue their course to Havana? Do we blow them out of the water?

Or take the problem the other way round. The United States has many more missile bases in Turkey on the southern frontier of the Soviet Union than the Russians have in Cuba. If we blockade Cuba, what is to prevent the Russians from blockading the Black Sea and halting our arms en route to Turkey? And in such an event, would we recognize their blockade or shoot our way through?

In the present mood of frustration in the country, it does little good to talk about a unilateral blockad violating our treaty commitments—though our whole foreign policy rests on the sanctity of treaty commitments—but even Senators cannot be allowed to ignore the practical consequences of their proposals.

In this situation, if you say "A," you have to be prepared to say "B" and "C." This is what the "do something" Senators refuse to do. Senator THURMOND is at least consistent. He says "the longer the United States waits to expel communism from Cuba, the more difficult will be the job." He is, presumably, ready for war, and that at least is a clear policy.

But merely to make speeches about blockades, as if it were a kind of bargain-basement solution to the problem, is not fair. A blockade is intended to make the enemy surrender, even if it is merely a commercial or pacific blockade. If it does not do this, it fails to fulfill its purpose; if it does, it is an act of war.

#### CUBA AND THE CAMPAIGN

President Kennedy, it should be noted, has not ruled out blockade as a possible future course of action. He agrees that the new Soviet arms have made it more difficult, if not impossible, for the Cuban refugees to mount an effective invasion of Cuba, but that has been the situation for some time. The blaance of power has been tipped against the refugees, but all the new arms have not tipped it against the United States. If missiles were mounted there capable of hitting our cities, a wholly new situation would arise. But, despite rumors to the contrary, the administration has no evidence that this is true at the present time.

Meanwhile, the administration would like to keep Cuba out of the election campaign, which is about as sensible as trying to keep boys from kissing girls. The thing can't and shouldn't be done.

Cuba is a mess; it may be a dangerous mess, and the President has made his contribution to it. Therefore, it is a legitimate topic of election discussion. But it should be discussed seriously, and not emotionally. It was the "do something" Senators and the "do something" press that got us into the Spanish-American War, and one like that is enough.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 19, 1962]

### Cuba: Watchful Waiting

(By Walter Lippmann)

Although there are some who say that we are doing nothing about Cuba, the fact is that we are doing just about everything that can be done short of going to war. Besides the economic embargo we are keeping the island under "surveillance." We are watching every ship that comes to and goes from the island, and we are keeping a close watch on the loading and unloading of these ships. We have accurate and current records of building operations and the deployment of aircraft and tanks and artillery. There may be some doubt whether we have located every missile site in the vastness of the Soviet Union. But in Cuba, unless our cameras are failing us, we are completely informed.

As a result we are quite able to know about the development of anything like a Soviet missile base directed against the United States, and what may be more realistic, we are able to spot anything like an expeditionary force against Cuba's neighbors in the islands and in the Caribbean.

Our policy at the present is to kkeep ourselves completely informed, and to wait and see whether Castro and his Soviet helpers do any overt act against the United States or its neighbors. Beyond this, there is no serious action the United States can take to remove him which would not be an act of war. The United States is, of course, able easily to blockade Cuba. But stopping ships under threat of seizure or sinking would be an act of war not only against Cuba but against the Soviet Union. For we would be seizing or sinking Soviet ships.

The invasion of Cuba would, of course, be an act of war against Cuba. To be sure, the United States could easily win a war against Cuba. We could close the Cuban ports within a few hours and we could occupy very quickly Havana and a few big cities. The countryside might be another story.

But what we could not be sure of doing is to prevent the retaliatory moves to which we would have laid ourselves wide open, moves against Berlin or against Turkey, or against Iran.

For we would have acted on the rule that a possible threat against our security or our interests justifies us in going to war. We would be saying that because Cuba, which is only 90 miles way, is in the grip of an unfriendly European power, we have a right to blockade or occupy the island; we would be saying too that the Soviet Union has no such right to act against the American military positions in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, right on her own frontier.

Let us not fool ourselves. Such an argument does not wash. It would be rejected, probably even laughed at, not only by all neutrals, but by powerful elements among our closest allies. There are some who think foreign opinion does not matter. But when it comes to war, it means a great deal to the belligerent who is for him and who against him. We could go to war if Castro injures us. But we cannot go to war, even against Castro, because of what he may conceivably do in the future. We cannot wage a preventive war against Castro without establishing the rule that a preventive war is legitimate against our military position in Berlin, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Formosa, Okinawa, South Korea, and Japan.

It is true, of course, that the Soviet lodgment in Cuba is a gross violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Yet we cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine. Why not? The Monroe Doctrine declares that "any interposition" by a European power in this hemisphere would be "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." But, and this is the crucial point, the American claim for the isolation of the Western Hemisphere was coupled with a renunication of American interest in the Eastern Hemisphere: "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do." This fundamental passage in Monroe's message is, of course, a restatement of the principle laid down by Washington in his Farewell Address: "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation."

This basis of the Monroe Doctrine disappeared in the 20th century in the two World Wars, the Korean war and the cold war.

We cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine without meeting the question of what we are doing all over Europe and Asia.

Our right to put Cuba under surveillance, and if necessary to blockade an invader, rests not on the Monroe Doctrine but on the elementary right of a people to insure its own security. For two centuries the British felt that way about the occupation of Belgium by an unfriendly power. The Russians felt that way about Turkey. This right can, however, be exercised only when there is a clear and present danger.

Castro is an insulting nuisance but he is not, and is not now remotely capable of becoming, a clear and present danger to the United States. So we must practice watchful waiting, and hold ourselves in readiness, never for a moment forgetting the vastly greater dangers elsewhere.

In a time of watchful waiting, Congress and the newspapers are compelled to remember that the President is conducting a delicate and dangerous operation, and that he is seriously interfered with if he is forced to dot every i and to cross every t in advance of a decision. The President should not be asked to say whether he will go to war. He should not be driven to say that he won't go to war.

A certain mystery and uncertainty are desirable, and will be deterrent to our adversaries.

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[From the New York Daily News, Sept. 21, 1962]

WHY KID THE PEOPLE?

President James Monroe in 1823 posted a "Keep out" sign in the Western Hemisphere. The sign applied to all foreign powers planning to carve out future colonies or spheres of influence in this part of the world.

Soviet Russia has now taken over the island of Cuba, and is running it for the time being through a puppet named Fidel Castro.

Khrushchev obviously intends to use Cuba as a base from which to promote Castro-type revolutions in Caribbean and Latin American countries.

So President John F. Kennedy says Khrushchev can stay on in Cuba, but we'll get tough if he turns Cuba into a military threat to the United States, or tries to carry communism by force to other Western Hemisphere areas.

The Senate echoes this, in a resolution adopted yesterday—and adds that we'll work with the Organization of American States (many of whose members show little sign of wanting to work with us) and with freedom-loving Cubans to support their desire for self-determination.

Nothing is said about telling Khrushchev to get the hell off Cuba or else—which is what President Monroe would have told the Red Hitler long before now.

In short, Kennedy has watered down the Monroe Doctrine and Congress apparently will go along with him.

Why try to kid the people that this hasn't happened—or that communism isn't now consolidating a Western Hemisphere bridgehead without any real opposition in Washington?

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Zuckert: The Air Force Is Ready

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Eugene M. Zuckert, Secretary of the U.S. Air Force, was principal speaker before the Air Force Association September 21, at Las Vegas, Nev.

His remarks are of such import to those concerned with the defense of America that I think all Members of the Congress should have an opportunity to read them.

Under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I hereby insert his speech for our information:

Members of the Air Force Association, this week we are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the U.S. Air Force. As a citizen, I join the American people in a salute to the men and women of the Air Force.

On behalf of the Air Force, I want to thank the Air Force Association for its many contributions to national defense through continuing support of the concept of aerospace power.

On this day, we commemorate with gratitude the work of the thousands of people who have served the Air Force, and particularly the great men who laid the foundation of the Air Force, such as Arnold, Lovett, Spaatz, Vandenberg, Symington, Twining, and White. Their vision and achievements are a source of both pride and inspiration.

It is what they and hundreds of others have done in the past that makes the Air Force what it is today. What we do today will determine what the Air Force is in the future.

I speak to you today as colleagues—colleagues sharing dedication to the defense of the Nation; sharing interest in the Air Force; and sharing a realistic perspective on the world and the times in which we live.

I am proud of the Air Force, proud of its goals, its present capabilities, and its past accomplishments. And I am proud of the fact that I am privileged to have been associated with the Air Force since its start as a separate service.

The story of Air Force achievements goes back at least to the days of World War II when the role of airpower was decisely demonstrated.

Invasion of the Continent, the greatest combined operation ever undertaken was preceded by relentless, centrally controlled attacks against Germany's sinews of war.

By D-day, our domination of the air was so complete that General Eisenhower was able to tell embarking soldiers: "If you see any planes, don't worry—they're ours," and when the landings came, the attack on communications had been so effective that the Germans couldn't bring up reinforcements except by foot or bicycle.

Gen. George Patton said that the support provided to him by 19th TAC was the best example of the combined use of air and ground troops that he had ever witnessed.

In the Pacific the story was the same.

The role of the B–29 in ending the Japanese war prompted Gen. Jimmy Doolittle, first president of Air Force Association, to say to a Senate committee: "The Navy had the transport to make the invasion of Japan possible; the ground forces had the power to make it successful, and the B–29 made it unnecessary."

Since World War II, our strategic airpower has been the greatest single factor in deterring another world conflict and keeping the free world free.

The Air Force's ability to achieve this highest national objective grew from the foresight of pioneers like Hap Arnold and Tooey Spaatz, who even before Pearl Harbor, began the effort to build the 10,000-mile B–36.

The soundness of their vision was confirmed by Winston Churchill, when he said: "It is certain that Europe would have been communized like Czechoslovakia, and London under bombardment some time ago, but for the deterrent of the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States."

In the light of results, the Air Force can say that we have put first things first.

Under the strategic umbrella, it was possible to carry out other vital missions. You are familiar with the Berlin airlift and our role in Korea.

After Korea, in 1954, we received a "green light" to develop ballistic missiles in the shortest possible time. And today, we have a force of more than 100 operational ICBM's and are far along in programs that will give us a total of more than 1,000.

The ballistic missile program is one of the greatest undertakings in America's history—enormous in size, complexity and deterrent value. We are proud of what has been accomplished thus far. We are on schedule—we intend to keep on schedule—but a great deal remains to be done. The completion and efficient operation of our ICBM's remains a matter of the highest priority.

It is impossible to mention all of the innumerable other accomplishments that deserve recognition, but I must cite just one more. In cooperation with NASA and the Navy, we have pioneered with the X–15 on the edges of space at speeds and altitudes undreamed of a few years ago.

But all this is where we have been. I want to be read loud and clear as to where we are today. The Air Force is strong, and it is ready.

The Air Force carries an obviously heavy responsibility under the decision of this Nation to maintain a military establishment for the purpose of preventing war.

Our primary role is the maintenance of the strategic deterrent. It is strength is growing.

The combination of strategic systems, one manned, one unmanned, assures continuing control of the action—strike, reconnaissance and evaluation, and restrike. The strategic deterrent is the bulwark of the Nation's war-preventive policy.

During the past year, we have taken major steps to improve our limited war capability. We are increasing our tactical fighter strength by five wings. We have contracted for fighter and reconnaissance versions of the McDonnell F–4H, to be designated the F–4C for the Air Force. We have set up the Special Air Warfare Center at Eglin to develop tactics and techniques for aerial counterinsurgency operations and to provide, in its 1st Air Commando Group, an Air Force capability in this increasingly important mode of warfare.

The professionalism of tactical units of the Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve was demonstrated in last year's mobilization of 27,000 members of those forces. We moved more than 200 jet fighters of the Guard to Europe without accident.

A qualitative and quantitative upgrading of close air support of ground forces is the order of the day in the Air Force. Perhaps I should say also an updating, because the Army has new requirements and is also making imaginative changes in concepts. General LeMay and I are determined that the Air Force will respond totally, with promptness, precision, and plenty.

In recognition of the ground-air nature of the limited war threat, a new command, STRICOM, has been established under the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Air Force is concentrating immense power in this combined force, for air superiority and interdiction, for close ground support, and for rapid air movement of the forces. STRICOM will become the testing ground for the customer-producer approach in developing air-ground cooperation.

Mobility of the new, quick-strike, forces is a primary requirement of the broadened deterrent. There has been substantial improvement in airlift capability. Just one example: We delivered troops nonstop from Fort Lewis, Wash., to Frankfurt, Germany, in 9 hours 10 minutes in an impressive demonstration of rapid mobility.

Defense of the North American Continent against attack through or from the air is an integral part of deterrence. That defense, we believe, is better than ever before.

One thing more. The Air Force plays an important role in the peace offensive. We support the United Nations in the Congo, Palestine, and New Guinea, and we carried relief supplies to earthquake victims in Morocco, Chile, and Iran.

It is pleasant to talk about the great deeds of the past and satisfying to talk about our current strength and readiness. But, unlike the GAR which commemorated its glorious past, the Air Force Association is dedicated to the development of aerospace power for the future.

You can be sure of this. Our job ahead will be tougher. It will be different in detail but it will continue to involve primarily the investment of imagination and hard work in providing national defense through aerospace power. The environment in which we work is one in which the problems of national life and national leadership seem to grow at a rate faster even than the expansion of the medium of airpower into the medium of aerospace power.

For one thing, we have to take into account the totality of problems confronting this Nation as the leader of the free world. The magnitude and complexity of all the problems facing our Government—political, diplomatic, social, and economic—necessarily form the environment in which we administer that portion of the national defense for which the Air Force is responsible.

The President, in whom is vested the Executive power of our Government and who

is the Commander in Chief of its military forces, carries the total burden of these problems. In the concert of his responsibilities, the Air Force and the other services have dual parts: One, the highest order of performance in their own roles, and, two, precise responsiveness to the demands of the whole.

The job of the service Secretary is rigorously dual. He is both the agent of the President and the civilian spokesman of the service he heads. In our Government, it should not be and cannot be otherwise.

This is the framework in which we live and work. It makes a sound structure. I serve in it with pride and all the dedication of which I am capable. Its discipline is fully shared and accepted by those who work with me, both in uniform and out.

I speak of these things with confidence in your understanding of them. I am equally sure of your appreciation with me of the integrity, steadfastness, and constructive leadership of the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, Gen. Curtis LeMay.

I speak with confidence because I know of your devotion to the cause of national security and the role of aerospace power in the defense of the Nation. You are properly the advocates of aerospace power and your competence and capability are the measure of its effectiveness in preserving freedom.

The background against which we provide the aerospace power necessary to support national policies is dominated by what we call the cold war.

We in the Defense Establishment naturally feel the effects of the national effort to balance objectives, to solve the many tough problems, and make the difficult necessary choices.

The defense problems are difficult problems and the solutions are not findable in crystal-clear form. The right answers do not inevitably rise to the top. The interrelationships between the many judgments and decisions, the effects of unknowns dealing with future events or enemy intentions and capabilities, make unbelievably difficult the job of the Commander in Chief and the Secretary of Defense.

In general, the Air Force has received the resources and the backing which assure aerospace forces of great strength consistent with our objectives. That is what has enabled us to build the most powerful Air Force in the world. That is what makes our research and development program the largest and most diversified in our history.

Naturally, not all Air Force programs have received the degree of support sought for them at every level. This has been true within the Air Force as well as between the Air Force and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. I say that this is "naturally" the case because at each level it is essential to make decisions in a broader context and to balance very complex factors and considerations that do not have to be dealt with at the lower level.

In this regard, I would like to emphasize two points. First, we in the Air Force do not claim to have an infallible or total view. Second, General LeMay and I are satisfied that the machinery within the Department of Defense for presenting service views is working well, and continues to promote a full understanding of the issues by those responsible for the decisions. We work within that framework as we expect our subordinates to work within the Air Force organization.

I try to view these things from the standpoint of a practical administrator. It seems to me there is no alternative to a tightly managed, closely coordinated, highly disciplined defense establishment if the American people are to maintain the massive expenditure for national security that now seems inevitable for as far ahead in years as we can see.

Improvement and progress, which means change, will be continuous. This applies not only to combat operational capabilities but also to the management of resources. As I said, the job will be tougher.

Secretary McNamara said the President's instructions to him were, first, to develop the force structure necessary to our military requirements, and second, to do it at the lowest possible cost. The meaning is clear. Defense contracting policies and procedures necessarily will reflect the tighter controls over dollars imposed by the long-term prospect of preparedness.

To men in service, this means greater demands of administrative competence, and correspondingly greater opportunity.

To those of you in industry, this presents a challenge to management all along the line.

In every direction, preparedness becomes more costly. That is why we are striving to avoid waste and make maximum use of resources—to make 1 dollar or 1 plane go farther.

As I mentioned earlier support of Army ground operations is an area of qualitative and quantitative upgrading already underway. We recognize that the Army has a pressing demand for increased mobility and quick concentration of firepower, a need to get its trucks and mechanized cavalry off the ground. We intend to meet that need through continued expansion and improvement of our tactical air and troop carrier forces.

The Air Force has built an unprecedented and, I believe, unreproducible, resource—in terms of experience, doctrine, techniques, and equipment—for the command, control, and efficient exploitation of airpower. This resource must be applied to the Army requirements with the least possible duplication. The entire structure for development, procurement, supply, and employment of aerospace power has been built. Commonsense and the Nation's interest compel its full use.

We need, and welcome, competition of ideas for better support of ground operations.

Imagination is subject to stimuli of many kinds. Advancing military technology, new requirements of limited war, more and smarter people on the job, and yes, a healthy degree of interservice rivalry are among them. There will be and should be, an area of continuing discussion with respect to "who does what" in the direct support mission. I mean the searching type of analysis which Mr. McNamara insists upon. We can stand such review better than we can stand either insufficient support for the Army or dilution of capability.

Progress in Army support capability will encompass development of the new breed of aircraft designed for operation from unprepared fields. Both combat and support craft are involved.

The future seems to hold pressing requirements for the flexibility which is attainable with manned strategic systems. The potentials can be studied with the XB–70 developmental aircraft, scheduled to be test flown this year.

Continuing advance in guidance and propulsion technology, as well as in nuclear weaponry, should permit improvement in missile systems.

A very near future need, one that has been under study for many years, is a long-range manned interceptor for air defense. The range, speed, and other performance characteristics desired in such a plane would put it at the very limits of today's technology. We are watching new developments closely to see if a practical and effective solution can be found.

Paramount, of course, in the future of the Air Force, is space. The interest of the free nations in freedom in space was reflected in President Kennedy's comment on the first orbital flight of an American astronaut. In his characteristically straightforward manner—and we don't mind his using marine terminology—the President said space is "the new ocean, and I believe the United States must sail on it and be in a position second to none."

It seems to me his description covers two very important lessons for those of us concerned with defense. The first is that space is not only the pathway to other planets, but is also the medium of access to all of the earth. An ICBM, for example, traverses space on a ballistic trajectory which intersects the earth's surface at a targeted point.

The second lesson is that space as a new medium of activity for man is also a medium in which we must look to our defenses.

I believe the whole military effort in space reflects these lessons. As the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roswell Gilpatric, said recently, "We will take whatever steps are necessary to defend ourselves and our allies * * * in accordance with the inalienable right of self defense confirmed in the United Nations Charter."

The United States, in keeping with our motivations in freedom and peace, has embarked upon a space program aimed at peace building, constructive exploitation of space—second to none.

In the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Nation has mobilized an effort unprecedented in history. NASA is making progress, because it has imaginative leadership, a competent staff, extensive facilities, and wholehearted support from all elements of industry and government which can contribute, especially the Air Force.

In addition to our contribution to the success of the NASA program, the Air Force is required by its own mission to put its energies into a different kind of space effort. We are reaching a clearer definition of that mission as it relates to space.

The Air Force, under its assigned mission is concerned with preparations for dealing with threats to the security of the free world that might evolve through the use of space.

This is the reason for our growing research and development budget for space projects in the Department of Defense. The bulk of it is in the Air Force.

We realize that space is an environment, not a project. The development of devices which have to work in space, because of their newness, their cost, and their importance, must be decided upon on the basis of the most thorough scientific and technical analysis, the soundest military judgment, and the broadest possible consideration of national interest.

The United States is dedicated as a matter of national policy to the peaceful exploitation of the space medium. The United States does not intend to extend the arms race into space.

We are, however, taking the step to enable us to protect ourselves in the event the Soviets or any other nation were to undertake missions in space that would endanger our security.

As we look into the future, the things we will have to do to be able to protect ourselves and preserve freedom in space seem not too different from many traditional military missions of scouting, and standing alert. This means launch vehicles—ready to go on short notice.

Protection certainly calls for the capability of observing what goes on in space, and the ability to seek out and investigate vehicles which may appear hostile. We must be able to protect our own vehicles in space.

Such missions, of course, call for adequate command, control, communications, weather, and related support capabilities, including the ability of moving from earth to orbital stage as necessary, and operating freely in the orbital stage.

The dual-vehicle orbital experiment of the Soviets, when coupled with their previous claims, seems to indicate that the need for protection against possible threats to our security will be in the near orbital stage of space, rather than farther out. One possible

instrument of security that might be useful at this level in space may be found in extending the X–15 and X–20 technology, leading to craft which could operate from surface to orbit and back, and perform defense missions at the edge of the atmosphere. Another might be the permanently manned orbital space station designed for military purposes. Progress toward utilization of such a vehicle for security and protection would be speeded by capitalizing upon the NASA program to acquire knowledge and competence in manned orbital flight.

All of the hardware used in carrying out these responsibilities must meet military standards of maintenance, reliability, cost effectiveness and repetitive use. This is why we work toward reusable, or less expensive mechanisms for getting into space, whether by use of recoverable first stage boosters or by employment of airborne launch platforms.

We have learned a great deal from the work we have done on space projects in the past and we are applying those lessons to the future. The necessity for a standardized workhorse launch-vehicle has been recognized by the Secretary of Defense and the Air Force. That is why the Titan III project was recently approved and we are giving it our wholehearted support. It will cost the American taxpayer about a billion dollars to develop this vehicle. The Titan III represents an important step forward in focusing rather than spreading our efforts.

We need to take the same approach in other areas of our space work. We must guard against spreading our brains and dollars too thin.

These are the principles on which Air Force space programs must be based: (a) Ample preparation to utilize the space medium; (b) ample preparation to defend ourselves in case others choose to extend the threat of aggression to outer space; (c) concentration on the really important tasks, including today's job and not just tomorrow's; and finally (d) an organizationally disciplined space program—well planned and specific—which fits into overall national plans and objectives.

We in America have no choice but to extend our defenses as far as they need to be extended to save freedom on earth.

Air Force responsibilities continue heavy as the danger to freedom persists. The celebration of this anniversary should be no more, and could be no greater, than a rededication to the ideal and the service of the people of the United States in their search for peace in freedom with justice.

## U.N.: Instrument of Peace or Debating Society?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the General Assembly of the United Nations—now in session—faces serious decisions that will determine whether it will be, first, a real instrument of peace, or, second, a debating society.

Recently the Christian Science Monitor published a thoughtful editorial, first, reflecting the realistic appraisal of Secretary General U Thant toward the responsibilities of the United Nations; and, second, a clarifying definition and discussion of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 19, 1962]

U THANT'S DECISION

The most inspiring fact in today's world is the yearning of all peoples for peace. The most dispiriting fact is the strain of violence in the human mind which seeks to thwart it. This is the millennial problem of war and peace. When it comes to cases, the general desire for good will splits on a conflict of specific aims.

U Thant has attacked this gap in a striking fashion.

When asked whether he would accept a full term as Secretary-General of the United Nations, he did not say yes. He asked a question: What kind of U.N.?

There are two kinds, he said. One is what the Russians now request: a forum for debate. The other is "an organic thing" that will take action for peace. He is of the second school.

Before he decides whether the U.N. is the kind he can serve, U Thant wants to know: Will it be an effective force for peace? Will the Congo problem be brought to an early settlement? Will the U.N. peace forces in Africa and the Middle East be financed? Can the Secretary-General be a conciliator of differences between the two giants?

It might be considered rash for an individual to lay down conditions to the assembly of nations. But this wasn't U Thant's motive. Like his predecessor Dag Hammarskjold, the Burmese Secretary-General serves an ideal far larger than himself.

He has watched the U.N. evolving past the concept of a debating society, around the veto, into forms of action which stem from the Secretariat itself. His hope is that of Hammarskjold: that an impersonal, strictly nonnational group of men dedicated to the broadest ideas of the charter can take positive measures to adjust national differences.

He wants, in other words, to work in that terrible gap which divides the unselfed yearning of mankind for peace from the detailed conflicts of interest and ideology which frustrate it.

His manner and words have been conciliatory toward the Communists in spite of their pressures on the non-Communist world. But his actions have been firm in opposition to them. This is why the Communists will not pay their financial assessments for the U.N. peace forces. This is the assurance that he does not mean surrender by the West when he says conciliation.

We wish U Thant well in his undertaking. We will not always agree with him because we will urge the cause of freedom with the utmost vigor. We believe this to be primary to all else. But this very type of support will make it possible for him to pursue his task of building bridges without sacrificing principles.

## Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949

SPEECH
OF
### HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 11378 to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, in order to permit donations of surplus personal property to schools for the mentally retarded, schools for the physically handicapped, educational radio and television stations, and public libraries.

As a member of the Donable Property Subcommittee and of the Government Operations Committee, I also introduced a similar bill, H.R. 11890, indicating my full support for this much needed legislation.

The organizations and institutions, mentioned above, have done a commendable job and certainly deserve to be included in the definition of educational institutions in the broad sense of the word.

I have seen in my own congressional district the fine work being done by the National Association for Retarded Children and its very capable president, Vincent J. Fitzpatrick. Montgomery County has also pioneered in the development of the Montgomery County School for the Physically Handicapped, which now serves as a model throughout our Nation. Our public libraries also deserve recognition under this program.

This bill should have the unanimous endorsement of every Member of Congress who is interested in these humanitarian endeavors.

## How to Promote Tourist Travel to America: We Need To Be Realistic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, our program of encouraging tourism from abroad is off to a good start, but it needs realistic appraisal and constructive criticism in order to improve it. That is just what is offered by Mr. Selden Menefee, a California editor, in his widely read column "Just for the Record," published in the San Juan Record, of Fair Oaks, Calif.

I was coauthor of the bill, S. 610, which the Congress passed last year—Public Law 87–63—setting up the U.S. Travel Service in the Department of Commerce. It is a good program.

Mr. Menefee, a seasoned traveler and astute observer, comments on the Travel Service's advertising in Europe. I ask unanimous consent that his column from the San Juan Record, Fair Oaks, Calif., September 20, 1962, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUST FOR THE RECORD—AMERICA SHOULD GET READY FOR TOURISTS

(By Selden Menefee)

On Sunday, April 8, when I was on a boat-train from London to Dover, England, I picked up a copy of the London Sunday Times, that someone had left on a seat across from me. I opened it, and there spread across the top of page 5 was a familiar sight—a picture of a horseman on a rocky hill cov-

ered with dry grass, high above a river that stretched out in the distance. I knew I had been there.

I looked for the caption. Sure enough, it read, "This is the 1,270-mile Columbia River in Oregon. You can fish for trout and salmon here. All you need is a license that costs $2."

Below the picture, the full-page ad was headed: "What to see in the U.S.A.—if you've only got 3 weeks * * * for 35 pounds a week you can see New York, Washington, San Francisco. You can visit Niagra Falls, see the Rockies from the glass-domed car of a luxurious train, spend a week on a ranch, have more fun than a barrel of monkeys."

That would be quite a trick, I thought, on $98 a week—$14 a day per person, including travel across the West in the Zephyr, no less, and a week on a dude ranch, of all things.

Fascinated, I read on: "Your itinerary will read like a chapter out of Jack London. Spirit Lake, Wizard Island, Sawtooth Mountains, Dagger Flats * * *. In the Pacific Northwest see skyscraping stands of ponderosa pine, sequoia" (oops, somebody slipped here). "In California's Yosemite Park there is a waterfall nine times higher than Niagara * * * you can drive your car right through a giant redwood tree * * *. Expenses for a party of four traveling by car come to less than 4 pounds per day." (That's under $12.)

The writer of this ad really went overboard. You will sleep, he promised, "at Indian trading posts, sumptuous motels with outdoor swimming pools, desert oasis, ghost towns in the Gold Rush Country * * *." The towns you will see, Passamaquoddy, Big Bone Lick, Truth or Consequences, Kalamazoo, Buzzard's Bay, Basking Ridge, Steamboat Springs, Wildhorse.

Wow! I've never heard of Basking Ridge meself.

FUROR CREATED

The U.S. Travel Service, which ran the ad, really kicked up a fuss with its claim that a British visitor could travel and live and see such things for only $98 a week. Two London reporters tried it later, and both failed to make it. The London Daily Mail man said "I don't say it can't be done, but I didn't do it and I hope you won't try it."

I can see what he meant. You'd have to stay in drab hotels like the Milner chain and travel the cheapest possible way to make it—and if you did this you wouldn't see many of the color spots described in the ad.

The biggest thing that has happened to encourage tourism here is the special offer by the Greyhound Bus Co. of a 99-day travel pass for $99. I met one English woman on a bus who had crisscrossed this country and had a wonderful time for 3 months on a $99 ticket. On H.M.S. *Canberra* I met an Australian insurance man who was traveling with a family of seven, around the world, and had his tickets all bought for 3 months of Greyhound travel in America.

I tried to buy one of these ducats myself in Washington, for it would have been little more than the cost of a one-way Greyhound ticket to Sacramento. It was there I learned that the passes can only be purchased abroad, by someone with a valid foreign passport.

RAIL PASSES NEEDED

Our moribund railroads should offer similar passes, as the British railways do, to fill their passenger cars. Hotels and motels should also offer special rates for foreign tourists. We could do a lot more than we have along such lines.

The U.S. Travel Service reports that European tourist travel to America was up 21 percent in the first quarter of this year, compared to last year. French tourists increased 47 percent over last year.

Present emphasis in U.S. Travel Service advertising is on the beauties of America, rather than on low cost. But the shock treatment on costs with which Voit Gilmore launched the campaign for tourists was perhaps a good thing. At least the controversy focused attention on the possibility of traveling over America at a reasonable cost.

Everywhere I have been in the world these past 2 years, people have said to me, "I'd love to visit America, if I only had the money." It does take dough to cross an ocean and see a country this big.

The present administration has removed one great stupid barrier that discouraged travel up to a year or so ago—the cumbersome and insulting visa applications that were inflicted on our friends abroad whenever they wanted to come here.

Now if we can work out more special deals—to trim costs—like the low-cost student ships the Holland-American Line runs across the Atlantic, the Greyhound tourist pass, and special low, low rates, particularly in off-seasons—in hotels and resorts—travel from abroad will really begin to mushroom.

We never tried very hard before to get tourists to come here. So we have a lot to learn.

BEAUTY TOO

And while I'm on this, I say we should speed up our drive to beautify our cities. After rebuilt, supermodern Rotterdam, or colorful Paris, Geneva, or Venice, or the slum-free, spotless cities of Scandinavia—New York, Jersey City, Trenton, Chicago, and downtown Los Angeles, for example, looks pretty ugly.

So did downtown Sacramento a few years ago. The new Capitol Mall has already changed the whole appearance of the city.

These are some of the things we need to press for, if we want foreign tourists to see us at our best and not lose their image of us as a dynamic, young nation.

## Comments on Drug Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, thalidomide, side effects, experimental drugs, drug clearance system, Federal Food and Drug Administration, drug control—these are just a few of the currents in recent headline stories which have underscored an aroused public's vital concern over effective regulation of the never-ending spawning of new wonder drugs.

Are there limitations in present drug regulations? Are further controls absolutely required? What are the issues at stake in imposing further Government regulations? Are drugs presently overpriced or oversold? Does drug marketing itself require regulation? These are just a few of the difficult questions which must be recognized and understood before final judgment may be passed upon the broad issues.

In my consideration of this problem I have found the following editorial accounts particularly useful as background reading. Under previous consent of the House, I place these articles in the RECORD, trusting that my colleagues and others will find them as valuable as I have:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 12, 1962]

PRESSURES RISE FOR DRUG CONTROL—PATH FOR NEW LEGISLATION EASED BY THE THALIDOMIDE EXAMPLE

(By Marjorie Hunter)

A drug blamed for the deformities of thousands of babies abroad has done what men in high public office have tried but failed to do: It has made Americans demand stronger drug laws.

Millions of words of testimony, public pleas by a handful of Senators and Representatives, repeated urgings by President Kennedy—all of this fell on deaf ears in recent years.

And then came thalidomide.

When word reached the United States last spring that many thousands of babies had been born deformed in Germany and elsewhere abroad, apparently because their mothers had taken thalidomide, few Americans paid much attention.

TESTING ROUSES CONCERN

But, when it was disclosed this summer that the drug had been used experimentally on thousands of Americans, the Nation expressed concern about the use of humans in testing unproved drugs.

The testing of drugs on humans is necessary. Even proponents of tighter drug laws agree to that. It is important to test drugs on animals—mice, rats, rabbits, guinea pigs—but they don't supply all the answers. What might be safely used on an animal may be unsafe for a human. And reactions vary from human to human.

No drug is entirely free of unwanted side effects. Even aspirin has undesired effects on a few people.

Before any drug reaches the American market, it must first be tried out on many humans. The law requires a manufacturer to submit proof of its effects on humans to the Food and Drug Administration before a drug is cleared for use.

To obtain such proof, a manufacturer distributes his drugs to doctors or other medical investigators to try out on patients. There is no limitation on the number of doctors or patients involved in such human clinical trials.

HUMAN TESTING GROUNDS

Even after the Government has cleared a new drug for sale, humans still are, in effect, guinea pigs; there have been instances in which a drug, already widely distributed over prescription counters, has been found to produce unwanted side effects in some people.

One such case showed up this spring. Mer-29 was cleared for sale in June 1960, as a drug to retard formation of cholesterol. After reports that some persons taking the drug had suffered eye cataracts or loss of hair, Mer-29 was taken off the market.

Also removed from the market last spring under FDA orders was, Monase, which had been used for a year in the treatment of depressed patients. The manufacturer reported that seven users of the compound had contracted acute blood disease.

Still on the market, but under close scrutiny, is an oral contraceptive pill. Norway withdrew the pill from the market Monday after reports in the British medical journal that four women taking Enovid had suffered blood clots. This week, the Food and Drug Administration ruled that there is insufficient evidence linking Enovid to blood clots.

Until all these disclosures were made recently, prospects for any strong drug legislation or drastic revision of FDA regulations this year appeared dim.

Today, there is action on many fronts—the White House, the Congress, the drug industry and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

President Kennedy has demanded that Congress tighten up the drug laws and Members of Congress are busily patching up the loopholes in the pending legislation. The drug industry has set up a committee on drug safety. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued proposed regulations to give the Government more control over testing of drugs on humans.

These proposed regulations—not the legislation under consideration—would have the most direct effect on warding off future thalidomide-type scares.

One proposal would require animal testing before drugs are tried out on any humans. Another would require that the Government be notified when testing on humans begins and also on progress of the test programs. Another would permit the Government to withdraw a test drug if there was doubt of its safety. Another provision would provide that the persons conducting tests on humans must be clearly qualified.

These regulations cannot be made effective immediately. The law requires them to be on file for 60 days for public reactions. After that, they can be made final or, quite possibly, amended.

Legislative changes being considered by Congress would largely affect drugs already cleared for sale. There is every indication that Congress, with the backing of President Kennedy, will authorize the Government to pull drugs off the market when new experience indicates substantial doubt as to their safety. The present law requires the Government to prove that a drug is unsafe before sales are halted.

It is likely, too, that Congress will require that drugs be proved effective before sale; that additional time will be given the Government to study new drug applications; that more extensive factory inspections will be allowed; that drug labels will be required to carry, in prominent type, the official (generic) name of a drug, as well as its trade name.

Stronger controls over advertising contents and distribution of materials to doctors to alert them of possible side effects of a drug also will probably be passed. And it is likely that all antibiotics will be made subject to batch-by-batch testing.

REGISTRATION PROVISION

It also has been proposed that the Government license all drug manufacturers, but it is more likely that Congress will require them merely to register.

Some of these proposals—both regulatory and legislative—are certain to run into opposition. The drug industry agrees that new drug legislation is needed, but it opposes some aspects of legislation now pending.

For instance, drug leaders say they favor "in principle" proposals that drugs be proven to be effective before sale, that the factory inspection system be tightened up and that drugs be taken off the market when found to be unsafe.

But they object to certain details. They think only "substantial proof" of a drug's effectiveness should be required. They object to factory inspections that would pry into a firm's financial status or secret formulas. They feel there should be "substantial evidence" before a drug is taken off the market as unsafe.

They also object to the proposal that a drug be kept off the market until there has been affirmative clearance by the Government. Drugs now are automatically cleared, if the Government is silent.

INDUSTRY WARNING

Some drug industry leaders have given cautious approval to the FDA regulations dealing with testing new drugs. But they have warned against any steps that might impede the advancement of healing by blocking introduction of new drugs.

"In the current emotional atmosphere we must keep in mind that absolute safety can never be achieved—not by legislation or regulation or anything else. * * * The risks and rewards of pharmaceutical research go hand in hand and only an unreasonable person would hold out the expectation of new medical discoveries without pointing out the inherent difficulties of the search for these drugs."

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[From the Wall Street Journal]

REGULATING DRUGS: NEW FEDERAL RULES NO CURE-ALL FOR SAFETY COMPLICATIONS

(By Herbert G. Lawson)

The Food and Drug Administration plans to put into effect shortly a series of new rules, the chief result of which will be to bring the agency into testing of new drugs at an earlier stage.

JUSTIFYING NEW CURBS

Ironically, some of the most important new drug control measures now proposed seem to have nothing to do with the issues of the thalidomide case. Yet the President, Congress, and the FDA are pointing to thalidomide in justifying requests for stiffer regulations.

Drug company scientists note that the FDA had ample power, which it used, to keep thalidomide off the U.S. market. Furthermore, they assert, the FDA, without any new grants of legislative or administrative authority, could set new standards for drug tests.

"If the FDA wanted to, it could make us test every new drug on a pregnant camel without any changes in present rules," comments one industry official with slight exaggeration. Thorough testing on pregnant animals has been one frequent suggestion from pharmacologists in the aftermath of thalidomide. Actually, several major drugmakers have already begun using such tests.

In Congress last week, the Senate restored to the watered-down drug control bill a section that would grant significant new authority to the FDA. The restored section would give the agency the right to pass on effectiveness or medical efficacy of new drugs. The FDA now rules only on safety, on the theory that only practicing physicians can determine a drug's usefulness.

THE MARKETING PROBLEM

Another criticism of new drug proposals, perhaps more serious, is being leveled by some scientists. Their criticisms suggest that the commotion in Washington, while reassuring the public and satisfying election year pressures, will do little for the real problem.

That problem, these scientists argue, stems from the nature of present drug marketing rather than drug testing. And its solution, they say, is far from being a simple matter of arming the FDA with new regulatory weapons. It will require thoughtful analysis and unusual voluntary cooperation from the industry, doctors, the Government, and the public.

According to this view, thalidomide was a freak occurrence for which no one is to blame. Its apparent tendency to cause birth defects was totally unexpected by pharmacologists and could not be forecast from tests considered by the Government and industry. Thus, in this sense, thalidomide is relatively unimportant in determining any real deficiences in the U.S. system for new drug introduction.

More important are such drugs as Mer-29, another Merrell drug designed to lower cholesterol levels of heart patients, which was withdrawn from the market recently due to suspected side effects; several drugs used to combat mental depression which were removed from the market because they possibly caused blood diseases; and a host of antibiotics, tranquilizers, and other medicines which show possible dangers, but thus far have remained on sale, either because the evidence of danger is insufficient or because the drugs are very valuable despite side effects.

All these drugs received the benefit of animal and clinical tests that are probably as thorough as any in the world. The FDA cleared them for sale, thus endorsing their safety. Only after massive marketing campaigns which quickly introduced the drugs to many thousands of patients did side effects begin to appear.

REASONS FOR SPEED

Because of the large numbers of patients exposed concurrently to new drugs, serious side effects that occur are likely to be widespread before doctors suspect something is wrong. This was certainly true of thalidomide in Europe. Yet manufacturers feel they must market new drugs with great speed.

It is pointed out that new drug patients give a manufacturer no security in this age of synthetic chemistry. After an important new drug is marketed, chemists in competitors' laboratories, within months or a few years, will synthesize a drug with a slight molecular difference but with similar effects. This second drug can then be patented. The imitator's drug is quickly brought to market, often benefiting from knowledge obtained in tests of the original drug.

In such a situation, the manufacturer of the original drug is compelled to use mass marketing techniques as soon as his drug is cleared. The company blankets the Nation with maximum advertising in medical journals, promotion at medical meetings, and an army of detail men who sell the doctors personally.

What is wrong with a fast marketing campaign? "It means," says Dr. Modell, "that a huge amount of new drugs can be thrown into the hands of doctors inexperienced in their use."

DRUG PRICES MIGHT RISE

More extensive clinical trials before FDA clearance could diagnose more drug dangers. But this is an expensive, and at some point impractical, approach. Sterling Drug, Inc., for example, estimates that already each new drug that reaches the market costs the company an average of $5 million in development expense, including costs of drugs that fail to pass the tests. To increase clinical trial fivefold or tenfold would mean a significant increase in the price the public pays for drugs. And it would still not disclose side effects of very rare incidence.

The other solution is for a drug to be marketed more slowly in cooperation with recognized medical authorities in the field in which the drug is used. Then clinical experience would gradually accumulate and side effects would be noted at the earliest possible moment. But this means a drug company would give competitors a better chance to introduce and establish similar drugs. "Drug firms are in a fix because they have to get their investment back quickly before the competition steps in," says Dr. Modell.

The drug companies are not solely responsible for this dilemma, says Dr. William Spring, secretary of the American Medical Association's Council on Drugs. He argues that doctors are often eager to prescribe new drugs liberally. He adds that physicians must learn to use them cautiously until their margins of safety are established by long practice.

The solution to this marketing dilemma will not be an easy one. Certainly it will require restraint on the part of manufacturers eager to capitalize on significant drug discoveries. Doctors may have to restrain a natural temptation to seize upon new drugs that promise the latest medical miracle.

And the public may have to learn to accept a certain risk as the price of medical progress.

The question remains whether this attitude of restraint needed from so many people—industry, medicine, and the public—can be legislated. The only certain thing is that the Government, rightly or wrongly, is going to try.

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times]

THE DRUG BILL'S PRINCIPLE

Sometimes it is easy to confuse "caveat emptor," which is usually translated, "let the buyer beware," with the unrelated battle cry "laissez faire," which means loosely, "let us go it alone"—that is, without Government interference.

The confusion was never greater than in the case of the drug bill, a version of which was finally passed by the Senate a couple of days ago. This bill, or a version of it, still has to be considered by the House. As it was blessed by the Senate unanimously, it establishes, or rather extends, an old principle, one which was accepted long before private enterprise was threatened at every turn by the liberal-socialists.

The principle is that the Government exists to prevent violence and fraud. The Pure Food and Drug Act of the early part of this century accepted the principle that no one could claim the privilege in a free market to sell a food product or a drug which could endanger the lives or health of the citizens of the United States. Not very many citizens in that freewheeling time regarded this law as an infringement of the legitimate rights of private enterprisers.

Since then the notion that the buyer's innocence makes him a legitimate victim of the slick pitchman has been modified even more. The Pure Food and Drug Act protected him from certain kinds of violence (threats to his life and health); then the Federal Trade Commission was given a limited authority to protect him from fraud—from false representations of the efficacy of pills and nostrums. There have been recent cases in which the FTC has ordered manufacturers to stop advertising nonexistent virtues of their alleged remedies.

Generally speaking, the new drug bill would only extend the powers already exercised by the Government. The Food and Drug Administration would be authorized to pass on the effectiveness of a drug before it could be placed on the market. (It ought to be pointed out that the new law would not make it any harder to sell in the American market such a drug as thalidomide; that drug was never approved for sale in this country and sale was legitimately suspended while the Food and Drug Administration was determining whether it was a threat to health and life, which the Administration did in fact find.)

The new law would not necessarily ban the sale of a harmless pain reliever because its manufacturer or peddler represented it as a cure for cancer, but its makers and sellers would have to purvey it as what it was, modifying their claims.

Most of the controversy during the hearing on the bill arose from the radical proposals of such Senators as ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee. They welcomed the opportunity to make a virtue of price fixing. Senator KEFAUVER contended that the price of the blessed drugs with a proved power over pain and disease is too high. Most of these drugs in their varieties are developed in the laboratories of private drug companies, and these companies naturally seek to recover the costs of their research in the prices they charge for their products. Senator KEFAUVER would solve this problem of cost by compelling the drug companies to license the patents for their discoveries to anybody who wanted to make them.

The demagogic appeal of this proposal is apparent. But the Senate rose above the temptation and rejected the Kefauver amendment 2 to 1.

As it stands the bill ought to appeal, at least in principle, to the House, which has in this Congress shown wisdom at least equal to that of the more august Senators.

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[From the Christian Science Monitor]

OVERDUE SAFEGUARDS

(By Josephine Ripley)

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has brought out in long and searching hearings the fact that many drugs on the market today are overpriced and oversold.

But in trying to force down the price of drugs and promote greater honesty in their sale, he was up against some powerful adversaries.

Comparatively little might have come of his efforts, or even the President's appeal for more stringent drug regulations, had it not been for the thalidomide scare which shocked the public into sudden awareness of the extent and extremes of drug promotion.

Few people realized until then the fact that new drugs are eventually tested on human beings before they are approved for sale.

The effect of a drug on humans is a part of the necessary record submitted to the Food and Drug Administration when the product is up for approval.

A Massachusetts physician, Dr. Chester S. Keefer, Wade professor of medicine at Boston University School of Medicine and senior member of the Evans Memorial Department of Clinical Research and Preventive Medicine at Massachusetts Memorial Hospitals, recently told a congressional committee that "there is no substitute for the trial of drugs in man," no matter how many animal tests may precede it.

He went on to state that "medicine is at best an uncertain science. There is no way of putting a new drug application through a computer and knowing what adverse side effects may occur."

One question which has arisen in this respect and put to witnesses by legislators is: Should a person be told by his physician that he is being given an experimental drug?

Most have responded in the negative, saying the decision should be left to the physician. It is considered unlikely that the Federal Government will step in and insist upon such disclosure.

But there are many areas in which it does intend to exert greater control, if Congress passes pending legislation.

For instance, the Government wants to make sure that physicians are fully warned of the side effects of new drugs. In the Kefauver hearings, evidence was produced to show that some drug companies in their eagerness to promote the use of a new drug by physicians played down possible serious side effects in the interest of playing up the drug.

The Government also wants authority to remove a drug from the market immediately if there is reason to feel it is a hazard to public health. Representatives of the drug industry are objecting.

They contend the Government already has such authority. However, it may only do so, under present law, after hearings have been held, or a court injunction ordered. Hearings are timetaking, and to obtain a court injunction there must be specific evidence, such as that in the thalidomide case, to warrant court action.

The Government also wants an extension of time in which to consider a new drug application. FDA now has 60 days in which to register objection before a new drug automatically goes on sale. The industry indicates it will go along with some extension of time, to 90 days, but not up to 180 days or more.

The Government is asking for more authority to examine the manufacturer's investigatory records with respect to drugs, and authority to make certain it is produced under sanitary conditions.

All this is considered needed and long overdue legislation. And except for the "recent unpleasant situation," as one drug industry representative called it, these bills in all probability would not have made much in the way of headlines or progress.

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[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 5, 1962]

HOW DRUGS REACH THE PUBLIC—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—THALIDOMIDE CASE POINTS UP ROLE GOVERNMENT PLAYS IN TESTING AND CERTIFYING NEW PRODUCTS

(By Marjorie Hunter)

The tragic consequences that have apparently resulted from the taking of thalidomide by pregnant women have focused attention on how drugs reach the public in the United States. What follows in question and answer form is a description of the procedure and its effectiveness.

How does a new drug get on the American market?

A drug manufacturer in the United States can acquire a new drug in two ways: through invention or through purchase of patent rights of a foreign drug already being sold abroad.

In either case, a new drug to be offered for sale in the United States must obtain clearance from the Federal Food and Drug Administration.

Before applying for such clearance, a manufacturer must gather a large amount of evidence that the drug is safe. The drug is analyzed in laboratories and it is tested on animals. The drug then goes to medical examiners—usually private physicians—who test it on humans.

On the basis of all these tests, a manufacturer submits a new drug application to the Food and Drug Administration.

What does the laboratory do in this?

The laboratory conducts numerous laboratory tests, analyzing contents and making sure that each batch of the drug is uniform.

The drug is then tested on animals—mice, rats, guinea pigs, rabbits, cats, dogs. Records are kept as to side effects, amounts of dosage and reactions.

Once a manufacturer decides the animal testing program has shown the drug to be safe, it is tried out on humans. As scientists point out, animals do not supply all the answers.

What is the physician's role in this?

The drug manufacturers themselves determine to whom drugs are sent for experimental use on humans. A firm can distribute a new drug to 10 physicians—or other scientific investigators—or to 50,000. The Federal Government does not set any limitation.

Federal regulations covering such drug testing are few:

1. Investigational drugs must be marked clearly: "Caution, new drug—limited by Federal law to investigational use."

2. Each doctor—or other investigator—must sign a paper stating he is qualified to test a drug and has the facilities for such tests.

3. A manufacturer must keep records showing names of persons to whom a drug was sent for testing and the amounts shipped. These records are available to the Food and Drug Administration on request.

Some doctors are paid for testing drugs on their patients. Others are not. That is up to the manufacturer. Some drug firms have paid doctors up to $10,000 for testing new drugs. Some firms keep a few doctors on their payrolls on an annual retainer.

What is the Food and Drug Administration's role in all this?

Federal law gives the Food and Drug Administration the power to police the purity, safety, quality, and labeling of foods, drugs, and cosmetics. Before a new drug can enter the market, it must be cleared by this agency.

When an application for clearance is received, it is turned over to a medical officer for review. Evaluations are made of the human clinical studies, the animal studies, ingredients, drug reactions, and other data. Actual tests of a new drug designed for human consumption are not made on either animals or humans by Government scientists.

The Government does not approve a new drug or guarantee is efficacy. It merely clears it for safety before it can be sold to the public.

What is the safety record of drugs? Have there been previous mishaps?

By and large, the Nation's drug safety record has been good. With new drugs coming on the market at the rate of more than one a day, few have been withdrawn because they are unsafe, according to the Food and Drug Administration.

But this spring, there have been two notable examples of withdrawals from the market of previously cleared drugs.

One involved Mer-29, manufactured by the William S. Merrell Co., of Cincinnati, which also manufactured thalidomide.

CHOLESTEROL DRUG

Mer-29 was first offered for sale in June 1960, as a drug to retard formation of cholesterol. It was taken off the market by the manufacturer last April after continuing research indicated it might have been responsible for eye cataracts and loss of hair.

A Federal grand jury, probably in Washington, is investigating to determine whether false statements were made in connection with the drug application or whether there was a failure to disclose material facts.

Another withdrawal occurred last March, when the Food and Drug Administration requested removal of monase from the market. The drug had been used for a year in treatment of depressed patients. Its manufacturer, the Upjohn Co., of Kalamazoo, Mich., reported it had learned that seven patients using the drug had contracted an acute blood disease.

What are the criticisms of the present drug clearance system?

Until the thalidomide scare, there had been only limited criticism of the drug clearance system. Those seeking to strengthen the drug laws focused on such areas as factory inspections, the need for drugs to be effective, more adequate labeling, price reductions, and removal of drugs from the market when new evidence shows they are unsafe.

FLAWS IN SYSTEM

However, a few months ago, a Food and Drug Administration official, Dr. K. L. Milstead, did indicate there might be flaws in the present drug clearance system. He said the Government was concerned about doctors who engage in clinical testing of new drugs for a fee but who fail to make the tests, or rig them to fit a predetermined result.

This week, at a hearing into the thalidomide case, Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, voiced strong disapproval of the drug clearance system.

"These regulations contain loopholes through which you could drive a South Dakota wagonload of hay," he said.

Federal law is silent on these questions:

1. Who shall be the first humans to receive a test drug?

2. What information should a doctor be given about previous tests on a new drug?

3. Should the patient be told the drug is experimental and should the doctor obtain written consent from a patient before using a test drug?

4. Should the Food and Drug Administration be notified when a firm begins testing a new drug?

5. Should the number of persons on whom a drug is tested be limited?

6. Should the Food and Drug Administration have authority to review animal testing before authorizing human testing to begin?

Food and Drug officials believe drug clearance procedures can be tightened up by regulations, without new laws. The new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Anthony J. Celebrezze, plans to order tighter regulations in the next few days.

What chance is there that Congress will act on proposed changes in the drug law?

Congress has been reluctant to tighten up the drug laws in recent years. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, sponsored a far-reaching bill designed to strengthen the drug laws and reduce drug prices. His bill was badly chopped up this spring in Senate committee, with a generous assistance from the pharmaceutical industry.

The much amended Kefauver bill is now before the Senate. The administration bill introduced by OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, is pending in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Because of the thalidomide scare, the administration bill may fare better than the Kefauver bill did in committee. Some Members of Congress believe it will pass, others do not. The consensus seems to be that some kind of drug bill will go through Congress this year.

The big question is: How far reaching will it be?

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## Ribicoff on the Commuter Problem

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, as many Members know, in the years I have been in the Senate one of my major legislative concerns has been the problems of urban transportation. Seldom in that time have I read as penetrating and forceful analysis of the commuter problem as the speech given earlier this week by former Gov. Abraham Ribicoff to the Stamford Chamber of Commerce.

Speaking from broad experience on the State and National level, Mr. Ribicoff clearly describes the vital importance of modern transit to the cities and suburbs of the metropolitan areas. His proposals for action are most constructive and they offer an effective answer to the criticism that have been made of the administration's $500 million mass transportation bill, which I had the honor of introducing.

As Mr. Ribicoff points out, the Federal Government has been aiding transportation for a long time, but in our urban areas we have been letting rail and other transit service deteriorate and wither away. The administration's program represents a very modest effort to halt the decline and restore a proper balance in urban transportation, using all modes—bus, rail, and automobile—to their greatest natural advantage.

Mr. Ribicoff suggests that we should be doing even more, and I earnestly hope Members of the Senate will take the opportunity to read his important suggestions. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Ribicoff's speech of September 24 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOTAL TRANSPORTATION FOR THE COMMUTER

(Speech delivered by Abe Ribicoff, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate, before Stamford Chamber of Commerce, Monday, Sept. 24, 1962, Stamford, Conn.)

From the Bible the Book of Ecclesiastes tells us, "There is no new thing under the sun." I doubt if this viewpoint has more meaning for any group in America than the 30,000 Connecticut commuters who 5 days a week face the prospect of spending up to 4 hours a day getting to and from their jobs in New York City.

As the commuter opens his morning paper, more often than not he finds that the New Haven Railroad is still in the news as it has been for a long time because of deep-seated troubles that had their beginnings many years ago.

Yet the need for fast, dependable service at a reasonable cost not only remains but increases daily.

I have studied this problem a long time. It was a major concern of mine when I was Governor. I have talked with railroad executives and railway labor officials, with engineers and with the commuters themselves. In Washington I have pursued this matter with the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and with officials of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

As I have studied this matter, I have become convinced that the situation is far from hopeless. A lot of suggestions have been made, but no single suggestion can provide a complete answer.

Someone says create a tristate authority—as if that in itself would solve anything. Others say pass the Williams bill, which is an extremely important piece of legislation, providing $500 million for urban mass transportation. But that bill alone will not speed commuters in and out of New York City; and the recent Senate action to send it back to committee is evidence that even this proposal faces an uncertain future. This is also another good example of the fact that one more vote in the Senate may mean the difference between success and failure of urgent legislation.

But much progress has been made. For the first time the States served by the railroad have been working cooperatively, first on an emergency program of fiscal relief to keep the railroad running and to halt its deterioration, and now on a long-range program looking toward its rehabilitation.

I am proud that Connecticut, under the vigorous leadership of Governor Dempsey, has provided able and energetic direction to these cooperative efforts.

The actions that have been taken and many of the ideas that have been put forth are extremely helpful. The big problem that must be faced is fitting all the essential pieces into an overall policy.

The commuter policy I advocate rests on three principles. The first is the frank recognition that the future of the New York metropolitan area depends on the success of its mass transportation system, and in this region rail service must play the key role.

Fairfield County, as well as the ever-extending commuter area of Connecticut, have a vital economic and social stake in the New York metropolitan area. Today, one-tenth of the Nation's population lives in this great urban area, which extends into Connecticut and New Jersey. The cities and towns which make up this region are important to and

dependent upon each other, and together they make an invaluable contribution to the Nation and the Nation's economy. Almost 6½ million jobs are provided in this area. Its unique location is the center of important national and international functions.

Where Detroit's auto production, Chicago's metal manufacture, or southern California's air-age industry lie outside their central business districts, in New York there is a high concentration of key economic decision-makers in a relatively few acres of real estate on the island of Manhattan. Not only is the area small and the size of the total contribution of New York's goods and services great, but many of its activities cannot be duplicated elsewhere. It is the home of the American theater and opera and the cradle and marketplace of all the arts. Nowhere else in the world are so many of the Nation-serving functions so readily available. Nowhere else can the key people communicate face to face: corporation executives, financial advisers, lending institutions, top-flight law firms, advertising men, management consultants.

Clearly, this Connecticut-New York-New Jersey region plays a vital and irreplaceable role as the largest single industrial, business, and cultural center of the Nation. The main key to the successful operation of this region is to get the people into these few acres of real estate in the morning and back to the open spaces at night. This is where the interests of the people of Connecticut come into sharp focus. Because of lack of good and flexible rail commuter service, a vast new population of automobiles, rather than people, is daily poured into downtown Manhattan. The automobile requires about 300 square feet of parking space, three times as much as a person requires for office space or commercial area.

If the present highways are not capable of handling the peak traffic to New York in the morning and evening hours, what are we going to do? Build more highways? Take more property off the tax rolls? Place a greater burden on remaining property owners for essential services to which they are entitled? The cost of acquiring land for rights-of-way and the costs of construction are skyrocketing.

What are we going to do with the cars which are brought into the city? You can pile people 30, 40, or 50 stories high, but you can't pile cars that way. The streets are already choked with traffic so that not only does it impede the flow of commuter traffic, with attendant delays and hazards, but it interferes with the local city traffic, deliveries to business houses and slows down emergency services such as fire apparatus and ambulances.

Obviously, any reduction in highway congestion will benefit everyone—rail commuters, bus commuters, property owners, housewives, local businessmen, the commuter by automobile, and the automobile owner who leaves his car at home. All sorts of transportation are needed, but they are needed in proper balance. The inherent advantages of each type should be used. Each has a role to play, but the role of each type should be determined by peak load capacity. Automobiles on expressways can handle only 2,000 people per lane per hour. Even buses operating on freeways and providing intermediate stops can carry only 6,000 to 9,000 per lane per hour. But rail systems can carry from 40,000 to 48,000, and even up to 60,000 per hour. One rail line has the potential capacity of 20 expressway lanes of automobiles or 7 expressway lanes of buses.

Anyone who thinks more highways can do the whole job in this region just isn't being realistic.

Mass rail transportation must carry more of the load. But, in order to draw commuters to this service, it must be frequent, convenient, comfortable and reasonably priced. This, the railroads of the area cannot afford to do on their own. They are financially weak—our own New Haven Railroad is bankrupt—and they cannot modernize and support what amounts to a true public service out of other revenues.

And, yet, here is a great plant and privately owned investment which lies practically unused. Its capacity can be limited only by the number of cars in a train and scheduling of service. We should put it to work fully and for the benefit of the public. I believe we can do this at less cost and less investment with greater benefits and more convenience and safety than the construction and maintenance of more commuter highways.

I want to stress the safety factor, which is close to my heart. Lives are lost on these highways; property is damaged; their policing is a burden. If we can attract enough present users of the highways to the improved service of the rails, then those who have no choice but to use the highways and streets will be able to do so with better speed, comfort, and safety.

Essentially, what we need most is balance in our commuter transport service. Which is faster, more frequent, dependable, and reasonable in cost? If the peak load could be better distributed, we could meet immediately foreseeable needs. And expanded rail service is the key.

The second principle on which my commuter policy rests is this: The very nature of the mass transit problem in the great urban areas requires major financial aid by the Federal Government. Many of us hate to see government participation or further subsidization of any phase of our economy. But the Government has already intervened in the transport system and, by the Constitution, has a special right to do so when interstate traffic is involved. The Founding Fathers recognized, when they wrote the commerce clause into the Constitution, that States could not cope with matters involving interstate movement beyond their jurisdictions and that inconsistent, independent action by the several States could hamper and burden regional and national progress.

The Federal Government has been aiding transportation in this country for a long time. In many areas the size of the support has reached major proportions. Federal funds build interstate highways, construct airports, dredge harbors, improve river navigation and in one way or another aid many of the carriers that use these facilities.

The newcomers to the field of transportation have received all the attention. We have really taken for granted that the old standbys, such as the railroads, would go on forever. Except for the Transportation Act of 1958, which permitted the ICC to guarantee loans to railroads that were not able to secure loans on favorable terms elsewhere, rail service which should be moving the masses of people has been left out in the cold. But loans will not do the job. The ICC must find reasonable security for their repayment before it can authorize them, and the rail stockholders still must repay the loans plus interest. In addition, they must find enough money to pay taxes, maintain road-bed, equipment and facilities and operate the service with mounting deficits.

The fate of the New Haven Railroad is now uncertain. The trustees are doing a splendid job of trying to work out its financial and economic future. But they have frankly stated that the railroad cannot stand on its own feet with its present losses. It becomes evident that the railroad's problem is not so much its problem as it is a public problem.

Thus, public aid in the realm of commuter service is not aid to the railroads but aid to the public itself.

The interest and labors of the Governors of the States of New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, in which I was an active proponent and participant as Governor on behalf of preserving rail service, have helped but they alone cannot provide a long-range cure.

Federal help is a clear requirement. But we must recognize that the commuter problem is a distinct problem requiring Federal funds just for this purpose. Federal dollars have made it possible to drive across the Nation in days, to fly across the Nation in hours, to move cargo on inland waterways faster than ever before. What we need are Federal dollars devoted exclusively to the problem of moving large numbers of commuters in and out of the great urban centers of this Nation.

This brings me to the third and most important principle that underlies an effective transportation policy for commuters. The Federal funds supplied to the States or regions with major commuter problems should be used in whatever way the State or region wants to use the money. Each State or region faces its own problems when it comes to mass transportation. No single answer can or should come from Washington. One urban area may need a new bridge across a river or bay, for cars or trains, or both. In another, the answer may be a tunnel. Or one region may want to send high-speed buses down a special express lane added to a superhighway. Some cities may want to develop helicopter service. Here in New York metropolitan area we would use the funds primarily for rail service, for that is our greatest need.

The only earmarking on the funds would be their use solely for commuter transit. The method of transportation would be the choice of the State or regional authority applying for the funds.

There has already been substantial progress toward this objective. Last year the Housing Act of 1961 provided $25 million to be used for demonstration projects involving urban mass transportation. The allowable uses of the funds are quite broad. Today there is pending the Williams bill to provide a major program of $500 million for 3 years to finance up to two-thirds of the capital costs of mass transit facilities.

Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey are in an extremely favorable position to receive this Federal assistance thanks to the creation last year by the Governors of these States of the Tristate Transportation Committee to develop an action-oriented program.

I believe we must go even further in this direction of providing a completely free choice for the communities and regions faced with commuter problems. The region that must move vast numbers of commuters should decide how this huge task is to be accomplished. It should be able to build rail lines and terminals, roads, bridges, tunnels, heliports—whatever it believes is necessary to solve its own problems.

The Federal share of these expenses should be 90 percent—the same as in the interstate highway program.

And the amount of money devoted to this vital matter must be substantial. We spend billions to reach the moon while we talk about spending millions to move commuters in and out of our great cities. I believe that getting to work and getting home again is just as important as getting to the moon. Applying these principles, I propose a six-point program for the commuters of Fairfield County:

1. A coordinated system of total transportation for commuters—by train, car, bus, or helicopter—with rail service greatly expanded.

The total plan should be developed by each region to meet its needs. It should be carefully planned on the basis of present

population patterns and the likely shifts into and out of suburban areas in the future. And the object of the system must be to move commuters in and out of the center city—quickly, conveniently, inexpensively, and safely.

2. Federal funds on a 90 to 10 matching basis to be used exclusively for transportation of commuters by whatever method each State or region selects to meet its own mass transportation needs.

There is no reason why the 90-40 formula, used so successfully to construct the Interstate Highway System, should not be used to develop mass transportation systems for commuters, especially where interstate transit is involved. But the key point is the freedom of choice by the regional areas to determine for itself what method of transportation it will develop to speed the movement of its commuters.

3. A regional public agency to assure proper commuter service.

The agency should have flexible powers so that its role will be no larger than what is required to deal with the problem it faces at any particular time. The agency should have power to contract with existing carriers for proper service if that is found feasible. Or it should be able to operate rail service if that is ultimately found to be the only effective approach.

Perhaps the existing Trisate Transportation Committee should be given statutory power to assume these responsibilities in the New York-Connecticut-New Jersey metropolitan area. The agency might also involve Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

4. Modern, safe, clean, high-speed rail equipment.

No matter what arrangement is made to operate the rail service, the equipment used must be greatly improved. I am not talking here about visionary plans for monorail service, or automatically operated trains. I think our commuter service can and will be handled by the type of engines and cars that are now in operation. But we can expect newer equipment that is faster yet safe. We can expect adequate maintenance to assure on-time operation. And at the very least we can expect that the cars—and the stations too—are kept clean.

5. Replace outdated bridges and curves along New Haven-New York run to permit continuous high-speed operation.

There are points along this run now where trains must slow down solely because of outdated facilities. The type of financing I have suggested can be used to replace the bridge and curves that require less slowdowns.

6. Run commuter trains with convenient stops to Wall Street and through to New Jersey—no need to change at Grand Central.

Sound engineering studies have shown that through service to Wall Street and New Jersey can be accomplished and the resulting transit network will operate far more efficiently. Much time and expense is now wasted by the cumbersome operation of turning around commuter trains in the Grand Central railyard complex, and the same is true for trains coming to Manhattan through the New Jersey tubes. Through service would eliminate turnaround time. While the capital outlay would be high, the resulting saving in operating funds would be very significant.

The benefit to the commuter is clear. Imagine getting on at Fairfield, New Canaan, or Stamford and riding comfortably all the way to 14th Street, Brooklyn Bridge, or Wall Street. Except for its possible benefit to physical fitness, the twice-daily fight through the throng at Grand Central and into the subway is easily the most unnecessary part of the commuter's weary day.

These six points form a policy I believe can be used to meet the commuter needs of this region. And it is vitally important that we take action and take it soon.

Your families, their education, their living comforts and their health are important to you and to the Nation. You are entitled to have the advantages of living here in Connecticut with light, air, and roominess about you, with good schools available for your children and with easy access to recreational facilities. Those of you who work in the city can't have these advantages during the day but your families and you yourself are entitled to them during nonworking hours.

Recently, there is a tendency to move back to New York, which is chiefly motivated by the frustrations of commuting. Beyond the health and welfare reasons, this has serious economic implications not only for the communities here in Connecticut which depend on the New York metropolitan area but on that city as well.

We in Connecticut and surrounding States have much to offer by way of support to the New York area and ourselves—industrially, commercially, and socially. Let us not destroy our opportunities, as well as theirs, through lack of a precise approach to long-range solutions. I can think of nothing that more greatly influences property values and the course of community development than the lack of mass transportation service. Where rail service has been abandoned—on the west shore of the Hudson, for example—people have been forced to more expensive total cost of getting to and from the city or have moved to the east side of the Hudson. What would happen to Fairfield County if rail service were suspended tomorrow?

You will recall about 2 years ago that a tugboat strike in New York City caused picketing of the rails and disrupted rail service. Industry, business and individuals suffered losses of hundreds of thousands of dollars because many employees could not get to their jobs. We cannot afford to risk such an eventuality.

The commuting public should have the best possible system of total transportation. This problem must be solved, not on the basis of what is best for the railroad or for any special interest, but on the basis of what is best for the people.

## Time To Call Nikita's Bluff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I insert, under unanimous consent, the following in the RECORD:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Sept. 12, 1962]

"GET OUT OF CUBA AND STAY OUT"—TIME TO CALL NIKITA'S BLUFF

Russia's latest rocket rattling is something new in noise only because it is a "government statement" and not a Khrushchev popoff.

Three times since Castro openly turned the corner the Kremlin's windbag has shouted threats against the United States should it undertake to help tan Fidel's hide.

In July 1960, he cried that the Soviet Union had "rockets which can land precisely in a target land 13,000 kilometers away." Later he called this only a "symbolic" offer to Cuba, but everybody caught the drift.

A world thermonuclear war over Cuba or any other issue is unlikely unless civilization conditions itself for suicide.

The Soviet Union knows this as well as any other power. Indeed, it might be even more impressed, for least of any major country could it afford another blood-letting.

But it does not konw, just as Wilhelm II and Adolph Hitler did not know or did not believe, that once aroused, the American people will assure their security and complete any mission of freedom to which they have subscribed.

By everyone's admission, including Khrushchev's, the Soviet Union is now occupying Cuba—with how many men or whatever weapons, it makes no difference.

"Cuban statesmen (sic) have asked the Soviet Union to send military specialists and technicians to teach Cubans how to master modern weapons," said the Moscow statement.

The presence of this military force in the Western Hemisphere is a clear danger to its security. This is not the wild theorizing of Khrushchev's strawmen, the "American aggressors," but the rational conclusion of the score of states affected. They foresaw this day in treaties and pacts, and now they are reacting to its arrival.

The Soviet Union has blundered.

It has chosen to shore up a regime too weak to command the respect of its own countrymen or inspire the dread of its neighbors.

In doing so, it has introduced its military presence into the Western Hemisphere, and overnight this becomes a fact far more important than the rise of a seedy dictator in Cuba.

It means that for the first time forces of internal subversion in Latin America have near at hand the potential help of Soviet militarism.

It is time to call Khrushchev's ready bluff—which is callable.

It is time to tell the Soviet military coolly and calmly to get the hell out of Cuba and stay out.

## Tax Relief for Medical Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as Congress approaches its sine die adjournment for the year and we return home to our districts to inform the voters of the issues which have dominated this session and will face us in various forms in the 88th Congress, it is appar-

ent that the propaganda forces of the New Frontier will attempt to use the medicare issue as a major domestic political weapon.

This is most unfortunate, since sound, constructive proposals have been advanced whereby, with a minimum of job obstruction, sound programs to meet the medical needs of our Nation can be implemented.

The philosophy of sound, proper legislation in this field is expressed in a most effective fashion by an editorial entitled "Tax Relief for Medical Costs," which appeared in the Thursday, September 13, issue of the Chicago Heights Star, Chicago Heights, Ill. I insert it into the RECORD at this point, commending its logic and clarity to all:

AS WE SEE IT: TAX RELIEF FOR MEDICAL COSTS

Congress has been asked to increase the amounts deductible from Federal income taxes for allowable medical expenses. Heads of households, for example, could deduct as much as $20,000, rather than $15,000, if confronted by astronomical bills for medical treatment.

Few will deny that even persons able to meet such monumental expenses are entitled to a degree of tax relief. We think, however, that another aspect of medical expense deductions is in substantially greater need of attention.

We refer to the fact that nothing at all can be deducted by persons under 65 unless doctor bills exceed 3 percent of adjusted gross income, nor can the cost of drugs be applied unless they exceed 1 percent. Only the amounts exceeding these figures are deductible.

Here, it seems, is a change for the breast-beaters to prove there is a measure of sincerity in their pretended concern over the cost of staying healthy—not only for persons over 65 but for those who would like to have a few dollars left in the bank if and when they reach 65.

As far as the demagogues are concerned, it is not difficult to spot the objection. To a certain degree, this would be a substitute for socialized medicine. But there would be no actual socialization—just tax relief; there would be no Government control—no obvious indication that your Congressman and your President were making themselves good fellows every time you encountered a sniffle.

There can be no welfare state if people are permitted to retain a significant amount of their money and spend it as they see fit. So popular political formula in some quarters is to tax the people out of their resources and return to them whatever might be left or borrowed after creating jobs for the party faithful.

In Washington, this fractional return of your money is regarded as a gift.

## The ASC Farmer Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. E. C. GATHINGS**
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the farmer committee system of administering farm programs is under attack due to the shortcomings of a great minority of these groups.

The ASC committee system is not only government of and for farmers—it is government by farmers. The regulatory programs such as marketing quotas and orders rest upon favorable referenda among producers concerned. The farmer committees taking the leadership in explaining provisions and helping farmers understand not only what the program provisions are, but why they exist, and how the programs themselves relate to the total national economy.

Since it was created in 1936, the farmer committee system has weathered many storms and it has done so because of its good record. That record continues to add luster to the role of committeemen. Recently, as a result of the Billy Sol Estes affair, another all-out campaign is underway to undermine public confidence in the farmer committees.

I think the record should show the facts. In addition to 50 State committees, there are more than 3,000 county committees consisting of 9,160 elected committeemen.

And there are more than 27,000 community committees, also elected. Altogether there are about 90,000 county and community committeemen. Are all these to be punished because of the transgressions of a very few individuals? That would be rather like throwing the baby out with the bath.

The men comprising the committee system must be credited with much of the successful operation of the wheat stabilization and feed grain programs of the past 2 years, with their ultimate savings to taxpayers through reduction in surplus buildup of Commodity Credit Corporation stocks. Farmer committees are entitled to much of the credit for the $1.1 billion rise in farm income last year. This money is being spent with businessmen in small towns. It helps build schools and educate young folks.

The ASC farmer committees have worked hard and frequently under pressure of time to translate congressional authority into locally adaptable programs. Their dedication is not only to farmers but also to farm communities and to agriculture.

Better living standards go hand-in-hand with farm programs. We in Congress—and all Americans everywhere—owe much to the efficiency of ASC committees and their employees in county offices. Their truly remarkable achievements are helping all of us use our agricultural abundance to build a stronger and increasingly more virile America.

## Newburgh: The Record Continued

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a file of correspondence which I had dealing with the NBC white paper on Newburgh, N.Y.—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 11, 1962, pages 18024 to 18040. I have since received a letter from the Federal Communications Commission and, to bring the record of this matter up to date, I am placing this letter and my response to it, in the RECORD at this point:

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
*Washington, D.C., September 13, 1962.*
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CURTIS: This is with further reference to your letter of August 13, 1962, and enclosures, to the Chairman concerning the NBC program, "White Paper No. 9, The Battle of Newburgh." In your letter, you refer to the Commission's letter of July 18, 1962, to Mr. Joseph McD. Mitchell, city manager of Newburgh, N.Y. Your letter was acknowledged by the Acting Chairman, Commissioner Lee, on August 17, 1962.

You refer to a previous letter of April 2, 1962, sent by you to Mr. Robert Sarnoff, chairman of the board of directors of the National Broadcasting Co., a copy of which you furnished to the Commission. In your present letter, you reiterate two questions which you asked of Mr. Sarnoff and you ask for the Chairman's views with respect to: (1) Whether it is fair for the moderator, commentator, or editor to speak as a partisan on a program billed as a fair and objective presentation of a controversial issue without disclosing that said person is a partisan; and (2) if said person is a partisan, whether those who disagree with his position should be given an opportunity for replication. Because of the nature of your inquiry, and since it concerns a matter which the full Commission previously considered, we feel it more appropriate that your letter be answered by the full Commission.

Before discussing the questions you pose, we wish to indicate that we, of course, recognize that in programs such as these, where the issues and the merits are sharply debated and highly controversial, it would be unusual to find everyone satisfied with any single presentation of the subject matter. Almost as a matter of course, criticism of programs of this kind can be anticipated. We find it difficult to conceive of a program format better designed for an exactly equal division of opportunity to express conflicting views than the debate type. However, such a restriction on choice of format, was, we feel, neither contemplated by you, nor is it desirable.

As to your first question, commentary and analysis, as contrasted to straight reporting, should be clearly identified as such in the treatment of news. The program in question, however, appears to have been billed as an examination of Newburgh's controversial public welfare practices rather than as a straight news program. We agree that a serious public interest question would exist if the program had been described in a manner completely inconsistent with its actual content. From a comparison of the program itself with the description of the program given in enclosed copies of press releases issued by NBC prior to the broadcast of the program, we believe that the description therein was accurate—a view which we expressed in our letter of July 18, 1962, to Mr. Mitchell.

With respect to your second question, we wish to point out that neither the Communications Act nor the Commission's rules or policies prohibit the narrator of a program such as the one under discussion from expressing a point of view on a controversial issue of public importance. If he does, our sole concern is to determine whether there has been compliance with the Commission's "fairness doctrine."

The fairness doctrine, enunciated in the Commission's "Report on Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees," requires licensees to maintain a standard of fairness in the al-

location of time to differing viewpoints. Thus, where a licensee has allowed the use of its facilities for the expression of one viewpoint on a controversial issue of public importance, it is under an obligation to afford reasonable opportunities for the presentation of opposing views. In our letter of July 18, 1962, to Mr. Mitchell we concluded that there was no "evidence of an effort by NBC to present a documentary which would deliberately favor one side over the other" and that in applying the fairness doctrine to all of the information before us, we were "unable to conclude that there was a lack of 'reasonable opportunity' for the presentation of opposing views on the subject program."

Accordingly, in the absence of further evidence to the contrary, and in light of the policies set forth above and in our letter to Mitchell, we hereby affirm our action of July 18, 1962.

We appreciate your deep interest in this matter and trust that the views set forth above are responsive to the questions you raise.

By direction of the Commission:

NEWTON N. MINOW,
*Chairman.*

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SEPTEMBER 18, 1962.

Hon. NEWTON N. MINOW,
*Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. MINOW: Thank you for your letter of September 13, 1962, which you have written to me by direction of the Commission in answer to my inquiries in respect to the NBC–TV program "White Paper No. 9, The Battle of Newburgh."

In view of the documentation of unfairness which I have set out in my previous letters I can only conclude that the Commission has a different concept of fairness than the one I possess. I am hopeful that the American public does not share the Commission's standard of ethics in this matter.

In my judgment it becomes necessary to make the law very clear as to what constitutes proper standards of fairness in TV and radio broadcasts of controversial issues. As a legislator I shall endeavor to bring this about. It is a sad day for our country when cleverly disguised propaganda can be formally adjudged "fair presentation" by a public tribunal, as has very obviously been done in the instant case. To say that I am highly disappointed in the Commission's judgment is putting it mildly. That too becomes a matter of a proper political issue.

I am placing your letter and my answer in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to complete the public record I have made of this case and the important public issues it raises.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

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## Public Opinion Poll, Eighth District of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS**
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the year I distributed 45,000 questionnaires among the residents of the Eighth Congressional District of North Carolina. Approximately three-fifths were sent to residents of rural areas because many people in the district work in town but receive their mail on rural routes, and the remainder went to residents of the towns and cities in the district.

The response to this questionnaire was gratifying—5,321 returned questionnaires or almost 12 percent. The returns came from farmers, laborers, executives, storekeepers, clerks, teachers, housewives, and professional men and women.

Many who returned questionnaires extended their answers by adding explanatory comments. Some discussed issues not even listed on the questionnaire. I have personally read all of these supplementary comments and appreciate the willingness of so many people to share their views with me on important issues facing our country.

Although the final responsibility for votes I cast in Congress must necessarily be my own, and is always based upon a careful consideration of all of the pro and con arguments on a given bill, I believe the people should have an opportunity to express their views on current issues and to know that their views will receive consideration by me. The use of such a questionnaire is the most practicable way I know to give them that opportunity and I am pleased that so many took advantage of it.

Following are the questions and answers indicated on a percentage basis:

*1962 questionnaire*

| | Percent | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | No opinion |
| (1) Do you favor establishing a new Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs and Housing? | 16 | 77 | 7 |
| (2) Do you favor giving the President standby authority to adjust income taxes without prior act of Congress? | 11 | 86 | 3 |
| (3) Should the U.S. Government build and supply fallout shelters? | 23 | 66 | 11 |
| (4) Do you think the House Un-American Activities Committee serves a useful purpose? | 65 | 19 | 16 |
| (5) Do you favor giving the President authority to reduce tariffs below present levels? | 28 | 63 | 9 |
| (6) Do you favor spending an additional $5,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000 to send a man to the moon? | 42 | 50 | 8 |
| (7) Do you have a Government-sponsored medical care program for the aged? | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| (8) If so, which plan to you prefer? | | | |
| (a) A compulsory system for all persons under social security, regardless of need, to be financed by increasing social security taxes? | 19 | 25 | 56 |
| (b) Expanding the present Federal-State medicare program (Kerr-Mills) administered by the States? | 29 | 16 | 55 |
| (9) President Kennedy as proposed that the U.S. Government purchase ¼ of a $200,000,000 United Nations bond issue to finance United Nations operations in the Congo. Do you favor this proposal? | 27 | 65 | 8 |
| (10) Do you favor additional Federal aid for education? | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| (11) If so— | | | |
| (a) Would you restrict it to school construction? | 20 | 17 | 63 |
| (b) Would you provide aid for general operating expenses, including teacher salaries? | 16 | 22 | 62 |
| (c) Would you favor the Government relinquishing to the States a percentage of individual income taxes, or, say tobacco taxes, and earmark these funds for use by the States only for support of education, without any limitation as to use? | 34 | 18 | 48 |
| (12) Do you favor extending or expanding the existing Federal program of loans to college students? | 44 | 42 | 14 |
| (13) Or would you prefer legislation that would grant an income tax deduction for college tuition and expenses? | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| (14) Do you think postage rates should be adjusted periodically to make the postal service self-supporting? | 75 | 18 | 7 |
| (15) If so, do you believe each class of mail should pay its own way in accordance with cost ascertainment figures compiled by the Post Office Department? | 69 | 15 | 16 |
| (16) Or should some of the costs of certain classes of mail be provided out of general revenues because of their educational and cultural values? | 21 | 50 | 29 |
| (17) President Kennedy is proposing a $10,000,000,000 increase in the national debt limit. Do you favor this? | 19 | 73 | 8 |
| (18) If a Communist takeover could be prevented only by sending U.S. troops, would you favor doing so in— | | | |
| (a) Latin America | 72 | 12 | 16 |
| (b) Southeast Asia | 49 | 22 | 29 |
| (c) Africa | 48 | 25 | 27 |
| (d) Elsewhere outside the United States | 59 | 14 | 27 |
| (19) With respect to Berlin, would you— | | | |
| (a) Maintain our position at all costs | 74 | 10 | 16 |
| (b) Negotiate a settlement on the best terms available | 18 | 27 | 55 |
| (20) With respect to Cuba, would you— | | | |
| (a) Accept the status quo | 9 | 37 | 54 |
| (b) Support an invasion with enough forces to win | 44 | 18 | 38 |
| (c) Impose all possible economic sanctions | 65 | 5 | 30 |
| (d) Continue to seek support of the Organization of American States for strong cooperative action | 70 | 6 | 24 |
| (21) Do you favor the United States resuming nuclear bomb testing in the air? | 71 | 18 | 11 |

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## Cuban Solution a Tough Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an eidtorial entitled "Cuban Solution a Tough Question," which appeared in the Tyler Courier Times, Tyler, Tex., September 23, 1962. I feel it is a constructive discussion of the serious Cuban problem.

Certainly I am in favor of bringing about a sound solution of the serious Cuban problem—a sound solution favorable to the United States and the free world.

The editorial follows:

CUBAN SOLUTION A TOUGH QUESTION

What to do about Cuba?

At the advanced stage things have now reached, this is a very difficult question to answer.

The Russians and Red Chinese have sent thousands of technicians into Cuba, and millions of dollars worth of war materials

and weapons. They are constructing an armed camp on the island. Castro has invited them in and they have virtually taken over from him, it appears.

What should we do now?

The Bay of Pigs fiasco, in which this country of ours withdrew its promise of air support after the Cuban refugees had launched their attack, was probably the last chance of doing something about Cuba that would have been effective without use of our own troops in goodly quantities as far as going into that land is concerned.

So Congress and the President are now fishing around for some way to stop the Cuban buildup without starting a war.

Congress has taken several steps, some of which have the blessing of the administration and some of which do not.

The Senate passed Thursday a resolution serving notice on the Kremlin that the United States will fight, if necessary, to prevent Cuba from being turned into a military threat to any of its neighbors.

The declaration was drafted by leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties and is described as being intended as an expression of determination and solidarity by the Congress and the President.

The statement is strong—but it is merely a statement. The measure of its effectiveness lies in whether or not the Communists choose to test it. If they do, and we have only additional words to offer, it will be meaningless.

The House is expected to pass this resolution promptly.

Meanwhile it passed one of its own in cutting hundreds of millions of dollars from the administration's foreign aid bill.

The House tacked three amendments on the aid bill. All are aimed at stopping shipments of war materials to Cuba.

One would deny foreign aid to a nation whose vessels transport arms or strategic materials to the Castro regime. Another would prohibit any ship that carried war material or other economic goods to Cuba from entering a U.S. port to pick up foreign-aid shipments.

And a third, by Representative WALT ROGERS, of Amarillo, would deny foreign aid to any country whose ships carry trade of any kind to Cuba.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk quickly asked the Senate to remove the last amendment, claiming that it would cause too much friction with our allies. It "puts us in a straitjacket and makes it more difficult to do our job along with our allies," he said. He said it also threatens mutual allied work on the Berlin crisis.

Be that as it may, we need to do something to make it forcefully clear to our allies that we consider their help in hauling Red goods into Cuba an unfriendly act. If it takes a "straitjacket" to do it, let's have the straitjacket.

Another suggested alternative is a blockade of Cuba. A blockade is considered an act of war, as opponents to its usage claim.

It is well and good to say that "something should be done" about Cuba. Something should be. But what?

"Neglect" is one word which must be applied with meaning to the Cuba situation, being shared by both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. Responsibility in relation to U.S. foreign affairs is a greater term which remains elusive through a mixed layer cake of State Department people, Presidents and their staffs, Congress, and those who commit us in the U.N.

It is one thing for Members of Congress—and Representative LINDLEY BECKWORTH is the only voice in the House whom we can choose by vote—to holler "fight," and quite another thing to be the guy on the firing line. Especially if the guy and thousands like him have the sick feeling down inside that the years of bungling have been compounded beyond the excuse of human error in judgment.

An equally welcome firm stand from Congress and from the President would be one which takes action to give the boot to the softheads, at all levels. With nuclear threat as close to the continental United States as Wills Point to Carthage, several million citizens deserve a chance to have the same pride in their leaders as in their country.

In speaking out plainly that we view most gravely further military arming of Cuba, Congress is taking a strong step. But it must be prepared to take a stronger one to back up that step.

And a stronger step than that is very likely to be, whether blockade or landing of marines or what, an act of war to one degree or another. The American public should realize this fact and be prepared to live with it.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, with adjournment, the legislative branch of our Government will lose one of its most distinguished, respected, and beloved public servants. Although she has been a Member of Congress for only 6 years, KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN has a record of accomplishment that merits acclaim in every book on American history and American sociology.

Mrs. GRANAHAN'S achievements in behalf of her fellow men date back far beyond her election to Congress on November 6, 1956. Her sympathetic interest in the indigent, the sick, and the crippled prompted her participation in numerous charitable organizations, statewide as well as local, from her early youth. Her many awards include a doctor of laws degree from St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia.

Dr. GRANAHAN'S husband was William Thomas Granahan, a veteran of World War I, a successful business executive, a Pennsylvania State official, and himself a Member of Congress. He died on May 25, 1956, and his widow was then elected.

America will never be able to repay KATHRYN GRANAHAN for her vigorous crusade against indecent literature. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, she fought constantly for stringent legislation to protect our homes and families from the despicable invasion of pornographic and licentious material which came to threaten the Nation's morality. As the father of a teenage boy, I am one of the millions who can appreciate first hand her outstanding work in this field.

Mr. Speaker, numerous publications have commended KATHYRN GRANAHAN for her dedication in the cause of decency and virtue. Other Members will join me in paying tribute to her as she prepares to leave the Congress. Yet I feel that what would mean most to her is a pledge by Members of both the House and Senate to continue her work with firm resolution and persistence until her objectives are realized.

Actually, our efforts in this direction will probably never be completed. The selfish peddlers of smut have made this perverted industry a highly paying business. Alined with this selfish element is the ever-menacing subversive who seeks to destroy the Nation's moral standards through corruption of our youth. This threat was recognized long ago by the editor of the Johnstown-Altoona Catholic Register, who said that there is no doubt but that much of the obscene and pornographic literature distributed in this country is inspired and financed by Communists as a part of their plan to destroy America's moral fiber.

With these evil forces relentlessly attempting to prey upon the minds of our youth, Congress must all times remain alert to the problem. If we make such a promise to KATHRYN GRANAHAN, I know that she can walk out of this Chamber with an even greater feeling of accomplishment.

The battle against salacious printed material is but one of the outstanding marks set by our colleague. She has voted with a deep sense of responsibility on every issue that has come before us. Moreover, her refreshing personality and quick sense of humor have made Capitol Hill a better place to work.

We thank you, KATHRYN GRANAHAN.

A commendation from the Philadelphia Inquirer of September 24, 1962, follows:

CASE HISTORY: KATE GRANAHAN

(By John M. Cummings)

Pennsylvania's failure to keep the pace of progress set by the country as a whole has brought about a loss of three Congressmen. While the State in the 1960 census showed an overall increase, 22 counties, including Philadelphia, were on the minus side, this city by a round 70,000 by comparison with the figures for the 1950 census.

The city of Pittsburgh, home of Governor Lawrence, fell to the tune of 72,000.

It should be noted these are cities under overwhelming Democratic control, cities dominated during the greater part of the decade by the fancy Dans who now tell you we have been making great progress with better times to come.

Neither Mr. Dilworth, the Democratic nominee for Governor, nor Senator CLARK, seeking a second hitch in Washington, has a recipe for winning back the three seats in the House. In fact, they say nothing about the loss, but day by day they ask you to put on your rose-tinted glasses and believe their tales of progress.

Because of the decrease in its population, Philadelphia suffers the loss of one of the three Congressmen. Oddly enough—or was it so odd?—the Member forced by Bill Green to step aside, was the woman who has won national fame by her courageous crusades against pornographic literature, photographs, and other forms of filth.

KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, who became a Member of Congress in 1956, succeeding her late husband, by her persistent fight against the vicious reading matter, established herself firmly in the hearts of women the country over. And men, too, for that matter, if they were interested in the campaign to wipe out this sort of poison.

She was by no means the junior member of the Philadelphia delegation of six members. Two Johnnies-come-lately had more influence with Bill Green, who, as chairman

of the Democratic city committee, had the deciding voice.

Influences outside the political domain are understood to have played a part in Green's showing the gate to KATE GRANAHAN. After all, there's a lot of dirty money to be gained in the pornographic racket. Whether any of it went into the coffers of the Democratic city or State committee is difficult to determine. Especially since the city machine refused pointblank to permit an inspection of its records by the prosecutor named by Judge Alessandroni to handle the grand jury investigation—if one is ever conducted.

It has been acknowledged that the city committee got $4,000 from the coin operator's association for "value received," as the saying goes.

It's to be regretted that there was no great outcry from substantial Democratic leaders in protest against the dropping of Mrs. GRANAHAN. She is a supporter of Mr. Dilworth. But the "great reformer" had his own fish to fry. In the furtherance of his decade-old ambition to be elected Governor, he could not afford to annoy the city leader with a good word for the doomed lady. But Mr. Dilworth could find time to join Green—who despised him—in a tear-jerking plea against a grand jury investigation of the iniquities in city hall.

President Kennedy has come forward with the medicine to ease the pain in the heart of KATE GRANAHAN. He is going to make her Treasurer of the United States, a pleasant, well-paying job. When she takes office sometime after the first of the year, you'll see a facsimile of her signature on the debased paper money you use. The President owes this to Mr. Green. After all, Bill surprised the country with the size of the vote his machine turned in for Mr. Kennedy in 1960.

Still, a lot of folks, fearful of the effects of pornography on the children of the Republic, can hardly be blamed if they continue to wonder at the source of the influence that resulted in the roughhouse treatment for their champion in Congress—KATHRYN GRANAHAN.

## Pork-Barrel Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in the September 13 issue of the New York Times appears an editorial commenting on the recently enacted law which gives the President broad discretionary powers in the field of public works. The emphasis on the request was economic, the result was purely pork-barrel, as the editorial points out. I think the editorial does a fine job of pointing out the weaknesses in the proposal which the Congress has passed.

It follows:

DIPPING INTO THE PORK BARREL

Congress has just passed a bill to authorize $900 million in Federal spending on public works during the current fiscal year. Its avowed intention is to counter unemployment and stimulate economic activity, but the bill is still redolent of the pork barrel.

The administration had sought a new flexible approach to public works, one that would give the President standby authority to accelerate or restrain spending based on prevailing economic conditions. It felt that it could cut down on waste and make the impact of the public works projects more positive, by long-term planning.

This appeared a commendable experiment, but the Senate insisted on following its traditional pork-barrel approach. The present emergency public works bill has little in common with the administration's proposal. Congress is against any change in the pork-barrel system, which is aimed at producing votes rather than jobs.

## Buying Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party attempts to give the public the idea that it has some sort of monopoly on seeking fair salaries for Federal employees. This is strictly contradicted by the strong statements by the Honorable Marion Folsom, many former members of the Eisenhower administrations, and businessmen who have endorsed the position of the National Civil Service League, a nonpartisan organization which seeks comparability of pay between public servants and private executives. I would like, if the House so wishes, under unanimous consent, to insert an editorial from the June 5, 1962, Cleveland Plain Dealer on this subject into the RECORD, accompanied by a factual article on the matter from Monday's Washington Post:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, June 5, 1962]

BUYING GOOD GOVERNMENT

The National Civil Service League, represented as a nonpartisan citizens' organization, is seeking editorial support for H.R. 10480, a measure now before Congress. The proposal would overhaul thoroughly the salary arrangements in the Federal Government structure. The league says it would increase the competence and efficiency of Government operations by providing greater rewards at the higher levels of service.

The contention is that private business, State and local governments and universities drain off our top scientists and administrators.

Can good government administration be bought?

The league believes so—at a price. Under the proposal, the cost for the first calendar year, 1963, would be an increase of $448 million. By 1965 the increases would pass the billion-dollar mark. But the league assures that the increased competence of better direction would more than outweigh in value the total cost of the program.

The people affected would be all graded civil service employees.

The Government in Washington spends over $80 billion annually and this calls for responsible leadership. But it is doubtful if Federal Government employment, except at the top, can be as attractive as private employment even though the salaries are comparable. The virtue of personal initiative, for one thing, recognized in private business but necessarily restricted in Government employment, often is as much a lure for the bright young man or woman as immediate cash.

On one item the league oversells. It states the new Government employee can look forward to increasing his beginning pay only 3½ times—if he rises to the very top. People of the same caliber, with equal training, who enter industry can expect to multiply their annual earnings as much as 8 or 12 times their starting salary. With Government, a $6,000-per-year starter can go to $18,500, the league says, but no further. How many people do you know in private industry making $48,000 to $72,000?

While we are aware of the needs of civil service protection and the dedication which competent Federal Government employees bring to their jobs, we aren't sold on the idea that the taxpayer must come up with another billion dollars so that more people shall be supported at public expense. Or that an employer should, in effect, subsidize a rival for the services of his employees.

The aim of the league and the proposal appears too high.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 24, 1962]

ADMINISTRATION'S PAY REFORM PLAN WINS ENDORSEMENT OF BIG BUSINESS

(By Jerry Kluttz)

Big business leaders and alumni of the Eisenhower administration have thrown impressive support behind President Kennedy's Federal pay reform plan, which emphasizes comparable pay rates in Government with those in industry.

The alliance is one of the first tangible examples of the kind of cooperation between the business community and Government on a domestic issue which Mr. Kennedy says he so urgently seeks.

It is also a rare occasion when alumni of the previous Republican administration have teamed up to endorse publicly a program of the administration in power.

The agreement was coordinated by the National Civil Service League, a nonpartisan group dedicated to better Government and it could supply the spark the stalled pay program needs to pass Congress before it adjourns.

The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee meets again today on the bill by its chairman, Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, Democrat, of South Carolina, which embraces the comparability principle and other salary reforms sought by Mr. Kennedy. JOHNSTON is optimistic of passage this year.

"The Senate bill is not perfect," James B. Watson, executive director of the league, said, "in that it places a little less emphasis at the top and a little too much emphasis at the bottom of the pay scale. But generally speaking, it is a wise and constructive measure. A few years hence, or even today, it can lead to our having a farsighted, hard-hitting and dynamic career service."

Marion D. Folsom, an official of Eastman Kodak and a former HEW Secretary in the Eisenhower administration, conducted a poll of industrial bigwigs on their reaction to the President's pay reforms. A similar project was conducted by Rocco C. Siciliano, a former personnel adviser to President Eisenhower and now a partner in the law firm here of Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker.

Their responses were virtually unanimous in support of the President's plan in specifics as well as in principle. Nearly all of them stressed the urgent need of that part of the measure which would pay key Federal administrative, scientific, and technical personnel salaries in line with industrial rates.

So far, neither Folsom nor Siciliano has received any real dissent from members of the business community or of the Eisenhower administration.

The Johnston bill blunts the comparability principle by making sharp cuts in pay rates advocated by the President for employees in the middle and top brackets whose

salaries lag furthest behind industrial salaries.

The Senate committee "understands" however, that the President early next year will recommend to Congress a new upward adjustment of these salaries, plus those of Cabinet members and other Federal executives. The President's plan also will be an invitation to Members of Congress to raise their $22,500 salaries.

Folsom sent business leaders a copy of his statement in support of the President's pay plan and asked for their reactions to it. These are among the responses he received from them:

John A. Barr, chairman, Montgomery Ward & Co.: "I would fully endorse the proposition as reflected in your statement and am hopeful that it will receive favorable action by the Congress."

William Benton, publisher, Encyclopedia Britannica: "My own prejudice out of my own experience in Washington is that the salaries for top men in the Government are much too low."

Joseph L. Block, chairman, Inland Steel Co.: "I personally heartily approve the recommendations of your group which I think are essential to give the Nation the competence it should have in the higher echelons of Federal service."

Carter L. Burgess, chairman, American Machine & Foundry Co.: "I heartily agree that there is definite and immediate need for salary reform in the Federal Government."

George Champion, chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank: "Our Government, being as big as it is, should surely compete with the best minds and I am delighted to see you present this so well."

Gen. Lucius D. Clay, chairman, Continental Can Co.: "Thank you for the copy of your report on Federal pay system. I find myself in complete agreement with the views it expresses."

John T. Connor, President, Merck & Co.: "I agree with you completely that we shall continue to have mediocre Goverement administration, or worse, until we take the necessary steps to attract and retain qualified people on a career basis."

Charles O. Mortimer, chairman, General Foods Corp.: "I wish you success in your efforts to attract more capable people to key Government positions."

T. S. Petersen, former chairman, Standard Oil of California: "I am heartily in accord. You know, as I do, how vital to the business and industry is the matter of equitable salaries."

Philip D. Reed, chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of New York: "I read with the greatest interest the statement you made on the subject of Federal salary reform. It is clear, and in my judgment, compelling."

Harry Scherman, chairman, Book-of-the Month Club: "It is difficult to ask a citizen to serve the Government at a considerable financial sacrifice. Many cannot afford to do so."

Gen. C. R. Smith, president, American Airlines: "I agree with your conclusion that the addition of competent people to the Government service is much more likely if the income scale is reasonably comparable with industrial standards."

Adm. Lewis L. Strauss: "I am in complete accord with the policy you advocate in respect to salary reform in the Federal service."

Leo D. Welch, chairman, Standard Oil of New Jersey: "I cannot think of anything more constructive than efforts to upgrade the caliber of the men who are attracted to the higer levels of the Government service. I strongly support your recommendations and hope that they will be accepted."

Frazer B. Wilde, chairman, Connecticut General Life Insurance Co.: "Your talk to the salary group in Washington was outstanding. I hope it made an impression."

Siciliano received similar prompt and energetic responses from those close to the former Eisenhower administration. Generally, their statements agree with former Budget Director Percival E. Brundage who wrote: "I agree 100 percent with the incerase in top level salaries."

Robert Dechert, former General Counsel of the Defense Department and now a Philadelphia attorney, said: "I thoroughly agree with the importance of carrying out the plan referred to in your letter and will do everything I can to help."

Other Eisenhower alumni who endorsed the President's pay reforms were John A. Hannah, president, Michigan State University; Richard Jackson, vice president, Fram Corp.; Neil H. Jacoby, dean, graduate school of business administration, University of California; G. B. Kistiakowsky, Harvard University; Arthur Larson, director, World Rule of Law Center, Duke University; Robert E. Merriam, president, Spaceonics, Inc.; George T. Moore, consultant; Robert D. Murphy, president, Corning Glass International; James T. O'Connell, director, industrial relations, Hudson Pulp & Paper Corp.; Clarence Randall, former chairman, Inland Steel Co.

## Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1963

SPEECH
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13175) making appropriations for foreign aid and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Chairman, our foreign aid is a terrible mistake in policy and practice. Like a broken record we keep repeating these charges and yet our Government keeps demanding and spending the money anyway. I am opposed to the waste, mismanagement, and inefficiency. More, I am opposed to the policy or underlying philosophy which indicates a reliance on dollars, on gifts, on buying support instead of moral and spiritual concepts and the cooperation of allies through the strength and leadership of the United States. We spend as apologists and defeatists. We seem to lead from weakness. Actually, we do not lead, we follow in a do-as-we-are cowed appearance or do-as-we-must-to-create-an-image conduct. Our policies are self-defeating, if we still treasure and believe in freedom, dignity, and respect for the finest of human values—our moral and religious beliefs. But all these matters we debated during the foreign-aid authorization.

Any proof needed for the foregoing, or my other briefs in the futility of foreign aid can be found in the report accompanying the bill and the criticism of the members of the Appropriations Subcommittee, chairmaned by Mr. PASSMAN, of Louisiana. I compliment him for the views he expressed in his presentation and identify myself with these views. Hence, I must oppose this sorry, sorry bill, this self-defeating and suicidal foreign-aid appropriation.

## Football and Politics: The Kennedy Harrisburg Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, with the football season and the political campaign season now fully upon us, Dolph Simons, Jr.'s sharp and witty comments on the similarity between the public statements of coaches and campaigners are especially well timed.

I am pleased to be able to bring his "Saturday Column," from the Lawrence, Kans., Daily Journal-World of September 22, to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the attention of anyone else here in Washington who may happen to read it:

THE SATURDAY COLUMN

(By Dolph C. Simons, Jr.)

Have you ever noticed how much politicians and athletic coaches resemble each other in their efforts to mesmerize an unsuspecting public?

Men in both occupations are experts at clouding an issue, distorting a given situation, and they try to obscure the obvious. In many cases they are successful. In a great number of instances, facts are conveniently shoved aside or ignored.

Since many major league fotball teams swing into action today, look at some of the more common statements often heard from coaches prior to season openers. Dan Devine, of Missouri, says, "We still aren't ready to play from a technical standpoint. It's always that way, I guess, but it seems to be more true this season than in any other year I have coached. We still only have one experienced man at right guard." He doesn't speak about the experienced men at all other positions, only the right guard, and statements such as this are designed to handle either a loss or a win. If he loses to California, Devine can say, "I told you so," and if he wins, alumni will think, "That Devine is a heck of a good coach, winning that game with no experience at right guard."

KU's Jack Mitchell isn't any different. "If they're (KU) ever going to be scared, they ought to be now. They (TCU) could beat anyone in the Nation." Again, this helps condition the alumni, and Abe Martin, TCU coach, is probably saying the same thing about KU, i.e., "They (KU) could beat anyone in the Nation."

Coaches always want to talk about weaknesses and troubles, rather than telling about players who are extremely good. Or they ignore the overall strength of their teams. And, the public too often seems to go along with the distortions.

Politicians are no different. The only major difference might be that politicians like to keep denying charges made by members of the opposition party—or sometimes even members within the same party.

President Kennedy kicked off his personal campaign Thursday night to help in the election of Democratic Representatives and Senators. If this is just the start, coaches like Devine, Mitchell, and others will look as if they are still in kindergarten compared to the graduate school student in the White House in this business of clouding the issues and ignoring the facts.

The President said, "I hold a great responsibility for the conduct of the Nation's campaign for progress. And one fact is clear beyond dispute: That this country requires,

if it is to move ahead, a progressive Congress—in short, a Democratic Congress." Maybe some wide-eyed, head-in-the-clouds listener would say, "That's right, Jack—we are for you." Just as a professional downtown quarterback member will swallow anything a coach might tell him.

But just what does Kennedy want? He has had a Democratic-controlled House and a Democratic Senate, yet he still isn't able to get passage of many pet bills. Does he want a rubberstamp Congress which will give him an automatic OK on any program he might dream up? The Nation has been told time and time again about the need for a Democratic Congress. Maybe top Democratic leaders are going along with the idea that if you tell a lie often enough, there are bound to be some who will believe it. But the fact remains, Kennedy has had a Democratic Congress since he first took office.

But after his statement about the need for a Democratic Congress, Kennedy came back in the same speech, before the same audience, and said, "No Congress in recent times has matched such a record of progress and compassion. And only a Democratic Congress could amass such a record. For these were Democratic bills, sponsored, guided, and enacted by Democratic majorities."

Evidently when something is passed that the President likes, all credit is due to the Democratic majority in the House and Senate. When something is stopped, it is generally blamed on the Republican minority. This is a little difficult to figure out.

Kennedy told his Pennsylvania audience about Strategic Air Command jets now being on alert throughout the world. This is nothing new—it was the same under the past administration, but it is the same old trick of the crafty football coaches, telling the public what they want to hear.

After this session of Congress is completed, the record will probably show it rates with the alltime great do-nothing sessions. The President boasts about passage of a bill which protects "unsuspecting housewives" from the purchase of "harmful or worthless drugs." But his Democratic-controlled Congress probably wouldn't have even passed this bill if it had not been for the tragic birth deformities caused by thalidomide.

For months the President and his top aids denied there was a Communist build-up in Cuba, yet Friday they reported as many as 65 to 75 Soviet ships have docked in Cuba since July. How can the public have confidence in their leaders when one day they say one thing, then the next day do a complete about-face?

As stated earlier, there really isn't too much difference between athletic coaches and top politicians such as Kennedy. Win the confidence of the public, gain support, win the battles if possible, whether it be on the gridiron or in Congress, but if you can't win, blame someone else.

The only trouble is that it is a much more critical game when played by the elected leaders of the country. Coaches can get by with it and there often is no serious damage. It is a different story for the "coaches" of the country. The stakes are too high for such artful dodging.

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## Blueprint for the Coast Guard

SPEECH

OF

## HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of this House know, the U.S. Coast Guard is one of the prime areas of the jurisdiction of my Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. It is a great arm of our Government, performing invaluable services in a variety of important ways in time of peace, and as a vital element of the Navy in time of war. My own personal interest in this important agency is well known throughout my career in the Congress.

As time has gone on and new developments have occurred with increasing frequency in recent years the importance of the functions performed by this agency has increased. Yet, I regret to say that I feel that the agency has not been allowed fully to meet its increasing responsibilities.

For the past several years I have frequently expressed the view that we must modernize our Coast Guard to meet its new responsibilities in regard to their duties in coastal areas, in the field of pleasure boating in which around 30 million people are now engaged, increasing sophistication in navigation technology and ship construction, advanced safety requirements for ships at sea, participation in improvement of navigation on a worldwide basis, participation in our newly emphasized oceanographic program, and activities in the frozen waters of both poles.

The Coast Guard has been hampered by the availability of facilities to meet its widespread obligations. Its vessels are aging and in large part are World War II surplus from other services. Only recently has there been some improvement in the aircraft they need for their vital part in our national search and rescue program. Their polar capability is clearly inadequate with the few World War II icebreakers now in service.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am greatly gratified to read the splendid speech delivered to the Propeller Club, Port of Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, September 19, 1962, by the able and experienced new commandant of the Coast Guard, Adm. E. J. Roland, in which he sets forth the needs of the Coast Guard to meet its responsibilities in the immediate future. Under his command I know we will see the progress that is needed. I commend this excellent speech to all Members of the House.

The text follows:

SPEECH GIVEN BY ADMIRAL ROLAND AT PROPELLER CLUB LUNCHEON, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 19, 1962

The Coast Guard represents different things to different people. The resulting public image usually depends on limited contacts in special fields. These may range from merchant marine safety functions to flood evacuation or from supervision of explosive loading to a helicopter assist. Those present today represent broad and varied interests in maritime affairs and are basically familiar with the Coast Guard's overall operations.

In deference to this familiarity and with an eye on the clock, I'll limit myself to a short review of only those Coast Guard missions directly concerned with our ship operations, develop the multiplicity of individual operations, tie these to planning factors affecting ship numbers and ship design, and finish with a review of present and planned new vessel construction.

Search and rescue, operation of ocean stations, aids to navigation, law enforcement, icebreaking, oceanography, and war readiness are all statutory functions requiring ship operation.

The support of these functions by ship operations may vary in character from a 2-hour buoy tender trip to an 8-month Antarctic cruise. The locale may be the western rivers, coastal waters, any of the oceans or the Great Lakes.

Climate extremes extend from the heat and humidity of the tropics to the cold and ice of the Arctic. I mention these factors to emphasize the variety of tasks and conditions which must be considered in programing Coast Guard ship operations.

If it were possible to design a ship for one mission, to operate in a fixed geographic location and then limit it to that function and location, ship design and ship numbers would easily be determined by simple formula. However, except in a few special cases, Coast Guard ships are all assigned multiple missions, even those specifically designed for a primary task.

To illustrate, picture an imaginary stretch of coastline with one good-sized port. It is in the northern part of the United States and supports a large offshore fishing fleet. Trade is primarily foreign and the area attracts a large seasonal boat population during the summer months.

The port and coastline flank a major ocean shipping lane which is well offshore. The port city is also a major air terminal for transocean flights. From these assumed factors we will now program units to cover statutory functions.

The commercial ship, fishing boat, and yacht population will require search and rescue coverage. This will suggest major cutter capability for offshore ship and plane incidents, medium patrol cutter coverage for the fishing fleet, and small patrol boat coverage for the yacht population.

The aids to navigation including buoyage, offshore structures, lightships, et cetera, would require buoy tender support. The concentration of foreign trade shipping develops a requirement for law enforcement which would be provided by harbor tugs. The northern climate suggests the need for icebreaking services during severe winter weather. By utilizing only single purpose units a modest-sized fleet would be required to meet these statutory missions. The actual assignment of units might be somewhat as follows:

Homeport, three major cutters with the primary mission of manning ocean stations. Transit and underway training time, together with 2-hour standby periods, would provide a ready major cutter for search and rescue.

Station, one ocean buoy tender for aid to navigation purposes. Although the aid to navigation workload represents only 70 percent of a normal ship standard, distance to the next closest port precludes economical servicing from another port. Add an icebreaking capability to the buoy tender, and this mission, together with an occasional search and rescue assist, will keep the ship fully productive.

Station one medium range cutter and one patrol boat for search and rescue in connection with the fishing fleet and yachts. Assign the additional tasks of enforcing fishery treaties and routine boarding. The larger ships listed above would back up this search and rescue mission.

Assign one or two harbor tugs the primary law enforcement mission, add icebreaking capability to provide backup icebreaking when required. These tugs would also have special firefighting capability to augment the local fire departments in marine and dock fires.

The foregoing assignment of units is obviously a compromise. Resources are limited. Many of the tasks are not susceptible to 100 percent accomplishment; an infinite number of search and rescue units for example, would not always prevent loss of life or property.

However, I believe this imaginary example underlines a basic Coast Guard operational concept, that units must be versatile and multipurpose.

I have purposely omitted up to this time another statutory charge which has loomed progressively larger in Coast Guard ship operations. I refer to "assistance to other Government agencies."

This is on a not-to-interfere with primary mission basis. These requests are always in support of legitimate U.S. objectives, often of a high priority nature and made because the Coast Guard is the only source of the aid or the only source without excessive expenditures of Federal funds.

Responsible management of those U.S. resources entrusted to the Coast Guard entails acceptance of these missions which available capability will permit. Many can be accomplished in connection with a scheduled operation; on the other hand, many can be carried out only by scheduling a special operation.

These functions are not reflected in the Coast Guard budget; however, they are not mentioned here as a plea for more funds but rather as a complicating factor in ship operations and future planning of facilities. The decision on acceptance of these tasks would be considerably easier if a work standard for a ship were fixed at a finite limit. The variety of tasks each unit performs contributes to maximum utilization but this variety militates against a planned finite utilization. This problem is under continuous review and bears heavily on future ship replacements as well as ship design.

I've wandered around the subject of ship operations briefly touching a good many subjects without fully developing any. Again, I'll plead your general knowledge of maritime affairs and the clock.

I would like to mention a few of our special operations which are not common knowledge before proceeding to the ship construction programs.

At the request of the Federal Aviation Administration deep-sea buoys are being maintained on selected ocean stations. This is in connection with Operation Accordion which is a study directed toward reduction of air space assignment on transocean flights.

The Saturn missile engines are under continuous Coast Guard escort from Huntsville, Ala., to Cape Canaveral, a 10-day trip.

During extreme weather the Texas towers off the east coast are evacuated. The Coast Guard maintains a ship patrol in the vicinity to discourage visitors.

An icebreaker is now en route to the Arctic Ocean for an oceanographic cruise along the Siberian coast. Seven U.S. agencies or U.S. contract universities are participating.

Radioactive waste disposal for the U.S. Public Health Service is routinely performed in the Atlantic.

Ocean station vessels routinely are collecting water and air samples for measurement of carbon 14 and strontium 90 for the Atomic Energy Commission.

Ship support for a radioactive survey of certain areas of the Marshall Islands is being provided next summer to the Atomic Energy Commission.

Ocean station vessels are supporting a bathymetric sounding survey for the Navy Oceanographic Office. Annual production is approximately 26,000 observations with 350,000 miles of track observations.

The operations I have just mentioned have been selected at random to illustrate the versatility which we feel we must demand from our units. Design of new construction must contribute to this versatility.

The new construction since the war has been primarily 95-foot and 82-foot patrol boats, 76 in number. We are operating 36 major cutters built from 1937 to 1945, average age is over 20 years; 4 major icebreakers, average age 20 years; 43 ocean buoy tenders, average age over 20 years; 15 patrol craft, average age over 30 years. Without going into a further recital of numbers the problem faced is serious, block obsolescence of the major part of the Coast Guard Fleet.

This block obsolescence was not unforeseen. Concentration of building programs just before and during World War II obviously was going to result in many units reaching retirement age at the same time. It is difficult to justify retiring ships early, while they still have a useful life, in order to forestall block obsolescence.

It does make a replacement problem expensive and difficult when so many units reach old age at the same time. In anticipation of this development the Coast Guard has made a detailed and searching study of vessel requirements. The study was based on present missions, and attempted to reflect predictable future requirements. As a result we believe that we know what we need in the way of ship types and numbers.

A summary of building requirements based on a modern and adequate fleet by 1970 using obsolescence figures from the Ebasco report of 1948 would require: 38 high-endurance cutters; 26 medium-endurance cutters; 3 large icebreakers; 17 coastal buoy tenders; 21 inland tenders; 4 harbor tugs, large; 14 harbor tugs, small; 12 lightships. It is estimated that this program would cost somewhat more than $700 million.

A very modest start has been made on this building program. Fiscal 1962 funds include 2 medium patrol cutters now under construction, 10 82-foot patrol boats, of which 5 have been delivered, 3 small inland buoy tenders, and 6 small harbor tugs. Fiscal 1963 funds have been provided for 1 medium patrol cutter, 3 82-foot patrol boats, 1 coastal tender, 1 inland tender, and 1 small river tender.

The high-endurance cutter is the planned backbone of a new Coast Guard fleet. Preliminary and evaluation designs have been completed. The constructural contract design is to be completed in May of 1963. None of this class is yet authorized, although a prototype is being requested in the fiscal 1964 budget. The high-endurance cutter will have twin screws powered by a combination diesel-gas turbine plant. Each shaft will have 3,500 diesel horsepower and 9,000 gas turbine horsepower. She will make 20 knots on diesel power and under full power have a sustained 25 knots. This ship will displace 2,688 tons at a draft of 14 feet; length, 372 feet; and beam, 42 feet. The stacks will be in the masts. She will be able to support a helicopter from a retractable hangar. The electronic installation will be of an integrated design for her missions and will include an antisubmarine capability. All control spaces and living spaces will be air conditioned. Habitability is being stressed. Boat handling gear will include hydraulic-ram davits which will put gas-turbined surfboats in the water in 3½ seconds. We believe that this ship will adequately perform the various duties which are required to offshore operations.

The medium endurance cutter is now established as a class. The first launching will be in April of next year. She will have the same diesel-gas turbine combination described above. Twin screws, variable pitch propellers with a 1,500 horsepower diesel and 1,000 horsepower gas turbine on each shaft. She will have a sustained speed of 19 knots. Length, 210 feet overall, beam 34 feet, and draft 10 feet displacing 900 tons. Exhaust will be through the stern in order to clear deck space for a helicopter deck. She will not carry a helicopter but will be able to operate one from her afterdeck. Boats and boat handling gear will be similar to those of the high endurance cutter. Living and control spaces will be air conditioned. Habitability has been stressed.

The coastal buoy tender is another new design. One hundred fifty-seven feet overall and some 500 tons displacement, she is designed to fill the need for a tender intermediate between the seagoing 180 footer and the small inland tenders.

Some of her interesting features include light icebreaking ability, twin controllable pitch propellers, bow thruster unit to further increase maneuverability, steering and engine control stations on each bridge wing in addition to the pilothouse station, lever steering control (instead of the usual wheel). Her 10-ton boom will be hydraulic powered and controlled from either of two enclosed stations incorporated in the superstructure just below bridge deck level. Most of these features have been individually developed and service tested in other ships, but this is the first ship to incorporate these new design ideas in one package.

The inland tender is a 100-foot vessel which reflects refinements in the design of our *Azalea*, servicing aids to navigation in the intercoastal waterway since her commissioning in 1954.

The small river tender is being developed for working aids on the Missouri and is a highly specialized 75-foot river towboat and 90-foot barge combination—the first of a fleet of six river tenders which the Coast Guard needs in order to assume responsibility for buoyage in the navigable portions of the Missouri River.

I have attempted to give you a quick rundown of our ship operations and ship requirements for the future. We believe that we get good mileage out of the resources entrusted to our management and further feel that in order to maintain and improve our service to the United States, we need a modern fleet. We look forward to the future with confidence that the necessary resources will be made available.

## Self-Employment Pension Plan

SPEECH

OF

### HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the conference report before us, on H.R. 10, to establish a so-called self-employment pension plan, has been changed and adjusted to provide us with a most equitable bill which should merit our earnest consideration.

The Senate amendments which would have had the effect of damaging pension and profit-sharing plans already in effect have been eliminated and, in its present form, this bill will not be as costly in revenues of the Federal Government as the original House version.

This conference report represents a conscientious effort by the committee to equalize any existing inequality between the pension situation of the company employee and that of the self-employed individual.

This is the best compromise on this bill that can now be accomplished and while the expressed fears of opportunities for tax avoidance or evasion maneuvering appear to have been successfully answered, such developments can be readily corrected in the future, if they do occur. As now constituted and revised, the bill is worthy of our confidence and recommends itself to our approval.

## Gov. Otto Kerner, of Illinois, Presents a Formula for Dealing With Welfare Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure Sunday to attend the Czechoslovak Day observance at the Bohemian Home for the Aged in my district, with the Honorable Otto Kerner, Governor of Illinois, as the main speaker.

I should like to call the attention of my colleagues the excellent speech which the Governor presented at this observance. It should be of particular interest to all of us who are concerned about the mounting cost of our Nation's welfare program.

Governor Kerner's remarks diplay the great compassion he has for the problems of the less fortunate. At the same time they show a keen awareness of the fact that our welfare programs are designed to serve the needy and not the greedy.

Governor Kerner has won statewide recognition in Illinois for his determined effort to serve the interests of those who really need government assistance, but remove from the roles those who have abused this program in the past.

Governor Kerner's excellent remarks follow:

REMARKS OF GOV. OTTO KERNER, CZECHOSLOVAK DAY OBSERVANCE, BOHEMIAN HOME FOR THE AGED, CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1962

As I know you realize, I am called upon many times to address any number of different groups. I have spoken to gatherings throughout the State, both large and small, and while each is a stimulating experience, some have a deeper personal meaning than others. Today in the company of many old and dear friends, this occasion is one of those wonderful moments.

The days and months have quickly passed since our family took up residence in Springfield. Amid the busy tasks of government, it is surprising how quickly a family grows. A small part of it is chronological. Much more is an even greater awareness of the problems of others.

Among these is a category of people who are known as senior citizens. This is not altogether an accurate definition, for in truth, these persons have a right to be known as our honored senior citizens, each of whom has done his responsible share in building all that our State and our Nation are today.

The State, the Nation, and each individual owe much to such honored citizens; and that is why I am particularly proud of the Bohemian Home for the Aged. Here, 130 men and women, ranging from age 67 to 99, live in the confidence that comes from knowing that they are wanted, that they are needed, and that their birthright is being protected by those who care.

Unfortunately all who should be so honored are not respected, given the care, and treated with the dignity which is due them. In recent months we have seen examples of those who seek to exploit the infirmities of age for the sake of financial gain.

During recent months, we have been examining many phases of our State assistance programs, such as those which come under jurisdiction of the Illinois Public Aid Commission, as well as others. This is not being done with any thought of withholding aid to those who really need and deserve it.

But it must be clear to everyone that we are charged with the responsibility of protecting the innocent needy from the undeserving greedy. State welfare money is provided for those who are subjected to hardship and handicap.

It is not provided for those who seek something for nothing.

It is my personal concern that no person in need, whether poor, sick, disabled, or bowed by the weight of years, be caused a single moment's sorrow or pain as the result of a harsh or inhumane State policy.

On the other hand, I will not condone any instance where there are abuses of human frailty or cases of blatant mismanagement of programs designed to aid the poor, the helpless, or needy.

With the assistance of a management consultant firm, we will exercise strict control of State aid funds which are provided for the necessary care of those in need. We intend to insure and protect our citizens receiving aid, and will do our utmost to see that all services due them are actually received by them.

We have long since passed the day of any loose policy in State relief and aid programs.

Our policy has been administration with a firm hand. And this tough-minded policy, if you want to call it that, has as its primary purpose the interest and welfare of those who deserve aid.

The results of such vigilance will be evidenced in greater dollar savings to our State and will thus enable us to do more good for more good people who are entitled to extra consideration when unemployment, sickness, or the burden of years falls upon them. Therefore, while this position may be characterized as toughminded, it is at its very core, tenderhearted. And it is a program that finds comparison in your efforts.

The people who, now and down through the years, have made this home possible are the kind of people for whom I have a most high degree of affection. These are the people who have, and do, understand the meaning of service to humanity.

I know many of you here today have experienced that exhilarating feeling which comes at the end of a day when you realize that you have truly served your fellow men.

I want each of you to know how much I appreciate the value of places such as this Bohemian Home. I want you to realize that I know you for the good works that you have done—works I am confident you will continue to do.

The support you have received here from many friends, many who have helped, not with extra large contributions, but to the best of their ability and with loving devotion, are examples of the respect which you have earned down through the years since your founding in 1893.

I thank you on behalf of your fellow citizens of Illinois. We will strive to imitate you in providing thoughtful, loving care for our honored elder citizens.

I do want to thank you for inviting me to your observation of Czechoslovak Day. We do sincerely appreciate the honor, and we wish you every future success.

## Congressman William H. Harsha Announces Results of Public Opinion Poll of Ohio's Sixth District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, for the past month I have been conducting a public opinion poll in the Sixth Congressional District of Ohio, which I have the honor to represent here. It has been my purpose to solicit the opinions of the people to determine their feelings about important issues that the awaiting action by the House of Representatives so that I could give the best representation possible. Participation in the poll was not limited to any special group. Through the mailing of a questionnaire and the cooperation of district newspapers, which kindly reprinted the questionnaire as a public service, the opportunity to participate was made available to all of those interested in expressing their views.

The poll contained nine questions relating to matters of domestic and foreign policy. The results of this opinion survey are now available. It is surprising that the tabulation indicates such definite trends in the thinking of the people of the district. The results show that opinions on over half of the questions registered more than 75 percent support or opposition.

The people expressed great concern over the weakness of our foreign policy and the concessions being offered to the Soviet Union by relaxing inspection requirements on nuclear testing.

Another issue of vital importance and concern to the citizens of the sixth district is the activity of labor leaders who have encouraged strikes at our missile bases, thereby placing our national defense program in jeopardy. The citizens of the district want such strikes outlawed.

Of course, there was considerable opposition to the Federal Government subsidizing transportation facilities in urban areas. Apparently the citizens of the sixth district feel this is a matter of local concern that should be handled by private enterprise with the users of the facilities paying for the service as is customary with utilities whether it be a commodity or a service that is being sold.

Likewise considerable opposition was expressed to the construction of fallout shelters.

Every survey has its limitations. Brevity in questioning does not permit comprehensive answers embracing all facets of an issue. It is extremely difficult to answer a question by a simple yes or no.

Many thousands of persons returning the questionnaire added comments discussing the issues. Although these comments are extremely helpful to me in assessing the feelings of the people of the district, it is not possible, unfortunately, to reflect them in statistical form. However, I wish to point out that a very large proportion of those making comments expressed serious concern and outspoken opposition to increasing the powers of the President and greater Federal expenditures that are producing mounting deficits and adding to the burden of the national debt.

Following are the detailed results of the poll:

1. Do you favor Federal aid for construction of public fallout shelters? Yes, 14 percent; no, 77 percent; undecided, 9 percent.

2. Do you favor a program of matching grants amounting to approximately $1 billion for construction of new medical and dental schools? Yes, 12 percent; no, 57 percent; undecided, 31 percent.

3. Do you favor the Urban Mass Transportation Act providing for $500 million in Federal grants for mass transportation facilities and equipment in urban areas? Yes, 10 percent; no, 79 percent; undecided, 11 percent.

4. Are you in favor of a Youth Conservation Corps to provide employment for the unemployed young men of America? Yes, 54 percent; no, 35 percent; undecided, 11 percent.

5. Do you favor a law that prohibits racial discrimination in federally assisted housing? Yes, 42 percent; no, 45 percent; undecided, 13 percent.

6. Do you favor legislation outlawing strikes on missile bases? Yes, 82 percent; no, 12 percent; undecided, 6 percent.

7. Do you favor a firmer attitude in U.S. foreign policy? Yes, 89 percent; no, 6 percent; undecided, 5 percent.

8. Do you favor relaxing inspection requirements now demanded by the United States in a nuclear test ban treaty? Yes, 6 percent; no, 84 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

9. Do you favor an across-the-board cut in income taxes? Yes, 43 percent; no, 45 percent; undecided, 12 percent.

## Responsibility in Cuban Affair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose the following article by David Lawrence which appeared in the Washington Star of Tuesday, September 25, 1962:

RESPONSIBILITY IN CUBAN AFFAIR—ACCOUNT OF COMMAND DECISIONS IN THE INVASION ATTEMPT IS GIVEN

(By David Lawrence)

President Kennedy in his speeches likes to refer to his troubles—particularly Cuba—as having been "inherited" from the Eisenhower administration. Former President Truman says in his political outbursts that Mr. Eisenhower was a "lazy" President. The real question is not how much time a President gives to golf or yachting or campaigning or social events, but how he uses the time he does give to official business—the kind of decisions he makes.

Members of Congress have in the last few days put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a lengthy article that was published 2 weeks ago in U.S. News & World Report giving a comprehensive account of the fateful decision President Kennedy made when he first withdrew and then—when it was too late—actually approved air support for the Cuban exiles in their invasions of their homeland in April 1961.

Ever since that time there have been attempts to blame the whole fiasco on the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff or on the Central Intelligence Agency. But President Kennedy told the truth when he himself assumed full responsibility. What hasn't been generally known, however, is how he came to make the mistake he did. The magazine article was the result of many weeks of investigation and research among official sources, particularly among persons who were in the know at the time. Certain administration officials have since conceded the accuracy of the article. It reads in part as follows:

"A fateful decision, made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961, is rising now to plague the United States. On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion.

"Only the day before, on April 15, a surprise attack by B–26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force.

"A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's planes and to provide air support for the invasion.

"Secure in the assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early-morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

"In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the pre-invasion planning.

"Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B–26's was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away (in a Latin-American country), waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots. But those planes didn't take off. The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

"When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need of air support became apparent. Worried, the nonmilitary officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used to fly air support for the invaders.

"In the planning of the invasion—planning begun under the Eisenhower administration—the Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea.

"Once again, in the early morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said 'no' to the use of U.S. planes.

"With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble * * *. In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But bad weather interfered at first. Finally, an air strike was set up for early Wednesday.

"On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate * * *. By Tuesday night, April 18, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy. On this night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left advisers—both civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

"This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier's planes for just 1 hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for their planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes, still, were not to attack land targets.

"Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communications mixups. The Cuban flyers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action. And anyway, it developed, it was too late. By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives."

Criticism and analysis in retrospect by those who know the whole story is concentrated today on one point—full authority should be given in advance and a military operation should be handled by military men near the battle scene and not many hundreds of miles away in the White House or even in the Pentagon.

## Human Freedom and National Independence Are Every People's Most Precious Values

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of the resolution adopted by the Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine—ODWU—at its annual convention September 1–3 at Lehighton, Pa. It is well for us to pay attention to the views of these people who know the Soviet Union best. Until its captive peoples are free, there can be no relaxation or real peace for anyone, including ourselves:

MEMORANDUM AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE DULY ELECTED DELEGATES OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE REBIRTH OF UKRAINE (ODWU) AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED ON SEPTEMBER 1–3, 1962, AT THE UKRAINIAN HOMESTEAD, LEHIGHTON, PA.

We, the American citizens of Ukrainian descent, representing all of the ethnic areas of Ukraine, homeland of our ancestors, while attending this convention have unanimously passed the following resolutions:

1. Human freedom and national independence are the most precious values of every people in the world. They have stimulated the boundless progress of man and have inculcated higher concepts of life as well as contributed to the economic welfare and have given vision of peace for the benefit of all mankind.

2. If human freedom and national independence are priceless possessions of free nations, then they must be equally dear to all of the conquered and enslaved, persecuted and disfranchised nations and peoples now living under the totalitarian regime of Soviet Russia, which, as history proves it, is the world's greatest colonial empire with many non-Russian peoples held in bondage as captive peoples through aggression, terror, subjugation and ruthless slavery within the present boundaries of Soviet Imperialist Russia, known as the U.S.S.R.

3. Efforts on the behalf of freedom for humanity should not be restricted to the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean islands, but they also should include the liberation of the non-Russian peoples in Eastern Europe from Communist domination, where formerly free and independent Ukraine and neighboring countries were forcibly occupied by the Red troops for the Russian imperialistic exploitation of human and natural resources for the further world conquest, using Communist ideology, accompanied by the denationalization, depopulation and pauperization of native peoples for the aggrandizement of Communist strength.

4. The liberation of the subjugated peoples in Eastern Europe from Communist domination is the prime necessity of the present day. Such unequivocal demand by the free world upon the Government of Soviet Russia is not only legal and justified, but it is urgently needed for the preservation of freedom and sovereignity of the rest of the world, otherwise the existing free nations may suffer the loss of their own freedom and may meet the unhappy fate of Ukraine and other non-Russian states and peoples, who are now suffering the colonial existence under the imperialist regime of the U.S.S.R.

5. Ukraine has already determined its national status by the declaration of its independence in January of 1918, and united all of the ethnic territories in January 1919, by the will of the duly elected members of the Ukrainian Parliament, Central Rada, many members of which are still living as witnesses of those heroic events, and therefore, the freedom and sovereignty of Ukraine constitute truly democratic and legal acts of self-determination as sovereign state beyond any question or doubt. Subsequently, independent Ukraine was recognized by the Government of Russia and a score of other sovereign nations. Ukraine, by her historic events after the Russian reconquest, has eloquently attested to an indomitable will to be free.

6. In view of this, the U.S. policy toward Ukraine and the non-Russian peoples within the U.S.S.R. is unrealistic and erroneous with its nonpredetermination attitude toward the conglomerate Soviet empire. In reality it displays disservice to the principles of human freedom, unwittingly condoning Russian imperialist aggression and plays into the hands of Communist colonialism against the interests of human freedom and endangers the survival of the very principles of American democracy.

7. We regret, therefore, the unfortunate statement recently made by officials of the Department of State in regard to Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, and other formerly independent countries, now enslaved by the U.S.S.R., that they are traditional areas of the Russian empire. Such statements violate historic truth and doubtless depreciate the scholastic standing of American diplomatic officials in the eyes of scholars of the world and public opinion. Such statements create confusion, display contradiction to oft made American official pronouncement in regard to the principles of freedom, self-government, and independence "as universal ideas and the common heritage of mankind" and they certainly contribute to the lowering of American prestige in the opinion of the captive and disfranchised peoples, who in common struggle with common enemy are left uncertain, and in their doubts cannot rely and depend on American national will to defend the principles of human liberty and dignity of human being. Such results are nothing less but direct aid and comfort to the imperialist Russia, the historic enemy of the United States of America and of freedom loving mankind.

8. Peace at any price will never endure. It is indeed worse than the acknowledged existence of brutal aggressive occupation with slavery of conquered peoples. It is indeed worse than slavery itself, for in addition to slavery, it also contributes to distrust and fear and it condones foreign rule and brutality without any recourse to any world organization which would be able to establish a true peace with justice.

9. Free nations of the world cannot win for freedom and world peace by surrendering their positions or by hesitation to act against the growing menace of Communist aggression. Communist rulers are experts in their use of devious methods with mixture of smiles, words, and threats to allure their victims. Only firmness with no concession or retreats can impress the Communist commisars, who well know that they cannot wage war against America and her allies. How can the U.S.S.R. wage war, when she has failed in 45 years of absolute dictatorial rule to give her own people sufficient bread and other essential needs for decent living? They have failed to increase agricultural production in spite of the fact that the U.S.S.R. has an enormous natural wealth and human resources. The Communist system since 1917 has had unlimited power of command and authority inherent in the autocratic totalitarian regime, which has shown to history and the world that it can put many millions of people to death, but has failed to learn how to feed the remaining starving millions of their own people. How can Soviet Russia wage a successful war without food, with poor transportation and enslaved, dissatisfied peoples, whom she cannot trust and guards them from the light of Western freedom by Iron Curtain, concrete walls, barbed wires, mined fields, vicious dogs, and huge armies, as well as by the concentration camps and strict censorship of every printed page and information medium to keep her own people enslaved in Soviet "happiness"? America and all other free nations of the world must be courageous and resolute without the sacrifice of principles of freedom to meet every challenge as it arises.

10. The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine and its affiliated organizations are astounded that during the present world political crisis in relation with Soviet Russia, our Government as well as some other free nations of the world apparently do all they can in upbuilding Russian aggressive imperialism and its barberous colonialism at the time, when the rest of the world is on the march to freedom and sovereignty in the colonial areas of yesterday. We appeal to the Government of the United States and to the representatives of free nations, members of the United Nations, to take cognizance of heroic strife by the people of Ukraine to their national liberty and instead of silence or neglect to show a genuine concern and dynamic action about the liberation of the conquered and subdued, silenced by fear people, who want to enjoy freedom and the blessings of the free world. They are our best hope and most reliable friends and allies.

11. It is not only the Slavic nations, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia and Cosackia that are still held enslaved by the U.S.S.R., but also the non-Slavic nations of Caucasus, Turkestan, and Siberia, such as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Udel-Ural, Tadjik, Turkmen, Uzbek, Kazakh and others, embracing Christian, Buddhist, and Muslim religions that are kept in slavery. Why should they be left under the Russian domination, when their kinsmen in Asia and Africa are now in the process of national liberation? Why should all of these peoples be discriminated against? In whose interests their colonial existence under the Communist regime of Soviet Russia is left unchallenged? It seems that the recently liberated nations of Asia and Africa, for their own security, should be interested in freedom of these unhappy disfranchised Asian, Muslim, and Buddhist peoples. Some of these areas were conquered less than a hundred years ago by Imperalist Russia.

12. We deplore the unfortunate and mistaken efforts of the Government of the United States and of the American press to apparently Russify the public opinion of the American people by considering the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples that happen to be subdued against their will within the U.S.S.R. as Russians, instead of referring to them by their own rightful names. Similarly, the provinces and towns in Ukrainian geographic areas are called Russian, instead of Ukrainian. This is indeed very irritable and objectionable to be called by falsely identified name, and worst of all by the names of one's aggressor. We wish to remind the State Department and the press of recent objection by the Scottish people and their press to a similar error in referring to Scots and to their town as being English. It should be pointed out that there is a separate Ukrainian Republic with its people, culture, literature, art, history, territory and other distinct national attributes, even though Ukraine is enslaved, yet it is a distinct political entity which is recognized by Russia and by over a hundred sovereign States in the United Nations. It may appear that historians and the present leaders of American political life are lacking courage to defend the truth and freedom and are apologetic about the unmistakable stand in defense of human liberty. It looks as though they are apologetic for the love of freedom and for the acts of our Founders of the United States and for the American democracy "with liberty and justice for all."

13. We appeal to the Government of the United States of America to open its full inquiry into the Soviet Union's highly heterogenic demography and Soviet's monopolization of three votes in the United Nations without full sovereign rights for Ukraine and Byelorussia on the par basis with all other members of this august body. If Ukraine and Byelorussia are admitted as sovereign nations and are voting in the United Nations as such, with participation in its agencies, then they should be adjudged by the members of the United Nations to full sovereign and equal rights.

They should meet the United Nations Charter specifications for self-determination and sovereign equality with all other members. They should be self-governing states without dictates from the Kremlin and not just subordinated provinces of the U.S.S.R. colonial empire. They should correspond to the will of their people free from coercion by the Communist regime. Other recently liberated nations of Asia and Africa are enjoying full sovereign rights in the United Nations and in the community

of free nations of the world. There should not be unjust discrimination in this matter against Ukraine and Byelorussia. All nations in the United Nations should have equal rights, not only in the United Nations, but should also have freedom, independence and self-government on their territories with their own army and navy and with accredited embassies and consulates abroad. Ukraine should take her place that is due her not only in the United Nations, but also among the free nations of the world.

14. We implore the United Nations and all free governments of the world to compel Soviet Russia to leave the non-Russian territories in Eastern Europe and Asia and to withdraw Soviet troops from the satellite countries, from Baltic states and from all of the non-Russian territories in Europe and in Asia, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, land of the peoples of the Caucasus, Turkestan, Korea, Mongolia, and other non-Russian ethnic areas. These territories were occupied by the Soviet military forces by aggression at the end of the Russian Revolution or at the end of World War II against the will of the peoples of these territories, and Russians in these areas are in a decided minority as usurpers, exploiters, aggressors and unwanted colonialists, who rule these peoples by forceful occupation.

15. We vigorously support the House Resolution 211, introduced by Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD for the creation of a House Captive Nations Committee. This committee can be of great service to humanity the world over by rendering a new insight in the depth of inspiration to the sources of the founders of the United States in our appreciation of the true values of freedom. The Ukrainians are deeply inspired by the American dream and are committed to its ideals.

16. We also support the Senate Concurrent Resolution 82, submitted by Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, and House Resolution 718 by Congressman DON L. SHORT, requesting the President to make necessary efforts through the U.S. delegation to the United Nations to place on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly the question of the deplorable persecution and destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches within the U.S.S.R.

17. We are vowing that Ukraine's struggle for her freedom and complete independence will not abate. The world must be aware that without sovereign Ukraine and the freedom of other non-Russian peoples from Russian imperialism and colonialism, there can be neither world peace with justice, nor economic stabilization. No amount of misleading efforts for containment, peaceful coexistence, concessions, and policies of nonpredetermination will stop the Russian imperialism and Communist colonialism from their ruthless aims and efforts of world conquest. Without rich Ukraine and non-Russian territories, the imperialist Russia will not be able to menace the free world. Free and independent Ukraine, therefore, is the prime prerequisite for the survival of freedom in the United States and in the rest of the world. To that end all of our peaceful, but dynamic, efforts should be directed with vigor and manly determination.

18. We urge all of the Ukrainian organizations throughout the world and the organizations of other nations, be they free or subjugated, to cooperate and to redouble our united efforts in common creative purpose for the achievement of these aims. Ukraine must be liberated in the interests of freedom and security of all peoples of the world.

For the Resolution Committee of Organization of the Rebirth of the Ukraine.

ALEXANDER A. GRANOVSKY,
*Chairman.*

## Time To Stand Fast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in these parlous times for the United States and the free world, I would like to draw attention to the following excellent editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Cleveland Plain Dealer of September 25, 1962. The strong stand taken by this great newspaper is a reflection of the feeling of an ever-increasing number of Americans. No; we cannot afford to be shoved back another foot by Soviet Russia in Cuba, Berlin, southeast Asia, or any other trouble spots in the world.

The editorial is as follows:

TIME TO STAND FAST

How do we really stand with Soviet Russia? Will Premier Khrushchev keep trying to push us around in Berlin, in Cuba, in Laos, or will he realize he may have already reached the point where we will no longer be pushed?

The real danger period for the world, in the opinion of U.S. News & World Report, will be during the remainder of this year and the first months of 1963.

"We must be on our guard in Berlin to maintain the rights which we now possess," Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former U.S. commander in Europe and reecntly the President's personal representative in Berlin, wrote in the October issue of the quarterly, Foregin Affairs. "There, as elsewhere, we must be prepared to interpose our troops step by step as threats materialize, so that these threats can be carried out only by the use of force. If this involves the risk of war, it is a risk we must take."

Yet everything in Russia is not clear sailing for Mr. Khrushchev. He has his troubles there, as Allen W. Dulles, former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, observed in the Plain Dealer's This Week magazine, Sunday.

"It is my impression," wrote Dulles, "that there is slowly building up inside Russia a latent pressure for more freedom, for a fairer sharing of the produce of their labor than the sytsem now allows. Life in the Communist world is drab compared to our own."

Certainly, as East Berliners and other East Germans continue to risk their lives in attempting to escape to the West, they have exploded any possible fiction that life under the Soviets is worth living. High Red officials are among the East Germans who have fled to the West.

This much has been proved: When we stand firm, Russia backs down. It has done so repeatedly. And if it becomes necessary to crush communism in Cuba by force, a great many astute people feel that though she might howl and threaten, Russia would not risk nuclear war.

To be sure, nothing is certain in this world. Khrushchev could make a fatal miscalculation. But it has become increasingly apparent that he is far less likely to do so if he is confronted with calm determination on every front and in every sticky situation.

For the fact is that we have reached the point where we cannot afford to be shoved back another foot.

## Dental Disease

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, because dental disease does not often have the dramatic consequences of death or crippling disfigurement, its importance in relation to the total health and well-being of our people frequently is overlooked.

Recently the dental profession through its national organization, the American Dental Association, submitted to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce the following rather startling statistics:

Almost 160 million people in the United States have dental disease or face the certain prospect of suffering from tooth decay, periodontal disease, oral cancer, malocclusion or cleft lip and palate.

The best estimates are that 97 million persons have tooth decay; 23 million have periodontal disease; 21 million persons are without teeth; 16 million have malocclusion; 65,000 children under 18 have cleft palate, cleft lip or both.

Twenty-three thousand persons develop oral cancer each year.

It is estimated that 85 million man-hours of industrial production are lost annually owing to oral disease.

The total amount of dental service provided each year is not sufficient to treat the new dental needs occurring during the year. The accumulated backlog of need for dental service is so large that to remove it would require a year's full-time service from a dental force five times its present size.

Over the years of my service as chairman of the appropriations subcommittee tee dealing with health matters, I have become acutely aware of the significance of dental diseases, and I have attempted to assure that this important segment of health receives the attention it deserves.

With the support of other members of the Appropriations Committee and the Congress, funds have been provided to establish an outstanding dental research program at the National Institutes of Health. The National Institute of Dental Research was founded only a few years ago, but I am pleased to say that its accomplishments since then have been remarkable and have paid rich dividends to the betterment of the health of our people.

The discovery that fluoridation of public water supplies would reduce the incidence of dental caries by as much as 60 percent has alone prevented untold suffering and saved millions of dollars in dental bills. Other contributions too numerous to mention here also have been made through research into the causes and cures of oral diseases.

Last year, with the approval of my subcommittee, a new dental health center was established by the Public Health Service in San Francisco in order to accelerate the practical use of new research findings. Significant new pro-

grams are now underway in that institution. Top level research and training programs are going forward in all dental schools in the country; students are learning how to provide more and better dental care for all our citizens as a result of the Federal grant programs authorized by Congress.

It is to the great credit of the members of the dental profession that they have taken the lead in initiating and supporting these and other measures in behalf of better dental health. I know of no other professional group that has a finer record in seeking actively to improve the health of the public.

But the dental profession believes, and I agree, that not enough is being done. The American Dental Association currently is strongly supporting Federal legislation to provide grants for the construction and expansion of facilities for training health personnel and to strengthen State and local dental public health program. I have cosponsored and supported both of these badly needed bills and will continue to do so.

The dental profession also is attempting to extend the availability of dental care by extending coverage under dental prepayment plans. The dental association in my own State of Rhode Island recently has pioneered a program in this field.

Vigorous work also is going forward in bringing dental care to the handicapped, the aged and other unfortunate people who are institutionalized or otherwise unable to receive conventional treatment.

In these and many other ways, the dental profession is recognizing and attempting to carry out its responsibilities to the people of this Nation.

In my opinion, these efforts deserve the commendation and wholehearted support of all Members of Congress.

## American Blood Is Spilled in Far Places While Reds Get Stronger 90 Miles Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I ask that the following be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) News, Sept. 5, 1962]

AMERICAN BLOOD IS SPILLED IN FAR PLACES WHILE REDS GET STRONGER 90 MILES AWAY

Now that Russia has formally confirmed the fact that large quantities of Soviet war materials, supplies, and technical aid are going to Cuba, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the American people to understand why our own Government is standing by and apparently doing nothing about this blatant breach of the Monroe Doctrine.

We are supposed to be dedicated to combating the spread of communism. As of this date some 14 American fighting men have been killed in far away Vietnam and scores more have been injured. We are maintaining strong forces in Formosa which are dedicated to prevent the Chinese Communists from trying to enlarge their foothold in that part of the world. In Berlin and in dozens of other places our Army, Navy, and Air Force are standing watch and are ready to fight the moment the Communists launch an aggressive attack.

But just 90 miles away the Commies are building a bridgehead in our own hemisphere and constructing an armed camp which threatens vast sections of this country and we are literally doing nothing.

Soothing words from Washington are no answer to this appalling inconsistency. What is transpiring in Cuba right now violates not only the Monroe Doctrine but the principles espoused by the Organization of American States. It should be met not with meaningless and futile words but with forthright action. Yet there is no such action either from Washington or from the OAS.

Why should this be? Have we become so timorous and afraid of the Russian bear that we can't stop his marauding right into our own backyard? Have we become so weak and insecure in our military posture that we don't dare prevent the construction of a Soviet-inspired military base just 90 miles from Key West? Are we so overextended and committed in other areas of the world that we can no longer take positive action to eradicate a menace close to home?

These are sober questions that deserve a better answer than they are being given in Washington today. They are questions that deeply concern millions of Americans who are becoming sick and tired of seeing billions of their dollars thrown away in far corners of the world supposedly to contain the Communists while they thumb their noses at us from nearby Cuba.

This is a paradox that literally belies understanding. We are asked to trust our Government but what is our Government doing to encourage this trust? It speaks in procrastinating words and in riddles. It asks us to swallow and believe that the Communist menace in Vietnam is worth the lives and the blood of American boys while the spectacle in Cuba is not of overriding concern.

In recent days more and more voices are joining the clamor of dissent over our Cuban policy. They are demanding to know how far are we going to let the Russians go in their aid to Fidel Castro before we have the guts to say enough is enough. Do we intend to wait until Castro has enough rockets, missiles, jet fighters, and other war materials, not to mention Russian troops and technicians, to make an invasion as bloody and as difficult as some of those we had to mount against the entrenched Japanese in World War II?

We hope not, but the words coming out of Washington are not encouraging in this respect. They are vacillating and not inspiring of confidence. They bespeak leadership that is not at all certain of where it is going or what it wants to do.

We are supposed to be the bulwark of the free world but a bulwark is massive and strong and unyielding to the pressures mounted against it. Today we are acting like anything but a bulwark as, instead of standing stanch and strong, we are bending against the pressure being applied by the Communists and changing our policies from day to day according to the expediencies of the moment rather than standing firm on the principles that made us a great and respected nation.

Certainly, there are risks involved in telling Russia to get out of Cuba and stay out. But since when have we been afraid to take risks in defense of our own security and our own longstanding principles? Have we become so wedded to the U.N., to the OAS, and to other international debating societies that we have forsaken the virtue of being able to act on our own whether anybody else likes it or not?

We don't have to ask the U.N. or the OAS permission to invoke the Monroe Doctrine. Those organizations weren't even in existence when this doctrine was made a part and parcel of our foreign policy. We could have been rid of Castro and his commie followers right now if we had had the guts months ago to send our own Air Force to the support of the Bay of Pigs invaders. But horrified Adlai Stevenson protested that couldn't be done without sacrificing his reputation with the U.N. so President Kennedy never issued the order which could have turned the tide and permitted freedom-loving Cubans to recapture their country from Castro.

Now we face a much tougher task and the longer we wait the tougher it is apt to become. It is a situation which cries aloud for forceful and direct action from Washington but Washington fiddles and dances while the American people wonder what's going on when we can afford to fight Communist guerrillas in Vietnam and ignore Soviet guns and missiles in nearby Cuba.

## Hey, Mr. Congressman, Is Washington, D.C., a Tourist Trap?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Lapeer County Press in my State of Michigan on September 6, 1962. The editorial reports a situation that has concerned me for some time—the treatment received by the tourist visiting the Nation's Capital.

Because I think private commercial interests benefiting from the tourist trade had better give serious consideration to the problems discussed in this editorial, I have sent copies of it to Clarence A. Arata, executive director of the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade.

Because the treatment of visitors to national shrines is of interest to him, I have sent a copy of this editorial to the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall.

It behooves the Members of Congress also to give serious thought to this problem. The people coming to visit Washington are our constituents. We have an obligation, I think, to do all that we can to see that the services provided them are the very best possible, that they are afforded an opportunity to visit their national institutions at reasonable cost, and that they are extended courteous treatment while they are here.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lapeer (Mich.) County Press, Sept. 6, 1962]

HEY, MR. CONGRESSMAN, IS WASHINGTON, D.C., A TOURIST TRAP?

We don't like reports we are getting from vacationers to Washington, D.C. "Tourist trap" and "clip joint" are two of the mildest expressions we have heard.

Two friends recently took their 15-year-old son to see our national shrines and the home of democracy. We doubt that the young man was impressed. Between the looting of the family purse and the herding of sightseers through famous shrines like sheep through a dipping vat, the young man must have been thoroughly disenchanted.

The three started on an economy trip of 5 days. They figured that $30 per day might see them through. By the time the highbinders had finished with them, the trip cost $50 per day. And they didn't see a third of what they had hoped.

At Gettysburg they were stuck $21 for an ordinary motel room. The proprietor said they'd have to pay as much anywhere in the area. A nice room in New York's Waldorf-Astoria would have cost less.

The motel man sold them on a "fine private trip over the battlefield" for $2.50 each. "They pick you up here and bring you back," he added.

They were picked up. They were delivered to a bus loaded with other visitors at the entrance to the battlefield. The bus tore through the battlefield in 45 minutes, making only one stop, while the tourists listened to a monolog. And that was that.

With Gettysburg behind, Washington only a short distance farther along wasn't quite as bad. Not quite. Just shopworn accommodations, dull food in dull places, and jams of people at first-class resort prices.

At Mount Vernon (admission 75 cents) they took places at the end of a long slow-moving line. Once inside the herders kept prodding, "Move along please. Others are waiting." Their impression of George Washington's leisurely and gracious way of life was indeed confused.

It was ditto at the FBI, the Treasury Building, Washington Monument, and other places. The White House, widely advertised as open to the public, was open for only 2 hours daily. The line was so long an hour before opening that they didn't even line up.

A small thing, just a two-bit charge to follow a guard through the Capitol Building, is an item that for some reason offends us the most. Migosh. Two bits for a young man to see where his laws are made and have it explained to him.

Not patronized, but ever-present, were the "runners" for private privileged tour people. They show up frequently, soliciting. For $25 they'll drive your car and sneak you in "by special arrangement." Sort of back-door stuff—no waiting with the peasants. A black market seems in operation in our holy-of-holy governmental shrines.

It's easy to see why senior class high school trips to Washington have been practically discontinued. Too much for too little. It is a shame.

The crowds, perhaps, are inevitable. And gypsters follow the crowds. The same clipping and gypping exists in and around nearly all our national parks.

But it does seem that price racketeering right under the noses of Congress should at least be investigated. Some sort of licensing program for protection of people who can't afford Miami Beach prices to see their National Capital shouldn't be difficult.

Congress runs Washington. The District is under Federal control. So is Gettysburg. Congress is investigating everything else. Why not their own front yard?

## Postal Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee has reported out the new postal rate and pay raise bill. Included in this bill is a section which empowers the Secretary of the Treasury to confiscate mail deemed "Communist political propaganda." Although the Senate committee watered down the Cunningham amendment contained in the House version, this section still presumes that Americans are not intelligent enough to evaluate material they receive in the mail and still retains a concept which is alien to our basic freedoms. On September 25, the New York Times outlined the issue in an editorial which I hope all my colleagues will read.

The editorial follows:

NO POSTAL CENSORSHIP WANTED

Should Congress write into the statutes of this country a system of political censorship and screening of the mails? This is the real issue posed by one section of the new postal-rate and pay-raise bill reported out yesterday by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The Senate committee was seeking to meet the problem raised by the House-approved Cunningham amendment, which would go far toward preventing American citizens from receiving mail from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. The Senate version is more reasonable, since it contains important exemptions. But it still declares, in effect, that there are two kinds of Americans: those who can be trusted to receive any kind of mail from the Communist world, and those who cannot. The Senate provision, like the Cunningham amendment, is probably unconstitutional, and certainly contrary to the most fundamental traditions of our country.

The Senate version of the postal bill provides, as expected, for higher postal rates and for a pay increase for postal and other Government workers. The rate increases are necessary; and fortunately the Senate committee's proposals do not echo the House's sharp threat to the future existence of some of the country's best periodicals.

Although the U.S. mail service can hardly go anywhere but up, it is not likely that the 1-cent increase in ordinary letter mail will produce any improvement, inasmuch as the increased postal revenues will be more than absorbed by the pay increase. As we have argued earlier, the pay issue and the rate issue should have been separated so that each could have been decided on its own merits. But that would be asking too much of a Congress this close to election day in an even-numbered year.

## Who's in Charge in Washington?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous request to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article appearing in the Los Angeles Times of September 24, 1962:

BY THE WAY—WHO'S IN CHARGE IN WASHINGTON?

(By Bill Henry)

LAS VEGAS.—It was one of those quiet moments at the Air Force Defense orientation powwow when nobody was briefing us on military matters or demonstrating anything about the space age. The fellow from Washington was nursing a tall drink. In the background were the click of dice, the crashing levers of the slot machines, the occasional shouts of crapshooters. "Have you ever stopped to think," the man asked, "what has happened to the U.S. Government?" He paused to take a sip from his glass. "Two years ago—give or take a couple of months or so—the Democrats were having their convention in your town." This, with a glance at some of us from Los Angeles. "There was that desperate moment in the convention when a lot of agitated Stevenson aficionados were picketing the joint and trying to break the police barrier to get in. Adlai himself couldn't make up his mind whether he was a candidate or not. Your Governor Brown was wavering like a runaway metronome trying to decide who he was for. There were Kennedy relatives all over the floor wheedling, threatening, pleading, promising—successfully. Their boy Jack got the nomination. The Stevenson rooters looked for tall buildings to jump off of. All was lost as far as they were concerned." He paused, took another sip from his tall glass, looked around the group significantly and finally broke the brief silence. "Has it occurred to you," he asked, "to take a look at the situation to find out just exactly who is running the Government now?" It was an interesting question. We all began to get a faraway look in our eyes as we checked the list, starting with dear Adlai himself.

ADLAI HAS QUITE A DELEGATION

The fellow from Washington finally spoke up. "Don't get a headache trying to think," he said, "I'll list some of the boys for you." He took another sip. "We can start off with Adlai, of course. Adlai is our delegate to the United Nations with Cabinet rank. That's a position of some importance in the field of world affairs. But he's only one of the Stevenson crowd. Most people forget that he isn't just a figurehead down there in New York at the end of a string doing what the fellows at State in Washington tell him to do. The fellow who is really running the State Department, as Under Secretary, is a former Stevenson law firm man, George Ball. Now anybody who knows anything about the State Department knows that Ball is the most positive, aggressive, and powerful figure in the Department. While Secretary Rusk gallops around doing Kennedy's bidding, Ball runs the show at State. And, as further proof of Adlai's grip on the Department, the fellow who handles U.N. affairs in Washington—including the just approved $100 million U.S. contribution to the U.N. bond issue—is Harlan Cleveland, another Stevenson law firm man."

LAW FIRM HAS MOVED EAST

Most of the crowd really hadn't thought about it. The Washington man went on:

"Postmaster General Edward Day is a long-time associate of Stevenson in the law and political fields. He's a Cabinet member. And who was named to succeed Arthur Goldberg as Secretary of Labor? Willard Wirtz, another former Stevenson law partner, of course. And there's Newton Minow, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, and William Blair, newly named Ambassador to Denmark—they're both fresh out of Stevenson's law office. Quite a representation, don't you think?" There was a pause. "Maybe," he said quizzically, "with more Stevenson guys than Kennedy relatives in the Cabinet, that's one reason Kennedy seldom seems to call any Cabinet meetings."

## Mr. Smith Goes to Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I know that many of my colleagues both here and in the Senate recall with fondness a motion picture of some years ago called "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." It was the first of several films which came out of my district in California, dealing with the subject of this Congress. None have dealt with the subject with more warmth, good humor and realism than "Mr. Smith."

It is my pleasant duty at this time to call the attention of my colleagues to a rebirth of this compelling motion picture, but this time in the medium of television. This series, which stars Fess Parker in the role created by James Stewart 25 years ago, will be premiering shortly on nationwide television. I had the good fortune to see an episode of this series recently in my district, and it stimulated some thoughts on the subject which I should like to pass on here.

In addition to being entertaining, it seems to me that the series, "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" has a real opportunity to bring greater interest in and understanding of our Congress to the American people. This, I suggest, is most important in a system where all of the people are truly and equally sovereign if, and only if, they understand and accept their responsibility. Too often Congressmen and Senators are thought of as different from other people, either put on a pedestal as being all wise and powerful, or relegated to the gutter as crooked politicians squandering the taxpayer's money. The concepts are equally erroneous.

"Mr. Smith" will do much to show the American public that we are all the same—limited by human frailties but sincerely interested in people and in our job, and dedicated to seeing that this form of government of ours survives. Those making the "Mr. Smith" series are substantially helping us here in Congress. I wish them much success, and eagerly await my half-hour visit with the Senator in my living room.

## Mary Anderson, First Director of Women's Bureau, Celebrates 90th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following news stories from the Washington Post and Times Herald, the Washington Evening Star, and the Christian Science Monitor, and in so doing pay tribute to a great lady who has contributed much to the advancement of women as workers and as citizens, Miss Mary Anderson:

[From the Washington Post & Times Herald]

SHE WAS NEVER SO SURPRISED IN ALL OF HER 90 YEARS

(By Marie Smith)

Mary Anderson, first Director of the Women's Bureau, celebrated her 90th birthday Monday but the big surprises came yesterday: Congratulations from two heads of Government and an award of merit for her many years of service in promoting the welfare of wage earners in the United States.

The congratulations, with tributes on her 90th birthday, came from President Kennedy and Prime Minister Tage Erlander, of Sweden. Miss Anderson's native country.

Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg read the greetings at a ceremony in his office attended by many of the people who worked with Miss Angerson during the 25 years she headed the Women's Bureau.

As an added honor, he presented her the Department of Labor's award of merit in recognition of her significant contribution toward furthering the work of the Department in promoting the welfare of workers.

In his greeting, dated August 27, President Kennedy expressed his deep appreciation for her long and constructive efforts in behalf of women workers in the United States.

"The effects of your work have benefited not only women of this country but those of distant lands," he wrote. He added, "your career has been an inspiration to all who believe in the principles of fairness and progress."

Prime Minister Erlander, who cabled his greetings in care of Secretary Goldberg, told Miss Anderson "the Swedish Government is happy to know that you are being honored as a pioneer for women's rights in the labor market and for social justice."

Secretary Goldberg pointed out in presenting the framed citation of merit that Miss Anderson was the first "up from the ranks" labor woman to head a division of the executive department of the Federal Government.

She was appointed director of the Women's Bureau by President Wilson in 1920, and was reappointed by every successive President until her retirement in 1944.

The spry, snowy-haired Miss Anderson was not at a loss for words to acknowledge the honors. She said she felt that "all the ones with me in the Women's Bureau at that time should have some kind of recognition."

"Our staff," she said, "was dedicated to the cause. The first thing we did was make a survey of why women couldn't take civil service examinations. Right after that, women were permitted to take a few little examinations but now they can take every examination. * * * I feel that brought about the great employment of women in Government and I think the women have made good too," she added.

In the audience applauding her words were Alice Hager, who was the first chief of information in the Women's Bureau to have "permanent status," and Elizabeth Shirley Enochs who was the first in the Children's Bureau.

In his tribute to the first lady of the Women's Bureau, Secretary Goldberg pointed out that she came to this country from Sweden at the age of 16 and worked as a dishwasher in a Michigan lumberjack boardinghouse, a domestic worker in the employ of several families and later an operator in garment and shoe factories before joining the active trade union movement.

During her employment in the shoe plant, Miss Anderson became president of the Stitchers Local 94 of the International Boot and Shoe Workers Unions, an office she held for 15 years. Later, she served as an organizer for the Chicago and National Women's Trade Union Leagues.

She was also active in the suffrage movement and marched in several suffrage parades in Chicago. Noting this in his birthday message to Miss Anderson, President Kennedy congratulated her on helping to achieve for women "the valuable tool of the suffrage."

Miss Anderson still lives in Washington and is active in the causes to which she has devoted her life. Secretary Goldberg, in concluding his tribute to her, said that the Women's Bureau today seldom starts a project "without seeking her guidance and counsel."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 29, 1962]

J.F.K. SALUTES MARY ANDERSON

(By Isabelle Shelton)

A Swedish immigrant girl who made good, received kudos from her own and her adopted land yesterday.

She is Mary Anderson, sweet faced, white haired and 90 years old, who climbed from menial jobs as boarding house dishwater, domestic worker and shoe factory worker to become the first head of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

President Kennedy and Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander sent messages of congratulations, and Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg presented Miss Anderson with his Department's Award of Merit yesterday, in ceremonies in his Labor Department office.

The award was "in recognition of her significant and outstanding contribution toward furthering the work of the Department of Labor," from which she retired in 1944.

LETTER FROM KENNEDY

President Kennedy expressed in a letter his "deep appreciation of your long and constructive efforts in behalf of women workers of the United States.

"Your dedication to the cause of such workers was unswerving throughout your quarter century as Director of the Women's Bureau," the President continued.

"You provided that help as a trade unionist and later as a high official of the U.S. Government. The effects of your work have benefited not only women of this country but those in distant lands."

Noting that Miss Anderson's birthday, which was the day before (August 27) was almost the anniversary of the 19th (women's suffrage) amendment which became law August 26, 1920, the President declared that Miss Anderson was "to be congratulated on your part in helping to achieve for women the valuable tool of the suffrage.

"Women of the United States * * * are deeply indebted to you," he said. "The patterns you established both for women as workers and for women as citizens will be valuable indeed to the President's Commission on the Status of Women, which has as its objective the achievement of the full partnership of women in our democracy."

GOLDBERG SPEAKS

Secretary Goldberg said presentation of the award was "one of the greatest privileges that has ever come to me—the opportunity to pay tribute personally to a woman who has devoted her whole life to the cause of working people—helping to create for them the kind of life that men and women have a right to hope for and to achieve."

Miss Anderson also was presented with a scrapbook full of letters of praise and congratulation from other persons, chiefly leaders of the American labor movement.

Mrs. Goldberg made the presentation on behalf of herself and Mrs. Esther Peterson—present head of the Women's Bureau, who was out of town attending a conference.

Many women with whom Miss Anderson had worked over the years were present for the ceremony, as were such figures as Senator Maurine Neuberger, Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and Nelson Cruikshank, director of the AFL–CIO Department of Social Security.

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[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 1, 1962]

MANY OWE HER MUCH

(By Josephine Ripley)

In all of her 90 years she had never been more surprised. Not many women at any age receive greetings from the heads of two nations, or even one, for that matter.

But it happened to Miss Mary Anderson, not because of the years, but because of what she has accomplished.

She made no fortune except that which accrues from helping thousands of other women attain better working conditions, better pay and a better deal in the working world.

The greetings and congratulations came from President Kennedy and from Prime Minister Tage Erlander of Sweden, Miss Anderson's native country. Along with them came an award of merit from the U.S. Department of Labor.

Probably no woman in the country has done more for her fellow workingwoman than the 16-year-old Swedish immigrant who came to this country on a $30 steerage ticket in 1889 to find a job.

Many years later, in 1920, she became the first Director of the Woman's Bureau of the Labor Department, appointed by President Wilson. That was fine with Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt, all of whom reappointed her. She retired from the Bureau in 1944.

Mary Anderson has witnessed, and been a part of, some of the most dramatic years in the Nation's industrial history.

Her first job in the new country was in a lumberjacks' boardinghouse in Michigan, where she was employed as a dishwasher for $2 a week, plus board and lodging. In her third job as a domestic, she had a raise—to $3.

Her next move set the course of her life. She went to Chicago to work in a garment factory, then to a shoe factory still at $3 a week. This was increased eventually to $8.

As work became slack, she went from job to job in various States. At 22, she returned to Chicago where she again went to work in a shoe factory, this time for $14 a week as a skilled worker.

She remained there for 7 years, and it was during this period that she entered the trade union movement.

Here she learned, as she has put it in her autobiography, "Women at Work," that "it was not always necessary to change jobs to get better working conditions. Sometimes we could improve conditions through union negotiations with the employer. That was a better way, because then conditions were improved for a great many people, and not just for the one person who changed to a better job."

This was the beginning of her work in the labor movement, a cause to which she has devoted her life. She was soon elected president of the Stitchers Local 94 of the International Boot & Shoe Workers Union, and remained in that office for 15 years.

She eventually became a full-time organizer for the National Women's Trade Union League. During this time she helped to gain better living wages, shorter hours, and safer working conditions for women.

Miss Anderson was asked one time what she considered the most interesting and important single thing she had done in her life. She had just returned from Paris where she had seen and reported to President Wilson.

To everyone's surprise, Miss Anderson named not her Paris mission, but the work she had done years before on the Hart, Schaffner & Marx agreement which established arbitration as a method of settling labor disputes.

Another thing she likes to remember is her pioneering work in the field of collective bargaining, when she helped draw up and put into effect the labor constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Miss Anderson was largely responsible for inclusion in the Federal wage and hour law of a provision that there be no classification on the basis of sex or age in the drafting of minimum-wage orders. This meant that when committees met later on to set higher minimums, the law prevented differentials for women.

Labor Secretary Goldberg, in presenting the surprise award to her, welcomed "The opportunity to pay tribute personally to a woman who has devoted her whole life to the cause of working people—to helping to create for them the kind of life men and women have a right to hope for and to achieve."

President Kennedy, in his message, said he felt her work had "benefited not only the women of this country, but those of distant lands."

The Prime Minister of Sweden cabled that the Swedish Government "is happy to know that you are being honored as a pioneer for women's rights in the labor market and for social justice."

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## Communist Military Buildup in Cuba Must Be Stopped

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SPEECH

OF

## HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration Senate Joint Resolution 230, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I will read the joint resolution passed by the 84th Congress, January 29, 1955, authorizing the President to take such action as he deemed necessary to stop the Red Chinese Communists from making an armed attack on Formosa and the Pescadores.

I will read the resolution in full:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 159

Joint resolution authorizing the President to employ the Armed Forces of the United States for protecting the security of Formosa, the Pescadores and related positions and territories of that area

Whereas the primary purpose of the United States, in its relations with all other nations, is to develop and sustain a just and enduring peace for all; and

Whereas certain territories in the West Pacific under the jurisdiction of the Republic of China are now under armed attack, and threats and declarations have been and are being made by the Chinese Communists that such armed attack is in aid of and in preparation for armed attack on Formosa and the Pescadores; and

Whereas such armed attack if continued would gravely endanger the peace and security of the West Pacific area and particularly of Formosa and the Pescadores; and

Whereas the secure possession by friendly governments of the western Pacific island chain, of which Formosa is a part, is essentian to the vital interests of the United States and all friendly nations in or bordering upon the Pacific Ocean; and

Whereas the President of the United States on January 6, 1955, submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification a Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of China, which recognizes that an armed attack in the West Pacific area directed against territories, therein described, in the region of Formosa and the Pescadores, would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the parties to the treaty: Therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President of the United States be and he hereby is authorized to employ the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack, this authority to include the securing and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, and shall so report to the Congress.

Approved January 29, 1955.

Immediately after the passage of that resolution the President sent the 7th Fleet into the Formosa Straits, which proved to the Reds that Uncle Sam was not bluffing, and the result was that, the planned Red attack on Formosa did not materialize.

Why, I ask, do we not pass a similar resolution now, since we are faced with a very similar situation in Cuba, where the Castro and the Russian Communists have joined forces to establish a military toehold only 90 miles from the U.S. mainland?

Our President has not asked Congress to give him authority to deal with that problem effectively and decisively. But instead we are now faced with a weak-kneed resolution which in effect gives the President no more authority to deal with this powder keg Cuban problem than he already has.

Mr. Chairman, it must be pointed out that the President of the United States under his war powers, could and should

have long ago sent a sufficient arm of our naval fleet to patrol the waters around Cuba. Had this been done, I am sure that all ships flying the flag of any foreign nation, Russian included, would never have crossed the line loaded with instruments of war for Castro. The American people are asking, "What are we waiting for?" It is noteworthy that so long as Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was President of the United States, the Russian Communists were very careful not to show one iota of military cooperation with Castro, for they knew only too well that Ike would not permit a Red military buildup in Cuba's tent which is now going on, full speed ahead.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest the words "Formosa and the Pescadores" in the joint resolution passed by Congress in 1955, be substituted by inserting in lieu thereof, these words: "the United States and all sister nations within the confines of the Monroe Doctrine as originally spelled out."

May I say in conclusion, that, regardless of the nature of resolutions we pass today, I sincerely hope and pray that the Communists will understand and that Uncle Sam is ready to take any means necessary to stop their military buildup in Cuba.

## Tribute to the Late Joseph J. Delaney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Joseph J. Delaney, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, who was respected and admired by many of us on Capitol Hill, recently was called to his Maker. His passing will be a great loss not only to his immediate family, Members of Congress, his countless friends and associates, but especially the Operating Engineers and the building and construction trade for whom he worked untiringly and unselfishly for a good many years. He was not only a kindly man but most considerate at all times, a fine administrator and an honorable, intelligent, able, and capable leader in the trade union movement. We all extend to his family our sincere and deepest sympathy, knowing that he will no doubt be rewarded with eternal happiness. I wish to include a eulogy on Mr. Delaney that appeared in the Building and Construction Trades Bulletin which expresses the exact feelings of all of us concerning this well-known and well-thought-of leader of the workingmen in that industry.

The eulogy follows:

JOSEPH J. DELANEY

This is not an obituary, but an attempt to put into words what every building tradesman must feel at the passing of Joseph J. Delaney, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers. He was like a rock—solid and dependable—for all his friends to lean on and gain strength from when they needed help.

Joe Delaney was a leader. From his youth he showed the ability to break new ground, to pioneer in new paths, and to convince others of the wisdom of following him to greater achievement. He organized the first local union of apprentices in his International, perhaps in any international, and led it to recognition, reward, and security. A man who did not seek personal preferment, Joe Delaney undertook the leadership of his union at a time when it was under attack. Within 4 years he strengthened and rebuilt the organization and erased criticism. As a vice president of the building and construction trades department, Joe Delaney consistently worked for positive goals—such as intensified organization to wipe out nonunion pockets, systematized cooperation with fair contractors, and greater political activity by unions and their members.

He was a man with an outsize heart, always ready and willing to do a good deed for others less fortunate, without having to be asked. Above all else, he was an ardent trade unionist, an organizer of the old school, a true believer in the high principles and ultimate victory of the labor movement, to which he contributed a lifetime of faithful service. He believed that a trade union should be run for the benefit of its members, that all unions should work together for the advancement of all workers, and that the first allegiance of American workers belongs to their country.

A trade unionist of the old school? Yes—and right at the top of the class. There aren't enough left. Joe Delaney will be sorely missed.

## Words Won't Solve World Money Woes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as this session of the 87th Congress ends, we find ourselves with the largest budget deficit in peacetime history, a large part of it brought about by the whip that the administration has wielded in an effort to push through its spending programs.

I submit for the RECORD an article by Joseph Ator, columnist of the Chicago Daily Tribune, which appeared in the Tuesday, September 25, edition, which in a clear and concise manner analyzes the situation concerning the safety of our dollar and the gold drain.

WORDS DON'T SOLVE WORLD MONEY WOES—ASSURANCE OF DOLLAR'S SAFETY HAS NOT STOPPED GOLD DRAIN

(By Joseph Ator)

The trouble with international finance is that words don't work. You have to lay it on the line, "it," in these circumstances, being gold.

American monetary authorities have been indulging in a deal of futile rhetoric in recent months designed to ease this Nation out of its foreign financial difficulties. They put out a flood of optimism in connection with the September meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, evoking from Europeans in attendance the polite equivalent of "Laugh."

The American theme song was "the dollar is out of the woods." Despite the fact that Per Jacobsson, managing director of the IMF, joined the American chorus, events of recent months served to stimulate derision of the claims.

Back of our fiscal troubles lies the recurring deficit in the American balance of payments with other nations. Any such deficit has to be paid off in gold, and almost constant deficits have consumed a third of our gold store.

Since the end of 1961 foreign holders of claims on the United States have taken more than $800 million in gold, substantially equal to our loss of gold last year. The bulletin of the Federal Reserve System last month disclosed that foreign short-term claims against this country, the principal base of gold withdrawals, leaped from $22,550 million at the start of the year to $24,100 million on July 1.

BUDGET DEFICIT SOARS

A year ago Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon assured the authorities of the IMF, meeting in Vienna, that the American budget now in effect would be balanced. The Treasury's estimate called for a surplus of $463 million, but appropriations will create a deficit of more than $6 billion.

Dillon's and President Kennedy's difficulty is that the present administration persists in lavishing military and economic aid on other nations, some of which are in such sound financial condition that they should well be cooking up some scheme for the economic aid of the United States. Congress, which has applied the ax to some of Kennedy's foreign aid requests was motivated in part by the discovery that one beneficiary nation, having received a foreign aid payment, promptly converted it into American gold.

In this area, American citizens have cooperated in increasing the balance-of-trade deficit by their personal operations. A lot of American capital is going to Europe from American corporations who seek to cash in on the economic benefits of the European Common Market by buying into industry in Euromart companies.

AMERICANS STIMULATE DRAIN

Other Americans have stimulated the gold drain directly, by sending funds to Europe for deposit in Swiss and other banks, or for the outright purchase of gold which is held abroad for their account. They are hedging against devaluation of the dollar, which President Kennedy has repeatedly assured the world will not take place.

The United States has a prosperous economy, but it is a high wage, high cost economy. We are losing export sales to other nations, which have rehabilitated their war-torn factories with American funds. Foreign steel producers and others have even increased their sales in the United States.

The fundamental cause of our balance-of-payments deficit is the payment of billions in foreign aid to "save the world from communism." A logical road to fiscal health would be to cut off foreign aid. Kennedy doesn't follow that road, however. He wants to give away more than Congress is willing to vote him.

## Let's Act on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, since Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba more than 3½ years ago, there have been

voices both inside and outside of the Congress that have warned of the increasing dangers of Cuban communism. These same voices have called for U.S. initiative in the area rather than a policy of drift-and-wait. In an article that appeared in the September 1962 issue of the Militant American, an American Legion publication of San Antonio, Tex., Post No. 402, Mr. Fred Orleans, a well-known international lawyer, economist, writer, and lecturer, makes this point and pays tribute to our distinguished colleague from Alabama, ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN. As Mr. Orleans' article indicates a portion of which follows, no one has spoken more prophetically or more fearlessly in connection with the Cuban menace than the gentleman from Alabama.

LET'S ACT ON CUBA

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The time has come to determine in retrospect how our country reached its present state of affairs relating to the existence of a Communist base a mere 90 miles from the coast of Florida. The question remains as to whether anybody in private or public life was aware of what was taking place in Cuba and if so why the present situation was allowed to develop. The writer, who is by no means a soothsayer, has written many articles warning of the consequences of the policy our country was pursuing toward Cuba and communism in the Western Hemisphere in general. In 1960 I spoke throughout the State of Texas on "The War in Our Own Backyard—The Cold War for Latin America," and this address was subsequently inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on January 26, 1961. Among other things I stated "that the problems that existed in Latin America would not go away if we buried our heads in the sand, nor could we ever hope to divorce our ability to survive as a Nation from its independence on a strong, united Western Hemisphere; that the issue was simple—it was survival; that what was needed was concrete action and that we must show the world that the spirit of 1776, that spirit which made us a great Nation was not dead in the United States, but merely dormant; that the people of America need only to be given a purpose and they would rise to the challenge." I further pointed out that the people of the United States are the makers of our Nation's foreign policy and they are to blame for failures in U.S. foreign policy because they do not make their will known to the Government.

GRAVE PROBLEMS

The purpose of reiterating the above is not to prove that the writer possesses great insight and was able to predict the course of events in Cuba, but to bring into sharp focus that it was common knowledge that developments in Cuba could present the United States ultimately, as they are now doing, with grave problems. The question now remains as to why, with all the evidence openly presented so long ago, has our Nation been allowed to aimlessly drift into our present precarious situation.

It is heartening to learn that I have not been alone in viewing with alarm past and present developments in Cuba and that there are Members of the Congress of the United States who have also been aware of the situation and have over the years voiced their alarm at the growing threat of communism, based in Cuba and spreading throughout the Western Hemisphere. Outstanding among them, for the past 3 years, the clarion voice of ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, Jr. has time after time forcibly and loudly sounded the alarm in the halls of Congress and wherever else the opportunity presented itself. Recognizing that the ultimate responsibility for our foreign policy lies with the executive branch of our Government, he has exercised his right and performed his duty as Chairman of the House Subcommitte on Inter-American Affairs, to try to elert the executive branch of our Government and the American people to the grave danger Cuban based communism posed to the Western Hemisphere.

FIRM STAND URGED

It was ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN who in numerous congressional addresses, spoke out on the gravity of the Cuban situation. His study, work, and knowledge have won for him a position of great respect in the Congress of the United States. As early as January 1960, Mr. SELDEN urged a firm stand against Castro and stated that Democracy did not exist in Cuba. In March 1960, he called for immediate action against anti-U.S. propaganda emanating from Cuba. In June 1960, he clearly stated that the United States could not ignore the fact that the Cuban Government was being used to further the international Communist conspiracy. In August 1960, he criticized the failure of the Inter-American Conference at San Jose, Costa Rico, to recognize the threat to the Western Hemisphere from communism in Cuba. In March 1961, he called for an end of trade with Cuba. In April 1961, he introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives, calling for sanctions against Cuba and its exclusion from the Inter-American Defense Board. The resolution was overwhelmingly approved by the House. In June 1961, he urged collective action against Cuba by the Organization of American States. In October 1961, he pointed out that the failure of the Organization of American States to deal with the Castro threat was weakening the principle of hemispheric cooperation.

In the early part of this year at Punta del Este, it was Mr. SELDEN who demanded that all the Nations of the Americas stand up and be counted, through clearly indicating their position on Castro and communism. He demanded the isolation of Castro and the strengthening of the Inter-American system. To a great degree, Mr. SELDEN's presence at Punta del Este helped provide the United States with one of the few diplomatic victories gained against communism in the Western Hemisphere. On September 6, 1962, on the floor of Congress, Mr. SELDEN clearly indicated that the problem of Cuba is truly bipartisan since the foreign policy errors, leading to the present crisis, span two administrations. He further stated that to eliminate Castro and communism in Cuba today is beyond the capability of the Cuban people and that in his opinion it will require a military operation that they alone cannot undertake.

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## Congressman Brewster Addresses Kings Point Club—American Seapower at the Crossroads

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the Kings Point Club of Baltimore, Md., Milton G. Nottingham, president, observed Maritime Day with a dinner on September 24. All of the members of the club are alumni of the Merchant Marine Academy. Among the guests of honor were Rear Adm. Gordon McLintock, superintendent of the Academy, Rear Adm. Halert C. Shepherd, USCG (retired), the mayor of Baltimore and several members of the Maryland congressional delegation.

We are privileged to hear an excellent address by our colleague, DANNY BREWSTER, who ably discussed maritime affairs as they affect the Nation, and also the port of Baltimore. Because this is a subject of concern to all of us, I am inserting his remarks in the Appendix for the perusal of the Members:

AMERICAN SEAPOWER AT THE CROSSROADS

(Remarks of the Honorable DANIEL B. BREWSTER, of Maryland, before the Kings Point Club of Baltimore, Monday, September 24, 1962)

Let me begin by stating two categorical imperatives.

First, a strong, modern American merchant marine is vital to our country's interests. Without it, we cannot have a balanced defense capability, and we cannot hope to increase the rate of our economic expansion as fast as we must to compete in today's world.

Second, the port of Baltimore is the most important single factor in our State's industrial community. The continued expansion and improvement of the port's facilities is vital to Maryland's economic well-being.

You who are here tonight represent almost every facet of the American maritime industry—its supporting services, its related industries—and interested local, State, and Federal agencies. You, more than any other group, can vouch for the validity of these statements.

Now, let's examine together some of the varied aspects and the problems of our present situation.

American seapower, in its total sense, is one of our most potent weapons in the cold war struggle with international communism. Today, more than ever in our history, we are, as a maritime nation, dependent upon the combined capability of our naval and commercial fleets.

Our seapower is more than Polaris submarines and high speed luxury liners. It is tankers, ore carriers, tramps, and coastwise carriers. It is our shipbuilding capacity and the technical and design skills of our naval engineers working in concert with the skills of our shipyard workers. It is the know-how and the dedication of the men who man the ships and those who handle them at portside; and behind this, there is our wealth of natural resources and our geographical advantages.

In short, we have all the tools which enable a nation to use the sea to its advantage during peace or in time of war. We cannot, however, take our maritime position for granted. We must overcome past neglect and shortsightedness. We must push forward to new maritime frontiers.

We must proceed without delay to modernize and build up our U.S. merchant marine. We must make maximum use of new technologies. This, of course, means spending substantial sums of money. But, as important as the bookkeeper is, we cannot allow him to be the final arbiter of our national maritime policy.

Recent events make it imperative that we aggressively compete for a larger share of world trade.

The European Common Market is now a firm reality. It has become one of the main bulwarks against the spread of communism into Western Europe. It also represents a tremendous economic challenge to the United States. It can be either our toughest competitor or our best customer. The choice is largely up to us.

Passage of the President's new liberal trade bill represents a significant shift in U.S. trade and tariff policies. It marks a signal victory for the advocates of free trade and promises to materially aid our efforts to secure a larger share of world markets for U.S. industry and agriculture.

The volume of trade between us and our Allies and the uncommitted nations will undoubtedly expand greatly in the years ahead. We must find a way to insure that our merchant marine carries a much larger share of this trade.

In our struggle with the Communist world, trade is a key factor—a potent weapon for the side which uses it most effectively. The Russians were late in arriving on the maritime scene, but it is apparent that they fully understand the importance of mercantile seapower.

Soviet expansion, in both naval and merchant fleets, shows their determination to replace us as the world's number one seapower. The primary position given to submarines in the growing Soviet Navy openly shows their intention to cut our sea links, of trade and supply, in time of war. Growing emphasis on merchant shipping shows the value the Soviets place on world trade for attaining their objectives.

Russia now has a merchant marine of about 900 ships—over 4½ million deadweight tons. Her satellites provide an additional 200 ships, totaling one and a quarter million tons. This fleet is steadily expanding through building in Soviet bloc shipyards and purchases from the free world. Last year, the chairman of the Russian shipbuilding ministry was quoted as saying that the demand of the Soviet merchant marine was increasing so rapidly that Soviet shipyards no longer could fully cope with it and that by 1965 the volume of Soviet seaborne freightage would be almost tripled compared with 1958.

Soviet ships and trade are integral and vital parts of the Communist economic offensive. We need only look to Cuba 90 miles off our Florida coast to see a sobering example of the effective use of seapower in carrying out Communist penetration.

This is not the proper time for me to discuss all the ramifications of the Cuban situation, but I will say this much. I am deeply disturbed—in fact I am boiling with anger over the sight of ships flying NATO nation flags carrying war material and so-called technicians into Cuban ports. It is high time that some of our friends learned that this is a two-way street. Many Members of Congress share my feeling and I predict that unless the governments of these countries take steps to halt this invidious practice some of our programs designed to help these nations are in for rough sailing on Capitol Hill.

The Soviet merchant fleet is a political as well as an economic weapon. Their merchant marine is not hindered by the necessity of trying to make a financial profit. Political profit is their prime motivation.

We must act now to restore our position of primacy at sea. The degree of interdependence between our naval power and the strength of our merchant marine is greater than ever before. One of the tasks of naval power is to protect and control the sealanes in the face of potentially the most massive submarine threat of our experience. It is the job of the merchant marine to bring in the vast quantities of raw materials—imports such as metals, ores and petroleum—which are now vital to our national strength.

Consider the degree of our present vulnerability. Over 1½ million barrels of petroleum per day are imported by ship—less than 5 percent of it in ships flying the U.S. flag. About 99,000 tons of iron ore are daily imported in ships, nearly all under foreign flags. There are, of course, other critical items: the raw materials for the space age must be imported into the United States by ship.

Our capacity to project our limited war capability needs a well-balanced naval-military force working closely with a modern, effective merchant marine, active and in being.

The movement of troops and military material by sea is not obsolete.

There is, of course, no substitute for an adequate airlift. Its ability to rapidly move a few thousand troops and their light equipment is invaluable.

But when divisions and armies are to be moved, sealift can accomplish the job more rapidly and of course much more efficiently, both in terms of military effectiveness—as troops arrive concurrently with their heavy equipment—and in terms of resources expended.

The ships to do the job—the passenger ships, cargo ships and tankers—must be modern, fast, and efficient. More than that, they must be in being and actively employed. If they are to be ready to serve in an emergency, they must be built, manned and gainfully employed before the emergency occurs.

We do not now have these ships, except in limited numbers.

Only 15 percent of our active merchant tonnage is less than 6 years old. Seventy-five percent is over 14 years old.

To make up for past neglect, the replacement rate on our berth line cargo and passenger ships must be increased.

We must determine realistically what appropriate portion of the national budget should be allocated to the strengthening of our merchant marine. We must create the domestic climate of intraindustry cooperation in which that merchant marine can thrive and prosper.

We are all aware of the importance of seapower to the port of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. Baltimore's protected deep water harbor is Maryland's greatest natural asset. It is the most important single factor in our State's rapid industrial growth.

The Baltimore metropolitan area is, of course, most directly affected by the port's status as a major junction in world trade.

Port-related employment exceeds 125,000—over 60 percent of the total industrial labor force in the area. These employees earn over $456 million annually—which is more than 65 percent of the total manufacturing payroll.

Each year some 6,000 ocean-going vessels use our port's facilities. The average ship visit means about $50,000 to our community through the payment of crews' wages, purchase of supplies, service charges, and longshoremen's wages.

Some 6,000 longshoremen, thousands of employees of brokers, freight forwarders, railroads, and hundreds of Federal and State employees in customs, immigration, and public health depend on the port for their livelihood.

These 6,000 ships bring 200,000 seamen into Baltimore each year. Their expenditures benefit many Baltimore businesses—in fact, I am sure that at this very moment some of these hardy seafarers are sampling Baltimore's world renowned hospitality within a few blocks of where we meet tonight. I bid them welcome and wish them good luck.

Many factors have played a part in the success our port has enjoyed. Of these, one of the most important has been a stable, efficient labor force.

The efficiency of Baltimore's labor is recognized in international commercial circles. The handling of cargo by the Baltimore waterfront labor force was the most efficient in the United States during World War II. This efficient labor force directly affects the costs of handling cargo at Baltimore with the result that comparable cargos can be loaded or offloaded at Baltimore at considerably less cost than at competing ports of the North Atlantic and Great Lakes.

We must zealously guard this advantage. Reasonable men—meeting and bargaining in good faith—can solve any problem.

I agree with the view of former Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg when he said:

"We want to preserve the freedom of the right to strike in the maritime industry. But preserving the right to strike does not mean to indicate that strikes ought to be incurred. We ought to preserve the freedom but this ultimate test of economic power which is a necessary attribute of freedom is also an indication that collective bargaining is not realizing its real objective, which is sensible, reasonable settlements arrived at through the process of collective bargaining. A strike may be necessary in a given situation but a strike should be regarded by both parties as a failure to realize the fruits of a mature collective bargaining relationship."

As a member of the Maryland Legislature and more recently as a Member of Congress, I have had the opportunity to play a small part in furthering the development of our port.

When I was a member of the Maryland Legislature, I was Baltimore County's representative on the original commission which drafted the legislation which created the Maryland Port Authority. In the intervening years, I have closely followed the authority's activities and I would be remiss at this point if I did not compliment John Kronau, the authority's chairman, and Joseph Stanton, its executive director, for their tireless efforts in behalf of the port. They have maintained constant contact with the members of Maryland's congressional delegation, and their advice and counsel has been of inestimable value.

As a Member of Congress, I have joined EDDIE GARMATZ and my other Maryland colleagues in the long fight to repeal the 6 percent differential which has allowed west coast shipyards to underbid our yards at Bethlehem-Sparrows Point and Maryland Drydock Co. This obsolete section of the Maritime Act has cost Maryland workers hundreds of thousands of hours of employment, with the necessary attendant loss to the economy of the whole community.

I am glad to report that both the House and the Senate have approved this legislation. West Coast interests will undoubtedly use delaying tactics to stall the final enactment of this long overdue reform, but in the end, we shall prevail.

Your Baltimore area Congressmen, GEORGE FALLON, SAM FRIEDEL, and ED GARMATZ have fought the fight and won the battle to secure realistic appropriations for the widening and deepening of the Baltimore channel. I know I need not impress you with the importance of this accomplishment.

In conclusion, I want to commend and congratulate the members of the Kings Point Alumni. Kings Point, Annapolis, West Point, and Denver all have the same mission—to train, and give to us, the highly qualified officers who must man the frontlines of freedom throughout the world.

These are days of constant change and challenge. We face the challenge of finding the most effective way to assure the development of seapower, and suporting port facilities, that our national policy requires.

The responsibility for doing this falls in some degree on every person in the room and those whom they represent. I know that you and those you represent will meet this challenge. Thank you.

## Kremlin Directive on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Member of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I include the following article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Palm Beach (Fla.) Post, Sept. 13, 1962]

KREMLIN DIRECTIVE

The latest U.S. foreign policy directive—issued by the Kremlin Tuesday—probably removes all hope of any decisive action by this country against the Communist military buildup in Cuba.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev has issued instructions that nothing is to be done to impede the creation of a Communist stronghold in the Western Hemisphere—on pain of nuclear bombardment from Russian bases.

Our State Department will be allowed to sass the Kremlin boss back a little; Secretary Dean Rusk has already done that. But that is about as far as defiance may be expected to go.

Best guess of the week, as guessed by "The Insider's Newsletter," is that President Kennedy will continue to play down the Soviet invasion of Cuba, arguing that the Reds will get tired of the expensive drain of money and manpower needed to prop up Castro, eventually clash with their Cuban comrades, and the whole mess will rot away.

In the meantime, Khrushchev will be fortifying a "new frontier" on Florida's doorstep from which he may, at his pleasure, send either ideological or military expeditions into Latin America. New "Cubas" may be established which will also come under the benevolent protection of Red missiles.

There is no precedent in other parts of the Sovietized world to bolster the theory that communism relinquishes its grip on any nation once brought under Kremlin control. But it is comforting to hope that Cuba may prove to be an exception, if we lack any alternative to hope.

Of course, Comrade Khrushchev has given us an alternative to our expected passive resistance to Communist expansion in the Americas. We can coexist by cooperating with Castro.

The Soviet statement confirmed what President Kennedy has already told the American people: that the U.S.S.R. is sending arms and technicians to Cuba exclusively for defensive purposes, and added:

"Instead of aggravating the atmosphere by such actions as the mobilization of reservists, which is tantamount to the threat of starting war, it would be much more sensible if the United States, displaying wisdom, would offer a kind gesture; would establish diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba the desirability of which has been declared by the Cuban Government."

If we accept the rest of the Soviet statement at its face value, perhaps such a gesture would be the part of wisdom.

If we intend to permit the spread of communism in the Western World, we should be prepared to be on good terms with it. And how better could we signify our good intentions than by embracing the murderous betrayer of Cuba and all he stands for?

Perhaps in such a course lies the "security" which so many Americans of today seem to value above all else.

Once in our history a stout-hearted American asked the rhetorical question: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?"

Is today's answer, "It's better to be Red than dead"?

We say with Patrick Henry: "Forbid it, Almighty God."

## Johnny Markas: A Very Unusual Young Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BASIL L. WHITENER**
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding young man of Morganton, N.C., was the subject of a recent newspaper article which appeared in many newspapers in North Carolina. I speak of Johnny Markas, who is captain of the Duke University football team this year.

While this young man has been outstanding in athletics, this has not been his only cause for recognition. His splendid character and personal conduct has been often commented upon by those who know him. It was, therefore, very pleasing to me to see that these fine qualities of this young man were recognized on the printed pages of our newspapers. I am sure that the sterling record of Johnny Markas is one which will inspire many of our young people to better things.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Markas Is a Very Unusual Young Man," be made a part of the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MARKAS IS A VERY UNUSUAL YOUNG MAN

(By Add Penfield, Jr.)

DURHAM.—Johnny Markas, Duke University football captain for the 1962 season, is not cut out of an ordinary mold. Johnny, or "The Greek" as his teammates call him, is a very unusual young man. Football captain and president of the Men's Student Government of a major university—there are not many boys on the college football field today who could hold two such positions.

Markas came to Duke from a small town—Morganton—an almost scrawny 178 pounder amidst the giants of the college football world. His coaches say that he has developed more than perhaps any athlete here in the last few years. A small success story in itself.

Johnny is the kind of young man who inspires confidence in all he meets. An athlete of top calibre, he has been an important member of two straight Duke Atlantic Coast Conference championship teams and one of the driving forces in the forward wall from his guard position. He is a ball of fire on the field and throws his well-developed 200 pounds around with the best of them—even opponents who outweigh him by 30 to 40 pounds.

Off the field, the Markas success story continues. One of the most respected men on the campus, Johnny swept the Men's Student Government presidency with ease in the spring elections. He has assembled an excellent group of men for his staff and the campus feeling is that he will do one of the finest jobs in recent history in this office.

The Markas story goes even further. A devout Christian, Johnny has been one of the key leaders and now is vice president of the growing Duke chapter of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes—a national group which links Christianity with the players in all sports—college, high school, and pro.

In his work with the FCA, Markas has spent many hours touring the State speaking to youth groups, churches, and civic clubs about the work of FCA and making a most impressive appearance wherever he went. He has headed a program of this type in the local chapter which sees other members of the varsity teams also appear in similar meetings.

In addition to all his accomplishments in football and extra-curricular activities, Markas is unusual in another respect. He is a fine student with the odd major of geology. He has consistently rated above the all-men's average on the Duke campus. This past spring he took more hours than any other undergraduate in the university—22—and still maintained his high marks.

Johnny Markas—athlete, fine scholar, school leader, outstanding Christian—truly a credit to football and to Duke University.

## McCarthy Speaks for the Old Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BOB WILSON**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Disabled American Veterans, Department of California, recently held its convention in San Diego, Calif. One of the most significant and penetrating addresses presented at the convention was by Past State Commander Charles McCarthy. I call this distinguished gentleman's remarks to your attention and to our colleagues in the Congress and under unanimous consent I insert them in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MCCARTHY SPEAKS FOR THE OLD GUARD

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Among the memorable events at the San Diego convention was the delivery of one of the main addresses by Past State Commander Charles McCarthy. While it is impossible to reproduce in cold type Commander McCarthy's fine delivery, we can reproduce his words. A complete text of his address follows. It is recommended reading.)

Comrade commander, comrades here gathered at this convention, gentlemen, I am not here today to talk to you as a past department commander. I have come here to tell you that I am very, very happy again to have the opportunity to attend a Disabled American Veterans' Convention, and to tell you that these are happy moments in my

life when I can shake hands with a number of fellows that I knew in the old days when I was extremely active in this organization from chapter No. 1 in Fresno. And, then, too, with a tear in my eye and a lump in my throat I miss the many fellows I know and who are now gone. I know it is God's will that one generation shall go ahead and the other will follow. We are of that generation that is to follow.

As I look at this organization I keep thinking in my mind of the thoughts that the admiral who addressed this organization yesterday left with us. I wonder about our public relations and what we have been doing with them to build up our strength. I look around and I see a whole group of we older men—we who are passe—and I wonder why we have fallen down and been unable to add onto our organization the younger group that have come out of World War II. I think there must be some particular reason we do not have these men. They are no different than ourselves. People will tell you that these men are not interested in the things we do. But I can tell you this, they are just as interested in the things we do as anybody could be and if we put up the right sales talk they will join this organization and they will do their part.

And then again I think that it is only a matter of time until a great bunch of us will become wheelchair men. Who is going to take care of us when that time comes?

I can tell you this: a year ago today I probably could be counted as one of the most influential men in the Los Angeles area. I was president of the powerful Board of Public Utility Transportation Committee of the city of Los Angeles. I was district governor of Rotary International. And on the 30th day of June of last year I retired from both positions. Up to that time I had influence enough to grant and get almost anything within reason in the area. Today I am passe. I have no more influence than a total stranger. And that's how fast this influence will leave us.

And the reason that I mention that is this: As we older men pass on and get to the wheelchair age and to the rocking chair age, who is going to appear before these committees and before these commissions and before the Veterans' Administration on our behalf if we don't encourage some of the others to come up?

We thought when this organization was formed we were building an organization that would come to an end when we died. But no. We have another war and we have had a group of men injured in the other war. We have set a pattern for them to make it possible for them to get compensation.

Many of them haven't seen fit to come into this organization. Possibly there is a reason. Maybe that reason was our own. Maybe we didn't do the things we older fellows should have done to encourage the younger ones.

A great, great American general, when he was making his last appearance at West Point, told the Cadets—"They give you a temperate will, a quality of imagination, vigour of emotion, a freshness of the deep springs of life, a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity; an appetite for adventure over love of ease." Then he went on to say: "What sort of soldiers are those you are to lead? Are they reliable? Are they the brave? Are they capable of victory?" Here is what this great man had to say of us: we of all the wars: "Their story is known to all of you. It's a story of the American man at arms. My estimate of him was formed in the battlefields many, many years ago, and has never changed.

"I regard him now as I regarded him then, as one of the world's noblest figures, not only as one of the finest military characters, but also as one of the most stainless. His name and fame are the birthright of every American citizen. In his youth and strengthen his love and loyalty; he gave all of that mortality that he can give. He needs no eulogy from me or from any other man. He has written his own history and written it in red on his enemies' breast."

That is what General Douglas MacArthur thought of us—we men who fought in the service.

We are a compensated man now. We draw compensation from the Government. We are a minority group. We are a minority group, but when you hear minorities spoken of politically we are never included. Gentlemen, I am going to tell you something: we are going to be included.

Let me tell you about a little organization that is only 14 years old and has 50,000 members. Do you know what they have been able to do? They have been able to put three men as White House aides in the White House. They have three of their men in as Cabinet officers. They have 31 men as key administrators in the vital areas of finance, labor, civil rights, public works, and power and housing and foreign policy. Do those men believe as we do? Let me tell you what they believe in. I want you to get this:

These men believe in relief and aid to Communist China, diplomatic recognition of Communist China, admission of Communist China to the United Nations, ratification of the United Nations, support of international labor organizations. They oppose the unilateral U.S. attempt to intervene in Cuba.

They also are for the Brennan farm plan, compulsory health insurance, Federal price and rent control, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, compulsory union membership, giving executive power to modify rates of taxes. And all of those things.

These men—this minority group—is able to do that, and so help me God we wanted a few percentage raise in our compensation and we can't get it because a Senator wants to add some other little proviso onto the deal.

Who are the Americans? Are we the Americans who fought for our country? Are we the ones to be recognized, or are those men who are on the other side of this deal?

I want you to know, gentlemen, that right now your compensation is as close as it can be to being cut off, when I tell you that every minute—every minute that you sit in this auditorium, every minute of each hour of the day for the entire 24 hours of the day—even the time you sleep, that our Government of the United States has to pay $18,000 interest on the debt that they now owe for the money that they have expended.

I just picked up a quip in the paper here the other day. This will be most interesting to you. Representative WAYNE HAYES, of Ohio, has charged that the American taxpayers are bearing the cost of money paid to the Congo officials—the Congo senators, if you please—$3,000 per month, compared to $22,500 per year that our own Congressmen are paid. We are paying those men. Seventy percent of these people cannot read or write, and some of them are still headhunters. And we are paying them that money.

Now, gentlemen, it's going to be up to you if you are going to let this thing carry on any longer. We have to stay on the capitalistic system; we have to stay with the constitutional form of government. If we don't we are going to be the losers.

I am going to tell you gentlemen that an obligation was put on our shoulders the day that we had this organization chartered by Congress. That obligation was to take care of those who were less able to take care of themselves. I have taken this matter seriously. When I see us sending troops into south Asia to prevent the spread of communism, with communism 90 miles from the coast of Florida. When we put Cuba on the financial ban, and find that the United Nations loaned Cuba money and that 62 percent of that mony came out of the Treasury of the United States.

When we have asked for a little raise to help these people who need it, we are held back by a Senator from Louisiana.

Who are the Americans today? Are we the Americans of this country? Or is the group who try to run us down the Americans of this country—the group who try to shove us aside? We are the first people to be shoved aside, and if you don't believe it you are living in a fool's paradise. The first people to be shoved aside are the disabled men.

I well recall when the WPA started they cut our compensation. They paid these men. And I can remember when I lived in Fresno they had a crew of men going out and throwing tumbleweeds from one side of the road to the other. And the next afternoon the wind would blow them back and they would throw them back and forth so often they would wear them out. And still they moaned about our compensation.

There is just no argument that we have to live on the plan—the American plan—the constitutional system—the capitalistic system.

In our capitalistic system we have four freedoms—and I want you to remember them: We have the freedom to try. We have the freedom to buy. We have the freedom to sell, and we have the freedom to fail if we can't succeed.

Against these are offered another four freedoms: The freedom from striving, the freedom from exploitation, the freedom from competition, the freedom from insecurity.

These I give to my dog. I give him a place to sleep; I feed him; I let him go out of the yard when he has to. That's the dog's life.

I want the life as an American citizen where I have the four freedoms where I can try; where I can buy; where I can sell, and if I can't make good, where I can fail.

That's the thing that you men fought for. I warn you today that this is all coming to a close. Do you realize that we handed to the United Nations the sum of $32,204,061 to pay for United Nations troops to fight up in Katanga? And I will ask you one question when we speak of the Congo or of the trouble we are having in Laos.

Did you ever hear of our Government telling any of the governments that we give money to—"If you do not form a coalition government in which there will be people who believe in the Western ideas we will not allow you any money"? You have never heard it. But in Laos, in China, in a number of other countries our friends are told they have to form coalition governments that include communism or we will not give them a dime. Remember that.

And I want you to remember something else—a man named Launchlin Currie in the United States, a naturalized citizen from Canada, was found to be a leak as a spy for the Russian Government. When the Senate went after him he disappeared to Colombia, South America. We are now on a friendship plan where we are going to help the South American Republics. And this man, this traitor to America, this man who was a spy for Russia, is going to be the man who is going to expend your money to stop communism in Colombia.

Men, I am telling you, you didn't fight for that. If you did you were in a different outfit than I was. These are the things that I want you to be interested in. Many of you who are here do not have to depend on your compensation but you belong to this organization and you are guardians of men who cannot get out to defend themselves. If you are their guardians then you have got to take an interest in these things that are going on and find out why we are stepping out of the American way of life and the system that we are accustomed to.

In closing I leave with you these thoughts:

That no man is an island.
No man stands alone.
Each man's joy is a joy to me.
Each man's grief is my own.

We need one another,
So I will defend
Each man as my brother;
Each man as my friend.

I thank you.

## Toward Closer Federal-State Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, of North Carolina, on September 24 of this year addressed the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture in Grand Rapids, Mich., regarding a matter of closer cooperation between State and Federal agencies. I have been interested in this subject matter for a long time and am the author of legislation, referred to in Representative FOUNTAIN's speech, which is now on its way to the White House for the President's signature. In view of the importance and the timeliness of this speech, I want all my colleagues to have an opportunity to read it.

TOWARD CLOSER FEDERAL-STATE COOPERATION

(Address by Congressman L. H. FOUNTAIN, of North Carolina, at the Annual Convention of the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture, Grand Rapids, Mich., September 24, 1962)

Coming as I do from a small town in an agricultural area, I feel right at home with you, the leaders of our State departments of agriculture, and I am grateful for the honor of being invited to participate in your annual convention.

We are confronted at the present time with a host of very real and important problems involving Federal-State relations. I should like to take this opportunity today to talk first about some of the broader considerations in the Federal Government's relationship with the States and then, more specifically, about some intergovernmental problems in the field of agriculture.

More than a century ago that wise and penetrating foreign observer, de Tocqueville, sensed the importance of the American Federal system to the vitality of our democratic political institutions.

In his classic "Democracy in America," published in 1835, de Tocqueville wrote:

"The Federal system was created with the intention of combining the different advantages which result from the greater and the lesser extent of nations; and a single glance over the United States of America suffices to discover the advantages which they have derived from its adoption.

"In great centralized nations the legislator is obliged to impart a character of uniformity to the laws which does not always suit the diversity of customs and of districts; as he takes no cognizance of special cases, he can only proceed upon general principles; and the population is obliged to conform to the exigencies of the legislation, since the legislation cannot adapt itself to the exigencies and the customs of the population, which is the cause of endless trouble and misery. This disadvantage does not exist in confederations. Congress regulates the principal measures of the National Government, and all the details of the administration are reserved to the provincial legislatures. It is impossible to imagine how much this division of sovereignty contributes to the well-being of each of the States which compose the Union. In these small communities, which are never agitated by the desire of aggrandizement or the cares of self-defense, all public authority and private energy is employed in internal amelioration. * * * It is generally believed in America that the existence and the permanence of the republican form of government in the New World depend upon the existence and the permanence of the Federal system."

This commentary, I submit, is as valid today in its general principles as in de Tocqueville's day. In the Federal principle we have an admirable political concept well suited to the conditions of a country as large and diverse as ours. This extraordinary political invention of the Founding Fathers has weathered the tests of time and adaptability to changing conditions.

The clear-cut division of functions between the States and the National Government, while appropriate in the early days of the Republic, in time gave way to a sharing of certain responsibilities in response to the advent of new economic and social conditions. Various methods of intergovernmental cooperation, like the grant-in-aid and the tax credit device, were found to assure the continued workability of our Federal structure. The challenge is now ours to discover practicable methods for further strengthening the Federal system to better serve contemporary America and future generations. Political inventiveness is sorely needed if we are to deal successfully with the newer problems of government, such as those associated with a mobile population and a rapidly changing technology.

It has been said that the extension of Federal legislation into program areas traditionally a State responsibility has come about because of inactivity on the part of the States. While true in part, this is far too simple an explanation for a very complex situation. Unquestionably, the States can, and must, be more responsive to public needs if they are to occupy the position of equality which is rightfully theirs in the Federal structure.

It is not merely a question of shoring up the States to preserve in actuality as well as in theory the division of powers. The Federal Government needs help. With the demands of national defense, international relations, and space exploration increasingly requiring more of the Federal Government's energies, it is only logical that the States should equip themselves to assume more responsibility for domestic programs.

Centralization and uniformity are neither essential for, nor will they necessarily produce, the excellence which our Nation must attain in public programs. But a centralized program sometimes becomes a necessary expedient for satisfying public needs when those who have the primary responsibility wait too long to take effective action. It is axiomatic that the less we solve public problems at the State and local levels, the more such problems will be dealt with at the national level. Whether we like it or not, the consequence will almost surely be a further concentration of power in the Federal Government if the States and localities neglect their responsibilities.

Unfortunately, the notion is still widely held that Government services are of a fixed kind and amount which remain constant as our economy grows. Many Government activities, on the contrary, are intimately related to economic growth and technological progress, both as a consequence and a stimulant.

Witness, for example, the new regulatory problems created by the use of atomic energy and the use of powerful chemical pesticides which contribute so mightily to agricultural productivity. Such advances in technology increase our consumable private income but are not without their social costs. So, too, the growth and concentration of population in metropolitan centers necessitates proportionately larger Government expenditures to cope with the resulting problems of water supply, air and water pollution, traffic congestion, and commuter transportation.

In the perspective of this general discussion of intergovernmental relations in the United States, I would like now to discuss some of the work in which our subcommittee is presently engaged which may be of more direct interest to you as officers of the State departments of agriculture.

The Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, of which I have the privilege of being chairman, has two basic responsibilities. One is to study intergovernmental relations between the Federal Government and the States and their political subdivisions. The other is to study the operation of certain Federal departments and agencies—principally the Departments of Agriculture; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Labor—with respect to their economy and efficiency.

In keeping with both these responsibilities, the subcommittee has been engaged for more than a year in a questionnaire study of consumer protection activities of the Federal, State, and local governments, and the intergovernmental relationships and problems involved. Our first report on this subject, entitled "Consumer Protection Activities of Federal Departments and Agencies," was issued last year as House Report No. 1241 by our full Committee on Government Operations. It is hoped that the first volume of a similar report on State activities will be completed in the near future.

Although departments of agriculture were originally established to serve farmers, they have over the years taken on a number of activities for the protection of the consumers of agricultural products. I am referring to such activities as the inspection and grading of meats, poultry, eggs, fruits and vegetables, milk and other dairy products, and the regulation of pesticides and feed additives. These are some of the most tivities for the protection of the public as a important and far-reaching Government acwhole.

Responsibility for these activities is vested largely in Departments of Agriculture, both at the Federal and State levels. Moreover, these are activities which, by their very nature, require a high degree of Federal-State cooperation.

For a number of reasons, neither the Federal nor the State Governments can do the job alone.

To begin with, the Federal legislation authorizing these activities is based upon the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, and irrespective of the criteria used to distinguish "interstate" from "intrastate" commerce, there will almost always be some of both in specific situations.

Secondly, it would be a physical impossibility for either the Federal agency or the respective State agencies alone to cover all phases in the production, processing, transportation and marketing of food products.

Finally, the high cost of providing such services, which require highly trained personnel and expensive equipment and facilities, necessitates a division of responsibility. This point was made in a recent report by the House Appropriations Committee on the 1963 Appropriation Act for the Department of Agriculture. After pointing out that the cost of Federal meat inspection has risen

nearly 170 percent in the past 15 years, from $9 million in 1947 to more than $24 million in 1962, the report states:

"Unless some changes in inspection procedures and coverage are made, the potential cost of meat inspection will soon expand beyond reason. In this connection, the Department is requested to make a special study to determine to what extent it can certify State meat inspection services and license them to inspect meat which moves in interstate commerce."

Despite the obvious need for close Federal-State cooperation in these activities, the replies to the subcommittee's recent questionnaires indicate there is much room for improvement. These replies also shed light on some of the major obstacles to closer Federal-State cooperation. I should like to discuss some of these very briefly and to suggest some possible avenues for improvement.

One of the greatest difficulties seems to be the tendency to rely on a sharp distinction between interstate and intrastate commerce in regulatory fields. As I noted earlier, the clear-cut division of functions between the State and National Governments established early in our history has gradually given way in many fields to a further sharing of responsibility in response to new economic and social conditions. In my judgment, serious efforts toward closer intergovernmental cooperation are long overdue in the regulatory areas of agriculture.

There is evidence that other Members of the Congress share this view. The passage I quoted from the report of the House Appropriations Committee reflects that committee's concern for greater Federal-State cooperation and economy in the meat inspection program. Moreover, Congressman SMITH of Iowa, a member of our subcommittee, has introduced a bill (H.R. 12802) which would provide for further Federal-State cooperation in programs relating to the marketing of agricultural products, and to the control or eradication of plant and animal diseases and pests, by permitting the Secretary of Agriculture to authorize qualified State agencies to participate in the administration and enforcement of Federal laws and regulations. This legislation was passed by the House last Wednesday, and the identical Talmadge-Aiken bill (S. 3475) was passed by the Senate the previous week. I understand that this legislation has the endorsement of your association.

This measure appears to be a step in the right direction. However, it is only a first step for the improvement of Federal-State relations in this vital area. There are many problems which must be overcome before the cooperative program which it envisages can become a reality.

In describing some of the obstacles to closer Federal-State cooperation in the regulation of agricultural products, the U.S. Department of Agriculture pointed out, in response to the subcommittee's questionnaire, that there are tremendous variations among the States in their laws, administrative arrangements, standards, funds, and quantity and quality of personnel for these activities. The State departments of agriculture, in turn, pointed out that there is a lack of effective communication on the part of the Federal agencies, and in some cases a disregard of State interests and a lack of respect for State programs.

These are indeed serious problems, but they are not insoluble. They can and must be resolved, if adequate protection is to be provided to the millions of consumers of agricultural products in this country.

I am, and always have been, a firm believer in States rights, but I also believe that with States rights go States responsibilities. While serving in the Congress, I have heard many generalized criticisms of the way things are done by Federal agencies and of their condescending attitude toward State agencies. But seldom are we in the Congress able to obtain the chapter and verse necessary to substantiate these charges. If the committees and the Congress are to help improve Federal-State cooperation, we must have full, frank, and specific information about particular problems.

When difficult problems arise, the solution is not to turn back the clock to some romanticized golden age of the past. Nor is there so easy a solution as sending these problems to Washington. The need, rather, is for all units in our Federal system to go forward with imagination, initiative, and determination in dealing with the complex problems of our time.

Throughout our history, we Americans have demonstrated a genius for adapting our political institutions to new conditions and new problems, although the time lags have sometimes given cause for concern. Unencumbered by slavish adherence to rigid political dogmas, while steadfastly devoted to the heritage of our democratic ideals, we have been a Nation of political pragmatists. This national trait is pointedly reflected in Grover Cleveland's famous remark: "It is a condition and not a theory which confronts us."

One recent innovation that deserves special mention in this connection is the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The Advisory Commission, established by the Congress in 1959 through legislation which I introduced, is a truly intergovernmental body that includes in its membership representatives from all levels of government as well as from both the executive and legislative branches. During its brief existence, the Commission had already made a number of useful and significant studies of intergovernmental problems. It is my belief that the Commission is fast becoming an important and constructive force in helping to plot a sound and orderly course for the future development of intergovernmental relations in this country.

I believe deeply in our Federal form of government and in the desirability of preserving and strengthening this remarkable political institution. It is my sincere hope that in the decade of the 1960's we will see an era of close and rewarding cooperation among the levels of government—Federal, State, and local—and a resurgence of State leadership in governmental affairs. I look to you gentlemen to help provide that leadership.

## For God and Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, as the forces of communism attempt to envelope the world, it is not amiss that we Americans turn to the closing words of our first President's first inaugural address in which he asserted the dependence of our new Nation upon a divine being.

Washington said:

I shall take my present leave but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.

Every President of the United States has reaffirmed this sentiment.

It is an innate sentiment of the people of the United States.

Most certainly so in the city of Lawrence, Mass., where last Sunday the rest of the Nation witnessed an enormous patriotic parade commemorating a spontaneous demonstration 50 years ago by Lawrence citizens rejecting the godlessness represented by Marxism. The following beautiful editorial from the Lawrence Eagle-Tribune expresses the abiding determination of their city's people to remain steadfastly by the principles enunciated by George Washington:

FOR GOD AND COUNTRY

"For God and country."

These words define a purpose for mankind unsurpassed in nobility.

In the mind and heart of the true patriot God and country are inseparable and indivisible objects of his devotion.

The true patriot recognizes God as the Author of his being, the foundation of his earthly career, the hope of all the blessings the endless future holds for him. He knows that all good things flow from the infinite goodness and power of God. His country, he knows, is a good country in proportion to its fidelity to the standards of justice and mercy laid down in God's law. He knows therefore that the highest patriotic service he can render to his country is synonymous with personal service to God and with unremitting endeavors to hold this country true to divine ordinances .

The friends of his country, by these patriotic standards, are also friends of God. And the enemies of his country are enemies of God. His duty is to uphold the one and to resist the other.

Fifty years ago the people of Lawrence dramatically seized an opportunity to demonstrate their fidelity to God and country with truly patriotic fervor.

In the great strike of 1912, ruthless forces of atheistic Marxism had publicly and derisively scoffed God and all the noble principles inherently associated with belief in the indivisible union of God and country. Lawrence people then in a memorable parade reaffirmed their patriotic faith.

Tomorrow Lawrence people commemorate that significant event of 50 years ago. It is right that they should. The forces of atheistic Marxism are mightier today than they were a half-century ago, broader in the sweep of their power, deadlier in their resources for evil.

The great parade in Lawrence tomorrow will be a warning to these forces that the spirit of true patriotism remains strong in America. And it will be an inspiration to all Americans to be firm in their stand for God and country.

## The Situation in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, we shall today consider legislation already passed by the other body bearing on the present

situation in Cuba. In the past few weeks, we have heard much about what should be done. Some of the recommendations remind us of jingoism of an earlier day. But this is a time for cool, deliberate action, forceful action, to be sure, but action governed by reason. Among the many fine analyses of the situation facing America are two editorials from the major metropolitan dailies in my congressional district: the Newark Star-Ledger and the Newark News.

Since each is worthy of the consideration of my colleagues as we prepare to vote upon the legislation, I have asked permission to insert them into the RECORD at this point. They are as follows:

[From the Newark Sunday News, Sept. 16, 1962]

CUBAN DILEMMA

Only the irresponsible or irrational can contest President Kennedy's decision not to invade Cuba.

Primarily, the threat to this country's or hemispheric security does not justify risking nuclear war.

Secondly, military intervention under circumstances cunningly contrived by Moscow would put the United States in the position of a bully attacking tiny Cuba. The resulting animosity in Latin America and elsewhere would be incalculable.

To ignore this would require not only a reversal of traditional U.S. policy, but a fundamental change in our character.

All this it not to say we may now rest content behind the inconclusive line of no further retreat drawn by President Kennedy. Our predicament remains not only painful, but dangerous.

The Soviet buildup in Cuba has nullified some of Guantanamo's strength as a military base. The surreptitious shipment of longer range missiles could menace the Panama Canal from Cuban pads. Soviet-installed radar and sources of electronic interference are now uncomfortably close to launch sites at Canaveral and Houston.

Should any of these facilities endanger or interfere with our security, then, in the President's words, "this country will do whatever must be done." In the context of this warning to the Soviet Union, "whatever" includes going to nuclear war.

But we cannot ignore the fact that, short of that precipice, the Soviet intrusion into Cuba has expanded the Communists' maneuverability and limited ours. A move against the Soviet pawn in Cuba may now bring a countermove against Berlin and southeast Asia.

At the same time, the defense against counterrevolution within Cuba has been greatly strengthened. Cuban patriots bearing small arms would face a hopeless task.

There is no question that in this dilemma President Kennedy has the support of a preponderant number of Americans, as shown by Congress prompt response to his request for standby authority to call up reserves and its willingness to use force if the President considers it necessary.

But there also is evident a yearning for more initiative, for more positive action short of military engagement. Urgent attention must now be given to economic and political countermeasures for it is becoming increasingly evident that the contest with communism won't be decided by war.

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[From the Newark Star-Ledger, Sept. 20, 1962]

A FIRM, DETERMINED STAND

A firm, determined stand has been taken by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the volatile Cuban situation. The committee unanimously approved a resolution declaring that the United States will use troops, if necessary, to resist Communist aggression in this hemisphere.

This is forceful, blunt language in a sensitive situation, but this is apparently the only kind that the power-hungry Reds understand.

The joint resolution, which is expected to be approved today by the Senate and House, reflects a desirable unanimity between the White House and Congress. It also reflects the keen awareness by the President and legislators on the inherent dangers of the Cuban dagger that the Russians have pointed at our jugular.

While it is imperative that our actions from now on must be based on the thinking of reasonable minds, it is also painfully clear that our stand must be forceful and strong.

This apparently influenced the thinking of the Senate committee members in drafting the resolution. One passage was couched in this hard-hitting language:

"To prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending by force or threat of force its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere."

The Cuban situation has become unbearably oppressive to the United States. The cold war has suddenly become very warm and very near to us.

The Red threat, poised only 90 miles off our Florida coast, has far greater implications in other areas of Latin America, where Communist agitators can fan the flames against us as a result of the Red foothold in Cuba.

Our national security depends on our forthright actions on the Cuban menace. We must raise a powerful and reasonable voice against Communist aggression in this hemisphere if we are to save our diplomatic face in Latin America and the rest of the world.

It is for these very real and imminent dangers that the timely Senate action should be strongly commended by Americans who are deeply concerned with their Nation's future. We must stand fast and united against this threat.

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## Old-Fashioned Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, a fine example of old-fashioned free enterprise was recently called to my attention in an article which appeared in the Evening Star of September 24. Mr. Duke Klein, who lives in my district and is employed by Pan American Airways in Washington, has revived the old autumn tradition of making apple butter in the backyard of his Hallowing Point home. With the help of neighbors and friends, Mr. and Mrs. Klein have rejuvenated an age-old recipe and, putting copper kettles, wood fires, and muscles together, have managed to produce 143 quarts of smooth, creamy spread which is to be bottled and sold at the Pohick Church Country Fair.

In these days of hotrods, twist music, and frantic living I would like to congratulate the Kleins and their neighbors on this refreshing return to the wholesome traditions of our forebearers and to wish them well on their venture. Under unanimous consent, I include a copy of this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

TRADITION LINGERS—APPLE BUTTER MAKIN' TIME

(By John Sherwood)

Autumn is in the air and it's time again to linger in the afternoon shadows and make apple butter in great copper kettles over slow wood fires.

But this traditional rite of autumn has moved from the farmyard to the backyard. The age-old recipe is the same, but in many cases the cast and staging have been changed.

Saturday was apple butter time at Duke Klein's new brick ranchhouse at Hallowing Point in Fairfax County. Mr. Klein and a dozen exurbanites took turns at stirring the 30-gallon mixture to be bottled for the September 29 Pohick Church Country Fair.

A touch of authenticity was added by Cecil Armentrout, custodian at historical Gunston Hall. He was using the recipe of his parents who, in turn, got it from their parents.

"Apple butter isn't made on the farm much anymore like when I was a boy," he said while pushing and pulling on a wooden 10-foot pole that turned a scraper inside the black pot so that the sliced apples would not stick to the sides. Two women, clad in bright capri pants, were lined up behind Mr. Armentrout and helped work the pole in its slow rhythm.

MUSIC AND CIDER

The apple butter authority spoke of his youth on the farm when the fresh night air was filled with fiddle music, songs, and cider during apple butter boilings, corn shucking dances, woodchopping suppers, and barn raisings.

"Now the kids go to drive-in movies," he added, "and the last thing that's on their minds is apple butter boilings."

The project in the Klein backyard lasted for 7 hours as 200 pounds of Grimes golden apples bubbled in the 75-year-old solid copper kettle. The color changed from a lumpy pea green to a rich and smooth reddish brown seasoned with sugar, and oil of cloves, and cinnamon.

Relaxing away from their stirring chores, the apple butter makers sat down not on the bare ground, but on rustic lawn furniture, and curled their feet in the lawn.

There was no mongrel German shepherd or big collie to bark at strangers coming through the fields, but a small French poodle with its black coat shaped by a veterinarian yapped at every passing motor-scooter.

Cider of moonshine hasn't become fashionable in Exurbia yet, not even when you make apple butter. Bourbon on the rocks is there to stay, even though old water hand-pumps are being used as mailbox stands, and wagon wheels display family name plates.

PEELED BY MACHINE

Last year the church fair workers peeled and cored their own apples. But this is changing, too; the apples this year were freshly peeled and cored by machines and sealed in plastic bags by a wholesaler.

The talk was not of crops, or local legends that become more involved with each telling around a bubbling vat of apple butter, but of the problems of commuting and expected profits from the church fair.

The 90 quarts from Saturday's cooking were sealed in Mason jars and stored with 43 other quarts made a week ago. The spread—excellent on hot, home-made biscuits or pancakes—will sell for $1 a quart.

As the apple butter was emptied from the great cauldron, dirt was kicked over the wood fire. Mr. Armentrout carried the pot back to Gunston Hall. He cleaned it out with tomatoes, salt and vinegar and it was ready for next autumn.

## Remember Little Rock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Anderson Independent, Anderson, S.C., of September 23, 1962:

REMEMBER LITTLE ROCK

Time: September 30, 1952.

Place: Columbia, S.C.

Scene: A platform on the steps of the historic State house.

The chief actor: Republican Presidential Candidate Dwight Eisenhower.

The script: Glowing promises to entice South Carolinians to leave the party of their fathers, forget the scalawags and carpetbaggers, and vote Republican.

Synopsis:

Promise: He would balance the Federal budget.

Result: After 8 years as President, he left the greatest peacetime deficit in history of the United States.

Promise: He would "root out corruption" in Washington.

Result: A passel of scandals, including even his "Assistant President," Sherman Adams, who peddled influence right in the White House—and enjoyed vicuna coats, luxury trips, etc.; and "influence peddling" even among top brass in the armed services.

Promise: To maintain farm price programs, especially those guaranteeing farmers 90 percent of parity.

Result: Quick killing of the 90-percent formula, and adoption of the sliding scale plan—with prices sliding down.

Promise: To "strengthen" the social security program, especially to help guard citizens against personal disaster.

Result: Not even lipservice to the program; such statements that if citizens want security they can find it in prison.

(Note: This attitude hasn't changed. In a recent speech Eisenhower said the medicare program designed to help our old and sick is just a scheme to help "bums and deadbeats.")

Promise: Denied plans to cut back or close Fort Jackson, Donaldson Air Force Base, and other defense installations.

Result: Tried best to cut back or close such installations in South Carolina.

Promise: Pledged to abide by Constitution and States rights, leaving integration of schools to be settled by the States.

Result: In September 1957, ordered heavily armed U.S. military force with fixed bayonets to invade Little Rock, Ark., to force mixing of races in the schools.

The first time Ike spoke in South Carolina he made all kinds of promises—practically all of which went over the dam during the 8 years he occupied the White House.

At hand is text of the speech he made in Columbia just 10 years ago.

He promised that as President he would balance the budget. To quote:

"Isn't it time we had in Washington an administration which knows how to keep spending down; which will put an end to waste; which believes that an unbalanced Federal budget is dangerous to every one of us—and moved to bring that budget into balance?"

What happened when he was elected? The national debt ceiling had to be lifted a number of times. Was the budget balanced? What a laugh. He left the greatest peacetime deficit on record from Washington to Eisenhower.

Candidate Ike told the Columbia crowd back in 1952 that under his benign hand there would be no scandals. To quote: "We are going to change to an administration which will root corruption out and then go on with the kind of men and women who can be trusted to see to it that corruption does not get in."

Shades of Sherman Adams—Ike's "Assistant President"—and vicuna coats, hotel suites, trips and arrogant influence peddled right in the White House.

Oh, Ike told South Carolinians in 1952 that he just loved the farmers. How did he say it? These are his words:

"For example, I believe wholeheartedly and without any 'ifs' or 'buts' in Federal programs to stabilize farm prices, including the present program insuring 90 percent of parity on all basic commodities."

What happened when Ike took over? The program insuring 90 percent parity was among the first to be ditched. Had it not been for such staunch defenders as Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, South Carolina farmers would have been stabilized by the Ike Republicans, all right—right out in the stable. And interest rates skyrocketed to fatten his Wall Street banker friends.

But, like other Republicans of today, Ike was running for office in 1952 and those bigwigs pulling the strings and dishing out the money operated by an "anything goes" code when it came to promises.

Take this Ike promise made in Columbia in 1952: "We will go on from there (keeping 90 percent parity for farmers, etc.) to strengthen every measure for the social security of our people; to build a strong floor beneath them against personal disaster."

It was another case of promising one thing while running for office and doing another once elected.

Right off, too, he denied what he described as "false" rumors that as President he would curtail activities at Fort Jackson, or any other defense installations in South Carolina, including Donaldson Air Force Base.

It is of record that within months after he was elected, in the name of "economy" activities were curtailed at Fort Jackson and they were about ready to wipe Donaldson AFB off the defense map. Again it was the Democrats—the late Representative Riley of the Second District, Columbia, Senator JOHNSTON and others who succeeded against odds in retaining and restoring to full usefulness such installations.

Ike also told South Carolinians 10 years ago that he was a strong believer in "States rights" and that he pledged "that, if elected, I will support the Constitution of the United States—the whole of it."

What happened? In recent letters to newspapers E. B. Woodward of Bishopville—he is pro-Republican—strongly protested bringing back into the State "the golf-playing former President who has never shown anything but marked dislike for South Carolina and the South as a whole."

"This man," Woodward recalls—and he is not alone—"made several promises that were material to the welfare of the southern people, and that brought him the largest popular vote ever accorded a Republican candidate in our State. Of these promises one was to support the 90-percent parity prices which meant so much to our farmers." He adds:

"In reply to a question posed to Candidate Eisenhower regarding integration, this man stated, 'I think that is a matter which should be settled at State level.'

"After being elected President, Eisenhower hardly had warmed his seat when he appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court one of the most socialistically inclined politicians in America. His tendency toward socialism was well known by every informed person in the Nation.

"Of course we all know now the untenable position the South faces as a result. There we have a most impressive illustration of how little Mr. Eisenhower thinks of the people of the South in turning about face on both these and other promises."

Upshot was Ike's invasion of Little Rock—a city, even as in Columbia and elsewhere, where some people had believed his pledge to uphold the Constitution and States rights—to force mixing of the races under the bayonets and rifles of U.S. Army troops.

The hailing of yesterday's visit of the "Conqueror of Little Rock" who smashed promises without missing a putt, drew from Mr. Woodward—and he's no Democrat—a blast at South Carolina GOP Chairman Chapman. This comes as no surprise. Thousands of this State's citizens feel the same way.

"All of us were delighted when advised (by the National Republican Party headquarters) that our State was chosen to be honored by a visit from President Eisenhower" on behalf of Candidate Workman's Republican campaign, Chairman Chapman stated.

"Honored?" asks Mr. Woodward. "No, Mr. Chapman, my reaction was one of resentment accompanied by a bit of nausea."

Mr. Woodward is not alone.

Ike fooled a lot of South Carolinians in 1952. But the majority saw through him, and they're not likely to fall for yesterday's effort to sell them his boy, W. D. Workman, Jr., the Republican "me too" candidate handpicked by the Republican Party and the "millionaires' club"—who oppose U.S. Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON.

## Fogarty Reports Dramatic Health Improvement Progress—Rhode Island Aids Key Problems Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, the closing days of the 87th Congress provide an opportunity to review again the progress that has been made in the quest for better health, to salute those individuals and groups that have made this progress possible, and to consider the opportunities for further progress in the years ahead.

This review is particularly meaningful to me because the 87th Congress brought me to my second score of years in service to the people of the Second District of Rhode Island. In addition, I have had the rare privilege of having served eight Congresses as chairman or ranking minority member of the House subcommittee responsible for the Federal programs for health and other matters. These Congresses—including the 87th—have reviewed the reports of our deliberations, listened to our pleas for adequate funds to support new and expanding programs for health research and related matters, and have strongly voiced the will of the people for invigorated conquests of disease and for improved health.

The 87th Congress, following positive recommendations by my committee, has

taken necessary action to provide for meaningful expansion of on-going programs and for substantial new efforts to improve the health of this Nation. I should like to cite a few:

The vaccine development program has reached the point where scientists believe they can start developing practical vaccines against at least some of the annual afflictions we call colds, and against other virus-caused diseases, such as the encephalitis that recently plagued one of our great Southern States and is an ever-present threat elsewhere.

Second. The general research support grant program, made possible through action of this 87th Congress, enables our universities, hospitals and other medical research and research training institutions to carry on their important research functions with greater academic freedom and flexibility, so that we may expect improved results.

In recognizing the value of increased medical research, this 87th Congress has not neglected the health needs of peoples and communities across our broad land. In the first session passage of the Community Health Services and Facilities Act authorized the Surgeon General to make grants to public or nonprofit private agencies for the development of outside-the-hospital health services, thereby enabling States and communities to modernize various health services.

This Congress has been responsible also for a great expansion of clinical research to bring effective means of treatment for disease to patients faster than before.

I hope that this Congress will also provide for increased research on the health problems of two large and important segments of our population—our children and our older citizens. The bill now pending for creation of a new Institute for Child Health and Human Development also would establish an Institute of General Medical Sciences for increased research on the control of many diseases and disorders.

I look for enactment of H.R. 4999, incorporating the major provisions of a bill which I introduced. It calls for a 10-year program of matching grants to construct teaching facilities for medical, dental and other public health personnel and to provide a student loan program. It also would permit private institutions to enlarge and modernize their facilities for medical research.

These are just a few of the reasons why I salute my colleagues in the Congress and express my appreciation for their knowledgeable support of my subcommittee in its aspirations to keep this country the world leader in medical research.

These past 2 years have also seen heartening changes in the attitude of the executive branch. Over the years, I have had to answer numerous charges that Congress was usurping the budget-making prerogatives of the executive, but the Congress has simply been responsive to the hopes and aspirations of our people for better health and for scientific progress. The past 2 years, however, indicate that the Kennedy administration is seeking to provide the administrative leadership which medical research programs have long deserved. And so I salute President Kennedy—not only for his presentation of the first health research budget in 10 years that even approximated what this Nation could support and needed to carry out, but also for his direct and personal interest in many aspects of disease and disability.

The committee is also keenly aware of the advice, assistance, and support it receives from the hundreds of private individuals and groups interested in medical research and its two related and interrelated components—education and service. An invaluable service is provided by expert citizen witnesses—scientists, educators, and others—who give of their own valuable time to help assure that the recommendations of our committee incorporate a three-way balance between public need, scientific opportunity, and total national goals.

I also salute the voluntary health organizations that reach into every city, town, and village across this Nation—organized to provide health education and community services, and support for research. I am particularly happy to see that increased Federal support for health research and related activities has not stopped the activities of these groups. The voluntary health agencies in my own State of Rhode Island are typical of those that continue to grow in organized strength and effectiveness. May they continue to shine as an exemplary challenge to those who must rely on big brother in a totalitarian state.

Fundamental to the progress of health and medicine in this country are the scientists in search of new health knowledge and the physicians and other health workers who bring the latest in health practice to the ultimate recipient—the patient. In the many years that I have had a major responsibility for congressional action on Federal programs for the support of medical research, tremendous progress has been made in increasing the numbers of young people undergoing training for a career in medical research. Under programs of the National Institutes of Health—principal research arm of the Public Health Service—funds for these programs increased from $70,000 in fiscal year 1946 to $130 million in fiscal year 1962. At the same time, funds for individual research projects increased from $85,000 in fiscal year 1946 to $333 million in fiscal year 1962.

The dividends that this investment has brought to the American people are amply demonstrated by just a few of the advances that have been made. One measure of our gains in health is to be found in the increase of life expectancy of our people. As we have developed and applied vaccines against what used to be called the common childhood diseases—diphtheria and whooping cough, for example—and as we have learned and applied better methods of nutrition, and as the sanitary quality of our water, milk and other foods has been vastly improved, our life expectancy has increased to 69.7 years, almost the Biblical three score and ten. Think back 30 years to the annual crippling and killing toll of polio. Today, polio is a rapidly vanishing disease. Soon we shall see measles disappearing, thanks to the newly developed vaccine against it. Typhoid fever is so rare that few medical students today ever see a case. And smallpox has disappeared to the extent that a single case creates a nationwide stir.

As we have triumphed over the acute infectious diseases, we have turned our attention to the chronic and disabling afflictions. Here, too, we can point to accomplishments such as cortisone and other steroids for treatment of rheumatoid arthritis, surgical operations for congenital heart malformations, antibiotics and other drugs for prevention of heart-crippling rheumatic fever, drugs that are conquering some forms of mental illness, development and widespread use of fluoridation to prevent tooth decay, 5-year cures by chemotherapy of a form of cancer in women.

More recently we learn of a new freezing method for treating stomach ulcers, and of a new test for detecting cancer of the bladder and kidneys. While these and other similar findings must yet stand the test of time before their real value can be told, they are evidence of the advances currently being made in our attack on disease.

This year marks Cancer Progress Year, so designated through a resolution I had the privilege of sponsoring, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the National Cancer Institute which a previous Congress in its wisdom established. This is the 25th year, also, of the nationwide educational activity of the American Cancer Society, a voluntary organization which has done much to allay ignorant fear of cancer and consequent needless deaths through its campaigns to fight cancer with knowledge. Partly through the educational efforts of this society, and partly through the research we have supported and the advances in medicine and surgery, we can now save 1 out of 3 cancer patients, instead of fewer than 1 of 5 who were saved a few short years ago.

As I think of all these advances toward better health for our Nation, I should like to pay tribute to the many who have made them possible: the scientific researchers, the practicing physicians and surgeons, the great voluntary health organizations, the institutions of higher learning where our researchers and physicians are trained, our public health officers in State and local communities, health workers everywhere—the professionally trained and the skilled technicians and all those who work as part of the research and health and medical teams.

Many of the gains that have been and are being made are the result of an alert, well-informed and health-conscious general public. In the final analysis, perhaps, the informed public represents the most critical factor in the success of programs aimed at improving the general levels of health. And the largest segment of the public—the taxpaying public—makes a direct contribution in the form of about 1 cent of each dollar that comprises the Federal budget, perhaps the best tax buy the American peo-

ple have ever made. The continued support of all our people will be required if we are to meet the current and emerging problems of disease and disability. Despite our tremendous advances, great problems remain.

Each year, for example: over quarter of a million people still die of some form of cancer; over 925,000 die of heart disease; over 250,000 infants are born with some form of abnormality or neurological deficit; 250,000 people begin the long and painful fight against arthritis or related disorders; an estimated 218 million useful days are lost from work and 195 million days lost from school by our children because of upper respiratory infections—or the common cold; and almost 40,000 lives are lost because of automobile accidents.

These are only a few of the problems that today stand in the way of further increases in our life span and impede our capacity for enjoyment of a full and productive life.

I am not only convinced but fully dedicated to the proposition that the answers to our health problems must come through a three-way effort of medical research, education, and medical service. I am pleased, proud, and thankful that during the past 22 years, Rhode Island has emerged as one of this Nation's truly great health and medical centers. Our State institutions and organizations—both public and private—have made giant strides in building medical research and health programs that have not only been of direct benefit to the people of Rhode Island but have also served as outstanding examples of what could be done in other States as well.

Rhode Island institutions have achieved such a high degree of excellence recognized throughout the scientific community that today they are able to compete on the basis of scientific merit with any institution in the world. In contrast to a level of practically zero in 1946, Rhode Island institutions this past year attracted over $1.6 million in funds to help the Public Health Service carry out its programs. For example, research projects are underway in Brown University, Providence College, the University of Rhode Island, and the Rhode Island State Hospital for work on such problems as radiation, genetics, blood factors, neurophysiology, and water pollution.

Our institutions are also building the supply of medical research manpower for the future. Twenty-one young scientists at Brown University have won fellowships from the National Institutes of Health for further research training. Brown University itself has been awarded training grants in such areas as neurophysiology, genetics, and child psychology. Similar training programs are underway in the Rhode Island Hospital, the Emma Pendleton Bradley Hospital, Providence College, and the Providence Child Guidance Clinic.

And further steps are being taken to ensure that our research facilities keep pace with our capabilities. I am pleased to report that four major projects won the support of the Public Health Service during the year. A new health science building and laboratories with the capacity to do shellfish and stream pollution research are now beyond the dream stage and approaching reality. Completion of laboratories for cancer research and the installation of scientific equipment at the Rhode Island Hospital will be possible through a grant of over $110 million. And Brown University is further enhancing its ability to do research in biology with the addition of new equipment.

Perhaps one of the most heartening developments in Rhode Island this year was the approval in June by the corporation of Brown University of a report authorizing the establishment of a full-scale medical education program here. For a number of years I have advocated taking this important step not only because we have the talent and capacity for such a move, but because Rhode Island needs a medical school. And, according to the best professional minds concerned with the problem, our national needs for physicians and physician-scientists are great and will undoubtedly become greater.

Rhode Island has passed another milestone in its move toward becoming one of the greatest health centers in the Nation. It continues to improve its capacity to help in the nationwide attack on the health problems we face. I am confident that our people will play an important part in some of the dramatic scientific breakthroughs to which we look forward: The causes of cancer, knowledge and treatment of hardening of the arteries and high blood pressure, vaccines to prevent tuberculosis, the common cold and other diseases, answers to the particular problems of both the young and older citizens of our country.

With the continued support of all the millions of people concerned with these health programs, continued success will be ours.

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## The Present Situation in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following analysis by a brilliant Far Eastern diplomat who writes under the pseudonym of Hawthorne P. Browns. Will the United States be caught unprepared to act decisively in its own national interests, if and when the intolerable situation in Red China explodes? The time to prepare for that possibility is now.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN ASIA

There was a time when the sun did not set over the British Empire, when London was the center from which decisive power radiated, when all directional designations were orientated accordingly. Thus, when referring to the geographical area Asia, it was customary to divide it into the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. Since the world today is no longer London-centered, such designations become out of date. To Australia and New Zealand, what the British call the Far East is near north, and the area covered by Canada and the United States should be the Far East.

The most important fact in the Asian world at the present time is the rapid disappearance of Western European influence in the area. The reluctance on the part of the United States to recognize this overriding fact is responsible in large measure for the confusion and turmoil in Asia.

Since the end of the Second World War, the British have withdrawn from the Indian subcontinent where there are now three independent nations: India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Burma and Malaya have become sovereign entities. Soon there will be created a new entity known as Malaysia, embracing Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei.

The prospect that Britain may join the Common Market of Europe is destined to loosen the ties of the Commonwealth. Britain has agreed to the phased abolition of the preferential tariff for the Commonwealth members. The Commonwealth countries are looking for new markets for their products. Citizens of Commonwealth countries now require visas to enter Britain. Australia and New Zealand are seriously considering changing their currency to the decimal system, as Canada did long ago. They are even thinking of adopting left-hand driving. Their defense ties to the United States, under ANZUS are much more important than those linking the Commonwealth.

French Indochina has become a historical term. The French, while playing an increasingly important role in Europe, are no longer a factor in Asia.

The Dutch, after losing their empire in the Indies, are now making their last withdrawal from Asia by agreeing to turn over West New Guinea to Indonesia.

This is why two key members of SEATO, Thailand and the Philippines, have consistently advocated dropping Britain and France from its membership. They believe that, with Britain and France out, SEATO will become a much more effective force in countering Communist expansion in Asia.

They have good reasons to support their proposition. Most of the Asian nations have been the victims of European colonialism. Many of their present leaders, such as Nehru and Sukarno, have languished in European jails. It is only natural for them to be highly suspicious of their erstwhile oppressors. To them, anticolonialism is an article of faith.

This anticolonialism, whether justified or not, has permeated down to the illiterate and poverty-stricken peasants. This may be illustrated by the Burma campaign in the Second World War. At the time, the China-Burma-India Theater (CBI) was under the command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of China, with the American, Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, as Chief of Staff. The arrangement was to send contingents of Chinese troops to fight the Japanese in Burma. The British at first placed all sorts of limitations to the admission of Chinese troops. When they were finally admitted, they were placed under the command of the British Field Marshal Sir William (now Lord) Slim. To the surprise of the Chinese, they found themselves very unpopular with the Burmese people. Some even had their hands chopped off by Burmese peasants. The Burmese explained that they could not understand why the Chinese, who were their friends, should be fighting under British command.

It is well known that Gandhi and Nehru stubbornly refused to join the fight against the Japanese until the British promised

them independence, which Churchill was unwilling to do. Even Chiang Kai-shek's personal intervention proved to be of no avail. Churchill was also annoyed by Chiang's intervention. Roosevelt was caught in the middle and did little to help.

SEATO is supposed to protect the Asian nations from Communist aggression. But SEATO includes Britain and France as key members. The mere presence of these two European powers in SEATO is grist for the Communist propaganda mill. All that the Communists have to do is to say to the common people of Asia: "Look here, do you realize that you are fighting on the side of the British and the French? Don't you have any sense of shame, fighting alongside your former oppressors against your own people?" The average Asian is in no position to talk back.

From another angle, the British and the French, having lost their power in Asia, are inclined to call for retreat and appeasement. This is not to say that they are prepared to see Asia go Communist. The plain fact is that they have no resources available to commit to Asian defense.

Readers of Anthony Eden's memoirs will recall that he complained bitterly that the late John Foster Dulles did not give his Government time to consult the Commonwealth in the Indochina crisis. Some pages later, when Eden was defending his position in the Suez crisis, he forgot all about consulting the Commonwealth, or even consulting the United States. The difference here is that, while Eden was prepared to commit Britain in Egypt, he was in no position to commit her to anything in Indochina.

It is disastrous to put the Geneva Conference on Indochina under the joint chairmanship of Russia and Britain. Gromyko speaks with authority because the Soviet Union is deeply involved. Malcolm MacDonald, an ex-British colonial official, speaks with no authority at all. The dice are loaded heavily on the Communist side.

On the other hand, the United States is not a colonial power in the eyes of the Asian peoples. The American record in the Philippines is a commendable one. Successive American Ambassadors to the Philippines, from Homer Ferguson to Charles E. Bohlen, have found an enormous reservoir of good will for the United States among the Filipino people.

The Chinese Communists regard the United States as their principal enemy. It may be of interest to recall that, when Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai were in the political wilderness, they were seeking American aid from General Stilwell and General Hurley. They even offered to place their troops under American training. American liaison officers detailed to Yenan were welcomed with open arms.

The Chinese Communists now scream against the United States because the removal of American power from Asia is the only condition under which they can push on their program of aggression and conquest. That is why every Chinese Communist official calls for the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from the Formosa Strait.

The free nations of Asia which are defending themselves against Communist aggression know that American power is in Asia, not to conquer them, but to defend them against Communist conquest. They are willing allies of the United States. But they do not see why the United States should be in alliance with their former oppressors who have nothing to contribute. They understand perfectly why Britain and France are so important to the United States in European affairs. They cannot understand why they are important also in the Asian scene.

Therefore, the first step in a reexamination of American policy in Asia is to consider the proposition made by Thailand and the Philippines, namely to reorganize SEATO by dropping Britain and France from its membership. Such a step will greatly increase the effectiveness of SEATO. There is every reason to believe that SEATO's Commonwealth members—Australia, New Zealand and Pakistan—will go along with such a move.

II

In trying to fight Communist aggression and subversion in Asia, the most fundamental task is to convince the people that, by joining the anti-Communist front, they are on the winning side. The people must be made to believe that the fight is going to be carried out with the utmost determination, permitting no compromise or retreat, until the last Communist is taken care of. Under such circumstances, the people will give their all to the campaign.

This proposition is based on a simple understanding of human nature: nobody wants to be on the losing side of a fight.

There are two outstanding examples of successful fights against communism in postwar Asia—in the Philippines under Ramon Magsaysay and in Malaya under Tunku Abdul Rahman. In both cases the fight was carried to the bitter end. Because Magsaysay and Rahman were able to convince their peoples that they meant business and that they would win, they received the support of the people.

The outstanding failure was China. Chiang Kai-shek, of course, was determined enough. But he was always under pressure to call off the fight. Washington's policy at the time was to bring about a Nationalist-Communist coalition. Chiang was severely criticized for being stubborn. Critical military supplies were withheld at strategic moments. Hot pursuit of retreating Communist troops was halted.[1]

Readers of the white paper on China policy, published by the State Department in 1949, may obtain a good picture of the half-hearted measures taken against the Communists in China. Chiang called his campaign against the Communists a bandit-suppression campaign. The outside world insisted that it was civil war, and civil war was something to be avoided at all cost. General Marshall was sent by President Truman to arrange a cease-fire. While Mao Tse-tung violated it with impunity, Chiang's hands were constantly restrained. Chiang was frequently accused of refusing to listen to American military advice. The advice given to him by his American advisers made it impossible for him to win.

All this became clear to the Chinese people in due course. Since Chiang was not winning, the people became indifferent to the fight. The tragedy of China became inevitable..

The China story is being repeated in Laos. From the very beginning, the struggle was declared, in General Bradley's classical phrase on the Korean war, "the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time," as if the Communists would ever be foolish enough to attack in the right place at the right time for the United States. No one on our side was in earnest in the Lao struggle. All measures taken were at best half-hearted. The Lao people were accused of being lethargic and unconcerned. It was the big powers which were lethargic and unconcerned. The Lao people were even accused of harboring Communists and helping them. It was Souvanna Phouma who harbored and helped his brother-in-law, the leader of the Pathet Lao. Why should the Lao people, how could they, fight the Communists when nobody else did?

Now the Lao agreement is signed and sealed. Both the United States and the Soviet Union hailed it as a great achievement. Secretary Dean Rusk shook hands with Chinese Communist Foreign Minister Chen Yi. Cochairman Gromyko went back to Moscow; the other cochairman, Malcolm MacDonald, is going to Peiping.

The stage has now been set for Vietnam. There is no question at all that Vietnam can be saved from the Communists, provided there is a determination to save it. However, Ngo Dinh Diem is being given what may be called the Chiang Kai-shek treatment. He has been accused of being stubborn, dictatorial, reactionary, feudalistic. He has been accused by Washington of practicing nepotism. Reporters say that he is unpopular with his people, even hated by the people. His political enemies have been denouncing him in Paris and Washington and have been given a full run in the press.

It is not contended that Chiang's government in the past and Diem's government today are paragons of virtue. They most certainly are not. But in urging them to reform, great care must be take not to turn their people against them.

The Communists know well that they can always win when their enemy fights them only half-heartedly. Hot on the heels of the Lao agreement, the Communists are now offering to make Vietnam another Laos. Such a proposition is dynamite. Even polite discussion of it will undermine the people's confidence, because it will make them wonder whether or not they are on the winning side.

The fight against communism has its military and its psychological aspects. The Communists are smart enough to preach continuously that their cause is "the wave of the future," "the locomotive of history." Mao Tse-tung has asserted confidently that "the east wind will prevail over the west wind." Their idea is to convince the people that it is the height of folly to buck the inevitable. It is the old American dictum: "If you can't beat them, join them."

The assignment for the anti-Communist front is to tell the people, by words and deeds, that it is the winning side, and it has the determination and the means to make it the winning side. A half-hearted fight is no fight at all.

III

Congressman WALTER JUDD used to stick out his hand and say to his audience that it represents the map of Asia—the palm is the China mainland, and the fingers are the various countries bordering it.

The source of all trouble in Asia stems from the fact that the China mainland is under Communist rule.

The power and potentiality of Communist China has inspired fear, not only in the Asian nations, but all over the world. The fanciful production statistics put out by Peiping were taken at their face value. The former Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, Dr. Josue de Castro, declared Communist China's victory over hunger as "as startling an event as the conquest of interplanetary space." Dr. de Castro made his statement as recently as 1959, the second year of mainland China's current famine. In the last 6 or 7 years, scarcely a month passes without someone asserting that Communist China is going to set off a nuclear bomb. It takes Chen Yi, the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister, to say in August 1962, that he has not got it.

Now the world has finally come to realize that Communist China is not the big, powerful nation it has been pictured to be. The Chinese people now have less to eat than in the year 1928, when China was still under the much hated warlords. An American magazine (U.S. News & World Report)

[1] After the battle of Szepingkai in 1946, Chinese Communist forces under Lin Piao were in full retreat toward Harbin. Gen. George C. Marshall insisted that Chiang's forces should not chase them toward the Siberian border. Lin Piao was given time to regroup and to receive more Soviet supplies. He later turned back and overran Manchuria.

recently declared: "The Chinese Communists have lost the Chinese."

But Chiang's Formosa, which is growing stronger every day, is still regarded as the danger. He is asked to abandon Quemoy and Matsu because these islands may provoke the Chinese Communists. The American Ambassador solemnly assured the Chinese Communist Ambassador in Warsaw that the United States will not support Chiang Kai-shek in making an attack on the mainland. Back in 1952, President Eisenhower declared before Congress that he was going to "unleash" Chiang. Congress applauded him thunderously. But nothing happened. In 1962, Chiang is still under leash. The United States is acting as if it were trying to protect Communist China, which regards the United States as its principal enemy, while spending billions to help the small nations to defend themselves against Communist China's predatory designs. Such a policy makes sense only when peace, however precarious, is maintained. But there is no peace in Laos and Vietnam. And if Laos and Vietnam are given up there will be no peace in Thailand.

The dramatic exodus of refugees from the China mainland into Hongkong underscores the fact that all's not well in Mao's domain. There is every indication that Mao is in deep trouble. Even Max Lerner now ponders over a China mainland revolt.

When a mass revolt occurs, when millions of Chinese people rise in wrath against Mao's rule, when his armed forces mutiny, Chiang is going across, with or without Washington's blessing. It is the hour he has been waiting for. He is determined to win. Nothing can stop him except brute force.

Is Washington going to stop him? Is it going to remain neutral? Or is it going to help him?

These are no longer academic questions. And it is the part of wisdom for Washington to do some hard thinking about the answers.

One thing is certain. If the China mainland revolts, and the United States does nothing about it, or tries to prevent Chiang from doing something about it, she will have lost Asia. The billions she has spent to bolster defense against communism in Asia will have gone up in smoke.

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## Lack of Firm Policy Only Invites Aggression and Increases the Danger of War

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it is the tragedy of our time that so many Americans have become so filled with fear that they seem ready to sacrifice dignity, honor, and self-respect in order to maintain peace. No man in his right mind advocates war. I certainly would be one who believes in peace, both from a moral base and because, unfortunately, wars do not solve our problems. But we cannot avoid war by sacrificing our national honor, nor in crawling on our bellies in the dirt to appease a barbaric dictator or to win over a world conspiracy which has as its objective the destruction of freedom of all mankind. The threat of war will not be lessened by appeasement. Indeed, the longer we fail to take a firm stand against Communist aggression, the greater the danger of war becomes. If we had acted when Castro first proclaimed Cuba as a Communist state, the threat of a Red fortress on our doorstep would have been ended and we would not now be faced with the insulting ultimatums from the Red boss in the Kremlin, telling us that the Monroe Doctrine is dead and we dare not do anything about it. If we had acted in the American tradition in Berlin and knocked down the wall on the night it was constructed, men, women, and children seeking freedom would not now be dying in trying to scale it and the cause of freedom in Europe would be far stronger than it is at present. The Russian Communists have made gains every time we have shown any sign of weakness and they have been stopped in their tracks whenever we took a firm stand and demonstrated that we were willing to back it up.

There is risk now in any course we take, but I say to you there is far greater risk in doing nothing about Cuba and Red aggression in this hemisphere than there is in our continued "do nothing," weak, cowardly course we have been pursuing. The following column by David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star of September 24, 1962, points up the necessity for a firm declaration now that we intend to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. A strong policy may result in all-out war. A weak policy is sure to do so.

The editorial follows:

NO TIME FOR EXCUSES, ALIBIS—NARROW READING OF MONROE DOCTRINE ONLY ENCOURAGES RED PENETRATIONS

(By David Lawrence)

Time was when a President of the United States didn't hesitate to speak forthrightly and to act in support of the principles of human freedom anywhere in the world. Two Presidents, both Democrats—Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt—led the American people as they made sacrifices for that same basic principle in two world wars.

But today there is a strange silence—even a fear that it is "indiscreet" or that it's "loose talk" to urge that America speak and act in behalf of human beings in Cuba or against the cruelty of their oppressors or against the autocratic government in Moscow which is giving military assistance to a tyrannical dictatorship in Havana.

The latest excuse or alibi now given wide currency by advisers of President Kennedy—and fed out to the press here—is that the Monroe Doctrine has been repealed because America entered World War I and World War II. It is averred that the United States, by militarily assisting certain governments in Europe and Asia during the "cold war," has forfeited her right to act in behalf of peoples in this hemisphere who have had their freedoms taken from them by Communist imperialism.

If this concept gains strength, it cannot but encourage the Soviets to penetrate with impunity North and South America as well as every other continent. For, in effect, the advocates of this philosophy are saying that this country has no right to interfere with Soviet conquest of Cuba because the United States now has, under the North Atlantic Treaty, military bases in various European countries. This can only mean that America must, therefore, recognize the Soviet occupation not only of Cuba but of the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. Can the Soviets point to a single example of the grant of American military aid that has resulted in any political control by the United States?

The whole thing is an illustration of how expediency leads to one retreat after another. For the United States has just announced, through White House and State Department pronouncements, that America's Armed Forces will be used only to repel military attacks on this country or its neighbors. This is a doctrine of isolation reminiscent of the days when prominent Republicans opposed American entry into either of the two world wars on the grounds that the interests of this country were not directly affected. It was, of course, just a means of appealing to pacifistic sentiment.

Twice the dictatorship government in Berlin misconstrued this attitude as an unwillingness on the part of the United States to fight. In the end, the deliberate attack on American rights on the high seas forced this country into the first World War in 1917. While it was Japan and not Germany that attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States accepted the challenge as a direct attack by the Nazi regime as well. Indeed, the United States made its main war effort on the continent of Europe and in North Africa.

Thus, the United States in two World Wars has refused to narrow the concept of its participation in world affairs to either the Western or the Eastern Hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine has not been narrowed. It has been broadened. From 1945 till a few weeks ago American policy has been worldwide and has been based on the principle that every people has a right to self-determination and that it is the duty of the United States to help rid the world of any sinister force that now may invade only smaller countries but in the end will invade the larger ones as well. Woodrow Wilson said in Congress in 1917 that "the world must be made safe for democracy." It isn't safe today for any free government.

The Soviets are talking loud because they think they can bluff America into inaction and silence. Foreign Minister Gromyko's brazen speech at the United Nations a few days ago, charging this country with aggression, is an example of how readily American silence can be misinterpreted. If the U.S. Government continues to make excuses for abandoning the people in a little country 90 miles away, how can it ever be expected either to lift its voice or render any aid to the peoples of the captive countries in Europe and Asia? To draw back into "Fortress America" and contend that the United States has no obligation to speak out or act in behalf of the Cuban people because this might offend Soviet Russia means that a bigger test under even more dangerous circumstances may come later on at a time when it will be more difficult, more hazardous and more costly in human lives than it is now.

Today the vocal chords of the U.S. Government have been silenced by a strategy of fear, of hesitancy and of vacillation, which keeps on emphasizing the totality of the world situation—as if this means that the principles of democracy and the aspirations of peoples at present under the yoke of Communist imperialism have become secondary. Yet this Nation could mobilize—by exhortation of foreign peoples—forces that would inevitably thwart the aims of the aggressors.

War or the threat of war isn't the most powerful weapon in the world today. Moral force plus economic force are even more powerful. But if there is fear even to speak, then, in the end, war comes because the enemy misinterprets silence for timidity and inaction for weakness.

## Myths Feed American Frustration Over Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include therein an article appearing in the Washington Post under date of September 23, 1962, by Mr. Henry M. Wriston entitled "Myths Feed American Frustration Over Cuba."

Mr. Wriston is particularly well qualified to write this article and the country would be better off if all Americans took time out to read the article.

The article follows:

MYTHS FEED AMERICAN FRUSTRATION OVER CUBA

(By Henry M. Wriston)

(President of the American Assembly and president emeritus of Brown University, Wriston is also well-known as an author.)

The American people are clearly in a state of frustration over Cuba. They want no more tragic fiascoes, such as the Bay of Pigs, but they do want action. To some extent, they are the victims of ineptitude, but to a larger degree they suffer disappointment because of faith in myths and failure to know significant elements in their own history.

The first essential fact is that frustration about Cuba is not new, but is more nearly a normal condition. With only brief respites, Cuba has troubled us for a century and a half. That record should constitute a strong hint that no quick solution is available.

Cuban dilemmas have been wrestled with by strong Presidents and by weak ones; by shrewed Secretaries of State and by others who were inept; by amateur diplomats of the shirtsleeve variety and by seasoned professionals who never lost their aplomb.

There have been grief episodes when faith in the viability of democratic self-government in Cuba seem justified. But there have been longer periods when the choice seemed to lie between anarchy and dictatorship, often of a brutal kind. The masters have been Spaniards in some eras and Cubans in others.

Efforts to meet Cuban crises have taken every form from patience and tact at one end of the scale to force and violence at the other. Sometimes the force has been domestic; often it has been imported by "patriots," like Castro. Sometimes the United States has exerted the force. Frustration was the usual result, if not immediately, very soon.

THE MONROE MYTH

The second basis for blighted hopes has been the myth that the Monroe Doctrine was the magic key to a satisfactory solution. In answer to a news conference question, President Kennedy said: "The Monroe Doctrine means what it has meant since President Monroe and John Quincy Adams enunciated it, and that is that we would oppose a foreign power extending its power to the Western Hemisphere."

It was a response whose apparent precision is not very helpful. If it is to be taken literally, it means that we will take no forcible measures. After Monroe's message was published, no fewer than five Latin American governments suggested treaties of alliance or at least promises of assistance. They got neither; John Quincy Adams said with characteristic candor that it was "obvious" that the United States could not undertake to resist a European power without the cooperation of some other European nation to supply the backbone of such resistance.

That was what Monroe and Adams meant; the historical facts are clear. Equally surely, President Kennedy did not mean any such thing.

Neither Monroe nor Adams conceived of their policy as "doctrine." It did not get that title until a generation later, and even then, no one spoke of 'enforcing" it Both Spain in the Dominican Republic, and France, in Mexico, defied it with some impunity so far as the United States was concerned. How much the collapse of Maximilian's rule in Mexico was due to implicit threats of force from the United States is not established.

ITS FIAT IS LAW

It was not until 1895, in Cleveland's second administration, that a President used the startling words, "The United States is not a country to which peace is necessary." His Secretary of State, Olney, was the first to call the doctrine "public law."

It was he who asserted, "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law on the subjects to which it confines its interposition." That was a far cry from the ideas of Monroe and Adams—and from those of President Kennedy.

Theodore Roosevelt announced as a "corollary" of the doctrine that we would undertake to keep order in the Caribbean so that there could be no excuse for European intervention. His method was "preventive intervention" by the United States.

Woodrow Wilson carried that policy to its ultimate extreme. He said explicitly that he was ready to violate the sovereignty of the Caribbean nations in order to teach them democracy. The right of this country to supervise Cuba has been embodied in the Cuban constitution and in our statutes after the Spanish War. On that authority, the United States intervened in Cuba several times.

These policies resulted in fiat failure. Democracy was not learned, nor was fiscal wisdom. What was learned was fear of the "Colossus of the North" and hatred of "Yankee imperialism."

These consequences were observable even in areas where strong measures were not employed. Dictatorships flourished, fiscal irresponsibility followed the departure of supervisors from the United States, incursions across national boundaries continued and a path was cleared for Communist infiltration.

TIGHT REIN ON ACTION

With the collapse of U.S. management of Latin affairs, a kind of mutualization of the Monroe Doctrine occurred. The principle of nonintervention was adopted in its most extreme form.

The Organization of American States provides for "consultation," and united action, save in rare instances, is difficult to agree upon and is effect even more rarely. As a reaction from the "fiat" doctrine which Olney himself later called "bumptious," the range for unilateral action on the part of the United States is severely curtailed.

In a sense, we have come full circle. When President Kennedy spoke of the doctrine as meaning what it has meant since Monroe, he cannot have expected his words to be taken literally. We will surely not wait for European collaboration; almost as surely, we must seek Latin collaboration.

That is the meaning of Secretary Rusk's efforts for a meeting of the foreign ministers. The popular myth about the meaning and status of the doctrine needs to be dispelled, and a more lucid formulation of policy should replace outworn shibboleths.

A REVOLUTIONARY BASE

The third fact of history which accounts to some extent for current frustration is that the United States has been used as a base of operations against other nations, and Cuba specifically, in open violation of our neutrality statutes.

Filibusters were often mere adventurers, soldiers of fortune. Aaron Burr, for example, after he killed Hamilton, sought a new career in the West. Before the United States acquired the Floridas, it was said that they were largely in the possession of the frayed edges of society—adventurers, "men of piratical inclination and life, a large part of whom were fugitives from justice."

The great length of our boundaries, disputes as to their location, and the failure of law and order to keep pace with the pioneers, long facilitated the evasion of neutrality laws. Even when caught, violators were frequently protected from punishment by local sympathy.

Moreover, the lawbreakers were sometimes regarded as agents of manifest destiny, a phrase coined in midcentury which became linked in many minds with a twin dogma with the same initials—the Monroe Doctrine.

American filibusters set a pattern for immigrants to follow. Many who sought refuge in the United States from homeland oppression proceeded to abuse our hospitality. Most refugees became good citizens; some acquired citizenship in order to appeal for aid when they got into trouble while attempting to free their native lands.

The Fenians offer a good example. In the second quarter of the 19th century, Irish came in a flood. Unlike earlier immigrants from Ireland who had scattered, the newcomers tended to concentrate in New York and New England.

They showed a genius for politics and for inciting hatred of Britain. Many joined the Fenian society and took an oath of allegiance to the "Republic of Ireland." After the Civil War, they attempted three incursions into Canada.

Their military operations approached farce but led many politicians to propose recognition of their belligerency with permission to outfit privateers in the United States as the Confederacy had done in England a few years before. A number of Fenians were arrested in Ireland while engaged in revolutionary activity, and then claimed the benefits of American citizenship.

Jewish activities were on a different plane. After the repeal of discriminatory laws here, many went abroad, particularly to Russia, and called upon the United States for aid when arrested. As a result, President Taft denounced the treaty of 1832 with Russia, but only after his House of Representatives—with a single dissenting vote—had demanded it.

Jewish influence become more and more potent by reason of swelling numbers, concentration in a few strategic centers and striking successes in trade, commerce, manufacturing, banking, publishing—and politics. This vast, if subtle, influence was dramatically manifested when President Truman extended de facto recognition to Israel only minutes after learning of its proclamation of independence May 14, 1948.

The drama of the action was heightened because no notice was given the American delegation to the United Nations, which was proposing a trusteeship for the area under instructions from the State Department. The subsequent flow of funds and other evidences of favor have greatly complicated relations with the Arab world. There are very few Arab voters in the United States.

Cuba furnishes classic examples of the exploitation of American hospitality. During the administration of President Fillmore, Narcisco Lopez, who had held both civil and military offices in Spain and Cuba, came to New York and prepared to invade Cuba, which he thought was ripe for rebellion.

Foiled by law officers there, he transferred his activities to the South, where he openly recruited men, raised money and enlisted the support of the Governors of Mississippi and Louisiana.

Twice he set out with armed expeditions. Prosecution of Lopez and his sponsors failed because local sympathy was so great that juries would not convict. When at last Lopez was caught and executed in Havana, the Spanish consul was driven from New Orleans and his office sacked.

Before our war with Spain, a Cuban junta operated openly in New York, headed by the man who became the first president of Cuba after its independence. The situation in the island was chaotic; repressive measures by the Spanish administration were brutally harsh.

The junta in New York poured out a stream of propaganda and raised funds to finance expeditions. More than half the expeditions were stopped, but full enforcement of the neutrality laws was impossible. Public sympathy was roused to fever pitch.

Ever since Cuban independence, dissidents have made the United States a refuge—and a headquarters. That is the situation today. The young men who set out from Miami and, after an intermediate stop, shot up a hotel in Miramar which housed Soviet "technicians," were not prosecuted. Instead, they were featured on several coast-to-coast television shows, where they blandly made the appealingly simple request for the United States to supply them with the same kind and amounts of aid the Soviets are giving Castro.

The fourth factor that has long produced frustration is the lack of any viable political system in Cuba. Spain itself has had a series of revolutions; it has endured tyranny, venality and incompetence, but all compounded with a fierce pride.

Its colonial administration was incompetent and often vicious. The colonies lacked educational systems, a native civil service and political experience. Feudal types of land tenure, peonage, exploitation, sharp class distinctions and enormous disparities of wealth combined to produce political chaos. Political parties too often partake of the character of personal factions.

Though it was possible for many dissident groups to cooperate briefly in driving out the Spanish Government, it was impossible for them to work together after victory. When, under the Platt amendment, Cuba was put in leading strings, we did not stay long enough to get education firmly organized or a civil service adequately trained. And too many Americans who were to "lead" the Cubans lacked knowledge of the language, the culture, the ethos of the people.

Our own domestic policies supply the fifth element in a pattern of frustration. The President is responsible for the conduct of foreign relations, but Congress is free to talk, pass resolutions and conduct investigations and the Senate has a veto on treaties. While the structure of foreign policy is essentially bipartisan, its conduct is—and should be—the subject of debate.

During the century and a half that the Cuban problem has been with us, politicians have made violent speeches, introduced michievous resolutions and harried the State Department without mercy. Usually these activities do little harm, and occassionally they do some good. But at tense moments, they gravely imperil constructive action by stimulating public feeling to a fever pitch.

Some Secretaries of State have played politics with diplomacy. Daniel Webster's response to Austria on the subject of Hungary was more like a Fourth of July oration than a state paper. Olney's blatant claim that we ruled the hemisphere made people happy for a moment, but brought on a sharp reaction abroad.

It should be clear, for all these reasons, that there is no miracle tablet that can cure our frustration. The trouble is more like arthritis, painful and occasionally crippling, but which men have to learn to live with, easing the pain as best they can while searching for a long-awaited cure.

We must remember, moreover, that all the great powers, including the Soviets, have their acute frustrations. For a hundred years, from the Congress of Vienna to World War I, the great powers ruled the world. Only acts of folly produced that war. Even then, if they had made a sensible peace, they could have led the world.

Instead, every one of them compounded earlier folly and brought on World War II, and the victors in that one never could agree on a peace. The result is that for all their power, their authority is gone.

The great Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset described the consequences: "Every tupenny ha'penny nation starts skipping, gesticulating, standing on its head, or else struts around giving itself airs of a grownup person who is ruler of his destinies." Even the smallest and weakest can play one great power against another, demand aid and fritter it away in all sorts of excesses.

When President Kennedy said that the Cuban problem must be dealt with as part of the larger worldwide issue, it was his most important, and least noticed, comment. Until the great powers exhibit greatness in wisdom equal to their military might, this charade—and the acute frustration it involves—will remain with us.

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## Kennedy's Fateful Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DELBERT L. LATTA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the ill-fated Cuban invasion of April 1961. One of the most comprehensive articles I have read on the subject is one which appeared in the September 17, 1962, issue of U.S. News & World Report entitled: "Kennedy's Fateful Decision: The Night the Reds Clinched Cuba."

It reads as follows:

KENNEDY'S FATEFUL DECISION: THE NIGHT THE REDS CLINCHED CUBA

Look at Castro's Cuba now: a Communist base. To see how it got that way: Look back to 1961—to an invasion that failed and left Castro even stronger than before. The story of that invasion, as revealed by insiders, shows the far-reaching effect of a President's decision.

A fateful decision, made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961, is rising now to plague the United States.

On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion.

Only the day before, on April 15, a surprise attack by B-26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force.

A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's planes and to provide air support for the invasion.

Secure in this assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early-morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the pre-invasion planning.

Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B-26's was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away, waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots.

But those planes didn't take off.

The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

That was the fateful decision President Kennedy made on that Sunday evening. He decided that the anti-Castro Cubans could not have the support of their own air force during the invasion. Without that support, the invasion failed.

When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need for air support became apparent. Worried, the nonmilitary officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used to fly air support for the invaders.

Two U.S. carriers, their decks loaded with fighting planes, were standing by not far away throughout the entire invasion. Their planes were readily available.

In the planning of the invasion—planning begun under the Eisenhower administration—the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of U.S. air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea.

ANOTHER "NO"

Once again, in the early morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said "No" to the use of U.S. planes.

On the beaches, in the Bay of Pigs, the invaders fought on. They did not know that an American President in Washington, 1,400 miles away, was in tight control of their every military move. They were not aware that President Kennedy had taken away their air cover.

With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble. Castro brought up the few planes he had left. Castro jets—made in America—bombed and sank two of the five ships of the invasion fleet. One carried most of the invaders' reserves of ammunition. The other was their communications center. Castro tanks, safe from attack by air, moved into effective action.

In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But bad weather interfered at first. Finally, an air strike was set up for early Wednesday.

On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate. The invaders, fighting without air support, were driven back under pressure of Castro's superior numbers.

By Tuesday night, April 18, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy.

On this night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left the party to confer with his advisers—both

civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier's planes for just one hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for their planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes, still, were not to attack land targets.

Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communications mixups. The Cuban fliers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action. And anyway, it developed, it was too late.

By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives.

American military officials who followed this operation closely say that it came within a hair's breath of success. They say: Given early air support, the invaders could have destroyed Castro's air force and tanks. Defections from his militia, which had started, would have spread. Underground forces, waiting for word of success before rising against Castro, would have sprung into action. When that word did not come, they remained under ground.

It was in the White House that the decision was made that guided the course of that unsuccessful invasion.

Out of that fateful decision of the President have flowed many of today's problems. Soviet Russia today is entrenched in Cuba, a few miles from continental United States. Some Members of Congress charge that the Monroe Doctrine which guided U.S. policy in Latin America for 139 years, is now, in effect, being turned into a scrap of paper. With a base in Cuba, Communist forces are penetrating deeply into the Western Hemisphere building up their base for more takeovers.

What lay back of that fateful Kennedy decision?

The record suggests: An important factor was a fear of offending public opinion in Latin America and in the so-called "new nations" of the United Nations.

Throughout the discussions of invasion policy, the idea was put forward repeatedly that the United States must not place itself in the position of using force against a smaller neighbor. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, strongly backed President Kennedy in his decisions.

WHAT MILITARY RECOMMENDED

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Nation's top military experts, had no part in the actual military operations. Those military leaders had recommended early that, to insure success, some U.S. Armed Forces should take part in any invasion, and that air cover and support should be supplied by the United States.

The recommendations of the military leaders were rejected. It was the Central Intelligence Agency and the White House that finally ran the show and fixed the terms on which the anti-Castro Cubans could fight.

The fateful decision was a political decision—not a military decision.

One civilian official who was close to the whole invasion operation now makes this judgment:

"In retrospect, the political decision was wrong."

A military man, also close to the operation, said this:

"If you go back to that time and look at the whole problem, you find that this country faced one fundamental question: Can we permit a Communist country in this Western Hemisphere? Now, if the answer is 'yes,' then you do one thing. If the answer is 'no,' you do another.

"But if you weasel on that answer, start compromising, then you wind up in confusion—with no real answer. One thing we should have learned from this Cuban fiasco is this: You can't run a military operation that way."

## A Tribute to a Colleague, William J. Green, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during my 4 years in Congress, it has been my great pleasure to meet many dedicated men who, like myself, work tirelessly in the best interests of their districts.

I have found that the Members of this Congress make up a thorough cross section of the American people; and as I sit here in this Chamber listening to the various viewpoints, the various philosophies, the varous attitudes, I cannot help but feel that this great body is like a huge mirror which reflects the many aspects of America's people.

During these past 4 years it has been my privilege to work very closely with many Members, and among them, Congressman WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., who represents the Fifth Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

Throughout the years, many of my friends who reside in his district have told me of the great respect they have for Congressman GREEN. His activities have been particularly singled out by the many Polish-American organizations in his district with whom I have worked very closely at various national conventions.

I was happy to learn that because of their deep satisfaction and sense of gratitude, many of these Polish-American organizations, principally those in the northeast section of Philadelphia, have organized committees in Congressman GREEN's behalf. This is understandable.

BILL GREEN is more than just their Representative in Congress. For the past 10 years, he, as chairman of the Philadelphia County Democratic Committee, has guided the destinies of his city-county party. In so doing, he has never failed to recognize the active participation of Polish-American citizens in party affairs and their dedicated efforts in helping to achieve the stature and successes of the Democratic Party over the past several decades.

Having spent his entire life in the northeast section of Philadelphia, BILL GREEN knows the Polish people. He speaks their language, and he has a full and compassionate understanding of their special problems. He is well aware of the aims and purposes of their many fine organizations in his city and State and has consistently cooperated in these efforts.

This cooperation has not been limited to his material efforts in the Congress to consistently support legislation in which the Polish-American citizens have expressed their individual interest. He has been an effective arm in consistently supporting national legislation for foreign aid, including Poland; assisting refugees from foreign domination; strengthening the United Nations; in addition to the many economic and welfare programs that have proven beneficial to many of our Polish-American citizens residing in metropolitan cities.

He has always been available for assistance in the many special problems that arise in connection with organizations such as the Polish American Congress, comprising 120-member groups; the Polish American Citizens League, comprising about 70-member groups; the Polish National Alliance; the Polish American Clubs; and the numerous individual Polish American veterans, fraternal, civic, and cultural groups in both city and State. He has long recognized that agreement and unity in nationality groups are the foundation for success in achieving the aspirations and the purposes to which these groups have dedicated themselves.

As Congressman and chairman, his intimate life association with my people has long aroused his deep appreciation of their many fine qualities in the practices of good citizenship, civic pride, loyalty and integrity, and mutually dedicated efforts in assisting their fellow man. This high regard has not lost sight of their many contributions to the advancement of this great Nation from the days of Pulaski to the present generations.

In recognition of these factors, BILL GREEN has consistently and fairly recommended qualified Polish American men and women for positions of responsibility in local, State, and Federal Governments. In positions of trust their exceptional qualifications not only enable them to materially assist their particular groups but further enhance and promote the welfare of the general public they serve.

As an illustration, let me quote an extract from a recent letter received by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman GREEN, from the Polish American Citizens League of Pennsylvania:

Your nomination of Polish attorney Stanley Jakubowski for a Federal judgeship in the U.S. District Court for the Eeastern District of Pennsylvania is warmly applauded. In addition, your influence resulted in the appointment of Theodore S. Gutowicz as commissioner of insurance for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. We, and all the citizens of Notheast Philadelphia, appreciate your efforts in securing a sizable congressional appropriation of funds for the Nazareth Hospital under the Hill-Burton Act.

To mention just a few more among hundreds of persons of Polish ancestry recommended and supported by Bill Green for high positions in public service are: Walter S. Pytko, former State senator, managing director, Philadelphia Housing Authority, and now candidate for councilman-at-large; State Senator Peter J. Camiel; Matthew Zagorski, Philadelphia magistrate; Anthony J. Sadowski, deputy county commissioner; Leo J. Kolankiewicz, member of the Phila-

delphia City Council; Joseph Huntowski, State auditor general's office; Dr. Matthew J. Gutowicz', secretary, Pennsylvania State Board of Chiropody; Harvey Szweda, State board of undertakers; Edmund Pawelec, assistant district attorney of Philadelphia, Michael Sura, Superintendent of the Mint, Philadelphia.

If time and space permitted, I could continue at great length with a listing but conclude by adding that the secretary of the mayor of Philadelphia is a young lady of Polish ancestry, Miss Jean Krypel.

It is, therefore, no surprise that the Polish community in Philadelphia will culminate their activities with a huge testimonial gathering to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman GREEN, to honor the many years of distinguished service this able legislator has rendered to his home district, city, State, and the Nation.

My personal association with BILL GREEN in Congress has given me a deep insight to his abiding respect and high regard for the people of Polish ancestry—my people. He richly deserves the full measure of their support.

## Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committeemen Deserve a Vote of Thanks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. ABBITT. Mr Speaker, our agricultural abundance has caused many problems in the past several years for farmers, the Congress, and others interested in this most important segment of our overall economy.

There are today several congressionally enacted programs dealing with our agricultural production and conservation of our natural resources. Responsibility for many of these programs is under the general direction of farmer-elected ASC committeemen. These committeemen have a major responsibility for seeing that farmers and others are informed about the agricultural programs that are available and the eligibility requirements to participate in these programs.

The ASC committeemen are key people in seeing the programs involving millions of farmers and billions of dollars are carried out fairly and in accordance with official regulations. The committee's policies and decisions greatly determine the course of action taken by the county office manager and clerks in the ASC county office.

It is essential that correct information be given farmers regarding programs for cotton, tobacco, rice, peanuts, wool, the agricultural conservation program, and all the other programs including the wheat and feed grain programs which we enacted in 1961 and again in 1962. Furnishing correct information, establishing policies and making decisions in connection with these programs is a tremendous responsibility for ASC committees.

The tremendous success of the programs speaks adequately for the way in which committeemen have met their responsibility. I have no doubt but that the same fine dedicated service will be rendered by farmer-elected committeemen in future years. I feel we owe the ASC committees a vote of thanks. This is one way we can let them know they are fully apreciated.

## Prices and the Marketplace—Our Secret Economic Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Allen Wallis, president of the University of Rochester and a man well known to many of us in Washington, recently addressed a meeting of the Tax Foundation, Inc., in Pittsburgh. His remarks were reproduced in part by the foundation's August 1962 "Tax Review" and I believe they offer a very sound commentary on the role of the pricing system in the free enterprise marketplace—a system which gives our economy a strength and guidance which cannot be equaled by authoritarian economic systems, despite their ability to gain temporary advantages in limited areas and for limited times. I think Wallis' words bear hearing and discussion, for an understanding of the fundamental truth which they reveal about our free enterprise system is essential if we are to move ahead and make the kind of progress which our economy is capable of making. For this reason, I am placing this statement, as published by the Tax Foundation, in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Tax Review, Aug. 1962]

OUR SECRET ECONOMIC WEAPON: THE PRICE SYSTEM

(By W. Allen Wallis, president, University of Rochester)

The unhappy episode of the rise and fall of the price of steel in early April did not go entirely unnoticed, even outside Pittsburgh. Nor has it been entirely forgotten. But what was noticed at the time was trivial compared with what was not noticed. And what the incident is remembered for today is minor compared with its major permanent effects.

To be specific: At the time, in early April, what was noticed was that the price of steel stayed down. What was far more important was that our whole economic system sometimes described as a price system, sometimes as a system of free market, was shaken.

What the episode is remembered for now is the stock market crash. But a far more serious effect was that our whole governmental system, sometimes described as a system of individual civil liberties, sometimes as a rule of law, was shaken.

First, consider the short-lived increase in steel prices. To an economist like myself, outside the steel industry, this increase did not make sense. I'm not questioning whether the steel industry needed a price increase. What I question is whether market conditions at the time would have supported a price increase. In point of fact, steel was not bringing even the full prices already in the official lists at that time, and the industry was operating well below capacity. Under such circumstances, it just doesn't seem reasonable to think you can get a higher price than the one you are already failing to get. The electric refrigerator industry learned that lesson last spring. Like steel, it announced higher prices, only to have to cut them back.

Furthermore, when costs and market conditions do support price rises, they are not likely to support uniform percentage increases for all products.

Finally, an industry that has been described as "a lightning rod for the wrath of all recent Presidents" would seem well advised to achieve a higher average price by lowering some prices while raising others, in such a way as to provide the White House both with bewilderment and with possibilities for face-saving.

My own opinion is that administration actions had nothing to do with the failure of the price rise to stick. That resulted from weak market conditions, just as in the case of refrigerators. If the President had said to the steel industry, "Congratulations, gentlemen, you need the increase if you are going to play your part in the growth of our economy," or if he had said, "This price increase is due to the wage increase negotiated by Richard Nixon, but no price increase will be necessary when the Goldberg wage increase goes into effect next July," I think that steel prices would still be no higher today than they actually are. I am talking, of course, not about published list prices, but about actual transactions, taking account of extras, quality, delivery, the cash actually paid, and the speed of payment.

So I think the price increase was a mistake. But—and this is the important point—it really doesn't matter whether I (or anybody else) is right that the increase was a mistake. If it was a mistake, it was harmless because it would not have caused inflation, which is a term that refers to a rise in the average level of all prices, not just to a rise in some one price. The notion that when steel prices change all other prices change proportionately is just poppycock.

It was harmless also in a more important way, namely, that if it was a mistake it was a self-correcting mistake. Another piece of poppycock is the notion that the steel industry is characterized by enough collusion and monopoly power to enforce a price rise that the market won't sustain.

That is my first point then: that the real reason why the price of steel returned to its previous level, and in some instances even fell below it, is to be found in market conditions, not in the words and acts of the administration.

Nevertheless, the administration's actions were a blow at the foundations of our economic system because those actions were an overt, explicit move toward the further regulation of individual prices by the Federal Government.

The Federal Government has a right and a duty to control the general level of prices—in other words, to prevent inflation and deflation. That is the duty of the Federal Reserve Board through its control of the quantity of money, and of the Congress through its control of government deficits.

But the Government has an equal duty to see that individual prices remain free and flexible. Our system of market prices is the very heart and secret of our economic strength.

EXCEL IN ABILITY TO DECIDE

It is probably true that the Russian economy can do anything we can do, and even do it better. I mean that they can do any specific thing better, not everything simultaneously. For example, they could unquestionably build a bigger, better supermarket than any now in the United States, or a bigger and more automated bank. All they have to do is take a few dozen top scientists and engineers off their space programs and put them to work on a supermarket or on a bank.

But a far more important capacity, and one in which we excel them by far, is the ability to decide properly whether to build a supermarket and how super to make it, or whether to automate a bank and how automatic to make it.

Consider the problem of distributing food to the residents of a certain area. Is it more efficient to have one supermarket or a dozen "Pa-and-Ma" type stores? The supermarket will involve a good structure, lots of capital equipment, and fairly high quality labor. It will need land for parking. People will come to it from considerable distances in their cars.

The "Pa and Ma" type stores can be in half-basements using little capital and the labor of retired people. Customers will come only from short distances and on foot.

Which is the more efficient way of distributing food? Obviously, that depends on literally thousands of details. For example, it may be that some elderly couples who could do nothing else productive could run small grocery stores. If so, the supermarket has to be enough more efficient to offset total loss of the labor of the elderly couples. On the other hand, the type of employee who works in a supermarket may have many other opportunities that are just as productive. In that case, the "Pa and Ma" type store needs only a small margin of efficiency to dominate.

Again, the small stores can perhaps be tucked into space that has little if any alternative use, whereas the supermarket requires land and good buildings that might be more valuable if used for other purposes. The comparison requires knowing what else could be done with the land and buildings and being able to evaluate the other uses accurately.

Another range of complications arises because not only do the two kinds of stores use up different kinds of resources, whose values must be compared, but they render different kinds of services.

For each kind of store the total value to all the customers must be compared with the total cost. Only then can the two kinds of stores be compared, and the decision made that is best for the country.

Decisions like that must be made millions of times every year. The overall efficiency of the economy and our rate of economic growth are greatly affected by the accuracy and promptness of these millions of individual decisions.

The Russian economy, like all collectivist economies, makes these decisions poorly. But everyone understands the machinery by which the decisions are made. It is an administrative machinery, based on handing down orders from above.

Premier Khrushchev indicated the magnitude of the problem by presenting the following data: As of January 1, there were many millions of square feet of completed factory space that could not be used because the machinery required for those factories was not available. At the same time in other parts of the country there were hundreds of millions of dollars worth of machinery of various kinds standing idle because the factories, mines, and other installations for which this machinery was designed were not yet ready.

The American economy makes these decisions well, but the method of making them is seldom understood and is widely misunderstood. We make them through the price system. The price system, in fact, may be called our secret economic weapon.

In our economy, prices are the messages that tell people what ought to be done. If the price of something is high, that is a message to producers to try to produce more and to consumers to try to use less. How high the price is tells how hard to try. The prices of raw materials, labor, land, and equipment are the messages that tell how things should be produced, for these prices reflect the amounts of the inputs available and the importance of the alternative uses for them.

Prices are self-enforcing messages. A producer who does not produce what is wanted, or produces it inefficiently, or does not adjust to change, soon finds that he is not taking in enough money to continue to buy his inputs. He is forced to stop wasting our resources. He is stopped just as forcefully as if he had received a cease-and-desist order from a Federal bureau of efficiency—indeed, more forcefully, for his Congressman or his trade association might have more influence with the bureau than with his bank.

The price system functions efficiently only insofar as the prices are free and voluntary. If the prices are set other than through free markets, either because of private monopoly or Government intervention, the overall efficiency of the economy is reduced.

The threat of direct price control made explicit by the President's handling of the steel situation, and more recently by the Solicitor General's speech at Harvard, and earlier by bills introduced in Congress as early as 1959, is a very direct threat to hobble and eventually cripple our economy. Not only the administration but the public also are alarmingly willing to move toward direct price controls, at least if the Gallup poll is any criterion. The June 8 poll reported that, of the 86 percent of voters who have an opinion about whether prices and wages ought to be frozen, 47 percent are in favor and only 53 percent opposed.

PROSPECTS OF INFLATION GREATER

So my second point is that the major economic consequence of the steel episode was not the effect on the steel industry; it was to jeopardize the central source of our economic strength.

As to my third point, the relation of the steel episode to the stock market, let me say first that the only thing I really know for sure about the cause of the crash is that nobody knows the cause, including me. (If anyone tells you he knows, ask him whether he sold short last winter.)

We can discard the idea that the collapse resulted from diminishing fears of inflation. For one thing, there has been very little, if any, inflation in the United States in the past 10 years. For another thing, the prospects of inflation within a couple of years are greater now than at any time in a long while.

We have to admit, also, that the market may simply be foreshadowing a recession; it has foreshadowed all postwar recessions, though recessions have not followed all of the market's drops.

But we have to consider—and I myself think this is an important factor—that the basic threat to our economic progress that results from the likelihood of direct price and wage controls may have been a major cause. Furthermore, my fourth point, the threat to our system of government, may be the most important cause of all.

To bring out my fourth point, let me contrast the actions of Presidents Truman and Kennedy when they got mad at steel. President Truman took certain actions to control the steel industry in ways to which it objected. The industry thereupon resorted to the courts. The Supreme Court ruled that the President did not lawfully have the power he had tried to exercise, but that is irrelevant; the important point is that the courts could be appealed to by those who felt that their rights were violated.

President Kennedy, on the other hand, used powers which are perfectly legal, but he used them to achieve purposes that are entirely outside the law. Since the powers he used, such as investigating individual income tax returns, are perfectly legal, redress through the courts is probably impossible and certainly improbable.

Charles Reich of the Yale Law School wrote in the New Republic of April 30: "Each of the powers the President used was a legitimate one, and nothing he did was beyond his lawful authority. That is not the issue. The issue is whether the President made proper and responsible use of his powers. The evidence is overwhelming that the actions taken or inspired by the President were primarily for the purpose of intimidating and coercing the steel industry. The previous indulgence of steel industry practices, the use of so many drastic powers in concert, and the willingness to relent after the surrender all confirm this.

"Such use of power, whether its objectives are good or bad, is dangerous. Income tax investigations are legitimate, but should they be undertaken specially, with dramatic fanfare, to frighten someone who opposes administration policies? Should a man's passport application be delayed if he does not fall into line on some economic issue? Should the goodwill of a business be destroyed by official denunciation if it proves stubborn in collective bargaining? The very immensity of Government power demands, on the contrary, that it be used in a disinterested manner, and only for the exact purposes intended. Any other use gives a President the ability to force people to do things which under the law he has no right to require. It means that people offend the President at their peril.

"The spirit of our Constitution is the spirit of limitation on all powers, of disinterested enforcement of the laws, of equal protection, of due process. It was dangerously wrong for an angry President to loose his terrible arsenal of power for the purpose of intimidating and coercing private companies and citizens.

"The President has no right to force his economic policies on an unwilling industry without legislation. Unless Congress acts, the fact is that in a free society there can be no unitary public interest, no single, authoritatively fixed idea of 'the public good.' Freedom has little meaning if it only allows action that responsibly conforms to the President's idea of the national interest.

"Even if everything that has just been said about President Kennedy's methods and objectives is wrong, his victory is still disquieting. It demonstrates how much power Government has today. Such power, no matter how wisely exercised, is hardly less frightening because the victim forced to surrender was a group of corporate giants and not a small business or a private citizen.

"Much of what Mr. Kennedy accomplished by pressure of Government power he will hereafter be able to command by the subtlest suggestion * * * President Kennedy's victory may have advanced peace and plenty, but it did no service to freedom."

So my fourth and final point is this: Far and away the most important and most distressing aspect of the steel eposide was not the effect on the steel industry, nor the effect on the stock market, nor even the threat to our economic system, but the fact that it represented a long step toward authoritarianism. The very root and essence of authoritarianism is the idea that a Cen-

tral Government has the authority to determine what is in the national interest, and to pursue that interest as defined by itself through any and all means.

But there is a silver lining. A long step was taken toward authoritarianism, yes; but it leaves a considerable distance yet to be traversed. Second, it was not a step from which there is no turning back. I am inclined to believe that it was an inadvertent step, an amateurish step, into which the administration felt almost pushed as an unforseen consequence of earlier steps taken, when they rather naively assumed responsibility for labor negotiations, guidelines on wage settlements, and avoiding strikes.

The job before us then, is to make sure that the turning back occurs. That requires a fuller understanding, by the administration and by the public, of the processes of a free economy, and of the long-run evils of many short-run benefits. Economic education is a difficult challenge but not an insuperable one. I, for one, retain some hope.

## A Village Shows Its Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Speaker, I think most of us have had unpleasant experiences when accident or disaster overtook us far from home, when we were lost and surrounded by strangers, and did not know where to turn for help. Such a predicament came to a couple from Maryland recently, and I would like to take advantage of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to tell the people of America a wonderful story of how a gang of people on eastern Long Island joined together to help a couple of strangers from my own State. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the people of eastern Long Island and their Congressman OTIS G. PIKE, for proving once again that the age-old spirit of the good Samaritan still lives today.

Mr. and Mrs. Delano Smith, of College Park, Md., had long dreamed of owning a big sailboat. In September of this year their dream came true. It was a 56-foot yawl, Cessone by name, far from new, but dear enough to them for them to have spent all of their savings from Smith's salary as an employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture to make it their own.

On Monday, September 17, the Smiths set sail from Essex, Conn., to bring their lovely prize back to Maryland. They were broke but happy. They had sailed across Long Island Sound, around Montauk Point, and were in the Atlantic Ocean off the south shore of Long Island when disaster struck. A boom let go, the engine quit, and a strong southerly wind ran the boat hard on shore. Their ship was high and dry; they were broke; they did not know a soul; and they did not know where to turn for help. Let Newsday, Suffolk County's largest daily, tell the rest of the story:

A VILLAGE SHOWS ITS HEART
(By William Spiegler)

SOUTHAMPTON.—If you're going to be shipwrecked, Southamption is the place to be washed ashore—the natives are wonderful.

Their generosity, hard work and political know-how over the weekend restored the dashed hopes and dreams of Delano Smith, 29, a U.S. Agriculture Department worker from Maryland who most of last week stood on the beach, forlornly watching the sand bury his beached 56-foot yawl. He had used all his savings to buy the 57-year-old vessel only a few days before for $5,500, and didn't have the money to get the boat put back in the sea.

The Coast Guard had made several unsuccessful attempts to free the boat, the *Cessone*, then declared it "salvage" and said it could do no more unless the boat was floated into open water. But on Friday, as the story of Smith's plight circulated through the community, things began to happen. Villagers swiftly raised $1,000, two cranes and three bulldozers appeared on the scene and one man telephoned Representative OTIS G. PIKE, Democrat, of New York, to see whether he could get the Coast Guard to renew its aid.

PIKE, upon hearing of Smith's problem, phoned the New York regional office of the Coast Guard Saturday and made a plea that it send a boat to try for one more day to dislodge the *Cessone*. By noon, two Coast Guard boats were standing offshore. One of them tried to tow the *Cessone* free, but to no avail. Scores of men, using the cranes and bulldozers, loosened the sand around the *Cessone*. Still it remained stuck. Finally, at 5 p.m., the *Cessone* was tied to lines from both Coast Guard boats—despite the possibility that a double yank might wreck the vessel.

The mighty pull of the two Coast Guard boats did the trick. As the *Cessone* floated free, basically undamaged, the crowd on the beach cheered lustily. The Coast Guard towed the *Cessone* to Montauk Point. Today, it was to be hauled behind a fishing boat to drydock at Greenport, for a check and minor repairs.

"I wouldn't have believed it possible," Smith said last night. "I was a total stranger. But I've been taken into homes, given food and clothing. It's overwhelming."

Southampton residents modestly think their efforts were pretty swell, too. "It's something peculiar to small towns, I guess," is the way Mayor Edward Brennan explained the outpouring of aid. No one would take responsibility for organizing the campaign. "It wasn't a committee, it was a gang," Brennan said.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken to the gentleman from New York, Congressman PIKE, about this. He has modestly disclaimed all credit. He says he had a telephone conversation with a man named Charles Hall, of Bridgehampton, and a couple of telephone conversations with the Coast Guard.

Whether it was the Coast Guard, the gentleman from New York, Congressman PIKE, or, as Mayor Brennan put it, "a gang" of people, it was a great humanitarian undertaking, and I only hope that if any eastern Long Islanders ever get in trouble in Maryland, they have the good fortune to fall in with a gang like that.

### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## Crime by Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as the Senate considers legislation relating to our postal services, I believe it pertinent to call attention to the attempted efforts to cheat unsuspecting folks out of money by use of the mails.

The Congress, I believe, should well consider not only stricter enforcement of existing laws, but further examination of the situation to see whether or not new laws are necessary to prevent this preying upon the public.

Recenlty, the Green Bay Press-Gazette published an article by J. W. Davis entitled "Mail Crooks Prey on Unfortunate—Schemes Exposed."

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette, Sept. 16, 1962]

MAIL CROOKS PREY ON UNFORTUNATE—SCHEMES EXPOSED

(By J. W. Davis)

WASHINGTON.—Some mail fraud crooks are vicious in small ways. They'd cheat a crippled shutin or a poor widow.

Some are extortionists who would even fake a nude photograph to make it appear that a young woman posed obscenely.

Some of the cheat-by-mail promoters are big operators, out to defraud ordinarily hardheaded businessmen.

"The variety of mail fraud promotions is without limit," says Henry B. Montague, Chief Postal Inspector.

"Persons in all walks of life are potential victims."

The number, as well as the variety, of frauds has reached new peaks. So have convictions, engineered by Montague's inspectors with help from the Justice Department's Criminal Division and U.S. attorneys across the country.

MANY SENT TO JAIL

In the last fiscal year there were 524 convictions for mail fraud, a record. Jail sentences of varying length and fines totaling $347,000 were imposed in these cases. Investigations also resulted in the restitution of $1,414,000 to victims.

Montague, 50, a quiet but authoritative sort of man who began his career as a postal clerk in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., talked to a reporter about new and old trends in mail fraud.

Take first the advance fee racket under which, Montague said, millions of dollars have been fleeced from businessmen. It is new, at least in its widespread scope.

Montague pulled out one of his official reports to explain how it works:

"Criminals operating across State lines attempt to induce the owners of small businesses to sell their businesses or real estate or to secure business loans.

"The victim is required to pay an advance fee as evidence of good faith. Oral assurances are given that the fee would be returned if the desired services are not rendered.

"The signed contract, however, reveals in the fine print that the only services provided by the promoter are to bring the victim's needs to the attention of various institutions."

EIGHT THOUSAND BUSINESSMEN BILKED BY ONE FIRM

North American Associates, Inc., in Denver, he figured, collected more than $2 million from 8,000 businessmen this way.

Another scheme that has slipped into widespread operation lately is based on imitating, very closely and very crookedly, the names of reputable business firms.

A crook adopts a firm name resembling that of a well-known company. Sometimes he spells it just a little differently; sometimes he simply uses "Corp." in the title, instead of the usual "Co."

Then he orders merchandise on credit from wholesale houses or elsewhere. Clerks in the supplying firms are deceived by the name on the letterhead or order form and ship out the goods without any question. The crook sells the merchandise in a hurry and then disappears.

To possible future targets of these schemes, Montague suggests:

"Have some knowledge of the people you are doing business with."

It's as simple as that.

Persistent mail fraud schemes that Montague and his men run up against are fake charities, insurance rackets, home repair schemes, real estate promotions, vending and knitting machine swindles, work-at-home schemes of various types and medical cure-alls including fake cures for cancer, tuberculosis, and arthritis.

Postmaster General E. Edward Day has this to say: "Thousands of sharpies annually pry hundreds of millions of dollars out of a gullible and unsuspecting American public through worthless get-well-quick schemes."

In one Louisiana operation called the Scientific Life X-Ray Service, the public paid an estimated $25,000 for voodoo powders and oils. Postal inspectors had trouble lining up witnesses since victims believed the promoter would hex them if they testified.

The following, picked at random from the inspection service's files, demonstrate the variety of cases that pop up from day to day:

Shut-in victims: Work-at-home shutins were the particular target of one Long Beach, Calif., promoter who had a scheme he advertised as paying up to $162 a week for addressing envelopes. Victims sent $10 each—in some cases $16—"and received several pages of instructions without value." The promoter got 3 years in prison.

Mail order deal: At San Bruno, Calif., one Alfred Joseph Crowe was convicted of inducing 53 victims to give him $41,000 for contracts to start their own mail order businesses. The victims were promised fabulous profits, if they would invest $550 to $1,200, but none of them "made enough to pay the the postage on the material they mailed," the postal service said. Crowe got 2 years.

Lonely hearts: From Boyerton, Pa., a man and woman who operated a lonely hearts club corresponded with persons in 25 States and by means of false pretenses and misrepresentations, including promises of marriage, obtained a total of $2,500. Each also obtained a 2-year prison term.

Big joiner: In Philadelphia, one man joined record and book clubs in a wholesale way, using fictitious names, and obtaining merchandise valued at $5,300 without payment. "On occasion," it was reported, "there were so many packages for delivery to the residence that the mail carrier was unable to carry them."

Beauty treatment: At Las Vegas, Nev., a self-styled beauty scientist was arrested on charges of peddling an allegedly dangerous facial rejuvenation treatment. Postal inspectors estimated that approximately $1 million was paid by 500 subscribers to her treatment. Some of them filed disfigurement suits which resulted in judgment awards of $186,000. The "scientist" was released on $5,000 bond.

Tax refunds: In Rochester, N.Y., postal inspectors, Secret Service agents and Internal Revenue agents swooped down on a man accused of filing false income tax refund claims under assumed names. They said he admitted obtaining $20,000 in refunds. He is now out on bond.

Sex pill: In less than a year, Irving Greene, of Jersey City, N.J., took in an estimated $120,000 from the sale of Tigron, described by inspectors as a worthless sex rejuvenator pill. He was given a suspended sentence and fined $750.

Knitting and sewing machine promotions: Thousands of housewives have been victimized by promoters of this scheme who induce them to purchase machines at exorbitant prices ranging up to $500 upon representations that they could supplement their incomes while working at home through the sale of garments.

"The promoters promise to purchase the garments at a substantial profit. Many victims execute chattel mortgages to pay for the machines and lose their household possessions when the expected income does not materialize."

(The knit machine scheme occurred in the Green Bay area several years ago. It followed essentially the outline given by Montague. Several indictments against operators of the organization selling the machines were returned in Milwaukee Federal court, and civil suits were started in Brown County courts to recover the purchasers' costs.)

"The old 'Spanish prisoner' swindle still pops up about every 18 months," Montague said.

In this hardly changed version a fraud that goes back 300 years or more, air mail letters go out from some city in Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America (they used to originate in Spain) to a select list of dentists, physicians, or lawyers, or the like, in the United States. The promoters want professional people who might be expected to have money.

CLAIMS VALUABLES HIDDEN

The signer represents himself as an exbanker, who has been unjustly jailed. He writes that before he was arrested he hid away a trunk full of valuables; $300,000 is the usual valuation.

Help him bribe his way out of prison, the writer says, and he'll split the contents of the trunk with you—just send the bribe money fast. It seems next to impossible that anyone would fall for this, but the very

fact that the scheme persists would indicate it still pays off.

Montague has a special contempt for those who practice the old mail-after-death scheme. These operators watch for death announcements and then quickly send out COD packages, addressed to the deceased.

Sorrowful survivors—perhaps a widow, son, or daughter—will often reason that "this is one of the last things he wanted, and we will pay for it."

## Who Deprives You of Your Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, with all the constant talk we hear, particularly in Congress, of our rights, it is well to be reminded of the fact that every right carries with it a reciprocal duty.

I am happy to call the attention of our colleagues to the following statement issued by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America as the Jews of the world approach the beginning of their New Year, Rosh Hashanah. I believe this statement is very meaningful to all people, regardless of their religious persuasion. It is basic to all monotheistic religions.

I also wish to take this time to extend to all of our colleagues my very best wishes for health and happiness in the years ahead, and for a recess that I hope we can soon take, during which they can first make an appropriate accounting to their constituents for their service here, then have a well deserved rest, so that they may continue to serve their people and our Nation with renewed vigor.

The statement is as follows:

WHO DEPRIVES YOU OF YOUR RIGHTS

You have the right to think and speak your mind, the right to have a family, the right to choose where to live, the right to work, the right to a good life, the right to worship God.

We all realize how much these, and many other of our deepest rights, are threatened from many parts of the world, today. And we're ready to struggle in every way possible to protect our rights from being taken from us by others.

Yet we don't always see how the security and enjoyment of our rights can be taken from us—by ourselves.

Let us examine some of the inevitable reasons for this:

There is no way, for example, to enjoy our right to a family, without fulfilling our duty to care for our children.

For how can anyone expect to get fulfillment and pleasure from his children if they are not raised well?

It is no different with other rights. All experience, history and tradition make clear that no right stands alone.

We can enjoy a right only by accepting the duty which is its other side.

THE RIGHT TO THINK AND SPEAK OUR MIND

This is inseparable from our duty to listen; to give those around us the same rights of expression we want so much for ourselves. When we do not listen, how can we expect others to let us speak?

THE RIGHT TO HAVE A FAMILY

We make this right empty and meaningless if we keep postponing the time we spend with our own family. It is a familiar delusion to think that our greatest duty to our family is to provide those we love with material security, however important this may be. They need our presence and our active love still more.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE WHERE TO LIVE

Whenever we self-righteously complain and discriminate against our neighbors—whenever we fail our duties as a good neighbor—we undermine the very foundation of our rights to choose where to live.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

In the complexities of modern society, each of us has the right to earn a living for himself and his family, in ways consistent with his talents. But we fail our duty when we do not give, to whatever we do, a full measure of integrity and effort. And in failing this duty we defeat our right to work.

THE RIGHT TO A GOOD LIFE

No one can give us a good life. We are given only the opportunity; there still remain our duty and actions to achieve it.

And we advance ourselves whenever we decide to reflect for a time, rather than to keep rushing through life; whenever we decide to give ourselves to a community action instead of limiting ourselves to giving only money; whenever we decide to seek wisdom from those who can teach us—and don't put off the reading of a book.

THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP GOD

We see everywhere how much the evil in human affairs comes from the tendency to mistake a part of life—power or status or possessions—for the whole of it.

We can make the same error in our beliefs. For our right to worship God is also our duty not to fall into the idolatry of worshipping any part of His creation as though it were the whole.

It is clear, then, that to enjoy our rights we must fulfill our duties. They are the only path to the full possession of our rights. Moreover, we can be sure of living in a society where each individual's rights are insured only when we achieve a society where all are concerned with their duties, and only then.

## Proposed Soviet Trawler Port In Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HUGH SCOTT**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial which appeared in today's Philadelphia Inquirer be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The views expressed in the editorial I endorse. I would hope that the administration will soon come up with a positive policy in answer to this newest Communist threat to our hemisphere.

The editorial follows:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Sept. 27, 1962]

"TRAWLER PORT" A POOR DISGUISE

If anyone but the Soviets had promised to build a port for Cuba—and to turn over an unspecified number of trawlers for Cuban use—and if anyone but Fidel Castro were nominally in charge of Cuba, we probably could pass it off as progress and get set for more fishing competition.

Unfortunately, it is the Soviet Union which has made the promise and it is the Reds' bearded puppet, Castro, to whom the promise has been made. This changes things.

Russia seems to be getting a reputation as an ever-willing port-builder for other people—other people in strategic spots around the world. They have built a base for Yemen, right on the Red Sea lifeline. There are reports Morocco will have a Russian aquatic project near Gibraltar. The fact that, if these ports should turn out to be naval bases, and the Russians retain use or control of them, they could seriously damage Western shipping seems more than a coincidence.

So, too, the projected trawler port in Havana Bay for Cuba—in neat scoring position to choke off traffic to the Panama Canal and north-south inter-American trade, including United States-Puerto Rico shipping and Venezuela oil tankers.

The additional fact that no Russian fishing has ever been done in the Caribbean or even in that latitude of the Atlantic Ocean, lends all the more suspicion to this latest maneuver. The United States is well advised, indeed, to keep a close eye on it. Increased and closer patrolling and scrutiny by sea and air will obviously be needed. An outright refusal to put up with it, based on the Monroe Doctrine and our national interests, would not be out of order, either.

However, there are some intermediate steps toward stopping the tremendous flow of Russian arms, men, and supplies to Cuba which this Government has not taken yet—so such plain speaking is probably not even considered at this time. Although we have literally begged our NATO Allies to get their ships out of the "supply Cuba" trade, only West Germany has promised, so far, to do anything about it.

And, curiously, American ships which fly flags of convenience have not been seriously inconvenienced by our national needs, nor have foreign ships which take Communist trade to Cuba, then stop off in America to pick up return loads for Europe. These shipments could be curbed by U.S. Government action—and probably should be.

We are not happy with the prospect of a Soviet naval base in Cuba. It is an outrageous affront not only to the United States but to this entire hemisphere. A Communist strong point at that point bodes no good for any of Cuba's neighbors.

Imagine what Hitler could have done to us with a base in Havana.

## Negroes Seeking Vote Have Trouble in Delta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Washington Post of September 12 tells the story of what is happening to Negro citizens in Mississippi who are peaceably seeking to exercise that fundamental right of American citizenship which undergirds and is the essence of American government. That right is the right to vote, to be a partici-

pant in a form of government, by constitutional guarantee, of the people, for the people, and by the people.

Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, were Mr. Robert Baker's story, were the multitude of reports published in our national papers in recent days relating examples of police-state gestapoism, harassment, intimidation, brutality, and violence written in regard to citizens of any other Western nation of the world, the morally shocked and indignant voice of America and its citizens would have trumpeted from the housetops in protest.

American citizens are outraged because of the Cuban situation and Castroism and we are passionately vocal about the right of self-determination of the Cuban people. Right we ought to be. We are morally outraged because the Baltic nations have lost the right of self-determination. And it is right we ought to be. We are morally indignant because the people of Hungary have lost the right to self-determination. And it is right we should be. We deplore certain current practices of infant, newly born nations that we consider oppressive of the right of self-determination, of police-state character. We are vocal in our criticisms of Ghana, the Congo, Asian and Middle Eastern nations. The people ought to have the right of self-determination, we American citizens protest. We loudly protest, despite the analogy, Alan Westin of the New York Times, pointed out to us recently, between the practices of the United States as a young country and the practices of contemporary new nations of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. So unfailing and firm is the faith of the people of the United States of America that man has an inalienable right to the privilege of self-determination and self-government that we have locked in our Constitution provisions:

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article IV, section 2: The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Amendment 14, section 1: All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enfore any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Amendment 15, section 1: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Amendment 19: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

We have fought two great wars and we stand on the edge of the third, trying, as we must, by peaceful means to make the world a place in which the right of self-determination and self-government may safely exist—just make safe the right to choose democracy, the concept of our faith. The abridgement of this right to self-determination, to self-government, we urgently protest is a most grievous threat to democracy itself. And this it is.

It is incongruous; it is a hypocrisy; it is a moral and spiritual lie, therefore, that the voice of American citizenry is not raised from the housetops in such shout as Joshua made to make the walls of the Delta tumble—because in that part of the land, the citadel, of democracy, police state does exist for the purpose of denying to certain citizens of the United States the right of self-determination and self-government, as it exists in Georgia, Louisiana, and the other most flagrantly abusive parts of the Southland of these United States.

I commend this report by Robert Baker to the reading of every American citizen and to his conscience. Mr. Speaker, the Government, the Congress, and the individual citizens of America have a choice. They can open their mouths and act in moral courage and conscience or they can stand in silent cowardice and watch ignoble hypocrisy eat into the foundation on which America stands. Do we have time to wait for the peril point and its accompanying thunder of total crumbling?

The article follows:

NEGROES SEEKING VOTE HAVE TOUBLE IN DELTA

(By Robert E. Baker)

JACKSON, MISS.—Mississippi is tough for Negroes engaged in voter-registration programs.

While violence has been nil, they are subjected to arrest and intimidation and the shout of "Communist."

Negro registration efforts are being concentrated in the delta, around the Sunflower County area, home of U.S. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, who has few peers if any as the Deep South's "top banana" segregationist.

In Quitman County, a Negro went to the courthouse at Marks, where the registrar sits, and was arrested. When two bondsmen showed up, they were jailed too.

A Negro who uses his yellow bus to transport workers to the cottonfields recently used it to transport prospective Negro voters from Ruleville to Indianola in Sunflower County. The highway patrol arrested him. They said his bus should have been painted green.

BUSINESS CLOSED DOWN

In Ruleville, a Negro who operates a dry-cleaning shop got interested in voter registration. Police suddenly found that his boiler had no protective wall as required by law. His business was closed down. So was the business of another Ruleville Negro, suddenly found to have improper bathroom fixtures.

Last Sunday, officials in Ruleville remembered the Sunday law and forced Negro businesses to close down that day.

A Negro photographer in Greenwood sublet office space to some of the voter-registration workers. The photographer was arrested on a bigamy charge after police questioning.

Recently, Charles McLaurin, of St. Louis, a worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee of Atlanta, was distributing registration literature in Ruleville and was brought before Mayor Charles N. Dorrough.

The mayor explained the ordinance against distributing literature without a license. McLaurin asked if the ordinance didn't violate the U.S. Constitution.

"Boy, you don't know where you're at," came the reply.

The Negroes know where they're at. They're in Mississippi, the heart of the defiant South, and it's been a long hot summer.

One day last month in Clarksdale, where Negroes have been engaged in a boycott of white merchants, Willie Griffin spoke to some Negroes about registering to vote.

A policeman accused her of trying to take the Negroes away from downtown and thus enforce the boycott. She was marched to the police station and put in a cell without a chair or cot.

Finally Miss Griffin was charged with restraint of trade, resisting arrest, destroying public property, and possessing obscene literature. Her bail; $1,500.

The Negro voter push is a coordinated affair, comprising the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, CORE, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the NAACP.

PART OF PROJECT

It's part of the voter education project, operating out of Atlanta and financed by highly reputable foundations to conduct research in the best methods of expanding suffrage in the South.

The Mississippi delta was picked for strategic reasons. Two out of three of its citizens are Negro. Clarksdale is the home of Aaron Henry, State NAACP president, who has built an active NAACP chapter there.

And the fact that it's Senator EASTLAND'S home territory must have played a part.

But into the picture last July popped Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans.

In a 1954 Louisville trial, Braden was accused in a Kentucky State court of blowing up his own house to foment race unrest and was convicted. The decision was reversed when the U.S. Supreme Court, in another case, ruled that Congress had preempted the field of subversion laws from the States.

BRANDED COMMUNIST

At a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in Atlanta in 1958, Staff Director Richard Arens accused Braden of being a Communist. Braden, longtime enemy of the committee, invoked the first amendment and served 10 months for contempt of Congress. Outside committee hearings Braden has denied he is a Communist.

Last July, he visted the Negro voter program workers and one of their workshops in Mississippi. He alter sent a report to contacts all over the country. He marked it "confidential."

Beginning last Friday, the Jackson Daily News, perhaps Mississippi's greatest segregationist newspaper, began a sensational series of articles about the "secret" report, which it had "intercepted."

It labeled Branden an "identified Communist" and noted he was accompanied on his Mississippi visit by Robert Moses, of New York, a field worker for Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the voter-education project. Braden's report told of a workshop near Jackson in Hinds County. Screamed the News in headlines: "Commies Recruiting Members in Hinds?"

State Attorney General Joe Patterson picked up the ball. After comparing U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to a jackass baying at the sky, Patterson wondered aloud about the Justice Department's lack of concern in the activities of a "known Communist in Mississippi."

PAPER SENT TO NEGROES

Negro leaders throughout the delta received copies of the News stories, bound in a wrapper proclaiming: "Communist workers, race agitators arrested in Indianola."

Now it's hard for the Negro voter-registration workers to get a Negro church for meetings.

The Indianola arrests occurred last week, along with arrests in other delta towns, of Negroes on such charges as distributing literature without a permit, loitering (in a moving car) and being on the streets of Clarksdale after midnight "without reasonable cause."

The Justice Department in the past 27 months has filed nearly 2 dozen civil rights actions in Mississippi, about two-thirds of them aimed at clearing roadblocks to Negro registrations. But the courts move slowly here on such matters.

The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals will decide one case on September 17 in Hattiesburg: what to do about Forrest County Registrar Theron Lynd, who simply has refused to register any Negroes, court order or no.

Few voices of moderation are heard in Mississippi today. The Tupelo Journal raised its voice last July 30 by warning Mississippians that they are "building up serious troubles for themselves when we educate Negroes and then deny them the basic rights to which they are entitled as citizens."

But mostly the voices emulate Gov. Ross R. Barnett. When the Department of Justice recently filed a sweeping suit attacking the constitutionality of Mississippi's voter-registration laws, including one requiring "good moral character" of applicants, the Governor said he assumed the Government wants voters of bad moral character.

"I assume," said he, "the Department wants government of the ignorant, by the ignorant, and for the ignorant."

Editor James M. Ward, of the Jackson Daily News, suggested that the Government's true goal might be to open the way for Black Muslims known only as X to vote 50 times each on election day.

"Sure it's hell for the Mississippi Negro trying to get things done," said NAACP President Henry in Clarksdale. "But we're used to that. We've just started. And I tell you one thing. We're damned tired of this nonsense."

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In may cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
*September 18, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: You are to be commended on your initiative and work on House Resolution 211 concerning a House Committee on Captive Nations.

Would you please send me a copy of the resolution.

Sincerely,

C. J. DRAZDAUSKAS.

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WORCESTER, MASS.,
*September 13, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD:

Thank you for speaking for the captive nations.

Gratefully,

MILDRED BUDA.

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MATTOX LABORATORY,
*North Hollywood, Calif.,*
*September 13, 1962.*

Hon. Mr. FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FLOOD: Congratulations. We are so glad to know that someone in Washington still knows there is a Monroe Doctrine and heartily support House concurrent resolution to reassert its principles and get the Reds out of, not only Cuba, but the entire Western Hemisphere.

Thank you.

M. B. MATTOX.

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WORCESTER, MASS.,
*September 15, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please accept the heartfelt gratitude of all Lithuanians for your kind remarks on behalf of captive nations on July 16.

God bless you for your efforts.

Miss MARY KLIMKAITIS.

## Unifying Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, Hamilton Fish served in the Congress of the United States for a quarter of a century with distinction and with honor.

Recently a letter of his appeared in the New York Times which I think is worthy of being perpetuated by inclusion in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

UNIFYING GERMANY: FORMER REPRESENTATIVE URGES REUNION AS SOLUTION TO CRISIS

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

There is constantly increasing talk of war over Berlin. We were involved in the last war by German aggressiveness and our main objective was to destroy German militarism. This we succeeded in doing. In recent years, we have been frantically trying to re arm and remilitarize Western Germany.

I was in Berlin 3 weeks ago and witnessed the stone throwing by groups of young Germans. These fanatical youngsters were embittered and with justification. Berlin is a powder keg. Neither the West Germans nor the Communists want to start a nuclear war. There are, however, frustrated and desperate groups, small in number, including former Nazis, among the 15 million refugees from Poland and escapees from East Germany, who might at any time gamble on war to regain their homes.

Red China also might, through its agents and the use of money, instigate acts of violence in order to provoke war between the United States and Soviet Russia. It is a very dangerous situation. We are sitting on a potential volcano that might erupt despite our peaceful intentions and involve us in a nuclear war. A few hand grenades thrown at Russian soldiers on guard duty at the Russian Memorial monument in Berlin or a mass attack on the wall might ignite the flames.

A nuclear war over Berlin with Soviet Russia would be mutual suicide, with Red China its only victor. It is conceivable and even probable that we may be alined with Soviet Russia against Red China within the next 10 or 15 years.

FORMER ENEMIES NOW FRIENDS

Twenty years ago Germany and Japan were our mortal enemies. Today Germany and Japan are our best and most reliable friends. I anticipate that Red China will produce nuclear weapons within 2 years and will be industrialized along modern lines within 15 years, and by that time will dominate all of Asia.

The free world must not underestimate the potential military power of Communist China. It is estimated that Red China could, with its reserves, field an army of 30 million—twice that of any other nation. She may be only a "paper tiger" today, but given time to develop will become militarily more powerful than any nation except Soviet Russia and the United States.

In a nuclear war China could afford to lose 50 million people. But if the United States, Western Europe or Soviet Russia lost 50 million, it would mean the destruction of those nations and probably the communization of the world under Chinese domination.

The reunion of West and East Germany is inevitable with or without war. When and how will be decided by future causes and events. Germany cannot continue indefinitely a divided nation, any more than the United States or France could, if divided into two parts by a foreign mandate.

Until some better or more constructive solution of the critical Berlin situation is presented to the United Nations, I urge the unification of Germany as a sovereign and independent nation, precisely on the same basis as neutralized Austria, where peace, prosperity, freedom and independence now prevail.

Cuba is a horse of a different color.

HAMILTON FISH.

NEW YORK, *September 14, 1962.*

## What a Difference a Few Months and an Election Can Make

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for some years we have heard about the deficit in the Post Office Department. Recent action by the Senate and House Committees on Post Office and Civil Service recommends an increase in postage rates which has the support of the administration. In the Eisenhower administration they opposed the same proposed increase in postage which they now seek. We are all familiar with the efforts of the steel industry to increase its price about 4 percent to cover increased costs which met with vociferous opposition from the administration. Revenue from stamps goes to the Federal Treasury—an increase in steel goes to private industry. Both affect us all.

The inconsistency of the administration's support of and opposition to Government and private industry is pointed up in an editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune today. I suggest all Members read it. The editorial follows:

POSTAL STAMPS AND STEEL

The Senate Post Office Committee has approved the administration's bill to raise postal revenues by about $600 million and to raise wages of Government employees generally by an even greater amount. A similar bill has already been approved by the House and higher postal rates next January seem almost certain.

It would be a shame, however, to let the administration raise the price of postal service without mentioning the price of steel.

Mr. Kennedy marshaled all of the force at his disposal last spring to prevent an increase in the price of steel, just as he has done to obtain an increase in the price of postal service.

His reason for opposing the steel price increase was partly that the industry tended to be monopolistic. The Post Office is certainly a greater monopoly.

He said that the price of steel affected us all. Certainly the price of postage affects us all.

The increase proposed by a few of the leading steel companies amounted to about 4 percent. The postal rate increase will amount to about 20 percent. First class mail will go from 4 to 5 cents; postcards from 3 to 4 cents, and air mail from 7 to 8 cents. The estimated $600 million increase in revenue would amount to almost exactly 20 percent of last year's revenue from domestic postal service.

The 4 percent steel price increase would have come on top of an increase of about 19 percent over the average for the years 1954–57. The 20 percent postal rate increase comes on top of an even greater increase in 1958.

We do not object to higher pay for postal workers, who receive considerably less than the average Government worker, or to making the Post Office Department self-supporting. But the administration is pushing hypocrisy to an extreme when it demands for a Government department what it has denied to private industry.

The chief difference between selling a postage stamp and selling an ingot of steel, we may conclude, is not in size or in weight or in the economics of the transaction; it is political. The money received from the postage stamp goes to the Government, hence an increase in revenue is good. The money received for an ingot of steel goes to private industry (except for the Government's tax cut); hence, it is bad.

By the same token the Democrats opposed, during Mr. Eisenhower's administration, the same increase in postal rates which they now seek. To increase Post Office revenue in a Republican administration, it seems, is bad; to increase it in a Democratic administration is good.

This sort of logic wouldn't stand up even in a prekindergarten class.

## Will Family-Sized Farm Survive?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the farm bill, adopted by Congress, holds little promise of substantially improving the economic outlook in agriculture.

Because of this nonpromising outlook, the Congress, as well as the farmers themselves, must further explore to see what can be done to improve the farm economy.

Unless this is done, the diminished farm income may have dramatically adverse effects on the whole economy. Moreover, the trend will create increasingly serious problems for the farmers themselves, particularly the family-size farm.

Recently, the Wisconsin Agriculturist published a special report by Ralph S. Yohe entitled "Will Family-Size Farm Survive?"

Reflecting thoughtfully upon the trends and problems in agriculture, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wisconsin Agriculturist, Sept. 15, 1962]

WILL FAMILY-SIZED FARM SURVIVE?

(By Ralph S. Yohe)

Wisconsin farm folks move off the farm at the rate of 12 families a day. We lose 250 farms a day in the United States.

If the trend of the last 10 years continues, we will have 600,000 fewer commercial farms in the United States in 1970 than we had in 1959, says a recent report by the Agriculture Committee of the National Planning Association. National Planning Association is an independent, nongovernment planning organization that watches the economic front.

Here is the percentage of the U.S. labor force in farming over the years:

| | *Percent* |
|---|---|
| 1850 | 64 |
| 1900 | 38 |
| 1930 | 22 |
| 1960 | 9 |
| 1975 (estimate) | 6 |

Fewer farmers can feed our growing population because of dramatic increases in farm efficiency. This pickup in production per man in agriculture has not been matched by industry, says the National Planning Association report.

Output per man hour in farming went up over 5 percent per year from 1950 to 1960. Manufacturing gained less than 3 percent per year. All production increased slightly over 2 percent.

The fruits of this increased efficiency has been passed on to the American public. One hour of factory work would buy:

| | *In 1947–49* | *In 1960* |
|---|---|---|
| Quarts of milk | 6.5 | 8.1 |
| Dozen eggs | 1.8 | 3.6 |
| Pork cuts—pounds | 2.2 | 3.6 |
| Choice beef—pounds | 1.9 | 2.5 |

What reward has this brought the farmer? He is smothered in surpluses. His income has gone down since World War II, while his city neighbors' income has gone up. Hundreds of thousands of farm people are being pushed into cities already plagued by unemployment.

What will happen during the next 10 years? More farm people will move to town, the National Planning Association says, if they can find jobs. The farms left will be larger. Many of them will come from combining smaller present day farms. Some smaller farms will grow bigger.

Many of the farm people trekking to the city will be poorly trained for city or town jobs. In 1959 farm people 18 years or older had 3.5 years less schooling than the rest of the people. Sixty percent of the farm people had only 8 years or less schooling.

What about the the medium-sized family farm? Will it be crowded out by still bigger farms? Farms selling more than $40,000 worth of products a year are growing at a faster rate than farms selling $10,000 to $39,000. Yet the $40,000 or more farms are less than 5 percent of our total commercial farms.

John M. Brewster of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, qualifies family farms as those hiring the equivalent of 1½ full-time men per year. If this is truly a family farm, then the family farm selling $10,000 or more products a year looks in good shape.

Why aren't the big boys taking over? They can't get farm labor, and if they hire labor at industrial wages, it doesn't pay.

"The family farmer quite frequently is willing to take a little less money than he might get in town," says the National Planning Association report. "When a period of low prices comes along, the family farm can out-survive the big farm with a heavy payroll."

Moderate farms still have some advantage over very big ones. Beyond 350 acres you don't gain much on a grain farm. "For practical purposes, farms larger than 350 acres probably have about the same cost per dollar of crops produced," says Earl Heady, Iowa State University.

Another farm management expert says, "We have little reason to believe that any substantial reduction in unit cost is achieved by most types of farming beyond those farms having gross sales round $25,000."

Here's the way the National Planning Association committee foresees the future of the family farm.

By 1970 we'll have about 1.8 million commercial farms—600,000 less than in 1959—if the trend of the last 10 years continues.

If unemployment in town creeps up because of automation, the total number of commercial farms may show little change. Small farmers will share poverty out in the country instead of looking for jobs that don't exist in town.

If unemployment declines, if farm income holds up, if we have special efforts to help some small farmers expand their farming and other small farmers to train for city jobs, then we could have 1.5 million fewer commercial farms by 1970. It would mean a larger number of family farms with a reasonable income.

The greatest menace to the family farm is not the growth of oversized farms. Rather, it is the danger that city unemployment should rise. Coupled with farm surpluses, unemployment could push many now profitable family farms down into the ranks of the unprofitable, says the report.

| Kind of farm | Number of farms | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1949 | 1959 |
| Family farms (less than 1½ man-years of hired labor)— | | |
| With less than $10,000 marketings | 3,100,000 | 1,600,000 |
| With $40,000 or more marketings | 334,000 | 680,000 |
| Larger than family farms (hiring more than 1½ man-years labor) | 150,000 | 234,000 |

## Responsibility in Cuban Affair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to place in the RECORD the following interesting analysis by David Lawrence entitled "Responsibility in Cuban Affair":

RESPONSIBILITY IN CUBAN AFFAIR—ACCOUNT OF COMMAND DECISIONS IN THE INVASION ATTEMPT IS GIVEN

President Kennedy in his speeches likes to refer to his troubles—particularly Cuba—as having been "inherited" from the Eisenhower administration. Former President Truman says in his political outbursts that Mr. Eisenhower was a "lazy" President. The real question is not how much time a President gives to golf or yachting or campaigning or social events, but how he uses the time he does give to official business—the kind of decisions he makes.

Members of Congress have in the last few days put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a lengthy article that was published 2 weeks ago in U.S. News & World Report giving a comprehensive account of the fateful decision President Kennedy made when he first withdrew and then—when it was too late—actually approved air support for the Cuban exiles in their invasions of their homeland in April 1961.

Ever since that time there have been attempts to blame the whole fiasco on the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff or on the Central Intelligence Agency. But President Kennedy told the truth when he himself assumed full responsibility. What hasn't been generally known, however, is how he came to make the mistake he did. The magazine article was the result of many weeks of investigation and research among official sources, particularly among persons who were in the know at the time. Certain administration officials have since conceded the accuracy of the article. It reads in part as follows:

"A fateful decision, made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961, is rising now to plague the United States. On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion.

"Only the day before, on April 15, a surprise attack by B–26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force.

"A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's planes and to provide air support for the invasion.

"Secure in the assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early-morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

"In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the pre-invasion planning.

"Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B–26's was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away (in a Latin American country), waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots. But those planes didn't take off. The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

"When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need of air support became apparent. Worried, the nonmilitary officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used to fly air support for the invaders.

"In the planning of the invasion—planning begun under the Eisenhower administration—the Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea.

"Once again, in the early morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said 'no' to the use of U.S. planes.

"With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble * * *. In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But bad weather interfered at first. Finally, an air strike was set up for early Wednesday.

"On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate * * *. By Tuesday night, April 18, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy. On the night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left the party to confer with his advisers—both civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

"This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier's planes for just 1 hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for their planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes, still, were not to attack land targets.

"Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communications mixups. The Cuban flyers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got into action. And anyway, it developed, it was too late. By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives."

Criticism and analysis in retrospect by those who know the whole story is concentrated today on one point—full authority should be given in advance and a military operation should be handled by military men near the battle scene and not many hundreds of miles away in the White House or even in the Pentagon.

## Judge Joe Wicks Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include a letter by Judge Joe Wicks, retired, on the general policies that should be followed with reference to our American Indians, with special reference to the problems in the State of Washington.

Judge Wicks is an enrolled member of the Cherokee Tribe, has had an illustrious life as a lawyer and superior court judge in Okanogan County, Wash. He knows what he is talking about and his comments are well worth reading by all who are constructively interested in Indian affairs:

[From the Omack (Wash.) Chronicle, Sept. 13, 1962]

END SEGREGATION OF INDIANS

(By Joseph Wicks, superior court judge, retired)

It is true that I have some knowledge of the issue of State jurisdiction over our Indian citizens other than my contact with it as superior court judge of this district for approximately 15 years.

In fact, I have been in personal contact with the issue all of my life. This is by reason of the fact that I am an enrolled member of the Cherokee Indians, one of the five civilized tribes of the State of Oklahoma.

On the issue of jurisdiction, I have never been able to see eye to eye with the policies of the Federal Government in its dealing with the Indian and his property and have very often found myself at variance with many people of Indian blood, wherein they have sought to have the Federal Government to continue its supervision and jurisdiction over the Indian and his property.

The fact that the Indian was here before the coming of the white man, the black man, and the Oriental, does not, in and of itself so far as his rights, powers, privileges, responsibilities and obligations, make him any different from the other American citizens.

Specifically, it is my observation that in many instances the more vocal Indian is the first to demand the benefits provided under State laws for its citizens, but is often reluctant to assume the responsibilities those laws impose upon its beneficiaries. This attitude is wrong in any segment of our people.

I find among the people of Indian blood the learned, the intelligent, the stupid, the industrious, and the lazy, just as are found in

those of our people who boast a different ancestry. But I also find an attitude among many people of Indian blood of a wish and desire to have the Government support and supervise their property and actions.

This, I think, has been brought about because of the continued policy of the Government to act as a guardian and in many instances as a nursemaid of the Indian. In my opinion this policy is wrong.

That this policy should be changed, and the Indian placed upon the same footing as any other citizen has been recognized by the Federal Government for more than half a century.

There are many instances where the Federal Government has terminated its relation with many of our people of Indian blood, sometimes as individuals, sometimes as a group. In some instances, this termination has sometimes been on an individual basis by measuring the degree of Indian blood of the individual.

It apparently was the thinking of the powers that be, that if the individual was only of half or a quarter Indian blood, through some mysterious process, he was more intelligent and capable of handling his own affairs than if he were a full-blooded Indian.

This to my mind is fuzzy thinking and reasoning. How can you measure a man's capabilities by the degree of blood he bears from certain of his ancestors?

INDIANS GRANTED U.S. CITIZENSHIP

But, be that as it may, the Federal Government has, as stated above, sought to divorce itself from its paternalistic influence over the Indian. To this end, in 1924, the Congress enacted a law making all Indians citizens of the United States.

This citizenship does and should carry with it responsibilities and obligations. But at the same time the Government held on to the supervision of the Indian and his property. Many States have provisions in their laws, that an Indian, who does not pay taxes is deprived of the right to vote. (Examine proposition No. 19, a proposed amendment to our State constitution to be voted on by you in the election this fall.)

In 1953, the Congress enacted a law enabling the States to assume jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters over the Indian and the Indian country within their respective borders. ("Indian country" is defined by Federal statute as "Indian reservations, Indian villages, Indian allotments, and lands held by the Government for the exclusive use and benefit of the Indian.")

In 1957, our State legislature enacted chapter 240, which provided the State "assumes, as hereinafter provided, civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indians and Indian territory, reservations, country, and lands within this State in accordance with the consent of the United States given by the act of August 15, 1953 (Public Law 280, 83d Cong., 1st sess.)."

If this act had embodied only the portion previously stated, we would not, in this county, be confronted with some of the issues now facing us and which are vital to our local economy and law and order. But the act went further and provided that in the State assumption of this jurisdiction:

"Whenever the Governor shall receive from any tribal council or other governing body of any Indian tribe, community, band or group in this State, a resolution expressing its desire that its people and lands be subject to the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the State of Washington to the extent authorized by the Federal law, he shall issue within 6 days a proclamation to the effect that such jurisdiction shall apply to all Indians and all Indian territory, reservation, country, and lands of the Indian body involved in accordance with the provisions of this act."

Comment: It will be observed that for the State to assume jurisdiction over the Indian and Indian country it had to come about at the instance of the Indian by the "governing body" of the tribe presenting a resolution to the Governor. Upon receipt of the resolution, the Governor had no choice but to issue his proclamation assuming jurisdiction by the State.

The choice is all left up to the Indian, with the State powerless to act, but if the Indian desires to come under State jurisdiction, the State has no choice but to accept. Since when must a sovereign State act at the whim of a small group of men representing a small group of our people?

But the law also has a proviso added to the above quoted section that vitally affects our community. To quote further: "Provided, that with respect to the Colville, Spokane, or Yakima Tribes or Reservation, he shall not issue such proclamation unless the resolution of the tribal council has been ratified by two-thirds majority of the adult enrolled members of the tribe voting in referendum called for that purpose."

Comment: Now we see the question of the State assuming jurisdiction further limited so far as these three tribes are concerned. Not only must the resolution be approved by the tribal council, but it must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the adult enrollees of the tribe who vote upon a referendum called for that purpose. Thus, first who would call for a vote on such a referendum? Must the vote be called for by the State? The act does not so provide. Must it be called by the tribal council? The act does not so provide. Can it be called by petition of the tribal members petitioning the Indian council or the State? The act does not so provide. Can it be called by the Indian agent? The act does not so provide.

Now, what has been the result of this law? Some seven or eight small bands of Indians who had no means of protecting themselves from the criminal element or any police protection of any consequence, have seen fit to place themselves under the protective cloak of our State government.

The three largest tribes of the State have not only refrained from doing so, but have taken strenuous action to prevent it.

JUSTICE BLACK RULES ON SEYMOUR CASE

Now this has been known to us whose duty as public officials it was to meet and contend with the issue, and these are some of the tools with which we had to work. More than 40 years ago the supreme court of this State handed down a decision holding that what was known and referred to as the diminished Colville Indian Reservation was no longer an Indian reservation and that the State courts had jurisdiction over criminal offenses committed by an Indian when the incident did not occur on an Indian allotment, title to which held in trust by the Government, or on tribal lands.

Under the authority of that decision, your local State court took jurisdiction over cases so long as the offense did not occur on an India allotment of tribal lands by an Indian. In that field the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction.

But recently in the case of *Seymour* v. *The Superintendent of the Washington State Penitentiary*, 368 U.S. 351 (7 law ed.) (2d) 346, 82 Supreme Court 424, Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court held our local and State supreme court were in error and that the diminished Colville Indian Reservation is still an Indian reservation, is Indian country over which, so far as criminal offenses committed therein by an Indian, the Federal has exclusive jurisdiction.

The effect of this decision is that though more than half the lands in that portion of the reservation lying in Okanogan County are privately owned, the State has no police powers therein over an Indian who might violate our State laws. He may steal, assault, commit homicide or any other vicious crime against which the citizens of our State are protected by our laws, but the State is powerless to act.

It must rely on the Indian police and Federal officers to protect both the Indians and non-Indians therein. There are four incorporated towns in this territory. They are helpless to enforce their police ordinances against an Indian.

This is an unhealthy and, to say the least, an extremely unusual situation to exist in a sovereign State. It is an unhealthy situation for both Indian and non-Indian. They are both deprived of the police protection of the State against an Indian offender.

Since the Indians and governmental agencies are not equipped to meet this problem, by lack of facilities or personnel, there are many offenses the Indian may commit with practical impunity from punishment. This does not make for good citizenship.

The State having no jurisdiction in civil matters in this territory, the Indian being deprived of the rights to contract, so far as his property is concerned, is to deprive him of one of the basic freedoms of American citizenship.

In short, when he is deprived of the use of our court from the criminal element and deprived of the right of contract, he is made a second-rate citizen and I, for one, do not believe there should be any second-rate citizen in this country, no matter what his origin, so long as he conducts himself as an American citizen.

If he violates our laws he should pay the penalty for his transgression. We give the criminal the right to rehabilitate himself and regain full citizenship, but not so with the Indian.

It is my humble opinion that the sooner the Indian is required to assume the responsibilities of American citizenship as well as the acceptance of its benefits, the better for him and the better for all of our people.

Now this situation could very easily be corrected so far as it affects us locally. The Congress has, by Public Law 280, enabled the State to assume jurisdiction over the Indian and Indian country. A simple law declaring that the State, under the Federal statute does assume such jurisdiction is all that is necessary.

Such a bill was before the last session of our legislature. It passed the senate and the house, but in the dying hours of the session it was referred back to the committee for further consideration, and there died.

During this session, the members of the legislature were pressured by members of the councils of these three larger tribes of the State and their attorneys, and even some of our county offices, not to pass this law. In that they succeeded.

Since then, the Seymour case has brought the matter to a head. It has dawned upon the people of this county the seriousness of the situation.

So today we find many of the Indians themselves advocating the legislature to pass a law whereby the State assume and perform its obligations. It would seem an act of folly for such a law to fail to pass at the next session of the legislature in 1963.

JUVENILE SITUATION IS ALSO CONFUSED

There are many other aspects of the issue not here discussed. For instance, by the case of *Adams* v. *Superior Court*, 57 Wash. (2) 187, it is held that the juvenile court has no jurisdiction over a dependent or delinquent Indian child residing in the Indian country.

The Indian child may be deserted or neglected by its parents or those responsible for its care and education, but your local

State court is without power to protect it. It can freeze or starve, but the State courts are powerless to act.

There is serious question as to whether the State has jurisdiction over the mentally incompetent Indian. May a State court admit him to a State institution for care? May a State court appoint a guardian to protect him and his property that is not held in trust for him if he resides on the reservation?

If the welfare department in its program of aid to dependent children provides a foster home for the child, how can a delinquent parent be prevented from removing the child from such foster home care? If an Indian child is delinquent, the State is powerless to act, if he resides on the reservation. If the parent refused to send the child to school, may the State enforce its compulsory school law? The ramifications of this tragic situation are endless.

Segregation of the American Indian should end. No other segment of our people have been so segregated as the Indian under the policies of the Government, in its dealing with these people. No other people have been rounded up as cattle and placed on a tract of land and compelled to remain there.

No other of our people have had their children rounded up and shipped off to schools hundreds and even thousands of miles from their homes, and compelled to associate with only members of their race, deprived of association and education with those with whom they must rub elbows, if they attempt to take their place in our society where there should be equal opportunity for all, with special privileges to none.

I repeat, to place any man or any group of people in such a category, is to brand him as a second-rate citizen, which is contrary to every principle of our American way of life.

## A Job for "H.R."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my privilege to be among a sizable bipartisan group which met to salute our colleague, the Honorable H. R. GROSS, of Iowa's Third District. This group expressed the high esteem with which this able and distinguished Member is regarded by so many Members of both Houses of Congress.

Mr. GROSS' outstanding service and many contributions were further recognized in an editorial in the Omaha World-Herald. Although the tone of the September 22 editorial is jocular, it is without a doubt written as a tribute to Congressman GROSS.

I recommend "A Job for 'H.R..'" to all readers of the RECORD:

A JOB FOR "H. R."

We hope the following suggestion will not offend Representative H. R. GROSS, Republican, of Iowa, a Congressman for whom we have high regard. Here it is, Mr. GROSS:

We think the President should appoint you to this country's delegation to the United Nations.

Not permanently, Mr. GROSS. Just for a couple of days, so you can ask a few of those heart-of-the-matter questions such as you ask on the House floor.

A few questions about the U.N. budget, for example:

In the face of a $120 million deficit, how come Secretary General U Thant is proposing a budget $45 million greater than last year's?

Why does the budget have no provision to amortize the proposed $200 million bond issue, half of which money is to come from U.S. taxpayers?

What's this monkey business about raising the already high income-tax-free salaries of U.N. employees?

What's the excuse for a proposed 5-percent hike in personnel?

Why does the dead-broke U.N. propose to build still another building?

Mr. GROSS, you probably can think of more and better questions. But these would do as a starter.

Frankly, we don't think you are going to get any better answers than the ones you get, and more often don't get, when you ask embarrassing questions about the finances of the U.S. Government.

But the asking helps, Mr. GROSS. It causes people to wonder and think about such things, including the big question as to why outfits which can't even keep their books straight believe they are qualified to tell the whole world how to run its business.

## Elected ASCS Farmer Committeemen Administer Farm Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. SLACK, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, although the farm bill we recently passed was not all we would have liked to have had, I do hope that this legislation will achieve a reduction in our farm commodity surpluses and prevent a further reduction in our farm income. In fact, I would hope that this bill might achieve an increase in farm income.

When the ayes and nays are taken and the final vote counted, our work is then done. There is nothing more we can do to make it work or to make it help the people for which it is intended. Who does make it work? Who does see that it helps the people for whom it is intended? Who does explain it to each of the farmers who might take advantage of its provisions? Yes, there is much more to be done after the bill leaves this Chamber that we never see and often never realize. The men who make it work are our farmer ASCS committeemen who are elected by the fellow farmers to administer and carry out our farm programs at the local level. The farmer ASCS committeemen meet at specified or regular intervals which is determined by the amount and size of the program they have to administer in their individual county.

On such occasions, they keep minutes of their deliberations which are a matter of record in the county office. These meetings are presided over by the chairman of the committee and regular motions are made and passed on and majority rule prevails. Good county committeemen cannot let personal prejudices or favoritism creep into the decisions of the committee. They know they must be willing and prepared to defend their decisions to their fellow farmers.

They approve and disapprove such matters as allotments, yields for farms, agricultural conservation program practices, facility loans, appeals and many other matters which may come before them. They may be called upon to get into a number of other matters which may come before them.

They may be called upon to get into a number of other assignments, including disaster area plans, emergency drought area designations, and civil defense activity. They have been known to be instrumental in many cases in assisting and recruiting voluntary labor for a resident of their county stricken by sickness or other misfortune.

In addition to the county committeemen there are individual community committees. These are the men who carry out the person-to-person, farmer-to-farmer contact which makes the program work.

I would like to ask that each Member of this body look seriously at the tremendous job being done by the ASCS farmer-elected committeemen in each of the counties of his district. I am sure that, if you do not already know, you will be quite surprised at the tremendous workload they carry and the contribution they are making, not only to agriculture but to our entire Nation.

## Down at Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the recent airline tragedy in the Atlantic was marked by excellent performance on the part of the pilot of the plane involved and by a concerted effort on the part of ships and planes from many countries to save those who were adrift in the stormy Atlantic.

I would like to express my admiration for the skill of the pilot and for the calmness of the passengers. The accompanying editorial from the Newark Evening News of Tuesday, September 25, recommends that Congress reconsider the policy of using piston-engined planes to transport military personnel and their families overseas. I commend to the attention of my colleagues this excellent editorial, which recommends consideration of a significant issue touching on the lives and safety of our military personnel and their dependents:

DOWN AT SEA

Veteran pilots define flying as endless hours of boredom punctuated by moments of terror. Seldom, fortunately, do passengers share such moments. Yet share them they did aboard the charter plane which ditched off Ireland in the gale-whipped Atlantic.

One can imagine the drama: The announcement that three of the four engines had failed, the directions to put on life vests, and to brace for the impact when the aircraft is finally committed to the desperate landing in the sea.

Discipline would have to triumph over panic. Evacuation would have to be orderly with passengers proceeding to emergency exits to await inflation of rafts. Bobbing rafts would have to be boarded skillfully, and kept away from jagged edges of the crippled aircraft.

All this could not be possible without the skill of the pilot in touching down as delicately as possible, with minimal opportunity to maneuver. Yet no matter the skill, the ocean itself, with its fast-changing wave patterns, held the key to the severity of the plane's impact.

The odds, in short, were not good. It is a tribute to both crew and passengers of the ill-fated Constellation, therefore, that so many avoided panic under the perilous circumstances. Otherwise the tragedy could have been worse.

Use of a Superconstellation for carrying servicemen and their dependents across the Atlantic may be open to question since this piston-engined plane long has been surpassed by jets. Yet while the Military Air Transport Service has a few jet transports, its fleet is still largely piston engined. More, it is by congressional order that MATS allocates a share of its military transportation business to scheduled airlines and to charter carriers.

While the airline whose plane went down has an established reputation for sound maintenance and operational safety, this policy could stand reexamination. Servicemen and their families must be assured the safest transportation available.

## Young Democratic Clubs of America Announce Their National Observance Day on Saturday, September 29: Thirty Years' Service for Party and Country—1932–62

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, young Democratic groups had existed in various States and localities for many years prior to the founding of the Young Democratic Clubs of America in 1932, but no national organization existed to coordinate and stimulate the work of these groups. In January of 1930 serious efforts were begun toward the creation of a national organization.

The Honorable Jouett Shouse, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, wrote to party leaders in August 1931, suggesting that they encourage increased activity among the younger members of the party. The 1932 meeting of the national committee adopted a resolution approving the idea. The committee, however, strictly adhered to the position that the young Democrats, if they wished to form a national organization, must do so on their own initiative. The committee felt that it could do no more than properly welcome such an organization and cooperate with it after it was formed.

The Young Democratic Clubs of America will this Saturday celebrate the 30th anniversary of the forming of their national organization. These young people did have the initiative to create their own national group, and I believe we should on this occasion commend the Young Democratic Clubs of America for their organization work and support of their party throughout the last 30 years.

## Where I Stand as a Congressman and as a Democrat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the issues before this 87th Congress have been complex and varied. I have sought in this session to discharge my responsbility in the interest of the voters of my district and in the national interest. How I have done so is very much the business of my constituents. Where I stand and why, on the legislation upon which Congress has acted and also upon which it has remained silent, should be reviewed by those who will cast their ballot in the coming election. I ask you, therefore, to look at the record and judge thereby.

I insert at this point a number of the major bills which I have authorized and guided through to enactment and which are now the law of the United States. You will find among them acts specifically designed to combat crime, acts to reform the judicial machinery so that the industry of justice may best be served, a constitutional amendment eliminating the poll tax as a requirement for voting in a Federal election. The list that follows is necessarily incomplete since the preparation of this record had to be made before adjournment so that it could reach you before election day:

Public Law 87–20: To designate the 1st day of May of each year as Law Day, U.S.A.

Public Law 87–36: To provide for the appointment of additional circuit and district judges, and for other purposes.

Public Law 87–216: To amend chapter 50 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to the transmission of bets, wagers, and related information.

Public Law 87–218: To provide means for the Federal Government to combat interstate crime and to assist the States in the enforcement of their criminal laws by prohibiting the interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia.

Public Law 87–228: To amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit travel or transportation in commerce in aid of racketeering enterprises.

Public Law 87–317: To amend section 4126 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to compensation to prison inmates for injuries incurred in the course of employment.

Public Law 87–331: To amend the antitrust laws to authorize leagues of professional football, baseball, basketball, and hockey teams to enter into certain television contracts, and for other purposes.

Public Law 87–336: To amend section 5021 of title 18, United States Code (Youth Corrections Act).

Public Law 87–338: To amend section 35 of title 18, United States Code (conveying false information).

Public Law 87–409: To reimburse the city of New York for expenditure of funds to rehabilitate slip 7 in the city of New York for use by the U.S. Army.

Public Law 87–681: To amend the Bankruptcy Act, as amended.

Public Law 87–664: To authorize the Attorney General to compel the production of documentary evidence required in civil investigations for the enforcement of the antitrust laws, and for other purposes.

Public Law 87–668: Extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases.

Public Law 87–669: To amend section 2103 of title 28, United States Code, relating to appeals improvidently taken.

Public Law 87–673: To amend the act of January 30, 1913, to provide that the American Hospital of Paris shall have perpetual succession.

Public Law 87–677: To amend the Bankruptcy Act in respect to the salaries of retired referees.

The passage of a law is a troubled and uncertain journey. A bill must pass through subcommittee, full committee, sometimes the Rules Committee, pass the floor and sent over to the Senate where, again, it goes through the same process, at the end of which process it must be signed by the President. It is, therefore, understandable why few Members have acts bearing their name. In that respect, I am most fortunate in having been able to secure passage of such a large number of bills. The list you see before you is incomplete since a number of my bills are still awaiting action by the Senate at this time. It is with pardonable pride I refer to this record of achievement. But over and beyond these Public Laws, which bear my name, there are other vital areas of congressional concern which are your concern as well. I want you to know where I stand on these.

IMMIGRATION

While we have not been able to erase from the books the restrictive national origins theory embedded in our immigration law, nonetheless, as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, I am happy to be able to state that every session has brought into being a liberalizing statute making the immigration law a little less restrictive, a little more human. We have enacted into permanent legislation a good bill for alien orphans, permitting their entry into the United States nonquota; we have reunited families; we have waived many of the excluding provisions such as tuberculosis and minor crimes which heretofore had barred immigrants; we have removed from the waiting lists and permitted entry, nonquota, those who have been registered in countries abroad for a period of 10 years; we have liberalized preference sections of the act.

More remains to be done, and it is my hope that it will be done before my service in Congress ends. I have offered

bills to do away with the restrictive and unfair national origins theory of immigration, which discriminates unfairly against intended immigrants, who may have been born in Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Greece, and other countries of southern and Eastern Europe. I have every reason to believe that this too shall come to pass.

CIVIL RIGHTS

As author of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, I am still far from satisfied that we have reached our goal of equal opportunities for all of our citizens regardless of race, color, or creed. This year I succeeded in guiding through the House the constitutional amendment to prohibit poll taxes in Federal elections. This constitutional amendment is now before the State legislatures and when 38 States have ratified this proposal, it will become part of our Constitution. I have introduced extensive civil rights legislation and, while progress is slow, it is nonetheless being made. It is my hope that in the next session I shall be able to guide such legislation into enactment, particularly, the legislation which prohibits the use of literacy tests to bar otherwise qualified voters from the polls.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

I have consistently supported President Kennedy's requests for an appropriation to strengthen our national defense and internal security. I have supported appropriations for the procurement of missiles, for space exploration, for emergency civil defense measures. I have supported a step-up in the production of the Polaris submarine and have supported increased research for moon-orbiting projects.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

I have stanchly supported the foreign assistance program and the Alliance for Progress project. I voted for the establishment of the U.S. Peace Corps and for its expansion in the second session of this Congress. It is now universally agreed that the Peace Corps is one of our most effective measures, as important in its way as was, and is, the point 4 program of help through self-help.

Public Law 87–510 which authorizes aid for the resettlement of refugees from Iron Curtain countries abroad, and for Cuban refugees, came from the Judiciary Committee, of which I am chairman, and it is a measure of which I am particularly proud.

I have supported vigorously the President's foreign trade proposal since it is my conviction that only with such a proposal can we compete successfully with Europe's Common Market.

I favored the enactment of the law which established a U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in the interest of peace, and also supported the act to use surplus farm produce to aid the people and the economy of underdeveloped nations.

In the interest of peace and international understanding, I supported the programs of educational and cultural exchange of persons between the United States and other countries and participated in promoting our contributions to the Inter-American Children's Institute, an agency within the Organization of American States.

In my interest in promoting peace, wherever possible, I have urged, and shall continue to urge, that the Middle East be kept free of conflagration and that the United States use its good offices to bring about peace talks between the Arab nations and Israel. I have supported aid to some Communist-controlled countries because I feel that the good people of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have still within them the passionate desire for freedom. I have supported such aid to these countries for I felt that these people should not be permitted to be punished because they now lie prone under the iron heel of Communist dictatorship and control.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

I approve of the act which authorizes the program to provide 13 additional weeks of unemployment compensation. I feel strongly that the act which provided a 3-year program of training of unemployed in vocational schools or on-the-job retraining to develop new skills, is one of the most important acts of this Congress as is the act granting loans for public works projects in communities with excess unemployment.

I have supported the increase in the lending authority of the Small Business Administration so that in this era of bigness, the small businessman shall not be completely submerged.

In keeping with my philosophy, I voted for and supported vigorously the increase of a minimum wage to $1.25 an hour.

I favored the legislation which became law to develop an Interstate and Defense Highway System. Roads are the arteries of our civilization.

Within the area of national economy I must, of course, stress my abiding interest in the antitrust laws. This has been a continuing interest for the 40 years I have been in Congress. The enactment of antitrust legislation is not easy but through the work of the Antitrust Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, we have kept a watchful eye on all developments from price-fixing activities to unwarranted mergers. A free enterprise system cannot exist without vigorous enforcement of our antitrust laws. I feel fortunate that I have been able to steer through to enactment, Public Law 87–664, authorizing the Attorney General to compel the production of documents required as evidence in civil antitrust investigations. With Senator KEFAUVER, I am coauthor of the Celler-Kefauver Act which prevents mergers of corporations that throttle competition and would elbow small business off the sidewalk.

My Antitrust Subcommittee is likewise engaged in an investigation of the concentration of newspaper ownership, as well as the impact of giant firms on our economy.

We were likewise successful in this Congress in amending the antitrust laws to permit television broadcasting of professional sport games. The Antitrust Subcommittee played an important role in bringing to light 105 violations of the Shipping Act in our examination of the shipping industry, which investigation lead to the organization of a Maritime Commission Administration. Much of our findings in all, influenced amending of the Shipping Act. Public Law 87–346, tightened up the antitrust aspects relevant to the shipping industry.

I voted for the Communications Satellite Act after the respective committees had adopted several of my amendments to strengthen public control over those private interests which are developing the communications satellite.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH AND WELFARE

I am in complete accord with the act we passed extending payments to families of unemployed fathers and other needy children and grants for the aged, blind, and disabled to be administered by the States together with State contributions. This has relieved the State of New York from a very heavy burden.

I supported the program of loans to colleges and universities for construction and improvement of classrooms, laboratories, and libraries and scholarship aid to college students.

I supported the program for low and moderate cost housing, urban renewal, and the program of Federal grants to States for the construction of nursing homes, training of public health personnel and improved health services for the aged outside hospitals.

I supported medicare under social security. I do not want older people who are feeble and sick to be cast aside like broken tools. They must have decent hospital care.

Most certainly, I support a strong bill for the regulation of the drug industry and for the distribution of new drugs. As chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, I have held hearings thereon, and it was before this very committee that the dangers of thalidomide were first made public in May of this year.

CRIMES AND THE COURTS

I am particularly proud of Public Law 87–36 which created 63 additional U.S. court judgeships and 10 in the circuit courts. So crowded had been our court calendars that it had proved that justice delayed is justice denied. I am proud of that part I played in the legislation, now law, putting new weapons into our law enforcement agencies to curb the ravages of organized crime. In the table above are outlined the public laws which I guided into enactment. I am the author of H.R. 8140 which strengthens the Federal criminal laws relating to bribery, graft, and conflict of interest. I did succeed in having the House adopt this bill. It is now pending in the Senate, and I hope before adjournment that this legislation, too, will become public law.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

I supported vigorously the legislation which now permits members of the Armed Forces to accept fellowships, scholarships, and grants, and legislation which extended the period of vocational rehabilitation for blinded veterans. I am proud that the 87th Congress authorized the Veterans' Administration hospitals to offer medical care for peacetime veterans with non-service-con-

nected disabilities. I supported legislation which increases by some 9 percent the compensation of service-connected disabilities and supported the law which increased basic allowances for living quarters for members of the Armed Forces and, of course, I approved the act which increased payments to veterans' widows and blinded veterans.

NATURAL RESOURCES

I approved the 10-year comprehensive program of oceanographic research and service, as well as the water pollution control program and the study for saline water conversion.

NEW YORK

As chairman of the steering committee, a bipartisan group consisting of New York Representatives and Senators, I have devoted a good deal of my time and efforts to obtain defense contracts for the State of New York. In this, the steering committee has had an appreciable degree of success.

The steering committee, under my leadership, likewise succeeded in having the United States participate in the New York World's Fair. We succeeded in having an appropriation of $17 million granted by the Department of Commerce for the defrayal of expenses in connection with Federal participation in the New York World's Fair. I am both pleased and proud to be a member of the board of directors of this fair.

The full weight of the steering committee, as I noted before, has been thrown into increasing New York's share of the U.S. defense business. I have been in constant communication with the Secretaries of Defense, Labor, and Commerce and with the General Services Administration to stimulate the channel of Federal contracts into areas of labor surplus. The steering committee has worked toward the introduction and passage into law creating a New York New Jersey Transportation Agency to serve New York's transportation needs.

We have worked for the transfer of 1,265 acres of the former Sampson Air Force Base to the State for its use in park and recreational facilities.

The steering committee has prevented withdrawal of facilities of the Brooklyn Army Terminal and has prevented Air Force removal of missile-ship work from the Bethlehem Steel Corp. shipyards in Brooklyn, and we have pressed for increased appropriations for the Long Island beach erosion and hurricane protection project arising out of the March 1962 storm damage.

You will note in the above list the enactment of Public Law 87-409, to reimburse the city of New York for expenditure of funds to rehabilitate slip 7 in the city of New York for use by the U.S. Army.

I have devoted additional time to the problems of the Brooklyn Navy Yard which are many and which are complex. I have not ceased my labors to see that work is channeled into the Brooklyn Navy Yard. I have sought to do all I could do to prevent a reduction in force.

This, of course, is an abbreviated account of my activities in the 87th Congress. I beg to remind you of some of the basic legislation which I have authored during the 20 Congresses of which I have served. Among such legislation you will find the Federal Register Act; the Celler-Kefauver antimerger bill; the Displaced Persons Act; the Foreign Trade Zone Act; the Celler-Sparkman Act providing for the finality of the Clayton Act orders; the Celler-O'Mahoney Automobile Act; the Federal Tort Claims Act, and many others.

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

I have taken a deep interest in each of my constituents who have approached me on personal problems of their own. Thus I have been in the fortunate position of being able to help thousands of my constituents. Daily, my office is busy with problems of veterans and their families. Pleas concerning immigrants are carefully perused. Loans for small businessmen are successfully prosecuted through the Small Business Administration. I have aided scores and scores of people in their quests for housing apartments. Pleas of Federal post office and civil service employees never go unheeded. I have secured for New York City numerous public buildings, such as post offices and public works structures.

I was a member of the platform committee at the Democratic National Convention at Los Angeles in 1960 that fashioned the platform upon which President Kennedy was elected. I stand four square behind that platform, and I fully support the policies of President John F. Kennedy.

I have served you for almost 40 years. If it is your wish, I shall continue to serve you with the same vigor, with the same interest in your welfare and the welfare of our country, and with the same pride I have in being the Representative of a district that is alive, not only to domestic affairs but also alive to the great issues that confront us as leaders of the free world.

I do hope that upon the above record I will be approved by you for reelection.

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## Inaction on Cuba May Be Worst Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State Dean Dusk has disclosed that the Kennedy administration will not permit Cuba to export communism to other countries in the Western Hemisphere. He has stated that to accomplish this purpose we will, along with taking certain other steps, intercept shipments of munitions and war materials outbound from Cuba to any other American Republic. The Kennedy administration has thus put its stamp of approval on the implementation of the doctrine of contraband, or search and seizure. The Secretary of State has enunciated a modern application of a peaceful procedure available to us under the established principles of international law.

The foregoing position has met with almost unanimous support in the Congress. The only quarrel which many of us have concerns the point at which we should invoke the doctrine of contraband. Many of us feel that we should use this international legal tool now to peaceably prevent the further flow of Communist warmaking capability into Cuba. Last year the State Department advised us that Castro then had far more arms than were needed for the defense of Cuba, and thus the clear intent of the present massive Communist military buildup can only be to launch armed subversive aggression against free republics to the south of us. Many of us fear that continued inaction can only make our ultimate position less tenable in the eyes of the world and more hazardous for the protection of our own freedom and security.

The distinguished authority, Marguerite Higgins, in the following article taken from the Minneapolis Star of September 26, faces up to the probable ultimate consequences of our present policy:

INACTION ON CUBA MAY BE WORST COURSE

(By Marguerite Higgins)

UNITED NATIONS.—Said the Latin American: "If the United States were to do something effective to checkmate Soviet intervention in Cuba, my government would congratulate you privately and lacerate you publicly."

This quotation, noted on a brief visit to the United Nations, was not offered as a scientific sampling of opinion. Still it did not deviate from roughly similar sentiments expressed along embassy row in Washington.

Therefore it raised some interesting questions about the "new realism" in American foreign policy that Chester Bowles, apparently speaking for once with White House blessing, recently expounded in a speech denouncing those who wish to do something about Cuba.

According to Bowles, the new realism is founded on the contention that if America did something about Cuba it would "undercut our influence in world affairs, blacken our reputation in the United Nations, forfeit our traditional claim to moral leadership * * * set the stage for sweeping Soviet victories in the critically important fields of diplomacy and politics * * * and a lessening of our influence in world affairs."

If this truly represents the New Frontier's assumptions, then the questions needs urgently to be put: Does unwillingness to apply American power effectively in Cuba and elsewhere save us from the dire consequences outlined by Bowles?

To put it another way, does inaction heighten our influence in world affairs, whiten our reputation in the United Nations, and enhance our traditional claim to moral leadership?

Since the New Frontier has taken to labeling its critics in foreign affairs as rash, hotheaded and trigger happy, it would seem appropriate, for the purposes of perspective, to introduce some views on the uses of American power of a diplomat who has never been known to be anything but cool—and even pragmatic.

He is Robert Murphy, former Under Secretary of State, who in a hitherto unpublished commencement address at Boston University reported on a visit to Latin America during and after the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs.

Said Murphy: "I was in Brazil at the time of the Cuban operation. I was a bit startled to be told that the reason the United States failed to intervene openly in Cuba was because our Government feared it would provoke war between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. I found little or no recognition of the consistent effort our Government has loyally made through the years to adhere to a policy of nonintervention."

So, if Murphy is a good reporter, the U.S. unwillingness to use its power got the worst of all possible verdicts: Our moral leadership, far from being enhanced, yielded to the suspicion that we were merely motivated by fear of Russia.

"One of the principles to which we have been firmly attached is the collective approach to international questions," Murphy continued, "but again I feel that we have gone too far in our pursuit of a basically sound idea in resorting to the collective approach indiscriminately. There are situations, for example, where we are too ready and eager to merge our national identity in the United Nations.

"At times I believe we do this because of reluctance to face up to a risk on our own national account. Leaning on a collectivity that includes many weak, inexperienced and frankly selfish nations leads us into situations where we are reduced to the lowest common denominator.

"Therefore, we have no alternative to asserting our independent national will and judgment, letting our associates as well as our opponents know that on issues involving our fundamental national security we are capable of going our own way."

Thus, according to the old realism of Murphy, the United States of America, which holds in its own destiny the decline or survival of freedom in our time, should not be deterred from doing anything necessary to that survival because other nations refuse to hold its hand.

## AID Administrator in Formosa Makes Headway by Emphasis on Private Initiative, Training of Local Managers, and Self-Reliance as Essential Requirements of Success in Achieving Economic Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the China News of August 8, 1962, commenting on the constructive services in Taiwan of the Administrator of our AID program there these last 4 years, Dr. Wesley C. Haroldson, originally from North Dakota and with a doctorate degree from the University of Minnesota.

The editorial gives two important evidences of real progress in this difficult problem of how to achieve maximum progress in newly developing countries. First, it shows the persistent emphasis of the American Administrator on the necessity of the recipient country to do its utmost to move from reliance on outside help to reliance on itself. It is easier, I can testify from observations in many countries, to give help to people than to help people to help themselves. Second, the editorial shows that the seed sown is bearing fruit. The recipient country is being called upon by its own newspapers to move more vigorously in the direction that clearly is best for all. Commendation is in order for all concerned.

The editorial follows:

[From the China News, Aug. 8, 1962]

HARALDSON DEPARTURE

People come and people go. They usually leave behind something for us to remember them with. Only some of them leave behind more.

Wesley C. Haraldson is one of them. The Director of the International Development Agency is leaving Free China tomorrow. He will be long remembered as an outspoken friend.

Indeed, no Government official could ever question the views expressed by Mr. Haraldson—that more vitality is need in Taiwan's economy; that private industry should be given the front seat instead of the present secondary role; that consumption, especially Government consumption, should be cut down in favor of useful production; and that Free China must need acquire a new set of values and criteria if Free China wants to be a modern, up-to-date country.

The Government officials here do not question the wisdom of the Haraldson views. But they do not like the blunt way he puts it and says it so often. That is why in the past there have been arguments and discussions.

The arguments and discussions will continue. Mr. Haraldson's departure by no means means that his views have prevailed and that Free China's economy has taken on an abrupt change in favor of his beliefs. It takes time. And we are confident his views will gradually be driven home to all people in Free China, resulting in beneficial modifications.

It takes time. But the changes will come to reside with us.

Mr. Haraldson is therefore leaving with the satisfaction that someday somehow he may see his travails prevail.

We say Mr. Haraldson is an outspoken friend judiciously. Only a genuine friend will care to give us his frank views and criticisms with no malice intended. And Haraldson is such a man. His honesty, integrity, and concern have never been questioned. On the other hand, they will always be remembered.

In this connection, it is time for the free Chinese to sit down and really think of the role American aid has played in the giantish economic reconstruction work here. Mr. Haraldson says in his last press conference in Taipei that he hopes to see free China achieve economic self-sustaining in a few years without having to rely on American aid.

Let's ask ourselves this question: Can we do that? We have been talking about self-sufficiency for years. And all the while we have been depending all the more on foreign aid. As the situation now stands, self-sufficiency is almost beyond our reach.

Something must be done and must be done immediately. No nation in the world can afford to depend on foreign aid forever. West Europe was helped by the Marshall plan but West Europe today is in a position to dole out economic aid to other developing countries.

Of course, West Europe has always been technically and economically ahead of China. But that does not mean we should resign ourselves to the fate of being an international beggar for centuries to come.

During Mr. Haraldson's stay in Taiwan, American aid pattern has changed. There will be further changes. Now, it is the duty of every Chinese, including all those in the Government, to think actively of the future and do something about it.

## The Chambers-Roush Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial in the Kokomo, Ind., Tribune, of Sunday, September 23, 1962, concerning the Chambers-Roush race in Indiana's Fifth District and under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix section of the RECORD:

THE CHAMBERS-ROUSH RACE

National political attention will turn on Indiana's Fifth District in the election this November because of the close finish which featured the congressional voting between J. EDWARD ROUSH, Democrat, and George Chambers, Republican, in 1960. The two men are rematched for another test at the polls.

Any contest that was as close as the one 2 years ago is bound to bring differences of opinion as to whether it was decided rightly.

Chambers' friends feel he was counted out in 1960. They point out that he had a slim margin of victory on the basis of returns announced after the votes were counted over the district, and they say that several curious things happened following that announcement.

One of these curious developments was that Chambers was certified by two different Indiana Secretaries of State as having been duly elected. The first Secretary of State to so certify his election was John R. Walsh, a Democrat. When Walsh was succeeded by Charles O. Hendricks, a Republican, the latter also formally certified Chambers as the winner.

Then, of course, ROUSH contested the election and the House of Representatives in Washington decided to count the votes over and named a subcommittee to conduct the recount. Although Republican members of this subcommittee signed its final report declaring ROUSH to be the winner by 99 votes, among several strange things they questioned was the manner in which the investigation of the election returns took place.

Several strange things took place in Washington. One of these was the maneuvering by the Democratic leadership in the House in regard to the Chambers-Roush case. A paper which some Congressmen said was a false certification was circulated among Members of the House by Ralph Roberts, the House Clerk, indicated that ROUSH was the formally certified victor. It was on the basis of this piece of paper that the House, on a straight party line, refused to seat Chambers when he presented himself to be sworn in.

At the same time it was refusing to seat Chambers, in January 1961, the House voted to seat two Congressmen from other States who, like Chambers, had been challenged. They, however, were Democrats and their politics appeared to have made a difference to the Democratic-controlled House.

Chambers believes the Democrats used the power of their majority to put the skids under him and to deny him the seat that he feels he was entitled to occupy. Whether a majority of the voters of the Fifth District agree with him will be indicated, in part, by the vote this coming November.

Chambers has been wondering, too, about the way the House subcommittee ruled on some of the ballots it recounted. He says some of the ballots bore check marks instead of the usual X crossses. Under Indiana law, a ballot must be marked with an X to be considered valid.

Another factor in the 1962 rematch between ROUSH and Chambers will be the general public attitude toward the Kennedy administration. Is this attitude one of enthusiastic endorsement of the administration, or has it turned to skepticism and doubt about the New Frontier?

The Democrats hope the voters will show that they support the New Frontier program as having been in their best interests. The Republicans contend that the administration's attitude toward business, the worrisome slide in the stock market, the President's efforts to obtain unprecedented powers, the socialistic-sounding advice given the President by his close advisers (including Prof. Arthur Schlesinger and Prof. Kenneth Galbraith, of Harvard) are dangerous to the free enterprise system. If a majority of voters feel that way, Chambers will benefit in the voting. If most voters are of a different mood, ROUSH will benefit.

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## Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York, Addresses the National Fraternal Congress of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York, this week addressed the National Fraternal Congress of America at the Hotel Statler Hilton, New York. I include Mayor Wagner's address because of its deep concern with the spirit of fraternalism throughout the United States:

It is a great pleasure for me to bid you welcome to the city of New York. Our municipal tradition of offering hospitality to fraternal societies is nearly two centuries old; fraternal societies, themselves, are in the best and oldest American tradition. Two major fraternal orders grew directly out of the American Revolution. One was the Society of Cincinnati, open to officers of the American Revolutionary Army, and another, the Columbian Order, for the enlisted men of that Army. As a matter of fact, the Order of Cincinnati was originally organized not many miles from here, at Newburgh, N.Y., and that society still exists. It might also be of interest that one of the founders of the Order of Cincinnati was that great fighter for freedom and trainer of our Revolutionary troops, Gen. Wilhelm Frederick von Steuben. In about an hour from now there will be a little ceremony at my office in city hall, proclaiming next Saturady as Steuben Parade Day, in honor and memory of that great hero of American history.

Since those early years of our nationhood, Americans have become known throughout the world as the joiningest people in existence. We have people by the million, and almost as many organizations as we have people.

You here represent more than 108 fraternal benefit societies which stretch across the vastness of our continent. Many of your societies owe their origin and cohesion to a common mother tongue or the common national origin of your members.

Membership in other of your societies reflects a common occupation or a religious affiliation. No two of the many fraternal organizations that comprise your membership are the same; but they are the same in fundamental aim: to give expression to some identity of purpose or interest.

In unity there is, of course, strength and tranquillity of mind, whether for defense, civic cooperation or social harmony. Your adhesion to this congress is a testimonial to the fruit of cooperative undertakings.

Your societies, I understand, currently account for over $13 billion worth of insurance in force for your nearly 10 million members. That is a lot of insurance. And 10 million is a lot of members. I am glad to note that both these figures are continuing to grow.

I believe that your growth reflects our country's need for citizens who care, and for organizations which care.

It excites the imagination to put men into orbit and to plan to put men on the moon. But it hardly makes sense if we haven't learned how to help each other get out of the mire of human suffering on our own planet and, indeed, in our own country.

We probably need an internal Peace Corps to hold out a helping hand to fellow Americans in need of help. In many ways, your societies have helped to fill this function. Your churches and other civic groups have, too. But I am sure all of us are familiar with people who can weep crocodile tears about unfortunates on the other side of the globe but can't quite manage to focus on hungry children across the tracks in their own hometowns.

Your concern for an interest in the social welfare of your membership has been evident throughout the 76 years that this Congress has existed. Statistically, the total insurance benefits paid out by your societies since their beginning is a huge figure. But in terms of compassion and understanding, the value of the involvement of your organizations in the lives of your members is beyond reckoning. It is certainly my hope that no legislative steps be taken at any level of government to hamper the free development of your functions or to make them more difficult.

It is also good to know that no discrimination of any kind has ever characterized any of the benevolent fraternal organizations which comprise this Congress.

In this day and age of high-pressure lobbies and special-interest groups, it is refreshing to encounter organizations dedicated to the social welfare of millions rather than just to the making of millions. Your activity in the fields of civic and social welfare has made each of your groups a valuable and vital force for good in the areas in which you operate.

It is, of course, especially interesting to me as the son of an immigrant that many of your societies have roots in European cultures and linguistic groupings. It is heartening to see that in these fraternal organizations, the members have managed to retain the finest parts of their cultural and social heritage while becoming the most staunchly loyal of Americans. The record of your organizations in terms of effective opposition to communism and other forms of human exploitation and inequality is brilliantly clear.

In almost all northern cities we have been faced with the disruption of many established ethnic and linquistic communities in the wake of slum clearance. Many old neighborhoods have been torn down to make way for hospitals, schools and universities, or for new housing projects or for office buildings.

As one who grew up in the famous Yorkville neighborhood of this city with the intermingled sounds of German, Hungarian and Czech echoing in my ears from my earliest days, I must confess that I felt many a pang when I saw many once-familiar shops, restaurants and homes coming down to make way for progress. Of course many, if not most of these still remain and will remain as long as I have anything to say about it.

Some city beautifiers and even some sociologists maintain that the breaking up of these cultural islands is all to the good.

I do not feel that way. And it is more than sentiment or nostalgia which inclines me to this view. Of course, I am not in favor of social or economic ghettos of any kind; but there is a great—and irreplaceable—value in the cultural heritage which each group has brought to America and has preserved in such neighborhoods as Yorkville, the lower East Side, Williamsburg, and Greenwich Village.

These values must not be lost. They must be preserved, in one way or another.

Sometimes, for the sake of the good of the whole city, there must be some yielding of the interests of one group or another. In this city, we constantly face the problem of finding additional space for public and semipublic institutions and to construct higher buildings to house more people, in better conditions, with more light and more air than old buildings afford.

And so, mindful of the sacrifice that has been made by some for the common good, the New York City government has sought to cooperate with groups and organizations which have been displaced from their original haunts, in helping them to find space and to build appropriate facilities on new sites.

One of your organizations has provided a prime example of enterprise and initiative in working with the city in such an undertaking. I refer to the Sokol Organization. This organization has been granted the sponsorship of a $26 million housing project on the outer limits of Yorkville. This development will overlook the East River. It will consist of 6 modern buildings, each 20 stories high and housing 1,100 families.

These facilities will not just be for Czechoslovaks. They will be for all New Yorkers, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. But first priority will be given to New Yorkers of Czechoslovak origin who were forced to move out of their old homes in Yorkville.

When this project has been completed, it will be the first of its kind in the country. We, of the New York City government, are very proud of this undertaking. We are proud to have worked with the Sokol Organization, which is one of the members of this congress.

This is one example of what New York City is doing and what New Yorkers are doing to promote and advance the welfare of the city, of its people, and of the cultural heritage of those people.

I am sure that all your members are vitally concerned with this problem, in general, and with the problems of housing in particular, no matter what city or part of the country you come from.

I am sure that this isn't the only problem with which you and your organizations are concerned. I know you are concerned with social security, with old-age assistance, and specifically with the problem of medical care, under Federal social security, for senior citizens, and with the problem of discrimination in employment and in all other vital aspects of our lives.

Your organization is one whose constituent organizations are alike in their deep concern for the social problems which affect most Americans, and for the solutions to these problems.

All of you are fraternally united in these concerns; indeed in this you are united with the overwhelming majority of the American people.

All Americans are different; yet we are all the same. Ours is a country of great natural resources and great accumulations of wealth. But I believe that our greatest natural resource and our greatest wealth lies in our variety of people and in our variety of cultural riches from every corner of the globe. From the variety of the voices of all these Americans, there has emerged a united chorus of determination to achieve ever greater progress for all our citizens, in ways of freedom, and to share these blessings, in every practical way, with all the like-minded peoples of the earth.

## A Record of Accomplishments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, legislative bodies rarely complete their deliberations and produce results until the session is ready to end. Emergency periods have produced legislation to cope with the acute conditions. The usual practice, however, is to wind up a session with action in the last weeks.

The 2d session of the 87th Congress is nearing its termination and action has been taken on many important issues. Some have been favorable and some have been rejected. The voting record of the Members on the issues which were considered will be examined by the people in the coming election on November 6 and the attitude of the voters will be expressed in their approval or disapproval of the action taken by the Congressmen of both parties.

The following bills represent the major accomplishments in this session:

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

H.R. 11737 authorizes $3.81 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1963, including $263 million for planetary and lunar exploration—Public Law 87–584.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Trade Expansion Act has been passed by the House and Senate and will be recorded as the outstanding accomplishment of this Congress. President Kennedy called this bill the strongest trade bill since Congress first delegated tariff negotating power to the President in the 1934 Trade Agreements Act.

H.R. 11970 empowers the President, subject to safeguard provisions, to cut duties on imports by agreements with other nations, particularly the European Economic Community, for concessions to the U.S.-exported products; provides aid to domestic workers and industries adversely affected.

S. 2996 authorizes $4.6 billion foreign assistance program for 1963, including military support funds, development loans and grants, and program for Latin America at $600 million a year through 1966—Public Law 87–565.

S. 2768 extends and expands Peace Corps, authorizes $63.7 million for fiscal 1963—Public Law 87–442.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

S. 1991 authorizes $435 million, 3-year program of training of unemployed in vocational schools, or on-the-job retraining, to develop new skills; first 2 years' cost to be paid by Federal Government; third year 50–50 with States—Public Law 87–415.

S. 2965 authorizes and appropriates $900 million to undertake and accelerate Federal public works and for matching grants to local projects in communities with excess unemployment—Public Law 87–658.

H.R. 11040 authorizes creation of a commercial corporation, owned 50–50 by the public and the communications industry, to establish and operate a communications satellite system under regulation of the FCC, in cooperation with NASA; three members of the board of directors to be appointed by the President—Public Law 87–624.

S. 2970 increases lending authority of Small Business Administration for business loans and disaster loans to a combined total of $1.109 billion; investment company loans from $325 million limit to $341 million; authorizes loans to firms in need of assistance under Trade Expansion Act; establishes combined revolving fund—Public Law 87–550.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

H.R. 8723 amends Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958 by providing Secretary of Labor with powers of enforcement, to establish regulations and interpret the statutes; fixes penalties for violations—Public Law 87–420.

H.R. 10606 amends Social Security Act, to reduce public assistance rolls by: Providing grants to States that establish work programs for needy; increasing U.S. share of administrative costs; extending for 5 years payments to families of unemployed father and other needy children; raising by $4 per month ceiling on Federal matching grants for aged, blind, and disabled; and increasing grants for child welfare services—Public Law 87–543.

H.R. 12628 provides for low- and moderate-cost housing for elderly in urban and rural areas; authorizes $200 million for loan funds for new construction and other programs.

S. 205 authorizes matching Federal grants up to $1 million for any State to purchase TV transmission equipment for educational purposes, providing the State or sponsoring agency furnish the land, building, and guarantee to operate and maintain the channel—Public Law 87–447.

H.R. 10 encourages self-employed and professional to establish individual pensions plans by granting income-tax deduction for funds set aside up to $2,500 per year.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

Senate Joint Resolution 29 proposes constitutional amendment to prohibit poll taxes—adopted.

Legislative action is still expected in the Food and Drug Administration field on H.R. 11581, drug and factory inspection, amendments of 1962. A report was filed September 25, 1962, for consideration of a commitee substitute amendment to this bill which is proposed to assure the safety, efficacy, and reliability of drugs—House Report 2467. The Senate bill on this subject is S. 1552.

The Kennedy administration's efforts to produce new laws providing medical care for the aged under social security, broad Federal aid to education, Urban Affairs Department in the Cabinet, Youth Conservation Corps, and wilderness-recreation service did not succeed in the 87th Congress. I supported all these measures and the chances of passage will be enhanced in the 88th Congress, which will be elected on November 6, if public support for President Kennedy's program is reflected in the new Congress.

## Frustrating HHFA Bureaucracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLARK MacGREGOR**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the bureaucratic redtape which one of the local communities of Minnesota's Third Congressional District recently encountered. I think the conduct of the Chicago office of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, as reported below, was most unworthy of this vital arm of our Government.

The city of Crystal is a rapidly growing community of almost 30,000 people in north Hennepin County. It is experiencing the "growth pains" so common to suburban municipalities throughout this Nation's metropolitan areas. Facilities which have been sufficient to fulfill the needs of past years are today found to be inadequate. It was to assist cities like Crystal through these difficult stages that HHFA was given jurisdiction by the Congress over Federal loans for community facilities and public works planning, and the city of Crystal accordingly applied for such a loan.

The report below is self-explanatory of the complete frustration experienced by those dealing with the HHFA bureaucracy. I am cognizant of similarly frustrating experiences of other Minnesota municipalities when attempting to deal with this seemingly distant and unresponsive Federal bureau. We should be thankful that America's municipalities are still free to solve their problems through local action, as Crystal did in this instance, through the adoption of a September 11 municipal referendum. Certainly the following letter is ample

testimony to the wisdom of Congress' earlier action of rejecting a new Federal Department of Urban Affairs. Once again its has been demonstrated that problems can most effectively be solved within the community rather than by transferring the required power and funds to a distant Federal bureau.

The letter follows:

CRYSTAL, MINN.,
*September 20, 1962.*

Attention: Mr. J. P. Harris.
Subject: P-Minn.-3039—Water facilities, Crystal, Minn.
Mr. JOHN P. MCCOLLUM,
*Regional Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIRS: My first inclination upon reading your letter of September 17 was to reply with angry vehemence. Fortunately, I have a self-imposed rule never to write while angry, and if I do, never to mail the same day such a letter. Consequently I have discarded the next day several of the letters so written. However, even with a reasonable cooling-off period accomplished in this case, I feel I must register a strong protest.

One objection you register is the form of the resolution of the Crystal City Council accepting the engineer's study and report. You also object to the form of the certificate of the recording officer. Your letter states "they do not comply with the suggested forms." The word "suggested" does not convey to me the thought of strict compliance. If these forms are strictly required, why don't you say so?

I wrote your office on April 23, 1962, and said in part "would you please advise as to steps now necessary to complete the process for the $18,500 loan * * *. If there are forms necessary for completion, would you please send them along with the necessary information?" On May 22, 1 month later, I had no reply from your office. I wrote you again on May 22, again asking for the information. On May 23, 1962, correspondence between your office and this office crossed in the mail. On that date I forwarded to you three copies of the study and three certified copies of the resolution accepting the report. On June 28, I returned to your office the forms you sent on May 23, and in that letter I said "if further information is needed please advise." On July 2 you did request State health department comments, but did not mention the resolution or certification. From May 23 until September 17 no word from you stating that your resolution form must be used. Finally, on the resolution and certification, there is not an ounce of difference in the basic content of the certified resolution we sent and the one you suggest. Forty-seven percent of the private wells in this city of 27,000 people are contaminated, and you choose to quibble about the verbal composition of a resolution and certification.

It would appear that your Agency is not functioning as advertised. We are not getting assistance but are being met at every turn by inaction, redtape, and hairsplitting. The city of Crystal is not an adversary of your Agency. It is a city of the second class, governed by intelligent, honest people, and staffed with professional and semiprofessional personnel.

The city asked for a loan. We expected to comply with the agreement and repay it. Our city engineer (a registered civil engineer) evaluated the study and report and stated it was complete. If your agency intended to do the engineering perhaps it would have been better to have your engineers on the site.

The report, which you apparently object to, at least in part, will serve our needs. The people of this city voted by a 57-percent majority on September 11 to establish a municipal water system based on facts in the report. We will start construction early in 1963.

We cannot be delayed any longer waiting for your agency to justify its existence. The city council has authorized me to ask that you cancel our application for public works planning funds, and mark our file closed.

Sincerely,

F. A. ALLBEE,
*City Manager.*

## Valiant U–2 Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the continuous Soviet objection to the effective work of the U–2 is truly a testimony to the effective use of that plane over the years.

Since this issue has been beclouded from time to time by the forces of appeasement who look upon an effective surveillance of the Soviet Union as a bad policy, I was especially pleased to note the editorial of Tuesday, September 18, in the Chicago Daily Calumet, Chicago, Ill., which provides its readers with a forceful commentary on the value of the U–2. Under unanimous consent, I insert the editorial entitled "Valiant U–2 Work" into the RECORD at this point:

VALIANT U–2 WORK

It was May 1, 1960, that the American people first learned of a secret and highly effective reconnaissance plan that had been flying over the Soviet Union for 4 years and keeping that vast land mass under close surveillance without hindrance from 100,000 feet up in the skies. Then one of these craft came within range of a ground-to-air missile that brought it down with its pilot, Francis Gary Powers, and revealed to the world the long and highly successful career of the breed.

In the last week, the U–2 again was in the news. The Soviet Union complained that an American-piloted U–2 craft violated the airspace over Sakhalin Island, and the United States promptly acknowledged that a patrol plane blown off course by high winds might have been driven over Soviet territory accidentally, but recovered and returned safely. A few days later, Communist China announced that one of its air force units had shot down a Nationalist Chinese-piloted U–2 over its eastern border.

Each of these three incidents was made the basis for a big propaganda blast. After the Powers flight, Premier Khrushchev torpedoed the Paris summit meeting and withdrew the invitation to President Eisenhower to return his official visit. Moscow refused to accept the State Department explanation of last week's flight over Sakhalin Island and its propaganda tried to drum it up into a big international incident. And the Communist Chinese insist that the plane they brought down was spying for the United States.

President Eisenhower called off the U–2 flights over the Soviet Union and President Kennedy reaffirmed his decision. But Moscow ignores these assurances for its own propaganda purposes. Similarly, the U.S. protestations that it has had no U–2 planes based in Japan for reconnaissance flights over mainland China have been rejected by Peiping.

The fact is that first Moscow and now Peiping have been frustrated by these high altitude flights. Moscow knew about them for 4 years but could not prevent them. Peiping has known for 2 years that the Chinese Nationalists have been flying over the China mainland to sight conditions there firsthand. It was these flights, for instance, that detected the new arms buildup opposite Quemoy and Matsu.

The U–2's are doing a valiant work. Their very effectiveness is what stirs their almost helpless Communist victims to anger.

## Summary of 2d Session of the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, each year at the close of Congress, I submit a report to the residents of my district. The following is a summary of the 2d session of the 87th Congress.

A significant feature of this session has been the failure of the administration in its effort to gain support for New Frontier legislation in a Congress controlled by the same party. Federal aid to education, medicare, withholding of interest and dividends, a mandatory farm bill, and other similar-type bills were defeated by a Congress composed of 329 Democratic Senators and Representatives and 210 Republican Senators and Representatives.

As in the first session of this Congress, the international situation was the biggest concern to Members of Congress. Cuba, Laos, Vietnam, the wall in Berlin, together have served as the basis for congressional approval of the largest peacetime budget in history and the Presidential authority to call the National Guard and Reserves to active duty in 1961. Increasing international tension was responsible for the House and Senate approval of another resolution in September 1962, authorizing the President to call up 150,000 reservists and to extend the terms of service to those on active duty up to 12 months. A resolution was also passed intended to reassert the principle of the Monroe Doctrine in regard to the establishment of any foreign control or influence in the Western Hemisphere. The resolution further stated that the United States would use force to restrain such penetration, if necessary. The worsening Cuban situation was, of course, the reason for this action. In this area, there has been a bipartisan effort to give the President every opportunity to cope with the international crisis.

Of necessity, I am compiling this report while Congress is still in session. It now appears this session will be one of the longest, if not the longest, in recent times, with only a nominal amount of legislative activity. To date, over 20,000 bills and measures have been introduced in the House and Senate. It has taken some 26,942 pages in the CON-

GRESSIONAL RECORD to record the proceedings and debates of the Congress, while 20,244 pages were amassed during the first session. Only 552 bills, including private bills, have been enacted into law thus far, 685 bills became law in the 1961 session.

During this session, your Congressman had a 100 percent attendance record for the meetings and conferences of the Small Business Committee. For the Rules and Private Calendar Committees, a 99 percent attendance record was recorded. As ranking minority member of the Private Calendar Committee, I had the responsibility of making certain before final passage that some 400 private bills were in the public interest and did not undermine our internal security. In this connection, it was necessary to personally research and study almost one-half of the bills which came before the three-man committee.

It was my honor to become the second Kansan in history to serve on the important House Rules Committee. Only 5 of the 175 Republicans in the House serve on this committee. Generally, the memebrship of the committee is chosen to represent all areas of the country. The Rules Committee must approve legislation before it is considered by the House.

As an indication of the office operation for the period January 1 to September 1, 1962, a total of almost 18,000 pieces of mail was received.. This included over 6,600 first-class letters from the district. The mailout during this period was about 20,000 pieces, of which 14,450 were first-class letters. In addition, we subscribe to almost 150 newspapers per week from the district to keep informed on Kansas news, and 15 per week from elsewhere. During this Congress, a record number of visitors signed the guest book in room 250 of the Old House Office Building, which is your office in Washington. The guest book in the office shows some 1,285 signatures of Kansans and their friends who stopped to visit or for assistance. We appreciate having visitors and we hope you and your friends will stop by when in Washington.

The following is a brief summary of appropriations and some Federal activity for our district: civil works projects—flood control activity—$24,141,000; soil conservation and ACP work, $2,631,337; military construction, $7,332,000.

One of the most significant activities of your office in Washington is the "Week in Washington," a nonpartisan, educational project for college juniors to learn government firsthand. The program has been in existence for over 3 years, with 24 students participating, from Kansas University, Kansas State University, Washburn University, St. Benedict's College, Mount St. Scholastica College, and St. Mary College. While in Washington, the students visit Congress, committee hearings, both national party headquarters, and historic sites. Appointments are arranged with Members of both political parties. In general, it is our desire to have the students attempt to obtain a broad idea of practical legislative procedure and politics at the national level. Some students who participated were later awarded a Rhodes or Fulbright scholarship, and others Woodrow Wilson fellowships. The total of honor and academic achievements amassed by students at their respective schools is a credit to Kansas institutions. It is gratifying to note that the majority of these students have indicated a desire to continue their education in graduate work in preparation for a teaching career.

During the past year, over 50 young men have competed for appointment to the service academies. Each is given an equal opportunity to compete. The Academic Board at each Academy chooses the best qualified individual. This impartial process of selection is not used by all Members. The young men presently at the Academies, or just graduated, from our district include: West Point, Richard Goldsmith, Topeka; John Byrns, Leavenworth; Peter Linn, Manhattan; John Kozak, Leavenworth. Naval Academy, Edwin Rector, Topeka; William Benson, Topeka; Elroy McAlexander, Mayetta; James Moyer, Hamlin. Air Force Academy, Michael Blaisdell, Topeka; David Roe, Topeka; George Barnes, Corning; Loren Steinbrink, Hiawatha; Leroy Stutz, Effingham; David Nolting, Nortonville; Edward Petersen, Topeka; and Lewis Moore, Wakarusa.

Your Congressman personally reads and answers mail from constituents. A weekly news report is sent to all newspapers in the district. In an effort to learn the opinions of constituents, over 100,000 legislative questionnaires were sent out. A weekly taped radio report is prepared as a public service. A district office in Kansas is maintained while Congress is not in session. An extensive tour of the entire district is made every year, visiting each county at least twice or more depending upon the date of congressional adjournment. Appearances are made before civic and professional organizations to present special legislative reports, when requested.

Here is a listing of some of the bills introduced by your Congressman:

Introduced bill to amend Internal Revenue Code to provide a tax reform for small and independent business—investment credit provision in 1962 tax bill is a partial form of this proposal.

Introduced legislation to extend the conservation reserve of the soil bank for 3 years—incorporated into feed-grain program under name of "diverted acres."

Introduced and testified before Judiciary Committee on a bill to provide for the appointment of a third Federal judge for Kansas—such a provision enacted into public law.

Offered an amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act to insure adequacy of the railroad car supply.

Introduced a bill pertaining to the establishment of the Prairie National Park in Kansas. Proposal recommended by National Advisory Committee. Avery's concern is to give Kansas national recognition but to make certain Kansas interests are fully protected.

Proposed amendment to Constitution relative to equal rights for men and women.

Offered an amendment to Packers and Stockyards Act to assist livestock producers for better marketing.

Introduced bill which has passed Congress and enacted into law to assist in sale of surplus property for the benefit of the Potawatomi Indians in Jackson and Brown Counties.

VOTES ON PRINCIPAL BILLS

The following is for your interest and information, showing the votes cast by your Congressman on major legislation considered by the House of Representatives during the second session:

Spoke for and voted for Cuban resolution which warns Russia that the United States will use force if necessary to prevent Communist penetration in Western Hemisphere.

Voted for authorization for procurement of missiles, naval vessels, and aircraft including RS–70 big bombers.

Voted against Kennedy proposal to create a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

Opposed New Frontier version of New Deal WPA, by voting against the $900 million accelerated public works bill which was not in the budget recommendation.

Opposed Kennedy-Freeman farm bill designed to impose rigid controls and assess undue penalties on the farmer.

Opposed backdoor spending provisions for foreign aid program.

Voted against tax bill providing withholding of interest and dividends.

Opposed broad Federal aid to education program providing funds for teachers' salaries and construction of facilities to public, private, and parochial elementary schools.

Supported passage of funds in sum of $1.45 billion for construction and improvement of Army, Navy, and Air Force bases and installations, including family housing units.

Voted for foreign assistance program for Latin America.

Voted against expanding $63.7 million Peace Corps.

Voted for proposal to prohibit in interstate or foreign commerce commodities imported to the United States from Cuba.

Voted in favor of payment of war damage awards to the Philippine Republic.

Supported resolution expressing sense of Congress that Organization of American States reevaluate role of Cuba in inter-American affairs and take such steps necessary for sanctions.

Voted for provision to permit taxpayers who suffered property damage in storm disaster areas to deduct noninsured losses from their income tax.

Supported a bill to permit for 1 year granting of GI insurance to veterans with service-connected disabilities who heretofore failed to exercise eligibility.

Opposed $170 million Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project and other projects costing $406 million that will increase agricultural surplus.

Voted for a program of vocational rehabilitation for veterans with service-connected disability serving between World War II and Korean conflict and thereafter.

Supported extension of corporate tax and current schedule of excise taxes on liquor, cigarettes, and so forth, and repeals 10 percent levy on rail and bus fares.

Supported proposal raising temporary debt limit to accommodate defense cost.

Voted for increase on postal rates to achieve sound Post Office Department fiscal operations.

Supported increased lending authority of Small Business Administration for business and disaster loans.

Voted for bill requiring public disclosure of identical bids on Government contracts.

Voted for bill to make permanent a provision of the Soil Bank Act permitting harvesting of hay on conservation reserve acreage under disaster conditions.

Supported increase in rates of compensation for service-connected disabled veterans.

Supported proposal to curb the usage of the mails for the distribution of Communist propaganda.

Voted against taxpayer funds being spent for subsidized electric power for preferential areas—Hanford project.

Voted for extension of direct housing loan program for veterans.

During adjournment, I will be traveling in all the counties that make up the new Second District. The new area contains the following counties: Atchison, Brown, Clay, Doniphan, Geary, Jackson, Leavenworth, Marshall, Nemaha, Pottawatomie, Riley, Shawnee, Wabaunsee, Washington, and the County of Wyandotte outside of city limits of Kansas City, Kan.

My aim will be to meet with as many people as possible in each county. While your office in Washington will be open as usual to take care of your inquiries and requests, in adidtion for your service, we will have a district office in the Hotel Jayhawk in Topeka. I hope you will contact me at any time if you feel we can be of assistance. It is no imposition or bother; our office is organized with the aim of serving and working for you.

## Commonsense Approach to Cuba and Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the editorial section of last night's Washington Evening Star contained two such thoughtful treatments of the Cuban situation that I am moved to include both for the RECORD. These articles, I believe, summarize a growing call for a commonsense approach to not only Cuba, but our foreign aid program and our relations with those nations which call themselves our allies.

The editorials follow:

"CUBA IS AN AMERICAN PROBLEM"—NATIONS' ARGUMENT AGAINST BLOCKADE CRITICIZED AS FAULTY NEUTRALISM

(By David Lawrence)

Maybe it will be a little easier now for President Kennedy to understand why there's so much opposition in Congress to the foreign-aid bill.

Maybe it will be easier for the British Government to understand a demand that may come some day from the American people that American troops and also financial aid be withdrawn from Europe.

For no less a person than the member of the British Cabinet who heads up the Treasury Department in London has just told an American audience on television that Cuba is "essentially an American problem," and hence Britain couldn't pledge support for an economic blockade. The Foreign Minister of Norway also told Secretary of State Rusk that Cuba is "an American problem."

But supposing the United States had said to the world that Vietnam was "essentially an Asian problem?" Supposing that President Eisenhower, instead of landing marines in Lebanon, had said the Soviet aggression in that area was "essentially a Middle East problem?" And supposing President Kennedy had said in recent months that the fate of Berlin was "essentially a European problem?" What would have been the reaction then in London and in other European capitals?

Cuba is not "an American problem." It is a world problem, because Soviet aggression recognizes no geographical limits. The military and economic sinews of Castro's government are being provided today by the Soviet Union. The United States rightly seeks to impose an economic blockade on Cuba. Secretary Rusk is meeting with Foreign Ministers of various countries this week to persuade them to help by requiring their ships not to cary cargoes to Cuba. But even Canada—our next-door neighbor—has been hesitant to go along.

Naturally, the businessmen in these countries are opposed to any embargo on trade with Cuba. Will material interests and selfishness, however, prevail against a policy of checkmating the Soviet Union's aggression? Failure of the Western countries to work together in the 1930's caused the collapse of the economic blockade against Mussolini imposed by the League of Nations. World War II came as a result of the Nazi belief in the apparent disunity on our side.

It already is being argued by some governments that their ships are under long-term charter and can't be persuaded to withhold their transportation facilities. But in a matter of preserving the peace of the world, the larger interest should, of course, prevail. If it doesn't, will not public opinion in the United States tend to be less concerned about threats by the Soviet Union to European countries?

The whole future of foreign aid, moreover, will be dealt a body blow if the principal nations of the world continue to evade their own obligation to help carry the financial burden of America's troops in Europe and in other countries. The taxpayers of the United States will not long support such a one-sided arrangement. Representative OTTO PASSMAN, of Louisiana, Democrat, who has led the fight against the foreign-aid bill and succeeded in lopping off a sizable amount from it in the House at this session, will gain many more supporters next year if the European governments ignore Soviet military aggression in this hemisphere and continue to insist that the United States should pay most of the cost of its military forces assembled to check Soviet aggression in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Also, the U.S. Government has just dramatically come to the rescue of the United Nations by voting a $100-million purchase of bonds to pay the expenses of U.N. armies in Africa. The President of the United States didn't say that the Congo mess was essentially an African problem.

Maybe the charitable explanation of all this is that neither the newspapers of Europe nor the American Ambassadors there have conveyed the whole story of how the people of this country really feel about the Soviet infiltration and military buildup in Cuba. One reason for this may be because President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk have maintained a mistaken policy of silence. They haven't said a word publicly to the Government of the Soviet Union to protest what it has done in Cuba. The reported explanation is that the advisers of Messrs. Kennedy and Rusk have insisted that to do so would "increase tensions" over Berlin. But tensions have increased now not only over Berlin but over Cuba. The West gives the impression of disunity, and the U.S. Government gives the impression of timidity if not of fear to notify the Soviet Union that it has deliberately interfered in the Western Hemisphere and has assisted a dictatorship to continue to deprive the Cuban people of their sovereign rights.

A real opportunity has been missed by the Kennedy administration to make it clear everywhere that what has happened in Cuba in the last 2 years is a world problem, and that the aggression by the Soviets must be checked by the free world.

For this is no time for neutralism either by the smaller countries or by the larger nations that regularly receive financial or economic or military aid from the taxpayers of the United States.

ALLIES ISOLATING UNITED STATES OVER CUBA: AMERICA'S EUROPEAN AND LATIN FRIENDS ARE EXPECTED TO BE HURT MOST BY IT

(By William S. White)

A new and involuntary form of creeping isolationism is arising in the free world. This is a gathering spiritual isolation of the United States from most of its Western Allies and most of Latin America in the matter of Castro Cuba.

This country, in effect is not only being forced to stand substantially alone in dealing with the Soviet Union's military penetration of this hemisphere in Cuba. We are also being lectured in a rather superior tone by our Allies about the foolishness of becoming "too excited" about Cuba. Much of Western Europe thinks it knows more than we do about the degree of danger in our own area.

Much of Latin America will not see the danger at all—not yet. It is in the comfortable position of being able to refuse any real cooperation with us in full awareness that when attempts are made to export a bit of Sovietization to its own soil we shall move in as protectors.

The plain truth is that the United States has never been put in a more galling position. And even some of our good friends, human nature being what it is, are not too unhappy at seeing the powerful American eagle's tail feathers being pulled. We are not, however, the ones who will be most hurt in the end by this, our involuntary isolation. We can take care of ourselves in this hemisphere. Indeed, long since we could have done so. We would have tossed Castroism out of Cuba as a tin of annoying rubbish from our backyard but for our desire to avoid Allied criticism and anguished howls of "intervention" from the same Latin American nations we are safeguarding from the very real "intervention" of the Soviet Union.

The true sufferers, unless soon our Western Allied friends and our Latin neighbors decide to give us at least a minimum cooperation,

will be those very Western Allies, those very Latin neighbors.

The British, the Norwegians and others; who thus far refuse the patiently determined appeals of Secretary of State Rusk to halt shipping to Cuba, are giving many fine legalisms for withholding even this tepid act of support. After all, they say, nobody is at war with Cuba; free trade is free trade, and so on. But they can awake one day to find that in maintaining their right to this tinpot trade with Castro they have, so to speak, lost a much bigger customer, the basic goodwill of the people of the United States.

The Latin Americans, in hanging back from any joint plan genuinely to seal off Cuba in this hemisphere, can awake and find they cannot forever play both sides. The multi-billion-dollar American aid in the Alliance for Progress does not come from the pockets of the reformist types who are so oddly understanding of Latin-American hemming and hawing. It comes from the American people, through the American Congress. And the American Congress already is dangerously fed up with the elegant sophistries of can't-do Allies and Latin neighbors. Already, foreign aid in any and every form is in trouble at the Capitol. The time may come when it is in deep and irreparable trouble.

What profit to our Allies and Latin neighbors if they win their little argument about precedents and all that, but really do force us really to go it alone?

They would all be wise to make some effort better to understand the actual mood of Congress and country. Cuba may be trivial to them. But to Congress and country it is far from that; and the present mood of bewildered anger can, without much more provocation, become ugly indeed, from their viewpoint.

## USO Squadron Adoption Program, Sheppard Air Force Base, Wichita Falls, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, Sheppard Air Force Base is located in my congressional district at Wichita Falls, Tex., and I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress and to the citizens of the United States an interesting program which has been developed by the squadron adoption plan. I particularly bring this to your attention because of the unusual relationship that exists between the military citizens of Sheppard Air Force Base and the civilian citizens of our community. Maj. Gen. Thomas E. Moore, commander, at Sheppard Air Force Base, has found that through the combined effort of the civic organizations and the military personnel of the Wichita Falls area, it has enhanced the desirability of being connected with that particular base and is thus reflected in the high morale of the Air Force personnel.

The USO squadron adoption program is as follows:

USO SQUADRON ADOPTION PROGRAM, WICHITA FALLS, TEX., SERVING SHEPPARD AIR FORCE BASE

In August 1962, the 20th Sheppard Air Force Base Squadron was adopted by the Hub, S. & Q. Clothiers, of Wichita Falls, Tex. This squadron was the newly organized 3775th School Squadron.

Since its inception in 1950, 26 Wichita Falls business and civic organizations have become sponsors for Sheppard squadrons ranging from a small weather detachment group adopted by the First State Bank to the entire SAC wing, adopted by the four ranchers: W. T. Waggoner Ranch, Bridwell Hereford Ranch, T-Bone Ranch and Lake Creek Ranch.

In April of 1959, the Wichita Falls Rotary Club extended a friendly hand to one of the squadrons at Sheppard Air Force Base in the first of a series of efforts to bring Sheppard airmen more into the life of the community of Wichita Falls, and to acquaint the citizens of the city with their military neighbors. The program, sparked by the Wichita Falls USO, was conceived and promoted by Col. Floyd Taylor, retired, past chairman of the area USO Committee and still active in USO programs. Maj. Gen. Thomas E. Moore, then brigadier general, commanding officer at Sheppard Air Force Base was most cooperative on behalf of the squadron adoption concept and recognized it as an excellent means to promote good public relations between the community and the base. On numerous occasions General Moore and his staff have cited the squadron adoption program for its favorable impact upon the personnel at the base.

Colonel Taylor's plan is this: Find the right business or civic group in the community for the right squadron on base. In adopting a squadron, leaders of the sponsoring organization and the squadron exchange visits to determine the nature of the squadron and of the organization. The visits are in themselves a type of indoctrination for members of each group since they take place both in town and on base. These informal meetings, where military leaders explain the mission of the squadron and the business people tell of their group and of the community, usually reveal many common interests.

These exchanges soon result in the development and promotion of such activities as sightseeing trips, concerts, rodeos, football games, golf and bowling tournaments, special social and holiday events, personal remembrances of birthdays, sickness, weddings, and even death.

An interesting development to come out of the squadron adoption plan is the "Plant a tree at SAFB." Nearly 1,000 trees have been contributed by civilian and military donors in this plan developed by a former promotion manager of the Wichita Falls Times Publishing Co. which sponsors the 3770th School Squadron. The campaign was conducted in 1961 and 1962.

Other sponsors of squadrons than those previously mentioned are: The Optimist Club, Lions Club, Parker Square State Bank, First Wichita National Bank, University Kiwanis Club, Wichita Falls Kiwanis Club, City National Bank, junior chamber of commerce, Perkins-Timberlake Co., Wichita County Bar Association, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Whites Stores, Inc., Southwest Rotary Club, Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., Texas Electric Service Co., McClurkan's Department Store, Business and Professional Women's Club (adopted the WAF squadron), Fedway Department Store, KSYD-TV channel 6, Marchman Hotel, and Robert Seabury Homes.

Out of the squadron adoption plan has developed a community-base relationship without equal. The base is a positive and obvious part of the Wichita Falls community. There was a need to find a means for linking these two separates together and Colonel Taylor's plan and diligent supervision brought it about.

The success of the program, according to General Moore, has made Sheppard Air Base one of the most desired duty posts as determined by Air Force personnel.

## Needless War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from a hurried trip to the Eighth District of Indiana, where I had the privilege of meeting with many of my constituents. One of the matters uppermost in many of their minds is that of Cuba.

I believe that this administration and the President of the United States are following the right course in dealing with Castro and his brand of communism. There are some who advocate invasion of the island. They are making irresponsible statements and would not be the ones who would have to be in the landing parties crossing the Cuban beaches. The United States is attempting to isolate Cuba from the rest of the free world. The passage of the Cuban resolution by the Congress strengthens the position of the President and shows the world that we, as a nation, are solidly behind him. Force should be the last resort. There are other means which can be and are being used by the United States.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the September 23 issue of the Evansville Sunday Courier & Press. It is right to the point and deserving of attention:

NEEDLESS WAR

"Do something about Cuba," is an old cry. In 1898 it got us into war with Spain, a war later found to have been totally unnecessary. That episode of history is well worth bearing in mind these days.

Stories of Spanish outrages in her Cuban colony had inflamed Americans. President McKinley demanded that Spain revoke her concentration camps for Cuban rebels. Spain agreed, and was also willing to grant an armistice to the Cubans. Our minister to Spain reported that before August 1 he expected to get Spanish acceptance of any terms the rebels might ask, even independence or the cession of the island to the United States.

What more could we want? Yet "do something" Senators and newspapers had so worked up public opinion and Congress that these wanted war at all costs. President McKinley, who did not want war, could have stood in the way. His rugged predecessor, Grover Cleveland, probably would have done so. McKinley, lacking Cleveland's iron, gave way and the clamorous had their war.

The war was costly in money and in lives, the latter mostly by disease in unsanitary

camps. We also got the Philippines, which we did not want, and which immediately engaged us in a 3-year guerrilla war. Our possession of the Philippines was one reason for Pearl Harbor.

The lesson of 1898 is pertinent in 1962. "Do something" can be a costly cry, when those who utter it have no responsibility for what happens afterward.

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## Amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill That Would Deny U.S. Aid to Any Country Whose Ships Have Carried Arms or Strategic Materials to Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter addressed to the President of the United States by Mr. J. M. Calhoon, secretary-treasurer of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association:

NATIONAL MARINE ENGINEERS'
BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION,
*New York, N.Y., September 24, 1962.*

The Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY,
*President of the United States,*
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: According to press reports, the House of Representatives has approved an amendment to the foreign aid bill that would deny U.S. aid to any country whose ships have carried arms or strategic materials to Cuba. We endorse Representative PELLY'S amendment and urge the administration to support it in the Senate.

We also endorse the amendment submitted by Representative BONNER that would ban any ship carrying war supplies or economic goods to Cuba from entering a U.S. port to pick up foreign aid cargo.

Mr. Speaker, the correct amendment to section 107 is as follows: On page 6, after the comma in line 17, insert the following: "or for any expenses of transportation, directly or indirectly, by merchant marine ships of any nation whose ships are used to transport any military or economic supplies to that regime,".

We believe that permitting these ships to carry our aid cargo represents the use of American foreign aid dollars to subsidize Communist shipping, and that the use of foreign ships in the carriage of Communist cargo releases Russian ships and permits them to concentrate on more strategic objectives. We can't understand why foreign ships that transport cargo for our enemies and jeopardize our security and the stability of Latin America should be rewarded by the U.S. Government with cargoes financed by American taxpayers.

We also urge you to support the investigation of shipping to Cuba that was launched over the past weekend by Senator MAGNUSON. We believe it is vital to ascertain which ships have been trading with Cuba and to reevaluate our unhealthy dependence on vessels sailing under runaway flags that are presumably under "effective American control." We hope that the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Maritime Administration will give Senator MAGNUSON their fullest cooperation.

Even if the Bonner amendment should be removed from the foreign aid bill in conference, we urge you to enforce the principle by Presidential directive. According to press reports, between 50 and 60 ships, including vessels flying the British, West German, Italian, Greek, Yugoslav, and Liberian flags have traded with Cuba recently, and at least one Yugoslav ship, the *M. V. Drzic*, is scheduled to load Government-financed foreign aid cargo in Houston on September 28. An unidentified German ship that was in Cuba recently also is bound for Corpus Christi to load aid cargo. We urge you to direct the Department of Agriculture to disapprove these charters, and any future charters for ships that carry military supplies or economic goods, other than drugs or medicines, to Cuba.

We understand documented information has been sent to you identifying the Yugoslav ship SS *Mjlet*, the Greek ship SS *Paean* and the Liberian-flag ship SS *Galicia* as recipients of American aid cargo despite the fact that they have been trading with Cuba, and the Greek ship SS *Pegasus* as another despite the fact that it has been trading with Communist China. Since the Department of Agriculture admittedly does not check to see whether foreign ships have been trading with Cuba or other Communist enemies of the United States when it assigns lucrative aid cargo to them, it is quite certain that other ships that have taken part in the Communist buildup in Cuba will be approved for American aid cargo unless a specific directive is issued banning them from our aid program.

While there is justifiable concern now over the use of NATO and runaway-flag ships in the Cuban trade, we should not overlook the extensive use of vessels registered under these flags in the Communist oil trade, a practice that has contributed to the Soviet economic offensive against the free world. The names and flags of registry of 145 ships that have sailed alternately in the Communist and the American oil import trades was reported to the President's Petroleum Study Committee by the American Maritime Association last April, along with the suggestion that these ships should be barred from carrying American oil imports. Nothing has been done yet to implement this proposal.

Since petroleum is a strategic commodity, it would seem to be in our interest to deny the Communists the use of free world tankers to carry oil, where possible. We suggest that a big step toward accomplishing this objective can be taken by blacklisting from the carriage of American oil imports all foreign tankers that have participated in the Communist oil trade.

The ships used in the oil import program are chartered by American oil companies with import rights. These include companies that have lost their holdings in Cuba and others whose rates and sales are threatened by Communist price cutting. Interestingly enough, though, the owners of some of the runaway-flag ships, like *Niarchos*, are operators who have built their vessels because they have been guaranteed import cargo by American oil companies.

We also wish to call your attention to the fact that countries receiving the U.S. aid, as well as several NATO countries, are building ships for the Soviet Union, thereby freeing Russian shipyards to construct submarines and other warships. According to the reliable maritime industry publication Marine Engineering/Log, 27 tankers, 4 freighters, and 6 miscellaneous vessels were being built or were on order for Russia on March 1, 1962. Of these, Yugoslavia had contracted to build 14 tankers, Japan 6, Italy 6, and Sweden 1; Denmark had contracted to build 3 freighters and Japan 1; Denmark had contracted to build 4 miscellaneous vessels and West Germany 2. Since the Marine Engineering/Log survey appeared, the Soviet news agency TASS reported that Russia has signed a contract to build nine more tankers and five freighters in Yugoslav yards. According to recent press reports, Japan has signed a contract to construct another $96 million worth of Soviet vessels—five 12,000-deadweight-ton freighters and twelve 35,000-deadweight-ton tankers.

The United States wisely prohibits the export of strategic materials to the Communist bloc. Many of our NATO allies observe a similar policy. Tanker tonnage, in our opinion, is as important strategically as many items on the prohibited list. In light of the danger to our security resulting from the construction of Soviet tankers in free world yards, we urge you to apply economic pressure on any country that accepts contracts to build Soviet merchant ships, including the suspension of U.S. economic aid, if necessary, to enforce this program.

The betrayal of our interests in Cuba by foreign shipowners casts new doubt on the wisdom of depending on runaway-flag ships for our security. While our military planners undoubtedly feel that if they can't have American-manned tonnage, they'll have to make do with American-owned runaway ships, there is reason to believe that some of those advising our Government to rely on flag-of-convenience vessels may have been motivated by the desire for personal profit, rather than by the best interests of the United States.

In this connection, we believe that a careful review of the past associations of some persons now holding high Government office will show active participation in runaway-flag operations, a fact that we believe to constitute a serious confict of interest.

The use of NATO and runaway-flag ships for the Communist buildup in Cuba, the failure of our foreign allies and friends to stop this trade, and the construction in Italian and Japanese yards of Communist merchant ships, reinforces our conviction that when the chips are down, the only shipping the United States can depend on is the American merchant marine.

Policies that encourage the development of foreign fleets while restricting the development of American shipping is not, in our opinion, in the interest of the United States.

We therefore urge you to review our unfortunate dependence on runaway-flag shipping, the misadministration of the cargo preference laws, and the State Department's apparent partiality to foreign shipping at the expense of American-flag operations, and to order changes in existing policies that will guarantee the development of a strong American-flag merchant fleet.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. CALHOON,
*Secretary-Treasurer, National MEBA.*

NOTE.—The context of the legislation amended by Mr. BONNER in section 107 is as follows: "None of the funds in this title shall be available for assistance to any country, the government of which sells arms, ammunition, or implements of war to the Castro regime, or which furnishes, by grant or loan, any military or economic aid to that regime, or for any expenses of transportation directly or indirectly by merchant ships of any nation whose ships are used to transport any military or economic supplies to that regime.

## Alliance for Progress Is On the Move in Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call to the attention of my colleagues an article from the Miami Herald under the date of September 8, 1962, which describes the soundly conceived and well-coordinated efforts of a group of Miamians to get the Alliance for Progress program underway in Panama.

The article follows:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Sept. 8, 1962]

IT TAKES PEOPLE, NOT JUST DOLLARS—MIAMI TEAMWORK GIVES ALIANZA A PUSH

(By Bert Collier)

The Alliance for Progress is not merely dollars; it is people.

This is the proposition that guides a team of North Americans, nearly all of them Miamians, in getting the Alliance on the road to enthusiastic acceptance in Panama.

The team is headed by Norman Giller, Miami Beach architect appointed by the State Department last February, to direct a large segment of the Alliance program in Panama—the construction of schools, medical clinics and two major hospitals.

In Mr. Giller's mind, this was not to be a question of finding sites, drawing plans, letting contracts and making sure that specifications were met. The Alliance has a broader perspective than blueprints.

"We felt that perhaps our services might provide a little light in the guidance and development of the people of this country," he says.

"The schools and hospitals we had been commissioned to design and supervise were something that was going to represent the people. We were not building them as monuments of brick and mortar. To build a building that doesnt' live is useless and a waste of money."

Before a plan was made or a drawing board bought, Mr. Giller and his 25 bilingual associates set out to know Panama and Panamanians. They have traveled hundreds of miles over some of the roughest country on earth—by jeep, horseback, motorboat, Indian canoe and on foot through the jungles. They have talked to hundreds from President Roberto Chiari to simple peasants and Indians in remote villages.

The Alliance program that is taking shape is a synthesis of the needs discovered in these intimate contacts.

Mr. Giller and the resident project manager, Sven Speyer of Coral Gables, visited one village in western Panama. "Word had gotten around that the Alliance people were coming," said Giller, "and it wasn't the written word. An Indian teacher had come down from the hills, a 2-day walk. He had heard we had something to do with helping the schools.

"He said the people had built a hut for a school and he was trying to teach the children, but had no books, no paper, no pencils."

Fortunately the Alliance had contributed 200,000 schoolbooks to Panama and a supply was on hand in the office of the district school superintendent. The Indian departed with a knapsack full of supplies.

The Miamians inspected a proposed school site 100 miles outside Panama City. "For the last 40 miles the jungle was so thick we went by horseback," said Giller. "When we arrived, we were greeted by a large group of townspeople. They had formed an 'Asociacion de Padres de Familias,' a sort of jungle PTA. They had recruited volunteers to cut down trees so that trucks could bring building materials to the site."

At another village where the Alliance people arrived on July 3, they found the teacher displaying the American flag and instructing her small charges in the meaning of July Fourth in the United States.

In yet another the townspeople declared a holiday and halted all activity so they could properly welcome "Los hombres de Alianza Para El-Progreso."

As a result of all this grassroots preparation, the program is rapidly taking form. Alliance funds will build about 60 schools, Panama furnishing the land, preliminary site preparation and some materials.

There soon will be medical facilities, ranging from small clinics where a nurse or medical aid can "live in" and supervise patients in a few beds, to large regional hospitals and health centers specializing in maternal and child care. (Some parts of Panama have infant mortality rates as high as 50 percent.)

There will be agricultural institutes where peasants may learn improved farming methods.

There are blueprints for these buildings now, and architectural renderings. The trucks are beginning to roll and the sound of the bulldozer is heard in the Panama back country. In the minds of the people it is associated with the Alianza, a means of helping them to a better life. The progress in Panama is making this a pilot program for other Latin countries.

"This project is so vast," says Mr. Giller, "that it takes a large amount of planning before it can be pulled together and work can begin.

"But in Panama it is beginning to move so that the ordinary citizen can see things happening in his village and on his street.

"This is when the Alliance will begin to bear fruit, when people can visualize its meaning in terms of what is happening to them."

## Arab League Discriminates Against American Entertainer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, August 31, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the September 26 issue of Variety contains an article relating to the Arab League's ban on the records and films of Frank Sinatra. I am compelled to protest the completely unwarranted action of the League in singling out for abuse and damage a prominent American citizen whose only objective was to help needy children.

The news article follows:

[From Variety, Sept. 26, 1962]

SINATRA DISAPPOINTED HE MIGHT BE PENALIZED FOR AIDING CHILDREN

Following a report that the Arab League has banned Frank Sinatra's films and disks in Arab countries because of his activities in Israel during a recent world tour, Sinatra yesterday issued the following statement.

"If it is true, I am deeply disappointed that statesmen anywhere would condemn anyone for aiding children of whatever faith or origin.

"In Israel, my recent tour there was to raise money for an interfaith youth center in Nazareth, a primarily Arab center, where the recipients will be primarily Arab children.

"My world tour, which included Israel, was dedicated to benefiting children of all faiths. I had hoped that adults everywhere had one thing in common—a love for all children."

Sinatra visited Israel during April, May, and June of the tour last year at his own expense. He raised more than $2 million in benefit performances.

## Scholarly Findings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 12, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the House Armed Services Subcommittee No. 3 headed by the Honorable F. EDWARD HÉBERT rendered a report on its study of the military Reserve posture. This outstanding work was prepared after lengthy and detailed hearings which uncovered deficiencies in the Reserve program. Instead of agreeing to a reduction in strength of the Reserves, as the Pentagon recommended, the subcommittee urged in the national interest that the Department of Defense correct the deficiencies in the program. I believe with the members of the committee that the Reserves should be kept at full strength because of the critical world situation which finds Berlin a powder keg and the Communists in Cuba only 90 miles from my home State. In connection with the Hébert study, the Reserve Officers Association, the No. 1 supporter of the Reserves, carries in its monthly magazine, The Officer, for October the following editorial which praises the honesty and intelligence of the report:

SCHOLARLY FINDINGS

Several rather shrill editorials indorsing the Reserve cutback program offered by Secretary McNamara strengthen us in our conviction that the scholarly and fully documented report of the Hébert committee is a national defense epic.

From the beginning we were convinced that Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT, whose record reveals him as a legislator equipped by nature, training and inclination to be fully objective and independent, would produce a factual study.

Mr. HÉBERT represents an intelligent constituency and he has so well established himself politically that he needed to court or appease neither voters nor the party leaders. He had experience on his side, and his long service as a newspaperman equipped him peculiarly to cope with the propaganda with which every critic of the great and would-be great in Washintgon is usually deluged.

Furthermore, Mr. HÉBERT had available to him for sage counsel the House's one real expert in military legislation, Representative CARL VINSON who for 48 years has sat on the committees dealing with the military and who, it is said, "has forgotten more about the military than most people learn in a lifetime." Of course, Mr. VINSON has not forgotten what he has learned; his remarkable memory is favorably comparable

to Secretary McNamara's ability to memorize the military dictionary which has enabled him to be so glib before congressional committees.

So, the 40-page report made excellent reading, not only because of its polished phrases but also because it packed in a few words a storehouse of information and wise counsel.

Elsewhere in this issue of The Officer is a fairly complete summary of this report. We have made copies of it available to key ROA officers, we have quoted generously from it in the newsletter.

We would not say the report is perfect. What we do believe is that it is thoroughly honest, its aim is to serve the national interest, and its findings are based upon careful analysis of many thousands of words of testimony, much of which is conflicting and a considerable portion of which was submitted under duress.

Mr. HÉBERT, all the careful and highly motivated members of his committee, and his talented and conscientious staff have rendered a great public service.

Editorials in a few newspapers attacking the committee and attempting to browbeat the committee for arriving at conclusions which were inescapable reflect upon the newspapers, and not upon Mr. HÉBERT and the committee. We are proud that, as spokesman for the Reserve, we were selected as targets by these editorial distortions along with Mr. VINSON and Mr. HÉBERT. ROA, like these statesmen, is too well known for its 40 years of service to national defense to quail before such would-be poison penmen.

## Association for Mentally Ill Children in Manhattan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, August 27, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the distinguished work of the Association for Mentally Ill Children in Manhattan. Since the association's creation in 1961, it has made great strides toward meeting the critical problem of education and therapy services for mentally ill children. I am privileged to insert in the RECORD at this point a statement of purpose by the association.

ASSOCIATION FOR MENTALLY ILL CHILDREN IN MANHATTAN

The Association for Mentally Ill Children in Manhattan (AMIC) was formed in 1961 by a group of parents and concerned citizens. It grew out of an urgent need to furnish educational and therapeutic services for youngsters diagnosed as mentally ill. The public schools offer special classes for the deaf, blind, retarded and crippled but nothing for the seriously disturbed child. Special education is expensive, and there are relatively few teachers trained in this demanding field. Furthermore, the discovery that mentally ill children can be helped to useful lives through education is comparatively recent. Parents, heartbroken at the realization that their child is "different" are reduced to despair when they try to find help for their child and confront only a series of blank walls. Ultimately, they are faced with a cruel decision: to commit their child to a State hospital or to hide him at home where his presence disrupts the life of the family and often, the neighborhood. Wealthy parents have an additional alternative: expensive residential schooling.

The group who founded AMIC hopes to open a wider door. They believe that most mentally ill children can be kept at home in a natural and loving environment if there is a school where the children can spend a large part of each day under trained supervision. The idea is not without solid basis. The league school in Brooklyn, N.Y., under Dr. Carl Fenichel has been operating successfully on this premise for 9 years. They opened their school with 2 children and now have 50.

AMIC further believes that parents need help. When they first hear the discouraging diagnosis, they need to be reassured that they are not alone and that mental illness is not a private shame. They need guidance to the best sources of help for their child. They need the mutual support and helpful perspective that can be gained from other parents with similar problems. They need professional counsel to gain understanding of their child.

In March 1962, the first phase of a constructive program began. Three schizophrenic children were admitted to AMIC's Manhattan school. Housed rent free in the Madison Square Church House at 432 Third Avenue, the school has use of two classrooms, a kitchen-dining room, gymnasium and roof playground. The children are in attendance 5 days a week from 9 to 3. Professional supervision comes from the league school. There is one fully trained teacher for each three children and a skilled volunteer to assist her. In addition to a program of academic subjects, the pupils have art, music and dance. They take field trips, which beyond enlarging their horizons, help them to independence in making their way about the city. Although the program is structured (these children seem most secure when they can count on a certain event taking place at a certain time), it is flexible enough to nurture the individual needs of the child.

Education such as this is expensive: $3,000 a year per child. It is not as costly, however, as institutionalized care, and the prospects for the child one day becoming self-sustaining are greater than if he were uprooted from family and community. Very few families can afford to pay the actual cost of educating their child. Tuition at the Manhattan School is charged on a sliding scale according to ability to pay. The deficit is met by funds raised by AMIC.

AMIC employs no professionals other than the school staff. Volunteers do the fund raising, make classroom equipment, and do the clerical work. Contributions, therefore, go directly to services. The school is prepared to enlarge as quickly as it has funds to do so. The association holds regular meetings where parents and friends can come together and learn from experts in the disciplines of psychiatry and education.

AMIC is confident that eventually the responsibility for educating all its children will be undertaken by the State. In the interim, AMIC wants to fill the gap. Too many young people may be lost if we postpone their schooling any longer. A program such as ours which puts the needs of individual children above the requirements of a specific research project too often holds little appeal for foundations; to date, no substantial grants have come our way. We are convinced, however, that there is much to be learned from and about these children in everyday confrontation. We know that for the families we serve, we are replacing despair with hope. Their children are being given the knowledge and courage to face a world from which they had turned away.

## Timely Views and Ideas on Freedom and Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert several articles which convey many good thoughts about the American people, their great heritage of freedom, and some ideas about combating communism. These articles were written over the past year by Mr. Fred A. Orleans, of San Antonio, Tex., well-known as an author, international lawyer, and authority on Latin America. While I do not subscribe to all the views expressed by the author, he has a keen perception of the subject matter and his ideas are very timely.

The articles are as follows:

OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE

(By Fred A. Orleans)

For many years the people of the United States have been continuously reminded of their obligations to other people. The majority of the people of our country have developed a guilt complex because our Nation has been more prosperous than many others and because our people live better than those in the underdeveloped nations. We have reached a period in history when the people of the United States must start thinking about the obligations of their Nation to them first and foremost and to the rest of the world only if we are sufficiently prosperous to afford the luxury of helping others. The ever increasing trend toward our Government attempting to take care of everybody is one that must be stopped if our Nation is to survive and continue to grow and prosper.

When we look back to the origin of our country, we find that many of our ancestors left Europe to avoid military conscription; to remove themselves from the threat of debtor's prison; to get away from a continent that was continuously involved in wars and to get away from nations who were more and more becoming entangled in unworkable alliances. Our ancestors came to America seeking freedom and succeeding generations have enjoyed a freedom unmatched in the annals of history. Unfortunately, in this great land of ours, we appear to be reverting to those conditions which originally brought about the departure of our forefathers from Europe.

It must be acknowledged that we in the United States are presently enjoying a much higher standard of living than any people in the history of mankind. This standard of living was not given to us as a gift, but was attained by hard work of those generations who fought and struggled and died to establish and make the system of private enterprise, which we now enjoy, a great success.

Today we are enjoying the fruits of the labor of those who came before us and unless we reassert our support for the economic system which has made our present high standard of living possible, we can lose what we have and what our forefathers struggled so hard to attain and pass on to us.

[From the Past Commander]

YOUR OPINION MUST COUNT

(By Fred A. Orleans)

When the United States was still a very young country, it possessed a vigor which

is lacking today and that vigor stemmed from the active participation of the average citizen in the affairs of government through standing up at a town hall meeting and expreseing his point of view.

This viewpoint, if it represented that of the majority, would influence local affairs and if expressed by enough people would influence national and international policies of our country.

Times have changed and too many Americans assume that their views do not count and take the attitude that national and international policy formulation should be left entirely to the experts in Washington.

This is an incorrect assumption since the views of individual Americans, if loudly and forcibly expressed, can still affect the national and international policies of the United States.

Those in public office, whether elected or appointed, cannot arbitrarily on their own dictate the policies of the United States, since the foundation of U.S. Government policies must come from the American people.

PEOPLE SHOULD BE INFORMED

It is against the interest of a dictatorship to keep its people informed, but it is essential for a democratic form of government to keep the people fully informed through adequate understanding of all issues confronting a nation.

Only through widespread, intelligent understanding of the major domestic and foreign policies of the United States can there be solid and continuing support for them by the people of this country.

The lack of interest by many citizens in foreign and domestic policies of the United States is extremely dangerous for the future of our country.

Not only are there those who feel that their opinion does not count since they are not experts, but there are the many who look upon their representatives in Government as being supermen; individuals possessing tremendous ability and understanding, always able to do the right thing.

Too many feel that Government officials are the masters of the people which is a throwback to the divine rule of kings epoch.

As Thomas Jefferson so eloquently stated, "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him?"

OFFICIALS NOT MASTERS

Today the words "kings" can be substituted for "government officials." Too few realize that the government official is not the master of the people, but that the people, in the final analysis are the masters, since it is their informed vote which puts the government official into office or takes him out.

Those in government are supposed to reflect the will of the people and if they do not do so, it is for the people to indicate their displeasure by removing the offending official.

The people cannot afford to be apathetic at this time and must take a dominating interest in the policies of our country, both national and international since the ultimate responsibility of whether the United States of America survives as a democracy is in the people.

In the blind adherence to the dictates of elected government officials, the people of the United States seem to have forgotten that people came first—not governments, and that the rights with which the people are endowed do not originate from government since only the people are endowed with these rights and they, in turn, endow the government with certain rights.

PEOPLE MUST BE ALERT

Thomas Jefferson wisely foresaw the consequences of the people losing interest in their governing processes carried on by those they elect to public office when he stated that if once people became inattentive to the public affairs, all in power would become wolves since experience has shown that even under the best forms of government, those entrusted with power can in time, and by slow operations, pervert it into tyranny.

Jefferson felt deep distrust of any government whatever that attempted to impose itself between men and the management of their own affairs since the freedom of the individual is always a possession wrested from government, but unceasingly threatened by it.

Today, when the utopian idealists, who counsel our Government, dream of the perfect government, it can be stated with great firmness that such a form of government would be a superfluous.

Jefferson believed that the besetting sin of most governments which endeavor to be good is that they attempt too many things the people should do for themselves since the highest duty of government is to keep the road unobstructed so that each man can make his own way for himself.

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[From the Past Commander]

THE REALM OF IDEAS

(By Fred A. Orleans)

Perhaps the most potent weapon of all is ideas. It is amazing how the ideas of one man keeps coming back to influence our lives without our being conscious of this phenomena. After 2,000 years, Plato's "Republic" is a potent idea. It is not difficult to draw an analogy between the "Republic" and what is happening in the world today. In his book, Plato sought the principles of social justice and accomplished this by dividing human beings thusly: the workers (masses) who supplied material needs; the guardians or warriors (soldiers) who protected the state; and the rulers, preferably philosophers (intellectuals) who directed political life. Plato sought to promote unity among the rulers and guardians who were a minority in the population, while permitting strife and discord to continue among the lower or working classes (masses) so that they would never be able to unite and overthrow the ruling minority.

The "Republic" has been called the first great utopia in human literature and the social proposals contained therein were reserved for the upper classes of guardians and rulers. Karl Marx, in his equally famous book "The Communist Manifesto" written in 1848, in direct opposition of the "Republic," set up social proposals for the masses (proletariat).

Here, then, are two different philosophies of social justice, both theoretical when written—one shelved as being too advanced; the other put into practice by the Soviet Union. However, in practice, the social principles of communism fall short of the theoretical principles and what is beginning to emerge is Plato's principles. There now appears, with no pretense, the ruling class, in the form of the Politburo in Russia; the various dictators and their underlings in the satellite countries; the armies who are sustaining the rulers; and the masses.

Plato was quite content to let the masses quarrel among themselves, breed promiscuously, and deteriorate physically and mentally. It seems the ruling groups of this era are quite content to go along with this philosophy as opposed to Marx's philosophy of ultimate rule by the people.

To continue using the word "communism" is not only misleading, but ridiculous. As practiced today, there is no such thing as communism. There is only the age-old struggle of the ruling class as opposed to the people. Perhaps this is why communism finds its greatest appeal among the intellectuals and not, as many believe, among the working classes. History has proven that Marxism has never succeeded in attaining what it preaches, since, through revolution, it actually creates what it claims to destroy, which are new classes as the ruling class in Russia today which take over the means of production and exploit the worker even more severely than the class they replaced. Lenin admitted that the working class existed for no other reason than to make available the army needed to carry out the Socialist revolution. Lenin envisioned the workers as those who would make it possible for the new ruling class to emerge and, accordingly, Lenin's "dictatorship of the proletariat" is merely a play on words for what would ultimately be "dictatorship over the proletariat."

In the final analysis, "communism" is meaningless, a word with no significance. It is an attempt to establish Plato's "Republic" from another approach and offers nothing for the welfare of mankind.

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[From the Portland (Ind.) Dawn]

THE HIDDEN ALLY

(By Fred Orleans)

The unwillingness of the United States to establish and maintain an economic boycott of Russia and all Communist countries has been the chief force which has sustained communism at the moments when it seemed most apt to falter. An economic boycott of the Communist bloc is far simpler than a military action involving the resultant loss of life and destruction of property. A complete isolation of the Communist bloc through cutting off trade to and from these nations would deprive them of those products they must have from the free world in order to further establish and develop their totalitarian systems. This boycott would not only economically strain the economy of Russia and deprive the people of some of their new-found economic benefits, but would further reduce the living standards behind the Iron Curtain and thereby create unrest and further problems for the Communist overlords. The time has come for businessmen in the United States and the free world to begin thinking of the welfare of their countries and the survival of the capitalist system instead of mere economic gain.

It is alarming to learn that Canada and Australia are selling large quantities of wheat to Red China in order to alleviate the famine in that country. This will enable the Communist regime to placate the growing unrest among the people and alleviate the severe problems of the Chinese government being brought about through the lack of food to feed the people. This lack of food results from deficiencies in the Communist system and these deficiencies will be covered up by the wheat and foodstuffs willingly supplied by nations of the free world. If humanitarian reasoning enters into the matter, some thought should be given to Tibet and countries of southeast Asia being ruthlessly destroyed by Red China.

We would be shocked if our Government were to announce that it was preparing to sell guns and other actual weapons of war to Russia and its satellites, but the people in the United States do not seem to be concerned that their Government is willing to supply these countries with agricultural products which they desperately need. The administration has recently indicated that it was willing for Russia and the Iron Curtain countries to buy rice, flour, wheat and other agricultural products at cut-rate prices from our surplus stocks. The people of the United States are being called upon to pay taxes in order to subsidize communism. As long as we will supply the Communist bloc with the food products it needs, they can concentrate on threatening us militarily.

The makers of policy in the United States seem to have forgotten the lessons of history and the statement made by Napoleon, which is just as applicable today as it was

at the beginning of the 19th century, that an army travels on its stomach.

Through receiving our agricultural products, Russia is then in a position to alleviate the food shortages in China and Cuba. U.S. foreign aid to Communist satellite nations in Europe does not, as intended, alienate them from their Soviet masters, but merely aids and abets the Communist rulers to remain in power.

Closer to home, the United States is still indirectly subsidizing Castro and communism in Cuba. The direct and indirect purchases of molasses, tobacco leaf, cigars, and luxury products has provided Castro with the badly needed dollars to buy directly or indirectly from the United States the heavy machinery, vehicles, and machine parts needed to keep his oil industry and refining plants operating.

Our aid to the Communists is not a matter of recent date. Over 30 years ago, the United States began to supply the engineers and technical knowledge needed to begin the development of Russia to its present highly industrialized level. Over the years the unrestricted entry of Russian observers, engineers, and technicians into U.S. manufacturing plants, has enabled the Russians to quickly and cheaply obtain all the latest industrial methods which were developed in the United States over a period of years and at great cost. Before, during, and after World War II, the United States readily supplied Russia with all the heavy industrial equipment needed to develop its present industrial complex. The Russians acquired from the United States, practically without cost, all the latest methods of mass production.

Despite unlimited assistance from the United States and the provision of all the technical and industrial know-how needed, Russia still remained a relatively industrially backward nation until the conclusion of World War II, when they received as a gift the factories, technological knowledge, skilled workers of Germany, and later Czechoslovakia, and the other nations of Europe which now have satellite status.

The Russians were very pleased when we were not interested in the German scientists, engineers, and technicians and were most willing to transport these men and their most advanced knowledge to Russia to continue their labors for their new master.

Reviewing the past and observing the present, the question remains as to why we, in the United States, both helped to create the frankenstein which is now confronting us and continuously persist in aiding, abetting, and bolstering this shoddy, hypocritical and monstrous system every time it falters or shows signs of weakening.

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FREEDOM ACADEMY

(By Fred Allen Orleans)

During the past three sessions of Congress an unpublicized piece of legislation, namely, the freedom academy, has unsuccessfully attempted to come to a vote in the House and Senate. This is the third year that this most important piece of legislation, which is so necessary for the preservation of our way of life, has been pigeonholed without even hearings being held on the bill. It is only through popular support from the people themselves that those in Congress who have been valiantly fighting to enact into law this vital legislation can succeed in their objectives.

The freedom academy represents legislation which should be discused and openly debated throughout our land so that a workable bill is effected and the people of America become fully aware of the fact that there is a great unfilled gap between the weapons available to us in our struggle against world communism. This vast gap is the void that exists between the powerful military apparatus who have developed and the conventional 19th century diplomacy still being employed by the United States. Where our weakness is, the Communists have their greatest strength since they make use of all the techniques passed down by Lenin and developed and refined throughout the years for conducting both open and undercover political warfare in their host countries. It is principally through this means that the Communists have gained control of one-third of the peoples of the world and this, their major weapon to date, is now becoming greatly bolstered by their tremendous military development and their continuously rising capacity for economic, cultural, and technical exports. It is not understood in the United States that the situation that has developed in Cuba, for example, could not be effected neither by the military might of the Communists nor by pure Communist propaganda.

The success of the Communists in Cuba, as the riots in Japan, and activities in many other countries have resulted from long and intensive training of dedicated people in specific techniques, namely, the techniques for the weakening of and eventual takeover of free countries. The Communists use every weapon at their disposal, including blackmail, lies, bribery, threats, and terror. The inability of the free world to cope with the advance of communism can be attributed to complete apathy and great ignorance.

Through the establishment of a freedom academy or similar vehicle, the United States could develop an academy of political warfare which could offer intensive training in communism in action and how to defeat it. This trainng to both Americans as well as nationals of friendly nations, could equip the graduate to meet and beat the Communist on his own home grounds. This is not an academy necessarily dedicated to the training of young people, but would cover businessmen, labor leaders, political leaders, teachers, etc., of the free world.

The big question remains as to how we have been able to watch the steady string of Soviet successes which have resulted from Russia having numerous academies dedicated to political warfare while we have not attempted to establish even one. We intensively train our defenders for combat in a hot war. We must also train them for combat in a cold war.

Actually, the idea for a freedom academy originated close to 10 years ago, and if positive action had been taken before now, it is conceivable that we would have been able to successfully withstand the continuous erosion of the free world by communism and at a relatively small cost to the American taxpayer. A score of freedom academies throughout the United States and the free world would cost a fraction of the money that has been poured down the drain on unproductive giveaway programs.

In our struggle against communism we continuously wait for the Communists to act before preparing a defense and too often, as in Cuba, we are taken completely by surprise. Receht events should finally convince the United States that it cannot secure the free world against communism by the outpouring of tremendous sums of money on aid and armaments, for we are now fighting a completely alien war to any we have ever engaged in in the past. We are struggling for the minds of men and yet America is not using the weapons at its disposal and fails to sell democracy, our economic system and our way of life with the same zealous enthusiasm employed by our enemies in selling their shoddy systems. We in America have one of the finest countries in the history of the world and we assume that everybody, everywhere, is aware of it. This is not true since the campesino in Mexico, the miner in Chile, the sheepherder in Peru, the ranch worker in Argentina, and the worker on the coffee plantation in Brazil are not aware of the excellence of the system that brought our country to its present high economic level. These people must be made aware of the fact that communism merely makes promises, but ultimately robs them of their heritage. These people must also be informed as to the merits of our system and how it can benefit them.

Congressman JUDD, cosponsor of the House version of Freedom Academy bill, summed up the need extremely well when he stated "the amateur will always lose against the professional. I want professionals on our side. We have the better cause, but we are not professional in the presentation and advancement of it."

The Communists have used very unorthodox methods in attaining their objectives. The United States must be prepared to go beyond conventional methods, to bypass politics as usual, and to do everything needed for our national welfare and to preserve our way of life. This is not the time for 19th century thinking in high official places. The United States must think and act in the 20th century to guarantee that a free America will still be here in the 21st century.

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## General Harkins Praises Plain Dealer Stories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, on September 12 I had the privilege of placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a series of articles. These articles appeared on pages 18153 to 18160. I thought my colleagues would be interested in knowing what the Nation's top Army leader in southeast Asia thought of this series.

General Harkins' letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 24, 1962.

Hon. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MINSHALL: I deeply appreciate you sending me pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which contained articles on the war in South Vietnam by Mr. Phil Goulding. I read Mr. Goulding's articles with interest and do not hesitate to state that they are of the best I have seen on what's going on here to date.

Again with appreciation for your thoughtfulness for sending them to me.

Respectfully,

PAUL D. HARKINS,
*General, U.S. Army.*

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RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

# *Appendix*

## General Lemnitzer: Frank Discussion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as the ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee, I listened with more than passing interest to an address delivered last night by Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, retiring Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, before the National Security Industrial Association.

As one who has had an active part in all legislation and amendments affecting the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I had more than a casual reason to pay close attention to his fine address.

His remarks were unusually good. He delivered a frank discussion on the makeup of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and explained both their good and bad points.

It was a very revealing and rewarding address to hear. It was very encouraging to know the intendment of the Congress is exercised by the Joint Chiefs.

General Lemnitzer discussed the question of differences of opinions within this all-important body.

He is to be congratulated on such a frank discussion of a body so vital to the security of the American people. Touching on the trouble spots of the world, he explained in detail how we keep in close touch with those nations with whom we have commitments.

His outstanding speech to this representative group of patriotic Americans deserves to be read by all citizens dedicated to maintaining the security of our country.

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed comforting in these times of world tension, when the Communist hordes threaten to plunge the world into the horror of nuclear warfare through their aggressive acts, to know that a man of his wisdom, courage, and capability has been selected to succeed General Norstad in the vital job as supreme Allied commander in Europe—NATO.

In his new command, I am sure General Lemnitzer will ably demonstrate the abilities which led to his selection for this key position.

I extend to him the best wishes of the Congress as he assumes his new duties.

Under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I hereby insert his thought-provoking remarks:

Thank you, Mr. Huggins, for your kind words of introduction. My thanks also to you and to the members of the National Industrial Association for inviting me to address this 1962 annual dinner meeting of the association.

I am genuinely happy to be here. When Mr. Huggins wrote to me some months ago, I replied that I would do my best to attend this dinner because it gives me a chance to thank the National Security Industrial Association for a really valuable and distinguished contribution to the Nation.

In this room tonight, there is a representative sampling of the industrial leadership of the United States. You have been among the first to understand the intricate partnership between the National Defense Establishment and American industry in forging the strength on which every one of our millions of citizens and those of the entire free world must rely. Should that strength falter, our civilization and all that it represents of mankind's greatest achievements and deepest aspirations could go down to extinction.

That it has not faltered, but has instead grown steadily stronger, is in part a tribute to the close partnership of our armed services with the genius of American industry, the skills and resourcefulness of its laboratories, the productiveness and competence of its labor—and the vision of the men who direct all of these aspects of our national life.

This fine association, which grew out of the vision of a great American—James Forrestal—has steadily increased its membership, widened its program, strengthened its influence, all with the purpose of helping our armed services create the military strength which is fundamental to our Nation's existence and to its role as a world power. As the Nation's senior active military officer, I thank you, and wish you well for the future.

As all of you know, on Monday I am relinquishing my duties as Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staffs, to my successor, Gen. Max Taylor, and I will have a very short time to tend to some personal and official business before taking over from General Norstad as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. This is indeed a great challenge, because in my predecessors as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe—Generals Eisenhower, Ridgway, Gruenther, and now General Norstad—the North Atlantic Alliance has had truly distinguished and dedicated leaders. I hope this is as widely appreciated in this country as it is in Europe.

It is not appropriate for me to talk much tonight about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, because I have not yet assumed the responsibilities entrusted to me by the North Atlantic Council. I do want to use this occasion, however, to state publicly my keen awareness of the high honor which has been conferred upon me by President Kennedy in nominating me for this important assignment and by the other sovereign nations who appointed me to the position of Supreme Allied Commander of the most remarkable alliance in the history of mankind. This alliance has forged a shield of military security, behind which the stability and prosperity of Europe have been created out of the havoc left by World War II.

As Mr. Huggins stated in his introduction, I have had a long association with NATO. I know its history and its purposes. I believe in it firmly, and now pledge publicly that I accept my obligations to all the nations of this great Alliance with humility, and the determination to be worthy of the great honor they have conferred upon me.

Tonight, however, I am going to talk primarily from the vantage point of the office I now occupy; namely, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, since in my new assignment I will undertake international responsibilities. This is the last public address I shall make strictly in the capacity of an officer of the U.S. Armed Forces.

First, it seems necessary that I give my considered views on a subject which has been very widely discussed, and about which there is a surprising amount of misinformation—the military role in U.S. national security decisions.

Let me take a moment to recall to you the way the present Joint Chiefs of Staff organization evolved from our experience with the strategic direction of World War II which provided overwhelming victory in that greatest of world wars.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, the United States and the United Kingdom agreed to set up the British-American Combined Chiefs of Staff organization. Obviously, it was necessary for the U.S. members to coordinate among themselves prior to their meetings with the British. So our Chiefs of Staff began to meet at regular and frequent intervals, and before long they become known as the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They were at first an informal group, operating under the immediate and personal direction of the President.

This system worked so well for directing global military operations that it clearly deserved to be continued, especially in view of the worldwide military responsibilities which faced the United States after World War II. The result was the National Security Act of 1947, which formalized the Joint Chiefs of Staff, established the Department of Defense and a separate Air Force.

I believe that the National Defense Act of 1947, and its amendments, especially the Defense Reorganization Act of 1958 are very sound pieces of legislation. There is now no question whatsoever of the authority of the commanders of unified commands over all elements of their component forces. For example, Admiral Felt in the Pacific, or General Mundy in Alaska have centralized direction over all their forces, and these forces in turn have the authority for decentralized execution. The same thing is true of course of the other unified and specified commands we have worldwide.

The act also set up a direct and I emphasize the word "direct" chain of command from the President and the Secretary of Defense through the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the commanders in chief of unified and specified commands. This provided centralized direction of our military effort worldwide.

The act retained the authority of the various services over such matters as doctrine, training, and equipment. This preserved common doctrine within each of the major functional areas of warfare—land, sea, and air.

Finally, the 1958 Reorganization Act kept the Joint Chiefs of Staff in their advisory role. This insured the preservation of civilian control by retaining the authority for final decision with the President and the Secretary of Defense.

These changes in the command structure resulted in greatly increased activity by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Joint Staff

which supports them. Previously, their responsibilities had been confined to planning. Under the 1958 act they became concerned with operations as well. The Joint Staff now has authority to take action for the Joint Chiefs, within established guidelines and under circumstances when a decision by the Chiefs themselves is unnecessary or would cause undue delay.

That is the formal organization. You realize, of course, that the way an organization actually functions depends very much on the personalities and relations of the people who comprise it.

I am aware of the differences that personalities make even within identical organizational structures because I have served in close association with every Secretary of Defense to date—Forestal, Johnson, Marshall, Lovett, Wilson, McElroy, Gates, and now McNamara—and every Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—Bradley, Radford, and Twining—since that office was established. Each of these distinguished Americans has tended to operate in his own individual way, partly due to his individual personality and partly due to the relationship of the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to each other.

In that connection, I have enjoyed throughout my tenure as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a very close personal and working relationship with the Secretary of Defense and the President. My views and those of the other Chiefs have always been carefully considered. I do not pretend that our recommendations have always been adopted, but all of us who make up the Joint Chiefs of Staff have had ample opportunity to make our views fully known, and I have personal knowledge that those views have always been thoroughly and most carefully considered.

At the seat of Government in Washington there are relatively few decisions which are purely military. On the contrary, they almost invariably involve—in addition to military considerations—national and international political, economic, and psychological considerations which are not the principal concern of military command. The people of this country have repeatedly and properly provided, through the Congress and elsewhere, for civilian control over the Military Establishment. In so doing, our Nation has underlined an awareness that national security decisions involve many considerations beside purely military ones. These considerations touch on the very fabric and pattern of our life as a people. They touch on our homes, our social order, our political forms, our relations with other countries, and—touch is not the proper word—they bear down heavily on our pocketbooks.

I, for one, find it proper that decisions such as these are made by the Secretary of Defense, or in many cases by the President himself, based on their evaluation of all of the factors involved. Indeed, I would be strongly opposed to any other course of procedure. I feel that these decisions are quite properly the responsibility of the Secretary of Defense or the President.

During my long years as association with, and as a member of, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, of all the questions that have been asked me by the Congress, Government officials, the press, and the public at large, two stand out. They pertain to the proposals first, to replace the Joint Chiefs of Staff with a single Chief of Staff, and, second, to separate the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from their respective services. I believe that this time, on the eve of my departure as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it is appropriate that I give you my thoughts on these issues.

The arguments in favor of a single Chief of Staff seem to stem mainly from the criticism that when the Joint Chiefs of Staff do not unanimously agree they have abandoned their responsibilities to the Office of the Secretary of Defense where the matter must be forwarded for final decision. It is argued that the civilian authorities in the Department of Defense, who prepare the staff estimates, analyses, and final decision, may very well not have the military knowledge and experience necessary to evaluate effectively the proposals of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when there is less than unanimous agreement. This view holds that only by creating a single Chief of Staff could we achieve the military agreement necessary for authoritative decisions and forceful action.

I do not agree with this viewpoint. As a matter of fact, the Joint Chiefs of Staff reach agreement on better than 90 percent of the host of questions coming before them. Of course, there is some disagreement. I do not know of any activity that involves such complex problems in which agreement is always unanimous. However, while this is taken for granted in other fields, it seems to be considered inexcusable in the military.

Actually, even in handling the relatively very small percentage of problems where there are disagreements—which, admittedly, often involve fundamental questions—the Joint Chiefs of Staff are providing an essential service to the Secretary of Defense and the President. In such cases, alternate approaches to the issue are prepared. The advantages and disadvantages of each of the courses of action are fully documented by experienced military officers of the services and Joint Staff before being presented personally by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of Defense, or the President, for decision.

Many of the early difficulties of the Joint Chiefs of Staff system have been ironed out. I have always felt that many of these previous shortcomings in the Joint Chiefs of Staff resulted from issues remaining undecided for longer periods than they should. Secretary Gates initiated the practice, when disagreements occurred, of having them brought to his attention by the Chairman and discussing these differences personally with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After full consideration and discussion of the issues involved, he promptly made the decisions required. Mr. McNamara is continuing this practice.

Another danger of the single Chief of Staff concept which I would like to highlight, is that of a unilateral approach based on the then-prevailing fad favoring a particular weapons system or strategy. Under this system we could well end up with our services armed only with bombers, battleships, or bolos, depending on the fad of the moment. I feel that the best way of providing balanced military advice to our civilian leaders is by the use of talents and varied and broad experience of the military chiefs of all services—each knows his own service and each is an expert in his field. Our current system with the three military departments—with their departmental secretaries and service chiefs—provides a source of collective wisdom which has served us well in the past, and will, I am confident, in the future.

Another factor which deserves consideration, I feel, is how our present organization provides the checks and balances which moderate extreme views. While some people may criticize this system as unwieldy—I do not. After all, this country of ours is based upon a system of checks and balances—such as we have in our National Government between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. While perhaps not as rapid in response as a monolithic dictatorship, it provides a sound system uniquely fitted to our democracy's mode of operations. I feel that the single Chief of Staff concept is not compatible with our traditional governmental system. There is no room in a democratic form of government, such as ours, for a military autocracy.

I would next like to comment on the proposal, commonly referred to as the ivory tower concept, which would separate the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from their respective services in order to allow them to plan their operations unhampered by the humdrum requirements and pressures of day-to-day service activities. I do not agree with this concept—or any concept—which would separate the responsibility for planning from the responsibility for the execution of plans.

I am sure that in your own organizations you have seen plans made by people who have no responsibility whatsoever for their implementation. I have had personal experience with such a procedure in the past and I regard it as unsound—as well as downright dangerous in the military field. I am also sure that you, as I, have frequently found such plans to be somewhat unrealistic and impractical. When a man knows that the plan he initiates, prepares, and approves is the plan that he will have responsibility for executing, then that plan will make sense. This is in line with the old American commonsense doctrine of joining responsibility and authority.

My experience has convinced me that another valid criticism of the separation of the Chiefs of Staff from their respective services is that an officer removed from his service, even for a relatively short period of time, in this era of rapid technological change loses his intimate knowledge of the performance capabilities and limitations of that service which are so essential if the planning is to be realistic and sound.

Aside from the advisory function of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary and the President, we have other means of presenting our views on the military aspects of a national security matter to other officials who are entitled to have them. As Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, I attend the meetings of the National Security Council as its professional military adviser, representing the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Frequently, all of the Chiefs of Staff attend National Security Council meetings when items of particular military importance are discussed. Equally important, the Defense Reorganization Act of 1958 is specific in requiring the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—when appearing before the committees of Congress—to reply fully and frankly to their questions regardless of whether or not these views coincide with the official position of the Department of Defense.

Now, this audience, perhaps better than any other, understands the pressures which occur when we must convert a concept of the strategic or tactical needs of the future into the complicated and very expensive weapons systems necessary to meet those needs at the right time. As you well know, the leadtime, money, and talent involved in bringing such weapons systems into being have enormous significance to the country as a whole as well as to specific geographical areas. All of these considerations and many others beside, make up the totality of national security decisions. I believe firmly that our present system places the final authority and responsibility where they belong—that is, on the elected or duly appointed civilian leadership of the country, and yet gives due consideration to experienced military judgment in the formulation of these decisions.

However, I want to emphasize the words "elected or duly appointed" civilian leadership. Obviously, it would be most undesirable to have the professional judgments of the Joint Chiefs of Staff overruled at any of the innumerable lower levels of government.

This brings me to my next and last topic—a public report on the state of our Armed

Forces tonight. During the last 2 years, since I entered on my present responsibilities, we have gone through a prolonged period of tension highlighted by several extremely critical periods.

Today, once again, we are faced with communism testing our strength and determination around the world—the continuing struggle in Vietnam, ever-present tension over Berlin, and the Communist buildup in Cuba. It is a dangerous era in which we live. But Americans have always faced danger resolutely and with determination in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

The United States and its allies are tonight much stronger in military power than the Soviet Union and its satellites. I know this, and so do the Communists.

The future of our civilization requires that we maintain the clear superiority we now enjoy in almost every field of technological achievement which gives substance to our military power. In this essential task, the American industries which you represent have a key role to play.

Our strategic nuclear delivery capability is rapidly increasing. Our Atlas and an increasing number of Titan ICBM squadrons have now reached operational readiness. The solid-fueled Minuteman program is well underway. The remarkable Polaris submarines are joining the fleet in steadily increasing numbers. Our Strategic Air Command is at the highest state of readiness that remarkable organization has ever known. Our nuclear stockpile is overwhelming in size and diversity, and we are going ahead with the program of tests necessary to keep it fully modern.

Beyond our tremendous nuclear delivery capability, we have strengthened both our tactical nuclear capability and the ability to employ conventional forces wherever they may be needed. Our strategic mobility and logistic capability—areas in which we have always excelled—have been significantly improved over the past 2 years and that improvement is continuing.

In addition, with the firm backing of our national leadership, all of our armed services have made great progress in the development of doctrine, tactics, equipment, and general know-how to combat Communist-sponsored insurgency and the techniques of protracted war. Incidentally, the Communists refer to such conflict as wars of liberation which they announced that they will pursue and strongly support. They are, in fact, wars of Communist subversion.

Our progress in the area of counterguerrilla operations is not as clearly identifiable as our progress in the other aspects of our military power. This is a long, slow, and, at times, tedious business. Nevertheless, I am convinced that we are making real headway in creating, for ourselves and for our threatened allies who need our help, the capability to win in this form of conflict.

I have visited southeast Asia on several occasions during the past 2 years. From what I have seen and from the detailed information I get, I am convinced that slowly but steadily the mounting weight of U.S. assistance is beginning to tip the scales in favor of the free world.

This Nation will not diminish its efforts or its determination to stay ahead of the gigantic conspiracy which has declared war on our civilization, our way of life, our social forms, our moral and ethical values. The emptiness and the brutality of communism is best summed up, for the whole world to see, by the wall in Berlin. No space spectaculars, however shrewdly exploited, should be allowed to obscure this stark testimony of the failure of communism or of the barrenness of its promises.

I cannot conclude my tenure in the Nation's highest military office without paying tribute where tribute is most due, and yet is all too often overlooked—to the men and women of our armed services—in uniform and out—in both the Active and the Reserve Forces of this country. Never in our history have we been served with more devotion or with greater skill than by those who make up our Armed Forces today. These American citizens are showing the rest of us daily by their dedication—their professional competence—their uncomplaining courage in the face of danger, hardship, and personal sacrifice, that they have faith in the destiny of the United States and the cause of freedom which it champions. We are a fortunate Nation to have men and women such as these. It is on them, their skills, their high resolve and devotion to duty, that our survival ultimately depends—not on any weapon or machine, no matter how ingenious or how complex. Only men and women who believe as they do in freedom can preserve its blessings for us and for all mankind.

The least that we owe them is respect and consideration, because money cannot buy such men and women as it buys machines or weapons. We must develop them—slowly, carefully, patiently, often with sacrifice and heartache, more often with pride—from our American homes and families. That is now, and it will remain, the biggest and most crucial job for all Americans.

Once again, I extend my thanks through you to all the men and women of American industry, and to patriotic Americans everywhere, for their understanding and support of the needs of our armed services.

## Modern Metro Government Evolving in Nashville

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on last Sunday, September 23, the Washington Post published a most illuminating article about the impending transition to metropolitan government for Nashville and Davidson County, Tenn.

The article was written by William Keel, of the Nashville Tennessean. Modestly, Mr. Keel's article is silent as to the fine work which he and this great newspaper did to help bring about the decisively favorable referendum vote for metropolitan government in June. They did this by forthrightly defending metro against every false attack and pointing out its advantages for city and county residents alike.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MODERN METRO GOVERNMENT EVOLVING IN NASHVILLE

(By William Keel)

NASHVILLE, TENN.—Nashville and Davidson County, identified nationally for years as the home of the "Grand Ole Opry," are preparing to shuck this provincial image and don a modern look under a metropolitan government.

Last June 28, voters approved the streamlined government with balanced representation and a framework for providing municipal services to a mushrooming septic tank suburbia under an equitable tax structure.

Candidates are now in the initial stages of campaigning for offices in the new government which will embrace a population of 415,000. There may be as many as 300 candidates for the 40 seats on the county council. Thirty-five districts will elect one councilman each. Five councilmen will be elected at-large, or countywide.

A county mayor and vice mayor also will be elected in the November 6 election. They and the councilmen will serve 4-year terms.

The new government has one more hurdle to clear before it goes into effect next April. This is a ruling by the State supreme court on the constitutionality of the charter which came under attack before the vote last June 28.

Chancellor Glenn W. Woodlee has upheld its constitutionality and his ruling is being appealed. The new government is grounded on constitutional amendments enacted in 1953 providing for home rule and consolidation of functions of city and county governments.

Key issues in the dispute are whether enabling legislation exceeded the scope of the amendments and whether preparations of the charter itself by a 10-member citizens' commission amounted to unlawful delegation of legislative authority.

If the new charter for a consolidated government is upheld, the present county and city governments will be abolished. The new government will eliminate the duplication between the existing governments and create a single "strong mayor" form of government.

Its head will be the metropolitan county mayor, a $25,000 job. He will appoint his department heads. He also will appoint boards and commissions, but the county council will have the power of confirmation—in some instances by a three-fourths vote—over such appointees.

The single executive will replace a county judge who has faced the difficult task of administering an archaic framework shot through with diffused responsibility keyed to government by commissions, committees and boards. It also will replace the present city mayor, Ben West, who fought the charter bitterly on grounds it will produce "fragmented" government.

One of the major arguments for metro was that it would end annexation and taxation by the city without representation.

The new council will replace a 30-member city council and, ultimately, a 56-member county court. The present court will be continued until 1966 to skirt a constitutional snag.

The Tennessee Taxpayers Association, an organization of 1,000 businessmen who want to reduce costs and hold down taxes, has estimated that consolidated government will save $1 million a year. It is in the consolidation of departments and the elimination of duplication that the bulk of this saving is expected to come.

For example, take the tax assessors offices. The office of the county tax assessor is directly above that of the city tax assessor in the courthouse. A major annexation of 50 square miles means that these two offices do exactly the same thing in the most populous areas of the county.

Under metro, one tax assessor and one staff would do the job.

This situation is paralleled in a number of departments and functions.

But perhaps the major selling point of the charter in 1962 involved the suburban areas and a matter of equity. A similar charter was defeated in 1958 by a scare campaign that screamed a theme of skyrocketing

taxes. The same type of campaign was waged last June but it fell flat.

In the interim, two things happened to give residents outside the city a different perspective. One was an apparently innocuous $10 auto sticker required of all motorists who use city streets. However, the city chose to arrest and toss into paddy wagons citizens who didn't buy it and—rightly or wrongly—it became a symbol of oppression. County residents outside the city had no voice in the body that enacted the tax.

The other development was an annexation program by the city. The major phase of the program was annexation of 43 square miles of residential area including 80,000 residents.

Again, this was done by the city council with those being annexed having no voice. Critics of the annexation charged that the city had bitten off too much, that property owners in the annexed areas would be paying taxes long before they got such basic services as sewers.

Within months, mortgage companies began increasing the monthly payments on house notes, anticipating the city tax rate.

Annexation threw the school systems—city and county—into a snarl and resulted in a heavier tax load in annexed areas without a proportionate increase in services. At the time metro was approved, the city and county were locked in a lawsuit over which system would operate the 23 annexed schools and how much the city would pay for the physical plants.

This goes to the heart of one of the primary selling points of metro—its pay-for-what-you-get taxing plan.

The heart of this plan entails two taxing districts. In one district, the general services, all property owners in the county pay for the basic functions of government that serve everybody. This district is county-wide.

The other, the urban services district, is levied only in the area that receives the more sophisticated urban services—sewers, street lights, more intensified police protection, fire protection, water, street cleaning, and refuse collection.

The general services include general administration, police courts, jails, assessment, health, welfare, housing for the aged, streets and roads, traffic, schools, parks and recreation, and other general functions.

The county has two taxing districts now—the city district and the county district. But there are no safeguards against the vast areas of suburbia being added to the city and being forced to pay taxes without getting services.

The metro charter contains built-in protection. For example, there is a provision that the urban district can expand only as it becomes able to provide services to the newly annexed area within 1 year after the first urban taxes become due in that area.

And the conflicts brought on by annexation could not occur under the charter which does away with the two-government conflict that created them.

Representation is more equitable under the charter. There are vast differences now in the population of city wards and county districts.

Under metro, there are 35 districts and each has between 10,000 and 12,000 people. And the charter requires reapportionment every 10 years. If the councilmen balk, their salaries cease.

The proportionate representation of Negroes is increased, although voting strength in municipal elections will be diluted from 23 to 15 percent.

Now they have 2 legislators out of 86—30 councilmen and 56 county court members. There are three Negro councilmen, no county court members.

Under metro, Negroes are expected to elect 6 of 40 councilmen.

Negroes now have one member on the city school board, none on the county board. They are expected to have two of the nine school board members on the single board under metro. They outnumber whites in two of the nine districts.

The Nashville plan is pure city-county consolidation. Nashville has only seven small satellite cities and these are primarily for zoning protection. About the only governmental function they perform is road upkeep.

Miami has four times this number of smaller cities and they have retained much of their autonomy. Miami was forced to superimpose a government in a federation-type of metropolitan framework fashioned roughly after the Toronto plan. All the elements are drawn together in a federation, with each retaining certain autonomous functions.

Denver has a simple city-county consolidation, enacted in 1902. Baton Rouge, La., has a consolidation similar to that approved here although the constitutional limitations there forced a stricter adherence to the old city and county formalities. For example, the mayor acts as both the chief executive of the parish (county) and the city.

Nashville's satellite cities will be a part of the general services district and will pay for those services like any other county resident. If the citizens of the smaller cities want to become a part of the urban services district, they must surrender their charter.

## Agricultural Act of 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, an excellent analysis of the farm bill was prepared by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association and given over the GTA "Daily Radio Roundup" on September 26. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The farm bill, the Agricultural Act of 1962, is now history. Actually, the final victory in the U.S. Senate was an anticlimax. The 11-vote margin was expected. The solid Republican resistance was unbroken. But the real opposition—strong, well-organized and confident—was dealt its death blow in the "battle of the bulge" that went on in the House of Representatives last week.

There Secretary Freeman's generalship and guts turned the tide. That doesn't mean, however, that the wrangling, hassling, and arguments are all over. Nor does it smooth over the sometimes bitter partisan political differences that have flared up. Some still say farmers are better off with no legislation. Others say that farmers must do their own bargaining through their own associations and their own organizations. And others insist that this is impossible without education and information work to get the kind of laws needed for farmers to bargain for price protection and production quotas.

Here at GTA we had hoped strongly that there might be a bipartisan effort made to expand farm income and rural prosperity. No doubt, however, Republican candidates will have a hard time ducking the charges of Democrats this fall that Republicans are in league with the big business CED, that many farmers have branded the "Committee for Economic Destruction," which recommends wiping out price protection legislation, letting farm prices drop as much as by one-third on the free market, and shifting 2 million farm families off the land and into the cities.

Unfortunately, too few people still do not understand the farm bill. Minnesota's Senator HUMPHREY stated the case in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for September 25: "There has been so much confusion, so much emotionalism, so much misinformation (either deliberately or innocently created) concerning the Agricultural Act of 1962 that it would be a good thing if everyone took a few minutes to find out factually what is and is not in the bill. What the bill will and will not do." Senator HUMPHREY frankly stated that "This is not a perfect bill by any means * * * but it is a good farm bill * * * a giant step forward from what we would have if Congress had passed no farm bill.

"The farm problem has begged solution for many years * * * but solution is possible only if there is cooperation among us.

"The bill provides for a 1-year extension of the voluntary feed-grain and wheat program—which have been successful in reducing surpluses—raising farm income and reducing the tax burden. The 1961 feed-grain program alone reduced Government stocks of corn 400 million bushels, saved taxpayers $213 million in storage and interest charges and farm income went up more than $1 billion, the first rise since 1953." Under the feed-grain program, as farmers know, there will be a base support price of $1.02 a bushel plus a bonus of 18 cents a bushel for farmers who take part in the program and divert corn acres from production. And wheat farmers under this program would be able in 1964 to grow wheat as a feed grain over and above their bread-wheat certificate quotas. They would be guaranteed approximately the world price or around $1.30 to $1.40 a bushel for this amount and $2 a bushel for certificate wheat.

That is a start toward encouraging quality wheat production and lays the foundation for greater demand for the desirable spring and winter wheat varieties millers want. For next year wheat farmers would get $1.83 a bushel (based on the two-thirds approval of wheat quotas by farmers last August) but those that divert acres would be paid a bonus of 18 cents a bushel. It is estimated this would increase income of wheat producers by 5 to 8 percent.

Fears, some of them deliberately provoked, that under this program wheat would go to less than $1 a bushel are emphatically denied by the Department of Agriculture.

Senator HUMPHREY added these words: "Secretary Freeman will not permit programs which will place our farmers in a position worse than they are in now. He will come to Congress next year with a permanent feed-grain program * * * and I am confident the Congress will accept it.

"And there are other important features, often overlooked, that will provide new opportunities for rural America through the rural area development program. All rural America will be affected * * * by this bill. Not only farmers or small towns will be affected, the entire economy of the Nation will be helped. Sixteen million off-farm jobs depend in large measure on what happens to agriculture."

Let us not forget that agriculture—farming and the people who raise the food and fiber so efficiently, cheaply, and abundantly

that we have almost forgotten what the word "scarcity" means—is no two-bit operation. Farm people have $200 billion invested in agriculture, more than the entire assets of three-fourths of all our corporations.

But the real test of what was done this week on farm legislation, of course, will be what improvements it makes possible for farm people in the years ahead. That will be decided by the efforts of farm people themselves and the men who represent them in Congress.

## In Recognition of Public Service Rendered by Pan American World Airways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, during the recent strike affecting flight operations of Eastern Airlines, Pan American World Airways, by increasing its service to Puerto Rico, made it possible to continue transportation between Puerto Rico and the mainland as to passengers, cargo, and mail, so that very little inconvenience to Puerto Rico resulted from the strike. This was an important contribution by Pan American World Airways and is an indication of the efficiency with which Pan American is managed and operated. The strike could have been crucial to Puerto Rico's economy, but the stepup in Pan American World Airways service prevented this and all except occasional and minor inconveniences to passengers. We greatly appreciate this expanded operation, and it is my desire to call attention to the Congress of a resolution approved on September 4, 1962, by the Municipal Assembly of San Juan in recognition of this public service by Pan American World Airways.

The resolution follows:

"RESOLUTION NO. 5, MUNICIPALITY OF SAN JUAN, SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO, SERIES 1962–63, TO RENDER PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS FOR ITS STEADFAST HELP IN DIMINISHING THE ADVERSE IMPACT TO THE ECONOMY OF THE ISLAND, CREATED BY THE ABNORMAL SITUATION IN AERIAL TRANSPORTATION, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

"Whereas Puerto Rico was faced with an acute transportation crisis arising from the recent Eastern Air Lines strike;

"Whereas Pan American World Airways expanded its services overwhelmingly to the extent that passenger and freight moved without interruption during the 60-day strike period, operating a total of 460 flights during the month of July 1962;

"Whereas Pan American World Airways, fully aware of the vital role of air transportation to the island, made tremendous efforts in the protection of Puerto Rican economy, handling practically all of the passengers, cargo, and mail during the month of July 1962, alone; therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Municipal Assembly of San Juan, Puerto Rico,*

"Section 1. That this assembly on behalf of the city of San Juan, and the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, express to the president, the board of directors, and to Mr. Harold Swift, the local director of Pan American World Airways, its appreciation and congratulations on the great public service it has so successfully rendered thereby.

"Section 2. That this expression of the Assembly of the City of San Juan be made a part of the permanent records of this assembly, be engrossed, and copies of same be sent forthwith to the president of Pan American World Airways, its board of directors, and local directors, in acknowledgment of this splendid public service.

"Section 3. Any ordinance, resolution, or agreement which in all or in part may be in conflict with the provisions of this resolution, is hereby repealed.

Section 4. This resolution being of an urgent character, will be in force immediately after its approval."

I, Elizabeth Ambrosiani, acting secretary of the municipality of San Juan, Puerto Rico, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the resolution No. 5, series 1962–63, approved by the Municipal Assembly of San Juan, at regular meeting held on the 4th day of September 1962, with the affirmative votes of Mrs. Josefina O. de Batlle, Messrs. Jenaro Caparrós, Luis M. Díaz, Pedro Díaz Viera, Richard C. Durham, Juan Pérez Roa, Vincente A. Pérez, Emiliano Pol, Jr., Pedro E. Purcell, Modesto Rivera, Miguel Torres Melendez, Eduardo Umpierre, and the chairman, Mr. Francisco A. Arrillaga; having been absent Mrs. Monina Mendoza de González, Messrs. Félix A. Bello, and Luis Esteban Juliá. This resolution was approved by the honorable major of the municipality of San Juan on the 5th day of September 1962.

Exist a vacancy pending for the appointment by the Honorable Governor of Puerto Rico.

I further certify, that according to the minutes under my custody, all assemblymen were duly notified of the regular meeting in the manner provided by law.

In witness whereof, and for the proper proceedings, I hereby issue this certificate, and the seal of the municipality of San Juan is hereto affixed, at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on this 6th day of September 1962.

ELIZABETH AMBROSIANI,
*Acting Secretary of the Municipality of San Juan.*

## Russia's Hydroelectric Power Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a member of the Federal Power Commission, Mr. Howard Morgan, has returned from a trip to Russia where he accompanied the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Udall, on a factfinding trip.

Mr. Morgan has written a series of articles for Oregon papers reporting on his experiences. From his background as former utilities commissioner for the State of Oregon, he is able to have unusual perceptiveness regarding utilities in the Soviet Union. A portion of his report summarizes the rapid progress Russia has made in developing her hydroelectric production.

I ask unanimous consent that this portion of Mr. Morgan's report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Statesman, Sept. 24, 1962]

(NOTE.—Portion of fifth article in a series by Howard Morgan.)

I have tried to present a realistic and balanced account of my observations, within the very narrow limits of those observations, avoiding all comment on the emotion-charged questions of international and internal politics.

I am sure this has satisfied neither the many who insist upon predictions of failure for everything in Russia, no matter what the facts may be, nor the few who, equally undisturbed by facts, insist that the Soviet Union is already the workers' paradise that the more realistic Russians hope it may someday become.

SOME FACTS JOLTING

But in discussing the electric programs we went there to see, it should be possible to get away from impressions and to get down to facts.

We had at least a half-dozen highly qualified engineers in our party whose evaluations I shall rely on. Some of the facts and figures will jolt the complacent, but when has that not been the fate of the complacent?

First, one should understand that, although at the time of the revolution Russia was the most backward European nation in the development of electric power, the total electrification of Russia was at once made the goal, the center and the heart of the industrialization plans laid down then, over 40 years ago.

Every plan launched since then has had this same central feature. During the twenties and thirties American engineers and contracting firms, as well as American generator and turbine manufacturers, worked with the Russians to develop both hydro and steam generation, as well as high-voltage transmission.

CONSTRUCTION RAPID

Lend-lease assistance helped rebuild war-damaged plants and lines, and even built a few new ones for war production during the forties. Since shortly after World War II the Russians have been self-sufficient, and have carried on an increasingly large and rapid construction program unaided, even developing enough capacity to export skilled engineers, technicians and first-rate electric equipment abroad to newly developing areas.

Today, in the generation of electric power, Russia has outstripped not only every nation in Europe by very wide margins, but every other nation in the world as well, except for the United States.

Some comparative figures are interesting. In 1927, the earliest year for which the FPC has statistics, Russia had 1,905,000 kilowatts of installed generating capacity. The United States had passed that figure in 1900. By 1946 Russia had 12,338,000 kilowatts. The United States had passed that figure exactly 30 years before in 1916. But by 1961 Russia had 74 million kilowatts, a figure equaled in the United States only 12 years earlier, in 1949.

AHEAD BUT GAP NARROWS

The United States is still ahead of Russia by a wide margin, wide enough to give rise to a good deal of self-congratulation in our electric industry. In 1961 we had nearly 200 million kilowatts of capacity; the Russians only 74 million kilowatts. But a closer

look at the figures is disturbing, even without going into the matter of the uses to which they put their power in contrast to the uses we select.

In 1932 we had almost 10 times as much capacity as they; about 43 million compared to 4,675,000. By 1961 this margin had shrunk to less than three times. There are two ways to look at this. Notice that the absolute margin had widened, while the percentage of margin had shrunk. Naturally, a popular way to look at these facts is to emphasize the widening gap in absolute terms.

But what gives rise to concern among Americans who have studied these figures carefully, and who have gone to Russia for a look around, is the accelerating pace of the construction the Russians have recently built and the even faster acceleration of their plans for future construction.

CURVES RISE STEEPLY

Both countries are planning and building on curves which rise more steeply each year, but the Russians' curve of actual construction is rising a little faster now than ours was 12 years ago, when we had the same capacity they presently have. What is more important, they plan to steepen their construction curve more drastically in the years ahead than some people think would be justified in the United States by the demands of our own economy. If this happens, the curves will inevitably converge, intersect, and cross.

Whatever we—or they—actually do in the years to come, I can report that they have not the slightest intention of slowing down. The following is one of the closing paragraphs from what seemed—at least in its other portions—to be a moderate and factual report covering the history of Soviet power development, given to our party by N. M. Chuprakov, chief engineer in charge of design, Ministry of Power Station Construction. Like the whole of his report it was not delivered in a boastful or a challenging manner, but in a matter-of-fact way.

TWO GOALS ARE SET

"We set our goal to reach and then overtake the United States of America during the second half of the above period (that is, in 1970-80) at first with respect to the consumption of electric power in industry, then with respect to total power generation and finally with respect to the power generated per capita."

I should add that Mr. Chuprakov, who traveled with us throughout our trip and was a most agreeable traveling companion though he speaks no English, has 20,000 design engineers working under his direction.

## Realtor of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, having been associated for many years with the real estate business, I have a firsthand knowledge of its difficulties, and consequently, I have been especially interested in superior work in the field.

One example of a man who has excelled in this profession is Mr. C. Robert Gray, a Silver Spring, Md., realtor. Recently recognition was given to Mr. Gray's achievements when he was selected as our State's Realtor of the Year. A newspaper article concerning this honor appeared in the September 22 issue of the Washington Evening Star, and I ask unanimous consent that a copy of it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRAY CHOSEN MARYLAND'S REALTOR OF YEAR

C. Robert Gray, a past president of the Montgomery County Board of Realtors, has been selected as Maryland's Realtor of the Year.

Mr. Gray has served on many key committees of the Montgomery board and is active in its multiple listing system and investment property division. He also is presently a director of the Maryland Association of Real Estate Boards, is active in the National Institute of Real Estate Brokers, the International Traders Club and the Maryland Traders Club.

Outside of his real estate interests he is a past exalted ruler of the Silver Springs Elks Club and a past president of the Silver Spring Lions Club.

He is president of Gray-Kessinger & Co., Inc., and of Gray & Martin Insurance Agency, Inc.

In winning the State title, Mr. Gray topped Carl Albert Heider who was selected by the Prince Georges County Board of Realtors as its Realtor of the Year.

## The Cuban Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in the House during the past week on the situation in Cuba.

The International Services of Information Foundation, Inc., of Baltimore, issues a report which they call "Inform" and the September 25, 1962, edition has the following to say about Cuba, and I believe their information is authentic, as they have sources which have been proven very reliable:

[From Inform, Sept. 25, 1962]

PLANS FOR A RED GUANTANAMO

Here is the outlook for Cuba: The present phase, landing of Soviet troops, has been largely completed. Within about a year, depending on Moscow's estimate of Washington's probable reaction, another phase will begin.

That will be the establishment of an official Soviet military base in Cuba, probably in Pinar del Rio Province, the western end of the island. Terms will be similar or identical to the 60-year-old agreement by which the United States acquired the right to build a naval base on Guantanamo Bay in eastern Cuba.

The Communists feel that the recent transition, the landing of Soviet troops, was the most dangerous. They believe that the United States will be even less inclined to act when Cuba's status as a Soviet garrison state is formalized.

DEADLY PARALLEL

"There is a sizable concentration of Communist armor and artillery echeloned in depth around the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay. Known as Division 50, the force is equipped as follows: 45 to 50 medium tanks, 40 to 45 light tanks, 80 6-wheeled trucks, 60 10-wheeled trucks, plus large quantities of small arms and Belgian FAL rifles. Huge reserves of gasoline and munitions are cached in caves and on small farms in the Division 50 area. Personnel is estimated at 3,500 to 5,000, including two separate contingents of Soviet troops attached to Division 50, and a small number of Russian officers serving as advisers."

The above report, compiled by a Cuban liberation unit and turned over to International Services of Information, brought down angry U.S. agents on the exiles. The Washington agents demanded that all such information be suppressed. The validity of the report was not questioned.

For well over a month, the State Department attempted to discount and suppress reports of the Soviet military influx into Cuba. As late as August 30 the State Department still insisted that: "We have no information that any Soviet-bloc troops have landed in Cuba."

What makes this situation intensely grave is that it is precisely this policy which results—and in previous intsances has already resulted—in the very situation which it is intended to avoid: war. Statements such as that made by Adlai Stevenson before the United Nations on September 21. "We are not taking and will not take offensive action in this hemisphere" actually enhance the danger that the United States will be forced to fight.

In order to help inform readers evaluate official U.S. reaction to the present Cuban crisis, we give below an International Services of Information analyst's appraisal of how, in the past, appeasement tactics and suppression of facts led to war—a war in which Americans are even now losing their lives:

As early as 1955, U.S. officers in South Vietnam warned Washington that major Communist guerrilla operations would undoubtedly precede any conventional military offensive against South Vietnam. This prediction was ignored.

Communist North Vietnam was permitted blatantly to violate the Geneva accords of 1954 which limited the size of the military forces in North and South Vietnam. The massive Red buildup was neither heeded or reported by the International Control Commission. Washington, eager to reduce tensions, remained passive.

Meanwhile, however, State Department strictures paralyzed the development of the South Vietnam armed forces. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon insisted that, despite the Communist disregard of the Geneva agreement, strength of the U.S. military mission and Vietnamese forces remain at the 1954 level.

The U.S. military mission to South Vietnam was not permitted to exceed 341 persons. Red Chinese and Soviet military personnel in North Vietnam numbered in the thousands.

The Vietnam Army, Navy, and Air Force was held, by State Department order, to no more than 165,000 men. The Communist forces, meanwhile, grew to several times that number.

The Vietnamese Civil Guard was not permitted to be transferred to the Department of Defense so that it could be adequately trained, equipped, and organized. Thus, when the Communist Viet Cong did attack in force, civil guard units were decimated. This enormously enhanced Viet Cong prestige and huge rural areas were lost which never have been recovered.

Aware of the mounting guerrilla threat, U.S. officers sought to secure special forces troops to train the Vietnamese. The State

Department insisted that there was no guerrilla threat and no need for special forces personnel since they would swell the size of the U.S. military mission.

Eventually the State Department relented to the point of permitting a few special forces troops to be hastily rotated in and out of South Vietnam. U.S. officers on the scene state that this unique rotation system was a total failure since, in the 3 months allotted to each guerilla expert, nothing substantial could be accomplished.

Reports of growing Viet Cong terrorism and mounting Vietnamese casualties were systematically downgraded or suppressed by the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

"It is probable," states a top U.S. officer, "that during 1958, Ho Chi Minh (dictator of North Vietnam) finally came to the conclusion that the United States was not too seriously interested in South Vietnam • • • that by stepped-up guerrilla activity he could overthrow the Vietnam Government and unite the country under Communist control." He also noted that a similar situation had prevailed in Korea before 1950, leading to a similar miscalculation—and war.

By mid-1959, it was clear to American military personnel that the Reds had decided to conquer South Vietnam by guerrilla warfare. This estimate was flatly rejected by the State Department.

The U.S. Embassy in Saigon was infuriated by the briefings given visiting U.S. Congressmen and other VIP's by officers of the military mission. The briefings warned of the expanding Red offensive.

Military mission officers were ordered to submit all future briefing papers to the Embassy for editing. All alarmist information was carefully removed. The military advisory group was bluntly ordered to minimize the Viet Cong threat.

Friction mounted between the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. military mission. Top Embassy officials made it plain that they were at least as hostile to the mission officers as to the Viet Cong.

By mid-1960, open civil war was raging throughout South Vietnam. Late in 1960, the Embassy was still insisting that action reports were wildly exaggerated. The suppression policy was enforced until the Vietnamese inferno exploded into public view, only then was it reversed.

The end result was, of course, that thousands of U.S. troops had to be rushed to South Vietnam in a bloody 11-hour effort to stem the Red tide. The end result of appeasement and suppression of ugly facts was not peace. It was war.

## Independence Day of the Federation of Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the Governor General of the Federation of Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe; and His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federation of Nigeria to the United States, Mr. Julius M. Udochi, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Nigeria's independence.

THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA—ITS INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Federation of Nigeria is the most populous State in Africa and one of the largest on that continent. Its teeming population is well over 35 million and its area is 340,000 square miles. The Federation of Nigeria is also one of the best governed and administered countries on that continent. The Federation consists of three distinct regions, constituting three separate administrative units: Eastern Nigeria, Western Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria. For more than a half century all of Nigeria was under British rule. Thus British traditions of law and administration prevail today. The Federation was formed in 1954, but the Federation of Nigeria, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as an independent and sovereign member of the world community of nations, came into existence only 2 years ago.

In October of 1958, Britain's offer of independence to the Federation, within the British Commonwealth, was accepted, and on October 1, 1960, the consummation of this pledge was proclaimed. On that day and for the first time the people of Nigeria became the real masters of their own destiny. In the course of their very brief history as a nation, the people of the Federation of Nigeria have clearly proved to the world that they were fully prepared for the independence they had attained. Under their dynamic leader Sir Abubakar Balewa, and his able assistants, the Government of the Federation has been administering its affairs most efficiently and effectively. Nigerian leaders have proved real champions and true upholders of democratic principles, and they have demonstrated this in their maintenance of free elections, both in the Federation and in the self-governing regions, as provided in the Federal Constitution. In many matters, economic, social, cultural, and particularly in politics and administration the Government of the Federation of Nigeria has been a shining success of democracy at work. On the anniversary of their independence day we wish the people of Nigeria and their patriotic leaders peace and prosperity.

## Northwest Lumber Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many words have been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD regarding the plight of the lumber industry of the Northwest. Although some progress has been made in alleviating the situation, much remains to be done.

Recently, Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, visited the Northwest and met with lumbermen in that area for an exchange of ideas which seems to have been profitable to both sides.

An editorial from the Pendleton East Oregonian comments succinctly on Secretary Freeman's meeting with the industry.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pendleton (Oreg.) East Oregonian, Sept. 24, 1962]

FREEMAN GOT IT FROM THEM

The lumber industry has been giving the Kennedy administration rough treatment. The President has been blamed by the industry for its troubles and he has been criticized for not solving those troubles immediately.

The lumbermen know that their problems were gathering long before John F. Kennedy got to the White House, but this is an election year and the truth gets some severe battering in an election year.

Up in Idaho the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate declaimed the other day that "administration leaders ignore the fact that if they had tried to help our people several years ago, our lumbermen would not be facing ruin today." It probably didn't occur to this man who is so intent upon getting the problems of the lumbermen into politics that the Kennedy administration wasn't around several years ago when the lumbermen needed help.

President Kennedy's program for the lumber industry seeks to restrict Canadian imports, to expand access roads into new stands of timber, to furnish credit for upgrading the efficiency of mills, directs all Federal agencies to observe a "buy America" policy in the purchase of lumber products, and suggests amendment of the Jones Act which requires shipment of the American lumber in American ships.

This seems to many to be a sound beginning. It isn't something that will erase the lumber industry's problems but given time it can do much to help.

However, so many lumbermen have been clamoring for immediate results that it became necessary for somebody in the Kennedy administration to speak bluntly to them. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, in whose Department the U.S. Forest Service operates, was chosen for the task. He spoke to Western Pine Association executives in Portland September 14 and he laid it on the line. When he got through almost everybody who had heard him agreed that they liked what he had said.

Secretary Freeman hit one point that needed hitting. He told the lumbermen "you have not given due credit to the Forest Service and the Department of Agriculture for a lot of hard work done in your behalf." He then listed some of the things the Forest Service has been doing: (1) Planning to develop national forests over the next 40 years to increase the annual harvest at a rate of 13 billion board feet of timber by 1972; (2) establishing higher standards of revegetation salvage, and erosion control on sales acres; (3) reforestation of more than 3 million acres of land; (4) building up the productive capacity of more than 11 million acres of less than saw-log stands through timber stand improvement; (5) intensifying fire protection programs; (6) expanding forestry research; (7) enlarging forest access road programs.

Mr. Freeman noted that the allowable cut on national forests is being increased annually and added that the administration is determined to protect the public interest

against any abuses by the lumber industry. He also argued that a method suggested by the industry for appraising national forest timber would fail to develop a reasonable estimate of fair market value—"a responsibility which I have to the American public."

The lumbermen like this plain talk and they praised Freeman for his knowledge of the technical aspects of some of their problems. A little praise for the administration was long overdue. The lumbermen dumped in the administration's lap some problems that have been developing for a long time and demanded immediate solution of them. The administration wants to assist the lumbermen and is developing plans as fast as possible to do it.

Some praise instead of condemnation has been due from the lumbermen and we were pleased to see Orville Freeman extract it from them.

## HHFA and Crystal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contained some information about the frustrating difficulties recently encountered by the city of Crystal, Minn., in its dealings with the Chicago office of the Housing and Home Financing Agency. So that the record may be more complete I am pleased to have the unanimous consent of my colleagues to insert the following letter of September 17, 1962, from that office to Mr. F. A. Allbee, city manager of Crystal, Minn.:

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY,
OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION,
*Chicago, Ill., September 17, 1962.*

Subjects: P–Minn.–3039, water facilities, Crystal, Minn.

Mr. F. A. ALLBEE,
*City Manager, City of Crystal, Minn.*

DEAR MR. ALLBEE: We have begun our review of the documents submitted in support of the city's request for the disbursement of planning funds for the above project. Before our review can be completed some of the material submitted will have to be augmented or revised to meet the requirements of the program of advances for public works planning.

The resolution, dated May 1, 1962, of the Council of the City of Crystal and the certificate of the recording officer for that resolution do not comply with the suggested forms for those documents which were attached for your convenience to the official request for the review and approval of planning documents. We are enclosing a copy of these suggested forms which should be adopted and executed by the city officials and submitted to this office. If there is some reason why the suggested complete documents cannot be used, please submit a full explanation.

Under date of May 9, 1962, the Director of the Division of Environmental Sanitation, Minnesota Department of Health, indicated approval of a proposed site for water storage in the city of Crystal. Since the storage facilities are only a part of the proposed project, it is suggested that the department of health be requested to comment upon the whole projected study and report submitted by the city of Crystal's consultants dated March 20, 1962.

It is also noted that the consultant recommends construction of a combined system comprising the city of Crystal and the villages of Golden Valley and New Hope with purchase of water supply from the city of Minneapolis. Since the application for planning funds contemplated only a water supply for the city of Crystal, it appears that it would be necessary to form a water district comprising the city of Crystal and the villages of Golden Valley and New Hope in order to follow the consultant's recommendations. In these circumstances, an application should have been made by the water district. We call the city's attention to the probability that prior consideration should have been given to a water district. Feasibility studies are not eligible under the program of advances for public works planning. The city officials are requested to state officially their position concerning the consultant's comments on this subject and on the project which is to be constructed.

Although the cost estimates appear realistic, we cannot reconcile the construction and project costs indicated in item 7 of form CFA–430, since such costs apparently are based upon a combined system for Crystal, Golden Valley, and New Hope. Costs for the city of Crystal only, would be in excess of the construction and project costs indicated in item 7 of form CFA–430, according to the projected study and report dated March 20, 1962, submitted for the city of Crystal.

The estimated cost of a water system using wells as a source of supply will be $3,591,100, according to an estimate appearing at the top of page 26 of the preliminary report dated March 20, 1962. The estimated project cost appearing on the original application was indicated as $2,333,750.

The report indicates that the city of Crystal's share of the combined system is estimated at $2,450,000. Refer to article D on page 25 of the report. Also, if a connection to the Minneapolis water system is contemplated, it is estimated that project costs will total $2,582,600. Refer to tabulations at the top of page 26 of the report. From a review of the report we have been unable to verify these project costs.

The city is requested to furnish a breakdown of the estimated costs for a water system complete with storage reservoir and/or elevated storage tanks together with pumping station and/or pumping stations as may be required for the city of Crystal independent of the combined systems. With such information at hand, we will be in a position to determine whether the report dated March 20, 1962, complies with the terms of the advance planning agreement within the city's ability to construct a complete and independent water facility for the city.

It is required that these matters be further clarified by the city officials prior to acceptance of the report and payment of the planning advance. It appears that it will be necessary for the city officials to decide which of the consultant's recommendations will be followed for construction before a definite project can be established. The report as submitted appears to be too general in character for this office to come to a definite conclusion relative to the project.

The city officials should submit the above documentation at their earliest convenience in order that we may continue with our review of the city's request for planning funds under the program of advances for public works planning.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN P. MCCOLLUM,
*Regional Administrator.*

## The Constitution of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the editor of the Carroll County Times, published at Westminster, Md., a good friend of long standing, Mr. Charles Mooshian, has written an editorial which I consider worthy of special attention. It appears in the issue of September 20, 1962. Its title "The Constitution of the United States: The Same Yesterday, Today, and Forever," suggests the theme of the editorial. The piece is thought provoking.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: THE SAME YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND FOREVER

This is U.S. Constitution Week—September 17–22.

During this special week we observe the 175th anniversary of the drafting of the world's greatest document—the Constitution of the United States.

It behooves us all as citizens of this great Nation to read and reread this outstanding of all documents. As we read it we should support constitutional groups, who want the Constitution interpreted to the "letter of the law" and not through sociological and modern thinking.

We believe that the Constitution of the United States, which contains the basic principles of law of our great Nation, never changes (except by amendment)—it is the same yesterday, today, and forever.

It is ironic, however, that Supreme Courts of the United States up until the Roosevelt era, agreed on all points of law in the Constitution. But with the Roosevelt era of welfare and social administration, in which F.D.R. tried to pack the High Court, things have changed.

Of course, F.D.R. did not succeed in packing the Court through legal means but he did, through his right of appointment of Justices to the High Court. He eventually named a majority of the Judges on the Court, who approved his program.

President Kennedy has the same "F.D.R. philosophy" in regards to the Constitution. The President says he conceives of the U.S. Constitution as a document that can be changed at the will of the men (Supreme Court) who interpret it.

The President further says that the Constitution can be changed arbitrarily to fit the needs of a changing age and changing times. The President says nothing about amendments, which the Constitution specifies for alterations—he just stresses interpretation. As times change, Kennedy says, so can principles.

The present Supreme Court, dominated by Liberal Earl Warren, has taken many liberties with its interpretations of the Constitution, not to "the letter of the law" but through sociological and modern thinking.

But just as in the law of God, so in the Constitution, the principles of right and wrong have nothing to do with a changing age and modern times.

It is just as wrong to steal and kill today

as it was when the law of God was given to Moses almost 4,000 years ago.

The rights of individuals and of the several States are the same today as they were first written September 17, 1787. But to read the interpretations of the present Supreme Court, you would think that James Madison and his associates did not know what they were doing.

But regardless of the present Court's interpretations, the principles of law in the Constitution do not change—only the circumstances of their application change.

In addressing a group of students recently, President Kennedy had this to say:

"The American Constitution is an extraordinary document, and it is certainly the most extraordinary written Constitution in the history of the world, but has required men to make it work, and it still does today.

"After all, the Constitution was written under entirely different conditions. It was written during a period of isolation. It was written at a time when there were 13 different units which had to be joined together and which, of course, were extremely desirous of limiting the central power of government."

We believe the Central Government should be limited today. The Federal Government has become too powerful at the expense of the States in direct conflict to the Constitution.

Realizing that ages and times do change, the framers of the Constitution provided ways and means by which the document could be amended.

But both Presidents Roosevelt and Kennedy believe this method to be "cumbersome" as Roosevelt so aptly put it.

So with a majority of liberals on the Supreme Court, President Kennedy gets his changes made through interpretation—through sociology—rather than through the legal process of amendment.

Recently the Council of State Governments in a resolution advocated the "separation of powers" and asked the Supreme and Federal Courts to exercise judicial restraint and noted: "These recent decisions overturn numerous court decisions to the contrary, which have been decided over scores of years and which represented the best legal thinking of many generations of great judicial minds, dedicated to the preservation of the Federal system; that these decisions in areas of Federal-State relations enunciate an entirely new and strange doctrine which says that the courts not only can interpret the law but also can legislate and administer the law by judicial fiat."

We believe it's time we sought the help of our Representatives in Congress to return our great Nation to constitutional government.

And, the time to do it is now—during Constitution Week.

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## President Kennedy Comes Back to West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, last night Senator RANDOLPH, Senator BYRD, of West Virginia, Congressman BAILEY, Congressman STAGGERS, Congressman SLACK, Congressman WAYNE HAYS, of Ohio, and I had the honor of accompanying President Kennedy to Wheeling, W. Va. The President opened his remarks by stating: "When I come back to West Virginia, I feel as if I was coming home."

The friendly people of West Virginia, despite the cold and rain, lined the streets from the airport to the football stadium, where the President spoke.

The following is the text of his remarks:

Governor Barron, Senator Randolph, Senator Byrd, Congressman Cleveland Bailey, Congressman Slack, Congressman Hechler, Congressman Staggers, Congressman Wayne Hays, from the neighboring State of Ohio, ladies and gentlemen, when I come back to West Virginia, I feel as if I was coming home. This, after all, is the State which sent me out into the world, and you are the people who made me the Democratic candidate for the President of the United States.

Sometimes when Senator HUMPHREY and I get together to discuss the crises which pile up on the President's desk, we may wonder which of us you did the greater favor for. But nevertheless, for better of for worse, I know that if it had not been for Wheeling, and a score of other West Virginia cities and towns, 2½ years ago, I would not be here tonight. This is the place where the Democratic victory of 1960 had its start, and I can assure you that this is also the place where the Democratic congressional victory of 1962 will have its start.

The campaign of 1960 was important, and that included especially the primary campaign, because it provided an education, not just for the candidates who were involved, but also for the people of the United States. It reminded this Nation that even in America people through no fault of their own have had to live lives of hardship and want, and that even in America communities, through no fault of their own, have suffered from stagnation and age, and it reminded this Nation that an affirmative and progressive government could do something about it.

To do something about it, that has always been the faith of the Democratic Party, and it is the issue in the 1962 election. For not everyone, even in America, welcomes change. Throughout our entire history there have always been people, and they are excellent people, who preferred to hold things as they were, who wanted to go back to some golden age which never was, and if change is inevitable, they want as little of it as possible. I do not agree. This has never been the view of the Democratic Party.

We believe that if men have the talent to invent new machines that put men out of work, they have the talent to put those men back to work, and that is the issue in this campaign.

The fact of the matter is that this State has a very clear contrast between these two points of view, because in the 1950's, West Virginia was left on the beach, to decline, to rot. Then in January of 1961 a Government of veto and obstruction and do-nothingism was thrown out of office, and a government here in this State of West Virginia, under your Governor, and a Government in Washington, committed to progress, began to work together for the State of West Virginia, and the result in that brief period has been a marked improvement in the economic climate of this State.

I do not claim for a moment that the problems of West Virginia are solved, but I say they have begun to be solved. I know that troubles and difficulties remain. I know that much more needs to be done, and that is the purpose of this meeting tonight, because we want your help in doing it, and that is why this election of November 1962 is so important.

Look at West Virginia today. Only 2 weeks ago the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce, not an organization which is an arm of the Democratic Party, announced that in 1961 the economy of West Virginia had recovered from a recession to have the second best year in the history of West Virginia, and if progress continues, 1962 would be the best year in the history of this State. There has been in the last 20 months a decline of 37 percent in the number of unemployed in this State, and there are still too many, but at least we have begun, and I come here tonight to ask your help in finishing this job.

Why has it come about? Why have we been able to make this progress? It is because we have attempted in this State and in this country a comprehensive attack on the problems that face this State and Nation. West Virginia has been fortunate to have enjoyed the strong and progressive leadership of your Governor, and it has come about because a progressive Democratic administration in Washington, and a Democratic Congress, has worked to provide the people of West Virginia with the tools to do this job.

It is the people themselves who must do it, but it is the State government and the National Government that can help provide an atmosphere that will make it possible to do the work. I am proud that the first thing I did on the Saturday morning after assuming the responsibility of President of the United States was to sit down at my desk and sign an Executive order doubling the amount of surplus food that could be distributed to the needy people of this State and other States.

But the job has only begun. In the fiscal year of 1960, the total of military contracts placed in West Virginia was $36 million, but since January of 1960 things have changed. The total in 1962 was 4 times as much as in 1960, and twice as much as in 1961. The increase from 1960 to 1962 has been 272 percent, and I might add that the neighboring States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, since January 1961, defense contracts have totaled $1.5 billion in each of these States, and defense contracts are only a part of the story. A few years ago West Virginia was actually paying more money into the Federal Treasury as a State with most serious economic problems than most of the other States, and a good deal more than it was receiving back from the Federal Government. Your State in those Republican years bore far more than its share of the national burden. We have changed this situation. In the allocation of public works, in road building, especially the North-South highway project, in small business loans, in family farm loans, in the food stamp program, in health, education, and welfare grants, in emergency unemployment compensation, in area redevelopment projects, the Corps of Engineers projects, in flood prevention, watershed protection, forest management, public housing and college housing, West Virginia has received increased grants, and this has stimulated and helps stimulate the West Virginia economy.

I know that there are those who are against this, and I know that there are those who say that people who are out of work should find it. But I believe that the free enterprise system means that there will be an opportunity for all people who want to find a job, and it is to that credo that this Government of ours is committed.

Two years ago I said that it was time to get this country moving again. In the last 2 years, we have made a start, but just a start. But we have begun to act, for no Congress in a generation has passed as much

affirmative and constructive legislation as the present Congress. This Congress under Democratic leadership has passed a widespread housing bill, an increase in the minimum wage to $1.25, an area redevelopment act for depressed areas, a manpower retraining act to make it possible for those who are out of work to find a new training and a new job, a bill preventing the distribution of harmful drugs, a farm act, relief for children of unemployed workers, and a trade bill, and these other bills which are important. But this is a beginning, and a beginning only. And that is why this election is important.

We have won fights by three or four votes in the House of Representatives, and we have lost fights by three or four votes. This is not a matter of personalities or merely parties. It is a question of whether the people of this District, rain or shine, will support people who believe in progress.

A few days ago we lost a bill for aid for higher education. We lost it by 32 votes; three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. Last year 84 percent of the Republicans voted in the Senate against nationwide financing of unemployment compensation. Last month, 9 out of 10 Republicans on the House Ways and Means Committee voted against a bill to provide temporary relief for those who have exhausted their unemployment compensation. Eighty-one percent of the Republicans in the House voted against the area redevelopment bill. Ninety-five percent of the Republicans in the House voted against the Housing Act. Eighty percent voted against the minimum wage of $1.25—80 percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted against giving a man $1.25 for a 40-hour week, an hour.

This is the issue in this campaign. We want to finish the job that we have started here in West Virginia and in Ohio and Pennsylvania, because a good deal more needs to be done. But I can assure you that so closely divided is the House and Senate that we cannot do the job without assistance of forward-looking Members of the House and Senate. And this State of West Virginia has them. I am confident that Congressman CLEVELAND BAILEY, with whom I served in the House of Representatives a decade ago, and your other Congressmen, KEN HECHLER, Mrs. KEE, Congressman—Well, they are all here—Stand up, gentlemen—HARLEY STAGGERS, WAYNE HAYS, of Ohio—with your two distinguished Senators—Gentlemen, stand up—that they are going to be back. These men and others like them, and women, have stood for the passage of the kind of legislation which means so much to the State of West Virginia.

I have too high regard for this State to have the rain fall upon all of you, but I want you to know how much I appreciate your coming here tonight in a cold, rainy night. You believe and I believe that it is the function of National and State Government to permit the people to develop their own resources. I can assure you that in January 1963 we shall send a program to the Congress of the United States which will continue the progress that we have begun to make. That program will be enacted into legislation only if we have Members of the House and Senate who share this same view of the future which the people of West Virginia have shared. This State, which for 10 years lay in the backwash, now knows that this State and others can move forward, and I come to West Virginia tonight for the purpose of asking your help in giving us the men and women who, joining together in Washington, can help West Virginia and the country move forward.

Thank you very much.

## A Plea for Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to have this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the address given by New York City Council President Paul R. Screvane before the Queens Division of President Kennedy's Committee for Medicare for the Aged, on September 13, 1962.

As a member of that committee, and as an ardent supporter of legislation which will provide hospital and nursing care for our elderly citizens through social security, I want to endorse wholeheartedly Mr. Screvane's eloquent plea for medicare.

Perhaps next year we will once again have an opportunity to consider this measure, and to put into effect an adequate and long-needed program of medical care for the aged.

The speech follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, when a cause is as progressive, as right, and as necessary to the Nation's well-being as the cause we are gathered here tonight to support, we have the certainty that we will eventually be on the winning side. We will—sooner or later—see Congres pass a bill to provide medicare for the aged under social security. The question is, what can we do to make it sooner, rather than later?

Our problem is no longer one of convincing the public; it is a problem of translating the public will into legislative action. As more and more Americans reach the age of 65; as more and more senior citizens see their life's savings dwindle to pay hospital bills; as more and more middle-income families see their savings used to support their aged parents; as the financial hazards of old age spread until they affect virtually every family in our Nation; the call for a medicare program will become overwhelming and irresistible.

We are gathered in a section of the country and in a city where impressive public support for medicare is already evident, thanks largely to the volunteer efforts of people such as yourselves.

Mayor Wagner, whose father sponsored a medicare bill in the Senate as far back as 1940, has taken the lead in organizing popular support on a nationwide basis. Hundreds of mayors throughout the Nation are working together in their cities with groups such as these to keep medicare alive.

Whether medicare passes Congress next year will depend on this year's elections. A single issue often gets lost in the turbulence of a national campaign, but medicare is too important to be swept out of sight.

Perhaps the most important items in President Kennedy's domestic program can be better considered one by one.

Let's make medicare the single domestic issue by which to sift out the candidates for the 88th Congress. Let's make medicare a political litmus test for all aspirants, Democratic and Republican alike. Every candidate should have to stand up and be counted on this great social issue.

In every district in the Nation, let us organize to elect a majority pledged to enact the King-Anderson bill.

This is an issue which cuts across geographical and political borders. If any of you have friends and relatives in other areas of the United States, I would strongly urge you to communicate this need to them. They must join their voices to ours in a great chorus for medicare. Convince them of the almost tragic need for this measure. And once you have convinced them, you must make sure they let their candidates and elected representatives know their views.

When I was younger, the chain letter was a fad. It was built on the idea of a mathematical progression. Each one would write to two and each two would now write to four. Perhaps this fad of years ago can be resurrected into something more than a fad. It can be a means to tell our medicare story.

Even though we must press actively for Federal enactment of an adequate medical care program, we must not neglect our own State of New York. Unfortunately, our State administration has long clouded over this issue of medical care to the aged. It has not been accidental.

Of course, in New York State there is a law involving medical care for the aged which implements the Federal Kerr-Mills Act, but this New York State law gives the distorted illusion of help to the aged. It takes care only of the indigent. To be helped, you must undergo what is known as a means test.

Governor Rockefeller is wedded to the debasing and unrealistic standard of a strict means test. In his approval message for the State law, he promised that his program would help the medical needy without loss of their possessions or dignity. But, this law was so limited that even the Governor had to concede that amendments were needed. An amendment was added in 1962.

However, did this amendment lessen the requirements of the means test? No, it did not. Did it cut out the specific monetary requirements for eligibility within the law? No, it did not. Did it return this standard-setting function to the State board of social welfare as the now dead Ohrenstein-Lentol bill proposed? No, it did not.

It is hard to believe, but there are proud parents who would prefer to die of untreated diseases rather than subject their children to the shame of an inquiry.

Did this 1962 amendment eliminate the responsibility of relatives for the payment of bills incurred by the aged; and as a concomitant, the investigation of these relatives' financial resources? No, it did not.

What it did was to interchange the words of the old song, "it accentuates the negative and eliminates the positive."

Is this a law today which preserves the dignity of the individual? The answer is obvious. No, it is not.

There are other parts of the State law in which medical services could be expanded to helped the aged. Our State should be a pioneer in social legislation. Yet, there are States which have far better implemented the Kerr-Mills Act than New York State.

The Ohrenstein-Lentol bill, which the city administration supported, proposed that State services include diagnostic screening, preventive services, private duty nursing services, as well as home health care. This bill reflected the need of the State department of social welfare to establish adequate medical care and service standards.

The setting of these standards would have been done in consultation with a committee of qualified members of the various health professions. But this bill is dead. And we must look to the present and the future.

Today, medical care for the aged has become an all-inclusive issue at the local, State, and national levels of Government. We must build a national roof of health protection over our elder citizens through the King-Anderson bill. Too long have our aged

endured the symptoms of illness because they cannot afford treatment or because they are too proud to accept charity. Many postpone hospitalization until it is too late to do anything about their illnesses. Any government that permits this to happen can properly be accused of inhumanity. It is inconceivable that the United States with its vast wealth, cannot see to it that its aged can meet their medical needs with dignity and independence.

Every show of public sentiment of this long-overdue and desperately needed piece of legislation will have its effect in demonstrating to the Congress that the American people, rich and poor, young and old, sick and well, demand a realistic and humanely adjusted program of medical care for the aged.

We have the justice of our cause and the massed millions of medicare's adherents to assist us. If we organize, we shall win. And, we will win.

Thank you.

## Who's in Charge Here?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Jackson, Mich., Citizen Patriot of September 24, 1962:

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?

We doubt very much that the New Frontiersmen planned it that way, but Saturday's new budget prompted a question: "Who's in charge here?"

The first item on the front pages on that day told of President Kennedy's telephoned message to the Ohio Democratic State Convention in Columbus.

The President told the assembled Democrats, in effect, that the tide of communism had been reversed in the 20 months he had been in office.

When his administration took over on January 6, 1961, he said:

"Khrushchev was on the move in the Congo, Gizenga was on the move in the Congo, Castro was on the move in the Caribbean, and the Communists were on the move in Laos and Vietnam.

"In the months since, the tide has been reversed. We have taken the initiative in aid, trade, and diplomacy. We have stopped the Communists in Laos and in South Vietnam and in Berlin.

"Gizenga is a forgotten figure, Castro reduced to a state of desperation, and has thereby sealed his own doom in South America and Cuba."

The President's remarks sounded fine except that they landed on the front page in an unfortunate juxtaposition with a report on testimony by Secretary of Defense McNamara before the House Armed Services Committee.

Mr. McNamara, generally pictured as the "least political" member of the Cabinet, told the House group that the present world crisis is the worst in years. He said, specifically: "I would say that the crisis today in terms of military requirements and potential military operations is more severe than at any time since the Korean war."

His testimony was given in connection with the President's request for standby authority to call up 150,000 Ready Reserves in the case of some flareup while Congress is not in session.

Now to go back for a moment to the President's remarks:

"Khrushchev was on the move in Berlin." Since 1961, Khrushchev has built the wall and is pushing harder than ever in that trouble spot.

"Gizenga was on the move in the Congo." The Congo still is one of the worst problems facing the world.

"Castro was on the move in the Caribbean."

"Castro, personally, may not be moving very far or fast today, but he is responsible for the creation of a Soviet military base 90 miles from American shores; for the flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine and the conversion of Cuba into a Russian satellite. Not bad for a man who isn't moving. He may have sealed his personal doom, but the danger to the hemisphere is incalculable and can't be wished away. The Alliance for Progress is making little progress.

"We have stopped the Communists in Laos." Have we, really? There is growing evidence every day that the troika government there will lead to a complete takeover by the Reds. They are not living up to their agreements and there is precious little the United States can do about it.

"And South Vietnam" * * * The issue there is cloudy, at best. Certainly it is nothing for the President to brag about at this time.

The answer to this little riddle, of course, is that a political speech to a State convention often bears little relation to the facts which must be presented to a congressional committee.

Still, the people have the right to know which appraisal of the world situation is correct.

## Commentary on the Economics of Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I invite the Members' attention to the following article from Insight, a publication of the Council of California Growers. This article, which details the success story of Sterling Grant, is also a good commentary on the economics of farming:

[From Insight, Sept. 17, 1962]

AGRICULTURE: CALIFORNIA'S MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRY

WASCO.—Sterling Grant is a sharecropper. But not the kind you probably have seen pictured: That hang-dog fellow behind a mule and plow, and living in an unpainted shack.

To find out how the modern tenant farmer lives in California these days, the Council of California Growers sent a reporter to Grant's farm near Wasco in the San Joaquin Valley, approximately 25 miles northwest of Bakersfield.

What the reporter found, instead of a mule and plow, were more than a dozen tractors and numerous pieces of other farm equipment. Instead of a shack, the reporter found an attractive yet modest modern ranch home, surrounded by green lawns, shrubs, flowers, and trees, and well-tended fields. He also found a happy, busy family—each one doing chores ranging from feeding 4-H Club project calves to painting a cotton trailer. There are two boys and two girls.

When Sterling arrived at the ranch for the interview he was in a hurry—as usual.

"I just got word that one of my irrigators has a lame leg," he said as he whirled into the yard in his car. "So hop in and we'll talk while I drive out to see how he is."

The irrigator had gone home. Sterling was relieved.

"He's a good man," Sterling said, speaking of the irrigator. "I certainly didn't want him working with a sore leg."

Upon returning to the ranch, a perky red barn caught the reporter's eye and prompted an admiring comment.

"My wife built that a couple of summers ago. Used old railroad ties and planks from an abandoned oil-well derrick, together with lumber from some nondescript buildings around here."

Seventeen-year-old Joe is using one-half of the downstairs of the barn as a shop. Parts of an ancient auto were being cleaned. The other half is home for the 4-H Club beef animals.

Upstairs is a children's playroom, which can be quickly converted into a dance parlor or game room for the parents. In the corner sits an upright piano. It's used when Sterling, his brother Loran, the latter's wife and a couple of neighbors get together to play music. Sterling plays the trumpet.

"We play mostly for fun," says Sterling. "My brother Loran really is a fine musician. Before he joined me in farming, he played in a movie studio orchestra. He arranges the music."

Today, the Grants farm approximately 1,500 acres, of which 1,160 is leased on a share-of-the-crop basis from Kern County Land Co.

"If we hadn't been able to lease this land, under the terms given, I'm doubtful whether we could have made a go of it," says Sterling. "My father owned 70 acres of land in this area, but that just isn't enough in this high-cost era of farming to get the yield for success. For the fellow getting started, land is too costly—running up to $1,000 and $1,200 per acre in this area. Leasing on a share basis permits a young farmer to put all of his capital into operations instead of into land."

With a capital of only $4,300, the 27-year-old Sterling plunged deep into farming almost as quickly as he had shucked his World War II uniform.

His other assets were a long-nurtured desire to be a farmer, 4 years of high school and 2 years in the agricultural college at the University of California in Davis, plus a couple of years in prewar farming. And a good credit rating.

Grant is only one of 350 farmers, large and small, who lease a total of 115,000 acres from Kern County Land. The company, itself, farms 11,000 acres.

To help these farmers get started, Kern County Land gave many of them 5 years' rent free in exchange for their leveling and otherwise improving the once raw land.

Says Grant: "You often hear how these large landholders are squeezing out the independent farmers and making it impossible for young farmers to get started. Examination of the facts reveals just the opposite; hundreds of farmers with small capital got their start by leasing from larger holders."

Although his gross income often runs into six or more figures, Grant is by no means a wealthy farmer. His costs are enormous. For example, this year his production costs on just one 160-acre garlic crop will be around $128,000—about $800 an acre—before he gets a cent in return.

But there is no guarantee he will make a cent of profit. There is always the danger of a crop failure for one reason or another.

To lessen his risks, Grant diversifies. Black-eyed peas, onions, potatoes, alfalfa,

cotton, barley, sugarbeets, watermelons, cattle.

If one crop fails, or if the bottom drops out of the market for others, Grant hopes to cover his losses with the remaining crops.

Sometimes he doesn't cover all of the losses. Then he does custom harvesting for other farmers.

In most years Grant borrows heavily to cover production costs.

At the office of the Bakersfield Production Credit Association in Bakersfield, the Council reporter talked to James Beagle, the manager, and learned why Grant is considered a good credit risk.

"Sterling Grant is, first of all, one of the best farm operators in the lower San Joaquin Valley. He's extremely honest. Likes to do things right, and keeps an accurate set of records. And he tends to business."

But, to Grant, business and profits aren't everything in life. They're means to ends. They mean the time to join his family on pack trips. Fishing and hunting. To serve as president of the Wasco Union High School board of trustees, and push through his pet project: a high school farm and agricultural laboratory. To serve as chairman of the Methodist Church lay board. To help 4-H Club boys and girls to get started on projects.

And to play trumpet in a five-piece jazz band.

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## Expressing the Determination of the United States With Respect to the Situation in Cuba

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SPEECH

OF

### HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration Senate Joint Resolution 230, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, I should like to express my personal opinion on this Cuban situation.

Like every other red-blooded American, I resent the Cuban importation of so-called technicians from Russia and I like many others—wish we could go back to the days of "waving the big stick" and sending the Navy around the world to impress our adversaries.

However, times have changed considerably since those days, for then the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with our well-manned and well-equipped Navy were not only our first line of defense, but were great natural obstacles for any ambitious invader to conquer.

Today, with the atomic-powered submarines that are capable of releasing missiles from submerged positions, with jet fighter planes capable of carrying and accurately firing missiles, with missile bases on both continents equipped and ready to fire at ranges 5,000 miles away, we must admit the world has radically changed.

As it has grown in knowledge and sophistication, through science and technological innovations, it has shrunk in size and you know as well as I that in minutes Europe, Asia and the Americas—North, South, and Latin—could be rendered desolate.

Under such circumstances, it is necessary for the people of the world to become full-grown adults and mature—and face facts as they are, not as we wished they might be.

Just as the world has changed, as our way of life has changed, as our mode of living has changed in the last 100 years, or even in the last 20 years, so must our policies change and our means of handling impudent challenges to our leadership of the world.

No longer can we say "If you won't play my way, you can't play."

No longer is American a young struggling nation—we have become the leader of the free world and with it comes responsibilities to maintain stability in this troubled universe.

As a veteran of World War I, having served in France with the AEF, and of World War II, where I served in the European theater of operations, I subscribe to President Kennedy's views that "this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies * * * however, I hope that the American people will, in the nuclear age, as they have in the past, keep both their nerve and their head."

Some wires and letters I have received have stated "Now is the time to send troops into Cuba," "It's now or never to fight Cuba," "Let's get over there to Cuba and show them up," go, go, go. I should like to write these people "Are you going to enlist and volunteer your services for this encounter?" but few include their addresses and the majority of them are not from my district.

In view of the President's suggestions I was pleased to read in the Daily Messenger, a newspaper from Homestead, Pa.—a community in my congressional district—an excellent editorial on the present "hot" cold-war situation and I would like to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that many of my colleagues have the opportunity of reading it. It is good to know that we have responsible and levelheaded publishers and editors throughout the Nation who are dedicated to reporting the facts—and not just publishing scare headlines to sell their paper:

MONROE: OBSOLETE DOCTRINE

The establishment of a Russian outpost on Cuba, 90 miles from Florida, has sent newspapermen and politicians scurrying to their history books for a brushup on the Monroe Doctrine.

In blowing the dust away, some have interpreted the 139-year-old document as a clarion call to send the marines to Cuba.

Unfortunately, they are invoking a dead doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine is dead simply because the era of gunboat diplomacy has vanished.

The threat of nuclear holocaust has rendered obsolete former ideas of American might and right.

The United States cannot, as some of the "war hawks" suggest, throw a blockade around Cuba and risk igniting World War III.

At the same time the Nation's responsible leaders have made it plain that this country will draw a fight-if-we-must line.

Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said Monday that the United States is ready to take military action against Cuba if necessary.

"If our naval base at Guantanamo is threatened; if the Panama Canal is threatened; if Cape Canaveral is threatened in any way; if American lives are threatened; or if Cuba should in any way attempt to export its aggressive military purposes by force against any nation in this hemisphere; or if Cuba should become an offensive military base then we will take whatever military action is warranted by the facts," Mr. VINSON said.

In support of his statement, Congress this week forged two weapons:

1. A declaration to use all means needed to block communism from endangering the Western Hemisphere.

2. A bill authorizing the President to call up 150,000 combat-ready Reserves if conditions in Cuba—or Berlin—warrant them.

While taking a firm stand, Mr. VINSON took the same tack as President Kennedy in urging restraint.

"We must be careful," Mr. VINSON said, "that we do not permit our emotions and national pride to overcome sound judgment."

President Kennedy at a recent press conference noted: "This country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies."

But he expressed the hope that the American people will "in the nuclear age, as they have in the past, keep both their nerve and their head."

The doctrine promulgated by President Monroe in 1823 said: "We should consider any attempt * * * to extend their [European powers] system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

It was easy in the 1860's to dissuade Louis Napoleon's dream of empire in Mexico.

Under the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, it was easy to send marines all over the Caribbean to protect economically troubled countries.

But changing times compel modifications of sacred political doctrines.

We do not like the Soviet presence in Cuba any more than we liked the transformation of Dr. Castro from a revolutionary hero and liberator to a paranoiac dictator.

But the day is past when the mere presence of undesirables is excuse for easy war.

Cries of Munich-like appeasement are not apropos to 1962.

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## Expressing the Determination of the United States With Respect to the Situation in Cuba

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SPEECH

OF

### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration Senate Joint Resolution 230, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I wish to add my voice to those of my distinguished colleagues who have spoken in favor of Senate Joint Resolution 230, which expresses the firm support of the Congress for the President in the present Cuban crisis.

I am heartily in accord with the resolution, in view of the critical state of our relations with Cuba at this time, when the Soviet Union is getting bolder and bolder in its contributions to the military strength of the Cuban Government, as well as in advancing its own espionage activities in this hemisphere, for instance, through the fishing port which has just been announced.

Communism cannot be allowed to spread in our Western Hemisphere, and I feel that we are absolutely right in declaring to all the world that we are willing to support whatever means may be necessary to ensure that it does not spread. Our President has made it known that the United States will take action if the buildup in Cuba reaches such proportions as to present a threat to this country or its Latin American neighbors. I heartily endorse the expression by Congress of our willingness to support him in this action, whatever form it may have to take.

We all acknowledge that the President alone can have access to all the information necessary, and alone can be aware of all the considerations which must go into the formulation of foreign policy decisions. Senate Joint Resolution 230 also acknowledges this reality of the operation of our Government, and makes known to all the world, and most particularly to the Soviet Union, that the President has the unanimous support of the American people and their elected representatives in Congress in whatever actions he may take to keep this hemisphere free of the tyranny of communism. I, therefore, wholeheartedly support it.

## On Mail Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. LEON H. GAVIN**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Era, Bradford, Pa., issue of September 21, 1962:

ON MAIL RATES

In the address to the Nation in which he discussed the state of the economy, President Kennedy said: "I am urging the Congress * * * to end the postal deficit of $600 million a year."

All of us can agree with that purpose. But the rub comes in how to do it.

The bill now before Congress, which has passed the House but so far has not been given Senate consideration, contains provisions which almost all authorities regard as extreme.

For one thing, the mail rate increases proposed for the Nation's smaller publications—newspapers and magazines—would in many cases be almost literally insupportable. Example: The rate increase on a country weekly newspaper mailed to a subscriber a few miles away would be as great as on a huge New York Sunday daily going across the continent. The magazine business is deep in the doldrums now and the proposed increases in rates would actually, in a number of instances, be greater than profits.

Ever since the post office was founded its basic services—carrying of mails and publications—have been regarded as an essential contribution to public education, enlightenment and entertainment. They are thus a legitimate governmental expenditure and they should not necessarily be required to pay their way in entirety.

## Awards to California Contractor Spread Far Afield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, so often the public gets the impression that if a California firm is awarded a Government contract, the amount of money announced for the contract will all be used and spent in California. This is not at all true. I recently had occasion to look into this with one of the companies in my district, and I believe some of my colleagues will be interested in just exactly what happens to amounts awarded to a large and prominent company in California.

Hughes Aircraft Co. awarded subcontracts to 5,632 companies in 35 States during the first 8 months of 1962 for subassemblies, components and services needed for the company's space, defense, and civilian programs. Hughes subcontract allocations for the first 8 months of 1962 totaled $87 million, of which 48 percent went to small business concerns. Hughes has been very active in small business participation in support of their prime contracts and has participated in Government-industry small business ad hoc committee work to afford small business the greatest possible opportunity to assist in defense and space work.

On November 10, 1961, the Hughes Aircraft Co. was host to 45 representatives of the defense industry and Government in reviewing the role of small business in modern procurement. Participating were representatives of the SBA, DOD, NASA, AEC, Navy, Air Force, Army, General Services Administration, with participants of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Security Industrial Association, Aerospace Industries Association, Electronic Industries Association, Machine and Applied Products Institute and American Gear Manufacturing Association. The meeting at Hughes followed a similar meeting held at Martin and North American, and the purpose was to acquaint all participants with typical prime contractor procurement complexities and to encourage the pursuit of all possible avenues to strengthen major defense industries small business programs.

With one eye on the long-term future growth and the other on the constant need to develop improved suppliers to meet the new technological requirements required by defense and space programs, Hughes Aircraft Co. opened a Midwest procurement office in Chicago to evaluate the potential of subcontractors in that area. The approach being taken by this office is to make a full determination of what Chicago and the Midwest States can do to help Hughes on its key space and defense programs. It is believed by Hughes that it can obtain more support from its existing subcontractors in the area, and it is Hughes' belief that there are still more manufacturers in the Midwest region who cannot only help the company, but the national defense effort in general.

Hughes spent 13 percent of its subcontract money in the Midwest last year, mostly with manufacturers with which it had been doing business for some time.

## Resolution by Mills College Alumnae Club of Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a formal resolution from the Washington Chapter of the Mills College Alumnae Association urging that heavy trucks be banned from the new MacArthur Freeway in Oakland, Calif. In support of this resolution, I wish to bring certain facts to the attention of the House.

MacArthur Freeway, which is presently under construction, is an important highway link for Oakland, Calif., with the Interstate Highway System, and is being built with the assistance of Federal funds.

Its present route cuts across a section of the campus of Mills College, an outstanding educational institution that has been in existence since 1852. It also cuts through a long-settled, high-class residential section, close not only to Mills College but also five public schools.

No one objects to the use of the freeway for heavy automobile traffic. But the objections raised with regard to the use of the freeway by large trucks are serious and vigorous, not only at the city management level but also in the State executive department and legislature.

I am quite aware that the administrative position of the Bureau of Public Roads of the U.S. Department of Commerce is that all highways built with Federal aid are to be open to all types of traffic. This is based on the premise that trucking companies, just as private citizens and other concerns, are taxpayers and equitably, under normal circumstances, would not be denied the use of the freeway.

My plea here today is for a reasonable solution to the problem raised by the residents of Oakland in objecting strong-

ly to the use of heavy trucks on the MacArthur Freeway. The citizens of Oakland firmly believe the large-volume traffic of heavy trucks would constitute an intolerable disturbance to the academic atmosphere of the college and the five public schools. Furthermore, it could constitute a definite threat and cause possible loss to the owners of property close and adjacent to it.

They offer an alternative route, which is a parallel highway now part of the Interstate System, called the Nimitz Freeway. This highway is presently in use by the heavy trucking concerns, is only three-tenths of a mile longer than the MacArthur Freeway, does not disturb or harass the community, and the grades are much more gentle than those to be encountered on the new road.

All in all, only a few miles of travel are involved. I think it entirely reasonable for the citizens of Oakland to appeal to all responsible agencies concerned that the heavy truck traffic be banned from this short span of the MacArthur Freeway, in view of the fact that no unusual hardship will be imposed upon the trucking concerns if the alternate and existing routes continue to be used.

I should point out to the House that there is considerable precedent for such action. Other roads have been built with Federal assistance and have been blocked to heavy trucking. In fact, the Baltimore-Washington Freeway, for a considerable portion of its extent is free of trucking, and it runs through completely open country.

I strongly believe that the present atmosphere existing in the MacArthur Freeway area should be preserved to the greatest extent possible. I also believe that the citizens of Oakland have absolutely no desire to be obstructive or obdurate purely for unenlightened self-interest. I also strongly believe that the solution they offer, the use of the Nimitz Freeway rather than the MacArthur Freeway for large trucks, is reasonable and equitable. Therefore, I urgently seek the support of the House for this resolution.

The resolution follows:

To: Representative GEORGE P. MILLER.
From: The Mills College Alumnae Club of Washington, D.C., September 25, 1962.

For some time, the Mills College Alumnae Club of Washington, D.C., has been concerned about the progress of a new freeway (MacArthur Freeway) infringing upon the Mills College Campus in Oakland, Calif.

Our only concern has been for the well-being of a college which has nurtured intellectual curiosity among its alumnae and developed warmth, discipline, and personal commitment into an art of living. Cutting a freeway into one side of the campus, with the attendant noise and lack of privacy has seemed to us to endanger the very atmosphere which has fostered the college's particular interests.

Now, other considerations lead us to speak. We are specifically concerned about truck use of the new freeway which is but a short distance from the parallel Nimitz Freeway, which is itself only three-tenths of a mile longer, has a favorable grade, and has been designated for trucks since 1951. Truck use of the MacArthur Freeway will add considerably to the noise, fumes, and confusion already in store for Mills College and the residential neighborhood adjacent to it. We ask that trucks be excluded from MacArthur Freeway since there will be no hardship in continued use of Nimitz Freeway by them.

We have one other, perhaps even more important, point to make. Mills College is not the only educational institution to be threatened by highway demands. Skidmore, Swarthmore, Goucher and Colby may be in the same position as Mills. To quote the Washington Post of August 25, 1962: "Perhaps we ought to take another look at the purposes of life on this Continent. Is mobility all we seek? Where are we going to find oases where man can be quiet or, indeed, where students can study? All the freeways in the world will profit us nothing if we find only another cloverleaf at the end of our journey."

This statement speaks for itself. Surely every thoughtful person should be aware that inch by inch, mile by mile, only quiet greenswards are giving way to concrete. Is this our contribution to the future?

Mrs. Robert F. Cocklin
RUTH C. COCKLIN,
*Regional Governor.*
Mrs. Wm. Burdick
SALLY BURDICK,
*President.*

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## Group Practice Offers Improved Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, August 30, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last year, I introduced legislation which would encourage the development and growth of the group practice of medicine and the acquisition of health centers and facilities to meet our growing population.

My bill, H.R. 5887, was designed to assist voluntary nonprofit associations offering prepaid health service programs to secure necessary facilities and equipment through long-term interest bearing loans. Since that time a more comprehensive bill, H.R. 13081, has been introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS].

This more comprehensive Harris bill has my full support. It is a measure which I believe deserves earnest and speedy consideration by this body because it will promote a most desirable way of helping to provide adequate medical and dental care for large numbers of our fellow citizens. This proposed legislation would authorize Federal mortgage insurance and loans to help finance the cost of constructing and equipping facilities for the group practice of medicine or dentistry or both.

Last February 27, President Kennedy's message on proposed health programs for the consideration of the 87th Congress emphasized the necessity of securing maximum utilization of the trained professional and technical personnel now available. In that connection, the President's message pointed out:

> Group practice offers great promise of improving the quality of medical care, of achieving significant economies and conveniences to physician and patient alike, and of facilitating a wider and better distribution of the available supply of scarce personnel.

It is quite true, Mr. Speaker, that in both the large urban areas and in smaller rural communities, an increasing number of American citizens—both laymen and leaders of the medical profession—have come to recognize the positive values inherent in group practice. We live in an age of proliferation of factual knowledge and techniques about every phase of medicine and dentistry.

In such an age of specialization, the individual medical physician or dentist has great difficulty in keeping up his practice while at the same time staying abreast of the vast number of new developments in the various medical or dental specialized areas, letting alone being able singly to purchase the equipment, often quite expensive, that is required to give the American citizen that high quality medical care which he has a right both to demand and to expect. Throughout the country, doctors and patients both are finding that group practice plans of various kinds offer a path toward more effective use of trained personnel and better care for the patient.

Three types of group practice units or organizations would be aided under the bill which has now been introduced. The first of these is cooperative or other organizations, including medical or dental groups, which offer comprehensive care on a group practice prepayment basis to their members or subscribers. The second type are public or nonprofit organizations which have been established for the purpose of improving the availability of medical or dental care in the community and which will make group practice facilities available to medical or dental groups for their use; and, lastly, medical or dental groups which meet certain standards of organization, procedure, and performance.

The Harris bill, H.R. 13081, would authorize the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service to insure mortgages securing loans for the construction of group practice facilities, up to a maximum aggregate liability of $200 million outstanding at any one time. Direct loans to the three types of group medical or dental plans would be authorized only if the Surgeon General finds the applicant unable to borrow the amount of the loan from other sources, with or without mortgage insurance, upon terms and conditions generally as favorable as the terms for other forms of insured mortgages.

The bill contemplates an authorization for appropriation of up to $10 million for the fiscal year of 1963 to provide capital for the mortgage insurance and loan funds. In the fifth year of the contemplated program the aggregate

appropriation authorized would be $60 million.

These funds will have a very great degree of effectiveness in making possible a rapid spread of medical and dental facilities throughout the country. The encouragement of voluntary prepaid group health care programs makes sound public policy. It is a healthy alternative to either Government control or socialization of medicine. It is popular and acceptable to many professional people and to patients. It deserves the modest financial encouragement to growth which this legislation envisions.

## Africa and Food for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include an address by the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the Michigan Food-for-Peace Council at Detroit, Mich., on September 1, 1962. The address follows:

AFRICA AND FOOD FOR PEACE

(Address by the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the Michigan Food-for-Peace Council, Michigan State Fairgrounds, Detroit, Mich., Saturday, September 1, 1962)

It is always a great pleasure for me to return to Michigan and be among old friends. But when I have an opportunity to return here for the Michigan State Fair and speak on both agriculture and Africa, such pleasure is heightened many times.

Let me begin by congratulating Sandy Brown and his associates on the Michigan Food-for-Peace Council, as well as those of you who represent the other States in regional committee No. 2. I commend you for your public-spirited and selfless cooperation in this vital task of developing public understanding and support for the food-for-peace program.

The importance of this program has been made abundantly clear by President Kennedy. One of his first acts after taking office—in fact, his second Executive order dated January 24, 1961—established a Food for Peace office in the White House. At that time the President said:

"American agricultural abundance offers a great opportunity for the United States to promote the interests of peace in a significant way and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples all around the world. We must make the most vigorous and constructive use possible of this opportunity."

What is it about our food-for-peace program that makes it so important in the overall scheme of our foreign policy? What are its objectives, and what kind of thinking is there behind the program?

Initially, the food-for-peace program—which operates under Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act—was conceived of as a kind of "surplus disposal" plan. But its objectives have been broadened considerably in the last year and a half. We have come to realize that we can put America's agricultural abundance to work to relieve hunger and improve nutrition throughout the world—and to contribute to world economic growth and security at the same time.

In 1961, exports under the program amounted to some $1.5 billion, or approximately 30 percent of the total U.S. agricultural exports of $5 billion. In volume, this adds up to about 60 billion pounds of U.S. commodities, principally wheat, corn, rice, and fats and oils.

In Michigan, out of total agricultural exports of $94.9 million in fiscal year 1962, almost 30 percent, or $27.4 million, were shipped under the food-for-peace program.

Africa ranks at the bottom among continents receiving food-for-peace assistance, but it has been receiving an increasingly larger share in the last 2 years. In fiscal year 1962, for example, our African food-for-peace program, excluding Egypt, amounted to $163 million, which is almost 10 percent of the total worldwide program. I might point out here that the value of all of the program's commodities are figured at Commodity Credit Corporation prices and do not reflect absolutely equivalent benefits in dollar expenditures.

We now have African programs under all four titles of Public Law 480, and an example or two of each may more meaningfully explain what we are trying to do under the program.

An important segment of the food-for-peace program is contained in title I of Public Law 480. Under this title, we can sell U.S. agricultural commodities abroad and accept payment in the currency of the importing country.

This part of the program also has a second advantage. Much of the money paid to the United States under title I can be returned to the purchasing country in the form of loans or grants for schools, dams, roads, electric power or other projects that can help speed the country's development. In addition, we can use some of this currency to defray the costs of our representatives abroad. Also some currency is used to support joint efforts of government and industry to develop larger commercial markets for U.S. farm products in foreign countries.

At the present time, six African countries are participating in title I programs—Congo (Léopoldville), Egypt, Guinea, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia.

Guinea, for example, signed a title I agreement on February 2 of this year. At this time, Guinea agreed to buy $7.5 million worth of U.S. rice, wheat, edible oils, and other agricultural commodities over a 3-year period, in exchange for Guinean francs. Two subsequent amendments raised this agreement to $10.67 million. Seventy-three percent of the proceeds from this sale will be loaned back to the Guinean Government for development of industry, agriculture, education, and public administration—projects agreed upon by both the United States and Guinea.

There are two principal uses to which America's farm abundance is put under title II of the law—(1) emergency relief, and (2) economic development.

In east Africa in the past year, both floods and drought raised havoc with the natural food supply of many thousands of people. You may recall the airdrop of corn and dried milk in Tanganyika in May of this year, in which our Air Force worked around the clock in speeding food to a famine-stricken area of that country. In Kenya, too, more than $5 million worth of corn, dried milk and edible oil was sent into the country in the past year for famine relief. Our Air Force also airdropped supplies in Kenya.

Turning now to that section of title II under which food is used as an instrument of economic development, both Tunisia and Morocco are using U.S.-donated food for partial payment of wages on public works projects. We have a $17.8 million work project agreement with Morocco under which 200,000 tons of U.S. wheat will be used by the Moroccan Government as partial wage payments for 200,000 workers employed in economic development projects. In Tunisia, another 180,000 people employed on roads, irrigation, reforestation and land conservation are being partially paid in U.S. wheat. Both Morocco and Tunisia pay part of the workers' wages in cash. The significant part of this program, however, is that it gives highly useful work to the unemployed—unemployed workers in Africa and unemployed foodstuffs in the United States.

Under title III of Public Law 480, food supplies are made available for distribution abroad through U.S. voluntary agencies. Although the volume of total agricultural exports accounted for by these efforts is relatively small, the benefits from this approach are very great.

On my most recent trip to Africa, in April and May of this year, I had an opportunity to see some of these operations first hand. I was greatly impressed with the effects of these voluntary programs and the dedication of the Americans distributing U.S. food in such places as Upper Volta, Dahomey, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Congo.

One of the most dramatic uses of both titles II and III of the food-for-peace program is taking place in Algeria, where between one-third and one-half of that war-ravaged country's population of 10 million is in need of relief. A new food-for-work project in Algeria announced on Thursday of this week, together with an extension of direct relief, will raise the total value of U.S. food provided to Algerians since 1956 to $73 million.

The new food-for-work project will provide $11.5 million worth of surplus food as partial wages to workers in a reforestation project in northeastern Algeria. It is estimated that this project will provide subsistence to 93,000 persons. The increased relief program of food for direct distribution is valued at $13.7 million.

The costs of the food and transportation under these projects will be paid for by the U.S. Government, but the distribution and handling is the responsibility of voluntary organizations—Church World Service, Catholic Relief Services, and the International Red Cross.

The last-known and thus far least-used part of Public Law 480 is title IV, under which the United States can deliver surplus agricultural commodities over a number of years and be repaid in dollars over an extended period. Last April, the first such agreement in Africa was signed with Liberia, and only 2 weeks ago one was signed with Ethiopia. Under the Liberian agreement, wheat, rice, and mixed livestock feeds valued at $8.64 million will be provided to that country over a 3-year period, and repayment will be made in dollars in 15 equal annual installments.

On balance, then, how effective is America's food-for-peace program? Is it meeting its objectives and doing the job it was designed to do? Is it helping us to fulfill those aspirations of the American people that underlie our national policy—our interest in seeking a stable world, and our deep and sincere concern for the welfare of people throughout the world?

I can see a resounding affirmative in the eyes and actions of an otherwise unemployed North African I met. This man was throwing all his strength and pride into running a pneumatic hammer on a country roadwork project. I can feel it in the lump that came into my throat as I watched central African school children line up to receive their milk, which came from boxes of dried milk proudly bearing the insignia of the United States of America.

Before pointing out positive features, however, let me make clear that we are aware of the genuinely difficult problems related to food for peace. I would be less than frank if I didn't mention some of the program's difficulties.

First, this program is not a cure-all for our agricultural surplus problems.

Secondly, in administering this program abroad there are day-to-day practical problems. Distribution in recipient countries is a particularly thorny one. Furthermore, reasonable precautions must be taken to be sure that these programs do not interfere with normal patterns of commercial trade. We want this program to supplement rather than hinder the development of the world's agricultural countries. And again, traditional eating habits in many countries cannot be changed overnight. Our surpluses may be completely unsatisfactory to people who have never tasted such food.

These are a few of the knotty problems connected with food for peace, and it is clear from them that our use of agricultural surpluses must be approached judiciously. Nevertheless, the stakes are so high—the urgent need to eradicate hunger and malnutrition and to solve some of the pressing difficulties of agriculture—that we must have the vision to accept these problems and try to surmount them.

On the positive side, the program offers constructive outlets for surplus agricultural production without endangering our balance-of-payments position; it lowers the costs of surplus storage; it bolsters farm income; and it is improving business for our railroads, seaports and shipping lines. Furthermore, it is showing the people of the world that farmers in our free democratic system can outproduce regimented Soviet farmworkers by a ratio of 5 to 1. Our food-for-peace program also is raising nutritional levels abroad, developing new markets for American agriculture, and assisting in the vital economic development of many new countries.

Perhaps most importantly of all, food for peace reaches large numbers of individuals in the recipient countries directly. This is one of the most personal of all our foreign-aid programs. The African people know where these foodstuffs are coming from, and this is building a broad-based reservoir of good will for the United States.

In terms of how this program is received in Africa, we have evidence that it is widely and gratefully welcomed. On my recent trip, for example, I was personally thanked many times in Coquilhatville, in the Congo's Equateur Province, for the flood relief supplied under Ambassador Gullion's special fund. Following the airdrop in Tanganyika, the appreciation of the Tanganyikan people was widely reported in the press when they presented President Kennedy with a stuffed baby crocodile and a dugout canoe.

In Kenya, Masai tribesmen sent the President a shield and spear, and their spokesman said: "We are an insignificant people, but America is a big nation and probably the richest in the world. If she chose, she could remain unconcerned. We are deeply touched by the generosity of your people. We believe the kindly action has no political bearing, and in it we can learn that even in the world of atomic bombs the simple and natural kindness of man to man still remains."

Now, what of the future of the food-for-peace program?

This is a good program and will be with us for a long time. It is of great interest to the Congress. Based on discussions abroad and evaluations by the Department of Agriculture, we expect the program to expand and become increasingly effective in years ahead. We foresee more long-term arrangements under title IV as these operations become better understood. We see a broader variety of foods made available, and we see greater use of food to pay foreign workers on public works projects.

You on the Michigan Food-for-Peace Council and regional committee No. 2 have a unique opportunity to contribute materially to the program's future. You can give us advice on how to conduct the program and expert technical assistance on problems of production, storage, transportation, and distribution. You can arouse the interest and enthusiasm of civic groups and private citizens alike. You can select specific agricultural problems in particular countries and take on their solution as your personal projects to make the program more effective.

With your help, the future of the food-for-peace program takes on a very optimistic outlook—even though we realize the program in itself will not solve our farm problem, nor will it end the world's hunger and malnutrition. But it can make a major contribution toward an eventual solution of these problems and help speed the development of new and emerging nations—and this is a desirable goal that we can share with all people interested in world peace and stability.

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## Viewpoint of Youth—National Council, Boy Scouts of America—for Explorers Division of Boy Scouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of a communication entitled "1962 National Conference Delegates Daily," issued by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America. I know that all who read it will be not only richly informed, but also richly inspired by this printed discussion and report. Also I know, Mr. Speaker, every Member of this great legislative body will join with me in complimenting this section of the Boy Scouts of America in their very worthy and patriotic objectives in the best interests of our beloved Nation.

The above-mentioned material follows:

VIEWPOINT OF YOUTH

We, the representatives of the Exploring program of the Boy Scouts of America, in order to give "our best today for a better tomorrow," present this viewpoint of youth, of, by, and for Explorers, as a challenge to renewed and redirected action, starting now and continuing so long as we are Explorers.

Work for a balanced education making full use of our talents, so we may defend, advance, and enjoy, the American way of living.

Learn more about communism and other subversive organizations so we can bury them with the truth about freedom.

Keep informed on public affairs by all means of communication from the printed page to Telstar.

Grasp leadership responsibilities and help other young people do the same in Exploring units and cabinets, in student councils and clubs, and in religious youth groups.

Form our own opinions of today's opportunities and problems and express these in youth conferences and to influential people such as editors and Government representatives.

Urge more young people to join Exploring, school, and religious groups as workers, not watchers.

Seek greater recognition of youth's abilities and achievements which stand in overwhelming contrast to its delinquency.

Make Exploring more useful in community life and in our own lives through our service experiences.

Promote more school courses and assembly programs on citizenship, American government, and competitive free enterprise.

Be able to explain how competitive free enterprise is related to our form of government, offers freedom of opportunity, and raises our living standards.

Conduct activities that increase our understanding of the principles set forth in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

Learn more about the economic facts of life through vocational exploration, post specialties, and cabinet activities, such as career conferences.

Develop enough money-earning activities to avoid the free-ride attitude in unit programs.

Follow only leaders of character, and ask for technical help from the best qualified adult consultants.

Take the initiative in forming world friendships by welcoming exchange and student Explorers into our homes and meetings, and by corresponding with them.

Learn about and support methods of world friendship such as the Peace Corps, CARE, Red Cross, Radio Free Europe, and student exchanges.

Participate wholehearted ly in Exploring's new fit-for-tomorrow plan.

Help overcome many young people's take-it-or-leave-it attitude on personal fitness by demonstrating that fitness is fun.

Encourage competitive sports for all young people as players, not spectators, with a premium on clean sportsmanship.

Promote more challenging physical education programs with better direction and facilities in many schools, starting in the lower grades.

Conduct unit, district, and council competition in carry-over sports.

Extend more of our wilderness trips beyond reach of the station wagon.

Include more reverent and patriotic observances in our programs.

Encourage more Explorers to qualify for their religious awards.

Hold faithfully to our nonsectarian but reverent policy toward all Explorers' religions.

Discuss more often the application of such standards as the Explorer Code, Scout Oath and Law, Golden Rule, and Ten Commandments to our personal problems—bearing in mind that what we do, tells more about us than what we say.

(Based on discussions and adopted in principle by 3,200 delegates, representing 283,560 Explorers, at the First National Explorer Delegates' Conference at Ann Arbor, Mich., August 29, 1962.)

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PUT VIEWPOINT TO WORK

Our viewpoint of youth will do a great job for exploring in your hometown and council when you put it to work. Feature it in your speeches and articles about the conference highlights.

On the way home, organize your delegation to spread the good word about this first conference. Divide the assignments and tackle as many as you can.

WHOM TO REPORT TO

Arrange to appear before such groups as these: All posts, ships, squadrons, especially those without members at the conference; all high school assemblies; Explorer lead-

ers' roundtables; council executive board, Exploring committee, commissioner staffs, and district committees; Explorer parents; chartered institutions; religious youth groups; civic, fraternal, patriotic, and business groups; and local government bodies.

HOW TO REPORT

Give a talk, plus questions and answers.

Be interviewed by a newspaper reporter or feature writer.

Be interviewed on a radio or television program.

Write news or feature stories for school and local papers.

WHEN TO REPORT

Start presenting and explaining the viewpoint of youth as soon as you arrive home and carry on for months—until a new delegation starts repo ting the next conference.

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## National Conference of Christians and Jews Honors Secretary Celebrezze With National Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the fair city of Cleveland, Ohio, was the site of a well-deserved honor paid to the Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The honor paid to Secretary Celebrezze was the National Human Relations Award given annually by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This memorable event took place on Sunday evening, September 23, 1962, when 1,200 leading citizens of Cleveland and the State of Ohio gathered to pay this well deserved tribute to Secretary Celebrezze.

The toastmaster of the evening was Louis B. Seltzer, outstanding, able, and respected leader of the free press, and the editor of the Cleveland Press, who led a brilliant array of speakers including Senators Frank J. Lausche and Stephen M. Young of Ohio, Gov. Michael V. DiSalle, Hon. Frances P. Bolton, Mayor Ralph S. Locher, Thomas F. Patton, president of Republic Steel Corp., and Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, president of NCCJ.

The highlight of the program was a message by President John F. Kennedy, brought to this distinguished gathering through closed-circuit television.

The religious life of Ohio was represented by the Most Reverend John F. Whealon, bishop of the Catholic diocese of Cleveland, Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, Fairmount Temple, and Dean David Loegler, Episcopal diocese of Ohio.

Organized labor was represented by Sebastian Lupica, executive secretary of the Cleveland AFL–CIO, and Patrick J. O'Malley, United Auto Workers regional director.

Secretary Celebrezze, in his acceptance address before the leaders of every walk of public, civic, and private life in Ohio, made an eloquent and touching plea for this generation of young Americans who, a few short years from now, must assume the responsibilities for the conduct, the preservation, and the extension of our representative form of government. The common responsibilities which all Americans must share in the fulfillment of this task was the underlying theme of his address. Appropriately, Secretary Celebrezze paid a well-deserved tribute to the National Conference of Christians and Jews for the vital role it is playing in meeting this challenge and in finding a dynamic consensus on other human problems related to the common good.

It was my privilege and that of my fellow Congressmen, the Honorable WILLIAM MINSHALL of Cleveland and the Honorable WILLIAM AYRES of Akron, Ohio, to be present at this national award dinner. The Cleveland chapter and the northern Ohio region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews deserve a warm public commendation for the leadership demonstrated in bringing this recognition to a great American in the city where he grew up and where he achieved unique accomplishments.

Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the message delivered by President John F. Kennedy and the address delivered by Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze on the occasion of this memorable national award dinner.

PRESIDENT'S TRIBUTE TO CELEBREZZE

I am delighted to joint with the many friends of Secretary Celebrezze in honoring him in his native city tonight. It is a tribute to the spirit of brotherhood that the people of Cleveland would be willing to hear from one who took their mayor from them, but we have taken him from Cleveland in order to serve the people of the United States.

Mayor Celebreeze's life, I think, epitomizes all the great qualities which we associate with the word "brotherhood"; his desire to serve people, his integrity, honesty, his courage, all these qualities which you in Cleveland know so well, are becoming increasingly well known to the people of Washington and the people of our country.

I salute him tonight as a very worthy recipient of a very great honor, an honor which comes on the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the hundredth anniversary of a great effort by a great American to provide equal rights for all people. This is the essence of brotherhood.

Secretary Celebreeze has lived brotherhood, and therefore I think it is most appropriate that you should honor one who by his efforts has honored the rest of us.

I salute you all, and most especially I salute my friend, Secretary Celebrezze.

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ADDRESS BY HON. ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

It is good to be with so many friends who mean so much to me.

To be here—to receive the high honor you have bestowed upon me—these things fill me with a sense of deep gratitude.

I am deeply indebted to this city because Cleveland and the good friends here this evening are so much a part of me.

I have missed Cleveland and my daily contacts with many of you. But the past 8 weeks have brought me new experience. And they have given me new perspective on the community problems—and aspirations—which we have shared.

From a national viewpoint, the achievements of the citizens of Greater Cleveland in the fields of welfare and human relations assume new and larger dimensions. They are achievements of which you can well be proud.

And from a national viewpoint, the challenge of meeting human needs—of realizing the full potential of individual human beings—these also gain in dimension.

It is about this challenge that I would like to speak with you this evening.

This challenge to us as a nation is so great that, to meet it, we need the help of every individual and group—public and private—with a desire for a better world and the willingness to strive for it.

The wide range of activities of the Department I am privileged to head is some measure of the social and economic challenge we face. It touches the American home, hospital, and school. It touches many problems, such as those of water pollution, accident prevention, and health protection which are familiar to a former mayor and are a vital concern to every community.

But the Department does not have to grapple alone with these problems. Even my very brief tenure has given me new insight into a very American partnership, and that is the partnership across the Nation between millions of citizens and thousands of private and public groups and organizations and their Government in seeking solutions to health, education, and welfare problems.

I have been more than pleased to learn of the extent to which the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare draws on community leaders throughout the country and the best professional and technical advisers for guidance in carrying out its many varied responsibilities. I shall continue to draw upon this rich reservoir of talent and ideas.

For a basic strength of our free society is this rich diversity of activity—this recognition that there is no single solution or single source of wisdom—this knowledge of the importance of working together—of seeking fresh approaches to old problems—of imaginative planning to meet new needs based upon the evident consensus of American opinion.

This has been the approach of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime—of which I am a member, along with the Attorney General and the Secretary of Labor.

Most of you are familiar with the problem this Committee faces. You know that our child population has been increasing over the past decade—but not as rapidly as the rise in delinquency rates.

If the present delinquency rate holds, then an estimated 3 to 4 million children will come before our courts in this decade—and this does not include youngsters in court for traffic offenses.

Should this happen, the social costs would be staggering. Right now the cost of juvenile delinquency to the Nation's economy is estimated at about $4 billion a year. This is about half of what we invest in operating all the hospitals—including mental hospitals—to serve a country now numbering almost 187 million people. The cost of juvenile delinquency to this country is more than one-seventh of our society's total expenditures for the education of our 51 million students, from kindergarten through college.

Cities, overcrowded with large rootless families whose breadwinners have little education and limited job skills—and frequently little hope for themselves or their children—produce large numbers of school dropouts, school "throwouts"—and juvenile delinquency.

What was needed, President Kennedy felt, was a coordinated approach to the problems of delinquency. What was needed was a great effort equal to the problem itself.

The President's Committee was formed to spearhead such an effort. We are trying to take an overall view—to give the problem the full attention it deserves—to put the best ideas of our most imaginative people to work—to spotlight successful projects in single cities or counties and encourage similar programs elsewhere.

Our philosophy of a massive coordinated basic attack on the problems of deprived youngsters is reflected in the standards we have set up for communities which wish training and demonstration grants. A community must demonstrate a deep commitment to the fight against delinquency. The efforts of all welfare groups—private as well as public—in the community must be welded into a concerted cooperative attack. And the city itself must be willing to demonstrate its participation by providing leadership and by sharing in the cost of the program.

The project's program must be broad in scope, attacking all major sources of delinquency. With the limited funds available, the purpose of the projects is to find and control and develop coordinated, broad-scale methods for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Such a project is well underway in Cleveland and shows promise of developing into a most effective program.

A new door has been opened for your constructive effort. It is my hope that you will work with us—to stimulate interest in our endeavor—and to help in preventing blight in young lives.

We will need your help, too, as we move forward in another closely related area of joint endeavor—to meet the Nation's public welfare needs. For, through the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 we have a new, constructive approach to public welfare. The new law incorporates recommendations President Kennedy made to the Congress for substantial revisions in the public welfare provisions of the Social Security Act. The new law provides the means to help our State and local governments, in turn, to help people help themselves.

Our new programs stress services as well as support; they stress rehabilitation instead of relief. Their aim is to help people into useful independent lives and thus—in the long run—to cut relief rolls and aid the taxpayer, too.

The aged, the blind, and the disabled are helped to attain or retain the capacity for self-care.

Dependent families and children are helped and encouraged to strengthen their family life.

These and other goals of these new programs are far from easy of attainment. The problems of the poor and needy in our time are terribly complex. The vast majority of people on the relief rolls are still the very old, the very young, and the disabled—people who have no other means of support. But others are the victims of complicated, disturbing modern problems—of discrimination and automation, of lack of education, of lack of job skills, of mobility and social change.

Tomorrow, we shall be meeting in Washington with the State Public Welfare Administrators to work out the administrative details of these new programs.

I have specifically asked that most careful attention be given to working out specific plans for an effective, cooperative effort to assure that aid to dependent children funds are being spent for the purposes intended by law.

We want to assure that the full benefit of our welfare programs goes to those in genuine need. And in so doing, we do not intend to let children suffer for the sins of their fathers—or mothers.

Community programs differ widely—different actions will be necessary in different places—intelligent leadership in interpreting necessarily technical legislation and policies is mandatory.

This is where we ask your help. We need the understanding, cooperation, and support of leaders like yourselves, who are deeply concerned with human values. For there is still in our land a need for greater public understanding of social welfare and its complexities. As a consequence, people often jump to unwarranted conclusions—and the victims may not be the so-called "chiselers"; they may be the innocent children in need.

Americans are compassionate people. They are realistic—they are fairminded—they are pragmatic. To produce the answers, they need only to understand the facts. The big job now is to give people throughout the land these facts and, hence, this understanding.

We cannot do this job alone. We need your help. For example: Could you not explain and so gain acceptance in your communities for the so-called "unemployed father provision" of the new Public Welfare Amendments? An unemployed able-bodied father and his family can now receive assistance, if the States take advantage of the new Federal legislation (some have already adopted it; others are considering it). People would think this right, if they realized that it holds families together—for under the new provisions families have greater hope of remaining together until fathers can get back to work.

In the same way, could you not help achieve a better understanding of the whole aid to families with dependent children program? In administering our welfare laws, we want to make absolutely certain, as I have said, that we have no freeloaders at the taxpayers' expense. But if we strike blindly forth at errant fathers or mothers, we may deprive their children of wholesome homes. This would not be right. It would not be fair. And, in the end, it would help fill our corrective institutions with the victims of our blunders.

I have mentioned only two of many programs in which this American partnership between public and private agencies and groups—between Federal, State, and local governments—is so vital.

In these and other programs we share a common responsibility—the responsibility of seeking the best possible investments in human welfare that we can find with the funds available to us.

For example, providing funds for medical research is a good investment in America's future, but it is a shortsighted investment unless the means are also found to make the fruits of research available to all who need medical care where and when they need it.

Building the classrooms needed to house our growing student population is, by all odds, a sound and necessary investment. But the returns on such an investment will fall far short of our expectations if we fail to make the necessary investment to attract and hold sufficent numbers of high-caliber teachers.

May I mention another area which transcends all others and requires concerted action by everyone—the area of human relations?

This is an area in which the National Conference of Christians and Jews is playing a vital role.

We have made undreamed-of progress in probing the mysteries of the physical universe, in providing an ever-higher standard of living, and in stamping out disease.

We have not been equally successful in solving the problems of living together, in eliminating tensions, and achieving the goals of mutual respect and understanding which are your mission.

As a father, I know that I share with those of you who are parents the hope that is uppermost in every home in this land—that our children may grow up in a world of peace and opportunity—that they may achieve the goals they set for themselves—limited only by their own capacity, free from the obstacles of bigotry, prejudice, and intolerance.

Every home in America, of whatever race or creed, has a right to this hope and to its fulfillment.

Realization of this hope rests upon our willingness to give to others the same opportunities, dignity, and rights we want for our own welfare and happiness. We must generate friendship, compassion, and respect for the rights of others in all our relationships.

We are living in a time of great and rapid change. Change creates problems. But change also offers opportunity for betterment.

What we do now will shape the future for many years to come We are fortunate to be living in a free nation which each of us has an opportunity to help shape the future for ourselves and our children..

By your support of the National Conference of Christians and Jews you are making a very tangible personal contribution to achieving the kind of understanding and mutual respect between people of all races and creeds which must be the foundation of lasting progress in any other field of human endeavor. As President Kennedy has reminded us: "America stands for progress in human rights as well as economic affairs, and a strong America requires the assurance of full and equal rights to all its citizens, of any race or color."

May we all rededicate ourselves to preserving and strengthening the American heritage of freedom and concern for individual human dignity so as to demonstrate for all the world the miracle of America—a nation in which free individuals are enabled to work out their own individual destinies in their own way.

The opportunities to translate this dedication into action are at every hand. May we make the most of them.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# *Appendix*

## Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs Declares Goal of Full Disarmament Is Realistic and Urgent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, September 29, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the September 5, 1962, issue of the London, England, Daily Mirror, included an editorial under the headline, "The Name Is Pugwash." It pointed out that—

In London there is now being held an international conference which is significantly different from most other international conferences which tend to end in deadlock, dissolution and despair.

The Daily Mirror further noted that—

There are 200 delegates from 38 countries at the gathering, including 48 delegates from the United States and 23 representatives from the Soviet Union. Their main scientific purpose is concerned with the future of the world which may soon be blown to pieces. The name of this excellent and hopeful assembly is the Pugwash Conference—the name of an obscure place in Nova Scotia where these deliberations first started 10 years ago. The fate of the world has been decided before at crossroads which resounded with heroic names like the battles that have been fought all the way from Thermoyylae to Waterloo, from Trafalgar to Alamein. These were the clashes of ignorant armies by night. Maybe the new dawn will come at an enlightened scientific assembly called Pugwash. So be it.

And, Mr. President, our country's Newsweek magazine, issue of September 17, 1962, included a significant synopsis of the Pugwash Conferences, headlined, "East-West: Peace in a Black Box." I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point in my remarks the Newsweek summary, and I emphasize that I subscribe fully to the conferees' closing statement:

We assert our conviction that the goal of full disarmament is realistic and urgent.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

[From Newsweek, Sept. 17, 1962]

EAST-WEST: PEACE IN A BLACK BOX

The Pugwash Conferences, named after the Nova Scotia birthplace of their founder U.S. millionaire Cyrus S. Eaton, are forums where the world's scientists meet to discuss the perils facing mankind in an atmosphere of quiet, scholarly reason. When the 10th Pugwash Conference opened in London last week, drawing more than 200 scientists and philosophers from 38 countries (including such names as Bertrand Russell and Novelist C. P. Snow), it seemed at first that this atmosphere might dissolve into acrimony. In his opening address, Russia's Alexander V. Topchiev of the Soviet Academy of Sciences fired off an angry propaganda blast against the "imperialist groups * * * bellicose reactionaries" in the West whom he alleged were forcing Russia to be "last in the world to end nuclear tests."

But when the Conference got down to business behind closed doors on the key issue of disarmament, the Russians proved far less intransigent. The keynote was set by Britain's P. M. S. Blackett who pointed out that both the current United States and Soviet disarmament plans failed to insure a balance at every stage. "The first stage of disarmament," said Blackett, "should rapidly reduce strategic nuclear forces to the same equal level—a minimum deterrent level. Simultaneously, conventional forces should also be reduced to an equal and low level. In this way, Russia would have to pay a disarmament surtax on her greater manpower and America on her greater nuclear power. Each would sacrifice most where strongest."

From there, the conference broke down into 6 working groups (comprising 65 scientists) who came to some far-reaching conclusions. The main points:

Nuclear arms: Top priority must be given to the elimination, or at least reduction of the means of delivery. Complete data on rockets and aircraft should be supplied to an international disarmament organization. (This was a major step forward by the Russians, but U.S. delegates noted that verification techniques would have "an average uncertainty of 10 percent." Some disarmament would have to be taken on trust.)

Conventional arms: Communist China must be included in any negotiations if they are to be effective. An international organization must also have the right to observe demobilization, destruction of arms, and conversion of weapons plants.

Nuclear tests: Sealed "black boxes," containing delicate seismographs, should be dispersed in all countries. The boxes, still sealed, would be sent to an international commission whenever an underground blast was suspected. Significantly, the Soviet delegates also agreed that a small number of onsite inspections, beyond those carried out by invitation, would be needed in any control system.

Above all, the scientists rammed home the fact that time was running short. Their final communique, in which both Americans and Russians were associated, said: "We are now at the stage in which general statements of principle are not enough; action is needed * * * we reassert our conviction that the goal of full disarmament is realistic and urgent."

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, with a letter from the forthright founder of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Cyrus S. Eaton, Sr., I received a copy of a significant address by Lord Hailsham at the opening session. Lord Hailsham is Britain's Minister for Science and holds the high posts of Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords.

This speech, opening Pugwash Conference 10, was a lengthy, but enlightening one. Time and space limitations inhibit a request for consent to republish the text but, Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have portions printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, quotations from the speech were ordered printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

I am not prepared to accept as presenting a stark and permanent dilemma the apparent antagonism presented by the alternative systems of socialism and free enterprise. Both systems derive their principal economic and political ideas from traditions and writers whose viewpoints and whose technical language largely antedate Darwin, and whatever of permanent value there may be in either, the greater part of the human race is at present living in conditions to which neither is self-evidently completely relevant.

However this may be I do not regard either the West or communism as having reached a state of perfection which entitles either to adopt a purely negative, patronising or destructive attitude toward the other. The mere pressure upon both of problems like populations and food production will cause each to modify practice, and, one hopes, not too long afterward, to alter political theories. In the meantime, aggressive or even moral talk unaccompanied by achievement in elevating the national and moral condition of mankind is a barrier to further progress which ought to be based on the interchange of technical, cultural, and moral ideas by discussion, and on cooperation on objectives which can offer advantages to each. What the world wants at the present time is less political polemics but deeper study and insight, more cooperation and more discussion, and greater concentration on practical and technical problems.

The need for a central political authority * * * seems to me to be emphasized by two practical considerations. The first is the nature of the nuclear weapon, and the second the magnitude and nature of the claims on resources likely to be made if human life outside the highly industrialized nations (or even including them) is to be substantially improved at an acceptable rate.

Apart from pressing issues of testing verification, and inspection which I do not propose to discuss, the core of the problem of nuclear weapons lies in the fact that they are not very secret, not very difficult to make, and that if nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is developed to anything like the extent we expect and hope, the quantity of plutonium (quite apart from enriched uranium) which will be available in the world will be substantial and widely diffused. The so-called problem of the *n*th power will, therefore, always be with us whether or not the larger powers conclude an effective disarmament agreement. If, therefore, such an agreement is to achieve its purpose, it is plain that some international mechanism armed with effective powers must be created to contain this threat.

The second argument which I use is related to the undoubted need of the so-called underdeveloped countries for aid. I have made no attempt to calculate what this need amounts to since it is pretty obvious to anyone with a nodding acquaintance with the communities and nations concerned that they could absorb without difficulty all the capital resources now being spent on arm-

aments and a great deal more without their needs being met. At present there seems to me to be neither rhyme or reason for much that is being done, and I personally have no doubt that much of the resources at present being devoted by East and West to the provision of aid is either wasted, or even, as in the case of the provision of modern armaments, actually detrimental.

Yet the dilemma presented is a genuine one. New nations prize their independence more than any other asset. It follows that it is difficult to assume any other means for identifying projects worthy of priority than the wishes of the government concerned—which are quite frankly not always very sensible—and there are perhaps few methods open to a developing country to secure favorable treatment other than a rather squalid attempt to offer, in return for aid and some degree of qualified political support, or the reverse, in the struggles for superiority between East and West.

The need for an objective organization with adequate resources capable of selecting types of projects suitable for assistance, with a due regard to priority, and administering them without being drawn into the major ideological struggles would seem to be overwhelming in the interest of East and West alike and, if the proper means were discovered of carrying it out, a fertile field for cooperation would have been opened for cultivation.

There is also clearly an established opportunity for international cooperation in the purely scientific field. By "international cooperation," I do not necessarily mean world cooperation in every part of the field because I myself envisage much more complex and sophisticated pattern in which different groups of nations of different sizes and requirements cooperate for different purposes related to their special needs and responsibilities.

Still less by cooperation do I necessarily mean "centralization" for my own experience has led me to believe that certain types of international scientific cooperation can be achieved between nations supporting national programs of scientific education and research of individual excellence.

But I would identify the following fields in which international cooperation on some scale and with some kind of organization is becoming a practical necessity.

The first of these in the field of the earth sciences—such as oceanography, geography, the study of the earth itself, its mantle, its core, its magnetic field, the ionized belts beyond its atmosphere and so on, where quite apart from the expense involved the observations necessary presuppose a worldwide chain of observers and observations. Clearly optical and radio astronomy are cognate fields in which parallel considerations apply.

The second is where the mere cost of the apparatus necessary to carry out first-class research is such and its life as a research tool so short lived that it is beyond the power of any nation and perhaps of single group of nations to provide a complete range of the facilities required. I would myself list here high-energy physics, nuclear physics, and almost certainly, space research. But as each science and discipline develops there are probably many other fields in which the same conditions will develop.

The third is the whole range of studies connected with health. Experience with our own medical research council has convinced me that in all the more radical aspects of medical research a single nation with exhypothesi, a limited geographical habitat is often too small a unit of study for positive results. It is not simply that certain diseases are prone to attack all humanity wherever they live but also that new light on general problems can often be known only by study of local pecularities. I cite only the effect on the study of human genetics of the discovery of the relationship between sickle cell anemia and a resistance to malaria, or how the very suggestive facts recently come to light about the geographical distribution of a rare form of infantile cancer may throw a light on the general nature of cancer itself.

But, of course, the whole problem of international cooperation comes to a head again on the subject of aid, with which I have already dealt in a slightly different connection. For the greater part, human immunity to disease and want does not require any great advance in scientific knowledge so much as the application of known techniques and adequate resources—water, transport, fertilizer, power, engineering and building construction of all kinds. I have already indicated that I do not myself believe that the use of aid by the two power blocs as a means of pursuing the ideological struggle is not really in the interest of either, or of the recipients of the aid. I therefore identify as my last and most significant field for international technological cooperation, the application of known technology for the development of human happiness and culture throughout the planet by means which will not by itself secure to any power bloc a political advantage over the other.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is my considered conviction that eventually the peoples of the world will learn to live together in understanding and mutual respect. This pursuit of peace and the search for comity between governments goes on. Cyrus Eaton, through the Pugwash Conferences, faces the challenge for a future of faith. This hope, based on calm counsel among enlightened men, has been in evidence as per the London Daily Mirror editorial from which I have quoted. The Associated Press in a feature article published earlier this month, characterized Mr. Eaton as an industry leader who "approaches his 80th year displaying verve and resiliency." It is most encouraging that this gentleman retains his vigor and vision as he provides mankind with the guidelines for peace.

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE**
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Mr. John S. Knight, president and editor of one of Ohio's leading newspapers, the Akron Beacon Journal, has written some very interesting and timely remarks concerning our seemingly ever-increasing foreign aid spending and activities.

This editorial appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal on September 23. In order that editor Knight's views may be available for reading by all Members of the Congress and others, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO MATTER HOW MANY DOUBTS, FOREIGN AID ON AND ON

Once again, we're at that time of year when Congress tries to put some sense into the foreign aid program by cutting it down to appropriate size.

And once again, the President and his Secretary of State are screaming that House reduction of the program "makes no sense" and would "paralyze U.S. leadership * * * in the dangerously critical areas of the world."

It matters not whether the President is named Eisenhower or Kennedy, or whether the Secretary of State is Dulles, Herter, or Rusk.

The cry is always the same. "This will harm our prestige abroad." Or, "Any reduction will undermine our efforts to stave off chaos and communism."

In the end, Congress always yields to the impassioned pleas of the administration and restores most of the money it said could be saved.

So the whole ridiculous process is repeated year after year. The costs are fantastic, some $100 billion in 15 years. The results, other than the rehabilitation of Western Europe during the original 4-year Marshall plan period have been negligible.

This is not to say that the judicious use of foreign aid funds is without value.

But the program, both as to concept and management, has been a ghastly failure under the last two administrations.

Our great mistake was made when the Marshall plan was extended beyond its original goals, and giveaways became a permanent arm of our foreign policy.

So—in the name of democracy and anticommunism—we have supported such great freedom lovers as Tito, Batista, Jiminez, Trujillo, Nasser, Nehru, Nkrumah and dozens of other fast-buck artists who have enjoyed both your money and the privilege of calling Uncle Sam dirty names.

Here are a few of the more recent, revolting examples of the contempt in which this country is held by those who enjoy our favors.

1. Although the United States has made a $133 million loan to Ghana to build a hydroelectric plant on the Volta River, President Nkrumah charges that our State Department is implicated in a plot on his life. On most international questions, Nkrumah usually parrots the Russian line.

2. Thailand is furious because the United States has increased military aid to her unfriendly neighbor, Cambodia. Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman states that the explanation given by the U.S. Ambassador Young is "unbelievable."

In turn, Cambodia claims we have given so much aid to South Vietnam that she must seek help from the Communists to ward off both Thailand and South Vietnam. The Thailand radio says its Government is beginning trade negotiations with the Soviet Union.

If fighting breaks out in southeast Asia, the natives will be killing one another with U.S. weapons.

3. West Germany's Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economy, has threatened to "retaliate in kind" if the United States insists that most of our foreign aid dollars be spent in America.

4. The Greeks are mad because their share of U.S. aid has been reduced while Turkey continues to get "handsome handouts."

5. Iran, having received $15 million from the United States to balance its budget, then bought $15 million of scarce gold from the U.S. Treasury.

Nevertheless, such ardent apologists for the foreign aid program as the New York Times, keep up the monotonous drum beat that any cuts in aid will damage this country's vital interests.

It is my own opinion that the indiscriminate and lavish use of foreign aid funds has already damaged our vital interests.

When it became known years ago that the United States was about to provide the world with economic assistance, every foreign political leader who hoped to stay in power hopped a plane for Washington to get his share.

Today, they not only take our money but openly insult the United States when it pleases them to do so.

Secretary Rusk is worried lest the suggested cuts in foreign aid "would make it impossible to extend any significant new loans beyond those already committed ($700 million) in the past."

But I believe most Americans are concerned because the foreign aid program is extravagant, poorly directed and, apparently, never ending.

Many of them will agree with the young Congressman from Massachusetts who said some 10 years ago: A way must be found to get these people (recipients of foreign aid) off our backs.

His name: John F. Kennedy.

## The Squeeze on Profits—It Affects Everyone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion recently of the squeeze on profits and its effects on the economy and on the Nation's citizens. On April 22 of this year the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. placed in the New York Times in the form of a paid advertisement an article entitled "The Profits Squeeze." This article clearly and concisely describes the dangerous situation facing our business enterprises in the form of narrowed profits. Faced by rising costs, largely in the form of taxes and employee compensation, on the one hand and by the inability to raise prices because of stringent competition on the other, the business corporations in this country are having severe difficulties attaining a profit level sufficient to provide economic motive power and growth capital. Because it is a fine exposition of the current situation, I include "The Profits Squeeze" in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

THE PROFITS SQUEEZE—FACTS, CAUSES, EFFECTS, REMEDIES

U.S. business is in a bind. Profits are caught between rising costs and stable prices. And unless the pressures are substantially eased, everyone—and not just the Nation's businessmen—will soon be hurt by the squeeze.

The situation is critical, but correctable. Much of what is needed is more understanding, a fuller knowledge of the facts, and a wider appreciation of the role profits play in the American economy.

This statement is designed to contribute to this end. It shows what has happened to profits since World War II. It looks at events behind the change. And it suggests routes out of the predicament.

A SMALLER SHARE OF SALES AND INCOME

Among the most important developments of the present business recovery is the rise in corporate profits. Edging slightly above the 1960 level, after-tax profits last year rose to $23 billion. They are likely to push on to a new high this year.

But this does not mean that corporations are doing unusually well. Far from it. As the table below shows, profits for 1961 were less than those for 1959 and 1956. They just equaled 1955 profits, and were only a hair's breadth above the earnings of 1950 when the economy was 45 percent smaller than it is today.

*Profits after taxes of U.S. corporations*

[In billions of dollars]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1946 | 13.4 |
| 1947 | 18.2 |
| 1948 | 20.5 |
| 1949 | 16.0 |
| 1950 | 22.8 |
| 1951 | 19.7 |
| 1952 | 17.2 |
| 1953 | 18.1 |
| 1954 | 16.8 |
| 1955 | 23.0 |
| 1956 | 23.5 |
| 1957 | 22.3 |
| 1958 | 18.8 |
| 1959 | 23.7 |
| 1960 | 22.7 |
| 1961 (estimate) | 23.0 |

What's more, profit margins—profits as a percent of sales—are far below those earned in the earlier postwar years. From 5 percent of sales during the years 1946–50, profits dropped to 3.6 percent during 1951–55. They

slid to 3.2 percent for the period 1956–60. And last year they were down to 3.1 percent.

Profits are also a shrinking share of national income, as the chart above shows.

In considering these figures, it should be remembered that they are averages for all corporations. Some companies make more than the average, and some make no profits at all.

WHY WORRY?

If only a few companies were making low profits or showing losses, there would be scant reason for public concern. But when business firms generally begin showing a poor profit record, it becomes the proper concern of everyone—stockholders, managers, workers, Government officials and consumers. This is because profits perform three indispensable jobs in the American economy:

First, profits provide economic motive power. They induce businessmen to research new products and new techniques of production. They encourage risk-takers to put their savings into economic activity that is useful to the entire community.

Second, retained profits are the single most important source of growth capital. As President Kennedy said in his Economic Report to Congress, "While we move toward full and sustained use of today's productive capacity, we must expand our potential for tomorrow."

Third, the quest for profits directs labor and other resources to the jobs people want done. They tell management whether it is doing a good job or a bad job, and channel resources into the production of the things consumers want.

If profit margins continue dwindling at the present rate, these jobs can't be done efficiently. Businessmen will provide fewer new goods and services for consumers. Investors won't buy the new plants and equipment that mean more employment opportunities and better working conditions for labor. And some companies will lose their zeal for shifting their efforts in accord with consumer preferences.

BEHIND THE DECLINE

While profit margins have been falling, the corporate compensation of employees has taken a growing share of both corporate sales and national income. The following table shows what has been happening here.

*Corporate profits after taxes*

[Approximate]

| Year | Percent of total sales | Percent of national income |
|---|---|---|
| 1946–50 | 5 | 9 |
| 1951–55 | 3¾ | 6¼ |
| 1956–60 | 3⅛ | 5⅝ |
| 1961 estimate | 3⅛ | 5⅛ |

*Corporate compensation of employees*

| Year | Percent of total sales | Percent of national income |
|---|---|---|
| 1946–50 | 23.5 | 40.1 |
| 1951–55 | 24.3 | 42.4 |
| 1956–60 | 24.4 | 43.8 |
| 1961 estimate | 25.0 | 43.5 |

But generally confronted by increasingly competitive conditions, both at home and abroad, companies have usually been unable to pass along a bigger wage and salary bill to their consumers in the form of higher prices, even if they wanted to. In the early years after World War II it was often possible to pass along higher costs by marking up prices, but in these days of general abundance intense competition for sales makes this difficult. Hence the squeeze of profits between rising costs and relatively stable prices.

High Federal taxes also intensify the profit squeeze. Except for the profits of very small companies, the Federal Government still takes 52 percent of business profit. This is the same giant slice that was taken before tougher competition made profit dollars so much harder to acquire.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

There is no disposition here to deprecate the desirability of high wages. Nor is there any lack of appreciation that the Federal Government must have very large revenues if it is to perform its role in the sixties properly.

But it is important to realize that excessive wage hikes and excessive taxes can be self-defeating. They can lead to reduced wages and reduced tax revenues if they squeeze profits to the point where these cannot play their vitally necessary role in the economy. Before this happens both labor and Government should take time out to ponder the longrun effects of today's actions.

There is an ancient and honorable phrase which says that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." Labor leaders, as they sit around the negotiating tables this year, should remember that profit makers, no less than they, are likewise worthy of their hire.

In considering new tax legislation, it's up to Congress to keep constantly in mind that a prosperous business community is absolutely essential to the defense of freedom, to the maintenance of high employment, even to the revenues that pay congressional salaries. The present taxload works against this prosperous kind of business community.

Of course, business too has an obligation to keep profits from failing to an ineffective remnant. One of the best ways it can discharge this obligation is by continuing its research efforts, by developing new products and new cost-cutting ways to make them as well as their present products and services.

The prevailing profits squeeze is a matter of vital concern to every American. We all have a stake in seeing that steps are taken—in the offices of business management, in the Halls of Congress where tax laws are made and revised, and at the bargaining tables where agreements on wage rates are made—to see that this squeeze is relaxed.

## The Communications Satellite System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following petition with names be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. With every passing day more and more citizens are coming to understand that the shocking satellite bill passed by the Congress was a disservice to the public welfare.

There being no objection, the petition with names was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PETITION

TO SENATOR WAYNE MORSE AND SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER:

We, the undersigned employees of RCA Communications, Inc., are in full support of your position that any satellite communications system should be owned by our Government and your efforts to prevent such a system from being handed over to a privately owned corporation which would inevitably be dominated by the A.T. & T.:

A. T. Kirkpatrick, San Mateo; D. E. Lacy, Oakland; Leo S. Aurates, San Mateo; Howard Brooks, L. B. Lasacco, A. J. Hasu, San Francisco; P. C. Nicholson, Burlingame; D. A. Wilson, M. A. Davis, Louis A. Eggert, William R. Leonard, C. Gibson, J. Rugley, D. W. Martin, San Francisco; I. Hetesman, Redwood City; Irvin Geduldig, John C. Yackamonik, Jack K. Wong, A. J. Osaro, A. D. Terrell, Edw. C. Liquion, S. Piscitillo, Theodore A. Enderson, Jr., C. Newman, R. Erwin, T. Weltman, C. Lehrmouh, B. Stuart, D. L. Lieter, B. C. Alcala, San Francisco; H. B. Dwyer, Burlingame; Frank Shacz, Daly City; Joseph A. Clark, San Francisco; Elizabeth M. Weiss, San Rafael; Frederick, Napa; C. R. Donovan, San Francisco; B. D. Jones, Berkeley; D. C. Lear, Concord; R. H. Long, Union City; N. T. Santos, San Francisco; J. Medrow, Jr., Santa Clara; D. F. Dewing, San Rafael; John D. Wilson, Daly City; F. Washborn, Pacifica; J. Ferguson, San Francisco; L. F. Bloom, San Bruno; Philip W. Fisch, D. A. Scradin, William Eastner, H. H. Hanley, S. D. Baxter, San Francisco; A. L. Leder, Alameda; Fred M. Whetstone, San Jose; R. W. Stowe, San Rafael; H. A. Kunkel, San Jose; M. C. Neil, San Francisco; C. L. Fry, Novato, Calif.

## Buffalo Courier-Express Crusades for Removal of Tolls on Federal Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lucian C. Warren, of the Buffalo Courier-Express, has contributed a most valuable public service in having composed a comprehensive series of articles covering the intermix of toll and free highways on the Federal Interstate Highway System.

His research into the legal, jurisdictional, and fiscal aspects of this complex problem is in the best tradition of responsible newspaper reporting.

Mr. Warren's keen analysis of the problem furnishes the base for practical solutions to the inequities inherent in the present mixture of toll and free interstate roads across the Nation.

I concur in the objectives of the Buffalo Courier and Mr. Warren for a wholly free Federal Interstate System, as soon as it can be practically carried out.

I am pleased to republish a portion of Mr. Warren's superb series of timely reports on this problem of national importance.

The articles follow:

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Aug. 19, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—VI: THROUGHWAYS FREE IN MANY STATES

(The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities

incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—Many States have not sold their souls to turnpike or throughway authorities and are glad of it.

Take California. It has a population growth problem much worse than that of New York State, and in December of this year is scheduled to pass the Empire State in population.

Much like New York State, California needed new highways. However, California managed to get by and wait for the 1956 Federal Aid Act, which established for the Interstate Highway System the principle that Uncle Sam was willing to foot 90 percent of the bills.

New York decided it couldn't wait and went ahead with construction of its State throughway with toll facilities. The throughway, before the century is over, will pay off the bonds at double the cost of Federal-State financing out of gasoline taxes.

California has a few State-owned toll bridges, but C. L. Sweet, bridge engineer for its toll-bridge management, recently wrote the Courier-Express:

"Policy in California has always been to use toll financing only on a few major bridges which could not be financed by other means. There are no toll roads in this State, and I have heard of no intention to change this policy in the future."

Of 2,178 miles designated in California as being on the Interstate System only 14 are toll facilities. California likes its freeways.

NORTH CAROLINA RECORD IS BEST IN NATION

North Carolina has the best record in the Nation of using up Federal highway funds as they become available. It had 99 percent of its fiscal 1962 Federal funds obligated as of May 31, contrasting with a national average of 74 percent. New York is 26th on the list, with only 83 percent obligated.

North Carolina doesn't have a single mile of toll road incorporated on the Interstate System. As of June 30, it had only 180 of its interestate mileage of 766 on which contracts still have to be let. Open to traffic are 355 miles, and work is in progress on another 363 miles.

The experience of North Carolina would seem to refute the arguments of toll-road-loving States that Federal money doesn't come quickly enough to build interstate mileage to meet heavy demands. New York State's record is only 239 toll-free miles of Interstate System open to traffic as of June 3, although toll facilities provide 505 miles. New York has under progress another 263 miles and still has to do another 219 miles to complete its 1,227 miles of the Interstate System.

Of 40,798 miles that have been designated on the Interstate Highway System, only 2,301 miles in toll roads have been incorporated into the system. Eight States have more than 100 miles of toll roads tied to the Interstate System. They are New York, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania.

Here are some of the situations in the toll-free or largely toll-free States, as revealed in comments by officials in authority in response to a Courier-Express questionnaire:

TUNNEL IS ALABAMA'S ONLY TOLL FACILITY

Arizona has no toll facilities anywhere on its highway network. Director Justin Herman of the Arizona Highway Department writes that "there is no toll or turnpike authority in existence here, and a 1961 proposal to establish one failed of enactment."

Alabama is proud that its only toll facility is a tunnel under Mobile Bay. Chief Engineer R. D. Jordan of the Alabama Highway Department wrote that the State will acquire and use the present two-lane tunnel and build an adjacent and parallel tunnel for twin tubes on the Interstate System. "It is expected," he added, "that this arrangement will make provision for elimination of tolls as soon as present worth of the existing tube is paid for."

Alaska is happy it has no toll facilities, but griped that it is paying regular highway-user taxes without benefit of any interstate mileage.

Georgia has tolls only on one bridge in the Interstate System. "Which is in the process of being freed in a few months." Roy A. Flynt, State highway planning engineer, would like to see States reimbursed for their toll roads and tolls eliminated after the Interstate System is completed in 1972.

W. C. Burns, chairman of the Idaho Department of Highways, is proud his State has no toll roads.

Hawaii managed to land 48 miles on the Interstate System, none toll.

Kentucky has a 45-mile section between Louisville and Elizabethtown incorporated into the Interstate System as a toll road. But it will be free of tolls by 1972. Highway Commissioner Henry Ward hopes that, after the 41,000-mile system is completed Federal reimbursement for the Nation's other toll roads will lift tolls from the entire system.

MINNESOTA, MONTANA ARE PROUD OF RECORD

Minnesota and Montana answered the questionnaire, indicating pride in no toll roads. Missouri has only two bridges as toll facilities on the system.

Nevada's department of highways said: "We are happy to inform you that Nevada has no toll facilities, neither highway nor bridge."

New Mexico has "1,008 miles of Interstate System crossing the State, all of which will be free of toll charges," wrote State Engineer Robert W. De La Rue.

North Dakota's highway commissioner, Walter R. Hjelle, reported no toll roads in his State and added that he would be happy to have other States be "partially" reimbursed for their interstate toll facilities, "if acceptable methods can be found without curtailment of the interstate program and without disturbance of the highway trust fund."

Glenn L. Jackson, chairman of the Oregon State highway commission, has only a 1-mile Columbia River Bridge as a toll facility on the Interstate System.

South Dakota's Donald A. Haggar, director of its department of highways, not only is happy that his State has no toll roads, but flatly stated: "We consider the intermixture of toll and free interstate highways as objectionable." He added that such conditions are reluctantly accepted because of "revenue problems faced by some States where there has been diversion of highway revenue to other than highway purposes."

The South Dakota highway executive said: "We do not favor reimbursement by the Federal Government for toll roads on the Interstate System unless it is for the purpose of eliminating the necessity of tolls."

30 MILES IN TEXAS BUILT BEFORE 1956 ACT

Of 3,024 miles on the Interstate System in Texas, only 30 miles between Dallas and Fort Worth, built before the 1956 act, are toll facilities. J. C. Dingwall, assistant Texas State highway engineer, would like to see Uncle Sam reimburse the States for their interstate toll facilities.

J. H. Davis, engineer-manager of the Texas Turnpike Authority, said he does not regard intermixture of toll and free roads as a violation of the intent or spirit of the 1956 act "so long as there is some type of reimbursement * * * which would eliminate the tolls." He thinks that reimbursement could include both substitute mileage and early elimination of the tolls.

Virginia has only 37 miles of toll roads on the Interstate System. Edward G. Joyner, project information director of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge and Tunnel District in the Norfolk area, said that the State's pay-as-you-go highway construction policy keeps it out of debt, "but under it our road construction lages behind other States which build bond roads."

Commissioner H. H. Harris of Virginia's department of highways regards intermixture of toll and free interstate highways as a violation of the spirit and intent of the 1956 Highway Act, but does not think motorists are being "gypped" when they have to pay both highway-user taxes and tolls because alternate routes are available to toll roads.

He favors toll-road reimbursement for substitute mileage, made on the basis of the cost of construction, exclusive of bond interest and expense. He also thinks tolls can be eliminated on interstate facilities if States would appropriate funds for such purpose.

The State of Washington's only toll facilities is three-tenths of a mile of the Columbia River Bridge.

Wisconsin does not have toll roads, according to Harvey Grasse, chairman of the State highway commission, because traffic would not support them and it would not be legal. Grasse does not favor reimbursement for toll roads until at least the system is completed, and he does not think States can take over the toll roads because this would slow down their highway programs.

"There are no toll roads in Wyoming, nor do we contemplate having any in the foreseeable future," wrote R. G. Stapp, deputy State highway engineer.

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[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Aug. 20, 1962]

FOR WHOM ROAD TOLLS—VII: SWITCHING ROUTE AID TO TURNPIKE

(The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—The West Virginia Turnpike Commission hasn't been doing very well. Although traffic rose about 2 percent on this north-south route in 1961, the road earned only 64 percent of its interest requirements last year.

It was natural that the commission eyed the Interstate Highway System as a great potential, if only sufficient traffic could be funneled off to make the turnpike a going proposition.

True, the turnpike is in a position to tap north-south traffic, as motorists proceeding south from Cleveland on Interstate Route 77 will have to use the turnpike and pay its toll fees.

But the commission didn't feel this was enough to bail it out. It cast covetous eyes on east-west Interstate Route 64, the highway connecting St. Louis and Louisville with Staunton and Richmond, Va., via Charleston.

AGREEMENT ON ROUTE

Originally West Virginia and the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads had agreed that Interstate 64 would go directly from Charleston eastward through Fayette County to Lewisburg, W. Va., and Staunton and Richmond, Va.

Then the commission and its friends got into the act. On October 23, 1961, the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads announced the approval of the new interstate 180-mile highway route for West Virginia, No. 79, that would connect Weston, Clarksburg, Fairmont, and Morgantown to Charleston and thus hook up with the turnpike.

DIRECTION IS CHANGED

And the direction of the east-west Interstate Route 64 was changed so that at Charleston it would veer abruptly south on the turnpike for about 50 miles to Beckley, before continuing on its eastward path.

Thus the turnpike will have the benefit of traffic from another big north-south route—Interstate 79—coming from Erie and Pittsburgh, Pa., and the coins from east-west travelers for 50 miles on Route I–64.

It is perhaps the best example in the Nation of how a turnpike commission can bend the Interstate System to its will.

Some persons regard the action as nothing but a political payoff from President Kennedy to the depressed State of West Virginia. It was there that the President won an important presidential preference primary in 1960 that knocked his rival, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, out of contention.

The Bureau's action in carving out 180 miles of new interstate mileage from a precious, dwindling unallocated mileage of only 385 miles was regarded with astonishment by other States.

HALF OF INTERSTATE MILEAGE

This was true especially in New York State, where the New York Thruway, built as a toll road prior to the 1956 interstate highway legislation, constitutes nearly half of its interstate mileage.

Despite the fact that Republicans are in control of New York, the State's interstate-system-hungry citizens would have been happy if the President had recognized he carried the State in the 1960 election and that its big bag of electoral votes is again up for grabs in 1964.

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[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Aug. 21, 1962]

FOR WHOM ROAD TOLLS—VIII: TURNPIKE BONDS CAN BE BONANZA

(The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the interstate highway system. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the interstate system have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—Investments in general revenue bonds financing the Nation's toll roads on the interstate highway system are the "blue chips" of the bond market.

A recent survey showed that major turnpikes last year handled traffic totaling 14-billion vehicle-miles, a gain of 4 percent over the preceding year.

Revenues are rising on most toll highways, although the experience on the West Virginia turnpike, where tolls failed to cover the interest last year, is an exception.

The improved financial outlook for most of the Nation's toll roads is reflected in rising prices for many toll road bonds. These bonds are made the more attractive because the interest paid is tax exempt.

If someone invests $100,000 in turnpike revenue bonds paying 4 percent, it means that each year he earns $4,000 tax free. It's a bonanza that makes these blue-chip securities especially appealing.

REVENUE BOND COSTLY

Of all methods of financing highway construction, revenue bonds for toll facilities are the highest. For example, costs of construction and rights of way for the Massachusetts Turnpike are $152-million, but with revenue bond financing the costs will rise to $326.8 million.

It will cost $438.7 million to pay off the bonds on the Chesapeake Bay Bridge toll facility near Norfolk, Va., costing $139.2 million. The extension from Fort Pierce to Wildwood of Florida's Sunshine State Parkway toll will cost $76.4 million, but the financing price tag makes it $169.5 million.

The Maryland portion of the Northeastern Expressway on the interstate system between Baltimore and the Delaware line will cost $64 million; with revenue bond financing it adds up to $146 million.

The Delaware portion of the expressway has a $23.9-million expense, but the actual revenue bond price tag is $55.5 million.

The Northeastern Expressway is the toll road superhighway for which the highways boards of Maryland and Delaware would prefer to ladle out borrowed money at high interest rates, rather than wait for Uncle Sam to put up 90 percent of the costs.

As another story in this series will show, they could have had Uncle Sam's money and built it just as quickly utilizing another method of financing the costs.

Instead they preferred to hand back $1.4 million to Uncle Sam, spent when a federally aided highway was started, and make arrangements to pay double the costs for the highway, for which the motorist will pay tolls for many years.

There are five ways to pay for highway construction.

CONSIDERED A GAMBLE

Revenue bonds for toll facilities is the most expensive, mainly because no part of the State's credit is pledged and payments have to come only from tolls, considered by some investors as a gamble.

Payment out of current taxes is the least expensive because no debt interest is involved. But most States have found they can't build highways as fast as the public wants out of taxes the public is willing to pay.

So many States have resorted to three other ways, somewhat more expensive than pay-as-you-go taxes, but considerably cheaper than revenue bonds paid out of tolls. The three methods are guaranteed bonds, limited bonds and short-term notes. Each involves placing the State's credit back of the securities to some extent.

Full credit of the State is placed back of the guaranteed bonds, so that the bondholder presumably can't lose. Limited bonds pledge anticipated revenue, often from highway user taxes, to pay off the indebtedness. Short-term notes will be examined in the next article.

States smart enough to use these methods save many millions.

As an example, in November 1961, the State of Oklahoma sold $56.5 million worth of toll revenue bonds for its interstate system turnpike. Net interest rate on the bonds is 4.85 percent. At the same time, Ohio sold $30 million worth of limited highway bonds with a net interest rate of only 2.88 percent.

MILLIONS INVOLVED

In 1953, two types of highway bonds were marketed in New Jersey. Both were for $150 million. The one issued by the New Jersey Turnpike Authority was of the toll revenue type and commanded a 3.49 percent interest. With State credit behind it, the New Jersey Highway Authority got a 2.997 percent interest rate. A half of a percent interest mounts up fast when many millions are involved.

As a result, States which have used the cheaper bond financing methods, usually offering roads so built toll free to the motorist (mandatory, of course, for federally aided highways), have a better deal all around. The road will be paid for sooner and at less expense and the nuisance of tolls usually does not exist.

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[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Aug. 22, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—IX: FISCAL PLAN SMART IN RHODE ISLAND

(The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—Rhode Island enjoys the distinction, as far as interstate highway financing goes, of having its cake and eating it too.

Like many other urban States, it has been up against the problem of arranging to build interstate expressways fast enough to take care of serious traffic problems, and still manage to be eligible for Uncle Sam's generous 90–10 Federal-State financial formula for building the interstate network.

STATE COULDN'T WAIT

Some States couldn't wait and even after the 1956 act was passed, providing the 90–10 financing, have preferred to use the toll road method.

Rhode Island couldn't wait either, but it was smart enough to make arrangements for relatively inexpensive short-term financing to build its toll-free interstate highways quickly while waiting for the slower Federal handouts.

NOTES AUTHORIZED

In 1960, the Rhode Island Legislature authorized, subject to a referendum approval required by State law, the issuance of State-guaranteed notes during the fiscal years 1960–72.

The year 1972 is the target date for completion of the Interstate Highway System, and the notes are issued in anticipation of receiving all the interstate outlays which have been promised.

STIPULATION CITED

The legislation stipulates the principal amount of notes that can be outstanding at any one time, with a maximum of $63 million for the 1965–66 fiscal year.

The notes are allowed to be sold at public auction on private sale, or to the board of commissioners of sinking funds. Each "interstate note," as they are called, may be refunded or renewed for additional 2-year terms, but final maturity must not occur later than 8 years from the date of original issue.

Proceeds from the short-term notes are placed in a special account, the interstate reimbursement fund, and expended only for the purposes of financing the Federal share of the cost of the Interstate System. All receipts of the Federal Interstate Highway moneys are deposited in this fund, and are used to discharge the notes.

Rhode Island was able to sell seven interstate notes to bond houses for coupon interest rates varying from 1.55 to 1.8 percent. Illustrative of the interest rate differential, Rhode Island sold $5 million of highway long-term improvement loan bonds in April 1961, at a coupon rate of 3½ percent.

Thus, for the intermi financing purposes while waiting for its full share of Uncle Sam's 90-percent money, Rhode Island has been able to realize substantial savings in interest rates and at the same time guarantee motorists a toll-free superhighway.

Some consider it highly unfortunate that the States of Maryland and Delaware did not consider this method of interim inexpensive financing when reversing plans to accept 90–10 Federal aid for the northeastern expressway portion of Interstate Route 95 from Baltimore to the Delaware River Bridge near Wilmington.

Instead, the two States elected to turn back $1.4 million in Federal funds already spent on planning this section as a toll-free road.

Then they got the blessing of Congress and the Bureau of Public Roads to make this section a road that will saddle tolls on the

motorists for years, while paying off $200 million in debt charges for a road costing only $100 million.

## Our Transportation Problems—Time for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include an informative and challenging address "Our Transportation Problems—Time for Action," delivered by Morris Forgash, president of the U.S. Freight Co., before the fall meeting of the National Petroleum Association on September 20, 1962, in Washington, D.C.

By reason of his years of study, knowledge, and experience, Mr. Forgash is recognized as one of the outstanding leaders and experts in the difficult and intricate field of transportation.

The views and opinions of Mr. Forgash are worthy of deep consideration:

I felt deeply honored by the invitation to speak to you, and I accepted with pleasure and anticipation. My personal gratification was not, I confess, untinged with apprehension. Having spoken to you on several previous occasions I realize that I must be on my mettle to avoid the risk of being stricken from your list, because your standards are pretty high. Proof of that is in the distinguished names on your program.

It is not an easy thing to say something new and stimulating and constructive about a subject that is old and much discussed and in some quarters almost despaired of—the problem of transportation. There is no dearth of ideas on the subject. Theoretical solutions may even outnumber the practical problems of transportation, but in the field of action we have been weak almost to the point of impotence. An old jingle, the exact wording of which has long escaped my mind, seems to typify the situation. It was about a centipede who happily raced along until someone asked him how he knew which leg came after which. This so troubled the centipede that he lay distracted in a ditch considering how to run.

It occurs to me that there may not be so much wrong with transportation as we think. We may have permitted ourselves to become distracted by concern about problems that are not real. Surely the most magnificent physical transportation plant ever devised by mankind ought not to be continually on the brink of economic disaster if it is permitted to put its best foot forward.

The fact is, however, that public transportation has been running a race with itself and losing to amateurs—the private and exempt carriers—during the greatest period of expanding world economy since the dawn of history. This phenomenon has troubled the best thinkers of the day, from Joe Eastman to whoever you may nominate for the laurels of statesmanship in transportation on the current scene. But the answer still eludes us, and, like the centipede, we stand, splendidly equipped, considering how to run.

The problem has been earnestly studied by scholars, technicians, politicians, engineers, and practitioners of the art of transportation—though the latter category has been, understandably, perhaps motivated more by self interest than by concern for the judgment of posterity. From the reports of the Federal coordinator, concerned with conditions which had their origins in part at least in the First World War, to the President's message to Congress on April 5, of this year, which was concerned with conditions that could determine the outcome of the last of all wars, numerous and exhaustive studies of the transportation problem have found their way into the archives of transportation history.

Some of the transportation studies have died quietly, creating only temporary careers and momentary if controversial fame for their architects. Following most of them, however, those who produce, consume, supply, and finance transportation have marched up to Capitol Hill and debated the merits of whatever policy some group of lawyers devised as the legal formula for the theoretical solutions to the practical problems dealt with by the involved study. This is an exercise in which we now are engaged. I do not decry this as a process. It is the way of democracy. But I suggest that we may be wasting our energies chasing an illusion.

One trouble with most of the studies, I believe, is that their aim is too high. In trying to solve all of our transportation problems at once they jeopardize the chances of solving any of them. They seek the perfect master plan—the flawless program. Whoever succeeds in colonizing the moon or finds some virgin territory in the reaches of outer space may be able to construct the perfect transportation system. But it will never become operational on earth. Why? Because our transportation system, like the uses of the wheel, evolved by slow and painful steps. It was built on mistakes and wars and experimentation—upon famine and emergency—in fat and in lean times. And it is run by individuals with the normal susceptibility to human error—individuals spurred by the profit motive in a free enterprise system.

We will never achieve a perfect transportation system—but we can avoid losing an imperfect one—if we act. Our first action should be to come down from "cloud nine" and take hold of our transportation problems one at a time. Studies and analyses and investigations are fine, but most of the things that need to be done are obvious. There is a perverse streak in the human race which causes us stubbornly to resist doing the obvious while we avidly pursue a will-o'-the-wisp.

I am not going to make the mistake I have attributed to our transportation studies by undertaking, in this brief talk, to cover all of the areas in transportation where action is obviously needed. In fact I want to devote a part of my time to unmasking one of the "straw men" which most of the studies and reports in recent times have undertaken to establish as the real villain, and show how we have been wasting a good deal of time tilting at windmills.

GOOD MEN—AS IMPORTANT AS GOOD LAW

But let me begin by again directing your attention to the most obvious fact in the entire spectrum of transportation law, policy, and regulation—the fact that it is the administration of the law and not the wording of the law that is important. As Joseph B. Eastman said many years ago: "The statutes which the tribunal administers should be well, simply, and carefully framed, but the personnel which does the administering is more important than the wording of the statute. Good men can produce better results with a poor law than poor men can produce with a good law."

When I spoke to your association in the spring of 1961, I pointed out that we have entrusted a large responsibility for the destiny of our transportation system, upon which depends the economy and safety of the Nation, and perhaps the survival of freedom in the world, to a Commission of 11 men and about 2,300 employees. This is fewer employees than the Commission had in 1940. We delegate these broad and infinitely important powers to the agency and give it a few dollars—always making sure to give it less than it asks for on the theory that it will ask for more than it needs—then we go away and expect everything to be resolved in the best interests of the public and all the competing carriers.

Of course, in every adversary proceeding before either the regulatory agencies or the courts, someone has to lose—a fact which many people find it difficult to accept. And it has become popular for disappointed litigants before the Interstate Commerce Commission to look toward Congress rather than the courts to air their grievances. In this there is great danger. If our administrators are not masters of their own souls, they will become political puppets, rendering judgments on the basis of smoke signals and power pressure rather than on the basis of the facts and the law.

There is no sure way to insulate the regulatory agencies from undue pressures and influence, but there is an obvious starting point. That is to make it easier for the President to find and keep good men at the top and for the agencies to improve the caliber and morale of employees at all levels. I talked about these matters at some length in April 1961, when I addressed your 58th midyear meeting. And while I do not lay claim to clairvoyance nor to any inside knowledge on the subject, it is a fact that in that same month the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate rendered a report in which it recommended almost precisely what I advocated, and for the same reasons. Basically, the recommendations were for a 10-year statutory term of office for agency members, and a significant increase in salary and in retirement benefits.

In May 1961, Senators CARROLL and HART introduced a bill to increase the tenure of agency members to 10 years. The bill created a good deal of discussion, and informed public opinion probably was overwhelmingly in its favor, but no action was taken. Each of us must accept a share of the blame for inertia in this vitally important field of our national life. The wise, impartial, and just administration of our transportation law and policy is as vital to the welfare and security of the Nation as any project in defense or exploration which we will be called upon to support.

In just a little while the pending legislation on this subject will die with the expiration of the 87th Congress. The report and the bill will be put with all the other measures that did not succeed in this Congress and tied with red ribbon and sent to Archives. Very likely the legislation will be reintroduced in the next Congress, but absolutely nothing will be done about it until the people of the United States want something done about it. That means you and me. We are the voice of America and in this field we can do anything we make up our minds to do.

Have we not had enough talk and of study of reports? What else do we need to know about the subject? We will never be better informed than we are now. The only challenge now is to action. If we are really concerned about the quality of administration and the future course of transport regulation we can, between us, muster the support necessary to carry these much needed reforms over the top during the next session of Congress. Let's roll up our sleeves and do it.

KEYSTONE OF POLICY: FREEDOM TO COMPETE

I now invite your attention to a subject that has occupied a good deal of our time and attention for quite some time—the matter of national transportation policy. The present statement of policy which serves

as prolog to the Interstate Commerce Act had its genesis in a report submitted to the President of the United States on December 23, 1938, by a Committee of Six distinguished citizens. A few months earlier the President had appointed these men to consider the critical transportation problem of the day and recommend legislation.

The Committee of Six found and concluded that we had a "national transportation problem without a national transportation policy." It said: "There should be no further delay in the adoption of a definite national transportation policy which will provide for fair and impartial regulation of all modes of transportation. Such regulation should be so administered as to preserve the inherent advantages of each mode of transportation."

This, of course, became the keystone of the policy adopted by the Transportation Act of 1940. If we had succeeded in the intervening years in fully implementing the stated aims of that policy, we would have no problem today.

The financial plight of the railroads is not quite as bad today as it was in 1938, but their relative position in the transportation field has declined. In 1938 the railroads still handled 65 percent of the freight tonnage of the country, whereas today they are handling less than 44 percent of the total. The trucks, meanwhile, have increased their share of the total from less than 8 to more than 22 percent. Inland water carriers have lost ground in the total picture by about 2 percentage points.

Another major defeat in regulatory law uncovered by the Committee of Six was in the rule of ratemaking found in section 15a of the act. The Committee pointed out that section 15a then required the Commission to give consideration, among other things, to "the effect of rates on the movement of traffic." It said that this requirement was resulting in railroad management being deprived of its discretion in fixing rates.

As a consequence of the Committee's recommendations, the Congress, by the Transportation Act of 1940, modified the foregoing phrase so as to require that the Commission give due consideration "to the effect of rates on the movement of traffic by the carrier or carriers for which the rates are prescribed." Thus, as early as 1940 Congress clearly spelled out, in section 15a(2), a directive to the Commission to permit carriers to make rates without regard to their effect on the traffic of a carrier of another mode.

To make sure that its intent was fully understood and implemented, Congress went a step further in 1940. It amended the antidiscrimination provisions of section 3(1) of the act, and corresponding sections in other parts, so as to provide that such sections "shall not be construed to apply to discrimination, prejudice, or disadvantage to the traffic of any other carrier of whatever description."

The Transportation Act of 1940 charted a good course for the solution of the transportation problem. It established a firm policy of permitting each mode of carriage to seek its own destiny by making rates to reflect its own inherent advantages without regard to the effect of such rates on any other carrier of whatever description.

For quite some time this charter for transportation seemed to work very well. But things have a habit of coming unfixed, and somewhere around 1950 there began to develop a tendency to fix the rates of one carrier with a view to their effect on another. This came to be known as umbrella ratemaking. We began to slide back into conditions that prevailed prior to 1940.

Congress decided to take a new look at the matter. You will all remember the hearings that led to the Transportation Act of 1958. The report of the Senate Commerce Committee submitting that act has overtones of the report of the Committee of Six rendered 20 years earlier. Again the problem was to allow carrier managements the freedom to make rates reflecting the advantages of their particular mode of carriage.

So it was that in 1958 the Congress found it necessary to reinforce and strengthen the policy first adopted in 1940. It did this by adding subsection (3) to section 15a. That subsection makes it absolutely clear that rates are to be judged in the light of the facts and circumstances involving the movement of traffic by the carrier proposing them, and are not to be held up to a particular level to protect the traffic of any other carrier.

We were not to be allowed a 10-year respite, however, before assaults began to be made on the Transportation Act of 1958. They began immediately. They are continuing. But it is not my purpose to discuss those battles with you here. I have recited this bit of history as perspective and as background for some observations about a facet of the transportation problem that apparently has been overlooked entirely in our consideration of the subject.

THE "STRAW MAN" INTERMODAL COMPETITION

Throughout the entire struggle to develop a just and reasonable transportation policy that will insure an adequate national transportation system, composed of all modes of transport each serving the public to the maximum extent of its natural advantages, attention has been riveted on intermodal competition. From persistent repetition competition between modes has come to be accepted as the transportation problem. The studies and reports and debates—the propaganda and charges and countercharges—have duly impressed upon the public mind the idea that except for the competition of another mode, each form of transport would be flourishing and healthy and free of problems.

The fact of the matter is that the nub of the transportation problem is and always has been intramodal competition—competition between railroad and railroad, between truckline and truckline, between water carrier and water carrier. If you think for a moment on your own experience, you will conclude that I am right.

I need not recite the reasons why railroads were first regulated. It was railroad competition and not competition between railroads and some other mode of carriage that led to the deplorable conditions in the latter half of the last century which forced us to Federal regulation.

And for a long time after motor carriers were regulated in 1935, the most important function of regulation was to prevent the trucking industry from destroying itself. The situation is well described by the following quotation from the well-known book "Federal Regulation of Transportation," by Auerbach and Nathanson: "Until the outbreak of World War II, the ICC's primary concern was to keep motor carriers from engaging in destructive rate competition. The immediate effect of the requirement in the Motor Carrier Act that tariffs be published and adhered to was to push rates in some territories downward because many carriers feared that competing carriers might publish lower rates."

Between 1937 and 1941 the ICC issued five general minimum rate orders, putting a floor under motor carrier rates in five rate territories, from New England through the Middle West. In the first such proceeding, Ex Parte MC–14, the Commission prescribed minimum rates for the motor carriers operating in Middle Atlantic territory, saying:

"Prior to the publication of the rates, the motor carriers had not known what each other was charging. Publication revealed many differences in the rates charged by competitors. * * * Changes were initiated wholesale to put competitors on an equal footing and a downward spiral in the level of the rates rapidly developed.

"The record shows plainly that the motor carriers here concerned found themselves in a competitive struggle which was undermining their rates and depleting their revenues at a time when costs of operation were rising rapidly. Their reserves, to the extent that they had any, were nearing exhaustion and financial ruin loomed ahead."

The story was the same in other territories. In prescribing minimum rates for motor carriers in New England, in 1939, the Commission said: "The motor carrier industry in the territory herein, as a whole, is at present, and for some time has been, in a critical condition. One of the major factors contributing to this condition was a practice followed by some carriers of establishing rates lower than the prevailing level in an effort to attract traffic to their lines."

In the Trunk Line minimum rate case, decided in 1940, the Commission referred to its prior orders in other territories and said: "The effect of the orders * * * has not been to freeze the rate structure, but it has been to discourage rate cutting and put it under a supervision by the Commission which is much closer than is practicable in the ordinary procedure under which changes in rates may be suspended for investigation."

In 1943 most of the broad general minimum rate orders were lifted and the Commission thereafter resorted primarily to the investigation and suspension procedure as a measure for controlling unbridled competition within the ranks of the motor carriers. But as late as 1950, in docket MC–C–1003, the Commission found it necessary to issue a minimum rate order to control a rate war between motor carriers in the New York and Philadelphia area. The Commission said that the Middle Atlantic States Conference asked for the order * * * "because of intense competition * * * which has resulted in rate cutting especially by conference carriers to meet the lower rates of nonconference carriers, although it concedes that to some extent the members of the conference have also initiated reductions in rates."

The Commission said further that "The respondents compete with the railroads, contract carriers, and private carriage. However, the keenest competition is among the respondents [motor carriers]."

These conditions were peculiar to the trucking industry. By an order entered April 9, 1940, just before jurisdiction over domestic water carriers was transferred to the ICC, the Maritime Commission entered an order prescribing minimum rates of water carriers in westbound intercoastal commerce. The order was continued under ICC jurisdiction until it was finally lifted in February 1950.

In its 1950 decision the Commission commented on the reasons for the minimum rate order as follows: "In its report, the Maritime Commission found that the competitive practices of respondents had resulted in 'utter disorder and confusion in the rate structure,' and that 'unrestricted competition in ratemaking as practiced by respondents in the westbound intercoastal trade has resulted and is resulting in rate wars, in unduly low and depreciated rates and charges, and in instability and unsound economic conditions in the trade * * *.'"

Nothing was said in any of these proceedings about competition with railroads being responsible for the chaotic rate conditions in the motor and water industries. It was competition among themselves that demoralized the rate structure of the trucks and water lines. And yet, sweeping all of this history under the rug, those industries

now blame all of their troubles on the railroads.

Now someone may say this is very interesting but it is all a matter of history. It may be suggested that since the Commission no longer generally employs the device of minimum rate orders to prevent destructive competition within the industries such competition has disappeared. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Competition within the modes still is the most depressing factor in the rate structure of all carriers. And the effect of such competition within the ranks of one mode barges over and has its effect on the rates of another mode.

The Commission has simply resorted to the investigation and suspension procedure in lieu of the minimum rate authority as a means of attempting to control intramodal competition. And the records of the Commission clearly reveal that the battle is still between carriers of the same type. The conflict between modes is merely a skirmish which is being billed as a major war.

The overall pattern of what has happened in transportation in the last 30-odd years is revealed by the reports of the ICC as they relate to the activity of the Suspension Board. In 1927 only 12 percent of the rates protested were reductions. The remainder represented increases, and obviously were protested by shippers. By 1960 about 94 percent of all protested tariffs reflected reductions. In 1961, according to the 75th Annual Report of the Commission, of the total of 4,855 rate adjustments considered by the Suspension Board, only 194 reflected increases, and 4,428 represented reductions.

Further refinement of the figures is necessary to establish my thesis about intramodal competition. The Commission's report shows that of the 4,855 rate adjustments considered in 1961—and bear in mind only 194 of these represented increases—almost 3,500 were filed by motor carriers whereas only 1,135 were filed by railroads. In other words, more than three times as many protests were filed against motor tariffs as were filed against rail tariffs.

Who filed these protests? That is the important question. To try to find the answer I caused a 7-month study to be made, from the Commission's files, covering the period from January 1 through July 31, 1960. The study shows, among other things, that in that period motor carriers filed 647 protests against the tariffs of other motor carriers, whereas they filed only 297 protests against rail tariffs, 65 against forwarder, 8 against water, and 3 against the tariffs of REA Express.

This establishes the conclusion that competition between carriers of the same class is the most significant factor in rate competition today, just as it always has been. It suggests that a great deal of the hue and cry about intermodal competition is a smokescreen designed to divert attention from the main problem. It raises the question of how the problem could possibly be solved by freezing competition between modes and maintaining the status quo as to intramodal competition.

I am not suggesting that there should be less competition between carriers of the same type, nor that we should return to the minimum rate controls by which the Commission once sought to check such competition. All I am suggesting is that we cannot devise a transportation policy with our eyes closed to the most important facts on the landscape.

THE REAL PROBLEM: TO ACHIEVE COORDINATION

Intermodal competition is a "straw man" with many faces. At one and the same time this modern myth is relied upon to support arguments for changes in the policy of ratemaking and to obscure areas of agreement where coordination might be achieved.

Coordination of transportation is one of the most important goals of transportation policy, but it has remained illusive and unobtainable. Effective coordination will be achieved only on the basis of economics. It will come about only if a way can be found to link differing modes of transport together in a manner that will reflect the inherent advantages of each.

Long distance trucking cannot be coordinated with railroad transportation because the two do not complement each other. But even though truck hauls for long distances are not uncommon today, the short-haul motor carriers still make up the overwhelming majority of the industry and account for at least 90 percent of the trucking business. So long as the vocal 10 percent of the industry, the long-haul carrier, is permitted to be the official spokesman for motor carriers as a whole there will be little coordination because there will be continual competitive strife between trucks and rails.

The public has come to think of the trucking industry in terms of the giant systems, pushing out across the land, paralleling the steel rails that span the Nation. This is not a true image of the motor carrier. In a study which I filed with the Senate Commerce Committee last year I showed that in 1959 the average haul of 92 percent of the carriers of general freight, accounting for 83 percent of such freight, was less than 500 miles. Seventy-seven percent of these carriers had hauls of less than 300 miles.

In the same presentation I submitted evidence to show that in the area of piggybacking, which today offers the greatest hope for coordinated transportation, the railroads, as a matter of general policy, do not publish rates for less than 300 miles, and that only about 2 percent of plan III piggyback freight moves for distances less than 500 miles. There is thus only a very narrow margin of competition between motor trucking and rail piggybacking, and an extremely broad area where coordination would be economically feasibly and highly desirable from the standpoint of trucks, rails, and the public.

The short haul trucking industry is at the crossroads of its destiny right now. It has the greatest opportunity to help bring about truly coordinated transportation that has presented itself since the invention of pneumatic tires. The marriage of highway trailers and rail flatcars presages a partnership that could revitalize the short haul motor industry and be of inestimable value to the public.

CONCLUSION

I hope you will not be disappointed that I have talked as much about red herrings as about real problems. False issues create the most vexing problems of all. Being irrelevant they are insoluble, but they obscure the real issues and divert our energies to the pursuit of wrong causes.

Competition—the foundation stone of the free enterprise system—seems in danger of acquiring an unsavory connotation as applied to transportation. In the discussions, debates, and arguments about the transportation problem the word "competition" is so frequently preceded by the words "cutthroat," or "vicious," or "destructive," that we may be inclined to forget that competition also can be constructive and challenging.

Of course there is competition throughout transportation, between carriers of the same mode and between carriers of different modes. When there ceases to be competition there will be chaos or Government control. Competition must always be relied upon as the primary regulatory of carrier prices; otherwise we will need to find some very wise men to parcel out tonnage on the basis of something other than economics.

Competition can, of course, be destructive and unfair. But competition is not destructive just because it is successful. The mission of competition is to succeed in securing business, which someone else wants and seeks. My point is that we will be making a Paul Bunyan out of a pygmy if we permit ourselves to be persuaded that intermodal competition is the heart of the transportation problem. I have demonstrated that the basic depressant of the rate structure of carriers today, as always, is competition between carriers of the same class.

I have not condemned intramodal competition, as such, but if we are going to put the house of transportation in order, and get all carriers off the starvation diet that has been regular fare for a long time, the place to start is where the problem is and not where the noise is being made.

And I hope all of you have taken seriously my urgent plea for action to improve the lot of our administrative agencies, for the dignity, the integrity, and the public standing of the agency that regulates transportation will measure the success of regulation.

Finally, if I have succeeded in any measure in pointing out areas in our transportation system where agreement is possible and transport coordination can find soil in which to take root, my time has been well spent, and I will leave this platform with confidence that the challenge rests in good hands.

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## Establishing a Permanent Commission on National Policy for Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation, and rightly so, is devoting considerable thought and work to better meeting the needs of over-65 citizens.

A great many of these folks, during their productive lifetimes, have not had opportunity to lay away a nest egg for retirement.

As a result, there is a great need for developing realistic programs to fulfill the special social-economic needs of their lives.

In a weekend broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations, I was privileged to discuss fundamental approaches in dealing with the problems in this field. I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of my address and a supplementary statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts and supplemental statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Nationally, there are 17 million individuals over 65—including over 400,000 in Wisconsin. This represents a great economic and political force in our national life. As well, they possess a great reservoir of knowledge and experience.

Unfortunately, a great many older folks—after completing their productive years—find themselves: In serious economic straits, existing in poor housing, suffering from malnutrition and poverty, relegated to uselessness and isolation; and often literally rejected by society.

The Nation, I believe, has a moral responsibility—as well as an economic opportunity—to design more realistic programs to brighten the outlook for these folks.

Briefly now, I would like to review some recommendations which if adopted would—I believe—help to provide a more realistic foundation for an improved senior citizen program.

HOUSING

First, let's take a look at housing. According to recent studies about 45 percent of folks over 65 need better housing. Now, what can be done?

Speed action to put into effect legislation (fortunately approved by both the Senate and the House of Representatives), which I supported, to provide $200 million in loans to improve both urban and rural housing for the elderly. This will provide opportunity for greater efforts by churches and philanthropic organization to construct low-cost housing for the aging. Across the Nation, there are about 200 such projects—including several in Wisconsin at Madison-Milwaukee-Oconomowoc-Waupaca-White Water-West Allis, and Woodville.

Also, it could—and should—encourage expansion of country village retirement projects along Wisconsin's lakes, streams, woodlands and other scenic, away-from-the-city communities. This would: Provide homes in natural surroundings; decentralize the overclogging of our cities (too often characterized by rundown tenament-type living quarters); be a source of income, to stimulate economic life in such communities.

MEDICAL CARE

We need also to create a more realistic medical-personal care program, as required, with a proportionate sharing of the responsibility by Federal, State, and local governments, as well as by citizens.

In the past, I have voted for such legislation. Unfortunately, this has become highly controversial. For the future, the States should, I believe, speak out—for example, through their legislatures—on the kind of program they want for our senior citizens.

COMMISSION ON NATIONAL POLICY FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

In the past, the Nation's approach to meeting their needs has been fragmented, piecemeal, haphazard, and without real direction and goal.

Therefore, I am recommending the establishment of a permanent Commission on National Policy for Senior Citizens. The Commission would be a nonpolitical body established to evaluate—and make recommendations for meeting—the special problems facing our senior citizens. The responsibilities would include making recommendations on: Housing—the need for improved retirement benefits under various programs, particularly resulting from rising costs of living; projects for mature folks, enriched by years of experience, to continue to serve communities in advisory, if not active, capacities; meeting their medical and personal needs; maintaining living standards of decency and dignity; establishing proportionate responsibilities of Federal, State, and local government, as well as individual and corporate citizens, in meeting the needs of the aged; and generally, to improve the outlook for senior citizens.

I shall recommend this and be happy to support such legislation in the next session of Congress.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT

Fundamentally, there is a need to solve the pre-65—as well as over-65—problems of our maturing citizens.

If accomplished, this would head off many after-65 problems. This requires, I believe, a dual approach, including more effective efforts toward: Ending job discrimination against older workers; special training for older, displaced workers; making more flexible the existing mandatory retirement at a specific age; exploring for ways to maintain income for older citizens; establishing foster homes for older men and women without families; expanding libraries for the elderly; citizenship and voting registration drives among the elderly; utilising mature citizens in advisory positions—either in their chosen professions, or in civic needs of the community; and stepping up research on all phases and problems of aging, including economic, social, recreational, educational, physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs.

The objective of a creative program should be not just to provide for idle waste of later years; but rather, for using the vast reservoir of experience and know-how that these individuals have acquired through their working, productive lifetimes.

## Let's Face Reality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, as is so often the case, the general public seems to be ahead of the thinking in Washington on crucial issues, both national and international. The people of my State of North Dakota are deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Cuba. An editorial in the New Rockford Transcript for September 19, 1962 by its editor, Ed Doherty, I believe expresses very well the sentiment of North Dakota people concerning the Cuban situation as well as that in other critical areas throughout the world.

I ask unanimous consent to have this fine editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Rockford (N. Dak.) Transcript, Sept. 19, 1962]

LET'S FACE REALITY

It's time the U.S. Government faces reality and provides more determined leadership in its fight against the spread of communism. It has reached the point where Americans are overcoming their indifference toward this imperialistic threat and want their Government to assert itself in no uncertain terms.

In a world wrought with crises, the United States has stood as firm as the proverbial reed in the wind. We have watched, without so much as raising our official voice, as the Communists have taken over one country after the other. In fact, our Government has done little or nothing to preserve the national integrity of existing nations or even so-called "emerging nations."

We joined Russia in helping establish a "neutralist" government in Laos that consisted principally of Communists. Within 2 weeks the "neutralist" government recognized the Red Chinese Government and the Communist government of North Vietnam.

We were silent when peace-loving India walked in and simply grabbed 2 provinces that belonged for centuries to our freedom-loving friend Portugal. Although Americans objected strenuously our Government stood firmly behind the Communist leaders in Katanga and opposed Tshombe, the leader of the forces seeking a free government.

The "wall of shame" was built in Berlin with no indication of concern in official Washington even though the wall's construction violates our agreement on Berlin.

We have deserted Belgium, our friend, in the Congo; we deserted the Dutch in New Guinea; we supported the revolutionaries in the Dominican Republic in their effort to overthrow a friendly government. We have spent $100 billion in foreign aid to buy friends who find no inclination to join us in fighting communism.

All these manifestations of indecision, lack of determination and diplomatic vacillation are now history. We cannot turn back the clock. We can still stem the tide, however, if Government officials recognize how imperative it is we take immediate action in Cuba.

Apparently influential people in Washington still prefer to hide their heads in the sand hoping the Cuban situation will evaporate or be nothing more than a nightmare. Unfortunately, wishful thinking will lead only to more complications and threats to the Western Hemisphere.

Only fear of nuclear war will plunge us into such a holocaust. We can continue to retreat from Communist threats to avoid such a war only to find, in time, with our backs to the wall there is only one alternative—war itself.

With Russia bolstering the Red dictatorship in Cuba there is only one sensible action the United States can take—set up a blockade with a firm commitment to enforce it. We can face an incident now or a full scale war in Cuba later. The choice couldn't be more evident. We can't agree with those who will act against Cuba only when that island starts to export revolutionaries to other countries in this hemisphere. It will be foolhardy to wait that long. The time to stop such activities is right now—we must stop Russia from exporting revolutionaries into this area protected so many years by the Monroe Doctrine and Teddy Roosevelt's big stick.

The American people have no fear of war to protect their freedoms. The Government officials who think otherwise are poorly informed and underestimate the determination of the American people. The situation in Cuba is serious enough today to call for prompt American action. Nothing will be accomplished by procrastination except increasing the threat of war.

## On Spending Ourselves Into More Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, over the years, the Nation too widely, I believe, has suffered from the illusion that economic problems can be solved by big "layouts" by Uncle Sam. Realistically this just does not happen.

True, the transfusion of tax dollars to cure economic illnesses may provide a temporary stimulus; however this cannot serve as a foundation for permanent recovery. The real key to economic progress rather is productivity—either in goods or services—essential to the economy.

Recently the LaCrosse Tribune published a thoughtfully reflective editorial, entitled "On Spending Ourselves Into More Jobs." I ask unanimous consent to

have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON SPENDING OURSELVES INTO MORE JOBS

A short memory is one of the reasons why the belief persists with many Americans that massive Government spending can cure widespread unemployment. For our moment of truth we need only to take a backward look to our depression.

By 1936, the Nation's jobless which had reached a peak of about 14 million in the depths of the depression had been reduced to 9 million.

By 1938, despite a fullscale utilization of the Government spending weapon, unemployment had jumped back up to 10.3 million.

In 1940, after we had started the wheels turning in a big way for military preparedness, the figure was down to 8.1 million.

Nearly 10 percent of the available workers (5.5 million) were without jobs in 1941, the last year of peace before World War II.

The year of greatest war effort was 1944; unemployment was down to 670,000.

It was over 1 million in 1945; up to 3.6 million in 1949.

In March 1960, the unemployed numbered 4.2 million, down about 150,000 from March 1959.

Unemployed today total 3.9 million; 53 percent.

A fact not to be neglected is assessing the records is that our labor force 20 years ago was well under 60 million. Now it's above 70 million.

## Congressman Pike Reports on 2d Session, 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. OTIS G. PIKE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to report, through the medium of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to my constituents in Suffolk County on my record as their Representative during the 1962 session of this, the 87th Congress of the United States of America.

I could not, with a straight face, tell my constituents that this was the greatest session of Congress in the history of our Nation, nor label it "great" at all. I am prepared to defend the proposition, however, that it was a good session; that it accurately reflected the mood of our citizens, and was responsive to the needs and wishes of our people in both domestic and foreign affairs. It was a Congress of great changes and contrasts.

When the House convened on January 10, 1962, it was an atmosphere saddened by the death of Speaker Sam Rayburn. The House quickly elected one of his most loyal and trusted friends, JOHN B. MCCORMACK, as Speaker.

The atmosphere of economic crisis which had marked our convening in 1961 had disappeared. The 1960 recession was over, employment and profits were both up, and Congress was in a more conservative mood.

As its first piece of business the House enacted a bill providing for the construction of college academic facilities, but because the Senate passed an amended education bill far more liberal than the House would accept, the compromise version was defeated, and no aid to education bill at all was passed by Congress this year.

Among the contrasts and changes so obvious in Washington this year was the ease with which some parts of the administration's program passed, and the difficulty encountered by other parts. This trend became obvious as early as February. The Manpower Development and Training Act, designed to teach new skills to workers in areas of chronic unemployment, passed by a vote of 354 to 62, but only a week earlier the move to create a new Department of Urban Affairs was blocked by a vote of 264 to 150.

This Congress made the highest peacetime appropriations in the Nation's history for national defense, but not one vote was cast against it. The tax bill, on the other hand, designed both to raise some increased revenue and to give a credit to business for new capital improvements, just squeaked through the House by a 219-to-196 vote and was completely gutted by the Senate before being passed in a vastly different form.

Another strange contrast was the vote on the Peace Corps. In 1961 the Peace Corps was a very passionate issue, but so well has it proved itself that in April a vote to double its size was passed by a count of 317 to 70.

The physical operation of the Congress itself was a study in contrasts this year. Starting at a fast pace with a great many committee meetings and hearings in January and February, the Congress considered 12 major bills in the month of March and 10 in April. In May, however, the legislative machinery seemed to run out of gas and creak to a halt. Only five record votes were held in the entire month of May and newspapers and columnists all over the country started asking "What is the matter with Congress?"

By midsummer Congress was going at a fast clip again, and in September, 20 major votes were held. Those who had labeled it a "do-nothing Congress" in June, were obliged to admit by October that it had, in fact, done quite a few things. Rowland Evans, Jr., Washington staff correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, said this on October 1:

The 87th Congress has approved or seems to be on the point of approving an unusual number of important programs, including the Peace Corps, the unprecedented grant of new tariff-cutting powers for the President, a tax bill giving business a $1 billion tax writeoff against investment in new plants and equipment, a bill giving Federal aid to depressed areas (twice vetoed in somewhat similar form by former President Eisenhower), an increase in the minimum wage, a farm bill putting rigid restrictions on the planting of feed grains and wheat, a new water project called Fryingpan-Arkansas, a bill giving Federal aid to educational TV stations, a measure tightening up Federal standards on new drugs, a $900 million emergency public works bill, and a constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax.

The 87th Congress also started an expanded program of aid for Latin America, called the Alliance for Progress; established a new disarmament agency; substantially increased the military budget on the force level; voted billions for new space projects; approved an unprecedented $100 million for loans to the U.N.; and, before adjournment, will increase the cost of postage stamps.

The New York Herald Tribune is not notorious among newspapers as one of the administration's strongest supporters. Mr. Evans pointed out the defeat of all education bills, the Department of Urban Affairs, and the proposal for medical care for the aging as administration defeats. They were, and major ones. The fact remains, however, that most Congressmen feel as I do—that they are not there simply to say "yes" to everything the President proposes—or "no" if in the opposition. The President asked Congress for a tremendous amount of legislation. For example, President Eisenhower, in his first 2 years in office, asked for approximately 65 major pieces of legislation. President Kennedy, in the same period, asked for about 110. President Eisenhower got 30 of his 65; President Kennedy 65 of his 110.

In addition to the legislation mentioned above, there were other bills not so vital to the Nation as a whole, but still important to substantial groups of people on eastern Long Island. There was a bill, for example, which required television sets manufactured in the future to be able to receive more channels. It does not sound like much, but it meant that the residents of the tip of Long Island have two television stations rather than one to watch for entertainment. They are too far out for New York City stations, and the only stations within their range are channel 8 in New Haven and channel 3 in Hartford. Has this law not been passed, channel 3 was to be converted to an educational TV station.

Another new law of some local interest is one which allows oyster growers to be included under the loan provisions of the Farmers Home Administration.

There are some laws of interest only to a very few persons in the district. These are called private bills. Most of these applied to immigration matters, but there was one which applied to a boat. On these private bills my batting average was pretty good. I introduced nine such bills and withdrew one when I learned that the people who asked for the legislation had not told me the truth. Of the remaining eight, five were passed by Congress and signed by the President; two are still pending but will have to be reintroduced in the next session; and only one was turned down in committee.

These bills certainly are not of earth-shaking importance, but it does seem to me to be a wonderful thing when the legislative body of a Nation of 180 million people will take the time to hold hearings on a law to bring an elderly parent into this country from Poland, or a young child from Italy. It is one of the great attributes of a democracy, however, that it cares about the fate of individual human beings.

The Congress continues to be run by the moderates, and the moderates con-

tinue to examine each proposal on its merits, and then to vote according to their own best judgment of whether the proposed law will be good for their own districts and for the Nation. I try to be among the moderates.

While legislation provides a record for all to see, the great bulk of the job is still behind the scenes. My own Armed Services Committee was tremendously busy this year going over the reasons behind and justifications for the record-breaking appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. The subcommittee of which I am a member conducted lengthy hearings on the Reserve callup of 1961 and the state of readiness of our Reserves generally. The report which it issued after those hearings was comprehensive and will have a great effect on future Reserve policies.

In the 2-year session of the 87th Congress our offices in Washington and Riverhead received almost exactly 50,000 communications by letter or telegram from our almost exactly 1 million constituents in Suffolk and Nassau Counties. How many phone calls we received I have no idea. The communications ranged from a tremendous flood when it appeared that Republic Aviation Corp. would have mass layoffs, to requests from individual widows for help in finding lost social security checks.

Some requests we can help in—Republic has more workers than it had a year ago—and a man in Medford knows how to obtain a live buffalo—and some we cannot—we cannot find 1,500 hotel rooms overnight—we do not have facilities for crating and shipping bicycles to Long Island—but the endless variety of the requests keeps me and my staff of five full-time secretaries and two part-time assistants jumping.

At this 1962 session—the longest peacetime session since 1949—draws to a close, the same cold war is still upon us, and a shooting war seems to be more of a possibility than it was. Cuba is a more acute problem than it was in January 1961. On the other hand, the Communist world has its own troubles. Red Chinese and Indian troops are killing each other in border clashes. Russia has been asked to close three consulates in Red China, and the differences between those two countries are becoming greater rather than less. We approach the year 1963 with our economy in better shape than it was in January 1961, with fewer unemployed and with corporate profits higher. We approach it with a vastly strengthened military position. We approach it determined to excel in science and in space.

These have been 2 momentous years. I have deeply appreciated the honor of representing the First Congressional District of the State of New York in Washington during these 2 momentous years. I have tried to show this appreciation by giving all of my energy and all of my time to the job. In 103 votes so far this year, I have missed only 1; in 219 votes to date in the 2-year session, I have been present and voting 218 times. While my views on all of these issues may not please all of my constituents, I hope they will tell me their feelings about the following record:

| Date | Issue | Otis G. Pike vote | Total vote | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Yea | Nay |
| Jan. 10, 1962 | Election of Speaker: | | | |
| | McCormack | | 248 | |
| | Halleck | | 166 | |
| Jan. 30, 1962 | $1,500,000,000 program for construction of college academic facilities | Yea | 319 | 80 |
| Feb. 5, 1962 | Acquire additional land and motel at Grand Canyon National Park | Nay | 202 | 136 |
| Feb. 6, 1962 | Authorize additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Scientific and Technical Programs | Yea | 231 | 169 |
| Feb. 20, 1962 | Increase national debt ceiling by $2,000,000,000 | Nay | 251 | 194 |
| Feb. 21, 1962 | Resolution blocking creation of Department of Urban Affairs | Nay | 264 | 150 |
| Feb. 28, 1962 | Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 | Yea | 354 | 62 |
| Mar. 7, 1962 | Authorize $25,000,000 matching grant program for educational TV | Yea | 338 | 68 |
| Mar. 15, 1962 | Tighten controls over welfare and pension plans | Yea | 284 | 108 |
| Do | Motion to recommit public welfare amendments to limit amounts to be paid | Yea | 155 | 232 |
| Do | Final passage of welfare amendments designed to aid rehabilitation | Yea | 319 | 69 |
| Mar. 21, 1962 | Authorize appropriation of $13,000,000,000 for purchase of aircraft, missiles, and ships | Yea | 403 | 0 |
| Mar. 27, 1962 | Motion to recommit—kill—appropriation of $5,000,000,000 for Department of Labor, HEW, and related agencies in fiscal 1963. | Nay | 24 | 372 |
| Mar. 29, 1962 | Motion to recommit tax bill to remove withholding of tax on dividends and interest | Yea | 190 | 225 |
| Do | Passage of tax bill providing withholding of tax on dividends and interest | Nay | 219 | 196 |
| Apr. 2, 1962 | Increase compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities | Yea | 346 | 0 |
| Apr. 3, 1962 | Authorize $63,000,000 to expand Peace Corps | Yea | 317 | 70 |
| Apr. 4, 1962 | Limit U.S. contribution to U.N. Congo operation | Nay | 153 | 235 |
| Apr. 5, 1962 | Pay New York City for extra police protection required by U.N. Assembly | Yea | 207 | 153 |
| Apr. 10, 1962 | Authorize President to regulate textile imports | Yea | 312 | 81 |
| Apr. 11, 1962 | Prohibit Congressmen from mailing free mail addressed only to "Occupant" or "Boxholder" | Yea | 192 | 197 |
| Apr. 18, 1962 | Appropriate $48,000,000,000 to Department of Defense | Yea | 388 | 0 |
| May 2, 1962 | Require future TV sets to receive 70 ultra-high-frequency channels in addition to present 12 very high frequency channels | Yea | 279 | 90 |
| May 3, 1962 | Establish private corporation to create and operate communications satellite system | Yea | 354 | 9 |
| May 9, 1962 | Pay Philippine Islands an additional $73,000,000 for World War II damages | Nay | 171 | 201 |
| May 23, 1962 | Authorize $3,700,000,000 appropriation for National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1963 | Yea | 343 | 0 |
| June 7, 1962 | Tighten controls over negotiated defense contracts | Yea | 362 | 0 |
| June 14, 1962 | Increase national debt ceiling | Nay | 211 | 192 |
| June 19, 1962 | Extend Sugar Quota Act | Yea | 319 | 72 |
| June 21, 1962 | Recommit—kill—farm bill | Yea | 215 | 205 |
| June 25, 1962 | Extend Defense Production Act | Yea | 328 | 0 |
| Do | Extend and Amend Export Control Act | Yea | 339 | 0 |
| June 28, 1962 | Trade Expansion Act of 1962 | Yea | 298 | 125 |
| June 29, 1962 | Ban interstate shipment of gambling machines | Yea | 348 | 1 |
| Do | Give Federal Aviation Agency more control over nonscheduled airlines | Yea | 337 | 0 |
| July 2, 1962 | Extend subsidy of American shipbuilding industry | Yea | 293 | 5 |
| Do | Increased funds for administration of Pacific Trust Territories | Yea | 281 | 14 |
| July 12, 1962 | Foreign aid authorization bill | Yea | 250 | 164 |
| July 17, 1962 | Prohibit sale of waste steam at Hanford atomic plant to local public utilities companies for electric generating plant | Nay | 232 | 163 |
| July 18, 1962 | Give Justice Department subpena power in civil antitrust suits. Motion ot recommit—kill | Nay | 202 | 200 |
| July 19, 1962 | Farm bill extending price support on wheat and feed grains | Nay | 229 | 163 |
| July 20, 1962 | Appropriation for State, Justice, and Commerce Departments and Civil Rights Commission | Yea | 266 | 56 |
| July 25, 1962 | Agriculture Department appropriation including price supports | Nay | 346 | 41 |
| July 26, 1962 | Build $2,500,000 dam at Mann Creek, Idaho | Nay | 199 | 162 |
| Aug. 1, 1962 | Appropriation bill for 28 executive agencies and independent offices, including Veterans' Administration and National Aeronautics and Space Administration. | Yea | 309 | 12 |
| Do | Build $6,200,000 dam at Bakey Valley, Oreg | Nay | 200 | 182 |
| Aug. 8, 1962 | Give monetary award to winner of National Medal of Science | Yea | 193 | 177 |
| Do | Compensate U.S. citizens for certain World War II property losses | Yea | 354 | 15 |
| Aug. 27, 1962 | Amend U.S. Constitution to abolish poll tax in Federal elections | Yea | 295 | 86 |
| Do | Provide additional loan funds for housing for the elderly in urban and rural areas | Yea | 367 | 6 |
| Aug. 29, 1962 | Motion to recommit—kill—Public Works Acceleration Act | Nay | 192 | 221 |
| Sept. 13, 1962 | Establish 80-mile Padre Island National Seashore | Yea | 258 | 87 |
| Sept. 14, 1962 | Authorize purchase of U.N. bonds up to $100,000,000 | Yea | 257 | 134 |
| Sept. 18, 1962 | Motion to consider bill to enlarge boundaries of Virgin Islands National Park | Absent | 270 | 5 |
| Sept. 19, 1962 | Tighten security procedures in National Security Agency | Yea | 352 | 23 |
| Do | Tighten security procedures in defense contracting industries | Yea | 247 | 132 |
| Do | Build $1,000,000 peanut research laboratory in Georgia | Nay | 143 | 222 |
| Sept. 20, 1962 | $3,600,000,000 foreign aid appropriation bill | Yea | 249 | 144 |
| Sept. 24, 1962 | Allow President discretion to call 150,000 Reserves during recess of Congress | Yea | 342 | 13 |
| Sept. 25, 1962 | Allow self-employed business, professional, and farm operators to establish retirement plans on semi-tax-exempt basis | Yea | 361 | 0 |
| Sept. 26, 1962 | Resolution expressing will of Congress on Cuba | Yea | 384 | 7 |

## Private Enterprise Foreign Aid: A Proposal of Congressman Findley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the most respected and hardest working of this Congress freshmen is the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY]. His sound thinking and effective efforts have marked him as a young man of great promise in Washington. In a recent speech the gentleman offered a proposal to put greater emphasis on private enterprise in our foreign aid program by giving our private businesses a greater role to play in this program. America has grown great under the principles of private enterprise, and it is this success which the nations we aid wish to share.

Speaking before the second annual agri-business symposium at Purdue University in Lafayette, Ind., FINDLEY outlined three basic objectives for his foreign aid private enterprise project.

First. Inform underdeveloped countries about the private enterprise system—what it is, what it has achieved, what makes it tick—by means of lectures, fairs, seminars, literature and text materials.

Second. Arrange exchanges of personnel at various levels to promote understanding and to develop techniques and know-how.

Third. Establish within American business and industrial enterprises schools which business leaders in underdeveloped countries can attend at little or no cost.

In connection with this project FINDLEY told the symposium audience of a proposed bill to allow business expense deductions for amounts spent by corporations to move this forward.

In his speech the gentleman put forth forcefully the need for such a project and I am placing a part of his speech in the RECORD to spell out this idea and its rationale more fully:

Too often, we have permitted the fruits of U.S. private enterprise, in the form of foreign-aid dollars, to be used for experiments in socialism—experiments which have no chance of success.

The real success story of American private enterprise is little known around the world. Khrushchev is doing his best to make capitalism a dirty word. We are not doing enough to defend it—or to help our neighbors abroad discover the progress which can flow from our free economic system.

Underdeveloped countries desperately need the tools of private enterprise so they can build their own solid road to progress. This means know-how in marketplace operations.

Unfortunately our foreign aid is dispensed by career State Department bureaucrats who have never had business experience. They have neither knowledge of the private enterprise system, nor confidence in it. Most of them have been in Government all their adult lives and think only in terms of Government action.

If this new-type foreign aid is to succeed, it must be free of Government domination. It must be financed, directed and carried out by businessmen. Let the State Department arrange the visas and then keep hands off.

## Martin Project Aims at Perfection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, the Orlando Evening Star, of Tuesday September 25, 1962, carried an editorial regarding a very laudatory program recently established at the Martin-Orlando plant.

All of us in Florida are very proud of the Martin-Marietta Co. and its contribution not only to the economy of our State, but to the national defense—space effort. Their new program is worthy of emulation throughout the country. I congratulate the officers and employees of this fine company on their dedication, devotion, and the contribution they are making toward the preservation of our national security and economic well-being.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARTIN PROJECT AIMS AT PERFECTION

The folks at Martin-Orlando who have always done a bang-up, pacesetting job of producing reliable missiles at low cost and on schedule are now shooting for the moon in efficiency through their revolutionary zero-defects program.

The plant's new do-it-right-the-first-time project has turned the ideal of perfection into a practical working goal. The zero-defects move for perfection in quality has proved so successful that it is attracting international attention.

This revoluntionary zero-defects program got underway in the early summer. The object was to shoot for perfection in every operation by every one of the 11,000 or so employees. The plan for making the perfection ideal a day-by-day goal of every member of the Martin team was presented to to the employees in a plantwide program.

Results were astounding. Enthusiastic response brought voluntary pledges of participation from close to 100 percent of the giant defense operation. Project zero defects is more than an inspiration program, although the loyalty and patriotism of the employees does of course play an important part.

Imperfect work comes from two major causes, the zero-defects committee concluded. Lack of knowledge and lack of attention are the two factors which result in defective work. They set about to eliminate these two culprits and to add the positive factor of personal pride in workmanship.

This is not a one-shot, flash-in-the-pan program but a continuous plantwide struggle for perfection, according to James F. Halpin, director of quality control and guiding genius of the zero-defects project. Everybody at Martin is pleased with the results, and Defense Department officials and military men connected with the many Martin contracts have expressed their enthusiasm for the program.

One military man had this to say in regard to the program: "The philosophy of striving for an ideal has been responsible for a greater part of the worthwhile progress made by the human race, and there are beneficial consequences reaching far beyond the specific program to the individual, to industry at large and to the Government."

G. T. Willey, Martin vice president and general manager of the Orlando division, attributes the success of the company's most unusual program, to the coordinated efforts of the entire Martin-Government team which is creating and building powerful and reliable weapons for the defense of America.

In construction of the thousands of individual components of the highly complicated weapons of today, defects have always managed to occur. These are eliminated by the inspection system. The goal of zero defects is to eliminate these defects all along the line. This saves time, effort, and money for Government. It is the modern version of the old stitch-in-time-saves-nine philosophy.

The zero defects program is working at Martin. Mr. Halpin reports that rejects for defects have been cut more than 45 percent and this is the beginning of the effort for perfection. The amazing program has brought requests for information about the project from all varieties of industries, domestic and foreign. Most pleasing perhaps was a request from Rolls Royce of England, world famous for its own near-perfection.

Jim Halpin is high in his praise of the 11,000 employees at Martin who have responded so all out for the program. It is a sort of fever for perfection which has become an epidemic, as he explains it. This project which is plantwide will soon become companywide.

This is a fine thing they are doing at Martin-Orlando. It means greater satisfaction for every Martin employee and more missiles per dollar for every American citizen. It is fine, too, that this perfection fever is spreading to other industries. This zero defects virus could be the new secret weapon to give America the edge in the world struggle. The hot fever of perfection could win the cold war. Every industry should try some of the Martin-produced virus.

## United States Lacks Realistic Goals, Programs, and Machinery for Strategic Political Defense of United States and Free World Interests in Caribbean

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members certain matters of grave import to the security of the United States which merit immediate study and consideration.

On September 13, 1962, the President, in his press conference, assured the people of the United States that the Soviet maneuvers in Cuba "do not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere"; that the Soviet build-up in Cuba is not sufficient "to endanger

or interfere with our security." At this same press conference he assured us that Cuba is not "an offensive military base of significant capacity." This has also been the position of the State Department in its utterances to the American people.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, this position is open to challenge and deserves to be challenged. Any extension of Communist activities in any form in this hemisphere constitutes a threat to our national security and that of our sister Republics.

While we may be able to lull ourselves into accepting the administration views on Cuba and its insignificance as a Communist threat, two of our neighbors are already threatened and in danger.

Haiti, only a few miles east of Cuba, could easily be the next victim of Soviet penetration, aided and abetted by Castro. It is no secret that governmental observers and nongovernmental experts alike are concerned over the parallels between the present Haitian Government and that of Fidel Castro. The President of Haiti, from all reports, appears to be holding control by the use of a 10,000-man private militia. This militia exceeds the strength of the pro-American, anti-Communist regular army and is maintained at its expense. The chief of our military training mission in Haiti has already warned the Pentagon and the Haitian Army that the militia constitutes a grave danger to the state. Within the last few weeks the commander of the regular army was forced to flee for his life.

Inside the Government the Communists have made fantastic gains. While the President is not identified with communism, he has no reluctance in accepting the help of Communists to remain in power. It is a matter of public knowledge that the Minister of Finance, married to a French Communist, was expelled from Paris for Communist activities. The closest adviser of the President was the leader of the Haitian Communist Party in 1946. The Minister of Information and Coordination, the only Minister to survive eight successive Cabinet shakeups, along with his brother, the Director of Economic Control, makes no secret of his open admiration, enthusiasm, and sympathies for Castro and his regime.

Since the May 1962 elections, in which the present administration in Haiti had itself reelected for another 6-year term, there has been an intensification of unrest. Competent observers believe this present Government will have slim chances of surviving.

What happens when it falls? With Castro and Communist supporters already high in the Government; with Castro only a few miles away, who will form the new Government in the hour of chaos? The people of Haiti have real fears that their country will fall into Communist hands in view of the constant propaganda battering it has received from Cuba.

In the Dominican Republic unrest is mounting and so is pro-Castro sentiment. Aided by an intensified barrage of Castro propaganda beamed to the Dominican Republic by Cuba, the Communist Party represents the best organized and richest party in the country. With elections set for December, no one is prepared to predict the outcome. However, the citizens of the Dominican Republic have real reason to believe that the Castro-Communist influences will dominate to end in the establishment of a comparable state.

These are facts, Mr. Speaker, not fancies. There is every reason to believe that the State Department and the CIA are well aware of this situation. I submit that the presence of the Castro-Communist regime in Cuba threatens the existence of these two countries, despite the President's reassuring statement.

Mr. Speaker, so long as the Castro government and the Soviet buildup continues in Cuba, there will be a real threat to the peace and security of the hemisphere. With a democratic government in Cuba these countries need not fear.

But from where is this democratic government to come? What of the Cubans themselves? The thousands of refugees that swell the population of Florida know the reality of the Castro threat and they desire to remove it and the stain of communism from their homeland. As loyal Cubans they wish to make this removal a Cuban venture. This is reflected in their questions concerning enlistment in the new Spanish-speaking army units. They want training against Castro.

There has been a constant clamor and numerous proposals for a Cuban Government-in-exile. Foremost in the arguments against such a move is the idea that there is no unficationa among the Cuban refugees and no way to obtain the approval of the underground fighters in Cuba.

Currently, our Government appears to be extending some quasi-official status to Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, leader of the revolutionary council. It was under the auspices of this group that the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961, was conducted. Miro Cardona, Castro's former professor and more recently, prime minister, represents a group of professional Cuban "politicos" including former President Prio Socarros, who was driven out of office by the Cuban people in 1952, and others. Miro Cardona has been credited with drafting and conceiving much of the oppressive legislation under which Castro now functions. To many of the Cubans his program smacks of certain aspects of Castroism and his connection with the Castro regime is viewed with suspicion. That he enjoys some recognition from the present administration may be seen in the fact that he was invited to the Pentagon to discuss the formation of the Spanish speaking units.

Miro Cardona may represent the choice of certain U.S. agencies but does he represent that of the Cubans? Information reaching me says he does not.

I have a proclamation issued on the 20 of June 1962, in Havana and signed by the major groups of the underground now fighting in Cuba. The signers of this proclamation represent 45,000 underground fighters. That these groups are genuine can be attested by the fact that 75 of their members were identified and executed recently by Castro.

This proclamation makes no mention of Dr. Miro Cardona but pledges the support of the underground and offers the provisional presidency to Mario Garcia Kohly, leader of the United Organizations for the Liberation of Cuba. It begs him to form a government in exile.

PROCLAMATION

In a certain place in the city of Havana, Cuba, on the 20th day of the month of June 1962, and made mandatory by the agreement taken by the signers of this document, we proceed to draw up the same. This agreement will be signed by the directors of each organization as the circumstances will permit.

The agreements taken heretofore and ratified in this document are the following:

I. The directors of the clandestine organization Christian Civic Military Junta, which was organized on the 24th of August 1960, after having brought about the unification of nine other organizations who were fighting in the underground against the communism established in our country, made another patriotic advance in obtaining the incorporation in this organization of the remaining six organizations which have signed this document.

II. We, the signers of this document, responsibly state that in so doing we have pledged the unity of the major organizations existing within Cuba. This union of organizations consists of approximately 45,000 men and women. Apart from the 90 percent of the citizens who are against the regime which tyrannizes our country, there may be some small groups which, while they deserve our complete respect because of their love of country and the courage they have shown in this struggle, are not effectively organized.

III. We, the signers of this document, hereby state that we do not recognize any representative of these organizations operating in exile, as the majority of them have left our country, leaving our militant men to their own struggle.

IV. We make one exception to paragraph 3 above of this document, the foreign-based representative of the Christian Civic Military Junta, Col. Jose Pineiro Paez.

V. We designate as command in chief inside of Cuba, Col. [deleted], who will at all times take whatever measures he deems best to accomplish the overthrow of the Communist regime, and who will report to the signers of this document as circumstances permit.

VI. In accordance with the information in the possession of the signers of this document, and specially so because of the reports furnished by the foreign-based representative of the Christian Civic Military Junta, Col. Jose Pineiro Paez, we make the following special agreement which states:

SPECIAL AGREEMENT

The signers of this document, who represent the organizations which signed the body of this document and which represents the majority union of all the major organizations who are fighting inside of Cuba, agree and accept that Sr. Mario Garcia Kohly occupy the provisional presidency or our country during the struggle against communism which tyrannizes it, as well as during the period following liberation.

VII. It is agreed by the signers of this document to recognize as the only foreign based representative of this unity inside of Cuba, hereinafter to be known by the name of Christian Civic Military Junta, Col. Jose Jineiro Paez, to whom this Document will be sent, through whatever secure means are available to us, with a request that he make this document known, omitting the names of the signers in order to protect the lives of the signers, and to specially advise Sr. Mario Garcia Kohly, of the decision taken by the

signers with an appeal to his patriotism to accept this honorable mission and assure him of our heartfelt desires that he may be able to quickly obtain the necessary support so that we start the final struggle for the liberation of our country, at which time we will proclaim on our soil the establishment of a provisional government under his direction.

VIII. The signers of this union of organization will append their signatures on the reverse side of this page.

LIST OF SIGNERS

Christian Civic Military Junta, signed by the Comander in Chief; Anti-Communist Youth of America, the national director; Revolutionary Air Forces, national director; Democratic Christian Movement, national director; Revolutionary Recuperation Movement, national director; Free Workers of Cuba, national director; and the Anti-Communist Movement of the People, national director.

Investigation reveals that the Kohly group is a union of 96 Cuban refuge groups embracing about 118,000 refugees. The program of the group is contained in a document entitled "Message to the People of Cuba."

I believe this should be called to the attention of the Members since the various proposals dealing with a government in exile have all been rejected because of the two reasons mentioned. These documents appear to reflect a high degree of union among at least 118,000 refugees and 45,000 underground fighters. This seems to me to be a significant unification, and one worthy of serious study by our Government.

I hold no brief for one Cuban faction above another. I believe the selection of a leader is a matter to be decided by the Cubans themselves. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that only by the free selection of their own leader can the Cuban refugees hope to restore democracy to their homeland. I do not believe that any leader selected for them by the United States will meet this requirement.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot sidestep or explain away a popular sentiment. We cannot evade the issue of the necessity for the restoration of democracy in Cuba. Only by the restoration of an anti-Communist government in Cuba can the threat to such countries as Haiti and the Dominican Republic be removed. Only by the formation of such a government can the President truly assure the American people that Cuba does not constitute a threat to the hemisphere.

I believe our Government must give serious consideration to at least the initial steps in the formation of such a government with a leader acceptable to the majority of the Cubans in the United States and those in the underground in Cuba.

MARIO GARCIA KOHLY'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF CUBA, AUGUST 1962

I listened to Fidel Castro's hypocritical speech in which he said, "Arms * * * arms for what?" from within the prison bars where I had been taken that same afternoon, accused of the terrible crime of having refused to cooperate with the "26 of July revolution," a movement I considered too Communist and felt, therefore, my duty to combat. Three days later I was able to escape to the United States due to the disorder prevalent during those first days of January of 1959.

I think it is important to stress this point, in view of the arrival to the North American shores of so many last-minute so-called "repentants." About 6 months had gone by, when the first disillusioned Castro follower, convinced of the treason to the people of Cuba perpetrated by the Castro brothers, came to Florida. I am referring to Col. Pedro Diaz Lanz, commander in chief of the rebel air forces (an old personal friend of mine). Upon his arrival, he found that we were already conspiring in Miami. After many conferences held in my home in Coral Gables, a small group of us began work to create the first organized anti-Communist force. In those days, the American people, and why deny it, even the greater part of the Cuban people, still believed in Castro's promises, and our work was very difficult. We were even badly looked upon by the local authorities, and harrassed by the "barbudos," who about the time ran about the streets of Miami as if it were an extension of Havana.

Little by little other Cubans began to arrive, and our organization grew; we had conferences, press meetings, and began to create an anti-revolutionary, anti-Communist feeling in exile. When our efforts seemed about to crystallize, I came to Washington on the 10th of June, 1960, to arrange to obtain economic help with which to obtain arms and launch a strong invasion, to put an end to the Communist regime. In Washington, I heard many encouraging statements and promises of help, messages of hope, which I was to pass on to our compatriots in exile. The U.S. presidential elections were close at hand and this made my work all the more difficult. Neither of the two great political parties appeared to have an interest in taking the initiative in declaring Castro's mismanagement of the Cuban Government, "an enemy of democracy," and there were many who thought there was the possibility of "coexistence" with Castro.

But about this time an unexpected event totally changed the destiny of our beloved country.

The arrival in the United States of a group of men, who until a few days before their arrival as political refugees, had been praising and even actively participating in the anti-American, anti-democratic, anti-judicial, and anti-Cuban measures of Castro's and Miro Cardona's government. With them also arrived, the famous theory of the ex-Ambassador of the United States to Cuba, Mr. Phillip Bonsal, who popularized "Fidelismo without Fidel" and coined the phrase of the "betrayed revolution." From that moment on, only those "last-minute repentants," founders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, and later, the Revolutionary Council, were able to obtain the friendly ear of the Sate Department and the CIA.

The true anti-Communist Cubans fell into disgrace. We were all labeled "Batistianos" (even though we were not), as if this were the worst and most offensive accusation, as if we carried on our foreheads the mark of Cain, or as if all of us were responsible for "the imaginary 20,000 dead," with which the communistic propaganda of "the 26th of July" tried to stain the good name and destroy the morale of the honorable national Cuban Army, the only bulwark of our nation against the Marxist intentions of the Castro brothers.

However, we did not give up our efforts to liberate the fatherland which these so-called "last minute repentants" tried to maintain under Communist subjugation, assuming all the rights to form the "exclusive club of patriots" wherein, the only ones who could participate, were those who only a short time ago, had dishonored the sacred memory and patriotic ideals of Marti. Of the Republic which had been founded with so many sacrifices and such lavish heroism by the Maceos, the Calixto Garcia, Agramonte, and Cespedes, and so many other great patriots, to turn Cuba into a sad appendage of despotic Soviet Russia.

After the fruitless invasion of the 17th of April, which could really be called "the betrayed invasion," 90 organizations or anti-Communist groups, united around the political, economic, and social platform, which during my almost 3 years as an exile in Washington, I had been developing. Thus was created the first union or force of large anti-Communist sectors under the banner of the United Organizations for the Liberation of Cuba. This platform has as its fundamental basis, the return to the 1940 Cuban Constitution, which is an example, without equal, of liberty and true democracy—absolute respect for the rights of man as guaranteed by our constitution, such as the pursuit of happiness, economic well-being, freedom of expression, of reunion, and equality of all men before the law. We call for breaking of relations with the Communist countries and reestablishment of relations with all free governments; absolute respect of international treaties and obligations; respect of private property; absolute freedom of worship; reorganization of political parties and prompt elections supervised by the Organization of American States, as a guarantee of our confidence in the good sense of the democratic and Christian principles of our people, who will repudiate without any doubt, in a free election, all Marxist, anti-Cuban and anti-Christian theories.

Although we have made studies and great preparations, which have been continued, we cannot speak here about military matters with which to put an end to communism in Cuba. We have always considered that success will be ours and in the not too distant future, we will return to our beloved country. It was not enough, therefore, to dedicate our sleepless hours and our efforts to the overthrow of Castro, it was necessary also to think about the future of Cuba, destroyed, vandalized, bankrupt and bled white, by these traitors who had brought Cuba to ruin. I put this responsibility equally on the Castros and the Cardonas, who sold our country to the Sino-Russian Communists as well as on the "last minute repentant exiles," who with their music of "a betrayed revolution" and their aberrations of being the only ones capable of directing the liberation movement, in spite of the total repudiation by most of the exiles, delayed the true revolution. We cannot, upon returning to Cuba, begin to improvise formulas, study plans, make promises and ask for votes of confidence, as Castro did. For these reasons the United Organizations for the Liberation of Cuba have accepted, along with the authorities of this country, our plans and studies for the economic transformation of Cuba which will make our country one of the most prosperous of the Americas.

Here are the salient points of our programs, which, for obvious reasons, cannot be stated in great detail:

We have prepared a budget of $1.5 billion which will be obtained in an advance on the sugar differential and which will be distributed in the following manner:

1. Emergency assistance ($50 million): To take care of the victims of this Communist imposed civil war. These funds will be used to obtain and distribute, food, medicines, clothing and to lend assistance to the people of Cuba, including temporary housing.

2. Public works program ($200 million): These funds will be immediately used in the reconstruction of roads and bridges, creating immediate work in all the six provinces.

3. Public education ($100 million): We will establish in all rural areas, high schools, technical schools as well as a university in

each province. The school must come to the people, they cannot be asked to come to Havana to obtain their education. Preferential attention will be given in this program to vocational schools.

4. Modernization of the Cuban sugar industry ($100 million): We must not forget that Cuba is predominantly a producer of sugar. Our Government will establish a credit of $100 million to be employed in the modernization of our first industry through the extension of credit facilities to the "colonos" (independent sugar cane growers) and to the "hacendados" (owners of sugar mills) whose properties have suffered greatly due to the Communist occupation of Cuba and which are today in great need of repairs. It is necessary, it is imperative, that Cuba may be able to compete in the future world market, and only with a total modernization, can we hope to sell our sugars at a competitive price in the world market and pay the decent salaries which our Cuban workers are entitled to receive.

5. Construction of hotels and promotion of tourism ($50 million): It has been said, and truly so, that tourism was the second largest money crop in Cuba, second only to sugar. After the defeat of the Communist "Barbudos," there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of tourists will come to Cuba to see the transformation of a Communist satellite into a civilized nation. We will need many hotels in which to lodge this great flood of tourism which will favor our incipient economy greatly.

6. The People's Bank ($300 million): This bank will be different from any bank in the world. It shall constitute a risk which the Government of Cuba shall assume, based on the good faith of our people. I believe in the good faith of the Cuban people. This bank will serve, so that those persons, those thousands of honest Cubans with good reputations, with considerable knowledge and training, and a desire to live with dignity, may obtain credit to establish themselves in small industry or business, even though they may be lacking in the usual guarantees demanded by the commercial banks for this type of operation. This bank will lend $50 to $100 to a humble peasant, whose only aspiration is to purchase a pushcart from which to sell fruits and vegetables, or $5,000 to $10,000 to a small business man who wishes to operate a grocery store, a shoe store or a small general store. No longer will Cubans with initiative fall into the hands of the moneylenders or depend upon political appointments in order to obtain the means of supporting their families.

The Peoples' Bank will create in Cuba a new class of small merchants and industrialists and will give employment and the means of earning a livelihood to those Cubans who have been forgotten by our governments and our capitalists. This will be the future middle class of Cuba, the greatest bulwark against Communist penetration. To implant this ideal we will be dedicated without rest.

7. The land bank ($500 million): The agrarian reform established by the Castros constitutes, in our opinion, a theft and a cruel fraud perpetrated upon the Cuban farmers. We cannot accept that one Cuban's farm should be taken away from him, to promise it, or give it to another. This is exactly what Castro has done. Therefore, we will establish the Land Bank with a credit of $500 million so that the Government, through this bank, may acquire sufficient vacant land to parcel into lots and sell on long-term credit to the Cuban farmer. Under this plan, the farmers will receive land and they will own the titles to their property, titles which Castro promised them and never gave them.

8. The capitalist manifesto ($200 million): One of our greatest preoccupations will be the industrialization of Cuba and the creation of great sources of work. Here we will develop great sources of employment instead of just work. To this end and to make the workers and the people of Cuba coparticipants in the wealth of the national production, we shall establish an official institution directed by delegates from each of the bank members of the Cuban Clearing House and a delegate from the National Bank of Cuba. This institution will have as its objective the study of every projected new industry requiring investment of Cuban capital, and may participate through the purchase of the common stocks in any of the new enterprises, up to 50 percent of the capital required. The main concern of almost all foreign industrialists and investors is the fear of expropriation of their industries or investments as has happened in Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil. We believe that our plan will help to vanquish these false fears, insofar as the future Cuba, for once they know that through this institution the Cuban people themselves, being coparticipants, will become their best defense against any attempt of expropriation on the part of any future government in our country. With the creation of this institution, we expect to attract thousands of new industries which will bring employment and prosperity to our citizens. Our plan does not end here. This plan might be called the "capitalist manifesto" in opposition to the "Communist manifesto" of Karl Marx, which preached the destruction of capitalism as the only means to bring happiness to the people. The shares of this bank will not be the property of the Government. We are not creating a state monopoly, these shares will be sold exclusively to the people of Cuba. They will be sold with the same right to pay for the shares subscribed, with the same facilities which, before Castro, they were able to buy a house under an FHA plan; that is, on long terms, and with the added advantage of being able to receive dividends on the shares subscribed, including the unpaid balance. In this manner, each Cuban will be able to subscribe to, and in the future be the absolute owner of, a number of shares which represent the Cuban participation in all the industries of the country. These shares will be, and will constitute, a safeguard for the aged, as assistance in times of need, and of pride in the possession of a share of the national wealth. For this purpose, as we have stated, we will devote $200 million which will be doubled by the foreign investments in Cuba, allowing the immediate creation of new industries with a value of $400 million. As these shares are subscribed and paid for, new financing of other industries can take place.

If we have extended ourselves in the explanation of our "capitalist manifesto," which distributes the national wealth amongst all of the Cubans, based on sound capitalist principles, and we have extended ourselves in talking about the "land bank," to help the Cuban farmer, those farmers who have been so villainously fooled by the Castro's Communists with their unfulfilled promises, if we have gone into great detail in the exposition of "the people's bank", yes, the bank of the people of Cuba, we are not offering any excuses. We want the people of Cuba to understand well, that very much to the contrary of wanting to turn back the hands of the clock of time to the Cuba of yesterday, we want to carry to Cuba the true revolution, the one she desires, which she never had, the revolution to redeem the Cuban people from economic dependency, to bring the economic independence which will permit them to live proudly as Cubans.

We want the man of the new Cuba to be a cultured man, prepared to develop the mission which destiny has reserved for him in the history of the Americas. Therefore, our reasons, to establish specialized schools.

The reason we will establish "the people's bank," is so that the Cuban people, with their capacity for bettering their condition in life, will never again be pariahs searching after small Government jobs, depending on political sergeants or selling their votes—that sacred right guaranteed under our Constitution. We do not want to see the farmer of the future, living, like they have lived until the present, almost like slaves, without a small piece of land and always so mistreated. No, we want the Cuban farmer to feel proud of being a "guajiro", we want him to be the owner, the real owner, of the land he works. But we also want him to work it with the pride of knowing that if the Cuban nation has helped him, through "the land bank", he has paid with the sweat of his brow for this little piece of land, which he purchased honorably, and did not steal, as Castro forced him.

"The capitalist manifesto," too complicated and extensive to detail here, we believe, will solve, once and for all, the lack of employment, that "chronic sickness" of Cuba. It will attract an unlimited number of new industries and new capital to our beloved land, and will make each Cuban a coowner in this great new national wealth.

We want to see a Cuba without unemployed, a Cuba with the highest salaries of Latin America, and, while it is true that we will return all foreign properties confiscated to their legitimate owners, they will be obliged by law to pay to the Cuban worker the same salaries which they pay to their nationals in their own country. I am referring specifically to the telephone company, the electric light and power companies and to those so-called Cuban companies which were only exploitation capital firms. They will not be able to charge higher rates for their services in Cuba in comparison to their charges in their own countries. They will also have to pay the Cuban employees the same wages or salaries which employees or workers of the same category receive in the United States. Cuba will never again be a "factory" of low wages and high prices. There will be work for all, employment for all and a new standard of life.

We do not want to return to Cuba as "avenging angels." We recognize the errors of the past. We wish to return to Cuba as the creators of a new Cuba, a new nation. The United Organizations for the Liberation of Cuba will accomplish this and Cuba will be free of Castro and of Communists.

## Tribute to Representative John Moss, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Alan Emory, of the Watertown, N.Y., Times is one of Capitol Hill's most able reporters. I have been repeatedly impressed by his perceptive and accurate reporting. Mr. Emory has recently prepared a feature article on Representative JOHN MOSS, Democrat, of California, and his fine work as chairman of the Special Government Information Subcommittee. Every Member of the Congress owes Representative Moss a real debt of gratitude for his persistence in waging declared war against executive secrecy. Mr. Emory has given us a real

inside look at the work of the Moss subcommittee and I commend this article to my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these remarks and the article on Representative JOHN MOSS be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Watertown, N.Y., Daily Times, Sept. 11, 1962]

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN MOSS FIGHTS TO LET PUBLIC KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON

(By Alan S. Emory)

The hero of the a new book called "Washington Coverup," which will be published next month, is a hard-working, subcommittee of the House of Representatives, which has a 7-year record of fighting for the public's right to know.

So successful has the group's performance been that increasing number of cases are being referred to it by other Members of Congress and by businessmen, while the number of complaints from the press has remained constant.

The special Government Information Subcommittee has been headed since its birth in 1955 by a serious former real estate broker from Sacramento, Calif., Representative JOHN E. MOSS, whose political career has been so successful that the Republicans are putting up a candidate against him this fall for only the first time since 1956.

For many years the Agriculture Department refused to make public the permits issued to cattlemen to graze stock on public lands supervised by the Forest Service, but pressure from the Moss subcommittee led to regulations granting public inspection of the permits.

The subcommittee talked the Defense Department into removing its "for official use" stamp on the Pentagon telephone book. The book is now sold at the Government Printing Office, and Mr. Moss thinks the proceeds may pay the cost of printing all the directories.

The Moss subcommittee is best known to northern New York for shaking loose from the Agriculture Department the turkey marketing order vote in seven north country counties. The Department had previously refused to make that result public.

The Agriculture and Defense Departments have been Mr. Moss' two big trouble spots, the latter because of the many activities connected with national security. The Rural Electrification Administration had been glad to give out all details about REA loans after they had been granted, but would not even admit a loan application had been filed before the final action. That has been changed.

One of the big problems now is space secrecy, Mr. Moss says, and that is because the military aspects of space accomplishments have not been clarified. He said in an interview that 90 percent of the claims of national security will not stand up as an excuse for not giving out information.

The dark-haired Californian was jumped over more senior Congressmen to the chairmanship of his subcommittee after he had expressed indignation early in the Eisenhower administration over Government secrecy. This occurred during inquiries into security risk firings by the Civil Service Commission, which, Mr. Moss said, produced some statistical gymnastics." He said he had more difficulty getting facts than when he was a member of the California Legislature.

"If I had difficulty as a Member of Congress," he said, "I know there must be a great many people who were encountering equal, or more serious, difficulties." A House Government Operations Committee study confirmed the suspicion that an investigation was warranted, and the results over the past 7 years have been notable, if not always dramatic and sensational.

The committee has managed these accomplishments, among many others:

Prior announcement and later briefings on agriculture advisory committee meetings, faster announcements of farm loan interest rates, access to individual crop allotments, ending censorship of Central Intelligence Agency testimony before Congress, more access to names and salaries of Civil Service Commission employees, public lists of military posts selling packaged liquor to servicemen, publication of bidders on unclassified Nike construction jobs, declassifying relations of subcontractors to missile contractors.

There is no more secrecy about postmastership eligibles, gifts by foreign governments to U.S. officials, imports through New York and Great Lakes ports, weather research, nonflying Air Force generals receiving flight pay, violations of the Motorboat Act, migratory birds, covering missile firings at Wallops Island, Va., postal contracts and tax-exempt foundations.

Not always does the subcommittee reach its objective. The Federal Aviation Agency still withholds from State agencies reports of probable accident causes. The Defense Department will not disclose the names of Army Reserve officers retained for active duty. Pictures of Titan missiles and B–58 bombers have been refused.

On the other hand, thanks to the Moss group the Federal Power Commission will no longer delay release of minority opinions, while the Federal Trade Commission has agreed not to suppress again a dissenting opinion or issue another report of the decision suppressing the fact that a dissent had been filed.

President Kennedy has now ordered his administration to furnish Congress the documents it seeks with the caution that "executive privilege can be invoked only by the President and will not be used without specific Presidential approval."

Mr. Moss says his work in the information field has been "a real challenge in a tremendously interesting area. It is an opportunity to perform a real public service." He said that generally the executive agencies, both under President Eisenhower and President Kennedy, had been cooperative.

"Unfortunately, there were serious personal differences under the previous administration," he said, citing the feeling of former Assistant Secretary of Defense Murray Snyder that Mr. Moss was conducting a "personal vendetta" against him. Mr. Moss said, "That was not the case. He was the man on the public affairs job."

The Congressman pointed out that his committee proceeded cautiously, not moving into the public area with its charges until the issue had been carefully investigated and evaluated. Only one out of every four or five complaints the committee receives is really valid, he says. There are only three men on the staff, Samuel J. Archibalt, former Sacramento newsman, who heads it up; Jack Howard, an ex-San Francisco reporter, chief investigator, and Benny Kass, a former Commerce Department employee who has just left the Air National Guard. It operates out of four small rooms on the second floor of the George Washington Inn, near the House offices on a budget of $70,000 a year for everything.

Congressman Moss says he is happy about the cooperation the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Sigma Delta Chi Freedom of Information Committee. He expresses gratification over President Kennedy's support, which had to be obtained specifically when the National Science Foundation withheld some information about bids on the Mohole contract.

He concedes that there have been times when the newspapers have spanked him and his group, but he also argues that too often the press complains about relatively minor matters, such as military police interfering with photographers at the site of a military accident, and pays too little attention to major threats to the flow of information. He said no complaint was received about the Government's decision to keep the press away from the Pacific nuclear test site until bootlegged pictures were published on the west coast.

Mr. Moss says the information issue is "political, but not partisan." He has tried not to let the change in party affiliation of the administration interfere with the work of his subcommittee.

"In any establishment the size of the Federal Government you have built-in tendencies to try to suppress anything embarrassing," he declared. "The man at the top can set the general tone, but no matter how much you accomplish the problems will always exist."

Although his investigators have security clearances, he insisted they have the right to go over classified matter without them. The threat of withholding a clearance might knock out a good member of his staff, he said, and he would not give the executive branch such an advantage.

On the other side of the fence, Mr. Moss finds that, while he has not held full-scale hearings on information problems since mid-1959, the threat of hearings has often accomplished the committee's goal.

Mr. Moss, who took part in the probes of TV channel awards and the Sherman Adams-Bernard Goldfine dealings, confesses to being an amateur carpenter when he can get a moment away from work. The demands of his job have limited his reading mostly to nonfiction.

He is the father of two daughters, 16 and 12, and his congressional district has been "reduced" in size to a constituency of 567,000 persons all residents of Sacramento County.

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## With Tongue in Cheek; or Don't Bite Hard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. T. E. Haberkorn, Jr., of the St. Joe News some time ago wrote a whimsical article which, with the approach of Christmas, is timely.

With the consent of the House, I include it herewith:

WITH TONGUE IN CHEEK; OR DON'T BITE HARD

This is about something of pre-Christmas vintage. But in view of the discussion about national budget, national income, etc., it seems very appropriate. And I think I should let you in on the great revelation that came to me recently so that you can share in the joy it brought me.

Many of our political leaders and Government economists have in the past espoused more and more spending; I have had the opposite view—we should cut spending. However, during the pre-Christmas activity it suddenly dawned on me what it is they are and have been talking about; suddenly, I became enlightened and can see, happily,

what they have been trying to get through to me and many others for some time. The enlightenment came as I was driving along considering the problem of Christmas giving, Christmas gifts and the money involved. My thoughts centered around the family gathering on the in-law side and the arrangements made for getting dollar or $2 or $2.50 gifts for exchanges of the various age levels. The cost of Christmas when it comes to these exchanges was bothering me, and this led to some thoughts of how ridiculous could we get in this exchange idea if we tried. I thought, "Let's make it a $10 gift for everybody in the family and everybody gets a gift for everybody else." That was just about as ridiculous and impossible as I could get in those thoughts about Christmas gift exchanging when—boom—it hit me. What was so ridiculous about the idea after all? What made me think it was out of the question? The answer was—money. We couldn't afford such an exchange, I thought. But as the thoughts continued to flow, it occurred to me that here, in the Christmas gift exchange with everybody in the family giving everybody else a $10 gift (let's make that a $10 minimum, too), was the means of bringing greater prosperity to the Nation. Here was what those enlightened leaders had been trying to tell me all the time, and I had selfishly been rejecting their suggestions because of money.

I felt mildly ashamed of myself as I continued to drive along, realizing that my past opposition to greater spending had been motivated by personal selfishness—I had been thinking of my own family's welfare, its capacity for earning and fulfilling obligations, more than I had been thinking of the good it could do by participating in a program based on more and more spending. Here I had been foolishly asking, "Can we afford this or that?" when the welfare of the whole country was at stake. "Shame on me," I thought.

Putting it in terms of our own family and Christmas giving, and the effect it could have in the future on the welfare of others, I began figuring. If I buy a $10 gift for my wife and kids and every member of her side of the family, there will be something like $250 put into circulation at Christmas, just from my buying alone. Add to that another $250 which would come from the better half's gift buying, plus another $250 each for the four boys in the family and you can see, as I saw recently, what a terrific boost this would be to our national economy. (And this doesn't include the buying for my side of the family, good for another $240.) At last I understood in plain terms how our Government approaches its budget; it doesn't think in terms of "can we afford it" but in the enlightened terms of "think of what it means to others." What a comfort there is when a person finally sees what others have seen and can become one of the enlightened.

Think of it, next year our family can contribute close to $2,000 to the national economy in Christmas gift buying alone. Project our family's possibilities in relation to boosting the national economy into your own family. If this idea catches on, next winter there would be how many millions of dollars happily spent to make others happy, too?

I feel much better now. Now I can see why this spending idea has been considered such a great possibility by so many others in the past several years. There isn't any worry connected to it. We don't worry about whether or not we can afford it; we look deeper and glory in the good that we can do by spending more. We boost the Nation's economy, we put dollars into the pockets of more people as the need for increasing production arises. And when more dollars are circulating, everybody has more of everything.

Oh, the joy of enlightenment.

## Inclusion of Toll Roads in the Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Buffalo Courier-Express, of Buffalo, N.Y., is to be commended for running a series of articles on the serious national problem presented by the inclusion of toll roads in the Interstate Highway System. This is most poignantly illustrated in my own city of Buffalo where an interstate superhighway is a mixture of toll traps built by the New York State Throughway Authority and a federally aided toll-free highway.

I understand that both the Bureau of Public Roads and a congressional committee are considering ways in which the evils of this national problem might be overcome.

The following are four in a series of articles on the local and national problem written by Lucian C. Warren, Washington correspondent of the Buffalo Courier-Express:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 23, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—X: FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LACKS VOICE IN TOLL ROAD SETUP

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Throughway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—Someone has figured out that if you started on the Maine Turnpike and headed south and then west, with an aim of hitting as many toll facilities as possible, you could cover 3,210 turnpike miles at a cost of $58.90.

The trip would take in the Sunshine State Parkway in Florida and wind up on the Denver-Boulder Turnpike in Colorado and Oklahoma's Will Rogers Turnpike.

Along the way you would be hitting the toll trap in Westchester County, previously described in this series, on the New England section of the New York State Throughway, where a 25-cent charge is levied for only 3.6 miles of throughway-built road. This 7 cents a mile charge is among the highest rates you will be nicked along the way.

Variety in the rates is not the only discrepancy you will notice along the way. On the recently built Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike, the motorist has to stop every few miles to pay a toll charge. When this was built, someone concocted the idea that it would be cheaper to build the toll barriers right on the main road, rather than on the expensive ramps off to the side.

UNITED STATES LACKS VOICE

Even though most of these toll facilities have been incorporated into the interstate network of highways by the Bureau of Public Roads, Uncle Sam has not the slightest voice in how they shall be operated.

He did see to it that certain engineering specifications for an expressway were maintained before he accepted them as interstate, but after that his responsibility ceased.

There is no law on the statute books that will permit the United States to keep toll rates down, or to dictate where the toll barriers shall be placed. The U.S. Government has no say as to policing, maintenance, and many other details. Although the Federal Government has rules about prohibiting monopoly service areas on federally aided interstate highways, it can't forbid them on the toll-financed turnpikes.

And the United States can't inspect the books to determine whether the toll revenues have been sufficient to actually pay off the bonded indebtedness. Nor can the Federal Government determine whether the costs of erecting and maintaining the toll barriers are abnormally high.

It has been estimated, for instance, that the cost of collecting and accounting for the toll collection on the New York Throughway runs close to $3 million a year.

ABSENCE OF TEETH

The absence of any teeth in Federal law that would permit the Federal Government to exercise authority over turnpikes on the Interstate System makes Federal policy all the stranger.

Since the Federal highway aid bill of 1956 was passed, the Bureau of Public Roads has worked hand in glove with the turnpike authorities through a third party, the State highway departments.

Interstate routes have been changed to feed into ailing turnpike systems, such as in West Virginia. Toll traps have been permitted in otherwise federally aided toll-free highways, particularly in New York State. Needed interstate highways have been held up if competitive with turnpikes.

In urban States particularly, the throughway or turnpike still cracks the whip and will continue to do so unless present Federal policies and the law are changed.

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[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 24, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—XI: TURNPIKE OPERATORS SAY PUBLIC SHOULD PAY

(By Lucian C. Warren)

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

WASHINGTON.—Agencies which build and operate turnpikes and throughways in the United States unanimously believe they were virtually created by divine right to offer "red-carpet" highways to the motorist for a price.

They do not regard that the motorist has been gypped by having to pay both tolls on their turnpikes and substantial highway user taxes, two-thirds of which go to build a supposedly toll-rate interstate highway network.

They are somewhat divided on the question of whether tolls should be eventually eliminated by Federal reimbursement or whether substitute mileage should be provided those States which have toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System.

The most articulate champion of the toll roads is John Pershing, general manager of the Richmond-Petersburg, Va., Turnpike Authority. He is also the president of the American Bridge, Tunnel & Turnpike Association, and he responded at great length to a questionnaire on toll questions sent him by this correspondent. The questionnaire was sent to the directors or managers of many of the Nation's toll facilities. Response was generally good, although some,

like the New York Thruway Authority, didn't bother to reply.

The Pershing thesis for his own turnpike and in defense of the intermixture of toll and toll-free facilities on the network.

STARTED BEFORE

1. His turnpike on the Interstate System was launched before Uncle Sam in 1956 agreed to put up 90 percent of the costs of the interstate network.

2. The law permits intermixture of toll and toll-free roads on the interstate network and there's nothing wrong with this.

3. Motorists are not gypped by paying both tolls and highway user taxes. "If there is any gypping involved, the criticism falls upon the agencies who are collecting gas taxes on turnpikes to be spent for other interstate highways." And he takes a bow in the direction of Massachusetts, where he says the State permits a rebate of the gas tax paid by motorists on the proportional amount of gas consumed in riding toll roads.

4. He flatly is against reimbursement to the States by the Federal Government for interstate toll roads because among other reasons he regards it as "completely unworkable" and impractical. The roads couldn't be made toll free because of bondholders agreements requiring premiums if they were paid off fast. Besides the proposals only call for a fraction of the costs of construction and do not take care of financing charges, he maintains.

5. There is no way whatsoever to eliminate tolls on such roads because among other things the State would have to take over expensive maintenance and policing functions.

The response of Edward G. Joyner, of Virginia's Chesapeake Bay Bridge and Tunnel District in the Norfolk area, to the questionnaire was virtually identical with the reasoning of Pershing. But it is interesting and significant that Commissioner H. H. Harris of the Virginia Department of Highways disagreed with these toll facility executives on a number of things.

ANSWERS "YES"

In answer to the question—"Do you regard intermixture of toll and free interstate highways as a violation of either the spirit or intent" of Congress, Harris said "Yes." He also favored Federal reimbursement for toll-built interstate highways by providing substitute mileage. Harris also thinks the States could help speed toll elimination along by appropriating funds for maintenance and operation of the toll facilities which would leave the "gross toll income for bond interest and retirement."

The Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission's Robert E. Hetherington, director of public relations, would welcome reimbursement from the Federal Government for the 360 of its 470 miles that are on the Interstate System. He makes the point that though more than $30 million in fuel taxes have been paid by those purchasing gasoline on the turnpike, none of it has been returned for turnpike expenses. And he makes no secret of his desire to see toll-free interstate roads funnel into the toll facilities.

"Interstate highways should be constructed with direct connections to toll roads rather than the system of 'building away' from toll roads which is done in some areas," he says.

William J. Miller, Jr., director of operations for Delaware's State Highway Department, makes a spirited defense of the Northeastern Expressway toll facility. This is the Maryland-Delaware superhighway which started out as a 90 percent Federally built interstate highway, when signals were abruptly changed. Miller says that it became obvious that this much-needed highway couldn't have been finished before 1968 if the two States had waited for sufficient Federal financing. He does not reveal, however, whether short-term interim financing had been considered as the ideal solution.

HELP PAY

The Delaware State highway official extolls the blessings of making out-of-State motorists help pay for Delaware toll facilities and cites $10,000-a-year maintenance costs for expressways as another basic reason for toll roads.

Motorists are not gypped, in Miller's book, for having to pay both tolls and highway user taxes because he can travel on other than toll roads if he chooses. He is willing to let Uncle Sam reimburse States for interstate toll facilities after the rest of the interstate network is built, but considers any proposal that States pick up the tab for toll roads as unrealistic.

The Kansas Turnpike Authority's Louis Stroup, director of public relations, is proud of the fact that his interstate toll road was completed by 1956, the year that Congress finally approved the 90–10 Federal-State formula for building interstate superhighways. Motorists have no right to feel gypped over double taxation (tolls and highways user taxes), he says, because user taxes pay for certain toll free interstate highways whereas motorists "pay for the Kansas Turnpike only when they use it."

"There is no way to eliminate tolls on turnpikes," says Stroup, "until the investors who provide the turnpike bond money can be paid off in full on their investment contracts." And he pooh-poohs proposed reimbursement for the depreciated costs of his turnpike because "this would not pay off costs of service areas, toll plazas and such construction items."

In a very revealing admission about the high costs of these added toll road frills, Stroup says that in the case of the Kansas Turnpike, the service-area-toll-plaza, etc., expenses "would include only about half the $150 million turnpike construction cost."

Lawrence E. Ryan, director of public relations for the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, insists that toll facilities on the interstate network are entirely proper because: "Toll roads are built faster. They make State matching funds available for other highways which could not justify toll construction. They relieve the State of the burden and cost of operating, maintaining and policing."

This is perhaps one of the more candid admissions by a State official that it can't afford to pay for good roads on which there is considerable traffic volume, but is happy to let such roads help pay (through being relieved of maintenance costs, etc.) for roads on which there is little traffic.

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[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 25, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—XII: FACT VERSUS MYTH IN TURNPIKE ISSUE

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Throughway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—The Nation's turnpike commissions, throughway authorities and their supporters appear to be living in a dream-world nourished by myths or half-truths.

Here is the lowdown on their self-deluding mythology and the actual facts:

Myth: When the Commerce Department on August 15, 1962, issued a statement saying intermixture of toll-free and toll roads was legal on the Niagara Throughway section of the Interstate Highway System, it went on record as condoning toll traps in the interstate network.

Fact: The opposite is true. The August 15, statement of Clarence D. Martin, Jr., Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, said that the Niagara Throughway "combination facility" of federally supported toll-free and throughway-built toll sections of this interstate highway was an "unfortunate development" and did not "properly represent the intention of Congress in providing for the inclusion of toll mileage in the Interstate System." The Under Secretary urged the State of New York to "explore every avenue in efforts to eliminate the two small sections involved in the Niagara Throughway."

Myth: Toll financing is the only means by which many urgently needed roads can be constructed any time soon on the interstate system, if at all.

Fact: As articles VIII and IX of this series showed, toll financing is by far the most expensive way to build good roads. Inexpensive short-term financing is available for States wanting to build interstate expressways in a hurry while awaiting their full allotment of Federal funds paying for 90 percent of the costs of the toll-free sections of the interstate network. The Federal Government is committed to 90 percent money for toll-free interstate roads.

Myth: Federal and State Governments have an obligation to see that toll road bondholders' investments are protected by a conspiracy to prevent constructing any interstate toll-free highways that would be remotely competitive with toll facilities.

Fact: There is nothing in Federal and, insofar as is known, in State laws which says interstate highways must not be built in competition with toll roads. However, some States have blindly allowed throughway authorities and turnpike commissions to tie up their future highway programs with all kinds of restrictions on where tolls should be collected and by not permitting competitive roads. And Federal officials say they "think" it is the intent of Congress not to permit toll-facility competition. The obligation of Federal and State Governments is, of course, to pursue courses in the best interest of the public at large.

Myth: States just can't afford to take over toll roads because among other things maintenance and policing, now borne by tolls, cost too much.

Fact: A Bureau of Public Roads official estimates that the cost of maintaining and policing interstate mileage averages about $4,000-a-mile per year. This is not considered prohibitive, when tied in with regular State maintenance and policing duties on other roads. Besides, Federal aid will continue to be available for interstate highways where resurfacing becomes necessary.

Myth: Toll roads are the fairest way to make out-of-State users pay for traveling away from home on interstate expressways.

Fact: Congress was recently told that the interstate mileage on the New York State throughway, a toll road, is about 75 to 85 percent of the tariff, and presumably these figures hold for many other toll sections of the interstate network. In any event, are traveling motorists from States where interstate mileage is sparse to be denied benefits from high Federal highway user taxes, two-thirds of which are allocated to the Interstate System?

Myth: Motorists can "take it or leave it" if they elect not to pay tolls, as there are alternative toll-free routes.

Fact: Alternative routes are everywhere time-consuming, frustrating substitutes for red-carpet interstate mileage which motorists thought they were paying for in steep highway user taxes.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier Express, Aug. 26, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—XIII: HIGHWAY ROBBERY CAN BE HALTED

(By Lucian C. Warren)

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Throughway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is the last in a series of articles which have shown how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

WASHINGTON.—The Nation has been caught napping, while a "great highway robbery" has been committed with the connivance of Federal and State Governments.

This would appear to be the only logical conclusion after a study of the facts brought out by this series. A nation which had rid itself of all toll roads in 1936 finds that a quarter century later the world's finest network of interstate expressways is to be half toll, half free, for which motorists will be paying double—one in steep highway-user taxes and once at the toll coin boxes.

This series has shown that:

1. Many in Congress and the Nation thought they had arranged for a toll-free arrangement on all future roads built into the Interstate System after the 1956 Highway Act was passed. This legislation provided that Uncle Sam would pay 90 percent of the costs of such roads, providing they were kept toll free.

2. Only just now the public is beginning to wake up that nothing of the kind was done. The law permitted the Secretary of Commerce to incorporate toll facilities into the Interstate System without any reimbursement to eliminate such tolls or provide substitute mileage. And a sleeper in the law permitted Federal help for approaches to those toll facilities if they had other uses, however small.

3. As a result, toll traps have sprung up on the Interstate System. Some, as on the Niagara and New England sections of the New York Throughway, are of the off-again-on-again type, confined to relatively small stretches of road. Until recently, few knew that Uncle Sam had poured any money into these roads.

4. Others are of vaster dimensions. In West Virginia, President Kennedy paid off a political debt for his 1960 presidential primary victory there by ordering both north-south and east-west interstate routes to be "bent," both feeding into the ailing West Virginia Turnpike toll road. In Florida, State highway officials have promised in writing to drag their heels on construction of toll-free interstate routes that would compete with the Sunshine State Parkway, a toll road.

Even after the 1956 act was passed, some States deliberately turned their back on 90 percent Federal money and preferred to double construction costs of certain interstate portions by the toll financing method. The most unusual example is action by the States of Maryland and Delaware, with sanction by Congress and the Bureau of Public Roads, on the Northeastern Expressway from Baltimore to the Delaware River Bridge near Wilmington, Del. The States actually coughed up $1.4 million of Uncle Sam's money they had already spent on a toll free road so they could saddle the motorists with a toll road financed by revenue bonds.

The theory behind this was quickness in building an urgently needed highway. But in Rhode Island, the State had solved this problem by short-term inexpensive financing of an urgently needed road while waiting for the full sum of 90 percent Federal handouts.

While many of these mistakes cannot now be undone, there are remedies open that can prevent some of the continuing damaging effects of the "great highway robbery," and even rectify some of the injustices.

The Federal Government should:

1. Launch an immediate investigation as to whether the part-toll, part-toH-free character of its interstate net work is what Congress and the Nation intended. The Bureau of Public Roads is already quietly going ahead with such an investigation, and there are indications that the Blatnik subcommittee investigating Federal aid highways may soon schedule full-scale hearings on this in the House.

2. As soon as all the facts are uncovered, enact proper remedial legislation in Congress. Among possible laws—authorization of additional 90–10 interstate mileage to correct glaring injustices in certain States; toll and free road reimbursement for States that built interstate highways before 90–10 money became available; imposition of Federal controls over toll roads incorporated into the interstate network.

3. Begin cracking down on States which refuse to eliminate the more flagrant toll traps on the Interstate System or are lagging building toll-free interstate road in competition with toll roads. The effect of some plain talking by Federal officials to State highway officials on their sins of omission and commission could do wonders.

State governments should:

1. Quit beating their breasts over how virtuous they were to build interstate superhighways before 90–10 money became effective and on their own explore every honorable and practical avenue to eliminate toll traps and toll roads as soon as possible.

2. Unite with other State governments in bringing effective pressure on Congress to do something about the toll road mess.

3. Whenever possible support building interstate roads as quickly as possible as toll free roads, paid for by highway-user taxes out of motorists' pockets. If 90–10 money is too slow in coming for urgently needed roads, the State government should explore inexpensive ways of interim financing.

4. Make a determined effort to consider the public's interest above that of turnpike or throughway authorities. The two interests are many times not incompatible, but if there is a choice the public-be-damned attitude is the surest way to failure at the polls.

The public can:

Build a bonfire under both State and Federal Governments to force achievement of these objectives.

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## Wilmington Firm Breeds Mice by the Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following most interesting article which appeared in the Boston Sunday Herald on September 30, 1962:

SENT ALL OVER THE WORLD TO AID MAN'S ILLS—WILMINGTON FIRM BREEDS MICE BY THE MILLION

(By James F. Droney)

The Pied Piper of Hamlin would be singing the blues if he had to entice away Wilmington's rodent population.

Some 20,000 mice and 22,000 rats are birthed there weekly, which adds up to a whopping 2,184,000 output annually. But no one is rattled by such figures and there's nary a shriek from the ladies—for a very good reason.

TO AID MAN

The rodents are bred on the premises of the Charles River Breeding Laboratories and for a shining purpose: Research to aid man's fight against the ills that plague him physically and psychically.

From Afghanistan to Zurich, the world over, the Charles River product is shipped in numbers reaching as high as 3,000, and they are used in almost every area of medical research, from anasthesia to zonulitis.

An increasing percentage of the rodents are gnobiotic animals—those birthed, raised, and shipped under germ-free conditions—which provides the researchist an aseptically ideal subject for advanced research.

A rundown of the destinations and uses of some of the recent shipments from the laboratories point up the wide ranging operation, both geographically and medically.

To Japan went a shipment that will be used in research on a cancer agent; to Moscow went another, this one also for cancer (leukemia); to the Walter Reed Hospital in Washington for a research study on radiology in an effort to distill a substance that would minimize the effects of radiation; to Karachi and Afghanistan and South Africa went shipments that will provide the nucleus for government-sponsored breeding laboratories.

These were large shipments (the one to Afghanistan was 2,000) and the Charles River is presently supplying the Walter Reed Hospital with 3,000 mice weekly for an intensified research in virology. These last are not germ-free, but those used for the radiation study are.

To the University of Edinburgh goes a regular special shipment currently for a research project on hormones. Prior to shipment, the pituitary gland is removed from each animal by the three animal surgeons on the Charles River staff.

This is a highly delicate operation but the highly skilled surgeons can perform 25 in 1 hour, and the need for speed is great. Unless the animals arrive at their destination within 24 hours, physiological changes take place which make them useless to the project.

SHIPPED BY JET

To offset this, the surgery is performed in late afternoon; the rodents are shipped by jet that night and arrive in Edinburgh the next morning.

On the head of the thalidomide furore, pharmaceutical houses have recently stepped up their continuing research into the effects of drugs on pregnancy. As a result, Charles River's demand for pregnant animals has stepped up accordingly.

In addition, Charles River animals are currently important parts of research on ulcers, cortisone-like subjects, and diabetes, and the Worcester State Hospital, for instance, uses them steadily for its research in behavioral and psychological studies.

The gamut, like the geography involved, is great and getting greater.

And all of it germinated in the bright mind of a young veterinarian, Dr. Henry L. Foster, back in 1947. Dr. Foster, who resides in Newton with his wife and three sons, began the operation in the West End of Boston, practically on the banks of the Charles River, hence the name. But success came steadily and quickly and he purchased a farm in the backwoods of Wilmington shortly thereafter.

In 1956, in collaboration with Notre Dame University, Foster made the move that has catapulted his firm to the forefront in the Nation. Notre Dame had perfected a method of breeding germ-free animals and was in-

undated with request for them. Not wishing to become involved in a commercial enterprise, Notre Dame broached commercial breeders to install the system. Dr. Foster agreed.

Notre Dame supplied the first initial nucleus of germ-free pregnant rodents and from that beginning, in the space of 6 years, the overall production at Charles River has quadrupled.

In 1960, Dr. Foster started the Mouse House, again because of a demand no one else was readily equipped to fill. He brought in as manager his younger brother, Sumner, 32, a economics major from the University of Michigan.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN EMPLOYEES

From a bare few employees in the beginning and through the early 1950's, Dr. Foster now employs 115 people, 108 at the breeding stations in Wilmington, and 7 at the administrative headquarters he has set up on Beacon Street, Brookline.

The demand is still growing because more and more money is being poured into research.

"The biggest demand is for the small animals," said Dr. Foster, "simply because they are cheaper, and in the early period of research, before important findings are made one way or another, cost and size are factors to be considered."

"Later if the research develops favorably, the larger animals, like the primates, will be used," he said.

Charles River is the Nation's largest breeder of the germ-free animals, and there are only a few such operations in the Nation.

The germ-free status at birth is assured by performing a Caesarian-section-type operation on the female and passing the progeny still encased in the placenta, into a germ-free isolator. Highly deft technicians, their hands encased in sterile arm-length gloves built into the isolator, massage the infant rodents to stimulate the respiratory system. Similar safeguards are in effect regarding their lacteal feeding if no germ-free female is available.

The startling proof of the existence of the germ-free status is that if a rat or mouse died in the isolator, there would be no decay or corruption of the body since there is no bacteria present. The relict corpse would merely desiccate.

## Medical Care for the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a petition and names I have received from several constituents, regarding the issue of adequate medical care for the elderly.

There being no objection, the petition and names was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WEST LANE SOCIAL SECURITY CLUBS OF AMERICA, INC., CLUB NO. 26

We, the undersigned, are in favor of the King-Anderson bill and urge the Congress to do the best they can to pass this bill for medical care under social security in this session of Congress.

Myrtle Peebles, secretary-treasury; Henry C. Peebles, president; Marie Peebles, Mrs. Ruth Burnett, James Burnett, members; Roy Stogsdill, State President; Mrs. Lee Carter, Lee Carter, Wilbur Webb.

## Cuba, the New Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a very timely and penetrating article on dealing with the situation in Cuba and also our hemispheric relations appeared recently in the Berne Witness, Berne, Ind.

I include it herewith:

CUBA, THE NEW FRONTIER

President Kennedy need not look far for the New Frontier. It is only 90 miles off the tip of Florida, the State where J.F.K. likes to bask in the sunshine during the long winter weekends.

It is no wonder the patience of Congress and the Nation has been strained when they know Russian arms, equipment, and technicians, are being brought to the island outpost and yet nothing is being done about it—due to lack of leadership.

This seems especially dilatory in view of the fact that we send our young men and foreign aid all over the world to fight communism, and then permit them to set up their bases right on our doorstep, or are these merely fishing outposts? How gullible can a person get?

Is it surprising the rest of the world questions the judgement and wisdom of our young and inexperienced Executive? What has happened to U.S. foreign prestige J.F.K. talked about in his campaign?

The Bay of Pigs fiasco is one of President Kennedy's creations. Let's hope this New Frontier and the country's security is more challenging to Presidential leadership and the administration in Washington, than playing politics and the concern for the next election, or the America's Cup races off Newport.

TIME TO LOOK AGAIN

The agonizing reappraisal of American foreign policy which was mentioned by the late John Foster Dulles seems to be the most pressing order of business for this country today.

In Dulles' time, his comment was brought on by actions of some of our allies. In this period of the Nation's life, the obvious flaws in a policy conceived and executed by Americans require immediate examination. The policy may not have been a total failure, but it must be subject to criticism in the light of what has happened, and is happening, in Cuba.

Seldom has a country been such a helpless captive of its own designs. Unless the words of the President and the Secretary of State mean nothing at all, the United States dares make no move in any spot in the world for fear of Red retaliation in some other place where we have prior commitments. Cuba may not be defended because the Soviets would strike Berlin. Berlin may not be shielded because of South Vietnam. Action in South Vietnam might provoke counteraction by the Communists against Turkey. And ad infinitum.

This is, of course, an excercise in perpetually excusing any Red thrust, or any act by Khrushchev to slice away still another bit of territory.

Such a policy benefits the Communists, not the United States. If our commitments are so interwoven as to leave this Nation helpless, then it is only simple wisdom to reduce them enough to provide some room for maneuver, diplomatic and possibly military. If what Secretary Rusk says is true, our allies are an embarrassing hindrance rather than an asset in international affairs.

The planners of policy in Washington might also look again at the Organization of American States. This is a sort of localized group of nations whose interests lie primarily in the Western Hemisphere. Ever since Castro came to power in Cuba, the United States has attempted to obtain support from these countries against the Red dictator.

For the moment, take a realistic view of these nations. The "ABC" powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—are supposed to be the strongest in Latin America. What could either Argentina or Brazil do about a real external threat? What government might be in power in Argentina at a crucial moment? A review of the other smaller nations is even more depressing.

The United States of America cannot dump its responsibilities onto such weak shoulders. If our State Department does not understand this simple truth, the people of America and the rest of the world are not so easily deluded. Whatever action is finally taken in regard to Cuba will have to be carried out in spite of the OAS, and not through its impotent hands.

The world's greatest nation, spiritually, economically, and militarily, must not become the victim of its own poor policy. That seems to be our fate when our obligations will permit no latitude, and our alliances are based on wistful hopes rather than reality.

There has to be some basic flaw in a policy which will not permit us to defend a position 90 miles from our own shores.

## The Consecration of the Right Reverend Albert A. Chambers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, today in Springfield, Ill., the Reverend Canon Edward N. West, canon sacrist of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, will narrate the radio and television presentations of the consecration of the Right Reverend Albert A. Chambers in St. Paul's Cathedral in Springfield.

Canon West is a man of national prominence. He is a personal friend of Bishop-Elect Chambers and has narrated the radio and television broadcasts of several consecrations of Episcopal bishops as well as the network broadcasts and telecasts of Christmas and Easter services from the New York cathedral.

Canon West was the select preacher at the University of Dublin, 1952, honorary chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the opening of the 1948 Lambeth Conference and master of ceremonies at the Anglican Congress of 1954. He has participated in numerous radio and television panels, and has frequently broadcast lectures.

A native of Boston, Mass., Canon West is a graduate of Boston University and the General Theological Seminary, and is a distinguished author, artist, architect, and lecturer, as well as a priest of the Episcopal Church.

He is an honorary associate of the American Guild of Organists, and has been their national chaplain; chaplain

(major), 11th Internal Security Battalion, New York Guard, and vice chairman of the Joint Commission on Church Architecture and the Allied Arts. He has designed chapels for the Royal Navy, the American merchant marine, and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, and the iconostasis of the Serbian Cathedral in New York City.

Canon West has been decorated by the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States, and his ecclesiastical honors include the Grand Cross of St. Joanikije, given by the Serbian Patriarchate; Grand Officer of the Greek Order of St. Dennis of Zante; Archpriest's Crosses given by the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the Medal of Merit of the Order of St. Gregory the Illuminator, given by the Patriarchate of all Armenians.

He has been a lecturer at the General Theological Seminary, Episcopal Theological School, and New York University.

Mr. Speaker, I join the many friends of Bishop-elect Chambers in extending to him the appreciation of us all for the service given in the past, and for the spiritual guidance he has provided and will continue to provide to the people of west-central Illinois.

## Eighty-seven Million Jobs: A Constructive Solution to Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] has written a new book, "Eighty-Seven Million Jobs," that has received national attention since its publication in New York a few days ago. I take this opportunity to share with the Congress a review of the Curtis book that appeared in the Christian Science Monitor last Saturday, September 29. I take this opportunity further to commend the book itself to my colleagues, as well as to those in the executive branch who are concerned with finding a constructive solution to unemployment:

PEOPLE AT WORK—JOBS: TOO MANY SQUARE PEGS?

(By Ed Townsend)

NEW YORK.—"We have a serious problem on our hands. We have jobs going begging and we have people unemployed who would like to work."

Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS of Missouri, senior Republican in the House and a member of the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee and of the House Ways and Means Committee, makes this statement in a book, "Eighty-seven Million Jobs," published this past week by Duell, Sloan & Pearce—the result of 2 years of late evening consideration of a national problem that could become a national crisis.

The book is provocative; it will be debated widely in the weeks ahead. What it outlines as "a constructive solution to unemployment" will find support in some quarters, will be scoffed at or challenged in others. Nevertheless, the book is important. It focuses new and needed attention on the basis of problems too often considered only in terms of statistics.

Unemployment persists at a level of about 5 percent of the civilian labor force. Methods of counting the jobless differ. Unions contend that the Government's figures are too conservative—that if allowances are made for those working only part time, the number idle would be about 6 million and the percentage around 7 percent. Whichever is right, there is almost universal agreement that the total is much too high.

Moreover, long-term unemployment—the kind that really hurts—has been increasing steadily in recent years. Today there are more than 500,000 men or women who have been jobless more than 26 weeks and nearly 1 million who have been off jobs for more than 15 weeks.

Conservatively, there is a large pool of nearly 4 millilion men and women anxious to go to work, according to Mr. CURTIS, while hundreds of thousands of jobs remain unfilled because properly trained workers cannot be found.

The problem, he says, is one of imbalances.

"Many employers, knowing the workers they need are not available, do not even bother to advertise for them," Mr. CURTIS said in a recent discussion of the problem. The openings are for skilled workers, usually for specialists. The job seekers—the unemployed in today's labor market—are largely unskilled or semiskilled.

For instance, 900,000 more persons could be employed in the field of health services alone if they were available, according to Mr. CURTIS. Many parts of the country are desperately short of teachers and other school personnel. In many cities, it is almost impossible to find competent, fully qualified secretaries.

Moreover, according to a survey by the Missouri Congressman, there is a severe shortage of automobile mechanics, tailors, sales clerks, shoe repairers, office workers, social and welfare workers, scientific and technical workers, and other classifications of white-collar and subprofessional workers—shortages that can be found even in areas with long and persistent unemployment.

However, a jobless coalminer or steelworker cannot be fitted easily into any of the shortage jobs. Usually, they lack the basic education and background necessary for retraining. Too often, they are not adaptable. And many of them are reluctant about making a new start in an entirely different field of employment.

"Too many people simply don't want to train for the jobs that are available," Mr. CURTIS comments, adding, "There is no magic cure-all for our problems, but * * * we must launch a vast program to upgrade the skills of our people so that they can fill the many new jobs being created in our highly developed and increasingly service-oriented society and leave their old jobs to be filled by others, perhaps today's unemployed with their lesser skills."

This would mean training and retraining programs on a greatly expanded basis—and with attention to developing needs. There is entirely too much stress now on training and vocational programs directed toward skills little needed now or becoming obsolete, says Mr. CURTIS. There is entirely too much thinking in terms of today or the past, too little in the new and challenging terms of tomorrow, he adds.

"The technique of matching idle workers with unfilled jobs is in its infancy. So, too, is our system of training and retraining Americans to fill the jobs that must be filled in the future if, as a nation, we are to realize our economic potential," Representative CURTIS states.

The need is for a broad reshuffling, to upgrade workers "energetic and ambitious enough to try to improve skills or education." Today's big waste is the underdeveloped worker. Today's wrong technique is to try to train the untrainable—or to pass over him as untrainable. The answer, as Mr. CURTIS sees it, is not to try to retrain the possessor of the lowest skill for newly emerging skilled jobs but to engage in a sweeping retraining program, upgrading workers all along the line.

It's not an easy program. It takes considerable cooperation all along the line, from workers and their unions, companies, and governments at all levels. It's only part of a solution. But it's a step that can be taken in a "free enterprise approach to our problems," according to the Congressman.

## God Help Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, occasionally Members of Congress receive views from their constituents that are of an unusual and outstanding nature. Such is the expression of Charles K. Hartle, of my district, reflecting the thinking of some of the folks back home.

Mr. Hartle's observations, in my opinion, are certainly worthy of the attention of my colleagues in the Congress:

GOD HELP US

(By Charles K. Hartle)

Who can watch something die and not feel anguish? Who can see cherished love diminish without the deep-down ache of abject emptiness? Who could be a passenger in a vehicle accelerating downhill toward disaster and not want to scream out, "God help us?"

What do you think about when you read and hear reports from Cuba, Berlin, Vietnam, British Guiana, Peiping, London, Moscow, and Washington, D.C.? Are the American people aware of the encircling threat to Western freedom? Of course we are and it's frightening. But, even more frightening is a cold, calm appraisal of our national posture in this age of global "cat and mouse."

Nationally, we are puzzled. No matter how clearly you and I may see a particular threat and no matter how strongly we may believe in a given action, the United States of America is puzzled. Our change of heart in Laos, our redefinition of the Monroe Doctrine in light of the Cuban situation and our tacit support of U.N. aggression in Katanga are examples sufficient to make the point.

You've read in fiction of the great white knight in shining armor seated upon a magnificent stallion. Regularly, he meets what seem to be insurmountable odds. Scowling, unshaven, illiterate barbarians close in from every side. The great white knight starts this way and that, uncertain for a moment where to turn, what to do.

But, just as the last chance for action nears with the enemy at swords' point on all sides, he finds the necessary courage and resolve. Lowering his face plate and unsheathing a heavy blade, he rears back on his mount and shouts in defiance of the enemy. Before a determined charge, the circle of terror melts away.

As we read such a story, that moment of indecision in the face of the enemy is agonizing. It is then that the reader's heart hammers hardest, his knuckles whiten and he wants most to lend some assistance, if only to shout, "This way, this way out."

If you and I could stand off at some distant vantage point and see laid out before us the complete panorama of world politics today—the moves and countermoves—the charges and countercharges—the advances and retreats—the strategies and the lacks of strategy—if you and I could see it, I fear we both might feel the urge to retch.

Like the great white knight, our beloved Nation appears indecisive and uncertain in the fact of the unshaven, unkempt, hungry enemy slowly surrounding us. Imagining how it might look from far away to see our great Nation haplessly faltering gives me the same frightening inner quakes I might have for the beleaguered hero of a medieval story, with one important exception. This feeling is infinitely more acute because this is my own country, my own love, my own freedom at stake.

The question remains, will we find the resolution as did the great white knight to rear back on our stallions, level our lances and tell the world that we are now breaking out of the encirclement? Or will we wait, perhaps until we no longer have running room.

I'm not alone in this feeling of acute concern. Most people I talk to agree. But somehow our feelings, strong as they may be, are not galvanized into a national attitude.

Usually an entire nation is capable of being more noble and more heroic than the individuals who make it up. Collectively, people can fight wars when individually they might shun physical violence. But in the United States of America today, I believe our people individually are more willing to risk the dangers necessary to the preservation of freedom than is our Nation as a whole.

So I say, God help us find the leadership to mobilize our individual concerns into national purpose. God help us empower that leadership to follow the bold course which is the only possible roue leading away from catastrophe. God help us to listen when new, vigorous leadership commands us to stand tall and let the world know that we are the masters of our hemisphere, the planners of our own destiny, and the providers of our own sustenance, spiritual as well as physical.

God help us follow the leadership that will one day head a victory march down Main Street in a peaceful world, and turn our backs on those who now move so uncertainly that the time must come when they could offer us little more than a martyr's death as an alternative to surrender.

## Policy of Doing Nothing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Clifford B. Ward, writing in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, draws an interesting comparison between President Kennedy's attitude toward the Cuban question and President Truman's reaction to the Korean situation. In light of the tremendous public concern over the Communist buildup in Cuba, I include Mr. Ward's column herewith:

POLICY OF DOING NOTHING

If President Kennedy's policy of doing nothing to undo the establishment of a Soviet satellite nation at our very doorstep is sound, then former President Truman's action ordering troops into South Korea to stop a Communist takeover was an impetuous bit of warmongering.

If we don't object except rhetorically to Communist expansion, why have we been pouring billions of the American taxpayers' hard-earned money into the coffers of foreign nations to get them to resist communism's spread?

If it is right to send a reported 10,000 American boys to South Vietnam to stall the spread of communism in southeast Asia, even at the risk of nuclear war, why is it "sober commonsense" as some defenders of Kennedy say, to ignore the Cuban takeover by the Russians?

Does this country mean what it has been saying for several decades while spending money all over the globe to resist communism, or was everything we did and said only a bit of propaganda for spending?

The facts about the Cuban invasion fiasco in the Bay of Pigs have only now been revealed. That invasion attempt was not an invasion attempt by nondescript Cuban guerrilla fighters acting on their own and being carried to Cuban shores in jerry-built craft of their own. This invasion was planned by the Eisenhower administration. The Cubans taking part in it were trained and equipped by the United States in Uruguay and elsewhere. The Cuban invaders were transported to Cuban shores by the U.S. Navy.

President Kennedy informed during the campaign by Eisenhower of what was planned, agreed to it. U.S.-trained Cuban pilots were to fly B–52 bombers over the invaders' beachhead to fight off the seven planes which the Castro government had. The anti-Castro invaders made their landing, but President Kennedy a few hours before, unknown to the invaders, had canceled plans for the air support.

He made his final decision against helping the Cuban invaders when called out of a white tie social function at the White House. Our own aircraft carriers stood off the shore of the Bay of Pigs with their decks loaded with U.S. jets and were restrained from helping the men we had trained to make the invasion.

Of those 3,000 invaders, many were killed and the rest taken prisoners. The handful of Castro planes were able to wipe out quickly the beachhead the invaders had established, and cut them off from any help from the sea. The entire story is told in a recent issue of U.S. News & World Report, note a "hate sheet."

THEIR MOVE FIRST

Mr. Kennedy isn't going to do anything against the Soviet base in Cuba unless that base is used for an attack on Panama, on some other Latin American country or this country, or on Guantanamo Bay. What he has in effect said is, we will let Soviet Russia from its Cuba base fire one nuclear bomb before we attempt to stop them.

A good prizefighter in a ring may be able to spot his opponent one punch, but no nation today can spot an enemy nation one nuclear bomb explosion. One bomb on Guantanamo Bay would mean goodby to Guantanamo, and Guantanamo is not just printing on a map, but a place where many thousands of American men are stationed prepared to defend their Nation if necessary, but not to be offered up as sacrifices to national indecision.

The sad fact of the matter is that the Kennedy Cuban policy gives evidence that the President thinks we can live amicably with communism at our doorstep, even if we can't live with it in southeast Asia, and that our national policy at the present time is not unsympathetic to the idea that communism, while bad, isn't quite as bad as the "extremists" say.

This would be a good time to pray, but I'm not sure that is legal anymore, except as a purely private devotion.

## A Prayer for the Launching of a Ship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, some 2 weeks ago, in an address before the Propeller Club, Port of Baltimore, Md., I discussed the subject of national seapower—an indispensable adjunct to our economy and our defense posture.

I discussed our shortcomings and our needs, and my belief in the importance of striving toward maritime goals which are inherent to the realization of our national destiny.

I quoted glowing words which show, in a light that the cold figures of an accountant's balance sheet or profit and loss statement cannot show, that there is a factor that guides, and aids, and supports us before the face of the world above all others.

I quoted the words of Henry Ward Beecher concerning the viewing of a nation's flag, and I here quote again:

A thoughtful mind when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag, but the nation itself. And whatever may be its symbols, its insignia, he reads chiefly in the flag, the government, the principles, the truths, the history that belong to the nation that sets it forth. The American flag has been a symbol of liberty, and men rejoiced in it.

Mr. Speaker, our flag, any nation's flag, is a soul-stirring symbol of national pride and national objectives. This is why it is so prominently considered in the law and the lore of the sea that covers three-quarters of the earth's surface and provides the indispensable avenues of communication and commerce among the peoples of the world.

But beyond the flag and its national symbolism there is the higher sentiment of the spirituality of a people. Men of all the ages have sensed the pervasive spirit of the Almighty, by whatever name He was given, as they have gone about their seaborne adventures. In the face of the violent uncertainties of the elements His benediction has been sought from the beginning to the end of the life of a ship engaged upon "business in great waters" whether for pleasure, for profit, for the transportation of people and cargo, or for the catching of fish.

Earliest history records the offering of human sacrifice with religious dedication upon the launching of a ship. Today we have a remnant of the sacrificial ceremony in the practice of launchings by lovely ladies smashing a bottle of wine on the bow of a new ship as the ship

breaks from her earthly bounds to glide to her natural element.

Today, we still celebrate the solemnities of religious dedication in recognition of that great Life Force that rules us all.

Some 10 days ago a magnificent new American ship was launched in Pascagoula, Miss., in one of our splendid and efficient shipyards, Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp.

I regret I could not be present because of business in the House on the day I would have had to leave.

But I have since read the inspired invocation rendered by the Venerable John J. Hawkins, archdeacon of Fairfield, Conn., and rector of Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, Riverside, Conn. It is evident that Reverend Hawkins felt the import of his function in the ceremony—as he thought of the mission of this new vessel to serve as a connecting link between our country and the newly emerging areas of Africa to be served by the vessel's owners, Farrell Lines.

Reverend Hawkins had never attended a launching before. I do not know what he might have planned to say before he left Connecticut. But when his turn came on the launching stand just before the thrilling ceremony of the naming of the ship *African Neptune*, I know that the remarks that he made from scribbled notes on the back of an envelope came deeply from within.

I ask leave to include in the RECORD the invocation presented by the Venerable John J. Hawkins at the launching of the *African Neptune* at Pascagoula, Miss., on September 15, 1962:

A PRAYER FOR THE LAUNCHING OF A SHIP

O Almighty and Eternal God, who alone spreadest out the heavens, and rulest the raging of the sea; we commend to Thy Almight protection this ship, *African Neptune*, now to be launched upon the great deep.

Bless, preserve and guard her, wherever she may go, from the dangers of the sea, from the violence of enemies, and from every evil and hazard to which she may be exposed.

Grant that she may bring honor to our country, honest profit to her owners, and mutual benefit to all the people of the many nations and races to whom she may bear her cargoes.

O, Father of all, bless her designers, and all who shared in any way in her construction. Above all, guard and keep her master and officers, her crew and all who sail in her. Conduct them in continued safety to the haven where they would be, with a grateful sense of Thy mercies; all of which we humbly ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

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## HEW Against Itself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in its campaign of denigration aimed at the Kerr-Mills Act, one of the major charges used by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is that the act's means test is pauper's oath which demands that the individual strip himself of his pride to obtain the aid which he needs. This charge is unfounded, and I have commented on it previously—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 29, 1962, pages 5009–5011. But, at the present time it is not the truth of this charge but its use, measured against the record of the Department in other fields which I wish to discuss.

If a means test, as liberal a test as it is under Kerr-Mills, is a pauper's oath and subject to scorn by those truly interested in human welfare, it should be as much so in one area of public welfare as any other. We find, interestingly, that in other fields the line of the Department is just the opposite from that it states in the Kerr-Mills situation. I note especially the matter of aid for the blind, and for substantiation I am placing in the RECORD at the end of this statement an article from the June issue of the Blind American by Mr. Floyd Matson. The article, in the magazine which is published by the American Brotherhood for the Blind, is entitled "Medicare: HEW Against Itself." It shows how the Department, in its administration of social security, blows hot and cold on means tests, taking totally inconsistent stands in dealing with one program and then another.

It is interesting to speculate why there is this inconsistency, in one case the means test an evil thing and in the next an essential element of the program. Perhaps there is a consistency behind this inconsistency. The means test of the blind aid program gives the Federal Government a closer control and direction of the assistance given in this field. The Kerr-Mills Act, and its means test, move control away from the Federal Government and the fact of a means test in this program is seized upon as a weapon to try to beat this program down and substitute for it a program, the King-Anderson proposal or one of its variations, which gives the Federal Government more control and power. If this is the consistency in thinking on this matter, perhaps it will explain why supporters of the King-Anderson proposal are willing to compromise everything but the concept of compulsory social security administration and control of any health care program. If it is the consistency, why do the proponents of greater Federal control not have the courage and honesty to present their beliefs openly? It is a position which can be validly and, knowing those who hold to it, quite ably presented. Why must we fight in the shadows when the genius of our democracy has proven to us that discussion on the issues in the open light of public view is the soundest way to real progress?

The article follows:

MEDICARE: HEW AGAINST ITSELF

(By Floyd W. Matson)

One of the most controversial measures now before Congress and the Nation—perhaps as bitterly contested as any since the early days of the New Deal—is the Kennedy administration's program for medical aid to the aged under the social insurance provisions of the Social Security Act.

Backing the proposal, in addition to the majority of senior citizens themselves, are most labor organizations, consumer interests, and liberal political groups. Against it are the forces of organized medicine (notably the American Medical Association), many large-scale business and financial institutions, and virtually all "taxpayer" associations.

In general, the lines of battle would seem to be clearly drawn and the lines of argument almost as clearly laid down—at least since the successive televised appearances at New York's Madison Square Garden, recently, of President Kennedy and the AMA "top brass."

Somewhat less well-known—but destined to become thoroughly familiar before the battle is over—is a curious strategy of argument on the part of administration forces which may be said in effect to pit social security against itself. More exactly, this persuasive appeal ranges the medicare program of social insurance against the medical-aid programs now available under public assistance. In so doing it presents a devastating indictment of the quality of medical help for the aged (and for other public assistance clients such as the blind and disabled) as presently administered by the same Federal department which has drawn up the indictment.

The attack on existing medical provisions is set forth in an elaborate two-toned brochure, labeled "Speaker's Copy," being distributed nationally among welfare groups by the Social Security Administration of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. The impressive pamphlet, available either in standard format or pocket size (presumably for handy reference by speakers), strikes as hard or harder at the inadequacies of public assistance health protection as it does at private-insurance alternatives to the proposed social-insurance plan of medical care.

Here are some of the particulars of the attack upon the left hand of social security by the right hand of social security:

"Let us compare the characteristics of existing law—the relief approach—with those of President Kennedy's plan, which places main reliance on health insurance, thus reducing the need for public relief to as low a level as possible.

"With means test, or poverty oath medicine, savings or income above the minimum disqualifies you so that only the very poorest are protected.

"To qualify for means test medicine, you must prove that you are impoverished. In many States even your children's financial condition is investigated before you can get help.

"Means test medicine can mean danger to health and safety because the limited tax resources of many States force them to use substandard facilities. Under the President's plan only health care of good quality would be paid for because substandard facilities would be barred by the law.

"Means test medicine in many cases does not let you choose your own hospital and doctor. The proposed health insurance law guarantees freedom of choice.

"Even means test medicine is not available to most low income people since only about hal fthe States have enacted MAA. (Medical Assistance for the Aged) programs, only one-third of the States made any payments under these programs last December, and many of the States that made payments did so for only a handful of the aged. About 92 percent of the MAA payments in December were made in three States. Most States that are making payments offer only meager assistance. Because it is up to the State, benefits are very uneven. The President's plan would guarantee uniform benefits throughout the Nation."

In a column of tersely outlined main points paralleling this prose—entitled "Public Relief Is Not the Answer," the administration brochure fairly shouts such epithets as "poverty oath medicine," "humiliating poverty test," and "danger to health and security."

Here, at long last, is clear and emphatic recognition by the Federal Social Security Administration of the injustice and humiliation of its own means test, the impossibility of the requirement of relatives' responsibility, and the utter inability of the National Government to make good across the country its solemn commitment to maintain standards of aid consistent with decency and health. Many of the central features of public assistance, previously defended with righteous persistence by the Federal agency against all criticism and all efforts at reform, now stand condemned by that same agency out of its own mouth—or, at least, out of one side of its mouth.

No doubt such candor and confession of error is a good thing—for the country as well as for the official soul. No doubt, also, the critical charges which the social security now levels against itself are wholly justified. It is to be noted, however, that those charges are not limited to the medical and health provisions of public assistance—and therefore cannot be wholly corrected by shifting medical functions to OASI. The Federal structure of public assistance, despite this high-powered blast at its foundations, is still left standing. The pauper's oath of the means test is still administered to all petitioners at the door; and the intolerable odor of the poor law still pervades its halls. Most tragically of all, millions of Americans—comprising the lame, the halt, the blind, and the homeless—are still served at its tables.

Let the custodians of this venerable public institution, now that they have condemned it, take the lead in rebuilding it. They have clearly identified the prime source of corruption—namely, the means test. Let them then eradicate that source wherever it operates to destroy dignity, disallow incentive and defeat the hope of independence.

## Who Pays the Bill?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I include with these remarks two editorials that recently appeared in the Steuben Republican. Both are timely, of general interest, and should be widely read:

WHO PAYS THE BILL?

The other day a candidate for political office made an interesting statement. He said he favored a particular program and that he preferred it be taken care of locally or on the State level. But, he continued, if they cannot afford to do it, then I would favor support from the Federal Government.

This statement, from a person running for high office, reflects the false thinking of so many adult citizens of the United States today. It seems to indicate that the taxpayer must pay for favors on the local and State level but that if it comes from the Federal Government, it is free.

This has been said many times, but it bears repeating again and again until the lesson is thoroughly learned. The Federal Government does not make one red cent. Every penny it spends must come from taxes on individuals and corporations and small businesses, and farmers, and wage earners. For every $2 collected, it is estimated more than $1 goes into the tax collection and administration. So when a benefit is returned to any local taxpaper, whatever it may be, he or someone else in his own community probably has paid twice as much in direct or hidden taxes.

And remember, Indiana pays far more to the Federal Government in taxes than it receives in benefits. So if the State or local government cannot afford to pay for some local benefit program how can they pay the Federal Government twice as much to do it for them?

This installment plan buying of Federal benefits without thought of future payments, must be stopped.

RUSSIAN ROULETTE

Last week President Kennedy took the Russian shipment of men and materials into Castro's Cuba all too mildly and with a slight slap on the wrist said we might be forced to do something about it if it continued and if the men really were Russian military personnel.

Seeing this mild response to the flagrant violation of the age-old Monroe Doctrine designed to keep foreign nations out of the Western Hemisphere, Premier Khrushchev again grabbed the initiative as he has done so often in the past when President Kennedy has faultered. He declared that any act on our part against Cuba would bring war as Russia could not stand idly by and see it taken over by "Capitalist United States."

Here again we see too little and too late. The Monroe Doctrine has for more than a century been the means of keeping out of this Western Hemisphere foreign invasion whether direct or indirect. On the few occasions foreign nations have dared to venture here, they have been met in the past with prompt and firm action so that for many decades there has been no attempt at invasion or influence. Now, our Government has taken the soft policy of "maybe this time and maybe not." This is the dangerous game of Russian roulette. Not knowing which really will be the loaded cylinder, the Russians are willing to take the odds, which are greatly in their favor, that we will not shoot if they pull the trigger of invasion. If we continue this policy, they will grow stronger and bolder and we will be forced into a shooting war eventually against a much stronger foe.

Cuba is a picture of our entire foreign policy. Since we have made no definite announcements and stands in foreign policy, the Communist bloc continues to nibble away at the free world, spinning the Russian roulette wheel to see if we will shoot or not. If they knew that every chamber was filled with live ammunition and that any move against the free world would be met by immediate and active shooting, they would be very reluctant to play this dangerous game.

## Why Distinguished Educators Favor Voluntary Unionism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL M. LANDRUM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, one of the great problems confronting the American working men and women today is the question of compulsory union membership. In a compendium published by the Chamber of Commerce, "Why Distinguished Educators Favor Voluntary Unionism," Hon. Robert Stephens, Congressman from Georgia's 10th District, Prof. James W. Wiggins, of Emory University in Atlanta, Ga.; and Dr. Noah Longdale, president of Georgia State College in Atlanta, Ga., present their views on this important question and I trust that all Members will take advantage of the opportunity to read and consider the opinions of these distinguished men.

The articles referred to are as follows:

UNIONS FAVOR RIGHT TO VOTE, BUT NOT ON RIGHT TO WORK

(By ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR., House of Representatives, Congress of the United States)

(NOTE.—Before his eelction to Congress from Georgia's 10th District, Representative STEPHENS was an educator and attorney in Athens, Ga. Upon his graduation from the University of Georgia in 1935, he was selected for an exchange student scholarship at the University of Hamburg, Germany. He returned to the University of Georgia to teach history and political science. By the time World War II began, he had earned both a master of arts and a bachelor of laws degree. In the Army during the war, his final assignment was as a member of the legal staff of Supreme Court Justice Jackson at the Nuremberg trials. For a time after the war, he returned to the University of Georgia faculty, until his election in 1947 as city attorney of Athens. Representative STEPHENS is descended from a family long identified with political life in Georgia. Among his ancestors is Alexander Hamilton Stephens, vice president of the Confederacy, a U.S. Congressman after the Civil War, and the Governor of Georgia at the time of his death.)

Our ancestors bequeathed to us a magnificent heritage in the belief that we have certain inalienable rights, among which are "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness." As charity is the greatest among faith and hope, so liberty is the greatest among life and happiness.

Liberty encompasses the freedom of choice and the latter includes the right to choose the employment in which one shall engage. Laws or agreements which restrict the freedom of choice thus restrict liberty and deprive a person of the most important of his inalienable rights.

Patriots of the era of the American Revolution would have shrieked with indignation against any action which said that a man could not work unless he sacrificed his rights to choose whether he would belong to a labor union or not. True patriots should shriek today.

Voltaire, French writer and critic of the 18th century, whose mind and tongue gave shape to the pent-up passions of the American sons of liberty, said he might violently object to what another said but that he would fight to the death for his right to say it. This expresses exactly my conviction regarding the right to work unless membership in a union is held. I violently object to agreements which require a person to join a union or lose his job, but I will fight to the death for his right to join a labor union of his own free will.

Compulsory unionism is not possible in my State. The Georgia Legislature in 1947 enacted a statute against compulsory union membership. Georgia along with Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia joined the ranks of the right-to-work States in 1947. Only Arizona, Florida, Arkansas, and Nebraska preceded us. Since that time, the total of States where the freedom to work is protected has risen to 19.

A right-to-work statute is not antiunion nor designed to destroy organized labor. It really is a statute designed to protect the rank and file dues-paying union member from officials who become dictators.

Where the workingman has the legal right to quit a labor organization if he wishes, these unions will begin to police themselves in order to remain legitimate agents for collective bargaining.

I always have regarded the tremendous opposition to voluntary union membership by union officers as a paradox. Unions proclaim to be great protectors of individual freedom. Unions today are spending a great deal of money urging their members and others to participate in elections—to register and vote. This is commendable, and, as a Member of Congress and a former college political science teacher, I congratulate them for it.

But as proponents of democracy, it is hard to understand why union officials provide the greatest opposition to permitting the general electorate to vote on the question of a State right-to-work law. In other words the professional unionist is all for the right to vote, but not if it's to vote on the right to work.

Only last year, in 1961, I am told that through the efforts of union lobbyists the house and senate labor committees of the Oklahoma Legislature refused to permit the full assembly to vote on a proposal that would have permitted the citizens of Oklahoma to decide whether that State would have a right-to-work law.

Aroused Oklahoma citizens finally circulated petitions to obtain more than 200,000 signatures demanding that the question of right to work be placed on the ballot for them to decide the issue. Organized labor in Oklahoma then petitioned the Oklahoma secretary of state to set aside the successful initiative petition.

This same great objection to permitting the public to vote on the question of voluntary or compulsory unionism is opposed by most paid union staff personnel all over the country.

The State legislature of my neighboring State of Florida was under the same type of union pressure as Oklahoma, when a bill to strengthen the Florida right-to-work law was presented. The same experience was found in Maine last year.

As a lawyer with experience in examining evidence, I believe that the 15 years Georgia has had its right-to-work law offers ample proof that unions and their members benefit when membership is voluntary. The latest figures available show that in 1960 union membership in Georgia was 115,000. This number is limited to the AFL–CIO membership and does not include the Teamsters and other independent unions who have members in my State.

Georgia, a right-to-work State, has more union members than Colorado, Oklahoma, or West Virginia—States where compulsory unionism contracts are permitted. In fact, Georgia ranks 24th among the 50 States in union membership. The Labor Department has revealed there are 603 unions operating in the State.

The Bureau of Labor-Management Report of the U.S. Department of Labor in June 1962, released information on union assets. Compiled from reports filed under the Landrum-Griffin law (made possible in part by my colleague from Georgia Representative PHIL M. LANDRUM), total union assets in Georgia are $5,661,900. Unions collect $5,170,200 a year in dues in Georgia alone.

I do not believe that any impartial persons in America would hold that Georgia's right-to work statute has destroyed unionism in Georgia.

In conclusion, I make this further observation from history: when great mobs infested Rome, clamoring for favors from the Emperor who controlled the granaries and food supplies, the people had no work and were wholly dependent upon the whim of the Emperor for their daily sustenance. Having no earning capacity, they had no power to buy and nothing to invest. These people owned nothing.

God forbid that this historical example recur in the modern world where men by wholesale be willing to work but there is no employment.

And God forbid that the opposite shall ever prevail in America that there be work to do but men be deprived of the right to perform.

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### VOLUNTARISM: A CENTRAL THEME OF AMERICAN LIFE

(By James W. Wiggins, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.)

(NOTE.—Dr. Wiggins has been an educator for nearly 30 years, since his first assignment as a social science teacher in Colquitt County, Ga., in 1934. He has both his master's and doctor's degrees from Duke University and has been on the faculty at Emory University since 1946. In 1950 he was named chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology.

(He is a specialist in the studies of population and gerontology and is the past president of the Emery chapter of the American Association of University Professors. Professor Wiggins belongs to a number of scientific societies, and also is president of the Atlanta chapter of the Military Government Association. He is a native of Salisbury, N.C.)

A sociological analysis of voluntary union membership may be undertaken in several ways. A professional sociologist might, depending on his mode of approach, identify countries in which, either in the past or today, compulsory labor union membership would seem appropriate. We are here interested in the United States, and perhaps other comparable societies.

Any insistence that man be compelled to do what he will not do voluntarily rests on assumptions. If workers in the United States must be compelled to join labor unions in order to earn their bread, they are either right in their unwillingness to join or they are so uninformed that they cannot be trusted to choose for themselves.

Today, with compulsory education for all, any suggestion that American labor is uninformed is an attack on the public school system itself. Not only have levels of formal educational attainment risen consistently in recent decades, but the evidence also indicates that the trend will continue and partly as a result of labor union pressure. No nation has ever had comparable resources for adult or continuing education. Newspapers are left in nearly every doorway, and many families receive more than one. For the few who are illiterate, and for the many who are literate, radio constantly informs, and the ubiquity of television extends from the bar to the boudoir.

If a man is competent to make his own informed decisions anywhere in the world, or at any point in history, it is here and now.

It is nevertheless possible that the larger context of institutions, traditions, and values might seem to support compulsion. If so, there is an obligation to report it. In the United States citizens and some noncitizens are under compulsion to pay taxes, a large share of which goes to protect the citizen's chosen activities. American men are compelled to enter military service for limited periods of time. Children are required to attend an approved school for a number of years. But even those who refuse to defend their own country are not deprived of food, clothing, or shelter as punishment.

All of these compulsions are designed not to restrict but to increase the range of voluntary action. The very fabric of the Nation is impregnated with positive supports to voluntary choice. Every State joined the Union voluntarily. The basic documents from the Declaration of Independence to the 15th amendment—and the 21st—almost without exception push toward voluntarism. Such nongovernmental agencies as the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors support the rights of individual decision, vocally, and effectively. So thoroughly committed is the Nation to individual decision that, with the leadership of Philosopher John Dewey, voluntarism was authorized even for kindergarten children.

Compulsion exercised by one group of private citizens on another group of private citizens as a condition of access to a livelihood is not congruent with the traditions of this Nation or with its present orientations. At the same time, both tradition and present values unequivocally support the right of men to voluntarily join together, under law, to maximize their satisfactions.

Labor unions are significant parts of American society. Their financial assets, their welfare and retirement responsibilities, and their role in the life of the United States warrant another question. It has been generally reported, and publicly deplored by union leaders, that union membership is in decline. How may voluntary membership affect their continued service to society, or their own survival? The decline is, of course, a reflection of the changing economic context in which the unions operate.

There is another element. Under compulsion, the constant feedback from bottom to top which is essential to flexibility and adaptation of an organization does not flow freely. This has been recognized recently as a special problem even behind the Iron Curtain. The automobile manufacturer who paid no attention to the voluntary choices of his customers would go out of business. The hardening of institutional arteries spells the doom or impotence of any organization, and it is not at all certain that labor unions are exceptions.

Compulsory membership in an organization gives a false sense of vitality and promise, which may make its end more abrupt, and more startling. Suppressing the symptoms of decline may furnish a certain comfort, but once the sedative of coercion wears off, the patient may be beyond help.

We have been told by our national leadership in recent years that we should examine our image abroad, and labor unions make a contribution to the image. They may present either of two contrasting images—an image of compulsory membership and regimentation, or of voluntary participation and freedom. The former image may be familiar to many of these people, since they have been required to pay a share of their product for the privilege of producing. But these payments have been to the owners of the land on which they grew their food, not to nonowners of capital. If the image projected is one of compulsion it is difficult to see how one compulsion is preferred to another.

On the other hand, if man really seeks freedom—and on this assumption we rest our American case—the image he seeks is that of a free worker, freely choosing his associations, deciding for himself which choices best serve his interests. The freeman not only has the right to make right choices, but also to make wrong choices. He will be attracted by the image from which this light shines clearly.

The United States allows noncitizens to enter the country and enter the labor force, but if these visitors are required to join a labor union, or a church, or the chamber of commerce, they remember a greater private coercion than is imposed by the Government. There is some controversy over the importance of the image. There is no real controversy over the growing competition for international trade.

If we insist that all men be the same height, we need not be surprised that men of lower average potential—who let tall men grow tall—reach higher and grasp the prize. In this changed world, many reports confirm that the U.S.S.R. is cultivating its tall men. Can any way of life, however superior in conception, compete at the rate of its slowest or its least competent proponents, and still win?

Voluntarism in social life is, and has been, a central theme of American life. Freely chosen organization for the pursuit of common goals is also a bright thread throughout its history. These two orientations are not mutually exclusive, but are complementary. This is what has made the Nation the greatest in the world, and in many ways the most exciting. Only tomorrow's news can tell what will next be advocated—or opposed—by a new voluntary organization of free Americans.

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The right to choose is basic in our society. I strongly support this fundamental, indeed this cornerstone of our democracy. It is difficult to conceive of a free people being forced to subscribe to involuntary action, regardless of the ends in mind.

A required membership in a private organization, for example, a labor union, whose political views may not be in consonance with the views of individual members is at variance with the concept of freedom so carefully established and given us by our founding patriots.

NOAH LANGDALE, Jr.,
*President, Georgia State College,*
*Atlanta, Ga.*

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## Widespread Support for State Legislative Recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, in 1959 I introduced legislation to create a permanent advisory body on intergovernmental relations, drawn from all levels of government and charged with continuing study and effort toward improving the overall effectiveness of our Federal system of government under the Constitution. The legislation was enacted as Public Law 380 of the 86th Congress, and for the past 3 years it has been my pleasure to serve on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations as one of the three members appointed from the House of Representatives. The other Members of the House serving on the Commission at the present time are the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH].

I wish to call attention to the fact that the Commission, as a continuing national body, is not content with merely making studies and recommendations. Commission members want to see the recommendations put into effect. Today I would like to describe a major area of the Commission's work which has to do with recommendations which we have directed to the attention of State governments.

As a vital part of its overall responsibility for studying and making recommendations to the National, State, and local governments on ways in which intergovernmental relations might be improved, the Commission has given considerable attention to the strengthening of State and local governments. As a consequence, it is urging the States to adopt legislation which the Commission believes would strengthen State-local relations, provide greater assistance to local units in meeting their taxing and borrowing problems, and make it easier for local governments in metropolitan areas to deal with urgent areawide problems.

The Commission is about to enter a very important phase of its activities, namely, a concerted effort to implement many of the important recommendations for State legislation it has made since its establishment by Congress in late 1959. The Commission is looking forward to January 1963, when 47 of the 50 State legislatures will be in regular session, and the first time since it really got underway that the Commission will have a full program of legislative recommendations to present to the State legislatures in regular session.

One of the key ways the Commission hopes to accomplish this legislative goal is to work closely with the major national organizations of local and State officials concerned with intergovernmental relations—the National Legislative Conference of the Council of State Governments, the Governors' conference, the National Association of Counties, the American Municipal Association, and the U.S. conference of mayors.

The Commission has succeeded in obtaining a remarkable degree of endorsement of its State legislative proposals by these five organizations of public officials, as indicated by a tabulation which I will place in the RECORD at this point:

*Endorsement of State legislative recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*

| Recommendation | Organizations taking formal action in support of ACIR recommendations | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | National Legislative Conference | Governors' Conference | National Association of Counties | American Municipal Association | U.S. Conference of Mayors |
| A. State-local relations: | | | | | |
| 1. Office of local affairs | X | X | | X | X. |
| 2. Financial and technical assistance to local governments | | X | X | X | X. |
| 3. Voluntary transfer of functions between municipalities and counties | X | X | X | X | X. |
| 4. Municipal annexation and incorporation | X | X | X | X | X. |
| 5. Constitutional barriers to intergovernmental cooperation | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1). |
| 6. Authorization of interlocal contracting and joint enterprises | X | X | X | X | X |
| B. Taxation and finance: | | | | | |
| 1. Interlocal coordination of nonproperty taxes | | | X | X | X. |
| 2. Exchange of tax records and information | X | | X | | |
| 3. Investment of idle funds | X | X | X | X | X. |
| 4. Technical assistance to small local governments on the investment of idle funds | X | X | | X | |
| 5. Repeal of certain State restrictions on local government debt.[2] | | | X | X | X. |
| 6. State technical assistance on local government debt issuances | | X | X | X | |
| 7. Standards for official statements on local debt offerings | | | | X | |
| C. Metropolitan areas: | | | | | |
| 1. Assertion of legislative authority | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) |
| 2. Metropolitan functional authorities | X | X | X | X | |
| 3. Metropolitan area study commissions | X | X | X | X | |
| 4. Metropolitan planning commissions | X | X | X | X | X. |
| 5. Extraterritorial planning, zoning, and subdivision regulation | | | | X | |
| 6. Municipal incorporation [2] | X | X | X | X | X. |
| 7. Securing and preserving "open space" | X | X | | X | |
| 8. Mass transportation in metropolitan areas | X | X | X | X | |

[1] Not specifically considered.
[2] Not included in program approved by Committee of State Officials on Suggested State Legislation of the Council of State Governments.

This tabulation shows that of the Commission's 21 legislative proposals for State action, the Committee of State Officials on Suggested State Legislation of the Council of State Governments has endorsed all but two of the recommendations; the National Legislative Conference has endorsed 13; the Governors' Conference and the National Association of Counties have each endorsed 14; and the U.S. Conference of Mayors has endorsed 10. The American Municipal Association has endorsed 18 of the 21 State legislative proposals.

As indicated by their formal endorsement of the Commission's recommendations, these organizations concerned with strengthening the State and local levels of government in our Federal system strongly support the Commission in this effort.

Finally, I wish to call attention to the fact that the Advisory Commission has prepared a document containing drafts of the legislation it is commending to the State legislatures for consideration, together with succinct statements of the reasons for the legislation. In addition

to being a valuable source document for anyone interested in improving the effectiveness of State and local governments, it is good evidence of the significance of the work being done by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

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## Address of Mr. Robert Moses, New York City Construction Coordinator and President, New York World's Fair, 1964–65 Corporation, Before the 11th Annual Commissioners' and Governors' Conference on Metropolitan Washington Traffic Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the honor of addressing the 11th Annual Commissioners' and Governors' Conference on Metropolitan Washington Traffic Problems. This conference was sponsored by the Regional Transportation Advisory Board of the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments.

Mr. Robert Moses also addressed this conference. The subject of his talk was, "From L'Enfant to the Motor Age."

In view of the fact that I am chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Safety and knowing of the interest that has been shown in the Congress in the promotion of safety I would like to insert the remarks of Mr. Moses in the RECORD at this point as I believe they are of important not only to the metropolitan area of Washington but can be applied to other metropolitan areas as well:

FROM L'ENFANT TO THE MOTOR AGE

(Remarks of Robert Moses at a dinner of the Regional Transportation Advisory Board, Marriott Motor Hotel, Arlington, Va., Sept. 25, 1962)

Philosophers for ages have pictured remote romantic island like the lost and new Atlantis and utopia, mountainous havens like Rasselas' Happy Valley, and rose red cities half as old as time. Feverish prospectors dying of thirst have seen urban mirages in the desert. Impatient academic planners have dreamed of capitals in the wilderness where there are no relics of the past to limit their scope and suppress their noble rage. Given free rein, they produce dubious Canberras, New Delhis, and Brasilias which have no individuality but that of their builders. Had these advance guard architects had their way, the United Nations would have been isolated in an uncontaminated 20-square-mile compound in the open country.

L'Enfant was in a sense lucky to have a clean slate in Washington. Those who succeeded him, certainly since the advent of the automobile, have enjoyed a splendid inheritance which, however, requires considerable amendment and modification to keep up with the times. It is the same dilemma which Baron Haussmann faced with so much ingenuity and courage in Paris in the 17 years vouchsafed by Louis Napoleon.

Washington, by definition, is a manufactured town, one of the very few successfully planned capitals. Many of its present difficulties are traceable to a too slavish conformity to tradition and a too faithful worship of the original design. In such cases the blueprints of the first architect become a sort of Bible for his successors. This is all very well as to individual structures, streets, parks, and public places, but it stems the flow of traffic and life, seals off the city from its people, and tends to create a museum rather than a living, pulsating, evolving modern community.

Therefore when the inevitable process of change begins, it is inhibited, tentative, half-hearted and debated almost to death. There must be boldness in such a context, and the hapless innovator can expect little but curses for his pains. He will be charged with laying impious hands on the Ark of the Covenant. His name will be anathema. He will be pictured as a barbarian on a bulldozer, wantonly, ruthlessly and sadistically destroying landmarks where every stone is sacred and only man is vile. I urge that Congress create a Martyr Memorial Medal for those who wrestle with the problems of modernizing Washington.

The sideline kibitzers and critics who never build anything are eloquent and plausible, if nothing more. Some are woozy with sentiment and care only about antiquities, however dubious. Some want to abandon all cities, scatter and disperse their inhabitants and start fresh in the open country, of course in ideal communities planned by them. Some are against everything done recently because they were not called in to do it. Most of them are impotent—the eunuchs of the planning seraglio. They can't take a metropolis in their stride because they have no stride. There is in fact something in the good, realizable, livable metropolis for every taste, need and point of view. Hysterical, angry men improve nothing. The urbs and suburbs are for the urbane, not for the iconoclasts, beatniks and revolutionaries.

How can you persuade those who still think of the Potomac as a placid backwater of American life, a place of unruffled dignity, calm and reflection not as an American Danube mirroring the ceaseless flow of international commerce? By what logic can you reason with the nostalgic and patriotic groups who insist that we leave physical change to the archeologist and historian rather than to the expert in public works, the engineer, the conservationist and the landscape architect? There are altogether too many people, both the amiable and the fanatical, who seek to keep alive the last flickering lights of lost causes, people who would be very unhappy if any ancient cherished controversy were finally settled.

Woodman, spare that tree. Vandal, touch not that sacred pile. Avaunt, wrecker, lay off that ancient rookery. If you must rebuild with steel a sagging, crumbling mansion, pretend that you are only making a few minor repairs. Otherwise the Philistines will be upon thee, Samson. And yet it is a great opportunity, the opportunity to meet the challenge of the times in the intrepid pioneering spirit of the Founding Fathers and early Presidents and to replan the Capital District in the broad concepts of L'Enfant and his colleagues.

I don't want to be misquoted in this context. I plead for intelligent concessions to growth and inevitable change, not for desecration of our natural and cultural resources. I go the limit with Justice Douglas in his opinion in *Berman* v. *Parker*: "If those who govern the District of Columbia decide that the Nation's Capital should be beautiful as well as sanitary, there is nothing in the fifth amendment that stands in the way." There need be no battle of extremes—only a determination to act constructively before traffic and congestion overwhelm us.

History with accumulating tradition, patriotism with lengthening sentiment, the branches of government housed in monumental architecture, hurrying bureaucrats, crowds of curious visitors—these are among the factors which clog the vehicular arteries and pedestrian veins with premature sclerosis and demand not alone diet, rest, slow down and tranquilizers, but novel and heroic remedies such as a new circulatory system installed like modern plumbing between rush hours, perhaps at night. But who shall propose the remedies? To whom will you listen in the babel of strident voices crying for recognition? The Nation's Capital is overwhelmed with splendiferous plans. There is no other place where so many half gods descend from Olympus to give gratuitous advice.

At the moment the exterior decorators, better known as planners, are busy inventing comprehensive weatherproof umbrellas and parasols to cover the spreading metropolis. They can't decide whether these should be fixed or movable, to function all the time or only in emergencies. The hapless inhabitants have not yet in most instances been heard from.

With all due respect for the distinguished groups and individuals brought together for Capital District planning, a mass meeting of experts does not produce an integrated plan. Some official reports have been dull, vague, cheaply printed and lacking in the persuasive presentation which is indispensable if the comprehension and support of the average citizen are sought. On some maps the present and future roads look like odds and ends of threads in a workbasket or like a ball of writhing angleworms. The price of a really good brochure is very small in the scale of cost of such huge undertakings. Models, renderings and perspectives are also required. Most people can't read blueprints and won't bother with a long technical explanation. Only pictures with short captions capture the popular imagination.

Having surveyed the buffet of Washington indigestible reports and sampled them, I have concluded that the choice of specialities de la maison narrows down to these categories:

1. Conventional stuffed olives, salted nuts and rabbit food which go with Old Fashioneds.

2. Disguised, unrecognizable hors d'oeuvres resembling artificial still life, hinting ptomaines, and obviously meant for show rather than sustenance. They go with vodka martinis.

3. Solid food like ham, cheese, turkey and hero sandwiches which, washed down with strong coffee, will sustain the inner man until he gets his dinner elsewhere.

Coming now to transportation, I believe we roadbuilders can look ahead with some confidence for 30 years, hardly more. We can obtain a pretty accurate figure of the total population of the District of Columbia in 1990 and adjacent land within a radius of say 40 miles of the Capital. Also of the number of cars, and of the year-round government and nongovernment population. Informed guesses as to transients can be made. Then comes the divisions of night and day and of the seasons in terms of percentages of travel by the various routes and means. If you are perfectionists, you can make alternative assumptions based on staggered work and trade hours, moving of goods at night and on possible drastic changes in commuter, rapid transit, small car and bus transportation.

When you have these figures handy, you can measure needed parkway, expressway and street capacities, and that's your arterial budget. Your money will come from cer-

tain categories in the public treasuries fed largely by taxes collected from highway users or from tolls paid directly by users. Well-managed authorities have contributed enormously to every type of neglected arterial construction. I admit that unforeseeable inventions and devices and imponderable factors of administration, politics, opposition and chance also have their influence on this accounting, but there is no way of measuring them. So they must be left out. And there's another $64 question—Since government is the first business of the District, how much will it expand? Nevertheless, in spite of the chancy factors, you come up with a fairly reliable formula which can be translated into specific projects, costs and time schedules.

Let us turn now to a few highway definitions. A parkway is a vehicular ribbon park, restricted to passenger vehicles, protected by zoning and otherwise against access, signs and encroachments, landscaped, with ornamental bridges and lighting, at least 400 feet wide, usually accommodating six but rarely more than eight lanes, with generous cloverleaves and long radii, with occasional turnoffs, parking spaces, overlooks and small parks. An expressway is a mixed traffic automotive restricted artery with many of the aspects and amenities of a parkway, but a superior boulevard rather than a ribbon park. After the expressways come ordinary roads and streets which need no definition and are not part of the basic framework of the region.

The outer loop of a logical, sane, comprehensive program of arterial improvements, adopted some time ago, will be finished in 1964. This program widely and justifiably acclaimed includes an inner loop and radials leading to the major interstate routes of the Federal Highway System in Virginia and Maryland. Forty million dollars of unspent Federal highway aid is available and an equal amount of new money is being apportioned. Congress, however, has withheld appropriation of matching funds. Detailed plans, right-of-way acquisition, tenant relocation and further construction have therefore been arrested for reasons difficult to understand.

It is not in the public interest to delay this program on the theory that an as yet undisclosed and undetermined rapid transit system will make such highway arterials unnecessary or materially alter the projected network. No doubt rapid transit rail systems will be proposed from time to time in the future, but their acceptance and financing are highly problematical because in a city of the size of Washington the initial cost is too great, subsidies are hard to come by and no fare structure can be visualized which will support the system. Meanwhile Washington is a car and bus town and every effort should be directed to the improvement of these conventional, established and popular modes of transit. One of the strongest arguments for the new expressway system is that it will greatly facilitate the movement of buses.

There has been much agitation recently over commuter transportation, that is rails versus rubber, accompanied by garbled history, random charges of discrimination, misleading statistics and gloomy prophecies of an endless irrepressible conflict between the irresistible force and the immovable object. The facts are that the railroads have not been alert, that generally they have not studied bus, truck and car competition, that they have allowed their equipment to deteriorate, that they have wailed when they should have been working, that there is no conflict which sensible people cannot resolve and no head-on collision which is unavoidable. There are locations where rapid transit can be combined with vehicular lanes with the same right-of-way, but not many. No doubt commuter subsidies of some kind are inevitable, but they should depend on superior rail service after the relative roles of the train, bus, car, and aircraft have been determined by experts concerned only with the truth.

The more alternative highway projects you propose in terms of widening, new routes, layout, bridges and tunnels, the more debate will be encouraged and prolonged, the more numerous the obstacles and the higher the ultimate cost. On the other hand, those who insist on immediate practical remedies, will be charged with arrogance, dogmatism, a closed mind, indifference to human hardships and inconvenience, and putting efficiency above sociology and speed over deliberation.

Perhaps you may be able to find or develop some engineering Chesterfields and Machiavellis, smooth in approach and tough in the clinches, who will steer a placid middle course between the builder and the antiquarian. These Chesterfields and Machiavellis must be endowed with just the right mixture of toughness and sentiment, sugar and vinegar, protocol and informality, manners and vitality, charm and force to conquer all enemies without blood, sweat, toil, and tears. Such paragons have never in my experience been around when the going was rough.

Let us now consider some of the details of arterial improvements in the congested city center. Public opinion and light and air suits and damages won't allow you to go up except on an independent right-of-way acquired by condemning a minimum of a hundred feet next to the present street or within blocks. This is practical in a good many cases and has the added advantage of providing continuous offstreet parking. In some instances at strategic central areas, you are driven underground, which means heavy expense, ventilation of some kind, easements, and additional acquisitions at some crossings. That's the task we faced at the U.N. headquarters in New York where all the solutions had to be used. We used them. The scheme works.

Another problem which must be taken in stride involves the relocation of tenants before clearing rights-of-way and proceeding with actual construction. This puzzle is old. In New York and some other cities we successfully relocated many tenants after World War II. We adopted a program providing for the rehabilitation of substitute apartments, moving of houses and apartments, moving of eligible families into public and quasi-public housing, and cash payments to reimburse families and small businesses able to find substitute accommodations. Practically every device designed to provide decent, sanitary new quarters for families in the path of public improvements was used. More recently relocation has been slowed down by politics and the timidity of elected officials. Today in many communities the tenant relocation issue has become a prime device to hold up public works programs. We badly need officials prepared to meet this problem honestly and courageously and to spend reasonable amounts to bring about orderly relocation of families and businesses. They must brave criticism and threats of reprisals in the process, but they will be respected in the end.

There are unusual difficulties in the way of carrying out a public works program in Washington. The municipal government is not elected but appointed. The budget is dependent upon Congress, and numerous agencies have what amounts to not only a voice, but a veto. The city of Washington deserves home rule. Nevertheless I have always believed that with first-rate men any organization can be made to function, regardless of law and organization charts.

That's about all I have time for. There is nothing new or original in these observations. The planning problems of a proud National Capital are to be approached with modesty, detachment, and perspective. It is unlikely that any wholly new concept can be unveiled before an audience which has been surfeited with statistics and programs and impressed if not overwhelmed by the array of distinguished names prominently associated with them.

I make no claim to close acquaintance with the District of Columbia and its environs. A national capital is different from an ordinary urban complex. This much I am sure of—that your regional problems will yield only to a rather modest program of limited objectives based not upon statistics, graphs, and logarithms but upon sound judgment of anticipated growth and change, a program pursued relentlessly and fearlessly by tough-minded, well-muscled, alligator-skinned builders who have marshaled enough official and public support to weather temporary opposition, who have a long life expectancy and a hell of a lot of luck.

## Foreign Aid Slash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the other body works on its version of the foreign aid appropriation bill and in anticipation of the conference that will follow, I think it essential that Members take into account the grassroots public view on the size of our foreign aid appropriation.

Editorial comment across the country has obviously been mixed, but few people question the need for some economy in our foreign aid spending. An exceptionally vigorous editorial on the subject of the House action in reducing the foreign aid appropriation appeared in the Tuesday, September 25, issue of the Chicago Daily Calumet, which I insert into the RECORD at this point.

FOREIGN AID SLASH

The House Appropriations Committee's slash of $1,124 million in the authorized $4,752 million foreign aid bill brought President Kennedy from his family vacation in Rhode Island to take personal charge of the administration's counteroffensive to try to restore the cut and get the full amount out of Congress.

With all due respect, the House Appropriations Committee disagrees with the President and his demands, and so do millions of Americans who are tired of pouring billions down the drain, only to get ingratitude and even slaps in the face for their trouble.

Take India, one of the biggest beneficiaries of American aid, which votes consistently with the Communist bloc in the United Nations; Poland, which is part of the Communist bloc, and shows no signs of lifting its shackles on its own people; Yugoslavia, whose independent communism is meaningless so long as she votes with the rest of the bloc; China, where the U.S. efforts to build a dam that will industrialize the country has not stopped its drift to a dictatorship of the left; even Thailand, to which we rushed troops recently when it was menaced from Laos, is complaining because we are also helping neighboring Cambodia.

The list is almost endless.

Since 1955, the Soviet Union has shipped $2,500 million worth of arms to three continents under easy-term sales programs. It has sent its technicians to train natives in their use, and, in most cases, to remain as military advisors. We spent twice as much in 1 year as they have in 7. But we have not built any democracies, as they have built satellites and near satellites in Cuba, Ghana, Egypt, India, to name a few.

We have been played for suckers while they have cold-bloodedly gone about the business of building a new colonial empire. It is about time we learned you can't buy friendship. If we do not want to build an empire of our own, or at least insist on democracies, then why are we scattering billions of our hard-earned taxes around the world?

Either we must be realistic like the Soviets or not kid ourselves about building prestige that melts, as in Thailand, because we saw fit to try to rescue from communism nearby Cambodia with arms aid.

The House does well to cut this handout.

## A Plan for Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD an article entitled "A Plan for Cuba," by William R. Mathews, which appeared in the September 23 issue of the Arizona Daily Star. This comes so close to expressing my feelings on the subject of Cuba, that I want to share it with the other Members of the House.

The article follows:

A PLAN FOR CUBA
(By William R. Mathews)

The recent action of the Senate in passing a resolution that gives the President power to deal with Cuba, reflects the general anxiety of the people of the country over this unhappy affair. As a subject of major interest to the American people it is something that calls for serious and calm thinking. Specifically, we should avoid any rash action, but we should be thinking out plans to bring an end to this spectacle of the Soviets setting up a satellite 92 miles off the coast of Florida.

When we do act, we should act decisively. This means that plans have to be made. As an example, steps should be taken to set up, and subsequently recognize, a Cuban Government-in-exile. The Cuban emigres must agree on a president for such a government, and this president should choose his commander in chief of Cuban exile troops. A program of training should be initiated so that, when the time comes, there will be a Cuban government friendly to us ready to take over, when and if the island is liberated.

This government should have plans for political, social and economic affairs that will command the respect and adherence of the people of Cuba. These plans should be publicized, and backed up by guerrilla harassments within the island. It is vital to find out if the Cuban people want to be liberated, and how willingly they themselves will cooperate.

The chances are that there are not enough emigres available to form a military force strong enough to do the liberating. Therefore, America must supply enough troops to make up the difference along with air and naval forces. It may be necessary to proclaim a blockade, once the invasion is underway.

A blockade is a much more serious matter than most Americans realize. There is no such thing as a "peaceful blockade." A blockade, to be respected, must be effective. The North imposed an effective blockade on the South; the British imposed an effective blockade on Germany during both World Wars.

Consequently, when the United States imposes a blockade on Cuba, it must enforce it by seizing ships that attempt to break it. The chances are the blockade would also apply to the air, and thus the United States would have to shoot down planes that tried to slip through the blockade, or compel them to land at a designated spot.

Our action in Cuba would affect seriously our friends as well as our foes. We must be prepared to defend it before the United Nations. We might recall the U.N. conduct in connection with both Goa and New Guinea. What we do will be most unpopular in Europe as well as in Latin America.

Yet there is one fact that should be kept in mind, and that is, that by militantly protecting our own self-interests, we will command the respect of many nations, who, though they may not admit it publicly, will express their respect by not trying to embarrass us.

Of course the Soviet Union will scream to the heavens, and fulminate and threaten, but the chances are Russia will stop short of provoking hostilities. We Americans might as well realize that, sooner or later, we are going to have to defy the Soviet Union. There never will be a better time than now. There can be much worse times in the future, if we pass up this opportunity.

The idea that we must in the name of peace accept this threat from the Soviet Union with its extension of its system of government to an island 92 miles off our coast, but send our military forces across the Pacific to Vietnam, "to stop communism," does not make sense to the American people.

## The Power Play

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently a very interesting and worthwhile editorial under the title of "The Power Play" appeared in the Burlington, Iowa, Hawk-Eye. Because I think there is much food for thought for Members of Congress and for all who read the RECORD, in this article, under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Burlington (Iowa) Hawk-Eye]

THE POWER PLAY

Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, in a speech observing Constitution Day, pointed to the continuing power struggle between the executive and legislative branches of Government.

This struggle, he said, "is not open and above board. It is more covert than open and probably more unconscious than conscious.

"It involves the slow but irresistible erosion of the power and authority of Congress as bit by bit the executive power circumscribes and diminishes the range of congressional action."

This struggle does indeed overshadow all the conflicts of Washington, including that of partisan politics. The realization is coming slowly to Americans, that what is evolving is a determination of which branch can best control the Nation's destiny in our fast-moving era. So there is turmoil between the Executive, which often believes it must act without waiting for Congress to make up its mind, and the Congress, which traditionally has been the top dog. And, to a lesser degree, the judiciary has become involved—not through any effort of its own but because the people have gone to the courts as a last resort.

SCHWENGEL'S implication, however, that the Executive circumscribes and diminishes congressional action, needs closer examination. And it might be well if SCHWENGEL led his Congressmen into a study of why this situation has come about.

In the first place, most of the new power of the Executive has been handed it by Congress itself. Even this recalcitrant Congress has seen fit to give the President tariff authority the legislators once jealously guarded. The controls granted by Congress spread into all fields—broadcasting, air travel, drugs, tax authority, public health. The power of the Executive in such familiar areas as our military program, foreign policy, agriculture, labor negotiations, has come through congressional action and sanction—not through Executive fiat.

We believe much of this quasi-legislative power in Executive hands is desirable, and inevitable. The world simply moves too fast for Congress.

Which brings us to the consideration which SCHWENGEL, and most Congressmen, blithely ignore: the utter failure of Congress to arouse itself to the responsibilities of its duties today.

Congress, not the executive, has made a pork barrel out of our military program; a political football of agriculture; a vote-getting machine out of public works. Congress has tampered with social security funds, has failed to initiate tax reform, has forced those fighting for civil rights to turn to the Justice Department and the courts.

With it all, Congress among all Government agencies has failed to recognize itself. It preserves an archaic and self-defeating seniority system, which rewards political hacks and blinks at senility among legislators. It commits appalling blunders in planning its own plush office buildings, and, except in rare instances when the public gets alarmed, refuses even to audit the waste of its own Members in travel and political expenses. It stymies our democratic process by getting into such ridiculous arguments as that of the last session, over which house should provide the chairman and the room for conference committees. It works on the Tuesday–Thursday basis, and often has a tough time rounding up a quorum for a vote. It tolerates nepotism, padded expense accounts, and votes itself personal barbershops, free mailing privileges, and cuspidors.

SCHWENGEL calls on educators to take the lead in bringing a better understanding of the Constitution and its system of checks and balances. This is well and good.

But the lessons will ring hollow, unless Congress itself undertakes the same study, and inquires whether its Members are performing as the framers of the Constitution envisioned.

## Our Latin American Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 18, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert several short articles dealing with the current situation regarding Cuba and our Latin American policy in general. These articles have been written by Mr. Fred A. Orleans, noted author and international lawyer of San Antonio, Tex. Some of these were written recently, others over the past year, but they contain some excellent thoughts on the subject which deserve consideration at this time.

They are as follows:

THE LITTLE WARS

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The Communists could hurl rockets at a selected number of U.S. cities from Cuba, and what would we do? Would we retaliate against Russia? Probably not, since that would be wanton aggression insofar as Russia had not attacked us. We would, if we still had the gumption, go against the aggressor—Cuba.

Communists could hurl rockets at another selected number of U.S. cities from British Guiana and what would we do? Again we could not prove that the Russians had anything to do with the attacks against us. After all, they did not originate from Russia, but from aggressive Western Hemisphere nations. How long could this pattern continue?

Although the above may seem to the average person to be pure fiction and not possible, a look at the record will indicate differently. In the many conflicts throughout the world—Korea, Laos, Vietnam—to name but a few, just how many Soviet Russian troops have actually been committed to the battlefields? The Russian procedure is to simply let the United States exhaust itself fighting little wars all over the world. Until now, these little wars have been in remote places, but now the Russians have gotten much bolder and are beginning with Cuba to start the "little" wars here in the Western Hemisphere.

Where will it end? It will end only when the United States realizes that its salvation rests in first expressing its own self-interest. It will end when the United States is prepared to take a firm stand on principle and ceases to be on the defensive and again becomes the vigorous and positive leader of the past, giving definite and firm leadership, and acting with a purpose with policies both fully expounded and backed up. Then, and only then, will our growing international problems diminish and eventually disappear.

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NEW IMAGE NEEDED

(By Fred A. Orleans)

A reorientation in the thinking which dictates U.S. foreign policy relating to Latin America is needed.

(1) We cannot continue to unilaterally give away billions to buy insults.

(2) We cannot buy friends in Latin America, and we must eliminate the impression prevalent in Latin American countries that we are trying to buy their friendship to help us combat the menace of communism in the Western Hemisphere.

(3) We must abandon the idea of equating poverty with communism. The error in this thinking is proven by the fact that communism thrives among well-to-do industrial workers in northern Italy and not in poor, agricultural, southern Italy or Ireland.

(4) We should not emphasize our desire to export revolution, since this is understood in a different concept in Latin America where there is already too much revolution.

(5) We should not attempt to democratize Latin America or make the various countries conform to our concept of democracy, since democracy is arrived at only by the long road of education and literacy. As a result of illiteracy, democracy has never thrived in Latin America.

(6) We should abandon the idea of trying to Americanize Latin America.

(7) We must reestablish our image in Latin America as a nation which refrains from wronging others but which insists that it not be wronged itself. As a nation that wants peace, but a just peace, and wants it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. As a nation which no weak nation, acting properly, need fear, and no strong power should be allowed to single out for a subject of insolent aggression. In short, as a nation which will take whatever measures are necessary to liberate the people of Cuba from the chains of communism which bind them.

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[From the Mexico City Daily Bulletin, Nov. 28, 1961]

THE STORY OF TWO DAMS

(By Fred A. Orleans)

On September 4, 1961, there appeared in a newspaper two articles side by side, both datelined Washington, D.C. The first, "Amistad Dam Fund Is Okehed" and the other "U.S. to Check Before Big Loan." The article relating to the Amistad Dam indicated that money for further construction on this dam was provided in an appropriation bill signed by President Kennedy. It was indicated that the money, representing a new installment in the U.S. share for the water storage project on the United States-Mexican border river, was contained in a $13,173,000 fund which had been approved for the International Boundary and Water Commission. The allocated sum represents a $3 million cut in the original request for the Commission. It was indicated in Washington that there was some uncertainty as to how the cut in funds would be spread.

The other article stated that President Kennedy would send a high-ranking U.S. mission to Ghana for a last minute check before the United States gave final approval to the $130 million loan for the big Volta Dam project in Ghana and that G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs was slated to head the U.S. team.

The Amistad Dam was widely heralded and publicized as another example of United States-Mexican friendship when President Eisenhower met with President Lopez Mateos at Acuña a year ago. At that time, it was stressed that this prospective dam represented another example of how neighboring countries could cooperate in developing projects which would mutually benefit the citizens of both countries. The Amistad Dam, as the Falcon Dam before it, will be constructed jointly by the United States and Mexico, with each country paying its share, and with the citizens of both countries who live in areas bordering the dam, utilizing the waters which will be stored therein.

Here's an example of a project which will not only potentially help to better United States-Mexican relations, but also is one in which U.S. citizens can materially benefit through visible and definite means.

How the people of the United States can conceivably benefit through giving $130 million to Ghana has never been satisfactorily explained nor demonstrated by those who are engaged in shaping the U.S. foreign policy.

The President of Ghana is known to be most definitely pro-Communist and has been a stanch supporter of the Communist line and has acted literally as a puppet of the Moscow rulers of the Red bloc. It is claimed that U.S. aid to Ghana in the past was excusable because the leanings of the ruler of that country were not to well defined so that a question existed as to whether he was truly a neutralist or a pro-Communist. All that was required in order to have determined the true situation relating to this matter was a careful study of the facts at hand by any impartial person, conscientiously and diligently seeking the truth. The truth is always easy to find by those who wish to find it and there is never an excuse for stupidly following any policy or program which can give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.

The time arrived many years ago for the United States to choose between its friends and enemies and an attempt to deal impartially with those who are dedicated to the preservation of Western civilization and with those who are dedicated to its ultimate destruction, is little short of insanity.

There can only be one end to the story of the two dams, and that is, for the United States to most emphatically decline the privilege of aiding in the establishment of communism in Ghana, and to direct all efforts toward the speedy completion of Amistad Dam as well as additional joint projects which can both materially benefit the people of the United States and Mexico as well as further strengthen the foundation upon which the friendship between these two neighbors rest.

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[From the Mexico City Daily Bulletin, Nov. 24, 1961]

ANALYSIS OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS AGREEMENT

(By Fred A. Orleans)

To the average American, "The Alliance for Progress," which was embodied in recent Inter-American Conference at Punta del Este, represents the mere giving away of billions of dollars of the American taxpayer's money to the countries of the Americas. This impression can be attributed to the lack of explicit information regarding the significance of the conference at Punta del Este and the real meaning of the resultant agreement, known as the Punta del Este Charter.

This charter, in its preamble, states that the American Republics proclaim their decision to become associated in a common effort to achieve more rapid economic progress and greater social justice for their people, respecting human dignity and political liberty. Based on this association in a common effort, the charter sets forth both the objectives of the "Alliance for Progress" and outlines goals and the course to be pursued in bringing about both rapid as well as sustained economic and social development; regional economic integration and provision for sufficient expansion of trade based on basic exports. The final two objectives complement the initial one in their aim of attempting to lift Latin America out of its present submerged economic and social position.

There are twelve major goals which are enumerated in the first part of the Punta del Este Charter and these are of paramount importance: The participating republics thereby formally promise to work toward a substantial growth in per capita income in Latin America; improve the distribution of national income; achieve a balanced diversification of their economies; accelerate the industrialization process; increase productivity and agricultural production; promote agrarian reforms; eliminate illiteracy; improve individual and collective health; aid in

solving the pressing problem of housing; maintain stable price levels; strengthen existing agreements; develop cooperative programs in connection with the Latin American export trade.

The above-indicated goals will prove extremely difficult to accomplish in view of existing conditions in the Western Hemisphere, and the difficulty in accomplishing same will be further increased through the absolute necessity of injecting at least the $20 billion indicated, into the economies of the countries of the Americas. The attainment of these goals, would in addition, be dependent on the United States participating in multilateral price stabilizing agreements on basic Latin American exports, as coffee, etc., support of the creation of an international fund for stabilizing export earnings of Latin American countries and from the Latin American side of the picture, a prompt implementing of substantial development programs covering broad reforms of an agrarian nature, tax systems, public administration, etc.

The Punta del Este Charter specifically indicates that each government will formulate its own goals, priorities and reforms within their own national development programs, and does not provide for any specific cooperation between countries through which the program of each can be integration on a regional basis, ultimately leading to a Western Hemisphere common market, as that which has resulted in the fabulous boom now taking place in Europe. Much too little was accomplished at the Punta del Este Conference toward the establishment of a common market, despite the many references in the charter relating to the desirability and need for this type of regional economic integration.

The Alliance for Progress agreement will prove to be particularly meaningless to the countries of the Americas unless it leads to an economic integration between the various countries of the Americas in the near future.

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POWER OF THE PRESS

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The battle for Latin America is taking place on the newsstands of every city and every remote village in all the countries of the Americas. The Communists are spending an acknowledged $100 million a year to flood Latin America with well-written, well-illustrated, and well-prepared books and magazines which are given away free or sold for a mere pittance.

With an expenditure of approximately $7 million in 1960 for propaganda in Latin America, it is very clear to those who seek the true answers, why the United States is definitely losing the battle for Latin America despite promises of practically unlimited aid through the Alliance for Progress. If we do not get our message through to the people, we cannot hope to meet the challenge of an enemy who makes extensive use of the propaganda mediums we seem so reluctant to employ.

The publishing industry of the United States can easily overwhelm the Red propaganda in Latin America, if given the chance. The time has long since passed when the United States should have turned on its printing presses and flooded Latin America newsstands with the superior publications which they are capable of producing.

The United States must take the offensive in the field of psychological warfare, utilizing the techniques of mass communications, of which it acknowledgeably is the world leader, to tell its story to the people of Latin America, so that these people will not be conquered by the Communists in the fight for men's minds without a single shot being fired in the defense of democracy.

## Twentieth Anniversary of the First Flight of an American Jetplane

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM E. MILLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. MILLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, today is the 20th anniversary of the first flight of an American jet which was built by the Bell Aircraft Corp., in Buffalo, N.Y., known as the city of good neighbors.

The Niagara Frontier industrialists and labor contributed a great deal of many first to the betterment of our country and the American people.

The P–59, the first American jetplane, was built under the untmost secrecy in the Old Ford Motor Co. assembly plant on Main Street at Rodney, Buffalo, N.Y. The windows were welded shut, the lower panes painted, and all entrances to the building were guarded 24 hours a day.

Construction of the plane was completed on September 12, 1942. Crated and canvas-covered parts were shipped by rail to California for flight tests on Muroc Dry Lake on the Mojave Desert.

When heavy rains flooded the dry lake where test flights were being made, the plane had to be moved over the highway to another location. To hide the jet's identity, it was wrapped in canvas to camouflage its unusual configuration, and a dummy propeller was attached to the front.

The following article concerning the first jet appeared in one of our leading newspapers, the Buffalo Evening News, on September 29, 1962:

AMERICA'S FIRST JETPLANE BUILT HERE 20 YEARS AGO

There is a touch of irony in Buffalo being among the last of the big American cities to make its airport big enough for the operation of jet airplanes.

There is likewise a touch of irony in the controversy stirred up by suburbanites north and east of the city objecting to Greater Buffalo International Airport being converted into a jet airport.

These things are ironic because Buffalo is the birthplace of the American jetplane.

Building the first American jet was one of a long string of "firsts" for the old Bell Aircraft Corp., now the Bell Aerosystems Co. And it was a development that opened up a new chapter in aviation history that is still being written.

Monday will be the 20th anniversary of the first flight by that first American jet, which Bell had put together in the former Ford assembly plant at Main and Rodney Streets that is now a Trico plant.

Although jets are common enough these days, the first one was one of the most secret developments in the history of aviation.

The story of Buffalo's role in this urgent development had its beginings on September 5, 1941, 3 months before Pearl Harbor.

The late Lawrence D. Bell, president of Bell Aircraft, and his chief engineer, Harland W. Poyer, had been summoned to Washington for a conference with General Hap Arnold, then commanding general of the Army Air Corps.

The Bell executives were told that a new kind of plane had been developed by Group Capt. Frank Whittle of Britain's RAF and was flying in England.

The General Electric Co., under a special agreement between the United States and Britain, had been assigned to build a jet engine in this country. Larry Bell was asked to design and build the fighter plane that would be powered by the GE turbojets.

Work on the design of this revolutionary new plane began immediately upon return of Mr. Bell and Mr. Poyer to Buffalo. Mr. Bell called a small group of key engineers to his office, swore them to secrecy, and assigned them to design the first jet-propelled plane.

Because this was an entirely new concept of aircraft propulsion, there was little precedent which the design group could use.

Edgar P. Rhodes, now Bell's assistant chief engineer of aerospace design, was among the engineers summoned to Mr. Bell's office. He was designated project engineer.

"All we had to work with at the start was a freehand sketch of the General Electric engine on 8½-by-11-inch paper," Mr. Rhodes recalled. "But six of us, working under extreme security measures, explored various configurations and put together a complete proposal and a one-twentieth scale model for Mr. Bell to submit for approval."

The Army Air Corps awarded Bell a contract on September 30, 1941, to design and build three jet-propelled fighter planes—the forerunners of a whole new breed of military and commercial aircraft.

As the engineering group was expanded, Bell leased space in the old Ford assembly plant at Main and Rodney Streets. Windows of the building were welded shut and, although high above street level, the lower panes were painted to prevent transparency. All entrances were guarded around the clock and a special system of employee identification was set up.

Engineering work progressed and, within 6 months of receiving the go-ahead, the design was finished. Manufacturing began on January 9, 1942.

On August 4, 1942, the first of two turbojet engines arrived in Buffalo from the General Electric plant at Lynn, Mass. Military police guarded the unit, living in the railroad car in which it had been shipped to Buffalo.

At the Bell plant, the engine remained under 24-hour guard.

It was decided to conduct all flight tests at the Army bombing and gunnery range (now called Edwards Air Force Base) at Muroc Dry Lake in California's Mojave Desert.

Construction of America's first jet plane was completed on September 12, 1942—a little more than a year after General Arnold held that first conference with Larry Bell in Washington. The XP–59A was disassembled for shipment to California.

Because sections of the plane were too big for the doors of the Main Street factory building, a hole was knocked in the brick wall. The plane sections, crated or wrapped in canvas, were lowered by crane to waiting railroad cars.

An officer and five enlisted men, with orders to guard the plane (later named the Airacomet) with their lives, made a cross-country trip with the XP–59A. A huge compressor fed air through the jet engines to keep them turning slowly throughout the entire trip. This was done because the engineers feared the bearings might be damaged by the constant pounding of the train along the rails.

The XP–59A, still in good shape, arrived at Muroc on September 19. Workmen immediately began to put the plane together. It took a week.

The jet engines were run up for the first time in the plane on September 26. The

XP–59A was wheeled out on the long runway, facing the wind, with the tailpipes pointed toward the California desert. Both engines ran successfully through three successive runup tests.

Mr. Bell arrived at the Muroc base September 30 to witness the preliminary taxi tests of the new plane his company built.

Robert M. Stanley, then Bell's chief test pilot and now president of Stanley Aviation in Denver, made several "high taxis" a foot or two off the ground. At about sunset, Stanley roared back to the hangar, ready to refill his tanks with kerosene fuel and take off again. But Mr. Bell persuaded him to wait another day to allow for final checks.

The next day—October 1, 1942—Stanley climbed into the XP–59A, taxied and then guided the first American jetplane into the air for its first real trial. That first flight was only 25 to 100 feet off the ground but it was an historic one.

Because development of the XP–59A was such a closely guarded secret, not a single newspaper or radio station reported the history making event until more than 15 months later. As flight testing continued, rumors about jet propulsion began to circulate and the Army Air Corps decided to announce the existence of the new jetplane.

But strict secrecy was maintained at Muroc while flight testing operation continued there. Once, when the dry lake bed became flooded by unusually heavy rains, the plane was rigged with a dummy propeller and wrapped in canvas to camouflage its unusual configuration so that it could be hauled along a public highway to another dry lake for flight tests.

On another occasion, an Army pilot from the nearby bomber base, unaware of the jet propulsion development, spotted a heavy smoke trail from the jet engine during a XP–59A flight. He radioed his base that an aircraft was afire. Fire engines and a crash truck roared up to the entrance of the secret jet base, but were sent away by the gate guards.

Bell built 66 of the P–59 jet Airacomets before World War II ended. The first now is on display in the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. And what is believed to be the last P–59 to roll off the Bell assembly line is among the collection of the U.S. Air Force Museum, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton.

## How To Save $50 Billion Taxes in the Next 20 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks, I here include an editorial by Mr. A. M. Piper, editor of the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, Council Bluffs, Iowa:

HOW TO SAVE $50 BILLION TAXES IN THE NEXT 20 YEARS

Are you, as a taxpayer, interested in a plan through which the Government could save $50 billion (yes, $50 billion) over the next 20 years? If so, here it is in simple words everyone can understand.

During the next 20 years the investor-owned electric power companies will spend about $140 billion for new construction. On top of that the Government will benefit to the extent of $100 billion in Federal, State, and local taxes that will be paid by investor-owned electric companies.

Government financed and operated powerplants now account for 20 percent of the whole electric power system. So if the present ratio is maintained, Government will have to spend $35 billion on new construction. This would also mean the loss of $15 billion in taxes which privately owned powerplants would pay if they did that part of the job. Total, $50 billion.

Just as we are talking about possible ways and means to stimulate the lagging American economy—one of the major projects now scheduled for next year is a substantial tax reduction for both industry and individuals.

There's a way, just one way, this can be done without running the risk of more and more inflation. That is by cutting out every nonessential Government expenditure.

Government building and operating electric powerplants is an outstanding example of unnecessary and wasteful spending of the taxpayers' money.

Privately financed powerplants can and will build all the powerplants needed—and pay taxes on them after they are completed.

Why does the Government insist on building more powerplants when private capital can build and operate them more economically, and pay taxes on them?

## With Liberty and Justice for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address I gave at a rally on September 23, 1962, in Minneapolis, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Abraham Lincoln signing of the Emancipation Proclamation:

ADDRESS BY HON. WALTER H. JUDD AT EMANCIPATION RALLY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., SEPTEMBER 23, 1962

It is appropriate and a privilege to pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln on this 100th anniversary of his issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. It was contended by some at that time that it was legally wrong—depriving citizens of property without due process of law. But it was morally right, and morally necessary. Lincoln put first obligations first—those to man. He cut through the fog by proclaiming an end to the institution of slavery itself. Human beings were not property. No longer were they to be owned, bought and sold like work animals.

No people has ever made greater progress than Negroes have in America these 100 years, whenever and wherever given the same opportunity as other Americans. But many have not been permitted to enjoy full citizenship, including at the polls, in schools, in jobs, in travel, in owning property.

Not until the last decade has there been substantial progress in the thinking of the country and in the actions of its Government to match the progress of the Negro. The most significant steps were, first, administrative actions in the fifties to end segregation in the Armed Forces, Federal institutions, the District of Columbia, interstate trains and buses; second, the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in schools; and third, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Gradually more and better jobs in most fields have opened up and appointments to higher positions in government have been made.

But such outrages as the burning of churches and attempts to exclude qualified Negroes from universities, continue. The recent sending to some northern States of persons called "reverse freedom riders" but really political refugees, underlines tragically how far we still have to go to change the attitudes and institutions that are based on prejudice and tradition. The Federal Government cannot force people to change their thinking, but it can and should compel changes in their actions.

When groups in certain States started the "reverse freedom rider" gimmick, designed to embarrass people in nonsegregation States at the expense of innocent Negroes, I asked the Justice Department and our congressional legal counsel how this traffic in human beings could be stopped. They reported there is no legislation to prevent it. So on September 14, 1962, I introduced a bill, H.R. 13141, to correct this omission. The bill makes it unlawful, makes it a felony, to furnish transportation to unemployed persons and members of their families in order to cause them to move to another State, unless they have a binding contract providing employment for 6 months or a sum of $1,800, plus funds sufficient to return to their original place of residence.

I was shocked to find that the only law we now have in this field is the White Slave Traffic Act. My bill changes it to the Traffic in Humans Act and expands its authority to do just that: forbid all traffic in human beings, for whatever purpose, with stiff penalties for violations.

The same bill was introduced by Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York. We realize we probably cannot get action upon it this late in the present session. But we will introduce it in the next session and press for hearings, consideration, and action until we get them.

The Emancipation Proclamation emancipated the Negro from his status as a slave and as property. The time has come to complete his emancipation. He must be freed now from persecution, discrimination, oppression, or any exploitation that denies him full equality of status as a human being and as an American citizen.

America must do this out of justice to the Negro. It must also do it out of concern for itself. Our whole system of life and Government is under attack today all around the world. Race discrimination is still the weakest spot in America's armor. Until it is ended, other peoples will continue to say to us, "What your country does behind you, sounds so loud in our ears that we cannot hear what you say." America cannot afford race discrimination.

This hundredth anniversary is also a good time for everyone in America to stop thinking of our Negro population as a problem and start thinking of them as a great resource, still largely unused. We need to realize that the United States is the second largest Negro country in the world. In addition to millions of good workers, there are thousands of highly trained, competent Negro leaders, with love and loyalty for the country of their birth, and appreciation of the advantages it affords despite the frustrating difficulties in gaining full equality. These leaders are better able to tell the story of free America, its strengths and its shortcomings, than most white citizens. What wouldn't the Soviet Union give to have such an asset as it strives to influence peoples all around the world in favor of its system.

Under three Presidents I have urged our State Department and those administering our foreign aid program to use far more Negroes in our agencies and programs

abroad—not just in Africa, but among all other peoples in all continents. No one can represent our country more effectively or convincingly.

Negroes, like all persons, want first of all to be free. But as soon as they are free, they, like all persons, want to belong, to be recognized and have importance, to be needed, to participate, to be able to contribute.

All human beings want to be apart; and at the same time to be a part of. Let us work together to achieve this high goal of full participation in our national life by all citizens. Let us rejoice at the emancipation already achieved and resolve to carry it on to completion. Let us take as our great cause in both domestic and foreign policy what we so often say in the Pledge of Allegiance to our Flag: "With liberty and justice for all."

## The Future of Ida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the difficulty which the foreign aid appropriation bill is facing in the Congress of the United States stems, in part at least, from the fact that the United States is carrying a disproportionate share of the burden of foreign aid.

There is an existing organization, with a proven record of good management, in which our efforts are shared by other nations. This is the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank. For every $3 contributed by the United States to IDA, $7 of hard currency, or $10 if soft currencies are included, are available for the underdeveloped countries. On June 29, 1960, the House of Representatives approved this method of sharing the burden of development aid by a vote of 249 to 158.

As an editorial from the September 28, 1962, issue of the New York Times points out, IDA's limited resources are almost exhausted and should be replenished by the nations of the free world. Under leave previously granted, I include this editorial in the RECORD:

THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

The World Bank and its affiliate, the International Development Association, are confronted with a serious problem. The Bank has funds available, and can always borrow more, but it is running out of lendable projects, while International Development Association has no shortage of projects but is running out of funds.

One solution would be to lower the Bank's standards. But its reputation, and its ability to borrow, would be in jeopardy if it took this step. It cannot lend more to developing nations already burdened with repayments on foreign debt; it cannot lend at all to other countries, particularly the emerging nations of Africa, which cannot satisfy the Bank's stringent requirements.

This is precisely why the International Development Association was set up as an affiliate of the Bank. By providing long-term development loans at extremely liberal terms, it can provide funds that the Bank cannot. But International Development Association's funds are limited, and its present resources will be fully committed by the end of next year. Unless a great deal more is made available, International Development Association will wither away and the Bank itself will face a shrinkage in its regular lending operations.

Thus the already big gap between the rich industrialized nations and the rest of the world is sure to widen unless more aid is made available. Eugene R. Black, in his farewell address as president of the Bank, urged the Western nations to help solve the problem by authorizing new lending authority for International Development Association, which, by aiding development, would give new scope to the Bank.

Mr. Black, an ardent advocate of multilateral aid, points out that the political influences associated with bilateral aid often lead to waste and inefficiency and take "no account of the actual economic requirements of the recipients." Without in any sense abandoning bilateral aid, we agreed that both donors and recipients would benefit by more reliance on the multilateral approach. Certainly, it would help the United States, because we are carrying a disproportionate share of the burden. If the countries of Western Europe increased their contributions and channeled them through International Development Association, there is no doubt that the funds would be used effectively.

The Bank's (and International Development Association's) freedom from political ties means that it can insist on putting its money to work where it will do the most good. It has more experience in development than any single country, and is not vulnerable to the kind of political pressure, on the part of borrower, lender, or both, that has been a feature of so many bilateral aid programs. It can, in fact, lay down conditions in making a loan that could not be exacted by a single lender.

Bilateral programs cannot be abandoned, but a large expansion of International Development Association's resources now is also required. Without International Development Association to provide funds for basic development, the bank's own capacity to lend will inevitably diminish.

## No Ball Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lancaster News, Lancaster, S.C., of September 27, 1962:

NO BALL GAME

If the cold war was a football game we could admire that long pass Quarterback Khrushchev dropped into outstretched arms of his halfbaked halfback, Fidel Castro, in the beautifully executed "fishing port" play.

As a matter of fact, we do admire it, but this does not keep us from being mad at our boys and wondering if we do not need a new coach. And we do not like that noise from the Moscow jeering section, either.

All of a sudden we cannot tell the difference between a fishing port and a naval base. Fuel and supplies for fishing trawlers are the same as those for submarines and armed surface vessels.

The establishment of a Russian naval base in Cuba has multiplied the effectiveness of the Soviet navy beyond anything the U.S. Navy could have imagined in its most apprehensive moments.

Its location in the harbor of Havana was, in itself, a strategic move. Not only is the harbor armed for defense, it has the protection of the city of Havana as a heavy population center. The missile that would destroy the naval base would cause destruction also in Havana.

If the United States is not going to assert the Monroe Doctrine, how can we protest when two nations friendly to each other agree to construct a fishing port for their mutual benefit? There are plenty of fish in the Caribbean and, just 90 miles away, the biggest school of suckers in the world.

## Freedom To Act on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that nationwide sentiment would support effective action to free the Western Hemisphere from the danger inherent in Communist control of Cuba. A scholarly, practical editorial commentary on the Cuban question appeared in the Wednesday, September 26, issue of the Chicago Sun-Times, which I ask leave to place in the RECORD at this point and commend its logic especially to our State Department policymakers.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 26, 1962]

FREEDOM TO ACT ON CUBA

The 1823 foreign policy statement of the United States by President James Monroe remained, to a major extent, the lode star by which succeeding Presidents charted their conduct of international affair for nearly three-quarters of a century.

The policy was clear, concise, and unilateral.

The United States declared the American continents, "by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subject for future colonization by any European powers."

Furthermore, the United States, so President Monroe stated, had no concern "in the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves." That statement, usually without the qualifying clause "in matters relating to themselves," has frequently been quoted by advocates of isolationism to justify their course.

President Monroe recognized, however, that there could be occasions when European wars involved matters which related to other nations. The assertion that the United States had no concern " in the wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves," was followed immediately with further reservation:

"It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. * * * We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Some learned commentators have argued the United States abrogated the Monroe Doctrine by its participation in two world wars and by its post-World War II policy of containment.

To do so is to state that the issues involved in the two world wars concerned only matters relating to European powers and is also to compound that mistake by implying that attempts to spread communism internationally do not "seriously menace(d) our rights" or are not "dangerous to our peace and safety."

John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State who had a major role in formulating the Monroe Doctrine, succeeded to the White House. There was no change in foreign policy. There was, in fact, little change in that policy, until the turn of the century.

In the interval, different Presidents reasserted the Monroe Doctrine in various disputes.

The Monroe Doctrine was not to remain static, however. Theodore Roosevelt added to it. The so-called Roosevelt corollary asserted the right of the United States to intervene, under certain conditions, in the internal affairs of Latin American nations. President Wilson adopted the same policy. Such interventions had to do largely with debt collections and restoration of law and order. These interventions, confined mainly to Marine police actions in Caribbean and Central America countries created much ill will and resulted in widespread distrust of the United States.

Ultimately, the Roosevelt corollary was disavowed by the United States. A policy of collective action by the American States was substituted and later written into the compact creating the Organization of American States. The United States subscribed to that compact. In so doing, the United States agreed, as it has in many similar organizations throughout the world, to collective instead of unilateral action.

We have gone on the theory that substitution of collective action was required because we once abused our right to unilateral action. Collective action may work in some instances. But Latin America is not one of them.

Unilateral intervention by the United States to rid Cuba of the Castro regime is forbidden (ironically, at our instigation) by a succession of declarations and pacts culminating in the OAS as well as by a pathological devotion in Washington to the idea that we can do nothing in the Western Hemisphere that isn't sanctioned by the Latin American community.

Effective collective action has not been taken by the OAS. It was sought by the United States at Punta del Este in January 1962. A weak and ineffectual substitute to what the United States asked was granted. The Kennedy administration is again seeking to galvanize the OAS into action.

The "invasion" of Cuba by Soviet Russia poses many intricate problems. It is not an invasion in the usual sense. It is instead a penetration of the Cuban social, economic, and political systems, one which, however, was sought by the Cuban Government itself.

The result, insofar as the United States is concerned, is the same. Cuba, as a consequence of the Soviet buildup, constitutes a peril to the United States.

If, as a result of abrogating the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and substituting, in lieu, the theory of collective OAS action, we have acted contrary to our own interest, we should get that restriction removed from the pact or withdraw from the pact. For the Latin American nations, even if a majority of them do ultimately act affirmatively, and that result is doubtful, but delay necessary steps. We were delayed at Punta del Este. Meanwhile the Cuban buildup has reached perilous proportions. And we are still delayed.

Soviet Russia is fully aware of the manner in which we have tied ourselves into the Latin American straightjacket. It is also cognizant of the respect which we, as a nation, accord contracts.

While we cajole Latin American statesmen once more in the same illusory hope we entertained at Punta del Este the Soviet buildup continues. It is freedom to act which we require. If we have that freedom, freedom to take unilateral action instead of dependence on a hypothetical collective action, we may not be required to resort to invasion. Tying our hands behind our backs, as we have done, is an invitation for someone to slug us. Castro and Khrushchev have accepted the invitation.

By subscribing to collective action we have lost, or act as if we had lost, our one effective deterrent with Russia insofar as Cuba is concerned—our freedom to act.

The Monroe Doctrine rests "upon the right of self-protection and that right is recognized in international law."

Elihu Root, a great American statesman, made that statement. It is time to reassert the Root view of the Monroe Doctrine.

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## For Whom the Road Tolls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress a series of very interesting articles which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express written by Lucian C. Warren. They are concerned with certain conflicts which are developing in our interstate highway program, caused by what might have been an oversight, or at least a lack of understanding of what the effects would be in allowing our interstate system to be part free and part toll road. Many problems have arisen as a result of this mixture, and should receive the consideration of the Congress. The confusion that has resulted from incorporating toll facilities into the interstate is clearly brought out by this excellent job of reporting, and should be read by all wishing to establish an interstate highway system which will serve the best interest of the American people through a policy consistent for all parts of the Nation.

The articles follow:

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Aug. 14, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—I: CONGRESS LEAVES LOOPHOLES IN LAW

(The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is one in a series of articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—Like Abraham Lincoln's conviction that no nation can remain half-slave and half-free, a growing body of public opinion considers the mixture of toll-built and toll-free superhighways on the Interstate System a national tragedy.

LOOPHOLES IN LAW

Such a plan, many feel, was never originally intended by Congress or the Federal planners of the system. But, when the House and Senate passed a compromise version of the 1956 Interstate Highway Act establishing the Interstate System, they left gaping loopholes in the law which appear to give congressional sanction to toll traps.

As a result, highway bond-financing agencies have had a field day and, in some States, as this series will show, call the tune on whether free interstate superhighways can be built which might threaten the clink of coins in toll boxes on competing turnpikes.

The Nation was faced with a very similar problem in its early days. There was a time when the Nation was saddled with toll roads, proportionately much greater than it is today.

TOLL BOXES REMOVED

Every farmer with a hard-to-pass stretch of road conceived the idea of setting up a toll house and charging travelers to cross his land. In New England towns some of the old toll boxes still stand as monuments to a system which many had thought outmoded.

Under popular pressure, the early toll boxes were removed, one by one, as Government agencies took over responsibilities for building good roads. In 1936, the New York Times noted that for the first time since the dawn of American history the Nation was at last shed of toll roads and expressed the hope they would never return.

But the opening of the first of the big 20th century toll roads, the Pennsylvania Turnpike, was only 4 years away.

It seemed to the depression-broke State of Pennsylvania a happy idea to use private financing to build a superhighway along an old abandoned railroad right-of-way, and let the turnpike users pay off the bonds directly.

The road was such a success that New York State was infected. True, the virus didn't take at first because Governor Dewey's first idea was to finance the New York Thruway with $500 million saved during World War II.

Dewey is on record as saying: "The thruway will be built without burdening our grandchildren with the cost. We propose no bond issues. We propose to do the job on a pay-as-you-go basis."

But the $500-million kitty was soon dissipated, spent for purposes other than highways, and bonds were floated not once but twice for the big New York expressway.

At that, perhaps a weak case can be made for bond financing of such roads before Congress provided in its 1956 legislation that Uncle Sam would put up 90 percent of the costs of building an interstate system of superhighways. There is no doubt that New York, Pennsylvania, and other States are being severly penalized for building superhighways on their own before the 90–10 formula was adopted.

But, from 1956 on, every State was forewarned that it could build superhighways mostly at Federal expense. But, because some oddly worded contradictory sections of the law, toll roads also were allowed to be part of the Interstate System.

The gold rush for turnpike financiers was on. So was double taxation for those who dropped money into the toll boxes and paid steep State and Federal highway-user taxes for the Interstate System.

As the bondholders began dictating where toll boxes should go and competing superhighways should not be built, the hope of Federal planners for a toll-free network of superhighways was dashed. The highway-progress clock, in the opinion of some, has been turned back by nearly 2 centuries.

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Aug. 15, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—II: FEDERAL ANTI-TOLL POLICIES SABOTAGED

(The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the interstate highway system. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the interstate system have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 providing for a system of national expressways has been called the Magna Charta of good roads in the United States. But the public is only now beginning to realize that this law also plunged a dagger into a long-standing Federal policy of encouraging only toll-free roads.

Since the first Federal-aid road act was passed in 1916, the statutory policy of the Federal Government has been to prohibit the use of Federal-aid highway funds for toll roads.

"All roads constructed under the provisions of this act shall be free of tolls of any kind," the 1916 law proclaimed. In 1921, the provision was reitertated and broadened by Congress to provide that "all highways constructed or reconstructed under provisions of this act shall be free from tolls of any kind."

Legislation in 1927 made an exception on Federal aid to toll bridges and approaches, but a requirement was added that tolls should be used only to pay for the toll facilities and that toll charges would be removed as soon as costs were amortized.

Congress in its 1938 Federal-Aid Highway Act asked the Bureau of Public Roads to investigate and report on the feasibility of toll roads for a transcontinental system of highways.

The bureau came back with a strong anti-toll report saying that the system would not come within 50 percent of self-liquidation if operated as a toll facility and would not meet the most urgent national highway needs. Since 1938, many bills have been introduced in Congress favoring a national system of toll roads, but none were enacted.

But some sleepers in the 1956 act gave toll-road enthusiasts their greatest break, although the law still pays lip service to Federal aid for toll-free roads only. Here is a step-by-step history of how Federal anti-toll-road policies became sabotaged:

1. President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program, headed by Gen. Lucius Clay, recommended to Congress in February, 1955, that the Federal Government should not enter into toll-road construction, "nor provide funds for deficit financing of otherwise nonself supporting projects."

However, it said existing toll roads meeting the standards of the interstate system should be incorpordated into the system and credit given to the States for such toll roads on the condition that any excess beyond financing requirements would be used for other highway improvements.

The report made clear that toll roads were not considered a satisfactory solution to the full problem of network modernization.

2. Eisenhower's secretary of commerce, Sinclair Weeks, reported to Congress in April, 1955, that toll roads should be permitted on the interstate system when they were up to standard and "when there are reasonably satisfactory alternate free roads."

But Weeks also emphasized that toll roads were not a satisfactory solution to the Nation's highway problems and recommended continuing the ban on Federal aid to toll roads.

BILLS INTRODUCED IN 1955 SUPPORTING RECOMMENDATIONS

3. Bills were introduced into Congress in 1955 proposing to carry out some of these recommendations. In the House, most of the bills carried a provision for incorporating existing toll roads (but saying nothing about future toll roads) into the interstate system.

In the Senate, the Gore bill would encourage States to develop toll roads only as a supplement to the interstate system, while the Case bill would provide for reimbursement to the States of all toll roads incorporated into the interstate system.

Later an amendment to highway legislation providing reimbursement for the depreciated value of toll roads was defeated in the Senate committee.

4. The House-passed version of the 1956 Federal-aid highway bill provided: "It is hereby declared to be the intent and policy of the Congress to equitably reimburse those States for any portion of a highway which is on the interstate system, whether toll or free. * * * It is also declared to be the policy and intent of Congress to provide funds necessary to make such reimbursement." The House included such a provision over the objections of Secretary Weeks.

REIMBURSEMENT, INCORPORATION PROVISIONS ARE DEFEATED

5. The Senate Public Works Committee reported out its version without provision for either reimbursement or incorporation of toll roads into the system. An amendment to include these provisions was defeated on the Senate floor.

6. House and Senate conferees sabotaged both the Senate's refusal to allow interstate toll roads and the House's insistence that reimbursement be provided. Instead, the compromise version approved by both House and Senate, laid the groundwork for the present confusion over the intermixture of toll and free roads on the interstate system.

The Secretary of Commerce was authorized to permit interstate toll roads if he found they promoted an "integrated" system.

A ban on Federal financial aid for toll roads was inserted into the law, but the major sleeper was a provision allowing Uncle Sam to shell out 90 percent help on interstate approaches to toll roads, providing only they have "some use irrespective of (leading to) the toll facility."

In other words, Congress seems to have given its blessing to such ludicrous examples of "other uses" of a free federally aided interstate highway as one with a solitary ramp leading to a cow pasture.

TOLL TRAPS RESULT FROM THIS PROVISION

It is this provision which has led to frightful toll traps in various sections of the Nation, although Clarence D. Martin, Jr., Commerce Undersecretary for Transportation, recently said he didn't think Congress really intended the law to operate that way.

7. The unregulated mushrooming of toll roads on the interstate system was further encouraged by Federal policy to allow the States to call the turn on whether proposed interstate toll-free roads competed with toll-built turnpikes.

The House Public Works Committee first dictated this policy in this section of its report accompanying the 1956 act: "The language is intended to promote maximum integration of the system, and the committee does not anticipate that free facilities would be built in such locations and to such sandards as to be in direct competition with toll roads so included."

Federal officials got the hint fast, and on September 10, 1956, Louise S. Rothschild, then Undersecretary of Commerce for Transportation, assured turnpike authorities, in an official release issued by the Bureau of Public Roads, that free interstate highways would not be allowed to be competitive with turnpikes.

This was reaffirmed on May 16, 1961, when Rex M. Whitton, present Federal Highway Administrator, testified before the House Public Works Committee: "We think it the intent of Congress that we not build a free road within a mile or two or five of a parallel toll road."

8. Since 1956 all attempts to provide toll-road reimbursement or to put more teeth in the badly bent Federal anti-toll-road policies have failed.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES APATHETIC OR HOSTILE

Both House and Senate Public Works Committees, where the attempts to legislate reform must begin, either have been apathetic or downright hostile to reform. Unless an aroused public opinion can make its influence felt, examples of toll traps inserted in toll-free federally aided highways and lagging State cooperation on building turnpike-competitive free expressways, however remote, will continue to multiply.

## Support for Repeal of Gold Reserve Requirement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter to the editor of the Commercial & Financial Chronicle which appeared in their issue of September 20, 1962:

READER WOULD LOWER GOLD PRICE TO END GOLD SHORTAGE

(NOTE.—Mr. Koretz offers a unique monetary proposal to stop speculation against gold and, moreover, to attract gold supply "for stately burial" here. He suggests applying a schedule of declining gold prices to nonapproved sellers while maintaining existing mint purchase price for such approved sellers as central bankers and non-Communist new gold producers.)

EDITOR,
*Commercial & Financial Chronicle.*

I agree with Mr. Frederick G. Shull's stand on gold, as indicated in his August 2 letter, but I think we should do more than stand on the refusal to devalue the dollar. We should do more. At least we can fix the wagon of the "gold rush (which) seems to be rearing its ugly head," according to Dr. Paul Einzig, who reports in his July 12 article that "gold hoarding has increased and, by the look of things, is likely to continue to increase."

We could start the ball rolling by enacting H.R. 6900, introduced last year by Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER. This would repeal the requirement of a 25 percent gold reserve against outstanding Federal Reserve notes and certain other deposit liabilities. Since no holder of a Federal Reserve note can obtain a single gold dollar for its redemption, the reserve of gold is a myth, anyhow.

It was Senator Taft who led the fight to cut the gold reserve ratio from 40 to 25 percent. While Mr. Wm. McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, recognizes the desirability of repealing the reserve requirement entirely, he fears doing it now. One reason is that it might feed the expectation of dollar devaluation.

PROPOSES DOWNWARD-SLIDING GOLD PRICE SCALE

We could take care of that by adopting the suggestion of Mr. Isaac Witkin, president of the General Cocoa Co., Inc. Amend the present rule of buying and selling gold at the fixed price of $35. Let's limit this price support of gold—which could never get this price if the law of supply and demand were operative here—only for purchases from central banks or of gold that has been newly mined, denying this benefit to gold mined in Russia or any other Iron Curtain country. Thus the current production of gold in the United States and friendly nations could continue undisturbed. Buy all other gold at less than $35 per ounce.

At the outset let the Treasury announce that as of a certain date, say September 15 it will pay $34 per ounce for gold. Later, perhaps as of October 15, set the buying price at $33 per ounce, and so on down the line. Thus, the present incentive to the private hoarder or speculator to buy gold in the knowledge that he can resell it to the U.S. Treasury without loss is removed.

It would be a big help to the plan if foreign central banks of all our allies would act in concert with our Government in adopting it. If private hoarders would learn they cannot count upon the $35 per ounce for their gold, large stocks of gold would be thrown on the world market, providing the central banks with more gold than they need, especially in the light of revised thinking as to the need of large gold reserves.

We would then have little trouble in getting as much gold as we wanted in case we might think it a good idea to attract more gold here for stately burial as we have done in the past. I don't see what harm that did, though the good of it has not yet been explained adequately.

Yours sincerely,

SIDNEY KORETZ.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961. "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

DEWITT, N.Y.,
*September 13, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL FLOOD,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I have had a request from some teachers for some teaching material on the captive nations. Much to my surprise, they have been unable to obtain any information whatsoever from the many, many educational materials. So I told them I would contact you for assistance, as I read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD regularly and am very familiar with your special efforts on behalf of the captive nations.

This material is to be used to teach grade school children and I presume they want to know conditions, etc., in the Communist-held countries today. Also, any maps showing the amount of territory presently held by the Communists in the world today.

It seems truly amazing to me that these teachers have none of these materials available to them as, unfortunately, these countries are a very real part of our world today. However, it seems to be the present fashion to hide these facts from the American people so they won't be reminded what truly horrible beasts the Communists are.

I would very much appreciate as much suitable material as you would be able to send me. Our teachers would certainly use some realiable information on this most tragic subject. Thank you very much for your trouble.

Sincerely,

KATHRYN D. POWERS
Mrs. John D. Powers.

WORECSTER, MASS.
*September 16, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I wish to thank you for your kind remarks for the people of the captive nations of which Luthuania is included.

Sincerely yours,

A. STEPORATISS.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
*June 12, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I believe your resolution, House Resolution 211, is the best and most appropriate one at the present time to cope with the cold war assaults of Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

N. DUSENKO.

WORCESTER, MASS.,
*September 13, 1962.*

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your kind remarks in regards of captive nations July 16.

Gratefully yours

CHARLES LAPINSKOS.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I support your proposal to establish a special House Committee on the Captive Nations. We need it at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

OLEH LEXANDROWSKYJ.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 12, 1962.*

SEPTEMBER 17, 1962.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FLOOD: President Kennedy's proclamation designating the third week of July as Captive Nations Week was late in coming. Nonetheless, the proclamation was issued.

I was pleased to learn that you made a statement on July 16, in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., in behalf of the captive nations among which is Lithuania.

Thanks ever so much.

RUTH CIRAS.

WORCESTER, MASS.

KNIGHTS OF LITHUANIA,
*September 17, 1962.*

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your statements of July 16 in behalf of the captive nations.

MARY B. MROZINSKI.

WARE, MASS.

## Pan Am Selected as "Employer of the Year"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, it so happens that my congressional district embraces a considerable part of Nassau County in which many airline employees reside. Naturally, what happens to these people—many of whom are employed at Idlewild International Airport—is of great concern to me.

Equally concerned for the welfare of his employees over a long period of time has been Mr. John S. Woodbridge, comptroller of Pan American World Airways. Under the direction of Mr. Woodbridge, Pan Am undertook a program—many years ago—of hiring the handicapped. This was no idle gesture. Mr. Woodbridge, to my knowledge, has displayed tremendous compassion over a long period of time, toward giving handicapped individuals an opportunity to contribute their talents and their zeal to the Pan American responsibility of providing the American traveling public with the utmost in efficiency, in maintenance and safety.

Mr. Speaker, the Paralyzed Veterans of America recently announced selection of Pan Am as "Employer of the Year—1962." I commend Mr. Woodbridge, I commend Pan Am, and under leave to revise and extend my remarks I ask unanimous consent that a press statement concerning this recent award be made a part of the RECORD.

The article follows:

PAN AM SELECTED AS "EMPLOYER OF THE YEAR"

The Paralyzed Veterans of America today announced selection of Pan American Airways as "Employer of the Year—1962."

At ceremonies at the Wings Club, New York City, John Farkas, national president of the Paralyzed Veterans of America, presented a scroll to John S. Woodbridge, Pan Am comptroller, citing the airline's "outstanding record in the employment of paraplegics and other physically handicapped persons."

Pan American was selected to receive the award at the Paralyzed Veterans of America's national convention from a slate of indus-

tries proposed from several parts of the country. Pan American was nominated "Employer of the Year—1962" by Harry Schweikert, executive secretary of the Eastern Paralyzed Veterans.

The Paralyzed Veterans of America consists entirely of veterans, is national in geographic scope with 12 regional chapters and a membership of 4,500 paralyzed veterans.

Pan American employs more than 500 handicapped persons and, through its wheelchair basketball team, consisting entirely of employees, has demonstrated that disabled persons can lead full lives both at work and at play.

The members of this employee team, the Pan Am Jets, have performed in Brazil, Rome, England, and in Berlin. They also have demonstrated their skills aboard the U.S.S. *Independence* and in Madison Square Garden.

Pan Am's program for employment of the handicapped was previously recognized when the Federation of the Handicapped presented its community service award to the airline for the efforts it has made to create goodwill throughout the world for the disabled.

Also, in 1960, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped presented its citation for meritorious service to pan Am for "exceptional contributions in furthering the employment of the physically handicapped."

The American Legion at its national convention cited the company for its "outstanding and significant contribution to the employment of the physically handicapped through the adoption of progressive employment policies and through its recreation programs."

Earlier this year, Mr. Woodbridge received the Medal of Honor for outstanding service to the wounded of the 53 Association of New York. The award was made "in recognition of exceptional accomplishments over a period of years in developing wheelchair basketball, in encouraging the association's hobbies for the wounded program, and in promoting employment of the handicapped."

## Problems in Connection With the Construction of the Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. MILLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. MILLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, the fact that there are some serious problems in connection with the construction of the Interstate Highway System is obscured by other crises of national and international import. Mr. Lucian C. Warren, Washington correspondent of the Buffalo Courier-Express, recently did extensive research on this problem and wrote a series of articles. The American Automobile Association has reprinted the series and sent them to its member clubs and branches. Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the AAA's accompanying letter and a portion of Mr. Warren's series:

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS,
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION,
*Washington, D.C., September 20, 1962.*
*To AAA Clubs:*

Official AAA policy long has sought toll-free highway facilities. In recent years, we have noted a growing trend toward construction of certain sections of the Interstate System as toll roads.

The toll trap situation forcefully has been brought to public attention through a series of articles in the Buffalo Courier-Express. Reproduction of this series, "For Whom the Road Tolls," is enclosed.

The newspaper and its Washington correspondent, Lucian C. Warren, who did monumental research on this subject and a very thorough reporting job, deserve a vote of thanks from the Nation's motorists for drawing attention to the abuse of the principles of the antitoll provisions of Federal highway legislation. The Courier-Express has taken leadership in focusing the spotlight on the increasing number of toll traps which, in effect, are instruments of double taxation on the motorist—once in highway-user taxes and then through tolls. It is a grossly unfair situation which must be remedied by Congress. Toward this end, the Courier-Express has provided excellent documentary evidence.

The series has been submitted for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and a condensed version has been released by the North American Alliance to its 200 papers.

We commend the enclosed reprints to your careful study.

WILLIAM R. TRAUM.

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[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 16, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—III: INTERSTATE LINKS DRAG IN FLORIDA

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Throughway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—The Florida State Road Department has made no secret of the fact it will drag its heels on building certain sections of the Interstate route 95 expressway on its east coast because of the competition it would give Florida's Sunshine State Parkway toll road.

The parkway runs north from Miami to Fort Pierce, and an extension now under construction will curve northwesterly to the middle of the State at Wildwood. Its backers once wanted to usurp a portion of Interstate Route 75 directly north, but thwarted in this they are now hoping to build the toll road to connect at Jacksonville in northeastern Florida.

Their dream appears to be to siphon off for a toll road the main automobile traffic from the North destined for both Miami and Tampa.

But Uncle Sam has plans to build a toll free Interstate expressway, financed 90 percent out of Interstate Highway System trust funds, from Jacksonville directly down the east coast to Miami.

True, there would be a "toll trap" section between Fort Pierce and West Palm Beach, because the Sunshine State Parkway has been incorporated into the Interstate System between those two points. But no toll barriers would be allowed to be set up on the balance of this substantial mileage.

If the free sections of Interstate 95 were pushed to rapid completion, the Fort Pierce-West Palm Beach toll trap would obviously prosper, but the other extensions of the Sunshine State Parkway would suffer.

Chairman John R. Phillips, of the Florida State Road Department, recognized this in a remarkable recent letter to Chairman John M. Hammer, of the Florida State Turnpike Authority, in which he flatly promised:

1. "To defer until at least 1967 any decision to construct" that portion of I-95 south of West Palm Beach, and

2. In any event delay construction of such a section so that it couldn't be opened until 1972 at the end of the Interstate Highway System construction program.

3. Schedule construction of I-95 north of Fort Pierce so that it also won't be completed until 1972.

Reason given for this obliging schedule was that the State Road Department is "committed to the policy of undertaking construction of Interstate Route 95 on a schedule that will not jeopardize the financial security of the Florida State Turnpike Authority."

When Chairman Hammer of the turnpike authority was recently asked his opinion of intermixing toll and free roads on the Interstate System, he wrote the Courier-Express that "this does not properly come within the scope of responsibility of the Florida State Turnpike Authority."

Meanwhile, the evidence is available that the Sunshine State Parkway is doing very well indeed financially with its near monopoly on Florida's good roads so well protected.

BOND ISSUE SNAPPED UP

Investors recently scrambled all over themselves to buy up a $157 million bond issue that provided the needed $59 million capital for the new extension and a refinancing at a higher interest rate of the debt outstanding on the present parkway.

Highway experts at the American Automobile Association have estimated that Florida motorists will be paying a premium of about $30 million for paying off the bonds. They calculate that the turnpike authority raised $157 million for a highway construction debt they figure should have been no greater than $125 million.

The Florida muddle spurred the State's lone Republican Congressman, WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Tampa, to fight for remedial national legislation.

In a recent statement, CRAMER blasted Florida's highway planning with the comment: "It is unfortunate that the highway future of Florida is being manipulated in secret sessions and the results of the amateurish efforts of present roadbuilders are being hidden behind a curtain of secrecy. I refuse to condone this public-be-damned, secrecy planning."

HEARING HELD, BILL DIES

CRAMER's legislation would require that the House and Senate Public Works Committees, along with the Secretary of Commerce, concur whenever any toll roads were incorporated into the Interstate Highway System. He said this would act as a brake on future toll traps such as have plagued Florida and the Buffalo area.

A House Public Works Committee held a hearing on the Cramer bill May 16, 1961, but it was opposed by Federal Highway Administrator Rex M. Whitton and appears to have died in committee.

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[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 17, 1962]

FOR WHOM THE ROAD TOLLS—IV: WESTCHESTER TRAP TAKES 25-CENT FEE

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Throughway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—The New England section of the New York State Throughway, which stretches northeast from New York City through Westchester County to Connecticut,

is another toll trap erected with Federal connivance.

Like the Niagara Throughway in Buffalo, the New England section is part a federally aided toll-free highway and part a Throughway Authority-built toll road.

Of some 11.5 miles of this throughway, in Westchester County only 3.5 miles were built with toll-road money. A toll booth collects 25 cents from every motorist for the privilege of traveling only 3.5 miles in the middle of an otherwise toll-free highway.

The "free" sections were built with the substantial aid of $17.9 million in Uncle Sam's money. The toll section is located almost in the middle of the toll-free sections of Interstate Route 95 in Westchester County, with 2.6 miles of free road at its southern end and 5.3 miles at its northern end.

Although the Commerce Department issued no exhaustive report in connection with this throughway section, as it has with the Niagara section, it is understood that the same wheeling and dealing went on between the State and the Federal Government to permit toll traps as was done in the Buffalo situation.

LOOPHOLE IN LAW

Federal law bans tolls on federally aided highways, but a loophole in the law permits Federal help on approaches to toll facilities, if such approaches have other uses, however small.

At the request of the Automobile Club of New York, the Blatnik Highway Investigating Subcommittee in the House is checking into the toll trap nature of the highway, and certain irregularities in connection with its construction. On July 12, a grand jury in Westchester filed 18 sealed indictments charging 15 engineering, planning and construction companies with alleged theft.

Walter R. May, chief counsel of the subcommittee, has written the Automobile Club of New York that "we are in complete agreement with you that the matters you have brought to our attention should be the subject of inquiry." He said investigators would check into the question.

Blatnik investigators also were recently in Buffalo checking on the Niagara Throughway toll traps. The similar pattern of toll traps at either end of New York State, plus Courier-Express disclosures of the same pattern elsewhere in the Nation, may lead to full-scale hearings by the House unit on the problem.

In Westchester County, the toll problem extends beyond its connection with its misuse on the Interstate Highway System. Motorists have been crusading for the State to take over the county's toll-ridden parkway system so that tolls could be eliminated and dangerous hazards on these roads eliminated with the help of Federal aid.

Latest news on this front was a statement by Westchester County Executive Edwin C. Michaelian saying the highways would not qualify for Federal aid because the "Federal Government would not permit a toll-free parkway to be built with Federal funds to parallel two existing toll roads, the New England and New York State Throughway."

On this, the Auto Club of New York had this to say:

"Whether this is Federal policy or not, it is obvious that public officials in New York State are certainly concerned with protecting the interests of throughway bondholders at the expense of the public and of safety.

"This is, of course, one of the more odious abuses engendered in tolls—neglecting parallel highways, letting them deteriorate, forcing motorists to use hazardous facilities or pay a toll to get better ones."

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Aug. 18, 1962]

FOR WHOM ROAD TOLLS—V: TWO STATES ARRANGE TO REFUND MONEY

(NOTE.—The U.S. Department of Commerce has ruled that Congress never intended to authorize toll traps on the Niagara Thruway portion of the Interstate Highway System. This is another in a series of continuing articles which will show how toll facilities incorporated into the Interstate System have become a serious national problem.)

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—This is a story in the man-bites-dog category. The States of Maryland and Delaware made arrangements with Uncle Sam to refund $1.4 million already advanced and turn their backs on $79 million promised to help build the Northeastern Expressway between Baltimore, Md., to the Delaware Bridge, near Wilmington, Del.

The road is a part of Interstate Route 95, connecting Miami, Fla., with Houlton, Maine. Already one of the most avidly toll-trapped interestate superhighways in the Nation through deals in Florida, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Maine, Interstate Route 95 suffered another deadly blow, from a toll-free standpoint when the Federal Aid-Highway Act of 1960 was approved.

AMENDMENT ENACTED IN 1960

As the act passed the House in the spring of 1960, there was no reference to the Maryland-Delaware-U.S. deal on the Northeastern Expressway.

But on June 22, 1960, in the last few minutes of the Senate Public Works Committee hearing on the legislation, an amendment was put across.

Senator MCNAMARA, Democratic of Michigan, said an amendment to the legislation had been introduced that would allow Delaware and Maryland to pay back Federal funds expended on their portions of Interstate Route 95 "so that this portion could become a toll road."

It turned out that the deal had been cooked up only a week before at a meeting in the State highway department offices at Dover, Del., and that Maryland was willing to turn back $900,000 in Federal funds on this road, and Delaware $500,000.

Representative GEORGE FALLON, Democrat of Maryland, a topranking Democrat on the House Public Works Committee, had been at the meeting, at which highway officials of both States and representatives of the Bureau of Public Roads were also present.

RESTRICTIONS OF 1956 ACT

At the Senate hearing, no one questioned the propriety of the deal except Senator COOPER, Republican of Kentucky, who asked: "Does this establish any precedent so far as the Federal Government is concerned in building an Interstate System and using it as a feeder for a toll road?"

Frank G. Turner of the Bureau of Public Roads replied that it took into consideration those "restrictions which were written into the 1956 act." As has been noted elsewhere in this series, the act prohibits Federal money for toll-built highways, but appears to allow approaches to these toll roads to be built into the Interstate System, if there are other uses for such approaches.

Not a single witness, other than the Bureau of Public Roads representative, testified on the amendment. It slipped through the Senate without debate. House conferees, led by FALLON, quickly accepted the amendment, and the compromise version passed both branches easily.

ESTIMATED FIGURES

If the Northeastern Expressway had been built as a toll-free, federally aided Interstate Highway, the estimated cost of the sections in both States would have been $87.9 million, of which the Federal share would have been $79 million. The estimated cost of both sections financed by bonds maturing over a period of 30 years is $201.5 million, more than double the other rate.

The only argument left to the Maryland-Delaware highway planners is that presumably the road can be built faster as a toll road because the Federal sums become available at a slower rate than that provided by bond issues.

Even this is not necessarily so, if the two States wanted to borrow on their credit for an accelerated program in anticipation of getting Federal money later as it became available, something the law permits.

OTHERS WILL SUFFER, TOO

Maryland's motorists stand to lose some $66 million which would have gone into the Maryland portion of Interstate 95, had not the signals been changed.

Delaware motorists stand to lose about $25 million in Federal Interstate Highway funds.

Many of the Nation's other motorists, who also pay full highway-user taxes, will be using this heavily traveled route and will likewise suffer.

## A Reappraisal of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, many of us in Congress feel that the long overdue reappraisal of our whole foreign aid program is in order. It has never been made clearer than this year during our discussions here when this program was under consideration.

About a year or so ago, Mr. Fred A. Orleans, of San Antonio, Tex., had a most interesting series of three articles in the San Antonio Express on the foreign aid program in which he thoroughly analyzed the problem. It is still most timely. He points up Latin America in particular because of his intimate knowledge and long association with Latin America.

I commend these articles to my colleagues:

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, May 3, 1961]

UNITED STATES NEEDS A REAPPRAISAL OF AID PROGRAM

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The many convincing arguments advanced against aid, makes it imperative that the United States completely reappraises the entire aid program, and determine which countries still need economic aid; what benefits have actually accured to the United States from its massive aid program; should the United States continue to give aid indiscriminately; would it be beneficial to give massive aid to the African nations or can the development nations of the free world start

assuming their share of aiding the underdeveloped nations; what type of aid should be given to Latin America.

Many consider foreign aid as official blackmail through which countries can assume a neutral position and force the United States to subsidize them on the threat of turning to Russia. The time has come for the United States to solidy back her friends and not encourage the neutralists top lay both ends against the middle. By not taking a firm stand with the present neutralists, the United States can expect to see more and more countries assume the position of neutrals as they believe that they can best benefit themselves accordingly.

The United States has unwittingly encouraged this by making no past demands when aid was dispensed. Now that most aid-receiving countries, as well as those who would like to receive aid, have come to expect the United States to give aid with no questions asked, instead of appreciation from the recipients, the United States can expect resentment if this aid is not forthcoming.

REALITY, NOT IDEALISM

Every nation, no matter how small or how big, must think in terms of self-preservation, and the United States is no exception. The time has come for hard reality to prevail and not idealism. The time has come when the United States can no longer shut its eyes to what is happening, but must face up to many painful realities, since what is happening in the world today is very reminiscent of what happened within the United States itself before the Civil War.

At that time, it became quite apparent that no nation could endure half slave, half free. In the world today the same situation exists in another form. Today the world has contracted to an extent that no two ideologies can coexist for long side by side, one free; one slave. The time will soon come when neutral nations will be forced to make their choice; for or against enslavement.

At this point, one must ask, exactly what does "neutral" mean. In the strict sense of the word, it means a middle position between two extremes or not taking part on either side. However, another meaning for neutral is indifference. Does this, then, mean that the so-called neutrals are actually unconsciously indifferent to their fates, not caring if they are slave or free? One must indeed ponder this concept. Playing both ends against the middle can provoke a dangerous situation—like walking a tightrope.

NEED A STRONG POSITION

If the United States assumes a strong and well-planned position on aid to neutral countries, many of the neutral countries may have to make their own reappraisals. If these neutral countries can become convinced that the United States will not vacillate and will strongly defend the position of her friends, economically and militarily, and that she will not aid and abet her enemies as she has in the past by giving aid to Communist countries and their sympathizers, then perhaps the entire situation will change. Abraham Lincoln once said if you wish to convert men to your cause, persuade them that you are their true friend. This country must negotiate from a position of strength and the entire psychology of the Nation must be one of positive thinking.

It is obvious that the United States can no longer afford to scatter her shots as it will benefit neither the recipient of this aid nor the United States. Wouldn't it be wiser to concentrate on the Western Hemisphere and help build up a strong bloc of nations which would include all of Central America, South America, the entire Caribbean area as well as Canada? Before further developing this concept, it is necessary to first outline the arguments against foreign aid.

WAY OF LIFE

Foreign aid is becoming a part of the way of life of the people of the United States, with no questions asked, and like the national debt, will be passed on from generation to generation. The people of the United States are not given the opportunity to study the proposals of aid to foreign countries and even if given the opportunity cannot make an intelligent study since the facts pertinent to this study are not readily available.

These tremendous giveaways cannot be justified unless the taxpayer's money is spent for the proven defense of the people of the United States. The standards and safeguards are not being provided to assure the people of this country that their money is not going to line the pockets of corrupt government officials or governments unfriendly to the United States, while the masses get nothing.

It is further argued that aid does not prevent Communist takeover as proven by Cuba, among others, since Cuba received approximately $150 million per year subsidy under the Sugar Act and an additional $50 million yearly of economic aid. There is no way of either estimating costs or effectiveness of a potential program, and there is no limit to what an aid program can end up costing. In addition, the United States lacks those who can effectively and intelligently administer an aid program.

CAN'T BUY FRIENDS

In one form or another in the past 14 years, the United States has extended a helping hand to the Latin American nations to the amount of close to $8 billion and the U.S. position in Latin America now is weaker than it was 15 years ago, while the Communists outlay very little on aid, but put their money where it does the most good for them, in some food for the people and a lot of propaganda.

Experience in Latin America has proven that you cannot buy friends. The theory that the recipients of foreign aid become more stable both economically and militarily, and accorlingly, are stanch allies, is a fallacy since Karl Marx stated that foreign aid was a means through which the seeds of socialism could be sown.

Without internal reforms in underdeveloped countries, aid, as such, is useless.

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[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, Thursday, May 4, 1961]

PAN AMERICA: IDEALISTS RULING U.S. AID PROGRAM

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The failure in our aid program in the past can be attributed to aid being given in an unlimited and indiscriminate manner. The foreign aid program of the United States to the underdeveloped nations has not proven an effective means for economic development, which can only result from capital generation.

It is never possible for aid to become a true substitute for real investments. In addition, the theories prevailing in the underdeveloped nations, calling for vast social welfare programs, are erroneous since social welfare programs cannot be effectively established until a country has passed through a stage of basic economic development.

Unfortunately, American policy relating to aid programs has been completely dominated by the thinking of idealists who have always assumed that foreign aid was the panacea for all the economic ills of mankind. History has proven it to be absolutely definite that no nation can properly develop its economy without employing capital formation from private foreign sources as well as internal development of capital.

TIME AGAINST US

Time is running against us in the underdeveloped lands, since population is increasing so rapidly that more people are continuously being caught up in the grip of poverty. Jobs are not being created fast enough; agricultural lands developed; houses built; schools built; factories established, to meet the needs of the ever-expanding underdeveloped nations.

The foreign aid program of the United States has not done the job in the past and has not only been ineffective but far too expensive and inefficient as well. Present events forcibly demonstrate that we have seriously erred in our belief that we could buy the friendship of the world and thereby stop the inroads of communism.

We have today very little to show for the tremendous investment we have made in our attempt to win friends and influence people. Too little consideration has been given to the actual needs of the underdeveloped nations nor has the United States attempted to meet their basic and urgent needs. Instead there has always been grandiose schemes, as superhighways for nations without cars; agricultural development programs for mountainous, mining areas; tremendous hydroelectric plants at costs of hundreds of millions of dollars and requiring many years to construct for nations whose people are starving today and whose governments are slowly but surely being eroded by Communists.

WHO WILL BENEFIT?

The question remains as to who actually will be benefited by these grandiose programs; the people living in these countries today, or the Communists who might control the countries in the future.

As Will Rogers so aptly stated many years ago, "our foreign policy is an open book—a check book." We have seemed to proceed on the theory that money is the cure for all ills and it is not necessary to give any consideration to the true situations and actual conditions existing in the countries we have tried to help.

At the end of World War II, the original aid program was set up for the specific purpose of helping to rebuild war shattered nations. These nations were not historically in the underdeveloped classification but as England, Italy, Germany, France and others, industrial and technologically advanced nations having high literacy rates, low disease rates, traditionally industrious, thrifty and honest people and leaders. This program did succeed in restoring Europe to economic health and prevented Russia from both overrunning Western Europe, as well as overwhelmingly swinging the balance of power against the United States.

The basic problem facing the United States today is providing aid for underdeveloped nations and the reason these aid programs have for the most part failed is due to the fact that the same people who administered the original aid programs for the war devastated nations, or their second in command or their proteges, are still administering the aid programs of the United States and using in the underdeveloped nations the same theories and policies used in the past to fit an entirely different requirement.

FOREIGN AID FAILURE

It is very obvious that the underdeveloped nations, lacking the industrial background of the European nations, with only recent and often sketchy histories of stable governments, with high rates of illiteracy, poverty, disease, etc., can not be successfully subjected to the same type of programs the United States has provided in the past.

Our failure in our foreign aid programs for Latin America can be attributed to a great degree to our lack of understanding of the psychology of the peoples of these countries, who at heart admire us, but are jealous of what we have and they lack. These people have never wanted charity but leadership and

guidance through which they can attain the levels of development we have reached.

Our failure is due to our not realizing how desperately we need the friendship and support of the peoples of the Americas and our not understanding that money alone cannot buy it, but only personal effort properly directed can do the job. We have failed in our past programs for Latin America since we have traditionally worked with and through the heads of government, no matter how insincere they might be, and we have never sought out those in the Americas who sincerely and definitely share our interest in helping their people attain a better way of life.

We have failed because of the rigid principles we have followed in times which call for flexibility and because of our inability to understand that if normal governmental channels do not provide us the means to openly support our friends in Latin America, then we must be prepared to provide informal support outside of normal diplomatic channels.

CRUCIAL MOMENT

At this crucial moment in the history of mankind, when our very fate hangs in the balance, we cannot afford to observe the normal formalities which govern our usual activities but we have to give support to our true friends and those who as we are dedicated to the perpetuation of our democratic way of life.

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[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, May 5, 1961]

LATIN AMERICA: LOOMS BIG IN THE SECURITY OF UNITED STATES

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The question is often asked if Latin America is as important to the United States as we have been led to believe. The importance of Latin America to the United States cannot be overemphasized. Our destinies are instrinsically bound together and the United States cannot survive alone.

From the point of view of the most vital question to our national welfare, defense, Latin America looms big to the security of the United States. In time of national emergency the United States may find the normal sealanes closed and have to resort entirely to Latin America for strategic materials. The land mass of Latin America constitutes a barrier to the south of us, offering protection against conventional types of warfare. Without this barrier the United States would be completely exposed.

Economically, the United States would suffer through Latin America falling into the hands of our enemies since the loss of our substantial investments and markets in Latin America would seriously affect our economy.

NEED U.N. VOTES

Diplomatically the United States has been in the past heavily dependent upon the vote of the Latin American nations as a bloc to support us in the extremely important cold war votes made in the United Nations.

The question remains as to whether the United States can afford to aid Latin America. Most people are aware of the fact that we cannot afford not to aid Latin America, but we must give careful consideration to the form the aid will take.

The United States must work jointly with the Latin Americans to help them develop programs for construction of homes for low income groups, first-class transportation systems, large scale irrigation projects, sufficient electrification to meet the growing industrial needs of the countries and in general help to develop joint industrial projects which will create a sound basis for industrialization as it has in Mexico and which will result in the Latin American countries developing a much sounder foundation for their economies which are now practically completely dependent upon one crop, one mineral or a limited number of raw materials.

NEW TYPE PROGRAM

A new type of program is needed, costing the minimum to the American taxpayer, and bringing about the stabilization and development of the economies of the Latin American countries.

Aid may take many forms and is not solely dollar giveaway as is popularly believed. The full and proper utilization of the following can go a long ways toward attaining the desired results in Latin America:

A properly managed and well-planned Peace Corps can provide a form of person-to-person aid.

Technological help to provide the most advanced and efficient ways of doing things.

Ideological help—in this field we are almost completely deficient. Most Latin Americans do not understand the significance of what the Communists are trying to do in their countries nor do they actually understand communism and its avowed objectives. A little enlightenment on this most important subject can give many the knowledge needed to resist the inroads of communism.

Seed loans coupled with know-how directly from private sources in the United States as savings and loan groups helping to set up counterpart organizations in Latin American countries. This in itself will go a long way toward providing the much needed housing and also help bring interest rates down to normal levels enabling more people to own their own homes. While the homebuilding industry in the United States provides about 10 percent of the national gross product of over $50 billion a year and is our second largest industry, in Latin America it is insignificant. A development of this most important industry will give an economic shot in the arm to the economies of the Latin American countries. The Development Loan Fund has recently made an important start in this field through loans to Venezuela, Peru and Colombia housing foundations and banks.

ROADBUILDING

Roadbuilding through the use of a lend lease program to utilize surplus equipment not needed in the United States plus some technical help can enable the Latin American countries to build roads into inaccessible areas and thereby open for settlement virgin and fertile sections of their countries, enabling them to resettle people from distress areas as the Recife area of northeast Brazil. This will lessen tensions in poverty stricken areas, give the people greater incentives to work and lessen the threat of communism growing out of control through feeding on discontent people.

Another excellent form of aid is an increased and well coordinated cultural exchange program, providing for a two-way exchange of students.

Greater support for American schools, which are privately endowed institutions in Latin American countries. German schools prevailed in Latin America until World War II and they had the complete support of the German Government. The United States gives far too little attention or support to this most important medium through which better relations can be established by Latin students studying in the American schools located in their countries. The large volume of Public Law 480 local currencies, which will be building up in many countries can very well be utilized for this most worthy use.

PRIVATE INVESTMENT

There must be more use made of established and proven mediums as the Export-Import Bank, Development Loan Fund as well as the facilities of the OAS. A large influx of private investment can be encouraged through the U.S. Government extending its guarantee program to fully cover losses due to expropriation, devaluation, etc.

Make available to U.S. exporters the means to sell on credit terms comparable to those offered by European and Japanese producers and thereby increase the flow of U.S. exports to Latin America, which will both improve our balance of trade, dollar position, etc., as well as help Latin America through making available to them machinery, capital equipment, etc., so badly needed for their economic development.

Modification of existing programs to provide more flexibility as well as more effective and intelligent adminstraton.

To encourage and assist in the unification of Latin American economies through a Common Market which will result in Latin American countries having the benefits of what the United States possesses through having a cohesive economic-geographic area instead of 20 rival and incomplete economies.

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## Independence Day of the Republic of Guinea

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Guinea, Sekou Touré; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea to the United States, Dr. Seydou Conte, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Guinea's independence.

THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA; ITS INDEPENDENCE DAY

The small Republic of Guinea is one of the new states in southwest Africa. It was constituted in 1958, and since then has enjoyed its sovereign and independent status. The sturdy native people of the country total almost 3 million, and with their country were part of France's huge African empire, living under French domination for more than 100 years. At the end of the last war France's rule over the area was relaxed considerably. For a dozen years (1946–58) Guinea was part of the French Community comprising France's oversea possessions. Then in September 1958, in a referendum the people of Guinea decided by an overwhelming majority to secede from the French Community. A few days later, on October 2, Guinea was proclaimed an independent republic. Thus was born this new state in southwest Africa. As of now its sovereignty is absolute and complete, but in their Constitution the people of Guinea voluntarily provided for the renunciation, or definite curtailment, of their sovereignty in favor of African unity, and this principle has found expression in subsequent agreements signed with Ghana and Mali.

Since its birth 4 years ago the Republic of Guinea has had its ups and downs. Its dominating and aggressive President and Prime Minister Sekou Touré has often been caught between the East-West diplomacy. It seemed that for a while there was too much flirting between the leaders of Guinea and Moscow, and this was looked upon with open disapproval by free world leaders. But Sekou Touré proved he was no one's satellite when he had a Russian mission kicked out

of Guinea for interfering in internal affairs. President Touré has sought the financial and technical aid he needs in any and all countries. Many still regard him as the enigmatic, though quite the energetic leader of his people, who are struggling hard to pull themselves up by their bootstraps and live happily in their homeland. On the fourth anniversary of their independence day we wish more power to them in all their worthy endeavors.

## Another Restriction on Information Removed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is my firmly held conviction that one of the great sources of strength of our free society is the fact that we conduct the business of government in the open. For the past 7 years the Special Subcommittee on Government Information has actively examined restrictions on the availability of Government information. From time to time we have been able to report marked improvements. Today I am pleased to inform the Members that one of the few remaining restrictions on information about our civilian space program has been ordered eliminated in time for the scheduled orbital attempt this week.

Perhaps nowhere is the philosophy of freedom of information more important than in space probes. Our scientific exploration of space is part of a fierce international competition for prestige and discovery. We have confidence that our free society can match and exceed the accomplishments of other societies, but the truth of our accomplishments will be widely known only if we are careful to make available all the facts to the entire world.

From the outset the subcommittee has urged that our space experiments be conducted in the open. The decision of Congress to transfer our scientific space activities from military to civilian control was accompanied by a firm statement that the people had a need and a right to know about our space program, its successes and its failures. With growth of the civilian program, more and more information about our accomplishments in space has been made available to the American people, and to the entire world.

As manned exploration of space assumed a significant role in our program, a critical decision had to be made. When the time came for the dangerous flights of the astronauts, would the American people be permitted to share in the anxiety as well as the triumphs? We answered that question by inviting the people of the world to witness our flights. The result was a worldwide triumph for our open society; without a doubt, the United States actually was performing feats others bragged of but cloaked in secrecy. President Kennedy eloquently stated the issue in an address before the National Association of Broadcasters on May 8, 1961, shortly after Commander Shepard's flight:

> The great inner resource of freedom, the resource which has kept the world's oldest democracy continuously young and vital, the resource which has always brought us our greatest exploits in time of our greatest need, is the very fact of the open society.
>
> Thus if we are once again to preserve our civilization, it will be because of our freedom, and not in spite of it.
>
> The essence of free communication must be that our failures as well as our successes will be broadcast around the world. And therefore we take double pride in our successes.

As the manned space program progressed, increasing freedom was won by the press, radio, and television to report the news to the American people. I am pleased to announce today that, as a result of the Information Subcommittee's investigation, the last remaining barrier to instantaneous reporting of the events prior to launch have now been removed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

NASA officials have informed me that, effective immediately, press representatives assembled at Cape Canaveral in the early hours before launch will be able to report prelaunch developments to the American people—and the world—as they happen. Until this latest improvement, all prelaunch news was withheld overnight until approximately 30 minutes before the scheduled launch. Thus, when our next astronaut strides from the ready hangar and heads for his space capsule early one morning this week, the American people will be there with him via our free press, radio, and television.

## Telstar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest scientific advances of our time is the project Telstar. I am sure we are all proud of this great achievement, but little do we realize that while the name of one company has received considerable acclaim, there are many others who contributed greatly to the success of the project.

PIC Design Corp. and its president, Winfred M. Berg—a personal friend of mine—located in my congressional district in the village known as East Rockaway adjoining the community in which I live, was one of the suppliers for this project.

Mr. Berg and PIC Design Corp. have every right to be proud of their participation not only in this great project, but in the fact that the work they turn out must be so precise that only dedicated people can do the job. I am sure that we all join in congratulating Mr. Berg and the PIC Design Corp. for their achievement.

## Sermon Preached by the Right Reverend Monsignor Richard T. Doherty, S.T.D., Professor of Moral Theology, the St. Paul Seminary, on the Occasion of the 14th Annual Red Mass Sponsored by the Lawyer's Guild of St. Thomas Moore, in the Chapel of the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn., Sunday, September 23, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, to commemorate the opening of the present term of the Minnesota State Supreme Court, a Red Mass was held in the chapel of the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minn., on September 23, 1962. This mass, the 14th to be sponsored by the Lawyers Guild of St. Thomas Moore, was especially significant because it was celebrated by the new archbishop of St. Paul, the Most Reverend Leo Binz, D.D.

On this occasion a most memorable sermon was delivered by the Right Reverend Monsignor Richard T. Doherty, S.T.D., professor of moral theology at the St. Paul Seminary. I believe that what Monsignor Doherty had to say deserves a much greater audience. It is my pleasure to request unanimous consent to print the full text of his sermon in the Appendix of the RECORD:

> The opening of the Minnesota State Supreme Court marks the beginning of a new judicial year. Before that formal commencement we gather here to seek divine guidance in the administration of justice in that court and in all the courts of our land, Federal, State, and municipal.
>
> In doing this we perpetuate a tradition that goes back to the 13th century, to the reign of the great French king and lawgiver who was to become a canonized saint, Louis IX. On the day that the courts opened in his country he summoned all the jurists of the land to his royal chapel, there to offer the holy sacrifice of the mass to ask the help of Almighty God in meting out justice to his subjects. His royal chapel, and the custom that had its beginnings therein, remain to this day. Sainte Chapelle, as it is called, has become one of the outstanding tourist attractions of the city of Paris, a gem of architecture and a sanctuary of jewel-like stained glass. It is more of a museum today than a house of worship. For 1 day out of each year, however, it returns to its original status as a church. That is the day on which the French courts reopen and a new judicial year begins. On that day the lawyers and judges of Paris gather in Sainte Chapelle, as they have done for 7 centuries, to offer the holy sacrifice of the mass to invoke the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the cause of justice.
>
> From France the custom spread to the England of Edward I. English courts observed four terms each year which corresponded to the four seasons and the divisions of the church year. Even to this day English courts begin what is called the Michaelmas term on the 29th of September, the feast of St. Michael. The other three terms began, respectively, at Christmas, Easter, and Trinity Sunday. For each of these terms

the judges wore a different color robe. The color proper to the Michaelmas term of court was red. When the king summoned the judges to the royal chapel to inaugurate a new judicial year, on the feast of Saint Michael, they came wearing their red robes. As they filled up the chapel it became a veritable sea of red and from this the mass takes its name, the "red mass."

Here in Minnesota the custom of the red mass is nearing the middle of its second decade. This is our 14th annual observance and the occasion is graced by the presence of the new archbishop of St. Paul.

It is highly significant that he offers the mass on the eve of the ecumenical council for the import of this council is so great that echoes are heard in all departments of human life, not the least of which is jurisprudence. The casual observer sees the council as a step toward a reunion of Christendom. Its significance, however, goes beyond the question of religious unity; it touches upon a great struggle between two worlds.

One of these, most frequently referred to as the free world, I like to think of as the Mediterranean world because it had its beginnings in that part of the globe. On the shores of the Mediterranean was Palestine; there was Greece; there was Rome. Each in its turn played its part in forming and fashioning our free world. Palestine was the land of the Bible; Greece, the cradle of philosophy. Rome was the center from which law and order radiated in all directions. When St. Peter and St. Paul went from Palestine to Rome they brought with them Christianity, which was in time to transform the Roman Empire into Christendom. It was from the European part of Christendom that our forefathers came to these shores bringing with them a civilization that had been thousands of years in the making. It was more than a mere conglomeration of Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Christian values. It was more than a multitude of cultural bits and pieces existing side by side and unrelated to one another. It was a unity whose parts were permeated by the same fundamental principle and articulated the same basic value. From its very inception the basic value and unifying principle of our Western civilization has been God.

The arts and the science of the Western World, its philosophy and religion, its ethics and its law, its forms of social, economic, and political organization, its morals and its manners, its way of life and its mentality, all show forth, each in its own way, this basic principle and value. Perhaps the best example of the articulation of this unifying principle into our society is found in the words of Thomas Jefferson: "Men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

The full meaning of these words must be seen in the light of human responsibility. While it is obvious that each right involves an obligation on the part of others to respect it, there is a more fundamental tie between right and duty that is too often overlooked. The obligation on the part of others is subsequent to the right, whereas duty on the part of the possessor is prior to the right. It is the cause, the source of the right. The very reason for a right is to furnish a man with an opportunity to fulfill an obligation. The right to freedom of religion, for example, is based on the duty to worship God. In a general way we can say that a man has a right to all that he needs in order to do his duty before God. These duties take precedence over all other duties. They constitute an area of a man's life so sacred that no state has the right to invade it. In other words, there are some rights of man that are inalienable and morally inviolable.

This is what Thomas Jefferson meant when he set the cornerstone of our American Democracy in those flaming words, "Men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and it is the only sane interpretation that can be put upon another, relatively informal statement, found only in a latter of courtesy written to the Baptists of Danbury, Conn., about a wall of separation between church and state. In our day there are those who would give this off-the-record remark genuine constitutional status, so as to isolate all the freedom immediately attendant upon men's duty to his God. They would leave him with no social framework to support and protect him. They would say to him, as he stands in the midst of the turmoil of a world in transition, "You are free, defend yourself, save yourself—all by yourself." This is indeed a far cry from the original concept that the chief purpose of government is to safeguard these rights.

If it is true that every man has a moral right to all that he needs in order to do his duty before God, then it follows that whenever his personal resources fall short of what is necessary to do this, it becomes the duty of the state to come to his aid so as to safeguard the rights in question. In this regard the state can fail by defect, by doing too little, as well as by doing too much. To be sure, it would sin by excess if it were to impose upon all citizens one official religion, but that does not mean that it must turn its back upon God. The times call for a new vision of freedom, a deeper understanding of human rights, a new dedication to the basic values of our free world. We must try to see eye to eye on these whether we be Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. A sort of ecumenism is being forced upon us by the cold war.

This is not merely a war of economics or power politics. It means more than the survival of the American system of free enterprise. Even when we say that it is a war to preserve freedom and justice and faith, we speak a partial truth. The real question is what economics and politics are to be used for; whether freedom and justice and faith have any right to be considered at all. In the last analysis it is a quarrel about the Creator and the nature of man and the ultimate nature of the universe. In its essence the cold war is theological.

It is a war between two worlds, one which has God as its basic value and one which has as its major premise a denial of God—atheism. The Communist world, in its determination to bury us, destroy us, makes war on our basic value, God the Creator. This fundamental principle of communism dominates its philosophy, its ethics and law, its main forms of social, economic, and political organization, its manners, its way of life, its mentality.

We fight this war under a great handicap, because our forces are so divided. The immense spiritual strength of our opponents lies in the fact that they are united by a dogma which they have fervently embraced, which is no less a dogma because we choose to call it an ideology.

We, on the other hand, have been trying to uphold a particular standard of ethical and legal values based on Christian dogma while gradually eliminating the very dogma which is the sole rational foundation for those values.

The Communists have seen quite clearly that dogma and ethics are inextricably bound together. From their major premise of atheism they have proceeded with exacting and precise logic, to tanks on the streets of Budapest and to a wall in Berlin. The dogma that they have adopted, and the ethical scheme that derives from it, has no value for peace or truth, mercy or justice, faith or freedom.

The ecumenical council is a step in the direction of regrouping the spiritual forces of the free world. In the spirit of the ecumenical council, and for the very same reason, every one of us here this morning should rededicate himself to the task of restoring to our jurisprudence the major premise of our Western civilization; its basic value—the Creator, our fathers' God, the Author of Liberty.

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## Mr. Eisenhower's Visit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Gaffney Ledger, Gaffney, S.C., of September 25, 1962.

MR. EISENHOWER'S VISIT

Former President Eisenhower's visit to Columbia Saturday must have brought sharp disappointment to the Republicans who arranged it. The previsit prediction that the attendance would be at least 50,000 dwindled in realty to about 10 percent of that figure. Newspapers reported Columbia police estimated the crowd at 8,000. Generally such estimates are quite liberal and usually exceed the actual number by anywhere from 25 to 50 percent. This leads the Ledger to think the number gathered on the State House grounds may have been 5,000 or possibly a little over.

Mr. Eisenhower did give the Republicans some good advice. He told them in campaigning to lay off so much talk about "Republican conservatism" and they might get more votes. He has the situation figured out right in this State, at least. A majority of South Carolinians do not care for the Republican brand of conservatism. These citizens do not look upon "liberal" as a dirty word. Rather, when the time comes to make a choice, Democrats are not going to be fooled. They are going to vote for the Democratic Party's candidates.

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

# Appendix

## A Fair Share for Small Business in Subcontracting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the able Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the Honorable Irving Maness, delivered the following address at a meeting of the Aerospace Industries Association in Seattle on September 17, 1962.

Mr. Maness stressed that the SBA is only trying to see that small business get its fair share of subcontracting. Small business is not fighting big business. On the contrary it is cooperating with big business. Mr. Maness has said something that needs to be emphasized again and again and it is with pleasure that I commend his remarks to the attention of our colleagues:

ADDRESS BY IRVING MANESS, DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, AT AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC., SEATTLE, WASH., ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1962

This is my first meeting with this particular group of the Aerospace Industries Association. And I regard my participation in this event as most important, for I am afraid that on a previous meeting with some of you I may have left the impression that strained relations exist between the Small Business Administration and large business. Nothing is further from the truth. I would be remiss, therefore, if I did not express my deep appreciation to your committee for inviting me here today. I thus welcome the opportunity this meeting gives me to assure you that we in the SBA, from the Administrator on down, fully recognize the great achievements of your industry which help meet the challenge of those who would destroy our way of life. There is, I submit, no better way for us to help them achieve their objectives than by creating or fostering dissension among ourselves—dissension among races, dissension among political faith, or dissension between large and small business.

Let us, therefore, start with the understanding that while we may have our differences, these primarily reflect disagreements over the mechanics of achieving our common goal—the security and economic well-being of our country.

With this in mind, I should like to discuss SBA's subcontracting program and to state frankly that I have come to ask you to join SBA in tackling the job.

As you know, the small business subcontracting program was legislated into existence by section 8(d) of Public Law 87-305, which was enacted by the Congress of the United States in September 1961. Its provisions were subsequently implemented by cooperation between the SBA, the Department of Defense, and the General Services Administration. The regulations which emerged have now been made part of the Armed Services Procurement Regulations and the Federal Procurement Regulations.

The objective of this legislation, as you may know, is to insure that a fair proportion of subcontracts, involving Government purchase of supplies and services, be placed with small business enterprises. Few of us, I am certain, will question the equity of this objective. I further submit that, in general, the areas of agreement relating to this program are much wider than those of disagreement. Let me, therefore, point out the basic tenets on which I believe we all agree.

First, is the conviction that in our Nation's economic and defense efforts, large and small business are inseparably linked, first as good citizens and second as good businessmen. As working partners we can—and must—support the economy and the defense program to the benefit of all of us, but particularly for the advancement of our country.

Second, since this partnership requires that large and small business share equitably in the defense activity, it is manifest that it also requires sharing equitably in any benefits to be derived therefrom. I am sure, therefore, no one will argue that one segment of our Nation's industry alone should share these benefits any more than it should alone bear the costs. Neither can it be disputed than any business group can participate without assuming the attendant responsibilities inherent in every relationship between Government and private business. Thus it is clear that both equity and law impose upon business and Government alike, a moral as well as a legal obligation to search for and to find ways and means of attaining our common goals. In this program, this means keeping your small business partner a vigorous and essential factor in our national economy.

Let there be no mistake about it. Small business problems are, in a very large sense, your problems too. This, I submit is not just an oratorical phrase. It is an actual fundamental fact, for history teaches that the first step toward totalitarianism is the suppression of the little man. Your role, I maintain, is to help strengthen the position of that little man as an essential contribution to our national economic growth. This I see not only as one of your major roles, but also as one of large business' prime responsibilities. Hence, let us talk about this role carefully and objectively. I reemphasize that I am not as much concerned with our past differences—or what may appear to some to be differences—as with the ways and means of dispelling any false notions which may exist regarding SBA's relationship with large business in this subcontracting program.

It is no secret that, when enacted, a small segment of large industry opposed, and perhaps still opposes, the small business subcontracting program. Subsequent experience, however, leads me to believe that most large business concerns are truly conscious of their responsibilities, willingly approve of the principle of equitable distribution of Government business, and will cooperate with SBA in increasing small business' participation in the program. All that is now required, I believe, is an understanding of the scope, and an acceptance of our respective roles.

In summary, the scope of the program embraces the following:

1. Informing the small businessman of the specialized requirements of the defense program in which he can effectively participate; and

2. Affording those small business concerns which are capable of meeting these requirements, an equal opportunity to participate.

Thus, if we bring the buyer and seller together, if we accept the fact that the basic philosophy of the subcontracting program is to enable small firms to participate equitably in the Government's business without sacrificing high quality at reasonable cost, then we will have accomplished our mission.

To accomplish this, you should divide your work into quantities and components which, without sacrifice of time, cost, and operational efficiency, can be supplied separately according to the skills of small business enterprises, and later assembled into the complete product. It is also your job to let small business know what you buy that it can supply—even if this seemingly means more redtape, more paperwork, more plant visits, and more contracts to administer. I believe you will find that added costs will be offset by savings resulting from greater competition, and you also will have the added satisfaction of contributing to the economic welfare of the Nation.

As your partner, those of us in Government have an equal responsibility to help you. The SBA, I wish to assure you, is mindful of the fact that this program needs more than just a statute and implementing regulations. We well realize that without the voluntary and active cooperation of all concerned, our mutual efforts may very well fall short of their mark. Hence, SBA has begun implementation of its part of the subcontracting program by sending teams to some of the major and most respected Government contractors with the avowed purpose of building goodwill, gaining a better understanding of what you do, and explaining how small business can fit into your defense job.

I am happy to be able to report that so far, without exception, we have encountered assurances of active and wholehearted cooperation and support. Our thanks go out particularly to those firms which have pledged themselves to make this subcontracting program succeed by strengthening their working relationship with SBA; by increasing their efforts to voluntarily develop qualified small business concerns; and, generally, by actively and aggressively cooperating in the tasks ahead.

We are especially appreciative of those companies which assume their responsibility not only in strict compliance with the letter of the law, but also with its spirit—those companies which have voluntarily agreed to open up subcontracting opportunities for small business wherever and whenever possible, regardless of the dollar value involved, or their legal obligation to do so.

I realize that what is or is not feasible is not always precisely definable. Here again, communication and cooperation between large business and SBA are of vital importance.

I think this is the way to approach this problem. I am confident that, in inviting your voluntary cooperation, we are proceed-

ing in the most practical way to implement the small business subcontracting program. I sincerely believe that we can now readily resolve any major differences of opinions which heretofore appeared difficult to reconcile.

Guided by a mutual sense of responsibility to the Government, an abiding conviction in the integrity of our purposes, and a desire to succeed in our common cause, I am confident we will reach that understanding so essential to the mutual good and to the ultimate benefit of our country.

## What Makes Tony Tick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded 34 years ago. By rallying men of good will in 1928, Newton D. Baker along with Charles Evans Hughes, S. Parks Cadman, Roger W. Strauss and Carlton J. H. Hayes founded the National Conference of Christians and Jews—"to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices, which disfigure and distort religious, business, and social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relations."

This year the National Conference of Christians and Jews has recognized a great citizen of Cleveland, Ohio, a former mayor and now Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze. Secretary Celebrezze has been awarded the National Human Relations Award by the National Conference of Christians and Jews at a great civic dinner in his honor at Cleveland, his hometown and city of his great accomplishments, on Sunday, September 23.

On that occasion an esteemed citizen of our city of Cleveland, Mr. Louis B. Seltzer, editor of the Cleveland Press, applied his gifted pen and a tribute to Secretary Celebrezze in which he raised the question: "What Makes Tony Tick?" His answers to this pertinent question form an important part of the current issues of Politics and People and thereby warrant the attention of the American people.

Under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD Mr. Seltzer's address:

Many people have asked: "What makes Tony tick?"

What they mean is, what is there about Tony Celebrezze that sets him so uniquely apart from other officeholders, that has made him so phenomenally successful in public life?

Actually, the answer to the question is what has brought hundreds of distinguished citizens here tonight—to see the Human Relations Award presented to Anthony J. Celebrezze, U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; former mayor of Cleveland; beloved local citizen.

"What makes Tony tick?"

Part of the answer lies in the fact that Tony Celebrezze's life beginnings were so humble as to make Horatio Alger turn jealously over in his grave.

Born in a tiny Italian village, brought to Cleveland as a baby, 1 of 13 children of an impoverished railroad track walker, started working as a boy of 6, scraped and fought and labored to get his schooling and law degree and then plunge into public life.

"What makes Tony tick?"

Another part of the answer lies in Anthony J. Celebrezze's record as a fearless, independent public servant.

Two terms as a young man in the Ohio Senate, during which he sponsored and fought for meaningful legislation, even though it meant sticking out his chin against political bosses, attracted public attention. Next he independently won the mayor's office in 1953.

He repaid the voters by giving them full honesty, full enthusiasm, full efficiency, faithfulness to budget, a reasonable tax rate, progress in health, welfare, and recreation programs and an outstanding urban renewal program.

The voters, in turn, delightedly kept returning this short, swarthy, mustached, genial man, to office until President Kennedy tapped him for his Cabinet.

"What makes Tony tick?" There are other considerations.

There is his lovely, devoted wife, Anne. She not only has stood behind him in his career, she has worked with him, devoting herself to the community and its many problems and programs just as he has. Without Anne, Tony wouldn't be Tony.

There are the fine Celebrezze children, Anthony, Jr., Jean and Susan—a credit to their parents. Without them, Tony wouldn't be Tony.

Then there is the Celebrezze knack for projecting himself before crowds—his husky voice, his gentle humor, his willingness to tell stories on himself, confessing his failures as well as savoring his achievements.

But the real answer is wrapped up, like a ribboned gift, in tonight's proceedings. The National Human Relations Award that Anthony J. Celebrezze will step forward and receive is the revelation.

Tony Celebrezze was singled out by the National Conference of Christians and Jews for this honor because—

In his struggles to educate himself, to forge an outstanding public service career and to head a wholesome family, this man has raised himself above prejudice, above bigotry, above selfish, petty interests and worked for the good of all ahead of the few.

Tony Celebrezze has recognized the simple principle that the dignity of man, and his right to call all other men brothers, regardless of race, religion, or origin, are a far more precious heritage than any material matter.

Thus he has placed himself in the foreground as a champion of equality and opportunity for all.

Thus he has lived in his spirit of "brotherhood of man under fatherhood of God."

Thus is answered the question: "What makes Tony tick?"

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, September 25, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of September 29, 1962:

FATE OF FREE WORLD MAY BE AT STAKE IN CUBA

The most important issue in Congress this week, as it is in the Nation, was Cuba. What we do, or fail to do about Russian Communist invasion of the Western Hemisphere may decide the future of the United States and the free world. If we fail in Cuba, all other problems and campaign issues, foreign and domestic, may be meaningless. If we cannot, or dare not stop Russian aggression here, there is little hope we can stop it anywhere and the success of the Communist conspiracy to rule the world may be assured.

House action centered around two resolutions—House Resolution 804, authorizing active duty for the Ready Reserve (debated on Monday, September 24 and passed 342 to 13) and House Resolution 805, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba (debated on Wednesday, September 26, passed 384 to 7). I stood with the 13 and 7 in demanding stronger action than called for in the resolutions and urging a firm and determined policy to end Russian Communist agression in this hemisphere in order to win the battle against the Communist conspiracy. Part of the debate and my complete statement on House Resolution 805 are reprinted as a part of this report. (Note especially the replies to my question, "is the present situation in Cuba a violation of the Monroe Doctrine?" as given by Congressman WAYNE HAYS, Democrat, of Ohio, and Congressman WALTER JUDD, Republican, of Minnesota, both members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.)

In the earlier debate on the callup of Reserves, I said in part (page 19372 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24): "It is with a heavy heart that I must say what I must say. I cannot join with my colleagues in this callup of Reserves. Texans remember the mistake of the last callup of reservists from Texas. This callup of 150,000 reservists when there are 2,700,000 men in our military forces ready for action shows that this is a gesture only, a political gesture. Not only that, we all know that contrary to the presentation of this bill, the real issue, the guts of the bill is in section 2 giving the President the authority to extend the military service a year if he deems this necessary. So the callup of 150,000 reservists to solve the foreign policy problems—or errors—is a phony solution. The report accompanying the bill does not explain why we need a callup of 150,000. On the contrary * * * there are reasons given why we do not need this callup in view of the increased military manpower within the last year. Further, Mr. McNamara pointed out that there is less need for a callup now that a year ago."

That I am not alone in decrying the lack of a firm policy to deal with the serious threat of Soviet aggression in Cuba is indicated in the following editorial from the Plattsburg Press-Republican, Plattsburg, N.Y. My mail shows that many Americans share these views.

"ISN'T BEST DEFENSE A DISPLAY OF CONFIDENCE?

"The United States boasts that it can knock out the Russian nation within 48 hours should she start any war with us.

"This is no idle boast for we have the striking power, the weapons and the manpower to do it.

"This Nation has almost 3 million men in its Armed Forces at the present time.

"Yet, because the Communists are arming Cuba, the House votes President Kennedy the authority to call up 150,000 reservists should the situation in Cuba or anywhere else grow more threatening.

"We surely don't think the House action is any display of confidence in the capacity of our Armed Forces to handle trouble should it break out anywhere in the world.

"With Army manpower now at 1,066,404 men, the Navy at 666,428 men, the Marines at 190,926 men, and the Air Force at 884,025 men, the House feels the Cuban situation requires authority to call up 150,000 reservists.

"And, we might point out, 1,836,000 of our servicemen are stationed within the continental United States. The balance are on oversea assignments.

"Representative BRUCE ALGER, Republican of Texas, called the bill a political gesture and tried to get the House to limit the President's authority to extending tours of duty or present enlistments.

"But ALGER's action was to no avail.

"It seems to us that the best defense against Communist saber-rattling is a display of confidence in our capacity to meet any crisis.

"How ludicrous we must look to the world when we vote authority to call up 150,000 reservists when we already have 3 million well-trained men in arms."

To sum up: There can be no victory without strength and a positive, firm policy dedicated to basic American precepts of protecting our own freedom and that of our neighbors in this hemisphere. The greatest danger lies, not in facing up to the Russian threat in Cuba, but in inviting war through miscalculation by Khrushchev in the mistaken idea that we are governed by fear and will not fight to protect our principles. For a straightforward hard-hitting, positive policy see newsletters of September 8, Cuba—Present Danger, and September 15—Cuba.

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[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 26, 1962]

EXPRESSING THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO THE SITUATION IN CUBA

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 805 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*"Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 230) expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba. After general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolution, and shall continue not to exceed three hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the joint resolution shall be considered as having been read for amendment. No amendment shall be in order to said joint resolution except amendments offered by the direction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and such amendments shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of the consideration of the joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the joint resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit."

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ALGER].

(Mr. ALGER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Chairman, this resolution and the report accompanying it just do not solve the problem we seek to solve.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question of the chairman of the full Committee on Foreign Affairs, or a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, if I may, whether the committee believes that the present situation in Cuba is a violation of the Monroe Doctrine?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I can only speak for myself, but I think if a determination is made that the buildup in Cuba reaches a point where it is a threat to the United States, then it is a violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. ALGER. I thank the gentleman for the gentleman's answer.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALGER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. I would go further and say that I think there is already a breach, that there is no question but what a foreign system is established in our hemisphere.

Mr. ALGER. I would agree with the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALGER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, since when under the Mondoe Doctrine does this extension of this system into this hemisphere have to be a danger to our national security? The words of the Monroe Doctrine are "any extension of the system in this hemisphere" is a violation of that doctrine.

Mr. ALGER. I agree with the gentleman, and must observe, as I read this bill—and all of us want to show unanimity behind our Commander in Chief, of course—but what this bill presents to me by its language is that this—that he will tolerate Soviet aggression in Cuba without resisting. If any Member of this House doubts that, permit me to read the language.

First of all, we mention the Monroe Doctrine on the front of the resolution. Then on page 2 we say as follows:

"Whereas the international Communist movement has increasingly extended into Cuba its political, economic, and military sphere of influence—"

There is is; that is the violation of the Monroe Doctrine, by the very language in the bill.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALGER. I yield to the gentlewoman from New York.

Mrs. KELLY. I would like to say to the gentleman from Texas that in my viewpoint on that particular question I feel that the Monroe Doctrine was breached or violated when we withdrew recognition of Cuba.

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Chairman, I believe the language which appears on page 2 which I have quoted to the members of the Committee shows without a shadow of a doubt that the present situation is in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Therefore, we must in good conscience endeavor to strengthen its provisions before we give up the ghost in this debate today.

Mr. Chairman, the report says, and I quote a portion of it to the members of the Committee:

"To provide a means of expressing national unity regarding U.S. policies toward Cuba."

Mr. Chairman, we simply must ask what are those policies? We cannot have national unity without knowing the policies. It is for that reason that I shall listen with interest as I am sure all the Members will, to the motion to recommit, which is very simple. It contains two proposals: First, it says "whereas the international Communist movement has increasingly extended into Cuba its political, economic, and military sphere of influence" and then this addition, "in violation of the Monroe Doctrine," and then, secondly, in a new section 2, it says, as I recall, that we stand behind our President shoulder to shoulder in urging the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine which has been violated.

Mr. Chairman, now politically I appeal to you, and I have yet to cast a political vote for solely partisan reasons on the floor of this House, except for the election of the Speaker, which I have gladly done each 2 years—I say to you now what we need is not another weak resolution. What we need is a strong resolution showing by its terms that we are ready to take the necessary action.

Mr. Chairman, the President says that Cuba has only defensive weapons. So does Mr. Khrushchev say that. I say this is not so. A gun in a man's pocket is defensive but when he pulls it and shoots it to kill somebody, it becomes offensive. The weapons going to Cuba we know will be used to take lives. Whose lives? American soldiers', I fear. I know nobody else that will enforce a doctrine of hemispheric protection.

Mr. Khrushchev said, "We will bury you," and "We will bury the Monroe Doctrine." I am not just sure which comes first in his thinking; I suspect the Monroe Doctrine. But he said it. He said the Monroe Doctrine is dead, and like anything that is dead, it must be buried. He is doing it and we are permitting him to get away with it, because we are tolerating aggression in Cuba by Russia, not just by the puppet Castro, but by Russia, by Khrushchev, and we are not doing anything about it.

The action we should have taken was to do something about property expropriation. We should have done something about the invasion of this hemisphere by communism violating the Monroe Doctrine. We should recognize a Cuban Government-in-exile and actually help the Cubans. These are not Cubans who are holding the people in bondage. These are Communists. Castro is not a Cuban, as we define our friends over there in Cuba. We have not done anything about recognizing a government-in-exile and helping them. Indeed, we have not even protested to the Communist government, as I understand, the current state of affairs in Cuba; although we Members are not fully informed. But I understand we have not even protested to Russia nor indeed, to our allies who are shipping goods to Cuba. We learn today that Britain and others are making no apologies for continuing to ship to Cuba. Nor intend to stop doing so.

It seems to me we cannot go along with a resolution like this which is weak, that we must have a debate, and that we need not to keep it nonpartisan if that means refusing to criticize constructively because we are talking about the good of our country. So I am not here saying, let us all join in burying our heads in the sand, instead of discussing this, even if it be political. We cannot let foreign opinion influence our debate or votes. We must do what is best in healthy U.S. self-interest.

I remember the U–2 debate and anybody who would say that that was nonpartisan would be stretching a point. Much of that partisan criticism was unfair I thought, but it proved that Democrat Members then were not interested in being bipartisan or nonpartisan on the contrary, I recall what was said during that debate at that time. But that is a bygone matter. Let us unite and have a strong resolution by recommitting and strengthening this joint resolution. We must not, we dare not pass a weak resolution. Weakness or the appearance of it can bring on the war by miscalculation. We are not weak but when we act weak by passing weak resolutions we invite the foolish or unknowing to test us. Then we would be in a war we did not intend and could have avoided by firm resolution and firm action. Firmness and strength now is our only hope to prevent war—weakness invites it. Let us join in recommitting the bill to strengthen it by reaffirming our belief in the Monroe Doctrine by recognizing its present violation which necessitates action now to protect this hemisphere.

## The Concentration of Ownership and the Decline of Competition in News Media

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address I made before the Overseas Press Club, New York City, Thursday, September 27, 1962, on "The Concentration of Ownership and the Decline of Competition in News Mediums."

The statement follows:

It is at once a pleasure and a privilege to respond to your chairman's gracious invitation to address this, the world's largest organized body of foreign correspondents.

I am particularly glad to have this opportunity to discuss, and, I hope, to enlist your sympathetic interest in, the study by the House Antitrust Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, of the concentration of ownership, and the decline of competition in news mediums.

In undertaking its inquiry the subcommittee has been mindful of this warning voiced by Lester Markel of the New York Times not so long ago: [1] "No profession I know, with the possible exception of psychiatry, is so sensitive to criticism as the newspaper business."

Despite Mr. Markel's words to the wise, I am glad to report to you tonight, the subcommittee to date has enjoyed the wholehearted cooperation and interest of the newspapers and newspapermen it has sought in the course of its study.

We start with the fact that the press enjoys a unique constitutional position. Our inquiry, bounded as it is by the subcommittee's authority to propose legislation, is circumscribed by the first amendment's command: "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom * * * of the press."

I want to make it crystal clear that every member of the subcommittee is deeply devoted to this fundamental guarantee of our freedom. We have no intention of trespassing in this constitutional preserve. Indeed, a glance at history provides the most cogent reasons for restraint. In 1680, late in the reign of that "merrie" monarch, Charles II, one Roger L'Estrange took office in London as "licenser of the press." On that occasion, L'Estrange remarked: "A newspaper makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors and gives them not only an itch but a kind of colorable right and license to be meddling with the government."

Since democracy, unlike despotism, rests upon the "right and license" of the people "to be meddling with the government," and since the people must be informed if they are to meddle well, it is no surprise to find Thomas Jefferson taking the opposite tack. Jefferson wrote: [2] "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

The first amendment leans heavily toward Jefferson's view in prescribing the groundrules for the not always peaceful coexistence of our government with a free press. Lest we take too much for granted our goodly heritage of liberty, however, it is well to remember that we still confront today the authoritarian tenets of that almost-forgotten "licenser of the press" I mentioned a moment ago. As Lenin put it: [3] "Why should freedom of speech and freedom of the press be allowed? Why should a government which is doing what it believes to be right allow itself to be criticized? It would not allow opposition by lethal weapons. Ideas are more fatal things than guns. Why should any man be allowed to buy a printing press and disseminate pernicious opinions calculated to embarrass the government?"

Why indeed? Precisely because ideas are the very lifeblood of the democratic process, we rightly insist that every man be free to disseminate his opinions subject only to the laws of libel and slander.

Every public figure has had his share—I hesitate to say "his fair share"—of criticism at the hands of our free press. Yet I know of no responsible official in American public life today who would countenance the slightest encroachment on our great constitutional principle, in Madison's phrase, that "the freedom of the press, as one of the great bulwarks of liberty shall be inviolable." [4]

But, and you knew a "but" was coming, as Judge Learned Hand has reminded us: [5] "the mere fact that a person is engaged in publishing, does not exempt him from ordinary municipal law, so long as he remains unfettered in his own selection of what to publish."

This is the legal touchstone. So long as they remain free to print what they please, newspaper publishers are subject to our labor laws,[6] our tax laws,[7] and, of particular importance to the Antitrust Subcommittee, our antitrust laws.[8] Indeed, as we learned during this session of Congress, general legislation often affects the newspaper business deeply. The tax bill and the postal rate increase legislation are only two examples.

But the press enjoys a unique constitutional freedom so that it can serve a paramount public purpose. In the words of Judge Hand, the press: [9] "serves one of the most vital of all general interests: the dissemination of news from as many different facets and colors as is possible. That interest is closely akin to, if indeed it is not the same as, the interest protected by the first amendment; it presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be folly; but we have staked upon it our all."

The Supreme Court has taken the same view. It has held that the Government can intervene to insure that private restraints too shall not clog the channels of free communication. The Court said: [10] "It would be strange indeed * * * if the grave concern for freedom of the press which prompted adoption of the first amendment should be read as a command that the Government was without power to protect that freedom * * *. That amendment rests on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public, that a free press is a condition of a free society."

The Supreme Court thus recognized our common stake in assuring a variety of news and views. We proceed, as Justice Holmes put it,[11] on the theory that "the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market. That at any rate is the theory of our Constitution."

The Supreme Court has harmonized the first amendment with the competitive principles of our antitrust laws in this way: [12] "Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution, but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not. Freedom of the press from governmental interference under the first amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests."

You, whose craft is reporting the news, and whose calling is the truth, can appreciate the advantages of competition in reporting the news, and the need for variety in presenting the news to the public. Judge Hand has described the reporter's art well: [13] "News is history; recent history, it is true, but veritable history, nevertheless; and history is not total recall, but a deliberate pruning of, and calling from, the flux of events. * * * A personal impress is inevitable at every stage; it gives its value to the dispatch, which without it would be unreadable."

So long as this personal factor is crucial, is not the reader better able to find out what has happened when he can read what two observers have had to say rather than one man's account?

Further, the reporter's story is filtered through his editors. They must decide how much of the story shall reach the reader if, indeed, it is to reach him at all.[14]

Are there not strong reasons, therefore, for the Antitrust Subcommittee to survey the decline of newspaper competition in America today? This year we have seen the largest newspaper consolidations in our history in Los Angeles—our second largest and fastest growing city. Newspapers have closed in Jackson, Miss., and Eugene, Ore. Newspapers have merged in Milwaukee and St. Petersburg. The last four of those cities now have no newspaper competition. At the same time, perhaps paradoxically, a record purchase price—reportedly $42 million—was paid for the monopoly newspapers in New Orleans.

But this year's developments form only the latest chapter in the story. The decline of daily newspaper competition in our cities is a subject of longstanding concern. As the

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[1] Remarks at Ohio State University, Feb. 21, 1961.

[2] Letter to Edward Carrington, Jan. 16, 1787.

[3] Speech in Moscow, 1920.

[4] 5 Writings of Madison 370, 377 (1910) speech before the Congress of June 8, 1789, on the subject of amendments to the Constitution.

[5] *United States* v. *Associated Press*, 52 F. Supp. 362, 374.

[6] *Oklahoma Press Publishing Co.* v. *Walling*, 327 U.S. 186, 192; *Mabee* v. *White Plains Publishing Co.*, 327 U.S. 178; *Associated Press* v. *Labor Board*, 301 U.S. 103, 132–133.

[7] *Grosjean* v. *American Press Co.*, 297 U.S. 233, 250.

[8] *Indiana Farmers Guide Co.* v. *Prairie Farmer Co.*, 293 U.S. 268; *United States* v. *Associated Press*, 52 F. Supp. 362; aff'd 326 U.S. 1; *Lorain Journal* v. *United States*, 342 U.S. 143; *Times-Picayune* v. *United States* 345, 594; *Union Leader Corp.* v. *Newspapers of New England, Inc.*, 180 F. Supp. 125, mod. and aff'd, 1 Cir., 284 F. 2d 582 (1960).

[9] *United States* v. *Associated Press, supra*, 52 F. Supp. at p. 372.

[10] *Associated Press* v. *United States*, 326 U.S. 1, 20.

[11] *Abrams* v. *United States*, 250 U.S. at p. 630 (dissenting opinion).

[12] *Associated Press* v. *United States*, supra, 326 U.S. at p. 20.

[13] *United States* v. *Associated Press*, supra, 52 F. Supp. at 372.

[14] *United States* v. *Associated Press, supra*, 52 F. Supp. at p. 372: "the same personal choice which must figure in preparing a dispatch, operates in deciding what events are important enough to appear at all; and about that men will differ widely; as we often find, when a service 'carries' what others have thought to be trivial; or may indeed have missed altogether."

Supreme Court observed in 1952 in the *Times-Picayune* case:[15] "despite the vital task that in our society the press performs, the number of daily newspapers in the United States is at its lowest point since the century's turn: in 1951, 1,773 daily newspapers served 1,443 American cities, compared with 2,600 dailies published in 1,207 cities, in the year 1909. Moreover, while 598 new dailies braved the field between 1929 and 1950, 378 of these suspended publication during that period—less than half of the new entrants survived. Concurrently, daily newspaper competition within individual cities has grown nearly extinct: in 1951, 81 percent of all daily newspaper cities had only one daily paper; 11 percent more had two or more publications, but a single publisher controlled both or all. In that year, therefore, only 8 percent of daily newspaper cities enjoyed the clash of opinion which competition among publishers of their daily press could provide.

In the decade since the Times-Picayune case, the parade of newspaper mergers and closings has continued unabated. Today there are only 55 cities with competing dailies, as opposed to 552 such cities 40 years ago.

While the number of daily newspapers in the United States has declined only slightly in the last decade to 1,759, 95 percent of our cities have no newspaper competition whatever.

In 1946, 10 States had not a single city with competing daily newspapers. Today the number of such States has swollen to 23. Thus nearly half the States of the Union today lack that "clash of opinion which competition among publishers of their daily press could provide." Is this a healthy situation? Does it provide the newspaper reader with more than one point of view about the events of the day?

The marked decline in newspaper competition has been accompanied by a steady increase in the number of newspapers under absentee chain ownership. In the 1920's only 153 (of more than 2,000) daily newspapers were owned by chains. Today, 560 (out of 1,759) daily newspapers are owned by chains, and these chain-owned newspapers account for almost one-half (46.1 percent) of the total daily newspaper circulation. The subcommittee will explore the impact, if any, of chain ownership—which has grown so rapidly in recent years—upon the decline of local newspaper competition.

Now every newspaper merger this year, with the exception of Los Angeles, has resulted in a local newspaper monopoly. Hence, every such merger involves a possible violation of the Celler-Kefauver Act. Such mergers also pose a threat to the principles, formulated by our courts, that "monopoly in the mass communication or news and advertising is contrary to the public interest,"[16] and "only by keeping the dissemination of news free from monopolies can the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press ever be fully achieved."[17]

There is a human side also. And stark tragedy that faces many who lose their jobs because of the demise of papers through consolidations and mergers. Many face a bleak future after serving with a paper for many years. Often the loss of their jobs forces newspapermen to uproot themselves and their families and to leave their homes in search of new employment elsewhere. How many of you may face this prospect some day, or have already faced it? These include editors, reporters, lithographers, pressmen, and others.

Few reporters, indeed, have the talent—or at least the good luck—to write an "Advice and Consent" and reap lush profits. Fewer still can write a successful Broadway play, marry the leading lady and live happily forever after.

On the other hand, the courts in the Union Leader case[18] have recently held that some cities cannot support two competing newspapers of high quality. In these so-called natural news monopolies, the subcommittee will be interested to inquire why this is so, for only if a competing newspaper is doomed anyway—only if it is a "failing corporation"—will its purchase by the survivor do no harm to competition and thus pass muster under the Celler-Kefauver Act. Indeed this limited exception to our anti-merger law is subject to the further exception that there be no bona fide offer from an outsider to buy the failing newspaper, thereby preserving competition.

Furthermore, even in the Union Leader case itself, where a so-called natural news monopoly was involved, the courts held that the antitrust laws apply where the person who foresees a fight to death intends to use or actually does use unfair weapons.[19]

On the other hand, publishers, like other businessmen, are under no obligation to stay in business if they are losing money, and they are free to dispose of their property subject only to our antitrust laws.

We are mindful of the publishers' plight. Confronted by high newsprint costs and constantly rising labor costs, the metropolitan dailies at the same time are having trouble, like other businesses, in following their readers to the suburbs. To the inroads of the suburban press on their circulation must be added the loss to television and to radio of additional revenues from advertising—the economic mainstay of the newspaper business.[20]

Accordingly, the subcommittee will be seeking answers to these questions:

First, are newspaper mergers good, bad, or of no consequence?

Second, are newspaper mergers inevitable under existing conditions?

Third, what are these conditions and can they be changed?

Fourth, do certain business practices in the newspaper industry result in unreasonable restraints of trade?

Fifth, if so, should such restrictive practices be exempted from the antitrust laws as the necessary price for survival of the daily press?

Sixth, do newspaper mergers confront the advertiser with a shrunken choice of rates, format, and readers?

Radio and television, of course, make it possible to preserve a variety of voices, despite the newspaper monopolies in most of our cities today. Accordingly, the subcommittee is concerned with the degree of cross-ownership of radio and television stations by newspapers.

The courts have long held that in the award of a license to use a public asset, the Federal Communications Commission may seek to foster "the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources."[21] In the case of radio and television, as with newspapers, the courts have recognized that "news communicated to the public is subject to selection and, through selection to editing, and that in addition there may be diversity in method, manner and emphasis of presentation."[22]

Accordingly, it is relevant for the subcommittee to consider how far the radio or television voice in our cities is subject to control by the newspaper voice. As of September 1961, 68 monopoly newspapers controlled the only AM radio station in town, and in 10 communities the only daily newspaper controlled the only television station. In four cities today, the only daily newspaper also owns the only radio and television station.

Perhaps more significant, the number of television stations with newspaper or magazine affiliations has grown from 41 (out of 97) in 1950 to 161 (out of 484) commercial TV stations in 1962. While the number of radio stations affiliated with newspapers or magazines has declined somewhat during the same period, 412 AM stations (out of 3,745 are affiliated with newspapers or magazines and 147 (out of 811) commercial FM stations have newspaper or magazine affiliations. The subcommittee will explore the prevailing trends in this area of cross-ownership.

This in brief is the nature of our inquiry. We are not alone in our interest, for as you doubtless already know, a distinguished Royal Commission in England has just finished a comprehensive survey of the same subjects. The pertinence of our study is thus pointed up by the concern of our sister democracy with the self-same problems.

The subcommittee will be thorough and objective. We shall proceed with diligence, and at the same time with restraint.

I want to repeat here and now what I said when our inquiry was first announced: "We are not gunning for anybody, nor are we concerned with anyone's political views." Nor, I might add, are we interested in the views or editorial content of any particular newspaper. We are anxious that the people have access to diverse views and opinions, and that the true picture of the mediums of news communication be presented to the public.

We intend to ascertain the facts. With the facts in hand, we shall consider whether legislation is needed and if so, what sort of legislation would be appropriate.

As your chairman has suggested, I have kept these remarks as short as the nature of the subject will permit. I shall be glad to try to answer any questions you may have.

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[15] *Times-Picayune* v. *United States*, 345 U.S. 594, 603.

[16] *Mansfield Journal Co.* v. *Federal Communications Commission*, D.C. Cir., 180 F. 2d 28, 33.

[17] *Id.*, at p. 36.

[18] *Union Leader Corp.* v. *Newspapers of New England, Inc.*, 180 F. Supp. 125, mod. and aff'd., 1 Cir., 284 F. 2d 582 (1960).

[19] *Union Leader Corp.* v. *Newspapers of New England, Inc., supra*, 180 F. Supp. at 140.

[20] *Times-Picayune* v. *United States, supra*, 345 U.S. at p. 604.

[21] *Scripps-Howard Radio* v. *Federal Communications Commission*, D.C. Cir., 189 F. 2d 677, 683.

[22] Id.

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## Robert F. Kennedy, U.S. Attorney General, Makes Statement That "International Communist Threat Is Very Real and Very Dangerous"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, September 11, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of a statement written by Robert F. Kennedy, U.S. Attorney General, for the United Press International which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner on September 6, 1962.

Mr. Speaker, possibly you realize that as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee I have received

quite a few letters, many from the State of California, naturally, charging that the Attorney General of the United States has done nothing to prosecute known Communists in the United States under the Subversive Activities Control Board decision, which decision was affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court several months ago. This statement by the U.S. Attorney General makes it clear that the Justice Department has been very actively prosecuting the Communist Party and its top leaders since that law was held constitutional.

This statement also makes that point in the law crystal clear, including the fact that the law does not outlaw the Communist Party. It also makes it clear that the Supreme Court of the United States concurred in the finding of the Subversive Activities Control Board which described the Communist Party in the United States as "substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement."

Mr. Speaker, many of these letters I have received also refer to the Doyle bill, H.R. 9944, amending the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, the effect of which is to outlaw the Communist Party of the United States by making membership per se therein a criminal offense. The bill makes punishable the continuing or subsequent membership in any Communist-action organization after it is found to be such by a final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board. By reason of the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Petitioner, against The Subversive Activities Control Board, decided June 5, 1961, which upheld the Subversive Activities Control Board findings by which the Communist Party of the United States was determined to be a Communist-action organization, my bill therefore, after its effective date, would make punishable continuing or subsequent membership in the Communist Party in the United States. The bill would necessarily repeal the registration requirements of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 relating to Communist-action or Communist-front organizations, but it preserves the plan and the procedures of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 in all other respects.

It is to be recollected that the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, which is title I of the Internal Security Act, established the Subversive Activities Control Board. That Board has the function of making a judicial determination on petition of the Attorney General, as to the character of certain organizations, whether Communist-action, Communist front or Communist infiltrated, as defined in the act. In proceedings on the petition, all parties in interest are accorded a full and open hearing in an adversary proceeding, with right to counsel, confrontation and cross examination of witnesses, and right of appeal to the highest courts.

Upon a final determination of the character of the organization, certain consequences follow under the act relating, for example, to employment in Government and defense facilities, disabilities under the National Labor Relations Act, tax exemptions, passports, and the dissemination of unlabeled propaganda. These functions of the Board and the consequences set up in the act are fully preserved in my amending bill filed on January 29, 1962. The amendment however, repeals the requirements relating to registration by certain Communist organizations and members, but makes membership in any organization found by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board as Communist-action thereafter to be punishable by fine or imprisonment or both. The bill, I believe, is so drawn as to meet all constitutional requirements and procedural due process.

At this point I wish to make it crystal clear that while it is true that I have been a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee for about 15 years now this present bill is not a bill from the House Committee on Un-American Activities; that committee has not considered the bill and, therefore, has not approved or endorsed the bill in any manner. However, I wish to state my appreciation to the legal staff of that important committee for their timely, generous, and able advice and draftsmanship of the bill on legal and constitutional requirements and procedures. In like manner I wish to thank the House Legislative Counsel's Office for their similar and most generous and able assistance.

This bill in no way amends or affects that portion of the Smith Act which by recent interpretation of the Supreme Court, in the case of Julius Irving Scales, petitioner, against the United States, decided June 5, 1961, makes punishable "active and purposive membership" in the Communist Party. The bill sets up a separate offense which differs from the Smith Act membership clause as a matter of degree, in the same sense that the offense of assault and battery compares to the offense of aggravated assault and battery in the criminal law.

This bill, I believe, sets up an effective and expedient method of dealing with such crimes as membership in the Communist Party, eliminating protracted trials, many times necessarily resulting from present procedures and requirements, some of which are of months and even years of duration under the existing Smith Act.

The procedural advantages of my bill in cases of prosecutions for Communist membership, as contrasted with prosecutions under the Smith Act is, I believe, readily apparent. The relevant section of the Smith Act provides as follows:

> Whoever organizes or helps or attempts to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any such government by force or violence; or becomes or is a member of, or affiliates with, any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purposes thereof—
>
> Shall be fined, etc.

Under the Smith Act, therefore, in membership prosecutions in the Communist Party of the United States the Government has been compelled in each and every case against each and every separate defendant to prove as follows, to wit: First, that the defendant knowingly became or is a member of the Communist Party; second, that the Communist Party in the United States is such a society as advocates and teaches the overthrow and destruction of the U.S. Government by forces and violence; third, that the individual defendant knew of such purposes of that organization; and fourth, that he actively and purposively participated as a member of such organization in such activities. Every separate prosecution requires repetitive proof of each of the foregoing, in each and every case. Therefore, experts and countless witnesses are required to testify on behalf of the Government of the history and nature of the Communist Party in the United States, over and over again. The proceedings are often necessarily protracted, and subjected to all the frustrations that can be devised by Communist attorneys, as occurred in the New York Smith Act trials before Judge Medina commencing in 1948. I believe it will be found by experience that most of all this repetitive proof is eliminated by the bill which I have introduced.

For, once a determination has been made as to the nature and purposes of the Communist Party organization in the United States under the procedure clearly set up in the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 as amended, and which I have heretofore referred to, and which organization has been found by final order of said Board to be Communist action, that major issue is laid at rest in the instant case. Thereafter, in separate prosecutions, the Government is merely faced under my bill with proving the one basic fact which is that the defendant knowingly continues his membership in the Communist Party of the United States; or, becomes a member in such Communist-action organization after such final order of the Board, and, thus the Government has thereby satisfied its burden of proof in membership prosecutions. There is no need to repeat that proof as to the nature of the organization and as to the defendant's knowledge of its nature and purposes, for that fact has been previously established for all membership prosecution cases, by reason of public notice of the preliminary findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board thereof has been given. It is presumed that the defendant's continuing or subsequent membership in such organization is with full knowledge of what has been previously determined by the Board and which has been proscribed by law. It should be apparent, therefore, most trials will be effective, expeditions, and comparatively inexpensive. We shall conserve the time and energies of our courts and investigative agencies and will clearly and definitely accord the defendant, in each case, all of the advantages of his constitutional rights and due process under law.

In the case of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Petitioner, against The Subversive Activities Con-

trol Board, decided June 5, 1961, hereinbefore referred to the Subversive Activities Control Board has already found and made a final determination as to the nature of the organization involved, and the Supreme Court of the United States in that case affirmed the findings of that Board in that case to the effect that the Communist Party of the United States is in fact a tenacle of the world Communist movement; a conspiratorial agency engaged in deceit, espionage, terrorism, and organizational activities to accomplish its avowed purpose of overthrowing by force and violence the Government of the United States and establishing in the United States of America and throughout the world a Communist, totalitarian dictatorship under Soviet Union domination and control. These findings by the Board were based upon voluminous and conclusive evidence developed and proved in over 10 years of trial and litigation, before the Board and our courts, before both of which the defendant was at all times represented by legal council of its own choosing. This destinymaking decision by the Supreme Court of the United States on June 5, 1961, is, in my mind, no doubt well known to every active Communist or Communist sympathizer or Communist organization or conspiratorial agency of any sort engaged in deceit, espionage, terrorism, and organizational activities in violation of the Court's edict, and I surmise is probably fairly well known throughout the Communist world.

As a result of this world Communist conspiracy, of which the Communist Party, U.S.A., is an integral part and from which it takes its direction and does its bidding, we are compelled to spend billions in our national defense and to counter subversive aggression; to endanger and in many cases to sacrifice the lives of thousands of our young men in our military services; we expend our resources which should have been dedicated and devoted to other truly useful and humanitarian purposes. Under such circumstances, certainly anyone who continues his membership in this Communist conspiracy or becomes a member of an organization in the United States found to be Communist-action, should justly be punished. For, he is, by such action, knowingly strengthening the organizational structure of the world Communist movement and thereby contributing to its odious and ugly purposes. I can see no possible legal obstacle or reason why a conspiratorial group organized to steal our liberty and property should not be punished for such activity, an activity which is far more dangerous and inimical to the interests of our society than an isolated criminal band of bank robbers.

While it is true that the caption of the bill does not specify that one of the purposes of the bill is to outlaw the Communist Party of the United States, nevertheless, I believe that desirable result will naturally flow from the text of the bill itself. For the text and purpose of the bill applies to any and every Communist-action organization in the United States, whether under the name of Communist Party or not. For instance, if the Communist Party of the United States of America changes its name, or any segment of the Communist Party of the United States changes its name, and deletes any and every indication of the fact so far as its name is concerned that it is a Communist Party organization or tries to so shape its name that the word Communist does not appear therein, I believe this bill is so drawn by the help and aid of my able legal advisors in the premises that any organization which is in fact a Communist-action organization in the United States will be encompassed and, therefore, in fact outlawed as well as any member of any such organization will be successfully prosecuted and upon due proof required will suffer the just penalties provided, set forth in section 15(a) and (b) of this bill.

I believe that the penalties provided in my bill are just and reasonable and in keeping with the necessity to protect our national security against the Communist-action conspiracy, therefore section 15 (a) and (b) of the bill provides as follows:

SEC. 15. (a) Any individual who violates any provision of sections 5, 6, or 10 of this title shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, for each such violation. Any organization which violates any provision of section 10 of this title shall be fined not more than $10,000 for each such violation.

(b) Whoever, on or after the effective date of the Subversive Activities Control Act Amendments of 1962, knowingly becomes or remains a member of any organization, with respect to which there is in effect a final order of the Board determining it to be a Communist-action organization, without regard to whether such order became final before, on, or after such effective date, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Let us hope that when it becomes appropriate to consider this bill and enact it into U.S. statutes it will further strengthen the sinews of all freedom loving people in the United States of America, and their just determination to declare through law within constitutional limits that the people of the United States are united in their just and sound decision that those persons in the United States who are found to be in violation of the provisions of this bill, shall be made aware in advance that if they are found to be in violation of this bill by reason of their continuing or subsequent membership in any Communist-action organization, that then, they can expect that the American people will not tolerate nor welcome their continued deliberate violation of the law of our beloved land.

The statement by the Attorney General follows:

ATTORNEY GENERAL EXPOSES TACTICS—COMMUNIST PARTY IN UNITED STATES THREATENS

(By Robert F. Kennedy, U.S. Attorney General)

WASHINGTON, September 8.—Communism in the United States has presented the American people with one of the most perplexing problems of the postwar era—a small but dedicated group posing as a political party but dedicated to advancing the aims of those who would destroy the free world. The international Communist threat is very real and very dangerous. We are keeping nearly 2 million of our young men under arms and spending half the Federal budget to advance the cause of freedom and thwart the Communists' announced goal of forcing the world to live under their system.

CONSTANT THREAT

But over the years, through the work of the FBI, newspapers and dedicated public officials, labor leaders, educators, businessmen and private citizens, the Communist Party has been effectively opposed at every turn here in the United States. Still, today, even though it is obvious that the American Communists obediently follow the line put out from the Kremlin—just as they have done through the years—we must remain constantly alert to a domestic danger which the Communists pose. Perhaps on no other public issue has there been so much misinformation and misunderstanding. Reaction has ranged from dangerous indifference to harmful hysteria.

OFTEN POSE

This confusion has come about, to a large extent, by design of the Communists. Just as they have posed as agrarian reformers in China, native guerillas in South Vietnam and friends of the working class the world over, they have attempted to adopt the protective covering of a legitimate political organization in this country and have sought to avail themselves of the rights we carefully guard for political activity.

But the Communists in this country are not a political organization in the true sense. Last year, the Supreme Court affirmed an order of the Subversive Activities Control Board which described the party as "substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement."

Congress passed the Internal Security Act of 1950 to help control foreign dominated groups posing as political organizations. That act did not outlaw the Communist Party but required it to register and give information about its activities. The party has refused to comply and through a decade of hearings, trials and appeals, the Department of Justice has enforced this law. The party and two of its top leaders have been indicted for failure to register and action is pending against 10 more.

Organizations infiltrated or substantially dominated by Communists also are required to register and they have been equally reluctant to do so. There are now 11 cases pending in the courts against such groups.

AGITATE, EXPLOIT

These controls and, more importantly, the American peoples' rejection of the Communist doctrine, have made the Communist Party politically powerless in this country. But the Communists remain a problem because they and their followers constantly seek to move into areas of conflict and agitate to make them worse. They seek to exploit racial tensions, for example, or obtain employment in sensitive industries—communications, transportation, steel and many others.

Recently they have intensified their efforts to penetrate university student groups. The Communists are involved in espionage as well as political agitation. Stopping modern day espionage with its ingenious devices such as tiny microphones and cameras, is a job for experts, and we have the best in the business—the FBI.

The Communist threat does not require vigilante action. Persons or organizations which profess to see Communists behind every bush, although well intentioned, do more harm than good.

INFORM FBI

Where Communist activity is suspected, the FBI should be informed. If we are to remain the leaders of the free world, we must give full meaning to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

## Our Religious Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JACOB K. JAVITS**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Religious Heritage of America is an organization, founded in 1950, which sponsors a pilgrimage to Washington each year to emphasize by talks and visits to places of religious significance the spiritual heritage of our Nation. Its 12th pilgrimage was held here in August and it was addressed by James F. Bunting on August 24. Mr. Bunting is the general secretary of the YMCA of Metropolitan Washington and a native of Little Falls, N.Y. He has had a notable career in the YMCA movement and is highly respected for his dedicated and inspired leadership.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address by Mr. Bunting entitled "Our Religious Heritage and Its Application Today."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR RELIGIOUS HERITAGE AND ITS APPLICATION TODAY

(By James Bunting)

Let us first remind ourselves of the sources of our religious heritage. Much has been written about our religious heritage.

Dr. Ralph Henry Gabriel of American University, in "Traditional Values in American Life," identifies two major traditions as sources of American values:

1. Monotheistic religion, the Judeo-Christian faith, transmitted from Middle East through European culture, emphasized: (a) The idea of the importance of the individual soul in the eyes of God; (b) the idea that Deity not only approves righteous behavior but has laid down a moral law to govern the relations of men in society.

2. Science, philosophy, and art from classical Greece and the law of Rome, transmitted through European forms of civilization, provided several concepts which became interwoven with American applications of these basic religious ideas: (a) A speculative philosophy that deals with the nature of man and with the larger reality of which he is a part; (b) the idea that knowledge has a value in itself and that science is an instrument for making the forces of nature useful to man; (c) the idea of an ordered universe and an ordered society; (d) the idea of natural law, embodying the principles of justice, that transcends the capricious wills of men and of their rulers; (3) the idea of art as the expression of traditions, secular and religious, together with the aspirations and the tragedy of human life through disciplined forms emphasizing order, proportion, and harmony.

From this experience of religious faith through more than three centuries and from the experience of faith in humanistic relationism for more than two centuries, concludes Dr. Gabriel, have come the values of religion in American life. They include the following concepts and goals:

1. The idea that the state is not coterminous with society but that religious institutions exist of their own right in society independent of the state—the separation of church and state.

2. The freedom to believe and to propagate one's faith as the conscience of the individual person directs, or freedom to refrain from worship.

3. The idea of the church as a free association of believers who assume responsibility for its support.

4. The widespread but not universal emphasis on some form of theism as a frame for explaining the meaning of human life.

5. The idea, widely but not universally held, that ethical standards spring from religion.

6. The idea that the furthering of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God calls for the outreach of the churches to the far corners of the world on errands of mercy, to assist social evolution toward a better life, and to further mutually helpful cooperation among all peoples.

7. The idea, stemming in part from the humanistic tradition and in part from that of Judeo-Christianity, that the performance of acts that contribute to the well-being of individual persons and of society are in themselves religious activities of merit. Historically, organized religion in America has created educational and humanitarian institutions, and the practice continues.

8. The idea that the state must respect the convictions of the conscientious objector to participation in the bloody violence of war, but that the state may require of the conscientious objector in time of emergency special service of a nonviolent nature.

Having reminded ourselves of the sources of our religious heritage, let us identify the most important characteristics of our religious heritage as we know it today.

It is one heritage. The Declaration of Independence could, in its first two sentences, make clear its signers' faith in God as creator and sustainer of life as the source of its basic laws. Nearly 200 years ago in the first of the Federalist papers, Alexander Hamilton declared: "Providence has been pleased to give this country to a people professing the same religion." Just a few years ago, Reinhold Niebuhr in, "The Irony of American History," observed that the two principal strains of our religious heritage—sometimes called the Calvinist and the Jeffersonian—early arrived at remarkably similar conclusions with respect to many of the issues of life.

Our religious heritage has the strength of shared experience. Unlike countries with history of religious wars, we have been blessed with relative freedom from inter-religious group violence. A major aspect of our shared experience has taken the form of efforts to give expression to the implications of our religious convictions. Understanding and good will have been significant and happy byproducts of such efforts to express religious convictions in actions.

Our religious heritage has found many diversified forms of expression. Too many to list here, the compiling of a record of past and present forms of expression of our religious heritage might well be a major project for the Religious Heritage Trustees. Certainly, knowing and understanding significant numbers of these forms of expression should be one of the aims of the pilgrimage over the years. Most important of all, we need to remind ourselves frequently and emphatically that the fact of diversity, and the right to differ, are distinctive and essential elements of our heritage.

All of the foregoing comments are important, but their true significance lies in their usefulness in helping us to devise applications of our religious heritage which are relevant for our times.

Basic prerequisites for such relevant applications of our religious heritage include: Understanding of what our heritage is, dedication to its active use—if a heritage is not projected into the future, it is no longer a heritage, analysis of the practical situations in which it must be applied, adaptation to these practical conditions, evaluation and results, redesigning of plans.

The most significant areas and occasions of expression of our religious heritage would undoubtedly include: Home life, education, vocational life. (John Oliver Nelson suggested four criteria of a Christian vocation which are suggestive at this point: Does your job provide opportunity to perform a useful service for society? Does your job take all you have of will and skill? Does your job permit consistent treatment of human beings as sons of God? Can you pray about your job on your job?) Avocational pursuits and all "free-time" activity, neighborhood communities, national and world relationships, all organizations and institutions which draw strength from idealism on which nation was founded, art, music, and all forms of culture, holidays of all kind, religious institutions and forms (obviously).

An illustration of an attempt to do something specific about the relevant contemporary expression of our religious heritage let me call attention to one particular project as reported in the YMCA National Council Bulletin of September 1961. In a follow-up project by the Washington YMCA, a number of groups used an outline prepared by Dr. Paul Conroy, Deputy Chief of the Training Division of the U.S. Information Agency and Chief of the Professional Training School, to consider how best use of the 1960's could most effectively give expression to the basically spiritual concepts which are the foundations of the Declaration of Independence.

As we who are part of this pilgrimage look to the future, would it not be in order to think about possible topics for religious heritage study commissions which might be created to help us understand our task and our opportunities? Let me suggest just five:

1. What should be the relationships of our religious heritage to our democratic forms of government?

2. How can the three great faiths best work together for mutual goals?

3. What should be the relationships of our religious heritage to formal schooling?

4. How can our religious heritage find most effective expression in our huge metropolitan areas?

5. What are the implications of our religious heritage in what is sometimes termed the emerging "scientific-democratic" society?

In conclusion, let us remind ourselves again that long, long ago, our forefathers learned that the God we worship is one God, that He cannot be permanently limited even by our most grievous ignorance or our most shortsighted selfishness, and that we can and must work together as partners with all who seek to find His will for their lives and to do it.

Today, more than ever, this is the challenge which faces us who have gathered for this 12th annual pilgrimage. Isn't it a wonderful thing to be compelled by our faith to respond to this challenge?

## Gross National Product: What It Is and What It Is Not

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the most useful economic indicators is the gross national product.

Like many tools, however, the GNP has its limitations. Too often we fail to recognize these, and we rely unreservedly upon the GNP figure for policy guidance.

Because of a failure to recognize the limits of GNP and to understand its true nature, I was happy to see in the September 22 issue of the Morgan Guaranty Survey, an article which discusses the gross national product.

Among the points made by the article is that instead of measuring economic performance, the GNP actually estimates "the market value of the Nation's output of goods and services, excluding those which go into the production of other goods and services." In other words, it is more a measure of economic activity than of economic performance.

The article then goes on to show how the GNP actually underestimates—or in some cases overestimates—the level of economic activity.

The article concludes by cautioning against excessive reliance on the GNP figure as the one true indicator of how things are going with the economy. It also expresses the hope, which I have myself frequently voiced in sessions of the Joint Economic Committee, that in their involvement with grand totals or aggregates, economists not neglect the components or the "little picture" of our economy.

This article is so important to a better understanding of the economic issues before our country that I am including it in the RECORD at this point:

THE CONTENT OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT: ?+?+?=$519 BILLION

In an economy as large and complex as that of the United States, the layman groping for some sense of what is going on is likely to be grateful for the statistical invention called gross national product. In one tidy figure it caters to his wish for a simple, single measure of the Nation's total economic achievement. He can watch it go up or down, memorize and quote its latest reading, check the accuracy of predictions that experts and others have made as to its course.

The popular preoccupation with GNP troubles some professional analysts. Their dismay is not that of craftsmen disturbed at seeing the tools of the trade fall into unlicensed hands. Indeed, the economists most involved in developing the GNP concept are pleased that their work has generated such wide general interest. At the same time, there is concern that public reception of their statistical creature may be based on superficial understanding, or even misunderstanding, of its true nature.

Certainly few laymen have any detailed grasp of how the gross national product figure is calculated. It would be interesting to discover, for instance, how many realize that a given year's published GNP, even after revisions that may go on for a decade or more is strictly an estimate and in no meaningful sense an actual counting-up of things produced. A committee of economists who studied the whole field of national economic accounts for the Bureau of the Budget in 1957 remarked, in recommending steps to improve public understanding: "* * * a large part of the public does not understand the meaning of the national income and product statistics, and * * * only a few technicians are familiar with the details of their shortcomings."

Dispelling some of the general innocence about GNP and other big-big-picture economic statistics might lessen the layman's tendency to take them without question, but familiarity is hardly likely to breed contempt. While gross national product as posted is not the full-fleshed reality many take it to be, observation of changes in it from quarter to quarter and from year to year does contribute to understanding of what is happening to overall economic activity. Thus the figure is a useful tool both for business planning and for the formulation of national policy.

The tool is of comparatively recent design—surprisingly recent in view of the place it already has managed to win in the working kits of most economists. The Department of Commerce, whose National Income Division is the source of the official GNP estimates, brought out its first ones just 20 years ago last March. They covered the years 1939, 1940, and 1941. In May 1942, estimates for the years back to 1929 were presented. Regular quarterly publication of estimates, expressed at annual rates, was started in 1947.

HOW IT BEGAN

The earliest origins of national product accounting go back much farther. The antecedents of GNP can be found in a series of attempts—in different countries at various times over a span of nearly three centuries—to put a size on a nation's economic achievements. Usually the investigator's focus was expressed as income rather than product; even today the statistical framework of which GNP is the best-known part is referred to as the national income accounts.

The beginning was in 17th-century England, where a versatile physician named Sir William Petty (1623–87) set out to prove that his country was richer than its leaders thought. Seeking a gage of annual national income, he started by assuming that it was equal to total spending. He then proceeded to work out the dimensions of the latter. He estimated the total population of England and Wales at 6 million, and multiplied that by what he reckoned as the average annual expense per man, woman, or child for "food, housing, cloaths, and other necessaries"—£6 13s. 4d., later revised to £7.

Sir William went on to apportion the calculated national income of some £40 million among classes of earning factors. He assigned £15 million to property as earnings chiefly in the form of rents and profits. The rest he attributed to labor. Assuming half the population was gainfully employed, he derived an average income for workers of sevenpence per working day. He recognized income differences among workers by dividing them into six brackets, earning from twopence per day in the lowest-paid to a shilling in the highest. He assumed an equal number of workers in each category.

From such computations he moved to a set of broad conclusions, including what may have been the first recorded gap estimate. Among them:

"That the power and wealth of England, hath increased above this 40 years.

"That there are spare hands enough among the King of England's subjects, to earn 2 million per annum, more than they now do, and there are employments, ready, proper, and sufficient, for that purpose.

"That there is mony sufficient to drive the trade of the nation.

"That the King of England's subjects, have stock, competent, and convenient to drive the trade of the whole commercial world."

While there is no way of checking Sir William's figures, it seems safe—considering that he had to work in an almost total absence of dependable statistical material—to assume that they contained inaccuracies. The methods he used, however, are not without parallels among techniques used by national income and product estimators today.

FIRST U.S. ESTIMATE

The development of national income study was slow and intermittent; some further work was done in England during the 1700's, and attempts were made in France and Russia. It wasn't until 1843 that the first estimate was made for the United States. The author was Prof. George Tucker, an economist and for a while a Member of Congress. He had studied the data of several censuses; and, when the 1840 count was broadened to include a substantial amount of economic information, he took advantage of the results to construct an estimate of annual income, which he also called "product of the country."

He shrank the income concept by limiting his estimate to material production. Perhaps he did so because of lack of data concerning services; he gave no reason. For the year 1840 he gaged the annual product to have a value of slightly over $1 billion. After the 1850 census he made an estimate for that year of nearly $2 billion.

The Tucker method, within its narrower scope, was closer to a straight count of things produced than is today's product accounting, which relies heavily on such indirect guides as income-tax returns and social security data as well as on direct reports and estimates of output. He regarded as his most difficult problem the assigning of prices to the goods units reported in the census. To make some provision for regional differences, he did his pricing on a State-by-State basis.

Professor Tucker dealt somewhat arbitrarily with the problem of eliminating from his count of final products those goods used as raw materials or components—a task still challenging to product estimators. He simply deducted one-third from the gross value of manufactured goods to account for raw materials; he based this on reports indicating that among manufacturers in New York two-thirds of selling price as an average went to wages and profits. In the case of household manufacturing, he increased the proportion for raw materials to one-half, this adjustment no doubt reflecting the reasonable assumption that earnings (whether called wages or profits) were slimmer in home industry than in factories.

Over the half-century following the Tucker work, the amount of statistical information available in the United States increased tremendously. The first scholar to make use of the new data for income-stimulating purposes was Dr. Charles B. Spahr, who published in 1896 an estimate of national income for 1890. His work turned back in the direction of measuring income, rather than product. His prime concern, actually, was income distribution among various groups in society.

A couple of decades later, Dr. Williford I. King developed income estimates for the census years from 1850 through 1910. When the National Bureau of Economic Research was established in 1920, the first project undertaken was an extension of Dr. King's research to cover the years 1909–19, published in 1921 and 1922. The Bureau continued active in the national income field, publishing in 1930 Dr. King's estimates for the years 1909–28.

As the late Prof. Paul Studenski noted in a review of the history of national income study, the work began and for a long time continued as a strictly private enterprise, commanding only such resources as individual scholars or their sponsoring organizations could muster. Governments showed little interest in the findings until well into the 20th century. Problems of reconstruction after World War I and later of worldwide depression brought the statisticians' ledgers to the tables where policy decisions were being made.

In the United States, Congress in 1932 directed the Department of Commerce to prepare studies showing how the Nation's income was divided as to point of origin and also as to means of payment (whether in wages, dividends, rents, etc.). Commerce en-

listed the aid of Prof. Simon Kuznets, who had joined the team of national income scholars at the National Bureau. He organized and directed the study, the first Government-sponsored look at income in the United States, which culminated in 1934 in publication of estimates for the years 1929–32. His work on this project and in subsequent studies at the National Bureau was a major influence in shaping the official approach to national accounting as adopted and currently employed by the Commerce Department.

ENTER GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

Income estimates, including a modest amount of subsidiary data, were published annually by the Department through the late 1930's. Meanwhile, scholars working independently in the field were experimenting with a concept broader than that of national income. The latter, which had become the chief focus of economic measurement, was thought of as the earnings of labor and property used in production. This was also expressed as the total value of goods and services produced for final consumption, plus additions to inventory, plus additions to the supply of capital, minus the value of capital needed for replacement. In 1934, Dr. Clark Warburton presented estimates he had made for the odd-numbered years 1919 through 1929, showing a quantity he called "value of the gross national product," the first appearance of the term in published discussion. It was used to signify a quantity that was larger than national income—chiefly because it reflected no deductions representing replacement of depreciated capital or taxes included in market prices.

Professor Kuznets also developed national product estimates on a gross basis. The Commerce Department gave GNP official status with publication of its estimates in the spring of 1942. The immediate reason for the innovation was the belief that it provided a more meaningful basis than did the smaller national income figure for relating the volume of war production to total output.

In the first full-dress exposition of their GNP approach, Commerce economists conjectured modestly as to possible uses it might have beyond the special needs of wartime and postwar policy planning that had led to its development. "The estimates," they said, "should also prove useful in other capacities, both to businessmen and to private economists seeking a summary picture of the economic process as background for special studies and policies." They could hardly have been expected to foresee that the statistical artifact they were unveiling would become the general public's favorite yardstick for measuring economic performance.

What GNP actually measures—or, more accurately, estimates—is the market value of the Nation's output of goods and services, excluding those which go into the production of other goods and services. For instance, steel used in building construction is counted only once—as part of the value of the finished building.

The seemingly all-inclusive reach of GNP doubtless has had something to do with its popular acceptance. Comprehensiveness can have statistical advantages, too—for instance, the enhanced validity of a total whose calculation does not involve estimating the amount of depreciation, a quantity on which reliable information has always been difficult to obtain.

Forming the GNP concept was only the beginning of a task that has no foreseeable conclusion—the job of bringing the estimate constantly closer to the reality it is supposed to express. Progress has been impressive, thanks to improvements in the thousands of statistical compilations which the estimators use as raw material and in the art of estimating itself. But the job is far from finished. Even the beginning—defining GNP—appears to have no end. Debate as to the proper content and the most meaningful presentation of gross national product has been continuous virtually since the original concept was introduced.

A LAYMAN'S LOOK

The colloquy is likely to continue, for there is much to discuss. The annual laying out of the official income and product accounts involves some 75 statistical tables, with crisscrossing and interlocking references that add up to a highly detailed panorama of the economy. Behind the published details, the worksheets of the estimators who prepare them are crowded with underlying data many times more detailed. Tying the whole together is an accounting scheme so complex that even the technicians most intimately involved sometimes find it hard to communicate with each other about it. For the layman, a look at the system is best obtained through the summary tables published each year by the Department of Commerce.

These appear in the annual national income issue of the Department's monthly Survey of Current Business. The first and most basic of the tables for 1961 is reproduced below, with cross-referencing symbols omitted and certain accounting details not shown. The arrangement in two columns reflects the fact that the economy's output of goods and services is being looked at in two ways. On the left side it is viewed as a flow of income payments to various parties, adding down to the subtotal national income. Several further items are then attached to result in the grand total gross national product. On the right side the same grand total is achieved as the simple sum of what has been spent for goods and services by four large groups of buyers: Consumers, business (investing in capital goods and inventory), foreigners as net purchasers (exports minus imports), and Government (including Federal, State, and local).

"Statistical discrepancy" in the left column is a balancing item. It recognizes that the alternate methods of adding up gross national product shown in the two columns don't cover precisely the same ground. It doesn't mean that one is accurate while the other is inaccurate by the exact amount of the discrepancy. Rather, both methods are inaccurate, but in differing degrees. The difference between their respective errors is the amount of the discrepancy; the exact amounts of the errors—the amounts by which the two estimates miss gross national product as it really exists—are impossible to know. The estimators believe they have reduced the possibility of error in their total figure to about 1 percent. The discrepancy item in recent years has been as low as $0.6 billion and as high as $3.4 billion.

*National Income and Product Account, 1961*

[Billions; figures may not add because of rounding]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Compensation of employees: | | Personal consumption expenditures | $338.1 |
| Wages and salaries | $278.8 | Gross private domestic investment | 69.3 |
| Employer contributions for social insurance | 12.0 | Net exports of goods and services: | |
| Other labor income | 11.4 | Exports | 27.3 |
| Proprietors' income | 47.8 | Imports | 23.3 |
| Rental income of persons | 12.3 | | 4.0 |
| Corporate profits (before tax) | 45.6 | Government purchases of goods and services | 107.4 |
| Inventory valuation adjustment | .0 | | |
| Net interest | 20.0 | | |
| National income | 427.8 | | |
| Business transfer payments | 2.1 | | |
| Indirect business tax and nontax liability | 48.2 | | |
| Current surplus of Government enterprises less subsidies | −1.7 | | |
| Capital consumption allowances | 45.3 | | |
| Statistical discrepancy | −3.1 | | |
| Gross national product | 518.7 | Gross national product | 518.7 |

Neither column of the table looks at output in the way that might seem most natural—as a stream of commodities and services flowing from the bountiful cornucopia that is the U.S. economy. Such a view, of course, is impossible through the eyes of accounting, which can add up the diverse fruits of production only in the common denominator of dollars. National product must be thought of, in Professor Kuznets' words, as a "sum of values" rather than "a congeries of specific commodities and services."

There is, to be sure, a great deal of tallying of specific goods and services in national product accounting. Production figures issued by industries or compiled by Government agencies, used in connection with price data, play an important part in the building up of the dollar totals, or in cross-checking the validity of totals arrived at from other directions. But nowhere in the published tables of the income and product accounts is there reference to the number of automobiles or television sets produced, the loaves of bread baked, the number of coats and trousers drycleaned. The denomination is always dollars.

As a result, GNP is sensitive to changes in prices. To permit year-to-year comparisons free of the effect of price changes, the Commerce Department issues GNP and subsidiary figures in "constant" dollars as well as the more commonly cited current-dollar ones. The "deflated" gross national product, as the price-adjusted estimate is often called, was added to the official statistics in 1951, with 1947 prices used as the base. Subsequently 1954 was adopted as base.

Insofar as is possible, the deflation of current-dollar GNP is performed on a product-by-product basis. This permits careful assignment of weight to individual price changes according to the proportion of total output they affect in a given year. For appraising economic growth and improvement in living standards, the constant-dollar figure is, of course, more meaningful.

The expression of GNP in monetary terms comports with the general rule of national accounting that only goods and services exchanged for money in market-type transactions are counted. This criterion produces some ironic results. The do-it-yourselfer who spends a weekend finishing off a room of his house does no more for

the gross national product than if he had stacked his purchase of lumber in the corner and gone golfing. Buying the materials and tools was a contribution to GNP; but his labor, although it has added value to his house, does not swell the official national output by a single dollar. If he hires a carpenter, however, his whole payment for the job is an addition to GNP.

The most substantial excluding of productive effort from the formal accounts by reason of the money-payment criterion is the ignoring of the work of housewives in their own homes. Here, too, is a paradox. In terms of national income and product, the woman caring for her home and family is considered nonproductive; the girl working in a factory or office is productive. If they trade places—the housewife taking the factory or office job and hiring its former holder to take care of her home—both are then performing services for money and their work gets into GNP, which shows an increase although exactly the same amount of production is occurring as before.

Distortions like these are tolerated in the national accounting system because there is no statistically sound way to work into the accounts a value representing the services rendered. Any attempt to assign a dollar value to the aggregate of American home-tending would involve guesswork, which is a quite different thing from estimation.

The housewife has found a way, if inadvertently to make the GNP figure more reflective of true output. She has done this by shifting to outside helpers a growing portion of the work once done in the home. The purchase and use of laborsaving devices, the serving of prepared foods that reduce kitchen work, more frequent taking of meals in restaurants, the sending of clothes and linens to the laundry are all changes that bring what was once uncounted housework into the market area as bought services or as an added element of value in bought goods.

Changes in a nation's living habits, in other words, can affect the national income and product totals in the absence of any change in the actual volume of goods or services produced and consumed. A nation in process of transition from a predominantly barter economy to a market economy, for instance, is likely to find its annual increases in income and product greatly overstated in relation to actual improvement in national welfare. A shift out of agriculture into industry normally brings a similar result.

Conversely, countries where economic development has lagged tend to look worse off in their national accounts than they are, especially when their figures are compared with those of more advanced nations. Where a high proportion of activity goes on outside the market economy, the money-payment criterion for counting goods and services results in understatement of the level of national well-being. International comparisons of national income or gross national product are rendered further dubious in many cases by significant differences from country to country in underlying statistical concept.

The U.S. accounting basis makes exceptions to the money-payment rule in several cases where the basis exists for a reasonably sound assignment of monetary value—through a process called "imputation." The principal use of this device is in the case of homes occupied by their owners. Since the rent on rented dwellings goes into GNP, the comparable service enjoyed by homeowners from their own dwellings must also be included if the total is not to be subject to variation resulting merely from changes in the proportion of homeownership. The imputation is made by regarding homeowners as landlords who rent to themselves at going local rates. In this useful accounting fiction they are considered to be spending as tenants and receiving income as landlords.

Imputation is used also in the case of employees who receive all or part of their pay "in kind"—for example, in food. They are assumed to have received the equivalent in cash and to have spent it on the items received in kind. Food and personal clothing provided to members of the Armed Forces are treated in this manner and thus included in the income and product accounts. Food and fuel produced and consumed on farms likewise receive an imputed cash value and appear as sales made by the farmer as producer to himself as consumer.

### WHAT THE VINTNERS SELL

The business of estimating the value of the Nation's output involves many decisions of inclusion and exclusion that stir controversy among the experts and are likely to strike the layman as being, at best, arbitrary. Beyond the ironies occasioned by application of—and exceptions to—the standard of money payment, a number of oddities result from the introduction of legal criteria.

The official accounting excludes from national income and product all economic activity which violates the law. Thus the official estimates for the years when prohibition was in effect include no allowance for nonmedicinal personal consumption of alcoholic beverages. The estimate for 1933, the year the prohibition amendment was repealed, includes $626 million for alcoholic beverages; for 1934, the first full year of legalized drink, expenditures are put just above $2 billion.

In large part these additions to gross national product must be considered attributable to arbitrary accounting rather than to a changed pace of economic activity. Dr. Warburton's estimate of 1929 GNP, not distinguishing between legal and illegal activities, had assigned a market value of $3.75 billion to alcoholic beverages consumed.

The statistical difficulty of keeping GNP legally pure did not end with repeal. There can hardly be a reliable way to exclude from current accounting liquor that finds its way to illicit ultimate sale in "local option" areas. Nor is there a means of counting out goods sold in violation of "fair trade" price-maintenance laws. Rigorous application of what has been called the "Caesar's wife" approach to national accounting would demand elimination—even retroactively—of transactions involving fraud, antitrust violations, breach of contract, or legal taint of any kind.

The obvious impossibility of such sifting has led some critics of the present system to urge that lawfulness be dropped altogether as a criterion for inclusion of activity in GNP. They argue that attempts to apply it discriminatingly can only end in basing in-or-out judgments on personal views as to morality or social desirability. Better, say the holders of this view, to rely on the simple test of marketability—can it be sold for a price?—to determine what is a part of the national output.

### QUESTIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Another area of extensive disagreement among GNP technicians is the treatment of government's (Federal, State, and local) large role in the economy. Government business enterprises (public power projects, municipal waterworks and transit lines, Army post exchanges and commissaries) are included in the "business" sector along with privately owned concerns. Interest payments by Government, however, are treated not as income to the recipients but as transfer payments—a term applied generally to payments for which there is no return in goods or services (e.g., gifts, social security benefits, charitable donations, relief). Thus such interest payments do not add to the statistical total of GNP. Government purchases, on the other hand, including compensation paid to Government employees, are regarded as being for final consumption; thus, as indicated in the table above, they swell the total of gross national product.

Critics argue that interest payments by Government, no less than those by business concerns, should be included in income and product. Until 1947, they were. The National Income Division defends their exclusion since then on the grounds that the bulk of Government debt was incurred to finance wars and current expenditures rather than income-producing assets, and that therefore the interest on it should not be treated as representing the purchase of a service (money use) at the time of payment. The National Income Division further argues that comparisons of the value of prewar and postwar output would be distorted by the inclusion of continuing interest payments on war-created debt.

It can also be contended that noninclusion of Government interest is consistent with the official treatment of Government-owned buildings, roads, parks, and other fixed properties. These are not treated as service-producing capital assets having a long life; instead, they are considered to have been consumed in the year they were purchased. Thus interest on the debts incurred to pay for the facilities cannot be related to currently produced services.

Dissenters from the official view hold that such Government facilities do in fact perform useful services on a current basis, which should be reflected in the national accounts as imputed rent. Commerce's answer is that there is no basis for assigning realistic value to services rendered by Government property and that imputations made without adequate basis would hurt the integrity of the accounting system.

This point of difference involves more than a mere quibble over a fine point of national income accounting. It leads directly to the whole controversial question of whether the Federal Government should have a capital budget, distinguished from the current-expenditures one, in order to play down the size of the deficit.

Not all criticism of the official treatment of the Government sector is to the effect that present rulings in that area tend to understate GNP. One of the chief complaints from the start has been that some of the services performed by Government (and represented in the product total as wage payments to Government employees) are actually intermediate to the production of end goods by business and therefore should be eliminated from final product count just as raw materials and fuel used in production are. Police protection and law enforcement in general, for instance, might be considered in this view as partly directed to providing conditions necessary for the conduct of business.

Dividing the salaries of G-men and judges, the cost of highway upkeep, or the Nation's defense expenditures, between final and nonfinal purposes would involve many hairline distinctions, some of them more metaphysical than mathematical. The National Income Division has stood by its view that such separations cannot be meaningfully made, but has in effect held the door open for anyone wishing to propose a practical way of doing the job. Mr. George Jaszi, Chief of NID, calls the whole question of possible duplication between intermediate and final products "one of the most difficult subjects of national income theory."

For the layman, the chief significance of the numerous technical disagreements over the philosophy and procedures of national accounting may be to serve as a reminder that GNP is a theoretical concept rather than a definite, measurable quantity. To emphasize this is not to disparage the concept's usefulness, but to caution against excessive reliance on the resultant figure as

the one true indicator of how things are going with the economy.

As single figures go, GNP is the most comprehensive that the statistical art has yet devised in the economic realm. But no single figure can tell all—or even very much—about how well an economy is functioning, how well it is serving its people, how soundly it is building for the future.

A few years ago, Prof. T. C. Schelling of Yale University, in the course of a discussion of national accounting, ventured the opinion that "The fetish for a 'single best estimate of the economy's performance' has already gone too far." With electronic computing enormously enhancing not only the government's ability to use data but also the private economy's capacity to originate them, the tendency to add up is likely to maintain its dominance over economic research. Pre-Keynesian theorists were wont to concentrate on the economic behavior of one man or one firm and weren't greatly concerned with what current study calls "the aggregates." As today's investigators click off their tapes and sharpen their imputations, they are contributing useful insights that were impossible to obtain in the nonstatistical days. It must be hoped, however, that their involvement with grand totals will not lead to neglect of the "little picture" in economic study—a focus also suitable to the capabilities of the computer.

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## Study by the President's Committee To Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics Supports Current Figures, Makes Recommendations for Revisions in Gathering Data

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, after an exhaustive and professionally accurate study of the procedures used in this country to report unemployment statistics, the President's Committee To Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics stated that current figures correctly portray the employment status of our Nation. While supporting strongly the objectivity of governmental agencies charged with the compilation of such material, the President's Committee has offered a number of positive suggestions for the improvement of present procedures which would immeasurably increase scientific reliability.

The Committee was headed by Robert A. Gordon of the University of California, and also included such respected authorities as Robert Dorfman, Harvard; Martin R. Gainsbrugh, National Industrial Conference Board; Albert E. Rees, University of Chicago; Stanley H. Ruttenberg, AFL–CIO; and Frederick F. Stephan, Princeton University.

Referring to their efforts in this vital area, an editorial of September 30, 1962, in the Washington Post gives the following favorable comment:

The Committee's findings are contained in a comprehensive report on "Measuring Employment and Unemployment" which is in every respect a model of excellence. Virtually all aspects of the difficult problems of framing concepts and making quantitative estimates have been explored in what will doubtless be recognized as a difinitive work.

However, the Committee did not confine itself merely to approval of satisfactory procedures now in effect, but also listed recommended changes which would bring about more accurate reporting.

Suggested changes included: a tenfold increase of the present 35,000 sample for household surveys; establishment of a statistical series on job vacancies; better data on hours worked, multiple jobholders, part-time -employees, and occupational and geographical breakdowns.

Among reasons cited for the high rate of unemployment in the United States as compared to European countries is frequent discretionary unemployment. Such a factor is present because Americans frequently choose to remain unemployed rather than to accept a job which offers distasteful duties or unacceptable salary. In contrast, jobseekers, in less developed countries often have the simple choice of work or starve. While discretionary unemployment is still a subject of considerable controversy, it is obvious that the increased sampling suggested by the President's Committee would do much to determine its true effect.

It is valuable to note, Mr. President, that the Committee has expressed confidence in the scientific objectivity of the agencies which, until this time, have been compiling the Nation's unemployment figures. Dr. Gordon and his coworkers are quoted in part as saying that the Committee "has unanimously and categorically concluded that doubt concerning the scientific objectivity of the agencies responsible for collecting, processing, and publishing the data is unwarranted. The Committee remains highly impressed by the professional qualifications and the scientific integrity and objectivity of those responsible for the system of reporting."

It is my view that this survey by members of the President's Committee To Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics have contributed significantly to the national understanding of a serious and continuing problem. I also believe that more rapid and effective progress can be made in the future through speedy implementation of their recommendations. The suggested changes and new procedures listed in the Committee report would entail considerable expense. I submit, however, that we can do no less to alleviate the suffering and distress of the unemployed segments of our population.

Mr. President, as a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate, it was my responsibility to question the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg in his initial appearance before our committee in connection with his confirmation. He stated that he would, as Secretary of Labor, give to the people of the United States a prompt and accurate report on employment and unemployment. He did so during his stewardship of the important position he held in the administration before becoming an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

I ask unanimous consent that the article "Study Backs U.S. Figures on Jobless" written by Frank C. Porter, in the September 30 issue of the Washington Post be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STUDY BACKS U.S. FIGURES ON JOBLESS

(By Frank C. Porter)

The U.S. employment reporting program was strongly defended against its critics yesterday by a Presidential Study Group which also found that the rate of unemployment here is much higher than in any other industrialized free world nation except Canada.

Despite its defense of the program, however, the President's Committee To Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics offered a long list of recommendations for improving the service.

These included proposals for a tenfold increase of the present 35,000 sample for household surveys, for establishment of a statistical series on job vacancies, for better data on hours worked, multiple jobholders, part-time employees, occupational and geographical breakdowns.

The report included a special study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics which destroyed the widely held opinion that lower rates of unemployment overseas can be attributed to differences in reporting procedures.

BLS took 1960 jobless rates for eight industrialized nations and adjusted them to conform to American definitions. The results:

| | *Percent Unadjusted* | *Percent Adjusted* |
|---|---|---|
| United States | 5.6 | 5.6 |
| Canada | 7.0 | 7.0 |
| France | 1.1 | 1.9 |
| West Germany | 1.2 | 1.0 |
| Great Britian | 1.6 | 2.4 |
| Italy | 7.9 | 4.3 |
| Japan | 1.0 | 1.1 |
| Sweden (1961) | 1.2 | 1.5 |

The tabulation shows that rates for two nations, West Germany and Italy, actually declined when adjusted to U.S. techniques.

The report suggested a number of possible reasons for the higher American rate. One was the high incidence here of discretionary unemployment based largely on affluence. While citizens of less developed countries often have a simple work-or-starve choice, Americans have a wider option. Their greater resources often permit them to remain unemployed until they can find a job that meets their skills and wage demands.

Also cited was the greater growth of some nations because of postwar reconstruction and industrial catching up. The Committee turned aside the theory that automation and technological advance are to blame for the higher American rate.

It found that growth rates for worker productivity have lagged in the United States while productivity gains have been most marked in Germany, Japan, Italy, and France, where jobless rates are low or declining.

Also, some oversea nations, by law or custom, guarantee job tenure even in periods of recession.

The Committee stressed that it "has unanimously and categorically concluded that doubt concerning the sicentific objectivity of the agencies responsible for collecting, processing, and publishing the data is unwarranted. The Committee remains highly impressed by the professional qualifications and the scientific integrity and objectivity

of those responsible for the system of reporting."

Criticism of the program has ranged from a Reader's Digest charge that jobless figures are exaggerated to provide an excuse for unneeded Federal spending to AFL–CIO complaints that the figures understate unemployment.

The 412-page report, which urges Congress to consider larger appropriations to expand the present reporting program, was hailed by President Kennedy and Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz. The latter said many of the recommendations would be implemented immediately and others given full attention.

The Committee was headed by Robert A. Gordon, University of California professor, and included Robert Dorfman, Harvard; Martin R. Gainsbrugh, National Industrial Conference Board; Albert E. Rees, University of Chicago; Stanley H. Ruttenberg, AFL–CIO, and Frederick F. Stephan, Princeton.

## Cuban Crisis Proves Need of Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, September 24, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, two of the most important subjects discussed on the House floor during the past week are foreign aid and Cuba. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring to the attention of the House two editorials which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., on September 15 and September 22, 1962.

The editorials follows:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Sept. 15, 1962]

CUBAN CRISIS PROVES NEED OF UNITY

Atlantic unity resembles the weather in one important respect, if we may paraphrase an overworked aphorism: Everybody talks about it; but nobody—at least, nobody in high authority—does anything really effective about it.

This sorry situation has been pointed up vividly by the Cuban crisis. Americans naturally are perturbed and annoyed by news that ships flying NATO-country flags have been chartered to carry personnel and materiel from Soviet Russia to help Castro build up military and industrial strength.

Some Americans go further and demand that our NATO Allies join us in an economic blockade of Cuba, barring imports from, or exports to, that troubled land—a form of trade war which, if the Russians mean half of what they say, could lead to a shooting war with prospects of mutual nuclear destruction.

Such a demand, of course, is based on lack of knowledge of the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty—and on shortness of memory where the troubles of other NATO members are concerned. The U.S. Senate ratified the North Atlantic Treaty only after specific guarantees had been given that the Alliance did not obligate the United States to defend any of its Allies' interests outside their European homelands. At committee hearings, Senators extracted assurances from the then Secretary of State, Dean G. Acheson, that the treaty could not be invoked to defend such colonies as British Hong Kong or French Indochina against Communist attack. A couple of years later, we called on our Allies to help defend South Korea against such an attack—but we called on them as United Nations members and not as NATO signatories.

Later, when Nasser played the same trick on Great Britain and France in the Suez that Castro would like to play on us in Panama, we not only refused to go along with our two principal NATO Allies in their attempt to regain their property. We joined Soviet Russia in voting United Nations condemnation of their action and thereby forced Anglo-French withdrawal. More recently, our State Department has accepted the Soviet and "neutralist" definition of "colonialism" and has given aid and comfort to Asian and African enemies of our NATO partners—notably two of the smaller and weaker partners, Belgium and Portugal.

With this record behind us, we cannot preemptorily tell our NATO Allies that it is their bounden duty to join us in throwing out the Soviet Union's pestiferous Cuban stooge, Castro. But we can take belated action to make NATO what the farsighted Charles de Gaulle long ago urged that it be made—"a global alliance," not a mere regional guarantee against aggression in Europe or North America.

Even President de Gaulle's "global alliance" would not be enough, however. The Cuban crisis has underlined the urgent need of a real Atlantic Union—a political, economic, and military coalition of the NATO countries and such other democracies as might be ready to do their share to hold the line against totalitarian aggression. Some of the same Americans who criticize our NATO Allies for exercising their "sovereign right" to trade with Cuba, would be the first to warn against endangering our own "sovereignty" by making common cause, politically, economically, as well as militarily, with other democracies.

Other Americans, clinging to the old notion of hemispheric isolation, may say that we don't want or need our European Allies in this crisis—that we can handle Cuba alone. Certainly we can handle Cuba alone—but we can't handle a nuclear war alone. No nation can.

The one sure safeguard against the setting off of a nuclear war by a "brushfire" war, in our own hemisphere or elsewhere, can be found in forming what our Founding Fathers called "a more perfect Union"—this time a union of free countries and freemen.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Sept. 22, 1962]

BLOWING HOT, COLD ON FOREIGN AID

When the House of Representatives approved a $1.1 billion cut in the administration's foreign aid bill, it not only ignored warnings from President Kennedy and former President Truman but in large measure it also reversed actions the House itself previously had taken.

A substantial part of the foreign aid program is development loans on a long-range basis. This formerly was approved by Congress as permitting constructive planning for specific purposes rather than hit-or-miss financial assistance. Now the House has voted a 38 percent cut in development loans.

When the Alliance for Progress was proposed to aid Latin American nations willing to institute internal reforms, Congress approved it. Now the House has voted to cut $75 million out of the $600 million requested for the program, a move inviting Latin-American charges that the United States is running out on its proffered aid.

The House also reversed congressional action when it voted to tie the President's hands on aid to Poland and Yugoslavia. Previously it had been agreed that the President should decide policy in such matters.

The House also invaded the field of foreign policy when it voted to cut off aid from any country whose ships trade with Communist Cuba. Countries whose ships have carried goods to Cuba include Great Britain, West Germany, Italy and Greece, all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is possible to express regret that NATO countries should see fit to aid communism by trading with Cuba without taking action which could have serious effects on NATO unity.

House voting in those matters indicates a growing belief in Congress, and even in the administration itself, that the United States is carrying more than its share of the the burden of providing help to developing countries. .

For example, an administration spokesman, Undersecretary of State George Ball, had this to say at the World Bank meeting in Washington on the subject of U.S. aid to emerging new nations:

"It may be thought by some that a developing country should be able to look with confidence to a perpetual inflow of public funds to supplement its internal savings and thus feel free to discourage private investment. I think it may be said with absolute certainly that no developing country can safely make such an assumption."

And Eugene Black, retiring president of the World Bank, suggested that the need of underdeveloped nations for aid was growing at such a rate because of population increase that foreign aid from one country to another should be replaced by international aid programs.

For 15 years foreign aid has been an American policy supported by both political parties. It has proved valuable in providing checks against the spread of communism and support for free-world strength. It has had its faults—waste and administrational lapses. But if the policy itself has merit, the remedy for faults does not lie in wrecking the program's implementation of the policy dictates. Congress shouldn't blow hot and cold on matters of such importance.

In the interest of consistency and effective administration of foreign aid, it may be hoped that the Senate will favor restoration of a major part of the House cuts and will be able in conference to convince the House to accept it.

## Worst Fears of Prayer Ruling Confirmed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, if there were any doubt in any mind as to the ultimate result of the Supreme Court's edict prohibiting the voluntary saying of nondenominational prayers in the public schools of New York, it should be dispelled by the latest development in the case. Counsel for the New York State Educatioanl Department has ruled that not even a prayer composed by a pupil can be recited or the Bible read for spiritual purposes in any classroom.

That interpretation of the Supreme Court's ruling, Mr. President, confirms the worst fears of those of us who expressed alarm over its implications. It is clear proof that, carried to its ultimate conclusion, the decision will create a climate of enforced nonreligion in our public schools which is totally contrary to the religious heritage of our Nation.

The Washington Star pointed up this inescapable conclusion in its editorial of September 30, 1962, entitled "Religion

of Secularism." I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of that editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RELIGION OF SECULARISM

Following the Supreme Court's school prayer decision last June Justice Tom Clark, in an unusual speech, told a San Francisco audience that all the Court had actually decided was that government shall not take part in establishment of religion. In this respect his interpretation was more narrow than those, for example, of Justice Potter Stewart, in dissent, and Justice Douglas, concurring with the majority.

Whatever the precise meaning of the decision may have been, counsel for New York's State educational department has added some interesting details in ramification. In the opinion of counsel, no prayers of any kind may now be recited aloud in a New York public school. Reading passages from the Bible, for spiritual rather than instructional purposes in the schools, is unconstitutional. A pupil's voluntary recitation in a classroom of a prayer composed by the pupil is outlawed, for such recitation would require the teacher's consent—and the teacher is a government employee. The State Education Commission of New York has already ruled against a proposal, by a local school board, that pupils be permitted to recite as a prayer the concluding stanza of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Whether Justice Clark and his brethren of the majority would agree with such interpretations of their decision is another question. But such interpretations by officials of a public school system directly affected by the decision, lend strength to a conclusion recently expressed by Cardinal Spellman: "But now there is abroad in our land a new spirit which seeks to change this religious tradition of America * * * and to commit our Government to the side of irreligion. This is the establishment of a new religion of secularism. This should be ruled unconstitutional."

## The Reactions of the People of the 17th District of Michigan to a Proposed Federal Income Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in my August newsletter, this year, I asked my constitutents this question: If you were given a $100 tax cut, spread in 12 equal installments, what would you do with the money?

I received the following answers:

Fifty-six percent: If money received in installments via more take-home pay each month due to decreased withholding, it would be absorbed into the budget for everyday expenses, gas, telephone and electric bills, medical and dental expenses, car payments, home repairs, charity, taxes (sales, property, and the new Detroit income tax), and maybe once in a while a dinner out.

Thirty-one percent: Would like the money in a lump sum or would save it and spend it in one lump sum for major expenditures such as a new car, home repairs and improvements, education and property taxes.

Thirteen percent commented on a tax cut but did not answer the specific question or were retired so would not receive a tax cut.

And I received these comments:

Twenty percent for a tax cut of which 2 percent would like it in the form of an increased exemption.

Eighteen percent for a tax cut but only if accompanied by a cut in Government spending.

Sixty-two percent against a tax cut at this time. As one replied, "Certainly the taxes are high but this is what we are paying for freedom we enjoy in this country, the price for that is not too high."

The general population characteristics of the 17th District are: Total population, 1960, 512,752; land area, 119 square miles; population per square mile, 4,308; age, 19 years and younger, 200,107; 65 years and older, 35,684. Housing, owner occupied, 126,432 or 86.8 percent. My district has the second highest percentage of owner-occupied homes in the Nation. Assessed valuation, land and buildings, $1,093,431,295; average property taxes, $55 per $1,000 of assessed valuation which valuation is approximately 30 percent of the market value; school taxes range from a low of $18 per $1,000 to a high of $53 per thousand.

England has successfully used her tax structure to pump money into her economy on some occasions and to control inflation on other occasions.

If the tax structure of the United States is to be used as a method of putting money into the economy to increase employment or to take money out of the economy to reduce inflation, from the answers I received to my question it is apparent to me that a great deal of work must be done to explain such a program.

Second, it is obvious to me that the taxpayer is anxious to reduce the taxes he pays at the local level, into the local communities. In a high property tax area, this tax is a most onerous burden upon a young couple attempting to rear a family and upon the retired couple living on a reduced fixed income. Possibly one of the more apparent reasons is that property taxes are not on a pay-as-you-go basis but are collected on an accumulated basis every 6 months, in a lump sum.

It was a pleasure for me to run this survey; to observe the many areas in which the money from a tax reduction would be spent and to read the answers from the very best congressional district of them all; excerpts from some of which follow:

We do have a lot of responsibility, which we are able to face only if we pay the expenses, so I do not think we should have a tax cut. It is only too bad that we are compelled to spend so much money for defense, instead of for research to improve humanity.

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If a lump sum would probably be used to help buy a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica for my five grandchildren, if smaller amount to help buy them a dog.

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I have no interest in hoarding money. I am proud and gratified to contribute to the health of the economy by being a spender, a purchaser, in my old age (72).

We have never heard objections to income tax, but we constantly hear concern over the U.S. unbalanced budget.

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A hundred extra dollars would make it easier for us to buy a half a steer for the deep freeze.

---

We are an old couple and need so much medicine.

---

Could a drowning man use a life preserver?

---

I consider taxes 50 percent charity and regulate my church and charity giving accordingly.

---

I believe it would just tend to disappear into other forms of taxes that seem to go up continuously or new ones added.

---

Use it to purchase a needed item we can't squeeze out of our present budget.

---

I firmly believe; unpopular as it may be, that any tax cuts should first begin with corporations.

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I sure would not buy booze, I don't drink.

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It appears far more important to save and create jobs for American citizens than to reduce income taxes.

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This mite wouldn't amount to a hill of beans as far as I am concerned.

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I wish to go on record as wishing to invest a hundred dollars a year more in an intelligent, and dynamic, foreign policy.

## International Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Honorable Terry D. Schrunk, mayor of the city of Portland, Oreg., kindly brought to my attention the fact that Jefferson High School is the second Portland high school to formalize its sister school relationship with a Japanese high school, Asahigaoka High School, of Sappora, Japan.

Sappora and Portland have close ties under the sister city program. Earlier Washington High School, of Portland, had joined with the Minami High Cchool, of Sappora.

I am most pleased to note that Jefferson High School has joined in this program to create international understanding

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the September 14 issue of the Jeffersonian, which describes the genesis of this program.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SISTER-SCHOOL TIE FORMALIZED BETWEEN JEFFERSON, ASAHIGAOKA

From our sister school in Asahigaoka, in Sapporo, Japan, has come the colorful doll which stands in the main office. It is a

traditional Japanese doll for boys' festival in May. A tape describing the school and its various activities and photographs showing a long-distance race and mountain climbing have also been sent.

Negotiations began last year to establish the sister-school relationship as Washington High has done so with Minami High School is Sapporo. The Jefferson International Relations Club had indicated last year to Mayor Terry D. Schrunk that it would like to establish such an affiliation. Correspondence was begun and when Mayor Schrunk visited Sapporo in mid-April of last year, a formal agreement written by Mr. Malo was signed.

MAYORS PARTICIPATE

Those who participated included various officials in Sapporo, Mayor Schrunk, Mayor Yosaku Harada of Sapporo, Principal Jenji Kajiura, of Asahigaoka High School, Mr. R. W. DeWeese, of the Portland School Board, Mr. Howard Travers, administrative assistant to Mayor Schrunk, and Mr. Rickett. His daughter, Charlene Rickett, a senior at Washington High School this year, negotiated with Washington's sister school, Minami, last year. A visit was also made to the school assembly.

A few days later, the U.S.S. *McGinty* visited Sapporo and two Jefferson graduates from the crew visited Asahigaoka to further establish better relations with them.

SISTER-SCHOOL DESCRIBED

Asahigaoka is a senior high school with about 1,100 students and grades corresponding to our 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. The school was established in 1958. It is a modern school located on a sloping hillside near Mount Moiwa, some 600 meters high. Like Jefferson, a student association helps govern the school. It is maintained and operated by the city.

Comments made during correspondence have been:

Mayor Harada, March 19, 1962: "It was with pleasure that we learned of the desire of Portland Jefferson High School to become affiliated with a high school in our city. It is my hope that it will be possible for these two schools to formalize an affiliation and that the students of both schools will enjoy many interesting, friendly exchanges."

SUCCESS HOPED FOR

Principal Malo, March 27, 1962: "May we state, too, that we look forward with interest, enthusiasm, and anticipation to the establishment of these friendly relationships with your students. We appreciate this opportunity to work toward ever better international understanding."

Mayor Schrunk, June 15, 1962: "You will note the formality which accompanied this signing and the honor accorded to the group at the assembly. I have high hopes for the newly established sister high school program."

## Minority Staffing Discussed by Raymond Moley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Raymond Moley, highly respected columnist of News Week magazine and a chain of newspapers extending from the New York Herald Tribune to the Los Angeles Times, discusses the problem of congressional staffing in a column which appeared in the New York Herald of September 16. Mr. Moley, a well-known and prominent conservative is the recent author of a book entitled "The Republican Opportunity." For many years Mr. Moley has written extensively explaining the problems and challenges confronting conservative thinking people in America. In this column he discusses among other things the thoughtful speech given August 23 by Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, on the whole question of adequate staffing for the Congress:

THERE'S A LAW TO CURB POWELL

(By Raymond Moley)

The amazing abuse of the proprieties of official conduct by the chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., occasioned by his recent European junket, has fortunately been exposed to the newspaper readers of the country. There is little, however, that the readers of that garish story can do about ridding Congress of this individual. For in his empire in Harlem he is not only lord temporal but lord spiritual as well, because of his pastorate of an immense Baptist Church. Nor can he be removed from his powerful chairmanship without upsetting the cherished tradition of seniority.

But if this fantastic indiscretion can rivet the attention of the public upon the system under which POWELL can command such power as a committee chairman, it may be that something can be done about a reform which some Senators and Representatives have been demanding for a long time.

This reform concerns adequate provisions for committee staffs. It should be noted that one of the two women who accompanied POWELL on his grand tour of Europe, London, and Parisian play places, and the isles of Greece is an "assistant counsel" of his Education and Labor Committee at a salary of $9,000 a year. The other, a former Miss Universe contestant, works on a salary as a receptionist in POWELL'S congressional office. The latter is an employee of POWELL as an individual Congressman. The former, however, is not a personal employee of POWELL but is an employee of the committee of which he is chairman.

It is this appropriation by committee chairmen of the plenary authority over staff employees which has been the subject of much debate in Congress and of comment by writers for the press.

The complaint is made by members of the Republican minority in both the House and the Senate that the overwhelming majority of committee staff members are Democrats and that the Republican minorities on committees are not able, because of staff shortage, to fulfill their responsibilities.

A month ago I had the opportunity to talk with a number of the minority members of the staffs of House committees. They told me that while on some committees the Democratic chairmen and the majority itself were perfectly fair in making staff help available to the minority, there were other committees in which the chairmen and the majority regarded these positions as purely political. Those staff members told me that POWELL completely disregarded the claims of the minority, that he hired and fired staff members on his own initiative, that more than 40 staff members were partisan and personal choices of the chairman, and that there were only two or three members available to the Republican minority.

What is really needed is the enforcement of the spirit and letter of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which was sponsored by Senator LaFollette and Representative Monroney.

That act, which is the law of the land, provides that committee staffs be appointed by the "majority vote of the committee" and that the committee staff members shall be appointed without regard to their political affiliations. The chairmen are authorized to fix the compensation of these staff people.

The spirit of the LaFollette-Monroney reform was that there should be developed adequate service to committees and to all, not just just majority, members of the committees. This reform envisaged the development of expert civil service to serve under all Congresses, regardless of political changes.

In a notable speech on August 23, Senator HUGH SCOTT discussed this subject at length. He pointed out that this problem has become more acute since the congressional majority as well as the executive passed into Democratic hands. In the Eisenhower years, during most of which the Republicans were in the minority in Congress, Republican Members had greater access to expert help from the executive departments. But now that source of help is not available.

Members of Congress are very busy people, not only occupied with committee hearings, floor debates and voting, but also required to attend to the multitude of problems, correspondence and visits of constituents. Therefore, they need expert assistance to help them in formulating their views for or against pending legislation and in creating those alternative programs which a minority must present if it is to fulfill its duty as an opposition.

What is needed, therefore, is a full realization of what was intended in the LaFollette-Monroney reform. This reform has been on the books for 16 years and it is still far from effective.

## Address by Dr. Joseph H. Douglass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on September 22, 1962, at an observance of the centennial anniversary of the Preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation, at Howard University, Washington, D.C., the major address was given by Dr. Joseph H. Douglass.

Dr. Douglass is the distinguished great-grandson of the abolitionist leader, Frederick Douglass. The home of Frederick Douglass in Washington was recently made a part of the National Capital Parks system by an act of Congress.

In years to come this home will come to be a principal sight on the itinerary of many visitors to this Federal City.

Dr. Douglass is Special Assistant to the Associate Director for Extramural Programs, the National Institute of Mental Health.

I ask unanimous consent that a portion of his speech on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the extract of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is my belief that the single most pervasive major issue and challenge of our times is the extension to every individual, irrespective of who he is or where he comes from, every opportunity for his full growth, development, and self realization. In every

corner of the world where the torch of freedom is still seen, mankind is determined to throw off forever the vestiges of human degradation, together with all forms of human injustice which suppress the expression of the spirit or the soul.

The sit-ins in the South by the really new Negro youth are indicative of this; the situations in Albany, Ga., and in Mississippi are other forms; the struggling new African nations, which have won their independence and nationhood are other examples. Further, there are numerous other evidences throughout the world of men's determination to win freedom and equality. There are a number of manifest implications when it is remembered that of the 900 million people living in underdeveloped areas, 750 million live in the 18 or so nations which have won their independence during or after the last war. Many of these millions, nearly all of whom are nonwhite, remain uncommitted to the principles and ideals in which we believe.

It is unnecessary to belabor this point, but I am convinced, as I am sure that you are, that our Nation together with the rest of the world has reached the point of no return on the issue of human rights and the equality of man. There can be no turning back, no looking over the shoulder at the past. America has a great opportunity to carry a message—a message of a really new birth of freedom—a meaning and yearning which have burned in men's hearts as long ago as the fight of the Jews out of Egypt, and even before.

I believe and hope that America can and will carry this message, as indeed it must. As Lillian N. Smith has said: "To speak out for law and order is not enough today. There is a higher law which we must take a stand on, that concerns justice and mercy and compassion and freedom of the spirit and mind. * * * We can have our moment of truth only when we begin to think of ourselves as persons, when we open up our imaginations and our hearts, by taking the walls down within us. Then it will come, and it will be a healing time for us and perhaps for the whole world if we are so sensitized one to another, so closely related, with common purpose of creating a future, that whatever brings wholeness to us as persons will bring wholeness to others across the world."

Today when it is necessary for men of all colors, races, nationalities, and creeds all over the world to cooperate in the attempt to preserve peace and extend the principles and ideals of freedom, it is all the more mandatory that Americans demonstrate at home that liberty, justice, equality are the only practical realities by which to govern their daily lives.

We must agree that in broadest terms there is a momentum in the continuing efforts toward the elimination of discrimination and segregation on the basis of race. There is now such a great body of experience showing that integration can and does work for community and national betterment that arguments to the contrary can be dismissed. Many previously stereotyped ideas are no longer accepted as rationalizations upon which to continue discriminatory practices. Channels of communication, friendship, and understanding among groups have increased to such extent that in nearly every field of human endeavor there is intergroup support directed toward the attainment of full equality for all people. There are at least a score of national organizations that have as a major program objective the improvement in intergroup relations. By no means of least importance we have learned many effective techniques by which relations among people may be improved within the community. The masses of people of good will, who by far are in the majority in this country, continue to work for improved human relations. Accordingly, the few sporadic and pathetic demonstrations of some hate groups support the view that it is these groups who are today the minority group in American life.

The present overriding continuing task confronting America, therefore, is to accelerate the progress being made on all fronts and to extend the numerous benefits of our productive capacity, our wealth, and our social genius to include all persons in our Nation on an equal basis. We need to create in communities throughout our broad land a better life intellectually, physically, and spiritually as well as to develop ways of solving the many serious social problems growing out of the increasing complexity and rapidity of social changes.

Our task is twofold: first, to pursue vigorously all avenues which foster human understanding—which basically means an increasing and unrelenting effort to eliminate all forms of discrimination in our national life; and second, in and through a "new birth of freedom" to join hands in building bridges of understanding, acceptance, and service among all faiths, creeds, conditions, and colors so that our anxieties, tensions, and fears regarding the future will be reduced and our unity and hope enhanced.

What is required in this, as in any other social problem, is the analysis of the elements of the major problem by the best minds available and the setting forth of alternative courses of action by which the desired solutions might be achieved. In this endeavor the highest echelons of Government, the business community, philanthropic organizations, and private individuals must be involved in a leadership role, and in the development of an overall program which must be sustained in the years ahead. If a weakness of America has been the lack of unity or divisiveness that it has had among its people, then there is no problem of greater urgency or of higher priority in terms of demanding the need for an all-out effort to effect a solution.

I would propose that the Federal Government exert leadership in undertaking firm, clear, direct, and comprehensive steps to come to grips with this problem. The methods appropriate to Government in the national interest are many and varied. In numerous fields the Government has stimulated new activities and has supported ongoing efforts. It has undertaken demonstrations and pilot endeavors into ideal types of activities based upon the best that is known or being generated from scientific research. Basically, the approach proposed would mean dealing with people within their communities on the basis of their needs, in terms of providing opportunities, assisting them to achieve comparable levels with the general society, and equipping them with the requisite tools for the more adequate contribution in the ocupational sphere, as well as all other aspects of life.

Of necessity there would be involved a major commitment and clear policy decision as to the desired objectives. The overall method, although comprehensive in approach, would be sufficiently flexible to be adaptable and useful in the varying localities, and under the different conditions and circumstances under which the people live in all of the communities of this great land.

As an example, overwhelming social and technological trends point to the increased and continuing need of the Nation for the full utilization of its manpower. Very significantly the potential sources which must be tapped to meet the growing needs in the economy are from the ranks of those who now are undereducated or unemployed, among whom are women, older persons, the handicapped and the so-called minority groups.

We can predict that the trends in automation are such that in the very early future the machines will not care about the color of the hands which push the buttons or pull the levers. It is reasonable to suppose that social and technological forces are also such that racial identification will not weigh in the balance in the wide range of newly developing occupations and particularly in those fields in which there are already shortages.

Certainly the Federal Government should get its own house in order in terms of not sanctioning, or not being party to, any practice which either condones or remains silent on the issue of equality or the full integration of all of the people into national life. I would venture to say that it is only under the leadership of the Federal Government, in cooperation with the States, that there can be provided the stimulation, the leadership, the technical advice, the financial means, the legal resources, and moral suasion necessary to overcome the difficulties.

On this score, again, psychological and psychiatric theory would suggest that the means to be employed are not those of coercion but of reward and incentive. The Government can take leadership in stimulating, encouraging, and undertaking the types of community programs, activities, services, and processes which lead to, or which vouchsafe the national good. In every community it can build upon a reservoir and indigenous source of good will throughout the land.

I think that there are many precedents in the history of governmental programs for special problems requiring special techniques for coping with them. A recently proposed program, for example, will be geared to meet the needs of the many unknown youth who, living in the relatively untraveled areas of our land or in the deprived areas in our great cities, need only the opportunity for education, strengthened family life, work, recreation, or other techniques for the development of their potential. To possibly counteract the situation of the school dropout, the potential delinquent or the culturally deprived, this may mean remedial education, or specialized training or broadened cultural experiences to offset cultural deprivation. Under other circumstances it might mean placing such youth in a sympathetic environment in which enriched and broad opportunities are provided for their growth, development, and self-realization.

In my capacity as a private citizen, I would propose a somewhat similar philosophical approach for a national program in human rights under Federal leadership.

The approaches to be utilized under governmental leadership would build upon both the growing edges and swelling reservoir of persons of good will available in every locality throughout the land. Authorization would be provided to establish grant funds to support community innovations for improved human relations through elevating standards of health, upgrading of education, searching out of talent, fostering of fair and equal employment opportunities, provision of scholarships, and other appropriate methods to be devised. Conceptually, there would be regional, State, and local councils broadly representative of national and community leadership and official agencies of the Government. Each would be under local administration. All such groups would have formal liaison relationships with such a national commission (or some other appropriate group to be established or reorganized) and would be empowered to make recommendations involving the participation of both official and voluntary contributory effort on local, State, regional, and national levels for the undertaking of necessary programs. Its goals and objectives would be embraced under the general concept of making American democracy a reality through efforts aimed at providing equal opportunities for the participation, growth, and development of all the people, based upon their

specialized needs. These goals would reflect the spirit and ideals of our great political documents and the growing body of knowledge pertaining to human welfare.

The matching of Federal funds by the States and possibly the localities for the planning and implementation of community approaches would be one technique whereby, through congressional appropriations and directive, a national program in this field could be launched and sustained. Among the techniques to be employed would be those of mutual respect, moral suasion, education, technical consultation and assistance, demonstrations, communication, and exchange of experiences.

Tangible projects on both a local and national basis could be, for example, the identification and analysis of emerging or persistent problems, the devising of workable community plans for their solution, the development of manuals and other media for model community approaches, annual or periodic progress reports of achievements, and overall reports to the Congress on the state of the Union with respect to human rights. Perhaps most importantly, open channels of communication across group lines would be maintained through this mechanism for the purpose of community and national development.

Incentive awards could be made to individuals, groups, and communities for outstanding accomplishments. Such a governmental program would keep before the national conscience the dimensions of this problem and the progress being achieved. The weight of concerted national opinion and support would lend aid and encouragement to religious, official, philanthropic and other groups, and to individuals concerned with the preservation of human dignity, the extension of equal opportunity, and the uplift of man.

In assuming leadership for this program, among the actions that the Federal Government could take are the following:

1. Make clear that in the national interest it is the avowed, conscious, and unequivocal policy and intention of the United States to eliminate every form or vestige of racial discrimination in the national life with which any official governmental programs, services, benefits, and properties are involved.

2. Require that any State or local activity involving the use of Federal funds, support, or resources, contain express prohibitions against racial discrimination in the statutes or regulations governing such programs and services.

3. Examine on an agency basis all governmental programs extant to ascertain that the Federal Government is neither covertly or overtly condoning or sanctioning racial discriminatory activity or practices, and take necessary legislative or other action to remove any racially discriminatory provisions, or to insert necessary prohibitions against discrimination in all such statutes, regulations, or practices, to insure that such discrimination will no longer obtain.

4. Refrain from granting or continuing any Federal tax relief to any philanthropic or charitable organization or endeavor which in its programs, services, or activities is condoning segregation or the practice of racial discrimination.

5. Through executive or congressional action, or in combination, establish a permanent National Commission on Human Rights (or other appropriate governmental agency or unit) with annual appropriations of such sums as may be necessary to carry out and maintain a comprehensive program aimed at the abolition of racial discrimination in the national life. Such an agency, broadly representative of the Nation's distinguished citizens from all sections of the country, would be empowered (1) to foster, encourage, stimulate, and support National, State, and local efforts toward improved human rights; (2) assess progress being achieved in all facets of national life on all levels with respect to the problems of human freedom and racial equality; (3) establish State and local councils with which liaison would be maintained to help foster and promote workable community and State programs in all areas of community life involving, together with the lay public, both voluntary and official agencies such as the schools, religious and charitable organiaztions, labor organizations, housing authorities, the police, courts, and employers. The Commission would have authority to convene regional and national conferences, etc., and establish subgroups of expert technical and advisory consultants around problem areas as deemed necessary.

In truth, I believe such an approach would be the beginning of a new era—in effect a new proclamation. It would be accompanied by a worldwide recognition and acknowledgement that at long last America is coming to grips with this problem, and through the very dynamics of the processes begun, is now pulling together to help overcome its present handicaps. Further, it would provide evidence that our Nation is well on the way to its full stature and flowering as a civilization. Misunderstandings across group lines could be prevented, and the highest and continuing priority would be assigned to national unity through the method of the provision of equality of opportunity and hope for all the people. Difficult problem areas would have an established national forum where they could be discussed and approaches proposed dispassionately.

Then would the vision of the Great Emancipator of a century ago have been realized. Our great Nation would stand then not only impregnable before the world, but also, as an indestructible beacon of renewed hope and inspiration for all men to see everywhere.

## Dick Dwelle, in Athens Review, Gives Henderson County History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Athens Daily & Weekly Review is published at Athens, Henderson County, Tex., by the Honorable Dick Dwelle. This is my native county, and I have viewed with pride his "Wonderful Year" edition of the Athens Weekly Review of August 30 of this year, in which a golden anniversary of Athens' growth is reviewed, and also for the 75th anniversary edition of the Athens Daily Review published September 28, 1960, which was an historical edition, containing, among many fine historical items, an editorial titled, "A Great Heritage." That editorial from the September 28, 1960, issue of the Athens Daily Review reads as follows:

A GREAT HERITAGE

The Review has attempted to condense in these comparatively few pages more than 100 years of progress built upon faith, hope, courage, and sound planning—but the story is far from told. Unprinted is the spirit of the decades, a spirit that is as young today as it was when Henderson County was carved from a wild east Texas territory and men set about establishing a home.

The underlying story is progress, something that is never fulfilled. When pioneers think progress is near fulfillment, a new generation sees new horizons from their foundation.

The Athens Review has seen those new horizons from generation to generation and hopes that it has built solidly and well as a stepping stone for greater achievements by those who will follow. And whatever that progress, it is the solemn prayer of today's Review that along with any and all improvements will run the strong thread of service.

Mr. President, in the Athens Weekly Review for September 27, 1962, Mr. Dwelle has quoted from a letter that I wrote him which gives some points of the influence in the political and governmental life of Texas of this county, which has a population of less than 25,000, but which has made a notable contribution to our State. Mr. Dwelle does a fine service for our people in reminding them of their heritage.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Appendix the article from the Athens Weekly Review of September 27, 1962, titled "Senator Yaborough Points Out—Great Texans Linked to Henderson County."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR YARBOROUGH POINTS OUT—GREAT TEXANS LINKED TO HENDERSON COUNTY

The influence Henderson County had on the young State of Texas when it was facing its early day problems has received little attention.

Following publication of the Review's "Wonderful Year" edition, Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH wrote us and was kind enough to include some information that we think Henderson Countians will enjoy reading. Senator YARBOROUGH is an authority on southern history.

Too, we want to thank the Senator for the very nice remarks about the edition and for providing us with the following information.

"You have much in these papers ('Wonderful Year' edition) of the glamorous role of Texas in the Confederacy, of the Quanah Parker story, of the Battle of the Neches when the Cherokees were driven out and this section of Texas opened to white settlement, and many other exciting events. Less exciting, but very influential in the life of the State of Texas, has been the political influence of Henderson County.

"When Jim Hogg was first elected district attorney, he lost Smith and Gregg Counties, but was elected by the votes of Henderson, Van Zandt, Wood, and Upshur Counties. When he ran for reelection as district attorney, he had moved to Tyler, lived there, but in his race for reelection as district attorney, he again lost Smith and Gregg Counties, but was again elected by Henderson, Van Zandt, Wood, Upshur, and Rains Counties. It was Henderson County which played a notable part in sending Jim Hogg on to the attorney generalship and the governorship, where he made the greatest record of any Governor in the history of Texas.

"John H. Reagan came to notice in Texas by his participation in the Battle of the Neches when the Cherokees were driven out, and his first important office was district judge of the district including Henderson County, and he started from Buffalo on the Trinity, in Henderson County, where he began practicing law the year Henderson County was created.

"Practically all the historians say that Texas has had four statesmen: Stephen F.

Austin, Sam Houston, John H. Reagan, and Jim Hogg. Two of these four were started on the road to fame by Henderson County. I would add a fifth, the "Old Alcalde," O. M. Roberts, who as Governor, built the present State capitol, first opened the doors of the University of Texas, and actually established a statewide public free school system. If O. M. Roberts is entitled to the fifth position in that hall of fame, then Henderson will have been the moving force in starting three of Texas' five only statesmen on the road to greatness. It is a record for any county to be proud of anywhere.

"I will keep these two anniversary editions. I treasure them as history of my native county, and I want to thank you for the initiative and the hard work, the energy, and creative thinking that went into producing them."

## The Bay of Pigs Fiasco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BARRY GOLDWATER**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Story Behind Bay of Pigs Fiasco," written by David Sentner, and published in the New York Journal American of September 29, 1962.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON PARADE: THE STORY BEHIND BAY OF PIGS FIASCO

(By David Sentner)

WASHINGTON.—Here is the untold story of the man who originally planned the Cuban invasion of April 16, 1961, in a manner which he was convinced would be successful but was bypassed by officialdom.

The pigeonholing of his Cuban invasion blueprint for victory and the subsequent Bay of Pigs invasion fiasco contributed to his undergoing a period of depression and frustration. He died last month.

This hidden piece of history revolves around the late Whiting Willauer, 56-year-old Ambassador to Costa Rica, and famous wartime leader of General Chennault's Flying Tigers.

And this is the somber inside story:

"Whitey" Willauer was assigned during the latter period of the Eisenhower administration to work out plans for a possible invasion of Cuba. He had an opposite number in the CIA with whom he teamed up. He was given a desk in the State Department in Washington and detached from his ambassadorial post in Costa Rica.

His hush-hush detail in Washington was covered up by his appointment as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

PLAN OK'D BY KENNEDY

When President Kennedy took over, the invasion plans were confirmed by him and an exact schedule began developing.

Over many months, "Whitey" Willauer worked out a virtual "war plan" involving landing sites, equipment, convoys and cooperation with the Cuban underground.

Mind you, "Whitey" was no striped pants Ambassador. He ran the air show for Gen. Claire Chennault and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

"Whitey" in his Cuban invasion blueprint emphasized liaison with the Cuban underground. He envisaged commandos linking up with anti-Castro guerrilla forces to sabotage the Castro planes and tanks on the ground.

This technique he had learned from the guerrilla tactics of General Chennault successfully used against the Japanese and Communist Chinese armies. It was intended to more than offset any failure of support in the landing operation from the promised U.S. air cover.

In the light of the decision of President Kennedy not to provide the expected American air support to the Cuban invasion forces, the adoption of the "Whitey" Willauer tactics might well have spelled victory instead of disaster for the Bay of Pigs invasion.

During his long assignment of putting together the Cuban invasion blueprint, "Whitey" tried 41 times to report the progress of his planning to Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles, according to friends. Bowles ignored these attempts.

HIS PROGRAM DROPPED

Then in the latter days of February 1961, "Whitey" arrived in his office one morning to find his telephone had been removed. A few days later he found his desk had disappeared.

"Whitey" decided this was it and returned to Costa Rica to pick up his belongings. He next received a phone call from the State Department informing him he had been removed from his hush-hush assignment and would be replaced as Ambassador. The team of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Presidential adviser, and Adolph Berle, Jr., Latin American consultant, took over the invasion plan.

"Whitey" never questioned the authority to replace him. However, he resented the fact he was never even "debriefed" on the Cuban invasion plan nor did anybody weigh the value of the Cuban invasion plan evolved in tandem with his CIA opposite number.

A dozen years ago I stayed at the home of "Whitey" Willauer in Canton when the Chinese Communist forces were driving the Chinese Nationalist armies off the mainland.

"Whitey" loaned me his CAT planes to see what was going on and get places.

I got to know "Whitey" and I feel he was never a guy who wouldn't give it to you straight.

Most of this piece came directly from "Whitey" and I sat on it while he was alive.

Now his close friends think the story should be told.

And much of this tragic saga of a man who wasn't listened to is documented in his secret testimony before the Senate Internal Subcommittee which is due to be released within a few weeks.

## Postal Services and Federal Employees Salary Act of 1962

SPEECH
OF
**HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified that the pay bill for faithful postal and Government employees has been brought to the floor of the House for immediate action, under suspension of the rules.

I think the illustrious Speaker has exhibited great wisdom and loyalty to principle in scheduling this vital bill at this time under our suspension procedures. Otherwise, there certainly would be a good chance that, like other worthy pieces of legislation, this commendable and necessary bill might have been lost, or blocked, in the confusion that attends the end of the session.

I do not desire at this time, Mr. Speaker, to elaborate on my views on the bill that are well known to my constituency and by many splendid employees of Government, whom this measure will affect.

I believe that Congress has a duty at all times to make sure that postal workers and Federal employees are well paid and generously treated. This Government cannot fall behind private industry in providing decent pay scales and standards for capable, efficient Government workers, who are entitled to receive adequate, generous compensation, and other accompanying benefits, for their splendid service to the Government and the American people.

It is with pride and satisfaction that I will support the passage of the bill.

I am happy indeed to urge favorable immediate action on this fine bill and to cast my vote in favor of it, because I know that it is not only in the interest of many persons concerned, but also in the interest of efficient, economic Government service for the American people.

## Survey Job Openings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, recently addressed a New York University conference on the Manpower Development and Training Act and made a point which I believe is very sound about the nature of America's unemployment problem. He notes that there are, even in these times of high unemployment, a number of jobs which are not filled, a number of jobs going begging for the want of someone to fill them.

He further noted that the Department of Labor is undertaking a survey, on a pilot basis, to find out where and what these jobs are. This is a step in the right direction. We must have this type of information, as well as information on what skills will be in demand in our economy in the future, if we are to plan adequately the use of the new retraining programs which the Congress has enacted. I commend the Department for this and I urge them to give this the highest priority so that this program, so meaningful both in human terms and in economic impact, can fulfill its promise of putting the jobless back to work.

The New York Times reported Commissioner Clague's remarks and I am placing a copy of this article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Sept. 13, 1962]

UNITED STATES MAPS SURVEY OF JOB VACANCIES—NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PARLEY TOLD OF PILOT TEST IN VIEW NEXT SPRING

(By Ralph Katz)

A pilot survey to see if the number of job vacancies in the Nation may be determined statistically is being prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Questionnaires will be submitted to a sampling of employers by next spring.

Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, broached the project yesterday at a New York University conference on the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. He was the luncheon speaker at the all-day meeting of 300 representatives of government, industry, labor, and education.

Mr. Clague said that there was ample evidence that unfiled jobs do exist. He cited unfilled orders in the public employment offices, newspaper advertisements and "the expansion of private placement agencies devoted to finding men for critical jobs." He noted that such data had been collected in other countries on occasions.

After his talk, Mr. Clague said that his department was working on the form of the questionnaire, which would be submitted to a sampling of 500 to 1,000 employers in a variety of industries.

He observed that a job vacancy was difficult to define. It raises such questions, he said, as to whether a vacancy exists when a job order is filed with a placement agency or when an organization has the authorization to fill a number of jobs.

Mr. Clague explained that the questionnaire would not be designed to determine the number of vacancies because a national survey of that type would require answers from at least 150,000 employers. The purpose of the pilot survey, he said, would be to test the practicality of a wider study.

He declared, however, that if the pilot project were successful and led to a wider survey the results might help to change long-term unemployed workers into productive workers.

His department, he added, would not undertake to determine the actual job classifications in which vacancies exist. This would be by the U.S. Employment Service, another division of the Labor Department.

On the basis of past years Mr. Clague predicted that the October level of unemployment would fall 25 percent below the average for the year. Unemployment was 3,900,000 in August after a disappointing drop of 100,000 from the July figure.

## Results of 1962 Congressional Questionnaire in New 35th District of Upstate New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago I sent out through the eight counties of the new 35th Congressional District a questionnaire asking for views on a number of issues currently pending in Congress. We had a very splendid response and have now completed a tabulation of the results of over 6,000 replies. Incidentally, even as of this late day, many of these issues are still unresolved here. The questions, together with the returns, are as follows:

| Questions | Percent | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Undecided |
| Do you favor— | | | |
| 1. Hospitalization insurance for retired persons under the social security system? | 47.2 | 47.6 | 5.2 |
| 2. (a) Gradual elimination of all price supports and marketing controls on milk and other agricultural products? | 64.2 | 16.4 | 19.4 |
| (b) A voluntary supply management plan for dairy farmers, with some form of continued Government price help? | 34.6 | 24.0 | 41.3 |
| 3. Maintaining present laws which prevent midwestern milk supplies indiscriminately flooding New York State milk markets? | 71.2 | 12.2 | 16.6 |
| 4. Elimination of the $800,000,000 postal deficit by— | | | |
| (a) Increases in 1st-class mail rates only? | 12.9 | 55.8 | 31.2 |
| (b) Equitable rate increases for all classes of mail? | 66.5 | 15.5 | 17.8 |
| (c) Reduction in present postal services? | 15.5 | 52.1 | 32.4 |
| 5. (a) Creating more jobs by means of tax credits for businesses expanding within the United States rather than abroad? | 72.9 | 9.0 | 18.1 |
| (b) Making up the loss of revenue in (a) above by collecting taxes presently owed on dividend and interest income through the same withholding method that now applies to wages and salaries? | 28.9 | 48.2 | 22.9 |
| 6. Channeling more defense contracts into upstate areas, even at the risk of bypassing the lowest bidder? | 40.2 | 43.2 | 16.6 |
| 7. Giving the President authority to promote greater sales of U.S. agricultural and industrial products to the Common Market, provided we protect the jobs of workers affected by foreign import competition? | 64.6 | 18.4 | 17.0 |
| 8. Resumption of U.S. nuclear tests, so long as the Soviets refuse to agree to a workable test ban treaty? | 80.6 | 9.6 | 9.8 |
| 9. Federal aid to education in the form of— | | | |
| (a) Aid to colleges and universities? | 38.6 | 35.6 | 25.7 |
| (b) Aid to only public secondary and elementary schools? | 34.5 | 42.3 | 23.2 |
| (c) Aid to all secondary and elementary schools? | 26.8 | 48.0 | 25.2 |
| 10. U.S. purchase of U.N. bonds to underwrite U.N. operations designed to unify and bring peace to the Congo? | 34.4 | 39.6 | 25.9 |
| 11. Adoption of precise legal standards to insure fair and equitable apportionment of congressional districts? | 76.2 | 3.8 | 20.0 |
| 12. In general, do you approve of the way in which President Kennedy has handled his job? | 48.7 | 34.3 | 16.9 |

Putting all this in general terms, sentiment in this new district would appear to be strongly in favor of: gradual elimination of agricultural supports and controls, maintaining present barriers against Midwestern milk, spreading any postal rate increase over all classes of mail, the administration's business tax incentive plan, the President's trade expansion bill, nuclear testing and precise standards governing reapportionment of congressional districts. Sentiment is reasonably favorable toward: a voluntary supply-management plan for dairy farmers, Federal aid to colleges, and President Kennedy's conduct in office. On the other hand, sentiment is slightly against: medicare, more defense contracts for up-State New York at figures over the lowest bid, aid to public schools only, and U.S. purchases of U.N. bonds. And sentiment is strongly opposed to: postal rate increase for first-class mail only, any reduction in postal service, withholding taxes on dividends and interest, and aid to all schools both public and private. Incidentally, medicare has the fewest number of undecided voters; supply-management for dairy farmers the most.

## From Governor Rockefeller: A Plan for Growth and Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York, published an article in the September 17 issue of U.S. News & World Report outlining a program to provide more and better jobs for the people of New York State and for the Nation.

This sound program will be of interest to many Members of the Senate and deserves consideration by all Americans. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the text of Governor Rockefeller's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER: A PLAN FOR GROWTH AND JOBS

(By Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York)

What can we do to create more and better jobs for the people of a growing America? How can we reduce unemployment and continue to raise living standards while remaining competitive in world markets?

The editors of U.S. News & World Report have asked for my opinions in this vital area. The views I shall set forth here in response are based not merely upon abstract economic theories but upon gratifying experience with their practical application where appropriate in the State of New York during the past 3½ years.

When I was elected Governor in 1958, New York had nearly 600,000 unemployed; the State's unemployment rate was higher than the national average—and the rate of economic growth was lower than the national average. The business climate was so unfavorable that a top executive of one of the State's largest industries said he wouldn't approve "another nickel" for plant expansion.

Today, however, the situation is completely reversed. New York State's unemployment rate is consistently lower than the national average—while its rate of economic growth is consistently higher than the national average. Where the State's economy had grown 10 percent in the 4 years of the prior administration, it has grown 17 percent since I took office. From my first month in office to the end of last year, total employment

in New York State had increased by 450,000 jobs.

These gains are importantly the result of our State government policies to achieve a complete change in the economic climate of the State.

A favorable economic climate is absolutely essential to the creation of new jobs. Government itself cannot create jobs in any significant numbers. But government policies substantially affect the climate determining thousands of individual decisions by which the all-important private sector of the economy ether moves ahead, stands still, or retreats.

In New York State, the improved economic climate has helped encourage business and industry to invest more than $7 billion of private funds since I took office. From this investment during the 3½-year period, some 1,800 new and expanded plants have been added to the industrial complex of the State.

Conspicuous among these are 26 major plant expansions within the State at a cost of $37.6 million by that very company whose executive once declared against spending "another nickel" for this purpose.

How did we achieve this change of climate to spur economic growth and create new jobs?

We began by restoring the fiscal integrity of the State itself.

In its last 2 years, the prior administration had partially met rising needs for education, highways and other facilities and services by running up deficits totaling $347 million, and it confronted me in 1959 with the prospect of a third deficit totaling a staggering $700 million.

With massive cuts in the spending requests of the outgoing administration, plus economies and a tax increase, we succeeded in wiping out that $700-million deficit within the first year. With the State's economy expanding, we have not only maintained pay-as-you-go government, with a surplus each year for 4 years, but have reduced State debt $85 million while importantly increasing State services and support of vital functions—notably in increasing State aid to education by 60 percent.

The difficult, unpopular but necessary decisions we made to straighten out the State's finances created renewed confidence in the soundness of the State's government and its competence to meet the needs of a growing population within a stable tax structure.

Beyond this, we recruited leadership and took specific steps to support a basic philosophy that the attitude of government at all levels is in itself an important factor in determining the growth or decline of business, industry, and agriculture.

I was fortunate enough to persuade one of the Nation's leading businessmen to become the State's commission of commerce, to head an aggressive campaign of new-business promotion for the State, and to bring into government many others who also understood the problems of business, industry, and agriculture.

We embarked upon a campaign to remove the obstacles, the hurdles, the harassments of government affecting business, industry, and agriculture—and to create new incentives for the investment of capital and the expansion of economic growth in New York State in order to create more jobs.

In line with this philosophy, we have already taken more than 60 legislative and executive actions to make New York a better place in which to do business. For example:

To halt transit bus-company failures, we changed their tax base from 2 percent on gross recepits to 10 percent on net profits, and reduced their motor-fuel taxes one-third.

We provided both direct tax relief and reduction of bookkeeping costs for small truckers.

We arranged extensive tax relief for railroads, with special additional help for commuter lines contingent upon improved service—and made possible the lease-purchase by commuter lines of 500 new commuter cars.

We cut taxes on small business by $5 million, eliminating the unincorporated-business tax for 42 percent of the small firms in the State, and reducing it for an additional 22 percent.

We cut corporation taxes at least $8 million a year by conforming carry-forward and carryback provisions to the Federal tax, and saved business another $8 million annually by revising tax treatment of out-of-State sales.

We have also set up an Atomic Research and Development Authority to undertake major projects designed to make New York a leader in the development of atomic industry.

We have established a State housing finance agency through which a billion-dollar, middle-income housing program is being conducted at no cost to the taxpayers—by providing a structure which, through tax incentives, has encouraged private investment in this field.

We have set up a self-liquidating, $100 million program to help bring new industry into our depressed areas—which incidentally embrace a far smaller percentage of our population than in any other northeastern State with such problems. We have stepped up State-sponsored agricultural research and agricultural-marketing promotion. We have helped through advertising and facilities to expand tourism in the State by 30 percent—to the point that it has become a $2.6 billion a year industry.

And, most importantly for the flow of commerce and for agriculture, we have expanded roadbuilding to recordbreaking levels—with mileage completed coming to three times that of the prior administration, and all on a pay-as-you-go basis.

We have demonstrated in New York that even at the State level, government can create a framework of laws, administrative actions and understanding which will encourage the growth and development of individual initiative and private enterprise: the vital key to economic progress for all the people of our free society.

This kind of government action is founded on an attitude of government which recognizes the practical existence of a dynamic circle of progress for all segments of the economy: that labor depends upon a prospering business and industry for the jobs it needs and the rising standards of living it aspires to; that business and industry depend upon a prospering and responsible labor force; that both need the productive genius of agriculture, and that the services and facilities which government must supply to meet the needs and desires of a growing population depend upon increasing revenues which can only be adequately produced from an expanding economy.

However, much as we have been able to achieve at the State level, basically we can only prosper as the Federal Government exercises a similar understanding of the problems and opportunities of business, industry, and agriculture in a free society with a private enterprise economy.

As a nation, we are in the midst of the weakest recovery from a recession in the postwar era. We have passed through three most disquieting events in recent months: the unfortunate steel price affair, a major stock market break, and a period of ogonizing national indecision on whether Federal tax cuts were needed now to prevent a recession—a matter finally resolved as much by political expediency as by economic fact.

We are justifiably concerned about fierce and growing competition from oversea nations which have been expanding and modernizing their industrial plants far more rapidly than we—and especially the competition from the combined economic strength of the Common Market in Europe.

We are confronted by the hard economic fact that we cannot increase wages and cut hours more rapidly than we increase our productivity without losing our international competitive position.

We know that, for lack of adequate incentives, business investment has lagged during the past 6 years, and the American economy has therefore been imprisoned in a pattern of lethargic growth.

Business investment this year will be no higher than in 1957, whereas consumer expenditures are up $72 billion, or an average of about 5 percent a year since 1957, while total Government expenditures are up $44 billion, or about 7 percent a year since 1957.

REAL NEED IS BALANCED PROGRAM OF TAX AND FISCAL MEASURES

The basic problem lies in a combination of declining business profits and a failure to provide more rapid writeoffs on new plant-and-equipment investment, commensurate with the accelerated rate of technological change.

Business profits in the United States were 15 percent lower in 1961 than in 1955, measured as a percentage of return on invested capital. Undistributed profits—a key source of new investment funds—were $3 billion lower in 1961 than in 1955.

The sources of the trouble are readily apparent in comparisons with our major oversea competitors: In addition to paying the highest wages, American industry has had the lowest depreciation allowances and the highest corporate tax rates—except for Britain's which are 1 percentage point higher.

Consequently, the U.S. rate of investment in new plant and equipment, measured as a percentage of gross national product, is lagging and declining, while that of others is rising—and our plant is growing older while theirs is becoming more modern and efficient.

The following table illustrates the point:

In percent

| | Depreciation allowances after 1st year, comparable equipment | Investment, machinery and equipment, percent of gross national product | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1950 | 1960 |
| West Germany | 20 | 9.7 | 12.1 |
| France | 25 | 7.4 | 8.4 |
| United Kingdom | 39 | 7.0 | 9.1 |
| United States | 17 | 6.6 | 5.5 |

Top corporation tax rates range from 28 percent in Belgium to 53 percent in Britain, with the U.S. figures at 52 percent. West Germany's rates is nominally 51 percent, but falls to only 22 percent if all profits are distributed, and the Japanese rate on distributed profits is 42 percent.

I think it is plain that American business and industry do not have adequate incentives for capital investment, and that the result has been to make the United States a low-investment and hence a low-growth economy.

The consequences have been a continuation of unemployment at unacceptably high levels, with all the human suffering this brings; Federal budget deficits totaling $23 billion since fiscal 1956; persistently large deficits in international payments since 1958—all these symptoms of an economy failing to achieve its potential.

SPENDING SPLURGE IS NOT ENOUGH

Nationally, the need is for action far more basic, courageous and comprehensive than a Government spending splurge or a shot in the arm for consumer spending by itself.

In essence, the basic problem is not consumer spending, which is high, but increased business expenditure for new plant and equipment.

The real need is a balanced program of tax and fiscal measures to break the pattern

of lethargy in our national economy's growth—to unleash the full dynamism of the free-enterprise system which has given this Nation the world's highest living standard.

Such a program in my view should be focused primarily on measures to stimulate new business investment on a major scale. It should include:

1. Depreciation allowances more nearly commensurate with those of our oversea competitors.

While the administration has been moving in the right direction in this respect, with its new bulletin F [Treasury regulation on depreciation for tax purposes] and legislation for a tax credit on new-equipment purchases, further liberalization seems clearly indicated if we are to be competitive, retain high living standards, meet the needs of population growth, and move toward the goal of full employment.

2. A cut in the corporate tax rate.

This should be based upon a realistic estimate of the tax cut needed to restore profit margins to the point which experience has shown to be required for a strong advance in business investment. Most economists agree that a cut of at least 5 percentage points is needed. Such a rate cut, combined with more realistic depreciation allowances, would result at the outset in major replacement and modernization of plant. This in turn would support expanded activity in the capital-goods industry, the area of the economy which is now lagging the most, and would greatly increase our ability to compete in world markets, through higher efficiency. With a more rapidly growing economy, the end result would be higher Government revenue rather than lower—and the creation of more and better jobs for American workers.

Personal income tax rate cuts and restraint on Government spending should accompany these measures.

The individual tax cuts would encourage new investment in unincorporated businesses and would tend to increase consumption as well, helping to expand private-business employment generally.

KEEPING THE DOLLAR STRONG

As to spending, legitimate national needs should of course be met, but Government spending alone has failed as an economic panacea every time it has been tried. In the present situation, large-scale increases in Government spending would not stimulate capital-goods industries and might actually restrain capital investment—not to mention shaking confidence in the integrity of the dollar at home and abroad.

Furthermore, an American economy functioning at its full potential would produce new job and income opportunities, which would meet human needs far more adequately.

Political expediency seems to have foreclosed comprehensive action to accelerate the economy until next year. A program such as I have outlined really ought to be enacted now, but at the least should have top priority in the next Congress.

In the meantime, however, it seems to me that it would be most helpful in creating a better climate for achieving the economic growth of which this country is capable if there were wider recognition and understanding in government, business, agriculture, and labor of the pattern of interdependence affecting all segments of our national economic life.

Class-warfare attitudes are as outmoded as the economic theories based upon them to which some still wistfully cling—and are a positive detriment to the economic climate essential to creating more and better jobs for the American people.

To paraphrase Lincoln only slightly: The economic dogmas of the past are insufficient to the present. We must think anew. We must disenthrall ourselves.

## The Desolate Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the attached article from the Monsanto magazine of October 1962, entitled "The Desolate Year," is important reading for the Members of Congress.

There is a book, "Silent Spring," just coming on the newsstands which makes a highly emotional issue of the use of insecticides. Now, there are two sides to this question. The article which I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD tells the other side. It is important that both sides be studied and understood:

THE DESOLATE YEAR

(NOTE.—Does the world really need chemical pesticides? Are these compounds (used to control insects, rodents, weeds, parasites, and plant diseases) better left alone? Is the public being sold a monstrous "bill of goods"?)

(The answers to those questions could be learned with finality by seeing what would happen if pesticides were not available. Imagine, then, that by some incomprehensible turn of circumstances, the United States were to go through a single year completely without pesticides. It is under that license that we take a hard look at that desolate year, examining in some detail its devastations.)

Life-slowing winter lay on the land that New Year's Day, the day that nature was left to seek her own balance. Great drifts of snow cloaked the vast northland, and across the midsection of the country a thinner crust of whiteness was pierced by drab brown of brush and stone, naked tree, fence row, and corn stubble.

Except for man's own small islands of sound and movement, most living creatures were silent, asleep. So it was that the grim reality of that defenseless year first sank home in the warm subtropics of lower Florida and California, Arizona, and Texas.

It was warm that day in the citrus groves around Miami, and the glowing warmth drew a buzzing harmless-looking fly from its place of rest. And she—for this was a female—was drawn into the golden air by some power that spanned the eons, that further drew her among the trees, and eventually to one weighted with growing grapefruit. The Mediterranean fruitfly turned her stiletto-like appendage into the first grapefruit, and when a tiny hole had been borned neatly through the rind, she sent an egg inside. Then she went to another, and another, taking no count of the 800 globes she had desecrated. Others of her kind, warmed and driven by the same purpose, followed; some further infested the holes she had bored, others sank new wells of their own.

Quietly, then, the desolate year began. Not many people seemed aware of danger. After all, in the winter, hardly a housefly was about. What could a few bugs do, here and there? How could the good life depend upon something so seemingly trivial as a bug spray? Where were the bugs, anyway?

The bugs were everywhere. Unseen. Unheard. Unbelievably universal. On or under every square foot of land, every square yard, every acre, and county, and State and region in the entire sweep of the United States. In every home and barn and apartment house and chicken coop, and in their timbers and foundations and furnishings. Beneath the ground, beneath the waters, on and in limbs and twigs and stalks, under rocks, inside trees and animals and other insects—and, yes, inside man.

The most numerous and ferocious of all mankind's visible natural enemies lurked quietly that day, waiting. They weren't to be counted in the thousands, or millions, or billions. Nothing short of trillions, at least, could begin to account for their numbers. They were there, as eggs or larvae or pupae or voracious adults—waiting.

In a small subterranean cubicle, hardly large enough for a man to move about in: 100,000 mosquito mothers-to-be, ready to follow those only basic drives of the insect, to live and reproduce. In one cornfield: tens of thousands of caterpillars, snug in the balsa-like interior of fodder into which they'd fed. Along the sunnier south side of a single fence row in the Midwest: more thousands of tiny white-winged black chinch bugs. Scattered and broadcast across fields and meadows and ranges throughout the country: uncountable masses of grasshopper eggs and nymphs. Waiting.

But there is no more waiting for an insect when sun's warmth stirs it from its lethargy. Nor need there be any waiting when the warmth is otherwise available.

Thus, even as the Florida citrus grower stood petrified, a pierced and wormy grapefruit in his hand and the frightening medfly flitting through his trees, a New York housewife caused more widespread alarm. Her apartment was crawling with ticks—supposedly harmless dog ticks that her pet had transferred there from Central Park. What could she do?

What could she do? For, without pesticides, the pest control firms had automatically gone out of business. Of a sudden, some of the starkness of the times dawned on other people. No more protection against moths in clothing, furniture, carpets; no weapon but a fly swatter against rampant bedbugs, silverfish, fleas, slithering cockroaches, and spreading ants. More people shuddered, then, and still the desolate year was young.

Desperation grew in Florida; infested trees were hacked and burned and the diseased fruit consigned to the flames. The medfly produced and reproduced and spread, bent on making every orange and lemon and grapefruit over millions of acres so massively infested with maggots that humans would not ship or can or freeze or eat them.

Other insects brought other diseases to the ruined citrus, and the Floridians could not even find consolation in the fact that the great burden of scales and blights, blisters, and scabs was likewise killing off rival groves in California and Arizona.

The garrote of nature rampant began to tighten. The winter vegetables of the sunlands were barely marketable. But the next early crop was plagued. First to feed were the unseen cutworms, rasping off tender stalks below the ground. Then the mites and aphids, and the pretty butterflies that winged over the fields—and dropped eggs onto cabbage and cauliflower and broccoli and kale. Green worms, tan ones, striped ones, spotted ones, all hungry and eating, leaving their various residues in labyrinthine runways inside fruit and in crotch of stripped stalk. Finally, the beetles and bugs and skeletonizers ripped the leaves from potatoes and bush beans and limas, and their fellow workers in the field invaded hull and pod, and infested them with eggs and other matter.

So went the fresh, clean vegetables.

So went sweet corn, for that year hardly an ear from corner to corner of the Nation brimmed with just its own sweet juice. If its stalk and ear escaped the harsh attack of the borers, along came the earworm, hatching from eggs that a brown-gray moth slipped into the receptive silks alongside the

life-giving pollen. Her worm-children ate and defecated and ate more, working from the tender small kernels down into the large firm ones.

So the farmers planted and cultivated, and too often the harvest was garbage. The men at the packing plants and canning plants groaned. How could such refuse, even though whittled and carved and cored by hand, be cleaned and processed and pass for good food?

Inspectors for the Food and Drug Administration asked the same question, and were stumped for an answer. They couldn't approve food products containing what some of these did. But people had to eat. As food grew scarcer, prices spiraled.

It was a problem that grew; things got much worse that year. For now spring came to America—an extremely lively spring.

Genus by genus, species by species, subspecies by innumerable subspecies, the insects emerged. Creeping and flying and crawling into the open, beginning in the southern tier of States and progressing northward. They were chewers, and piercer-suckers, spongers, siphoners and chewer-lappers, and all their vast progeny were chewers—rasping, sawing, biting maggots and worms and caterpillars. Some could sting, some could poison, many could kill.

Hard pressed men of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, besieged with pleas for help, could only issue advisories to rake and burn, to plant late or early, to seek the more resistant strains. But when insects and diseases took over anyway, there was no recourse.

In nook and cranny and open field where plants were just in bud, the insects bred and rebred, cross-bred and inbred. Some didn't breed at all, or need to; females simply produced more females which gave birth to more hordes of females.

The insect hosts descended in earnest. Here are just a few of the things that happened:

A cattleman in the Southwest rubbed the back of a big red steer, and his hand found two large lumps under the hide. Sick at heart and sick at stomach, the man looked at the hairy flies swarming around his herd.

Then, gritting his teeth, he placed his thumbs at the sides of one of the lumps and pressed. The hair parted, a small hole opened and stretched. A fat, brown inch-long maggot slowly eased through the hole. It fell to the ground and the man stepped on it. One insect controlled.

But there were too many thousands of cattle grubs that year for such countermeasures. The flies buzzed and laid their tiny eggs on the animals' "heel" hairs. The eggs hatched into small and ugly organisms that bored through the skin and coursed around the cattle's bodies between muscle and skin to the back—small moles moving under golf tees of sleek hair. There, they bored airholes that damaged the hide for leather; infested the finest meat of the animal. Finally, each grub forced its airhole open, pushed itself out and fell to the ground, another heel fly in the making.

Cattle—and sheep and hogs and fowls—suffered mightily that year. Ticks clamped onto their flanks and flies clouded their eyes. The screwworm flies planted their eggs in the scratches and sores that the others made. The screw-worms ate out massive wounds that invited still more maggots. Many whitefaces died that year, and many cattle of other breeds.

But food and fur animals weren't the only ones that died to the hum of the insects that year. Man, too, sickened, and he died.

Some people retreated to the coolness of the mountains to pitch their tents, although life outdoors was beset by whirring gnats, flies and mosquitoes that summer. Among them was a man who had returned from a sojourn in the Far East. One day, he was stricken by an old foe that had returned violently—malaria.

While he suffered, the mosquitoes kept biting, and as each keen proboscis siphoned off his blood it also sucked in deadly gametocytes that were in the red corpuscles. Inside the mosquitoes, after a complicated reproductive cycle, microscopic organisms split and multiplied within their own expanding walls until, after 2 weeks, the walls broke. Out of each came thousands of minute sporozoites to circulate through the host insect, to settle in the salivary glands.

Unmolested, the mosquitoes whined over the mountainside, piercing and sucking. Each time a proboscis plunged into a camper, a droplet of saliva was forced in, too—nature's way to make the blood flow freely. And in some of the droplets, there lived malaria.

Half a dozen campers infected by the first onslaught of the host mosquitoes, suffered the fiendish torture of chills and fever and the hellish pain of the world's greatest scourge. Eventually, nearly three dozen people were brought down, and no one knew how many mosquitoes had bitten how many of the new patients, and so had become able to spread the outbreak further. Who could curb the mosquitoes?

South and west, in the miles and miles of cotton fields, the situation went beyond control. The worst plant-loving demon of them all chewed into the tender squares of young cotton plants. The long-snouted boll weevil, tragically belying her comical mien, inserted one egg into each of the meekly vulnerable buds after she ate, and the eggs ushered in disaster.

Three days as eggs, 10 as greedy larvae hollowing out square and boll, 4 more as pupae, and the new boll weevil generation bored its way out, mated, and sought out every undamaged boll to deposit more eggs. Not very many bolls were left for them, however, because the bollworm—thief of several aliases—had moved in, too, chewing its way in and out of boll after boll. Nor had these cowreckers the fields to themselves; the dreaded pink bollworm broke from the confines where it had been fought desperately for 50 years and joined in to destroy the seeds themselves.

So went the vital cotton crop. So went the apples and pears and peaches; they had no chance from the start, because the numbers and deadliness of the insect enemies of fruit and berries were simply overwhelming—a bewildering battery of scales, aphids, mites, borers, curculios, moths, maggots, hoppers, thrips, beetles, slugs, flies, chafers, worms, rollers, grubs, and weevils.

A plant plague came too, that year, adding its weight to the growing burden. Weed and insect raced each other for strawberry patch, garden plot, and field of grain. They both emerged as victors in the junglelike snarl of the strawberry runners and thick stands of wheat and rye. Tough grasses—crab, foxtail, and Johnson—grew sometimes as rapidly as corn, and whole fields were abandoned to them. Thistles and wild oats could not be pulled successfully by hand in the grain and flax fields; it would have been far too costly, anyway.

Unneeded and unwanted insect reserves poured into the fray, and for man the outlook became bleak, indeed. For now came the turn of the grasshopper, most awesome plague of the plains and heartlands of America.

The hoppers never had been shy, and this year they rushed on, unchecked, in churning, boiling clouds that blotted the sun. Arizona, Colorado, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri. A hundred of them to the square yard. The remains of alfalfa, clover, soybeans, and garden vegetables, already ravaged by their "own" caterpillars, seed midges, plant lice, mites, slugs, and skippers, were pillage for the grasshoppers. In many places, the clicking swarms completely denuded the land of vegetation and moved on.

On they went into the cornlands of the Midwest. But much of the corn was already doomed, doomed from the time the ant-aphid teams moved in to feed on its roots until the European borer wriggled and ate in the stalks and the earworms lay waste to the milky kernels.

The eastern truck farmers had to give up, too. Tomatoes, sweet peppers, beans, sweet corn, cucumbers, melons—deformed, wormy, rotting on the vine. Half their tomato crop disappeared in the wilting yellow and brown leaves of blight alone, and the wormmakers sought every break in the skin of the fruit that lived.

Beetle and worm fed on top and tuber of the potato, from Idaho to Maine. Then the really notorious villain, Ireland's awful late blight, took over, and the firm brown "spuds" were gone, turned into black slime.

Enough? No; it should be remembered well, this terrible year of the insect and rodent and weed. How the termites felled innumerable buildings, destroyed a State's valuable papers, wiped out a library, brought a service station tumbling down. How the great forests wilted; how tent caterpillars stripped every leaf from 800 acres of trees in one place, and masses of beetles beneath the bark killed off 6,000 pine trees in another.

The mosquitoes were everywhere, and no one knows what harm they did—60,000 cases of "breakbone fever" in Galveston and Houston alone. Half a million cases in Texas. How many others across the country? How many epidemics, and what kind, did they cause? Yellow fever hung like a specter over that enormous "receptive area" of the Southern United States, and public health officials dreaded the day when some infected person might arrive at a dock or airport in that region. Only the mosquito, transmitter of a dozen human diseases, could launch an epidemic of deadly yellow fever.

And the ticks leaped onto people. While the sharp and grasping pincers held fast, the razor-like cutting tools sliced deeper and deeper into the flesh. The ticks gorged that year, until they were many times their normal size, and many left disease and death behind. Rocky Mountain spotted fever, Colorado tick fever, Q fever, relapsing fever, tularemia. Some of them just as painful as malaria, and some more lethal. How many thousand cases were there? And the tick paralysis that also killed, if the animal weren't torn from its hold on scalp or neck or spine.

There was more that year, far too much to tell. The invading fire ants, for instance, which someone once pictured as minor pests at worst and not worthy of full-scale extermination. They sent 300 people to the hospital in just one comunity, and all but killed 3 of them. They killed fish that ate them. They marched on.

The fine lake trout was turned back to the rasping, blood-sucking lamprey that once had riddled its numbers nearly to extinction, and the species began to die off again. Weeds clogged streams and lakes again, and harmful plants reclaimed the duck marshes and feeding grounds that had been so carefully managed.

Finally, of course, there was the chilling news that spread as a wracked nation surveyed the damage: there could be no falling back on much of the surplus food in storage. Practically no farm commodity could be stored in its natural form and not be vulnerable to contamination by other dozens of kinds of insects and their numerous aids. Rats and mice multiplied prodigiously. Freed from pesticidal opposition, they, too burgeoned in elevator, bin, and crate. And what was left was hardly food.

What, at the end of such a year, would be the fate of the United States of America?

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NOT FICTION—FACT

The terrible thing about "The Desolate Year" is this: Its events are not built of fantasy. They are true.

All of them, fortunately, did not take place in a single year, because so far man has been able to prevent such a thing. But all the major events of "The Desolate Year" have actually occurred. They have occurred in the United States. They could repeat themselves next year in greatly magnified form simply by removing this country's chemical weapons against pests.

Item: In April 1929, the Mediterranean fruit fly was discovered in Florida grapefruit. It spread over 10 million acres of citrus and threatened to wipe out the entire industry. Lacking modern technology, 6,000 persons carried out a $7 million eradication program, a large part of it the destruction of infested trees and fruit. When the fly appeared again in 1956, it was eradicated by 800 men utilizing chemical attractants in plastic traps and large-scale spraying and baiting with modern insecticides. Another appearance in June 1962 was stamped out by the end of July. At present, the United States is the world's only source of worm-free citrus fruit.

Item: Field tests and careful studies indicate that no commercial crops of apples, peaches, cherries, sweet corn, grapes, strawberries, cranberries, raspberries, potatoes, tomatoes, carrots, kale, mustard, collards, spinach and other food plants could be grown in this country without chemical insecticides and/or herbicides.

Item: One hundred cattle grubs are often found in the back of an untreated animal, reducing milk flow by as much as 25 percent, drastically damaging the hide for leather and ruining several pounds of meat. Three-fourths of the Nation's cattle may be infested with them, even with treatment available, and the annual loss due to the grub is probably over $100 million. Screwworms attacked more than 1,350,000 animals in the Gulf States in 1934, killing more than 200,000.

Item: The boll weevil has done an incredible amount of damage to cotton in the United States, once leaving entire counties destitute. Given one female weevil at the start of a season, she and her offspring will produce 2 million weevils by fall under ideal conditions. Even with the best defenses available, they destroy 3 to 5 million bales of cotton yearly, and since invading this country have cost Americans at least $5 billion. Each year, despite controls, they still cost each of us $10 or more.

Item: In July 1952, a returned Korean war veteran with malaria suffered a relapse while camping near a Camp Fire Girl retreat in the California mountains. Mosquitoes which bit him during the relapse transmitted malaria to 9 other persons, who suffered attacks that fall; the next spring, 25 more people came down with the disease in various parts of the State. All cases were traceable to the original patient. As late as 1935, there were 900,000 cases of malaria in the United States with 4,000 deaths. Modern insecticides, particularly DDT, have played a key role in practically stamping out the disease in this country—and in 23 others.

Item: In 1874–76, grasshoppers swept across the Western States, particularly Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska and Missouri, in an invasion that caused over $200 million damage and was termed a national disaster by Congress. Many other serious outbreaks have occurred in the years since, with damages running into untold millions of dollars. An infested acre sometimes is alive with 16 bushels—2 million—grasshoppers, and they are known to strip more than 99 percent of all vegetation from some areas. A Utah county paid bounties for over 2 billion dead grasshoppers in a single year.

Item: Before chemical pesticide controls of any kind, nearly a century ago, the ravages of chinch bugs, grasshoppers, armyworms, potato beetles and other hosts of insects literally forced many farmers to sell out or abandon their land in the Midwest. It was there, in 1867, that paris green was used in the first large-scale application of an insecticide; man's effective defenses against insects date from that time.

Item: The European corn borer alone attacks at least 200 kinds of plants, and has literally destroyed many crops. Thousands of acres of sugarbeets have been abandoned to webworms. Blight has destroyed half the tomato crop in the East (1946), and cracked or torn fruit, even in transit from field to processing plant, has been infested by several hundred eggs and larvae per tomato by the drosophila fly.

Item: Successful production of potatoes has depended on chemical pesticides since 1870. Spreading across the United States at the rate of 85 miles per year, the Colorado potato beetle decimated the crop until paris green checked it. Without pesticides, the potato crop also is subject to the same late blight that caused the notorious famine of 1845 in Ireland. Ironically, Europeans have been reduced to eating insects only once—in Ireland, during that famine.

Item: Termites alone destroy more wood annually than all the howling forest fires, and in combination with other insects cause from 7 to 10 times the damage of the destructive flames. Among their depredations, they have destroyed a collection of books and papers of Illinois, ruined a school library in South Carolina during the summer recess, gutted a government vault and brought a California service station crashing down, triggered by a truck's noise.

Item: Just two cases in the annals of forest protection describe an 800-acre block of quaking aspen completely denuded by tent caterpillars (and restored to health by aerial spraying) and of 6,722 lodgepole pines in one forest section laid low by the bark bettle.

Item: Tick-borne diseases have been reduced and their fatality rate lowered in the United States by inoculation, antibiotic drugs, insecticides (against ticks) and rodenticides (against rats and other rodent reservoirs). Yet cases—and deaths—still occur. At least five men working at eradicating spotted-fever ticks and host animals in the West have themselves been stricken with the disease and died. The fever has spread across the country, and the dog tick has become a vector. Typhus, with a mortality rate as high as 70 percent and for which no successful treatment is known, has been controlled in the United States largely by insecticide eradication of body lice. At least 25 kinds of fleas living on rats and wild rodents can transmit bubonic plague—the "black death"—and large areas of the United States are endemic (rodents and fleas there are infested).

Item: Mosquito-borne St. Louis encephalitis, which appeared as an epidemic in that city in 1933 with more than 1,000 cases, struck Hidalgo County, Tex., in 1954. Of 600 patients, at least 2 died. Physical eradication of the mosquitoes was found impossible, and a continuing insecticide control program was put into effect. An outbreak of the disease in Florida in the summer of 1962 caused several deaths. Equine encephalomyelitis, also mosquito-borne and highly fatal to horses (400,000 of them suffered from it in 1935–39 in America, and 33,000 were killed by it in 1937 in Kansas alone), has become a human disease and in the great outbreak of 1941 it struck 3,000 persons in 3 upper Midwestern States and Canada. In 1922, mosquitoes launched an epidemic of less serious dengue fever which ultimately affected as many as 600,000 Texans alone. The entire southern third of the United States has been designated a "receptive area" for yellow fever by the U.S. Public Health Service because of the abundance of mosquitoes capable of transmitting the disease.

Item: The imported fire ant, still relentlessly marching northward through the Gulf Coast States, invaded Fort Benning, Ga., in 1956, and eventually 300 persons were treated for stings. Three cases could have been fatal without prompt attention—a girl and two middle-aged officers, all of whom suffered violent reactions to the ants' poison. Fifty tons of insecticide finally rid the post of the ants.

Item: Sea lampreys, which attach themselves to, and feed on, valuable fish, are being brought under control after threatening to eliminate the lake trout from the Great Lakes. A special chemical pesticide has proved the only effective means of killing the lamprey. Wildlife and conservation groups have made wise use of chemical pesticides to improve the habitat of fish and game; an example is widespread utilization of herbicides to free marshes and waterways of undesirable vegetation.

Item: Insects take a $500 million annual toll of food and fiber in storage and transit, even with controls used now. Rats ruin up to $2 billion worth of food each year, are carriers of at least six diseases, and have attacked—and killed—many humans.

FOR BETTER YEARS

"Pesticides are essential to maintain and improve our food supplies and our public health; they must be thoroughly pretested for safety before use, and they must be carefully and wisely used."—Conclusions, in general terms, of all major investigations of the merits of pesticides, including those conducted by both Houses of Congress.

"If all the food of the world—including surplus stores—were distributed equally and each human received identical quantities, we would all be malnourished. If the entire world were fed on the U.S. level, all available food would be only enough to feed less than half the human race."—Dr. Georg Borgstrom, Michigan State University Department of Food Science.

"It seems evident that the American people cannot be fed adequately unless crops and livestock are protected from insects and other pests."—Pesticides Subcommittee, National Academy of Sciences.

"There is no confirmed record of clinical effect from eating food treated with pesticides according to approved agricultural practice."—Journal of the American Medical Association, July 28, 1962.

"It is estimated that malaria alone is the direct or indirect cause of over one-half of the entire mortality of the human race."—Public Welfare Subcommittee, U.S. Senate.

"To my knowledge not one death (excluding accidental deaths) or serious illness has been caused among the people exposed to the insecticide (DDT) in connection with the control of insects. * * * I estimate that no less than 5 million lives have been saved; no less than 100 million illnesses have been prevented, through the use of DDT for controlling malaria, typhus, dysentery, and many other diseases."—E. F. Knipling, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

"During years of investigation, it has been impossible to confirm the allegation that insecticides, when properly used, are the cause of any disease either of man or animals."—Dr. Wayland J. Hayes, Jr., Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"Furthermore, evidence of spraying programs throughout the country demonstrates that the fish, bird, and bee loss has been inconsequential."—Ruling by Federal Judge D. J. Bruchhausen.

"Industry, government and nonprofit institutions have labored to create these chemical tools, and to research, develop, test, and establish safety standards for them. Nevertheless, like other tools of our civilization, they are susceptible to misuse and abuse which can result in destruction to crops,

harm to humans, and pollution of our environment. But instances of such misuse and abuse must not be allowed to obscure the fact that these tools are vital to the health and even the survival of humanity."—Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc.

## Law Ignored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence appeared in the Washington Evening Star, Monday, October 1.

Most of the members of the American Bar agree with the thinking advanced by Mr. Lawrence.

I commend this article to the attention of each Member of the Congress and the Justice Department.

DUE PROCESS OF LAW IGNORED—ROOT OF MISSISSIPPI CONFLICT SEEN IN ILLEGALLY ADOPTED 14TH AMENDMENT

(By David Lawrence)

There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States or in the laws passed by Congress which authorizes the use of Federal troops to compel any public educational institution to admit a certain student just because he demands that he be enrolled.

There is nothing in the Constitution which denies the Governor of a State an opportunity to be heard by the full membership of the Supreme Court of the United States in a dispute between State and Federal authority.

There is nothing in the Constitution which even mentions education as one of the subjects coming within the powers of the Federal Government.

Whatever authority the Department of Justice or the Federal courts claim today in this field is derived from a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 which gave no legal reason but only sociological consideration as an argument for reversing an 1896 decision that permitted separate but equal facilities in dealing with segregation.

The 1954 decision cited the 14th amendment as the basis for its ruling, but the amendment was never legally adopted by the necessary number of States. In fact, the legislatures of some of the Southern States were compelled at the point of the bayonet by Federal troops to ratify it. Since this happened in 1868—3 years after the War Between the States was over—the Supreme Court of the United States has never been willing to rule on the validity of the process by which the 14th amendment was allegedly ratified.

Yet 1 of the 10 original amendments—known as the Bill of Rights and duly ratified in 1791—does say that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

Governor Barnett nevertheless has been threatened with jail—without due process of law.

Last Saturday Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in a telephoned address to the American Bar Association's convention at San Francisco, said that the distinguished lawyers of Mississippi had not spoken out in the battle over integration. Apparently Mr. Kennedy didn't note the speech made in the Senate just 2 days before by Senator JOHN C. STENNIS, of Mississippi, one of the ablest lawyers in the country. He has sat on the bench. He is one of the fairest minded men in the Senate. He told of the origin of the case of James Meredith, the Negro applicant, as a private suit against the board of trustees of Mississippi's State university and how a learned judge of the U.S. district court ruled that the Mississippi college authorities were justified in denying admission to Meredith. Mr. STENNIS described the subsequent legal battles in the U.S. circuit court of appeals. He referred to the fact that in the circuit court of appeals one judge said he thought Meredith would be a troublemaker and should be denied admission.

But the main point of criticism made by Senator STENNIS was that the State of Mississippi was being denied a hearing by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Constitution specifically provides that the Supreme Court must hear as a matter of original jurisdiction all cases involving a conflict between a State and the Federal Government and that the lower courts have no right to decide such a question. But only one member of the highest court—Justice Black—ruled on it, though he claims he consulted the other judges individually, since the Court was not in session. He doesn't say whether he did this by telephone or by personal visits, as the case arose recently during the time the Supreme Court members were on vacation. Certainly no opportunity was afforded the defendants for oral argument by their attorneys before the entire Court.

"This," says Senator STENNIS, "is certainly not judicial consideration of the case on its merits. This is not the type of searching thought and application of legal principles which should be given such a serious case. Is it really true that a Governor might be held in contempt of court, or sent to jail, or a sovereign State might be invaded by Federal troops and its citizens terrorized at the point of bayonets, on this fragmentary attention by one judge?"

Senator STENNIS also pointed out that on three separate occasions the Senate had "soundly defeated proposals to give the Attorney General the very authority to exercise the powers which he has assumed." Senator STENNIS referred to the substitution of the Attorney General as a plaintiff in court for a private citizen.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi—who has been for many years chairman of the all-important Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate—said to the Senate:

"If the day has come when not only a citizen of Mississippi, but also the Governor of that great State, can be dragged across a State line by Federal marshals or troops and subjected to the dictates of appellate judges appointed to their cushy jobs for life, then judicial tyranny is a reality and not a fiction."

There is serious doubt from a legal standpoint whether a President has the right to send troops into a State under the circumstances existing in Mississippi. This correspondent made the same criticism 5 years ago when President Eisenhower ordered Federal troops to Little Rock, Ark.

Whatever one's individual feelings may be about segregation or desegregation, it seems only fair to express agreement with Senator STENNIS that the whole case should be "heard on its merits by the Supreme Court." It seems fair also to suggest that the fraudulent method of "ratifying" the 14th amendment—on which the whole series of court rulings and new executive orders mobilizing Federal military forces are based today—should be opened up for trial after 94 years of tragic silence by the Supreme Court of the United States.

## Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. James P. Wesberry will be remembered by most of the membership of this body as the beloved pastor of Morningside Baptist Church in Atlanta, who for several weeks served as acting Chaplain of the House of Representatives a few years ago during the illness of our Chaplain.

During this service as acting Chaplain, his warm, outstanding personality won for him the friendship, love and admiration of the membership of the House.

Dr. Wesberry, this past summer, made a visit to Russia, and took a trip behind the Iron Curtain. His experiences there were interesting indeed. Upon his return home, he prepared a detailed statement regarding this visit behind the Iron Curtain and the interesting facts he gathered.

Pursuant to unanimous consent previously obtained, I insert herewith Dr. Wesberry's article "Behind the Iron Curtain" as a part of these remarks. It is a most interesting article. It merits careful reading and study.

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

(By James P. Wesberry)

On Friday, July 20, at 4:30 a.m., our boat, the Norwegian American *Bergensfjord*, harbored at Leningrad, Russia. I was thrilled, but it was a different kind of thrill than when I visited Europe, or Palestine, or Japan, for the main purpose of this trip was to get to Russia. Since Russia and the United States are the two great world powers and have been in a cold war for years, ever in conflict, I wanted to see what Russia is like with my own eyes and try to make some personal evaluations. Russia is different—different in almost every way from us, except that Russians are human beings like us.

We left the ship early for a morning tour of Leningrad, Russia's second largest and most important city of over 3 million, renowned for its revolutionary traditions. Its history goes back over 250 years. The foundations of a fortress were laid there in 1703 and it was called the fortress of St. Petersburg. This was during a war between Russia and Sweden. For two centuries the city bore this name. It was renamed Petrograd in 1914.

It is called by Russians, "the Cradle of the Great October Revolution, the laboring city, the city-hero."

In Petrograd in October 1911, the banner of Socialist revolution was raised for the first time and Soviet power came into being. It was from here that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin conducted his revolutionary activities. He was the founder of the Communist Party and of the Soviet state.

In 1924 the name of the city was changed from Petrograd to Leningrad which means "Lenin-town." Lenin today seems to be regarded as the greatest hero of Russia and is all but worshipped. We saw 20,000 people lined up going into his mausoleum in Red Square, Moscow.

Leningrad is famous also as the first home of homemade Soviet tractors, turbines, the

most complex machinery and instruments, as well as the atomic icebreaker *Lenin*.

The foot of a foreign conqueror has never trod the soil of Leningrad.

The city celebrated its 250th anniversary in 1957. The city, like many of ours in America, of course, has made many changes. It occupies 79,000 acres. Old branches of industry have expanded and many new ones developed. Millions of square feet of apartments have been and are being erected. There are blocks upon blocks of apartments, the largest I have ever seen, except in Moscow. There are also many beautiful parks.

We visited the Winter Palace of the former czars, the old Peter and Paul Fortress, the house of Russia's great poet, Pushkin, and the broad avenue known as Nevski Prospect and many other places of interest. We rode all over the city looking for slides but found none. I never saw such wide streets and as clean as can be with so few automobiles and most of them either old or of European make, mostly small.

We were greatly impressed with St. Isaac's Cathedral, across from our Hotel Astoria, where we had lunch. Many people were rushing in and out and construction was going on inside. We saw magnificent paintings of Christ and the whole thing glittered with gold trimmings, a very elaborate cathedral indeed, now only a museum. This cathedral stands third among the cupolaed buildings of the world. It has room for 13,000 people. It was under construction for 40 years and took 440,000 people to build it.

The State Hermitage (All Union Museum), Leningrad's largest museum, is one of the largest and most beautiful in the world. It is in the palace of the czars which is an exquisite setting for a museum with all of its glittering gold, carvings, sculpture and art. It is a world treasury containing everything imaginable, including many things out of the closed churches—Bibles, paintings and hundreds of other valuable and beautiful aids to worship. We saw the work (sculpture) of Michelangelo, the art of Rubin, Van Dyke, Raphael, Titian, Rembrandt, and Leonardo da Vinci. The Hermitage is the richest treasure house of world culture and art and the most important cultural, historical, and art museum in Russia, and, frankly, I think in the whole world. Everybody raved about it. Much of the collections belonged to the czars as private property and were housed in the Winter Palace in rooms called "The Hermitage." After the 1917 revolution it became public property. It has grown threefold during the years following and has over 2 million exhibits and is visited by a million and a half people each year. One of the strangest things of all was to see the people flopping down in the beautiful old antique chairs, sofas, etc. I wonder how long their treasured furniture can last with this public treatment. It is allowed no doubt in order that the people may feel that what once belonged to rulers is now theirs. We also saw the monument to Lenin in front of the Terminal and many other monuments to Russia's great (none of whom I recognized), and one to the poet, A. S. Pushkin.

One of the first impressions we received as we entered Russia was that they were examining our passports very carefully. There was no mail for us. There was a brief word of welcome by one of the Russian women, one of three who came aboard. They were from what is called Intourist, the Government travel agency, which arranged everything we did and saw. They all speak excellent English. Our two guides did. One was a soft-talking, pretty young woman named Elia in Leningrad. She was married and had a 3-year-old son. She seemed pleased when I asked her if she were married and later if there were children. She did everything she could for our pleasure and so did both drivers. We were in automobiles—four of us—a guide and the driver. In Leningrad, the Betts, of Columbus, rode with us and in Moscow, Father Dade, a Catholic priest, serving as Catholic chaplain on the ship, and Mrs. Mae Gutham, of New York City. Msgr. Thomas B. Dade is a very fine man. We ate with him and spent hours together. We like him very much. Imagine a Baptist preacher and a Roman Catholic priest touring Moscow together!

One of the first things we learned was that almost all Russian women work and many at common labor. We saw women with shovels in their hands working on the streets of Leningrad, women sweeping the streets in both cities, a woman high up on a scaffold outside a building in Moscow, several women motormen, and several surveyors. This indicates that Christ is not there. I had seen women at hard labor in Japan but not like the ones I saw with shovels in their hands in Leningrad. We are told that women in Russia even work in the mines.

Everywhere we went, no matter where, the grass was high and in many places weeds were growing. While we saw some beautiful flowers and shrubbery, as a whole they do not seem to be as careful as we are in this respect in their parks, etc.

I asked if they had a Sabbath and was told that Jews, work only 5 hours on Saturday and that while many people work on Sunday, Sunday was a holiday.

Most of the churches have been closed as such and are being used as museums. They speak of separation of church and state and of freedom of religion, but there seems to be only a token kind of church or churches. There is a Jewish synagogue in both of these cities, a Baptist church or so, and one Roman Catholic church in Moscow. We were told that there are 15 churches in Leningrad, a city of over 3 million. Father Dade phoned a friend, a priest, who holds Mass in his apartment in Moscow (only). I had no contact with the Baptists whatsoever. I wrote the Baptist headquarters in Moscow as Dr. Nordenhaug suggested but never had a reply. Father Dade did get a reply from his friend and a phone call. Circumstances were such as to prevent us from even attempting to find or attend a Baptist church in either city. Mr. LaPrade, our official lecturer—a Thomas Cook man—told me he attended a Russian service in Leningrad and there were 1,000 people present.

Oddly enough, there is still one active monastery about 70 kilometers from Moscow with an academy of about 250 students.

Russians refer today to the fact that the churches were very rich and the people very poor. Of course, all one has to do is to look at the people to know that they are still very poor and their churches are gone except for a few which are tolerated or allowed perhaps for good publicity purposes. They say that only the older people attend any of the services and surely there can be no free pulpit in all of Russia, only a pretense of freedom of religion.

Boredom is alleged to drive people into churches. On a basis of the sale of candles it is estimated that there are between 20 and 30 million practicing members of the Orthodox church. The Lutherans claim 700,000 active members. Baptists have at least 550,000 baptized members and 3 million sympathizers. Some odd millenarian sects raise their heads. "The Baptists," they say, "slander the Soviet way of life, the Communits Party and our policy, but they frequently disguise themselves and pretend to be innocent."

All weddings are by the state under the commissioner of marriages. They have a wedding palace in Leningrad for this purpose only and there are many marriages on marriage days. It takes about 5 minutes to be married, costs about $1.70, but there are 10 days of waiting to be sure and no blood tests are required. The officiants are women in robes. After a very brief word and the couple's consent, the couple signs a book, the commissioner congratulated them, the family and friends rush up and give the bride flowers, kiss, etc., and go below to a simple party in another room, then home. Couples getting married get keys to their apartment at that time. A larger party may be held at home. Divorce, we were told, is very difficult.

Both Leningrad and Moscow have the widest streets and sidewalks I have ever seen anywhere and they are immaculate. There are plenty of streetcars on tracks, also trolleys and subways. Moscow opened her subway in 1954 but began it in 1935, and it has 64 stations and 91 kilometers of tracks. We took a ride and it is the finest and fastest of any I have ridden. A lady on one and a man on another got up to give Mrs. Wesberry a seat. The cost is 5 kopeks, 100 of which make a ruble. One ruble amounts to $1.10 in our money. Five kopeks would be about 5 cents and a little over.

There are very few automobiles on the streets. The cities seem absented except for large crowds on the sidewalks. I was told by Mr. Moorehead, an undertaker from New York who went to Moscow by train, that he saw whole villages without a single automobile. Those we rode in were several years old and mostly small. The people of Russia cannot afford them; consequently, people walk everywhere and they walk fast. Almost all of them seem to be in a hurry and to have something to do. There is no loitering around or very little, except at a beach we saw in Leningrad. The women wore streamlined bathing suits.

The women wear mostly gingham dresses and perhaps a sweater (buttoned). The dresses are not short. There are few stockings and no high heels. The shoes are of the cheapest variety. There is no makeup and no hairdos (very much). The women look strong and husky but are not pretty. Nor do they smile as a rule. We saw our guide smile and two or three other women laugh. The children are as sweet as can be. Parents seem to love them and seemed affectionate, but they, too, do not smile and laugh as in other countries.

The men look slovenly, with usually no ties, old hats, if any. Their clothes seldom fit and their shoes are not anything to be compared to ours. Many look unclean. Many are very dirty and sloppy looking. The people on the streets in both cities looked about like the people in some small town cotton-mill community of the States and hardly as well dressed. They do not smile or speak, but appear kind when approached. We did not have one single episode unless it was the woman in the Battle Museum in Moscow who was a bit hasty in shutting the doors in the faces of several Americans. I milled around alone in the crowds in the Kremlin and nobody paid me any attention. I was courteously beckoned to come on in one of the churches in Red Square while others seemed to be paying for admission.

The newspapers, containing about six pages (much smaller than ours) can be purchased at small newsstands and in hotel lobbies. They are put on bulletin boards at car stops all over the city and the people read them while waiting for trolleys, etc. They are no more than propaganda sheets for the Government. There is no such thing as a free church in Russia or a free press.

Neither is there a free radio or television. There is little television there, only one station in Moscow, all for the Government's use and all very carefully controlled. They promote only that which helps the Soviet society. The papers are stereotyped, hackneyed, and dry. All items on the radio deal with the Government and even the music on radio must be officially approved.

There is the strictest sort of censorship in the publication of all books.

There is also a very strict censorship of all dispatches going out from the Soviet Union. Many downright falsehoods are released.

A vast, expensive jamming system of radios prevents the people from listening to foreign radio stations at the will of the Government.

The buses we rode in were good.

Leningrad and Moscow are Russia's two largest cities. Moscow has over 5 million. Russia is the largest country in the world. It accounts for one-sixth of the inhabited area. It covers over 8 million square miles and there are 15 sovereign republics all controlled by Moscow. There are 220 million people in Russia, 67 languages are spoken, and there are 11 time zones. It has every kind of weather except tropical. Russia has more than 100,000 rivers and scores of lakes. It is washed by 3 oceans and 12 seas, and is inhabited by over 100 nationalities.

We were surprised to find that in Moscow in the main part of town there are tunnels under the streets for pedestrians.

Never have I seen such large and so many apartment buildings as I saw in these cities. Many are very beautiful. They cover block after block and contain in some buildings what appears to be thousands of apartments—all built, owned by and governmentally controlled. There are very few homes. The only ones we saw were the very poorest type. Everybody lives in an apartment. Both cities are far behind in enough and good enough housing and are building by day and night to catch up. Two thousand apartment houses are going up in various parts of Moscow simultaneously. Three hundred new apartments are released each day in Moscow. People pay for these apartments in accordance with what they earn. Very few have private baths.

Salaries vary. Our guide said he got 80 rubes a month, plus 50 rubles stipend or scholarship. He is in language school and, as our guide, practices his subject of English. He was 19 and evidently a very dedicated party member. I gave him my card and invited him to visit us in the United States and expressed the hope that he would someday be the American Ambassador to the United States. He seemed pleased and smiled. I gave him the little booklet, "The Best Thing in Life," and he read it over and over and after holding it in his hand some minutes he put it in his pocket.

The Soviet Union is building a Communist society, whose principle is "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his need."

The Soviet Union has become a country of tourists and the number of visitors increase each year. This amazed me. It was hard to realize that I was behind the Iron Curtain. Tourists are well received.

I was also surprised to be able to take pictures of almost everything as freely as I would at home with only a few restrictions, such as bridges, military installations, etc., and from planes. I saw some soldiers and sailors but no real military installation at all.

We did not see Mr. Khrushchev or get near him so far as I know. Our guide said he did not even know where he lives. He did point out where his office is in one of the Kremlin buildings with a Red flag on it.

There is no tipping in Russia. We were advised not to tip them but to give the drivers cigarettes, etc. I gave our driver in Moscow two small packages of cigarettes and two packages of Chiclets. He was very grateful. Our guide refused to take a tip from Monsignor Dade.

The weather in Leningrad was perfect but it was cloudy and rainy in Moscow all of the time we were there. They had a storm the night before we arrived and, consequently, we were delayed until the next morning getting there by plane. We were supposed to leave at 2:30 Friday afternoon, July 20, for Moscow. We waited and waited at the Astoria Hotel where we had lunch and went sightseeing again in Leningrad. About 7 we returned to our ship, the *Bergensfjord*. Everybody was glad to get back and get a good dinner. Many were leaving by train overnight to Moscow. We were terribly disappointed to be delayed. We were to attend a theater that night in Moscow. We heard all kinds of rumors why we didn't get off and had to wait so long. Some thought the World Cancer Conference in Moscow made it impossible for us to get hotel rooms, but the next morning when we arrived by jet in 55 minutes from Leningrad we saw pools of water indicating that it was the weather that delayed us. We got up Saturday morning at 4:15 and were again delayed in leaving. We finally left the Leningrad Airport about 9 a.m. It took us an hour to reach the Leningrad Airport. We had 76 of our group. We were driven right up to the plane. The plane was loaded to capacity carrying 120 passengers including some Russians. The stewardess served hard candy and a drink (a kind of carbonated sweetened soda water). I had a very comfortable seat. The noise seemed to be louder than on our jets and the inside of the plane was not finished as nicely as ours. There were no racks overhead and no pillows.

Upon arrival in Moscow we were directed to "Intourist" rooms where we waited another hour for our buses and cars. The only time we were in a private car was while in Russia and this was because we took the tour they allowed us and were grateful. The airport was 30 miles from Moscow and seems to serve several other towns or cities in addition to Moscow. We were to dine at 1 p.m. so we had about an hour or little longer to ride around and see some of Moscow before lunch. There was another airport for planes from foreign countries which we saw some distance from ours on the way to the city.

We passed a Pioneer Camp coming from the airport to the city for boys only, ages 10–15, who come to camp for 1 to 3 months during the summer. They pay 30 percent of the cost and the trade unions pay the rest.

We approached the city on the Leningrad highway (Moscow is about 400 miles from Leningrad). On the way we had a chance by car, as we had had from the air, to see some of the farms and farmhouses. In Russia they farm collectively and often the foreman lives in the largest and best house, probably a painted one surrounded by what appears to be log cabins in which the other farm families live. We saw some houses that reminded us of some of our houses in some of our slum sections on the way into some of our cities, conditions of which were very poor and miserable.

Moscow is the capital of the U.S.S.R. It is somewhat hilly, lying 656 feet above sea level at its highest point. The average temperature in January, the coldest month, is 11 degrees (centigrade) below, and in very cold winters it drops to 40 degrees below.

The average temperature in July is 20 degrees and it rises sometimes to 37 degrees in the shade. Moscow now covers at least 123 square miles and expects soon to cover 181 square miles. It now has a population of over 5 million. The city is administered by the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies and its executive committee of 25 members. Moscow's 1959 budget was more than 8 billion rubles. In 1947 the city celebrated its 800th anniversary. At that time a monument was laid to its founder, Prince Yuri Dolgoruky. It is the political center of the Soviet Union and its cultural center. Here is the Academy of Sciences, more than 150 museums and exhibition halls, about 30 theatres, more than 70 publishing houses and over 1,000 public libraries. There are 86 institutions of higher learning in Moscow claiming more students than Britain and France combined.

At the top of a high hill that once overlooked all districts of old Moscow is the Kremlin, Moscow's heart from the day of its existence. Its jagged greyish-red walls rise above the River Moska with the faceted tops of it tall towers, covered with dark green tiles and crowned with copper-gold weather vanes. The five highest towers bear ruby stars. Palaces and gold-cupolaed cathedrals rise behind the walls on an emerald mound. Around the Kremlin, as the centuries rolled by, the Russians built their capital, and even though the city has changed with its avenues stretching for miles, its large squares, skyscrapers, and also endless blocks of apartments, or flats, as the Russians call them, it is still the center of Moscow.

The word "Kremlin" means fortress, but has come to denote something rather sinister to us. It flanks the whole of one side of Red Square. Within the Kremlin are nine cathedrals, all of which have become museums of some sore, and other buildings now used by the government. The walls are from 11 to 21 feet wide and from 16 to 62 feet high. The wall has 20 towers, the most striking of which is 221 feet high. The bell tower is 214 feet high. The walls of this ancient medieval citadel which has become a symbol of Moscow encompass an area of 64.2 acres. In the building of the Kremlin the most ancient relics of Russian history and culture are preserved. The palaces, cathedrals are of unique architecture and their paintsings, art, collection of ancient arms, royal regalia, the czars' personal belongings, precious utensils, objects of religious worship are of universal interest. Multiplied thousands of people visit here every day. It is estimated that between 1955 and 1959, 14 million people visited there, including those from 50 foreign countries. From the crowds we saw there this is not hard to believe. There were many thousands there when we arrived. The armory was packed with a long line waiting. In this depository of Moscow's princes and czars, we saw many of the riches of the past. We, of course, of necessity had to rush through it because of limited time. It was required that we put sandals over our shoes to prevent damage to the carpets and floors.

We saw in the Kremlin the Great Czar Bell and the Czar Cannon, two unique examples of the art of ancient Russian founders. The bell has never rung and the cannon never been fired. The great bell dwarfs you. It was cast by a father and his son in the 18th century, placed in preparatory stage on a scaffold in the Kremlin and it fell into a pit of water and cracked. It originally weighed 200 tons, made of bronze and other metals, with a special tone. The cracked piece weights 11½ tons. The bell tower built in 1600 was the watchtower. Ivan Matorin, a first-class founder, had been ordered to cast the bell and 5 years were spent in preparation. When everything was ready he died in August 1735, and his son, Mikhail, cast the bell. While project of all sorts were being tried to raise the 200-ton bell from the pit in which it was cast to the top of the tower, a terrible fire ravaged the Kremlin in May 1737, and it was in this fire that the bell was damaged. One hundred years later the bell was raised out of the pit and installed on a granite base as a landmark in the Kremlin.

The Czar Cannon was cast in 1586 by Andru Chokhov, master of the cannon yard. It weighs 40 tons. It barrel is more than 5 metres long and its caliber is 89 centimeters.

Tzars (or czars as I always thought of them) are buried in one of the cathedrals, the Archangel Michael Cathedral, built in 1505–09. It is 111.6 feet high and 123.7 feet long and more than 69 feet wide. It contains the tombs of dukes and czars.

The Kremlin is the seat of the Soviet Government and the Supreme Soviet. Spacious hall of its palaces are used for holding Communist Party Congresses and for other government affairs.

One of the Kremlin walls borders the Red Square, the place that comes first in the heart of every Soviet citizen. The word used for "red" also means beautiful and the square was so named before the revolution of 1917. It ranks as one of the most impressive squares in Europe. It is the scene of many momentous events in Russian history. The final battles of the Moscow proletariate were fought here in 1917, and the fighters who lost their lives in them are buried in a common grave at the foot of the Kremlin wall. It is the point of convergence of popular demonstrations. Whatever major political events have unfolded in Moscow, they inevitably consummate in Red Square. This is because of its close proximity to the Kremlin which is the political, administrative, and ecclesiastical center of Moscow. During many raids the people sought safety behind the strong walls of the Kremlin. It was the site of public executions, and on several occasions the scene of popular vengeance against the hated feudal boyers.

The main attraction in Red Square is the large, black and gray labradorite and red Ukranian granite mausoleum which contains the body of Lenin. Stalin's body was beside Lenin's but has been removed and placed somewhere back of the wall—nobody seems to know where. As we entered Red Square we saw a long line of people several blocks long waiting to enter the mausoleum. There were literally thousands of people all day long coming, waiting, and most reverently entering to see what is said to be Lenin's body. Whether it is his real body or not is a question of debate. My undertaker friend from New York declared it was a wax figure. The two sentries at the mausoleum are changed every hour. Each day a wreath is laid here with a brief ceremony. The crowds are reverent and seem to almost worship the figure in the casket said to be Lenin's body. Next to the mausoleum are the graves of outstanding Soviet statesmen. Never have I seen such a crowd of people bowing in reverence at any human being's grave. I saw something greater than this in Bethlehem. It is a sight to behold. That is why the next day, back on the Bergensfjord, I chose for my sermon topic to an audience of about 150, "The Exaltation of Christ," and did my best to exalt Him, basing my remarks on Philippians 2: 9–11. Long after Lenin is forgotten Christ will be exalted, for His name is above every name and He reigns in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth.

In Red Square on the south side is St. Basil's Cathedral, a masterpiece of Russian architecture built in 1555–60 by Ivan the Terrible.

On the east side are two large buildings, the former and upper emporiums. The middle emporium is occupied by government offices. The upper emporium after being reconstructed became in 1953 GUM, the largest department store in the Soviet Union. It staffs 4,000, has its own custom workshops making suits, overcoats, dresses, and footwear. It is air conditioned. It is crowded, we were told, always. It has everything in Russia—sells every variety of consumer's goods. It serves 140,000 people a day and the prices are high.

We wanted to see what a department store is like in Russia and went over and walked around. It was filled with people. We bought some little wooden dolls for our grandchildren and some ash trays. It was difficult to get waited on.

On the way out several boys approached me and asked for chewing gum. I gave one boy a box of Chiclets and he placed a small pin with a picture of a Leningrad building on it in my hand. The other boys wanted gum. One wanted a pencil. Having no pencil to give him we offered him American money. He shook his head and said, "pencil." I then reached in my shirt pocket where I keep my New Testament and said, "Here, I will give you something better," and handed him a beautiful picture of Jesus. I turned the back-side up to him first, with the words on it, "Only one life, 'twill soon be past; only what's done for Christ will last," with "For me to live is Christ," from Philippians 1: 21 on it. He took it, studied it awhile, turned it over, looked into the face of Jesus, seemed stunned for a moment, put it in his pocket and walked quietly away. Mrs. Wesberry gave one of the boys some gum and he gave her a little pin also. The guide told us that they were impolite to do that but we could do as we wished about it. It seems that they are taught not to take anything without giving something in exchange for it.

On the north side of the Red Square is the History Museum in which more than 40 rooms compose the largest exposition of the history of human society in Russia. It is said to list more than 3 million exhibits. It is visited by hundreds of thousands each year.

Lenin's Museum is nearby, founded on May 15, 1936. It was visited by 18 million people in 23 years.

In the Tretiyakouskaya Gallery of Art, in the Ivanov Room there is a large painting of Christ which takes up all of one wall and took 10 years to paint.

The Lenin Library contains 19 million volumes, including periodicals, newspapers, manuscripts, etc. There are 20 reading rooms for the public. Five thousand people use it daily, except in the summer, and it is an international lending library, lending books to other nations.

So far as we were able to learn our little party of four were the only ones who got to go to the Exhibition of Industry. This is on the northern outskirts of Moscow and is surrounded by beautiful flower beds and green lawns. It consists of a main pavilion, pavilions of the Union Republics in national architectural styles, and many other pavilions, buildings, hot houses, greenhouses, experimental plots and an extensive orchard. The main botanical gardens are nearby. The exhibition grounds cover an area of 534 acres, exceeding the area of the World Exhibition in Brussels where 54 countries were represented. It was started in 1939 as an agricultural exhibition and has expanded since then to include many other areas of development and progress made in the Soviet Union. It was changed from merely industrial and agricultural exhibitions in 1959 to "the Exhibition of Economic Achievement of the U.S.S.R." It sets forth the economic progress of the nation, mirrors all technical gains, demonstrates advanced production methods and techniques in industry, building, and agriculture.

The exhibition has four sections. The general section consists of the main pavilion, the 15 pavilions of the Union Republics, and the Science, Peaceful Atom, Public Education and Higher Schools, Health Services and Medical Industry, Labor Reserves, Young Naturalists and Technicians, Physical Culture and Sports, Hydro-Meteo Service, Soviet Books, and Children's Toys pavilions.

The second section is devoted to industry and transport in 18 pavilions.

The agricultural section has 22 pavilions with more than 10 pavilions comprising the building section.

In all, there are over 300 different structures and installations.

Two pavilions that attract many people are the one devoted to atomic power and the one devoted to space. To our amazement the Science pavilion contains a comprehensive display of the Soviet's earth satellites and space rockets. The rockets that have been used by Russia successfully are pointed out. We saw a replica of the ball they claim to have dropped on the moon and a movie of their latest adventure into space.

The agricultural section with its display of over 260 crops and 1,660 new varieties, claimed to have been cultivated by the Russians, is most impressive.

We rode in a little train for a mile or two in and out among these exhibits.

The entrance to the exhibition is very beautiful. There is a large display of 15 bronze figures forming a beautiful water fountain and each figure represents one of the 15 Union Republics and I suppose the Soviet's 15 ministries and departments. It is really very beautiful. It all has the appearance of a World's Fair grounds. We considered ourselves most fortunate to get to visit here.

The first thrill we were given after arriving in Moscow was to see a panoramic view of the great city from an elevated sight. From this prominent position we looked down upon the Lenin Stadium, located on a curve of the Moskva River opposite Lenin Hills. This large sports arena seats 103,000 people. It includes 14 gymnasiums, movie projection rooms, showers, a hotel for visiting athletes, a post office, a sports museum, a restaurant, an outdoor swimming pool, and many other features of a sports museum. All facilities are made available to any visitor on specified days free of charge. Experienced coaches train young people in sports.

It was also a thrill to be taken for a ride on Moscow's Metro, which is the cheapest, fastest, and most convenient form of city transportation. Each day it transports 3 million passengers. The escalator goes downward at a very sharp angle a long ways to great marble and sculptured walls giving a feeling of spaciousness. The subway cars have the appearance of being new. The first Metro line was opened in 1935 and more and more lines have been added across the years. The top speed is 40 miles per hour. The cars are all metal and carry up to 250 passengers. There are 64 stations now covering over 90 miles of double tracks, as I mentioned earlier. This is indeed a great feat of engineering. Many stations are not only made of marble but contain mosaic murals. One station's theme is the heroism of the Soviet people and what they call their fight for independence. This station has eight large mosaic murals.

The sight of Moscow's State University really took my breath. It is one of the most elaborate and beautiful universities it has ever been my privilege to see. I have seen most of the larger and better universities of the world, but here is something quite different. I wouldn't have known it was a university. It is a set of 37 structures, an architectural ensemble of buildings, 2, 3, 6, 9, 12, and 18 stories high, symmetrically arranged round the 32-story edifice which is topped by a tall spire. The main building is about 787 feet high and added to this is the 262 feet Lenin Hills on which it is situated. It can be seen from miles away on clear days. Tall residential buildings adjoin the main edifice with 5,754 rooms for students and 184 apartments for the teaching staff.

The university has 12 departments, more than 22,000 students of 58 nationalities, and 14 faculties. The university is said to be staffed by nearly 3,000 scientists, of whom 145 are members of the Academy of Sciences of the Union Republics. The overall number of university library books totals nearly 6 million volumes. It occupies an area of 420 acres on Lenin Hills and altogether there are 45,000 rooms, halls, etc., in the university.

Two bronze figures, one a young man and one a young girl, holding books, stand at the main entrance and a monument of the

university's founder, M. U. Lomonosov, stands in the yard.

Tuition is free and exceptional students who need it receive governmental stipends. Foreign students do not pay tuition either. All foreign students are first required to learn the Russian language.

Our young 19-year-old guide told us that if a young child should enter the university and go in a room a day he would be 60 years of age before he got into all of the rooms.

The Soviets claim that the U.S.S.R. is a land of total literacy and that only very occasionally in some remote place does one meet an old man who does not know how to write and that he himself may have children or grandchildren enjoying higher education.

All forms of education, from the primary school to higher education is free. The Government supplies material aid to the vast majority of students, giving them grants and housing them.

There are now 766 institutions of higher learning in Russia. The Russians claim that these institutions are attended by 4 times more students than the total in Great Britain, France, West Germany, and Italy combined.

They claim that they are turning out almost 3 times more engineers than similar institutions in the United States.

They say that over 50 million people are studying in one way or another in the U.S.S.R. or that every fourth person is studying. People are free, they say, to choose their trade or profession and where they wish to study. What is needed, they state, from Soviet people is first and foremost a spirit of initiative, creativeness, audacity, a spirit of innovation. Unless a man develops these qualities life will leave him behind, they say.

They tell us that 18 out of every 1,000 people in the U.S.S.R. have a higher education and 263 out of ever 1,000 have a secondary education.

There is much more to be said about Moscow, but as we turn to other thoughts of Russia, there is one thing I'll never forget seeing in Moscow and that was the thousands upon thousands of the largest apartment houses I have ever seen. Since I have referred to this elsewhere let us now think of some other things about Russia in general.

Russia is as Winston Churchill is quoted as having once said, "An enigma wrapped up in mystery." Russia is different.

As long as I shall remember those large apartment houses and all the other sights of Russia, the one that will linger the longest is the sight of thousands upon thousands of expresssionless faces—expressionless except for the look of suffering, of hardship, poverty, regimentation, fear, frustration, anxiety, and enslavement upon them. In Finland behind them, we saw a brave, free, happy people, a people who suffered as perhaps no people ever have for their freedom, but a free and happy people, where men and women and little children can smile, a nation, that though it has a state church, has not lost its faith or its soul. At the first place we stopped on our way out of Russia, Visby, an island about the size of Rhode Island, there the church was the center of their lives. They showed us the ruins of churches of the ages and the church of today and all around we saw precious little children riding ponies in a land of peacefulness and rest, where they could smile. Even in Poland, our next stop, at Gdynia, we walked the streets and saw a happier people. There we stepped into the first church we saw, and a mother, very young, rolled her baby carriage with a beautiful baby in it up to the door, left the carriage and baby outside and reverently entered and as others knelt at a Roman Catholic altar, dipped her hand in holy water, made the sign of the cross and went back to her baby and went away. There seemed a difference even in Poland where we are told they have a brand of Communism which is their own and are much less dedicated to Communism than the Russians seem to be.

Frankly, in all kindness, I enjoyed taking a bath, washing even my hair and changing all of my clothes after leaving Russia. Many of us left with a deep feeling of sadness and heartache because we had been among a sad people. Several people on board our ship confessed to me that they were depressed from their visit there. I did not hear this about any other country. One member of the crew said, "I hope this is our last trip there," and this seemed to be the feeling of people generally—both passengers and crew.

A professor of history, Dr. Schutz, of Los Angeles, was impressed with the extreme poverty of the people he saw everywhere. One lady said, "People can't help not having clothes to wear, but they can keep themselves clean." But what saddened me most of all was to see a great nation of potentially good people without God, trusting materialism in the state, worshipping at the shrine of Lenin, with its churches (all but a handful of them) turned into museums. Time and time again I thought of the words of the Psalmist: "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." Psalm 9: 17.

I do not know what the future may hold. I only know who holds the future in the palm of His hand, and it is my earnest hope and prayer that someday by some strange miracle of divine grace Russia may be saved, though I see little immediate hope for it. There is too much mockery of religion, it seems to me, for God to endure it much longer. Someday God's mighty hand will change this stream of history. You may be sure of it. This will happen as surely as God is on His throne.

We are told, and saw evidences of it, that everybody works in Russia—that is every able-bodied person. Women can occupy all posts and positions that man can hold and are paid at the same rate. The whole social structure of the U.S.S.R. is based on the idea, as I have said before, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," they say. At present the average salary ranges at 785 rubles to 990 a month and the minimum from 350 to 600. If all goes well at the end of this 7-year period the Soviet worker then hopes to earn something like a half of what his British colleague now earns. The Soviet 7-year plan (1950–65) pledges an increase of 40 percent. Skilled workers, of course, earn more. A typical salary of a factory director is 10,000 rubles, plus bonuses, etc. The president of the Academy of Sciences is supposed to be paid 23,000 rubles a month, over 60 times the wage of an unskilled worker. (One ruble equals $1.11 today.)

It is quite possible that heavy work for women in coal mines, etc. may soon be brought to an end.

In general, conditions of life in Russia are poor and hard, very hard, by British and United States standards. Considerable improvements have taken place with the promise of much more to come.

The hotels we stopped in were about like our second class ones. There may be better ones. They are spotlessly clean. The bathroom fixtures were like ours many years ago. The beef served was so tough I could hardly eat it. (In fact, I didn't.) The food is plentiful but not as good as we are accustomed to. They are very slow in serving meals. No beer or wine is served with meals or supposed to be. There are no bars in hotels. Many conventions we take for granted every day are absolutely unheard of in Russia. You do not have to imagine that your hotel room is wired by secret police. Tourists are well received. Tours are entirely in the hands of the Government. Tourists are free to go about as they please.

There is no advertisement in Russia, no effort to sell anything and there is no stock market.

The Russians are crazy about ice cream. They really go for it, and the ice cream we got was excellent.

You do not see people sitting at tables or bars drinking beer in Russia because there is no beer. The Kremlin has spoken out against drinking. The state makes a large profit on vodka. While it costs 86 kopeks to produce a little bottle of vodka, it sells for 60 rubles, a profit of 7,000 percent.

There is not much English spoken in Russia, less here than perhaps in any other country in the world. Teaching of English in Russian schools is all done by Russians who have never been to England or the United States.

There is no Americanization in Russia. I did not see any sign of anything from America. There was one painting of American Indians on a wall in a museum. Coca-Cola can be found everywhere but there was no sign of any in Russia, and the same applies almost to Ford automobiles and other things.

Yet it seems that in almost everything Russia is attempting to rival the United States. Her greatest ambition appears to be to outstrip the United States economically and in every other way, but it is apparent to all but a blind man who visits Russia that she is far behind the United States in every area of life unless her space claims and perhaps a few other claims are true.

There is no night life in Russian cities. As we looked upon Moscow by night from our plane it appeared almost dark compared to any American city at night. Orchestras play in some restaurants and hotels and that is about the extent of Russian night life.

There is no horn blowing in Moscow. The speed limit is 40 kilometers per hour but are told no one seems to observe it.

Russians do not dress up to go anywhere it seems. They go to theaters and other places with the same clothes they work in.

This was only the second time that the *Bergensfjord* has been to Russia. The Soviets have been encouraging visitors only during the past few years and is improving in this respect each year. Perhaps one reason why the Iron Curtain was not drawn open sooner was that they were getting ready to have their museums in order and erecting many buildings. The Russians claim that nearly 700,000 Soviet citizens visited foreign countries annually during 1959 and 1960.

The more we can learn about each other the better understanding we can have, and perhaps be better able to ameliorate the cold war. One thing we were reminded of was, "if they didn't want us to come, they wouldn't let us." We were also wisely advised not to make comparisons but to look and listen. We were permitted, however, to ask almost every question we wished to in keeping with good propriety.

In addition to their wages in cash Soviet workers receive many other advantages. Everybody gets medical aid free including treatment in hospitals. The average expectation of life, they tell us, has been raised from 32 to 68. The workers also get free or reduced rates from their trade unions to sanitoriums and rest homes. Expectant mothers are given 56 days leave with pay before confinement and the same after confinement. Mothers of three or more children and unmarried mothers receive monthly allowances from the state. There is an old age pension for all. Men qualify for it at 60, having worked not less than 25 years; women, at 55, having worked 20 years. Some categories of workers receive pensions at an earlier age and with a shorter length of work.

Should anyone fall ill, he does not have to worry about how he is going to live.

There are no capitalists in Russia, they say. The concept, they say of "capitalist" is something almost archaeological. The Soviet citizen devoted himself to a common cause. Private ownership that makes it possible in their words "to exploit his fellow man and to appropriate and live off his work, was eliminated long ago."

They claim another type of private ownership not connected, as they say, with "exploiting others" which is permitted and protected by law and that is the right to own wages, savings, his home and garden, his household goods and everything he needs for his personal use and comfort, and also the right to bequeath this type of property. No person can own factories, machinery, raw materials, or other means of production. In short, there is no free enterprise in Russia.

I have read a very interesting book, "Commonsense about Russia," by Robert Conquest, published in London. Conquest well says, "In deciding on our attitudes and policies we need clear heads and cool heads We need to avoid extreme gullibility and suppress suspiciousness alike." He adds, "We need sympathy and understanding as much as we need refusal to accept illusion."

I have attempted a reasonable realistic approach to the facts of Soviet life. Russia is neither heaven or hell, utopia, or all the Devil's land. I am quite sure that there is much that is good and much that is bad there. But there are some things we must never forget about Russia; some we must remember. Some things I must impress indelibly, never to forget.

Freedom only for the supporters of government, only for the members of one party, however numerous they may be is no freedom at all, without general elections, unrestricted freedom of the press, religion, enterprise, a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every institution and becomes only a semblance of life. There is in Russia no political democracy, no completely free church, no freedom of press or of speech as we know it. There is no reliability of official statements. These statements cannot be accepted at face value. Great doubt is cast upon Russia's official documents. It is difficult to depend on Russian statistic or to get an estimate of Russia's national income.

Constitutional arrangments are not of the slightest significance.

The Supreme Soviet sat 14 days in 1955, 5 in 1956, 15 in 1957, and 9 in 1958. There has never been an instance of the Supreme Soviet rejecting any decree issued by its Presidium (a body which simply ratifies decisions of the party).

The state and party impinge on the population in three main ways: in conditions of living, conditions of thought, and in direct action through the laws and instruments of compulsion. All three come from the government's conviction that it knows what is best for the citizen in every sphere and respect.

Russia has the largest military in police consisting of an estimate of a half million men including frontier guards. There is a widespread network of volunteer assistants to the police especially in rural areas.

The police force has two ministries: one for from day-to-day protection, and so forth, and the other, the K.C.B. (Committee for State Security) to defend Russia against secret enemies. Its last six successive heads were shot to death.

All people in Russia, over 16, must have internal passports if they live in towns, worker's settlements, district centers, and locations where tractor stations are located, or if they live in communities within 100 kilometers of Leningrad, or in 50 of Kiev or in Zorns adjoining southern borders, or if they work on construction borders, railroads, or state farms.

Any change of address for over 24 hours involves registering one's passport with military police. Also, absence from a normal place of residence for more than 1½ months, except for certain reasons, involves registration.

It is now estimated to be three-fourths of a million prisoners in Russia. In Stalin's last years there were 2½ to 3 million. Conditions have improved under Khrushchev. Public trial is now guaranteed except when the state considers it to its own interest to do otherwise. Others are said to be public only in some technical sense.

A Russian experiences extreme difficulty obtaining permission for unsponsored travel abroad, especially out of the Soviet bloc. This restriction is said to be resented by ordinary intelligent Russians.

Russia organizes every single sphere of her people's life. Conditions for freedom of choice in intellectual, artistic, spiritual, and even in economic matters are, to the extent to which the party exercises its power.

There are some forms of life in Russia which are considered as "unofficial" and antisocial, though at least one or two of them would not be considered antisocial in the United States. The following are condemned as such:

1. Speculation.
2. Prostitution (but police are said to ignore it).
3. Bribery.
4. Alcoholism. It is now attacked more than any other "social" vice. The state makes a large profit on alcohol and makes it very difficult, but there is, like in our country, illegal distilling and many people who think drinking is smart.
5. Passion for jazz. "Jazzomania is assuming the character of a chronic illness, and it must be cured by serious public intervention" says Izvestiya on September 28, 1958.
6. Vulgarity.
7. Gambling (often attacked).
8. Begging.
9. A final disreputable practice, from the Soviet point of view is, believe it or not, religion. The party members are blamed. They say, "Some village Communists have not yet become militant, active fighters against religious prejudices." They agree that such prejudices are harmful for the cultural development of the people and for the economy, but they do not go beyond that.

What are the prospects for the future? They appear to be threefold:

1. The abandonment of exclusive claims to rectitude, the free exchange of ideas, influences, and travelers.
2. A permanent state of vigilance, of seize and counterseize.
3. The worst of all—nuclear war.

As for the hope for peace, there are some good signs. The fact that we were allowed to visit there at all is one of them. Our hope of a better understanding is to see and know people at first hand. Then, too, the people of Russia and their leaders do know something of what war is. It is true that nearly half of the 40 years of existence of Soviet power was spent in fighting wars and in reconstruction of a shattered economy. They lost millions of people in World War II and suffered almost irreparable material damage I don't think they are anxious for war again. Russia is so far away from the United States that she can use her distance from us to hide behind many statements that come from the Kremlin, much of which is bluff. Mr. Khrushchev, no doubt, is forced to make many statements that sound like war to keep his own position in the Communist Party. They know full well, also, that we do not want war, and certainly not as far as they are from home. Dr. Schulz, the professor of history from Los Angeles, pointed out that there is a food shortage in Russia, and no hungry nation wishes to go to war. On a counter at a newsstand in a hotel I noticed a book by Khrushchev, carrying his picture, entitled "A World Without Arms and a World Without War." How wonderful such a world would be and how wonderful it would be if Mr. Khrushchev would take the lead in this direction instead of keeping us constantly on the brink of war.

I could not help but think of our visit to the United Nations Building in New York City the day we began this visit to 11 countries. As we approached it we saw the flags of many nations flying in the air in front of the U.N. Building and across the street from us and at the end of the walk in front of us on what appeared to be a stone wall were these words in large letters: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" Isaiah 2: 4.

On our 30-mile return trip from Moscow to the airport we were deeply impressed as we looked out upon our left upon one of the most gorgeous sunsets we ever saw. I took several pictures of it. It seemed to follow us mile after mile, and just before we reached the airport Mrs. Wesberry exclaimed, "My! What a beautiful rainbow!"—and we all quickly looked to our right and there arching the Russian sky was one of God's most beautiful rainbows. A rainbow over Russia. As we moved on into the airport to take the big jet back to Leningrad and the Bergensfjord back on our journey "to the land of the free and the home of the brave" we pondered the meaning of it all. "A rainbow over Russia." And somehow we all thought it was placed there just for us.

## Dean Pound and Law Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I recently took the occasion in the House to laud the great career and many memorable contributions of Dean Roscoe Pound, former distinguished head of the Harvard Law School. I was also directed to a recent excellent article by the talented writer for the Worcester Daily Telegram, Mr. Harold C. Jackson, entitled "Justice Behind Times, Says Roscoe Pound," which sets forth some of the great legal scholars' views on the state of our legal system and judicial institutions.

In our complex, highly developed society, speedy, efficient justice for all is one of our most pressing needs. In this period of great complexity and great change, the law, and the courts that interpret it, cannot stand still. These precious institutions must ever move forward with the rest of our American society and become adapted to changes that are taking place about us.

It would be appropriate, I think, if our great President, in his wisdom, might see fit to appoint a special commission comprised of legal scholars, jurists, practicing lawyers, economists, sociologists, scientists, teachers, spiritual leaders, and representatives of other groups in our society to make an extensive study of our legal and judicial systems and

come up with suitable recommendations for changes and reforms to bring these systems up to date—to eliminate archaic forms, and provide necessary reforms to bring the administration of law and justice into line with the demands and needs of the space age.

Justice for the people is one of the greatest needs in a democratic society or, for the matter, in any society. The rule of law is one of the best and most essential bulwarks of free, democratic government. When the machinery of administering justice becomes cluttered with sluggish, archaic features, and desultory adherence to stiff, inflexible formalism is substituted for speedy, efficient, socially conscious administration of the law, the confidence of the people in the validity of democratic government is bound to falter and wane.

It is up to us of this generation to tackle this great problem, which the learned Dean Pound has posed for us. I trust a special commission may soon begin this vital task.

I earnestly hope that it can be done.

THE COUNTY SEAT—JUSTICE BEHIND TIMES, SAYS ROSCOE POUND

(By Harold C. Jackson)

"The administration of justice is not decadent. It is simply behind the times."

These are the words of Roscoe Pound, dean emeritus of Harvard Law School, written in the latest issue of the Journal of the American Judicature Society.

The dean feels however, that better days are in sight.

With law schools putting emphasis on the scientific study of the law, with bar associations trying to revive professionalism as against commercialism, and with the gradual passing of the doctrine that politics is merely a game, he feels that "We may look forward to a near future when our courts will be swift and certain agents of justice, whose decisions will be acquiesced in and respected by all."

DISSATISFACTION CITED

The cause of dissatisfaction with any system of law, he believes, are:

The mechanical application of the rules which cause a justice to some, hardship to others.

The difference in the rate of progress between the law and public opinion.

The popular assumption that the administration of justice is easy.

Popular impatience with restraint.

As to the first cause, application of the rules, the dean points out that the law is compromise, a middle course between legislation and discretion.

DIVIDED COMMUNITY

When the community is in general agreement in its ideas of justice, a harmonious adjustment with the law will be achieved. But when the community is divided into groups with different interests, the law and ethical ideas won't be in agreement in all cases.

As a result, some will feel they are receiving justice, others will consider they are being dealt with unjustly.

Concerning the second cause, the fact that the law usually follows rather than precedes public opinion, he states that, in one sense, the law is often a government of the living by the dead.

LAW FOLLOWS CHANGE

He states, "The law does not respond quickly to new conditions. It does not change until ill effects are felt; often not until they are felt acutely. The moral, intellectual or economic change must come first.

"While it is coming and until it is so complete as to affect the law and formulate itself therein, friction must ensue. In an age of rapid moral, intellectual and economic changes, often crossing one another and producing numerous minor results, this friction cannot fail to be excessive."

As to the third cause, the feeling that handing out justice is easy, Dean Pound compares the law with engineering.

PRECEDENCE USED

As the engineer makes use of the accumulated experience of those who have preceded him, so do judges make use of the experience of many courts.

Maintaining the highest scientific standards in the administration of justice provides no more certain protection against corruption, prejudice, class feeling or incompetence.

Concerning impatience against restraint, the dean points to conditions in the early West where the frontiersmen through posses and vigilantes took matters into their own hands rather than wait for state-imposed justice.

"The feeling that each individual, as an organ of the sovereign democracy, is above the law he helps to make, fosters everywhere a disrespect for legal methods and institutions and a spirit of resistance to them," he writes.

ARCHAIC SYSTEM

Dean Pound also feels that the American court system is archaic in having so many different types of courts, and preserving the system of concurrent jurisdiction in State and Federal courts that results in a waste of judicial time.

He also is critical of the lavish granting of new trials which he characterizes as the worst feature of American procedure.

Dean Pound also claims that "putting courts into politics and compelling judges to become politicians, in many jurisdictions, has almost destroyed the traditional respect for the bench."

"Our administration of justice is not decadent," he concludes. "It is simply behind the times."

## The Forgotten People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the session nears a close, I feel it necessary to add some additional comment to a subject I have pursued for years, namely, the interest that we should maintain in the captive nations of communism. A recent dramatic report from New York which was the subject matter of the Chicago Daily Calumet editorial comment in the September 26 issue is worthy of our attention and analysis and I submit the editorial at this point:

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

Across New York's First Avenue from the United Nations, the nine-nation Assembly of Captive European Nations—Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Albania, with Yugoslavia and East Germany unrepresented—unfurled a black banner at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly.

Two hands reach over a stone wall topped with barbed wire. Beneath are the words: "U.N.—to build peace, raise the Wall of Shame and the Iron Curtain."

In these 12 words, they gave the formula for world peace.

## An Important Provision of the New Farm Act for Dairy Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, for the information of Members of Congress and interested farmers, I would like to call attention to an important provision of the new farm program recently signed into law.

For the first time farmers who grow corn for feed rather than market will receive direct payments worth 18 cents per bushel for those cooperating in the program. I have been in close touch with the Department of Agriculture on this matter and to insure that no mistake could be made, a public record of legislative history was made before the measure was approved by Congress.

The program would average $350 or more in payments to individual farmers in the Second Congressional District of Wisconsin. Taking typical production figures, assume an average of 35 acres of corn grown for direct feeding. With 74 bushels yield per acre and acreage reduced 20 percent to 28 acres, production would be 2,072 bushels. At 18 cents per bushel, payments would total $372.96.

Working with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], who is a member of the House Agriculture Committee, we made this absolutely clear before final approval of the measure. I insert here a passage from the debate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 20, 1962, in which we brought this to the attention of the House:

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Will the 18-cent-per-bushel payment apply to the farmer who harvests his corn for purposes of silage?

Mr. POAGE. Yes; it will. The bill as agreed upon by the conferees provides that the 18-cent-per-bushel payment in kind shall be made on the acreage of corn planted multiplied by the 1959–60 yield. This means the producer would receive 18 cents per bushel in kind on the number of bushels so determined irrespective whether such corn is harvested for grain or silage or destroyed as a result of drought or other disaster. It is necessary, of course, that the producer reduce his total acreage of feed grains including corn for silage by at least 20 percent in order to be eligible for such payment in kind. In other words, if he cooperates he gets the payment the same as anybody else does. The payment is not dependent on the use of the grain but on the cooperation on the part of the producer in reducing the accumulation of unneeded surplus grain.

There is also a written commitment from the Secretary of Agriculture on this point which was made in the following letter to me:

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to insert herewith a letter to me from the Secretary of Agriculture, dated September 19, 1962, which concurs in the response of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] to a question I propounded earlier in this debate. The letter and the remarks of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] are heartening news to Wisconsin dairy farmers.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
*Washington, D.C., September 19, 1962.*
Hon. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. KASTENMEIER: This is in reply to your request for information regarding the effect on Wisconsin producers of feed grain legislation proposed by the conference committee.

Although feed grain producers benefited materially from the 1961 and 1962 programs, those who feed their crop would benefit even more under the program proposed by the committee. As you know, most Wisconsin grain producers feed the grain they produce.

These producers, under the 1961–62 feed grain programs, were not able to take full advantage of the higher price supports furnished farmers by this administration, since support was provided in the form of loans on grain production. Very little grain was placed under loan in Wisconsin. Of the approximately 120 million bushels of corn produced in 1961 by Wisconsin farmers, only 2.6 million bushels were placed under loan.

On the other hand, the proposed 1963 program would enable each participating producer to obtain 18 cents a bushel for the normal production of his corn acreage, whether harvested for grain or otherwise. The total amount of payment the producers in your district would be eligible to receive would amount to almost $6 million on an estimated normal production of 33 million bushels. With full participation in the State of Wisconsin, payments would be as high as $30 million, on an estimated normal production of about 170 million bushels on the acreage remaining after the 20-percent reduction. In addition, diversion payments would be made on diverted acreage, as was the case under the 1961–62 programs.

This would mean substantially more farm income for these families than was obtained under previous programs—and a total income far in excess of what they could expect if no legislation is passed and we return to the Benson programs of the 1950's.

In addition to cutting the income of your farm constituents, the failure of this bill to pass would result in increasing costs to taxpayers, in increasing Government stocks, and in wiping out gains made by the 1961–62 programs provided by the Congress, which spectacularly reduced surpluses and raised farm income.

Market prices for feed, under the proposed legislation, would be approximately the same as those which prevailed during the last 2 years.

Passage of this bill is vital to the continued economic health of your constituents and to the interests of taxpayers, consumers, and farmers throughout the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

The Department of Agriculture has given me the following data which will be useful in estimating the effect of the new provision:

*Average acreage in corn, 1959–60*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dane | 38.6 |
| Waukesha | 30.0 |
| Jefferson | 30.2 |
| Dodge | 32.9 |
| Columbia | 40.9 |
| Second District | 35.1 |
| Wisconsin | 24.6 |

*Average normal yield 1959–60*

[Bushels per acre]

| | |
|---|---|
| Dane | 75.0 |
| Waukesha | 72.8 |
| Jefferson | 73.0 |
| Dodge | 74.5 |
| Columbia | 71.2 |
| Second District | 73.7 |
| Wisconsin | [1] 66.8 |

[1] Not strictly comparable with other figures.

## The Overriding Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial concerning the Mississippi crises which appeared in the New York Times today. The editorial correctly interprets the situation in Mississippi as a challenge to the "survival of our Nation." The New York Times also stated that—

The overriding truth is that there would be no last-gasp resistance in Mississippi if it were not so plain that the future is one of equal opportunity and equal protection under the law for all Americans, regardless of the color of their skin.

The editorial follows:

GUNFIRE IN MISSISSIPPI

The passions sown day after day in Mississippi by Governor Barnett and the mongers of hate now have had their inevitable harvest in mob action and bloodshed, despite the Governor's belated plea for reliance on the peaceful processes of the law. The reaction of the overwhelming majority of the people of the United States must be one of sadness at this exercise in futility, so costly to the citizens of Mississippi and to America's good name in a turbulent world.

The essential facts are clear and irreversible. James H. Meredith has been enrolled as a student of the University of Mississippi, in compliance with the requirements of the Federal Constitution and the orders of the Federal courts. The defiant State officials have now acknowledged the supremacy of Federal law and the necessity for challenging laws they oppose through constitutional process. The survival of our Nation and of our free institutions depends on the acceptance of this principle by all Americans and, most of all, by those who are themselves charged with the responsibilities of Government at any level.

President Kennedy put the case in inexorable terms in his apeal for calmness and reason Sunday night: "If this country should ever reach the point where any man or group of men, by force or threat of force, should long deny the commands of our court and our Constitution, then no law would stand free from doubt, no judge would be sure of his writ and no citizen would be safe from his neighbors." The administration sought by every honorable means to avoid the application of military force; its efforts to achieve an entirely pacific settlement were defeated by the intemperance of mob elements on and off the university campus.

The scars of this struggle extend far beyond the borders of State and Nation. They injure the United States in the emerging countries of Africa and Asia; they handicap our efforts to weld hemispheric solidarity against Soviet military encroachment in Cuba; they distress our European allies in our approach to the Berlin crisis and, of course, they bring glee to the enemies of all freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

But the real problem is our own. The shame is ours, and the responsibility for resolving it is ours. Resolved it will be. The overriding truth is that there would be no last-gasp resistance in Mississippi if it were not so plain that the future is one of equal opportunity and equal protection under the law for all Americans, regardless of the color of their skin.

## Down on the Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD I include therein a recent article from the feature section of the celebrated Worcester Sunday Telegram by the gifted writer, Mr. Albert B. Southwick, entitled "Down on the Farm."

With a rare touch, the author has captured the atmosphere that pervaded family and community relationships on the farm and in many other places in the country in past generations.

I have always felt that the present generation would enjoy and derive much benefit from the rewarding experiences of the kind described in this admirable article.

Faith, moral values, courage, loyalty, hard work, ambition to get ahead, and appreciation of culture and participation in the liberal arts are always marks of a high civilization, and we must never lose them, or our land will be turned into a cold, impersonal place, devoid of real spiritual and cultural standards and condemned to the boredom and monotonoly and sheer materialism.

The article follows:

DOWN ON THE FARM
(By Albert B. Southwick)

Although our farmhouse in the old days could hardly have been called an abode of the muses, we did have a certain appreciation of the finer things of life. Not only did we listen to the gramaphone and the music box, but some of us actually assayed our talents on various musical instruments.

I, myself, never mastered anything more complex than the harmonica or the ocarina, but there were more divine instruments at hand. In the children's room, for instance, an old square piano stood for years. It was seldom played and it was woefully out of tune, but it took wear and tear away from the good piano in the parlor.

My mother played this piano during the few occasional peaceful moments that were afforded her by her nine children. I am sure it was balm to her soul during times of stress and distraction. Among the enduring memories of my life is my mother playing the old square piano by the light of a kerosene lamp, while someone turned the worn pages of music and we all gathered around to sing. We sang old sentimental songs and ballads, and the familiar hymns.

There is no better way to instill a sense of warm unity in a family than by standing around such a piano giving voice to emotions and thoughts of beauty that would otherwise remain unexpressed.

My father's instrument was the fiddle. He had a violin of which he was very proud, for he had come into possession of it through some complicated trade involving a woodlot somewhere. Often, when night settled down over the old farmhouse, he would tune up his fiddle, put it to his chin, and rip into old dance tunes such as "Turkey in the Straw," "The Camptown Ladies," "Virginia Reel," and "Money Musk." A pretty fair fiddler was my father, and I think he was disappointed that none of his boys took up the instrument in earnest.

The rest of our musical fare was supplied, for the most part, by the gramaphone, the radio, and our collection of Swiss music boxes. We had several of the latter, very old, and I could sit by the hour listening to them twang out their small repertoire of melodies. Part of the fascination was in watching the prickly pins on the slowly turning cylinder pick the metal projections which provided the musical notes. I thought it especially marvelous that the pins would strike three or four notes at once, producing lovely chords.

The gramaphone with its cylindrical records was in almost constant use during the fall and winter evenings. Who now ever listens to such deathless melodies as "Put On Your Old Gray Bonnet," "Just Plain Folks," and "Under the Yum-Yum Tree"? Hardly anyone, I presume. Yet, all these, and others equally corny, gave us endless hours of enchantment. Interspersed with these might be some operatic rendition of Galli-Curci or Caruso. We took them in our stride. We were not so sophisticated then to listen to music just because it was supposed to be good. We either enjoyed it or not.

Sometimes even now I think that is the best way to appreciate culture, but how many of us really act accordingly. Reputation, real or synthetic, has been the critical downfall of too many.

I guess things were simpler back on the farm in the old days.

## The Price of Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Phoenix Gazette of September 27, 1962, entitled "The Price of Folly."

Mr. Speaker, I have been fearful of the consequences of our role in engineering the West New Guinea "deal" for some time. It is obvious from this editorial that the ramifications of this very questionable, to say the least, piece of diplomacy may go beyond any limits we thought possible. I have great difficulty in understanding why we have gone to such lengths to appease a Red-tinted neutralist. The editorial follows:

THE PRICE OF FOLLY

One ally which long has placed full trust and confidence in the United States is the Philippines. But there are signs that U.S. insistence on courting the so-called neutralist nations, at the expense of our closest friends, may fracture that traditional relationship and complicate our already jumbled international problems.

Recently, the United States bowed to Indonesian President Sukarno's demands that the Netherlands surrender control of West New Guinea, and forced upon the Dutch a settlement whereby the U.N. will administer the New Guinea territory until May 1, 1963, at which time it will be handed over to Indonesia. Not only was this settlement a slap at our NATO ally, the Netherlands, but it also abrogated the principle of self-determination embodied in the U.N. Charter. In fact, when the U.N. General Assembly ratified the settlement the other day, the delegate from Dahomey—one of the pro-Western African nations of the Brazzaville group—said his government could not vote approval of an agreement arrived at through threats of war, one which failed to provide for a referendum for West New Guinea's 700,000 Papuan natives.

The Philippines became involved when it recently sponsored its Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Director Generalship post of UNESCO. However, the United States threw its support behind the chief Netherlands delegate to the U.N., and there is every indication that it did so, as Philippine officials charged, as part of a deal in the settlement of the Dutch-Indonesian dispute.

In other words, by abandoning principle initially, forcing the Dutch to capitulate to the threats of left-leaning "neutralist" Sukarno, the United States then was trapped into committing itself to a deal with the hope of removing some of the sting from its treatment of the Netherlands. And, by following through on the deal, it alienated another longtime ally.

## Reservists?—Ha?—Try the Trains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[Article from the Chula Vista Star]

OUR MAN HOPPE: RESERVISTS?—HA?—TRY THE TRAINS

Mr. Kennedy now wishes authority to call up 150,000 reservists. As I understand it, he desperately requires this authority because the Russians don't have 12,000 troops in Cuba. I think Mr. Kennedy's making a mistake. I think he ought to seize the railroads.

As every expert will tell you, Mr. Kennedy doesn't want the reservists to fight anybody. He just wants them to look as though they'd fight anybody. This is called diplomatic pressure. Last time, Mr. Kennedy called up 155,000 reservists to show Mr. Khruschev he would "stand firm" on Berlin. It was very effective. Only it was a little hard on the reservists.

While it is true that "They also serve who stand and pick up cigarette butts," the reservists were never convinced. They looked on themselves as trained fighting men. So they fought 7 days a week with their officers, their Congressmen, and their wives. And if they have to go through that again—well, you can see why I think Mr. Kennedy ought to seize the railroads instead. Railroads have a practical, utilitarian use. You can do something with railroads.

Seizing railroads, of course, is a fine American tradition. Whenever the Nation is in dire straits, any President worth his salt immediately seizes the railroads. I have never been quite clear as to what he does with them after he seizes them, but there is no question such action would panic the Kremlin.

"Ho-hum," says Mr. Khrushchev, picking up his Pravda, as Mrs. K. serves from his morning platter of scrambled shashlik, "I suppose that Kennedy has called up the reservists again to * * * Madre de Dios. He has seized the railroads. He must mean business. Quick. Rush another 100,000 nonexistent troops to Cuba to reinforce the 12,000 we don't have there already."

If seizing the railroads should, somehow, fail to prove Mr. Kennedy is standing firm, there are many other steps he could take. For example, he could really show Mr. Khrushchev a thing or two by imposing gasoline rationing. This is very warlike.

He might also quicken the Nation's pulse by reimposing the World War II 35-m.p.h. limit on the highways in order to speed our effort up. Or down. New tires could be confiscated and while we have plenty of sugar at the moment, patriotic housewives might all volunteer to appear at their supermarkets at a given hour daily so that we could have long lines of housewives waiting to buy sugar.

I'm sure we each would be willing to cut down on our cigarettes. If we couldn't get any. And the American Tobacco Co. could loyally send Lucky Strike green off to war again. No, wait a minute. Lucky Strike green never came back from the last one. In fact, Lucky Strike is the only Gold Star cigarette we've got. Well, we all must make sacrifices.

That's the key to the whole thing. The longer we live in a warfare state, the more sacrifices we will be asked to make. And the more authoirty we will delegate to our leaders.

But I'm willing to do my part. In return for a self-addressed, anonymous envelope, I will be glad to send you six black-market pork chops. Stock up before the hoarders get them.

## Viewpoint of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on August 26–29, 1962, the Boy Scouts of America, known as Explorers, conducted a camp on the University of Michigan campus. Explorers from every one of the 50 States participated and they represented some 285,000 members of this organization in their home areas.

The theme of their program was "Our Best Today for a Better Tomorrow," and they developed and adopted an article entitled "Viewpoint of Youth" which I think is most refreshing and shows a better side of our teenage boys of today.

The article follows:

VIEWPOINT OF YOUTH

We, the representatives of the Exploring program of the Boy Scouts of America, in order to give "Our Best Today for a Better Tomorrow," present this viewpoint of youth, of, by, and for Explorers, as a challenge to renewed and redirected action, starting now and continuing so long as we are Explorers.

Work for a balanced education making ful use of our talents, so we may defend, advance, and enjoy the American way of living.

Learn more about communism and other subversive organizations so we can bury them with the truth about freedom.

Keep informed on public affairs by all means of communication from the printed page to Telstar.

Grasp leadership responsibilities and help other young people do the same in Exploring units and cabinets, in student councils and clubs, and in religious youth groups.

Form our own opinions of today's opportunities and problems and express these in youth's conferences and to influential peo-

ple such as editors and government representatives.

Urge more young people to join Exploring, school, and religious groups as workers, not watchers.

Seek greater recognition of youth's abilities and achievements which stand in overwhelming contrast to its delinquency.

Make Exploring more useful in community life and in our own lives through our service experiences.

Promote more school courses and assembly programs on citizenship, American government, and competitive free enterprise.

Be able to explain how competitive free enterprise is related to our form of government, offers freedom of opportunity, and raises our living standards.

Conduct activities that increase our understanding of the principles set forth in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

Learn more about the economic facts of life through vocational exploration, post specialties; and cabinet activities, such as career conferences.

Develop enough money-earning activities to avoid the free-ride attitude in unit programs.

Follow only leaders of character, and ask for technical help from the best qualified adult consultants.

Take the initiative in forming world friendships by welcoming exchange and student Explorers into our homes and meetings, and by corresponding with them.

Learn about and support methods of world friendship such as the Peace Corps, CARE, Red Cross, Radio Free Europe, and student exchanges.

Participate wholeheartedly in Exploring's new fit for tomorrow plan.

Help overcome many young people's take-it-or-leave-it attitude on personal fitness by demonstrating that fitness is fun.

Encourage competitive sports for all young people as players, not spectators, with a premium on clean sportsmanship.

Promote more challenging physical edusation programs with better direction and facilities in many schools, starting in the lower grades.

Conduct unit, district, and council competition in carry-over sports.

Extend more of our wilderness trips beyond reach of the station wagon.

Include more reverent and patriotic observances in our programs.

Encourage more Explorers to qualify for their religious awards.

Hold faithfully to our nonsectarian but reverent policy toward all Explorers' religions.

Discuss more often the application of such standards as the Explorer Code, Scout Oath and Law, Golden Rule, and Ten Commandments to our personal problems—bearing in mind that what we do, tells more about us than what we say.

Based on discussions and adopted in principle by 3,200 delegates, representing 283,560 Explorers, at the First National Explorer Delegates' Conference at Ann Arbor, Mich., August 29, 1962.

## Cuban Rotary Clubs in Exile Ask President's Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Communist conspiracy has won a victory in the Western Hemisphere by its domination of Cuba. This is a direct affront to the United States and has subjected the Cuban people to a reign of terror. I believe that the American public is angry over this development and views with sympathy the pleas of Cubans who seek aid in the overthrow of the Castro regime.

I have come upon an open letter to the President of the United States from the Committee of Members of Cuban Rotary Clubs in Exile. This letter, Mr. Speaker, tells of the suffering and despair in Cuba, its invasion by Communist oriented nationals, and calls for the President's help.

As a member of the Rotary Club in my hometown of Everett, Wash., I wish to join the Cuban Rotary Club in Exile in their appeal for unstinting aid for their countrymen.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD the letter to which I referred:

ROTARIOS CUBANOS EXILADOS,
*Miami, Fla., September 22, 1962.*

President JOHN F. KENNEDY,
*The White House, Washington, D.C.*

Mr. PRESIDENT: The undersigned, on behalf of members of the Rotary Clubs of Cuba, exiled in this generous and hospitable country, respectfully wish to bring to your attention, as President of this great Nation and undisputed leader of all American democracy, the urgent and imperious need to aid the Cuban nation, now enslaved by the cruelest tyranny ever witnessed in America.

Fidel Castro is not on the defensive; and the presence of guided missiles, heavy artillery and thousands of tons of other war material in Cuba is not there for the purpose of preventing an invasion. Fidel Castro has never been on the defensive. Since assuming power he has repeatedly demonstrated that he has been on the offensive, not only outside the territorial limits of Cuba but within the island itself and against the lives and well-being of every Cuban family.

Cuba, Mr. President, is a living hell, where human life has lost all value and desolation rules the land. The island is one huge concentration camp; its citizens are wantonly murdered and imprisoned for the sole crime of loving the liberty of their country, and the entire population is systematically persecuted and terrorized.

For nearly 4 long years of suffering and despair our country has been fettered by an opprobrious government, controlled and supplied by extracontinental powers, which has irresponsibly and arrogantly provoked and defied America. Within Cuba, and without any effective exterior aid, our compatriots have courageously given their lives for liberty, standing as a shining example to the entire hemisphere.

The most eloquent example of the murderous conditions in Cuba can be found in the continuing exodus of Cuban men, women, and children of all social classes, who chance drowning, thirst, hunger, serious exposure to the elements, and the risk of being shot to ribbons by machineguns on land and sea. They arrive at this country's shores of liberty in incredibly small craft. Life in Communist Cuba, they will all tell you, is simply not worth living.

It is Cuba and the Cuban people who have been the subject of direct extracontinental aggression. The renegades who rule the nation today have opened wide the doors to a flood of Russians, Czechs, Chinese, Africans and other invaders, who have violated the frontiers of the island in a brutally offensive move against our countrymen.

The aggressive invasion of Cuba and the hemisphere has served to dramatize the reign of terror within the island; and all that delays the dawn of liberty in Cuba will only contribute to increment the heavy price that is being paid and will be paid in Cuban lives. A once happy, carefree, friendly people will become an embittered population, abandoned by those who have always been its firm friends.

Any rebellion within the island against the internal offensive and the fearful apparatus of force and terror of the aggressors, will inevitably reult in an heroic but useless holocaust, as in the case of Hungary. Were it our destiny to thus die in senseless slaughter, we should accept it without flinching. Yet, it becomes neither just nor human to be condemned to such a fate, when there are resources at hand which would preclude such sterile sacrifice; and if that aid be withheld, it only opens the way for further foreign military offensives against other nations of the hemisphere.

We come, therefore, to ask for your frank, open and unstinting aid to our countrymen, in the name of humanity and of the Americas. For Cuba and for America, help us now, Mr. President.

We submit this respectful request for your consideration and we place our unbounding trust in your favorable reaction. As Cuban Rotarians in exile, we consider it our sacred and patriotic duty to request your aid and to contribute in every way possible to the salvation of our beloved country, that we may some day see our flag waving alone and unfettered over a free, sovereign and independent Cuba.

Respectfully yours,
ROBERTO SUERO,
*President, Committee of Members of Cuban Rotary Clubs in Exile.*

## Steuben Parade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, September 29, New Yorkers paid tribute to Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron von Steuben, who by drilling an American army helped so greatly to achieve ultimate victory for General Washington's army in the Revolutionary War. Mayor Willy Brandt, of West Berlin, participated in these spontaneous ceremonies in leading over 25,000 marchers, including 50 bands, from 62d Street to 86th Street on Fifth Avenue and then east into Yorkville, the city's German-American section.

Later in the day, at the banquet in the Leiderkranz, Gen. Lucius Clay received a plaque with an appropriate citation for his meaningful deeds demonstrated in Berlin. A personal representative of the President of the United States, the Honorable Michel Cieplinski, Acting Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, read the President's message preceding his own remarks.

I consider the President's message on this occasion and Mr. Cieplinski's remarks very significant.

They read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington.*

I am delighted to send greetings and very best wishes to those participating in the fifth

annual Steuben Parade. I am especially pleased to convey these greetings through Michael Cieplinski.

From the time of General von Steuben to the present, Americans of German ancestry have made many notable contributions to the progress of America and to the principles and ideals of social, economic and political freedom.

Throughout the world today those ideals are threatened by totalitarian forces, and nowhere is that threat more visible nor more imminent than in Berlin where free men are daily forced to see human freedom destroyed. We are pledged to defend the freedom of all peoples of the world, including the people of West Berlin. We will not fail to fulfill that commitment, just as a von Steuben did not fail to fulfill his commitment to American independence.

With every good wish for an enjoyable and inspiring parade,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

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ADDRESS BY HON. MICHEL CIEPLINSKI, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU OF SECURITY AND CONSULAR AFFAIRS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL STEUBEN BANQUET AT THE LIEDERKRANZ, NEW YORK, N.Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1962

I was delighted to have the opportunity to bring the President's message to New York for the Steuben Day ceremonies. For many years I have admired the really remarkable contributions made to democracy, human freedom, and economic advancement by persons of German origin throughout the world.

As was so clearly pointed out in the recent exchange of remarks between Ambassador Knappstein and President Kennedy, the relations between Germany and the United States have never been better. While "No German today seriously visualizes the future of his country other than in the setting of a United Europe acting in close cooperation with the United States," we place equally great "importance upon maintaining and fostering the cordial relations which exist between our two countries and peoples." The President has firmly stated the determination of all Americans to maintain the freedom of the free citizens of West Berlin and pledged our Nation's cooperation with the nations of the Atlantic Community.

In his words, we as a Nation stand "ready to cooperate in the work of assisting less fortunate nations and people, to develop the arts and industries and institutions they must have as the civilization of which we are a part expands." This cooperation between the United States and Germany as nations seems to me a logical extension of the type of German-American cooperation symbolized in the parade here today. German immigrants have played a vital part in developing our Nation from loosely federated ex-Colonies—simple societies and definitely underdeveloped—to what I consider the most highly developed and complex civilization the world has ever known. We were able to contribute to the postwar reconstruction—or redevelopment, if you like—of the Federal Republic and West Berlin. Only the Soviet obstacle prevented us from helping all Germany. Now is the time for these two great Western countries to work together in assisting other though far less fortunate neighbors. Modern communications bring every land closer together today than were the United States and Germany during most of the 2 centuries since Baron von Steuben made his long journey to come to aid the rebellious Colonies. Germany and the United States are, therefore, also neighbors in the furthest reaches of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Dr. Walter Scheel announced that Germany plans to provide some $750 million annually to enhance West Germany's contribution to the world responsibilities of the Atlantic community. Germans will be cooperating with Americans in projects around the world. Dr. Scheel particularly mentioned cooperation in Latin America, an area in which our two countries have great mutual interest—we, as it is a part of this hemisphere, and Germany because of the many Latin Americans of German descent who have participated in the early development of South America.

I have stressed worldwide economic cooperation because this phase of our mutual efforts has begun in the last few years and will, I hope, develop rapidly in the coming months and years. But, as this economic cooperation increases our far-reaching cooperation in Western Europe itself will continue—efforts in military, economic and cultural fields. All of us know of the protection offered free nations by the defensive shield of NATO. In economic cooperation, our new Trade Expansion Act will enable the United States to contribute to Atlantic unity and to work even more closely with the European Common Market, thus encouraging the economic betterment of all. We all know of the debt our country owes to European influences, but less widely known is the contribution made by American cultural activities to Europe. We now have 19 cultural and information centers in West Germany and a similar center in West Berlin. The value attached to these centers by German people is shown by the fact that the West German State and Federal Governments and the communities concerned now pay more than half the cost for nine of these centers.

Indeed, ladies and gentlemen, let us all pledge ourselves to work for the bright future of Western democracy, be we German-Americans, or Americans of any background. I am not overlooking the unhappy divided state of Germany or the cruel wall in Berlin, but we shall not forget our commitment to freedom and we shall continue, as we have in the past, to stand firm. And as we stand together holding firmly the bright torch of liberty, we know that we are making contributions to the cause of freedom and betterment of man.

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## Shakespeare: Soul of an Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the 400th anniversary of the birth of William Shakespeare, the fabulous "Bard of Avon," takes place on April 23, 1964. Observance of this event are expected to take place in free countries the world over in honor of one of the most gifted literary talents of all time; a talent whose impact has been felt wherever books are published and read.

It is significant to note at this time that one of our leading television networks—the National Broadcasting Co.—has anticipated the 400th anniversary of Mr. Shakespeare's birth with an NBC news production titled, "Shakespeare: Soul of an Age." This production will be broadcast in color for a full hour over NBC-TV's nationwide network on Friday, November 30, from 7:30 to 8:30 p.m., eastern standard time. It will be, I understand, no ordinary presentation of Shakespeare's works, but a scholarly as well as entertaining undertaking designed to show what remains on earth that recalls Shakespeare's life. Through the eyes of the TV color camera, audiences will visit the places which have come to be traditionally associated with many of the characters of Shakespeare's tragedies, histories, and comedies.

The presentation will re-create the mood of these literary landmarks and hear Shakespeare's words in their proper geographical settings. In dedicated research for authenticity as well as entertainment, NBC-TV camera crews journeyed in the footsteps of Shakespeare to England, Wales, Scotland, and France. Many of the characters of his plays, filmed in color, comprise the illuminating and exciting sequences to be seen and heard on this program.

Sir Michael Redgrave, voicing excerpts from Shakespeare's plays, will star in this NBC News production of "Shakespeare: Soul of an Age," and Sir Ralph Richardson will be its guest narrator. These are two of the most eminent actors in the British theater, and both are well known for their interpretation of Shakespearean roles. In addition to Redgrave, a group of prominent English actors will be seen in scenes from the poet's histories, tragedies and comedies.

Reconstructing Shakespeare's life, the television cameras will explore existing landmarks in Stratford-on-Avon and the surrounding countryside, as well as the other places connected with many of his plays.

The program's title comes from Ben Johnson's lines:

> Shakespeare, Sweet Swan of Avon
> What a sight it were
> To see thee in waters yet appear—
> Soul of the age.

Lou Hazam, noted television producer, produced and wrote the program, and Guy Blanchard is director-cameraman for this noteworthy artistic effort.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is appropriate for us to express appreciation to the National Broadcasting Co., which, through NBC News, will bring into the homes of millions of American families this important television program, a program which marks still another of the important contributions to news, public affairs and the arts that this network has presented through the years.

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## Transport of Arms and Strategic Materials to Cuba by Ships of Allied Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in my hometown of San Diego the longshoremen and other labor organizations have taken a strong stand against loading and unloading shipments from vessels that are working against the interests of the people of our country by carrying vital supplies including war materiel to Cuba.

I congratulate the labor organizations which are taking a much stronger stand against this threat to our security than does the New Frontier.

As a sequel to President Kennedy's book, "Profiles of Courage," which today is obviously out of print, I commend to my colleagues the reading of the statement made today by Peter M. McGavin, executive secretary-treasurer, maritime trades department, AFL–CIO, before the Select Committee on Export Control meeting in the House of Representatives.

This is truly a courageous stand, and I hasten to add my commendation to Mr. McGavin for his forthright statement. Under unanimous consent I insert it with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

My name is Peter M. McGavin. I am executive secretary-treasurer of the Maritime Trades Department, AFL–CIO, which consists of 31 national and international unions of the AFL–CIO all participating in the American maritime industry.

I would like to thank the chairman and members of this committee for the opportunity to present the views of the Maritime Trades Department, AFL–CIO, with regard to NATO vessels and "flags of convenience" countries discharging Russian and other cargoes in Cuba and proceeding to the United States to carry Government-generated cargoes to other points. In a letter to President Kennedy under date of September 26, this department urged that the charters of vessels be withdrawn which have alternately carried cargoes for the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries, and aid cargoes for the United States. As an example, the public press recently reported that a Yugoslavian vessel, the *M. V. Drzic* had discharged a cargo in Havana, Cuba, and had proceeded to Houston, Tex., where it was scheduled to pick up a Government aid cargo for the United Arab Republic. We too have urged President Kennedy to withdraw the charter of this vessel. As you know, the maritime unions in Houston refused to load this ship and had the complete support of the maritime trades department, AFL–CIO. The maritime unions will continue to refuse to load such ships and the maritime trades department, AFL–CIO, will continue to lend its wholehearted support to these affiliated unions.

Of the three types of despotism, the Communist tyranny forced upon the Cuban people and maintained through deceit, terror, and Sino-Soviet subversion and subvention, is the most dangerous to the peace and freedom of all the peoples of the New World. This modern, streamlined tyranny rests on the mass monolithic party which dominates totally every walk of life.

Castro's categoric declaration of December 2, 1961, that he was and is a Communist and that he will be one until the day he dies, once and for all dispels the illusions and false hopes about the nature and aims of the Castro government as anything else but Communist in its aspirations and actions. It is now openly an organic part of the international Communist conspiracy against the national security and human freedom of all Latin American countries. At the cost of ruining its economy and tragically impoverishing its people, this regime is feverishly building a huge military machine for armed aggression against the free nations of Latin America.

We are proud of the fact that the free labor movement in Latin America was first to discover the falsity of the Castro propaganda, the subservience of its regime to Soviet Communist dictation, and the subjugation of the Cuban workers and peasants to totalitarian enslavement.

The collective conscience of Latin America is beginning to react effectively to the complete suppression of civil liberties and human rights to which the Communist masters of Cuba have resorted in order to maintain their dictatorship.

Latin American governments in increasing numbers are also beginning to realize the threat to the peace and the democratic stability of the Western Hemisphere inherent in the Communist regime in Cuba. Most of them no longer doubt the fact that Cuba has become the beachhead of the Communist international for the infiltration, subversion and ultimate conquest of the Americas.

We extend our warmest solidarity to the Cuban people, those who are suffering under the dictatorship inside Cuba and those who, in such large numbers, have been forced to seek haven abroad, mostly in our country. We wish to extend special assurance of solidarity and support to the workers of Cuba, who, regardless of cost and sacrifice, are leading the fight to regain for their country, freedom and dignity.

We strongly urge that the Government of the United States stop all economic and military aid to the dictatorship of Cuba until such time as political and trade union freedoms are firmly reestablished and general elections are called under proper guarantees.

Further we urge and direct the Government's foreign aid agencies to stop using foreign ships that have traded with Cuba for the transportation of lucrative foreign aid cargoes financed by American taxpayers.

We cannot understand why foreign ships that transport cargo for our enemies and jeopardize our security and the stability of Latin America should be rewarded by the U.S. Government with cargoes financed by American taxpayers.

At this time, the maritime trades department, AFL–CIO, would like to strongly voice its objection to the latest proposal of the Soviet Union in assisting Cuba in erecting port facilities which will accommodate Russian fishing trawlers and other vessels and which could also be used as a port to perform repair work. This indeed is a threat to the United States.

We urge this committee to request the President to apply economic pressure on any country that builds Soviet merchant ships, including the suspension of U.S. economic aid, if necessary. From reports I have read Yugoslav, Japanese, and Western European shipyards are building 56 ships for the Soviet Union, thereby freeing Russian shipyards to construct submarines and other warships. For your information, 23 Russian tankers are being built in Yugoslavia, 18 in Japan and 6 in Italy, and that other Soviet vessels are under construction in Sweden, Denmark, and West Germany.

The American people, who believe a friend should act friendly have a right to be burned up over neglect by Allied nations to curb their private ship lines' help for the Soviet military buildup of Castro's Cuba.

Vessels carrying the flags of Norway, Greece, West Germany, Italy, Liberia, and Lebanon have been identified by name as taking part in this operation. Britain has denied her ships are involved.

The United States is in a real struggle over Cuba. If friends won't help, the least we can make them do is stop cashing in as mercenaries for our enemies.

The betrayal of our interest in Cuba by foreign-flag shipowners casts increased doubt on the wisdom of American dependence on runaway-flag shipping. As you know runaway-flag ships are those registered principally in Liberia and Panama to escape American taxes, wages, and safety standards. We propose that this committee review the Nation's shipping policies and to propose new policies to strengthen the American-flag merchant fleet. It has long been this department's view that reliance upon runaway-flag ships to meet national emergencies was unwarranted and could not stand up when tested. Certainly the diplomatic events of the past few weeks prove our contention. In summation, the maritime trades department, AFL–CIO, recommends that legislation be enacted which would provide that none of the funds appropriated would be available for assistance to any country which permits its vessels to transport arms or strategic materials to Cuba so long as Cuba is governed by the Castro regime. This would go a long way in frustrating Russia's economic and political objectives. This action would also inform our allies as to the seriousness with which we regard the Cuban situation.

Thank you.

## Individual Rights and Freedom Under the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in these troubled times it is good to pause and look to the youth of our great Nation, to see if we can what is on their minds when they give thought to our institutions, our laws, and our heritage.

Two such young people are Peggy Valin and Bruce Bennett. Peggy is a student at Strannahan High School and Bruce at Our Lady Queen of Martyrs, in Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Each year as an observation of Constitution Week, the Daughters of the American Revolution ask students to write short essays on what they believe this great document means to them. This project helps keep alive the great traditions of our living Constitution in the younger generations where it is most important.

The winning essays in Fort Lauderdale this year were written by Peggy and Bruce. They both give us a message of worth far greater than their years, and give us continued faith in the future of our Nation, for she will be in the hands of those who know and love her as we do.

Mr. Speaker, because of the outstanding merit of these essays I insert them at this point in the RECORD:

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

(By Peggy Valin, Strannahan High School)

What do these simple words "Peggy Valin, age 17, U.S. citizen," really mean to me? Under the terms set forth by the Constitution of my country each of these three groups of words achieve a significant effect upon every phase of my life.

I have been using the first two words for as long as I can remember. Perhaps the constant, casual use of a name robs it of its reason for being. "Margaret Valin"—the name given me by my parents, married under the laws of God and my country—appears on an official document filed in the State of my birth, and in the Capital of my country.

Peggy Valin is a person, born free in a nation which abhors slavery. To keep that name free and to uphold the Constitution

which made it possible is my sacred obligation. A name gives one pride, pleasure and power.

The second group is two symbols, "age 17." For 17 years I have been accepting two important aspects of that Constitution. The first is security. Living in the United States gives me the protection of both its laws and its law enforcers. I realize that neither are perfect, but because of both, young people like me have a chance to grow up in a country of law and order. We are able to spend most of our time developing natural resources rather than being forced to defend our right to live.

The second is schools. Every person has a right to an education under our laws. Some protest that this right is not always honored, but from what I can see, anyone who has the desire and is not afraid of hard work can acquire an education. These years of security and education are preparing me for a useful life as an adult member of our society.

The third group of words, "U.S. citizen," is a priceless gift presented by my country on the day of my birth. U.S. citizenship is not just one package but many. Freedom of religion, rights of security of person and property, "due process of law," right to elect officers and to have a say in the laws of our land, privilege of attending public schools, prohibition of child labor, and woman suffrage are some.

All of these and many more are my rights under the Constitution of my country. But to be worthy of these rights I must also give others their freedom of religion, not endanger the security of others or their property, obey the laws, vote intelligently, and work to my utmost ability in school.

If I do all of these things in honor and sincerity, the meaning of the Constitution will be "life, liberty, pursuit of happiness" and a useful citizen.

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MY INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

(By Bruce Bennett, grade 7, Our Lady Queen of Martyrs School)

I, as an American boy, have more opportunities than any other boy in any other country in the world.

I can be anything I wish: doctor, delivery boy, President, prospector, grand opera singer, or mechanic. I am limited only to the extent that my intelligence and ambition are limited.

I can do or say anything I wish as long as I do not violate the rights of my fellowman. I can express my thoughts to whomever I wish, and whenever I wish.

My parents have the right and obligation to rear me as they see fit. They have a moral and legal duty to see to both my academic, cultural, and spiritual education. They are not forced to send me to a state-dictated school, but may exercise their choice between public, private or parochial schools.

I have the same right as everyone else in this country, and may worship God as I see fit. No one has the authority to impose any state religion on me, for we are each guaranteed, under the Constitution of the United States, the right to freedom of worship.

I can enjoy privacy in my home, and feel secure in the knowledge that no government agency will conduct a search of my property without due process of law.

If I should be arrested on suspicion of a crime, I am considered innocent until proven guilty.

No boy in Communist-controlled countries can drop to his knees each night to thank God for completing another day in freedom, as I may. Nor can he resolve to guard the freedoms he has never known.

I can and do resolve to guard jealously for future generations, the precious gifts of freedoms that my forefathers guaranteed and guarded for me, so that, as Abraham Lincoln said, "this Nation under God, shall not perish from the earth."

## European Farm Boom

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, as the Congress continues to consider the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and how best the United States may meet the challenge of the European Common Market, I submit for the RECORD an article from the September 7 issue of the Wall Street Journal. The article presents some food for thought on how our American farmers and taxpayers would be affected by loss of export markets.

The article follows:

MECHANIZATION BOOSTS OUTPUT—THREAT TO U.S. EXPORT MARKETS GROWS—SURPLUSES ENDANGER BRITAIN'S COMMON MARKET BID—RICE GIRLS' RANKS THIN IN ITALY—DE GAULLE TAKES ON NAPOLEON

(By John R. Gibson)

RHEINBACH, WEST GERMANY.—British diplomats and U.S. farmers both face trouble these days because of the accomplishments of people like lantern-jawed Joseph Loben.

Mr. Loben farms 133 acres of grain and sugarbeets near this Rhineland town in a fashion an industrialist might admire. Gesturing at a silvery combine parked near a defused World War II bomb in one of his fields, he estimates he has spent $35,000 on new machinery in the past decade. Beginning in 1957, he relates, this mechanization has allowed him to sell his draft horses, cut his payroll to 3 hired hands from the previous 10, and still raise sales to an average of $102.39 an acre a year—up 60 percent from the average in the previous 7 years. With the added profits he has been financing other improvements; currently he buys over $3,000 worth of fertilizer a year and is improving the quality of his seed.

All over Western Europe, farmers are emulating both Mr. Loben's passion for mechanization and his businesslike methods. As a result, a good many are beginning to match his success. The rising volume of food their fields are producing poses a clear threat to the export sales that have done much in recent years to hold down U.S. farm surpluses. And the desire of continental European governments to insure that the extra food will find a market already has played a big part in snagging Britain's negotiations to join the European Common Market.

STILL BEHIND UNITED STATES

Some European nations, notably Holland and Denmark, have long pushed efficient, mechanized farming, of course. But in general the productivity of European farmers has lagged well behind the output rate of their U.S. rivals. It still does, but in several European countries it is now shooting upward rapidly—in some, even faster than factory productivity.

In France, for instance, the Patronat, or Federation of French Industries, figures farm output per man is rising 6.5 percent a year, outstripping the 4-percent gain in output per man-hour that French factories chalked up last year over 1960. West Germany, long considered one of the highest cost European agricultural producers, boasts that each farmworker today produces twice as much food as he did in 1952, while industrial productivity in the same period has risen only about 50 percent.

Total output is gaining sharply, too. West German farm production has risen one-third since 1951; French farmers now turn out 40 percent more wheat than they did before World War II on 16 percent less land. Throughout Western Europe, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization estimates wheat production will rise more than 20 percent during the 1960's to about 55 million tons by 1970.

Some nations even are beginning to suffer the U.S. headache of farm surpluses. France, acknowledged to be Western Europe's biggest farm producer, 10 years ago produced regular surpluses only of cheese; now it grows more wheat, beef, and milk than even the celebrated French gourmets can stuff away. Milk output in the six Common Market countries is climbing 3 percent a year with the aid of new milking machines, better feed and improved breeding of cows—even though the area already has a glut of butter, cheese, and other dairy products.

THREAT TO U.S. FARMERS

All this seems certain to cut into the big market U.S. farmers have enjoyed up to now in Europe—and perhaps throw a greater burden on U.S. taxpayers who must pay for unsold surpluses of many crops. In the past, European purchases have kept much U.S. farm produce out of tax-supported Government storage; the Common Market countries alone have bought over $1 billion worth of U.S.-produced food and fiber in each of the past several years.

The competitive threat does not stop there, either. European farm surpluses, such as those developing in France, could well be sold in cut-price competition with U.S. produce in non-European markets. American Government officials, already worried over the prospect, currently are talking of possible new international commodity marketing pacts with France and other nations to head off such a threat.

If the experience of Britain is any omen, however, such pacts may not be easy to negotiate. In their negotiations to join the Common Market, the British have been insisting on assurances that farmers in such Commonwealth countries as Australia and Canada could continue to enjoy a market in Britain after it entered the group; food imports from these countries now get preferential tariff treatment in Britain. But the present Common Market countries—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg—have been reluctant to meet the British terms, because the assurances the British want would restrict sales opportunities for their own farmers in Britain. Result: A deadlock that last month caused talks to be broken off until October.

All these problems may well multiply in the future. For, fast as European farm productivity is rising, several continental governments insist it still is not increasing rapidly enough, and are trying to encourage an even speedier growth. These governments fear a European-wide free market in agriculture, which the Common Market is trying to create by cutting tariffs and establishing a common farm policy in all member nations, will force inefficient farmers out of business. Naturally, no nation wants its farmers to be the ones on whom the blow will fall.

Farmers are using several methods to achieve this speedup. Better plants and seeds are a major help in some areas. In the Rhone Valley of dry, sunny Provence, new rows of dwarf Golden Delicious apple and Bartlett pear trees stretch across big—for France—250-acre irrigated orchards. These midget trees start producing at an earlier age than normal trees, and can be pruned and harvested more cheaply because they're short.

Use of fertilizers and insecticides is increasing. Italian farmers last spring began experimental spraying of fertilizer from airplanes on 400 acres of farmland at San Severo on the spur of Italy's boot; French wine growers already are spraying their hillside vineyards from helicopters. West Ger-

man fruitgrowers are trying an insecticide that might have to be applied only 5 times a year, to replace present types that must be applied 14 or 15 times. In total, fertilizer consumption probably will increase 6 percent in Western Europe this year, according to the multination Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Government-financed irrigation and reclamation projects are helping boost output sharply in some countries. Portuguese engineers hope the Mira River irrigation plan now getting underway will enable some 30,000 acres of now-arid land in southwest Portugal to yield annual crops of citrus fruit, vegetables and cereals; the area now produces one wheat crop every 5 years. An earlier irrigation scheme, combined with intensified use of new seeds, fertilizers and insecticides, already has increased tomato yields 50 percent over the past few years in an area near Lisbon.

DECLINE OF THE MONDARISO

But mechanization is the biggest spur. Across Europe, tractors and other machines are taking over jobs done for generations by human hands, and the number of farmworkers is dropping sharply as output soars.

Near Rovigo in Italy's Po River delta, for instance, a visitor these days will see none of the "mondariso," or rice-weeding girls, made famous by the movie "Bitter Rice." Instead, tractors pull ungainly looking mechanical weeding devices over the marshy fields where rice shoots bend in the warm breeze. The Italian Federation of Farmers' Cooperatives estimates that one mechanical weeder with a three-man crew can do the work of a dozen girls; throughout Italy, it estimates, the number of "mondariso" has dropped to about 40,000 now from 120,000 as recently as 1956.

The same trend is underway in other countries. West Germany today has 2.4 million farmhands, down 38 percent since 1950; Swedish officials estimate 10,000 Swedes leave the farm every year. But the tractor population of Common Market countries quintupled during the 1950's to 2 million at the end of the decade from 357,000 in 1950, and is expected to rise further to 2.8 million by 1965. Other types of machinery are popular, too; French farmers bought 9,500 combines last year, against 7,500 in 1961, and nearly every French farm has a baler.

A BOOM FOR U.S. SUBSIDIARIES

This mechanization boom has meant big business for subsidiaries of such U.S. firms as Ford Motor Co., International Harvester Co. and Deere & Co., which are among Europe's biggest farm machinery suppliers. Harvester and Deere are particularly strong in Germany, where outlays for farm machinery have topped $4 billion in the last 10 years, with the biggest voume coming in the last 4.

This summer the boom has slackened greatly, but machinery makers are certain it will resume. The farmers want to see the effects of the (new) Common Market agricultural agreements before laying out money for a large new machine," says an official of one U.S. subsidiary here, explaining the current drop. For the long term, adds an official of International Harvester's German subsidiary, "the trend is not only toward more tactors but to bigger ones. Farmers want more powerful tractors so they can pull bigger equipment."

Individual farmers are happy to confirm such predictions. Herman Baaken, who manages his father-in-law's 45-cow dairy and mixed crop farm across the Rhine from Dusseldorf, says he plans to buy one of International Harvester's new 39 European-horsepower tractors soon, as well as a forage harvester, which cuts and chops green crops for storage as silage. Slapping a black-and-white Holstein cow on the rump, he explains that the new machinery will enable him to cut in half the amount of land he must set aside for raising forage, and let him grow more wheat and sugarbeets for cash sale. New machinery he has already bought has raised the farm's sales per hired hand to $7,500 a year from $4,650 in 1956, Mr. Baaken calculates.

"It costs $175 a month to pay a worker and nowadays many of them are stupid," says Willi Krings, a Rheinbach fruitgrower, explaining why he has been mechanizing. Mr. Krings plans to modernize not only his machinery but some farm buildings; over a glass of French brandy he describes to a visitor how he proposes to refrigerate a barn so he can store apples there and sell them in the winter, when prices are high, rather than at harvest time when prices are low.

Despite all the progress, however, efforts to raise European farm productivity are still being held back by one redoubtable enemy—the long-dead Emperor Napoleon. Through the Code Napoleon which he promoted as the basis for most European law, the conqueror fastened a crazy quilt pattern of land ownership on much of the continent; several governments now complain this makes raising output on some farms almost impossible.

Napoleon's laws demand that each son of a dead farmer inherit an equal portion of land. In many cases, in fact, the code specifies each son must inherit equal portions of different types of land on the same farm—so that each will own the same amount of woodland, fertile bottom land and hilly pasture. After generations of inheritances, the code by now has so splintered some once well-laid-out farms that one German farmer near the Hessian city of Kassel currently must try to work a 25-acre farm divided into 125 separate slivers of land.

DON'T HELP YOUR NEIGHBOR

Such small and irregularly shaped plots, of course, rarely permit the use of power machinery. "Sometimes plots are as small as 4 feet wide by 219 yards long," complains one frustrated German Government agricultural official. "Even somewhat bigger plots are wasteful," he contends, "because farmers won't plant or fertilize up to the edge of their land; they're afraid a little of the fertilizer or seed will work over onto a neighbor's land and benefit him. We want to consolidate 40 percent of today's farms into larger ones."

Government efforts to promote such reorganization of land holdings have had some success. West Germany since 1950 has cut by 25 percent the number of farms of 25 acres or less, while farms of 25 to 250 acres have increased by 45,000. Swedish officials estimate 10 to 15 farms in their country are closing every day.

The De Gaulle government in France has put together one of the most ambitious programs in this European version of land reform. It currently is asking parliament for authority to buy farmland, assemble small plots into larger farms and resell them to efficient young farmers who will use modern production methods. It also has asked for a special fund to pension off old farmers so that young ones trained in up-to-date, Government-approved methods can take over their land.

The plan, however, has provoked fierce resistance from the traditionally highly individualistic French farmers. Breton farmers have been dumping artichokes on highways half the summer to dramatize their opposition to the scheme; they want higher price supports instead.

## Our Transportation Problem: Time for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, while the House will not be called upon to pass general transportation legislation this year, our Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has held hearings on the subject. They have not been completed but they will be early next year.

I would like to insert an address on our transportation problems by Morris Forgash, president of the United States Freight Co., before the fall meeting of the National Petroleum Association here in Washington on September 20, which I feel is worthy of careful study.

OUR TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS: TIME FOR ACTION

(Address by Morris Forgash, president, United States Freight Co., before the fall meeting of the National Petroleum Association, Washington, D.C., Sept. 20, 1962)

I felt deeply honored by the invitation to speak to you, and I accepted with pleasure and anticipation. My personal gratification was not, I confess, untinged with apprehension. Having spoken to you on several previous occasions I realize that I must be on my mettle to avoid the risk of being stricken from your list, because your standards are pretty high. Proof of that is in the distinguished names on your program.

It is not an easy thing to say something new and stimulating and constructive about a subject that is old and much discussed and in some quarters almost despaired of—the problem of transportation. There is no dearth of ideas on the subject. Theoretical solutions may even outnumber the practical problems of transportation, but in the field of action we have been weak almost to the point of impotence. An old jingle, the exact wording of which has long escaped my mind, seems to typify the situation. It was about a centipede who happily raced along until someone asked him how he knew which leg came after which. This so troubled the centipede that he lay distracted in a ditch considering how to run.

It occurs to me that there may not be so much wrong with transportation as we think. We may have permitted ourselves to become distracted by concern about problems that are not real. Surely the most magnificent physical transportation plant ever devised by mankind ought not to be continually on the brink of economic disaster if it is permitted to put its best foot forward.

The fact is, however, that public transportation has been running a race with itself and losing to amateurs—the private and exempt carriers—during the greatest period of expanding world economy since the dawn of history. This phenomenon has troubled the best thinkers of the day, from Joe Eastman to whoever you may nominate for the laurels of statesmanship in transportation on the current scene. But the answer still eludes us, and, like the centipede, we stand, splendidly equipped, considering how to run.

The problem has been earnestly studied by scholars, technicians, politicians, engi-

neers, and practitioners of the art of transportation—though the latter category has been, understandably, perhaps motivated more by self-interest than by concern for the judgment of posterity. From the reports of the Federal coordinator, concerned with conditions which had their origins in part at least in the First World War, to the President's message to Congress on April 5, of this year, which was concerned with conditions that could determine the outcome of the last of all wars, numerous and exhaustive studies of the transportation problem have found their way into the archives of transportation history.

Some of the transportation studies have died quietly, creating only temporary careers and momentary if controversial fame for their architects. Following most of them, however, those who produce, consume, supply, and finance transportation have marched up to Capitol Hill and debated the merits of whatever policy some group of lawyers devised as the legal formula for the theoretical solutions to the practical problems dealt with by the involved study. This is an exercise in which we now are engaged. I do not decry this as a process. It is the way of democracy. But I suggest that we may be wasting our energies chasing an illusion.

One trouble with most of the studies, I believe, is that their aim is too high. In trying to solve all of our transportation problems at once they jeopardize the chances of solving any of them. They seek the perfect master plan—the flawless program. Whoever succeeds in colonizing the moon or finds some virgin territory in the reaches of outer space may be able to construct the perfect transportation system, but it will never become operational on earth. Why? Because our transportation system, like the uses of the wheel, evolved by slow and painful steps. It was built on mistakes and wars and experimentation—upon famine and emergency—in fat and in lean times. And it is run by individuals with the normal susceptibility to human error—individuals spurred by the profit motive in a free enterprise system.

We will never achieve a perfect transportation system—but we can avoid losing an imperfect one—if we act. Our first action should be to come down from cloud nine and take hold of our transportation problems one at a time. Studies and analyses and investigations are fine, but most of the things that need to be done are obvious. There is a perverse streak in the human race which causes us stubbornly to resist doing the obvious while we avidly pursue a will-o'-the-wisp.

I am not going to make the mistake I have attributed to our transportation studies by undertaking, in this brief talk, to cover all of the areas in transportation where action is obviously needed. In fact I want to devote a part of my time to unmasking one of the "strawmen" which most of the studies and reports in recent times have undertaken to establish as the real villain, and show how we have been wasting a good deal of time tilting at windmills.

GOOD MEN—AS IMPORTANT AS GOOD LAW

But let me begin by again directing your attention to the most obvious fact in the entire spectrum of transportation law, policy, and regulation—the fact that it is the administration of the law and not the wording of the law that is important. As Joseph B. Eastman said many year ago: "The statutes which the tribunal administers should be well, simply, and carefully framed, but the personnel which does the administering is more important than the wording of the statute. Good men can produce better results with a poor law than poor men can produce with a good law."

When I spoke to your association in the spring of 1961, I pointed out that we have entrusted a large responsibility for the destiny of our transportation system, upon which depends the economy and safety of the Nation, and perhaps the survival of freedom in the world, to a Commission of 11 men and about 2,300 employees. This is fewer employees than the Commission had in 1940. We delegate these broad and infinitely important powers to the agency and give it a few dollars—always making sure to give it less than it asks for on the theory that it will ask for more than it needs—then we go away and expect everything to be resolved in the best interests of the public and all the competing carriers.

Of course, in every adversary proceeding before either the regulatory agencies or the courts, someone has to lose—a fact which many people find it difficult to accept. And it has become popular for disappointed litigants before the Interstate Commerce Commission to look toward Congress rather than the courts to air their grievances. In this there is a great danger. If our administrators are not masters of their own souls, they will become political puppets, rendering judgments on the basis of smoke signals and power pressure rather than on the basis of the facts and the law.

There is no sure way to insulate the regulatory agencies from undue pressures and influence, but there is an obvious starting point. That is to make it easier for the President to find and keep good men at the top and for the agencies to improve the caliber and morale of employees at all levels. I talked about these matters at some length in April, 1961, when I addressed your 58th midyear meeting. And while I do not lay claim to clairvoyance nor to any inside knowledge on the subject, it is a fact that in that same month the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate rendered a report in which it recommended almost precisely what I advocated, and for the same reasons. Basically, the recommendations were for a 10-year statutory term of office for agency members, and a significant increase in salary and in retirement benefits.

In May 1961, Senators CARROLL and HART introduced a bill to increase the tenure of agency members to 10 years. The bill created a good deal of discussion, and informed public opinion probably was overwhelmingly in its favor, but no action was taken. Each of us must accept a share of the blame for inertia in this vitally important field of our national life. The wise, impartial, and just administration of our transportation law and policy is as vital to the welfare and security of the Nation as any project in defense or exploration which we will be called upon to support.

In just a little while the pending legislation on this subject will die with the expiration of the 87th Congress. The report and the bill will be put with all the other measures that did not succeed in this Congress and tied with red ribbon and sent to Archives. Very likely the legislation will be reintroduced in the next Congress, but absolutely nothing will be done about it until the people of the United States want something done about it. That means you and me. We are the voice of America and in this field we can do anything we make up our minds to do.

Have we not had enough of talk and of study and of reports? What else do we need to know about the subject? We will never be better informed than we are now. The only challenge now is to action. If we are really concerned about the quality of administration and the future course of transport regulation we can, between us, muster the support necessary to carry these much-needed reforms over the top during the next session of Congress. Let's roll up our sleeves and do it.

KEYSTONE OF POLICY—FREEDOM TO COMPETE

I now invite your attention to a subject that has occupied a good deal of our time and attention for quite some time—the matter of national transportation policy. The present statement of policy which serves as prologue to the Interstate Commerce Act had its genesis in a report submitted to the President of the United States on December 29, 1938, by a Committee of Six distinguished citizens. A few months earlier the President had appointed these men to consider the critical transportation problem of the day and recommend legislation.

The Committee of Six found and concluded that we had a "national transportation problem without a national transportation policy." It said: "There should be no further delay in the adoption of a definite national transportation policy which will provide for fair and impartial regulation of all modes of transportation. Such regulation should be so administered as to preserve the inherent advantages of each mode of transportation."

This, of course, became the keystone of the policy adopted by the Transportation Act of 1940. If we had succeeded in the intervening years in fully implementing the stated aims of that policy we would have no problem today.

The financial plight of the railroads is not quite as bad today as it was in 1938, but their relative position in the transportation field has declined. In 1938 the railroads still handled 65 percent of the freight tonnage of the country, whereas today they are handling less than 44 percent of the total. The trucks, meanwhile, have increased their share of the total from less than 8 to more than 22 percent. Inland water carriers have lost ground in the total picture by about 2 percentage points.

Another major defect in regulatory law uncovered by the Committee of Six was in the rule of ratemaking found in section 15a of the act. The Committee pointed out that section 15a then required the Commission to give consideration, among other things, to "the effect of rates on the movement of traffic." It said that this requirement was resulting in railroad management being deprived of its discretion in fixing rates.

As a consequence of the Committee's recommendations, the Congress, by the Transportation Act of 1940, modified the foregoing phrase so as to require that the Commission give due consideration "to the effect of rates on the movement of traffic by the carrier or carriers for which the rates are prescribed." Thus, as early as 1940 Congress clearly spelled out, in section 15a(2), a directive to the Commission to permit carriers to make rates without regard to their effect on the traffic of a carrier of another mode.

To make sure that its intent was fully understood and implemented, Congress went a step further in 1940. It amended the antidiscrimination provisions of section 3(1) of the act, and corresponding sections in other parts, so as to provide that such sections "shall not be construed to apply to discrimination, prejudice, or disadvantage to the traffic of any other carrier of whatever description."

The Transportation Act of 1940 charted a good course for the solution of the transportation problem. It established a firm policy of permitting each mode of carriage to seek its own destiny by making rates to reflect its own inherent advantages without regard to the effect of such rates on any other carrier of whatever description.

For quite some time this charter for transportation seemed to work very well. But things have a habit of coming unfixed, and somewhere around 1950 there began to develop a tendency to fix the rates of one carrier with a view to their effect on another. This came to be known as umbrella ratemaking. We began to slide back into conditions that prevailed prior to 1940.

Congress decided to take a new look at the matter. You will all remember the hearings that led to the Transportation Act of 1958. The report of the Senate Commerce Committee submitting that act has overtones

of the report of the Committee of Six rendered 20 years earlier. Again the problem was to allow carrier managements the freedom to make rates reflecting the advantages of their particular mode of carriage.

So it was that in 1958 the Congress found it necessary to reinforce and strengthen the policy first adopted in 1940. It did this by adding subsection (3) to section 15a. That subsection makes it absolutely clear that rates are to be judged in the light of the facts and circumstances involving the movement of traffic by the carrier proposing them, and are not to be held up to a particular level to protect the traffic of any other carrier.

We were not to be allowed a 10-year respite, however, before assaults began to be made on the Transportation Act of 1958. They began immediately. They are continuing. But it is not my purpose to discuss those battles with you here. I have recited this bit of history as perspective and as background for some observations about a facet of the transportation problem that apparently has been overlooked entirely in our consideration of the subject.

THE "STRAW MAN": INTERMODAL COMPETITION

Throughout the entire struggle to develop a just and reasonable transportation policy that will insure an adequate national transportation system, composed of all modes of transport each serving the public to the maximum extent of its natural advantages, attention has been riveted on intermodal competition. From persistent repetition competition between modes has come to be accepted as the transportation problem. The studies and reports and debates—the propaganda and charges and countercharges—have duly impressed upon the public mind the idea that except for the completion of another mode, each form of transport would be flourishing and healthy and free of problems.

The fact of the matter is that the nub of the transportation problem is and always has been intramodal competition—competition between railroad and railroad, between truckline and truckline, between water carrier and water carrier. If you think for a moment on your own experience, you will conclude that I am right.

I need not recite the reasons why railroads were first regulated. It was railroad competition and not competition between railroads and some other mode of carriage that led to the deplorable conditions in the latter half of the last century which forced us to Federal regulations.

And for a long time after motor carriers were regulated in 1935, the most important function of regulation was to prevent the trucking industry from destroying itself. The situation is well described by the following quotation from the well-known book "Federal Regulation of Transportation," by Auerbach and Nathanson: "Until the outbreak of World War II, the ICC's primary concern was to keep motor carriers from engaging in destructive rate competition. The immediate effect of the requirement in the Motor Carrier Act that tariffs be published and adhered to was to push rates in some territories downwards because many carriers feared that competing carriers might publish lower rates."

Between 1937 and 1941 the ICC issued five general minimum rate orders, putting a floor under motor carrier rates in five rate territories, from New England through the Middle West. In the first such proceeding, Ex Parte MC–14, the Commission prescribed minimum rates for the motor carriers operating in Middle Atlantic territory, saying:

"Prior to the publication of the rates, the motor carriers had not known what each other was charging. Publication revealed many differences in the rates charged by competitors. * * * Changes were initiated wholesale to put competitors on an equal footing and a downward spiral in the level of the rates rapidly developed.

"The record shows plainly that the motor carriers here concerned found themselves in a competitive struggle which was undermining their rates and depleting their revenues at a time when costs of operation were rising rapidly. Their reserves, to the extent that they had any, were nearing exhaustion and financial ruin loomed ahead."

The story was the same in other territories. In prescribing minimum rates for motor carriers in New England, in 1938, the Commission said: "The motor carrier industry in the territory herein, as a whole, is at present, and for some time has been, in a critical condition. One of the major factors contributing to this condition was a practice followed by some carriers of establishing rates lower than the prevailing level in an effort to attract traffic to their lines."

In the Trunk Line minimum rate case, decided in 1940, the Commission referred to its prior orders in other territories and said: "The effect of the orders * * * has not been to freeze the rate structure, but it has been to discourage rate cutting and put it under a supervision by the Commission which is much closer than is practicable in the ordinary procedure under which changes in rates may be suspended for investigation."

In 1943 most of the broad general minimum rate orders were lifted and the Commission thereafter resorted primarily to the investigation and suspension procedure as a measure for controlling unbridled competition within the ranks of the motor carriers. But as late as 1950, in docket MC–C–1003, the Commission found it necessary to issue a minimum rate order to control a rate war between motor carriers in the New York and Philadelphia area. The Commission said that the Middle Atlantic States Conference asked for the order "because of intense competition * * * which has resulted in rate cutting especially by conference carriers to meet the lower rates of nonconference carriers, although it concedes that to some extent the members of the conference have also initiated reductions in rates."

The Commission said further that "The respondents compete with the railroads, contract carriers, and private carriage. However, the keenest competition is among the respondents [motor carriers]."

These conditions were not peculiar to the trucking industry. By an order entered April 9, 1940, just before jurisdiction over domestic water carriers was transferred to the ICC, the Maritime Commission entered an order prescribing minimum rates of water carriers in westbound intercoastal commerce. The order was continued under ICC jurisdiction until it was finally lifted in February 1950.

In its 1950 decision the Commission commented on the reasons for the minimum rate order as follows: "In its report, the Maritime Commission found that the competitive practices of respondents had resulted in 'utter disorder and confusion in the rate structure,' and that unrestricted competition in ratemaking as practiced by respondents in the westbound intercoastal trade has resulted and is resulting in rate wars, in unduly low and depreciated rates and charges, and in instability and unsound economic conditions in the trade."

Nothing was said in any of these proceedings about competition with railroads being responsible for the chaotic rate conditions in the motor and water industries. It was competition among themselves that demoralized the rate structure of the trucks and water lines. And yet, sweeping all of this history under the rug, those industries now blame all of their troubles on the railroads.

Now someone may say this is very interesting but it is all a matter of history. It may be suggested that since the Commission no longer generally employs the device of minimum rate orders to prevent destructive competition within the industries such competition has disappeared. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Competition within the modes still is the most depressing factor in the rate structure of all carriers. And the effect of such competition within the ranks of one mode barges over and has its effect on the rates of another mode.

The Commission has simply resorted to the investigation and suspension procedure in lieu of the minimum rate authority as a means of attempting to control intramodal competition. And the records of the Commission clearly reveal that the battle is still between carriers of the same type. The conflict between modes is merely a skirmish which is being billed as a major war.

The overall pattern of what has happened in transportation in the last 30-odd years is revealed by the reports of the ICC as they relate to the activity of the Suspension Board. In 1927 only 12 percent of the rates protested were reductions. The remainder represented increases, and obviously were protested by shippers. By 1960 about 94 percent of all protested tariffs reflected reductions. In 1961, according to the 75th annual report of the Commission, of the total of 4,885 rate adjustments cnsidered by the Suspension Board, only 194 reflected increases, and 4,428 represented reductions.

Further refinement of the figures is necessary to establish my thesis about intramodal competition. The Commission's report shows that of the 4,855 rate adjustments considered in 1961—and bear in mind only 194 of these represented increases—almost 3,500 were filed by motor carriers whereas only 1,135 were filed by railroads. In other words, more than three times as many protests were filed against motor tariffs as were filed against rail tariffs.

Who filed these protests? That is the important question. To try to find the answer I caused a 7-month study to be made, from the Commission's files, covering the period from January 1 through July 31, 1960. The study shows, among other things, that in that period motor carriers filed 647 protests against the tariffs of other motor carriers, whereas they filed only 297 protests against rail tariffs, 65 against forwarder, 8 against water, and 3 against the tariffs of REA Express.

This establishes the conclusion that competition between carriers of the same class is the most significant factor in rate competition today, just as it always has been. It suggests that a great deal of the hue and cry about intermodal competition is a smokescreen designed to divert attention from the main problem. It raises the question of how the problem could possibly be solved by freezing competition between modes and maintaining the status quo as to intramodal competition.

I am not suggesting that there should be less competition between carriers of the same type, nor that we should return to the minimum rate controls by which the Commission once sought to check such competition. All I am suggesting is that we cannot devise a transportation policy with our eyes closed to the most important facts on the landscape.

THE REAL PROBLEM: TO ACHIEVE COORDINATION

Intermodal competition is a "strawman" with many faces. At one and the same time this modern myth is relied upon to support arguments for changes in the policy of ratemaking and to obscure areas of agreement where coordination might be achieved.

Coordination of transportation is one of the most important goals of transportation policy, but it has remained illusive and unobtainable. Effective coordination will be achieved only on the basis of economics.

It will come about only if a way can be found to link differing modes of transport together in a manner that will reflect the inherent advantages of each.

Long-distance trucking cannot be coordinated with railroad transportation because the two do not complement each other. But even though truck hauls for long distances are not uncommon today, the short-haul motor carriers still make up the overwhelming majority of the industry and account for at least 90 percent of the trucking business. So long as the vocal 10 percent of the industry, the long-haul carrier, is permitted to be the official spokesman for motor carriers as a whole there will be little coordination because there will be continual competitive strife between trucks and rails.

The public has come to think of the trucking industry in terms of the giant systems, pushing out across the land, paralleling the steel rails that span the Nation. This is not a true image of the motor carrier. In a study which I filed with the Senate Commerce Committee last year I showed that in 1959 the average haul of 92 perecnt of the carriers of general freight, accounting for 83 percent of such freight, was less than 500 miles. Seventy-seven percent of these carriers had hauls of less than 300 miles.

In the same presentation I submitted evidence to show that in the area of piggyback ing, which today offers the greatest hope for coordinated transportation, the railroads, as a matter of general policy, do not publish rates for less than 300 miles, and that only about 2 percent of plan III piggyback freight moves for distances less than 500 miles. There is thus only a very narrow margin of competition between motor trucking and rail piggybacking, and an extremely broad area where coordination would be economically feasible and highly desirable from the standpoint of trucks, rails, and the public.

The short-haul trucking industry is at the crossroads of its destiny right now. It has the greatest opportunity to help bring about truly coordinated transportation that has presented itself since the invention of pneumatic tires. The marriage of highway trailers and rail flatcars presages a partnership that could revitalize the short-haul motor industry and be of inestimable value to the public.

CONCLUSION

I hope you will not be disappointed that I have talked as much about red herrings as about real problems. False issues create the most vexing problems of all. Being irrelevant, they are insoluble, but they obscure the real issues and divert our energies to the pursuit of wrong causes.

Competition—the foundation stone of the free enterprise system—seems in danger of acquiring an unsavory connotation as applied to transportation. In the discussions, debates, and arguments about the transportation problem the word "competition" is so frequently preceded by the words "cutthroat," or "vicious," or "destructive," that we may be inclined to forget that competition also can be constructive and challenging.

Of course there is competition throughout transportation—between carriers of the same mode and between carriers of different modes. When there ceases to be competition there will be chaos or Government control. Competition must always be relied upon as the primary regulatory of carrier prices—otherwise we will need to find some very wise men to parcel out tonnage on the basis of something other than economics.

Competition can, of course, be destructive and unfair. But competition is not destructive just because it is successful. The mission of competition is to succeed in securing business which someone else wants and seeks. My point is that we will be making a Paul Bunyan out of a pygmy if we permit ourselves to be persuaded that intermodal competition is the heart of the transportation problem. I have demonstrated that the basic depressant of the rate structure of carriers today, as always, is competition between carriers of the same class.

I have not condemned intramodal competition, as such, but if we are going to put the house of transportation in order, and get all carriers off the starvation diet that has been regular fare for a long time, the place to start is where the problem is and not where the noise is being made.

And I hope all of you have taken seriously my urgent plea for action to improve the lot of our administrative agencies, for the dignity, the integrity, and the public standing of the agency that regulates transportation will measure the success of regulation.

Finally, if I have succeeded in any measure in pointing out areas in our transportation system where agreement is possible and transport coordination can find soil in which to take root, my time has been well spent and I will leave this platform with confidence that the challenge rests in good hands.

## Excerpts of Remarks by Governor Rockefeller at 100th Anniversary, Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS, Mr. Speaker, as a small boy I witnessed many Emancipation Day celebrations in my hometown, Frederick, Md. It was with a sense of witnessing a new and larger chapter in a developing story that I attended the commemoration ceremony of the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation held at the Lincoln Memorial on September 22, 1962. This feeling of being a participant in the moving stream of history was crystallized in the brief but eloquent remarks of the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York. Governor Rockefeller's remarks are hereby appended.

Here in this hallowed place, we meet today in the spirit of our Founding Fathers who in this great Nation created man's supreme expression of the Judeo-Christian heritage dedicated to the worth and dignity of each and every individual.

How fortunate we are as Americans to live in a nation blessed with this spiritual heritage.

For this Nation lives by a concept that is not racist, not nationalistic, but universal, and is dedicated to the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

Abraham Lincoln gave meaning to this spiritual concept in the Emancipation Proclamation whose 100th anniversary we celebrate here today. It is an historic milestone along the road to the ultimate fulfillment of this spiritual heritage.

The State of New York is proud indeed to make available for exhibit here in our Nation's Capital the original draft of that proclamation, in Lincoln's own hand. It is our State's most treasured possession.

The very existence of this document stirs our conscience with the knowledge that Lincoln's vision of a nation truly fulfilling its spiritual heritage is not yet achieved.

May this occasion therefore be one to inspire us all, as Americans, to rededicate ourselves—that we shall make a living reality of the basic belief in the worth and dignity of the individual and the right of each to full and equal opportunity in sharing the American dream.

May God give us the love, the courage, the understanding to see in perspective ourselves and the times in which we live—and to make the faith that lies behind this proclamation truly live for all men in all places of our land.

## A Surrender to Anarchy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith an editorial from the August 29 issue of the Columbus Ga. Enquirer entitled "A Surrender to Anarchy."

This editorial which was written by Hon. Millard Grimes, points up another instance of the hypocrisy which is followed in some sections of the country in dealing with racial matters.

When any kind of racial question arises in the South, every hypocritical bleeding heart magnifies it. But a similar problem will be played down and minimized if it happens in the West, North, or East.

Mr. Grimes' editorial deals with a school which closed in San Francisco, Calif., because of the idiotic action of the NAACP, a radical, left-wing organization, the principal business of which is to foment racial strife. The National Broadcasting Co. has not sent any photographers and newscasters to broadcast San Francisco's bias and prejudice. There have been no groups of clergymen praying at the city hall. There have been no martyrs knocking on the doors of the San Francisco jails. Nevertheless, a school is closed.

As Mr. Grimes said in his editorial:

It is frightening to realize that in a major city of this Nation, schools have sunk to a point where education is secondary to an exact racial proportion dictated by a professional pressure group.

It is nauseating, also, to realize that a situation which would cause sensationmongers to rush to the scene in droves, if it happens in the South, creates scarcely a ripple if it happens in some other section of the country.

Whatever the situation may be in San Francisco regarding racial integration in schools, it will not soon be forgotten that it was in San Francisco 2 years ago that a Communist-organized mob of 2,000 stormed the city hall when members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were holding a 3-day session to investigate communism on the west coast. It will be remembered that the police carried the committee members out of the city hall through a back door to prevent the mob getting to them.

I wonder if one or two cameramen could be spared from Oxford, Miss., to

go to San Francisco, and if at least a squad of paratroopers could be sent out to properly integrate the San Francisco school, so that it can again be available to the community for school purposes.

The editorial from the Columbus Enquirer follows:

[From the Columbus Enquirer, Aug. 29, 1962]

A SURRENDER TO ANARCHY

Several schools in the South have been closed as a result of racial troubles in the past few years. These closings were dramatically chronicled, often in headlines reserved only for momentous occasions. The closings were also attended by swarms of television cameramen, dutiful handwringing from the U.S. Information Agency, pious pronouncements on the sacredness of public schools, and in one instance, by the dispatch of U.S. paratroopers.

Last week came the news that another school won't open because of racial trouble. The response has been surprisingly calm. The USIA accepted the announcement with commendable aplomb. The paratroopers have not been alerted.

Perhaps the Nation is becoming sophisticated about such matters. But more likely the reason is due to the location of the school in question, which is not in the realm of the Confederates, but in the enlightened hills of San Francisco, Calif.

The facts surrounding the shutdown of this vitally needed, spanking-new school are rather incredible. The point of contention is a minor thing, involving only the exact percentage of white and Negro students that would attend the school.

The school board had approved boundaries that would produce an enrollment with 60 percent Negroes. But San Francisco's NAACP demanded that the school have a majority of white students, and vowed boycotts, picket lines, and other demonstrations if the approved boundaries were followed.

So the board voted against opening the school because as the superintendent explained, "Under those conditions the school could not provide the desired education situation."

The protesting NAACP went along with the decision to keep the school closed.

The most pertinent comment came from Leon Markel, the chairman of the Citizens Committee for Neighborhood Schools. He said the board's decision was a surrender to anarchy.

He is right. If a similar situation had arisen in the South, with a white group forcing a school to be closed because of threatened demonstrations, there would have been anguished cries throughout the land.

But in San Francisco, and in a case that strains the imagination, the event transpires with only a minor ripple.

And yet a large number of children will be displaced to other schools. An expensive investment of the taxpayers will stand idle. And most important, a school board has yielded to threats and revoked a decision it had considered fair and equitable.

It is frightening to realize that in a major city of this Nation, schools have sunk to a point where education is secondary to an exact racial proportion dictated by a professional pressure group.

Who does this benefit? Not the children of either race. Not the Nation and its educational future.

Perspective must be retrieved in the delicate and complicated problems arising from our Nation's racial arrangement. There is a responsibility on the leaders of both races to consider the full effects of their actions.

## Endorses Wilderness Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, recently the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported H.R. 776, the wilderness bill, after hearing many witnesses and much deliberation. I believe this is a good bill, and so do many others who are interested in preserving our wilderness and are interested in getting the maximum benefits through multiple use from our national forests.

It was with pleasure, therefore, that I read a resolution adopted by the Interstate Association of Public Land Counties. This resolution points out that the work of the committee and the resulting bill demonstrate that informed people working together can make our system function as our Founding Fathers intended. The bill treats fairly and equitably all those who hope to enjoy isolated wilderness as well as those whose livelihoods depend on forestry.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution in the RECORD.

RESOLUTION NO. 1: WILDERNESS BILL

The House of Representatives of the United States approved the wilderness bill, being H.R. 776. After an analysis of all data and a perusal of the printed copy of the hearings before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior, and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives 87th Congress, 2d session, serial No. 12, part IV, covering S. 174, H.R. 293, H.R. 229, H.R. 496, H.R. 776, H.R. 1762, H.R. 1925, H.R. 2008, and H.R. 8237, "bills to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Systems for the permanent good of the whole people and for other purposes" and, after attending and testinging at the committee hearing at Montrose, Colo., it was the considered opinion of our legal counsel, J. Fred Schneider, that the substitute, being H.R. 776, drafted by the Public Lands Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, is a fair and equitable bill and treats fairly and equitably all those who enjoy or hope to enjoy isolated wilderness as well as those whose livelihoods depend on such areas, while safeguarding the overall national interest.

It is further the considered opinion of the delegates to this convention, representing several Western States which will be vitally affected by wilderness legislation, that this bill as passed by the House will not unduly harm the Western economy and the bill, as passed, demonstrates conclusively that informed people working together can still make our system function as our Founding Fathers intended; namely, sound public policies in behalf of the 99 percent of the people of these United States: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we go on record endorsing H.R. 776 as passed by the House of Representatives; that a copy of this resolution endorsing H.R. 776 be sent to each member of the House Interior Committee and that the delegates here assembled send a copy of this resolution to each member of their State's congressional delegation.

In convention assembled this 15th day of September A.D. 1962 in the city of Salt Lake City, Utah.

INTERSTATE ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC LAND COUNTIES,
EDGAR GRUEL, *President*.

Attest:

C. A. GRANT,
*Secretary*.

## Key Policies for Full Employment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the Conference on Economic Progress has just released its latest pamphlet entitled "Key Policies for Full Employment." It contains interesting and novel thoughts which deserve careful consideration and study. I insert herewith the first chapter of the work which is its summary and theme:

I. SUMMARY AND THEME: ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY DEPENDS UPON SOCIAL JUSTICE

THE RECENT UNEMPLOYMENT RISE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The sharp rise of unemployment to 5.8 percent of the civilian labor force in August of this year is an additional warning signal which cannot safely be ignored. To those who say that unfavorable economic developments within the confines of 1 month are not of great significance, and that our measurements of unemployment are in any event imperfect, the answer is plain: This comment is equally applicable to the favorable developments in some other recent month which have been cited as cause for complacency.

The truth is that the rise of unemployment in August, to a level as high as in January and higher than in any of the intervening 6 months, should be of galvanizing significance when viewed in the full perspective of the past 10 years to date. Taken together with other economic indicators, this unemployment figure makes it clear that we are still in the grip of the periodic ups and downs in the economy, the dismally low average annual rate of economic growth, and the chronically rising idleness of manpower and plant, which have plagued us since early 1953. And beyond all this, when account is taken of the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment, and of the concealed unemployment in the form of people who are not actively looking for jobs because the jobs are not there and who therefore are not counted as unemployed, the true level of unemployment is now in the neighborhood of 9 percent rather than 5.8 percent of the civilian labor force.

CAREFUL SCRUTINY OF THE RECORD CAN PROMOTE A MEETING OF MINDS

The remedies thus far under active consideration to deal with this chronic economic ailment are in part misdirected, and in their totality grossly inadequate, because we have not come to a sufficient meeting of minds as to the central cause of the ailment itself. If this meeting of minds were to be accomplished, the ability and conscience of the American people, their private economic sys-

tem, and their free public institutions, would quickly be applied toward an effective solution.

This meeting of minds is now lacking, not primarily because of disagreement about the facts, nor primarily because of disagreement about what economic policies would be suited to a given set of facts. The difficulty rather is that the facts have not been thoroughly examined in a systematic way which would guide accurate interpretation of what these facts mean. Nowhere do we yet find, as a guide to policies, a thorough public examination of how our economic troubles have mounted, how the frequent recessions and periods of economic stagnation have been generated, what maladjustments in policies have brought this about, and what alternative private and public economic policies in proper blend would have induced satisfactory performance.

UNDERCONSUMPTION IS AT THE CORE OF THE TROUBLE

This study undertakes this task. In consequence, it reaches one ultimately simple explanation of our economic difficulties which, it is submitted, can prompt a meeting of minds when the facts and the interpretations placed upon them herein are carefully examined.

The fundamental conclusion is this: Our rapidly advancing productive powers, reflecting the new technology and the acceleration in automation, business investment in producer facilities, and the increase in the number and skills of our labor force, have far outrun both periodically and in the longer term the expansion of distribution and consumption which equate with rising living standards.

If we can bring the expansion of consumption or ultimate demand—which means both private consumption and enlarged public demand for the goods and services which our system furnishes publicly rather than privately—into line with the forward march of our ability to produce, we shall have gotten to the core of our economic problem. By doing this, our ability to produce, along with the business profits and investment which enter into this process, will also be much more rewarding in the long run. For upon careful analysis, it should be clear that the one important basic limitation thus far imposed upon steady and adequate growth in the means and incentives of production has been the demonstrated insufficiency of markets for the product.

All this does not mean that we should neglect the problem of expanding the productive base of our economy. But it does mean that we should modify our over-attention to those policies which provide direct incentives to the expansion of investment, and augment enormously our attention to those policies which expand private and public consumption or ultimate demand. For any careful scrutiny of how our economic troubles have emerged during the past decade, reveals that each period of short-lived and inadequate economic upturn has been accompanied by a hectic growth rate of investment in the means of production, uninhibited by any shortage of profits or any excessive tax burdens upon investors. It has been only when the overcapacity (resulting from this type of overexpansion relative to the slow growth rate in consumption or ultimate demand) has produced its inescapable reactions, that periods of stagnation and recession have set in.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN AN ADVANCED ECONOMY

It follows conclusively that the solution to the economic problem in America, insofar as it rests upon improved distribution and consumption, is intimately associated with extending the frontiers of social justice. In this respect, we have an enormous advantage over the underdeveloped countries of the world, which are so deprived of capital equipment that, in order to build this equipment, they must harshly repress the growth rate in consumption although their living standards are intolerably low. And even the highly developed countries other than ourselves, with their capital equipment rebuilt after the devastation of World War II, or their long-term neglect of technological progress remedied for the first time, are now reaching the stage where more stress upon ultimate markets and distribution and consumption will be required to ward off deflationary trends.

WE ARE NOT AFFLUENT, RELATIVE TO OUR CAPABILITIES

Despite the popular parlor talk about our being "an affluent society," there are today insistent unmet needs and wants among the more than 180 million American people. In their private economic lives, more than two-fifths of our people live under income conditions which mean poverty or some lesser degree of deprivation. These conditions, stemming mainly from the shortages of economic opportunity which reflect low economic growth and high unemployment in the private sector of our economy, stem also from public underconsumption. The especially high concentration of poverty and deprivation among our older citizens because of inadequate expansion of social security, the high concentration of poverty among those with inadequate education, the excessive concentration of poverty among those suffering from the corrosive impact of substandard housing, all make it clear that the paucity of our public services relative to our productive resources combine with underconsumption in the private sector to cause rising idleness of manpower and plant.

INADEQUATE CONSUMPTION REFLECTS INADEQUATE INCOMES

The main factor in underconsumption and low living standards in the private sector is not the unwillingness of people to spend what they earn, although it is true that an improved distribution of national income would bring consumption into better balance with relative oversaving and relative overinvestment. More largely, the deficiency in total consumer demand results from large and growing deficiencies in total consumer incomes after taxes. We are failing to distribute an adequate amount of purchasing power to keep our productive resources moving forward in high gear.

The main deficiencies in consumer purchasing power, aside from the old people who depend primarily on social security and other public welfare programs, are among the farm population and among wage earners. It is therefore a most striking example of the incongruities of current economic policies, that they reflect a clamor for programs which would risk further deflation of farm income, and for the severe restraint of wage increases on the ground that these interfere with our economic progress by lifting business costs excessively, thus impairing investment at home and injuring our competitive position overseas.

THE GROWING DEFICIENCIES IN WAGES

In all the public literature related to the wage problem, there is hardly to be found any systematic and comprehensive analysis of what has actually been happening to wage trends relative to other trends in the economy, and of what bearing this has had in detail upon our poor and erratic economic performance.

This study, turning from fancy to fact and from detached theory to practical observation, reveals how large the growing wage deficiency has loomed in the growing consumption deficiency, and how little merit there is in the assertion that excessive increases in wage rates have impeded the investment process or been damaging to business profits. Contrary to the widespread belief that wage rate increases have outrun productivity gains, the study also reveals that, in recent years which are most relevant and even currently, wage rate increases in manufacturing and in the whole nonfarm economy have lagged seriously behind productivity gains.

NEEDED TAX POLICIES

Once the economic analysis is clearly and fully developed, the needed remedies emerge with equal clarity. The first remedial measures should be applied with respect to public rather than private economic policies, not because the former are ultimately more important than the latter, but because public leadership is essential under current conditions and sets the tone for our nationwide efforts.

To expand private consumption, there should be at the first possible opportunity a reduction in the rates of Federal taxation upon personal incomes, having an initial annual value of about $7 billion. To obtain the highest consumption leverage, and on grounds of equity, this first priority tax reduction should be limited mainly to cutting the rate applicable to the first $2,000 of taxable income. The needed expansion of consumption will in itself call forth the needed expansion of business investment; besides, legislative and administrative action already undertaken this year has granted tax concessions to investors having an immediate annual value of approximately $2½ billion. After this first priority tax reduction is accomplished without being delayed by controversial tax reforms, these reforms should be pressed at once, including some reduction in the tax rates applicable above the first $2,000 of taxable income, compensated for simultaneously by the closing of so-called tax loopholes and improvements in methods of tax collection.

NEEDED INCREASES IN PUBLIC OUTLAYS

To remedy the public underconsumption which correlates with the long neglect of essential domestic public services, Federal expenditures for fiscal 1963 should be lifted at least $3 billion above the level now officially proposed. This combination of tax reduction and increased spending would result in no larger Federal deficits in the short run, and in the ultimate attainment of a balanced Federal budget far more surely and swiftly, than the alternative of continuing to stunt our economic performance by taxes which are too high and expenditures which are too low.

MONETARY, CREDIT, AND OTHER POLICIES TO REDRESS THE INVESTMENT-CONSUMPTION IMBALANCE

The study also urges vigorous liberalization of monetary and credit policies under the supervision of the Federal Reserve System. Tight money and rising interest rates have seriously repressed consumption, but have had little visible effect upon the recurrent investment excesses. These same policies have consistently thrown a wet blanket upon the process of economic growth, but have in no way dampened inflationary trends when conditions entirely apart from monetary and credit conditions brought these trends into being. Indeed, factual analysis indicates strongly that the inefficiencies resulting from the poor economic performance during the past decade have netted more price inflation in the long run than would have resulted from a steadier and higher rate of economic growth at maximum levels of employment and production.

The study recommends additional policies to expand consumption and lift living standards, particularly through enlarged housing efforts, improved social security programs, and better minimum wage protection.

THE MISTREATMENT OF THE GOLD PROBLEM

It has become commonplace to hear that, conceding the desirability of these proposed

measures on domestic economic grounds, they are not feasible in view of our international balance of payments and gold outflow problem. This mistaken idea is tending to impale the natively dynamic and progressive American economy upon a new cross of gold.

The facts are that the gold outflow problem has tended to swell with each sideways or downward movement of the American economy, and to be reduced with each upward movement. The real competition, which confronts us all over the world, is in relative rates of economic growth, relative degrees of utilization of available manpower and plant, and relative freedom from economic downturns. Our worldwide position also depends fundamentally upon the extent to which we demonstrate the capacity and willingness of our own economic system to advance the frontiers of social justice. Consequently, the persistent determination to neglect these fundamentals in order to protect our gold is not only self-defeating in terms of its avowed objective, but also monumentally misdirected in terms of relative values and priorities.

Insofar as the new cross of gold is defended on the ground that it will enable us to sell more goods overseas, and thus to reduce idle manpower and plant at home, two errors in this approach are glaringly apparent. First, for reasons already stated, continued neglect of our domestic economic progress would in the long run continue to exacerbate our balance of payments and gold position. And second, any foreseeable increase in our oversea exports, while important, would be a mere bagatelle compared to the scores of billions of dollars worth of production which we are forfeiting annually, and the excessive millions of unemployment which we are suffering annually, in consequence of this domestic neglect.

AN AMERICAN ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE BUDGET

Finally, the study proposes an American economic performance budget, developed under the Employment Act of 1946, to help quantify more accurately the size of and interrelationships among the tasks confronting us, to help forge policies more compatible with these tasks, and to help enlarge the education and understanding which in a democracy must underpin our common efforts and our mutual progress.

This study has been directed by Leon H. Keyserling, with the assistance of Mary Dublin Keyserling, Philip M. Ritz, and Nettie S. Shapiro.

## An Attorney Examines the Mining Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, at the Metal Mining Convention of the American Mining Congress held in San Francisco September 23–27, 1962, an excellent view of certain aspects of the administration of our mining laws was given by Mr. G. H. Ladendorff, a Phoenix attorney. Mr. Ladendorff's statement combines a fine sense of humor with a deep technical understanding. I commend it to my colleagues as a timely statement and include it in accordance with permission granted for publication as part of my remarks:

STATEMENT BY G. H. LADENDORF

Chairman ASPINALL, Mr. Secretary, members of the panel, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me to appear on this panel to discuss our mining laws and their administration.

You have already heard a discussion of the wilderness legislation pending in Congress. Personally, I would like to add a word of appreciation of those representatives in Congress who recognize the importance of the mining industry to the economy of the United States, and the need for the continued accessability to exploration and development of the mineral resources of the wilderness areas, in spite of heavy pressure to lock up the mineral resources of such areas.

In the area of administrative action, departmental decisions and other acts continue in the direction of altering and restricting long-established and judicially recognized rules relating to discovery, a subject which will be discussed by my colleague and good friend from Phoenix, Howard Twitty. In addition to this, the mining laws have been under attack from other quarters.

The past year has seen an unusual amount of activity in this field. For example, I am sure you are all aware of the introduction in the Senate of the United States of S. 3379 by Senator WILLIAMS of Delaware, by the provisions of which, among other things, there would be reserved to the United States all title in and to the surface of patented mining claims within national forests. Apparently the introduction of this bill was prompted by a report of the Comptroller General on the review of the administration by the Forest Service of mining claims located on national forest lands. No doubt there have been abuses of the mining laws arising out of misuse of mining claims, just as there have been abuses under the tax laws, the farm laws, and other laws, as witness the activities of one Billie Sol Estes. However, I submit that the remedy lies not in a drastic revision of the mining laws, but in better enforcement of existing laws.

The Comptroller General recites various alleged misuses of unpatented mining claims including the charge that in one instance a mining claim was used for the purpose of operating a house of ill repute, and according to a recent item in the press, Mr. SAYLOR, Representative from Pennsylvania, referred to the same matter. Now I suggest to you that this is a subject which is sure to make newspaper headlines, and to generate more emotion than reasonable inquiry. According to those headlines the claim allegedly so used, or rather misused, was situated in Arizona, so we in Arizona know something about this matter, although for my own part I hasten to state that any knowledge I have is based upon information and belief, and not upon personal knowledge, and I assert this position in spite of the fact that my travels to and from the offices of one of my clients take me right by the mining claim in question. In fairness to the mining industry, prospectors and mining claim locaters, and the governmental agencies involved, the Comptroller General, and Mr. SAYLOR, should have explained that many months ago the use of the unpatented mining claim in question for the purpose of operating a house of ill repute was enjoined by the appropriate county law enforcement officials, and, I am informed, the claim itself was adjudicated by action of the Department of the Interior as null and void for lack of discovery. It is evident that the land was used in a manner not intended by the mining laws, but there were ample remedies available and they were used. There is certainly no justification in this instance for any drastic changes in the mining laws.

In addition to the asserted misuse of mining claims, the Comptroller General, along with Senator WILLIAMS, asserts that many mining claims are patented for the timber resources, and that lack of rights-of-way across mining claims hinders effective administration of the national forests. As to the first charge, the figures cited by the Comptroller General in his report demonstrate that the amount of timber involved is insignificant when compared either with the total amount of timber being harvested in the United States or with the number of claims patented. If the claims in question were in fact valuable only for their timber resources, which is what the Comptroller General's report seems to imply, I repeat that the fault lies not in the provisions of the mining laws, but in their administration.

As to the second charge, I note that the Comptroller General's report is silent as to the difficulty experienced by mining claimants in securing access rights to mining claims across national forest lands, and his report deals only with the difficulty experienced by the Forest Service in securing rights-of-ways across unpatented mining claims. The mining industry is sensitive to the needs of other users of public lands and has repeatedly advocated the principle of multiple use. In the declaration of policy which I note from the program is to be presented to you for your consideration this morning, you will note the statement that the American Mining Congress supports the principle that the public domain should be put to as many compatible uses as its resources permit. The mining industry recognizes that there are problems, although I submit that they are not of the magnitude suggested by the Comptroller General or Senator Williams, and it is willing now, as it always has been, to cooperate in the solution of these problems. I think it is proper here to point out that it was the mining industry which led the way in passage of Public Law 167 and other multiple use legislation, and it was the mining industry which led the way in the present session of Congress in proposing legislation to meet the problems resulting from the location of mining claims on reserval minerals in urban areas.

With specific reference to Senator WILLIAMS' bill, it must be recognized that the right to the full use of the surface of mining claims is vital to the mining claimant, both before and after patent, as has been pointed out by the Mining Congress in connection with legislation proposed by Senator MORSE and others similar to the bill recently introduced by Senator WILLIAMS. As a matter of fact, in most cases the problem is not how much of the surface of a mining claim will be used, but the acquisition of additional land for dumping areas, talings ponds, and other uses relating to mining operations. S. 3379 must be opposed in the best interests of the mining industry.

Numerous other events of interest have occurred during the past year. One matter of considerable interest is the circulation by Mr. Karl Landstrom, Director of the Bureau of Land Management, of a proposed mining law revision act, and the introduction in Congress, by Congressman SAYLOR, of H.R. 12913, entitled a bill to modernize the mining laws of the United States, which is similar to Mr. Landstrom's draft. As you probably know, Mr. Landstrom's draft has been circulated to mining associations throughout the West for study and comment. As one who, along with a number of other interested persons, devoted much time to the drafting of a proposed exploration claims act which would permit the location of exploration claims, I am naturally quite pleased to note that the proposed legislation recognizes the need for such legislation by incorporating provisions for exploration claims. In an address at Denver, Colo., on March 17, 1962, to the Colorado Mining Association, Mr. Landstrom discussed the proposed mining law revision act, and particularly the provisions relating to exploration claims, and urged support of the measure. Quoted out of context, with respect to exploration claims Mr. Landstrom's remarks are encouraging. For example, he stated:

"May I assure you at once that I know of no one who is seriously advocating the complete elimination of the principles of the mining laws. But for many years many people including mining people themselves have said that the time has come for changes. A rather wide scope of ideas has been advanced and there seems to be a consensus that some modernization is necessary. The greatest need seems to be for some form of a temporary claim to protect the prospector for a time while seeking discovery of a valuable mineral. It is said that this would encourage prospecting by geological, geochemical, and geophysical means. Upon discovery of a valuable mineral, a conventional mining claim could then be located."

As I pointed out in my remarks to this group last year at Seattle, Mr. Landstrom had expressed an understanding of the need for prediscovery protection on previous occasions. This is, of course, comforting to those of us who have recognized the need for such legislation for some time and who have advocated adoption of appropriate legislation.

In one respect at least, however, remarks made by Mr. Landstrom in his speech to the Colorado Mining Association are disturbing. He pointed out that the court-made doctrine of pedis possessio associated with unpatented mining claims on public lands has served to protect the tenure of the prospector as against other prospectors while seeking to discover valuable minerals on a claim, but that the mere possession of land, in the absence of a discovery, vests no right against the United States. As a matter of fact, as has been pointed out repeatedly by persons discussing the subject, the real necessity for an exploration claims act is based upon the fact that the doctrine of pedis possessio is not adequate to protect persons seeking hidden ore bodies as against other prospectors. The mining laws and court decisions make it clear that prospectors have a right as against the United States to enter upon the public domain and prospect for minerals, with a further right to locate and hold mining claims, the validity of which claims shall be dependent upon the discovery of mineral. Were this the only consideration, I respectfully submit, with all due deference to the opinion held by Mr. Landstrom, that an Exploration Claims Act would not be necessary. On this occasion, as on other occasions, I do take and have taken issue with the position of Mr. Landstrom that it is improper to locate claims upon the public domain before a discovery is made, for this is a practice which has been followed with the approval of the courts for many, many years. I am pleased to note in the first few lines of H.R. 12913 language which I interpret to mean that the public domain will remain open to prospecting and location of mining claims.

As noted by Mr. Landstrom in his speech, by the provisions of a portion of the proposed Mining Law Revision Act, which are similar to provisions of Mr. SAYLOR's bill, a locator would be permitted to locate an exploration claim up to 160 acres on any land subject to location of mining claims and could locate or hold any number of exploration claims. However, the maximum area in which any one locator could have an interest in any one State could not exceed 5,120 acres at any one time. The locator or holder of an exploration claim would have the exclusive right to locate mining claims in the area covered by the exploration claim. Claims would have a maximum life of 5 years, under Mr. Landstrom's draft, and 2 years under H.R. 12913, with annual labor required at the rate of $10 per acre for the first 3 years and $30 per acre for the fourth and fifth years under Mr. Landstrom's draft, with a minimum annual labor requirement for exploration claims of $500 per year. In each case, failure to perform annual labor and file reports would result in forfeiture of the exploration claim.

In these and in other respects, the applicable provisions of the proposed Mining Law Revision Act and H.R. 12913 are similar to the provisions of the proposed Exploration Claims Act drafted by representatives of the mining industry. There are, of course, differences between the two drafts representing differences both in drafting and substance. For example, the Proposed Mining Law Revision Act and H.R. 12913 would require restoration of the surface upon expiration of the exploration claim, with authority in the Secretary of the Interior to require a bond, a requirement which could seriously impede exploration activities. These and other provisions of the Proposed Mining Law Revision Act and H.R. 12913, as far as they relate to exploration claims, present obstacles to full agreement between industry and the Department of the Interior, and Mr. SAYLOR, but it is a comfort to know that we are in accord on some points, at least.

The big obstacle, however, is not the provisions of the proposed mining law revision act and H.R. 12913 relating to prediscovery rights, but arises out of the fact that prediscovery rights are tied to proposed amendments of the mining law which affect basic concepts of the mining law, amendments which are not generally favored by the mining industry. I will not attempt here to fully explore each of the changes proposed by the Landstrom draft and H.R. 12913. I will say that study has been made of Mr. Landstrom's draft by numerous persons with whom I have discussed the subject and that there is agreement that some of the ideas contained in the draft merit study, while others are unacceptable. As a whole, it has always been my position (and in this I feel confident that I am in accord with the thinking of many others) that legislation providing for prediscovery protection is desirable only if it does not destroy the principles of our present laws. As stated in the statement of policy adopted by the American Mining Congress last year:

"In order to facilitate the discovery of deep lying orebodies, we favor legislation which will, without destroying the principle of our present mining laws, afford reasonable prediscovery protection to one who is in good faith engaged in seeking a discovery."

While the distinction between lode and placer claims and the corollary doctrine of extralateral rights may not be as important today as it once was, it is still an important aspect of the mining law, particularly in those areas where mineral discoveries may be made on the surface, and the elimination of these concepts will meet with strong opposition from many areas of the mining industry. I feel confident that the mining industry will cooperate with the Department of the Interior in seeking whatever legislative changes, if any, may be necessary to cure abuses, and I feel I can say that the mining industry will cooperate in making changes which may be necessary because of changing times. But beyond that it is clear that there will be strong opposition to basic changes in the mining law.

Accordingly, it is a matter of regret that the Department and Congressman SAYLOR have seen fit to tie their approval of the principle of prediscovery protection to other changes in the mining law which can hardly be expected to meet the approval of the mining industry.

## U.S. Power Versus Russian Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, now that Congress has given President Kennedy standby authority to call up reserves, we indicated by resolution our desire for an affirmative foreign policy in dealing with Cuba. It is appropriate to make a practical appraisal of our position as a world military power. The Blue Island Sun-Standard, an outstanding community paper in my district, presents a carefully drawn and sound comparison between the United States and Russian military positions and analyzes the September Reader's Digest article by Hanson Baldwin and I ask leave to insert it at this point.

U.S. POWER VERSUS RUSSIAN POWER

The Russians, contrary to a rather widely held belief and fear, are not 10 feet tall.

That is the important deduction that can be made from the recent revelations of the Civilian Space Agency concerning Russian failures in space explorations. Specifically, five attempts to reach distant planets proved futile. A sixth was only partially successful.

This knowledge was long kept confidential on security grounds—military intelligence authorities felt that its release might endanger our source of information concerning Soviet activities in the space race. An inevitable result was public pessimism, based on the idea that the Russians were far ahead and that all they had to do was select a target, take aim, press the button, and hit the bullseye every time. So, in early September, the decision was made to release facts the Space Agency possesses, without, of course, revealing the nature of the sensing and tracking devices that produced them.

This has a very vital bearing on our power vis-a-vis Soviet power. For outer space could, in the thinking of many scientists, become the science of future battles and conquests on which dominance of the world would depend. Moreover, there are top authorities who are convinced that in other areas of power—hard, cold military power—we are stronge as compared with the Soviets, than is generally understood.

The September Reader's Digest carries an impressive article by Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the New York Times and a Pulitzer Prize winner. Mr. Baldwin writes: "The United States—not Russia—is today the strongest military power in the world. The United States—not Russia—has been the strongest military power in the world all through the period of expanding Communist conquest since World War II. But, so far as halting Red inroads is concerned, this 'posture of strength' hasn't done us much good. The reason is that our political leaders and our diplomats have not—with some exceptions—used our military power skillfully and fully to bolster our policies."

Mr. Baldwin is not a saber rattler—he is not an advocate of aggression. He believes, however, that we must use our power "with absolute firmness in defense of the Western World and its allies."

He lists the varied sources of our power, and it is an encouraging one indeed. It begins

with our vast industrial and agricultural resources, on which everything depends. In the military sphere it includes absolute supremacy at sea, an edge in piloted aircraft, and, in his opinion, a nuclear advantage despite the Soviet achievements in this sphere. We not only have a much larger nuclear stockpile than Russia, but we have more varied nuclear devices. And we are ahead in missile development. Russia's advantage is in the size of her ground forces. Here, too, new weapons are providing a balance against sheer manpower.

Mr. Baldwin argues that we have temporized too often in the face of Russian threats and actions, thus letting her push and consolidate her gains; while, when we have held firm, the Soviets have backed down. But, he believes we have not held firm nearly often enough. He tells a story of indecision—in the crises of Laos, Cuba, and elsewhere. Brave words have not been implemented by actions.

So, as he sees it, there are four major policies which should govern our use of power. Summed up very briefly, these are: A willingness to use power to further our policies; to reward our friends and penalize our enemies; to decide, for ourselves, what are our vital interests and to act upon them, regardless of what such a body as the United Nations may decide; and, finally, flexibility and imaginativeness in the use of power. His conclusion: "The Communists must know with absolute certainty that aggression against our interests will cause immediate reactions harmful to them, in any one of a hundred ways. This use of power will not cause war. It is the surest way to prevent it. Lack of action in the face of Communist aggression can only doom us to defeat."

## Ayres "Harrises" the Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD an article which I believe should be of interest and concern to all of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

It is written in a humorous vein, yet it describes a most serious threat to the future of America, and to the political future of many Members of this body, regardless of their party affiliation.

The column, written by George Dixon, describes how COPE paid a large sum to a private organization to assess the congressional district of my good friend and colleague, BILL AYRES, of Ohio. Now, we all evaluate our districts, and expect our opponents to do so. However, the significant fact is that the report suggested that a fair campaign could not win for COPE and that trickery would have to be used.

This same organization polled my district. I have asked for a copy of their poll. I was refused. I wonder what trickery COPE recommended in my district? I wonder if they are suggesting that the people of my district must be fooled? Is this organization afraid to campaign with the facts? Are their positions those that must be advanced by stealth, chicanery, and political manipulation?

I urge my colleagues to read this article closely. You may be next to be "Harrised."

Text of the article is as follows:

WASHINGTON SCENE—AYRES HARRISES THE OPPOSITION

(By George Dixon)

In a manner which we can only describe as mysterious, Representative WILLIAM HANES AYRES, of Ohio, has come into possession of a field map on which are charted the pitfalls he should avoid in his campaign for reelection. The cartographer who unwittingly prepared this warning for the vehemently Republican Mr. AYRES is none other than President Kennedy's favorite polltaker.

JFK's personal opinion sampler, Louis Harris, was paid to prepare the chart by the AFL–CIO's Committee on Political Education. But COPE did not intend it to benefit Mr. AYRES. It spent the $5,000, or so, on behalf of Mr. AYRES' Democratic opponent, a University of Akron professor named Oliver Ocasek.

The poll was meant for the eyes of Professor Ocasek alone, but Representative AYRES has peculiar ways of getting things. Just one example: In 1956 he sauntered uninvited into a breakfast of Democratic leaders and got Averell Harriman, then a Democrat aspirant for President, to go on public record as hoping that Representative AYRES would be reelected.

The portion of the lost, strayed, or—or—misdelivered Harris poll that Representative AYRES is using to avoid pitfalls of the enemy's making is this:

"It is apparent that it is totally wrong strategy to attack AYRES frontally on his across-the-board record. In fact, if voters go to the polls weighing in their minds the question, 'Has Congressman AYRES done a good job or not?' the outcome can be foretold now. They will chorus back affirmatives. Rather, the tack against AYRES is to catch him on one, or at most two, major issues where he is not solid, and then equate his wrong position on these with the urgent need to replace him in Congress."

The two booby traps Harris recommended setting for AYRES were that he be thrown off guard, then suddenly asked to explain why he was against medicare and Federal aid to education.

The questions were hurled at him in Akron. Instead of going "Ah-ah-ah," as he admits he might have if he hadn't been forewarned, Representative AYRES replied blandly:

"Oh, yes those are the questions suggested on page 12 of the Harris poll. Well, everybody seems to agree that Federal aid to education is a bad deal for our area where schools have such fine homegrown financing; and it was President Kennedy's Democrats who really killed medicare."

Representative AYRES had another wellnigh incredible break when his professional opponent was asked about the Harris poll already in AYRES' possession.

"I haven't seen it yet," blurted Ocasek, obviously the most Harrised man in Akron.

AYRES subjected his rival to further Harrisment. Wearing a look of almost ineffable innocence, he assured groups of Akronites: "It's wonderful when your opposition warns you where the traps are hidden."

I asked Representative AYRES if he thought he could have avoided the snares without the Harris field map.

"I dunno," he said. "Some of the tactics urged by the President's man reminded me of Halloween—trick or treat."

I told Representative AYRES I had read in Newsweek magazine that Harris also hired out to Republican candidates who wanted their chances assayed. I asked him if he would have retained Harris if he'd thought of it, and gotton to him, first.

"I'm satisfied to have Harris work for the other side," he replied. "I could never have hired anybody to do such an objective job for me."

As I said in the beginning, Representative AYRES gets the strangest things. While I was with him, his secretary, Rita Baker, handed him a letter that had just come in the mail. It was a fundraising appeal from the Democratic campaign committee of adjacent Montgomery County, Md.

The envelope bore one of the new Robert A. Taft commemorative stamps.

## That Bad Old 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I believe Members will be interested in the following editorial from the Canton Repository of September 30:

THAT BAD OLD 87TH CONGRESS

As they say on television when something goes wrong, if you're not getting the picture of Congress that President Kennedy is talking about on the 1962 political stump, don't blame your own set.

The trouble is elsewhere, and it won't be cured by electing more Democrats to Congress.

It's in the upside-down-cake composition of the National Democratic Party, which cannot use the same party line in Mississippi that it uses in New York.

This inconsistency makes no sense to voters and no sense to candidates.

When the President takes a cue from Harry Truman's 1948 campaign and rants against the "bad old 87th Congress," he is asking people to forget that both the House and Senate are dominated by his own party.

Then when he takes a cue from Houdini and says the 87th Congress wasn't so bad after all—look what it has been doing lately—he is asking people to believe the political hand is quicker than the voter eye. What became of the dastardly Republicans all of a sudden?

The 87th Congress can't be both good and bad.

President Kennedy can't cozen people into thinking Congress could be made all good by electing more Democrats to the 88th Congress when the 87th Congress already had a two-thirds Democratic majority in the Senate and three-fifths majority in the House.

Partisan politics aside, where it won't really be at any point in the congressional campaign, Mr. Kennedy knows as well as anyone else what the problem is.

As head of the Democratic Party he cannot command a partisan majority in Congress because his party is split on the civil rights issue.

As Chief Executive of the United States he cannot command a bipartisan majority because he is unable to appear in a bipartisan role. The bipartisan personality that works so well for some lesser politicians and worked wonders for Dwight Eisenhower would be incongruous if John F. Kennedy tried it. He is a Democrat from the ground up. But he needs more than his partisanship.

So what is a poor confused voter to do when the political picture as presented by Mr. Kennedy gets blurred?

There is only one thing he can do.

That is to vote for the congressional candidates who most nearly satisfy him.

It never was the intent of the Constitution that congressional candidates should try to satisfy anyone else but voters in the congressional districts and the States—Senators to represent the interests of States, Representatives to speak for the people themselves. It is not their business to please Presidents.

Presidential interference in congressional elections has been resented oftener than it has been welcomed. In 1962 President Kennedy would do well to stay out of the campaign altogether. He has nothing to offer but confusion.

## Address of Theodore R. McKeldin at the Kiwanis Club of Baltimore City, Legion of Honor Breakfast, September 21, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, Socrates said that "it is the pleasure of the citizen to obey the laws." Since his day the duty of the citizen toward the state has been the subject of continuing debate. Many who have occupied places of power and responsibility can often speak with a knowledge of experience. Certainly no one is better qualified to do so than the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin. As a private citizen he has always been ready to bear his share as a leader and as a worker for the institutions of civilized society. As mayor of Baltimore and twice Governor of Maryland he rendered outstanding service to his city, State, and Nation.

Governor McKeldin has explored the subject of the duty of the citizen in a speech before the Kiwanis Club of Baltimore City Legion of Honor Breakfast in connection with the convention of the Capital District of Kiwanis.

Among the guests were Martin T. Wiegand, trustee of Kiwanis International, of Washington; Claude B. Hellmann, past president of Kiwanis International; Dr. William M. Eagles of Richmond, Va., governor of the Capital District of Kiwanis; Walter M. Daniels, past governor of the Capital District; Wilmer Carter, former State senator of Maryland and an active Kiwanian; and Edward M. Lockard, president of the Baltimore Kiwanis Club. Present were more than 800 Kiwanians of the Capital District which comprises Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia.

Governor McKeldin's remarks are appended:

When I reached the constitutional limit of my tenure as Governor of Maryland and became a private citizen again for the first time in 8 years, my thoughts turned to my new status and a number of questions occurred to me. One of these questions which came to my mind was, how private can or should an American citizen be today.

It is obvious that no one enjoys—or endures—absolute privacy, at least not since Robinson Crusoe was joined by the man Friday. Man is a social animal and as long as he lives in organized society he must needs come into contact with his neighbors and all contacts with others are public relations. By "privacy" I do not mean living like a hermit, but the status of a man who has no desire either to hold public office, or to wield political influence behind the scenes, but who admits an obligation to support law, order, and good government. How far does this obligation extend?

To give a final answer, conclusive and inclusive, to this question is plainly impossible because we are dealing with what the mathematicians call variables. Let x stand for the obligation of the citizen and y for the necessities of government and we can say that x equals y; but we are not much further along because y varies from time to time and from place to place, so x is rarely the same in two different cases.

For instance, Daniel Boone was an American citizen, and so are you. But to say that your duty toward the State and the Nation are identical with his would be nonsense. Boone received from government very little by comparison with what the typical citizen receives today, so he owed correspondingly less than you and I owe. Yet it is not uncommon to hear men talk today as if they had received nothing from civilized society except, perhaps, a rifle and an ax; therefore they owe it no obligation except, perhaps, to fight the Indians—it being understood, of course, that the Redskins are now the Reds.

Such people we recognize as extreme reactionaries and pay them little serious attention; but when the same kind of thinking appears in less exaggerated form it can be very deceptive. Most Americans assent to the dictum that it is a legitimate function of government to do for the people what they cannot do, or cannot do as well, for themselves; but on what the people can do for themselves there is a wide divergence of opinion.

To answer that question correctly is perhaps the most difficult feat of statecraft, because the correct answer is not based on principle, but on time and circumstance. With a pail and a spring nearby Daniel Boone could furnish his own water supply, but a member of the Kiwanis Club within the capital district cannot do so. Everyone understands that and to assure an ample supply of pure water is admitted to be one of the first duties of a city government. But with miles of empty land around him, Daniel Boone could give himself a job whenever he chose to work. You cannot say as much of a man in a modern city, but is it therefore the duty of the government to furnish him with work when he cannot find it for himself? Right there a difference of opinion arises, and sometimes arises to violence in its expression.

I shall make no attempt to answer the question, but I shall make this assertion: The correct answer depends on circumstances and not on any eternal principle. The correct answer may be either "yes" or "no," depending on the time, the place, and the situation. So it is with most of the other social and economic problems that beset us today. Try to solve them by formulas that were perfectly good in George Washington's time and you get the wrong answers. Try to solve them by formulas that logic indicates must be good 50 years hence, and still you get the wrong answers. You get the right answer only when you take into consideration all the changes that have occurred since the question last came up, and do not worry about those that may occur before it comes up again.

It is a curious fact that the one point on which the radical and reactionary agree is in denying this simple fact. They both say that to base important decisions on the facts as they exist is to repudiate principle and to become an opportunist. But the truth is that neither your mossbacked reactionary, nor your wildeyed radical has ever understood what a principle is. They are constantly mistaking what is transient policy for everlasting principle, and they oppose the most obviously necessary measures, the reactionary on the ground that they represent a plunge into socialism, the radical on the ground that they are a retreat toward fascism. But to do what is plainly necessary is not a principle, it is a policy applied in conformity to the principle that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

That statement by Abraham Lincoln embodies what is indeed a principle, the fundamental political principle from which most, if not all the others are derived. Self-government by freemen must survive, and whatever is necessary to assure its survival is the right thing to do. Perhaps, what is now necessary, would not have been the right thing when Lincoln was alive. Perhaps it will not be the right thing for Lincoln's successor to do a hundred years hence. But if it is necessary to preserve our free institutions, it is the right thing here and now and calling it names doesn't alter its nature.

If you call this liberalism, that is all right with me, and if you call it true conservatism, I shall not quarrel with the term. But to my own way of thinking it is nothing but realism. It is the fashion in these days to laugh at the old Latin tags, but they are still handy sometimes when one wishes to express an idea neatly. Tempora mutantur, wrote Holinshed—"the times change and we are changed with them." If we refuse to admit that we are changed, we are simply behind the times and are going to get run over by an advancing world.

This is true of everybody in the country, from the President of the United States down to the humblest citizen. In this respect there is no such thing as private life. It is all the same, we are all in it, and each one of us has a part to play. That is the meaning of self-government, or, as we usually put it, of the democratic system. Of that much I am definitely assured. In retiring from public office I was relieved of certain administrative duties, but not at all relieved of responsibility to think about government and to work for its improvement.

The question is, How much responsibility do I continue to bear, now that I am no longer in public office? There is an answer to this question, but not the precise and definite kind of answer that lawyers and businessmen like. The answer is, I have as much responsibility for good government as I am able to carry. But that obviously varies from man to man. It would be foolish for me to try to tell any one of you exactly what is your duty, when I have difficulty enough in figuring out my own.

But this much is certain: No man, except the downright mentally deficient, is too feeble to make an effort to find out what is really going on. Some men are easily deceived, but in most cases it is because they want to be deceived, not because they are incapable of telling truth from falsehood. They accept lying propaganda because it is too much trouble to search out the truth, and they feel no great obligation to know what is true regarding themselves as apart from public life, and exempt from its obligations.

The ancient Greeks had a better idea. The Athenian, for example, conceived that the

moment he stepped out of his front door he entered into public life. Their system, it is true, was a bad one and eventually collapsed from its internal weakness. But the weakness was not in this idea; it was in the assumption that every man in public life must act on his own instead of delegating his authority in order to increase efficiency. The basic idea, that public life begins whenever and wherever a man encounters his neighbor, was sound then, and it remains sound today. Family life was private. The way in which a man earned his daily bread was private, as long as it was honest. But whatever a man said or did in the street or in the marketplace was assumed to have some bearing on the welfare of the city, the polis, and therefore was, as we say in English, political. In the mind of the Athenian, holding office, or supporting some candidate for office, was a very small part of politics, for his whole life was politics except when he was within the walls of his own house.

Some of you may recoil from this as a retreat from liberty. We are so accustomed to thinking of politics as nothing but formal government that the suggestion that our whole lives are political is a nightmarish suggestion. It seems to imply the intrusion of the government into everything.

But the truth is the reverse. Ours is a representative democracy. The American citizen delegates his authority to agents, and he influences their course, not by direct action, but by the pressure of public opinion. Therefore for the agents, that is to say, the government, to interfere with and try to control opinion is intolerable. It is far worse in a representative than in a direct democracy, for the right to form and express our own opinions is the sole authority that we have retained. The American should resent and resist governmental efforts to control his thoughts even more vigorously than the Athenian, because thought-control would leave the American more completely stripped of power.

I maintain, therefore, that as the American realizes that all his contacts with his fellows are, in the legal phrase, "affected with a public interest," he will be more, not less determined to preserve his freedom of thought and expression, and liberty will rest on a sounder, not a shakier, foundation.

It seems clear to me, then, that in going, as we say, from public to private life I really did not go anywhere. I was relieved of the responsibility of saying whether a convicted murderer shall suffer death, or some lesser penalty, which is, I assure you, a great relief. I lost the right to take the salute of the Maryland National Guard, but it is not, after all, a very terrible loss. I can no longer, like Louis the XIVth, "make a hundred malcontents and one ingrate" by every appointment to office, but that is, on balance, not unfavorable.

But my responsibility to the State of Maryland and to the United States is not lessened by the weight of a feather. Just as much as ever I am bound to do my best to keep informed as to the conduct of public affairs, and to judge that conduct in the light of the present day, not by the glow of the splendors of the past, nor by the wavering and fitful gleam of an uncertain future. Just as much as ever I am under a solemn obligation to support men whom I believe to be honest, and to oppose those whom I believe to be rogues.

So I revert to my original thesis. I am not here to impart information, but merely to ask you, "How private can, or should, an American citizen be in the year 1962?" I leave the question for each of you to answer according to his own situation. But I am persuaded that to the extent that you find the right answer, just to that extent you, although you may be in what is called private life, will add to the safety and the honor and the glory of the country that we love.

## U.S. Cuban Performance Called "Profile in Indecision"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., September 30, 1962]

POINT OF VIEW—U.S. CUBAN PERFORMANCE CALLED "PROFILE IN INDECISION"

(By Clare Boothe Luce)

NEW YORK, September 29.—"The President feels that Cuba is a bone in his throat." So spoke one of President Kennedy's aids soon after the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs.

Since then the obstruction has become a large bone of national and international contention.

How did it get stuck there in the first place? How big, how dangerous is it? Can it be dislodged short of war?

The President naturally wants to keep these awkward questions out of this fall's congressional elections. But the failure to ask them and to answer them honestly is fraught with danger to the Nation.

Castro began as a bone in the throat of the Eisenhower administration 4 years ago. Two years later, Candidate Kennedy did his eloquent best to get Mr. Nixon to strangle on it. Picking the decline of American safety and prestige as his theme, Mr. Kennedy pointed to the rise of Castro as prime evidence that "our security and our leadership are both slipping away."

His Cuban policy was to "let the Cuban people know our determination that they will some day again be free * * *," to "let Castro know that we do not intend to be pushed around any longer * * *," to "let Mr. Khrushchev know that we are permitting no expansion of his foothold in our hemisphere * * *," and especially to "end the harassment * * * of liberty-loving anti-Castro forces in Cuba and in other lands."

"Thus far," Candidate Kennedy said, "these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government." And, "the way to put the ideals of the American Revolution into significance is to act on them, not to talk about them." "Hopefully," he said, "events may once again bring us an opportunity to (act) on behalf of the cause of freedom in Cuba."

Hopefully, events did bring the newly elected President this opportunity. In April 1961, President Kennedy authorized the Cuban invasion. But at the last and fateful hour he ordered withdrawal of decisive American air support, abandoning 1,400 "liberty-loving, anti-Castro fighters for freedom" to Castro's tanks, jails, and firing squads. His profile in courage suddenly turned into a profile in indecision.

At his nationally televised press conference on September 13, 1962, President Kennedy had no kind words for those who are saying today, as he himself so often did during the 1960 campaign, that the "bone" is plenty big and dangerous. "Rash talk is cheap," he said, "especially with those who do not have the responsibility (for decision)."

In 1960, addressing himself to the military aspect of the Cuban situation, Senator Kennedy said, "I think Castro is a source of maximum danger. * * * A Communist menace has been permitted to arise under our very noses, only 90 miles from our shores. * * * (Castro's) transformation of Cuba into a Communist base of operations * * * by jetplane, missile, or submarine * * * is an incredibly dangerous development." Thus, he warned, "the whole Western Hemisphere security system is drastically threatened."

But 2 years later, at his press conference, the President, referring again to Soviet shipments to Cuba, said that these "do not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere." He strongly denied that the Communist buildup is such as "to endanger or interfere with our security," or that Cuba is "an offensive military base of significant capacity."

In view of Candidate Kennedy's profound alarm about the military threat of Cuba in 1960, what are the facts which leave the President so relatively calm today about Castro's present military capacity?

Today, Castro's Cuba, still only 90 miles off our shores, has the second strongest ground army in our hemisphere. Estimated at 400,000 men, including militia, it has received, since the failure of the invasion, over $175 million in military aid and supplies from Communist-bloc countries. Communist-made jeeps, jets, tanks, radar and electronic equipment are almost daily arrivals in Cuban harbors. According to State Department and intelligence reports, 4,500 Russian soldiers, sailors and technicians are in Cuba helping Castro. They are training new pilots, ground crews and artillerymen.

Just last week Castro announced construction of a "fishing base" on the Cuban coast for use by the Russians. Sites for guided missiles and rockets, and bases for submarines and submarine detection are possible. Cuba will be capable of inflicting great damage on the U.S. naval installation at Guantanamo. And behind these beefed-up forces stands the military might of the U.S.S.R., openly pledged to support them, with its atomic power if necessary.

Whatever the military capacity of Cuba when Mr. Kennedy took office, it is now vastly greater.

In his September 12 press conference, Mr. Kennedy indicated that his hopes of a peaceful solution of the Castro problem lie partially in the deterioration of the Cuban political and economic situation. Dangling the prospect of a convenient collapse before this Nation's eyes, he said, "Castro (is) in trouble * * * his own followers are beginning to see that their revolution has been betrayed."

UNPOPULARITY UNQUESTIONED

What are the chances of a successful rebellion by Castro's disillusioned people? His unpopularity with a great section of his oppressed populace can no longer be questioned. The 1,200 captured in the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion and the thousands of political prisoners now rotting in Castro's jails certainly hate his guts.

But the unjailed remnants of the Cuban underground no longer have the means or the will to challenge the ruthless authority of Castro's Soviet-armed firing squads. Like the Hungarians before them, the Cuban people have learned the bitter lesson of resistance; that Soviet Russia will spring to the aid of Soviet dictators wherever they may be, but the United States will not always go to the aid of men fighting for their freedom.

Cuban radio and television are doing a typically crack Communist job on Cuban youth. The rising generation is being vigorously indoctrinated with antidemocratic, anti-American, and pro-Russian ideas. It is being taught to think of itself as the vanguard of the Communist liberation in our hemisphere.

President Kennedy assures the Nation that "in the last year Castro's regime has been increasingly isolated in this hemisphere. His name no longer inspires the same fear of

following in other Latin American countries."

BASE FOR SPIES

The bitter truth is that Cuba today is a far more effective base of Communist activity than it was 2 years ago. It is now a bustling, well-organized jumping-off point into all its neighboring countries for Spanish-speaking spies, provocateurs, propagandists, and secret military agents.

Radio Cuba tells their underprivileged masses throughout Latin America that their economic and political freedom depend on booting out all pro-American politicians, and elevating officials who stand ready to join the dynamic ranks of Communist republics. The United States, Radio Cuba claims, is lending billions of economic aid to its southern neighbors for one reason only: Fear of Khrushchev and Castro. American aid, it warns, will die on the vine the day Castro is defeated.

The argument is a powerful one. Probably all Latin American governments view Castro and communism at least in part as a dollar-generating program. It would explain why even pro-American leaders are reluctant to take action against him or against their own domestic Communists.

The rapidly growing forces of the Communist Left elsewhere in Latin America (especially in Haiti, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela), and the rise of new military dictatorships in Argentina and Peru, are tragic proof that the influence of Castro has not been politically isolated. Since the failure of the invasion, there has been a massive outflow of private Latin American capital into European countries. Today, South American entrepreneurs who might otherwise be investing in domestic enterprise are sending their capital to safety abroad, with a consequent weakening of the Latin American economy and a further drain on the Alliance for Progress funds.

IN HOCK TO MOSCOW

Time is running out in Latin America, and the cold war is still being lost there.

It is hard to see why the President and his advisers have constantly failed to understand that the same ideological, political and military necessities which make it essential for the United States to maintain Berlin as a "showcase of democracy" on Russia's borders, are operating today from Moscow, to maintain Cuba as a "showcase of communism" on our shores.

Today, Castro and his country are in total hock to Moscow. If Castro should balk at this, or in any other way become a liability or nuisance, the Kremlin will quickly dispose of him, and install a handpicked successor. Unless Russian power is evicted from Cuba, it is there to stay—and to grow.

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## Only the Brave Deserve the Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a statement by Robert Moses, president of the New York World's Fair 1964–65 Corp. Mr. Moses is one of the Nation's great citizens, who has dedicated nearly 50 years of his life to public service. These remarks, expressed in his inimitable way, will be of interest to all people who anticipate attending the fair:

ONLY THE BRAVE DESERVE THE FAIR

Simple Simon is the proverbial skeptic who demands at least a sample of the world's fair. At the moment, he gets his taste largely in the form of myriad manifestations of puzzling activity, such as plowed roadways, excavations, piles of concrete, stone, steel and forms, giant machinery crawling about, spelling confusion and discomfort to the passerby, and through communications in ink, over the air, on screen and poster, by sign, symbol, and throw-away.

The Federal-State arterial work at the fair is somewhat behind schedule and drastic steps will be taken if necessary to insure completion on time. There is also danger of delay in the design, construction, and equipment of exhibits, foreign and domestic, leading to congestion and high labor and material costs in the 6 months before the fair opens. It is difficult to make exhibitors understand the flight of time and the necessity of getting shovels into the ground this fall. These are hazards of all big construction, and builders, particularly those representing foreign countries, each on its own and not subject to central direction, are peculiarly subject to them. On the other hand, our executives, whose reports follow, are tough, experienced professionals. We look to them confidently for results.

As promised, we are trying honestly and with high purpose to avoid the vulgarity, lingo, and ballyhoo of the circus and carnival and the come-ons of the conventional shills, pitchmen and barkers; but a fair can be too sublimated to attract visitors, too intellectual for all but bluestockings, too noble for the earthy and too mature to be shared with junior members of the family. It must indeed have a worthy theme and central purpose but there must also be something exciting in it for everybody.

A fair is a fair is a fair. Local or global, its function is to enlighten, stimulate, and amuse. It marks red letter days on the calendars of millions, days of eager anticipation, prolonged enjoyment, and long remembrance. In these cold war times, all world's expositions have virtually the same theme—brotherhood to be realized through parliaments, congresses, conventions, convocations, meetings, and exchanges. We continue to pursue our theme "Peace through understanding." Our symbol, the huge stainless steel globe of earth with the continents raised, with orbits to emphasize our loneliness in space and with ingenious lighting to simulate motion, will soon make its appearance at the theme center.

We continue to emphasize that the fair especially belongs in New York in 1964, for in that year our town celebrates her 300th anniversary and descendants of the millions who have streamed through the gateway where the New Colossus lifts her lamp, will be reminded that she still sends her radiant beams across the broad Atlantic into the homes of the tired, poor, and oppressed of other lands.

In a recent interview recorded in Sports Illustrated Igor Ter-Ovanesyan, the Armenian broad jumper said:

"The 2 days at Stanford Stadium can never be forgotten. I have taken part twice in the Olympic games and I believe that I am speaking for all sportsmen when I say that this Russian-American competition embodied in itself, with particular force and expression, the Olympic ideal of friendship and honest struggle. We found ourselves equally able to be ferocious on the running track and friendly in everyday life."

We have drawn to Flushing Meadow and nearby parks in 1964 the American Olympic trials, further emphasizing our aim to create at the fair an Olympics of progress, an arena of friendly, healthy, free, international contests to which each nation, including our own, sends its best products without let or hindrance, minus diplomacy and protocal, and in an atmosphere of sportsmanship and rivalry where only merit counts. Friendships growing out of sports are proverbial. They are vital and uninhibited, defy ancient grudges, and confound the conventional practices of diplomacy. We believe that the Olympic games rules can be applied with equal success to commerce, the industries and arts at the fair. Surely it is worth trying, since other recent international gatherings have not been eminently satisfactory.

Perhaps, we reason, this Armenian lad may have something. He may even make the broadest jump any lad has ever ever made over oceans thus far too wide for leaping. He may have hit upon a great truth—that brotherhood and peace may be achieved, not by parliaments, charters, debates, and visions vouchsafed to evangelists, but by youth meeting youth in honest international competition.

To be sure, ribald characters have whispered to me that it is not nobility but beer that unifies the universe and makes all the world kin, and lewd fellows of the baser sort have insinuated that the unifying impulse is the caravan, camel, and tavern yarn which is the same in every tongue and clime. There is perhaps no better evidence of Eugene O'Neill's greatness as a dramatist than his depicting the two Polos, not as great Venetian merchants in velvet robes, but as a couple of plausible drummers peddling their way east to the great Wall of China with earthy mordacious jokes and the latest about the farmer's daughter.

I would not deprive such earthy people of their little jokes. You will remember Kipling's drummer who traveled incessantly and got nothing out of it.

> "For to admire an' for to see,
> For to be old this world so wide
> It never done no good to me
> But I can't drop it if I tried."

And his counterpart described, I believe by Thoreau, who circled the globe to count the cats in Madagascar.

As obvious and inescapable a theme as ours should be exempt from controversy, but nothing is in this vale of argument. The critics tried to puncture every theme trial balloon. The symbol donated by the United States Steel Corp. was roundly denounced as insulting to the national and international intelligence, uninspired, dated, trite, corny, ridiculous and in fact lousy. Aspirational, abstract symbols offered as substitutes were cavair to the general, wholly divorced from the vistas and surroundings of Flushing Meadow and, of course, without any accompanying evidence of financial support. The theory seemed to be that Flushing Meadow was inlaid with oil, uranium or gold. Ours is indeed a billion-dollar fair, counting all the investments in access, highways, parking, utilities, exhibit buildings and concessions, a tidy sum not be lightly increased.

Years ago Flushing Meadow was a typical Long Island tidal salt marsh. Tortuous streams flowed into it from a glacial terminal moraine. It became a big ash, garbage, and refuse dump on which that salient character, Fishhooks McCarthy, for years heaped the bed springs and offscourings of Brooklyn, under an unconscionable contract which enabled him to charge the city for short loads, and provided the scene of the most dramatic doings of Scott Fitzgerald's Great Gatsby. To establish values in condemnation, Fishhooks built the Corona golf course next to the dump, and there golf balls dropped 4 or 5 feet into subterranean hazards. Fishhooks' shards were eventually levelled and covered with a carpet of green. The old, dirty, anfractuous, meandering creek was contained and converted into a dignified stream burgeoning into what we call Meadow Lake.

We acquired a right of way for the Grand Central Parkway through the dump, and finally all of it as the site of the World's Fair of 1939–1940. Somewhat expanded, it is now the scene of another World's Fair. This meadow, with the bay, river, parkway and expressway systems, the lakes, trees and landscaping left over after 1940, constitute the framework within which the new fair had to be built. The reclamation of Fishhooks' Corona dump with its packsaddle rats and perpetual malodorous garbage fires spread to the polluted Flushing Bay and East River, to La Guardia Airport and to the Kissena Corridor leading to Cunningham Park, and the end is not yet. Two World's Fairs became an excuse for genuine neighborhood salvage. By such adventitious means, one generation repairs the errors of another.

Long Island meadows had great charm when there was no surrounding population and before they became dumps and were levelled, draglined and filled for roads, subdivision and whatnot. I recall representing Mayor La Guardia in the location, acquisition and reclamation of Idlewild, now elegantly y-clept the New York International Airport. The fiery Fiorello kept increasing its size until it reached 5,000 acres of land, meadow and land under water. At an inspection he asked me what the hydraulic sandfill was costing. I told him 70 million cubic yards cost 20 cents a yard, therefore $14 million. We explained that beach grass, planted by hand, followed to keep the sand from blowing away, and only then construction. The same fill would cost at least $35 million today.

The critics remind me of the building of the U.N. I was for my sins chairman of the coordinating committee. There were 17 members of the headquarters group, including assorted architect geniuses described by Governor Smith as "marvellous and from the Old World." On one occasion Le Corbusier, known as Corbu, made a bitter attack on Wallace Harrison, the chairman, because of the inadequacy of the 47th Street westerly approach which Corbu believed should have begun at Fifth Avenue. I told Corbu that neither the city nor the U.N. could afford an additional $35 million. He rose in wrath, shouted "Bah, money" and stalked out of the meeting.

Our directors know that the fair has no loose money for every fine purpose. The bankers and purchasers of notes watch the budget and so do foreign and domestic exhibitors and concessionaires who pay rental for space. I don't know how to satisfy the longing of the theoretical planners for the tabula rasa or clean slate on which they can do their integrated freehand, apply their talents and place their imprimatur. We serve no such ambitions at the fair. We aim not at the grand plan which will influence all architecture for generations, but at freedom of choice, variety, diversity, clash of ideas and competition of tastes, individual or corporate preferences. Of course, all exhibitors must live within the Flushing Meadow framework, even if it is in a sense a straight jacket. We control only ground coverage, height and setbacks.

You will recall that one of the most articulate of the advance guard urged us to house all industry in an immense, mile-round, 1,800-foot diameter, two-story doughnut, with a lake and little pleasure islands in the middle, the industries to pick a small or large site according to their means, with the fair initially financing this monstrosity. Obviously no major industry was interested and the fair had no funds. The industries wanted their own separate plots and went to work on their own individual ideas. The doughnut inventors quickly shifted their gears and decided to build what the clients wanted. It would be hard to find a greater contrast in style and purpose than between the doughnut and the reality.

The temptation to design a temporary fair pavilion from the outside in is almost irresistible. It facilitates early construction in the absence of carefully planned exhibits to be displayed inside. It hits the eye and produces startling results. You can hardly expect an artist to prepare orthodox specifications for a Turner or a mirage. When Kubla Khan decreed a stately pleasure dome at Xanadu, he was primarily concerned with the first impression of visitors. A mere wrapper was always referred to by Frank Lloyd Wright as "the box." These are considerations which make the fashioning of a fair fascinating.

We cannot prevent the maker of condiments from building his pavilion in the form of a pickle, or the business machine manufacturer from putting up a structure in the form of a huge typewriter or computer, or the brewer from preferring a bottling plant to a dance hall where happy couples consume beer to jazz or sweet music. We cannot tell the U.S.S.R. how to project their ruthless, corporate image. We do not propose to compete in the performing arts with the established, permanent centers, theaters, and museums in Manhatttan which have the experience and facilities to do these things better than we and which have agreed to organize special exhibits and events during the fair years. Under our partnership agreement with Lincoln Center, we shall advertise our wares together in order to persuade visitors to make their plans well in advance and to include the fair and the performing arts as primary objectives.

The sculptor or painter may offer his works to those who control 90 percent of the entire fair area. We have only a few small places in our hands where sculpture can be shown and we shall try to recognize fairly the principal schools. One sculptor selected by our advisers, agreed to submit something, lapsed into silence, and then asked a modest $10,000 to prepare a sketch and model. Apropos of the facades and outward appearances as distinguished from the contents of buildings, I recall Frank Lloyd Wright, in one of his more expansive moods, telling me that future generations would visit the Guggenheim Museum solely to see his building and that the abstract, nonobjective contents were of relatively small importance. Wright or wrong, time alone will tell.

I wish I could honestly say that all the imagination desired and all the talent needed are available to provide exhibits of extraordinary beauty and skill. Norman Bel Geddes, a genius of the last fair, is dead. So is Mike Todd. We simply do not have enough Disneys, Mielziners, and Oenslagers to convey by perspective, metaphor, originality, and quaint device the achievements and ambitions of governments, industries, science, health, welfare, and the pursuit of happiness.

Now that the delays are over and $17 million has been made available by Congress, we expect that the U.S. exhibit will be the focal point in the fair, the cynosure of all eyes, the epitome of what our democratic, free enterprise system means to the world. It is to be remembered that the U.S. exhibit in the 1939–40 fair was nothing to celebrate, measured by content and attendance. It was dull, tiresome, respectable and in the narrowest sense patriotic. There was no impact, nothing a President could be proud of on opening day. It was an opportunity muffed. At Seattle, on the other hand, the U.S. pavilion was striking architecturally and the scientific exhibit was tops. Flushing Meadow anticipates something even more impressive, something which, along with American industry, our States, the city of New York and superior entertainment, will fully meet the challenges of the Iron Curtain countries.

Industry indeed, including transportation, with some odd and notable exceptions such as railroads, oil, aluminum, and rubber which we cannot fully and satisfactorily explain, is putting its best foot forward. A few corporations have stayed out because their earnings have fallen off and stockholders object, or because those who sell advertising prefer it to exhibiting at the fair. The abstentions are not, however, at all discouraging. We have as yet no sponsor for the hall of man or health exhibit, and none for UNICEF or any other U.N. special agency, and none representing the growth of the law, or the age of the atom and space. We fully expect 70 million to pay to get in and if we are right, the drawing power of distinguished foreign pavilions and of our own buildings, exhibits and amusements will be little affected by a few absentees, no matter how regrettable. The finances of the fair are on a sound basis and all our efforts are directed to keep as our economic objective a substantial surplus at the end of the fair to repay city advances and complete Flushing Meadow Park.

Most of the foreign nations are coming in, either officially or through quasi-official business and other interests. We are not members of the Bureau of International Expositions, can't be without a treaty proposed by the President and approved by the Senate, and could not in any event subscribe to the peculiar rules of this curious organization. This has proven only a minor embarrassment, to the disappointment of the gloomy Gusses who prophesied that without the Bureau of International Expositions we would never get off the ground.

We are giving much time and sympathetic consideration to the problems of the new nations, particularly those in Africa and the East, which are enormously proud and ambitious, but have slender resources; are hard pressed to establish permanent governments and have comparatively small sums to spend on a remote fair. We point out to them that they cannot hope to rival the exhibits of General Motors, Ford, and other great corporations, but that small, exquisite shows of native agriculture, arts and industries and natural resources quickly attract the attention of intelligent people. The inventor of the proverbial best mouse trap is not obscure for long. Word gets around fast and the world beats a path to his door.

So far there has been no more and no less trouble at the fair than is to be expected in any large, widespread enterprise. From the standpoint of public works, the fair is neither as costly nor as complex as, for example, the Niagara and St. Lawrence international frontier power and interrelated improvement program, but it is fully as challenging. The fair, however, is a funny business if, indeed, it can be called a business at all. It involves a strange combination of engineering and showmanship. It is part theater, part traveling carnival, part insubstantial pageant and part permanent park. If we succeed, there will be enough left to pay all debts and to carry out the original park plans so far only in small measure realized.

In any big construction work, there comes a time when the calendar is all important. When I look at the calendar at the fair I am concerned because, among the many elements involved, there is as yet no sense of immediacy, too much complacency and too little impatience with lags. At this point management has to be frank about plausible excuses and smooth explanations and to accept no substitutes for performance.

Fushing Meadow will be to Queens and indeed to the entire greater city what Central Park, as envisioned by William Cullen Bryant and his followers, was to the old city of New York which today is merely the Borough of Manhattan. The fair and future park plans are always considered together.

Every utility which can serve both objectives is being made permanent or at least durable from the beginning. This opportunity constitutes at least one argument for putting park-minded men at the head of a fair.

You will agree, I know, that the fair has been free from petty politics and patronage. Our honorably chairmen, the three living ex-Presidents of the United States, and some 200 of you distinguished citizens who constitute our board of directors are watching our progress, I hope with approval. We shall continue to make accurate, honest current reports to you. Most of our work including policing and maintenance farmed out to private firms and consultants is moving along. Labor has pledged no strikes. We still have a very small staff and few committees. It seems to work.

The fair begins to have something of a family atmosphere. As a pleasant meeting place of officers and exhibitors and rendezvous for the entertainment of visiting VIP's, we are providing within an attractive restaurant a Terrace Club at the top of the Helicopter Tower just below the landing platform and overlooking the pageant of Flushing Meadow.

We have decide to put on "Eighty Days Around the World" at the theater at Jones Beach in the summer of 1963 as a prelude and then in 1964 as a branch of the fair. The world has indeed shrunk. It took one of Magellan's ships almost 3 years to sail around the globe. Some 90 years ago, Phileas Fogg and his valet, Passepartout, under the direction of Jules Verne, bet he could do it in 80 days by boldly and ingeniously catching every aavilable form of transpotration, and won. The big airlines can now make the round trip in 8 days and the astronauts in 80 minutes.

Our advance sales will begin shortly. Please tell all your friends to book a cruise to Flushing Meadow early to avoid the rush. Meanwhile if any part of the current progress report is obscure we shall be glad to elucidate. Please do not hesitate to question the management on any matter the directors believe will improve the fair.

ROBERT MOSES,
*President.*

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## Testimonial Dinner Tendered Comdr. Frank J. Zenzer, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at Glenside, Pa., on September 29, 1962

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to join in the fine testimonial dinner tendered to Comdr. Frank J. Zenzer, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, on September 29, 1962, at Glenside, Pa.

Frank J. Zenzer has the distinction of serving as department commander at the same time his wife Dorothy Zenzer is serving as the president of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Pennsylvania. The Veterans of Foreign Wars team of Frank and Dorothy Zenzer is making forward strides in carrying out the objectives of the VFW.

In my role as principal speaker at the testimonial dinner, it was my privilege to deliver the following address:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT A TESTIMONIAL DINNER TENDERED COMDR. FRANK J. ZENZER, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, CASA CONTI RESTAURANT, GLENSIDE, PA., SEPTEMBER 29, 1962

It is a privilege which I prize highly to join with you this evening in tendering a well-deserved tribute of esteem and gratitude to Department Commander Frank J. Zenzer for his achievements in behalf of an organization to which, as you know, I am deeply devoted.

Frank Zenzer's election as department commander reflected sincere appreciation for his years of dedicated service to the ideals and objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. It is an accepted fact that the success of any man is due in a large measure to the beneficial influence of some woman in his life, whether it is mother, wife, or some other loved one.

In this connection Frank's gracious and lovely wife, Dorothy, enjoys a share in his success in life. Serving as president of the Ladies Auxiliary, Dorothy Zenzer, with a warm sense of pride, shares in their achievements in behalf of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. It is pleasing to learn that next month a joint testimonial dinner will be held in tribute to this remarkable VFW husband-wife team of which we are so proud.

This evening, however, is Frank's night as we pay our tribute of respect and esteem in recognition for his many fine qualities of manhood and for his marked ability and inspiring leadership.

Frank J. Zenzer's greatest achievement of course was to marry Dorothy Krier, the daughter of Mrs. Frieda Krier and the late Headley Krier. Tonight we salute him for his advancement in organized veterandom to the position of Commander of the Pennsylvania Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

It is a gross understatement to say we are all mighty proud of Commander Frank Zenzer. Truly, he is a worthy successor to our able former Commander Johy Radko and other department commanders who preceded them.

In reviewing Frank Zenzer's VFW activities we are reminded that he served as Montgomery county council commander in 1950–51; he served two terms as 16th District commander from 1953 to 1955. He was chief of staff of the Department of Pennsylvania during 1960–61.

Last year he was elected department senior vice commander and also served as the department's membership chairman.

Frank was born in Glendive, Mont. Fortunately for Pennsylvania he came here as a boy, graduating from the senior high school in Abington, Pa., and the Temple University Teachers' College. While at Abington he was voted the outstanding athlete of the year.

During the war Frank served in the 88th Infantry Division and is a member of the 88th Infantry Division Association and the Military Order of the Cooties. He is employed as a supervisor in precision tools at the Standard Pressed Steel Co., in Jenkintown.

Frank's administrative ability and leadership qualities have been ably demonstrated. He organized the flag program at Freedom Foundation in Valley Forge. He served as Pennsylvania Department chairman of the bylaws and ritual committee, as chairman of the "Get Out the Vote" campaign, and he organized the Veteran's blood donor program.

He received the Legion of Honor Award from the Chapel of the Four Chaplains in Philadelphia. In addition he has also been the recipient of the VFW Citation and Award for Outstanding Leadership.

Commander Frank Zenzer represents the finest traditions of our great Republic. These traditions include sacrifice in behalf of country embracing service in its cause on foreign shores and in enemy waters during time of war. His devotion to rendering service to the veterans of its military and naval forces in time of peace and in the cold war had known no bounds.

As members of the VFW we are well aware of Frank Zenzer's zeal and devotion in advancing the best interest of our beloved organization. I am sure that you will not think that I am slighting such an outstanding American if on this occasion designed to honor him. I speak to you briefly of crucial matters affecting veterans and the entire Nation at this time.

When I had the great pleasure and honor of speaking to the Pennsylvania Department of the VFW last year and again this year, I said then in offering constructive criticism that it appeared to me as veterans we lacked the prestige we enjoyed some years ago. I pointed to the fact that the Department of Pennsylvania has seemed to have lost some of the influence and prestige it enjoyed in the past in the various national conventions.

For years the voice of the Department of Pennsylvania was heeded and respected in the affairs of the national organization. Today that voice is muffled to some extent and in such a degree that it demands our immediate attention. The Department of Pennsylvania cannot afford to be relegated to a minor role in directing the future of the VFW.

We can recapture our former prestige and abandon our second place role by a determined effort to regain our place of prominence in national VFW affairs. We owe it to the membership of the Department of Pennsylvania to become again the vital force we were as one of the outstanding State Departments of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. You will recall that I have warned on various occasions of the carefully planned efforts of antiveteran groups to destroy the veterans benefits program.

This sinister attack commands the utmost vigilance on our part if we hope to repel the antiveteran propaganda. Speaking of veterans benefits we are all gratified that increases in service-connected disability compensation rates have recently been approved by the Congress. The bill was signed by the President on September 7. But there is much, much more to be done.

As you know, I am in favor of a pension for the dwindling number of World War I veterans.

I said last year—and I must say to you this year—that this division within our own veteran ranks with some veterans organizations opposing such a pension adversely affects the position of veterans generally.

We are strong only when united and no group should be more aware of that basic bit of good sense than those who have had military training and experience. But the attacks on veterans benefits are not merely on an attempt to obtain a general pension for veterans of the First World War.

The Bradley Committee, headed by retired General of the Army Omar Bradley, recommended several years ago that the nonservice-connected benefits paid by the Veterans' Administration should be administered by the Social Security Administration. It further recommended that 10- and 20-percent disabilities should be "phased out" or in other words abolished by the payment of small lump sums.

Some metropolitan newspapers agreed with these positions. These recommendations and

proposals are still alive. I do not agree with them, and I doubt seriously whether you do.

But I have told you before and I tell you now that the attempt is still being made to destroy the veterans benefits program and with it the organized veteran community. It cannot be repeated often enough that the objective is to destroy our identity by simply having us absorbed by the social security system.

When—and if that day comes—there will be no nonservice benefits, no widow's benefits, no VA hospitals, no veterans' preference in public employment, and even service-connected disability compensation for disability ratings of less than 40 percent will be drawn from social security. This calamity for the veteran population of this country can be prevented if we make a determined and sustained effort to revive our enthusiasm for the veterans' cause.

The Members of the Congress have to be made aware of the grassroots support for the veterans' program. When the Members of the Congress overrode a Presidential veto in the thirties to pass the bonus bill no one in either the House or the Senate had any doubt of the fact that the veterans of this country were organized, unified, and enthusiastic. It is about time that we made sure that this were so again.

I am aware that it may be thought that dire pronouncements concerning the prospects of disaster to the veterans' benefits program reveal lack of understanding of current realities.

Well, I assert to you that on the contrary these warnings are conveyed to you by someone who ought to know what he is talking about as a past VFW department commander, as a past VFW commander in chief, as a veteran of the First and Second World Wars and the Korean conflict, and as a Member of Congress.

I assure you that the same opposition to veterans and veterans' benefits that produced the Economy Act of the early thirties, the recommendations of the Hoover Commissions of 1949 and 1955, and of the Bradley Commission of 1956 exists today. This organized opposition is powerful and will do everything in its power to reduce veterans' benefits, change their nature, minimize their coverage, and eliminate them entirely.

At the 37th annual Department Encampment I said that 42 of the 70 recommendations made by the Bradley Commission were detrimental to the interests of veterans. The Bradley Commission was typical of the kind of so-called factfinding and recommendation-making that has prevailed in the past and will continue in the future with renewed energy.

With the dangerous, critical military situation that now exists there will be—there is bound to be—a continuing need for large Active Duty Forces and a sizable Reserve, parts of which will be called up as warranted.

Therefore, the veteran population continues to grow. Unfortunately veterans' organizations do not continue to grow in proportion. There are 22 million veterans but only about 5 million of them are members of the Legion, the DAV, the Jewish War Veterans, the Catholic War Veterans, the Veterans of World War I, the Spanish-American War Veterans, the AMVETS, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Thus, 17 million veterans in this country are enjoying the benefits organized veterandom obtained for them without belonging to one of the various veterans' organizations. Lest our critics fall prey to the erroneous assumption that organized veterandom is concerned solely with the preservation of the veterans' benefits program, let me remind them in no uncertain terms that in peace as in war we stand ready to defend with all the energy we can muster our priceless and cherished American ideals of liberty and freedom.

Organized veterandom is united in its opposition to world communism. We defy the efforts of radical leftwing organizations who seek to coddle the twin international forces of evil represented by Soviet Russia and Red China. Therefore, we reject the freak form of so-called liberalism that advocates:

(1) Recognition by the United States of Red China and its admission to the United Nations.

(2) Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities or rendering it incapable of ferreting out subversive elements in our midst.

(3) We oppose their desire to abolish the Federal Bureau of Investigation because we regard FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as the greatest living exponent of redblooded Americanism.

(4) We oppose outlawing any reference to Almighty God in our public schools or in any other segment of American life including inscriptions on the coin or currency of the United States.

(5) We oppose forfeiting the sovereignty of these United States in exchange for "a mess of pottage" called world government as advocated by the so-called "world federalists."

(6) We oppose tinkering with the textbooks in our public schools to suit the fancy of radicals who would rewrite American history and degrade or distort the true meaning of the Constitution of the United States.

(7) We refuse to join radical forces in their efforts to repeal the Smith Act or the McCarran Act, both of which provide Government control over Communist-front groups in our midst.

(8) We refuse to approve the proposal of the radical leftwingers that nuclear testing by the United States be abandoned regardless of whether Soviet Russia agrees to do likewise.

(9) We refuse to agree to the leftwing opposition to loyalty tests, censorship of books, movies or other forms of communication. This means in plain language they do not want any protest against the spreading of Communist propaganda in any form.

(10) In their opposition to outlawing the Communist Party the leftwing group maintain the banning of Communist student organizations on the campuses of American Colleges.

The objectives of the radical organizations which I have enumerated give you a good idea of the great and constant menace we are confronted with in preserving American ideals. The parade of radical groups is headed by the American Civil Liberties Union and another group of fake liberals masquerading under the name of "Americans for Democratic Action."

The American Civil Liberties Union filed "a friend-of-the-court brief in the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., September 19, seeking to have the McCarran Act declared unconstitutional on the ground that its requirement that Communist-front groups register with the Government is a violation of the "due process" clause of the fifth amendment to the Constitution. The organizations whose appeals are pending are: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, United May Day Committee, and Jefferson School of Social Science.

The activities of these so-called "liberal" groups are revolting and disgusting to members of the VFW who succeeded in helping me to secure the permanent designation of May 1 as Loyalty Day through enactment of the resolution I introduced in Congress.

I have cited the attack on the veterans' benefits program and the activities of radical leftwing organizations as proof of the compelling problems organized veterandom faces in attaining its objectives of protecting and preserving American ideals. We are confronted with an almost superhuman task in meeting the challenge of socialist reformers who disguise themselves as liberals thereby perverting the true meaning of authentic liberalism.

Their determined desire is to replace the American system of free enterprise with their socialistic schemes designed to make all the so-called liberal "can be more destructment. Their freak brand of liberalism is being foisted on the American people. Their method of operation was exposed by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover when he warned that the so-called liberal "Can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem his cloak of respectability invites."

Are we in organized veterandom going to be content to sit idly by while these cunning, masquerading radicals continue their determined drive to replace the American form of government with their brand of socialism?

Finally, bear in mind the testimony in 1954 before the House Judiciary Committee by the legislative chairman of the New York Communist Party when he said, "The fundamental and long-range aim of the Communist Party of the United States is socialism. We state that and we state that very frankly."

In brief socialism is the back door to communism.

Today you hear little of active participation of the political scene of Norman Thomas and his Socialist Party in the United States. The reason is plainly evident because the radical posing as a liberal is accomplishing socialistic aims through other avenues and as FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said, "Under his cloak of respectability."

How can our veterans' groups meet the challenges hurled at the veteran population and the Nation as a whole? I repeat again, the recommendation that I have so often made in meeting such deadly attacks against veterans' organizations and their programs—I recommend increased membership.

There are approximately 15 million veterans in the United States who are eligible for membership in the VFW. You know what a small, terribly small, disgracefully small, proportion of that total potential membership we have in our great organization the Veterans of Foreign Wars. We want these veterans as comrades; we need them as comrades; we must have them as comrades. This is out task.

This is a task that requires the type of leadership that a man like Frank Zenzer, your new commander, is capable of providing. Membership drives cannot be conducted from the floor of Congress or the offices of the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate.

You may be sure, however, that, as in the past, wherever I am I will be following and supporting the efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to promote Americanism and resisting any and all attempts to destroy veterans' benefits.

In conclusion I wish to assure Commander Frank Zenzer on this joyous occasion that it has been a great pleasure to be able to attend this fine testimonial dinner. I know Frank that you and your wonderful wife, Dorothy, will treasure fond memories of the tribute tendered you this evening as one of the most able State commanders in the history of the Pennsylvania Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It is the sincere prayer of all of us, Frank, that God will keep you and Dorothy close to him and that He will continue to shower you with his choice blessings of good health, happiness, and a full measure of contentment.

## A Plan for Farm Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MORRIS K. UDALL**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that a large majority of the Members of Congress would like to see American agriculture return to a free enterprise basis with price supports, acreage limitations and farm subsidies eliminated. Most proposals of this nature have been based on the theory that farm freedom can be achieved only through a gradual reduction of price supports. I am convinced that political and practical considerations will never permit any gradual phasing out of our present system of complicated and costly farm controls. We have reached a point where only an immediate termination will do the job.

I think there is a way in which we can end these costly programs and at the same time cushion the changeover process. In my opinion most of these programs can be terminated at the end of the 1963 crop year. Free market conditions would immediately prevail, instead of phasing out price supports and acreage limitations I propose that farmers who receive price supports during 1963 be paid a declining gratuitous adjustment payment over the first 3 years of open market conditions which would start in 1964.

In order to stimulate discussion of this proposal I introduced, on September 26, H.R. 13240, which is based in part on suggestions made by Prof. Hendrik Houthakker. In connection with my bill I call my colleagues' attention to an article by Ben Cole in the Arizona Republic for September 29, 1962. The news item follows:

NEW FARM BILL OFFERED TO ELIMINATE SUPPORTS

(By Ben Cole)

WASHINGTON.—Representative MORRIS K. UDALL, Democrat, of Arizona, yesterday laid before his colleagues a startling new farm bill frankly designed to stir up the animals.

UDALL'S proposal contemplates getting the Federal Government clear out of agriculture in a 3-year period. To soften the jolt, he would pay the farmers outright gratuities during the transition.

The Congressman said he has been preaching the free enterprise approach to the farm problems. Now, he said, he hopes his bill will stir up some discussion.

UDALL won't even accept the term "subsidy" to apply to the money he would pay farmers over the 3 years from price support to free market. "I'd call it a gratuity, nothing more," he said.

"You can't have free enterprise and subsidy, too," UDALL declared.

The Arizona Congressman offered his bill in the twilight of the 87th Congress knowing full well the Agriculture Committee would never take it up so late in the session. But he plans to distribute copies of the measure far and wide, inviting comments.

UDALL would take price supports away from the farmers in three steps, a program similar to the TV commercial's suggestion for breaking the laxative habit.

The first year, he would pay farmers a gratuity equal to 75 percent of their 1963 support payments. The next year, they would get 50 percent; the third year, 25 percent. Then nothing.

Other gradual plans for ending price supports have been offered before, UDALL said. They usually envision reducing the parity level of price supports year by year. The first year, he said, the payments stay at 90 percent; then 85 percent, and so on.

"The trouble is, at the end of the first year Congress always seems to enact a new emergency extension of the high support level," he said.

UDALL said if he were to redraft his bill, he would add to it some restrictions on the proposed gratuities. For instance, he would limit payments to $25,000 to any one farmer. He also would bar payments to nonfarm operators, thereby forbidding payments to State prisons, automobile manufacturers, and others.

UDALL said his advocacy of getting the Government out of agriculture has met with general approval.

"A few people who profess to believe in free enterprise but don't want it when it's seriously proposed have taken out after me," he said with a chuckle.

## National Airlines Marks Fourth Anniversary of First U.S. Jet Flight, New York to Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 6, 1962*

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago—on December 10, 1958, at 9:30 in the morning, a giant Boeing 707 jet aircraft roared skyward from New York International Airport inaugurating domestic jet flight service in the United States.

That aircraft carried the blue star of National Airlines, the "Airline of the Stars," and winged south to its destination and home base of Miami, Fla.

Jet Flight No. 1, which was the plane's official designation, carried 111 passengers, 14,000 pieces of first-flight mail and 56 first-jet-flight air express shipments.

The flight was under the command of Capt. Roger B. Whitaker, pilot; with George E. Caviani, copilot, and Rozal "Roy" Strong, as flight engineer. The stewardesses on this historic flight to the Sunshine State were Esther Arango, Anita Philip, Lee Haddock, and Sally Brenner. It is a standing testimony that all of the crew members are still employees of National Airlines with the exception of Stewardess Brenner, and she only strayed far enough to marry a National captain.

Captains Whitaker and Caviani and Flight Engineer Strong are still flying DC–8's out of Miami, Fla. Stewardess Arango, who is married to Michael Daugherty, of Miami, works as a stewardess line supervisor. Stewardesses Haddock and Philip are with the line based at New York.

The passenger list of jet flight No. 1, which included a party of 60 persons going to colorful Tropical Park at Miami, contained the names of many distinguished newspaper, radio, television, racing and industry leaders and personages. These first jeter's were Harry Robinson, Mrs. Harry Robinson, Mrs. Herman E. Robinson, Gombos Zolton, Mrs. Lenke Billings, Thomas R. Lloyd, Paul Benson, Al Captstaff, Mrs. Captstaff, Harold Weissmann, Mrs. H. Weissman, Herb Kamm, Mrs. Herb Kamm, Bill Slocum, Milt Gross, Mrs. Milt Gross, Ted Smits, Mrs. Ted Smits, James Colt, Lou O'Neil, Robert Sylvester, Robert Clyton, Mike Lee, Saul Rosen, Frank Graham, Mrs. Frank Graham, Saul Silberman, R. B. Gautier, Joseph Weintraub, Mrs. Mel Robinson, Wm. C. Gaither, H. A. Johes, Clure Mosher, Charles Sheehan, Steve Ellis, Mrs. S. Ellis, John Kelly, Sr., Sonny Werblin, Phi Iselin, Mrs. Phil Iselin, Towsend B. Martin, J. Samuel Perlman, Dan Kelly, Mrs. Dan Kelly, Charles Sabatini, Mrs. Charles Sabatini, Mrs. Sonny Werblin, Joseph Tyroler, Mrs. J. Tyroler, Marshall Cassidy, James A. Barnes, Wesley H. Newhouse, James Edwards, Mrs. James Edwards, Frank Stevens, Robert Considine, Mrs. Robert Considine, J. J. Anderson, Mrs. J. J. Anderson, Richard Mulligan, C. Beard, R. J. Brown, Gasner, Gasner, Havas, C. Lewis, W. Carter, Irving Kahn, Chase, R. McKeken, J. Carter, S. Saffon, Harry Rudkin, M. Somach, Mrs. M. Somach, Hood Bassett, Mrs. H. Bassett, Howard Cummings, Mrs. H. Cummings, J. Brady, Mrs. J. Brady, Miss Hazel Kemp, Miss Ida Purcell, Mrs. I. Kahn, Russ Sabor, Warren Freeman, Carl Erbe, Mrs. Harry Rudkin, I. Coleman, A. Farr, R. Stritch, Dave Levenson, M. Clark, Ralph Wilson, B. Cotter, David Knopt, Thomson Schea, Mrs. T. Schea, B. Slutsky, Kenneth Strayer, John Fox, G. Haydu, J. Dunn, S. Connor, Mrs. S. Connor, C. Yeagen, Mrs. C. Yeagen, Rocchi, and Mrs. Rocchi.

National Airlines personnel took this first jet flight as simply another natural step in the progress of their company—for National is an airline of many outstanding firsts in the aviation industry.

Among these are such records as: First airline to fly four-engined aircraft between Miami and New York; first airline to fly nonstop schedules between Miami and New York; first airline to schedule nonstop flights between New York and Havana; first airline to equip its entire four-engined fleet with radar; first airline with DC–6's; first with scheduled nonstop flights between Florida and Houston; first with package vacations, both summer and winter; first with low-cost day and night coach service on the east coast; first with scheduled nonstop flights between Florida and California; first domestic trunkline to provide coach service to every city in its system.

National Airlines was born in St. Petersburg, Fla., when the airline was founded by G. T. "Ted" Baker with the award of a Government contract to fly the mails on a 146-mile route form St. Petersburg to Daytona Beach, via Tampa, Lakeland, and Orlando, in 1934. The entire fleet of the infant airline consisted of two 4-passenger Ryan monoplanes, the same type of plane that Colonel Lindbergh flew across the Atlantic. During the first year of operation, the

National Airlines System carried 387 paying passengers, 24,000 pounds of mail and 2,000 pounds of air express.

The small airline expanded rapidly. In 1936 the single-engine Ryans gave way to trimotored Stinsons, and in 1937 National purchased the first of three Lockheed Electras—high performance, 10-passenger, all-metal transports.

On July 8, 1937, National Airlines System became National Airlines, Inc., with incorporation under the laws of Florida. National Airlines is still a Florida corporation.

The route system was extended on July 15, 1937, to Miami from Tampa. In the following year, National was the successful bidder for the airmail route from Jacksonville to New Orleans, and in November 1938, inaugurated service on that route.

The U.S. Congress passed the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, which created the Civil Aeronautics Board, and in March 1939, National was issued its original certificate of convenience and necessity authorizing the carriage of mail, passengers, and property over its system.

The airline received the first of its 14-passenger Lockheed Lodestars in November 1940. During its delivery the plane set a transcontinental record of 9 hours and 29 minutes, which held for more than 15 years.

In 1944, the young airline moved into the bigtime with a CAB award of the route from Miami to New York via major east coast cities. It was at the same time that National extended south to Key West, Fla., the southernmost city in the continental United States.

The first scheduled nonstop flight between Miami and New York was made by National on February 14, 1946, in one of the airlines new DC–4's. This flight also established the overwater route that is still used today between these cities.

National moved its headquarters from St. Petersburg to Jacksonville, Fla., in 1940 and in mid-1946 established the main operating base and headquarters at their present location in Miami. It was during this year that National moved into foreign service with a route extension to Havana, Cuba, a flight that is unfortunately temporarily suspended at this time.

National Airlines placed the first all-new, postwar airplane, the DC–6, in service between Miami and New York, in July, 1947, and inaugurated all-cargo service with twin-engine C–46's in 1948.

The famed "millionaire's vacation on a piggy bank budget," National's summer package vacation plan, was launched in 1949 along with low-cost, air-coach service. This pioneering by National is credited with extending the vacation period of Florida to the full year's length, instead of just the winter season, and the success of the National Airlines campaign has contributed greatly to the stability of the Florida resort area.

National extended its potential passenger market in 1951 by means of several interchange agreements with American and Delta providing service between Miami, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, and Miami-Pittsburgh-Buffalo-Cleveland-Detroit. Another interchange agreement with Pan American and Panagra linked New York and Buenos Aires, by way of Washington and Miami, in 1955.

National was the first airline to operate a helicopter—the Sikorsky S–55. This service operated in 1954 and 1955 providing intercity service from Palm Beach to Key Largo, Fla. It proved to have a great public convenience, but had to be discontinued pending the development of a more economical type helicopter.

DC–6B's were added to National's fleet in 1952, DC–7's in 1954, and DC–7B's in 1957 along with the Super–H Constellation.

The first domestic jet flight came in 1958 with a Boeing 707 and prop-jet Lockheed Electras were added to the line 1959. These were modified into Super-Electra's II's in 1961. Currently, National services the Nation with Super–H Constellations, DC–7B's and DC–7's, DC–6B's and DC–6's, and the turbofan jet DC–8, which went on to the Florida-California run in 1961. This DC–8 is the type plane that holds worlds records for flying faster, farther and higher than any other commercial aircraft.

In Miami, a $1,500,000 executive and general office building has been erected on the NAL complex at Miami International Airport. Nearby is NAL's $2-million engine overhaul base and maintenance hanger, the first designed especially for jets. The National hangar, which is the largest span-cantilivered reinforced concrete building in the world, has won an honor award of the American Institute of Architects for its design.

The president and chief executive officer of National Airlines is dynamic L. B. Maytag, Jr. He is the former president and board chairman of Frontier Airlines.

Dudley Swim, a former Western Airlines director, with more than 25 years in the transportation field is chairman of the board of directors.

National Airlines now serves all three coasts of the Nation—the east, the west and the gulf coasts—flying to 40 cities in 15 States, and the District of Columbia.

National Airlines has long been a leader in domestic aviation. Florida is justly proud of "the Airline of the Stars" and salutes her as the fourth anniversary of domestic jet service approaches.

On January 1, 1963, this progressive airline will add another first to its long and impressive list when it becomes all jet-powered—marking it as the first domestic trunk in the United States to offer exclusive jet service to its customers.

## Christian Manhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CORINNE B. RILEY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mrs. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, there resides in my hometown of Sumter, S.C., as fine an example of young Christian manhood with whom it has ever been my pleasure to associate. I refer to Robert Clinton Richardson, better known to us and to the Yankee baseball team as Bobby Richardson.

I have the pleasure of submitting an article from Upward, which is a monthly magazine published by the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tenn., which recognition proves that his influence has reached far beyond the confines of his residential perimeter.

The article follows:

PRIDE OF SUMTER

(By Herbert E. Smith)

What normal American boy who plans a career in professional baseball does not dream of one day making Yankee Stadium in New York as a playing member of that famous team which has won so many world's championship titles? What would it be like to wear the Yankee uniform?

One such youngster, in 1953, cherished that ambition. He was Robert Clinton Richardson, at that time an 18-year-old high school graduate from Sumter, S.C.

Here is the way Bobby, as he is now known, has related his experience:

"I signed with the New York Yankees and reported to their farm club in Norfolk. I will never forget it. This was my first time away from home in a big city. The fact that I knew no one made me downhearted and lonely. About this time I received a letter from a former coach in which he quoted Matthew 6: 33, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."

That was all the lift this upstanding Baptist youth needed. As he had done back home, he attended church and Sunday school whenever he could. As he made new friends, he won the admiration and respect of his teammates, some of whom were rather rough and tough.

At the same time, Bobby was playing brilliant ball in the Norfolk Nine's infield. The Yankee organization, noting his excellent progress on the rookie's chart, began moving him up in the Yankee chain of farm teams. In his second year of pro baseball Bobby played with the Binghamton, N.Y., nine, achieving a batting average of .310 and a .970 fielding average.

Subsequent moves up the chain found Bobby at Denver, where he batted .296 and fielded .976; and, in his next year (1956) in the Mile High City of Colorado, batting .328 and turning in a remarkable .964 fielding average.

That did it. The next year Bobby Richardson was called up to New York from Denver, and the straight-living South Carolina youth became a regular in the Yankee lineup, playing at second base and leading off in the batting order. He has been a fixture in the Yankees' batting order to this day, wearing the numeral 1 on his uniform.

In the 1960 world series against the Pittsburgh Pirates, Bobby became one of only seven men to hit a grand slam home run in a world series game. He led the Yankees in hitting in that series and won a national sports magazine award for his outstanding play against the Pirates.

In the 1961 series against the Cincinnati Reds, Bobby again led all players in that world series in batting, despite the fact that among his teammates were such renowned heavy hitters as Roger Maris, Mickey Mantle, and Yogi Berra. Late in 1961 the National Association of American Sportswriters named Bobby as second baseman on their mythical All-Star Baseball Nine.

Naturally, the home folks down in Sumter are mighty proud of Bobby, and not only for his feats on the baseball diamond. The Yankee infielder is a leading citizen of the community. During the offseason Bobby

gives much of his time to the local YMCA, specializing as youth counselor. Recently, through his untiring efforts, Bobby was able to open the Y facilities to five outlying rural schools in Sumter County. He also made the contacts which enabled the local main branch of the YMCA to secure a much-needed bus.

Bobby is a longtime member of the Sumter First Baptist Church, where he not only attends regularly but participates actively.

Robert J. Vetter, general secretary of the Sumter YMCA, recently said, "Bobby is one of the finest Christian gentlemen I've ever met * * * [After] making good grades at all local school levels, Bobby now goes to Columbia Bible College at times to sit in on classes for his own personal education and spiritual enrichment."

"Baseball is a profession full of temptation," Bobby has written, "just as other professions, and it is a challenge to lead the Christian life; but a verse that has strengthened and challenged me, because I know to claim it means a completely surrendered life, is Galatians 2: 20: 'I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.'

"Thirteen years ago when I accepted Jesus Christ as my Seviour, I took John 3: 16 at its word. * * * It was a wonderful day that I made this decision. It matters not our profession or our field; the thing that counts for eternity is our personal relationship with the Lord Jesus Christ.

"I realize simply that it is God who has given me the ability, the opportunity, and certainly any supposed earthly glory that might come through playing ball. I enjoy the sport that I am in, but only because I feel that this is where God would have me serve Him."

Infielder Robert Clinton Richardson of the New York Yankees is a fine example for young men planning to enter pro baseball—or any other career.

## Salute to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Sophia on its 25th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Bayonne was recently honored by the visit of His Excellency the Most Reverend John Theodorovich, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States of America to the 25th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Sophia.

Mr. Speaker, Americans of Ukrainian Orthodox faith have made an immense contribution to the culture of this country. They, more than any others, are aware of the atheistic tyranny which has enslaved their ancestral homeland. By keeping alive the liturgy and devotion of their religion, they are contributing to the achievement of the goal of spiritual and religious freedom for all men.

I salute the Reverend Michael Zemlachenko and the faithful parishioners of St. Sophia on this, the anniversary of their founding day. I am confident that the Church of St. Sophia will continue to prosper and succeed in its task of carrying to the people of Bayonne the word of God.

Metropolitan John's salutation, the pastor's message, the dedication, and the chronological history of St. Sophia Church, contained in the 25th anniversary souvenir booklet, are fitting memorials for this happy anniversary and I request unanimous consent that they be inserted in the RECORD.

ST. SOPHIA UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH'S 25 YEARS JUBILEE

My Beloved in Christ: On occasion of the jubilee of your church, I send to you all my blessing and my best wishes.

I am happy that I shall be able to come to you and share in your joy, and ask the devine providence to keep you in its guidance and protection in the coming years.

On the day of your jubilee, Sunday, September 30, 1962, we will render our gratitude to our Eternal Father in Heaven, to His Son, and our leader to salvation, Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit for all the graces and benevolence we received in past years and will humbly solicit further help from above.

I pray to God to keep all of you in love and in unity and shall be happy to be with you on the day of your jubilee.

May the bounty of divine blessings abide with all of you forever.

With love,

Metropolitan JOHN.

BOUND BROOK, N.J., *September 30, 1962.*

PASTOR'S MESSAGE

Dear brethren and sisters in Christ, members of Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Sophia: With the mercy of God and with the blessing of the metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States of America John Theodorovich, I celebrate with you this great and joyful day, the 25th anniversary of our church.

I greet you, dear brethren and sisters, with the 25th anniversary. I greet you with high spiritual joyfulness. I rejoice with you with all my heart and thank God, by His grace I can take part in this celebration.

I pray to the Almighty God that the founders of this church will be kept in His care and those that have already departed from us may dwell in the courts of the righteous.

All of you, that are working today in the vineyard of Christ, I call to common work, and in the young generation to carry on the torch lit by their fathers and forefathers, which lights the way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

May God bless all of you.

Rev. MICHAEL ZEMLACHENKO,
*Pastor.*

SEPTEMBER 1962.

DEDICATION

It is with great honor that we celebrate our 25th anniversary. Twenty-five years ago, from very humble beginnings, a group of our forefathers met and decided to organize this new church. It took effort and sacrifice to accomplish what was done in so short a time.

It is not enough to just mention our founding fathers, as their wives worked along with them, too, in their own ways. It is to the sisterhood that we can be grateful for the beauty of our church, for they are the ones that furnish the altar cloths and make the many banquets, picnics, and affairs a financial success. The women are proud to credit all accomplishments to their men, but women, too, deserve a lot of credit for being active helpmates in this undertaking.

Although many of the founding fathers have since passed away, their work goes on, carried on by their sons and daughters. The fathers who have founded this church have seen their children pick up the reins of responsibility and take over the work they have done. This is a family church; our families go together to church, and both young and old have great pride in it and love for it.

We have looked back to the past many times, and often recall the good work that has been done by those before us, but now the time comes to look to the future, for we will know and remember who had been in the past, and who is here in the present, but the great question is—Who will be here in the future to continue nurturing our church's growth?

Therefore, we dedicate this Journal to the children and grandchildren of our church, and pray that they will not let this church expire, but will continue to care for it and love it and respect it as have those before them, and through their efforts make it continue to grow, so that the hopes, and dreams, and work, and sacrifice of our founding fathers shall not be in vain.

SHORT CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF ST. SOPHIA CHURCH

1937—September 13: Organizational meeting at Ukrainian National Home.

September 26: First liturgy celebrated, Very Rev. Vladimir Klodnycky as first priest and Prof. Joseph Bukata as choir director.

1938—March 27: Sisterhood formed. Peter Kudryk was first parish president.

1939—August 10: Lot purchased. Mr. George Boyko was president.

1940—May 25: Groundbreaking ceremonies and field mass. Plans drawn for erection of church.

1941—Construction of church began in spring. Ukrainian-American Holding Corp. formed to issue bonds for mortgage.

October 12: Cornerstone laying ceremonies.

1942—March 12: Church windows of stained glass installed, chairs purchased. Services held in new church regularly.

September 6: Fifth anniversary. Blessing of the church.

1943—July: Stage scenery made and painted; stage draw curtains installed.

1944—February: Church pews installed.

May 28: Altars, sanctuary, and oil paintings blessed.

September 3: Servicemen's Day. Memorial plaque installed.

1945—December 2: Blessing of the crystal chandeliers.

1946—July: Tiled walls installed in church hall.

November 17: Welcome-home celebration for returned servicemen.

1947—November 30: 10th anniversary. Burning of mortgage. Mr. Mykyta Pacholok was president.

1948—Founding fathers give leadership over to younger parishioners; continue only as advisers. Michael Ewasko was president.

1949—Church parish home purchased and furnished. Prof. Joseph Bukata left, Prof. Wasyl Meinyczuk succeeded him.

1950—Rev. Myron Pacholok, St. Sophia parishioner, was ordained as deacon on July 23, entered priesthood July 30 and served first holy liturgy at St. Sophia on August 6.

1951—Prof. Meinyczuk left, succeeded by Archdeacon Paul Pushkarenko.

1952—February 10: 15th anniversary. Parish home mortgage burned.

June: Reverend Klodnycky retired. Rev. Stephen P. Symchych became pastor. Sunday school organized. Mr. Michael Bilyk was president.

1953—November 22: Oil paintings blessed.

1954—Reverend Symchych returned to Canada; Rev. Nestor Stolarchuk served, and church publication "Our Orthodox Church" was begun. Lesh Hrynyk, president.

1955—Carpeting installed: Altar wall to wall; center aisle and side altars. Children's choir and catechism classes formed. Altar boy society formed.

1956—PTA of St. Sophia was organized. Mr. Michael Moroz was parish president.

1957—Installation of six peal chimes.

September 29: 20th anniversary.

1958—May 18: Chimes blessed. New electric wiring for church and parish home. Mr. Theodore Dowhan was president.

1959—Rev. Michael Zemlachenko takes place of transferred Reverend Stolarchuk. Boy Scouts, Troop 22 organized. Church hall redecorated, new stage curtain and window drapes installed. Altar spotlights were added.

1960—Church hall kitchen was remodeled and modernized completely.

1961—Church entrance doors replaced with bronze metal doors. M. Bilyk, president.

1962—February 18: Church doors blessed. Junior choir formed for high school age group and roof reshingled.

September 30: 25th anniversary: silver jubilee.

## Cuba Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARLETON J. KING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, the people of America are gravely concerned about the affairs in Cuba. While Congress did adopt a joint resolution last week expressing the determination of the United States with respect to this situation, many of us realize that the resolution did not begin to offer or provide adequate remedies to the critical dangers presented by the Soviet-Cuba military buildup.

One of the most thought-provoking statements I have read concerning the congressional resolution was written by Mr. LeClair Smith, of Plattsburgh, N.Y. Mr. Smith's article appeared in the Plattsburgh Press-Republican newspaper on September 27. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call this statement to the attention of my colleagues and hope they will take the time to read it:

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON CUBA CALLED INEFFECTIVE

(By LeClair Smith)

The joint resolution on the Cuban situation issued by Congress last week is a weak and ineffective instrument. It gives lipservice to the Monroe Doctrine, but in accepting the occupation of Cuba, which is in violation of that historic and meaningful declaration of U.S. policy, it proclaims to the consternation of thoughtful citizens and for all the world to observe its lack of enforcement by our Munich-oriented government.

Instead, it recognizes the buildup of a Soviet satellite 90 miles from our shores and takes the position that while the Soviet has taken over the island it must not go any farther; that the launching of any further aggressiveness from that area in the Western Hemisphere will be met with "whatever means will be necessary, including the use of arms" Bravo, mes amis.

How does one account for the inertia of the present administration? How would Teddy Roosevelt have reacted under these circumstances? Don't the Congress and the President and his advisers realize that thinking people are extremely alarmed and deeply worried with the realization that the Soviet has now established a foothold in this hemisphere? That a missile attack is now only seconds away? Can't they see that by accepting the status quo we have presented history with another Munich?

Our leaders in Washington ought to review a bit of history during the past quarter century. They might recall that in 1935 Mussolini invaded Ethiopia despite the vote of the League of Nations to impose sanctions which proved ineffective and that country was conquered by the use of air power and poisonous gas. Why wasn't Italy denied the use of the Suez Canal? They might recall that Germany commenced rearming in that year violating the Versailles Treaty and in the following year Hitler marched into the Rhineland also in violation of the Versailles Treaty. He gambled and won. They might recall that in 1938 he announced the annexation of Austria and that that was the year of the disastrous Munich pact. They might recall that was followed in quick succession by the fall of Czechoslovakia and the splitting up of Poland by Germany and Russia. Couldn't World War II have been prevented if there had been firm leadership and farsightedness in Geneva, London, and Paris?

Our Government is pursuing the same dilatory tactics, watching creeping communism until now it has reached Cuba. It seems to me that our Government was sorely lacking in courage and intelligence to meet this brazen move. Application of the Monroe Doctrine would have nipped it in the bud. The tragedy is that it's too late. We've given them their inch; soon they will be after their mile. A firm stand at the right time instead of watching developments would have had the approval of the country. Are they mice or men in Washington?

If only we had had somebody down there who had guts enough to tell Khrushchev to keep the hell out of there and stay out, we wouldn't be faced with this dilemma. We are in a critical period of our history and I for one am concerned. Our very survival is at stake.

Now that Congress has slapped Mr. K. on the wrist, what next?

## The Pomona Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, it is a very real privilege to me to have delivered to the office of each Member of the House a copy of "The Pomona Story," which presents the inspiring story of the plan for progress of Pomona, Calif.

The copies of "The Pomona Story" being distributed, together with a message of personal greetings, have been supplied through the good offices of the mayor of Pomona, Hon. James S. Baker. This feature on Pomona was included as a special supplement to the Los Angeles Times on September 24, 1962.

I know that each Member of the House will find this to be an interesting and informative presentation of the Pomona plan for progress, for it relates a story of how civic-minded and forward-looking citizens have made startling progress in revitalizing and beautifying their city.

Pomona is a community of 75,000 which is observing its 75th anniversary. It is a cultural and educational center as well as a city of fine homes and commerce. It is a community with a plan and many outstanding people who have worked hard toward carrying it out.

The heart of new Pomona is the mall, a nine-block long shopping center in the heart of the business district, featuring brilliant new stores and office buildings surrounding a landscaped mall on which shoppers can stroll amid fountains and statuary. The mall was financed entirely without Government assistance and is a tribute to what can be done by private initiative and free enterprise.

Other highlights of the Pomona plan for progress are a complete transportation center, a new regional civil center, modern highways, and industrial parks.

The Pomona story represents the fruits of the dedicated efforts of many citizens and groups and Pomona can be justly proud of the nationwide attention being given to their accomplishments.

It will be noted that the message accompanying the Pomona story contains an invitation to all Members of Congress to reflect on the Pomona plan for progress in connection with discussions with constituents on problems and needs arising in their respective districts across the Nation. I should like to second that invitation, for Pomona represents an outstanding example of what the people can do in their own behalf to improve their communities and enrich their lives.

## Employer of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Farkas, national president of the Paralyzed Veterans of America, Inc., at ceremonies recently held at the Wings Club, New York City, presented a scroll to John S. Woodbridge, Pan American comptroller, citing the airline's "outstanding record in the employment of paraplegics and other physically handicapped persons."

I commend to the Congress the following resolution adopted by this magnificent organization and the remarks of Mr. Woodbridge:

RESOLUTION

Whereas Pan American World Airways has consistently maintained an excellent record in the hiring of paraplegics and other physically disabled, without publicity or other exploitation; and

Whereas Pan American World Airways was the first, most prominent, and probably the only organization which sponsored a program of employing the physically disabled in other countries; and

Whereas Pan American World Airways has contributed more than any other single private organization to the rehabilitation of the disabled through its support and promotion of wheelchair sports: Be it therefore

*Resolved*, That the Paralyzed Veterans of America, in convention herein assembled, does hereby proclaim Pan American World Airways as its "Employer of the Year" for

1962 and directs that appropriate recognition, in the form of a plaque or scroll, be extended thereto.

PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA, INC.
JOHN J. FARKAS, *President.*
LEONARD KENNEDY,
*Employment Coordinator.*

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ACCEPTANCE OF CITATION BY JOHN S. WOODBRIDGE, COMPTROLLER, ON BEHALF OF PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS, INC.

Having been gravely wounded while serving with the French Blue Devils in World War I, I feel considerable comradeship with the Paralyzed Veterans of America, who are here honoring Pan American Airways for what it terms an "outstanding record in the employment of paraplegics and other physically handicapped persons."

A physically handicapped person seeking employ is frequently denied this privilege in the misguided belief that since there is physical failure there must also be a mental barrier; this translates into increasing reticence on the part of the man to display his ability. Nothing could be further from the truth, as Pan American has learned from the 500 disabled working for it throughout the world.

We do not have an employment policy that tells our industrial relations people—"Go hire the physically handicapped." Nor do we have a policy that forbids such employ, there being no barrier or restraint because of physical failure if it does not conflict with the type of work sought.

There is nothing glorious in a company compassionately condescending to employ this man, nothing super-Christian-like or noteworthy. The company is in all likelihood acquiring a relatively superior employee, neither restless nor desirous of frequent changes of employ, but stable and prepared to tend to his own knitting. His economic vulnerability still unfortunately is a factor, which should diminish and eventually disappear when this source of economic talent becomes better known throughout industry by acts and by word of mouth.

This man is not disconsolate and sorry for himself, but ready and willing to enter into the spirit of things. Some time ago, while I was watching a championship wheelchair basketball game between our Pan Am Jets and an equally colorful group of wheelchair stalwarts, a collision threw a couple of these warriors on the floor, where they continued the warfare, but in a far more personalized manner. I greeted our man next day with—"You big gorilla, I saw you fighting him all over the floor. Why didn't you kill him?" His instantaneous rejoinder, with his eyes rolling sanctimoniously upward, was—"Mr. Woodbridge, I wouldn't strike a cripple."

One hears, ad nauseum, pat phrases like "What guts." "What courage." "What will to live." That should all be taken for granted and one should start from there. Give this man the chance, the opportunity of employ, not stopping with superficial utterances of commiseration but translating belief in his ability into action, and we have benefited not only the man as well as our own United States of America, but, most of all, ourselves.

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## Peace Corps Does Fine Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Robert Ruark:

I MUST ADMIT PEACE CORPS HAS DONE FINE JOB

(By Robert Ruark)

I think one of the things the politicians might well leave alone is the Peace Corps. By all accounts, it's done a whale of a job.

Nobody was more dedicatedly against the Peace Corps when it was first announced than your correspondent. I smote it hip and thigh in at least a half dozen pieces.

MUCH PRAISE

There are still certain things about its burgeoning budget that might stand question. But largely, wherever I've been in the world, over the last 6 months, all I've heard is praise for the Peace Corps' solid, helpful work and generally fine projection of the best American image with the downtrods.

The Peace Corps kids have worked well at what it was announced they would accomplish—a better knowledge of the foreign lands and the natives of themselves, whilst bestowing some added know-how and inspiration to the local camel wahahs and yak tenders.

STOUT JOB

Apart from a few goofs, I'd say that Sargent Shriver, who labors under the handicap of being the President's brother-in-law, has done a stout job and should be commended.

He has certainly performed a noble feat of defending his baby from the professional wolves in Congress and the ravening bears, such as myself, of the typewriter pack.

There'll be enough political throats to cut this year, and I think the Peace Corps should be let alone. It's the only thing in the Kennedy administration so far that seems to have worked.

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## Brezhnev Fails To Win Yugoslavs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current interest in Yugoslavia and its relationship to the Soviet bloc, I am pleased by news that President Leonid Brezhnev has apparently failed to draw Yugoslavia back into the Soviet camp.

Yugoslavia's regime of national communism, although it is distasteful and foreign to countries which embrace free enterprise, is not imperialistic and expansive like the regimes headquartered in Moscow and Peiping. U.S. technical assistance to Yugoslavia has helped that country maintain its independence from Moscow. I am hopeful that even more Baltic and East European countries can be weaned away from their Soviet masters, for if we can encourage the natural trend toward nationalism in Communist nations to the point where their own nation's interest is paramount to the dictates of the Communist international conspiracy headed by the Soviet Union, we may see in our lifetime the termination of the Communist threat to freedom everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have an excellent article discussing Brezhnev's visit to Yugoslavia, written by Edward Crankshaw and printed in the Washington Post of September 30, 1962, inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MISSION REBOUNDS—BREZHNEV FAILS TO WIN YUGOSLAVS

(By Edward Crankshaw)

LONDON, September 29.—The visit of President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia started off with the air of a gentle honeymoon. Nothing about communism—simply the nominal head of the Soviet Union paying a state visit to the actual head of Yugoslavia.

Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev sent his greetings, but as Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., not as first Secretary of the Communist Party. The general object of the exercise was to seal the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union that was inaugurated by Khrushchev in 1955.

On the Russian side, the object was to persuade the Yugoslavs to aline themselves more completely with Soviet foreign policies. Yugoslavia stood well with the neutralists, and where Tito went, others might go too.

On the Yugoslav side, there was the matter of Soviet assistance in the business of underpinning a very shaky economy.

The most that was expected from President Brezhnev's public utterances was a string of encouraging platitudes, invoking the might of the popular forces working for peace, not only in the Socialist camp, but also among the uncommitted nations.

YUGOSLAVS STARTLED

Instead, Brezhnev startled his Yugoslav hosts on Thursday by launching into a tirade against American militarism, against West German fascism and against the Common Market seen as the economic base for predatory imperialism. The Berlin affair was presented as a major crisis; the Cuban affair as a potential casus belli.

The Yugoslavs listened in shattered silence—and changed the subject. They need the sympathy of Western Europe and America, and are by no means in love with the Russians.

But what was Brezhnev up to in making these remarks?

The answer may be comparatively straightforward. Brezhnev, unused to speaking to foreigners, blissfully unaware of Yugoslav feelings about Russia, monumentally tactless even by Russian standards, may have been irritated by the Yugoslav Government's caginess, its reluctance to underwrite Soviet policies everywhere, and allowed himself to be needled into an indiscretion.

Perhaps he thought that if Tito was going to be difficult, he could appeal to the Yugoslav people over the head of Tito and elicit resounding applause with his remarks about Cuba and Berlin. But if he thought this, he was wrong; and he will sooner or later pay for his mistake. The damage he has done to Soviet-Yugoslav relations is severe.

Or Brezhnev might have thought that in demonstrating his solidarity with Yugoslavia, in face of bitter Chinese criticism, he had gone far enough, and that it was time to show that Moscow was by no means second to Peking in its hostility to American "imperialism." If this was so, he chose the wrong platform.

The only other explanations are that Brezhnev, on his friendship mission to Belgrade, found himself caught up in a major policy switch—or that he is pursuing a line opposed to the Khrushchev line.

PRESENT POLICY STABLE

These seem improbable. Soviet policy at the moment seems to be fairly steady. Khrushchev has been determinedly pursuing his self-appointed task of raising morale among the satellites by allowing them a good deal

of latitude, and at the same time wooing the neutralists by sweet reason.

At the same time, the Sino-Soviet quarrel has been boiling up again. When it was announced that the Soviet President would be paying a formal visit to Belgrade, the Chinese could only take this as a deliberate snub.

The Peking newspapers have continued attacking Khrushchev's policies by invoking the historic enemies of Leninism, and what they stood for, and the present attitudes of Belgrade.

But suddenly the President of the Soviet Union turns around and starts talking to the Yugoslavs as though they were 100 percent Peking-groupers.

It is a nice little problem. It may simply be that Soviet foreign policy at the moment is as confused and muddled as Soviet domestic economic policy under the strain of the cold war, or American policy under the impact of Cuba. But it is a bad moment for confusion.

## Investments Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, while the United States is pouring out billions of dollars of the taxpayers money in foreign aid and in the Alliance for Progress, we have encouraged private business to invest in many of these countries. But what protection have we given these investors. None.

Only recently, Venezuela confiscated plants and property whose estimated value is $20 million and is owned by the Chemical Natural Resources, Inc., of New York City. This corporation was invited into Venezuela and now finds, after performing their mission for the people of that country, that their properties are to be taken from them.

I cannot understand how we can keep on doling out the taxpayers' money with one hand and permitting American investors to lose their money on the other hand. It certainly seems to me that our State Department should take every step necessary to have these properties restored to their rightful owners, or that proper compensation be made.

Permit me to include herewith some correspondence which tells only too well the grim story involved:

CHEMICAL NATURAL RESOURCES, INC.,
*New York, N.Y., September 19, 1962.*

*To the Stockholders of Chemical Natural Resources, Inc.:*

The past year was mainly occupied negotiating with the Venezuelan Government for a contract for the purchase of electric power to be produced by means of the superheated natural stream, which was discovered by your company on its concessions. During this period there were many different propositions discussed but none were finally resolved. In addition, the roads that had been built by us were maintained, and an office building with large living quarters was completed.

The negotiations, which had been carried on with the Ministry of Mines and Hydrocarbons for the past 3 years, were ended when your company received a proposal from the Venezuelan Government for a short-term contract with conditions which were confiscatory. This last proposition was given on a "take it or leave it" basis by the Venezuelan Government.

In order that all might better understand, a short review is given.

Your company began active exploration in 1952 in northeastern Venezuela. It was necessary at the inception to build many miles of work roads through heavy jungle terrain in order to make the concessions' area accessible. After this 2 years' work of road construction and exploration, drilling equipment was moved in so that further studies could be made at depth.

It was during this drilling phase that the superheated natural steam was discovered in 1955. This steam could be utilized for generating electricity, as well as being rich in minerals, such as sulfur, ammonia, and other elements, which could be extracted. This same type of phenomenon is already so utilized in Italy, New Zealand, and more recently in California.

The source of this superheated steam according to scientists is from the molten magma at the center of the earth, which is constantly subject to great pressure on account of the thickening of the earth's crust, which forces the steam up from the magma toward the surface of the earth. This source of steam, according to scientists, is therefore inexhaustible because the earth's crust always continues to thicken. In this respect it is quite different from other sources of energy, such as petroleum, whose reserves are very limited in comparison to this newly discovered source of geothermal energy.

This natural steam according to scientists had lain below the earth's surface in the jungles for more than 20,000 years until it was discovered by your company while drilling. The existence of it was never known until our discovery of it in 1955.

From 1955 through 1959 intensive studies of this newly discovered phenomenon were continued by the most eminent scientists.

A contract was made between your subsidiary company and the Venezuelan Government in April 1959 for the purchase of electricity to be produced from this superheated steam on your concessions.

Without notice on August 28, 1959, the Venezuelan Government nationalized or expropriated this steam on our concessions. The best legal opinions in Caracas held that such nationalization was an illegal act.

Shortly after this nationalization the contract between your subsidiary company and the Venezuelan Government for the purchase of electric power was unilaterally canceled on September 7, 1959, by the Venezuelan Government.

Our Caracas attorneys then advised there were two alternatives available to us, either sue for the recovery of our property rights including the steam, or try to work out some agreement with the Venezuelan Government.

The second alternative was attempted. However, after negotiating in good faith on our part for 3 years, the final proposition offered by the Ministry of Mines was unacceptable.

The Minister of Mines and Hydrocarbons, Juan Pablo Perez Alfonzo, then tried to justify this illegal act of expropriation by just stating your company had no rights to the steam it had discovered on its concessions, although previously even he had admitted there was a legal question involved. His statement cannot be supported by any scientific or legal opinions, but only by his own.

The Minister of Mines, Juan Pablo Perez Alfonzo, stated to the press regarding this act of expropriation "it is so minor we are not even bothering with it." This is indicative of his attitude toward American investments in Venezuela.

Our Caracas attorneys are now preparing a suit to recover the large damages that you have sustained. They stated that the chances of recovery are very good.

It is now necessary for every stockholder to help by advising his Congressman and his Senators of this illegal act of expropriation by which you have suffered great losses.

With such treatment accorded to U.S. investors in Venezuela, and taxpayers here, there should be no more aid or loans, directly or indirectly, to Venezuela, until you are adequately and promptly paid for the damages you have suffered.

You should make these demands immediately and vigorously to your Congressmen and Senators, relating how you were making an effort to help the economy of Venezuela with private funds and how your company worked during the past 11 years in Venezuela toward that goal. After discovering the most important natural resource, since petroleum, in that country, and when we were about to convert it to a profitable enterprise the Venezuelan Government expropriated it without any compensation.

Every lending or aid agency, which receives anything, directly or indirectly from U.S. taxpayers, should take official notice of this illegal treatment to you by the Venezuelan Government, and should place all pending applications for loans, aid, etc., direct or indirect, for Venezuela in abeyance until you have been properly compensated.

Sincerely yours,
CHEMICAL NATURAL RESOURCES, INC.,
BENJAMIN S. DOWD, *President.*

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[From the New York Times, Sept. 11, 1962]

U.S.-OWNED SULFUR COMPANY CHARGES CARACAS EXPROPRIATION

CARACAS, VENEZUELA, September 10.—An American-owned sulfur company today accused the Venezuelan Government of expropriating its property and announced that it would make a claim for more than $20 million.

Benjamin S. Dowd, president of the Venezuelan Sulphur Corp., a subsidiary of Chemical Natural Resources, New York City, said the Ministry of Mines and Hydrocarbons took the confiscatory action. Mr. Dowd said the action came after 3 years of negotiations for development of electricity from underground steam deposits 15 miles south of Carupano on the Caribbean coast.

Mr. Dowd, former industrialist from Wilkes Barre, Pa., said the company accidentally discovered huge steam supplies in 1955 while looking for minerals. He said that despite a nationalization move in 1959, the Government agreed to grant a concession and buy power from the company, but that five separate contracts had fallen through.

Mr. Dowd said the latest Government offer came on a take-it-or-leave-it basis with a "ridiculous" price for the purchase of electricity. He said the price would make it impossible for the company to recover on its investment.

Claims, he said, will include nearly $5 million for facilities already constructed, losses on the New York stock market and costs of multimillion dollar loans made on the basis of previous contracts.

He said major stockholders included John D. MacArthur, chairman of Bankers Life & Casualty Co., Chicago; Vincent Fitzgerald, New York banker; Ralph Stolkin, Chicago and Los Angeles financier; Harry Watkins, vice president of the Bankers Trust Co., New York; Frederick Limback, a Grosse Point, Mich., financier; and Dante Broggi, director of the American Meter Co., New York.

# Appendix

## Award to Senator Dirksen by American Hellenic Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JACOB K. JAVITS**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the influence of Greek history and philosophy on America's Founding Fathers is reflected in numerous aspects of our Government and our national civilization. These bonds have been reinforced over the generations by ties of blood—Americans of Greek origin have made most substantial contributions to our culture and economy.

Their national federation, the American Hellenic Congress, each year presents an award to an outstanding American, and at its meeting in September, the award was presented to my colleague, Senator DIRKSEN. The chairman of the American Hellenic Congress, Dean Alfange, who is also a well-known New Yorker, was unable to attend that presentation because of certain responsibilities as a lawyer. I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the telegram he sent on September 26 which was read at the session of the American Hellenic Congress as well as the letter of tribute he sent to Senator DIRKSEN on the same day.

There being no objection, the telegram and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALFANGE & FRIEDMAN,
*New York City, September 26, 1962.*

Mr. PETER CHUMBRIS,
Care of Hon. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN,
*Minority Leader's Office,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

Regret unable attend presentation American Hellenic Congress Award to Senator DIRKSEN. The American tradition is steeped in American Hellenic roots and Senator DIRKSEN'S awareness of this fact has contributed to his preeminence as a true champion of human liberty.

DEAN ALFANGE,
*Chairman,*
*American Hellenic Congress.*

AMERICAN HELLENIC CONGRESS,
*September 26, 1962.*

Hon. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN,
*Minority Leader's Office,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR DIRKSEN: I regret that the trial of a case prevented me from attending the presentation to you of the American Hellenic Congress Award. I am enclosing a copy of the telegram I sent to be read on that occasion.

During the Versailles Peace Conference when Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos was demanding vast territories be annexed to Greece on the ground that they were inhabited by Greeks, Woodrow Wilson asked him to define the word "Greek." Venizelos replied: "Anyone is a Greek who thinks like a Greek." The Greeks have always thought in terms of the individual and the obligation of society to afford him the opportunity to become his best. In that sense you might rightly be called an American of Hellenic background and the American Hellenic Congress is proud to salute you for your support of this great Hellenic ideal which is the basis of our American way of life.

I have asked my friend, JACOB JAVITS, the senior Senator of my State, to insert this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to commemorate this occasion.

Sincerely,

DEAN ALFANGE,
*Chairman.*

## Verdict for New England on Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS J. LANE**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following most enlightening editorial on the New England case against residual oil quotas, a matter which has and will continue to receive my active interest. The editorial appeared in the October 1, 1962, issue of the Boston Herald:

VERDICT FOR NEW ENGLAND ON OIL

A "jury" of experts has looked into the national fuels problem and rendered a verdict for New England on residual oil.

Its findings are definitive. There no longer exists any color of justification for import quotas. The administration must now restore to New England—and the rest of the east coast—the freedom to buy the fuels best suited to its needs at freely competitive prices.

The soft coal industry has lost its arguments for the limitation of residual oil use.

The findings come from a National Fuels and Energy Study Group, set up by the Senate Interior Committee to gather all available information, study it, and assess its worth. In carrying out their assignment, the members of the study group "found ourselves continuously dismayed to learn how little positive information exists, how much is impression and folklore." What they have recorded in the 499 pages of their report, with statements by the various industries, represents the most enlightened thinking on the subject today.

So how do the arguments of the coal industry shape up in this light?

The coal industry argued that the country's fuel resources were in danger of running low—with the exception of coal. The study group found that, given adequate incentives, there need be no shortage of fuels or of any particular fuel during the foreseeable future in either peace or war.

The coal industry argued that there should be federally imposed end-use controls on fuels, that Congress should allocate coal, oil, electricity, gas, atomic energy to consumers according to some calculation of the need of conservation. The study group found no need for end-use control.

The coal industry laid unemployment in the mines to the competition of other fuels. The study group found that two-thirds of the decline in employment came from improved efficiency in production, and only a third from loss of markets.

The coal industry contended that unemployment could not be remedied by any other means than restrictions on competing fuels. The study group predicts that the demand for coal will increase naturally as fast as the general increase in fuel consumption.

The coal industry insisted that residual oil imports were a substantial cause for unemployment in the coalfields. The study group found that restrictions on imports cannot lead to a significant increase in coal mine employment.

These findings are generally in line with the results of eminent research by the New England Council and the Federal Reserve Bank, which have furnished the New England delegation in Congress—and us—with much of the material to buttress the New England case against residual oil quotas.

If New England has not won the case, it will be because influence other than facts are brought to bear.

## Questioning the Candidate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALEXANDER WILEY**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for the 1962 political campaign the citizens of America, including Mr. and Mrs. Wisconsin, deserve, I believe, truthful, objective discussions of the major issues confronting us.

The times, in my judgment, are too critical for distortions, half-truths, and misimpressions of the record.

Currently, I am participating in a question-and-answer series over radio station WEMP, Milwaukee, in discussions of the major challenges. I ask unanimous consent to have a series of these statements printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator WILEY, what in your opinion are the most important issues facing the United States today, domestically and internationally?

Answer: As citizens, as a State, and as a Nation, we face many great, complex challenges on wide-range fronts—local to global.

Of top priority—in my judgment—are the following: (1) Preserving the peace; or, con-

versely, preventing a third world war; (2) effectively combatting the menace of communism; and (3) preserving the soundness, integrity and vigor of our economy.

If we are to survive and progress, we must successfully meet these great challenges.

Unless this is done—unless we prevent a third world war—we may not be around to solve other problems of lesser scope but nevertheless significant to us.

Should we successfully meet them, however, and I am confident we can, there are many specific problems of outstanding significance for which we must find solutions. These include the following:

(a) Providing a fair—not jumbled, unfair—tax system that will spur, not stunt, economic growth and progress; (b) solving the problem of unemployment for the 60,000 jobless in Wisconsin and 4 million in the Nation; (c) improving the economic outlook in agriculture; (d) creating more effective programs to conserve, best utilize and, as possible, replenish our natural resources, including water, forestry and other resources; (e) in Wisconsin, too, the challenges of developing new industries is essential to our economic progress. Our natural wonderland, for example, if fully developed, might well mean that tourism could become an even greater source of State income for the future; (f) promoting human well-being of our citizens also is important, including adequate programs for the aging, for youth, for folks—who, through no fault of their own—may be down and out; and for other citizens who may not be sharing proportionately in the benefits of our society; and (g) finally, finding an effective, anticommunism policy—at home and abroad—too, remains a high priority. Among other things, this means: Tougher laws to stamp out communism at home; maintaining a mighty jet-missile-nuclear-space defense, to deter Communist aggression militarily; and a more effective counteroffensive, politically, economically, ideologically—to hasten the day of victory over communism.

Regrettably, this brief broadcast time prevents my now presenting complete, comprehensive programs for these and other fields.

As soon as Congress adjourns, however, I shall meet with you to discuss these and other great issues: On the farm, in your stores and offices and factories, on the street corner, at your civic and religious meetings, on television, radio, and in the newspapers: Everywhere that folks work, play, think and live.

What do you think must be done to solve the farm problem?

Answer: For Wisconsin, for the Nation, we need a renewed effort to find new—not adhere to unworkable—practices to brighten the outlook in agriculture. The goals to "shoot for" include: providing consumers with an adequate supply of good, healthful dairy and other foods at reasonable prices; an opportunity for the farmer to obtain a fair price for his products (the cost of products plus a reasonable profit, and reducing surplus stockpiles and diminishing the annual cost of the price support program to the American taxpayer.

Now, how can this be done? Fundamentally, we need to look—to a large degree, to the farmers, individually and through their organizations, to work toward: more effective long-range production planning to produce for live consumers—not for government storage; better distribution and greater consumption of dairy and other farm products; finding more ways to utilize dairy and other farm products for industrial purposes.

A healthy farm economy, of course, is essential—not just to the farmer, himself—but to the whole Nation. Until the farmer "gets on his feet" there is, I believe, also a need for carrying forward necessary governmental programs: (a) to hasten improvement in agriculture; and (b) to prevent a more serious lowering of farm income—which would adversely affect the whole economy.

What, then, can, and should, Uncle Sam do?

Expand governmental farm cooperative efforts to increase consumption levels of food (particularly of surplus); explore for new markets abroad and at home, for while there are hungry people, right here in our own country, we cannot really consider that we have a surplus; enact legislation to expand research for finding industrial uses for dairy and other products, for example, by the enactment of the Wiley bill, S. 2414, to establish a dairy research laboratory at Madison, Wis.; maintain a reasonable level of price supports—until there can be established a realistic market price based upon a supply-demand balance; and in our national policy, also, we should more effectively use dairy and other foods as strategic weapons in the cold war. In a hungry world, food can be a more effective persuader than guns.

Over the years, the Wisconsin and American farmer has served as a foundation stone of our economy: Producing an abundant supply of healthful food for our fast-increasing population; creating hundreds of thousands of jobs on and off the farm; providing a way of life for 15½ million Americans and generally, vitally serving the health and economic needs of the country.

For these reasons, then, the creation of a more effective farm policy must remain a high priority goal in our domestic programs.

Senator WILEY, do you favor or oppose some form of Federal aid to education?

Answer. The Nation depends, to a large degree, for progress and security upon a good educational system.

Traditionally, the responsibility has rested largely with the States or local communities.

In times of great national challenge when our system is threatened by a dynamic, competing ideology, communism, when authoritative studies reflect that adequate educational opportunities—particularly through shortage of classrooms or teachers—are not being afforded students across the Nation, the country must decide whether, in such a time or crisis, it will tolerate a less than wholly adequate educational system.

In these times, I believe there is a national responsibility for assuring by any necessary methods consistant with our traditional principles that we have an adequate educational program.

In many States like Wisconsin, there have been commendable efforts, both at local and State levels, to meet our responsibilities in education. Recognizing that (a) similar progress has not been made elsewhere, and (b) this is a national challenge, I have, in the past, supported efforts to provide supplemental Federal assistance to our school programs.

Among other pieces of legislation, these efforts have included: Cosponsoring of the G.I. bill of rights; support of the National Defense Education Act; and votes for additional legislation for an improved educational program, both through expanded facilities and improving the status of teachers.

Let me make this clear, however: the fundamental responsibility for support, administration, and progress in our school system lies with the States and local communities.

There should be vigilant safeguards against Federal control over education.

The Nation must plan not for perpetual Federal support, but for assumption, to the largest degree, of the responsibilities of education by the States and local communities.

In your opinion, should the United States continue to spend its money on the saline water research and how should we protect our natural water resources?

Answer. The Nation, according to predictions, will require twice the current need of water by 1980, and three times as much by 2000.

Because of these greatly increasing demands, then, we will need a more effective conservation-management-utilization policy for existing water supplies and tap the oceans for additional water for human consumption and industrial purposes.

Recognizing the ever-growing needs of the future, I cosponsored legislation that created the program now underway for transforming salt and brackish water to useful forms. Through pilot projects, it has been proved that the job can be done. Now, the problem that needs to—and will be—solved, I am confident, is that of doing it economically, in adequate volumes to meet the ever-growing human consumption and commercial-industrial needs of the future.

We, in Wisconsin, fortunately have been blessed with rich reservoirs of water. However, we cannot afford to waste this invaluable resource.

Now, for better protection of our natural water resources, I have supported, and continue to support, effective efforts for such objectives: More efficient use, reuse, and conservation practices; development of better reservoir systems; promoting more effective planning of watersheds or river basins for multiple use of water; more effective practices to prevent waste of water and soil ravaging through uncontrolled runoff; speed progress on flood control projects; greater efficiency in water use for irrigation, and wildlife habitats; prevention of pollution of streams, lakes, and other water supplies; acceleration of on-farm water conservation programs; voted against, and fought against, the Chicago water steal that threatened to jeopardize our whole Great Lakes system; promoting enjoyment of our water wonderland here in Wisconsin for recreation and for attractions for tourism; urge greater efforts to educate the public—both rural and urban—on the value of, and need for, conservation and better utilization of our water resources.

As stewards of these important resources, you and I—and the Nation—have a responsibility for vigilantly improving and expanding these programs for assuring a reservoir of such invaluable resources for the future.

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## Practical Aid for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we are certainly fortunate in Tennessee to have such an outstanding Governor in Buford Ellington. He has certainly been most cooperative in the State of Tennessee with all the Federal programs, especially the Kerr-Mills bill which we passed sometime back. I quote from "My Fellow Tennesseans, a report from the Governor," which appeared in the Herald-Register of Trenton, Tenn., on September 13, which is self-explanatory:

MY FELLOW TENNESSEANS—A REPORT FROM THE GOVERNOR

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
*August 31, 1962.*

To meet an increasing need among our older citizens, the State Welfare Department has announced that nursing home care will

be available for eligible recipients starting October 1.

This service will allow 90 days during a calendar year in a nursing home or convalescent wing of a hospital, licensed by the State Department of Public Health, following hospitalization for an acute illness or an emergency if a practicing physician certifies that this care is needed by persons eligible for MAA.

Ninety days will also be allowed persons acutely ill who have not been hospitalized and whose physicians feel they could be cared for in a nursing home.

The department would pay $80 per month to the nursing home or hospital and the patient or his relatives would be allowed to supplement up to $100 for an ambulatory patient and up to $150 for a bedridden or incompetent patient.

Medical assistance for the aged was begun on July 1, 1961. This program provides for 15 days hospitalization within a fiscal year and for specified drugs.

Hospitalization is provided for acute illness, preventive surgery or treatment in case of life-endangering illness or injury, when the necessity for such treatment is certified by the acting physician.

At the present time, 5,079 persons have been certified as being eligible for medical assistance for the aged. There have been 7,649 applications received from July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962. A total of $194,919.28 has been spent.

In the last year, of the total number of persons certified as being eligible for this program, 1,254 persons have received hospitalization and 4,025 prescriptions have been filled.

To receive medical assistance for the aged a person must:

1. Be 65 years of age or over.
2. Be living in Tennessee.
3. Not be receiving an old-age assistance grant.
4. Be unable to pay for needed medical care, according to the department's standards.
5. Not be living in a public institution.
6. Not have sold or given away property in order to qualify for medical assistance.
7. Need hospital care, or need drugs, as certified by a practicing physician.

A person who is acutely ill or injured may receive as much as 15 days a year of free hospital care, provided he has already had hospital expenses amounting to $25 at some time during the fiscal year. The welfare department cannot pay the first $25 of hospital expense incurred by a person in any one fiscal year.

Need must be determined in qualifying persons for medical assistance for the aged. It is based on the applicant's income and other resources which might be used to pay for medical care. Income must not total more than $1,000 a year for single persons or $1,500 for married couples.

Personal property is also limited to $1,000 for single persons and $1,500 for married couples. This includes stocks or bonds, postal savings, cash on hand or in a bank, insurance with cash value, or other savings which might be converted into cash.

A person may own real estate and still be eligible provided his equity in the property does not exceed $8,000 and the total value is not more than $10,000.

Application must be made at the office of the department of public welfare in the county in which applicant lives. If it is not possible for him to go to the welfare office, he may apply by letter or telephone, or ask someone to apply for him, or ask a welfare worker to visit him at his home or at the hospital or nursing home where he may be a patient.

There is no enrollment fee, premium, or other charge in connection with applying for or receiving medical assistance.

The Federal Government pays 75 percent of the cost, the State pays 20 percent and local governments pay 5 percent.

Sincerely,

BUFORD ELLINGTON.

Also there appeared in the Nashville Banner, an outstanding newspaper of the Nation, a fine editorial relative to this program.

The editorial follows:

PRACTICAL AID FOR THE AGED

To the State-operated program of medical aid for elderly welfare clients—launched 14 months ago—Governor Ellington has acted to add a similar program for those, 65 or older, who do not receive State welfare checks but are unable to pay for needed medical care. It is an adjustment to circumstances of necessity, and of recognized public responsibility.

A nationwide study reveals that 31 States have more than two-thirds of their population protected by some form of voluntary health insurance; and Tennessee is one of these. That fact warrants emphasis whenever the medicare claim is advanced seeking a wholesale alteration (through social security) of the existing system, and incorporating aspects of socialized medicine.

It is under the present law, note it, that Tennessee has been able to provide this extensive coverage for the uninsured—and now to include those of limited income as well as those on the welfare lists.

There are people in both categories—the elderly and infirm, unable on their own resources to pay for the treatment needed.

That imposes an obligation, best met at the local and State level of government, and by methods practical and proven.

Notably, plans for all phases of this medical aid program have been formulated by the State department of public welfare, representatives of the Tennessee State Medical Association, and other agencies in this field.

The program is not a political intrusion on the medical field, but workable measure to help those who cannot—at a time of great need—help themselves. It is to the credit of this State and its stewardship.

## Due Process of Law Ignored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful article by David Lawrence from the Washington Evening Star of October 1, 1962, entitled "Due Process of Law Ignored."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DUE PROCESS OF LAW IGNORED—ROOT OF MISSISSIPPI CONFLICT SEEN IN ILLEGALLY ADOPTED 14TH AMENDMENT

(By David Lawrence)

There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States or in the laws passed by Congress which authorizes the use of Federal troops to compel any public educational institution to admit a certain student just because he demands that he be enrolled.

There is nothing in the Constitution which denies the Governor of a State an opportunity to be heard by the full membership of the Supreme Court of the United States in a dispute between State and Federal authority.

There is nothing in the Constitution which even mentions "education" as one of the subjects coming within the powers of the Federal Government.

Whatever authority the Department of Justice or the Federal courts claim today in this field is derived from a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 which gave no legal reason but only sociological considerations as an argument for reversing an 1896 decision that permitted "separate but equal" facilities in dealing with segregation.

The 1954 decision cited the 14th amendment as the basis for its ruling, but the amendment was never legally adopted by the necessary number of States. In fact, the legislatures of some of the Southern States were compelled at the point of the bayonet by Federal troops to "ratify" it. Since this happened in 1868—3 years after the war between the States was over—the Supreme Court of the United States has never been willing to rule on the validity of the process by which the 14th amendment was allegedly ratified.

Yet 1 of the 10 original amendments—known as the Bill of Rights and duly ratified in 1791—does say that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

Governor Barnett nevertheless has been threatened with jail—without "due process of law."

Last Saturday Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in a telephoned address to the American Bar Association's convention at San Francisco, said that the distinguished lawyers of Mississippi had not spoken out in the battle over integration. Apparently Mr. Kennedy didn't note the speech made in the Senate just 2 days before by Senator JOHN C. STENNIS, of Mississippi, one of the ablest lawyers in the country. He has sat on the bench. He is one of the fairest minded men in the Senate. He told of the origin of the case of James Meredith, the Negro applicant, as a private suit against the board of trustees of Mississippi's State University and how a learned judge of the U.S. district court ruled that the Mississippi college authorities were justified in denying admission to Meredith. Mr. STENNIS described the subsequent legal battles in the U.S. circuit court of appeals. He referred to the fact that in the circuit court of appeals one judge said he thought Meredith would be a troublemaker and should be denied admission.

But the main point of criticism made by Senator STENNIS was that the State of Mississippi was being denied a hearing by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Constitution specifically provides that the Supreme Court must hear as a matter of "original jurisdiction" all cases involving a conflict between a State and the Federal Government and that the lower courts have no right to decide such a question. But only one member of the highest Court—Justice Black—ruled on it, though he claims he consulted the other judges individually, since the Court was not in session. He doesn't say whether he did this by telephone or by personal visits, as the case arose recently during the time the Supreme Court members were on vacation. Certainly no opportunity was afforded the defendants for oral argument by their attorneys before the entire Court.

"This," says Senator STENNIS, "is certainly not judicial consideration of the case on its merits. This is not the type of searching thought and application of legal principles which should be given such a serious case. Is it really true that a Governor might be held in contempt of court, or sent to jail, or a sovereign State might be invaded by

Federal troops and its citizens terrorized at the point of bayonets, on this fragmentary attention by one judge?"

Senator STENNIS also pointed out that on three separate occasions the Senate had "soundly defeated proposals to give the Attorney General the very authority to exercise the powers which he has assumed." Senator STENNIS referred to the substitution of the Attorney General as a plaintiff in court for a private citizen.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi—who has been for many years chairman of the all-important Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate—said to the Senate:

"If the day has come when not only a citizen of Mississippi, but also the Governor of that great State, can be dragged across a State line by Federal marshals or troops and subjected to the dictates of appellate judges appointed to their cushy jobs for life, then judicial tyranny is a reality and not a fiction."

There is serious doubt from a legal standpoint whether a President has the right to send troops into a State under the circumstances existing in Mississippi. This correspondent made the same criticism 5 years ago when President Eisenhower ordered Federal troops to Little Rock, Ark.

Whatever one's individual feelings may be about segregation or desegregation, it seems only fair to express agreement with Senator STENNIS that the whole case should be "heard on its merits by the Supreme Court." It seems fair also to suggest that the fraudulent method of "ratifying" the 14th amendment—on which the whole series of Court rulings and new Executive orders mobilizing Federal military forces are based today—should be opened up for trial after 94 years of tragic silence by the Supreme Court of the United States.

## Expressing the Determination of the United States With Respect to the Situation in Cuba

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WALTER H. MOELLER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

The House in Committee on the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration Senate Joint Resolution 230, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to express my full support for the two strong resoultions passed by this House on September 24 and September 26 in support of the President's position in defending American rights and American interests in the Caribbean.

The first resolution authorizes the President to call up 150,000 reservists to active duty and extend the tours of those now on active duty while Congress is adjourned. This should give ample support to the President and show the Kremlin that Americans stand united in their determination to defend their interests wherever they may be challenged around the world.

The second resolution outlines our determination to prevent the spread of Cuba's Marxist-Leninist regime or its subversive activities to any part of the Western Hemisphere, to prevent the creation of a military capability in Cuba dangerous to the U.S. security, and to work with the Organization of American States and the freedom-loving Cuban people in support of their aspirations for self-determination.

These two resolutions of the Congress, passed with virtually unanimous consent and approval, add great emphasis and strength to the President's firm and precise outline of the U.S. position on the Cuban situation given on September 13.

I would like to quote briefly from that statement of position:

If at any time the Communist buildup in Cuba were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way, including our base at Guantanamo, our passage to the Panama Canal, our missile and space activities at Cape Canaveral, or the lives of American citizens in this country, or if Cuba should ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force or threat of force against any nation in this hemisphere, or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies.

This warning is both timely and unmistakably clear. There should be no doubt about its meaning in Havana nor in Moscow.

We do not, nor will we stand idly by when our vital interests and the vital interests of our friends are challenged.

At the present time we are consulting with the other members of the Organization of American States about more concrete steps to isolate and quarantine this Caribbean cancer before it spreads to its neighbors.

While it may be easy for some of our more volatile friends to call for immediate invasion of Cuba as the solution, we must not allow ourselves to be stampeded into hasty and ill-considered action—which might very well do more harm than good at the present time.

But let us not rule out such strong action for the future, should circumstances dictate this move either in conjunction with our fellow American Republics or unilaterally, if that should prove necessary.

By giving all measure of support to the freedom-loving elements of the Cuban people, by establishing Spanish-speaking units of our military forces to train Cuban nationals (as we are now in the process of doing), by continuing our economic embargo of Cuba, by encouraging our friends and allies around the world to join us in isolating this Caribbean menace, but, perhaps of overriding importance, by pushing forward with the positive and forward-looking program embodied in the Alliance for Progress—by all these means will we succeed in destroying this Communist outpost in the New World and at the same time creating a truly new world of opportunity—economic, social, and political—for the underprivileged masses of the Latin nations of this hemisphere.

We must not only have a negative or defensive program of military strength to deter the Communists here and across the ocean, but we must have a positive program of development and progress to offer as a worthy alternative to the easy blandishments of communism.

Let no man mistake our military power and determination to defend our rights—and let no man mistake the vitality of our way of life to triumph over the human slavery of the Communist system.

## Wilbur L. Gardner, of Medford, Oreg., "A Man With a Sole," Campaigns Successfully for National Shoe Labeling Guides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Federal Trade Commission will soon announce national shoe labeling guides. This is an important step forward for American consumers, and represents the culmination of many years of effort by Wilbur L. Gardner, of Medford, Oreg.

"The Man With a Sole," as Wilbur Gardner is affectionately known, has campaigned for years for shoe labeling guides. Recently he has returned from the Second International Congress of Shoe Repairers in Paris, France. When Federal Trade Commission regulations become effective the American Consumers can buy shoes with confidence, knowing the materials of which they are made.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Medford, Oreg., Mail Tribune of September 20, reporting on Wilbur Gardner's campaign and the forthcoming Federal Trade Commission regulations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOE LABELING GUIDES TO BE ANNOUNCED BY TRADE COMMISSION, WILBUR GARDNER SAYS

The Federal Trade Commission's new national shoe labeling guides will be announced by FTC Chairman Paul Rand Dixon October 14 at the National Shoe Fair in Chicago, according to Wilbur L. Gardner, Medford shoe repairman.

Gardner has campaigned for 5 years for shoe labeling regulations which would require manufacturers to show if the shoe contains other than leather materials.

"The only thing is the label may show that 'cellulose fiber' is used in the shoe and many people might not know that this means cardboard," he said.

Gardner recently returned from the Second International Congress of Shoe Repairers in Paris. He spent 7 days in Paris and 4 days in Rome. His speech on the evolution of shoe repair in the United States was translated into three different languages. More than 150 foreign delegates attended the Paris convention.

KNOWN SHOE REPAIRMAN

"The labeling regulations will also affect imported shoes," Gardner said. "I was told at the congress that because of this I am the best known shoe repairman in the world."

Gardner is continuing his campaign for a shoe repair trade school similar to one in

Germany. European shoe repairmen have two main advantages over repairmen in this country, he said. Manufacturers and repairmen work together to solve their problems there. European shoe repairing has been elevated to the status of a profession. This is because the best shoe repairmen were selected by royalty to make and repair their shoes, Gardner said.

Foreign shoes on the whole are better constructed since more leather is used, he said.

Gardner said he was impressed with the leather show which included 540 booths with 500,000 people attending. He carried greetings from several organizations and dignitaries to the convention. While in Paris, he had a private interview with the president of the Paris Chamber of Commerce.

In his speech, Gardner traced the development of many shoe repair machines and pointed out that 40 million pairs of shoes are imported into the United States each year.

"These machines have all but eliminated hand-nailing in the shops," he said. "Unlike European shops, U.S. repairmen are spread out in more shops. In round figures, we have around 30,000 repair shops," Gardner told the delegates.

He told of his campaign for labeling shoes. The labeling guides will cover labeling in general, simulated leather or imitation, concealed parts, split leather, embrossed and processed leather, ground or shredded leather, heels, and disclosures in advertising. It will affect about 800 shoe manufacturers, he said.

"I feel a man must be proud of his trade and believe he is needed and wanted in our modern civilization before he will begin to advance to the top of his profession," Gardner said.

## Expressing the Determination of the United States With Respect to the Situation in Cuba

SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, September 26, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration Senate Joint Resolution 230, expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Chairman, the question of Castro and Cuba is the overriding problem involving the Communist menace, as far as the United States is concerned.

We recognize, of course, that the ultimate responsibility for our foreign policy lies with the President, under our Constitution. The people of the United States has always patriotically pitched in and supported their Presidents when there has been a showdown, and will do so again.

Nevertheless, Congress, in representing the people, recognizes that it, as well as the individual Members of Congress, has a right and a duty to express itself on matters in which the people are so vitally interested and concerned.

This is evidenced by the action so recently taken by the House, in amending the foreign aid appropriation bill so as to prohibit foreign aid gifts to those countries which furnish arms, ammunition, or other materials of war to Cuba, or whose ships carry supplies to Cuba.

It is sentiment of the U.S. Congress, at least insofar as the House of Representatives is concerned, that Castro and communism in Cuba should receive no encouragement in a continuation of the subjugation of the Cuban people, and no aid in building Cuba as a missile base or operations bastion for Communist action against the United States or the Western Hemisphere.

To express this sentiment, the House so amended the foreign aid appropriation bill. Now, we find our Secretary of State objecting to these amendments. In effect, he is saying that it is not in the interest of the United States to oppose the Communist military buildup in Cuba. He would have us continue giving aid to foreign lands, that they may be in a position to continue aiding and abetting Castro and communism.

I certainly do not want to leave the impression only one person is the cause of our dilemma—our same Department of State, but under another Secretary and another administration, was the installing officer in placing Castro, a known Communist for many years, in control of Cuba.

That was 4 years ago; the Communist regimes of Europe and Asia immediately began sending men and supplies into Cuba, building bases, which has continued to the present day. Yet our Government would not even admit this fact, until only a few weeks ago when everyone already knew it.

And even until this good day, our Government has not once officially protested to Khrushchev, or any other government.

Under these circumstances, with the Russian arms buildup continuing, is it any wonder that the U.S. Congress, as the representatives of the people, desire in some way to make their official protest to Khrushchev, in the absence of such a protest from the executive department: Weak though our protest may be, there is no alternative but to support it. Khrushchev must know that the representatives of the American people do not condone his invasion of our hemisphere and the consequent great threat to our freedom from the naval and missile bases in Cuba.

Without some protest from this country, it is no wonder that Khrushchev told Robert Frost, the poet, that Americans have become too liberal to fight to protect themselves; neither is it surprising that he told Stewart Udall, our Secretary of the Interior, that he was convinced the United States will take no action in opposition to the Soviet Union in Cuba.

These stated impressions of Khrushchev could only have been magnified and probably confirmed in his mind by two subsequent events.

The first of these occurred in Italy. Italian seaman refused to operate two Italian ships which were loaded with Russian and Italian supplies for Castro. A National Maritime Union official in New York revealed that the U.S. labor attaché at Rome was urging the Italian Government to force the seamen to sail the two ships to Cuba.

The U.S. Department of State has previously stopped boycotts against Castro shipping out of U.S. ports.

Even though our Government is supposedly pressuring other countries to stop their ships from carrying Russian supplies to Castro, our officials try to interfere with any attempts to boycott Castro's supply line. That alone would cause Khrushchev to harden his belief that the United States will not oppose the continuation of his takeover in the American countries, but in addition to that, there is the latest announcement that Russia is building a naval base in Cuba—and again, no official protest from our Government. The announcement was the construction of a base for fishing vessels, but it will also accommodate war vessels and submarines.

The State Department has finally publicly recognized the Russian takeover in Cuba, but still persists in minimizing the amount of military support being furnished, in spite of correspondent's reports of Russian and satellite troops headed by a Russian major general.

Other nations are also beginning to share Khrushchev's opinion of America's actions. They have learned there is no way to appease or reason with a Communist. We certainly should have learned it long ago.

The way Khrushchev has taken over in Cuba is an illustration. Four years ago, he sent in Czechoslovakians and Chinese Reds to build airbases. Even I was informed of it at the time, as it was well known I had branded Castro as a Communist even before our then State Department helped him into control of Cuba. Getting away with that, Khrushchev now has missile bases, air bases, a naval and submarine base abuilding, and at least 10,000 Reds in Cuba. It is no longer Castro's Cuba—it is Khrushchev's "Kuba"—a servile Communist satellite. There are now 5,000 well-armed Communist troops patrolling the boundaries of our naval base at Guantanamo. And Khrushchev, in his belief that America now really is too liberal to defend itself, is daring us to do something about it. He approves of revolutions to overthrow freedom, but brands counterrevolutions to restore freedom as being aggression. Sometimes there is cause to wonder if our State Department officials might have similar beliefs.

Spokesmen for our Government suggest the Monroe Doctrine will be applicable only if Soviet arms in Cuba become offensive, or if directed against other American nations. The truth is, the Monroe Doctrine was breached when Cuba was taken over by Russia. Russia regards this as a retreat on our part. Successive retreats will make Khrushchev bolder, just as happened with Hitler more than 20 years ago, when he finally decided that England would not fight at all, but would continue to make concessions.

We, as Representatives of the people, must register our protest, and our determination to preserve the Monroe Doctrine.

## The Result in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very impressed with editorial comments on the situation in Mississippi as printed in three of South Carolina's leading daily newspapers. The editorials are entitled "The Result in Mississippi," from the October 2, 1962, issue of the State, of Columbia, S.C.; "The Mob in Mississippi," from the October 2, 1962, issue of the News & Courier of Charleston, S.C.; and "Digest of Anarchy, Called Rights," from the October 2, 1962, issue of the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C. I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Oct. 2, 1962]

THE RESULT IN MISSISSIPPI

Overpowering instruments from the storehouse of Federal authority have delivered in Mississippi another severe blow to the once respected rights of the States of the American Union.

That the effectiveness of this blow was predestined by judicial decisions takes no luster from Mississippi's resistance. Neither does it dim the surviving principle of those elsewhere who, with so much warrant, deplore the decline of the States. It is another demonstration of what has happened to this country in the way of accumulated central power, with a corresponding weakening of the States.

Gov. Ross Barnett, without surrendering principle, eventually had to concede in Mississippi. Every door to his resistance had been closed, the last by exercise of Federal physical force. He really had no alternative.

It could scarcely have been expected, in view of the strong stand of Mississippi's leadership and the natural convictions and passions of the people in such a situation, that the change could have been brought about easily. Violence eventually erupted. Some, including individuals from outside Mississippi, turned that State's valiance into a violence which had no good result or effect.

Mississippi's leadership has provided for the history books of the future a page to record a strong and resolved last-ditch try at heading off Federal power.

As unhappy as President Kennedy and his counseling associates may have become over the defiance in Mississippi, they should not gloat in their victory. They would do well to reexamine the structure of our Union and think more studiously and more tolerantly over what has happened to the rights of the States as reflected by the 10th amendment. It undoubtedly is not to be expected that the Federal Government in this, or perhaps any, generation will come down from its position on the desegregation of publicly operated educational institutions. But the remembrance of Mississippi should survive and tend to temper action in instances of the future.

In this very week hearings will be continued in the Federal court in the case of a Negro who has applied for admission to a public segregated college in this State.

Many a South Carolinian who has entertained a lifelong devotion to the doctrine of the rights of the States is not assuaged by the outcome in Mississippi, an outcome compelled by the Federal force they sincerely deplore.

The changes decreed for these times hit with particular force in the South. The reflex to that in the Southern States is proportionate. The traditional structure is being knocked down with force. The South is challenged to adapt on a difficult issue, one more influenced by politics than the force of social justice. The struggle is now in the core of the South as distinguished from the border States. There is a difference, as Mississippi has shown.

When the contesting reaches the point of physical force, that of the Federal Government is overwhelming, as Governor Barnett said in what he will remember as the fateful autumn of the year 1962.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, Oct. 2, 1962]

THE MOB IN MISSISSIPPI

Like mob fury everywhere, violence and bloodshed in Mississippi are dreadful to behold. Nothing short of bayonets and tear gas could quell such fury as followed the smuggling of a Negro onto the campus of Ole Miss.

The quiet town of Oxford has become the scene of bloodshed, death and hatred that people everywhere deplore. U.S. troops battled townsfolk in the streets to restore order.

Had the Mississippi rioters been Algerians fighting the French, or Congo savages slaughtering white Europeans, American liberals might have cheered them on. But they are freeborn white Americans. Though their anger erupted with the same senseless violence that sweeps through any mob, their resentment has a deep foundation in the history of the Republic. The bayonets that are mopping up pockets of resistance in Oxford are the same weapons that hold down freedom fighters in Hungary and elsewhere in this troubled world.

Constitutional niceties are hard to discern when rioters try to kill reporters at the scene of a dramatic conflict. In one case they succeeded in snuffing out the life of a newspaper man. Ironically he was a foreigner, come to write about the ordeal of a republic now going through the throes of internal strife.

Bloody resistance to forced integration has been predicted for years by sober Southerners. Headstrong politicians who put bloc minority votes ahead of the peaceful administration of law have provoked this shameful episode. As a late Mississippi editor once proclaimed, bloodstains are on the steps of the Supreme Court.

Will helicopters, troops, and marshals succeed in forcing Negro students into every white school and college of the South? If so, can they keep them there while normal education proceeds? Is this region to become an armed camp, a zone of occupation by American armies?

The urge to force white southerners to accept racial mingling in itself has become a kind of mob spirit. Though it was pressed in Mississippi with soldierly discipline and under cover of legality, this frenzied determination to run the affairs of local citizens according to a popular fad is a form of organized tyranny. The U.S. Constitution was designed to protect the rights of States and the sanctity of local self-government. Gov. Ross Barnett, in yielding to overwhelming power, was right in telling the Federal Government that it is trampling on the Constitution.

"May God have mercy on their souls," he said in bowing to superior force. "Mississippi will continue to fight the Meredith case and all similar cases through the courts to restore the sovereignty of the State and constitutional government."

Other States, we hope and believe, will continue to resist the encroachment on constitutional rights which has become a fixation of the present rulers of the country. Race is not the only issue, nor even the most important, though it is emotionally the most explosive.

The issue actually is protection of rights—human rights, property rights, and the rights of States as contrasted with the power of Central Government at Washington. Though political issues are confused today in both parties, the demonstration of military might at Oxford, Miss., may help to shock the citizens of all regions into realization of the distance down the road that our free country has traveled in recent years.

Granted that other regions, with less racial experience than the South, are unsympathetic to Mississippi's objection to even one Negro on the campus of Ole Miss, Americans everywhere can understand the meaning of a bayonet. Some of the last remnants of the Republic died Sunday at Oxford along with victims of the mob.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

President Kennedy's Sunday night appeal to the people of Mississippi, and especially to the students of the State university, was a skillful bit of oratory. Had it not been for the realization that he was the one who ordered the act that provoked the mob, his words would carry greater conviction.

Now that the consequences of putting a Negro on the campus have been demonstrated, law-abiding citizens who understand the emotions and pressures involved can only hope that the Federal Government will adopt a more moderate position. Mr. Kennedy's expressed desire to handle the crisis without troops proved ineffectual.

The choice of continuing a campaign to enforce integration at the price of internal strife is up to the White House. With the ever-present peril of Cuba confronting the President, even sincere integrationists ought to realize that national safety should come ahead of what at best is an unproved theory of sociology.

MR. RUSSELL'S POSITION

In approving Governor Barnett's position in Mississippi, Donald Russell reflects the sentiments of the majority of those who voted him in as the next Governor of South Carolina. While Mr. Russell was careful to point out that he is not speaking as a public official, since he has not even been formally elected, much less sworn in as Governor, his expression of personal opinion conforms with the prevailing mood of South Carolina.

The restrained attitude of Gov. Fritz Hollings has raised questions in the minds of outsiders about the feelings of South Carolinians. The Wall Street Journal last week in a summary of southern attitudes said that both Governor Hollings and "his expected successor, Democratic nominee Donald S. Russell * * * have taken moderate desegregation stands."

The reference accompanied the prediction that the State would not attempt to interfere with integration of Clemson College, which now is defendant in a suit by Harvey Gantt, a Negro engineering student.

Mr. Russell has not tried to say what form resistance might take when he is Governor, but he has endorsed the position of the Gressette Committee. This committee has charge of South Carolina's efforts to maintain separation of the races in the interests of both white and colored citizens. So far it has indicated no softening toward mixed schools.

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, Oct. 2, 1962]

DIGEST OF ANARCHY, CALLED RIGHTS

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad"—Longfellow: "The Masque of Pandora"—(1875).

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence," article IV, section 4, Constitution of the United States.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," amendment X, Constitution of the United States.

"The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article," amendment XIV, section 4, Constitution of the United States.

When, in the absence of any specific acts of Congress or appropriate amendments, the U.S. Supreme Court began to go against established precedents and legislate by Court decree in civil rights cases, it opened a veritable Pandora's box of human ills which reached epidemic proportions in Mississippi, Sunday night.

Indeed, the very refusal of Congress to enact specific laws pertaining to public education in any of a series of civil rights acts spanning almost a century was a clear indication of the all-important legal point of legislative intent.

The results were clearly foreseen by all but those who were blinded by their zeal to eliminate racial barriers "here and now" regardless of the consequences; and those who sought to make political capital of the ensuing unrest.

Ironically, the question of admitting qualified Negroes to publicly-supported white colleges and universities had been thought settled by a series of Court decisions reaching back nearly 25 years. And gradual change might have been accepted but for relentless, unmerciful and foolish pressure applied in the wake of the 1954 decision affecting the public grammar and elementary schools.

The tragedy of Mississippi, which probably will grow worse before any measure of calm returns and which may well spread like a forest fire or a quick-acting and all-consuming cancer, could have been avoided by patience and forbearance on the part of citizens and their courts and executives.

It might have been avoided had the courts been guided in subsequent decisions by the obiter dictum pronounced by the late Chief Judge John J. Parker of the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals as he sat for the second time on the Clarendon County case.

In July, after the Supreme Court had ruled in May, 1954, Judge Parker undertook to define what the Court had said and what it had not said in these words:

"It (the Court) has not decided that the Federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the States. It has not decided that the States must mix persons of different races in the schools, or must require them to attend the schools, or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend.

"The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination."

But this was not to be. What happened has been told in detail in the editions of the last few weeks. It all adds up to a comic opera which got out of hand and erupted into bloody tragedy—and all for the sake of one Negro man who, more than he sought education, sought that illusive thing Americans now call status.

The supreme irony came when President John F. Kennedy took to nationwide radio and television to announce the end of the crisis on the University of Mississippi campus and to call for absolute obedience of the laws.

Somebody, somewhere, most probably several persons on both sides, blundered and even as he spoke, the opposing forces clashed and what the end will be no man can say.

But the blunder didn't start on the campus.

It was the Bay of Pigs all over again, somewhat in reverse. Instead of too little too late, it was a case of too much too soon.

The Kennedy administration currently is dealing with the Cuban crisis on a "wait and see" basis, a policy which seems to be motivated by the hope that, some way, the situation will right itself through the interplay of internal forces. This may be right, but we doubt it.

This much we do know:

1. The administration is having to employ in Mississippi a military force which a few months ago, if not now, would be sufficient to wipe out the Communist menace in Cuba; and

2. Left alone, there were at work in Mississippi and in every other Southern State internal forces which in due time and by a combination of due process of law and social evolution would have made court decrees and naked force unnecessary. The racial problem would have been settled peaceably, which is the only way it can be settled.

But now what? There is only hope which was left in Pandora's box after it was opened, hope that reason will prevail.

Hope that all concerned will realize that no right is absolute, that it is not an abstract privilege to be asserted and exercised to the destruction of the rights of others; that justice must not only be tempered with mercy in its pronouncement but likewise with reason and practical restraint in its administration.

Mr. Kennedy, a historian of some note, should recall the words of Edmund Burke when he said: "All government—indeed, every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act—is founded on compromise and barter."

Mr. Kennedy said he offered Gov. Ross Barnett "conciliation." Is a mere chance to surrender when one is acting in accordance with conviction based on principle "conciliation?" Hardly.

It may be too late for true conciliation and good faith barter and compromise to have any early effect, but if Jack Kennedy is big enough a man to be President, he must try.

If he doesn't, history may say of his administration, again in the words of Edmund Burke: "They made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy, called the rights of man."

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## Drug Amendments of 1962

SPEECH

OF

## HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 27, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11581) to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to assure the safety, efficacy, and reliability of drugs, authorize standardization of drug names, establish special controls for barbituate and stimulant drugs, and clarify and strengthen existing inspection authority with respect to any articles subject to the act; and to amend related laws.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Chairman, certainly no event in the past year so affected the American conscience as the tragedy evoked by the knowledge that the drug thalidomide was causing grotesquely malformed babies. Similar tragedy in the United States was averted by the professional competence of Dr. Frances E. Kelsey, of the Food and Drug Administration. Despite strong pressure, her steadfast determination not to clear the controversial drug remained undaunted. By her heroic effort the drug was precluded from general marketing in this country. This is probably the most cogent reason why this bill is before Congress this session.

In January of this year a poll among my constituents of Westchester and Putnam Counties and their response clearly indicated that they were cognizant of the need for reform of our drug laws. Of those replying to the poll 67 percent were in favor of tighter restrictions on the drug laws.

Hearings conducted this year before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reaffirmed my convictions of the need for more stringent laws regarding the control, certification, marketing, and effectiveness of drugs for sale to the American public. I favor that information on old and new drugs be disseminated on a wider, more complete, and effective basis. We should not continue to countenance misinformation or an absence of opportunity for our citizens to acquire such knowledge. These deficiencies are among other loopholes remedied in the bill presented to the House.

Mr. Chairman, in legislation of a highly technical nature, pitfalls may arise out of its subsequent implementation. Any legislation which too stringently regulates and restricts—contains the specter of the ramifications of too much control which could diminish research incentive. We must be watchful not to frustrate research and development of drugs which have greatly contributed to our world leadership in medicine and public health. However, it will only be through its application that we can accumulate sufficient evidence to correct deficiencies, if any. I believe this bill avoids the pitfalls of too much control.

Because of the need for a more effective law, and because this bill corrects some of the defects in our present law, I support this legislation. It is necessary for the public health and safety of our citizens, and will not impede the continuation of the role of the United States as a world leader in the most humane of our exports—technical medical skill and medicine.

# Appendix

## An East-West Exchange Proposal: Peace Hostages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JACOB K. JAVITS**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, from time to time I have had occasion to insert in the RECORD various proposals for greater exchange of information and persons between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although few would argue that such exchanges are by any means the only answer to the cold war they are nonetheless a valuable element in increasing understanding and reducing tensions, and I have long supported attempts to have them realized. A New Yorker, Stephen D. James, has brought forward an exchange idea, called peace hostages, involving volunteers from the two countries who are in the same or similar occupations and, in particular, who are relatives of Government officials. Mr. James stresses not only the deterrent effect which such "hostages" may have on aggressive acts but also the value of exchange for its own sake. The idea is stimulating enough to be read by my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by Mr. James describing his proposal and its purposes.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PLAN

The peace hostage exchange plan is a program for massive exchange of population between citizens of the United States and the Soviet Union, to be extended ultimately to other Communist and non-Communist nations.

The exchange is open to volunteers from every social and economic strata within the various nations. Each hostage is to be placed in a job in the host country which corresponds to his present occupation or to alternate occupations for which he is qualified. Exchanges are planned on a one for one basis among persons in the same or similar occupations in their respective countries.

Individual citizens will volunteer for the exchange on the condition that exchanges will be made among the close relatives of Government officials in the countries involved. Included, if possible, will be exchanges among relatives of Premier Khrushchev and President Kennedy. In addition, relatives of officials at all levels of government in national, regional, and local positions will be asked to make exchanges with their counterparts. A specific ratio will be determined for the exact number of volunteers from relatives of officials per each 1,000 exchanges from the general population.

Volunteers will live and work in the host country for a period of from 6 months to 2 years. Training in the language and culture of the host country will be conducted in the country of origin. Language training will continue on a part-time basis during the first weeks of the stay in the host country.

Volunteers will accept the standard of living and wages prevalent for those in the occupations in which they are employed in the host country. However, the jobs they leave in order to participate in the exchange will be protected by law in countries where competitive hiring exists, so reinstatement will be guaranteed upon return to the country of origin. Asylum, for political or other reasons will not be granted to any of the participants during the contracted period of exchange.

Geographic distribution of the exchanges within each country will be as widespread as possible within the limits of security considerations.

To insure benefits of these exchanges beyond the mere deterrent effects they might have in slowing down impulses to settle disputes with violence, regular press coverage of the activities of the exchanges should be encouraged as a means of making these interchanges useful in bettering communication and trust among the nations involved. In addition, to further this purpose, regular correspondence should be encouraged between those at home and abroad.

PURPOSES

The purposes of the peace hostage exchange are implicit in the statement of the plan:

1. Some deterrent effect against overly impulsive reaction to disputes between opposing nations.

2. Direct involvement of decisionmakers in the consequences of their decisions.

3. The establishment of better communication between the individual people of the opposing powers and thereby an alleviation of some of the tensions and mistrust. Such alleviation of mistrust can be reflected in the increasing willingness of disarmament negotiators to make the necessary concessions for conclusive agreements.

4. By accelerating the buildup of a background of trust, the peace hostage exchange can shorten the time required for successful conclusion of disarmament negotiations. By reducing the time during which weapons may proliferate in this manner, the chances of accidental nuclear devastation are automatically minimized. In short, the simplicity of the plan lends itself to the undisputed need for fast, positive action to reduce tensions.

5. By making every effort to initiate exchanges first between America and the Soviet Union as promptly as possible, other nations who may soon acquire nuclear weapons may be induced by the realities of Russian-American cooperation to join the exchanges.

Furthermore, once underway, these exchanges may permit America and the Soviet Union to cooperatively use their resources to better the material welfare of certain heavily populated nations. By such improvement of the material well-being of individuals within these nations, individual will to survive may be increased. By thus increasing the will to survive, America and the Soviet Union eliminate the risk that such nations will casually gamble large segments of its population in all-out war when they acquire nuclear weapons.

6. A further purpose of the peace hostage exchange plan is that its immediate workability permits involvement of America and the Soviet Union during the present era of relatively good relations. Should circumstances end this era, the possibility of all significant exchanges might be ruled out. On the other hand, if exchanges begin immediately, the deep involvement and cooperation required will ride out all but the most crucial of crises.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am pleased that the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] has placed in the RECORD a description of Mr. Stephen James' proposal for a peace hostage exchange program. Mr. James is an indefatigable worker in the cause of world peace, and like all of us, he does not relish the thought of becoming one of millions of victims in a nuclear war. His answer to the threat of a nuclear exchange is an exchange of prominent individuals from the potentially belligerent countries. Without endorsing specific features of this plan—for who am I to speak for the friends and relatives of our Nation's leaders?—I wish to share with my colleagues a brief excerpt from the New Yorker of March 17, and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD. The New Yorker, better perhaps than any of the newspapers and magazines which have written about Mr. James' campaign, has caught the ebullient spirit of the youthful-appearing advertising copywriter who is doing something about the cold war. Like the New Yorker, I, too, have a "perennial admiration for people who think up fresh approaches to knotty problems."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACE PITCH

We have a perennial admiration for people who think up fresh approaches to knotty problems, so it is with deep respect that we introduce you to Mr. Stephen D. James, who has applied himself to the particularly knotty problem of how to prevent nuclear war, and whose fresh and disarmingly simple approach consists of having rented Post Office Box 2737, Grand Central Station, at which address he invites correspondence from anyone with an idea for preserving peace. Mr. James is a freckled and bespectacled advertising copywriter in his late thirties, with a shock of rubiginous hair, an earnest manner, and a profound belief in the ability of man to surmount any difficulties that he himself has created. "I welcome all ideas for peace, no matter how far out or offbeat they may seem," he told us the other afternoon when we accompanied him on his daily trip to the post office. "Any solution to the nuclear threat will probably seem as impossible at first blush as the bomb itself did. Why, you might even say that the first test of such a solution will be the difficulty of recognizing its feasibility."

Mr. James called for his mail at a grilled window, stuffed it into an already overstuffed manila envelope, and then led us across Lexington Avenue to a Horn & Hardart Automat, where, between sips of coffee, he sorted his latest batch of letters and put together for us the story of how he had become interested in peace work. "Things began to jell last November, when I was struck by the notion of exchanging peace hostages with the Soviet Union on a large scale," he said. "Having no foundation or organization behind me, I soon found out, of course, that to conceive an idea is one thing and to implement it is quite another, and this, in turn, caused me to reflect that there were probably thousands of people in the United States who had suggestions about how to prevent a nuclear catastrophe but no way of bringing them to official attention. So, in the hope of tapping this vast source of creative thinking, I rented the mailbox and embarked upon a campaign of writing letters to editors, columnists, radio and television producers, heads of peace-action groups, and everyone else I could think of who might help me communicate with the public. In the letters, I proposed to screen all the ideas sent to me and to send those that had any chance of practical application on to appropriate individuals and Government agencies for action. I also included a description of my own peace-hostage-exchange plan, as an example of the type of idea I was seeking. As a result of the exposure and publicity that my letters occasioned, the ideas-for-peace program, as I have named it, and my peace-hostage-exchange plan have caught on simultaneously. My mail reflects such great interest in both that I hardly know which to take up first."

We suggested that at the moment Mr. James take up his peace-hostage proposal first, and he concurred. "I feel that the exchange of hostages should start at the top," he said. "For example, let one of President Kennedy's brothers or sisters go with his or her family to Russia in exchange for the family of one of Premier Khrushchev's children. Let the relatives of other high-ranking officials follow this example. Then broaden the base until it includes exchanges at all levels of society for periods ranging from 6 months to 2 years. Eventually, the peace-hostage program will develop into population rotation—millions of Americans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen living and working in the Soviet Union, and millions of Russians living and working here, in England, and in France. Talk about cultural exchange. Talk about peaceful coexistence." Mr. James drew a deep breath, and went on to tell us that he was fully aware of the linguistic and logistic problems that his proposal would give rise to. "Each of the host nations would be required to institute vast language and job-training programs in order to place visiting hostages in positions corresponding to the ones they held in their native lands," he said. "This would entail a tremendous mobilization of national energies, but the project doesn't appear so complicated when you consider that during the Second World War our peacetime Army of some 200,000 men mushroomed very quickly into an Army of 8 million. Besides, isn't it reasonable to assume that we're going to have to mobilize for peace, as we would for a conflict? And if it meant an end to the awful tension under which we're now living, wouldn't you, or I—or almost anyone, for that matter—volunteer to enlist as a peace hostage?"

We nodded, meaning "yes" to the first question and a highly conditional maybe to the second, and as we were about to ask Mr. James what response his peace-hostage-exchange plan had elicited, he anticipatively informed us that roughly 30 percent of the letters dealing with the proposal came from would-be volunteers, that 65 percent contained requests for additional information, and that only 5 percent were from persons opposed to the idea of becoming hostages. "As for the ideas for peace program, I have brought along a random selection from the 100-odd suggestions I have received so far," he said, delving into the manila envelope and beginning to toss ideas for peace in our direction at such a rate that within a few minutes we had scanned letters from the following people: a Brooklyn man advocating the return of Alaska to Russia as a peace offering; a Brooklyn man suggesting that retired Americans of Eastern European extraction who planned to return to their countries of origin as tourists be briefed as good will ambassadors by the State Department; a Kansas couple recommending that chain-letter peace pleas be sent to Congressmen; a Philadelphian proposing that the Russians be given "the silent treatment"; a California lady asking for a Government-instituted peace hostage-conscription program; and a Kentuckian who would establish, as the first condition of any exchange, an even swap—President Kennedy for Premier Khrushchev.

When we had finished our perusal of these suggestions, Mr. James said that in his opinion none of them seemed as effective or feasible as his own peace-hostage-exchange plan. "I am not a bit discouraged, though," he went on. "The important thing is to stimulate people to think, and to provide them with a channel through which they can make themselves heard. I am convinced that great numbers of people have begun to distrust the so-called political and scientific experts, who are trying to play a logical game within an essentially illogical framework, and that this is what the idea of a peace-hostage exchange has engendered wide interest. As you might expect, objections have been raised to my use of the word 'hostage,' and, in fact, I had originally considered using 'envoy' or 'guarantor' instead. The reason I settled for 'hostage' stems from the old advertising technique of juxtaposing a positive and a negative, and thus provoking reaction. If you have something to sell, whether it is a product or an idea for peace, you have simply got to shake people out of their natural detachment. And, having done that, you have got to keep up the pressure. You have got to provoke and prod continually. Why, when all is said and done, you have got to be a pitchman."

## U.S. Lifelines Threatened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following significant editorial from the Orlando Sentinel of September 28. It show clearly the growing importance of the Florida Cross-State Barge Canal:

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, Sept. 28, 1962]

U.S. LIFELINES THREATENED

The strategic position of Cuba threatens vast amounts of U.S. shipping.

Sitting as it does astride all the main shipping lanes from the U.S. east coast to the gulf coast and the Panama Canal, Cuba could conceivably seriously interfere with our commerce and our supply lines.

All ships from the east coast to the Panama Canal and Guantánamo use the Windward Passage as do tankers from Venezuela.

Big shipments of goods from the gulf coast to the canal and to the U.S. west coast use the Yucatan Channel.

The Straits of Florida—between Key West and Cuba—are used by oil tankers from Venezuela in addition to countless other ships bound from one coast to the other.

The solution to some of these problems is one Congress keeps avoiding: The Florida Cross-State Barge Canal and its sister waterway, the Sanford-Canaveral Canal.

The barge canal would eliminate the long, and possibly soon hazardous, trip around Florida.

The trip around Florida is 700 miles long. With the two canals, the trip would be only 180 miles, a saving of 520 miles.

This saving is worth making even if you ignore the threat of Cuba when you consider that the giant missiles from Huntsville, Ala., cannot be shipped by land and must go by barge to Cape Canaveral.

In time of war could we even get a missile from Huntsville to the cape through the Florida Straits? Highly unlikely. But the canal would provide a short, protected, easily defended, inland route.

Let's go back to World War II.

We would have had the barge canal then if Congress had appropriated funds to complete what they start in 1937 at the insistence and recommendation of President Franklih D. Roosevelt and War Secretary Harry Woodring.

But Congress balked, as it is today, and the result was the United States lost 77 tankers and 88 dry cargo ships to enemy submarines operating off the coast of Florida.

The loss of those 165 ships, their cargoes and many of their crew members amounted to considerably more than the cost of constructing the canal.

The cross-State barge canal has been authorized for many years. It has the full approval of U.S. Army Engineers.

The bottleneck today is as it was 25 years ago: The inability of Congress to see the need, and its refusal to appropriate funds.

In view of the worsening Cuba situation, Congress should reconsider its negative attitude, and should grant the $205,000 President Kennedy allocated for planning plus the extra $795,000 Gov. Farris Bryant asked so that actual construction can be started.

If there is a next time when subs lie off our coast and blow our vessels out of the water, the loss will be considerably more than it was in World War II, and the responsibility for that loss will rest squarely with Congress.

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

# Appendix

## Defense Against Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN BRADEMAS**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of an editorial published in the Washington Post of September 21, 1962, and entitled "Defense Against Recession."

DEFENSE AGAINST RECESSION

Not all of the statistical indicators for August are assembled, but the available information provides little comfort for those who chart the course of the Nation's economy. The appearance of small cracks and fissures, while hardly infallible as harbingers of the future, suggest that steps should now be taken to perfect our antirecession defenses.

When viewed against the background of sluggishness in overall economic activity, the August figures on industrial production, sales and construction are hardly encouraging. Between July and August the Federal Reserve Board Index of Industrial Production declined fractionally from 118.7 to 118.6. Changes of this magnitude are seldom significant per se, but it must be borne in mind that the index has risen by only 4½ percent since the beginning of the year and that decline at this time might indicate that the weak economic sectors covered by the index have overbalanced the strong ones.

Similar shifts may have occurred in retail sales and construction. Retail sales, after a 3 percent increase in July, leveled off in August as a result of a decline in the purchases of durable goods that was barely offset by an increase in nondurables. And similarly disparate movements maintained the value of new construction activity at the high July level: residential activity continued to decline in August while public and some types of business construction rose.

It would be an act of rash pessimism to declare that the edge of the plateau has been reached or even sighted. But the absence of reserve strength in the form of backlogs of new orders or strong consumer optimism militates strongly against the possibility that the present horizontal trend of economic activity will be broken by a strong upward thrust.

The danger of the present situation is not the possibility of a mild downturn, but the weakness of our contracyclical defenses. The President does not have the discretionary power to cut tax rates which would greatly facilitate recovery. And what is worse, our system of unemployment insurance is woefully inadequate. Nothing can be done at this time about the controversial proposal for discretionary tax-cutting power, but it is not too late for the House Ways and Means Committee to reconsider its hasty rejection of the administration's request for a 1-year extension of the emergency program to provide payments for those jobless persons whose unemployment insurance benefits are exhausted.

Arthur F. Burns, the distinguished Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Eisenhower administration, made a powerful case for bolstering the unemployment insurance program at the recent meetings of the American Statistical Association. He declared that:

"The Congress will not sit idly by when the next recession brings new personal hardships. But unless the Congress moves speedily now, there is a risk that the supplementary benefits will once again come too late to serve as an effective brake on the forces of recession. The need for standby legislation that would provide for extended duration of unemployment insurance at a fairly early stage of recession has, in my judgment, become compelling."

## Mr. Khrushchev Did Not Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLYDE DOYLE**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I herewith set forth a very important item which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor for Friday, September 28, 1962, and call to your attention, and to the attention of all the Members of this great legislative body, a statement about which I have received many communications from constituents in my congressional district alleging that Mr. Khrushchev has made this very statement which is commented upon in this Christian Science Monitor article. This splendid newspaper is not the only one which has gone to the trouble and expense of running down and ascertaining what the facts actually are.

Mr. Speaker, it is regretted that so many folks believe all which appears in some publications which habitually emphasize attacks made upon the United States of America and the free world without first ascertaining the actual facts before printing them.

The following appeared on "The Reader Asks" page:

Question. I have recently seen a quote attributed to Mr. Khrushchev as follows: "We cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans socialism until they suddenly awake to find they have communism."

Do you have any record of this alleged statement by Khrushchev and if so, when and under what circumstances did he make it?

Answer. There is no reason to believe that Premier Khrushchev made the statement. A check with the Library of Congress, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the House Un-American Activities Committee—made in March of this year—turned up no evidence of any such statement. Moreover, the Soviet Union's Embassy to Washington has no record that the Premier ever said anything to that effect.

So far as can be determined no organization using the statement has come forward to identify its source.

The Soviet Premier did tell Western diplomats at an embassy reception in Moscow, prior to his 1959 trip to the United States that "we will bury you," with Communists serving as the gravediggers. He tried to explain this away to a National Press Club news conference in Washington later by saying he meant "bury you" only figuratively, particularly in the economic sphere.

## New York 65 Program Begins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the most promising of the developments in the field of health insurance for the aged is the growth of the State 65 programs. Started by Connecticut, this idea has spread and is showing the way for future development in the health insurance industry. Business Week, in its August 25 issue, explores the development of the New York 65 plan, explaining its basic idea and outlining its provisions. Michigan is now studying the proposal. I wish that my State of Missouri would move forward. I am placing this article in the RECORD to help bring to public attention this important and encouraging development.

AGED GET WIDER CHOICE

Private health plans for the aged, which have mushroomed the past few years—partly as alternatives to a social security-financed medicare program—got an added starter last week. Seven insurance companies outlined plans to team up on a program of lower-cost health coverage for over 65 residents of New York State.

Called the New York 65 Health Insurance Association, the seven-company combine will run on a tax-exempt, nonprofit basis made possible by an amendment this year to New York State's insurance law. Premiums will cover benefits and operating costs, but will not provide dividends to company shareholders. Oldsters will be offered a basic health plan policy for $8 to $10 a month, major medical coverage for $9 monthly, or both. That's 10 to 20 percent under the cost of present policies, say participating companies.

FILLING THE GAP

Behind New York 65 is a push to broaden the base of elderly covered by private health plans as one means of forestalling another drive for medicare next year. As one insurance company executive puts it: "We've said this was a job private industry could do, and now we're going to show it can be done." Other companies are expected to join in the scheme.

Insurance companies see a vast market for such plans. But this market has been slow to be tapped, for the obvious reason that insurance for the aged, especially major medical coverage, can be an expensive risk. Mutual Benefit Health & Accident Association of Omaha and Chicago's Continental Casu-

alty Co., leaders in the field, started only in 1959, while others are just now getting into the business. The high risk in such health plans also has led to the formation of group undertakings, such as New York 65.

OTHER STATES

A plan similar to New York 65—though without the tax-exempt and nonprofit provisions—was pioneered in Connecticut last year, with some of the initial push coming from the State's doctors. Legislation has also paved the way for "over 65" programs in Mississippi, where the plan still isn't off the ground, and in Massachusetts, where initial enrollment will take place this fall.

Other States, too, are moving toward laws allowing insurance companies to get together in offering health plans for the aged. But the New York plan promises to be the largest by far.

NEW YORK OUTLOOK

Some 1 million New-Yorkers—of an over-65 population of around 1.7 million—are likely candidates, says Morton D. Miller, vice president of Equitable Life Assurance Society, who heads the seven-company pool. He predicts that 150,000 to 200,000 persons will sign up during the initial October 15–November 15 enrollment period.

The companies in New York 65 will advance about $1.2 million in startup costs—chiefly for promotion—on a pro rata basis, set on the amount of health insurance each company has written. Companies also will share in the risk on the same basis. Equitable will handle the actual mechanics of the plan.

FAULTFINDERS

The New York plan already is drawing fire on several counts. A spokesman for Blue Cross terms the plan's $18-a-day limit on hospital room and board as "somewhat modest." Some critics also maintain the plan is still too expensive for many oldsters.

On the other hand, at least one company says it won't enter the New York plan because of the nonprofit provision. But Miller still thinks 60 to 70 of the 150 or so companies licensed to write health insurance in New York eventually will come in. Some 32 companies now participate in the Connecticut scheme, while the Massachusetts plan will have at least 9 companies at the outset.

Miller concedes the New York 65 package doesn't cover all bases. It won't, he says, supplant existing health insurance policies. "This is a single plan, and there is a limited choice of what you get," he says. Independent plans, he declares, still can do a better job of tailoring health coverage to individual needs.

## Milk, Anyone?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mrs. St. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Evening News of Newburg, in my congressional district, gives a brief and accurate account of the situation of the dairy farmers of the State of New York.

The closing paragraph tells the story:

But Congress and the Nation's 400,000 dairy farmers couldn't get together on any remedial legislation earlier this year and there is no reason to believe they will do so at this late date. Most dairy farmers can make ends meet at the current price support level of 75 percent of parity and seem to prefer the lower level to acceptance of marketing controls.

The editorial follows:

MILK, ANYONE?

Uncle Sam has so much surplus milk that it has been suggested that American cities complaining about water shortages might consider turning to milk. Imagine a milk bath every morning?

The dairy glut, which has a heavy impact on the agricultural economy of New York, one of the top dairy States, would be even worse if the Agriculture Department was not disposing of milk products through school lunches, welfare, and food for peace. President Kennedy is trying to help out by ordering milk served at every White House meal.

Latest figures show that on August 1 the Government held surplus stocks of 366 million pounds of butter, 105 million pounds of cheese, and 556 million pounds of nonfat dry milk. This is two and a half times the amount in surplus on August 1, 1961. Under the price-support program the Government is now buying roughly 10 percent of the total milk marketed, at a cost estimated at more than a half billion dollars for the current marketing year. Agriculture Secretary Freeman on August 16 appealed to Congress for legislation at this session to authorize production controls on milk. He said his department is being forced to buy surplus butter in quantities which threaten to outrun freezer storage space for it.

But Congress and the Nation's 400,000 dairy farmers couldn't get together on any remedial legislation earlier this year and there is no reason to believe they will do so at this late date. Most dairy farmers can make ends meet at the current price support level of 75 percent of parity and seem to prefer the lower level to acceptance of marketing controls.

## Your ASCS Committeeman: What's His Job?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to include an article which appeared in the July 21, 1962, issue of the Wallace's-Farmer, titled "Your ASCS Committeeman: What's His Job?"

This article, Mr. Speaker, gives a bit better insight to an important and valuable cog in the machinery which makes our farm programs workable, effective, and helpful:

YOUR ASCS COMMITTEEMAN: WHAT'S HIS JOB?

Township ASCS elections were held across Iowa July 18. Purpose of the elections was to name township ASCS committeemen and alternates for the coming year. There was no campaigning, no hoopla in this election. It was strictly a nonpartisan affair. But the job involved is a mighty important one to the farmers of Iowa and the Nation.

At stake is the administration and supervision of a large chunk of the USDA budget. ASCS workers in Iowa handled some $500 million last year. Of this, some $150 million went in payments to farmers in the feed grain program, the conservation reserve, agricultural conservation program, and storage payments, plus the administrative costs. About $280 million went to farmers in loans for price supports, resealing, and storage facilities.

Voting has been disappointingly low in past ASCS elections. Last year township elections were conducted through election meetings. State ASCS officials estimate only about 10 percent of the eligible voters actually voted.

Prior elections were conducted by mail. Voting percentage ran slightly higher—12 to 15 percent—but still low. That's why the State committee decided to hold elections in conjunction with election meetings in 1961 and 1962. It was hoped this would stir up more interest and get more farmer participation.

Regulations call for township and county elections to be held sometime between July 1 and December 30 of each year. In an effort to get more voters out, the State committee set this year's election for late July.

"We try to pick a date when as many farmers as possible can get to the meeting and vote," explains Jim Croghan, State ASCS administrative officer.

Work load of the county office is considered too. This year, takeover of CCC corn starts August 1. Also, final feed grain diversion payments begin in August. So an early summer vote was most suitable.

Who is eligible to vote? Regulations state that any person who is of legal voting age and who has an interest in a farm as owner, tenant, or sharecropper may vote providing his farm is ASCS approved.

Even persons not of legal voting age may vote if supervising a farming operation that meets ASCS requirements.

Now that township elections have been held, what next? According to the 1962 ASCS timetable, county conventions are next on the docket—July 28.

At the county convention, township chairmen (or their elected alternates) cast ballots on the county committee. At this election, a county chairman, a vice chairman, and a regular member are elected by secret ballot and a plurality vote. Also elected are first and second alternates.

The three-member county committee hires the county ASCS office manager. He serves at the will of the county committee. Thus tenure of his position is not definite, except that he cannot be dismissed within 60 days after being hired.

Croghan points out that turnover of office managers is low.

Some business background is essential to the job of office manager. Also, farming or related work that has equipped the individual with a working knowledge of the USDA is helpful.

Salaries of Iowa's 100 ASCS office managers average right at $7,500 per year. How about the pay scale of those elected to township and county committee posts? Here's the present rate established by the State committee per day of active duty:

| | |
|---|---|
| County committeeman | $16.00 |
| Township committeeman | 13.00 |
| Reporter (measures fields, takes census, etc.) | 15.00 |
| Farm stored grain inspector | 15.00 |
| Grain bin construction inspector | 15.50 |

Per diem rates are paid to cover food and lodging. Since these are paid only after the person involved is on the job 24 hours or more.

It's the duty of the county ASCS office manager to hire and fire clerical workers as needed. There are about 1,100 full-time ASCS employees in Iowa in the 100 county offices. An additional 63 people work at the State office.

How well has the farmer committee system worked? State ASCS Chairman Fred R. McLain says "I believe the farmer committee system has proved successful since its inception in 1934. Through the process of holding community elections, it makes it possible for the farmers in each township to elect farmers to represent them.

"I don't know of any other method of administering Government farm programs that would operate as successfully as the farmer committee system."

## Voting Record of Congressman Wayne L. Hays on Major Legislation of the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WAYNE L. HAYS**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my voting record on 35 of the most important bills to come before the House of Representatives during the 87th Congress. I have done this every 2 years since I have been in Congress and mailed out copies so that my constituents could have a convenient method of checking my record. As voters in the 18th Congressional District they have the right to know how their Congressman represented them in Washington and how I voted on the major issues.

The record follows:

| How I voted | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| Voted for | Establish Area Redevelopment Administration to make loans and grants for industrial redevelopment in distressed areas. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize additional $11,500,000,000 for completion of Federal highway program. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establish program of training of unemployed in vocational schools, or on-the-job training. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase Federal minimum wage and extend coverage | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase authority of Small Business Administration to make loans | Became law. |
| Voted for | Public Works Acceleration Act to accelerate construction of necessary public works in communities with excess unemployment. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Raise payments under Social Security Act by increasing minimum benefits and benefits to widows. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Express the sense of Congress against seating of Communist China in the United Nations. | Adopted. |
| Voted for | Mutual security program of loans and grants for economic aid and development and program for Latin America. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establish Peace Corps to help peoples of interested countries in meeting their needs for skilled manpower. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend the President's authority to use surplus farm products to aid needy peoples and the economy of developing nations. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act to consolidate and broaden programs of educational and cultural exchange of persons between the United States and other countries. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Housing Act of 1961 to improve housing for moderate and low income families and promote urban development. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961 | Became law. |
| Voted against | Trade Expansion Act of 1962 giving the President the authority to cut duties on imports by agreements with other nations. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize loans up to total of $100,000,000 by the United States to the United Nations based on matching combined subscriptions of all other countries. | Became law. |
| Voted against | Tax revision bill (Revenue Act of 1962) | Became law.[1] |
| Voted for | Extend and improve public assistance and child welfare service programs of the Social Security Act. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Senior Citizens Housing Act providing for low- and moderate-cost housing for elderly in urban and rural areas. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Provide stricter regulation of drug industry and distribution of new drugs | Became law. |
| Voted for | Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend veterans' direct and guaranteed home loan programs | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase in payments to veterans' widows | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase rates of compensation for service-connected disability paid to veterans. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Provides for review by independent medical experts of disputed disability or death claims of veterans. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Constitutional amendment to prohibit poll taxes | Adopted. |
| Voted for | Federal pay reform bill providing pay increase for classified, postal, and civilian employees. | |
| Voted for | Permit Rural Electrification Administration to extend its telephone lending authority to other electrical communication facilities. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorized program of Federal grants to communities and nonprofit agencies to help finance projects to combat juvenile delinquency. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Expand the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide for a more effective program of water pollution control. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Permit miners of clay and shale to include as a depletion allowance the process of manufacturing brick and tile. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Cuba resolution expressing U.S. determination to use arms if necessary to protect our security against Soviet dictatorship military buildup in Cuba. | |
| Voted for | Authorize program of Federal aid to colleges and universities and scholarships for students. | Defeated. |
| Voted for | Federal aid for educational television outlets | Became law. |

[1] I voted against this bill because it included a withholding tax on dividends and interest. This provision was eliminated by the Senate and did not become law.

## Road to War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter appeared in today's Wall Street Journal (October 3).

This letter is written by a Cuban, and while it may be hindsight, and doubtless is, we might still profit by the writer's experience.

It will indeed be too late to discuss this subject when Latin America has been communized.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ROAD TO WAR

EDITOR, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL:

I wish to congratulate you on your editorial "The Praise of Weakness" (Sept. 19) in which you comment on the Cuban situation and the recent unfortunate statements made by Mr. Chester Bowles.

In addition to the sensible arguments set forth by you in support of the conclusion that there cannot be anything immoral in preventing a Soviet base just 90 miles away—endangering the security of the United States and the free world—allow me to point out that it is the morality of Russian penetration in this hemisphere that needs to be questioned. Why should an American official give arguments to the Soviets when he should be calling them to account for their aggressive activities in this hemisphere?

Many people in this country are still disregarding the Cuban-Soviet menace. They think that the Marines could go in and get rid of Castro whenever President Kennedy decides it. This is still true. But, what 5 or 10 U.S. Air Force Sabers could have accomplished a year ago would now require many more planes and not less than 5 or 6 U.S. regular divisions. I cannot help but wonder what will be necessary a month hence.

Even more important is the inescapable fact that communism will continue winning key positions in Latin America so long as Castro and the Soviet military remain in Cuba. They need not make use of military aggression against any Latin American country in order to spread communism in the hemisphere. Their mere presence in Cuba is the real assault on the pan-American way of life. The unavoidable facts that Russia has been able to make the Monroe Doctrine a mockery and replace it with the Khrushchev Doctrine, that all of the Inter-American treaties and declarations are dead, and that the Soviet Union possesses a colony and a base in the heart of our continent constitute the daily, evident, dangerous and insolent aggression of the Soviet Union against the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

All this means that the Reds are able, and very near, to get control of other Latin American countries without launching any military invasion from Cuba by using Cuba as a psychological propaganda base. This brings us to the question, when the Communists take over in Chile and Brazil, as they seem certain to do, what could the United States then do? How many divisions would be needed if President Kennedy then decided that "the time has arrived"? Will the United States have the divisions to take care of the Reds in Cuba, in British Guiana, in Chile, and in Brazil at the same time?

As a Cuban who was very close to Fidel Castro and Batista in different periods of our recent history, I can tell you that the position taken by many in the U.S. administration reminds me of the position Batista took when Castro was hiding in the Sierra Maestra with 12 followers as his whole army: "Let them stay there, I will finish them in an hour when and if I decide to do so."

But the Communists took advantage of Batista's mistake, as they always do with their enemies, and they grew until they were able to take over my country. When Batista was able to overcome the Communist menace, he decided that the moment had not arrived to do so. When he decided that the moment had finally arrived, he was unable to do it. I pray, for the sake of the free world, that the same mistake does not lead the Kennedy administration to the same tragic results.

RAFAEL L. DIAZ-BALART.

MIAMI, FLA.

## Firsthand View of What Occurred

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, all citizens of the United States, as well as millions in other countries, have been observing recent events in the State of Mississippi with great concern. State-

ments that have been made by leaders both in the Congress and outside have contained irreconcilably conflicting versions of the actual events and have suggested that there have been actions that deserve censure. It seems important that we should at least understand the facts. Unfortunately, there are few who have any firsthand knowledge of that facts and practically all of us must rely upon secondhand accounts. Therefore, it seems to be of utmost importance that we should look to impartial and disinterested accounts of these events.

In view of the statements and reports that have been circulated I would like to make available two reports by Cecil Holland, of the Washington Evening Star, and Tom Joyce, of the Detroit News, which appeared in the Evening Star on Monday, October 1, 1962. These are by reporters writing without any other interest or motive than to relate the facts as they occurred:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 1, 1962]

BELEAGUERED MARSHALS USE TEAR GAS, REFRAIN FROM FIRING ON RIOTERS

(By Cecil Holland)

OXFORD, MISS., October 1.—Rifle fire cracked here today as Army troops moved in to clear marauding gangs out of the area around the town's public square.

Soon after, soldiers arrested former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker at a military roadblock on the outskirts of Oxford. Mr. Walker was charged with four Federal offenses, including conspiring to incite rebellion or insurrection.

The arrest of the controversial former general, commander of troops during the Little Rock segregation crisis, came after an outbreak of fresh violence in downtown Oxford.

Mr. Walker had been in the square shortly before the rioting broke out. He stayed in the square briefly and talked with some of the townspeople before moving away under the watchful eyes of troops.

During the night's rioting on the University of Mississippi campus, Mr. Walker reportedly led at least one wave of the mob attacking marshals.

Infantrymen with fixed bayonets methodically moved down streets leading from the square after a morning of disorders brought about by roving groups carrying on the battle over the enrollment of James H. Meredith in the University of Mississippi.

The 29-year-old Negro student was enrolled in the university this morning while Federal troops poured into Oxford after a night of wild and uncontrolled rioting on the nearby Ole Miss campus left two dead and scores injured.

Troops from the 2d (Indianhead) Infantry Division moved systematically down streets leading from the town square and in thorough fashion drove all the troublemakers from the area.

FIRED IN THE AIR

They were using live bullets but seemed to be firing over the heads of those fleeing before them.

Many of the young men were rounded up and with their hands held high were collected at street corners and then hauled away in trucks.

The townspeople said they were strangers and apparently had come in from other places.

There were no immediate reports of casualties.

The university campus remained quiet after soldiers with fixed bayonets disbursed a mob which rioted there most of the night.

The Negro student was registered in the university this morning behind the massed might of the Federal Government and troops carrying rifles with fixed bayonets.

As this compliance with Federal court orders was being carried out, roving gangs wandered through the courthouse square and along adjoining streets pelting Army convoys and foot soldiers who occupied the square with rocks, bottles, sticks, and even a garbage can.

The gangs were made up of both youths and older men and hurled a barrage of taunts at the soldiers whenever they appeared.

TOSSED TEAR GAS

The Army first moved infantrymen into the area around the courthouse. They marched around the square and across the courthouse lawn before taking up positions.

After enduring the jeers and missile barrages, the infantrymen suddenly tossed tear gas cannisters at those who had been tormenting them and cleared the square.

Some of the infantrymen were Negroes and this served to infuriate even more the people who were collected around the square.

Nearly all business establishments around the large square, in the heart of this Deep South town, closed and locked their doors.

About 1 block south of the square, many young men, who appeared not to be natives of Oxford, congregated at the intersections of State Routes 6 and 7, principal arteries through town.

They hurled bricks at nearly every car that tried to run the gauntlet.

CONVOYS STILL PELTED

Even with increasing numbers of troops along the streets and in the square, groups of young men still bombarded passing convoys with bottles, rocks and other missiles.

As one convoy passed through the town's center, a heavy log was dropped from a second-floor balcony on one of the passing vehicles.

The first announcement of Mr. Walker's arrest was made personally by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in Washington.

The charges against him and the maximum penalty for each of them:

Conspiring to incite rebellion or insurrection, 20 years in prison and a $20,000 fine.

Inciting rebellion or insurrection, 10 years and $10,000.

Conspiring to hinder Federal officers in performance of their duties, 6 years and $5,000.

Assaulting a Federal officer, 3 years and $5,000. The maximum could be 10 years and $10,000 if the assault was with a dangerous weapon.

Mr. Walker was to be arraigned before U.S. Commissioner Omar Craig in Oxford as soon as it could be arranged.

WALKER LED CHARGE

During the rioting on the campus last night Mr. Walker led about a thousand college students in one charge that fell back about 100 yards from marshals circling the university's administration building.

Mr. Walker jumped on a campus Confederate memorial and yelled:

"If you can't win, go home. Don't stay at the university. But let's not quit. We can win."

The Confederate flag hung at half staff in front of the Lyceum Building at Ole Miss as Mr. Meredith was registered by Registrar Robert Ellis this morning.

Federal marshals, a bit the worse for wear after the night of shambles, surrounded the old Doric Building.

Mr. Meredith walked out of the Lyceum a duly registered student. He was smiling and he seemed calm as he has been during the excitement of the past 2 weeks. A crowd gathered slowly 100 feet away in front of Conner Hall, across a campus street.

Impassioned students, yelling constantly, shouted:

"You've got blood on your hands."

"How's it feel to have blood on your hands?"

"Nigger go home."

Mr. Meredith's impassivity didn't alter when someone asked him if he was happy that his struggle to enroll met success.

"No," he said, "this is not a happy occasion."

MARSHALS TO STAY

A few minutes after Mr. Meredith and his escort circled the Lyceum and returned without finding the proper class building, Edward O. Guthman, spokesman for the Justice Department, said: "Marshals will escort Meredith about the campus as long as necessary. They won't leave him as long as he is in any danger."

At least 40 marshals have been berthed at Baxter Hall, the campus apartment building where Mr. Meredith was housed last night.

The Government built up its strength during the night despite the lull in the disorder. An Army spokesman said 4,000 regular troops now are in Oxford. The town's population is 5,283.

The campus rioting, punctuated with gunfire from the rioters' ranks, broke out last night as the students and many outsiders vented their anger over the entrance of Mr. Meredith to the 114-year-old institution.

RAGED THROUGH THE NIGHT

The riot raged throughout the night as students and outsiders repeatedly attacked several hundred marshals who had brought the Negro student to the campus late in the afternoon.

Regular Army troops were ordered here from their staging area in Memphis, Tenn., when the situation rapidly got out of hand under the cover of darkness.

Mississippi's Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr., visited the campus at the height of the rioting and warned Justice Department officials who are here to expect more violence and possibly bloodshed during the day.

The Lieutenant Governor was said to have expressed fears that many from outside Oxford were on the way here to join in the battle against integrating the university.

NEWSMAN KILLED

One of those killed in the campus rioting was a French newspaperman, Paul Guihard, representing the London Daily Sketch and a French news agency. After one of the early student forays he was found dead with a wound in the back.

A 23-year-old jukebox repairman, Ray Gunter, of Oxford, also was fatally shot. He was taken from the university campus to Oxford Hospital where he was pronounced dead on arrival.

A U.S. marshal, Graham Same, was critically wounded by a gunshot in the neck and was flown to the hospital at the Memphis Naval Air Station for emergency treatment. Another marshal was wounded in the thigh by rifle fire.

Newsman Bill Crider of the Memphis staff of the Associated Press was wounded in the back by a burst of birdshot. Several members of the Mississippi State patrol also were wounded.

Mr. Crider's wounds were not serious. He was treated and soon returned to the campus.

CLEANED CAMPUS

The troops, arriving early this morning forced the rioters into dormitories and the wooded hills that make up the 640-acre Ole Miss campus. They left behind the litter of battle and the hulks of a half dozen burned-out cars.

Military police arrested 93 as they swept back the rioters. Later arrests brought the

total taken into custody to 112. Estimates put the strength of the troops on the campus at 1,000 men.

U.S. marshals, attired in riot jackets and helmet liners, earlier had turned back the attackers time after time in a battle they fought with tear gas and smoke bombs.

The attackers used bricks, iron pipes, and as the night wore on, turned to Molotov cocktail bombs made from soda bottles filled with gasoline.

CARS, TRUCKS HIT

Cars and television trucks were smashed and one was burned as the rioters turned on newspapermen and television cameramen with a widely separated number of attacks.

The marshals, while armed, used only their tear gas bombs and never fired on their attackers, a Justice Department spokesman inside the beleaguered building said.

One time they fired warning shots in the air and another time punctured a fire hose being used by the students.

They were harassed and under danger from intermittent gunfire which came from a hidden sniper who potted away at the buildings.

SERIOUS SITUATION

The plight of the marshals was becoming increasingly serious as the first military unit arrived on the campus.

This was the Oxford contingent of the Mississippi National Guard which had been federalized by the President.

Its commander, Capt. Murray Faulkner, a nephew of William Faulkner, the author who lived in Oxford, was among those injured. He was struck on the arm with a hurled brick.

The students and the outsiders "borrowed," as one said, a bulldozer and a fire engine and used these in an effort to run down the marshals and get close enough to hurl bricks.

The bricks and timber used to set barricades on the drives leading to the administration building were taken from a science building under construction close at hand.

The marshals, for the most part, stayed close around the building except for forays to drive the attacker back. They captured 31 prisoners during the night's rioting.

Two of these were operating the bulldozer and the firetruck. The truck made two successful runs close to the marshals before it was stopped amid a cloud of tear gas.

WASN'T STUDENT

The operator, a Justice spokesman said, was not a student.

Most of the action and the bitterest fighting took place in front of a tree-spotted, parklike area called University Circle. It is adorned with a monument as a memorial to the Confederate dead in the Civil War.

The whole area is strewn today with the debris of the fighting—empty tear gas cannisters, smashed and burned automobiles and television trucks, broken bricks, logs and slashed fire hoses.

The rioters went wild when they learned that Mr. Meredith, who had been denied admission three previous times to the university, had been brought without incident onto the campus.

Obscenities filled the aid. The rioters' wrath was directed more at the marshals than at the Negro student who had been housed under heavy guard in an apartment on the campus to await enrollment today.

OFFICIALS ARRIVE

It came after Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and other high Justice Department officials, who arrived here in an Air Force plane, conferred with the university officials, including Chancellor J. D. Williamson in the main adimnistration building.

With a wild assortment of yells, screams and curses the rioters moved on the marshals surrounding the building. "You ——— 'nigger lover'" and "Why don't you bring Kennedy down here" were some of the cries that filled the air thick with flying brickbats.

When word filtered into the ranks of the rioters that a marshal had been shot and seriously wounded a cheer went up.

The rioting broke out in frightening fashion as darkness came.

In a short while Mississippi State Police, several hundred strong, were withdrawn from the immediate fighting area and then moved off the campus.

This left the marshals and a small contingent of Army Engineers, sent here as a housekeeping unit for the marshals, to hold off the repeated attacks.

With State police gone the entrances to the university campus were left wide open and anyone who wished could walk down the darkened streets toward the administration building. The building was often bathed in drifting smoke from the bombs that had been set off.

As unexpectedly as the State police roadblocks were called off, they were restored 4 hours and 45 minutes later just as the Regular Army forces began appearing on the campus.

This blocked off the university grounds from groups of men who seemed to be heading there in increasing numbers.

QUIET WEEKEND

The night's wild disorders came after an ominously quite weekend here marked only by a few hijinks over Ole Miss' football victory over Kentucky Saturday night in Jackson, the State capital.

Tensions began building up when reports filtered through the town that some move could be expected soon to bring the Negro student here for registrations.

Rumors flew thick and fast and the tension grew as word came that President Kennedy had taken control of the Mississippi National Guard. Angry mutterings were heard then and later about this action.

The State police, which had disappeared from Oxford late Friday, returned in force early Sunday. They sealed off the campus and would permit no one except students and those living on the campus. Newspapermen who had been given press quarters in the administration building were denied admittance.

ENGINEERS ARRIVED

Early in the morning the engineers had arrived at Graham Lake, 15 miles from Oxford, and set up a housekeeping camp for the marshals.

At 2 p.m., amidst all sorts of rumors, the marshals arrived at the Oxford-University airport. First a DC–6 and then four two-engine planes landed and all were filled with marshals.

Chief U.S. Marshal James McShane and his assistant, Jack Cameron, descended from the four-motored plane and went to a telephone with Mr. McShane clutching a fistful of dimes.

Soon seven Army trucks drove up. The marshals, numbering about 70 lined up near the tracks in straggly military fashion. They stood and waited.

A little later an Air Force jet swooped down and disgorged Mr. Katzenbach and other Justice Department officials.

After more telephoning and conferring the officials and marshals climbed into troop carriers and three sedans and took off from the airport.

Midway to the highway they met a Mississippi highway patrol car carrying Col. T. B. Birdsong, State Safety Commissioner, and University Chancelor J. D. Williams. Another conference followed and then the caravan moved off.

HUNDREDS GATHERED

By this time hundreds had gathered at the airport and lined the road leading into town.

Much to everyone's surprise the caravan turned abruptly into one of the university gates without opposition from the State police guards. Within a few minutes the empty troop carriers came out another gate and headed back to the airport.

The marshals quickly surrounded the administration building, and 3 hours later Mr. Meredith was brought to Oxford. He landed in a small plane at the airport accompanied by John Doar of the Justice Department and a marshal and was taken without incident through a gathering throng along the road to the university.

Reporters, not allowed in, watched from the entrance several blocks away. They could hear yells and cheers occasionally and got frequent reports from students who came and went.

As dusk came the mood of the crowd within the university grounds and outside began to change. At the airport Mr. McShane was asked by a young woman in toreador pants for an autograph for her son.

A few hours later a mob, first of students and then of students and outsiders, was crying for his blood.

YODERS ATTACKED

About dark reporters suddenly were allowed inside the grounds. Television cameraman Gordon Yoder, of Dallas, and his wife, a native of Jackson, Miss., were the first to reach the University Circle.

Mr. Yoder, left his car to make pictures and was set up. As State police stood by he went back to his car where both he and his wife, who was driving, came under attack. Headlights were kicked out, windows smashed and eventually the rioters began rolling the car to overturn it with Mr. and Mrs. Yoder inside.

The State police took them out and away as the mob wrecked the car. Mr. Yoder also lost a camera.

At the entrance to the Administration Building a Shreveport television man was manhandled and an Atlanta, Ga., reporter was struck with the cry, "Damn Yankee, go home."

Three troop carriers, one with a Negro driver, were the target of some of the rioters. Flaming torches were hurled at the canvas tops of the trucks, and the Army men were kept busy putting out the fires.

The students and others kept pushing in on the marshals standing shoulder to shoulder around the building. There were cries, "tear gas," and the marshals donned their masks and took out their containers and readied their tear gas guns. Then the order would come "hold gas" and a little later "secure gas."

ORDER CAME

All of a sudden the explosion came. The order came and this time a cascade of canister and tear gas bombs fell amidst the advancing students. A squad of State police and newsmen were caught in the fumes.

Mr. Guthman explained later that Chief Marshal McShane gave the order after a piece of iron pipe had been hurled at a marshal and left a big dent in his helmet liner.

Inside the building Colonel Birdsong was asking the Justice Department officials if they wanted the State police to remain. He was told they did. The Mississippi official recommended that military troops be called out and about 8:30 p.m., c.s.t., the order for troops went out.

Then the State police, angered because they were caught in the first tear gas barrage, and resenting, it seemed, the presence of the marshals, began withdrawing. Orders came up to them to keep back from the firing line.

Conditions rapidly worsened. Without the presence of the State police the attacks on the marshals grew bolder.

And more people, including women and girls, were pouring into the fighting area. There were advances and threats depending on the volume of tear gas.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 1, 1962]

A REPORT FROM INSIDE: SAVAGERY AND HATRED ENGULFED OLE MISS CAMPUS

(By Tom Joyce)

(NOTE.—Tom Joyce, of the Detroit News Washington Bureau, took refuge in the Lyceum Building after suffering a tear gas attack when the rioting started.)

OXFORD, MISS., October 1.—Caught in a maelstrom of savagery and hatred, I watched for 8 hours last night from a besieged building on the University of Mississippi campus as 300 U.S. marshals withstood the full fury of 2,500 crazed students and town riffraff.

The Lyceum Building was the Alamo in a war between law and order and bigotry whipped to a murderous pitch.

Its defenders were 300 men hastily recruited from New Hampshire to California, men whose daily duties normally are no more taxing than transporting Federal prisoners from a jail cell to the courtroom and back.

Last night for 8 terrifying hours, they withstood a mob that was prepared to tear them to shreds with their bare hands.

It was a mob that had fatally shot a foreign newsman, manhandled a woman, and shouted, "Burn the Kennedys and the niggers."

It was a mob encouraged in its fury by Edwin A. Walker, discredited former Army major general who was seen during the night exhorting his troops from atop a Confederate monument.

Incredibly, the Lyceum Building was the seat of the U.S. Government on this campus.

Its defense was directed by Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, Deputy U.S. Attorney General. With him inside the building were a handful of other U.S. officials and half a dozen reporters, including myself.

Throughout the night we choked and gasped on tear gas fumes. We did our best to minister to wounded marshals and National Guardsmen who intermittently through the night were carried bleeding and unconscious into the corridors.

We watched as an empty car, its throttle opened, was sent hurtling toward the line of marshals as a murderous 200-horsepower battering ram.

We gasped in relief as it swerved and crashed into a tree just before reaching our defenders.

We ducked as rocks, bricks, and blazing Molotov cocktails hurtled toward the windows of our three-story citadel.

We listened to the occasional crackle of small arms from the darkness outside.

At one climactic moment, we watched half a dozen rioters man a bulldozer, and, with hundreds milling behind, send it rumbling up toward the classic pillars of the Lyceum.

A marshal lobbed a tear gas grenade squarely onto the driver's seat and the bulldozer's crew, gasping and choking, fell off the vehicle and staggered away.

The brunt of the frontal assault was borne by the early defenders—the hard-pressed and outnumbered marshals who stood in a line just one deep around the building.

Later about 100 Mississippi National Guardsmen joined the defenders.

But the real menace of the attack did not abate until shortly after 2 a.m., when several hundred Regular Army soldiers forced their way through the mobs and reinforced the defense perimeter.

This marked the end of the frontal attack. But we began to hear a more ominous sound—the whine of bullets glancing off the masonry in front.

Three bullets, miraculously missing the soldiers or marshals, imbedded themselves in the massive wooden front doors of our fortress. A half-dozen "prisoners"—youths who ventured too far from the safety of the crowd—were pulled in about this time.

They were arrogant and defiant, snarling: "We're fighting for the right," when they were questioned.

I was caught up in the midst of the riot almost by accident.

It had been brewing all afternoon. Hundreds of students had been milling about the campus, their mood growing uglier as firebrand speakers harangued them.

Sunday morning the campus had been the picture of serenity. It was dotted with clean-cut youngsters and their coed girl friends walking to the campus chapel.

But a Mississippi highway patrolman barred the way when I sought to reenter the campus in the early afternoon, scoffing at my White House credentials and a press badge the university had issued earlier.

"Those things won't do you any good any more," he growled.

All five entrances to the university had been sealed off and the highway patrolmen, contemptuous of "Yankee troublemakers," permitted only students and faculty members to pass.

For hours I stood outside the main gate, with other reporters and a group of segregationist townspeople who eyed us with hostility.

About 4 p.m., the marshals arrived by plane from their assembly area at Memphis, Tenn.

Landed at the municipal airport a mile off campus, they were trucked onto the campus by Army vehicles.

A number of the trucks had Negro drivers—a factor that seemed to further inflame the group within.

BAN LIFTED

Without explanation, the ban on visitors was lifted about 7 p.m.

I headed toward the Lyceum, which serves as the university's main administration building.

I had not gone 100 yards inside before I sensed that real trouble was inevitable with the same certainty one feels when a thunderstorm is brewing on a humid August night.

The clean-cut-looking youths of a few hours before had been transformed into restive animals.

From groups dotted about the campus came chants: "Go home, Yanks and niggers."

"Burn the Kennedys and the niggers."

They were inflamed by the knowledge that a Negro, James H. Meredith, was somewhere on campus and by the report that an effort would be made to register him at the Lyceum within a few hours.

ARREST REPORT

They were being edged further toward the brink by a false report that the marshals were on campus to arrest Governor Barnett. Actually Governor Barnett was back at the State capital in Jackson.

The marshals were drawn up around the Lyceum in a thin line. Some carried sidearms. Most carried shoulder-firing tear gas guns which they held at the ready. Most carried gas masks.

In a coalescing mass, the various groups of students, interspersed with seedy-looking young men from the surrounding countryside, began edging closer to the line of marshals.

BUILT COURAGE SLOWLY

The mob members built up their courage gradually by pushing and shoving.

Before my eyes, a youth grabbed a high-pressure fire extinguisher from a truck and shot its chemical contents into the face of the Negro soldier-driver.

A triumphant roar resounded as the man, in agony, clutched at his eyes and screamed in pain.

Another man sneaked up behind a truck and set its canvas top afire.

They began rocking other trucks and slashing tires. The drivers began leaping out and running for refuge behind the line of marshals.

ATTACKED REPORTER

Almost simultaneously, the mob spotted a station wagon occupied by a television reporter and his wife.

Yelling insanely, the youths smashed at the car with rocks and bottles, reached inside and dragged out the man and his wife.

They were swarmed over by their assailants. I could not learn what become of the couple; for at this instant something whistled over my head and glass shattered behind me.

At that point Chief U.S. Marshal James McShane shouted, "Fire now!"

Pop, pop, pop went the marshals' tear gas guns. I could see the grenades landing amidst the rioters.

Smoke began to rise. The mob surged back and forth, like a great bewildered animal.

This was my last impression before a cloud of gas swirled into my eyes. Choking and gasping and with tears blinding my eyes, I groped through the line of marshals into the Lyceum.

NOT ENOUGH MASKS

I could hear others inside gasping as the fumes were blown into the building, and someone cry out, "We don't have enough gas masks to go around."

Another marshal inside cried, "My God, how are we going to hold them back with this little force?"

As my eyes cleared, I peered outside. The worst of the fumes had blown away and the crowd was edging up again.

The mob began raining rocks, bottles and bricks at the marshals. The defenders crouched behind the Army trucks ringing the building.

WOUNDED ARRIVE

The wounded began arriving.

A marshal, blood streaming from a shotgun wound in his throat, was carried inside and put down in a hallway.

Some of us tried to stanch the blood with a first-aid kit while a Justice Department official got on a phone to town, frantically trying to summon a doctor.

"Send somebody, we've got a man dying in here," he pleaded.

Sometime later—perhaps an hour—a truck manned with armed soldiers fought its way through the crowd to our building, picked up the man and drove him back out to Oxford.

Next they led in Bill Crider, an Associated Press reporter from Memphis. Blood was trickling down Bill's coat from shotgun pellets in his back.

He was bandaged up and in a few minutes was on his feet, telephoning the story to his bureau.

UNMATCHED BITTERNESS

For the next few hours I watched American fight American with a bitterness unmatched on our soil since the Civil War pitted brother against brother.

And it was almost literally that here. Several truckloads of Mississippi National Guardsmen, of the same blood and breed as the rioters, arrived as reinforcements during the night and were quietly placed on our firing line.

Within moments three had fallen under the barrage of rocks and had been brought inside to a make-shift aid station.

The night followed a pattern. The mob would grow bold and charge at the line of marshals. As the rioters came within range, tear gas would be fired at almost point-blank range and they would fall back.

Clouds of the gas billowed down the corridors of the Lyceum. Justice Department men talking directly with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy had to put down the phone in paroxisms of coughing.

ONE BRIEF RESPITE

There was just one short-lived respite in the hideous hours.

The university's chaplain, Episcopal Rev. Wafford Smith, came to the front steps of the Lyceum and made a fervent appeal to the rioters to "halt their onslaught."

He came back into the building, despair and bewilderment on his face.

"They just wouldn't listen," he said. "They're getting worse."

There was added concern as the night went on. The supply of tear-gas grenades was running low.

But the mob didn't quite muster the courage to make the final mass assault that would have overrun the marshals and carried them into the building.

SOLDIERS ARRIVE

At 2:15 a.m. came a spontaneous shout that I will never forget:

"They're here. They're here."

Through the darkness came the relief columns of U.S. Regulars.

They came marching through the darkness in a column of fours, helmeted and carrying rifles with fixed bayonets.

Skirting the main body of rioters, they marched into our perimeter. Their commander, Brig. Gen. Charles Billingslea, entered the Lyceum and went into a huddle with Justice Department officials.

He strode out briskly in a few moments and sent his force into action.

Mortars were set up and with a deafening roar began to hurl giant shells of tear gas into the center of the rioters.

The shells and the hundreds of trained troops broke the back of the riot. The mob broke up and, nipping at its heels, followed the soldiers.

INGLORIOUS DEFEAT

A handful that showed defiance were collared and hustled back to a guardhouse in the Lyceum's basement. The others took to inglorious flight.

A check of the prisoners showed that some had come from as far away as Georgia and Alabama, and for some, slack-jawed and semiliterate, it was surely their first visit to any college campus.

By daybreak, the campus resembled the tawdry wreckage of a battlefield. Burned trucks, jeeps, and civilian cars were everywhere.

The Lyceum's front lawn was a litter of spent tear-gas shells, rocks, and clubs.

A GRISLY SCENE

Inside, the Lyceum presented a grisly aspect. Its floors and hallways were splashed with blood and bandages.

In a corner stood a pile of weapons confiscated from the prisoners, including one rifle and a double handful of pistol shells.

On the rifle's butt was a sticker: "This is a republic and not a democracy. Let's keep it that way."

U.S. officials refused to reveal the exact number of troops here.

One Department of Justice official said with a grim smile: "Enough to make this our town."

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## Foreign Aid and Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert three articles dealing with our foreign aid program, private enterprise, and international trade, particularly from the viewpoint of aiding Latin America. These articles were written over the past year by Fred A. Orleans of San Antonio, Tex., well known as an authority on Latin America. They are as follows:

FOREIGN AID AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

(By Fred A. Orleans)

Granted that Latin America should be helped. To say that this help should have been forthcoming 50 years ago is superfluous. The Latin Americans are now in a hurry and want both vast social welfare programs and high wages as well as rapid industrial development.

It is a well established fact that social welfare programs are not feasible until a country has passed through a stage of basic economic development. No nation can properly develop its economy without the maximum development and utilization of internal capital coupled with capital investments from private foreign sources.

The maximum generation of capital from within, coupled with an ever-expanding foreign trade and diversification of industry, will provide the needed assurance of stability in foreign exchange earnings to enable the countries of Latin America to obtain the desired economic levels.

No rewrite of the Marshall plan can in any way substitute for the urgently required correction of trade policies pursued by industrially developed nations in their dealings with less developed areas.

Latin America produces strategic materials and agricultural products of basic worldwide consumption. The United States, in turn, is the supplier to Latin America of machinery and industrial products needed for its economic development. This interchange has taken place under conditions that were adverse to Latin America.

Briefly, it can be explained as follows: The United States has had until now the power to set by itself the prices of its own products. Latin America, on the other hand has not had the power to set its own prices, and until recently its principle consumer and practically only customer has been the United States which can buy competitive raw materials from Asia or Africa.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE KEY TO EFFECTIVE AID

The importance of foreign private investments coupled with technological know-how cannot be overemphasized. Past objections of Latin American governments to foreign investments have recently been overcome, to a great extent, through joint operations by which foreign capital joins domestic capital.

A most favorable example of how private enterprise can successfully operate in Latin America has been demonstrated by Sears Roebuck & Co., Celanese of America, Woolworth, and others.

It is interesting to briefly note what Sears has done in Mexico. Sears has encouraged private enterprise by buying most of its merchandise from local industries. In this manner, Sears has encouraged innumerable small enterprises to become established, grow and expand which, in turn, generate capital. The expansion and creation of new operations provide jobs for more people. Sears sells stock to the public so that the people do not feel that the company is "foreign" since they own stock in it. Thus private capital cannot only help create private local industries, but also make a profit, generating its own capital, some of which stays in the country in the form of taxes, royalties and reinvestments, and most of which eventually returns in the form of better methods, lower costs and greater efficiency.

Loans and grants can never substitute for internal capital. The fact is that loans and grants, for the most part, are misused and mishandled and do not encourage individual initiative or effort.

GREATER PRODUCTION KEY TO DEVELOPMENT

There is not a country in the world today that did not develop through its own efforts and the wealth of a country can only increase through greater production. The great industrial complex of the United States itself developed through private investment and low wages.

Every Latin American country can raise its standards of living only through hard work, free enterprise, low wages, profits reinvested regularly, private foreign investment, and government which will both encourage all this and in addition build roads, set up ample communications, provide schools, and institute programs for the eradication of disease.

Only in this way can a country properly develop economically as a free nation. These are facts and irrefutable, and no matter how the facts are twisted and turned they cannot be denied.

If the governments of the Latin American countries are sincerely concerned with the plight of their people, they would provide the proper "climate" to encourage private investments, and these investors, both domestic and foreign, would see to it that reforms necessary for sustained economic growth were properly put into effect.

The lack of proper "climate" to encourage private investments has resulted in domestic capital being afraid of their own countries and fleeing Latin American countries at a continuously increased rate, amounting to approximately $6 billion.

The United States is now being called upon to fill the vacuum created by the flight of domestic capital, and, accordingly, will only substitute U.S. loans and grants for the domestic capital that has departed and the end-result will be no real increase in the working capital in the countries involved.

The fact that so many of the nations the United States has been helping have not come any closer to a sustained economic growth then they were when aid was initiated should convince "sincere" governments of Latin America that the best plan for their nation is not an aid program coupled with state planning which ultimately leads to socialism, but a plan of capitalism based on the maximum respect for private property, ever-expanding production not stifled by controls and a complete release of the unbridled initiative and unlimited energy of the people to achieve the desired objectives.

The continuous offer of more and more aid effectively prevents any of the countries of Latin America from turning to free enterprise to do the job.

Venezuela recently increased its participation in the earnings of the foreign oil companies so that the Venezuela Government will now receive 80 percent of the oil revenues with the companies receiving 20 percent. Despite the huge oil revenues, Venezuela is in a depression and it is inexplainable why these revenues do not trickle down to the people and do not result in a far sounder economy.

U.S. PRIVATE INDUSTRY COULD DO JOB

U.S. private industry can and would do the job if it received a little encouragement from the U.S. Government, including the indispensable need for a broadening of the guarantee program through which U.S. Government guarantees are available for new investments in friendly underdeveloped countries covering the following risks:

1. Inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts into dollars.

2. Loss through expropriation or confiscation.

3. Loss from damage of physical assets caused by war.

The U.S. Government enters into arrangements with the foreign government whereby the U.S. Government insures the U.S. investors against the above enumerated risks. In view of unsettled conditions which have prevailed in the past in Latin America, and still prevail, and which should be the rule for many years to come, the potential private investor has to remain continuously concerned about the policies and attitudes of Latin American governments of the future.

This concern can be considerably alleviated and put American businessmen in a position to make the capital and technological know-how commitments so desperately needed by the Latin American countries, if they need not worry about Latin American governments through flexibile and encompassing U.S. Government guarantee program.

FOREIGN AID QUESTIONS UNANSWERED BY OFFICIALS

The question which the U.S. Government has not answered to the satisfaction of the American people with reference to aid is: Where will the money come from; when will it stop; and who benefits?

The source of the money is fictitious since there is no surplus to provide funds insofar as the U.S. Government is currently operating at approximately a $6 billion annual deficit. Aid can only stop when the United States no longer has funds to give away or the people of the United States no longer tolerate taxation without proper representation.

Without effective controls by the U.S. Government, aid will ultimately, directly or indirectly, fall into the hands of those in power and not get to the people.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas recently stated: "The billions we sent abroad to Asia, the Middle East, and Africa did not build schools or hospitals but only military bases, army barracks, and a few factories. The underdeveloped nations that received our aid are mostly worse off for it."

Without publicity to the people of Latin America as to what is being done for their benefit by the United States, neither the U.S. Government nor the people of the United States benefit.

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TRADE NOT AID

(By Fred A. Orleans)

A year and a half ago the writer traveled the State of Texas and spoke before many social and business groups about past failures of U.S. programs for Latin America and the need to develop a workable program with the emphasis on trade and not aid. At the time, I indicated that past experiences have proven, and present failures, unfortunately, are reaffirming the fact that an indiscriminate aid program only benefits political leaders and will never provide a complete or lasting solution to the growing problems of the hemisphere.

For many years I have repeatedly indicated that top economists in Latin America acknowledge that their countries do need some economic aid and technological assistance, but need even more a vast expansion of their trade with the outside world. They must have some assurance of stability in their foreign exchange earnings to enable them to attain the desired economic levels. It has been felt in Latin America for many years that no rewrite of the Marshall plan can in any way substitute for the urgently required correction of trade policies pursued by industrially developed nations in their dealings with less developed areas. Increased production is the only key to prosperity in any country. In line with this the objectives of Mexican economic policies include goals of accelerated economic development which necessitates an increase in commodities sold abroad in competitive markets on the basis of quality and price. Mexico has been attempting to sell in the U.S. market steelplate in competition with European and Japanese producers. The U.S. customs authorities are considering the application of Mexican home market prices to establish values for determining import duties instead of the price at which Mexico ships steelplate into the United States. If this "premium" duty is imposed on Mexican steel plate, it could result in duty payable on the steelplate from Mexico being almost as much as the duty applicable to similar material shipped from a country behind the Iron Curtain.

In view of the proximity of Mexico to the United States, U.S. customs officials can readily determine the home market value of the material in Mexico and attempt to use this value as a basis of evaluation. Little consideration is apparently being given to the fact that most foreign countries declare special export prices which are not available nor freely offered on the home market in view of packing and special shipping requirements which do not pertain to their respective home countries. No foreign countries that export steel products to the United States use a declared home market value as a basis of evaluation. The home markets for foreign countries vary considerably, and, in order to compete in the foreign markets, exporters must offer their products at world market prices.

This situation is another example of technicalities by one department of Government which can bring about ultimate results harmful to long-range U.S. political and economic programs sponsored by another division of Government. Policies adopted by the custom authorities which could result in making Mexican steel products too high priced to compete with European, Japanese, and South African producers can have an overall harmful effect on the Alliance for Progress and related programs for Latin America under the jurisdiction of the U.S. State Department. In a foreign country, there is no differentiating between what one branch of the U.S. Government or another does, but whatever takes place is attributed to the actions of the U.S. Government. From a political point of view, it is extremely desirous that the United States be flexible and thereby assist in the economic growth of Mexico. Technicalities of dubious validity which restrict Mexico's trade with the United States should be vigorously rejected. If the political point of view is not sufficient to do the necessary, the economic point of view must prevail because of the great volume of trade which takes place between the United States and Mexico.

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LATIN AMERICAN SURVEY

(By Fred A. Orleans)

Have you ever asked yourself why Latin America is important to the United States and just how important it is? It should be basic knowledge that political and economic soundness in the Latin American nations is most important to the security of the United States.

From the military point of view, it is known that we are most dependent on Latin America for many basic and strategic raw materials and that the land mass of Latin America actually constitutes a barrier to the south of us, protecting against conventional types of warfare and that without this barrier, we would be completely exposed.

From the businessman's point of view, the loss of our investments and markets in Latin America would seriously affect our economy. Mexico alone accounts for international trade covering approximately $2 billion per year in each direction; that is, their total imports and exports. Most of this trade is with the United States.

From the diplomatic point of view we have been very dependent upon the vote of the Latin American nations as a bloc to support us in all the extremely important cold war votes which have been made in the United Nations.

Students of political science and history know that many of the countries of the Americas have modeled their actual structure of government on our constitutional framework.

To all of the above can be added the basic fact that by the year 2000, the population of Latin America should reach 600 million people which should be double the population of the United States. Insofar as the average age of the people of South America is approximately 21 years and over 40 percent are children under 15 years of age, we are to a great degree ignoring the fact that this is really the new frontier with a tremendous pent-up demand, which will continue to increase at an incredible rate, for consumer goods, machines, homes, transportation, hospitals, and many other things which we have come to take for granted. The importance of Latin America to the Unted States can never be overemphasized. Our destinies are intrinsically bound together. We cannot survive alone.

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## Automation: Hope for the Future, Not Fear

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important reasons for the rapid technological advances made by this Nation in recent years is automation. All too often, however, we tend to fear automation, blaming it for our unemployment. Instead, we should welcome automation and learn to master it for the benefit of all of our people.

According to a recent Saturday Evening Post article by John Diebold, who coined the word "automation" 11 years ago, automation is inevitable and must be put to aggressive and wise use if we are to maintain our advanced economic position. When used correctly, automation increases both the number and quality of jobs.

But we must also recognize that automation displaces some workers. The solution to this displacement lies, in large part, in an effective retraining program.

According to Mr. Diebold:

> Within the next generation 60 million jobs will change in character. Six-year-olds starting school can expect their vocations to change three times during their lifetime * * *. Fewer and fewer people will work in factories. More will be in offices and laboratories.

Further evidence of the need for training and retraining is the fact that millions of Americans are unemployed today, while, at the same time, about as many jobs are going begging. All too often, the jobless workers lack the necessary skills and training to fill the job vacancies.

I am proud to point out that one of the first training programs, as Mr. Diebold mentions, began in my hometown of St. Louis when, in 1955, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Work-

ers, Local No. 1, offered 30 different courses in electronics and other new electrical techniques.

But this is only a small beginning. We must undertake a vast national program to upgrade the Nation's skills through cooperative public and private efforts if we are to reap the benefits of automation.

Due to the timeliness of this subject, under unanimous consent, I insert Mr. Diebold's article, "Facing up to Automation," in the RECORD.

[From the Saturday Evening Post, Sept. 22, 1962]

FACING UP TO AUTOMATION—AN EXPERT WARNS THAT OUR ECONOMIC SURVIVAL DEPENDS ON WISER USE OF THE NEW TECHNOLOGY

(By John Diebold as told to Robert Cahn)

At a White House conference several weeks ago, the head of one of our most powerful labor unions told me, "Half of my members are worried about losing their jobs to machines. Can't you people hold off this automation business until the unemployment problem is solved?"

Like many Americans today, that union leader simply doesn't understand what automation—one of the great breakthroughs of our age—is all about. I told him, in effect, that: (1) Progress in automation isn't a matter of choice, it's inevitable; (2) the United States must pioneer in this technology or face calamitous economic and political defeat by its competitors; and (3) instead of causing unemployment, aggressive and wise use of automation could multiply jobs and swiftly raise our standard of living.

"In fact," I concluded, "the best thing we can do right now to keep workers from really being hurt, and to help the country as a whole, is to push automation forward as fast as possible."

That labor leader's fears are often reflected in newspaper headlines of today: "Automation Report Sees Vast Job Loss" or "Automation Fears Stirs Longshoremen." A poll of Detroit workers showed fear of automation second only to fear of Russia. A recent Secretary of the Army opposed a modernization program for military plants because he wanted no part of anything smacking of automation. One of the Nation's largest corporations, hoping to avoid controversy, warned its executives not to use the word "automation" in speeches.

When I coined that word 11 years ago, I meant it to describe an exciting new system of making factory assembly lines almost completely automatic through the use of electronic control systems. The concept has since been broadened to embrace a whole new method of using technical knowledge, and most of its applications are outside the factory. It enables man to undertake tasks which hitherto have been impossible, to extend his capabilities beyond all previous limits and to create a multitude of new industries. Naturally I am pained and somewhat astonished that automation is so widely misunderstood and feared.

"Automation" is almost universally misused as a synonym for "mechanization." Actually automation means the application to machines and processes of the principle of feedback, or self-correction. Automated machines are those that control their own operation—that is, they can make certain "decisions" without human aid. Your home heating system is a simple kind of automation; the temperature of the air in the house affects the thermostat which feeds the information—"too cold or too hot"—back to the furnace and turns it on or off to maintain a certain range of temperature.

The breakthrough in automation has come with the development of highly sophisticated information-handling devices which enable us to move far beyond the physical and mental limitations of human workers in production processes. For example, the burgeoning space industry with its satellites, such as Telstar, could not exist without automation. In Telstar, thousands of tasks are performed out in space through built-in automated control systems. Telstar receives messages from earth, amplifies them 10 billion times, changes their frequency and then sends them back to earth.

To place Telstar in orbit, computers had to perform complicated calculations in millionths of a second. An army of superintelligent human workers could not have reacted fast enough to substitute for the lightning-quick electronic brain which coordinated the thousands of circuits involved in getting the booster rocket to take off perfectly. As the rocket rose toward space, computers digested millions of bits of information and, at the split second when the rocket had attained exactly the required velocity and was at the right location in space, a computer-directed signal was sent to cut off fuel and allow Telstar to enter the planned orbit.

Our weather satellites are also marvels of automation, taking thousands of cloud-pattern pictures per minute and telemetering data back to ground stations where computers analyze and interpret the information. Eventually weather satellites will help not only in forecasting but in weather control, acting like the household thermostat, monitoring atmospheric conditions constantly all over the world and sending out the signals to set in motion weather-control devices.

FEARS OF MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

Unhappily, the very people who welcome the benefits expected from Telstar or weather satellites are the ones who fear automation's immediate effect on their lives. Authoritative-sounding studies that warn of automation's dire effects add to the confusion. One report, released last winter by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, included statements that chemical production jobs had dropped 3 percent since 1956, while output had increased 27 percent; and that telephone-company personnel had increased only 10 percent in the last 10 years while volume of calls had risen 50 percent. These and other statistics were used to indicate that mass unemployment lies ahead as the result of automation.

I could just as readily cite similar evidence to prove my point of view—that automation increases the number and quality of jobs. The Bell System, for instance, in spite of all its automation, now employs 40 percent more women phone operators than it did when dial phones were introduced. For every 10 jobs lost in direct chemical employment, hundreds of jobs have been created in the manufacture, distribution, and sales of new automation-produced chemical materials. And a study by the International Association of Machinists revealed that, in 346 metalworking plants where some form of automation had been installed, total employment had increased.

Shortsighted critics have been predicting that machines would cause mass unemployment ever since the start of the industrial revolution. Unfortunately no comprehensive, unbiased study has ever been made of the many factors affecting employment levels—how and why people get jobs, change jobs or lose jobs. But our industrial history shows that despite periodic slumps in employment, technological advances in the long run created enough new and better jobs to take care of the increasing population and to provide a progressively higher standard of living.

PROBLEMS OF THE DISPLACED

It is true that automation has played some part in today's unemployment. As the techniques of automation have been applied, many people have been replaced by machines and suffered before finding new work. Some have had to take inferior or lower-paying jobs; and some, especially older workers, have not been able to find work of any kind. I have seen the frustration of these displaced workers. They are human beings, not statistics, and we cannot ignore the immediate problems of getting these people back into productive and satisfying work.

The Manpower Development and Training Act recently passed by Congress is an important, though inadequate, step toward meeting the displaced-worker problem. Under the act, studies are being made of the methods of retraining and relocating unemployed workers, and a program is underway to retrain and place 100,000 people in new jobs this year.

The main point, often overlooked, is that automation is an economic necessity, a matter of national survival. We must grow economically if we are to take care of our increasing population. Ninety percent of the productivity gains of the past 50 years have come from improved technology, and the technology of today is automation.

We Americans look forward to an even better life than we enjoy today. We expect our children to have extra years of education. We want the safety of an expensive military-defense arsenal. We like the prestige of our $20 billion program to put a man on the moon. Each of us anticipates a yearly rise in personal income. And yet we expect to gain all of these expensive benefits while working shorter hours, taking longer vacations, and retiring earlier in life. Through the use of our most potent economy expander—automation—we have been able to boost the amount of production per man-hour enough to match the heavy demands. But unless we continue to automate intelligently, our productivity may not grow as fast as our needs. We will find ourselves working harder with fewer benefits.

Keeping up with the new technology is also vital to our international trade. Mass production techniques made us the world's richest Nation. The assembly line gave us new jobs, higher wages, low prices and a tremendous export trade. But today we no longer have a monopoly on modern automation techniques, and our small cushion of leadership time is rapidly vanishing.

While many Americans shy away from "automation" as a dirty word, most of the rest of the world has been captivated by its promise. The demand for automation equipment in the Common Market countries is enormous. We like to think of the United States as a pioneer in industrial methods, but the most modern steel plant in the world is being built in Wales; highly sophisticated computers are being built in France and West Germany; Japan and France have advanced car-building processes that rival the best in Detroit; and Japan is now the world's hottest market for computers.

In Paris 2 years ago Premier Khrushchev said: "Automation is a good thing. It is through this means that we are going to beat you capitalists."

Khrushchev's boast may seem ridiculous, especially in the face of reports of antiquated Russian factories and outmoded industrial techniques. Yet we know that the Kremlin has given automation a high priority since 1957, and some U.S. experts believe that the Soviet Union is now in the midst of a crash program. In May 1961, the same month when Secretary of Labor Goldberg set up an advisory committee on automation, the Russians formed a similar group under their Council of Ministers. A series of institutes has been established to study possible uses of automation in basic industries. Top Soviet experts in theoretical mathematics (a field in which Russians have always excelled) are doing some of the best basic research in

the world on advanced problem-solving machines.

Western visitors have been shown carefully selected examples of the new Soviet technology, such as an automated piston factory, which uses no direct labor, and an automated soda-production plant, which is controlled by a computer 400 miles away. The subject even affects fiction. In a recent Russian novel, "Not by Bread Alone," is not a cosmonaut or a collective farmer; he's an automation engineer who invents a new process for the continuous casting of steel.

EARLY U.S. LEAD FADES

Our position vis-a-vis Russia might be compared to 1947, when we were far ahead in nuclear energy and rocketry and assumed that our lead was insurmountable. But we slowed down our nuclear development program and temporarily stopped our rocket building. Russia plodded ahead. The 100-megaton bombs, sputnik, Titov and Gagarin and the new space twins, tell their own story.

One of the most serious threats to America's leadership in technology—and efficient production—is homegrown. It is the tendency of many of our management officials to make a basic mistake in applying automation. I find that businessmen all too often jump blindly into automation because they think that machines will magically reduce operating costs.

One manufacturing company in Florida had a fairly good accounting system until it decided it could save money by replacing 30 office workers with a computer. The computer turned out to be unsuited to the company's operation. The management had to retain all of the old help—and hired more. After a year of expensive frustration the company returned the computer and went back to its former system.

Cases as extreme as this are unusual. Most businesses that install automation devices, however, make an even greater mistake. When new equipment performs old tasks more efficiently, the executives suppose that they are reaping the full benefits of automation. But they are missing the much more important potential of automation: its capacity for new ventures and business expansion.

AUTOMATION BREEDS JOBS

Rightly used, automation breeds thousands of new jobs and incalculable benefits for all of us. A few years ago Du Pont scientists worked out a formula for making a new plastic material called polyethylene. The formula required extremely exact mixing. There were so many variables to be controlled that no manual system could be devised which would keep the mixture from turning to wax.

Du Pont engineers installed a completely automated system that could maintain the flow of ingredients, holding exact pressures and temperatures at a hundred different points while blending the materials in precisely the right proportions. Very few workers are needed in this automated plant. But jobs have been created all over the country in the manufacture, distribution and sales of products made from polyethylene—squeeze bottles, toys, garment bags, frozen-food containers and many types of merchandise packaging.

The whole new atomic-energy industry, with its fabulous promise for lowcost fuel, medical advances and industrial applications, would be impossible without automated control systems which allow people to work with reactors and radioactive materials from a safe distance. The everyday benefits of atomic energy would have been delayed for years without calculations made possible by high-speed computers.

Designing and building rockets and space vehicles kept several aircraft companies in business after Government and civilian airplane contracts faded away. Thousands of people have found work in electronics companies making parts for space vehicles. All told, an estimated half million people work in various parts of the space-and-missile program.

If we can overcome our fears and put automation to work effectively—a big if—we will open the way to a world such as few can imagine. It is impossible to predict all the benefits we will enjoy from the new technology, but here are samples of what to expect:

By century 21, currency probably will be used only for incidentals. Instead of taking home a paycheck, you may have a central account to which your employer's computer automatically credits your salary. All of your purchases at stores, markets, theaters, restaurants, and so on, will be automatically debited to your account at the instant of purchase.

New systems for the handling of information will soon affect everyone. The library will become a central store of information which will be available at any point in the country by means of data-communications systems. When you need particular information, you will simply dial a code number, and information-retrieval machines will project the material on a screen or produce electronically prepared copies.

Information-storage-and-retrieval systems will also be used in medical diagnosis and research. A running record of each patient's history, kept in electronic form, will enable doctors to spot disease symptoms or tendencies long before they could be discovered by conventional methods. If you become ill while traveling in any part of the world, a physician will be able to dial a record-storage center and in seconds have your complete medical history.

INNOVATIONS FOR TOMORROW

Just the other day I saw demonstrated in a laboratory of the Radio Corp. of America a machine which instantaneously translated a spoken sentence into three foreign languages. When the project engineer spoke into the machine, its electronic voice repeated the sentence in German, French, and Spanish, producing at the same time a printed translation. The machine is still crude, but translating systems will be refined so rapidly that within the decade two people speaking different languages may converse and understand each other through a tiny device on wrist or lapel.

A few years ago I believed that machines would never be able to duplicate man's learning processes, or his ability to identify one face out of 100 million. The research now going on has made me change my mind.

Perceptron a pattern recognition device now under development, can distinguish between letters of the alphabet, identify objects and recognize faces. Machines have been taught to play checkers and blackjack, and have defeated the men who taught them. The most revolutionary research in automation today is being done in what we call heuristic, or self-adaptive, systems. Some of these machines are "goal-oriented"—you can program them for a certain goal, and they will keep trying new approaches until they work out the best one. They improve their own approaches as they go along and will be able to cope with entirely new conditions which may be unknown to the intelligence that built and programed their electronic innards. Most of the publicity concerning heuristic machines has been devoted to their game-playing abilities, but most of the research being done here and in Russia is top secret. Both governments know that the next great scientific breakthrough might come in this area.

These machines have special importance in the space program. When the first unmanned spaceship goes to Mars, for instance, no one can predict all the conditions it will meet. But the spaceship's heuristic system could be given goals of landing, exploring and returning, and it would accomplish the mission in the best possible way, adapting itself to whatever conditions it would encounter.

Many other innovations are now taken for granted and are only awaiting financing and public acceptance. On the electronic highways of the future you may dial a destination and let your computer-controlled car pick the optimum route and do the driving. Teaching machines will pace a student's progress, diagnose his weaknesses and make certain that he understands a fundamental concept before allowing him to advance to the next lesson. Computers will enable a businessman to test all the alternatives of a decision before he actually enters into a deal. And the State Department will be able to feed the factors of a ticklish international situation into a computer and learn the probable consequences to each of a wide range of decisions.

GREAT UPHEAVALS AHEAD

This automated world of tomorrow will also bring great upheavals. Along with the benefits will come vast and rapid change in every aspect of our lives. The social consequences will be far more jarring than those experienced in the industrial revolution. Specifically, we can expect these things to happen:

Within the next generation 60 million jobs will change in character.

Six-year-olds now starting school can expect their vocations to change three times during their lifetime. One shot of formal education may have sufficed for most of us, but our children will need some form of education all during life.

Fewer and fewer people will work in factories. More will be in offices and laboratories. Work will be more interesting because machines will do the repetitive tasks, while more of our working time will be devoted to innovation.

A premium will be placed on intelligence; mistakes will be more costly. Some people who have been accustomed to monotonous jobs will have difficulty adjusting to employment requiring thought and skill.

The workday, as well as the workweek, will be shortened. The pace of life might even slowdown. We will have more time for art, culture, sports and hobbies. People will have to learn how to use the extra time off and not deteriorate mentally and physically.

Then new age demands courageous decisions and actions now by Government, labor and management. Instead of being ruled by fear of labor displacement, we must prepare for the extensive social and economic changes which are sure to come.

MAJOR DOMESTIC CHALLENGE

Government must stop running scared. The present relocation and retraining activity, as necessary as it is, deals primarily with mopping up after the damage has been done. The President declared last February that automation is "the major domestic challenge of the 1960's." What is needed now is a clear statement of policy: that we intend to seek world leadership in automation, that it is highly desirable and should be pursued vigorously.

Once Government has set a favorable climate, labor and management should join forces to prepare for inevitable changes. Labor unions must drop their blind fear of automation and use their organizations to work out with management plans for orderly stages of automation. Unions also must accept responsibility for helping their own members adjust to changes in jobs. A good example is the training program started in 1955 by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 1, in St. Louis. Forty percent of the membership has en-

rolled in 1 or more of the 30 different courses in electronics and other new electrical techniques.

Management must realize that there is more to automation than just installing new machines. They need to recognize that the changes ahead must be planned with care for the worker. The ingenuity that goes into solving business problems should be applied to the problems of social adjustments.

During the industrial revolution, management shrugged off its social responsibility, with an "everything will take care of itself" attitude. The resulting unrest among laboring people produced a fertile atmosphere for the theories of Karl Marx, which have had much to do with the shape of our world, whether we like it or not.

The new automation revolution is going on now. The question before all of us is: Are we going to lead the way into the new world of automation—or must we be dragged into it?

## Secretary of State Rusk's News Comments on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has performed a valuable service in appearing on nationwide television to discuss the policies of the United States with regard to Cuba. Mr. Rusk appeared on Howard K. Smith's "News and Comment" program Sunday, September 30. His comments will, I am sure, create a better understanding among us of the situation which presently exists in Cuba. I commend the Secretary's remarks to the Congress and to the public in general and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. JOHN SCALI. Mr. Secretary, in the past we have said that the arms buildup in Cuba is defensive even though Castro has been supplied with missiles. Is it possible now that Russia's plan to build a so-called fishing port tips the balance from a defensive to an offensive buildup?

Secretary RUSK. Well, those announcements have to do with action to be taken in the future. We will be watching that very carefully and closely indeed, and we will make a judgment when we see what in fact actually happens. Now, I don't think that we ought to play with words on this question of defensive and offensive weapons. Any weapon is offensive if you are on the wrong end of it. But the configuration of the military forces in Cuba is a configuration of defensive capability. What we are concerned about is the development of any significant offensive capability against Cuba's neighbors in the Caribbean, or against this country, and we are keeping a very close watch indeed on just that point. We have very great power in that area, and the President has made it very clear that whatever arms are in Cuba will stay in Cuba, and that there will be no effort by Castro to move these arms into other countries.

Question. Mr. Secretary, how will the Government be able to make a judgment of when the arms buildup shifts from a defensive to an offensive status?

Answer. Well, that would be a matter of detail, affirmation, and judgment based upon all the military views available, and that would be done with our own military advisers taking a full part in an assessment of capabilities.

Question. How would you evaluate the Soviet arms build-up in Cuba in terms of the total Soviet cold war strategy?

Answer. Oh, I think that the Soviets have had to face the fact that this regime in Cuba has been getting into very serious trouble indeed on the island. Foodstuffs are in very short supply, production has dropped off severely, there has been undoubtedly a sense of uneasiness and alarm on the part of the rulers there. They have called, for example, for a considerable number of what seemed to have to be phony alerts. I think they may be trying to draw attention away from some of the problems that they are having on the island. I think that the Cuban situation is certainly becoming very expensive indeed for the bloc to shore up the failures there; but it is also a very serious problem for us and has to be treated as such.

Question. Mr. Secretary, which is the greatest danger to the United States, the potential alienating of much of world opinion by taking firm action against Cuba, or the potential loss of prestige and respect for permitting Russia to outflank us and build a base for subversion next door to us?

Answer. Well, I think neither one of those is a full basis for deciding what action is right and wise and necessary in a given situation. It is clear that the power of the United States is such that you could put armed forces ashore in Cuba, but that means a lot of casualties and it means a lot of Cuban casualties, it means bloodshed. And if we could find an answer without that, we should try to do so.

But the question of prestige is primarily a question of solidarity in this hemisphere. I think that general world opinion is much less interested in Cuba than we are here, for quite understandable reasons. And we have seen here in this hemisphere and are seeing a rapidly growing solidarity with respect to Cuba. The Communists' voices in the hemisphere have become more vocal. But on the other hand, the Castro regime has been losing the sympathy of what might be called the democratic left. It is quite clear that the moderates and conservatives throughout the hemisphere are losing their complacency about Castroism and are becoming more and more active and concerned about it. There has been a dramatic change since the Costa Rica conference of 1960, reflected in the Punta del Este conference in January of this year, and that movement of both peoples and governments in this hemisphere continues. And I am now talking to foreign ministers here in New York, and we will be talking to them next week to see what further steps we ought to take in the situation.

Question. Mr. Secretary, in this coming week of course you will have the so-called informal meeting with the inter-American foreign ministers. Could you tell us why this meeting is an informal one and not a formal one?

Answer. Well, the principal reason is to have a chance to meet as quickly as possible and without all of the problems that are concerned in convening a formal meeting under the Organization of the OAS Charter and encounter many of the other questions that exist there among the different members of the hemisphere. The foreign ministers were gathering here for the United Nations General Assembly. We thought that we ought to take advantage of that fact to meet just as informally as possible. It is not a meeting which can in fact take decisions under the charter of the OAS because it is so very informal, but I already know from my own talks here in preparation for that meeting that it will be a very profitable and worthwhile meeting.

Question. Mr. Secretary, in the past you have put a great premium on the desirability of unity within the inter-American family. Unhappily, several Latin American countries have dragged their feet on taking effective action against Castro. Is it possible that at this informal meeting you will come up with some sort of plan whereby the nations most immediately threatened by Castroism in the Central American and Caribbean area might join with the United States in some kind of tougher action?

Answer. Well, that was already anticipated in the Punta del Este Conference in January. One of the resolutions that was passed, I think by a 17-vote majority, did provide for joint actions by groups within the hemisphere to deal with this specific question if necessary. We will of course continue not only our consultation with the other countries within the Caribbean area, but we will continue our close cooperative work with them on matters of common security interest—for example, on surveillance in the Caribbean, in being sure that there is no illicit arms traffic in the Caribbean area coming out of Cuba, and a variety of other actions which are being taken behind the scenes with the full cooperation of the governments in that area.

Question. Mr. Secretary, on another point, we find that many of the Cuban exile organizations in the United States are complaining rather bitterly in some cases against the restrictions being put on them by the American Government. Many of them have all sort of plans for returning to the homeland. Why aren't we supporting some of these exile organizations in the United States in allowing them more freedom?

Answer. Well, we have, as you know, been giving considerable support to the refugees as such.

Question. Right.

Answer. Now, as happens so frequently with refugees or exile organizations, there is very little unity among them. There is a contest for influence. They find it difficult to work together. This is the principal problem insofar as any single organization is concerned. Also I think it has to be borne in mind that there are anti-Castro people on the island of Cuba who need to be recognized as having a real stake and part in this whole problem. So that I realize that there are certain groups or certain committees that feel that they ought to be a chosen instrument of some sort. But the great problem and the great need is for all non-Castro Cubans to get together as closely as possible in a great unity of purpose to restore Cuba to the democratic life of the Western Hemisphere.

Question. Mr. Secretary, you have mentioned the anti-Castro underground in Cuba, which we know exists. There are also many people who say that we should take a more active role in supporting this anti-Castro underground, perhaps by supplying them weapons and giving them encouragement through other means. What do you say to to this?

Answer. Well, I obviously can't get seriously into that question. The anti-Castro elements in Cuba do know that they have the encouragement and support of everyone in this hemisphere who is opposed to Castroism, but I think that this is the sort of thing or question I can't really get into.

Question. Is it our information, sir, that considerable anti-Castro sentiment exists in Cuba?

Answer. I think that that is very definitely our impression and that this is growing, because of the ruthlessness of the regime and the great severity of the regime on the people and their economy and their traditional way of life. I think we know that the Castro regime has great organized support. It has

the accoutrements of a police state, but it also has underneath it what has happened in so many dictatorships of that sort—deep resentment on the part of the people themselves.

Question. Mr. Secretary, the Republicans on Capitol Hill seem to be making quite an issue of the administration policy on Cuba. Now, granted that both Republicans and Democrats have united behind this single resolution supporting the President, do you think that many of the Republican demands which may come up during the election are really political in nature?

Answer. Well, I think that in the present campaign that candidates of both parties are going to be and should be talking about Cuba with the people in their constituencies. I do not believe that except for an occasional instance that this debate can take on a straight partisan line. Cuba has been a problem for two administrations. It is still an unsolved problem. And in my discussions with the committees and the leaders in our Congress, I find that the Democrats and the Republicans are equally concerned about the problem and that they are equally concerned about finding the right and wise course of action under all the circumstances.

We have a national problem here in front of us, and I think vigorous debate is to be desired, and is in any event unavoidable, but I would hope that what is necessarily a national problem does not break itself up into alleged partisan points of view, because I feel and know that the leadership of both parties are deeply concerned—concerned that no satisfactory answer has yet been found and that the penetration of this hemisphere by Castro communism is something which cannot be accepted in the hemisphere and by the United States.

Question. Mr. Secretary, in discussing Cuba wtih some of the foreign ministers here, I know that you have heard the view expressed by some that Cuba is a United States problem. Do you agree that this is a strictly U.S. problem?

Answer. Well, it is in the first instance a major problem for this hemisphere because of the commitments of the hemisphere under its treaties and charters and in those commitments the United States plays a very important role. It is a problem for us because it is a problem in the hemisphere as well. It would be a problem for us had we not had the hemisphere organizations. But it is here. But it is also a part of a worldwide struggle for freedom. It is involved in a worldwide confrontation between the Communist bloc and the free world, and therefore it is one of those problems which is of concern to all the free world because this struggle is relentless and unending in every continent, and no one can be, I think, disregardful of it.

Question. Mr. Secretary, since this is part of a worldwide Communist plot, could we not soon be approached with a deal to shut down some of our bases overseas in return for which Russia would close down her base in Cuba?

Answer. This is not a negotiable point. This would not be a way to meet this struggle for freedom. You cannot support freedom in one place by surrendering freedom in another. In any event, we have special commitments here in this hemisphere under our hemisphere charters, and we cannot connect in negotiations or in trade the problem of Cuba with the defense of freedom in other places. No. This is not on.

Question. This would also apply to any effort to link Cuba, say, with Berlin?

Answer. Exactly.

Question. Mr. Secretary, are you a baseball fan?

Answer. Yes. I have been for many years.

Question. Do you keep close tab on what the lowly Washington Senators are doing?

Answer. Well, some of my friends think that I am a man of little conscience because I am automatically a hometown fan. I was a New York Yankee fan for many years, and now I am a Washington Senator fan. It hasn't given me too much to cheer about this season, but nevertheless it is a good ball club and I have enjoyed following them.

Question. Do you have any hope that next year it will wind up any better?

Answer. Well, when you wind up in the cellar, you always say "Wait until next year."

Mr. SCALI. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

## Udall Welcomed in Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall made his first trip to Alaska last week. It was tremendously successful. The Secretary's keen and demonstrated interest in Alaska's development; his pleasing personality; his willingness to meet as many people as possible; his grasp of Alaska's problems, combined to win him a warm welcome in the 49th State. Alaskans liked Secretary Udall. This was well exemplified by the editorial, entitled "Come Again, Mr. Secretary," printed in the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner for October 1. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COME AGAIN, MR. SECRETARY

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall made a good impression during his first visit to Fairbanks last week. Encouraging to Alaskans was his obvious interest in the development ahead for our largest State.

Because the Secretary of the Interior controls a vast area in Alaska—the majority of our 586,400 square miles—his interest is vital to our future. While we now have voting Representatives in Washington, and an elected Governor in Juneau, a large part of Alaska's future is either directly under Secretary Udall's jurisdiction or dependent upon policy decisions which are his responsibility.

Rules under which Alaska's resources, above and below the ground and in the seas, can be developed hinge upon Secretary Udall's judgment: Most of Alaska's wildlife and fisheries are controlled by his office; his Geological Survey and Bureau of Land Management, with the Bureau of Mines establish the rules and conditions under which minerals and petroleum can be developed.

Land allotted our State under the enabling act can be turned over to the State no faster than it can be accurately designated by Department of the Interior agencies.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs governs almost every facet of the daily lives of the majority of Alaska's native population.

The Secretary of the Interior controls the many Federal wildlife ranges, national parks, and national monument areas in our State—which include spectacular examples of nature's beauty unmatched elsewhere around the globe. Here lie attractions for visitors (and for Alaskans as well) which are proving an increasingly important economic factor as Alaska's fame as a major American vacationland increases. Facilities to accommodate visitors are in most part woefully inadequate or nonexistent in or adjacent to these areas. Needed facilities for Americans to enjoy the wonders of this national heritage will be provided largely upon recommendation of the Secretary's office.

Even access to one of our major visitor attractions—majestic Mount McKinley and nature's unsurpassed wonders in the surrounding park—is largely controlled by Secretary Udall's Department: The Alaska Railroad transports the majority who visit McKinley, and is the only railroad operated by our Federal Government.

Secretary Udall's comments here clearly indicated his acute perception of the value of Alaska's natural wonders to this and future generations.

Equally important, he appears fully aware of practical aspects of wise development of natural resources compatible with prudent trusteeship of primeval areas, so that future generations may enjoy nature's wonders largely in the form left by our Creator.

The Secretary's remarks on the benefits which will accrue from harnessing the Yukon at Rampart to make continuing low-cost power available and simultaneously make adequate provision for the surrounding wildlife area illustrated what appears to us to be wise and considered judgment.

His comparison of Alaska with Russia's Siberia (which he recently visited) was something of a shock: Secretary Udall brought home to us that the Soviets are far, far ahead of us in development of the North Country—and the Russian developments are centered around the huge hydroelectric power projects more than comparable to the 5-million kilowatt Rampart dam, which will be America's largest.

Not only are the Russians already building a huge "Siberian Rampart"—they are also actively making plans for construction of a 20-million kilowatt dam much farther north. This huge installation, four times the size of Rampart, will be built near the mouth of the Lena River, several hundred miles north of Alaska's northern tip at Point Barrow.

Those who question that construction of Rampart is not practical would do well to look at Russia's activities.

Secretary Udall stated, "We are in a power race with the Soviets." While not making any flat statements endorsing feasibility of our Rampart Dam, he indicated he was intrigued with the competitive potential after he visited the Rampart site on the way here.

We were impressed with the sincerity of our present Secretary of the Interior. It was nice to have him with us.

We hope he will come again soon—and often.

## The Record of the 87th Congress, 1st Session: Report to the People of the 2d Congressional District of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as has been my custom since my first election to Congress, I wish to report to the people of the mountain-valley Second Congressional District concerning my votes and actions during the 1st session of the 87th Congress.

At this point I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a table which lists my rollcall votes during 1961:

*Voting record of Congressman Harold T. Johnson, 87th Cong., 1st sess.*

| My stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| For Rayburn | Election of Speaker Sam Rayburn | Rayburn elected. |
| Voted for | Enlarge the House Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members | Committee enlarged. |
| Voted for | Temporary extension of unemployment compensation recommended by President Kennedy | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize budget for House Un-American Activities Committee for 1961 | Approved. |
| Voted for | 3d supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal year 1961, including funds for 69 2d congressional district school districts | Became law. |
| Voted for | Emergency feed grains program | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend Sugar Act through December 1962 and authorize President to deny the Dominican Republic any quota "bonus" resulting from Cuban cutbacks. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize $804,000,000 in military construction | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Create additional Federal judgeships, including 4 in California | Became law. |
| Voted for | Area Redevelopment Act program for Federal loans, and grants for redevelopment of economically depressed industrial and rural areas. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Social security amendments to extend benefits to widows, disabled and retired people | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $500,000,000 for aid to Latin America in accordance with President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program | Became law. |
| Voted for | Minimum wage legislation, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1961 | Became law. |
| Coauthored | Water Pollution Control Act, to assist State and local agencies solve water pollution problems | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend for 2 years, Mexican farm labor law | Became law. |
| Voted for | Raise ceilings on salaries of members and employees of Council of Economic Advisers, as requested by President Kennedy | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establishment of Office of International Travel and Tourism | Became law. |
| Voted for | Resolution favoring collective sanctions by Organization of American States against Castro government | Adopted. |
| Voted for | Authorize appropriations of $12,000,000,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval ships in 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Repeal of a provision in Railway Mail Pay Act intended to prevent railroads from charging higher rates for carrying non-first-class mail than for carrying express matter. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $5,900,000,000 for Agriculture Department and Commodity Credit Corporation | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $751,000,000 for Departments of State, Justice, and the judiciary | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend existing corporation and excise taxes | Became law. |
| Voted for | Motion to recommit bill to qualify Supreme Court decision relating to unnecessary delay in criminal arraignments | Passed House. |
| Voted against | Resolution disapproving President's reorganization for Federal Communications Commission. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization disapproved. |
| Voted against | Resolution disapproving President's reorganization plan for Securities and Exchange Commission. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | To permit International Finance Corporation, an affiliate of the World Bank, to acquire stock in private companies in underdeveloped nations. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $47,000,000 in supplemental funds for State, Justice, Treasury, and Defense | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving President's reorganization plan for Federal Trade Commission. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Housing Act of 1961 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase national debt limit for 1 year | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $42,000,000,000 for defense | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establish uniform procedure for Federal court review of alien deportation and exclusion orders | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Establish Cape Cod National Seashore Park | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving President's reorganization plan for Civil Aeronautics Board. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Authorize commemoration of Department of Agriculture Centennial | Became law. |
| Voted for | Provide evacuation pay to civilian employees evacuated in emergencies | Became law. |
| Voted for | National Aeronautics and Space Agency appropriations | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving Reorganization of National Labor Relations Board. ("No" vote supported reorganization) | Reorganization disapproved. |
| Voted against | Disapproving reorganization of Federal Maritime Board. ("No" vote supported reorganization) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $883,000,000 for military construction | Became law. |
| Voted for | Give President authority to call up Reserve forces | Became law. |
| Voted for | Supplemental military appropriation to meet Berlin crisis | Became law. |
| Voted for | Farm bill, including improved emergency and disaster relief programs | Became law. |
| Voted for | Reorganization of Federal Communications Commission | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize military to sell supplies or services to aircraft owners in national emergencies | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Supporting construction of powerplant at Hanford reactor to harness steam energy which otherwise would be wasted | Rejected. |
| Voted for | Reorganization of Interstate Commerce Commission | Became law. |
| Voted for | Transfer Freedmen's Hospital in District of Columbia to Howard University | Became law. |
| Voted for | 1961 mutual security authorization | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amend Federal Aviation Act to make airplane hijacking an offense punishable by imprisonment or death | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize planning U.S. participation in 1964 New York World's Fair | Passed House. |
| Coauthor | Authorize lead-zinc subsidy for small operators | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize National Fisheries Center in Washington, D.C. | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Authorize Attorney General to fix salaries of aids | Rejected. |
| Voted for | Equalize readjustment payment for Reserve forces | Became law. |
| Voted for | Emergency school aid program sought by President | Rejected. |
| Voted against | Amendment substantially restricting juvenile delinquency studies | Amendment defeated. |
| Voted against | Admission of Communist China to United States and U.S. recognition | Unanimously rejected. |
| Voted for | Authorize national hog cholera eradication program | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase military aid program in mutual security bill | Amendment approved. |
| Voted for | Passage of mutual security appropriations | Became law. |
| Coauthored | Extend Federal aid to 69 federally impacted school districts in 2d district | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amend Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to provide for more effective enforcement. (Motion to pass under suspension of rules, ⅔ majority required.) | 245 to 161; failed ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act | Became law. |
| Paired for | Peace Corps | Became law. |
| Announced for | Increase longevity step pay for postal workers | Vetoed. |
| Announced for | Publicize dissemination of Communist propaganda through mails | Passed House. |
| Announced for | Permits midwestern farmers to plant barley crop on lands prepared for wheat before acreage control program for 1962 | Became law. |
| Announced for | To increase number of supergrade civil service positions | Became law. |
| Voted for | U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize study of National Tropical Botanic Garden, Hawaii | Failed to obtain ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | Establish Federal Advisory Council on Arts | Failed to receive ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | Amend District of Columbia Sales Tax Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | Public works appropriations, including approximately $70,000,000 in construction funds for 2d district | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize new Federal supergrade positions for National Security Agency | Became law. |
| Announced for | Extension of Federal Airport Act to permit continued assistance to local airport projects | Became law. |
| Announced against | Rule prohibiting amendments to postal rate increase bill | Rejected. |
| Announced for | Bill to publicize distribution of Communist propaganda and facilitate its rejection | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To accept Senate proposal that President can withhold information on mutual security if he certifies reasons for action | Approved. |

## Address by Paul Hall, President, Seafarers International Union, and Vice President and Executive Council Member, AFL–CIO, at the New York Harbor Association Dinner Held September 22, 1962, in Honor of International Vice President Anthony Anastasio of ILA Local 1814, and the Venerable A. Edward Saunders, D.D., Archdeacon Episcopal Archdiocese of Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, a week ago Saturday evening, September 22, 1962, I had the great privilege of attending a huge dinner at the Town and Country Club, Brooklyn, given in honor of International Vice President Anthony Anastasio of the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 1814, and the Venerable A. Edward Saunders, D.D., archdeacon of the Episcopal Archdiocese of Brooklyn.

Among those who spoke on this occasion was the president of the Seafarers International Union, vice president and executive council member, AFL–CIO, my friend, Mr. Paul Hall.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following address given by Mr. Hall on that occasion:

I consider it an honor and privilege to be in attendance at this affair tonight given by the New York Harbor Association in honor of two of my dear friends, Anthony Anastasio, international vice president of the International Longshoremen's Association and business manager of local 1814, ILA, and the Venerable A. Edward Saunders, D.D., archdeacon, Episcopal Archdiocese of Brooklyn.

I am particularly pleased that this affair is in honor of two individuals who have had so much to do with the progress of the waterfront workers over the past few years in the Borough of Brooklyn. The New York Harbor Association is to be commended for their recognition of the outstanding achievements of these men. Dr. Saunders has always been a friend of the waterfront worker and has never been too busy to give of his time and efforts in their behalf. He has consistently aided not only the ILA and Local 1814, but scores of individual workers as well. It was through the efforts of Dr. Saunders and other public spirited citizens that the ILA has been able to overcome many of their problems.

Anthony Anastasio is indeed worthy of the award being given him tonight because of the economic and social success that the Brooklyn longshoremen have achieved over the past few years. The mark of a good trade unionist as well as a good trade union is judged by what has been accomplished for the people represented by such an organization and its leadership. By those standards and the fine modern union hall that the longshoremen now have in Brooklyn, the outstanding medical center adjacent to that union hall and the increased earning capacity that the longshoremen have obtained in the past few years, is living testimony to the fact that Tony Anastasio, as an individual trade unionist and the head of Local 1814, as well as the officers and members of Local 1814 have done an outstanding job in this regard.

Further indication of this is the very size of this affair tonight. The some 1,500 individuals here represent every cross section of life in the Borough of Brooklyn. For example, we have on our rostrum tonight, New York State Supreme Court Justice M. Henry Martucello; Congressman John J. Rooney, chairman of House Subcommittee on Appropriations; chief clerk and administrative director, New York State Supreme Court, Kings County, James V. Mangano, and many other honored guests. In our audience we have a number of U.S. Congressmen, judges from the various courts, assemblymen and State senators. We are also honored tonight in having present as a guest at this affair New York City Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy.

We, the friends of the venerable A. Edward Saunders and international vice president Anthony Anastasio are indeed proud of this award tonight and we believe the attendance of such a cross section of this area is in itself proof of the tremendous work done by these individuals. We are particularly proud of Tony Anastasio because he has had a long road to travel and an extremely difficult one to establish the working longshoremen, his union and his officers as a respected element in the society of our community. This has been true, as all of us from the waterfront know, that most people are always willing to believe the worst of waterfront people rather than to find out for themselves as to the type of worker and type of representative that work along the docks and ships. It is a fact that for some strange reason, people who are fairminded and unbiased about most subjects automatically assume that if a person comes from the waterfront, they are less worthy of consideration in our community than others. It is therefore, I repeat, a tremendous pleasure, not only to people such as myself, but all representatives in the trade union movement and waterfront labor movement in particular when such an event as tonight takes place.

I am sure that Tony's daughter, grandchildren, and brother, the Reverend Salvatore Anastasio, assistant pastor at St. Lucy's Roman Catholic Church in the Bronx, all of whom are present here tonight, are all extremely proud of him and are happy for him.

It is gratifying to know that the efforts made by these two wonderful people, Dr. Saunders and Tony Anastasio have not gone unnoticed in our town, as witnessed by this dinner tonight in their honor. I am sure that all of us look forward to many long years of happy association in the future with both of them as has been enjoyed in the past. Thank you.

## Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure to find our teenage people spending their time in constructive work and, in the process, building character and loyalty to our country.

I was especially impressed with an article by Janie Tollefson, daughter of Congressman THOR TOLLEFSON, of Washington State, which appeared in the September issue of The Discus, published by the National Cathedral School for Girls here in Washington, D.C.

The comments made by Miss Tollefson, editor of the paper, are certainly an inspiration to all of us as she describes the special meaning of the flag at National Cathedral.

It is my thought also that the school deserves honorable mention for giving the various awards to which she refers and which, I am sure, will remain symbols of achievement throughout the lives of the recipients.

I feel privileged to insert the following editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FLAG DAY

(By Janie Tollefson)

The American Flag is symbolic of many things which we value as traditionally important in the development of our country and the development of our school.

The flag has inspired soldiers in their defense of the United States; it has beckoned many to our shores, promising the freedom of opportunity; it has marked the expansion of early America as it moved West during the frontier days; it has signaled the steady growth of America abroad, not in physical terms, but in spiritual and ideological terms, and continues to do so today.

At National Cathedral, the flag has a very special meaning. It flies over the school all year round, inspiring students to develop their academic potential. It is awarded at the end of each year to that girl who has worked toward and achieved that goal conscientiously.

Perhaps Nora Ronhovde, who won the flag last June for her consistently excellent academic performance, will not mind if we say that the flag, although given to her, belonged to all of us last year, in that it symbolized and inspired our individual academic efforts no matter how great or how small.

Flag Day attempts to recognize as many of those academic achievements as possible, and further, to pay tribute to those girls who have outstandingly contributed to the development of our school in such ways that make it a pleasant and ordered community.

The Tuckerman Prize named for a Cathedral graduate (Margaret Tuckerman 1940), is given to two students selected from grades 4 through 8, whose ability is best displayed in writing on a given topic. Perrin Moorhead, grade 6, and Suzanne Galliher, grade 8, won those awards last year.

A similar award is given to the girl in the upper school who most ably performs with respect to grammar, interpretation, and content. Christine Inge received the Hyde Prize last June.

The Art Medal and the Music Award recognize achievement and potential in terms of technique, interpretation, and feeling. These qualities were best developed and attained by Rucha Robinson, grade 12, in art; and Ann Stewart Matthews, grade 11, Mary Louise Orrick, grade 8, Josephine Marshall and Margaret Roman, grade 5, in music.

The Religion Award, new in 1962, was given to Janis Adams who exemplified the attitude and meaning of the senior Bible class taught by Canon Shoemaker.

The Library Award, given to the girl in the lower school who reads the most books during the year, was presented to Margaret Louise Bunn, grade 6.

In particular subjects, academic achievements are awarded in French and History. Miss Pellet presented Nora Ronhovde and Suzanne Snell of grade 12, with the upper school French award, and Mrs. Butkow presented it in the lower school to Babette

Wise of grade 7. Julia Steel and Diane Martin, seventh graders, received honorable mentions.

Mrs. Acheson presented Katharine Gresham, grade 12, with the History Award for her aptitude and achievement in that field.

Equally important are those awards which honor girls in their roles as fine citizens of the cathedral community. The school colors, symbolizing leadership, loyalty, and consideration, were given to those girls in the sixth grade who best exemplified these qualities: Lynn Battle, Catherine Cooper, Carole Mast, Perrin Moorhead, Julie Myers, and Edith Price.

Honors of the household, awards to those who contribute to the happiness and well-being of the residence, were last year presented to Shahla Khosrovshahi, Fan Staunton, Nancy Stead, and Mason Winn.

All the aforementioned awards are presented to girls whose achievements are measured and determined by the faculty. Their highest award, the Faculty Citizenship Award, is given to that senior who in their estimation has contributed most to the well ordering of the community and the pleasantness and congeniality of the group. Last year that award went to Fan Staunton.

The Helen Harker Award, on the other hand, is one which is voted by the senior class to the girl who in their estimation best typifies the ideals of NCS. Last year faculty and seniors agreed, for Fan Staunton received that award also.

High academic standings throughout the year are recognized on the honor roll.

Whatever the ideals and aims may be of students and citizens, and whoever rewards them for their efforts, be it faculty, students, or themselves in individual gratification, may the flag, which has produced a prosperous and wealthy Nation, produce intelligent and conscientious students and citizens always.

## Epitaph of an Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I thought some of the Members of the House of Representatives with remote island communities in their districts would be interested in an article appearing in the Lincoln County News, September 13, 1962, by Richard Tukey, entitled "Epitaph of an Island."

It is sad to see families move from homes built in many cases by their grandparents. Mr. Tukey has vividly described the exodus on one such island.

EPITAPH OF AN ISLAND

(By Richard Tukey)

Loud's Islanders have roots that go back 312 years. This year, 1962, those roots will be torn up. This winter the gales and snow will howl around empty houses. The island will be by itself. Only the lonesome cries of the gulls will break this silence. The island inhabitants will all be on the "main," absorbed into the villages in Lincoln County, scattered about so the close ties built up over many years will be severed or loosened. The children will attend mainland schools and eventually, probably marry mainland people. Few if any will ever go back to live where they were born. The island will die. The names of Poland, Carter, Gifford, Prior, Teele, Loud, Elwell, Collamore and Garland will still be there but only on the tombstones in the little island Graveyard.

Loud's Island has been bypassed by the modern age but time caught up with it in the form of a falling population until this year when the State closed its grade school as there would be only about four children attending. The parents were put in the position of transporting the children across a mile of open ocean through winter gales and blizzards and landing them on the northern point at Round Pond as the harbor icelocks, or moving off to the mainland. Not wanting to risk the weather during long Maine winters they sadly are making ready to move this fall.

The history of the island is closely tied to the early history of the United States. Samoset, chief of the powerful and proud Wawenock Indians, made his home here and is said to be buried in the burying ground on the north end of the island. Alexander Gould came to the island in 1650 and was the first white man to settle and build. Over the ensuing years other people followed him as the islands were the safest places from the wild slaughters of the French and Indian wars that decimated this part of the Maine coast. The people on the island had a grand stand view of the naval battle between the *Boxer* and the *Enterprise* which was fought off Pemaquid Point. Lemard Poland of Loud's Island enlisted in the Continental Army at the age of 14, fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill, was at Valley Forge, and returned to live out his life and be buried on the island.

During the Civil War Bristol tried to draft 9 men out of a possible 45 to serve in the army. The islanders objected and drove the draft officer from the island. The State government ruled Bristol had no right to draft men from the island, so the islanders set up their own draft. They all bought substitutes, no man from the island served in the Civil War. They felt they had been wronged by the town of Bristol so refused to pay taxes there, saying, "We are willing to help the United States of America, but we refuse to help Bristol." Life went on, the islanders fishing and farming for their living. The population slowly increased so that in the Census of 1906 the population had reached a total of 118. This seems to be the high tide in the affairs of the island. They had a church, a school and good living. Some of the islanders served with the AEF in France during World War I. Remember the song, "How you going to keep them down on the farm after they've seen Paree"? Some of them never went back to the island. The population slowly started to decrease, the younger people marrying off the island and moving off.

In World War II, islanders joined the Armed Forces, worked in shipyards, in general went right with the war effort. Some of them came back—wounded. One with a leg gone, lost in Italy; one boy was killed in Germany. His body was returned after the war and he now lies buried on his island home. Population new fell off at an increasing pace. Some just came onto the island summers to catch the good fishing, then moved to the "main" in the fall. In 1957 the islanders only numbered about 40 year-round inhabitants. The school population had dropped to 8. The trend was critical. The State hinted of closing the school. The islanders could see the handwriting on the wall, the island was dying.

The year 1961 was the decisive year, six children in school, three graduated, leaving just three if the school opened in the fall. The State decided to close it. In June, Carroll Ellsmore, the single teacher, held the last little graduation exercise, then sadly locked the door on the last of the island children. The end had come. The parents must move to the mainland to give their children grade school and high school education. Older people without children, suddenly realized they would be alone, only about 10 of them on the island. They couldn't bear the thought of all the empty houses, no children's voices laughing and shouting as they slid down school house hill coming from school in winter. All they would hear would be the crashing of ocean waves on the rocky shores, the storm cries of the gulls, the wild wailing of the winter gales. So they are moving also. When you talk to them about it they seem to know that it is unlikely the young people will ever go back to live there. The old family homes dating from before Revolutionary War days will eventually stand vacant. The paths and roads will be overgrown. The spruce and firs will take over in the fields. Slowly but surely nature will take back what man had wrested from her.

There is an old saying, "That which dies will live again in a different form." If out of staters discover Loud's Island, its remoteness, yet its accessibility, it may become a thriving summer colony. It's up to the natives. In the past they have been reluctant to sell land to off islanders. The situation now may change. There is a new wharf at Little Harbor on the north end. A good deep water anchorage at March Island Harbor. Muscongus Bay is a fascinating boatman's paradise with dozens of uninhabited islands to explore with all of eastern Maine waters opening from it. Time will tell if the island may only sleep for awhile or really come awake with a thriving summer population.

We hope the old houses are not left to go to rack and ruin, disturbed only by vandals that are attracted by their emptiness.

## Cuban Debacle Haunts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, no matter how much the administration has tried to "sweep under the rug" the horrible Cuban debacle, it continues and will continue to haunt us. Not even a manufactured crisis in Berlin could hide it.

George Todt, an able writer for the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner of Sunday, September 30, points it up most capably. I ask unanimous consent his column be inserted into the RECORD:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION—A GAME FOR EXPERTS

"In all the world's history there has never been a more ill-conceived, misplanned, and pitifully executed military abortion than our Cuban invasion of April 17, 1961 * * * Bay of Pigs debacle."

(Representative JOHN R. PILLION, Republican, of New York—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 18865, Sept. 19, 1962.)

Exactly who and what was to blame for the incompetent comic opera type of military fiasco which failed us at the Bay of Pigs a year and a half ago in Cuba?

Had this simple action been completed successfully, we would not have the threat of Soviet IRBM (intermediate range) rockets hanging over us today.

At least not from the Caribbean area, fast becoming a new Red Sea.

We may recall that at the time this incredible inept invasion disaster befell us—due mainly to our refusal at the 11th hour

to provide adequate air cover—President Kennedy manfully took the blame.

It also may be recalled that many of us instinctively admired him for his loyalty to his underlings in taking full responsibility for what was believed to be their obvious lack of military experience and competence.

What is not generally known to the public is that many of J.F.K.'s chief architects of cold war policy are men devoid of any military experience whatsoever.

Big guns like Dr. Walt Whitman Rostow, Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT and Adlai Stevenson—who served only 19 days in the Great Lakes Coast Guard before accepting a World War II plush job in Washington.

These men and their ADA liberal clique who sneer at our highly efficient military officers as being unfit to understand their version of the fight for survival we are in today, had their hands in our unnecessary defeat at the Bay of Pigs.

As former President Truman has said, "If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen."

Inexperienced men in military affairs ought to stay out of our military kitchen—and thereby not goof up legitimate war plans.

When we were at war with the Nazis of Adolph Hitler 20 years ago, the military experts called the shots. Which was fortunate for us. We won the war.

Now in our even more deadly war with the Communist international conspiracy, the tune largely is being called by Rostow, Stevenson, and Fulbright.

No wonder we are losing on every front.

Today Cuba is a Red saber whose cutting edge is aimed at the jugular vein of the United States.

For the best account of how we got in the present fix we are in—with the Soviet armed force just 90 miles away—read the real inside story.

It is titled "Kennedy's Fateful Decision: The Night the Reds Clinched Cuba." On pages 41–42 of the September 17 issue of "U.S. News & World Report."

This story reads well to me and seems correct in every detail.

Actually, it holds the President fully responsible for forbidding the intended Cuban liberation air force from making a vital strike—and that was the ball game. Let's check out the facts of this case. What then?

Does anyone imagine this will not become a major campaign issue?

## The Need for a Foreign Service Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and as I ponder over this sobering experience I am reminded once again of the tremendous demands which the struggle for international supremacy makes on the American people and their leaders. The future of our country and the free world rests on many factors, none of which is more crucial than the quality of our representatives abroad. We find it easy to understand the need for allocating billions of dollars for defense, but tend to forget that success in foreign policy rests not only on the power of our military security, but also on the skill of our diplomats. For this reason several Members of Congress have become convinced that the best defense of America's interests abroad requires a national Foreign Service Academy, comparable to the splendid military academies at West Point, Annapolis, and Colorado Springs.

I have introduced a bill—H.R. 1079—providing for the establishment of a U.S. Foreign Service Academy, to be supervised by the Secretary of State. Students at the Academy would receive an undergraduate education, leading to the degree of bachelor of arts, with a liberal arts program suitably designed to prepare them to serve their country abroad. Living quarters and a subsistence allowance would be provided by the Academy. Once the first class had graduated, preference in the original appointments of permanent officers of the Foreign Service would be given to graduates of the Academy.

The school established under this bill would have several advantages over our present system of selecting junior Foreign Service officers.

First, it would result in our sending better trained representatives to foreign countries. A Foreign Service Academy should serve as a unique focal point for the study of foreign areas, foreign languages, politics, economics, and history. Enjoying facilities comparable to those of the military academies, it would undertake a level of instruction which can not be expected from private institutions or existing Government agencies.

Second, the Academy would provide a much broader opportunity for American young people interested in serving their country abroad. It would open the doors to young men and women who are unable to secure the necessary training by virtue of their financial circumstances. At the same time, the very existence of a Foreign Service Academy would stimulate interest in service abroad and bring home the message to young Americans that our future as a nation rests on diplomatic skill as well as military strength.

More important, it would put training and recruitment of Foreign Service officers on a professional basis. We have seen in the military acadamies that the experience of a 4-year program, with students of common interests living together, results in a spirit and dedication that can only operate to the benefit of our country.

Recent events on the international scene, and the growing concern of all Americans over the overwhelming responsibilities facing our country in the coming years make it imperative that we take immediate constructive steps to insure proper training for the men and women on whom we must depend to combat communism all over the world. To say this is not to denigrate the achievements of our diplomats, who have established records of service of which we may all be proud. But in the light of the overwhelming problems which face our country around the world, our procedure for selecting diplomats is too haphazard to do the job. We owe it to our future as a nation to bolster our supply of trained, knowledgeable people to understand the full implications of the world around us and how to deal with it. A U.S. Foreign Service Academy would demonstrate to the world that America is determined to meet the challenge before us.

## Kennedys Trample Due Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the complete text of an editorial which appeared in the Register, Danville, Va., on October 2, 1962. The editor, in a capable and forceful manner, has pointed out wherein the President and the Attorney General in sending Federal marshals and troops to Oxford, Miss., failed to comply with the constitutional provision relating to due process.

The unwise and impetuous action on the part of the Chief Executive and the Attorney General resulted in a tragic situation which could have been avoided had the rights of the sovereign State of Mississippi been recognized and honored.

Until the arrival of the Federal agents and troops there had been no violence of any sort at Oxford, Miss., and the unfortunate events which followed were precipitated by them. The display of brutal power by the executive department was evidenced by the performance of a trigger-happy U.S. marshal who lobbed a tear gas shell which set off a chain of events resulting in bloodshed and violence, the onus for which will forever be on those responsible for this tragedy. Truly, "they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind."

The text of the editorial is as follows:

[From the Danville (Va.) Register, Oct. 2, 1962]

KENNEDYS TRAMPLE DUE PROCESS

Both the President and the Attorney General are misleading the people when they talk about not using force in Mississippi until, as the President said in his Sunday night speech (the court) "made clear the fact that the enforcement of its orders had become the obligation of the U.S. Government."

The Meredith case had not reached that point.

When the Governor of Mississippi, acting in his official capacity, declined to enroll Meredith as a student at the State university, the Fifth U.S. District Court cited Gov. Ross Barnett for contempt of court. It gave him until Tuesday at 11 a.m. to purge himself of contempt.

Attorney General Kennedy, acting in consort with his brother, the President, sent U.S. marshals into Oxford, the small northern Mississippi university town, and he concentrated troops at Memphis, just across the State line in Tennessee.

Neither Bobby Kennedy nor President John F. Kennedy permitted due process to run its course. They couldn't wait to crush Mississippians and due process in a single action.

For the due process to have been exhausted, the campus of the university could have remained undisturbed by invading Federal officials until Governor Barnett had been arrested on a Federal warrant and had been given his day in court to test his powers or lack of powers in the situation.

It is all very well to talk about law and order being preserved and, along with it, the integrity of our courts. They must, for a fact. But the Department of Justice and the Presidency of the United States—two offices bearing the greatest and the final authority in the observance of law, failed to comply with the constitutional provision relating to due process. Due process was denied Governor Barnett. It was denied the State of Mississippi. It was trampled by two eager young men—eager to make an impression upon the dark republics of Africa in the United Nations; eager to show that when one Negro wants to exercise a civil right, the rights of a million white people in their own State are of no consequence, at least not enough consequence to justify exhaustion of legal procedure before those who insist upon due process are crushed by the force of gun-swinging marshals or soldiers and strangled by gas fired in their faces.

The show of power was brutal. It was unnecessary, and it was illegal in that the executive department jumped to enforce the court's rulings before the rights, if any, of the Governor of a great State, and the Commonwealth he governed, had been determined in the U.S. Fifth District Court.

The Kennedys are not the wonder boys in shining armor determined to protect law and order and the rights of all Americans. Not by a long shot. They were unwilling to display the calmness and patience asked of Ole Miss students. They are power-mad youngsters ready to use force to impose their will upon something more than a million other Americans. The deaths, the blood, the injuries at Oxford are on the Kennedy hands.

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## Second Annual Report to the People of Kansas Fourth District From Congressman Garner E. Shriver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with the policy which I established a year ago, I submit to the citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas this 2d annual report of my activities in the 2d session of the 87th Congress.

We are completing one of the longest sessions of Congress in the peacetime history of our Nation. We prepare to adjourn with the world in crisis just as on the eve of adjournment in 1961.

THE WORLD IN CRISIS

Once again we have passed a resolution providing the President with the necessary authority to call up 150,000 reservists and to extend the terms of service to those on active duty up to 12 months. The Congress also has gone on record, overwhelmingly, with a Cuban resolution intended to reassert the principle of the Monroe Doctrine in regard to foreign encroachment in the Western Hemisphere. The resolution also places the Communist world, particularly the Soviet Union, on notice that this country will not stand idly by while military bases or other installations, which could be used for aggressive purposes, are built just 90 miles from our shores.

While the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba remains of major concern, the United States also must be prepared to meet growing Communist threats in Berlin, Formosa, and southeast Asia. Congress approved for fiscal 1963 a defense budget of over $48 billion which is nearly $2 billion more than appropriated in the last fiscal year.

SHRIVER VOTING RECORD

More than 6,000 bills and resolutions were introduced during this session of Congress. With adjournment pending we note that less than 600 have been enacted into law as compared with a total of 685 adopted last year.

Your Congressman had over a 98 percent voting attendance record during the two sessions of the 87th Congress.

RECORD SPENDING

More than $95 billion was requested in appropriations for fiscal 1963 by the administration. Final action still is pending on several appropriations measures. However, it is apparent that the Congress will appropriate approximately $92 billion, not including those permanent appropriations which recur without annual congressional action.

SERVICE TO CONSTITUENTS

In addition to the vital legislative responsibilities of this congressional office, I have endeavored, with the help of my staff, to assist and serve my constituents, to the best of my ability, in their relationships and problems with the Federal Government. Here is a summary of the activities of your Fourth District office in Washington for this past year: Held 721 conferences with officials of some 56 different Federal agencies and departments in behalf of constituents; received and replied to nearly 1,000 requests for information and Government documents; mailed nearly 10,000 Government documents to Fourth District citizens; more than 27,000 pieces of mail were received in the Washington office from the district, of which 16,425 were first-class letters. I might add that communications from my constituents received priority attention from me and my staff; mailed out nearly 28,000 pieces of mail to the district, not including questionnaires or the constituent's newsletter.

More than 800 visitors from Kansas signed our guest book in Washington. It always is a pleasure to assist visitors from the district and it is especially pleasant welcoming them to the Washington office. I have been gratified by the number of families who have called on me during their visits to the Capitol.

Some 100,000 questionnaires in the second annual Fourth District opinion poll were mailed to citizens throughout the district inviting them to inform me of their opinions on a variety of domestic and international issues pending before Congress. I am pleased to report that 15,713 questionnaires were returned to the Washington office. I already have reported the tabulations of the 1962 poll to my constituents.

DEFENSE AND THE DISTRICT

Since coming to the Congress I have been working, along with most of my colleagues, for the maintenance and development of our Nation's defense and security. The Fourth District of Kansas—particularly the Wichita area—has played a vital role in defense production for many years.

Last year I joined my colleagues in the House and Senate in voting $514,500,000 for continued production of the B–52 bomber. It was with regret and concern that I was informed late last fall that the Secretary of Defense had decided against using the funds.

I joined with our two Senators, at that time, in conferring personally with the Secretary of Defense to discuss the continued utilization of the vast defense production facilities in Wichita and the need to maintain the B–52 global bomber as a key weapon in the arsenal of the Strategic Air Command.

We were assured that the B–52 would continue to be utilized as one of the strategic weapon systems of SAC into the 1970's. During the 1962 fiscal year, the Air Force allocated more than $370 million for the B–52 modification program. Modification work is programed into the future as the Air Force continues to increase the range and load capabilities of this proven nuclear weapon system.

Since that conference with the Defense Secretary, I have been working with his economic adjustment adviser, Mr. Robert Steadman, and officials of the Departments of Commerce and Labor in a continuing effort to make available the necessary Federal counsel and technical assistance to help the Fourth District help itself in strengthening its economy and industrial base for the space age.

Within recent weeks I have conferred with the small business advisers of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Department of the Army in an effort to assist the many small contractors in my district interested in competing for Government contracts. The recent conference for Kansas education, business, and industry leaders, planned by Senator JAMES B. PEARSON, of Kansas, in cooperation with our State's congressional delegation, and conducted by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration may have planted the seeds for Kansas to assume an increasing role in the Nation's space efforts.

FLOOD CONTROL AND WATERSHEDS

Fourth District public works projects for flood control purposes and watershed projects received appropriations totaling $33,256,000 for the 1963 fiscal year. The Cheney Reservoir project near Wichita, which was one of only six Bureau of Reclamation starts in the Nation this year, will receive $7,100,000 for continued construction in fiscal 1963. Congress also authorized two new watershed projects in the Fourth District last year, and this year the Silver Creek project in Chase County was approved.

SHRIVER LEGISLATION

During this first term in Congress I have not attempted to author voluminous legislation. However, I did introduce several bills which were the result of careful and deliberate study. Following is a summary of those which I believe to be of special significance:

SELF-EMPLOYED PENSION PLAN

Legislation which I joined in sponsoring last year permitting the establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed persons won final approval from Congress and is awaiting Presidential action.

FEDERAL JUDGESHIP

The heavy judicial load in our Federal courts may have been eased by legislation providing for additional Federal judges throughout the Nation. I was sponsor of a bill providing for a third Federal judge for the State of Kansas. This measure was included in the omnibus judgeship bill and was enacted during the first session of Congress. Appointment of the Honorable George Templar, of Kansas, was made this year to this position.

VOLUNTARY MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CARE

In April, I introduced legislation to provide for the medical and hospital care of the aged through a system of voluntary health insurance. While the administration's compulsory medicare program, financed through increased social security, was rejected in the Senate, it is to be hoped that Congress will give consideration to voluntary programs which provide assistance to those senior citizens who most need the aid of the Federal Government.

LIMIT OIL IMPORTS

Impact of imports upon the domestic petroleum industry of the Nation prompted me to join with other Members in introducing legislation strengthening the national security provisions of the trade agreements act by limiting imports of foreign oil. The House Ways and Means Committee did not choose to accept this legislation as an amendment to the trade bill. It is to be hoped that the President soon will take meaningful action to preserve this vital industry.

TAX RELIEF FOR PARENTS-STUDENTS

During the 1st session of the 87th Congress, I introduced legislation providing for a program of tax relief in the form of an income tax deduction to those bearing the cost of higher educational expenses. While the measure did not receive consideration by the Ways and Means Committee this session, such legislation should be a part of the promised program of tax reduction next year.

I believe it is appropriate to mention that this will be the last Congress in which the present 15 counties will be represented together as the Fourth Congressional District. In keeping with the 1961 redistricting by the Kansas Legislature, there will be only seven counties in the Fourth District effective with the next Congress. They are Chase, Dickinson, Harvey, McPherson, Marion, Morris, and Sedgwick.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to extend my sincere appreciation to the citizens of the present district for their cooperation and support of the past 2 years. It has been a genuine pleasure and privilege for me to represent them in Congress.

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## America, Communism, and You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, our able colleague, Congressman HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, of Wisconsin, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, delivered an outstanding address before the American Legion Americanism Conference in Fond du Lac, Wis., February 24, of this year.

This address has only recently come to my attention and, under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I include it herewith:

AMERICA, COMMUNISM, AND YOU

(Speech before the American Legion Americanism Conference at Immanuel Lutheran Church, Fond du Lac, Wis., on February 24, 1962, by Congressman HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, First District, Wisconsin)

On a plaque in a public building (the name of which escapes my memory) are these words: "Yesterday is memory, tomorrow is mystery, today is a golden moment set in between."

It is my desire to speak to you tonight about the future—your future, my future, the future of America, indeed the future of freedom itself. Yet though I will speak of the future, we must all be woefully aware that we cannot mold it of itself for the future cannot be isolated from the present. Our task is to mold each today. It is only of today that tomorrow is born. It is only of what we make of each today that each tomorrow is born. It is only of what we make of each today that each tomorrow has its character.

As we look up into the star-filled heavens; probe space with our scientific paraphernalia; dream of having men step upon the surface of the moon; feel the surge of pride in our attempts to conquer space, it is only natural that we should be talking constantly about the future. We are on the threshold of a new era. There have never been greater opportunities for the advancement of the human race materially. All of mankind is surging forth—new nations are being born—we are hearing new languages, seeing new faces, exploring new frontiers.

The world is in revolution and the revolution is reaching into all aspects of our lives. Perhaps the most noticeable activity in revolution is in the social and economic arena.

1. We are disturbed about our failure to move more rapidly in breaking down racial barriers.

2. We seek greater security for the aging.

3. We want to improve our education programs.

4. We are faced with such problems as population explosion and automation in industry. We are seeking answers to these and many other problems, but it is not of our material or economic future I wish to speak tonight. I mention these things merely to point out the tremendous pressure that will be bearing down upon us in an ever-increasing intensity as each tomorrow becomes another today.

The future with its unknowns presents not only a collective challenge but an individual challenge. The bold, stark reality is that most of us here today are going to be severely tested as individuals. Each of us will be forced by circumstance to prepare himself for the test. Borrowing a phrase from Lincoln, "It is to fall to this generation that task of proving whether this Nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure," for we in America are an island in the midst of godless collectivism. We live as yet within the framework of a free enterprise system. Each one of us is responsible for his own freedom. So long as we are willing to meet this responsibility (whatever the cost) freedom will be ours, but—should we grow faint or fearful; should we lose faith in ourselves and in God; should we no longer care to make the sacrifices necessary for our personal freedom, freedom will not long be ours—and if it does not belong to us individually it cannot belong to us collectively.

The problem of our present day is not only to convince ourselves, at whatever cost, that we must preserve our own freedom, but also to convince all others that they must protect their freedom; that they must desire it enough to sacrifice for it, for unless they cherish freedom enough to seek it, it cannot long belong to us. Freedom is not given to us as a gift to merely enjoy. Those who possessed it before we did had to work for it, had to nurture it, had to live for it, yes, and some brave souls had to die for it. Now it is our turn. We must, as they, preserve what we have. We must work at it, nurture it, live for it, and perhaps even die for it, for if our generation loses it, then it is lost to many future generations.

As Americans, what then is our present task?

I believe the most important tasks at hand are those of education and action.

First, reaching back into the past we must teach ourselves about that which, in the past, has made this the greatest Nation ever to have existed in the history of mankind. We cannot keep a nation great unless we are aware of what made this a great nation. Not least among the things contributing to our greatness has been an abiding faith in God. Destroy this faith, make impotent and corrupt the church; interpret freedom of religion to mean freedom from religion; ignore God; deny even the mention of His name in public gatherings and official functions of Government and school, and you destroy the foundation on which freedom as we know it and express it is built. If you destroy the foundation, the building itself will topple. We must be aware of our history, know our traditions; appreciate the contributions others who lived before us in time have made to our society. We must not only be aware of what made us great; we must share this knowledge with others and especially each succeeding generation.

STORY OF BEAR AND BARREL

You see, freedom is not inherited. Only the opportunity to be free is given us from the past generation. Each succeeding generation must not only accept and preserve the free institutions they have inherited from past generations but they must extend freedom lest, in a changing world, freedom falls behind and is lost in the dust of those who clamor for a collectivized state. This is why J. Wellington Griffith, Jr., wrote: "Liberty is only one generation away from extinction."

Second, we must be aware not only of that which has brought us to our greatness, but we must also be aware of that which could bring us to our downfall. You and I live in a period of history in which it is no secret that

freedom, our way of life, is not safe. Freedom is on the scaffold and there are those from without and within who are laboring to trip the trap to bring freedom to her death.

Of all the things which have transpired since being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives (and there have been many) the most stunning and revealing have been those things connected with my work on the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Within this past year I have been brought up sharply to the realization of how deeply embedded the Communist conspiracy is in our society. Let me illustrate how the Communist conspiracy destroys and distorts the efforts made to uncover it:

In public hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee which brought bitter condemnation to the committee members who were interrogating several individuals from New York about their activities in what is innocently called the "Fund for Social Analysis," witnesses, upon being asked simple questions about their activities (of which, if legitimate, they should be proud) could not muster the courage to admit their connection with the fund. Hours of testimony revealed only that, according to their own admission, it would tend to incriminate them to admit they were officers of the organization though their names appeared on correspondence and checks. Taking the fifth (by this, I mean the fifth amendment), they refused to reveal: (1) The address of the organization; (2) those who were active in the organization; (3) those who made the selection for scholarships; (4) for what purposes the funds were expended; (5) who kept the records; and (6) where the records are to be found.

Would you be ashamed or would you feel it an invasion of your rights to be asked if you contributed to a fund supposedly set up to assist worthy students in study?

Would you be ashamed or feel it an invasion of your constitutional rights to answer questions as to your activity in an organization claiming to be solely academic in nature Yet, in the morning papers of the day the hearings were held a large ad appeared in the Washington Post signed by 86 people petitioning Congress to stop the investigation of the fund because, of all things, this was an invasion of their rights of academic freedom. And the advertisement was signed as submitted and paid for by the rather imposing name of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York.

In most of our hearings those who plead the fifth amendment when asked to answer questions about Communist activities do so on the basis that the committee does not have a right to pry into their personal political beliefs. The committee does not question the right of anyone to hold any political, religious, economic or social belief. But the committee does question the activities of those who, under the freedom to hold or express their convictions, seek to hide or conceal their intent to deny others their freedom. It should be abundantly clear to all but the most naive that communism has never allowed freedom of thought or expression. No Communist country or Communist satellite ever came into existence by popular vote of the people through the freedom of the ballot box and no Communist government has seen fit to subject its action to the will of the people once it was in power.

The Communist Party is not a political party in the true sense in which we in America conceive of political parties. It is an international conspiracy, led by an army of dedicated fanatics without morals or ethics or principles, determined to wipe out individual freedom. The "Communist Manifesto" to the world written by Marx and Engels, in the mid-19th century states these principles with shocking clarity: (1) The overthrow of capitalism; (2) The abolition of private property; (3) The elimination of the family as a social unit; (4) The abolition of all classes; (5) The overthrow of all governments; (6) The establishment of a Communist order with common ownership of property.

Communist propaganda has made it clear that a timetable for world conquest has been set. We are being told time is running out for the free world. According to the Communist line, time is not on our side and so we are left with a dilemma of frightening proportions; we who are yet unconquered have only three possible courses of future action open to us: (1) We can meekly capitulate, summed up in the coward's philosophy "rather Red, than dead", or (2) we can try to coexist or (3) we can steel ourselves to meet the threat with determination to win this struggle.

It is my conviction that no red-blooded American worthy of his heritage, no man in whose veins has throbbed the heartbeat of freedom, could possibly countenance capitulation.

I want to share with you the words of William I. Nichols, who had this to say: "Better Brave Than Slave." This is freedom's true answer to all those who have been chanting "better Red than dead"—vice versa. It gives the lie to the notion that free men have no other choice than to be "Red or dead."

"Better brave than slave" are words to keep us from growing paralyzed by talk about the H-bomb. They remained us that life has always been a struggle, that the race is won by the strong and bold and that life on this earth is not meant to be easy or effortless or everlasting.

Perhaps one of the basic troubles today is that many of us have come to believe too literally in our own slogans about "inevitable progress." We think miracle drugs will bring us eternal youth. Similarly, we hope that by some political miracle our rivals or enemies will go away and we will have perpetual—and painless—peace and prosperity. We forget that through the ages, such ends have been won by brave men acting with faith, energy and imagination. Often just by standing firm they have prevented war.

"Better brave than slave. These words, I believe, speak to us with the firm voice of history and hope. They speak, too, with the voice of morality for they affirm the everlasting fact that for freemen there are things in life worth living for, fighting for, and even dying for. They give us the courage, the manly gift to stand up and be counted on the side of right as God gives us to see the right. And in so doing, they unlock for us the greatest of life's secrets which is this: The minute you know that you are not afraid to die, that is the minute you begin to know how to live.

No one, knowledgeable of the Communist techniques by which they reserve for themselves the right to infiltrate free institutions while they themselves hide behind an impregnable wall, would dare to accept the lethal medicine of coexistence.

For those of us who yet believe in freedom the only course of action is to meet the challenge—to roll up our sleeves and go to work, trying through many frustrating experiences to eradicate from our society the cancerous growths which if allowed to spread could well poison the whole body of our society and bring freedom to an early death.

The threat to freedom posed by Communist pressure is both external and internal. I am not too concerned at the moment about Communist Russia trying to kill us off by military action because as long as we remain strong militarily, alert in both our military and spiritual defenses, Khrushchev knows that the funeral will cost him too much if he tries, as he boasted, to bury us. But, I am concerned about Communists trying to destroy us from within.

It is imperative we know the true nature of communism for it is impossible to act effectively against an enemy unless we know who that enemy is and where he is operating. Would that those who sincerely seek to strengthen freedom's cause seek to know the facts about communism before they give comfort to the Communist cause by their condemnation of those who battle against it. There is much evidence available to show that the Communist Party in the United States is an established beachhead of a foreign power. The members of this conspiracy owe their allegiance only to the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. They are determined to communize the world under the domination of Moscow. This is their plan.

Why should this concern us? Is it only because, as some would have us believe, we are selfish and want the material benefits of life at the expense of denying them to others?

Aside from the more obvious material reasons, the fact that this system has provided more luxury and free time for the people over anything previously or foreseeable in the future, there are many other reasons. Foremost among them is the desire to enjoy the benefits of individual dignity and the feeling of individual worth.

The individual is the very basis—the fundamental unit—of our free society. This is the reason we in America have achieved such fantastic success. The individual, as long as he stays within the realm of honesty, can completely chart his own course. He can succeed or fail as his initiative and ability allow. He can see and hear that which he chooses. He can worship or not worship as he sees fit.

These are the things that count. These are the things which make life worth while. These are the things that must be preserved for us in the future.

Third, if we are to be about our present task we must not only learn from the past what made us great and know what would bring us to our downfall; we must know what we seek to preserve. We must appreciate what it means to be an American. We must know what we are saying when we talk about Americanism, and just what is Americanism?

According to House Report No. 2, dated January 3, 1939, page 10, this is what a special committee reported pursuant to House Resolution 282 of the 75th Congress:

"No scientific definition (of Americanism) (can) be attempted; but we * * * undertake to set forth in simple and understandable language what some of the chief principles of Americanism are. In the first place, Americanism is the recognition of the truth that the inherent and fundamental rights of man are derived from God, not from governments, societies, dictators, kings, or majorities.

"This basic principle is expressed in the Declaration of Independence where our immortal forefathers said that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, chief among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Established interpretations include in our inalienable rights (rights which cannot be changed or altered): (1) Freedom of worship; (2) freedom of speech; (3) freedom of press; (4) freedom of assemblage; (5) freedom to work in such occupation as the experience, training, and qualifications of a man enable him to secure and hold; (6) freedom to enjoy the fruits of one's work, which means protection of property rights; (7) the right, not to happiness, but to pursue happiness so long as in so doing he does not harm or injure others in the pursuit of their happiness.

"Thus it is that the essence of Americanism is class, religious and racial tolerance and the maintenance of these three forms of tolerance is essential to the preservation of Americanism. These are the pillars on which

our constitutional Republic rests. When any one of these pillars is destroyed the whole American structure crumbles.

"Therefore it follows that the man who advocates class hatred is plainly un-American even if he professes racial and religious tolerance. If he hates his neighbor because he has more of the world's goods he is as un-American as if he hates his neighbor because he was born of another race or worships God according to a different faith.

"Law and order are essential to the preservation of Americanism while lawlessness and violence are distinctly un-American.

"Americanism means the recognition of the God-given rights of man and their protection under the Constitution through the instrumentality of an independent Congress, an untrammeled judiciary and a fair and impartial Executive operating under a system of checks and balances.

"Americanism means the protection of an unorganized majority from an organized minority as well as the protection of a helpless minority from an inconsiderate and thoughtless majority."

These, ladies and gentlemen, are noble definitions and interpretations. They beg our indulgence in study that we may know and teach in a free society the meaning of Americanism with as much passion and conviction as those in a collectivized state teach the godless doctrines of communism.

Only as we know the good we want to preserve can we effectively combat the evil we seek to destroy.

Finally, we must reaffirm our pride and faith in our great country. Patriotism is not old fashioned. Patriotism is the very lifeblood of any country and ours is no exception. America, in spite of her imperfections (and we are not perfect simply because we are a government of imperfect men), is the greatest country in the history of recorded civilization. We have every conceivable cause for legitimate pride. Let's not be ashamed to express this pride openly.

If the newly emerging nations of Africa can have a fierce nationalism (which we encourage through the United Nations) when life in them is most primitive, why should not we, the citizens of the most wonderful and advanced nation in the world, be at least proud?

When, as individuals, we have this rekindling of our national flame, let us pass the torch on to others. Everyone with whom we come into contact should be reminded what a wonderful country it is his privilege to possess. Let us become as avid salesmen of our Nation as we are of the products we produce. Let us sell America and have done with selling America short.

This is a great country and it does not deserve to be downgraded by useless self-criticism. Nor does it deserve to be ground under the heel of any kind of tyranny, be it Fascist or Communist. In the words of Seversky, "America is too young to die."

Every time we hear our national anthem or see our flag our hearts should swell up with pride that we are privileged to be a working part of this great Nation. Our past echoes with famous and stirring names: Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Monroe, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and it echoes with names of many places where the future—now the present—was assured: Lexington, Valley Forge, New Orleans, Getsysburg, the Alamo, San Juan Hill, Château Thierry, Iwo Jima, Heartbreak Ridge.

If to love one's country; if to respect our flag; if to pledge allegiance to the flag, which is the symbol not only of freedom but of the continual sacrifice necessary to preserve freedom, is superpatriotism—and extremism—then I stand convicted. But I make no apologies, for when I see the Stars and Stripes I see not just red, white and blue bunting but I feel the hand of those I held as I said a parting prayer as they lay on the scorched deck of a cruiser; I hear the fainting whisper of a dying lad asking me to see his mother; I remember those who gave their lives that I might live a freeman—and ladies and gentlemen, I know freedom does not come cheap.

This country has a heritage and tradition in which each individual shares a responsibility. The danger of communism is that it destroys the dignity and importance of the individual given to him by virtue of his creation by God—and upon which free institutions are built.

This country has a heritage and tradition in which each individual shares a responsibility. Take from the individual his responsibility to provide the wants and needs of his family; take from the individual the responsibility to seek and know God; take from the individual his responsibility to pass on to succeeding generations a freedom even more secure than he himself owns and you create a victim for communism and the slavery associated with it.

There is reason for speaking positively about America. It is a false assumption bringing us to despair to think we as individuals can do nothing to help our country. It has to be you and me as individuals or the future for which we strive to prepare will not be worth inhabiting. Multiply your force by bringing the message of America to all with whom you meet.

As the individual forces join to become a collective voice, the result will become obvious. The country's doldrumlike appearance will change into one of hope and action. There is no power on earth which can destroy this Nation. Once the people are up in arms and prepared to further the cause of freedom, we will have rekindled the fires of the American dream.

I have spoken in utter frankness about what I believe to be our present task as we look toward the future, but I have not brought you a message of doom. It is a message of challenge to make your voice heard. I do not believe this Nation and its institutions are doomed. I have tried to show what we must do. I believe, knowing we will do it.

I believe in our way of life. It is right—and tyranny in any form is wrong. Because it is right, with our help, it will stand up to any test.

I believe in the people who make up this Nation. They are the same fine people who fought for freedom in past years—who met and survived all tests and hardship. They are the craftsman and the lawyer; the farmer and the doctor; the shopkeeper and the laborer.

They are of all religions, all nationalities, all colors. They are Americans. They may not be able to express themselves in eloquent language but they know why this country must be kept free and they know in their hearts what they must do to keep it free. They will not shirk their duty because they, with us, believe in America.

This then, is the future—your future and mine. This then, is what each of us must do to preserve the future. That we will do it, I have no doubt. But, we cannot wait. We must act and we must act now. I urge each of you in your own way to join the swelling chorus of Americans who are rededicating themselves in a time of peace and crisis to take an active part in making secure the freedom for which others died in a time of war.

This is your challenge, this is your opportunity, this is your responsibility.

## Rise of Nondefense Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, criticism of the rapid increase in Government expenditures in recent years inevitably runs headon into the argument that most of the increase has been for defense purposes. A recent report issued by the Tax Foundation clearly indicates that, contrary to this impression, the chief source of the increase in the Federal budget in recent years has been nondefense spending. While defense expenditures continue to rise, they have represented a diminishing share of total budget expenditures ever since 1957.

The information developed by the careful study of the Tax Foundation is of such importance that it should receive as wide a distribution as possible in the Congress and among the members of the press. I commend the Tax Foundation for this, another of its outstanding jobs in helping bring the important economic issues of the day into sharper focus.

Under unanimous consent I insert this study by the Tax Foundation in the RECORD:

GROWTH OF FEDERAL DOMESTIC SPENDING PROGRAMS, 1947–63

(NOTE.—This is a summary of a 48-page study by the above title prepared by Tax Foundation.)

Government today is playing a far more dominant role in a peacetime economy than ever before. Total Federal, State, and local government spending, which amounted to less than 19 percent of the value of all the goods and services produced in the Nation in calendar 1947 rose to nearly 28 percent of the gross national product (GNP) in calendar 1961. Federal expenditures alone were 19.5 percent of the GNP in 1961, higher than the percentage for all government spending in 1947.

Federal budget expenditures for protection—national defense including the cost of military assistance and international affairs and finance—increased from nearly $21 billion in fiscal 1947 to an estimated $55.5 billion in fiscal 1963, $3 billion above the Korean war peak. Outlays for protection remained high but comparatively constant from 1954 to 1963, increasing about $7 billion, or 14.4 percent.

DEFENSE VERSUS NONDEFENSE SPENDING

The popular impression that defense is the chief cause of the upward surge of Federal spending in the last 8 years is not correct. The increase in civil benefit spending was twice the increase in protection expenditures in this period. All of the civil benefit programs in the budget—aids and benefits for agriculture, veterans, health and welfare, commerce (business), natural resources, space research and technology, education, labor, and housing—have expanded. (Although expenditures for space research and technology are classified under protection in the budget for fiscal 1963, they are designated as civil benefits for commerce

in all earlier budgets.) Total expenditures for these programs are estimated at $25.8 billion for 1963, an increase over 1954 of more than $14 billion, or 126.3 percent.

EXPENDITURES OUTSIDE THE BUDGET

It should be noted that not all of the expenditures for civil benefits are included in the budget. Major Federal programs involving substantial additional tax revenues and expenditures are carried on under several trust fund operations. These include the social security, highway, unemployment compensation, and railroad and Federal employee retirement programs. Expenditures under these programs are estimated at $26.7 billion for 1963. Thus on a consolidated cash basis, including trust fund transactions, civil and related benefits for 1963 will total close to $52.4 billion.

TRENDS IN BUDGET SPENDING FOR CIVIL BENEFITS

The postwar pattern of Government expenditures points to continued increases in Federal budget spending for civil benefits.

Total expenditures for benefit programs doubled from $11.4 billion in 1947 to an estimated $25.8 billion in 1963. More significant perhaps is their accelerated rate of growth since the Korean war. From 1947 through 1955 civil benefit expenditures increased 10 percent. Between 1954 and 1961, they rose 89 percent.

Details of the growth in several civil benefit programs since World War II are quite revealing.

The largest growth in civil expenditures since 1947 has been for spending associated with agriculture and agricultural resources. These costs doubled between 1954 and 1961, rising from $2.6 billion to $5.2 billion. This increased absorbed one-quarter of the growth in spending for all civil benefit programs during these years. The program of support for farm prices and income, with expenditures of $3.8 billion in 1961, accounted for the major part of this increase. After World War II when farms geared to high wartime production found markets greatly diminished and farm income fell, this program took on new proportions. Federal efforts to control production and sustain farm income through purchase of surpluses and payments for taking land out of cultivation resulted in very high expenditures. But surpluses continued to mount. Furthermore, extremely high expenditures can be expected as long as the present system of agricultural benefits is used to bolster the peacetime farm economy.

Various proposals for new services and benefits for veterans continue to come before Congress. Federal expenditures for veterans dropped steadily from a peak of $7.4 billion in 1947 to $4.3 billion in 1954, primarily because the educational training of World War II veterans was completed. However, by 1961, these expenditures reached $5.4 billion, a 25-percent increase over 1954. This increase was due partly to extension of benefits to veterans of the Korean conflict and partly to higher costs of medical care, compensation, and pensions. In 1959, the President's budget message pointed out that veterans and their families constituted almost one-half the population and recommended a review of veterans benefits and pensions geared to criteria of need and service-connected disabilities and death. Despite this suggestion, Congress increased pensions for non-service-connected disability under a 1959 law. More than one-half the cost of veterans benefits in recent years has been for compensation and pensions. Still higher amounts are predicted, and there are proposals to extend benefits to peacetime ex-servicemen.

Federal expenditures for general welfare purposes, which cover programs of public health and public assistance, accounted for the second highest increase in civil benefits, from $1.9 billion in 1954 to $3.4 billion in 1961. This 83-percent increase was almost 15 percent of the total increase in all benefit programs. Among benefit expenditures, those for welfare grew in every postwar year, starting from $1 billion in 1947. Most aid programs to State and local governments are in the welfare category. One of the largest, the Federal share of public assistance costs, amounted to $2.2 billion in 1961.

In past years, social insurance programs have expanded both in coverage and benefits. Increased monthly grants raised total expenditures despite a lesser number of persons receiving old-age assistance—the largest of the aid programs. This characteristic and the projected growth in the number of aged persons and children are the most important factors in the present outlook for a continued rise in public assistance costs and social insurance expenditures as long as present policies prevail.

From 1954 to 1961, Federal expenditures for business and industry, grouped as commerce, increased $1.4 billion, or 111 percent, to $2.6 billion. (The increase in benefits for commerce would appear even greater if Federal aids for highway construction, $3 billion in 1962; had been continued in the budget rather than segregated in a separate trust fund, as they have been since 1957.) The largest increases were in Post Office Department expenditures for public service costs and costs not covered by postal receipts but charged to general taxes, and in expenditures for the advancement and regulation of the air transportation industry, including Federal aid for airport construction. Budget expenditures for postal service costs were $914 million in 1961, a new peak. These budget outlays could change drastically with the adoption of higher postal rates. For example, the 1963 budget estimated revenue from proposed higher rates would reduce expenditures to $261 million.

TABLE 1.—*Federal budget expenditures for civil benefits, by function, fiscal years 1946–63* [1]

[Millions]

| Year | Total | Agricultural and agricultural resources | Veterans services and benefits | Health and welfare | Commerce and transportation | Natural resources | Space research and technology | Education | Labor and manpower | Housing and community development |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | $6,990 | $743 | $4,41 | $685 | $708 | $340 | $22 | $84 | $174 | −$193 |
| 1947 | 11,434 | 1,243 | 7,381 | 950 | 661 | 548 | 35 | 64 | 194 | 356 |
| 1948 | 10,605 | 575 | 6,654 | 1,024 | 1,220 | 748 | 38 | 71 | 182 | 95 |
| 1949 | 13,761 | 2,512 | 6,726 | 1,237 | 1,618 | 1,059 | 49 | 71 | 194 | 296 |
| 1950 | 14,597 | 2,795 | 6,648 | 1,526 | 1,757 | 1,207 | 54 | 79 | 262 | 265 |
| 1951 | 11,528 | 676 | 5,400 | 1,638 | 1,625 | 1,267 | 62 | 101 | 227 | 530 |
| 1952 | 12,025 | 1,067 | 4,930 | 1,673 | 1,890 | 1,367 | 67 | 191 | 243 | 593 |
| 1953 | 13,573 | 2,955 | 4,368 | 1,804 | 1,926 | 1,478 | 79 | 320 | 248 | 396 |
| 1954 | 11,358 | 2,573 | 4,341 | 1,875 | 1,219 | 1,317 | 90 | 326 | 247 | −628 |
| 1955 | 14,090 | 4,388 | 4,522 | 1,844 | 1,225 | 1,203 | 74 | 377 | 321 | 136 |
| 1956 | 15,542 | 4,868 | 4,810 | 1,983 | 1,892 | 1,105 | 71 | 343 | 479 | −10 |
| 1957 | 15,055 | 4,546 | 4,870 | 2,235 | 1,313 | 1,298 | 76 | 437 | 397 | −118 |
| 1958 | 16,498 | 4,419 | 5,184 | 2,571 | 1,631 | 1,544 | 89 | 541 | 488 | 30 |
| 1959 | 21,289 | 6,590 | 5,287 | 2,953 | 2,017 | 1,670 | 145 | 732 | 924 | 970 |
| 1960 | 18,902 | 4,882 | 5,266 | 3,180 | 1,963 | 1,714 | 401 | 866 | 510 | 122 |
| 1961 | 21,416 | 5,173 | 5,414 | 3,435 | 2,573 | 2,006 | 744 | 943 | 809 | 320 |
| 1962 | 24,641 | 6,343 | 5,572 | 4,163 | 2,915 | 2,117 | 1,300 | 1,143 | 545 | 545 |
| 1963 | 25,769 | 5,836 | 5,296 | 4,751 | 2,531 | 2,298 | 2,400 | 1,470 | 354 | 832 |

[1] Data for 1962 and 1963 estimated in "The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1963"; data for 1946–52 have been revised by tax foundation to accord with the most recent budgetary classifications.

Source: Bureau of the Budget.

TABLE 2.—*Federal budget expenditures for civil benefits, direct; and aid to State and local governments, selected fiscal years, 1949–63* [1]

[Millions]

| Year | Total civil benefits | Aid to State and local governments | Direct expenditures |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1949 | $13,761 | $1,803 | $11,958 |
| 1954 | 11,358 | 2,623 | 8,735 |
| 1959 | 21,289 | 3,967 | 17,322 |
| 1960 | 18,902 | 4,205 | 14,697 |
| 1961 | 21,416 | 4,263 | 17,153 |
| 1962 | 24,641 | 5,219 | 19,422 |
| 1963 | 25,769 | 6,069 | 19,700 |

[1] Data for 1962 and 1963 estimated in "The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1963."

Source: Bureau of the Budget.

Expenditures for space and research technology, formerly in commerce and now a separate civil benefit function in the 1963 budget, almost doubled between 1961 and 1962, rising from $744 million to $1.3 billion. Proposed expenditures for 1963 total $2.4 billion.

Federal expenditures for reclamation, power, and flood control purposes, included under natural resources, are divided between civil functions of the Defense Department, largely the Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of Interior. Expenditures for natural resources, including recreational activities, increased 52 percent between 1954 and 1961, rising from $1.3 billion and $2 billion.

Emphasis on Federal programs in the field of education resulted in creation of a separate civil benefit classification for these expenditures in the 1963 budget. Long-term programs of selected aids for education, and the war-induced program of aid to schools in areas of Federal impact, have been overshadowed by recent proposals to provide Federal aid to schools for construction or operating costs, or both. Federal expenditures for education of $943 million in 1961 were 189 percent higher than the $326 million spent in 1954. Spending in 1962 for existing programs is placed at $1.1 billion.

Until 1961, a major item in expenditures for labor and manpower programs was Federal aid to cover the administrative costs of State offices providing employment services and payment of unemployment benefits. In 1960, these amounted to $317 million out of the total $510 million spent for labor. Beginning in 1961, this aid was paid from a separate trust fund, not in the budget. Temporary advances to the States, $447 million in 1959, $511 million in 1961, and $359 million in 1962, extended benefits to certain unemployed, beyond the time provided under State law, as antirecession measures. These advances almost doubled expenditures for labor in 1959 and 1961. As unemployment dropped, the temporary program was allowed to expire and Federal expenditures

for 1960 were halved. This program was reextended in 1961 and its extension is being requested again by the administration.

Present Federal assistance for housing and community development is provided primarily through direct loans and loan guaranty programs. However, the extent of Federal housing financing is not revealed by an examination of net budget figures. Almost all the programs are operated through public enterprise funds and only net expenditures, after deduction of receipts from operations, are placed in the budget. Frequently, the net expenditure is a credit or negative amount. Gross expenditures in 1962 for funded transactions were estimated at $2.8 billion; receipts were $2.4 billion; and the difference, $426 million, was the net budget charge. When other expenditures of $120 million are added to this net amount, budget expenditures for housing were $545 million in 1962.

Federal housing aid programs, including loans, to State and local governments cover slum clearance and urban renewal projects, low-rent public housing, and urban planning. Expenditures for housing benefits fluctuate sharply. The short-run outlook is difficult to determine, but continued extensive participation by the Federal Government in this field can be anticipated.

ISSUES RAISED

Any consideration of Federal domestic spending programs raises many issues. In some cases questions arise as to the propriety of Federal Government activity which appears to fall more appropriately in the field of private enterprise, or of government on another level—State, local, or a combination. The extent to which the Federal Government can or should act to stabilize the national economy is another question upon which there is no unanimity of opinion. Finally, there are questions involving the role of Federal Government programs in promoting long-term economic growth, and the division of the national product between public needs met through taxation and private needs met by private spending. These are questions on which there is no national consensus.

The future role of the Federal Government must clearly be determined through positive action rather than by default on the part of citizens or public officials. In all areas of Federal expenditures, which include protection, interest and general government as well as civil benefits, there is an opportunity for citizens to assist public officials in policy decisions of the greatest importance to the Nation's future.

## Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board Supports the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on September 27, the Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board passed a resolution concerning the Mississippi crisis which deserves our attention. The resolution gives full support to the President and hails "the courage and determination of James H. Meredith in his fight for first-class citizenship." The union pledges "to continue our efforts to work for full equality for all in every aspect of American life." I hope that my colleagues read the following resolution:

The Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board, ACWA, AFL–CIO, representing 18,000 laundry workers of every race and religion, is shocked by the actions of the Governor of Mississippi, Ross A. Barnett, who has flagrantly defied the desegration orders of the Federal District Court, the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

The refusal to permit James H. Meredith to register as a student at the University of Mississippi and to receive an education in his State ridicules the United States in the eyes of the world.

Demagogic politicians must not be permitted to destroy the advances we have made toward equality nor can they be permitted to intimidate the overwhelming majority of decent Americans in the North and South. Governor Barnett's shameful performance is not a demonstration of leadership but a calculated appeal to bigotry. He has displayed not only contempt of court but contempt for the American Constitution, the law of the land, and public opinion.

The Federal Government cannot allow such defiance and must take whatever action necessary to carry out the law.

We are confident that the President and the Attorney General will do everything in their power to uphold the Constitution.

As trade unionists and as Americans we wholeheartedly support our Government's efforts to enforce the decisions of the Court. We hail the courage and determination of James H. Meredith in his fight for first-class citizenship. And we pledge to continue our efforts to work for full equality for all in every aspect of American life.

## Massive Merchant Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the necessary emphasis that must be placed on expanding world trade and reducing the outflow of our gold, it would be practical to discuss the moving of our ships with our products abroad.

This question takes on added significance with the revelation that ships chartered to carry goods to Cuba are rechartered to carry American products abroad. Recent figures made public by the Navy Department and commented upon by our metropolitan press have stirred up tremendous grassroots interest as reflected in the editorial comments of community newspapers throughout the country.

The Thursday, September 27, issue of the Southwest Messenger Press discussed the subject, emphasizing the significance in the development of a stronger U.S.-flag merchant marine and the need to encourage American shippers to use our vessels whenever possible. I ask leave to place this in the RECORD at this point.

MASSIVE MERCHANT FLEET

"While the merchant fleet in the United States continues to decline, the number of Soviet commercial vessels continues to rise."

The words are taken from a brief item in the New York Times. And they are substantiated by a recital of facts produced by authoritative sources.

The present Soviet merchant fleet consists of about 900 ships—almost as many as the 973 which operated under the U.S. flag at the beginning of this year. A year before we had 1,008 merchant vessels. Moreover, the Soviet Union is engaged in a massive program of merchant ship construction. The goal is a total of 4,500 vessels by 1980.

Still another set of figures indicates the gravity of our position. Last year we accounted for just under 30 percent of the world's waterborne cargo. But our commercial fleet carried less than 11 percent of our own exports and imports.

Going on, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Belieu has reported that, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, the Soviet merchant fleet increased 30 times as fast as our own.

So much for the facts and statistics. What is their significance? The Times cites something written by the editor of Marine Engineering-Log, a leading publication in its field. The gist of it is "that the Soviet build-up will provide her with a massive merchant fleet, adequate for a showdown either militarily or in a war of commerce."

Could there be more powerful arguments in favor of stimulated governmental efforts to vitalize the U.S.-flag merchant marine—or to encourage American shippers to use our ships whenever possible?

## Separation of Church and State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following statement submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee on behalf of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism:

STATEMENT OF THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM TO THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, OCTOBER 3, 1962, IN OPPOSITION TO SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS 205, 206, AND 207; SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 81, AND SENATE RESOLUTION 356, SUBMITTED BY RABBI RICHARD G. HIRSCH

The Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism is an agency of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Central Conference of American Rabbis, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, and National Federation of Temple Youth. These national bodies of Reform Judaism have consistently adopted resolutions in support of the principles of separation of church and state. In consonance with the spirit of these resolutions we testify in opposition to any constitutional amendment or to any resolution which would in any way tamper with freedom of religion as guaranteed by the first amendment.

We believe that the Supreme Court's decision in *Engel* v. *Vitale*, with all the footnotes included, constitutes an admirable summation of historic reasons for maintaining the first amendment intact. The decision of the Court needs no defense from us. It speaks for itself. It speaks for American democracy. It speaks for the preservation of religious integrity. It is on the latter point, the integrity of religion, that the major emphasis of this testimony shall be placed.

Prayer is the human soul in search of God. American society is founded on the principle that every individual has a right to search for God and for truth and meaning in

his own way. This is why in America individuals are free, if they so choose, to band together in different religious groups. These groups establish houses of worship in order to provide a more appropriate inspirational framework for their individual members. The house of worship and the home set the mood for prayer and religious practice. They recall significant occasions in the history of the group and in the life of the family and the individual. They establish the spiritual climate for transmitting the intimate and sacred experiences between the Supreme Being and human beings. In so doing they perform a unique function for the individual which no other institution is qualified or authorized to perform.

The adoption of the proposed resolutions would impede rather than facilitate the task of the religious institution and the home.

The Regents' Prayer, for example, was composed as a compromise, as an effort to be denominationally neutral. The sponsors of the prayer were careful to frame the wording so that no Protestant, Catholic or Jewish child would be offended by any of the contents; but neither could any Protestant, Catholic or Jewish child recognize the prayer as coming from his particular religious tradition.

The daily recitation of a nondenominational prayer, without comment by the teacher or discussion by the class, and without the appropriate and familiar environment conducive to prayer, can hardly be considered a meaningful religious experience by religionists or a meaningful educational experience by educators. Nor is the daily recitation of a nondenominational prayer by an entire class of school children to be compared to the occasional offering of a prayer on a significant public occasion by a minister, priest or rabbi, a clearly defined representative of a specific religion.

What is true for nondenominational prayer is true for Bible reading. We are in favor of reading the Bible as part of a course in great literature, but we are opposed to the daily reading of the Bible as part of an exercise in religious devotion. Furthermore, we reject the hypothesis that the Bible is nondenominational. Theological differences among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have necessitated each group authorizing its own translation of the Bible. These theological differences resulted in frequent and prolonged controversies in the 19th century, when in numerous instances Catholics asked the courts to ban reading of the King James Bible and when even Protestant groups fought among themselves as to which denominational translation should be declared nondenominational.

Although not included in any of the resolutions before this committee, a discussion of the Lord's Prayer has been a part of these hearings. We, therefore, feel constrained to state that under no circumstances would Jews ever consider the Lord's Prayer to be any but a Christian prayer. Whereas it is true that the ideas and the words are taken from Jewish tradition, nevertheless, the form in which it is recited, the status attached to it and the associations it recalls are part of the Christian and not the Jewish tradition. The very title is Christian, "the Lord's" referring to Jesus and not to God as Jews conceive Him.

Three of the resolutions before this committee would ostensibly protect children of minority faiths or of no religious persuasion by stipulating that there should be no compulsory participation in prayer. In rejecting this concept of noncompulsion, we refer to the words of Justice Frankfurter in the McCollum case:

"Separation is a requirement to abstain from fusing functions of Government and of religious sects, not merely to treat them all equally. That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates, and nonconformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children. The result is an obvious pressure upon children."

To love God is not to love an abstract, diluted, colorless nondenominational classification. Belief in God is personal. It is intimate. It is passionate. It is based on the life experiences and environment of the individual and the group to which he belongs. The true religious experience is not a compromise and it is not neutral. Otherwise, there would be no legitimate differences between Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism, and the various groups would not engage in such arduous endeavors to preserve, perpetuate and propagate their respective faiths.

Public school sponsorship of nondenominational religious exercises potentially establishes a new major faith—"public school religion." For a brief but significant time during the schoolday, the school becomes a house of worship, the teacher becomes a religious leader, the class becomes a congregation, and the members of the school board are enshrined as founders of the new faith. How are the ritual, theology, and spiritual heritage of the new "public school religion" determined? Through divine revelation and interpretation by theologians? No, by public boards, commissions and courts, elected or appointed through the secular, political process.

However, religion by definition, certainly as we have defined it in America, is one dimension of life which is not subject either to the political process or to majority and minority considerations. The Founding Fathers determined that the United States would be a secular state, meaning thereby that the institutions of religion and government would be separate. Supposing, to assume an extreme hypothesis, that 100 percent of Americans were devout members of the same religious denomination. The concepts of majority and minority religions would lose their meaning, but the concept of separation of church and state would retain its full vigor. Why? Because religion is a personal matter between every man and his God, and a man's conscience is violated when his religion becomes a matter of public concern. Because religion, as Madison stated, "flourishes in greater purity without than with the aid of government." Because a religion which in any way is dependent on the state for its sanctions inevitably becomes dependent on the state for its values. When the highest values of religion become conterminous with the highest values of the state, two deleterious consequences develop: (a) Religious institutions lose their sense of independent moral judgment and dissipate their capacity to criticize society and state; and (b) religious groups are tempted to use the state to pursue their own sectarian objectives.

To a certain extent, these consequences are already manifest in the arguments used by opponents of the Court decision. Already opponents of the decision say, "Our Constitution * * * is not meant to impose on the majority the outlook of any minority." Already they are unable to differentiate between acts of religious devotion and acts of patriotism containing references to the Deity. Already they offer amendments to change the structural relationship between religion and the state. To inculcate love of country through pledges and anthems is a legitimate function of the state. To inculcate love of God through prayer is an illegitimate intrusion by the state in the private life of an individual. Equating love of God with love of country can only diminish religion and distort the state.

The new "public school religion" worships a false god, who, like the pagan deities of old, demands of his subjects that they offer up words without deeds, conformance without performance and body without soul. To the defenders of this new idolatry, we address the words of the prophets, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? * * * Bring no more vain oblations. * * * Yea, when ye make many prayers I will not hear * * *." Instead, "Put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes, cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice" (Isaiah, ch. 1). Instead, "It hath been told thee, O man, what is good and what the Lord doth require of thee: Only to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6: 8).

Those who support the various resolutions before this committee are properly concerned about the high rates of juvenile delinquency, crime, divorce, mental illness, the materialism, and low moral standards of American society. Furthermore, they are aware that our entire democratic system is being tested in the maelstrom of international politics. In their concern, they have focused on the public schools, implying that somehow or other these faults in our society are the result of the godlessness of our public school system, or that somehow or other, the situation would change for the better, if only our public schools would implant in our children a greater awareness of religious values.

We share the concern for America's moral standards, but we cannot share the implications concerning the character, role, and function of the public school system.

We deny the allegation that the public schools are godless. God is not excluded from the classroom because His name is not invoked in formal prayer. To the contrary, He is present in the righteous expressions and deeds of both teachers and students. The finest moral lessons are set by example and the examples set by our teachers, most of whom are consecrated individuals, are in consonance with the noblest precepts of religion.

We deny the allegation that unless public education is grounded in an expressed belief in God, it is grounded in atheism. A host of surveys have indicated that religion in America has a higher status than religion in any other country in the modern world, that more people belong to religious institutions and attend services regularly than in any other country and that 99 percent of Americans affirm a belief in God. If we compare these contemporary statistics to the statistics at the time of the American Revolution, which indicate that only 10 percent of the American people belonged to a church, we cannot help but conclude that religion has fared exceptionally well under the freedom granted to it by the first amendment. The fact that children do not pray in public schools does not mean that they will become atheists, any more than the fact that Congressmen rarely pray in the magnificent chapel set aside for them in the Capitol means that Congressmen are atheists. To state that our schools teach atheism is to deprecate the Nation's educators who, in the words of Dr. Hollis Caswell, president of Teachers College, Columbia University, maintain an "attitude in public schools toward religion (which) is universally friendly."

We deny the allegation that the public schools are in any way responsible for low moral standards. The American public school system has been an indispensable instrument for inculcating the virtues of citizenship and for molding citizens of virtue. But morality is not alone the responsibility of the school. The home, the church and synagogue, the street, the store, the sports activities—in sum the entire life experience of a child—are responsible for the development of character.

In a study made by a Catholic educator, no difference in moral attitudes was noticed between Catholic students who attended parochial schools, where the theistic ap-

proach is used, and Catholic students who attended public schools, where the nontheistic approach is used. (Carmen V. Diaz, doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1952) is the final analysis, therefore, the moral standards of any child can be little more than a reflection of the moral standards of his total environment.

To expect that the mere rote recitation of a prayer in public school will strengthen the moral character of a child is to invest in prayer a signification contrary not only to most theologies, but to all scientific evidence and educational theory. To ask the home and church to assign one of their prime functions to the state is to weaken the initiative and sense of responsibility of the home and church. To foist religious education on the school can only result in confusion for the child and tension for school officials. Rather than remaining the bulwark of our democratic system, the instrument for welding together the diverse elements in American life, the public school will become the focus of intergroup divisiveness.

Let us not make a scapegoat of the public schools. Let not religious groups place the blame for low moral standards on the public schools, when these standards have developed during the very period of greatest expansion and burgeoning of religion in American history. Let us not make of our public schools a vicarious atonement upon whom we shall heap responsibility for our own shortcomings and our own failures to perfect ourselves and our fellow men.

This present controversy can only serve to divert religion from its primary task—the creation of a better society for all men. Precisely because religion has such high status, there is a tendency to equate religion with everything good. Unfortunately, history, both past and present, does not warrant such a blanket assumption. In the past, in the name of religion, and with the authority of the state, men have perpetrated heinous crimes against humanity. In the present, in the name of religion, and ostensibly for the good of the state, some American citizens are "attacking windmills" and engaging in witchhunts. The polarization of religion as the embodiment of all good and of atheism as the embodiment of all evil intensifies the omnipresent danger of judging men by what they say they believe instead of by what they do.

Religion can retain its integrity only when it remains unencumbered by entangling alliances with any of the social, economic, or political instruments of society; only when it knows how to distinguish between God and country; only when it seeks to judge the world that is finite from the perspective of Him who is infinite.

We urge this committee not to initiate any action which would deprive religion of its integrity and democracy of its vitality.

## Major Step in Air Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, over 12 years ago I proposed to the then Civil Aeronautics Administration that we try to control the traffic on the civil airways by positive ground control which would include radar devices along our airways. I am pleased now that after all these years the Federal Aviation Agency is proceeding with such a program. Within the next 12 months this Agency will include positive ground control to all high altitude plane traffic except in a few narrow stretches. This will be an additional safeguard against midair collisions which we have experienced in the past. It will provide additional safety for all those traveling in the air.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on September 29, 1962. The editorial is as follows:

MAJOR STEP IN AIR SAFETY

The Federal Aviation Agency's announcement that within the next 12 months it will have extended positive ground control to all high altitude plane traffic except in a few narrow stretches of the Nation is a major step in furthering air safety. At present control of planes flying above the 24,000-foot altitude is operated only from Chicago, Indianapolis, Cleveland, and Detroit. The success that these FAA centers have had with continuous radar control indicates that the acquisition of the additional 69 long-range radars should do much to eliminate the danger of midair collisions.

## American Municipal Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, at a recent meeting of the 39th Annual American Municipal Congress, Jersey City, which forms part of the 13th Congressional District and which I am privileged to represent in the Congress, received an achievement award for the best overall public relations program for cities in the United States with a population over 100,000.

Mayor Thomas Gangemi, Business Administrator John F. Moriarty, and Eugene Scanlon, chief of the division of public relations attended the congress as representatives of Jersey City. They are to be congratulated for their excellent work in reporting the conduct of their administration to the citizens of Jersey City. Excellence in municipal public relations can come only from fulfillment of the major premise of democratic government that effective public administration requires citizen knowledge, participation and support.

I know that the citizens of Jersey City are as proud as I am of their officials who have earned this distinguished award. I request unanimous consent that an article from the October 1962 issue of the New Jersey Municipalities, which discusses Jersey City's award, be inserted in the RECORD:

"State-City Relations" was the theme of the 39th Annual American Municipal Congress which attracted over 1,800 officials and guests at sessions in Philadelphia, August 25–29.

Speaking at the opening general session on Monday were Mayor Gordon S. Clinton of Seattle, AMA president; host Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's Gov. David L. Lawrence, and J. Lewis Powell, author and lecturer.

The Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, addressed delegates at a luncheon meeting on August 28.

New Jersey received special recognition when Jersey City won an achievement award in the "best overall public relations program" category for cities with a population over 100,000.

A sizable group of New Jersey officials attended the Congress. They included Thomas M. Redanauer, clerk-tax collector of Barrington; Mayor Alfred R. Pierce, Council President Michael J. Piarulli, Councilmen Matthew R. Casper, Andrew A. Corea, Elizabeth B. Hawk, Harry A. Kerr, and Elijah Perry and Willard Cooper, director, department of planning and renewal, all of Camden; Mayor Harold A. Pareti of Carlstadt, Mayor James W. Kelly, Jr., of East Orange, Mayor Steven J. Bercik of Elizabeth, and Edward F. Deignan, Elizabeth fire chief and president of the International Association of Fire Chiefs.

Also present were Mayor Thomas Gangemi, Business Administrator John F. Moriarty and Eugene Scanlon, chief of the division of public relations, all of Jersey City; Donald E. Dunn, business administrator in Moorestown; Mayor Joseph M. Healey of Kearny, Councilmen Frank Addonizio and Lee Bernstein of Newark, and Mayor Arthur J. Holland of Trenton.

League Executive Director Robert H. Fust and Mrs. Roberta H. Thatcher, assistant director, also attended.

## Praise for Congressman Wilson's Efforts Against Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, with the 87th Congress rapidly drawing to a close, many of us will be returning to our home districts to campaign for reelection. Others will remain here or go to their homes to either prepare for retirement or for the opening session of the 88th Congress.

During my service in the 87th Congress, I have attempted to spell out examples of waste in military procurement. At the same time I have endeavored to perform services for my constituents.

I want to say, here and now, that before the end of this week, I shall detail three more examples of military incompetency. In two, money was wasted by the bushel. In the third case, I was able to gain enough facts to intercede in the case and my interest saved the taxpayers $1 million.

Newspapers in my home district have written several editorials about my military procurement study. I should like to offer for my colleagues the latest I have received, as carried in the September 25 issue of the Bedford, Ind., Times-Mail, my hometown newspaper:

REPRESENTATIVE WILSON NOT WITHOUT SUPPORT

Although Ninth District Congressman EARL WILSON received little assistance and support

in Government circles in his exposé of military procurement waste, he has had no little amount of support in the Nation's press for his efforts.

What WILSON uncovered in revealing one military spending scandal after another is something that most taxpayers must have suspected over the years. In fact, many taxpayers were able to witness waste on a small scale, and probably suspected that much greater waste was taking place at higher levels. But in light of the cold war, the military has been something of a sacred cow not to be questioned by the taxpayers populace. We are supposed to pay the bill without asking questions.

The modern Military Establishment is a thing of mystery to most persons, particularly when it has to do with electronics, nuclear weapons, rocketry, etc. Taxpayers are able to understand, however, such things as skirting of regulations, channeling contracts to favored manufacturers, sole source contracts and other shenanigans which needlessly push the cost of national defense higher.

If this sort of thing is to be curbed, the job will have to be done by Representatives and Senators in Congress. It isn't going to be done by bureaucrats many of whose jobs depend on waste.

We cite a number of publications which have expressed editorial sentiment supporting WILSON in his fight:

Ralph de Toledano, whose King Features column appears in 90 newspapers, said August 24: "EARL WILSON is a fighting Hoosier who has uncovered Pentagon practices costing the taxpayers millions."

Radio editorials written by Broadcast Editorial Service, Orangeburg, S.C., and aired all over the South, said: "We encourage Congressman WILSON to show the Congress that sole-source procurement is costing the taxpayers billions. We salute Indiana Congressman EARL WILSON."

The Nation magazine mentioned his cooperation with newsmen in the FBI arrest of three top Signal Corps officials on bribery charges.

"Congressman WILSON has waged a lonely, little-publicized war to force defense agencies to open more contracts to competitive bidding," said the Chicago Daily News.

The Dallas (Tex.) Morning News said of Representative WILSON's study: "The facts and figures are startling. This extravagant waste can be traced to Pentagon policies."

Columnist de Toledano, who will shortly publish profiles on WILSON and his study in National Review and Reader's Digest, wrote: "The correction of abuses Congressman WILSON has noted could mean a balanced budget. He is on the right track."

The Madison Courier said: "The work being done by Representative WILSON demonstrates the Congressman's keen desire to serve the people who elected him, and we owe him a vote of thanks for his hard work. If more of this work is done, we can expect to see money saved and, perhaps, lower taxes. Good work, EARL."

The Lawrenceburg Press said Representative WILSON "has uncovered a system that is loosely conducted, filled with kickbacks and payoffs, all of which come from your pocket."

The Seymour Tribune editorially endorsed his work, as did the Indianapolis Star, the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Los Angeles Times, Waco (Tex.) Citizen, White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter-Dispatch, and the Chicago Daily News, to name but a few.

These comments are best capsuled in a sentence by de Toledano: "Representative WILSON lifted the lid on this shocking condition and showed that wasteful procurement practices are costing this Nation billions each year."

For his efforts, Representative WILSON was made a target by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. In late August, as reported by Charles Nicodemus, of the Chicago Daily News, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara personally ordered that Congressman WILSON—who has been unearthing waste in defense contracting—be dropped or barred from 11 mailing lists containing notices of nonclassified contracts."

Shortly thereafter the Defense Department regretfully rebuked the Navy. The White Plains Reporter Dispatch said: "The Defense Department has quietly slapped down the Navy for secretly limiting competition on key defense contracts. The Department stressed that any firm wanting to compete for unclassified contracts must be given an opportunity to bid. The action was a victory for Representative WILSON and put the Defense Department in the uncomfortable position of coming to the support of one of its most persistent critics."

Only recently Representative WILSON turned over to the Attorney General evidence which shows that a prominent company made thousands of dollars in excess profits on an electronics contract. He has started machinery in motion which may effect recovery of this money.

Congressman WILSON's study has accomplished:

(1) a change in procurement law, passed unanimously by the House, giving an outside agency authority over sole-source deals;

(2) arrest of two civilian officials on bribery charges;

(3) discovery of thousands of dollars in excess profits, and

(4) a change in regulations, giving American industry the right to compete for military hardware business.

At the same time, Representative WILSON has continued his work for his own district. Twice in the past 2 years he saved the agricultural limestone program. For the third time, he was instrumental in killing a diesel fuel tax differential in committee. His amendment to an appropriation bill provided needed money a year early for the Whitewater River flood control project. His work with U.S. Engineers led to an acceleration of work on the East Fork White River project.

He called nationwide attention to a scheme to do away with many present TV channels. Such an outcry developed that the plan was killed, assuring a continuance of TV entertainment for all.

In his efforts to bring about economy in government and to serve the needs of the people in the Ninth District in Washington, WILSON has also appeared before many committees and Government agencies, and has still found time to vote on all legislation of importance. A truly active and effective Congressman often finds it necessary to be in two or three places at the same time. This cannot be done. A choice, therefore, must be made, and WILSON's choice has consistently been to be where he can do the most good for his constituents.

We do not always agree with Representative WILSON, but we like his voting record over the years and believe that it represents the desires of the people of this district.

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## Kennedy's Pet Issue

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the almost complete collapse of our foreign policy positions under the Kennedy administration must of necessity be compared to the President's campaign utterances. Such a valuable and penetrating comparison contained in an editorial of this morning's Chicago Daily Tribune was based on the observations made by John Davis Lodge, one of our Nation's outstanding public servants.

This review of the New Frontier foreign policy collapse is dramatically presented and I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point.

KENNEDY'S PET ISSUE

The 1,440-page volume of John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign speeches, published last year by the Government Printing Office, contains no less than 209 entries under the topic of "prestige." He spoke about the station of the United States in the world on almost every possible occasion, and it was his constant account that America's prestige had steadily declined during the Eisenhower administration.

In a characteristic utterance, Mr. Kennedy offered the judgment that "American foreign policy has been, in general, relatively unsuccessful in the last 4 or 5 years; that the power and prestige of the United States in relationship to that of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists has declined relatively."

So, said Mr. Kennedy, "I think what we need is a new administration with new people, new vitality, and new ideas."

Well, we have them, if the tired and familiar types directing our foreign policy can be called new—the retreads like Dean Rusk, Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, or "Soapy" Williams, or the ubiquitous amateurs like Junior Schlesinger, Walt Rostow, or Richard Goodwin.

The production of this team, with Mr. Kennedy supervising the diplomatic touchball game, has been wryly appraised by John Davis Lodge, former Republican Governor of Connecticut and for years one of America's most able and skilled diplomats as Ambassador to Spain.

In an exclusive interview with Walter Trohan, chief of the Tribune Washington bureau, Mr. Lodge submits the judgment that America's prestige under the Kennedy administration has hit its nadir. Everywhere there is dismay over Washington's policy of appeasement and retreat, of cuddling up to Russia while abusing our friends and allies.

Mr. Lodge ticked off the list—from Cuba and Berlin to Laos, Vietnam, West New Guinea, Thailand, Katanga, Angola, and Latin America. Nowhere have we stood up to the Communist threat. Nowhere have we shown the firmness that the Eisenhower administration displayed at Quemoy, at Berlin, and in Lebanon.

Instead, Mr. Lodge said, the administration's policy consists of wishful thinking—the belief that the Soviet Union is "maturing" and mellowing, and that if we just give the Communists enough encouragement, if we concede enough to them, they will prove pleasant playmates. In short, this is the policy of Franklin Roosevelt at Teheran and Yalta, handing everything to Russia on a silver platter.

There is no future in this for the United States, Mr. Lodge thinks, because the Communists don't change, nor do their goals change. Their goals are the destruction of the West by a process of attrition so that communism will prevail throughout the world, and, as things have been going, we are playing into their hands.

The American people have an unhappy realization that the passivity of the administration can only lead to bigger trouble, and they will agree with Mr. Lodge that peace is a product of strength, that war is a derivative of weakness, and that appeasement can only multiply the hazards of war.

## Economic Sanctions, OAS, Blockade Can't End Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of October 1, 1962:

POINT OF VIEW—ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, OAS, BLOCKADE CAN'T END CASTRO

(By Clare Booth Luce)

NEW YORK, October 1.—President Kennedy reportedly feels that Fidel Castro's Cuba is "a bone in his throat." The "bone" has grown sharper and more dangerous to him—and to the Nation—with every passing hour.

Political expediency requires the President to belittle its size on the eve of the congressional elections. So far, he has not entirely succeeded. The American people are pressing the Cuban question hard: How, short of war, they demand, can the Cuban bone be removed? Or, to put the question another way: What has been done so far to dislodge it?

Such economic sanctions as the United States can unilaterally apply to Cuba are already in effect: American shipments to Cuba now consist almost entirely of medical supplies and food. Cuba's trade with our allies has nosedived also, but this is less because of their unwillingness to sell than because of Cuba's inability to buy.

About 15 percent of Cuba's trade is still with non-Soviet bloc nations, including NATO members. Cuba has been receiving machinery, electrical goods, and engines from Canada, and certain vital imports from England, Japan, Norway, France, Germany, and other NATO countries.

Many of the President's critics insist that some way can be found to stop this trade, as well as Soviet trade—including strategic war material—carried in vessels chartered from allied nations.

WANT PROFITABLE TRADE

Just last week Secretary of State Rusk stepped up efforts to persuade our allies to abandon their profitable Russo-Cuban charters. Significantly the response was less than enthusiastic.

A hard-nosed amendment to the foreign aid bill rammed through the House on September 20 prohibits economic aid to any country sending goods of any kind to Communist Cuba. Chances are it will not pass the Senate. The attempt to enforce this provision would throw the whole foreign aid program into a state of administrative chaos.

Moreover, to punish democratic, allied and neutral governments for the activities of private businessmen and shippers is manifestly unfair. And even if successful, the final result would be to tie Cuba's military, political and economic lifeline more closely to Moscow.

Although the effort would be a big one, Premier Khrushchev can probably make good his boast that Soviet-bloc countries can supply all Cuba's economic needs and, if necessary, in their own bottoms.

Can the administration, then, working through the Organization of American States, achieve anything more than it has already achieved—which is practically nothing—to collapse Mr. Castro and exclude Russian power from this hemisphere?

OAS STILL INEFFECTUAL

So far, the Organization of American States has proved to be a futile piece of machinery for coping with Mr. Castro. There is considerable sentiment on the part of some Latin American governments supporting U.S. military intervention in Cuba in the hemisphere's interest.

Many who would condemn such action publicly, privately would applaud it. But there isn't a prayer that the OAS will undertake multilateral action of any effective kind against Mr. Castro. OAS nations have not even imposed economic sanctions, although their total trade with Cuba comes to a mere $10 million a year.

The informal conference of Latin American ministers, called by Mr. Kennedy for tomorrow in Washington, is not likely to produce more than empty condemnations of Russia's ideological exports into Latin America.

And what, for example, can any of the OAS members do to close down Radio Cuba, which pours Communist propaganda around the clock into every Latin American home that boasts a radio? Moreover, many of these governments are so riddled by native Communists that even for those minded to do so, "Communist baiting" can be political suicide.

BRAZIL AN EXAMPLE

One example of the Communist problem in Latin America will suffice: Brazil, which is geographically one-half the area of Latin America, has, since World War II, received over $1 billion from the United States in economic aid.

Nevertheless, today Brazil's President Joao Goulart is anti-United States and proleftist. Currently he is seeking to elect his brother-in-law, Leonel Brizola, to the Brazilian Congress.

Mr. Brizola's campaign is based on anti-U.S. diatribes. On a TV program he demanded that the U.S. Embassy be closed, and that our Ambassador, Lincoln Gordon, be sent home.

It is safe to say that the OAS will act in no effective way against Mr. Castro.

In the absence of forceful OAS action, is there, then, any unilateral action the United States can take, short of direct invasion of Cuba, which might be effective? The action most people are urging is a "peaceful" naval blockade.

Former President Eisenhower is quoted as having said recently that he had heard the term "peaceful blockade," but he didn't know what the term meant.

FULL ENFORCEMENT NEEDED

A naval blockade, if it is to succeed, must be continuously maintained and enforced on vessels of all flags. Allied and neutral, no less "enemy," vessels must be intercepted and cargoes dumped or returned to home ports.

International law defines such a blockade as "an act of war carried out by the warships of a belligerent, detailed to prevent access or departure from a defined part of the enemy's coast."

Americans will remember that Kaiser Wilhelm's harrassment of American shipping in 1917 was construed by Woodrow Wilson as an act of war on the part of Germany against the neutral United States. A naval blockade led directly to our entrance into World War I.

Consequently, the establishment of a formal U.S. naval blockade against Cuba could be construed an act of war by any nation whose vessel it so intercepted. It is, of course, reasonable to assume that however much a naval blockade against our allies would gum up our relations with them, they would not war against America.

What is certain is that Cuba would declare a naval blockade to be an act of war, and that the U.S.S.R. would indorse that declaration.

No peaceful action that the United States can presently take can be counted on to stop the Soviet buildup in Cuba.

## Wilson Versus Waste—A Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I want the Members of this House to know that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara can no longer refuse to open Defense Department procurement information to me for my successful efforts to save the taxpayers of this Nation millions of dollars. Secretary McNamara is rapidly reaching the end of his rope and soon will have to capitulate, change his mind, and cooperate with the U.S. Congress.

I have today been furnished with two letters, one from my colleague, the Honorable JOHN MOSS, of California, to the Secretary of Defense, and the other an answer to my colleague's inquiry. As chairman of the Special Government Information Subcommittee, the gentleman from California has confirmed what millions of Americans know for a fact—the Secretary of Defense would like to withhold information from Members of Congress to protect inefficiency and incompetency in his own household.

My colleague points out in his letter to the Secretary of September 20 that the Naval Purchasing Office less than four blocks from the Capitol has been supplying information on an open and public basis to so-called "reporting services," while the Secretary tries to hide the same material from Congress. My colleague also mentions other discrepancies noted by his subcommittee in this matter commonly known as "Wilson versus Waste."

The Defense Secretary's answer would be ludicrous if it were not for the tragedy of waste that is going on in his department and right under his very nose. For example, the Secretary falsely told my colleague I am now getting every procurement document I request and he used the word "promptly." I do not know what "promptly" is supposed to mean. I have, for example, one request that dates back to May 8 and others dating back to early August that still have not been answered. I might say the service is getting worse instead of better. When I started asking questions about the particular procurement of the May 8 letter, the whole procurement was canceled. There are other examples and I can detail them for anyone who wants them. They show less than prompt compliance with requests.

The Secretary also mentions in his letter "expenditure of manpower" and says compliance with my requests would involve placing me on 10,000 mailing lists covering some 20,000 procurement actions per year. I assume by this that the Secretary's figures are true—there is an average of two procurement actions per mailing list, about 10 ounces of mail daily, which is certainly something less than administrative efficiency.

The point is made that I requested procurement papers from 35 defense agencies. I figured this out against the

20,000 procurement actions—and it would mean an average of about 2 procurement actions per day per agency—which does not seem to me to be a heavy administrative burden, even if the Secretary's facts were true.

The letter also says the Naval Purchasing Office has been directed to cease its practice of suppling information to the six agencies involved. His letter says "The NPO has been directed to cease this practice, which is not authorized by regulations."

What I want to know is this—who authorized issuance of this material in the first place? How was this authorization justified? Who said it could be done? Under what section of the Armed Services Procurement Regulations was it either started, or stopped?

In connection with this cutoff of information to the six people at the Naval Purchasing Office, I must state that I know of other procurement offices in this area and in the Nation who have similar distributions. I suppose Secretary McNamara's future action will be the same as with NPO as these come to light.

His actions are typical of what I have come to recognize as standard operating procedure in the Defense Department. When I point out somthing wrong, the military either writes a new regulation to get around it, amends an old regulation, or tries to push the whole thing under the rug and out of sight.

I have noticed in the newspapers recently where Secretary McNamara said he can save $3 billion annually on military expenditures. I would like to ask if he hopes to save this money by cutting down on the purchase of paper and on the cost of printing information on procurement? Apparently, he is trying to cover up something that certainly smells to high heaven.

Mr. Speaker, I want to insert the two letters I have received today from my colleague, Mr. Moss, and I want to highly commend him for his interest in this action. Remember, if one Member of Congress can be denied information he needs to better do his job, then all the rest of you can expect the same treatment. We must, as Lincoln advised, either hang together or we shall certainly hang separately.

SPECIAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
*Washington, D.C., September 20, 1962.*

Hon. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA,
*Secretary of Defense,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The staff of the Special Subcommittee on Government Information has been assembling facts surrounding the removal of Representative EARL WILSON's name from the lists for mailing information distributed by the several Defense Department procurement offices. The subcommittee wished to determine whether any improper restriction was placed on access to Government information by Members of Congress. Such restriction apparently does exist, for at least one procurement office is providing to six private firms on a daily basis, the same information which has been withheld from a Member of Congress.

In 1961 and early 1962 a number of defense procurement offices were providing Representative WILSON simultaneously with distribution to industry unclassized information about invitations for bids. Late in June 1962, however, Representative WILSON was informed that compliance with his desire to remain on the mailing lists and to be added to several others would "impose a very heavy administrative burden on the military departments." The Defense Department letter apparenly constituted authority for the removal of Representative WILSON's name from all mailing lists.

Representatives of the Department of Defense have claimed that no general distribution of bid information material is presently being made, and that to establish such a distribution as requested by Representative WILSON would be unprecedented and a costly administrative burden. The specific service desired by Representative WILSON currently is being provided by the Navy Purchasing Office, just four blocks from the Capitol.

Each day a clerk at the Navy Purchasing Office assembles for six "customers" a set of all invitations for bids issued that day. Each set is placed in a rack near the main entrance to the office. Representatives of the six firms pick up their bundles on a regular basis. The Navy did not identify the favored six firms, although it appears they are private bid service establishments.

The discrepancy is obvious. On the one hand the Department of Defense complains about the heavy administrative burden of providing information for Representative WILSON who, as a member of the House Appropriations Committee, has the duty of passing upon the appropriations for the Department and other Government agencies. At the same time, the identical service requested by Congressman WILSON is being performed for six private firms with no apparent strain on the administrative organization of the Navy Purchasing Office.

It would appear that the attempt to apply a hard and fast rule has resulted only in unnecessarily withholding information from a Member of Congress. Certainly, in those cases where bid information is distributed generally, one more name can be added to the list without taxing the administrative abilities of the Defense Establishment. In those cases where there is, in fact, no general distribution, the Department should be prepared to prove beyond doubt that an unusual burden would be imposed as a result of servicing a congressional request.

In view of these considerations, the subcommittee would appreciate being informed whether the information previously provided Representative WILSON by the Navy Supply Office will now be made available to him. If not, please explain the apparent discrimination in treatment between Representative WILSON and the six private firms to which general distributions are made.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. MOSS, *Chairman.*

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
*Washington, D.C., October 2, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN E. MOSS,
*Chairman, Special Government Information Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations,*
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your letter of September 20 to Secretary McNamara has been referred to me for reply.

Let me point out first that there is no question of freedom of information in connection with Representative EARL WILSON's request to have his name placed on the mailing lists maintained by 36 procurement offices within the Department of Defense. As you know, Secretary McNamara maintains an open door policy throughout the Department with regard to unclassified information. Representative Wilson is now being furnished promptly by this office every procurement document that he requests. The only issue is one of the administrative arrangements by which these documents are transmitted to him.

Let me review the facts in this situation. Representative WILSON originally requested that he be placed on the mailing lists of the Army Signal Corps and the Navy Bureaus of Weapons and Ships to receive copies of every advertised procurement and of the unclassified portions of every negotiated procurement issued by these activities. When this request was denied on the basis of the administrative burden involved, Representative WILSON then revised his request to cover only electronic equipment in amounts over $25,000, but to include all Department of Defense procurement activities.

To comply with Representative WILSON's second request with a minimum expenditure of manpower would have involved placing him on over 10,000 mailing lists covering some 20,000 procurement actions per year and maintained by 35 different procurement offices. This request was also denied, and Representative WILSON was referred to the Commerce Business Daily issued by the Department of Commerce, which contains synopses of all proposed procurements. From these synopses, the Congressman could identify those procurement for which he wished to obtain the procurement documents; and we offered to obtain those documents for him.

Since August 20, Representative WILSON has requested documents on 106 procurements. As of September 27, we have furnished 74 documents, 3 were canceled, and the remainder have been requested from the departments.

As a result of our June 28 letter, special daily mailings to Representative WILSON from six offices were discontinued, and he also received a letter from the Navy Purchasing Office in Washington informing him that his name had been removed from "the general mailing list of this activity."

In fact, the NPO, like the other procurement offices, does not maintain a "general mailing list," but, as your staff has correctly reported, it makes up six sets of procurements issued each day and puts them aside for pickup at the NPO by commercial bid services which reproduce this material. The NPO has been directed to cease this practice, which is not authorized by our regulations.

In your letter you say that "the identical service requested by Representative WILSON is being performed for six private firms with no apparent strain on the administrative organization of the Navy Purchasing Office," and you ask us to "explain the apparent discrimination in treatment between Representative WILSON and the six private firms * * *." Aside from the fact that the service provided by the Navy office in question involved a local departure from prescribed practices, I must point out that it is by no means identical to the service requested by Representative WILSON, which would involve a unique arrangement to assemble and mail procurement documents estimated at 3½ tons of documents per year.

I should point out also that to furnish Representative WILSON with the daily output of the NPO would provide him only with a random selection of procurement documents; and to put him on every mailing list he has asked for would not supply him with any more information than he can obtain now by submitting specific requests for documents, since he can have any set of documents for the asking.

We appreciate your concern that the Department follow a consistent policy of full disclosure on Government information, and I trust that the foregoing explanation makes it clear that we are doing so in this case.

Sincerely,

THOMAS D. MORRIS,
*Assistant Secretary of Defense Installations and Logistics.*

## Koenig's Creek Dam Second Structure Completed in Little Schuylkill Watershed Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. IVOR D. FENTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, on September 30 I had the privilege and honor to participate in the dedication of Koenig's Creek flood-prevention dam near New Ringgold, Pa., the second structure completed in the $2,250,000 flood-prevention project for the Little Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania.

Communities in the watershed will be protected from flood damages to industries, utilities, roads, bridges, and above all to life and property in the area.

It was but a short time past when we dedicated the first dam at Hosensock, and the day is soon fast approaching when we will celebrate the dedication of the Locust Creek Dam, or the third phase of the Little Schuylkill watershed.

Present at the dedicatory ceremonies were Federal, State, county, and local officials who have been active and responsible for the great work already accomplished, and included the Honorable Ivan McKeever, State conservationist for the Soil Conservation Service, Mr. James Shadle, chairman of the Schuylkill County Soil Conservation District; Mr. Richard R. Bassler, president of the Little Schuylkill River Watershed Association; Mr. Byron Breisch, secretary of the Schuylkill County Soil Conservation District; Schuylkill County Commissioners Benjamin Boltz, Joseph Holden, and Elmer Johnson; and Schuylkill County Solicitor Ralph Bashore.

Without going into too much detail I will include remarks of the principal speakers, which vividly tell what has been accomplished since 1958. Mr. Speaker, you will recall at that time I secured the approval of the Senate and House Public Works Committee for the Little Schuylkill River watershed which made it possible for the Soil Conservation Service to proceed with what was estimated then as a $2,259,322 project. I also secured the approval at that time for an initial expenditure of $1,937,388 by the Federal Government.

In the Little Schuylkill River watershed there are over 50,000 people living, 390 farms, and 86,848 acres.

Sponsors of the project are the Soil Conservation Districts of Schuylkill, Carbon, and Berks Counties; the Schuylkill County Commissioners, the Department of Forests and Waters and the Fish Commission, of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the Water and Power Resources Board of the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters.

The dedication program for the Koenig's Creek Dam was as follows: Opening remarks, Mr. James Shadle, chairman, Schuylkill County Soil Conservation District; invocation, the Reverend Lawrence Delp, pastor of Christ Lutheran Church; introduction of speakers, Mr. Byron Breisch, secretary, Schuylkill County Soil Conservation District; Hon. Ivan McKeever, State conservationist, Soil Conservation Service; myself, and the Honorable Benjamin E. Boltz, chairman, Schuylkill County Board of Commissioners.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I include the remarks of the three principal speakers as follows:

REMARKS BY IVAN MCKEEVER, STATE CONSERVATIONIST, SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Schuylkill County Soil Conservation District, the Schuylkill County commissioners and other local people who have given of their time and talent to make this project possible.

The Little Schuylkill River watershed project was one of the first planned and approved in Pennsylvania under Public Law 566. In fact, it was one of the first approved in the country under this act. Your dedication of this second structure this afternoon is, in effect, reaching the second milestone in the completion of your program. Much remains to be done, but you have indicated by your interest and work to date that you intend to see the Little Schuylkill River watershed program become an actual reality on the land.

Your program will include the completion of a dam just started on the Locust Creek branch in which you have secured the cooperation of the State department of forests and waters and the Pennsylvania Fish Commission. It will also include a dam above Tamaqua on the main stem of the Little Schulykill River. These, with other works of improvement, as well as the carrying out of the land treatment phase, will establish an outstanding watershed program for you. It is my hope that this watershed program on the Little Schuylkill will become an example for others to follow—not only in Pennsylvania, but in the country as well.

In 1965, the annual meeting of the Soil Conservation Society of America will be held at Philadelphia, Pa. It is my hope that a tour at that time will bring the main body of delegates from the convention for a 1-day visit to the Little Schuylkill River watershed. I hope that a proper ceremony might be worked out for the damsite of the Locust Creek branch.

The leadership given in this watershed program from officials of Tamaqua, from your soil conservation district board of directors, from your county commissioners, and others, established for you an early lead in watershed programing. Since you started this program, others have gotten underway. Today, in Pennsylvania, we are working on many watersheds. To date, over 63 applications for watershed assistance have been received covering 3 million acres or 10 percent of the land area of the Commonwealth.

I would like to spend time to review with you here the fine work that is going on throughout all of Pennsylvania on small watershed development. However, I think it is sufficient to say that these programs are similar to yours in many respects and have been fashioned after the concept which you envisioned, planned, and carried out here.

The concept of multiple-purpose use of land and water which is so well established in your watershed is a concept that is growing every year. I think we are beginning to realize that the amount of good land and water is limited. The real challenge to all of us, therefore, is to make the most of what we have. Taking proper advantage of the natural resources found in your watershed has required a great deal of wise planning and hard work. Now you are well on your way in carrying out your plan.

Your soil conservation district in Schuylkill County, along with 58 other soil conservation districts in Pennsylvania, have dedicated themselves to developing and carrying out wise planning of land and water resources for both rural and urban people. I am looking forward to the time when you have finished your works of improvement on the Little Schuylkill River watershed. I am looking forward to future dedications of structures, but most of all, I am looking forward to the time when you can truly dedicate a completed program on the entire Little Schuylkill River watershed.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE IVOR D. FENTON, CONGRESSMAN, 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Today we are gathered to dedictate the second dam in the Little Schuylkill River watershed protection and flood prevention project. This is an occasion which gives me a great deal of pleasure. I welcome the opportunity to join with you in dedicating the Koenig's Creek Dam.

It seems to me that only yesterday we met to mark the completion of the first dam on the Hosensock Branch of this river. You have made remarkable progress in this watershed. Please accept my sincere compliments for your continued efforts and successes in this extensive project.

This dam is an integral part of the comprehensive plan you have developed to control floods in the Little Schuylkill River watershed. It is designed to store floodwaters during periods of heavy runoff. Upon completion of the other flood prevention measures you have scheduled to be built, flooding will be greatly reduced throughout the watershed.

You and I know that we have had some bad floods in this area. Our towns and homes have been severely damaged. And our industries, roads, railroads, and bridges have not been spared by the wild floodwaters rushing through our communities. All of this will change once this program is completed. You good people will recall that, in 1958, I secured the approval by the Senate and House Public Works Committees for the Little Schuylkill River watershed which made it possible for the Soil Conservation Service to proceed with what was estimated then as a $2,259,322 project. I also secured the approval at that time for an initial expenditure of $1,937,388 by the Federal Government.

I was pleased to learn that you are considering the development of a community park adjoining this dam. I realize there is a need for additional public recreational areas in the watershed. A park would be welcomed by the many people who enjoy the out of doors. It would serve as a wholesome center for picnicking, swimming, boating, and other recreational activities.

I know that the people in my congressional district were pleased to learn that you have started the Locust Creek Dam, which is on another tributary of the Little Schuylkill River. This will be a large multiple-purpose reservoir located above Tamaqua. In addition to providing flood prevention, a 95-acre permanent lake will be created.

I am also aware that you are planning to develop a large State park adjoining the lake. These new recreational facilities will add much to the entire community. They will undoubtedly serve to stimulate local business and others engaged in serving the needs of vacationers, sportsmen, and others who will be attracted to this area in large numbers. This project will prove to be a real asset to this area and I congratulate you for your vision in developing this plan.

What you are doing here on the Little Schuylkill River is admirable. Today you are the leaders in a new program which is geared to improving the economic conditions of our

rural and urban people. You are showing the way to work effectively with our State and Federal Governments in developing and utilizing our resources for the good of all in the watershed.

The sound program you have developed under Public Law 566 is serving as a guide in the future development of the large watersheds, such as the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and others in the Commonwealth. You are paving the way for others to follow. Large watersheds will only be fully developed when the resources of small watersheds have been planned as you have planned for the Little Schuylkill.

I am proud to say that I was a Member of the 83d Congress which enacted the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. This act enables the local people to develop their soil and water resources to meet their needs. Under this act you can build dams for flood prevention, you can store water for recreation, municipal and industrial purposes, and for fish and wildlife habitat, and you can improve the soil and water, woodland and wildlife, resources for this and future generations.

I believe you ought to know that Public Law 566 is popular in the Nation. Since the act was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1954, more than 779 projects covering 53 million acres have been authorized for planning in the country. In these watersheds the U.S. Soil Conservation Service and the U.S. Forest Service are working with the local people in developing their watershed plans.

One of the fine features of this act is the engineering assistance you receive from the Soil Conservation Service. I know that they have worked closely with you in helping to develop and carry out this program. In addition to the flood prevention features, the act also enables the Soil Conservation Service to speed up its assistance to the landowners in the watershed in establishing the much-needed soil and water conservation measures.

I want to compliment you for the way you have coordinated the services of the Federal and State agencies and local groups in this project. An example of this is the cooperation the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters and the Pennsylvania Game Commission are providing in developing the Locust Creek Dam. You have developed a conservation team to help solve a problem which cannot be handled alone.

It is a source of continued pride for me that we here in Pennsylvania have recognized the opportunities under the Small Watershed Act. Sixty-three applications from 33 counties have been submitted for assistance in developing their watersheds. Ten projects are now in the operation stage and many others are being planned. Seventeen flood prevention dams have already been built, or are under construction, and many others are now on the drawing board. I am pleased to say that a number of these will not only provide flood prevention, but will be used to store much-needed water for many uses by the rural and urban people in Pennsylvania.

Another important part of the Small Watershed Act is the assistance which is provided to farmers and landowners for speeding up the conservation treatment of their land. I can see evidence of this good work throughout this area. The many strip-cropped fields, ponds, tree planting, and terraces that can be seen on the land are evidence that the soil conservation districts in our congressional district of Northumberland, Schuylkill, and Berks Counties are on the job. I want to compliment the directors of these districts for their good work in promoting sound land use.

I am convinced that the watershed protection and flood prevention program offers an orderly and democratic way for developing our natural resources. Working together as a team, the farmer and his city cousin can develop a program which will control erosion, conserve water, improve wildlife, and prevent floods. To the farmer, this program offers conservation and better land use; to industries and communities, it offers a great deal more flood prevention and an abundant water supply; to the sportsman, it offers better hunting and fishing. It offers something to all in the Little Schuylkill River watershed.

In these times we are hearing a great deal about under-employment, depressed areas, and under-development. In many areas there are also water problems which are adding to our difficulties. With the rapid increase in population, we can expect all of these problems to become even more acute.

One of the solutions, I feel sure, lies in the sound development and proper use of our natural resources. This is a challenge we must accept. The Small Watershed Act provides us with the tools to meet this challenge. I am pleased that you here in the Little Schuylkill have taken up these tools, for this program offers a real opportunity to make the Little Schuylkill River watershed a better place for industry, for business, for the community, for all of us.

Once again, please accept my congratulations for your efforts in promoting this good work.

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REMARKS BY BENJAMIN BOLTZ, CHAIRMAN, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

This is a memorable occasion for all of us here in Schuylkill County. I am delighted to see this second dam completed. It is a real pleasure to join with you today in this dedication.

Many of you here today have devoted a great deal of time and effort to this program. The continued assistance of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, the department of forests and waters, the local soil conservation district, and many agencies and groups, has been most helpful. On behalf of the board of county commissioners please accept our thanks and sincere appreciation for all you have done in this watershed.

As you know, only last year we dedicated a dam on the Hosensock Branch of this river. Today we are dedicating this second dam and we are looking forward to the time the entire project will be completed.

We, in Schuylkill County, are placing a great deal of faith in this program. We are hoping it will stop the damaging floods of the past. The project holds promise of increasing our recreational facilities. We are hopeful, too, that this program will improve the economic conditions of the area. It has been several years since we tackled the huge job of planning this 87,000-acre watershed. I believe you will agree that we have made some solid accomplishments. The results are beginning to show.

I am happy to report to you that only last week ground was broken for a much larger dam in this project. The dam is being built above Tamaqua on Locust Creek. A large permanent lake will be created and adjoining the lake will be a State park. All of this will have a healthy effect on the economy of our county.

The county commissioners have long recognized the importance of managing our natural resources. We feel that the Small Watershed Act provides an ideal way to complete this job in the Little Schuylkill. You can be assured that we will continue to encourage the accomplishment of this entire program as rapidly as possible.

This watershed work is a new experience for all of us here in the county. Many people have given a great deal of time and a lot of energy. We have had some minor difficulties but through the hard work and cooperation of many people and groups, we have been able to solve them.

I believe that we will advance even more rapidly in accomplishing the remaining part of the work plan as more and more people can see the direct benefits of the total project. In addition to these dams, a great deal of progress is being made on the land.

Our farmers and landowners in the watershed are doing something about stopping erosion and managing their water through sound conservation practices. I can tell you that we have had excellent cooperation from the farm and city people alike in this program. This fine cooperation makes it gratifying and gives the county commissioners a great deal of encouragement to see the project through to a successful conclusion.

On behalf of the county commissioners, I accept this dam and agree to maintain it so that it will fulfill the purpose for which it was designed.

Again, please accept our appreciation for all you have done in helping to make the Little Schuylkill River watershed a better place in which to live.

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## Congress Eliminates Back-Door Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of many of us who have actively worked during this session of Congress to eliminate back-door spending have been such as to invite notice in the press. The October 9, 1962, issue of the Washington World included an article entitled "Congress Eliminates Back-Door Spending."

Under leave to include extraneous matter with my remarks I offer for printing at this point an excerpt of this article:

CONGRESS ELIMINATES BACK-DOOR SPENDING

A little-noticed but major accomplishment of the present session of Congress was the almost complete elimination of back-door spending.

Under pressure from determined Members of Congress, President Kennedy's administration decided as a matter of policy this year not to request any new programs of back-door spending.

As a result, the amount was cut from the first session's record-shattering $19.6 billion to almost nothing this year.

ALLOWS AGENCY BORROWING DIRECTLY FROM TREASURY

Back-door spending allows an agency of the Federal Government to borrow funds directly from the Treasury, thus bypassing the normal appropriations scrutiny of Congress.

Although the final amount of Treasury borrowing has not been compiled this year, Appropriations Committee sources say the sum is inconsequential—and that Congress has finally slammed the door—this session, at least—to that type of spending.

As Congress rumbled to a close, a committee spokesman said this session saw only $400 million through the back-door route.

The biggest back-door item of the first session was the New Frontier's $8.8 billion housing bill. When this and a request for $9.1 billion in mutual security funds for 5 years were presented to Congress, Republicans raised a howl.

Congress approved many Treasury-financed programs but administration strate-

gists concluded there was no use adding to the high hurdles already facing New Frontier legislation in the second session.

With key Senate and House Democrats also turning against the nonappropriated financing, the tide of opinion was enough to halt it. But it remains to be seen whether the trend will continue in the 88th Congress, which starts in January.

## The 1961 Invasion Failure in Cuba Perils U.S. Global Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of October 2, 1962:

POINT OF VIEW—1961 INVASION FAILURE IN CUBA PERILS U.S. GLOBAL POLICIES

(By Clare Boothe Luce)

NEW YORK, October 2.—At his nationally televised September 13 press conference, the President said, "I would like to set (the Cuban situation) in perspective." This is precisely what the President has failed to do.

He has insisted that Castro's Cuba constitutes no political or military threat to the United States or "to any * * * part of this hemisphere," that "Castro is doomed," that "he is no longer feared in Latin America" and that consequently "unilateral intervention on the part of the United States of America cannot currently be either required or justified."

By resting the case against U.S. intervention on a shockingly erroneous estimate of the Cuban situation, the President has evaded a desperately urgent task—to alert the people of this Nation to the grave dangers we face if we go to war against Cuba now, or at any time in the future.

DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES

Putting the Cuban situation in its true perspective would have required the President to make an excruciatingly painful admission; that the failure to carry through the Cuban invasion in April 1961, has already had dangerous, and perhaps disastrous, consequences for American global policies:

1. This failure has permitted—indeed encouraged—Russia to get a firm military and political foothold in the Western Hemisphere. All Mr. Kennedy's protests to the contrary, this is a growing danger to our security. In the words of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, addressing the United Nations on September 21, "The threat (to peace) in Cuba arises from the extraordinary and unnecessary flood of Soviet arms and military personnel pouring into Cuba," which "is creating grave concern, not only in this country, but throughout the hemisphrere." (This view, if it be the correct one, is at total variance with the view expressed just 1 week earlier by the President.)

2. The unchallenged entrance of Soviet power into the Western Hemisphere has done grave damage to the image of the United States in Latin America, and consequently has accelerated the political slip, drift, and drive to the Communist left in this hemisphere.

USEFULNESS DESTROYED

3. Whatever usefulness or validity the historic Monroe Doctrine may have had before the invasion, the failure of that invasion and subsequent events have destroyed them.

The Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed by President James Monroe on December 2, 1823, warned the European powers that "we should consider any attempt (on their part) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." (It is an irony of history that what inspired this doctrine was the attempt of Imperial Russia to penetrate "peacefully" into the American Northwest.)

Mr. Truman, always willing and ready to quarrel over old political bones (especially old Republican bones), recently said, "We're in trouble in Cuba because Ike didn't have the guts to enforce the Monroe Doctrine." Mr. Eisenhower's reasons for not implementing the Monroe Doctrine by use of unilateral force were (A) that the Monroe Doctrine, as updated by the Rio pact, required the United States of America to wait for multilateral or OAS approval of United States action against Cuba, and (B) that Russian military power was not clearly present in Cuba during his administration.

By April 1961, Castro was clearly under the Soviet wing. On the other hand, OAS approval of U.S. support to an invasion had not been secured. Nevertheless Mr. Kennedy gave the invasion the go-light. But when he withdrew U.S. air support at the last moment, one reason apparently was his consideration for the multilateral concept of the Monroe Doctrine.

NEW KENNEDY DOCTRINE

Certainly the President no longer believes either the old unilateral or the new multilateral Monroe Doctrine relevant to the Cuban situation.

Despite frequent lipservice to the Monroe Doctrine, both old and new, the President (currently using the voice of Senator HUMPHREY) now wishes to supplant it with the "Kennedy doctrine."

What, it may be asked here, is the Kennedy doctrine? An analysis of the President's hard-core position on Cuba shows it to be this:

The United States will not initiate any military action against a "peaceful" extension of power in our hemisphere or a "defensive" Soviet military buildup in Cuba, but it will consider an "offensive" buildup to be dangerous to our safety. And, in the event of an armed attack by satellite Cuba against the United States or any of its neighbors, the United States is determined not to wait for other OAS nations to take action—it will unilaterally counterattack the attackers.

THE OLD CONTAINMENT POLICY

Upon even closer examination, this Kennedy doctrine looks quite familiar. And so it is. The Kennedy doctrine proves to be the 15-year-old Truman-Eisenhower doctrine, designed to contain Soviet Russia in areas outside the American Hemisphere. The essential feature of that doctrine is, and always has been, non-aggression while maintaining the military capacity to retaliate in kind against Communist military initiatives. Its informing principle is the military "tit-for-tat" or "retaliation"—the ultimate "tit-for-tat" being, of course, "massive retaliation." The rationale behind the doctrine of containment was the "realistic" acceptance of the European satellite states as legitimate zones of Russian concern and influence.

Stripped of its doubletalk, the Kennedy doctrine plunks for the application of this old Truman-Eisenhower containment doctrine to our own hemisphere. Apparently so long as the U.S.S.R. does not use Cuba as an offensive base, it is now to be considered as a legitimate zone of Russian power.

UNITED STATES IN A TRAP

4. Most serious of all, the flubbing of the Cuban invasion and the subsequent buildup of Castro's satellite island as a Russian military base within easy striking distance of Guantanamo, Cape Canaveral and the Panama Canal, have now placed the United States in a global double bind.

If America should now intervene in Cuba, it must do so at the risk of exposing all its military bases and positions in Europe, the Near East and Asia to the threat of Russian or Communist flanking attacks. But, if it does not intervene and should serious trouble—short of ultimate nuclear war—begin in Berlin, Turkey, Iran, Laos, Vietnam, Formosa or Korea, the United States now risks exposing the Western Hemisphere not only to constant Soviet reconnaissance but also to flanking attacks from Cuba.

ALTERNATIVES

The United States is now faced with two dismaying alternatives: To challenge Russian power in our hemisphere now, at the risk of war breaking out on other global fronts and (unless diplomatic concessions are made quickly there) escalating into World War III; or to sit and wait while Soviet military power builds up, with the very real possibility that communism will take over large areas of Latin America.

It is in this grim global perspective that the people of this Nation must now debate the question of whether or not intervention is "required or justified" in Cuba.

In concealing the extent of our present dilemma from the American people, the President is denying them the right of a free people to debate crucial national issues with all the relevant facts before them.

Short-range political astuteness may indicate the need to play down the size of the present crisis. But long-range statesmanship solemnly demands that the truth be told.

What is now at stake in the decision for intervention or nonintervention in Cuba is the question not only of American prestige but of American survival.

If the decision is not to intervene, then that means the United States accepts the existence of Soviet military and political power in the Western Hemisphere.

Postponing the decision to intervene will not make it any easier. The same arguments which are used against intervention today could and would be used when Russia has control of half a dozen hemisphere countries.

If the United States deems that Russian military power in this hemisphere is intolerable, it would be the part of wisdom to say so clearly now, and to act accordingly. The vast majority of the American people, including most of the President's critics and opponents, will support the President when he takes action.

## Friend in Greed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the

advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD, stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I ask that the following be printed in the RECORD:

FRIEND IN GREED

Please, let's not hear any more of that tommyrot about Old World diplomatic wisdom. We give you "Great" Britain.

The British, we read, will not participate in any trade embargo or blockade of Cuba. Diplomats of the tight little isle do not believe that Cuba has any "aggressive" intentions toward the United States.

The moss-covered London Times even took occasion to criticize American efforts to halt the flow of Russian men and arms to Cuba as "misguided." It predicted the U.S. campaign would fail.

Naturally, we do not expect any gratitude from Britain for the thousands of American lives and billions of American dollars expended to protect her from annihilation at the hands of powerful European enemies—especially if British trade relations are involved.

As we recall it, the British even insisted on trading with Red China while her own men—as part of the United Nations force—were fighting the Red forces in Korea.

But one would expect even the British to recognize that the menace in Cuba is not from the Cubans, but from the Soviet Union; and that the menace is not merely to the United States, but to the entire free world.

With "allies" like this, who needs enemies?

## Haste in the Mississippi Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, it should be apparent to thinking men of this Nation that the distasteful Federal action recently occurring in Mississippi as a result of a Federal court edict ordering enrollment of a Negro named Meredith in the University of Mississippi involves much more than the issue of integration.

A distinguished American journalist, David Lawrence, has given his considered evaluation to this matter, and has published a stimulating editorial entitled "Haste in the Mississippi Case." This editorial appeared in the October 2, 1962, edition of the Washington Evening Star and it follows below:

HASTE IN THE MISSISSIPPI CASE—FAILURE TO MOVE FEDERAL-STATE ISSUE TO SUPREME COURT CALLED MISTAKE

(By David Lawrence)

Was it worth it? Couldn't the loss of life and the wounding of scores of persons in the rioting at the University of Mississippi have been averted if President Kennedy and his brother, the Attorney General, had permitted the State of Mississippi to exhaust its legal remedies in the normal way before any Armed Forces were ordered to the scene? What was the reason for haste in such a delicate situation?

Wouldn't it have been better not to have smuggled James Meredith, a Negro student, onto the campus through a back entrance? Wouldn't it have been easier to explain to the people the true basis of Federal action if an opportunity had been afforded first to let the Supreme Court of the United States hear argument on legal questions of an unprecedented nature which were raised last Friday before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, La.?

It is doubtful whether the American people will ever learn the whole story of the Mississippi dispute. Lawyers with many decades of experience in the practice of law say they have never witnessed in their respective careers an exhibition such as occurred when the court of appeals was sitting as a trial court in civil contempt proceedings against Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett.

The main facts as shown in the record are these: A private suit was originally entered in behalf of Mr. Meredith to obtain his admission to the University of Mississippi. The U.S. Government, represented by the Department of Justice, asked permission to enter the case as a "friend of the court." The court granted the request. The State of Mississippi asked for a similar status, and its request also was granted. Then, after the court had found that the Governor was not present at Friday's proceedings, the presiding judge indicated that the State of Mississippi would be denied its status as amicus curiae—or friend of the court.

The attorneys for the State of Mississippi asked for an opportunity to argue briefly why the State was entitled to be represented. The court made no answer but took a 10-minute recess. When the recess was over, the court, without listening to argument, declared that the State of Mississippi could not intervene as a "friend of the court," even though the United States had been permitted to make pleadings in that manner.

The Constitution of the United States says explicitly that in all legal cases in which the Federal Government and a State are in conflict, the Supreme Court must take over. The Supreme Court then sits, not as an appellate court, but as a court of "original jurisdiction."

What all this means is that Mississippi, as a sovereign State, has certain rights under the Constitution which cannot be ignored. President Kennedy told a radio and television audience Sunday night that the controversy was simply a matter of obeying laws, even though one might disagree with them. But the court order to which he had referred was itself invalid, inasmuch as the full Supreme Court of the United States had not heard arguments either on last Friday's conflict of view or on the petition submitted in mid-August by the State of Mississippi. The latter was ruled on by only one Justice, since the Supreme Court itself was not in formal session.

Under circumstances as vague and as legally complex as the foregoing, would it have hurt anybody's cause if the President and the Attorney General had exhibited patience and had waited a while before trying to force on the University of Mississippi the registration of Mr. Meredith?

Governor Barnett could eventually be adjudged wrong in his legal procedures, but a staff of distinguished lawyers—among them John C. Satterfield, immediate past president of the American Bar Association—were not permitted to argue for him or for the State of Mississippi in Friday's hearing in the Federal court at New Orleans.

Thus, the picture of "free America" presented before the world today is not an inspiring one. The episodes of the weekend merely proved that unfortunately too often "might makes right," and that when one party—a sovereign State—asked for its day in court, it was rebuffed.

How much better it would have been if the legal questions had first been resolved, and then a proclamation issued by the President with ample time for the people to digest it.

As it was, Governor Barnett called for obedience by the people and deplored any violence. He said that the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi had been "trampled upon," but nevertheless he accepted the presence of Federal troops.

Military force is not a substitute for the processes of law or a means of establishing a voice of reason in the community. In the Soviet Union, they customarily use force to secure obedience to governmental edicts. In America, court orders are almost never resisted. But when any administration takes the law into its own hands, mobilizes armed forces on the scene, and attempts to decide issues that the courts shoud rule upon, there is bound to be friction and rioting.

It is an example of another tragic era such as America witnessed 94 years ago when Congress ordered the Executive to use Federal troops to compel the legislatures of the Southern States—3 years after the War Between the States was over—to "ratify" the 14th amendment. Yet on this amendment the whole desegregation decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 was based. It is time for a dispassionate look at the facts so that a truly constitutional remedy can be found.

## New U.S. Agency Proposed To Effectively Counter Soviet-Communist Offensive To Destroy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I introduced in this House today, a bill proposing the establishment of a new executive department, to be known as the Department of National Security and International Affairs.

Mr. Frank Fortune, of the Buffalo Evening News, prepared an excellent summary report detailing the basic purposes and objectives of this new Cabinet post.

As Mr. Fortune points out in his article, this proposal would "coordinate and oversee the execution of this Nation's efforts in the prosecution of the politico-military war in which we are engaged."

I am pleased to highly commend the Buffalo Evening News and Mr. Fortune for their concise, accurate, interpretive analysis of this bill.

The article follows:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Oct. 3, 1962]

Representative JOHN R. PILLION, Republican, of Hamburg, N.Y., today proposed to Congress the creation of a new executive department to take over the functions of the Department of State and the National Security Council in dealing with the Communist conspiracy.

Designated as the Department of National Security and International Affairs, the new executive Department would be counseled by a newly created Advisory Board to be headed by the Vice President of the United States,

and including the Secretaries of State, Defense, Treasury and National Security and International Affairs, plus the Speaker of the House and the majority and minority leaders of the House and Senate.

Representative PILLION made his proposal in what he terms as the answer to the constant bungling in national security affairs of the Nation by the State Department and the National Security Council.

Warning that "world events make it obvious that the balance of power is shifting toward the Soviet-Communist forces," Representative PILLION told the House that the time has come for the United States to revamp completely its administrative organization to deal with national security generally and with the Communist menace specifically.

He blamed the Nation's protracted crises not only on the obvious Communist initiative, but also on "the absence of a clear and accurate conception of this Nation's role in world relations and a lack of a sense of national purpose."

As possible heads of the new agency, Mr. PILLION suggested three candidates—Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, and Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff, board chairman of Radio Corp. of America.

While the Nation has a "number of citizens who have the insight to and the overall comprehension of the nature of the Soviet-Communist war upon us," Mr. PILLION said he felt these three men are eminently qualified to assume and faithfully discharge the awesome responsibilities of this office.

Mr. PILLION pointed out that the "basic purpose of this Department is to provide the organizational structure required to assist the President and the Congress in formulating national objectives and developing an integrated strategy to defend against the international Communist political, psychological, economic, diplomatic, and military conflict being waged against the free world."

Representative PILLION charged that the United States is doing a deplorable job of salesmanship in behalf of democracy and has utterly failed to provide the free world with "sufficient inspiration, goals, policies, and programs to match the rallying cries, the organization, the strategies, and tactics of the Soviet-directed world Communist total war."

Noting that Congress has delegated to the National Security Council its responsibility for "providing for the common defense of our people," Mr. PILLION charged that the Council has proven incapable of doing the job required.

The inherent organizational weakness of the Council reduces the effectiveness of the CIA, which is responsible to the Council, and "prevents the translation of intelligence information into effective foreign policies and implementing action," Mr. PILLION said.

Since the President recognizes the grave defects and consequent malfunctioning of the Council, Mr. PILLION said it has become a nonfunctioning agency so far as its national security responsibilities are concerned.

"Due to a lack of practical national goals, our people and our responsible officials lack an agreement as to what our national objectives are and their relative priorities."

The failure of the National Security Council has left to the State Department the job of countering the Soviet-Communist world politico-military offensive as well as its basic job of advising the President on foreign policy, said Mr. PILLION, explaining: "The exacting and extensive requirements for waging a successful political, diplomatic, economic, psychological, paramilitary, and military conflict with the highly organized Soviet-Communist forces is far beyond the intended function and capabilities of the Department of State."

Representative PILLION spelled out in detail what he considers are the grave defects of the Department's organization in dealing with the Communists, including:

The State Department "is wedded to a philosophy of only reacting to problems as they arise."

"It lacks anticipatory planning and action * * * its policies and modus operandi are wholly defensive and never offensive."

Its often-contradictory foreign policies "are characterized by vacillations, conciliation, appeasement and retreat * * * not focused or coordinated within nations, or in world areas, toward defined and specific political objectives."

The Department's committee system is not geared to "formulating and producing judgment actions" and is hampered by a bureaucratic war for interdepartmental power and prestige.

The State Department "in its efforts to maintain its own primacy in foreign relations" has consistently opposed congressional efforts to commit the United States to a more firm policy and a "highly influential minority of the upper echelon" in the Department has obstructed formulation and execution of effective policies.

Representative PILLION told the House that the Department of Defense is "not empowered, organized, or staffed to wage political, psychological, economic, and diplomatic war. Nor can it coordinate these forms of war with paramilitary and military war."

As for the President, Mr. PILLION says he already carries a most heavy burden of responsibilities in both the foreign and domestic areas and "cannot carry the additional all-absorbing burdens of being a field general for each of these battles.

"The President must have an organization to make accurate assessments and judgments of the capabilities of the enemies' politicomilitary forces, an organization which can anticipate and act promptly to prevent Communist offensives, an organization to establish targets, and develop necessary strategies and tactics.

"This bill," Mr. PILLION said, "would centralize into one agency the responsibility of coordinating and overseeing the execution of this Nation's efforts in the prosecution of the politicomilitary war in which we are engaged.

This new Department "will be entrusted with the crucial task of assuring the survival of this Nation."

## Alabama Poet Received International Citation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, Martha Bankhead Molloy, of Sulligent, Ala., has received an honorary citation from Geoffrey Handley-Taylor, bibliographer to Her Majesty the Queen's Poet Laureate, England, stating that her name has been selected for inclusion in "Dictionary of International Biography, a Biographical Record of Contemporary Achievement."

Published by a nonprofitmaking organization, the "Dictionary of International Biography" is served by a voluntary editorial and advisory board of 20 notables from 3 continents. The countries represented are England, France, Australia, Scotland, and the United States.

Since 1958, when she resumed writing interests started in an elective course in college, she has had published or accepted for publication 70-odd poems. Her poetry is well known in the United States, and has appeared in "Anthologie de la Poesie Contemporaine aux Estats-Unis," Paris, a book prefaced by Dr. Clinton F. Larson, national president of State Poetry Societies, France, and in "The Spring Anthology 1962," London. The latter also has one of her creations booked for their 1963 edition.

Martha Molloy's poetry and literary history are on file at Alabama archives. Her poetry appears also in journals filed in the British Museum, and the Poetry House, Belgium.

She is a B.S. degree home economist, and graduate of Auburn University. Her professional work has been in the technical and teaching fields.

Many civic, professional, and social organizations have extended membership to her. To mention a few in the literary field: American Poetry League, Wisconsin Poetry Foundation, World Poetry Day Organization, Chaporral Federated Poets, Louisiana State Poetry Society, Alabama Writers' Conclave, and Alabama Historical Association.

Her deceased husband, Daniel Wilson Molloy, was a disabled World War II veteran. He was a graduate of Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service, and a professor of Spanish at the University of Alabama and Marion Military Institute, Alabama. They have one son, Daniel Wilson Molloy, Jr., who is a fine student and a potential scientist.

I am happy to take this means of commending Mrs. Molloy's achievement to the country.

## Whatever It Is, If It Is Desirable and Costs Money, Let's Get Washington To Do It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the San Diego Kiwanis Club, of which I am an honorary member, has distinguished itself with a series of programs on Americanism, and has influenced many businessmen to show more interest in the Government. In addition, the editor of the Kiwanis Tidings, Mr. Norman W. Tolle, has produced many outstanding editorials on subjects of general interest. His latest effort is an appeal for self-sufficiency. I commend it to my colleagues.

Under unanimous consent, I include it as a portion of my remarks in the Appendix:

WHATEVER IT IS, IF IT IS DESIRABLE AND COSTS MONEY, LET'S GET WASHINGTON TO DO IT

(By Norman W. Tolle)

Some of us can remember when the Townsend plan, the ham and egg plan, and other schemes for winning the votes of senior citizens were highly popular. In fact, some political candidates darn near got themselves

elected by campaigning on these themes. It, therefore, is heartening to note that, despite bigtime showmanship directed at convincing elderly folk that they desperately need Government-provided medical care, the Congress just couldn't swallow it * * * primarily because the poor, neglected elderly folks back home convinced their elected representatives that they are doing just fine without Government-doled medical care.

Just how much the state should do for the individual is a question which reaches deep into fundamental American principles, and it appears that more and more people are realizing it. Those who look upon the state as both source and stimulus for leadership and care of the individual seem to lose sight of the fact that taxing some people involuntarily to provide comfort for other people is no different from my sticking a gun in your ribs and demanding money to pay for the care and welfare of my aging Aunt Suzie.

The extent to which this "let the Government do it" attitude can go is illustrated by the proposal that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare assume responsibility for the physical fitness of the Nation. It has been openly proposed by responsible national authorities that the fitness of American youth become the "direct responsibility" of the Federal Government, and "the lack of physical fitness" has been described as a "menace to our security."

No one will disagree with the desirability of physical fitness. However, it might be noted in passing that American children are the healthiest in the world and are getting healthier all the time. Still, if the author of this proposal knows of a way to get Junior to mow the lawn or limber up his legs running an errand willingly, he will win the gratitude of parents everywhere.

Lauding "the strenuous life" and getting our youngsters to live it are two different things. The important point, it seems to us, is that flabbiness doesn't afflict the younger generation exclusively. Nor is it just a matter of muscle. If his elders are really determined to toughen up Junior, they might more profitably begin by disabusing him of the notion that it is smart, satisfying, or even enjoyable to expect forever that someone—individually or collectively—always will look out for him. "After all, dad will mow the lawn and clear the driveway today and Washington will clear life's path tomorrow, so why sweat?"

Seriously, isn't it about time we leveled with our youth—and with ourselves—and make it plain that the only lasting satisfaction and security is in measuring up to our highest standards of achievement on our own? Isn't this a basic truth that we owe it to our progeny to explain, and explain, and demonstrate?

## Bayonets and Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, certainly the scene we have witnessed in Mississippi in recent days is not one of which any American can be proud. Indeed, it is one of which every American, north and south, east and west, I am sure, is ashamed.

The Governor of the State of Mississippi has shown contempt for the courts and apparently has failed even to seek a compromise solution. Through his actions he invited repetition of the incidents of Little Rock and even to some degree outdid the Governor of Arkansas.

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, this situation might well have been avoided had the administration adhered to a firm and consistent administrative policy. Properly the policy of the Federal Government is that no person shall be denied education because of race, color, or creed, yet during 1961 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare loaned this segregated institution, the University of Mississippi, in disregard of law, $250,000, its maximum amount in loans and also its Public Health Service research grants and loans amounted to more than $1 million. Furthermore, the National Science Foundation in fiscal 1962 awarded the University of Mississippi active research grants totaling $78,700 and educational grants totaling $433,000. All these Federal expenditures to an educational institution which was in violation of the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

Belatedly the National Science Foundation, I learn, for 1963 has a new policy that any institution to be eligible for funds must accept students without regard to race, color, or creed. I am glad the Foundation has instituted this policy and can only say that all agencies of the Federal Government, in my opinion, should have long ago initiated such a policy. In this way peaceful pressure could have been brought to bear and could have prevented a situation such as just occurred in Mississippi from coming to a head. Actually the present policy of administering Federal aid to education has caused more harm than help in resolving this problem.

Mr. Speaker, more than half, or 157 of the South's 257 tax-supported colleges and universities have been desegregated, the great majority without controversy. The mistake is that the Federal Government should not have gone on supporting the University of Mississippi and should have brought pressure without precipitating the use of Federal forces. Instead, it could have been complying with the ruling of the Supreme Court and have been taking action with deliberate speed.

The Federal Government and the State of Mississippi are caught between two great forces, but as President Kennedy pointed out there may be laws with which an individual does not agree but at the same time no individual should defy them. However, had the Government proceeded in a different way, and earlier, this disgraceful episode in American history might well have been avoided and the force of public opinion and peaceful pressure could have been applied instead of the forces of bayonets and the power of arms.

The American people will make the judgment as to the course taken by the President and the Attorney General. As for me, I feel the blame attaches to the Government's compromise with what is right and the allowing of Federal programs to be handled in violation of the Constitution and the law of the land.

## State Department's Monopolistic Power Over International Politics, Foreign Policy, and Management of U.S. Response to Soviet-Communist War Is an Utter Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, in my address to the House of Representatives earlier today, I pointed out the utter inadequacies of the State Department and the National Security Council in the field of international politics and in the defense of this Nation against the Soviet-Communist offensives.

I have today introduced a bill that would place the responsibility for our national security and for U.S. efforts to counter the Soviet-Communist total war, into a new executive department, to be known as the Department of National Security and International Affairs.

A recent editorial, written by Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer and published by the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, clearly establishes the colossal incompetence and lack of long-range strategic planning and vision of our State Department in the field of international politics.

It is a grave error for this country to continue to entrust the vast responsibilities of international politics, upon which the survival of this Nation depends, to the grossly ineffective and inept policymakers in the State Department.

Mr. Mowrer's article states in a very concise and accurate manner, the divisive effect which the bungling appeasement policies of the State Department have had upon the unity of the free world.

I commend Mr. Mowrer for his excellent analysis of a most critical situation.

The article follows:

OUR ALLIES HAVE STRONG REASONS FOR NOT EMBARGOING SHIPS TO CUBA

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Like most Americans, I think our Allies' general refusal to prevent their shipping from carrying goods to Communist Cuba is shortsighted and utterly wrong. But unlike some, I cannot feel self-righteous about it.

My friend Cecil Leon Jensen illustrates this self-righteousness admirably by a cartoon showing Uncle Sam asking a NATO shipping country bluntly: "Whose side are you on?" Other cartoonists and writers, including my fellow columnist Bill White, have been even a little threatening.

But I think that we should understand that many, if not all our Allies, have been asking for years which side the United States is on. For the last four American administrations have ignored what they believed to be their interests time after time. And, with the exception of Germany, still totally dependent upon the United States for the protection of West Berlin, they have reached a position where they think they have a right to reciprocity.

This feeling, and not over strict observance of existing law, accounts for Britain's lofty

deprecation of the Cuban danger. It accounts for an Oslo paper's satisfaction that the British and Norwegian Foreign Ministers have pointed out that there are limits to what one can threaten Allied nations into accepting.

Think back to Suez in 1956. Can one blame Britain and France for still feeling that the United States ignored their vital interests by joining the U.S.S.R. in invoking the United Nations against them? Can we criticize a Dutchman for feeling good now that the "shoe is on the American foot" after our pressure on the Netherlands to turn over New Guinea to Indonesia?

Neither France nor West Germany agrees with the Kennedy policy of endless negotiations with the Russians and passive acceptance of the wall through Berlin.

Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, all felt that we had no more right to interfere in their relations with their colonies than they would have to interfere, say, in Mississippi.

One and all they ask: if communism in Cuba is such a danger to the United States, then communism in East Germany and the other captive European countries is a danger to Europe. Why didn't the United States do something about Hungary? After all, if the United States wants European support in the Far East (say, in South Vietnam) and in Latin America, then why doesn't it follow the advice of its European allies in places where they are more closely involved, meaning in Europe and in Africa?

This may sound ungrateful—and perhaps it is. Certainly, the United States saved Europe including Britain both during the war and afterward. We have steadily supported European moves toward an integration that, unless we speedily forge closer links, will eventually make a united Europe a serious commercial or even political rival.

But in other parts of the world, we have just as steadily opposed Europe's policies. So even that majority of Frenchmen who are happy to be rid of Algeria must be smiling slyly when we see the new Algerian Government, which Kennedy so warmly recognized, already lining up with Cuba against the United States. For they never admitted that Algeria was any of our business.

The difference over ships to Cuba brings up the question of the nature of the Atlantic partnership and just what Kennedy means by his appeal for interdependence. Until recently the Europeans have been happy to have this partnership on almost any terms for their security and prosperity were dependent upon American assistance. Now this is much less so. And accordingly, thoughtful Europeans are asking why what is sauce for the European goose is not sauce for the American gander. And they are trying to make their meaning clear by such minor acts as allowing their ships to help Castro.

To me, I repeat, this is terribly shortsighted. But when Presidential adviser Chester Bowles states that the United States does not have to support countries just because they are on our side in the cold war, I wonder just how Mr. Bowles became successful in the advertising business.

For international politics like business is strictly a matter of give and take.

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## The Mississippi Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, we are now approaching the fourth day since the invasion of the once sovereign State of Mississippi by the officers of the U.S. Department of Justice and Federal troops. We are advised that there are in excess of 15,000 Federal troops in the tiny cultural town of Oxford—which has a population of 5,500. Oxford, as everyone by now knows, is the seat of the 114-year-old University of Mississippi. Bayonets are flashing in the southern autumn sun along with the sound of the heavy trod of full-battle attired Federal troops. The town of Oxford and the highly cultured members of the faculty, and some 5,000 Mississippi boys and girls on the campus of Ole Miss are feeling the heavy hand of a powerful Federal Government. Among the troops are members of the National Guard of Mississippi, many of whom have sons, daughters, brothers, or other kinsmen on the Ole Miss campus; thus, father and brother are pitted against their own blood. Moreover, by this extreme Executive order, the only effective weapon available to the Governor of Mississippi to deal with possible trouble was taken from him. The Governor as well as the Lieutenant Governor are being blackjacked in an effort to bring them under the submission of a tyrannical court.

Mr. Speaker, this is a sad and tragic day, not only in the history of Mississippi, but of this Nation. A proud, patriotic people are thus placed at the mercy of a powerful centralized Federal Government. All of this, Mr. Speaker, is for what purpose? The alleged justification is to see that one Negro student, seeking martyrdom under the guidance of the politically powerful N.A.A.C.P., desires to break the color line of this proud institution. Incidentally, the virtues and accomplishments of the university, as well as Mississippi citizens, have recently been brought to the attention of a Nation and the world. One cannot help but wonder if it has ever occurred to those who extoll our virtues and accomplishments that these have been brought about without integration of the races in Mississippi.

Mr. Speaker, the Mississippi delegation, charged with the responsibility of representing their people in the Congress, are sorely disturbed, and labored unceasingly in the days immediately preceding the enactment of this tragedy in their appeals to the President and the U.S. Attorney General that this bitter cup of Gethsemane might not be pressed on our people. Believing in the justice of our cause and the sovereignty of our State, the following telegram was sent by the delegation on September 14 to the Governor of Mississippi.

> We congratulate you on your effort and determination to preserve the sovereign rights and privileges of our State and pledge you and the people of Mississippi our full and unqualified support.
>
> TOM ABERNATHY,
> JAMIE WHITTEN,
> ARTHUR WINSTEAD,
> JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
> BILL COLMER,
> JAMES O. EASTLAND,
> JOHN STENNIS,
> *Members of Congress.*

On September 27, having learned, without being consulted, that Armed Forces were to be deployed to force the admission of Meredith to the University, the following telegraphic appeal was made to the Attorney General:

> It would appear that the situation incident to the efforts of your Department to force the admission of a prospective student, James Meredith, into the University of Mississippi over the strenuous objection of the legally constituted officials, the student body of the university and the citizens of the State of Mississippi, has arrived at a most grave and crucial stage. We, the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, entrusted by our people with the obligation of representing them to the best of our ability, are advised that you, as the Attorney General of the United States, may be considering certain drastic steps to force the Governor and other officials of the State to violate their oaths of office and obligations to the people of Mississippi by the use of armed U.S. marshals, and even requesting the President to send armed Federal troops into Mississippi. It is apparent to us that the people of Mississippi are united in their support of the Governor and other State officials. Feeling is so intense that continued pressure by Federal authorities would intensify the tension between the races to the point of a breakdown of local law enforcement.
>
> Surely you are aware that tension is high. Surely you are aware that a proud people resent regimentation and the use of brutal force to subdue and overcome the convictions entertained by them, to wit: The sovereignty of the State, the rights reserved to them under the 10th amendment to the Constitution, and the construction of the U.S. Supreme Court for over 100 years that the doctrine of separate but equal facilities in their State educational institutions is the law. To ignore these realities and exercise the unlimited power and resources of the Federal government by the use of armed Federal agents or Federal troops would be to assume the responsibility for civil strife and possibly bloodshed.
>
> In view of this situation, we respectfully urge that you and your Department, as well as the executive department, reconsider the steps which have been made and withdraw any plans to proceed further at this time.
>
> We therefore most respectfully and earnestly urge that in view of the existing highly dangerous and explosive situation, that further efforts by your Department, as well as the executive department, not be made at this time, and that by all means, the Federal Government, whatever its viewpoint, may be, refrain from resorting to using armed force to bring a sovereign State, in this instance our own beloved Mississippi, to its knees. Forcing one student into an institution against the desires, the beliefs, and the convictions of the people of our State would do irreparable harm.
>
> THOMAS G. ABERNETHY,
> JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
> JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
> ARTHUR WINSTEAD,
> WILLIAM M. COLMER,
> *Members of Congress.*

On Sunday, immediately preceding the ill-advised invasion, personal appeals were made to both the President and the Attorney General not to take this drastic action.

Immediately after the President's address to the Nation the delegation released the following statement:

> We are in thorough and emphatic disagreement with the position taken by the President; with both the argument given for the ordering the Federal troops into the sovereign State of Mississippi and the reasons therefor.
>
> The citizens of Mississippi are a proud and patriotic people. They are devoted to their educational institutions. They are justified in taking the position that the 10th amendment to the Constitution reserves all

the powers, not specifically delegated to the Federal Government, to the States and the people. They feel that the U.S. Supreme Court's decision sanctioning equal but separate facilities for the education of the races—which withstood the assaults made thereon for more than 100 years—is as sound as the more recent decision of that Court to the contrary.

Moreover, they realize that the problems arising from forced integration of the schools of our common country are relative. As a practical matter there is no real problem where the ratio of colored to white is minute. But a real problem is posed where the races are approximately evenly divided.

They are liberty-loving people who resent tyranny in any form.

They are cognizant of the fact that this is action of the judicial and executive departments of our Government. The Congress, charged with legislative authority under the Constitution, has never enacted a law justifying this action. As a matter of fact, Congress recently rejected authority to use Federal troops in implementing a Federal court order.

Tyranny is reprehensible in any form. While justification is claimed for this invasion of the civil rights and privileges of the people of Mississippi, the liberty-loving people of other States may well take heed that some other pretense may be used to invade their rights.

Just as we have in the past, we shall continue to oppose the invasion of the civil rights of all the people of these United States, and the concentration of all power of government into some form of a totalitarian state.

TOM ABERNETHY,
JAMIE WHITTEN,
ARTHUR WINSTEAD,
JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
BILL COLMER,
JAMES O. EASTLAND,
JOHN STENNIS,
*Members of Congress.*

And, finally, Mr. Speaker, on Monday morning after the holocaust had been enacted, the following statement was released:

We, the undersigned Members of the House of Representatives from Mississippi, deplore the circumstances at the University of Mississippi and call on the executive department to withdraw all present efforts either to enroll or force the attendance of James Meredith at the university.

Present bloodshed and present control of the whole area by troops and other armed forces are destroying this great university and the rights of 5,000 students to an education, all because of a determined effort by outside groups to force the registration and the attendance of James Meredith whose primary objective is not to get an education at the university.

Only 3 days ago, at a time when the President was sponsoring the buildup of Federal might and power, we warned the President of the inevitable. Without rancor or umbrage, we wired him, among other things, as follows: "The highest degree of heat and tension prevails in Mississippi * * * spreading * * * like a flaming brush fire. It is brought about by one person whose real objective is not to get an education. This is obvious to all. The power to save human blood, even human lives, is in your hands, Mr. President. We respectfully appeal to and urge you to stop this demonstration of Federal might which has moved the people of our State and is now moving those of other States to the highest degree of heat and tension. A holocaust is in the making. You are the only person who can stop it. This appeal is made in earnest. Mr. President, the objective is not worth the price. We beseech you to act before it is too late."

We gave the President the facts. It is tragic, but our warning was prophetic. Tension built to the point of a holocaust. Human blood has been needlessly shed, and lives have been lost. Property has been destroyed. All of these happened because Federal authority insisted on pressing for the registration of one individual at Ole Miss, although it is well known that he has no genuine desire to obtain the benefits of learning available there.

We urge again, as we urged the President, "the objective could not be worth the price." And what a price we have had to pay, not just Mississippi, but the entire country.

University officials made an appeal late yesterday that the attempt be put over until today. They appealed late yesterday afternoon to Federal authorities not to make this power play in the nighttime since darkness was conducive to mob buildup and hit-and-run demonstration. University officials warned of the tension and pleaded that if the move had to be made that it be put over until today at a time when the campus could be patrolled under the light of day and students would be assembled in the classrooms. But Federal powers ignored the pleas of sensible men, demanded that the show must go on, their way, as they planned it.

So, in the darkness of night they marched their marshals onto the campus. They were dressed like medieval gladiators, brandishing tear gas guns, clubs, and firearms. The TV show then went on. The setting produced the inevitable.

For the third time, we again implore the President to face the inevitable and call off this effort to force this man into the University of Mississippi.

THOMAS G. ABERNETHY,
JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
ARTHUR WINSTEAD,
WILLIAM M. COLMER,
*Members of Congress.*

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## Polish Crusade for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks I include therein a moving, admirable statement recently issued by the Polish government in exile in London.

This statement is a penetrating analysis of the philosophical differences between freedom and communism and logically exposes and explodes the great myth and deceit of Red imperialist neocolonialism with its brutal police state subjugation of millions of God-loving, freedom-minded people.

It makes a strong appeal to the conscience of the free world in behalf of the subjugated and oppressed victims of world communism. It is a challenge to all nations and peoples who believe in freedom, to come to the rescue of millions of unfortunate souls held captive behind the Iron Curtain.

It invokes, not only the United Nations, but individual friendly nations, to demand that Russia restore the freedom of these subjugated victims of Red tyranny.

There would seem to be little doubt that the free world, in a collective and individual sense, is hampered by timidity, appeasement and indecision in trying to deal with current doctrines and threats that go to the moral validity, as well as the safety and security, of the free world. We can hardly measure the great, perhaps irreparable, damage to the cause of liberty and enduring world peace that ensues from these doctrinal attacks and physical threats.

As I have said before so many times, freedom is not divisible; it cannot be fragmented and smothered in nations where the spirit of freedom dwells without doing injustice to all free people and their ideals.

We hear little these days about the plebiscites that were promised and agreed upon during and following World War II. Strong demands for these plebiscites should be made in the United Nations and by all free nations, so that captive nations would be given a chance to determine whether they want to live in slavery or freedom. Who could doubt what their overwhelming choice would be?

I think the Polish government in exile is entitled to great credit for presenting its cause with such intelligence, vigor and loyalty to the principles of freedom, justice and democracy. Its cause belongs to the entire free world; we must sustain and promote it.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, LONDON, SEPTEMBER 18, 1962

The 17th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, its membership recently increased to 108, is becoming an ever more representative body. Its duties towards humanity are therefore steadily increasing, with pride of place to the duty of demanding justice and freedom for all the nations which still lack the benefits available to mankind in measure as the concepts of morality and international justice mature.

Within the United Nations Organization there is an increasing number of representatives of the Asian and African member-countries which have recently secured these benefits and now belong to the international community. Other still subjected nations of these continents are on the way to attaining their independence in the near future.

On the other hand, there are still in Europe many subjected nations which, remaining under the yoke of foreign oppression, cannot live a full national life of their own, develop along the lines of their own culture, and enjoy the benefits of current economic progress with the prosperity which follows in its wake. This is because they are inhibited in these domains and exploited by Russia intent on her own selfish aims. Support for the cause of these nations by the members of U.N.O. and a fundamental, not fragmentary, solution of the burning problem of the captive nations notwithstanding even the greatest pressure will be regarded by history as a measure of the present level of mankind's morality and the degree of maturity attained by the individual members of that organization, whose task is to reconstruct the world upon the foundations of justice and freedom.

The present era is primarily marked by the struggle between two worlds. The old

Western World with its high level of spiritual and material civilization achieved by dint of evolution through many centuries; and the Eastern World which, bypassing the gains of experience, has entered upon the road of experiments upon which it stays despite their evident bankruptcy. Moreover, the Soviet Union insists that this downhill road leading to the abyss be followed likewise by other nations, particularly those forced into the Soviet orbit as an outcome of blunders committed by the Western Powers towards the end of the war. Poland and Hungary can be taken as classical examples of this.

Whilst the Western Powers have during recent times given freedom to many colonial nations and helped them towards full state sovereignty, Russia has done quite the contrary. She has deprived many hitherto free nations of their centuries-old statehood and harnessed them to her own interests and to further her objectives directed against the free world. These captive nations are forced to carry out functions which clash with their outlook on life and their moral standards.

Can it be that the ancient free countries, noted for their glorious traditions, and particularly the younger lands associated in the United Nations Organization will not exert themselves to raise these matters vociferously and boldly before the forum established for this purpose? Can it be that they will continue blindly to acquiesce in the double standard framed by the culprits whereby these imply there is some difference between the concept of colonialism, applied to the exploitation of oversea possessions, and that of neocolonialism under which an alien power identically exploits the peripheral countries occupied by it? After all, this is not a question of geography but a moral issue. This neocolonialism and acceptance of it by UNO is a stain upon the honor of mankind which should be erased as soon as possible.

The countries bordering with the Soviet Union and subjugated by her—Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bohemia, Slovakia, Hungary, and Rumania—are in effect new Russian colonies: they should be immediately classified as such by the free world which ought to demand that Russia restore their freedom.

The free world's fear of Russia's power—largely real but also certainly overrated to some extent—may, however, ultimately lead to the loss of freedom by that world. The will and readiness to resist Russia is urgently necessary. It should be borne in mind that Russia owes her political gains so far primarily as a result of her successful bluffing and of the timidity shown by the Western Powers. Wherever Russia encounters even slight resistance (as in Berlin, Laos, and Vietnam) she reduces her pressure. On the other hand, wherever no resistance is offered, she at once acts either in direct manner or through the intermediary of her allies. For instance, the wrong inflicted upon western New Guinea and prior to that upon the South Moluccas was caused chiefly by the lack of determination shown by the Western Powers. Such indecision likewise evokes self-inflicted harm upon the West since in the final resort the territories in question, instead of serving as stages between the Philippines and Australia, have been abandoned to the Communist world's advantage or straitly bound up with it.

The issue of liberating the nations subjected by Russia or placed under the yoke of her overt or masked allies is swiftly and in ever greater measure coinciding with the problem of the still free world remaining free. The captive nations are the natural allies of the free world, and the latter should in its own interests maintain contacts with their representative bodies in exile since none but these can freely speak on behalf of the nations compelled to silence by the Communist regimes imposed upon them.

Hence the settlement of these linked issues—justice for the captive nations and international security—should be sought at the level of the two worlds in course of formation: Europe on the way to unification and the expanding Russian empire. The latter should not be allowed definitively to absorb the 100-million population of the captive nations with their military and industrial potential—actually a prime objective of Russia's European policy at the present juncture. As long as Russia considers it possible that she will succeed in this, it is out of the question to expect her to agree to any settlement of the German problem since the consolidation of the Soviet hold upon the German Democratic Republic automatically places Poland and the other captive countries deeper within Russian possessions. Indeed, all the various projects advanced from the Communist area (such as the Rapacki plan) have this in view above all.

These and similar issues should be effectively raised by the nations of the free world, ignoring Khrushchev's shoe-slamming exploits in the U.N., his bluffs, and his threats. It may be the free world deems it inadvisable to demand at present that Russia return the captive nations to the Western European fold to which they have every title to belong and particularly because this is their will. In such case, the free countries should at least exert themselves to the extent of demanding the liberation of the nations concerned with the proviso that they will not enter the community of Europe in course of unification but form a confederated neutral zone whose neutrality would be guaranteed by all the powers interested in maintaining durable peace in the world. This approach would appear to offer the best chances of finding a solution for the most urgent international problems, such as the Berlin issue, the unification of Germany, and universal disarmament.

These matters have been dealt with in detail by the Polish Government in exile in several of its memoranda. It now appeals to all the freedom-loving nations that these issues receive due attention in the hope that a just settlement of the fate of the captive nations will at length become the subject of open deliberations upon the international forum, not only in the interests of these unhappy nations but also in order to further the attainment of lasting peace in the world and universal security, with general progress and prosperity shared by all mankind.

A. ZAWISZA.

## Council of Foreign Ministers Should Act To Guarantee Freedom of the Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HQUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Council of Foreign Ministers is currently in session on the subject of Cuba. This is significant in view of the fact that hearings were held this morning by the House Select Committee on Export Control into the general subject of waterborne commerce to Cuba.

The hearings continue, and a number of matters regarding U.S. policy toward Cuba will undoubtedly be exposed.

Hopefully, the meeting will yield some concrete results as well. The United States has an excellent opportunity at this meeting to reassert the same leadership and clear initiative found in the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

It has been the Congress of the United States which has precipitated U.S. action to counter Cuban communism thus far. Certainly congressional investigaiton into traffic to Cuba by Allied vessels could only be instituted by the Congress.

The influence of the Congress is also being felt at the meeting where just last week a strong resolution of congressional intent for action and positive policies against Cuban communism was approved.

The eyes of America are trained on this question, looking for clear-cut means to oust the Communists from the Western World. With continued attention to this matter by the Congress, the will of the American people will not be misinterpreted and effective steps will be taken to guarantee the freedom of the Americas.

## The Urban Mass Transportation Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of the most vital needs of the metropolitan area of New Jersey that I am privileged to represent is relief for the thousands of workers who daily must commute to work. At this 11th hour of our session, the prospects for passage of the desperately needed Urban Mass Transportation Act are much less than dim. But now is the time for all whose congressional districts share this commuters' problem with mine to prepare for our return to these Chambers in January. We cannot in all conscience to those we represent fail to enact this legislation just as soon as is possible.

In an editorial appearing in Monday's paper this week, the Newark Star-Ledger pointed up just what I am saying. And I believe the editorial is worthy of being in the action folder of my colleagues who plan to join me again here in January.

DELAYED AGAIN

Efforts to mount a fresh attack on the urban commuter transit mess suffered a setback by the failure of Congress to enact the transportation measure put forth so hopefully by the Kennedy administration and pushed so energetically by New Jersey's Senator WILLIAMS.

The consensus is that it would take something tantamount to a miracle to get the bill through the House and Senate this year. And there appears to be no miracle forthcoming.

The measure would provide Federal financial assistance to start the wheels moving in some new directions for giving the commuter a better break. In so doing, it should be noted, more than the commuter would be getting a break. The future prosperity and well-being of the great metropolitan areas of the Nation are, in substantial measure, dependent on solving what

commonly is described as the "commuter crisis."

Failure to enact the measure at this session has been particularly serious, because local programs have, to varying degrees, been held up pending the outcome of action in Washington.

New Jersey, for instance, has a $6-million-a-year program of aid to commuter railroads—merely to keep service from further deterioration. If this money could be used as matching funds under a Federal assistance program, the State certainly could expand its horizons far beyond the current limitations.

It appears now that the best that can be done is to start planning for another try next year. Let us hope that efforts this year at least have paved the way for speedy action the next time around.

## The New York-Montreal Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I have been urging my colleagues for some time to consider a new seaway from New York to Montreal in order to recapture some of the lost industry from the Port of New York, to provide cheaper transportation facilities, and to protect our country in its shipping lanes in time of war. One of my friends, William Lathrop Rich, chairman of the Committee for the New York-Montreal Seaway, has been in the forefront in recommending this new seaway. Recently a conference was held at the Lodge in Stowe, Vt., on September 28, 1962. Mr. Rich's statement during the 13th annual conference of INCOCHAMP on that occasion will prove interesting reading and I commend it to the attention of the readers.

His statement follows:

THE STATEMENT MADE BY WILLIAM LATHROP RICH, CHAIRMAN, THE COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW YORK-MONTREAL SEAWAY, DURING THE 13TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF INCOCHAMP HELD AT THE LODGE, STOWE, VT., SEPTEMBER 1962

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, may I say that I am very pleased to attend and take part in the 13th Annual Conference of INCOCHAMP and to comment upon the proposed Champlain Waterway.

The Committee for the New York-Montreal Seaway, of which I am the chairman, has been advocating just such a deepwater seaway since the fall of 1956 and we have consistently recommended that it follow the historic route, used since its discovery in 1609 by Samuel de Champlain, because it was and is the shortest practical route between the St Lawrence River in Canada and the Hudson River in New York State.

Six months after we had first proposed that this route be adequately modernized, we were informed that our recommendations were in accordance with those made in a report of the International Joint Commission in 1937, that concluded with the statement that the route from the St. Lawrence at Sorel, Province of Quebec, up the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain and by way of the Champlain Canal to the Hudson River at Fort Edward, "is the most practicable from an engineering standpoint and the least impracticable from an economic point of view of all the five routes that had been considered."

Since its discovery, this route has, from time to time, been improved and its capacity increased but no improvements have been made upon the Canadian part since 1938 and upon the United States part since 1918, that would alter its capacity.

This so-called Champlain Waterway has now become so uneconomical and obsolete that the Legislature of the State of New York constituted a joint legislative committee on the barge canal in 1960 to determine the future of the barge canal system, of which the Champlain Canal is a part. What conclusions that committee has reached are not known to us or whether it ever reached any.

It is my understanding that we are here today to discuss the present status of the Champlain Waterway project.

Our committee's 6-year study of this proposed waterway has caused us to reach certain conclusions that I will now enumerate.

First, may I state that we firmly believe that the future economic expansion and prosperity of the New York-New England section of our United States is contingent upon the building of an adequate deepwater seaway, that will connect the Hudson River in New York State and the St. Lawrence River in Canada and make available a shortcut for ocean shipping to use to compete with the St. Lawrence River.

Up to the 5th of July 1962 all of our efforts had been concentrated upon securing the updating of the 1937 survey because, without a current survey of this route, all statements, pro and con, about it would, of necessity be based upon opinions and not upon facts.

On July 5 last, our efforts were crowned with success when "the Department of State announced that the United States and Canada have agreed upon the text of a joint reference to the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada, concerning the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain Waterway. The Governments in similar letters on July 5, 1962, requested the Commission to conduct a study on the feasibility of improving the existing waterway or developing other routes for a waterway from the St. Lawrence River in Canada through Lake Champlain to the Hudson River at Albany, N.Y."

We, therefore, have not made a detailed economic survey of this proposed seaway route, and we are of the opinion that it can be done best by the Corps of U.S. Army Engineers, by a survey similar to the one that they made for the Joint Commission in 1937.

We have heard numerous opinions as to the saving of time and money that this shortcut, between New York and Montreal, would make possible, such as a saving in freight rates for newsprint from the Quebec region to the New York metropolitan area of from $9 to $10 a ton and an estimated reduction of 4 sailing days, with a saving of $10,000 for a ship like the *Santa Rose* of the Grace Line, for a round trip between New York City and Montreal, Canada, and that this saving in time and money would put such similar lines into a competitive positition so that they could secure tonnage that is now not available or economically feasible for them to handle now. These and similar comments are estimates and opinions and we shall have to await the completion of the new survey until we can deal in facts.

Now that the Champlain Waterway project has been referred to the International Joint Commission, the question is: Where do we go from here?

Before I give you an answer to that question, I desire to make a few comments.

We have repeatedly asked ourselves, Is this shortcut feasible, desirable, and necessary? To all of which we have concluded in the affirmative.

It is feasible because previous research studies have indicated that there are no great engineering problems involved.

It is desirable because it makes available to ocean shipping, sometimes called the salties, a shortcut from the heartlands of the American Continent, also called the fourth coast, to the ports around the world, by some few up to 2,700 miles for a round trip, with accompanying reductions of shipping costs.

It is necessary, first because it will be a latent factor in our national survival, which of necessity I will not detail here.

Second, because it will stimulate the economic revival of the regions through which it passes by making them more accessible, and it will also make seaports possible, at any point along its route, from which direct shipments can be made to any port in the world.

The necessity for the existence of this proposed waterway is forcefully emphasized by an article in the New York Times of September 13, 1962, by Werner Bamberger, in which he states that "the port of New York handled 144,764,869 short tons of cargo last year. That 1961 figure, which covers foreign trade, coastal shipments, and local movements, was 8,433,751 tons, or 5.5 percent less than in 1960, compared to the national decline of 3.3 percent. That represents a decline from 153.2 million tons in 1960 to 144.7 million tons in 1961."

That decline of New York was somewhat steeper than for the United States as a whole, however, New York retained its traditional position as the leading port.

We are convinced that the decline trend in tonnage of the port of New York can be reversed by the bringing into existence of this proposed waterway and it points to the necessity for prompt and immediate action on our project.

We are hearing, repeatedly, statements to the effect that this waterway would be contaminated by "bilge-pumping" and "oil sludge," etc., made by people of recognized importance, who are either ignorant of existing regulations or who have been misinformed as to the regulations of both the United States and Canada, which prohibit the existence of such type of contamination.

The United States Code Annotated, title 33, navigation and navigable waters, section 441, issued by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, headed "Deposit of refuse in New York Harbor and adjacent waters prohibited; penalty," covers that condition should it occur in any part of the proposed waterway, including Lake Champlain.

The Canadian antipollution regulations are covered in detail by an article that is in the August 1962 edition of the Canadian Shipping and Marine Engineering News, page 67, headed, "Don't Foul Our Waters," subheading, "Antipollution Regulations Have Sharp Teeth—No Dumping of Oil Within 100 Miles of Our Coast, or Else—." I have copies of both these references here with me.

As to the present contamination condition of Lake Champlain, I am intrigued. May I inquire, what is being done about that condition in the north end of the lake around the mouth of the Saranac River, that condition in the south end near Ticonderoga and more serious than those, the condition penetrating the lake, as a whole, being brought about by the discharges, of all kinds, from the increasing number of cabin cruisers and motorboats that are moving about the lake from end to end? I receive the impression that everybody is worrying about, what may happen, and not about, what is happening.

As to the waterway under discussion, we believe that the completion of this proposed seaway will result in the following benefits provided that this waterway is designed to

have adequate capacity for the purpose for which it is intended.

Adequate capacity, to us, means a capacity, ultimately, at least equal to that of the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, Canada, at present, in terms of controlled depth, means not less than 37 feet.

Recently M. Andre Ganon, chairman, Montreal Port Council, suggested that the winter opening of the St. Lawrence River should be followed by a deepening of the channel to 40 feet. (See Canadian Shipping, June 1962, p. 54.)

So you see that the deepening of the St. Lawrence River to 40 feet is now under discussion in Canada.

We are convinced that this waterway will:

1. Hasten the return of the port of New York to its former position as the greatest seaport in the world.

2. Provide justification for the modernization of all facilities of the port of New York.

3. Justify the construction of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan.

4. Make available a fresh water supply for the States of New Jersey and New York and for Long Island and eliminate the necessity for future demands upon the Delaware River Watershed for additional fresh water for this same area.

5. Stimulate the tourist trade to and from New York City and make practical the introduction of scenic tours, to the Adirondack Mountain-Lake Champlain-Richelieu River regions, the Montreal-Quebec-Saguenay River regions, and via the St. Lawrence Seaway to the Thousand Islands—the Great Lakes ports and other lake points of interest, such as the Great Bridge across the Mackinac Straits and the new Soo Locks near Sault Sainte Marie.

6. Encourage foreign tourists to visit the United States and make use of those tourist facilities to visit the heartlands of our country and Canada.

7. Stabilize the water level of the Hudson River at Albany, N.Y.

8. Make possible the development of a steel center in the vicinity of Albany, N.Y., similar to that of the Pittsburgh area.

9. Make desirable the building of subsidiary pleasure boat plants in this same general area.

10. Reduce the number of locks required between Waterford on the Hudson River and Lake Champlain.

11. Stimulate the economic and financial growth of the regions all along its route.

12. Provide jobs during its construction, the result of which will be growth of employment in all the regions through which it passes.

13. Stimulate population increase through economic expansion of all facilities and services near its path.

14. Make possible the transformation of all locations along its route into seaports.

15. Materially reduce the present industrial and natural contamination of the waters of the south end of Lake Champlain.

16. Provide a means of flood control for the Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River regions by the stabilization of the water level of Lake Champlain.

17. Result in the elimination of the annual losses in these same regions, due to spring flooding, which are estimated to amount to more than $30 million since 1938.

18. Make accessible all these same regions to the motor and sailboat mariners, which they are now denied through lack of accessibility.

19. Benefit all transportation facilities, for movement in and out and through its regions, as well as all communication facilities.

20. Make possible the reduction of the number of locks around the Chambly Rapids in the Richelieu River part in Canada.

21. Make possible the restoration of the necessary water level in the Sorel-Montreal regions, which can materially reduce the strength of the currents at the docks at Montreal and assist in the elimination of the pollution along the shores of Lake St. Louis due to the, at present, alltime low-water level of the lake. That restoration of the required minimum depth for the river at Montreal, is an integral part of this project and it presents no unsurmountable obstacles or any unusual engineering approach.

Again I state that all those benefits can be secured by the construction of an adequate deepwater seaway.

May I now close my remarks by asking your serious consideration of the following points pertaining to this proposed Champlain Waterway and now ask that if this conference concurs with them that you cooperate with our committee in asking the International Joint Commission to consider them during its planning of this proposed seaway.

1. That the design of this proposed deep waterway provide it with an ultimate capacity, at least equal to that of the St. Lawrence River, with which it must compete to justify its existence as a shortcut for ocean shipping, sometimes called the Salties.

2. That the locks have a sill depth of not less than 40 feet, the present depth of the St. Lawrence River plus a 3-foot factor of safety. That sill depth will make it unnecessary to rebuild the locks when the traffic demands that the capacity of this waterway be increased to equal that of the St. Lawrence River.

3. That the initial depth of this waterway between the locks be, at least, 32 feet. That depth is the depth that the Hudson River is now being deepened to from New York City to Albany. Of the 450 miles length of this proposed waterway, within a short time more than half of that mileage will be 32 feet deep or deeper.

4. That provisions be incorporated in the planning that will allow the use of this passageway by small as well as the large boats.

5. That the bridges, necessary for the passage of vehicular traffic across this waterway, be of the bascule type, so as to eliminate any restrictions in overhead clearances and that their footings be placed far enough back from the banks of this waterway to permit free and clear passage of any ships that can make use of this waterway.

6. That provisions be incorporated in the design to assure the maintenance of a constant water level at both Albany, N.Y., and the Sorel-Montreal, Canada, regions.

7. That the number of locks along this route be kept down to the minimum, to possibly only 2 large locks along the Canadian section, in place of the present 11 small ones, as the total lift in this section will be not more than 80 feet, because the level of the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, Canada, is 20 feet above sea level. The New York State section may require only 3 large locks in place of the 12 small ones, because there the total lift will not be more than 98 feet. The water level of the Hudson River at Albany is only plus or minus 1½ feet above sea level, due to the tidal fluctuations. This 98-foot maximum lift, which is the lift up to the proposed level of Lake Champlain, is secured by the leveling off of the hump in the route of the present Champlain Canal, making the water level of Lake Champlain the maximum water level of the whole route.

8. That provisions be made in the design layout of this waterway for the future twinning of the locks, with their rebuilding, when the increase in the volume of traffic so demands.

9. That this seaway be set up as a self-liquidating project and to be so amortized that the initial tolls can be kept down to a minimum to stimulate its use as a shortcut.

10. That naval and commercial large ship navigators be consulted during the designing of this seaway so that the mistakes, inherent in the design of the St. Lawrence Seaway, be not repeated in this seaway project, particularly the lack of consideration given to the basic requirements for the proper navigation of large long boats through a restricted waterway.

For confirmation of that last statement, read "The Freshwater Cruise," of the U.S.S. *Macon*, by Capt. J. C. Wylie, U.S. Navy, in the April 1960 number of the U.S. Naval Institute proceedings. The *Macon* escorted H.M.S.S. *Britannia* up the St. Lawrence Seaway for the opening passage in June 1959.

11. That serious consideration be given to the conservation of water and the providing of an increase in the available supply of fresh water from the present sources of supply.

Water conservation has become a factor, vital to our future existance and must, I repeat, must be taken into consideration in the planning of every new waterway.

If this proposed waterway is adequately engineered and properly designed, there never should be any loss of water during its operation, no matter how many ships make use of it, except through leakage or evaporation. The same water can be used over and over again for lockage.

We are aware that certain interests historically oppose the use of waterways for commercial purposes, because they represent competition, but, when it can so easily be proven, that when any region is opened up and it prospers economically and financially, all means of transportation prosper and gain new business.

You ask, what is our interest in this seaway project?

It is to try to assure that this waterway shall have a capacity that will justify its existance.

Let all of us cooperate to assure that this seaway be so designed that it will not have to be rebuilt in the foreseeable future and that the States of New York and Vermont may soon reap the accruable benefits already mentioned.

I will now give you an answer to the question posed, where do we go from here?

These are the immediate moves as we see them today:

1. Transmit our respective views on this proposed Champlain Waterway to the International Joint Commission, which will hold its forthcoming semiannual meeting in the early October in Ottawa, Canada.

2. Urge the Corps of Engineers to request sufficient moneys, so that it can complete this new survey within less than 2 years time. The more money the Engineers have available for this survey, the shorter the time they will take to make it.

3. Petition our Congress, either directly or by concurrent State resolutions to grant to the Corps of Engineers sufficient moneys so that the Engineers can make this new survey within a reasonable length of time and not have to extend it over a protracted period of time, caused by a shortage of money.

4. Ascertain the membership of the International Engineering Board which the Joint Commission will appoint to undertake the necessary field investigations normally associated with the development of such a waterway.

You may know of other moves that we at present are not aware of, if so let us combine them into one program.

We have been informed that the Canadians are fearful of procrastination on our part, similar to that they experienced in connection with the St. Lawrence Seaway and some of them expressed the desire to have the dedication of this seaway coincide with the 100th anniversary of the formation of the Dominion of Canada, which will be celebrated in the year 1967.

We have, also, been informed that Canada is ready to go ahead with this waterway and only awaits our affirmative action. We

have been informed that their survey is completed, their plans are all made and that the necessary money is available for this seaway. How can we match that?

I have endeavored to compress the results of our 6 years of concentrated study into this statement.

May I now close by stating that I shall be only too pleased to interpret and explain how we reached our conclusions at any later time at our mutual convenience.

I thank you.

## Undermining the Kerr-Mills Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, many times I have taken the floor this Congress to call attention to the operation of the Kerr-Mills Act and to commend it to those truly interested in making progress in the health care field. I have also noted with a good deal of concern the efforts of those who seek a program for financing health care for the aged under the stricter control of the Central Government in attempting to delay, undermine and, in the end, to kill Kerr-Mills and prove the need for a program such as they wish. Another example of this tactic has recently come to my attention. It is explained in an editorial from the Spokane Review, of September 23, and is entitled "State Thwarts Kerr-Mills Plan." I am placing this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD once more to call attention to the efforts that are being made to destroy a good, forward-looking program in an area of great importance to our country:

STATE THWARTS KERR-MILLS PLAN

The Rosellini administration, which has strongly promoted the Kennedy administration medicare program attached to social security, should expend more effort toward extending the Kerr-Mills program in Washington State to take in the near-needy people.

Washington State's Medical Association recently in Spokane passed a resolution urging that the $8 million from the Federal Government which has been sent to the State this biennium be used under the Kerr-Mills program instead of being expended for other items.

Funds appropriated in this State for the public assistance program come from the general fund. All other money earmarked for this program goes into the general fund and then is allocated to the Department of Public Assistance as needed.

Doctors from throughout the State noted that the Kerr-Mills matching funds of approximately $8 million for this biennium are currently being placed in the State's general fund and being expended for purposes other than medical care to the aged. They deplored the fact that the medical care program has not been increased since these funds were made available.

Under Washington State law it is possible for Kerr-Mills funds to be used not only for persons under regular public assistance, but also for persons who are classified as "near needy." These are people who are self-supporting until large medical costs arise. They should be permitted to take advantage of Kerr-Mills funds.

Unfortunately, the State administration apparently has not seen fit to utilize the $8 million received for this purpose, but, rather, has used it to make the general fund look better in the eyes of the public.

Even to proponents of the medicare program attached to social security, it must be obvious that the Kerr-Mills proposal has not been given a fair chance to prove itself in the State of Washington.

## International Organizations and Space Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to an excellent new book on International Organizations and Space Cooperation, by Leonard E. Schwartz. This volume fills a vital need in providing basic facts in a lucid and concise maner on various agencies, both governmental and nongovernmental, concerned with space programs.

The objectives of the book are clearly stated in the introduction written by Dr. Arthur Larson, director of the World Rule of Law Center, which published the book, from whom I quote:

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SPACE COOPERATION

(By Leonard E. Schwartz)

The purpose of this book is to present in one place a working collection of facts about international organizations, both public and private, engaged in cooperative space activity.

Its primary function is intended to be that of a desk book for all persons—scientists, officials, technicians, editors, commentators, lawyers, teachers, United Nations personnel and others—who are interested in the everyday operations of these groups. Here can be found the origins, history, aims, structure, past achievements, and future plans and proposals of all bodies playing a substantial role in space cooperation. It is hoped that, in addition to making specific items of basic data conveniently available when needed, this book will provide workers in the field with a view of the story of international space coordination as a whole, with the various parts seen in relation to each other. Since not only past efforts but future projects are listed, the book may also be of some help in the achievement of optimum coordination, intercommunication, and avoidance of duplication.

In view of the explosive surge of space activity in recent years, it is not surprising that there has also been an explosive proliferation of space organizations which is utterly bewildering to the layman and, at times, difficult even for the specialist to keep completely abreast of * * * and we are only at the beginning of the story. The creation of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is an important milestone in this development. Indeed, the publication of this book was timed to coincide with the convening of this Committee on September 10, 1962. The timing of publication was also influenced by the fact that Resolution 1721 of the XVI General Assembly requested the U.N. Space Committee to maintain close contact with governmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned with space matters, and that in implementation of this the Space Committee requested the Secretary General to prepare and keep current a survey of such organizations. It is hoped that the present study will be of some use to the Space Committee and the Secretary General in connection with these responsibilities.

Beyond its use as a reference work on space activities as such, this book may also serve as a guide for cooperative ventures in other fields. Anyone who is concerned with launching or carrying out an international program in the social sciences, law, medicine, art or anything else may find this particular account both instructive and stimulating. The success of the International Geophysical Year has inspired suggestion of many other kinds of "years," including a World Rule of Law Year. But when one reads about the vast and intricate preparations for the IGY, one receives a salutary reminder of the combination of intellectual effort, administrative drive and genuine mutuality of objective that must accompany such an achievement. There are also lessons in these pages on the ups and downs of finding structures and representation patterns acceptable to all national and regional interests. But perhaps the strongest impression the nonspecialist will receive is one of gratifying surprise and reassurance in the presence of this evidence of what has been achieved in space cooperation.

The author of this book, Mr. Leonard E. Schwartz of the World Rule of Law Center research staff, is well qualified by training and background to undertake this analysis. His interest in this area dates from his studies at Columbia University and his practical experience includes research and development work in the Air Force, responsibility for the IGY archives at the National Academy of Sciences, and service as Secretary of one of the Bioastronautics Committees of the Space Science Board.

## Cyrus Eaton, Advocate of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. OREN E. LONG**
OF HAWAII
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, on September 29, 1962, my friend and colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia, inserted in the RECORD an article from the London, England, Daily Mirror, devoted to the idea of world peace. At the same time, he included an address on the topic of world peace by Lord Hailshan, Minister of Science in the British Cabinet and Lord President of the Council and leader of the House of Lords. He also made reference to a great American industrialist, Cyrus S. Eaton, who has taken a prominent part in promoting the belief that world peace is essential if civilization is to survive. Many hold the view that the concept of world peace is only a dream, an ideal that will never be attained. If it is only an ideal, we recognize that it is a challenging ideal and we should desire to listen to every leader who is working sincerely toward this end.

The Associated Press last August distributed a special article on the life and

influence of Cyrus Eaton. Because of his prominence in the industrial world and the effort he is making to promote world understanding, I ask unanimous consent to have the article on Mr. Eaton, as it appeared in the Kansas City Star, of Sunday, September 2, 1962, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Cyrus S. Eaton, Sr., captain of an empire whose assets are measured in billions of dollars, approaches his 80th year, displaying verve and resiliency.

The white-haired, pink-cheeked financier, who has attracted more attention recently for his political and philosophical comments than for his business activities, continued to put in a full day's work each day directing vast interests in shipping, coal, iron ore, steel, and utilities.

The companies in which he has interests represent an estimated $2½ billion in assets.

Eaton, who will be 79 December 27, is a highly controversial figure and has been described variously as unorthodox, baffling and enigmatic. He likes to read poetry and philosophy and has urged vigorously in writings and speeches that this country try to get along better with the Soviet Union.

His financial ventures have been on the grand scale, like the Steep Rock iron mines, a bold undertaking in the World War II years.

DRAINED A LAKE

Steep Rock was a tremendous project, involving the draining of a Canadian lake and changing the course of a river to get at iron ore beds. Steep Rock Iron Mines, Ltd., of which Eaton is board chairman, has estimated it could take 8½ million tons of ore a year out of the mines for 100 years without depleting the ore bed.

But that project is dwarfed by another venture in which Eaton now is involved. The Canadian-born financier joined with West German steel interests in 1957 to launch the Ungava Iron Ores Co., for development in the Ungava Bay region in northern Quebec. The vast, subarctic wastes of the Ungava region are believed to hold the world's largest iron ore deposits and the ore is close to the surface.

UP TO 32 BILLION TONS

Eaton estimates the deposits at more than 10 billion tons, but some geologists have put the estimate as high as 32 billion tons.

About $5 million has been spent so far on the Ungava development, which will cost more than $250 million by the time it is finished.

As chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, Eaton has been involved in a move to control the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and eventually to merge the two into a system that would be one of the largest railroads in the Nation.

He is the largest single stockholder in C. & O., holding more than 100,000 shares of the 8 million shares outstanding.

He is chairman of the Detroit Steel Corp., and the West Kentucky Coal Co., and is on the boards of several other firms, including the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., the Sherwin-Williams Co., the Kansas City Power & Light Co., and the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co., which he formed in 1929 under the name of Cliffs Corp.

And he maintains a close connection with Otis & Co., which has played a prominent role in financing several corporations.

STEADY VACATION SPOT

Eaton, who returned a few days ago from 2 months in Canada, where he loves to vacation summer and winter, is at his desk around 8:30 o'clock each morning. He often puts in long days at his office, and even when on vacation keeps in such close touch that "things go on just as though he were here," one associate remarked.

When he returns home to his farmhouse residence at Northfield, 20 miles from his downtown offices in Cleveland's terminal tower, Eaton likes to take long walks across his Arcadia farms estate. He is proud of his prize shorthorn cattle, and likes to look at the crops on the farm.

It is at this estate also that Eaton and his second wife, Anne, like to entertain intellectuals and where they have been host to some top Russian officials.

## Modern Day Pacifists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Mr. Geodge Todt of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

The article follows:

MODERN DAY PACIFISTS

"When they say that this is a bipartisan matter, I say that it cannot be a bipartisan matter. If it is bipartisan, I have got to put my stamp of approval on the Cuban situation."—Representative JAMES B. UTT, Republican, of California, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 18866, September 19, 1962.

The Republican leadership will have left its senses if it allows the administration to boobytrap it into bipartisanship on the ugly Cuban fiasco—a debacle which steadily grows worse with the passage of time.

If the GOP hammers home to the public that it is the inept bumbling of the ADA superliberals who call the signals on foreign policy which is responsible for our present difficulties on the world stage, it will have accomplished twin objectives.

Joe Doakes, rightfully anxious to save his skin, will commence to make important changes in 1962 and later 1964, come election time.

This is the most important issue the Republicans have today.

And it is the most important issue that faces our Nation, also—for it is nothing less than our ultimate survival in these modern times.

The deteriorating situation has already become too serious for us not to call it what it is—a falure of military strategy and tactics on the highest level.

But it has not come from our professional military leaders.

The fault lies with the unaccomplished and unlearned civilians who control our military men.

Some of them—such as Prof. Walt Whitman Rostow, Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Schlesinger and J. William Fulbright, to mention only a few well-intentioned failures do not know enough about the art of war to fight their way out of a paper bag.

Worse, most of them are out-and-out pacifist appeasers.

They are the modern Neville Chamberlains as far as we may be concerned. And the results might later prove as disastrous for us, too.

It is imperative that we find new advisers, aides, assistants or what-have-you—anybody at all who can give the flagging and sagging cold war effort a boost toward victory for our side—to help the President.

The advisers he has had must be pretty bad for we are losing everywhere. If this is not so, then tell me where any victory for our side has taken place since J.F.K. took office. Can you name one?

This timid failure to go into Cuba before the price in blood and treasure becomes exhorbitant for us is folly of the worst kind.

I advocated it in the past when the price would have been much less than it is going to be, either now or later.

Two years ago, the United States likely could have done the job against the fanatical Castro with a regiment of our fighting U.S. Marines. Certainly no more than a single division of professionals would have been necessary to win.

Now it is being estimated that we will need at least six divisions to obtain the same results. And the price for the United States will continue to grow.

Just to keep the record straight, I advocated liquidation of Castro in this column 4 years ago—while liberal pundits in the mass communications media were hailing him as the "George Washington of Cuba." I was almost alone then, but I was right. Castro must be eliminated.

## The National Gallery of Art Schedule for October

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, once again it is a pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, by unanimous consent, the schedule of the National Gallery of Art for the month of October 1962.

The Director of the National Gallery, John Walker, and his associates are certainly to be complimented on their imagination and thoughtful presentation of the gallery's monthly exhibits, which catch and hold the interest of the many visitors who come to the gallery each day.

I believe that the Members of Congress and the American people would find a visit to our National Gallery of Art time well spent. I am, therefore, taking this opportunity to call the October schedule for the National Gallery of Art to the attention of the Congress and the American people.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7

Painting of the week[1]: Ruisdael, "Forest Scene" (Widener collection), gallery 46, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2, Sunday 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: American prints today, 1962, central gallery, Tuesday through Saturday, 1, Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection, rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3, Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Enigma of the Image in Modern Art," guest speaker: George Downing, professor of fine arts, Brown University, Providence, lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Manhattan Trio, east garden court, 8.

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Footnote at end of speech.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14

Painting of the Week [1]: Cézanne, "House of Père Lacroix," (Chester Dale collection), gallery 83, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2, Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Real world and ideal art, 1435–55, rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1, Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection, rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3, Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: Etchings of Rembrandt and other Dutch masters; guest speaker: George O'Connell, professor of fine arts, Maryland University, College Park, lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Ginia Davis, soprano; Hubert Doris, pianist; east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21

Painting of the week [1]: Feti, "The Veil of Veronica" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 34, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2, Sunday 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Visual sensation and baroque illusion, 1630–50, rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1, Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection, rotunda, Monday through Saturday 11 and 3, Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "Piranesi and the Italian Revival of Etching," guest speaker: A. Hyatt Mayor, curator of prints, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: Selma Epstein, pianist, (program in honor of United Nations Day), East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 22 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28

Painting of the week [1]: Cassatt, "The Loge," (Chester Dale collection), gallery 85, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2, Sunday 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Development in landscape painting, 1760–1820, rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1, Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection, rotunda, Monday through Saturday 11 and 3, Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Devonshire Family as Collectors," guest speaker: T. S. Wragg, keeper of the Devonshire collections, Chatsworth, England, lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: Alberto Jaffé, violinist, Daisy DeLuca, pianist, east garden court 8.

[1] 11-inch by 14-inch reproduction with text for sale, 15 cents postpaid. (Special price this week only. Regularly 25 cents.)

Inquiries concerning the gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, Republic 7-4215, extension 272.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery staff, are broadcast by station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

## The Radical Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the above title was given by David S. Keene, assistant professor of government at Union College, to a paper which he wrote and which was published in the Union College Symposium, spring issue, 1962. As the proud possessor of an honorary LL.D. from Union, I commend Mr. Keene's report to all who are interested in this strange new political development of our times, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RADICAL RIGHT
(By David S. Keene)

The activities of the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the various anti-Communist crusades and similar groups remind us that for more than a decade the loudest, if not the most enlightened, voices of dissent in our land have emanated from the extreme right. The dissenters of the so-called radical right like to parade themselves as conservatives, it is true, and they often employ the verbal trappings of conservatism. Nonetheless, it is clear that the radical right has nothing in common with the compromising spirit of true conservatism as exemplified in the British Conservative Party. It also tends to be bitterly hostile to the ordinary garden-variety conservatism characteristic of the Eisenhower years.

These new dissenters in fact show such sweeping dissatisfaction with the current state of American society, with American institutions and traditions, that they deserve to be called radical reactionaries, except that they lack an explicit program for remaking American life in their image. As Richard Hofstadter noted in a perceptive essay some years ago, these pseudo-conservatives often manifest an abiding hatred of the American way of life. Generally such sentiments are suppressed or veiled by patriotic rhetoric, but occasionally the authoritarian bias comes through with startling clarity, as in the harsher pronouncements of Mr. Robert Welch, the gauleiter of the John Birch Society.

The general traits of the radical right mentality are readily discernible. Alan Barth, the noted journalist and authority on civil liberties, in a recent assessment of the radical right, identified three characteristic attitudes: a tendency to reduce every issue, no matter how complex, to simple black-and-white alternatives; adherence to the conspiracy theory of history; and a disdain for the institutions and values of democracy and constitutional government. What has been commonly overlooked is the fact that these traits of the radical right comprise collectively a totalitarian outlook, at the right end of the political spectrum which corresponds in all essential respects to the totalitarian outlook so familiar at the other end in the Communist ideology. An elaboration of the radical rightist world view should confirm the thesis that the two extremes—left and right—join hands in that they are remarkably similar manifestations of a totalitarian ideological mentality. Indeed, they share many basic notions about the state of the world today.

The radical rightist invariably reduces the most complex issues to crystal-clear black-and-white alternatives. Thus in the cold war competition with the Soviet Union the alternatives are starkly set forth as either victory or defeat, defined in military terms. Hence it follows logically that if we are not winning, then we are losing, and the conclusion is drawn that we must be pursuing a "no-win" policy. Differences of degree are thus ruled out. In the conduct of foreign policy any effort to steer a course between the twin perils of a nuclear holocaust and complete capitulation to Communist imperialism will be denounced as "appeasement."

Other examples readily come to mind. To the radical rightist you are either for capitalism in its pristine purity, or you are for communism. Again there is no middle ground. Liberalism, the welfare state, democratic socialism—all are indiscriminately lumped together and identified with communism. Anyone rash enough to support something you oppose is easily tarred with the Communist label. Mr. Robert Welch has coined the convenient term "Comsymp," which in his arcane lexicon serves to blur any distinction between Communist, fellow traveler, Socialist, liberal, etc.

It should come as no surprise that when the radical rightist turns his attention to the world scene, he arbitrarily assigns all the nations of the world to one of two camps: capitalism or communism. Since it is difficult by any criteria to find national economies bering much resemblance to ours, it is understandable that the radical right pictures us as virtually alone in a sea of "Communist states." Thus in the notorious film "Communism on the Map" all of the democratic socialist countries are assigned to the Communist bloc, while the United States is almost isolated in the capitalist free world, joined only by Switzerland, West Germany, Formosa, and Spain, with a large question mark superimposed on Canada. Similarly Mr. Welch, in his celebrated "Blue Book" finds Asia gone completely to communism, Europe gone save for Spain and Portugal, Africa gone save for the Union of South Africa, and in Latin America in 1958 he could identify only Paraguay, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Batista's Cuba as members of our team.

FEW AGAINST MANY

Are there not remarkable parallels here to the Communist mentality? In the Soviet doctrine of capitalist encirclement there is the same desire to divide the world into two opposing camps, Communist and capitalist, the same sense of the beleaguered few standing alone against a uniformly hostile environment. There is the same unwillingness to tolerate opposing views; anyone differing with the ruling elite is termed an "enemy of the state" or of its theoretical equivalent, "the people."

The similarity between the Communist and radical rightist minds is also apparent in their common commitment to the "devil" or conspiracy theory of history. Just as every shortcoming of Soviet life is attributed to the subversive work of "capitalist remnants," so the radical rightist is incapable of explaining any setback to American policy except in terms of treason in high places in our own Government. Thus we got into the Berlin situation because of a "betrayal" at Yalta and Potsdam, and China was "lost" to the Communists through the perfidious action of traitors in the State Department. Imbued with what Denis Brogan has called the illusion of American omnipotence, the radical rightist cannot conceive of the possibility that events not to our liking may take place in the world quite beyond our capacity to prevent them. It has been a commonplace among the radical right for several years that the Soviet Union was able to build nuclear weapons only because of her possession of secrets stolen from our atomic installations. It has fallen to Mr. Welch to carry this theory to its ultimate conclusion. According to him the Russians did not simply steal secret plans from which they later built an atomic bomb: "Their agents had simply walked off from our plants with the necessary separate parts, which had then been assembled in Russia, and exploded whenever it best suited the Soviets' pretenses."

THE TOUCHSTONE

That the conspiracy theory still provides the radical right with the key to the comprehension of current events is indicated by the incident in the President's press conference of January 24, 1962, in which a reporter referred to "two well-known security

risks" in the State Department, one of whom had been accused before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of having assisted the overthrow of the Batista regime in Cuba by Fidel Castro.

We should not be surprised that the radical right seeks to explain the Communist takeover in Cuba by pointing to alleged traitors in our own midst. For to the radical right the Communist conspiracy has permeated all of our institutions and is continually portrayed as on the verge of taking over the country. It would appear that no aspect of our life has been immune: trade unions, the Protestant clergy, higher education, the press, and of course the Federal Government even in its highest reaches. A typical expression of this view was made by a speaker at a recent anti-Communist school in Tulsa, who was afraid "traitors" had "entrenched themselves frighteningly deep" within the Defense Department. Mr. Welch, as usual, takes first honors for making the most ludicrous and sweeping charges. "Communist influences are now in almost complete control of our Federal Government." Gen. George Marshall, John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, all are Communist. And the most notorious statement of all: "Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Perhaps the strange activities of the minutemen can best be understood in the light of the conspiracy theory carried to its logical conclusion. These organized bands of civilian guerrillas, acting, one imagines, on the belief that the Government has already passed into the hands of the enemy and hence cannot be relied upon to protect our liberties, have gathered their supplies of automatic weapons and mortars, and are patiently drilling and biding their time, waiting for the final apocalypse.

There are countless indications of the scorn of the radical right for democracy and the values of constitutional government in general. The radical right has no faith in the people, especially in their ability to resist the blandishments of Communist appeals. But not all members of the radical right would go as far (or be as frank?) as Mr. Welch does in asserting: "Democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud." Note again the similarity to the Communist ideology. The Communists write off the Western democracies in almost identical language, asserting that democracy in the Western World is merely a device used by the ruling capitalists to lull the masses to sleep.

The radical right's distrust of our institutions is illustrated in the perennial rightist interest in tinkering with our constitutional system, trying, as Professor Hofstadter suggests, "to devise means of absolute protection against that betrayal by our own officialdom which the pseudoconservative feels is always imminent." The Bricker amendment is merely the best known of a flood of constitutional amendments introduced in Congress in recent years at the instigation of the radical right. Others would repeal the income tax and redefine treason to include persons trying to weaken the Government.

The semisecret nature of the John Birch Society is another example of the hatred of the radical right for democratic processes. Mr. Welch has himself announced that the John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body functioning under completely authoritative control at all levels, presumably with himself as maximum leader to whom unhesitating obedience is due.

DOWN WITH DEMOCRACY

Mr. Welch's organization of the Birch Society confirms Richard Hofstadter's acute observation that "pseudoconservatism is among other things a disorder in relation to authority, characterized by an inability to find other modes for human relationship than those of more or less complete domination or submission." At heart the rightist does not believe in the possibility of democratic control of leadership, whether in government or in private groups. How else can he explain his deep conviction that his own government has been engaged for years in a conspiracy to dominate and manipulate him? Nothing could be more natural than for Mr. Welch to bring to the conduct of the Birch Society this curious notion that authority is nothing more and nothing less than the power to dominate absolutely.

Mr. Welch is also not afraid to say that the end justifies the means, and that we must adopt totalitarian tactics to combat communism. He recommends the use of innuendo—"the question technique"—as a device for attacking someone you believe to be, but cannot prove to be, a Communist. This, he admits, is "mean and dirty," but he justifies it on the basis that our opponents are worse. In short, the values of our free society must be sacrificed in the name of defending them against communism.

The radical right tends to place itself in opposition to democratic values by its hostility to civil rights, especially to racial integration. Mr. Welch says: "The whole slogan of 'civil rights,' as used to make trouble in the South today, is an exact parallel to the slogan of 'agrarian reform' which they used in China." In other words, the cause of civil rights is basically a Communist subterfuge. Since the desegregation decision of 1954, the segregationists of the South have been making common cause with the professional anti-Communists, many of whom are fundamentalist Protestant clergymen. At the 5-day anti-Communist school conducted recently in Tulsa, Okla., by the Rev. Billy James Hargis, one of the principal addresses was given by a Georgia lawyer who argued that racial integration was being promoted by the Communist conspiracy. He called it "the scientific hoax of the century, perpetrated through Communist influences." In general one notes a common overlapping of membership in such groups as the Birch Society, the white citizens councils, and the various fundamentalist Christian crusades against communism.

CIVILIAN CONTROL

The radical right also opposes our constitutional tradition by challenging the principle of civilian control of the military. Today one observes among many members of the radical right a decided preference for military leadership and the military approach to the problems of the cold war, manifested in a belief that it is the mission of the military to alert the civilian population to the dangers of communism, and that they have been muzzled both in this task and in the indoctrination of troops.

The charge of a muzzling of top military figures is almost wholly specious. The much-publicized deletions from speeches can be easily justified in terms of the need to avoid inflammatory pronouncements which might jeopardize the conduct of our foreign policy, particularly the success of pending negotiations. Thus Gen. Thomas D. White, retired Chief of Staff of the Air Force, is defending the review and clearance of one of his speeches, noted: "Somewhere at that time we were walking on eggshells to make certain nothing was done to prejudice the release of the RB-47 fliers." He also made the refreshingly candid admission that he did not object to review of speeches by low-level subordinates in the State and Defense Departments because "the speeches are written for us by relatively low-level personnel in the first place."

The reason the radical rightists show such a preference for military leadership in the present crisis is that they tend to view our conflict with world communism entirely in terms of complete conquest or total defeat. Naturally they find many allies among military figures, such as Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker, who show a conspicuous inability to think in anything but military terms. Countless illustrations can be found in the statement by General Walker upon his resignation from the Army. "We are at war. We are infiltrated. We are losing that war every day * * *. We need a substitute for defeat. * * * In Korea * * * I saw stalemate become a substitute for victory * * *. War has been declared." Everywhere he found "censorship of victory": in Greece, in China, in Korea. For a professional soldier like General Walker, the long, drawn-out competition with communism must be intolerably frustrating, if it does not indeed seem to render his entire military career meaningless. What the military mind craves above all else is the decisive encounter which must result in clear-cut victory or defeat. When it is denied this, the pentup frustration may find expression in a total rejection of democratic institutions and an embarking on military adventures such as we have lately been witnessing in Algeria.

But the truth of the matter is that our foreign policy must not be conducted exclusively in military terms, by military means. The whole task of diplomacy, especially under the extraordinarily difficult conditions of the cold war, is one of avoiding the extremes of nuclear war and surrender, and of getting on with the business of persuasion and pressure that may permit the reaching of negotiated compromises. If we surrender the conduct of foreign affairs to the military, or what amounts to the same thing, if the conduct of our diplomacy is dominated by military thinking, we will in all likelihood have abandoned what possibilities of compromise remain, and thereby paved the way for inevitable war.

How are we to account for the phenomenon of the radical right? In part it is simply an extreme expression of that nostalgia for the past which is one of the dominant themes of the American political tradition, a desire to turn the clock back to some simpler era, say before 1933, if not to 1890 or earlier. In part it represents a contemporary resurgence of traditional isolationist sentiments, the historic view that the innocence and purity of America, the "New Jerusalem," requires a severing of Old World ties. This in large measure accounts for the implacable hatred of the extreme right for our involvement in the United Nations.

Professor Hofstadter has explained the emergence of the radical right in the years since World War II as in large measure a result of the status anxieties peculiar to American life. The person who feels insecure about his status in the community, or who may, because of his immigrant origin, need reassurance about his "Americanism," is likely to externalize his anxieties in a quest for a scapegoat. Today that scapegoat may very well be labeled a Communist or described as "un-American." Hofstadter finds intense uncertainties among two groups: first, the old Anglo-Saxon Protestants who fear a loss of status; and secondly, the rising immigrant nationality groups who need to assert their sense of being securely American and of belonging to the community.

Thus the typical DAR members may feel shunted aside, no longer able to command the old deference and respect, and eclipsed by the rising immigrant masses in the cities, by the trade unions, by the urban political machines. They "therefore cling with exceptional desperation to such remnants of their prestige as they can muster from their ancestors" and take pride in asserting a special claim to be the true repository of American virtue.

The typical second or third generation immigrant is likely to be extremely sensitive about his status in the community and his Americanism, as witness the vehemence with which Americans of Italian ancestry have responded to the portrayal of Italian gangsters on a popular television program. Paradoxically, for both of these groups, the old and the new American, membership in patriotic societies and veterans' organizations, and adherence to militantly anti-Communist creed may provide the necessary reassurance.

A NEW OUTLET

In his quest for a scapegoat the member of the radical right has had to find a new object for his wrath. It is no longer expedient to be overtly antisemitic, anti-Negro, or anti-Catholic. Hence the rightist has turned his attention to anyone who can conveniently be labeled Communist or pro-Communist. What better way of reassuring one's self concerning one's essential identity, Americanism, and loyalty, than to be ceaselessly vigilant in ferreting out the allegedly subversive? How consoling it must be to know that one is more American than, not just such pathetic creatures as the Rosenbergs (or Sacco and Vanzetti in an earlier era), but more American than the typical object of rightist ire—the Ivy League gentleman, "the political dilettante" (in General Walker's words) the intellectual of Anglo-Saxon, Protestant origin, the product of Groton and Harvard, Yale or Princeton—men like Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, or Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

A final factor in the rise of the radical right has been the continuing crisis of the postwar years, and the frustrations it has engendered. We have been living now for some 15 years in an atmosphere of heightened tension and fear. After World War II we could not shut out the rest of the world and go about our domestic concerns as we had done in the 1920's. Instead, we were soon confronted with another war in Korea, a particularly frustrating affair destined almost from the outset to end in stalemate. In addition, there has been the broader cold war stalemate with the Soviet Union and the ever-present possibility of nuclear war.

For many an American the burden of living with these various sources of tension and anxiety has proved too great. Denied the hope of seeing an end to our predicament in the foreseeable future, such a person is particularly prone to succumb to the ideological mentality of the Radical Right. The American may be particularly susceptible in this regard because of his deep conviction that all problems are solvable, and solvable on our terms at that.

STUDY NEEDED

The emotional and intellectual value of a comprehensive, authoritarian ideology, whether it be communism or the conspiracy theory of the radical right, is that it affords a ready made answer to all problems, and a priori explanation for the most complex chain of events. And because gaining an understanding of the historical causes of some complex phenomenon such as the coming to power of the Communists in China or the creation of the Berlin situation is a most difficult and exacting task, it is quite easy to take refuge in the ideology of the radical right, to attribute everything to treason in high places. Finally, because there has been espionage in our country, because failure to maintain proper security precautions in the past enabled spies to do their work, there is just enough element of truth in the conspiracy theory to lend plausibility to the wildest assertions of the Birchers.

We may anticipate, then, that there will always be persons who will need the crutch of the radical right ideology, just as presumably there will always be some misguided souls who prefer the Marxist ideology to independent reasoning. For ideologies play an important function for such people. By providing a comprehensive theory of history, of politics, of life generally, such simple ideologies render superfluous the difficult and exhausting business of thinking through problems and issues in all their puzzling ramifications. When the United States is confronted, as has been the case since World War II, with a succession of highly complex and confused situations, from Berlin to the Congo to China, it becomes terribly important for certain people to be able to dispense with rational thinking in favor of the pat answers of the rightist ideology.

The danger of the radical right today, as with McCarthyism in the early 1950's, is that the responsible leaders in our society may fail to combat the ideas it propagates. Senator McCarthy rose to power because the Nation's leadership—in government, in business, in labor unions, and in the churches—failed to stand up and combat his absurd conspiratorial charges. Today we are again confronted with the danger that the responsible conservatives in our society may find in the conspiracy theory of history an easy way to political success and try to capitalize on it. Should this come to pass, should the American people accept the ideological blandishments of the radical right, our whole approach to the real dangers of international communism would be based on fatally unreal premises. Surely this is a luxury we cannot afford.

## A Fine Tribute to Former President Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest tributes to former President Herbert Hoover at the west branch dedication on his birthday, August 10, 1962, was contributed by Charles Kress, former mayor of Binghamton, N.Y., who served in the Hoover administration and who later was a director of Mr. Hoover's Committee To Feed Five Little Democracies prior to the U.S. entry into World War II. Mr. Kress is now a national defense consultant who gives his services free to various congressional committees as a patriotic contribution.

The tribute follows:

REMARKS OF CHARLES KRESS AT WEST BRANCH DEDICATION ON AUGUST 10, 1962, BIRTHDAY OF HERBERT HOOVER

On August 10, 1874, in West Branch, Iowa, a little boy was born. The world paid little attention to this event, but destiny paused to charge this child with a great mission.

The boy lived and grew, studiously thoughtful, humble and quiet in his work, and in the fullness of time prepared himself for the mission with which he was charged.

He became a great engineer, a great public servant, a great Cabinet officer, a great President of the United States. But achieving these great and justly deserved honors was not the only task providence had planned for this child of destiny; his greatest mission was to the field of human service, and to this mission he gave the fullest measure of dedication and devotion.

He, lived the gospel of love and human service. He became his "brother's keeper" the world over. He was a modern Simon of Cyrene—helping carry the crosses of suffering people of many nations. He has been a 20th century apostle, with soul so finely tuned that back through the centuries he could clearly hear the voice of Our Saviour charging His apostles "Love thy neighbor as thyself." And following that divine command he became God's personal ambassador to the world of today. While others vainly sought the Holy Grail, he carried it with him across many lands to every doorstep where hunger and human misery held sway.

Thus he became the wealthiest man on earth—in the wealth of love, gratitude, and respect from many governments and millions of human beings. He has known all the honors and recognitions that men and nations can bestow, but to him none of these are so precious as his recollections of tears of gratitude in the sad eyes of starving children all over the world as they felt the tender mercy of his helping hand.

His life of love and compassion in action, of integrity, honor, decency, kindliness, humbleness, unselfishness, graciousness, tolerance, inherent goodness, should be a noble inspiration for all parents to hold forth to their children.

So today a grateful nation warmly hails him as one of the greatest Americans of all time, and the world appreciatively hails him as the greatest humanitarian of the age and the greatest living friend of all people.

And in the timelessness of history when the names of those who gained world renown as conquerors or rulers have faded out, the name of this child of destiny, this great, good man of peace and love, will still be remembered.

And we say to him here today: Happy birthday, God bless and keep you, Herbert Hoover.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

## Federal Responsibility for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, in pursuing my own studies on this issue of whether or not the Federal Government should assume any resopnsibility for the education of our citizens, I have chanced on a thoughtful message bearing on the subject. The message comes from a former President of the United States. I bring it to the attention of the Members in connection with the debate on H.R. 4999, a bill to increase the opportunities for training of physicians, dentists and professional public health personnel.

There are those who say it is a new and radical innovation to advance the thought that our Government has a responsibility for the enlightenment and training of people. That this is an intrusion on good government, doing violence to constitutional forms.

Whereas I have not wished to accept such views, I have labored under the impression that the proposals for various forms of Federal aid to education were of relatively recent vintage, that they came in response to newly developed needs and not necessarily from the same wellsprings of governmental philosophy which defined most of our governmental purposes.

Because I had these thoughts it may have unduly surprised me to find in the words of one of our early and honored Presidents a most vigorous argument for Federal responsibility for education.

It would be interesting to read these words and invite you to guess on the author. But they speak so well on this issue I hasten to identify the quotation following as an extract from the first annual message to Congress of John Quincy Adams on December 6, 1825. I submit them as pertinent comment in support of H.R. 4999 and in defense of the view that we do have a responsibility in this area of training physicians, dentists and health personnel:

> The great object of the institution of civil government is the improvement of the condition of those who are parties to the social compact, and no government, in whatever form constituted, can accomplish the lawful ends of its institution but in proportion as it improves the condition of those over whom it is established. Roads and canals, by multiplying and facilitating the communications and intercourse between distant regions and multitudes of men, are among the most important means of improvement. But moral, political, intellectual improvement are duties assigned by the Author of Our Existence to social no less than to individual man. For the fulfillment of those duties governments are invested with power, and to attainment of the end—the progressive improvement of the condition of the governed—the exercise of delegated powers is a duty as sacred and indispensable as the usurpation of powers not granted is criminal and odious. Among the first, perhaps the very first, instrument for the improvement of the condition of men is knowledge, and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential.
>
> So convinced of this was the first of my predecessors in this office, now first in the memory, as, living, he was first in the hearts, of our countrymen, that once and again in his addresses to the Congresses with whom he cooperated in the public service he earnestly recommended the establishment of seminaries of learning, to prepare for all the emergencies of peace and war—a national university and a military academy. With respect to the latter, had he lived to the present day, in turning his eyes to the institution at West Point he would have enjoyed the gratification of his most earnest wishes; but in surveying the city which has been honored with his name he would have seen the spot of earth which he had destined and bequeathed to the use and benefit of his country as the site for a university still bare and barren.

## Resolution of Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT**
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans has consistently been in the forefront of maintaining the sovereignty of the several States.

In connection with the recent tragedy and continuing unrest in Mississippi, I have received from Dr. Emmett L. Irwin, chairman of the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans, a resolution on the subject. He has asked that this matter be placed before the Congress, which I now do:

> Whereas the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans firmly believes that the Federal Government is acting in a dictatorial and tyrannical manner in attempting to force James H. Meredith into the University of Mississippi; and
>
> Whereas the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans believes that her Senators and Representatives in the National Congress should immediately rally to the support of her great sister State, Mississippi, in her struggle to preserve her sovereignty against the tyrannical encroachment of the Federal Government; and
>
> Whereas the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans believes further that the time has at last come when the political leaders of the South and of other parts of the Nation must raise their voices for freedom from Federal tyranny; and
>
> Whereas the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans is convinced that this struggle for our constitutional freedom and States rights can be won if our people will stand shoulder to shoulder in unbroken solidarity: Now, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved by the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans,* That our Louisiana Senators and Representatives stand solidly with the Mississippi delegation in the Congress and add their weight to theirs in the struggle to preserve the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi and the freedoms of the people; and be it further
>
> *Resolved,* That our Louisiana delegation in the Congress introduce a resolution in the Senate and the House vigorously disapproving of the actions of the Federal Government in the State of Mississippi and calling upon that Government to immediately cease its efforts to unconstitutionally seize control of the educational system of the State of Mississippi; and be it further
>
> *Resolved by the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans,* That copies of this resolution be sent to Senators ALLEN J. ELLENDER and RUSSELL B. LONG and to Representatives HALE BOGGS, F. EDWARD HÉBERT, EDWIN WILLIS, JOE D. WAGGONER, JR., OTTO E. PASSMAN, JAMES H. MORRISON, T. A. THOMPSON, and HAROLD B. MCSWEEN.

## Jerseyite Heading New Outdoor Recreation Bureau Scouts for Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, one of New Jersey's most able public servants has taken a new assignment of interest and importance to all Americans. He is A. Heaton Underhill, who had served as director of New Jersey's Division of Fish and Game. In that capacity, he helped alert our entire State to the need to reserve open land for future generations and for our own enjoyment, too. We of the Garden State are proud of the many services he performed for our residents and for the profession he represents.

Mr. Underhill is now serving as Assistant Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of Interior. Here again, he will have an

opportunity to impress our citizens with the present and future need to set aside resources for the future. An article in the September 30 issue of the Newark Evening News describes his new assignment vividly. The author of the article, William May, gives a good description of the stakes involved. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHILE THE GETTING'S GOOD: JERSEYITE HEADING NEW OUTDOOR RECREATION BUREAU SCOUTS FOR SPACE

(By William May)

WASHINGTON.—More people, more demand for outdoor recreation (swimming, boating, fishing, camping)—and less space available for these recreational demands. The problem is pretty obvious. But it is only within the last few years that there has developed a national suspicion that this country literally can "outgrow our outdoors," as A. Heaton Underhill puts it.

Mr. Underhill is former director of New Jersey's Division of Fish and Game. Right now he is Assistant Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Interior Department.

PLANS AND HOPES

A husky man with crew-cut hair, Mr. Underhill likes to ponder the responsibilities, plans and hopes of the new Bureau, created at the suggestion of the President in his conservation message to Congress.

"We're not supposed to be a land-managing agency," Mr. Underhill explains; "we're supposed to concentrate on planning, coordination, education, research, and technical assistance. Especially, we want to coordinate various Federal programs which affect outdoor recreation, encourage State and regional cooperation, and help the States where we can. In the longrun we aim to formulate a nationwide recreation program which may inspire future legislation presented to Congress."

There's still room left for outdoor recreational sites, Mr. Underhill said—mostly in the West. Efforts are being made to save as much of the coastal regions of the country as possible for public use. He cited the national parks, at Cape Cod, Mass., and at Hatteras, N.C., as examples.

INSTANT OUTDOORS

"The problem that is getting increasingly serious," Mr. Underhill said, "is that of the fellow who lives in a major population center and has maybe 2 hours to drive to some place away from the concrete jungle for swimming or fishing or some other outdoor sport."

For the urban dweller, Mr. Underhill went on, there is the promise of recreational facilities created by manmade dams and reservoirs.

"TVA made it pretty clear how useful multiple-purpose dams can be and now the idea is generally accepted," he said. "We have a fine example right in the New Jersey area with the Delaware River Basin Commission planning the Tocks Island Dam where there will be recreational areas," he continued. "And, of course, what sold Round Valley and Spruce Run was the idea of multiple-use reservoirs."

INVENTORY, FIRST

Mr. Underhill has been at his desk in the Interior Department only 2 weeks. His first job is to make an inventory of national outdoor recreation resources as a "jumping-off point for the future."

"I know both the east and west coast pretty well, and I'm familiar with the Rocky Mountain region," he said. "The biggest gap in my knowledge is the Midwest and I expect to do some intensive study of the area."

The former Pennington resident has found the transition from Trenton to Washington to be a real challenge.

"I have been in New Jersey long enough so that my ideas were pretty well known," he said with a smile. "I found myself meeting myself coming around a corner, so to speak. Here, of course, everything is on a much bigger scale and you get the excitement and interest of a Bureau which is just coming into being."

JUST IN CASE

Mr. Underhill is hopeful about future outdoor recreational activities for himself and his family (he has five children). "We are living in Virginia fairly close to the Potomac River," he said. "We're above the polluted area of the river and I have a hunch there should be pretty good fishing there. And when I go on field trips in Montana or Wyoming I'll stick my fishing rods in the car and hope for a couple of hours of fishing. In the meantime I hope to get back to New Jersey for some duck and pheasant hunting."

## Banking Reforms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary published in the October 2 report of the First National City Bank of New York on the banking legislative proposals recommended by the 24-man committee of bankers and legal experts appointed last February by the Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BANKING REFORMS FOR AN EXPANDING ECONOMY

Last month, President Kennedy received a report entitled "National Banks and the Future," prepared by a 24-man committee of bankers and legal experts appointed last February by Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon. The report responds to the objectives outlined by President Kennedy in his economic report last January where he endorsed the idea of a comprehensive new look at existing financial legislation as recommended by the privately sponsored Commission on Money and Credit. He has had an interagency working group presided over by his chief economic adviser, Walter W. Heller, examining the complex issues and considering what changes in Federal policy will promote stability, economic growth, and efficiency of private financial institutions.

Meanwhile, the Comptroller moved ahead and launched a grassroots study of ways in which Federal banking laws and regulations impede the ability of our financial system to serve the needs of a growing economy. The findings of his committee, founded as they are on professional recommendations of a broad cross section of the banking community, deserve close study by the interagency working group.

The Comptroller initiated the study by inviting banks subject to his jurisdiction to offer practical suggestions. The replies, from some 1,500 national banks, provided a mass of raw material for examination by the committee. These responses confirmed, as many people had suspected, that Federal laws and regulations include all manner of impediments and obsolete provisions that hamper the ability of banks to serve their communities and the broad public interest. The committee's task was to winnow through the many suggestions offered and to make recommendations, as stated in the report's introduction, to insure that our banking system responds promptly and sensitively to the growing and changing needs of industry, commerce, and government.

Aside from tax and other statutes affecting corporations generally, and some moot questions of the applicability of the Clayton Act, there are three principal bodies of Federal law applicable solely to banks: the National Bank Act, the Federal Reserve Act, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation legislation. Only the national banks are subject to all these laws and regulations and opinions having the force of law issued under them. Thus the national banks, which provided the materials for the study, were uniquely qualified to deal with the problems from the practical viewpoint and in full perspective. Many of their suggestions naturally dealt with the 99-year-old National Bank Act which, every knowledgeable person agrees, is full of obsolete provisions.

THE BROAD APPROACH

In general the committee accepts the long established principle that national banks, and State banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System, should be subject to rules of conduct that maintain their strength and solvency. Within this framework, the report advocates reducing or eliminating competitive inequalities for the many classes of institutions which—whether classified as banks or not—are in fact in the business of banking. The committee did not shrink from dealing with the hotly controversial issues involved, though invariably in temperate language hopefully designed to generate light rather than heat.

Among the more significant recommendations are the following:

Cash reserve requirements against demand deposits, applicable to member banks of the Federal Reserve System, should be set within a range of 8 to 12 percent, as determined by the Federal Reserve Board. The distinction between reserve city and country banks should be dropped as outmoded.

The corresponding reserve requirements against time and savings deposits, now 5 percent, should eventually be removed and in the interim reduced to 3 percent.

Limits on interest rates payable by commercial banks on time and savings deposits should be converted to a standby basis.

National banks should be given limited rights to establish branches, irrespective of State laws prohibiting branches for State-chartered banks.

Restrictions on lending, investment, and trust powers should be eased and simplified.

Supervision, regulation, and examination of commercial banks on the Federal level should be lodged within the Treasury Department. The Federal Reserve should be relieved of these responsibilities so as to concentrate its energies on the conduct of monetary policy.

Antiquated "eligible paper" requirements should be repealed and the Federal Reserve banks authorized to lend to member banks, at the regular discount rate, on any collateral satisfactory to the Reserve banks.

Innumerable time- and energy-consuming technicalities should be stripped from laws and regulations.

CASH RESERVE REQUIREMENTS

The Committee's analysis of the question of cash reserve requirements recalls the circumstances that led to the raising of the percentages 25 years ago. The huge gold in-

flows following the 1934 devaluation of the dollar enlarged the excess reserves of member banks to a point where the Federal Reserve did not have a sufficient amount of Government securities which it could sell to drain off reserves and bring them down to more reasonable levels. The solution adopted was to double reserve requirements.

Today the situation is reversed. Gold has been moving out. The Federal Reserve banks, with $30 billion in Government securities, have abundant powers through open market operations to adjust free reserves (now fluctuating around $400 million) to any level they please. In short, easing reserve requirements is a way to economize on gold. The Federal Reserve Board moved in this direction 2 years ago. It eased required percentages and also, as authorized by Congress in 1959, corrected a 45-year-old anomaly that denied banks the right to count cash actually in their vaults as part of their legal reserves. The committee urges further reductions in the percentages, now 16½ percent for reserve city banks and 12 percent for country banks, and elimination of the reserve classifications which trace their ancestry back to the day when we had no Federal Reserve banks and national banks in major financial centers served as the Nation's reserve banks.

The committee holds that reserve requirements against time and savings deposits (now 5 percent) are not needed from the standpoint of monetary control, since the credit-creating powers of commercial banks do not apply to these deposits: "they simply tie up funds." Pending legislation to remove this requirement, the committee suggests that the Federal Reserve Board reduce the figure to 3 percent, as it may do under present law. The opportunity to convert these funds to earning assets, the committee states, would be particularly welcome at this time to enable banks to offset in some degree the higher interest expense they have accepted to build their deposits and loan and investment resources.

The committee draws attention to the fact that cash reserves against time and savings deposits are a burden not required of competing mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations. This is simply one aspect of the competitive handicaps which Federal laws impose on national and State member banks.

REGULATION Q: INTEREST RATES PAYABLE

The committee's findings and recommendations with respect to the regulation of interest rates on time and savings deposits are of particular interest in light of the increases, effective January 1 of this year, in the maximum rates allowed by the Federal Reserve under its regulation Q.

The committee argues that the interest rate ceiling on time and savings deposits conflicts with the principle of free money markets. It also observes a paradox:

"In some instances the regulation of interest rates on time and savings accounts has actually operated perversely. For example, the public tends to regard the maximum savings rate set under regulation Q as the official and proper rate which banks should offer. Thus, when the ceiling was raised at the beginning of 1962, many banks felt themselves under the necessity to go the limit, even though their earnings rates made the raise difficult to justify. There is reason to believe that those rate adjustments would have been more moderate if the ceilings had been completely removed, and if banks had felt the weight of responsibility to adjust their rates in the light of general market conditions and their calculations of what they could afford."

It would appear from the report that regulation Q, long favored by banks, has lost many friends. But then, the history of attempts to legislate fixed interest rates is strewn with similar distortions and paradoxical results. A case in point is the maximum rates set on FHA mortgages; when the maximum is below the market, these mortgages sell at discounts to compensate lenders for the inadequacy of the rate. Another illustration is the 4¼-percent ceiling on Government bond coupons. This restriction remains, but it has largely been voided by the Attorney General's ruling that the Treasury can sell bonds at a discount in order to raise the effective interest to investors. It is apparent that legislative or administrative ceilings are too rigd to adjust to the constantly changing conditions of the marketplace.

BROADER BRANCHING PRIVILEGES

Perhaps the most sensitive proposal in the Committee's report deals with branch banking, which has long been a source of controversy among bankers, lawmakers, and bank regulatory agencies. As matters now stand, Federal law provides that a national bank must comply with the brank banking laws of the State in which it operates. This means that a national bank in California may operate branches statewide. Such an area, stretching down from Chicago, would practically reach the Gulf of Mexico. Yet an Illinois bank cannot even have a branch across the street. Although branch banking is freely permitted across our international boundaries, as when U.S. banks operate overseas and foreign banks set up branches and agencies in New York, we firmly prohibit branching by either national or State banks across State lines. The doctrine of States rights, so compromised over the past 30 years by the gravitation of power to Washington, holds undisputed sway in this matter.

The report weighs the considerations in the following language: "Support for retention of present legal restrictions on the branching powers of national banks is usually founded on the fear that the dual banking system would be threatened, and that small local banks would be driven out of business by larger and stronger competitors. Advocates of maintaining the present status also cited angers of excessive concentration of money power, and loss of identification of interest with a local community when a local bank is displaced by a branch of a larger institution."

On the other hand, the Committee says: "It is apparent that commercial banks throughout the country have been losing ground to other classes of financial institutions less restricted in their power to branch. The rapid development of suburban metropolitan areas, the trend toward mechanization of banking operations which yield economies of scale, and the broader opportunities to utilize specialized banking personnel—all have combined to create a powerful thrust toward bank expansion. Where these needs cannot be met through branching by commercial banks, other financial institutions more favorably situated in this respect are certain to fill the gap."

The Committee concludes that the present Federal law should be amended so that "any national bank, in addition to its present right to branch in accordance with State law, may be permitted, 2 years after the amendatory bill is effective, to establish branches within a limited area within the State in which the principal office of the particular national bank is located." Three members of the Committee held that the law should not be amended, but instead should remain as it now stands.

After weighing the CMC proposal that a bank be permitted to branch within "trading areas," the Committee decided that this concept posed obvious problems of definition. Instead the Committee urges that "at least initially, branching within a fixed radius of 25 miles from the principal office seems appropriate."

The 2-year waiting period is significant. This would be intended to give State legislatures time in which to amend State laws to conform to the amended Federal statute. Thus, the Advisory Committee's recommendation, if adopted, would be a historic first step toward uniform branch banking laws in the United States. Permissible branching within a 25-mile radius would have little or no effect in States where branching on a limited or statewide basis is now permitted, but it could have a considerable impact in Illinois, Florida, Texas, and other States where branching is now prohibited. Certainly it would ease the present pressure for formation and enlargement of holding companies and chain banking groups.

BANK SUPERVISION

The enactment of new laws in recent years governing bank holding companies and mergers has focused a spotlight on the multiplicity of regulatory agencies and overlapping responsibilities in the area of banking. Discussion of this subject by supervisory officials, the press and bankers was given new impetus last May, when Gov. J. L. Robertson of the Federal Reserve Board suggested in a speech before the Tennessee Bankers Association that all the bank supervisory and regulatory powers now vested in the Federal Reserve Board, the Office of the Comptroller, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation be lodged in a single, new Government agency.

The committee recommends that the Federal Reserve be freed of its supervisory, examination, and regulatory banking functions so as to be able to concentrate its energies on the conduct of monetary policy. However, in order to preserve "the foundations of our dual banking system," the committee would like to see national banks continue to be supervised separately from Federal supervision over State-chartered banks. To achieve this, the committee recommends that all supervisory authority over national banks, including authority relating to the formation and expansion of bank holding companies, be vested in the Comptroller. Comparable Federal power over State-chartered banks should be centered in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The latter agency should be reorganized under a single administrator and transferred to the Treasury Department. In this way, Federal supervisory power over commercial banks would be coordinated and centralized under the Secretary of the Treasury and supervision of State banks on the Federal level would be placed on a par with that of national banks.

LENDING POWERS

The report makes a number of recommendations to ease restrictions on lending and the exercise of trust powers. While these are matters which have received less public attention than reserve requirements, regulation Q and branching, they nevertheless bear importantly on the day-to-day services banks extend to individual and corporate customers. For example, a national bank presently may not lend to a single borrower an amount equal to more than 10 percent of its capital and surplus. The committee recommends that undivided profits be included to come closer to the limits provided in State laws for State-chartered banks. It is further proposed that, in individual cases, higher percentages not to exceed 15 percent could be approved by the Comptroller.

The committee recommends a cleanup of the "cumbersome and detailed restrictions" in the present law on real estate lending, section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act, to define precisely the nature of real estate loans, to establish a more liberal aggregate limitation, and to remove prohibitions of dubious value.

Perhaps the most significant contribution made by the committee to the improvement and modification of banking laws was its

relative unanimity, even on the most tender points.

Admittedly, there are a few highly controversial proposals which have already received widespread attention in the press. It would be unfortunate if these controversial recommendations should distract the attention of bankers and lawmakers and delay action on the bulk of the proposals for which there is general acceptance.

## Coming: New Look at Old Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, this fiscal year the Congress may appropriate close to $10 billion in Federal grants-in-aid. Over the years, many new programs have been undertaken and very few have been terminated. After careful study of the situation, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has recommended legislation to provide for periodic review of any new programs enacted into law. This legislation is designed to improve the effectiveness of grants-in-aid, revise and redirect those that must meet new conditions, and terminate those that have achieved their purpose. I am pleased to be the sponsor of the Senate version of this legislation, S. 2286, and believe it to be a bill that merits favorable congressional consideration.

The September 1962 issue of Nation's Business contains an excellent article which outlines the reasons why such legislation should be adopted. It cites in detail examples of defects in the present grant-in-aid system. We run the danger of loss of public support for those programs which are vital to our national well-being unless we take steps to obtain the 5-year review of grants-in-aid called for in this legislation.

I ask unanimous consent to have this fine article printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMING: NEW LOOK AT OLD LAWS—DRIVE MOUNTS IN CONGRESS TO PROVIDE PERIODIC REVIEW OF MULTIBILLION-DOLLAR FEDERAL GRANT-AID PROGRAMS

The Federal Government will spend an estimated $13 million this year under a program designed to avert a World War I food shortage.

The shortage was a real threat in 1917 when legislation was enacted to provide training for farmers. The following year, 15,453 persons studied vocational agriculture under the program, compared with the enrollment of 805,000 estimated for this year.

Supported by farmer and teacher organizations, the program has survived unscathed by congressional review. It remains so popular, in fact, that this year the States are putting up some $56 million, roughly four times the amount required to match the Federal grants.

The question now, however, is whether stimulation of agriculture remains sufficiently in the national interest to justify continued Federal aid in these days of mounting farm surpluses.

This and other examples of experience under longstanding Federal grant-in-aid programs explain the drive in Congress to tighten controls over them. More than $9 billion is involved this year.

Legislation is under study in both Houses of Congress with the threefold purpose of reviewing programs to improve their effectiveness, terminating those that have achieved their original purposes, and revising others in the light of changing needs. Several bills would set a 5-year expiration date on any new grant-in-aid legislation in which Congress did not specifically waive this requirement.

Within a year prior to its expiration, each program would be referred to the appropriate legislative committee to determine the extent to which the need for it had been met, its prospects for continuing without further Federal aid, and whether changed circumstances would warrant its major revision.

Sponsors of the bills, drafted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, emphasize that their aim is to strengthen desirable grant-in-aid programs, and not to kill off social and welfare legislation as some critics seem to fear.

In fact, some backers say vitally needed programs could be jeopardized by a loss of public support resulting from an unregulated proliferation of grants.

These grants in present form, with Federal funds allocated under special restrictions for specific purposes, began with the Morrill Act of 1862, enacted to help States establish public colleges through land grants.

COSTS SOAR

Programs adopted in early years provided for distribution of educational materials for the blind, agricultural research, aid to State soldiers' homes, resident instruction at land-grant colleges, assistance to State marine schools, forestry measures, agricultural extension services, highway construction, vocational education, and vocational rehabilitation.

An Advisory Commission report estimates that the amount of Federal money spent for these programs, all of which were established before 1930, totaled $3.2 billion last year—almost half or the Federal grants to States and localities for the year.

Total costs of existing and new grant-in-aid programs have more than tripled in the past decade, rising from $2.8 billion in 1953 to an estimated $9.4 billion proposed for this year. While Federal highway aid is the greatest single chunk, public assistance grants have doubled. State spending has doubled during the same period.

Federal funds pumped into the States under such programs have risen in relation to State and local revenue, as a proportion of Federal expenditures, and most sharply as a percentage of nondefense Federal spending.

A report to the Governors conference in Hershey, Pa., in July noted that "it is likely that greater—not less—use will be made of grants-in-aid in the future."

The concern of many in Congress over the future of grant legislation is summed up this way by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, of North Carolina: "It seems to me that, even though I myself have voted for many of these very worthwhile programs, if they are going to continue without a thorough reappraisal similar to that given by a legislative committee at the time it originally reports the legislation, we may well see the day in the history of this Nation when the Federal Government has assumed the major share of the financial responsibilities of the States."

It is a cliche in Washington that nothing is as permanent as a temporary building, agency, or program.

The Advisory Commission offers this explanation of the truism as applied to grants-in-aid: "In the first place, with the initiation of a new grant, vested interests—both governmental and private—in its continuation come into being."

Government staffs created to administer a grant combine a sense of mission with the instincts of organizational self-preservation. The Commission adds: "Also, those parts of the private sector of the economy which benefit from the grant program, such as professional organizations, suppliers of materiel, or the providers of services which are purchased with grant funds, all are interested in continuing their program."

Thus when new needs arise, the Commission says, the tendency is to add new services rather than substitute them for existing ones.

Only a quarter of some 60 programs has been abandoned, the Commission reports.

These include depression measures such as WPA, day care for children of mothers working in World War II defense plants, and more recently the program of vaccinations against polio.

TEMPORARY GRANT

The self-perpetuating tendency of temporary programs, designed to meet short-term needs or stimulate local interest in activities best financed at the local level, is shown by experience with the Library Services Act, enacted for a 5-year period in 1956 to encourage expansion of rural library facilities.

Congressional supporters at the time made such pronouncements as:

"We have proof that after this period a rural library service program is most likely to be continued through local and State support."

"We are for the library bill because it is terminal legislation. It is not the beginning of a continuing Federal-aid program."

A major U.S. newspaper editorialized: "The funds proposed are modest, the period limited. It is believed that local communities in rural areas, having tasted the advantages of good libraries, would then wish to continue the services with local and State funds."

That was in 1956.

Four years later, when proponents came back to win a 5-year extension, the same paper cited the progress under the program to argue for its renewal. And now, the Government is being urged to expand the program.

Similar experience prompted the House Government Operations Committee to remark in a 1958 report: "A grant intended for stimulating purposes unfortunately carries with it the hazard that it may resist termination once the Federal objectives have been achieved."

These criticisms raise the question of existing congressional machinery for a review of such programs.

Representative FOUNTAIN, a key sponsor of the control measure, points out that authorization is done by one committee, appropriation by another.

He draws on 10 years of experience in the House in saying that the committees responsible for legislation in their respective areas largely fail to review grants already on the books.

Others point out that appropriations subcommittees lack the power to rewrite programs even if they had the time.

Supporters of the review proposal concede that the legislative committees have the authority to review grants, but argue that little short of the 5-year cutoff provision would insure needed review in all cases.

OPPOSITION VIEWS

The 5-year period is regarded as sufficient time to accumulate experience under a program, too little to allow it to become hopelessly solidified.

Critics oppose the measure as unnecessary disruption of long-term programs, an underhanded attempt to cut off welfare and other social legislation, or a needless burden on all involved.

Some Federal administrators feel that planning at Federal, State, and local levels, as well as recruitment and retention of qualified administrators, would be jeopardized by the 5-year cutoff provision.

But William G. Colman, Executive Director of the Advisory Commission emphasizes that the measure would allow Congress to waive the cutoff provisions when enacting a new program.

This would require a specific waiver clause in any bill, however, which would alert Congressmen at the outset to the fact that the grant-in-aid program envisioned by the sponsors was likely to be permanent.

Fears of a threat to social and welfare programs is believed the basis of objection by the AFL–CIO, since 40 percent of the grant-in-aid funds requested for this year would be in the health, labor, and welfare category.

But supporters point to the backing of the Governors' Conference and the cosponsorship of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, generally a friend of Government spending for welfare purposes.

The measure is backed as well by the National Association of Counties (until recently the National Association of County Officials), which has supported the majority of grants at the time of enactment.

The association's executive director, Bernard F. Hillenbrand, was questioned about any such dangers at a hearing on a early version of the Fountain bill. His reply: "If we can't defend a program before our critics, the chances are we are wrong."

The measure has been criticized as "unnecessarily burdensome and time-consuming for both the agencies and Congress" by the Agriculture Department, which will administer about $1 billion in grants this year.

Significantly, some other Government agencies make no objection on this score, declaring that they continually review their programs and are happy to furnish congressional committees up-to-date information at any time.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare registered no serious objection, but questioned the effectiveness of the plan.

An HEW spokesman, when questioned about the vocational education program, conceded that he knew of no review of the subject within the preceding 10 years. (One is now underway.)

Asked about grants for resident instruction in land-grant colleges, he could only reply that this represented a long-established program, in a field of great interest to Congress, and costing a "relatively modest" $7 million.

NEW REQUESTS

The Fountain bill, sponsored on the other side of Congress by Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, of Maine, would apply only to new programs or substantial changes to existing ones.

A Budget Bureau analysis earlier this year included these new program requests: $105 million for construction of civil defense shelters in community buildings; $90 million in grants for public school construction and teachers' salaries; $19 million for State improvement of elementary and secondary education; $8 million in loans for college classrooms; $93 million for improvement of public welfare programs; $30 million for changes in the school lunch program, plus $15 million for improvement of public transportation in urban areas.

Congress has balked at many of these and some have been revised, but they indicate the amounts involved, the scope of activities carried on under grants-in-aid, and the upward trend.

Major increases in existing programs over 1962 estimates, shown in the same Budget Bureau analysis, are: $227 million for federally aided highways, for a total of $3.2 billion; $206 million in public assistance, for a total of $2.8 billion; $152 million in educational assistance, for a total of $604 million; $114 million in civil defense, for a total of $135 million; $103 million in contributions of surplus agricultural commodities to State programs, for a total of $533 million; and $224 million for housing and community development programs, for a total of $753 million.

Some critics have objected that the Fountain bill does not go far enough, that it should cover existing, permanent programs. There have been expressions of considerable support for such an extension, and Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, is sponsoring legislation to accomplish just that. Observers give the more limited Fountain bill better chances for passage.

## Air Pollution Control: A Proposal To Extend and Strengthen the Federal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on September 17, when the House considered and passed S. 455, a bill to provide research and technical assistance relating to air pollution control, it was generally agreed that air pollution constitutes a serious and growing problem in many areas of the country.

During the brief discussion that took place that day on the floor of the House, it was pointed out that air pollution has some very serious implications to our physical health; that it has an adverse effect on agricultural productivity; that it causes physical damage through soiling and corrosion; and that the resulting economic loss to the Nation amounts to a staggering $4 to $11 billion annually.

Federal recognition of the problem dates back to 1955 and Federal involvement has consisted mainly of a relatively small-scale research effort. Although the Congress and the administration seem to be inclined toward accelerating our efforts to find solutions to the various aspects of the air pollution problem, what we have done can best be termed a minor effort and what the administration apparently contemplates doing falls far short of matching the immediacy and seriousness of the overall problem posed by increasing air pollution.

Today I have introduced an air pollution control bill, which is very similar to the administration measure, H.R. 10519, introduced by my distinguished colleague, Congressman KENNETH A. ROBERTS, who is chairman of the Public Health Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in March of this year.

But the bill I have introduced goes beyond the administration proposal in two important respects: First, my bill declares that it is the intent of the Congress that the Federal Government not only provide leadership but also assume the responsibility for organizing and carrying out a concentrated national program to achieve the prevention and control of air pollution, and secondly, to do so in the next 10 years. This national goal is to be accomplished through expanded research, training, and other activities, and by assisting State and local governments in initiating and carrying out effective air pollution prevention and control programs.

This measure recognizes that the technological breakthroughs that must be made to accomplish reasonable, practical, and economical control of air pollution can only be made through a broad, comprehensive, fullscale research effort centrally directed and supported by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This bill recognizes that State and local governments are unable to assemble and coordinate the resources needed to achieve these technological breakthrough and it further recognizes that private industry will not assume full responsibility for developing practical and economical control devices to handle industrial sources of air pollution. This bill recognizes further that despite all possible breakthroughs on the technological front, air pollution will never be abated unless State and local governments carry out effective control and enforcement programs. This bill would provide technical and financial assistance to State and local governments in establishing such effective control and enforcement programs.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that the experts in the field of air pollution are in general agreement that, given adequate resources, these technological breakthroughs are possible, including the development of practical control devices. I believe it is clearly the responsibility of the Federal Government to make certain that these technological breakthroughs are achieved just as the Federal Government assumed the responsibility for making the scientific advances necessary to take our astronauts to the moon, and beyond, and just as the Federal Government has undertaken the basic responsibility for assuring the maximum in aviation safety through research and development projects conducted by and through the Federal Aviation Agency.

In the last analysis all the costs of the problem and its solution are to be borne by the public. I believe it is the responsibility of the Congress to see to it that the costs are not chargeable to the public's health and that our efforts proved prolonged and ineffectual because we were penny wise and pound foolish. The immediate full-scale broad program which I propose will, I believe, assure us that every conceivable step is being taken to assure the American people a clean and healthful physical environment.

My good friend from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS] indicated at the time the House passed S. 4544 that he planned on holding extensive hearings on the air pollution problem early next year. By introducing my bill at this time I hope to give all interested persons and organizations

ample opportunity to study the proposal before the hearings contemplated by Mr. ROBERTS are held:

A BILL TO EXTEND AND STRENGTHEN THE FEDERAL AIR POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAM

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the Act of July 14, 1955, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1857–1857g), is hereby amended to read as follows:

"DECLARATION OF POLICY

"SECTION 1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to protect our Nation's air resource so as to promote the public health and welfare and the productive capacity of our population. The growth in the amount and complexity of air pollution brought about by urbanization, industrial development, and the increasing use of motor vehicles, has resulted in mounting dangers to the health and well-being of our people, injury to agriculture crops and livestock, damage to and the deterioration of property, and hazards to air and ground transportation. Air pollution must be detected and abated at its source by the application of available devices and methods and where necessary by the development of new devices and methods to control air pollution or protect the exposed population. The Congress recognizes that the Federal Government has an obligation to provide the leadership in the initiation of national programs of research and development necessary to the ultimate prevention and control of air pollution.

"It is therefore the purpose of this Act to authorize and direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to mount a concentrated national effort to achieve the prevention and control of air pollution within the next ten years and to further authorize the support of research, training and other activities and the assistance to the several States and local governments needed to assure the attainment of this national goal.

"APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 2. In order to carry out the purposes of this act there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for each of the 10 fiscal years following July 1, 1964.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 3. When used in this act—

"(a) The term 'air pollution control agency' means any of the following:

"(1) A State health authority, or, in the case of any State in which there is a single State agency, other than the State health authority charged with responsibility for enforcing State laws relating to the prevention and control of air pollution, such other State agency;

"(2) An agency established by two or more States and having substantial powers or duties pertaining to the prevention and control of air pollution;

"(3) A city, county, or other local government health authority, or, in the case of any city, county, or other local government in which there is a single agency other than the health authority charged with responsibility for enforcing ordinances or laws relating to the prevention and control of air pollution, such other agency;

"(4) An agency of two or more cities, counties, or other local governments located in the same State or in different States and having substantial powers or duties pertaining to the prevention and control of air pollution.

"(b) The term 'State' means a State, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam.

"COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

"SEC. 4(a). The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall cooperate with and encourage cooperative activities by all Federal departments and agencies having functions relating to the prevention and control of air pollution, so as to assure the utilization in the Federal air pollution control program of all appropriate and available facilities and resources within the Federal Government.

"(b) The Secretary shall encourage cooperative activities by the States and local governments for the prevention and control of air pollution; encourage the enactment of improved and, so far as practicable in the light of varying conditions and needs, uniform State and local laws relating to the prevention and control of air pollution; and encourage agreements and compacts between States for the prevention and control of air pollution.

"(c) The consent of the Congress is hereby given to two or more States to negotiate and enter into agreements or compacts, not in conflict with any law or treaty of the United States, for (1) cooperative effort and mutual assistance for the prevention and control of air pollution and the enforcement of their respective laws relating thereto, and (2) the establishment of such agencies, joint or otherwise, as they may deem desirable for making effective such agreements or compacts. No such agreement or compact shall be binding or obligatory upon any State a party thereto unless and until it has been approved by the Congress.

"RESEARCH, INVESTIGATIONS, TRAINING, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

"SEC. 5(a). The Secretary shall establish a national research and development program for the prevention and control of air pollution and shall:

"(1) encourage, cooperate with, and render technical services and financial assistance to air pollution control agencies and other appropriate public or private agencies, institutions, and organizations, and individuals in the conduct of, and

"(2) promote the coordination of research, investigations, experiments, training, demonstrations, surveys, and studies relating to the causes, effects, extent, prevention, and control of air pollution.

"(b) In carrying out the provisions of the preceding subsection the Secretary is authorized to—

"(1) collect and make available, through publications and other appropriate means, the results of and other information, including appropriate recommendations in connection therewith, pertaining to such research and other activities;

"(2) cooperate with other Federal departments and agencies, with air pollution control agencies, with other public and private agencies, institutions, and organizations, and with any industries involved, in the preparation and conduct of such research and other activities;

"(3) make grants to air pollution control agencies, to other public or nonprofit private agencies, institutions, and organizations, and to individuals, upon such terms and conditions as he may determine;

"(4) contract with public or private agencies, institutions, and organizations, and with individuals, without regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 529);

"(5) provide training for, and make training grants to, personnel of air pollution control agencies and other persons with suitable qualifications;

"(6) establish and maintain research fellowships, in the Public Health Service and at public or nonprofit private educational institutions or research organizations;

"(7) collect and disseminate, in cooperation with other Federal departments and agencies, and with other public or private agencies, institutions, and organizations having related responsibilities, basic data on chemical, physical, and biological air quality and other information pertaining to air pollution and the prevention and control thereof.

"(8) develop effective and practical devices, processes, and methods to prevent or control air pollution.

"SEC. 6. The Secretary after such research as he determines to be necessary shall from time to time determine and revise standards of air quality with respect to specific pollutants as in his judgment may be necessary to protect the public health and welfare.

"GRANTS FOR DEVELOPMENT, INITIATION, OR IMPROVEMENT OF AIR POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAMS

"SEC. 7(a). The Secretary is authorized to make grants to air pollution control agencies for the development, initiation, or improvement of enforcement programs for the prevention and control of air pollution.

"(b) Such grants shall be made, in accordance with regulations, upon such terms and conditions as the Secretary may find necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

"SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF AIR POLLUTION

"SEC. 8. The Secretary may conduct investigations and research and make surveys concerning any specific problem of air pollution confronting any air pollution control agency with a view to recommending a solution of such problem, if he is requested to do so by such air pollution control agency or if, in his judgment, such problem may affect or be of concern to communities in various parts of the Nation or may affect any community or communities in a State other than that in which the source of the matter causing or contributing to the pollution is located.

"PUBLIC CONFERENCES ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF AIR POLLUTION

"SEC. 9(a). Whenever, on the basis of reports, surveys, or studies, he believes it appropriate, or whenever requested by any air pollution control agency, the Secretary may call a public conference on any problem of air pollution which may affect or be of concern to communities in various parts of the Nation or which may affect any community or communities in any State other than the State in which the source of the matter causing or contributing to the pollution is located. Any such conference shall be conducted by a board composed of not less than five members, appointed by the Secretary, who shall be representative of the public, industry which is affected by or concerned with the problem, persons who are expert or have special knowledge in the matter, interested Federal departments and agencies, and interested air pollution control agencies.

"(b) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, an opportunity to be heard at such conference shall be accorded to all interested persons.

"(c) After consideration of the information presented at the conference and such other information as is available to it, the board shall make a report and recommendations to the Secretary on such matters as the existence, cause, and effect of the air pollution on which the conference was held, progress toward its abatement, and other related matters. Such report and recommendations, together with the comments and recommendations, if any of the Secretary with respect thereto, shall be available to the community or communities, government agencies, and industries concerned, and to the public, but shall not be binding on any person, agency, or organization.

"(d) Members of any conference board appointed pursuant to subsection (a) who are not regular full-time officers or employees of the United States shall, while participating in the conference conducted by such board or otherwise engaged on the work of such board, be entitled to receive compensation at a rate fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per diem, including travel time, and while away from their homes or

regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

"COOPERATION BY FEDERAL AGENCIES TO CONTROL AIR POLLUTION FROM FEDERAL FACILITIES

"SEC. 10. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that any Federal department or agency having jurisdiction over any building, installation, or other property shall, to the extent practicable and consistent with the interests of the United States and within any available appropriations, cooperate with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and with any air pollution control agency in preventing and controlling the pollution of the air in any area insofar as the discharge of any matter from or by such building, installation, or other property may cause or contribute to pollution of the air in such area.

"ADMINISTRATION

"SEC. 11. (a) The Secretary is authorized to prescribe such regulations as are necessary to carry out his functions under this Act. The Secretary may delegate to any officer or employee of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare such of his powers and duties under this Act, except the making of regulations, as he may deem necessary or expedient.

"(b) Upon the request of an air pollution control agency, personnel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare may be detailed to such agency for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act. The provisions of section 214(d) of the Public Health Service Act shall be applicable with respect to any personnel so detailed.

"(c) Payments under grants made under this Act may be made in installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be determined by the Secretary.

"OTHER AUTHORITY NOT AFFECTED

"SEC. 12. This Act shall not be construed as superseding or limiting the authorities and responsibilities, under any other provision of law, of the Secretary or any other Federal officer, department, or agency.

"SHORT TITLE

"SEC. 13. This Act may be cited as the 'Federal Air Pollution Control Act'."

SEC. 2. The title of such Act is amended to read, "An Act to provide for air pollution prevention and control activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes."

## Hon. John W. McCormack

SPEECH

OF

## HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13290) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Chairman, the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives holds a unique position.

He leads one of the few remaining parliamentary forums in the world today for expression of the will of a free people through their democratically elected Representatives. As such he is an important spokesman of the free world.

The speakership involves heavy duties and responsibilities. It also carries honor, prestige, and power ranked by historians and commentators as second only to that of the Presidency itself. And the Speaker is second in line of succession in event of disability of the President.

The Speaker, and the President pro tempore of the Senate, are the only officers of the National Government who, in effect, are twice elected, once by their home constituency and then again by their colleagues. As expressed on a bronze plaque in a lobby of the Capitol:

Speakers of the House of Representatives of the United States, chosen by the people, honored by the preferment of their associates, these makers of history are memorialized as a tribute to their worth to the Nation.

In the 173-year history of our country under the Constitution of 1789 only 44 men were elected Speaker prior to this year.

The 45th man—our Speaker today—is JOHN WILLIAM MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, elected to the post January 10, 1962, at the start of the 2d session of the 87th Congress, succeeding the late Sam Rayburn of Texas.

Mr. MCCORMACK, the seventh citizen of his home State to attain this honor, came to the Speakership peculiarly well-qualified by long experience to fulfill its varied and exacting demands of leadership.

For the Speaker is much more than merely the presiding officer of the House. His duties are manifold in character:

First. In the chair he is, as the House elected him to be, their servant, bound by the traditional code of rules to wield the gavel with impartiality and fairness to all, and to so conduct proceedings that the House performs its functions in orderly and expeditious fashion.

Second. Off the floor, as leader of his party, he works to enhance its prestige and to maintain its preeminence in power. This he does mainly by promotign enactment of legislation designed in the best interests of the country, calculated to win wide public approval, and thereby, to gain reelection of a majority for his party.

Third. At the same time, Speaker MCCORMACK continues to serve his constituents of South Boston, comprising the 12th District of Massachusetts, who have loyally continued to reelect him every two years for 36 years, starting with his selection to fill an unexpired term in the 70th Congress in 1926.

Fourth. And finally, above and beyond all this, the Speaker is the chief administrator of an establishment of subordinate officials and employees—both elected and appointed—numbering well over 4,000, who serve the Members of the committees of the House of Representatives. Jointly with the President pro tempore of the Senate he has jurisdiction also over other agencies of the legislative branch—which were created by and are creatures of the Congress: the General Accounting Office, the Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, and the office of the Architect of the Capitol.

To this great task—at once judicial, legislative, and administrative, as well as political, in nature—Speaker MCCORMACK has brought the wisdom, tact, know-how and historical perspective which are the fruit of nearly a half-century of public life.

JOHN W. M'CORMACK—PERSONAL

JOHN MCCORMACK was only 13, and the eldest of three brothers, when his father died. He left public school to help support his mother and brothers, working as a newsboy, errand boy, and later an office boy for a law firm. There he read law and at 21 passed his bar examinations.

As a practitioner he was a highly successful trial lawyer, but preferred the political platform to the courtroom. He was one of the youngest delegates elected to the State constitutional convention in 1917. Later that same year he enlisted in the Army of World War I, emerging from the service as a sergeant-major.

He won nomination and was elected to the State house of representatives in 1920–21 and 1922, followed by 4 years as a member of the State senate, where in the last 2 years of his service he was Democratic leader.

Mr. MCCORMACK's talents as a legislator were recognized by Speaker John Garner, of Texas, and his aid, Representative Sam Rayburn, soon after the tall, lean Massachusetts man came to Washington. They helped start him up the ladder to leadership by backing his election to the Ways and Means Committee before he had served 2 terms. Few Members of Congress have won a seat on this all-important committee in such a short time.

The Rayburn-McCormack Democratic leadership alliance continued for 30 years. "JOHN and I have no secrets from each other," the Bostonian's predecessor has been quoted.

Speaker MCCORMACK has always been in the forefront of battles for progressive and humanitarian legislation, was chairman of the first congressional committee to investigate extremist movements—Communist, Fascist, and Nazi alike—and was recently honored by the Washington Interfaith Committee for his years of effort in behalf of mutual understanding among all religious groups.

## Profile on Poland: An Eyewitness Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, one of my constituents, Dr. Arthur J. May, has recently returned from 9 months of study and travel in Europe, including several of the Communist countries.

A poineer in research and writing on Central European affairs in the United

States, Professor May has been a member of the history faculty at the University of Rochester since 1925. He has undertaken eight trips to Europe, five of them since World War II, and he has lectured at universities and before learned societies in Austria, Germany, and Poland. His historical writings have won widespread recognition at home and abroad. "The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867–1914" was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association.

This year, as on an earlier mission to Europe, Dr. May contributed informative and revealing articles on his observations and impressions to the Gannett group of newspapers. His reports on Poland provide illuminating analyses of conditions which deserve to be more widely known.

Mr. President, despite the present Communist government in Poland, the historic bonds of friendship between the peoples of Poland and the United States are deep and strong. As these articles show, even the Communists have not succeeded in stamping out the fires of Polish intellectual vigor and independence and religious fervor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed several of these very interesting articles, which have appeared in the Gannett press, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Gannett Press, July 7, 1962]

POLES: THE MOST LIKABLE EUROPEANS

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

WARSAW, POLAND.—Take the Polish people as you see them on the street or talk with them, and they are the most likable of all Europeans.

Hospitality and friendliness blend with courtesy and a charm of manner that is distinctive. The Poles smile readily. They are also orderly and disciplined. Policemen in uniform are rarely seen.

There is pride in the bearing of the Poles and self-confidence shines in their eyes. They are less subjected to governmental restraint than the inhabitants of any other East European country and they show it. They stride along briskly and they dance with still greater gusto.

For sheer natural beauty the women of Poland are unsurpassed, and their summer clothes are well-cut and attractive. Kissing ladies' hands is practised far more commonly than I have observed anywhere else.

Although Polish women are very conscious about hair styles, they seldom go in for stockings or cosmetics, and almost no men wear ties. Yet virtually every young man and woman—and many oldsters—have wrist watches.

Thanks to arrangements made for me by Americans of Polish descent and through university and other connections, I have been able to talk intimately with many Poles. They are excellent conversationalists and take delight in talking about America, and their own country, its problems and prospects.

The Poles love children. The stork is said to be the favorite bird of the country. On an average, the Polish population is much younger than that of Western Europe. In the catastrophe of World War II, Poland lost an estimated 6 million, many of whom would be elderly if alive today.

Healthy, comfortably dressed schoolchildren in charge of their teachers stream into churches, into parks, and visit art galleries, museums, or factories.

The Poles love flowers, too, which are grown in apartment window boxes or in reserved sections of small vegetable gardens. Bunches of flowers purchased along the street are popular as gifts to friends or as votive offerings on church altars. Parks teem with roses and iris, rhodendrons and lilacs, begonias and cosmos, bridal wreath, honeysuckle, peonies, and poppies.

So steep is the cost of living that many a Pole is obliged to hold two jobs. Normally, working hours run from 7 to 3 in the afternoon, with a half day on Saturday. Complaints about overwork are frequently heard.

For many families, income is sufficient only for a subsistence level of existence. A shoddy suit of clothes costs an average industrial wage earner the equivalent of a full month of work. Recently prices have been cut on goods made of artificial silk, but raised on cotton garments and wool blankets. Cameras imported from the Soviet Union have likewise been reduced in price.

Food stores are generally well supplied, though queues line up at times to make purchases. Only small packets are bought at meat counters. Dairy products are in short supply because of the failure of farms to fulfill expectations and of abnormal weather conditions in the spring.

Street merchants sell strawberries and cherries. Poor quality oranges and grapefruit cost about 2 hours of work per pound. "Buyers snap up everything that is offered," I was told.

Rarely do you see anyone with superfluous flesh due to overeating. As in other east European countries, excessive consumption of alcohol is a standing national problem.

"Housing is not at all good," a Warsaw man said to me, "yet it is better than a couple of years ago." Rentals are low, but dwellings are scarce, and it is extremely difficult to change one's apartment.

Until a few years ago, membership in the Communist Party gave a family a big advantage in getting quarters in a new apartment block, but that is much less true now, I was assured.

Foreign residents familiar with the housing situation in Soviet Russia say the congestion is tighter there than in Poland. Apartments may be purchased on the installment plan, payments extending over 20 years.

Public transportation could do with a good deal of improvement. Compared with passengers in Polish streetcars and buses, sardines in a can loll in comfort. When trains pull into a station, mobs flood pellmell into the cars; the usual good manners are momentarily cast aside.

Poles can arrange to travel inside the Soviet bloc of countries without much bother, but to obtain a passport and foreign currency for a trip to a free country is next to impossible for the ordinary citizen.

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[From the Gannett Press, July 12, 1962]

BUSTLING WARSAW'S WAR SCARS FADE

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

WARSAW, POLAND.—"The best view of Warsaw is from the balcony of the Palace of Culture and Science," natives and foreign residents tell you, "because up there you can't see the palace itself."

This monumental structure, covering 10 acres and rising to 750 feet, is the gift of the Soviet Union to Warsaw. From a distance it resembles a colossal wedding cake.

For all the harshness of its architecture, the palace serves useful purposes. Over 3,000 rooms and halls provide facilities for theater and movies, TV and exhibition studios, and meeting places for the Polish Academy of Science.

Surveying the new Warsaw from the summit of this palace, it is difficult to believe that when the war stopped in 1945, more than 80 percent of the buildings in this great city were a wasteland of rubble and ruins.

It was as though a gigantic plow had swept over a community that was home for 1,300,000. When Nazi armies finally retreated, only a few hundred civilians remained in Warsaw proper. Buildings or fragments of buildings that had miraculously survived were curiosities.

Take the Jewish ghetto quarter, for instance, where in April 1943, the inhabitants rebelled against Nazi barbarism. After over 3 weeks of desperate struggle, the insurrection was crushed in blood, and the Nazis demolished every building in the district. Today a plain monument to the heroes of the ghetto stands on the wide, flat area.

Just behind is the grim shell of a Nazi prison, where Jews and Poles were put to death by the thousands. Whereas more than 300,000 Jews lived in Warsaw when World War II started, and about 3 million in the Poland of that time, only a few thousands are here at present.

Walking about Warsaw you are astonished at the rapidity with which the city has been rebuilt. By the late 1960's, if plans are carried out, the visual scars of the war will be completely healed. Warsaw today is again a bustling, animated, exciting metropolis.

Directly after the war, architects and public authorities debated creating an entirely new Polish capital. But water supply channels, sewers, and electric powerlines had not been disrupted, and the decision was taken to reconstruct the former city.

At first buildings were thrown up in a hurry to furnish shelter for citizens. Generally they have the unpleasing appearance of military barracks. Recently, though, graceful apartment blocks have gone up with shops on the ground floor. Splashes of color, balconies, and boxes of flowers lend gayety to these newer quarters.

The tall, slender medieval houses in the picturesque Old Town (Stare Miasto), surrounding a marketplace, have been faithfully reconstructed on the prewar pattern and at enormous expense. This district was at the center of the great Warsaw rising of August 1944, in the course of which 200,000 Poles perished. Every house, but one, was smashed to pieces. "Now it is more beautiful than before," a Varsavian remarked to me.

After the rising—in some cases before—the Hitlerian occupation forces savagely and methodically pulled down monuments to Polish men of learning, blew up mansions, closed libraries and theaters. Almost all have now been restored.

On Ujazdow Avenue, the fashionable promenade, a splendid American Embassy with an unusual glass facade is rising. The towering pile of the Communist Party headquarters is a conspicuous feature of New World (Nowy Swiat) Street.

Very broad boulevards, very wide pavements, young trees, beds of flowers, and green spaces distinguish the new Warsaw.

Across the Vistula River, wider and more impressive new bridges have been built, and along the riverbanks handsome motor roads have been laid out. Suburban Praga boasts a set of high apartment buildings which is pointed to with pride as "Warsaw's Manhattan." Nearby is a great stadium, accommodating about 100,000.

Despite all the construction, Warsaw is badly overcrowded. Population is only 10 percent smaller than before the war. In certain sections water pressure is low, electricity is in limited supply, and no gas at all is available.

Strict regulations practically prohibit further immigration from the countryside to the capital.

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[From the Gannett Press, July 22, 1962]

FAMOUS MONUMENTS OF POLISH PAST RESTORED TO FORMER GLORY

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

GDANSK (DANZIG), POLAND.—The first shots in World War II were fired on the edge of this historic port where the Vistula River

approaches the Baltic Sea. A gallant band of Polish soldiers fought stubbornly against an overwhelming force of Germans. The site of the heroic struggle has been laid out as a national shrine with a simple tablet bearing a Christian cross.

The most destructive fighting in this old city occurred in the spring of 1945 when Soviet and Polish armies forced German troops to flee westward. Some 28,000 buildings were either totally demolished or rendered uninhabitable.

Far the greater part of Gdansk has already been rebuilt, though plenty of ruins are still in evidence. Famous monuments of the Polish past have been restored to their former glory. Especial pains were taken to reconstruct Dluga Street and Dlugi Targ (Long Square), precisely as they were before the war.

In these sections of Gdansk, practically every one of the gabled Renaissance and baroque dwellings of old-time burghers was leveled. Artists, scholars, and architects joined talents in restoring them down to the very smallest detail.

On my last visit here, 23 years ago, I marveled at the classic beauty of these patrician residences. My amazement at the skill with which they have been reconstructed is even greater. Unless you actually knew that they had been destroyed, you would scarcely believe that they have been recently rebuilt.

Across the centuries, Gdansk and the area roundabout have been an arena of competition between German and Pole. Whereas the population was almost exclusively German before World War II, it is today thoroughly Polish.

Approximately 90 percent of the inhabitants have come from former Polish lands in the East, which Soviet Russia snatched away at the end of the war.

Together with adjoining Sopot and Gydnia, the miracle Polish port on the Baltic, Gdansk constitutes a single community of 500,000. Sopot, noted for its fine beaches of white said is being rapidly expanded as a vacation resort. As at Gdansk, so at Gydnia, harbor installations suffered heavy damage in the war, but they have been rebuilt and are larger and busier than ever.

Towering over Gdansk are the massive spires of the Church of the Holy Virgin. This notable example of Gothic architecture is one of the largest churches of Christendom, capable of holding a congregation of 25,000.

In and around this church I witnessed a most instructive and unforgettable manifestation of the intensity of Polish allegiance to the Roman Catholic heritage. It was Corpus Christi Day and thousands of worshippers, men predominating, pretty well filled the huge church, while a vast multitude stood outside.

After the divine service had ended, a religious procession left the church and wended its way through city streets. Sturdy laymen carried green, white, and red banners with Christian inscriptions and others held aloft a canopy beneath which walked an elderly priest, golden mitre in hand.

As the procession moved through the city, it was preceded by a band and by little girls in long white dresses with white wreaths in their hair, who scattered flower petals. Older girls in white or in picturesque folk costumes followed, each holding a yellow, green, or pink ribbon attached to a pillow, borne by a taller girl, on which lay a religious picture. Boys tinkled bells as they marched.

From apartment windows along the route of the procession hung rugs to which sacred religious pictures were pinned. At a flower-bedecked altar on a street corner devotions of worship were conducted and then the procession passed to the next stopping point.

A surging mass of humanity flowed along, singing a stirring hymn of the church, "We Want Our God. Mary Is the Queen of Poland."

As this sample illustrates, church going is very popular in Poland. Masses that I have attended have always been crowded. Throughout long generations of Polish misfortune and hardship, Roman Catholicism has nourished faith, hope, and charity. It is thus also today.

In the rough and troubled times through which the Catholic Church in Poland is passing in its relations with the Communist state, devout Poles are prone to recall the watchword of eloquent and fearless Stephen Cardinal Wyszynski, presently prince primate of Poland: "The spirit of man is an eternal rebel—rebelling against all slavery and falsehood."

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[From the Gannett Press, Aug. 16, 1962]

LIFE IN RURAL POLAND ISN'T EASY

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

CRACOW, POLAND.—Ask any Polish person you meet whether he has relatives in the United States, and if he has, his face immediately lights up in a smile. Chances are excellent that he will inquire whether you know his brother in Detroit or his cousin in Chicago.

If he has no relatives beyond the Atlantic, in saying just that, he will add a phrase amounting to "Unfortunately, no." Some 6 million Americans are of Polish descent, and half as many more emigrants having ties with Poland live in other foreign countries, notably Canada and Brazil.

In the vacation season, connections between Americans of Polish descent and their friends and relatives here are strengthened by personal visits. One large party I talked with included residents of Niagara Falls, Cleveland, and Chicago.

Some Polish-Americans prefer to come alone. Stanislaus Nowak, for instance, who left home for Philadelphia 51 years ago, has come back this summer for the first time.

Nowak told me that modest changes have taken place in his native village. Roads are better, and medical services have improved decidedly. Farm machinery is used cooperatively by several households, and machines to do the family washing are rented by the day.

Yet basically the community is the same place he knew as a boy, without any of the social activities that he so much enjoys in Philadelphia.

"If a family has more than 10 good acres," he said, "the government charges very high taxes so the owner has to sell part of his land. State agents come around regularly to inspect my brother's cattle. They condemn the best cow as unhealthy and haul her away, paying only a fraction of the actual value."

As explained by an American visiting relatives in southern Poland, rural existence in this section is not easy. His uncle operates an average-sized farm. The house has two rooms with floors of hard clay. One room serves the uncle's family for all purposes, while the other is occupied by a daughter, her husband, and four children. Customarily in hot weather, the adults sleep out-of-doors.

Stoves of clay and brick are used for cooking, not for warmth, and wood mixed with pine cones and needles is the standard fuel. Last winter the temperature stood at 20° below zero day after day.

A small storage shack serves in the spring as a hatchery for chickens, ducks, and geese. There is no electricity; kerosene lamps furnish illumination. There is no running water, no pump—water oozes from a well.

The uncle owns three cows and a horse which are kept warm in winter by their own heat and by manure piled around a rude barn. Chicken and geese are tended by the granddaughters, while the boys look after the cows.

"My parents," the American put it to me, "remember the hard conditions of living, and they have no desire even to come over and see their old home." They do, however, keep in touch with the uncle by letters. The only complaint, incidentally, that I heard from Poles was "our relatives do not write often enough."

Generous Polish-Americans not only write but they keep sending parcels of clothings and financial help. Second-hand articles, or those that look as though they had been used, come in duty-free. For new clothing, high import duties must be paid, and often the recipient sells a couple of items through commission stores to satisfy the charges.

Financial assistance comes through PaKaO (Polish Savings Bank) in New York City. For each $10 an American deposits in this agency, a relative or friend in Poland gets the equivalent of $9, paid in the national currency of zlotys at the rate of 72 to the dollar. That amounts to three times the official exchange rate.

These funds are used to buy food, or fuel, lime for farmland, or even materials to build a home. If they choose, the recipients may exchange the goods for a cow or for something else they need.

In contrast to the situation in other countries in the Communist bloc, land in Poland is largely privately owned. The number of individual landholders increased substantially in the 1950's. Some 3,500,000 independent farmers cultivate 85 percent of the agricultural land.

As a rule, properties are small, covering from 5 to 12 acres and the trend is in the direction of still greater fragmentation. Nearly half of the households piece out their income by some other kind of work.

Collective farms on the Soviet pattern have decreased sharply in the last half dozen years. Not more than 2,000 exist, almost none with more than a dozen families. State farms, administered very much like a factory, cover a much bigger acreage than collectives.

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## Basic Skills Lacking: Illinois Study Backs Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, an important article appeared in a recent issue of the New York Times, discussing the need for more adequate education and retraining programs to reduce the number of recipients on public relief rolls.

According to the 6-month study by Raymond M. Hilliard, director of the Cook County, Ill., Department of Public Aid, illiteracy is the major cause of dependency upon relief. Pointing out that half of the able bodied on welfare rolls could not pass a fifth grade test, Hilliard urged support for an immediate and massive program of adult education and job retraining.

The study also emphasized the large part which technological displacement plays in aggravating this serious social problem. Hilliard said, "The problems of public welfare are not due to newcomers in the community, but stem from unemployment and economic and technological displacement and most important, from the lack of basic educational

skills." Just as effective nationwide education and retraining programs are the keys to a solution of our unemployment problem, these tools likewise will help bring an end to the reliance of millions upon Government welfare programs.

Mr. Speaker, I feel this study has great merit and under unanimous consent I insert this article from the September 22 issue of the New York Times in the RECORD:

STUDY OF RELIEF CITES ILLITERACY—HALF OF ABLE-BODIED ON ROLLS WOULD FAIL 5TH GRADE TESTS, CHICAGO SURVEY FINDS—OUTSIDERS ABSOLVED—88 PERCENT OF AID RECIPIENTS LIVED IN ILLINOIS OVER 5 YEARS—TRAINING PLAN BEGUN

CHICAGO, September 21.—Illiteracy is the major reason for dependency on relief, a 6-month study here showed today.

Inability to read or write well keeps recipients unemployable and dependent on welfare, Raymond M. Hilliard, director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid, told a news conference.

He said the department's study showed the need for a massive program of adult education and job training "if we are to reverse the trend of maintaining generations of families on assistance.

"This is the most significant public welfare study ever made," he said, "because it pinpoints the basic cause of dependency on relief."

Mr. Hilliard, former commissioner of welfare for New York City, said the findings would probably hold true not only in Chicago but nationally as well.

SIX HUNDRED EIGHTY PERSONS TESTED

The study tested a representative sample of 680 able-bodied recipients, 16 to 64 years old selected at random in a south side area of Chicago.

Only 6.6 percent had not formally completed 5th grade education, but 50.7 percent could not pass reading and vocabulary tests at the 5th grade achievement level.

The study concluded, therefore that more than half of Cook County's 225,000 able-bodied relief recipients were actually functionally illiterate.

Cook County's monthly relief bill for 282,000 recipients, including the ill and aged, is $16,500,000.

"The cost to the community in dollars and wasted human resources will be disastrous if basic literacy education and job training are not provided," Mr. Hilliard said.

Chicago made a start on the problem this summer. Using primarily board of education funds and public school classrooms and teachers, 3,900 persons on relief were assigned to spend up to 5 months learning reading, writing, and arithmetic at night.

TO EXPAND PROGRAM

The fall term will increase the number to 6,000. Mr. Hilliard wants to expand the program, which he said, was the first for any large city, to 60,000 persons and provide not only basic literacy courses but training in a wide variety of job skills.

A third of the relief recipients educated in Chicago, the study showed, had become functional illiterates, compared with 77 percent of those who went to school in Mississippi and later moved to Chicago.

But the study found little to support the view, held by some, that welfare problems stem from an influx of outsiders to take advantage of relief aid. Eighty-eight percent of the recipients were found to have lived in Illinois for more than 5 years.

"The problems of public welfare are not due to newcomers in the community," Mr. Hilliard said, "but stem from unemployment and economic and technological displacement, and most important, from the lack of basic educational skills of relief recipients which are essential to compete in our modern society."

## The Silent House: Reflections of a Thoughtful Parent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most memorable and poignant moments in the life of a parent comes when a teenage son or daughter leaves home for the first time, to go to college, go away to work, be married, or undertake a period of military service. I might add, Mr. Speaker, that my wife and I have not yet experienced this moment ourselves: our five children are still young and still very much at home.

Yet the other day I read a very wonderful and poignant and, I am sure, highly realistic account of this experience, written by a friend of mine, the editorial writer of one of my hometown newspapers, the Schenectady Gazette.

This lovely piece, written by Mr. Ralph Turner, of the Schenectady Gazette, is one of the finest things I have ever read. I am sure few parents will read it without a lump in the throat or perhaps a tear, since it expresses so eloquently what we have either experienced or will shortly be experiencing.

I commend Mr. Turner on his piece, Mr. Speaker, and, under leave to extend my remarks, I include it here in the RECORD so that it may thus become available for many others who will enjoy reading it as much as I have.

The article follows:

[From the Schenectady (N.Y.) Gazette, Saturday, Sept. 15, 1962]

YOUR SILENT HOUSE

(By Ralph M. Turner)

Many a writer has described the bitter-and-sweet red letter day that comes to every parent when he enters his first child in school for the first time. Often the parent's feeling of loneliness as he walks away from the school is exceeded only by the child's feeling of bewilderment in the new world he is entering.

But there are other bitter-sweet days in the life of a parent, and one of them is the day when your teenagers are suddenly gone and you find yourself in a silent house.

During all those years of your children's adolescence you have become accustomed to noise, confusion, disarray, junk, clutter, arguments, laughter and tears. There have been periods, sometimes as long as a summer, when there have been no teenagers in the house. But they would soon be back, and somehow the house never really seemed quiet even when they were out of it.

But all of a sudden your children have all left—to serve in the Armed Forces or attend a distant college or to take a job far from home. One day the house is normal, as it has been for 15 or 20 years; the next day it is a silent house.

You cannot fully describe the feeling. You are proud, you are sad. You are optimistic, you are apprehensive. Most of all, you are lonely. The floors creak as you walk, and you wonder why you never noticed it before. For the first time in decades, you hear the garage door banging in the wind. You walk upstairs to "his room" or "her room." You resist the temptation to turn and run. Wherever you turn there is silence except for the house-creakings.

For the first time in what seems a century, the hi-fi set is not turned on. Neither is the little radio in the kitchen, nor in the basement, nor the garage. Gone is the hideous simultaneous mixture of Bach from the hi-fi, Dizzy Gillespie from the kitchen radio and rock 'n' roll from the radio in the basement. Gone is the thump of overturned chairs and the banging of closet doors. For the first time in decades the doorbell and the telephone bell are both silent at the same time. And you know they'll be silent for quite a while.

Tonight when you go to bed there will be no untimely activity in the kitchen. Friends of your teenagers will not arrive noisily at 11:30 p.m.; there will be no pizza eating, no whipping up of bacon and eggs, no spilling of coffee all over the floor at midnight or later. Tomorrow morning you will find the kitchen just as you left it tonight. It will be a new experience and you won't know whether to laugh or cry. Perhaps you will do both. But right now, as you look at "his room" or "her room" all you know is silence. The room has been stripped of everything he or she wanted to take, or you insisted upon being taken. There are odds and ends that you will throw out. There's a lamp that fell apart. There's a gouged place in the wall. Later on you will repair the lamp and the gouged spot in the wall. But not now.

You have a weak feeling, a kind of helplessness. Yesterday, as on countless other yesterdays, you were tense, keyed up, ambitious and determined. Your yesterdays were filled with pleas, admonitions, compliments, and scoldings. Now you have nothing to say. If it hasn't already been said, it's too late now.

You walk away from "his room" or "her room" and you find something to do elsewhere. It has been a red letter day. It is the beginning of a new phase in your life, in his life, in her life. It is a part of human life. There were times when you were tempted to look forward to this day. Now that it has arrived, you have mixed emotions. You are happy-sad, or sad-happy. You wonder how long it will take to become accustomed to your silent house.

## The Honorable Frank Boykin

SPEECH
OF
### HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of our colleague, Hon. FRANK BOYKIN, brings to me a feeling of regret. All who know FRANK BOYKIN enjoy and appreciate his companionship and warm pesonality.

Not only will we be deprived of a great personality in Congress; we will lose the services of a great leader at a time in our Nation's life when fine leadership is so sorely needed. But, Mr. Speaker, we have a ray of sunshine piercing through the clouds of gloom upon the occasion of the retirement of our friend since he has assured us that his plans

involve frequent future visits to the Capitol City. These visits will be pleasantly anticipated by all who have served with him.

So, Mr. Speaker, I join in expressing regret that FRANK BOYKIN is leaving the official duties that he has so ably performed as a Representative of the people of Alabama. And, I extend my best wishes to him as he returns to private life.

## Remarks by Hon. Norman S. Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Minneapolis, Minn., August 14, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, one of the basic principles—one long adhered to by the Committee on Armed Services of this House, and this House as a whole—is that the men and women of our armed services must be considered as individuals and not as merely entries on an electronic computer tape.

This recognition of the importance of the individual in our Armed Forces has long guided our legislative thinking with respect to defense personnel matters. As Members of this House are well aware, there have been instances in the past when it appeared that the Pentagon was not sufficiently sensitive to the importance of the individual.

Consequently, it has been a reassuring experience for me to read the recent speech of the newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, the Honorable Norman S. Paul, which was delivered at the 1962 Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in Minneapolis, Minn.

Secretary Paul's remarks emphasized the importance of individual servicemen and their families. His emphasis upon the need for considering the personnel of our Armed Forces as individuals and not as "so many numbers lumped in the mass" is a very reassuring and wholesome development in defense personnel policy. Secretary Paul's speech to the thousands of delegates at the VFW convention was brief, but the thoughts he expressed are highly important. I am confident that Members of this House, who have long demonstrated an intense interest in the essentially human aspect of military personnel legislation will derive a sense of satisfaction and reassurance from the remarks of the newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the introduction of Secretary Paul by the then national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. Robert E. Hansen, of Minnesota, and the address of Secretary Paul to the VFW convention:

INTRODUCTION OF HON. NORMAN S. PAUL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, MANPOWER AND RESERVE, BY ROBERT E. HANSEN, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VFW

The VFW has long believed that the most important single feature of our defense establishment is people. Our organization historically has been extremely mindful of the importance of defense personnel policies.

Consequently, it is especially appropriate that one of the most distinguished personages at our national convention is the official whom I now have the pleasure of introducing, the Honorable Norman S. Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve.

Secretary Paul is a native of Stamford, Conn., and received his law degree from the University of Virginia. During World War II he served in the Navy with the amphibious forces in the South Pacific. Following World War II he practiced law in New York City, and in 1948 he was appointed to the staff of the Economic Cooperation Administration. His rise in Government service has been rapid, and has reflected the high esteem in which he is held by those who have been associated with him.

Among his highly responsible positions was that of Deputy Assistant to the Administrator for International Security Affairs, which placed on Mr. Paul the responsibility for coordinating ECA activities on a worldwide basis.

Later he was program adviser in the Office of the Director of Mutual Security, handling economic and military assistance matters for Asia, Europe, and Latin America. The geographic scope of his responsibility was apparently constantly expanded because he later became Regional Director of the Foreign Operations Administration for the Far East, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Later he was Deputy Director of the FOA for Congressional Relations.

More recently he has served as legislative counsel for the Central Intelligence Agency, and, in January 1961, Mr. Paul was appointed Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs. I might add there is an almost unique aspect to his record of achievement in that he has been appointed to one of the most important positions in the present administration, although he made no secret of the fact that he graduated from Yale rather than Harvard.

Seriously, we are honored to have with us one who has served our Nation so effectively and from whom so much is expected in the future. It is my privilege to present to you at this time the Assistant Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Norman S. Paul.

Mr. Paul.

REMARKS BY HON. NORMAN S. PAUL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (MANPOWER), TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AUGUST 14, 1962

Commander Hansen, I am honored to be here today, and I thank you for the kind invitation which made this visit possible. I am also particularly indebted to my good friend, Gen. Don Hittle, who performs such such an outstanding job for the Veterans of Foreign Wars the year around.

My remarks this morning will necessarily be on the brief side. Right now I am in the process of learning the requirements of a new job, and I was sworn in less than a week ago.

I do welcome the opportunity to meet with you today, however, both to renew acquaintances and to thank you for your devoted and continuing interest in the defense effort.

I know that our country owes much to this interest over the years. I see many people here who have made important contributions to the national security, and who have worked with the Department of Defense on many occasions, always with the objective of promoting America's strength and security.

From my own previous work with Congress I have observed the effectiveness of your support for such programs as a better pay structure for the services, uniform travel policies for dependents of oversea personnel, a long-overdue increase in basic allowance for quarters, better housing for service families, and other measures of merit to numerous to mention. I am familiar, too, with the impressive backing which you have invariably given to extension of the draft authority, and to major readiness programs designed to increase the striking power and resilience of the total Military Establishment—power and resilience which we must have to maintain our freedom.

Above all, the Veterans of Foreign Wars have consistently borne in mind the fact that the men and women of the Armed Forces are individuals, not to be considered as so many numbers lumped in the mass, but instead to be looked upon each one as an important contributor to the national security. And as a consequence, you have not failed to sponsor and support responsible legislation in their behalf—and in behalf of their families. As a further consequence, you have helped the country at large to achieve a more mature and understanding view of the Armed Forces, and of the consideration to which they are entitled.

For all this, the Department of Defense, and the men and women of the services, are truly appreciative.

As I assume the responsibilities of the Manpower Office, I should like to say that I share your concern for the welfare of the individual serviceman, and on that and other subjects of national concern I am hopeful that I will have the frequent benefit of your views and counsel.

America possesses a mighty defense structure, involving the most advanced weaponry and scientific know-how, with a destructive capability second to none.

But we can never fail to remember that it is the human individual—the man and not the machine—who still provides the most important element of our strength.

People—people who can handle a great variety of complex weapons and functions, have never been more important than right now. Nor has it ever been more essential that we make use of such a precious asset intelligently.

From this it is plain that one of our principal responsibilities continues to be that of attracting, training and keeping the kind of high quality, high performance personnel that today's complex weapons systems demand, and those of tomorrow foreshadow.

And here again, it seems to me, one of the basic requirements for coping with the problem—both in its immediate and long-term sense—is a sustained program of realistic attention to the problems and needs of the individual serviceman and the service family—coupled with the awareness that they are deserving of the best. It is my job to see to it that major progress is made in this field.

To this effort—and to the continued best interests of the finest Armed Forces on earth—I pledge to you my sincere endeavor.

Thank you.

## Dominion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure at this time for me to place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, by unanimous consent, the poem, "Dominion," written by Elizabeth Jor-

dan, an accomplished writer of Pittsburgh, Pa. This poem, written in 1941, 4 years before the then secret atomic bomb was used, shows clarity of vision and perception. I am enclosing for the RECORD this poem, "Dominion," of Elizabeth Jordan's, as reprinted from the Scientific Monthly of February 1945, volume LX, page 116.

DOMINION

Now man must take unto himself dominion,
The sovereignty he has given his inventions.
His is the brain behind his own machinery,
Should ever the lesser dispossess the greater?
The use beneficent, not the use injurious,
Should be his program, his unceasing doctrine.
The silver bird that spreads its wings to heaven
Man's glorious conquest of the sky announces,
But how does man reward his own bright genius?
By hurling down—upon himself—destruction.
And on he goes, discovering and inventing,
An artless child near gas with matches playing,
The power he takes from earth's entrails will seize him,
With earth-shaking fury rend him, him and his offspring.
Before he further searches out the atom,
Let him ask himself this question: "Am I ready?"
Until he is, he had better stay his power
And look within. And look within God help him!

—ELIZABETH PARKHILL JORDAN.

## What To Do in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in the tide of frustration and anger generated by Cuba, it is easy to urge that action be taken which might turn out to be in the worst interests of the United States, not the best interests. The clearest exposition of this argument I have yet seen was written by Malcolm S. Forbes, publisher and editor in chief of Forbes, in the October 1 issue of that magazine. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACT AND COMMENT—CUBA: COLD LOGIC, NOT HOT ANGER

(By Malcolm S. Forbes)

If the American people were polled today, it's my guess a majority would favor "doing something about Cuba." Judging from conversations with many responsible American businessmen, it is clear that an even greater majority of them favor "action" by the United States.

"Doing something" and "action," can only mean some sort of military action. The choice is limited to actual invasion by our Armed Forces, possibly with a thin refugee Cuban facade at the outset, or a tight naval blockade. Somehow many seem to think this latter course would be effective and bloodless.

But think it through.

Suppose we declare a naval blockade. Whether we exempt food or not would have to be decided at the outset. What happens if a Russian ship carrying supplies to Cuba refuses to halt when the shot goes across its bow? Do we then sink it and all that follow it? That, of course, would be a full and open act of war against Russia.

Suppose Russia did not respond to the sinking of her ships by the American Navy with an immediate declaration of war and the blasting of missiles at the continental United States. Suppose instead she instructs her several hundred submarines to sink American ships supplying our thousands of American Armed Forces in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the other lands allied to us that surround the Communists.

We set the precedent by sinking Russian ships bound for Cuba. How do we react when she sinks ours supplying her unfriendly neighbors? It doesn't take much imagination to foresee that overnight we would be at the brink—or over it—of global atomic annihilation.

If one pauses to think, it becomes clear that Cuba, no matter how well supplied militarily, represents no real military threat to the United States. A very small number of short-range missiles would eliminate any menace in moments. Russian missiles can land anywhere in the United States from their own bases in their own land. They don't need Cuba as a launching spot.

The depth of American emotions about Russian aid to Red Cuba is very real and understandable. But emotions are a poor guide in a case like this.

Aside from a blockade, it is plain today that no small-scale invasion using conventional weapons would be successful. We would need a major effort by the Armed Forces, and it would come at a time when, after November 6, election day, the Berlin crisis will be unquestionably at a dangerous peak. When Khrushchev signs a "peace" treaty with East Germany as he plans to do, we cannot and will not allow East Germany to interfere or in any way control our access to West Berlin. The possibilities of a shooting war are going to be closer than ever in a few weeks over Berlin. In this situation, NATO and our allies are solidly agreed that there can be no retreat.

Such is simply not the case in connection with Cuba.

The dangers in Cuba come not because it is any military threat to this country, but because it forms a closer base for Red penetration in South America. We certainly can be effective in preventing the export of arms and subversives from Cuba to South American shores.

Measures are being considered to isolate the Cuban virus; but those so earnestly and loudly advocating military "action" should realize that they are being emotional at a time when cold logic is called for.

For a number of years, American forces have been training and arming troops—not 90 miles from Russia—but right at the Russian border. If we react to the presence of Russian troops in Cuba by an invasion of that island, Russia will certainly feel free to invade Iran or Turkey, Pakistan, or the NATO countries; and, of course, China will have a fresh excuse to attempt the invasion of Formosa, Thailand, and so forth.

There is little doubt that rising public anger over Cuba is cutting into President Kennedy's popularity. It recalls with full force the Bay of Pigs fiasco. I am certain the President is aware of this. But I believe he equally is aware—overwhelmingly so—of the incalculable dangers involved in undertaking what would be—for a fleeting moment—the popular course of "action."

## Evaluation of the State Department's Briefing Conferences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, Elizabeth Jordan—Mrs. J. H. Jordan—of Forsythe Road, in the South Hills district of Pittsburgh, Pa. has written an excellent evaluation which I believe should be called to the attention of the Congress and the American people.

Elizabeth Jordan headed the editorial staff of the Pittsburgh Post Gazette for 2 years, was a member of the editorial staff of the Pittsburgh Press for 8 years, was contributing editor of the Pittsburgher magazine for 2 years, and in 1941 wrote a syndicated newspaper column on world law.

As to Elizabeth Jordan's radio and television background, she wrote and produced 22 radio programs for UNESCO, interviewing foreign exchange students; wrote and produced a series of television programs 2 years ago for the Allegheny County Federation of Women's Clubs, discussing international problems, on WQED–TV, our Pittsburgh educational television station.

In 1937 Elizabeth Jordan founded the Charter Oak Community Club, and 7 years ago founded its international club. She was recognized for the outstanding work of this organization by the Pennsylvania State Federation of Women's Clubs at that organization's mideastern conference meeting held in New York City on Monday, October 1, 1962.

Elizabeth Jordan has suggested a change in emphasis in future State Department Briefing Conferences, which I believe should be given careful consideration:

May I suggest a change of emphasis in the future program of the State Department's briefing conferences: That the positive aspects of U.S. foreign policy be emphasized instead of the negative; that another feature speaker and discussion roundtable be added to the present procedure and placed in a position of overall importance. Reasons follow:

While the conference was most enlightening, I felt that it did not do justice to the long-range policy objectives of the United States which include a world legal order and arms control even to the extent of "general and complete disarmament." These objectives have been stated by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. They have been part of the proposals put forth by Secretaries of State Herter and Rusk. Please note that I am not a pacifist. I am disturbed, however, lest future briefing conferences again convey the impression that the United States of America does not really mean to implement its stated long-range policy objectives.

What is more, the briefing conference gave delegates almost no idea of the progress and problems involved in establishing a more effective world legal

order. There should be at least an equal emphasis, I believe a greater one, on the legal approaches to peace which the State Department is supporting. Such strong leadership action might enable us sooner to overtake our traditional reliance on military force.

If an attorney were on your speaking staff to tell of progress already being made and further State Department plans to step up action in this field, it would lighten with hope the hearts of all the delegates who are at present squirming under resumption of atomic tests.

American foreign policy too often resembles a fire brigade; too seldom does it appear constructive as a builder. While fires must be extinguished, the task of erecting a stable world order based on the rule of law must not be neglected, if the free way of life is to continue.

Here is the story of law. It is not imposed from the top. It can only operate with the consent of the governed. If you are going to have law in the world, you first get the statutes down on paper. Then, so that they may have a chance to work, they must be accepted and voluntarily obeyed by the majority of the world's populations. Next, somebody has to be the policeman, to see that the few holdouts on that acceptance do not break the laws to break down the whole system. It is as simple as that.

But though the process itself is simple, it requires years of hard work to bring it newly into world experience. This work has been begun in four areas, and is making great progress, with State Department support. It should have important emphasis on future briefing conference programs. Supporting material on world law is submitted under A, B, C, and D.

But first, under "Disarmament Universal," I present a plan proposed in May 1960 at Allegheny County Federation of Women's Clubs (with 3D exhibit) at their annual meeting by Elizabeth Jordan, Forsythe Road, Pittsburgh, Pa.

U.N. UNIVERSITY ON DISARMAMENT UNDER UNESCO (TO REEDUCATE, RETRAIN, AND REMAKE) AT TASMANIA

INTRODUCTION TO A BRANDNEW DISARMAMENT TECHNIQUE

The groundwork must be laid for disarmament before we talk any further about it. Our State Department, our Congress, and our people—you and I—are not really ready for it. The 1962 Conference on Disarmament is the 71st since the Second World War that has failed to produce any tangible reduction in arms. This distinctly shows a subconscious desire on the part of the two big military powers not to disarm, or only to disarm the other without disarming themselves.

If we want quick action we must separate the military systems of the world from arms control entirely, for they have proved their hearts are not in it. The problem must be put in other hands. Detachment is a vital principle here. Altogether new groups inside and outside the United Nations can work together in an entirely new setup.

FROM INSIDE THE U.N.

1. The U.N. Secretary General always will be on hand or on call. His particular function: to see that no untoward action is taken inconsistent with the United Nations Charter; to report progress to the U.N. General Assembly on a factual basis; to act, generally, in an advisory capacity to smooth the way for all the people involved in the new movement.

FROM OUTSIDE THE U.N.

1. Undergird the new U.N. University with the vocal support and contributions of all the world universities at present in existence. All would have the privilege of checking in at the U.N. University for a judgment on ideas for immediate action.

2. All the seniors in the high schools of the world invited to join their natural concern with that of UNESCO and the Secretary General; kept in touch with full information on proceedings; their constructive suggestions invited.

3. Nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) who checks in at San Francisco at the time of the U.N.'s founding, and still have representatives attending its sessions, invited to contribute their ideas. Disarmament requires the same independent organizations of outside forces as proved useful for the founding of the U.N. itself, especially women's organizations with a long record of service to their communities, State, Nation, and the world, many of whom have disarmament on their yearly agenda for study, invited to participate.

4. Churches, synagogues, and temples of the world's religions, joined together for the moral unity of the world, their ideas and suggestions requested.

All of the outside groups representing great conclaves of the world's people will have access at stated times to full information on results achieved by the inside groups centered in the new U.N. University on Disarmament under UNESCO.

DISARMAMENT ACTUALLY COMES LAST

No nation is going to do away with its weapons until there no longer is any need for weapons either for offense or defense. Discontinue talking disarmament until the foregoing system is set up and in good working order. If accent is placed on security and protection for all countries, large and small, the importance we now attach to violence will wither and fade away in the exciting new provisions for moving the world forward, as we must, to safety, peace, prosperity, justice, law, and order.

Before disarmament can proceed to the actual abandoning of weapons, we must reeducate, retrain, and remake our present civilization. This job the new U.N. University on Disarmament under UNESCO is designed to do:

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

Main office for all campus buildings, with conference rooms, hall and lounge for students union, provisions for entertaining heads of state, etc.

Encourage adoption of world language. Operate a U.N. broadcasting chain.

Recommendations to the U.N. that world citizenship with special privileges under certain stated conditions be given to qualified and worthy individuals, and stateless persons.

Study and recommend, with ILO, improvement of world unemployment conditions, also dislocations in industry, due to disarmament.

WORLD RULE OF LAW CENTER (CAMPUS BUILDING NO. 1)

Headquarters of organizations of the world's independent lawyers and the U.N.'s International Law Commission, for law administered at an individual level as at Nuremberg, correcting Nuremberg's faults.

Publish, in layman's language, one short clear book of world laws for the guidance of the citizens of all nations.

Codify sea and space laws, defining limits of national boundaries in sea and air.

Codify laws internationalizing all air transport, commercial and scientific.

Codify laws setting a ceiling on the armament industry in all countries and providing for the licensing of suppliers to the U.N. Police only, withholding license from others.

Codify effective arbitration rules so that settlements can be facilitated, not imposed.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR U.N. POLICE VOLUNTEERS (CAMPUS BUILDING NO. 2)

Training men and women of U.N. Police, integrating units into loyal and dedicated personnel. Preliminary training to begin in all the world's local high schools.

Training for patrol and guard duty, integrating units and accustoming volunteers from all nations to common techniques, food, uniforms and equipment.

Teaching skill in inspecting disarmament commitments of all nations.

Reporting beginning movements of aggression between nations or within nations, and the individuals responsible for them.

"The Policeman Is Your Friend" technique to promote good will, cooperation, compromise.

SCIENCE HALL (CAMPUS BUILDING NO. 3)

Work out plans for U.N. control of science to see that its application henceforth are not destructive but used for peace only. Also applies to germ warfare, etc.

Cooperate with all other campus buildings dealing with science, especially No. 4.

DISARMAMENT HALL (CAMPUS BUILDING NO. 4)

Take in samples of all types of arms to denature and salvage, provide disposal of bulk.

Sort out weaponry U.N. Police can use. Disarm all atom stockpiles.

THE A, B, C, D'S OF WORLD LAW COURTS AND COMMISSIONS

(The new European Court of Human Rights, established 1959)

In the spring of 1959, eight nations had ratified the European Court, the number required for its creation. It provided for these rights:

Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.

Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person.

Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing.

No one can be convicted of an act which did not constitute a criminal offense under national or international law at the time of act (Nuremberg).

Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home, and his correspondence.

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression.

Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others.

Clipping from Christian Science Monitor, October 7, 1960, by Volney Hurd:

"EUROPEAN COURT ERASES BORDERS TO SECURE HUMAN RIGHTS

"STRASBOURG, FRANCE.—If you feel that the supreme court of your country has made an unjust decision against your human rights, you are no longer at the end of your rope * * * that is, if you are a citizen of any of the member countries of the Council of Europe that have ratified the Rome Treaty of 1950. Fourteen of the Council's fifteen member nations have ratified * * * all except France.

"Citizens of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, and West Germany now can still appeal to the European Court of Human Rights for a decision even against their own government.

"Here at Strasbourg the first case is being tried in this historic breakthrough in justice, in this remarkable advance step along the road to building "communities of nations", a sacrifice of certain sovereign rights. The case before the court, *Gerald Lawless* v.

*the Republic of Ireland*, is not spectacular by itself. Mr. Lawless has brought suit against the Government of Ireland, charging that the latter, 3 years ago, infringed his human rights by holding him without charge or trial on suspicion that he belonged to the illegal Irish Republican Army.

"On October 3, the new court of seven judges sat here for the first time, dressed in black robes, with embroidered shoulder patches, showing a circle of 15 gold stars, for the Council's 15 members. (The 7 judges sitting in a case are drawn by lot from a pool of 15 judges, 1 from each member country.) Presiding was Rene Cassin of Paris, this despite France's failure to ratify the treaty.

"Process described.

"First is the European Commission of Human Rights, then the court. The Commission can receive complaints by member governments that another signatory government has violated the rights specified in the convention. Next and even more striking is the fact that this convention extends to individual complaints. The Commission can receive applications if the government against which a complaint is lodged recognizes the competence of the commission to receive such application. The majority of member states have so declared. Ireland was one of the first to do this and the first state now involved in an actual charge.

"(Each signatory nation has agreed to accept the decisions of the court as binding, the Associated Press said. In case of failure to comply, the court can refer the case to the foreign ministers, who can take political sanctions against the offending state.)"

B. One million world lawyers massing their efforts for developing law and order

*They are not only saying, but doing*

So far, these lawyers have formed committees and have held Lawyers' Conferences in four regions to establish Regional Courts of Human Rights on every continent Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Europe.

It began with a year or two of preparation. Then the first conference was held in San Jose, Costa Rica, for North and South America. Very few Americans, North or South, knew about it. The second one was at Tokyo for Asia and Australia. The third at Lagos, Nigeria, for Africa and the Middle East, was considered by the participating attorneys, a rousing success. The fourth and last one, April 1962, was in Rome, for Europe, 29 nations' lawyers attending. Next year, 1963, the parts will all be pulled together in a World Conference, date and place decided soon.

These conferences mean that actual work at the grassroots has begun. At each conference a "working paper" was prepared in advance for the delegates' briefing, sometimes rewritten 17 times before the conference, discussing armament control, space law, trade, investment; draft conventions on every conceivable legal situation.

They are grappling with the problems at the beginning or initial stages, solving them there before assuming much beyond them. The assumption is, however, that the present World Court, when the world is ready for it, will become without argument a Supreme Court capable of taking on both government and individual cases.

But their publicity, widely given, is read by too few others outside the legal profession because too few have any background of information on real progress being made by lawyers. Thus the State Department, Congress and citizens all need to provide this briefing. It will require that we mount a crusade to help carry this good work forward. We should prepare well in advance. We have less than a year.

The lawyers' committees in virtually every country in the world are now projecting a world conference in the early part of next year. The material given below is from a Staff Summary entitled "Blueprint for Lasting World Peace," available from Chas. S. Rhyne, 400 Hill Building, Washington, D.C.:

1. A world conference of 1,000 lawyers, representing 1 million lawyers, will be convened early in 1963 to draw together the four continental congresses already held. Purpose: To lay the foundation for global cooperation and draw up blueprint for world law action on the following:

Basic principles of rule of law in international affairs.

International judicial machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes.

Arbitration and other means of settlement.

United Nations and regional organizations as factors encouraging rule of law.

Facilitation of international commerce and economic development through law.

Role of lawyers in development of rule of law.

2. World Law Day will be announced at opening of conference.

3. World Law Year will follow world conference, a year in which lawyers will mass their efforts on following action: Draft world law code; perform vital research and draft needed treaties and conventions on disarmament, outer space, nuclear testing, international police actions, international trade and investment.

Establish national committees of leading lawyers representing all elements of legal profession to push program forward and urge adoption by nations of needed legislation and approval of treaties and conventions to establish world peace through law.

4. A world law center to be established where committees of distinguished lawyers in each nation will coordinate above action.

5. Agreement reached for first time on basic principles of law recognized by civilized nations set forth in U.N. Charter as source of international law.

6. Conference agreed on special "chambers" of World Court to sit outside The Hague. Also four Regional Courts in the Americas, Asia, Africa, Middle East.

7. More power and worldwide support for World Court.

8. Support the U.N. and strengthen it.

9. Add practicing lawyers to exchange of students' program.

10. Virtually every nation in the world has been brought into movement for first time. Every branch of legal profession is represented.

11. The smallest bar association in any country is already supporting, contributing work of great value.

12. Over 60 messages from heads of governments indicate wide governmental support.

13. We now have the organization of legal people ready. They soon will publish a book of material already compiled.

*Calling all scientists*

The task cannot be left to lawyers alone. Anthropologists, psychologists, all the social scientists know most about people, as lawyers know most about law. Physicists and other natural scientists also will be needed to help in writing space laws and laws necessary to disarmament.

In the wisdom of the planning committees either before or after the world conference early next year, the time will be appropriate to call in aid and counsel of these other groups.

Not only will we all benefit by their special knowledge but it will spread concern to wider areas.

C. U.N.'S INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Probably not one citizen in a thousand of our 180 million population even knows the United Nations has an International Law Commission let alone is familiar with its work. Therefore I propose including information with the new feature speaker and round table discussion at future briefing conferences.

This Commission is now, May 1962, in session at Geneva. Its session is so short, 8 to 10 weeks, April to June, each year, that the jurists on the Commission have only time to flip open some of the voluminous research awaiting their concentrated attention * * * and close it again.

One of the reasons for this short session is that the Commission is composed of eminent jurists in each country who are supporting their families by private practice at home, and attend the sessions when their home courts are in recess for the summer. Our own jurist on the Commission is Douglas L. Edmonds, a judge on the Supreme Court of the State of California.

This puts a severe handicap on the rate of progress of their long-range job that requires tedious research. They are called upon to codify laws and by conference and consultation with all countries, discover how these new laws can be fitted into the international picture to prevent war. They are really codifying the laws for the World Court to interpret as a background for enforcement for peaceful living by a U.N. police patrol.

Realizing the slow progress they are making in an important job at this crucial time, they requested help from the U.N.'s General Assembly in 1950—12 years ago—to give them full time and full pay, so that they can leave their private practice entirely and devote uninterrupted attention to their voluminous work, on a permanent basis. But to date, the General Assembly has not granted their request.

There were originally 15 judges on the Commission, but their number was raised several years ago to 21. If this action was taken by way of response to the jurists' request for full time and full pay, I believe the addition to the number of jurists only increased the problem instead of alleviating it.

D. WORLD RULE OF LAW CENTER, DUKE UNIVERSITY, DURHAM, N.C.

The center distributes books and pamphlets supplying background facts, documented source material, and other data bearing on world law. These books are used by persons preparing for high school or college debates, for talks to service clubs and voluntary and professional associations, and for participation in discussion groups of all kinds.

Arthur Larson, director, and others associated with him, are speaking and writing on the peaceful value of the legal approach to such problems as Berlin, the Suez, Palestine, the Connally amendment, the World Court's Jurisdiction, U.N. Charter Revision and many other temporary applications, including the role and limits of adjudication.

He, with the million other lawyers, speaks for a complete worldwide system of regional or lower courts and panels, arbitration tribunals, claims courts for private litigants, and—since there will always be disputes that are political and nonjusticiable in character—mediation and conciliation agencies.

"As matters now stand," he adds, "it is as if you had to run to the Supreme Court in Washington to litigate every smashed fender or unpaid alimony claim."

The average citizen of the U.S.A. at present knows little or nothing about this work going forward for their own protection, and thus has no opportunity to lend assistance if they so desire.

## Transport of Commodities to Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN**
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, as all my colleagues are aware, I have been concerned, as chairman of the House Select Committee on Export Control, over the export of commodities to all Communist countries by our country as well as by our allies which would significantly contribute to the economic or military potential of those countries and prove detrimental to the national security and welfare of the United States.

On September 26 in a statement to my colleagues in the House, I made reference to the deepening concern in Congress and throughout the country over the continuing Castro-Soviet economic and military buildup in Cuba, and announced that the House Select Committee on Export Control would hold hearings on October 2 and 3 to clarify U.S. policy as to certain aspects of the situation this country faces in the Caribbean.

As a predicate to my announcement of these hearings, I had particular reference, Mr. Speaker, to the persistent reports in the press and on the floor of the House and Senate, that the shipment of a significant volume of Communist-produced goods and materials, strategic and otherwise, were reaching Cuba in ships registered under flags of our NATO Allies.

Since that time there have been reports indicating that possibly American-owned ships of foreign registry have been engaged in transport of commodities to Cuba.

Appearing before the select committee at the hearings held as scheduled were several prominent witnesses from American shipowner groups flying the American flag and a representative of a similar group flying the flags of Panama, Honduras, and Liberia, commonly referred to as "flags of convenience." High-level officials of maritime unions conversant with the many facets of worldwide shipping to Cuba and the Honorable George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State, gave enlightening detailed testimony.

During the 2 days devoted to Cuban trade, the select committee sought to develop:

First. The extent of free-world shipping in Cuban trade.

Second. How much shipping adversely affects our national security and welfare and assists in the spread of the Communist international conspiracy.

Third. What is being done about it?

Fourth. What has been accomplished?

The recorded detailed testimony, in my opinion, furnishes rather complete answers to all these questions. It will be printed and distributed to all of my colleagues in the House and other interested persons as soon as possible.

In the meantime, I want to call to your attention, Mr. Speaker, a few pertinent personal observations concluded after hearing all the testimony:

Although the several persons representing the maritime unions and shipowner groups have some divergent interests and are involved in unsettled controversial issues, all were in complete accord that directly and indirectly, our Government should aggressively continue its efforts to induce our allies to cut off assistance in shipping strategic commodities to Cuba which would make a significant contribution to her economic or military buildup.

I was indeed pleased to note that immediately subsequent to the appearance of the several persons representing the maritime unions and shipowner groups before the select committee on October 2, 1962, the State Department confirmed publicly in a press conference on October 4, measures under consideration to control trade in the bloc-Cuban trade. The proposed measures, not yet firmed up or officially adopted, were briefly brought to the attention of the select committee in executive session in a hearing on October 3, by Hon. George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State.

As a result of the information supplied to the select committee by Mr. Ball and a detailed review of a transcript of the proceedings at a State Department press conference on October 4, I directed a letter to Mr. Ball on October 5, quoted in part, as follows:

It is my understanding that the following measures to control trade in the bloc-Cuban trade are under consideration and are being afforded further study and may be placed into effect in the near future:

1. Close all United States ports to all ships of any country if any ship under the flag of that country hereafter carries arms to Cuba.

2. No U.S. Government (including Government-financed) cargo to be carried on a foreign flagship, if any ship of the same owners is used hereafter in bloc-Cuban trade.

3. No United States flagship and no U.S.-owned ship to carry goods to or from Cuba.

4. Close all United States ports to any ship that on the same continuous voyage was used or is being used in bloc-Cuban trade.

I have reviewed the transcript of the discussion of these four proposals as recorded at the time of the State Department press conference on October 4. I am pleased with the proposals to tighten control over shipping to Cuba as far as they go—but they are not sufficiently stringent.

I note in a review of the transcript of the comments at the press conference previously referred to, bloc-Cuban trade refers to bloc-originated shipments going to Cuba or Cuban-originated shipments going to the bloc, and does not apply to commodities originating in non-bloc countries such as West German, the United Kingdom, or Italy.

I urge that these measures be implemented to apply to any shipments from any country to Cuba that would make a significant contribution to the economic or military buildup of Communist Cuba.

In addition, as I indicated at the time of the hearing conducted by this committee on October 3, a policy should be established that no license be issued for the importation of any oil into the United States in a tanker of any country which has carried Russian oil to Cuba. Let Russia tie up her own fleet in carrying on trade with Cuba.

I am fully aware that the unilateral action on the part of the United States as proposed in your measures now being considered cannot have the effect of tight multilateral control by all of the free-world countries. But I agree with your statement in your referenced letter of this date "that the measures we are taking will materially contribute to the strategy isolating Cuba," as you had previously indicated in your testimony furnished this committee on October 3.

Mr. Speaker, I do want to point out that Mr. Ball, the Under Secretary of State, in addition to his lucid and enlightening oral testimony in open and executive sessions of the select committee furnished in a prepared statement specific and detailed facts relative to the critical Cuban problem. As black as the situation understandably appears to many of our people, I am encouraged by the expressed determination of the administration to prevent an offensive military buildup in Cuba. I am sure that Mr. Bal's statement prepared for the select committee is of interest to my colleagues which is quoted as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. GEORGE W. BALL, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON EXPORT CONTROL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 3, 1962

Mr. Chairman, in your letter requesting me to appear here this morning you indicated the continuing interest of this committee in the status of trade between the free world and the Sino-Soviet bloc. But you emphasized particularly the trade with Cuba. Since the problem of Cuba is very much on the minds of the American people today—and of real concern to this committee—I shall concentrate in my prepared statement on the present trading relations between the free world and Cuba. I shall attempt not only to describe those relations but to relate them to the larger problem which a Communist-dominated Cuba poses for the United States and the free world.

Our policy toward Cuba is based upon the assessment that it does not today constitute a military threat to the United States. Without doubt it is an economic burden for the Sino-Soviet bloc. It has value to the bloc primarily as a base for the subversive activities of international communism in the Western Hemisphere.

The policy of the U.S. Government is directed toward nullifying Cuba's usefulness as a source of infection for international communism, while at the same time rendering it more costly for the Sino-Soviet bloc to maintain it for that purpose.

In pursuit of this objective we have taken a series of measures both unilaterally and in collaboration with our friends and allies. These measures have already weakened the Castro regime and they have made it a pariah among the member nations of the American system.

President Kennedy summed up the present situation effectively when he recently said: "It is Mr. Castro and his supporters who are in trouble. In the last year, his regime has been increasingly isolated from this hemisphere. His name no longer inspires the same fear or following in other Latin American countries."

II

Mr. Castro's trouble is reflected in the state of the Cuban economy today.

Since the end of 1960, living standards in Cuba have fallen precipitously. By Government fiat the total volume of workers' salaries has been increased and rents have been reduced, but this is an illusory achievement. The volume of goods available for purchase by the population has drastically shrunk. Per capita food consumption has declined by more than 15 percent. In pre-Castro days Cuba was the third highest in

Latin America; now it is the seventh. The glittering promises of new and more adequate housing have proven false. Military needs have eaten into the limited construction resources.

Cuba is a rich land with a friendly climate and a fertile soil. But as always the Communists have proven themselves poor farmers. The 1962 sugar crop will be the smallest in the last 6 years—and by a substantial margin. Meat supplies have declined sharply; they remain below the level prevailing before the Castro takeover. With domestic production at a low level and foodstuff imports greatly reduced, nationwide rationing has been inevitable.

Cuba has had the world's richest sugar economy, with only the beginnings of industrialization. In pre-Castro days Cuba lived primarily by selling sugar to the United States. In her present posture of isolation she is living badly—and then only as a dependent of the Soviet Union.

III

Cuba is isolated from the other nations of the free world economically, politically, and spiritually.

Castro contributed to that isolation in December of 1961 by making it perfectly explicit that he was a dedicated Communist. In January 1962 the Foreign Ministers of the OAS at Punta del Este declared that the present Government of Cuba was excluded from participation in the inter-American system. Since the Punta del Este Conference, the American States have carried out that decision. They have also established machinery to guard against subversive activities in this hemisphere.

The situation today can be summarized by a relatively few statistics. In 1958 United States-Cuban trade totalled more than a billion dollars. Today it is confined to minute exports of certain nonsubsidized foods and medical supplies which amounted, during the first 7 months of this year, to only $373,000—and those shipments were permitted only for humanitarian reasons.

In its Cuban trade, Canada in 1959 had total imports and exports amounting to over $27 million; for the first 6 months of this year they amounted to less than $7 million.

In 1959 the other Latin American countries did total trade with Cuba amounting to $82 million; in 1961 this had fallen to $20 million.

The nations of Western Europe have also reduced their trade with Cuba. In 1959 their exports to Cuba were approximately $122 million. By 1961 this figure had been cut to less than half.

IV

This drying up of trade has not been an accident. It has been a deliberate response by this country and its allies to the Communist efforts to establish a beachhead for subversion in this hemisphere.

The process of isolating Cuba economically first began in July 1960 when the United States prohibited the further import of Cuban sugar into this country. This cost Cuba the annual amount of $350 million in foreign exchange. Three months later we prohibited the export of United States goods to Cuba except only for the limited food and medicines mentioned above.

In February of this year, President Kennedy made the embargo on Cuban trade substantially complete, extending the embargo on sugar to all other imports, whether direct or indirect.

America's allies, both in the OAS and NATO have collaborated in limiting trade with Cuba. At Punta del Este the OAS Foreign Ministers agreed to prohibit trade with Cuba in arms and implements of war. The Council of the OAS undertook to study further trade restrictions.

Our NATO allies have prohibited the export of any military items to Cuba and they have indicated that they are not shipping any strategic items. They are also cooperating to assure that United States exports will not be diverted to Cuba through their ports.

Until early this year Japan was one of the principal free world purchasers of Cuban sugar. As a result of discussions with the Japanese Government, the Japanese are shifting their purchases of sugar to other free world sources. Castro has not only been denied the foreign exchange he desperately needs but Japanese exports to Cuba are declining as well.

V

The economic isolation of Cuba has been effected not merely by cutting off credits and goods, but also by imposing restrictions on the shipping available for sustaining Cuban trade with the bloc.

We have prohibited ships registered under the flag of the United States from transporting to Cuba commodities on the United States positive list, the United States munitions list, and items controlled by the Atomic Energy Commission. This amendment will also affect about 360 foreign flag vessels whose owners have contractually agreed not to violate the transportation order.

Moreover, bunkers are denied in United States ports to all vessels under charter to the Sino-Soviet bloc engaged in Cuba-bloc trade; Cuban owned or chartered vessels are also denied bunkers and ships stores in this country.

As an island, Cuba is entirely dependent upon shipping for the maintenance of its tottering economy. With the decline of the Cuban economy and with the Soviet buildup of arms and aid, ships and shipping have emerged as a special problem.

Cuba relies upon imports for most of her machinery and equipment, petroleum, steel, chemicals, wood, and paper products, cotton and, to some extent, grain. Cuba is, however, a small country. Total imports to Cuba in 1961 amounted to $641 million; exports during that year stood at $614 million. The total trade of Cuba was therefore less than one-half percent of world trade. In 1959, 2.2 percent of Cuba's exports went to the Sino-Soviet bloc; by 1961, 75.7 percent went to the bloc.

No U.S.-flag ships have called at Cuba within the last 2 years. Ships calling at Cuba are of three kinds: Soviet bloc ships, free world ships under free world operation, and free world ships chartered to the Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union has offered high rates to charter free world ships at a time when depressed condtions in the industry have produced nearly 3 million tons of unemployed laid-up shipping.

These three kinds of shipping carry different sorts of cargo to Cuba. The Soviet ships carry general cargo, petroleum and arms. No other ships carry arms. The free world ships not under charter, typically carry peacetime commodities—food, textiles, etc.; more important they do not usually participate in trade between the bloc and Cuba which, as I have noted, supplies Cuba's economic needs. That trade moves to a considerable extent on free world ships which have been chartered by the Soviet Union and which are used to transport Soviet bloc cargoes though not—to repeat—arms or ammunition. Statistics on ships calling at Cuban harbors have recently been compiled by the Maritime Administrator. These figures show that a majority of the ships stopping in Cuba are under free world flags, but, as a result of Soviet charter, more than a majority are under Soviet shipping orders and carrying Soviet cargoes.

As this situation has emerged, the U.S. Government has recognized that it should take steps to curtail or prevent the use of free world shipping in the Soviet bloc-Cuban trade. With this purpose in mind, the Department of State has during the last month approached our allies on this matter.

So far, five of our NATO allies have taken positive actions to restrict the availability of ships.

The Federal Republic of Germany has promulgated a new ordinance bringing all Federal Republic ship charters to bloc countries under license and barring Cuba as a destination for such charters. It is our understanding that Canada and France have no ships presently in the Cuba trade.

Belgium is taking steps to stop all traffic with Cuba on its flag vessels. Turkey has informed this Government that it plans to put into effect measures which will assure that, in the future, no Turkish vessel will carry cargo of any type from the Soviet Union to Cuba.

The Italian Government has assured us that no strategic goods have been transported to Cuba on Italian ships.

We are continuing to discuss this problem with our other allies, including the United Kingdom, Greece, Norway and Denmark. These are great maritime nations that depend heavily on their merchant marine for their foreign-exchange earnings—and today there is much unemployed shipping. These nations have long and deeply-felt traditions regarding "freedom of shipping." Nevertheless, they are giving careful consideration to our requests, and have given informal advice to their shipowners in an effort to discourage them from allowing their ships to engage in strategic trade with Cuba.

VI

In spite of the progress that has been made so far, the executive branch of the Government is not yet satisfied that all useful measures have been taken to limit the shipping available for the maintenance of the Cuban economy. We are considering several additional measures designed to impose restrictions on the availability of shipping to Cuba.

Secretary Rusk is consulting today with the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States with regard to those measures. At the same time they are being discussed with our NATO allies. Because these matters are under consultation with foreign governments, it would not be proper for me to disclose them in public session today. I am, however, prepared to discuss them with this committee in executive session at this time. Or I should be glad to review them with this committee on another occasion, after the process of consultation has been completed.

While I cannot properly talk about all of the measures now under consideration, there is one which, I feel certain, will be adopted. This will be an order prohibiting ships of U.S. registry or ships of foreign registry owned by a U.S. citizen from participating in the Cuban trade. The exact terms of this order are now being worked out by our legal and shipping experts.

VII

As a result of the measures that have been taken by the United States and by the members of the OAS, NATO, Japan, and other countries, Cuba today is almost totally dependent upon the Soviet Union for its economic livelihood. Three-fourths of Cuba's trade is with the Communist bloc, and this percentage is increasing as other channels of trade dry up.

In the last few weeks we have read much in the newspapers of the military buildup of Cuba by the Soviet Union. Quite clearly it does not constitute a threat to the United States.

Since July, when the volume of Soviet military shipments to Cuba suddenly vaulted upward, 85 shiploads arrived in Cuban ports. Many of them carried military items, supplies and personnel. These shipments have consisted, in part, of types of weapons previously delivered to the Cuban armed forces, including more tanks, self-propelled guns, and other ground force equipment. The major tonnage in recent shipments, however, has been devoted to SA–2, surface-to-air missiles (SAMS)—together with all the related gear and equipment necessary for their installation and operation. To date, fifteen SAM sites have been established in the island. We estimate the total may eventually reach 25. These are antiaircraft missiles having a slant range of 20 to 25 miles.

In addition, three and possibly four missile sites of a different type have been identified. These sites are similar to known Soviet coastal defense missile sites that are believed to accommodate antishipping missiles with a range of 20–35 miles. Quite likely several more such sites will be installed.

Cuba is now estimated to have 60 older type Mig jet aircraft. In addition at least one advanced jet-interceptor has recently been received, and probably several more are in the process of assembly. This type of advanced jet-interceptor is usually equipped with infrared air-to-air missiles. We estimate that the total of these advanced interceptors in Cuba may eventually reach 25 to 30.

In addition, 16 "Komar" class guided missile, patrol boats which carry two short-range missiles (11–17 miles), were included in recent shipments.

About 4,500 Soviet military specialists have arrived, including construction men and technicians.

VIII

Unpleasant as may be the spectacle of a Communist-dominated island just off our shores, we should not overlook the fact that Cuba is, at the moment, a small enfeebled country with an incompetent government, a limping economy and a deteriorating standard of living. The crash efforts of the Soviet Union to provide the Castro regime with economic technicians and to build up its military defenses is a demonstration of Cuban weakness. Because of the desperate plight of the Cuban economy, Cuba's isolation from the other nations of the hemisphere and the fear which that isolation has engendered, the Cuban Government has turned itself into a dependency of Moscow.

We may take the events of the past month—regrettable as they may be in many ways—as evidence of the essential soundness of the strategy of isolation that we have pursued toward Cuba over the past 2 years. The additional measures now under consideration with respect to Cuban shipping are part and parcel of that same strategy.

We propose to continue along these lines, taking new measures as the developing situation may require. But in pursuing this policy—as in pursuing any policy—the United States must never forget that it is engaged in a worldwide struggle and that no policy can be regarded as an end in itself or as existing apart from the whole complex of relationships which give the free world its strength.

And, as the President has made clear, we shall not rely solely on the impact of political and economic isolation for our protection. If, contrary to the present evidence, it should ever appear that the Soviet Union is succeeding in making Cuba a threat to the security of this country or this hemisphere, we are prepared to take the necessary action—whatever it may be.

## The 175th Anniversary of Hopewell Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Blackstock, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call to the attention of the Nation and the world, through the media of this RECORD to a history of good works, example and inspiration emanating from the origination and continuation of Hopewell Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church near Blackstock, S.C., in Chester County. On June 24, 1962, the minister and congregation, invited friends, and descendents of former members, celebrated the 175th anniversary of this great church. People gathered from many areas of the country, particularly many areas of South Carolina. All who gathered were inspired with new appreciations and their hearts were full of gratitude to the Master who gave us the privilege of associating with this, His church. I would like to incorporate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the program, the very appropriate remarks of Mr. L. C. Weir, whose family has been associated with the church and among the great workers of the church for many generations.

I also include a news item containing an excerpt from the history of the church prepared by Mr. John A. Bigham, whom I salute as an interesting and accomplished historian. The program included a timely sermon of Rev. W. A. Kennedy, Jr., D.D., whose father led the congregation in prayer and worship for so many fruitful years. Before inserting these, I might add that we were proud to have remarks from Mr. C. R. Younts, twice elected moderator of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina, a most distinguished layman of his denomination. Mrs. Ester Strong, whose work in the circles of the church has been an inspiration and benefit to the church through the years, and Mrs. J. I. McKeown, whose husband was pastor of the church for so many years.

I include these because of the contribution of the Scotch-Irish people to the formation of America and the conquest of dangerous and formidable backwoods in establishing a frontier of another day lingers with us in the form of freedom. I urge not only the careful attention of those reading this, but hope that their hearts will surge with great appreciation for churches such as this wonderful institution. For my part, I am proud that my Christian heritage is linked with this church and its history. I now include appropriate parts of the program:

PROGRAM

(Remarks of Mr. L. S. Weir who introduced Dr. Francis White, who, in turn, introduced Mr. Baxter Bigham who read the address of his brother, John A. Bigham:)

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church as the name might indicate, is a result of a union of two churches which united in Philadelphia, November 1782.

The associate branch of our church came from the Associate Presbytery of Scotland which was organized at Gairney Bridge, December 1733. This was known as the Secession Church. They came out of the Church of Scotland because of certain practices which were undemocratic and un-Presbyterian. The particular grievance was the practice of patronage, by which the chief landowner of a parish had the privilege of selecting the pastor when the church was vacant. Ebenezer Erske condemned this practice of the church as being unscriptural in a sermon before the synod which met at Perth. He was rebuked by the synod and later suspended by the assembly along with his associates. They, with a few others who withdrew in sympathy with them, organized the Associate Presbytery. Today, all Presbyterians have this privilege of choosing their own pastor.

The other branch was organized as the Reformed Presbytery, August 1743, and they were called the "covenanters." Their particular objection to the Church of Scotland was that it recognized the King as the head of the church, which they said denied its spiritual independence and was in conflict with the sole headship of Jesus Christ. This tenet so important to the convenanters is a fundamental principle of American protestantism.

The term "reformed" was doubtless chosen as the name because all the Presbyterian or Calvinistic churches of the continent of Europe used the name "reformed." The term "Presbyterian" is largely an English and American term as it refers to a particular denomination. These two groups in America found that they had so much in common that they united to form the Associate Reformed Church in North America. There were, however, some of each group which did not go into the union.

Our particular part of the church was organized as the Synod of the Carolinas in the old brick church in Fairfield County, May 9, 1803 (16 years after Hopewell was founded). In 1822, the Synod of the Carolinas withdrew and constituted itself as an independent synod under the name of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South. It has remained independent and its official name today is the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. Territorially, our church is only in the South. It consists of six presybteries spreading from Virginia to Florida, and from Missouri to Texas. Doctrinally, it holds to the Presbyterian standards of the Westminister Confession of Faith and the Catechisms. Stated very briefly, we believe in the sovereignty of God, the saviourhood of Christ, and the authority of the Holy Scriptures. As to its government, our church is a representative democracy. It is governed by the session, the members of which are elected by the people to represent them.

Speaking for Hopewell, I can sincerely say, "This is your church. Make of me what you will. I shall reflect you as clearly as a mirror. If outwardly my appearance is pleasing and inviting, it is because we have made it so. If, within, my spiritual atmosphere is kindly, yet earnest; reverent, yet friendly; worshipful, yet sincere; sympathetic, yet strong; divine, yet humanly expressed, it is but the manifestation of the spirit of those who constitute my membership."

You, as members of Hopewell, or members of the churches mothered by Hopewell, or friends of Hopewell, are indeed welcomed today for this 175th anniversary. Memories of loved ones flood our emotions, and faces

of friends fill us with joy. May we feel a spirit of uplift and inspiration from this celebration.

It is my privilege now to welcome home one of Hopewell's favorite sons. His father served this church for his entire pastorate from 1879 to 1911—32 years. Some of you remember Rev. John A. White with love and respect and many of us remember his saintly mother most fondly. Dr. Francis White received his early education in the Blackstock public school and then finished Erskine College. After serving in the Army for a year and a half, he entered the Erskine Seminary, finishing in 1919. He received his degree of master of theology from Princeton. His first charge was the ARP Church of Gastonia which he served for 18 years. Since 1940, he has continuously served the Spartanburg ARP Church.

He married Miss Kate Patton Kennedy of Due West, and they have two children, Susan and Francis.

Dr. White needs no introduction, but only a welcome to Hopewell.

The following report of the proceedings are from the Chester News, June 27, 1962.

HOPEWELL ASSOCIATE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH CELEBRATES 175TH ANNIVERSARY

Some 300 persons assembled Sunday on the historical grounds of Hopewell Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church to celebrate the 175th anniversary of the church.

Services commenced with morning worship led by the Rev. W. A. Kennedy, Jr., D.D., pastor of Coddle Creek (N.C.) Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, the son of Dr. W. A. Kennedy, now retired, and former pastor of Hopewell, assisted by Mr. Donald Elliott, supply minister.

Appearing on the special anniversary program were L. S. Wier, of Great Falls, C. R. Younts, the Rev. F. T. White of Spartanburg, and Baxter Bigham, of Matthews, N.C.

After the program a bountiful picnic lunch was enjoyed in the grove of the churchyard.

The historical address, given on the anniversary program, had been prepared by Mr. John A. Bigham, of Columbia, and when circumstances beyond his control would not permit his attending, he called upon his brother, Mr. Baxter Bigham, to deliver the address.

Mr. Bigham's address is as follows:

"The story of the congregation here at Hopewell can be easily traced if we will give brief attention to a number of factors which, blended together, have formed 175 years of honorable history and glorious contribution to the church of Christ on earth. As important ingredients in the makeup of Hopewell's past I would list first her devoted pastors, second, the strength, character, and loyalty of her membership through the long years, and third, the buildings of wood and brick which were raised on this spot so that the men and women and children of Hopewell might find a place of refuge, of inspiration, of fellowship, and of acceptable worship.

"Nor should there be omitted from the story of Hopewell the contribution she has made to the denomination for these 175 years. This beloved church has given of her young men and women in abundance, 28 to be ministers of the Gospel and 1 to be a foreign missionary. Not only is the church's role in this respect most worthy, but since the earliest days Hopewell has been instrumental in establishing other churches. This outpouring of her own resources and own strength has resulted in at least 27 congregations, some nearby, others in distant States.

"We would be remiss if there was not mentioned today the countless number of individuals, who down through the years, have left Hopewell to join churches elsewhere, both within the denomination and outside it. Wherever these have gone they have played an active part in the work of the kingdom, and through these lives and witnesses have reflected their youthful training here at Hopewell.

"Join with me this morning, if you will, and in the mind's eye let us look back over 175 years. Let us try to reconstruct a picture of this church's history through its dedicated pastors who have served here, through the membership of other days, and of the present time, and through the four houses of worship which at various times were built, that in this place men would have a place to worship God.

"Let us envision the year 1787. The Constitution of the United States is in the process of being adopted by the several States. George Washington has been chosen to head the new nation as its first president. Here in the upcountry of South Carolina along the banks of Rocky Creek small groups of Christian people, affiliated in one way or another to the Presbyterian family, have been gathering for the past few years at a place of worship uniquely called Catholic. These are people in a new land, lately come from North Ireland and Scotland either by way of Pennsylvania or through the port of Charleston. Already they are referred to as the Scotch-Irish, and the descriptive name of Rocky Creek Irish has been given those who settled here in southeastern Chester County.

"Among these worshippers at Catholic are Associates, and Reformed or Convenanters, two or three other brands of Presbyterians, and doubtless just some plain ordinary Presbyterians. Whatever their differences they are united in their deep religious convictions, and their fierce independence, and in their desire to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. These were our forefathers, and from among them were to come those who would establish Hopewell.

"The year 1787 may have witnessed many great events in our Nation's history, but we are mostly interested this morning in the fact that the Reverend Matthew Linn organized in that year a congregation which was the beginning of Hopewell. For some time, we know not how long, the church would be known as Rocky Creek. Then the name Hopewell became popular and was adopted. I have tried to determine the origin of the name Hopewell, but to no avail. We know that Bethel and Hebron and Ebenezer as names for churches came from the Bible, but whence the name Hopewell?

"As was mentioned at the 150th anniversary 25 years ago, time at Hopewell is more or less reckoned with us by designating the names of pastors who have served here. The old people say, or used to say, "in Mr. White's time," or "in Mr. Brice's time." Now there is a generation arisen who will look back and say, "in Dr. Kennedy's time." So let us, for a few moments, reckon time by recalling Hopewell's pastors through the years.

"The church's first pastor was the Reverend John Boyse, and let's mention he spelled his name with an "s" rather than a "c." He was sent to this section by the A.R.P. presbytery of Pennsylvania. Not only did the Reverend John Boyse preach at Hopewell, but he performed the rather remarkable feat of also simultaneously pastoring the three congregations of Gilead, Prosperity, and Coddle Creek in North Carolina. Even in this modern day of fast transportation such a broad field would be difficult for one man to serve effectively. Mr. Boyse had been born in Ireland in 1759. He died in 1793, but not before getting Hopewell off to a good start on her 175 years, and also helping in the formation of the first presbytery of the Associate Reformed church to be located in the South.

"Hopewell's second pastor was the Reverend John Hemphill, D.D. He was born in County Derry, Ireland, in 1761, and came to the church here from Pennsylvania. History records that two young men from Hopewell went to Pennsylvania for their new pastor, each riding a horse and each leading one. The Reverend Mr. Hemphill and his wife then rode the 500 miles back to South Carolina, bringing a young child with them. In his 36 years at Hopewell, Dr. Hemphill became the foremost man in all this region. His descendants to this day are prominent in the pulpit, in law, and in the councils of the Nation. When Dr. Hemphill died, one who was not a member of Hopewell said, "Dr. Hemphill made Rocky Creek what it is."

"During the vacancy from 1830 to 1832 there was much to discourage the work: political differences, the question of Nullification, slavery agitation pro and con, and particularly a fever among many people to move to the West and Northwest. These migrations greatly reduced the membership of the congregation, but the bright side of the picture appeared when these people carried their faith with them and established Hopewells in the new lands to which they went.

"The third pastor was the Reverend Warren Fienniken. He was the first minister at Hopewell to be born in America, being a native of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. He has been described as a man of wonderfully magnetic personality who attracted others to him. He has also been pictured as a stern disciplinarian who could portray in the pulpit the terrors of hell so vividly that men could almost feel themselves falling into the fire and brimstone.

"Mr. Fienniken served until 1849 when his health failed. The fourth pastor was the Rev. Robert Wilson Brice who came in 1850 and labored at Hopewell until his death in 1878. He was born in Fairfield County near New Hope church. His descendants are everywhere about us in this section. The Rev. Mr. Brice was at Hopewell during the dark days of the Confederate War, and during the Reconstruction years, Old Dr. Lathan, writing in his History of Hopewell, was of the opinion that the two greatest days in her history came on the day Mr. Brice was installed as pastor, and the day his body was laid away in the cemetery.

"The Rev. John A. White came to Hopewell in 1879 to begin a pastorate lasting for 42 years. This fifth pastor was different from the others in that he was born and raised in the congregation. My father's account of Hopewell's history, given 25 years ago, paid tribute to Mr. White as "the only pastor I ever knew, and whose memory in the hearts of the people represents his real monument." Because of this relationship between my father and Hopewell's fifth pastor, I consider it a real privilege to be associated on the program today with the Reverend Francis White, a son of the Reverend John A. White.

"The Reverend R. I. McCown, was pastor of Hopewell from 1913 to 1918. He was the only minister who ever gave up the pastorate here to accept other work. Although Mr. McCown was at Hopewell only 5 years he guided the congregation through the troublous days of World War I.

"The seventh and most recent pastor of Hopewell was the Reverend W. A. Kennedy, D.D., father of our minister at this special service. Dr. Kennedy came to the pastorate in 1919 and continued until his retirement 2 years ago. Borrowing a statement of my father concerning Mr. White, and changing it appropriately, I can say with many others here today that Dr. Kennedy was the only pastor of Hopewell I ever knew.

"At the risk of perhaps borrowing too much, let me also quote from the historical address 25 years ago which stated that 'Rev.

W. A. Kennedy, your present pastor, is intellectual and companionable, a good preacher, and an earnest worker, your faithful leader and pilot when there are so many crime waves, permanent waves, and other kinds of waves, and new conditions with which to contend in this postwar, feverish, automobilious age. Long may he live to be a blessing to the church and to the world.'

"May I add here a personal observation to the effect that indeed Dr. Kennedy did prove through a long and useful ministry to be a blessing both to Hopewell and to the world. We are thankful for his labors here, and pray that God's richest blessings will continue to abide with Dr. Kennedy, Sr., in his retirement years.

"Only seven installed pastors throughout the 175 years of Hopewell's existence. It is a record of longevity we doubt can be found in any other church in the Synod or even outside its bounds.

"Two young men have experienced supply work at Hopewell. I want to pay tribute to Mr. William Blakely and Mr. Donald Elliott. It would be an understatement to say they have attempted to step into big shoes. Their work here, however, has been commendable, and leads us to conclude that among our seminary students there are prospective Boyses and Hemphills and Flennikens and Brices and Whites and McCowns and Kennedys.

"We spoke in the beginning about the membership of Hopewell down through the long years. I suppose that many words could be used to describe the sterling character of the people who have sat in the pews from the days of the Reverend Mr. Boyse to this very moment. The records of the session and the tales which have been handed down do not bear out that all of the people of Hopewell have been perfect saints. In the old days it was necessary from time to time to apply the discipline of the church. Maybe a little in more modern days could have been applied.

"But the members of this congregation have long been noted for their piety, for their loyalty, to Christ and His Church, and for their strict observance of the laws of God and man. I will not make a long discussion of this point, but I have at home an account which my Grandmother Bigham wrote many years ago concerning her grandparents on the Mills side who belonged here at Hopewell. It seems that what she said of them could be said of those who have gone before us, and of many whose names are on the church roll today.

"Grandmother Bigham wrote that 'they were good, plain people, Christian, church-going, Sabbath-keeping people. Their home was well ordered. The well-worn Bible and the little psalmbook lay on that little table from my earliest recollection. Until the day of his death it was used morning and night. He could and did sing both morning and night. They worked hard and lived well. They also had an abundance to eat. They were hospitality in its truest sense.'

"I know of no better words that could be used to describe the membership of Hopewell, and we all pray that this precious heritage will never be lost.

"In the beginning I also said that the houses of worship used at Hopewell have played an important part in her history. Time will not permit anything but a quick look backward at this aspect of the story. The first place of worship was nothing more than a stand in the woods, or a private home. Then in 1789 a log building was erected probably a hundred yards west of this present church and on the upper side of the Cornwell road. This house served until 1800 when a brick building was constructed west of the cemetery. This was, in the mind of old Dr. Lathan, the finest church building anywhere in Chester County. The building was used during the first half of the past century, at a time when Hopewell reached its zenith in membership and influence. Tradition says that as many as 500 persons often sat down at the Lord's table at a communion service during this period of the church's prosperity.

"Crowded conditions led to the construction of a new church building in 1854. It was a large frame bulding, located to the east of the present church. Most of you remember it, and the sentiment and memories attached to the old church among many people present this morning could never be measured. Nor can the emotions be forgotten which arose when this old building went up in flames on May 4, 1941.

"The attractive building in which we worship this morning was first used on May 7, 1944, and was dedicated to God on September 2, 1945.

"In many ways, and I will not attempt to mention more than one or two, Hopewell has been a church with a conservative bent. She has never tried the new, simply because it was new. Instrumental music in worship was not permitted until 1905, and the use of individual communion cups did not come along until as recently as 1936. And many times I visited here as a boy, and could never understand why we attended Sabbath school after the preaching service.

"The long and useful history of Hopewell cannot be told in a few minutes on a hot summer morning. I have not tried to go into great detail, and the events of the past several years are too fresh in the minds of those here today for me to enlarge upon them.

"Let me say before closing that there is a very real danger in thinking only of the church's past, and glorying in what others have done. Rich as the past of Hopewell is, she must live in the present day and prepare for the future. The 175 years represent but a beginning. I urge us all, members and friends alike, to believe with faith and confidence that He who said "I will build My church" will bless the efforts of those who pray and work and give that Hopewell's future might be as bright as her past."

## Independence Day of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, since Congress will not be in session on November 28, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Moktar Ould Daddah; and His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the United States, Souleymane Ould Cheikn Sidya, on the occasion of the second anniversary of Mauritania's independence.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is one of the newest and least populous states in all Africa. Though its area is more than 400,000 square miles—50 percent more than that of Texas—its population is barely 700,000, and it is a rather less developed, sparsely settled and mostly desert country. This west African territory, with good parts of the Atlantic, became a French protectorate at the turn of the century. After the First World War it attained colony status; in 1958 it emerged as an autonomous, self-governing member of the French Community, and finally 2 years later, on November 28, 1960, it attained sovereign and independent status as the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. It is still a member of the French Community, and also became a member of the United Nations in 1961.

Politically the Government of the country is wedded to democracy. There is a national assembly of 34 members, elected by universal suffrage, and an administrative council of 8, headed by its young popular leader, Moktar Ould Daddah as Prime Minister. So far the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has faced no insuperable problems, and it has probably benefited from its membership in the French Community. Its more serious problems are economic and financial. The country's rural, agricultural economy is weak and mostly primitive. Though it is said to be rich in natural resources, especially in iron and copper, these resources have not been developed and properly exploited as yet, and the capital and technical manpower aid is badly needed. It is hoped that through French aid, and also through the assistance of United Nations technical agencies, Mauritania's resources will be developed and utilized for the benefit of its people. On this anniversary of their independence I wish them peace and prosperity.

## Beautiful Jersey: The Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, water pollution has become a nationwide problem. Thousands of miles of our precious waterways are being polluted by sewage and industrial waste. This spoilage of our marine life and natural beauty must not be allowed to continue and I join President Kennedy in urging further State and congressional action to combat this problem.

It was not too long ago that the Hudson River and New York Bay areas near Bayonne were one of the unrivaled recreation and fishing spots in the New Jersey–New York metropolitan area. In a delightful little book by Gladys Mellor Sinclair entitled "Bayonne Old and New" the Bayonne of the 1890's was described in these words:

The lower end of Bayonne was a beautiful spot in the mid nineties. Tallyhoes and other equipages were driven along the Jersey shore, their occupants enjoyed a gay luncheon at the La Tourette or the Riverside Casion or one of the shorehouses. They watched the boating from the porches and drove home again. The Kills, spotted all day with tiny white triangle of sails, with rowboats and puffing little tugs and steamers, was an interesting spot. Beyond its churning tide lay Port Richmond and the green rolling expanse of Staten Island,

with one lovely home adjoining another, surrounded by gardens, lawns and graceful trees, was a picturesque sight. Bayonne in those days had a quality of peaceful beauty, of trees and shady roads, of flowers and bees, of "countryness," of lovely gardens and serenity.

Water sports were of prime interest to a city surounded by water. Excellent fishing and boating were available to all.

But unfortunately, as the population of Hudson County, New York and the upriver cities began to grow, too little atention was paid to proper disposal of sewage and industrial waste. Water pollution drove away the fish and what was once a bustling and scenic fishing and recreational area declined.

I am extremely pleased that there are signs that this destruction of natural beauty may be coming to a welcome end. This development has resulted from the devoted work of interstate, State, and local health agencies in the Hudson County area and I commend them.

The slow return of marine life to the Hudson River area is a hopeful sign that Americans can once again enjoy the natural resources of this country through the pursuit of wise conservation and sanitary policies. An excellent editorial in the Monday, October 1 edition of the Jersey Journal, entitled "Beautiful Jersey: The Dividends," describes the reappearance of excellent fishing off the Long Docks in Bayonne and urges all of us to give our unstinted support in every effort to purify our waterways.

I request unanimous consent that this informative and sound editorial be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

BEAUTIFUL JERSEY: THE DIVIDENDS

That exciting run of jumbo size bluefish off the long docks in Bayonne appears to be over, but salt water anglers from every part of Hudson will be talking about it all through the coming winter.

Instead of having to drive to the shore and back, spending $10 or more to board a bluefishing boat and sums for gas and tolls, Hudson anglers had excellent game fishing sport—right in their own backyards.

They did not have to meet fishing boat sailing deadlines, nor did they have to stop fishing when the skipper decided to head back to port.

It was a dream situation for Huson anglers. They fished and stopped fishing at their own convenience, just a few minutes from their homes. Many loaded three freezers with fish, too.

It is too bad Hudson anglers do not—as yet—enjoy such fishing every year, as they once did.

Generations ago, blues, cod, weakfish, and other species were caught, not only in New York Bay, but far up the Hudson River, too.

Water pollution eventually drove the fish away by upsetting the balance of marine nature. The beaches disappeared, along with sports fishing. Boat, yacht, and canoeing clubs were casualties. Hudson residents had to range farther and farther away to enjoy what once was theirs.

Fortunately, for years now, the Interstate Sanitation Commission, the New Jersey Department of Health, and local health agencies on both sides of the State line have been working to restore the balance of nature by eliminating water pollution.

The dumping of untreated sewage into the Hudson River has been cut down gradually by the enforced construction of sewage-disposal systems.

In recent years, small marine life has returned. Shad fishermen, above the George Washington Bridge, have noted tiny shellfish on their net poles. Occasionally, small fluke (summer flounder) have been caught off the Interstate Park docks. All along the line there has been a slow but steady improvement climaxed by the return of bluefish to Bayonne in large numbers.

The jumbo size bluefish came into the waters off Bayonne in September to feed on a huge school of menhadden (mossbunkers). What specifically attracted the menhadden is not known. But it is logical to believe they were lured by a form of smaller marine life that had returned after an absence of many years, because water pollution had been reduced.

Thus the campaign against water pollution was indirectly responsible for the exciting run of bluefish.

But this was only one dividend of the anti-pollution campaign.

The prospects for future dividends are even more exciting than that bluefish run.

Imagine Hudson families enjoying water skiing, swimming, power and sail boating in their own backyards again, as they once did.

It seems almost like a dream, too good to be true. But it can happen. The bluefish run is evidence it already is beginning to happen.

All that is required of us is that we remain always mindful of our important, direct stake in the fight against pollution, giving our unstinted support in every effort to purify our waterways.

## "The Coming Fury," by Bruce Catton, the American Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure at this time for me to place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, by unanimous consent, an appreciation of the literary work, "The Coming Fury," a novel concerning the American Civil War written by the American writer, Bruce Catton. The appreciation, written by Sir Charles Petrie, appeared in the Illustrated London News of June 2, 1962. This is a thoughtful and very well written article, which I believe should be called to the attention of the Congress and the American people, as it deserves wide distribution both in Britain and America.

Sir Charles Petrie, 3d Baronet, is one of the outstanding English historians. He was the son of the first Baronet of Carrowcarden, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Sir Charles Petrie is also Knight of Order of Civil Merit, Spain, and has received the Commendatore Order of Crown of Italy, and Commander Order of George I, Greece. He is the author of "The Stuart Pretenders" which appeared in the United States in 1933. He is also the author of "Monarchy in the Twentieth Century" of which the annals of the American Academy of Political and Social science stated:

Sir Charles Petrie has produced here an important piece of historical writing. He is a master in his field.

Sir Charles Petrie was foreign editor of the English Review from 1931 to 1937, associate editor of the Empire Review in 1940–41, and editor of the latter from 1941 to 1943. In 1945 he became managing editor of the New English Review, remaining in this post until 1950.

Both Sir Charles and his good wife, Lady Petrie, have had distinguished careers in Great Britain. Sir Charles' literary works are numerous, and are a testimony to his knowledge and insight into British and European history. Lady Petrie's career has been equally illustrious. She served as mayor of the Royal Borough of Kensington from 1954 to 1956, and since 1946 she has been a member of the Kensington Borough Council. Her many other civic contributions are well known both in Great Britain and the United States.

During the 14th General Assembly of the United Nations in the fall of 1959, it was my pleasure to serve as a U.S. delegate to that organization on the appointment of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. At that time Lady Petrie was also serving as a Delegate to the United Nations from Great Britain. My friendship and admiration for the accomplishments of Sir Charles and Lady Petrie has continued since that time.

A list of publications of Sir Charles Petrie which would be of interest to the American people reads as follows: The History of Government, 1929; George Canning, 1930, new edition 1946; The Jacobite Movement, 1932, new edition 1959; History of Spain, with Louis Bertrand, 1934, new edition 1957; The Four Georges: A Revaluation, 1935; The Stuarts, 1937; Life and Letters of Sir Austen Chamberlain, 2 volumes, 1939–40; Diplomatic History, 1713–1933, 1946; Earlier Diplomatic History, 1492–1713, 1949; Chapters of Life, 1950; The Marshal Duke of Berwick, 1953; The Carlton Club, 1955; Wellington: A Reassessment, 1956; The Spanish Royal House, 1958; The Powers Behind the Prime Ministers, 1959; The Victorians, 1960; The Modern British Monarchy, 1961.

"THE COMING FURY," BY BRUCE CATTON[1]

(An appreciation by Sir Charles Petrie)

Reading history backwards is an error into which it is extremely easy to fall. Because in retrospect certain events were clearly of the first importance we are far too inclined to assume that they must have appeared so to contemporaries. Also, the issues which divided men in the past seem more clear-cut than they were at the time, and the general result is a tendency to view historical events out of their proper perspective. The American Civil War is an excellent example of this, for in many studies of it every southerner is credited with welcoming secession as a revolutionary move, while it is taken for granted that from the beginning all Americans had made up their minds which side to espouse.

Actually, nothing could be further from the truth. No southern leader had any

[1] Mr. Catton has been a writer for a number of years; first as a journalist, then in 1941 he became a U.S. Government information specialist. Mr. Catton has published several books about the American Civil War and his trilogy "Mr. Lincoln's Army," "Glory Road" and "A Stillness at Appomattox" sold over 132,000 copies. His book "This Hallowed Ground" is said to be the best one-volume history of the war.

doubt about the constitutional "right" to secede. It had been first proclaimed by John Taylor of Caroline County at the end of the 18th century, then it was developed by the Federalists of New England, and later still it was perfected in all its legal subtleties by John Caldwell Calhoun: long before the outbreak of the Civil War it had been accepted both as truth and as treason by each section of the American Nation in turn, depending upon whether its interests were temporarily served by affirming or by denying the sovereignty of the Central Government. If Buchanan had been President after 1861 the "right" to secede would doubtless have been established, but since Lincoln was at the White House and found enough people to follow his lead in fighting for the Union, the "right" proved nonexistent.

What was remarkable was that nothing was said about the "right" in the Confederate Constitution. The States were recognized as sovereign powers, but whether any one of them could leave the Confederacy as simply as it had entered was not mentioned; the "right" to secede may have been an article of southern faith from the cradle upward, but it was not provided for in the Confederacy's basic charter.

Nor was the choice of sides either automatic or easy, any more than it had been at the beginning of the struggle between Charles I and the Parliament; in neither case did what was really at stake transpire until later in the conflict. It is often forgotten that Robert E. Lee was offered by Scott the command of the Union armies, and in refusing it he spoke of the "struggle it has caused me to separate myself from service to which I have devoted the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed. * * * Save in defense of my native State, I desire never again to draw my sword." In these pages Mr. Catton describes the reluctance with which Jefferson Davis accepted office. He and his wife were in the garden of their house in Mississippi pruning roses when a telegram arrived announcing that Davis was to be president of the Confederacy. He read it with an expression which made her feel that some dreadful personal calamity had taken place, and when he told her what the message said he spoke "as a man might speak of a sentence of death." Lincoln approached his task with similar feelings.

This admirable book should serve to dispel any misconceptions concerning the period that it covers, which is down to the first battle of Bull Run. The author contrives to be both objective and interesting, and he writes in an easy style which will carry the general reader along; likewise he has the gift of making a situation come alive—as, for instance, his description of a Democratic Convention at Charleston:

"Everywhere there were the perennial political types, moving with dignity about the lobbies, lounging against veranda pillars and railings, being vocal and visible. There were men who seem to have spent so much time in the public eye that merely being looked at had put its mark on them; there were cold-eyed operators who looked like professional gamblers, and there were stout, perspiring men in glossy black, wearing fine linen and stovepipe hats, carrying gold-headed canes, eternally busy with portentous whispered conversations with other men who looked exactly like them."

When the author passes from the political to the military scene he rightly calls attention to the fact that in its early stages the war was a very amateurish affair. This was true of both armies, but it was more noticeable in the case of the Federals because they took the offensive, and untrained troops are put to the greatest test in an attack. When McDowell began his advance gainst Beauregard he had never set eyes on a great many of his regiments, and they in their turn had never moved in brigade formation. He was also burdened with a great number of 90-day privates, and some of them, learning on the very eve of battle that their 90 days were up, insisted on marching off to the rear despite the earnest entreaties of their commander in chief. In effect, the Federal troops, remarked a spectator, looked "more like men enjoying a huge picnic than soldiers awaiting battle." The Rhode Island contingent even brought the State Governor along with them to Bull Run.

"Probably it would not have been quite so bad if the battle had not been fought on a Sunday. Because it was Sunday a great many people in Washington had nothing to do, and numbers of these precious folk had taken carriages, packed lunches, and ridden down through Centreville to make a picnic where they could have the pleasure of watching a battle * * * They were there because curiosity and the strange notion that war was an exciting pageant had led them to suppose that it might be stimulating to watch (from a safe seat in the gallery) while young men killed one another. They were there, in short, because America did not yet know what it was all about."

Both McDowell and Beauregard were worried for fear that their men would be unable to tell friend from foe once the fighting began, for in each army some men wore blue and others grey, while many soldiers had no uniforms at all. In not dissimilar circumstances in the English Civil War a general ordered his men to wear the tails of their shirts outside their breeches in order to distinguish them from the enemy, but perhaps McDowell and Beauregard were too modest to adopt such devices, especially with the wealth, beauty, and fashion of Washington looking on. The Confederate commander tried to solve his problem by asking the ladies of Richmond to contribute colored scarves for his men to loop over their shoulders.

Any military display in these early days seems to have been regarded by the civil population as the worst form of militarism. When Jefferson Davis sent an officer in uniform to inform the Southern Congress at Richmond of the Confederate victory at Bull Run they refused to receive him, and the President had to send his private secretary, of course in plain clothes, in his place.

Mr. Catton is of the opinion that Bull Run made the Confederacy over-confident, and there is much to be said for this point of view. What is certain is that more than one American military tradition had its origin on that occasion, and Jeb Stuart in particular set an example in the handling of cavalry that was perfected by General Patton in his use of armour in the Second World War. More than most conflicts in history the American Civil War was remarkable for its improvisations and inventions, and they commenced very early in the struggle.

Readers of this book will look forward to the succeeding volumes on the same subject which we are promised from the author's pen, and if they are as well-balanced he will have made a notable addition to the bibliography of the American Civil War.

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## Realistic Conservation Policy Needed for Salmon Negotiation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, sound conservation principles must be the basis of U.S. fisheries' policy at the November meeting of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, when our representatives will discuss fisheries problems of common interest with the representatives of Canada and Japan.

In this connection, the secretary-treasurer of the Alaska's Fishermen's Union has written to the Under Secretary of State, George Ball, urging a realistic policy based on the merits of the fishery problem. In the interest of better informing my colleagues as to the background of the North Pacific salmon conservation issue, under leave to do so, I include in full Mr. Johansen's letter addressed to Under Secretary Ball:

ALASKA FISHERMEN'S UNION,
*Seattle, Wash., October 2, 1962.*

Hon. GEORGE BALL,
*Under Secretary of State,*
*Department of State,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. BALL: Ever since the beginning of time, man has projected his efforts to defy the laws of nature on the one hand and to work with nature on the other hand to provide an abundance of life through adjustment of the related elements.

In our fisheries, we have been slow to recognize the natural laws that govern the resource. Up until 10 years ago, we knew very little about the habitat of the North Pacific salmon on the open ocean. As a result of the North Pacific Convention between the United States, Canada and Japan, an extensive research program was initiated which has provided much knowledge and answered many questions of vital importance to the welfare and sustenance of our salmon resource. The cost of that research has been many millions of dollars appropriated by Congress, which has recognized and realized the need of protecting certain natural resources which otherwise could be destroyed.

We now know that a salmon will travel thousands of miles from its place of origin and can be found in great numbers over all the North Pacific Ocean. More specifically, we have found that the Bristol Bay red salmon, which constitute the majority of red salmon found anywhere in the world, travel westward in great numbers as far as 165 degrees east, and can be found in smaller numbers even west of this location.

Due to our lack of knowledge when the treaty was written, the Convention line was established at 175 degrees west, but that line is inadequate to protect red salmon of North American origin, which, as already stated, travel far west of this line. Through the North Pacific Fisheries Commission, we have informed the Government of Japan that in accordance with the abstention principle, the convention line should be moved to a location farther west. Japan has refused to accept scientific evidence based on research, has rejected all of our demands, and has continued its taks of North American stocks of salmon. What, then, is the answer?

The answer is that sound conservation principles demand that fishing for salmon on the high seas should be prohibited. The salmon should be caught only when they are fully matured and have returned to coastal waters where they segregate for their respective spawning streams, and can be regulated to current requirements which differ greatly as to time and races.

It would be both practical and sound management to limit salmon fishing to coastal waters.

In its opposition to the Pelly bill, the Department of State had this to say:

"The Japanese commitment to abstain from salmon fishing east of 175° west has been adhered to faithfully even though many Japanese have considered this commitment

to be a sacrifice of their nation's fundamental rights under international law."

We do not agree with this testimony because in addition to the provisional line on 175° west, we also have treaty language pertaining to research and the obligation upon all parties to the treaty to recognize the results of scientific research, which would have shifted the line farther west under these provisions, the Japanese are violating the intent of the treaty. As to any violation of their fundamental rights under international law, we can look back and see what happened after World War II. First, the SCAP—the MacArthur regime in Japan—at U.S. expense, rebuilt the Japanese fishery fleet, restored fishery gear and brought back the Japanese fishing industry to a level of sound economic production.

There is no parallel in history where a nation successful in war has restored the defeated nation to such an extent as was done in this instance, including the restoration of an industry directly competitive with its own.

The United States did not put permanent terms into its peace treaty with Japan to protect its own industry, as it could have done. It left the negotiation with Japan to deal with fully, as though she were a wholly independent nation. It was under these circumstances that the Tripartite Fishery Treaty was negotiated in 1951, and no one who participated in that negotiation, including officials of the Department of State, can truthfully assert that there was coercion by either Canada or the United States. In fact, the treaty was far from the permanent and favorable solution that the American fishermen demanded.

Under the tripartite treaty, the Japanese did agree to a conservation principle now known as abstention. They committed themselves to conservation of the salmon fisheries, and those commitments should stand, regardless of any arguments the Japanese may advance against the present treaty, for they are commitments to sound principles and should not be repudiated.

We respectfully wish to call to the Department of State that we are not alone in our belief that a coastal state has a special and preferential right as far as salmon is concerned. At the Law of the Sea Conference in Geneva, the majority of the nations of the world voted for the abstention principle; as a matter of fact, the abstention principle failed to obtain a two-thirds majority by only three votes. This means that there is a general acceptance by a majority of nations that conservation efforts of a coastal state to preserve its salmon must be recognized, even on the high seas.

We wish sometime—and we say this with due respect—that the Department of State would champion the cause of U.S. fishermen and taxpayers, who, in the first place, made possible the present economic recovery and welfare of a nation which seems determined to exploit salmon stocks of North American origin without regard to conservation.

The Department of State is well aware of the salmon problem in the North Pacific and certainly was advised by its own fishery experts as to existing conditions. Nevertheless, in its arguments against the Pelly bill, it chose to ignore the true facts about salmon conservation and concentrated instead on economics. The United States-Japan Trade Council issued a pamphlet with about the same figures and same arguments.

It appears it is necessary to constantly stress the trade differential between the United States and Japan without stressing the countless millions of dollars given by the United States, which was not an inconsequential factor in making this favorable trade possible. The fishing industry of the United States now has friendly relations with Japan and hopes to maintain them in the future. We do not agree with the general tenor of the testimony of the Department of State that in order to do this, we must endanger one of our greatest natural resources and give away our birthright, to satisfy the Japanese fishing industry's appetite for more and more fishing grounds.

The appetite of exploitation cannot be satisfied, and relations based on constant giveaways cannot endure.

There is no denying that Japan is taking an average catch of millions of American salmon annually. The statement by the U.S. Department of State that the Japanese are taking less, is not in conformity with the facts. A check of its own files and records will show that Japan is sustaining a maximum effort, and that since the inception of this high seas fishery in 1952, their catches have increased many hundredfold. Mr. Harriman's statement, "We do not own the Pacific Ocean," was in bad taste and left a very bad impression, when one considers the endless sacrifices we have been called upon to make to preserve our salmon. It is not easy to understand the reasoning used by the Department of State, as to ownership of oceans. The only claim we make is to the salmon spawned in North American waters. The Japanese were not granted any historical rights under the treaty—quite the opposite was true. They agreed to abstain. They had never fished on American salmon prior to the signing of the treaty, with the single exception of their abortive attempt in 1937, at which time our then Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, made it crystal clear to the Japanese that the United States would not tolerate any encroachment upon American rights.

The Department of State hopes that the Tripartite Fisheries Convention and its basic principles can be continued in force, but the Pelly bill, which is not an embargo but an instrument to foster good conservation practices, is opposed.

High-seas fishing is destructive for the following reasons:

1. Small-mesh gear is used by Japan in taking salmon which would more than double its weight if allowed to grow to maturity;

2. Countless numbers of salmon are destroyed by being killed by the nets and later washed out, to float away out of reach of any utilization.

3. Destruction of races of salmon results because of the impossibility of segregation on the high seas.

4. Nets are sometimes torn away from Japanese fishing boats and drift and fish endlessly, thereby further depleting the resource.

All this should lend strength to our arguments that the Pelly bill is needed, but evidently means nothing to those in charge of fishery policy within the Department of State. It must be clear that the testimony as given does not recognize these facts, but the United States and Canadian fishing industries do recognize what the problem is, because we have agreed to abstain from net fishing for salmon outside of territorial waters in order to practice what we preach.

If the United States is unwilling to assert its preferential rights to salmon of North American origin, then we have no weapons whereby we can combat the exploitation and greed of those foreign nationals who will surely destroy the resource if given an opportunity to do so.

Governor Egan, of Alaska, and Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, of Washington, expressed opinions about the testimony of the Department of State on H.R. 9547. We would like to add that it is testimony of that kind which will hinder our efforts to reach a solution that will conserve this living, renewable resource.

The Japanese have indicated they will oppose abstention in future treaties. The United States will be represented by State Department officials, who by their testimony on the Pelly bill, have shown that they are unable or unwilling to discuss our fishery problems on their own merits. We hope that a more realistic view of the U.S. salmon resource will prevail, by the time negotiations commence.

Sincerely yours,

ALASKA FISHERMEN'S UNION,
GEORGE JOHANSEN,
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

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## Hon. John W. McCormack

SPEECH
OF

## HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13290) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, it is indeed a deep personal pleasure and privilege for me to join in this spontaneous tribute to my colleague from Massachusetts and our beloved Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

In my opinion, no man who ever served as a Member of this body has more exhaustively, more conscientiously, more patriotically or more effectively devoted his superior talents and abilities to the completely unselfish service of his country, his State and his district, than JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

In preparation for his destiny as Speaker, JOHN MCCORMACK fulfilled the most difficult and varied duties of majority leader with preeminent effectiveness through periods of national danger and peril for over 21 years. It is amazingly and universally recognized that throughout these long years, and despite the multitudinous burdens of leadership imposed upon him, JOHN MCCORMACK still found time, with a willing spirit, to give patient counsel, guidance, sympathy and legislative courage to new Members coming into this House.

Even the newest Members here are well aware that there are mighty few, if any, men in the political life of the United States who have been tendered so many honors and decorations of all kinds and from every source in recognition of his exemplary character, extraordinary knowledge, dynamic leadership and patriotic dedication. All of us are equally aware that JOHN MCCORMACK accepted these distinctions with his characteristically quiet humility and with the unselfish sense of these distinctions visiting honor upon this House generally and not himself personally.

In summary, this is the background of proven character, experience and attributes that JOHN MCCORMACK brought into the discharge of the awesome responsibilities of Speaker of this House. It is not, then, a wonder, but more an expectation fulfilled, that we find in these closing days of the 87th Congress

that under his inspiring and impartial guidance and ruling, the legislative achievements of these 2 years to be among the most constructive and impressive of any in our legislative history.

Because of the basic qualities and virtue consistently developed and demonstrated in public and private life, of indestructible integrity, unsurpassed competence of leadership and unswerving patriotic devotion, the name of our colleague from Massachusetts, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, had already become a legend in our political life before the Speakership of this House was bestowed upon him by his beloved colleagues. On his record, I confidently predict that JOHN W. MCCORMACK will be recognized as one of the greatest Speakers who ever presided over this House, and his image will be forever enshrined in the most glorious pages of our national legislative history.

May the good, kind Lord continue to bless him, and his lovely and gracious wife, Harriet, with continuing good health through many more years of their devoted love. May divine providence further bestow upon this Nation the good fortune of preserving our Speaker's sustained leadership here for our eventual triumph over the Communist challenge still confronting us.

## Lumber Industry Needs Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as we act today on what undoubtedly is the most far-reaching single piece of legislation to be enacted by the 87th Congress, I would like to make special mention of one industry which is critical to the economy of the Second Congressional District which I am proud to represent. A healthy lumber economy is absolutely vital to my California district. Many of the communities are almost directly dependent upon the lumber economy—wages, jobs, and all the rest—and it is important that they have proper protection under the new trade bill.

I understand that with section 353 taken out in conference the industry must now go directly to the Tariff Commission for relief. This they are doing. Right now they are engaged in hearings before the Commission under the escape clause provision of the present bill. I have been told and have read in the record of the Senate on H.R. 11970 that the language in the bill is similar to the language in the present Trade Expansion Act, insofar as the escape clause provision and the criteria for applying for relief are concerned. The industry is asking the Tariff Commission to give them a quota so that our lumbermen can continue to stay in business and provide jobs and income for communities in areas so dependent upon the industry for continued payrolls.

When section 353 was taken out in conference it created a question in the minds of some of us from lumber districts as to just what effect this would have on the lumber industry's efforts to gain a quota. Should the Tariff Commission not recommend a quota, then I will be back to the Congress next year asking for legislation to help my industry get their quota against Canadian softwood lumber. The Canadians enjoy many advantages not available to domestic producers of lumber and they undersell our lumber manufacturers. At present they are taking some 17 percent of the domestic softwood lumber consumption.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I just want to state here in the House of Representatives my firm conviction that adequate protection must be provided for our lumber industry.

## Purchases of Foreign Steel by the U.S. Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad that the Bethlehem Steel Co. in Buffalo, N.Y., has written to all of its employees in regard to the purchases of foreign steel by the U.S. Government. I am opposed to our purchasing foreign steel for Government projects, and I am wholeheartedly in favor of legislation that would prohibit these purchases.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the letter written by Mr. R. S. Bennett, general manager of the Lackawanna plant, Bethlehem Steel Co., which follows:

BETHLEHEM STEEL CO.,
*Buffalo, N.Y., September 1962.*

DEAR FELLOW EMPLOYEES: I believe you will be interested in this statement by the American Iron and Steel Institute about purchases of foreign steel by the U.S. Government and by contractors doing work for the Government, when prices are lower than can be quoted by American steel producers.

Our industry is urging the Federal Government to reconsider this practice of buying foreign steel, which is taking jobs away from American steelworkers. As the statement points out, every ton of steel purchased with Government funds from foreign mills means up to 2 days less work for an American steelworker.

In addition, the AISI statement points out that purchases of foreign steel by our Government mean loss of taxes that would otherwise be paid by American steel companies and their employees to Federal, State, and local governments. Purchases of foreign steel also hurt our international balance of payments position, thus tending to reduce the reserves of gold in this country.

The AISI is asking that the President issue an Executive order which would have the effect of requiring that all steel purchased by the Government or its contractors for use within the United States should be from domestic sources. That might be done by requiring the use of domestic steel in all cases where (1) purchases amount to $10,000 or less, and (2) in the case of purchases in excess of $10,000, the cost of the domestic purchase is not more than 50 percent greater than the cost if purchased abroad.

The President already has power to issue such an order under the so-called "Buy American" Act, enacted many years ago. We suggest that in the interest of the American steel industry, which of course includes the interest of every steel plant employee, you let your Congressman and the Senators from your State know your views on this, so that they can tell the White House how you feel about purchases of foreign steel.

Sincerely,

R. S. BENNETT.

## Communism Is Rated Public Enemy No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the great Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, has again given the American people another opportunity to fortify themselves with the facts concerning the dangers of communism.

In the September 30, 1962, issue of the Washington Sunday Star Miriam Ottenberg reviews Mr. Hoover's "A Study of Communism," as follows:

COMMUNISM IS RATED PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1—A STUDY OF COMMUNISM, BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

The vital role of free men in combating communism, says J. Edgar Hoover, is to inform themselves about the real nature of communism "in order to develop a greater understanding of what it is, what it is not, how it operates, what its goals are, and why people are attracted to it."

In his new book, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has provided the materials for this understanding. In remarkably compact form, he traces the growth of communism from Marx and Engels through Lenin and Stalin to Khrushchev. And he shows what the power drives of the Communist leaders have done and are doing to the world.

A MASSIVE OFFENSE

He is at once a scholar in examining the philosophic concepts involved in communism, lawyer-like in showing the basic fallacies of the Marxian theories and their subsequent distortions and a professional investigator in exposing the "relentless quest for information by Communist spies in the United States," which he describes as "the most massive offensive of its type ever conducted by one nation against another in the history of international relations."

The book will also be printed as a textbook for use in the schools, but outside the schoolrooms it will be immensely useful where young people get together for bull sessions. For Mr. Hoover provides the ammunition for the counterattack when well-trained young Communists trot out their theories.

CAN'T BE TRUSTED

The headlines of today are put into historic perspective by a man in a unique position to observe Communist tactics. He shows, for instance, that the pattern of

broken agreements and treaties by the Communists was set as early as World War I when Lenin signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk as a "tactical measure."

It is essential to realize, Mr. Hoover emphasizes, that the worldwide Communist movement now constitutes the greatest imperialist force of all time. International communism, he explains, has been able to advance its imperialistic designs by exploiting areas characterized by low levels of economic and social development or by a lack of political freedom or both. He calls the roll of the nations where by force of arms or by wanton acts of violence against the civilian population—never by free elections—communism has taken over.

BUYING TIME

Mr. Hoover makes short shrift of Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence." On the basis of history and present realities, he shows this policy is merely a tactical maneuver of the Communists to lull the free world into a false sense of security. "It is a means of buying time through which they can consolidate past gains while probing for soft spots in the non-Communist world which present opportunities for future expansion."

In Mr. Hoover's view, the strongest weapon in the struggle against communism is "man's innate desire for freedom." He shows what it means to live in freedom in one of the most valuable sections of the book. This is a "digest of differences," where the freedoms we take for granted are listed beside the same elements of daily life under the Communists.

With the United States now the No. 1 target of world communism, Mr. Hoover's "A Study of Communism" should be must reading for all Americans.

## Leaders in Savings and Loan Industries Support Federal Mutual Savings Banks Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I introduced a new bill—H.R. 13318—to provide for the establishment of Federal mutual savings banks yesterday so that it will be available for study and comment during the adjournment period. As evidence of the increasing interest in the proposal—which I have long supported—to establish Federal mutual savings banks, I would like to commend to the attention of our colleagues the comments of some of the leaders in this field.

Mr. John W. Kress, president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks and president of the Howard Savings Institution in Newark, N.J., applauded the evidence of congressional interest in expanding the system of mutual savings banking.

There is much benefit to be derived by a community from having a mutual savings bank located within its boundaries—

Said Mr. Kress:

Surveys show that where mutual savings banking exists, the per capita rate of savings is higher—

He stated.

Dr. Grover W. Ensley, executive vice president of the National Association, commented that on the basis of experience in the States where mutual savings banks are located, interest costs to borrowers tend to be lower.

Authority to obtain Federal charters for mutual savings banks—

Said Dr. Ensley—

will greatly advance the public interest by making these useful institutions more widespread.

Dr. Ensley noted that introduction of my bill at this time should pave the way for hearings early next year.

The National Association of Mutual Savings Banks is happy about the increasing support from savings and loan associations that would be in a position to convert to Federal mutual savings banks under this legislation—

He said.

In the Midwest, Mr. A. D. Theobald, president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Peoria, Ill., made the following observations on October 3.

For the past year or so, several other savings and loan industry representatives and I have had an opportunity to work closely with mutual savings banking leaders in the preparation of proposed legislation to authorize the establishment of Federal mutual savings banks. Many of the ideas suggested by savings and loan leaders, arising from their intimate experience with the field of thrift and home financing, have found expression in the Federal mutual savings bank bill being introduced in both House of Congress today. I believe that upon careful study, others in the savings and loan industry will find this proposed law to be of interest to them as well as advancing the public interest. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the savings and loan industry.

In the south, Mr. Wallace O. DuVall, president of the Atlanta Federal Savings & Loan Association of Atlanta, Ga., stated:

I am pleased to note that a revised Federal mutual savings bank bill has been introduced in Congress. As one always interested in making the thrift institution I serve more useful to the community, I have watched closely the development of the plan for Federal charters for mutual savings banks, because of the opportunity it offers for increased service for mutual thrift institutions. Many savings and loan leaders have outlined suggestions for building an extremely strong institutional system for savings through the combined patronage of savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks. These ideas have been incorporated in the bill introduced today. It is my hope that serious study will be given to this proposal.

In the New England area, Mr. James E. Bent, president of the Hartford Federal Savings & Loan Association in Hartford, Conn., and former president of the National League of Insured Savings Associations, recalled that in 1960 he had encouraged Senator Prescott Bush, Republican, of Connecticut, to support legislation authorizing Federal charters for futual savings banks.

I am happy to see a revised version of a Federal mutual savings bank bill introduced at this time. The savings and loan industry will now have an opportunity to study the proposed legislation before it is reintroduced with the prospect of early congressional hearings in 1963—

Said Mr. Bent.

From the far south, Mr. Oscar R. Kreutz, chairman of the board and president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association of St. Petersburg, Fla., and past president of the National League of Insured Savings Associations, and chairman of its legislative committee, asserted that the new Federal mutual savings bank bill offers a fine opportunity to those interested in the mutual thrift industry to give some deep thought to the future of that industry.

This new bill—

Said Mr. Kreutz—

contains many ideas combining the best features of the savings and loan and mutual savings bank industries. It should serve as an excellent vehicle to prompt thrift and home flanance leaders to consider the best means of developing mutual thrift institutions in a way that will best serve their communities.

## A Study of Communism by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD two reviews which appeared in the Washington Daily News October 1, 1962, on the new book, "A Study of Communism."

What makes the book "A Study of Communism" so significant and important to all Americans is that this book was written by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

A pressing need in our free society is to have available authoritative information and discussion of the Communist menace, for it is through understanding communism and its techniques, its trickery, and its inherent deceit that Americans can be effectively prepared to counteract the Communist goal of world domination.

FBI Director Hoover, the American which the Kremlin probably despises and fears above all, presents just such information in his book based on his vast experience and knowledge of communism and its goals. It should be on the must reading list for all concerned citizens.

I am sure Members of Congress will be interested in seeing the laudatory comments of these two reviews for Mr. Hoover's important, timely work.

NEW WARNINGS ON REDS

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

DEAR GENERAL EISENHOWER: You should be first in line to buy J. Edgar Hoover's new book and be first to read it, too, if only to protect yourself against another embarrassment in defending the American way against the Communist system.

In one of your early presidential news conferences you told us about an incident when you were commanding NATO and were having a dish of tea or something with one of those Russian generals who also was a

political commissar and very handy with words, toe boot.

Remember? This Russian Joe gave you a big sales talk on the Communist system and challenged you to reply in behalf of the American way. You told us that you couldn't do it or, anyway, that you felt that your argument was inadequate. That is not surprising because a Commie political commissar must be thoroughly schooled in the basic arguments of his trade, as a West Point cadet commits to memory the dreary passage of the IDR (Infantry Drill Regulations).

Mighty few Americans could stand up to a Kremlin commissar and refute, point by point, the Russian Joe's arguments in behalf of communism and in derogation of the United States. Oh, our guy would know right enough that ours was the best system, but his argument would not be organized.

Neither would our boy be likely to have the skill in debate and logic to detect and destroy the Russian arguments, based as they are on a series of false and phony premises.

Well, General, that's where J. Edgar Hoover's book comes in. It is written for Americans just like you and me and your neighbors and mine. More than that, Mr. Hoover has writen a book ideally suited to become the text for teaching American high school and college students what communism is about and where and how and why it is inferior to the American way.

That is the most important attribute of Mr. Hoover's book, "A Study of Communism," that it can explain to young America why they should be willing to fight and to die to keep communism out. It is more important that young America understand all about that than that you or I understand it, General. You and I are too old to fight. But the way things are going, with the Commies swarming all over Cuba and likely to be collecting some mainland Latin American nations before long, the young American of the present may have some fighting and dying to do.

You would have licked that Russian Joe, General, if you had slugged him with the facts contained in Mr. Hoover's book. Of course, it was written then and you couldn't have been expected to know about it. But the book is published now, by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 203 pages, $3.95.

Perhaps the Pentagon's War College, West Point and the other institutions of learning in support of national defense should adopt "A Study of Communism" as a text.

There will be some egghead nit-picking of Mr. Hoover's book because he contends that communism is an internal as well as as external menace to the United States. The egghead lefties scoff at that and tend to make fun of Mr. Hoover. That sets them apart in the United States—far apart.

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(By Gene Wortsman)

J. Edgar Hoover and Columbia Pictures Corp., probably unknown to one another, simultaneously are warning free men, again, that the hammer and sickle hang heavy over their heads.

Both deal with the same theme:

The road to communism, built with deceit as its foundation and force as its cement, is paved over the dead bodies of its millions of victims.

FBI Director Hoover gives his views in a new book, "A Study of Communism," published by Holt, Rinhhart & Winston, Inc. ($3.95), out today.

Columbia makes its points in a 75-minute documentary, "We'll Bury You," Nikita Khrushchev's historic warning to democracies. The movie is scheduled for commercial movie houses late this month.

The book and the movie are so similar in content that one could have been adapted from the other. But in the end, they have different thoughts on how freedom must triumph.

To Mr. Hoover, faith in freedom will be victorious.

To Columbia, words and wishes won't stop the Reds. It will take greater force, combined with the conviction of a free society that dedication to freedom must be as forceful in its principles and actions as communism is to its principles of terror and enslavement.

Mr. Hoover's book was written in response to requests from educators to contrast freedom with totalitarianism.

As such it will be a helpful and informative publication, probably read more by scholars and students than by laymen.

Mr. Hoover, as does the movie, traces the rise of communism from the mind of one man Karl Marx, to a membership of 40 million persons, enrolled in 87 parties throughout the world, controlling one-third of the world's population and one-fourth of the world's territory.

"A Digest of Differences," the last chapter of the book, thumbnails how the system of freedom differs from that of communism.

Under "Elections," as an example, Mr. Hoover says the Communist view is "elections do not express the will of the people." In a democracy, "elections are the voice of the people."

The movie is a sometime shocking thing, purposely so.

It begins in darkness and only a voice is heard.

The opening and closing shots are those of two young women frantically scrambling through a barbed-wire fence, tearing their clothes, but running, running, running, away from communism. The open arms of free men help pull them the last few feet to freedom.

Some magnificent pictures are shown of old Russia. They also show Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev in action. They show the firing squads and the hangmen, not only in Russia but also in China and Cuba.

They show the faces of the slaughtered, the mourning of their loved ones * * * the glory of freedom won in Hungary and the sadness when it so quickly ended under Russian tanks.

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## Gold Guarantees and the Price of Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the October Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank of New York. This article is a common sense and rational approach to the price of gold as related to our balance of payments. It recommends against the issuing of gold guarantees by the United States and I believe our colleagues will find the reasons for rejecting this idea of interest and value.

The article follows:

THE QUESTION OF GOLD GUARANTEES

The international financial atmosphere—as evaluated from the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank just held in Washington—is calmer than a year ago although the United States is still losing some gold and still has an adverse balance of payments. The Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, put the deficit—on the basis of the first 8 months of 1962—at an annual rate of "somewhat over" $1.5 billion, as against last year's $2.5 billion, and 1960's $3.9 billion.

President Kennedy assured the assembled finance ministers and central bankers that the United States, "as a matter of first priority," will work on the problem until the payments deficit is eliminated. In the judgment of the Fund's Managing Director, Dr. Per Jacobsson, the efforts already made here and in other major trading nations, and such "further corrective policies" as might still be required, will "prove successful in assuring a stable exchange rate structure without any alteration in the present price of gold."

Dr. Jacobsson specifically rejected not only a change in the U.S. price of gold but also another idea that has of late been voiced in some European quarters—that the United States could strengthen the confidence of foreign governments and central banks if it guaranteed them against loss in the event that we raised our $35 gold price. Such guarantees, given either directly or through the IMF, would mean that, in this eventuality, we would promise to pay the difference to foreign governments and central banks on their dollar holdings.

The most obvious defect of the proposal for the United States to give gold guarantees is that it would seem to admit that a rise in the price might be contemplated. There is neither need for, nor constructive purpose to be served by, raising the U.S. price of gold.

There are also practical difficulties of which foreign observes may be unaware. To have force, a gold guarantee would require an act of Congress. The hearings and debate that would precede such action might not only feed unreasonable rumors and fears, but might also accentuate quite legitimate concern about the dollar. As a result, some official holders might well switch from dollars into gold and await the outcome of the debate. If Congress were to turn down the guarantee, the international position of the dollar might be seriously weakened.

ABROGATION OF GOLD CLAUSES

The very idea of explicit gold guarantees and gold clauses awakens some unhappy memories in the American conscience. Until 30 years ago, gold clauses—the pledge that a debtor will repay money having the same value in terms of gold as he received—were widely used in the United States. In fact, for more than a hundred years prior to 1933, they were a matter of routine in mortgage deeds and bonds, including most of the securities issued by the Federal Government. The popularity of gold clauses reflected a concept that gold was money, the only true money, the foundation of the credit system, and the final denominator of all values.

The use of gold clauses was abruptly ended just a generation ago. In June 1933, following the suspension of the gold standard in March, Congress passed a joint resolution declaring gold clauses to be "against public policy." At the same time, it provided that "public and private debts" could be discharged, "dollar for dollar," in any coin and currency that "at the time of payment" is legal tender, which gold ceased to be.

Creditors, understandably, resisted. In several famous cases the Supreme Court in 1935 recognized the constitutionality of the joint resolution. By a vote of 5 to 4, it held that the enforcement of gold clauses in private contracts was inconsistent with the power of Congress to regulate money. As to the Federal Government's own bonds, the Court declared that Congress could not "disregard the obligations of the Government at its discretion;" but it dismissed the bondholders' claims on the ground that they suffered no injury as a result of the payoff in paper money. In 1935, it should be re-

called, domestic price levels were virtually the same as in 1933. The theory that a loss of purchasing power would give bondholders a right to compensation would have subsequently led to extreme embarrassment had not Congress, in 1935, passed a resolution cutting off litigation against the Government on the ground of abrogated gold clauses.

The debate was dramatic and momentous. In the light of the subsequent shrinkage in the value of the dollar and the pervasive impact of inflation on people's minds, attitudes, and actions, the opinion of the Supreme Court minority, written by Justice James C. McReynolds, is worth remembering: "Loss of reputation for honorable dealing will bring us unending humiliation; the impending legal and moral chaos is appalling."

The United States has no wish to get back into a humiliating mess of this kind. The way to avoid it is not by embroidering fancy guarantees but by conducting our affairs so as to avoid any necessity for ever considering a rise in the official price of gold. The possibility of doing so is improved by the fact that nowhere does gold circulate as money; it is a commodity of unique usefulness as a store of value.

COMING BACK TO LIFE?

Abroad, gold clauses were also abrogated or regulated during the 1930's, at least in domestic contracts. It is relevant to recall, in this context, that the United Kingdom, all through the 19th century and the early decades of this century, had generally steered away from gold clauses. The concept was that the pound sterling was as good as gold; while gilt edges were imprinted on bonds, a specific gold clause qualifying a sterling obligation was regarded as a heresy.

Gold clauses are not, however, totally dead. They fall into two categories—domestic and international. France, during the past decade, twice issued internal long-term bonds featuring, in addition to generous tax exemptions, a gold clause designed to restore the confidence of people in Government paper and to help break the vicious circle of inflation. The link with gold is provided by tying the redemption value of the bonds to the price of the 20-franc gold Napoleon in the Paris market. The Bank of France for the past 14 years has conducted open market operations to stabilize gold coin prices.

Other countries, too, buy and sell coin in domestic markets as means of stabilizing gold prices and hence encouraging the acceptability of paper currency. This can give to all holders of paper currency the practical equivalent of a gold clause.

INTERNATIONAL GOLD CLAUSES

The principal use of gold clauses today is in international financial agreements. The outstanding example is found in the IMF articles of agreement concluded in 1944. All Fund holdings of members' currencies, whether from initial subscriptions or from lending operations carry a gold guarantee.

Extensions of credit between central banks, arranged to help stabilize foreign exchange markets, generally contain exchange clauses providing for guarantees against depreciation of the currency of the borrowing country in terms of the U.S. dollar. For instance, balances held by European central banks in each other's currency have for the past 12 years been endowed with a dollar guarantee.

The thought is now being heard with increasing frequency that international financial arrangements should provide for a wider use of gold guarantees. Thus, at the Fund meetings, the Governor of the Bank of Greece, Xenophon Zolotas, and Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Reginald Maudling, made suggestions for enlarged accumulations of currencies among central banks and governments that would carry a gold clause.

The United States for the past 18 months has been accumulating foreign currencies, as was described in these pages last month. The hope is that these arrangements, developed under the leadership of Under Secretary of the Treasury Robert V. Roosa to give added flexibility to the international monetary structure, can be applied more widely and generally, with the result that foreign central banks would hold more dollars and U.S. monetary authorities larger amounts of other convertible currencies. In U.S. thinking, however, such mutual accumulations of currencies would depend fundamentally upon confidence, not on a gold clause.

Fearful of a general shortage of international liquidity and specifically of the burdens that are being imposed upon the dollar and the pound as reserve currencies, Mr. Maudling advanced the idea of a mutual currency pool under the IMF. A country accumulating dollars or sterling (or, for that matter, any convertible currency) would deposit them in a special account at the IMF; it could in turn draw on such deposits if it ran into payments deficits. This new pool of currencies—"capable of expansion to the extent necessary at any time"—would be additional to the IMF's own regular resources and to the $6 billion supplementary fund for emergencies now being established; like all Fund currency holdings, the currencies held in the pool would carry a gold guarantee.

THE REAL GUARANTEE

The idea is to set up a binding compact that official holdings of dollars will always be as good as gold. Indeed, such dollars would then become interest-bearing gold—unless, perhaps, the foreign official dollar holders were to forego income in exchange for the gold guarantee.

These suggestions stem from a concern that the U.S. gold stock, at $16.1 billion, may be out of line with U.S. short-term liabilities to foreigners, which now total almost $20 billion. Of this amount, somewhat over $11 billion is held by foreign governments and central banks and is thus eligible for conversion into gold. Some of the dollars held by commercial banks, business firms, and individuals abroad in excess of needs for working balances could undoubtedly be sold to central banks and also become technically eligible for conversion. To dissuade foreign central banks from demanding gold now, it is appropriate—so runs the argument—to guarantee them against losses from a dollar devaluation.

It has also been said that, in giving a guarantee, the United States would remove the threat of dollar conversions into gold and thus secure a measure of leeway from the balance-of-payments discipline. The answer is that removing this threat might weaken the resistance of an administration to inflationary policies. We must also face the hard reality that international financial cooperation has obvious limits. As Mr. Roosa noted in a statement on "Assuring the Free World's Liquidity" published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, other nations would accept or renew guarantees only if they had confidence in our internal and external economic performance. "Those in the position of accepting guarantees are able to dictate their terms."

The real guarantee for the dollar rests on the productivity of the American economy, its ability to produce goods that people all over the world want to buy, and sensible monetary, fiscal and labor policies that encourage enterprise and help us keep competitive.

A gold guarantee would be a redundant and useless appendage so long as we preserve our economic health and fiscal sobriety. A dollar unable to look inflation in the eye could not be rescued even with the most elaborate of gold guarantees.

## Democratic Congress Box Score

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following article by Peter Edson published in today's Washington Daily News:

DEMS' BOX SCORE ON HILL

(By Peter Edson)

Winding up its business in a legislative stampede, the 87th Congress is giving President Kennedy far more of his program than he may have hoped for 3 months ago.

As of October 1, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD's monthly tabulation shows 391 bills signed into law this year. That compares with 332 in the same period last year for a total of 733 in the 2-year session, to date.

The total may well reach 800 or more on a final count after adjournment, for Congress has cleared many bills the President has not had time to consider. And he has 10 days after adjournment, not counting Sundays, to sign or pocket veto final measures.

Legislative action has come so fast in the final 2 weeks of the session that it will take some time for Budget Bureau and the executive agencies of Government to figure out who gets exactly what and how much for the current fiscal year.

Most of the new laws are, of course, Government housekeeping operations. Like Public Law 720, which authorizes the sale of chestnut extract from the national stockpile. Or Public Law 695, authorizing North Dakota Indians to graze cattle at Garrison Dam.

But over and above all this legislative tricky track that Congress handles to solve local problems, the administration can count at least 50 solid achievements. In about half of these cases, the administration got only a part of what it asked for. In the other half it got practically what it wanted.

Among the major accomplishments in the field of foreign affairs are the trade expansion act, a new tariff classification act, a ready-reserve callup of 150,000 men for a year's service. The $100 million United Nations loan was approved, the United States was authorized to participate in loans to International Monetary Fund and a $73 million war damage payment to the Philippines was made. Foreign aid is being cut but not as much as feared.

In the field of general government, postal rates are being raised but free congressional junk mail is being abolished. Federal pay rates are being increased. Antitrust case investigation was facilitated. A constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax was passed, subject to ratification by the States. The national debt limit was raised to a whopping $308 billion.

In labor and public welfare, a cut-down manpower retraining program was initiated, reporting on union pension funds was tightened, public assistance and child welfare benefits were increased. A new drug control law is being passed. A senior citizens housing aid act has been signed. Educational television was given a boost and new sets will be required to carry all channels.

To aid the domestic economy, business is being given $1.3 billion in tax relief for new investments. Self-employed people will be given a tax reduction to finance their own retirement funds. A $900 million emer-

gency public works program was authorized for use in offsetting recessions. The communications satellite corporation was authorized in the form the administration wanted it. A so-called omnibus farm bill was passed giving the administration only a part of and a delayed start on what was really asked for.

Congress was slower and later than it has ever been in passing appropriation bills to run the Government this fiscal year, already one-fourth gone. Total figures aren't available yet and won't be for some days.

But as approved by the House, expenditures will be over $90 billion and maybe over $91 billion. Even so, this is $4 billion less than what the Kennedy administration requested.

## In Recognition of Gen. Lauris Norstad's Splendid Contribution to the Development and Operation of NATO Over the Past Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I have this day introduced a resolution calling upon the Congress toward a gold medal to Gen. Lauris Norstad in recognition of his contribution to the development and operation of NATO over the past years. General Norstad's skill and enlightened leadership has been a major reason for the maintenance of peace and the development of a firm and effective defense force in the NATO countries.

As a nation we would be remiss if we allowed this great soldier to depart the ranks without according him some symbol of the appreciation we must feel for his splendid record of service.

I have a special affection for General Norstad in that he and I both began our military careers in the U.S. Cavalry. Although the horses, boots, and saddles are long gone General Norstad's flair for leadership is truly emblematic of the fine traditions which attach to the Cavalry legions.

I refer below to the letter written by President John F. Kennedy to General Norstad on the occasion of his retirement and to General Norstad's letter of the day previous:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*July 19, 1962.*

Gen. LAURIS NORSTAD, USAF
*SHAPE, Paris.*

DEAR LARRY: It is only with deep regret that I accede to your request to retire from active duty. I know that I speak not only for the United States but also for the leaders of the free world, when I say that your individual contribution to the strength of the alliance during a particularly difficult and critical period will become a permanent entry in the annals of freedom.

There is no more important military assignment for the defense of the free world than the one that you have been carrying for so long, and I know of no one who has been better able to bear its burdens. During that period you have become a living symbol of the U.S. commitment to the alliance and of the strength of the alliance itself.

As you know, I have relied heavily on your experience over the past 18 months. I have felt fortunate that you were serving as Supreme Allied Commander and as Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces Europe at the outset of my administration, and I have felt particularly fortunate that you were in command last summer when the situation in Berlin reached crisis proportions. Your judgment, your perceptiveness and your vigorous approach to our common problems have been of tremendous value to me.

The gratitude of the Nation as well as my own warm wishes will go with you into whatever field of endeavor you turn your energies. Meanwhile it is a matter of personal satisfaction to me to know that the fruits of your experience will continue to be available in the councils of the Nation and of the alliance during the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

JULY 18, 1962.

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I appreciated very much the opportunity to talk with you last Monday. By means of this letter I would like to confirm the thoughts I expressed on one of the subjects we discussed at that meeting.

You will recall that when we talked last January, we mentioned the possibility of my leaving my present assignment some time this winter, if no particular crisis developed in the meantime. The reasons for any change of this kind are apt to be rather involved but certainly foremost in my mind in this particular case is the simple fact that after 12 years with NATO, six of which I have served as Supreme Allied Commander Europe, I have stayed in one field of activity and in one position somewhat longer than is the normal practice in the military services.

We live in a time of continuing crisis, but for the moment, at least, there is no unusual pressure on my office. I request therefore that I be relieved of my assignment as Commander in Chief, United State European Command on or about November 1, 1962.

I have informed the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Council of this request, and I assume that steps will now be taken by that body and by the U.S. Government, as appropriate, to release me from my position as Supreme Allied Commander Europe with effect on or about November 1, 1962. Through Department of Defense channels I will request that I be placed on the retired list at the same time.

My retirement will conclude something more than 36 years of service in the uniform of the United States. To have served as an officer of my country in peace and in war during an interesting and critical period has been the greatest pleasure, the highest honor. To this has been added the great privilege of also serving the 14 other nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I am indebted to the United States and to its NATO allies for the great satisfaction that has come to me through this service.

I have enjoyed working with you, Mr. President. In the critical periods when we have been in the most direct contact, I have learned to respect your courage, your judgment and your capacity for leadership. I also appreciate the support that you have given to me during these times of stress. You have my best wishes and my continuing support as you face the great problems that are before you.

Faithfully,

LAURIS NORSTAD,
*General, USAF.*

## Irving Maness, Deputy Administrator of SBA, Leads U.S. Trade Mission to Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Irving Maness, Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, recently led a U.S. trade mission to Israel. Mr. Maness, as mission director, led the group during a 25-day visit to 296 Israeli firms interested in trading with the United States.

Formerly counsel for the House Small Business Committee, Mr. Maness has brought talents to the Small Business Administration—where he serves as Deputy Administrator for Procurement and Technical Assistance—which served him and his colleagues in good stead on this mission.

Mr. Maness has written an account of this successful and important mission which was published in International Commerce in its issue of September 3, 1962. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

ISRAELI MISSION

Functioned from June 2 to June 27, a total of 25 days.

Operated in four cities: Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Beersheba. Individual members and groups of mission members visited most other towns and cities of Israel.

Visited 43 plants and institutions, usually by individual members and groups of mission members.

Operated two trade information centers in Tel Aviv, one of which was at the Near East International Trade Fair, June 5–July 5. Physical count of visitors to this TIC was 146,000. Because of the character of the exhibit, visitors probably did not include repeats other than those with serious interest. (Fair's ticket entrance was over 730,000.)

Attended and spoke at 15 meetings with groups ranging in size from 20 to over 300.

Presented 231 business proposals which had been submitted by U.S. firms.

Held 311 interviews with 296 separate Israeli firms, which resulted in 397 contacts for the U.S. business proposals. These 296 Israeli firms responded to 165 (approximately 75 percent) of the business proposals.

Reported 207 trade and investment opportunities in addition to contacts resulting from U.S. business proposals: 55 for U.S. exports, 10 for distributorships, 8 for agencies, 22 for licensing, 79 joint ventures, 26 for U.S. imports, 8 offers of services, and 1 offer to license.

ISRAEL—U.S. TRADE MISSION REPORTS ON 25-DAY VISIT TO 296 FIRMS INTERESTED IN TRADE WITH UNITED STATES

(By Irving Maness, mission director)

The first U.S. trade mission to Israel found this small country an extremely dynamic democracy offering a constantly expanding market for American products and American technology.

The mission found greatest interest in the fields of machinery and equipment related to construction and road building, agriculture and processing of foodstuffs, machine tools and specialized production machinery for industry, chemicals for in-

dustry and agriculture, garage and automotive servicing equipment, electronic parts and specialized equipment. The market is also opening for import of more finished goods. A list of 400 such items has been issued by the Israel Government.

The mission members had specialized experience in the fields of chemicals, plastics and synthetics, heavy construction equipment, metalworking, electronics, food processing, and investment. They carried with them a wide range of business proposals, i.e. specific offers from American firms interested in entering into a commercial undertaking with their Israeli counterparts. Some 400 contacts were established for the 231 U.S. firms which had submitted business proposals for this mission. The mission also brought back 207 trade and investment opportunities, including a considerable number of joint venture proposals which it believes will prove profitable to American investors with know-how.

The Israeli businessman has a high appreciation of the quality and efficiency of American production equipment, though this is somewhat tempered by higher initial cost of the U.S. product. While an overwhelming proportion of the business population is of European origin, there seems to be a real orientation toward the United States which can work to the advantage of American exports. The mission felt that American producers are losing opportunities by insufficient efforts to sell to Israel.

Israel is about the size of New Jersey, varying in width between 12 and 60 miles along its 260-mile length. Travel from the northern-most tip of the country to its most southern border requires about 8 hours on what might be termed second-grade highways.

The mission visited all four of Israel's major cities. Jerusalem has the complex of government buildings and is said to be the intellectual center. Haifa, in the north, has the main port, is built on the slopes of Mount Carmel and is an industrial center. Beersheba, in the Negev and one of the world's oldest cities, is now a pioneer capital. Its business community is not large, but has the vigor of the American old west. Tel Aviv, the center of population, the center of the country, and the center of activity, can only be likened to New York. Approximately one-half of Israel is taken up by the Negev, mostly desert. The dramatic change this 14-year-old country has created is clearly visible in the Negev, for it is there that a visitor may see the change from desert to farm being wrought by human effort and ingenuity.

Water shortages continue to constitute a great problem but agriculture represents the major income producer of the country. While agricultural production is increasing, its relative importance in the economy is decreasing due to the rapid growth of industry.

Israel has in effect pulled herself up by her bootstraps. The size and variety of its industries is surprising. However, the trade mission felt that some industries are not economically justified at this time. It was pointed out that many of the industries were created and protected to provide productive activity for the skills of the population which expanded by immigration at unprecedented annual rates of more than 26½ percent in 1949, 15.4 percent in 1950, and 13.2 percent in 1951. Israel's present population of approximately 2¼ million is now increasing by immigration at a high, though comfortable rate of 2.7 percent.

ECONOMIC CLIMATE

German compensation and restitution payments, convertible to imports from Germany, are about to end, which will allow successful U.S. competition for sales. The population is enjoying a wave of prosperity and welcoming the relief from years of austerity.

The major aim of Government planning is to develop the use of the technical skills of the population to the end that Israel becomes an industrial exporting nation. The import liberalization program will expose local industry to competition at home, so that more effort will be directed toward export sales and increase of production efficiency.

Government planning is carried out largely through an incentive system. While there are controls over the banking and credit system and over several categories of imports, incentives are offered by aid in financing exports, in financing desired types of industry, and for establishing industries in locations which the Government believes should be developed.

A major part of the land of Israel is Government owned, but it is rented on very long-term leases at low rates to users. This is a practice inherited from the prenational days when the "Jewish Agency" bought lands for settling immigrants on the land.

ONE LABOR UNION

There is one labor union in Israel, the Histadrut. It was started not in the cities but by communal farmers. It entered business first to supply its members at lower cost, and later to develop productive work for immigrants. It now owns or controls (by veto vote) probably as much as 50 percent of the productive enterprises of the country. However, it does not do this on a monolithic basis since so many of its affiliates are independent. Histadrut members and their families constitute about 70 percent of Israel's population.

Histadrut's economic arm, the Hevrat Ovdim, is particularly strong in agriculture, construction and roadbuilding, and automotive transport.

While the Hevrat Ovdim has a central council, it nevertheless consists of a great many largely independently operated enterprises. Most of these enterprises are either wholly owned, owned in association with cooperatives, or are simply associated with cooperatives. Hevrat Ovdim also enters joint ventures with private enterprise. Its bank, second largest in Israel, also works with private enterprise, and it is at present actively seeking American know-how and investment in its established successful industries. It should be emphasized that in all cases the enterprises are carried on for profit. Enterprise managers are appointed and are subject to administrative review.

Because the Hevrat Ovdim constitutes such a great proportion of the market, the problem arises for American exporters whether to try to appoint agencies or distributors to the private sector or to the Hevrat Ovdim. As a guide for consideration, the Mission lists these factors: (1) Hevrat Ovdim's enterprises do purchase from private sector agencies and distributors. (2) It generally does not aggressively market any product except those of its own production. (3) It is interested in assembly and partial manufacture of American products, in which cases it then does market aggressively. (4) An important member of its bank staff advised that American exporters should consider appointment of agents and distributors from standard commercial criteria and should treat prospective Hevrat Ovdim customers the same as any commercial prospects.

EXCHANGE TERMS

There have been some recent changes under the Government's liberalization scheme. Products on the free list may now be imported by any authorized importer at terms of "payment against document." Under these three conditions, availability of dollar exchange is automatic.

An import license is required under any one of the following conditions: (1) Buyer is not an "authorized importer" for the product to be imported. (2) Product is not on the free list. (3) Payment terms are longer than "payment against documents."

Import licenses usually require payment to suppliers within 90 or 180 days, the Government contending that longer terms constitute financing. Import licenses with longer payment terms are granted in exceptional cases. Israel at present permits financing through approved loans, which permit demand on Israel's dollar balance. These loans must be for a minimum period of 7 years. Details of long- or medium-term financing of sales should be carefully studied.

TECHNICAL SKILLS

Another outstanding factor in Israel is the availability of high technical skills. These are sharpened in three great educational institutions: The Technion, the Hebrew University, and the Weizmann Institute of Science. These offer American firms research project services at comparatively low cost.

The availability of high skills also makes it possible for Israel to offer technical aid to less-developed countries. Through this program, they are now developing strong friendships in Africa and Asia and will shortly begin in Latin America. This will of course accelerate the development of foreign markets for their products. This program also offers American firms possibilities for joint ventures in those countries using the advantages of lower cost management and technicians as well as staff accustomed to less luxurious living conditions.

Also available in Israel are the more sophisticated professional business services, among which are consulting services in most fields including marketing, economic, and industrial feasibility. There are of course the standard legal, accounting, and advertising services.

Very fine guidance is offered the American businessman by the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and the U.S. Consulate in Haifa.

Israel's highly developed tourist industry has a phenomenal ability to make the extensive number of tourists comfortable and happy. The Government maintains high standards, but it is of course the people's attitude toward the stranger within their gates that stands as a model. The mission's drivers, who were also accredited guides, were a never-failing source of information and education.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Israel has problems. Most of these are well known. Some are peculiar to the country itself, while other are the result of dynamic development. These are referred to in the special reports of the mission members. Overall, however, the mission came away with confidence that Israel is capable in the management of its problems.

Note should be made of the availability of local funds held by the U.S. Government, available for loan to many types of enterprises in Israel in which U.S. private interests are involved. This is another factor which makes American investment in joint ventures attractive.

Israel is an expanding market for American products. It is not yet receiving sufficient attention from the U.S. businessman. It is a country whose business practices are familiar to Americans, and where investment opportunities show promise of profit.

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## Tough Talker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I in-

clude the following interesting newspaper article by Mr. John Herling which was published in today's Washington Daily News:

Soviet Premier Khrushchev must be biting his tongue. Just 3 years ago, in San Francisco, he singled out Joe Curran, president of the Maritime Union, for the ultimate compliment. He described him as a "true worker"—as contrasted with "Wall Street lackeys" like Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, head of U.S. labor leaders who were engaged in a toe-to-toe verbal slugging match.

Today, the Maritime Union president has become the leader of the toughest talking "true worker" force against the Soviet threat in Cuba. Of course, Mr. Curran is primarily fighting for jobs for American merchant seamen, but the Cuban crisis has provided him with his most conspicuous platform.

"U.S. merchant seamen," he said, "regard the Soviet buildup in Cuba as a challenge that the free world must meet. They bore a heavy share of the sacrifices required for victory in World War II. Their skills will be essential in any future conflict."

"Clearly," Mr. Curran says, "it is up to our Government to determine what military, diplomatic, and economic measures it will take on its own and with its allies to meet this challenge. For ourselves as trade unionists, we consider it our right and a duty, regardless of Government policy, to protest by every possible means any movement of cargoes and ships which can help create a Soviet bastion on the island."

Bluntly, Mr. Curran makes charges which involve not only the immediate Cuban situation, but also the U.S. policy in regard to the support of this country's merchant marine. The American sailors' unions have carried on this running fight with the Eisenhower and the Kennedy administrations.

"The Soviet military build-up in Cuba has raised many serious questions concerning our Government's relations with nations supposedly allied with us in defense of the free world against Communist aggression," Mr. Curran said. "I address myself to questions which it has raised concerning our merchant marine policy.

Mr. Curran itemizes his charges:

As a result of Government policies and lack of policies with regard to our merchant marine, American-flag ships have been carrying barely 10 percent of American waterborne foreign commerce. Furthermore, the U.S. Government, as a matter of policy, has fostered the development of a mammoth fleet of American-owned ships under flags of Liberia, Panama, and Honduras.

The dangers inherent in both these developments have been forcefully demonstrated in the current Cuban situation.

Now in the Cuban situation, most of these friendly nations whose fleets have been fattening on American foreign commerce refuse to consider the pleas of our Government to keep their ships from aiding the Soviet military buildup in Cuba.

We have the absurd spectacle of ships of supposedly friendly nations running cargo into Cuba—assisting in strengthening the island as a Soviet base—and coming directly from the island to a U.S. port to pick up a U.S. foreign aid shipment to be delivered elsewhere.

The folly of this policy, and of the whole buildup of the runaway flag fleet, has been made clear in the Cuban situation. American-owned ships flying "runaway flags" have been part of the Soviet shuttle to Cuba. Some of the ships in that traffic were built in the United Sttaes and were transferred out of U.S. jurisdiction to one of the "runaway" flags although now by subsequent transfers they may be under some other registry.

Says Mr. Curran: "The Liberian, Panamanian, and Honduran flags have been of assistance to the Soviets in the cold war before this. When I was in Odessa, U.S.S.R., 2 years ago with an NMU delegation, we saw some of these ships in the harbor. We were told that 46 of these ships had sailed into Black Sea ports within a 6-month period.

"The Cuban situation has made clear the dangerous folly of our maritime policies since World War II. It has made clear that the United States cannot rely on the fleets of friendly nations for the maritime strength the United States needs."

## The Tax Bill Conference Report

SPEECH
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to note that the conference has measurably improved the tax bill.

When the bill was originally before the House, it was presented and considered under a closed rule, barring amendments. The motion to recommit was entirely inadequate, and did not make several necessary revisions that should have been proposed, and they have now been adopted to substantial degree in the other body and in the conference.

The withholding provisions would have occasioned much inconvenience and expense to many segments of the American people—honest taxpayers, businessmen, and many of our banking institutions.

It is generally agreed that due taxes should be collected by the Government, and that is a job for enforcement agencies which should not be saddled upon others.

The reporting provisions which have been adopted are somewhat onerous, but it will be possible for the persons and institutions concerned to live with them, and they can test them in the clear light of actual experience to see whether or not they are workable or that some other expedient will have to be adopted.

While the taxation of American foreign business still presents many difficulties, the conference report, as passed, has also improved that situation.

However, I want to make it clear that I do not believe this bill is, by any means, perfect nor is it a substitute for a major overhaul of our tax laws, streamlining of the current rates, elimination of some very onerous taxes and substantial reductions to lighten current burdens on the taxpayers and business which are, as I have stated so many times, seriously reducing our standards of living and stifling initiative and incentive, and thus handicapping our great free enterprise system.

It is my conviction that if our tax system is adequately and properly revised, it will not only be possible to lift many burdens from the backs of the people—workers, farmers, professional groups, managers, small business, and many others—but it will also make it possible more easily to secure substantial, additional tax revenue, but budgetary deficits, and put our Government on a sound, fiscal basis.

I will, therefore, support the conference report.

## Livestock Prices Drop When Democrats Are In Control of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, along with a great majority of the Members representing the breadbasket states, I could not support the 1962 farm bill for the many following reasons.

Here are some excerpts from a speech by Congressman HOEVEN of Iowa, top minority member of the House Agriculture Committee. On October 1, 1962, see page 20439 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, He said:

In 1963 corn and wheat farmers will experience a very liberal and expensive payment program for the voluntary retirement of acreage, but in 1964 the honeymoon is over. After 1 year of payments on producing acres, payments on non-producing acres and price support loans at $1.02 per bushel, the rug is pulled out from under the corn farmer. He is then faced with no payments whatsoever and price support at 80 cents a bushel. Not only that, but the Government surplus could be dumped on the market at 84 cents a bushel, plus carrying charges, and 175 million bushels of cheap feed wheat would be thrown into artificial competition with corn. During the debate in the House on the conference report there was not one single attempt to dispute the obvious fact that there will be 80-cent corn in 1964. During the debate in the Senate on the bill both before and after it went to conference, the junior Democratic Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], pointed out that under the Senate-adopted formula the 1964 corn support would be extremely low—50 percent of parity.

At page 19325 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 24, 1962, he said:

"Next year our feet will be to the fire. Those of us who want to maintain income for dairy, beef, and hog farmers will be in a far different position than we were this year, because the alternative to doing nothing will be 50 percent price supports, which means a further cruel income drop for our farmers."

Tobacco is supported under a special formula passed 2 years ago to prevent tobacco supports from going higher (under Public Law 86-389 the 1962 tobacco support is 101 percent of the 1959 support), peanuts are currently supported at 82 percent of parity, rice at 76 percent of parity, and upland cotton at 82 percent of parity.

Along with the sharp increase in the number of employees added to the Department of Agriculture in order to help that agency spend even more tax money, farm debt in America has also risen to an all-time high of $27.7 billion. So have farm costs risen to an all-time high of $27.6 billion in the second quarter of 1962.

Whether it is bypassing Congress through a radical delegation of legislative authority, or whether it is penitentiary terms for dairy farmers, or whether it is 80-cent corn for corn farmers, or whether it is by another means, the end is the same—the complete control of our agricultural economy.

This is what we have to look forward to next year—more attempts at controlling American agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with my colleague Mr. HOEVEN. Facts are that livestock prices follow closely the price of corn and feed grains.

So, no one needs wonder why livestock prices drop when Democrats are in control of Congress.

Prices on most every farm product were driven down when the Democrats rolled back cattle prices 10 percent early in 1951. Remember?

HOG PRICES AT THE OMAHA MARKET

1949: Low $5.25; high $7.30; Democrat-controlled Congress—peace.

1941–47: High $27.50; Democrat-controlled Congress—war.

1947–48: High $32.25; Republican-controlled Congress—peace.

1949–52 (rollback): High $26.50; Democrat-controlled Congress—war.

1953–54: High $28.65; Republican-controlled Congress—peace.

1955–58: High $25.25; Democrat-controlled Congress—peace.

1959–62: High $20.35; Democrat-controlled Congress—peace.

"LOOK"

Southern Democrats control Agriculture Committees of Congress.

Senate Agriculture Committee: Democrat chairman, from Southern State; 11 Democrats, 6 from Southern States; 6 Republicans, 5 from Midwest and Northern States.

House Agriculture Committee: Democrat chairman, from Southern State; 20 Democrats on committee, 13 from Southern States; 14 Republicans, 13 from Midwestern and Northern States.

Farm products of the Southern States: Mostly cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts—prices good.

Farm products of the Midwestern and Northern States: Mostly corn and all grains, wheat, livestock, poultry, and eggs—prices low.

Congressmen and Senators always look after their own people best. Southerners and midwesterners are no exception.

Farmers and merchants in bread basket States need and deserve a Republican Congress.

Two wars less than 6 years apart; high taxes, low livestock prices, and high cost of all manufactured commodities which our farmers buy have the farmers of the Middle West in a bad price squeeze. Our farmers got fair prices during the wars, but neither they, their wives, nor their children want any more of that kind of business.

Also remember, the Democratic Party was in complete control of the House of Representatives when farm prices went to pot in 1931–32.

Vote for peace, progress, and for your purse.

Vote Republican November 6.

## Who Pays for Federal Power?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the former Director of the Budget, Mr. Maurice Stans, wrote a particularly revealing article on "Who Pays for Federal Power?" which appeared in the Washington Post, September 30, 1962.

The continuous push by those "public power gangs," in lobbying a constant stream of legislative proposals in the Congress should be thwarted by those of us who advocate the free enterprise system.

The article by Mr. Stans follows:

OUR CHANGING ECONOMY—WHO PAYS FOR FEDERAL POWER?

The investor-owned electric utilities in the United States last year paid $1.312 billion in Federal income taxes and $1.104 billion in State and local taxes. Would you be willing to eliminate all these taxes in the future, and make the electric companies tax free?

Before you answer, think it over. A saving of $2.416 billion in this way to the utilities would make it possible for them to cut all their electricity rates by about one fourth.

This would be quite a saving for everyone. This is what happens in areas where Federal power systems operate, like TVA and others. They do have low electricity rates.

So far it sounds good.

But then comes the inevitable question. Who would make up the loss in revenues to the Federal and local governments?

The answer is that you and other property holders and income earners in the country would have to pay nearly $2½ billion more in taxes—of one kind or another—for the governments to operate.

This circle illustrates a major distinction between Federal power and private power. Federal power is cheaper only because it shifts a burden of Government upkeep on to others.

To clarify this, let's look at the various costs involved in your electric bill:

Rather obviously such items as fuel, material, equipment, and supplies presumably can be bought at similar prices by private enterprise or Government. Labor rates should be roughly comparable also, or else the labor unions should look into the matter. So this leaves one other major item:

Taxes currently are taking around 24 cents out of every $1 billed to customers by private enterprise utilities. But Federal power enterprises pay no Federal taxes and out of each revenue dollar may pay little or nothing to local and State governments.

Sometimes there is a further difference. Utilities must borrow large sums of money to build their plants and distribution networks. The Federal Government can borrow a little cheaper than private companies. Local tax-exempt bodies can borrow still cheaper. And one Federal program, the Rural Electrification Administration, borrows from the Federal Treasury at 2 percent although the Government has to pay around 4 percent for the long-term funds it lends the REA. Again the taxpayer makes it up.

So if the price paid for Federal power is lower than that for private enterprise power, you can credit these two cost breaks for which every taxpayer is paying extra to make up the difference.

At the present time one-eighth of the installed generating capacity in the United States is Federal power. The pressures for more spreading of this deceptive "bargain" grow regularly.

REA asked for a record appropriation of nearly half a billion dollars this year (although 98 percent of the farmers now have central station electricity). A proposal to build a Federal power unit at an atomic site at Hanford, Wash., was barely defeated in Congress a short time ago. And now Government planners are advocating construction of a Federal national power grid, although private power companies have a nationwide system of interconnections and are building more each year.

The arguments of Federal power proponents don't hold water:

1. There is no need for Federal power where private companies are willing and able to do the job, and this is almost everywhere. The capacity of the industry has doubled about every 10 years.

2. Private utilities have the means and the finances. They already have invested $46 billion in power facilities, and have been spending $3.2 billion a year on new plant and equipment. They will have $88 billion invested by 1970.

3. Federal power costs in actuality are not cheaper. Federal power rates are lower only because of Federal subsidy through tax exemption and cheap money. Indeed, the added tax burden of existing federalized power currently exceeds the supposed savings from its "cheap power."

Nor can the argument be used that private utilities are gouging the public. Private utility returns are regulated rigidly by Government public utilities commissions which ordinarily allow between 5 and 7 percent on invested capital—hardly a get-rich-quick return.

The real issue in Federal power, then, is not efficiency or economy of operation. The real issue is whether we want growing Government and ultimate socialization of the power industry. There is no need for any increase in Federal power if private industry does the job as it has and can. The trend ought to be the other way, if we believe in free enterprise and in tax equity. The Government ought to give private companies the opportunity to take over the Federal power operations upon a demonstration of their ability to do so.

Unless the trend of recent years is stopped, the cost of Federal power to us taxpayers can be expected to go up.

Matched against any standard, the investor-owned electric power industry has demonstrated an amazing record of competence, progress, and service. Rates today are about one-third of what they were 50 years ago. America has more power capacity than the next five countries in the world combined—three times that of the Soviet Union. The American home uses nearly eight times the electricity of the Russian home.

The electric industry is today one of the outstanding examples of successful free enterprise. Should we allow it to be slowly destroyed at the price of industrial socialism and higher taxes?

## Report on 87th Congress, 2d Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the 2d session of the 87th Congress has set a record, at least as to length. More

than 9 months in continuous session makes it the longest election-year congressional session in history, with the exception of certain wartime sessions which ran year round.

The House of Representatives in this session passed something over 550 bills out of the more than 4,500 measures introduced. It has been said before, but it is worth repeating, that bare statistics do not adequately picture the long hours spent by each of us in committee work. It is, of course, in committee where the major part of the work of Congress is done. The 4,500 measures introduced had to be studied and analyzed and discussed in committee. Those which were favorably reported out of committee were again studied and debated on the floor of the House.

I am privileged to serve on what I believe to be the most powerful subcommittee of the House—Defense Appropriations. The larger part of our entire national budget is spent on the military, and as appropriations originate in the House, our Defense Appropriations Subcommittee has unique and great responsibility. I have a keen interest in the work of this important committee, and I feel that here is one of my chief services as a Representative in Congress.

I can report to you that every member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee works diligently in what he believes to be the best interest of his country.

My report on the 2d session of the 87th Congress follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Complete bipartisan cooperation was evidenced in the unanimous vote for our national defense appropriations. This year, it was $48,136,247,000, the highest defense appropriation in peacetime history. In addition to this amount nearly $1.4 billion was appropriated for military construction.

As I have mentioned, I am a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and it was this committee's job to examine every item proposed, and prepare the necessary legislation. On our shoulders—13 of us—rests the responsibility of making the difficult initial decisions affecting the defense budget.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND SPACE

We approved over $3 billion for atomic energy experiments and development. Nearly $4 billion was appropriated for the space program. We also passed the Communications Satellite Act, establishing a commercial communications satellite system with Federal support. This was designed to improve global communications and contribute to better international understanding and world peace. Incidentally, this measure survived a filibuster by a small group of Senators who usually favor Government ownership and control over free enterprise.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Cuba: Both Houses of Congress passed a resolution expressing the determination of the American people to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Communist regime in Cuba from extending its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere. A move to make the language even stronger failed to pass.

Trade: One of the most important pieces of legislation to be enacted by the second session was the Trade Expansion Act. Its main provision authorizes the President to cut tariffs across the board up to 50 percent and to eliminate entirely tariffs on goods of which the United States and the European Economic Community account for 80 percent of the free world trade. Under the provisions of the legislation, the President may raise duties if, in his opinion, such boost is needed to protect domestic interests. The bill also provides for certain tax and loan aid to industries damaged by foreign competition, and for extra unemployment compensation for workers who lose their jobs as a direct result of tariff reductions.

Foreign aid: The Congress looked at foreign aid with a very critical eye this year. There has been general disenchantment with the program. Examples of waste and mismanagement were numerous. Many American businesses and hundreds of thousands of jobs would be wiped out with a sudden closing down of all foreign aid. However, the House made a very deep cut in the appropriation. The Senate restored some of the funds, but the final figure was still considerably lower than that requested by the administration.

U.N. bonds: After much debate, Congress agreed to the U.S. purchase of United Nations bonds, not to exceed $100 million. The bond issue was designed to relieve the financial pressures on the U.N. caused by the refusal of some member nations to pay their share of the expenses for U.N. operations in the Congo and the Middle East. Let us hope that nations can be compelled to pay their just dues, and that the bond issue will not create a precedent.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Tax reform: The new tax bill, as finally passed, was not the bill recommended by the President. Again heeding the voice of the people, who sent in letters to their Congressmen by the tens of thousands, Congress struck out the provision for the withholding of taxes on interest and dividends.

Self-employed pensions: The bill as finally agreed to would allow the self-employed individual to provide himself a pension plan wherein he could deposit up to $2,500 a year and make half of his annual deposit tax exempt. The final version of the bill did not provide so great an incentive to establish voluntary retirement programs as originally designed. However, it did equalize the pension position of the company employee and that of the self-employed person. The House and Senate conferees deleted some Senate amendments which would have had a damaging effect on company pension plans and profit-sharing plans.

Postal rates: Congress passed the bill to raise by 1 cent the basic postal rates on first-class mail and raised the rates on second- and third-class mail on a graduated scale. Under the provisions of the bill, Communist propaganda would not be delivered unless addressee, after notification, advises he wants it. Libraries and certain professional institutions would be exempt from this provision.

Federal pay raise: Civil service and postal employees, under the provisions of legislation passed by both Houses, would get about a 10-percent salary increase in two stages, and legislative employees would get a 7-percent increase, this designed to make the Federal workers' pay comparable to that paid for similar work in private industry. Federal retirees would receive a 5-percent boost.

Public works: The public works acceleration bill was designed to provide public works and employment in areas of high unemployment. The President had requested $1.5 billion for this program; this was cut almost in half.

Ohio projects: An appropriation of $1,553,000 was voted to continue the Cleveland Harbor Improvement program. Also included was an item of $74,000 to continue the Army Corps of Engineers' technical study of the feasibility of constructing Tinkers Creek Dam to prevent flooding of the Cuyahoga River.

Antipoll tax: A constitutional amendment doing away with poll taxes was passed by the Congress and submitted to the States for ratification. To become law the constitutional amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the States. This was the only major civil rights measure to be approved during this session.

Retraining: The Manpower Retraining Act, passed and now in effect, provides funds for the retraining of persons whose job skills are no longer in demand, and for on-the-job training.

Drug protection: Additional requirements were imposed by legislation to improve procedures of drug manufacture, testing, inspection and informing the medical profession and the public. Under the new law, drugs must be shown to be effective as well as safe. Furthermore, a drug suspected of being hazardous may be withdrawn from public use.

Housing for elderly: The Senior Citizens Housing Act, passed and enacted into law, authorizes an increase of $100 million for direct loans for urban rentals and another $100 million to broaden the rural housing program for the elderly.

Mass vaccination: Another piece of legislation passed by Congress is the Vaccination Assistance Act, which launches a 3-year program of special grants to States for mass vaccination against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus.

Federal aid to education: The bill designed to provide assistance to primary and secondary schools never came out of committee. Though the House originally passed the college aid bill, providing for grants and loans to public and private colleges for construction of buildings to be used for science, engineering, and general classroom purposes, but not for chapels, divinity schools, or sports facilities, the student scholarship provision was not acceptable to the House. The conference report was recommitted so no final action was taken.

Health care for aged: The Senate defeated the administration-backed bill to

provide medical care for the aged under social security. Among objections to the bill was the fact that it covered only those older people already under social security, leaving some millions of needy older people unprotected, while, at the same time, providing care for many wealthy people who need no help, all at the expense of the working taxpayer. The "medicare" bill, usually referred to as the King-Anderson bill, did not do many of the things generally expected of it. It made no provision for doctor or surgeon fees, and the patient would have to bear the first $90 of hospital expenses plus a $20 diagnosis fee. We already have medical care legislation, the Kerr-Mills Act, providing for Federal and State cooperation in taking care of all medical expenses of the aged who need financial help. Approximately half of the States are already operating a Kerr-Mills program. Some of those who opposed the King-Anderson bill felt that private and nonprofit groups should be given a chance to provide the needed services, with possibly Federal aid to the needy in the payment of premiums. Congress will certainly be considering alternative solutions to this very real and important problem in the next session.

OTHER MEASURES WHICH FAILED

The youth employment bill, resurrecting the old Civilian Conservation Corps idea died in committee.

The creation of a new Department of Urban Affairs was defeated by the House early in the session.

The administration's farm bill was killed in the House, and a less controversial substitute passed.

The wilderness bill never received final consideration.

The mass transit bill to provide Federal aid to communities for traffic problems did not receive final consideration.

FOR THE FUTURE

The 88th Congress will inherit many left over legislative problems from the 87th Congress—among them, taxes, labor, medical care for the aged, aid to education, mass transportation, a youth employment program, tighter controls over farming, marketing, stock sales.

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## The Coming Explosion in Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, up until last year perhaps a majority of Americans had been sold the line that the Government of Red China was efficient and, while ruthless, the people of the country did not mind that too much because they were unaccustomed to democracy. They really were much better off than ever before. A few of us who had lived in China in the supposedly terrible days of 20 and 30 years ago never could accept this line. We had seen the Communist system firsthand, and we knew it would not work; it was too inhuman, too cruel, too immoral.

Mr. Speaker, 3 years of bad weather and 12 years of bad management have brought failure to the Communist regime and utterly terrible disaster to the long-suffering people of China. No one should expect them with sticks and stone to successfully overthrow their Communist tyrants. But the Chinese through the centuries have shown a remarkable capacity to frustrate a regime that has become intolerable, through sheer massive disapproval that operates by a sort of common consent, unorganized but nonetheless real and powerful.

Mr. Speaker, a penetrating study of what has actually been happening in Red China, while so many were deceived by rosy propaganda, appeared in the Saturday Evening Post for August 15, 1962, written by Mr. Joseph Alsop, who is one of the few writers on Far Eastern affairs who knows what he is talking about from long firsthand experience in that part of the world. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the article:

THE COMING EXPLOSION IN RED CHINA

(By Joseph Alsop)

(NOTE.—Joseph Alsop, the columnist and brother of Post Washington Editor Stewart Alsop, knows China as few Americans do, and his sources of information in Washington, in London and at the listening post of Hong Kong are unexcelled. Mr. Alsop first began his association with the Chinese as aide to Gen. Claire L. Chennault, commanding the American Volunteer Air Force when these "Flying Tigers" were helping Chiang Kai-shek fight the Japanese before the United States entered World War II. While on a mission to obtain desperately needed parts for Chennault's battered planes, Alsop was captured by the Japanese in Hong Kong. Later he was exchanged as a prisoner of war. Since the end of World War II Alsop has made many trips to Hong Kong to collect exclusive material from refugees who pour in from Communist China and other sources. He has recently returned again from the British Crown Colony.)

The present plight of Communist China raises at the very outset a basic political question: Are there any limits at all to the hardships Communist police states can safely inflict on the peoples they have got into their grip?

Remembering Josef Stalin, many believe there are no such limits, and in that case there is no use asking whether Communist China will explode from within. I deeply believe, however, that there are limits; and although these limits are not easy to define, I think their existence is easy to prove by a rather simple imaginary case. Consider, for instance, the greatest single difficulty facing Mao Tse-tung. China is a rich land, with far too many people. If half the Chinese people were killed, they would still be the earth's most numerous race (for India is multiracial); and Mao would then find it far easier to transform China into a military-industrial giant power on the Russian model, which is what he wants.

But suppose the order went out from Peiping to march half of China's 600 million-plus away to the public slaughterhouses. Suppose the further order were given to compost the 300-million-plus corpses for fertilizer, which the Chinese fields need very badly, just as Mao very badly needs a better ratio of resources to population. In these circumstances, could Mao really rely on the obedience of his army and the loyalty of his secret police?

When the logic of the problem is tested in this manner, our first question answers itself. Let us assume, then, that it is dangerous for Mao to go too far in inflicting hardship on his people. In that case, even though we cannot exactly define "too far," the present plight of China raises the other, much more startling question: whether Communist China may not now be moving toward an explosion point.

This question does not have to be asked just because China is hunger-racked this year. One bad year would never be enough to cause the breakdown of an iron system like Chinese communism. The trouble is that in China one bad year has been succeeding another with cruel regularity. Since 1959, in fact, Communist China has been caught in a remorseless descending spiral, each year growing hungrier and hungrier, producing less and less, and suffering more and more painful inner strains. It even begins to look as though this downward spiral may be self-perpetuating. And it is also illogical to suppose that any human society, including the iron Chinese Communist society, can go on spiraling downward indefinitely—always growing hungrier, always producing less, always suffering increasing strains—without experiencing some sort of decisive breakdown or blowup in the end.

If this year's harvest is generous, of course, the Chinese leaders can assuage their people's hunger; and the downward spiral may then be reversed. But the Western experts are again beginning to forecast another bad harvest in China. I myself suspect there are reasons, which I shall try to explain, why China's downward spiral almost forbids a generous harvest. We shall soon see whether this suspicion is well founded. Meanwhile, even if a bounteous crop in 1962 at last changes the trend, this strange descending spiral has already dragged China down and down for 3 years on end. It is a mysterious, quite unprecedented process, well worth study for its own sake without regard to the future.

RED MEGALOMANIA AT WORK

The decisive, initial down twist of China's descending spiral began rather more than 3 years ago, with the most megalomaniac proclamations ever heard from the Peking leaders. Almost overnight China was to realize Mao's ambition of military-industrial giant power status by a great leap forward. The great leap was to be aided by the quasi-military organization of all of Chinese agriculture in farm communes—vast, drilled rural slave-labor camps, each comprising 30,000 to 40,000 peasants, in which at the outset even love was supposed to be rationed, with husbands and wives sleeping in different communal dormitories.

There was much that was phony, and there was a lot that was plain crazy in the first trumpetings about the great leap. Those communal dormitories were never built, for instance, although the people were herded together to eat in communal messhalls. And in the plain-crazy category were the so-called "backyard Bessemer" campaign to produce steel in the villages, and some of the other industrial planning as well.

Yet the first year of the great leap, if judged by Mao's aims, seemed to be a success on the whole. Even after making due allowance for inflated claims, China's industrial output was greatly increased in 1959, and China's industrial base was also greatly expanded by new capital construction. The trouble that first year centered in the countryside. After only 3 months, reports began to trickle out of China that the tables were bare in the commune messhalls. By the autumn of 1959 the tragic refugees who continued to pour into Hong Kong and Macao were reporting a condition of creeping starvation, throughout the whole countryside of China. But Mao had plainly intended,

from the very first, to make the countryside pay for the new industry in the towns. Hence all appeared to be going according to Mao's plan.

This proved to be wholly incorrect during the next great down twist of the spiral, in the years 1960 and 1961. Despite the progress of industry in 1959, Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues were evidently frightened by the countryside's plunge into misery. In consequence, the policies of the great leap and the farm communes have been junked, bit by bit but almost in toto, although the empty phrases are still being mouthed in order to save the regime's face.

At the outset industrial targets were merely lowered, and new investment in industry was considerably reduced. By the end of 1961, however, all hope of industrial growth had been temporarily abandoned, and all capital construction had been ordered stopped. Worse still, industrial output from existing plant also suffered a vertiginous drop without parallel in any other nation in the postwar era. By the winter of 1962 Chinese industry was expertly estimated to be producing at no more than 30 percent of capacity. All over China, factories that had been built or improved with resources wrung from the unhappy peasantry were now lying idle and empty. This industrial collapse was covered with the slogan: "All aid to agriculture."

RETREAT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

In the countryside, meanwhile, the Government made the same sort of retreat, almost turning into a rout. The communal messhalls were abandoned. The peasants were granted tiny pocket handkerchiefs of land as private plots. The ambitious structure of the farm communes was progressively dismantled and dismembered, and the basic agriculture producing unit was again and again reduced in size. The party cadres in the villages, at the beginning encouraged to dragoon the peasant masses without mercy, were in the end enjoined to follow slavishly the farming advise of the more experienced peasants.

Maybe these humiliating tergiversations and concessions will have the hoped-for effect this year in the form of a good harvest. But it is notable that the retreat in the countryside began early in 1960, without producing any good effect whatever in that year or in 1961. For these years, we have only the unprocessed reports of Hong Kong and Macao refugees of the same creeping starvation that began in 1959. In Hong Kong today, however, the refugee evidence—which is all the useful evidence we have about rural China—has at last begun to be scientifically collected and analyzed—and with truly shocking results. In the late winter of 1962, to be specific, the Chinese masses were found to be enjoying a diet level averaging from 1,300 to 1,600 calories per person per day, according to the individual's labor category. For people engaged in hard manual labor, this is worse than creeping starvation; yet the figures include all supplements, such as the extra food produced on the peasants' private plots.

GOOD HARVEST OR MORE HUNGER

The figures have to be believed, being based on the most careful analysis of a huge mass of firsthand testimony; but it is not possible to believe that the Chinese masses have been so hideously undernourished for 3 years on end. Hence we may guess that by the end of 1959 the average diet level in China was in the neighborhood of 1,800 calories per person per day, which is already creeping starvation for manual workers. And we may suppose that the level then dropped, after two more bad harvests, to the desperately low point indicated by the Hong Kong figures for the late winter of 1962.

Such have been the main features of the second downtwist of the Chinese spiral. It was far more terrible than the first downtwist. On the first round the Chinese peasant masses were forced to pay with misery for industrial growth. During the second round the misery deepened, and the industry it had been supposed to pay for also fell into ruin. And unless China is rescued by this year's harvest, I fear an even more terrible third downtwist of the spiral must be expected, because of surprising new developments last spring.

One such was the sudden flood of refugees across the Hong Kong border. No other Communist state has ever tolerated anything like this refugee flood, except Hungary in the climactic weeks of the uprising in Budapest. The flood was stopped when the Nationalist government had just decided to offer sanctuary in Formosa to unlimited numbers of the poor wretches whom the Hong Kong authorities were turning back. Even so, the Communists' temporary toleration of the refugee flood was a clear sign of some sort of grave inner weakness, though a weakness, obviously, that could be surmounted when absolutely necessary.

MILITARY BUILDUP VERSUS CHIANG

Inner weakness is also indicated by the recent Communist movement of large numbers of additional troops into the Formosa Strait area. We do not know whether these troops will or will not be used to attack the Nationalists' offshore islands. At present one can say only that this seems unlikely, as it seems unlikely, for simple logistical reasons, that there is any foundation for the widespread talk about a major Chinese military movement into southeast Asia. Meanwhile, we know quite well, since the Chinese Communist leaders have publicly told us so, that they are moving new troops into the Formosa Strait area primarily because they fear an attempted return to the mainland by Chiang Kai-shek. It used to be Chiang who feared the Communists, not the Communists, Chiang. The Communists must be moving in new troops either because they do not trust their huge permanent garrison in the area of the Formosa Strait or because they believe the people there would rally to Chiang. Otherwise Chiang's threatened landing could not possibly be feared.

It can be seen, then, why the refugee flood and the new troop movement are surprising developments. Yet I still be lieve they are much less ominous than a recent order by Premier Chou En-lai that at least 30 percent of the people of China's cities and industrial centers must be sent back to the countryside without undue delay. As a result, according to reliable report, 800,000 people in Canton city alone have been told to go back to the famished rural areas of Kwangtung province. This, we now know, was the origin of the refugee flood across the Hong Kong border.

Chou's order applies, however, not just to Canton but to every city of China, and it will affect anywhere from 15 to 30 million people—you may choose which estimate you please. No doubt there is no work left for these people in the cities. No doubt the cities have no food stocks to meet the rations of so many useless hands. But consider the social effect of driving these millions out, to shift for themselves as best they can, into a countryside already deep in misery and want. These millions of poor wretches are bound to have the effect of so many loose parts rattling dangerously about in the works of a machine already dangerously out of kilter. Altogether, the next down-twist of China's spiral is likely to be disturbingly dramatic in character.

IN STALIN'S FIRM FOOTSTEPS

The effects of China's descending spiral have now been studied in enough detail to prove that the strange spiral really exists. But why does it exist? What caused it? Even if this year's harvest is unexpectedly good, why has this grim process already gripped China for 3 long years, despite all the remedies attempted by an all-powerful government?

The answer to these questions, I believe, is to be found in the model Mao Tse-tung was unquestionably following. Just 30 years before Mao's great leap, Stalin began the forced industrialization of the Soviet Union by collectivizing agriculture and inaugurating the first 5-year plan. Each of these measures was purposeful in itself, but behind them both there was a deeper purpose. The deeper purpose of Stalin's program was to divert resources normally but (as Stalin thought) wastefully consumed by human beings, and to use these diverted resources for the higher aim of increasing the state's industrial power. This diversion of resources was needful in order to finance forced industrialization. Because they produced most of the resources that were to be diverted, peasantry had to be taken firmly in hand by collectivization. The effect of the diversion can be clearly seen in the 50-percent drop in the Russian standard of life during the first 2 years of the first 5-year plan. Yet Stalin's program achieved its aim, although at a cost of no less than 17 million human lives sacrificed by famine, by purge and by slave labor to the new Moloch of our era, forced industrialization.

The important point to note is that the diversion of resources and the resulting drop in the Russian living standard were necessary and unavoidable features of the Stalinist model which Mao followed. This point is crucial, in turn, because of the enormous differences between Mao's situation in 1950 and Stalin's situation in 1929. I could list a dozen factors that favored Stalin in 1929 and were unfavorable to Mao in 1959, ranging from China's poorer mineral deposits and weaker industrial base, all the way to China's ancient, intractable pattern of agriculture. But the key factor unfavorable to Mao was the great difference between the Russian standard of life that Stalin forced down, and the Chinese standard of life that Mao forced down.

RATIONING CHINA'S HUNGER

In Walt W. Rostow's farsighted study, "The Prospects for Communist China," we find the estimate that in 1928 Russian per capita income—in other words, the average Russian living standard—was four times as high as Chinese per capita income in 1952. In China after 1952 the living standard dropped still further. Thus Stalin in 1929 engineered a 50 percent drop in a living standard which had a considerable safety margin, whereas Mao in 1959 engineered a comparable drop in a living standard which had no safety margin at all.

Stalin worried little about local consequences, and some of these, like the Ukrainian famine, were very dire indeed. Mao took great care to avoid anything like the Ukrainian famine by rationing the hunger over the whole Chinese population. Overall, however, Stalin, having so much more margin, never had to push his people below a bearable subsistence level; he never impaired their power to labor and obey; and thus the end result was a success, at least in Stalin's terms. Mao, in contrast, because he had no margin at all, necessarily pushed his people far below a bearable subsistence level; and thus the immediate result was catastrophic. We may infer that it was catastrophic, even in Mao's own eyes, from the contrast between Mao's subsequent behavior and Stalin's subsequent behavior.

We cannot suppose that Mao is either more humane or less ruthless than Stalin was. Yet Stalin unhesitatingly went forward to his goal, wading along the road through riv-

ers of blood; whereas Mao soon quailed, gave the signal for a change of course, and began a series of desperate attempts to repair the damage he had done.

I think that these attempts have failed, at least thus far, because the reckless depression of the living standard of the Chinese masses in 1959 was an irreparably damaging act, like stoving a huge hole in the bottom of a boat. At any rate, it was an act which demonstrably produced consequences that fed upon themselves. As an example, consider the story of the peasants' private plots.

The plots were granted in the first instance, we may be reasonably certain, because the Communist leaders wished to let the dangerously hungry peasants supplement their government-issued rations. Only the poorer, unirrigated land was parceled out, and even today all the tiny parcels put together can hardly amount to more than one-half of 1 percent of the total cultivated land area in China. On this small share of China's land the peasants have indeed managed to produce an astonishing amount of extra food. But one reason for their success lies in the fact that Chinese peasants, being marvelous farmers, regard manure as an inestimably precious substance.

SELFISHNESS WITH MANURE

The sternest police state cannot control the individual's disposition of his own excrement. In pre-Communist China human manure constituted at least 30 percent of all the fertilizer available for China's fields. Today, because of the sharp fall in animal population, the human-manure percentage of China's total fertilizer supply must be considerably higher than in the old days. Chinese peasants being Chinese peasants, it is perfectly certain that just about all the human manure in rural China is now being used on the peasants' private plots. Imagine, then, the effect of more than a quarter of the total available fertilizer supply being placed on one-half of 1 percent of the cultivated land—and that the poorer land. The effect was all too plain to see in the last harvest.

The problem of "selfishness with manure," as the Communists officially call it, is most emphatically not a laughing matter, however much Westerners unfamiliar with Chinese agriculture may be inclined to titter. But the state of health and reserves of energy of the persistently undernourished Chinese masses almost certainly constitute another problem of an even more serious order. To the commonsense observer many persons normally wise in Chinese matters approach this central problem in a way that is wrongheaded to the point of being exasperating. These experts refuse to believe the refugee testimony about general undernourishment, although it is our only firsthand testimony, because they say the Chinese masses could not possibly go on working and producing if they were so seriously undernourished.

Almost in the same breath these same experts rightly pooh-pooh the Chinese Communist attempts to blame China's recurrent bad harvests on "natural calamities"—and this leaves the experts with an unresolved mystery. How much simpler to assume that the health and productivity of the Chinese peasantry have indeed been impaired by continuing undernourishment. How much more logical to take this very fact as a prime reason for Chinese agriculture's mysterious failure to recover, despite all the Communists' retreats and all their concessions to the peasantry in the years since 1959.

Perhaps this year those concessions and retreats will at last secure a good harvest. But it is at least equally likely that they will fail to affect the harvest, as in the past two years. A final question therefore presents itself. If China's downward spiral is not reversed—if the hunger grows greater, output grows less and the internal strains continue to mount—some sort of breaking point will unavoidably be reached, if not this year, then next year; if not next year, then the year after. But if a breaking point is finally reached, what will break, and how?

INVISIBLE POPULATION DECLINE

The first possibility is that the Chinese people will break. I myself believe that the Chinese population stopped growing and began to decline at least two years ago. There is some direct evidence to this effect, such as refugee reports of widespread failure of female ovulation and menstruation. Furthermore, you must conclude that the population is declining if you believe the refugee testimony about the prevailing Chinese diet level, as I do. If there is another bad harvest this year, this slow, as yet invisible population decline is highly likely to become visible and dramatic.

The first victims, one would guess, will be the ejected city dwellers who have nowhere to turn except to rural relatives already living on the brink of famine. But among the whole mass of the peasantry one would also expect grave cumulative effects from the continuation, for still another year, of the severe undernourishment that has prevailed so long. As noted earlier, Mao Tse-tung's problems will be greatly simplified by a massive decline of the Chinese population. With the same land producing just about as much as before—as it would do—and with far fewer people to feed, the diversion of resources to China's industrialization would be immeasurably less difficult. If Mao can just hang on somehow, while the people he leads are reduced in numbers by something like one quarter, he may have won the "bitter struggle" he is always boasting about—at a cost of about 150 million human lives. This kind of adjustment of the resources-population ratio is entirely possible over a period of years. But I am persuaded that something else will break before a quarter of the Chinese are exterminated by their government's own act.

NEW LEADERS FOR OLD?

The next possibility is that the regime will break, but without a break in the system. A palace revolution, bringing in new Chinese Communist leaders, is an imaginable event. New leaders could do what Mao can hardly do any longer. They could imitate Lenin's proclamation of the new economic policy, which temporarily threw Communist theory out the window, and put some fat back on starving Russia in the twenties. The Chinese people could then be counted on to do the rest because of their astonishing resilience, energy, and ingenuity. In this event, I think, Chinese recovery would be surprisingly rapid. But standing in the way of such an event, unless death suddenly takes him, there will always be the powerful, obstructive figure of Father Mao.

So we come to the third and last possibility, which is a breakdown of Father Mao's Chinese Communist system. Once again it is illogical to say, as some say, that Communist systems cannot break down. Any system of human society will automatically break down if the people rebel and the army sides with the people. It is also false to say that Communist armies, because of their special privileges, can be counted on never to side with the people. The Hungarian army was specially privileged but sided with the people. Furthermore, Chinese history shows more than one example of revolutions much more closely resembling spontaneous combustion in a hay barn than anything we in the West think of as a proper revolution. These characteristic Chinese revolutions have strated with spontaneous uprisings of the despairing masses. They have altogether lacked established leaders, prepared programs and all the rest of the conventional revolutionary apparatus. They have succeeded because the armed forces, being recruited from the peasantry, went over to the peasants' side. Both the former Chinese dynasties that were most akin to Mao's government—both immensely strong police states, both of which had reunited and remodeled China—were brought down by these spontaneous-combustion revolutions.

A LESSON FROM HISTORY

The beginning of the end of the Ch'in dynasty, which founded the Chinese Empire on Stalinist principles more than 2,000 years before Stalin, was a sudden rebellion led by an unknown farm laborer in a gang of a few hundred conscripts. The army on that occasion quickly rallied to the people. And the power of Ch'in, the greatest the world had ever seen at that date, was not even a major factor in the struggle for the succession within a few months after the ignorant peasant, Chen She, raised the standard of revolt. Because such things happened long ago, it is foolish to suppose that they are bound to happen again. But it is equally foolish to suppose that they can never happen again. Therefore, I repeat, the system may break down in China; and if the army rallies to the people, the system will break down.

Beyond this point we cannot fruitfully look. If there is an explosion in China, the Soviets may or may not intervene. Chiang Kai-shek may or may not inject himself. Survivors of the existing system may or may not recapture the leadership in the ensuing turmoil. The new leaders may or may not call themselves Communists. All, indeed, is uncertain except one thing: China's descending spiral cannot continue unendingly without causing at least one of the three kinds of breakdown which I have tried to outline. And if this year's harvest is another failure, the time will have come to begin watching for a breakdown.

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## The Free World Cries for U.S. Initiative: We Are Beginning to Show Some

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the United States is beginning to exercise initiative and action in meeting the Cuban threat. I have been advised that use of U.S. ports will be denied to any ship engaging in Cuban commerce. This information greatly enhances the progress which has been achieved in the last several weeks, and, although the Soviets are still in Cuba, their expulsion becomes a greater possibility as the U.S. Government faces more readily the challenge presented to it. As you will recall, action is being taken for maximum defense precautions to guarantee the security of the Southeastern United States, reducing the possibility of Soviet action from the underbelly of America. In addition, hearings have just been concluded by the House Select Committee on Export Control, where the matter of free world vessels going to Cuba was given extensive investigation.

These developments are gratifying to the American people and the will of this

Nation that Cuba be dealt with realistically is beginning to receive proper interpretation and executive action. A democracy sometimes weaves a slow and tortuous course and it must be emphasized at this point that the action now beginning to occur is due in large part to the Congress of the United States.

On September 12, I took the floor of the House to urge seven specific steps for unilateral action against the Russian buildup in Cuba. Just prior to that, I introduced a resolution reaffirming the principles of the Monroe Doctrine and groundwork was laid for unilateral action with the passage of S.J. Res. 230, the final congressional declaration of support for unilateral action included in the seven points which I urged were:

First. Air and surface military exercises in international waters off Cuba with warnings to world shipping that such exercises are taking place.

Second. Alert the U.S. Armed Forces to exercise maximum defense of the southeastern United States. The Congress, through its Committee on Armed Services, has called for such action by the Defense Department.

Third. The barring of U.S. ports to any ship which traffics with Cuba. Official action within the executive has been announced today on this point. Hopefully, there will be no qualifications to the cargoes these vessels carry to Cuba but it will apply instead to the simple fact that they trade with Cuba.

Fourth. The Congress precipitated the ban on allied shipping to Cuba by the investigation which I urged on September 20 into the subject of allied shipping to Cuba. Hearings held by the House Select Committee on Export Control contributed greatly in making the facts known to the American people. Allied cooperation has already begun, and West German, Turkish and Norwegian shipping no longer engage in the heavy Cuban trading.

Mr. Speaker, we are beginning to act. With decisive action by the United States, our cold war strategy will be given new life and America will achieve true results in the cold war. The free world cries for U.S. initiative. We are beginning to show some.

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## The Wheatley Ranch Offered to the Public as a Park and Wildlife Sanctuary in Hill Country of Texas

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Wheatley, of San Antonio, Tex., have developed a 5,000-acre ranch in the hill country of Texas, west of Austin, on which 1,200 deer and 1,500 wild turkeys roam, and which abounds, too, with coyotes, foxes, bobcats, raccoons, opossums, rabbits, squirrels, and many forms of birdlife. It is called the fisherman's paradise. They have put years of their money and life into conserving all wild things in this spectacular area in the hill country of Texas, about 60 miles west of the State capital city of Austin.

Now, they have offered it as a public park to the State of Texas, on condition that the State develop it. But before they offered it to the State, they were considering an offer to the Federal Government of this land as a parksite, and if the State of Texas does not accept it—and it may not under the circumstances—then they plan to offer it to the Federal Government.

Mr. Charles A. Wheatley was one of the organizers and is now trustee of the North American Wildlife Foundation, and is a director of the Wildlife Management Institute. Mr. Wheatley was the first president of the Izaak Walton League in Texas, and he pioneered in reorganizing the Texas Game and Fish Commission. Mrs. Wheatley is author or a book titled "Lady Angler."

These Texas citizens are helping to preserve a part of the heritage over which the red man roamed, and which a new generation of Americans growing up in cities badly need to commune with in the years of their youth.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a full page article from the San Antonio Light of Tuesday, September, 25, 1962, about the Wheatleys, written by Mr. Glenn Tucker, under the caption of "A Gift of Wild, Beautiful Rangeland."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GIFT OF WILD, BEAUTIFUL RANGELAND

(By Glenn Tucker)

High in the hill country, about 9 miles east of Johnson City, lies a sprawling 4,778-acre ranch known as the Circle Bar. No artist, no poet could capture in pictures or words a more graphic example of an old western "spread."

Wild with color and spectacular scenery, the acreage abounds in hills, ravines, rocks, sand, lakes, and flowers. It is good, rich land—land which oldtimers would have worked a lifetime to acquire, and which they would have fought to defend.

The owners, the C. A. Wheatleys, of San Antonio, are typical of the spirit and enterprise which helped forge a great, prosperous Southwest. They have donated their Circle Bar Ranch to Texas for the purpose of establishing a State park.

GAME PARADISE

The Wheatleys said they wanted to see their vast ranch turned into a wildlife and game paradise for all of Texas during their lifetime.

Oilman Wheatley, a gentleman of the old school, is no novice concerning animal life and conservation. He was the first president of the Izaak Walton League in the State, and pioneered in reorganizing the Texas Game and Fish Commission.

His wife, a refined, charming lady with a winning smile, has been active in outdoor affairs most of her life, and is author of a book on fishing, "Lady Angler."

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLAR CONDITION

And if the couple has anything to say about it (and certainly they will), the Wheatley State Park is not going to be another of those "showroom" parks—laden with tables, chairs, signs, posters, and refuse containers.

"We want the park to be preserved in its natural beauty as much as possible," Mrs. Wheatley said. "Too many State parks are all alike—this one is going to be different."

They donated the ranch on the condition the State appropriate $250,000 for improvements, money very necessary to convert the predominately wild ranch to a safe public place.

It is expected the next session of the legislature will provide these funds and complete transfer of the gift.

"The money for the most part," Mrs. Wheatley explained, "will go for making roads, picnic tables and cooking grills, and minimum facilities such as water and electrical power."

"We're proud of our spread," the genial oil man said, and he has reason to be. His sweeping brick home overlooks a dotted landscape replete with elm, cedar, hackberry, live oak, and the lovely mesquite.

Wildlife experts have estimated the ranch now contains 1,200 head of deer, 1,500 wild turkeys, plus coyotes, foxes, bobcats, raccoons, opossums, rabbits, and squirrels. Howard Dodgen, executive secretary of the State game and fish commission, has called the property "a fisherman's paradise."

RESTOCKED

Dodgen said the Pedernales River, which borders the vast ranch, is constantly being restocked from Lake Travis by the natural tendency of the fish to move upstream. The fish, including catfish, black bass, and perch are stopped from further movement upstream by a series of gliding falls over sweeping limestone rock formations.

A great portion of the animals, particularly the deer, are tame. When James Smith, Mrs. Wheatley's brother, sounds the gong in front of the ranchhouse, the deer quietly appear from the trees for handouts of bread—and they literally eat from hand to mouth.

The ranch is full of natural wonders to delight any outdoorsman. In the gigantic ravine in the northwest part of the spread are beautiful, dipping falls, delicate rock formations, a 25-foot deep sand bed, a limestone spring, two caves, and a natural old swimming hole. Gigantic catfish and carp flit through the racing waters, frolic on the sandbars, and leap out of the water.

MANY EXPECTED

The most noticeable change when the park opens, about 18 months from now, will be in the hordes of vacationers and tourists.

"It's strictly a city park now," State parks board member Reese Martin said. "I'll bet there are not 500 or 1,000 people who use the park each year who are not from Blanco County."

Board officials estimate the new park will attract more than 750,000 visitors a year.

Meanwhile, however, the ranch is closed to the general public, understandably. The Wheatleys, who shuttle back and forth between their Alamo City home and the Circle Bar, have received many inquiries. One Houston man wrote the State parks board he had his boat loaded and asked for instructions for reaching the ranch.

BIG RESPONSE

Public response to the bequest has been tremendous. Maurice Turner, chairman of the parks board, called it a "magnificent gesture." State representative Jake Johnson, in a telegram to the Wheatleys said, "Your donation of the ranch reflects to the highest degree what a Texan conceives of his homeland * * * your generosity will serve as an inspiration for generations to come."

Quite incidentally the new park will be especially enticing to southwest Texas city dwellers because of its convenient location: Only 33 miles from Austin and 70 miles from San Antonio.

It means, for the area's urban population, the fruition of a dream: That with a relatively short drive he can escape the frenzy of traffic and the confines of cramped quarters and find himself in heady communion with nature.

The Wheatleys are very modest about their generous gift, and can't see any reason for all the "fuss."

"We have always wanted to do something for the State and for conservation," Mrs. Wheatley said. "We hope people will be happy with what we have done."

It's pretty certain the people will be.

## Buffalo Vernon: King of the Bulldozers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Mason Valley News, of Yerington, Nev., written by Claude Keema, an award winning sports columnist and full-time Nevada sheriff whose careful research has brought to light the glamorous history of early day Nevadans who dominated the various sports activities of their day. This article, entitled "Buffalo Vernon: King of the Bulldozers," exemplifies his painstaking work and will be the basis for the submission of Vernon's name to the Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUFFALO VERNON

(By Claude Keema)

Charles Wellington Furlong, in his fine book, "Let 'Er Buck," was describing some of the great performers who had participated at the Pendleton Roundups prior to publication of the story in 1921. Prominent in the narration were a few paragraphs which I now quote from the story by this fine cowboy historian:

"And we mustn't forget 'Buffalo' Vernon. Vernon hasn't showed up for some years now, but in the first two shows, particularly 1910, 'Buff' was it, he was half the show. He was one of the very first at the bulidogging game, won the first championship and showed a lot of the aftercomers the way. In his ornate chapps, yellow shirt and big well-seasoned sombrero which he wore in a way to the manner born, he will always be remembered as one of the most spectacular performers in the early shows.

"The last night of the 1910 roundup will also be remembered when enthusiasm for Vernon ran so high at the dance that 'Buff' went home minus the famous yellow topside clothing, for the dance wound up with a maverick race by all hands, girls included, for pieces of Vernon's shirt as souvenirs—such was the way popularity was roped at the roundup that year."

And again in describing the action under a subtitle "Rope 'Im Cowboy," Furlong has this to say:

"A steer is loosed! It's Buffalo Vernon after him—Swish! he is roped—thrown, but the little cowpony, Spot, too, plays his part well, for now that the steer is down he must hold the rope taut, while Vernon dismounts and with surprising dexterity 'hogties' the steer, looping a number of half hitches about the hind feet and one forefoot, thus lashing three legs of the steer together. All from start to finish in 22 seconds. Busting? Well, right under your nose all through is proof that the art of the lariat or rope, as your cowboy has it, is not lost. "Down and tying—the finest wrinkles of the art of the old range, are all there."

An illustration of "The Cow Pony's End of the Game" carries this comment:

"In this case of old 'Spot,' a well-known, beloved character at Pendleton, and probably the best trained cow pony in the country you see him well upholding the cow pony's end of the game while Buff Vernon hogties the steer."

And for just one more comment from the book, listen to these words:

"Steer bulldogging originated in cowboys first wrestling with young calves, then gradually larger and larger animals were taken on. It is one of the few sports that does not appear to have been a recognized ranch sport emanating from the work of the range, but it has now found its place as a roundup classic. It was first introduced into Pendleton by Buffalo Vernon, that first king of bulldoggers. He bulldogged at the first roundup in 1910 for exhibition, then the next year along came Dell Blancett and entered the contest as they had both done it at Cheyenne and at the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch in Oklahoma.

"Buff Vernon also introduced bulldogging at Cheyenne and with a sprained wrist to boot. This was when Col. Theodore Roosevelt was there and put Cheyenne on the map as a result. 'Teddy' shook hands with Buff and complimented him in the inimitable way that T.R. had."

And now faithful readers, settle back in your easy chairs while I spin you a yarn the likes of which, I assure you, has never been spread on the pages of this newspaper before. Do you know who Furlong was talking about? Yes sir, our old buddy Jess B. Vernon, "Doc" or "Buff" or "Buffalo," or whatever other monicker you may have known him by.

Those of you who read my weekly column know of the recent dilemma I have been having in trying to locate the true facts about our old friend. I was disturbed and so were you over a picture appearing recently in the Western Horseman magazine which implied that Buffalo Vernon was still alive and bulldogging steers. And then there was quite a yarn involved, which included Chief Iron Tail and Old Nip the Bison to boot. Research by Rae Steinheimer has revealed that Iron Tail was only one of three Indians, whose composite picture adorns the buffalo nickel. Write that down for gospel. Further, the identity of the buffalo is unknown to the Director of the U.S. Mint. So any buffalo wishing to claim this distinction, can doubtless do so. Now we won't quarrel either, with anyone who claims to be Buffalo Vernon. After all, there has been more than one George Washington. But when you get around to saying the George Washington, that is another matter. And so I say that the Buffalo Vernon, the one who originally used the name, and made it famous, the one who was the pioneer and the world's champion in the bulldogging sport, and who thrilled audiences all over the world prior to and during the World War I period, was the one who lived in this community for many years before his death.

As you can plainly see, both from this story and the accompanying illustrations, there can be only one Buffalo Vernon story, and this is it.

Many of you were helpful to me in my quest, as I have stated before. But everyone had only stories, but nothing in black and white for irrefutable proof. It remained for Johnnie Perri, a longtime friend and trapping buddy of Buff's to supply the key thought that heretofore had been overlooked. An offhand remark, that opened the door for me. Ten minutes later, I knew that I would somehow get the story. Four days later I had verified proof that I would, and some 3 or 4 days after that I had the proof in my hands. Giving credit where credit is due, I herewith extend my thanks to the following law enforcement officers: Mr. D. Brown, staff inspector, commanding the detective division in Vancouver, British Columbia; Mr. D. Howard Johnson, chief of police of Bertie Township at Ridgeway, Ontario; and Mr. James J. Lewis, chief of detectives of the city of Buffalo, N.Y. These gentlemen, responding quickly and thoroughly, and coming to the aid of a fellow officer in distress, supplied me with names and addresses of Buff's relatives in their respective areas. The rest was easy, and also heartwarming.

And this brings me to the start of the fabulous story of Buff Vernon. For back in Buffalo, N.Y., lives, I feel quite sure, a veritable human dynamo, Mrs. Maude E. MacDonald, the baby sister of our old friend, Buff Vernon. She has hit me right between the eyes so fast and so often with facts and stories that I haven't been able to catch my breath for a week. And taking me at face value, with no question in her mind as to what kind of a dingbat I might be, or how trustworthy or whatever, she has supplied me with pictures and documents so precious and so priceless that I am almost afraid to handle them. With no questions asked. How do you like that? For she is one of a family of the most fantastic members that I or anyone else ever heard of. For Buff and Dick, who will be narrated in this story, are not the only ones who achieved almost unbelievable stature in the world. She is sitting on top of another human interest story, the telling of which would pop open the eyes of half the people in North America if it were ever told. But she says, "No, just confine yourself to Buff Vernon, young man," and so I will respect her wishes. But if she ever changes her mind, I would move heaven and earth to get in on the telling, for I believe it should be told. So I will play it coy, and will pass it off merely by saying "I've got a secret."

So with the preliminaries over, here we go. Relax and enjoy the show for it is a dandy. Here is the story according to the wonderful, wonderful Mrs. MacDonald, to whom I shall be eternally grateful.

Jess B. Shisler was born on a farm in the province of Ontario on June 3, 1884, the son of Joseph and Agnes Shisler. He was the next to youngest in a family of 11 children, Mrs. MacDonald being the baby.

His father died when he was 7, but until he was 12 years of age he remained on the farm in Ontario which is just across the river from Buffalo.

When he became 12 and his brother Dick was 14, they crossed over to Buffalo and spent the winter with a married sister, Mrs. George Chapman. In the following spring, they perhaps harkened to the words of Horace Greeley, "Go West, young man," and pulled stakes and headed for Chicago where they supported themselves by doing odd jobs and washing dishes or anything else that came to hand. After a few months of this they doubtless decided that the ways of the big city were not for them, so they hit the trail again. This time to the Southwest. What they may have had in mind nobody knows, but before they left Chicago, they changed their names. Dick Shisler became Dick Vernon and Jess Shisler became Buffalo Vernon. All of us out this way had always believed that Buff got his name from traveling with Buffalo Bill. While he did eventually travel with Bill Cody, his adopted new name came from Buffalo, N.Y. The Vernon part of it had no significance whatsoever, they just picked a name out of the hat.

They found employment on the cattle and sheep ranches of Texas and Oklahoma and here they labored in the manner of the working cowboys of the day. And it was here that Buff learned to bulldog and to rope steers and to waggle that fantastic loop that we have so many times remarked. Trick roping was introduced into the Southwest by the Mexican vaqueros, and Buff being quick with his hands, fast to learn at all times, and of a persistent nature, developed the art to a level never seen before or since. He somewhere must have crossed paths with old Bill Picket, because between them they managed to later spread the act of bulldogging steers "bite 'im lip" style to all corners of the rodeo world. And down there somewhere, too, he probably learned a bit of some Indian language which we here in Yerington occasionally heard him rattle off in situations where he was slightly disturbed or perturbed.

Both Buff and Dick learned their lessons, and their businesses, and learned them well. Eventually they parted company with Dick going to the Northwest and entering into the sheep business in partnership with Governor Stanfield of Oregon, and in which enterprise he remained until his untimely demise at the age of 35 in the year 1917 and is buried in the cemetery in Boise, Idaho. However, the brothers frequently got together in those later years, and were a well known pair at many of the oldtime shows in the Northwest area. Buff, on the other hand, hit the sawdust trail, so to speak, and traveled throughout the world, dropping off frequently enough at some of the rodeo competitions to establish the stature which Author Furlong ascribes to him.

Buff went with the big wild west shows and circuses belonging to Buffalo Bill Cody, the Miller Brothers and the 101 Ranch, giving exhibitions of his prowess with the rope or in any other capacity required. He traveled to Australia, and to Europe where he appeared before the King of Belgium among other notables. And he played at the Madison Square Garden in New York City for the edification of the goggle eyed Gothamites. Yes; and his circus once put on a show in Buffalo, his adopted hometown, and Buff's rope act brought down the house. And as Furlong stated, he wowed Teddy Roosevelt at Cheyenne, as well as William Gibbs McAdoo at Pendleton.

There is little need to delve further into the story. Furlong stated it well, and stated it best. This author proclaimed him the king, and that is good enough for me. One trait well known to all of us was his personal honesty. Add to that the comment of Governor Stanfield, when he described brother Dick as the most honest man he had ever met in his lifetime, and you have the clearest picture that could be painted of the famous Vernon brothers.

Buff moved away from the rodeo circuit and came to Nevada, and to our own Mason Valley in particular. The question has been posed as to why an old ranny of the bowleg tribe would forsake his old pals and take up mining and trapping and like work. And why did people who didn't know him when I did, look at me askance when I mentioned that he used to wear bib overalls, and not levis, the mark of the clan? The answer to these questions is easy. Buff was badly bored by some wild critter, causing a terrible wound which never was properly healed, and which eventually, from what I am told, led to his demise at the early age of 55 right here in Yerington, Nev., in October of 1939. Of necessity he had to give up the strenuous bulldogging and cowpunching trade because of this unfortunate accident. Wearing bib overalls was far more practical and comfortable with this affliction, and so sensibly, that is what he did. Why he chose our valley for his home, we know not, but we will always bless him for having done so, for he provided us with many a chuckle and breathtaking performances as he occasionally put on an exhibition at one of our local shows. And with his friendly smile and spirit, and kindly word and hand for everyone, we came to love him.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. MacDonald, we have taken the privilege of reproducing a few of the pictures she sent me. In every one where he is shown face to face with the camera there is no question but that they are of the same man. And of course folks will recognize that a couple of them were taken right here in Yerington. From a very young man right on down until just a short time before his death, there is no mistaking the face and features of our Buff Vernon. Even if you will turn the one sideways which shows the bucking bull, Sharkey, you will see that the face of the cowboy belongs to Buff. And getting bucked off of Sharkey was no disgrace, for Furlong labeled him the toughest piece of bull meat ever born. And that one rodeo in Salinas he had bucked off 36 riders in a 3-day period. In the picture of "bite 'im lip" bulldogging he is shown holding the steer in the proper manner for that competition. It was necessary first to bulldog the steer in the conventional manner, then twist his head over and clamp your teeth into his upper lip, hold both hands free from the steer and keep him motionless for a period of 4 seconds. No hold, no time. And Buff Vernon was the world's champion.

She sent me many more pictures of him performing at Pendleton and other places. In each, his figure can be identified by anyone who knew him, whether his face shows or not. Several of them show him entertaining the crowd, or a few of his cronies, with various loops which we 'uns here in Yerington saw him twirl so many times. And one in particular shows him riding before the stands in Pendleton at full gallop with that great, big swishing one that will always remain in my memory. And "Old Spot" is shown in one or two, easily recognizable.

I have talked to many, many persons during the past few weeks in an attempt to gather as much information on him as I possibly could. Most have told me that he fanned quite a few yarns their way, even to the point where they did not know whether to believe them or not. After listening to their story, I am prepared to say that no matter how much he told them, he didn't even tell one-tenth part of the full story. So far as I can determine, the only things he talked about were some of the trips that he took, and described only the events in which he was judged the champion of the world. You heard, and you knew about, his bulldogging, and his roping. But nowhere can I find a soul who knew that he was a better than middling steer roper. (Not these wet-eared calves that the cowboys of today chase after, but 1,000 pound wild critters). Or did he ever tell anybody that he had ridden bulls and saddle broncs in competition? Nor did he ever tell anybody that he had roped and ridden wild buffalos. Yes—and even took part in another stunt that would scare the pants off of anybody alive today—that of roping and hogtieing a bear in the arena. But he did. I've seen the pictures of it, and its our Buff, make no mistake about that.

At the request of his sisters, Mrs. MacDonald and the late Mrs. Sarah Horner, Buff's body was shipped to Buffalo at the time of his passing. His mortal remains lie buried in that beautiful city overlooking the Niagara River, and the land of his birth just 8 miles away in Ontario. But that immortal spirit lives on. Lives on to the point where I know that somewhere out in that Great Beyond, Buff Vernon has watched with interest this struggle that his old cronies out here in Yerington have waged to set the record straight. I'll just bet he is whooping and yelling in the old familiar way as he applauds our puny efforts in his behalf. Well, we got the job done, pard. As you used to say, we have "cut out the mavericks and strays." Everything is peaceful in the south 40, we have hung the imposter to the tallest tree in the Pine Nut Range. The stars will shine a little brighter tonight in Nevada, the State where you chose to live out the final years of your life, because your legend by virtue of the printed word, now becomes authentic cowboy history.

But we have one more job to perform, old buddy, before we call it quits. We're going to saddle "Old Spot" once more, shake out that great singing loop and take off at full gallop for Oklahoma City. We're going to ride right up the front steps of the Cowboy Hall of Fame. We are going to let out a great Comanche yell and proclaim the fact that Buffalo Vernon demands entrance. And they'd better open the door, because if they don't we're going to pull the house down with that rope. That's a promise, old buddy. That's a promise. Because we here in Nevada are now snorting fire and we will rally every cowboy, cowgirl, oldtimer, new timer, pioneer and johnny-come-lately to the cause. For the memory of Buffalo Vernon, first "King of the Bulldoggers." And as they say in Pendleton—"Let 'Er Buck."

## Bills To Provide for the Reform of Personal and Corporate Tax Rates Over a 5-Year Period

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HOWARD H. BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, on July 20 of this year my colleague on the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Florida, Representative A. S. HERLONG, JR., and I, introduced new bills for reform of personal and corporate tax rates over a 5-year period beginning January 1, 1963. At the time, administration spokesmen had created an expectation that the President would recommend quick enactment of a reduction in income tax rates. Subsequently, on August 13, the President announced that he would withhold his recommendations until the new Congress convenes in January 1963. We plan to reintroduce our bills at that time.

In a statement at the time of introduction, we set forth the details of the proposed legislation and reasons why it offers the most practical and beneficial approach to releasing the Nation's economy from growth-retarding income tax rates. Since then, we have received hundreds of new expressions of support. We have found that there is widespread appreciation of the gradual and earning concepts of our approach, made necessary by budgetary considerations. It is now well understood that more rapid growth in the economy means more rapid expansion in the tax base. Unless there is substantial budget reduction, we must rely on economic growth to earn the tax rate reductions which will permit greater growth.

The purpose of my remarks today is two related questions which we find are most often in the minds of those who have commented on our bills. The questions are: First, what is the deficiency in business capital spending and, second, to what extent would this deficiency or gap be overcome by new capital released from taxation by our bills?

In regard to the first question, there are too many variables in our economy to predict a precise rate of growth from any given level of business capital spending. All we know for certain is that more capital means more growth, and that there has been very little growth in the annual rate of business capital spending over the past decade. More specifically, there follows a table of business expenditures for new plant and equipment from 1951 through 1962, stated in terms of constant 1961 dollars. The 1962 total is estimated. This table shows a 1961 total of $34.4 billion, or only $2.3 billion more than the 1951 total of $32.1 billion. The estimated figure of $37.2 billion for 1962 represents a further increase of $2.8 billion over 1961. However, economists are freely predicting that expenditures for new plant and equipment will turn downward in the months ahead—a prediction which gives a new urgency to the need for enactment of comprehensive tax rate reform.

*Business expenditures for new plant and equipment*

(Billions of dollars, adjusted to 1961 price level)

| Year: | *Billions of dollars* |
|---|---|
| 1951 | $32.1 |
| 1952 | 33.0 |
| 1953 | 34.7 |
| 1954 | 32.5 |
| 1955 | 33.9 |
| 1956 | 39.0 |
| 1957 | 38.8 |
| 1958 | 31.1 |
| 1959 | 32.5 |
| 1960 | 35.6 |
| 1961 | 34.4 |
| 1962 (est.) | 37.2 |

To provide an estimate of the deficiency or gap in annual business capital spending, it is necessary to make an assumption of what the average annual rate of increase should be. I believe we are justified in assuming that this rate should be in the order of 4 percent. If business expenditures for plant and equipment, in constant 1961 dollars, had increased at an average annual rate of 4 percent since 1951, the total in 1962 would be $49.4 billion, or $12.2 billion more than the expected total. Some of the deficiency is attributable to causes other than capital-destroying tax rates, such as the cost-squeeze on profits and a general climate for enterprise that has restrained business expansion. However, it is evident that business and investors cannot accumulate new capital any faster than tax rates permit, and that moderation in tax rates is the key action which Government can take both to release capital for growth and to improve the business climate.

The answer to the second question, how much new capital would be released by our bills, also involves a number of variables. The total tax savings over 5 years under our bills is estimated at $19 billion, based on 1962 income levels. This total is 50 percent greater than the estimated deficiency in business capital spending. However, the tax savings would become available only gradually over the 5-year period, and a large amount of the savings inevitably would be used for consumption spending.

Of the total tax savings of $19 billion under our bills, approximately $5 billion would go to corporations and $14 billion to individuals.

It seems reasonable to believe that initially at least the larger part of the corporate tax savings would be used for new investment. Moreover, it is reasonable to expect that a substantial part of any amount paid out in increased dividends would be reinvested by stockholders. The amounts retained by the stockholders would of course be enlarged as the personal tax rates are reduced.

There is attached hereto a table showing the distribution of tax savings of individuals by taxable income brackets. This table is based on later Government data than were available at the time of preparing the similar table attached as appendix D to our statement of July 20.

The new table shows that a little over $6 billion, or 43 percent of the personal tax savings, would result from the reduction in the first rate from 20 to 15 percent in the $0–2,000 taxable income bracket, with the remainder resulting from compression of the graduated rates. About $5.4 billion, or 38 percent of the total tax savings, would result from reducing the middle bracket rates from their current range of 22–43 percent to a new range of 16–21 percent. The remaining personal tax savings, $2.7 billion, or 19 percent of the total, would result from reducing the high bracket rates from 47–91 percent to a new range of 22–42 percent. The greater part of the tax savings in the first bracket would be used for consumption spending; a substantial if not major part of the savings in the middle brackets probably would be used for capital spending; and it is to be expected that the bulk of the savings in the higher brackets would be use for capital spending.

In considering all of these figures and factors, it is possible to make a general approximation that about half of the tax savings under our bills would be used for new capital spending and about half for consumption. In other words, the new capital released by our bills would seem to be within the general range of the present deficiency in business capital spending, but most likely on the short side. It does seem a reasonable conclusion that a program involving a lesser total of tax savings, or one in which the distribution of tax reduction dollars is less favorable from the savings and investment standpoint, would not be adequate in meeting the needs for more capital for more growth.

*Tax savings by taxable income brackets based on 1962 income levels*

| Taxable income brackets | Taxable income | Present rates | Tax under present rates | Rates under H.R. 12632 and H.R. 12633 and of 5 years | Tax under H.R. 12632 and H.R. 12633 rates | Tax savings | Tax saving percent of total savings |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Millions* | *Percent* | *Millions* | *Percent* | *Millions* | *Millions* | *Percent* |
| 0 to $2,000 | $122,889 | 20 | $24,578 | 15 | $18,433 | $6,145 | 43.1 |
| $2,000 to $4,000 | 35,759 | 22 | 7,867 | 16 | 5,721 | 2,146 | 15.1 |
| $4,000 to $6,000 | 12,262 | 26 | 3,188 | 17 | 2,088 | 1,103 | 7.7 |
| $6,000 to $8,000 | 5,976 | 30 | 1,793 | 18 | 1,076 | 717 | 5.0 |
| $8,000 to $10,000 | 3,545 | 34 | 1,205 | 19 | 674 | 531 | 3.7 |
| $10,000 to $12,000 | 2,549 | 38 | 969 | 20 | 510 | 459 | 3.2 |
| $12,000 to $14,000 | 1,952 | 43 | 839 | 21 | 410 | 429 | 3.0 |
| $14,000 to $16,000 | 1,470 | 47 | 691 | 22 | 323 | 368 | 2.6 |
| $16,000 to $18,000 | 1,151 | 50 | 576 | 23 | 265 | 311 | 2.2 |
| $18,000 to $20,000 | 784 | 53 | 416 | 24 | 188 | 228 | 1.6 |
| $20,000 to $22,000 | 627 | 56 | 351 | 25 | 157 | 194 | 1.4 |
| $22,000 to $26,000 | 935 | 59 | 552 | 26 | 243 | 309 | 2.2 |
| $26,000 to $32,000 | 913 | 62 | 566 | 27 | 247 | 319 | 2.2 |
| $32,000 to $38,000 | 560 | 65 | 364 | 28 | 157 | 207 | 1.5 |
| $38,000 to $44,000 | 361 | 69 | 249 | 29 | 105 | 144 | 1.0 |
| $44,000 to $50,000 | 255 | 72 | 184 | 30 | 76 | 108 | .8 |
| $50,000 to $60,000 | 282 | 75 | 212 | 31 | 87 | 125 | .9 |
| $60,000 to $70,000 | 164 | 78 | 128 | 32 | 52 | 76 | .5 |
| $70,000 to $80,000 | 116 | 81 | 94 | 33 | 38 | 56 | .4 |
| $80,000 to $90,000 | 79 | 84 | 66 | 34 | 27 | 39 | .3 |
| $90,000 to $100,000 | 55 | 87 | 48 | 36 | 20 | 28 | .2 |
| $100,000 to $150,000 | 152 | 89 | 135 | 38 | 58 | 77 | .5 |
| $150,000 to $200,000 | 67 | 90 | 60 | 40 | 27 | 33 | .2 |
| $200,000 and over | 196 | 91 | 178 | 42 | 82 | 96 | .7 |
| Total | 193,100 | ------- | 45,309 | ------- | 31,061 | 14,248 | 100.0 |

*Tax savings by tax rate groups*

| Taxable income brackets | Present rates | H.R. 12632 and H.R. 12633 rates | Tax savings (millions) | Percent of total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | *Percent* | | |
| $14,000 to $200,000 and over | 47–91 | 22–42 | $2,718 | 19.1 |
| $2,000 to $14,000 | 22–43 | 16–21 | 5,385 | 37.8 |
| 0 to $2,000 | 20 | 15 | 6,145 | 43.1 |

## Hartke Views U.S. Army Caribbean Command Operation Friendship as Worthwhile Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in the Caribbean Sea today there is an island causing much consternation to the peoples of the United States and her many friends, not only throughout the world, but particularly in the Western Hemisphere.

Even though Cuba and Castro are presently thorns in our side, there is a great deal to be said about efforts to prevent the spread of communism in the Western Hemisphere. One of these efforts is the Peace Corps, working to promote good will while performing a service, but there is still another worthy of note by the distinguished Members of the U.S. Senate. The effort to which I refer is the U.S. Army Caribbean Command, sponsors of Operation Friendship. The USACC is under the command of Maj. Gen. Theodore F. Bogart, of Rockford, Ill., my own State's adjacent neighbor to the west.

Operation Friendship is a network of schools which offers to the military services of Latin America any appropriate course of instruction given by the U.S. Army Service School. The major objective of the school is to increase the state of training and readiness of the Latin American military forces, but a most important benefit is the hemispheric friendship and understanding generated at the school.

An article has been written about this worthwhile project, and I urge all of my distinguished colleagues to read it as published in the October 1962, edition of the Army Information Digest. I therefore ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE U.S. ARMY CARIBBEAN COMMAND AND OPERATION FRIENDSHIP

(Maj. Gen. Theodore F. Bogart)

In the U.S. Army Caribbean, considerable emphasis is placed on our community relations program called Operation Friendship. Designed to stimulate the development of a vest network of person-to-person links forged in common interests and international understanding, the program serves to enhance mutual harmony and accord among the American community of nations.

One of the command's major contributors to the practice of this philosophy on an international basis is the U.S. Army Caribbean School at Fort Gulick, Canal Zone. Its motto, "Uno para todos y todos para uno" (One for all and all for one) is carried out in principle by Col. E. W. Schroeder, the school commandant, and his dedicated bilingual staff of U.S. Army personnel.

No facet of the school's contribution to the welfare of this hemisphere has a greater impact than the international friendships and the "seeing eye to eye" relationships engendered by this program. Throughout the Central and South American republics today more than 16,000 USARCARIB School alumni are advocating new concepts of unity and accord with neighboring countries. Besides encouraging and activating civic action programs at home, these alumni form the nucleus of an ever-growing group whose aim is the attainment of an indestructible hemispheric attitude of solidarity, harmony, and cooperation.

Although a part of this program at the school is planned and formal in nature, other aspects occur informally as a direct result of the facilities and opportunities provided the students. Billeted in comfortable but simple quarters by course rather than by nationality, the students engage in study and classroom activity among the same people with whom they attend to their housekeeping, letter writing, and similar off-duty routines. They find, therefore, that natural friendships spring up as a result of common interest instead of nationality.

The assignment to each student of a social sponsor—a U.S. faculty member—enhances to a large degree the opportunity for cultural exchange. The sponsor, although proficient in the Spanish language, finds that his wife must converse with the students in their native tongue. For this reason one finds dozens of dependents studying Spanish in USAFI classes and through private tutoring from students. And in the same spirit of self-improvement, the average student attempts to learn as much of the English language as possible during his stay in the Canal Zone.

Weekend family outings include boating and fishing trips on the historic Chagres River, shopping excursions to the city of Colon, or swimming parties at the various nearby beaches. Organized athletics, recreational programs, and full participation in the community life of Fort Gulick create a healthy attitude of friendly camaraderie. And during rugged field training, who can be affected by national prejudices when sharing C-rations in a tropical downpour?

For nearly 14 years the USAR-CARIB School has been teaching a lesson far greater than its military mission of providing training in army subjects. It is not the school's intent or prerogative to provide guidance as to the student's proper role in his country's development; but heavy stress is laid on the value of civic action and hemispheric unity. The school teaches that a nation's army can be of tremendous value in assisting its economic development.

Additionally, the technical courses give the students actual skills, such as welding, auto mechanics, or heavy equipment operation, which play an incalculable role in the nation-building process. As the thousands of the school's alumni rise through the ranks of their various armed forces, we will see increasingly the direct impact of the school's efforts in promoting inter-American understanding.

As a Nation we have made great strides since the day in 1826 when President John Quincy Adams found it inadvisable to send a U.S. observer to the first Congress of Latin American Nations in Panama City. Today, with the Alliance for Progress giving new hope to millions of our Latin American neighbors; with thousands of U.S. citizens working throughout Central and South America in collaborative ventures in mapping, agriculture, construction, and industrial and commercial enterprises, and with our military mission personnel living, teaching and learning in the country of their assignment—with all this, we are progressing in the right direction.

Perhaps the words of Gen. Jose San Martin best describe the role and objective of the U.S. Army Caribbean School in hemispheric relations: "I come simply to serve my country and the interests of the Americas."

## Land-Grant Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, this year marks the centennial anniversary of the Land-Grant Act of 1862, and it is interesting to note the impact of the act's provisions on the State of Nevada. One year following statehood in 1864, the Nevada Legislature accepted the provisions of the first Morrill Land-Grant Act. The Nevada constitution already included plans for the construction and development of a State University or Agriculture College with a mining department. In 1866, a special act of Congress saw 72 sections of land conveyed to Nevada on which to locate the university. Preparatory instruction began in 1874 and in 1886 college level teaching was offered. The first baccalaureate degree was conferred in 1891, followed 9 years later by the first advance degree in mining engineering. With the university's expansion to include a campus at Las Vegas—the site of our Nation's first Radiological Health Laboratory—all Nevadans take pride in what we believe to be one of America's finest institutions of higher learning.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report by the University of Nevada, written by Dr. Kenneth E. Young, on Nevada's observation of the land-grant centennial.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAND GRANT CENTENNIAL OBSERVED AT NEVADA

(NOTE.—The University of Nevada is unique in several important ways: It is the only university in the Nation charged with the complete responsibility for serving all of the educational needs beyond high school of an entire State. It is one of a small but distinguished group of State universities that were constitutionally created with the attending responsibility for charting its own academic course. And it is among the 66 land-grant institutions—a distinctly American contribution to higher education.)

(By Dr. Kenneth E. Young, Chairman, University of Nevada Centennial Committee)

The university's latter role has received much public attention recently because the Nation this year is celebrating the centennial of the Land Grant, or Morrill Act. This Federal act—sponsored by Senator Justin S. Morrill and providing a grant of Federal land to each State to endow and support colleges which would "promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life"—was signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln on July 2, 1862. Each State participating was to endow, support, and maintain "at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

Today there are 68 land-grant institutions—at least 1 in each of the 50 States and 1 in Puerto Rico. They range alphabetically from Alabama Agricultural &

Mechanical College to the University of Wyoming and include such noted institutions as the University of California, the University of Illinois, Massachusetts Institue of Technology, Michigan State University, and the University of Minnesota.

As was pointed out in the book, "Colleges of Our Land and Time": "Although each land-grant institution is individual, certain characteristics mark them all. From these characteristics emerges a clear and unique pattern, sometimes termed a triology of American ingenuity. The colleges represent a break from tradition—in purpose, in type of control and support, in curriculum, in admission standards. The three legs on which the tripod stands are instruction, research, and extension."

As the land-grant institution serving the State of Nevada, the University of Nevada has the responsibility for carrying out the above activities in the spirit described, and it has gradually enlarged and strengthened its role during the last three-quarters of a century.

The University of Nevada was established by the Nevada State constitution of 1864, the year of the State's admission into the Union, and was one of the first land-grant institutions so created. The university actually began work in Elko as one of the rare preparatory high schools in the intermountain region. In 1886, the university was moved to Reno, near the center of the State's population. College level study formally began in 1887.

In the 75 years of its history as a functioning institution of higher learning, the University of Nevada has grown into full-fledged status among the Nation's land-grant colleges and universities. The university now offers study in eight colleges and schools: agriculture, arts and science, business administration, education, engineering, mines, nursing and graduate study. In addition to the main campus at Reno, the university has a swiftly growing sister campus in Las Vegas. And persons in other parts of the State are served through the activities of statewide services and cooperative extension divisions.

The purpose of the land-grant centennial is twofold: to build public understanding of the land-grant philosophy, especially as it may continue to the solution of problems common to all American higher education; and to examine and portray the work of the land-grant institutions in order that they may more clearly identify their future responsibility to America and the world.

In line with this philosophy and as part of the centennial celebration, Gov. Grant Sawyer declared the week of March 11–17 as "University of Nevada Week," saying in part: "Like its great sister institutions that have done so much to form the core and strength of a nation, the University of Nevada has contributed incalculably to the professional and cultural advancement of the State's economy and society in the fields of education, public service and research for the betterment of mankind. The University of Nevada has helped to fulfill the ambitious dreams of our statesmen-prophets and their long ago searching for the real keys to the progress of a Nation and the preservation of a democracy."

## What's "Right" and "Left"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the words "right" and "left" are frequently bandied about in a manner that deprives them of meaning—in a manner, indeed, that sows political confusion and fosters political division where division need not and should not exist.

There is too great a tendency, for example, on the part of our press to identify the anti-Communist leaders in Laos and in other countries as "rightists." Used in this way, the word obviously has a derogatory connotation; it implies that the anti-Communist leaders are social and political reactionaries—whereas, in fact, very many of these leaders are men of moderate or even progressive views.

On the opposite side of the coin, the word "left" is used in a confused way to describe everything from mildly reformist movements to the Communist Party, thus endowing the Communist movement with a non-Communist and reformist aura that helps to conceal its true intent.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Freedom House, of 20 West 40th Street, New York, on "What's 'Right' and 'Left'?" In this statement, which it describes as a guide for responsible anti-Communists, Freedom House makes the point that the pillar of liberty is supported by both true liberals and true conservatives; the left-wing extremists and the rightwing extremists, on the other hand, while ostensibly opposing each other, pursue goals that are essentially indistinguishable. Thus, there is really little to choose between the regimes of Nazi totalitarianism and that of Communist totalitarianism and little to choose between the total amorality of their methods.

I hope that all of my colleagues will find the time to read this statement by Freedom House, because I believe it deserves the widest possible attention.

Freedom House, itself, is a living example of the fact that responsible liberals and responsible conservatives, Democrats and Republicans, can work together in the common cause of freedom. It is a living example of the fact that political softheadedness and political passivity are not necessarily conditions of political moderation—that the true moderates, indeed, are those who combine their moderation with an ability to look facts squarely in the face and with a capacity for courageous action when courageous action is the only way of defending freedom.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S "RIGHT" AND "LEFT"?—A GUIDE FOR RESPONSIBLE ANTI-COMMUNISTS

The Communists aim to divide and conquer without risking nuclear war. To this end they strive to immobilize opposition by denouncing all critics as war mongers and tough-minded Democrats as McCarthyites. Some liberals unwittingly help them by condemning strong anti-Communist positions as negative and a disservice to peace.

Demagogues and would-be dictators, on the other hand, exploit the anti-Communist sentiments of the American people to divert them from their democratic pursuits. These extremists use the Communist menace as a tool to achieve their undemocratic ends. Some well-meaning citizens, frustrated by the complexities of today's problems, aid and abet them.

The traditional designations of "right" and "left" are loosely applied to these groups, often leading to oversimplification and confusion. Freedom House believes that these terms need clarification to help citizens to more effectively meet the challenges of the cold war. Such is the purpose of this statement.

THE FALSE IMAGE

We deplore the confusing effect of the right-left image. It is in essence a false representation of the political spectrum to position democracy in the middle, flanked by two forms of totalitarian dictatorship. Fascism/nazism and communism, even though they did contest each other's bid for world domination, are basically alike. Both concentrate their severest attacks on self-government and self-determination of peoples. Both conduct their assaults upon democratic values with similar conspiratorial tactics.

When democracy was making its greatest advance from the mid-19th century to the outbreak of World War I, it was not cast in the middle role between two kinds of dictatorship; it was clearly the alternative to all forms of oppression. It stood forth as the appealing opponent of absolutism and militarism.

Only for a brief period since 1917, when the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939–41 allied the modern totalitarian empires, has the image of freedom versus dictatorship been unblurred. Such a moment of truth is difficult to recapture because the Communist propaganda machine, to confuse the unwary, makes it appear that slavery is freedom, imperialism is liberation, a police-state is a people's democracy, and war is peace.

Since the defeat of the power centers of nazism and fascism in World War II, international communism has tried to maintain the image of itself as the "progressive left" and to associate all its critics with "revanchist Fascists" on "the reactionary, warmongering, imperialist right."

In his speech of July 11, 1962,[1] Khrushchev drew this false picture: In World War II, non-Communists saw they had to choose between left and right. They chose to fight with the Soviet "progressives" on the left against Hitler "reactionaries" on the right. Now they must choose again for or against the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence—between its "peace camp" on the left and the "war camp" on the right. Whoever arouses antagonism against the "socialist" countries is on the side of war and fascism. To be for peace, one must stand for total disarmament first and inspection later.

This summary of Khrushchev's speech is a new version of the old formula used by the League Against War and Fascism, the Communist-front organization of the 1930's. One of its aims was to undermine effective anticommunism in the name of "peace and friendship." Today the formula adds nuclear blackmail as a weapon to weaken free world unity and force political concessions.

In trying to clarify the right-left posture, we emphasize that the Communist conspiracy is a counter-revolutionary movement on the reactionary right—the totalitarian twin brother of fascism and nazism.

THE NEW IRRESPONSIBLES

In this critical period the irresponsibles on the left and right contribute to the confusion and paralysis of American thought and action by their dogmatic demands and corrupting influence. William S. White has called them "reactionary irresponsibles" and "precious irresponsibles." This useful concept provides the key to their effect on public opinion. Both extremes have this in common—they are irresponsible and share a

[1] The Soviets considered this speech, delivered to the World Congress for General Disarmament in Moscow, important enough to run as paid advertisements in many Western newspapers.

similar program of abdication and withdrawal.

We can recall a vivid parallel in the period before Pearl Harbor, particularly in the months after the Soviet-Nazi pact. America Firsters on the right were in the same position as the Communist-fronters and "peace" groups on the left. They agreed on the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming." However, within a few hours after the attack on Russia, the "peace" marchers were withdrawn from their vigil in front of the White House and the new slogan was: "The Yanks Are Not Coming Too Late!"

Let us consider a few current examples of this curious kind of coalition:

*On the cold war*

Both left and right irresponsibles have virtually written it off.

The left claims that the Communists are mellowing, that there are "good" Communists and "bad" Communists, and that if we work with the good ones we can probably make their idea of coexistence work for the benefit of all. Having decreed the cold war obsolete, many leftists define the problem as one of misunderstanding. Therefore, the solution is simply a matter of opening more channels of communication between the Communists and ourselves.

The right dodges the real cold war and tries to fight it on a false front. They train their guns on domestic communism which they define to include all their pet hates from income taxes to trade and aid, from Eisenhower to Kennedy. Although they talk about fighting communism, they have no program for doing something about the most pressing issues where they arise—in the international arena.

*On defense strategy*

Both extremes advocate strategies that facilitate Communist nuclear blackmail.

Leftists give peace priority over freedom—often in terms of "better Red than dead." Their wishful thinking about coexistence by concessions undermines the bargaining position of the democracies and encourages the intransigence of the Communists. They refuse to face up to the hard question: If the Soviets reject reasonable offers, must we accept unreasonable propositions as the only alternative to war?

Those who have concluded that there is no alternative to peace are led into many naive rationalizations such as: that no particular issue is worth the risk of war; that the differences between communism and freedom are not worth contesting; that the Communist goal is not really world domination; that if we take initiatives in making concessions (as if we hadn't time and again) we could probably start a chain reaction of accommodation by the other side; that defense and deterrence are illusory; and that we should rally world opinion to our side by concentrating on correcting our shortcomings and putting democracy's house in order rather than indulging in negative anti-Communist activity.

While most "precious irresponsibles"—except for honest pacifists—deny that they favor unilateral disarmament or uninspected bans on nuclear tests and weapons, their sweeping attacks on the U.S. Military Establishment and its essential industrial base belie their protestations. Their way would force us to negotiate from a position of weakness.

By and large, the "peace movement" places equal blame on both sides for the arms race, and inevitably puts the stronger pressure on our side to concede ground. This gives aid and comfort to the Communists and encourages them to risk dangerous provocations. It may well lead them to miscalculate the temper of freemen in a showdown. This tends to invite aggression and war.

The right irresponsibles are more complex on the issue of defense. They demand a relatively cheap, single-purpose military posture for massive retaliation and often advocate using nuclear superiority in a "preventive war." But they resist the more costly multipurpose defense preparations necessary to counter Communist guerrilla wars and repulse limited attacks. In angry frustration, they demand premature showdowns and an end to the protracted struggle. They thus frighten our allies more than our enemy.

To them, a policy of firmness and patience is leading us to bankruptcy. They underrate our paying power and discount our staying power.

Some of them would withdraw into "fortress America," cut our ties with allies, abandon struggling underdeveloped and infant nations to rising Communist colonialism, and let the neutrals flounder into the Sino-Soviet orbit. They seem oblivious to the disastrous effects of such isolation on both our economy and our national security.

*On trade and aid*

Neither left nor right offers a coherent program for winning the economic competition.

The left calls for expanded aid with no strings attached even for Iron Curtain countries. They seem magnanimously disinterested in the political implications of trade and aid. They would substitute technical assistance and grants for necessary defense spending, hopefully counting on the rewards of virtue alone.

The right wants nothing to do with the Common Market and the difficult but vital business of strengthening and uniting the free world by realistic economic measures. They would grudingly help only those who might pass their means test of undiluted 18th century capitalism.

*On cultural exchange*

Both left and right approach the battle for men's minds with disregard for realities. Neither extreme is interested in the tough, difficult task of international communication.

The "precious irresponsibles" urge cultural exchanges as a panacea. Just getting together and exchanging ideas, they seem to think, will eventually lead to understanding even if the Communists approach the dialog trained and under control while democracy's adherents come to it only with open minds and good intentions.

The right, on the other hand, tends to deprecate the vital importance of penetrating the Iron Curtain except with the most blatant propaganda of nationalistic superiority. They would have us hammer relentlessly on a few simple themes in a boring and ineffectual monolog.

From these few contrasts and comparisons, it should be clear that the polarity is not primarily between left and right, but between irresponsibility and responsibility.

It is no easy thing to be responsibly anti-Communist or to work seriously for a dependable peace. Those who try to pick their way carefully to sound positions are targets for brickbats from both left and right. Both extremes harass those who disagree with them, not hesitating to question the integrity, patriotism, or even the sanity of their opponents.

WHERE FREEDOM HOUSE STANDS

The positive position of Freedom House, conveyed by its name, is necessarily coupled with a strong anti-Communist posture. Since it is for freedom, it is against tyranny. Since it is for representative democracy, it is against all kinds of dictatorships. And it regards aggressive dictatorships as the greatest threat to peace.

While deploring both the rightists and leftists, Freedom House recognizes their right to be heard. Although the extremists in both camps are polluting the wellsprings of public discussion, the remedy lies in patient and responsible exposures in the continuing debate on national policy.

We believe that rightest groups have attracted many who could not find a firm leadership in the center for effective expression of their pro-freedom and anti-Communist convictions. Of the many responsible organizations which are anti-Communist in principle, too few have been actively opposing communism. Some are intimidated by smears from the left; others fear guilt by association with an anti-Communist role that appears to have been preempted by the right.

Freedom House believes it is essential to expose and oppose Communist imperialism by education and to counter it by economic, social, and political measures as well as by a strong military posture. It distinguishes itself from the rightists particularly by its support of actions to unite allies, aid and befriend new nations and neutrals, create broader economic foundations for free world progress through new trading patterns such as the Common Market, and foster the wider application of human rights. It differs from the left by its conviction that social progress is not enough; that unequivocal resistance to Communist expansion is also necessary; and that this is not only more honorable but far less risky than making compromises that add up to appeasement.

Finally, Freedom House favors self-examination in an effort to understand the forces and factors which motivate the extremists toward divisive activity, immobilizing so many in this hour of national peril. Only by seriously seeking explanations of why so many of our fellow citizens retreat from responsibility and adopt oversimplified and irrational attitudes toward reality can we hope to work our way gradually toward a "more perfect Union." We need to examine the frustrations created by the cold war and bring into the open our fears and feelings about the nuclear balance of terror. Otherwise, we may increasingly lose our power of decision in a spreading state of confusion.

Simply crying "peace! peace!" or win! win!" will assure neither peace nor victory. Those who marched in Britain and France for peace in 1939 did not forestall Hitler's march to war. Those who picketed the White House right up to December 7, 1941, did not prevent Pearl Harbor.

Today the enemies of freedom are led by professional conspirators far more sophisticated and competent than the Axis leaders. It will take more than hysterical societies of self-appointed amateurs to meet this menace. The Soviet and Red Chinese academies teaching subversion, sabotage, espionage, guerrilla warfare and all forms of troublemaking must be offset by realistic and effective training to meet free world needs. Our Government must provide the professional leadership while the citizens give enlightened support and responsible cooperation.

Freedom House stands for peace and freedom; but if forced to choose, we are for freedom first.

## The Foreign Service and the World Struggle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, 2 years ago, Mr. Loy W. Henderson retired from

the Department of State, ending a long and exceptionally distinguished career as Foreign Service officer and diplomat. Because he is a man who cannot brook inactivity and because he has both rare experience and a wealth of wisdom in the field of foreign affairs, Mr. Henderson has chosen not to adopt a new career, but rather to continue his career as a professor of international relations at the American University Center for Diplomacy and Foreign Policy.

With his wisdom and experience, Loy Henderson combines an absolute dedication to moral principle. In this respect, he is in the tradition of Jefferson, Monroe, Lansing, John Foster Dulles and the other great statesmen who have held high position in the Department of State.

In a recent commencement address at Wagner College, Staten Island, N.Y., Mr. Henderson emphatically underscored the point that American foreign policy must be based on moral principle. I quote his words:

If the United States, in the pursuit of its objectives, regardless how noble these objectives may be, jettisons the principles on which it was founded and on which our democratic and free society is based, we may well dissipate our national purpose and find ourselves helplessly and aimlessly adrift in a sea of opportunism.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the complete text of Mr. Henderson's commencement address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE

(By Loy W. Henderson)

(NOTE.—Loy W. Henderson, LL.D., career diplomat, renowned authority on international affairs and a great admirer of the late Wilbur J. Carr, is the author of the first Carr memorial lecture. Mr. Henderson has served in all classes of Foreign Service Officer: Classes eight to one, Career Minister and Career Ambassador.

He is now professor of international relations and director, Center for the Study of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy, School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C.)

No nation can maintain greatness for an extended period of time unless its ever-changing political superstructure is supported by an enduring framework of competent, devoted public servants. During the last hundred years our country has been fortunate in having had a number of outstanding, able, and devoted public servants, of whom the Honorable Wilbur J. Carr was one of the greatest. It is to me a privilege to participate in exercises, a portion of which is to be devoted to the memory of Mr. Carr, under whom I served for many years and to whose sympathetic guidance and wise counsel I am forever indebted.

During nearly half a century—that is, from 1892 until 1939—he served the United States in the field of foreign affairs. By his integrity, courage, perseverance, and sheer ability, he won and retained the confidence of a long succession of Presidents, Secretaries of State, and Congresses. In an era when as a nation we had comparatively little interest in international affairs beyond the confines of the American Continent, Mr. Carr devoted his life to the task of strengthening our organizational ability to deal with foreign problems. He is rightfully considered the founder of the Foreign Service of the United States. He not only founded the Service; he also played a leading role in its development during its formative years.

I am particularly pleased that Mrs. Carr is here. During her husband's life she was his loyal helpmate; since his death she has continued to maintain a deep interest in the welfare of the families of the Foreign Service—an interest which has earned for her the title of Mother of the Foreign Service.

Since Wagner College is today honoring the founder of a Service in which I have spent most of my life, it seems to me appropriate that my talk be on the subject: "The Foreign Service of the United States and the World Struggle."

In 1924 when the Foreign Service was founded, the United States in most parts of the world was playing the role of an observer rather than of a participant. Even at that time, our country was in need of a strong career foreign service skilled in the conduct of all phases of international intercourse.

The international stage in 1962 is strikingly different from that on which we played a relatively minor role in 1924. The great empires based in Europe, which in 1924 still maintained at least a semblance of order in Asia and Africa, have been fragmented. Approximately 50 nations in various stages of development and with differing and sometimes conflicting aspirations have appeared on the scene. International communism, which in 1924 was more of a nuisance than a menace, now occupies more than one-fifth of the world's land surface and enthralls about one-third of the people.

As a result of technological advances, there has been a progressive shrinking of the earth. Nations geographically remote from one another have become close neighbors. What happens within one country frequently has effects on the welfare or security of countries on the opposite side of the globe. The internal affairs of every nation, therefore, have become a matter of legitimate interest to the whole international community.

These technical advances and the growing propinquity of nations have had profound effects of a social character on the world community. Discoveries by underprivileged peoples of new concepts of human relationships and of new standards of living, the rapidity of industrialization, tendencies toward urbanization, the weakening of family and community ties, and the broadening of education are among the factors that have brought great segments of the world population face to face with individual and group situations completely strange to them. As a result, much of the world is in a state of ferment. The peoples in many areas are demanding changes but do not know the kind of changes they really want or how to achieve them.

In such a setting a dramatic and historical struggle is taking place. The aggressor in this struggle is international communism which, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, is determined that the world of the future shall be Communist. Opposing the aggressor is a group of free world nations that are just as determined that the future world shall be free. Other members of the free world, including many of the nations that are new arrivals on the scene, consider themselves as neutrals even though the outcome of this struggle is certain to have a profound effect upon them.

The United States is the most prominent leader of those nations of the free world that are opposing the aggressor. It is, therefore, the chief target of international communism. In order to discharge its leadership responsibilities our Government must keep itself currently and minutely informed regarding conditions and developments throughout the world.

It must also be prepared to make quick policy decisions—sometimes relating to geographically remote areas—which might have important effects on the outcome of the struggle. The multiplicity, multifariousness, and interlocking nature of these problems render them extremely complex; the fact that they relate to a kaleidoscopic world gives geometric proportions to their complexity.

In such a setting, engaged in such a struggle, burdened with such responsibilities, our Government must rely heavily on the reservoir of knowledge tempered by experience, of techniques and skills developed over the years, and of the highly trained personnel which the Foreign Service and the other career services related to it are in a position to provide.

In the Department of State, in our diplomatic missions operating in more than a hundred of the world's capital cities, and in numerous consular offices in many nooks and corners of the world, the personnel of our Foreign Service are to be found in the front lines of this struggle.

In view of the number and character of the international problems facing us, our Government cannot possibly conduct its foreign relations with the necessary effectiveness unless the key positions in the State Department in Washington and in our diplomatic and consular establishments are held by career personnel with extensive experience both at home and abroad or by persons who, lacking such experience, are not too self-assured or arrogant to profit from the counsel of their professional associates. Professional officers of the Foreign Service and related services are today no less essential to the conduct of the cold war than professional officers of our Armed Forces would be in the conduct of armed struggle on the battlefield.

Let us turn our attention for a few moments to the struggle that I have just referred to as the cold war and to the attitude which the American people and press have shown over the years toward the country which is the organizer, strategist, and leader of the forces of international communism. Our general attitude toward the Soviets since the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 has been marked by sharp fluctuations of optimism and pessimism—by alternating periods of hopeful friendliness and frustrated hostility. During the upswings of optimism we have had the feeling that we need no longer consider the Soviet Union as the deadly enemy of the Free World. These upswings are usually encouraged by certain persons and groups who intimate that perhaps after all the Soviet Union is no longer genuinely interested in making trouble for other countries; it may be, they say, giving mere lip-service to the cause of world revolution; it may be developing into a truly responsible member of the international community; and it may be actually yearning for friendship and peace. The American people, nostalgic for a stable world, are prone to accept such intimations as good news. The administration that happens to be in power decides at this point to encourage the hoped-for trend in the Soviet Union by making concessions in the matter of territory or principle.

Following upswings of this kind we have uniformly discovered that our flexibility and willingness to accommodate have tended only to strengthen the prestige and international position of the Soviet Union and to weaken our own. When we realize that we have been misled our optimism changes to anger and chagrin. In our disappointment we sometimes engage in recriminations and in emotional outbursts that serve no purpose other than to diminish the respect for us of our allies and other members of the free world.

It is one of the duties of the members of the Foreign Service during these periods of ups-and-downs to do what they can to

be helpful to the administration in power. They have the obligation of endeavoring to use their accumulated knowledge and experience in assessing the actual situation and in passing along their findings to those who make final policy decisions. In making such assessments the Service cannot permit itself to be swayed by emotions of pessimism or optimism, by prejudice, opportunism, or internal political considerations. The role of an unemotional assessor is not always congenial. In times of bounding optimism the members of the Foreign Service are sometimes branded by the optimists as unimaginative and inflexible reactionaries. During subsequent periods of frustration and of outrage at the thought of our public having been misled and our Government outsmarted, they have been accused by the pessimists of undue softness in dealing with the Communists. Members of the Service who are worthy of the trust that has been placed in them cannot permit criticism or fears for their personal future to deter them from the performance of their duties.

There are indications that we may be about to enter another period of optimism. Again we are being told that profound changes are taking place in the Soviet Union; that the present top Soviet leaders are prepared, in return for certain concessions on our part, to soften their positions to such an extent as to render possible a solution, or at least an amelioration, of the more dangerous problems existing between the Communist bloc and the free world. Some of these optimists are warning us that unless we make concessions, these Soviet leaders may be replaced by others who would be much less flexible.

Various of our leading theoreticians in the field of international affairs who long have criticised the United States for being a party to what they call an international ideological conflict, are also telling us that the time has come for us to demonstrate our maturity in international affairs by facing the realities of the situation. A realistic foreign policy, according to their teachings, is one based not on principle but on power interests. We should, as adults, they say, negotiate on the basis of objectives rather than of principles. Experience has proved, they maintain, that foreign policies based on principles tend to promote inflexibility which in turn leads to deadlocks. They consider that our statesmen in years gone by have rendered the American people a distinct disservice by encouraging them to think of foreign affairs in terms of principle. Similar views are being expressed by certain of our more prominent intellectuals who are highly respected as sophisticates.

Although I am not in a position to speak for our Government or to interpret its policies I have the impression that it is conscious of the dangers for the free world that can be created by these fluctuations of over-optimism and overpessimism in our attitude toward the Soviet Union. I have noted that when the chorus of optimism reaches a certain high pitch Government spokesmen usually tone it down by pointing out that thus far we have achieved little success in our attempts to iron out the basic differences between the Soviet Union and the free world. Government spokesman also take issue from time to time with those pessimists who insist that we terminate what they regard as useless negotiations with the Soviet Union and confine our efforts to making the United States so strong militarily that international communism will not dare to attempt to take over additional territories or to subvert more free peoples.

Our Government apparently takes the position that in the absence of an effective agreement for the limitation of armament we have no choice other than continuing to strengthen our Armed Forces, but that concomitantly we should also continue to negotiate with the Soviet Union as long as there is even a slight hope of arriving at agreements which, without weakening the security of the free world, might avert armed cataclysm.

I crave your indulgence if I take advantage of this occasion to follow the time-honored custom of commencement speakers of addressing some exhortatory remarks to the graduating class.

I wish that I could with a clear conscience bring you who are receiving your diplomas today a message of good cheer. Unfortunately what I have to say at this point is not likely to be solacing. For more than 40 years I have been a close observer of the Soviet Union and of the tactics of international communism. During that period I have not seen the slightest evidence that the Soviet Government is prepared to abandon its basic aggressive objectives and I do not find convincing evidence that it is prepared to do so now. It is my belief that the cold war will last for many years unless (a) we lose it as the result of some ill-considered action on the part of ourselves or our allies or as the result of failure on the part of ourselves or our allies to take a needed action; or (b) unless by some tragic miscalculation the cold war is converted into another shooting war which inevitably will develop into nuclear war.

I fear, therefore, that you who are graduating today will spend most of your lives in a cold-war atmosphere unless the free world disappears or unless you become unhappy participants in a nuclear war. I use the word "participants" because if a nuclear war breaks out it will be difficult for any human being—regardless of his convictions or geographical location—not to become involved in some way or other. Since willy-nilly you will find yourself involved if a fighting war should come, it behooves you to be a participant—not a bystander—in the present struggle. It is not likely that many of you will become members of the Foreign Service or of the other career services of our Government which are manning the front lines of the Cold War. You can nevertheless do your part in keeping our national front unbroken. You can, for instance, help those around you to obtain a better understanding of the problems involved and you can assist in preventing them from falling under influences that can undermine our national resolution and unity. What are some of these influences? I shall take the time here to name only two of them. On the one hand, there is the creeping paralysis of national will which might be called "intellectual nihilism." This is a tortuous reasoning process that arrives at the conclusion that only the semi-literate and the naive allow themselves to be prisoners of ideals or to be animated by such sentiments as loyalty, patriotism, human sympathy, and respect for moral or spiritual values. On the other hand, there is a variety of movements inspired, in part, by misguided zealots frequently with highly idealistic motives that tend to blur the issues. Some of these movements, if they become widespread, can lead to national disunity and can undermine our ability to protect our security.

I urge that during the years to come, you bear in mind that if the United States in the pursuit of its objectives—regardless how noble these objectives may be—jettisons the principles on which it was founded and on which our democratic and free society is based, we may well disapate our national purpose and find ourselves helplessly and aimlessly adrift in a sea of opportunism.

If changes in the structure of world society should result in the outmoding of certain of the international principles which have guided us in the past we should state so frankly—not ostensibly continue to adhere to them while surreptitiously violating them. There are certain principles which do not change with time and circumstances, one of the most important of which is to live up to the international obligations that we have undertaken.

It is of course true that in view of its decentralization, international society does not lend itself to the maintenance of a rigid, symmetrical, and completely logical structure of international principles. In pondering international policy decisions we sometimes, therefore, encounter conflicts between two sets of principles, each of which can be advocated both from the point of view of international ethics and of national interest. In deciding the set by which we should be guided we should not allow ourselves to be influenced solely by the short-sighted opportunistic considerations of the moment.

The American people will lose their self-respect and cease to have confidence in their Government if our country cynically embarks upon policies that involve the betrayal of our friends and allies who have placed their trust in us; if it enters into bargains or takes other actions that deprive other peoples of their freedoms or that serve to strengthen the chains binding people who have already been reduced to serfdom; if it acquiesces in arrangements perpetuating international injustices because it is not in a position to correct them.

I hope that the members of your generation who are destined to carry the main burden of the struggle during the years to come will also bear in mind that victory does not necessarily go only to those who mobilize the most men or manufacture the most powerful weapons. It can also go to those who persevere; who do not permit themselves to enter into compromises which can lead to their destruction merely because in their weariness they are willing to take risks in order to enjoy an illusory relaxation of tensions. Some 12 years ago one of our national leaders who later became Secretary of State said: "Lack of agreement should not so frighten us that we cast reason and experience to the winds and revert to the policy of seeking agreement in words merely in order to have a pretext for relaxing." What he said then holds true now.

The world which lies ahead of you will probably be one of constant international struggle from which there can be no relaxation. It need not, however, be one of gloom and bleakness. The very existence of the struggle can be stimulating, can provoke you to constructive thought and action, can help you to discover unsuspected resources in yourselves, can kindle your imagination, and can in general contribute to an atmosphere which self-satisfaction and sloth find uncongenial.

Aside from the struggle, it will be an exciting and interesting world in view of the changes that, as a result of astounding technological achievements, will be taking place at almost breathtaking speed. Upon you, therefore, will fall the responsibility of making sure that while these changes are taking place the basic principles and the cultural and spiritual values on which our civilization is based are preserved. It will be one of the tasks of your generation to strengthen and improve the political, economic, and social structures of our free society and to adjust it in such a manner that it will harmonize with the new world environment. May you succeed in discharging this responsibility and in performing this task.

## Employment of Children in Agriculture

SPEECH
OF
## HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1123) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN].

The doctrine of preemption was expounded in the case of *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson* (350 U.S. 497 (1956)). The essence of the doctrine of preemption is that where the Federal Government has passed legislation in a certain field, it is presumed that the Congress meant to occupy the entire field and State laws in the field are null and void because of the supremacy clause of the U.S. Constitution.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] has repeatedly introduced legislation to counteract this preemption doctrine announced by the Supreme Court. His bill has always been numbered H.R. 3 and has been passed by the House of Representatives in earlier Congresses.

This year the House Judiciary Committee reported a somewhat improved version of H.R. 3 on June 13, which in pertinent part reads as follows:

§ 7. Preemption—Federal and State statutes

No Act of Congress shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which such Act operates, to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such Act contains an express provision to that effect. No provision of an Act of Congress shall be construed as invalidating a provision of State law which would be valid in the absence of such Act, except to the extent that there is a direct and positive conflict between such provisions so that the two cannot be reconciled or consistently stand together.

Many States undoubtedly have salutary laws governing child labor and have established agencies and officials to administer and enforce those laws. If the intent of Congress should be construed by the courts by the passage of this legislation to occupy the entire field of child labor legislation, the court might well hold that these State laws, many of which may be long standing, are null and void.

The question might be raised by a defendant proceeded against under State law defending himself on the grounds that the passage of the Federal legislation had preempted the entire field and therefore he could violate the State law with impunity.

I do not believe we in the House of Representatives wish to see this result, and we should adopt language such as that offered by the gentleman from North Carolina to avoid interfering with existing State laws except to the extent there is a direct and positive conflict between the State law and the Federal law.

I urge the adoption of the amendment.

## Congratulations, Speaker McCormack

SPEECH
OF
## HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13291) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Chairman, before the 87th Congress passes into history, I want to express my personal thanks for the legislative skill, combined with consideration for the problems of individual Members, that has characterized the administration of the House during the first year of your speakership.

Your long apprenticeship as majority leader working with the late and highly regarded Speaker Sam Rayburn, during one of the most critical periods in the life of our Nation, thoroughly prepared you for your present responsibilities.

But the test that proved your talent and experience is your record of achievement in the 2d session of the 87th Congress. Against formidable obstacles you succeeded in winning approval for a large part of the administration's program.

Your strength in moments of decision has been enhanced by the example of your personal integrity. Representing a district which is close to yours, I know that you draw this strength from the people of Boston who are friends and neighbors rather than constituents. As Speaker, you are nourished by their qualities and thus honor the "voice of the people."

Every Member has learned much from your guidance. Sometimes, in concentrating on the problems of our individual districts, we tend to lose sight of the national interest. With your deep and abiding love for our country, you have taught us the effective and harmonious way in which these conflicting claims must be reconciled to arrive at the consensus which is the Government of the United States.

Your greatest satisfaction is that you have presided over the House of Representatives at the beginning of a new phase in domestic progress and international leadership.

The list of accomplishments during the past year is impressive. Of greater importance is the fact that they have opened the way for greater things to come.

The Nation is fortunate to have JOHN W. MCCORMACK in the key position of Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives. His wealth of experience, his courage and understanding of the practical steps that must be taken to develop our Nation and to meet its responsibilities as the leader of the free world, inspire the Members of this House, and through them, the people, with confidence in the future.

We congratulate JOHN W. MCCORMACK for the success he has achieved during his first term as Speaker.

To him and to his devoted wife Harriet, we wish every blessing, now, and in the years ahead.

## Hartke Agrees on Cold Logic for Cuba and Not Hot Anger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today we hear many people crying out to "take action against Cuba." What do they mean by "taking action?" We can only conclude that they mean military action.

Malcolm S. Forbes, writing in the October 1, 1962, edition of Forbes magazine in an article entitled, "Cuba: Cold Logic, Not Hot Anger," has stated simply and concisely what the President of the United States has been saying and what I have been saying on our Cuban policy for several weeks.

The article says so much, so sensibly in so few words, that I recommend it to my colleagues in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Forbes' article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CUBA: COLD LOGIC, NOT HOT ANGER
(By Malcolm S. Forbes)

If the American people were polled today, it's my guess a majority would favor "doing something about Cuba." Judging from conversations with many responsible American businessmen, it is clear that an even greater majority of them favor "action" by the United States.

"Doing something" and "action," can only mean some sort of military action. The choice is limited to actual invasion by our Armed Forces, possibly with a thin refugee Cuban facade at the outset, or a tight naval blockade. Somehow many seem to think this latter course would be effective and bloodless.

But think it through.

Suppose we declare a naval blockade. Whether we exempt food or not would have to be decided at the outset. What happens if a Russian ship carrying supplies to Cuba refuses to halt when the shot goes across its bow? Do we then sink it and all that follow it? That, of course, would be a full and open act of war against Russia.

Suppose Russia did not respond to the sinking of her ships by the American Navy with an immediate declaration of war and the blasting of missiles at the continental United States. Suppose instead she in-

structs her several hundred submarines to sink American ships supplying our thousands of American Armed Forces in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the other lands allied to us that surround the Communists.

We set the precedent by sinking Russian ships bound for Cuba. How do we react when she sinks ours supplying her unfriendly neighbors? It doesn't take much imagination to foresee that overnight we would be at the brink—or over it—of global atomic annihilation.

If one pauses to think, it becomes clear that Cuba, no matter how well supplied militarily, represents no real military threat to the United States. A very small number of short-range missiles would eliminate any menace in moments. Russian missiles can land anywhere in the United States from their own bases in their own land. They don't need Cuba as a launching spot.

The depth of American emotions about Russian aid to Red Cuba is very real and understandable. But emotions are a poor guide in a case like this.

Aside from a blockade, it is plain today that no small-scale invasion using conventional weapons would be successful. We would need a major effort by the Armed Forces, and it would come at a time when, after November 6, election day, the Berlin crisis will be unquestionably at a dangerous peak. When Khrushchev signs a "peace" treaty with East Germany as he plans to do, we cannot and will not allow East Germany to interfere or in any way control our access to West Berlin. The possibilities of a shooting war are going to be closer than ever in a few weeks over Berlin. In this situation, NATO and our Allies are solidly agreed that there can be no retreat.

Such is simply not the case in connection with Cuba.

The dangers in Cuba come not because it is any military threat to this country, but because it forms a closer base for Red penetration in South America. We certainly can be effective in preventing the export of arms and subversives from Cuba to South American shores.

Measures are being considered to isolate the Cuban virus; but those so earnestly and loudly advocating military "action" should realize that they are being emotional at a time when cold logic is called for.

For a number of years, American forces have been training and arming troops—not 90 miles from Russia—but right at the Russian border. If we react to the presence of Russian troops in Cuba by an invasion of that island, Russia will certainly feel free to invade Iran or Turkey, Pakistan or the NATO countries; and, of course, China will have a fresh excuse to attempt the invasion of Formosa, Thailand, and so forth.

There is little doubt that rising public anger over Cuba is cutting into President Kennedy's popularity. It recalls with full force the Bay of Pigs fiasco. I am certain the President is aware of this. But I believe he equally is aware—overwhelmingly so—of the incalculable dangers involved in undertaking what would be—for a fleeting moment—the popular course of "action."

## A Policy for the Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times, Friday, October 5, 1962.

A POLICY FOR THE CANAL

A bitter attack in the United Nations the other day by Panama's Foreign Minister on the United States-Panamanian Canal Treaty is the latest manifestation of unrest in the isthmus. It is not the only one. Crime has increased in the Republic of Panama; so has anti-American feeling, and various attacks upon American tourists have been reported.

The Canal Zone, which bisects the Republic of Panama, has always been administered in the past, in accordance with the terms of the basic treaty, with full U.S. authority and control as if it were sovereign U.S. territory. The question of sovereignty is one of the problems of the isthmus. It has been used deliberately and with the usual skills of political demagogs of both the right and the left to arouse the mobs of Panamá City and Colón.

The Republic of Panama is subject, in microcosm, to all the ills that beset most Latin American countries: poverty, ignorance, fanaticism; political, economic, and journalistic irresponsibility and a tremendous gap between the few and cultured rich and the many and illiterate impoverished. Panama has, too, a peculiar problem of its own; economically, it is far too dependent upon the canal and U.S. aid.

All this means that no final solutions to the problems of Panama are to be expected. Given wise decisions, helpful understanding on both sides and responsible and statesmanlike leaders both in Panama and in the Canal Zone, the frictions and tensions can be eased but probably never cured. But a case can be made—indeed a House committee has made it—that the repeated concessions made by the United States have increased tension, not quieted it. The canal, the committee reported, "should not be permitted to become a pawn in our normal diplomatic relations" with Panama. Yet this is exactly what it has become.

The canal has great strategic importance to the security of the United States in limited war, less in all-out war. It is of tremendous economic importance to the United States and Latin America. Any real erosion of our position in the Canal Zone is bound to have widespread and adverse political and psychological effects throughout the Caribbean, in Latin America generally and on our entire global base structure. Until and unless another canal is built the Canal Zone and the canal must continue to be under U.S. authority and control.

## Hon. John W. McCormack

SPEECH
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

The House, in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13290) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased indeed to join with my able, distinguished and dear friend, Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, in his fine expressions concerning the outstanding Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

The greatness and goodness of our beloved Speaker is manifested to all Members of the House, to the Nation, and to the world. The House may well be proud of this illustrious son of Massachusetts, who is conducting one of the greatest offices of our land with such impressive dignity, impartiality, fairness, ability, and distinction.

It is clear that Speaker MCCORMACK will go down in history as one of our greatest Speakers. His long, ripe experience in public life and in the House has given him an insight into every facet of the work of Congress, and the Government, as well as a superb knowledge of the great public questions with which the Congress is required to deal.

His mastery of parliamentary law and procedure, his warm friendships on both sides of the aisle, his ability to cooperate with leadership at every level, his eagerness to promote the public good at all times, to help and assist the Members of the House with problems of legislation and administration, and their own personal concerns, his meticulous fidelity to duty, unceasing labors in his difficult tasks and the great success which he has enjoyed as Speaker during this tremendously critical session, have won for him greatest respect, highest admiration, widest acclaim, and deepest gratitude.

With this great, experienced, knowledgeable, humane, effective leader at the helm, the country may be confident that the work of the Congress is proceeding with wisdom, sagacity, and judgment toward the high goals which the American people and the Nation have set to bring our ship of state through the turbulence of the hour into the calmer waters of peace, where human betterment and progress may bestow even greater blessings on our land, and untold benefits upon the nations and peoples of the earth.

I take great pleasure in congratulating my dear friend, Speaker MCCORMACK, and wish for him and his most gracious, charming wife, Harriet, and his family, many more years of brilliant achievement for the House, the Congress, and the American people, and the free world. I hope the good Lord will shower upon them His choicest blessings, continued good health, success, and happiness.

## New Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a reprint from the Hutchinson News, of September 24, entitled "An Intelligent First Step," which is indicative of the reception being extended to the new farm program recently enacted by the House of Representatives. The Hutchinson News is the leading newspaper of the largest wheat-producing area of the Nation. Under unanimous consent I insert this article in the Appendix

of the RECORD so that all my colleagues may have the opportunity to read same:

AN INTELLIGENT FIRST STEP

Beginning in 1964 farmers may have Government price supports only on wheat for which there is a ready market. For the first time, hard business rules are suggested in a Government farm program.

Under the certificate plan approved last week by the House, farmers would be guaranteed relatively high prices only on wheat that can be sold domestically or in foreign trade.

The remainder must enter competitive supply and demand channels. No longer would producers be paid for unlimited bushels from limited acres.

Fortunately, most wheat is sold readily. Farmers would be guaranteed at least $2 a bushel for most they raise. Any extra would be stored, fed or sold at going world prices, around $1.30 a bushel.

In exchange, the farmer must agree to acreage controls, plus restrictions on the number of bushels he can sell each year. He must also agree to retire some of his wheat land in trade for Government rental payments equivalent to half a normal crop.

Bushel controls are logically suited to variable Great Plains agriculture. Whatever objections there are in the new plan, they are not insurmountable. The proposal is aimed at eradication of unworkable acreage allotments.

The new plan is a workable, commonsense solution to reduction of public-supported surpluses. It is good for the farmer in that it strengthens the limb he has been on for years instead of sawing it off as suggested by doing away with Government controls.

The certificate plan is the first intelligent step toward free competition in wheat marketing.

## U.S. Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, here is a fine and comprehensive compilation on our total foreign aid program which has been prepared by Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, the House Coordinator of Information, which I believe every Member will find of interest. The article follows:

U.S. FOREIGN AID TOTALS $86.9 BILLION—OFFICIAL SUMMARY TABULATES TOTALS FOR 95 NATIONS SINCE 1945

(By Lawrence Sullivan)

WASHINGTON.—Total foreign aid disbursements by the U.S. Treasury since World War II now add up to $86.9 billion, through December 31, 1961.

A detailed report from the Office of Business Economics, Department of Commerce, shows that 20 nations received 73 percent of the total, or $63.4 billion.

Twenty Latin American nations got $4 billion, or 4.6 percent of the total.

The current recapitulation covers 16½ fiscal years and includes all forms of military assistance and economic aid, plus all surplus farm products delivered abroad for blocked currencies.

The global totals, by types of aid:

[In billions of dollars]

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic assistance | 52.5 |
| Military assistance | 29.3 |
| Capital subscriptions | 5.1 |
| Total | 86.9 |

By these official figures, the average foreign aid distribution since July 1945 has been a little more than $5.4 billion a year.

But these figures do not include direct U.S. expenditures to sustain the United Nations, the Alliance for Progress, our own exchange-of-persons programs, the Peace Corps, educational exchanges, USIA, or cooperative scientific ventures supported regularly through routine State Department appropriations.

Neither do the published totals include our own direct military expenditures overseas (about $3 billion a year) nor our payments for cooperation in the International Geophysics Year, Antarctic Weather Research, Telstar, and similar worldwide scientific projects.

Direct U.S. capital subscriptions to world credit agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, International Development Fund, Inter-American Development Bank total $5.1 bilion for the postwar period.

The first table below shows the combined 16-year total aid to each of the 20 principal nations assisted by the various U.S. programs, including all gifts, grants, and loans:

*U.S. foreign aid (July 1945 through Dec. 31, 1961), 20 ranking nations*

[In billions of dollars]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | France | 9.7 |
| 2. | United Kingdom | 7.7 |
| 3. | Italy | 5.1 |
| 4. | Formosa | 4.9 |
| 5. | Korea | 4.6 |
| 6. | Germany | 4.0 |
| 7. | Japan | 4.0 |
| 8. | Turkey | 3.0 |
| 9. | Greece | 2.9 |
| 10. | Yugoslavia | 2.2 |
| 11. | Netherlands | 2.1 |
| 12. | India | 2.1 |
| 13. | Vietnam | 2.0 |
| 14. | Belgium-Luxembourg | 1.9 |
| 15. | Philippines | 1.4 |
| 16. | Spain | 1.3 |
| 17. | Brazil | 1.2 |
| 18. | Iran | 1.1 |
| 19. | Pakistan | 1.1 |
| 20. | Austria | 1.1 |
| | Total 20 ranking nations | 63.4 |

*29 nations receiving less than $1,000,000,000 each*

[*In millions of dollars*]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21. | Norway | 933 |
| 22. | Indochina | 836 |
| 23. | Poland | 828 |
| 24. | Denmark | 792 |
| 25. | Israel | 672 |
| 26. | Thailand | 587 |
| 27. | Indonesia | 489 |
| 28. | Mexico | 418 |
| 29. | U.S.S.R. | 415 |
| 30. | Egypt | 407 |
| 31. | Chile | 399 |
| 32. | Laos | 388 |
| 33. | Portugal | 382 |
| 34. | Argentina | 339 |
| 35. | Jordan | 307 |
| 36. | Cambodia | 281 |
| 37. | Colombia | 272 |
| 38. | Peru | 265 |
| 39. | Ryukyu Islands | 250 |
| 40. | Morocco | 246 |
| 41. | Bolivia | 216 |
| 42. | Tunisia | 199 |
| 43. | Czechoslovakia | 191 |
| 44. | Libya | 166 |
| 45. | Ireland | 139 |
| 46. | Afghanistan | 139 |
| 47. | Guatemala | 120 |
| 48. | Sweden | 104 |
| 49. | Ethiopia | 102 |
| | Total 29 nations | 10,877 |

*46 nations receiving less than $100,000,000 each*

[In millions of dollars]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 50. | Ecuador | 91 |
| 51. | Lebanon | 88 |
| 52. | Finland | 84 |
| 53. | Haiti | 84 |
| 54. | Liberia | 78 |
| 55. | Burma | 77 |
| 56. | Uruguay | 72 |
| 57. | Iraq | 70 |
| 58. | Ceylon | 66 |
| 59. | Pacific Trust Territory | 63 |
| 60. | Iceland | 61 |
| 61. | Costa Rica | 58 |
| 62. | Cuba | 57 |
| 63. | Panama | 52 |
| 64. | Venezuela | 45 |
| 65. | Paraguay | 43 |
| 66. | Sudan | 43 |
| 67. | Nicaragua | 41 |
| 68. | Belgian Congo | 40 |
| 69. | Nepal | 34 |
| 70. | Honduras | 34 |
| 71. | Syria | 26 |
| 72. | Hungary | 26 |
| 73. | Hong Kong | 26 |
| 74. | Saudi Arabia | 23 |
| 75. | Albania | 20 |
| 76. | El Salvador | 18 |
| 77. | East Germany | 17 |
| 78. | British East Africa | 16 |
| 79. | Rhodesia | 15 |
| 80. | Yemen | 15 |
| 81. | British West Indies | 12 |
| 82. | Somalia | 11 |
| 83. | Nigeria | 9 |
| 84. | New Zealand | 9 |
| 85. | Dominican Republic | 8 |
| 86. | Cyprus | 8 |
| 87. | Ghana | 6 |
| 88. | Algeria | 5 |
| 89. | Malaya | 4 |
| 90. | Guinea | 3 |
| 91. | Ivory Coast | 3 |
| 92. | Surinam | 3 |
| 93. | Chad | 2 |
| 94. | Canada | 2 |
| 95. | New Caledonia | 1 |
| | Total, 46 nations | 1,569 |

The country totals above do not add up to the 16-year global total of $86.9 billion, for the reason that over this period roughly $5.9 billion was allocated to general area projects not chargeable to any one country. Another $5.1 billion is allocated as working capital in the several international banks. The country totals above, therefore, are about $11 billion sort of the overall Treasury outlay for the 16 postwar years.

Repayable loans still outstanding account for roughly $12.8 billion of the total assistance outlay, leaving $69 billion in direct assistance expenditures, assuming all the loans eventually will be repaid, and all capital subscriptions redeemed at par.

Total repayments on such oversea credits were $1.3 billion during 1961, the largest for any year since the war. These heavy repayments reduced our net Treasury outlay for foreign aid to $4.2 billion for the year—the lowest for any postwar year.

In this net distribution of $4.2 billion for foreign aid last year, roundly $1.1 billion was in surplus farm products. Another $1.8 billion was spent inside the United States for goods and services shipped abroad, leaving only about $1.3 billion for the year as a net charge against U.S. gold reserves.

In the 16 years surveyed in the Commerce Department's study, the U.S. Federal debt increased by $40 billion net, which suggests that during this period we added 44 cents to the national debt every time we put a dollar into the foreign aid program. We are actually borrowing money to give away.

The Federal debt now stands at $301.8 billion.

Foreign aid funds available for the current fiscal year, ending June 30, 1963, total

$11.2 billion, including $6.6 billion in unexpended balances carried over from earlier authorization bills, and $4.6 billion appropriated for fiscal 1963.

When all of these presently authorized funds are disbursed, as of June 30, 1963, our total postwar foreign aid will stand at $100.2 billion or just a fraction more than $541 per capita for the eighteen fiscal years 1946–63 inclusive, or about $30 per year per capita.

## Employment of Children in Agriculture

SPEECH
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1123) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I would be vastly more impressed by all of the outcries we have heard here today about giving young people opportunities to work, to build their bodies, and to develop character in the great outdoors, if these same gentlemen who told us how they got their start in life while working very hard on the farm or in the cities, would support our efforts to establish the Youth Corps with the same vigor. However, the very same people who have been shedding these crocodile tears this afternoon, have been in the forefront in opposing the youth opportunities bill, which is being bottled up in the Rules Committee. We have been trying to get through this Congress a meaningful bill along that line.

We are not talking about child labor. We are talking about young men who, because of their draft status and various other reasons, cannot find an opportunity for employment. We have been trying to get a bill through this Congress to create a program somewhat like that of the CCC camps in the 1930's. And what do we run into? We run into opposition from the very people who today come before this House and say, "Why, give the young people of this country an opportunity to work."

I would like to have the gentleman from Georgia explain to me what is the difference between the sweatshops that he says he has opposed so strongly in industry and the conditions that many of these young people have to work under out in the fields, as children of migrant families.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. GRIFFIN. It seems to me that the gentleman is inconsistent. The people who are concernced about this legislation want these youngsters to have jobs. The gentleman from Illinois wants to create Government jobs and make it necessary for more and more Government-created jobs. It would make it impossible for the kids who can get jobs otherwise, to work. It seems to me that one of the reasons why the gentleman is advocating the youth opportunity bill is already on the books. We have too many restrictions on the young people working in this country.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The fact remains that these very people who have been telling us about youngsters working have been fighting the youth opportunity bill. I know of no one who has ever criticized the old CCC program. I am not impressed with the gentleman's argument that Government restrictions limit opportunity for young people. The youth opportunity bill is overwhelmingly supported by the American people because they know it would help reduce juvenile delinquency and give our young men a chance to find employment.

Mr. Chairman, I certainly hope this amendment will be rejected.

## Alleged Violations of ICC Regulations by Western Transportation Co. of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on September 24, 1962, I called to the attention of the House a situation involving a number of Iowa truckdrivers who are pressing charges that there have been repeated violations of Interstate Commerce Commission regulations by a firm known as Western Transportation Co. of Chicago. In addition, I pointed out that they had filed grievances with the Teamsters Union.

To date, these drivers still have not obtained any satisfactory response to their complaints, either from the Federal agencies involved or the Teamsters Union.

In this connection, I desire to include as part of my remarks the text of a letter to me signed by four Iowa drivers and an interesting article which appeared in the September 26 issue of the Des Moines Tribune.

I particularly call to the attention of my colleagues the references in the letter and newspaper article to Rolland McMaster, secretary-treasurer of Jimmy Hoffa's home Teamsters Local No. 299 in Detroit. It is my understanding that additional information on the activities of this powerful Teamster official is on file with the committee of the other body which has conducted exhaustive investigations of Hoffa's union.

The letter and article follow:

DES MOINES, IOWA,
*September 30, 1962.*

Mr. H. R. GROSS,
*U.S. Congressman.*

DEAR SIR: We wish to take this time to thank you for the work you have done, concerning our troubles with the ICC and Western Transportation.

Our grievances were heard September 18 at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago, Ill., local No. 238 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa) and local No. 710, (Chicago), representing the five of us from Western Transportation, Griggs, Ulm, Hobbs, Jenkins, and Shrope. We were heard before a special committee, supposedly to have been headed by Mr. James Hoffa. Instead the chairman of the committee was Mr. Rolland McMasters, of local No. 299, Detroit. The committee was made up of seven men, none was introduced to us. The doorman stated the chairman is Mr. McMasters. No decision was handed down that day. Three days later, we called long distance from Waterloo, Iowa, to Mr. Bill Joyce, our business agent at No. 710 in Chicago. He informed us he had lost all grievances at both locals. He gave no definite reason why. We went to his office in person asking for the decision in writing. He replied he had nothing in writing and wouldn't have before 30 days. At that time he would forward a copy of the decision to us.

Concerning the ICC violations, they are still being committed. Some men driving up to 500 miles in one tour of duty. We have taken notes on some of these violations. On August 28, 1962, Mr. Frank White, Jr., safety inspector from Washington made this statement before four of us (Griggs, Ulm, Hobbs, and Jenkins). If he had investigated Western Transportation 6 months ago, instead of Mr. Boehner, he would have found thousands of violations and could have crucified them.

One new driver (John Quinn) made this statment to Mr. Ulm. He had made two trips and logged them off duty, before he had his 30 days in or probation time in. This driver had his 30 days in on April 4, 1962.

Again we want to thank you for the interest you have taken in this matter.

Sincerely,

HUBERT C. ULM,
KENNETH GRIGGS,
JACK J. HOBBS,
EUGENE D. MCOMBER.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Tribune, Sept. 26, 1962]

RULED AGAINST IOWANS—A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE: MCMASTER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Rolland McMaster, chairman of a Teamsters grievance committee that ruled against a group of Iowa truckdrivers, is one of the most controversial figures in the mighty Teamsters Union.

The Detroit man is one of those closest to International Teamster President James R. Hoffa, and holds his position largely because of his close link with Hoffa.

McMaster is the secretary-treasurer of Hoffa's home Teamsters Local 299 in Detroit, and performs a wide range of other chores for Hoffa through the Central Conference of Teamsters, which embraces the entire Middle West.

IOWANS

McMaster's name entered a situation in which five Iowa truckdrivers, all members of the Teamsters Union, are pressing complaints against their employer, Western Transportation Co. of Chicago.

McMaster served as chairman of "a special committee" that heard certain grievances filed by the five drivers against Western Transportation. All were denied, the drivers were informed.

In addition, Representative H. R. GROSS, Republican, of Iowa, spoke out Monday against what he termed failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission to conduct a "fast and efficient" investigation into charges of the Iowa drivers of violations of the agency's safety regulations.

INDICTED

McMaster is now under Federal indictment of 32 counts charging that he has illegally accepted money from employers, and the

Justice Department is pressing to bring that case to trial in late October.

The indictment charges that the 48-year-old Teamster boss received at least $9,000 from the Youngstown Cartage Co., of Youngstown, Ohio, in violation of the Taft-Hartley labor law. William F. Wolff, head of the Youngstown Cartage Co., is jointly indicted with McMaster on charges that he made the illegal payments to the union representative.

The Government has charged that the payments were made to McMaster for alleged rental of a nonexistent tractor-trailer.

TAX DISPUTE

However, this is not the only case in which various Government bodies have raised questions about the roles that McMaster has had as a part owner of a trucking firm, as the recipient of funds from a truck leasing firm, and as a grievance committee chairman.

McMaster is currently involved in a $103,000 dispute with the Internal Revenue Service.

The teamster boss has refused to produce records dealing with his income and expenses from the M. & G. Trucking Co., in Detroit, and tax officials have taken the position that he must either explain and document his expenses or they will all be disallowed.

This Government claim for $103,000 in taxes and penalties involves only the years 1955 and 1956, and investigations of McMaster's financial affairs in later years are continuing.

WITNESS

McMaster was a witness before the McClellan Labor Rackets Committee. At that time Hoffa and McMaster were under investigation in connection with grievance settlements involving Riss & Co., a trucking firm of Kansas City, Mo., and Trans-America Truck Line, with offices in Chicago.

Teamsters Union members complained about the special contracts that Hoffa negotiated with Riss & Co. It was alleged that the contracts were not as favorable to the drivers as the standard contracts.

Drivers for Trans-America complained about the lack of satisfaction from the grievance procedure that was set up, and they were particularly irritated that Hoffa had arranged for McMaster and Frank Fitzsimmons, another Detroit Teamster, to handle their grievances on wages, hours and working conditions.

They told the McClellan committee they could get no satisfaction from McMaster, who had been appointed for Hoffa.

They still contend that the grievances were not handled under the contract, and that they could get no satisfactory explanation from the union.

FIFTH

McMaster was questioned by the McClellan committee on these matters. He took the fifth amendment on questions dealing with his handling of grievances and his financial relationships with the truckline operators.

McMaster also took the fifth amendment on questions dealing with his half interest in a $200,000 farm near Woodson, Mich., the $11,000 in cash used to purchase another farm near Hartland, Mich., and the 55 head of blooded Angus cattle he had acquired while serving as a Teamster Union business agent for Hoffa.

He also took the fifth amendment on questions dealing with his ownership in two trucking firms—Ram Transport, Inc., of Detroit, and the M & G Trucking Co.

"McMaster took the fifth amendment when asked if Ram Transport was a nonunion shop," the McClellan committee pointed out.

## Box Score on Individual Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, the continual struggle that goes on between those who would preserve our freedoms and those who would destroy them, needs a measure of ground, won or lost, that is provided for in the following article written by two former Congressmen, the Honorable Howard Buffett, of Nebraska, and the Honorable Samuel B. Pettengill, of Indiana:

WHAT FREEDOMS HAVE YOU LOST?—UNITED STATES VERSUS U.S.S.R.—MEASURED BY THE POSTURE OF EACH GOVERNMENT ON CERTAIN BASIC FREEDOMS VITAL TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

Scorekeepers: Howard Buffett, Republican Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 78th, 79th, 80th, and 82d Congresses; Samuel B. Pettengill, Democratic Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 72d, 73d, 74th, and 75th Congresses.

*10 pillars in the structure of government where liberty prevails* [1]

| | 1931 state of freedom [2] | | 1961 state of freedom [2] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | United States | Russia | United States | Russia |
| 1. Freedom from peacetime military conscription | Intact | Lost | Lost | Lost. |
| 2. The citizen's right to own gold to protect his savings from destructive monetary policies is protected. | do | do | do | Do. |
| 3. The farmer is free to run his own farm | do | do | Mostly lost | Do. |
| 4. The nation has a political system that enables the people to decide vital issues. | do | do | Lost | Do. |
| 5. The nation is free from militarism | do | do | do | Do. |
| 6. The people's right to know is not abridged by continual censorship and suppression of information. | do | do | Partly lost | Do. |
| 7. The citizen's right to his total income is not abrogated by law. | Lost | do | Lost | Do. |
| 8. The country is free from foreign entanglements. | Mostly intact | do | do | Do. |
| 9. Industry is regulated, but free from political interference and corrupting subsidies. | do | do | Mostly lost | Small recovery. |
| 10. A large percentage of voters are not recipients of monthly Federal payments. | Intact | do | Partly lost | Lost. |

Estimated freedom score:

| | Percent |
|---|---|
| In 1931: | |
| United States | 80 |
| Russia | 0 |
| In 1961: | |
| United States | [4] (?) |
| Russia | [4] (?) |

[1] For an explanation of the erosion taking place to these 10 pillars of liberty, see "Explanatory Notes," below.
[2] Except for the income tax, the people of the United States enjoyed these rights without serious restrictions in 1931. The people of Soviet Russia possessed none of them in any measurable amount.
[3] With each of these 10 freedoms now lost in the United States in whole or in part, it is difficult to calculate an accurate score for our country.
[4] Make your own estimate, giving adequate recognition to the changes that have taken place.

How fares the American citizen in the old-age struggle between individual freedom and bondage to an all-powerful State? Can the American in 1962 defend his God-given freedoms against moves by the Government to nullify them? In what direction are we headed in America? No other issues transcend the importance of these questions.

The best way this situation can be presented quickly and understandably is through a box score comparison between the United States and Russia. The scorecard records conditions 30 years apart in both the United States and Russia.

Ten major characteristics of a free land have been included. The box score gives the state of the indicated freedoms in each nation in 1931 and again in 1961. Where data for these 2 years was not available, the next closest year was taken.

The score for the United States is based on laws, government policies and government data. For Russia, the score is based on accredited news sources and on data from the U.S.S.R. Constitution.

The box score reports the current situation with objectivity comparable to a baseball or basketball score on the sports page. Hence, the score itself contains neither praise nor blame, argument nor assertion. It simply records. The explanatory notes that follow summarize the information and testimony that verify the scores reported.

Our generation of Americans inherited a Constitution created by men almost divinely inspired. It was designed to protect each and every citizen from the abuse of Government's necessary but carefully limited power (the monopoly power of expropriation and coercion).

In our day, new and amazing inventions by science have multiplied the psychical and physical weapons available to those in public office. Thought control, popularly called propaganda but in reality brainwashing, is used by most governments, including our own. This weapon, multiplied in its strength by modern media of communication, seems to have erased the historic balance of power between those in government and the governed. In most lands, the people today face fearful odds in their efforts to attain or preserve the individual liberty with which their Creator endowed them.

And so a challenging question presents itself: "Have we, the much-blessed American people, increased and sharpened our understanding and vigilance to cope with these new and expanded dangers to liberty? Or have we been bemused, beguiled or intimidated by these political weapons and the inevitably ambitious men who control them?"

To grasp the correct significance of the box score, consider the warning by the new Senator from Texas, JOHN G. TOWER. Here is how he partitions the Communist peril:

1. "We are faced with a very grave threat from without—the military threat of international communism."

2. "We are faced by a very grave threat from within—the threat of Communist subversion."

3. "We are also faced with perhaps a greater one—and that is the threat of becoming through the regular or parliamentary processes exactly like the system that seeks to destroy us."

The box score reports on this third threat.

(NOTE TO READER.—In studying the box score, one precaution is essential. It is to avoid a prejudgment because of the differing economic conditions in 1931 and 1961. The score is on individual freedom, not on economics, morals, education, or any other subject. A freedom comparison between the years of 1928 and 1958, both years of prosperity, would show similar economic conditions and also about the same contrast in the condition of freedom.

(To guard against error in this respect, the reader need only recall the 1930's in Germany. While Hitler was making Germany Socialist, he quieted public resistance by continually harping on the depression of 1931–1932. And so it is imperative that the intelligent American today not be victimized by the same diversionary device. The issue is freedom.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. Freedom from peacetime military conscription: Under the selective service law, every American boy at 18, like his Russian counterpart, loses his freedom and becomes a pawn of the military for a period of years. He cannot emigrate from this country, even though his family decides to leave. For him, the inalienable right of the Declaration of Independence, liberty, is lost.

In other major English-speaking nations today (Great Britain, Canada, and Australia), nobody is conscripted for military service.

2. The citizen's right to own gold is protected: On April 5, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (in the pattern set by Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler) issued an executive order commanding all citizens to deliver all gold, gold certificates, and gold bullion to Federal Reserve banks (excluding gold used in industry, jewelry, and coins held in collection). Since that date, no American can own gold or gold bullion to protect his independence.

On December 5, 1961, William McC. Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, declared: "We should never forget * * * that money, if good * * * is an instrument of liberty."

Mr. Martin neglected to add that no money has stayed good in a land prohibiting the ownership of gold. Historically, the freedom to own gold has been a nonviolent and silent defense of the people's liberty.

3. The farmer is free: We have reached the place where almost 75 percent of all farmers in America are not free to operate a farm, making unrestricted decisions on what to plant and how to dispose of their harvests, except through the ukase of a bureaucrat from Washington. The fact that this change toward absolutism has been accompanied by many pieces of silver, usually inducing a sense of material well-being, does not alter the loss of freedom.

"The hard fact is that a Government-planned agriculture has long since become an established part of our economic life, and there are no effective political forces at work seeking to restore free market guidance in Agriculture."—New York Times, August 5, 1961.

The Times may err in making it appear that the cause of agricultural freedom is hopeless but its comment concerning the loss of freedom cannot be refuted.

4. The people control the Government: The transcendent purpose of the U.S. Constitution was to provide a Government by which the vital policies affecting the lives of the people shall be made by the process of proposal, discussion and popular decision at the polls. For a quarter of a century, this principle has been deliberately flouted by the two major parties, so much so that today in America the people do not effectively influence the course of the Federal Government.

On major issues like military conscription, global intervention, etc., the people have had no choice.

5. Freedom from militarism: Webster defines militarism as "the policy of aggressive military preparedness." In 1931, the U.S. military appropriations were $719 million. In 1961, the military spent more than that amount every week. U.S. military bases and forces are on every continent; U.S. military spending is the most gigantic machine of economic power that ever existed in the United States. The people have no way, effectively, to control its demands.

This may explain why in the Korean war U.S. military personnel totaled 5,764,000. Other non-Korean (U.N.) forces totaled 41,000 men. The ratio was 141 Americans involved for each soldier furnished from all other U.N. nations combined.

6. Censorship and suppression of news: A 1951 Presidential censorship order "had phraseology as sweeping as ever used in a dictatorship," said David Lawrence, editor of U.S. News & World Report.

"Our Government * * * in the withholding of news * * * is * * * slowly pressing toward the totalitarian pattern." So said Kent Cooper, for 25 years general manager of the Associated Press, in 1956.

"The seven FCC [Federal Communications Commission] Commissioners literally have the power of life or death over the Nation's 5,000-odd radio and television stations."—Shirley Scheibla, Barron's, January 1, 1962.

Thus, radio and TV—used in over 90 percent of American homes—are "sitting ducks" for censorship, suppression and, worst of all, news distortion. With the people's "right to know" thus abridged, the protection of their freedom contained in the first amendment to the Constitution is impaired.

7. The citizen's right to his income is protected: Except for a short breach during the Civil War, the historic right of the individual to the fruits of his labors was maintained intact in America until February 1913. The income tax amendment passed in that year ended this historic liberty.

The import of this principle of communism (it is one of the basic tenets included by Karl Marx in his "Communist Manifesto") is sharply revealed by the growth of the income tax ever since 1931. That year a man and his wife had a $3,500 exemption, plus $1,500 for each dependent. In 1961, the cost of living is 125 percent higher, yet untaxed earnings are now only $600 per person.

Progress toward economic independence is statistically impressive, yet mostly illusory because of gigantic Government spending and borrowing pyramided on huge income tax exactions.

"The pattern of American fiscal policy is * * * leading us toward a Communist state with as dreadful certainty as though the leaders of the Kremlin themselves were charting our course."—Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

8. The country is free from entanglements: Today the United States is involved in the internal affairs of almost every nation in the world except Russia and Communist China. This illegal assumption of power, contrary to the wise advice of the Founding Fathers and the Monroe Doctrine, is herding us into the horrors of a police state. Rome found that out; so did Napoleon, and so has Russia.

Already it is slowing taking shape. Conscription of people and property (by taxation and inflation) are the relentless and pitiless companions of unconstitutional and irrational foreign entanglements.

9. Industry free from political interference: Today the Federal Government takes 52 percent of the profits of most corporations in one bite—via the corporate income tax. The comparable tax from 1925 to 1931 averaged 11½ to 13 percent.

Today the Federal apparatus of power subsidizes companies in many industries and dictates to others, through the Federal Power Commission, Federal Communications Commission and other bureaus. The consequence of such crippling interference is seen in the part played by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the decline of the railroads.

"When the profit factor disappears, civilization retreats."—Felix Somary.

10. Voters are independent of Federal payments: In 1932, 2,196,000 persons received monthly checks from the Federal Government. According to recent estimates from the Library of Congress, more than 40 million people now receive monthly checks from the Federal Government. This compares with a 1960 U.S. census report indicating 53 million households in 1960. The population gain, 1930 to 1960, was 49 percent, while those receiving monthly Federal payments increased 1,700 percent. No matter how plausible the explanation of this situation may sound, it has ominous overtones for the existence of an electorate free from domination by, and subservient to, their political rulers in Washington.

"The history of liberty is a history of the limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist * * * concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."—President Woodrow Wilson, New York 1912.

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## Finland: A Friendly, Free Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I have read with great interest a number of articles in recent months which have appeared in the press about the freedom-loving country of Finland and the strides it has been making in increased two-way commerce with the United States.

One of the articles to which I refer is an excellent piece that appeared in the July 30 issue of "The Christian Science Monitor." Entitled "Finland Builds Trade With West," the informative insight provided by staff correspondent Robert C. Bergenheim is of importance to the millions of people in this country who hold the Finns in high regard.

Mr. Bergenheim of the Monitor and Phil Newsom, foreign news analyst of United Press International, made recent trips to Finland. Each filed a series of perceptive, noteworthy articles.

In one of Mr. Newsom's syndicated reports he cites and explains the fact that this courageous country of 4.5 million people, with its vigorous free enterprise economy, maintains a strong attitude of positive neutrality even under the most trying circumstances. A nation of full employment and steadily rising income, Mr. Newsom points with clarity to the

stake which the United States has in the eventual relationship of Finland to the European Common Market.

As stated or implied by both men, the Common Market presents both a challenge and an opportunity for Finland. With its many high-grade products and with a significant portion of its exports being in paper, pulp, cellulose, and allied forest products, it is of vital importance that Finland's production not be excluded from the Common Market. This is a major matter for Finland in furthering the economic advances which it has made in recenty ears and in maintaining its strict neutrality position in world affairs.

Under unanimous consent, I insert two articles of significance about Finland in the RECORD.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 30, 1962]

FINLAND BUILDS TRADE WITH WEST

(By Robert C. Bergenheim)

HELSINKI.—A European Common Market containing Sweden but not Finland appears to be inconceivable if the free world hopes to keep this country part of the Western economic camp, even while it remains politically neutral.

On July 28 Sweden and Austria made formal application for associate membership to the European Economic Community.

Politically, Finland must remain neutral or be forced into the Soviet bloc. The Finns have no choice and they know it. Economically, however, they are strengthening their Western ties while cutting back steadily on their trade with the Soviet Union and its satellites. They are doing this to strengthen Finland, not because they wish to have any part in the cold war between the East and the West.

TRADE NECESSARY

Finland's acceptance as an associate member to the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1961 was only a forerunner to its position today relative to the European Common Market if its chief competitor, Sweden, becomes a member.

EFTA provided Finland with an ultimately tariff-free market for its exports to Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, and Portugal.

Foreign trade is not a luxury for Finland. It is an economic necessity. Since 1955, external trade has doubled. By 1960, sales abroad, including imports and exports, were equivalent to 56 percent of its national income. Finland's major trading partner today is Great Britain, followed by West Germany, and then the Soviet Union. In 1950 the Communist-bloc countries accounted for more than 30 percent of Finland's foreign trade. Today it accounts for approximately 15 percent.

MACHINERY EXPORTED

More than 70 percent of the cash value of all of Finland's exports are paper, pulp, cellulose, and allied forest products. Since it was forced by Russia to pay most of its $570 million war-repatriation debt in metallurgical and engineering goods, as well as ships, the country very swiftly became industrialized. Its current exports of heavy machinery, ships, and paper presses are growing in importance now that the war debt is paid, but there is heavy world competition for these and forest products markets, especially from neighboring Sweden.

The direction Finland would be forced to take if excluded from the European Common Market is obvious—toward the Eastern bloc. Yet when Finnish industrialists and government officials are asked about it, they always answer:

REACTION AWAITED

"We shall wait and see."

If Sweden is not admitted, then most Finns feel they can afford to stay out. They currently are most interested to see what the ultimate reaction of the Soviet Union will be toward Austria. If the Soviet Union does not throw roadblocks in front of this country, Finnish leaders believe they will have no trouble on this front.

A constant question before many Finns is how hard can they tweak the nose of the Russian Bear before it snaps off their fingers. They are proud and a little surprised that they have been able to develop their trade so successfully with the West without bringing unreasonable pressures from the Soviet Union.

This pride, however, does not lead to bragging. They want to be respected by all foreign powers. They speak respectfully of the Soviets and do not want to excite them unduly over this switch in foreign markets. The Finns want freedom to deal with any country that can balance imports with exports, or pay cash in dollars or sterling.

NEUTRALITY PROCLAIMED

"We are neutral," is the national byword. Everywhere visitors are told:

"We are champions of no cause but the Finnish cause. We want to find trade where it will help our own people. We don't fear war for Finland any more than we fear war for the whole world. Our geographical position next to Russia is no longer of any importance.

"We are champions of no cause but the Union. Every other country is minutes away. Is this such a great difference?"

War is not the Finns concern. If it comes, they say, it is the end for all civilization. Therefore, they are preparing themselves for the economic war of survival. The European Common Market and U.S. foreign-exchange policies, therefore, are of paramount importance to this relatively small but economically aggressive country.

What do they anticipate?

"We shall wait and see."

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[From the Ventura (Calif.) Free Press, Aug. 2, 1962]

FINLAND WANTS TO KEEP BOTH PROSPERITY, WESTERN LINKS

(By Phil Newsom)

HELSINKI.—Finland is a nation of full employment and a steadily rising income. She wants to keep it that way.

Emotionally, culturally, and economically the Finns are oriented toward the West. They want to keep it that way, too.

Finland, a nation of 4.5 million, lies in the shadow of the Soviet Union and its population of more than 200 million. The realistic Finns know that their relations with the Russians must remain cordial.

Even so, the Finns have managed to retain both their political and economic independence at a time when many another among Russia's neighbors simply has disappeared inside the Soviet bloc. Finland's trade with Russia accounts for less than 18 percent of her total.

The Bank of Finland stands close to the center of the city, near the beautiful white-domed cathedral and not far from the Parliament building off Mannerheim Avenue.

Here, serious-faced men keep a finger on the pulse of Finland's economic growth.

One such traced it for this correspondent.

In recent years, Finland's gross national product has moved steadily ahead at an annual rate of better than 6 percent, better than the United States and Great Britain, the equal of any country in the world except perhaps those in the European Common Market and Japan.

Her income per capita is around $1,000, less than Sweden's, better than any country in South America.

All this has been accomplished without the Marshall plan aid which benefited other European nations outside the Iron Curtain and despite back-breaking war reparations exacted by the Soviet Union.

But despite this obvious economic success, Finland has nagging economic worries.

Pulp and paper account for 70 percent of her foreign exports. But Finland already is exploiting her forests at a rate slightly above the time required for regrowth and is at the limit of expansion.

While she has full employment now, the next few years will see 100,000 war babies come into the labor market. For those, jobs must be found.

For these, Finland's hopes lie in its expanding metalworking industry, which ranges from manufacture of electrical cable to heavy-duty icebreakers.

But to do it, she must maintain her trade with the West.

And here two conditions will be decisive.

First she must have an association with the Common Market in which France, West Germany, Italy, Belguim, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg are the present members and which Great Britain it attempting to join. Britain is Finland's best customer and she dare not take the risk of restrictive tariffs closing her products out of the European market. This would be especially true if Sweden also joined the Common Market.

Second is the attitude of the Soviet Union and the punitive action the Soviets might take if their present hostile attitude toward the Common Market persists.

At the moment, Finland is biding its time and hoping.

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## Tour Behind Iron Curtain Makes Better Americans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, Bob Parkins, of the Green Acre Farms of Milan, Tenn., recently made a trip with other agricultural leaders from Tennessee to Western Europe and countries beyond the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Parkins has made approximately 30 public appearances throughout west Tennessee contrasting the blessings of our system versus communism.

His observations are so outstanding that I believe they should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

These observations follow:

TOUR BEHIND IRON CURTAIN MAKES BETTER AMERICANS

(By Bob Parkins)

We wanted to see what life really held for people behind the Iron Curtain. We wanted to know if what we had read was really true. And certainly, we wanted a people-to-people exchange of ideas. Those were some of the reasons that our agricultural delegation from Tennessee began a 20,000-mile goodwill mission to western Europe and countries behind the Iron Curtain. The tour departed from Nashville, June 23 and returned to the United States, July 13.

The people-to-people goodwill program was initiated by President Eisenhower in

1956, who said, "The people-to-people program is one of the most promising gateways for reaching our most sought after goal—a just and lasting peace." It is a part of the cultural exchange agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Our 34-man group consisted of men representing every phase of agriculture, including newspaper and television editors, bankers feed dealers, farm operators, and a veterinarian. The group was headed by Commissioner of Agriculture W. F. "Red" Moss. The itinerary included visits to Belgium, Russia, Hungary, Poland, East and West Germany, and France.

Upon arrival at Idlewild International Airport, we were given an excellent briefing by a member of the Government Affairs Institute. We were cautioned about the Soviet's Intourist Bureau. It is staffed by highly indoctrinated Communists who guide tourists through Russia presenting the best possible picture. We were told to stand up for our rights (under the United States-U.S.S.R. exchange program) if the Communists denied us the right to see what we requested. We were also warned about questions that Communists ask just to embarrass the United States.

We arrived in Brussels early Sunday morning after a 6-hour flight across the Atlantic by jet airliner. Brussels, a city of 1 million, is noted for its carpets, glassmaking, lace, historical buildings, and breweries. The city is modern; the streets clean. It is bristling with Western-type free-enterprise systems.

Included in our 2-day tour of Belgium was a visit to a very productive farm, and a briefing by U.S. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur III. He cited the fact that the United States is facing a great challenge. Mr. MacArthur stated that the European Common Market will give the United States the keenest competition it has had in 20 years, which have been abnormal years, due to war and abnormal demand for U.S. goods. "Since the United States is selling 50 percent more than it is buying, we must do a better selling job" Mr. MacArthur stated.

Our group departed for Brussels Airport June 26. After clearing customs, we spotted the Russian jet awaiting our arrival. It was sitting off to itself like an isolated orphan. As we walked toward it, eyeing the red flag and hammer and sickle insignias painted brightly on the plane, we could sense a slight tinge of hypertension. We knew we were about to penetrate the terror-reputed Iron Curtain. We felt that we were on the verge of entertaining a new experience. Time and a sequence of events proved that we were not to be disappointed.

En route to Moscow, we landed in Amsterdam, Netherlands, for refueling and an hour layover. There, disregarding U.S. rules of safety, we say farmers cutting grass ensilage only inches from the busy airstrips.

We were met at the Moscow Airport by two Intourist Bureau guides. They were young women, and spoke good English. They guided us through customs with little delay or difficulty. During our 9-day tour of Russia, they were with us each day.

A bus carried us from the airport to Moscow. We observed many poorly dressed people and lots of shacks. Women were working on street construction like men. We were impressed with the massive building program. Large multistoried apartment houses were being constructed everywhere near the city. Our guide boasted that a complete apartment could be erected in 10 days. And from the manner that some were falling apart, we had little reason to doubt her word. The roads were narrow, rough, and very bumpy.

We were assigned to the Ukraine Hotel. It was built in 1955, but looks much older. It accommodates 1,036 people but had tremendous wasted floor space. It was amusing to note the radios in our rooms. They had only one dial for one station.

After dinner, which consisted of fresh cucumbers, caviar, hot tea, hard bread, potatoes, and fish, Buddy Pace from Huntington, Tenn., and I decided to take an adventurous stroll through the streets of Moscow. It was 10:15 p.m. and still daylight. Moscow is 9 hours ahead of Tennessee time. We felt perfectly safe, and found people friendly, curious, and suspicious. The language barrier was our greatest handicap. However, we met many Russians who could speak some English, and our experiences with them were very rich. We had made some friends in the Kremlin.

Next day, Intourist had tours arranged for our group to see the showplaces of Moscow: Lenin's tomb, Moscow University, St. Basil's Church (now only a museum), and the Kremlin. People were standing in double lines a mile long to see Lenin's body.

Near Red Square is GUM, Russia's largest department store. It has a wide variety of items, but prices are extremely high and quality is low. It is a madhouse with people scrambling everywhere and buying hardly anything. The average Russian worker earns $70 to $80 per month. He would have to save for months even to purchase a personal item. Food and clothing prices were particularly exorbitant.

Our group also visited the Soviet agricultural and economic achievement exhibits. It is fabulous, covering 500 acres. Its purpose is a showplace for visitors with propaganda as its primary aim.

Kids swarmed us wanting chewing gum. They learned very fast to say "chew gum." Our group also passed out 34 Sears, Roebuck catalogs to leave with the Russian people.

Our group had the privilege to attend the Russian ballet and saw "Spartacus." It was a magnificent performance. Few of us realized that the Soviets possessed such culture. Unexpectedly, Mr. Khrushchev, Gromyko, and Mikoyan appeared in the audience. They received an arousing ovation. Mr. Khrushchev looked much older than his pictures.

Our last day in Moscow, we were given an excellent briefing by Russian Minister of Agriculture, Gregori Petrov. He told the complete story of Soviet agriculture, and how all land was nationalized. Today all farms are government owned. Mr. Petrov pointed out tremendous gains in research, mechanization, and production. It was obvious that the Russians are making progress. They are very determined to catch the United States in agricultural production.

We traveled over 1,000 miles from Moscow to Russia's Black Sea to visit both collective and state farms. There the soil is some of the most productive in Russia. It is deep, black, soil and the land lies level for thousands of miles.

The main differences between a collective and state farm is that a collective farm is a voluntary union of state farms. Collective farms are Russian cooperatives. Workers are paid according to crop yield, while on a state farms, workers get wages like factory workers. One may readily see that the collective system would offer more incentive than the state farm. However, most of that incentive is killed by the fact that all farm prices are set by the state and everything is Government owned.

The collective farm that we visited was 12,000 hectares, or about 30,000 acres. This farm had 5,500 people living on it and 3,100 were able-bodied workers. Over 50 percent of them were women. All farm workers work 6 days a week and are off on Sunday. Yet, there is no church on this entire 30,000-acre farm. When we asked a Russian worker about going to church, he smiled and replied: "The God is so far from here and life is so pleasant." Such was a typical reaction of the majority of Russian people that we encountered. And especially the younger ones that consider religion as history only. One young man stated: "In 2,000 years, God has never done anything for our country."

During the tour of the farm, we saw large acreages of wheat, corn, sugarbeets, potatoes, sunflowers, and many small plots of cucumbers. Cucumbers became a joke as our entire group became sick being served them three times a day.

Their machinery was antiquated and looked typical of a scrap metal yard back in the United States. It was bulky, old, and nothing comparable to what our farmers use in the United States. We saw a combine threshing wheat. It was very old and pulled by an old Caterpillar. Four men were required to operate it. In the United States one man and one machine could do the same job not only faster but more efficiently. This was typical of the wasted manpower that we saw all throughout Russia.

Their dairy operation consisted of milking 150 Red Steppe cows. It must have been a new breed: they had no udders. Seriously, no udders of any consequence. They were very poor cattle with little or no dairy potential. They told us that the production of milk per day from these 150 cows was 1,500 pounds. It would take only 30 good Tennessee Holsteins to beat that.

There is little fresh milk in Russia. Refrigeration is rare and what little fresh milk is available, the people line up to buy. We saw these milk lines in nearly every city we visited. The milk was being pumped out of a barrel into pots and pans or any vessel in their possession. However, most of the milk is made into cheese, butter, and fermented milk called yoghurt. Their sanitation program would never pass U.S. health codes either.

The "showcase" farm that we visited had a modern dairy barn with electric milkers and automatic equipment. It was probably the only one in Russia. We saw many other dairies from the bus window where cows were corraled and being milked on the ground. They never stopped to show us those operations.

On another farm we visited, a state farm, we noticed that since all produce belonged to the state, there was little incentive or personal interest among the workers. That is probably why 1 Russian farmer produces enough food for only 3 people while 1 U.S. farmer produces enough for 26.

The workers lived in little-cared-for, small, straw-thatched houses. We asked to visit inside a worker's home many times. We were always refused. The guide would say, "schedule does not permit such a stop today, we shall do it later." Later never came.

However, we were quite surprised to observe that most Russians are proud of their system of government and think it is the best in the world with its free medical and educational program. This is due to several reasons. One is that the history of Russia has always been one of poverty and destitution for the masses of people. Today, they enjoy a better standard than they have ever known. Too, the Communists are masters at propaganda and have convinced their people that their system is the best. They have also told them only the bad aspects of the United States. We answered hundreds of questions about the United States. Their questions ranged all the way from civil rights to why we invaded North Korea, and what did we think of the Taft-Hartley law. One Russian, in broken English, stated that I must be a business executive to afford such a trip to Russia. When I told him that I was a dairy farmer, an expression of doubt came over his face. "Let me see your hands," he said. I held them out. He inspected them, shook his head and said, "your hands much too soft to be a farmer." Such doubt about Americans was typical of many of the people we met, but I truly believe that we

made many favorable impressions about our country before we left.

The contrast between Budapest and Russia was accented by more cars, full and gay shop windows, and an air of Western atmosphere. Bullet holes and war scars were abundant on many buildings.

Agriculture in Hungary was a little better than in Russia. Food was more abundant, livestock was better and greater in number. Farmers are handicapped by government ownership of farms, little mechanization, wasted manpower, and lack of incentive.

The Hungarian people are cool toward Americans. This is believed to be due to the failure of the United States to help Hungary during their abortive revolution of 1956 against the Communist powers. It is obvious today that the iron hand of communism rules Hungary in an orderly fashion.

Poland is by far the most productive in agriculture of any of the Iron Curtain countries. It is, in fact, the only Iron Curtain country that produces enough food for its own people. We believe that this is due to the fact 87 percent of the Polish farms are privately owned. And though the farm efficiency was far below ours in the United States, it was the best that we saw in any of the Communist countries. In essence, though, Poland is just another carbon copy, like Hungary, of the Soviet Union.

East Germany was very drab, and agriculture there is in great difficulty. The wall is much more horrible than we had visualized. It made lumps come into my throat to see the barbed wire; cold concrete; bricked-in windows in apartments near the wall; sharp glass fragments, jutting outward that had been embedded in the wall; and behind the wall, soldiers with machineguns. Some shook their heads at us in defiance and arrogance. We suddenly realized a tremendous sense of national pride in being a free people. We were learning firsthand the real meaning of freedom and how to appreciate it. The significance of freedom of religion, speech, vocation, and free enterprise stood as a shining star in our impressions. We remembered how H. C. Colvette, from Alamo, Tenn., and I were confined to worship in a small hotel room in the Soviet Union; how small children, kindergarten age, are taught early to accept communism and atheism. And if nothing more was gained through this goodwill program than the fact that 34 Tennesseans returned home better Americans, then it was worth while.

But we feel that much more was gained. The average Russian on the street wants world peace as badly as we do. And it seemed to comfort him to hear an American agree. President Eisenhower once said, "The hope is that little by little, mistrust based on falsehoods will give way to international understanding based on truth." Our experience behind the Iron Curtain would certainly bear out Mr. Eisenhower's statement.

And most certainly, we are now more appreciative of our system here in the United States—truly, the best in the whole world.

## Alabama Novelist Writes Successful Novel About the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the daughter of a prominent Alabama newspaper publisher has just had published a successful novel about the South. She is the daughter of Colonel and Mrs. Harry M. Ayers of Anniston, Ala. Colonel Ayers is publisher of the Anniston Star. Successful novelist daughter is Elise Sanguinetti.

I ask unanimous consent to have an article which summarizes various reviews of the book inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Apr. 8, 1962]

FIRST PRINTING OF 5,000 IS SOLD OUT: REVIEWERS COMMENT FAVORABLY ON "THE LAST OF THE WHITFIELDS"

McGraw-Hill, publishers of "The Last of the Whitfields," reported last week that the first printing of 5,000 copies of Elise Sanguinetti's first novel had been sold out as favorable reviews came in from across the country.

Following are excerpts from all reviews received on Mrs. Sanguinetti's novel. The author is the daughter of Star publisher and Mrs. Harry M. Ayers, an Anniston native and University of Alabama graduate:

"Happy books seem to be the thing these days, and it is a happy occasion to report a happy, happy one.

"Elise Sanguinetti, a native Alabamian now living in Pittsburgh, uses as her narrator a girl of 13 who is affectionately but impatiently watching the struggles of her brother, two and a half years older, to cease being 'immature.' Apparently every writer needs to tell at least once the childhood-into-adolescence story. 'The Last of the Whitfields' is saved from being just another of these by two things: Mrs. Sanguinetti (and her narrator) has an excellent sense of humor; and the story takes place in a small southern town aware that one of these days it is going to have to face the problem of integration.

"The various southern legislatures that of late have been considering a multimillion dollar advertising program to spread the southern viewpoint might well just give the money to Mrs. Sanguinetti. She not only has stated clearly the views of the average white southerner on the racial problem; she has, incredibly, done it with wit and charm."—The Chicago Tribune.

"Miss Sanguinetti's characters move through her small Georgia town in a way that throws light on southern traditions and customs. She is to be congratulated for a fresh, exuberant, young book."—Dallas News.

"Life in Ashton, Ga., as seen through the eyes of 13-year-old Felicia Whitfield, can be rich and thrilling, or despairing and gruesome, depending on the experiences of this imaginative young protagonist.

"A creative and human novel."—Boston ———.

"It is a great relief to read about such a family in the South. A distressingly large number of southern writers nowadays, such as Tennessee Williams, William Faulkner and Erskine Caldwell, would have us believe that we all live on Tobacco Road and are a decadent lot. I feel refreshed by this happy novel from a new important southern writer."—St. Augustine Record.

"I believe that Mrs. Sanguinetti has coined a long-needed descriptive term (speaking of some northerners vacationing in Florida) * * * in 'cheap rich.'

" 'The Last of the Whitfields' is an irresistible book: fresh, wise and funny. These Alabama girls really seem to have something. It will be interesting to see the second novels of Miss Lee and Mrs. Sanguinetti."—Memphis Commercial Appeal.

"Oh, how you'll like Felicia!

"She's irrepressible, has her own inimitable manner of expressing herself, is afflicted with the turmoils of adolescence and yet, withal, is a very keen observer of everything that goes on about her.

"Impressive in the telling is the emergence of keenly delineated characters—the father and mother, the people of Ashton, Arthur struggling toward maturity, and most of all, the little girl who sees and feels and thinks—Felicia herself."—Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle.

" 'The Last of the Whitfields' will be hailed by many southern people in that for the first time Elise Sanguinetti, through this novel, is saying things that need to be said, and through this book they become articulate on a touchy and deeply felt subject. The book should be seriously considered by responsible people who may disagree but seek to understand more clearly the southern attitude and way of life.

" 'The Last of the Whitfields' is a hilarious story about a normal, happy southern family. It is a refreshing oasis in the current literary desert of profanity, obscenity and unnatural behavior."—High Point, N.C., Enterprise.

"If you have children, if you know anybody that would like to read a book which is delightful all the way through, run, don't walk to the nearest bookstore for your copy of (this) book.

"We think this book, written in the adolescent's way, explains the South more clearly than all the learned tomes that we've read. Even if it were not entertaining we'd recommend it strongly."—The Decatur Daily.

"Felicia speaks to the reader in much the same cadences (though not with the same vocabulary) as Salinger's Holden Caufield and, like Holden, though with less despair, she hates the phony. Generally, the Whitfields are related to the Caulfields, but that is as far as the resemblance goes.

"The Whitfields, living in the cocoon of a small community, are funny, not to themselves of course but to the reader. Unlike the Caulfield griefs (which bespeak an incurable sensibility) those of the Whitfields are Aprilian and transitory."—The New York Times.

"If you have ever been subjected to the whims, the fancies, the vagaries, the April-showers-May-sunshine unpredictability of a 13-year-old girl, you will enjoy—although, sometimes, wryly—this delightfully humorous first novel. The story is told with wit and grace and understanding. It is well worth reading."—Greenville, S.C., Piedmont.

"Perhaps advertising of the book as a 'happy' one refers to the chuckles grown folks get out of it. But you can find stimulation to serious thought from many things including the 'teen age' report on a visit to kinfolk who move in the best society of Charleston, S.C. It's different, no doubt about it."—Rock Hill, S.C., Evening Herald.

" 'The Last of the Whitfields' is a story, in the classic pattern, of adolescent adjustment to an adult world * * * first of all an extraordinarily funny book as full of life and as true to life as the inquisitive youngster in your own house or the house next door.

"In the course of the book, the young Whitfields learn a great deal about a variety of Southern attitudes toward a variety of subjects and there emerges for the reader clear statements about the best of the Southern view of manners and education.

" 'The Last of the Whitfields' is a job to read and to pass on to a friend.

"It also is something to consider again when your laughter has died down. There's food for sober second thought beneath most of the fun."—The Birmingham Post-Herald.

"It may come as a frightening shock to some writers, but a novel can be written about the Southland that will make people laugh.

"This Mrs. Sanguinetti proceeds to prove in a fetching fashion through the eyes of a

13-year-old girl with a tendency toward thinking all things tragic.

"For those with a yen to read something besides the seamy side of life, the author has come up with a real laugh-provoker, neatly flavored with tongue-in-cheek nostalgia."—Asheville, N.C., Citizen-Times.

"This is the most delightful novel this sad old librarian has read in many a dreary month. In fact, your reviewer burst out into unseemly laughter, not once but several times, at this warmly humorous tale, supposedly spun by a 13-year-old Ashton, Ga., girl.

"Even the more serious overtones of racial views in the South are handled skillfully and intelligently."—The Library Journal.

" 'The Last of the Whitfields' is terrific."—The Pontiac, Mich., Press.

"Her characteristically Southern vocabulary, her naive observations, and her quaint style of phraseology as she views the matter-of-fact, workaday world through teenage eyes, combine to make this one of the funniest, warmest, and most enjoyable books to cross my parietal desk in a coon's age, as Felicia would have phrased it."—The Birmingham News.

"One of the most recent Alabama novelists to make a public splash is Elise Sanguinetti of Anniston. Elise's new book, 'The Last of the Whitfields,' has received very favorable reviews. But that's to be expected—she grew up in the newsroom of the daily Anniston Star, recognized as one of the best newspapers in the State, and published by her father."—Birmingham Post-Herald.

## A Critique on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, no patriotic American can help but be deeply concerned over the menace festering just 90 miles off our shores in Cuba. To fully understand this threat and to develop plans to combat it, we must certainly consider the many divergent views on the Cuban situation.

With this in mind, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD an article entitled "A Critique on Cuba," which was written by Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce and which appeared in the September 30, 1962 edition of the New York Herald Tribune. Mrs. Luce is an acknowledged expert on world affairs and her views offer abundant food for thought.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CRITIQUE ON CUBA

(By Clare Boothe Luce)

(NOTE.—Playwright, ex-Congresswoman, ex-Ambassador, Clare Boothe Luce is surely one of the most versatile women of the times. She is also one of the most forthright in her opinions. Following is the first of two articles in which she expresses herself on Soviet Cuba and how it got that way. She deals, in part, with the part played by President Kennedy.)

"The President feels that Cuba is a bone in his throat." So spoke one of President Kennedy's aides soon after the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs.

Since then the obstruction in the Presidential gullet has become a large bone of national and international contention.

How did it get stuck there in the first place? How big, how dangerous is it? Can it be dislodged short of war?

The President naturally wants to keep these awkward questions out of this fall's congressional elections. But the failure to ask them and to answer them honestly is fraught with danger to the Nation.

Castro began as a bone in the throat of the Eisenhower administration 4 years ago. Two years later, candidate Kennedy did his eloquent best to get Mr. Nixon to strangle on it. Picking the decline of American safety and prestige as his theme, Kennedy pointed to the rise of Castro as prime evidence that "our security and our leadership are both slipping away."

His Cuban policy was to "let the Cuban people know our determination that they will some day again be free," to "let Castro know that we do not intend to be pushed around any longer," to "let Mr. Khrushchev know that we are permitting no expansion of his foothold in our hemisphere * * *" and especially to "end the harassment * * * of liberty-loving anti-Castro forces in Cuba and in other lands."

"Thus far," candidate Kennedy said, "these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government." And, "the way to put the ideals of the American Revolution into significance is to act on them, not to talk about them." "Hopefully," he said, "events may once again bring us an opportunity to [act] on behalf of the cause of freedom in Cuba."

Hopefully, events did bring the newly elected President this opportunity. In April 1961, President Kennedy authorized the Cuban invasion. But at the last and fateful hour he ordered the withdrawal of decisive American air support, abandoning 1,400 "liberty-loving, anti-Castro fighters for freedom" to Castro's tanks, jails, and firing squads. His profile in courage suddenly turned into a profile in indecision.

At his nationally televised press conference on September 13, 1962, President Kennedy had no kind words for those who are saying today, as he himself so often did during the 1960 campaign, that the "bone" is plenty big and dangerous. "Rash talk is cheap," he said, "especially with those who do not make the responsibility [for decision]."

In 1960, addressing himself to the military aspect of the Cuban situation, Senator Kennedy said, "I think Castro is a source of maximum danger. * * * A Communist menace has been permitted to arise under our very noses, only 90 miles from our shores. * * * [Castro's] transformation of Cuba into a Communist base of operations * * * by jetplane, missile, or submarine * * * is an incredibly dangerous development." Thus, he warned, "the whole Western Hemisphere security system is drastically threatened."

But 2 years later, at his press conference, the President, referring again to Soviet shipments to Cuba, said that these "do not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere." He strongly denied that the Communist buildup is such as "to endanger or interfere with our security," or that Cuba is "an offensive military base of significant capacity."

In view of Candidate Kennedy's profound alarm about the military threat of Cuba in 1960, what are the facts which leave the President so relatively calm today about Castro's present military capacity?

Today, Castro's Cuba, still only 90 miles off our shores, has the second strongest ground army in our hemisphere. Estimated at 400,000 men, including militia, it has received since the failure of the invasion, over $175 million in military aid and supplies from Communist-bloc countries. Communist-made jeeps, jets, tanks, radar, and electronic equipment are almost daily arrivals in Cuban harbors. According to State Department and intelligence reports, 4,500 Russian soldiers, sailors, and technicians are in Cuba helping Castro. They are training new pilots, ground crews and artillerymen.

Just last week Castro announced construction of a 12-million peso "fishing base" on the Cuban coast for use by the Russians. Sites for guided missiles and rockets, and bases for submarines and submarine detection are possible. Cuba will be capable of inflicting great damage on the U.S. naval installation at Guantanamo. And behind these beefed-up forces stands the military might of the U.S.S.R., openly pledged to support them, with its atomic power if necessary.

Whatever the military capacity of Cuba when Mr. Kennedy took office, it is now vastly greater.

In his September 13 press conference, Mr. Kennedy indicated that his hopes of a peaceful solution of the Castro problem lie partially in the deterioration of the Cuban political and economic situation. Dangling the prospect of a convenient collapse before this Nation's eyes, he said, "Castro [is] in trouble * * * his own followers are beginning to see that their revolution has been betrayed."

What are the chances of a successful rebellion by Castro's disillusioned people? His unpopularity with a great section of his oppressed populace can no longer be questioned. The 1,200 captured in the disastrous Bay of Pigs and the thousands of political prisoners now rotting in Castro's jails certainly hate his guts.

But the unjailed remnants of the Cuban underground no longer have the means or the will to challenge the ruthless authority of Castro's Soviet-armed firing squads. Like the Hungarians before them, the Cuban people have learned the bitter lesson of resistance: that Soviet Russia will spring to the aid of Soviet dictators wherever they may be, but the United States will not always go to the aid of men fighting for their freedom.

Cuban radio and television are doing a typically crack Communist job on Cuban youth. The rising generation is being vigorously indoctrinated with antidemocratic, anti-American, and pro-Russian ideas. It is being taught to think of itself as the vanguard of the Communist liberation of our hemisphere.

Those who know Communist political and educational methods can only smile sadly at President Kennedy's present optimism about a popular uprising. So long as Castro is supported by Soviet arms, the chances of an anti-Castro rebellion are virtually nil, and native Cuban communism will continue to burgeon.

Speaking during the campaign of 1960, Candidate Kennedy said that Castro and his supporters "are not only a Soviet satellite, but they are trying to spread their revolution throughout South America." And he added, "time is running out in Latin America * * * although the cold war will not be won in Latin America, it could very well be lost there."

Today, however, he assures the Nation that "in the last year Castro's regime has been increasingly isolated in this hemisphere. His name no longer inspires the same fear or following in other Latin American countries."

The bitter truth is that Cuba today is a far more effective base of Communist activity than it was 2 years ago. It is now a bustling,

well-organized jumping-off point into all its neighboring countries for Spanish-speaking spies, provocateurs, propagandists and secret military agents. (Many of them, according to intelligence sources, are operating among Cuban refugees and Puerto Rican citizens here in the United States.)

Radio Cuba broadcasts around the clock to all the Latin American nations. Their underprivileged masses are told that their economic and political freedom depends on boating out all pro-American politicians, and elevating officials who stand ready to join the dynamic ranks of Communist republics, which now, because of Castro, can truthfully be said to girdle the globe. The United States, Radio Cuba claims, is lending billions of economic aid to its southern neighbors for one reason only: fear of Khrushchev and Castro. American aid, it warns, will die on the vine the day Castro is defeated.

The argument is a powerful one. Probably all Latin American governments view Castro and communism at least in part as a dollar-generating program. It would explain why even pro-American leaders are reluctant to take action against him or against their own domestic Communists.

The rapidly growing forces of the Communist left elsewhere in Latin America (especially in Haiti, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela), and the rise of new military dictatorships in Argentina and Peru, are tragic proof that the influence of Castro has not been politically isolated. Since the failure of the invasion, there has been a massive outflow of private Latin American capital into European countries. Today, South American entrepreneurs who might otherwise be investing in domestic enterprise are sending their capital to safety abroad, with a consequent weakening of the Latin American economy and a further drain on the Alliance for Progress funds.

Time is running out in Latin America, and the cold war is still being lost there.

In his press conference the President expressed another hope for the eventual freedom of Cuba: the economic collapse of Cuba. "Monumental economic mismanagement, supplemented by our own refusal to trade with [Castro]," Mr. Kennedy explained, has crumbled the Cuban economy. This seems to suggest the hope that the regime will collapse of its own weight, and thereby discredit communism.

How justified is that hope?

There is no question that in the last few years living standards under Castro have deteriorated appallingly—as they have under Walter Ulbricht in East Germany, and Janos Kadar in Hungary.

In 1959, Cuban exports were $675 million and imports $740 million; today, exports are $320 million, imports $350 million roughly, Cuba has lost one-half of her world trade. Castro would indeed be ousted by his own people by now—except for one all-important fact: Kremlin support.

When Castro came to power in 1959 80 percent of Cuba's trade was with the United States. Today, 80 percent is with Communist-bloc countries.

It is hard to see why the President and his advisers have constantly failed to understand that the same ideological, political and military necessities which make it essential for the United States to maintain Berlin as a "showcase of democracy" on Russia's borders, are operating today from Moscow, to maintain Cuba as a "showcase of communism" on our shores.

Today, Castro and his country are in total hock to Moscow. If Castro should balk at this, or in any other way become a liability or nuisance, the Kremlin will quickly dispose of him, and install a hand-picked successor. Unless Russian power is evicted from Cuba, it is there to stay—and to grow.

## Platform of the Midwest Federation of College Young Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the platform of the Midwest Federation of College Young Republicans adopted at Indianapolis, Ind., April 14, 1962.

There being no objection, the platform was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLATFORM OF THE MIDWEST FEDERATION OF COLLEGE YOUNG REPUBLICANS PASSED AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., APRIL 14, 1962

PREAMBLE

We, the members of the Midwest Federation of College Young Republicans, believe that the proper function of Federal Government is to maximize the freedom of the individual and to extend freedom around a world threatened by the forces of international communism.

Inherent in the proper execution of these functions, we believe: That with the centralization of power in government comes an inevitable abuse of power which threatens individual initiative and constitutional liberties; that government action should provide only a floor over economic disaster and not a ceiling for personal endeavor; that our determined objective in the cold war must be victory over, rather than coexistence with, the godless and enslaving forces of world communism.

AGRICULTURE

The American farmer has long been the heart of our expanding Nation, making it the healthiest, best fed, best clothed Nation in the world. It is often argued that the farmer now represents a vested interest in our society looking for a free ride at the taxpayers' expense. We concede that today agriculture is a special interest sustained in large measure through increasing governmental subsidy. But we vociferously deny that such a condition is in the farmer's best interest or is representative of his wishes. Iniquitous, oppressive, and contradictory legislation has entrapped and confused the farmer to the point that he is now engaged in a fight for survival that is both corrupting him and heaping upon him the stigma of immorality. In a hungry world, the U.S. Government is forcing the farmer to restrict production in order to survive. We urge that this situation be ended, that Federal controls over agriculture be removed and that the system of price supports be gradually eliminated over a transition period of about 5 years.

Currently, our Nation is expanding at the rate of 30 million people every decade. This in itself will provide relief for the problem of overproduction. The reduction of tariffs in other countries would provide an expanding market for farm products, and we urge the Government to work toward this end. The efficiency and ingenuity of the American farmer has long since proved the fact that, notwithstanding the pernicious effects of a disastrous inflationary policy by the Federal Government, he is still able to compete in world markets with his goods. With the removal of oppressive and restrictive governmental dictation, there is no reason why the farmer should not come to enjoy a material prosperity consistent with, and the result of, a free society.

ECONOMIC POLICY

America's commitments to the defense of the free world require the maintenance of a strong and viable economy, one which will supply the demands of increased military spending, respond to the complex adjustments which confront our agrarian and urban sectors, and at the same time promote the maximization of individual choices in the market economy.

An economy fully responsive to the changing demands of private individuals and private initiative has proven to be the most effective supplier of our human needs and at the same time has enabled America to become the greatest industrial nation in the world. It is the role of the Government in promoting our economic development to provide the conditions which will both encourage and protect opportunities for free individual choices in the market economy.

To the Government belongs the responsibility for providing an equitable legal framework for private competition within the market economy; for maintaining sound monetary and fiscal policies so that our currency will retain both domestic and international confidence; and for safeguarding the value of the dollar from the debilitating effects of an unbalanced budget.

On the other hand the Government has the obligation to refrain from any program which would fix prices and wages; establish production quotas; impose confiscatory tax levies; or tend to become permanent subsidies.

In accordance with these principles, the Midwest Federation of College Young Republican Clubs supports the following economic platform:

(1) Since the private sector of the economy has always made a more productive use of money, and since the Federal Government now competes with or excludes private enterprise in nearly every sector of our economy with notorious examples in the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Administration, and since these activities are financed by all taxpayers for the benefit of a few, and since our increasing defense needs must receive more attention, we urge Congress to curtail such domestic spending wherever possible.

(2) Since economic growth is dependent on a healthy rate of private capital investment and since our present tax laws, limiting American industry to the lowest depreciation allowances of any industrialized Western nation, failed to supply an equitable and effective investment incentive, we urge the enactment of greater depreciation allowances for American businesses. We oppose a tax credit scheme on investment in tools and equipment as a mere subsidy measure totally inadequate to supply new incentive for business expansion and as an effort by the administration to avoid necessary taxation reform. So also we oppose the withholding of dividend taxes as an inefficient and inequitable measure.

(3) Recognizing the success which the nations of the European Common Market have had with their efforts to eliminate artificial economic trade barriers and to implement the principles of the free market, although we deplore their tendency to retain trade barriers for the rest of the non-Common Market nations, we urge Congress and the administration to enact legislation and programs to create the conditions for freer trade between the United States and the European Common Market, as well as with the other non-Communist nations of the world. But any authority to reduce tariffs should be subject to the review of Congress in accordance with its constitu-

tional responsibilities with respect to taxation.

(4) We oppose the administration's request to expend $600 million on public works projects as a most unrealistic and artificial response to the unemployment problem. History has demonstrated that such subsidies tend to become permanent, postpone necessary fiscal and monetary reform and have not proven an effective solution.

(5) In line with the compelling need for more fiscal responsibility on the part of the Federal Government, we favor raising the interest ceiling on the long-term treasury borrowing. We cannot agree with the present system whereby the Federal Reserve Board can arbitrarily determine monetary policy for the Nation by its unlimited authority to increase or decrease the supply of money. We urge that Congress pass legislation requiring the Board to increase the supply of money at a rate equivalent to the historical rate of increase of productivity, thus providing a stable monetary framework and stable prices.

(6) Recognizing that an unlimited power to tax is a power potentially destructive of individual economic freedom, we urge that marginal tax rates in the upper income brackets be lowered as a first step toward eventual elimination of all progressive income taxes, and that legislation be enacted to place our social security system on a voluntary basis. On the same principle, we oppose the King-Anderson bill designed to establish medical care for the aged under the social security system, or any medical care legislation tied to the social security system.

(7) In order to protect private business investment and to promote fair competition, we urge that a corporation tax be levied upon cooperatives which are now able to compete directly with tax-paying private utilities.

EDUCATION

We reaffirm our belief that the Republican Party must encouarge State legislatures and local school boards to provide equal opportunities for all to obtain a good education. We believe that the States and localities can undertake this responsibility far more effectively than the National Government. We believe that national subsidies for classroom construction, teachers' salaries, and scholarships can only lead to Federal domination and control and preemption of another of the responsibilities reserved by the Constitution to the States and to the people. We believe that the responsibility for education must be kept close to the people it serves as they are the best judges of whether or not the schools are fulfilling their desired role. We reject the idea that the National Government can or should prescribe a standard curriculum or that it is able to direct from Washington the operation of some 50,000 local school systems.

We support the loyalty oath and disclaimer affidavit provisions of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The loyalty oath is but one of the controls that Congress is empowered to place upon the use of Federal aid to education. We find no inconsistency in requiring an applicant for loans and grants from the National Government to swear allegiance to that Government.

We applaud the development of loan programs by colleges, along with private and corporate groups to ensure that no qualified student is deprived of the opportunity for a college education.

We commend the presidents of the 21 Midwestern private and church-related colleges which have recently stated publicly their opposition to construction grants and scholarships for institutions of higher education. The forthright action and cogent arguments of these educators—from institutions which would benefit directly from Federal grants and scholarships—set a new standard for resistance to the encroachment of the National Government into areas of responsibility not its own.

We commend President John A. Howard, of Rockford College, Illinois, for refusing Federal construction funds and relying upon the contributions of alumni and friends of the college. President Howard has set an example of wholly positive action to protect Rockford College from a Federal program contrary to the best interests of the colleges and therefore hostile to the welfare of the people. We recommend the example of President Howard and of Rockford College to the other colleges and universities of the 13 States of the Midwest Federation.

The Supreme Court of the United States in *Wickard* v. *Filburn* has held that the National Government has the right to control whatever it subsidizes. We therefore endorse the plan of Representative CHURCH, of Illinois, and Senator GOLDWATER, of Arizona, to enable the taxpayer to deduct from his Federal income tax that amount (not to exceed $200) that he pays in property taxes for the support of elementary and secondary schools. This plan also provides tax relief for Federal taxpayers with dependents attending college.

As college students, we deplore the false scholarship which seeks to create the impression that the principle of Federal aid to to education has long been established, is deeply imbedded, and dates back to the days of the U.S. Constitution. Public education has historically been regarded as a responsibility of the States and of the local communities, and outside the Federal realm. We intend that it will so remain.

Inasmuch as the school aid legislation pending before Congress dangles the promise of "free money" from Washington before the voters, it compounds the difficulties of local school bond referendums for local financing of public education. We therefore call upon the Congressmen from the 13 Midwestern States of this federation to reject the administration's aid to education bill, and the proposed medical school construction bill.

We urge the President to veto the college construction and scholarship bill. It is wholly inimical to the interests of the colleges, the students, and the public. The deficit financing of the $2,674 million construction provisions is explicit evidence that the Federal Government cannot afford this largesse. It moreover presents the intended beneficiaries of this program—the students—with the prospect of mortgaging for them their future income in payment for this program. Federal control in the establishing of construction standards, equipment and wages is explicit in the bill. The bill discriminates against private sources of finance, by creating a situation of unfair competition.

President Kennedy has said that we are educating a greater proportion of our youth to a higher degree of competence than any other country on earth. Since the American educational system, based on local autonomy, has enabled the United States to grow from a wilderness to the greatest industrial nation in the world, the burden of proof against this system lies with those who would change it.

FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of the United States should seek to achieve the legitimate goals of our country in international affairs. Chief among these goals is the security of the Nation, to which the chief threat is international communism, under the leadership of the Soviet Union. Until this threat is met and mastered, our country can do little toward achieving its other goals. Unfortunately, the Kennedy administration has forgotten this fact. It has talked much and done little, and an administration which started by complaining about a loss of American prestige abroad has managed, in little more than a year, to lose ground to communism on every continent, in addition to losing prestige. A rising tide of thoughtful criticism of our foreign policy is now being heard in every quarter of the globe.

Foreign aid is now given indiscriminately to friends, neutrals, and even enemies, and reform is desperately needed in this program. We urge that Congress retain the Battle Act prohibiting aid to Communist countries, and strengthen it to include once more Yugoslavia and Poland. We also regard aid to such neutral nations as India and Indonesia as unjustified. Their "neutrality" too often consists of attacking the United States for taking action to preserve the free world, and being silent when the Soviet Union acts to destroy it, as when nuclear testing was resumed. Foreign aid should be given only to our allies. We favor the retention of the Connally reservation to U.S. membership in the World Court, maintaining that it is the sovereign right of any nation to determine the nature of its own domestic concerns.

We demand that the Berlin wall be torn down as a precondition of any discussions about that city between the United States and the Soviet Union. We further demand that the Kennedy administration stand firm in Berlin and insist on all of our legitimate rights in that city.

We urge the Kennedy administration to follow the lead of the Eisenhower administration and proclaim Captive Nations Week throughout the Nation. The captive nations must be assured that the free world has not forgotten them, and that we will make every effort to help them regain their freedom.

Particularly in the light of the recently revealed weaknesses of the Communist Chinese Government, we remain unalterably opposed both to the recognition of that government and to its admission to the United Nations. We also oppose any proposal to abandon the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu to the Communists. We ask that steps be taken leading to an eventual restoration of the legitimate Nationalist Government of China, now occupying Formosa, Quemoy, and Matsu.

We condemn the Kennedy administration for substituting words for action in Laos, with the result that that unfortunate country is subjected to a pro-Communist neutralist regime. Since the collapse of our foreign policy in Laos, it is imperative that we give all-out support to South Vietnam in its fights against the Communist Viet Cong guerrillas, and that we reassure Thailand and our other allies in southeast Asia that we will not abandon them, as we have Laos.

The weaknesses of the Kennedy administration are nowhere more evident than in its policy on Cuba. We urge this administration to redeem its dismal failure in the Bay of Pigs invasion by taking immediate action to remove this Communist cancer from the hemisphere, either through the Organization of American States, or alone if necessary.

We urge the Kennedy administration to reconsider its policy on the former Belgian Congo. We wonder why it is supporting the efforts of leftwing African extremists to destroy the only stable and anti-Communist government in the Congo, the Katanga Government under President Moise Tshombe. We condemn the action of our State Department in refusing to admit President Tshombe to the United States when it is willing to admit the leader of the Angola terrorists, Holden Roberto.

We urge the House of Representatives to vote against the proposal to buy United Nations bonds to support the morally and financially bankrupt U.N. Congo operation, and we congratulate those Republican Sen-

ators who voted against the proposal in the Senate.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

We realize that the future of freedom in the world rests upon the ability of the United States to remain militarily strong, maintain American liberties, and defend the cause of freedom all over the globe. This requires a powerful, well-trained military force equipped with the most up-to-date weapons of war.

But we maintain that the struggle between the free world and the Communist empire is more than a war of military preparedness—it is primarily a struggle of the will, the will to defend and die for freedom, the will to resist communism.

We believe that when the American people are hypnotized into a relativist state of national complacency, the cause of freedom is doomed. To maintain American military might and promote freedom, we assert the following:

We firmly advocate the continued testing and development of nuclear weapons. We will support a nuclear test ban only at such time as there are incontrovertible guarantees, such as adequate inspection systems, and full mutual exchange of information, against the violation of such a ban.

Recognizing the Communist method of nibbling away at small countries of the free world, we favor the maintenance of a strong conventional armed force to successfully wage these "brush fire" wars.

We advocate a program whereby the United States can send a "cold war corps" of trained young men and women to, and at the invitation of pro-Western nations, to assist in their efforts of resistance to the ideological onslaughts of international communism.

We support the American exploration of space and ask that no time or effort be spared in insuring the success of this operation.

We urge the rapid development of the Polaris missile, and further urge that it be made the basic weapon of our nuclear retaliatory force.

We are amazed that the Kennedy administration has discontinued the B–70 bomber to soothe Russian fears that we intend to attack them. It is absolutely necessary that each proposed weapon be considered solely on the basis of what contribution it can make to American security, and we urge that the B–70 be considered on that basis.

We advocate positive steps to reduce inefficiency and unnecessary duplication in the armed services, but favor the present system of separating basically autonomous military departments.

Recognizing the danger of the Communist tactic of subverting free countries from within, we favor continued efforts to expose the extent and the work of the Communist network in this country. In implementing this work, we strongly support the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in their valuable work in this direction.

LABOR

We affirm the necessity of a strong labor movement to provide economic growth and national stability. Nevertheless, regulation of such a movement is equally as important in a society which hopes to preserve the fundamental human rights of its individual members. We hold the following principles as essential to maintain this balance between power and the individual:

To maintain his freedoms under the Constitution, the wage earner must secure the right of voluntary association in well-organized and honestly run labor unions. The right to live includes the right to work. This right to work must be protected from local dictators and strong-arm coercion. Thus, we believe that no man should be denied his right to work because of his membership or nonmembership in any labor organization, union, or association. Neither should a man's race, creed, or color disqualify him from this basic right to work.

Further, we hold that a person's membership in a labor union does not necessarily mean that he supports any particular political party or campaign. Although a man's job may affect his politics, it is not the function of a labor union as such to play with politics. This means that labor leaders do not have the right to use their members' dues for promoting political ends. Union dues are paid to finance an entirely different activity than the election of polificians. In fact, many different political philosophies may be represented by the individual members of a single union. As the Georgia Supreme Court held in the Looper case, "the unwilling contributor is just as much deprived of his freedom of speech as if he were compelled to give his vocal support to doctrines he opposes."

We also favor the elimination of unfair labor practices such as featherbedding, outlined by the recent report of the Presidential Railroad Commission. We believe that the managers of an industry have the specific right to run their business in the most efficient manner possible. In regard to this problem, we especially wish to commend the Kohler Co. of Kohler, Wis.

Finally, the abuses of power by industry have been controlled for many years with antitrust legislation. Labor was originally exempted from this control because of its meager beginning. However, the time has arrived for some specific antitrust legislation applicable to labor unions.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION

President Kennedy's bludgeoning of the steel industry into rescinding price increases, in the alleged national interest, by threatening to stop defense purchases, is the most significant step toward a regulated economy on the Fascist model yet undertaken by the New Frontier. Such a policy provides a device by which the Federal Government can eventually set every industrial price in the economy, according to the amorphous standard of national interest. Such a policy has the same potential effects as nationalization of American industry.

Therefore, we urge the present administration to return to its proper function of fighting the foreign enemies of the United States, and cease its war against American free enterprise.

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## Record of Legislation, 87th Congress, Committee on Education and Labor

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

RECORD OF LEGISLATION, 87TH CONGRESS, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, THE HONORABLE ADAM C. POWELL, CHAIRMAN

Status of legislation as of October 4, 1962, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bills reported by comimttee and enacted into law | 18 |
| Bills passed by House and Senate and pending conference | 2 |
| Bills reported by committee and pending before Rules Committee | 16 |
| Bills reported by committee, denied a rule | 1 |
| Bills reported by committee, defeated in House | 1 |

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

The full committee met in executive session on 65 days; the subcommittees met on a total of 317 days.

| | |
|---|---|
| Days of hearings | 221 |
| Days of executive sessions | 96 |

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

*A. Legislation enacted*

1. The Practical Nurse Training Extension Act of 1961, Public Law 87–22 (Apr. 24, 1961); amended to include practical nurse training.

2. Establishment of teaching hospital for Howard University, Public Law 87–262 (Sept. 22, 1961). The transferal of Freedman's Hospital as a teaching hospital enhances the professional preparation possible at Howard University.

3. Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, Public Law 87–274 (Sept. 22, 1961). The first legislation of its kind to be passed. Provides Federal assistance for projects which will evaluate and demonstrate techniques and practices leading to a solution of the Nation's problems relating to the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and youth offenses and to provide training of personnel for work in these fields.

4. Teachers for the deaf and speech pathologists and audiologists, Public Law 87–276 (Sept. 22, 1962).

5. Education of the blind and increased appropriations for the American Printing House for the Blind, Public Law 87–294 (Sept. 22, 1961).

6. Extend National Defense Education Act of 1958; extend impacted areas (extension of Public Law 815 and Public Law 874); Public Law 87–344 (Oct. 3, 1961).

7. Amendment to title 11 of National Defense Education Act, Public Law 87–400 (Oct. 5, 1961).

8. Captioned films for the deaf, Public Law 87–715 (Sept. 28, 1962).

9. School Lunch Act amendments, important to Negroes since it removes the specific designation to race. Conference report passed House October 4, 1962, passed Senate October 2, 1962, Public Law 87—.

*B. Bills passed by committee and in Rules Committee (date referred to Rules Committee)*

1. University extension (May 31, 1962).

2. Special education and vocational rehabilitation (July 5, 1962).

3. Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts (July 19, 1961).

4. Adult basic education (Apr. 2, 1962); recommended by President.

5. Quality Education Act (May 31, 1962); recommended by President.

6. General aid to elementary and secondary education (June 1, 1961).

7. Overall revision of National Defense Education Act (July 6, 1961).

8. Amendment to Land Grant Colleges Act to eliminate the "separate but equitable" clause of the act (May 23, 1962).

9. Amendments to impacted areas laws to deny payments to school districts that practice racial discrimination and segregation (May 31, 1962).

10. Amendments to National Defense Education Act to raise Federal payments into student loan fund (Oct. 2, 1962).

*C. Bills passed by House and Senate and pending conference*

1. College Academic Facilities Act.

*D. Committee prints on education*

1. "Federal Aid for Education" (May 1961).

2. "The University in Latin America: Argentina and the Alliance for Progress" (September 1961).

3. "Federal Interest in Education" (September 1961).

4. "Activities and Accomplishments of the Committee on Education and Labor—Activi-

ties in the Area of Education Legislation" (December 1961).

5. "Congressional Action for Higher Education" (January 1962).

6. "Higher Education in Soviet Union" (January 1962).

7. "The New Image in Education" (February 1962).

8. "A Directory of Federally Financed Student Loans, Fellowships, and Career Training Programs in the Field of Higher Education in the United States" (April 1962).

9. "Cultural Factfinding Mission to Latin American and Caribbean Countries" (April 1962).

10. "Views on Relationships of Church and State in the Field of Education" (May 1962).

11. "Integration in Public Education Programs" (May 1962).

12. "Interim Report on Education and Citizenship in the Public School System of Puerto Rico (August 1962).

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

*A. Legislation enacted*

1. Minimum wage and hour amendments of 1961, Public Law 87-30 (May 5, 1961). First major overhauling and updating of this statute since date of original passed under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

2. Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Compensation Act, Public Law 87-87 (July 14, 1961).

3. Federal Employees Compensation Act, Public Law 87-339 (Oct. 3, 1961).

4. Additional Assistant Secretary of Labor, Public Law 87-137 (Aug. 11, 1961).

5. Metallic and Nonmetallic Mines Safety Act, Public Law 87-300 (Sept. 26, 1961).

6. Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act, Public Law 87-420 (Mar. 20, 1962).

7. Eight-hour law, Public Law 87-581 (Aug. 13, 1962).

8. Manpower Development and Training Act, Public Law 87-415 (Mar. 15, 1962). Labeled by press as probably most important piece of domestic legislation since New Deal.

9. Amendment to cover railroad workers, Public Law 87-729.

*B. Bills passed by House and Senate[1] and pending conference*

1. Equal pay for equal work (July 25, 1962). First successful effort to get an equal pay bill for women out of the House in the memory of man or woman.

*C. Bills reported by committee and denied a rule*

1. Federal Coal Mine Safety Act (reported Apr. 13, 1961), denied a rule (June 7, 1961).

*D. Bills passed by committee and in Rules Committee (date referred to Rules Committee)*

1. Youth Employment Opportunities Act (Mar. 29, 1962). On the President's "must" list.

2. Occupational Safety Act (July 5, 1962).

3. Equal Employment Opportunities Act (Feb. 8, 1962). First Fair Employment Opportunities Act to get out of committee since Calendar Wednesday used by Mr. POWELL in February 1950.

4. Davis-Bacon amendments (Apr. 5, 1962).

5. National Council on Migratory Labor (July 5, 1962).

6. Crewleader registration (migratory labor) (Apr. 18, 1962), tabled by Rules Committee (Sept. 20, 1962).

7. Child education, migratory labor (July 5, 1962).

8. Amendment to section 302(c)(6) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947 (May 22, 1962).

[1] Amendment to H.R. 11880, Foreign Service Building Authorization Act.

*E. Bills reported by committee, defeated in House*

1. Child labor, migratory labor (Oct. 4, 1962).

*F. Other legislative inquiries (ad hoc subcommittees)*

1. Subcommittee on Unemployment and the Impact of Automation: Legislative "digging" of this committee led to findings that were later incorporated into the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

2. Subcommittee on the Operations of the National Labor Relations Board: The exercise of its oversight function by the committee through the hearing conducted by this subcommittee led to a reevaluation of many practices and decisional policies adopted over the preceding 8 years.

3. Subcommittee on the Impact of Imports and Exports on American Employment: A scouting in depth in keeping with the committee's responsibilities and jurisdiction on the general subject of employment.

4. Subcommittee on Irregularities in the Garment Industry: Investigation of racial discrimination, possible violations of existing labor-management relations statutes, and corruption based on complaints and information received by the committee over the past 18 months.

*G. Committee prints on labor*

1. "Worker Participation in Business Management," February 1961.

2. "Some Important Dates in the History of American Labor," February 1961.

3. "A Compilation of Economic Data on Industries Affected by H.R. 3935 and Other Bills To Amend the Fair Labor Standards Act," February 1961.

4. "Comparative Print Showing Changes Which Would Be Made in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 by H.R. 3935 as Reported by the Committee on Education and Labor," March 1961.

5. "Federal Labor Laws," March 1961.

6. "Impact of Automation on Employment," June 1961.

7. "Farm Labor Contract Registration Act of 1961," July 1961.

8. "Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961," July 1961.

9. "Administration of the Labor-Management Relations Act by the National Labor Relations Board," September 1961.

10. "Applicability of Antitrust Legislation to Labor Unions: Selected Excerpts and Bibliography," September 1961.

11. "Federal Labor Laws," November 1961.

12. "Activities and Accomplishments of the Committee on Education and Labor—Activities in the Area of Labor Legislation," December 1961.

13. "The New Image in Labor," June 1962.

14. "Legislative History of Davis-Bacon Act," September 1962.

*H. Investigative Task Force*

The Investigative Task Force assisted the Special Subcommittee on Labor, Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, chairman, in the preparation of public hearings concerning fair employment legislation. Many witnesses were interviewed for their appearance before the subcommittee. During the hearings, testimony was submitted indicating discriminatory practices by the Texas State Employment Commission, Dallas, Tex.; at the direction of Committee Chairman Adam C. Powell, the Investigative Task Force made an investigation, which ended such discriminatory practices.

The Investigative Task Force assisted Congressman DOMINICK V. DANIELS, Chairman Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education, investigating integration in federally assisted schools. Aid was also given to the Special Subcommittee on Education, Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, chairman, in the study of Federal assistance for education purposes. In cooperation with the education section of the Committee on Education and Labor, Investigative Task Force helped prepare a committee document relating to juvenile delinquency.

Investigative Task Force conferred with labor leaders and management in Philadelphia, Pa., relative to the Yale-Towne labor strike which had been continuing for approximately 20 weeks, and which was greatly affecting the economy in that area. The Investigative Task Force also investigated alleged labor irregularities involving an independent union and the Caltex Corp. Alleged irregularities by several clothing manufacturers in Long Island, N.Y., were corrected. Several Negro workers were admitted to a local union in New Jersey as a result of sustained efforts of the staff. The Investigative Task Force also investigated complaints of discrimination in the New York Transit Authority. An investigation was made of alleged irregularities in local No. 194 of the International Hod Carriers Union, Baltimore, Md., as well as of discriminatory personnel practices by the air lines.

The Investigative Task Force instigated a full investigation of the ILGWU in New York State, the result of which was heard before the ad hoc Subcommittee on Investigation of the Garment Industry.

Complaints of discrimination in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were investigated, resulting in the promotion of a Negro secretary. Similar complaints involving discriminatory practices within other Government agencies have received preliminary investigation by this office and in most instances have been referred to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity with whom progress checks are periodically made.

Our staff has investigated hundreds of complaints of discriminatory practices by labor and management and has been instrumental in bringing about satisfactory results.

## Bureaucratic Strong-Arm Methods Revealed in Michigan Highway Sign Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the extent to which bureaucratic strong-arm methods are being used to force compliance with Government mandates has been revealed in Michigan in connection with the directive requiring operators of tourists businesses to tear down signs in front of their businesses along State highways.

One of my constituents, Marion J. Krupp, a St. Helen businessman, calls it "government blackmail." Bud Vestal, correspondent for the Booth newspapers, reports the instance for his papers, and that portion of the article giving Mr. Krupp's version follows:

ROAD SIGN "BLACKMAIL" IS CHARGED

(By Bud Vestal)

LANSING.—A St. Helen businessman is chafing under what he calls "governmental

blackmail" to get him to take down a roadside sign, but officials at top headquarters in Lansing deny any pressure policy.

Marion J. Krupp, owner of a store with a liquor takeout license in St. Helen, declares that a liquor commission inspector warned him of trouble "the next time your license is up for renewal" if he did not obey a highway department order to take down his sign which is on the legal right-of-way.

Krupp says the sign was erected "about 7 years ago after I asked the State highway department how far away I had to keep it, and they said 23 feet from the edge of the pavement (of M-76). Now they have a new policy and I got a letter from district maintenance superintendent Wilbert E. Simpson, of Alpena, telling me to take down the sign.

"The letter said at the bottom that copies were being sent to the county road commission and the State liquor commission. Then September 18, a liquor inspector warned me I would have trouble with my license if I didn't take the sign down. I told him I thought it was like blackmail to use my liquor license to put pressure on me; they couldn't do this to a hardware store."

Of course, officials were quick to deny any part in the incident but nevertheless Mr. Krupp has the document indicating another Government agency, in addition to the road commission, is being notified of the warning of the sign removal notice he has received.

## Yom Kippur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Yom Kippur, the day of atonement, is not a holiday in the usual sense. It is not an occasion for social greetings, or festivities of any kind, but a day of solemn fast and repentance. To those brought up in the Jewish tradition, the meaning of Yom Kippur is plain, and the beauty of the Yom Kippur services, centering in the chanted prayer, "Kol Nidre," is an experience to be treasured.

It is an essential part of education in American democracy, I think, that the religious meaning and the artistic beauty of liturgical observances such as those of Yom Kippur, should be described and explained to those who belong to other religious traditions. I, therefore, take this time to give a brief account of the ceremonies of Yom Kippur, and their meaning, for the benefit of any to whom these matters may be unknown, or only vaguely guessed at.

Yom Kippur is the climax of the "Ten Day of Penitence" which began with Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year. In the Jewish calendar, every religious observance, including that of Yom Kippur, begins on what is commonly thought of as the evening of the day before. Thus, this year, Yom Kippur begins at sunset of October 7, and ends at sunset on October 8. For all of this day, most Jewish men and women refrain from eating and drinking, and even young children customarily fast for some part of the day. In the evening, there is a solemn service in the synagogue, at which prayers are said and hymns sung. It is at this service that the "Kol Nidre" is recited. This chant is recognized as a part of the world's great religious music, and recordings of it, as sung by singers of many faiths, are available. Some who have not heard it elsewhere will remember the dramatic use made of it in the early talking motion picture, "The Jazz Singer," with Al Jolson. In this prayer, the congregation asks God to forgive them for breaking any vows made to Him which they have not been able to fulfill. In other prayers and hymns, repentence for other misdeeds is proclaimed, and promises of atonement are made.

Some spend the whole night in prayer. For others, services begin again in the morning, with scripture readings, prayers, hymns, and a sermon by the rabbi. These services occupy the day until nightfall, when, after a memorial service for the departed, the end of the fast is announced by a blast of the shofar, the ram's horn, with which the celebration of Rosh Hashanah was inaugurated. Then this period of penitence and sorrow is brought to an end, and the worshippers return to their homes rejoicing.

May I extend to you, Mr. Speaker, and to all of our colleagues, the popular greeting at this season, "Happy New Year," and at the same time extend the traditional Hebrew—Loshono Tovo Tokosevu—may you be inscribed in the "Book of Judgment" for a good year.

## New Jersey Young Americans for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, Young Americans for Freedom, the national conservative youth organization dedicated to constitutional government and extension of individual liberties held its first annual convention in New York City on September 27, 28, and 29.

I have watched the growth of this responsible conservative youth group since its founding 2 years ago, and I was pleased to see that among the more than 500 members and delegates who attended many were from the State of New Jersey. A resident of my district, a recent graduate of Princeton, Mr. Donald B. Shafto, of Ridgewood, was elected a member of the organization's national board of directors.

New Jersey Young Americans for Freedom now has chapters in many parts of the State and is currently engaged in a campaign to counteract the U.S. Supreme Court decision against public school prayer.

Mr. Francis T. Sefchik, of Passaic, N.J., a delegate to the Young Americans for Freedom convention, introduced and secured the passage of the following resolution, which I commend to my colleagues for their consideration:

RESOLUTION BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

Whereas article I of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; and

Whereas the prayer of the regents of the State of New York is nondenominational; and

Whereas the regents' prayer does not purport to establish a religion but simply acknowledges the existence of God; and

Whereas the U.S. Supreme Court by its ruling is in effect prohibiting the free exercise of the right of American schoolchildren and educators to pray voluntarily in a public place; and

Whereas the right to pray is an integral part of our American heritage: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That Young Americans for Freedom make known to the Supreme Court of the United States, the Congress of the United States, and the President, that we cannot accept what we feel to be an obvious distortion of our sacred Constitution, and, further, that we intend to pursue our belief and our cause until the Supreme Court decision is reversed or until the Constitution is amended to correct this injustice.

NEW YORK CITY, *September 29, 1962.*

## Medicare for Our Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, in a matter of days, the 87th Congress will be history.

As the curtain falls on this session, I should like to call attention to what I deem to be a serious omission—the failure of this body to come to grips with one of the most important problems which faces us—medicare for our senior citizens, which I support. I have consistently advocated a sound, comprehensive program of medical care for our older people.

In October 1960, as a candidate for Congress, I distributed a statement to every home in my district, which said, in part:

I firmly believe that the next Congress must enact an effective measure insuring adequate medical care for our older citizens whose increased need for such care comes at a time when their earning capacity has diminished.

Let me, here and now, reaffirm this pledge.

Let me, here and now, say to those who are making this pressing need a political football, that their oratory does nothing to relieve the anxiety of many senior citizens who live in apprehension of catastrophic illness.

## Address of Hon. Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury, September 25, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address by the Honorable Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, at the annual convention of the American Bankers Association, Atlantic City, N.J., on September 25, 1962.

Mr. Roosa, certainly one of the most farsighted and competent members of the administration, discussed with the members of the American Bankers Association the balance-of-payments problem as it relates to the banking community.

Mr. Roosa's address follows:

BANKING AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

(Remarks of the Honorable Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, at the annual convention of the American Bankers Association at Atlantic City, N.J., September 25, 1962)

Your meetings have begun here in Atlantic City just as the annual meeting of the free world's finance ministers and central bankers ended in Washington. There, the financial officials of the more than 80 countries renewed, indeed they reinforced, their expressions of confidence in us, and in our dollar. But, gratifying though this is, the reaffirmation of confidence must not be misinterpreted. It does not mean that any of us in the United States can slacken in any way the drive toward getting this country's international accounts into balance. It only means that enough has so far been accomplished to persuade the rest of the world that we will be able, if we try even harder, to finish the job.

That is why our discussion of the balance of payments here this morning is so timely. For the banking fraterity has played, and will certainly continue to play, a leading part in alerting America to its balance-of-payments problems and the new efforts needed to limit costs and raise productivity in order to promote both greater growth and more exports. Bankers know that the dimensions of the problem ahead are still large. To be sure, thus far in 1962, the overall deficit has approximated an annual rate of $1½ billion—a striking contrast to the deficit of $2.5 billion in 1961, and to the much higher figure of $3.9 billion in 1960. While it is still not possible to sort out fully the influence of the recent Canadian difficulties from more lasting factors, the performance this year has been gratifying. But what this also means is that all of the more obvious, the easier measures to reduce the deficit have now been taken. That is why our approach in the Government is, and must be, to give continuing and direct attention, systematically and persistently, to every possible way—large and small—of helping our drive toward balance-of-payments equilibrium.

That is why we have a special Cabinet committee, headed by Secretary Dillon, which reports directly and frequently to the President, in order to speed decisions and assure continuous top-level leadership within all branches of the Federal Government. Out of that committee's work has come a new control system, covering all expenditures of funds overseas by every Federal agency. Every item must now be justified in terms of today's priorities. And the national export drive is receiving new impetus from the appointment last July of an Export Coordinator who will oversee and expedite all of the vastly expanded services for exporters throughout Government—not passively, but actively, by working with individual companies and industry groups to establish goals for expanded sales around the world.

So far as Government's own part of the deficit is concerned, the large items have been military outlays and economic aid. Over the past 18 months, the Defense Department has cut roughly one-third from our net dollar spending abroad for defense—not by cutting down on activities, though some cuts have proved possible, but mainly by persuading our allies that it would pay them to return to us the dollars they receive. How? By purchasing here, at lower costs, some of the military equipment which they need—and achieving the end of standardization at the same time.

We have been equally vigorous in limiting the balance-of-payments drains from our economic assistance programs. The balance-of-payments impact of the current $4 billion program is being reduced by providing more aid in the form of American goods and services. Eighty percent of the funds being committed under current directives will directly result in American exports—and I can assure you that every significant outlay for aid that comes within that other 20 percent (that is, spent abroad) must be justified in terms of national priorities at the highest level of Government.

Essential as is this close attention to Government programs, all of us recognize that, in the end, American success must rest on the performance of the private economy—its ability to find profitable opportunities for productive home investment, to reduce unemployment, to improve efficiency, to maintain price stability, and to seek out and penetrate export markets. This is the way, and the only way, we can expect to combine healthy growth at home with external balance. It is just such considerations that underline so much of our emphasis on tax reform—reform that will stimulate new incentives to work, to invest, and to cut costs. Such reform has already reached some distance by revising depreciation guidelines; will soon hopefully be enlarged by the 7-percent tax credit for investment; and must be furthered in the next Congress by an across-the-board realinement and reduction in the tax rate structure. We simply cannot afford to carry on indefinitely, in this competitive world, with a tax structure that dulls initiative and brakes the economy at levels well below its full potential.

Government itself is now providing American businessmen with more information in detail on foreign markets than ever before. And foreign businessmen are being exposed to many more American products—through new trade centers abroad, through trade fairs, and through the determined day-to-day efforts of our foreign representatives. But these activities can reach their full potential only if the facts and opportunities of foreign trade become as familiar to the American businessman as they have long been to his foreign competitor—who, by necessity, has had to depend for generations on foreign markets for his daily livelihood.

The challenge is clear. We look to a further expansion in exports, not in hundreds of millions but in billions, within the next 2 years to help accomplish balance in our payments. That is not unrealistic. During the first half of this year, our exports were 6½ percent higher than a year earlier. But it will take sustained and energetic effort. The Export Coordinator, Draper Daniels, acting within the Department of Commerce, setting goals industry by industry and region by region, is already depending heavily on the new National Export Council, which has 33 regional councils and the participation of 10,000 individual businessmen.

Many of you no doubt are aware of these activities in your own area. You are crucially situated in your own communities to provide the leadership necessary to make this program a success. I realize that you cannot all become experts in the special problems of foreign trade. But you do know the problems of the local businessman and you can help him find the assistance he needs. Within the banking community itself there are vast resources of knowledge and talent—and it is a challenge to our correspondent banking system to tap these resources effectively and make them available to every American producer capable of reaching profitable outlets in foreign markets.

There is one particular area where your services and knowledge are absolutely essential—the financing of exports. Financing for export, as you well know, presents special problems—some technical and some attributable to the additional element of risk. The Export-Import Bank has long had programs for participating with banks in credits of this kind. The Export-Import Bank's commercial bank guarantee program, geared to the special political and exchange risks, has been streamlined and simplified to increase its usefulness, as many of you know. If any of you still find problems, the Bank's chairman and president, Harold Linder, wants to know about them. In addition, the resources of private enterprise are now being utilized more effectively through the facilities of the Foreign Credit Insurance Association—a cooperative effort of the Export-Import Bank and 72 insurance companies. The FCIA, operating successfully since February in the insurance of short-term credit, has now extended its activities into the medium-term field, and we exepct that it will have actually issued policies to over 1,000 exporters covering potential exports of one-half billion dollars before the end of the year.

This combination of Government support with private enterprise can now provide exporters in this country with credit facilities that are the equal of any industrialized country. I urge you to familiarize yourself with this program more closely by reading a little booklet published just last week by the Export-Import Bank entitled "From One Bank to Another." I understand that copies are available from the ABA office, here and in New York and Washington.

But our balance-of-payments problems include even more than the need to expand exports, both of goods and of services, and to curb the outflow of dollars through Government programs, for they also involve the flows of capital. This country rejects direct controls on the flow of capital, not only because they would be inconsistent with our traditional and fundamental objectives of freeing trade and payments between countries, but for immediate dollars-and-cents reasons—they would cost us more than they could possibly save. Our own money and capital markets are the most highly organized, most efficiently diversified, of any in the world. To try to impose controls over outward capital movements in any one sector of these markets—say bank loans—would only invite capital flight through many others. And to try instead a comprehensive approach—clamping the cold hand of capital issues controls, or credit rationing, over the entire sweep of the markets—would literally congeal the bloodstream of American capitalism.

No, so far as the outflows of capital are concerned, there is no effective answer outside the forces of the markets themselves.

That is why, so far as volatile short-term money flows are concerned, we have combined the influence of debt management and monetary policy for more than 2 years to exert some upward force on short-term money rates. At the same time, we have minimized the pressures of governmental operations in the longer term market so that constructive investment at home would be encouraged. These measures have been important in stemming outflows into money market instruments abroad and, at the same time, continuing a ready availability of funds for any form of productive new domestic investment—not only during the recession which ended last year, but also throughout the expansion phase we have enjoyed since that time.

To those who favor some administrative check on outflows of capital, or those who want some arbitrary forcing up of interest rates on bank loans and capital issues to thwart flows abroad, the answer must be essentially the same—neither the public nor the private sectors can be expected to take action which might handicap the functioning of a competitive market economy—a capitalist economy. But there are many answers that can be sought short of that prescription. None will cut through the problems with a single, decisive thrust; each will seem minor in itself, but will gain decisive strength by being an incremental part of a comprehensive total effort.

We know, for example, that Europe will not be able overnight to transform its own capital markets in order to carry a larger part of the world's capital requirements. But there are many kinds of steps that can be taken, not only by the Europeans but by Americans as well, that will help somewhat in lessening the pressure for outflows of capital from the American markets while also contributing toward the evolution of needed new facilities in Europe. This kind of approach is symbolized by the work that the Export-Import Bank has been doing, for example, in placing some of its own paper with European investors.

The investment banking community in New York is making a comparable contribution, not only in its own long-run competitive interests but also with short-run benefit to the American balance of payments, by making increasingly vigorous efforts to attract European funds. Those efforts extend also to the broader listing of American securities on European exchanges. They have resulted in sales of a significant proportion of recent security issues in New York to foreign investing institutions—both directly and in secondary distribution. Pressures have consequently begun to mount within those countries which still maintain tight controls, as individuals seek the freedom to invest abroad and cite, in support of their desires, the currently strong balance-of-payments positions of their particular countries.

And there are ways in which American business and banking can also help in the financing of commercial requirements. Ingenuity in searching out sources of funds abroad for American businesses operating there, as well as imaginative extension of participation arangements to more foreign lenders in the credits granted by American banks at home and abroad, can pay off in broadened contacts and a wider range of services for any customers engaged in foreign operations.

For the present, in the area of governmental capital flows, we have been successful in developing a large reverse flow to the United States in the form of prepayments of long-term debt owed the U.S. Government by the surplus countries of Western Europe. Prepayments this year by France, Italy, and Sweden have already amounted to $550 million. We know that such prepayments do not solve our balance-of-payments needs, but they do reduce the outstanding supply of dollars abroad that our foreign deficit would have otherwise produced. They temporarily reduce strains while the slower, but more lasting forces of market adjustment are bringing our trade and payments position back into equilibrium.

Cooperative efforts between nations have been the basis for most of our progress over the past 18 months toward developing and strengthening our international financial system. The backbone of that system, as it has evolved out of experience since World War II, rests on the widespread use of the dollar as a supplement to gold in the international reserves of other nations and as a medium of international payments.

This convertible gold-dollar system, bulwarked by the resources of the International Monetary Fund, has served the world well. It has provided ample liquidity to support more than a doubling of world trade since 1950—a trend which is continuing with an increase of 6 percent in the first half of this year compared to the like period of 1961. It has permitted the industrialized countries to dismantle part of their exchange controls, to lessen their restrictions on capital movements (and in a few cases to remove them) and to restore the convertibility of their currencies for all ordinary payments. And it has, at the same time, allowed individual nations to work out their own economic destinies, free to develop along the lines of their own capacities and choices, but within a framework of ever-growing cooperation among nations to work out and achieve common objectives.

These are no small accomplishments. Yet progress has brought with it new problems. In meeting them, again in the spirit of neglecting nothing, of trying to cope with all the pieces of the problem, large or small, we have worked out in cooperation with the other leading countries a new system of defenses for the dollar. Little if any of this could have been done if the United States was not clearly determined to bring its balance of payments back into fundamental equilibrium, and to do this in a way that would be adapted to the progress already achieved in liberalizing trade as well as to the longer-run needs for convertibility, liquidity, and growth in the future. All that has been done has rested on the clear understanding—among all of the participating countries—that financial arrangements, essential as they are for the support of trade, cannot take the place of real correction in our underlying balance-of-payments position.

Convertibility brought with it a freer flow of short-term funds among nations. While this was a highly desirable addition to international liquidity, it also involved an increased risk of sudden and disruptive flows of short-term capital between nations. Funds were now free to move, at least on short-term, among all the leading countries, not only in response to differences in money market rates of interest but also in reflection of changing fears or hopes concerning the weakness or strength of each country's economic position. The balance-of-payments disciplines—always present—were even more clearly visible. The need was to develop new arrangements which, while never concealing the persisting force of those disciplines, would limit the scope for speculative aberrations which could so easily develop in the new environment.

This is why the United States, working step by step with the leading foreign nations, has taken the initiative over the past year and a half to build an enlarged set of defenses for the international monetary system, building on experience and existing institutions and supplementing and reinforcing the protection already implicit in the world's existing monetary reserves and in the International Monetary Fund.

The new initiatives have taken the form of a new set of arrangements under which the United States, for the first time in a generation, is dealing directly in the foreign exchange markets, in a great enlargement of the resources available through the IMF, and in the application of cooperative arrangements to the London gold market. Taken together, an entirely new dimension has been added to our international financial system.

One innovation is that the United States is now holding foreign exchange as part of its own reserves. These foreign currencies can be acquired when one or another of the leading industrial countries has a deficit with the United States. In turn, such holdings, once acquired, can be used, with the understanding of the other countries involved, to buy up dollars flowing into the hands of foreign official institutions, thus becoming an alternative to drawing on our own gold stock, if and when our dollar outflow might exceed the amounts that one or another of these foreign central banks and governments might wish to hold voluntarily. In a similar way, temporary disturbances in the exchange markets can be checked before setting off a massive speculative run as we alternatively acquire and then release holdings of the other major currencies. Moreover, our holdings of foreign currencies (or arrangements permitting us to borrow them on a limited standby basis) can support much larger sales of forward exchange. By participating in the forward markets to assure larger availabilities of "turnaround" facilities, we make it feasible, for example, for private parties abroad, who may wish to hold dollars passing into their hands for temporary periods, to go on holding them while assured of the availability of enough of their own currency to meet expected needs at some later date.

With our own balance of payments in deficit, we have acquired foreign currencies to support these activities largely by means of so-called swap agreements arranged by the Federal Reserve with our principal trading partners. These agreements provide for a reciprocal exchange of currencies, usable by either party when needed to meet temporary shifts in the international flow of funds. In addition, we have on occasion acquired currencies from certain countries, so far in modest amounts, by outright purchase, by direct Treasury borrowing, or by accepting repayment of debts owed the U.S. Government in usable foreign currencies rather than dollars.

Thus far, the operations have been mainly in the nature of "pilot" projects, testing and probing the mechanical possibilities and their possible usefulness. But experience has, I believe, already demonstrated their value in meeting specific situations, involving marks, Swiss francs, lire, guilders, and Belgian francs. One encouraging characteristic of the operations already undertaken has been the early reversibility of many of them. This point clearly emerges from the recent full report on Treasury-Federal Reserve operations prepared by Charles A. Coombs, of the New York Federal Bank. The release of this report reflects our policy of making available to the public from time to time as much of the detail of our operations as we possibly can.

I should stress again, too, that it is no part of our intention to disguise the basic forces of supply and demand, or the various market evidences of changing needs and conditions in the international financial position of the United States or any other country. We want and need the sensitive signals of changes in fundamental forces that are reflectd in price fluctuations in free markets. And as one of my foreign friends remarked to someone from another country, perhaps with a slight ulterior motive, the United States publishes and discloses its record so freely and frequently that it could not—even if it were to try—hide the facts of its balance-of-payments position from the intelligent observer.

Useful as these operations in the exchange markets have been, it is not their past or current size that is so significant—although the United States does have today approximately $900 million of foreign currencies at its disposal, either in the form of cash or standby facilities. Rather, the significance lies in the pattern set for meeting future contingencies—the technical feasibility of the arrangements, their expansibility in time of agreed need, and the ability to pinpoint the use of our resources at the point and time of need.

All of these new arrangements are, of course, reinforced by the enlarged capacity of the International Monetary Fund to provide assistance in time of need. As a result of the increase in subscriptions voted in 1958, the United States alone has a Fund quota of over $4 billion. These facilities are being further supplemented by the new $6 billion standby credit pool agreed to by 10 of the industrialized countries last December, a pool in which the U.S. share of $2 billion is now awaiting final approval by the Congress.

Taken together, these new arrangements—emerging from a mutual understanding of common problems and needs among the industrialized countries—powerfully enlarge the defensive capabilities of our convertible gold-dollar system to withstand strains or shocks from any source. A little of their defensive potential can be glimpsed in the assistance that emerged so promptly and effectively at the time of the recent Canadian difficulties, and during the spring of 1961, when sterling was under heavy pressure. But it is clear that the emerging system is capable of much more, including both defending the dollar itself from any conceivable attack as well as contributing to the needs of the world for adequate international liquidity over the years ahead.

The U.S. decision to hold foreign currencies as part of its reserves—taken in conjunction with the wide range of cooperative facilities being worked out with other leading countries—can make a major contribution toward enlarging the usable means of international payments. But we have only made the beginning. The skills, energies and judgment of many men, in many countries, will be needed to fashion the changing shape of these and possibly other new measures as experience provides the needed tests.

The renewed and healthy confidence in the stability of our international monetary system so evident at the sessions of the world central bankers and finance ministers at the Fund meeting last week nonetheless reflects already an increased appreciation of the arrangements now in place—arrangements that have necessarily been revealed only in bits and pieces as they have emerged over the past 18 months. It is worthwhile repeating the closing sentence in the appraisal contained in a communique issued last Wednesday (September 19) by the members of the 10 countries in the Fund's special resources group: "The additional resources thus provided, together with present national reserves and the existing resources of the IMF, are large enough to provide the support that might be needed to assure the stability of the existing exchange rate system as based on present gold parities."

But I cite that only to introduce the more important conclusion: We must not claim too much. The emerging system presupposes—as any workable arrangement must—that the United States and other leading nations will pursue their expanding growth objectives and do so by methods that will also assure an equilibrium in their basic trade and investment accounts. That is why I have emphasized the priority of the measures for meeting our own balance of payments problem here today. And that is why it is so important—as the President stressed last week—that other countries now capable of doing so assume a fuller share of the burdens of defense and aid.

In attacking those real and difficult tasks, we should not be diverted either by false fears for the stability of our monetary system or by vain hopes that mere monetary reform can substitute for more basic measures. To sink back into complacency would be to undermine all our very real achievements to date. But we must also appreciate the progress that has been made, so that we can identify the real challenges of the future an turn our energies toward meeting them. In that process, the bankers of the Nation can play a vital and constructive role.

## Speaker John W. McCormack

SPEECH
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13290) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, since August 31 of last year, and especially since January 10 of this year, JOHN W. MCCORMACK has demonstrated to the Members of the House the qualities which a Speaker should combine in himself. It is not easy for any one man to have such capacities. The purpose of the House is free, if limited, debate and the exchange of differing views of legislation; the Speaker's primary purpose is to facilitate procedure and keep order. At the same time, the Speaker is the leader of his party in the House, and he must exercise his strongest powers of persuasion on behalf of legislation which he believes essential to the public good, and he must do this without infringing his obligation to maintain the proper order of business in the House.

Speaker MCCORMACK has measured up to his office most admirably.

If there is one thing that Members of both parties are in absolute agreement about, it is that the Speaker has shown the most scrupulous fairness toward every Member. He has recognized the right of every point of view to be heard, and the right of every Member who had something to say, to say it. He has never attempted to abridge the legislative process for the advantage of his party's aims, but has carefully guaranteed the full process of careful deliberation which the people expect of their representatives.

At the same time, Speaker MCCORMACK continues to be a vigorous party leader, never a czar or a dictator, but an earnest and reasonable persuader, intent on converting the minds of others to the point of view which he considers to be in the best interest of the country.

If it might have appeared at the beginning of the session that legislative progress was slow, it was because Mr. MCCORMACK refused to try to steamroller any program through the House. And the successes, such as the trade bill, which the President called a "terrific job" on his part, have been the fruition of the Speaker's capacity for democratic leadership.

The House can congratulate itself on having chosen JOHN W. MCCORMACK as Speaker.

## Academic Achievement of Miss Evelyn Blohm Deserves Special Recognition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite the attention of my colleagues to the following article about 16-year-old Evelyn Blohm, whose agile mind and dedication to academic achievement deserve special recognition. How many of us, I wonder, could win a National Science Foundation Scholarship for intensive summer study and emerge at the end of the 6-week course able to speak and write Russian? Miss Blohm not only did this, but she also acquired know-how in the unrelated field of high-speed digital computer mathematics. Her work is brilliant enough for Drew University to offer her a 4-year scholarship without waiting for her to finish her senior year in Dickinson High School.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article describing Miss Blohm's accomplishments which appears in the October 3, 1962, issue of the Jersey Journal, a newspaper published in Jersey City, located in my congressional district:

EVELYN BLOHM: HEIGHTS GIRL IN COLLEGE AFTER 3 YEARS IN HIGH

Few students enter college without graduating from high school. But Evelyn Blohm, 16, of 150 Sherman Avenue, Jersey City, has skipped her senior year at Dickinson High School.

Drew University granted her a 4-year Rose Memorial scholarship and accepted her in the freshman class this fall.

When university officials tested her last year, they discovered scholastic aptitude score of 777.

Top score for that test is 800. The average student scores 500.

While attending Dickinson, Evelyn maintained a 97 average and majored in mathematics.

Last year she competed against 600 other national junior high school students in an examination sponsored by the National Science Foundation.

Evelyn was among the 30 students (20 boys and 10 girls) chosen to attend a special summer study program given at Tallahassee University in Florida.

All expenses were paid for the intensive 6 weeks study workshop, which is comparable to a 6-month academic course. During the time Evelyn learned to speak and write Russian and studied computer mathematics.

She has been winning scholastic honors throughout her school career. In grammar school she skipped two grades, graduated at 12 and gave the valedictory address.

Last April she was the only Jersey City public school winner in the National Merit Scholarship Corp. contest. This December she takes the final examination. She can win anywhere from $400 to $6,000 in scholarships.

At Drew University, Evelyn is enrolled in a liberal arts course with a major in mathematics.

She plays the piano and cello, loves bowling and is learning the finer points of tennis. An omnivorous reader, she has been known to read six books in a day.

She has not decided yet on her vocation, but she is convinced it will be associated with mathematics.

Her father, William Biohm, is an associate deputy attorney general in Trenton. Her mother, Mrs. Margaret Biohm, attended Cooper Union and majored in art courses.

Judging from the scholastic performance of the other children, the Biohm family shows a natural bent for scholarship.

Evelyn's older sister, Margaret, a math teacher at Memorial High School, won two scholarship grants to New York University. Edith, the youngest sister in grammar school, won the American Legion award for all-around ability last June.

Howard Biohm, 7, in the third grade, has been getting straight A.'s. William, the older son, attends New York Law School.

## Mayor Wagner Addresses White House Conference on Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include the remarks of Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York City, made at the recent White House Conference on Narcotics on September 27, 1962.

The mayor's statement follows:

For New York City no problem is more critical, more devastating in its effects, more puzzling in its fundamental causes, more frustrating in its resistance to our efforts, and more needful of the kind of discussion and illumination that has been underway and will reach its climax during this conference, than narcotics.

Nobody knows for sure how many addicts there are in New York City. The estimate is from 25,000 to 50,000. This figure is just that—an estimate. This number is believed to be about one-half the total in the United States. That, too, is an estimate.

We do not know enough about these addicts. In fact, we know very little; the police, the social workers, and the medical profession have gathered such information as we have, but each of these three groups sees only one aspect of the problem, and each most probably sees largely a different group of addicts that the other.

We know that a great many addicts have come to New York from other parts of the country. Some of them were addicts before they came. Others became addicted here in New York City, especially the younger ones. Many addicts have gravitated to New York because it is our country's greatest port of entry—not only for people legally admissible and goods duly entered but also for that deadly and illegal import—narcotic drugs.

Here is the hideous and vicious cycle: the addicts are here because dope is available here and the dope is available here because the buyers—the customers—are here.

We have taken a long step forward in New York: we treat users, in contrast with sellers, as sick people. We want to get them off the streets and to cure them if possible. Our police and prosecutors pursue and prosecute the pushers and, in close cooperation with Federal authorities, we are constantly hunting the wholesalers and the cutters.

If there is one fact which we in New York City appreciate, it is the fact that every branch and level of government has a responsibility with regard to this entire problem. It is a further fact that none of the major levels of Government—Federal, State, or local—need quarrel as to who should bear what share of the responsibility. There is more than enough responsibility for all.

But there can be no doubt that Federal policy necessarily shapes the policy and influences the nature of the responsibility which must be borne by New York City and New York State.

So all of us need to express our gratitude and appreciation for the leadership shown by the Federal Government at this time, and particularly by the President of the United States and certainly also by the Attorney General, and by their subordinates, all of whom responded so magnificently to our urgent requests and launched this great undertaking. We trust and hope that this conference is not the end but truly the beginning of a new day in our collective attack upon the narcotics problem.

And for the dawning of this new day, all who shared in the preparation, in the studies and reviews, and who will share in what is to be done in the wake of the conference, may take a full measure of credit. Just as of responsibility, there will be, I believe, enough credit for everybody.

Now let me emphasize at this point that the police, crime, and social problems resulting from the narcotics traffic and resulting from the need of addicts for the drug are of much greater magnitude and seriousness than even most well-informed people know.

In addressing ourselves seriously rather than sensationally to these problems, there are, I believe, three things that we ought to say, even to begin with.

First, we ought to say—or to admit—that nothing that has been tried to cure addiction has really worked on a lasting basis. A relatively few addicts have undoubtedly been helped to give up their habit, but that number is not great. On the police and enforcement side, it is true that one dope ring after another has been smashed by brilliant police work; many traffickers in drugs have been put in jail. On the scientific side, some useful research has certainly been done. But add it all up, and still the fact remains that the number of addicts is increasing, and so is the drain of addiction on our society.

If we look at the whole problem and are honest about it, we haven't really made a dent in it. It seems important that we look at this fact frankly and accept it, because if we recognize that we do not really know the answers now, it may be possible—indeed it is surely possible—to make a start toward getting the right answers by discarding the wrong ones.

Second, although we need to engage in free discussion, this is not an issue for opinionated controversy and choosing sides. In the past there has been sharp disagreement about whether addicts are basically sick people and should be treated as such, or are essentially criminals and should be handled accordingly. This is not a useful argument. It has obstructed progress.

Third, this is such a huge problem that it calls for a variety of efforts, methods, and approaches, and these must be coordinated. Certainly there are police aspects, and certainly there are health aspects. We have to attend to both of these, and to many more.

In my concern for the addict, I am not willing to relinquish concern for his victims; but in my concern for his victims, I am not willing to abandon thoughtful and useful programs for the treatment of addicts. I care about methods largely as they contribute to the solution of the total problem.

As I said, New York has between 25,000 and 50,000 narcotic addicts. Only a tiny percentage of these addicts are able to support their habit out of their regular income or capital. The rest have to resort to special activities to get the money. As you know, women generally turn to prostitution and men to theft.

Stolen goods do not directly provide the addict with drugs. The goods must be sold, generally bringing no more than one-fifth of their replacement value. We estimate that it costs the average addict $10,000 a year to support his habit, or $50,000 in stolen goods.

If 25,000 addicts each steal this much, the total comes to well over a billion dollars a year. If only half of this many addicts steal to this extent, the total is still $625 million. Even if one adjusts conservatively further downward, it is hard to place the figure below a half billion dollars.

A half billion dollars is almost one-sixth of our entire city budget. It amounts to just under $650 annually for every man, woman, and child in the city. It is much more than the total cost of all building construction in the city in 1960—government, private, business—all of it. It amounts to more than a dozen times the entire health department budget.

This is only part of the cost. To it would have to be added the costs of police who deal with the problem of addiction, hospital expenses, losses in taxes, and many more. As a mayor, I think of it not just as a cost in money, but as a drain from programs that need expansion—better schools, new hospitals, added recreational facilities. Narcotic addiction steals from everything we do, and keeps us from doing some things we should do.

The social consequences of the narcotics traffic and of narcotics addiction are worse than those of any comparable so-called social evil. Some experts maintain, for instance, that alcoholism has even more devastating effects on the individual in a physical or medical sense. But narcotics addiction has a more destructive social impact in my opinion. In many if not most cases—and we have, of course, no facts on this—the addict becomes not only a social outcast but an enemy of society, an enemy of law and order.

Just as in economics certain kinds of expenditures have greater economic velocity than others, so addiction has a greater social velocity than any comparable social evil. It can scarcely be contradicted that the present crime situation in New York City is traceable to a major extent to the insatiable driving need of narcotics addicts for the money to satisfy their habit, regardless of the most heroic police measures to control the thief and the mugger.

There has been insufficient governmental support—Federal or State—for efforts against narcotic addiction. While our venereal disease program receives about three-quarters of a million dollars in cash and services from Federal sources, almost no funds are allocated to us in the battle against narcotic addiction. Yet the venereal disease problem, serious as it is in my city and elsewhere, is smaller in impact than the ugly colossus of drug addiction.

There are also difficulties stemming from present Federal laws. Because of the narcotic hospital law of 1929, presently incor-

porated in the Public Health Service Act, city authorities have not been able to get information about patients released from Lexington so as to follow them up after discharge. The current requirements of secrecy with regard to voluntary patients prevent hospitals from supplying names and clinical details to State and welfare authorities competent to provide supervision and rehabilitation.

Like everyone else in the field of narcotic addiction, we in New York City suffer from a lack of facts.

In my city we are expanding our drive against narcotic addiction, hoping that new programs will lead to practical results. We were the first community in the Nation to establish a hospital for the treatment of adolescent addicts, and we are now creating a series of neighborhood treatment centers.

We have appointed a narcotics coordinator for the entire city, within the health department, and have given him money and authority to operate. He is bringing together all the units of our government that are concerned, plus private and civic groups. We already have the largest police narcotics squad in the United States, and have recently given training in narcotics work to 500 specially selected detectives. Instruction in the problem is not a regular part of all police training.

Beginning about the first of the year, we are starting a registry of addicts and hope to come as close as is humanly possible to learning who all of them are and where they live. We are supporting a broad research program. The Health Research Council of New York City has alone allocated $180,000 for investigations in this field.

I believe that New York City should be the working center of the Nation's effort against drug addiction, and in many ways already is. We have the largest number of addicts, and we have unparalleled facilities for research in the laboratory and out of it. We are in a unique position to set up pilot projects and demonstration programs to determine how workable various methods are. If this conference should make recommendations for specific projects, we are ready, willing and competent to help.

All levels of government must play their part if we are to make headway against drug addiction. There are things the State can do that a city cannot. Above all, we must have imaginative interest and determined action.

I hope we are at the dawning of renewed interest in all aspects of the drug addiction problem at the Federal level. Here in Washington, it seems to me, there must be brought together basic leadership and expert counsel prepared to help establish policies and support activities covering the whole spectrum of attack against narcotic addiction. We need strong national direction. We need leadership, concern and money.

To conclude: I do not think our basic question is whether the addict is primarily sick or primarily criminal. He is likely to be both.

If I thought police action by itself would control the problem, I would be for that exclusively; but we have overwhelming evidence that it does not. No thinking persons today would claim that any amount of money and surveillance can keep narcotics out of illicit channels.

No, we cannot solve our dilemma by eliminating the drugs; we shall have to learn more about the patterns of human behavior—not only of the addict but of his family and associates—that lead to their use.

There must be police action at an increased level of ingenuity, if that is possible. If treatment will keep an addict from committing a crime, I am more interested in that than I am in locking him up afterward. Basically, of course, we want to learn how to prevent people from becoming addicts. A lot of them don't, as it is. Maybe we should find out why.

Now we must move ahead, under Federal leadership. With every unit of our society and every level of Government working in perfect concord, this will still be an enormously difficult problem to solve. But in the absence of such a united effort, solution may be impossible.

## Medical Care and Benefits for the Aging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ELMER J. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, most of us do not have the time to devote to research into the actual benefits derived from our Social Security System. Mr. M. Jerry Boylston, since his retirement from his business pursuits, has devoted his entire time to travel and study of this subject in connection with the needs of the aging. His observations are set out in his recent article and I commend its reading by all interested in this all-important matter.

The article follows:

A B C OF MEDICARE'S FOUNDATION

Confusing claims and counterclaims abound in the current Medicare controversy. Basic misunderstandings can be settled quickly with this brief, factual A B C of its foundation.

The foundation, of course, is already established social security.

Isn't it logical that the first consideration should be: "What will this foundation support?" Yet in recent discussions the foundation often seems to be considered last or incidentally, if at all.

And no intelligent discussion is possible without facts. Yet a prominent actuary writes: "There is appalling apathy, complacency, and ignorance" (C below) "among the so-called educated as to what social security is and what it may become unless they exercise the responsibility which is theirs." Before exerting pressure on this total issue which, he says, would: "commit future generations to greater obligations than any other legislative enactment," why not start at the foundation with A B C?

A: Authentic, brief outline of what social security is and what it is not.

B: Basic truth to correct widely held misconception about the trust fund.

C: Common misstatements and misunderstandings of the system cleared up by facts which need to be more widely understood.

A

The authentic definitions of the main aspects of social security are found in the Supreme Court brief from which the following paragraphs are quoted. This is sworn testimony given in 1959 by the Attorney General and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

"The OASI program is in no sense a federally administered insurance program under which each worker pays premiums over the years and acquires at retirement an indefeasible right to receive * * * a fixed monthly benefit.

"Legal concepts of 'insurance,' 'vested rights,' 'annuities,' etc., can be applied only at the risk of a serious distortion of language. We are dealing with a social instrument by which public action, involving compulsion, is invoked to deal with a social problem.

"A belief has developed * * * that title II benefits are paid as a result of a contractual obligation on the part of the U.S. Government. This belief has been fostered to a considerable extent by publications and other statements of responsible officials of the Social Security Administration. Testimony * * * in the 1958 hearings clearly established that there is no contract. Heretofore, these facts and their implications have not, for some reason, been conveyed to the public.

Unlike private insurance * * * the social security program needs no reserves since it is assured of continuing participation by the exaction of taxes.

"Those with jobs * * * their employers and persons engaged in self-employment are taxed chiefly to provide funds for current benefits to aged beneficiaries and other * * * survivors.

"The trust fund is, therefore, more in the nature of a contingency fund and serves to facilitate the fiscal policies of Congress. The beneficiary or prospective beneficiary acquires no interest in the fund itself."

Consistent with the above brief and the decision of the Court is the ruling of income tax authorities that social security benefits are gifts from the Government. They are doles. Those who receive them have not paid for them, have no clear right to them, have no real promise that they will receive them, and have no interest in the fund.

Most of the present cost of the program is hidden by postponement. It will be billed to our children and grandchildren. Retired workers may have paid less than 3 percent of their expectable family benefits, according to a 1960 estimate by Mr. W. Rulon Williamson, research actuary and consultant (confirmed in "The Untold Story of Your Social Security," p. 46, U.S. News & World Report, July 12, 1962.)

Social Security Board Actuary Robert J. Myers concedes that: "In the long run employees will not receive benefits equal * * * to what would be purchasable [privately] from combined employer-employee contributions. Sizable benefits in early years [of the program] must be paid for * * * from pooled future * * * contributions."

Total benefits expectable by present contributors are more than twice the $300 billion given as the total of our national debt.

Actual total Government obligations, debts, and commitments, just for the 1962–63 fiscal year, according to the Senate Finance Committee, exceed $1.25 trillion. A trillion is a thousand billion.

Federal debt interest in 1963 will be more than the entire Federal budget of 1940, according to the House Appropriations Committee.

An emergency increase of $2 billion in the debt ceiling had to be rushed through Congress early this year so the Government could borrow money to pay current bills. The debt has rocketed from $17 billion in 1940 to $300 billion.

We have had to ask foreign nations to agree to lend us cash as a temporary aid if our foreign trade and gold balances sink below recent critical levels. They warned us to put our financial house in order.

But vast new multibillion spending is being urged and huge programs enlarged continually. This means more debt, more taxes, and dollars that will buy less and less. It also means less assurance that rising social security benefits can be paid by future overburdened taxpayers. By 1975 the number of young and old dependents, who must be supported and educated, is expected to have increased almost four times as much as the working taxpayers who must support them.

Lincoln expressed these abiding truths: "You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build

character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves. You cannot bring prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong."

B

"Trust fund" is the name given to the balance of social security tax money supposedly remaining after current benefits and expenses are paid.

An explanation in the Government booklet, "Your Social Security" reads: "The basic idea of old-age, survivors and disability insurance * * * is a simple one * * * employees, employers, and self-employed people pay social security taxes which go into special funds; and when earnings have stopped * * * benefit payments are made from the funds."

The Supreme Court brief is less misleading. It states that employees, employers, and self-employed: "are taxed * * * to provide funds for current benefits to (current) aged and other survivors. The OASI program is in no sense a federally administered insurance program" and "needs no * * * reserves. The trust fund is more in the nature of a contingency fund."

As long ago as April 9, 1949, Dr. Marjorie Shearon, formerly of the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board wrote in the Washington Star:

"It has come out at the (Ways and Means Committee) hearings that the so-called old-age and survivors trust fund * * * has been spent by the Government. I O U's (U.S. bonds added to our national debt) have been substituted for the cash supposedly kept in trust.

"When aged workers seek their benefits the Government will be compelled to get the money by taxing the public again.

"Each year some $200 million is taken from general (tax) revenues and added to the trust fund as interest on the money theoretically in the fund. The public is compelled to pay interest on the $200 million because the Government immediately siphons the money out of the trust fund (to pay benefits).

"During the past 11 years $1 billion was thus extracted from the public." (The extraction continues at an expanding rate.)

"The Hoover Commission was correct in stating that advocates of social security have given wide publicity to benefits and little to the costs thereof. If one puts together the cost for the several proposed programs one arrives at something like $30 to $40 billion a year or more." (Program costs also have continued to snowball for 13 years since this letter was written.)

"The Social Security Administration has spent millions on publicity and propaganda to sell the people an expensive security system which cannot furnish the promised benefits unless crushing taxes are imposed on every recipient of income. The people are entitled to the truth, thus far they have not had it."

Senator BYRD has called the social security trust fund "financial legerdemain." (Mr. Webster defines "legerdemain" as: "slight of hand, trickery, deception.")

Actually the fund is a minor evil in the vast complexity of social security. It is only 2 or 3 percent of estimated benefits expectable by those already enrolled in the system. This clearly reveals the absurdity of the implication in the Government explanation that future benefit payments will be made "from the funds." (There are separate funds for old-age benefits, disability benefits, unemployment benefits, etc.)

Although it is very small in relation to projected benefits, latest 1962 figures show the OASI fund to be $18.7 billion.

In public presentations social security planners have always emphasized unduly the importance of the trust fund, implying that it is like an insurance reserve. And they have always predicted that it would "grow." It did grow in the early years of social security because Secretary of the Treasury, Morgenthau insisted that taxes be collected and benefits delayed until the fund had a start. It reached a high of over $22 billion but has declined about $4 billion in the last 5 years as benefits have grown larger than payroll taxes from employees and employers. It may decline another billion this year.

Planners continue to predict growth of the fund while high-pressuring Congress for more benefits which would prevent its growth. But its growth would be a deceptive, and in fact, a decidedly negative advantage as long as the Government continues to substitute U.S. bonds for about 95 percent of the fund's cash, and spend the money—money that can be replaced only from more taxes. The enormous tax for interest, cited by Dr. Shearon would increase and so would the much more enormous bond refunding cost. And a 95 percent nonexistent large fund would not be much different from a 95 percent nonexistent small fund.

It was good practice for insurance companies to put part of their reserves into Government bonds when the national debt was below $17 billion and it was Government policy to reduce or control the debt. It is a different matter for Government to put 95 percent of a social security trust fund into its own bonds and spend the money—after increasing its actual debt nearly 1,000-fold, with a policy of constantly increasing spending and debt, with only a pretense of regard for income and disability benefits while developing whole new systems of semantics and accounting to justify it.

In terms of its own "protect the consumer" campaign as well as its own Supreme Court brief, the Government's explanation in its booklet could be made less misleading and more helpful in conveying to the public important facts and their implications.

It could drop the pretense of insurance which, as its brief says, "can be applied only at the risk of a serious distortion of language." It could stop calling the contingency fund a trust fund. It could use some realistic explanations like the following, adapted from actuaries' suggestions:

The financing of social security is fundamentally different from that used for insurance or pension plans.

Because current benefits are nearly all paid from current taxes your benefits cannot be paid from your taxes but must be paid by future taxpayers. This is the permanent method and not a temporary condition.

Current increases in social security taxes do not justify new increases in benefits for you, but are needed to pay for previously voted benefit increases.

Your benefit payments will depend on the future productivity of younger workers and on Congress right to impose conditions such as increasing or reducing or suspending benefits.

The value of your benefits, especially of increases in them, will depend on their not being reduced in buying power by inflation. And that will depend on future increased productivity of American labor and management, made possible mainly by savings invested in new plants and equipment.

Rising social security taxes tend to discourage and prevent almost all kinds of saving. The benefits seem to make personal saving less necessary. Unlike insurance reserves, the fund makes available no savings for investment in new plants and equipment needed to permanently increase productivity, jobs, and general prosperity. Government spending of the money from the fund can make a small, temporary contribution to general prosperity but its lasting effect will be just more debt and more taxes.

C

Common knowledge of facts is essential to free government. Dictatorships control public thinking by propaganda and secrecy. And some people have honest opinions not based on facts.

Three of the four following public statements are typical of many which lead people to think that they have paid for their social security benefits and are entitled to them just as they would be to insurance, and that they are justifed in using pressure to elect legislators who promise more benefits:

Senator DOUGLAS: "To require those getting OASI payments to give up gainful employment, is * * * attaching a condition to insurance * * * which * * * they have bought."

Senator PROXMIRE: "This is an insurance system. This is a premium. He is buying something for himself. His employer is paying a part of the premium." (Employers' contributions are not credited to individual employees.)

The late Senator Taft (when told that OASI was different from private insurance—that it was "social insurance"): "It isn't any kind of insurance and you know it."

Mr. REUTHER. "We recognize that the new benefits (medical aid) will cost money and we stand ready to meet the cost." (This would apply to private plans but our social security benefits can't be paid by our taxes. Our rate is less than private costs. Future generations must pay at a much higher rate, during their working lives, for the benefits we vote for ourselves.)

The following comments on the 1959 report of the Social Security Advisory Council, quoted from nationally prominent publications, are typical of the general misunderstanding of the system:

News magazine: "You don't need to worry about your old age pension from social security. The money back of it is safely invested, earning a return. In years ahead the trust fund, out of which pensions are paid, will grow." (The fund was then over $22 billion; has shrunk below $19 billion; may shrink another billion this year. Payouts and liabilities are growing faster than income. Benefits are paid from current taxes—as far as they reach. Interest on Government bonds is not earned as on industrial bonds but is obtained by added taxes.)

New York newspaper: "U.S. old age fund declared sound." (The contingency fund which is called a trust fund is really a minor factor in the system.)

The scope of the temporary Social Security Advisory Council which issued the report referred to, was highly restricted. The report was widely publicized as approving the social security financial status. The following unpublicized quotations from it seem more significant than the publicized portions:

"Security depends even more fundamentally on the continued ability of our society to produce a large volume of goods and services under conditions of economic stability.

"Defeat of beneficiaries' expectations through inflation would gravely imperil the stability of our social, political, and economic institutions.

"The Council has not considered it part of its task to evaluate in detail the effect of this (social security) system * * * on the stability and productivity of the economy."

Many believe a new Advisory Council should be selected from America's best qualified individuals and given wider authority to make a thorough study of all interrelated aspects and effects of social security.

Periodic increases in social security benefits are conceded to be highly inflationary.

Even Franklin Roosevelt, in proposing social security, warned Congress against extravagant action. But benefits have been increased in 1939, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, and 1961. Potential cost of new 1961 awards alone is estimated to be greater than the entire trust fund and $8 billion more than 1961 social security taxes. Thus the limited and static report of the 1959 Advisory Council has become obsolete and meaningless.

It is as though a club executive, wanting to be reelected, presented a plan he called giveaway insurance to the members. He said, "It is very simple. We will take a little out of your pay each month and a like amount from your employer. The money will go into a club trust fund and earn interest so you may receive sizable monthly checks when you stop working. Your children will join the plan when they start to work."

First joiners received over 10,000 percent of what they paid in, and the plan grew rapidly until those in it figured they might get $62,500. The records showed $1,900 in the trust fund. Club reports said it would grow. But the club had spent about $1,800 of the fund money and replaced it with club bonds. The club paid interest on the bonds (and would refinance them when due) with money from members' dues.

The club executive organized an advisory group which issued a report saying that although it was not authorized to evaluate effects of the plan in detail, the plan and the $1,900 trust fund seemed all right. This conclusion was widely publicized.

Two days after the report was issued the club issued checks with future dates, to all joiners, totaling more than the trust fund, and again stated that the fund would grow. The club executive practically demanded that payouts be increased heavily.

How much did the advisory group's report mean when it was issued? How much did it mean 3 days later?

What will the youngsters say when they start working and find that they, and all future workers, can buy better benefits at less cost outside the club?

And what will older members, ready to retire after contributing 40 years, say when they learn that their money all went to older members; that increased benefits have cut the buying power of what they get; and that younger members, who outnumber them will vote to cut the skyrocketing costs and benefits drastically—or to abolish the plan?

A Department of Health, Education, and Welfare task force recently recommended that primary key benefits be increased 40 percent to 50 percent more. In the first half of 1959, a nonelection year, 128 bills were introduced in Congress to raise benefits.

Social security taxes are to be raised roughly 50 percent by 1969.

Now medical care with a foot-in-the-door tax increase and incalculable, largely unneeded benefits is being ballyhooed.

The all-time social security tax average has risen over 800 percent while the dollar's buying power (the real value of benefits) has fallen 50 percent. (The inflation was largely Government inspired.) Neither medical nor any other living cost has such a record. And unpaid-for benefits for those already retired are estimated at over 3,000 percent more than they paid. Present and future workers are to be taxed for this balance.

Advocates of enlarged social security say that benefits should be increased in line with rising living costs. Others say that would just aggravate inflation.

The entering wedge technique is admittedly used by proponents of large social security. This technique was used to expand the income tax from a small beginning (sold to voters as a tax on the rich) until it has become, increasingly, a handicap to our national economy and a burden on practically everyone.

Social security is a second income tax, collected before the worker ever sees the money. It is even more susceptible to the "entering wedge" than the first income tax.

The real need for social security is well defined in the Government's brief as "lack of basic economic security." It has been suggested that to provide anything more than "basic security" in new benefits may be unconstitutional under the "general welfare" clause.

Large segments of society with no basic need are already getting sizable social security handouts. Some well-to-do beneficiaries get three times as much aid as some needy ones, according to Mr. Williamson. Is this in the public interest or is it regimentation of all workers in the interest of bureaucrats and some politicians who privately think our Constitution limits their progress? Franklin said, "We have given you a Republic, if you can keep it."

Comparatively brief experience indicates that company retirement programs generally are conceived and funded more soundly than politically managed plans. They also provide a good source of savings for industry, while the Government pays 3-percent interest on social security fund bonds but raises taxes 10 percent to pay interest on the total debt accounted for in the budget.

Primarily all individuals should be encouraged to develop their own plans for saving. Private insurance, already protecting over 50 percent of the aged, the Kerr-Mills bill, medical aid under social security, various allowance plans in more than 40 States and public assistance in addition to religious and other charities do not indicate that our aged are neglected. These sources provide more voluntary and adaptable solutions for medical and hospital care—at much less cost in the long run.

You are urged to write to your Congressmen and Senators if you agree that it would be wise to have a comprehensive study of all its complexities made by a new, carefully selected Advisory Council before any more benefits, medical or otherwise, are added to social security.

SOCIAL SECURITY, 1962

Estimated social security benefits expected by those now in the system, $625 billion. Trust fund from which benefits are expected to be paid, $19 billion. Over 90 percent of fund is in U.S. bonds, money for which has been spent by Government. Replacing cash in fund will require more taxes. Future taxes needed to pay benefits expected by those now in the system, $606 billion, not including interest or refunding on about $18 billion U.S. bonds in trust fund.

Practically all taxes to be paid by those now in the system must be used for benefits to current beneficiaries—cannot be saved for present workers' benefits.

During last 5 years current benefits have used up all taxes and over $3 billion from trust fund, plus all trust fund interest, all paid for taxes.

In the long run the same benefits would cost less privately.

Is it fair to pass on all this debt to our children and grandchildren—and to keep adding to it?

## Patience by Federal Government Could Have Averted Bloodshed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House this important article by David Lawrence, an outstanding journalist, concerning the tragic conduct of the Federal Government in pursuing the integration of the University of Mississippi.

I believe all the Members would like to read the following article by Mr. Lawrence, which I insert herewith.

WORTH IT?—PATIENCE BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE AVERTED BLOODSHED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Was it worth it? Couldn't the loss of life and the wounding of scores of persons in the rioting at the University of Mississippi have been averted if President Kennedy and his brother, the Attorney General, had permitted the State of Mississippi to exhaust its legal remedies in the normal way before any Armed Forces were ordered to the scene? What was the reason for haste in such a delicate situation?

Wouldn't it have been better not to have smuggled James Meredith, a Negro student, on to the campus Sunday through a back entrance? Wouldn't it have been easier to explain to the people the true basis of Federal action if an opportunity had been afforded first to let the Supreme Court of the United States hear argument on legal questions of an unprecedented nature which were raised last Friday before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans?

It is doubtful whether the American people will ever learn the whole story of the Mississippi dispute. Lawyers with many decades of experience in the practice of law say they have never witnessed in their respective careers an exhibition such as occurred when the court of appeals was sitting as a trial court in civil contempt proceedings against Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett.

The main facts as shown in the record are these: A private suit was originally entered in behalf of Meredith to obtain his admission to the University of Mississippi. The U.S. Government, represented by the Department of Justice, asked permission to enter the case as a "friend of the court." The court granted the request. The State of Mississippi asked for a similar status, and its request also was granted. Then, after the court had found that the Governor was not present at Friday's proceedings, the presiding judge indicated that the State of Mississippi would be denied its status as "amicus curiae"—or friend of the court.

The attorneys for the State of Mississippi asked for an opportunity to argue briefly why the State was entitled to be represented. The court made no answer but took a 10-minute recess. When the recess was over, the court, without listening to argument, declared that the State of Mississippi could not intervene as a "friend of the court," even though the United States had been permitted to make pleadings in that manner.

SUPREME COURT DUTY

The Constitution of the United States says explicitly that in all legal cases in which the

Federal Government and a State are in conflict, the Supreme Court must take over. The Supreme Court then sits not as an appellate court, but as a court of "original jurisdiction."

What all this means is that Mississippi, as a sovereign State, has certain rights under the Constitution which cannot be ignored. President Kennedy told a radio and television audience Sunday night that the controversy was simply a matter of obeying laws, even though one might disagree with them. But the court order to which he had referred was itself invalid inasmuch as the full Supreme Court of the United States had not heard arguments either on last Friday's conflict of view or on the petition submitted in mid-August by the State of Mississippi. The latter was ruled on by only one Justice, since the Supreme Court itself was not in formal session.

Under circumstances as vague and as legally complex as the foregoing, would it have hurt anybody's cause if the President and the Attorney General had exhibited patience and had waited a while before trying to force on the University of Mississippi the registration of Meredith?

NOT PERMITTED TO ARGUE

Governor Barnett could eventually be adjudged wrong in his legal procedures, but a staff of distinguished lawyers—among them John C. Satterfield, immediate past president of the American Bar Association—were not permitted to argue for him or for the State of Mississippi in Friday's hearing in the Federal court at New Orleans.

Thus, the picture of "free America" presented before the world today is not an inspiring one. The episodes of the weekend merely proved that unfortunately too often "might makes right," and that when one party—a sovereign State—asked for its day in court, it was rebuffed.

How much better it would have been if the legal questions had first been resolved, and then a proclamation issued by the President with ample time for the people to digest it.

As it was, Governor Barnett called for obedience by the people and deplored any violence. He said that the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi had been "trampled upon," but nevertheless he accepted the presence of Federal troops.

Military force is not a substitute for the processes of law or a means of establishing a voice of reason in the community. In the Soviet Union, they customarily use force to secure obedience to governmental edicts. In America, court orders are almost never resisted. But when any administration takes the law into its own hands, mobilizes armed forces on the scene, and attempts to decide issues that the courts should rule upon, there is bound to be friction and rioting.

It is an example of another tragic era such as America witnessed 94 years ago when Congress ordered the Executive to use Federal troops to compel the legislatures of the Southern States—3 years after the War Between the States was over—to "ratify" the 14th amendment. Yet on this amendment the whole desegregation decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 was based. It is a time for a dispassionate look at the facts so that a truly constitutional remedy can be found.

## Our Domestic Brass Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the prospective national tariff position which will result from the enactment of the trade bill will bring problems for many of our American industries. Several of these industries are in my district. One industry which will be substantially affected will be the brass industry. In order to slow the destructive effects which we foresee on this industry, I have been considering other possible actions which might be taken, short of an actual increase of tariffs or the imposition of other restrictive measures.

In this connection, I have come upon a method which seems to offer much hope for progress and provides a way in which the legitimate aspirations of our domestic brass mill industry can be satisfied.

Toward this end, I have written a letter to Secretary of Commerce, Luther Hodges, and I believe that this letter clearly states the proposal which I have in mind. I append that letter after these remarks in the expectation that the proposal which I describe may require legislative implementation:

SEPTEMBER 10, 1962.

Hon. LUTHER H. HODGES,
*Secretary of Commerce,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Managers and workers in the brass industry have viewed with alarm the rising tide of competing imports in this field which are coming from Germany, England, and Japan.

Because of the great differential in labor costs and the greatly improved efficiency and competitive position of foreign industry in these countries, our producers are finding their competitive position increasingly difficult.

Since this competitive differential has sharply increased, under existing legislation, there is every reason to believe that the position of domestic producers will deteriorate even faster under the trade legislation which is currently being considered by the Congress.

Since it will apparently be more difficult than ever to obtain consideration for restriction of foreign competition in the future, it behooves us to look for other methods whereby the economic health of our industries and the employment dependent upon them may be preserved.

Since U.S. sources hold control of the major portion of the world's copper deposits, I suggest that we use this control as a lever to improve our competitive position in the foreign industries which are dependent upon this supply. This sort of resource allocation is a procedure to which the Europeans are accustomed and which they have long practiced.

It seems rather foolish to me that we should pour out our copper to these competitors in the raw form and thereby increase the number of stages of fabrication of articles such as plumbers' brass, for example, at which the disproportionately low wage rates of foreign countries can be brought to bear.

It is my proposal, therefore, that we provide a method of export control whereby certain preliminary stages of fabrication will be entered into in this country before the brass product is permitted to leave for finished fabrication in foreign mills. This has sometimes been called the Swiss method since it is practiced with steel products in that country. Thus, we would not only mine and refine the copper, but we might cast it into bars and billets and, in addition, we might well perform preliminary operations such as extruding rough wire and tubing and in rolling bars. Additional refinements of fabrication could be added if desirable.

The textile industry has received substantial benefits in the form of stepped-up depreciation schedules. The tobacco industry has been the beneficiary of large-scale financing from foreign purchases. The carpet industry has received the benefit of an increase in tariffs. Since these measures of relief have been denied to the brass industry, it seems only fair that a new method such as that which I have suggested should be investigated in order to prevent further loss of jobs and business activity in this vital and historic national industry.

In view of this critical situation, I am asking for your assistance, either in formulating executive orders, or drafting legislation which would further the objectives which I have set forth in this letter. In this way, you and the Department of Commerce could help substantially in carrying out your statutory objectives of assisting American business.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. MONAGAN,
*Member of Congress.*

## Epitaph of an Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I thought some of the Members of the House of Representatives with remote island communities in their districts would be interested in an article appearing in the Lincoln County News, September 13, 1962, by Richard Tukey, entitled "Epitaph of an Island."

It is sad to see families move from homes built in many cases by their grandparents. Mr. Tukey has vividly described the exodus on one such island.

The article follows:

EPITAPH OF AN ISLAND

(By Richard Tukey)

Loud's Islanders have roots that go back 312 years. This year, 1962, those roots will be torn up. This winter the gales and snow will howl around empty houses. The island will be by itself. Only the lonesome cries of the gulls will break this silence. The island inhabitants will all be on the "Main," absorbed into the villages in Lincoln County. scattered about so the close ties built up over many years will be severed or loosened. The children will attend mainland schools and eventually, probably marry mainland people. Few if any will ever go back to live where they were born. The island will die. The names of Poland, Carter, Gifford, Prior, Teelte, Loud, Elwell, Collamore, and Garland will still be there but only on the tombstones in the little island graveyard.

Loud's Island has been bypassed by the modern age but time caught up with it in the form of a falling population until this year when the State closed its grade school as there would be only about four children attending. The parents were put in the position of transporting the children across a mile of open ocean through winter gales and blizzards and landing them on the northern point at Round Pond as the harbor icelocks, or moving off to the mainland. Not wanting to risk the weather during long Maine winters they sadly are making ready to move this fall.

The history of the island is closely tied to the early history of the United States. Samoset, chief of the powerful and proud Wawenock Indians, made his home here and is said to be buried in the burying ground on the north end of the island. Alexander

Gould came to the island in 1650 and was the first white man to settle and build. Over the ensuing years other people followed him as the islands were the safest places from the wild slaughters of the French and Indian wars that decimated this part of the Maine coast. The people on the island had a grandstand view of the naval battle between the *Boxer* and the *Enterprise* which was fought off Pemaquid Point. Lemard Poland of Loud's Island enlisted in the Continental Army at the age of 14, fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill, was at Valley Forge, and returned to live out his life and be buried on the island.

During the Civil War, Bristol tried to draft 9 men out of a possible 45 to serve in the army. The islanders objected and drove the draft officer from the island. The State government ruled Bristol had no right to draft men from the island, so the islanders set up their own draft. They all bought substitutes, no man from the island served in the Civil War. They felt they had been wronged by the town of Bristol so refused to pay taxes there, saying, "We are willing to help the United States of America, but we refuse to help Bristol." Life went on, the islanders fishing and farming for their living. The population slowly increased so that in the census of 1906 the population had reached a total of 118. This seems to be the high tide in the affairs of the island. They had a church, a school, and good living. Some of the islanders served with the AEF in France during World War I. Remember the song, "How You Going To Keep Them Down on the Farm After They've Seen Paree?" Some of them never went back to the island. The population slowly started to decrease, the younger people marrying off the island and moving off.

In World War II, islanders joined the Armed Forces, worked in shipyards, in general went right with the war effort. Some of them came back wounded. One with a leg gone, lost in Italy; one boy was killed in Germany. His body was returned after the war and he now lies buried on his island home. Population now fell off at an increasing pace. Some just came onto the island summers to catch the good fishing then moved to the "main" in the fall. In 1957 the islanders only numbered about 40 year-round inhabitants. The school population had dropped to eight. The trend was critical. The State hinted of closing the school. The islanders could see the handwriting on the wall, the island was dying.

The decisive year was 1961, six children in school; three graduated, leaving just three if the school opened in the fall. The State decided to close it. In June, Carroll Ellsmore, the single teacher, held the last little graduation exercise, then sadly locked the door on the last of the island children. The end had come. The parents must move to the mainland to give their children grade school and high school education. Older people without children, suddenly realized they would be alone, only about 10 of them on the island. They couldn't bear the thought of all the empty houses, no children's voices laughing and shouting as they slid down schoolhouse hill coming from school in winter. All they would hear would be the crashing of ocean waves on the rocky shores, the storm cries of the gulls, the wild wailing of the winter gales. So they are moving also. When you talk to them about it they seem to know that it is unlikely the young people will ever go back to live there. The old family homes dating from before Revolutionary War days will eventually stand vacant. The paths and roads will be overgrown. The spruce and firs will take over in the fields. Slowly but surely nature will take back what man had wrested from her.

There is an old saying, "That which dies will live again in a different form." If out-of-Staters discover Loud's Island, its remoteness, yet its accessibility, it may become a thriving summer colony. It's up to the natives. In the past they have been reluctant to sell land to off-islanders. The situation now may change. There is a new wharf at Little Harbor on the north end. A good deep water anchorage at Marsh Island Harbor. Muscongus Bay is a fascinating boatman's paradise with dozens of uninhabited islands to explore with all of eastern Maine waters opening from it. Time will tell if the island may only sleep for awhile or really come awake with a thriving summer population.

We hope the old houses are not left to go to rack and ruin, disturbed only by vandals that are attracted by their emptiness.

## Ford Puzzled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following excellent editorial from the Evening News of Newburgh, in my congressional district, is of great interest.

Mr. Henry Ford II is surprised to find that "profit is sinful, that competition is vicious—or, conversely, that American enterprises do not compete at all." Why, bless his heart, all he has to do is read the reports, admonitions, and preachings that emanate from the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic, all financed by the fortune built up by his grandfather.

The only surprising thing is that we have any enterprise or competition left, and this is especially true as we look around and see all the rich men's sons, living on unearned incomes, busily apologizing for the enterprise and competition indulged in by their fathers.

FORD PUZZLED

Speaking before the Michigan State Chamber of Commerce on Tuesday, Henry Ford II called for an attack on prejudices and attitudes which have made it difficult for business to function in the best interests of the public.

He said he was talking about such notions as "profit is sinful, that competition is vicious—or, conversely, that American enterprises do not compete at all."

Mr. Ford is the head of a corporation whose profits have financed a number of studies in a field where such prejudices have had the best possible area in which to develop—public education.

One doesn't have to be an expert to see how some educators have sought to play down competition and to build up in its stead the element of cooperation.

Students are not encouraged to compete with one another; in fact, they are encouraged not to do so. Courses are broken down so a student with less talent and less desire can get grades as good as a student with more ability and more desire to learn.

Some schools have sought to discredit the scholarship honor, abolishing the recognition of a valedictorian and salutatorian, explaining they have discovered the best grades often are scored by students of less ability who have taken easier courses.

There has been an attempt to discredit the regents examinations in New York, and the tests have been limited—first to students taking academic courses and later to only those academic course students educators believe have a chance to pass the examinations.

Students have been grouped by age because educators felt older and bigger students would be embarrassed if they were placed in class with smaller and younger students whose accomplishments are equal to theirs.

Competition has been suppressed, success controlled.

Surely, the Ford Foundation's various studies in the field of education have disclosed these situations. If not, critics like Admiral Rickover have stressed them.

Why should Mr. Ford be surprised to discover that competition is viewed by an increasing number of Americans as "vicious"?

He might also seek of his various fund agencies some study in the reasons why "profits" now are regarded by so many as "sinful." It may be there is some common cause for this, throughout the Nation—some reason why a politician who attacks profits is likely to succeed while the politician who seeks to explain the fallacies behind socialism is likely to fail. Are public school graduates able to judge whether socialism is practical?

Socialism has not worked.

The people of Russia and China are hungry and oppressed. In England socialism has prospered to some degree, but only with the help of foreign aid from the United States, and the assistance of Commonwealth members. Even there, however, England has had to step back from nationalization of its steel industry, although nationalized transportation and coal industries continue to struggle on.

Socialism fell back in France, to a strongman type of administration.

Socialism continues to appeal in theory to many, to fail in practice. That may be a reason why "profits" and "competition" are so despised, even in the land where they have established the world's best standard of living and greatest degree of personal freedom.

Look about you, Mr. Ford. Ask your fund agencies to give you some facts. You are in one of the best positions of all to unearth the truth.

## A Tribute to the Citizens Anti-Narcotics and Anti-Crime Committee

SPEECH
OF
### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, last week's White House conference on Narcotics and drug abuse signaled the end of one long fight—and the beginning of what I fervently hope will be a concerted, nationwide effort to combat the horrors of drug addiction.

For several years, many of us have urged the convening of such a conference, and the President's action was a welcome and hopeful one. We have also fought long and hard for such badly needed facilities as a narcotics hospital in New York and the development of adequate aftercare and rehabilitation facilities.

One of the stalwarts in this fight has been the Reverend Mr. Oberia D. Dempsey, chairman of the Citizens Antinarco-

tics and Anticrime Committee, and the dedicated members of the committee, and in particular, Mrs. Gladys Coleman, the cochairman.

The activities of this group have engendered admiration and gratitude in all who have come in contact with their vigorous, dedicated work. In August of this year, I was privileged to address the citywide Citizens' Conference on Crime and Narcotics sponsored by the committee at Reverend Dempsey's church, the Upper Park Avenue Baptist Church at 85 East 125th Street, New York City. In my remarks, I spoke of many of the efforts here in Congress to achieve an effective enlightened program to provide meaningful hospitalization, aftercare and rehabilitation, as well as hard-hitting methods to eradicate the menace of narcotics pushing.

It was a pleasure to appear before this group, and I cannot adequately express my admiration for the determined, sincere dedication reflected by the Reverend Dempsey, Mrs. Coleman, and the others on this committee.

Mr. Speaker, this is the type of organization that is necessary if we are to marshal all of our forces to win this fight against narcotics addiction and its horrendous ramifications.

During the proceedings of this conference, Reverend Dempsey and Dr. Robert W. Baird, chairman of the resolutions committee, presented a series of far-sighted and practical resolutions, directed to the attention of the President and various other public officials.

I commend these resolutions to this Congress and to the American people. They represent the thinking that many of us have been trying to present on a Federal level and they are excellent suggestions for effective action.

I wish to commend the Reverend Dempsey, Mrs. Coleman, Dr. Baird, and the members of the resolution committee—Mrs. Cornelia Robinson, Mrs. Lorraine Dawson, Mr. Donald Hayes, Mrs. Frankie Salley, Mrs. Shirley Brown, Miss Zelma Obie, Mrs. Helen Yanch, Mr. William Doggett, Mrs. Eloise Moore, Mr. Norman Adams, and Mrs. Amie Bowman—for their leadership and dedication.

RESOLUTIONS FORMULATED BY THE ANTI-NARCOTICS AND ANTICRIME COMMITTEE OF THE UPPER PARK AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH, INC., 85 EAST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, REV. OBERIA D. DEMPSEY, MINISTER AND GENERAL CHAIRMAN, MRS. GLADYS COLEMAN, COCHAIRMAN, DR. ROBERT W. BAIRD, CHAIRMAN OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

These resolutions are to be presented to President Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Governor Rockefeller, Attorney General Lefkowitz, Mayor Wagner, Police Commissioner Murphy, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI and Federal Narcotics Bureau, and the county district attorneys of New York City.

No. 1. Be it resolved that a Federal narcotics hospital be established within the confines of the metropolis of New York City for the treatment of narcotics addicts. Since these individuals have a psychological problem, it would be preferable that such a hospital be established on Ellis Island or Welfare Island, in order that they may not be under the constant surveillance of society and be stigmatized.

No. 2. Be it resolved that adjacent and contiguous to this area a rehabilitation center be established with psychiatrists, social service workers, and various representatives from the field of industry such as plasterers, carpenters, masons, porters, typists, etc., so that these individuals may obtain training to prepare them for procuring positions after approximately 1 year of rehabilitation.

No. 3. Be it resolved that within the rehabilitation center a liaison office be set up between the hospital and industry so that addicts be given the chance of obtaining positions upon discharge from the hospital. This office will make every effort to establish rapport with said addicts and industry. This is most important, since the addict's self confidence must be restored. Even slight rebuttals become a problem and cause the addict to suffer a relapse. Incorporated within the plan, attention should be given to the feasibility of having the patient at the end of the rehabilitation period work in industry and, if necessary, return to the rehabilitation center for several weeks of observation, and finally released either to his home or, better still, relocated in a different environment.

No. 4. Be it resolved that there be established a centralized office for registration of all addicts. These individuals should be photographed and thumbprinted. This is most important if the individual should move from one borough to another, or from one area to another. He could still receive treatment and procure narcotics through legitimate avenues. This form of identity would also minimize the possibility of the patient going from one narcotics center to another.

No. 5. Be it resolved that a camp removed from the New York City area be established, possibly in upstate New York, so that the patient who, after a year of rehabilitation, has had a relapse will not be sent again to rehabilitation in the city, but to a remote area in order that the ties which have caused this relapse may be severed. Once again, narcotic therapy would be instituted.

No. 6. Be it resolved that President Kennedy mobilize all existing Federal law enforce agencies including military to support Federal Narcotic Bureau in an effort to reduce smuggling and trafficking of illicit narcotics.

No. 7. Be it resolved that Governor Rockefeller and Attorney General Lefkowitz mobilize the National Guard and State police to supplement all local police forces in the State in crushing crime and narcotic addiction.

No. 7a. Be it resolved that Mayor Wagner, Police Commissioner Michael Murphy, and the five county district attorneys for New York City mobilize and increase existing policing against crime and narcotics.

No. 8. Be it resolved that penalties be increased to either capital punishment, or 30 years imprisonment without parole, for the nonuser pusher.

No. 9. Be it resolved that this antinarcotics, anticrime organization of the Upper Park Avenue Baptist Church will furnish speakers for any other group of interested people in New York City with the aim of explaining the effect of narcotics upon the community, and with the hope of establishing other such organizations as ours to awaken the community to its dangers.

No. 10. Be it resolved that the board of education, through the establishment of classes covering this subject on the elementary, high school, and college levels, will make the public aware of the dangers of narcotic addiction.

The above resolutions were adopted at meetings held August 1 and 2 by the Anti-Narcotics and Anti-Crime Committee of the Upper Park Avenue Baptist Church, Inc., 85 East 125th Street, New York City, Rev. Oberia D. Dempsey, minister and general chairman; Mrs. Gladys Coleman, cochairman; and Dr. Robert W. Baird, chairman of resolutions committee.

## An Analysis of the Statement Made by Jay Lovestone Before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Concerning the Moscow Statement of 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an analysis of the statement made by Jay Lovestone before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee concerning the Moscow Statement of 1960. Mr. Lovestone's statement before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee leaves much to be desired, and I am in hopes that the following analysis of his statement will help to set the records straight. The Moscow statement of 1960 must be considered as a second Communist manifesto and a blueprint for domination by the international Communist conspiracy within a very short time, unless the free world wakes up to this fact and prepares to meet this frontal attack. The analysis follows:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY JAY LOVESTONE BEFORE THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE CONCERNING THE MOSCOW STATEMENT OF 1960

The statement read to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Jay Lovestone on January 26, 1961, should be carefully scrutinized. It purports to be an analysis of the Moscow statement of December 6, 1960. But this statement would appear to be more of Mr. Lovestone's generalization concerning the menace of Soviet Russia and the Communist conspiracy than a thorough study of the statement.

For the student of the Communist conspiracy, there is much to be learned from this statement made by a man schooled in reading Communist documents. It explains much of the Communist Aesopian language, not easily understood by the layman. However, Mr. Lovestone has made some statements which could easily mislead the unitiated. He also omits a large number of the subjects discussed in the manifesto, subjects which should be understood as Communist goals by the American public.

I must begin by explaining to the reader that in the Communist conspiracy there are occasionally two "party lines"; one to be used as propaganda in the free world, and the other, the actual aim of the Communists. This is the reason that so many anti-Communists and non-Communists became confused.

Foreign aid is a simple example of the two-party line. Ever since the inception of the Marshall plan, the Communist press has given directives to the comrades to attack foreign aid in all its forms. But, foreign aid was conceived and promoted by the Kremlin itself, and the plan for its implementation was published in the book "Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace," published in 1944 and written by Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The general public, seeing that the Communists attacked foreign aid, were led to believe that it was a forceful weapon against Soviet aggression. However, the purpose of foreign aid, from the point of view of the Soviets, is now becoming clear: it has drained off the wealth of the United States.

A current and newer example of the two-party line is the propaganda that friction exists between Moscow and Peiping. With this line, Premier Nikita Khrushchev is portrayed as sincere in his desire for peace, while Mao Tse-tung is the warmonger. The public is being urged to accept peaceful coexistence with Soviet Russia in the hope that Khrushchev will be able to keep Mao in line and thus prevent war.

The Moscow-published magazine New Times has devoted important articles in both the seventh and eighth issues of this year, 1961, emphasizing common purpose with Peiping, and the January 27, 1961, issue of Peking Review, the most important Communist Chinese magazine, made the following statement:

"The ninth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China call on all members of the party and all the Chinese people to hold aloft the great Marxist-Leninist banner of the 1957 Moscow declaration and the 1960 Moscow statement and, in international affairs, to strengthen unity with the Soviet Union."

And, it says:

"The unity between China and the Soviet Union and between the Chinese and Soviet parties is of particularly great significance."

One can be sure of one thing: the Communists do not lie to each other, and the articles in these two magazines were a communication to all Communists over the world. The fact that these statements of unity have not been given prominence in our press is testimony to the need for American newspapermen, not only to read Communist documents and publications, but to read them correctly.

This is a prelude to the fact that Mr. Lovestone himself has fallen into this trap when he asks on page 1, "Has this conference settled the differences between Moscow and Peiping? Did Khrushchev or Mao win?" Although Mr. Lovestone does later state that these "differences" should not lead the free world to believe China and Russia do not work together for our demise, he still does not realize that the "differences" are phony.

On page 3 Mr. Lovestone states that " * * * anticipating a vitalization of American foreign policy, Moscow made sure to have its manifesto [he means statement] call for maximum mobilization of the ranks of world communism against the United States."

In this sense, the reader is led to believe that "vitalization of American foreign policy" by the Kennedy administration would be a strengthening of our forces and policies against the Soviet aggression. From Mr. Kennedy's campaign statements, and the views of his preelection advisers on foreign affairs, it became obvious at an early stage that the new administration would bring the Nation further into coexistence with Soviet Russia.

Since the recent inauguration, the appointed officers in the State Department as well as the White House advisers have born out this fact; all of them, without exception, are firm believers that the survival of our Nation depends on coexistence.

On page 9 of Mr. Lovestone's statement, he speaks of "national liberation and colonialism" without quoting the statement's demands for "liquidation of the colonial system." Nor did he remind the subcommittee that in making this demand, the Kremlin especially had in mind the independence of Puerto Rico, and returning the Panama Canal Zone to Panama and out of U.S. control.

Anticolonialism is not a new line. Stalin also demanded "the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries."

I would take issue with Mr. Lovestone's frequent use of the phrases, "shake off the yoke of colonialism," "countries * * * fighting for their national independence," etc. This leaves the reader with the impression that colonialism, ipso facto, is a bad thing.

Mr. Lovestone then makes a startling statement on page 10 when he says, "* * * Neither Mao nor Khrushchev ever underestimated the great opportunities for activity and advance provided to the Communists by those who practice and defend old colonialism," and he continues, "nor did Khrushchev ever fear any competition from Mao in exploiting this field so generously presented to world communism by the colonialists in Algeria and elsewhere."

These two statements are indeed startling coming from an anti-Communist and a man professing to be explaining to the Internal Security Subcommittee what the statement is all about.

Whatever fault one may find with colonialism, especially as it was practiced 50 years or more ago, had the allies not given independence to so many of their colonies immediately after World War II, the free world would be far stronger today in regard to Soviet Russia than it is. And it is obvious that the recent mass independence of the African colonies has greatly weakened the free world. Also, the peoples of those former colonial possessions would be today enjoying far greater security from Soviet aggression and domestic tranquillity than they are.

All colonial empires had been working over the years to teach self-government to the colonies—they brought education, industry, trade, and civilization to these savage countries. All of them were being groomed for eventual independence at a time beneficial to the colonies themselves.

Mr. Lovestone's description of Algeria as a colony is extraordinary, indeed. The Algerians themselves—with the exception of the Communists and their dupes—insist that Algeria is an integral part of France. Under pressure from the left, France gave up her colonies, and her protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia.

On page 11 Mr. Lovestone again alludes to the "differences between Moscow and Peiping," and on page 12 he falls into the Communist trap when he makes an often repeated statement that "Our national security demands that we do not ignore" Communist China "with the population, area, strategic importance, and the Communist aims."

The Communist Party line; that is, the reasoning for our recognition of Communist China, is that "We cannot ignore a country with such a vast population." Mr. Lovestone adds that "We be ever vigilant against its subversive efforts," but still he has planted the "cannot ignore" in the mind of the innocent reader.

He goes on to say that "Even if Communist China were to become a signatory along with other powers, let us say to an international disarmament treaty, that would not require our Government granting Peiping diplomatic recognition. Lest we forget, years before our Government recognized the Soviet Union, we did not ignore it and signed jointly with it and others the "Kellog Pact (sic) on disarmament."

To begin with, Mr. Lovestone does not quote the statement's demand for disarmament, nor does he warn the subcommittee of the danger of disarmament.

Secondly, his reminder that Soviet Russia signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact without the United States having recognized her, all the more emphasizes the danger of signing any kind of treaty with either Soviet Russia or Communist China. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed in 1929, just 4 years—not "years before"—before the United States did recognize Soviet Russia. History has proved that act was a great disaster to our country and to the world.

Mr. Lovestone's following sentence on page 12 warning us that either recognition of Red China or voting it into the U.N. would only "reduce" or "eliminate" the "differences" between Moscow and Peiping, does somewhat provide forgiveness for his preceding misleading statements.

But I must remind the reader that Mr. Lovestone devotes many more words to China than does the Moscow statement which offered only token mention of it. Nor does the statement discuss either recognition by the United States or admittance to the United Nations.

Mr. Lovestone makes this statement on page 15: "Since our country has been the most generous contributor to the efforts of the newly established nations to develop their economies and raise their living standards, the Moscow manifesto calls upon all Communist Parties, especially in the underdeveloped countries, to make America the main target of such attacks."

Mr. Lovestone has fallen into another trap; he assumes that because of our aid to the underdeveloped and newly established nations, Moscow has made the United States its main target. The statement does not say this. The reason it elects the United States as its main target is because of our support of military blocs against Communist aggression, and because of our own immense Military Establishment.

In the beginning of this analysis, I have already stated that "siphoning off the wealth of the United States" with foreign aid—and more recently aid to "underdeveloped countries"—is one of the Communist lines. Mr. Lovestone fails to remind the subcommittee that the statement itself demanded that not only the United States but all other prosperous capitalist nations give aid to the underdeveloped countries.

And, finally, on page 16 Mr. Lovestone states: "We must show that our free economy, with all its shortcomings, is far more humane, far more socially progressive, and does much more than the Soviet economy to make life fuller and happier for the people.

He does not say just how this is to be done. Since 1933 we have been working for "social progress" and attempting to prove ours is better than Russia's. We have strained for "humaneness" in the form of spending more and more money for social security in all its forms at the expense of the poor people of America—not the rich. We have become so "socially progressive" that we not only have lost some of our civil rights, but are on the brink of bankruptcy—both morally and economically. Today, in the same of civil rights, our Nation is torn in racial hatred, and the people of both races have lost the domestic tranquillity guaranteed them by the Constitution. All of this has been brought about by the Communist Party U.S.A. as every student of the conspiracy knows.

Even today we find demands on Congress and the Executive in the Sunday Worker. The issue of February 5, 1961, contains this front-page headline: "Kennedy, Congress Urged To Act Now." One-half of the page is devoted to "On Rights" and the other to "On Jobs."

The whole gamut of "social progress" was spelled out in the Sunday Worker of March 23, 1958. It published with approval the legislative program of the AFL–CIO, which was demanded of "every Congressman." Here are the demands: (1) Cut taxes on low and moderate incomes; (2) overhaul the unemployment benefit system; (3) make extensive public works progress; (4) enact school construction bill now; (5) for a new housing construction drive; (6) aid the chronically blighted areas; (7) for much needed improvement in social security, and (8) expand minimum wage coverage.

I'm sure that Mr. Lovestone does not mean this, but to do himself justice, he should

have explained to the subcommittee just how we should go about showing the Soviets that we are a free and happy people, and intend to remain so.

## A Study of Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover has just finished what might be termed a sequel to "Master of Deceit." This new book is as important and vital a document as its predecessor and must reading for all Americans interested in preserving the United States of America.

Reprinted below is a fine review of this publication by Don Whitehead of the Knoxville News-Sentinel.

[From the Knoxville News-Sentinel Sept. 25, 1962]

A STUDY OF COMMUNISM

An important book is now rolling from the presses and soon will be available at bookstores across the country, detailing in simple, lucid language the appalling contracts between Communist totalitarianism and the freedoms enjoyed in this country. It also contains some sound advice for all of us.

The author is John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who knows more of the inner workings of communism than any other man in the Federal Government. His new book is called "A Study of Communism" (Holt, Rinehart and Winston—$3.95) and it was written in response to suggestions which followed publication of his first book, "Masters of Deceit."

The danger of communism is not abating, Hoover warns, but instead, it is increasing. "It is obvious," he adds, "that no real defense can be maintained against communism unless our Government continues to move positively and firmly to protect our freedoms. The capacity of our Government to do this depends upon the alertness and understanding of every citizen."

What can the average citizen do about communism? Hoover has some wise words of advice on this score:

"There are many Communist activities, particularly those involving espionage and the underground apparatus, with which the average citizen cannot directly contend. Nor would it be desirable for the average citizen to play a direct role in combating them. To meet effectively the Communist subversive thrusts, it is essential to employ highly professional counterintelligence measures—measures for which the average citizen is neither equipped nor trained.

"Nevertheless, the citizen in any free society has a vital role in combating communism. Moreover, it is a demanding role. It demands wisdom and understanding of the Communist forces which would destroy us. The citizen must inform himself about the real nature of communism in order to develop a greater understanding of what it is, what it is not, how it operates, what its goals are, and why people are attracted to it.

"In dealing with communism, citizens should refrain from making private investigations. Information which comes to an individual's attention regarding communism should be furnished to the FBI, and the checking of the data should be left to trained investigators. Private inquiries may even jeopardize investigations in progress.

"Moreover, citizens should not circulate rumors about subversive activities or draw conclusions from information which may come to their attention. The information an individual receives may be incomplete or only partially accurate, and, by drawing premature or ill-founded conclusions or circulating rumors, he can often cause grave injustice to innocent people. Vigilante action weakens our free society. It is just as important to protect the innocent as to identify our enemies.

"The responsibility for curtailing and containing communism is one for legally constituted authorities acting with the steadfast cooperation of every loyal citizen. This is not the time for inaction nor is it the time for vigilante action. We must unite as a people.

"Charges against individuals and false statements about the nature of communism and the extent of its penetration into various areas of our life serve the cause of communism by creating disunity among Americans. Too often, the label 'Communist' is used indiscriminately against those whose views are unpopular or merely differ from those of the majority."

Once again John Edgar Hoover has served his country well by writing "A Study of Communism." He not only has capsuled the history of communism skillfully, but he has made our own freedoms shine in contrast to communism.

## John F. Stevens Honoring in Canal Zone: October 13, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on October 12, 1962, the Thatcher Ferry Bridge across the Panama Canal at Balboa, now attracting hemispheric attention, will be opened with impressive ceremonies. It is particularly fitting that on the next day, October 13, an important traffic circle in the Canal Zone town of Balboa will be named and dedicated in honor of John F. Stevens, the first chairman and chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission. His work on the canal project, 1905–7, in the Canal Zone and in Washington have gained him great fame as the basic architect of the Panama Canal.

The speaker for the Stevens Circle ceremony will be the Under Secretary of the Army, Stephen Ailes, who as a boy knew the great pioneer engineer.

A story about John F. Stevens, published in the September 7, 1962, issue of the Panama Canal Review, follows:

BALBOA CIRCLE RENAMED TO HONOR CANAL ENGINEER

Now undergoing a substantial facelifting, the Balboa traffic circle not only soon will be the beauty spot pictured on the front cover of the Review but also the first Canal Zone area named in honor of a construction era civilian engineer.

Next month, with Under Secretary of the Army Stephen Ailes scheduled to attend, the circle will officially be named in honor of John F. Stevens, the tall, broad-shouldered, hard-driving engineer largely responsible for the basic engineering work that made the canal's construction possible.

In addition to Mr. Ailes, who as a boy knew Stevens, members of Mr. Stevens' family also are expected to attend the dedication.

In the center of Stevens Circle will be a three-sided monument of white portland cement concrete, with an inscription in Spanish and English in raised anodized aluminum letters. The mahogany trees in the park will be retained, but planters will be added. A raised center section in the park will be walled with brick and will have benches inserted in half the area. Decorative lighting also will be installed.

John Frank Stevens was recognized as the world's foremost railway civil engineer when he arrived on the Isthmus in 1905. Tall, broad-shouldered, tough, the new chief engineer met no reception formalities. The wharves were crowded with scared, quiet men waiting to return to the States on the very ship he came on.

The fundamental problem that he faced was one of restoring confidence and morale. Health came first. The men needed food supplies and markets, decent living quarters, relief from the drab existence in the form of social rooms and entertainment. One of his first ideas, and a most happy one, was that of the food car. Stevens found the men were actually hungry, and the men found that they had a boss who took a personal interest in their welfare. With the food went some strong talk. Dressed like the men, Chief Engineer Stevens stood among them, spoke their blunt language, rubbed their elbows.

"There are only three diseases on the Isthmus," he charged into them, "yellow fever, malaria, and cold feet. The worst is cold feet. That's what's ailing you." It was the scolding they needed. Groups began arguing themselves into staying a little longer. Some good might come out of the chaos yet.

President Theodore Roosevelt, in a private brief interview, had confided that "affairs are in a devil of a mess." It was no understatement. A yellow fever epidemic, followed by the unexpected resignation of the first Chief Engineer, John F. Wallace, made the Canal Zone a scene of chaos and hysteria, and threatened the security of the Canal program, then still in the experimental and development stage.

A small but palatial residence outside Panama City had been designed by the Canal Commission as a fitting residence for Chief Engineer Stevens. He brushed these plans aside and requested instead a cheap bungalow with a corrugated iron roof on the side of Culebra Cut where he could be near the job. In overalls and slouch hat he rode the "locals" and the "freights." He was abrupt but liberal in delegating responsibility, and had a way of bringing out the best in a man.

"Big Smoke" was Stevens' nickname from the start. When he wasn't chain-smoking cigars, he was chain-chewing them.

The Canal job had been going on a quarter of a century when he made his first survey tour. He found no order, no plan on the job. In fact, no decision had been made as to whether the Canal would be sea level or lock type.

John F. Stevens was an ardent supporter of Dr. William Gorgas in his humanitarian battle against yellow fever on the Isthmus, and the men sized him up as an important man who didn't have to act important. If anybody was going to build a canal he could.

He planned the main features of the waterway and lobbied openly in May and June 1906 for a high-level, lock-type canal; swung President Theodore Roosevelt back into line when he wavered in favor of sea-level construction; helped Senators draft speeches,

prepared maps, and produced statistics. Calmly he pointed out the awkward, dangerous, expensive, and slow procedure involved in a sea-level canal planned at that time. On June 29, 1906, the President's signature put into law a bill calling for the high-level, locktype canal.

Chief Engineer Stevens received the additional appointment as Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission in March 1907, shortly before his resignation. His original agreement had been to stick to the job until he could predict success or failure according to his own judgment. Success was assured. "I fulfilled my promise * * * to the very letter," he maintained. He had rescued the canal from chaos and defeat.

The canal job was assigned on February 18, 1907, to the U.S. Army, in the person of Colonel (later General) George Washington Goethals. In a letter to his son, Colonel Goethals wrote: "Mr. Stevens has perfected such an organization * * * that there is nothing left for us to do but just have the organization continue in the good work it has done and is doing * * *. Mr. Stevens has done an amount of work for which he will never get any credit, or, if he gets any, will not get enough."

Officially, John "Big Smoke" Stevens remained in command until midnight March 31, 1907, but for more than a week his principal occupation was accepting tributes. In the few years of U.S. work on the canal, the comings and goings of Presidents, Cabinet members, Senators, and foreign dignitaries, the zone had witnessed nothing that equaled the sendoff for John F. Stevens on the night of April 17, 1907. Said one historian, "It was as if the people were honoring a man who had already built the Panama Canal"—and they were fully aware it was he who made it possible, for from his administration dates the really fundamental work of canal building, the preparation of the ground for the edifice to be erected.

John F. Stevens returned to the United States and railroading. In 1919 he was named president of the Inter-Allied Technical Board with headquarters in Harbin, Manchuria. His work completed he returned to the United States in 1923 and retired from active life.

He was presented the John Fritz Gold Medal on March 23, 1925, for "great achievements as a civil engineer, particularly in planning and organizing for the construction of the Panama Canal; as a builder of railroads, and as administrator of the Chinese Eastern and Siberian Railways." The Hoover Gold Medal was given him in 1938.

He was elected a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers on June 6, 1888, and an honorary member on June 18, 1922. In 1927 he served as president of the society.

He died on June 2, 1943, in Southern Pines, N.C., shortly after he celebrated his 90th birthday.

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## Big Business, Big Unions, Big Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address I made before the student body and faculty of Fordham University, New York City, in connection with the American Age Lecture series on the subject, "Big Business, Big Unions, Big Government. The address follows:

BIG BUSINESS, BIG UNIONS, BIG GOVERNMENT

(By Hon. EMANUEL CELLER)

In this generation we often hear it said that the world is shrinking. By this we mean that as man conquers time and distance, contacts with all parts of the earth multiply.

The distant has become near and the near still nearer. Meanwhile man explores space, and we may expect that the nebulous planets of yesterday's astrologers may become the much-visited nebulae of tomorrow's space voyagers.

Paradoxically enough, at the same time as we talk of this "small world," a swelling debate takes place over the problem of "bigness." It is of bigness that I shall discourse today: "Big Business," "Big Labor" and "Big Government." I trust I shall add to the enlightenment of some of you, and to the confusion of only a few.

First, I shall address myself to the question of whether the three big B's in the United States are fact or fancy. Initially I should prefer to put quotes around each of these concepts.

It is in this wise that I ask you to view the picture of big business as I see it.

1. FACT OR FANCY OF BIG BUSINESS

It is of very big business that I speak, the very large corporations, not the moderate-size corporation. The largest supermarket in an area may be an independent unit or one unit of a chain. If it does a business of $3 million a year it is likely to be thought of as doing big business. But in my lexicon, for the purpose of this speech, and as understood by most of those who have written about the subject, big business is imaged by a corporation huge in size and power. The line between the big and the very big enterprise may not be drawn with exactitude, but in the United States there are so many which by any standard are very large that the problem is rarely one of recognition.

In this country, in 1961–62, there were at least 29 companies with over $1 billion in sales or assets or deposits. There were seven companies in the over $10 billion class.

There were 41 industrial corporations with sales of over $1 billion, and 35 with assets in excess of that amount.

Eight merchandising firms had sales of over $1 billion. The assets of these 8 companies were well over one-third of the total assets of the 50 largest.

In the transportation field, there were 10 companies with assets of over $1 billion. These 10 had about one-half of the total assets of the 50 largest transportation companies.

There were 15 public utility companies with assets of over $1 billion. These 15 companies had about two-thirds of the assets of the 50 largest public utility companies. One company, American Telephone & Telegraph Co., with over $24 billion in assets, had over one-third of the total assets of all the 50 largest public utility companies. There are 27 banks with deposits of over $1 billion each. These banks have over one-fourth of the total deposits of the almost 14,000 banks in this country.

Private power companies estimate that in the next two decades they will need a capital investment of $130 billion to meet the demands for electric service. Sizable as this amount is it is still less than the $155 billion-plus held by 300 of our 13,000-odd banks.

Three life insurance companies, in 1961, had over $200 billion of life insurance in force. One had almost 60,000 employees.

The advertising expenditures alone of each of two corporations in 1961 exceeded the sales of any industrial corporation other than the top 400.

Borrowing from one of my colleagues, Congressman PATMAN, I might note also that foundations, pension funds, and trust company management concerns are heavily involved in business enterprises. Some funds are billion dollar enterprises, and within these three categories there are many huge enterprises.

These figures convince me that the concept of big business in this country is grounded in fact. Those of you who agree with me may now remove the "quotes."

2. FACT OR FANCY OF BIG UNIONS

Can we pinpoint the fact of big unions as readily as we can big business? Strangely enough, despite the popular conception of "big unions," this concept seems to be a mixture of fancy as well as fact.

It is difficult to fix upon a satisfactory standard by which to measure the "bigness" of a union. Is it the number of its members? Is it the amount of its assets?

Labor has one major national federation to which not all unions belong. The AFL–CIO is a large organization.[1] It has 23 regional directors, 132 national and international unions. Like members of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the member unions of AFL–CIO, however, very largely are on their own in dealing with business and government.

The 11-name automobile union, sometimes known as Walter Reuther's union or the UAW for short, has over a million members as does the Steelworkers of America, and the Teamsters Union. The Carpenters and Joiners of America have about 800,000 members, and there are about 30 other unions with memberships, respectively, of over 100,000. The six largest unions represent more than one-third of all union members. More than one-half of all locals are affiliated with 17 unions, each having at least 1,000 locals.

The fancy that creeps into these facts derives from another fact. That fact is that for the most part these larger unions are composed of many smaller unions (a total of about 79,000). The amount of aid any particular local may receive from its parent will vary greatly from union to union. It may be so little that, in practice, it is the local union which must test its strength against a big company. Union strength is also dissipated by jurisdictional fights, which are not infrequent.

According to a recent survey, in metropolitan areas about four-fifths of 6,824,300 plant workers in manufacturing and three-fifths of the 3,758,300 plant workers in nonmanufacturing were in establishments operating under collective bargaining.[2]

The proportion of union members in the total labor force, however, is about one out of four, and in nonagricultural employment, about one out of three. It seems generally believed, moreover, that union membership has been on a plateau for some years. In fact, the peak appears to have been reached in 1956. The total union membership in this country is probably less than 18 million. Many unions have been hard pressed to maintain their membership and, while manufacturing output has been increasing in the past decade, a survey for the period 1953-59 showed that total manufacturing employment declined.

The increased productivity that conduces the growth of big business is often associated with decreasing employment. It has been estimated that during the next decade increased productivity might displace 200,000 workers a year.

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[1] Much smaller are the Confederated Unions of America and the National Independent Union Council.

[2] Monthly Labor Review, July 1962, vol. 85, No. 7, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Recently the Wall Street Journal quoted a spokesman for the Stauffer Chemical Co., of New York, as saying:

"Our plants are so highly automated that we can boost production clear up to full capacity without adding more people. It's just a matter of opening up a valve a little more."

When we turn to the size of unions in terms of assets, we find that in 1959–60, 24 national unions had receipts of over $5 million, but the total receipts of the 24 were about $353 million, with total assets of $611 million. Only one local union had receipts of over $5 million. That one had some $11 million in receipts. It had assets of about $3 million. The total assets of all the unions in the country approximates $1½ billion.[3]

The United Steel Workers of America is a union which illustrates my difficulty in arriving at a clear-cut decision as to the problem of big unions. That union does occupy an important strategic position. At the end of 1961 it had a net worth of over $21 million. It was comprised of 2,900 locals with an approximate membership of 1,200,000. But 150,000 of its members were unemployed and about 300,000 were not working a full week.

Since unions, because of the nature of the industry with which they are associated, may have the power to affect the public interest materially, it does not always follow that a union's size may be the measure of its power. This may also be true at times with respect to business corporations, although it has been my experience that in the latter case size and power go hand in hand.

To me the foregoing does not add up to a clear picture as to big unions being a fact or a fancy. You may or may not wish to remove the quotes around "big unions."

3. FACT OR FANCY: BIG GOVERNMENT

"Big Government" is a phrase often used in our times. To the political party out of power the Government is always bigger than it should be. Discussion of big Government, conveniently to me and my colleagues in Congress, usually focuses upon the executive branch of the Government, and rarely does one hear impassioned speeches about big State government or big local government.

Bigness of government, may, perhaps, be best assayed in terms of scope of activities, employment and revenue. First, a brief word about State and local governments. In 1960 the total expenditures of all State and local governments were almost $61 billion. This was less than the business done by 10 large corporations. If the States were included in any summary of bigness, none of them, in terms of revenues or expenditures, would make the big five list of business corporations. Thus the revenue of the State of California is about one-third of the amount of sales of General Motors. New York State does no better in any such listing. A.T. & T.'s construction expenditures have exceeded the expenditures of any State except one. A.T. & T., with over 700,000 employees, and General Motors, with over 500,000, have many times the number of employees of such States as California and New York, with some 146,000 and 124,000 employees, respectively.

In 1961 there were about 9 million people in the employ of Federal, State, and local municipalities, about 7 million of which were employed by State and local governments. Recent figures of the number of employees in the Federal Government indicate that, worldwide, there are about 2,528,500; in the United States, about 2,367,950. These figures do not include the Armed Forces.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there are a number of Federal regulatory agencies concerned with major segments of our economy and of our national resources. Any list of the more important of such agencies would include the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission. Among the departments of the Government closely concerned with our economy I need mention only the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the Commerce and Labor Departments. It has been said by one who is not my favorite author—the president of the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana—that there are over 60 independent agencies of the Federal Government with about 400,000 employees, and an annual budget of about $10 billion. These figures may be compared with the 700,000 employees of A.T. & T. and the latter's operating income of over $8 billion.

In a series of articles in the Indianapolis Star earlier this year, it was adduced that there were about 24 Government corporations or agencies having important business activities.

What the Federal Reserve Board does affects most of us. And if you are in the market for mortgage money, want to build a hospital, need employment insurance, and so forth, there is likely to be a Federal agency in the picture.

What buyer is bigger than our Defense Department? What lender is larger than our Government? What seller has more surpuls property to sell? Who receives more revenues?

I think it is fair to say that we have a big Government. I have removed my initial quotes. Most of you probably will do the same.

4. DOES THE BIGNESS OF ONE BEGET BIGNESS IN THE OTHER?

The theory of countervailing power is attributed to one who is a well-known professor of economics as well as a member of our diplomatic service—Mr. Galbraith. If not its originator he has given it popular impetus. As I understand it it means that the natural reaction to bigness of an organization is a growth of bigness on the part of those with which it deals. Thus, according to this theory, big sellers induce big buyers. Big business gives rise to big unions.

I think it is obvious that this theory is not fully borne out in practice. But I believe that there are many striking examples which support this theory. Thus the president of the Textile Workers Union of America is reported to have called for a merger of all textile unions, and to have said:

"This is no time for small, independent, and scattered efforts. Textile employers learned this lesson long ago.

"They have been steadily combining their resources and forming huge, powerful corporations. Textile workers can no longer ignore this development if they are to be able to deal effectively with these giants of industry."[4]

I am aware also that companies in certain industries, group together when engaged in collective bargaining with national unions.

An interesting sidelight in the problem of interrelationship of bigness occurred during the past year. The Federal Government held a competitive lease sale involving some three and three-quarter million acres in the Gulf of Mexico. The reason given by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior was: "The answer lies in the nature of the oil industry. The tremendous investments in equipment and material which are necessary to explore and drill in the outer shelf require that the companies hold sufficient acreage to keep such equipment working."

I am certain that the growth of big corporations with attendant increscent power and the power of some unions have been conducive to big government. Any time a government allows private sectors of its economy to become larger than it or more powerful, it is on its way out.

Size has not been outlawed under the antitrust laws. But the Supreme Court has recognized that size creates a dangerous opportunity for abuse.[5] Such bigness, because of its effect upon the Nation's economy, inevitably invites Government regulation or intervention in one form or another.

The more Government intervention, the less "free enterprise." This is illustrated by the recent steel price increase crisis, as Professor Berle noted in an article in the New York Times Magazine in April of this year.

Regulation of public utilities is so common a part of our economic scenery that we raise no question as to Government regulation in this area. Yet the reason for such regulation is the absence of competition as a regulator. The bigness of the utility and its monopoly power in the area where it operates, creates such danger of abuse that we are not willing to trust it alone to exercise such power wisely and in the public interest.

In a message to Congress in April 1938, President Roosevelt noted that "A discerning magazine of business has editorially pointed out that big business collectivism in industry compels an ultimate collectivism in government."

To those who point to the many companies of small or moderate size in this country, I ask, "Would they still be here if it were not for our antitrust laws?" Abuse of big power has been adduced on many occasions in the courts and in congressional hearings. One Government official some years ago made history by asserting that what was good for General Motors was good for the country. This equation of the interests of a big company with the interests of a big country may, rightly, give us pause for reflection. I feel certain, however, that it is our antitrust laws which have kept corporate officials from paralleling a recent statement by the head of La Société General de Belgique that, "It isn't that we are too big. It's that Belgium is too small."

I am forced to admit, however, that this country, thus far at least, does not seem to have been big enough to regulate that colossus of colossi, A.T. & T. The Federal Communications Commission, admittedly, with all of its resources, has never been able to handle the job of regulating A.T. & T.'s rates. The FCC admits it has no procedure to determine or regulate interstate long distance rates and that it can only negotiate such rates.

In June of this year, the White House Committee on Small Business, in a progress report, noted that "A large number of small independent businesses decreases the likelihood of excessive economic and political control." The part played by the cartelized economy of prewar Germany and Japan in the excessive political control there which led to World War II, attests to the truth of that observation.

5. WHETHER BIGNESS IS DESIRABLE

(a) Big business: Big business supplies us with much of our mass-produced goods. It furnishes employment to a great many of our people. It is a source of investment to many a stockholder and to a lesser number of bondholders. Often diversified, it is not so susceptible to economic ill health as small business. The taxes it pays help support Federal, State, and local governments. It is the mainspring upon which many a small company, many a small businessman depends. And its importance in

[3] Union Financial Statistics (1959–60), U.S. Department of Labor.

[4] Washington Post, May 8, 1962.

[5] *United States* v. *Swift & Co.*, 287 U.S. 106, 116.

this country is not infrequently matched by its importance in other countries.

But big business means big power. When a giant trips and falls, the damage he does is likely to be much greater than when one of ordinary stature suffers the same misfortune. Thus the recent bankruptcy of the 212 retail store chain of Grayson-Robinson triggered the closing of a number of their stores. In addition, it has jeopardized many of its small manufacturer creditors. And when big business misuses its big power, the resulting harm is likely to be more far reaching than when a smaller competitor is guilty of the same abuse. The small and the moderate-size businessman may compete with the big concern, but in the current business world it is a rarity to find David felling Goliath or a David acquiring Goliath as part of his entourage.

The possession of great power by great corporations is itself dangerous. The greater the power, the more likelihood of its abuses. As Lord Acton said: "Power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely."

It is common for big business enterprises to point to the many small businesses which are their subcontractors or suppliers. But this kind of emperor's largess has many disquieting factors. When all or a substantial part of the output of a small company goes to a big corporation, the former is in a very vulnerable position. To supply the needs of the latter the small company may have a heavy capital investment and acquired special equipment. A change of mind on the part of the big corporation and bankruptcy of the small company, or a forced sale to a big corporation, may be just around the corner.

The small businessman will often find it necessary to court the favor of the big corporation as to prices. Often dissatisfaction may be considered too expensive a luxury. As time goes by the urge to compete, the incentive to innovate, becomes lost. Content to be protected by big brother's umbrella, he may become big brother's most ardent defender. The Council of Economic Advisers has been troubled over the future of small businesses which "live as satellites of the corporations which dominate their industry much like feudal lords."

Tall girls are wont to be attracted to tall boys. Giant corporations are wont to commingle with other giants, ofter to the distress of the smaller businessman looking in from the outside. The huge insurance companies which lend money to shopping centers want the developers to lease to huge chain outlets rather than to a local merchant who has made good. When one bank wants to merge with another bank it is common to find advanced as a justification the need or desirability of a big bank to deal with the accounts of a big corporation. One of the largest banks in the country numbers the 100 largest corporations among its customers. The big advertising agency will often eschew the smaller advertiser to concentrate upon the big advertiser. The big advertiser, in turn, is likely to be a big corporation.

The big corporation has rarely achieved its size through natural growth. More often than not mergers with other companies have accounted for a substantial part of its size. This is true of such major generals of industry as General Motors and General Electric. It is also true of many of our largest banks.

Defenders of mammoth corporations are wont to assert that great size is a result of efficient management or that great size is necessary if an enterprise is to operate most efficiently. I am quite skeptical of such arguments.

In the first place, large size is often created through large-scale acquisitions.

Secondly, I hardly think that it is compatible with efficiency to find big corporations so often involved in price-fixing, cartel activities, and other practices, prohibited by our antitrust laws.

Thirdly, the truly big corporation is likely to spawn bureaucratic red tape and the committee system, and to grow to the point where top management does not know what is going on in their own organization. What must we think of such vaunted efficiency when the president of General Electric asserts (or confesses, according to one's taste) that he did not know of the widespread price-fixing activities of an number of high officers of that corporation. And is it a mark of efficiency that the head of Westinghouse found it necessary to make the same plea, although the company had a corps of attorneys whose primary function it was to preach antitrust gospel to officials of that company. In a "big" corporation there may be so many vice presidents that the president has to take a Dale Carnegie course to be able to remember their name.

Furthermore, a number of studies have shown that matters such as the acquisition of another company invariably are given the personal attention of the top executive of the big corporation, but that many an operating matter of comparable importance never gets that high.

Fourthly, what evidence there is points to the conclusion that efficiency does not necessarily increase with size. On the contrary, after some point the tendency may well be the other way. A study made by the Federal Trade Commission in the early 1940's found moderate-size corporations more efficient as measured by production costs and earning power. In only 1 of the 59 individual company-cost tests did the largest company have the lowest costs. And the small-size company, on the whole, did better on these tests than the large corporation. Prof. Joe S. Bain, in the March 1954 issue of American Economic Review, in an article entitled "Economics of Scale, Concentration, and Condition of Entry in 20 Manufacturing Industries," made a study of 20 manufacturing industries and concluded that economics of the scale of firm beyond the size of a single optimum plant were either negligible or totally absent.

Big business does carry with it many dangers. One of the most important is the "don't rock the boat" philosophy which it seems to engender. One economic writer has attributed to an official of one of the large oil companies, the following philosophy: "One must submerge one's own ideas into those of the group; and one must be careful not to get twisted with redtape. Above all, one must work toward unanimity." [6]

When asked why Bethlehem Steel Co. was not using an important oxygen converter developed by the Austrians, an officer of that company is reported to have said:

"We don't want to invest in a facility unless it will return on an average, 20 percent before taxes, operating at 60 to 70 percent of capacity." [7]

The large company is likely to be a mass-production company, but mass production is generally well within the capacity of our medium-size companies.

As to big business I am constrained to say, therefore, that the size of some of them seems to have more potentiality for harm than for good.

b. Big unions. The desirability of a big or powerful union in certain industries not only may be, but has been debated.

In May of this year the President's Advisory Committee on Labor Management Policy made a report on "Free and Responsible Collective Bargaining and Industrial Peace." This committee was composed of businessmen and union leaders, as well as representatives of the academic world and the professions. That report did not note any undue size of power of unions. It made known that since 1947 the amount of working time lost because of strikes has averaged less than one-third of 1 percent.

One of its members, however, the chairman of the board of directors of the Inland Steel Co., laid the blame of national emergency disputes upon what he asserted was the monopoly power of unions. Another member, the president of the National Bureau of Research, was of the opinion that "Labor disputes which involve a nationwide industry commonly have their origin in the monopoly power of private groups." Labor leaders stated that assertions that:

"Dominant union power that constitutes a major threat to effective collective bargaining, are an example of attributing to others characteristics which are in fact one's own.

"If it is intended to assert that the existence of so-called monopoly power on the union side causes disputes which would otherwise be settled peacefully, the assertion is simply untrue. Recent experiences in the maritime and longshore industries—to which the national emergency provisions of the present law have most often been applied—surely demolish the notion that the cause of such disputes is the existence of a single union instead of several."

The report itself contains the following interesting addendum:

"ADDENDUM

"Some among the Committee members feel strongly that there is today a concentration of power in certain unions which results in the impairment of effective collective bargaining and in the substitution of power for reason in this process, and accordingly constitutes a major threat to industrial peace.

"Other Committee members have pressed with equal vigor the view that whatever danger there is from concentration of economic and financial power has developed basically on the corporate side and that protests against 'labor monopoly' are essentially distorted.

"The view of the substantial majority of the Committee is that this matter warrants special study which will permit a thoroughgoing and deliberate examination of this issue."

Many management leaders prefer to deal with one or a few large unions than with a number of small unions, often less disciplined than the larger ones. Yet domination of a large union by one with scant concern for the public interest is not only an uninviting prospect, but sometimes an actuality.

I do not think that the size and power of unions are commensurate with that of a number of our business giants. But I do not overlook the fact that some are of a size and power to affect our economy materially.

6. WHAT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN DOING WITH RESPECT TO THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY "BIG BUSINESS" AND "BIG UNIONS"

I venture to say that were it not for the antitrust laws, particularly the Sherman Act and the Celler-Kefauver antimerger statute our economy would be almost entirely constituted of dinosaur corporations. It has been the restraining influence of our antitrust laws that has kept this from coming to pass. Corporations of mammoth size do exist, but their number is still in the hundreds while that of smaller businesses are still in the thousands.

Paradoxically, some businessmen who are most vociferous in paying lip service to our free enterprise system are the most vehement objectors to the enforcement of our antitrust

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[6] Baldwin, "Antitrust and the Changing Corporation" (1961) 217.

[7] The Reporter (May 1962) 22.

laws by the Federal Government in order to preserve the competition which is the very mainspring of our free enterprise system. I would add that there is much legislation already on the books in aid of small business. The Federal Government also has a number of agencies to which the small businessman may resort to when in need of advice or money.

The Taft-Hartley Act and the Railway Labor Act are but two of a number of legislative restrictions on the power of labor unions. The National Mediation Board and the Federal Mediation an Conciliation Service help avoid undue exercise of union power. The President's Advisory Committee on Labor Management Policy recently advocated an even more active government role where labor management disputes in major or critical industries affect national health and safety. But this recommendation evoked a dissent from Henry Ford II, one of its industry members.

7. CONCLUSION

I confess that to me a pattern of big business, big unions and big government poses a disturbing problem.

Justice Douglas, in an eloquent address befor the University of Judaism expressed my own doubts in these words:

"Big business, big government, big unions—each has helped erase some of the qualities of individuality from Americans. As the individual has become more and more submerged, his voice is more indistinct."

I would want to preserve this voice, not to a whisper but loud and clear. I am loath to believe that the three B's requires its disappearance. It may well be that the three big B's are here to stay. It may be that they do more good than harm. As long as we have big business and powerful unions, and a hot-cold war, a big government may be not only desirable but necessary. But unless we are vigilant as to the danger they pose to individuality, you and I may have to pay the exorbitant price of increasing restrictions on what we can do and say.

## Address by Irving Maness of SBA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following address by Mr. Irving Maness, Deputy Administrator for Procurement and Technical Assistance, Small Business Administration. This address was delivered before the Rassco Israel Corp. in connection with Mr. Maness' recent trip to Israel as mission director of the first U.S. trade mission to Israel:

ADDRESS BY IRVING MANESS, DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR, SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE THE RASSCO ISRAEL CORP., BREWSTER HOTEL, NEW YORK, N.Y., OCTOBER 4, 1962

I am happy to be here today and grateful for the opportunity to speak to you about Israel, where I visited just a few weeks ago heading a trade mission. In fact, it was the first U.S. trade mission to Israel, and I am happy to report that it was a very successful one. It will result, I am confident in a greater exchange of trade—trade meaning a two-way street—export and import.

Because of this journey, your and my good friend, Jaques Torczyner, assistant to the president, Rassco Israel Corp., has asked me to report on my visit, and to give you my impressions of business conditions and investment opportunities, and also on the importance of economic relations between the United States and Israel.

This is a big order, indeed, and there are many and important things to be said on this subject, and too little time tonight to say them. Hence, in the short moments I am privileged to have with you, I can do no more than set before you but the bare outlines of that young and vigorous economic and political structure that is Israel, and to delay a broader discussion of the valuable economic opportunities for American capital and know-how for a future, more propitious time.

I left Israel with the feeling that most of us are too much impressed by the clamor of daily urgencies, which so permeate us as to lose sight of the grand movement of history that is taking place today in that country. It is this great movement that will shape the future of mankind, and not the passing excitements, for beyond these, there is arising in Israel the outlines of a robust and vital community, independent, and dedicated to freedom—a freedom which, in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, is "leaning on her spear."

This community is united with us, and with the rest of the free world, by an allegiance to peace and justice, and, as such, its importance cannot be overemphasized.

Let us examine the reasons why I believe Israel has a vital role in shaping the future of mankind.

A new ideology, less than a half a century old, is bursting forth from the world's center of communism. Its priests are proclaiming its inevitable triumph, and no one who examines the world of today can doubt that the danger is real, indeed.

Opposed to that ideology, on the other hand, is a world which is incompatible with the Communist conception of world order. Opposed to the Communist ideology is an ideology which was born more than 3,000 years ago on Mount Sinai, from whence it spread to the far corners of the world. It, as you know, embodies the principles to which we Americans, as a Nation, are committed and on which this Republic was formed.

This ideology, on the wane in many parts of the world, is receiving new strength in Israel. There it is daily being reborn. Permit me to report to you that while Israel is developing as a great economic center of the Middle East and, as such, is important to that part of the world, as well as to all of us whose daily lives are bound up in the economics of the various parts of the world, it is simultaneously reviving, with no less fervor or intensity, the prophetic promise of "mi-Zion tetzeh torah udwar Adonaj mijirushalaiim" (From Mount Zion will go forth learning, and the word of God from Jerusalem). Herein, I am certain rests the mission of Israel and here, most likely lies the root for communism's enmity toward the new State of Israel, for the two ideologies, that of Marx and Lenin and that of the Bible and religion cannot coexist. As long as the latter prospers the other cannot, in the long run, survive.

It is the outcome of this competition between the two ideologies, on which our Nation's security and our survival as free men in a free world depends. Some in our midst are slow to recognize this truth, and it required the vision of a great American President, President Truman, to first recognize the great need for just such a spiritual force as Israel can, and does, provide the world of today.

This spiritual force has been dormant for millenniums, at great cost in lives and spiritual values, and now that we, the United States, have awakened it, we have the additional sacred duty to give it that moral and material support which it needs, until the time comes where its own development enables it to keep pace, on its own, with the demands of our time.

I have seen Israel's efforts in this direction with my own eyes. Great works under extreme hardships are being undertaken throughout the country. I venture to say that given a proper "security" climate—which, incidentally, only America can provide—Israel may become again, in our lifetime yet, the "Eretz zabeth chalav udwash" (the land of milk and honey) of the biblical time.

Some might term this "visionary." But, when you observe how Israel responded to the challenge of the first decade of its existence, you will agree with me that the real "wirtschafswunder" (economic miracle), which you hear about in the context of Western Germany's economic recovery, has happened not in that country, but in Israel.

A small country, faced with the problems of a flow of immigrants that more than trebled its population within a little more than a decade, beset by hostile neighbors, lacking in that all-essential natural element which we take for granted—water—has succeeded in building an economy whose gross national product in 1961 amounted to $2.9 billion. Its exports amount to $416.4 million, its imports to $818.8 million. Its citizens have an annual per capita income of between $650 and $700, an income higher than that of Austria, Ireland, and Italy, and closely approximating that of Finland, the Netherlands, and even that of Germany.

Thus, within the short period of 14 years the State of Israel has become a solid political unit and a recognized power in the Middle East. In the economic sector, it is a viable community which has grown from a recipient into a disperser of foreign technical aid. It enjoys fruitful trade relations with some 100 countries, and all indications point to its continuous economic growth.

They are building in Israel schools, hospitals and clinics, health and welfare centers. In order to encourage industrial and economic growth, they favor and welcome in every way, the investment of capital and, at the same time are taking steps to assure the success of their development by fostering individual initiative.

No doubt, the full realization of their vast economic program requires time, and time, ladies and gentlemen, in Israel, is of the essence.

President Kennedy relates the story of the famous French Marshal Lyautey, who once asked his gardener to plant a tree. The gardener objected that the tree was slow-growing and would not reach maturity for a hundred years. The marshal replied, "In that case, there is no time to lose, plant it this afternoon."

Ladies and gentlemen, I say to you, as President Kennedy recently said when he related that story, "Let us plant this tree this afternoon," and let us plant it wherever there are freedom-loving peoples.

"Let us plant that tree in Israel."

## Preservation of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, there appears to be a great deal of discussion

over certain resolutions pertaining to official records of congressional committees, and use of said records by the parties in certain litigations.

I have listened to the disclussions here on the floor concerning the matter of conflicting congressional resolutions and their import upon the body politics of this Nation.

Without taking a position on one side or the other of any particular case either in court or in preparation for court action, one must accept the premise of the inequity of the position created by the apparent double standard created by the resolutions under discussion. These resolutions according to the RECORD were passed by the Senate.

Resolutions passed March 8, 1962, prohibited the divulgence of specific information in one instance, while a few months later another resolution (Sept. 25, 1952) reversed this position in the earlier resolutions and permitted unrestricted divulgence.

The nature of the information, the personalities involved must be treated as a secondary consideration in this situation.

The question of the legality of the proposals or the right of the Congress to pass contradictory measures may also be removed from this discussion. We can do so because in a self-governed body, making its own rules the question what is right and what is wrong according to the rules, is often only a matter of majority vote. However, the question goes beyond these considerations and hits at a principle of law of a democratic Government; one that is based upon equality before the courts of the land.

In any case, this action of the congressional body could prejudice a case before a court in the favor of one of the parties in the litigation. This could and in many cases would be the determining factor in a case where the issues involved are a matter of great publicity and public interest.

To deliberately prejudice a case is against all concepts of fair trial, trial by jury, and equal justice under the law.

The records are replete with cases in point, some of which can be held to be directly related to the subject of this discussion.

The following citations show the universal disapproval of action of this nature.

When government withholds information from the accused but discloses such information to the prosecution, it violates the basic responsibility of the duty of "the government' to do justice.

The U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, 1950, in *U.S.* v. *Coplon* (185 F. 2d 629, 638), stated the purpose of this resolution more eloquently than I could possibly:

> Few weapons in the arsenal of freedom are more useful than the power to compel a government to disclose the evidence on which it seeks to forfeit the liberty of its citizens.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *U.S.* v. *Reynolds* (345 U.S. 1, 12), eloquently states this principle:

> The rationale of the criminal cases is that, since the Government which prosecutes an accused also has the duty to see that justice is done, it is unconscionable to allow it to undertake prosecution and then invoke its governmental privileges to deprive the accused of anything which might be material to its defense.

The principle is not limited to the prosecuting arm of the Government. The courts have spoken in broad terms. In both the Reynolds cases and in *Roviarro* v. *U.S.* (335 U.S. 53, 60–61) the U.S. Supreme Court held that dismissal results if the Government withholds what the accused seeks.

It seems clear that the Government may not avoid its duty to do justice by having one of its arms prosecute while the other inhibits the defense. A powerful analogy is presented by *Delaney* v. *U.S.* (199 F. 2d 107, first circuit, 1952) in which a conviction was reversed because of the prejudicial effect of publicity resulting from congressional hearings. The Court has made it inescapably clear that, for purposes of withholding information needful to the defense no less than for purposes of spreading prejudicial publicity, the Government is indivisible.

The courts have broadly construed these constitutional inhibitions upon the State because as in the Coplon case the court recognizes that—

> All governments, democracies as well as autocracies, believe that those they seek to punish are guilty; the impediment of constitutional barriers are galling to all governments when they prevent the consummation of that just purpose. But these barriers were devised and are precious because they prevent that purpose and its pursuit from passing unchallenged by the accused, and unpurged by the alembic of public scrutiny and public criticism. A society which has come to wince at such exposure of the methods by which it seeks to impose its will upon its members has already lost the feel for freedom and is on the path toward absolutism.

The double standard implicit in these resolutions referred to above offends not only basic constitutional guarantees, but also the American's sense of fair play. This resolution is an expression of the congressional body that the information acquired through the machinery of this body may not be used in a one-sided effort.

The resolution further protects the accused by providing him with equal opportunity to secure privileged information which may have been made available to other agencies or to the courts without the express consent of the Senate.

We are reminded of the obligation of the Government in criminal cases, and it behooves the Congress in the exercise of its powers to heed the warnings of the U.S. Supreme Court, issued over a quarter of a century ago in *Berger* v. *United States, supra:*

> The U.S. attorney is the representative not of an ordinary party to a controversy, but of a sovereignty whose obligation to govern impartially is as compelling as its obligation to govern at all; and whose interest, therefore, in a criminal prosecution is not that it shall win a case, but that justice shall be done. As such, he is in a peculiar and very definite sense the servant of the law, the twofold aim of which is that guilt shall not escape or innocence suffer. He may prosecute with earnestness and vigor—indeed, he should do so. But, while he may strike hard blows, he is not at liberty to strike foul ones. It is as much his duty to refrain from improper methods calculated to produce a wrongful conviction as it is to use every legitimate means to bring about a just one.

The Congress of the United States has a similar obligation. Government is indivisible as it operates affecting the rights of the individual. The Senate may not and should not act in such a manner as to grant to the prosecution that assistance and cooperation which it withholds from the accused or vice versa.

Since attorneys general and all officers and Members of the Congress and the courts are only temporary in their official positions, the individuals change but the powers and rights of the officers must be the same for whomever may be holding the offices at any given moment.

When bad precedent is set, bad law follows. When bad laws become the rule instead of the exception, man's fundamental liberties and privileges under the law become trampled in the dust of man's inhumanity to man.

Let us then look to tomorrow knowing that what we have done today brightens our hopes rather than consigning them to the dark dungeon of favoritism and the abusive use of temporary authority and power.

In instances such as this the individuals do not count. The matter transcends personalities, it becomes an issue bearing upon the very foundations of our Government and our whole creed of equal justice under the law.

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## Public Access to Commission Dissents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on July 26, 1962, and on September 20, 1962, I informed House members that the Federal Trade Commission was attempting to suppress the dissenting views of its minority members. This and a similar instance in the Federal Power Commission were uncovered by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information. As a result of subcommittee discussions with these two Commissions, both of them have now adopted new policies to make clear that from now on neither Commission will attempt to suppress the views of dissenting Commission members.

In my report to the House on September 20, 1962, I pointed out that the Federal Trade Commission's letter of September 6, 1962, did not fully clarify whether the Commission's new policy would prevent a nonconcurring Commissioner from expressing his views on any Commission action, including those that the Commission does not make public. I have now received a letter from the

Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission stating that the Commission's new policy applies to all Commission actions whether or not they are made public by the Commission. The subcommittee letter of September 18, 1962, and the Commission's answer of September 25, 1962, are as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
*Washington, D.C., September 18, 1962.*

Mr. PAUL RAND DIXON,
*Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. DIXON: Thank you for your letter of September 6, 1962, advising that the Federal Trade Commission on September 4, 1962, unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing that any Commissioner who does not concur with any action which the Commission makes public is entitled to have his dissent and the reasons therefor shown on the document or other accompanying papers evidencing such action.

The Commission's new policy is excellent, as far as it goes; however, it does not cover actions which the Commission fails to make public. The language of the Commission's new policy, as quoted in your letter, could thus be interpreted as denying the right of a Commissioner to make known his objections to a Commission action such as a decision to drop a matter, or a decision concerning Commission procedure, or any other Commission matter, if the Commission does not make the action public.

There is no apparent basis upon which the majority of the Commission (or two Commissioners constituting a majority of a three-man quorum) may muzzle or delay the issuance of the views of dissenting Commissioners with regard to any Commission actions. Please, therefore, clarify whether the policy statement of September 4, 1962, is intended to prevent a nonconcurring Commissioner from expressing views on any Commission action which is not made public.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. MOSS,
*Chairman, Special Government Information Subcommittee.*

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FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
*Washington, D.C., September 25, 1962.*

Hon. JOHN E. MOSS,
*Chairman, Special Government Information Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In our letter to you of September 6, 1962, we advised that the Federal Trade Commission on September 4, 1962, unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing that any Commissioner who does not concur in any action which the Commission makes public is entitled to have his dissent and the reasons therefor shown on the documents or other accompanying papers evidencing such action.

You ask in your letter of September 18, 1962, whether the Commission's policy statement of September 4, 1962, is intended to prevent a nonconcurring Commissioner from expressing views on any Commission action which is not made public.

This is to advise you that it was not the Commission's intention in its statement of September 4, 1962, to prevent a nonconcurring Commissioner from expressing views on any Commission action.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL RAND DIXON,
*Chairman.*

## National Lottery—"Pie in the Sky"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the American taxpayer is clamoring for tax reductions. Some request that Government expenditures be reduced, others seek to eliminate waste and inefficiency in necessary programs, and others desire painless methods of taxation or painless methods of raising revenue. I, for one, have recognized that we must spend money for our national defense and our national needs. At the same time, I recognize that the American taxpayer is seeking tax relief. Without security, our program would be meaningless.

I have sought to eliminate waste, and inefficiency, to reduce the cost of unnecessary expenditures. As a member of the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee of Agriculture, I and the subcommittee members recommend a reduction of $877,690,500 from the budget requests. As a result of my activities and those of the subcommittee members, we have brought about a reduction of storage costs in our corn and wheat by 3 cents a bushel with annual savings approximating $86 million per year. The Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, of which I am a member, has recommended reductions of approximately $10 million from the budget requests this year. We have sought to cut out waste without impairing our defenses or national needs.

Some people, however, offer tax cuts through "pie in the sky" proposals. Such a proposal is the national lottery. It is cruel and it is a hoax to propose a national lottery to reduce taxes when such proposals are neither obtainable nor feasible. But it is doubly cruel when the proposal contains provisions which prevent the collection of one dime of revenue. Since 1933 national lottery bills have been proposed in Congfess. These have been rejected. Lottery sponsors have introduced bills for many years. One of the sponsors has introduced a lottery bill for 10 years. Many of his speeches on lottery have been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD costing the taxpayers thousands of dollars. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to speak about one bill, H.R. 2007, introduced by the gentleman from the Bronx.

H.R. 2007, to raise revenues through lottery is so drawn that even if it were passed, it could not raise one dime. On page 3, line 9 of the bill, it provides as follows:

> No ticket or participation shall be sold in any State, or in a political subdivision of a State, where such sale is illegal.

Inasmuch as every State in the Union—50 States—including 1 State where other gambling is permitted, outlaws lottery, no funds could be collected. In a brief speech on May 24, 1962, I documented the statutes of every State which declared lottery to be illegal. I do not repeat them here. To my charge that no revenue could be collected because every State in the Union bars lottery and no ticket can be sold where lottery is illegal, the sponsor answers that Federal law supersedes State law. Normally where there is a conflict between a Federal statute and a State law, Federal law supersedes State law, but where a Federal statute has a savings clause, such as is contained in H.R. 2007, providing that State law shall not be set aside, the State law is valid and governs. The State law remains effective and continues to exist despite the contradiction contained in the Federal statute. H.R. 2007, by its provisions, preserves the State laws which declare lottery to be illegal. It provides that in a State where lottery is illegal, no sale of lottery tickets can be made. In view of the fact that H.R. 2007 says no lottery ticket could be sold where lottery is illegal, no lottery ticket could, therefore, be sold. Not one dime could be raised. Not one dime in taxes would be reduced.

We in Congress see many amendments to legislation which seeks to preserve State statutes. On Thursday of this week, October 4, when I presided over the House of Representatives during the consideration of the bill to outlaw child labor by agricultural industries on farms, an amendment preserving State statutes was adopted by the membership. The House has sought to change the rule of interpretation by the courts so as to make State laws effective even where Federal laws on the same subject exist. Thus, it is obvious that State laws can stand side by side where Federal legislation so provides.

H.R. 2007, which I have been discussing, the bill which allegedly purports to raise revenue by lottery but provides that State laws shall be valid, and, therefore, no sale of lottery tickets can be made where lottery is illegal.

The cruel promises to reduce taxation by lottery revenue could be excused if such promises were based on ignorance. It is unlikely that a so-called expert on lottery who has made a thorough study on the history of lottery and who has introduced lottery bills for 10 years could be that ignorant. While such ignorance is improbable, it is possible in this case. However, since May of this year, the sponsor of the lottery bill was advised by me on the floor of Congress as to the weaknesses and defects of the legislation. Yet the gentleman from the Bronx persists in his speeches and representation of tax cuts through the lottery provided for in H.R. 2007. Such continued representations spell out a willful hoax and deception upon a trusting public.

It is doubly cruel to try to hoax and hoodwink a public which needs tax relief with such "pie in the sky" proposals.

H.R. 2007 cannot provide tax relief to the public nor can it increase the revenues necessary for our national needs and defense programs. It is time the public became aware of the deception, deceit and dishonesty in the repetition of a national lottery proposal. Some people forget that Abraham Lincoln once said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time, all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

An informed public cannot be fooled, Mr. Speaker, so I take this opportunity to inform the people so they can no longer be fooled by a national lottery proposal which is only "pie in the sky."

## "No Show" Penalty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, the public was led to believe that October would be the last month of the "no show penalty program." This plan of passenger penalties was approved by the Civil Aeronautics Board on a strictly experimental basis for a 6-month period. After questioning Chairman Boyd as to the advisability of this plan on May 9, 1962, he assured me and other members of the Transportation and Aeronautics Subcommittee that the program was "experimental" and "may prove to be wrong." He indicated that the program would not be continued until after a thorough evaluation of the results of this 6-month trial period.

In view of Chairman Boyd's assurances, I was shocked to read the following news item, which appeared in the Washington Daily News on September 25, 1962, on page 22:

RETAIN "NO SHOW" FINE, AIRLINES TOLD

The Civil Aeronautics Board yesterday told the airlines that their "no show" penalty plan should be continued.

Alan Boyd, CAB Chairman, told the airlines that the plan—involving a penalty of up to $40 for passengers who fail to cancel reservations they do not use—has thus far been beneficial.

A Montgomery citizens committee is protesting the death sentences. An appeal to the Supreme Court is planned.

Although mention of the Montgomery Citizens Committee was obviously a typographical error, it seems to me that citizens committees might well be forming in all parts of the United States to protest the action of Chairman Boyd. Public hearings should be scheduled by the Civil Aeronautics Board after the trial period has ended. At the very least, an objective evaluation on the merits of the "no show plan" should be forthcoming from the CAB based on the experience of the airlines and the traveling public during the 6-month period. It was Chairman Boyd himself who stated that this was a "trial and error period" and was the only way in which his agency could determine whether the approach was in the public interest. I respectfully submit that you cannot determine the outcome of an experiment until the trial period has ended and the results are studied.

Up until now, this "no show" experiment has not received the study which it merits and absolutely no information has been forwarded to the appropriate committee of the Congress. To date, the program has been of doubtful value to the airlines and has been injurious to the traveling public. A workable and equitable program of assessments would inure to the benefit of the travel industry. However, it is clear from industry reports that the program has proven to have grave disadvantages as passenger inconvenience and high administrative costs. In some cases, the added administrative costs of carriers has exceeded the amount collected from passengers.

In addition, the cost of the ill will engendered in attempts to collect penalities and in slowing down ticket counter operations cannot be adequately assessed. No study has been made to assess the loss of revenue through loss of passengers because of bad publicity created by the program. Before the plan went into effect, 17 airlines objected to the plan based on their unwillingness to use ground personnel to administer the fines. It was felt that these ground employees would more properly be used to service overworked aircraft.

Chairman Boyd supported the no-show program as a means of solving the revenue problems caused in large part by scalpers and reservation monopolists who willfully pervert the airline reservation process to their own means. The scalpers and monopolists, both groups which are especially active in resort areas, exploit the reservation process by using fictitious names. The use of a pseudonym still provides a foolproof way of escaping detection under the no-show plan. If the plan is to be judged on its success with this problem, Mr. Boyd would certainly have to give the no-show system a failing mark.

I would suggest that Chairman Boyd provide the Congress and the traveling public with a report on how effectively and fairly fines are assessed. The Aviation Daily reported that—

While the carriers were able to collect $283,651 from no-shows they were unable to collect $318,707 from passengers who failed to pay the airlines when billed through the mail. Of the 16,645 no-shows billed this way for a total of $335,324, only 1,619 returned payments totaling $16,617.

Is public confidence merited in a plan of assessments whereby fines are paid on an almost voluntary basis?

Even if the "no show" plan benefits outweigh the disadvantages to the airlines under continued use and experience, the Civil Aeronautics Board should consider the disadvantages to the passengers, or as Chairman Boyd appropriately phrases it, "the public interest." For example under this CAB-fostered plan the passenger has no redress for the inconvenience and financial loss he suffers as a result of unwarranted cancellations of flights on which he has booked passage. Unduly delayed flights and unpublished schedule or flight route changes which delay arrival at destinations are also responsible for incalculable inconvenience and loss to passengers. The program as it now stands essentially benefits the carriers, if anyone, and penalized the passengers—but not the erring carriers—for nonperformance.

What is needed is a plan which will provide penalties to the travelers by the air carrier which has unduly delayed or cancelled a flight. This plan was more eloquently expressed by Chairman Boyd on May 9, 1962, when he commented on what he then thought the "no show" plan covered:

If it is a matter over which the airline does have control, then the airline is penalized to the same extent that the passenger is penalized if he does not show up for a flight.

This is exactly what the "no show" plan should do, but does not do. The poor on-time performance of air carriers is largely attributable to such foreseeable and controlled circumstances as the overscheduling of certain craft, lack of adequate standbys, delays to repair minor equipment—such as food machines—overtaxing of equipment, and poor routing of traffic at peak hours. Chairman Boyd should evaluate the "no show penalty plan" with this situation in mind.

Mr. Speaker, I do not suggest that there should be no criticism of those who reserve space on a flight with no intention of using it. Other passengers are unable to obtain accommodations when space is held and not used. In addition, the public suffers from this practice as it reduces the revenues of the airlines and their ability to provide adequate service for users of air transportation.

But the time is overdue when some attention is given the airline passenger. It is high time that the Civil Aeronautics Board under the titular leadership of Chairman Boyd takes measures which will help assure dependable service and eliminate the frustration, inconvenience, and loss occasioned by unnecessary delays, cancellations, and changing of accommodations after reservations have been confirmed. Airlines must be deterred from overselling flights, one of the most serious causes of inconvenience to the air traveling public. Meaningful penalties for preventable delays and cancellations by the airlines will provide a measure of protection for the public, and hopefully, some improvements in the operation of the airlines.

Surely, Mr. Boyd's answer to this dilemma should not be blind continuation of a one-sided program of passenger penalties.

## The Stockpile Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Utah [Mr.

BENNETT], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix the text of an addres entitled "The Stockpile Story" delivered by Evan Just, executive head of the department of mineral engineering, Stanford University, before the 1962 Mining Show of the American Mining Congress, at San Francisco, Calif., September 26, 1962.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STOCKPILE STORY

(An address by Evan Just, executive head, department of mineral engineering, Stanford University, before the 1962 mining show of the American Mining Congress, San Francisco, Calif., Sept. 26, 1962)

Many observers believe, as I do, that the current stockpiling investigation and its timing in an election year reflect little but a desire to make political hay by trying to smear some of the officials of the previous administration. They point out that as a Senator, President Kennedy had ample opportunity to read the numerous reports to the Congress which were submitted over the years of stockpile accumulation, plus the records of hearings and the data submitted when new appropriations were sought, and that his recent expressions of painful surprise could only indicate that he had not been attentive to his duties as a Member of Congress. Skeptics also point out the care with which Senator SYMINGTON has avoided pilloryings officials of the Truman administration even though this would be the most direct means of learning why high prices were paid in most instances. Even some of the members of the stockpile investigating committee have expressed the view that the manner in which the investigation is handled reflects political aims.

In describing the purposes of the investigation to the press, Senator SYMINGTON stated that secrecy provides a screen which "enhances the opportunities of the avaricious to indulge their inclinations to the fullest, all at the taxpayers' expense." The data presented to the press by subcommittee counsel portrayed the stockpile as enormously excessive, to such an extent that the press could infer nothing but a scandalous situation. Counsel stated that acquisitions for price support purposes were in his opinion illegal, even though he had previously stated that one of the purposes of the Stockpile Act of 1946 was "to encourage the conservation and development of sources of these [strategic and critical] materials within the United States" and that the Defense Production Act of 1950 had as one of its purposes "the expansion of productive capacity in order to provide for national defense."

The clear implication of the entire portrayal was that Government purchasing agents had grossly overbought and that avaricious producers must have made scandalous profits.

The presentation of counsel had several interesting omissions and half-truths. First, the value of the stockpile inventory in the present depressed markets was compared with acquisition costs, not mentioning that the earlier acquisitions had been made in a period of high prices with the full knowledge and approval of Congress. This made the Government purchasers look like poor stewards of the public interest. Second, the statistics presented indicated that if the Government purchasers had stopped at the goals now deemed adequate by defense planners, they would have a small profit, that the alleged deficit was all due to overbuying. This is an extraordinary conclusion, considering that the minimal requirements were largely acquired at high prices and that much of the alleged surplus was acquired during a period of distress prices. Third, counsel made no voluntary statement about the drastic cutbacks in military estimates of need because of atomic warfare, which automatically placed much of the inventory in surplus. This was admitted by Senator SYMINGTON during questioning. Fourth, counsel made nothing of the fact that much of the so-called surplus was acquired by bartering deteriorable surplus agricultural products for strategic and critical minerals, a process not only warmly endorsed by Congress but one which any intelligent citizen would approve, even at low prices for foodstuffs and high ones for minerals. The foodstuffs are expensively stored and the portion which rats and weevils do not destroy gradually deteriorates to a nearly worthless condition. The mineral materials on the other hand are cheaply stored and deteriorate very little, if at all.

If all these factors had been fairly presented, the Government purchasers would have been seen as devoted public servants, rather than as profligate spenders.

The introduction to the investigation, although it may serve political purposes, is inadequate as a basis for judging the stockpile situation. For our part, we have an obligation to the mining industry and to the public to try to set the record straight in good faith. Therefore, let us forego the political aspect and try to analyze the realities of the stockpiling problem, both historically and for the future. Let us try to understand why we have a stockpile and how well the public interest has been served.

The stockpile was conceived and sponsored by public-spirited men who had both understanding of the importance of certain raw materials in winning wars and some knowledge of the narrow squeaks we had experienced during the First World War. The first Stock Piling Act was passed in 1939 but during the ensuing Second World War there was little opportunity to build reserve inventories. During the second war, as in the first, we again had some narrow squeaks and both the Congress and our military services became acutely aware of the strategic importance of stockpiles. For the following 10 years, Congress maintained a keen interest in the progress of stockpiling, as is evidenced by a large number of inquiries, hearings, and reports. As an example, Congress insisted on some diversion of the early foreign aid funds into helping the stockpile in ways that were compatible with foreign aid. Congress never quibbled over the expense of building the stockpile, even though it was fully aware that the years prior to 1955 were years of high prices and that the stockpilers were frequently competing with industry for short supplies in tight markets.

Now that we have alleged surpluses and the benefit of such magnificent hindsight as Senator SYMINGTON and his staff exhibit, it is easy to forget the spirit in which much of the stockpile was acquired. I played a small part during 1948 and 1949 as Director of the Strategic Materials Division of Economic Cooperation Administration, and I can state from personal experience that everyone involved, including Congress, looked on the attainment of the stockpiling goals as of military and national importance second to nothing. We were aware that shortages of industrial diamonds or tungsten could cripple an entire war effort, and that Germany had come very close to putting us on short rations of aluminum by the cleverness with which its submarines could pick the bauxite carriers out of convoys in the Caribbean. At times like that, dollars seem less important than national security, although I do not mean to imply that this argument was used to condone wasting money. The stockpilers were in the market at admittedly high prices and despite the protests of many industrial voices simply because the military services and the Congress all believed that the rather low stockpile inventories deeply involved our national security. One of my chief regrets at the time was that some of the civil service employees engaged in stockpiling had been so intimidated by postwar congressional investigations that it was extremely hard to get business done.

The stockpiling law of 1946, like its 1939 predecessor, was carefully framed so that this strategic military reserve could not be dispersed capriciously. Congress realized—and I am confident it will continue to do so—that large Government-held stocks constitute an ever present threat to market stability and discourage the investment of risk capital so necessary to perpetuation of our most basic industry. Congress specifically directed in the law that stockpiled materials should not be disposed of except for defense purposes, without adequate notice to Congress. Except in case of obsolescence, the law required that no disposal be made without affirmative congressional approval.

In the early fifties, came the Korean conflict. The Defense Materials Procurement Agency was established to stimulate mineral production, and the Defense Minerals Administration to encourage exploration. The attitude at the time was "better be safe than sorry," and in that spirit purchase contracts were made, financing of new productive enterprises was underwritten, and 5-year floor price guarantees were made to domestic producers of several strategic minerals. I would stoutly defend all of these moves because I can recall quite vividly the the atmosphere in which the decisions were made. The men who made them were sincere patriots who wanted Americans on the battlefields to have such protection as good equipment can afford. These men were well aware that at some time in the future congressional committees that would have forgotten the urgency of the time might seek to crucify them, but they were willing to take the chance as a patriotic service. As one of many examples of the spirit of the times as late as 1955, I quote from the Fourth Annual Report of the Joint Committee on Defense Production, discussing policy in regard to nickel: "In view of the essential use of this metal in the production of certain top priority items, it was further agreed that costs should be considered secondary to our Government's security until such time as the projected needs for both the military and civilian economy were more definitely in sight."

Beginning in the early fifties, the stockpile picture was entered by two new influences which caused acquisition of inventories now considered excessive, although not in general, at high prices. These were the exchange of agricultural surpluses for stockpile materials and the support of certain mineral industries by purchases designed to maintain a mobilization base. Prior to both these actions, the military stockpiling goals had been increased in recognition of the fact that the minimum goals contemplated an extensive use of armed forces for protection of long supply routes. The inventories required to meet these expanded goals were subject to earlier restrictions on disposal, including specific congressional consent. As always, up to this newest maneuver, the havoc that a loose disposal policy would wreak on industrial markets and investment was recognized.

In my opinion, the logic of trading agricultural surpluses for stockpile commodities was, and is, incontrovertible, although I do not defend the accumulation of the agricultural surpluses. The taxpayer was stuck with these deteriorable surpluses and to trade them for nondeteriorable commodities can be classed as an intelligent salvage operation. Moreover, the trading of agricultural surpluses for minerals was well known to Congress and warmly approved. Significant acquisitions which now seem to be viewed as in excess of stockpile goals were made in

this way, specifically, one-fifth of the alleged surplus.

That portion of the so-called surpluses classed as "Defense Production Act inventory" was partly acquired because of contracts made during the Korean emergency for reasons already described. Also, during the fifties, the administration and the Office of Defense Mobilization were faced with an awkward predicament, particularly with reference to lead and zinc. Prices of most minerals fell after the Korean emergency and the ODM feared that a decline in the industries producing them would be detrimental to what was considered to be our mobilization base. Concurrently there was agitation for lead and zinc tariff increases under the escape-clause provision of reciprocal trade legislation, as it was statistically demonstrable that increased imports contributed to low prices. The administration, like its predecessor, was loath to increase tariffs, as such a move would have been deemed an unfriendly and precedent-setting act by the countries of the free world that we were trying to unite in the common defense. Price-support purchases of lead and zinc were undertaken to solve the two problems of our mobilization base and the distress of the lead and zinc industries. Also Congress renewed some of the floor-price guarantees to domestic producers of strategic minerals. Some of us disliked to see the stockpile develop into a make-work device, and wondered where undertaking to maintain a mobilization base would lead, but I must admit that were I confronted with the same conditions I would probably have made the same decisions. In other words, I could not then nor can I now offer a better solution, considering the cold-war problem of the time and the implicit obligation of the Government under reciprocal trade legislation to provide relief for industries injured by increased imports. Stockpile inventories accumulated under the Defense Production Act, and which are not now subject to congressional control of disposal, amount to one-fourth of the alleged surplus. It is pertinent to add that numerous Members of Congress endorsed these purchase programs. On June 13, 1958, Senator SYMINGTON himself, commenting on "The Crisis in the Lead and Zinc Industry," stated: "The proposals which would give the most immediate assistance to the industry would be the stockpiling and barter proposals, which would relieve the market of some of the depressing effect of surpluses." He demanded immediate action. His colleague on the subcommittee, Senator ENGLE, endorsing extension of strategic material floor prices, stated: "It would be a very grave error for us in the Congress to fail to make these appropriations and cause the shutting down of these domestic mining industries which are not adequately protected by tariffs and cannot operate in competition with low-wage production from abroad."

In thus urging continued stockpile purchases of minerals beyond the basic military objectives at the time, Senators SYMINGTON and ENGLE had plenty of congressional company, including Senators BENNETT, MURRAY, ERVIN, SCOTT, MANSFIELD, GOLDWATER, BIBLE, KERR, DWORSHAK, MORSE, and NEUBERGER, and Representatives METCALF, FERNANDEZ, DEMPSEY, and PFOST.

Summarizing the reasons for the so-called stockpile surpluses in terms of the latest evaluation of objectives, about one-half was due to the cutback in estimated requirements reflecting present military concepts of atomic warfare, one-fourth to DPA inventories acquired to support our mobilization base, a fifth to barter of agricultural surpluses, and a 20th is still in order for various reasons. With due regard for the circumstances of acquisition, I am unable to suggest any reason for the implications of Senator SYMINGTON and his committee counsel that scandalous extravagance occurred. As for secrecy, the record of reports, hearings and investigations that took place over the years proves that Congress has been as well informed as national security permitted. The decision of the Eisenhower administration to use the stockpile as a make-work device was well publicized.

Turning to the implication that unconscionable profits have been made, we here cannot be informed of every bargain that was concluded, but certainly the industry in general did not profit unduly. Low-cost producers make good profits in any high market and the earlier stockpile acquisitions were made at market prices in a period of short supply, but the mining industry in general was not enthusiastic about the Government being in the market at that time. During the Korean war, as stated above, Government representatives preferred to be safe rather than sorry, and I can recall much industry opinion that too much productivity was being promoted. Industry people feared a postwar slump and did not relish the anticipated competition of Government-sponsored producers in dull markets. It was to overcome forebodings of this nature that loans payable in production and floor price contracts were made. Later, when lead and zinc purchases were undertaken to support the mobilization base, the lead and zinc producers went along with little enthusiasm. They would have preferred what they deemed to be their right under law, a protective increase in tariff. As for the cost to the public of these alternatives, the purchase plan will be cheaper if the acquisitions are not stored long enough for storage costs to overtake the increases in price that would have resulted from tariffs.

Personally, I am satisfied that the public has its money's worth in the stockpile when one takes in account that it is hardly fair to compare the cost with depressed market prices. If liquidation should be in order at some future time, I am sure this can be done at a profit over acquisition costs, if judiciously done. The real cost in the final analysis will have been the cost of storage and of possible obsolescence of a few items. It seems quite clear that the security the stockpile affords is well worth this cost.

Now we might ask ourselves how large stockpiles should be. This is naturally a moot question, except that all of us will agree in principle that they should be large enough to cover the needs of a national emergency. But what will such needs include? What are the real military requirements in an atomic age? For all we know, a few dozen atomic bombs may cancel all desire for further combat, or there may be a long dreary struggle decided at last by dogged human endurance and the fullest use of available material resources. Will our raw material self-sufficiency increase or decrease in a future conflict, where the destruction of people and manufacturing centers will probably be major aspects? Will mineral raw materials be short or in surplus during the aftermath of a devastating holocaust, when the ruins of former population centers will consist largely of a mixed rubble of mineral materials? Will a stockpile larger than military planners presently seek permit the most efficient use of Armed Forces by making it unnecessary to police supply routes, or will it allow a more effective deployment of civilians? Will emergency requirements include those of allied nations? Are we justified in assuming that a stockpile will pay off in discouraging future monopolistic high prices? One cannot answer the main questions without having quantitative answers to all of these, and nobody has such answers. All I can say as a taxpayer is that the stockpile is a form of public insurance and I want insurance reserves to be on the safe side. I would not want any disposal of stockpiled material until a positive finding has been made by competent authorities that a surplus exists after all the above questions have been considered. Even then, it is unthinkable that the surpluses would be offered into anything but strong markets, unless it is the wish of Government to demoralize a basic industry.

In closing, I am aware that since the steel-pricing episode, some business executives have become disinclined to make public statements that might be displeasing to the administration, for fear of Executive reprisal. They have witnessed that the President is capable of marshaling Federal agencies in a concentrated attack on an organization or industry which arouses his easily kindled personal ire. No corporation executive in his right mind wants to see his company the victim of simultaneous unfriendly attention by the Department of Justice, the FBI, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Federal Trade Commission, other regulatory agencies and congressional committees, and also be threatened with cancellation of contracts where Government expenditures are involved. As a citizen, I am uneasy over what took place in the steel affair and of no mind to give the Executive further tools which, even unused, will intimidate citizens of any kind from public expression of views and affect normal economic behavior. This danger will grow as Congress tends to abdictate, and the public shows more and more disposition to build up the Presidency and to vote for individuals who project colorful images on television screens. Senator SYMINGTON'S bill to place stockpile surplus disposal into the area of Executive discretion would automatically coerce much of the mineral industry toward subservience to the Presidential will, and I, for one, am completely against this.

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## Military in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, much attention has been focused recently on the question of whether we should overhaul and speed up our military effort in space. The October 6 issue of the Army, Navy, Air Force Journal & Register contains an excellent discussion of this subject entitled "Will Man on the Moon Help National Defense?"

The article was written by one of the Nation's distinguished aerospace authorities, Mr. James J. Haggerty, Jr., who has joined the Journal & Register staff as space editor. Under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with the announcement of Mr. Haggerty's appointment to a new editorial assignment with this excellent military publication.

All Members of the House and Senate, whatever their views on the subject, will want to read Mr. Haggerty's enlightening commentary and recommendations, particularly inasmuch as this subject is likely to be an issue before the Congress next year.

The article follows:

MILITARY IN SPACE: WILL MAN ON THE MOON HELP NATIONAL DEFENSE?

(By James J. Haggerty, Jr.)

The push for a more vigorous effort in developing the U.S. military space potential is gaining momentum. As usual, we needed some help from the Soviet Union; their recent demonstration of their military space potential called attention to our snailpaced program.

At any rate, there is now a growing public sentiment in favor of bolstering our military space capability and there is solid congressional support on both sides of the aisle.

Now comes the question of "Where do we get the money?" and there are already some disturbing rumblings that perhaps we ought to knock off this man-on-the-moon nonsense and divert the dollars to the more urgent requirement for a strong defense posture in space.

This could become an attractive idea to an administration already pledged to a tax cut. For reasons of international prestige, that nebulous factor for which we strive so hard with so little result, we could not now abandon the national lunar program. We could, however, stretch it out at considerable savings, and so finance an increased military program.

To do so would be a mistake of major proportions.

Let us recognize that our so-called peaceful program of space exploration is not entirely that. In the civilian national lunar program, putting a man on the moon is a goal, but in the process of attaining the goal there will inevitably be a great deal of cross-fertilization to military space research.

The lunar program will involve an enormous amount of research in the space sciences, the acquisition of more knowledge about space, essential to the construction of any advanced spacecraft, military or peaceful. It will require the development of new techniques for reentering the earth's atmosphere, for maneuvering in space, for rendezvous and docking. It will generate new systems for power, guidance, navigation, and survival. For instance, an advanced life environment system in which an Apollo crew can live for weeks will also sustain a military crew.

It would have been far more realistic had the United States, in 1957, recognized the military implications of space technology and oriented the program from the beginning as a military program, with the benefits to mankind accruing from fallout. We chose to go the other way. Now we must live with the peaceful program, drawing from it what military benefits may derive. At the same time it is imperative that we pursue with utmost vigor the military objective which cannot be satisfied by the lunar program.

Make no mistake about it, the lunar program will definitely not produce an effective military space force. Already, in the infancy of space technology, there are apparent areas of divergence. A Telstar satellite is fine for viewing the next Olympics from Japan, but it is not a military system. Neither is an Apollo the type of repetitive-use spacecraft we need for a military force. As space technology advances, there will be greater degrees of divergence.

However, the lunar program is already well underway, and any attempt to reorient it can only result in confusion, delay, and, at best, a transferrence of responsibility for developments already underway.

Unpalatable as it is, we must face the fact that we need two space programs, the military services pursuing their own objectives, with maximum coordination beween the operating agencies. At this stage it will avail little to reorient the civilian program, but we must also recognize that peaceful goals are of dubious value when the opposition shows other inclinations.

To quote the president of Aerospace Corp., Dr. Ivan Getting: "If we in the United States can come to understand this clearly stated fact of life, that peaceful purposes include helping keep the peace, we can eliminate from our national thinking a dangerous notion about our proper role in space."

MILITARY IN SPACE

The Journal & Register is pleased to announce that Mr. James J. Haggerty, Jr., internationally known authority on aerospace problems, will write an exclusive weekly department on "Military in Space" for Journal & Register readers.

Mr. Haggerty has joined the Journal & Register staff because he believes, as do the Journal & Register editors, that there is a need to keep the requirements and progress of the military in space before the American public.

There is, we believe, a concerted effort to sweep discussion of military space requirements under the rug.

Mr. Haggerty is particularly qualified for his new task. He began his writing career with the Orange, N.J., Daily Courier. He entered the Army in 1942, serving 6 months with the field artillery before becoming an aviation cadet. He was comissioned in 1943 as a navigator, and flew 52 missions with the 15th Air Force in Italy.

After the war, the then Captain Haggerty was assigned to the Pentagon in the Information Office, concluding his duty in 1946 as Chief of the Air Force Press Desk.

Subsequently, Mr. Haggerty joined American Aviation Publications as military editor. In 1953, he was chosen by Collier's magazine to become its aviation editor. Following 3 years with Collier's, he moved to Look, as contributing editor on Aviation and Space.

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## A Report to My Constituents on Work Accomplished for 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, my chairmanship, one, represents the results of united voting strength; two, extends to you, my constituents, your most powerful Federal influence; three, gives forceful and effective expression of minority problems to the Federal legislative process.

The power and influence of my office has been used, in addition to regular duties, to, one, express your feelings and demands concerning all Federal legislation in the vital areas of education and labor; and, two, declare your discontent with all conditions that deny you the rights of full citizenship.

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD—KEY ACCOMPLISHMENTS—INVESTIGATIVE TASK FORCE, NEW YORK OFFICE

The investigative task force of my committee was instrumental in obtaining a decertification election where the employer was involved in a "sweetheart" contract with a union not selected by the workers. The employer fired 25 of his workers. These people were reinstated.

Instrumental in settling a labor dispute at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and getting the strikers back to work.

Caused the roofers union, Paterson, N.J., on May 24, 1962, for the first time in its history to admit Negroes to membership.

Two Negro employees of the Labor Department were dismissed for filing discrimination charges. We were able to get these workers reinstated.

Three Negro pickets arrested in Brooklyn for picketing Beth-El Hospital, investigation task force intervention with the police department resulted in the police dropping charges.

Conferences with the Vlucan Society, community leaders, clergy, and so forth, was instrumental in settling dispute with the New York City Fire Department relative to charges of racial discrimination within the department.

The Yardney Electrical Corp., planned to move its plant out of the city, putting some 850 IUE workers out of work. Conferences with city, company, and union officials resulted in the city making a search for a new plant site for the company.

Upon complaints of discrimination in the New York City Transit Authority, the investigation task force investigated and met with top executives of the transit authority.

Caused one Negro to be appointed in the labor relations department of the transit authority. Received assurances of other appointments.

Upon complaint of Negro members of Local No. 48, Mason Tenders & Hod Carriers, that they were not given work, caused workers to be given steady jobs.

Caused the new Americana Hotel to integrate its staff, including several Negroes in responsible positions.

Settled dispute relative to overtime and back wages involving workers of Mandalay Bar.

Settled grievance between Chinese workers and immigration authorities regarding immigration into this country.

Restored a Negro seaman, dishonorably discharged for arguing with a white southerner, to the civil service list.

Another Negro, who, while in the military, had a fight with a southern white, was dishonorably discharged and hence ineligible to join the city police department. After conferences with police commissioner, the Negro is now in the police academy.

After complaints of discrimination, caused two Negroes to get supervisory positions with General Motors.

Instrumental in getting first Negro into Local No. 15 of Operating Engineers.

Of 382 Puerto Rican complaints relative to; one, "sweetheart" contracts; two, nonunion representation; three, nonintegration of union and management; four, lack of legal protection, 208 were successfully resolved.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING 1962 FOR REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS IN GOVERNMENT

Fifteen days of public hearings were conducted to ascertain the extent to which there had been compliance to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public education. Witnesses from all parts of the United States testified. On the basis of these hearings and an intensive 3-month re-

search investigation, the following facts were released:

First. Eight years after the Supreme Court decision, 2 million southern Negro children—over 70 percent of the total in this region—live in completely segregated school districts.

Second. Two of the sixteen land-grant colleges for Negroes are still provisionally accredited by their respective regional associations.

Third. In all of the 16 white land-grant institutions, there are accredited professional schools offering a total of 21 areas of specialization, as against 10 Negro land-grant institutions offering a total of 5 areas of specialization.

Fourth. Wherein all white land-grant institutions offer the Ph. D or equivalent degrees, not any of the 16 institutions for Negroes offer these degrees.

Fifth. Because of the nature of the legal provisions of the Hatch Act and the Agricultural Marketing Act, none of the 16 Negro land-grant colleges received Federal funds from these sources for research in agriculture in 1960.

Based upon reports that discrimination was being shown in the engagement of teachers for dependents of military personnel, complaints were made to the Department of Defense and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Responses from these Departments indicate that necessary investigations were made.

Upon requests from teachers allegedly unfairly fired, investigations were made, and the necessary provisions followed to assure hearings for these persons.

COMMUNITY BETTERMENT

As a result of the first legislation in the field of juvenile delinquency which was reported through the Committee on Education and Labor during 1961, central Harlem has received a sizable grant. This project will provide opportunities for the children and youth of our community to be directed into worthwhile activities and will help to eliminate the growing problems of juvenile delinquency in our area. Through the utilization of a domestic service corps, a new and entirely creative program will come to the people of Harlem. In accepting the plan, representatives of the Department of Justice hailed this project as a pioneer in an important arena of American life.

JOB TRAINING

Through the passage of the Practical Nurse Training Extension Act, many women of minority groups have been greatly benefited in seeking new job opportunities in the field of nursing.

HELPFUL STUDIES

"Directory of Federally Financed Student Loans, Fellowships, and Career Training Programs in the Field of Higher Education in the United States" was published in April 1962 as a result of my feeling that this was a necessary contribution which the Committee on Education and Labor could make to the children and youth of our country. Since that time there have been requests for 10,000 copies. This, indeed, indicates that citizens are concerned about Federal financial assistance to individuals in the field of higher education. It was the first publication of its kind to be published by a congressional committee.

Among the other 10 publications of the education staff, one would be of special significance to you, my constituents—the "Interim Report on Education and Citizenship in the Public School System of Puerto Rico." Because I am concerned about the Puerto Rican American both here on the mainland and those on the island, I was interested in studying the problems in the public schools. This report has been generously received.

LEGISLATION

Two laws have been passed in education during 1962 and 10 more are in progress. Both the School Lunch Act, which was amended, and Captioned Films for the Deaf Act, which was enacted, will be of immeasurable help to millions.

Other legislation nearing completion includes extension of the NDEA loans, development of university extension, and further development of special education and vocational rehabilitation.

KEY WORK ACCOMPLISHED IN 1962 IN FURTHERANCE OF THE INTERESTS OF MINORITY GROUPS—LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AND RELATED SUBJECTS

Legislation: Laws enacted in 1962 coming from my committee:

Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962: Labeled by the press as probably the most important piece of domestic legislation since the New Deal. Provides training opportunities for the unemployed and a chance to upgrade the skills of the unskilled worker while receiving Government training allowances. Also amended this law to give its full benefits to railroad workers.

Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1962: Provides for the further safeguarding of the welfare plans and pension plans under which you work to insure that you will receive all the benefits to which you and your family may be entitled.

Eight-hour law of 1962: Clears up a host of conflicting laws governing overtime pay when your employer has a Government contract or subcontract in many fields.

Bills passed by my committee and awaiting action in the Rules Committee or by Congress:

Equal Pay for Equal Work Act of 1962: First successful effort to get an equal pay bill for women out of the House in the memory of man or woman.

Youth Employment Opportunities Act: Now in Rules Committee, but passed by my committee. Gives a real "break" to the unemployed out-of-school youth who needs a chance to learn work habits and a trade. Particularly important to minority groups which have the highest percentage of out-of-work and out-of-school youths.

Equal Employment Opportunities Act: First FEPC bill to get out of a House or Senate Committee since ADAM CLAYTON POWELL tried to use the Calendar Wednesday procedure in February 1950. Next session, if elected, further and intensive efforts to move this bill along are pledged.

Migratory labor legislation—may pass as of this date, health bill for migrants did pass already: For the men, women, and children who roam the land homeless to supply the labor that plants and harvests out crops. For the first time this Congress passed legislation considered and proposed by my committee to help this exploited group, which is composed mainly of minorities.

Other legislative inquiries—ad hoc subcommittees:

First. Subcommittee on unemployment and the impact of automation: Legislative digging of this committee led to findings that were later incorporated into the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

Second. Subcommittee on the Operations of the National Labor Relations Board: The exercise of its oversight function by the committee through the hearing conducted by this subcommittee led to a reevaluation of many practices and decisional policies adopted over the preceding 8 years.

Third. Subcommittee on the Impact of Imports and Exports on American Employment: An inquiry in depth in keeping with the committee's responsibilities and jurisdiction on the general subject of employment.

Fourth. Subcommittee on Irregularities in the Garment Industry: Investigation of racial discrimination, possible violations of existing labor-management relations statutes, and corruption based on complaints and information received by the committee over the past 18 months.

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## A New 65 Program Under Consideration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the cooperative insurance program to aid retirement age individuals meet their health care costs, pioneered by the State of Connecticut, is now under consideration in another State, Michigan. This program, when enacted, will join the Connecticut 65, New York 65, Mississippi 65, and Massachusetts 65 programs in providing meaningful help in this important area.

These programs are built around legislation relaxing State laws on antitrust for this particular purpose. Insurance companies are permitted to pool resources and share risks to bring the cost of health insurance down for our senior citizens. It is an excellent idea and one that should be followed in other States.

The Journal of Commerce recently commented on the progress Michigan is making in this area. I am placing the article on this subject in the RECORD at this point:

OVER-65 PLAN STUDIED IN MICHIGAN

LANSING, MICH., September 24.—Effort are continuing in Michigan to evolve a plan acceptable to Commissioner Sherwood Colburn

under which the Michigan Blue Cross-Blue Shield services could sign up new members in the senior (over 65) age class before the end of the year.

Two proposals have been rejected by the commissioner, one of which would have boosted rates by 50 percent over existing coverage, and the other, said to conform substantially to a nationally offered package plan, would have offered more comprehensive coverage at higher premiums.

Several conferences have been held with the commissioner by officials of the Michigan Hospital Service and Michigan Medical Service since the rejections. While no results so far have been announced, the conferees for the service said they hoped differences could be ironed out in time to permit offering of a package plan to new individual subscribers before December 31. They admitted that some persons might not be able to afford the program but they wished to provide it for those who could afford it.

NEW PLAN PROPOSED

Meanwhile a director of the Michigan Blue Shield, Dr. Alfred H. Whittaker, president-elect of the Wayne County (Detroit) Medical Society, has proposed that an entirely new contract be devised which would provide preventive medical care and general health service partly subsidized, in needy cases, by public funds.

"The plan," Dr. Whittaker said, "would take Blue Cross-Blue Shield back to its original philosophy * * * of giving more comprehensive care at more reasonable costs which more people could afford. It seems to me and many of my colleagues that there is a trend to episodic medicine—taking care of the acutely ill and paying no attention to subscribers between hospital visits or operations." He said his proposals are being submitted to Blue Cross-Blue Shield officials for thorough study.

## Report to a U.S. Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, the most recent issue of Dixie Business magazine carried an article written by the editor, Mr. Hubert F. Lee, in the form of a report to his son Pfc. Hubert F. Lee, Jr., U.S. Marine Corps. I insert the article herewith:

REPORT TO A U.S. MARINE

This year, like all years, can be termed the year of the U.S. Marines.

Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., orbited the globe 3 times February 20, 1962.

President Kennedy exclaimed, "Terrific," April 14, 1962, when he watched the famous 2d Division's amphibious assault on Camp Lejeune's Onslow Beach in North Carolina.

Capt. R. B. Asprey, U.S. Marine Corps, contributing editor of the Marine Corps Gazette, reported it "perhaps the single most successful marine peacetime field event since Smedley Butler refought the Battle of Gettysburg in 1922."

It was a proud event for Gen. David M. Schoup, Commander, Marine Corps, as well as for Vice President JOHNSON, the Shah of Iran, 36 foreign ambassadors, Cabinet members, 13 Senators, 16 Representatives, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and news, radio, and TV 4th estaters.

Fifty years ago Lt. Alfred A. Cunningham, Naval Aviation Camp, Annapolis, Md., May 22, 1912: His flight training began in July when he reported to the Burgess Co. plant at Marblehead, Mass. He soloed August 1, 1912, after 2 hours and 40 minutes of instruction time.

Lieutenant Cunningham became naval aviator No. 5 and marine aviator No. 1.

One hundred years ago the Congressional Medal of Honor was created. Gen. David M. Shoup, Commander, Marine Corps, is among the war heroes who was awarded it. Lieutenant Colonel Glenn, Jr. and the late Adm. Richard E. Byrd, were awarded this for their peacetime exploits.

Metropolitan Atlanta has three Navy League of the U.S. councils.

The Atlanta council is headed by Frank L. Connor, son of John L. Connor, for 16 years "Mr. Navy League." Frank Golden is president of the Marietta-Cobb County Council and Hugh Howell, Jr., the new Fulton-DeKalb Council.

Capt. Thomas J. Rudden, deputy director of the Polaris project was charter dinner speaker July 17, 1962. Chip Roberts and Jessee Draper, old-time Navy leaguers, told of early days working for a better navy.

George T. Bullen, who has done such a grand job the past 2 years as national chairman of the Marine Corps Affairs Committee, has phased himself out. The new national chairman of the Marine Corps Affairs Committee of the Navy League of the U.S. is Brig. Gen. William R. Wendt, a retired U.S. Marine.

On Senator PAUL DOUGLAS' 70th birthday, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD said (in part):

"I feel an especial affinity for Senator DOUGLAS because of the fact that we both served in the Marine Corps, but also because of the fact that we were jointly responsible, may I say with all modesty, for passing the Douglas-Mansfield bill, which was considered and made into law, while I was serving in the House of Representatives and Senator DOUGLAS was serving in this body.

"That was the bill which set a floor under the strength of the Marine Corps, which was unique in the experience of the military services, a floor by which the Marines could not be reduced beyond three combat divisions and three supporting air wings. It also made is possible for the Commandant of the Marine Corps to become a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and gave assurance to the corps that efforts, which had been made over many years and decades, and most recently and most emphatically since the end of World War II, to reduce the Marine Corps to guard units, could not be carried out without infringing upon the laws and statutes passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States."

## Hon. Frank Boykin

SPEECH
OF
### HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, in the time I have been in Congress, no man has impressed me more than our colleague, Hon. FRANK BOYKIN. I came to Congress years ago and one of the first men I met was FRANK. He was as good to me as a father is good to his son. He was always kind, courteous, considerate, and his advice was sincere and most worthwhile. Along with all of the Members of the House I shall miss FRANK as a Member here, but I shall not forget him and his wonderful family. I wish for him and his wife and each member of his family the greatest of joy and happiness throughout the years.

## The Institution and the Man Who Leads It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, the 2d session of this historic 87th Congress now coming to a close bears witness to the truth that an institution is a reflection of the character of its leadership.

Many years ago Alexander Hamilton said:

> The amelioration of the condition of mankind and the increase of human happiness ought to be the leading objects of every political institution and the aim of every individual according to the measure of his power in the situation he occupies.

The record of this Congress is heavily weighted on the side of humanitarian action. Legislation has been enacted that—

Helps the unemployed fit themselves for new jobs.

Raises the minimum wage.

Increases old age benefits and provides special housing for our senior citizens.

Provides higher Federal grants to the States in aid of the blind, the indigent aged, and dependent children.

Lifts the scale of compensation rates for our disabled veterans.

Encourages work programs by the States that will help welfare recipients attain a status of self-support and self-respect.

These are only a few of the many accomplishments of this nature to our credit, the effects of which will be felt not only at home but by people in many countries of the world as well. However, to review that record in detail is not my purpose here.

Rather it is to stress the peculiar affinity in this instance of the institution and the man who is the head of it—our able, respected, and beloved Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

Every experience of his life, the poverty and the hardships, and of his career in the law and in politics, pointed the path of his progress to the pinnacle he has now attained. But it is not merely the practical experience in these halls which destined him for this high role of leadership.

The gentleman from Massachusetts, Speaker MCCORMACK, is a devout man, a pious man, a family man, and above all, a man with a great heart, and a spirit of kinship for his fellow man.

And the noble works of this Congress in improving the chances of world peace, in countering and opposing the evil forces of communism, in lending a hand

to underdeveloped nations, and brightening the prospects of the common man everywhere bear the impress of his labors.

May the next few months of rest from this toil bring him back to us reinvigorated for the tasks of the 88th Congress.

## Another Back-Door Scheme To Put More Government in Business and in Competition With Well-Established Taxpaying Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BEN F. JENSEN**
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise here today to focus congressional attention on pending developments that will place the Federal Government in direct competition with existing private industries and drastically alter the operation of many existing industries. I refer to a "research" project being established by the Forest Service near Princeton, W. Va.

This $600,000 research project, known as the Forest Service Timber Marketing and Utilization Center, will be operational next spring. The Forest Service is already drafting plans and agreements to provide the lumber concentration, processing, and marketing program with 5 to 15 million board feet of lumber annually.

This program calls for purchase of the entire lumber output of several local mills by a yet-to-be-organized area redevelopment corporation. Lumber will be delivered to the Forest Service lumber concentration yard where it will be graded, sorted, trimmed, edged, air or kiln seasoned, planed, resorted, and sold on the open market by the Forest Service.

This project will buy lumber—at what may become subsidized rates—from various sizes of mills, process the lumber, and sell it to furniture mills, flooring mills and other area lumber users. This project, thus, will compete with existing lumber buyers who buy rough lumber for their own remanufacture and use. It will also compete in the marketplace with competent lumber manufacturers who do their own primary processing for sale to the same furniture mills, flooring mills, and other lumber users.

Proceeds of the finished lumber sales would go to this proposed corporation which would pay the Forest Service processing and marketing fee. Amazingly this fee is currently calculated as finished lumber selling prices minus the corporation costs. Thus the Forest Service will accept all net profits or support all losses in the processing and marketing operations.

Assets of the nonprofit $300,000 corporation will be used to finance similar projects at the Princeton lab. Acting as a local revolving fund the corporation permits this Forest Service project to bypass congressional Appropriations Committees.

The appropriation history of this project is amazing. It was never considered by the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies which has jurisdiction on Forest Service appropriations. It was never considered by the full House Appropriations Committee nor by the whole body of the House. The project was not even a request of the Forest Service in the 1962 budget. It was added by the Senate Appropriations Committee at the insistence of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia.

Since hearing records are not made available to the public until the appropriation bill is reported to the floor no industry members were afforded an opportunity in the House or the Senate to be heard on this far-reaching Federal intrusion into the lumber industry.

Mr. Speaker, I and several members of the House Appropriations Committee object strongly to two procedural aspects of this project: First, the original proposal was not considered by any House committee—and parenthetically, a reading of the Senate hearings would not suggest the full scope of this project—and, second, the creation of a private revolving fund to bypass the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon the Forest Service to hold present plans in abeyance until the House Appropriations Committee may consider the desirability of financing a Federal lumber processing project in direct competition with existing lumber industries. I consider the purpose of this project as well as its financial history highly irregular and demand that the House Appropriations Committee review the proposed program. It is my belief that the Forest Service should present to the Appropriations Committee a full and complete statement on the proposed program early next session.

## Birmingham's Office Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.**
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, increasing attention is being given all over the Nation to the splendid advancements being made in every aspect of the life of Birmingham, Ala., and her citizens.

In this month's issue of Products, the quarterly publication of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., there is an unusually fine description of Birmingham Office Park.

The response which greeted my recent sending of information about Birmingham to my colleagues makes me feel confident that all Members of Congress will be interested in this article and thus I take the liberty to insert it in the RECORD at this point:

OFFICE IN A PARK

Urban planners, recognizing the merits of openness and beauty are striving valiantly today to add a touch of nature to metropolitan developments. And while many city schemes now include plazas, fountains, and trees, the high cost and scarcity of land seriously limit them in their attempts to duplicate nature.

At least one private developer, Ervin Jackson, of Birmingham, Ala., wasn't content to settle for the restrictions the city imposed. Reasoned Mr. Jackson: "If you can't take the country to the business center, why not move the offices to the suburbs?" Thus, Office Park was born.

Mr. Jackson, as vice president of Jackson Securities & Investment Co., exposed his dream of converting a 75-acre tract of suburban woodland into a modern business community to Birmingham bankers. The plan so impressed the financiers that, in an almost unprecedented move, they have on two occasions given mortgage commitments before a single lease was ever signed.

The rest is history. Mr. Jackson cleared 35 acres in Mountain Brook, Birmingham's finest residential section leaving additional woodland as a buffer against commercial encroachment. A code was established that tightly controlled the size, type, and function of buildings in Office Park. Furthermore, all plans were subject to review by an architectural control committee.

Today, Office Park is a successful business center in a town-and-country setting. Nearly 50 major concerns—names such as Du Pont, G.E., Republic Steel, and Alcoa—occupy space in the park's eight major buildings. A few firms own and occupy an entire building. But in most cases, multiple tenants rent space in the various buildings on 3- to 5-year leases.

In addition to the eight office buildings, there is one central unit (known as the space lounge) which serves as a cafeteria for the entire complex. In all, Office Park provides 150,000 square feet of tranquil, uncongested space, plus convenient free parking, for this business community of over 650 persons. And to accommodate almost certain future demands, the master plan provides space for four additional buildings, one of which is under construction.

While Office Park may seem as secluded as Shangri-La it is in reality just off U.S. Route 280 about 10 minutes from downtown Birmingham. And as a further bonus, it is surrounded by five of the city's best country clubs. So in Birmingham, at least, businessmen have discovered with the help of the Jacksons that they can have the advantages of the country and the city, too.

## The Cuban Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON**
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have just received the following thought-provoking letter from Rev. Carl D. Stewart, pastor of the Albany Methodist Church at Albany, Ill.

In my opinion, he is eminently qualified to give us his thoughtful and revealing appraisal that is based on his 30

years of experience as a missionary in Cuba.

Therefore, I am pleased to be able to share the benefits of his views with my colleagues here in the Congress. His letter follows:

OCTOBER 3, 1962.

Hon. JOHN B. ANDERSON,
*U.S. House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: Thanks for sending your information bulletins about proposed legislation and other matters before the Congress. I appreciate this courtesy very much.

I am much concerned about Cuba, as I was a missionary to that country for 30 years. I left Cuba on October 31, 1960, and was immediately placed in charge of the refugee program for Cuban refugees in Miami, Fla., for the Methodist Church, and for the Grand Lodge of Florida F. & A.M. That position I resigned, to again enter the pastorate, and was appointed to the Methodist Church of Albany, Ill. I give this background in order to say what follows:

1. My belief is that we can never win over the Communists in Cuba, except by direct military action. If it means all-out war, it is better now than later.

2. The Communist buildup in Cuba is a threat of first magnitude to the security of the United States and of this hemisphere. It ought to be stopped, no matter if it means world war III. This I say with a heavy heart, but to be enslaved by communism is worse than atomic war. Our present policy will not stop the Communists. Military action of the toughest and completest sort is what will stop them. They use our fear of war to keep encroaching on our rights.

3. In the face of atomic warfare as a definite possibility, are we not being foolish on a national scale by not providing adequate shelters for all the American people for atomic fallout? Otherwise it is like seeing the dread winter snows approach, and not provide warm clothing so as to be equal to the season.

4. All of us should be much in prayer. If we make God our ally, we will have a better chance of surviving.

5. Our prayers are with you in your unceasing efforts for the good of all the American people. With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CARL D. STEWART,
*Pastor, Albany Methodist Church,*
*Albany, Ill.*

## Reds Arms Buildup in Cuba Threatens U.S. Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, no recent event has more deeply shocked the American people than the news that Russian military hardware, accompanied by thousands of Soviet technicians, continues to pour into Castro's Red Cuba. Today, just 90 miles from the United States, antiaircraft missiles are being installed by the Soviet technicians, many of whom are suspected of being members of the Russian Armed Forces, even though not in uniform.

As more ships bearing men and munitions arrive in Cuba, it becomes increasingly apparent that the Soviet Union is establishing a base in the Western Hemisphere from which an attack might one day be mounted against the United States. Who can say that the next step will not be the installation of short- and intermediate-range ballistic missiles which could be launched against the United States in the event of war or even in the event of an effort to free Cuba from the Communist tyranny? Moreover, the very presence of thousands of Soviet technicians lessen the chance for a successful revolution to overthrow Castro from within Cuba.

While Berlin and the wall continue to dominate the headlines, it is my belief that the Russian military buildup in Cuba poses a potentially graver threat to American security. The U.S. Government and its responsible leaders have not faced up to this crisis. There have been some wavering words but an ultimatum is clearly needed now. The Red buildup in Cuba must be halted. The very least that should be done is to place a blockade upon further movements of men and military equipment into Cuba.

The Monroe Doctrine has been a continuing part of U.S. foreign policy since it was enunciated by President Monroe on December 2, 1823. The European nations were then clearly told to keep "hands off" the Western Hemisphere. The doctrine proclaimed that the United States "should consider any attempt on their (European nations) part to extend the system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Clearly Russia is extending its system to this hemisphere and just as clearly this extension is dangerous to American peace and security. Now, 139 years after it was proclaimed, is the Monroe Doctrine to be scrapped? It will go by default unless this administration displays courage, resolution, and firmness in meeting the Communist threat in Cuba. The folly of President Kennedy's April 16, 1961, decision that anti-Castro Cubans could not have the support of their own air force, coupled with his decision of April 17 prohibiting the use of U.S. planes, sealed the doom of the Cuban invasion forces.

## Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from El Diario De Nueva York of October 4, 1962:

MISSISSIPPI

The situation at the University of Mississippi was fraught with tremendous danger for this country. President Kennedy, rightfully so, hesitated at first in hopes of avoiding the bloodshed which seemed inevitable.

Finally, when he could no longer withhold Federal troops for fear of permitting Gov. Ross Barnett to dominate the situation, the President moved with decision. The fact that two persons were killed in the rioting, was no fault of the National Guard or the Federal marshals, but rather of the agitators who seemed determinted to create such a bloody incident—and would have done so under any circumstances.

John F. Kennedy did what he had to do—what he was sworn to do as President of the United States. He defended the Constitution, and he did it with a minimum of bloodshed under circumstances which were extremely delicate and difficult. Unfortunately, the situation is still difficult but the President has now shown that he is not to be trifled with in his defense of the law.

We trust that Attorney General Robert Kennedy will use every means at the disposal of the Federal Government to prosecute former Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker who was responsible for at least one of the riots in which blood was spilled. Unless it can be determined that Walker is mentally ill (which psychiatrists evidently believe) he stands accused in the public mind of the death of the two persons killed in the rioting; it was he who egged on the demonstrators in an inflammatory speech at the foot of the Confederate monument.

While there has been considerable criticism on the slowness with which the President appeared to have acted, it is now evident by what has happened that his slowness was not vacillation, but a hope to avoid bloodshed by persuading the southern leaders to accept the inevitable.

## Farm Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, recently this House voted on a series of bills affecting our farm families and in general farm economy.

In answer to many requests I have prepared the following short history of our actions on this legislation:

Many pages will be filled before we hear the last about our farm problems, farm aid, farm programs, and farm politics.

It seems to be a never-ending source of controversy, especially so in Federal election years. One solution might be to force all farm legislation up for action during the off years, rather than when Congress is running.

Our main trouble stems from the simple fact that too few of us are really informed on the problem. This gets to be a bigger problem every year because of the advanced technique of public relations.

It is no secret that volumes of pages, releases, reports, and speeches go out daily supporting the position of the party in power. This is true under both political banners. Every year we are told that the new program will save money, cut surpluses, and provide more

income for the farmer—without raising prices to the consumer.

These are, of course, the sincere aims of all of us, farmers, Congressmen, administration, labor, industry, and the housewife.

The end results all too often are directly opposite.

A Member of Congress can best serve his district farmers, the Nation's farmers, and the national welfare by studying his own district, listening and learning his district's farm problems, and voting for the greatest good for the greatest number.

In this manner we would at least get legislation with both a yea and nay position being known and somewhere in between we may evolve a scheme for eventually solving this perplexing problem.

In reality, however, it becomes more complicated because the smart manipulators always seem to be smart enough to put some good features into the legislation for each group, while at the same time it would be kicking the whole farm group when the final bill is written.

This is true of most of the bills passed of late years when it comes to Pennsylvania farmers. One farmer pays the taxes while tobacco, peanut, cotton, and certain corporate-type farm holdings get the benefits.

When you realize that we have over 74,000 farms in Pennsylvania, the vast majority known as family-type farms, you realize that we are a farm State and that farm legislation plays an important role in our State economy. Many of our people tend to ignore this fact.

Of recent weeks I have repeatedly stood up for the position taken by the majority of the farmers, not alone in Westmoreland County but in our State as a whole.

Out of the 74,000 farms in Pennsylvania only 17 farms received so-called subsidy payments under the feed grain program.

In fact, we would have had to buy over 1,877,000 tons of feed grain in Pennsylvania, whereas our last growth year provided all but 412,000 tons of our needs.

This means that Pennsylvania farmers would have had to buy 1,465,000 tons of feed that they now grow on their own farms.

It seems to some of us from States with an agricultural segment that this is carrying the planned farm economy too far.

Following is a short report on the legislation:

ANALYSIS OF THE FARM BILL

This had been an eventful year in the field of agricultural legislation. And when the history of the drive to use the power of government to control American family farmers and their farms is finally written, 1962 may have been the year of decision.

If this is so, the day of decision was June 21, the day the House of Representatives voted on a bill recommended back in January.

Mandatory acreage allotment programs for all feed grains, with marketing quotas. If farmers rejected marketing quotas in a referendum, there would be no price support programs for feed grains, and the Secretary would be authorized to dump over 350 million bushels of Commodity Credit Corporation feed grain stocks on the market for unrestricted use, a provision obviously designed to compel a favorable vote by farmers participating in the referendum.

A complicated, multiple-price certificate plan for wheat, with certificates for both domestic milling and export wheat. Marketing quotas would be continued, but if farmers voted against the quotas in a referendum, there would be no price support program. Instead, the Secretary would be authorized to dump up to 200 million bushels of CCC wheat on the market.

Controls on the production of individual dairy farmers, with bases established for each producer.

Bills incorporating the program were introduced in both the Senate and the House. Early in the spring the Senate Agriculture Committee rejected the administration's program and reported a greatly modified bill.

Fortunately, it was a different story in the House of Representatives. After extensive hearings, Agriculture Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY brought the committee together several times in an effort to get a decision. But each time it was obvious that the majority opposed the bill, so he adjourned the meeting without calling for a vote.

After 3 days of oratory and 70-odd amendments the bill came to a vote late in the evening on Thursday, June 21. Congressman FINDLEY offered a motion to kill it by sending it back to the Agriculture Committee. When the rollcall was complete, farmers had won, 215 to 205. For the time being, the bill was dead.

A courageous band of 48 Democrats joined in the victory. And for each of them it meant a greater effort than for their Republican colleagues. Your Congressman was 1 of the 48. He said to his friends, "If I voted to say that a farmer could not raise the feed on his farm to feed his livestock I would have to move, and I do not want to move."

In July the House passed a temporary bill, extending the existing emergency wheat and feed grain programs with slight modifications.

After the House acted, the Senate Agriculture Committee began work on a new bill. The committee rejected the House plan and recommended the certificate plan for wheat, together with an extension of the emergency feed grain legislation.

When the Senate's second bill reached the floor late in August, Chairman ELLENDER again led a drive to amend it. This time he secured passage of an amendment repealing the corn and feed grain price support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1958 and providing that, beginning in 1964, the Secretary of Agriculture would set the price support on corn and other feed grains at from 0 to 90 percent of parity.

Because this would have left feed grain producers without any effective price support protection in 1964, it was widely interpreted as a threat to coerce farmers to accept severe controls of feed grains in the next Congress.

Thus the end product of all the legislative activity in the agricultural price support and adjustment area this year is a warning that another effort to control farms and farmers may be made in Washington in 1963.

Whether another attempt to enact a similar bill is made may depend on the congressional elections this fall.

William Kuhfuss, president of the Illinois Agricultural Association, has made it clear to farmers in his State what needs to be done.

"We feel we need to support those Congressmen who paid heed to the letters and telegrams from Farm Bureau members and voted in support of the Farm Bureau position," he said.

The rollcall votes on the farm bill in the Senate and House are printed and each Member is recorded. Congressman DENT, of Pennsylvania, was one of those who supported his farmers.

Your Congressmen have voted. It is your turn to vote in November. Your vote may help determine whether this was the crucial year in the continuing fight for the American farm family's freedom.

## Republicans View the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted to extend my remarks, I include herewith a résumé of the 87th Congress, 2d session, prepared by the special projects subcommittee of the House Republican policy committee.

Once more a U.S. Congress is all but a matter of history. In this comprehensive analysis of its actions and inactions—of administration proposings and congressional disposings—and in the effect of what we have and have not done on American citizens and on future generations, the subcommittee on special projects of the House Republican policy committee hopes to alert every American to material on the record of the 87th Congress.

It would be quite easy to categorize this Congress as a do-little Congress. We could be more charitable and say that Congress did do quite a few things, but in so doing we would give credit for measures that were inadequate, or unwise, or watered down from high-sounding administration proposals. It was Sir James Mackintosh who referred to the House of Commons inactivity as "a wise and masterly inactivity." In its wisdom Congress despite its 3 to 2 House Democratic majority, refrained from passing much injurious legislation. No doubt it should have done so more often. The actions of the administration and

the leadership in keeping both Houses in session long after wise and prudent men had suggested and urged adjournment brought, as the President said, "Lazarus back from the dead." Lazarus, arisen, will haunt the American taxpayer and our basic constitutional heritage for years into the future.

Congress, to its everlasting credit, did enact sound legislation geared to the best interest of all American citizens. But this legislation was not conceived in the White House and sponsored by a "never-failing majority" on the opposite side of the aisle. On the contrary, it was only where strong bipartisan support initiated, supported, and, in some cases, even carried the ball almost completely devoid of administration or leadership incentive that Congress reached its highwater mark in 1962. Measures relating to tariff reform; certain issues of foreign policy; the space communication satellite problems; manpower retraining; tax revision, and other similar issues would not today be law were it not for the cooperation and leadership of the loyal opposition.

Responsible Republican leadership, which led the fight for sound extension of unemployment compensation benefits in the first major legislation of the 87th Congress, 1st session, kept resolutely to the fore to the very last moment. House Republicans sought passage of a workable higher education bill for assistance to institutions in the way of "brick and mortar" accomplishments. Disagreements among Democratic conferees and the selling out of an established and clearcut House position on scholarships scuttled any chance the administration ever had for enactment of a bill which won the support of Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee as well as the House Republican policy committee. "We cannot drift to victory" stands as one of the unchallenged proverbs of our time.

The 87th Congress brought to the American people delay, drift, and disillusion. Its actions led to an increase in the national debt ceiling to $308 billion, and to an increase in our actual debt to a level of $300 billion for the first time in history. It saw jurisdictional disputes over meeting locations, filibusters, conflict of legislative priorities and just plain poor planning push Congress into its longest continuous peacetime session in a century. For the first time in the memory of Washington observers, the agonized cry of incumbents come September of "Congress go home" was matched and even exceeded by a cry from constituents saying, "Congress come home." From a fiscal standpoint, it was a cheaper alternative for those back home.

Congress rose to its greatest heights, as it did in the first session with Federal aid to education legislation hastily considered under Calendar Wednesday procedure, when it rejected—in the case of "regimentation or ruin" farm legislation; the Department of Urban Affairs and medicare. It reached its ultimate degradation in enacting partisan legislation due to presures, purchase and promises from the White House, as in the case of public works standby legislation. However, to paraphrase Winston Churchill, "If Congress and our republic should last for 1,000 years, men will still say, 'Adjournment was the 87th's finest hour.'"

1. AGRICULTURE

The requests of the administration in this area during the 87th Congress included such concepts as (a) buying corn from farmers for $1.20 per bushel and selling it back for $1.05; (b) sending farmers to jail for violating production controls—a unique way to solve the surplus situation; (c) extending control areas insidiously into the realm of the dairy farmer; and (d) placing the Government in competition with private recreational enterprise in the construction and operation of ski slopes, putting greens and merry-go-rounds on retired croplands. As was true with proposed agricultural legislation in 1961 which would have cost some $12 to $15 billion annually, American consumers and farmers were equally fortunate when these provisions were rejected in 1962.

It was only through the most drastic pressure game seen in the Capitol for some years that the House Agriculture Committee reported the administration omnibus farm bill by one vote. In one of the greatest defeats of the session for the President, the House recommitted this bill because of its "regimention or ruin" provisions. While a final bill was enacted by the end of the session, which saddled wheat farmers with what was virtually a return to the days of the Brannan plan, the final legislative act was somewhat more palatable than prior administration proposals. A change of two votes in the House would have doomed the conference committee report. Other than the relatively noncontroversial extensions of popular existing programs, the administration did not even win the proverbial half a loaf in farm legislation during the 87th Congress.

A typical New Frontier performance was seen in the delays in hearings and consideration of the extension of the 1948 Sugar Act, which would have expired June 30. Hearings were canceled and the House Agriculture Committee became a mecca for lobbyists for domestic and foreign producers who pleaded for larger quotas. Weekend sessions and a House-Senate clash resulted from serious lack of planning insofar as this measure was concerned.

Basically, the New Frontier and the 87th Congress left the farmer and the consumer in worse shape than they had found them. The farmer has not been able to make one move toward a market economy nor toward true parity with other segment of the American populace. The consumer found that a temporary feed grains program geared to save the taxpayers and the housewife over $2 billion wound up a billion in the red. In addition, by some mysterious "phantom acre" process, the Deparment of Agriculture paid $150 million for the retirement of 4.5 million acres which either never existed or never were planted in corn. Perhaps Billy Sol Estes knows what happened.

The 87th Congress rejected the most obnoxious agricultural measure ever foisted on the American public. Meanwhile, the New Frontier's answer to the question "How're you goin' to keep 'em down on the farm?" was similar to its answer in many aspects of foreign and domestic policy—"Watch and wait—a miracle could happen."

2. LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT

President Kennedy's economic message of January 1962, called for an unemployment rate of 4 percent or less. It currently approximates 5.8 percent instead. It is interesting to note that under President Eisenhower, unemployment was below 5.3 percent two-thirds of the time—a rate below any ever attained by President Kennedy.

President Kennedy, as a candidate, asserted that some 16 million Americans were going to bed hungry. A pundit has guessed that at that time they were dieters, and that now they are stockholders. This month the AFL–CIO committee on political education stated that 30 percent or more of American families are living in substandard housing. It is ironical that decades after President Roosevelt's "one-third of a nation, ill-housed" the same condition exists, despite all the Government housing and urban renewal programs. It illustrates the contrast between the program of a Democratic Congress, which aims to spend from Washington to create jobs artificially, and that of the Republicans, who, recognizing that it takes over $20,000 to create just one permanent job, attempt to stimulate the American free enterprise system in our dynamic economy.

Little in the way of concrete legislation evolved from the second session of the 87th Congress, save a pension and welfare disclosure bill and the House-passed equal rights for women legislation. The administration was rebuffed by the House Ways and Means Committee in an attempt to enact still another temporary extension of unemployment compensation benefits. The so-called Youth Conservation Corps bill never got by the House. The administration claimed that its stand-by public works bill would stimulate employment and used every possible political pressure to secure passage of a bill which allowed the President to write blank checks on projects anywhere in the Nation to the tune of $900 million. Not only did a Democratic Member receive the first projects, but another Democrat Congressman talked the Department of Commerce into holding a private advance briefing for a local official five days before the "rank and file" city officials were able to hear how to get some projects. The Presidential request for $2 billion in standby public works authority to combat economic recessions was, however, rejected by the House.

The most significant measure enacted in this area during 1962 was the Manpower Retraining Act. Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee, using materials gleaned from a 1961 positive Republican policy committee study on employment, introduced amendments to this

bill which were accepted by the Democratic majority as part of the final legislation. Without these amendments, which could have pushed the bill through a year earlier if accepted at that time, the legislation might never have been passed. While the bill could have provided training for up to 1 million workers over a 3-year period, its early administration has been disappointing, indeed, to its supporters.

3. EDUCATION

Our summary of the first session of this Congress pointed out how, in contrast to Republican-enacted education legislation which provided for national defense education assistance and sought to limit aid to school construction to those areas truly in need and exercising maximum local effort, the Democrat-controlled Congress helped to defeat general aid to education in 1961 by:

First, mixing controversial across-the-board aid to schools with generally favored aid to school construction.

Second, sponsoring legislation causing public-parochial school controversies to be the determining factor in rejection of aid to education by the supposedly packed Rules Committee.

Third, abandoning the concept of need and giving aid generally to rich and poor States alike even though private and local efforts were resulting in more than enough construction each year to meet the needed classrooms for the Nation.

Fourth, bringing up a highly complex education bill with a revised formula for aid under Calendar Wednesday, causing a majority of House Members to oppose even consideration of the bill.

The Democratic Congress, which showed only extensions of the National Defense Education Act and impacted areas legislation in 1961, sunk to a new low this year in passing only an educational television measure. The House Education and Labor Committee, which hired the biggest majority staff and cut the minority staff from 4 to 2, handled more legislation with less tangible results than any similar committee in memory.

The one educational accomplishment in 1962, authorizing $32 million over a 5-year period for Federal matching grants to help develop and construct educational television facilities, was accomplished with substantial Republican backing when the House passed the bill on April 18 by voice vote. However, some Members expressed concern when the conferees opened the door for labor or management stations to benefit from the bill's provisions by killing a restrictive House amendment, and recent revelations about plans within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to control programing in the field of educational television bothered still more. At any rate, the bipartisan support given this legislation has made it possible for States to receive up to $1 million each in an area where only 273 channels have been reserved for educational broadcasting out of 2,225 possible such ventures.

It was indeed higher education where the Congress most manifestly revealed its ineptness. The House Republican policy committee and a majority of Republican House Members endorsed a college aid bill which approved loans and grants for academic facility construction for public and private colleges. The bill which passed the Senate added Federal college scholarships, which the House did not want. Despite a promise made on the floor of the House, the conferees ultimately reported a bill including scholarships after many months of conferences highlighted by disagreements among Democrat leaders over the public-private school issue. The House recommitted the conference report on September 20. It was ironical that many of the same Senate conferees who delayed a $1.15 per hour minimum wage for a year by refusing to yield on a 1960 conference report similarly managed to kill any needed aid to higher education this year. Of course, one prominent 1960 conferee, Senator John F. Kennedy, was not in the same office during the 87th Congress.

4. WELFARE LEGISLATION

The major issue once more in the field of welfare was medicare—and once more neither the House nor the Senate passed King-Anderson-type legislation. In fact, in 1962 it was that 2 to 1 Democrat-controlled Senate which voted to table the measure by a two-vote margin, with some of the leading Democratic Senators voting to oppose the administration on this issue. On the House side, the Ways and Means Committee—15 Democrats and 10 Republicans—was never able to muster up more than 11 votes for a bill which would exclude 4 million of our neediest senior citizens; takes no account of need; would jeopardize the integrity of social security and would in many ways duplicate the provisions of the as-yet-unevaluated Kerr-Mills Act.

The President and the administration sought to rally public opinion by speeches and meetings all over the Nation. However, once aroused, the American people flooded mail in to their Senators and Representatives against medicare. As of early October 1962, it looks very much as though Democrats cannot or will not make medicare much of an issue in the campaign ahead.

Otherwise, little welfare legislation passed Congress in 1962, other than some changes in the extent and standards for Federal participation in the Federal-State welfare program—with the dual goal of ending welfare abuses and rehabilitating relief recipients more constructively. Medical research and funds for the National Institutes of Health were supported to an even higher degree than the President requested in the HEW appropriation, but once more grants for construction of teaching facilities for medical schools and loans for medical students did not receive a rule for House debate.

5. TRADE, TAXES, AND THE ECONOMY

Both the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee kept busy during this session of Congress by working on trade and tax revision in addition to medicare and other issues. Members were distracted for the second year in a row by a Presidential request to increase the national debt ceiling—from the temporary $298 billion ceiling of 1961 to $300 billion—on March 1—and then again by session's end for an increase to $308 billion. A Republican substitute motion would have restricted this increase to $306 billion, but this was defeated on almost a straight party-line vote. President Eisenhower had estimated in his last budget message that by June 30, 1962, the national debt would shrink to $283 billion—instead the debt actually surpassed $300 billion for the first time in our history shortly thereafter.

President Kennedy proposed a tax reform bill which drew the violent objections of every single House Republican. They felt that the 7-percent tax credit for investment was discriminatory and a single-shot windfall. They opposed withholding of dividends and interest. They favored a modified taxation of foreign subsidiaries of American firms. The "packed" House Rules Committee imposed a complete "gag rule" on any Republican substitutes, but fortunately the Senate and House-Senate conferees returned basically to the Republican position on taxation of foreign subsidiaries and withholding of dividends. The resultant tax reform measure included perhaps 20 percent of the original administration bill, and about 75 percent of the Republican-sponsored alternatives.

Near the end of the session, the administration, finally recognizing the need for encouraging the development of private enterprise, liberalized depreciation allowances as a result of a study conducted in the last years of the Eisenhower administration. Later, the President announced that he would propose tax cut legislation at the beginning of the 88th Congress. This was after a good deal of soul searching as to whether such a tax cut should be effective immediately. Pointing to proposed 1962 and 1963 deficits, House Republicans urged efforts to cut unnecessary spending and balance of the budget as higher priority items in our economy.

On the trade front, there is little doubt that the most significant measure adopted by the 87th Congress was the Trade Expansion bill designed to give the President increased powers in trade negotiation, especially with European Common Market nations. Republicans generally felt some action in this area was necessary, and heralded the placing of ultimate responsibility on a negotiator as eliminating overlapping and the "twilight zone of responsibility in tariff negotiations."

However, most GOP House Members thoroughly questioned what they felt to be a new philosophy in the administration. In the past, "peril point clauses" sought to prevent hardships to American industry and workers through imports. Now, the American people saw the administration back an "adjustment assistance" program admitting that harm would take place and seeking to subsidize those victimized by free trade policies in certain areas. The result? A worker in the textile industry in Massachusetts displaced by imports

might well choose between three levels of relief—unemployment insurance, retraining allowances, or adjustment assistance. A firm thrown out of the competitive textile business because of imports could go into the machine tool business against firms already engaged in this trade—subsidized by Government funds to compete against those on their own. At least, the final conferees took away most favored nation clauses from Poland and Yugoslavia before final passage.

Despite tax and trade legislation—despite pump priming in the areas of public works and depressed areas, America made its weakest showing of any postwar recession. Our GNP only increased 10 percent as compared to 13.3 percent in the Republican recovery of 1958–59. The consumer price index went up 1.7 percent, as compared to a decrease of 0.3 under the 1954–55 GOP recovery. Security prices went down 10.5 percent while in the two Eisenhower recoveries they rose 38.5 and 40.2 percent. Corporate profits, which increased 60 percent during the 1958–59 recovery, went up only 26.1 percent in the Democrat recovery.

The lack of confidence in the American economy on the part of Americans of every walk of life was fully justified. Instead of getting America moving again, our new administration demonstrated a sideways movement which on occasion demonstrated a propensity for almost falling over the cliff of economic disaster. Under Eisenhower, our GNP increased 3 percent per year, while under Kennedy it went up but 1.8 percent in his first annual report.

Average hourly earnings, which had increased 4.6 percent per year under President Eisenhower, rose but 2.6 percent in the first Kennedy year. While the President promised a 5-percent annual growth rate; a $50 billion GNP increase; and a 4-percent unemployment rate; he delivered a 1.8-percent growth rate; a $25 to $39 billion GNP increase; and a 6.7-percent unemployment rate for 1961.

The usual hearings were held, with executive sessions of the House Ways and Means Committee and open sessions of the Joint Economic Committee hearing mainly handpicked administration economists offering panaceas for the economy. Yet one of the Kennedy task force experts, Prof. Paul McCracken of the University of Michigan, told the Joint Economic Committee on August 9, 1962, that:

> The current cyclical expansion has been a particularly weak and sluggish one. It is the Nation's poorest performance in four decades, and probably one of the poorest in our history.

6. FISCAL POLICY

Just 1 year ago, this subcommittee concluded as a result of actions of the New Frontier and of the 87th Congress, 1st session, that "if we continue to neglect the creeping hours of time, our Nation will be faced with the alternative of runaway inflation or rigid governmental controls." We conclude now that we have come so far from the fiscal picture in 1960 that the deficits we face for fiscal years 1963 and thereafter; our national debt of over $300 billion; and our budgets now approaching and soon surpassing $100 billion per year will be mere child's play as compared to the vivid truth which will face our children in two decades unless trends are reversed.

When President Eisenhower left office, his last budget predicted a surplus of $100 million for fiscal year 1961 and a balanced budget for fiscal year 1962. He foresaw a reduction in the national debt to $283.4 billion by June 30, 1962. That date has now passed. Instead, we see a national debt of over $300 billion. We find deficits for fiscal year 1961 of over $3 billion—for fiscal year 1962 of over $6 billion—and for fiscal year 1963 of anywhere from $5 to $10 billion, depending on possible tax cut legislation and the state of our economy in 6 months' time. The reason for this is the fundamental difference in attitudes between the Republican and Democratic parties—the difference between fiscal integrity and the "spend to mend" philosophy applied to every problem or shortcoming in our Nation.

House Appropriations Committee Chairman CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat, of Missouri, released a report showing that the House had approved appropriations for fiscal year 1963 totaling $90.8 billion. Including increases in the Senate versions of these bills along with a supplemental appropriation and some $10 billion in permanent appropriations, including mainly interest on the national debt, we find that Federal spending for fiscal year 1963, for the first time in peacetime history, has exceeded $100 billion. Yet revenues have failed to measure up.

The administration and the Democrat-controlled Congress increased the new obligational authority requested by President Eisenhower by some $14 billion per year. During the first session of the 87th Congress alone, some $20 billion in back-door spending was included. The administration helped little in their employment in the executive branch—under President Eisenhower Government employees decreased by 7.8 percent—under President Kennedy such employment increased by 158,188, or 6.7 percent, in 18 months. During the second session of the 87th Congress, revelations of waste in the Departments of Agriculture and Defense, in the National Institutes of Health, and in relief funds in the District of Columbia made even more inexcusable widespread Government deficits.

Were these increases necessary and proper defense and space funds demanded by crises in Berlin, Cuba, Vietnam, and elsewhere? Apparently not. For, while President Kennedy requested, and House Republicans supported, increases of 15 percent for national defense in fiscal year 1963, as compared to fiscal year 1960, increases in nondefense items were estimated as follows: (a) Education, 87 percent; (b) general government, 33⅓ percent; (c) agriculture, 20 percent; (d) natural resources, 35 percent; (e) health, labor, and welfare, 41 percent; and (f) commerce and transportation, 31 percent.

No matter how you sliced it, the Federal Government has been on a spending rampage during the past 2 years. Its taxes ranged higher, and its revenue much lower than predicted. Its deficits added to the burden of future generations of Americans. Congressional appropriations and authorizations, on an annual basis, added some $16 billion to the Federal expenditures of fiscal year 1960. The heritage of the New Frontier and its legacy to every American is a grand total of $650 for every man, woman, and child in the United States of America for fiscal year 1963. This does not count State and local taxes. It merely illustrates that a typical city of 50,000 population must shell into the Federal Treasury some $32.5 million each year. What the taxpayers of these cities could do with this money on a local level gives new directions to the imagination.

Despite the Democrat-controlled Congress and administration, GOP House Members sought to cut budgets, restrict appropriations, and defeat unsound authorizations. Republican Members of Congress still firmly believe that vast Federal expenditures and unbalanced budgets which undermine the value the dollar result in the destruction of freedom by fiscal irresponsibility. Fortunately, Congress in its wisdom rejected many Presidential proposals. If it had blindly placed its rubber stamp on his recommendations, our budget would have been increased by some $9 billion annually by the year 1967.

7. FOREIGN POLICY, FOREIGN AID, AND DEFENSE

While the foreign policy of the United States is traditionally promulgated in the Executive and debated in the Senate, House GOP Members generally concluded that there had been a big change from the Eisenhower administration, where we made clear the fact that we not only had appropriate weapons of retaliation but also that we would not hesitate to use them if the need arose, to the current administration, where the enemy has embarked on a carefully calculated series of adventures designed to test the extent of our will to resist while reaping whatever harvest grows out of any weakness displayed by the West. House Members, while giving bipartisan support to programs like the Peace Corps, Arms Control Agency, certain aspects of foreign aid, and final passage of the U.N. bond proposal, felt the following facts should be brought to the Nation's attention:

First. In Berlin, East German authorities have erected a wall along the border of West Germany, and Mayor Willie Brandt, of Berlin, stated that "the West does nothing but wait for Khrushchev's moves."

Second. The President said we would support the Government and people of Laos against Communist aggression, but we did not. Secretary Rusk said we would refuse to take part in the Geneva Conference on Laos until a cease-fire had been attained, but we did not.

Third. As a candidate, President Kennedy said that "if you can not stop a man like Castro, how in the world will you handle a man like Khrushchev." Since, our abortive move in the Bay of

Pigs failed for want of air cover, and Cuba has become an armed camp for the despot's heel some 90 miles from our shore, threatening America in a military, economic, and psychological sense.

Fourth. The Communists have stepped up their attacks in South Vietnam, turning a sporadic guerrilla conflict into full-fledged war. While we have showed fortitude in this area, we have failed to recognize the relation of the Laos front to the Vietnamese front. The conclusion of the Laos Peace Treaty in July 1962, released 10,000 Viet Cong troops for action in this area.

Fifth. The firmness of the Kennedy administration toward the recognition of Communist China and its admission to the U.N. is open to doubt. Ambassador Stevenson has publicly stated that—

> It has seemed to me that it was a mistake for the United States to make such a point of trying to keep them out of the U.N. My own view is that they should be admitted, or not admitted, as the other nations of the U.N. wish.

Sixth. The administration has made a steady retreat in the field of control of nuclear weapons. We have given up demands for inspection for preparations for testing. We reduced to 19 our 21 necessary testing stations on Soviet territory. We reduced from 20 to 12 the number of annual inspections of suspicious seismic blasts needed to verify a test ban agreement. We have now yielded and agreed to a Soviet veto of the budget of the organization to police a test ban. It took only the highest degree of pressures to attain the resumption of U.S. underground and laboratory testing some 5 days after Soviet announcements that they would resume atomic tests, and after the Soviet Union violated agreements by testing while we were at the table negotiating with them.

An end to bipartisan foreign policy came on September 26, 1962, when Democrat leaders pressured their membership in the House to reject a Republican recommital motion strengthening the hand of the President in the Cuban crisis and recognizing the breach of the Monroe Doctrine caused by Soviet infiltration of Cuba and shipments of arms and "technicians" to the Cuban Government. Republicans of course, supported the President on the passage of the resulting resolution, but the "wait and see" philosophy underlying its wording left doubts in the minds of observers here and abroad as to our intentions vis-a-vis Soviet Cuba. Republicans generally felt that we must remove any threat to our military and economic security in this hemisphere. Democrats generally—all but three of their members—accepted the status quo but vowed to somehow oppose the extension of Soviet Cuba in our hemisphere if their weapons mystically changed from "defensive" to "offensive" in character. Cuba has grown from a "nuisance to a menace" during the past year, as anyone within 1,700-mile IRBM range from the island could well testify.

The annual foreign aid debate was a bit sharper and even a bit more critical in 1962. House committee hearing revealed that AID had sent more than 1,000 television sets to an African village without electricity. Subscriptions of capital to international organizations were paid prematurely as we had to pay interest on the same money unnecessarily. The 600,000 individuals allegedly supported in this Nation by foreign aid turned out to be supported by checks drawn on the U.S. Treasury. Yet it was more than these isolated examples that caused Republicans and Democrats alike, including some of the strongest previous supporters of the program, to acquiesce in a cut of over $1 billion in foreign aid funds in House action.

The outflow of gold crisis proved that the foreign aid program is basically a one-way street, and that it is by far a drain on our Nation's resources. Representatives of the foreign aid programs took 2 months to prepare justifications for budget estimates, leading many to the conclusions that the figures were "pie-in-the-sky" sums which require more time to develop programs and projects on which to spend the money. In addition, without any appropriations whatever for fiscal year 1963 there are sufficient unexpended foreign aid funds to run the program for another 25 months at the same rate as was spent during past fiscal years. Congress also felt it had lost control of the foreign aid dollar which has been increasingly diverted into the development loan appropriation. Moreover, the contingency fund, supposedly reserved for urgent requirements arising during the year, has been used to finance certain programs limited or rejected by Congress. Foreign aid has not been used as an instrument of our foreign policy when the administration requested a $142.5 million increase to nations participating in the Belgrade Conference so critical of the United States.

For these and other reasons, the House clamped down on Presidential estimates for fiscal year 1963 foreign aid appropriations. Republicans still feel, for the most part, that foreign aid, properly administered and justified, can be a valuable weapon in the cold war. However, they feel that administration estimates in this as in other areas should be accompanied by justification and by sincere efforts to soundly administer the program rather than something which must be approved "as a right."

The administration and the Democrat-controlled Congress enacted a United Nations bond issue measure only after two changes had been made in the Senate-passed resolution. One would halt the practice of using U.S. payments to the U.N. to pay the assessments of delinquent nations, and the other would make the U.S. loan 50–50 matching with other nations' pledges instead of a possible greater amount. Several Republicans sharply criticized our action in subscribing 50 percent of an issue when we had less than 1 percent of the U.N. voting power, and most GOP Members supported a Republican amendment to hold up any U.N. bond purchases until the U.N. General Assembly adopted the principle enunciated in a recent World Court decision regarding expulsion of members delinquent in their payments of special assessments as well as annual dues. However, many Republicans, including House GOP leaders, supported the proposal on final passage. Some still pointed out that during the years 1946 to 1961, we have paid over $2 billion in our total expenditures for U.N. purposes, including some 52 percent of total U.N. expenditures.

While Republicans supported increased defense expenditures for the second straight year of the New Frontier, growing concern on the part of many House Members about alleged control of defense policies on the part of "Whiz Kids" in the DOD and planning experts like Walt Whitman Rostow in the State Department; downgrading of nuclear capabilities in favor of the type of limited warfare we never want thrust upon us; confusion over programs, funding and policies regarding the Nike-Zeus anti-missile-missile and the B–70 bomber favored by President Kennedy in the campaign but not thereafter; and similar aspects of our military policy led to more searching reviews of military and defense programs during the 87th Congress. A callup of the Reserves during the 1961 Berlin crisis was castigated by the House Armed Services subcommittee which pointed out the lack of equipment and preparation at many camps, the timelag in making the Ready Reserve ready, and the obstacles entailed in calling up reserve forces, training them in a hurry, and then releasing them as soon as the crisis has abated. This was especially pointed up when the President requested the power to call up another 150,000 for the Cuban crisis—but stipulating new and different manpower from those called up and trained 12 months before.

Despite the most powerful forces in the world today, and despite the most liberal benefits and retirement policies anywhere, there are reports of low morale among some military men in America today. Surely "The 7 Days of May" are not upon us, but many high military officers are more and more openly critical of our policies in merely reacting to Communist actions rather than developing an overall strategy geared to victory in the cold war. Under President Eisenhower, we had a balanced force concept and spent for a long haul defense capability. Today, many Republicans feel that we have retreated to policies disdaining overall deterrent strength and stressing the deep valleys and the high peaks of spending geared only to the strategy of the enemy.

8. MISCELLANEOUS

Among the hundreds of issues considered and determined during the 2d session of the 87th Congress, some other features included:

First. A victory for the administration in final approval of a scaled down Hanford atomic reactor program, but utter defeat in all attempts to enact the long-proposed wilderness system.

Second. Considerable debate on mass transportation proposals met with no bill enacted into law, while the administration took one of its most violent knock-

out punches on the issue of urban affairs when the House killed a Presidential reorganization plan setting up a Department of Urban Affairs by a 264-to-150 vote on February 21, 1962. The number of Democrats, not all of them from the South, opposing the plan, along with the political blunder of injecting the race question into the issue, made it a doubtful election issue at best for the New Frontier.

Third. Considerable talk has been heard about the "stroke of the pen" which was so long promised in desegregating federally supported housing. Talk also was heard that the situation in Mississippi was handled about as adeptly as the Cuban crisis. An antipoll tax constitutional amendment had to be enacted under suspension of rules following inaction on the part of the Democrat-controlled Rules Committee, and a larger proportion of Republicans than Democrats supported the resolution. The administration's pattern of not jibing their words and actions in foreign policy has apparently repeated in the field of civil rights, where observers are still waiting for vigorous Democratic support of the Celler-Clark civil rights measure which President Kennedy said "would be one of the first orders of business when Congress met in January 1961."

Fourth. Measures which passed the House in 1961 with lukewarm, if any, support by the administration, included the Du Pont bill providing tax relief to individual stockholders receiving divestitures of General Motors stock and the perennial H.R. 10, which permitted self-employed persons to defer payments of income taxes on portions of their income paid into retirement funds. Both passed the Senate this year.

Fifth. The centralization and arbitrary use of power shown by the New Frontier in the private realm—the steel price situation—was accentuated in Congress by techniques called by many Republicans—and Democrats—pressures, purchase, and politics. Arm twisting on such measures as the public works bill, agriculture measure, and general support of the New Frontier program on recalcitrant Members of the House resulted in denials of patronage, new projects, and even threats of primary election defeats to Democratic Members of Congress.

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

First. In domestic policy, the philosophy of the New Frontier and of the 87th Congress included:

(a) A distrust of the American people's abilities to solve their own problems without excessive governmental interference.

(b) A notion that Federal money is the one and only answer to problems from agriculture to transportation.

(c) A lack of conviction that their program would be accepted by Congress of its own free will, leading to a disregard of the traditional prerogatives of the people's representatives and the feeling that the legislative branch is little more than a pawn in the great intramural game of politics played by the administration.

(d) A great outpouring of Presidential messages and programs with a very small number enacted at the end of Congress. Each week saw a changing priority list of "vital" legislation, which, together with filibusters, infighting, and Senate-House conflicts, resulted in 8 percent of the President's legislative requests passing the Senate and House by July 1962. Almost half never got out of committee. The New Frontier's program, despite a 2-to-1 Democratic Senate and a 3-to-2 Democratic House, was quite largely ignored. In fact, as of September 7, 1962, Senate committee chairmen had cast collectively 432 votes against Presidential recommendations

Second. At the close of the 2d session of the 87th Congress, Republican House Members were somewhat concerned over the following aspects of foreign policy:

(a) The reluctance of the administration to expose its programs and policies to widescale debate, along with the tone and tenor of letters from constituents, led to a sharp increase in opposition to increased payments to the United Nations; unjustified and maladministered foreign aid payments; and administration actions in many portions of the world. While Republicans agree that politics should stop at the water's edge, they feel this should be the Atlantic and Pacific rather than the Choptank and the Potomac.

(b) Republicans in many cases feel that New York Times reporter was correct in his statement that "he (President Kennedy) has talked like Churchill and acted like Chamberlain." On subjects as diverse as nuclear testing, Berlin negotiations, Laos, and U.N. membership for Communist China, what we said and what we did were completely different things. Republicans hope this is not the case in Berlin and in Cuba today.

(c) We feel that the weakening of trust in the United States by its stanchest allies has been a most dangerous foreign policy development. The Dutch could not count on our support on the New Guinea issue. Lisbon (Portugal) radio classed our policy as "the art of juggling." The Philippine President felt it was "plain that the Communists are winning in Southeast Asia." President De Gaulle of France has implied strongly that the U.S. atomic protection of Europe was no longer a sure thing. The Shah of Iran fears that the Kennedy administration would try to neutralize his country. A newspaper editorial in Guatemala said, "It's time to forget about the North American idiots." And, on September 26, 1962, an editorial in the German Tribune, dismissing the value of the American alliance, commented that "to be weak, to give up fight, to resign, to accept anything the enemy demands—one does not require an alliance for that."

Third. Republicans in the House naturally feel that they should control that body in the 88th Congress. One year ago, we stated that—

The administration has trod the primrose path of dalliance in foreign policy. At home their spend-and-lend policy has brought Americans closer to ruin than to prosperity.

Republicans in the House during the 88th and future Congresses, as they have in the past, will seek to keep the citizens of our nation from the pit of bankruptcy at home and of defeat abroad. On the other hand, continuation of present Democrat-controlled Congresses may well jeopardize the well-being of Americans at home and in our international relations.

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## American Civil Liberties Union and Other Comment on Civil Rights and General Walker

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am setting forth a letter written by the chairman of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union to the Attorney General of the United States commenting upon the civil liberties issues involved in the case of General Walker, as well as the editorial comment by the St. Louis Globe Democrat and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

These statements are in contrast with the comment contained in a press release by Walter Reuther, president, and James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer, Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, on civil rights and Walker, dated Thursday, October 4, commenting upon the Mississippi incident:

It is fitting that General Walker be taken to a Federal prison hospital for psychiatric examination.

Elsewhere in the Reuther-Carey release are noble expressions, albeit talking about the rights of Meredith, and properly so—

Only if our constitutional rights apply equally to all citizens in every State can we maintain the strength of the Nation.

True libertarians recognize that rights are meaningful only if they are applicable to Merediths, General Walkers, Hoffas, Reuthers, Careys, or just plain Joe Smiths. I am surprised that Reuther and Carey miss the point of issue involved in the Meredith case. It applies just as strongly in the Walker case.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1962]

MR. WALKER'S RIGHTS

Even though he was arrested for interfering with judicial process, Edwin A. Walker is entitled to the full protection of his individual rights which the judicial process guarantees him.

The former general who involved himself in the Universtiy of Mississippi riots is quite justifiably being held by the Federal Government on charges of conspiracy, insurrection, and resistance to Federal officers. But the charges must be legally proved with valid evidence, and Mr. Walker in the course of trial is entitled to all legal rights despite his

palpable effort to deny the legal rights of James H. Meredith.

When this has been said, it is difficult to share the crocodile tears being shed by Mr. Walker's attorneys and adherents over his detention at the U.S. hospital in Springfield. The order for a psychiatric examination was issued by a U.S. district judge in Mississippi, and presumably it had some basis in evidence before that judge. If there was no showing to support the order, then it ought to be judicially received, but anybody who saw and heard Mr. Walker's appeal for resistance to the Federal Government in Mississippi will be inclined to think that a psychiatric examination might be the most merciful thing that could happen to him.

After making that inflammatory appeal from Texas, Mr. Walker went to Mississippi and turned up in the midst of the rioters at Oxford. Naturally enough, he now denies having led the riot. But there were witnesses on the spot who challenge his testimony. It is the business of a trial to find out where the truth lies. In the meantime, all of Mr. Walker's rights as a citizen should be scrupulously observed. The U.S. Constitution guarantees those rights even to persons who themselves seek to destroy them.

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[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Oct. 4, 1962]

RIGHTS OF GENERAL WALKER

Today former Gen. Edwin Walker faces a prison-conducted psychiatric examination for a period of 60 to 90 days, during which time he will apparently not be allowed to take advantage of the $100,000 bond set at his arraignment Monday.

The court order quotes a part of the United States Code which provides for such examination if the U.S. attorney feels the defendant is insane or so mentally incompetent he is unable to understand the proceedings against him or to assist in his own defense.

But this action was taken on the basis of a statement by a Federal prison psychiatrist who, a defense lawyer states, had not seen Walker before he made it.

General Walker is an American citizen, entitled to the same rights as any other prisoner. He has been arrested and charged, not tried and convicted.

Though he may well be mentally ill, the Federal Government must not be allowed to commit him in this high-handed manner or to force him to undergo this prolonged examination without his consent and against his will.

The Constitution and its guarantee of individual rights must not be lost under the dust storm raised by Federal intervention in Mississippi.

The Bill of Rights covers every citizen, including Walker.

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OCTOBER 4, 1962.

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
*Attorney General of the United States,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: The action taken by the U.S. Government to enforce the law in Mississippi has the full support of the American Civil Liberties Union. We think that the President and yourself acted with expert judgment to uphold the orders of the U.S. courts which are the law of the land. The shameful resourse to violence by some of our Southern citizens is a tragic commentary on the distance our Nation has yet to travel to assure Negro citizens the first-class citizenship that has so long been denied them. It is unfortunate that the officials of the State of Mississippi allowed the situation to deteriorate so seriously that the use of troops was necessary. Under the circumstances, however, the use of military power was inevitable.

We do not presume to judge at a distance the conditions in Oxford which will allow the present force to be withdrawn, but trust that as conditions improve and the situation is stabilized, law enforcement will be returned to the local officials. On the basis of their past abdication of responsibility, however, we urge that the most meticulous judgment be used to insure James Meredith's safety and the continued enforcement of the orders of the U.S. courts.

We hope, as we are sure you do, that the extraordinary use of the Armed Forces will not be continued longer than is absolutely necessary, and we are gratified that some of the military force has left Oxford. However, on the basis of the reports we have read, we believe such aspects of military control as the establishment of indiscriminate random roadblocks to search automobiles for weapons should be ended.

Although the newspaper reports are ambiguous concerning the number of people under arrest, there is some indication that some persons are still in custody without having been charged with a crime and without having been promptly brought before a U.S. commissioner as required by rule 5(a) of the Rules of Criminal Procedure. If there are any such persons, we think it most important that they either be immediately released or charged with a crime and afforded a hearing. We realize that under the most extraordinary conditions that obtained over the weekend, this simply may not have been physically possible, but such justification no longer exists. Certainly the Government's action, taken to uphold the law, should be carried out in accordance with full due process of law.

One matter that does give us considerable concern is the procedure under which General Walker was taken into custody and transported to the Federal Center for Medical Prisoners at Springfield, Mo. As we understand it, Walker was taken into custody on Monday and, following a hearing before a U.S. commissioner, was immediately flown to Springfield. On the following day, on the basis of an ex parte application made by the U.S. attorney, in conjunction with testimony given to the court by a psychiatrist who had not examined Walker, the U.S. district court ordered Walker to be examined pursuant to section 4244 of title 18, to determine whether or not he was competent to stand trial. We understand that neither Walker nor any attorney on his behalf, was before the court at the time that application was made and the order issued, or even notified that the hearing was to be held.

There is, of course, no question but that the Government was empowered to act under section 4244. *Greenwood* v. *United States*, 350 U.S. 366. We think, however, that its application in this case was improper. Although the language of the statute is not clear on the point, a far better procedure to insure a defendant due process of law, would require that the section 4244 application filed by the U.S. attorney not be an ex parte proceeding. Under the circumstances, it would have been far better if Walker were held overnight and allowed to appear before the court for personal observation and afforded the right to have counsel argue on his behalf in opposition to the application if it was so desired. We understand that this is the procedure that is not infrequently followed, at least in the Southern District of New York, and is beyond doubt the preferred procedure.

The failure to honor a due process standard, admittedly under difficult circumstances, is heightened by the press reports that Walker will be detained for psychiatric examination for a 60- to 90-day period. Although we are not competent to judge the exact length of such examinations, we urge that the examination of Walker be completed as expeditiously as possible so as to avoid even the impression that he is being detained to deny him bail, or a speedy trial guaranteed by the sixth amendment on the charges against him.

We commend your statement a few days ago that rebuked southern lawyers for failing to support the Federal effort to enroll Mr. Meredith in the University of Mississippi. The silence of southern lawyers in this instance is part of the broader problem of obtaining adequate legal representation for Negro litigants. Despite the efforts of the union and other groups, far too few attorneys in the South have fulfilled the responsibility of their profession, to give counsel to all who need it. We woud hope that you would undertake the leadership in a program to impress upon all members of the bar, through national, State, and local bar associations, the special obligation that lawyers have to our Constitution.

In closing, we would think it invaluable for you or the President to broadcast to the Nation a message that would make clear that the issue in the Meredith case is not only direct contempt of the orders of the U.S. courts, but of the constitutional principle of equal treatment. The battle that James Meredith has undertaken is more than a personal campaign or even a struggle for the rights of Negro citizens. It is a struggle for the rights of all Americans. A strong statement by the leaders of our Government that woud leave no doubt that the Government intends to continue actively to support the principles of full equality for all citizens would be felt throughout the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST ANGELL,
*Chairman, Board of Directors.*

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## Solid Accomplishments for World Peace and Humanitarianism—Gist Headlines and Excerpts Give Interesting Picture of Peace Effort

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I include these worthwhile efforts and solid accomplishments for world peace and humanitarianism in the Appendix of the RECORD:

"How Thousands of Children in the Democracies Were Saved from Starving," 1943; "The Children Are Starving," was a headline in the book, "One Humanity," by Dr. Howard Kershner, a brief résumé of which was made by the Gist editor and gotten to the attention of most lawmakers.

"It is not uncommon to see a child at school faint at its desk from weakness due to long undernourishment. Practically all the children of the occupied countries are losing weight and have ceased to grow. Congressional opinion for remedial action became so strong that the State Department succeeded in getting British consent to lifting the blockade and ships laden with food rushed to Western Europe. The Germans put the blame on the blockade. They would not feed non-German civilians but did not interfere with food sent to the starving. (Research showed that more than 20 million civilians lost their lives in World War II by starvation, exposure in unheated huts and houses, disease, pogroms, gunfire, bombing, and burning buildings and homes.)

"How Psychological Warfare Encouraged Surrender of Germans and Japs"—Many Gists during the early stages of World War II supported psychological warfare through research and exclusive interviews with Con-

gressmen. Some typical comment, "Breaking the resistance of the Germans before the invasion is the big job now," said Representative Knutson, of Minnesota.

"Brains to Bolster Brawn, Bombs, Bullets in Hastening V–E and V–J Days."

More than 70 percent of prisoners on the Western front were influenced to surrender by leaflets and loudspeakers, testified Edward W. Barrett of the Office of War Information.

In July 1944, Frederick Burdick, Gist editor, wrote Don McNeil, master of ceremonies of the Breakfast Club radio program (American Broadcasting Co.) suggesting that it would be helpful for him to ask his millions of listeners to join in a moment of silent prayer daily for an early victory and peace. At first they prayed for "The Early Coming of V–E Day" and later for V–J Day (victory in Europe and Japan). This peace prayer program is permanent.

In opening the seventh war loan drive in Constitution Hall, Washington, D.C., May 1, 1945, Don McNeil told his millions of listeners they would be interested in a memo from Frederick Burdick, Gist editor, stating that German generals told our generals the main reason for German capitulation was the large-scale surrender of German soldiers, indicating that the peace prayers of millions may have helped restore peace in Europe.

"Hiroshima Houses Collapsed or Blown Away by 1,000-Mile-an-Hour Winds."

"Realistic Picture of Atomic Warfare Horrors May Help Preserve Peace."

Excerpts from article in Time magazine by Rev. John A. Siemes: "Where the city had stood everything is a waste of fire, ashes, and ruin. The banks of the river are covered with dead and maimed."

"Inside Hell," by Dr. Hachiya, from Look magazine: "The streets were deserted except for the dead. Some looked as though they had been frozen by death while in full flight."

(Account of Mr. Katsutani: "I came upon many soldiers burned from the hips up. They had no faces. Their eyes, noses and mouths had been burned away and it looked like their ears had melted off. One soldier . . . left with his white teeth sticking out, asked me for some water * * * a light wind wafted to us an odor like burning sardines . . . sanitation teams were cremating remains of killed people. I was most disturbed by the sight of burnt toys of little girls and boys."

July 7, 1945: "Clarification of unconditional surrender terms almost certain soon." "Truman and Churchill may give Japan chance to bring war to end shortly"; "Sentiment in Congress virtually unanimous for clean-cut terms for Japs"; "Many favor new State Department emulating Woodrow Wilson's 14 points."

Some typical comment: Senator CAPEHART, of Indiana: "If the war can be ended soon on the same terms it might be ended 2 years from now why not do so and save many additional lives and stupendous expense?"

(About 25 Congressmen were interviewed on the question of clarifying "unconditional surrender." Senator Connally, of Texas, wrote he thought the Gist of July 7, 1945, helped end World War II. It got to the attention of law and policymakers and soon afterwards unconditional surrender was clarified at Potsdam and the most costly and destructive war in history came to an end.

"How an interview with Senator George helped get a truce in Korean war."

Radio and press reports of July 2, 1953, said Korean truce negotiations were bogged down and State Department official Robertson was preparing to return. Chairman George of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was apprised of the radio report by the Gist editor and asked if he thought efforts to get a Korean truce should be persisted in regardless of President Rhee's recalcitrance? Senator George replied: "So long as there is any hope we should keep on trying." His advice was followed, and on July 26, 1953, the armistice was signed. Peace returned to Korea. The Gist conducted four polls of the people and Congressmen on getting a cease-fire in Korea and each poll showed an increasing percentage favoring the idea.

"Arms race costing 14 million an hour."

As shown by an Associated Press report, the $14 million an hour spent on the arms race would "feed all the hungry, care for all the sick among the world's 3 billion people, house 140 million families in undeveloped countries and double the income of 1,200 million persons."

In June 1959 the Gist conducted a poll of people on this question: "Do you favor reducing our food surpluses by getting more food to hungry people in America and other countries?" Eighty-five percent said "Yes," 9 percent "No," 5 percent undecided.

Exclusive Gist interview: Representative PHILBIN, of Massachusetts: "We should strive just as hard for peace as we prepare for war. We must conduct peace efforts with vigor, determination, and persistency. We must guard against leaders of nations starting war because of anger, a sense of frustration, or being treated too toughly. We must guard against misinformation or false propaganda. It is vital to guard against war by accident or misjudgment. A spark or match can start a world conflagration."

SOME PEACE QUOTES FROM PAST WORLD PEACE EDITIONS OF THE GIST

Adm. Richard Byrd: "If the nations of the world would spend one-tenth as much time, energy, and money preventing war as they do preparing for war, the war monster would be licked."

William Collins: "Peace rules the day when reason rules the mind."

Publilius Syrus: "That should be considered long which can be considered but once."

Gen. Walter Bedell Smith: "There will be no war in the world if the people have the final word."

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull: "Peace should be our passion."

Milton: "For what can war but endless war still breed?"

Carlyle: "All battle is well said to be misunderstanding."

Senator Robert A. Taft (speaking on the subject of arms control): "We cannot let them scare us into bankruptcy. The one essential defense against communism is to keep this country financially and economically strong."

Senator Brien McMahon, first chairman of Senate Committee on Atomic Energy: "What relation has a 10-million-man army to the ability or the power compressed in these bombs as a matter of defense?"

(Top scientists warn that the only defense against scientific warfare is peace.)

SOME GIST EFFORTS FOR ARMED FORCES, VETERANS, WAR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

Soon after World War II started the Gist was first in Washington to advocate and campaign for substantial pay raises for all in the Armed Forces, the GI's then getting only $21 a month. (Also urged better allowances for families.)

"Adequate pensions for servicemen's families demanded by U.S. lawmakers."

Excerpts from Gists in October 1943:

Senator Johnson, of Colorado:

"When we are giving away money all over the world, it will be difficult to make the people believe it is extravagant for Congress to provide decent living conditions for the wives and children of those fathers taken into the armed services." (Page 8206, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Senator Wheeler, of Montana: "I say these children are being thrown into the street. The best evidence of that is what Mr. Hoover of the FBI said" (p. 8206).

"Many Congressmen on record to provide freedom from want in America."

Representative Elston, of Ohio: "Our appropriations for lend-lease exceed $60 billion * * * the wife of a serviceman should not be compelled to seek charity. I am not willing, under the pretense of economy, to deny to dependent wives and children of those who must do the fighting and dying that which is necessary for them to live in health and decency (pension for mother and child increased to $80) (p. 8454) Gist, vol. 16–18, 1958.

"Seventy-eight percent of lawmakers favor raising war widows' pensions, Gist poll shows."

"Wives of war heroes haven't had increase in benefits since August 1955."

Exclusive Gist interviews: Representative VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania: "The cost of living has run away from these war widows. Many are in a predicament."

Representative LIBONATI, of Illinois: "Certainly we can agree that the widows and orphans of those who have given their all, life itself, for their country, and who could otherwise have provided well for their families, should be treated justly" (they got the pension increase).

"Helping War Amputees Get Special, Costly Automobiles They Could Drive."

After World War II the Gist editor noticed a group of veterans in wheelchairs, some without arms or legs, waiting in the Senate reception room and asked them what they were desiring? "Special automobiles we can drive regardless of our physical handicaps." They said the Senate committee was cold to the idea.

"I'll tell you what you boys should do. Go over to the House of Representatives, get seats in the front row of the balcony and stick your crutches out over the railing so that all the Representatives will be sure to notice you." It worked. A boost for their cause was given in the next Gist and the legless or armless victims of war got their cars.

"Separating Families of Oversea Forces Opposed by Most of the People." Gist. (vol. 19/1 January 1961).

The consensus of Congress is that the plan to force the families of members of the Armed Forces who are overseas to return to the United States alone in order to reduce spending U.S. dollars abroad is ill-conceived, ill-considered and ill-advised.

Representative Kilday, of Texas: "Would create insurmountable morale problems." A recent radio broadcast related a pitiful story of a plane leaving Europe with wives and children of men in the armed services. The report said: "The constant crying of babies drowned out the noise of the plane."

The Defense Times said: "Disruption of family life in many instances has destroyed families."

The gist of comment by the people: "It is unfair to apply the order to the military only when it is not applied to free-spending tourists." The plan for protecting the gold dollar caused wives of servicemen to dub themselves as "Gold dollar widows." Research showed the plan originated in the Treasury Department and was reluctantly adopted by the Pentagon. Widespread opposition resulted in early ending of the plan.

## Chowan College Begins 114th Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERBERT C. BONNER**
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I include the following editorial from the Ahoskie (N.C.) Herald of September 25, 1962.

CHOWAN BEGINS 114th YEAR

Chowan College the Roanoke-Chowan's only local institution of higher learning, began its 114th academic year last week with a record high enrollment of around 770 campus students. Our local college is growing and its achievements are worthy of our note, support and praise, regardless of our individual church affiliation.

In addition to the campus students, Chowan this year has 60 students in a new extension division at Roanoke Rapids. While some other church related schools continue to protest the growth of State-supported community colleges, Chowan is doing something about filling the pressing needs for expanded educational opportunities. With the spirit and leadership Chowan is providing in this field there need be no fears of too much State education at the community college level. The needs are present in North Carolina. Other church schools should follow Chowan's example and help in filling the needs. The State will also have to help with additional community colleges. But Chowan is showing that there is a place for the church school in this field also.

Perhaps as important as the commendable growth in students, is the fact that this year's Chowan faculty is rated the highest ever in academic achievement and ability. Mere quantity, without a corresponding growth of quality, can be a backward step. It is heartening to know that Chowan intends and is working to become a better school as well as a bigger school.

With the achievements marking the beginning of the new year, Chowan also gives evidence of intending to continue to improve, not resting on its new laurels. Paul W. "Bill" Roden was announced last week as director of development. He will be stepping into some big shoes. Chowan in recent years is a story of development. The Reverend Oscar Creech, the late Dr. F. O. Mixon, and the Reverend John Gill were first echelon developers. Dr. Bruce Whitaker is no slouch either when it comes to keeping college development organized and moving. Roden will have to do some fast stepping in the big shoes to keep up with this fast pace that's been set for him in developing Chowan. All Roanoke-Chowaners, Baptists and others, will be wishing him well.

Thus old Chowan, not so many years ago ready to be written off as an unfulfilled dream, starts a new year. It starts the new year marking great progress. At the same time announcing plans for a greater future. If true age is gauged by vigor and spirit, Chowan gives evidence of being a vigorous youngster yet in North Carolina college ranks.

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## Illegality Breeds Illegality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, the latest edition of the U.S. News & World Report carried a most interesting editorial by Mr. David Lawrence. I think it is well agreed that Mr. Lawrence is one of the most informed men in our country and certainly he is regarded as one of the fair and unbiased journalists of our time.

The editorial is as follows:

[From U.S. News & World Report, Oct. 8, 1962]

ILLEGALITY BREEDS ILLEGALITY

(By David Lawrence)

The above headline introduced an editorial on this page on October 4, 1957, commenting on the illegal use of Federal troops at Little Rock, Ark. The Governor of a sovereign State thought he was empowered to use the State militia to prevent violence and disorder—a State function as he saw it. This was at a time when a Federal court had ordered the admission of Negroes to a public high school, previously all-white, and feelings were inflamed:

But the Governor's theory was overruled, not by any court but by military force ordered by the Federal Government. Yet there's nothing in the Constitution which authorizes the Federal Government to send troops to any State under such circumstances. If the Federal court's order to open the school to Negroes did supersede the right of the Governor to take legal steps to prevent domestic violence, no opportunity was given to settle the point by legal procedures.

Today, the Governor of another sovereign State—Mississippi—feels he has the legal right to block a Federal court order requiring the State university to admit a Negro student. Any citizen has a right—at the risk of punishment—to refuse to abide by a court ruling and to have his day in court, even to the point of carrying the case to the Supreme Court of the United States for a determination of the issues involved.

The processes of the law were open in October 1957, as they are now in October 1962, to resolve the conflict of State and Federal functions. We should not be impatient, even though there is a congressional campaign in progress at present that adds political implications. We should let legal processes take their natural course.

For we pride ourselves on being a nation that abides by the law. Our difficulty, however, is in ascertaining just what is the "law of the land" in the various legal maneuvers that currently surround the integration controversy.

It is easy enough to call Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Attorney General Robert Kennedy political exhibitionists, but each has a duty to perform.

It is easy enough to call anyone a "Negro hater" who disagrees with the theory of forced integration.

It is easy enough to call the people of the South enemies of the Negro, though the facts of their relationship in the last 100 years do not bear out the accusation.

This writer was a student at an integrated high school in the North more than a half-century ago and wrote often for the press about the feats of a Negro who was star quarterback on the football team and a most popular individual. But the problem that faces all of us is not just to consider our own personal feelings. Nor it is a matter simply of obedience to rulings of the courts. It goes deeper. We should not close our minds to the other side of the argument—generated as it is by the pain of an injustice that gnaws at the hearts of the people of the South.

For they have not forgotten the injustice and, indeed, the complete disregard of the Constitution of United States by a radical Republican majority in Congress which despotically tore that document to shreds and imposed a series of illegal acts on the people of a defeated South.

History does not lie. The almost unanimous writings of historians and the testimony in official records tell us that the 14th amendment was never legally adopted as a part of the Constitution. Yet the whole integration-segregation controversy of today is rooted in that illegality. The Supreme Court of the United States based its decision in 1954 on the unmentioned assumption that the 14th amendment is valid.

It is a shameful truth that, ever since the 14th amendment was allegedly adopted in 1868, the Supreme Court has evaded passing on the legality of that "ratifying" process.

The people of the South know this. They know also that when their State legislatures—after the War Between the States was over—ratified the 13th amendment abolishing slavery, this was accepted as legal and the amendment was duly adopted. When, however, these same legislatures rejected the proposed 14th amendment, Congress capriciously declared them outside the Union and sent Federal troops to create new legislatures which were then coerced at the point of the bayonet into adopting the amendment.

We cannot gloss over these facts. We cannot ignore the feelings of bitterness and resentment they have created through the last 94 years.

Nor can we ignore the sociological aspects. The Supreme Court said in 1954 that times had changed, and it overruled what the Supreme Court in 1896 had decided to be the "law of the land"—namely, that it was legal to provide "separate but equal" facilities for the Negro in public transportation. This was subsequently interpreted as including public schools and colleges. No legal reason for overturning that 58-year-old decision was offered in the 1954 ruling. It was an emotional opinion that emphasized sociological considerations. Yet the Court ignored the sociological consequences feared by the people of the South.

For the South sees integration—not only in schools and buses, but in restaurants and swimming pools and recreation centers—as cumulatively hastening the day of intermarriage of the races. The State laws in the South against intermarriage have not been struck down as yet, but probably will be by the Supreme Court.

How can the defenders of the illegal method of adding an amendment to the Constitution in 1868 justify in their consciences the imposition today of a social system which many people in the North as well as the South say is an interference with the freedom of the individual? For it has always been assumed that the people of a sovereign State can by majority vote choose their own way of life and manage their own educational institutions without diminishing in any way the educational opportunities of the minority.

The 10th amendment to the Constitution, on which Governor Barnett has relied, says:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

It can be said positively that no legal authority has ever been granted to the executive branch of the Federal Government to manage or operate the educational institutions of the States.

Denial of admission to the University of Mississippi for the Negro student involved in the present controversy was upheld by the U.S. district court. When the case was appealed, however, the U.S. circuit court of appeals reversed the order and, by a 2-to-1 vote of the judges, said the student should be admitted. Judge Dozier DeVane, who dissented, said in part:

"In my opinion, Judge Mize was correct in finding and holding that appellant bore all the characteristics of becoming a troublemaker if permitted to enter the University of Mississippi, and his entry therein may be nothing short of a catastrophe."

But apparently the university authorities are to be deprived of their right to pass upon the qualifications of applicants.

The argument is made, of course, that the Supreme Court of the United States, in the desegregation decision of 1954, relied on the 14th amendment, which provides that no citizen may be denied "equal protection of the laws." Even if the 14th amendment were a valid part of the Constitution, a case could be brought to court to decide whether "equal protection" means that a university must admit students on the basis of race and not on the basis of scholastic standing or individual fitness.

But the 14th amendment is not valid.

The words of a State in the North are pertinent. In October 1868—3 months after Secretary of State Seward dubiously proclaimed the 14th amendment as ratified—the Oregon Legislature, which had earlier voted to ratify, passed a rescinding resolution and declared that the "ratifications" by the Southern States were "usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void," and that "until such ratification is completed, any State has a right to withdraw its assent to any proposed amendment."

Since those days, the Supreme Court has declined to decide whether an assent once given by a State can be withdrawn. It has also refused to rule on the constitutionality of a law passed by Congress declaring the Southern States out of the Union and denying them congressional representation until such time as they ratified the 14th amendment.

Amid acts of coercion and military pressure, the 14th amendment has lived on through the decades, but not until 1954 did the Supreme Court invoke it as a means of forcing the public schools of the States to bow to the Federal Government's dictation as to who must be enrolled as students.

Congress, incidentally, has never passed legislation—as stipulated in the 14th amendment—to enforce the provisions of that amendment if they relate to educational institutions. The 1954 opinion of the Supreme Court has been accepted by the Federal Government as a substitute for an Act of Congress. It is still, however, the duty of the courts to pass upon the right of a President to use military force to do what Congress has never authorized him to do.

It is easy enough to grow impatient in a debate over legal questions. The processes of justice are often slow. It was at one time easy enough for Southerners to say that to lynch Negroes accused of raping white women was merely to obey the impulses of natural law, and that there was no need to wait for the courts. It is easy enough also for Negro leaders of demonstrations to cry out today: "We have waited long enough—let's take the law into our own hands."

But these outbursts of passion will not solve anything. Only through the voice of reason can we find a solution, and it is important not to try to abolish overnight what generations of experience and custom—involved in the basic fear of racial intermarriage—have implanted. We must not accept the doctrine that "the end justifies the means." For when illegality breeds illegality, the result is chaos.

## Cuba: Cold Logic, Not Hot Anger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WALTER H. MOELLER**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, within a week this Congress has passed two very important resolutions. The one declares the firm position and intent of this Government with respect to Cuba; the other expresses our position very clearly with respect to Berlin. In these perilous times, we need above all, the guidance and blessings of Almighty God. But we must always remain calm and carefully weigh our actions. The following article by Malcolm S. Forbes, publisher and editor-in-chief of Forbes Business & Finance provides sound thinking and wise guidelines. I commend it to my colleagues for careful study.

FACT AND COMMENT—CUBA: COLD LOGIC, NOT HOT ANGER

(By Malcolm S. Forbes)

If the American people were polled today, it's my guess a majority would favor "doing something about Cuba." Judging from conversations with many responsible American businessmen, it is clear that an even greater majority of them favor "action" by the United States.

"Doing something" and "action," can only mean some sort of military action. The choice is limited to actual invasion by our Armed Forces, possibly with a thin refugee Cuban facade at the outset, or a tight naval blockade. Somehow many seem to think this latter course would be effective and bloodless.

But think it through.

Suppose we declare a naval blockade. Whether we exempt food or not would have to be decided at the outset. What happens if a Russian ship carrying supplies to Cuba refuses to halt when the shot goes across its bow? Do we then sink it and all that follow it? That, of course, would be a full and open act of war against Russia.

Suppose Russia did not respond to the sinking of her ships by the American Navy with an immediate declaration of war and the blasting of missiles at the continental United States. Suppose instead she instructs her several hundred submarines to sink American ships supplying our thousands of American Armed Forces in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the other lands allied to us that surround the Communists.

We set the precedent by sinking Russian ships bound for Cuba. How do we react when she sinks ours supplying her unfriendly neighbors? It doesn't take much imagination to foresee that overnight we would be at the brink—or over it—of global atomic annihilation.

If one pauses to think, it becomes clear that Cuba, no matter how well supplied militarily, represents no real military threat to the United States. A very small number of short-range missiles would eliminate any menace in moments. Russian missiles can land anywhere in the United States from their own bases in their own land. They don't need Cuba as a launching spot.

The depth of American emotions about Russian aid to Red Cuba is very real and understandable. But emotions are a poor guide in a case like this.

Aside from a blockade, it is plain today that no smallscale invasion using conventional weapons would be successful. We would need a major effort by the Armed Forces, and it would come at a time when, after November 6, election day, the Berlin crisis will be unquestionably at a dangerous peak. When Khrushchev signs a "peace" treaty with East Germany as he plans to do, we cannot and will not allow East Germany to interfere or in any way control our access to West Berlin. The possibilities of a shooting war are going to be closer than ever in a few weeks over Berlin. In this situation, NATO and our allies are solidly agreed that there can be no retreat.

Such is simply not the case in connection with Cuba.

The dangers in Cuba come not because it is any military threat to this country, but because it forms a closer base for Red penetration in South America. We certainly can be effective in preventing the export of arms and subversives from Cuba to South American shores.

Measures are being considered to isolate the Cuban virus; but those so earnestly and loudly advocating military "action" should realize that they are being emotional at a time when cold logic is called for.

For a number of years, American forces have been training and arming troops—not 90 miles from Russia—but right at the Russian border. If we react to the presence of Russian troops in Cuba by an invasion of that island, Russia will certainly feel free to invade Iran or Turkey, Pakistan or the NATO countries; and, of course, China will have a fresh excuse to attempt the invasion of Formosa, Thailand, and so forth.

There is little doubt that rising public anger over Cuba is cutting into President Kennedy's popularity. It recalls with full force the Bay of Pigs fiasco. I am certain the President is aware of this. But I believe he equally is aware—overwhelmingly so—of the incalculable dangers involved in undertaking what would be—for a fleeting moment—the popular course of "action."

## An American Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. E. ROSS ADAIR**
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in these days when too many of our efforts to aid people and nations throughout the world are predicated upon the giving of money, it is refreshing to find the story of a man who is accomplishing much by his own efforts and with a minimum expenditure. Such a man is Mr. Edgar W. "Pop" Buell, formerly of Steuben County, Ind., in my congressional district.

Recently, the Saturday Evening Post carried a story of his efforts to assist the Meo tribesmen in Laos. It is a warm and moving story and one which many Americans will want to read:

AN AMERICAN HERO—PART I

(By Don A. Schanche)

Edgar Buell was squatting, native style, on a dusty path which bordered a worked-out opium field high in the mountains of northern Laos. He is a little runt of a man, and except for his thinning hair and heavy-rimmed spectacles you could mistake him for one of the 200,000 Meo tribesmen who inhabit those jungle-sheathed mountains. His skin is weathered from a lifetime on an Indiana farm and darkened from 2 years of baking in the tropical sunshine of Laos. His khaki trousers were spotted with the dirt of daylong hikes up mountain trails to the Meo villages we had visited that week, and he was shirtless, warming his bared torso in the afternoon sun.

Buell was discussing the economics of opium with two Meo village leaders, who listened attentively, almost rapturously. He spoke in a mixed vocabulary of tribal Meo and Lao, the national language of Laos. If you listened closely, you could almost hear northern Indiana colloquialisms buried in the strange monosyllabic words.

Opium, the only exportable cash crop raised in Laos, is a poor crop for the Meo, Buell explained. Harvesting it is hard, painstaking work. Even though the Meo grow the

best opium in the world, the farmer's reward for the stuff is abysmally low; a batch that might sell for $100,000 if smuggled into New York brings the Meo farmer about $1. In Buell's easygoing but forthright lecture to the tribesmen, there was no hint of moral considerations. The evils of opium's misuse in a civilized Western society would be inexplicable to the primitive Meo. Buell stuck to crop economics. Sweetpotatoes, he said, would grow beautifully in the rich earth of the hills. They would bring more money, and besides, the farmers and their families could eat them.

As the Meo village leaders nodded in thoughtful agreement, Buell looked up at me. "Americans ought to know," he said, "that diplomacy ain't all white shirts, nice pants and money running out of your pockets. More of us have got to get down with the people. That's where you can do some good for them and for America."

Edgar Buell rarely has occasion to wear a white shirt and nice pants, and when money runs out of his pockets, it is more often his own, earned in years of work raising corn and soybeans on an Indiana farm, than it is Uncle Sam's. The 49-year-old retired farmer is one of that woefully small group of Americans overseas who were extolled by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer in their misnamed book "The Ugly American," whose hero was not ugly, but splendid. These are the Americans who volunteer to go to remote corners of the world where they can use a lifetime of practical experience in helping the miserable people our leaders euphemistically call the "less fortunate" or "underdeveloped."

Buell went to Laos in June 1960, as a $60-a-month volunteer, an agricultural adviser for International Voluntary Service, a private Peace Corps which contracts the services of its volunteers to various U.S. aid programs abroad. He took this step after a deep personal tragedy, the death of his wife. In the vernacular of northeastern Indiana, and the farm where he spent most of his life, Buell explained what propelled him to Laos. "It ain't so complicated. Maloreen and I was a team. When that one good horse got off the wagon, I couldn't go on alone back home. But here, I don't know why, I can go alone."

As his words indicate, he is a gentle man, tempered by a life that has been both hard and good. Physically he is wiry and tough, hardened by 2 years of climbing up and down the mountains of Laos. If a word could describe his features, that word would be "homely"; it is a warm kind of homeliness, underlined by alert, curious eyes, that draws other men to Edgar Buell and inspires confidence in people less fortunate than himself.

The Meo people with whom Buell works are among the least fortunate people in the world. Fortune has not smiled on them at all. Even without the recent war, which has torn them from their land, they live at the absolute bedrock of human existence. Their farmland is mostly vertical, climbing up the sides of rugged mountains and cleared by slashing and burning the tangled jungle which chokes it. After a few years of growing hill rice, opium, and vegetables in one spot, they pick up their meager possessions and move to another mountain to repeat the process. They live in grass-thatched, bamboo-walled huts. Virtually everything they have is handmade, mostly from bamboo.

A Meo woman is lucky if she survives childbirth. She is luckier still if half of the children she bears survive childhood. And she can count her blessings if she or her husband lives to be more than 35 years of age. If she knows Edgar Buell or the legend of Edgar Buell which is passed from mouth to mouth and village to village in northern Laos, she probably thinks of him as some kind of god. To the Meo, he is.

### "POP" MEANS "SENT FROM ABOVE"

Buell's name in Meo, the flattering sobriquet of which he is more proud than any award or honor he has received, has a godlike meaning. The Meo call him Tan Pop. Tan means "mister." Pop, in Meo, means "sent from above." To fellow Americans in Laos he is simply Pop Buell, with no spiritual overtones. But the legend of Pop Buell is passed around with awe in the American community, too. Already Buell's efforts have eclipsed the record of Dr. Tom Dooley, the young St. Louis physician who established two jungle hospitals in Laos before he died in 1961.

"Sometimes Pop puts the rest of us to shame," said one of the men he works for. "He has more courage, more common sense and more human compassion than any other man I have known."

Pop Buell's job is an emotionally and physically crushing one, on which hang the lives of 50,000 to 60,000 harassed Meo tribesmen who have been driven from their mountain homes by Communist Pathet Lao soldiers bent on conquering all of Laos. Most of these Meo refugees wander the hills or settle in temporary villages in Xieng Khouang Province, bordering the famed Plaine des Jarres where one of the principal battles of the Laotian civil war was fought. They are surrounded by hostile Communist and so-called neutralist forces who are allied in battle against the royal government. Every day the noose of enemy troops closes a little tighter.

### THE WARLIKE CEASE-FIRE IN LAOS

If you read the news of Southeast Asia regularly, you probably have the impression that there has been a cease-fire in Laos, that the country has been in a more or less quiescent state pending the negotiation of a more permanent peace based on formation of a neutral, coalition government. The impression is misleading, particularly in Xieng Khouang Province. For many months, long before the recent heavy fighting, there has been war every day. Men have been killed. Villages have been burned. People, mostly the uncomprehending but bitterly angry Meo, are tortured. Pop remembers the horrifying ordeal of one village which he visited just after the Pathet Lao had sacked it.

"They wanted to set an example," he explained. The memory of it made him wince. "So they took one of the wives of the village Nhi Khon (leader) and stood her up in front of everybody. One of the Communist soldiers took his gun and shot off one of her breasts, then the other. Then they left her there to die."

Pop and I saw another "example" while visiting some wounded Meo in a neat little hospital run by Filipino volunteers in Vientiane, the administrative capital of Laos. He was a boy about 9 years old, perhaps 10, although he was small and frail. Mercifully he was unconscious. He had been hit with shotgun pellets. The entire right side of his body was peppered with ugly little wounds. "His father was a village leader," Pop sighed. "When the Pathet Lao came, they shot the boy as an example. To the Meo, sons are more precious than anything." The boy died a few days later.

To Pop Buell, the oppressed Meo people are his people, their villages his villages. He spends most of his time living with them in beleaguered Xieng Khouang Province, in the middle of the closing enemy noose. He has learned their language, as well as Lao and Thai, which he also must use. He eats their food, sleeps in their huts, doctors their sick, counsels their elders and keeps flowing the relief supplies on which they depend. He works at the very end of the chain of U.S. aid.

Recently Mr. Pop was elevated from his low-paid volunteer status to a higher-paying post as an employee of the Agency for International Development, the Government agency which administers American economic aid abroad. He works for a branch of AID called Rural Development which, in peaceful countries, assists in the construction of rural roads, trains rural craftsmen and helps to improve agricultural conditions. In Laos the war has paralyzed virtually all these AID functions. Instead, American AID workers have had thrust upon them thousands of war refugees who need help to stay alive. More than half of these refugees are Meo tribesmen who depend on Pop Buell for sustenance.

Because of the war, it has been more than a year since these Meo refugees have been able to stop in one place long enough to plant and harvest rice, their basic food. Normally in a war-torn country such refugees would be herded into huge camps where they could be fed and clothed until they could return to their homes. But the Meo, a fiercely independent people, will not leave their beloved mountains, even though the hills are surrounded and shot through with Communists agents. Indeed they wander in bands of up to 2,000 people, looking for places to settle. It is Pop's job to find these wandering bands, help them locate new village sites, and organize air drops of rice and other essentials until they can get on their feet.

To do this he spends 90 percent of his time living behind enemy lines. Sometimes, while trudging along hidden jungle pathways in the roadless, uncharted mountains, he comes upon villages never before visited by a white man. The lithe, jungle-toughened people he meets on these trails may be friend or enemy; Pop has no way of knowing. Any night while sleeping in a bamboo-and-thatch hut in the hills he may have to jump up and plunge into the jungle to escape the Pathet Lao. Pop has learned to sleep with his clothes on. "It saves time," he says.

### PURSUED BY REDS BEFORE DAWN

In the past year he has had to make such predawn escapes five times. The most recent was 3 months ago. Pop was asleep in a Meo hut when a scout burst through the low doorway and awakened him.

"Pathet Lao are just down the hill," the scout whispered.

He had barely spoken when the Cpmmunists opened fire. Pop rushed from hut to hut in the village, rounding up women and children. While a platoon of village guards—some of them firing flintlock muskets—held off the enemy attack, Pop hoisted a child onto his back and joined the villagers on a trek down a path on the other side of the hill. They spent all the next day hidden in the jungle valley below, then climbed back up to the plundered village that night.

"It's surprising how well you can see to walk on those trails in the moonlight," Pop says.

On another occasion, fleeing from a Pathet Lao attack, Pop walked for 18 hours with a baby on his back. It was the rainy season and the trails were slippery with greaselike mud. Some of the paths were almost vertical, and descending was less a matter of walking than of skiing.

"It wasn't so bad," he says. "When you get in a situation like that, you do what you have to. Anybody would."

In spite of his seemingly casual attitude, Buell worries about possible capture. Twice in the past year powerful Radio Hanoi, the Communist propaganda voice which broadcasts from North Vietnam to all of southeast Asia, has mentioned the "notorious, warmongering American imperialist, Tan Pop." Buell has heard that the Communists have offered a $25,000 reward for his capture. He suspects that many of the villages in which he works have been infiltrated by enemy agents.

"Of course I worry about it," he says, "If I didn't there'd be something wrong with me, wouldn't there? But I love these Meo people and I know that damned near every one of them loves me. I have to put all my faith in them because when I am up there with them I have very little contact with anybody else."

Pop's only contact with the outside world is a tiny walkie-talkie radio with which he can converse with the American-piloted drop planes which occasionally fly in with relief supplies. Sometimes a Helio-Courier, a big-winged, light plane capable of landing and taking off on 300-foot strips, drops onto a dirt runway hewn from a mountainside by the Meo. When they are available, Pop uses these planes to lift him from village to village. Otherwise he walks.

The week I spent with Pop Buell in the mountains of Xieng Khouang began with a hair-raising Helio-Courier flight through the mist-shrouded mountains. We had been in Vientiane for almost a week, waiting for the fog to lift from the mountains so we could get into the village of Lang Tien, about 2 days' walk from the enemy-held Plaine des Jarres. When the fog thinned a little we took off. Our pilot, Bob Smith, boosted the little plane to 7,000 feet to avoid ground fire as we flew over Pathet Lao territory.

"You get shot at every time you fly over here," Pop explained. "I came back in an airplane once that picked up 17 bullet holes in the wings. Amazing they didn't hit anything that mattered."

Smith, a civilian pilot working for Air America, the subsidiary of Civil Air Transport which flies most of the civil and military airdrop missions in Laos, cut his altitude to duck under the clouds which hugged the mountaintops of Xieng Khouang. From that moment on it was like a roller-coaster ride through a coal mine. Smith's view of the mountains was limited to massive shadows which lurked in the mist ahead of us. But flying on a combination of instinct and intimate knowledge of territory he had covered many times before, he snaked the little plane through narrow passes that left little more than 30 feet of maneuvering room on each wingtip, and across mountain plateaus from which trees rose so high I thought they would brush our undercarriage.

BOUNCING LANDING IN LANG TIEN

Suddenly Pop pointed toward a cluster of thatch-roofed huts nestled near a short dirt strip. Smith flipped the light plane into a steep turn, and a minute later we were bouncing along the uneven runway.

"These pilots make a lot of money," Pop said, "sometimes $3,000 to $5,000 a month if they fly a lot. But they ain't got a very long life expectancy. You got to take your hat off to them. They earn every cent they make."

I looked at Buell in wonderment. His own job involves more hazard and uncertainty than the work of the highly paid pilots, however great their courage.

"It ain't the money or the hazards that matter," Pop explained. "If it was I would have quit long ago. I don't have to work. I just want to get it across to as many people as I can that America is a good place and Americans are good people. At the same time I think I'm doing these people some good."

How much good he is doing was immediately apparent. Lang Tien, more an area than a village, is a cluster of hillside communities overlooking a small plateau inside the ring of mountains. All told, 5,000 people live in the area. Most of them are Meo refugees, but about 1,000 are Lao Thung, another of the many ethnic groups which inhabit Laos. The Lao Thung are friendly, but tend to be lazy and more careless about cleanliness than the Meo. Many years ago they were slaves, and both Lao and Meo still tend to consider them as such. When anything is passed out, the Lao Thung are the last to get a share, and it is rarely a fair share.

FROM AMERICA, PROVISIONS BY PARACHUTE

That afternoon, a C–46, bearing salt tools, and 50 sacks of rice, made a low pass over the plateau and dropped its cargo for the refugees. As the free-falling rice sacks and the parachute-borne tools dropped, Pop talked to the Nhi Khon of the village.

"These supplies do not just drop out of the sky," he said in his mixed Meo and Lao. "They come from America because the Americans want to help you. The supplies are given to the Lao Government, and the Lao Government gives them to me to bring to you. They are for all of you and each man must get his fair share. We consider a man a man, whether he is a Meo or a Lao Thung. He must get the same share."

The Nhi Khon, a progressive leader who probably did not require the lecture, nodded in agreement and withheld distribution of the supplies until representatives of the Lao Thung village arrived to claim an equal share.

That night we were invited to the same Lao Thung village for a celebration honoring Tan Pop. After a long trek along a starlit jungle trial we climbed the ladderlike stairways into the hut of the village chief. Proudly he boasted that he was 70 years old and had 7 wives and 30 children. A half dozen children under 5 attested to his vigor.

The Nhi Khon of Lang Tien, who accompanied us, wryly explained the mountaineer's polygamy. "In this country, blankets are very dear," the Nhi Khon said, "so we have many wives to keep us warm." For himself, said the Nhi Khon, he had only two.

Inside the hut, dimly lighted by flaming rags dipped in animal fat, we squatted around an earthenware urn filled to within an inch of the brim with a fermented rice mash. Protruding from the urn were long, thin bamboo rods, hollowed to serve as straws. From these we sipped the sickly sweet rice wine while the Nhi Khon, taking a cue from Tan Pop, lectured the Lao Thung chief on the importance of planting garden seed and not relying entirely on the Americans to provide for his people.

"If you do not plant the seeds and care for the gardens," said the Nhi Khon, "you may end up picking rocks instead of food from your fields. You cannot eat rocks."

Earlier Pop had opened dozens of cans of seeds—lettuce, cabbage, bean and several other vegetables—and explained to the Nhi Khon that greens were important to the diet. Now the Nhi Khon was carrying the message to the Lao Thung, as he would carry it next day to the other villages around the plateau. Pop knew that the message would be more effective if it came from the Nhi Khon than if he delivered it himself, because the Nhi Khon would be there to see that the garden work was done.

"Working with these people is the same as working with my own people back in Steuben County, Ind.," he explained. "You got to take it slow and easy. Ain't it the same? You don't just barge in and tell somebody you're helping him. You take it easy, and you help him to help himself. That way it means something to him and it sticks with him."

The tribesmen's conversation shifted to politics, and I asked Pop to translate for me.

"They're talking about the war," he said. "There's a lot they don't understand. You've got to realize that the whole world, for these people, is no bigger than the distance they can walk. But they know more than you'd thing they would."

The Nhi Khon was talking now, obviously with great feeling, explaining something to Pop. I could see the wizened little Indiana farmer's face grow taut with emotion as he turned to translate the Nhi Khon's remarks to me.

"I'll try to give you this exactly the way he said it to me," said Pop. "Here it is: 'Before the trouble came, the Meo people did not need help. When the trouble came, we heard about the Thing.' (He's got a picture of the United States and the United Nations all wrapped up in one big, good ball which he calls the Thing.) 'Until the others (North Vietnamese Communists) came, we could have beaten the Pathet Lao with our muskets and crossbows. But we kept on fighting them and we thought we were fighting for the Thing. We were told that the Thing would come to help us. But so far the Thing has not been much help. Now we wonder if the Thing will move us to another country where we can live in peace. Will it?' "

AN UNANSWERED QUESTION

Pop paused and I saw that a tear was running down one of his cheeks. "You answer him," he said quietly. "I can't. That's what I thought the Thing was for too."

Knowing U.S. policy in Laos, the drive for a neutral coalition government which seems certain in the long run to hand the entire country and the Meo as well over to the Communists, I couldn't answer him either.

During the 6 days that followed, we visited a half dozen more villages, some by foot, some by air. In each of them, Edgar Buell, retired Indiana farmer of meager education but great natural intelligence and wisdom, was welcomed as Tan Pop, the near god. In each village Pop made it a point, almost upon arrival, to walk to every hut and either step in or peer in to utter a few words of encouragement to the wives, tending their cooking fires on the hard dirt floors.

"I've still got enough American in me to show a lot of respect for motherhood," he explained. "Besides, they ain't got a very good life. A few kind words does them a lot of good."

As we made the rounds through the village of Sam Thong, about a day's walk from Lang Tien, a sobbing woman ran out of a hut from which burst sounds of wailing and the clanging cymbals of the village medicine man. Inside we could see the wasted body of her husband. He had died of tuberculosis that morning. The grieving widow fell into Pop's arms and sobbed on his shoulder. From the look of mixed grief and hope in her tear-filled eyes, I guessed she thought there was a chance Edgar Buell could bring the man back to life. He patted her in that awkward way of a man who can do nothing, and we moved on.

But Pop can and does help the sick. Although he has no medical training, 2 years' working largely on his own in Laos have given him a cram course in medical problems that would horrify most Americans. His first case was a native woman who was on the verge of a miscarriage. At the time, before the Battle of the Plaine des Jarres, Pop and another IVS volunteer were manning a lonely station at Lhat Houang, not far from Xieng Khouang. They had a radio with which they could call any or all of the other American detachments in Laos. Stumped by the problem but unwilling to abandon the woman to the ineffective treatment of a medicine man, Pop got on the radio and called Mary Jane St. Marie, an American IVS nurse.

Step by step, Mary Jane explained the process of miscarriage to the Indiana farmer. "He wouldn't understand medical terms," Mary Jane said, "so I gave it to him in good, basic farm language."

At the end of the conversation, in which she also told Pop how to deliver a baby, and what to do to try to prevent the miscarriage, other radio operators in remote regions of Laos broke in. "Thanks, Mary Jane, and

you too, Pop," said one of them. "I think I've got a case like that up here and I've been wondering what to do about it."

As it turned out, Pop managed to prevent the miscarriage. The baby was born a few months later. Pop and I visited the mother and her healthy 18-month-old son last April. He picked the child up and said, "Little boy, you make it all seem worthwhile."

BUELL THE MAKESHIFT PHYSICIAN

Although he says that he has lost count, Pop estimates he has delivered about 30 babies since that first case. Whenever he goes into the mountains, he carries a well-stocked medicine kit for treatment of minor infections and ailments, but it usually runs dry before his village-hopping tour is over. In one village a man who had accidentally rammed a sharpened bamboo stake into his eyebrow, opening a gaping wound, came to us for help. Pop grabbed my only bottle of whisky and poured it on the slash. "Ain't got any disinfectant, but this will do," he chuckled as he closed and dressed the wound.

In each of the villages Pop was constantly surrounded by small children. At our first stop I saw why. From his battered suitcase he drew a huge bag of hard candy. He made sure that each child in each village got at least one piece.

The children had another reason for being drawn to the little American. All of them recognise him as the man who brought education to the Meo. In years past there were no schools in the Meo villages. Tucked away in the remote mountains, the Meo were hard to reach, and the Lao thought them unworthy of education anyway. When Pop began working with the mountain people, he immediately sought to correct the tragic oversight. As a graduate of a one-room country school in Steuben County, Ind., he had little awe for the complexities of modern education. But American officials in Vientiane did. When he tried to get backing from them, he was told that schooling the Meo would be impossible. There were no qualified teachers. "Hell," said Pop, "who needs qualified teachers? All I wanted to do was teach them to read and write."

NO SCHOOL BELL NEEDED HERE

In each refugee village, Pop knew, there were a few tribesmen who had gone for a year or two to Lao schools and could read and write the language. Without bothering further to establish formal U.S. educational aid to the Meo, Pop told leaders in each village to build a schoolhouse. Then he scrounged writing pads, pencils, and chalk from everyone in Vientiane who owed him a favor. In villages where an educated Meo was available, Pop put him to work as a schoolteacher. Then he spoke to the Lao Government's minister of health and social welfare, a man named Touby Lyfoung, who is a Meo himself and is often called King of the Meo. Touby provided the missing teachers. At present Pop's school system includes 29 one-room, dirt-floored schools. Belatedly the Americans now offer Pop all the support he needs.

"Sure, the Communists will take over these schools one of these days, but I don't think the people will forget who put them there in the first place," Pop says. "They might get only 6 months of schooling before the Communists come, but I don't care. There's no telling what they might pick up in 6 months, and it's sure better than nothing. These kids come to learn. They don't need no school bell. They're in there when the teacher arrives."

There is much more to say about Pop Buell: about the love and fulfillment and tragedy of his life in America; about how he came to Laos; about his heroic efforts there, often under enemy fire and in the face of unbelievable hardships. Some of these adventures I will recount in a further report next week. But for now, listen to one more remark from Pop Buell in Laos. On our last day in the mountains of Xieng Khouang, as we were waiting for a plane to take us back to Vientiane, I asked Pop why he stayed on, knowing that unless the United States changes its policy in Laos the Communists are bound to take over.

"You've got to have something to keep you going," he replied. "The Communists probably will take over soon. But everything turns in time, and it will turn again here someday. It may be 10 years or 50 years, but when that day comes these people are still going to remember Tan Pop. That's the only thing that keeps me going. No man is big enough or brave enough to work like this without some kind of purpose. I'm sowing seeds that, by God, someday is going to grow."

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AN AMERICAN HERO—PART II

(By Don A. Schanche)

At dawn one morning last April I was stumbling sleepily down a jungle path behind enemy lines in the mountains of northern Laos. Walking jauntily ahead of me, humming what sounded like "When the Saints Go Marching In," was Edgar Buell, the retired Indiana farmer whose work has made the difference between life and starvation for 50,000 to 60,000 primitive Meo tribesmen. Ignoring his happy mood, I mumbled something about the long days we had been putting in: up at dawn, a 4- to 6-mile hike on an empty stomach, time out to care for the sick in remote mountain villages, visits to village gardens and opium fields, and interminable nighttime conferences with village leaders.

"Most folks look on 8 hours as a good day's work," said Buell, smiling. "I was always of the opinion that I ought to do a little bit extra after I've done my day's work. It's that little bit that sells America."

Buell has done more than a "little bit extra." Since moving to Laos 2 years ago he has organized and personally kept going a $1,500,000 relief program for the benefit of the thousands of Meo refugees who have been driven from their land by Communist Pathet Lao soldiers. Although he has the active and hearty support of the Lao Government, the U.S. Agency for International Development for which he works, and many friendly Americans, Lao, Thais, and Filipinos, the job of getting the supplies to the homeless, hungry Meo has been largely his alone. To accomplish it he spends most of his time living with the Meo under primitive and dangerous conditions. He has been shot at, run out of villages by attacking Communist troops, and exposed to a variety of diseases which run the gamut from amoebic dysentery to leprosy. Radio Hanoi, the powerful Communist propaganda voice of southeast Asia, has twice broadcast a lookout for him, and he has been told that the Communists have offered a $25,000 reward for his capture.

A LEGENDARY FIGURE

To the Meo people, among whom he has become a legendary figure, Buell is known as Tan Pop, which translates as "Mister Sent From Above." It is a godlike name for someone the Meo consider a godlike man, and with good reason. Since the fall of the famed Plaine des Jarres a year and a half ago, when Mister Pop was first swept into the maelstrom of war in Laos, he has performed tasks which to the Meo, and to many Americans as well, seemed superhuman.

At times the job has been not only risky but expensive, too. Buell, working as a $60-a-month volunteer, was stationed at the village of Lhat Houang along with another International Voluntary Service adviser named Dick Bowman, now with the Peace Corps in Washington. They had two helpers, a young multilingual Meo named Chung, and an equally adept Chinese boy named Tsieng. In late 1960, war around the Lao administrative capital of Vientiane, and in the city of Vientiane itself, had totally disrupted the U.S. mission there, so that Buell's isolated outpost was left without supplies.

THEY REFUSED TO FLEE

Normally an American caught on such a limb would call for a last-ditch evacuation plane and get out. But Pop and Bowman decided to stay. They were busy training carpenters to build a dormitory for a school at Lhat Houang, giving agricultural advice, and helping to care for the sick in smaller villages in the area. But, without a weekly supply plane to bring food and other essentials, they had no means of support.

After searching around, Pop found a place in the nearby town of Xieng Khouang where he could cash his personal checks on the Edon State Bank, of Edon, Ohio, just across the border from Pop's home farm in Steuben County, Ind. For 2 months Buell personally financed the U.S. aid program in Xieng Khouang Province, drawing from his own retirement fund in the Edon bank.

"I don't know exactly how much I spent in those 2 months," he says, "but, counting that and other things I've bought to give to the Meo people, I've used up about $7,000 of my own money out here. I don't expect to get any of it back, but neither do I expect to spend any more. I can't afford it."

Although Pop and Bowman felt secure, it was a tenuous kind of security. The area was thoroughly covered by Communist Pathet Lao guerrilla forces, and they often came uncomfortably close. One night, after administering penicillin to a child suffering pneumonia in a village about 15 miles from Lhat Houang, Pop and Chung were returning by jeep to their quarters. Suddenly a barrage of small-arms fire erupted from the thick jungle beside the crude road.

"They kept it up for about 2 minutes," Pop recalls, "but the best they could do was blow out one tire of the jeep. They was either lousy shots or they was just trying to scare us. Anyway, we walked the rest of the way home."

The Plaine des Jarres fell on New Year's Eve, 1960, and with it went Lhat Houang. Three days before, Pop, whose medical training consisted of nothing more than the delivery of calves on his Indiana farm, was called to attend a native woman in labor. By that time, with the instruction of an American nurse who also worked for IVS, he had presided over several deliveries, so he was not alarmed. When he arrived in the village he found the woman dead. She had been in labor for 28 hours. But listening with a stethoscope, he could hear the baby's heartbeat.

"I got the baby out and dipped her in cold water, then warm water, like they did me when I was born. She was breathing OK, but she died later and I felt terrible. Losing a mother and a baby like that, I thought those people would never trust me again. I laid up all night worrying about it and wondering what I could have done. The next morning some of the men from the village come to my door, and for a minute I thought they was after me. But they had come to invite me to a breakfast in my honor, because they knew I had tried."

On New Year's Eve he was returning with Chung from the funeral of the mother and child when he met Dick Bowman and Tsieng, heading hellbent for the Plaine des Jarres Airport. Enemy troops were closing in, they said, and the evacuation plane was waiting for them.

"Hell," said Pop, "I got to go to Lhat Houang and get my clothes." With Chung beside him, Pop raced to his house in Lhat Houang. As they entered the front yard they saw dozens of enemy soldiers in the back. Turning around, they raced away in a hail of bullets. A few hours later they took off

in an evacuation plane. As they looked down, they could see enemy troops digging gun emplacements at the end of the runway.

John Tobler, then director of the U.S. aid program in Laos, wrote Pop a commendation, the highest award he could give a volunteer worker. "In the face of great personal danger * * * your effective and intelligent handling of an extremely difficult situation materially contributed not only to the achievement of project objectives but also to the effective strengthening of the U.S. position."

POP LOST 30 POUNDS

During that period Pop's weight dropped from 135 to 105 pounds. He was exhausted. But after a brief recuperation in Bangkok he plunged into the urgent new job of saving the Meo refugees. Pop began the dangerous and wearying task of rounding up wandering bands of refugees, settling them in new villages behind enemy lines, and organizing air drops of rice and other supplies to keep them alive. Having learned the Lao language in order to work more effectively at Lhat Houang, he began studying Meo so that he would not have to take an interpreter on his long treks through the mountains. Pop now speaks Lao, Meo, and Thai, none of them perfectly, but all well enough to get along without help.

"Now Tan Pop has traveled much and is known by all of my people," says Laotian Health Minister Touby, himself a Meo. "He is the only man who can go to them and find out their needs."

Like a Johnny Appleseed of democracy, Mister Pop wanders from village to village in the mountains distributing garden seeds and other supplies to help the resettled Meo get back on their feet.

"I try to give them things that they can do something with themselves," he says. "Their main diet is rice, and I have to give them all of that because the Communists haven't let them stay in one place long enough to harvest a rice crop, so U.S. aid has to airdrop all of that to them. But for the rest of the stuff, like vegetable gardens, I just help them to help themselves. It's just like back home. When you sell a man something, hope that he makes a profit on it when he sells. That way he'll be back for more."

THE ANCIENT AGE OF 49

During the week that I accompanied Pop Buell on a tour of mountain villages, I began to understand his near-divine status with the Meo. One reason is his age. At 49, which is barely middle aged by American standards, he is an ancient to the Meo. They cannot understand how a grandfather can be ramrod straight and tough enough to climb mountain trails night and day with even the most stalwart tribesmen. Another reason is his almost limitless self-control.

"I get mad as hell sometimes," Pop says, "but I figure if I'm going to get along with them I've got to hold it back, so I do. And I never cuss, either to them or at them. I don't care if a man don't speak your language, he knows when you're cussing and it hurts him."

As we sat down to dinner in the hut of a village chief one night, Pop looked up from the strange variety of food on the table and told our host that his food was very good. It was the same, Pop said, as the food we eat in America. The only similarity I could see was that some of it was cooked. On the table before us were intestines of water buffalo, a plate of raw pork blood, a variety of pale broths, some unidentifiable vegetables and a murky bottle of Nom Saly, a 2-week-old corn whisky which tastes as if it contains used innersoles. While Pop ate with gusto and I tried to imitate him, the chief happily repeated Pop's praise to some other villagers. He was proud that his food was like that in America.

In countless little ways Pop has made himself one of the Meo, and they welcome him as such. Other Americans woud take cases of C-rations to supplement a not-always-palatable native diet; Pop never brings so much as a can of beans. "Just as soon as I opened a can," he explains, "I'd be setting myself apart from the people, and it just wouldn't be the same anymore." His only concessions to civilized living are frequent baths in mountain streams. "I'm trying to teach these people to stay clean because dirt causes a lot of the diseases up here."

The Meo people know that theirs is not a safe and placid country. Many of them have been shot, some of them tortured, and almost all of the refugees have been chased by Communist troops. The fact that an American would live their life and share their peril has made a deep impression and has created a bond that is far stronger than if Pop had been born among the Meo.

To them he seems fearless—"But I got just as big a yellow streak as any other man," he says. Among Pop's first acts when he arrives in a village is to inquire about escape trails in case the Pathet Lao come. "If things get too hot, I want to know which way to run."

We were talking about the possibilities of capture one night when Pop looked up at me. "If you ever hear that I'm missing out here, just don't give up on me. In a year and a half I've learned this country pretty well. I know these people and I know they'll take care of me. It might take me 6 months, but anytime it's necessary I know that I can walk out of these mountains all the way to Thailand without getting caught. You just cross your fingers and wait. I'll show up in better shape than I was when I left."

Before he came to Laos in June 1960, Pop Buell had a rewarding but sometimes hard life in Indiana. His mother and father, Clara and Elson Buell, were farmers in Steuben County, and they helped all five of their sons, and their daughters as well, to become farmers. The elder Mrs. Beall, now 72, and her husband, 76, are still somewhat puzzled over the impulse that took their son to faraway Laos. "I just hope he takes care of himself," says Mrs. Buell. "When he was little, I had to make him a bright red sunbonnet so we wouldn't lose him in the cornfield. But he was capable. Even when he was just 5 years old he was a good onion weeder."

"The reason Edgar Buell can get along so well over their in Laos," says Merritt Boyer, one of his former high school teachers and a longtime friend, "is this: From the time he was a little devil on up, when his dad told him to do something, he did it regardless of how hard it was. If he didn't have any tools to do the job with, he found a way to do it anyway."

WILL ROGERS' YOUNG DISCIPLE

As a youngster Pop Buell was active in the Future Farmers of American. When he was 16 he won a free trip to an FFA convention in St. Louis. There, for keeping the best dairy records, he won another prize; a week with a dozen other boys on the Will Rogers ranch at Claremore, Okla. For years thereafter he emulated the great humorist, and today he still shows traces of Rogers' influence in his healthy disdain for stuffiness and Government redtape. "I read everything Will Rogers ever wrote," says Pop, "and when he was on the radio I listened to every broadcast. I rate my favorite Americans like this: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln, and Will Rogers. I hate to put a Republican in that group, but hell, Lincoln was a rural boy and he was everything every other American ought to aspire to be."

As Democrats in an overwhelmingly Republican section of Indiana, the Buells were well known, if politically isolated. When Paul V. McNutt ran for Governor in 1932, the silver-haired politician came into Steuben County on a stumping tour. Edgar Buell, as the leading young Democrat in a county otherwise barren of McNutt supporters, was given the job of introducing the would-be Governor at an outdoor hoedown and barbecue.

"Some of us got to drinking before the speechmaking and things was getting pretty wild," Buell recalls, "but somehow I managed to get up and make an introduction speech.

"Five minutes later I couldn't remember what I said, but after Mr. McNutt got through talking he came up to me and thanked me for the nice introduction. Then he looked at me real straight and said, 'Mr. Buell, just remember. Always be an adult.' I never forgot that."

All of the Buells were, and still are, known for their unbending honesty; Edgar was no exception. But in 1936, after marrying his high school sweetheart and starting to carve out a meager life on a partially arable farm, he decided to break the pattern. It was December. With Christmas coming, the newlywed Buells had no money for presents. Edgar decided to go to the bank in Edon and borrow $50. "I'll tell them it's for a new calf," he said to his wife, Mattie Lorene. "They'd never let me have the money for Christmas presents, but they'll give it to me for a calf."

"You never lied before, Edgar," said his wife, "and nothing good can come from lying now, even if it is for Christmas."

BUELL BLURTS THE TRUTH

Undeterred, Buell went to the bank. Art Mauerhan, now executive vice president of the Edon State Bank, remembers the awkward young farmer stammering as if he couldn't decide what to say. Finally Edgar blurted:

"Mr. Mauerhan, I come in here to tell you I needed $50 for a new calf, but that ain't true. I need to borrow the money so we can have Christmas."

He got the $50 and a top credit rating, which still stands at the Edon Bank.

Home with his wife, whose name Edgar and everyone else contracted to "Maloreen," Christmas plans progressed happily until the two suddenly thought of a tenant farmer, Rollie Fraley, who lived with his wife and six children in a small shack on one corner of their farm. The Fraleys, who had just migrated to Indiana from Kentucky, were dirt poor. They planned to have no Christmas at all. With half of their $50, Edgar and Maloreen played Santa Claus to the Fraley children.

Every Christmas after that bleak one, Edgar Buell dressed up in a Santa Claus suit and brought toys to country children who otherwise would have received none. By 1957 the list of children had swelled to include dozens whose parents also bought them presents but who waited for Santa Claus nonetheless. All over Steuben County today you can find children and adults who remember Uncle Edgar's words each Christmas: "May the good Lord be just a little good to you."

The early years on the farm were hard ones. Although the Buells had two healthy children, Howard and Harriet, Maloreen suffered complications after the birth of the second child and was bedridden for months. "They had to have a hired girl," recalls Forrest, "and poor Edgar didn't have any money to pay her. But he had a good vegetable garden. Every Saturday before it was time to pay the girl, Edgar would pile a truck full of produce and drive all over the area peddling it. When he got up enough money, he would come home and give the girl her wages."

When the war came, Buell was naturally draft-exempt as a farmer. "He had enough land and livestock to keep three men out of

the Army," said a neighbor. He also had a number of extracurricular jobs, among them the assistant chairmanship of the county alcoholic beverage board and a post on the Agriculture Department's Corn Loan Board. Technically, a draft-exempt farmer was not supposed to do other work, and someone complained about Edgar's extra jobs. "To hell with them," Edgar said, and went to the draft board to ask for induction. He failed his physical examination because of poor eyesight. Determined to go anyway, he got new glasses. A few months later he was a corporal in the horse cavalry, helping to train recruits at Fort Riley, Kans. He did not get overseas. At war's end he was a supply sergeant at Fort Knox.

The war years and postwar years were good ones for agriculture, and Buell's farm grew and prospered. From a start of 142 partially arable acres, his holding expanded to a productive 249-acre farm. Together with Maloreen he poked into every civic activity in the county that was open to them. While Edgar worked with 4-H clubs and coached Little League baseball, Maloreen looked far and wide for people who needed a helping hand. "If she heard about a sick old lady who needed her house redecorated," says an old friend, Mrs. Jesse Ketzenberger, "she'd drop her own work and go over and hang the lady's wallpaper herself. I wouldn't run down Edgar, but Maloreen was twice the person he is, and he would be the first to agree."

LOVE IN ANOTHER WRAPPER

The marriage was a perfect one, says Edgar, "but we used to argue. Anybody who says he don't argue with his wife is either lying or there's something wrong with him." Not surprisingly, the argument usually concerned how to raise Howard and Harriet. Edgar, accustomed to the Spartan ways of his own father, bridled at Maloreen's easy-going way with the children. "I thought she was too lenient," he says, "but after a while I learned she was right. She just put her love out different than I was used to. She just wrapped them up in it." (Today Buell's 25-year-old son Howard, whose wife Bonnie expects a child this summer, operates his father's farm. Harriet, now 24, has one son and expects another child soon. Her husband, Wesley Gettys, teaches high school in Somerset, Ohio.)

In 1958 tragedy struck. Maloreen developed a mysterious malady which doctors were unable to diagnose. For 6 months she grew weaker. Hospitalized in Fort Wayne, about 40 miles from the Buell farm in Steuben County, she appeared to be improving. Every night Pop would drive down to Fort Wayne to sit with her until she fell asleep. One night after he had been in her room only a short while, Maloreen looked up at Edgar and said, "I'm sleepy. You'd better go home now."

"She usually wanted me to stay until 9 o'clock, and it was only 7," Buell recalls.

As Buell said good night from the hospital-room door, Maloreen smiled and called, "Good-bye, Edgar."

"She never said 'good-bye' to me before," he recalls.

By the time Edgar had driven the 40 miles to Steuben County, the doctor had telephoned. Maloreen was dead.

Buell tried to go it alone on the farm. Howard was away for a 2-year tour in the Army. Harriet was working in Columbus, Ohio. It was a dismal life. Over-solicitous friends and relatives kept popping in. And a few widows began calling regularly, with obvious designs.

One day a former alcoholic beverage board colleague drove into the farmyard and showed Edgar an advertisement for International Voluntary Service in a farm magazine. IVS needed experienced farmers, preferably college graduates, to lend its young volunteers overseas. For a year he corresponded with IVS headquarters in Washington, sending applications, character references, and pleas that the college requirements be waived in his case. "Finally I squeezed my whole life down into a two-page letter and they accepted me," he says. Howard was back from the Army and had married Bonnie. He was eager to take over his father's farm. "I was ready to retire from farming anyway," says Pop, "so I turned it all over to Howard." A month later, Buell was in Laos, a country whose name he had never heard before.

In a way, he treats Laos just as if it were Steuben County, only bigger. Like farmers everywhere, his favorite off-duty pastime is "going visiting." He calls on Health Minister Touby, an exalted Lao Government figure, with the same simple, straightforward approach he would make to Jake Fifer, who lives down the road a piece from Pop's farm in Indiana. Col. Vang Phao, the onetime French Army sergeant who leads a tough and well-trained force of Meo guerrillas in North Laos, shares the same camaraderie with the Indiana farmer as do Pop's brothers back on the farm. When the two sit in the courtyard of Vang Phao's house, swinging their crossed legs and laughing at each other's sallies, it sounds almost as if they were a pair of Indiana farmers gossiping about a neighbor's new silo. You can almost hear them utter an occasional "By golly," in Meo.

To the relief of Vang Phao and everyone else with whom Pop works, he has signed up for another 2 years in Laos. "I couldn't leave these people now," he says. Tragically, events in Laos since my visit may force Pop to leave them. At this writing, Communist troops have swept the royal Government out of most of northwest Laos, and the effect of this move on the rest of the country is still uncertain. Pop and his beloved Meo tribesmen are in the northeast and thus were not directly involved in the recent Lao battles But further Communist victories could so isolate the Meo that Pop would have to get out. Even if a solution is found in the much sought coalition of neutrals, Communists and the royal Government, most Americans on the scene predict that within a few months the Communists would control all of Laos. It is unlikely that they would want Mr. Pop around "selling America." Thus Buell's heroic efforts may be frustrated. But, as he told me one day in the mountains, "I'm sowing seeds that, by God, someday is going to grow."

THE MOST EFFECTIVE AMERICAN

Other Americans also are sowing the seeds of democracy overseas, but in many travels to almost every part of the world I have never seen one who did it so effectively as Mr. Pop. I told him one day that men with such a combination of simplicity, intelligence, and guts are rare. He was embarrassed. "I ain't unusual," he said. "If you look around I think you will find at least one Edgar Buell in every rural county in America."

When I left Mr. Pop in Laos, he was getting his garden seeds and supplies ready for a 10-day trek through mountains which, theoretically at least, are held by Communist forces. Pilots had reported seeing large bands of Meo refugees wandering the jungle trails in the area, and Pop was on his way to find them and help them if he could. He had never been in the area before and had no way of knowing whether his reception would be friendly or final. Just as I began writing this report, I received a letter from him, written from a tiny village which he described as being "real close to the enemy."

"For the first time since I can remember," he wrote, "I came off from Vientiane without my medicine kit.

"Was greeted here by a family who were the victims of a hand grenade, a sad sight. I got two young girls patched up by using what we had here, and put the father in the Helio-Courier and sent him to OB (the Operation Brotherhood hospital run by Filipino volunteers under sponsorship of the Manila and Vientiane junior chambers of commerce). The worse one (of the girls) I took to a house, washed and bandaged, and put her to sleep. A little boy is not too bad. If the girl is still alive and if a Helio can get in here, she will go to OB tomorrow.

"I have just ate again and am about ready for bed. Was you ever deep in the jungle at night, locusts chattering, plus some kind of hunting bird, a mortar shell (exploding) now and then, plus cold and dark? That is this place tonight. I believe I will leave my shoes on."

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## Nancy W. Faber's "Cathy at the Crossroads"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mrs. Nancy W. Faber, of Rhinebeck, N.Y., has written a first novel that is attracting interest among those who deal with children. It is entitled "Cathy at the Crossroads," and is receiving excellent reviews in the press.

The Philadelphia Inquirer takes note of this promising author, as well as the Rhinebeck Gazette, which is published in my district. Since the subject material of "Cathy at the Crossroads" is of concern to school authorities and others who deal with children, I include the two newspaper items in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Rhinebeck Gazette, Aug. 9, 1962]

Mrs. Nancy Faber, of Rhinebeck and New York City, who held a fellowship to the Florham Park-Madison Writers' Conference at the Madison, N.J., campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University, July 16–28, given by Weekly Children's Reader, Middletown, Conn., to "the most promising new writer in the country." Mrs. Faber is author of "Cathy at the Crossroads," to be published by Lippincott on September 19 and of its sequel, "Cathy's Secret Kingdom," to be published in 1963. The Fabers have spent over 20 summers at their home on Slate Quarry Road. The rest of the family includes her husband, a New York businessman, and two teenagers, a son and a daughter.

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[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 23, 1962]

Almost irreparable damage has been done to stepmothers by their folk and fairy tale prototypes. Cathy should have known better, but her preconceived notions made her own and her new stepmother's life miserable for months. Weaving elements of mystery into the daily doings, uncertainties, and longings of a 10-year-old's life, the author also injects real life overtones. Nancy W. Faber's, "Cathy at the Crossroads," is a tenderly moving first book by a promising new author. (Lippincott, 191 pp., $3.50.)

## Imprisoning the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JEFFERY COHELAN**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, when H.R. 4670—a bill to amend the law relating to indecent publications in the District of Columbia—was considered ever so briefly earlier this year, I made it clear, as my remarks at the time indicate, that I deplore the blatant traffic in obscene, lewd, and indecent materials both in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States. I yield to no one in my desire to halt the flow of this material and I will support constructive, carefully drafted legislation to this end.

The modified version of the bill which was adopted yesterday by the House represents an improvement over the original version. It is still so broad and vague, however, as to endanger—as the Washington Post points out in an editorial today—"every legitimate enterprise in Washington engaged in the communications field."

Mr. Speaker, this editorial points out, in part at least, why this bill should be vetoed by the President, and why we must exercise the greatest vigilance in enacting legislation of this type; vigilance to insure that the methods used to correct recognized evils do not in themselves create even greater problems.

IMPRISONING THE PRESS

A House-Senate conference committee has reported a bill to amend the law relating to indecent publications in the District of Columbia that endangers every legitimate enterprise in Washington engaged in the communications field. It would clamp a puerile censorship on every sort of publication or theatrical presentation, imposing horrendous penalties on anyone who dared to go beyond the horizons of Representative JOHN DOWDY's pietistic and provincial morality.

The best that can be said about this bill is that the Senate forced amendments making it not quite as bad as Mr. DOWDY wanted it to be or quite as bad as he made it in the House version. The original language that made it ludicrous has been erased. House strictures prohibiting "publication of scandals, whoring, lechery, assignations, intrigues between men and women, and immoral conduct of persons" are abandoned. The bill now more modestly makes it a crime to sell, give away, possess with intent to sell or give away, advertise, edit, write, publish, or exhibit any "obscene, lewd, or indecent" material in any conceivable form.

The penalties provided in this bill are fantastic. They include confiscation of "all moneys, vehicles, furnishings, fixtures, equipment (including without limitation furniture and fixtures adaptable to other uses, and equipment and stock for printing, filming, exhibiting, recording, transporting, safekeeping or communications, or other things of value." They include also the closing and padlocking of any structures used for any prohibited purpose. And of course they include fines and imprisonment.

It is worth considering what this means. It means that a newspaper or magazine or radio-TV station could be put out of business if it carried an advertisement for a book or a play or a movie deemed "indecent" or even if it published a review saying where the book could be purchased or where the play or movie could be seen. It means that any printing firm could be closed down for printing a handbill that told about an "immoral" show or publication. And what is an "indecent" book or an "immoral" show? Publishers and printers and broadcasters and exhibitors would have to guess. And the only way they could be safe would be to print nothing and show nothing.

All this is proposed, of course, with the loftiest intent to protect the public from what Mr. DOWDY considers deleterious. But it would be just about as sensible and just about as efficacious to put blinders and earmuffs on everyone in the community and forbid them to read or see or hear anything. May the President preserve us by veto from a pseudo-sanctity so insufferable.

## A Tribute to Howard Hoyt, Broadway Producer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Howard Hoyt, producer in association with the Feld brothers, of Washington, D.C., of the Carter Barron Amphitheater Musical Productions, deserves a great tribute for his excellent presentations of many Broadway musicals that brought entertainment to thousands of Washingtonians and visitors to the Nation's Capital for the past 4 years. I also had the pleasure this summer of seeing one of his great productions, Rodgers and Hammerstein's "King and I," starring Barbara Cook and Farley Granger, which received rave reviews from the Washington critics. I congratulate Mr. Howard Hoyt for his great series of musicals at the Carter Barron. I also had the honor of meeting that very evening the authoress of the novel "Anna and the King of Siam," Margaret Landon, whose book brought forth the great musical, "King and I."

I am inserting a letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD written by the famous novelist:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
*August 18, 1962.*

Mr. HOWARD HOYT,
*Producer, "The King and I," Carter Barron Amphitheater, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. HOYT: After seeing "The King and I" Tuesday evening at the Carter Barron Amphitheater, I should have liked to thank in person each member of the cast and staff for an evening of delight. This is truly a magical version of the play.

In fact, I couldn't go to sleep that night for thinking of it, although I was very tired. Scene after scene went through my mind, detail after detail, from opening movement to the very end. I had the feeling that each person involved had contributed the best of himself to the play so that the total was warm and alive and somehow new. In fact, although I have lived with this story for many years and have seen the play many times, it was truly new again, even for me.

May I send you all my gratitude and my congratulations, too, for fashioning so beautiful a production.

Sincerely yours,

MARGARET LANDON.

## Truth in Packaging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. HERMAN TOLL**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I received a letter recently from the secretary of internal affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Genevieve Blatt, concerning a bill introduced in the other body which is of utmost importance to consumers.

Under leave granted, I attach a copy of this letter and a copy of the press release which our able secretary of internal affairs issued, so that the public would know that she joins any official who is fighting for the protection of the consumer:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS,
*Harrisburg, Pa., September 24, 1962.*

Hon. HERMAN TOLL,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR HERMAN: I was very much interested in reading yesterday of the introduction of Senator HART's truth-in-packaging legislation and of its cosponsorship by Senator WILEY. May I urge that you give this legislation your most careful consideration, and do whatever you can to bring about the necessary protection of the consumers of our State and Nation against fraudulent and deceptive packaging.

If you would care for any information regarding our findings on this general subject in Pennsylvania, I would be glad to supply it at any time. Our weights and measures inspectors are constantly receiving complaints concerning fraudulent packaging, but it is impossible for them to take any action under existing laws.

With my best personal regards and every good wish, I am,

Yours sincerely,

GENEVIEVE BLATT.

NEWS RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 24, 1962.

Genevieve Blatt, Pennsylvania's secretary of internal affairs, today released the text of a telegram sent yesterday to U.S. Senator PHILIP A. HART, Democrat, of Michigan:

"Congratulations on the introduction of your truth-in-packaging bill. You have incorporated not only the recommendations I made in testimony before your subcommittee some months ago, but additional features which I feel certain will benefit shoppers everywhere. Be assured we will urge all Pennsylvania Congressmen to support this legislation.

"GENEVIEVE BLATT,
*"Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs."*

Miss Blatt sent a similar telegram to Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican of Wisconsin, who joined Senator HART as cosponsor, thus giving the bill bipartisan support.

"Adequate protection for the consumer against fraudulent and deceptive packaging

is something that goes beyond any partisan political considerations," she said.

Miss Blatt noted that last spring she had asked the Hart subcommittee, then studying the need for legislation in this field, to do something adequate to protect Pennsylvania consumers and others, in cases where existing State and Federal laws now fail to provide adequate safeguards.

"It used to be," she said, "that our weights and measures laws were sufficient. If scales and measuring devices were kept accurate, the buyer could easily keep her eye on the weighing or measuring as it was done, and be sure she didn't pay for the butcher's thumb on the scale or a false bottom in the bushel basket. In today's supermarket, however, almost everything is pre-packaged, and, although the law requires marking as to the net contents, she often can't see the markings, and, even if she does, she has no ready way to check their accuracy. Furthermore, since packages now sell the goods instead of salesmen, some of them have become fraudulently deceptive in appearance, with so-called economy sizes often poorer buys than regular size.

"As I pointed out to the Hart subcommittee, Federal laws are essential because most products today are distributed in interstate commerce, so I am delighted that this bill has been introduced and will urge all of our Pennsylvania Members of the National House of Representatives as well as our two U.S. Senators to support it.

"When our own State legislature reconvenes in January, we hope to have some State legislation to suggest which will supplement in Pennsylvania what the Hart-Wiley bill will do nationwide."

At the time Miss Blatt's testimony was submitted to the Hart subcommittee, Senator HART commented:

"Miss Blatt's long experience in the firing line of consumer protection and the incisiveness of her statement will be of great assistance to the subcommittees (Antitrust and Monopoly) in the formulation of proposed legislation."

## Hon. Frank Boykin

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join thousands of Congressmen BOYKIN's friends in praising him for the fine service he has rendered the people of Alabama, the people of the entire United States, and the world during the 28 years he has served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

I do not know of any man who has served in the U.S. House of Representatives during my 24 years of service who has more unanimous respect than Congressman BOYKIN. I remember when I was a freshman Congressman he was helpful to me on many occasions and I have noticed since that date that he is always considerate to new Members of Congress.

The Nation has lost one of its greatest legislators. However, we hope that the U.S. Government will continue to use him in a consultant capacity as he is an authority on practically every segment of our Government and country. Congressman BOYKIN is well preserved and can be of great assistance to our Nation and country in a consultant capacity if he will agree to further give his valuable time in this capacity to his country.

We are in great need of men of his stature in the United States at the present time. Capitol Hill just will not be the same place after Congressman BOYKIN moves his office from the House Office Building on December 30, 1962. However, I hope that we can persuade him to make this community his permanent home so that we can all have the benefit of his company and advice.

Mr. Speaker, I could speak hours on the good things Congressman BOYKIN has done for practically every Member of Congress and for the poor people throughout the country by giving large donations to practically every worthy charity and assisting Members who were in poor financial circumstances in defraying their campaign expenses.

I shall greatly miss Congressman BOYKIN here on Capitol Hill and hope that I will have the opportunity of seeing him often after he retires.

## Support of the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, those of us who believe that our Nation needs a strong American merchant marine were pleased to note the following resolution adopted at the National Convention of the Reserve Officers Association on June 29, 1962:

SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN MARINE

Whereas the American merchant marine is vital in peacetime as a stabilising economic element of our foreign sea commerce; and

Whereas an active merchant marine in peacetime will guarantee a dependable nucleus of available shipping in an emergency; and

Whereas American merchant marine shipbuilders and shippers presently require construction and operating subsidies in order to compete for ocean trade due to our high standard of living; and

Whereas the cost of shipping freight under American flag to the American exporter/importer is the same as under foreign flag over many conference routes; and

Whereas the percentage of total U.S. oceanborne trade carried by U.S. flag ships has dropped to about 10 percent: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved* by the Reserve Officers Association—

(a) That we will continue to foster and support with increased vigor the concept of an active American Merchant Marine as a most important element of the country's sea power and national economy.

(b) That we urge American shippers to engage vigorously in the competitive shipping market under traditional methods of better and more economical service.

(c) that we encourage American export-importers to use the American merchant marine now for shipping at least 50 percent of our total foreign trade and to increase this goal in the future.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I am particularly happy and honored to have the privilege to sit in this Chamber and work with a grand lady from the State of Pennsylvania, KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, on matters affecting the welfare of this great country of ours.

On September 28, 1962, President Kennedy nominated KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN to be Treasurer of the United States, and this appointment will bring to that post one of the most able and experienced women in American public life.

Mrs. GRANAHAN comes to this office with a most unusual background. The first Congresswoman from Philadelphia, she is now serving her fourth term. She was elected to her late husband's unfinished term in the 84th Congress, and reelected to the 85th, 86th, and 87th Congresses.

It has most often been said of Representative GRANAHAN that she knows her subject when she talks, and she is a careful and capable woman whenever she talks. She has earned the trust of the Members of Congress to an unprecedented degree and worked amicably and effectively with both Democrat and Republican legislators.

There have been many recognitions of her fine work. For example, in 1959 she received an honorary doctor of laws degree from St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia. She also received the Father Hogan Award, St. Joseph's College in March of 1962. She received the 1962 Gold Medal Award, Philadelphia Club of Printing House Craftsmen; the 1962 United Award given by the United Business Mens' Association of Greater Philadelphia for outstanding leadership and distinguished service to the welfare of the community, and for outstanding service to small businessmen throughout the Philadelphia metropolitan area. She was initiated as national honorary member of Theta Phi Alpha, a national sorority for Catholic women at their national convention in Cleveland, Ohio. She received the Distinguished Daughter Award from the State of Pennsylvania in 1961.

Finally, I would like to present an admission of my own. I would like to cite her as a woman of great heart, of loyalty, of dedication to the American people and to her country.

I rejoice not only because a deserved and great honor has come to a good friend, but also because her appointment holds such promise for the future.

## Prohibiting the Transportation of Gambling Devices in Interstate Commerce

SPEECH
OF
### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted with the conference report on S. 1658, and wish to commend the Senate-House conferees for the action they have taken on this important legislation.

For many years, I have been active in the legislative fight to combat organized crime. During my years in the New York State Senate, I introduced legislation which initiated the State crime commission and was the sponsor of many bills toughening the laws on narcotics and other similar vicious forms of crime. I was also identified with a law which created the bistate commission that has made great strides in sweeping the New Jersey and New York waterfronts clean of corruption.

I am sure that we are all well aware of the menace of organized criminal activity. The "syndicate" has pervaded the country to a frightening degree and I applaud every move the Attorney General has made to counter this menace. I also agree with him and other experts that much more needs to be done. Organized crime thrives on the proceeds of the gambling and narcotics rackets. It is a bloated octopus whose tentacles reach around every major city and State feeding on billions of dollars sucked from the Nation's economy.

A great advance was made with the enactment of the Attorney General's anticrime program during the first half of this Congress, particularly in three bills, S. 1656, covering transmission of bets, wagers, and related information; S. 1657, prohibiting the interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia; and S. 1653, prohibiting travel or transportation in aid of racketeering enterprises. As the Attorney General testified before the committee, this bill, S. 1658, which is similar to my measure, H.R. 8410, will greatly complement the program and will make even further strides in cutting off the funds now being used to finance organized crime. This fact has been recognized by Congress and after slightly varying versions were approved by each body, a Senate-House conference unanimously agreed on the strengthening amendments to S. 1658, which will serve to paralyze organized gambling by hitting hard where it hurts most—in the pocketbook. This is commendable action, and I sincerely hope that acceptance of this conference report by each body of Congress, and approval by the President will remedy the situation that has prevailed for far too long.

Mr. Speaker, let me remind you that 11 years of experience have proven that the existing Johnson Act is inadequate.

Organized crime has learned to get around that act by using new machinery which does not fall under the provisions of this existing statute. They have developed gambling machines which are not coin operated, which do not pay off directly or indirectly and do not have a drum or reel as in the older, more conventional slot machines which were in use when the Johnson Act passed Congress. The forces for law and order thus find themselves impotent and ineffectual against the modern, systemized methods of evasion employed by the armies of crime.

The bill, as accepted in conference, will add breadth and scope to the fight against this evil. In effect, it will modernize the laws to better combat the modernized evasions of the present law. It will counteract the criminal advances, it will put vigor and strength on the side of the law enforcer. Not only does it deal with specific machinery, but it also sets down clear and precise language as to the individuals legally involved in trafficking in gambling devices. These sections will clear up the difficulties that were highlighted by the Supreme Court in *United States* v. *Five Gambling Devices* (346 U.S. 441 (1953)), and enable the Justice Department to work more effectively.

The goals of the legislation are quite clear. By striking at a major source of syndicate income, we are attempting to eliminate or minimize the size of gambling profits. If we can succeed in that, then organized gambling will cease to be the destructive force that it has become. I don't think that anyone can debate the soundness of this logic.

I wish to emphasize that the measure is so worded that devices designed for amusement purposes are not included. There is also exception made for parimutuel machines and other devices manufactured for racetracks and other gambling establishments in areas where gambling is legal under State law.

Mr. Speaker, we have not legislated against the vacationer who occasionally drops 50 cents in a pinball machine. But, unfortunately, the day of the harmless one-armed bandits is gone. Now the callous, vicious men who control organized crime run our gambling devices. I repeat that if we are ever to eradicate this menace, we must remove the profit motive. Thousands, millions of dollars are squandered each year—money that is used to line the pockets of the men who plan a murder as calmly as we might plan a golf date.

We must start now on the road toward the achievement of an effective, well-rounded fight against crime in America. This legislation is a long step on that road.

## Dr. William M. Hudson: A Great Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 21, 1962*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, Blackburn College in my hometown of Carlinville, Ill., is famous throughout the United States and many foreign countries for its self-help program.

Blackburn's success is due in no small measure to the efforts of one man, Dr. William M. Hudson, who served as its president for 32 years from 1912 until his retirement in 1944.

It was just a half century ago that Dr. and Mrs. Hudson came to Carlinville and began their great work which has enriched the cultural life of our community. It is our good fortune that this wonderful couple still dwell among us and, as a former student at Blackburn, I am proud to be able to add my voice to many tributes that are being paid to them during this golden anniversary year.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial entitled "A Salute to the Hudsons and Blackburn College," from the September 20, 1962, issue of the Carlinville Democrat:

A SALUTE TO THE HUDSONS AND BLACKBURN COLLEGE

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the coming of Dr. and Mrs. William M. Hudson to Blackburn College. This is the anniversary which saw the beginning of a new era for Blackburn, and one which saw the school take its place among the famous institutions of the United States and was soon known also throughout the world. Dr. Hudson came to Carlinville in 1912 and was greeted by a handful of students and faculty members. The cupboard was bare as far as funds were concerned.

Surely this man, Hudson, and also his wife, the former Florence Barclay, must have been tapped on the shoulder from the Almighty for this seemingly hopeless situation. We must recognize "Mother" Hudson, because to us who knew them in the trying days of their early years at Blackburn, she was surely an inspiration to both Dr. Hudson, students, and the townspeople.

Dr. Hudson when he came to this city was a God-fearing Presbyterian minister, and the college then as it is now, an endowed Presbyterian college, a college which taught religion, and one which still holds chapel, and teaches religion, under the guidance of Rev. Joseph Dana, college chaplain.

Dr. Hudson retired from his work in 1944, with the college well on its road to success. President Emeritus William M. Hudson and his wife are still residents of this city, where they have grown old gracefully. We, along with thousands of friends and neighbors are proud to be able to have known them, and also their three daughters, who grew to womanhood in this city. They are: Leslie, now Mrs. Albert Meyers, of New Jersey; Florence, now Mrs. Jack Calloway, of California, and Miss Harriett, dean of women at Ward Belmont College in Virginia.

Yes, we who have grown up during the Hudson's stay in Carlinville, will always remember them. They were fine neighbors, big people, although you would never know by their mannerisms. They were humble people, and they are a good part of the reason that Blackburn is now one of the best known institutions of learning throughout the entire world. Congratulations to you, Dr. and Mrs. Hudson, from the Democrat, and the citizens of this city, and we thank God that you were sent here and lived among us for these past 50 years * * * and as we have heard Dr. Hudson say in his benediction at church services many times "May the Lord bless both of you, and keep you, now and forever more."

Blackburn College as it opens its 1962–63 term did not stop growing with Dr. Hudson's retirement in 1944. Although her roots had grown deep under the nourishment of the Hudsons, there was still much to be done

in building for the future. The board of trustees and the men who were to follow Dr. Hudson's footsteps have carried on the work begun by Dr. Hudson. They have seen to it that Blackburn has progressed and kept her stature among the other colleges and universities throughout the land. New buildings, dormitories, classrooms, have been added. A new administration building will be completed soon; they have retained the self-help plan; they have extended their educational facilities from a 2-year liberal arts school to a complete 4-year college, which is highly accredited. The enrollment has risen to 400 students, and they are well on their way to making not only the name of Blackburn College a famous name, but also the city of Carlinville, which is proud to be known as the home of Blackburn College. The credit for the advances made at Blackburn since Dr. Hudson's retirement as president of the college must go to Dr. Robert P. Ludlum, who has served in that capacity for the past 16 years.

Again we say, congratulations to Dr. Ludlum, to the faculty and staff, and to the board of trustees. We congratulate the students who are in attendance at the college in that they have chosen Blackburn College in their quest for higher education. We want them to feel at home during their 9 months spent here with us, and we can assure them that they could not have chosen a better school of learning than is our own Blackburn College.

## Civil Defense and Shelters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Councilman Bradford Menkes, of Teaneck, N.J., has written me a very forceful and persuasive letter with regard to the need for positive action here in the United States in the field of shelters and civil defense. Mr. Menkes is a widely known professor at the City College of New York, as well as a highly regarded public official. His well-expressed thoughts should be carefully noted by all Members of the House. It is my hope that the 88th Congress will give our civil defense and shelter programs the careful study they deserve.

Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Menkes' letter in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Hon. FRANK C. OSMERS, Jr.,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR FRANK: * * * It is perfectly apparent that the brief storm of interest roused by the President last summer, sharply intensified by the Soviet tests last fall, has by now dwindled to the point where most Americans are more interested in the fluctuations of the New York Stock Exchange.

Unfortunately, although the interest may have dwindled, the fundamental problem has far from disappeared.

Let's consider the situation for a moment. The United States has huge retaliatory capabilities both available and planned for the future. The backbone of our currently available power lies in the B–47 and the B–52's which make up the SAC, together with the IRBM based overseas and the operational Atlas sites here. This is supported by our huge network of warning devices, DEW, Pine Tree, Mid-Alaska, the BMEWS system, and the fantastic SAGE. Between these, Nike-Ajax, Nike-Hercules, Bomarc, etc., there has never been a country so well fortified to make a threat of a massive retaliation.

The trouble is that the average Joe Doakes doesn't even begin to appreciate that in each of our heavy bombers an H–bomb load (which exceeds in explosive power all the bombs dropped by both sides in all of World War II) is available on fairly sudden call.

He hasn't begun to appreciate the hundreds of billions of dollars worth of weaponry, nor the meaning for the future of 800 Minuteman missiles (to say nothing of the Polaris).

But what he darn well ought to know by now is that this country will never declare an unprovoked war on anybody.

We are going to get hit first.

Whether this happens by accident, by insanity, by miscalculation, someday, somewhere, somehow we run a measurable risk of being on the receiving end of a thermonuclear war.

You might say that we have fortified ourselves almost too well, because it now becomes theoretically necessary for a potential aggressor to hit us as hard as he can. Why should he not try to knockout the nerve centers, the brains, the controls, of the United States, in order to forestall as much as possible of our retaliatory strike.

This, then, is the rub. For the first time in history we have to face the possibility that the American heartland can be decisively damaged.

Ever since the courageous analysis of this possibility by the 1959 hearings of the Holifield committee I have felt very strongly that the difference between life and death for the United States of America could easily rest on the following:

1. The development of the NEAR warning system.

2. The provision of fallout shelter in some cases, and combination blast and fallout shelter in other cases, for every single American, man, woman, and child.

3. Education of every citizen in survival techniques in an atomic age.

Now, why don't you seek to identify the people who raised such a fuss at the notion of building shelters. And realize what they had to say whenever they got a chance. They are the idealists who are still ready to believe that it is possible to trust that same nation who prepared for 3 years (negotiating at Geneva) to test bombs last September and October as if they were firecrackers.

This is by no means a small problem, nor easily soluble. We are talking literally about the practicability of preserving a viable society in the extremely unpleasant event of a large-scale thermonuclear war. And we must face the fact very soon that as time goes on the situation must get worse and not better. As first China, then others, develop nuclear capabilities, as well as missile capabilities, the risks must get bigger and not smaller.

For the Congress of the United States to shirk the responsibility of "safeguarding the national welfare" is almost an unthinkable dereliction of duty.

I would like to assure you, on my honor as a professional engineer, that—

(a) No matter how destructive H-bombs are, nor how massive an attack is delivered, it is possible to devise the technical means of shelter.

(b) It is possible to survive (some of us will, not all) such a war, and it is possible to rebuild a country afterward.

(c) The extent of the possible depredation will depend in large measure on what planning is done now, and how well prepared individuals are to do things for themselves.

To sum up: What I am recommending is not a solution to the world's problems. But we urgently need some time to (a) establish an enforceable limited arms control, (b) work toward a realistic disarmament goal, (c) grow up.

In a few words: Is building shelters more provocative than building missiles? Is learning first aid more provocative than building bigger and better bombs?

Is keeping extra food, water, drugs on hand more provocative to war than talking about a neutron bomb?

I just cannot believe that responsible people can avoid coming to grips with the facts of life in a nuclear age. It is quite possible that there are better answers than shelters right now. But it is unthinkable to me that there is any other matter of greater importance before the American people today. National apathy is incomprehensible, and must be associated in my mind with a national psychosis: a retreat from the unpleasantness.

Sincerely,

BRADFORD MENKES.

TEANECK, N.J.

## That's Bear You Smell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I include the following in the RECORD:

THAT'S BEAR YOU SMELL—RUSSIA NOW IS ONLY 360 MILES AWAY FROM STUART

The wind from the south is bringing the strong reek of Russian bear to Florida.

Nikita Khrushchev stated on September 11 that an attack on Cuba "will be the beginning of the unleashing of war." Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, in a U.N. speech last Friday, repeated that warning.

In other words, Cuba is now Russian territory, just like Moscow. Russian soldiers are now on Russian-protected soil just 360 miles from Stuart. That's considerably closer than Tallahassee. It is seconds away as the missile flies or minutes for the MIG and the supersonic bomber.

While our military experts were watching the DEW line (distant early warning system) to see that the Reds wouldn't catch us napping if they lobbed missiles at us from Siberia over the North Pole, Russia moved into the back bedroom. Khrushchev, in effect, took possession of a 700-mile-long, unsinkable aircraft carrier, the island of Cuba, in an ideal strategic position from which the entire exposed underbelly of the United States offers indefensible targets.

In a coup aided and abetted by our own State Department, which pushed Batista out and helped bring Castro in, the Reds acquired a base for atomic missiles, atomic-armed submarines and aircraft capable of dropping atomic bombs. That base, at its closest point, is only 90 miles from U.S. soil.

Instead of being 5,000 miles and 20 minutes away, Red missile capability is now only 250 miles from Miami, 850 from Atlanta, Ga., and practically breathing down the neck of Washington, D.C., New Orleans, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

A dozen old-fashioned Red subs, not even the new atomic breed, based at Cuban sub pens in our back yard and with no need to make the long trip across the Atlantic, could clobber America. Each armed with a nuclear weapon and enjoying the freedom of the seas, lurking just off the 12-mile limit, they could wipe out in less than 1 minute Cape Canaveral, Huntsville, Ala., and every other missile base and atomic weapons center in coastal and mid-United States.

If this intolerable condition is allowed to continue, civil defense will be just a laugh, if it isn't one already. The billions we have been spending for defense have been erased by the unspeakable bungling of our State Department. The enemy is now getting into position to pick off our cities like sitting ducks.

While the President occupied himself with Laos and the Peace Corps, and we devoted $20 billion toward getting to the moon, the Reds moved in. In advance, they were glorified by such national mediums as Life magazine and the New York Times, which painted Castro's murderers as bearded heroes.

They couldn't believe that it could be true when baby brother Raul remarked that it would give him much pleasure to drop a couple of atomic bombs on New York City (one for Rockefeller Center and one for the Times building, we suppose); or when Fidel and Nikita bear-hugged in glee at the U.N. about what they had put over; or even when thousands of Cuban patriots were lined up against walls and liquidated in the approved Russian manner; or when all American property was seized, Americans imprisoned and the American flag befouled and burned on the streets of Havana.

Maybe they will believe it now. The buzzards have come home to roost. Russia is just 360 miles from this town today. Florida and the rest of the United States are under the gun. Allowing this situation to develop was the most unbelievable piece of stupidity in our Nation's history and allowing it to get worse is unthinkable.

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## And Speaking of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers have been full of accounts of the so-called invasion of Mississippi by the U.S. marshals, border patrol, and soldiers of the United States of America with drawn bayonets. I am fearful that many segments of the news media have slanted the actions of the invaders toward the students, the people of Oxford and in that general area so as to not adversely reflect upon the invaders. Officials in the executive department speak of keeping law and order and protecting the constitutional rights of Meredith. Apparently there have been many instances in which those directed to carry out the so-called orders of protection for Meredith have violated the constitutional rights of many other people. I suspect that we do not know one-half of the mistreatment, abuse, and indignities inflicted upon the people who have been taken into custody by the invaders, many of them unlawfully so.

There appeared an article in the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch of Thursday, October 4, in which a Mr. Van Savell, an Associated Press newsman, was quoted as saying that he and a colleague who were at the scene of Sunday night's rioting and apparently not participating in any way, were mistaken for students and attacked by marshals. He said, according to the news item:

"We were deluged by tear gas, manhandled, handcuffed, and beaten with clubs during a 200-yard walk back to the Lyceum Building (administrative center of the university). Thanks to recognition from Chief Marshal James P. McShane, we were quickly released and given freedom in the Marshals' headquarters.

I would remind the Members of this House, the Chief Executive, and his advisors, that this happened in the name of protecting the constitutional rights of one person who had not been attacked or physically harmed in any manner.

It is interesting to contrast the treatment of the people in Mississippi, including General Walker, who were taken into custody by the invaders, with the treatment of known rapists, murderers, and so forth, in Washington, many of whose acts were committed in sight of the dome of the Capitol and many of them in the shadow of the White House. These felons are coddled like innocent infants, while many in Mississippi were treated, in the language of one prisoner, as mad dogs and in the language of another, as reptiles, he having been made to crawl on his stomach.

The Mississippi invasion reminds me of Reconstruction days shortly after the War Between the States when troops with bayonets fixed compelled southern legislators to unconstitutionally and illegally ratify the so-called 14th amendment when a number of the Northern States refused to do so. All of this was done, of course, in the name of the Constitution and I just wonder what the future holds for this Nation of ours.

I hope that a full and fair investigation will be made of this terrible blot upon America.

Mr. Speaker, an outstanding editor, the Honorable James Jackson Kilpatrick, who is associated with the Richmond News Leader, Richmond, Va., wrote an editorial giving firsthand information of the horrible affair in Mississippi. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am including herewith the editorial by Mr. Kilpatrick which appeared in the issue of the Richmond News Leader, of Wednesday, October 3, 1962:

AND SPEAKING OF LAW

JACKSON, MISS.—In his television address to the Nation Sunday night, President Kennedy made an eloquent appeal for obedience to law. "Americans may not like the requirements of a particular law or court order," he said, "but they must abide by the law anyhow. Any other course could lead to anarchy or tyranny."

No responsible person will take issue with the President on these entirely proper admonitions. Ours is indeed a society based upon law, and to the extent that law has been violated by Mississippians (and by some of their uninvited and unwanted guests), their actions stand condemned. Sunday night's riot at Oxford, Miss., was lawlessness incarnate. The stanchest defender of the South, gazing in sadness upon the ravished campus of the University of Mississippi, feels a sorrow too deep for words.

But it might be a most profitable exercise for the President of the United States to put the Mississippi crisis to one side for a day or so, and reflect instead upon his own record of obedience to law. We would ask him to recollect especially his own violent, lawless, and tyrannical conduct only a few months ago in the matter of the steel case.

There is not the slightest question that the steel companies were acting lawfully in raising the price on their product. They were abiding by the law, but it was a state of law, in this application, that the President did not like. What example of obedience—of respect for law—did Mr. Kennedy set in April? He routed newspapermen from their beds in the middle of the night to be interrogated by FBI agents. He went far beyond his constitutional authority, in order to prevent freemen from acting freely. He cursed, abused, and threatened the steelmakers. The rabble of white trash at Oxford on Sunday threw stones and eggs; Mr. Kennedy in April threw something much heavier and of higher value: The weight of his Office.

And the President might reflect also upon the lawfulness of his own actions in Mississippi. Granted that he has a responsibility for seeing that court orders are executed, the moment James Meredith was enrolled at the University of Mississippi, that decree was carried out. The order was enforced.

By what justification are thousands of troops occupying Oxford today? The answer is that they are there to prevent domestic violence. But this is no responsibility of the President of the United States. The Constitution says in words so clear a child could understand them that Federal power may be used to protect a State against domestic violence only upon application of its Governor or legislature, and Mississippi has made no such application.

The Kennedy brothers have suspended civil liberties in Oxford in palpable violation of the constitutional rights of the people. On Monday, bayonet-bearing soldiers and helmeted U.S. marshals rounded up more than 200 persons. Most of them were teenaged youngsters or immature adults. These prisoners were publicly searched and paraded before television cameramen. Then they were herded into interrogation rooms. Then they were publicly prodded into waiting buses, parked where the lingering tear gas was thickest, and there they were left for up to 8 hours. The youngsters had no charges placed against them; they were "temporarily detained for questioning." They had no opportunity to obtain counsel. They were denied access to telephones. They had neither food, water, nor toilet facilities.

Meanwhile, infantrymen closed off the town square of Oxford entirely. Local merchants were not permitted to open their stores. Town residents were denied the use of public sidewalks. Merchants could not even go to the post office to pick up their mail. The county courthouse was closed and all public business suspended. Women with children in their cars were compelled to stop at roadblocks, step out of their automobiles,

and stand by while Negro soldiers searched the vehicles from hood to trunk. Private property has been wantonly abused and confiscated by the Federal troops. On a private lawn along Route 6, just north of Oxford, infantrymen on Monday afternoon were methodically digging deep gun emplacements. The trash and litter left by the indifferent marshals baffles description.

No one who has seen the Mississippi crisis at firsthand will doubt the gravity of this affair. It is a tense time. But when admonitions are being handed out from on high, in the name of obedience to law, a troubled country should ask the President some searching questions. Does he come into this court of equity with clean hands? Is his own record so shining that he reflects a perfect example to the Nation?—J.J.K.

## Address by Vice Adm. William R. Smedberg to the Naval Reserve Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of this week in New Orleans, Vice Adm. William R. Smedberg, Deputy Chief of Staff of Naval Operations and Chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, made a most significant address to the members of the Naval Reserve Association.

Admiral Smedberg is, as you and the Members of this House know, one of the most dedicated and outstanding officers of our Navy. He speaks with a tongue of authority and the voice of experience.

During his address in New Orleans he brought many matters of interest and importance to the attention of the assembled delegates, but I think the most important thing which he brought to the attention of his audience was a letter from a young seaman. A letter which was written to the mother of this young man who in turn sent it to the President of the United States, from whose desk it was routed to Admiral Smedberg.

This letter in its terseness and directness says many things which so many of us would like to say but have not. It echoes what I believe to be the spirit of the men in blue in the Navy as well as the men in uniform in its sister services.

It is a letter which should be read by every American and particularly the young men of military age. There can be no doubt what we are fighting for after reading this young man's letter which Admiral Smedberg read at the close of his address.

I consider it of such importance that with permission of the House I am now inserting Admiral Smedberg's entire address, and placing particular emphasis on the closing paragraphs which contain the letter to which I have referred:

ADDRESS BY VICE ADM. WILLIAM R. SMEDBERG TO THE NAVAL RESERVE ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of the Naval Reserve Association, ladies, and gentlemen, this is a happier occasion for me than was my last visit here, just 6 years ago this month. As Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy at that time, I brought an undefeated football team to New Orleans, was wined and dined at Brennans by my Tulane hosts—spoke at the Navy Day luncheon at the Roosevelt Hotel and then saw my team clobbered by Tulane; a far cry from the famed New Orleans gracious hospitality.

This time we are all on the same team, which makes it particularly pleasant in this beautiful city; known as a Navy town. Appropriately indicative of this is the proclamation of Mayor Schiro, naming this week of the Naval Reserve Convention, Naval Reserve Week.

This action shows clearly the pride in the Naval Reserve of this city which, in last year's callup of the Reserve, provided two ASW Reserve ships, *Huse* and *Woodson*, and VS Squadron 822. It is obvious why New Orleans is known as a Navy town.

The units from New Orleans were a part of the total of 40 ASW ships and 188 aircraft called up. Last year's recall demonstrated completely just how dependable and effective is our Naval Reserve, particularly the Ready Reserve.

As the Chief of all naval personnel, I want to express my personal appreciation to your association whose members participated in last year's callup and whose support particularly in the days between notification and reporting for active duty was extremely helpful.

We appreciate such problems and must do something about them. Aspects of the Naval Reserve program will be dealt with more extensively during your convention by the members of my staff, by Admiral Becton, by Admiral Martin, and others concerned with the Naval Reserve who are sharing in your convention.

Those of you who have been on active duty recently and those who keep up with the Navy, are aware of most of our problems and by "our problems" I am speaking of the Regulars and the Reserve because together they comprise the Navy's strength.

However, some comment on the impact of present-day and future technology of our Navy seems in order.

The Navy is in the middle of a technological revolution greater than the transition from sail to steam or from cannonball to steel-jacketed projectile, and we are trying to compress today's awesome transition into about 10 years, not 50. There is no time for unhurried, normal peacetime development.

Consider the transition from high explosive to nuclear explosive, from oil to atomic engines, from gunfire to missiles, from low-performance to high-performance aircraft, from human to computer calculations.

There is no foreseeable leveling off in this pace. On the contrary, all signs point to an acceleration in pace.

Even now the Navy has not yet felt the full impact of the research done in the decade of the 1950's. It is already clear that the research of the 1960's is growing and will continue to grow in volume, breadth and depth. We do not know exactly what great advances will come from this research, but we do know that we have to be prepared to keep up, by education and training.

Perhaps we are endeavoring to accomplish this epochal transition too fast. Regardless of the rapidity of this transition, I am convinced that our major problem over the next few years concerns personnel. How do we attract young officers and enlisted men who have the mental capacity to absorb sufficient knowledge to enable us to operate and maintain these ships? Once we attract these individuals, how do we retain them in the Navy?

In addition to potential, professional competence, they must also be dedicated people, convinced that they are making important contributions to the security of this Nation.

Getting competent people is a tough problem. Retaining them is a tougher one.

It is tougher because by the time we get a young man trained and with sufficient experience to be a solid contributor to this technological navy, his first enlistment expires. At this point in time, when we particularly need to retain this lad in the Navy because of his competence and skills, our rapidly expanding American technological industries also want him. Often their lures, better pay, shorter work hours, more time with the wife and children, are very effective.

How well are we meeting this problem of retention; of persuading sufficient numbers of alert young officers and enlisted men to accept the Navy as a career? Of persuading others to keep their skills and loyalties alive in the Naval Reserve against a national emergency?

Not too well, frankly—we are falling rapidly behind in the critical, technical skills, our Reserve program is sagging.

It is up to us—Regulars like myself and you leaders in the Reserve—to see to it that a naval career is made more challenging and attractive, our Reserve more worth while.

No one in this room fails to recognize the need for strong Armed Forces now and for the foreseeable future.

Just 1 week ago today, General Lemnitzer who was about to leave his assignment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for his new duty as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, stated in Washington at the National Security Industrial Association annual dinner:

"This Nation will not diminish its efforts or its determination to stay ahead of the gigantic conspiracy which has declared war on our civilization, our way of life, our social forms, our moral and ethical values. The emptiness and brutality of communism is best summed up, for all the world to see, by the wall in Berlin. No space spectaculars, however shrewdly exploited, should be allowed to obscure this stark testimony of the failure of communism or of the barrenness of its promises."

The men and women of our Armed Forces today, stationed all over this globe, are showing the rest of us daily by their dedication, their professional competence, their uncomplaining performance in the face of hardship, separations, personal sacrifices—and even danger and death in some areas—that they have faith in the destiny of the United States and the cause of freedom which it champions.

We are a fortunate Nation to have men and women such as these. It is on them, their skills, their high resolve and devotion to duty, that our survival ultimately depends—not on any weapon or machine, no matter how ingenious or complex. The least that we owe them is respect and consideration. Money cannot buy such men and women, as it buys machines and weapons. We must develop them—slowly, carefully, patiently, with pride—from our American homes and families. We must see to it that those in the military forces which insure the security of this Nation are in respected occupations; that they have prestige, reasonable remuneration, and recognition for the services they provide.

I think all of us need to think less about how to make money, less about shorter hours of work and longer vacations, and a great deal more about our resopnsibilities to our country, about serving that country and our fellows.

That, I think, is now and will remain for a long time the biggest and most crucial job for all Americans.

One American family understands, as illustrated by a letter which was forwarded to

me from the White House day before yesterday.

It was from a mother of a son in the Navy to the President of the United States. I'll read it:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As President of our country and Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, I believe you will be most interested and very gratified by the copy of a letter from my son who is in the Navy.

"He is an electronics technician on board a carrier in the Pacific. He received this assignment in March of this year, and this was the time of the unrest in Vietnam. I was very upset when I knew he would be going there. This is his answer to my letter.

"I can truthfully say, after reading it, I was ashamed of my feelings. He is a fine boy and I need not tell you how proud I am of him.

" 'Now, about going overseas. True, the Vietnam situation is shaky, but our whole job in the Navy is to protect the sea lanes. This is not the reason the *Midway* is going overseas, we just happen to be the next crew due to go and unfortunate as it seems to our families there is such a thing as Vietnam now.

" 'You at home should remember this—it's my whole aim in life now—I'm a "fighting man," my job is the defense of my country, even if it means the giving of my life, it is for one sole purpose, to maintain at all costs, and preserve with all my skills, the freedom and rights to these freedoms, to live as we please, for all my family. Of course, foremost in my mind is my son and the child my wife is carrying.

" 'I will readily and willingly give up my life in the defense and preservation of my beliefs. I only hope that if it should happen, that those who follow will not let me and others like me go down in vain.

" 'This is the example I will set for my sons and their sons.

" 'Maybe this example throughout my life and when they grow older, will help them to understand why some men choose to be doctors, firemen, lawyers, baseball players and sailors.

" 'I feel that communism is the biggest moral and military threat we have ever known. They must be stopped everywhere possible.

" 'This country is a fine place to live, it's just as free as when Thomas Jefferson signaled the birth of a nation with the Declaration of Independence, but as free as it is, the more lax we have become.

" 'We know so little of communism.

" 'Please remember, mom, these are my feelings. You couldn't hold me back with a team of horses, now. Vietnam is a faraway place to most people, but very real to me.

" 'So, as the old saying goes—America, sleep well at night, your shores are protected by your Navy. So don't worry—it's all for a good reason—your freedom, my freedom, and God's hand will guide us.' "

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## The Record of the 87th Congress—Report to the People of the Fourth District of Wisconsin

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, as the 87th session of Congress draws to a close, I wish to take this opportunity to report to the people of the Fourth District of Wisconsin on my actions and votes as their Representative in Congress.

I have made such a report at the end of each congressional session in which I have served, because it is my belief that the people should be aware of how I have fulfilled the responsibility they have entrusted to me. In our system of representative democracy it is of the highest importance that citizens be informed on the positions and efforts of their officials on issues of significance to them and to our Nation.

I have sincerely worked for what I believe to be in the best interests of my people and our great country, the United States of America. While not everyone can be expected to be pleased with each vote, I hope that this accounting of my stewardship will meet with general approval.

I am very proud of the letter sent to me by you, Mr. Speaker, evaluating my work during the 87th Congress. I would like to include it at this point as part of my report to the people of the Fourth District:

THE SPEAKER'S ROOMS,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., October 1, 1962.*

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
*Milwaukee, Wis.*

DEAR CLEMENT: As the 87th Congress draws to a close, I want to express to you my personal thanks for the great work that you have done as a Member of Congress. You have made an outstanding record and the people of your district are justified in feeling proud of you. You reflect great credit upon them.

You have performed your duties with outstanding ability, with courage, and supporting progressive legislation in the best interest of the people. You have been a bulwark of strength for legislation for greater appropriations for a strong national defense and you have supported the strong leadership that President Kennedy is giving us in the field of foreign affairs.

You richly deserve reelection. I sincerely hope and I respectfully urge that the people of your district reelect you, enabling you, with your seniority, to continue the great work that you are doing in their behalf and in behalf of our great country.

You are truly, "a people's Congressman."

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
*Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives.*

THE 87TH CONGRESS: AN OVERALL VIEW

The 87th Congress has been one of the longest and most productive in history. Despite the complaints about a do-nothing Congress, the record shows that it has been both progressive and impressive in many fields.

The fact that many of its accomplishments have come slowly and laboriously is to its credit; it indicates that the Members have not been stampeded into quickie passage of the many measures before it. Specific legislative achievements can be found in the detailed table appended to this report.

It is important to remember that President Kennedy's legislative program was both extensive and comprehensive. After a period of relative slowdown during preceding years, the Congress was asked to take sweeping action in nearly every field of national life. The fact that it has been unable to make landmark decisions in all of the matters brought before it should not obscure the fact that programs were enacted in most of them.

The accomplishments of the 87th Congress come into sharper focus when compared with those of the previous 8 years. Before this Congress, aid to depressed areas has been stalled. A needed increase in the minimum wage was held up. We could not get the pollution program strengthened to provide clean water to cities. A comprehensive housing program was defeated by Presidential veto. We could not obtain a needed boost for educational television. But since 1960, with cooperation between the Congress and the White House, necessary legislation has been enacted in all these areas.

TRADE EXPANSION

Undoubtedly the most important piece of legislation passed by the 87th Congress was the President's Trade Expansion Act. The main provisions of this bill would empower the President to cut all tariffs on most foreign imported goods by 50 percent over 5 years, and eliminate entirely tariffs on goods in which the United States and the European Common Market account for at least 80 percent of world trade. In cutting tariffs, the President is authorized to make these concessions only in return for favorable treatment of American exports by other countries.

The bill also provides loans and tax relief for businesses hurt by the lowered tariff barriers, and payments up to 65 percent of wages to unemployed workers in these businesses while they find new work or are retrained in new skills.

Farsighted industrials, businessmen, labor leaders, and political figures alike hailed this measure as a "stitch in time" response to the challenges of the sixties. One of this Nation's greatest needs is to create more than 5 million new jobs each year for the next several years. Three million jobs must be created just to keep even with our labor force, an additional 1.8 million for those displaced by automation and additional millions to cut into unemployment. Growth in trade through this act is expected to provide a significant number of these new jobs. With the rising wages and increased purchasing power of workers in Europe, Japan, and other countries, a great market for capital and consumer goods is opening up. We must be ready to deal with these markets or the United States may be shut out. Such an eventuality would end our favorable balance of trade, aggravate the gold outflow and leave us a financially weakened Nation.

In addition, the lowering of trade barriers will allow the United States to work in closer economic cooperation with our allies in Western Europe and around the world. Many see the Trade Expansion Act as the first step toward a giant trading bloc of free nations which would use their economic strength to frustrate and finally defeat communism.

I supported this legislation for these reasons and because I believed it would be good for Metropolitan Milwaukee. With our important capital good industries and our fine port facilities, we stand to benefit by increased world trade.

BOLSTERING THE ECONOMY

The country was experiencing an economic slump when the 87th Congress convened in January 1960. Legislation to correct the situation was given priority. Measures included provisions for extra funds to help children whose parents were unemployed, a new Housing Act that literally means jobs for 420,000 construction workers, an increase in the minimum wage from $1 to $1.25 and a temporary extension of unemployment compensation benefits to more than 2,350,000 workers who had exhausted their benefits during the recession.

As the result of these and other measures, the economy began its recovery. Both the gross national product and the number of persons employed hit alltime high levels. Yet, unemployment continued to be a problem and the Nation's growth rate was not as fast as many felt it could be. To insure continued expansion and growth of our Nation during the 1960's, Congress passed a number of farsighted bills.

The Area Redevelopment Act marked the first time that the economic weight of the Federal Government had been directed toward helping communities help themselves in reducing chronic unemployment. The act authorized $394 million in loans and grants to aid expanding enterprises in economically depressed industrial and rural areas; $10 million for payments to unemployed workers taking part in training programs for new jobs; $4.5 million for the training itself, and permanent authority for the Small Business Administration to make loans to local development corporations.

The Manpower Development and Training Act is aimed at supplying U.S. industry with the skilled manpower it will need to keep abreast of technological change. A 3-year, $435 million program, the act will create new jobs by providing on-the-job and vocational training for between 500,000 and 750,000 workers.

The Public Works Acceleration Act permits the immediate commitment of $600 million to stimulate capital investment programs in communities that are designated for Area Redevelopment or have had more than 6 percent unemployment for over a year. By speeding up work on construction of Federal, State, and local public works, employment will be expanded.

Also designed to stimulate economic growth and productive efficiency was a provision of the Revenue Act of 1962 designed to increase investment in American business by allowing a tax credit on the purchase of machinery and equipment. This measure and the revision of depreciation schedules will provide a $2.5 billion tax incentive encouraging American industry to modernize and expand its equipment.

There were, of course, many other measures designed in whole or part to get our country on the move economically, but those mentioned above were the major ones.

INCREASED NATIONAL SECURITY

In the face of increasing Soviet pressures and continuing crises in Berlin, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, and the Congo, the Congress, at the request of the President, acted to strengthen our national defenses. Military expenditures were increased by some $9 billion over the levels maintained by the previous administration.

On two occasions when the cold war threatened to explode into a red hot conflict over Berlin, the President asked the Congress for, and received, permission to call up Reserve forces for active duty. The first callup included Wisconsin's own famed 32d Red Arrow Division. The U.S. troop buildup is generally credited with making the Russians back down on their demands over Berlin.

The Polaris submarine program, designed to give the United States a potent and relatively invulnerable nuclear striking force, was doubled by the 87th Congress. Missile development and production was sharply stepped up. Our capacity to wage conventional and guerrilla warfare was increased.

A massive, exciting space program was authorized. It included a project designed to place an American on the moon before the end of the decade. Congress has responded to the military and peaceful challenges of space.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY

With energy and determination, the President has conducted a bipartisan foreign policy that has reinforced the security and prestige of the United States abroad and has strengthened the forces of freedom throughout the world.

With the cooperation of Congress, the new Agency for International Development—AID—was formed from all the numerous agencies that once went their separate ways on foreign assistance. The efforts of AID were immediately coordinated with those of the great, voluntary American charitable organizations such as CARE and church missions.

In making AID's operations conform to hard American business practice, the emphasis in foreign aid has been sharply shifted away from the outright gifts to low-interest loans that must be repaid. Moreover, this aid is being tied to stipulations of self-help and social reform.

I am especially pleased to report that both the Foreign Assistance Acts of 1961 and 1962 contain a number of amendments which I offered and which were acepted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs and by the entire Congress. Chief among them were amendments which placed strict conditions on foreign aid—conditions which are designed to assure that our aid will be used for the purpose for which it is given, that it will not be wasted for unecessary projects, and that it will benefit the people of the recipient countries. I also worked for warranted cuts in foreign aid spending. The Congress, for instance, accepted my amendment to cut $600 million from the Alliance for Progress when the State Department could not produce well-defined, sound plans to justify this requested expenditure and when we lacked evidence that the Latin American countries themselves are making sufficient progress to put their house in order. I further supported new provisions to strengthen the restrictions on trade and aid with Communist and Communist-dominated countries. These are now part of the law.

Three new and dramatic programs in the foreign affairs area were enacted by the 87th Congress: Food for Peace, the Peace Corps, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Food for Peace puts America's farm surplus to work feeding the hungry of the world. Agricultural products which otherwise would have to be stored at Government expense are sold for foreign currencies or on credit terms. The proceeds are used to finance American embassies abroad and as loans for assistance projects such as schools, hospitals, and dams.

The Peace Corps, confounding and converting original critics, has proved to be useful in underdeveloped countries, and a powerful force for spreading good will and understanding for the United States around the globe.

The Disarmament Agency was a deliberate move by the Congress to solve the problems of the threat of nuclear disaster which hangs over the earth, and of the immense amounts of money spent by nations on armaments.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

Notable legislation was enacted in a number of domestic areas other than those already mentioned. Few Congresses, after all, can boast of clearing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, as this one has. Although not counted as "major" legislation, abolishment of the poll tax in Federal elections comes as a welcome and long-awaited reform in the political affairs of this country.

Other measures passed by the 87th Congress which are of more than routine interest to the citizens of my district are:

The 5-year Walter Pollution Control Act, redoubling Federal efforts in this area, important to Milwaukee and area communities because of particular water pollution problems;

Amendments to the Public Welfare Act aimed at rehabilitating relief recipients and eliminating abuses;

An amendment in the latter category was my proposal to curb abuses in the program of aid to dependent children. These abuses received national publicity which showed that money intended by Congress for needy children was being used for all types of unjustified—even illegal—purposes. By strengthening the law in this respect, I believe that we have taken a big step in the right direction. It should contribute to the welfare of dependent children, and prevent misuse of the taxpayers' dollars;

Three strong anticrime bills to combat gambling and the transmission of gambling information and equipment in interstate commerce—the first such package to be approved by Congress since 1934;

Legislation providing up to $225 million for low and moderate cost housing, both urban and rural, for the aged;

The first Federal program to aid in solving the problems of juvenile delinquency;

Across-the-board increases in compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities;

Amendments to the Interstate Highway Act, to shift a greater portion of the cost to users and to require States to provide relocation advisory assistance to families displaced by right-of-way acquisitions;

Establishment of a commercial communications satellite system, ushering in an era of international television;

Legislation providing health care for children of migrant workers.

SOME SETBACKS

The impression record of the 87th Congress must not blind us to the defeats suffered by the administration on some key legislative issues.

Perhaps the most crucial setback was on hospital and nursing care insurance for the aged through social security—mismamed medicare—which was defeated in the Senate and killed in the House committee. As a cosponsor of the original legislation in this area, I believe that the health care needs of our elderly are not being adequately met and demand attention. As the facts become better known, a hospital care bill will almost certainly be passed by a subsequent Congress, perhaps the upcoming 88th.

General Federal aid to elementary and secondary education was killed in the House Rules Committee. A bill granting aid to higher education was defeated in House-Senate conference because it included assistance to private colleges and universities. It is my position that Federal aid to education should be granted strictly on the basis of proven need and without discrimination.

Other measures which met defeat were a proposal creating a Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, provisions in the farm bill calling for strict marketing controls on agricultural products, and a bill preventing the use of literacy tests as requirement for voting by declaring persons with a sixth-grade education literate for voting purposes.

The Kennedy administration is expected, however, to make renewed attempts to pass legislation in these areas when the 88th Congress is convened in Washington in January 1963.

VOTING RECORD

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a table which lists the major legislative bills considered during the 87th Congress, shows my position and vote on each of them, and indicates their disposition:

*Voting record of Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*

| Stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| | INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS | |
| Voted for | Foreign Assistance Acts of 1961 and 1962, to revise and strengthen the mutual security program, place emphasis on loans rather than grants | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation authorizing purchase of U.N. bonds, but only on matching basis with other U.N. members | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation establishing and extending the Peace Corps | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amendments to strengthen and extend the Export Control Act, and to clarify and expand restrictions on U.S. assistance to Communist-dominated countries. | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Legislation authorizing payment of balance outstanding on awards approved under the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States is determined to defend its rights in Berlin | Passed. |
| Voted for | Resolution expressing U.S. determination to use arms, if necessary, to cope with the Communist threat in Cuba | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Resolution expressing the sense of the Congress against seating Communist China in the United Nations | Adopted. |
| Voted for | The new Trade Agreements Act of 1962 to help us meet the challenge of the Common Market in Europe, assist domestic industries and workers harmed by foreign competition. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation authorizing payment of World War II damage claims from enemy-alien vested funds | To President. |
| Voted for | Revision of our immigration laws, with permanent authority for the orphan visa program, assistance to escapees from Communist countries. | Became law. |
| | NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY | |
| Voted for | $90-plus billion for national defense and security | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation authorizing the President to call up a limited number of reservists to active duty if required by world crisis | Became law. |
| Voted for | Expanded authority and funds for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration programs, including funds for the "Moon Shot" | Became law. |
| Voted for | 4-year extension of President's emergency civil-defense powers in the event of attack on the United States | Became law. |
| Voted for | Reorganization of State Department security and loyalty functions including those relating to the issuance of passports and visas | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Legislation to strengthen and clarify certain provisions of the Smith Act | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Resolution to provide for the establishment of a congressional "watchdog" committee on Central Intelligence | Pending. |
| Voted for | Legislation to place closer checks and restrictions on the use of mails to distribute Communist propaganda | To President. |
| Voted for | Authority for Secretary of Defense to establish security program to protect classified information released to defense industries | Defeated in House. |
| Voted for | Amendment to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, to include organizations controlled by foreign governments or parties | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amendment to the Criminal Code to permit prosecution for acts of espionage committed outside U.S. jurisdiction | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amendment to the Hiss Act denying retirement benefits to Government employees guilty of offenses against national security, and restoring benefits to persons not intended to be affected by the act. | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Legislation establishing the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to coordinate research and development in this field | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation to authorize enlistment in the Army and the Air Force of aliens legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation making hijacking of commercial airliners a crime punishable by death | Became law. |
| | NATIONAL ECONOMY | |
| Voted for | Aid to chronically discressed areas and establishment of the Area Redevelopment Administration | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase in minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and extension of coverage to 3,500,000 additional workers | Became law. |
| Voted for | Temporary extension of unemployment compensation benefits to unemployed workers (including railroad workers) who exhausted their entitlement to benefits. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Temporary aid to dependent children of the unemployed | Became law. |
| Voted for | 5-year extension of the Federal Airport Act and Federal grants under this program | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Amendment to the Employment Act to reaffirm the continuing responsibility of the Federal Government to promote stability of consumer prices. | Pending. |
| Voted for | Legislation increasing lending authority of Small Business Administration for business and disaster loans | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation to establish a 2-year program for the retraining of unemployed workers in new skills | Became law. |
| Voted for | Tax reform legislation to eliminate certain defects and inequities in Internal Revenue Code, stimulate economic growth | To President. |
| Voted for | Legislation requiring equal pay for women performing the same services as men | Passed House. |
| Favored | Program of grants to cities and other public bodies for purchase of equipment for mass transportation systems | Pending. |
| Voted for | Extending for 2 years the Renegotiation Act for recovery of excessive profits on defense contracts | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to repeal the special tax on admissions, refreshments, services, and the like | Pending. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to strengthen antitrust laws to secure equality of opportunity for small businesses and to prohibit price discrimination | Pending. |
| Voted for | Authority to permit foreign branches of American banks to adopt practices of country where located | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation providing for $900,000,000 in immediate loans or grants for public works projects in communities with excess unemployment | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriation of $703,049,000 for Commerce Department operations, including establishment of a Department field office in Milwaukee | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation repealing 10-percent levy on rail and bus fares, cutting air fare tax to 5 percent | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation providing salary adjustments to postal and other Government employees; increasing annuities of retired Federal workers; and increasing postal rates to reduce Post Office deficit. | Became law. |
| | SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE | |
| Voted for | Social Security Amendments of 1961 and 1962, including Zablocki amendment to curtail abuses in the Aid to Dependent Children program | Became law. |
| Voted for | The Omnibus Housing Act of 1961 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Federal grants for training teachers of deaf children | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extension of National Defense Education Act, additional funds for this program, and elimination of certain provisions in the law which discriminated against students and teachers in nonpublic schools. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Federal assistance for construction of needed college facilities, to be provided on nondiscriminatory basis; Federal scholarships for deserving needy college and university students. | Died in conference. |
| Sponsored | Federal aid for construction of elementary and secondary school facilities on the basis of need and without discrimination | Pending. |
| Voted for | Program to aid States and cities in combating juvenile delinquency | Became law. |
| Voted for | Expansion of the school milk program; revision of payments for the hot lunch program to better aid children in greater need | Became law. |
| Voted for | Federal grants to States and communities for construction of nursing homes, training of public health personnel, and improvement of services for the aged. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Federal matching grants for construction of educational TV facilities by State and local bodies | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extension of Federal aid for construction of highways, expressways; relocation assistance to families displaced by right-of-way acquisitions. | In conference. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to establish Youth Conservation Corps | Pending. |

*Voting record of Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*—Continued

| Stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| | SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE—continued | |
| Sponsored | Legislation to establish Bureau of Older Persons in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare | Pending. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to prevent discrimination on account of age in hiring by Government contractors | Pending. |
| Voted for | Raising the amount of retirement income not subject to personal income tax ($1,200 to $1,524) | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Tax deduction for noninsured property damage in storm disaster areas | Became law. |
| Voted for | The self-employed individual retirement tax plan | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to provide medical care/hospital insurance for the aged under social security | Defeated in Senate. |
| Voted for | Legislation providing $225,000,000 for low and moderate cost housing for the aged in urban and rural areas | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase up to $15,000 in maximum tax deduction for medical and dental expenses | Passed House. |
| | GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION | |
| Voted for | Creation of 73 additional Federal judgeships to meet increasing caseloads | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increased living expense and mileage allowance for governmental employees traveling on official business | Became law. |
| Voted for | Reorganization of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation to prohibit and fix penalties for transportation of gambling paraphernalia | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation to prohibit and fix penalties for transmission of bets by wire communication | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation to prohibit and fix penalties for interstate or foreign travel, or use of the mails, for the purpose of unlawful activity | Became law. |
| Voted for | 2-year extension of the life of the President's Commission on Civil Rights | Became law. |
| Favored | 8 reorganization plans, put into effect with consent of Congress, to streamline executive departments, increase efficiency and economy in Government. | Became law. |
| Favored | Revision of Federal election laws, raising limits on campaign spending, facilitating information on fund reports, and providing tax credit for political contributions. | Passed Senate. |
| Voted for | Legislation requiring that defense procurement contracts, whenever feasible, be awarded on competitive basis | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation strengthening Federal criminal law relating to bribery, graft, and conflict of interest | To President. |
| Voted for | Authority for FCC to require all new TV sets to be equipped to receive both UHF and VHF channels | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation making the dissemination of indecent literature illegal | Became law. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to permit the sale of surplus U.S. property to local and State governments | Pending. |
| Sponsored | Resolution to create a Joint Congressional Committee on Consumer Interests | Pending. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to provide a more equitable system for the settlement of disputes, grievances, and complaints in all Federal agencies and departments. Put into effect by Executive order. | Pending. |
| Voted for | Amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawing payment of poll or other tax as qualification for voting in Federal elections | Adopted. |
| Favored | Legislation proposing a constitutional amendment allowing noncompulsory, nondenominational prayer in all American institutions | Pending. |
| Sponsored | Amendment to the Constitution relating to the electoral college method of electing the President and Vice President of the United States | Pending. |
| Voted for | Resolution providing for establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a communications satellite system | Became law. |
| | NATURAL RESOURCES AND AGRICULTURE | |
| Voted for | Legislation to make a start toward solving our farm problem by restricting production, providing lower limits for supports, and providing disposal of surpluses. | Became law. |
| Voted for | The 1st comprehensive water pollution control program, with Federal assistance to communities trying to safeguard our water resources | Became law. |
| Voted for | Expanded program for conversion of salt water to fresh water | Became law. |
| Favored | Establishment of an Ice Age Park in Wisconsin | Pending. |
| Favored | Establishment of a national wilderness preservation policy and system | Pending. |
| Sponsored | National milk sanitation program to eliminate discriminating practices in the sale of milk in interstate commerce, protect consumers and enable Wisconsin producers to enter and compete in other markets | Pending. |
| Sponsored | Legislation to end the federally subsidized drainage of wetlands valuable for waterfowl refuge | Became law. |
| Favored | Registration of interstate contractors of domestic migratory farmworkers | Passed Senate. |
| Voted for | Legislation to provide basic health care to children of migratory workers | Became law. |
| Favored | Legislation to curtail exploitation of children by narrowing agricultural child labor exemptions | Passed Senate. |
| Voted for | Legislation authorizing the construction of the Fryingpan-Arkansas irrigation-power project; construction of power transmission lines in the Upper Colorado Basin; construction of San Juan-Chama water supply and Navajo Indian irrigation projects; and of other well-planned, necessary flood control, irrigation, and water supply projects. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Continuation of the Public Law 480 program under which some of our farm surpluses are sold for foreign currencies, or distributed to the needy at home and abroad. | Became law. |
| | VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN | |
| Voted for | Direct home loan program for World War II and Korean war veterans | Became law. |
| Voted for | Payments of special dividends to eligible policyholders of national service life insurance | Became law. |
| Voted for | Restoration of rank of general (5 star) to former President Eisenhower | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amendment and clarification of reemployment provisions of Universal Military Training and Service Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase in payments to veterans' widows | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increases averaging 9.4 percent in compensation for service-connected disabilities paid to 1.9 million veterans | Became law. |
| Voted for | A permanent program of vocational rehabilitation for veterans with service-connected disabilities serving between World War II and the Korean war, and after. | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Study by VA of problems of elderly, chronically ill or handicapped veterans | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Increased compensation for blind veterans | Became law. |
| Voted for | Review by independent medical experts of disputed disability or death claims of veterans | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation reopening for 1 year granting national life insurance policies to veterans who were eligible between Oct. 7, 1940, and Jan. 1, 1957 | In conference. |
| Voted for | Legislation providing that retirement of members of Armed Forces shall be in the highest grade served satisfactorily | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Increases in basic allowance for living quarters for members of the Armed Forces | Became law. |
| Voted for | Legislation permitting members of the Armed Forces to accept fellowships, scholarships, and grants | Became law. |
| Voted for | Equalization of per diem travel rates of servicemen with those of Federal employees | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase in readjustment payments to members of Reserve components involuntarily released from active duty | Became law. |

*Rollcall record of Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, 87th Cong.*

| Session | Total roll and quorum calls | Roll-calls | Not voting | Quorum calls | Absent on quorum calls |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | 231 | 116 | 2 | 115 | 6 |
| 2d | 285 | | | | |

## One of the Ten Best Teachers in the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most outstanding young men it is my privilege to know has recently been accorded a unique and magnificent honor. Robert Saba, of 23 Butterfield Street, Lowell, Mass., a teacher at Wilmington, Mass., High School, has been named, at age 30, one of the "10 most outstanding teachers in the United States for 1962." Bob Saba has been a close personal friend for some years, and I am mighty proud of this recognition of his outstanding achievements. But William A. Kealy told the story of Bob Saba more effectively than I can in a recent edition of the Lowell Sun, and under leave to extend my remarks, I would like my colleagues to have an opportunity to become acquainted with a young man of major talent, Mr. Robert Saba of Lowell, Mass.:

ONE OF TEN BEST TEACHERS IN NATION

(By William A. Kealy)

"Where do we go from here"? might be a good question for one Lowell teacher to ponder. He has just won what is perhaps the highest award for teachers in the Nation, and he's only 30 years old.

Robert Saba, of 23 Butterfield Street, a teacher at Wilmington High School has been named one of the "10 most outstanding teachers in the United States for 1962." He was chosen for the honor by the board of directors of the Lincoln Museum in Springfield, Ill. The museum has made the coveted award annually to 10 teachers in the United States since 1947 and this is the first time anyone from New England has ever been chosen.

Still walking on cloud 9 and a bit dazed from the shock of the honor, Bob Saba left yesterday for the award banquet at Fort Wayne, Ind. He was further honored by being asked to be the main speaker at the banquet. The Lincoln Museum Foundation is picking up the tab for Bob's 1-week stay in the Hoosier State and is presenting him with a check for $1,500 besides.

How does he feel about it? "It's the most wonderful thing that's ever happened to me. I still can't believe it. When the phone call came I thought it was a joke. Then I got a telegram and I still wasn't sure until the

State Commissioner of Education, Dr. Kiernan, called me to say he also had been notified. I've received about 50 telegrams since then and the phone hasn't stopped ringing."

A teacher in the social studies department in Wilmington, Bob credits the fact that he won the award to his students and his bosses. The citation honoring the Lowell resident states: "This award is given to those teachers whose contributions to the field of education, have been of the highest degree and even beyond the expected dedicated service. In your particular case, we have investigated your teaching methods, your many efforts in helping your students with more than mere classroom teaching."

The significant part of the citation says, "we have investigated your teaching methods." What the foundation actually did was place a young "student-teacher" in Bob's classroom for 8 weeks. Bob was supposed to be helping the young "college student" learn the teaching trade, but the man was actually an investigator for the foundation. Not even the school's principal knew about the real identity of the "student-teacher."

A graduate of the Bartlett junior high and Lowell high schools, Bob received his B.A. in social studies at Boston university. He then went on to Springfield college where he took two master's degrees, one in education and the second in psychiatric social work. He now has most of the credit necessary for a doctorate in social studies and will start writing his dissertation for the Ph. D. in September. He also teaches night school at Boston University.

In 1960 Bob received an award from the National Education Association for "outstanding contributions to the field of education." Boston University has presented him their achievement award for the publication "Narcotics," "The Eastern Orthodox Religion," and "Dissertation On Case Work Analysis," all three of which were printed in the annual year book of the National Conference on Social Work.

The U.S. delegation to the United Nations also presented him with a plaque for the program "An Evening At the U.N." which won international acclaim. The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey bought the rights to the program and has made it into a film which they distribute all over the world.

He is a permanent member of the UNESCO Commission of the United Nations, an instructor at the Greater-Boston International Institute, a Case Analyst for the U.S. Veterans' Administration, and has been president of St. George's Syrian Orthodox church, Lowell for the past 3 years.

The youngest of nine children in a widely known Lowell family, Bob's hobbies are collecting books and writing case analyses.

## Alabama Delegation Urges Withdrawal of Federal Forces From Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the tragic events of the last few days in the State of Mississippi have been a matter of grave concern for all thoughtful Americans. The use of Federal troops against U.S. citizens has been shocking and uncalled for. The activities and methods of the Justice Department and the Federal forces have raised serious constitutional questions. The Members of the Alabama delegation in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States have risen to protest this unwarranted invasion of a State. We have protested to the President asking for an immediate withdrawal of Federal forces from the State of Mississippi. I insert herewith our protest telegram sent to the President on October 2, 1962:

OCTOBER 2, 1962.

THE PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

We deplore the use of force at the University of Mississippi just as we did when President Eisenhower sent troops to integrate Central High School in Little Rock. The use of Federal force against fellow Americans can provide satisfaction only to the enemies of our common country. Therefore we urge the immediate removal of troops and Federal marshals from the State of Mississippi.

LISTER HILL, JOHN SPARKMAN, U.S. Senators; FRANK BOYKIN, GEORGE GRANT, GEORGE ANDREWS, ALBERT RAINS, ROBERT JONES, CARL ELLIOTT, KENNETH ROBERTS, ARMISTEAD SELDEN, GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Members of Congress.

## Cuba—In 1898 and Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 1, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I ask that the following be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Sept. 14, 1962]

SIMILARITIES WITH A DIFFERENCE—CUBA: IN 1898 AND TODAY

It was a day in March in the year 1898. The Senator from Vermont, Redfield Proctor, had just returned from an unofficial visit to Cuba, whose people were deep in a despairing rebellion against Spain, and Washington awaited his words.

Senator Proctor arose to speak before a hushed Senate which shared some of the doubts of the financial community about the gravity of the situation. Let a modern historian take it from there:

"Outside of Havana, where conditions seemed almost normal, the situation," Proctor said, "is not peace nor is it war. It is desolation and distress, misery and starvation." Of about 400,000 persons who had been driven into concentration camps, "one-half had died and one-quarter of the living are so diseased that they cannot be saved. Outside the camps there was only desolation—no crops, no domestic animals; everything of value was destroyed." He described Captain General Blanco (mild-mannered successor of the tyrannical Spanish governor, Weyler) as an amiable gentleman with good intentions but without capacity to relieve the situation or put down the rebellion. Proctor made no recommendation beyond remarking that he was opposed to annexation. He merely reported his observations, in calm and unimpassioned language.

In that day, Congress was far ahead of the President, and even those Americans who had interests in Cuba. Many feared the consequences of a war with Spain. Some expected the destruction of our coastal cities.

When President McKinley came down on the side of intervention, Spain already had attempted to back off. But if it was an unnecessary war spurred in part by emotional events, it was not a war for power or for profit.

"The demand for intervention," Prof. Julius W. Pratt also concludes in "A History of U.S. Foreign Policy," "arose plainly from humanitarian rather than from economic considerations."

What makes Senator Proctor's words poignant today is the demand from another Vermont Senator, WINSTON L. PROUTY, that President Kennedy be authorized to use troops in the Cuba of Fidel Castro.

While Senator PROUTY seems to have teamed with other Republicans to make a partisan issue out of Russian aid to Castro (which it must not become), the situation today is more critical than it was in 1898.

Russia and Castro breathe only defiance and delight in taunts, while imperial Spain was more fearful than frightening. Communism has ejected enough refugees to form a new civilization. Khrushchev's rockets may be no more annoying than Cervera's fleet, yet cadres of the world's only rival military power are sitting in the Western Hemisphere.

Both Houses of Congress had adopted resolutions in support of the Cuban insurgents long before Mr. McKinley came to power, but Washington insisted on temporizing with a situation which continued to worsen the longer it was tolerated.

Saying the obvious things in 37 languages over the Voice of America ("We will not be intimidated," etc.) is not likely to deter Khrushchev or discourage Castro.

It is all very well for Secretary of State Rusk to intone that the administration would not permit Cuba to become a base for Communist aggression.

Who would?

Then why ignore the fact of history that any such Soviet base has that purpose, and that purpose alone?

## Sense of Congress With Respect to Berlin

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WALTER H. MOELLER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration House Concurrent Resolution 570.

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Chairman, I rise to give enthusiastic support of House Concurrent Resolution 570 and join with

my many colleagues of this body to declare our resolute determination not to budge one iota in Berlin.

The world has known from past experiences that America will be patient and considerate, but she will never relinquish her rights. Our patience dare never be interpreted as weakness. Our rights are just; our pledge to our allies and to the people of Berlin and West Germany, and for that matter to the peoples of all the free world, will be honored.

Only a few days ago, we made known through this body, and to all the world, our stand on Cuba. We can do no less than also to make crystal clear to all the word our firm stand on the Berlin situation. If our foe wants to provoke us to action, action he will get, but the regrets will reach into eternity.

I commend the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, its chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORGAN], and the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] for preparing this resolution and permitting us to express our united affirmation of its contents.

## The Use of the Farmer Committee System Is Still Valid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, ever since 1933, the farmer elected committee system has been an essential part of the administration of Federal farm programs. From corn-fed hog farm program days up to our present supply management programs, these farmer committees worked in partnership with the Government to help control overproduction of farm commodities and to carry out good conservation practices on the land. The idea that elected farmer committees should play a major role in the administration and development of action farm programs is as valid now as it was back in 1933.

The committee system has proved that it is well adapted to translating Federal farm programs passed by Congress into action at the local level. Through two major wars, farmer elected farm committees provided the stimulus to keep food production at the required level. Between these conflicts, the committees helped guide farm production to levels adjusted to peacetime requirements. Farmer elected committees have been active in a multiplicity of agricultural programs and generally have carried out their duties with distinction.

There are five features of the farmer elected committee system which make these committees uniquely adapted to administration of supply management programs at the local level. These are:

First. Committeemen have intimate knowledge of local farm conditions.

Second. The committee system permits local adaption of farm programs to fit the particular needs of different farming areas and conditions.

Third. The committee system is "democracy in action." It permits those people affected by Federal farm programs to have their say in the development and administration of those programs.

Fourth. Through the committee system local recommendations for policy and program changes can be transmitted from the grassroots to higher levels.

Fifth. Farmer elected committees provide a judgment factor in the day-to-day operation of farm programs which could not be obtained by any other method.

## Your Challenge, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of school in Piqua, Ohio, this year, the teachers were presented with the "Handbook for Teachers, Piqua City Schools, 1962–63."

It is a handbook well written and of much merit.

The Piqua Daily Call was so impressed that it quoted at length from the introductory page, with appropriate editorial comment.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Piqua (Ohio) Daily Call, Sept. 3, 1962]

YOUR CHALLENGE, TOO

"Freedom Must Be Understood if It Is To Be Preserved" is the headline of the introductory page of the "Handbook for Teachers, Piqua City Schools, 1962–63."

The statement on the page emphasizes the importance of the role of the teacher in our Nation today. While written by Superintendent of Schools W. F. Hoerner for teachers of the Piqua City school system, it has much of value and meaning to every Piquad and every American.

The complete text:

"There is serious concern today in the minds of many thinking citizens about the lack of understanding among many young people of the true meaning of living in a democratic society. Perhaps we have taken for granted that all children are born with a knowledge of the basic law, 'In order to take, you must first give.'

"Self-discipline is always a prerequisite for freedom, so it must be taught. The primary purpose of school is to teach, not merely to amuse and provide a relaxing environment.

"If our democratic way of life is to be preserved, and if we continue to try to teach all the children of all people, we must not fail to teach that for every right there is a corresponding responsibility.

"Apathy leads only to destruction. A democracy must have citizens who are trained to think and to use varying abilities intelligently.

"Think, plan, and teach carefully."

## River and Harbor and Flood Control Projects

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13273) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Chairman, this pork barrel bill is traditionally an abuse of the taxpayers and a vehicle whereby political debts are paid at their expense. The only justification for the huge cost of this measure is that numerous sound and needed projects are included, and in effect, the good outweigh the bad.

The action of the conferees in removing from the bill the $110,000 appropriation for preconstruction planning on the Calumet Harbor and River project, Indiana, and Illinois, is a great blow, completely unjustified. The continued development and expansion of the Lake Calumet Harbor is of major importance to Chicago and the entire Midwest. The removal of this project cannot be justified as an economy move especially with millions of dollars in excessive and unnecessary projects remaining in the bill.

I realize that in the rush for Congress to adjourn, the Members will pay little heed to one Member's plea for some semblance of sanity in this conference report. However, I emphasize to the House the complete irrationality in removing the preconstruction planning on the Calumet Harbor and River project and urge the rejection of the conference report so that this item can be restored.

## Alabama Delegation Supports Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the Alabama congressional delegation in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States have gone on record in support of Gov. Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, in his fight to prevent the integration of the University of Mississippi. We have supported him in his efforts to preserve the rights of the States from undue and uncalled for intervention in affairs of a local and domestic concern. We support him in his fight for true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution supports Governor Barnett in his efforts to preserve States rights and the southern ways of life.

The following telegram was sent to Governor Barnett on September 26, 1962, and I insert it herewith:

JACKSON, MISS.,
*September 26, 1962.*

Hon. ROSS BARNETT,
*Governor, State of Mississippi:*

Mississippi's fight is Alabama's fight. We support you in the principles that you are so forcefully defending and we commend you for the courageous battle you are waging for constitutional government.

LISTER HILL, JOHN SPARKMAN, U.S. Senators; FRANK BOYKIN, GEORGE GRANT, GEORGE ANDREWS, ALBERT RAINS, ROBERT JONES, CARL ELLIOTT, KENNETH ROBERTS, ARMISTEAD SELDEN, GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Members of Congress.

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

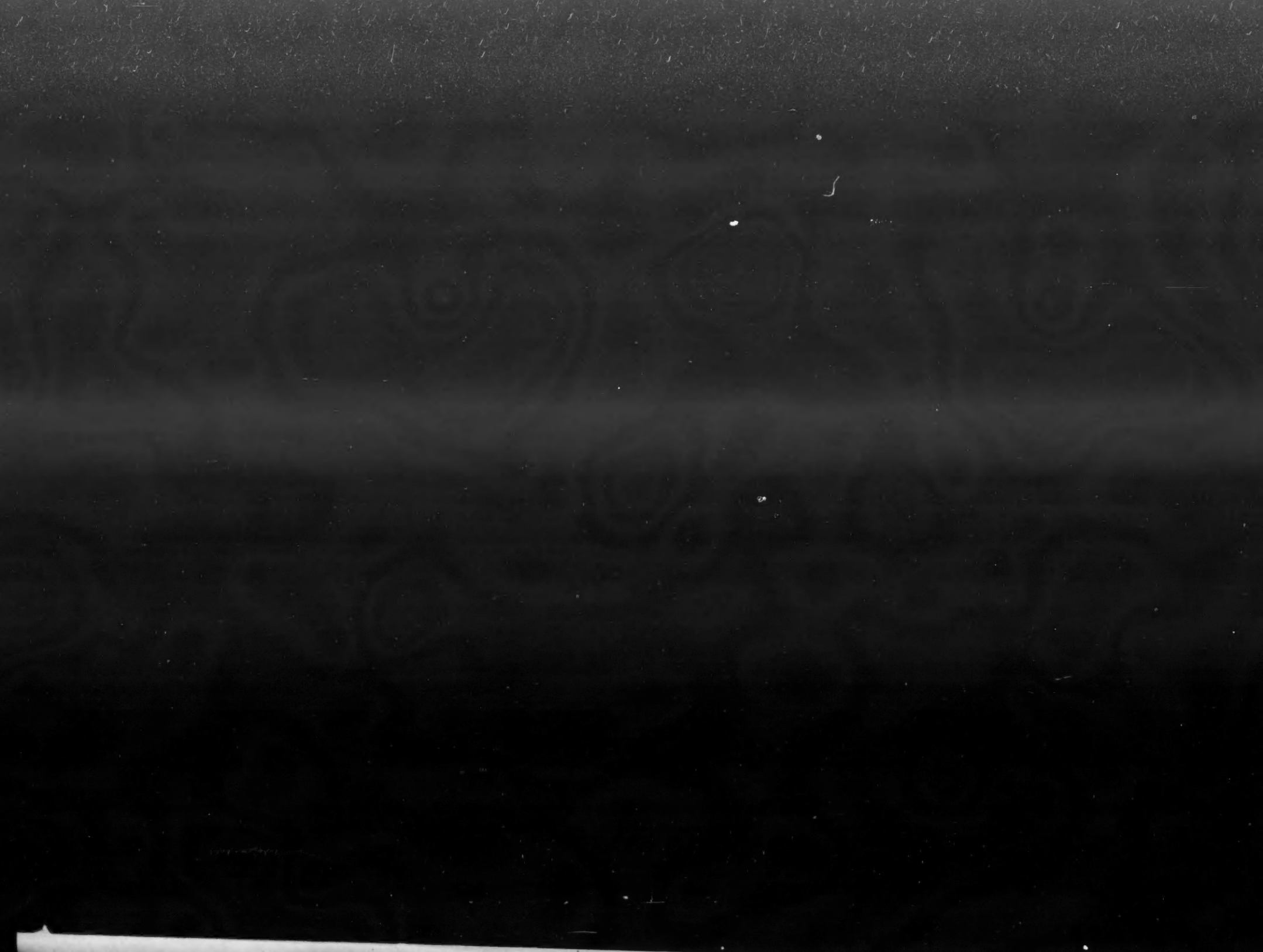

# Appendix

## President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped Now 15 Years Old—Week of October 7 Designated as National Employ the Handicapped Week—Hon. Paul A. Strachan Instrumental in Founding of Both—Dr. Howard A. Rusk Comments on Changing Goals

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on September 17, 1962, the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped celebrated 15 years of service to the Nation and the world.

It was on September 15, 1947, that the late Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach called together representatives from important organizations in our country representing labor, industry, and the information media. The Secretary was acting on the suggestion of President Harry S. Truman that leaders of interested organizations meet to coordinate the Nation's observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, placed on the statute books in 1945 by the Congress largely at the urging of President Paul A. Strachan of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped.

Paul was also behind Secretary Schwellenbach's invitation to the first meeting of what was to be known as the President's Committee, for he prepared the lists of those to be invited and worked with the Secretary and others in preparing the agenda and in following through with the organization of the Committee.

Strachan, an old friend and valued advisor to many of today's Members of Congress, took leave of absence from AFPH and devoted several months in close coordination with Dr. Merle E. Frampton, the Committee's first executive committee chairman, in drawing up plans and policies and with Vice Adm. Ross T. McIntire—Medical Corps—U.S. Navy, retired, Committee chairman, in getting the young Committee off to a flying start. Today, if memory serves me correctly, it is the oldest President's Committee in point of service and one of the very few which has both congressional legislation and Presidential Executive order.

As a worker on the Committee, I was pleased this week to receive an attractive brochure titled, "A 15-Year Chronicle." Its foreword by Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, retired, with whom many of us served in the House of Representatives, is a classic of brevity and pays tribute rightfully to its early leaders. General Maas said:

The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped celebrated its 15th anniversary in September 1962. The years have been eventful ones, and they have held the promise of even more eventful times to comes.

Let us remember, as we reminisce, that had it not been for Paul Strachan we possibly never would have had a President's Committee; and had it not been for the guiding genius of Ross McIntire, we never would have been as far along the road as we are today.

General Maas took over as chairman from the late Ross McIntire, White House physician, in 1954. Both of them deserve lasting honor for their voluntary labors.

And, sharing the credit with them is Paul Strachan, now living in retirement in Brooksville, Fla. I would like to quote from two pages of the Committee's short brochure:

In 1945, tall, rough-hewn Paul A. Strachan, president of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, sponsored a joint congressional resolution calling for a yearly observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, as a means of promoting job equality for the handicapped. He appeared at congressional hearings, but couldn't hear a word. He is totally deaf. The Disabled American Veterans, with Millard Rice as their spokesman, also testified in favor of the resolution.

Both Houses of Congress adopted the resolution on August 11, 1945. Thus NEPH Week was born.

At first, coordination of NEPH Week activities was in the hands of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration under Maj. Gen. Graves B. Erskine, U.S. Marine Corps. A Federal interagency committee was formed, made up of the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, and Commerce and the Federal Security Agency, Veterans' Administration, and Civil Service Commission. The Disabled American Veterans and Mr. Strachan's AFPH also were represented. In addition, a cooperating committee was created, consisting of 300 national organizations interested in and concerned with problems of the handicapped.

But then RRA, having served its postwar purpose, went out of existence.

What would happen to NEPH Week? Who would coordinate activities of the many organizations involved? Who would take up where RRA had left off?

A short-lived private organization, the National Association for the Employment of the Handicapped, filled the breach. General Erskine was its first president; Admiral McIntire succeeded him.

It was at about this time that Labor Secretary Schwellenbach received his historic Presidential mandate to rally interested organizations in a movement that was to culminate in the President's Committee.

The President's Committee was born in September 1947, but it had to grow, to develop, to make itself felt and heard throughout America.

Admiral McIntire was appointed first chairman, and Dr. Merle E. Frampton, principal of the New York Institute for Education of the Blind, served as first executive committee chairman. Mr. Strachan took a leave of absence from the AFPH to become special consultant to the Secretary of Labor, helping the young committee during its first few months of growth.

The Committee's small staff was housed in the Labor Department. Labor also provided funds, as well as technical assistance from professionals in the employment service.

From the start, the Committee received the full support of every segment of American life—Government, private enterprise, labor, the professions, the mass media, the complete spectrum of the Nation.

And slowly but steadily the word spread and grew in intensity: "It's good business to hire the handicapped. It's good business to hire the handicapped."

Some folks have monuments, some large, some small, that are behind them on the road of life. Paul Strachan leaves two, the annual National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week observed the first full week each October, and the President's Committee. The committee has twice shortened its title with Presidential approval in keeping first with a year-round responsibility and recently to include the mentally restored and retarded.

But, National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week remains unchanged and will continue to remain unchanged. As one Federal official has said:

It's Strachan's law, and like the law of the Medes and Persians, remains unchanged.

This is as it should be, for although well into the sunset of life and having enough medical problems to make Biblical Job feel fortunate, Paul Strachan remains the same tall and rough-hewn man, yes, and rough spoken too when anyone or anything appears to be harming the physically handicapped to whom Strachan dedicates himself.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President's proclamation setting aside the week of October 7, 1962, as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, the joint statement issued by associate members of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, and the New York Times article of October 7, written by Dr. Howard A. Rusk be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the proclamation, joint statement and the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL EMPLOY THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED WEEK, 1962—A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE WHITE HOUSE,
OFFICE OF THE
WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY,
*Hyannis, Mass., August 25, 1962.*

Whereas our handicapped workers have contributed immeasurably to the strength of our Nation through their productive capacity; and

Whereas our expanding economy demands effective and ever-enlarging utilization of our total manpower, suitably placed according to individual skills and talents; and

Whereas the physically and mentally handicapped, through increased emphasis on rehabilitation and training to prepare them for occupations commensurate with their abilities, stand ready to assume an even greater share in our social and economic progress; and

Whereas their readiness to assume this greater role can be translated into action by acqainting more employers and the public generally with the policy of giving full consideration to handicapped persons in employment, promotion, reassignment and retention; and

Whereas the Congress, by a joint resolution approved August 11, 1945 (59 Stat. 530), has designated the first week in October of each year as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week and has requested the President to issue a suitable proclamation each year: Now, therefore

I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, do call upon the people of our Nation to observe the week beginning October 7, 1962, as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, and to cooperate with the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped in furthering equal employment opportunity for the handicapped.

I also call upon the Governors of States, mayors of municipalities, Federal and other public officials, leaders of industry and labor, and other interested individuals and organizations to take part in this observation. I particularly urge employers to renew their efforts to give the handicapped equal consideration with others similarly qualified for employment; and I request all our people to follow the American tradition of helping others to help themselves by assisting handicapped persons to achieve economic independence and active participation in the total life of the national community.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 24th day of August in the year of our Lord 1962, and of the independence of the United States of America the 187th.

[SEAL] JOHN F. KENNEDY.

By the President:

DEAN RUSK,
*Secretary of State.*

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JOINT STATEMENT, 1962, BY THE ASSOCIATE MEMBERS, THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED, WASHINGTON, D.C.

During the 15 years since the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped came into being, the associate members have noted the acceleration of our Nation's economic growth, intextricably joined with the extension of equality of job opportunity.

We have seen great strides made in creating a favorable climate for the acceptance of handicapped workers, due in large measure to the observable performance of the handicapped themselves. Our free enterprise system is well suited for permitting the skills and abilities of a worker, despite his handicap, to be recognized. Moreover, there has been a growing recognition that the principle of fairplay, so basic a precept of our democracy, requires that every individual be given a fair chance for selection and advancement in employment for which he has the capacity to perform.

Our past successes should point the way for even greater use of handicapped workers. The problems and promises posed by the advent of automation have increased interest in and concern for the ultization of our total human resources. The Federal Government must lead the way in demonstrating that productive capacity is not diminished but often enhanced by selective placement of qualified handicapped workers.

We urge that all employers—Federal, State, and local governments, and private industry and business—consider the physically and mentally handicapped jobseeker in the same light as others, if he is similarly qualified to meet the requirements of the position. We ask no special favors for the handicapped. But we do believe that every man should be considered in terms of his abilities, not his disabilities.

Signed:

Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General; James E. Day, Postmaster General; Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior; Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce; Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor; Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; John Gleason, Jr., Administrator of Veterans Affairs; John W. Macy, Chairman, Civil Service Commission; Frank B. Ellis, Director, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization; John L. Moore, Administrator of the General Services Administration.

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[From the New York Times, Oct. 7, 1962]

JOBS FOR THE DISABLED—CHANGES IN GOALS AND ATTITUDES MARK ANNUAL EMPLOY THE HANDICAPPED WEEK

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

Today marks the opening of annual National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, and with it the 15th anniversary of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

The committee was started at the suggestion of President Truman and has enjoyed the personal support of both President Eisenhower and President Kennedy.

Last year the word "physically" was dropped from the committee's title because of the committee's increasing activity in employment of the mentally retarded and the mentally restored.

A comparison of attitudes toward employment of the handicapped 15 years ago and today shows the committee's effectiveness.

EMPHASIS ON CIVILIANS

Fifteen years ago its primary concern was the employment of disabled veterans. It still retains that interest, but today the civilian disabled are of far greater concern.

Perhaps the most significant change in employment of the handicapped in the past decade and a half is that today we are successfully rehabilitating into employment disabled persons who were considered unemployable then.

When the committee started, for example, there were few State vocational rehabilitation agencies that would consider providing services for a person with paraplegia, paralysis of the legs and lower part of the body.

Although finding the right job for a person with a severe disability is still difficult, it is now commonplace to find paraplegics at work in all types of jobs.

Even more difficult is the rehabilitation and vocational placement of quadriplegics (persons paralyzed in the body and all four extremities). Yet, they are finding jobs.

EDUCATION A FACTOR

The majority of quadriplegic patients are teenagers and young adults who fractured their necks and backs in car accidents or in athletic accidents, especially diving, or, recently, in unsupervised use of the trampoline.

Because of their young age and the fact that young people today are far more apt to have a better basic education than prior generations had, these young people are excellent prospects for rehabilitation despite the severity of their disabilities.

A followup study of 368 such persons served in one rehabilitation center showed that over half were employed to some degree and that one-third were in competitive employment or self-emloyed on a full-time basis.

Another significant change of the last 15 years is our increasing recognition that the psychological and social adjustment of the handicapped person is frequently a far more important factor in successful job placement than the physical disability.

This has become increasingly true as machines have taken over more and more of the physical work previously done by man.

PLACEMENTS DECLINE

Due to the general business turndown last year, there was a decrease from 274,387 handicapped applicants placed in jobs in 1960 by the Nation's 1,800 local employment security offices to 255,933 in 1961.

Placement of disabled veterans, however, rose to 105,100, an increase of 5,000 over the previous year.

The Veterans' Administration has reported that as of June 30, 1962, nearly 700,000 disabled veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict have had vocational training under its auspices and have been placed in employment.

The number of handicapped persons employed by the Federal Government also increased from 4,706 in 1960 to 8,648 in 1961.

A part of this increase came from the appointment of 3,500 coordinators responsible for employment of the handicapped in each Federal agency.

LEADERSHIP IMPORTANT

The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped is a perfect example of the adage that any program is the mirror of its leadership.

The long-time chairman, Melvin J. Maas, is a retired Marine Corps general who also served in Congress.

He once disarmed a maniac on the House floor and received the Carnegie Silver Medal for heroism.

Originally named vice chairman of the committee by President Truman, he was appointed chairman by President Eisenhower in 1954.

Blind since 1952, he has arthritis, diabetes, and has had three-fourths of his stomach removed.

In the 100,000 miles a year or more he frequently travels promoting employment of the disabled, he does not refer to these handicaps.

He gets a sure-fire response from an audience, however, when he states he feels qualified to speak for the handicapped because he is one of them and then adds, "I've got false teeth."

His close colleagues point out that two statements have dominated his life. One is, "There'll always be a United States of America as long as there is a U.S. Marine Corps." The second is, "It's good business to hire the handicapped." He himself is a dynamic example of both.

## Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States—A Victory for Freedom

SPEECH
OF
### HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I think the overwhelming majority of Americans are agreed in supporting the principle of self-determination for colonial peoples. No one could support this principle, and the efforts of the United Nations to put it in effect, more strongly than I do.

But the principle can be distorted and carried to illogical and unwise extremes.

For one thing, a colonial people must be prepared and able to govern themselves before they are proclaimed independent and thrown to the wolves of international power diplomacy. If they are not so prepared and capable, the result can only be chaos and the extreme likelihood of a Communist takeover of a nation which, if it had been properly prepared, probably would have been freely pro-Western. This is a lesson we should have learned from the unhappy Congo experience but which some of our foreign policy planners appear not to have learned.

I refer specifically, Mr. Speaker, to our official attitude in the United Nations toward the question of independence now for Angola, the Portuguese Province in west Africa.

There is no evidence of Portuguese oppression or brutality toward the Angolan people. There is every evidence that the Angolan people are not yet ready for independence, any more than were the Congolese; that there is no real movement among the Angolan people themselves for independence now; and that Portugal is making sincere effort to improve the lot of the Angolans and to prepare them for ultimate independence if they want it.

There is no reason to believe that independence now for Angola would result in anything other than more of the same type of disordered chaos that has engulfed the Congo. There is no reason to believe the U.N. itself would be capable of maintaining order and establishing a stable government in Angola any more than it has in the Congo.

Yet we voted to condemn Portugal for defending its province against terrorists who invaded Angola from the Belgian Congo in March 1961. We voted for a U.N. inquiry into the situation in Angola, and in the same resolution condemned the Portuguese for "repressing" the natives—even though the inquiry had not yet been made. And all of this despite the fact that there was overwhelming evidence that the invasion of Angola was engineered and conducted by outside, paid agitators and terrorists.

But what makes this situation truly appalling is the further fact that our ill-advised Angolan policy has alienated an important and highly valuable NATO ally, Portugal. It did so at the exact time when we were preparing to negotiate with Portugal for renewal of the lease covering our bases in Portugal's Azores Islands.

Portugal has let the United States operate airbases in the Azores since 1943 without cost. The bases were a major cog in our successful prosecution of the war against Hitlerism. Today they are a vital link in our anti-Communist defense system.

Until the United States began voting against Portugal in the councils of the United Nations, there never had been any question but that the leases for our use of these vital Azores bases would be renewed. Today there is grave question, and negotiations for the hoped-for lease renewal are of extremely hard-nosed character.

Certainly no one could blame Portugal for stiffening its attitude on continuing to permit us to use these bases. Portgual wants to continue as our stanch ally in the worldwide struggle against communism. But diplomacy, like other facets of life, is a two-way street. Portugal expects us to help her if she is to continue helping us. Portugal sees no sense in permitting us to use her territory to help our military defenses against Communist aggression, if we, in return, side with the Communist bloc by condemning her in the U.N. and seeking to open up her Angolan province to outside aggression and a likely pro-Communist government.

Mr. Speaker, Portugal and its people traditionally have been friends of the United States. Portugal is stanch in its anticommunism. Furthermore, from Premier Salazar on down, the attitude of Portuguese leaders is that they are agreeable to independence for Angola when the Angolans want it and are ready to fulfill the responsibilities that go with independence. The Portuguese are doing their best to prepare the Angolans for that day, which admittedly has not yet arrived. The Portuguese, however, will not go along with so-called independence imposed from the outside.

We should be cooperating with Portugal rather than fighting it diplomatically. We should be helping it to prepare the Angolan people for eventual independence, rather than demanding their independence now when they are not prepared for it. We should be seeking to prolong the amicable relations we formerly enjoyed with Portugal so that renewal of our Azores bases lease again would be a mere formality, instead of a matter of bitter negotiations.

Just recently, we have voted on Portugal's side on two U.N. committee questions. I hope we will continue doing so. I hope our foreign policy planners have seen the error of their ways and that our relations with our long-time friend and ally, Portugal, can revert to their previously amicable, mutually advantageous state.

## Crossroads—The Corner of Decision and Indecision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial. I have known the editor of this newspaper, Mr. James C. Morris, for many years. He has been associated with my staff. He is a very fine editor and reporter. Jim understands what it is to suffer from war because he fought in World War II. He is a fine man, who tries to be fair with everyone. He is a hard-hitting American, who is dedicated to protecting our democratic way of life. I like what he has to say in this editorial.

CROSSROADS: THE CORNER OF DECISION AND INDECISION

(By James C. Morris)

With Russia moving into Cuba with materiel and civilian military personnel, we have cause for apprehension. Especially, since we have been steeped in the tradition that we live in an impregnable fortress and are invincible.

It is the first encounter with realism that has confronted us since, probably, 1812. And it is very uncomfortable.

However, it can, and if I know Americans, it will be turned into benefit for us. We have to be hit with a *Lusitania* or a Pearl Harbor before we get into action. I don't mean we have to run out and start shooting up everything in sight, or run around with a cocked pistol in our hand.

But we have to be ready—economically, militarily, psychologically. This can't be accomplished overnight.

I firmly believe that the only way another country can defeat the United States is by surprise. It will have to be done in the first battle, or it'll never get done.

I believe that Khrushchev has overplayed his hand again. In effect, this action in Cuba will serve to focus U.S. attention stronger on the possibility of what can happen and will make Americans more adamant against intrusion in the Western Hemisphere.

And, if this latest Khrushchev move was done for the purpose of dealing on the Berlin question, he's got another problem on his hands, that of convincing us he knows how to keep his word.

Actually, I wouldn't want to be in Cuba's place. Being used as a pawn of other countries, seems to me, to be at least harmful to national pride. If they make the wrong move in one direction, Russia could move out and leave them on their own. And if they move in the opposite direction, they could be wiped off the face of the earth.

The whole thing shows an admission of failure by the Castro regime. Other smaller countries should profit by Cuba's experience.

Castro had every opportunity in the world, when he took over, to make Cuba into a prosperous, thriving, progressive country. The standard of living of the Cubans could have been raised comparable to any in the world.

Now, they have nothing.

## Cross Florida Barge Canal Essential to the Defense of America—North America Is Now an Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the meaning of the nuclear-powered submarine in connection with the national defense of our country is the subject of an editorial in the September monthly Reporter of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. It clearly shows that the possession by Russia of this new weapons system has made our continent an island, which requires new defensive operations and defense assets, immediately. To me, this makes it crystal clear that Congress should no longer delay the beginning of the Cross Florida Barge Canal. I hope that my colleagues will agree and allow the remaining $205,000 for planning this project, an issue now before us in the conference report on the civil works appropriations bill. The President has asked for this, has put it in the current budget and the Senate has agreed. The House should do likewise. The article reads as follows:

THE MEANING OF THE NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINE

"The nuclear-powered submarine has made an island of North America. We must plan a defense based on internally available supplies, internally produced and internally transported. If the sea lanes are denied us by enemy submarines, the internal transport facilities of this country are now dangerously inadequate for war."

This highly significant warning was issued by the President of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress more than a year ago. The shadow of world conquest by communism has now advanced to our very doorstep in Cuba, and the Reporter is impelled to imprint here its editorial of last December.

THE CHINK IN OUR ARMOR

"We are told that if we should become involved in another world war, our presently existing overland transport system as a whole—rail, inland water, pipeline, highway and air, may be critically inadequate to carry the load which would be imposed upon it in the event that enemy submarines can prevent the operation of our coastwise shipping. The threat appears to be particularly grave with regard to the supply of our Pacific coasts. We are unable to discover that any timely and adequate steps are being taken by our Government to provide in advance the increase in transport facilities we shall need.

"We are glad to note that the Office of Emergency Management and other governmental agencies are busy with plans for the emergency use of existing transport facilities. But there does not seem to be any agency expressly charged by Congress with the duty of calling to the attention of that body or the President what additional transportation facilities can and should be brought into being in peace time in order that we may be adequately prepared for war. This is the root of our unpreparedness in this respect.

"The United States experienced a transportation crisis in World War II. Only the timely collapse of Germany then prevented what might have been disaster for us. The master plan of the German General Staff to blockade our coasts by submarine and to substantially prevent the operation of our coastwise shipping, and thus to critically overload our overland transport system was well on its way to succeeding when the end came. We seem to have forgotten that in that war we lost by enemy submarine action in the Gulf-Atlantic coastwise lanes alone 165 ships with a combined gross tonnage of more than 1 million. With the exception of less than a dozen vessels, all of these were lost in the first year of the war. Presumably we lost no more because we had no more we could risk in those lanes. This resulted in such an overloading of our rail carriers that the transcontinental lines could not carry the load to the Pacific coast, and approximately 40 percent of it had to go by way of Panama.

"Since World War II we have substantially improved our position with respect to certain elements, while it has deteriorated with respect to others. Some of our more important inland navigation channels have been or are being improved. The number and capacity of available barges have increased, as have the number and power of tugs. There are more petroleum pipelines in operation today than there were in the 1942–45 period, and their combined capacity is greater. More first-class trunk highways have been and are being built. The Navy has greatly increased the effectiveness of its anti-submarine facilities and technique.

"However, these improvements appear to be more than offset by the advent of certain adverse factors. We have less freight cars today than we had in World War II. The Russians are now believed to have at least 450 submarines, three times the number the Germans had at the peak of their striking power. We are said to have approximately one-half that number. Many of these Russian subs are believed to be much faster (a critical advantage) than older types. There is good reason to believe that if war comes, Russian will enter the conflict with a substantial number of nuclear-powered submarines capable of firing nuclear charges and long-range missiles. These nuclear-powered subs, like our own, can remain on patrol for long periods, half a world away from their home base.

"It is folly to ignore the plain implications of these facts. It is entirely possible that the Panama Canal will be closed by enemy action at the outset of the war. The substantial destruction of our coastwise and intercoastal shipping is equally possible, with consequent disastrous overloading of our overland transport system.

"We are unable to perceive any economical possibility of an adequate net peacetime increase in railway trackage and rolling stock. We can and should continue to build first-class trunk highways. But truck hauling cannot fill the gap that will be left if all transport must be overland. On the other hand, it is now economically feasible to vastly improve and increase our inland navigation channels to a capacity which, combined with rail and truck movement can provide for our war needs under all foreseeable circumstances. This should be done promptly and at a faster rate and on a larger scale than we have heretofore employed. Especially, the inland navigation channels of the Mississippi Valley and those of the eastern seaboard should be directly connected. This will insure adequate supply of the latter area with petroleum and other commodities essential to the war effort, while at the same time it will relieve the trans-Applachian rail carriers and permit the diversion of freight cars and locomotives to the supply of our Pacific coast if the Panama Canal is not available."

## A Measure of Doubt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of Sunday, October 7, 1962:

A MEASURE OF DOUBT

Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS of the House Ways and Means Committee emerges from this session of Congress as one of the most powerful and influential legislators ever to occupy a seat in the House. His power has not been confined to legislation alone, where his role has been very great indeed, but it has been extended as well to the extracurricular function of adviser to the President on matters that come before the Ways and Means Committee.

More than any other man, it was Chairman MILLS who determined that taxes would not be cut at this session. Perhaps as much as any man, he fixed the fate of the medical care legislation. His judgment was decisive in the retention of the sections of the trade act withdrawing most-favored-nation privileges from Poland and Yugoslavia. Overwhelming economic opinion was that taxes needed to be cut to stimulate business that persists in a state of sluggishness to this day and seems likely to continue to do so well into 1963. But the chairman thought otherwise and he did not hesitate to put his opinion against that of the professional economists. The overwhelming expert opinion was that the trade act provisions adversely affecting Poland and Yugoslavia would handicap the Government of the United States in pursuit of well-established national policy, that it would cut one more set of ties to the West, that it would incline both countries toward a role more subservient to the Soviet Union. But the chairman was not influenced by professional foreign affairs specialists, nor restrained by the fact that legislatively, foreign policy is more the business of the Senate than of the House.

The chairman is a conscientious man. He has the respect and the following of his colleagues. He has the interests of his country at heart. But he is a man who is very busy with the pressing details of his own very complicated legislative role. He does not have at his disposal the technical staffs upon which the executive department can draw. And he does not have the discipline of primary responsibility for basic policy in foreign affairs which the President does have.

Next year, there probably will be a tax cut—several months after it might have been most effective. Somehow or other the damage to our foreign policy caused by the most-favored-nation sections will be repaired. One can only hope that so excellent a legislator, so reasonable a lawmaker, so considerate a politician as Congressman MILLS, will mingle with his craftsmanship and skill a little measure of doubt as to his own infallible right to completely dictate solutions, all the way from revenue to foreign affairs. All that it would require to make a great chairman of the Ways and Means Committee even greater would be a little of the doubting quality that General Cromwell tried to induce in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in his famous letter of 1650, in which he said:

"I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

## We, Too, Were Once a New Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.**
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Alan F. Westin has written an article for the New York Times which ought to be, I feel, prerequisite reading for all American citizens concerned about U.S. relations, policies, and attitudes toward the developing new nations of the world. In the heat of controversy on what stands and actions our Nation ought to take regarding the positions and practices of Asian, African, and Middle Eastern new nations, many of us do not recall the historical facts of the development of embryonic America, Mr. Westin, associate professor of Public Law and Government at Columbia University, has done that for us. His article is a sobering analogy of the attitudes of new nations of today toward world affairs and the attitudes of the "brash young United States of America as it made its international debut with some ideas its elders found downright irritating". This concise, readable work is distinguished for dispelling theories and sloganisms which so often form the basis of harshly critical and indignant American judgment of new nations. It gets to the core of truth of the problems which underlie basic attitudes of all new nations in general. The reading of it would, I believe, give the kind of insight and understanding we need and seek to form a firmer foundation for better international relations with new members of the world community. It would, I am sure, inspire greater hope, belief, and expectations regarding the potentialities of the new nations of the world.

WE, TOO, WERE ONCE A NEW NATION—LIKE SOME OF THE BRASH YOUNG STATES NOW ENTERING UPON THE WORLD SCENE, THE YOUNG UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MADE ITS INTERNATIONAL DEBUT WITH SOME IDEAS ITS ELDERS FOUND DOWNRIGHT IRRITATING

(By Alan F. Westin)

(Alan F. Westin is an associate professor of public law and government at Columbia who has recently helped train Peace Corps volunteers destined for two new nations.)

In a tart comment expressing the view of many Western statesmen, one European diplomat lashed out at a "new nation" of the international community for acting as though it were "superior to the rest of mankind." Its leaders, he said, regard their country "as the only establishment on earth founded upon a grand and solid basis" and the only country "embellished by wisdom."

This spokesman, reflecting the views of an older colonial power beset by nationalist rebellions in its territories, may not have been entirely disinterested. But even many friends of the "new nation" registered increasing disappointment over its constant policy of neutrality. While such critics did not deprecate the desire of the new nation to avoid being "a football between contending nations" (as one nationalist leader put it), they felt that such a policy was not always consistent with the obligation of responsible nations to resist international tyranny.

Typically, the underlying attitude of new nations toward world affairs involves five basic positions:

First, the new nation wants no part of what it usually calls "great-power struggles." It does not regard competition between the two major powers and their allies as a moral conflict, but solely as "power politics."

Second, the new nation seeks to be left alone to develop its economy and and unify its people under the nationalist regime. It is anxious to trade with everyone, including the two great powers, and it welcomes grants, loans, and technical aid from both of them—without "strings."

Third, it opposes foreign military bases on its own soil or in its part of the world. It seeks to avoid all military commitments, though it maintains defense forces to guard its own borders.

Fourth, the new nation believes that it has a unique ideological message for mankind and that new nations as a group, not the older colonial powers, are the political "wave of the future." This makes it a supporter of virtually all rebellions against colonialism.

Fifth, the new nation often governs its own affairs without donning the moral harness which it urges upon the great powers. Sometimes, it will seize independent territories near by. Sometimes, it will oppress minority groups or place sharp limits on the right of domestic political opposition. When criticized for these actions, it rather angrily invokes the justification of national sovereignty.

These five cardinal positions represent fairly, I think, the basic ideological outlook of the new nation. It might be one of the numerous countries that have become independent since 1943—such as Burma, India, Indonesia, Tunisia, Ghana, Guinea, the Congo, Tahganyika, or Western Samoa.

Actually, the "new" nation I have been describing was the United States of America during its first half century of independence, when we were one of the leading "neutral" countries of the day. The European diplomat quoted earlier was not an angry French or Portuguese commentator of the 1960's but a Spaniard, Don Luis de Onis, lashing out in 1821 at the mixture of moral piety and expansionist policy he saw in the new Republic of North America. The nationalist leader who voiced his country's determination to avoid becoming a "football" between the great powers was John Adams, defining the lines of isolationism for America in 1782.

And each of the five tenets of the new nation, while they surely evoke the images of Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno, and Nkrumah, are descriptions of American attitudes and policies during the period of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. A reexamination of these tenets will show the parallel between the new nation of Washington and the contemporary neutrals.

Rejection of the great power struggle: When the United States was newly independent, the great power conflict of the day was between the two leaders of Europe, France and Great Britain, which had fought throughout 18th century and were locked in the Napoleonic wars until 1815. Some Americans urged us to support the French, as our ally during the American Revolution and (during the preterror phases of the French Revolution) as a fellow Republic facing the bayonets of European monarchies. Others urged alliance with Britain, arguing (especially after Napeoleon came to power) that we were bound by ties of political and economic interest with the British people.

It was the constant policy of Presidents Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, as our schoolbooks announce proudly, to join neither alliance. Dominant American opinion portrayed the European conflict as a clash of empires, a struggle between monarchic regimes which sought to use the United States as an expendable chip in the deadly poker game of European power politics. This was no moral struggle, we believed, and we made no bones about our desire to remain neutral in the issue.

Desire to be left alone to develop its economy: Having profited from subsidies and loans, as well as military aid missions, from the French, Dutch, and Spanish Governments during the American Revolution, the United States after independence sought an era of sheltered growth. We were anxious to trade with the British and French Empires, and saw this as the "right" of a neutral.

We were also anxious to have both British and French investors provide capital for our canals, turnpikes, and banks, though we might condemn "bloated British bondholders" or "avaricious French bankers." But we strenuously refused to let this trade or aid make us a satellite of either British or French interests. We resist French efforts at dictation, as symbolized in the XYZ Affair of 1798 and the clumsy Genet mission of 1793, and then Great Britain's challenge to our "maritime rights" for which we felt we fought the War of 1812.

Aversion to foreign bases and foreign wars: The United States remembered that four 17th and 18th century wars, fought on New World soil among settlers and Indians, were reflections of the European conflict. As a result we wanted no wars carried into the New World as a whole by the European powers. Our Monroe Doctrine was a pronouncement that we would oppose any new colonial establishments in the Western Hemisphere. Wars of revolution against existing colonial regimes, such as the rebellions of the Latin-American nations against Spanish rule, we regarded as just wars of liberation, and warned Europe to stay away.

Rejection of the old ideologies: The United States looked at the established churches of Europe, the monarchic institutions, the privileged aristocracies, the monopolist economic institutions, and saw only the past. We were confident that republican institutions would replace these systems, and cared little for international measures of the Holy Alliance directed at preserving this status quo.

Thus we did not recognize the legitimacy of European rule over subject nationalities at home or over colonial peoples abroad. We applauded the moves by Irish, Belgian, Greek, Hungarian, German, Italian, and Latin-American peoples to win national independence or found republics. We were strident in our anticolonialism and "tweaking the nose" of the great powers of Europe was a sure road to success for our nationalist leaders. This "bumptious" and "arrogant" behavior of "Young Jonathan" was roundly denounced throughout the European chancelleries.

Moral ambivalence in its own affairs: Americans often forget that the lands south and west of the Thirteen States of the new republic were not an uninhabited vacuum awarded to the United States by Divine charter. A series of power thrusts along our borders were supported by the pressures of American population expansion and claims that our settlers were being misruled by colonial or native regimes. The United States detached the Floridas from Spain, took the southwestern part of the Continent after an adventurer's war against smaller and weaker Mexico, and secured the Oregon territory by threatening action against Britain in the West. We also tend to forget that American land hunger drove the Indian tribes steadily from their lands, in a saga of wars and broken treaties.

As for Government within our own borders in these early decades, we certainly provided American citizens with the most extensive system of political and civil liberty known in its day. But we did not extend these rights to African slaves, and for 30

years after the two great powers had abolished slavery in their colonies American slave traders plied the seas and American slave owners worked and bred their human chattels.

When such actions are laid alongside our moral strictures to the European powers, it was not surprising that a famous cartoon in the British magazine Punch portrayed "The Land of Liberty" with a drawing of a crude Yankee slave master, pistol in belt, cigar in mouth and liquor glass at hand, pillaging churches in Mexico, picking the pockets of British investors, beating and lynching Negroes, dueling in Congress and treasuring the title deeds to Texas and Oregon while placing his feet on a fallen bust labeled "Washington."

This analogy between the United States as a young country and the contemporary new nations of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, like all historical analogies, is valuable for its suggestive rather than literal application. I do not think its import is that the United States has a particularly stained heritage for which we must now do penance; or that the struggle with international communism is no more of a moral confrontation than intra-European rivalries of the Napoleonic era; or that Americans should be tolerantly passive about the ideological positions taken by the new nations today.

Nor am I assuming that all new nations are the same today. Obviously there are differences in size, resources, leadership, and history that make Ceylon different from Indonesia, Korea different from Laos, or Nigeria different from Guinea.

To see what the analogy does suggest, we should compare the modern new nations and the early United States in three main areas:

The colonial-metropolitan setting: The young America and the new nations of today share a basic posture of anticolonialism, a need to be aggressively independent toward the former ruler and its allies. But the newly emerged nations represent almost a billion people, most of whom are nonwhite people with a sense of injustice based upon policies of white racial supremacy directed against them. While nationality or religious factors affected the relations of white Americans toward the metropolitan states of Europe in the 19th century, the racial issue today is more intense and separates the new nations as a group more firmly from Europe than Americans were in the 19th century.

On the other hand, direct warfare between a new nation and the metropolitan power, as in the War of 1812 with Britain, is highly unlikely today. There are guerrilla wars within areas still ruled as colonies or limited wars fought between native forces allied with the two blocs (as in Korea, Indochina or Laos) but the disparity of force between great power and new nation has become such that direct conflict is not feasible and tensions must be channeled into lesser (though not psychologically less bitter) alternatives.

The economic setting: The United States drew on a rich continent, skilled immigrants and European investment for its growth, with underpopulation and ready world markets as favorable conditions. The new nation today faces more complex technology, a shortage of skilled personnel and insufficient capital in a framework of overpopulation and competitive markets.

In one sense, that is often overlooked, this is still a difference in degree. America emerged in a capitalist era and fashioned the political techniques to make capitalism flourish; we protected foreign investors, fostered entrepreneurial activity and distributed prosperity broadly in the population. Now, new nations emerge in an age which demands planned economies, yet the central problems remain political—minimizing corruption, avoiding pyramid building with foreign aid, bypassing large interests to get prosperity to the people, preventing the drain of national military adventures and resisting the Marxist solution of full collectivization.

In another sense, however, the international aspects of economic growth are different in kind. Today, new nations must decide whether to ally with one bloc to secure its largesse, to play the blocs against one another, to rely on large-scale U.N. aid, and perhaps some other strategies as well. Hamilton's America had fewer alternatives.

The international diplomatic setting: When the United States won its independence from Britain, the international community consisted of a relatively small number of European states and a few former colonies in the Western Hemisphere, with most of the rest of the world outside the main arena ruled as colonies. Now, there are over 100 sovereign nations, and if the issues of diplomacy are not harder, they are at least more complex.

Today, collapsed distances, instant communication and close economic interdependence make dipolmatic relations almost painfully intimate in comparison with the insulated position and leisurely contacts of the young America with the great powers. In addition, the presence of a world organization provides the new nations with a rostrum and a sort of captive audience of great powers; the young United States had to save most of its lectures for American newspapers and Fourth of July celebrations.

A final suggestion from the analogy between the new nation and the early United States involves the concept of neutrality. While every new nation sees its "neutrality" as a positive virtue, and even a help to peace, the great powers see neutrality as a political, not a moral, matter. Europeans saw young America as a kind of Levantine trader during the Napoleonic wars, seeking to sell to both armies and reap profits during Europe's catastrophe.

Since neutrality is always a disputed role, and neutrals are typically far less powerful than the contending powers, a neutral's right to operate flows from the power balance, not from the will of the neutral. The neutrality of America as a young nation was secured not by our Navy or the Monroe Doctrine but by one of the great powers—Great Britain, which found it to be in her own national interest to keep other European powers out of South America, and to allow the United States to fill the power vacuum of the American West.

Of course, the growing power of the United States helped to convince Britain that this was the wisest role for the mother country. But without this British policy, the young America would probably have reached the late 19th century as a group of States nestled along the Atlantic seaboard, sharing North America with French, Russian and British territories.

Today, it is U.S. power, exercised in her own national interest, of course, that safeguards the independence of many new nations from Soviet and Chinese Communist imperialism. Our central policy, as Britain's was during the Napoleonic War, is to keep the neutrals from joining the other side, while cultivating as much friendship as the relations of new nations to great power will permit. And just as Americans pulled the lion's tail in hearty ingratitude during the 19th century, Americans can expect similar tugs at the seat of their own pride by the nationalist leaders of the present.

The analogy between young America and the contemporary new nations does not make American relations with the new nations any easier, or provide a magic flash of policy for a harmonious interaction. But it may serve to indicate what a large element of determinism there is in the immediate relations of most new nations to great powers, and remind us of the ambivalent aspects of our own national adolescence. Surely, this is the sense of history with which to approach America's relations with the new nations of the 1960's.

## Competitive Bidding Saves 200 Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, last June 12, I told my colleagues that the Navy had been wasting millions buying a radar set it identifies as the APS–88. I learned it had been paying about $30,000 per set sole source for this equipment. Sole source, as you know, means buying from one company with no competition whatsoever.

I predicted at that time that if the Navy would buy this equipment through competitive bidding, the price would fall drastically and I predicted the saving to the taxpayers would be dramatic. I urged the Navy to get bids on the equipment and to see who was right—WILSON or the Pentagon brass hats.

On July 20, on the floor of this House, I again urged the Navy to buy competitively. Again I hurled a challenge at the Navy to prove me wrong. On August 21, however, the same radar set was bought sole source again—and the sole source price was still around $30,000. The set was purchased sole source from Texas Instruments at a price of over $28,000 per unit.

When I learned that, I asked the General Accounting Office to start gathering information on the sole source purchase of the set. I again demanded that the set be bought through competitive bidding.

Today, Mr. Speaker, at 10:30 a.m. in the Navy Purchasing Office, competitive bids were opened. The low bidder was Texas Instruments and the price it quoted was $11,319 per unit—200 percent less than it was paid via the sole source route 60 days ago.

Think of it. Frankly, it makes my blood boil. Texas Instruments charges $30,000 to build a radar set when it gets a sole source contract, yet when it has to bid against the rest of the electronics industry, the same company offers to do the same job for a little over $11,000—200 percent less.

Mr. Speaker, who was right, WILSON or the Pentagon brass hats? The answer is clear and I am happy to have been able to save the taxpayers 200 percent on this one contract.

I hope this policy is being followed in all possible defense procurement actions. If so, my estimate that $15 billion can be saved in defense procurement will become a reality.

Last June 29, Under Secretary of the Navy Kenneth M. BeLieu told me he wanted to help me "cut every bad apple there is" out of the Navy. At that time, he said, "I take the responsibility for everything in my area." Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Mr. BeLieu accepts full responsibility for this waste, this extravagance if not this downright profligacy.

It is time that Mr. BeLieu join me in my efforts to "cut every bad apple there is" out of the Navy by removing himself from his position of responsibility because of his own gross incompetence and careless inefficiency.

## The Lonely Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, there is obvious concern about conditions in Cuba in the minds of many Americans, but I do not believe there is sufficient awareness of the real significance of Soviet entrenchment there. This Russian penetration into the Western Hemisphere is the first major upset of the balance of power in over a decade. It may foreshadow other shifts which will plunge the United States into a desperate situation.

Many months ago, when Castro was without Soviet material support, it might have been enough to attempt to maintain the status quo. This would not be satisfactory now. We are in a position where we must reestablish our position as the leading power in the Western Hemisphere. In our willingness as a nation to cooperate in the affairs of the world community, we must not lose sight of the fact that leadership is a lonely pinnacle and is successful only where there is singleness of purpose.

In a column in the New York Herald-Tribune, Miss Marguerite Higgins has summarized well the situation in which we find ourselves. We would do well to take note of the words which follow:

THE LONELY AMERICANS

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—History will surely record it as extraordinary that John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the author of "Why England Slept," should, during his Presidency be so considerably influenced by the British view of the world. The book, after all, was President Kennedy's story of England's mistakes in trying to do business with Hitler. And the point of "Why England Slept" was how the British brought tragedy on themselves by not recognizing the danger in time.

Today, as in the thirties, the world is confronted by the expanding power of an extraordinary cocky dictator; today, as in the thirties, the prevailing British view (alas, where is the Winston Churchill of the sixties?) is that you can do business with the modern-day dictator whether in Cuba or elsewhere. For example, unless the Americans get very sticky about it Her Majesty's ships will continue to furnish the Red Army the wherewithal (purely defensive and "nonstrategic") to make Cuba into a showcase of bolshevism in this hemisphere.

On this specific point of trade with Cuba, President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk part company with the British; still, British influence is such that London's bland view of Cuba has made its mark on Mr. Kennedy, who after all started out proclaiming his intention "to let Castro know that we do not intend to be pushed any longer."

The several reasons for Great Britain's influence on the New Frontier do not by any means exclude the personable and witty attributes of Sir David Ormsby Gore, Her Majesty's Ambassador, who is an old friend of all the Kennedys, and therefore is someone with whom the President feels comfortable and at ease. Sir David has successfully suggested to the President a number of policies including certain modifications of the West's approach to the nuclear-test-ban issue. And, indeed, the regard for things British is widespread in the New Frontier. Secretary of State Rusk, for example, in several recent conversations with visitors, has taken to quoting Lord Home as the final flourish in the conversation—as if the very mention of the British Foreign Secretary's views could authoritatively settle the matter.

Therefore the New Frontier has felt particularly lonely in having—so far at any rate—to do without Great Britain's support in its efforts to organize a free world boycott of trade and aid to Cuba. Indeed it has been a lonely couple of weeks, or rather couple of months. For the administration, thanks to Khrushchev and Cuba, has come hard up against a brutal truth that, like most realities, is better for the facing. This is that the United States in its role as the most powerful nation in the world, other than Russia, is regarded by its allies as having the right and capacity to help them, but not necessarily vice versa.

Or as an experienced diplomat phrased it: "You cannot expect lesser nations to take risks that the United States can and should take. If Secretary of State Rusk really meant to imply (in testimony before Congress) that the United States will never act on its own—that it must have the explicit and advance consent and support of its allies—then heaven help the United States. For by this route you abandon your power. The United States allows itself to be tied down as helpless as the giant in Lilliput."

The fact that alliances are not perfect is of course not a reason for writing them off. It would be a tragedy, for instance, if the forthcoming meeting of the Organization of American States should result in massive disillusionment among the American people. Most of the Latin American diplomats who will attend the OAS meeting are approaching it with an air of profound personal embarrassment. They are educated, worldly men and know perfectly well that the Soviet penetration into Cuba is a menace because it marks the first major upset in the balance of power that has existed more or less since 1950. The Latins know the falseness of "liberal" analogies linking Cuba for instance to America's position in Turkey, for the whole point is that Turkey was never in the Soviet sphere of influence. The U.S. aid to Turkey was designed therefore to preserve the status quo. The Russian penetration into Cuba is designed profoundly to alter the status quo and the balances of power. But these Latins also know that in most cases their countries are immature, ignorant—in short, a mess. They are helpless to do what logic and good sense dictate.

Aren't these therefore precisely the reasons why the United States, instead of fearing its aloneness, should ask if there is any sensible alternative to going it alone in its Cuban policies? After all, even the British finally went it alone once, even if that was under Winston Churchill and even though by that time the alternatives had narrowed to the most desperate of all. In "Why England Slept," President Kennedy seemed to counsel timely action as the way to avoid desperate choices. It is still good advice.

## A Measure of Doubt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DALE ALFORD
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of Sunday, October 7, 1962:

A MEASURE OF DOUBT

Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS of the House Ways and Means Committee emerges from this session of Congress as one of the most powerful and influential legislators ever to occupy a seat in the House. His power has not been confined to legislation alone, where his role has been very great indeed, but it has been extended as well to the extracurricular function of adviser to the President on matters that come before the Ways and Means Committee.

More than any other man, it was Chairman MILLS who determined that taxes would not be cut at this session. Perhaps as much as any man, he fixed the fate of the medical care legislation. His judgment was decisive in the retention of the sections of the trade act withdrawing most-favored-nation privileges from Poland and Yugoslavia. Overwhelming economic opinion was that taxes needed to be cut to stimulate business that persists in a state of sluggishness to this day and seems likely to continue to do so well into 1963. But the chairman thought otherwise and he did not hesitate to put his opinion against that of the professional economists. The overwhelming expert opinion was that the trade act provisions adversely affecting Poland and Yugoslavia would handicap the Government of the United States in pursuit of well-established national policy, that it would cut one more set of ties to the West, that it would incline both countries toward a role more subservient to the Soviet Union. But the chairman was not influenced by professional foreign affairs specialists, nor restrained by the fact that legislatively, foreign policy is more the business of the Senate than of the House.

The chairman is a conscientious man. He has the respect and the following of his colleagues. He has the interests of his country at heart. But he is a man who is very busy with the pressing details of his own very complicated legislative role. He does not have

at his disposal the technical staffs upon which the executive department can draw. And he does not have the discipline of primary responsibility for basic policy in foreign affairs which the President does have.

Next year, there probably will be a tax cut—several months after it might have been most effective. Somehow or other the damage to our foreign policy caused by the most-favored-nation sections will be repaired. One can only hope that so excellent a legislator, so reasonable a lawmaker, so considerate a politician as Congressman MILLS, will mingle with his craftsmanship and skill a little measure of doubt as to his own infallible right to completely dictate solutions, all the way from revenue to foreign affairs. All that it would require to make a great chairman of the Ways and Means Committee even greater would be a little of the doubting quality that General Cromwell tried to induce in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in his famous letter of 1650, in which he said:

"I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

## Another Hoover Contribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, September 14, 1962*

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the past 10 years, I can appreciate perhaps more than most people the tremendous contribution to the security of this country made by J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the never-ending fight against Communist subversion. By his new book entitled "A Study of Communism" Mr. Hoover further arms the American people with information that enables them to understand and guard against the insidious and diabolical forces of the international Communist conspiracy.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, which over the years has been one of the stanch supporters of Mr. Hoover, in its lead editorial of October 1, 1962, entitled "A Valuable New Tool," discusses Mr. Hoover's book. In the same edition of the Enquirer, Mr. Thom Gephardt, the able editorial page editor of this fine newspaper, in a separate article discusses at length Mr. Hoover's book in the light of some of the problems created by the Communist ideology.

The editorial and the article follow:

A VALUABLE NEW TOOL

The publication today of a new book by J. Edgar Hoover, long-time Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is an incalculably valuable contribution to the American people's understanding of international communism and its designs upon the free world.

Four years ago, Mr. Hoover wrote "Masters of Deceit," which has become one of the most widely read books about Communist ideology and techniques. His new book, "A Study of Communism," which is discussed at length elsewhere on this page, is aimed at an altogether new audience. In writing it, Mr. Hoover apparently is responding to the appeal of many American educators for an authoritative book suitable for use in the Nation's high schools as a means of informing young Americans of the elemental facts about communism.

"A Study of Communism," it seems to us, is ideally suited to that purpose. With the clarity of which only an expert is capable, Mr. Hoover explains both the history and the philosophy of communism. And, what is more important, he outlines the fallacies of which the major Communist ideologists have been guilty.

It is encouraging to hear that many school systems have already chosen to make use of Mr. Hoover's book in the classroom. Others, we dare say, will follow suit.

Certainly public education is one of the indispensable weapons for the American people in the cold war. Without an insight into the Communist way of life, Americans are left exposed to one of the most diabolical propaganda mechanisms in human history. Knowledge is indeed, as Francis Bacon told us, power.

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COMMUNISM EVALUATED—HOOVER'S BOOK STATES FACTS

(By Thom Gephardt)

More and more of the Nation's secondary schools have been awakening to the importance of teaching the elemental facts about the international Communist conspiracy.

But many educators have complained about the absence of an authoritative textbook—particularly one aimed at a teenage audience.

J. Edgar Hoover, perhaps the most eminent authority of them all, has come forward with an answer—his new book, "A Study of Communism," published today by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

POINT OF DEPARTURE

Mr. Hoover makes it clear in his foreword that "A Study of Communism" doesn't teach all there is to be taught about communism. His purpose, he says, is to provide "a point of departure, a place from which one can journey into deeper understanding through additional reading and study."

But his book lays an excellent foundation. It defines the basic concepts of the Communist ideology—dialectical materialism, the law of negation, the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, the law of the sudden leap. More important, it outlines in clear terms the fallacies that underline each of these Communist dogmas.

Mr. Hoover deals impressively also with the history of the Communist movement.

REPUBLIC WAS OVERTHROWN

He dwells on a circumstance that many other historians have been inclined to ignore, or, at most, to mention only in passing: That the Communist Revolution in 1917 overthrew not the czarist system, which undoubtedly needed overthrowing, but a liberal, constitutional republic, which was the only democratic government the Russian people have ever known.

He reminds us also that communism's rise to power in Russia was achieved at a time when Russian Communists were a tiny minority. Their success, he points out, was attributable not only to the brutal use of force, but also to superior organization and to their skillful exploitation of "a chaotic situation at a time when their opposition was disorganized and ineffective."

Mr. Hoover is also one of the relatively few writers on international communism who speaks of the Communists' contribution to the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany—a contribution that seems all the more sinister, when it is weighed alongside the Communists' pose as the irreconcilable foes of fascism.

As Hitler was consolidating his drive for power in the early 1930's, Mr. Hoover records, the Communists—instead of joining hands with the anti-Nazi forces—actually stepped up their attacks on the non-Communist parties. They thereby doomed any effective stop-Hitler movement to failure. The reason, as Mr. Hoover sees it, was that Germany's Communist leaders were convinced that Hitler would fail. Nazism looked to them like an ideal prelude to their own bid for power.

WHAT THEY MEAN

Several years later, of course, Stalin and Hitler concluded their 1939 nonagression pact, which assured Hitler of peace in the east and allowed him to proceed with plans for war with France and Britain on the west.

In dealing with the current Communist line, Mr. Hoover deals with particular effectiveness with two of the most alluring terms in the Communist lexicon—"peace" and "coexistence."

"According to Communist dogma," he writes, "[Communistic]" expansion must continue by any and all means until the final goal of world communism has been achieved. Only then, the Communists claim, will true peace prevail throughout the world. What they actually mean is that peace will be achieved only when they have crushed all opposition and have succeeded in imposing their will on all the other countries of the world."

As for "coexistence," Mr. Hoover has this to say:

"It is a broad, psychological tactic cleverly devised by Khrushchev to serve a number of objectives. * * * Through the weapon to peaceful coexistence, Soviet Communists are seeking to lull the free world—particularly the United States—into a false sense of security. It is a means of buying time through which they can consolidate past gains while probing for the soft spots in the non-Communist world which present opportunities for future expansion.

"Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence is not based on weakness. On the contrary, it is an indication of strength and confidence."

In the final portion of his book, Mr. Hoover turns to the current status of the Communist threat and what ordinary Americans can do to combat it. He reminds us that, at their meeting in Moscow in November 1960 the 81 Communist Parties of the world intensified their campaign against the United States. Despite the fact that American Communists total only 10,000, "the Communist Party, U.S.A., is, and will continue to be a serious threat to our internal security."

MUST LEARN FACTS

Mr. Hoover adds some words of warning about the importance of "vigilante" action on the part of the uninformed. But he recalls also that "Government legislation and regulations in and of themselves, will not guarantee our security."

Our Communist enemies, he says, "exploit every opportunity to appeal to the people over the heads of the leaders of our Government." It becomes a vitally important matter, therefore, for Americans to inform themselves as fully as they can about communism and the techniques it employs.

MUST MEET CHALLENGE

These techniques touch all fronts—political, economic, psychological, scientific, educational, and military. On each of these fronts, he maintains, the challenge must be met.

Most important of all, perhaps, Americans need to be mindful of their own heritage. "In this period of crisis," Mr. Hoover says, "we must revitalize our proven values of the past and merge them with the opportunities of the present.

"Then," he concludes, "we will have more than enough determination and moral strength to meet and defeat the challenge of communism while moving ahead on the basis of our own freely chosen values."

## A New Outlook for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN H. DENT**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have just finished reading an address by Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Association of America, delivered October 8 at Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va.

I do not always agree with Mr. Johnston, especially in the field of world trade and U.S. employment; however, his address is thought provoking and worthy of the attention of the Members of Congress.

All of us are aware of the situation that exists in our educational system and a fresh new and bold approach to the discussion of this problem as contained in the Johnston article is of more than passing interest.

Mr. Speaker, I present the address for the consideration of the Members of the House.

A NEW OUTLOOK FOR EDUCATION

(An address by Eric Johnston, president, Motion Picture Association of America, at Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va., on Monday evening, Oct. 8, 1962)

We've always had critics of our educational system. This is understandable: criticism comes easier than craftsmanship. But with education, for the most part, the criticism has usually been constructive and positive.

Lately, however, it seems to be growing more negative—and often more hysterical in tone. The sounds of some of education's critics have become strident, if not downright raucous. I wonder why.

Can we seriously write it off to the anxieties of the age in which we live?

Can we chalk it up to the temper of the times?

Should we ignore it—or should we, instead, try to analyze it?

I believe we should do the latter. I'd like to take a closer look at some of this criticism today. Then I'd like to discuss with you what I feel are some of the causes. And, finally, I'd like to offer for your consideration a proposal that might prove helpful.

First—the criticism. What's the real nature of it?

I think that, fundamentally, education is getting two kinds of criticism today. There is the nervous kind that centers only on the extremes to be found in modern education. Generally, this kind of critic has the loudest voice—and he decries our entire educational system on the basis of the extreme incident and the isolated situation.

Then there's the reasonable kind of criticism—the rational kind that looks at the whole of education before pointing out areas of weakness. This kind of critic shuns extremes in favor of a balanced view of education as it relates to our total society.

Let me illustrate what I mean. Take the nervous critic. Let's examine his tactics—let's see what he complains about.

Here are some actual examples:

One critic recently charged that America's educational system was not preparing our youth to face the demands of the world around us. His evidence? He pointed to one unit of one course in one upstate New York high school. The unit was called: "How to Be Livable, Lovable, and Datable."

Now, we may well shudder at the title of that session. But I don't feel it is sufficient evidence on which to convict all of America's educators.

Here's another one. One resource guide for one grade in the schools of one California city contains the following:

"In the 10th grade, study is concentrated on the growth of democracy, and especially on the form of government which developed. Such a study should be brief and to the point, in order to allow time for the unit on driver education."

Yes, we may shudder at this one, too. But the nervous critic does more than that. He reads into this a sort of decline and fall of our whole educational structure. And it's just not true.

That, unfortunately, is not the only tactic employed by the nervious critic. He has another favorite. It's the survey of one class in one school. And he has a field day with these surveys—especially if the results are singularly frightening—especially if they show the kids to be monumentally stupid.

From time to time, I run across these surveys—and I'm always struck by the fact that I never see those surveys in which the pupils scored well. It's only the horrible ones that get into print.

At any rate, one of the latest of these surveys was recently reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It reported that 61 percent of a group of high school students do not believe in profits; 83 percent think business profits are at least 50 percent; 62 percent think workers should not produce all they are capable of producing; and 53 percent favor Government ownership of banks, railroads, and steel companies.

This survey was called—and I quote—"an example of American moral decay."

This is absurd. Certainly, this single survey of a single group of students means that these young people need to learn more—and perhaps need to be taught better. But moral decay? I don't believe it justifies that kind of hyperbole.

And I ask again: Where are the surveys of the bright kids? Maybe the answer is they don't make good ammunition for the nervous critic.

I think any educator will freely admit that some parts of our educational system may have gotten a bit too frivolous. And the good educator—the good teacher—is concerned about it and tries to remedy this.

We probably have to admit, too, that the nervous critic means well. And that he has every right to bring these extreme incidents to light. This is a service he can perform.

But I think it becomes a disservice to all of education when he carries it too far—when he uses it as a weapon against the educator and against the legitimate cause of education.

To draw dire conclusions from extreme situations is to anticipate trouble. And I can never understand people who do this. Why anticipate trouble? After all, when did trouble ever come too late?

So much for the nervous critic.

Now, what about the other kind—the reasonable critic? What is reasonable criticism? I have a few examples.

Earlier this year it was announced that 10,000 7th graders in New York City could not read 3d grade books.

A while back it was pointed out that some 30 million Americans are without any library service whatever.

In midyear a study financed by the Carnegie Corp. concluded that America's colleges were too isolationist and too provincial in their teaching of international affairs.

These, in my judgment, are good illustrations of valid, reasonable criticism. And I'll explain why.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the reasonable critic—and it was true in each of these cases—is that he does not try to make education a scapegoat. He maintains his perspective.

While the reasonable critic points out education's responsibility in a given problem, he recognizes at the same time that this responsibility is shared by others in our society. He does not blame education alone.

If education is to blame for the reading level of New York City's seventh graders, are not the parents and the community and the municipal government to blame as well?

If education is to blame for the lack of libraries, aren't the communities, government, business, and individuals equally at fault in allowing this condition to persist?

And if our college curriculums are too isolationist, is it only inadequate courses that are responsible? Of course not. Myriad factors are involved—student apathy, public disinterest, an indifferent society.

Somehow, there is a deeper awareness in reasonable criticism. And it, in turn, should generate a deeper concern in all of us.

Above all, we should be able to distinguish between the reasonable and the nervous critic. For it goes without saying which kind of criticism deserves more of our effort, time, and energy.

Probably a prime example of reasonable criticism is coming these days from those concerned about the plight of the out-of-school unemployed youth.

A million young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21, out of school and out of work, unskilled and untrained, many of them school dropouts.

These idle young people are truly "social dynamite," as Dr. Conant says. And we're piling up more of this inflammable human material all the time.

Should American education be criticized for this? Certainly it should. The school did not equip and prepare these young people well enough. It failed somewhere along the line. And it's tragic that the school—often our last direct link with these young men and women—should have let them slip through its grasp, so that now many of them are beyond reach and beyond help.

But if education is culpable—if it should be criticized, it is not alone. So should we criticize the employers and the labor unions who have failed to meet this problem. So should we criticize the parents who have failed these children. So should we criticize government and social agencies and all others who have not acted.

Ultimately, this problem—this shocking waste of human beings—will be corrected by the best efforts of all these segments of society.

The reasonable critic recognizes this—and he tailors his criticism to this end.

Now, let's look at what is sparking much of this criticism of education today. What really is causing it?

Is it, as some say, the frills that adorn the modern classroom? Is it the lovable-datable course? Is it driver education?

I don't think so.

Is it, then, progressive education and the trend away from the three R's? Is it too much professional mumbo-jumpo on the part of educationists? Is it carelessness, neglect, indifference?

No, I can't buy this, either.

I'll tell you what I think it is—what I believe is causing the trouble. In my opinion, it's the problems confronting education that give rise to the criticism.

And don't we know what these problems are? Haven't they been well defined? Aren't they specific, concrete, practical problems that are there for all to see?

What are the answers? There is one that can be stated quickly—money. Clearly, we need more adequate funds for education. Our educational plant must grow to meet rising needs. That takes money.

But we make a mistake if we rely merely on money. That alone won't do it.

What else do we need? We need a more alert, more aware attitude toward education. Each of us, as citizens, needs to be better informed. We need to do more ourselves to support education, to give it maximum attention and consideration.

When we do this, we can, in our democratic way, bring about the results we want.

But what disturbs me is that the minimizers are at work. I have noticed a growing tendency to minimize our problems—to look upon them as solved because progress has been made.

Listen to what some national publications have printed recently.

On the classroom shortage, we are told that 1 out of every 20 classrooms was occupied for the first time at the beginning of this school year. One new classroom out of every 20—what about the other 19? And what about the 127,200 classrooms that the U.S. Office of Education tells us were needed but did not exist at the beginning of this school year?

On the teacher shortage, we are told that the national pupil-teacher ratio of 20-to-1 averages out the extreme overcrowding in individual schools. Yes, it may average it out—but does it help it?

On teachers' salaries, we are told that teachers' wage gains have outpaced the Federal cost-of-living index—that they have risen faster than some other professions. Is this surprising when you consider the low base from which they started?

When I read these things, it's clear to me that the minimizers are at work. And I think it's a dangerous game they're playing—a game in which American education can only be the loser.

We've got these problems and we might as well own up to them—and solve them. There's no easy way—and there's no cure-all for education's ills. And those who offer quick, simple solutions are just as mistaken and misguided as the minimizers.

Those who cry out that we need to set up machinery for national examinations for teachers and students—that this is the way to raise standards and solve education's problems—are asking for a cure-all. And they are probably doing it out of frustration.

Machinery for national examinations? Do the words "machinery" and "education" belong together? Must education conform to rigid national guidelines—or should it, instead, be a flexible, malleable, ever-changing force in our society?

In plain language, shouldn't we start spending more money on the education of our kids, instead of buying a set of shackles for the system itself?

I really don't believe we need more tests for our teachers—I think we need simply more teachers.

Education's critics can yowl all they want to about frills and national tests and cure-alls. But these, certainly, are not the real, basic problems.

When a kid can't read, perhaps one more teacher could have helped.

When a kid drops out of school, perhaps one more teacher could have prevented it.

When an act of viciousness, violence, or prejudice occurs in an American community, perhaps one more school early enough could have forestalled it.

It's my conviction that we should help education to solve these underlying problems. We should give education the chance to solve its problems.

And we should give education the means—financial and otherwise—with which to do the kind of job that must be done to meet the needs of America's young people, first, and to satisfy education's critics, second.

I want to turn now to the proposal I mentioned.

Education has its contemporary critics to deal with. It has its pressing problems to solve. It has its immediate, day-to-day objectives to work for.

But doesn't it have something more? Something much more important to consider in today's world? Doesn't it have a bigger challenge—a bigger role to play in the advance of our civilization?

I think it has.

This was brought home to me recently when I heard one of those nervous critics complain that our schools are creating a frightened generation.

He said that young people today are scared to death—they're afraid of the bomb—they're afraid of everything—they worship only security. And he, of course, blamed the schools for producing this fearful, frightened generation.

He didn't swing me over to his point of view, but he did start me thinking about the kind of generation we need to create.

And I began to ask myself what really is—what really should be—the goal of education right now.

Is it merely to keep ahead of the Russians? Is it just to produce more scientists and more technicians for the race to the moon? What is education's biggest challenge anyway?

After much thought, I came up with what I believe is the answer. And I offer it now for your consideration.

I believe education needs a new outlook—a new goal—one related to the future development of the total society in which it functions. And I believe we have one.

To me, it's a challenging, worthwhile goal that educators and all of us can work toward.

This goal is the vision—the plan—the concept of an Atlantic world.

Let me explain.

What is the Atlantic world? Briefly, it's a plan that calls for the creation of a true Atlantic community within the next decade—a community made up of those North Atlantic countries who share important interests, values, and historical experiences.

The backbone of this Atlantic community would be these countries' common belief in freedom, justice, and individual rights. And the community would foster cooperation in the political, military, economic, social, moral, and cultural fields.

As envisioned, this Atlantic world could result in the greatest positive step forward that Western civilization has ever known. At the same time, it would be the free world's strongest safeguard against the menace of communism. And it would be the underdeveloped world's greatest resource and greatest hope for progress.

Some say the idea of an Atlantic Community is an illusion—that it's just an exercise in futility thought up by dreamers and visionaries. I don't agree.

I believe this concept—this dream, if you will—is rooted in reality. I consider it the most practical dream ever conceived by man.

Why? I say this because, in my judgment, the same ideas and the same forces that are now shaping the Atlantic Community have already worked their magic in the Western world in our time.

We need only look at the course of developments in Europe to see their profound influence.

Who would have thought a decade ago that the French, the Italians, the Germans and the other continental nations would give up their fierce sense of nationalism and would, in fact, welcome being called "Europeans?"

Who would have believed possible a decade ago the accomplishments of that economic miracle, the European Common Market?

Who would have thought 10 years ago that the United Kingdom would ever risk the loss of any of its sovereignty, any of its traditions, any of its commonwealth ties in favor of a closer association with the Continent?

Think about it—these are really incredible developments. And they've occurred, actually, in a very short span of years.

I feel the same motivations—the same things that inspired these events—are at work right now encouraging the birth of an Atlantic world.

Why do I view this Atlantic world as a new outlook and a new goal for all of us? How does it apply to education, in particular? I'll tell you.

This Atlantic world, when it comes, will be a bright but tough world. It will test all the old verities. It will shake up all the old ways and the old beliefs.

Narrow provincialism will have no place in it. Nor will prejudice, ignorance, and injustice. Nor can it be the abode of a frightened generation.

It will require a generation of men and women with intelligence, imagination, and courage. And each succeeding generation will have to be better than the last.

Education, quality education, is a cornerstone of this world ahead. It will be the driving force in this Atlantic world. After all, hasn't education always been the one sure way we have advanced in our civilization?

That's why I feel the establishment and maintenance of an Atlantic world will probably constitute the most rugged exam that American education has ever had to take. For that matter, we'll all have to cram for this big test.

Can we pass it? I believe we can.

We've always accepted a new challenge. We've always adopted a new, exciting outlook. We've never been afraid of new worlds opening to us.

What am I asking education to do? I'm asking education to think about this new outlook, this new goal, this new world.

Perhaps by working for this bigger dream, education can evaluate better the opinions of its critics. Perhaps with a bigger goal, we can put education's problems into proper perspective and find ways to solve them. Maybe, by dedicating itself to a bigger cause, education can better fulfill its destiny.

What am I asking?

I'm asking education to buy a dream. I think it's a bargain.

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## The Scrapping of Fishing Trawlers by Germany Points Up the Obsolescence of Our Own Fishing Fleet and the Need for a Change in Our Laws Regulating the Construction of Fishing Vessels

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, according to the August 31 issue of the Fishing News, London, 14 German fishing trawlers are being scrapped. These vessels are termed "obsolete." They were built: one in 1953; one in 1951; seven in 1949; one in 1948; one in 1944; one reconditioned in 1941, and so forth.

Unfortunately, we in the United States do not regard vessels of this age as ob-

solete. Many of our trawlers are twice as old as the oldest German trawler being scrapped. Still worse is the fact that we cannot scrap our old vessels for the simple reason that we cannot build new ones at double the cost our friends in Germany, Japan, and the rest of the world can build them. This constitutes one more urgent reason for Congress to enact legislation in the next Congress, if the United States is to continue in the business of producing fish. Otherwise, we shall yield the resources of the high seas to other nations who have forced us from the second highest producing nation to the fifth in a matter of 3 years.

## Facilitating Entry of Alien Skilled Specialists

SPEECH
OF
### HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as one who has been consistently advocating, over the past 15 years, improvement in and modernization of our immigration laws, I am impelled by a strong sense of duty to urge approval of this bill, S. 3361, new before us.

A similar bill was considered and approved by a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member, and we are pleased that the Senate saw fit to act upon the measure earlier today.

The first section of this bill extends the date of registration 3 months, to March 31, 1954, for brothers and sisters and married sons and daughters of citizens of the United States where they have applied for an immigrant visa, under the law, and did not receive a quota number. Although the Senate would not agree to our proposed registration date of December 31, 1954, the date established in this measure will, at least, permit some 16,000 to be reunited with their families in this country if they so desire. In the next Congress, I most earnestly hope that the registration date will be further extended to cover all of those qualified applicants, who have been patiently waiting, to rejoin family members and relatives in this country.

The second part of this measure provides for admittance, or the adjustment of immigrant status, of those skilled aliens whose services are urgently needed in the United States. The Department of Defense and defense contractors have testified to the essential need for these individuals and the Labor Department has established that they would not be competing for jobs with American workers. This section of the bill will greatly reduce the work of the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate where this problem has been dealt with, over a long period, in a piecemeal fashion by use of private bills for practically each individual involved. Under the provisions of this measure, the State Department and Immigration and Naturalization Service will have the authority to process these applicants and make the adjustment in their immigration status.

Mr. Speaker, none of the fundamental requirements, such as good character, non-Communist affiliation, integrity, et cetera, for persons to enter this country are being waived by this legislation.

This is a good, sound measure entirely within the traditions of our immigration policies and I most earnestly hope it is promptly approved without further delay.

## Japan Lifts Bars, but Just Slightly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, we have been told and told again by the administration that other countries are following our good example in freeing trade barriers. Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the following item from the New York Herald Tribune of October 8, 1962. It shows that Japan has liberalized its trade by 88 percent. The liberalization applies to such items as whale meat, pearls, and silk cocoons.

The article follows:

JAPAN LIFTS BARS, BUT JUST SLIGHTLY

TOKYO.—Japan's heralded import liberalization program went into full swing last week—and any American exporter who has whale meat, pearls, or silk cocoons to sell can hope for increased business here.

But if industrial America still wants, as it has for years, to sell the Japanese automobiles, television sets, or heavy machinery, Japan's shores will remain almost as tightly closed as ever.

This is the opinion of Americans in Tokyo who, after careful study, describe the program as only a slight concession to free trade and definitely not one that will start sales figures climbing from one end of America to another.

Under the program, announced September 29, Japan promises to liberalize 88 percent of its imports, based on 1959 trading.

That is, the Japanese Government will make more of this nation's tightly controlled foreign exchange available for the purchase of foreign-made goods.

GOOD AT FIRST GLANCE

Removal of trade barriers is something Japan's trade partners, particularly No. 1 America, have demanded for years. On the surface, 88 percent liberalization sounds like a big step forward.

"It's impressive—to any one who has not looked into it," one American said.

Close examination, the Americans claim, discloses:

Imports in 1959 were severely restricted and an 88 percent improvement on the base year is little headway.

Liberalization has nothing to do with tariffs or customs duties and in some cases both have been raised on liberalized items. This reduces the effect of liberalization on these items to zero.

Japan has opened its shores to goods such as whale meat, pearls or silk cocoons—of which it is the world's foremost producer.

Most goods which American manufacturers could profitably sell to a Japanese public that wants to buy them, such as autos and television sets, are not liberalized.

Japan desires to protect its foreign exchange reserve, which dropped dangerously low to $1.3 billion earlier this year before climbing back to $1.7 billion in September.

DOUBLE DAMAGE SEEN

Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda's government also wants to protect segments of Japan's industry which cannot compete with foreign manufacturers. This applies to heavy machinery especially.

There is some fear in Japan that liberalization will do damage in both respects, causing a flight of foregin exchange and throwing Japanese industry open to competition it cannot possibly meet.

This argument is disputed by some Americans here who say that of the hundreds of items on the liberalized list, they find only a few that will greatly appeal to American manufacturers—some chemicals, refrigerators, vending machines, fountain pens.

## Beware Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in a recent issue of the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier points out the greatest danger now confronting all citizens of this Republic.

It is the combination and culmination of the building of the huge Central Government in Washington coupled with a steady and unconscionable delegation of power on the part of Congress to the President and executive branch of Government.

This Member of Congress has repeatedly warned on the House floor and elsewhere of the almost unlimited powers that have been handed to the executive branch and we agree completely with the Courier editorial wherein it states:

The American system was founded on wise principles of the dispersion of power. We are now moving rapidly toward a concentration of power. Many Americans will scoff at the dangers involved. We think they will some day regret their present complacency.

The editorial follows:

Much has been made of the fact that Ted Kennedy received the Democratic nomination for Senator in Massachusetts even though he had absolutely no qualifications for the post.

This was accomplished, not necessarily because the President intervened to help his brother, but because the Democratic machine leaders in the State were desperately anxious not to offend the man who holds their political future in his hands.

Charges were made during the campaign that men close to the President actively intervened. Whether these charges are true or not really makes little difference. Ted Kennedy won merely by being the President's brother and because the men who control primary votes have to maintain close friendship with the President.

The significance of Ted Kennedy's victory, therefore, is not the danger of creating a dynasty as it is a demonstration of the

enormous powers of the Presidency. For if the President's influence can succeed in getting a callow youth elected to the U.S. Senate merely because of blood relationship, imagine what power the President has in directing the election of a reasonably qualified candidate whom he can openly support.

Until the era of big government, the President's influence was limited to appointment of postmasters and other Federal personnel. Congress, jealous of its powers, specified where public works projects were to be done. Federal budgets were small and the economic future of no industry or State was dependent on favoritism in the White House.

Now, however, that situation has changed. President Kennedy is able to assign an additional 180-mile segment of the Interstate Highway System to West Virginia and Pennsylvania as a political reward. He can initiate antitrust investigations against steel companies because they challenged a Presidential policy which had absolutely no status in law. He can obtain enactment of a $900 million public works bill which allows him to decide, within certain limits, where the money is to be spent. He can influence the location of billions of dollars worth of defense and space installations; and incurring his displeasure can ruin the economy of a whole State. He now has tariff-cutting powers which determine whether whole industries survive or perish.

This is not a partisan issue. It is an issue of good government. The American system was founded on wise principles of the dispersion of power. We are now moving rapidly toward a concentration of power. Many Americans will scoff at the dangers involved. We think they will some day regret their present complacency.

## Sense of Congress With Respect to Berlin

SPEECH
OF
### HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration House Concurrent Resolution 570.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 570, expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the situation in Berlin, and I most earnestly hope it will be unanimously and promptly adopted.

It appears to me that our approach to the endorsement of this resolution should be on the basis of having nothing to lose and very likely a great deal to gain, considering the past record of the Russian Government.

If there should be any doubt in the minds of the Kremlin leaders, this resolution clearly, precisely, and forcefully expresses the strong convictions of a united American people that we will continue to encourage and support a free, unified, and democratic Germany.

Mr. Chairman, this resolution also strengthens the hand of the President in dealing with this Berlin situation because it serves notice upon the Russian dictators that this Congress and the people of the United States stand solidly behind our Commander in Chief.

With the same patriotic spirit and fortitude with which we passed a similar resolution on Cuba, and as a complement to that resolution, let us speedily and without dissent adopt this Berlin resolution as a mtter of right, of honor, and of free world leadership.

## Resolution of Appreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, a false, misleading, and libelous article in a labor publication in my district would attack the integrity and courage of the Members of this august body. It states, and I quote:

Under pressure from life insurance companies, the U.S. House has killed a proposal to reopen the GI insurance program to all veterans of World War II and Korea.

I realize that this attack would never have been made were we not in the midst of a political campaign because the officials of this union have never shown any support for this measure nor has this publication demonstrated any interest in this legislation.

It is difficult to believe that this attack on the majority of the Members of this House and pinpointed at the gentleman from Ohio was done in good faith. Certainly they must have known that national commanders and their representatives of eight major veteran organizations gathered together within the past 3 weeks and presented resolutions of appreciation to those of us who participated in this action. I enter my resolution in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION PRESENTED TO THE HONORABLE WILLIAM H. AYRES, AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS AFFAIRS IN THE 2D SESSION OF THE 87TH CONGRESS

"Which recognized the increasing hardships inflicted on some two million disabled American veterans by the inflationary spiral of the cost of living; and

"Which sponsored legislation to provide cost-of-living compensation increases valued at some $100 millions annually for men and women disabled in wartime service to the Nation; and

"Which responded with compassion at a critical moment in time to the historic joint initiative of the undersigned organizations in efforts to dissolve a procedural deadlock which threatened to continue indefinitely and unresolved; and

"Which persisted in the face of procedural and political odds to achieve ultimate enactment of these equitably and overdue adjustments; and

"Which has, therefore, earned the appreciation and respect of the eight undersigned national veterans leaders who dedicated themselves and their organizations in unprecedented unity to fulfillment of this Nation's just obligation to our war disabled."

Signed on this 20th day of September 1962.

William Hughes, National President, Blinded Veterans Association; Byron B. Gentry, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of U.S.A.; John J. Parkas, National President, Paralyzed Veterans of America; Edward J. McElroy, National Commander, Catholic War Veterans; Edwin P. Fifielski, National Commander, AMVETS; Lester J. Hawkins, National Commander, Military Order of the Purple Heart of U.S.A.; Peter L. Dye, National Commander, Disabled American Veterans; Morton Loudon, National Commander, Jewish War Veterans.

As a veteran myself and as a 12-year member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I can realize the error of my election opponent in reprinting this story as part of his campaign literature seeing that he is not only not a veteran himself but he has never participated in any national veteran activity.

Had he ever done so, he would have realized that my action was in the best interest of every veteran. We who have served our country in the armed services resent any attempt by the nonveteran to mislead us. This is especially true when it is done for political purposes.

This was done when veterans were led to believe that the legislation before us would have reinstated the veteran's insurance at the same premium rates that were in force during World War II. As one who permitted his insurance to lapse at the termination of military service, I have analyzed the Senate version of the legislation and find that the premium cost under the measure would be more than twice the cost of the World War II insurance. The rate is competitive with the cost of private commercial insurance. This legislation could have but added to the bureaucracy of Washington without fulfilling the wishes of the veteran.

You will note that this attack deliberately avoids any mention of our action in granting compensation increases for 2 million disabled veterans. One has but to read the above resolution of appreciation to see the benefit that accrued by our action here.

Here are the facts of the case as the writer of this scurrilous attack must surely have known.

On August 8 the Senate passed S. 3597, a bill to authorize the purchase of national service life insurance by all veterans who served between October 8, 1940, and December 31, 1956.

The House of Representatives on August 16 passed H.R. 12333, a similar bill. After analyzing this bill and recognizing that it offered little if any benefit to the veteran, I offered a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to amend it so that only those veterans who, because of service-connected disabilities, were unable to purchase commercial life insurance, could purchase this insurance. This motion carried. The committee promptly reported the bill as amended and it passed the House.

The net result is that we now have a Senate version of S. 3597 authorizing the purchase of insurance for all veterans who served between 1940 and 1956 and a House version limiting the insurance to those who are unable to purchase com-

mercial insurance by reason of their service-connected disability. The Senate has disagreed to the House amendment and has requested a conference. Conferees have been named but have not yet met.

I know that it must seem strange to Members of this body that a political foe would accuse me of "knifing the veteran." It is a well-known fact that 12 years ago, I asked for assignment to the House Veterans' Affairs Committee so that I might fight for the just right of the veteran. During my entire service on that committee, the veteran has commended my actions on his behalf.

The most able chairman of that committee who certainly must be commended by every veteran for his actions on their behalf, recently sent me the following letter:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
*Washington, D.C., September 25, 1962.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. AYRES,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR BILL: As we approach the adjournment of this 87th Congress, I want to express my appreciation to you for the high degree of responsibility you have exercised as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the consideration of veterans' legislation.

Your actions during the past 12 years as a member of my committee have truly reflected a sincere regard for the best interests of the Nation and its veterans. Because you have always shown the courage to place the national welfare and the interests of veterans above political expediency, I am honored to have you on my committee.

Although you have been of immeasurable assistance in obtaining favorable action on approximately 60 veterans bills reported by our committee in this Congress, there remains much to be accomplished. I look forward to serving with you in the next Congress.

Sincerely yours,

OLIN E. TEAGUE,
*Chairman.*

The campaigns in my district have always been hard fought. My opponents have been honorable men who opposed me on the issues of the day. Falsehoods and insidious attacks are foreign to our method of campaigning. I am certain that the Members of this House as well as the veteran himself must be shocked at this type of political attack.

A political opponent who was himself a veteran would never have lent his name to such false literature. I certainly hope that this man as a part-time teacher does not use these same methods in indoctrinating our youth with principles based on dishonest statements.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of October 6, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT—CRUCIAL ISSUES WE FACE AS CONGRESS NEARS ADJOURNMENT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

The 87th Congress is coming to a close. As this newsletter is being prepared the end of the session could be but hours away. Much of what has been done by this Congress, under pressure from the White House and the Democratic leadership, has changed drastically the course of our national life and the effects will be felt by the people for many years to come. It has been a Congress dominated by unprecedented pressure from the executive branch to pass legislation increasing the power of the President to a point undreamed of by the framers of our Constitution. Some of the worst bills passed, those which have transferred power to the President which constitutionally belongs to Congress include, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, giving the President authority to rescind or eliminate tariffs, to subsidize industry he thus puts out of business and to pay workers for loss of jobs; the Revenue Act of 1962, though greatly improved from its original version is still a tax monstrosity posing a constant threat to our economy; creation of a Disarmament Agency (1st sess.) which makes it possible for the United States to disarm unilaterally and to place our sovereignty at the mercy of an international force; Unemployment Compensation (1st sess.) amendments which erode to a greater extent the responsibilities of the State and pave the way for Federal standards. There are many others, all of which have been discussed in my weekly newsletters over the past 2 years. In short, the 87th Congress was a bossed legislative body, bending its will before the onslaught of political pressure, promises and implied punishment. It is my hope we may remedy some of the mistakes of this Congress in the next session and return to the people and the Congress the rights and responsibilities given to them by the Constitution.

As the session ends, there are three burning issues which will be the issues upon which the election campaigns will turn:

First: Cuba. Our failure to stop Communist aggression in Cuba has been outlined in previous newsletters (Sept. 4, 15, 29). The most serious indictment of the State Department yet made is contained in the U.S. News & World Report of October 8, 1962. In an interview with our former Ambassador to Cuba, Earl E. T. Smith (Ambassador at the time Castro took over) the magazine exposes the fact that under State Department recommendations the United States helped bring Castro to power even though his Communist ties were known to them. In choosing to support Castro against Batista we ignored the other alternatives including important civic-minded individuals in Cuba, friendly to the United States, who could have formed a provisional government of national unity. Such a government would have needed the support of the United States in order to maintain law and order during an interim period while general elections were being held. We refused such support or the support of any provisional government which did not include Castro on the ground that such a step would constitute intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba. We insisted on maintaining this unrealistic position while Castro seized power. We followed up this inept action by discouraging all legitimate opposition to Castro, finally culminating in the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the full responsibility of President Kennedy. Now Khrushchev has Cuba. The issue: What is going to be our policy toward the Russian Communist aggression in the Western Hemisphere? The American people must serve a mandate that we intend to protect our freedom, reinstate the Monroe Doctrine, win the cold war with a firm policy backed by effective action to rid Cuba of its Communist masters and return freedom to the people of that unhappy island.

Second: Selling our birthright for a mess of pottage. The U.S. News & World Report also relates the trend of many congressional campaigns in which politicians, in their eagerness to be elected to office, are promising bigger and bigger handouts from Washington. Of course, they fail to point out that the more we take from the Federal Government the more freedom we give in return. The issue: Have the American people reached the point where cradle-to-the-grave security means more than individual liberty upon which the strength of this great country has been built and maintained? The peoples' mandate should be that we want a return to constitutional-limited government where every man is entitled to the best possible life through the fullest expression of his individual talents, industry, and will to succeed.

Third: The General Walker case. During the past week I have taken the floor of the House to demand that Gen. Edwin Walker be given full equality under the law. At no time have I endeavored to judge the guilt or innocence of General Walker, but I have demanded that every available power of Congress and the Federal Government be brought to bear to end the ruthless violation of General Walker's constitutional rights. We dare not allow any administration or any branch of this Government to run roughshod over the legal rights of any citizen because, if we do, we will lose freedom for all of us and this Republic will die. The issue: equality under the law for every individual regardless of his station in life, his race, his political views, or his religion. This is an issue in which every American citizen, be he liberal or conservative, has a vital stake. Note: This is the final newsletter for the 87th Congress. They will be resumed when Congress reconvenes.

## Burns Creek

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, from time to time, both on the floor of the House and before various committees of the House, statements have been made that everyone in Idaho is in favor of the Burns Creek project.

I have always maintained that the hope of this country is in our youth and my hope was reaffirmed when I received a letter from Bill Byrne, student body president of the Rigby High School, of Rigby, Idaho.

This thoughtful letter I commend not only to my colleagues from the Pacific Northwest, but to the entire country:

RIGBY HIGH SCHOOL,
*Rigby, Idaho, October 1, 1962.*

The Honorable JOHN P. SAYLOR,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SAYLOR: On behalf of the Rigby High School U.S. Government class, I would like to thank you for the excellent work you are doing to curb socialism in our Govern-

ment. We feel the U.S. Government should step back and let free enterprise once again compete without fear of Government deterrents. In our opinion, the United States is the mightiest nation on earth, but it will lose this position unless the U.S. Government stops competing with private enterprise.

I just finished watching a film by Representative HARDING, from Idaho, who degraded you for stopping passage of the Burns Creek bill. We not only thank you for this, we salute you.

With best wishes, I am,

BILL BYRNE,
*Student Body President.*

Mr. Speaker, so long as young people of our country are cognizant of the socialistic attitude of the present Members of Congress, there is still hope to keep this Republic alive.

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## "Washington Cover-Up"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, history is strewn with the wreckage of governments which became despotic because a complacent citizenry permitted leaders of governments to withhold vital information.

Freedom is eroded and eventually disappears when government officials assume the power or are delegated the power to deny and withhold information, especially from congressional committees whose membership is derived from the elected representatives of the people.

It is in protest to this growing menace to freedom that Mr. Clark Mollenhoff, one of the Nation's top reporters and winner of the highest journalistic awards, has written a book entitled "Washington Cover-Up." Mollenhoff is an employee of the Cowles Publications, one of which is the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune.

"Washington Cover-Up" is both a searching review of how executive privilege has been used in attempts to deprive the public of the right to know and a warning that this privilege, abused, will be lethal to freedom.

I urge Members of Congress to read and give serious thought to the contents of this book, and I submit herewith reviews of "Washington Cover-Up" as a further attestment to the character of the author and the excellent manner in which he deals with this subject.

[From the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution, Sept. 16, 1962]

BIPARTY ATTACK—TOP REPORTER TACKLES "COVERUP"

(By Jack Nelson)

Clark Mollenhoff, one of the Nation's great reporters, winner of the Pulitzer Prize and almost every other high award in journalism, does an incisive reporting job on the use of executive privilege by bureaucrats to withhold Government information from the press and public—and particularly from congressional committees.

You learn a good deal about Mollenhoff in his personal narration of the secrecy problem. And this is as it should be, for he has long been a defender of the public's right to know how its Government is operating.

In his usual hard-hitting style, Mollenhoff pulls no punches, criticizing Republicans and Democrats alike in this devastating analysis of a problem too long ignored by the public and most political scientists and editors.

Although the use of executive privilege to withhold information dates back to the time of Washington, it has become a significant danger to good government only in this century, according to Mollenhoff.

The tax scandals of the Truman administration, exposed after bureaucrats denied they existed and tried to withhold tax records from Congress, provides an example of "the necessity of a congressional review to keep our big Federal agencies open and clean," Mollenhoff says.

This necessity was recognized by President Eisenhower when he was campaigning and promised that his administration would have "no curtain of evasion, of suppression, or doubletalk between ourselves and the people." But his administration became the worst offender of all.

President Eisenhower claimed a "constitutional right to withhold any Government records from the press, the Congress, and even the watchdog auditors of the General Accounting Office * * * President Eisenhower allowed his good name to be used to hide bad government."

Mollenhoff, appointed to a 3-year term on the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information by President Kennedy, is an old friend of the Kennedys from the days of the McClellan committee, the existence of which, according to Robert Kennedy, was due to Mollenhoff "more than anyone else." Despite the friendship, the author is not adverse to criticizing the present administration.

While Mollenhoff writes that there are signs that Kennedy will keep his promise of "an open information policy," he criticizes the President's "inclination to try to punish" reporters he regards as unfriendly or unfairly critical.

"Washington Coverup" is a much-needed book. Of interest to political scientists and newsmen, it also is absorbing reading for any citizen interested in preserving his right to know how his Government is operating, how and why his tax money is being spent.

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[From the Salt Lake Tribune, Sept. 16, 1962]

"WASHINGTON COVER-UP" STRIKES BLOW AT DOCTRINE OF EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

(By Hays Garey)

The chief of a democratic state—if he is almost universally loved and trusted—wields a power in some ways as dangerous and overwhelming as that of a depot.

His will is ineffectively resisted if it is resisted at all. What has long been considered wrong somehow seems right when he does it. At such times in history, democracy needs—and generally finds—a Clark Mollenhoff.

HE'S A TORMENTOR

Mollenhoff is a dogged, irrepressible Washington reporter—an impartial tormentor of Republicans and Democrats, labor leaders and business typcoons, wrongdoers of any ilk or stripe. His book, "Washington Cover-Up," is a devastating assault on the doctrine of executive privilege as promulgated by Dwight D. Eisenhower and not yet fully renounced by John F. Kennedy.

It is no less an assault on the complacency of a democratic society—including a large segment of its free press—which blandly ignored and in some cases even applauded what clearly was an erosion of its very foundations.

In the early 1950's, America generally acquired a revulsion to the activities and methods of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. So when Eisenhower—during the celebrated Army-McCarthy hearings—invoked executive privilege to spare defense department employees from testifying, only McCarthy (and Reporter Mollenhoff) seemed to care.

DATES TO WASHINGTON

The President contended that through history, the executive department had withheld certain information from Congress. This was executive privilege, and it dated, according to Eisenhower, back to President Washington. Thus, associates of the President who had attended pertinent meetings and who had custody of important documents were ordered not to testify before the Congress.

"Seldom had there been more right on the side of McCarthy," Mollenhoff writes. "But the Wisconsinite had pretty well established himself * * * and few wanted to be on his side whether he was right or whether he was wrong."

EXTENDS CLAIM

"There remained, nevertheless, the possibility that the Eisenhower letter could be used again," Molenhoff perceived. "On the face of it, it seemed to extend the claim of executive privilege to prohibit Congress the access to any records or testimony that might involve the executive branch."

During the subsequent 5 years, executive privilege was invoked to sweep the Dixon-Yates scandals, the machinations of Sherman Adams, the waste in foreign aid spending and all sorts of administration unpleasantries under the carpet.

Mollenhoff argues convincingly that executive privilege was nevr invoked by Washington or any previous President. The cases cited by Eisenhower as precedent for such doctrine reveal, on detailed scrutiny, that Washington, Jackson, and others who supposedly espoused it actually wound up turning over to Congress all the documents and testimony it sought.

A NAIVE IKE

And he depicts the incredibly popular Ike as naively unaware of the concealment uses to which his subordinates put executive privilege.

Mollenhoff notes that "no President has ever been directly involved in fraud" (and he erroneously states that no President has ever been impeached—forgetting Andrew Johnson.) But he adds that "any administration can harbor men who want to hide mistakes and corruption."

His remedy: compel all Government officials except the President to explain their actions to Congress and the General Accounting Office, unless specific laws are passed for withholding information.

URGES NEW LAWS

Enact laws to cover specific areas where withholding of information is necessary to the public good ("executive privilege" has never been upheld in a court).

Provide penalties for officials who withhold information.

Set up a systematic review of national security classifications of "confidential," "secret," or "top secret."

The book is an eye opener. It's only weakness is that it lacks the drama and aura of urgency needed to stir a lethargic public into a cry for remedial action.

## The Present Absenteeism in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it was generous of the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], to remark on the floor of the House last Friday, October 5, 1962, that he thought the American people will salute the Members of Congress who have remained in Washington, D.C., in spite of campaigns and personal difficulties and political problems to finish the business of the Congress in this session.

Speaking for myself, Mr. Speaker, I have no choice other than to remain on the job in Washington, D.C., frankly because there is still much important legislation that would be jeopardized if Members like myself go home. For example, the American merchant marine is vitally concerned as are our American shipyards with H.R. 11586 which is in conference and I am a House conferee. If the Senate-House conferees fail to work out the differences between the House and the Senate bills, the entire American ship replacement program would suffer a serious setback. And I will continue to work for an agreement and favorable action on the conference report as long as there is any hope of a settlement. There are a number of similar matters so I am staying on, even though the delay and unnecessary inaction during the past months are such as to make me highly critical of the Democrat leadership of Congress in not scheduling the program for completion in a reasonable time.

## Wrong-Way Kennedys Romp Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES B. UTT**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of diverting headlines and general concern over the Soviet military buildup in Cuba, the Kennedy brothers conducted a military maneuver in Oxford, Miss., which should chill the bones of every American. Let it be understood that I believe any qualified person is entitled to attend a tax-supported school. I do not know the qualifications of the applicant, Meredith, in this case. I do know that he was a handpicked guinea pig for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His service record in the Armed Forces is, of course, not available for public inspection. I do not in any way condone the arbitrary exclusion of any person from attending the tax-supported University of Mississippi, but I do know that any university, tax supported or not, excludes many people for lack of qualifications. But the burden of this report is not directed at this issue, but rather at the events following the refusal to enroll Mr. Meredith.

I would like to call your attention to the ninth amendment to the Constitution: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." It is my belief that many of the Supreme Court decisions fly in the face of this amendment, although it has not been used in arguments before the Supreme Court.

This administration and those preceding have been negotiating for a dozen years over the Berlin situation, and surely we could have negotiated for a few years on the Mississippi problem.

The public has been demanding that some action be taken to roll back the Communist thrust in the Western Hemisphere; but, instead, the Kennedy brothers jumped into Mississippi with the fierceness of a tiger going in for the kill. This is the same cabal which lacked the courage to insure the success of the Bay of Pigs invasion and withdrew military support after the Cuban patriots had been committed to a landing. This fateful decision will go down in history as one of the most shameful acts committed by the United States, and will result in untold cost of American lives and treasure, to do what we should have done without such cost.

Sixteen thousand crack troops were sent to a community of 6,000 people. The excuse for this is that Governor Barnett defied a court order because of the conflict between his State constitution and the court order.

Where was the mighty force available to the Kennedys when Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and his stooge, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Dorothy Healey, head of the Communist Party in California, defied a court order to register as agents of the international Communist conspiracy? Why is Bobby Kennedy so cordial to the Communists who defy a court order and so vicious with a Governor of a sovereign State? Such a double standard is intolerable. Bobby Kennedy has promoted and supported civil uprisings in the South by sponsoring the so-called "freedom riders," and threatening the transportation companies with prosecution if they refuse to transport these inciters of civil commotion.

The next step by the "Hitlerites" was the arrest of Gen. Edwin A. Walker as a political prisoner without due process of law, in contravention to the fifth amendment in our "old fashioned Constitution." This is exactly the type of treatment that one would expect under Hitler, Goering and Co.

Under the administration's program of unilateral disarmament, and the transfer of our military might to a United Nations-one world command, there would have been U.N. troops in Oxford, Miss. General Walker, and any other political prisoner, would have been taken in chains before a world court which provides for no "due process," and tried before a foreign court without a jury of his peers as provided in our Constitution, and would probably be summarily executed. Why can't the American people see the signs of danger inherent in this surrender program?

This country is falling, hook, line, and sinker, for the propaganda of the international Communist conspiracy. If we do not reverse our direction, the years are few and the days are short before we will find ourselves bound by the chains of slavery to Soviet domination. It is time for America to awake.

### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## Shocking Is the Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of Monday, October 8, 1962:

SHOCKING IS THE WORD

Shocking sometimes is an overworked adjective. But there is no exaggeration in applying it to last week's majority ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of James W. Killough. This is not only our view.

Listen to Chief Judge Wilbur Miller: "In our concern for criminals, we should not forget that nice people have some rights too. It is shocking to me that upon such tortured grounds the court reverses the conviction of this man who has confessed to a bizarre and brutal murder."

Listen to Judge Bastian: "In my opinion, the court today has struck a grievous blow at the administration of criminal justice."

Listen to Judge Danaher: "I am not persuaded that the efforts of society to protect itself should be rendered futile after this accused, fully advised of his rights, voluntarily admitted that he, in secret, had perpetrated this gruesome crime."

And listen to Judge Burger: "It [the majority ruling] goes far beyond the statute it purports to 'interpret' and far beyond any prior opinion of this court or the Supreme Court. * * * But if Congress permits judges to distort by 'interpretation' and to rewrite its statutes, it should not be heard to complain."

These, of course, are views of the four dissenting judges. The majority opinion was written by Judge Fahy, with Judges Edgerton, Washington, and Bazelon joining him. Judge Wright, newly appointed, concurred in a separate opinion which went somewhat farther than Judge Fahy.

The majority opinion glossed over the facts. But these are made abundantly clear in the dissents by Judges Burger and Danaher.

Essentially, the facts are that Killough strangled his wife and buried her body at the city dump. He made two confessions. The first was inadmissible under the Mallory rule, which calls for arraignment of an arrested person without unnecessary delay. The second confession, made orally at the District jail, was also struck down by the majority, their view apparently being that it was hopelessly tainted by the prior inadmissible confession.

We do not think this view is supported by the undisputed facts. After the illegal confession, Killough was arraigned before the U.S. commissioner, advised of his right to counsel and to remain silent, and warned that any statement he made might be used against him. Killough had ample opportunity to retain counsel and, prior to the second confession, rejected an offer by one lawyer to represent him.

Some 20 hours after the arraignment, a police lieutenant went to see Killough at the jail, where he was being held under a continuance of his hearing before the commissioner. The officer wanted to see Killough about the disposition of his wife's body and some clothing. Killough, although he could have refused, consented to the interview, and could have terminated it at any time. Instead, he freely, fully and voluntarily repeated his confession—after he had been arraigned, informed of his rights, and had opportunity to retain counsel.

Yet the court majority says this is an illegal confession, obtained in violation of the Mallory rule. Small wonder that Chief Judge Miller found it shocking and that Judge Burger called it one of the most significant and far-reaching rulings in many years.

One of the majority opinions pays lip service to the proposition that the court is not holding that Killough must be "let free," immune from future prosecution for his crime. But this is blind justice at its blindest. We have no doubt that the U.S. attorney will try again to convict Killough. But the fact is that, without the confession, no evidence remains upon which he can be convicted. If this ruling stands, Killough, appellate court disclaimers to the contrary, almost surely will be "let free."

Congress could remedy the situation by specifying that confessions, if otherwise valid, shall not be inadmissible merely because of a delay in arraignment. This would modify the Mallory rule, and Judge Burger implicity urged Congress to modify it. After fighting this battle for some years, however, we are afraid that the situation in Washington, as bad as it is, will have to get worse before Congress does anything to make it better.

## Our Changing Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STROM THURMOND**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed with the news columns which Mr. Maurice H. Stans, former director of the Bureau of the Budget, has been writing in the Washington Post on a weekly basis. I wish to call the attention of the Senate Mr. Stans' column of October 7, 1962, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The column is entitled "Our Changing Economy."

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 7, 1962]

THE POPULAR EXCESSES THAT WEAKEN AMERICA

(By Maurice H. Stans)

In these articles I have expressed repeated concern about what I have called the "excesses" of our American democracy. It is not wholly clear whether the popular tendencies toward extremes in recent years are merely part of the growing pains of a democratic society or whether they are evidences of a decay that will eventually destroy the structure of our free enterprise system. I believe the answer lies in how quickly the people of the country can be induced to recognize and accept the responsibilities that go with free citizenship.

Excessive wage demands by labor, beyond the value of productivity, and excessive costs imposed by practices like featherbedding are as destructive of the ideals of the system as are unethical conduct or price fixing by business. Excessive centralization of Government in Washington and excessive Government benevolence can be as detrimental to personal freedoms as the failures of local government to deal with emerging social problems. Excessive Government taxing and spending can retard growth by impeding capital accumulation, just as it can deaden personal initiative and national spirit. Excessive national experimentation with unorthodox economic panaceas can be more dangerous than the cyclical imbalances they seek to avoid. Excessive Government intervention in business affairs and personal lives can move the country toward socialism as surely as if it were deliberately voted by the people.

Any of these, unless prevented, can bring the economic, political, and moral decline that will mean the end of the American dream.

Take the matter of Government spending, for example, which carries with it an equivalent measure of bureaucratic power. From 1789 to 1933 we were a nation conservative about money matters; we balanced our budget and paid our debts. And we prospered.

All this began to change in the 1930's and the change is still accelerating. We are now a country heavily taxed, spending more than we tax and burdened with enormous debts and commitments which future generations will have to bear.

Why has this change occurred? Can we account for it wholly by increased concern over human welfare and by heavier military and defense requirements?

I don't think so. I believe there have been three developments that, in combination, have wholly altered the fiscal policy of the country in three decades:

First was the new economics that grew from the depression of the 1930's. The false theory of "spending ourselves into prosperity" was the parent of the delusion of compensatory fiscal policy—that we can spend all we want to reach social objectives and will pay the deficits from easy surpluses after we have achieved our goals. And both inspired the damaging concept that "a little inflation is good for us."

Next come the flood of pressure groups and special interests, taking advantage of the easy economics to advance their own causes. In this era there grew up in the country the great national illusion that "if the money comes from Washington, someone else pays for it."

Overlapping these is the third phase, in which political candidates are bidding for the favor of the voters by outpromising each other. The unsophisticated public accepts these handouts without reckoning the cost and without realizing that it can be met

only by themselves through heavier and heavier taxes.

The evidence is readily at hand: welfare programs that dispense their benefits to everyone, without a test of need. Government expenditures measured merely by desirability rather than necessity. Federal programs undertaken because pressure groups find it more convenient and more effective to deal with the Congress than with 50 State legislatures. Budget deficits that are justified with such semantics as "a downpayment on future surpluses." Campaign documents that promise all things to all men. A growing Federal bureaucracy six times as big as it was 30 years ago. And Government taxing and spending grown from $3 billion in 1930 to almost $120 billion in 1962.

There are those who will say that the results, nevertheless, are not all bad. We are still the strongest Nation in the world; we are coping with external threats; our dollar is the world's currency; our living is abundant. What more do we ask?

The answer is in the horrendous risks we are assuming and the impossibility of knowing the breaking points at which they will drop on us. The risk of disastrous inflation, the risk of financial collapse, the risk of loss of our national vitality, the risk of loss of the cold war, the risk of surrender of our freedom to a Socialist state or to an ultimate dictatorship—these are so formidable as to command us to impose restraints in our self-interest. But restraints are not easily invoked while the pleasant euphoria of the cup of self-indulgence continues.

To survive, a democracy requires three ingredients:

Self-discipline, or the willingness of the individual citizen to subordinate his personal advantage for the good of the whole society.

An informed citizenry, interested and active in understanding the social and economic issues.

Leadership dedicated to the attainment of forward movement that is sound and balanced and in harmony with our constitutional concepts.

For the future, the challenge to our two political parties is to build these ingredients and hereby to hold in bonds the revolution of rising expectations. Unless the present excesses of our democracy are thus inhibited, we could witness the destruction of our proud American system by the inept acts of its own beneficiaries. That would be history's greatest tragedy.

## Tribute to Representative Fred Marshall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the approaching adjournment of the 87th Congress will mark the retirement of Representative FRED MARSHALL from the House of Representatives, after 14 years of service to the Sixth District of Minnesota.

The sixth district is unique, in that it reflects the economic and social characteristics of the State as a whole. It contains industry and diversified farming, railroad and wholesale centers. It has natural resources which have made Minnesota famous—forests and lakes, iron and granite. FRED MARSHALL has represented this district tirelessly, competently, and honestly in every area of its particular and proper interests—agriculture, small business, labor, forestry, and conservation.

Representative MARSHALL has been one of the most respected members of the important House Appropriations Committee.

In the mind of the Founding Fathers, the House of Representatives was to be the principal legislative body for the Nation. While more publicity may be given to the President and to Senators, the House today is dominant in important legislative fields.

During his service in the House, FRED MARSHALL established a reputation for independence and a willingness to make hard decisions. He also earned a reputation for efficient and effective personal service to the people of his district in their dealingss with the Congress and the Federal Government.

His experience as a farmer and as an administrator of farm programs before his election to the House of Representatives earned for him a deserved reputation as a recognized spokesman for American agriculture. As a member of the agricultural appropriations subcommittee, he was often instrumental in improving and strengthening programs of immediate concern to farm families—the so-called "action programs" of most direct benefit to people on farms.

Representative MARSHALL has served his district well as an able and conscientious legislator who was always aware of his responsibilities and fulfilled them faithfully. In so doing, he served the people of Minnesota and the Nation. I join his many friends in and out of Congress in offering appreciation for his record of public service and good wishes on his retirement. Any one who knows FRED MARSHALL knows that his retirement from the House of Representatives is not a retirement from public affairs. He will continue to be a good friend and valued counselor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## ASCS Committeemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the most important link between the farmer and the farm programs administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture is the ASCS county committee. This is an attempt to explain the functions, the operations, and the importance of the county committees.

Farm programs that are enacted by the Congress of the United States are administered and carried out at the county level by a committee of farmers elected by the other farmers in the community.

Each year every farmer in the county is given an opportunity to nominate anyone he chooses to represent him as an ASCS committeeman. After all nominations are made, the ballots are prepared and every farmer in the county has an opportunity to vote for the farmers which will comprise the county committee.

These ASCS committees are composed of three county committeemen, and the local extension county agent is an ex-officio member.

It is the committee's responsibility to see that the programs are carried out fairly and in full accordance with official regulations.

In each county there is a manager, who works at the pleasure of the committee and who carries out the day-to-day operation. Thus the committee could be described as a board of directors with the county office manager responsible for carrying out the committee's policies and decisions and serving as a focal point for information activities.

In addition to the county committee there is also a farmer-elected committee for each community in the county. These committeemen are commonly called community committeemen. They have the all important responsibility of explaining the oftentimes complicated farm programs to their fellow farmers. This is where the all important farmer-to farmer contact is made.

In carrying out farm programs information cannot be conveyed by newspaper, radio, television alone. There must be a person-to-person media for explaining the program and answering the questions that arise. This the community committeemen and county committeemen do.

These ASCS farmer-elected committeemen are charged with the general management of all the functions in their counties—as regarding acreage allotments and marketing quotas, the agricultural conservation program, price support loan activity, purchase agreements and incentive payments, and all the other special programs such as those for sugar, the soil bank and wool as well as the well established programs in those States growing peanuts, cotton and tobacco.

The committeemen are responsible for seeing that farmers and others are informed about the agricultural programs that are available and the requirements for eligibility to participate in these programs. These county committees made up of farmers elected by other farmers, have held the trust of their neighbors in exemplary fashion for more than a quarter of a century.

They have made nonrecourse price support loans to individual farmers in the past 15 years in the total amount of $2.4 billion. Chargeoffs of these loans due to error, fraud or other defects in this 15-year period have amounted to only one-tenth of 1 percent—$21.5 million.

Since 1936 they have authorized cost-sharing payments of $4.9 billion to individual farmers in carrying out specified conservation practices. This averages out from $1 million to $4 million each year.

Since 1948 they have approved recourse loans to farmers for the construction of storage facilities—with 697 million bushels of capacity—and for purchase of drying equipment in the total amount of $206 million. Of the total of $72 million presently outstanding, only $132,000—or 0.0018 percent—is represented by delinquent loans.

They contracted for the retirement of 50.7 million acres of land under the acreage reserve program—1956 to 1958—and paid farmers $1.5 billion under this program. Of the total of 2.5 million contracts, fraud or other violation cases numbered only 4,600. And the amount involved in forfeitures was only $1.4 million—less than one-tenth of 1 percent.

Similarly they contracted for retirement under 306,000 term contracts of 28.7 million acres of land under the conservation reserve program—1956–1960—for payments which will aggregate $2.3 billion by the expiration of the last contracts in 1971. Total cancellations due to fraud or other violations number only 1,217—four-tenths of 1 percent of total number—to date and amount to $85 thousand.

They have operated a system of CCC owned grain storage facilities involving approximately 237,000 structures located on over 3,800 different sites, having a capacity of 980 million bushels of grain with signal success in preserving both the quantity and quality of the grain stored.

Further day-to-day supervision and direction of each program dealing with farmers is divided up among 50 State committees each responsible for direction of county offices in its State.

Through the years these community, county and State committeemen—farmer citizens—have served in the highest tradition of civic endeavor. They have contributed much to their community and to their country. They have carried a burden of administration that would have cost a princely sum if their services had been delegated to paid full-time employees.

## A Letter From an American Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I enclose herewith a portion of a letter from an American Army officer to his wife.

This young man is a captain, and he has been out in Vietnam. His letter gives such a classic description of the American soldier that I thought it would be a good idea to bring it to the attention of the Congress of the United States.

The Americans of this generation are happy to fight for our way of life if we only give them an opportunity.

The letter follows:

A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN SOLDIER

I've never been more proud of the American soldier than I have since the influx of people have arrived here. They go out into the most unbelievable situations and do their job with the stoicism that could only raise in the heart of the greatest martyr of history, the most complete admiration for their devotion to duty, honor, country. And I'm not talking exclusively of West Point officers. I'm talking of drafted privates (there are only a very few and they are admirable), I'm talking of sergeants, sergeants first class, master sergeants who have been through two terrible wars and are undergoing something they never thought the people of America would ever require of them. And they're plunging into an abominable situation with all the courage and devotion and the irrepressible sense of humor that makes the American great. Let me tell you one thing. Don't ever sell the American "mama's boy" short, don't ever let anyone tell you that the Americans are living the life of Riley over here. It's one thing to be faced with combat with a U.S. unit that you can command, but it's another to be left with a partially trained organization, over which you exert no command authority and yet are responsible for their performance and then realize that your life is totally dependent on their performance. Fortunately, I am associated with a well-trained unit and have no real qualms on this score but the infantry officers and NCO's are not nearly so fortunate. They have all the dirty jobs and foul places to go and remain for extended periods of time with units they don't trust.

But what is the American advisers' reaction? The first thing they do is observe in detail exactly what's wrong with their unit and how best they can correct it. Then they go to their counterpart and tell him in detail what's wrong and then recommend a step-by-step method of correcting it. Of course, then the frustration sets in when the commander doesn't immediately take the bull by the horns and get with the program. But the Americans don't just throw their hands in the air in despair but rather they persistently follow through. They drag Vietnamese commanders out on patrols to show them exactly what's happening. They get shot at, they curse interminably to other Americans, and then "once more into the breach, dear friends" they try again. There is one thing I have learned over here that I will never forget. I am proud to be an American and particularly proud to say "I belong to the U.S. Army." Don't ever let anyone take the Army to task over here (at least not the unit advisers) without pinning them down—say "name one." For every one they can name, I'll give you a hundred that will make a liar out of anyone who tries to degrade America or the American soldier.

## House Resolution 211: Special Committee on Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1961, I introduced a measure calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. This measure is now House Resolution 211. There are not sufficient words to express my profound gratitude and personal delight to the more than 20 Members of the House who joined with me in that most stimulating and very enlightening discussion which took place then on the subject of the captive nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 8, 1961, "Russian Colonialism and the Necessity of a Special Captive Nations Committee," pages 3286–3311.

The popular response to House Resolution 211 has been so enthusiastic and impressive that I feel dutybound to disclose the thoughts and feelings of many Americans who have taken the time to write me on this subject. These citizens are cognizant of the basic reasons underlying the necessity of the proposed committee. They understand clearly the vital contribution that such a committee could make to our national security interests. In many cases, they know that no public or private body is in existence today which is devoted to the task of studying continuously, systematically, and objectively all of the captive nations, those in Eastern Europe and Asia, including the numerous captive nations in the Soviet Union itself.

Because their thoughts and sentiments are expressive and valuable, I include the following responses of our citizens to House Resolution 211 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.,
*September 26, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*Representative in Congress.*

DEAR MR. FLOOD: I would like you to know that I support your House Resolution 211. It will be a wonderful way to let the people of these nations know that we haven't given up on freedom for them. Thank you for acting instead of reacting to the commies as seems to be the rule anymore.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY sent me the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; this is the first time for me to write another Congressman but I just wanted you to know that many people in this area are fed up with this timid treatment of the Russians.

Sincerely,

Mr. M. E. CROMPTON,
*2904 South Walnut Street.*

P.S.—No reply requested.

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DEAR SIR: Thank you for your statement in behalf of the captive nations. We Lithuanians are grateful.

JULIA KRASINSKAS,
*33 Baltic Road, Worcester, Mass.*

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BALTIMORE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE
FOR CUBAN FREEDOM,
*Baltimore, Md., September 24, 1962.*

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*New House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FLOOD: As President of the Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom, I wish to assure you of our fervent support of House Resolution 211. A Special Committee on Captive Nations is desperately needed to keep alive on both sides of the Iron Curtain the hope that the slave peoples can and will ultimately be liberated.

Therefore, we urgently call your attention to the fact that one captive nation is not included in the proposed resolution: Cuba. Recent events have dramatically underlined the fact that Cubans are as much slaves to Soviet imperialism as are the peoples of Eastern Europe. It is equally vital that the hope of freedom not be eternally quenched on that captive island.

From the American point of view, it is plain that national security demands a faster, more accurate intelligence appraisal of what is going on 90 miles away. I call your attention to the fact that as late as August 30, the State Department still professed to have no knowledge of Soviet troops in Cuba.

In this connection, I would like to strongly endorse your statement that: "There is a hazardous gap in our official and private facilities as concerns this necessary task of studying systematically, objectively and continuously all of the captive nations. * * * Nowhere is there any agency, public or private, performing this essential task."

Nowhere, too, is there a captive nation more in need of such study. Nowhere—from the rise of Castro to the Bay of Pigs to the present have our policies been more bumbling and inept. Yet, if we are unable to secure and apply knowledge from a captive nation just off our shores—what hope is there that anything effective can be accomplished in remote Eurasia?

Sincerely yours,

PHYLLIS CHAIT,
*President.*

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BALTIMORE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE FOR CUBAN FREEDOM,
*Baltimore, Md., September 25, 1962.*

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for including our letters in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and we keep on praying for your victory in your House Resolution 211.

If it is possible, would you be so kind as to send us as many copies as you can of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which our letters were published? The date on them is September 17 and 18.

Thank you very much, Mr. FLOOD.

Yours very truly,

MARTHA ALPENDRE,
*Secretary.*

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## Three Million Dollars Per Day Saved for the Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of this House have followed with interest the results of my long and sometimes lonely battle against waste in military procurement. One of the things that has kept me vitally interested in this task is the support of the people. I have had letters from virtually every corner of this Nation supporting my contention that money can be saved on military purchases if the American system of competitive bidding is used and if the despicable practice of sole source—or completely noncompetitive bidding, is thrown out the window.

Just today I have been informed by a Washington research and publishing organization that, according to its figures, my military study in the past year has saved the taxpayers of this Nation $1 billion—or $3 million per day.

This is certainly a gratifying development and it further strengthens my dedication to continue this fight. I am informed that publication of the figures I have just stated will come next Monday and I shall insert the text of the story in the RECORD for the edification of my colleagues.

The conclusion reached by this organization that my study has saved the taxpayers of this country $1 billion—or about $25 in taxes for every family of four in the Nation—in about a year, bears out the statement made in the following editorial that was printed in the Salem Leader, of Salem, Ind., and written by its editor, Howard Grossman:

BECAUSE ONE MAN SPOKE OUT

When Government is on the market for something it is not only fair but it is just good business that any firm interested should have the right to bid on supplying it.

But until recently such was not the case when the Navy wanted to buy something. Congressman EARL WILSON made an issue out of the matter with the result the Defense Department has rebuked the Navy for shutting out competition on key defense contracts in a secretive manner.

Congressman WILSON, of our Indiana Ninth District, which includes Washington County, made an issue of the matter. He was not to be hushed up even when scoring attacks were leveled at him. Instead, he opened up a barrage of information among which was the disclosure that the Navy planned to hand a Cedar Rapids, Iowa, firm a $4 million contract as a "sole source" for a walkie-talkie radio after a nationally known firm could do the job just as quickly and for $1 million less Government cost.

Congressman WILSON has been hammering away to put a stop to the practice of "sole source" contracts by which a Government agency would contract for supplies without giving a competing firm an opportunity to bid or show what they could do. He has fought the practice for the past 18 months in a one-man crusade against reckless spending of our defense dollars. A congressional probe of Navy buying was pushed by Congressman WILSON into the single source purchasing under which the buying agency was the supreme authority in deciding which company or companies would be allowed to bid. Plans and specifications were refused other companies which might learn of the impending procurements and wished to bid.

We need more Congressmen like EARL WILSON. We need such men to watch our tax dollars, too many of which are "going down the drain" of reckless Government spending.

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## Portugal

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and colleague from Massachusetts, Congressman O'NEILL, has obtained a unanimous consent order so that Members of the House can join with him in discussing the friendly and most cordial relations that have existed between Portugal and the United States. I want to be associated with Congressman O'NEILL, our distinguished Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, our beloved former Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN and other members of the Massachusetts delegation, in this deserving tribute to Portugal, the Portuguese people, and the hundreds of thousands of good Portuguese-American citizens of the United States, many of whom live in my Second Congressional District.

Among the traditional allies of the United States and friends of the American people, none is more steadfast in its determination to uphold the common values of Western civilization than is Portugal. Americans have long known Portugal as the land of explorers, the country of magnificent architecture, ancient churches, and charming fishing villages. In recent years, the bonds between our two countries have been strengthened by the dangers of international communism. The similar reaction of the United States and Portugal to the Soviet threat provides dramatic evidence of the depth of our friendship and the similarity of our views toward alien ideologies.

Mr. Speaker, Portugal was one of the original members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We have benefited from the use of Portuguese bases in the Azores Islands, whose strategic importance is demonstrated even today as an intermediate resting point for American servicemen on their way to defend the free world in Berlin. But our military bases in the Azores merely symbolize the spirit which binds Portugal and the United States in the firm bonds of friendship. The spirit which is founded on unyielding determination to defend the Western World.

Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to call to the attention of my colleagues my remarks that appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page A4469, June 15, 1961, under the title "Resolution Urging Continued Sympathetic and Cooperative Relationship Between the United States and Portugal." This resolution was adopted by the Portuguese-American Citizens of Western Massachusetts urging continued friendly, sympathetic and cooperative relationship between the United States of America and the Government of Portugal. The resolution was forwarded by Julio Almeida of the Portuguese-American Citizens of Western Massachusetts to President John F. Kennedy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson to the United Nations.

As I stated before, many of the good American citizens of Portuguese descent live in Ludlow, Chicopee Falls, and the Indian Orchard section of Springfield in my congressional district. These people recently opened the New England Luso-American Cultural Center and the Springfield Daily News described it as "an ambitious undertaking." Two of the prime backers of the center for teaching of the Portuguese language are Rev. Manuel Rocha, pastor of Our Lady of Fatima Church in Ludlow, and Julio Almeida, president of the Lusitania Institute, Inc.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues will be interested in the story of this New England Luso-American Cultural Center, so I asked unanimous consent that the Springfield Daily News article pub-

lished September 24, 1962, be printed at this point with my remarks:

WILL TEACH PORTUGUESE: ONE OF THE CRITICAL LANGUAGES—NEW ENGLAND LUSO-AMERICAN CULTURAL CENTER, AN AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKING IN LUDLOW

The New England Luso-American Cultural Center—an ambitious undertaking which may one day result in establishment of a community college in Ludlow—is now operating in that town, as yet in the fledgling stage but with its eyes on the future.

Its chief aim: The teaching of Portuguese, tabbed by the U.S. Department of Education as "one of the critical languages."

Some 60 to 70 million people in turbulent South America, alone, speak this vital language. But very few people in this country understand it. And worse, very few places in the United States endeavor to teach it. Most of the Portuguese speaking people in South America live in Brazil, one of the pivotal countries of that continent.

Just started on the road to its ultimate goal, the center is now operating out of one room in Ludlow High School where five adults, including two Ludlow schoolteachers, a bank official and a Westover Air Force Base officer, are learning Portuguese. But it has plans for construction of its own building eventually on Winsor Street between Our Lady of Fatima Church and Lusitanio Field, near the Ludlow Country Club.

PROSPECTUS TO BE SENT

How far and how fast the center will progress will be known later this year. A prospectus explaining its aims will be mailed out the middle of next month to 1,000 companies in the import-export business which deal with the countries of Portugal and Brazil, according to Rev. Manuel Rocha, pastor of Our Lady of Fatima Church in Ludlow, and one of the prime backers of the center.

Construction of a building, he said, "depends on the demand of the import-export people."

"The reaction of these people will tell us how fast we can go." Father Rocha, with his nephew, Manuel Da Silva, and Rev. Antonino Tavares, who assists him at the church on weekends, are instructing the pilot class in Portuguese at the high school. Both Father Rocha and Father Tavares, now studying at the Rhode Island School of Design, hold doctorates.

Superintendent of Schools Dr. Henry F. Trainor says the program is "off to a fairly good start," with the language laboratory at the high school being utilized 3 nights a week for instruction in Portuguese. Dr. Trainor says the program is still in the experimental stages, but he sees it as "the beginnings of a community college for the spread of Portuguese culture."

GREAT NEED EXISTS

According to James R. Power, senior supervisor in modern foreign languages of the State Department of Education, there is a great need for understanding of the Portuguese language.

"There are so many millions in South America who speak Portuguese," he said, "we need people in this country who can speak it and understand it."

Massachusetts, he says, can play a special role in the spreading of Portuguese because it is one of only two States (Rhode Island is the other) which offer Portuguese in its secondary schools.

"Relatively few sections of the country have the resources that Massachusetts has," he added, "for spreading the Portuguese language."

He cited the teaching of Portuguese in the secondary schools and the existence of Portuguese-American communities in Ludlow and other places like New Bedford. Not much instruction in the language is offered on the college level, he added, although the University of Massachusetts has started it this year. The University of Wisconsin and New York University, he said, also teach the language.

The teaching of Portuguese at the Luso-American Center, however, will eventually be centered on the accelerated method as advocated by Prof. Ernest Boulay, chairman of the department of english for foreign students at St. Michael's College in Vermont, who aided in establishment of the center after being visited by Julio Almeida, president of the Lusitania Institute, the nonprofit corporation which founded the center.

According to Father Rocha, the center will offer Portuguese to whoever wants to learn it. When the program is fully established in its own building, it will be offered under the speed system of 8 hours a day for a month. "When you leave here," he promised, "you'll know Portuguese fluently."

CULTURAL CENTER

The Luso-American Center will also serve as a Portuguese cultural center containing a permanent exhibition of Portuguese art and other displays. It is also planned to have speakers from the Portuguese and Brazilian Embassies, which cooperated in establishment of the center, appear at events in the future.

The formal opening of the New England Luso-American Cultural Center was held on the night of the 12th with ceremonies at Our Lady of Fatima Chuch hall. It was a big night for the backers of the project, who had been working on the idea since 1958.

Present with Father Rocha were Dr. Andre Guimaraes, representing the Ambassador of Brazil; Minister Henrique Da Silva Martins, representing the Ambassador from Portugal; Asdrubal Ulisseia, the Brazilian consul in Boston; Comdr. Jose Cabral, director of the Casa De Portugal in New York City; Mrs. Mary De Freitas Treen, secretary to Adlai Stevenson and former secretary to Dean Rusk, who has been teaching Portuguese in New York for the past 20 years; Superintendent of Schools Dr. Trainor, Professor Boulay, Mr. Almedia and Speaker of the House John F. Thompson.

Greeting were read from Prof. Manuel Lopes De Almeida, secretary for national education in Portugal, who expressed his faith in the center and said, "I believe in the significance and valor of its foundation for the worthy spirit of Luso-American understanding."

In his talk, Minister Martins perhaps best expressed the sentiments of the group when he said, in part: "My compliments and hearty congratulations go out to all of those whose devoted eoffort have made this day possible. You have reached a goal that is the culmination of hard and unselfish work and the fulfillment of high ideals—a goal which is an enormous contribution to our culture and to the State of Massachusetts. This admirable example should and must be followed by other Luso-American communities throughout the United States, as another means of attaining a better understanding between our peoples."

NECESSITY IMPERATIVE

Dr. Martins also pointed out that "the importance of knowing more than one language has long been an established fact throughout the world. In this age when the earth can be spanned in a matter of hours, that necessity becomes imperative. We must therefore applaud the members of the Lusitania Institute for having taken the initiative and carried forth such a valuable program of linguistic interchanges."

It was in 1958 that the Portuguese Embassy in Washington followed a suggestion presented by Luso-Americans from Ludlow and proppsed the foundation of the Lusitania Institute to the Government of Portugal. The proposal was accepted and encouraged by the donation of funds for acquisition of land for construction of the proposed headquarters.

Forming the nonpprofit Lusitania Institute, Inc., were Mr. Almeida, Raphael Rodrigues, Manuel Moutinho, Jr., Justiniano Silva, Alberto M. Sousa, Manuel Moutinho, Manuel R. da Silva, Joseph Dias, Jr., Joaquin Palatino, Joseph Moreira and V. Jean Deponte. The group was granted a charter by the secretary of state's office November 28, 1958.

Construction of the center on its 7-acre site is still in the future, but its backers are hopeful. They've come a long way already.

## Profit Motive Drives Power of Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg Herald of Spartanburg, S.C., has printed an excellent editorial in the August 11, 1962, issue entitled "Profit Motive Drives Power of Prosperity." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald Aug. 11, 1962]

PROFIT MOTIVE DRIVES POWER OF PROSPERITY

Everybody, be he corporation president or hourly laborer, wants to do better for himself.

This is accomplished usually by proving himself to merit better—through loyalty and performance.

Here, in a nutshell, is the profit motive which is the driving power of economic freedom and prosperity. Find the society which lacks the individual desire to reap profit from individual investment—of skill, time, loyalty and money—and you find either a slave society or an impoverished society.

There is abroad in the land today a cancerous idea that profits are not necessary for prosperity. It is expressed most generally in the view that wages can be boosted substantially and consistently with little concern for the profit of the employer.

A profitless firm, however, is the worst security in the world for a worker, no matter what his weekly salary is. The prosperity of his company had better be of equal concern to him as his own pay.

The deleterious effect of the "profit squeeze" on business goes much deeper than the economy of the moment. In order to support a growing population, the United States must have an expanding employment.

This must be achieved through new investment for new industries or for expansion of existing production. Unless reasonable profit is certain enough the new jobs will not be created.

All too often, workers in this country are told how the "big boys" squeeze profits out of the labors of the working man.

Well, unless there are "big boys," who make profits enough to remain "big boys," the worker will have precious little chance to earn a decent wage for himself.

It's a matter of each depending upon the other in this country of economic justice. And it is an arrangement which has produced a paradise of living standards for the vast majority of our people.

## Casimir Pulaski, 1748–79

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Casimir Pulaski, one of the most famous Polish patriots of his day, became a great soldier of freedom by lending his name and fame to our War of Independence and by dedicating and sacrificing his brief but brilliant life to that noble cause.

This native son of a well-to-do Polish family, born in 1748 in a little known town in Podolia—southeastern Poland—seemed from his earliest days to have had chivalric and heroic ambition. Individual and national freedom meant more to him than to most people of that period. His one purpose in life seemed to be to fight for the freedom of Poland and for the liberation of its unhappy people from foreign oppression. But at the time when he was growing up, both internal and external conditions there made it impossible for him effectively to serve his native country and the cause of his kinsmen. Even so, by the time he was 20 years old, he had already participated in numerous battles against Poland's foes. During these youthful years his military exploits, while heroic, were successful only locally. All his major efforts to carry on the warfare against overwhelming odds proved of no avail. In 1772, he barely managed to flee from capture by enemy forces, and thenceforth for several years he tried to raise and organize a force to attack Russia. He went to Paris, there to be put in touch with Benjamin Franklin, who at once perceived the talent, zeal and quality of leadership in this young man, and advanced him the needed money for a voyage to America.

Arriving in Boston in July 1777, he met General Washington and received from him a letter to the Continental Congress, in which Washington suggested that Pulaski be given power to organize the cavalry and then be placed in charge. Pulaski was subsequently commissioned to do this and carried out this difficult task of organization with distinction, and to this day is known as the Father of our Cavalry. In September he joined Washington to participate in the battle of Brandywine, which he did with distinction. He also distinguished himself in October in the battle of Germantown. During the winter of 1777 he commanded the cavalry. He acted in unison with Gen. Anthony Wayne in scouting for suplies for the famishing troops at Valley Forge. Thenceforth he participated in many battles, and extricated himself and his comrades from many difficult situations. In every one of them he distinguished himself as a fearless fighter, and a resourceful and resolute leader. In recognition of his brilliant services Congress made him brigadier general, and then he was assigned to a new theater of action in the South.

In May 1779, he joined forces with General Lincoln, and assisted by the French fleet, was preparing to attack Savannah. On October 9, at the siege of Savannah, when he bravely but impatiently charged the enemy lines at the head of his cavalry, he was struck down with a fateful grapeshot in the loin. He was taken to the *Wasp*, where surgeons were unable to remove the bullet, and he died on board on the 11th. Thus ended the turbulent, meteoric, and dazzling career of this great fighter of freedom, great patriot of Poland, one of the most gallant soldiers of his day, sacrificing his life for the cause of our War of Independence. At this time of the 214th anniversary of his birth and the 183d anniversary of his death we solemnly honor the memory of this noble son of Poland, Casimir Pulaski. And we pray that the flame of liberty that burned so strong and bright in his brave heart will serve always to inspire and give hope to his countrymen of today. The spirit of Casimir Pulaski will live forever in the minds of lovers of freedom everywhere.

## The Honorable Frank Smith

SPEECH
OF
### HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful that our colleague from Alabama [Mr. JONES] made it possible for us to voice our admiration and respect for the Honorable FRANK SMITH, from Mississippi, upon his departure from the House.

He stands out as one of the most ardent supporters of flood control, developing of natural resources, and conservation legislation. His foresight in this area of legislation has been the most valuable contribution to the economy in preserving our natural riches and controlling flood damage and navigation problems.

His appointment to the Tennessee Valley Authority by our discerning President, John Kennedy, was a masterstroke, in that his long service in the House identified him with the self-same problems that will confront him as a member of the Authority. It took courage, sincerity of purpose, and an analytical study for him to steer legislation in this field—against the opposition's far cry over the land through the press and radio, labeling every public improvement as a "pork barrel" deal. His long fight for the Authority equips him with detailed and minute knowledge of its workings and goals.

We are sorry to lose his fine talents and professional services, both in debate on the floor and in his committee work. But we know that, in this administrative position, he will be of tremendous value to the future successes of the Authority.

To him we bid a sad adieu upon his departure—but we are proud of his Presidential appointment—and wish him and his dear wife, Helen, and lovely children, Cathy and Fred, God's blessings and the good gifts of this life.

## The Private Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing for the RECORD the comments of a distinguished literary expert, Mr. Clark Kinnaird, of the King Features Syndicate, who has written a most interesting review of a book written by a man known to many of us in this Chamber, Mr. T. A. McInerny, the title of the book being "The Private Man," published by Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 341 East 62d Street, New York, N.Y.

This book has an introduction by the noted British writer, Evelyn Waugh, and I consider it to be a classic in this day and age. It recalls the tenets of true Americanism as it was expressed by the Founding Fathers and in the Constitution.

I hope during the recess that many Members of the House can read this short but powerful series of essays. It is especially recommended for the sons and daughters of this Nation, as occasionally these have to be reminded as to what their heritage is.

The commentary follows:

[From the New York Journal-American, Sept. 16, 1962]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

"The Private Man," by T. A. McInerny, with an introduction by Evelyn Waugh (published by Ivan Obolensky, Inc., $2.95); reviewed by Clark Kinnaird.

The publication date of this little book of 94 pages could appropriately be Monday, September 17, the 175th anniversary of the adoption of the draft of the Federal Constitution in the convention at Philadelphia. It is a cogent commentary of what has happened to the individual man—the temperate, unselfish man who minds his own business and likes to think for himself—whom the Constitution was supposedly designed to protect.

Any reader of Mr. McInerny's little book is practically certain to be stirred to assert his first amendment right, "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances," and to wish he knew how he could do so with hope of being heard effectively. It is made clearer than ever to him by Mr. McInerny's probing observations that far from seeking to protect "human rights" all the machinery of government, including federally subsidized and regulated education and politically oppointed courts, is designedly overwhelming the individual's human or private rights.

Mr. McInerny expresses the indignation of "the private man" stirringly. While it is doubtful the book will stir up the private man in some revolutionary or effective fashion, it is certain to create a stir of interest in the author and his subsequent writings.

## Pirates and Politics—and Defense Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLAIR ENGLE**
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, the subject of defense contract awards to California continues to be a lively issue. I call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial entitled "Pirates and Politics" in the August 13 issue of Space Age News. In a well stated and interesting style the editorial does an excellent job of exposing the danger and absurdity of diverting "aerospace contracts to other areas in order to alleviate labor surplus problems."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Space Age News, Aug. 13, 1962]

PIRATES AND POLITICS

Once again, aerospace engineers and scientists in the West find themselves in the odd position of having to apologize for their professional competence and choice of abode.

The fact that their skills are being applied more extensively in the Western States than in most other parts of the country seems to grieve certain elected officials residing elsewhere. These good men want Government contracts for their constituents. Lacking the proper experience, facilities, personnel and resources to compete successfully with western aerospace firms, other States are now augmenting their aid-to-the-needy contract pleas with charges of "personnel piracy." The best defense is a vociferous offense, they figure.

Diversion of aerospace contracts to other areas in order to alleviate labor surplus problems, now being contemplated, is almost too improbable a proposal to be taken seriously. Yet, the fact that prior similar suggestions were all dismissed after due consideration fails to deter the hardy few who seek to solve their own problems regardless of this country's national interests.

Perhaps if migratory farmworkers or other unskilled labor could suddenly gain the ability to service our various military and space programs, there would be merit in assigning critical aerospace projects on the basis of financial need. It should be obvious, however, even to the most vocal complainants, that a fair degree of education, training, and experience are handy in the development of such items as missiles and spacecraft. And it should be equally obvious that a considerable number of individuals appropriately qualified to perform such tasks happen to reside in the West.

This situation is being "viewed with alarm" by those who find it expedient to adopt such an attitude. Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio, for example, has recently bemoaned the "pirating" of technical personnel by States more fortunate in terms of defense funding than his own. Senators HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, and MCCARTHY, Democrat, of Minnesota, agree that contracts should be spread around more. They join the hue and cry sounded years ago by Senators KEATING, Republican, of New York, and JAVITS, Republican, of New York, who initially charged "favoritism" in the awarding of contracts to California firms. "Piracy" appears to be nothing but a modern restatement of the same old lament.

Reasons for the West becoming the aerospace center of our Nation are widely known. Perhaps the chief factor was existence of a long established aircraft production industry. This highly regarded resource proved to be a logical nucleus for the space age development which followed. Today's vast western aerospace complex evolved, quite naturally.

Never have "pirates" had such willing "captives." In an effort to find challenging and important work, competent professional associates, good surroundings, and superior living conditions engineers and scientists needed remarkably little "shanghaiing" to affiliate with western firms. Such technical events as WESCON, being held at Los Angeles Sports Arena next week, attest to the substantial number of engineers from throughout the country who come to this area, without duress.

If financially needy locales qualify for Government aid, they probably deserve to obtain it. Our public works program is designed to assist in such cases and should be utilized where appropriate. But to jeopardize our vital aerospace efforts in order to achieve this purpose seems to be as inadvisable as piracy on the Ohio River.

## WWDC Performs a Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD**
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend WWDC, an independent radio broadcasting company located here in Washington, D.C., for the public service it is rendering during the preelection period.

It has scheduled over the next several weeks a series of debates, to be known as "Tell Me, Mr. Candidate," between the major candidates for office in the Washington metropolitan area.

The series will commence October 15 and conclude on October 24. During that period the station's audience will hear from the Maryland Democratic and Republican nominees for the Senate, Congressman at Large, and Congressmen from the Fifth and Sixth Districts.

Mr. Speaker, this type of public service, which, I might add, is also being rendered by many of the other broadcasting stations in the area, is to be loudly applauded. It makes available to the voter a unique opportunity to learn what each of the candidates bidding for election in November stands for. It is really only through such debates that the voter has the opportunity to measure the candidates side by side.

I am glad to participate in this sort of debate, Mr. Speaker, and I know that most of my colleagues are because we realize that it is so important to the voter that these debates occur often during a political campaign. As the elections go by, I am glad to see that these debates are becoming more and more a part of the elective process.

## Toward a Brutal Test in Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STROM THURMOND**
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Constantine Brown is doing an excellent job of reporting on news developments in Europe while he is living in Rome, Italy. I ask unanimous consent that his column of October 6, 1962, as it appeared in the Evening Star, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The column is entitled "Toward a Brutal Test in Berlin."

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Oct. 6, 1962]

TOWARD A BRUTAL TEST IN BERLIN—KHRUSHCHEV DRIVE SEEN TIED IN WITH ITALIAN PLAN FOR U.N. IN WEST SECTOR

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—Now that Premier Khruchcev has dipped his toes in the pleasantly warm waters of Cuba without being thrown off the beaches, he is preparing the major showdown in Berlin.

Cuba has been for the Kremlin dictator a mere curtain raiser; a successful test of American Christian tolerance; a beginning of salami diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere.

Reliable West German sources report that large consignments of war materials are being rushed from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to East Germany. The officer corps of the East German army has been screened, and officers with doutful loyalties have been purged.

The East German puppet government has now an adequate force for whatever limited assignment it is given after Mr. Khruschev signs a separate treaty with the German Peoples' Republic. And that day is not far off.

According to Mr. Khrushchev's statements made in public and in private conversations with foreign visitors, it will happen before the end of this year. When the wheels of the Soviet aggressive diplomacy are set in motion, the East German forces will be ready to go into action as a proxy for the Red dictator.

Mr. Khruschev simply is convinced that his blustering policies will not unleash another world war. Over the last four years he has worked with patience and shrewdness in bringing the simmering Berlin crisis to a boiling point. He confidently relies on the indecision of his opponents.

It is believed in European quarters that Mr. Khruschev wants to force a brutal crisis in Berlin—real brinkmanship. He is convinced of ultimate success because of Americ's ardent desire for peace. The Russian ruler realizes that despite the strong attitude adopted by General de Gaulle and the unwillingness of the West German republic to bow to his dictates concerning Berlin, it is America which remains the determining factor in the Laos-type settlement of Berlin. He wants to throw, at the crucial moment, the whole mess into the lap of the United Nations where the hetrogeneous members will vote his pleasure.

According to well informed sources, a peace treaty with the Pankow regime will be signed by the Soviet Union before the end of the year—possibly late in November. Then the Russian guards at the various

checkpoints leading to West Berlin will be replaced by East Germans. These East German guards will be nevertheless, agents of the U.S.S.R.

The allies are expected to refuse to submit to East German inspection, and major incidents may occur which might involve shooting. Troop reinforcements will be rushed from the United States. There will be screams that we are about to become engaged in a thermonuclear war.

It is at this point—the pause—when the United Nations may be called to enter the scene because of the imminent threat to world peace.

Those familiar with the inside of the present diplocatic workings say it will be then that the so-called "Italian plan" will be presented. It reportedly provides a very simple solution for the thorny problem: The Western occupation forces would accept the substitution of East Germans for the Russian forces at all checkpoints without recognizing the new East German republic. But at the same time the allied forces in West Berlin would cease to be "national." They would become the "agents" of the United Nations which would be placed nominally in charge of the Western portions of the former German capital.

The U.N. "agents" would continue to enjoy unhampered access to the city from Western Germany but only as United Nations forces. Some sources with knowledge of the alleged plan for a neutral supreme commander—propably a Swede—to be appointed by the U.N. to give the right flavor to the United Nations role as a peacemaker.

As a sop to West Germany, a plebiscite to be held within the next 5 or 10 years to decide the unity of the two Germanys also will be proposed something similar to the U.N. solution of West Irian.

## The Question Is When and How?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD, stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I include the following in the RECORD:

[From the Glades County Democrat, Moore Haven, Fla., Sept. 7, 1962]

THE QUESTION IS WHEN AND HOW?

Ending the fanatical Fidel Castro rule in Cuba is rapidly becoming one of the U.S. major problems.

Amid numerous suggestions from many sources came one this week from conservative newspaper columnist and Newsweek magazine publisher David Lawrence that bears full consideration.

Lawrence reasons that President Kennedy could order a complete naval and aerial blockade of Cuba and demand that all Russian advisers brought in by the Cuban Government to train military forces be expelled at once, and that all shipments into Cuba, military or otherwise, be halted until the Cuban Government restores to American citizens the properties—estimated at over $1 billion—taken from them by the present Cuban Government.

This seems as good an excuse as any for demonstrating whether the United States has the power to protect its citizens' interest on foreign soil.

If living up to the Monroe Doctrine's avowed intent of preventing European imperialism in this hemisphere is too distasteful, perhaps gunboat diplomacy would be more palatable and justifiable. We have yet to hear of anyone, Cuban or American, who's clipped any coupons from Premier Castro's 4½ percent bonds promised for confiscated property.

## Take Back Your Mink

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith a letter to the editor from Mr. Giles French, editor of the Sherman County Journal at Moro, Oreg.:

TAKE BACK YOUR MINK

TO THE EDITOR: Sherman County has been declared to be an area in need of redevelopment and entitled to Federal loans and grants because it has insufficient income and above average unemployment. Sherman County, of all counties. Sherman County, that usually has the largest per capita income of any county of Oregon and is always among the most prosperous of the Nation; Sherman County, whose citizens bought more E bonds per capita than those of any other county; Sherman County, with its big wheat and cattle farms, its efficient farmers living in modern homes. Sherman County is depressed?

It is not so. The only unemployment has been because of strikes on the John Day Dam, and those workers need no retraining for they are highly skilled. They go to other work when the dam shuts down.

The Area Redevelopment Administration may have a purpose in States like West Virginia, for whose benefit the pledge was made to establish a community welfare administration. It has no purpose in high income areas like Sherman County. What becomes of a nation when even the rich beg?

I find that no Sherman Countian has been guilty of anything but passivity, as the scheme was started in Wasco County. The only project so far suggested is one to build some stock feeding facilities in the Dalles area. The suggested loan is for $8,500, an amount either county could raise without borrowing.

It may be politically wise to distribute some Federal money—or the promise of it—just before an election. It certainly is not wise to force it on communities that do not need it and should have too much honor to accept it. Sherman County is better able to loan money than the Federal Government.

I do not presume to speak for Wasco County, but am close enough to it to realize that even there money is not in as short supply as self reliance and self respect.

GILES FRENCH,
*Editor, Sherman County Journal, Moro, Oreg.*

## A Freedom Tower for West Berlin?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harry Strong, Republican candidate for the office of U.S. Representative in Congress from Minnesota's Fourth District, made a thoughtful suggestion a short time ago which the State Department should seriously consider. The hope of freedom is—and must continue to be—a compelling drive in all men. If we are to accept the Berlin Wall as a fait accompli, Mr. Strong urges that we erect an answering tower of hope and freedom on our side of the wall. A newsletter of Friday, September 28, 1962, quoting his remarks, is as follows:

A freedom tower to be built adjacent to the Berlin wall to serve as a "beacon of freedom to the enslaved nations of Communist Europe" was urged Friday evening by Harry Strong, Republican candidate for Fourth District Congressman.

"It would be a tower of hope outside the wall of shame," Strong declared.

"It would loom high above the grim Communist-built barricade. At its top a powerful torch would burn 24 hours a day—a bright light of freedom for the oppressed people east of the Iron Curtain."

Strong made his comments at what was described as a major campaign speech at McGuires' Restaurant, 1201 East County Road E, Arden Hills, Ramsey County. The dinner meeting was sponsored by the Suburban West Republican organization.

In making the recommendation, Strong declared that the United States is losing the propaganda battle as well as the cold war to the Reds.

"The Russians built the Berlin wall for propaganda purposes. It is a cruel and horrible symbol of the gulf between east and west. It is a constant reminder that the Reds want to cut their people completely from any intercourse with the free world."

He said the freedom tower would signify to the free world, as well as to the Communist enslaved people, that the United States means business.

"It would announce that we intend to fight totalitarianism wherever it threatens to deprive nations of their freedom.

"However, the symbol of the freedom tower will be useless unless the United States embarks on a firm and realistic policy of counteracting Red aggression throughout the world," Strong declared.

He also told his suburban listeners that any Federal bureaucracy intended to supervise city and suburban community problems would be "one more attempt by supergovernment to interfere in the lives of its citizens.

"It would lead to centralization of power, dictation and eventual regimentation. Suburbanites and city dwellers would soon find themselves in the same position as farmers

who are closely supervised by the Department of Agriculture," Strong said.

He said communities can best meet problems through their elected officials and through cooperative efforts between communities.

"This does not rule out the possibility that there may be areas where Federal assistance is required.

"I would favor long-term, low-interest Federal loans to assist cities and suburban areas. But these loans should be granted only after individual communities had devoted a fair share of their own resources to the problem."

## Hon. Frank E. Smith

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege to express my appreciation for the public service of our colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SMITH].

FRANK SMITH has had an outstanding decade of service in the U.S. House of Representatives. He came well prepared. He had behind him an outstanding record of military service in World War II when he rose from the rank of private to that of major of artillery. He had behind him a period of service as administrative assistant to Mississippi's great Senator, JOHN STENNIS. He had behind him a fine formal education. He had behind him fine professional training in the field of writing. This fine background coupled with FRANK SMITH's ability, his honesty, and his dedication gave him a good start in the House.

Then, FRANK SMITH had the good judgment to realize that his district had a paramount interest in flood control and public works, and he made himself a widely recognized expert in these fields. His knowledge and experience in these fields will be widely missed in the House by those of us who had come to rely heavily on his knowledge and judgment.

FRANK SMITH has great learning. He has great ability. He has extraordinary courage. He has good judgment.

All these fine qualities admirably suit our colleague for his new job as a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to which position he will soon go.

I believe and I predict that FRANK SMITH will make an outstanding member of the Board of Directors of TVA. There he will find another great field for public service, and one that directly affects the northern one-fifth of my State.

As FRANK SMITH leaves the U.S. House of Representatives he can be justly proud of his outstanding record here. He can look forward with anticipation to his service in his new capacity.

I want to publicly express to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SMITH] and his fine family my very best wishes for a long and happy and successful future.

## America's Hour of Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a sermon recently delivered by Dr. Henry L. Lyon, Jr., pastor, Highland Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala.

Dr. Lyon is a deeply religious person who dearly loves his State, the South, and the Nation; and his warnings merit careful consideration by all of us.

The sermon follows:

AMERICA'S HOUR OF TRAGEDY

(Sermon preached by Dr. Henry L. Lyon, Jr., pastor, Highland Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., Sept. 30, 1962)

Psalm 15 and Genesis 3: 9–10.

We come now to the words of our text: Genesis 3: 9–10: "The Lord God called unto Adam and said unto him, 'Where art thou?' And he said 'I heard Thy voice in the garden and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.'" Verses 9–10.

"Adam, where art thou?" The question that we find in this text suggests unto us four other questions: (1) Who asked the question? (2) Of whom was this question asked? (3) Why was the question asked? and (4) Why did he ask?

Who asked the question? The Bible does not leave us in the dark. The Lord God, the Creator of the universe, the Lord and Master of every individual who, as a believer in God, bows down in complete obedience to Him, your God, my God, the Father of our Lord and our Savior, Jesus Christ. Always the questions of God are startling; they penetrate; they cut the individual down into the conscience. And, so we find the Eternal God asking the first question that He ever asked of any individual in the history of this world.

Of whom did he ask that question? The answer is right there for us in plain clear language, Adam, the first man, the head of the human race, the beginning of God's masterpiece of work here on the face of this earth.

Why did he ask the question? What were the circumstances surrounding this event? The answer is clear again in the Bible. The first man ever upon the face of this earth had sinned; he had wronged his Creator, his spiritual Benefactor. What did that mean? He transgressed against the law and will of God. God had put him in the Garden of Eden with special privileges, to dress it, to keep it. The old serpent, the devil comes in all his powers of deceit and says that God is a liar, that God has not spoken the truth, that God does not love you. "Go my way and it will be the way of thrill and adventure; you will have enlightment; you will have power. And I want you to remember this in a very special way—you will have satisfaction for all of your desires of the flesh. Behold the fruit of this tree. It is good to look at. If you eat of this fruit you will have all the burning hungers of your soul completely satisfied."

As a result of man in that hour crossing the will of God, we have on the face of this earth murder, degeneracy, adultery, and debauchery in every nook and corner of our Nation and world. Adam had sinned, and now we need to recognize that he has sinned as a being with the freedom of choice. He made his decision as we make our decisions in this tragic hour. God is holding us responsible.

What did God ask? And this is a very important question as we come now to make the practical application for this hour in this message. The question was "Adam, where art thou?" As God asked that question of Adam, God is asking that question of every one of us today, not only as individuals but collectively as a great Nation of 50 great States. I believe with all my heart that God is saying "America, where art thou?" When God asked that question of Adam, Adam replied and said "God, here am I. I was hiding with the woman you gave to be my helpmeet." And you will remember that Adam hurriedly said "I was hiding because I was naked." As God asks America that question this morning, "America, where are thou?" let's start answering that question now as an individual. In relationship to your God, in your relationship to your church, to fellow human beings, in your relationship to right and wrong, "Where art thou?"

I believe with all my heart that God has given America to the entire world. America is a love gift to all the nations of this earth to uphold and transmit to human beings all over this earth the love for freedom, the democratic way of life. One of its greatest expressions is found in States rights. It was the responsibility of the first man Adam to lay the foundation for this way of life. He failed because he heard the way of Satan. God had to drive him out of the Garden of Eden. God had to let him earn his living by the sweat of his brow and the woman was compelled to suffer and pay the penalty in the pangs of childbirth.

Today men are naked and laid bare in their sins and are hiding from God, or at least they are attempting to hide from God, then they come out and speak at skeptics and infidels. They make light of the Bible, the teachings of the Bible and the preaching of the Bible are scorned. All of this is involved in man's futile attempt to hide from God. The immorality and debauchery of this hour in America is a result of many of us running away from God like a Jonah. Then, when we run away from Him we try to hide from Him. Remember that God is omniscient. He knows every thought that goes through our minds. He knows the convictions of your soul; or if you are utterly devoid of convictions he knows about it.

Our democracy is being destroyed through a process of decay. It is being worked upon like a cancer, and is the result of our hiding from God, our turning away from Him. This is America's hour of tragedy.

Why are we in such a pitiful plight this morning? Why are we saying to the whole world "the lights of democracy are going out?" That statement was made during World War II, "The lights are going out all over the world." And again I say "The lights of democracy are going out." That which our forefathers bled and suffered and died for is being slaughtered upon the altars of disgrace in this present hour. Democracy, my friends, is weeping and wailing in these hours. It is because of the almighty dollar and because of men seeking political advantage and advancement. Some men are willing to make a social experiment in this hour that will surely plunge our Nation into utter doom and destruction. In this moment when the Red Russian Communists are now in operation within a little more than 90 miles off a part of the shoreline of this country, rather than to give the best of our thinking and our manhood to solving that problem, we are now as a Nation violating one of the first rights that any individual has, and that is the right to choose our associates. This is guaranteed to individual citizens by the Constitution of the United States.

The race question in Mississippi is not the matter of paramount importance in this tragic hour. The question as to whether or not a young Negro, who seeks admittance, is

enrolled in the University of Mississippi in Oxford is not the matter of supreme importance. Our democracy is at stake. That has paled the race question into utter insignificance. States rights are at stake this morning. How pitiful this is. We have been celebrating the centennial year, reminding our people of the price that was paid, not by the South alone but by the North, also, the War Between the States. Would you dare take a glimpse with me at the conditions then? Slavery did not produce the War Between the States. Men went to battle because they believed in States rights.

I have reminded you before of the words on a Confederate monument at Centerville, Ala., county seat of Bibb County. If you will take time to read the inscription about those men who fought on the side of the Confederacy from Bibb County you will find they did not leave their homes in defense of slavery. They left their homes to fight because of States rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. And now 100 years from that date we find the South once again is the object of scorn, the object of hate. They talk about those of us here in the South who speak, those of us who dare to speak out, that we are evangels of hate. There has never been a nation or a part of a nation that has been or is more hated than our Southland.

In the State of Mississippi in the Governor's chair is a great American. First of all, before being a great Southerner, Ross Barnett is a great American. He has a right to that title. There are others who speak of us as not being Americans but we owe our allegiance to the Constitution and to the United States.

Governor Barnett is not a "rabble rouser." On the campus of the University of Mississippi not one Mississippi police officer has been armed up to this moment. Those men stand there with locked arms as evangels delivering to the world the demonstration of States rights. I believe with all my heart that the highway patrol and deputies will be standing there again unarmed in the presence of the U.S. marshals and troops if they are sent. Oh, my friends, in the next week in the Governor's chair and in the person of every highway patrolman and commissioned deputy of Mississippi, you are going to see the greatest demonstration of real manhood that the world has ever seen. Did you know that we are just about depleted of manhood? I had three people to call me this last week and one of them said, "Dr. Lyon, what are we going to do about it?" I suggested that he wire his Congressman in Washington and ask him to do more than just say to Governor Barnett, "We are praying for you." And what did he say? "I cannot afford to do that." And he is member of this church. It might get him into trouble. We are in trouble already, and the demand of the hour is for us to stand up and be men and women. Let me make it emphatically plain: One of the worst things that could happen is for General Walker or any other person to lead a concourse of people into Mississippi. Let's stay at home. If our people go on such pilgrimages they will arouse and invite violence. This is just what the NAACP wants to happen. Then they could demand the sending of Federal troops into Mississippi. Remember that our God will fight for us. You are not going to settle such a matter by cutting people's throats. We are going to settle it, even if it costs us our lives, standing legally for States rights. I believe with all my heart that we are going to win out. It is going to get worse before we experience victory. The lights of democracy are going out all over this world because of what is happening in our America. But do you know what? They will be relighted because of the God in heaven, who made men, endowed us with one burning desire among other desires, the desire to be free to pursue our democratic way of life in the framework of States rights.

Remember the Constitution reserves States rights for us, for your State and for my State. Let's demand those rights, not at the point of a gun, but legally. Let's keep our heads cool and our hearts warm. If we act like fools and get hotheaded, we will play into the hands of those who hate the South with a passionate hate.

God help us in this hour. I have spoken as a preacher, as a Baptist preacher, as an American citizen exercising my rights on the basis of my constitutional rights as a citizen to enjoy freedom of speech. God keep America from becoming a Socialist state and her citizens being hounded to death by the methods of the storm trooper.

Beloved, pray for the Governor and citizens of Mississippi. Their ancestors came with our ancestors from the Virginias, the Carolinas, in covered wagons, to settle this part of our great Nation. They are God-fearing American citizens. They are not "cutthroats" and "rabble rousers." The present invasion of their great State is a disgrace. I speak the conviction of my soul. I lay bare my soul. May God save us from the destruction of this hour.

## Impartial and Effective Leadership of Our Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is one of the world's great legislative assemblies, with problems of the most critical importance submitted to it. The record of the second session of this Congress is a substantial one. I have often commented on the fact that when major security interests of the United States are concerned, and when major programs in the interest of all the people are before us, we act by overwhelming margins. Many measures receive almost unanimous support in the House when they involve the best interests of all Americans.

No voice is more important in securing such action than that of the Speaker. Without effective leadership, without scrupulous respect of the rights and the opinions of all, a legislative assembly is vulnerable to factional squabbles and to embittered argument. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the Speaker, to insure fair treatment of all, to encourage constructive discussion but to see that debate moves at a proper pace to effective action.

The record of the 87th Congress owes much, therefore, to the impartial and effective leadership of our outstanding Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts.

Mr. MCCORMACK deserves the thanks of us all and of the Nation. His courageous leadership is reflected in the progress we have made, the decisions that Congress has taken which open the way to further development of international stability and domestic advances.

We have been fortunate in having Mr. MCCORMACK in this key position in our session now coming to a close. We have all learned a great deal from his guidance, and benefitted from the experience he has acquired in the years since he first served in the Massachusetts Legislature and then in the great Congress of the United States.

## The Story of a Cuban Refugee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, recently a Cuban refugee, Frank Ramos, came to work at the Parrish-Alford plant of the Northwestern Steel & Wire Co., which is located in my congressional district. He has given his story for use in the plant publication. His simply told story is an eloquent denunciation of the Castro terror in Cuba. It contains food for thought; particularly for those who argue that there is a solution other than the complete excision of the cancer of communism in the Caribbean.

The article follows:

THE STORY OF A CUBAN REFUGEE
(As told to R. G. Dewey)

Frank Ramos is working at the Parrish-Alford plant. A few weeks ago a news-o-gram carried a story about the Monroe Doctrine. Some of the people who work with Frank asked him, "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" This disturbed Frank greatly, that citizens of the United States did not understand the Monroe Doctrine.

Frank was educated in the United States. This was possible because his father had accumulated 3,900 acres of farmland. Frank's father is now dead, and prior to Castro's regime Frank and his brother were operating the farm. In Cuba there were two classes of people—the rich and the poor. The poor class of people worked hard for survival. The poor had no opportunity to educate their children and due to the ignorance of this class these people were ripe for a change, whether it be communism or any other form of government. Batista was known as a tyrant and both the rich and the poor in Cuba were willing to see him removed from power.

Fidel Castro was a brilliant student. While attending schools in Cuba, he was always a leader. He was never satisfied to be a second best. Castro was well educated, received his law degree and was a member of the wealthy class. He was the people's hero. At the time that Castro started his movement, Batista labeled him as a Communist, but because of the hatred for Batista, none would listen. Others began to label Castro as a Communist but they were labeled as Batista sympathizers so their words went by the wayside. It is now known that Castro spent considerable time in Brazil and other South American countries, and it is also believed that he spent time in Russia where the plans for Cuba were formed.

When Castro came into power, the first order issued was what was known as the land reform bill. Speaking of Frank's personal experience, he and his brother were planning their work for the next day when

a jeep driven by soldiers came to their house and the soldiers stated they were to go down town and talk about the land. They did as requested, but instead of talking to anyone, they were placed behind bars and before being released their land was completely taken over and they were told that, "Your land and all your possessions no longer belong to you—it belongs to the state."

At this time the people of Cuba realized that Castro was a Communist and certain groups were making efforts to remove him from power. These efforts were unsuccessful and resulted in the firing squads executing hundreds of Cubans.

The Cuban people today are starving, except for those who have money that has not been confiscated and they are living off of the black market. The rations per individual in Cuba is 1 pound of butter, 4 eggs, 10 pounds of rice, and 4 pints of milk per month. All of the food and materials produced in Cuba is being sent to Russia. Castro is turning everything into dollars. This, of course, is under the direction of the Soviet Union.

Prior to the invasion, the underground in Cuba was still very active. The original invasion plans were developed under the Eisenhower administration and the underground in Cuba was well informed of the plans, and all agreed that the invasion would be successful. In December 1960 Frank, along with 2,600 other Cubans, went to the hills and completely surrounded a mountain town in which was located a strong Castro militia group. The purpose of surrounding this area and not being conspicuous in their assignment was that on the day of the invasion they could prevent the militia from going to the invasion area. The invasion was scheduled for February 17, 1961, but when that day came there was no invasion. The original plans were changed by the Kennedy administration. The commander of the 2,600 men told them that the United States had let them down and there was no further need for them to stay in the hills, that they should return and make the best of their lives that was possible. Frank, along with 11 others, stayed in the hills, and when the invasion did come in April the plans were so well known by Castro that 3 days before the invasion Castro and his people rounded up any Cubans who they thought would participate in an uprising. These people were barricaded in playgrounds, ball parks, etc., so that upon the day of the invasion there was no internal help and neither was there any outside help which they had been promised. Therefore, the invasion, after 2 or 3 days, was a complete failure. Had the original invasion been carried out on February 17 as planned, it would has been a complete success and Cuba would be free of communism today.

Frank escaped Cuba in a small boat and was picked up by a British freighter, and he was eventually brought to Miami. After spending some time in Miami, Frank was told that he would no longer receive the $100 a month relief check which he had been receiving and that he would have to go to some other part of the United States and get a job. He was sent to Lanark and worked in the canning factory until they closed. He then got a job on the Chicago, Northwestern Railroad, but they went on strike. Then he went to work at Parrish-Alford.

In Russia today there is what they call the "new" class. These people are no longer the ignorant peasants but are well indoctrinated, specialized people and stanch supporters of communism. They have one goal and that is a communistic world. They have established a foothold in the Western Hemisphere in Cuba and they are within reach of taking over Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala, Ecuador, and Venezuela. When this happens, the inroads in the Western Hemisphere will be so great that only another world war can result.

The people of the United States are too complacent. They say that they make good money, they can buy their own homes, they own automobiles, and they can even enjoy a few beers, so why worry when everything is so good. Cuba, a few years ago, was of this same complacent nature and today Cuba is ruled by communism. People are starving, people are persecuted, and people are afraid to talk to one another.

The United States is the symbol of democracy. The United States is known for its foreign policy and especially the Monroe Doctrine. Communism is dragging the United States down in the eyes of the world. Free people no longer have a symbol.

Russia has now sent 5,000 technicians into Cuba. Russia has 35,000 armed soldiers well trained in Cuba. There are trained Chinese troops and trained Congolese troops in Cuba. There is also one known missile base.

Communism must be driven out of Cuba by whatever means become necessary. This does not mean that the removal of Castro rids the land of communism. Castro's wife, his mother, and his son deserted him long ago and are living in the United States. After Castro will come another and another unless communism, as such, is completely wiped out. Failure to do so will result in the Western Hemisphere becoming completely taken over. Russia will shout and use a lot of propaganda but they will not risk an atomic war and it is doubtful that they would risk any kind of war of any degree. The United States would be criticized by other countries in the world, but a free Cuba will tell the world why the United States had to take the action they did and it will prove to the world that the United States is still the symbol of democracy and that the Monroe Doctrine is still a powerful weapon against interference in the Western Hemisphere.

Frank will return to Cuba whether it be with help or whether it be without help. He will return to Cuba if it costs him his life. Unless there is a free Cuba, his life is of no value to him anyway.

## British Trade With Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the United States has made great progress in the past few weeks in obtaining allied cooperation to suspend shipping to Cuba. This shipping was carried out in direct conflict with the interests of the United States and the free world, yet during the period June–August 1962 some 61 percent of the traffic to Cuba was carried by 20 free world nations.

West Germany, Turkey, and Norway have announced their willingness to cooperate. What of the British? They have not. This fact remains startling to the Congress and the American people.

Britain has been our most trustworthy ally in many past crises. Anglo-American ties are among the strongest in the world. We have common goals, and both nations depend heavily on foreign trade. We are among each other's best customers on the world market. Yet the British continue to allow their hulls to be used for transporting supplies for the Communists in Cuba. By so doing, the British persist in compounding the insult which occurred when the first British ship sailed into Communist Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that this Government undertake the most intensified representations to obtain British cooperation, and that the United Kingdom halt its ships to Cuba.

## Our Patent System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to a remarkable achievement of two of my young constituents. Paul L. Gomery II, who is 14 years old, and his sister, Nanette Gomery, who is 19, were issued a patent at noon today. According to the U.S. Patent Office, they are the youngest persons ever to obtain a patent.

Paul and Nanette's invention is a combination screen and storm window. They fashioned it from a tension screen and a sheet of plastic film in such a way that no holes had to be drilled and no nails were required. At the time they devised this simple but ingenious mechanism, Paul was only 10 and Nanette 15. Now, Nanette is a sophomore at Oberlin College and Paul is attending Western Junior High School in Bethesda, Md.

The patent issued to Paul and Nanette, whose home is at 5609 Ogden Road, Bethesda, is No. 3,057,401. More than 3 million others before them have been encouraged by the Constitution of the United States and the patent incentive system developed under it to come forward and disclose their inventions. Article I, section 8, of the Constitution states that Congress shall have the power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries." The patent system set up under this power of the Congress has served as a stimulus for inventions and discoveries of great benefit to the United States and the entire world.

The patent system has encouraged the research efforts of large industrial firms, but it also has been important in protecting the contribution of the individual inventor, as in the case of Paul and Nanette Gomery.

I congratulate these gifted young people. I know all America will share my pleasure that their enterprise has been recognized and will join with me in wishing them success in the future. Under our unique system their achievement is but a beginning and we wish them well.

## The Honorable Marguerite Stitt Church Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, in recent years many of our distinguished colleagues have seen fit to retire to civil life. The loss of their talents has weighed heavily against the solution of many important problems, especially at the committee level.

Yet, no greater loss will be measured in the Congress than the retirement of our gentlewoman from Illinois, MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH. As a State representative, I first met our gracious lady in 1931, through her beloved husband, State Representative Ralph Church, versatile member of the State Assembly, later elected State senator from the Evanston district and, still later, elected a Member of the U.S. Congress, from the 13th District, 1934–49, serving until his death in 1950, except in 1941 to 1942—unsuccessful candidacy for U.S. Senator.

Mrs. CHURCH succeeded her husband to the Congress and no one can deny that she fulfilled every expectation that her accomplished mate would have desired her to attain.

As a matter of fact, her educational background insured her success in public life. She majored in political science at Wellesley, being graduated in 1914, cum laude, with an A.B. degree. In her postgraduate work at Columbia University she received her M.A. degree in 1917. It is almost a miracle that, from her early youth, she nursed a suppressed desire to enter public life in the legislative field. Her college curriculum consisted of courses that would prepare her, basically, for her life's work. Further, her oratorical abilities were enhanced by her participation in intercollegiate debates and, also, specialized courses in economics prepared her for problems of Government.

After her graduation she became a consultant in psychology with the State Charities Aid Association in New York City—the city of her birth.

A short time later, she married Ralph Church, member of the Illinois General Assembly in his second term. It can be truly said that their mutual interest in legislative matters made an ideal partnership. She contributed much to the success that her husband enjoyed, without detracting from his abilities or talents.

In her career in the Congress, there is among her many outstanding attributes, an independent sense of courage to do her own thinking and to, unswervingly, stand by her decision. One would think that her high sense of justice would have given her a cold, calculating, analytical mind, and yet, I have seen her, on the floor, search for different reasons to temper justice with mercy, especially in social and veteran legislation.

Her brilliant approach to controversial problems of government reflects the thorough research and tremendous effort to master the entire question, both as to its preplexities and resultant factors. The intricacies of the law attract her every mental faculty.

Her active work in civic affairs in Chicago dates from the early days at Hull House, under the immortal Jane Addams, as an instructor. The Family Welfare Association, the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, and many clubs and associations connected with college, civic and social activities, including the Girl Scouts, and so forth.

In 1960 she was awarded, by the Illinois Club for Catholic Women, their VIP Award, and in that same year the Civic Affairs Associates, Inc., awarded her their Merit Aaward for her outstanding work for political and economic freedom. Again, in 1962, she was signally honored by being chosen by Chicago's Loyola University for their Founders' Day Award.

The old saying that a person of dignity is to the "manor born" is true of Mrs. CHURCH. She personifies the true lady in every fiber of her being. The gentility of her forebears, of the cultured class, vibrates in her every action. Her high sense of loyalty to her friends adds to her strength of character. The honor and respect paid to her by her colleagues is indicative of their full realization that she exemplifies the high traditions of the glories of womanhood in every social stratification in our land. God bless her on her way, she has earned the sacred blessings of our national honor.

## Show Magazine's First Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Show magazine marks the first anniversary of this publication dedicated to the performing arts. It should be congratulated for a successful year of publication in an era which has seen a number of such type magazines close their pages. Show's circulation has grown to nearly a quarter of a million and advertising space sold has tripled in successive quarters. I would like to call attention to the statement of Publisher Frank Gibney upon the occasion of Show's first anniversary.

The renaissance of art in the fifties * * * will grow evermore dramatic in the sixties. This great forward movement of mind and aspiration (call it renaissance, culture boom, or what you will) must be considered as a unity. Its impetus is too strong, its trends are too complex, its disciplines too interlocking for the journalist to consider it only in its segments. The road from art to life is a two-way thoroughfare with no clear boundary intersecting it. Today the reader who is deeply interested in the arts must also be deeply concerned about those circumstances of living that are the forcing bed of all works of creative genius. * * * Good reporting can be a high form of literature, and fine, exact, selective writing can reveal the true shape of a subject more accurately than any pile of accumulated facts and statistics.

## Decision of the Supreme Court in New York School Prayer Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., on October 4, 1962, entitled "Does God Exist? Shhhhhh." I call this editorial to the attention of the Senate in view of a number of comments which have been made here and elsewhere to the effect that the decision of the Supreme Court in the New York School Prayer Case did not have any real effects.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) Record, Oct. 4, 1962]

DOES GOD EXIST? SHHHHHH

A frightful amount of nonsense has been written about the tragic Supreme Court decision on prayers in public school classrooms. Much of the commentary won't be cleared until the Court decides on several additional cases before it.

Those who protested, however, that the Court didn't outlaw voluntary prayers, only State-prescribed prayers, had better inspect carefully the interpretation of New York State's top educational lawyer. He doesn't agree with them. And he's most intimately concerned, since it was his State to which the Court directed its order.

The lawyer, Dr. Charles A. Brind, counsel to the New York State Education Department, says that no prayers of any kind can be recited aloud in the public schools. (He also said that schools could not permit readings from the Bible, when these were intended for spiritual and not objective instructional purpose.)

If prayers of any kind are used, he said, this would be contrary to the Court's June 25 decision that prayer recitation violated the Constitution.

Dr. Brind delivered his judgment in response to a question from Dr. F. Herrick Conners, superintendent of schools of Cohoes and State Commander of the American Legion. Mr. Conners wanted to know if there would be objection to permitting students to recite aloud prayers which had been composed outside of the school.

Answering, Dr. Brind said that teachers—as employees of local boards of education—were agents of the State. There was no significant distinction between a prayer proposed by the State (as was New York's Regent's Prayer) and one sanctioned by the school board or any member of its staff. If the teacher allowed the prayer to be voiced, he said, this would constitute official sanctioning.

Previously, the State of New York had ruled that pupils in Hicksville, Long Island,

could not recite as a prayer the last stanza of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Despite New York's position, other schools are continuing to employ prayers. What is permissible in California would be outlawed in New York. In San Francisco, at midmorning "snack" for kindergarteners and first and second-graders, children recite:

"We thank thee, God, for food we eat,
For family and friends we meet,
For books we read and songs we sing;
We thank Thee, God, for everything."

In the Empire State, at this time, students may bow their heads in silent, individual prayer, but no vocal recognition that a God exists may be made.

## An Analysis of the New Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following analysis of the New Frontier, prepared by Mr. Kelvin Bailey, a constituent of mine from Laguna Beach, Calif.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW FRONTIER

President Kennedy's Socialist whizz kids are leading him up the Socialist path by remaking America into a Socialist society. Their plan, in part, is for endless massive foreign aid to non-Communist but leftist governments like India, Egypt, Ghana, British Guiana, Brazil, Indonesia, and those outright Communist-dominated nations like Yugoslavia, Poland, and Rumania, while at the same time smashing our tariff buffer and flooding our consumers with their Red-label goods. While unthinkable to we poor overtaxed slobs, this is the ridiculous policy of "containment," by refusing to take a position against communism and thereby destroy it. More and more, our razzledazzle forward-moving policy has been to kill this growing menace with perfumed kindness:

To dramatize our chartered course into socialism, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., strong right arm and advisor to President Kennedy, is a charter member of the radical left wing Americans for Democratic Action, and a strong adherent for a Socialist America. He shamefully said, "* * * there is no inherent reason why democratic socialism should not be possible * * * it must be brought about step by step * * * a peaceful transition into a not undemocratic socialism."

Thus the profile, less courage, of this present administration is geared to the ADA-Schlesinger concept of centralized government, manipulated economy, or just plain socialism. Actual happenings during the past 20 months clearly show how our strange conduct has actually strengthened communism, both foreign and domestic, while at the same time eroding our traditional way of life.

1. While Tito admits, or boasts, that there is no difference between his type of communism and that of his Kremlin masters, we continue to shower him with our foreign aid, including tactical jet aircraft, and even to training his Communist pilots in this country. Poland, another Red satellite nation, has received one-half a billion dollars in aid to strengthen their tyrannical grip on their helpless people. And while Poland is furnishing military arms to North Vietnam which is killing our troops in South Vietnam, the President is twisting the arm of Congress to furnish more aid to Communist Poland.

2. Like everywhere, America is loosing friends fast in Asia. It is little wonder. We are giving Laos to the Communists by forcing the anti-Communists into a deal to accept the Communists in their government. Soon, as always, they will be a complete Communist nation—and thanks to our "forward moving" leadership.

3. It is common knowledge that Cheddi Jagan, chief architect of British Guiana is an agent of the Communists, yet we pour our financial help on him, even to sending him a State Department "team" to help him spend it.

4. We waltz all over the world helping to create leftist governments, thus further tightening Russia's grab in the United Nations. We hammer little anti-Communist Greece while we fatten Communist Yugoslavia. We reduce our aid to Free China while we work affirmatively to bring Soviet Outer Mongolia into the United Nations. We pressure General Nosaven in Laos to provide Khrushchev his troika, and we have gone out of our way to anger our friends Spain, Germany, France, South Africa, and Portugal.

5. The glittering administration is responsible for helping the United Nations and Russia launch two wars against the anti-Communist, pro-free enterprise Katanga Province of the Congo. We are working for economic sanctions against Moise Tshombe simply because he is resisting Russia's troika plan for his Congo. We help our enemies, and punish our friends.

6. We clapped our hands with joy when Trujillo, although a dictator but anti-Communist, was slain. Similarly, we helped remove Batista, another anti-Communist, and initially looked with favor on Castro when it was well known that Castro was a servant of international communism. And while lampooning anti-Communist, we watch while Brazil slips toward a Communist dictatorship. Further, we turn our backs while Venezuela is shifting further into the Communist orbit, and Mexico turns "neutral."

7. The Kennedy administration has driven the Dutch from West New Guinea and ensured its transfer to Red-bent Indonesia. Another victory for Russia and the United Nations. Sukarno's Indonesia, first established 17 years ago by the United Nations, have never permitted a vote. Sukarno himself recently said before the Communist Party in Indonesia, "You may say that I give room to the Communists, and that I encourage them. Let's go ahead together to complete the revolution." And to rub salt into the wounds of these embittered people, President Kennedy dispatched a congratulatory telegram on their 17th birthday. Furthermore, we are considering approval of a $300 million loan to Indonesia for "economic aid," thereby showing that we must approve of their assault of West New Guinea, and Sukarno's pro-Communist ambitions. And since we aided his takeover from the Dutch, Sukarno now feels free to plan a takeover of the northeastern half of Timor, which has been ruled by the Portuguese for more than 400 years.

8. To prevent Peru from going into a dictatorship with soft-on-communism views, a anti-Communist military junta saved the day for this great nation by temporarily stabilizing the government. Accordingly, our lofty Washington test tube dreamers ceased recognition of Peru. Our Ambassador is an officer of the radical far left Americans for Democratic Action.

9. Goa, owned by Portugal for 400 years, was ruthlessly grabbed by India. We helped by badgering Portugal to give up Goa, as we have in Angola, Algeria, South Africa, West New Guinea, etc.

10. Our No. 2 man in Japan, Mr. H. K. Emmerson has a long record of favoring Communists. While on General MacArthur's staff, he openly praised communism, while denouncing the Japanese.

11. Our crazy mixed-up State Department admits giving the United Nations $215 million which in turn used this sum to reduce India's assessed share of special United Nations expenses by $812,000; Poland by $512,000; Yugoslavia by $243,200; and Cuba by $140,000. They also admit this scandalous subsidizing of communism has been going on for 5 years. Also, Tito has received $2 billion in his own foreign aid, half of which he uses to advance the Communist movement in "neutral" nations like UAAR, Morocco, Ethiopia, Ghana, etc.

12. Disciplining Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, a brilliant leader, because he had the temerity to indoctrinate his troops on the Communist menace as directed by existing regulations. Moreover, the Defense Department practice of censoring speeches of trained military leaders because they are alerting their troops, the public, also as required, concerning internal and international communism. The invasion of the State Department to take over the policymaking in defense matters, and thereby limit our military men to mere technical questions only.

13. To condition us into the acceptance of a one-world concept, President Kennedy selected our patriotic fourth of July to call for increased interdependence, the opposite of independence. Dean Rusk called for international law of outer space, using "International Law Day" as the occasion. This is plain brainwashing.

14. The administration has not enforced provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. In recent years only 2 Communists out of a known 10,000, or more, have had action taken against them. It is reported that young Mr. Kennedy is too taken with Bruno's public image.

15. We deny admission of a visit to America by two friendly leaders like Tshombe of the Congo, and the leader of Guatemala, both strong anti-Communists, while we fawn over pro-Communists, during their U.S. visits, like Castro, Sukarno, Lumumba, Jaggan, and the Marxist leader from Ghana, Nkrumah.

16. In the administration's effort to emasculate the Battle Act which prohibits free world strategic trade with Communist countries, a scheme has been devised to ease shipments; by eliminating the policeman who enforce the act.

17. In the past, Captive Nations Week blistered the Reds for their imperialistic and aggressive policies. But Kennedy's proclamation, quietly issued, says little and means even less.

18. And to mirror the ruthlessness of the Government's intentions to socialize our country, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker's son was found guilty of refusing to answer a special census questionnaire.

19. The White House honored Nobel prize winners at a wing ding of a party. The guest list was made out by the radical socialist and Presidential Adviser Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. It was noted that radicals, pacifists, socialists, and even the security risk, J. Robert Oppenheimer, a non-Nobel winner, was invited. The liberals in the New Frontier have never had such a rumble.

20. Thirty-five top ranking ADA appointments include three cabinet officers. Dr. Samuel Beer, national bigwig, credited the 20 percent increase in ADA membership to "our new respectability with so many of our leaders prominent in the New Frontier." The left-wing ADA lauded Mr. Kennedy by shouting—"the tone and temper of this ad-

ministration is like the one and temper of ADA."

21. Communists throughout the world must be ecstatic over our proposal which calls for America to dissolve our military posture in three stages, and the transfer of all remaining strength into the Communist dominated United Nations. This amounts to a merger with our enemies. Also, we have offered Russia an atomic-ban treaty with no inspection requirements.

Dr. Robert Morris, former general counsel for the State Internal Security Committee, said, "We seem to be knocking down all of Khrushchev's enemies for him * * * this makes sense only on the theory that we are making the prospect of merger more palatable to Khrushchev." Mr. Khrushchev knows we are doing little to check communism, in fact we are perpetuating the cause of communism by making socialism acceptable through the liberal image of the New Frontier. It is little wonder that Khrushchev recently remarked in a speech from Bucharest, "We believe that tomorrow the Red flag will wave over the United States. But we will not take it there. The Americans will do that themselves."

## Another Example of Waste of Millions; Nonpartisan Effort Assisted by Congressman Moss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, there is no politics in the waste of taxpayers' money. Regardless of party affiliation, every Congressman in Washington stands for the ethical and proper expenditure of the taxpayers' dollar.

Thankfully, many newspapers in this Nation are also joining my nonpartisan campaign to have the Military Establishment effect economy in its spending.

Today, I have two examples of this in a story written for the Chicago Daily News of October 5 by Mr. Charles Nicodemus and in another story published a week or so ago by the same newspaper which details the efforts of my colleague, the gentleman from California JOHN MOSS, to insure that information continues to be received by me so that I may continue my study.

I thank my colleague for his efforts and again praise the efforts of Mr. Nicodemus in behalf of the taxpayers.

I commend the following articles to my colleagues:

WILSON PINPOINTS WASTE OF MORE DEFENSE MILLIONS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

Representative EARL WILSON, the bane of the Pentagon, today pinpointed three more cases of waste in defense spending, running into millions of dollars. In one case, WILSON said inquiries by his staff headed off a negotiated (without bidding) purchase by the Navy of recorder-reproducers at a price of$77,475.62 each.

When heat from WILSON and other electronics manufacturers forced the Navy to use competitive bidding, Chicago's Webcor, Inc., won the award for $1,833.13 each—a savings of $75,642 a unit.

The GOP Hoosier lawmaker conducts his continuing analysis of defense procurement with the help of electronics industry experts and the General Accounting Office, Congress fiscal watchdog.

WILSON pointed out in a House speech that his results show what happens when a single Congressman gets his dander up and decides to fight the galloping spendthrifts of the Defense Department.

Three months ago, the attention given WILSON's earlier critiques led Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to cut Wilson off the public mailing lists of all defense procurement agencies. The lists were one method used by Wilson to keep track of upcoming purchases and head off waste in advance—as with the recorder-reproducer.

The House freedom of information subcommittee of Representative JOHN E. MOSS, Democrat, of California, investigated and yesterday took McNamara to task for the maneuver, demanding that WILSON be put back on the lists.

The two other instances of waste spotlighted by WILSON today involved the Air Force and the Navy. In November 1960, WILSON pointed out, the Air Force prepared to buy 12 mobile air traffic control centers—a metal shack on wheels containing racks for radio equipment. The shack—designated the AN/MRN–12—had cost $22,966.46 when purchased in 1956 from Craig Systems, Inc., Lawrence, Mass.

When actual bid invitations went out, the Air Force suddenly reduced the needed quantity from 12 to 2, and only 1 firm bid: Craig Systems. Its price: $143,643 each—$120,677 (or 650 percent) above the previous price. An inquiry from Congress brought about cancellation of that bid, however, WILSON said. The Air Force then began stalling on the purchase, WILSON charged, delaying the procurement until the needed delivery date was so close that a sole source contract, without bidding, could be justified. Eleven of the "shacks" were sought in bids taken July 12, 1961—but those bids were canceled.

Finally, on April 19, 1962, 17 months after the original decision to buy the equipment, the Air Force—without publicity—awarded a "sole source" contract for the AN/MRN–12 to Craig Systems—at $50,000 a piece.

The excuse given, WILSON noted: There wasn't time to buy the urgently needed equipment from any other manufacturer.

Wilson's third case involved an AN/UPM–98 radar test set. Until competitive bidding was introduced, the Navy bought the article from Chicago's Admiral Corp. for $4,700 each. Competition forced the price steadily down until—in March 1962—a Huntington (N.Y.) firm was given a contract to make 62 of the units for $3,340 each. On that job, Admiral unsuccessfully bid $3,670.

Yet in September 1962, just 6 months later, the Navy handed Admiral a "sole source" contract to make 42 AN/UPM–98's at a maximum price of $4,800 each. That's 25 percent higher than the price Admiral bid in March, WILSON pointed out, and 43 percent higher than the Huntington firm's price.

WILSON said he will ask for another General Accounting Office audit of the contract when it is completed, with an eye to determining if Admiral's profit rate is proper.

MCNAMARA MAILING FEUD BOILS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—The House freedom of information subcommittee has called Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara on the carpet for cutting off public information to a congressional critic of defense procurement.

McNamara responded, the Daily News learned, by first imposing even more restrictive information policies, and then notifying the committee that he "maintains an open-door policy throughout the Defense Department with regard to unclassified information."

A staff member of the subcommittee termed the reply "completely unsatisfactory" and promised further action by the subcommittee promptly.

McNamara's latest information clampdown was disclosed with the release of an exchange of letters between the Secretary and Representative JOHN E. MOSS, Democrat, of California, chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Information.

Moss disclosed that a month-long investigation by his staff had substantiated charges by Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, who said McNamara had cut him off public mailing lists containing notices of upcoming procurements—mailing lists on which other public officials, publications, and businessmen remained.

WILSON claimed McNamara's action was retaliation for the success of WILSON's continuing study of defense buying, which has unearthed repeated cases of waste running into millions of dollars.

In a letter to McNamara, Moss, a Democrat, accused McNamara of discrimination against his Republican colleague, WILSON, and said "Please explain."

In a reply for McNamara, the Secretary's chief procurement deputy, Assistant Secretary Thomas D. Morris, told Moss in effect that WILSON could have any information he wanted—but he'd have to take it in the form McNamara wanted to give it to him.

The letter brought to a climax more than a month of jockeying by Defense Department subalterns trying to ward off an attack on McNamara by the subcommittee, while continuing to shut out WILSON.

The chain of events began last June when a House Armed Services Subcommittee conducted an investigation and hearings on one of the instances of waste spotlighted by WILSON, a member of the House Appropriations Committee.

The probe brought to light Navy violations of Defense Department procurement policies, and ended with a ripping report, condemning the Navy, by F. EDWARD HÉBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, subcommittee chairman.

At that point McNamara ordered WILSON cut off the mailing lists from which he got his basic data. McNamara contended it was too great an administrative burden to keep WILSON on the lists, even though others continued to get the same information.

When Moss' committee first asked, "How come?" McNamara ignored the administrative burden excuse and said simply that WILSON wasn't supposed to be on the mailing lists in the first place.

When Moss' men said that answer wasn't good enough, McNamara's office then said that centralized mailing lists or distribution systems really didn't exist, anyway, and that it would take hundreds of separate mailing lists to give WILSON the information he wanted.

Moss, with WILSON's help, then pointed out that the Navy Purchasing Office, less than four blocks from the Capitol, was making a distribution to at least six private firms and individuals of virtually all unclassified Navy procurement documents.

This, Moss pointed out, was just one instance of the centralized distribution system that McNamara said didn't exist.

Morris' official answer to Moss, received Wednesday, disclosed that McNamara had met that problem by saying that the Navy Purchasing Office distribution was unauthorized and had just been abolished.

## Tribute to Representative John Blatnik

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, one of the solid accomplishments of the 2d session of the 87th Congress is the enactment of the public works acceleration program. It is a major effort to expand employment, and offers hope of early action in the areas which have suffered most from a persistently high rate of unemployment.

An accelerated program of public works is a temporary and emergency measure to alleviate local unemployment until longer range programs become effective. It is not a relief program in any sense, since each project must meet a demonstrated public need.

Representative JOHN BLATNIK is properly credited with a major role in the enactment of this legislation. His acknowledged leadership in House action on the bill is largely responsible for the effectiveness of this program. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a tribute to Representative BLATNIK's work on the bill, which appeared in his hometown newspaper, the Free Press, of Chisholm, Minn.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A HOMETOWN IS JUSTIFIABLY PROUD

Minnesota's Eighth Congressional District has on numerous occasions been cited for its forward leadership and visionary ideals that have paced this Nation's progress.

The area has contributed to the demands of industrial might with its vast resources in timber, iron ore, dairy products, and the driving force of a productive and inventive people. From this embryonic cradle of democracy, a young man stepped forth some 16 years ago to blaze a trail in the field of government that has caused the Nation's greatest statesmen of our time to pause in sincere respect.

Editorial tributes are honors accorded to men rich in wisdom, steeped in experience and venerated with a lifetime of commendable service. The privilege to honor a man, young in years, does not come often, but Congressman JOHN BLATNIK seemed destined for early accolade. Somewhere in his formative years of early childhood, he suddenly became old—old for his years, advanced in experience, compassionate of heart and mind, because around him he witnessed the undue suffering of his own people. Life had never been meant to be this cruel, and he was determined to better the lot of mankind, if someday it would be within his power.

Education was his goal and obtain it he did, with honors that come only to those who sincerely apply themselves. His inquisitive mind in the field of chemistry gave him the fundamental background to now understand the probing into the vast unknown, and he supports the programs facing our Government, and the world in the field of space explorations and military advancement with a profound understanding. His is not the emotional approach, but rather one of scientific analysis. But for him there was more to this vast panorama of life than just the chemical formulas and laboratory tests. Mankind was involved in this great fight for existence and its yearning to be free, and so his deep devotion to service turned to Government.

Young and old will remember the rocky road this man traveled to reach the seat of Congress. In the shadow of the Nation's Capitol, and with the monuments of Lincoln and Jefferson reflected in the waters of the Potomac to give him renewed courage, he began to blaze the trail. There was work to be done and the days were not long enough to accomplish all that had to be done. This was a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and if democracy was to blazon new horizons for the unfortunate of our land and across the seas, programs and laws would have to be instituted that would give people reassurance that they would never be forsaken.

The record of Congressman BLATNIK stands undefiled. Even those colleagues and political foes who have opposed him respect his firmness, his determination, and his driving stamina to accomplish the most difficult. Historians will write of his masterful work on the St. Lawrence Seaway; the national pollution bill; the national highway program; the rivers and harbors measures; the area redevelopment; and as of today, the public works bill.

Few of us thoroughly understand the laborious hours involved in getting such major issues through a highly controversial Congress. Not all elected to office have the vision, compassion, and moral integrity that results in legislation beneficial to the entire Nation. Statesmanship, though it may be inborn and a God-given talent, needs to be developed. The great men of our American Congress have been those who lived beyond today and tomorrow—who looked with unselfish integrity beyond the years and laid the stones that other generations might rise to higher heights.

There are those in Congress and across the Nation who differ with Congressman BLATNIK in political philosophy, but there isn't a man in Congress who does not highly respect this man from the Eighth Congressional District who knows neither night nor day when it comes to charting legislation that will benefit all of our people regardless of tongue or creed, social status or sectional environment.

In these turbulent days of worldmaking history, none of us can appraise the full significance of the legislation Chisholm's statesman has authored and assisted in enactment.

But a hometown is today justifiably proud. And historians will some day record it all in full retrospect.

## Our Fishing Fleet Comes in Fifth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article by the U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, BENJAMIN A. SMITH:

OUR FISHING FLEET COMES IN FIFTH—USING NEW TECHNIQUES OF CATCHING AND PROCESSING, OTHER NATIONS HAVE FAR SURPASSED US IN THIS VITAL FIELD—A SENATOR OUTLINES WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT

(By BENJAMIN A. SMITH)

(BENJAMIN A. SMITH, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, was formerly mayor of the commercial fishing port of Gloucester.)

In the year 1602 an English fisherman named Bartholomew Gosnold made the first commercial fishing voyage off the shores of Massachusetts. He was so impressed by what he saw that he named the land nearby Cape Cod.

If Bartholomew Gosnold had returned to the shores of Cape Cod to fish this summer, he would have found himself engulfed by a huge Russian fleet of over 150 modern fishing vessels—a fleet that may soon operate from the new port scheduled to be built in Cuba with Soviet help.

These vessels first found their fish with the most modern electronic fish-locating gear. Then their trawlers, operating with the precision of a naval armada, swept the fishing area clean. Catches were processed within hours aboard great factory ships, 250 to 300 feet in length, none over a decade old, which carried complete facilities for fileting and freezing the catch, and converting waste into industrial fish products. At the end of their day's work the Soviet fishermen retired to quarters as comfortable as any aboard a modern merchant vessel.

Had Bartholomew Gosnold looked for an American fishing vessel he might have found a trawler from the Boston fishing fleet—25 years old and dwarfed by its competitors. I say "might have," because the combined Boston and Gloucester fishing fleets—once the mightiest in America, with 500 vessels at the end of World War II—now number less than the single Soviet fleet off the cape.

The American trawler, operating by itself, could catch in a week what the larger Russian vessel could take in one haul. It carried no processing equipment aboard, but put its catch on ice to be taken ashore and processed or sold fresh. When the crew were finished their day's work they went below to crowded quarters which smelled of fish and gasoline. Their hours were long and their working conditions were both uncomfortable and dangerous.

This sorry picture is not exclusive to Massachusetts or Cape Cod. American fishermen in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are competing with old and obsolete equipment against foreign fishing fleets that are far newer and vastly superior to our own. In the North Atlantic alone, New England fishermen encounter vessels of a dozen nations that more modern than ours. Even Ghana and the Ivory Coast have up-to-date fishing fleets.

In the Pacific Ocean a giant Soviet fleet of 150 to 200 vessels has been moving farther and farther into the Bering Sea—another traditional American fishing area. The Russians have at least 100 giant trawler factory ships and plan to have 160 more by 1965. We have none. On their design boards, the Russians have plans for fishing vessels equipped with electronic computers. With the help of underwater television, the computers will automatically adjust the depth of the trawl to that of the fish.

The Japanes fishing fleets are as good if not better than the Soviets'. They have trawlers and factory ship of equivalent size and tuna boats with a carrying capacity 60 percent larger than their American competitors. They, too, are pushing into our Pacific fishing grounds, and have gone as far afield as the South Atlantic.

Our inability to meet this competition has cost the United States its historic place as the world's second largest fishing nation. Last year, we fell to fifth place in world fishery production behind the perennial leader Japan, and Russia, Red China, and Peru.

The American fishing industry has come a long way to its present sad condition.

When James I of England asked how the Pilgrims planned to support themselves in the New World, he was told, "By fishing, sir." Fishing was the United States first commercial venture and, on occasion, all that stood between our forebears and starvation. During the Revolution, fishermen provided the crews and vessels for the infant American Navy. Sturdy Marbleheaders saved Washington's Army after the battle of Long Island

and carried them across the Delaware to victory at Trenton.

Afterward the fishing industry became one of the Colonies' few successful trades and the cornerstone of New England prosperity. Yankee fishermen became Yankee whalers and traders sailing to every corner of the world. Their profits supplied the capital for early American industrial ventures.

The rise of our fisheries continued throughout the 19th and well into the 20th century. They spread down the Atlantic coast to the south and to the west with the giant salmon, tuna and sardine industries.

As late as 1948, the United States supplied nearly 13 percent of the world's fishery production. Now, however, we are down to 7.4 percent. In the decade from 1950 to 1960 the number of fishermen in the United States dropped from 161,000 to 130,000 and the number of fishing vessels decreased by 16,000. One-half as many new fishing vessels were built in 1960 as in 1950.

The decline of the American fishing industry can also be measured in imports. In 1950 we produced nearly 80 percent of the fish we consumed. Last year, we only produced 56 percent. In that interval our population rose by 28 million people, but our domestic production of fish increased only 9 percent. As a result, imports soared. They will be up again this year.

If this decline continues, it is apparent that there will soon be little left to the American fisheries. These fisheries play an important role in the economies of 23 of our States. They employ over one-half million workers and produce a product that is worth over a billion dollars at retail prices.

The collapse of this industry would do more than just add a half million more people to the rolls of the unemployed and send a billion dollars of consumer funds abroad. The loss of the American fishing industry as an effective, competitive force would mean that the American consumer would have no control over the price he paid for his product.

The loss of the fishing industry would also deprive this country of valuable food products for use in the event of a nuclear disaster. Ocean fish, protected by their blanket of water, have the lowest strontium-unit value of any food product—about one one-hundredth that of wheat. One season's catch of our fisheries could supply sufficient protein to feed the entire U.S. population during a 2-week period of national emergency. No other industry in the United States operates under such a handicap. The New England fishermen, for example, could purchase steel-hulled groundfishing trawlers for half as much in Europe as they must pay for them here. Furthermore, the foreign trawler would be of the most modern, stern-chute design. No such fishing vessel has ever been built in this country.

Nature adds to the economic problems of the fisheries. Fish are a highly perishable product, found more or less at random and often at great distances from port. The fisherman must bring his product back in good condition, then process and market it to compete effectively with other foods. The trend in fish, as in all American food, is toward "convenience" packaging. Americans like their fish frozen, packaged, canned and often precooked. Two-thirds of a fish, however, must often be discarded when it is prepared in this manner.

In order to compete successfully, then, with both domestic foodstuffs and foreign fisheries, our fishermen must have the full benefits of modern technology. They do not have this now. The march of technology which transformed agriculture and so many other industries has hardly brushed our fisheries.

How can we get the American fisheries back on their feet?

I believe the Government and industry can combine forces and bring this about. It will, however, have to be done in the form of an overall attack on the industry's problems at every level from the raw to the finished product.

The Government is already assisting the fisheries through a number of programs administered by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries in the Interior Department.

The Bureau gives help in every phase of fishery operations. It issues marketing reports, runs voluntary quality-control programs, builds fish ladders to save salmon and develops poisons to kill lampreys (a parasitic fish that takes a heavy toll, particularly in the Great Lakes).

The Bureau has done an excellent job with the tools it has in introducing modern methods to an old-fashioned industry. It is short, however, of badly needed advanced equipment. In the whole North Atlantic, for instance, it has only one exploratory vessel of its own. It has already benefited somewhat from President Kennedy's expansion of our oceanographic programs. But more must be done.

Our first major task, then, should be to expand research into the finding, catching, and processing of fish. Much of this could be done by enlarging present research programs and by providing new equipment for the Bureau.

A strong exploratory fishing program, which could pinpoint new locations of fish, would take much of the guesswork out of present methods and would greatly improve the economics of the industry.

Congress should provide the Bureau with funds for additional new research vessels such as the new exploratory fishing vessel *Delaware* to be commissioned this fall. One or more of these vessels should be patterned after the most modern fishing trawler available and equipped with machinery for processing fish at sea. These experimental ships would give both the American fishermen and boatyards a laboratory in which to test and evaluate advanced fishing methods and equipment.

Next, the Government should set up matching grant or loan programs to help the fishing industry in key areas. The most critical need for such a program is in shipbuilding. Vessels are at the heart of our fishermen's problems. The Vessel Subsidy Act should be broadened to give the fishermen the full equivalent of the savings they could have if they were allowed to shop abroad for their vessels.

Congress should also set up a matching fund program to help the State bureaus of commercial fisheries and a loan program to help the processors. There are legislative precedents for both programs and the funds are badly needed in these areas.

The third major area for Government and industry cooperation should be in developing new products and marketing techniques. One such technique that could revolutionize fish marketing in this country is the use of atomic food irradiators. These machines destroy bacteria through low-level radiation and allow food to be kept fresh at room temperatures for long periods of time. The perfection of this equipment would open large new markets for fresh fish in areas of the country, particularly the Midwest, that are distant from the seas. Congress, I am glad to say, this year gave the Atomic Energy Commission authorization to build three such experimental irradiators, and I hope funds will be made available for them soon.

Another new product that could be of great benefit to the fishing industry is fish protein concentrate. This is an inexpensive, high-protein food additive made from whole fish. A few pennies worth of this odorless, tasteless powder added to a person's diet can supply him with his daily protein requirements. This could be of inestimable benefit to the estimated 500 million people on this planet suffering from protein malnutrition. It could be a major weapon for the United States in its battle against hunger. As it also can be made from parts of the fish that are normally wasted, it could also be of great economic value to the fishing industry.

Congress could assist in the development of this product by providing funds to test and evaluate different manufacturing methods for it, especially shipboard methods. A fish-protein plant placed aboard a surplus freighter and sent to produce it in those areas of the world where it is needed would be a dramatic indication of this country's interest in the worldwide battle against hunger.

We have a great opportunity in the fishing field. We can begin today to rehabilitate our fishermen and regain our rightful place among the nations of the world. The benefits to our economy and our foreign policy will greatly exceed the costs. I hope that both the Government and industry will see the truth in this and make the effort necessary to save the American fishing industry.

## Our Friends Aid a Foe: Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the American people, in ever-growing numbers, demand action against Russian intervention in this hemisphere.

The Florida press has been particularly alert to this threat at our southern door—only 90 miles from our own beaches. Our editors and feature writers report from the vantage point of close proximity to the danger, and with the advantage of contacts with Cuban exiles now living in Florida.

Over the past months I have had reprinted here in the RECORD stories and editorials from Florida so that these events would be called to the attention of all Members of Congress and other Government leaders. As a further indication of the feelings of our citizens on these matters, I include the following in the RECORD:

[From the Delray Beach (Fla.) Daily News-Journal, Sept. 13, 1962]

OUR FRIENDS AID A FOE

The American people, who believe a friend should act friendly, have a right to be burned up over neglect by Allied nations to curb their private shiplines' help for the Soviet military buildup of Castro's Cuba.

Daily the Communist cargoes that beef up this potential threat to the United States are pouring in. Their volume exceeds Soviet shipping capacity as the Russian Maritime Ministry brags in these words:

"The flow of cargo along the Soviet-Cuban line has grown so much that a part of the shipments * * * are carried in foreign ships."

Vessels carrying the flags of Norway, Greece, West Germany, Italy, Liberia, and Lebanon have been identified by name as taking part in this operation. Britain has denied her ships are involved.

It is a fact that lavish U.S. aid since World War II has enabled these nations to build

the shipping industries that now are making a fast dollar carrying military cargo for our enemies.

The governments of the "friendly" nations involved, it is true, have almost no machinery for controlling their subsidized private shiplines. But there is nothing to prevent their creation of such machinery if they wish to—as was done by NATO during the Korean war.

Patriotism and loyalty to the force that protects them against the Communists should make the shippers pass up the unclean trade. But it would be naive to expect such magnates as the "Golden Greeks" to sacrifice their lavish entertaining on Riviera yachts out of love for the United States which made their wealth possible.

The United States, not optimistic of winning official aid from Allied governments, is seeking informal controls. This could be done by licensing cargoes and trips or by hiking insurance rates for Cuban waters as a "danger zone."

But if Allied governments shy away from curbs, there are measures possible for the United States.

Best would be a U.S. blockade which would settle the whole question for all ships. Until we are ready for that, the offending shippers can be penalized by a blacklist—denying U.S. port facilities to every line and every ship supplying Castro.

What's more, U.S. longshoremen can on their own, refuse to unload ships of lines which carry Soviet Cargo to Cuba. In the belief that our patriotic longshoremen would like the opportunity to do just that, this newspaper is going to publish henceforth the name of every known ship that, from this day forward, carries Communist cargoes to Cuba.

The United States is in a real struggle over Cuba. If friends won't help, the least we can make them do is stop cashing in as mercenaries for our enemies.

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## The U.S. Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Mortimer Caplin Inculcates a New High Standard of Competence, Quality, and Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service is one of, if not the most outstanding and exemplary agencies of our Government.

Commissioner Mortimer Caplin is an executive administrator of exceptional ability. He is inculcating this agency with new high standards of competence, quality, integrity, and service both to the taxpayers and to our Government.

Last August our Treasury Subcommittee on Appropriations had a discussion with Commissioner Mortimer Caplin on how the Internal Revenue planned to use the money Congress had given it for 1963. I remarked at that time that his presentation was one of the clearest and most sensible things I had heard from any agency in Government.

I feel Internal Revenue is doing an excellent job, and I was interested to see Time magazine note the same thing on April 13, 1962:

> The Internal Revenue Service * * * is by far the biggest, most efficient, and most successful revenue collection agency in human history.

A recent example of the alertness of the Service is the way in which it moved in to protect the Government's interest in the Liston-Patterson fight. As you know, in past years the Government has often had great difficulty collecting revenue due from these big sporting events.

Now this same problem occurred to me in my conversation with Commissioner Caplin last August, and I expressed my concern that all this fight money would be switched around and the Government left without a dime. Fortunately that will not happen, thanks to the prompt action of the Internal Revenue Service.

Sixty million taxpayers and close to $100 billion in revenue to account for, add up to a big job. I can assure this House the Revenue Service is carrying out that job ably and without fanfare.

Commissioner Mortimer Caplin has shown a strong regard for the rights of taxpayers, and his stress on absolute integrity have taken hold at all levels in the Service. He has pushed through improvements in many key areas and has shown an commendable interest in economy and efficiency.

Let me remind the Members that in many countries tax collection is a sorry spectacle—with favoritism and indifferent administration on the one hand, and widespread cheating on the other. I think this Government can be grateful that such is not the case here.

Our Internal Revenue Service is fair, honest, and efficient. And it is well that it is, for the job it is charged with is vital to this Nation's existence.

We do not think about this often but our friends abroad know it and regularly send tax people here in an effort to improve their own situations. We can take pride in knowing that the American Revenue Service serves as a model to the rest of the world.

I want publicly to compliment Commissioner Caplin on his leadership and service, and express my confidence in the fine agency he heads.

I am pleased to attach a memorandum from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to the Secretary of the Treasury.

This report, dated September 6, 1962, reviews the basic principles and programs of the Internal Revenue Service. These newly instituted objectives and guidelines are indicative of the new high standards of objective and accomplishment emanating out of the Internal Revenue Service.

REPORT ON IRS PROGRAMS—FEBRUARY 1961 TO DATE

As we recently completed the first full fiscal year under the new administration, it seems appropriate to review various programs emphasized by the Service during the past 18 months.

NEW DIRECTION

The "new direction," as it is called in the Revenue Service, reflects the view that the heart and strength of our tax system rests on accurate self-assessment and improved compliance. Some 97 percent of our total receipts come from self-reporting by American taxpayers, with the remainder from our direct enforcement activities. Our ability to collect revenue at a cost of less than one-half cent for every dollar raised rests largely on maintaining the highest possible level of voluntary compliance.

While vigorous direct enforcement is vital to attaining effective compliance, previous efforts of the Service were overly oriented toward direct enforcement dollars; and insufficient emphasis and resources had been allocated to encouraging more accurate self-assessment.

Before embarking upon the new policy, we had a meeting with our nine regional commissioners and top Washington staff in August 1961 to discuss fully this shift in emphasis. It was done on a free, give-and-take basis, and at the conclusion of our 3-day meeting overwhelming support was given to the "new direction" concept and the programs contemplated. In brief, while we are seeking vigorous enforcement and broader audit coverage, special efforts are being made to attain a higher degree of voluntary compliance—and in that way to raise more revenue at a lower cost.

On the other hand, if the new direction is pursued without limitation or reservation, the inevitable drop in direct enforcement statistics becomes so severe that, as a practical matter, it becomes unacceptable. With this in mind, we have recently taken steps to moderate the statistical impact of the new direction while carefully preserving the basic objectives and underlying philosophy.

For example, we have made it clear that the concept does not contemplate an inordinate expenditure of time on simple individual returns or excessive documentation of the examination of more complex returns. We are reexamining the examination "mix" to the end that low dollar producing areas will be given adequate attention but will not drain an unwarranted proportion of our effort from areas which produce a high dollar return. With the same objective in mind, we are taking steps to increase the percentage of agent time devoted to examination as contrasted with "nonproductive" activities.

This effort to establish a balanced program at a somewhat higher direct enforcement level was the subject of a 2-day conference last month with our regional commissioners. We are of the opinion that the adjustments agreed upon will result in definite improvement in the fiscal year 1963 enforcement statistics and allow us to continue to pursue our ultimate goals, while at the same time preserving the support of the Congress and the taxpaying community.

QUOTAS

Under previous field practice, dollar and case quotas were often imposed on Revenue personnel in administering the tax laws. This led to abuses and resentment, both within and without the Service. Indeed, at my confirmation hearing before the Senate Finance Committee this issue was raised, and I made clear my strong opposition to a quota approach in the examination of tax returns. Consequently, we have prohibited our group supervisors from maintaining any quota system, and have directed them to evaluate our professional enforcement personnel on a much broader basis—overall performance, professional attitude, ability to identify and raise significant tax issues, courtesy and manner of dealing with taxpayers, contribution to improving voluntary compliance.

We want our personnel to function as professionals and to be productive in the best sense of the word—that is, to make effective use of their time, not only in direct enforcement activities, but in the more im-

portant area of strengthening accurate self-assessment.

QUALITY AUDIT

We have recently completed a booklet, "Quality Audit Guidelines," to serve as an additional tool for our agents in making detailed audits in appropriate cases. This is not intended as a blanket program. Rather, the depth of an audit is left to the combined judgment of supervisors and agents. Agents obviously cannot undertake the type of audit made by CPA's. Nevertheless, they should be allowed sufficient time in appropriate cases to make an adequate tax audit to probe areas of error and tax avoidance and to contribute to better compliance in the future.

When in the past agents believed they were under the compulsion of a "quota" they often made superficial examinations to close cases quickly and to raise direct enforcement dollars. This often led to contempt by practitioners of the practices of the Service, and also to so-called baited returns—with deliberate and obvious errors inserted in returns to lead the agent to focus on those issues alone. As a result of our change in policy we now have the difficult task of making it clear that quality audits are esentially judgment decisions and that they are not to be applied in all cases. Our "Quality Audit Guidelines" should help in monitoring this concept, and we are involved in working with field personnel and with supervision at all levels to bring this into proper balance.

AUDIT SELECTION PATTERN

In the past, the returns selected for audit were focused almost entirely on those estimated to be most productive of additional revenue. As a consequence, many categories of tax returns had little likelihood of, ever being examined, even those which contained serious abuse potential. For example, tax exempt organizations were rarely audited, giving rise to possible abuse which now is attracting public and congressional attention.

An important part of our new audit selection program is aimed at the abuse areas and at some sampling of all categories of returns, to assure Americans at all income levels that they may be subject to an examination. Tax exempt organizations, returns evidencing foreign transactions, returns with so-called hobby losses, etc., are now being given greater coverage and study. At the same time, as is indicated above, we are alert to the impact of this selection program on enforcement results and have taken actions to assure balance between the two objectives.

ABUSE AREAS

In addition to a broader audit program, we are generally concentrating on curbing areas of ostentatious tax abuse. This may not always be productive of the highest degree of direct enforcement dollars, but we believe it will have a salutory effect on taxpayers at large. By knowing that we are concerned and taking action against these abuses, taxpayers should have a greater degree of confidence in the efficiency and fairness of tax administration. Inventories, travel, and entertainment deductions, "hobby" businesses, charitable gifts through works of art and so-called charity parties, various security transactions and the like, are all within our efforts aimed at tax abuses.

TAXPAYER ASSISTANCE AND EDUCATION

Over recent years assistance to taxpayers in preparing returns and answering tax questions was held to a minimum. We have revitalized this program because the American taxpayer is entitled to this type of aid, and because it contributed to fairer tax administration and better reporting. In brief, with qualified personnel to give accurate answers to tax inquiries and to assist in return preparation, we believe we are getting improved compliance.

During fiscal 1962, taxpayer assistance was increased approximately 20 percent over the previous year. At the same time, we expanded our publication program to include "Mr. Businessman's Kit"—a collection of forms and tax information which is being delivered to newly formed businesses. But these programs also are being monitored, to be sure that too many of our highest grade agents are not diverted from other important and productive activities.

We have expanded our programs in the public schools and in the colleges to present educational material for our younger people. Our materials have been sharply revised this year, and we are focusing not only on the mechanics of making out tax returns, but on the place of taxation in a democratic system and its significance to the welfare of our country.

TAXPAYER RULINGS

Between 30,000 and 40,000 private rulings are issued each year. This program is of great importance to the business community, and should be streamlined as much as possible to assure the rapid issuance of rulings. We have been conferring with many professional organizations and, after a lengthy study, will be republishing our ruling procedure within the next couple of months.

We are trying to strengthen the procedure, and to be responsive to the requests for fairer hearing rights both in requests for technical advice from the field and for ruling requests in Washington.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

We have strengthened our public information program to give timely and accurate releases to the public in response to allegations that previously the Service placed a veil of secrecy over its activities. Problems—such as the Amish farmers, the Nisei, gambling taxes, etc.—arise frequently, and it is important that the matters be presented frankly to the public so that there can be a better understanding of the proper functioning of the Service under existing law.

This program also serves to alert taxpayers to their rights and tax obligations, and is a necessary part of a strong self-assessment system. Our efforts on behalf of taxpayers demonstrate the reasonableness of our administration and are creating a needed reservoir of good will.

RELATIONS WITH BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

We have been holding and encouragaing informal meetings with industry groups to solve audit and other industry tax problems. Our aim here is to come to some common understanding before the audit of returns, to get a better level of reporting, and to minimize later disputes.

We have continued the Commissioner's 12-man advisory group, and have tried to select representatives from each major professional organization in the tax field, along with professors and economists. Further, in each of our nine regions, we have cooperated with the American Bar Association tax section in establishing liaison groups to meet with our regional commissioners to discuss technical problems affecting tax administration, including preparation and audit of returns. In turn, we arranged with the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants to form liaison groups at the district level for essentially the same purpose.

We have tried to cooperate by participating in business and professional meetings and institutes throughout the country. We have also used these opportunities to visit our local offices, sit down with supervisory personnel, and discuss current programs and problems. During the past 18 months, contact has been made and communications opened with a significant number of national organizations with large and widely dispersed memberships.

While it is my intention to narrow this activity during 1963, these meetings with business and professional groups have created a better understanding of our respective problems and are strongly contributing to more reasonable attitudes and improved tax administration.

TAXPAYER COMPLIANCE MEASUREMENT PROGRAM

One of the most difficult problems which we have encountered in connection with the new direction is the lack of any means of measuring the extent to which the objectives of the program are being achieved. For example, we believe that some significant part of our 1962 collection of $99.4 billion can be attributed to increased voluntary compliance but we cannot conclusively demonstrate that fact—much less the magnitude of such an increase. For this reason we have embarked on a long-range program designed to statistically sample the major compliance areas—return filing, return preparation, and tax payment—and make comparative analyses of changes in the levels of voluntary compliance.

ORGANIZED CRIME DRIVE

Close cooperation with the Attorney General in the organized crime drive program has been given high priority. You will recall that early in this administration we met with the Attorney General and the Director of the FBI and discussed the contributions the Revenue Service could make in the organized crime drive program.

Our activities in the organized crime drive program are being strictly limited to income tax investigations and enforcement of the gambling tax laws. They are requiring a heavy allocation of manpower, but I think they are contributing greatly to the success of the program. Effective liaison has been established with the different elements of the Attorney General's Office on a nationwide basis, and on repeated occasions we have been commended by the Attorney General and the Director of the FBI for the excellent cooperation developed over the past 18 months.

While the concept of an organized crime drive program is not new, the headway made during this administration is greater than ever accomplished before. Coordination teams are functioning at various levels of our respective organizations, and through informal discussions we have been able to attain a high degree of efficiency and interchange of information within the limitations of law. From time to time the Attorney General and I discuss trouble spots and areas for improvement, and these exchanges have helped to speed the progress made to date.

The organized crime drive program has been expensive for us, from the standpoint of manpower costs and the direct enforcement dollars sacrificed by this allocation of resources. Nevertheless, I believe it an important program on a nationwide basis, which has been strongly backed by the President, and I think that it is making a significant contribution to better compliance by taxpayers in general. The news media reacts strongly to any evidence that gangsters or racketeers are not paying their proper share of tax; and success in making sure that this element of our society is meeting its tax obligations in full has a decidedly favorable impact on the average taxpayers.

FOREIGN TAX FIELD

Our Office of International Operations has been expanded and was recently placed in a separate building to house the entire operation. We have communicated to our field

organization the importance of emphasizing this special area of tax responsibility. It is a field that has not been given sufficient audit attention and study, and we believe that there is a great potential for direct enforcement results as well as for assuring taxpayers in general that our efforts at enforcement are worldwide.

Related to this is our undertaking of new responsibilities for assistance to tax administrators of foreign countries. We have been working with AID for an expanded and better coordinated effort in South America, and have established a new organization in the national office to take on this work. The Office of Foreign Tax Assistance was recently formed, reporting directly to the Commissioner's office.

ADP

Beginning in 1955, the Service made use of various types of data processing equipment and gained a good deal of experience in their use. During the closing days of Commissioner Latham's administration, the decision was made to embark upon an automatic data processing program, with a pilot operation to begin in the Atlanta region.

From the beginning of the Kennedy administration, this project has been given top attention and top priority. The Martinsburg National Computer Center and the Atlanta Service Center were activated. We created a new assistant commissioner (data processing), and in Atlanta a new assistant regional commissioner (data processing), to make sure that the Atlanta pilot operation was given concentrated attention and the best possibilities of being a success. After careful study, we reached the conclusion that nationwide installation of automatic data processing could and would be advanced from the original target date of 1967 to 1965. (If the program develops as anticipated, the last of our regional service centers will be in operation by the fall of 1964.)

In meetings before the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and the Appropriations Committees we assured congressional leaders that careful consideration will be given to personnel displaced by ADP in an effort to avoid any reduction in force. We believe we can accomplish this, and have negotiated special agreements with the Civil Service Commission and developed programs to prepare our personnel for this conversion. Motion pictures, film strips, and a series of discussions throughout the country are all aimed at encouraging our personnel to retrain and prepare for redeployment.

Material and psychological help was given to the program by Congress's adoption of the account numbering legislation in August 1961. The special effort made to assure early passage of the bill has borne fruit—through preparing the Nation well in advance for the installation of ADP. Final regulations on account numbering were published at the end of August, 1962.

We are maintaining a constant emphasis on the ADP program—acquiring adequate space, training key personnel, inviting the public to attend meetings, preparing the entire Service for the great change taking place, and stressing the need for coordination by all levels of our organization. District directors and supervisors are beginning to appreciate their personal commitments, and are offering greater cooperation in providing ADP personnel and planning for the total changeover.

The House Appropriations Subcommittee has also approved our moving forward in the Philadelphia (1963), Cincinnati (1964), Dallas (1964), Omaha (1964), and Chicago (1965) regions. Construction efforts are underway in each except for the Chicago region. Yet to be approved are the Boston (1964), New York (1965), and San Francisco (1965) regional service centers.

DELINQUENT ACCOUNTS AND DELINQUENT RETURNS

Throughout the past 18 months, we have emphasized a firm collection policy on delinquent accounts. So-called "trust fund" accounts, relating to withholding by employers, have been a prime target, and new accelerated procedures are helping our program in this area.

We experienced a slight increase in our TDA inventory during fiscal year 1962—due primarily to a sharp and unanticipated increase in issuances. This problem was discussed at some length at our August meeting of RCs. We believe that appropriate action to reduce the inventory can and will be taken.

Under the 1963 appropriation, we are making a major allocation of manpower to these collection activities. We plan to increase the attention given to delinquent returns—nonfilers—and will embark on a special project to canvass different business establishments.

PLANNING AND RESEARCH

Too little attention had been given to fundamental planning and research in recent years. Statistics of income as well as other studies undertaken by the Service are of fundamental use to sound tax administration as well as to private interests throughout the country. As you know, research studies designed and carried out by Service personnel have contributed to the development of the administration's tax reform proposals. We have also recently revised our long-range plan to reflect more accurately our needs through fiscal 1968. Our average employment for fiscal 1963 will be 60,200 man-years; for 1968, it is projected at 84,100.

We have given this area special attention, and in the 1963 appropriation have a sizeable allocation for expanding planning and research operations.

RECRUITING AND TRAINING

We are seeking to attract top college graduates, and renewed emphasis has been placed upon strengthening our relationships with the colleges from which we recruit our personnel. Our recruiting efforts have been expanded nationwide; this is being done through personal contacts with college seniors and professors, direct letter-writing, and speech-making on behalf of the Government service. Our new summer program for college and law school undergraduates is a part of this program.

Related is our special effort to streamline and strengthen our training programs. This project was started over a year ago, and has been given added emphasis following the House Appropriations Committee's comments. Also in line with the committee's comments, we have arranged, in cooperation with your staff, for the appointment of a small group of training experts for the purpose of evaluating our entire training activities.

SPACE AND EQUIPMENT

Improved space and equipment have a bearing on employee morale and taxpayer attitude. Unfortunately, many of our offices are in poor condition and taxpayers are not receiving privacy and decent surroundings in discussing their personal tax affairs.

We have been trying to correct these deficiencies not only through action in the field, but also in our appearances before the Appropriations Committees. Our 1962 and 1963 appropriations contain significant sums to start us on the road to close the existing gap. In addition, we are completing studies for an orderly program to satisfy current replacement needs and to provide a multi-year plan for future practices.

In all of the efforts we have worked very closely with GSA and have received the finest type of support and assistance.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Under your leadership and that of the President, we are emphasizing throughout our organization the importance of maintaining fair employment practices. Our deputy employment policy officer has played an active part in this program, maintaining a heavy travel schedule throughout the country, with free access to the Commissioner's office to keep the program in high gear. I think we have made a great deal of progress in this area, particularly in the people occupying the higher grades in the Service.

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

Early in 1962 we felt it appropriate to embark upon a careful study of the way the Service was making use of its resources. While to some degree this has been a continuing program, the time seemed ripe to undertake a series of studies in depth. Furthermore, this was consistent with the President's request, that each element of Government seek to operate a lean, fit, and compact organization.

This project was discussed at meetings with our regional commissioners and national office staff in Atlanta, Ga., and a two-step program was developed: first, a short-range measure to redirect as much manpower as possible to direct enforcement work, to be effective for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1962; second, as a longer range measure, to conduct a broad but penetrating resources utilization study to enable us to make a fresh appraisal of our organization and programs and how we spend our money.

The first objective was accomplished rapidly with the wholehearted support of our assistant commissioners and regional commissioners; and it was possible for us to reallocate manpower from both the national office and the regional staffs into district office enforcement. We were able to divert $2,432,000 from staff categories and translate them into 124 man-years of extra enforcement effort.

Right now we are in the middle of our long-range study, which we hope to complete by the end of the year. A small group of top-level men have been appointed from our nation, regional, and district offices, augmented by representatives of your office and the Bureau of the Budget. They are taking a hard, critical look at everything we do and spend money on, and they have been asked to recommend changes to promote efficiency, reduce superstructure and overhead, and identify work that should be eliminated or trimmed back—all with the idea of redirecting resources into direct enforcement work and into work which will make a positive contribution to strengthening our enforcement programs.

We have asked this special committee, under the chairmanship of the assistant commissioner (planning and research), to exercise a broad discretion and feel free to act boldly. They have been requested to question many of our basic assumptions, to the end of giving us a lean, fit, efficient organization for 1964 and the immediate years to follow.

In these critical times we need such an operation, not only to keep up with our growing workload, but to enlarge the scope of what I am convinced is inadequate enforcement coverage.

INTEGRITY

Of foremost importance is the concept of integrity in tax administration. Our inspection service has been given special jurisdiction and increased manpower to cope with this important problem. Discussion of integrity here is aimed at three levels—our own personnel, tax practitioners, and the public. We have been emphasizing this in our training programs and in special projects by inspection, in stimulating independent programs by various groups of tax practitioners. Also, IRS employee organizations have been

kept informed of our general activities and have reacted favorably to what we are trying to accomplish.

We believe this firm emphasis is beginning to bear fruit. For the first time we are receiving numerous reports from our own personnel on attempted bribery, along with cooperation in seeking conviction of these corrupters. While the overwhelming majority of our people are completely honest, we believe there is a small percentage engaged in illegal and improper activities. Close attention is being given to rooting out this group and to taking corrective actions for the future.

The outside professional organizations have responded well. With our support, bar and accounting groups are starting to develop their own programs of defining standards of conduct in tax practice; major tax institutes throughout the country are sponsoring special sessions this year both on standards of practice as well as integrity.

We are creating a heightened awareness both within and without the Service of the importance of a high standard of ethics and integrity in tax administration; and our inspection service is getting more leads and greater cooperation than ever before in its history.

MORALE OF PERSONNEL

Close contact and cooperation with different employee organizations provide us with a good soundingboard on employee reactions; and we believe the morale of Service personnel today is at a high level.

"New direction" places emphasis on the professional status of our enforcement people, and they believe important progress is being made toward making the Service a blue ribbon organization in every sense of the word.

Further, the President's historic visit to the Service, in which you joined, has had an important impact on our people. They feel that IRS has respect and high standing in this administration, and that we have the firm backing of the President, you, and the Treasury Department.

## Susquehanna River in Pittston Region

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles A. McCarthy, a historian of my congressional district, has written a highly informative and interesting series of articles on the Susquehanna River, particularly in the Pittston area. This series has been appearing each week in the Pittston Sunday Dispatch and as part of my remarks today I would like to quote the text of the last two installments of September 30 and October 7, 1962.

The articles follow:

[From the Pittston Sunday Dispatch, Sept. 30, 1962]

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—ORIGINAL FORT JENKINS BRIDGE COST TOTAL OF $689,000

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

A group of Pittston area residents appeared before the Luzerne County Grand Jury on January 17, 1917, with a petition requesting the replacement of the old Ferry Bridge in Pittston. The request was approved on January 31, 1919.

D. A. Keefe of Athens was hired by the Luzerne County Board of Commissioners to design the new bridge. These plans were approved by the Congress of the United States on July 15, 1919. However, before construction commenced, the old bridge was closed to vehicular traffic, on March 15, 1920, due to weakening of its piers by the past winter's flood.

A heavy rain which commenced on March 4, 1920, turned to snow and continued for 24 hours. The high water caused a weakening of the pier foundations.

On Saturday, March 13, 1920, a truck broke through the bridge planking. It was later jacked up and removed.

The bridge had been closed to heavy traffic since March 6, 1920, but when the high water threatened the stone base of the piers on March 14, 1920, orders were given to close the structure to all traffic on the following morning. Ropes and lanterns were placed at both ends of the bridge as a warning against trespassing.

CONLON DID JOB

Hope for the new bridge languished until William A. Conlon, secretary of the Pittston Chamber of Commerce, initiated a successful effort for its erection. At a special meeting of the Luzerne County Board of Commissioners held on August 10, 1922, it was voted unanimously to erect a concrete bridge at Pittston.

On March 5, 1924, D. A. Keefe, the engineer, presented the plans and specifications for the new bridge to the county commissioners.

The contract for the bridge was awarded by the Luzerne County Commissioners on April 24, 1924, to Whittaker, Diehl and Co., of Harrisburg at its bid of $689,706.50. The Luzerne County Court approved the contract on June 7, 1924.

Work of dismantling the old bridge commenced on June 20, 1924. Water Street Bridge was closed at this time because of a paving project, and all traffic was rerouted via the Wyoming Bridge.

KILLED ON BRIDGE

The last of the old bridge erected in 1876 dropped into the Susquehanna River on February 26, 1925. Earl Johnson was a foreman on the new bridge. While its construction was in progress, Nelson Barrett, of Keermoor in Clearfield County, was killed when a steel boom broke and fell on him, on August 7, 1924.

Fort Jenkins Bridge, as the structure was named to honor Judge John Jenkins whose stockaded home was located on the west side of the bridge site at the period of the battle and the massacre of Wyoming, was completed and was opened to traffic on February 2, 1926. The gala occasion was preceded by a formal dedication program in which the band of the John D. Stark Post, of the American Legion, participated.

The Morgan Evans property, adjacent to the east side approach to the bridge was purchased on September 25, 1925, to afford a better approach to the bridge. The total cost involved was $18,500, of which the city paid one-half and the county paid the balance.

On Friday, December 16, 1960, it was announced that the Pennsylvania State Highway Department had awarded a contract for the renovating of Fort Jenkins Bridge in Pittston to the B. G. Coon Construction Co. Plans called for the elimination of the walk on the upper portion of the bridge, leaving a walk only on the downstream side; the placing of aluminum railing instead of the old concrete type; a new lighting system; and a resurfacing of the roadbed. Total cost of the project was estimated at $128,230. Work on the renovation began during the week of May 1, 1961.

Ribbon cutting ceremonies opening the "new" bridge to traffic took place on Thursday, January 18, 1962, with many notables in attendance. The final cost of the project was $175,750.

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[From the Pittston Sunday Disptach, Oct. 7, 1962]

SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN PITTSTON REGION—WATER STREET ONE OF SEVERAL SITES DISCUSSED FOR BRIDGE

(By Charles A. McCarthy)

The initial effort to organize an additional bridge company in Pittston, at a meeting held on Tuesday, April 30, 1853, was fruitless.

On January 31, 1861, James McFarlane, at a meeting of Pittston Borough Council, filed a report on the need for an additional toll bridge between Pittston and West Pittston.

The Depot Bridge Co. was chartered under the laws of Pennsylvania on March 18, 1868. Its incorporators were David S. Koon, R. J. Wisner, Thomas Ford, A. J. Griffith, B. G. Cooper, John Howell, Lewis Cohen and David Searle.

At a meeting of the Depot Bridge Co. held on December 29, 1868, the following officers were elected: president, Daniel Searle; secretary, David S. Koon; treasurer, Thomas Ford.

SITE DISCUSSED

During the course of this meeting a discussion took place regarding the possible site of the Pittston terminus of the bridge. Some members wanted Water Street, others preferred Dock Street. The group's effort became stymied, and nothing further was accomplished at this time.

On August 24, 1871, a suggestion was offered to build a bridge to connect Montgomery Avenue in West Pittston, with Dock Street in Pittston.

Pittston Town Hall on Water Street, was the scene of a reorganization meeting of the bridge company held on April 28, 1873. Officers elected were: president, Theodore Strong; secretary, Cyrus K. Campbell; treasurer, John Howell. Directors in addition to the officers were Joseph P. Schooley, Ralph D. Lacoe, Alva Tompkins, and Daniel D. Mosier.

SOLD STOCK

It was announced at this meeting that a total of $52,000 worth of stock in the company had been suscribed.

Plans and specifications for the new bridge and toll house were prepared by Dr. C. F. Ingham.

The new bridge was to span the Susquehanna River, connecting Water Street in Pittston with Luzerne Avenue in West Pittston, a distance of 1,016 feet.

FIVE SPANS

According to the April 24, 1873, announcement, the structure was to have an 18-foot roadway and footpaths of 6 feet. The superstructure was to consist of five spans, four of which were to be each 225 feet in length, and one span of 160 feet. The latter span was to cross the canal area.

The estimated cost of the iron and wooden bridge and tollhouse was placed at $48,000.

On May 23, 1873, an advertisement in the press requested bridge builders to bid on the project.

At a meeting of Pittston Borough Council, held on July 12, 1873, permission was granted to the Depot Bridge Co. to use Water Street as a bridge approach.

The contract for the erection of the bridge was awarded to the Watson Bridge Co. early in July, 1873, at its bid of $75,000.

During the week of July 14, 1873, Mr. Drake, a representative of the construction firm, arrived in Pittston and entered into contract with some local business firms. The stone contracts were given to Edward Morgan, William Bond, and others. An agreement regarding crib timber was made with Mr. Ivorman of Dunmore, and with William Allen for cement.

Construction of the iron and wood bridge went forward with alacrity with three shifts working around the clock. Its piers were built on cribs which rested on the gravel base of the river.

In charge of the work were Mr. Drake, superintendent; George Johnson, engineer; and E. P. Dickey, acting engineer.

With the construction of the bridge well underway, a span located on the west side of the structure fell into the river on October 27, 1873. It was hurriedly replaced.

C. G. Hammond was employed as a carpenter during erection of this bridge.

Joel Brenton, a local painting contractor, painted the bridge a mineral color on September 1, 1874.

OPENED IN 1874

While the first foot passengers were allowed to cross the bridge on April 5, 1874, the structure was not opened for public inspection until Friday, September 4, 1874.

The ice flood of St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1875, swept away four of the five spans of the depot bridge.

G. B. Thompson, a Pittston businessman who resided on the west side, was the last person to cross the bridge before it was washed away.

Prior to rebuilding the bridge, some consideration was given to a suggestion to erect a bridge connecting Philadelphia Avenue in West Pittston, with Pine Street in Pittston.

The thought behind this was a possible development of a direct route between the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad station in West Pittston and the Delaware & Hudson Railroad station, in the McCarthyville (Cork Lane), section of Pittston Township. The plan was not adopted.

The washed-out bridge was rebuilt at its former location at a cost of $45,000. The 1,020-foot long structure was opened to traffic on July 1, 1875.

## T. S. Stoneman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a very wonderful article appearing in the magazine entitled the "Offshore Company Driller," in the July-August issue. It is regarding a wonderful human being—one of the greatest I have ever known. His name is T. S. Stoneman, but it should have been the Rock of Gibraltar. However, he had a heart of gold and silver too, and he was one of the smartest and gentlest and best businessmen I have ever known, and I do not believe there is a living man who ever did more for the development of our oil business inland and out in the ocean than this wonderful man, T. S. Stoneman. I have known him and have been closely associated with him for over 25 years, and I think C. T. Chenery, chairman of the board of this great company, has paid my friend and your friend a great compliment because he, you and I have had lunch together many times. He was a close friend to our beloved friend, Sam Rayburn. He worked with the Danciger Bros. of Fort Worth, Tex., a great company, for many years, and he put down many wells in Alabama. In my judgment, had it not been for Stoneman and the Dancigers, we would have never brought in that field at Citronelle, Ala., and now that field is one of the great ones. There is one thing that my friend, Vaeth, who wrote so beautifully about him, forgot to tell us about. He too worked for the Danciger Co. and is a great and good friend, but why on earth they do not write about the king behind the throne, I do not know. I think we could have a hundred pages about T. S. Stoneman from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, and you could not have known him without knowing his wonderful, precious, pretty wife, Mabel, who bubbled over with joy and laughter and good fellowship, almost as a gusher coming in. She was "Stoney's" right arm, and left arm too. He was a very serious man, and she gave him more joy and pleasure than anything else on earth, and she helped inspire him to do the great deeds he did in the oilfields, and especially the offshore drilling. I have driven over 25,000 miles with this man. He told me so much about geology, and we have so many resources in our part of the country that have not been developed, but we are developing them now. There has not been a summer passed that "Stoney" and Mabel have not visited us at our cottage on the Gulf of Mexico. He had a brilliant brain, an understanding heart, and an unlimited amount of energy. I have known him to work 24 hours a day, not one time, but many times when he was trying to bring in a producer. Ed Vaeth knew him and his wife so well and they were so close, and he loved Ed, and so do we all, but I want to say when this man left this world, it left a great gap. Like a giant oak falling on top of a hill, it left a lonesome spot that could never, never be filled. All of my family and grandchildren, and I have 13 of them, called him Uncle Stoney, and his fabulous, wonderful wife, Aunt Mabel, and we were just as close to them as brothers and sisters. There is no doubt about where T. S. Stoneman is. He will be up there waiting for us all when we have to make the trip that all humans have to make sooner or later, but I was so thankful and so proud and happy that Ed Vaeth and C. T. Chenery, another fabulous fellow, gave him credit for some of the great things he did. God bless them all.

The article follows:

T. S. STONEMAN

"If you seek a monument, look about you."—Inscription on the tomb of the Architect Sir Christopher Wren, St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

The opening pages of the Driller in the past have been devoted to a message from the president of the Offshore Co. Because the man whose words normally would be printed here passed away May 26, we feel that it is fitting that we respect his memory by attempting to relate something of his life, and the kind of man he was, on these and subsequent pages.

Funeral services were held May 28, in Baton Rouge, for T. S. Stoneman, president of the company since its organization in 1955. He died at Ochsner Foundation Hospital, in New Orleans, after an illness of about 3 months' at the age of 65. The news of his passing came as a sad surprise to many people in the Offshore Co., the drilling industry, and the community at large, because he was not originally believed to have been critically ill.

Mr. Stoneman enjoyed a long and productive career in the oil industry.

Born in Moberly, Mo., he served in the U.S. Navy during World War I. Leaving the service in 1921, he entered the oil business as a draftsman and landman. Six years later, he was living in St. Jo, Montague County, Tex. Looking back on those days recently, this is what J. E. Vaeth (who later became executive vice president of Southern Production Co., Inc., and an original director of the Offshore Co.) recalls:

"I have a very vivid memory of a young man, dressed in khaki trousers and a leather jacket, the typical oilfield dress in those days, driving a second-hand Studebaker, and calling on Joe Danciger at our offices in Wichita Falls, Tex. He was presenting lease and drilling deals to Joe as were so many others in the business at the time. Little did I realize then what this man would mean to the lives and fortunes of so many people, including myself."

In May 1926 "Stoney," as he was affectionately called throughout the industry, went to work for Danciger Oil & Refining Co. in the Montague-Cooke-Clay Counties area, for an expense allowance of $25 per week, plus a share of Danciger's profits in any productive property he helped them acquire. No oil or gas was discovered in these counties under this arrangement until 1928, when the Huggins lease in Cooke County's Bulcher Field was acquired and some 17 wells were drilled on it.

"This was Stoney's first successful venture in the oil business," Mr. Vaeth says. He received 5 percent of the net profits.

"He was a man of very strong and definite convictions, always with a plan and an objective, with his own firm ideas on just how it should be accomplished," according to Ed Vaeth. Members of the Stoneman family recall this as having been a trait extending back into his earliest childhood.

As a boy of about 10, for example, they recall that he began digging a hole in the backyard of the family's home in Missouri. Unlike most boys his age, he didn't lose interest in the project and stop after a few days. He kept on digging every day after school, even during the winter when he had to break into the ice where water had frozen in the bottom.

In time, the hole grew to considerable dimensions and he was asked the inevitable question: Why was he digging it?

"Because," he said, "I must find out what's under the earth."

After the discovery of the East Texas Field in 1930, Mr. Stoneman moved into the area in his continuing search for valuable properties. During his explorations there, he acquired valuable leases in the process. Afterward he was successful in persuading the company that a drilling rig would help in making deals with land and lease owners. Subsequently, he assembled a small rotary drilling rig and supervised drilling on leases in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. This was 1932, when wells were shallow, taxes were much less complicated, equipment was inexpensive, and everything was plentiful except money.

Mr. Stoneman found the rig he was looking for in Mississippi. It was considered almost junk—a little steam rig available for $5,000. He wrote a personal check for the amount and put the tab on his expense account. When he rig went into service, the first small but important step toward creation of the Offshore Co. had been taken.

It was part of a long-range plan of Mr. Stoneman's which emphasized the importance of the drilling end of the business.

Through a deal negotiated with William Helis of New Orleans, the Danciger rig under Mr. Stoneman's supervision brought in the Duplantier No. 1 on the large Helis lease south of Baton Rouge in 1938. A considerable amount of drilling had been done earlier by other oilmen before this important discovery was made by Mr. Stoneman. This was the discovery well for the University Field, in which Mr. Stoneman ultimately drilled an estimated 100 wells.

Toolpusher on the rig when the discovery well was drilled was Claude Crone, now manager of domestic drilling operations. The driller, Jay Love, retired as an offshore toolpusher several years ago.

Activity in the University Field stepped up drilling operations for the Danciger Co., and within 2 years it had five rigs running in the field, including one leased from the Helis organization. By 1948 the company had acquired 12 rigs and Danciger's drilling section was in business in a big way.

In 1950 the assets of the Danciger organization were acquired by Southern Production Co., Inc., and the drilling section became Southern's contract drilling division, with Stoney as vice president. This drilling division, in turn, was purchased by the Offshore Co. January 1, 1955, and he became the first president of the new, expanded organization, with C. T. Chenery as chairman of the board of directors.

Under their supervision the company's rigs and men moved into the gulf coast marshes, bays and offshore waters on a large scale, taking a prominent part in the continuing job of exploring and developing the oil and gasfields of this great new petroleum region. Almost simultaneously, subsidiary organizations of the company began drilling in offshore waters on almost a worldwide scale.

Mr. Stoneman assembled an excellent engineering and operations staff, backed up by competent administrative personnel and some of the best toolpushers, drillers, and rig crewmen in the business. With a large, modern, diversified fleet of drilling equipment, he saw the Offshore Co. grow into the largest marine drilling organization in the world, with current or recently completed operations off the coasts of nearly a dozen nations and territories.

He died without seeing the completion of a favorite project of his for many years—a multi-purpose super rig unlike anything ever before built. The company's 320-foot floating drilling ship now under construction is expected to be the largest in the world and closely resembles the highly advanced type of rig Mr. Stoneman hoped to see built by the company eventually.

During his tenure as president of the company, Mr. Stoneman witnessed his full share of impressive developments in the marine drilling industry, and he took an active, leading part in many of them.

The successful introduction of the mobile, deepwater, self-elevating drilling barge was one such development. No fair and accurate account of this story could be written without attributing much of the credit for the rapid, efficient use of this valuable type of rig to T. S. Stoneman. Together with Mr. Chenery, he recognized the potentialities of the jack-up barge early, felt confident it would soon prove to be not only practical but almost essential for many offshore drilling assignments, and put the Offshore Co. in the lead in its design, construction and use—a position the company still enjoys.

Mr. Stoneman's old friends are numerous, including men such as Mr. Chenery and Offshore Board of Directors Vice Chairman C. P. Rather, with whom he enjoyed a long and close association. One of his friends perhaps summed up the feelings of all recently when he said:

One of his greatest attributes was his loyalty to his friends, and, as the years rolled along and our paths did not cross so frequently, he never forgot the close relationship which existed between us when we were both struggling to get a start in the oil business.

Although he would have been the first to insist that the Offshore Co. was built and sustained by the efforts of many hundreds of people in scores of occupations, it is not an exaggeration to say he was its architect and that the company's present sound organization and excellent prospects are due to Stoney's dedicated labor, vision, and able planning.

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A Great Man To Work With

I have known and worked with Stoney since the day in 1950 on which Southern Production Co. purchased the Danciger Oil & Refining Co. Not the least of the assets acquired on that day were the services of Stoney, Ed Vaeth, Mike Strong, and George Magruder, all keymen in the Danciger organization.

Stoney was a man of many facets and boundless energy and he had a knowledge of a surprising number of subjects. At 65 he was just at his prime and had many plans for the Offshore Co., of which he was the driving force. He was a great man to work with and he was responsible for many new and forward-looking ideas which the Offshore Co. sponsored during his tenure of office. We miss him greatly and shall continue to do so.

Fortunately, he had built up a strong organization, both in the office and in the field, and was ably assisted by men like Henson Moore, George Richardson, Howard Ellwood, Bob Ryan, and other stalwarts. It is a good team and Pratt Rather and I enjoy playing on it.—C. T. Chenery.

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Resolution Adopted at a Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Offshore Co. on July 10, 1962

Whereas the directors of the Offshore Co. desire to record their deep sorrow at the untimely death on May 26, 1962, of their esteemed associate, T. S. Stoneman, who served long and faithfully as president and director of this corporation, upon motion duly made and seconded it was unanimously

*Resolved*, That the board of directors of this corporation hereby gives formal expression of its grievous loss in the death of T. S. Stoneman, and does hereby note in its records the passing of a man who was esteemed by his associates, loved by his friends, and respected by all, and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be tendered to Mrs. T. S. Stoneman as a humble expression of the board's heartfelt sympathy in her bereavement.

R. W. Ryan,
*Secretary.*

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## The Frosting and the Cake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Washington Report of the American Security Council of October 8, 1962, merits the attention of the Members of the Congress. It is entitled "Victory—Theory and Practice" and contains an excellent analysis of Secretary of State Dean Rusk's recent address to the annual convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. In this address, Mr. Rusk tried to give the impression that the State Department does have a win policy in the cold war. I ask unanimous consent that the ASC's Washington Report be printed in the Appendix of the Record, together with a recent newsletter which I did on this subject, entitled "The Frosting and the Cake."

There being no objection, the article and newsletter were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Washington Report—Victory: Theory and Practice

On August 13, 1962, Secretary of State Dean Rusk delivered an address before the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The speech has been widely hailed and labeled as an affirmation of the U.S. intention to win the cold war and as an "answer" to the "no win" criticism of the Department of State.

Actually, the speech provided an insight into the difference between the theory and practice of victory. It was a further revelation of the philosophy of abstract idealism which is slowly causing us to lose the cold war.

Once more the Secretary stated the goal of the United States: "a peaceful world community of free and independent States, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others." And he recognized and declared the simple truth that this goal and the Communist goal are incompatible. "This global struggle will continue until freedom prevails," he said. "It goes without saying that our purpose is to win. * * * Our objective is a victory for all mankind" (State Department press release 494).

So far, so good. Mr. Rusk used both the words "win" and "victory." Then he undertook to define victory: "And what is the worldwide victory we work for? Not the victory of one nation over another or of one people over another, but a worldwide victory for freedom."

He enumerated what this would mean—a world free of aggression; a world of independent nations; a world of economic and social justice for all peoples; a world ruled by law; a world of democratic governments; a world of personal freedom and dignity.

"Victory for freedom" thus represents man's eternal hope for the establishment of political utopia on earth. It is a magnificent concept which recalls the famous "four freedoms" declaration of Churchill and Roosevelt embodied in the Atlantic Charter of 1941. As a definition of cold war victory, however, it is meaningless in terms of practical policy. The specific and urgent problem which faces the United States is the defeat of the Soviet drive for world power, just as the framers of the Atlantic Charter faced the specific problem of Nazi aggression.

Internal changes or modifications within the Soviet Empire—even their economic difficulties—profit us little so long as the outward thrust of communism continues, and continues to gain victories. How exactly are we to deal with the Communist challenge, which is more and more the challenge of raw power? It is our strategy that is important. It is not noble words but results that count; otherwise the idealism is futile. That is what "win" versus "no win" is all about.

And it is precisely on this score that the Rusk speech and subsequent developments provided little in the way of reassurance.

"No one" said the Secretary, "has to convince us that 'peaceful coexistence' means

to them a continuing attempt to spread their system over the earth by all means short of the great war which would be self-defeating. No one has to convince us that the contest between Communist imperialism and freedom is for keeps."

But further on, he spoke of "common or overlapping interests." One was Laos: "In June 1961, at Vienna, Mr. Khrushchev and President Kennedy agreed that both favored and independent and neutral Laos. * * * If the (Geneva) agreement is faithfully executed, all foreign troops will leave Laos and the Lao will be left alone * * * and Laos will cease to be an avenue of supply and reinforcement for Communist aggression against South Vietnam."

The remarkable thing here is not so much that Laos continues to act as a corridor for Communist troops to enter South Vietnam; that the Soviet airlift of supplies into southern Laos for the use of these troops continues; or that no more than token contingents of North Vietnamese troops have withdrawn from Laos. It was and is naive and unrealistic to think the situation would be otherwise. The remarkable thing is the contradiction between a theoretical acknowledgment that the Communist purpose is to spread their system over the earth and a practical policy which assumes that Khrushchev genuinely wants an "independent and neutral Laos." If the former is true, as it is, then the latter is completely illogical on its face. Yet this thread of unrealism runs as a constant theme through American foreign policy. The deadly flaw in this policy lies in the fact that we will not recognize the corollary of the Communist determination to rule the earth: Given such a continuing Communist objective, there cannot be a genuine area of "common interest." It does not exist, and our relentless search for "accommodation" on this basis is in vain.

Mr. Rusk professed an optimism which is particularly ironic in view of the events which have followed his speech: "I believe that a measured appraisal leads to the conclusion that the historical forces of freedom are writing fresh chapters of achievement and confidence." But just where is this true?

On the contrary, since August 13, there has been a sharp deterioration in the psychology of the cold war. "Victory for freedom" recedes before the mounting boldness of the Communist offensive. (This is particularly true in Berlin and Cuba.)

(1) In Berlin, the slow death of an East German youth in plain sight of American help which never came created a new cloud of doubt over our ultimate willingness to go to war in defense of our rights in the city. Soviet acquiescence to our demand that they cease using armored cars in West Berlin was indicative of their reaction to firmness, but was not exploited as such. The Soviet statement on Berlin and Cuba warned bluntly that the Western occupation of West Berlin "must and will be liquidated" (New York Times, Sept. 12, 1962). The specific U.S. reaction to a blockade of the city has yet to be defined. Though they have apparently postponed a crisis until after the U.S. elections, the Soviet position has, if anything, hardened since August 13. The supreme cold war crisis draws steadily nearer as the Communists sense Western weakness.

(2) Government sources labeled the Soviet warning not to attack Cuba "if this attack is made, this will be the beginning of the unleashing of war" as a propaganda bluff (which it was) but then laid down a policy which formally acquiesced to Communist control of Cuba. At his news conference on September 13, President Kennedy drove the last nail into the coffin of Cuban freedom. He solemnly pledged the United States to "do whatever must be done" if Cuba exported revolution by armed force or became an "offensive" base; but he declared that unilateral military intervention by the United States to overthrow Castro cannot be justified and attacked as "rash" those who think otherwise.

The President's declaration is historic and tragic. He reversed the judgment of his predecessor, General Eisenhower, and that of his own early administration, which led to the Bay of Pigs landing in April 1961. That judgment was that Communist control of Cuba was intolerable and required military action to eliminate it. Now, as a result of the Cuban arms buildup and the presence of Soviet forces, only some form of U.S. action can succeed in this purpose. But we have lost our nerve. We no longer have such a purpose. We reject action and accept the Communist "fait accompli." The only "quid pro quo" is a 2-months' Soviet postponement on Berlin.

Moreover, Chester Bowles, in an attack on the "realist" school of foreign policy, made it clear that Cuban freedom is being sacrificed essentially upon the altar of "world opinion": (An attack on Cuba) "would undercut our influence in world affairs, blacken our reputation in the United Nations, and forfeit our traditional claim to moral leadership." (New York Times, Sept. 7, 1962.)

Khrushchev, studying such a statement, may well wonder whether it is not the United States which is bluffing, and not only on Cuba. (If Cuba is a sovereign nation, it has a sovereign right to station any armaments on its territory, "offensive" as well as "defensive." President Kennedy's distinction between the two is legally meaningless.) So long as there is no overt act against us, the U.N. and "world opinion" is no more likely to sanction military action against a Cuba armed with ground-to-ground "offensive" missiles than at the present time. If the considerations which Mr. Bowles cites are really paramount, would we, then, really "act"?

Many will doubt it, and will continue to doubt the ultimate victory of freedom so long as the chasm between the words and deeds of its principal defender continues to widen. A theory of victory depending only on lofty ideals will not prevent the progressive loss of the freedom of more and more of the world's peoples. The hollow claim that we are defeating communism will not conceal it. A theory which relies on the "underlying forces of history" to accomplish our purposes substitutes hope for reason and the "easy" policy of inertia for the hard choice of action.

There is one interest which Communists share with us, though it is often the grounds for unwarranted optimism. That is their desire to avoid annihilation. It is the interest that always compels a Communist retreat in a showdown. It is the reason why we can still win without war. But victory has meaning only if it is defined in its cold war context. This Mr. Rusk failed to do.

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### The Frosting and the Cake

(Report to the people by U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina)

After absorbing a barrage of criticism from Capitol Hill, from some portions of the press, and from a rising tide of grassroots American concern, the State Deparment has now officially proclaimed a "win" policy in the cold war. In an address before the stanchly patriotic Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention, on August 13, Secretary of State Rusk said: "This goal of ours * * * and the Communist goal are incompatible. This global struggle will continue until freedom prevails. It goes without saying that our purpose is to win. * * * Our objective is a victory for all mankind."

This speech by the Secretary was intended as a response to my original labeling of our foreign policy as being predicated on a "no-win" strategy. In defining "no-win," I stated that "this does not mean that it is our policy to lose. It means that we dare not try to win, for fear we may lose."

This "no-win" charge was made by me as a result of a detailed study of items, such as the words "victory" and "win" which were censored from speeches of defense leaders, together with past U.S. cold war actions of retreat and reaction, and also a study of guidelines drawn up by U.S. policy planners. For instance, I pointed out to the Senate on March 8 that our foreign policy has been based on the false assumption that the Communists would evolve into peaceful socialist states if we employed only the cold war implements of aid and information.

Under Secretary of State Ball affirmed this theory of reliance on the "evolution" or "mellowing" of the Communist societies under questioning in the censorship hearings. Following this, the Chicago Tribune carried two exclusive stories by Willard Edwards exposing the now-famous Rostow policy papers. Mr. Edwards pointed out that these proposed foreign policy guidelines rely on the "mellowing" idea as the answer to our cold war problems. Senate Minority Leader Dirksen and others on Capitol Hill immediately pounced on the Rostow papers, expressing amazement at Mr. Rostow's ideas.

Before Mr. Ball's affirmation of the "mellowing" theory, he had sent to the censorship hearings an explantion of censored items. The foremost explanation was his definition of the term "victory" as having a "militaristic and aggressive ring less suited than the substituted phrase to describing our national objectives." He added that it left "no room for accommodation." After coming under considerable fire he later called the explanation "inartistic and fatuous."

With criticism continuing to mount, the President, the Secretary of State, and other high officials began denying that we had a "no-win" policy. They refused, however, to say that it was our intention to win the cold war. Finally, a Republican-oriented reporter, Roscoe Drummond of the banned New York Herald-Tribune, suggested a way out of their embarrassing dilemma. He said why not go ahead and speak of victory and drop the battle over semantics.

Mr. Rusk's VFW speech gave the tipoff that Mr. Drummond's advice was well taken. Courageously he faced up to using the terms "victory" and "win" with reference to the cold war. Columnist William S. White hailed the move as being "legitimate—and also overdue." He added that "never before had any top figure of the administration, outside the military, been willing to say simply and clearly that to win was our purpose and resolve."

Though the words "victory" and "win", have now been used by the Secretary, there appears to be no change in the substance of the policies which underlies the name of the policies, whether they be called win or no-win. I commend the Secretary for facing up to his error in censoring these valiant words which had always been the watchword of America in previous times of national peril. I will be the first to congratulate the Secretary when he reverses his field on coalition governments and accommodations with and concessions to the Communists. He has prepared an appealing frosting for his cake. Now he needs to bake a new cake to go with the frosting.

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## Portrait of a Typical Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Clem Miller has left us. Our beloved col-

league will no longer grace this Chamber with his presence, but we who knew him will never forget him.

One of the last events of CLEM's life was the publishing of his book "Member of the House." A book—as David Broder writes in the following article from the New York Times magazine of October 7—that deals with "the realities of congressional life."

Mr. Broder's "Portrait of a Typical Congressman," draws upon CLEM MILLER's observations about the House. CLEM certainly was the knowledgeable, hard working, intelligent Congressman that Broder describes.

The article follows:

PORTRAIT OF A TYPICAL CONGRESSMAN

(By David S. Broder)

WASHINGTON.—If Congress is, as its critics say, a sickly institution, then those who run for Congress presumably have no objections to catching some sort of Capitol fever. About 900 of our fellow citizens are seeking the 435 House and 39 Senate seats available this November—a record number. And for what? For the honor of serving in a body whose reputation with its critics has rarely been lower?

In order to know what lures these men and women to congressional service—why an institution that has been pronounced a failure by its critics should exert such magnetism across the land—we must understand the nature of the office itself.

What is a Congressman, really? Is he legislator or errand boy, an ambassador from his State or district or an officer of the National Government? By what standards should he be judged? The chances are these questions will be raised in few of the current campaigns. And yet one cannot shake the suspicion that they are overdue for discussion.

The burden of this article is that the Congressman is a most misunderstood creature. He is not one man, as the critics would have it, but three. He is a legislator for the Nation; he is a mediator between his district and the Central Government; and he is a teacher of his people. His performance in his three roles varies. In the first, he is adequate; in the second, excellent; and in the third, deficient.

But before pulling him apart this way, let us see him whole, as he is in life.

The typical Congressman is an unbashful, churchgoing fellow of 52, a veteran and a college graduate. He has made his living as a lawyer or businessman and has learned something of the management of human affairs. He also has behind him some years in public office—as a prosecutor perhaps, or as a mayor or a State assemblyman. He is, in all likelihood, a man of above-average sensitivity, stamina, ambition, and acumen.

This bears importantly on the Congressman's performance in his first role, as a national legislator. The critics of Congress sometimes talk as though ignorance, indifference and inertia are so inbred in Senators and Representatives that they are literally incapable of writing good legislation.

The contrary seems closer to the truth. Most Congressmen are far ahead of their constituencies, both in sensing national problems as they arise and in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of proposed solutions.

It is not just accident that the average Congressman is better informed than almost any of his voters. He has to be, for in the Washington arena knowledge is power, whether the struggle concerns the tax code, the merits of rival weapons systems or the mechanisms of the farm program.

Because he is a decisionmaker, the Congressman is the beneficiary of a constant flow of information and instruction from committee staff members, from his colleagues, from the administration and from representatives of interest groups. Even the dullest Senator or Representative cannot fail to learn something from this process and most of them learn a great deal more than a little.

Is the problem, then, that the mechanism of Congress will not enable its members to put their knowledge to work? Lately, it has become fashionable to suggest that this is the answer. The seniority system must be abolished, it is said. Committees must be curbed, or perhaps strengthened. Debate must be curtailed, or perhaps extended. The leadership must be broadened, or made more responsive, or something.

The pertinent point about these criticisms is not that they are irrelevant but that they are not new. The conflict-of-interest problem, so much discussed recently, was not unfamiliar to Daniel Webster. The struggle between the party leadership in each house and the committee chairmen is routine, not novel. Congress operates now very much as it has throughout its history.

What has changed is the amount of time, energy and brains Congressmen can devote to the tasks of devising legislation and overcoming the built-in obstacles to its enactment. The main reason, I suggest, that Congress does not legislate better is simply that most Congressmen can no longer afford to regard legislation as the most important part of their jobs.

Indeed, many of them find it very difficult to sandwich legislative work into the busy schedule of what they describe—correctly—as their more important functions. These functions relate to their second role, as mediators between their districts and the Central Government, and we will examine in a moment why the burdens they carry in this area have increased so in recent years.

But first it is important to understand that the conflict between the Congressman as national legislator and the Congressman as agent for his district is not just a theoretical struggle.

The practical problem the Congressman faces is well described by Representative CLEM MILLER, a California Democrat, in his revealing little book about the realities of congressional life, just published under the title, "Member of the House."

In one of the letters comprising the volume, he explains to his friends at home that most of the vital decisions on the floor of the House are made on teller votes, with the opponents and supporters of the bill or amendment passing up the aisle between counters to indicate their stand. Mr. MILLER reports, accurately, that "at least 150 Members can be counted on to be absent from any teller vote.

"What is it that happens to these Members of Congress?" he asks. "Presumably they were elected for this very task above all others: To be in the Chamber, to vote.

"The fact is that this objective is blurred with time and circumstance. * * * What is of overriding significance gives way to what is immediate. The competing interests, the endless details of congressional routine, take hold.

"Members are called to the floor * * * as the afternoon's debate begins. * * * Most stay for a while listening and chatting. Then, inevitably, the drift begins. Pages hurry up and down the aisles with sheaves of messages. * * *

"Gradually * * * (the Congressman) is caught up in the inescapable workaday world of Congress. Almost without volition, he finds himself back in his office, trying to keep up with the mail, interviewing and being interviewed by streams of callers. Now he is too far away to get back to the floor for a teller vote.

"Once away from the Chamber, he is far away. The urgency, the insistence, is gone. A million words of testimony, the results of a thousand patient meetings may be going down the drain. But it is another world from the congressional office."

The conflict between these two worlds has another dimension, because it is also a conflict between pleasure and duty. Most Congressmen find the pleasures of their work lie mainly in the legislative world, in the personal relationships between competitors and cohorts in the insiders' world of Washington influentials, a world where strength and shrewdness, wit and will are savored as much as wealth in Dallas.

But pleasurable as his life in the insiders' world may be for the Congressman, his job security and his political future depend chiefly on how well he serves the residents of the outsiders' world—the people of his State or district. Cultivating his relationship with them must be given first priority, no matter what his personal tastes dictate and no matter what the critics of Congress may think.

The plain fact is that a man's legislative work is commonly a matter of indifference—if not outright suspicion—for his constituents. What can hurt politically is the charge that he has failed to look after his district. Neglect of correspondence, or constituent services or of vital local needs lies behind the defeat of a vast majority of those few in Congress who fail of reelection.

No wonder, then, that the first move the distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, made in preparation for his current campaign in Arkansas was to turn over leadership of his committee for the year to the next-senior Democrat, Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama (whose term does not expire until 1967). Rice, cotton, and flood-control projects are safer concerns for a man seeking reelection than U.N. bonds or foreign aid.

There is no sense mourning the fact that the Congressman's constituent-service role is interfering ever increasingly with his work as a legislator. It is the inevitable result of the changes that have taken place in our society and Government in the past 175 years.

The Founding Fathers knew the conflict would exist, but they misjudged the dimensions of the problem. In "Federalist Paper No. 56," Madison recognized that the Congressman "ought to be acquainted with the interests and circumstances of his constituents." But in a simple society under a government of limited powers, this requirement, he believed, could easily be met.

"This principle," he argued, "can extend no further than to those circumstances and interests to which the authority and care of the Representative relate. An ignorance of a variety of minute and particular objects, which do not lie within the compass of legislation, is consistent with every attribute necessary to a due performance of the legislative trust."

The increase in our population, the growing complexity of our economy and the proliferation of Government functions have made it far more burdensome than Madison ever dreamed for the Congressman to define and defend "the interests and circumstances of his constituents"—to serve as a mediator between them and their Government. This function is consistently undervalued by critics of Congress, particularly those who are Washington-based, who fail to comprehend the gulf between the constituencies and the Capital.

To the average citizen preoccupied with his own affairs, the Central Government is a remote colossus, incomprehensible, almost unapproachable, but not safely ignored. His link—his sole link—with it, is his Congressman.

The Congressman must protect his district and its people from the mischance and mischief that almost inevitably accompany bureaucracy's rather rigid way of doing its work. He must do it, for his people have no

one else to look to. Because the work is essential and unavoidable, most Congressmen have become very proficient at the task. And that is the main reason why, in recent elections, less than 1 incumbent in 10 seeking reelection has been denied another term.

But the Congressman's position as the middleman between his district and the Central Government imposes another duty on him, one which he meets less adequately. I refer now to his third major role, not as a legislator, not as a broker, but as a teacher, an educator, and a shaper of opinion back home.

To some it will seem strange to charge the Congressman with this responsibility. It has become customary to say that the President has the job of telling the people where the country stands and what it needs to do. He does. President Kennedy has been criticized for failing to do this sufficiently, and so were his predecessors. The inescapable fact is that all our Presidents for the last quarter century have been preoccupied with foreign affairs. Most of their speeches have sought public understanding of our responsibilities in that area.

Domestic affairs have been left largely to Congress. If domestic needs are unmet, as many believe, the blame must rest on the Congressmen for failing to bring their people to an understanding of the programs required.

How can Congress do this job? One of the most effective devices is the public hearing. Look, for example, at the way in which the 1959–60 revision of the labor law came about. A Senate committee held a series of hearings that gave the public dramatic evidence of the extent of criminal infiltration into labor unions. Another committee drafted remedial legislation. The topic was discussed in the districts by virtually every Member of Congress. Only in the final stages of the debate did the President join the dialog, and then his intervention was of marginal influence. It was a congressional project.

"The job of a Congressman," Representative MILLER says in his book, "in major degree is communicating—making our political world understandable."

Congressmen communicate through their newsletters and radio and television reports to their districts; through the frequent speeches they make to civic and political groups at home; and through their innumerable conversations with individual constituents.

But how well do they communicate? Too often, I am afraid, the same Congressman who will tell a bureaucrat bluntly and honestly how a proposed policy would affect his constituents will equivocate and hesitate before giving his constituents the blunt truth about what can and cannot be done in the national interest.

Nothing is more important to our democracy than the kind of information our Congressmen spread. The operations of the representative system enable the vast majority of these men to stay in office as long as they wish. Do they use their time preparing their constituents to cope with the world as it is, or do they conceal the world from them? That is the crucial question about this year's election, as about every congressional election.

Will the midwestern conservative who is certain to be back for another term give his constituents the old line about balancing the budget first and then cutting taxes? Or will he help them try to understand that our present tax structure is keeping us from balancing the budget and achieving a lot of other economic goals as well?

Will the eastern liberal from a safely gerrymandered district go back to his voters with the same shopworn promise about passing a massive aid-to-education bill? Or will he tell them what he knows to be true: that those sincerely interested in helping education must define the goals and limit the scope of the program much more strictly than they have in the past in order to meet the legitimate objections of those who, for a variety of reasons, fear the impact of massive Federal aid?

Too frequently in Washington one hears a Congressman say, "I understand the need for this, but my people back home don't, so I won't vote for it." That may be acceptable as an excuse on that particular day, but it ought to oblige that Congressman to spend a good many days helping his people grasp the situation as well as he does.

By way of summary, then our scorecard on Congress looks something like this:

As the agent for his constituents in protecting their interests in Washington, the average Congressman does an excellent job. The role is a vital one from his district's point of view and, if the critics of Congress want to be fair, they should give him high marks for the quality of his performance in this field.

As a national legislator, the Congressman is at least adequate. Men will disagree on how many desirable bills are left unpassed, on how many bad ones become law, and on what provisions any particular measure should contain. But it seems fair to say that most of the bills Congress does approve are well designed for their purpose, are drawn with some attention to the technical, legal and political niceties of the problem, and generally emerge in a more satisfactory form than they began.

As a teacher of his people, the average Congressman leaves much to be desired. The gap between the reality of the situation the Nation faces and the public's understanding of it seems to be growing, not shrinking. This trend must be reversed if our Government is going to remain both representative and effective.

By now it must be obvious why so many men and women this fall are seeking to gain or retain membership in Congress.

The power and the pleasures of a Congressman's job are unique in the structure of American public offices. He is a key member of the small world of Washington influentials, sharing in the secrets and the satisfactions that attend the management of the world's most powerful Nation.

He is also the protector of his people in their dealings with the Central Government and, frequently, the dispensing angel through whom that Government lavishes its gifts upon the land. He is able, in other words, to perform a great many services of great importance for people who are of personal concern to him.

Finally, he is, or can be if he wishes, a great source of wisdom to his people—an influence upon their thinking and upon their lives.

Because he is all of these things, he is also a very busy man—so busy, often, that he cannot do any of these jobs as well as he would like.

The second-commonest remark on Capitol Hill is, "I don't know why I put up with this rat race." But the commonest is, "I don't know anything I would rather be doing."

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## A New Outlook for Education

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, recently at Marshall University in Huntington, W. Va., Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, gave a most worthwhile speech on the subject of education. He carefully analyzed the classroom and teacher shortages. He delineated most valuably between the "shotgun" critic of our educational system and the careful critic. I recommend the speech, and, under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

We've always had critics of our educational system. This is understandable; criticism comes easier than craftsmanship. But with education, for the most part, the criticism has usually been constructive and positive.

Lately, however, it seems to be growing more negative—and often more hysterical in tone. The sounds of some of education's critics have become strident, if not downright raucous. I wonder why.

Can we seriously write it off to the anxieties of the age in which we live?

Can we chalk it up to the temper of the times?

Should we ignore it—or should we, instead, try to analyze it?

I believe we should do the latter. I'd like to take a closer look at some of this criticism today. Then I'd like to discuss with you what I feel are some of the causes . And, finally, I'd like to offer for your consideration a proposal that might prove helpful.

First, the criticism. What's the real nature of it?

I think that, fundamentally, education is getting two kinds of criticism today. There is the nervous kind that centers only on the extremes to be found in modern education. Generally, this kind of critic has the loudest voice—and he decries our entire educational system on the basis of the extreme incident and the isolated situation.

Then there's the reasonable kind of criticism—the rational kind that looks at the whole of education before pointing out areas of weakness. This kind of critic shuns extremes in favor of a balanced view of education as it relates to our total society.

Let me illustrate what I mean. Take the nervous critic. Let's examine his tactics—let's see what he complains about.

Here are some actual examples:

One critic recently charged that America's educational system was not preparing our youth to face the demands of the world around us. His evidence? He pointed to one unit of one course in one upstate New York high school. The unit was called How To Be Livable, Lovable, and Datable.

Now, we may well shudder at the title of that session. But I don't feel it is sufficient evidence on which to convict all of America's educators.

Here's another one. One resource guide for one grade in the schools of one California city contains the following:

"In the 10th grade, study is concentrated on the growth of democracy, and especially on the form of government which developed. Such a study should be brief and to the point, in order to allow time for the unit on driver education."

Yes; we may shudder at this one, too. But the nervous critic does more than that. He reads into this a sort of decline and fall of our whole educational structure. And it's just not true.

That, unfortunately, is not the only tactic employed by the nervous critic. He has another favorite. It's the survey of one class in one school. And he has a field day with these surveys—especially if the results are singularly frightening—especially if they show the kids to be monumentally stupid.

From time to time, I run across these surveys—and I'm always struck by the fact that I never see those surveys in which the

pupils scored well. It's only the horrible ones that get into print.

At any rate, one of the latest of these surveys was recently reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It reported that 61 percent of a group of high school students do not believe in profits; 83 percent think business profits are at least 50 percent; 62 percent think workers should not produce all they are capable of producing; and 58 percent favor Government ownership of banks, railroads, and steel companies.

This survey was called—and I quote—"an example of American moral decay."

This is absurd. Certainly, this single survey of a single group of students means that these young people need to learn more—and perhaps need to be taught better. But moral decay? I don't believe it justifies that kind of hyperbole.

And I ask again: Where are the surveys of the bright kids? Maybe the answer is they don't make good ammunition for the nervous critic.

I think any educator will freely admit that some parts of our educational system may have gotten a bit too frivolous. And the good educator—the good teacher—is concerned about it and tries to remedy this.

We probably have to admit, too, that the nervous critic means well. And that he has every right to bring these extreme incidents to light. This is a service he can perform.

But I think it becomes a disservice to all of education when he carries it too far—when he uses it as a weapon against the educator and against the legitimate cause of education.

To draw dire conclusions from extreme situations is to anticipate trouble. And I can never understand people who do this. Why anticipate trouble? After all, when did trouble ever come too late?

So much for the nervous critic.

Now, what about the other kind—the reasonable critic? What is reasonable criticism? I have a few examples.

Earlier this year it was announced that 10,000 seventh graders in New York City could not read third-grade books.

A while back it was pointed out that some 30 million Americans are without any library service whatever.

In mid-year a study financed by the Carnegie Corp. concluded that America's colleges were too isolationist and too provincial in their teaching of international affairs.

These, in my judgment, are good illustrations of valid, reasonable criticism. And I'll explain why.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the reasonable critic—and it was true in each of these cases—is that he does not try to make education a scapegoat. He maintains his perspective.

While the reasonable critic points out education's responsibility in a given problem, he recognizes at the same time that this responsibility is shared by others in our society. He does not blame education alone.

If education is to blame for the reading level of New York City's seventh-graders, are not the parents and the community and the municipal government to blame as well?

If education is to blame for the lack of libraries, aren't the communities, government, business, and individuals equally at fault in allowing this condition to persist?

And if our college curriculums are too isolationist, is it only inadequate courses that are responsible? Of course not. Myriad factors are involved—student apathy, public disinterest, an indifferent society.

Somehow, there is a deeper awareness in reasonable criticism. And it, in turn, should generate a deeper concern in all of us.

Above all, we should be able to distinguish between the reasonable and the nervous critic. For it goes without saying which kind of criticism deserves more of our effort, time, and energy.

Probably a prime example of reasonable criticism is coming these days from those concerned about the plight of the out-of-school unemployed youth.

A million young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21—out-of-school and out-of-work, unskilled and untrained—many of them school drop-outs.

These idle young people are truly "social dynamite," as Dr. Conant says. And we're piling up more of this inflammable human material all the time.

Should American education be criticized for this? Certainly it should. The school did not equip and prepare these young people well enough. It failed somewhere along the line. And it's tragic that the school—often our last direct link with these young men and women—should have let them slip through its grasp, so that now many of them are beyond reach and beyond help.

But if education is culpable—if it should be criticized, it is not alone. So should we criticize the employers and the labor unions who have failed to meet this problem. So should we criticize the parents who have failed these children. So should we criticize Government and social agencies and all others who have not acted.

Ultimately, this problem—this shocking waste of human beings—will be corrected by the best efforts of all these segments of society.

The reasonable critic recognizes this—and he tailors his criticism to this end.

Now, let's look at what is sparking much of this criticism of education today. What really is causing it?

Is it, as some say, the frills that adorn the modern classroom? Is it the lovable-datable course? Is it driver education?

I don't think so.

Is it, then, progressive education and the trend away from the three R's? Is it too much professional mumbo-jumbo on the part of educationists? Is it carelessness, neglect, indifference?

No; I can't buy this, either.

I'll tell you what I think it is—what I believe is causing the trouble. In my opinion, it's the problems confronting education that give rise to the criticism.

And don't we know what these problems are? Haven't they been well defined? Aren't they specific, concrete, practical problems that are there for all to see?

What are the answers? There is one that can be stated quickly—money. Clearly, we need more adequate funds for education. Our educational plant must grow to meet rising needs. That takes money.

But we make a mistake if we rely merely on money. That alone won't do it.

What else do we need? We need a more alert, more aware attitude toward education. Each of us, as citizens, needs to be better informed. We need to do more ourselves to support education, to give it maximum attention and consideration.

When we do this, we can, in our democratic way, bring about the results we want.

But what disturbs me is that the minimisers are at work. I have noticed a growing tendency to minimize our problems—to look upon them as solved because progress has been made.

Listen to what some national publications have printed recently.

On the classroom shortage, we are told that 1 out of every 20 classrooms was occupied for the first time at the beginning of this school year. One new classroom out of every 20—what about the other 19? And what about the 127,200 classrooms that the U.S. Office of Education tells us were needed but did not exist at the beginning of this school year?

On the teacher shortage, we are told that the national pupil-teacher ratio of 25-to-1 averages out the extreme overcrowding in individual schools. Yes; it may average it out—but does it help it?

On teachers' salaries, we are told that teachers' wage gains have outpaced the Federal cost-of-living index—that they have risen faster than some other professions. Is this surprising when you consider the low base from which they started?

When I read these things, it's clear to me that the minimisers are at work. And I thing it's a dangerous game they're playing—a game in which American education can only be the loser.

We have got these problems and we might as well own up to them—and solve them. There is no easy way—and there is no cure-all for education's ills. And those who offer quick, simple solutions are just as mistaken and misguided as the minimizers.

Those who cry out that we need to set up machinery for national examinations for teachers and students—that this is the way to raise standards and solve education's problems—are asking for a cure-all. And they are probably doing it out of frustration.

Machinery for national examinations? Do the words "machinery" and "education" belong together? Must education conform to rigid national guidelines—or should it, instead, be a flexible, malleable, ever-changing force in our society?

In plain language, should not we start spending more money on the education of our kids, instead of buying a set of shackles for the system itself?

I really do not believe we need more tests for our teachers—I think we need simply more teachers.

Education's critics can yowl all they want to about frills and national tests and cure-alls. But these, certainly, are not the real, basic problems.

When a kid cannot read, perhaps one more teacher could have helped.

When a kid drops out of school, perhaps one more teacher could have prevented it.

When an act of viciousness, violence, or prejudice occurs in an American community, perhaps one more school early enough could have forestalled it.

It's my conviction that we should help education to solve these underlying problems. We should give education the chance to solve its problems.

And we should give education the means—financial and otherwise—with which to do the kind of job that must be done to meet the needs of America's young people, first, and to satisfy education's critics, second.

I want to turn now to the proposal I mentioned.

Education has its contemporary critics to deal with. It has its pressing problems to solve. It has its immediate, day-to-day objectives to work for.

But doesn't it have something more? Something much more important to consider in today's world? Doesn't it have a bigger challenge—a bigger role to play in the advance of our civilization?

I think it has.

This was brought home to me recently when I heard one of those nervous critics complain that our schools are creating a frightened generation.

He said that young people today are scared to death—they're afraid of the bomb—they're afraid of everything—they worship only security. And he, of course, blamed the schools for producing this fearful, frightened generation.

He didn't swing me over to his point of view, but he did start me thinking about the kind of generation we need to create.

And I began to ask myself what really is—what really should be—the goal of education right now.

Is it merely to keep ahead of the Russians? Is it just to produce more scientists and more technicians for the race to the moon? What is education's biggest challenge, anyway?

After much thought, I came up with what I believe is the answer. And I offer it now for your consideration.

I believe education needs a new outlook—a new goal—one related to the future development of the total society in which it functions. And I believe we have one.

To me, it's a challenging, worthwhile goal that educators and all of us can work toward.

This goal is the vision—the plan—the concept of an Atlantic world.

Let me explain.

What is the Atlantic world? Briefly, it's a plan that calls for the creation of a true Atlantic Community within the next decade—a community made up of those North Atlantic countries who share important interests, values, and historical experiences.

The backbone of this Atlantic Community would be these countries' common belief in freedom, justice, and individual rights. And the community would foster cooperation in the political, military, economic, social, moral, and cultural fields.

As envisioned, this Atlantic world could result in the greatest positive step forward that Western civilization has ever known. At the same time, it would be the free world's strongest safeguard against the menace of communism. And it would be the underdeveloped world's greatest resource and greatest hope for progress.

Some say the idea of an Atlantic Community is an illusion—that it's just an exercise in futility thought up by dreamers and visionaries. I don't agree.

I believe this concept—this dream, if you will—is rooted in reality. I consider it the most practical dream ever conceived by man.

Why? I say this because, in my judgment, the same ideas and the same forces that are now shaping the Atlantic Community have already worked their magic in the Western World in our time.

We need only look at the course of developments in Europe to see their profound influence.

Who would have thought a decade ago that the French, the Italians, the Germans, and the other continental nations would give up their fierce sense of nationalism and would, in fact, welcome being called Europeans?

Who would have believed possible a decade ago the accomplishments of the economic miracle, the European Common Market?

Who would have thought 10 years ago that the United Kingdom would ever risk the loss of any of its sovereignty, any of its traditions, any of its Commonwealth ties in favor of a closer association with the Continent?

Think about it—these are really incredible developments. And they've occurred, actually, in a very short span of years.

I feel the same motivations—the same things that inspired these events—are at work right now encouraging the birth of an Atlantic world.

Why do I view this Atlantic world as a new outlook and a new goal for all of us? How does it apply to education, in particular? I'll tell you.

This Atlantic world—when it comes—will be a bright but tough world. It will test all the old verities. It will shake up all the old ways and the old beliefs.

Narrow provincialism will have no place in it. Nor will prejudice, ignorance, and injustice. Nor can it be the abode of a frightened generation.

It will require a generation of men and women with intelligence, imagination, and courage. And each succeeding generation will have to be better than the last.

Education—quality education—is a cornerstone of this world ahead. It will be the driving force in this Atlantic world. After all, hasn't education always been the one sure way we have advanced in our civilization?

That's why I feel the establishment and maintenance of an Atlantic world will probably constitute the most rugged exam that American education has ever had to take. For that matter, we'll all have to cram for this big test.

Can we pass it? I believe we can.

We've always accepted a new challenge. We've always adopted a new, exciting outlook. We've never been afraid of new worlds opening to us.

What am I asking education to do? I'm asking education to think about this new outlook—this new goal—this new world.

Perhaps by working for this bigger dream, education can evaluate better the opinions of its critics. Perhaps with a bigger goal, we can put education's problems into proper perspective and find ways to solve them. Maybe, by dedicating itself to a bigger cause, education can better fulfill its destiny.

What am I asking?

I'm asking education to buy a dream. I think it's a bargain.

## Hon. Frank W. Boykin

SPEECH
OF
### HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a great man—a man that every Member knows and respects—the Honorable FRANK W. BOYKIN, of Alabama, a Member of this great deliberative body since 1935, and a man who has worked for his congressional district, his beloved State, and his Nation every day of that long period of service.

As a young Member of the House, I have been deprived of the pleasure of knowing FRANK BOYKIN for the length of time that so many of my colleagues have known him, but even in the short period of time that I have been associated with him I have grown to love him.

When I first came to the 86th Congress, FRANK BOYKIN was one of the first men to welcome me. I will never forget the deep sense of gratitude that I felt when an experienced and highly regarded Member offered both his help and his hand in friendship. And, as a matter of fact, FRANK BOYKIN's first words to me were not just welcoming politeness. He has helped me many times in the past 4 years.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, FRANK BOYKIN and I are both members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. He, of course, serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation, and although I am not personally a member of that subcommittee, I have been working closely with its chairman because the district which I am privileged to represent here is vitally concerned with virtually all fisheries legislation.

I know that recently passed legislation of vast benefit to the shellfisheries industries in my district, and elsewhere throughout the Nation, would never have been possible without FRANK BOYKIN. For example, his wise counsel and friendly guidance contributed immeasurably to the success of measures like H.R. 7336 and H.R. 946—both of which have been received with gratitude by our Nation's hard-pressed shellfisheries industries.

No member has a greater depth of feeling for our Nation's shellfisheries industries than FRANK BOYKIN and no Member has worked harder for them. His vast energy and his great capacity for work have enabled him to make contributions to the shellfisheries industries that would simply not have been possible for any other Member. I will never forget his help on my district's shellfisheries' problems, and I know that the industries generally will never forget his help.

Of course, no man can truly be measured by his contributions in just one area of activity and this would certainly be truer of FRANK BOYKIN than any other man. FRANK BOYKIN has no double; he is an unique being and his accomplishments in many fields, with the accomplishments in the fisheries and conservation areas being only representative, are similarly unique.

For my part, Mr. Speaker, I simply cannot imagine a Congress without FRANK BOYKIN. But it is a harsh reality that he will not be here when the 88th Congress convenes. Yet, in a very real sense, FRANK BOYKIN will be here. He will be here in the memory of every one of us. Perhaps that will be a fitting tribute to his service.

## The Government's Bleak Financial Picture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Government's fiscal situation is indeed bleak.

The October 15, 1962 issue of U.S. News & World Report, commenting on the country's finances, states that the U.S. Treasury outgo will run above estimates and that income will be much under estimates.

According to this magazine, for the Federal fiscal year which began last July 1 the official administration estimate had been for a surplus for the 12 months which end next June 30, amounting to $500 million.

Now, because tax revenue was overestimated, there more probably will be a deficit for this period of $7.7 billion.

The Kennedy administration has been ignoring the unpleasant reality of such a deficit. However, on September 19, 1962, Secretary Dillon, in a speech before the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund, finally conceded that "another moderate budget deficit appears likely." I do not know what the term "moderate" means in the ver-

nacular of the New Frontier; my best guess is that any revised figure by the Bureau of the Budget and the President will be withheld until after the November election.

Meanwhile, I asked the Chamber of Commerce of the United States about the fiscal picture. A representative of its Government finance department advised me that the chamber's calculations indicate a deficit of from $5 to $6 billion at the end of this fiscal year, provided that: first, there is no recession and second, that there is no substantial tax revision.

Mr. Speaker, the real shocker is the size of the financial deficit in prospect for fiscal 1964, which is the 12-month period beginning next July 1. This outlook, according to U.S. News & World Report, is for an $11 billion deficit, even with no tax cut. With a tax cut of $5 billion on top of that, the deficit would reach $16 billion; or a tax cut of $7 billion would bring the deficit up to $18 billion. As the U.S. News article comments, that is an awfully big peacetime deficit—by far the largest ever.

An excerpt from this article is worth quoting:

> People running the Government and managing its affairs, in large measure, turn out to be professors, or rich men's sons who've never had to make a dollar in their lives.
>
> Attitudes toward money, toward debt, are shaped by a life tied up in theories or in the idea that it's easy come, easy go.
>
> Theories are those either of Harvard or the London School of Economics. It's a very loosely managed Government in Washington.
>
> A sample of the modern economics at work: Investment in surplus of farm products in year ended June 30 was reduced by $381 million. But to reduce the surplus by that much, a loss from price-support programs was increased by $726 million. About $2 was spent for each dollar of cut in surplus.
>
> In real life, that's a sure way to go broke.

The Kiplinger Washington Letter of Saturday, October 6, similarly suggests that the 1964 Federal deficit may run at high as $15 billion.

This letter points up that the Kennedy economic advisers want a boost in spending, plus a sharp cut in taxes of from $10 to $12 billion.

Between now and election the details ffof all this Keynesian New Frontier financial policy will be kept under wraps as much as possible. But, Mr. Speaker, if what I have indicated is exaggerated or not absolutely according to the facts, let some responsible officer of the Government or of the administration disabuse those of us who express alarm.

Until any such statement, Mr. Speaker, I charge that the Federal Government is heading straight for another increase in the debt limit, more inflation, and a financial situation which will call for Government controls and bureaucratic economic dictatorship.

Yes, the financial picture is indeed bleak.

## Statement of Brooklyn Borough President Abe Stark at Jet Noise Protest Meeting September 21, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement made by the Honorable Abe Stark, president of the Borough of Brooklyn, at a meeting at borough hall in Brooklyn to protest the jet noises resulting from a change in the landing patterns of planes arriving at New York International Airport.

This meeting, on September 21, 1962, was to discuss the very serious problems which have come about for a large segment of the population of Brooklyn because of these landing pattern changes: the noise from the jets and the safety hazards to the persons living along the approach paths. In an effort to have these problems solved as soon as possible I have introduced H.R. 13106 to amend the Federal Aviation Act to provide for a study of aircraft noise and to establish criteria and means of abating such noise. I have been joined in this endeavor by our distinguished colleague the Honorable EUGENE KEOGH.

Borough President Stark's remarks follow:

STATEMENT BY BOROUGH PRESIDENT ABE STARK AT OPENING OF JET NOISE PROTEST MEETING AT BOROUGH HALL, BROOKLN, AT 10 A.M., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1962

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I want to begin by thanking all of you for taking the trouble to come here and join in this discussion this morning.

It is an indispensable part of our democratic process that public officials are accountable to the American citizen for the decisions they make and, at the proper time and under the proper circumstances, those decisions must be explained and justified. Therefore, a hearing such as this is in the true tradition of American democracy.

I realize you all have busy schedules and I promise we will not waste your time unnecessarily. At the same time, I must point out that today's subject is a matter of extreme importance to almost a million of Brooklyn's residents. Therefore, our democratic tradition imposes the responsibility of giving all points of view a full hearing. This, we intend to do today.

Briefly, the problem that brings us here is this:

A recent change in the landing patterns of planes arriving at New York International Airport at Idlewild has imposed a severe hardship on a considerable segment of the residents of Brooklyn.

That nature of that hardship is twofold:

First, it has created an extreme noise nuisance.

Second, it has aroused considerable concern about the safety of citizens living along the path of approach.

I need not tell you that the new flight pattern has elicited a deluge of complaints in various forms—letters, postcards, telephone calls, telegrams, and petitions. You know that at least as well as I do.

In order that we may better visualize the dimensions of the problem, I have had my staff prepare a map showing the area from which these protests have originated. This belt, indicated in red, defines what I will call the "zone of hardship."

As you can see, we are concerned with a belt which crosses the southern, southeastern, and eastern sections of the borough. This belt varies in width from 6 miles at the southern extremity of the borough down to 3 miles as it approaches Idlewild Airport.

Not being an expert, I cannot give you an authoritative answer as to why there is this wide variation in width, but I suspect that it has something to do with the altitude at which the planes are flying.

Let me give you some information about this zone of hardship.

In area, it constitutes about 40 percent of the entire borough.

In population, it includes almost 750,000 people, or somewhat less than one-third of the borough.

The assessed valuation of the land and buildings included in this zone is currently about $800 million.

There is another significant fact about this area which deserves careful consideration in our discussion.

It happens to be the fastest growing area in the entire borough, if not in the entire city.

During the last 10 years, the volume of new housing construction has produced a 100 percent increase in assessed valuations. The rate of population growth has been comparable.

Finally, let me say that every expert opinion indicates that this area will sustain its phenomenal rate of growth for the next 10 years. Indeed, there are some who feel it may actually exceed the pace of the past decade.

That is, unless something drastic happens.

This new flight pattern fits that category. The noise nuisance it creates, the fear it engenders, are each of them drastic enough to slow this rate of growth and, possibly, to stifle it completely.

Now, I realize that the problem of planning traffic patterns for an airport as large and as busy as Idlewild is a tough job. I'm aware that the number of choices for approach and departure is limited.

But I'm compelled to ask whether those who set the new patterns were aware of the fact that they were driving literally hundreds of millions of dollars of potential new construction out of our city.

Certainly, this should have been an important factor in their deliberations. Yet, I doubt that it was considered at all.

Let me say, too, that I am far from satisfied with some of the other circumstances attendant upon this decision to change these flight patterns we're talking about.

Indeed, to be completely candid, I find these circumstances more than a bit peculiar.

Let me explain.

I think it peculiar, for instance, that a new landing pattern should be revealed at a "noise abatement" conference and later, when it is criticized, the defense takes the form that it is safer.

And, incidentally, I shall have more to say on the safety matter very shortly.

I find it peculiar, too, that a noise nuisance is imposed on 750,000 people in the Borough of Brooklyn with the claim that it "will result in less noise for fewer people." Indeed, the researches of my staff indicate that the old noise patterns, if they took the same form as they do here in our commu-

nity, probably affected several hundred thousand fewer people. Moreover, a great many of those people knew that the noise was there when they bought their homes—while none of our people had the slightest reason to expect they would get it.

Another thing: I don't know how the claim of "less noise" can be justified when, according to my representative, Mr. Ameruso, there were no noisemeasuring instruments used in the Borough of Brooklyn. In any event, neither I nor any representative of my office nor anyone in Brooklyn has ever been furnished with the comparative readings between new and old.

So much for the subject of noise; now let me turn to a far more important matter—the subject of safety.

Here again, let me say frankly: I am deeply troubled. The official position is that this change will provide "greater safety for all." But the mail I get from the people of Brooklyn tells me something entirely different.

The letters I get from the Mill Basin and Bergen Beach areas tell me of the intermingling of the Idlewild traffic with the planes taking off and landing at the U.S. Naval Air Station at Floyd Bennett Field.

They tell me that the planes using Floyd Bennett are forced to fly at low levels in order to avoid those coming into Idlewild. They tell me that this local traffic comes so low that it literally skims the rooftops and shakes houses to their very foundations.

I intend to look into this matter myself—immediately. But even before I do, I am cognizant of one thing. For 14 years—ever since Idlewild was opened—its landing patterns have avoided Floyd Bennett Field like the plague. Now, we are told that it is safer to bring these two streams of traffic into close proximity with each other.

I am only a layman but, for the life of me, I cannot understand how it becomes safer when you put more, bigger, and faster planes into the same limited airspace.

And my fears are reenforced by my memory of an incident which occurred only this past May. I remember only too well that the Army wanted to do something big in celebration of Armed Forces Week. The suggestion made was that troops be flown up from Fort Bragg and a paradrop be staged onto Floyd Bennett Field.

I remember that my representative at these meetings reported that the FAA was extremely reluctant to go along with the plan. The FAA said it was too dangerous. I recall that finally, grudgingly, the FAA agreed to permit the exercise—but only on condition that it would be held at a special time of day, and limited to a period of an hour and 15 minutes, and that the control tower at Idlewild be given direction of all aircraft operating in the area including those coming into Floyd Bennett Field.

Do you wonder, then, that I am completely perplexed at an official pronouncement from this same Agency that tells me it is safer to intermingle these two traffic patterns than to keep them apart?

I have another memory, too, and the very recollection of it makes my blood run cold. I remember that cold, dreary December day in 1960 when two planes collided in midair over our metropolitan area and one of them plummeted into the streets of Brooklyn at the intersection of Sterling Place and Seventh Avenue—scarcely a few minutes ride from where you are now sitting.

I was there that morning. With my own eyes, I saw what the words, "air disaster," mean in terms of death, destruction and despair. I shall never, as long as I live, forget it.

One hundred and thirty-four people lost their lives that day, of whom six were on the ground and never knew what had hit them. The fires which broke out destroyed the homes of many more. The accident left scars which are still fresh in the minds of all of us.

Yet, we were lucky that day—providentially lucky. We were lucky that the plane fell in the street and not on houses—or even a school. We were lucky that the accident occurred in midmorning and not at the rush hour. Or at a time when the children were on their way to or from school.

It is not likely that we shall be that lucky next time. Therefore, the best thing we can do is to avoid a "next time", to see that every possible caution is exerted to avert catastrophe.

In all good conscience, I cannot say that I feel that this new flight pattern lives up to this requirement.

I have been in public life a long time. Many times, I have seen official bodies bow to the pressure groups and institute changes of procedure which were less wholesome than those they superseded. And, rather than confess they had succumbed to pressure, they advanced apparently well-founded reasons for their changes.

I do not say this is the case in our present instance. I cannot flatly state that the FAA has bowed to pressure from one area and shifted its nuisance to another.

Nor can I categorically contradict the FAA's claim that the new pattern is safer than the old one.

I must bear in mind that they are the experts and I am the layman. But even a layman has basic intelligence and commonsense. Even a layman can point out that simple logic seems to refute the official claim.

Therefore, I must tell you I have grave doubts as to the wisdom and safety of your decision. The speakers who will follow me will enlarge upon my misgivings in sharper detail and with greater vehemence.

That is natural. They must live at close hand with the problems you have thrust upon them.

But I would be derelict in my duty as Borough President if I did not also tell you this:

The people of Brooklyn are no less precious than those of any other area. Their rights, their property and their lives are equally scared.

I know I speak for every public official here—and for all those who were unable to come—when I say:

We intend to fight with all our might to see that their homes, their safety and their very lives get the protection they beg and plead for and are entitled to as a matter of simple right and justice.

Thank you.

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## "Khrushchev's Russia"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, September 28, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD several short articles dealing with Communist Russia, and its efforts to gain control over another country in Latin America, British Guiana. These articles were written by Mr. Fred A. Orleans, a well-known lawyer and writer of San Antonio, Tex. I am also including a short article by the same author on "Patriotism," which contains some good thoughts in relationship to our times.

The articles follow:

"KHRUSHCHEV'S RUSSIA"

(By Fred A. Orleans)

A most interesting and enlightening book has recently come to the attention of this writer. "Khrushchev's Russia" by Edward Crankshaw strips Russia of all pretension, all propaganda, all conjecture and speculation and lays it exposed for all to see. Mr. Crankshaw, who is known as the observer's correspondent on Soviet affairs, succeeds through his objectivity of facts and figures to present the composite picture of Russia today.

He only touches on the last years of Stalin and in this connection makes a very interesting observation: "No good purpose is served by speculating about the real nature of Stalin's death. It is enough that he died in the nick of time to prevent a new terror, to save some of his closest colleagues from imminent destruction, and to give the Soviet peoples a desperately needed respite and a fresh start at the very moment when the country, overdriven beyond measure, was about to be submitted to further torments and oppressive violence which could well have dislocated the whole machinery of government and industry." Perhaps no purpose is served by speculating on the cause of Stalin's death, nevertheless, it acts as a stimulant for thought and probing questions. The inevitable question that must be asked, is, was Stalin killed by a conspiracy because those close to Stalin realized that if he lived there might be a revolt? No one out of the Kremlin can answer this question.

From that point on, Mr. Crankshaw devotes himself to Khrushchev and Russia. He covers the agricultural problem; industrialization; the intellectual thaw as well as the myth of communism. Of Mr. K., the picture emerges of a "little man of immense natural authority * * * who knew what he wanted and was getting it."

When Khrushchev took over, production ministries were building their own empires and directors of local trusts and factories were trying to make their own organization self-sufficient. As late as February 1957 Khrushchev was forced to put forward new proposals since he concluded that "the 200,000 industrial establishments and 100,000 construction sites throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Union could not be controlled efficiently from Moscow. The system had to be changed." His new proposals at a single stroke "took control of industry away from the new managerial class, atomized the powerful bureaucratic concentration in Moscow, drastically reduced the council of ministers in size and in importance and put the power into the hands of his own agents in 105 separate regions." Insofar as Mr. Chankshaw's book was written in 1959, it can only be speculated upon whether or not these reforms are actually taking place. However, it presents to the reader a picture of typical bureaucratic inefficiency and incompetence. The agricultural situation was in complete chaos when Khrushchev entered the scene. In 1953 there had been a drop of 2 million head of cattle. The Russian farmer is not acquainted with efficient hubandry; he is a poor farmer; he is slovenly when it comes to installation and maintenance of machines. Khrushchev tried to overcome all these obstacles, but it is extremely doubtful if he has succeeded since in recent years, official pamphlets published in Moscow reprimand the peasants for taking advantage of feast days to get drunk and neglect the farm.

Throughout the book, a picture keeps emerging of a country, in spite of its sputniks, that has much to do. It is a country riddled with very grave problems; a country where juvenile delinquency is on the in-

crease; where a black market still flourishes throughout the land; where the fixer is on the payroll of industry; and finally, where the people have come to expect a little more of life than they have received so far. It is, therefore, against this background that Khrushchev finds himself. "He has to give his people peace, a state which they demand with all their being" (this seems to be borne out by the fact that to this date Khrushchev has not revealed to his people that the government is once again testing nuclear bombs). "He has to go on liberalizing within bounds if he is to get the people on his side so that the Soviet Union can be finally pulled out of the Stalinist rut. And, at the same time, he has to convince all those skeptical of his pretentions and his reforms that he is not selling the past." Thus it is that summit meetings are so important to Khrushchev—not that they will lead to better understanding with the rest of the world, but because it helps his own image with the Russian people.

Communism and the classless society is shown as a myth. It has always been the misguided impression by the West that the Russian regarded communism as a faith. Of this, Mr. Crankshaw says, "anybody who knows the Soviet Union at all has known for years that the Communist idea has long ceased to be an active faith. What the young have believed in is their own country and its great future."

Russia's classless society consists of the highly privileged upper class, a prosperous upper middle class engaged in constructive work, a vast lower middle class of white-collar workers, the factory workers, and the peasants. "The attitude of the bulk of the white-collar class to the manual laborers is very like the attitude of the upper and middle classes in Victorian England to the rabble. To hear the way some charming young woman, daughter of an army general or a high official or a big industrialist speaks of the masses makes the blood run cold." So much for Russia's classless society.

Near the conclusion of his book, Mr. Crankshaw leaves the reader a great deal of food for thought with this observation: "Stalin's approach to international affairs was distinguished by a certain crassness: but the Wet matched his crassness with its silliness. How can we ever have allowed ourselves to be persuaded, even for a moment, that the pretentions of the Moscow Government, whether Moscow itself believed in them or not, had any basis in reality? Why, instead of panicking, did not a Western statesman sit down and work out the fantastic implications of a world run from the Kremlin and show that the very idea was absurd? There may be revolutions still. There may be revolutions all over the place. America herself may go Communist—to continue using this almost meaningless word, but a Communist America will not be run from Moscow."

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A LOOK AT THE RECORD

(By Fred A. Orleans)

In 1953, Dr. Cheddi Jagan was elected to head the Government of British Guinea. After approximately 4½ months of complete instability brought on by riots, demonstrations, strikes and an overabundance of Communist plots, the British Government was forced to remove Dr. Jagan to prevent British Guiana from becoming a full-fledged Communist nation.

Dr. Jagan has again been elected to head the Government of British Guiana, and as Premier will be in full control of his country in 1962 when the British begin the process for granting British Guiana complete independence.

There is a belief that Dr. Jagan is now a changed man since he is not attempting to incite riots, strikes, etc. as he did in 1953. He is alleged to have gone out of his way recently to speak warmly of the aid that British Guiana has received from the United States which has been approximately $800,000 to date and can be many millions of dollars if Dr. Jagan is smart enough to fool the United States and obtain his share of the billions of Alliance for Progress money which will be poured into Latin America in the next few years. He is also making overtures to investors to enter British Guiana and assures them that he has no plans for nationalization of industries they may establish.

A look at the record will show that although Dr. Jagan ran for office as a neutral, supported by a political party which also claims to be neutral, this neutral, political party, People's Progressive Party, has always in the past been a stanch advocate of communism and its action, in many instances, conclusively prove that the party and its leaders are as "neutral," as Castro and the group who support him. Dr. Jagan and his wife are very close friends of Fidel Castro and has already discussed with Castro closer economic ties for the future.

The U.S. Government, as always, remains hopeful that Dr. Jagan has truly changed and those who determine U.S. foreign policy never seem to recognize the fact a leopard does not change its spots and a careful look at the record will always reveal to the discerning searcher the true facts. It now seems that as the United States helped to build up Castro's prestige in his own country and the other countries of the Americas by inviting him to visit the United States after he came into power, and by maintaining and publicising the fiction that he was truly an agrarian reformer and a great patriot, the same course of action is being planned for Cheddi Jagan who is most anxious to visit the United States to convince our Government and people that he has been misunderstood in the past. It has been indicated that the U.S. State Department is aware of the fact that Dr. Jagan is a Marxist and a nationalist, but brushes this aside on the assumption that he is not Moscow oriented. Where, then, are his Marxist leanings oriented? Aren't we ever going to learn the facts of international diplomacy? Are we again going to be the innocent instrumentality through which another Communist oriented government will establish a beachhead in the Western Hemisphere? This time, not a relatively isolated island, a stone's throw from the U.S. mainland which can be brought under control at any time—this time a constitutionally elected government right on the mainland of South America bordering Venezuela, Brazil, and Dutch Guiana.

Cheddi Jagan and his wife are very clever and they will proceed with caution for the remaining year of British supervision. It will serve their purpose to be "neutral" for the year so they can consolidate their position, obtain money from the United States and plan strategy for spreading communism throughout Latin America. However, it can safely be predicted that Cheddi Jagan will have Russian, Czech, and Chinese planners installed in British Guiana as soon as the English leave. It is also safe to predict that Communist riots and strikes will become more widespread throughout Latin America with their nerve center in British Guiana.

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ANOTHER LOOK AT THE RECORD

(By Fred A. Orleans)

In October of last year, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Premier of British Guiana, visited the United States to personally present his request for approximately $240 million to be given to his country by the United States as aid over a period of years. Many of the statements Dr. Jagan made during his visit to the United States bear careful scrutiny and his double talk in addressing the National Press Club in Washington on October 24 is especially worthy of close scrutiny. He asked "if any new nation, genuinely democratic and also socialist, can expect U.S. aid, and warned that by withholding aid to preserve capitalism, the United States would sacrifice Guiana's democracy and that Soviet aid is also welcome." In subsequent statements, Cheddi Jagan indicated that he would not accept aid upon conditions which limit the sovereignty of his people.

During the visit of Cheddi Jagan, U.S. policymakers indicated that the United States was considering extending approximately $40 million aid to British Guiana as a calculated risk. After the departure of Cheddi Jagan from the United States it was announced from Washington that the U.S. Government had agreed to expand technical aid and to study other possible U.S. aid programs for British Guiana. The United States agreed to provide economists and other experts to help determine the requirements of British Guiana relating to specific projects as well as the country's overall development program. With the understanding that with the termination of the surveys, the United States could then determine what assistance it could give in financing such projects. Upon his return to British Guiana, Dr. Jagan advised the legislative assembly that his request for U.S. aid had been turned down.

Apparently, there are those in Washington who do not understand the tactics being employed by this well-trained Marxist. All he is trying to do is to obtain unlimited aid with no strings attached. Aid from the United States would give Cheddi Jagan the means he needs to entrench himself and crush the opposition parties. What has been very little publicized is the fact that Jagan's People's Progressive Party, which received 51 percent of the vote in 1953 and 48 percent of the vote in 1957, only received 42.7 percent of the vote in the last election.

Despite Cheddi Jagan's statements to the contrary, and his reiterated determination to uphold the political freedoms and defend the parliamentary democracy which is his country's heritage, the truth of the matter is that he is still a friend of Castro, a Communist, and against the United States and everything for which it stands. If the United States wants to help the people of British Guinea, they can do so by helping them get rid of Cheddi Jagan by supporting the People's National Congress, an opposition party which received 41 percent of the vote in the recent election, and if properly united, organized, and financed, could defeat the People's Progressive Party in the next election and stem the tide of communism in at least one country.

The policy Washington appears to be following in relation to Cheddi Jagan, seems to revolve around the fiction that although he is an acknowledged Marxist, he is not Moscow oriented. Exactly to where is he oriented and where do we in the United States draw the line?

The time has long since passed for the United States to help its friends and stop aiding and abetting the enemy.

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PATRIOTISM

(By Fred A. Orleans)

The time has come when all of us must reassert our national purpose. Not with mere platitudes, but with much soul-searching; with honesty; with complete unselfishness; and with love of country. We have come a long way in 185 years, but somewhere along the way, we have lost sight of our purpose, until now we are drifting away from the American spirit. We have suddenly become shamefaced and embarrassed to admit that we are patriots, and yet the growth of

America was built on the foundation of sacred patriotism.

It is only by our love of country and our dedication to a nationwide revival of the principles of democracy coupled with a militant, informed, and understanding American patriotism that we will preserve the liberties that our forefathers secured through patriotic struggle and hard experience. Democracy in government can be preserved only by constant vigilance and continual practice by the people since no government is ever far behind or far ahead of the people it represents and the ultimate responsibility of whether the United States of America survives as a democracy rests with the people.

In these troubled times we should all repeat and adhere to the words of Daniel Webster: "I was born an American; I live as an American; and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career. I mean to do this with absolute disregard of personal consequences. What is the individual man, with all the good or evil that may betide him, in comparison with the good or evil which may befall a great country in the midst of great transactions which concern that country's fate? Let the consequences be what they will, I care not. No man can suffer too much and no man can fall too soon, if he suffers, or if he falls, in the defense of the liberties and constitution of his country."

## Constitution, Oaths Cited by Writer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following letter published in the San Diego (Calif.) Union, and written by Mr. Oswald C. Ludwig, a veteran constitutional attorney of that city:

CONSTITUTION, OATHS CITED BY WRITER

EDITOR, THE UNION:

A great question has arisen in the United States concerning the right of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution in any manner it sees fit, even though its interpretation presently may overrule many of its former decisions on the point at issue.

From the form of the oath taken by all officials of the Government, including judges of the various courts, each is individually charged with upholding and defending the Constitution against all enemies thereof, which could include the Supreme Court, it logically appears, as it could become, under some revolutionary circumstances, a real enemy of the Constitution.

In our jurisprudence we have been taught in law schools that precedents are governing on questions of law, yet we are also taught that courts may, and often do, reverse themselves, nevertheless the trial courts usually follow the last precedent until, through an appeal from their judgments, the appellate court does actually reverse itself and change its opinion.

However, when we now consider the Constitution and its wise safeguards in the interest of maintaining freedom, we wonder if any trial court has a right to allow a precedent to overrule its own judgment, since all the officers thereof are bound individually, under oath, to uphold and defend the Constitution and all the rights guaranteed thereunder to litigants. Let us put it this way: "Is the only precedent to which the trial court may look the Constitution itself?" It would seem so, as time has shown the need for an unchanging foundation therefor, if we are to be secure in all of our constitutional rights.

Thus where a constitutional question is involved, there can be no legal precedent binding above the oaths the courts take.

OSWALD C. LUDWIG.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

## Domestic Peace Corps—Importing Our Own Idea: A Peace Corps at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the session is almost over, as we all know; columnists are already tallying the final box scores of a stormy session. Many of the struggles on the floor and in committees come to mind, some partisan in nature and some nonpartisan—the farm bill, the trade bill, and medical-care. Few bills come to mind, however, that elicited genuine bipartisan support and enthusiasm. Right now, however, one such piece of legislation, in particular—is foremost in my mind—the request, last spring, of the Peace Corps for an increased appropriation for its second year of operation.

True, some skeptics still existed at that time, but for reasons other than their evaluation of the corps first year of performance. They argued instead that it could become another bureaucratic monstrocity, or we couldn't afford it. These were the reasons against it. Never was there any contention the Peace Corps had failed.

On the other hand, many of the most vociferous original opponents of the plan had not only changed their position, but were, by then, offering accolades.

But, today, I should like to divert attention from the foreign corps, which has monopolized the imagination and attention of the 87th Congress quite often, to the idea of a domestic Peace Corps. Moreover, I should like to ask the House to make their final act of support and tribute for the foreign corps, their support of H.R. 12981, my bill, to set up a domestic peace corps based on many of the same principles.

Do we really need a domestic peace corps? Is not this type of volunteer social service only needed by underdeveloped nations, or younger nations? What situations at home could possibly warrant our airlifting volunteers from one city to another, or transporting people from one section of their home city or county to another one?

The answer is this: The evils and side effects of an industrial and urban society and economy. Such phenomena as the dismal hovels of the underprivileged in our large cities, the depressed areas left behind by change in some industrialized States or the superfluity of talent and manpower lying fallow in rural America, because of the shrinking agricultural sector of our economy.

But the need does not arise solely from the economic facts, but, rather from the effect these facts have had upon so many American lives. The bold fact, in fact, that many of our youth, many of our first generation immigrants, many members of minorities or backward areas cannot adjust to our complex way of life, to modern America without new awarenesses, without more education and training, without help.

Who can give them that help? A domestic peace corps of volunteers who know the basics of adjustment, have the education to communicate them, and who could afford the time and expense, if there were only Federal backing.

More specifically, I should like for one thing to see the volunteers of such a corps respond to the words of David Hackett, executive director of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, when he said:

We must admit in all honesty that we are losing the fight against delinquency. Our control and treatment services have not been able to stem the tide.

The high rates of recidivism offer abundant evidence that correctional services cannot do the job alone. Nor is it just a matter of the quality or the quantity of these services.

We have been dealing with the end results, and overall, we have not been dealing with them successfully. Clearly we cannot relax our efforts to increase the effectiveness of our corrective services.

But to win this fight we must prevent delinquency, not just correct it.

Too, in addition to Hackett's warning on delinquency, there are the following figures on youth in general. Twenty-six million young persons will enter the labor market in 1960. Seven and one-half million of them will do so before having finished high school and 2½ million will be grammar school dropouts. Moreover, all of this is coming about in the context of an economy depending more and more on automation and demanding even for an apprenticeship that a youth have a high school diploma.

Thus, as far as a corps of volunteers is concerned, all these youths, the delinquent, the idle, or the struggling and rejected minority group member, are in need of the training, counseling and liaison between themselves and the constructive world that the volunteers' presence among them would give.

Also, I want you to consider some other figures in conjunction with the youth statistics. These are the various estimates available on the shortage of social workers in the 1960's. In a publication of the American Public Welfare Association recently, various leaders in thier fields emphasized "that only 'token service' is currently given toward protecting children and strengthening family life and this by overworked staff members." For example, one-third of the urban counties and one-half of the rural counties in the Nation have no public child welfare workers.

A broader view of the facts is that of the dean of the School of Social Work at the University of Chicago. He has been quoted as saying that America has less than half of the recreational workers she

needs and less than 25 percent of the social workers in general.

Add to this, the sometimes too low level of education of many social workers—only 7 out of 10 have their B.A., and among probation officers, three-fourths of the workers lack their bachelor's degree.

This combination of many groping youths with too few counselors to guide them brings only too quickly to mind James Bryant Conant's appellation of "social dynamite." Moreover, it will, indeed, be detonated unless America brings her other kind of "social dynamite" in to work on the problem—her recently graduated and capable young people, and, also, her recently retired, and trained older population.

Too, would not such an enlistment of volunteer talent not only fit into the present American framework, but also into the American heritage? Three things make me say, unqualifiedly "yes." The first is the American tradition of volunteer help and assistance.

Americans from teenage to oldage, have worked all through our history and development as volunteers in hospitals, supplemented community educational efforts, supervised play and recreation, aided skilled social workers, and assisted with correctional and vocational rehabilitation.

My second reason, of course, is the success of the foreign corps, I mentioned. My third and last the existing American framework and awareness—the countless programs, urban and rural, begun in the last few years under the auspices of a private foundation like the Ford Foundation, or under the auspices of the more recent Federal legislation—the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961.

In fact, a perfect example of exactly how a domestic corps might cooperate with these fund allocating programs is the recent two-pronged project in central Harlem, New York City.

One of the two prongs or organizations involved will be associated community teams, and its manpowers will be three groups of volunteers who will work as teaching, nursery school, child guidance personnel, hospital, orphanage and temporary custody institution aides. The three groups will consist of privileged you from the central Harlem area, 18 years old and older; youths from other areas; and adults, again from central Harlem.

To me, this small New York project is just a microcosm of my idea for a larger corps.

In closing, I should just like to say that should a domestic peace corps fail passage this session, it is my intention to reintroduce it next year. For like its foreign predecessor, I believe it is one idea worthy of dauntless enthusiasm, and unanimous bipartisan support.

## Voter's Checklist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following "Voter's Checklist" published by the Fair Campaign Practices Committee for the benefit and use of voters all over the country. This is an excellent little brochure which points out some of the unethical and unfair practices indulged in by some candidates.

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee serves a useful purpose in informing the voters and the candidates. As our colleagues know, they also have developed a code of fair campaign practices which each candidate is asked to sign. I have always supported the principles of the code and I have signed it.

The "Voter's Checklist" follows:

VOTER'S CHECKLIST FROM THE FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES COMMITTEE, INC., NEW YORK, N.Y.

INVISIBLE AUTHORS

Who wrote it? Who published it? Missing name or address means the author is hiding. Ask yourself why. (Anonymous campaign literature is against the law in National and most State elections.) Don't let invisible authors tell you how to vote.

THE MISSING PAPERS

Where is the proof? If a sensational charge is not documented, insist on seeing the evidence before you believe it. Don't fall for guilt by accusation.

THE LITTLE MAN WHO WASN'T THERE

Photo trickery can sneak people into or out of real pictures. If a photo seems too "pat" or incriminating, ask the person it's aimed at. If it's a fake, he should be able to prove it. Don't be tricked by trick photography.

NOTHING BUT PART OF THE TRUTH

Leaving out a key word can reverse the meaning of a quotation. (Black is white.) By itself a single vote or statement often is misleading. Get the whole story.

SECRETS OF WIFE BEATING

Do you still beat your wife? There is no right answer. Either way, you lose. "I have no proof he still beats his wife, as everybody believes," is a switch on the same trick. Don't let political con men start a rumor by denying one you've never heard.

THE WONDERFUL TIME MACHINE

Note the dates on quotations. Statements of 10 or 50 or 100 years ago often don't have the same meaning today. Parties and other organizations change with the times. Don't base your vote on an out-of-date quote.

POISON PENMANSHIP

Separate the damaging facts from words and pictures dripping with hate. True charges usually can be made straight out. Don't let hate words brainwash you.

THE ARTFUL LIBEL DODGER

False ideas can be planted without actually stating them: "What did the mayor do with the payoff money?" or "Some say it wasn't the mayor, but his assistant." Don't be fooled by weasel-wording—it's a cheap trick to avoid libel suits.

BEWARE THE WITCHING HOUR

Smear artists usually wait for the last minute to launch their most damaging lies. Be skeptical about any new charge that appears for the first time just before election day. Don't let a last-minute smear panic you into switching your vote.

ON $7 BILLS

Some organizations and publications that crop up out of nowhere in election campaigns are "just as phony" as a $7 bill. Make sure the name of the organization is exactly what it "sounds something like." Look for names of officers, and the address. Check by phone or in person. Don't forget: you can't buy facts with $7 bills.

SO WHATMANSHIP

This is your best defense against irrelevant statements. If it doesn't have some reasonable connection with the candidate or the office he seeks, ask yourself, "So what?" Don't let irrelevant matters hide the real issues.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# *Appendix*

## A Critique on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on October 6, 1962, I offered for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD the first of two articles published in the New York Herald Tribune entitled "A Critique on Cuba" by Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce.

I now ask unanimous consent that the second of Mrs. Luce's articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune]

A CRITIQUE ON CUBA

(By Clare Boothe Luce)

(Playwright, ex-Congresswoman, ex-Ambassador, Clare Boothe Luce is surely one of the most versatile women of the times. She is also one of the most forthright in her opinions. Following is the second of two articles in which she expresses herself on Soviet Cuba and how it got that way. She deals, in part, with the part played by President Kennedy.)

President Kennedy reportedly feels that Castro's Cuba is "a bone in his throat." The "bone" has grown sharper and more dangerous to him—and to the Nation—with every passing hour.

Political expediency requires the President to belittle its size on the eve of the congressional elections. So far, he has not entirely succeeded. The American people are pressing the Cuban question hard: How, short of war, they demand, can the Cuban bone be removed? Or, to put the question another way: What has been done so far to dislodge it?

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Such economic sanctions as the United States can unilaterally apply to Cuba are already in effect: American shipments to Cuba now consist entirely of medical supplies and food. Cuba's trade with our allies has nosedived also, but this is less because of their unwillingness to sell than because of Cuba's inability to buy.

About 15 percent of Cuba's trade is still with non-Soviet-bloc nations, including NATO members. Cuba has been receiving machinery, electrical goods, and engines from Canada, and certain vital imports from England, Japan, Norway, France, Germany, and other NATO countries. Many of the President's critics insist that some way can be found to stop this trade, as well as Soviet trade—including strategic war material—carried in vessels chartered from allied nations.

Just last week Secretary of State Dean Rusk stepped up efforts to persuade our allies to abandon their profitable Russo-Cuban charters. Significantly, the response was less than enthusiastic.

A hardnosed amendment to the foreign aid bill rammed through the House on September 20, prohibits economic aid to any country sending goods of any kind to Communist Cuba. Chances are it will not pass the Senate. The attempt to enforce this provision would throw the whole foreign aid program into a state of administrative chaos.

Moreover, to punish democratic allied and neutral governments for the activities of private businessmen and shippers is manifestly unfair. And even if successful, the final result would be to tie Cuba's military, political, and economic lifeline more closely than ever to Moscow. Although the effort would be a big one, Khrushchev can probably make good his boast that Soviet-bloc countries can supply all Cuba's economic needs and, if necessary, in their own bottoms.

LATIN AMERICA

Can the administration, then, working through the Organization of American States, achieve anything more than it has already achieved—which is practically nothing—to collapse Castro and exclude Russian power from this hemisphere?

So far, the Organization of American States has proved to be a futile piece of machinery for coping with Castro. There is considerable sentiment on the part of some Latin American governments supporting U.S. military intervention in Cuba in the hemisphere's interest. Many who would condemn such action publicly, privately would applaud it. But there isn't a prayer that the OAS will undertake multilateral action of any effective kind against Castro. OAS nations have not even imposed economic sanctions, although their total trade with Cuba comes to a mere $10,500,000 a year.

The informal Conference of Latin American Ministers, called by President Kennedy for tomorrow in Washington, is not likely to produce more than empty condemnations of Russia's ideological exports into Latin America. And what, for example, can any of the OAS members do to close down Radio Cuba, which pours Communist propaganda around the clock into every Latin American home that boasts a radio? Moreover, many of these governments are so riddled by native Communists that even for those minded to do so, Communist baiting can be political suicide.

One example of the Communist problem in Latin America will suffice: Brazil which is geographically one half the area of Latin America, has, since World War II, received over $1 billion from the United States in economic aid. Nevertheless, today Brazil's President Joao Goulart is anti-United States and pro-leftist. Currently he is seeking to elect his brother-in-law, Leonel Brizola, to the Brazilian Congress.

Brizola's campaign is based on anti-United States diatribes. On a TV program he demanded that the U.S. Embassy be closed and that our Ambassador, Gordon Lincoln, be sent home.

It is safe to say that the OAS will act in no effective way against Castro.

NAVAL BLOCKADE

In the absence of forceful OAS action, is there then any unilateral action the United States can take, short of direct invasion of Cuba, which might be effective? The action most people are urging is a peaceful naval blockade.

General Eisenhower is quoted as having said recently that he had heard the term "peaceful blockade," but he didn't know what the term meant.

A naval blockade, if it is to succeed, must be continuously maintained and enforced on vessels of all flags. Allied and neutral, no less than enemy, vessels must be intercepted and cargoes dumped or returned to home ports.

International law defines such a blockade as "an act of war carried out by the warships of a belligerent, detailed to prevent access or departure from a defined part of the enemy's coast."

Americans will remember that Kaiser Bill's harassment of American shipping in 1917 was construed by Woodrow Wilson as an act of war on the part of Germany against the neutral United States. A naval blockade led directly to our entrance into World War I.

Consequently, the establishment of a formal U.S. naval blockade against Cuba could be construed an act of war by any nation whose vessel is so intercepted. It is, of course, reasonable to assume that however much a naval blockade against our allies would gum up our relations with them, they would not war against America.

What is certain is that Cuba would declare a naval blockade to be an act of war and that the U.S.S.R. would indorse that declaration. No peaceful action that the United States can presently take can be counted on to stop the Soviet buildup in Cuba.

KENNEDY'S EVASION

At his nationally televised September 13 press conference, the President said, "I would like to set (the Cuban situation) in perspective." This is precisely what the President has failed to do. He has insisted that Castro's Cuba constitutes no political or military threat to the United States or "to any * * * part of this hemisphere," that "Castro is doomed," that "he is no longer feared in Latin America," and that consequently "unilateral intervention on the part of the United States of America cannot currently be either required or justified."

By resting the case against U.S. intervention on shockingly erroneous estimate of the Cuban situation, the President has evaded a desperately urgent task—to alert the people of this Nation to the grave dangers we face if we go to war against Cuba now, or at any time in the future.

Putting the Cuban situation in its true perspective would have required the President to make an excruciatingly painful admission: that the failure to carry through the Cuban invasion in April 1961, has already had dangerous, and perhaps disastrous, consequences for American global policies.

GROWING DANGER

1. This failure has permitted—indeed encouraged—Russia to get a firm military and political foothold in the Western Hemisphere. All of Mr. Kennedy's protests to the contrary, this is a growing danger to our security. In the words of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, addressing the United Nations September 21, "The threat [to peace] in Cuba arises from the extraordinary and unnecessary flood of Soviet arms and military personnel pouring into Cuba * * *," which "* * * is creating grave concern, not only in this country, but throughout the hemisphere." (This view, if it be the correct one, is at total variance with the view expressed just 1 week earlier, by the President.)

2. The unchallenged entrance of Soviet power into the Western Hemisphere has done grave damage to the "image" of the United States in Latin America, and consequently

has accelerated the political slip, drift, and drive to the Communist left in this hemisphere.

3. Whatever usefulness or validity the historic Monroe Doctrine may have had before the invasion, the failure of that invasion and subsequent events have destroyed them.

The Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed by President James Monroe on December 2, 1823, warned the European powers that "we should consider any attempt [on their part] to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." (It is an irony of history that what inspired this doctrine was the attempt of imperial Russia to penetrate "peacefully" into the American Northwest.)

TRUMAN'S OPINION

Mr. Truman, always willing and ready to quarrel over old political bones (especially old Republican bones), recently said, "We're in trouble in Cuba because Ike didn't have the guts to enforce the Monroe Doctrine." Mr. Eisenhower's reason for not implementing the Monroe Doctrine by use of unilateral force were (a) that the Monroe Doctrine, as updated by the Rio Pact, required the United States of America to wait for multilateral or OAS approval of U.S. action against Cuba, and (b) that Russian military power was not clearly present in Cuba during his administration.

By April of 1961, Castro was clearly under the Soviet wing. On the other hand, OAS approval of U.S. support to an invasion had not been secured. Nevertheless Mr. Kennedy gave the invasion go-light. But when he withdrew U.S. air support at the last moment, one reason apparently was his consideration for the multilateral concept of the Monroe Doctrine.

KENNEDY DOCTRINE

Certainly the President no longer believes the old unilateral or the new multilateral Monroe Doctrine relevant to the Cuban situation.

Despite frequent lipservice to the Monroe Doctrine, both old and new, the President (currently using the voice of Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY) now wishes to supplant it with the "Kennedy doctrine."

What, it may be asked here, is the Kennedy doctrine? An analysis of the President's hardcore position on Cuba, shows it to be this: The United States will not initiate any military action against a "peaceful" extension of power in our hemisphere or a "defensive" Soviet military buildup in Cuba, but it will consider an "offensive" buildup to be dangerous to our safety. And, in the event of an armed attack by satellite Cuba against the United States or any of its neighbors, the United States is determined not to wait for other OAS nations to take action—it will unilaterally counterattack the attackers.

Upon even closer examination, this Kennedy doctrine looks quite familiar. And so it is. The Kennedy doctrine proves to be the 15-year-old Truman-Eisenhower doctrine, designed to contain Soviet Russia in areas outside the American hemisphere. The essential feature of that doctrine is, and always has been, nonaggression while maintaining the military capacity to retaliate in kind against Communist military initiatives. Its informing principle is the military tit-for-tat or retaliation—the ultimate tit-for-tat being, of course, massive retaliation. The rationale behind the doctrine of containment was the realistic acceptance of the European satellite states as legitimate zones of Russian concern and influence.

Stripped of its doubletalk, the Kennedy doctrine plunks for the application of this old Truman-Eisenhower containment doctrine to our own hemisphere. Apparently so long as the U.S.S.R. does not use Cuba as an offensive base, it is now to be considered as a legitimate zone of Russian power.

GLOBAL DOUBLE BIND

And most serious of all—the flubbing of the Cuban invasion and the subsequent buildup of Castro's satellite island as a Russian military bane within easy striking distance of Guantanamo, Cape Canaveral, and the Panama Canal, have now placed the United States in a global double bind.

If America should now intervene in Cuba, it must do so at the risk of exposing all its military bases and positions in Europe, the Near East, and Asia to the threat of a Russian or Communist flanking attack. But, if it does not intervene and should serious trouble—short of ultimate nuclear war—begin in Berlin, Turkey, Iran, Laos, Vietnam, Formosa, or Korea, the United States now risks exposing the Western Hemisphere not only to constant Soviet reconnaissance but also to flanking attacks from Cuba.

The United States is now faced with two dismaying alternatives: To challenge Russian power in our hemisphere now, at the risk of war breaking out on other global fronts and (unless diplomatic concessions are made quickly there) escalating into world war III; or to sit and wait while Soviet military power, with the very real possibility that communism will take over large areas of Latin America.

It is in this grim global perspective that the people of this Nation must now debate the question of whether or not intervention is required or justified in Cuba.

In concealing the extent of our present dilemma from the American people, the President is denying them the right of a free people to debate crucial national issues with all the relevant facts before them.

Short-range political astuteness may indicate the need to play down the size of the present crisis. But long-range statesmanship solemnly demands that the truth be told.

QUESTION OF SURVIVAL

What is now at stake in the decision for intervention or nonintervention in Cuba is the question not only of American prestige but of American survival.

If the decision is not to intervene, then that means the United States accepts the existence of Soviet military and political power in the Western Hemisphere.

Postponing the decision to intervene will not make it any easier. The same arguments which are used against intereventions today could and would be used when Russia has control of half a dozen hemisphere countries.

If the United States deems that Russian military power in this hemisphere is intolerable, it would be the part of wisdom to say so clearly now, and to act accordingly. The vast majority of the American people, including most of the President's critics and opponents, will support the President when he takes action.

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## Annual Mass of the Holy Ghost in Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with my custom of many years standing, I am pleased to insert the following sermon delivered by the Rev. Joseph F. Costanzo, S.J. at the annual mass of the Holy Ghost held at St. Charles Borromeo Church in Brooklyn on Thursday, September 20, 1962:

CIVIC CORPORATE PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy Blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country.

On June 25, 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the optional recitation of this prayer in the New York public schools was "an establishment of religion" forbidden by the first amendment of the Constitution. Nationwide reactions to the decision were immediate and they ranged from expressions of shock and regret to approval. We hope that the passage of time has disposed us to more tranquil reflections on the reasoning of the Court because this touches appropriately what we symbolize by our assemblage here today—the relations between God and public law.

THE PRECISE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

It is well at the outset to define with precision the constitutional issue. The issue was not simply prayer in public schools. No legal power can prevent a student from reciting privately his prayers while sitting in the school library or standing in the schoolyard provided he did not interfere with any academic assignments or with prescribed recreational employments. All prayer is personal, all prayer is a religious exercise, wheresoever it is said, in private or public institutions, and on every occasion. No description of prayer as ceremonial deprives it of its religious nature and meaning. Only the internal dispositions and, secondarily, the outward demeanor of a private individual or of a public official determine whether he was truly praying or not. Prayer is always and on every occasion a religious exercise or it is not prayer at all.

Prayer may be individual when one prays by himself or even in the midst of others for his own intentions. And prayer may also be corporate as when several pray together in unison for one another, for a purpose common to all of them. Corporate prayer may be at home as when a family prays together, or in a house of worship when a congregation professing the same creed take part in a common liturgy. Corporate prayer may also be civic as when fellow citizens voluntarily unite to pray to God for divine blessings upon their country. From the earliest days of our history, it has been a time honored and cherished tradition for our people to respond in prayer at the official request of government authorities on solemn public occasions, in times of impending peril, during war, and in peace. Men, women, and children of different religious confessions and church affiliations united by the common bond of belief in God have joined their hearts and minds in a corporate act of prayer for the preservation, survival, and prosperity of America. Civic corporate prayer has been one of the most effective unifying bonds in our national history.

In the case before the high tribunal, no one disputed that prayer was a religious act. The courts admitted to the absence of regulatory compulsion and punitive coercion. The prayer in its simple wording was a solemn declaration of belief in the existence of Almighty God and a public acknowledgement of our dependence upon God as a nation as well as individuals. There was no intent or effect of "teaching" a new belief in God. The prayer was an open affirmation of a faith already possessed by every participant. The approval of the parents incontestably upholds this fact. The prohibition against any coments on the prayer was to insure this fact. Voluntary participation and liberty of exemption gave the widest possible scope to personal response of conscience.

AN ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION

The Supreme Court ruled that because the prayer had been composed by a governmental agency it fell under the ban of the no-establishment clause. Now this cardinal argument of the Court on governmental composition may not really be as telling as it seems. If by composition it is understood that the prayer originated in wording and meaning wholly with the New York Board of Regents and entirely on their own initiative then the argument is without foundation. The New York educational authorities were motivated in part by the broad public consensus authentically embodied in our national documents on the religious foundations of our Republic and in part by the rights and anxieties of religious-minded parents of students in the public schools. They were guided in the writing of the prayer in context and in words by the State constitutions, by congressional resolutions and laws, by Presidential acts, and by practices in the judiciary. Fifty State constitutions one way or another acknowledge their dependence upon divine providence, express their gratitude to God as the author of our civil and religious liberties, and pray for His continuing guidance and counsel in their government deliberations. In addition to legislative and military chapels and chaplaincies, acts of the National Congress and other deliberative assemblies have called for days of prayer through Executive proclamations. The day after the National Congress passed the proposal which became the first amendment it passed a resolution calling for the designation of "a day of public thanksgiving and prayer." This tradition of civic corporate prayer at the invitation of Government officials has been, with but two exceptions, unbroken from the days of George Washington to the present administration. More precisely to the issue at hand, the Congress has officially prescribed and adopted the divine invocations on our coinage and currency, in the national anthem and motto, and in the pledge of allegiance to the flag. What the New York Board of Regents did was neither novel and indeed far from original. Only in a minimal sense—almost only in the capacity of an amanuensis—may it be said to be their composition. They simply gave expression to what the American people and their duly elected representatives have ratified and adopted in every decade of our national history.

Some few reassuring voices insist that the Court decision might not proscribe the optional recitation of a prayer composed by nonofficials. But the fact and the law are that whatever takes place permissively in a State school under official supervision or conduct necessarily involves governmental responsibility to some degree or another. We respectfully submit that the High Tribunal overexaggerated the significance of the role of the New York Board of Regents in the construction of the prayer and foresaw potential dangers to church and state wholly out of proportion to its real intent. We are of the opinion that not every and any Government involvement in a religious act is eo ipso suspect and tainted with unconstitutionality. We must look to the context, purpose, and concrete circumstances of the religious act to ascertain its constitutional propriety. One would suppose that an officially prepared civic corporate prayer, publicly known, approved and consented to in advance might have been favorably viewed as a calculated precaution to insure the necessary constitutional safeguards against any surprise encroachments upon a sectarian conscience by the impromptu prayer of a well-meaning student or teacher. Of two likely opposing interpretations, the Court chose the negative one. The pivotal question may well have turned on the rights of religious-minded parents and schoolchildren to choose freely to participate in an official prayer modeled on our national documents, in an educational program, to impress upon the schoolchildren the moral and spiritual values which have been recognized as the basis of our free society.

ANCIENT HISTORY AND MODERN LAW

As if to give substance to its fears about an official prayer, the Court reached back to 16th-century England and the Common Prayer Book which the Established Church imposed upon a nation. The employment of history in the determination of cases should be subject to more rigorous canons of constitutional relevance than was exercised in the ruling on prayer. The Common Prayer Book and its succeeding amended versions was composed by the Established Church of England with the deliberate intent of effectuating revolutionary doctrinal changes—at first upon those unsuspecting faithful who still clung to articles of faith according to papal teaching after the breach with Rome—and in the following century, upon an alert and vigorously resisting Puritans. It was deliberately designed not only to change ancient ceremonial administration of the sacraments, but its wording was calculated to instill in the people the new theological doctrines of the Episcopal Church touching upon the meaning, substance, and validity of the sacramental rites. The Common Prayer Book was an instrument of radical credal changes prescribed for the willing and the unwilling, for the knowledgeable and the unknowing and the English Government was part to this.

The New York prayer was not surprise encroachment upon sectarian confessions, it conformed with beliefs already held, it was imposed on no one, it was recommended to all, it was freely adopted by the local school board, and in the instant case, voluntarily participated in by all schoolchildren with the approval of their parents, with but one exemption—the highest degree of near unanimity possible.

The constitutional relevance of 16th and 17th century English history was without any substantive analogy to the New York case. The resort to the historical past does not enlighten if it serves to evoke ancient fears and premonitions out of tune with our times and our sensibilities. Americans have a right to fashion their own constitutional history in church-state relations without being burdened by the memories of religious wars and animosities of thier distant forebears.

Perhaps in an effort to bolster the weakness of the historical analogy, the Court sought to bridge the span of centuries and the disparity of national experiences by the use of a bad tendency rule together with an agreement based on indirect coercive pressure. The majority opinion said "a union of government and religion tends to destroy government and to degrade religion." To which we would add that when government encourages religious life as part of its spiritual heritage it strengthens itself and enhances religious liberty. And both the dark and bright lessons of history will show that the governments which show impartial accommodations for the exercise of religious liberty to all are the wonder of mankind and the hope of all churches. As for the indirect coercive pressure it is no more so—perhaps even less than what might be inferred from voluntary salute to the flag with or without the divine reference, in the singing of the national anthem and in the program of released time for religious instruction.

It is no small cause for wonder that in all of the first amendment cases touching upon education and religion, at no time does the Court in resorting to Jefferson ever consider Jefferson's own plans for lower and higher education which he drew up for his own State of Virginia upon his retirement from the Presidency. His educational plans of 1814, 1817, 1822, and 1824 disclose three principles to be permanent in Jefferson's mind. First, that a totally nonreligious education is defective. Secondly, government is to offer impartial encouragement and if need be accommodations to expressions of religious life in State schools. Thirdly, in the manner of mutual accommodation and cooperative relationship neither government nor religion is to lose any measure of its proper competence and independent jurisdiction. Jefferson never construed such cordial arrangements and mutual adjustments as tantamount to a union of church and state which tends to destroy the one and degrade the other. If the High Tribunal was in search of Jefferson's mind on a practice that bore some substantial constitutional analogy to the New York prayer it might examine his draft for the establishment of State elementary schools which the Virginia Assembly enacted into law in 1817. In the 11th provision of the act we read:

"The said teachers shall, in all things relating to education and government of their pupils, be under the direction and control of the visitors, but no religious reading, instruction or exercise shall be prescribed or practiced inconsistent with the tenets of any religious sect or denomination."

For Jefferson there was only one absolute and all controlling restriction on any religious exercise or instruction in the elementary grades, that it be not inconsistent with the confessional tenets of the schoolchildren. He was most anxious to guard the religious conscience of all minors against the more learned persuasion of adult instructors. All of his educational plans insist upon a positive doctrine of impartial and mutually beneficent accommodations between the religious conscience and the State schools. The New York prayer gave offense to no denominational confession. On the contrary, it was willingly recited precisely because it was in full accord with professed beliefs. We do not say that Thomas Jefferson should be considered the constitutional oracle of government relations with religion in education. But if the Supreme Court chooses to quote him then it ought to have recourse to the very documents that give his own explicit direct and pertinent testimony. Whether the Court might then be still willing to follow him, remains at this time an open question.

One of the most engaging enterprises of the high tribunal is the frequency with which it employs James Madison's justly famed "Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" of 1785 and the ease with which its meaning is bent beyond its authentic purpose. In 1784 Patrick Henry proposed to the Virginia Assembly a "bill establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian religion" with the expectation that such a comprehensive tax support would find acceptance with all Christians to take place of the abrogated provision for the support of the Anglican ministers alone. It was against this preference through tax support of a religion, a broadly defined Christianity, under the benign mantle of the Anglican Establishment that Madison directed his famed "Memorial."

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever."

The New York prayer was singularly free of any of these Madisonian premonitions. It allowed Christians of every denomination and on Christians of any confession to join in a unifying corporate prayer wholly of their own choice and in accord with their own religious conscience. Fifty signers of the Declaration of Independence—34 Episcopalians, 13 Congregationalists, 6 Presbyterians, 1 Baptist, 1 Quaker, and 1 Catholic—confessed publicly to self-evident truths in the common patrimony of human nature which the Creator had endowed with certain inalienable rights. And Paul of Tarsus, Jewish Apostle of Christianity amongst the Gentiles, taught that knowledge of God is open to human reason apart from the teachings of divine revelation.

As for the Court's reference to James Madison, we may note that apart from its misleading use of his "Memorial," it scarcely takes any cognizance of Madison's own unequivocal explanation of the scope and meaning of the no establishment clause recorded in the congressional debates. And further, it takes no note of the significant fact that ex-President Madison was one of the commissioners for the University of Virginia for whom Jefferson drafted the educational plan of 1818 for submission to the legislature of the State, in which we read that:

"The proofs of—God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics; to which adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects."

PSYCHOLOGY AND LAW

The establishment clause, the Supreme Court said, does "not depend upon any showing of direct governmental compulsion and is violated by the enactment of laws which establish an official religion whether the laws operate directly to coerce the nonobserving or not." It may be that the Court was simply saying that as in England today direct governmental compulsion need not be a necessary incidence of proscribed establishment even though it almost always entails at least indirect coercive pressure. In a word, the Court ruled the element of compulsion to be constitutionally nonrelevant and not as controlling as it held in the McCollum and Zorach cases.

Indirect coercive pressure upon the religious nonconformist is everywhere in the air we breathe apart from those circumstances where there is governmental provision for religious expression in public institutions. It takes its strongest emotional experience in a constraining feeling of embarrassment. This is generally the concomitant of most acts of dissent and nonconformity. Public law is committed to the defense of individual rights, to the remedy and redress of hurt rights not hurt feelings unless the hurt is such that it effectively impedes the free exercise of personal choice. Public law is not required to convert the psychology of dissent into a constitutional principle. It is not the function of law to remove the situations wherein contrary choices may engender contrary feelings. The dissenter must be the first to acknowledge that the condition for his own dissent is to live and let live. Good will in a community rests in great measure on people leaving others to their own choices. No man is an island to himself in society. Robinson Crusoe was seemingly free from any social inhibitions until one day he noticed the footprints of another and from that moment on the law of mutual adjustment and tolerance set in. The rights of the conscientious objector is to shield his own conscience not to strike down the religious rights of his neighbors. We are all conscientious objectors and none of us should enjoy an exclusive privilege to the prejudice of others.

The argument that public law is required to insure the conscientious dissenter impervious to indirect coercive pressure, divisiveness, and the likelihood of social stigma and isolation that may possibly follow upon a governmental program of religious accommodation bears within itself a premise of assault upon the salute to the flag in our public schools to which the Jehovah Witnesses oppose their religious conscience.

If words have substantive meaning "a captive audience" is an audience whose involuntary presence is forcibly detained or whose involuntary participation is compelled. To have denied the schoolchildren the choice of joining in the recitation of the prayer was to deny them the opportunity of sharing in the spiritual heritage of our Nation. The governmental denial of freedom of choice is as much coercion as the imposing of an action.

We have traveled a full—and truly vicious circle. From religious persecution and intolerance and church establishment to benign tolerance—to disestablishment—to equality of all faiths before the law—to equality of belief and nonbelief before the law—and now to the secularist and the religious dissenter's intolerance of religious belief in public law. The wry irony is that this being done, we are told, in the name of and for the sake of religious liberty.

We are losing by default. We have taken our spiritual heritage for granted. We have allowed a creeping gradualism of secularism under one specious pretext after another to take over our public schools. A vociferous and highly organized pressure group is exerting its own form of indirect coercive pressure upon the American community. Determined to deflect our national traditions and heritage from their authentic historic course, it is cutting a divisive swathe across the Nation advertising for clients to challenge in court what is obnoxious to them. Whoever works for the destruction of the positive doctrine of accommodation and mutual adjustment must shoulder the blame for uprooting the bonds of concord and friendship and forcibly injecting bitter antagonisms in our pluralistic society. Political and legal action alone cannot create the moral and social impulses which are the conditions of harmony in a community. With full regard for the radical and primary rights of all parents to guide the education of their children in public schools as well as in independent private schools members of a local community can strive with perserverving good will to find a reasonable accommodation and mutual adjustment of one another's choices. In this wise law becomes—as it ought—the formal expression of the practical wisdom of a self-regulating community. Dissidents and conentients should be motivated to the exercise of cultivated rights of men living in fellowship and not as strangers in a contest of absolute and conflicting claims.

The more we examine the context of the New York prayer and the circumstances attending its optional recitation, the more we discern the vast possibilities it offered for the increase of friendly community life.

First, the children and their approving parents of different faiths and church affiliations came together in a prayer based on the common bonds of their religious beliefs. Their religious sectarianism were in no way experienced as a barrier to the brotherhood of all men under the Fatherhood of God. One would suppose that with all the adult incantations about intercredal relations and the counsels—on all sides—of charity and good will against divisiveness, that here indeed was a truly unitive bond of intercredal relations in the most sensitive time of the schoolchildren's formative years.

Second, it provided an opportune and excellent educational training and habituation to the exercise of individual choice in the midst of others according to the vaunted American boast of individualism and free self-expression. Religious differences are a very broad fact even for the most enlightened adults and social adjustment in this matter is essential to good community relations. Should not the youngsters mature gradually in this delicate experience with civility toward one another without resentment and without inhibition. The circumstances for the corporate prayer provided an early schooling both for the dissidents and the consentients to advance in mutual reverence for one another's religious choices.

Third, the dissenter and the minority must surely be shielded from majoritarian imposition. So too must the majority be protected from the unilateral dictation of the absolute dissenter. It is indeed a strange pathology of our times that when people in increasing numbers freely choose to act agreeably in unison there is less cause for public gratification than the uncompromising protestations of the dissenter. The numerical superiority of a consensual agreement should be constitutionally suspect, and if conformity is the flower of human freedom, the wider the area of religious consensus among the variety of religious confessions, the greater will be the harmony among men of good will. Only when the dissenter treasures the liberties of others as his own and insists on equal freedom and the same legal immunity for opposing choices that he demands for himself, then will we be sure that he acts in the name of law and justice.

No one can deny that public law is burdened with an almost insurmountable task when it is confronted with the problems of religious pluralism. We are of the opinion that the voluntary nondenominational prayer was possibly one of the best and at that minimal resolution of this thorny moral-legal problem.

SEPARATION AND RELATION

Separation of church and state in American law is uniquely an American experience. Its meaning derives from our own constitutional history from the days of the Northwest Ordinance to the recent construction of the chapel at the Air Force Academy in Colorado. Our separation of church and state is a positive affirmation not a negative protestation. Its paramount purpose is to preserve unimpaired and inviolable the freedom and independence of both church and state. It is but the counterpart of an orderly and harmonious relationship of friendly powers, a relationship of cordial cooperation and of benevolent accommodation; not a relationship of mutually exclusive isolation. In *Everson* the Court held for the benevolent impartiality for believers and unbelievers equally alike. In *Zorach* a positive doctrine of accommodation was opposed to a neutrality of total abstention, of indifference, suspicion, and hostility. The New York prayer was indeed a reasonable and proper accommodation to the spiritual needs of our people in accordance with the spiritual heritage of our country. What absolute right has a dissenter to protest against such an orderly harmony when the Government acts to foster the relevance of religion to our national existence according to the cherished traditions of our country? To what purpose then may a court reason, "If this is allowed to take place, dire consequences will therefore inevitably follow." Politics, social relations, and public law cannot be regulated solely by narrow legal ergotisms. Each human experience is invested with sensibilities of its own times and the present may presage a future wholly alien to the heavy hand

of the past. The law of progress is applicable to public law as to other human enterprises. Far from being a dark beginning, a first experiment on our liberties, a portent of dangers to come, the New York prayer was, on the contrary, a refined product of American constitutional history on church-state relations sensitive to the rights of conscience of all—of parents and their children, of participants and nonparticipants, of equal neutrality between believer and nonbeliever, of impartiality between all the religious confessions, with due regard to the Government's role to foster in public schools the relevance of belief in God to our national existence—and all above with immunity for personal choice.

Every generation of Americans have admitted to the role of the Government in attesting to the religious foundations of our Republic and official composition or adoption of divine invocations have been one of the traditional Government practices in a great variety of Government-supported religious exercises. The Presidential proclamations of Days of Prayer and Thanksgiving, the prayerful invocation in 50 State constitutions, the prayer which opens each day's session of the Supreme Court, the religious inscription on our coinage and currency, in our national anthem and motto, and in the salute to the flag—not to mention the public financing of legislative and military chapels and chaplaincies by the State and National Governments. Now if Federal and State government officials and public institutions may engage in religious activity why should the first amendment operate to greater duress upon a local school board and the schoolchildren who wish to say a prayer together? The New York prayer was no more a violation of the no establishment clause in public school activities than the optional participation in the singing of the national anthem, the pledge of allegiance, the released-time religious instruction program, and in court proceedings, the statutory alternate of testifying under oath or by affirmation. In Zorach, we were told that the "problem, like many problems on constitutional law, is one of degree." But in the prayer case, the court latched on to an absolutizing principle which posed a threat to government and religion.

ONE NATION UNDER GOD

We do not in any way intimate that a civic corporate prayer so much in evidence in our public institutions and in our national documents, would, if excluded from our public schools, bear within itself a bad tendency rule that might inexorably work to the development of a godless state in America. But in our times we have seen a highly civilized society whose government gradually restricted in their civil institutions the official profession of belief and dependence upon God and withdrawing religious exercises exclusively to churches and homes. But when the tragic hour of conflicting allegiances bore upon its citizens, they obeyed with passioned submission and gratified acquiescence a supreme and absolute statal authority to the complete destruction of the state and to the enduring shame of their religious confessions. Perhaps the U.S. Supreme Court might have allowed a good tendency rule to be immanent in the civic corporate prayer to impress on all alike—on the participants and the nonparticipants—that there is a higher allegiance to God under which men must rule, that no patriotism may obey against the moral law, that personal immunity against arbitrary power is a divine mandate. It is not without profound symbolism that public authority should be part to an acknowledgement of dependence upon God.

Thomas Jefferson once wrote:

"Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their own firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gifts of God?"

We are of the opinion that public schools should share in the task of transmitting to our schoolchildren the relevance of a free order among men to the divine Author of all liberties and accordingly allow this conviction to abide and deepen among the rising generation of Americans.

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## Speech by Senator Frank Carlson at Dedication Ceremony, Lawrence, Kans., October 6, 1962

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, October 6, I was honored to be invited to the dedication of a nuclear reactor and environmental health center on the campus of the University of Kansas at Lawrence. The principal dedicatory address was delivered by the senior Senator from Kansas, the Honorable FRANK CARLSON.

It has been my observation that speakers on such an occasion tend to assume the role of an expert in sometimes unfamiliar fields. For example, it is quite common for a scientist to become a politician and conversely for a politician to become a scientist.

The remarks of Senator CARLSON at this occasion, however, were the very honest and simple observations of a man who has witnessed the transition from the elementary theories of physics into the electronic mysteries identified with the space age. Because of the very honest and simple logic of his remarks, yet reflecting such a great depth of thought and understanding, I am asking that they be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for today. I hope many high school and college students will be inspired to read them.

SPEECH BY SENATOR FRANK CARLSON AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF THE NUCLEAR REACTOR CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, LAWRENCE, KANS., OCTOBER 6, 1962

Chancellor Wescoe, distinguished guests, and fellow Kansans, it is a privilege and pleasure to join with members of the faculty and honored guests in the dedication of this nuclear reactor and environmental health center here on the campus of the University of Kansas.

The days of my physics studies are long behind, and actually, so rapid has been the progress in this area that even the terminology we use today would have been completely unknown to my professors.

I am told that the teaching reactor which has been operating for some time is a 10-kilowatt pool-type reactor moderated by light water and cooled by natural convection. Furthermore, I am informed, it uses highly enriched uranium as its fuel.

Not knowing an atom from a tennis ball, in the sense of being specifically trained in physics, I accept these technical specifications without challenge.

This is a day of men and machines. This teaching reactor is one of the machines which the University of Kansas needs for student training, for laboratory courses, and for research by graduate students and the faculty in order to keep abreast of the times.

This is one of the machines by which we probe into the unknown, and by the use of which we add to man's storehouse of knowledge. Now today we dedicate the supporting facilities which will tremendously enhance the opportunities of our students and faculty to broaden their scope of activities in this area.

We all realize that machines and laboratory facilities are essential in modern science, and, insofar as I am able, I will encourage the acquisition by the university of other types of equipment for the further exploration of nature, such as high-particle accelerators.

May I add, however, that machines and laboratories without the men are but nuts and bolts, test tubes and cold, unthinking metal. If knowledge is to be gained from the apparatus and facilities we dedicate here today, it will be accomplished only by the probing, inquisitive activity of the brilliant minds of our students and faculty.

I wish also to call to your attention that in the field of atomic energy, the world has been dazzled by the brilliance of nuclear detonations, of the potential horrors of nuclear war, and the danger of radioactive fallout as it poses some threat to the contamination of our environment.

Yet, in my personal belief, the true wonder of atomic energy lies before us today—the constant search for a more complete understanding of the perfect design in which our Creator arranged the physical world in which we live.

The application of our information toward medicine, biology, industry, agriculture, and other peacetime uses of atomic energy will rebound to the benefit of humanity. These are the areas in which humanity will stride forward because of greater knowledge of matter.

As a layman, I must take this occasion to reiterate to you that the facility we dedicate today in and of itself possesses no morality. It can be utilized for good or for evil, depending upon the goals, the aspirations, and the ethics of its operators.

Consider that mysterious phenomenon known as the "binding force" which holds the atom together with such a grip that it takes millions of electron volts to penetrate. This "binding force" in many ways scientifically exemplifies the entire nature of our society. Three and one-half million square miles of land, stretching from ocean to ocean and beyond, containing its rivers, forests, its mountains, its plains, and populated by 186 million people of all different races, creeds, religions, occupations, and environmental controls, living in relative peace and harmony, and yet bound together as a great Nation by the great binding forces of belief in a Creator, devotion to liberty, justice, and equality of opportunity for all.

As one of your political representatives from the State of Kansas, I deeply feel a responsibility to see that your Government never suborns your science. Government too far to the right, or too far to the left, has in the past utilized science for vicious ends, has padlocked laboratories, closed churches, and destroyed the essential goodness of man. This we pledge shall not happen here.

Today, therefore, is in reality but a beginning at the University of Kansas for the exploration of nuclear science. Through the efforts of many people to whom I pay tribute, this facility was conceived, designed, tested, and made available for our use.

The thousands of people involved are faceless and nameless in many instances, but they have placed here on the plains of Kansas a scientific complex by which you, I am confident, will enhance man's store of knowledge and will develop new techniques for better living, new materials, and perhaps even new horizons for the advancement of all humanity.

May I congratulate each and every individual who made this day possible. And may I express my appreciation for your invitation to join with you.

To those who will now devote their God-given talents to the utilization of this facility, may I wish you inspiration and success.

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## Report of 2d Session, 87th Congress, Edna F. Kelly, Member of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, this is my annual report to the residents of the new 12th Congressional District. This report briefly details the accomplishments of the 2d session of the 87th Congress. It is one of the methods which I utilize to inform my constituents of congressional deliberations.

By virtue of congressional district reapportionment by the New York State Legislature, the district which I presently represent will, after January 1, 1963, include a greater portion of Flatbush and Boro Park. The 12th District is the largest in the State of New York; having a population of almost one-half million people, people whose views must be reflected in the U.S. Congress, the greatest legislative body in the world. To have this honor and trust is a great responsibility which I have had the privilege to bear for 13 years—13 years in which I have been proud to have initiated and supported legislation of importance involving both domestic and international problems.

Congressional duties are confined not only to the legislative process but also extend to giving assistance to constituents in their personal problems with the Federal Government. This consumes much time in a congressional office and, in almost every case, involves personal investigation and where warranted, discussions with the Federal agency involved. In addition, statewide and citywide problems receive a great deal of attention. In the final analysis, it is the duty of a Congressman "to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States" by applying a combination of factors—the needs of the entire Nation; the local needs of his constituents; and most important, the dictates of his conscience. With the proper application of these factors, none of us need fear for the security of the United States.

During this session of Congress, the issues were unlimited in scope, purpose, and controversy. They ranged from war and peace to social progress. As you are aware, this is due to the age in which we live—the space age. This age launched problems whose "fallout" concerns every facet of life—civic, social, and political. It challenges each of us, and we must meet the challenge. The enormity of the challenge is increased, because many do not recognize the threat to the inherent, inalienable rights of man and to the dignity of person. For this Americans live; for this Americans die. Your Congress bears this in mind in all of its actions. Whether history will record our actions on these matters on the positive side of the ledger, future generations will decide.

I admit the solutions arrived at may seem at times contradictory and may not always appear positive; but whatever they are, I assure you, they express a determination to preserve the principles upon which our Republic is founded. We seek to secure a just peace and to prevent the destruction of man by the Communist dictators of the Kremlin. We seek liberty and freedom for the captive peoples of the Communist empire and endeavor to extend the benefits of our progress to the less fortunate peoples of the world. Harassed in the achievement of these objectives, we seem stunned by the impact of the far-reaching unknown factors surrounding the space age. We and other democratic governments appear to be standing still pondering where we were, where we are, and where we should go. We seem unable to catch up with or to meet the advances of the new age. But meet them we must, lest our failure permit man to fall under the yoke of the leaders of the Communist empire who seek to enslave us.

To meet this new age, President Kennedy was elected. In his inaugural address he said:

> In the long history of the world, only a few generations have had the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility, I welcome it.

He has sent to Congress for enactment recommendations of great note and promise. Many of President Kennedy's recommendations have been achieved, but more needs to be accomplished. I ask you to remember that our democratic processes take longer to achieve results than do the methods of dictatorship. I, too, am proud to assume the awesome responsibility during this enormous crisis. I realize the road is rocky, but with faith in God and our fellow man, we will successfully meet this challenge.

As it is my honor to serve as chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which committee has jurisdiction over all of Europe, Greece, Turkey, the Commonwealth Nations, territories and protectorates of the European Nations, Russia and the captive nations of Eastern Europe, I shall first report on international affairs; then report on national affairs.

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The threat of international communism remains the paramount issue of our times. The captive nations of Europe remain behind the Iron Curtain. Berlin has its concrete wall; the Cuban people are in bondage to their Red masters. Nuclear testing continues despite our sincere efforts to agree to a test ban. Vietnam and Laos are sore spots in the Far East. Khrushchev continues his saber rattling, along with North Korea and Red China. The international Communist conspiracy continues to probe for weak spots. Conditions appear difficult and many situations seem incapable of solution. We cannot, however, throw up our hands in frustration. We must continue to defend and, if need be, do battle for that in which we believe. We must remember that the United States is a great Nation and a great international power. Great nations cannot panic in difficult times—if they do they are no longer great. New resolution is required on the part of the people of the United States and its Government to carefully and coolly interpret and review the world situation. We cannot tolerate emotional outbursts by those who would have us call out the Marines at the slightest provocation. This is particularly true of some in high public office who attempt to turn international crises into opportunities for partisan politics. Actions such as those are, in my estimation, the fastest route to panic and nuclear holocaust.

In recent years we all have become aware of the failures and shortcomings of our foreign assistance programs. We have seen many nations to whom we have given our hard-earned dollars turn away from us, or appear disinterested in the tremendous struggle between East and West. We have seen too many situations such as that in Laos, the Congo, and Iraq, and far too many instances of waste and inefficiency in our Government's management of assistance programs.

I believe, however, that our successes far outweigh our failures. In any program of the magnitude and longevity of foreign aid, a perfect record—while it should be strived for—is unattainable.

The Mutual Security Act, which contains the authority for our foreign aid program, implements our foreign policy. It represents the share of the United States in the tremendous cost, which we bear, jointly with our allies, for survival against the encroachments of international communism. This year the act included programs for development grants and technical cooperation, investment guarantees, the Alliance for Progress in Latin America, supporting assistance and military assistance at a total cost of $3.9 billion plus.

It cuts all economic assistance to nations selling, furnishing, or shipping to Cuba unless the President determines that the withholding of such assistance is contrary to our national interest. In the event of such a determination, the President's decision must be published in the Federal Register with the reasons for his determination.

In regard to the mutual security program, I am particularly proud that my amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1958 has brought more than $1.8 billion of business to U.S. business firms. This amendment made it possible for our NATO allies to purchase more of their military supplies in the United States. It has paid for a large part of the foreign aid program, has been a major factor in stemming the outflow

of gold from the United States, and has helped our domestic economy, as 40 percent of the amount spent by foreign purchasers was in areas of substantial labor surplus. Purchases under this amendment continue and there is no way of predicting what the total will eventually reach.

This amendment affected many of my constituents, at Republic Aircraft of Farmingdale, Long Island. Items produced in this country under this amendment were the F–104 aircraft, Hawk, Sidewinder, and Mark 44 torpedo.

A loan of $100 million to the United Nations was approved which will permit the continuance of peacekeeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo. The Philippine war damage bill provided $73 million for payment of the unpaid balance of awards made by the Philippine War Damage Commission.

World War II Claims Act authorized payment, from enemy-alien vested funds, of claims of U.S. nationals for World War II damages.

A Berlin resolution was passed which expressed the sense of Congress that the people of the United States would not tolerate another violation by Communist Russia of the Tripartite Agreements on Berlin. This restatement of the U.S. policy was given by Congress to reinforce the President in the present crisis of Berlin.

In 1951, I successfully sponsored the legislation which permits U.S. participation in the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration. Under that enactment more than 1 million European refugees have already been resettled with more than 90,000 persons being resettled annually. The Berlin wall and Cuba necessitated additional refugee legislation which covers refugees from Iron Curtain countries and those seeking asylum from Cuba.

A reappraisal of conditions in the captive nations of Europe was necessary, even though tighter Communist security measures have made it increasingly difficult for the West to have an accurate appraisal of conditions in these countries. In recognition of this and for the further purpose of assuring the captive peoples that we have not forgotten their plight and to learn of more effective methods to help them, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe, I instituted legislative hearings on the captive nations. We have thus far held 11 hearings and have heard 27 witnesses in testimony filling more than 400 printed pages. In addition, 23 written statements were submitted to the committee. I hope to report to the Congress on that which we have learned by the end of this year.

The need for a statement to the world by Congress on the policy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere was the reason which motivated Congress to pass the Cuban resolution.

The Iron Curtain of communism fell over Cuba when Fidel Castro openly espoused communism. It was in 1960 that President Eisenhower withdrew recognition of Cuba and since that time many have asked, Is the Monroe Doctrine dead?

Nikita Khrushchev stated "communism will support wars of national liberation" such as Castro's revolution. Once revolution is established and is consolidated, Soviet communism will protect it from counter-revolution—holding the people chained under Red rule. What is our doctrine?

U.S. policy is to rid Cuba of the Castro regime and Soviet Communist influence. We will not permit the Cuban regime to export its aggressive purposes by force or threat of force. We will prevent the Cuban regime by whatever means may be necessary from taking action against any part of the hemisphere.

President Kennedy states that unilateral military intervention on the part of the United States is not currently required or justified. However, if at any time the Communist buildup in Cuba endangers or threatens our security, we will do whatever must be done to protect ourselves and our allies. We shall be alert and fully capable of dealing with any such development, and we intend to do everything within our power to prevent such a development from occurring.

The Peace Corps was granted an additional $63.7 million, by which the Corps was extended and expanded.

The United States was authorized to lend up to $2 billion to the International Monetary Fund, as part of a $6 billion program by 10 nations to strengthen world currencies.

The President was given the right to restrict import of agricultural products, including textiles, from nations not a party to the international cotton textile agreements.

Economic competition between Europe and the United States became more pronounced during the past year. The rapid advance of the Common Market has created a great challenge to the position of the United States as a dominant world trader. The trade expansion bill begins to meet this challenge. Like all other legislation, it is not perfect. The Common Market, which the bill was designed to meet, is technically known as the European Economic Community and was established by the Treaty of Rome in March 1957. It involves a broad plan for gradual economic coalescence of the economies of the six member nations—Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and West Germany. The principal provisions of the plan are the gradual elimination of tariffs, quotas and other barriers to trade among the six nations and the creation of a uniform tariff schedule to apply to imports from the rest of the world. Under the trade expansion bill, the Congress gave to the President one of their most cherished responsibilities—the authority to set tariffs. The President may now cut tariffs by 50 percent over 5 years, and may negotiate for complete elimination of duties on items for which the United States and the Common Market countries account for 80 percent of world trade. The bill also provides loans and tax relief for businesses hurt by the lowered tariff barriers, and payments up to 65 percent of wages to unemployed workers in these businesses while they find new work or are retrained in new skills. We hope that this legislation will help to create new markets for U.S. industry and that our exexports will be increased to rectify the balance of payments deficit.

Related to the problems of international trade is the continued determination, by the United States, to prevent the export of strategic materials to Russia and the Communist nations. During 1951, it was my honor to serve as a member of a special Subcommittee on East-West Trade. The work of the committee resulted in the enactment of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act, which prohibited countries receiving foreign aid from the United States, at the risk of having their assistance terminated, from exporting strategic materials to Red China and Russia, and controls exports to Soviet dominated countries. U.S. business firms are likewise restricted under Public Law 87–515, which extended for an additional 3 years, the President's authority to regulate and control the export of strategic materials. I regret that for the past 4 or 5 years this law has not been, nor is it presently being adequately enforced.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

In the Federal budget, the continuation and expansion of existing programs constituted the largest portion. These, together with new programs to keep our defenses strong, bolster the economy and provide additional services to the people of the United States, made it necessary to increase the national debt limit to a new temporary limit of $308 billion.

Analysis of the Federal budget indicates 69 percent of the moneys which will be spent will be devoted to national defense, veterans, and international and space programs. Of the remainder, 10 percent will be spent on fixed interest charges, 6 percent on agriculture, 6 percent on health and welfare, and 9 percent on all other programs.

The total Federal debt as of June 30, 1962, was $298.2 billion. Interest on the public debt for fiscal year 1962 was $9.1 billion. On a comparative basis it is interesting to note that in 1941 expenditures were $13.3 billion, revenues $7.1 billion with a deficit of $6.2 billion. In 1961, expenditures were $81.5 billion, revenues $77.7 billion, with a deficit of $3.9 billion. It was encouraging to note that the gross national product increased from $502.2 billion in 1961 to $552 billion during the second quarter of 1962.

A tax bill was enacted which, while being justifiably beneficial to the business community, provides little help for the average taxpayer. I had hoped that the Congress would adopt a complete and equitable tax revision program at this session.

That which was enacted was only a small part of the administration program. It consists of provisions for investment credits to provide a stimulant to the economic growth of our country. $2.5 billion was provided for industry to expand and modernize equipment.

It was unfortunate that a greater portion of the administration's tax revision was not adopted. I hope that the Congress will be able to adopt a complete

and more equitable tax revision next year.

Other legislation extended the 52-percent corporate income tax for an additional year, continued excise taxes on liquor, cigarettes, automobiles, repealed the 10-percent tax to 5 percent. Self-employed individuals were benefited by an enactment which permits them substantial tax savings should they desire to set up individual pension plans for their retirement. All of the excise taxes, including the one on the women's handbags, which were instituted during the Korean emergency should, I feel, be repealed.

Defense appropriations of $48,136,247,000 represented an increase of $1.5 billion over last year. This appropriation provided more funds than the administration had requested for two important items.

One major difference between Congress and the Pentagon was that Congress felt, with good reason, that it is premature to eliminate the manned bomber at this state of technological transition into the missile age. For that reason, Congress appropriated more than twice what the Pentagon had asked for the RS–70 program. The additional $191 million will provide six completely equipped combat aircraft, instead of three unequipped prototypes.

Twelve billion nine hundred and seventy million dollars was authorized for procurement of missiles, naval vessels, and aircraft.

One billion four hundred and fifty million dollars was authorized for construction and improvement of Army, Navy, and Air Force bases and installations at home and abroad, including more than $260 million for 13,700 family housing units.

Standby authority was extended to the President to exercise emergency civil-defense powers in event of attack on the United States for 4 years.

The authority of the President to allocate and fix priorities for strategic materials, grant loans and subsidies under the Defense Production Act to expand industrial capacity, was extended for 1 year.

Extended authority for a 2-year period was granted to recover excessive profits on defense contracts under the Renegotiation Act.

The strength of the National Guard was the other major difference between Congress and the Pentagon. Congress required the maintenance of the National Guard and Reserves at a total—paid drill—strength of 1,001,200 men. It is conceded that the National Guard and Reserve require modernization and a higher state of readiness. For this reason and in light of the expiration of the draft law next year, the Pentagon should now restudy on a broader and more thorough basis the entire Reserve situation. It could well enlist the help of the Reserves and Congress in this study. I have long expressed disapproval of the present Reserve system. I am not a military person but I have had sufficient contact with reservists to know that the present system is not economical, not militarily sound and certainly demoralizing. No citizen who served 3 years should be called back into service.

This was recognized in the legislation which gave to the President standby authority, until February 28, 1962, to recall up to 150,000 reservists. The legislation prohibits the reactivation of any member of the Reserves called to active duty for the Berlin crisis. In addition, prior to recalling any man, consideration must be given to, first, the "length and nature of previous service;" second, family responsibilities; and, third, whether the individual's employment is necessary "to maintain the national health, safety, or interest."

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration received an appropriation of $3,644,115,000. In recommending the appropriation the committee stated in its report, "since we are in this race with the Russians we want to win it, but at the same time we want to be as economical as possible and use good business judgment."

Related to the space program was the highly controversial Telstar communications satellite authorization. This is the satellite which is currently making possible the transmission of television programs and telephone messages to and from Europe by radio waves instead of transatlantic cable.

Legislation was enacted to provide the President with standby authority, as an antirecession measure. Thus the Area Redevelopment Act marked the first time that the economic weight of the Federal Government had been directed toward helping communities help themselves in reducing chronic unemployment. The act authorized $394 million in loans and grants to aid expanding enterprises in economically depressed industrial and rural areas; $10 million for payments to unemployed workers taking part in training programs for new jobs; $4.5 million for the training itself, and permanent authority for the Small Business Administration to make loans to local development corporations.

A traditional public works program for harbor and river improvement, flood protection and beach erosion was passed. This legislation should not be labeled as "pork barrel" as all of the projects undertaken are essential to commerce, protection of lives and property, or saving of our beaches from being washed away by the oceans.

Nine projects were approved for New York State. They include harbor improvements for Little Neck Bay, Flushing Bay, New York Harbor, Buffalo Harbor and Oswego Harbor; a beach erosion project at Fire Island Inlet and flood protection at Roundout Creek and the Wallkill River.

Significant gains were made on behalf of those who have served in the defense of our Nation. Service-connected disability compensation rates were increased by almost 10 percent. About 2 million veterans will benefit from this increase.

Veterans' Administration hospitals were authorized to give hospital and medical care for peacetime veterans with noncompensable service-connected disabilities. Certain veterans, though not a sufficient number, were made eligible for national life insurance and new procedures were adopted. Review of disputed disability or death claims, by independent medical experts was enacted. Benefits were increased to parents and children of veterans dying from service-connected disabilities. Finally, increased compensation was enacted for blinded veterans.

In package legislation, Federal salaries were increased and postal rates were increased from 4 to 5 cents for first-class letters, from 3 to 4 cents for postal cards and from 7 to 8 cents for airmail letters. The raise in postal rates will help decrease, but not eliminate, the deficit at which the Post Office Department operates. The pay raise was necessary to keep Federal salaries somewhat in line with those paid in private industry. This was particularly true in the higher brackets where it has been increasingly difficult to attract capable people to Government service because of competition by private industry.

I am happy to report that at last we in Congress have succeeded in initiating a constitutional amendment which when ratified by the States will put a final end to that pernicious practice, the poll tax.

An equal pay bill for equal work by women was passed in the House. I was the first to introduce this bill back in 1951. After much hard work and after convincing those who opposed such legislation, it was passed by the House of Representatives on July 25, 1962. It was a great honor for me to serve as the presiding officer of the House of Representatives during debate on the bill. The equal pay bill passed by the Senate was not only a weaker bill than the House version but was attached to the Foreign Service Buildings Act. This is unfortunate. Unless something can be worked out in conference, it means both bills will be killed for this session.

Automation and other technological advances have caused unemployment advances. For this reason the Manpower Development and Training Act is aimed at supplying U.S. industry with the skilled manpower it will need to keep abreast of technological change. A 3-year, $435 million program, the act will create new jobs by providing on-the-job and vocational training for between 500,000 and 750,000 workers.

The Public Works Acceleration Act permits the immediate commitment of $600 million to stimulate capital investment programs in communities that are designated for area redevelopment or have had more than 6 percent unemployment for over a year. By speeding up work on construction of Federal, State, and local public works, employment will be expanded.

The Drug and Factory Inspection Act of 1962 was a major action of Congress. This bill will protect the public from the evils which have crept into the drug trade. I think that it is imperative that we be protected from careless and irresponsible practices in the marketing of drugs and for that reason I gave my wholehearted support to the measures which we enacted for that purpose.

The farm program is unsound. This I have claimed for all the years I have been in Congress. I am as much concerned with the farm problem as I am with all other problems. This the farm Representatives do not understand as far as a city Congressman is concerned. They do not realize that many of us were brought up on a farm, before mechanized machinery was a part of the family farm, and before subsidies. I have fought to bring farm prices out of the sky and the products into the mouths of people. I think it is unmoral to have Government purchase and store farm products when there are starving children in the world. Farm perishable goods should be sold on the open market and a differential premium between cost and retail price paid to farmers. Parity is not realistic. There should be a floor price and a ceiling price. A floor price is what we have, but there is no ceiling. The sky is the limit. A limitation should be placed on the amount of subsidy any one farmer can receive. No wonder the small farmer has gone out of existence.

The surpluses accrued under the farm program are near $9 billion. Public Law 480, which permits sale of these products abroad, costs the taxpayer twice as much to sell, and the products are already Government owned and paid for. The money accumulated abroad as a result of this law is one of the causes of the great gold drain on the U.S. Treasury. The United States sells these products for local currency, which is convertible to dollars. I do not believe in paying anyone for work not performed, which is what production controls amounts to. The administration presented a bill which offered payments for voluntary reduction, continued optional cuts and price support. This is better than what is now the present program. I hope the Agriculture Committee will foresee its responsibilities and initiate a program on which Representatives will endeavor to see that what is good for the commonweal is good for their sectional interests.

The Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958 was amended by providing the Secretary of Labor with powers of enforcement, to establish regulations and interpret the statute, and fixes penalties for violations.

The Social Security Act was amended, to reduce public assistance rolls, by providing grants to States that establish work programs for needy; increasing U.S. share of administrative costs; and extending for 5 years payments to families of unemployed fathers and other needy children; raising by $4 per month the ceiling on Federal matching grants for aged, blind, and disabled; and increasing grants for child welfare services.

Storm disaster: Taxpayers who suffered property damage in storm-disaster areas were permitted to deduct noninsured losses from their income tax of the preceding year.

An immigration bill permitting nonquota entry for all skilled aliens was enacted. This law affects those in the United States as well as those living abroad awaiting a quota number. The law also provides for the nonquota entry of brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens registered under priority date earlier than March 31, 1954.

Marine Sciences and Research Act (oceanography): One of the pressing problems of our times is the survey of the ocean and its resources, both from the economic standpoint and from the national defense standpoint. I may say with some pride that I played a large role in the passage of an authorization of a 10-year study of the oceans.

While the accomplishments for the 87th Congress are many, there were major defeats. This is to be expected when the recommendations are novel. I refer to the defeat of medical care for the aged; Department of Urban Affairs, and the increase of Federal aid to education. When the Democratic administration initiated social security legislation the same reaction occurred. Social security is now a pattern of American life.

It has been an honor and privilege to serve the residents of my distirct for the past 12 years. My Washington office is open year round, and letters sent there receive immediate attention. The address is EDNA F. KELLY, Member of Congress, Washington 25, D.C. I am available to see my constitutents at the Madison Club, 739 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, on Monday and Thursday evenings after 8 o'clock during such times as Congress is not in session.

## Senecas Mourn Our National Perfidy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, recently the Reverend Luther M. Schulze, S.T.M., pastor of the Emmanuel English Evangelical Lutheran Church, sent me an editorial with his personal comment that he wished it could be read by every Member of the Congress. I certainly agree wholeheartedly with the pastor's thought, and consequently I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It first appeared in the October 3, 1962, issue of the Christian Century.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENECAS MOURN OUR NATIONAL PERFIDY

Work has begun on the Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River in northwestern Pennsylvania, as a delegation of 200 Iroquois Indians noted in a sad ceremony on September 15. The Indians, mostly Senecas, gathered at an old cemetery to mourn the imminent flooding of 10,000 acres of a reservation which was set aside in 1794 in one of the first treaties signed by the U.S. Government. Although President Washington signed the treaty, although the Indians with the aid of Quakers and others have fought valiantly to preserve their right to occupy the land guaranteed by the treaty, the struggle against Pittsburgh interests and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was in vain. Ordinarily treaties have the force of law in any court of the land, but the Indians could find no court, not even the highest in the land, which would uphold their rights under the treaty. So they gathered, 200 men and women, on a Sunday in September to lament their loss of ancestral lands and their loss of faith in the honor of a nation. Chief Cornplanter, descendant of one of the signers of the treaty, said that while others will refer to the lake that will soon cover the Iroquois lands as the Allegheny River Reservoir, "we of Indian blood will call the waters * * * the Lake of Perfidy." Of course, these are only Indians. We have been breaking our word to them for 300 years; why change now?

## The Bowles Prescription

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, for some time now, many of us have been painfully aware of the shortcomings of our foreign aid program—and we have tried, to the best of our ability and within the authority available to us in the legislative branch, to correct them. Over the years, we have made some progress and our aid program has accomplished much good—not only in reconstructing Western Europe and in stemming the tide of communism, but also in promoting basic reforms and in helping to solve grave problems in other areas of the world.

In spite of the achievements of this program, the conviction persists in the Congress, and among our citizenry, that our efforts have been only partially successful—and that the administration of our foreign aid must be greatly improved and strengthened if we hope to attain our objectives, meet the challenge of communism, and promote the establishment of peace, order, and justice in the world.

This conviction is founded in facts, not in mere fancy. It is buttressed by evidence of misdirection, misuse, and inefficiency in the administration of various aspects of the foreign-aid program.

These weaknesses, these shortcomings, must be corrected if the money which the Congress appropriates for this program is not to be wasted.

Many people are aware of this need, and are trying to find ways and means of meeting it.

One of them is our former colleague, the Honorable Chester Bowles, who is presently serving as President Kennedy's special representative on African, Latin American, and Asian affairs.

I was delighted to read the editorial which appeared yesterday in the Washington Post, entitled "The Bowles Prescription." It deals with a memorandum on foreign aid which Ambassador Bowles prepared recently. The memorandum suggests a new approach in the distribution of our aid—a new emphasis on different types of aid to, be related directly to the needs, resources, and de-

termination for self-help, of the recipient countries.

Mr. Bowles' "prescription" appears eminently practical—and its implementation long overdue. I would, therefore, like to commend the editorial to the attention of the membership of the House. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place it at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 9, 1962]

THE BOWLES PRESCRIPTION

A mean-tempered rightwing magazine has taken to running a one-line editorial in each issue, "Where Is Chester Bowles?" A useful and able citizen, Mr. Bowles is still very much in the Government, and he has shown more good sportsmanship in his relative demotion than have critics who kick a man who cannot answer back. The proof of Mr. Bowles' constructive presence is the memorandum on foreign aid that he has prepared in his capacity as President Kennedy's special representative on African, Asian and Latin American affairs.

Over the years, no program has been as unpopular and misunderstood as foreign aid. The current fight in Congress over reduction of administration requests is only in part the fault of the national legislature. It is a valid criticism that a program costing billions is indifferently justified by administration spokesmen and that members of Congress have a despairing feeling that money is frequently poured into a sieve.

As the Bowles memorandum asserts, "Although bipartisan recognition of the importance of the program is widespread, even its most loyal supporters suggest the need for a more coherent pattern in the programing of loans, grants and technical assistance." The first task, Mr. Bowles suggests, is to develop a practical basis for classifying countries that wish assistance, giving the program a technique for judging the prospects for success.

The memorandum proposes four general categories. The first would include countries in need of aid but whose problems result from the misuse and maldistribution of existing gross national products. Mr. Bowles gives as possible examples Greece, Venezuela, Lebanon, Cyprus, Singapore, Chile, Panama, Uruguay, Jamaica, Trinidad and Argentina. In dealing with countries in this category, Mr. Bowles would insist that as a condition for help the governments show a determination to put their own houses in order.

His second category would comprise those nations that have an inadequate gross national product but that show an outstanding competence and purpose in deploying their resources. Pakistan, India, Taiwan, El Salvador, Colombia, Nigeria and Tunisia are listed as examples that might fall into this category.

The third category would include countries that have inadequate wealth but that show an uneven administrative capacity. Here, Mr. Bowles would place program emphasis on areas of internal development where performance is satisfactory, firmly resisting any help in areas where performance is lacking. "Under no circumstance," he contends, "should we allow our aid to reinforce existing economic or social inequities." Finally, the last category would take in poor countries where there is neither the ability nor the will to use assistance effectively. The emphasis here, Mr. Bowles proposes, should be on training of administrators and technicians and not on project assistance.

Considering how long the program has been going on, it is astonishing that no one has set forth so plausible a policy to give design to—and increase support for—foreign aid. Whether every last detail of Mr. Bowles memorandum is sound is beside the point. It indicates the direction in which the program must move if the administration is to avoid the kind of debacle it has just experienced in Congress.

## His Cuban Invasion Plan Ended With a Broken Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Sentner of the Hearst Washington Bureau was sent to me by a friend. The story that is unfolded here is one of great, though agonizing, import. Once and for all it proves that there was nothing wrong with the plans to invade Cuba in April of 1961. The error was in the execution.

Of course if you sent a fighter into the ring and at the last minute tied his hands behind his back, he would not be very likely to win.

HIS CUBAN INVASION PLAN ENDED WITH A BROKEN HEART

(By David Sentner)

Here is the untold story of the man who originally planned the Cuban invasion of April 16, 1961, in a manner which he was convinced would be successful but was bypassed by officialdom.

The pigeonholing of his Cuban invasion blueprint for victory and the subsequent Bay of Pigs invasion fiasco contributed to his undergoing a period of depression and frustration.

His death last month, according to close friends, resulted literally from a broken heart.

This hidden piece of history revolves around the late Whiting Willauer, 56-year-old Ambassador to Costa Rica, and famous wartime leader of General Chennault's Flying Tigers.

And this is the somber inside story:

"Whitey" Willauer was assigned during the latter period of the Eisenhower administration to work out plans for a possible invasion of Cuba. He had an opposite number in the CIA with whom he teamed up. He was given a desk in the State Department in Washington and detached from his ambassadorial post in Costa Rica.

His hush-hush detail in Washington was covered up by his appointment as special assistant to the Secretary of State.

EXACT SCHEDULE

When President Kennedy took over, the invasion plans were confirmed by him and an exact schedule began developing.

Over many months, "Whitey" Willauer worked out a virtual "war plan" involving landing sites, equipment, convoys, and cooperation with the Cuban underground.

Mind you, "Whitey" was no striped pants ambassador. He ran the air show for Gen. Claire Chennault and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

"Whitey" in his Cuban invasion blueprint emphasized liaison with the Cuban underground. He envisaged commandos linking up with anti-Castro guerrilla forces to sabotage the Castro planes and tanks on the ground. This technique he had learned from the guerrilla tactics of General Chennault successfully used against the Japanese and Communist Chinese armies. It was intended to more than offset any failure of support in the landing operation from the promised U.S. air cover.

In the light of the decision of President Kennedy not to provide the expected American air support to the Cuban invasion forces, the adoption of the "Whitey" Willauer tactics might well have spelled victory instead of disaster for the Bay of Pigs invasion.

During his long assignment of putting together the Cuban invasion blueprint, "Whitey" tried 41 times to report the progress of his planning to Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles, according to friends.

Mr. Bowles ignored these attempts.

REMOVED FROM POST

Then in the latter days of February 1961 "Whitey" arrived in his office one morning to find his telephone had been removed. A few days later he found his desk had disappeared.

"Whitey" decided this was it and returned to Costa Rica to pick up his belongings. He next received a phone call from the State Department informing him he had been removed from his hush-hush assignment and would be replaced as Ambassador. The team of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Presidential adviser, and Adolph Berle, Jr., Latin American consultant, took over the invasion plan.

"Whitey" never questioned the authority to replace him. However, he resented the fact he was never even "debriefed" on the Cuban invasion plan nor did anybody weigh the value of the Cuban invasion plan evolved in tandem with his CIA opposite number.

A dozen years ago I stayed at the home of "Whitey" Willauer in Canton when the Chinese Communist forces were driving the Chinese Nationalist armies off the mainland.

"Whitey" loaned me his CAT plane to see what was going on and get places.

I got to know "Whitey" and I feel he was never a guy who wouldn't give it to you straight.

Most of this piece came directly from "Whitey" and I sat on it while he was alive.

Now his close friends think the story should be told.

And much of this tragic saga of a man who wasn't listened to is documented in his secret testimony before the Senate Internal Subcommittee which is due to be released within a few weeks.

## The Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

## HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has lost one of its most beloved and valuable Members in the passing of Hon. CLEM MILLER, of California.

I first became acquainted with CLEM in 1959 when he came to Congress. His office was located across the hall from mine. He was a good friendly neighbor. His smile made my day a lot brighter. We had many conversations regarding legislation pending before the House. He was honest and sincere in all his undertakings. His ambition was to be an exceptionally good Congressman, not only for his own district and State, but for the entire Nation. He arrived early

at his office and left late. Only last Thursday before departing for California, I had a final visit with him. I was shocked when I heard the radio report that his plane was missing on Sunday, October 7.

Mrs. Kluczynski and I extend our deep sympathy to his widow and children in their great loss.

## Ole Miss' Blind Negro Saga Recalled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, in the turmoil at Oxford, Miss., I think it well to call the attention of the House to an article written by Ben Knight of the Valley Voice, which is the Muscle Shoals, Ala., hometown newspaper.

This story concerns Jim, a janitor, who worked at the University of Mississippi for many years; may his spirit live on.

OLE MISS' BLIND NEGRO SAGA RECALLED
(By Ben Knight)

Much ado has been made over the Ole Miss integration situation.

The Northern press has been extremely critical of Mississippians in connection with their reaction over James Meredith's attempt to change the university's 114-year-old traditions.

Mississippi University, its faculty, its administration, and its students have been depicted as race-hate extremists.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Some 300 Negro employees work at the University of Mississippi. All are treated fairly and paid well—in fact, better than student workers of the white race.

Here's an isolated—but interesting—little saga that once happened on the campus James Meredith, Federal marshals, Federal troops, and everybody else is having so much trouble with.

There was once a Negro janitor at Ole Miss named Jim. We can't recall his last name.

In his declining years, Jim went blind.

Jim was the father of some 10 children—their sole support.

Obviously there could be no paycheck for a janitor who was blind. But Jim, like many other Negro employees of the University, was loved by the students.

So since Jim didn't have a job, these students made one for him.

Blind Jim was appointed freshman dean by the students.

And this post became an important part of University of Mississippi life.

Freshmen who did not obey regulations set by their upper classmen were hauled before Dean Blind Jim.

They were disciplined.

The normal discipline was a fine of 50 cents or less—all of which went into Blind Jim's pocket.

Blind Jim's family needed no relief rolls. The Ole Miss freshman dean did right well.

In fact, it was reported that at some football games, Jim collected as much as a thousand dollars.

He attended all the Ole Miss games regularly (and needed no Federal troops) and sat in the royal box of E. H. Crump, the Memphis political genius.

Jim—a blind man who might have been forced to sit out 15 ripe years of his life in a rockingchair—enjoyed his role as freshman dean. His favorite statement was "I've never seen Ole Miss lose a football game."

James Meredith may be the first Negro student at Ole Miss, but he isn't the first Negro faculty member.

That would be the late Blind Jim, who'll be remembered at Ole Miss long after Meredith and troops are gone—even if there was no such thing as a freshman dean.

## Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I invite the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives to the address delivered by the Honorable Stephen Ailes, Under Secretary of the Army at the 26th Annual Pulaski Banquet in New York City, on October 7, 1962, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski, as we all know, came from Poland to help Gen. George Washington in America's fight for freedom. He is the father of American cavalry and esteemed and beloved by Polish peoples throughout the world. It gives me pleasure to give recognition to this speech given by Under Secretary Ailes in tribute to this great gentleman:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE STEPHEN AILES, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY, AT THE 26TH ANNUAL PULASKI BANQUET, WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, OCTOBER 7, 1962

Mr. Chairman, General Sosabowski, ladies, and gentlemen, I would like to begin by reading the President's message to the General Pulaski Memorial Committee. The message is as follows:

"In the course of our Nation's history, persons of Polish descent have made many real and lasting contributions to our Nation—and particularly to the cause of freedom. In a very real sense, they have followed the example of courage and patriotism set by Gen. Casimir Pulaski during the American Revolution.

"It is therefore a distinct pleasure to extend my greetings and best wishes to the Pulaski Memorial Committee as you honor the memory of one of our Nation's greatest heroes—and to convey these words through my good friend, the Under Secretary of the Army, Stephen Ailes.

"General Pulaski will long be remembered as a brilliant military leader. More importantly, however, he will be remembered as a patriot—and a lifelong fighter against tyranny. He believed in, fought and died for the cause of liberty, and through his selflessness and dedication to this country, left an indelible mark on the pages of our country's history.

"We can look to this example as we face the challenges of today and of the future. Certainly the threats to our peace and freedom today are more awesome and perilous than they were over 180 years ago when General Pulaski and other patriots championed the cause of freedom. But the burden of meeting these threats rests just as surely upon us—as individuals and as a nation—as it did upon our forebears.

"It is therefore fitting that we look to the past—to the example of General Pulaski and so many other American patriots—and rededicate ourselves to the high ideals for which they gave their lives. It is also most fitting that we resolve to meet the challenges to freedom as they and other Americans have done—with honor, courage, and zeal—and pride in the knowledge that our cause is just.

"JOHN F. KENNEDY."

I welcome the opportunity to join you in this annual tribute to Casimir Pulaski, and needless to say, count it an especial privilege to represent the President of the United States on this occasion. I consider it a particular privilege to have had the opportunity to meet and to hear General Sosabowski. After the fall of Poland in 1939, he and many valiant Polish soldiers, sailors, and airmen joined the forces of other nations fighting for the Allied cause. The 2d Polish corps in Italy has a well-known record. The Polish squadron with the RAF and the Polish armored division in northwest Europe participated in the war. General Sosabowski's parachute brigade was at the never-to-be-forgotten battle of Arnhem, as you know. This Polish tradition of rallying to freedom's banner goes directly back to the days of Casimir Pulaski, whom we honor here tonight.

Not many names made famous in the American Revolution have received the veneration and acclaim down through the years that Pulaski's has received. Here in New York today, 183 years after Pulaski's death, a splendid parade was held on Fifth Avenue, the 26th of such affairs. We have this handsome gathering tonight.

Across the river in New Jersey stands a mighty structure known as the Pulaski Skyway (which we looked at flying in this morning).

Earlier this week I drove from the Pentagon to Aberdeen Proving Ground. The highway on which one travels north from Baltimore is the Pulaski Highway.

It is interesting that 12 of our States, including the State of New York, have a town or city named Pulaski.

Seven States have counties named Pulaski.

My father even had a cousin and boyhood chum on a farm out in Ohio named Elihu Pulaski Ailes.

There are statues of Pulaski in Savannah, Ga., in Washington, D.C., and the famous one at West Point. Heaven only knows how many public squares, parks, and American farm boys besides Cousin Elihu have been named for Casimir Pulaski. Tonight it is appropriate for us to spend a moment or two inquiring why.

The first reason, of course, has to do with Pulaski's feats at arms during the American Revolution. A legendary horseman, an inspirational leader, a furious fighter, a soldier famous even among soldiers for personal courage, Pulaski's record in the Revolution was remarkable.

He arrived in this country from Paris with a letter from Benjamin Franklin dated May 29, 1777. He wrote General Washington:

"I wish to receive under my command a detachment of cavalry volunteers, and to hold such rank as would authorize me to command a whole division if I deserve it. * * * The chief thing for which I ask is to be near the enemy, to have the opportunity to earn the name of a good officer. * * * I have come from Europe in the hope that I may be accepted in the ranks of those worthy citizens who fight for their country and for independence."

Note that he said: "The chief thing for which I ask is to be near the enemy." This

is the test of the soldier everywhere. At West Point an officer is taught: "Always move toward the sound of the guns."

While waiting for formal appointment by Congress, Pulaski was assigned as a volunteer officer on General Washington's staff and established himself with General Washington by the daring charge which he led at the Battle of Brandywine. He was commissioned brigadier general by Congress and became commander of the American cavalry. Later, when this particular assignment did not work out too well, perhaps because of what General Washington referred to as "the disadvantages under which he labored as a stranger not well acquainted with the language, genius and manners of this country," he organized, with Washington's support and with congressional approval, his own cavalry and infantry unit known as Pulaski's Legion. He arrived in the nick of time in Charleston, S.C., to help save that city, and a bit later in command of the French and American cavalry at the siege of Savannah, he led a full cavalry charge into an opening in the enemy's works, in which engagement he was mortally wounded. He died 2 days later on the American brig *Wasp* in the Savannah River, October 11, 1779, at the age of 31 years. These heroic deeds entitle him to the honors which we accord him.

The second reason why Pulaski's memory is venerated, goes beyond his heroism on the field of battle, and has to do with the contribution which he made to American independence. We tend to remember men who change the course of events. Pulaski was the father of American cavalry, perhaps the savior of Charleston, and was frequently a major force in the bolstering of the sometime flagging spirit of the American Revolutionary Army during times of difficulty. General Washington wrote him:

"I assure you, sir, I have a high sense of your merit and services and the principles that influence the part you have taken in the affairs of this country. The disinterested and unremitted zeal you have manifested in the service gives you a title to the esteem of the citizens of America and have assured you mine."

There is a third reason why Pulaski is venerated, and this reason is of major significance today. Free men all over the world hold in special veneration the heroes of the past who have made sacrifices, taken up arms, run risks, and fought effectively, not for conquest, but for liberation, for the right of men to be free. Garibaldi of Italy, Simon Bolivar in Latin America, George Washington of the United States, are names known to free men everywhere and to men who want to be free. Thus while Pulaski's skill and daring, and his undeniable help, entitle him to our gratitude, the fact that one ideal—freedom—drove him forward in these endeavors is responsible for the special place which he occupies. He was motivated by this great ideal. He gave his life for it.

Here are his own words: Stating that "enthusiastic zeal for a noble cause and for life in America" made him enlist in our ranks, he said: "I came here to sacrifice everything for the independence of America. I wish to live in a free country and before I settle down here I wish to fight for that country's freedom."

I must say that I personally take great pleasure and satisfaction in the thought that down through the years this country has held aloft the banner of freedom and that men like Pulaski who wished to fight for freedom have fallen in behind that banner. Your forefathers and mine came to this country because they, like Pulaski, "wished to live in a free country."

Some years ago, right after World War II, I spent some time in Greece on an American economic mission there. I became close friends with a young lawyer assigned to the U.N.N.R.A. mission. I asked my friend for his explanation of why such a wonderful relationship existed between Greeks and Americans and why Greeks were so fascinated by America. His reply was: "It's very simple. You are carrying the torch we lit."

Nothing could be more important today than that we continue to carry that torch, and that we hold it as high as we can. In fact, doing just that is our most important task today. A statistical analysis of the gains which communism has made since World War II is depressing. One-third of the earth's surface, one-third of the population are under Communist domination. Not very long ago the leaders of Communist bloc nations were predicting greater gains and asserting that the tide of history was flowing strongly for them. Long-term trends cannot safely be predicted on such short-range developments, however. Indeed the past year has seen this advance come to a crunching halt and cracks have appeared in the edifice so recently constructed.

A longer range view of history requires the conclusion that progress toward freedom, liberty, and the recognition of the dignity of the individual, is the undeniable course of history. This is the basic urge in every human being—man's highest aspiration. It follows that we must hold the torch, lit in ancient Athens 3,000 years ago, aloft and that we must keep it burning brightly so that everywhere it can lend encouragement to the hopes and aspirations of that one-third of the world which lives in a society which is not free.

In this connection, this past year has seen one interesting development. It has become increasingly clear that the countries most wedded to Communist doctrine find the greatest difficulty in growing food in adequate quantities to support the population. This is true in Russia, Red China, North Vietnam, Cuba. Since rain falls on Communist and non-Communist alike and since historically the food production problem has not been distributed in this fashion, the explanation has to be looked for somewhere else.

The answer seems to me to be that a free society does provide the motivation for hard, tedious toil in the field, whereas the Communist society does not. The farmer must not only have the traditional independence and pride that goes with working the land, but he must also, expect and receive the fruits of his labors.

In visiting our installations in southeast Asia a year ago, I was continually amazed at the motivation of the Viet Cong (the insurgent Communist forces in South Vietnam) and wondered at how the Communist philosophy could instill such fire and spirit in these men. I must say that there is nothing but cause for hope in the realization, this year, that whatever motivates the Viet Cong motivates him only to murder, lie in ambush, and seek to take away what someone else has made, or built, or grown. It does not motivate him to grow food or produce wealth. History is replete with dramatic short range successes, large and small, based on the motivation to acquire the output of someone else's labor to get something for nothing. But no lasting civilization can be built on such a basis.

In Pulaski's day, if you believed that men should be free, you joined an army fighting on the side of freedom. Today, motivated by the same belief, and on a much larger scale, the United States is fighting for freedom all over the world. We supply military equipment to support this fight under our military assistance program which amounts annually to over $1 billion. We have MAAG's and military advisory missions in 44 countries. The sole purpose of this military assistance program and of these military advisory missions is to help people who are fighting for their freedom.

Furthermore, our troops, when needed and where requested, go into action in this same cause. Today in South Vietnam, American soldiers, in an advisory capacity to be sure, are running great physical risks as the people of South Vietnam wage a desperate effort to prevent the Communist force in southeast Asia from destroying their government and terminating their liberties. We have two divisions and numerous supporting troops in South Korea who are there for the purpose of preventing the Communist legions from the north from overrrunning that country. We have five divisions in West Germany with supporting troops there and in France, again for the sole purpose of assisting our NATO allies in defending their lands against the Communist hordes.

We are containing the Communist menace, and will do so, because more and more people throughout the world are becoming convinced that our goal—the goal of the United States—is not conquest but is indeed what we say it is—the defense of freedom, the defense of the right of nations to determine their own form of government, their own courses of action; in short, that we are determined to resist aggression by whatever means are required, wherever it occurs. This is a difficult effort, an extremely expensive one, a long one and a trying one. But the lesson of history is that this cause for which we strive will prevail in the end. Let me close by saying as earnestly as I can that what we are doing throughout the world today is completely in keeping with what patriots like Pulaski did for us 185 years ago. Perhaps some day history will venerate this effort too as we venerate today what Pulaski did for us. And lastly, there is some hope for the world as long as men and nations are motivated selflessly to run these risks and expend these efforts for this noble goal.

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## In Eulogy of the Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I have been saddened, as have my colleagues, to hear of the tragic death of our dear friend, the Honorable CLEM MILLER, of California. Although he was not long with us, he made an excellent contribution and will long be remembered. CLEM MILLER was personable, effective and a dedicated public servant. I recall with great pleasure our many chats together as we discussed the important issues of the day. A man of high intelligence, CLEM MILLER never deviated from his convictions and was able to present those convictions in a most effective manner.

I want to express to his widow, the daughters and the other members of the family, my heartfelt sympathy because of this tragedy, and my earnest hope that the protection of divine guidance will be with them to sustain them.

I believe that as well as any Member that has ever served in the House of Representatives, our departed friend, CLEM MILLER, lived by the advice that William Cullen Bryant gave in such a noble fashion in "Thanatopsis:"

"So live, that when they summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan which moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
Like one that wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

## Remarks by Hon. William J. Green at Pulaski Day Celebration, Philadelphia, Sunday, October 7, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday I was fortunate in being a visitor for a few hours in one of our major U.S. cities, the City of Brotherly Love, the great metropolis of our State of Pennsylvania, the progressive city of Philadelphia.

While there I visited with my friend and colleague, JIMMIE BYRNE, an old associate of mine from my Pennsylvania General Assembly days.

We attended the Pulaski Day celebration in Independence Hall sponsored by the Polish-American Congress, Eastern Pennsylvania District.

I was particularly impressed with the fine address delivered by another of our colleagues, the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr., on this occasion of the 183d anniversary of the great sacrifice made by this great friend and fighter in the Revolution for Independence.

Congressman GREEN delivered a message from President Kennedy and followed with a historical and moving account of this great Polish patriot.

His talk should be read by every Member of Congress as it traces our early struggles, our growth, and resolution to preserve for all peoples from all lands the independence of thought, religion, and personal freedoms.

I submit for the RECORD the full text of this address by the leader of Philadelphia's Democratic forces and a distinguished Member of this body.

REMARKS BY PHILADELPHIA DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., AT PULASKI DAY CELEBRATION, INDEPENDENCE HALL, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1962, SPONSORED BY POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT

One hundred and eighty-three years ago this great hero fought for American independence and paid with his life at a time when our country was in its greatest need of help and sacrifice.

His deeds have found a glorious place in American history, his name shall always be remembered by our people.

This soldier of liberty sacrificed his fortune, personal happiness and dedicated his life to the defense of a noble cause. Daring and unflinching in his determination to fight for freedom, he took up arms in Poland against enemies of his country as a leader of the bar confederation.

Banished from his native Poland and sentenced to death under Russian instigation, he sought new frontiers to carry on his crusade for freedom. He came to America and offered his help to General Washington in the American Revolution.

On his arrival in this country, Pulaski met another great Polish soldier, Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Through their heroic efforts for American freedom, both these men laid the first foundation of traditional friendship between the peoples of Poland and America.

On October 11, 1779, General Pulaski died of wounds he suffered while leading his cavalry in an attack on Savannah, Ga.

Recently President Kennedy proclaimed October 11 as Gen. Casimir Pulaski Day to honor the memory of this Polish patriot throughout our Nation.

In relation to this occasion, the President has asked me to relay a warm message of felicitations to the people of Polish ancestry here.

I am confident that the President's message speaks for all the American people.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, October 6, 1962.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr.,
*Philadelphia, Pa.*

It is a pleasure to extend warm greetings and best wishes to all those gathered at Independence Hall today to honor Gen. Casimir Pulaski—one of America's greatest patriots. I am especially pleased to convey these words through Congressman BILL GREEN.

Casimir Pulaski, a young Polish patriot, fought with bravery in the Continental Army and provided our struggling new Nation with brilliant military leadership. His dedication to the cause of liberty will always serve as an inspiration to all peoples throughout the world in their struggle for national freedom.

It is fitting indeed that you honor General Pulaski in Philadelphia today—and that all Americans show their deep gratitude to this extraordinarily brave patriot; to his countrymen and to the many other brave men who fought the cause of American freedom during the Revolutionary battles and in the many struggles for liberty and freedom since then.

I know the contributions and traditions of Polish-Americans will continue to enrich all our lives, and I am delighted to join all of you in honoring General Pulaski today.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

I also am happy to announce today that the President has directed the Secretary of the Navy to name one of our new Polaris submarines after Casimir Pulaski, in recognition of the General's distinguished services to the United States.

In the present world struggle between the forces of evil and good, oppression and moral resistance—General Pulaski's romantic figure emerges today more vividly than ever from the past.

Men like Pulaski, who came from distant lands to these shores were deeply impressed by the Declaration of Independence, which was solemnly proclaimed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

This great charter of human rights stressed, "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

America's future development and her greatness is based on these ideals which became the cornerstone of true democracy. Since those days, the United States has become a symbol of liberty and a support for the oppressed.

Generations of Poles have settled in this country. They have built new homes and contributed much to the progress and prosperity of the United States.

Throughout 18 decades of American history countless thousands of Poles have given their lives for freedom throughout the world, wherever there has been conflict between democracy and tyranny.

Today, Poland itself does not have the type of freedom for which these soldiers fought. The Polish nation and her people are unwillingly under the political domination and ecomonic exploitation of Soviet Russia.

The human rights and dignity of man, for which General Pulaski died, have been suppressed in Poland and many other nations taken into captivity by Russia.

Many nations are threatened by Communist aggression and infiltration.

The cold war forced upon us by the Soviets has created many problems. Problems as difficult and dangerous as those through which we lived during wars drenched in blood and gunfire.

The United States is observing world developments with greatest care. We are on guard, always ready for any crisis.

The Kennedy administration has made every effort to build up the Nation's military to such proportions that it can stop any aggressor and has capabilities of delivering a quick knockout blow.

Recently, our sons were sent to Vietnam just as they were sent to Korea 12 years ago—to help stem the Communist aggression. They were sent there because America has become a bulwark of freedom in a frightened world.

The United States is keeping a watchful eye on developments in Berlin and Cuba. We will never allow a buildup of enemy military bases in Cuba that can aim destruction at the heart of the American mainland.

We don't want war because we remember the graves of American fathers, sons, husbands, and brothers who paid the supreme sacrifice.

But, we cannot allow the spread of Communism anywhere in our hemisphere or in other parts of the world.

We are ready to use our strength to safeguard our country and our allies from any aggression.

I believe, that of all developments in the world today, the status of the Polish nation is closest to your heart.

Although there is a given appearance of freedom in Poland, today, under Communist domination, there is a rising persecution of the Catholic Church, clergy, and nuns.

There is a cold war in Poland, too. This is a determined struggle by the freedom-loving people of Poland for their nation's spirit, faith, and patriotic principles. This struggle is led by the unbending leadership of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski.

The increase of Communist persecution against the church comes at a time when the celebration of Poland's one thousand years of Christianity is approaching.

Most recently His Excellency Archbishop John J. Krol appealed in his distinguished sermons never to let up in providing spiritual assistance for Poland.

On September 14, of this year, I introduced in the U.S. Congress the following resolution:

"That the U.S. representative to the United Nations shall take such steps as may be appropriate to bring to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations the violations in recent years by the Government of Poland of article 26 of the universal declaration of human rights in denying to parents their prior right to direct the education of their children through nationalizing, expropriating, and closing religious schools in Poland, without regard to the protests of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski and

others in their attempts to prevent this annihilation of basic human rights."

The Kennedy administration is doing everything within its means to give economic aid to the Polish people. We are also using every occasion possible to help the Polish people in their struggle for true freedom.

We are confident that all Americans of Polish extraction support us in these aims.

Let us hope that the day of liberation for Poland and other behind-the-Iron-Curtain nations is not too far off.

## Waters From Kinzua Dam Will Wash Away U.S. Commitments to the Senecas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, nothing that the United States has done has been so completely disheartening to the people as the breaking of our word in the violation of the treaty of 1794 with the Seneca Indians, which contains the phrase, "the United States will never disturb the Seneca Nation."

That this Congress upheld the Army Engineers in their determination to build the Kinzua Dam regardless of this treaty, was to me a heartbreaking shock, from which I shall not recover. Above all things my country's word should stand.

In reading the history I find that the Senecas accepted President Washington's personal assurance that the treaty would never be violated. Apparently no steps have been taken to guarantee to these people whom the Army Engineers are displacing, homes commensurate with those they have built and paid for—the least we could do for these people who obviously are being considered expendable.

I am inserting a very fine article by Brooks Atkinson which appeared in the New York Times of October 9, 1962.

WATERS FROM KINZUA DAM WILL WASH AWAY U.S. COMMITMENTS TO THE SENECAS

(By Brooks Atkinson)

When the Kinzua Dam in the Allegheny River floods the heartland of the Seneca Reservation in 1965, there is no reason to believe that the Indians will be adequately resettled. The engineering for the dam proceeds on an inexorable schedule, but there is no equivalent engineering for the victims.

Having violated the 1794 treaty ("The United States will * * * never disturb the Seneca Nation"), the Government has not given practical help to the 132 affected families at the time they need it most. Once an inhuman and immoral act has been committed, the consequences carry the same infections all along the line.

The Senecas are caught in a vicious circle. They must start building next spring on 650 acres that will not be flooded. But it will be at least 2 years before they will know what compensation they can expect from Congress. No matter how modest, the new homes will cost more than the old houses are worth, and the Senecas are fearful of having to go in debt because of circumstances taken out of their control.

Since a tribal way of life that has lasted 168 years is coming to an end, the Senecas also need a master plan to supply the base of a new economy as well as new living arrangements. But the time for a useful master plan has probably passed. Even if the Senecas could afford to pay for it, a master plan would take 2 years to complete.

In general, the Senecas lack solid information about their future. So far the Army Corps of Engineers, which is building the dam, has not supplied maps that will show where the new roads, rights-of-way and installations are going to be. Consistently and characteristically arbitrary, the corps has also refused to plan the two sites where the Senecas believe they can safely build.

Various Government agencies have sent representatives to Salamanca, N.Y., to make surveys and give advice. The Corps of Engineers has already paid the Pennsylvania Railroad $20 million for its right-of-way and the rehabilitation of an alternate route to take the place of the Warren, Pa., to Salamanca line, which will be abandoned. But the Seneca Nation has received no money from any Federal agency to assist in the expensive task of organizing a future. The burden placed on the Seneca resources is excessive. The Senecas are governed by a council elected every 2 years—November 6 being the date of the next election. The Seneca Nation has an annual income of about $75,000 from leases and rights-of-way. Although the Government has violated the Treaty of 1794, the Government has never denounced it and continues to pay the traditional annual subsidy of $1.35 and 2 yards of cloth per capita.

Faced by an unprecedented emergency, the council has had to borrow $30,000 to pay for an appraisal of the lands that will be flooded. Within the next 2 or 3 years, Congress will presumably compensate the tribe for this expense. In the meantime, the entire responsibility has to be borne by the Senecas. The council has had to rent seven rooms for offices, buy modern office equipment and hire a paid staff of three. The Senecas are in the equivocal position of having to petition Congress for redress of a disastrous situation that Congress created.

Since last summer George Heron, the elected treasurer of the Seneca Nation, has devoted full time to serving as administrator. Mr. Heron, a soft-spoken, well-informed attractive Seneca, used to make a round trip of 150 miles every day to work in Buffalo in steel construction, as several other Senecas do. He has to sacrifice $3,000 annual income to give full time to administrating tribal affairs.

He has the assistance and advice of Sidney Carney, a Choctaw, who represents the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Walter Taylor, a civilian specialist in Indian Affairs, who represents the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers). In 1794 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends sent representatives through the wilderness to advise the Senecas on the treaty they ultimately signed with George Washington's deputy. They accepted Washington's personal assurance that the treaty would never be violated. Mr. Taylor's zeal in helping the Senecas represents one of the Philadelphia Friends' oldest traditions.

Last Friday Mr. Heron, Mr. Carney, and Mr. Taylor spent the day in New York conferring with the Public Housing Administration. The several housing administrators they met could not have been more knowledgeable and helpful or more thoroughly acquainted with the details of the emergency.

But the needs of 90 percent of the displaced Senecas lie outside the province of the Public Housing Administration. They are the homeowning Senecas who have no concrete assurances about their future. Although Congress has appropriated $24,500,000 to build the Kinzua Dam and destroy the oldest existant U.S. treaty, not a cent has been paid to the Senecas. While the dam rises, the Senecas are expendable.

## U.S. Foreign Policy at the Crossroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, on June 23, 1962, Dr. O. J. Wilson, president of Findlay College, Findlay, Ohio, made an address in Detroit, Mich., on "U.S. Foreign Policy at the Crossroads." In it Dr. Wilson outlined his reactions to our conduct of foreign affairs at several critical points in recent history. His evaluation of the results of our conduct is penetrating and strictly nonpartisan. In addition, Dr. Wilson presents a challenge to every American citizen to be informed in the area of foreign affairs and take every honorable means possible to exert his influence.

I submit Dr. Wilson's address to the attention of my colleagues as follows:

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AT THE CROSSROADS

I am highly honored to have the privilege of addressing you on this important occasion. I hope that what I shall say to you on the subject of U.S. foreign policy tonight will not be regarded as a partisan political view on my part in any sense of the word. I am, on the contrary, wholly bipartisan on the matter of foreign policy and believe that the two major parties must accept a measure of the praise and the blame for our successes and failures in this area of our national life.

Since my purpose, therefore, is not to criticize either the Republicans or the Democrats, I trust that you will regard by humble effort as a citizen of these United States for what it really is; namely, an effort on my part to examine and evaluate our foreign policy since the end of World War II. In conducting such an evaluation, one must ask first what the policy of the United States has been concerning certain matters, with respect to certain countries, and then assess the effectiveness of that policy in terms of results.

Let me remind you that the United States adopted unofficially the good neighbor policy toward all nations and all peoples during the first administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and that it was out of such a background of international relations that World War II burst upon us with all its ghastly fury.

Following World War II, our general foreign policy was to help restore peace, order and justice throughout the world. Nations looked to us for leadership in establishing the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, and we responded by giving our unstinted support to what appeared to be man's long-awaited answer to the prevention of war. However, in 1946, the wintry winds from Russia began to blow westward, and the deep freeze of a "cold war" began to obstruct our relations with that nation. Specifically, Russia claimed the United States had no right to be in Berlin, even though our presence there was fully and legally covered by

treaty between Russia, France, England and the United States. Russian troops blocked transportation by rail and highway, and the United States, rather than exercise her rights under treaty, utilized air transportation to supply the needs of the people of West Berlin.

While it may be argued by some that the United States achieved its objective in 1948 without the clash of arms, and thus demonstrated the success of its foreign policy, the events of history subsequent to this crisis point to this incident as our first major defeat for U.S. foreign policy. Russia apparently gambled that the United States, tired from a long, bloody, and costly war, would not fight over access to West Berlin. She won that gamble and thus set a pattern for defying and embarrassing the United States wherever a crisis can be stimulated or spawned by Communist-bloc nations. I am convinced that the United States could and should have ordered an armed escort to move supplies to West Berlin under treaty rights. I am further convinced that Russia would have yielded short of war when her show of force was met with an equal or greater show of force by the United States. This precise incident, however, demonstrated that Russia was willing to fight for the success of her foreign policy and that the United States was neither ready nor willing to challenge Russia by arms in support of its foreign policy.

Out of the so-called cold war grew a policy commonly called the policy of containment toward communism. It was designed to stop communism from being exported to countries adjacent to Russia by revolutionary means. This policy was undergirded by the Marshall plan by which the United States made military and economic aid available to wartorn and economically underdeveloped nations. While it is true that, under this policy of containment, we probably saved Greece from the Communists in the late 1940's, it is also true that we lost China in 1949 with her 600 million souls to communism. It is, moreover, true that we have been guarding the Formosa Straits for a dozen years while Chiang Kai-shek and his army grow old, weary, and disillusioned that the United States will even join in overturning the Communist regime in mainland China. We simply wait—apparently uncertain what could or should be done about recognition of the Communist Government of China or helping the Government we do recognize to regain control of the territory and the people for which it speaks. The Russians, in giving direct military assistance to the Communist forces of Mao Tse-tung, gambled again that the United States would not go to war over China. Russia won this gamble hands down. We demonstrated again, at one of the major turning points in the history of the world, that the United States was not ready to fight to contain communism.

No sooner had Chiang Kai-shek been pushed from the mainland of China to Formosa—Taiwan—than the Communists attacked South Korea in 1950. The United States rushed troops from Japan to block the Communists long enough to persuade other United Nations members to join in repelling the Communists. From the day we entered the United Nations police action against North Korea and Communist China, the United States fought with rare courage and heroism on the one hand, but apparently without clarity of purpose on the other. We appeared to be eminently capable of winning the war, but we hesitated to do so lest it involve us more extensively with Communist China and perhaps, Russia as well.

We backed away from this military involvement in the spring of 1953 after declaring that we were fighting the wrong war, in the wrong country, against the wrong enemy. We have not been told officially what was the right war, the right country, nor the enemy that should be regarded as the right one.

If our policy at the time of our engagement in this police action was to defeat the enemy in battle, we achieved our purpose; if our policy visualized a defeat so crushing that peace could be restored and the way paved for uniting all of Korea under a democratic government, then we failed completely. If our policy was intended to demonstrate our determination to fight the combined force of Communist arms wherever lifted in similar aggression, other countries under the shadow of the hammer and sickle must have experienced a bitter disappointment that the United States sued for an armistice before achievement of such a purpose.

If our policy in Korea proved to be inconclusive, indecisive, and uncertain, our policy toward Hungary was even more indefinite and bewildering. In October of 1956, certain freedom-loving Hungarians challenged their Communist masters and attempted to establish a government which would follow a more Hungarian course similar to that of Tito in Yugoslavia. These brave Hungarians fought with unparalleled valor and heroism in complete confidence that the United States and the United Nations would heed their cry for help. But, alas, this help never came. The Russians intervened with arms on the night of November 3–4 and crushed the Hungarian revolt. But much more was crushed than the brave but futile struggle of the Hungarians. Soviet armed intervention went unchallenged by the United States, which had implied, through its containment policy, that it would aid nations under Communist attack. Failure to join in expelling the Russians from Hungary was not only a crushing blow to our foreign policy, but it was a crushing blow to freedom everywhere.

The anguished cry of brave men struggling to remain free was heard all over the world: their call for help was a direct one to the people of the United States. Our foreign policy imposed upon us a moral obligation to heed their call; the cause for which they were being besieged by the Russians was life and freedom and self-determination. In the name of humanity, the United States could never have a more worthy cause for which to fight but defense of the Nation itself against Communist attack. But, alas, the pattern here was the same as at Berlin, in the attack upon China, and the attack upon South Korea. We appeared gripped by inertia and indecision to the point where we took no action beyond joining in a mild United Nations resolution condemning Russia. Once more the United States demonstrated to every helpless nation on earth that our foreign policy was something about which we were prepared to talk at great length, but we were not prepared to fight to achieve the success of that policy.

In my judgment, our attitude toward Hungary scuttled much of the hope remaining in the breasts of defenseless people that they can really count on the United States in a time of crisis. If we did not completely do so in the way in which we failed to respond to Hungary in her time of greatest need, we have undoubtedly done so by the way in which we have reacted to three rapid-fire incidents of great international significance during the past 1½ years.

The first of these important international incidents was the abortive invasion of Cuba early in 1961. The United States witnessed the shocking transformation of Cuba from a democratic government to a Communist-dominated one under Fidel Castro since the fall of the Batista government. Personal and property rights were ignored under the revolutionary regime, and thousands of Cubans fled to the United States for political asylum. Here, with fullest enjoyment of freedom in this land, Cuban refugees dreamed someday of their return to their homeland, and many of them banded together to undergo physical conditioning and basic military training in preparation for an invasion of Cuba.

At the time when these Cuban refugees were preparing for an assault on their homeland with the purpose of overthrowing Castro, the United States had two alternatives: it could have disbanded and disarmed the Cuban nationals and have made it crystal clear that no invasion force could be mounted from mainland United States, or it could have given the necessary equipment and made available technical and military assistance to such a degree as to insure victory. Apparently it did neither with the invasion ending in an overwhelming defeat and resulting in great embarrassment and loss of prestige to the United States. Threescore years earlier, the United States had wrested Cuba from Spain under the Monroe Doctrine which had been completely respected by all nations for well over a century. The defeat of the invasion force, amidst the taunts and peers of Castro and his Communist lieutenants, reduced the Monroe Doctrine to a meaningless scrap of paper. Whereas the United States had committed itself through a widely acclaimed policy, known as the Monroe Doctrine, to keep America for Americans, the Communists could now boast of a base less than 100 miles from Florida.

Once again, the United States lost a major diplomatic battle through a timid and indecisive foreign policy. The ill effects of this uncertainty on our part were never more apparent than at the recent meeting of the Association of American States at Punta del Este. This was evidenced by the unwillingness of some of our most important sister republics to the south to vote economic sanctions against Cuba.

The second significant international incident of recent months was the erection of the infamous Berlin wall by the Communists between East and West Berlin last fall. While the U.S. Army looked on in utter amazement and the world in unbelievable revulsion, the Communists deliberately erected a block-wall barrier between the two Berlins.

This wall should have been destroyed, block by block, as it was erected. It was intended as a symbol of the finality with which Germany and Berlin are divided, East and West, Communist and free. And it so stands today as mute testimony to the immunity with which the Communists can thus seal off entire populations and hold them virtual prisoners of the Communist state without interference from the United States.

I was in Germany at the time this shocking event was taking place. Probably no act in modern history has so underscored the daring, boldness, and ruthlessness of a major power as this act. Germans seemed incapable of conceiving of the mighty United States, victor in the recent great World War II, as being so timid that it was unwilling to challenge Russia by destroying this wall.

No matter how long and hard this Nation tries to convince Germans to the contrary, the Berlin wall will stand as mute testimony to Russia's power and our vacillation until the wall is torn down. Nothing so symbolizes our ineffective foreign policy to Germans as does this wall.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk said in Berlin that the wall was an "affront to human dignity" and predicted a way will be found to tear it down. In this I wholly concur and add the timeworn statement of "What are we waiting for?"

Finally, the Laos crisis, still unresolved, is the third significant international incident which demonstrates our weak, indecisive, ineffective foreign policy. For several months the United States, through its mu-

tual assistance program, has been trying to help the Royal Lao Army groom itself for effectively resisting deep penetrations into Laos by the Pathet Lao Communists. We have provided personnel and equipment to the Lao Army for special training in guerrilla fighting. Notwithstanding our strong moral and military commitment to the Lao, our help was not enough. The Communists have overrun a large portion of Laos in recent weeks, the Royal Lao Army has been repeatedly forced to yield vital territory, and large quantities of U.S. military equipment have fallen to the Communists.

Where are the U.S. military forces? In Thailand, several miles away from the conflict. It is my contention that the United States must inevitably make up its mind—and I here refer to the people of this Nation—as to where, when, and on what issue it will not yield, withdraw, or treat with the Communists. The apparent willingness of our country to see a coalition government formed in Laos at a time when the Communists are virtually in control of that small nation is tantamount to handing it over to the Communists altogether. My contention is that the fire department can never put out the fire in the department store by sending its firefighting equipment to the grocery store or the barbershop when the alarm is sounded. The fire has been raging in Laos, not in Thailand; the wall stands in Berlin, and the Communist forces of Castro become more securely entrenched in Cuba each day. What is our foreign policy on these matters? Why have we not taken bold, decisive action to deal with them? Where do we go from here after 15 years of vacillation, timidity, and inertia?

I conclude, my fellow Americans, by returning to the subject of my address, "U.S. Foreign Policy at the Crossroads." I do not mean to imply that the United States has only recently arrived at the crossroads in matters relating to foreign policy. I do not mean that a single recent international incident or situation has suddenly placed our Nation in a dilemma position. I do mean that we as a Nation are at the crossroads and have been there for 1½ decades. I do mean that we have been standing at the crossroads of indecision and uncertainty to the point where the familiar taunt of "don't just do something, stand there," is typical and descriptive of our foreign policy.

I need also to return to my earlier thesis that I do not place the blame for our "crossroads diplomacy" under either major party. I do, however, place the blame squarely where it belongs—on the shoulders of every American citizen. In a democracy such as ours, we elect our Representatives to Congress, to the Senate and to the House of Representatives. But we do little more than that. We do not communicate with them in a way which assists them in representing us on the vital issues before Congress. In short, we force them to act alone, to use their own judgment. Hence, our Representatives, for the most part, represent only themselves because we are oblivious to our responsibility and their need for knowing what we really want.

In all candor and in all fairness, I genuinely believe that Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy have done their best during these difficult years and that their respective Secretaries of State have been competent and dedicated men. But I attribute the apparent lack of a clear-cut, dynamic, positive foreign policy in dealing with the Communists in the postwar years to an almost total abdication on the part of our people of their responsibility to their Government. We have failed to speak out with unity as a people and with clarity of purpose in guiding our elected Representatives. I submit to you that we have failed our Government—and have thus failed ourselves because we are the Government—during these past critical years.

Percy W. Bidwell, in his recent book entitled "Undergraduate Affairs," summed up our problem quite adequately with reference to the American people, it seems to me. He said:

"They cannot initiate policy but they may, in effect, through expressions of disapproval, veto proposed new measure or cause established policies to be modified or abandoned. Yet great numbers of voters lack the knowledge and understanding of foreign countries and international relations, which are essential to intelligent, responsible judgments. This grave weakness in our democracy challenges American education at all levels, from the elementary grades to the universities."

If America is to move from the crossroads and embark upon a bold and positive foreign policy capable of stemming the onslaught of communism, it will have to do so soon. Khrushchev predicted in Rumania that the red flag of communism will fly over the United States by act of our own people. Perhaps Comrade Khrushchev has been stimulated to make such a bold prediction because he has convinced himself that the United States is incapable of, or unwilling to, oppose the Communist master plan for world domination. Perhaps he feels confident that our determination to resist further the expansion of communism is gone. But I submit to you, my fellow Americans, that the power to oppose and to fight communism and all for which it stands resides now—at this moment—in each of us. If we act now in concert with our Government, we can have a share in formulating a foreign policy that can save the world for democracy. If we fail to act, and if a strong policy does not evolve immediately, we have no reason to expect the rest of the world to look to us for leadership. The last great hope for democracy and peace will have vanished. I say with Patrick Henry, "Forbid it, Almighty God."

## The Honorable Wilbur Mills

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, the compliments and commendations evidenced here today in attestation of the efficient and effective job that the chairman of our great committee has today completed are by any standard of measurement respecting capabilities of a Member of the House justifiable and well merited.

Directly affecting the domestic economy and our ability to maintain competitive advantage in foreign markets, the committee was confronted with complex, involved, and difficult problems. Under the patient but expert guidance of our great chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas, the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, there has come this revolutionary but yet sound and constructive foreign trade policy program.

At all times, throughout committee consideration, the fairness of the chairman is most pronounced—time for the proponents as well as the opponents of any particular problem is extended most willingly and most cordially. Whether the chairman is for or against a particular legislative facet, his patience in presenting both sides of the question is inexhaustible. His almost parental attitude toward his committee colleagues is extraordinary—he delves deeply, conscientiously and exhaustibly into the whys and the wherefores of any problem with which a member may be puzzled. His knowledgeablness concerning the legislative history of our tax structure, our tariff and foreign trade program, our social security system is truly outstanding.

Our committee, the Congress, Arkansas and the Nation indeed are privileged and fortunate in having such a dedicated servant at the helm of so important a committee.

## An American's Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by J. Edgar Hoover at the American Legion national convention in Las Vegas, Nev., October 9, 1962:

AN AMERICAN'S CHALLENGE

(Address of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the National Convention of the American Legion in Las Vegas, Nev., Oct. 9, 1962)

At this critical hour in the life of our Republic, it is indeed a high honor to serve as keynote speaker for this great national convention. It is a great privilege to be thus honored by men and women who have demonstrated their patriotism and their courage in defending our beloved Nation.

Today, The American Legion is more vigorous than ever in inspiring national loyalty and promoting national preparedness. You have never faltered in your dedication to, and promotion of American ideals.

In 1946, when I spoke to you at San Francisco, the world was just emerging from a long and devastating war—a war which claimed the lives of over 400,000 of our fellow countrymen. We looked hopefully for the end of hostilities and an era of peace—peace with dignity, peace with honor, peace with international trust and understanding. We were aware, however, that a brand of tyranny and fascism—Red fascism—far more treacherous than that of Hitler and Mussolini, was emerging as a powerful threat on the international scene. By 1957, when I was honored to speak at your Atlantic City convention, the virus of communism had spread in epidemic proportions, infecting vast areas of Europe and Asia. The stench of death from the brutal slaughter of Hungarian freedom fighters by Soviet hordes, paralleling the carnage of Genghis Khan, the Mongol conqueror of the 13th century, hung heavy in the world atmosphere.

Two years ago, in 1960, it was my duty to urgently warn your delegates at Miami that communism had gained already a strategic beachhead in nearby Cuba; that Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung, and Castro were dictators of the same order, driven by the same atheistic urge to dominate men and nations.

I referred also to the devastating encroachments of crime and corruption—avowed enemies of the very ideals upon which our Republic was founded. The poisonous ef-

fect of these enemies on the social, economic, and political life of America is keenly felt.

Today, we stand at the same crossroads and are faced with threats identical to those which confronted us 16 years ago. These threats are accepted in some quarters as the normal climate of life, to be met with appeasement or accommodation. The heavy inroads of international Communist aggression continue with a terrible ruthlessness.

Peoples everywhere must be prepared today to stand up and be counted—either for or against freedom.

We are an idealistic Nation—a Nation ruled by laws, not by men. Yet, each year shows new record peaks of crime and lawlessness.

Nearly 200 years ago, Edmund Burke warned, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." How meaningful these words are today.

We have failed to meet the postwar goals which America had established for herself because the "good men" to whom Burke referred—the forces for decency in our country—have failed in many respects to live up to their duties and responsibilities.

What has happened to the time-honored precepts of hard work and fair play which influenced the American scene during the all-important formative years of this great Republic? Where is the faith in God which fortified us through our past trials? Have our national pride, our moral conscience, our sensitivity to filth and degradation, grown so weak that they no longer react to assaults upon our proud heritage of freedom?

Crime and subversion are formidable problems in the United States today because, and only because, there is a dangerous flaw in our Nation's moral armor. Self-indulgence—the principle of pleasure before duty—is practiced across the length and breadth of the land. It is undermining those attributes of personal responsibility and self-discipline which are essential to our national survival. It is creating citizens who reach maturity with a warped sense of values and an undeveloped conscience.

Crime is a parasite, feeding upon public disinterest and moral lethargy. This day, more than 5,200 felonies—4 serious crimes every minute—will be committeed across the United States. They will include 430 crimes of violence—murders, forcible rapes, and assaults to kill. At least 250 robberies, 10 an hour, will be recorded, as will 4,500 burglaries, major larcenies, and automobile thefts.

Since 1946, our national crime totals have more than doubled. Over the past 5 years, since 1957, these crimes have risen 5 times as fast as our growing population.

Nowhere has this increase been more pronounced than among America's youth. Last year, persons under 18 years of age were involved in 43 percent of all arrests for serious crimes. They accounted for 22 percent of the robbery arrests, nearly one-half of the burglaries and larcenies, and well over half of the automobile thefts throughout the United States.

There is a moral breakdown among young people in the United States. The crime rate is outdistancing the population increase; pornography is flourishing; and there is a quest for status at the expense of morality.

The heavy toll of crime, both juvenile and adult, is a direct product of self-indulgence and irresponsibility. There is a pattern of flight from responsibility.

It is utterly tragic that many otherwise intelligent people develop a blind spot with regard to the conduct of their own children. Until there comes about a greater degree of parental understanding—real interest, affection, and concern—we will witness a continued upsurge in juvenile crime.

There must be a moral reawakening in every home of our country. Disrespect for law and order is a tragic moral illness.

As Benjamin Franklin said, "Nothing is of more importance for the public weal, than to * * * train * * * youth in wisdom and virtue. Wise and good men are, in my opinion, the strength of a state; much more so than riches or arms."

Our city streets are jungles of terror. The viciousness of the rapists, murderers, and muggers who attack women and young girls seems to know no bounds. This senseless sadism can be stopped only by a concerted, realistic action on the part of everyone connected with law enforcement and our judicial processes. We must adopt stiffer laws and a more stern policy toward these perverted individuals.

Too often, the interests of justice and consideration for the welfare of society are buried under an avalanche of court decisions which give violators of the law rights and privileges that destroy respect for the law and public safety.

Too often, technicalities have been permitted to exist in our penal codes which have been employed solely and exclusively for the benefit of that small minority of lawyers-criminal who use any tactic, no matter how unethical, to defeat the interests of justice.

More and more the judicial-legal system of this country is being revised to benefit the criminal—to the disadvantage of the innocent. More judges should speak out against this legalized perversion of justice.

Too often, our parole boards are being influenced by impractical theorists—conference room "experts" who are without experience in the arena of action against crime.

Too often, a cloak of special privilege is thrown around the enemies of society, vicious young muggers, robbers, rapists and murderers, by poorly conceived and maladministered programs intended to promote their rehabilitation.

Mercy tempers justice in the American judicial system, but leniency was never intended to become a weapon for repeating offenders. Mercy can be hazardous and sympathy morbid when they are wasted on those who exploit them.

Responsibility for the wave of lawlessness now sweeping the Nation and the continued existence of conditions in which crime and corruption flourish, rests directly with the American people. The public, by its submissive attitude and its lethargic acceptance of infractions of the law, has helped create an atmosphere conductive to the insidious growth of underworld activity.

Crime is a community as well as a national problem. It will not be abolished by ignoring it. Perhaps it is sometimes oversensationalized; its gory details undoubtedly are distasteful to many people. But if the public is to be aroused to take needed action against what appears to be an epidemic of criminal activity, even sensationalism perhaps may be justfied.

We are paying dearly and in cold cash for these indulgences. Crime now costs the American people more than $60 million a day. But this figure does not take into account the human factors—the personal grief, the broken homes, the physical and mental suffering. Nor can a price be placed on the loss of American prestige in the community of nations, or the eroding influence upon our heritage, which are byproducts of the continuing growth of underworld activity.

Crime has a sinister partner in promoting the breakdown of our moral standards. This partner is international communism—an aggressive and atheistic force which today controls one-third of the world's population and one-fourth of her land surface. The barbaric Communist empire now stretches from the wall of Berlin to the China Sea, from Asia's Mekong River to the Escambray Mountains of Cuba.

In our country, this international conspiracy is represented by a bold and defiant Communist Party—fanatically dedicated to the destruction of our form of free government.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is an alien force, an agency of a foreign power—the Soviet Russian Government. Today, it is engaged in an intensive campaign to openly defy the law and destroy public confidence in our entire system of justice.

Throughout the past year, the party has deliberately and flagrantly refused to comply with a U.S. Supreme Court ruling which requires it to register with the Attorney General as an agent of the Soviet Union.

In furtherance of this campaign, front groups have been formed, propaganda leaflets circulated, agitational meetings held—all for the purpose of attacking American laws and undermining faith in our democratic institutions. We must be aware of these tactics to sabotage our basic heritage of freedom.

The Communists, their myriad fronts and collaborationists do not fade away. The Communist Party today may be smaller in the United States, but it is a hard-core group of fanatics operating a massive and impressive propaganda machine. The danger and wiles of communism cannot be measured solely by shrunken rolls of actual party membership in this country.

Communists continue with impunity to breathe out hate, particularly against the United States.

There is not an avenue to the heart and mind of Americans that is not used to implant their false ideology.

The Communists are experts in the practice of treachery and deceit. They have used this program of blatant defiance as an offensive weapon to rally the support of misguided, ill-informed and naive individuals.

Foremost among their targets have been America's young people, for the aim of communism is world youth and the capture and corruption of that youth.

We have but to look at the shameful riots in San Francisco in 1960 when college youth in that area, encouraged by Communists, acted like common hoodlums in demonstrating against a committee of the U.S. Congress engaged in public business.

We have but to look at the Communists' success in stimulating the interest and participation of some of America's young people in the Communist-inspired and Communist-dominated World Youth Festival which was held at Helsinki last summer.

We have but to look at the party's campus speech program which has seen Communist functionaries appear before student groups at colleges and universities from New York to California. On 1 campus alone, a crowd of nearly 12,000 turned out to hear the party's general secretary, ex-convict Gus Hall, declare that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is a legitimate political organization on the American scene and deny its subservience to Moscow, from which it has been established that it actually receives orders and financial support.

The success of these and other programs which the Communists have directed against American young people can be measured by the enthusiasm of top party officials who predicted several weeks ago that 1,000 youths could be recruited as party members before the end of the year.

Colleges should bear in mind that Communist speakers are not bound by any obligation to tell the truth.

The fact is that the party in this country functions as a valuable auxiliary of the Soviet-bloc espionage network. From their areas of influence, American Communists have produced a Julius Rosenberg, a Morton Sobell, and others both willing and able to betray vital secrets to the Soviet Union.

Today, there are 925 Soviet and satellite official personnel in the United States. The

vast majority of them represent a cunning and dangerous espionage threat.

From the immunity of their diplomatic assignments, representatives of Communist-bloc nations have directed intelligence networks within the United States. From 1950 through 1960, 21 officials of the Soviet Union alone were declared persona non grata or otherwise asked to leave the United States because of flagrant activities detrimental to this country.

One Soviet defector, a former intelligence officer, has estimated that between 70 and 80 percent of the Soviet officials in the United States have espionage assignments. Years of personal experience qualify this man to speak with authority concerning the duplicity, the deception and the deceit which are inherent in every phase of the international Communist conspiracy.

During the last 30 years, the United States has participated in hundreds of meetings with the Communists—Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom and Geneva. These meetings led to many agreements, almost all of which have been broken by Soviet Russia.

We are at war with this sinister conspiracy. Every Communist today must be considered as enemy, wherever he may be, at home or abroad.

A "soft" approach toward the menace of communism can lead only to national disaster.

Much has been done by the Government's internal security programs; by investigation, arrest and prosecution of party functionaries; and by widespread intelligent public opposition to the Marxist philosophy to thwart the Communist Party's efforts in this country.

However, communism remains an intense subversive threat. Our Nation's efforts to deal effectively with this menace are not enhanced by those of the extreme right who tend to affix the Communist label without intelligent analysis, or by those of the extreme left who endeavor to minimize the real danger of communism.

This latter group includes grossly irresponsible elements—a shocking number of whom have depended, for their very existence, upon tax-exempt funds. We have heard them shout "sententious poppycock" at well-founded and documented warnings against the capacity of the Communists to pervert our thinking and destroy the spiritual supports which form the foundation of our freedom. Inane statements such as these add nothing to the American people's understanding of the true menace of communism at home and abroad. They are a rank disservice to the cause of freedom.

I repeat, a "soft" attitude toward communism can destroy us. We should unite as a people, around an intelligent, rational, sensible but very hard attitude against communism everywhere.

In the battle against communism, as in all previous encounters with godless tyranny, the United States must win and we will win. Let Khrushchev, Castro, and Mao Tse-tung recognize there is no force more powerful than the determination of a free and righteous people.

Let us not forget that whenever we have stood firm, communism has retreated.

From the moment the American Republic was conceived, our country has achieved its proudest moments in the face of adversity. Valley Forge; Belleau Wood; Guadalcanal; Pusan, Korea—these are proud names in the Nation's history, places where our fighting men have risen to heroic heights to overcome deadly enemies. Challenge, not compromise; victory, not defeat—these are words which have real meaning for true Americans.

We must assemble our strength—the moral strength endowed upon us by our Creator, the Author of Liberty. We must reaffirm our determination—the God-inspired determination to protect our freedoms and safeguard our democratic heritage at all costs.

In the heat of an all-out struggle with an alien godless ideology, this Nation needs all the prayers it can get. Prayer and devotion to our Creator are basic to American strength and courage.

There is a vast difference between Americanism and communism. One teaches morality; the other, expediency. One follows the law of God; the other, no law. One is founded upon spiritual values; the other is complete secularism. One is characterized by deep religious conviction; the other, by ruthless, atheistic materialism. The Communist world is a world of walls, searchlights, and guards—a prison for the heart, mind, and soul.

The United States is second to no nation in material wealth. From our free economy has emerged a standard of living beyond the reach of any Communist-controlled people in the world. But in luxury there is the danger of physical weakening and moral softness. Self-indulgence can prove fatal. It can accomplish from within what our most deadly enemies have been unable to do from without.

We cannot defeat communism with socialism, nor with secularism, nor with pacificism, nor with appeasement or accommodation. We can only defeat communism with true Americanism.

The fight against crime and communism can be won, and it will be won with, but only with, the help of every decent American citizen. No individual in this great land of ours should underestimate the importance of his or her role.

Let us all work that there may be a rebirth of freedom under God in our Nation.

As Astronaut John H. Glenn, Jr., said, "Freedom, devotion to God and country are not things of the past. They will never become old fashioned."

Every strong nation in history has lived by an ideal and has died when its ideals were dissipated. We can be destroyed only by our own gullibility. If we are ready, we shall neither be dead nor Red.

It is what a nation has in its heart, rather than what it has in its hand, that makes it strong. The nation which honors God is protected and strengthened by Him.

To foster the cause of liberty and justice—this is the goal of America and the goal of every Legionnaire. This goal has been challenged by communism and crime. America has accepted the challenge and we must and will meet it successfully.

We are a God-loving people. This is our greatest strength. Let our national motto always be, "In God we trust."

## Anniversary of Gen. Casimir Pulaski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the Pulaski Council of Milwaukee each year arranges a program in tribute to the memory of a hero of two continents—Gen. Casimir Pulaski.

Three years ago on such an occasion, the people of Milwaukee had the privilege of having the now President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, participate in the ceremonies. This year the Attorney General of the United States was the honored guest, and he was received warmly and wholeheartedly.

The program begins with the National Anthem and a prayer and ends with a prayer. Since the proceedings this year were so impressive, it is my desire to share them with my colleagues, and ask permission to insert the text of the opening prayer given by Rev. Eldred B. Lesniewski, chaplain, St. Joseph Home for Children; my introduction of Attorney General Kennedy, and Mr. Kennedy's remarks at this point in the RECORD.

INVOCATION GIVEN AT PULASKI DAY CELEBRATION, MILWAUKEE, WIS., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1962, BY THE REVEREND ELDRED B. LESNIEWSKI, CHAPLAIN, ST. JOSEPH HOME FOR CHILDREN

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Let us invoke the blessing of God upon this assembly, gathered here in the name of freedom, to honor the memory of General Pulaski, champion of freedom in two continents.

We ask God to continue to inspire our great leaders with a zeal for freedom and the rights of man. We thank God for the blessings of freedom that we already enjoy, and, in particular today, for sending us the brother of our great President, who, like a modern Pulaski, had the courage to continue the fight for man's liberties in the battlefields of the South.

Bless our struggles, O Lord, and make us worthy of Your graces. Keep burning in us the flames of freedom kindled by General Pulaski, so that we may live as he died, breathing the free air of a great country and a great people.

We ask these blessings in the name of Jesus, who showed us how no man has greater love than when he lays down his life for his friends. Amen.

REMARKS BY HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI AT THE WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY, PULASKI MONUMENT, MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCTOBER 7, 1962

It is most fitting, as we commemorate the memory of Gen. Casimir Pulaski—fighter for justice and liberty—to rededicate ourselves to the principles for which General Pulaski made the supreme sacrifice.

We are indeed fortunate to have as our honored guest a man who epitomizes the qualities that made General Pulaski great.

Three years ago on a similar occasion we had the privilege of having President John F. Kennedy with us. We are today pleased to have as our honored guest the President's brother, the U.S. Attorney General the Honorable Robert Kennedy. Our distinguished guest, although young in age, has already earned for himself an enviable record. He has by his courageous work assured himself a place in our country's history.

It is my distinct privilege and singular honor to present to you Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

REMARKS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY, WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY, PULASKI MONUMENT, MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCTOBER 7, 1962

I want to express to you my deep appreciation for inviting me here today because I know I am among people who are dedicated forever to a love of country and liberty. Not only do I feel a close bond with the Polish people; the President shares this feeling. His sister-in-law is married to a Pole. The President has visited Poland, as have my mother, my brother, Ted, my sisters, and I. With virtually no other group has my family had a closer affiliation. So it is a great honor for me to join with you in honoring the memory

of a brave Pole whose valor in his adopted country gave meaning to liberty in all countries.

Casimir Pulaski was 29 years old when he came to America as a volunteer to serve in the Continental Army in 1777. He fought with distinction at the battle of Brandywine and was promoted to brigadier general. Even that was not enough for him, however. He organized his own calvary and infantry corps, Pulaski's Legion, which fought with great gallantry. He was with the ragged American Army during the cruel winter at Valley Forge and he lost his life during the siege of Savannah, Ga., 183 years ago next Thursday.

He died fighting for America's freedom, but at the same time, he was fighting for Poland's freedom and, indeed, for man's freedom.

The history of Poland goes back many years—more than that of the United States, but almost since the Declaration of Independence, the history of Poland and the United States have been entwined. These close ties have existed between Poles and Americans because of their respect for each other.

Through the years, Poles and Americans have stood steadfast for the cause of liberty. Poles, under Lt. Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, had the distinction of capturing Cassino and its historic abbey which blocked the Allied advance in Italy for so many months. I visited Monte Cassino several years ago and climbed up the steep rocky hillside where the Polish soldiers fought, shoulder to shoulder with American soldiers and British soldiers. I will never forget the inscription on a memorial there:

"We Polish soldiers, for our freedom and yours, have given ourselves to God, our bodies to the soil of Italy and our hearts to Poland."

Time and again, Americans have been inspired by the stubborn courage of the Poles. We cannot forget that at the start of the Second World War, Polish cavalrymen charged their horses against Nazi tanks.

Nor can we forget General Bor's uprising against the Germans in Warsaw, holding out for 63 days against the might of the German occupation force.

Nor have we forgotten our friend in the troubled days since the Second World War. We welcome and support the advances that have taken place in recent years.

We will continue to be concerned for the welfare of the Polish people and to maintain our traditional close ties of friendship with them.

We have been able to make partial payment on the debt we owe to the sons of Pulaski and Kosciusko.

I am happy that this Government has been able to extend over a half billion dollars in assistance to the Polish people in the past 5 years, and I am happy that this program is going to continue. This aid has been supplemented by the fine work of private organizations and citizens who have been sending generous assistance since the war.

American private and Government aid and assistance joined to build the new children's hospital which is nearing completion in Kracow.

We have invited leaders of the Polish Government and leaders of thought and opinion in Poland to visit America and see this land for themselves.

Cultural exchanges are continuing to increase. The Warsaw Philharmonic and the Polish Folk Dance groups have toured this country. A band from Warsaw played at the Washington, D.C., and Newport jazz festivals this summer.

Our program of exchanging students, teachers and technicians is continuing and I hope it will grow as both nations can benefit from it.

Each year, more and more American tourists are going to Poland. I hope that trend will increase and will flow both ways so that more Poles will visit us and see America.

These exchanges are but tangible evidence of the close bond between the people of Poland and the people of the United States.

Today, more than ever before, we need the courage and dedication to freedom which have made Americans and Poles such good friends through their history.

We face a resourceful foe who seeks to impose his totalitarian way on freemen everywhere. The threat takes many forms. It may be a wall in Berlin, occupied domination of proud old nations, guerrilla warfare in southeast Asia, military aid to Cuba, or espionage in our own country.

We are making a consistent, carefully planned effort to turn the arms race into a peace race to spread respect for the rule of law, and dedication to man's God-given right to be free.

We are convinced that a supreme effort must be made to halt the arms race, but until some progress is made, we are and will remain prepared to do what is necessary to protect our own interests and the security of our friends and allies.

We have a rich heritage of our own—revolution, toughness, industry, and unswerving belief in the fundamental rights of the individual—but we are a young nation. We look back to many lands for our basic beliefs and traditions.

The Poles brought to this country strength, courage, faith, and perseverance—and America is indebted to its Polish citizens for helping to forge our national character with this steel, from Pulaski to the present.

We have much in common, but perhaps nothing quite so much as the ideal symbolized by this monument and by this ceremony. It is an ideal that underlies the history both of Poland and America and it is expressed in the stern adage: "Polak nie sluga"—A Pole, and I might add, an American, will never be a serf.

## John Holton

SPEECH
OF
### HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in wishing John Holton well.

Every Member of the House has a great deal of respect and much admiration for John Holton as a man of integrity and character. All of us appreciate his pleasant personality and his very cooperative spirit which he has always manifested.

It has been my great privilege to have known John Holton as a friend from the day I came here, almost 14 years ago. Many times when I have been in Texas and needed to call someone for guidance and help one of the first persons who has come to my mind has been John Holton, and I have not hesitated to call him. Each time he has been extremely helpful and his advice and guidance have been excellent.

He enjoyed his association with the beloved Speaker, Mr. Rayburn, which was afforded few men. As we all know, Mr. Rayburn relied upon John Holton not only as his aid but as a confidant. Our Speaker, Mr. McCORMACK, recognized John's talents when he retained him as his legislative assistant.

As he leaves this public service, John Holton has the knowledge that he has the deep respect and admiration of all of us. Not only do I wish him well, but I express the hope that our friendship, which has meant so much to me, will continue.

## The U.N., Soviet Russian Colonialism, and a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the gravest mistakes made by this Congress has been the refusal of its leadership to permit the necessary formation of a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. Unless one is either naive or blind, the plain fact is that the United States is not winning the cold war; in plain fact, we are losing it year by year. Cuba is only another critical phase; other disastrous phases will surely emerge in Latin America, southeast Asia, Africa and perhaps even in Central Europe if we persist in our indecision and confusion.

SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE, A PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

My Republican colleagues and I are proud in having joined many individual Democratic proponents of a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. In this wholesome and necessary bipartisan spirit on a most vital issue it has been a genuine pleasure for me to work closely with the Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD of Pennsylvania, who has sponsored the original measure, House Resolution 211, to establish what in effect would be a people's committee on the captive nations. The popular support we have received for the over three dozen resolutions for such a committee has been overwhelming. The people see the pressing need for such a committee if some of our leaders do not.

Despite the many obstacles thrown in our way—the maneuvers in the Rules Committee to pigeonhole the resolutions, the vulnerable Rusk letters, the superficial display of interest by a subcommittee in a few captive nations—we intend to continue this fight for a special House committee. The issue will inevitably arise in many a congressional district, and the facts will have to be given. I take comfort in the facts that both in 1961 and 1962 the Republican Congressional Committee unanimously endorsed the creation of a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. I also applaud the stand taken by the chairman of the Republican National Committee in a statement issued last month, favoring such a committee.

Mr. Speaker, it is most significant to us that a vote on this measure has been

cautiously avoided in the Rules Committee. Is there perhaps the fear that a public disclosure of a negative result would have electoral repercussions in New York, Massachusetts and elsewhere? I and many others have had no doubt about the full House passing this measure once it is released by Rules. But we have been denied this opportunity, and so have the people of this country to spotlight the drives of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism before the world. This grave mistake of legislative omission cannot but reflect on the present leadership.

THE U.N. AND SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

The opportunity we have missed in this Congress has been shown in the Cuban crisis. Those urging a Special Committee on the Captive Nations publicized the captive status of Cuba in the 1961 Captive Nations Week observances. Through a fact-investigating special committee this House could have focused the attention of our people on the steady Soviet Russian build-up in Cuba. It could have shown the same pattern of Soviet Russian takeover that other captive nations have been subjected to. At an early date it could have placed Moscow on the defensive by concentrating on all the captive nations, including Cuba. This opportunity we clearly missed.

We are also missing another opportunity at this time. No sooner had the 17th General Assembly of the United Nations convened than the Soviet Russian spokesman Gromyko called for free world recognition of the present borders of the Soviet Russian empire. Pursuing an old objective of colonial Moscow, Gromyko is in effect asking us to acquiesce to the permanent captivity of the peoples in eastern Europe and Asia. Moscow believes we are weak enough to eventually do this. A Special Committee on the Captive Nations, created by the representatives of the American people, would be a guarantee against any such appeasement and accommodation. We have no such guarantee now, and the Russians keep hoping and pressing that we will give in on this most vital of issues.

Mr. Speaker, the fight for a Special Committee on the Captive Nations will be even more intensified in the months ahead. In support of my remarks I request that the following data on recent events pertaining to the captive nations be printed in the RECORD: first, the program of the Washington Captive Nations Week Committee for the 1962 observance, second, the article by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, "Under the Rug", third, the July 15 Sunday Star report "Group Hears Plans to Aid Red Captives", fourth, an address by David Lee at the Washington, D.C. Captive Nations Week observance, fifth, New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times article "Censors Can't Hide Gains By Reds", sixth, an editorial on "The President and The Captive Nations Week Proclamation" which appeared in the summer issue of the Ukranian Quarterly, and seventh, a published letter "Freedom's Defeats":

WASHINGTON CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK COMMITTEE,
*Washington, D.C.*

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS: Captive Nations Week will be observed in the Washington area and throughout the Nation July 15 through July 21.

The observances will be launched here with a breakfast at 9:30 a.m., Saturday, July 14, in the Dodge Hotel, 20 E Street NW.

You and your associates are cordially invited to attend, to share a good breakfast, and to hear outstanding speakers on self-determination for Eastern and Central Europe, on the flight of Chinese refugees from Communist China, and on the serious situation in Cuba and in Latin America.

You also will have the opportunity to be recognized and to report on observances your group is planning for the week.

Observances will include masses, services and prayers in churches and synagogues, special programs at meetings and rallies of many organizations here, a dinner sponsored by the Assembly of Captive European Nations scheduled for July 18, and much more.

Let's let the people of Washington and our friends and relatives behind the Iron Curtain know that we support their aspirations for freedom. Let's launch Captive Nations Week here with a really successful breakfast at the Dodge House, 9:30 a.m., Saturday, July 14.

The price of the breakfast will be $1.95. Please make your reservations and send your checks to Washington Captive Nations Week Committee as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

DONALD L. MILLER.

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UNDER THE RUG

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate)

The so-called Russian Revolution is a red rug woven of terror and violence. Under that rug are abominations, deceptions and coercions such as history has never before seen. Like all rugs which hide that which is beneath them it clings to the floor. It has no kinship with spires which point from the ground to spiritual verities. The design of this covering is gaudy and flamboyant. In the center, dyed with the blood of liquidated millions, is a hammer and sickle. Across its expanse in huge letters is the legend—"peace and liberty for all people in a classless society," and "world domination by communism is inevitable."

For more than two score years it has been the determined purpose of the Kremlin manipulators to make sure that the rug is not lifted. To a world deluged with their specious propaganda they fear the revelation of the real state of affairs back of the knavish facade which hides the hideous truth. Underneath the red rug are precious things, mowed down by the sickle and smashed by the hammer.

Conscience stricken by an all too negative attitude, and repenting of sins of omission, 2 years ago both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed unanimously an epochal resolution. The purport was that it is high time for this land of the free to lay strong hands on this concealing rug, pull it up, and let the world gaze at the iniquitous fakery which the hypocritical covering hides. So, by act of Congress, for 7 intense days each year—Captive Nations Week—this land the people rule are called to look at the area under the rug with a high powered searchlight and to publish to the world the hidden facts of this refuge of lies.

Two Presidents have issued the requested July summons. The last one, by President Kennedy, declares—"we must never forget our hopes for the ultimate freedom and welfare of the Eastern European people." From sea to sea in this Republic, Captive Nations Week is now enthusiastically observed as the plight of the captives is lifted before our free land. The resolution declares this is to continue "until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the coerced nations of the world."

This has proved an alarm clock for those Khrushchev and company are doing their best to lull to sleep. The enraged protests of the Kremlin boss were heard around the world. It is evident we had struck a sensitive nerve. As the Soviet press and radio told the Empire of the American audacity in talking about captive nations, the captives themselves, in more than 20 enslaved nations, heard the news with joy and were stirred with a new hope.

Now what is it under that rug the Soviets are afraid to let the world see? There are loathsome things there that creep and crawl—look, there is fear. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk has declared, "among Khrushchev's troubles, in his world of coercion, are dissensions within its ranks, national resistance to this modern imperialism and a growing demand for freedom." Beneath the rug is smoldering hatred where grapes of wrath are stored. Some day from the volcanic depths of captive people the hot lava will flow again as it did in Hungary when those indoctrinated for years, mostly youth, turned with bare hands against the aggressors. Here is the West's essential asset.

Then, under the rug, are the octopus-like tentacles of the most greedy and ruthless colonialism on this terrestrial ball so thorough and cruel as to make the ancient Romans seem like benefactors. And as we call the roll of the captive nations, outside Russia, let us not forget that 115 million people, in what is labeled U.S.S.R., are captive non-Russians. No wonder that to the United Nations President Kennedy said, in a straight-from-the-shoulder address, "Let us debate colonialism in full and apply the principle of free choice in every part of the globe." In the U.N. think of the irony of the United States being asked to join Moscow, including the Red representative from Hungary, in an investigation of colonial policies of our ally, Portugal—thus alienating friends and becoming colleagues with the greatest colonial tyranny in the world whose colossal sins are ignored.

The captive peoples, in and out of Russia with its iron grasp, must be encouraged to keep alive in their hearts the hope that some day the type of tyranny they now endure will be thrown into the ash can of history.

Long ago the people of Cornwall, England, marched in angry protest when their beloved Bishop Trelawny was a captive of despotism and condemned to die. Across the centuries comes the sound of their hot wrath. "And shall Trelawny die, and shall Trelawny die, then 30,000 Cornish men will know the reason why."

As the hammer and sickle even now is reaping its deadly harvest of genocide, a horrible word which the dictionary says is "a deliberate systematic extermination of a racial, political, or cultural group," listen to the solemn vow of the free world—

And shall captive nations die,
Shall captive nations die?
Then millions of Americans
Will know the reason why.

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[From the Washington Sunday Star, July 15, 1956]

GROUP HEARS PLANS TO AID RED CAPTIVES

Suggestions on how to help people in captive nations overthrow Communist rule without causing nuclear war flowed freely at the opening event of Captive Nations Week observances here yesterday.

They ranged from proposals that refugees in this country tell their story on television to direct peaceful assistance to captive peoples.

At the same time, speakers at the event acknowledged that since Congress passed a resolution 3 years ago establishing Captive Nations Week, the 23d nation, Cuba, has been added to the list of those under Communist domination and that the movement to liberate captive peoples has not achieved the success hoped for.

The occasion for this informal assessment of the chances for freedom in the nation under Communist domination was a meeting at the Dodge House sponsored by the Washington Captive Nations Week Committee.

WORDS ARE WEAPONS

Words are the sticks and stones of the psychopolitical warfare being waged today and the West must use them or it will join other peoples in captivity, Associate Prof. James D. Atkinson of Georgetown University, said. The former counterintelligence officer said that peaceful coexistence as viewed by the Communists amounts to surrender on the installment plan.

Although the Soviets freely use psychopolitical warfare, he said, they threaten nuclear war if we attempt to use it to strike at the captive nations.

Khrushchev's denunciations of the yearly Captive Nations Week proclamations prove that words are effective, declared Prof. Lev Dobrianski, also of Georgetown University and chairman of the National Committee on Captive Nations Week.

Dr. Herminio Portell-Vila, a former professor at Havana University, who once flunked Fidel Castro in history, predicted a bloody showdown in Cuba soon. The Cuban people are equal to the task of overthrowing Fidel, he said, but would need the good will and protection of the United States if the Soviet Union intervened. He expressed fears that Brazil would soon become the 24th captive nation, followed shortly by Chile. Haiti and Venezuela are also being hard pressed by the Communists, he warned.

"There was a time when there was strong leadership (in the Latin American nations) but that doesn't exist any more," the Washington correspondent for Bohemia Libre, and other free Cuban publications said.

EXPLAINS TROOPS

The recent massing of troops in mainland China near the islands of Quemoy and Matsu were not preparations for aggression but precautions against internal revolt, David Lee, a former colonel in the Nationalist Chinese Army said. The Bethesda builder and treasurer of the Chinese Refugee Relief drew the loudest applause at the meeting when he said that food should not be sent to captive nations unless it can go directly to the people.

Representative DERWINSKI, Republican, of Illinois, said that the most important task is to gain acceptance of the fight to free captive peoples. "If the people are with it, the government will follow," he said in acknowledging that "we haven't achieved the success we hoped for."

Area observances this week will include special services in churches and a banquet Wednesday night at the National Press Club sponsored by the Assembly of Captive European Nations.

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SPEECH BY DAVID LEE, CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, DODGE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 14, 1962

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, I appreciate this opportunity to report to you briefly on what I learned from my recent trip to Hong Kong. I stayed in Hong Kong almost 2 months. I talked with many refugees to find out the conditions in captive China. I saw little shacks built with a few boards; families living in small sampans on the river; the pitiful faces of children in torn clothing. In the night, thousands sleep on the sidewalks or wherever they can find a place to lie down. These are the refugees.

I was told by the refugees that conditions in China are far worse than ever before in Chinese history, caused in part by flood and drought, but mostly by the Communist system.

In 1959, "the great leap forward" moved the people to the factories. But there are no longer enough raw materials to keep the factories in production and famine now stalks the land. So the forward leap has been reversed; the factory workers have now been ordered to the farms. Since 1959, the harvest has been bad. Now in their fourth year of famine, the people sense the worst may be yet to come. They have lost hope. This is the reason for the exodus in May. Many refugees believe there will be a bigger stampede for the border before the next harvest next fall. This coincides with a report by Mr. Valentine Chu, which appeared in the June edition of New Leader, titled "The Famine Makers." Mr. Chu said: "* * * 12 years of abusing nature and human nature, Peking's search for a breakthrough in agriculture has resulted in a breakdown."

We in the United States require about 3,000 calories per day. The average diet of the Chinese people, before the Communist occupation, was about 2,300 per day. In 1959 their average dropped below 1,500. No one knows how many calories their meager ration now contains, but I was told a person eats only twice a day—each time only a few pitiful ingredients, weighing about 2½ ounces. Half of this is grain; the other half a mixture of leaves, roots, bark, and sometimes sawdust. Meat is a rarity; cooking oil is extremely scarce. Housewives wrap a piece of fat in cloth and rub it over a skillet again and again—long after it has become merely a dirty, greasy rag. Clothing also is rationed drastically. Patches appear over patches. The average person works 12 hours daily, then is obliged to spend 2 hours in the evening attending Communist indoctrination sessions. In the communes, husbands and wives meet once a month. There is little privacy, with a curtain separating the bunks. There is no human dignity left. Refugees told me they came to Hong Kong seeking not only food but freedom and dignity and decency.

Of course, hunger is not equally shared in the so-called "people's paradise." The army and party members are privileged and pampered. Technical personnel and intellectuals are next in priority. There are revolts from below, but the army still can control them. However, the soldiers have families and may not wish to see them hungry. Many refugees hope that the soldiers some day will join the revolts instead of stopping them. Of the 650 million people living under these intolerable conditions, less than 2 percent are registered Chinese Communist Party members.

The free world must be prepared to help all who are seeking freedom. We must not be caught unprepared, thereby making it necessary for the free world to erect a barbed-wire wall and deny these people their right to liberty. The recent flight of the Chinese into Hong Kong, the Cubans into Miami, East Berliners into the West, and the Hungarian revolt of several years ago, has exposed the desperate situation that exists in the Communist world.

In the struggle between democracy and Communist oppression, freedom is our strongest weapon. It is human nature for men to seek freedom. Take a Communist away from this oppression and he will defect, because even Communists value freedom. We must do all in our power to help these captive people. We must accept more refugees. We must offer them more than just food and clothing. We should also resettle them and give them a change for a new life.

It is against this background that "Chinese Refugee Relief" was formed. We hope to raise funds to help resettle the refugees. We would like to conceive of the refugee in a new light. Not just as people needing help, but people who can help us fight this cold war. We plan to have a refugee information center to gather all data and information on refugee problems.

To commemorate "Captive Nations Week" I would like to suggest, if I may, (1) we bring the latest refugees from all captive countries to tell, through the media of radio and television, of their own experiences and what life under communism is actually like, and (2) we wish to advocate a "food for freedom" movement—give our surplus food to those who have risked their very lives escaping Communist oppression. Our help to the refugees keeps the light of freedom burning. This gives hope to the captive people. Only this light of hope can give those who are still enslaved the courage to revolt against the Communist tyranny. These streams of revolt will form a river of revolution. I believe this hope could become a reality and is not too far away. The Communists in China recently have massed half a million troops in southeast China in great depth. My interpretation is that they are afraid of the peoples' revolution.

There are about 1 billion people enslaved in captive countries. I believe that when these people know we are going to help them with food and every other way possible, the free world will win all these suppressed people.

Last, I wish to see our thoughts and words put into action. You can help this situation and this worthy cause. We need a lot of help in Chinese Refugee Relief. If you want to help with your spare time please write to Chinese Refugee Relief, in care of Postmaster, Washington, D.C. If you don't have time and want to make a contribution, you can sent it to Chinese Refugee Relief, in care of Postmaster, Washington 13, D.C.

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[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times]

CENSORS CAN'T HIDE GAINS BY REDS

By accident or design, this is where the cold war is being lost. No matter how fastidiously the State Department may censor speeches containing nasty truths about the Russians, the untidy fact remains that in the last 43 years—during both Republican and Democratic administrations—Soviet-led Communists have taken control of one-third of the world's population.

Officially, one does not talk about this.

Last February 11, Gen. George H. Decker addressed the 111th Infantry of the Pennsylvania National Guard. He was talking to men who may be called upon to fight and die for this Nation's security.

General Decker wanted to say: "Aggression and subversion in Africa, Asia, and Latin-America are timely examples of the means used to pursue their (i.e. Communist) aims of world domination."

The State Department forced General Decker to say instead: "Intervention and subversion in Africa, Asia, and Latin-America are timely examples of the means used by others to pursue their aim of world domination."

Thus, even our fighting men are not permitted to know the enemy's name, presumably lest the latter be affronted.

In explaining to Congress this and other State Department censorship, Under Secretary George Ball referred eloquently but not informatively to conditioning factors and the kaleidoscopic pattern of foreign affairs. There were those who came away feeling the

State Department, in general, believes Congress and the general public are too dumb to understand policy.

This is not a new attitude.

In any event, it is impressive, in a chilling sort of way, that the Communist conference in December 1960 included representatives from 81 countries. It also is a fact that although Presidents of both parties have given periodic pep talks, the U.S. world position is each year less enviable.

This is not so much a reflection upon our fighting strength because we do not allow ourselves to fight much. It is instead the direct result of a foreign policy so inadequate or unrealistic, or anti-American in concept, as to permit the steady crumbling of the free world's frontiers.

Thus, in the present moment of history, both Republicans and Democrats question whether the State Department, charged with the shaping of this policy, is performing its job properly. It is neither pertinent nor reasonable for Secretary of State Rusk, in an uncharacteristic burst of petulance, to snarl at his critics: "If you think we're losing, what would you do?" It is his job, not theirs, and if we are not, in fact, off the track somewhere, how does one account for the following:

In the summer of 1961, Secretary of State Rusk wrote to Chairman HOWARD W. SMITH of the House Rules Committee, opposing creation of a special House committee on captive nations at this time. Rusk expressed concern that Moscow would not like it, and said governmental and private sources long have been studying this subject anyway.

Have they?

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University, has publicly challenged Rusk to produce any comprehensive study dealing, for example, with Soviet Russian economic colonialism within the Soviet Union.

NO ANSWER YET

This was last December, and Dobriansky hasn't had an answer yet.

Rusk's letter to SMITH said the U.S. Government's position is "weakened by any action which confuses the rights of formerly independent peoples or nations with the status of areas, such as the Ukraine, Armenia or Georgia, which are traditional parts of the Soviet Union. Reference to these latter areas places the U.S. Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of a historical state."

This is a classic on how to lose the cold war.

Each of the countries mentioned was independent in the post-World War I period, was recognized by Soviet Russia and other countries at that time as being independent, and has fought valiantly to this day to regain its independence.

The Soviet Union has scarcely been in existence 45 years, but Rusk, presumably reflecting the State Department's policy, deems this traditional enough to seal the fate of the first victims of Soviet imperialism.

FOR TWO-CHINA POLICY

This attitude, Dr. Dobriansky commented with considerable restraint, "suggests a poor state of knowledge, interpretation and vision which is appalling at this perilous juncture of our history."

Or consider China.

A brandnew, 286-page State Department document entitled, of all things, "Basic National Security Policy," recommends that:

"The United States adopt a 'two-China' policy under which the Chinese Communist Government would be admitted to the United Nations.

"Peiping be given a seat in the U.N. General Assembly, while the Chinese Nationalist Government on Formosa retains its seat on the U.N. Security Council.

"New diplomatic pressures be brought on the Chinese Nationalists to take their troops off the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu."

This master plan was prepared by Dr. Walt W. Rostow, counselor and chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the State Department; it now is being reviewed by the National Security Council. It represents a complete reversal of present U.S. policy, certainly would be strongly opposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff (who actually are responsible for our national security) and probably would mark the end of amicable United States-Nationalist China relations.

This plan is hailed as something new, but it's not for Rostow. As early as 1955, in his book "An American Policy in Asia," he advocated virtually the same thing, declaring, "The entrance of Peiping into the U.N. is a limited political movement, the importance of which can be easily overestimated * * * the United States should sharply reduce its exhortation and pressures for anti-Communist action in southeast Asia."

U.S. support for Peiping in the U.N. certainly would reduce such action in southeast Asia; it probably would so discourage anti-Communist Asians that they would discard their guns and throw in with Mao Tze-tung.

Some already are doing it, and we are helping them along the Red route; consider Cambodia, where U.S.-financed commodities were used in connection with the construction and operation of the Russian-sponsored hospital in Phnom Penh, the capital.

SOVIETS USE U.S. AID

Jerry Jackis, a former ICA "end-use investigator," in June 1958 reported to his superior in the U.S. foreign aid mission in Cambodia that he had observed a tractor and bags of cement, both with ICA markings, being used on the Russian project. This hospital, it is worth remembering, was a major Russian propaganda showcase, designed to seduce Cambodia into communism.

Jackis also reported he observed other materials being used, such as reinforcing steel and barrels of asphalt, which probably were ICA-financed. According to Jackis, he made this report with the expectation that the matter would be promptly investigated.

Instead, his superior, Marlin F. Haas, former controller of the Cambodia mission, reprimanded him and within hours thereafter, Jackis found himself relegated to a job in a mission storage warehouse with the duties of a caretaker or janitor. Although Haas has testified to the contrary, the files of his agency show that he instituted this transfer and shortly thereafter approved an unsatisfactory efficiency rating for Jackis, the only such Jackis ever received either before or since.

The documents in Jackis' personnel file indicate that this unsatisfactory rating either caused or stimulated a series of actions which apparently led to his dismissal from the agency on January 15, 1962. It might be added parenthetically that Haas since has been promoted.

U.S. GOT NO THANKS

ICA, now called AID (Agency for International Development) is basically a State Department responsibility.

The latest development is this: I sat in on a recent hearing in Washington at which it was revealed that when the Russian hospital in Phnom Penh wouldn't work, because of the inadequacy of Soviet electrical equipment, U.S.-manufactured items—a transformer and cable—were provided, so that it now operates. By way of thanks, the Ministry of Information of Cambodia (this country is leaning to the Left a little more each day) publicly denied that any U.S. help was involved in creating the hospital.

In my presence, State Department officials concerned with AID in Cambodia also conceded, with great reluctance, that it was "possible" that American-manufactured vehicles made available to Cambodia could, for all they knew, be in use by Chinese Communists in transporting troops to South Vietnam to fight Vietnamese—and Americans.

Relate this sort of thing to one more item, an address before the New School for Social Research in New York City by Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland. Cleveland attacked the "illusion that foreign policy issues are comfortably two-sided, that we're either up or we're down and that something called victory can be something called total." Having reiterated therefore his well-worn theme that no one is going to win and no one is going to lose this "cold war,"—having implied, in essence, that we should forget the idea of victory—he declared, "We see new leaders of communism facing with realism the fact that their old dream of a Communist one world is an obsolete and perilous delusion."

THEORY IS SURPRISE

This theory is bound to surprise a lot of people, not excluding Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev. It prompted Senator MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, to comment, "Unless Mr. Cleveland is in the confidence of the Red leaders, I do not know how he could have made this statement.

"Everything that the Communist leaders have said and done for 45 long years makes clear their persistent drive to complete world revolution.

"If Mr. Cleveland's is the sort of thinking that is going on in high places in the Government, it is no wonder this year we are defending Thailand instead of holding Laos, and trying to meet Communist threats in Latin America emanating from Cuba, instead of eliminating communism inside Cuba."

The big question behind all of this State Department policy, which seems determined to alienate our friends, help our enemies, and reduce our own position, is: Why? Who creates U.S. foreign policy?

A former assistant secretary of state said to me bluntly, "When you experience failure after failure like this, it has to be the result of inefficiency or design."

This series of articles will endeavor to show the several major forces that influence this policy and the weaknesses within the structure of the State Department which foster it.

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[From the Ukranian Quarterly]

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK PROCLAMATION

("For complete and final victory without atomic war, let's use the best weapon in our arsenal—the hatred of the Captive Nations for their Communist slavemasters." Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky ("Captive Nations—Moscow's Achilles' Heel," the Manion Forum, Nov. 12, 1961).)

The closing of Captive Nations Week on July 21, 1962, dramatically demonstrated the slow but nonetheless certain decline of freedom in the world. The Captive Nations Week Resolution of July 1959, which is now Public Law 86-90, is certainly one of the finest documents, in which our country can take pride, because it expressed the undying belief of the American people in the basic inevitability of freedom for every nation in the world. But despite the powerful and attractive words of the resolution, the captive and enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain are sinking deeper and deeper into bondage as time passes.

A few years ago, our leaders had at least the courage to speak of liberation and of the rising hopes that this middle 20th century was about to bring freedom to mankind everywhere. The U.N. Charter and the Atlantic Charter had emblazoned the aspirations of all men for the basic freedoms for

which we were led to believe we had fought the greatest war in history, the Second World War.

For the fourth consecutive year the United States of America has been observing Captive Nations Week with appropriate partiotic manifestations and activities. But while these observances are gaining in ever-increasing popularity and recognition among the American people in every walk of life, the strange thing is that our leaders have become exceedingly reluctant to talk about the captive nations, and it was almost on the eve of Captive Nations Week that President Kennedy issued his proclamation to mark this signal and important event.

Last year, it is to be recalled, President Kennedy's proclamation (in 1959 and 1960 it was President Eisenhower who issued the proclamations) was made hastily and reluctantly before the President's departure for a weekend of relaxation at Hyannis Port, Mass. Fulfilling the bare minimum of congressional request, the proclamation made no reference whatsoever to the Soviet Union as the tyrannical jailer of some 22 nations of Europe and Asia.

This year's Presidential proclamation is similar in tone. Released from the White House late on July 13, 1962, the proclamation read:

"Whereas by a joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), the Congress authorized and requested the President of the United States to issue a proclamation designating the third week of July 1959 as 'Captive Nations Week' and to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world;

"Whereas there exist many historical and cultural ties between the people of these captive nations and the American people; and

"Whereas the principle of self-government and human freedom are universal ideas and the common heritage of mankind;

"Now, therefore, I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 15, 1962, as 'Captive Nations Week.'

"I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington this 13th day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-seventh."

In contrast to the previous years, this year's Presidential proclamation went virtually unnoticed in the press. In fact, in several sections of the country, specifically on the west coast, people did not know that the proclamation was issued, because of the apparent conspiracy of silence on the part of the American press which, one may be prone to believe, was "instructed" to play down the proclamation in view of the reopening of the Disarmament Conference on July 16, 1962, in Geneva. Yet, practically every U.S. metropolitan center has established civic committees to promote the purposes and objectives of the Captive Nations Week resolution.

SOVIET ORGAN FIRST TO ATTACK PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

The White House and particularly the State Department will undoubtedly find little comfort in the fact that the proclamation of Captive Nations Week by President Kennedy this year was assailed by Izvestia, official organ of the Soviet Government in Moscow.

On July 17, 1962, only 4 days after President Kennedy issued the proclamation, Izvestia cried:

"Done at the city of Washington this 13th day of July in the year of our Lord 1962, and of the independence of the United States of America the 187th.

"What was done?

"The latest proclamation by the President of the United States of the so-called 'Captive Nations Week.' In this proclamation the President invites the people of the United States to observe this week with 'appropriate ceremonies and activities.' On the basis of the 'weeks' held in the past, we already know what these appropriate ceremonies represent—unbridled anti-Soviet and anti-Communist slander.

"As far as the 'appropriate activities' are concerned, they are quite eloquently presented by a map which we produce herewith and which appeared in the July 9 issue of the New York Times. It contains a display of American military bases on foreign territory and those places in which American Armed Forces are located. More than 700,00 men—more than one-fourth of all the Armed Forces of the United States—find themselves outside the borders of their country.

"What are they doing in the foreign countries? Are they observing 'Captive Nations Week'? Not at all. Their task is to see that these countries remain in subjugation. It is a secret to no one that the aggressive blocs constructed by Washington in a large measure have assumed the functions of a gendarmerie. They are called the prisons of nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and even in Western Europe. No wonder that in the captions accompanying the map in the New York Times it is said that the Armed Forces of the United States abroad 'constitute a real guarantee of the American Government to bring help to those countries linked with it by treaties in the event of war.

"Yes, it is only thanks to American bayonets that oppressors of freedom and blood-thirsty dictators are sustained in power in a number of countries of the Latin American Continent and southeastern Asia * * * What was done in Washington, was done according to a shallow formula of throwing the blame from a sick head on a healthy one."

This was, at this writing, the first reaction of Moscow to the observances of Captive Nations Week and to the Presidential proclamation. Undoubtedly, we may hear more, although perhaps, thanks to the silent treatment that the Proclamation received this year, the Soviet propagandists may lay low too.

FORCES AGAINST CAPTIVE NATIONS AT WORK

There is little doubt that the reluctance of President Kennedy to issue a proclamation of Captive Nations Week this year was due largely to the powerful forces around him which are determined to suppress, if not completely eliminate, the issue of the captive nations from U.S. foreign policy. Immediately after World War II the U.S. Government and the President of the United States himself made public statements to the effect that they would not negotiate with the U.S.S.R. and the Communist bloc as a whole unless free elections were allowed in the satellite states. In some cases, notably in postwar Poland, the Russians went through the motions of staging rigged elections. This, of course, allowed some of our policymakers to pay lipservice to the principle of liberation. We still remember how in 1952 our presidential elections were largely fought on the issues of foreign policy—specifically, on the issue of a liberation versus a containment policy. During the second term of the Eisenhower administration the term "liberation" almost completely disappeared from the pages of the American press, and it was considered heresy to utter this word within U.S. Government circles. This lamentable state of affairs was inherited by the Kennedy administration in January 1961, and thus far no significant changes have occurred for the better. Indeed, if all the signs coming out of Washington are interpreted correctly by astute and seasoned American political observers, the situation has deteriorated from bad to worse, as far as the captive nations are concerned.

Ever since the new administration of President Kennedy took over in Washington the Department of State has become extremely solicitous and cautious for fear of offending the sensitivities of the Soviet leaders who are, in the eyes of our State Department's Soviet experts, a bona fide government which wanted nothing but friendship and cooperation with the United States and the free world at large. As a result of this muddled and wishful thinking, our Government began reacting to Soviet pressures and tricks. We no longer follow our own objectives, but react to whatever tension Moscow creates for us. While Moscow has a field day with instigating and making tensions in every corner of the globe in order to engage our resources and dissipate our unity of purpose, we are told by Washington to sit quietly. "Don't rock the boat," "Don't create new tensions," "Let's keep the status quo," or even worse, "Better Red than dead," and so forth.

We have solid and irrefutable evidence to substantiate our assumption that the White House has been under the complete control of the State Department in such vital and important matters, as that of the captive nations.

First, we have the so-called "Rusk Letters" [1] whereby our Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, expressed his view to the effect that some of the captive nations were mere "integral parts of Russia." This utterance of Mr. Rusk occurred in the summer of 1961, a few months after we shamefully lost Cuba to our enemy, and when the Communist influence was beginning to penetrate the strategical countries of South Vietnam and Laos.

THE ROSTOW MEMORANDUM

The overall policy with respect to the Communist world has been defined by one of the chief policymakers in the State Department, Walt W. Rostow, Chairman of the State Department Policy Planning Board, who is described as an ardent protagonist of a "soft policy" with regard to the Kremlin. Although very few people saw the draft of the Rostow memorandum, a substantial leakage to the press allows one to acquaint himself with the basic outline of this controversial paper.

According to Willard Edwards of the Chicago Tribune,[2] the Rostow memorandum is advocating a conciliation with Communist Russia. The new policy is based on the alleged theory that Russian domestic and foreign policies have "mellowed" during the post-Stalin era and the way has been opened for cooperation between the Communist and non-Communist worlds.

"'Since the evidence, in the form of deeds and words by Soviet leaders, runs directly contrary to this assumption," writes Mr. Edwards, the U.S. Congress and the American people, according to the Rostow paper, must be "educated" to the acceptance of a fresh approach to the Kremlin.

What are the ultimate objectives of U.S. foreign policy as outlined in the Rostow paper?

These can be summarized in a few sentences: The United States will never start an

[1] See "The Rusk Letters," editorial, the Ukrainian Quarterly, No. 4, vol. XVII, winter, 1961.

[2] See "Selling Americans On Soft Red Line," the Tablet, Brooklyn, N.Y., based on Mr. Edwards' articles in the Chicago Tribune.

atomic war; continued communication with Communist Russia must be maintained in order to dispel fear of the United States; the U.S.S.R. must be granted the status of a great power, and be induced, by word and deed, to fuller participation in the community of free nations; both East Germany and Red China should be recognized; the Eastern European satellite countries should be treated gently, and Western Europe should be induced to closer economic, cultural, and political cooperation with the Communist bloc.

Above all, no encouragement or support must be given to armed uprisings in Eastern Europe, or in any other parts of the Russian slave empire.

If these proposals are accepted, they will in effect recognize the satellites, East Germany and Red China as legitimate regimes of the peoples concerned, which in turn would be a violation of the principle of self-determination, and cause the captive nations to lose all hope of freeing themselves from the despicable and abhorrent Communist enslavement.

It is true that Mr. Rostow was called before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee where he was questioned by Senator DIRKSEN of Illinois and others, but none of the Senators was able to see the original draft of the Rostow paper, it is authoritatively reported.

The views of Mr. Rostow, even before he joined the State Department, were broadly expanded in his book, "The United States in the World Arena" (published by Harper & Bros. in 1960). In it Mr. Rostow's thesis was that the United States was not the great and invincible power its people have long supposed it to be. This country, he wrote, "must be viewed essentially as a continental island off the great land mass of Eurasia," which could unite at any time and destroy us. As recently as May 3, 1962, Mr. Rostow, testifying before the Senate Armed Forces Preparedness Subcommittee, stated:

"The victory we seek * * * will not be a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union * ? *. It will be a victory for those who recognize the profound interdependence of the nations on this planet."

What in essence Rostow proposes is: That we should not pursue a winning strategy in order to defeat a ruthless and merciless enemy, but we must base our foreign policy on the meek hope that we can woo and induce the Soviet Russian slave empire into a membership of a "community of free nations."

THE POSITION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

The importance to the American people and to the peoples of the free world at large is to know the position of President Kennedy in these all-important matters. Mr. Kennedy's record so far has been wholly in favor of the captive nations. For instance, in a statement of November 4, 1960, bearing on the captive nations, he stated: [3]

"The Captive Nations Week resolution was passed by unanimous vote in the Senate last year. As a Member of that body I have continually spoken on behalf of the eventual freedom of the captive peoples. I'll state here that I have been declaring throughout this campaign: We must never—at any 'summit,' in any treaty declaration, in our words, or even in our minds—recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe * * *. I maintain that the next administration must devise a specific policy for Eastern Europe. Among other things, we must prove to the men in Moscow that colonialism is doomed everywhere in the world, including Eastern Europe; we must arm ourselves with more flexible economic tools; we must be willing to recognize the growing divisions in the Communist camp and be willing to encourage those divisions."

In the same period, President Kennedy, in a message to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the 20th anniversary of its existence, stated: [4]

"DEAR PROFESSOR DOBRIANSKY: I welcome this opportunity to express my congratulations through you to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the occasion of this 20th anniversary. Ukrainians in America today have a special reason to treasure freedom. Moreover, there is a striking parallel between the inspirational struggle for freedom by the 45 million Ukrainians now held captive in the Communist empire and the struggle for independence and freedom of the many other non-Russian nations.

"This past summer I had the pleasure of meeting with your executive director, Stephen J. Jarema, at Hyannis Port. I stated to him at that time that I deplored the monolith term often used by the Republican administration in Washington, 'Soviet Nation' or 'Soviet people.' In essence, it is contrary to the Captive Nations Week resolution enacted last year. Its use implies that we condone the status quo of the Communist takeover of all the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain. I stated then, and I do now that I adhere to the statement as contained in the Democratic Platform: 'we will never surrender positions which are essential to the defense of freedom nor will we abandon people who are now behind the Iron Curtain through any formal approval of the status quo.'

"We can be thankful for organizations such as yours, ever aware of the Communists' ways of propaganda so that our Nation will ever be alert to the dangers of Communism, whatever form it may take."

In his speech honoring the late Dag Hammarskjold in the fall of 1961, President Kennedy stated: [5]

"There is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not yet reached the Communist empire where a population far larger than that officially termed 'dependent' lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of by free elections—under a system which knows only one party and one belief—which suppresses free debate, free elections, free newspapers, free books and trade free unions—and which built a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. * * * Let us have debate on colonialism in full—and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscite in every corner of the globe.

In view of these statements, we doubt strongly, if President Kennedy has reversed his stand on these vital and all-important issues not only to our own security, but to the entire free world as well. But the American people must know, if the President is backing the policies advocated by Rostow.

The American people are the legitimate source of sovereignty in the United States. They do not have to accept the judgment of the Department of State policy planners, especially as these planners can be proven wrong. We already had such planners, who advocated the acceptance of the "finality of enslavement" of Eastern Europe just a few months before the Polish and Hungarian revolutions in 1956. As the authors of this misguided theory were proven wrong, so will Mr. Rostow, with his ill-founded assumption on the "mellowing" processes of Russian Communist tyranny.

The captive nations in the Soviet colonial empire continue to pose as many difficulties for the Kremlin tyrants as they have in the past, and they demonstrate the amazingly indestructible stamina to resist not only Communist oppression, but continue to perpetuate their diverse racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds, and refuse to become robot-like "new Soviet men."

If the United States is to follow the dangerous path advocated by Mr. Rostow and company, it will considerably facilitate Khrushchev and his successor to attain the unchanged objective of the Kremlin: conquest of the entire world for Russian communism.

FREEDOM'S DEFEATS

TO THE EDITOR: The third week in July traditionally has been observed as Captive Nations Week. Now there are 24 captive nations, lands where Communists have been victorious, where the forces of freedom have been defeated in this cold war.

They are China (mainland), Ukraine, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, East Germany, Turkestan, Czechoslovakia, North Vietnam, Idel-Ural, Hungary, Cossackia, North Korea, White Ruthenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Albania, Tibet, Estonia, and Cuba.

Against this imposing list of Communist victories, the free world with U.S. leadership has only one victory, the liberation of Guatemala. The score is 24-to-1 against us.

In Africa, in Latin and South America, in Laos, in Indonesia contests between the free world and the Communists are still waging where additional lands could fall to the Communists, but nowhere contests where captive nations could be liberated by us.

Whether or not we planned it this way, we have followed no-win policies, and nearly 1 billion people are captives in captive nations as a result of our unsuccessful leadership of the free world.

J. KESNER,
*7023 South Constance Avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

[3] See, "CACEED Offers Support to President Kennedy," the Ukrainian Bulletin, Mar. 1–15, 1961, p. 23.

[4] "Twenty Years Devotion to Freedom," Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, 1961.

[5] See, "Ukraine: A Neglected New Frontier," The Ukrainian Bulletin, Oct. 1–15, 1961, p. 80, and "On The Kennedy-Khrushchev TV Exchange, The Ukrainian Bulletin, Mar. 1–15, 1962, p. 24.

## Electric Toothbrushes: A Modern Example of American Experiment and Initiative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, it remains true that basic ideas, initiative, experiment, and application are still the foundation for industrial and employment expansion in this country.

A prime example of such initiative most recently emanates from the Clock and Timer Department of General Electric, headquartered in the town of Ashland, in my Fourth Congressional District in Massachusetts. This unit participated in the first announcement and marketing, last year, of the new electric automatic toothbrush.

Since that time this product, in a highly competitive field, has been increasingly evaluated and accepted by the general public and members of the dental profession.

Since the new product was first presented to the public, General Electric's Clock and Timer Department has announced the further investment of some $2 million in plant operation expansion in Ashland. One of the primary reasons for this expansion is to engage in the accelerated manufacture of the automatic toothbrush.

Mr. Speaker, this incident is surely a most practical example of the fundamental manner in which persevering probing of public needs and visionary experiments in satisfying, with constant improvements, those needs can encourage business expansion and provide more employment for our ever-increasing jobseekers within our States and our country. Basically this is the answer to automation in an atomic age.

At this point I would like to include the complete text of the American Dental Association statement on the data submitted to them, on electric toothbrushes, by the General Electric Co. and E. R. Squibb & Sons. The text follows:

Two manufacturers of electric toothbrushes have submitted test data to the Council on Dental Therapeutics of the American Dental Association. These firms are General Electric Co. and E. R. Squibb & Sons. The council has not received data on any of the other brushes now on the market and has no evidence as to their safety or effectiveness. Reports have been noted of a seizure action by the Food and Drug Administration against another brush that was placed on the market.

Data submitted to date on the electric toothbrushes made by these two firms (General Electric and Squibb) indicate that they are safe for use on oral tissues. Preliminary results of clinical tests also suggest that these two electrically powered brushes may be superior in cleaning ability to the ordinary toothbrush as used by the average individual.

It is still too early to know the therapeutic value of these brushes; their ability to aid in the prevention of dental caries (decay) and periodontitis (gum disease) cannot be determined as yet. Additional clinical studies are in progress and the council will continue to evaluate the new data as they become available.

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## Voting Record of Hon. Steven B. Derounian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to report to my constituents on my voting record as their Representative during the 87th Congress.

For 10 years I have had the honor of representing the people of the Second Congressional District of New York, and I am deeply appreciative of this opportunity to serve my country. As my record shows, I am no rubberstamp; I am independent of thought and recognize no pressure from any quarter. I follow my conscience and good judgment, influenced only by what is best for my district, my State, and my country.

In the 2 years of this 87th Congress, I had maintained an attendance record of 99 percent. In addition to the rollcalls for the record votes, which I list here, there were a total of 282 quorum calls for the two sessions.

Limited space makes the description of the measures on which there were rollcall votes necessarily brief. Upon request, however, I shall be pleased to discuss any legislative action of interest to my constituents. I will comment briefly on some of them:

I supported the resolution expressing the determination of the United States to prevent the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending to any part of this hemisphere, and supported, also, efforts to rewrite the measure, so as to recognize the violation of the Monroe Doctrine and the massive Communist military buildup in Cuba. These efforts failed and the resolution that passed is, in my opinion, weak and ineffective. I believe that the Congress must show the strength that the President has failed to show in standing up to Khrushchev. History shows that appeasement will in the end bring us war and not peace.

Although no action was taken in Congress, I must mention my efforts to restore to the public schools the right of our children to recite a noncompulsory, nondenominational prayer. I have introduced a resolution to amend the Constitution, restoring this integral part of our American heritage—the right to pray in schools and other public places for those who want to.

I refused to support the action of Congress, in 1961, in striking out of the legislation establishing the Peace Corps, this provision:

The Peace Corps shall not perform service in any foreign country in which, by reason of law or official policy, any member of the Peace Corps will be discriminated against because of his race, creed, or color.

With the exception of this one, serious flaw in its authority, the Peace Corps in the past year has functioned effectively and, in 1962, I supported the request for funds to carry on its operations.

Social security benefits were broadened further during the 1st session of this Congress and I supported this legislation. During consideration of the bill in my Committee on Ways and Means, I fought to liberalize the present retirement test so that a recipient of social security could earn up to $2,400 a year without loss of any benefit entitlement. My efforts had the support of the Republican members of the committee but the administration opposition refused to accept our proposal.

I am on record in support of a $1.25 per hour minimum wage, having voted for it in 1960. In 1961, when the subject of minimum wage was again considered in the House, I again supported it although, at the request of the Kennedy administration the increase was limited to $1.15 an hour for 2 years. In the Senate action that followed, an amendment was added to the bill giving the Federal Government the right to interfere in local and State commerce, violating the principles of our Constitution and I, therefore, refused to support the conference report.

In the final votes, I supported both the foreign aid appropriation bill and the purchase of bonds for the United Nations. I have consistently fought aid to any member of the Communist bloc and was able to support the appropriations for foreign aid because the act contained a clause denying U.S. aid to any nation whose government is based on communism. The amount appropriated by the House was $1.1 billion less than requested by the President. The U.N. bond bill is a far cry from the unrestricted authority and blank check requested by the administration and requires that any bond purchase made by the United States be matched by bond purchases by other nations and states specifically that the U.S. funds cannot be used to pay any other member's assessments. Further, a much-needed report on long-term financing by the United Nations must be submitted to the Congress by the Department of State not later than January 31, 1963.

I voted against President Kennedy's proposal to tax at the source the interest and savings of the people; against his request that the dividend credit now allowed the taxpayer be rescinded; against the so-called investment credit section of the bill which favors big business and penalizes small business. I favor sound tax reform and believe the objective of legislation should be to simplify, not compound, tax problems.

My vote against the "bread tax" was a vote for the consumer. H.R. 12391, the Food and Agriculture Act puts two prices on a bushed of wheat—92 cents if it is fed to hogs, but $2 if it is used for bread or other foods for the children and adults. This is nothing more or less than a "tax" on the people of $1.08 per bushel of wheat. At committee hearings on this legislation, the representatives of the American Bakers Association testified "With an estimated annual consumption of 16 billion pounds of bread and bread-type products, the housewife would have $320 million added to her food bill annually."

The congressional district lines have been changed by the New York State Legislature and my present district, after December 31, 1962, will be known as the Third Congressional District, whose constituents I look forward with pleasure to serving again.

| Date | Measure, question, and result | Derounian's vote |
|---|---|---|
| Jan. 3 | Election of Speaker. (Rayburn 258, Halleck 170.) | Halleck. |
| | H. Res. 1, barring George O. Chambers from taking oath as Representative pending investigation by House Administration Committee of congressional election in Indiana's 5th District. | |
| Jan. 3 | On motion to order previous question (to prevent debate). (Adopted 252 to 166.) | Nay. |
| Jan. 31 | H. Res. 127, enlarging the Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members: | |
| | On agreeing to resolution. (Adopted 217 to 212.) | Nay. |
| Mar. 1 | H.R. 4806, authorizing Federal grants to States for temporary extension of unemployment benefits to workers who had exhausted their benefits and providing for temporary unemployment tax increase to take care of cost: | |
| | On passage. (Passed 392 to 30.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 1 | H. Res. 167, authorizing funds of the Committee on Un-American Activities for 1961: | |
| | On adoption of resolution. (Adopted 412 to 6.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 1 | H.R. 5188, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1961: | |
| Mar. 7 | On amendment providing an additional $29,990,000 for aid to schools in impacted areas. (Adopted 339 to 62.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 9 | H.R. 4510, providing for a special program for feed grains for 1961: | |
| Mar. 9 | On motion to recommit with instructions to delete section permitting Secretary of Agriculture to drive down market price by selling Government-owned corn and grain sorghums at 17 percent below price-support price. (Rejected 196 to 214.). | Yea. |
| Mar. 9 | On passage. (Passed 209 to 202.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 4510, providing for a special program for feed grains for 1961: | |
| Mar. 21 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 231 to 185.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 5463, amending and extending the Sugar Act to Dec. 31, 1962: | |
| Mar. 21 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 284 to 129.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 4806, authorizing Federal grants to States for temporary extension of unemployment benefits to workers who had exhausted their benefits and providing for temporary unemployment tax increase to take care of cost: | |
| Mar. 22 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 363 to 31.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 5000, authorizing certain construction at military installations: | |
| Mar. 23 | On amendment requiring feasibility study before authorizing $3,812,000 for transferring Food and Container Institute from Chicago, Ill., to Natick, Mass. (Adopted 209 to 145.) | Nay. |
| Mar. 23 | On passage. (Passed 412 to 0) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 3935, increasing Federal minimum wage and extending coverage to additional workers on basis of dollar volume of sales of employer: | |
| Mar. 24 | On amendment substituting language increasing minimum wage to $1.15 an hour and extending coverage to additional workers on basis of interstate operations test. (Adopted 216 to 203.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 24 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 196 to 224) | Nay. |
| Mar. 24 | On passage. (Passed 341 to 78) | Yea. |
| | S. 1, authorizing $394,000,000 in Federal loans and grants for redevelopment of economically depressed areas: | |
| Mar. 29 | On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill, H.R. 5943. (Rejected 126 to 291.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 29 | On passage. (Passed 251 to 167.) | Nay. |
| | S. 912, providing 70 additional circuit and district judgeships: | |
| Apr. 19 | On passage. (Passed 336 to 76.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6027, liberalizing certain social security benefits and increasing social security tax: | |
| Apr. 20 | On passage. (Passed 400 to 14.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6518, making appropriations for inter-American social and economic program and the Chilean reconstruction program: | |
| Apr. 25 | On passage. (Passed 329 to 83.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1, authorizing $394,000,000 in Federal loans and grants for redevelopment of economically depressed areas: | |
| Apr. 26 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 223 to 193.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 3935, increasing Federal minimum wage and extending coverage on dollar-volume test: | |
| May 3 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 230 to 196.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 6441, increasing annual Federal grants for sewage treatment works from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 and the overall limit from $500,000,000 to $1,000,000,000: | |
| May 3 | On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce annual funds to $75,000,000 and overall limit to $750,000,000 and to require States after June 1964 to match all funds in excess of $50,000,000 annually. (Rejected 165 to 256.) | Yea. |
| May 3 | On passage. (Passed 308 to 110.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 2010, extending Mexican farm labor program for 2 years: | |
| May 11 | On passage. (Passed 231 to 157.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 6094, increasing annual salary ceiling for Council of Economic Advisers personnel from $345,000 to $2,000,000: | |
| May 11 | On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce salary ceiling to $700,000. (Rejected 151 to 196.) | Yea. |
| May 11 | On passage. (Passed 209 to 137.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 284, providing for consideration of H.R. 4614, establishing a U.S. Travel Service in Department of Commerce: | |
| May 16 | On agreeing to resolution. (Adopted 241 to 70.) | Yea. |
| | H. Con. Res. 226, expressing sense of Congress favoring collective sanctions by the Organization of American States against Castro government of Cuba: | |
| May 17 | On motion to suspend rules and pass resolution. (Passed 404 to 2.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 4614, establishing a U.S. Travel Service in Department of Commerce: | |
| May 17 | On passage. (Passed 305 to 104.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1852, authorizing additional construction of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels in fiscal 1962: | |
| May 24 | On passage. (Passed 402 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 1986, repealing provision intended to prevent railroads from charging higher rates for carrying non-first-class mail than for carrying express matter: | |
| May 25 | On motion to recommit with instructions to add amendment requiring the ICC to publish the difference in rates paid to the railroads by the Post Office and Railway Express Agency for carrying similar weight commodities. (Rejected 16 to 346.) | Not voting. |
| | H.R. 7371, making appropriations for Departments of State and Justice, the judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal 1962: | |
| June 1 | On passage. (Passed 256 to 71.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7444, making appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal year 1962: | |
| June 6 | On amendment reducing the $250,000,000 for agricultural conservation program to $150,000,000. (Rejected 184 to 196) | Yea. |
| June 6 | On passage. (Passed 320 to 65.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7446, providing 1-year extension of existing corporate normal tax and of certain excise tax rates: | |
| June 8 | On motion to recommit with instructions to add language repealing the 10-percent transportation tax. (Rejected 189 to 196.) | Yea. |
| June 8 | On passage. (Passed 295 to 88.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7053, providing that evidence should not be inadmissible in the District of Columbia courts solely because of a delay in arraignment (qualifies Mallory rule): | |
| June 12 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 104 to 252.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 308, disapproving the President's reorganization plan for the Federal Communications Commission: | |
| June 15 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 323 to 77.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 302 disapproving the President's reorganization plan for the Securities and Exchange Commission: | |
| June 15 | On agreeing to resolution. (Rejected 176 to 212.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6765, authorizing an amendment to charter of the International Finance Corporation permitting investment in capital stock: | |
| June 19 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 329 to 18.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7712, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1961: | |
| June 19 | On passage. (Passed 292 to 63.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 304, disapproving the President's reorganization plan for the Civil Aeronautics Board: | |
| June 20 | On agreeing to resolution. (Rejected 178 to 213.) | Yea. |
| | H. Res. 305, disapproving the President's reorganization plan for the Federal Trade Commission: | |
| June 20 | On agreeing to resolution. (Rejected 178 to 221.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6028, authorizing $4,900,000,000 in Federal housing programs over 4 years: | |
| June 22 | On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill extending existing programs for 1 year with a $1,100,000,000 authorization. (Rejected 197 to 215.) | Yea. |
| June 22 | On passage. (Passed 235 to 178.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7677, increasing the national debt limit: | |
| June 26 | On passage. (Passed 231 to 148.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7851. A bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962. | |
| June 28 | On amendment deleting language prohibiting use of funds for payment of price differentials on contracts in order to relieve economic dislocations. (Rejected 173 to 293.) | Nay. |
| June 28 | On passage. (Passed 412 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1922, authorizing $4,880,000,000 in housing programs over 4 years: | |
| June 28 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 229 to 176.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 354, providing for a House of Representatives flag: | |
| June 29 | On agreeing to resolution. (Rejected 108 to 270.) | Nay. |

*1st sess., 87th Cong., 1961*—Continued

| Date | Measure, question, and result | Derounian's vote |
|---|---|---|
| | H.J. Res. 225, granting the consent of Congress to the Delaware River Basin compact: | |
| June 29 | On motion to recommit with instructions to limit Federal Government to nonvoting representation and exclude Federal Government from any financial responsibilities of the Commission. (Rejected 92 to 257.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 187, providing for judicial review of orders for deportation: | |
| June 29 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 304 to 60.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 5786, providing for the establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore: | |
| July 10 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 278 to 82.) | Nay. |
| | H.J. Res. 435, providing for observance of the Department of Agriculture centennial: | |
| July 17 | On motion to suspend rules and pass resolution. (Adopted 367 to 12.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 2555, providing for advanced pay for civilian Government employees in emergency evacuation: | |
| July 17 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 287 to 87.) | Yea. |
| July 19 | H.R. 6874, authorizing appropriation for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration: | |
| July 20 | On adoption of the conference report. (Adopted 354 to 59.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 328, disapproving the President's reorganization plan for the National Labor Relations Board: | |
| July 20 | On agreeing to resolution. (Adopted 231 to 179.) | Yea. |
| | H. Res. 336, disapproving the President's reorganization plan for the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration: | |
| July 20 | On motion to discharge the Committee on Government Operations from further consideration of H. Res. 336. (Rejected 184 to 218.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8302, making appropriations for military construction for fiscal 1962: | |
| July 25 | On amendment eliminating funds for transfer of Army Food and Container Institute from Chicago to Natick, Mass. (Adopted 241 to 170.) | Nay. |
| July 25 | On passage. (Passed 409 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.J. Res. 120, authorizing the President to order 250,000 members of the Ready Reserves to active duty for up to 12 months and to extend present Armed Forces tours of duty: | |
| July 31 | On agreeing to the resolution. (Passed 403 to 2.) | Yea. |
| | S. 2311, authorizing additional appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, to meet possible Berlin crisis: | |
| Aug. 2 | On passage. (Passed 406 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 30, granting the consent of Congress to the northeastern water and related land resources compact: | |
| Aug. 2 | On motion to recommit with instructions to limit participation of Federal Government to nonvoting representation. (Rejected 140 to 261.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1643, providing wheat and feed grains program for 1962, and extending other farm laws (Agricultural Act of 1961): | |
| Aug. 3 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 224 to 170.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7856, reorganizing Federal Communications Commission to permit the FCC Board to delegate its functions in adjudicative cases to employees: | |
| Aug. 3 | On passage. (Passed 198 to 151.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7728, authorizing the Secretary of a military department to sell goods and services to private aircraft owners: | |
| Aug. 7 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 307 to 78.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 404, providing for House-Senate conference on H.R. 7576, authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1962: | |
| Aug. 8 | On motion to table (kill) motion to instruct the House conferees not to agree to Senate amendment providing $95,000,000 to add electrical generating facilities to the Hanford, Wash.; atomic reactor. (Rejected 164 to 235.) | Nay. |
| Aug. 8 | On motion to instruct the House conferees not to agree to Senate amendment authorizing $95,000,000 to add electrical generating facilities to the Hanford, Wash., atomic reactor. (Adopted 235 to 164.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8033, authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to delegate certain duties to employee boards: | |
| Aug. 8 | On passage. (Passed 212 to 174.) | Yea. |
| | H. Res. 406, providing for the consideration of S. 1815, providing an Assistant Secretary of Labor, to handle the problems of women workers: | |
| Aug. 9 | On adoption of the resolution. (Adopted 369 to 16.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6302, transferring Freedmen's Hospital, District of Columbia, from Federal Government to Howard University: | |
| Aug. 9 | On passage. (Passed 321 to 61.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7851, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1962: | |
| Aug. 10 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 383 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8400, authorizing foreign economic and military aid in fiscal 1962: | |
| Aug. 18 | On passage. (Passed 287 to 140.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8384, providing Federal penalties for airplane hijacking and other crimes committed aboard commercial aircraft: | |
| Aug. 21 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 374 to 5.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7763, authorizing planning for U.S. participation in the New York World's Fair in 1964 and 1965: | |
| Aug. 22 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 353 to 42.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 84, subsidizing lead and zinc producers: | |
| Aug. 24 | On passage. (Passed 196 to 172.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8181, authorizing $20,000,000 for a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia: | |
| Aug. 28 | On engrossment of and 3d reading of bill. (Ordered 223 to 120.) | Nay. |
| Aug. 28 | On passage. (Passed 208 to 135.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7176, providing for a national hog cholera eradication program: | |
| Aug. 28 | On passage. (Passed 337 to 3.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8773, increasing readjustment payments to Armed Forces Reserve personnel involuntarily released from active duty: | |
| Aug. 29 | On passage. (Passed 394 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6242, exempting certain Department of Justice attorneys from the salary ceilings in their civil service classification: | |
| Aug. 29 | On passage. (Rejected 172 to 223.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8890, authorizing a program of Federal aid to education: | |
| Aug. 30 | On motion to consider bill under Calendar Wednesday procedure. (Rejected 170 to 242.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8028, authorizing $30,000,000 for studying juvenile delinquency: | |
| Aug. 30 | On amendment restricting pilot projects to the District of Columbia. (Rejected 187 to 217.) | Yea. |
| | S. Con. Res. 34, expressing the sense of Congress that Communist China should not be seated in the United Nations: | |
| Aug. 31 | On adoption of resolution. (Adopted 395 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1983, authorizing foreign economic and military aid: | |
| Aug. 31 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 260 to 132.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 9033, making appropriations for foreign economic and military aid for fiscal 1962: | |
| Sept. 5 | On amendment increasing military assistance by additional $300,000,000. (Adopted 243 to 151.) | Nay. |
| Sept. 5 | On passage. (Passed 270 to 123.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 9000, extending for 2 years the National Defense Education Act and aid to federally impacted school areas: | |
| Sept. 6 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 378 to 32.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8723, amending the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act: | |
| Sept. 6 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Rejected 245 to 161, a ⅔ vote being required.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8666, promoting educational and cultural exchanges between the United States and other nations: | |
| Sept. 6 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 329 to 66.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8302, making appropriations for military construction for fiscal 1962: | |
| Sept. 13 | On motion to agree to Senate amendment eliminating funds for transfer of Army Food and Container Institute from Chicago to Natick, Mass. (Adopted 212 to 185.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7371, making appropriations for Department of State, Justice, and the Judiciary: | |
| Sept. 13 | On motion to agree with Senate amendment extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission to September 1963. (Adopted 200 to 106.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 9076, making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, Department of the Interior, Atomic Energy Commission, and the Tennessee Valley Authority for fiscal 1962 (Public Works): | |
| Sept. 13 | On motion to recommit with instructions to eliminate funds for Upper Colorado River Basin transmission lines. (Rejected 182 to 225.) | Yea. |
| Sept. 13 | On passage. (Passed 378 to 31.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7576, authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission: | |
| Sept. 13 | On adoption of conference report and approval of construction of electric generating facilities at Hanford, Wash. (Rejected 157 to 251.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8102, extending the time for making grants under the Federal Airport Act: | |
| Sept. 13 | On motion to agree with Senate amendment fixing extension at 3 years. (Adopted 398 to 4.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7500, providing for a Peace Corps: | |
| Sept. 14 | On passage. (Passed 288 to 97.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 455, providing for a conference with Senate on H.R. 2010, extending Mexican farm labor program: | |
| Sept. 15 | On adoption of resolution. (Adopted 243 to 135.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 464, providing for the consideration of committee substitute amendment to H.R. 7927, adjusting postal rates: | |
| Sept. 15 | On motion to order previous question (to prevent debate). (Rejected 142 to 222.) | Nay. |
| | S. 2393, extending for 2 years the National Defense Education Act and aid to federally impacted school areas: | |
| Sept. 18 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 342 to 18.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1459, adjusting longevity step increases for postal employees: | |
| Sept. 18 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 362 to 4.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 5751, providing for notification to recipient that his mail may contain Communist propaganda from abroad and providing for return to sender: | |
| Sept. 18 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 369 to 2.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8914, amending the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act regarding participation in 1962 feed grain program: | |
| Sept. 18 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Rejected 213 to 151, a ⅔ vote being required.) | Nay. |

*1st sess., 87th Cong., 1961*—Continued

| Date | Measure, question, and result | Derounian's vote |
|---|---|---|
| | H.R. 7377, increasing number of highest paid employees in Federal agencies: | |
| Sept. 18 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Passed 305 to 53.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 9118, establishing U.S. Arms Control Agency: | |
| Sept. 19 | On passage. (Passed 290 to 54.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7500, providing for a Peace Corps: | |
| Sept. 21 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 253 to 79.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 5628, providing Federal funds to study the establishment of a botanic garden in Hawaii: | |
| Sept. 21 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Rejected 215 to 125, a ⅔ vote being required.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 4172, establishing a Federal Council on the Arts: | |
| Sept. 21 | On motion to suspend rules and pass bill. (Rejected 166 to 173.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 258, increasing the District of Columbia sales tax: | |
| Sept. 22 | On adoption of conference report. (Rejected 142 to 159.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7377, increasing number of highest paid employees in Federal agencies: | |
| Sept. 23 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 229 to 71.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 9118, establishing U.S. Arms Control Agency: | |
| Sept. 23 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 253 to 50.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 258, increasing the District of Columbia sales tax: | |
| Sept. 26 | On adoption of conference report. (Rejected 97 to 173.) | Not voting. |
| | H.R. 9033, making appropriations for foreign economic and military aid for fiscal 1962: | |
| Sept. 26 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 192 to 81.) | Not voting. |
| Sept. 26 | On motion to agree with Senate amendment providing that foreign aid Inspector General need not honor a request for information from Congress if the President certifies he has forbidden him to do so. | Not voting. |

*2d sess., 87th Cong., 1962*

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| Jan. 10 | Election of Speaker. (McCormack 248, Halleck 166.) | Halleck. |
| | H.R. 8900. College Academic Facilities Act: | |
| Jan. 30 | On passage. (Passed 319 to 80.) | Yea. |
| | S. 383, providing for acquisition of a patented mining claim, Grand Canyon National Park: | |
| Feb. 5 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Rejected 202 to 136.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 6360, authorizing an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce: | |
| Feb. 6 | On passage. (Passed 231 to 169.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 10050, providing for a further temporary increase in the public debt limit: | |
| Feb. 20 | On agreeing to H. Res. 549, the closed rule providing for consideration of the bill. (Adopted 258 to 133.) | Nay. |
| Feb. 20 | On passage. (Passed 251 to 144.) | Nay. |
| | H. Res. 530. Disapproving Reorganization Plan No. 1, providing for the establishment in the executive branch of a new Department of Urban Affairs and Housing: | |
| Feb. 21 | On agreeing to resolution. (Adopted 264 to 150.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 6747, amending the Juvenile Court Act of the District of Columbia: | |
| Feb. 26 | On Multer amendment to substitute the text of S. 486 for the language of H.R. 6747. (Adopted 221 to 143.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8399, relating to the occupational training, development, and use of the manpower resources of the Nation: | |
| Feb. 28 | On passage. (Passed 354 to 62.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 132, establishing a program of Federal matching grants for the construction of television facilities to be used for educational purposes: | |
| Mar. 7 | On passage. (Passed 330 to 68.) | Yea. |
| | S. 167, authorizing the Attorney General to compel the production of documentary evidence required in civil investigations for the enforcement of the antitrust laws: | |
| Mar. 13 | On passage. (Passed 339 to 58.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8723, amending the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act: | |
| Mar. 15 | On conference report—on Ashbrook motion to recommit, designed to restore the Ashbrook amendment. (Rejected 182 to 218.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 15 | On agreeing to conference report. (Adopted 284 to 108.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10606, extending and improving the public assistance and child welfare services programs of the Social Security Act: | |
| Mar. 15 | On Byrnes of Wisconsin motion to recommit designed to supply the minority version of the program. (Rejected 155 to 233.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 15 | On passage. No Federal control on spending and funds appropriated in excess of administration's request. (Passed 320 to 69.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 9751, authorizing appropriations during the fiscal year 1963 for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels for the Armed Forces: | |
| Mar. 21 | On passage. (Passed 404 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10904, making appropriations for the Department of Labor, and Health and Welfare, and related agencies, 1963: | |
| Mar. 27 | On Johansen motion to recommit. (Defeated 24 to 373.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 10650, Revenue Act of 1962: | |
| Mar. 28 | On adoption of the previous question on H. Res. 576. (Adopted 224 to 185.) | Nay. |
| Mar. 28 | On agreeing to H. Res. 576, the closed rule waiving points of order and providing for 8 hours of debate on H.R. 10650. (Adopted 234 to 172.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 10650, Revenue Act of 1962: | |
| Mar. 29 | On Byrnes of Wisconsin motion to recommit, designed to eliminate the investment credit provisions and withholding provisions of taxes on interest and dividends. (Rejected 190 to 225.) | Yea. |
| Mar. 29 | On passage. (Passed 219 to 196.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 10162, amending the Bretton Woods Agreements Act: | |
| Apr. 2 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Passed 257 to 94.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10743, providing increases in rates of disability compensation: | |
| Apr. 2 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Passed 347 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10700, amending the Peace Corps Act: | |
| Apr. 3 | On passage. (Passed 317 to 70.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11038, supplemental appropriations, 1962: | |
| Apr. 4 | On Gross motion to recommit, designed to limit expenditures by the State Department from funds for contributions to international organizations to 30.02 percent of aggregate U.N. payments. (Rejected 153 to 235.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 4441, authorizing appropriation of $3,063,500 as an ex gratia payment to New York to assist in defraying the extraordinary and unprecedented expenses incurred during the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations: | |
| Apr. 5 | On Bow motion to recommit. (Rejected 143 to 217.) | Nay. |
| Apr. 5 | On passage. (Passed 207 to 153.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10788, amending section 204 of the Agricultural Act of 1956 regarding the regulation of textile imports: | |
| Apr. 10 | On agreeing to H. Res. 589, the open rule providing for consideration of the bill. (Approved 265 to 76.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 10788, amending section 204 of the Agricultural Act of 1956 regarding the regulation of textile imports: | |
| Apr. 11 | On passage. (Passed 312 to 81.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 11151, making appropriations for the legislative branch, 1963: | |
| Apr. 11 | On Conte motion to recommit, designed to bar use of any funds to finance "occupant" mail by Members of Congress. (Failed 192 to 197.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11289, making appropriations for the Department of Defense, 1963: | |
| Apr. 18 | On passage. (Passed 388 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8031, amending the Communications Act of 1934 in order to give the Federal Communications Commission certain regulatory authority over television receiving apparatus: | |
| May 2 | On passage. (Passed 279 to 90.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 11040, providing for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system: | |
| May 3 | On passage. (Passed 354 to 9.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8617, relating to the payment of the unpaid balance of awards made by the Philippine War Damage Commission: | |
| May 9 | On passage. (Rejected 171 to 201.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 8900, authorizing assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education: | |
| May 9 | On agreeing to H. Res. 625, providing for sending to conference of H.R. 8900. (Approved 295 to 77.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11737, authorizing appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration: | |
| May 23 | On passage. (Passed 343 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11665, revising the formula for apportioning cash assistance funds among the States under the National School Lunch Act: | |
| June 6 | On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed 160 to 220.) | Yea. |
| June 6 | On passage. (Passed 370 to 11.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 5532, amending the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947: | |
| June 7 | On passage. (Passed 362 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11990, providing for a temporary increase in the public debt limit: | |
| June 14 | On Byrnes of Wisconsin motion to recommit, designed to substitute the text of H.R. 12026, a similar bill limiting the increase to $306,000,000,000 in lieu of $308,000,000,000. (Rejected 145 to 258.) | Paired for. |
| June 14 | On passage. (Passed 211 to 192.) | Paired against. |

2d sess., 87th Cong., 1962—Continued

| Date | Measure, question, and result | Dirksen's vote |
|---|---|---|
| | H.R. 12154, Sugar Act Amendments of 1962: | |
| June 18 | On consideration of H. Res. 691, the closed rule waiving points of order and providing for 3 hours of debate on the bill. (Adopted 262 to 32.) | Yea. |
| June 19 | On motion to recommit, designed to delete sec. 18 of the bill. (Rejected 174 to 222.) | Yea. |
| June 19 | On passage. (Passed 319 to 72.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11222, Food and Agriculture Act of 1962: | |
| June 21 | On committee amendment No. 10, which would establish the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to designate certain areas as deficit feed areas and thus exempt them from the mandatory acreage cutbacks. (Adopted 267 to 151.) | Nay. |
| June 21 | On motion to recommit. (Adopted 215 to 205.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11500, extending the Defense Production Act of 1950: | |
| June 25 | On passage. (Passed 329 to 0.) | Not voting. |
| | H.R. 11309, providing for continuation of authority for regulation of exports: | |
| June 25 | On passage. (Passed 339 to 0.) | Not voting. |
| | H.R. 11970, Trade Expansion Act of 1962: | |
| June 28 | On motion to recommit, designed to extend the present Reciprocal Trade Act for 1 year. (Rejected 171 to 253.) | Yea. |
| June 28 | On passage. (Passed 298 to 125.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1658, amending act of Jan. 2, 1951, prohibiting the transportation of gambling devices in interstate and foreign commerce: | |
| June 29 | On passage. (Passed 349 to 1.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1969, amending Federal Aviation Act of 1958: | |
| June 29 | On agreeing to conference report. (Adopted 337 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12154, Sugar Act Amendments of 1962: | |
| June 30 | On agreeing to conference report. (Adopted 248 to 31.) | Not voting. |
| | H.R. 11586, amending Merchant Marine Act of 1936, relative to vessel construction subsidies: | |
| July 2 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Adopted 298 to 5.) | Yea. |
| | S. 2775, removing the ceiling on the authorization for the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: | |
| July 2 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Adopted 281 to 14.) | Yea. |
| | H. Res. 714, expressed the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the authorization by the Federal Communications Commission of class I–A clear channel operations: | |
| July 2 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Adopted 198 to 87.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11921, Foreign Aid Assistance Act of 1962: | |
| July 12 | On passage. (Passed 250 to 164.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8050, relating to importation of honey bees: | |
| July 16 | On agreeing to H. Res. 726, providing for House agreement to Senate amendment to H.R. 8050. (Approved 196 to 142.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 11974, authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission: | |
| July 17 | On Van Zandt amendment to prohibit further Government competition with private power industry and protect congressional control over public funds. (Adopted 232 to 163.) | Yea. |
| | S. 167, authorizing the Attorney General to compel the production of documentary evidence required in civil investigations for the enforcement of the antitrust laws: | |
| July 18 | Conference report: On McCulloch motion to recommit. (Approved 202 to 200.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12135, authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years 1964 and 1965 for the construction of certain highways: | |
| July 19 | On Baldwin amendment to require the State highway department to provide relocation advisory assistance to families displaced by right-of-way acquisitions. (Adopted 236 to 159.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10606, Public Welfare Amendments of 1962: | |
| July 19 | On agreeing to conference report. (Approved 358 to 34.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 12391, Food and Agriculture Act of 1962: | |
| July 19 | On passage. (Passed 229 to 163.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 12580, Appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies, 1963: | |
| July 20 | On passage. (Passed 266 to 56.) | Yea. |
| | S. 2996, Foreign Assistance Act of 1962: | |
| July 24 | On agreeing to conference report. (Adopted 221 to 162.) | Nay |
| | H.R. 12648, appropriations for the Department of Agriculture: | |
| July 25 | On passage. (Passed 346 to 41.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 529, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho: | |
| July 26 | On passage. (Passed 199 to 162.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 12711, independent offices appropriation bill, 1963: | |
| Aug. 1 | On passage. (Passed 369 to 12.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 575, upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon: | |
| Aug. 1 | On passage. (Passed 200 to 182.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 10904, appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare: | |
| Aug. 1 | Conference report—On motion to recommit. (Failed 173 to 214.) | Yea. |
| Aug. 1 | On agreeing to conference report. (Adopted 350 to 35.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 4055, to amend Act Authorizing National Medals of Science: | |
| Aug. 8 | On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill. (Failed 193 to 177.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 7283, amending the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to provide compensation for certain World War II losses: | |
| Aug. 8 | On passage. (Passed 355 to 15.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1005, amending sec. 10 and sec. 3 of the Federal Reserve Act: | |
| Aug. 14 | On passage. (Passed 314 to 50.) | Yea. |
| Aug. 27 | On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with. (298 to 65.) | Yea. |
| Aug. 27 | On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with. (312 to 62.) | Yea. |
| | S.J. Res. 29, proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawing payment of poll or other tax as qualification for voting in Federal elections: | |
| Aug. 27 | On suspending the rules and passing the resolution. (Approved 295 to 86.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11040, providing for the establishment, ownership, operation and regulation of a communications satellite system: | |
| Aug. 27 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Adopted 372 to 10.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12628, Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962: | |
| Aug. 27 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Approved 367 to 6.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10113, establishing an Office of Public Works Coordination and Acceleration: | |
| Aug. 29 | On Cramer motion to recommit. (Defeated 192 to 221.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11974, authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission: | |
| Aug. 29 | On Van Zandt motion to instruct the House conferees to insist on disagreement to language authorizing construction of electric energy generating facilities for the new production reactor at Hanford, Wash. (Rejected 148 to 246.) | Yea. Yea. |
| | S. 4, providing for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore: | |
| Sept. 13 | On passage. (Passed 258 to 87.) | Nay. |
| | S. 2768, authorizing a loan to the United Nations and appropriation of funds: | |
| Sept. 14 | On Adair motion to recommit with instructions to add a section to prevent any loan to the U.N. until the General Assembly adopts the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice with respect to its financial status and arrearages of member nations. (Rejected 171 to 219.) | Yea. |
| Sept. 14 | On passage. (Passed 256 to 134.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11974, Atomic Energy Authorizations: | |
| Sept. 14 | On motion to recommit with instructions for House Conferees to insist on disagreement to sec. 112 (Hanford, Wash., generating facilities) of Senate amendment. (Rejected 150 to 186.) | Yea. |
| | S. 2429, revising the boundaries of the Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, V.I.: | |
| Sept. 18 | On H. Res. 777 granting an open rule. (Passed 267 to 5.) | Yea. |
| Sept. 19 | On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with. (355 to 17.) | Yea. |
| Sept. 19 | On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with. (339 to 26.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12082, amending the Internal Security Act of 1950 to provide for maximum personnel security in the National Security Agency: | |
| Sept. 19 | On suspending the rules and passing the bill. (Passed 350 to 24.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11363, providing for the protection of classified information released to or within U.S. industry: | |
| Sept. 19 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 247 to 132.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12648, Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, 1963: | |
| Sept. 19 | On motion to recede and concur in Senate Amendment No. 19. (Rejected 145 to 221.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 11151, appropriations for the legislative branch: | |
| Sept. 19 | On motion to insist on disagreement to Senate Amendment No. 44. (Rejected 143 to 221.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 12391, the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962: | |
| Sept. 20 | On adopting conference report. (Adopted 202 to 197.) | Nay. |

2d sess., 87th Cong., 1962—Continued

| Date | Measure, question, and result | Derounian's vote |
|---|---|---|
| | H.R. 8900, authorizing assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities: | |
| Sept. 20 | On motion to recommit conference report with instructions. (Adopted 215 to 186.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 13175, Foreign Aid Appropriations, 1963: | |
| Sept. 20 | On recommittal motion designed to reduce the economic assistance funds by $100 million. (Rejected 189 to 203.) | Yea. |
| Sept. 20 | On passage. (Passed 249 to 144.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12180, to temporarily extend existing law relating to free importation of personal and household effects brought into United States under Government orders: | |
| Sept. 21 | Adoption of conference report. (Adopted 324 to 8.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11732, amending the Communications Act of 1934 to authorize foreign governments to operate radio stations in the District of Columbia for transmission of messages outside the United States: | |
| Sept. 21 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 95 to 208.) | Not voting. |
| | S.J. Res. 224, authorizing the President to order units and members in the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than 12 months: | |
| Sept. 24 | On passage. (Passed 342 to 13.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 10, the self-employed individuals tax retirement plan: | |
| Sept. 25 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 361 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | S.J. Res. 230, Cuban resolution: | |
| Sept. 26 | On motion to recommit with instructions to strengthen. (Rejected 146 to 251.) | Yea. |
| Sept. 26 | On passage. (Passed 384 to 7.) | Yea. |
| | H. Res. 818, disagreeing to Senate amendments to H.R. 7927, postal rate and Government salary bill, and requesting a conference: | |
| Oct. 1 | On passage. (Passed 325 to 22.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 5698, extending apportionment requirement of Civil Service Act to temporary summer employment: | |
| Oct. 1 | On passage. (Passed 308 to 19.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 13241, amending section 309 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 relating to small farm exemption from 1963 wheat program: | |
| Oct. 1 | On passage. (Passed 255 to 60.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 8181, to authorize Secretary of the Interior to construct a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia at a cost of $10,000,000: | |
| Oct. 2 | On adopting H. Res. 822 providing for House agreement to Senate amendments. (Adopted 245 to 104.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 13273, Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control Act: | |
| Oct. 3 | On adopting H. Res. 823, providing for consideration of H.R. 13273. (Passed 344 to 4.) | Yea. |
| Oct. 3 | On recommittal motion designed to delete the Burns Creek project in Idaho. (Approved 203 to 130.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 11970, Trade Expansion Act of 1962: | |
| Oct. 4 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 256 to 91.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1552, to amend and supplement the law with respect to the manufacture and distribution of drugs: | |
| Oct. 4 | On passage. (Passed 347 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 12648, Department of Agriculture appropriations and related agencies: | |
| Oct. 4 | On motion to recede and concur in amendment No. 2 with an amendment. (Passed 337 to 5.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1123, amending the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend child labor provisions to certain children employed in agriculture: | |
| Oct. 4 | On adopting H. Res. 803 providing the rule for consideration of S. 1123 and 1 hour of debate. (Adopted 257 to 81.) | Yea. |
| Oct. 4 | On motion to strike out the enacting clause (A "yea" vote would have killed the bill). (Rejected 137 to 193.) | Nay. |
| | H.R. 4670, amending the law relating to indecent publications in the District of Columbia: | |
| Oct. 4 | On adopting conference report. (Adopted 270 to 18.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 7927, postal rate and pay raise legislation: | |
| Oct. 5 | On adopting conference report. (Adopted 312 to 20.) | Paired for. |
| | H. Con. Res. 570, expressing sense of Congress with respect to situation in Berlin: | |
| Oct. 5 | On passage. (Passed 311 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | S. 1447, amending the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955 to provide for adjustment of annuities paid: | |
| Oct. 5 | On passage. (Passed 260 to 9.) | Yea. |
| | H.R. 13175, Foreign aid appropriations, 1963: | |
| Oct. 6 | On adopting conference report. (Adopted 171 to 108.) | Yea. |

## The Wilderness Bill May Have To Be Saved by the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the committee report on the wilderness bill by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is now being printed, and it would not appear that this legislation will be cleared by the Rules Committee for debate and a vote on the floor of the House in this session of Congress. May I say that in view of the opposition by conservation groups to the bill written by the House committee, in contrast to President Kennedy's proposal and the bill passed by the Senate, it might be just as well to let the wilderness proposal die in the 87th Congress without floor action by the House. The 88th Congress coming in next January can take another look at this proposed legislation. I have received hundreds of letters from constituents in my Second Massachusetts District and they express their keen disappointment in the version of the wilderness bill drafted by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have two editorials on this subject printed with my remarks. The first was published by the Philadelphia Inquirer on September 1, 1962, and the second was published by the Washington Post on September 8, 1962:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 1, 1962]

SAVE THAT WILDERNESS BILL

The action of the House Interior Committee in approving a wilderness bill that might throw open to exploitation thousands of acres of scenic wilderness lands which a Senate measure had sought to protect should arouse the wholehearted opposition of all friends of conservation in and out of Congress.

The original Senate measure did not seek to set aside any new lands for this purpose but only to guarantee preservation in the wild state of certain lands already included in national forests, national parks, and wildlife refuges. These are now protected only by such agencies as the National Park Service and the National Forest Service and could be released for exploitation at any time by administrative action. That should be prevented by all means.

The Nation has only a comparatively few such areas left unspoiled and ought to fight to the last ditch to preserve them. The Senate was right in seeking to safeguard these lands by law. However, that aim would be largely sabotaged by the House committee's substitute bill. Congress should accept the Senate version or none at all in this session.

It would be a pity, however, if favorable action were not forthcoming. The Senate did its part in good faith nearly a year ago. But livestock grazers, miners, loggers, and petroleum drillers raised such an outcry that further action was held up. These groups should not prevail over the national interest. The House bill should be brought to the floor where corrective amendments can put the legislation in acceptable form. If that is out of the question, the issue should wait for the next session.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 8, 1962]

SCALPING JOB

The House Interior Committee has performed an indefensible scalping job on the major conservation measure before this Congress, the wilderness bill. Not only did the committee report out a worthless substitute that resembles the Senate-passed wilderness bill only in name, but it also instructed the chairman to try and get a suspension of the rules in order to prevent any amendment or debate when the full House takes its toothless substitute up for a vote.

Extensive hearings have been held on this bill intended to set aside in perpetuity some part of the untracked wilderness. In the Senate, reasonable modifications were made to protect the legitimate use of the national lands by mining, grazing and timber interests. The Senate voted overwhelmingly for the bill. But in the House, the Interior Committee altered the bill in a wholly negative way; for example, the substitute would require Congress to take affirmative action on setting aside wilderness areas, rather than leave designation to the Executive with an opportunity for congressional review.

If the committee feels that its version of the wilderness bill is superior, why doesn't it give the House as a whole a chance to judge on the merits? Why is it seeking to put its substitute before the House on a take-it-or-leave-it basis? Speaker MCCORMACK should not abet this scalping job but instead allow the legislation to come before the House with full opportunity for debate and amendment.

## Flood Control Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN**
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, with the dedication of the $6.7 million Westville Dam and Reservoir on September 8, the approval of the USDA upper Quaboag watershed project on September 26 and $510,000 approved by the House and Senate to advance the Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir and the Three Rivers local protection projects, central Massachusetts is well on the road toward attaining greater protection from disastrous floods which have periodically devastated the area in past years.

The Westville dedication marked the completion of the last of four dams and reservoirs in the Massachusetts portion of the Thames Basin costing $20.7 million to bring relief from floods to the communities of Sturbridge, Southbridge, Oxford, Webster, and Dudley, all in my district.

In addition, Westville brings to a successful completion the $35 million flood control program recommended to the Congress in January 1956, after the August 1955 floods by the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation Committee on Flood Control and Rehabilitation, of which I was privileged and honored to serve as chairman.

These are the major projects recommended for construction in the committee's first report in December 1955 and which now have been completed after painstaking and diligent efforts of our congressional delegation in pressing for Federal action at successive stages of the legislative process:

Barre Falls Dam and Reservoir, Buffumville Dam and Reservoir, East Brimfield Dam and Reservoir, Hodges Village Dam and Reservoir, West Hill Dam and Reservoir, Westville Dam and Reservoir, and the Worcester diversion tunnel.

It is most heartening, Mr. Speaker, that the central Massachusetts area has seen the successful completion of this chain of major projects to bring some considerable degree of protection against future floods for the people of this area and I again express my warm thanks, deep appreciation, and gratitude to my colleagues in the House and particularly to the members of our great Appropriations Committee for their unfailing attention and sympathetic consideration of our needs.

I am particularly gratified that the $2.7 million upper Quaboag project has now been approved by the House and Senate Agriculture Committees. In the December 1955 report of our committee, it was stressed that the USDA watershed program, then just recently authorized, offered great potential to many communities where major Army Engineers projects were not feasible. Not long after, initial planning of the Suasco watershed project in the eastern end of my district began and the project is now making substantial progress.

The upper Quaboag project is the second to be started in Massachusetts under the USDA watershed program and one which will provide considerable assistance to the Brookfields, the Warrens, and Palmer—all communities which will be lost to me with the next Congress because of the congressional redistricting—in addition to these fine towns retained in the third district: Spencer, Leicester, Paxton, Rutland, Oakham, and New Braintree.

With the $310,000 local protection project at West Warren, now being undertaken by the Army Engineers, we now have Federal action well on the way toward providing needed flood control in the Quaboag Basin.

Two other flood areas in my district continue to have my deep attention and continued efforts. They are the Blackstone Basin where the $2.4 million West Hill Dam and Reservoir and the Worcester diversion tunnel have been completed and the Fitchburg-Leominster area of the North Nashua River.

The Blackstone River Basin has been given detailed intensive study under continuing flood control studies. With the $25,000 made available in fiscal year 1962, the Army Engineers are completing their survey of the basin and it is now expected that the final report containing recommendations on the flood relief needs of this area will be submitted to the Chief of Engineers this December.

The North Nashua River has been a periodic flood problem for the Fitchburg-Leominster area. In the public works appropriation bill approved by the House and Senate, $90,000 is being made available to complete the $150,000 study to provide flood protection for areas in the Upper Merrimack Basin, including upstream reservoirs and channel improvements on the North Nashua to protect the Fitchburg-Leominster area.

It has been a great privilege for me to play a humble part in this flood control program for the central Massachusetts area. I am thankful to the many in and out of public life whose constructive efforts have made this noteworthy flood control progress possible since the great floods of 1955.

## The Late Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
**HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE**
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, I want to say that I share with my colleagues the deep sense of loss that has been engendered by the departure from our midst of our good friend and competent colleague, CLEM MILLER, of California.

I was privileged to enjoy his friendship, and I had great respect for the ability, fairness, and sense of cooperation which he demonstrated abundantly in his work here in the House of Representatives.

CLEM MILLER was a high quality type of person, and this makes his absence all the more poignantly felt.

I wish to join with my colleagues in extending a deeply-felt expression of sympathy to CLEM MILLER'S wife and children.

## A Workhorse Rewarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALBERT H. QUIE**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I believe everyone should see the excellent editorial in the October 10 issue of the Washington Daily News. I, too, think it is shameful that the President, who was elected to represent all the people, is working against a great American who has given great leadership in the House of Representatives for the President's foreign aid and bond bills.

The editorial follows:

A WORKHORSE REWARDED

While Representative WALTER JUDD was here in Washington last Saturday, helping to pass President Kennedy's foreign aid bill, the President was in Minneapolis, trying to beat Representative JUDD for reelection.

Here we have illustrated the cynical seamy side of partisan politics.

Only a few days ago Secretary of State Rusk addressed a "Dear WALTER" letter to Representative JUDD saying "You really have been a workhorse for us on foreign policy in the House and I am deeply grateful."

Foreign policy is of overwhelming importance, perhaps making the difference between peace and war. And yet the President is making a special effort to unseat this "workhorse." He is urging the election of Representative JUDD'S opponent, Don Fraser, campaigning on a pledge to support Mr. Kennedy 100 percent—in other words, to function as a rubberstamp.

It is true that Representative JUDD has opposed some of Mr. Kennedy's spending programs. So have a lot of Democrats. But to President Kennedy one of Representative JUDD'S sins obviously leads all the rest. He's a Republican.

Representative JUDD, in fact, wanted to retire from Congress. After 10 campaigns he was weary of the grind. He decided not to run again but changed his mind at the urging of national leaders including ex-Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower and Governor Rockefeller of New York.

A former medical missionary in Asia, WALTER JUDD has an invaluable understanding of that part of the world, and the eloquence to explain and persuade. As the letter from Secretary Rusk acknowledges, he has avoided bitter partisanship.

It is understandable that President Kennedy should not support a Republican. But to single Representative JUDD out for concentrated opposition denotes a greater emphasis on party than on country. It seems to us to demonstrate a singular lack of gratitude and appreciation for services to America.

## Statement on Immigration Bill, S. 3361

SPEECH
OF
## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a brief statement on the stopgap immigration bill—S. 3361—that is now making its way through the House and Senate. This is good legislation—so far as it goes—and I am in favor of it. But I should like to make it clear that bills of this type are not satisfactory to me or to my colleagues who would like to see a major overhaul of our immigration policies, especially with respect to the national origins quota provisions of the law.

The bill would facilitate the immigration of certain skilled specialists and certain relatives of U.S. citizens. First, it would grant nonquota immigrant status to fourth preference aliens—that is, the brothers, sisters and married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens—who have been registered on a consular waiting list since March 31, 1954. An estimated 16,000 aliens would be allowed admission under this provision. These aliens, in my opinion, deserve to enter the United States. They have been separated from their family members—brothers, sisters or parents—for a long time and have been seeking to rejoin them for over 8 years.

Second, the bill gives nonquota status to skilled aliens in the first preference class on whose behalf petitions were filed with the Attorney General prior to April 1, 1962. I am told that some 7,000 immigrant families would be granted admission for permanent residence under this provision and that most of the skilled aliens affected are already in the United States, many of them doing vital defense work right now.

NOTE.—At the time of this writing the bill is scheduled for a conference to be held on October 9 on the differences between the bill as passed by both Houses. These differences are: First, the House deleted a provision to permit the creation of a record of lawful admission for permanent residence for aliens who entered the country before December 24, 1952; and second, the House inserted a provision that the head of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs be designated an Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome this legislation, but it is just a further bit of evidence, in my opinion, of the need to correct the basic inequities in our immigration quota system. It will help to meet the backlog on the oversubscribed quota lists, but it is nothing more than stopgap, backdoor legislation. When are we going to face up to reality and admit that we must drastically revise our quota provisions and establish an immigration system that is both sound and equitable?

Until we do so we cannot honestly say that our immigration law is at one with the inspired words of Emma Lazarus which are inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
*Washington, D.C., October 8, 1962.*

To: Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN.
From: Education and Public Welfare Division.
Subject: Statement on immigration bill, S. 3361.

The attached statement on S. 3361 is sent in response to your request of October 6 for a brief statement on the bill, to be prepared by today.

At the time of this writing the bill has been sent to conference and the conferees are scheduled to meet tomorrow, October 9.

The points of difference between the House and Senate versions of the bill are:

(1) The House inserted a provision that the head of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs be designated as an Assistant Secretary of State;

(2) The House deleted a section of the Senate bill to permit the creation of a record of lawful admission for permanent residence for aliens who entered the United States before December 24, 1952. Existing law allows for the creation of such a record—in effect, legalizing admission where no record of lawful admission existed before—for aliens who entered the country prior to June 28, 1940.

JAMES W. KELLEY,
*Educational and Public Welfare Division.*

The attached has been prepared for the personal use of the Member requesting it in conformance with his directions and is not intended to represent the opinion of the author or the Legislative Reference Service.

JAMES W. KELLEY.

## The 200th Anniversary of Womelsdorf, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an event of historic interest will take place next week in Berks County, Pa., the district which I am privileged to represent in the Congress.

It will mark the 200th anniversary of the founding of the borough of Womelsdorf. It will be a 3-day celebration scheduled for October 19, 20, and 21.

Womelsdorf is the third oldest borough of Berks County, and is situated close to its western boundary line, about 14 miles west of the city of Reading. The town, a typical Pennsylvania Dutch village was laid out in 1762, by John Womelsdorf, who had moved thither from the Amity settlement in 1760. The original plan contained 75 lots, being a part of the historical Weiser farm located in Heidelberg Township. The proprietor named it Middletown from its location midway between Reading and Lebanon. This name it bore until 1807, when a post office was established and was named Womelsdorf in honor of the founder of the town.

Womelsdorf is replete with historical association of events important in the history of the Natio.n The important Indian Interpreter, Conrad Weiser, lived just east of the borough; many Presidents of the United States have stopped here; the most notable of them, President George Washington, stayed here first when he went to inspect the Union Canal. Baron Stiegel of Stiegel Glass fame, taught school here in the last years of his life; the Charming Forge so important for the Revolutionary War is in this area.

The first house, a hotel, was built in 1762, by Jacob Seltzer. This building was one of the old landmarks until 1870, when it was razed. The stones were used in the cellar walls of the mansion erected by Eli Fidler on the adjoining lot. The hotel site was then occupied by the row of brick houses on the north side of East High Street, built in 1904.

The old structure was a substantial one, having been built of large limestone blocks. It is remembered as the place where the first President of the United States, George Washington, stopped for the night of November 13, 1793, on his tour through Reading, Lancaster, Harrisburg, and other Pennsylvania towns. The town was incorporated in 1833, embracing within its limits portions of the townships of Heidelberg and Marion.

In the early days of Womelsdorf, hats were made, tanneries were conducted, and guns were manufactured. These industrial activities have long since ceased.

One of the early industries of the town was the manufacture of flour. Seltzer's mill, at the lower end of the town, was the first to be erected. It was run by waterpower supplied by a South Mountain stream. This mill was rebuilt in 1862; and in 1877 steampower was added.

On the banks of the Tulpehocken in the northwestern part of the borough was another gristmill. This was totally destroyed by fire in 1900. It was rebuilt soon afterward and the roller process installed.

For years, however, the chief occupation of the borough has been the manufacture of cigars. This industry was introduced in 1852. The business was begun in a modest way, but by perseverance and shrewd business tact, a trade has been established that has become national in its scope.

Since 1882, one factory has occupied the Seibert mansion on High Street. With its spacious grounds it constituted one of the finest hand cigar making factories of the State. Several other factories were established later. Automation and machine made cigars took their toll of the prosperous industry which once thrived in Womelsdorf.

Another industry which once meant progress for Womelsdorf was the manufacture of hosiery. Here again automation has taken its toll. In 1916, the

borough had two large stores, carrying general merchandise, two grocery stores, and a pharmacy. The Womelsdorf Union Bank was established in 1903.

The Lebanon Valley Railroad station was just outside the borough limits. The terminal of an electric road—trolley cars—was located in the western part of the town. This road connected the borough with the city of Reading.

Part of the history of this friendly community which I have inserted above was published in 1916 in "The Story of Berks County" by Dr. A. E. Wagner, Rev. F. W. Balthaser, and D. K. Hoch. Some House Members will remember Mr. Hoch as the former Representative from the district I represent.

Many Members have personally expressed their admiration and respect for former Congressman Daniel K. Hoch who served two terms as Berks County's Representative.

"Danny" Hoch as he was affectionately known in Berks County was a historian and highly respected leader in our community life. No one could speak the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect better than Danny.

"The Story of Berks County" was published by the Reading Eagle Co. in 1916. At that time both Mr. Hoch and I were Eagle employees. Hoch was circulation manager of the newspaper and I was a compositor in the printing office.

It became my task to makeup the pages and to read the proofs for this history book with its interesting story of Womelsdorf and other old Pennsylvania Dutch communities.

Last Saturday, October 6, it was my pleasure, along with Pennsylvania Senator Joseph S. Clark, to be an invited guest of Mayor Clarence E. Flickinger and Mrs. Mary E. Moore, general chairman of the Womelsdorf bicentennial, and citizens of the community at a special event in our honor.

It will begin on the evening of Friday, October 19, with ceremonies in the auditorium of the Womelsdorf Elementary School Center.

Dr. Fritz Braun, of the University of Heidelberg, Germany, will be the principal guest and speaker. He will be introduced by Dr. Arthur D. Graeff, Berks County's leading scholar and historian on Pennsylvania Dutch.

The blending of a hundred voices, representing local church choirs and citizens and a concert by Wes Fisher's Orchestra will render much for the program sponsored by the Womelsdorf High School Alumni Association.

Saturday, October 20, will be given over to community events. There will be a historical parade to be followed immediately by a historical pageant. The theme of the parade is "Forward, Womelsdorf; Forever My Home." The title of the pageant is "Womelsdorf, My Home Forever." On Saturday evening there will be a semiformal dance in the auditorium.

On the final day of the celebration a huge birthday cake will be cut. It will be large enough for all present to share in eating it.

Womelsdorf is the home of Bethany Children's Home, an institution of the Reformed United Church of Christ, which has been a haven for homeless or orphaned children for almost a hundred years. Next year Bethany will celebrate its centennial event. Rev. Garnet O. Adams, who manages the children's home, is a member of the bicentennial committee.

Other members are: Anna C. Taylor, Mrs. Dunbar J. Baker, Mrs. Sterling T. Keppley, Mrs. Paul C. Conway, Mrs. Clair P. Shanfelder, Chairman Mary E. Moore and Mayor Clarence E. Flickinger, Rev. Joyce C. Klick, Rev. Clarence R. Funk, Paul Hartman, Harvey H. Deck, Sr., Walter Rohrbach, Edward S. Deck, Merritt F. Auman, Joseph P. Grimes and Earl W. Ibach.

Church Day will be observed on Sunday, October 21. In the morning, special services in the churches of the borough will have anniversary features. The bicentennial observance by this western Berks borough will close on Sunday evening with a community church worship service in the nearby Conrad Weiser High School Area High School Auditorium. The guest pastor for this occasion will be the Reverend Dr. W. Hamilton Aulenbach, rector of Christ and St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Germantown, Pa. He will preach the anniversary sermon.

Womelsdorf's earlier prosperity probably was due in part to its location. First, the Tulpehocken Trail brought groups of Indians and earlier settlers. Then, the Sunbury Road was established as a result of a petition from a number of county residents. In 1805, this road was incorporated as "The Berks and Dauphin Turnpike." In 1906, it became a free road.

Now, when you come to the Womelsdorf bicentennial celebration, you will follow Route 422 to a place plainly marked just east of the borough and continue west a very short distance. Womelsdorf will welcome you heartily.

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## The U.S.–U.S.S.R. Energy Race: A Sober Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mrs. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I would call the attention of the House to one of the most significant speeches that I have seen in recent months. Mr. Howard Morgan, Commissioner of the Federal Power Commission, has just recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union.

AN ADDRESS BY HOWARD MORGAN, COMMISSIONER, FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION, BEFORE THE WESTERN STATES WATER AND POWER CONSUMERS CONFERENCE, PORTLAND, OREG., OCTOBER 2, 1962

About 3 weeks ago I returned from a 2-week inspection trip through Russia, Siberia, and Sweden, in company with Secretary of the Interior Udall, Chairman Swidler of the Federal Power Commission, Bonneville Power Administrator Charles F. Luce, Gen. R. G. MacDonald of the Corps of Engineers, and a group of highly qualified engineering experts in hydroelectric generation and high-voltage transmission. The purpose of the trip was to study those two subjects and, in addition, the operation of large integrated power pools.

During the course of the trip, Mr. Khrushchev, in a conversation with Secretary Udall, issued a challenge to the United States to engage in a peaceful energy race with the Soviet Union. The challenge was, of course, accepted by Mr. Udall and both the challenge and its acceptance were reported by the press. During the intervening period there has been surprisingly little editorial comment in the United States about this energy race to which we are now committed. Most of the comment I have seen reflects little understanding of the seriousness of such a contest and expresses a comfortable and complacent point of view concerning our prospects.

After a careful examination of the comparative electric power statistics of the two countries I am convinced: that we have already been in an electric energy race with the U.S.S.R. for 15 years, that while we are ahead in that race by a very wide margin, the Russians are gaining on us at an alarming rate, and that the seriousness of the race together with the possibility that we can eventually lose it are matters which urgently need informed public discussion in this country. I shall try to make a small contribution toward such a discussion in this talk.

It is very easy to go to the Soviet Union with preconceived ideas and, by ignoring one side or the other of the numerous paradoxes one sees, come back with either a black and dismal or a bright and shining picture of what is going on there, depending entirely on one's prejudices. In a series of newspaper articles published in Oregon I have tried to present a realistic and balanced account of my observations, within the very narrow limits of those observations, avoiding all comment on the emotion-charged questions of international and internal politics. I am sure this has satisfied neither the many who insist on predictions of failure for everything in Russia no matter what the facts may be, nor the few who, equally undisturbed by facts, insist that the Soviet Union is already the workers' paradise that the more realistic Russians hope it will some-day become.

This is all right with me. My impressions, like the prejudices of both groups, are entirely subjective, and all I care to say in behalf of those impressions is that I looked hard and tried to understand what I saw. My advice to those who have strong feelings either way is to do the same.

But in discussing the electric programs we went there to see it should be possible to get away from impressions and to get down to facts and figures. We had at least a half-dozen highly qualified engineers in our party whose evaluations I shall rely on. Some of the facts and figures will jolt the complacent, but when has that not been the fate of the complacent?

First, one should understand that, although at the time of the revolution Russia was the most backward European nation in the development of electric power, the total electrification of Russia was at once made the goal, the center, and the heart of the industrialization plans laid down then, over 40 years ago. Every plan launched since then has had this same central feature. During the twenties and thirties American engineers and contracting firms, together with American generator and turbine manufacturers, worked with the Rus-

sians to develop both hydro and steam generation, as well as high-voltage transmission. Lend-lease assistance helped rebuild war-damaged plants and lines, and even built a few new ones for war production during the forties. Since shortly after World War II the Russians have been self-sufficient, and have carried on an increasingly large and rapid construction program unaided, even developing enough capacity to send skilled engineers, technicians, and first-rate electric equipment abroad to newly developing areas. Today, in the generation of electric power, Russia has outstripped not only every nation in Europe by very wide margins, but every other nation in the world as well, except for the United States.

Some comparative figures are interesting. In 1927, the earliest year for which the FPC has statistics, Russia had 1,905,000 kilowatts of installed generating capacity. The United States had passed that figure in 1900. By 1946 Russia had 12,338,000 kilowatts. The United States had passed that figure exactly 30 years before in 1916. But by 1961 Russia had 74 million kilowatts, a figure equaled in the United States only 12 years earlier, in 1949.

The United States is still ahead of Russia by a wide margin, wide enough to give rise to a good deal of self-congratulation in our electric industry. In 1961 we had nearly 200 million kilowatts of capacity, the Russians only 74 million kilowatts. But a closer look at the figures is disturbing, even without going into the matter of the uses to which they put their power in contrast to the uses we select. In 1932 we had almost 10 times as much capacity as they, about 43 million compared to 4,675,000. By 1961 this margin had shrunk to less than three times. There are two ways to look at this. Notice that the absolute margin had widened, while the percentage of margin had shrunk. Naturally, a popular way to look at these facts is to emphasize the widening gap in absolute terms.

But using the foregoing statistics, and taking the percentage of growth in installed capacity during the 15 years between 1946 and 1961 as a measure of what is going on in the two countries, we find the following: By 1961 the United States had reached the level of about 333 percent of its 1946 capacity, or an increase of 233 percent. In the same period the U.S.S.R. had reached the level of exactly 600 percent of its 1946 capacity, or an increase of 500 percent. Both these rates of growth are impressive and represent great achievements, but the latter figure represents a rate of growth absolutely unparalleled in any 15-year period in the history of the United States or, for that matter, in the history of any other important nation in the world.

Further, this has not been the result of quick replacement of capacity damaged during World War II. Russia came out of the war in 1945 with almost precisely the same capacity it had in 1940. Further still, the bulk of the growth has been in the most recent years, and at a sharply accelerating pace. For example we may compare the U.S. statistics: 1961 capacity at 333 percent of 1946 capacity, with the U.S.S.R. statistics: 1961 capacity at 337 percent of 1951 capacity, to show that Russia had achieved about the same percentage increase in plant during the past 10 years as the United States during the past 15.

So that there shall be no misunderstanding, and lest I be accused of encouraging misunderstanding, let me emphasize that the yearly additions to U.S. electric generating capacity are currently larger, in absolute amounts, than those made by the U.S.S.R.; although it may surprise you to learn that not until 1952 did we reach the 9-million-kilowatt level of annual expansion reached by the Russians in 1961, and that we have fallen below that level 1 year since then, in 1956.

But the absolute amounts of our yearly additions, while reassuring, are not as important as the percentage of existing capacity which we—and they—add each year. These percentages are ominous.

An industrial system must feed upon itself for growth. A larger system can, and when business conditions are favorable may, make additions which in absolute amounts are larger. A smaller system may, however, if it is carefully managed and rigidly directed toward national objectives, choose to make additions which, while smaller on an absolute basis, are larger on a percentage basis. Such a system will, obviously, rise on a steeper curve than the larger one, regardless of the absolute disparities between them initially. If the chosen rates of annual additions remain constant at about the initial percentages, the smaller will eventually, though it may take a very long time, become the larger system. This, of course, is elementary.

But all this is given a sharper edge and a more immediate impact by the fact that if industrial systems feed upon themselves for expansion, thus making size an important determinant of the absolute amount of periodic expansion, the amount of energy available to the system is the controlling factor limiting size. Thus a nation in which power production is being expanded on a steeply rising curve is one which may have the capability of increasing the size of its overall productive system more quickly than would normally be the case. And this added size of the overall system in turn allows power production to be expanded along an even steeper curve in succeeding years. Thus the power program and the industrial program nourish each other's expansion. There can be no doubt that this is precisely the program that the Russians have put in motion. It has been in motion for a number of years, and the results are now clearly visible in the statistics I have given you.

Mr. Khrushchev knew perfectly well, before he challenged the United States to a race in the field of electric energy, that our capacity is nearly three times that of Russia, and that the annual additions to U.S. generating capacity are currently greater than those being made in Russia. Does this mean, as the complacent executives in our electric industry would have you believe, that Mr. K is out of his mind and has advertised to the world that the Soviet Union has entered a race it cannot win?

I hope I may be pardoned if I remind you that the world has by now formed an entirely different view of that wily old gentleman. He is, as we all have reason to know, an exceedingly well-informed man; he knows the stakes that are involved in an energy race between the United States and the U.S.S.R.; and as a master politician he knows very well the risks of outlining policies and goals which are beyond the possibility of execution. It will pay us, if for no other reason than to avoid panic later on, to take a careful look at the same figures he has been looking at and try to understand realistically what he and his system are driving at.

What gives rise to the greatest concern among Americans who have studied these figures carefully, and who have gone to Russia for a look around, is the accelerating pace of the construction the Russians have recently built and the even faster acceleration of their plans for future construction. Both countries are planning and building on curves which rise more steeply each year, but the Russians' curve of actual construction is rising faster now than ours was 12 years ago, when we had the same capacity they presently have. What is more important, they plan to steepen their construction curve more drastically in the years ahead than some people think would be justified in the United States by the demands of our own economy. If this happens, the curves will inevitably converge, intersect and cross.

Whether this will happen, of course, depends on a complex of economic and perhaps political factors probably beyond the ability of anyone to predict with certainty. But in 1960 a U.S. Senate committee, which toured Russia with engineering staff and studied power matters carefully, reported that "the U.S.S.R. is catching up with the United States in electric power production, the basic field in which supremacy counts heavily in peaceful economic competition or in event of war. * * * The Russians could overtake us in 1975—in 15 years—unless we speed up or they slow down."

Whatever we—or they—actually do in the years to come, I can report that they have not the slightest intention of slowing down. The following is one of the closing paragraphs from what seemed—at least in its other portions—to be a moderate and factual report covering the history of Soviet power development, given to our party by N. M. Chuprakov, chief engineer in charge of design, Ministry of Power Station Construction. Like the whole of his report it was not delivered in a boastful or a challenging manner, but in a matter-of-fact way.

"We set our goal to reach and then overtake the United States of America during the second half of the above period (that is, in 1970–80), at first with respect to the consumption of electric power in industry, then with respect to total power generation, and finally with respect to the power generated per capita."

I should add that Mr. Chuprakov, who traveled with us throughout Russia and was a most agreeable traveling companion though he speaks no English, has 20,000 design engineers working under his direction. That is not a slip of the tongue. The figure is 20,000, and it does not include construction, operation, or maintenance engineers; just design engineers solely concerned with generation and transmission of electric power. If it surprises you, take what comfort there is in the fact that it surprised us too.

Take comfort too in the fact that so far we seem to be ahead of the Russians in design, size, and efficiency of steam generating units, which comprise the bulk of both their own and our power systems. One of our manufacturing concerns is now building a 1 million kilowatt single-unit steam generator, and several 800,000 kilowatt units are in operation, while the Russians are only now building their largest at 300,000 kilowatts. This doesn't seem to bother them, though it actually may; it is hard to tell. They claim they would rather standardize at a moderate size and build more of them, which may or may not be the case. This would not make economic sense in our system but it is sometimes hard to be sure whether the economic factors in their system would produce the same decisions as in ours, even granting that they have the technical capacity necessary for free choice. In any case Mr. Khrushchev, in a recent policy speech, directed his engineers to step up their mastery of larger steam units, and on the basis of past experience we can realistically expect that they will proceed to do so.

But it is in hydropower (about 20 to 25 percent of their capacity) and in extra-high-voltage and integrated transmission systems that they have made important advances, and this is what we went to see and learn about.

Russia has several very large rivers that dwarf the Columbia in size and power. On the Volga we saw the dams at Stavropol; 2.3 million kilowatts (compared to 1.9 million kilowatts at Grand Coulee) and Volgograd; 2.5 million kilowatts. These dams, temporarily the largest in the world, with sepa-

rate concrete powerhouses and spillway sections a kilometer long apiece, are built on clay, not on rock, and the concrete structures were designed to settle about 40 centimeters (20 inches or so) into the clay after construction and during operation. They did so with no misalinement or other mishap. Our engineers were seen slowly shaking their heads over this. Someone commented that Russians now build dams the way they used to fly airplanes: the way to get off the ground is to open the throttle and pull back on the stick, and whether anything goes wrong or not, they've learned something for next time.

I am sure that such imaginative and even daring engineering occasionally does produce bad results, though we saw none. But it also produces knowledge—advanced knowledge—which is promptly put to work on the next project. The Russians we met impressed me with their eagerness to get out of the laboratory phase and into construction, even before all questions had been solved, rather than allow research to be prolonged indefinitely. This seems to be even more true of their transmission work than of their dam construction. It was amazing how often we heard them say "This project was built largely for research before such-and-such a larger project, which is now underway."

At Bratsk, 200 miles north on the Angara from its origin at Lake Baikal, we saw what will presently become the world's largest dam at 4.5 to 5 million kilowatts. It is now about two-thirds complete, already has 200 feet of water behind the dam (eventually it will have 350 feet or so) and is generating power with 5 of what will eventually be 20 generators. These generators, and the turbines which drive them, are the largest in the world and were especially designed for this dam by L. A. Artemov, an English-speaking engineer now in his 60's who spent several years in America working on lend-lease during the war, has many friends here, and is widely respected in the electrical world. He is in charge of all hydroturbine and generator designs in Russia. Incidentally, as a very young man he built the first hydro plant in Russia, beginning in 1922.

We were able to see some of these turbines and generators being installed. The largest in the United States are at Niagara and have a capacity of 150,000 kilowatts. Those at Bratsk are of 250,000 kilowatt capacity. That means more than 300,000 horsepower is developed by a single turbine on a single, slowspeed shaft. At Krasnoyarsk, 200 miles west from Bratsk on the Yenisei, is a dam we did not visit because construction is just now getting well underway. This dam, when completed, will take the title of "biggest" away from Bratsk. It will generate 6 million-plus kilowatts. Its equipment, also designed by Mr. Artemov but not yet built, will produce 500,000 kilowatts per generator, or more than 600,000 horsepower per turbine. The shafts necessary to take such power are too big to forge in a single piece, so they are made of slabs of fott-thick steel, which are rolled into partial cylinders, welded lengthwise into tubes, heated in soaking pits to relieve welding stresses, and then machined to size—something over 8 feet in outside diameter and about 6 feet inside diameter. The design and construction of these shafts is a real engineering achievement by itself.

It is planned that both the Angara and the Yenisei, as well as a number of other Siberian rivers, will be fully developed from headwaters to their mouths on the Arctic in the next several years, some of the dams being larger than those I have mentioned, and some smaller. But the real giant, one planned for construction beginning 10 or 12 years from now, is on the Lena quite near its delta on the Arctic. Preliminary engineering studies, we were told, yield the astounding prediction of from 20 to 22 million kilowatts to be generated by this single dam. It is expected to electrify the entire Pacific Coast of Siberia.

The secret of getting power from such remote regions to the centers of industrial production involves the thorny problem of very long-distance transmission without uneconomic line loss. So far as I can determine the longest lines in the United States are no more than 225 miles from point of generation to load centers. The distances involved in moving Siberian power to load centers are in excess of 1,500 miles. This accounts for the strenuous research and construction the Russians have been doing in the extra-high-voltage field, for in that very difficult technological field lies the answer to the problem.

The heaviest lines actually constructed in this country are at 345,000 volts (345 kilovolt) and there are not many of them. The Russians have for some years been operating 500 kilovolt lines as long as 600 miles, from Kuibyshev to Moscow and from Volgograd to Moscow. In addition, a 500-kilovolt line is in operation from Irkutsk to Bratsk, is being extended from Bratsk to Krasnoyarsk, and before that dam is complete will be extended clear across central Asia to the Ural Mountain area. Work is now going on which will eventually boost some or all of these lines to 750 kilovolts and ultimately to 1,000-kilovolts—1 million volts. All this in alternating current.

Even more challenging, and holding out the promise of even more economies, is direct current, and here too the Russians have heavy lines—eventually planned for 800 kilovolts—in operation from Volgograd to the Don River Basin industrial area. We saw all this extra-high-voltage research and construction, including the world's largest direct current laboratory at Moscow, and found it all very impressive.

Finally we were shown the control center in Moscow where, in a single room, all of the power generated and consumed in European Russia, except for two minor districts which are now being hooked up, is dispatched under computerized control on a single interconnected grid. We have two such interconnected grids in the United States, the Northwest power pool (mainly Bonneville) and the TVA, each controlling about 12 million kilowatts. In the Russian pool is almost 55 percent of the power generated in the entire nation—about 39 million kilowatts. Eventually—in only a few years—this power grid will extend clear to Siberia and will contain virtually all of Russia's national capacity under centralized, automated control. The advantages and economies of this arrangement are very large, though I have not the time to explain them here, and make Russian power production capacity significantly closer to ours than the current production and capacity figures indicate.

It seems safe to say that this will be even more true in the future than it is now, unless we increase our pace in this vital area. It is, of course, much more difficult for us to achieve integration than for the Russians, because our power systems are under diverse ownership; but in Sweden, which we also visited, we learned that the entire national electric capacity there is in a single integrated pool, despite the fact that it is about evenly divided between public and private ownership. This was accomplished, we were told, without doing violence to any ownership rights. Perhaps the Swedish system is one we might study with profit.

To sum up is perhaps to belabor the obvious. We have been challenged by the Soviet Union to an energy race and, like it or not, we are in that race. Because energy—electrical energy—is the heart of any industrial system, the outcome of this race may very well determine which nation will eventually command the largest and most productive industrial plant in the world. And it hardly needs to be said that whoever possesses the world's greatest industrial capacity can and will use that capacity to exert economic, political, and military leadership in the decades to come. Our adversaries in this contest—the Russian people—are intelligent, determined, well organized, and have increasingly excellent training and education at their disposal, in addition to abundant natural resources. If one can judge from the available evidence, it will take a great effort for either country to win this race. But the main fact for Americans to grasp at this point is that it is possible for either country—including our own—to lose the race with comparative ease.

A peaceful energy race can produce a better life for Americans, Russians, and everyone else and is certainly preferable to some of the other contests we could get into. But it is important to win such a contest, and if we are to do that we need to step up our pace sharply and keep it stepped up. Those who argue otherwise, in my opinion, are deluding themselves. True, they have often done this before without fatal results. But fatal—certainly fateful—results are not only possible here, they are being planned by people who have shown they know how to carry out plans.

In the circumstances I have outlined there certainly can be no pleasure in saying that we Americans have an almost limitless capacity for deluding ourselves, perhaps only exceeded by our ability to forget how past delusions have turned out. We should remember that these are the same Russians our experts told us did not have the manufacturing capacity to fight a modern war. We were told, and we believed, that they didn't have the mechanical ability to maintain and operate modern military equipment in the field even if they could, with our help, produce it, and that they didn't know how to command or supply really large armies in battle. We told ourselves, and believed it, that the secrets of the atom were beyond them. How could we have forgotten that the table of atomic periodicity we studied in high school was—and still is—named the Mendeleyeff table? We were told, and we believed, that even if they should learn those secrets it would take them at least 15 years to assemble the vast manufacturing complex and master the sophisticated, technological processes necessary to make an ordinary atom bomb. As for the hydrogen bomb, that, of course, would require another 10 years or so. Have we forgotten so soon how we stood in our back yards in October of 1957, literally stunned as we watched their first sputnik twinkling in the sunset as it tumbled through space?

I am not suggesting that the Soviet Union is unbeatable in peaceful competition. Our athletes and space teams do very well, after all. But those men will tell you what I am trying to say: anyone who takes the Russians on in serious competition had better be up early in the morning and hard at work.

There is no more serious competition short of war, in my opinion, than the electric energy race to which Mr. Khrushchev has challenged us. His best engineers have given us a sober and candid statement of exactly what they plan to do and even when they plan to do it. I, for one, do not want this Nation to be lulled to sleep by the complacent among us, and then to be told 10 years from now by the same people, their complacency gone and their hair standing on end, that the only way we can stay ahead of the Russians is to adopt harsh, repressive and dangerous economic and military measures.

I believe a free economy can meet this challenge. Whether it will do so depends, it seems to me, on how we use the time and opportunities remaining to us. Our first

task is to understand now what is happening, while there still remains time to achieve the more rapid industrial growth which President Kennedy has advocated for so long. If we don't understand now, if we don't make the effort now, we can expect some very bad news in the future.

We all know the old American saying, "Don't look back; they might be gaining on us." We don't need to look back. They are gaining on us.

## A Workhorse Rewarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to pay my personal respects and appreciation to our colleague, the Honorable WALTER JUDD, of Minnesota for his understanding and his work in behalf of the foreign policy of our Nation. His intimate knowledge of the problems involved and his ability to explain the many complex situations has been a great help to us all.

The Washington Daily News of October 10 editorial points out some unusual situations involving the reelection problems confronting the distinguished gentleman of Minnesota and I ask unanimous consent this editorial be included at this point in the RECORD.

A "WORKHORSE" REWARDED

While Representative WALTER JUDD was here in Washington last Saturday, helping to pass President Kennedy's foreign aid bill, the President was in Minneapolis, trying to beat Representative JUDD for reelection.

Here we have illustrated the cynical, seamy side of partisan politics.

Only a few days ago Secretary of State Rusk addressed a "Dear Walter" letter to Representative JUDD saying "You really have been a "workhorse" for us on foreign policy in the House and I am deeply grateful."

Foreign policy is of overwhelming importance, perhaps making the difference between peace and war. And yet the President is making a special effort to unseat this "workhorse." He is urging the election of Representative JUDD's opponent, Don Fraser, campaigning on a pledge to support Mr. Kennedy 100 percent—in other words, to function as a rubber stamp.

It is true that Representative JUDD has opposed some of Mr. Kennedy's spending programs. So have a lot of Democrats. But to President Kennedy one of Representative JUDD's sins obviously leads all the rest. He's a Republican.

Representative JUDD, in fact, wanted to retire from Congress. After 10 campaigns he was weary of the grind. He decided not to run again but changed his mind at the urging of national leaders including ex-Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower and Governor Rockefeller, of New York.

A former medical missionary in Asia, WALTER JUDD has an invaluable understanding of that part of the world, and the eloquence to explain and persuade. As the letter from Secretary Rusk acknowledges, he has avoided bitter partisanship.

It is understandable that President Kennedy should not support a Republican. But to single Representative JUDD out for concentrated opposition denotes a greater emphasis on party than on country. It seems to us to demonstrate a singular lack of gratitude and appreciation for services to America.

## Nailing Lie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, there are far too many people in New York City and in other large American cities who think that the Spanish-speaking people contribute a great deal to lawlessness in these cities. I am not one of such people and I am pleased to include with these remarks a very enlightening editorial published in El Diario De Nueva York on Monday, October 8, 1962, which evinces facts to prove that crime among the Spanish-speaking people in New York City is far lower in proportion to population than it is among the general population of New York City.

The editorial reads as follows:

NAILING A LIE

It has become popular in certain prejudiced circles in New York to blame the "crime wave" on the Spanish-speaking people of the city.

The other day, the New York City Police Department issued a list of the 47 principal "public enemies"—the most dangerous and wanted criminals in this area.

Of these 47, only two are Spanish-speaking, and one of them is a Mexican hoodlum who escaped from jail in Veracruz and managed to make his way here. That is to say, only one of the 47 is actually a New York criminal who committed his crimes in this city. This gives the Spanish-speaking community only about 2 percent of the membership of the "most wanted list." And we constitute 13 percent of the population in New York City—actually nearly 20 percent of the population in Brooklyn, Bronx, and Manhattan.

Some years ago, there was a wave of juvenile delinquency including a number of killings in the Spanish-speaking area. At that time, El Diario organized "Vigilante Committees" throughout the Spanish-speaking community and at that time, too, our celebrated "Guantes Hispanos," the boxing tournament in which some 2,400 lads took part, was launched. In addition, El Diario stepped up the campaign to sponsor some 54 baseball leagues, with 8 teams in each league, to keep the youths off the streets during the summertime.

Due to the cooperation of the entire community, and also the innate good sense of the Spanish-speaking people, crime among juveniles in our community was reduced to a tiny fraction of what it was. In addition, the number of crimes committed by Spanish-speaking youths is far lower, in proportion to the population, than it is among the population in general.

Naturally, when a Spanish-speaking person commits a crime, his name is different, one notices it and has the tendency to blame the entire community for the misdoings of that one person. But the facts show that crime among the Spanish-speaking people of New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, is far lower in proportion to the population than it is among the general population of those States.

## "A Study of Communism," by J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I have had occasion to read the book "A Study of Communism" written by the great American, J. Edgar Hoover, the highly esteemed Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I know of no man in this country who has a better knowledge of this subject than Mr. Hoover. He has been in the forefront for many, many years in the exposé of the real objectives of the international Communist conspiracy. I want to strongly suggest Mr. Hoover's excellent presentation as "must" reading for all Americans. Marquis Childs, known to all of us as a brilliant and knowledgeable analyst of world events, recently reviewed Mr. Hoover's book. His review appeared in the Washington Post under the caption "Hoover Takes Sensible View of Red Peril," and I am sure his comments will be of interest to my colleagues. The review is quoted as follows:

A STUDY OF COMMUNISM—HOOVER TAKES SENSIBLE VIEW OF RED PERIL

(Reviewed by Marquis Childs)

To the vast and ever-growing literature on communism Hoover has added what is on the whole a sober and sensible review of the rise of the world Communist movement and its threat to freedom everywhere. Written in a simple style, easy to understand, the book could well serve as a text for young people who know little or nothing of the meaning of communism.

For the Kremlinologists who labor in most of the large universities to add to the store of knowledge and interpretation, Hoover's history will seem a gross oversimplification. But he is not here writing for the professional experts.

At the beginning there is a brief account of the events of the hundred years of czarist repressions and blunders that led up to the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. For the beginning student, this section might have been expanded to show the tragic failure of every effort to ameliorate the narrow and unenlightened regime enforced by an incredibly stupid autocracy.

In measuring the appeal of communism as against the free way of life Hoover does not minimize the drawing power of the Communist doctrine, particularly to newly emerging peoples fired with a raw nationalism which the Communists exploit. It is only by dedication to democracy and freedom, a dedication matching that of the Communists themselves, that we shall in the end triumph, he concludes.

Overall his tone is hopeful. In the United States many more people—literally tens of thousands—have passed through the doors of the Communist Party than have seen fit to stay, he writes. The overwhelming ma-

jority of the persons who have been members of the Communist movement in this country have foresaken it, disillusioned by the failure of communism to live up either to their hopes or its own promises. He might have added that the number of Americans still adhering to the Communist movement in this country has shrunk to a tiny fraction—well under 10,000.

There is sound advice in Hoover's conclusion on how—and how not—to resist communism. He writes:

"This is not the time for inaction nor is it the time for vigilante action. We must unite as a people. We must understand our basic American heritage under law, and we must face the threat of communism with deliberation, quiet courage, and knowledge. These are the qualities from which communism shrink—these are the qualities against which communism can never succeed.

"Reckless charges against individuals and false statements about the nature of communism and the extent of its penetration into various areas of our life serve the cause of communism by creating disunity among Americans. Too often, the label 'Communist' is used indiscriminately against those whose views are unpopular or merely differ from those of the majority. Too often, every adverse development is attributed to communism. Misidentification of communism can lead only to disunity and irrational fear. Moreover, it divides us as a nation at the very time we need unity and strength to face the actual and very real threat of communism."

Coming from the Director of the FBI who has for so long been a name to be evoked by the professional anti-Communists, these words should be heeded by those who by the extremism of their views encourage the vigilante mentality.

As Hoover notes earlier in his book, the revolution of rising expectations was not an invention of the Communists. If we in the West simply say no to that revolution, pretending either that it does not exist or that it is in fact an invention of Moscow, then we shall by default let this revolution accrue to communism.

## The Late Honorable Clem Miller, of California

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to believe that I am standing here with my colleagues today eulogizing the memory of CLEM MILLER, of California.

In my mind is a memory of his standing in the rear of the Chamber just a few short days ago, a healthy, vigorous, smiling man who had such wonderful ideas and hopes for the future of our country and the people of his district and, of course, for his beautiful and wonderful family.

Mr. Speaker, it makes us understand how transitory life is for all of us and how we are all subject to immediate call by our Maker.

Mr. Speaker, CLEM MILLER was a remarkably fine man, who I was proud to know. He was a capable man and would have been an increasingly finer Congressman, because his career had just begun to blossom. All of us know of the monument to his memory in the legislation that he sponsored authorizing the Point Reyes National Seashore in California. He leaves a remarkable heritage to his five girls, of which they can be eternally proud, and the memory to his wife and girls of a wonderful husband and father, a man who truly died in the service of his country.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. McFall joins me in offering our deepest sympathy to his wife, Katie, and to his five daughters, his mother, and the rest of his family.

## The Oxford Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, because I know it would not find its way into any of the slanted press of the North, I include herewith an objective discussion of the sorry situation that has happened in Mississippi. Many of the people who are prone to judge everything we do in this country by the yardstick of what people in other nations might think of us would do well to read the viewpoint of those who may not agree with their viewpoint occasionally. This article speaks for itself and points out some facts that many people choose to ignore. Herewith is the article:

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.—A New York dispatch in La Libre Belgique, a conservative newspaper, suggested yesterday the Oxford, Miss., incident damaged the cause of desegregation.

The paper's New York correspondent, Pierre Artigue, said James H. Meredith "does not arouse very much sympathy."

"This is not a defenseless human being to whom the right of education was denied," he wrote. "It is the agent of a black organization whose moral chief is the Reverend Martin Luther King, who deliberately wanted the present crisis.

"Meredith was told: 'We know there are other universities where you can go without meeting any obstacle. But we ask you to go to the University of Mississippi, because you will be useful to the black cause. We know your admission will be refused.'

"One wonders whether Meredith's advisers did not make a mistake and whether, now that blood has been spilled, the cause of desegregation has been advanced.

"Personally, we are convinced that it has regressed. We now see a just cause, which some people wanted to put under blinding spotlights, changed to an unhealthy mixture of masochism, irresponsibility, and a desire for advertisement.

"There were in Louisiana, Florida, and Georgia, a few miles from his home, 240 colleges where he could have studied without stirring any incident. But will he be able to study in Oxford?

"The law must be obeyed, but which law will protect student Meredith against the echo of gunshots, stains of blood in the streets, angry looks?

"And who will protect 29-year-old white Americans against all this bitterness which will grow in Meredith?"

## Will Christian Institutions Be Denied Religious Freedom in Pakistan?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I was distressed to read the NCWC News Service dispatch from Karachi, dated September 27, which reports that "glaring unwairness marked the recent press campaign against Christian institutions in Pakistan," and I would like to call this dispatch to the attention of the membership of the House.

In the statement of policy embodied in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Congress declared that, among our objectives, it is the policy of the United States, in its relations with other nations, to support freedom of religion. And in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962, the Congress added:

> The Congress further declares that any distinction made by foreign nations between American citizens because of race, color, or religion in the granting of, or the exercise of, personal or other rights available to American citizens is repugnant to our principles.

There is no question, therefore, where the United States stands on this issue in its relations with other nations.

We know further that the Government of Pakistan has pledged to maintain religious freedom for the Christian minority—a minority, I may add, that accounts for less than 1 percent of the population of Pakistan.

We have applauded this decision on the part of the Pakistani Government—not because it may affect some American missionaries who are in Pakistan, but simply because we believe in freedom of worship, and because persecution of religious minorities is repugnant to our national tradition.

Pakistan has been our stanch and courageous ally in the world struggle with totalitarian communism. We have great respect for the steadfastness of her people, and of her Government, in the face of the Communist threat. We have aided—and we continue to aid—Pakistan in its efforts to preserve its national independence and to fulfill the aspirations of her people for material progress.

It is for these reasons that the news dispatch to which I just referred concerns us deeply. I trust that the events it describes are not indicative of the true feelings of the people of Pakistan whom we have known to be friendly and tolerant, and whose constitution contains specific provisions designed to safeguard the religious freedom of minorities in Pakistan—including the very small Christian minority.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place the text of the NCWC News Service dispatch of September 27 at this point in the RECORD:

UNFAIRNESS MARKED PRESS DRIVE AGAINST CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS IN PAKISTAN

(By Father Patrick O'Connor, Society of St. Columban)

KARACHI, PAKISTAN, September 27.—The glaring unfairness that marked the recent press campaign Christian institutions in Pakistan has made Christians here fear for their future.

The way in which this campaign has been waged leads them to wonder how, in practice, provisions in the Constitution will safeguard their religious freedom.

Exaggerations, distortions of fact and wild accusations were published during this press offensive. Some of them were echoed in the National Assembly, when one member moved a resolution calling on the Government to banish all Christian missionaries and to take over all Christian schools, colleges, and hospitals.

"Religious passions were whipped up in the National Assembly," was how the Pakistan Times reporter described the debate. The press campaign had done much to inflame those passions.

Anyone who stirs up religious animosity here can do enormous harm. According to the Constitution, sectarian prejudice must be discouraged. The recent press attacks on Christian institutions aroused more than prejudice.

Within the past year a false report was spread that an American company and an Italian one intended to film the life of the Prophet Mohammed. This led to a mob attack on the U.S. consulate in Peshawar. The American flag was torn down and the consulate stoned. The incident shows what inflammatory propaganda can do.

The great majority of the people in Pakistan are friendly and tolerant. The Christian schools, denounced in the press, are besieged with applications from Muslim families. But pressure groups can work up a hostile movement and can smother protesting voices.

During the National Assembly debate on the motion to banish Christian missionaries, one member, Zahur Ilahi, "rose to oppose the motion," according to the Pakistan Times. "But within minutes he resumed his seat, saying that he had just received a mandate from his group not to oppose it."

A priest, one of the very few Christians who succeeded in having a letter published (and part of his was omitted), said: "Letters written by Christians or their Muslim well-wishers are consistently suppressed."

A letter containing the following statement, however, was published last April by Dawn, which claims the largest daily circulation in Pakistan: "Christianity is more harmful to Islam than communism • • • The tirade of communism is directed on all systems and on all religious alike, whereas Christianity has always been acting in collaboration with Zionism, Hinduism, and atheism, etc., against Islam alone."

The most common allegation was that poor Muslims were being induced to become Christians by gifts of powdered milk, old clothes, etc. The basis for this charge was the fact that, according to the census, the number of Christians in Pakistan had increased by 35 percent in 10 years.

But that meant a gain of only 193,000 persons in a population of more than 93 millions. Of those 93 million, 11 million are non-Muslims from whom conversions to Christianity do take place. Furthermore, natural increase, according to the national percentage, would account for more than two-thirds of the additional Christians.

Wherever the others, about 64,000, came from over the 10 years, they obviously did not come from the Muslim ranks. The census shows that the Muslims increased in number by 27.1 percent in the decade, while the national rate of increase was only 23.85 percent.

Yet a Dawn staff writer spoke of "the growing conversions of Muslims to Christianity" and hinted darkly at government measures to stop them. The editor wrote about "a well-organized plan" by the missionaries "to turn an ever-increasing number of Muslims into renegades."

The same paper reported than an Islamic organization was petitioning the President and National Assembly members to make the conversion of Muslims to other religions a crime punishable with death.

Any Muslim who chooses to become a Christian is legally as well as morally entitled to do so. But no Christian is trying to entice him with gifts and no priest would accept a convert who came for the sake of gifts.

"Unofficially, I believe that converts from Islam to Christianity are very few," a high census official told me.

"The number of Muslims converted to Christianity was not known and was not likely to be large," K. H. Khan, Minister of Home Affairs, told the National Assembly.

The Minister for Industries, Z. A. Bhutto, made a similar statement.

Later, the editor of Dawn, when pressed for proof, told me that the alleged conversions-by-inducement was not the main issue.

The main issue is, pretty clearly, religious freedom for the Christian minority—less than 1 percent of the population—in Pakistan.

The Government has pledged to maintain that freedom. The agitation tending to arouse sentiment against it is what worries the Christians.

## Aid to Yugoslav Refugees

SPEECH

OF

## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, as we consider H.R. 13175, I wish to draw the attention of my colleagues to an important statement issued by Bishop Edward E. Swanstrom, executive director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and William J. vanden Heuvel, president of the International Rescue Committee. This statement points out that—

The ambivalent attitude of the West toward Yuogslavia has resulted in an ambivalent attitude toward Yugoslav refugees.

The statement presents a clear and forceful argument for aiding these refugees. After reading this statement I am sure that all would agree that Yugoslav refugees should not be subject to discrimination. The foreign aid appropriations bill does not sanction discrimination against refugees from Yugoslavia. In addition, on page 987 of the foreign aid hearings before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriations, Yugoslavia is listed as a country covered by the refugee assistance program. I hope that my colleagues will read the following statement:

THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES FLEEING FROM YUGOSLAVIA

(Joint statement by Bishop Edward E. Swanstrom, executive director National Catholic Welfare Conference, and William J. vanden Heuvel, president International Rescue Committee)

Prior to the erection of the Berlin Wall, East Germany was not the only refugee-producing Communist country in Europe. Mass flights occurred from other areas, such as Hungary in 1956, and year after year about 10,000 Yugoslav refugees have fled that country. Yet how many Americans know that a large segment of the Yugoslavs have not been able to obtain asylum in the West and that many have been forcibly returned to Yugoslavia?

It almost appears that it required a wall and the merciless terror of the Communist police at the wall to create concern for today's refugees and to have them accepted for what they are: victims of totalitarian oppression who flee from pervasive political, spiritual, and economic devastations which they correctly identify with the Communist system.

It is the same type of refugee who is seeking freedom, whether he comes from East Germany, Hungary, or Yugoslavia. Most are young, some are very young. Although they may not be able to articulate the reason which makes them come, it is invariably a desire to escape the police state, its totalitarian control as well as its economic deprivation. A man's yearning for freedom and human dignity is quite compatible with his hope of economic betterment.

Mass flights are always an expression of disaffection and opposition, the final protest where other protests are made impossible by political terror. Where people have no other vote, they are forced to vote with their feet. Our answer to the refugee problem is an index of the political imagination and the moral temper of the West.

The ambivalent attitude of the West toward Communist Yugoslavia has resulted in an ambivalent attitude toward Yugoslav refugees. Nothing can strengthen a totalitarian power so successfully as the feeling of resignation and apathy among its subjects. When we challenge the refugees' motivations, we appear unable to grasp why people would be fleeing and we seem to be turning our backs on them. When we acquiesce in the forcible return of escapees, we contribute to the feeling of hopelessness and thereby weaken the Democratic cause within Yugoslavia—and without.

The age and the social background of most of the Yugoslav refugees, predominantly working class with a good admixture of peasant youth, instead of being interpreted as a symptom of the failure of the Yugoslav Government to gain the allegiance of the strata in whose name it purports to rule, have been used as proof of the economic character of the refugees escape motivations. The refugees opposition to communism is being impugned because they are poor. And because, when asked what they intend to do, they express a desire to work and to earn decent wages, it is adduced that they are not victims of Communist oppression and have not suffered from the absence of personal, political, and religious freedom. It is as if the economic hardships to which they were exposed were not manmade, the result of Communist misplanning. And it is as if a desire to work and to earn a decent living were in itself improper and shameful, an attitude which calls for the label "economic refugee," that is one who does not deserve our sympathy and can be returned behind the curtain without qualms. When misgivings do arise, they are dismissed, sometimes smugly and sometimes uneasily. The kind of repression rather than the repression itself is considered, and no attention is paid

to the possibility of later retribution and the certainty that people who express their dissatisfaction with the regime by trying to escape from it will remain marked as enemies of the state. It is forgotten that the very act of escape makes a man an "enemy of the state."

Everyone knows that in Communist countries, the economy is a phase of politics. In those countries where people are not free to choose their own political creed, they are not free to make their own way in the social and economic field. Freedom of initiative is either nonexistent or is permitted on a minimum scale. Savings are meaningless because sooner or later the state swallows everything. Plans for the future are better left unmade. Everyone knows what civic and family life has been reduced to. Now, with all this, when someone escapes from such distressing conditions can he really be considered an "economic" refugee?

Is physical persecution necessarily physical torture? The loss of freedom, political pressure and its inevitable consequence—economic misery—are also persecution; veiled persecution, daily persecution, persecution which these young people feel deeply, although they are often unable to give expression to their feeling, for lack of education, or difficulty in choosing the right words.

Even those few Yugoslavs who are granted asylum are frequently put in a lower category than refugees from other Communist countries by the U.S. escapee program. Thus Yugoslavs either do not qualify as refugees or they are treated as second-class refugees.

And when they come before the so-called screening commissions in the West, having crossed their Rubicon, although they have, for very valid reasons, chosen to be, as it were, "without family, without country, and without means," the only thing they find to say is "We came away to be free and to find work." Then we say, "They are young, they ran away from their parents; discipline; they are, as you can see, economic refugees."

Should we not give the matter a little more thought? There are many who are discontented with their jobs or unemployed. Do you think that they would, even with a passport, i.e., without any risk to themselves, leave Belgium, for example, leave it forever, abandoning their families, their possessions for the unknown.

A further contention is that by permitting Yugoslav refugees to stay in Western Europe or by accepting them for immigration in the Western Hemisphere we are alleviating Communist Yugoslavia's economic problems and underemployment. If this were true, Tito could have done better by negotiating labor agreements with other European countries which have manpower shortages. The 10,000 refugees from Yugoslavia annually do not alter the employment picture inside Yugoslavia to any appreciable degree. Even if it were the policy of the West to aggravate the economic difficulties of Yugoslavia, as it clearly has not been, these goals should not be pursued at the expense of the refugees, the victims of Tito's brand of communism.

The repression of freedom of religion and other fundamental human rights in Yugoslavia hardly differs even in degree from that practiced in the U.S.S.R. itself. Yet the subtle campaign of the Yugoslav authorities to popularize the term "economic" refugee has been more than successful. It has carried over into the language of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and that of certain officials of the U.S. Government. It has influenced the policy of countries which formerly granted asylum to these refugees to the point where substantial numbers of them are now being repatriated instead of welcomed. It has created a situation where Italy permits most of those fleeing to remain on its soil, but Austria, using United States equivocal policies as an excuse, forcibly returns the majority of the Yugoslav refugees. It has resulted in drastic reductions in U.S. aid to refugees from Yugoslavia. It has resulted in resentment by true democratic people from Yugoslavia who see U.S. aid helping to build a strong Communist state, but refusing to help those anti-Communist elements that escape its oppression. It has caused confusion among the Americans because policymakers fail to understand that the basic philosophy of the Communist state is the same, whether that of the Soviet Union, China, or Yugoslavia.

American policy today leaves refugees bewildered by its policy of being selective about the kind of communism and oppression from which a person must flee in order to benefit from the help of the American people.

At a time when we are granting asylum to thousands of refugees from Castro's communism, which, supported by Soviet communism, is threatening the Western Hemisphere, should the United States not take a forthright stand and give full recognition to the refugees fleeing Yugoslavia which is today linked again with the Soviet in its conspiracy to have communism dominate the world?

## Further Comments on the Walker Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, recent editorial analysis has done much to clarify the arrest and commitment of Edwin Walker, former major general in the U.S. Army, in connection with the recent events in Oxford, Miss. Two such editorials appeared in the Washington Star of Sunday, October 7, and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of October 9. They help pin down the real civil rights issue that has come out of the Mississippi crisis, raised by the actions of the Department of Justice in the Walker matter.

This matter deserves the attention of all of those in the Congress and in the country who are interested in civil rights, civil rights not as a handy political label or a vague concept for high-sounding speeches but as a day-to-day means of protecting American citizens from the deprivation of those things we hold essential to the enjoyment of the way of life we have chosen for this country. I am placing these editorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hope that they will move us forward in our consideration and understanding of the civil rights issues in the Mississippi affair. At the same time I wish to commend those individuals and organizations who have taken the lead in looking into this matter, for it is one of real importance to our country.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Oct. 7, 1962]

GENERAL WALKER INSANE?

The Department of Justice insists it has adhered faithfully to the law in confining former Major General Walker to a mental institution. Maybe so. But if this is correct, the law affords no visible protection to an individual in General Walker's situation.

He was arrested last Monday on serious charges in connection with the riot at the University of Mississippi. Taken before a U.S. commissioner, he was advised of his legal rights. General Walker waived his right to counsel and to a preliminary hearing. He was assured that he would be tried in Mississippi on the charges against him, and bail was set at $100,000. With that, he was flown to a Federal prison hospital in Springfield, Mo., with every reason to believe that he would be eligible for release on bail when he got there.

General Walker didn't know that the Department of Justice on the following day would bring mental commitment proceedings against him in Mississippi which would result in his being denied release on bail in Missouri. In fact, it is not clear when the decision to seek commitment was made. But it must have been made not later than about noon on Tuesday. An hour earlier, according to Representative ALGER of Texas, he was being assured by the Attorney General personally that General Walker's transfer to Springfield "had no connection with the fact that there is a mental hospital connected with that prison." He was also assured, Mr. ALGER told the House, that there would be no barrier to General Walker's release if he posted the bail fixed by the court.

Meanwhile, the wheels were turning swiftly in Washington. Someone decided that the general should be committed for mental observation at Springfield. The chief psychiatrist of the Federal Prison Bureau prepared an affidavit for submisison to a Federal judge in Mississippi—not in Missouri, where General Walker was.

This affidavit is an interesting document. Its essential conclusion is that General Walker's recent behavior "may be indicative of an underlying mental disturbance." The basis for his conclusion, the psychiatrist said, was a reading of newspaper stories, unspecified "indications" in a unidentified "medical history," and "other information" of an undisclosed nature "available to me."

Armed with this flimsy weapon, the U.S. attorney in Mississippi, doubtless on instructions from Washington, appeared before Federal Judge Claude Clayton, sitting in Oxford. The attorney told the judge that on the basis of the information from the psychiatrist, he had "reasonable cause" to believe that General Walker may be presently insane or so mentally incompetent as to be unable to understand the nature of the proceedings against him or to properly assist in his own defense. With this, the judge signed the commitment papers, and the U.S. attorney in Springfield thereupon said that General Walker would be held for from 60 to 90 days for mental examination and that he could not be released on bail.

It is important to note, we think, that the sole question is whether the general, who certainly has offered no defense of insanity, is able to understand the nature of the proceedings against him and to assist in his own defense. Without in any way condoning his behavior, we have seen nothing which indicates that he lacks this degree of mental capacity. And we do not think that this inference is overcome by an undocumented conclusion that he "may be" suffering from "an underlying mental disturbance"—whatever that means.

This is a question, however, which must be decided in the courts. And, thanks to the availability of the writ of habeas corpus, the Department of Justice must show cause in Springfield on Tuesday why General Walker should not be released on bond. Beyond that, the Department has been ordered by a Springfield Federal court to certify the "true cause" of General Walker's detention. The full story of the Walker case should be developed in the course of these proceedings.

Meanwhile, there is ample reason, we think, to be concerned over a procedure under which an accused man can reasonably believe on one day that he will be released on bail, only to discover 24 hours later that he has been committed to a mental institution, without right of bail, on the statement of a psychiatrist who had never examined him and by a judge who had never seen him.

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[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Oct. 9, 1962]

THE "GOOFOFF" ON GENERAL WALKER

The release of General Walker on bail—after Justice Department spokesmen had insisted they had fixed him up so he wasn't bailable—should not make the American people forget what happened to him after Federal troops took over in Mississippi.

It is a frightening thing when any man can be flown from one State to another, locked up in a medical prison hospital, and told that he can't have "his day in court" until psychiatrists get through with him some 60 to 90 days later.

It is also a disturbing thing when the President outlines one course of action for dealing with a crisis and his Attorney General brother follows a different one entirely.

Unquestionably, the reason why President Kennedy won such wide approval for his handling of the University of Mississippi crisis—except from rigid segregationists—was that he meticulously followed the letter of the law all the way.

In his address to the Nation, he was both firm and conciliatory. Above all else, he cited legal authority for everything he had done and was about to do.

A Federal district court had ordered James Meredith admitted to the university. All appellate courts, including the Supreme Court, had affirmed its decision. The circuit court had said that the order was being defied.

Clearly, then, the President had the responsibility, under the Constitution, "to implement the orders of the Court with whatever means were necessary."

But what happened to the law, its letter, and its spirit after General Walker was arrested—probably for good and sufficient reason?

Once the troops took over, Attorney General Bobby Kennedy appears to have decided that the courts could be dispensed with from then on.

No court ordered General Walker spirited away from Oxford, Miss., to the medical center in Springfield, Mo., where a Justice Department spokesman said he had heard nothing about a psychiatric examination.

His explanation for the move was that the Department felt it was "desirable" to keep him in custody and that the medical center was the best place to do so because General Walker couldn't be sent to a Federal prison, which "are only for persons convicted of Federal crimes."

What a fine, highhanded, arbitrary distinction. If it's unlawful to put a man in prison, you just lock him up in a psychiatric ward as long as you think "desirable."

Evidently, that is what Bobby Kennedy fully intended to do at the time.

The next day, on second thought, a district attorney belatedly got an ex post facto writ from the Federal judge in Oxford committing General Walker to the place where he already was.

Whereupon, on the basis of this writ another district attorney in Springfield—not a court—made the pronouncement that he wasn't bailable.

It looked as though they were all set to throw the key away.

But what upset the Attorney General's plan to do a little nullifying of the law himself were some slips in its execution.

Maybe General Walker should undergo medical care, both for his own good and the country's. If so, there are perfectly legal ways of having that arranged.

It was an arrant mistake, thought, to have the judge issue his ex post facto writ without seeing the defendant, without hearing his lawyers, without doing anything except what the Department of Justice told him.

It was an infinitely greater mistake to have as the only prosecution witness the staff psychiatrist of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, who hadn't seen the prisoner, either, and who admitted that his "expert" opinion was based largely on what he had read in newspapers.

After this ludicrous disclosure that there was neither legal nor medical evidence to support the action taken, a sadder and wiser Bobby Kennedy could only return the case of General Walker to the courts—where it always belonged and where it can now be handled in the manner prescribed by law.

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## Aerospace Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, at the recent 16th annual convention of the Air Force Association, held at Las Vegas, Nev., the Secretary of the Air Force, the Honorable Eugene M. Zuckert, on September 21, 1962, delivered an address incisive in its discussion and analysis of the multifaceted role and capability of the Nation's aerospace arm in the maintenance of peace. Secretary Zuckert's address described Air Force skills and achievements ranging from worldwide relief airlift and counterinsurgency capabilities to its coming responsibilities in the preservation of freedom in space. The speech is as follows:

Members of the Air Force Association, this week we are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the U.S. Air Force. As a citizen, I join the American people in a salute to the men and women of the Air Force.

On behalf of the Air Force, I want to thank the Air Force Association for its many contributions to national defense through continuing support of the concept of aerospace power.

On this day, we commemorate with gratitude the work of the thousands of people who have served the Air Force, and particularly the great men who laid the foundation of the Air Force, such as Arnold, Lovett, Spaatz, Vandenberg, Symington, Twining, and White. Their vision and achievements are a source of both pride and inspiration.

It is what they and hundreds of others have done in the past that makes the Air Force what it is today. What we do today will determine what the Air Force is in the future.

I speak to you today as colleagues—colleagues sharing dedication to the defense of the Nation; sharing interest in the Air Force; and sharing a realistic perspective on the world and the times in which we live.

I am proud of the Air Force, proud of its goals, its present capabilities, and its past accomplishments. And I am proud of the fact that I am privileged to have been associated with the Air Force since its start as a separate service.

The story of Air Force achievements goes back at least to the days of World War II when the role of airpower was decisively demonstrated.

Invasion of the continent, the greatest combined operation ever undertaken was preceded by relentless, centrally controlled attacks against Germany's sinews of war.

By D-day, our domination of the air was so complete that General Eisenhower was able to tell embarking soldiers: "If you see any planes, do not worry—they are ours," and when the landings came, the attack on communications had been so effective that the Germans could not bring up reinforcements except by foot or bicycle.

Gen. George Patton said that the support provided to him by 19th TAC was the best example of the combined use of air and ground troops that he had ever witnessed.

In the Pacific the story was the same.

The role of the B–29 in ending the Japanese war prompted Gen. Jimmy Doolittle, first president of AFA, to say to a Senate committee: "The Navy had the transport to make the invasion of Japan possible; the ground forces had the power to make it successful, and the B–29 made it unnecessary."

Since World War II, our strategic airpower has been the greatest single factor in deterring another world conflict and keeping the free world free.

The Air Force's ability to achieve this highest national objective grew from the foresight of pioneers like Hap Arnold and Tooey Spaatz, who even before Pearl Harbor, began the effort to build the 10,000-mile B–36.

The soundness of their vision was confirmed by Winston Churchill, when he said:

"It is certain that Europe would have been communized like Czechoslovakia, and London under bombardment some time ago, but for the deterrent of the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States."

In the light of results, the Air Force can say that we have put first things first.

Under the strategic umbrella, it was possible to carry out other vital missions. You are familiar with the Berlin airlift and our role in Korea.

After Korea, in 1954, we received a green light to develop ballistic missiles in the shortest possible time. And today, we have a force of more than 100 operational ICBM's and are far along in programs that will give us a total of more than 1,000.

The ballistic missile program is one of the greatest undertakings in America's history—enormous in size, complexity, and deterrent value. We are proud of what has been accomplished thus far. We are on schedule—we intend to keep on schedule—but a great deal remains to be done. The completion and efficient operation of our ICBM's remains a matter of the highest priority.

It is imposible to mention all of the innumerable other accomplishments that deserve recognition, but I must cite just one more. In cooperation with NASA and the Navy, we have pioneered with the X–15 on the edges of space at speeds and altitudes undreamed of a few years ago.

But all this is where we have been. I want to be read loud and clear as to where we are today. The Air Force is strong, and it is ready.

The Air Force carries an obviously heavy responsibility under the decision of this Nation to maintain a Military Establishment for the purpose of preventing war.

Our primary role is the maintenance of the strategic deterrent. Its strength is growing.

The combination of strategic systems, one manned, one unmanned, assures continuing control of the action—strike, reconnaissance, and evaluation, and restrike. The strategic deterrent is the bulwark of the Nation's war-preventive policy.

During the past year, we have taken major steps to improve our limited war capability. We are increasing our tactical fighter strength by five wings. We have contracted for fighter and reconnaissance versions of the McDonnell F-4H, to be designated the F-4C for the Air Force. We have set up the Special Air Warfare Center at Eglin to develop tactics and techniques for aerial counterinsurgency operations and to provide, in its 1st Air Commando Group, an Air Force capability in this increasingly important mode of warfare.

The professionalism of tactical units of the Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve was demonstrated in last year's mobilization of 27,000 members of those forces. We moved more than 200 jet fighters of the Guard to Europe without accident.

A qualitative and quantitative upgrading of close air support of ground forces is the order of the day in the Air Force. Perhaps I should say also an updating, because the Army has new requirements and is also making imaginative changes in concepts. General LeMay and I are determined that the Air Force will respond totally, with promptness, precision, and plenty.

In recognition of the ground-air nature of the limited war threat, a new command, Stricom, has been established under the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Air Force is concentrating immense power in this combined force, for air superiority and interdiction, for close ground support, and for rapid air movement of the forces. Stricom will become the testing ground for the customer-producer approach in developing air-ground cooperation.

Mobility of the new, quick-strike forces is a primary requirement of the broadened deterrent. There has been substantial improvement in airlift capability. Just one example: We delivered troops nonstop from Fort Lewis, Wash., to Frankfurt, Germany, in 9 hours and 10 minutes in an impressive demonstration of rapid mobility.

Defense of the North American Continent against attack through or from the air is an integral part of deterrence. That defense, we believe, is better than ever before.

One thing more. The Air Force plays an important role in the peace offensive. We support the United Nations in the Congo, Palestine, and New Guinea, and we carried relief supplies to earthquake victims in Morocco, Chile, and Iran.

It is pleasant to talk about the great deeds of the past and satisfying to talk about our current strength and readiness. But, unlike the GAR which commemorated its glorious past, AFA is dedicated to the development of aerospace power for the future.

You can be sure of this. Our job ahead will be tougher. It will be different in detail but it will continue to involve primarily the investment of imagination and hard work in providing national defense through aerospace power. The environment in which we work is one in which the problems of national life and national leadership seem to grow at a rate faster even than the expansion of the medium of airpower into the medium of aerospace power.

For one thing, we have to take into account the totality of problems confronting this Nation as the leader of the free world. The magnitude and complexity of all the problems facing our Government—political, diplomatic, social, and economic—necessarily form the environment in which we administer that portion of the national defense for which the Air Force is responsible.

The President, in whom is vested the Executive power of our Government and who is the Commander in Chief of its military forces, carries the total burden of these problems. In the concert of his responsibilities, the Air Force and the other services have dual parts: one, the highest order of performance in their own roles, and, two, precise responsiveness to the demands of the whole.

The job of the service Secretary is rigorously dual. He is both the agent of the President and the civilian spokesman of the service he heads. In our Government, it should not be and cannot be otherwise.

This is the framework in which we live and work. It makes a sound structure. I serve in it with pride and all the dedication of which I am capable. Its discipline is fully shared and accepted by those who work with me, both in uniform and out.

I speak of these things with confidence in your understanding of them. I am equally sure of your appreciation with me of the integrity, steadfastness, and constructive leadership of the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, Gen. Curtis LeMay.

I speak with confidence because I know of your devotion to the cause of national security and the role of aerospace power in the defense of the Nation. You are properly the advocates of aerospace power and your competence and capability are the measure of its effectiveness in preserving freedom.

The background against which we provide the aerospace power necessary to support national policies is dominated by what we call the cold war.

We in the Defense Establishment naturally feel the effects of the national effort to balance objectives, to solve the many tough problems, and make the difficult necessary choices.

The defense problems are difficult problems and the solutions are not findable in crystal-clear form. The "right" answers do not inevitably rise to the top. The interrelationships between the many judgments and decisions, the effects of unknowns dealing with future events or enemy intentions and capabilities, make unbelievably difficult the job of the Commander in Chief and the Secretary of Defense.

In general, the Air Force has received the resources and the backing which assure aerospace forces of great strength consistent with our objectives. That is what has enabled us to build the most powerful Air Force in the world. That is what makes our research and development program the largest and most diversified in our history.

Naturally, not all Air Force programs have received the degree of support sought for them at every level. This has been true within the Air Force as well as between the Air Force and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. I say that this is "naturally" the case because at each level it is essential to make decisions in a broader context and to balance very complex factors and considerations that do not have to be dealt with at the lower level.

In this regard, I would like to emphasize two points.

First, we in the Air Force do not claim to have an infallible or total view.

Second, General LeMay and I are satisfied that the machinery within the Department of Defense for presenting service views is working well, and continues to promote a full understanding of the issues by those responsible for the decisions. We work within that framework as we expect our subordinates to work within the Air Force organization.

I try to view these things from the standpoint of a practical administrator. It seems to me there is no alternative to a tightly managed, closely coordinated, highly disciplined defense establishment if the American people are to maintain the massive expenditure for national security that now seems inevitable for as far ahead in years as we can see.

Improvement and progress, which means change, will be continuous. This applies not only to combat operational capabilities but also to the management of resources. As I said, the job will be tougher.

Secretary McNamara said the President's instructions to him were, first, to develop the force structure necessary to our military requirements, and second, to do it at the lowest possible cost. The meaning is clear. Defense contracting policies and procedures necessarily will reflect the tighter controls over dollars imposed by the long-term prospect of preparedness.

To men in service, this means greater demands for administrative competence, and correspondingly greater opportunity.

To those of you in industry, this presents a challenge to management all along the line.

In every direction, preparedness becomes more costly. That is why we are striving to avoid waste and make maximum use of resources—to make one dollar or one plane go further.

I mentioned support of Army ground operations as an area of qualitative and quantitative upgrading already underway.

Its future is unlimited but not indefinite. We recognize that the Army has a pressing demand for increased mobility and quick concentration of firepower, a need to get its trucks and mechanized cavalry off the ground. We intend to meet that need through continued expansion and improvement of our tactical air and troop carrier forces.

The Air Force has built an unprecedented and, I believe, unreproducible, resource—in terms of experience, doctrine, techniques and equipment—for the command, control and efficient exploitation of airpower. This resource must be applied to the Army requirements with the least possible duplication. The entire structure for development, procurement, supply and employment of aerospace power has been built. Commonsense and the Nation's interest compel its full use.

We need, and welcome, competition of ideas for better support of ground operations. Imagination is subject to stimuli of many kinds. Advancing military technology, new requirements of limited war, more and smarter people on the job, and yes, a healthy degree of interservice rivalry are among them. There will be and should be, an area of continuing discussion with respect to "who does what" in the direct support mission. I mean the searching type of analysis which Mr. McNamara insists upon. We can stand such review better than we can stand either insufficient support for the Army or dilution of capability.

Progress in Army support capability will encompass development of the new breed of aircraft designed for operatfion from unprepared fields. Both combat and support craft are involved.

The future seems to hold pressing requirements for the flexibility which is attainable with manned strategic systems. The potentials can be studied with the XB-70 developmental aircraft, scheduled to be test flown this year.

Continuing advance in guidance and propulsion technology, as well as in nuclear weaponry, should permit improvement in missile systems.

A very near future need, one that has been under study for many years, is a long range manned interceptor for air defense. The range, speed, and other performance characteristics desired in such a plane would put it at the very limits of today's technology. We are watching new developments closely to see if a practical and effective solution can be found.

Paramount, of course, in the future of the Air Force, is space. The interest of the free nations in freedom in space was reflected in President Kennedy's comment on the first

orbital flight of an American astronaut. In his characteristically straightforward manner—and we don't mind his using marine terminology—the President said space is "the new ocean, and I believe the United States must sail on it and be in a position second to none."

It seems to me his description covers two very important lessons for those of us concerned with defense. The first is that space is not only the pathway to other planets, but is also the medium of access to all of the earth. An ICBM, for example, traverses space on a ballistic trajectory which intersects the earth's surface at a targeted point.

The second lesson is that space as a new medium of activity for man is also a medium in which we must look to our defenses.

I believe the whole military effort in space reflects these lessons. As the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roswell Gilpatric, said recently, "We will take whatever steps are necessary to defend ourselves and our allies * * * in accordance with the inalienable right of self-defense confirmed in the United Nations Charter."

The United States, in keeping with our motivations in freedom and peace, has embarked upon a space program aimed at peace building, constructive exploitation of space—second to none.

In the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Nation has mobilized an effort unprecedented in history. NASA is making progress, because it has imaginative leadership, a competent staff, extensive facilities, and wholehearted support from all elements of industry and Government which can contribute, especially the Air Force.

In addition to our contribution to the success of the NASA program, the Air Force is required by its own mission to put its energies into a different kind of space effort. We are reaching a clearer definition of that mission as it relates to space.

The Air Force, under its assigned mission is concerned with preparations for dealing with threats to the security of the free world that might evolve through the use of space.

This is the reason for our growing research and development budget for space projects in the Department of Defense. The bulk of it is in the Air Force.

We realize that space is an environment, not a project. The development of devices which have to work in space, because of their newness, their cost, and their importance, must be decided upon on the basis of the most thorough scientific and technical analysis, the soundest military judgment, and the broadest possible consideration of national interest.

The United States is dedicated as a matter of national policy to the peaceful exploitation of the space medium. The United States does not intend to extend the arms race into space.

We are, however, taking the steps to enable us to protect ourselves in the event the Soviets or any other nation were to undertake missions in space that would endanger our security.

As we look into the future, the things we will have to do to be able to protect ourselves and preserve freedom in space seem not too different from many traditional military missions of scouting, and standing alert. This means launch vehicles—ready to go on short notice.

Protection certainly calls for the capability of observing what goes on in space, and the ability to seek out and investigate vehicles which may appear hostile. We must be able to protect our own vehicles in space.

Such missions, of course, call for adequate command, control, communications, weather, and related supported capabilities, including the ability of moving from earth to orbital stage as necessary, and operating freely in the orbital stage.

The dual-vehicle orbital experiment of the Soviets, when coupled with their previous claims, seems to indicate that the need for protection against possible threats to our security will be in the near orbital stage of space, rather than farther out. One possible instrument of security that might be useful at this level in space may be found in extending the X-15 and X-20 technology, leading to craft which could operate from surface to orbit and back, and perform defense missions at the edge of the atmosphere. Another might be the permanently manned orbital space station designed for military purposes. Progress toward utilization of such a vehicle for security and protection would be speeded by capitalizing upon the NASA program to acquire knowledge and competence in manned orbital flight.

All of the hardware used in carrying out these responsibilities must meet military standards of maintenance, reliability, cost effectiveness, and repetitive use. This is why we work toward reusable, or less expensive mechanisms for getting into space, whether by use of recoverable first stage boosters or by employment of airborne launch platforms.

We have learned a great deal from the work we have done on space projects in the past and we are applying those lessons to the future. The necessity for a standardized workhorse launch-vehicle has been recognized by the Secretary of Defense and the Air Force. That is why the Titan III project was recently approved and we are giving it our wholehearted support. It will cost the American taxpayers about a billion dollars to develop this vehicle. The Titan III represents an important step forward in focusing rather than spreading our efforts.

We need to take the same approach in other areas of our space work. We must guard against spreading our brains and dollars too thin.

These are the principles on which Air Force space program must be based:

(a) Ample preparation to utilize the space medium.

(b) Ample preparation to defend ourselves in case others choose to extend the threat of aggression to outer space.

(c) Concentration on the really important tasks, including today's job and not just tomorrow's, and finally,

(d) An organizationally disciplined space program—well planned and specific—which fits into overall national plans and objectives.

We in America have no choice but to extend our defenses as far as they need to be extended to save freedom on earth.

Air Force responsibilities continue heavy as the danger to freedom persists. The celebration of this anniversary should be no more, and could be no greater, than a rededication to the ideal and the service of the people of the United States in their search for peace in freedom with justice.

## The Late Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, news of CLEM MILLER's death came as a stunning blow to those of us who knew and were privileged to work with him in the House. It seemed that he had just left us when the first, unbelievable report came in that his plane was missing.

Alas, it was all too true.

CLEM will be sorely missed by his good wife Katharine and their five daughters—each will suffer her own deep and very personal sorrow. But the most crushing loss will be felt by the many thousands of people he represented so ably—the city housewife, the farmer, the worker, the businessman, the fisherman, the woodsman and others who knew him best for his service in their behalf.

He was proud to fight for the people's causes and they had no better champion than CLEM MILLER.

They, and we, will long mourn his absence from the House.

## Retraining Who?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in a recent issue of Kilikilik the campus newspaper at Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio. I am asking that it be inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for several reasons. First, it was written by a college freshman, Susanne Furbay. Second, it reveals an interest of college students in the complex operation of the Federal Government. And, third, it is a penetrating appraisal of a program which, to all outward appearances is tremenodusly appealing, but which, when critically analyzed, has some obvious flaws.

This young writer's performance gives us assurance for the future of our country as we speculate what life will be like in the hands of the next generation.

RETRAINING WHO?

(By Susanne Furbay)

In August, President John F. Kennedy stated in a nationwide speech that 400,000 Americans were being instructed by the Government in new skills. The purpose of this program was to retrain the unemployed for other jobs. I'm afraid that our President was grossly misinformed. Although an expected 400,000 are to be trained, the program has not yet begun.

The mistake in the President's speech may have been an oversight by the speech writers, although the delay of action on the proposal was the President's own. Last March the bill for the retraining program reached the White House. It had been a part of the Presidential program for more than a year. At this time, Mr. Kennedy hailed the proposal as perhaps one of the most significant employment legislations since 1946. He promised immediate and intensive action on the bill.

It wasn't until early August that anything was done. Then appropriations for 50,000 to 70,000 people were provided for the first year of retraining. This was about one-sixth of the number that Mr. Kennedy had stated in his speech.

In the speech the President also singled out a specific worker. He told how this worker had received training under the program. This also was a fallacy. The worker, a former coal miner, had been retrained in a local program. Of the 12,000 enrolled in the pro-

gram, only 2,300 completed their course. About 60 percent of these found jobs.

To induce the unemployed to enroll in the courses, the Government is willing to pay the trainees the equivalent of unemployment compensation, of which the national average is about $34 per week. This may tempt large numbers of college students who must pay for their own separate educations. Because 19 is the minimum age, many young people may pass up the chance for higher education in favor of making money.

There is obviously a major weak point in the administration when it permits such an exaggeration of figures and credit to take place. Could it possibly be the administration who needs retraining?

## Bonneville Rate Schedule Manipulations—A Warning to Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Congress and as a warning to the public I have asked that the following letter to Secretary Udall be spread upon this RECORD:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., October 8, 1962.*

Re Bonneville Project Administration: Repayment schedules/power rates.

HON. STEWART L. UDALL,
*Secretary of the Interior,*
*Department of the Interior,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It has come to my attention that the BPA Regional Advisory Council has made a recommendation for changing the manner in which repayment schedules are computed for Columbia River dams and power facilities under cognizance of the Bonneville Power Administration.

The new scheme would lump all Federal projects in the system together and the payout for the whole system would be figured from the date of the newest dam in the system. In effect, this would mean pooling of revenues and costs for the 20-dam power system for the purpose of delaying repayment of the various dams from their present individual dates to fiscal year 2019, which is 50 years after the scheduled initial operation of John Day Dam, the last of the 20 dams existing or under construction at the present time.

The net effect of this scheme would amount to a reduction of as much as $7.5 million a year in annual repayment charges by BPA to the U.S. Treasury. Presumably, the principle would apply to stall further the payout schedules if dams subsequent to John Day are constructed and, thereby, further reduce Treasury repayments.

It also has come to my attention that even this rollback of payout schedules fails to satisfy the greed of Pacific Northwest public power adherents for subsidized below-cost power at the expense of the general taxpayers of the United States. BPA Administrator Charles F. Luce is reported to have up his sleeve follow-on plans for an additional raid on the pocketbooks of taxpaying Americans. They involve calculating a very generous overall service life for the BPA system—probably in the range of 75 to 100 years—then further lowering the annual payback charges on the basis of this fantasy.

In my opinion, these proposals constitute unconscionable machinations for withholding public moneys under spurious pretenses, and their acceptance would amount to a fraud on the taxpayers.

Capital outlays for BPA in each instance were obtained under the stipulation they would be paid back over an already overly generous payback period. The law under which BPA operates requires the fixing of its rates to meet these payback schedules. The history of authorization and appropriations on each of the 20 dams of the BPA system is replete with assurances that repayments would be made over a fixed period following each capital investment. Less than 2 weeks ago Administrator Luce testified before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in connection with the Hanford project that rates based on these payback schedules would, if necessary, be adjusted upward to meet any possible losses on the Hanford arrangements.

Now, with Bonneville's wholesale power rates coming up for regular 5-year review for the period 1964–69, and with BPA having operated at a deficit for the last 5 years, an inner circle of something-for-nothing zealots seemingly has concocted what, to my mind, appears to be a double-barreled, faith-breaking hoax to victimize the U.S. Treasury on the installment plan.

I call upon you, Mr. Secretary, to direct those charged with the establishment of Bonneville rates to carry out their duties to the public in a straightforward manner and get on with the necessary business of raising Bonneville's wholesale power rates as may be required to meet established commitments for refund of public moneys.

Very truly yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,
*Member of Congress.*

## House Joint Resolution 636, the Quality Stabilization Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the bills which I very much hoped we would pass this session is House Joint Resolution 636, the quality stabilization bill. This joint resolution, which was reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, is vital to the survival of hundreds of thousands of small, independent business men and women—the corner druggist, the grocer, the jeweler, the hardware merchant, the electric appliance dealer, the bookstore dealer, hat shops, women's and children's wear, and so forth.

The small retailer is at a great disadvantage in competing pricewise with the big department store, the discount house, the chainstore or supermarket. Looking at the situation realistically, if a price war should break out, the little retailer, the small businessman would be the first to die because he lacks the resources to endure the financial strain imposed by a price war. The giant retailer does have the resources to withstand the strain. He also has the ability to recoup losses on nationally advertised merchandise by selling to customers, attracted to the store by the promise of bargains, unfamiliar merchandise on which there is a substantial margin of profit.

Thus we are faced with the fact that unless the small businessman is afforded the opportunity of making a profit by enabling him to compete pricewise on nationally advertised, branded merchandise, we may find ourselves in a few years with a concentration of retailing in the hands of a few giant corporations. The trend is evident now and if we permit the trend to continue the economy of this country will suffer. We must not let this happen. The small retailer is the backbone of our communities and he represents the epitome of our American free-enterprise system.

Mr. Speaker, it is disappointing that this bill was not brought to the floor this session. Nevertheless, I hope the work accomplished on this matter this year will result in a good clean bill coming before us for action early in January.

## The Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly shocked when news reached me that our colleague, CLEM MILLER, died Sunday in an airplane crash in California. I am deeply touched and grieved at this sad news.

I entered Congress with CLEM MILLER in January of 1959. As brother freshmen Members, I came to know him and our friendship grew with each passing year. After our first meeting, I felt that this man would prove to be a great legislator, for he possessed that certain quality of righteousness one can sense in a person after only one meeting. His actions and devotion to his work affirm my beliefs.

Mr. Speaker, CLEM MILLER was a dedicated public servant, and it was through his devotion to duty that his untimely taking resulted. He was traveling to meet with his constituents and personally report his progress as their Representative in Congress. He always had the feeling that his constituents are entitled to meet him face to face. This was a part of his job and he was not going to shirk his duty.

We in this Chamber have suffered a great loss. Here was a man in the prime of his life, ready, willing, and able to serve his Nation and his fellow man. He had a deep sense of responsibility which was very beneficial to the American people. His work in the field of conservation alerted us to the need of protecting our natural resources. He will long be remembered for this contribution to our Nation's welfare.

May God accept him into His Kingdom and bring comfort to his loving wife, Katherine, his five lovely daughters, and his mother.

## A Tribute to ASC Committeemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOE L. EVINS**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture operates one of the largest and most important segments of the Department of Agriculture's program. More than 90,000 farmer-elected, local citizens help administer this program on the local level as ASC committeemen. These committeemen help administer a great number of the farm programs enacted by the Congress—programs which have been widely accepted by the farmers and others.

The agriculture conservation program, which is administered by ASC committeemen, has done much to conserve the Nation's soil and water resources. ASC committeemen have also played an important part in the success of the feed grain and wheat program over the past 2 years as well as the tobacco, cotton, rice, peanuts, wool, and other programs of the Department of Agriculture.

Americans are the best fed and best clothed people in the world. There are many factors responsible for this condition including soil- and water-conserving practices, research, better farming methods and machinery, ingenuity of our farmers and in no small degree to the service performed by our county ASC committeemen working conscientiously to see that farmers and others are informed about the agricultural programs available to them.

Without the farmer-elected ASC committeemen and office employees at the county level, there would be no real effective organization available to administer the many farm programs.

Farmers, in the last 2 years, seem to have a renewed hope in the future. They are displaying a new interest in farm programs and in their ASC committees. I think it is important to note the increased interest by the farmers in the election of local ASC committees as pointed out by the most recent election. In these ASC elections, held in the fall of 1961, approximately 500,000 eligible farmers participated in the elections and voted in the nine southeastern area States. This was a 64-percent increase over the number of eligible farmers voting in the same States in the fall of 1960.

Another item of interest and one which demonstrates the renewed interest of farmers in these programs is the result of voluntary efforts—without pay—by the 22,000 county and community committeemen in the southeast area States. These committeemen encouraged fellow farmers to improve their farming and to start needed conservation programs on their farms through cooperation with ACP programs.

As of September 1, this year, some 75,000 farmers in the southeast area who had not participated in the conservation program for the past 3 years signed up to get started with needed conservation measures.

In my own State of Tennessee, approximately 16,000 such farmers have indicated their interest in this project; more than for any other State in the southeastern area. It should be pointed out that this increased participation in the ACP was primarily the result of voluntary efforts by ASC committeemen performing a voluntary public service and without pay. Much of this obviously fruitful effort took the form of chats among neighbors at the local general store, meetings of farm organizations and local civic groups, at church and at every other opportunity, as the local committeeman manifested his interest in the welfare of his community by discussing with fellow farmers the advantages of conservation. Such patriotic service by ASC committeemen deserves commendation and recognition.

The ASC farmer committee system is one of our greatest democratic organizations and has done much to assist our farmers and to improve their status, and I am pleased to add my own word of commendation and congratulations to the fine work of these volunteer-farmer-citizen committeemen working in the public interest to advance and improve our American agriculture.

## The Late Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
**HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO**
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my tribute to a man we all knew well and respected, the late CLEM MILLER.

CLEM MILLER made a deep impression on all of us in his service in this body. He has left a strong memory among us, the recollection of a purposeful, dedicated man who held to the noblest ideals.

His abilities were clear to perceptive observers. Last fall and winter, a political scientist came to Washington and worked with me and others in developing monographs on the choice which the House was making of a new leadership. He talked with more than 100 Congressmen and interviewed 24. In the draft he prepared, he went out of his way to cite CLEM MILLER as one of the most knowledgeable and cooperative with whom he talked, and to mention CLEM's newsletters as an invaluable source of material on the way the House really worked.

The world sees many men appear upon its stage, play their parts and move on. Only the best can make an impact so sharp and strong that those who have worked among them and those who follow learn from them and benefit by what they have done. CLEM MILLER has earned his place among the memorable.

In their grief, let me extend my deepest sympathies to Mrs. Miller and the bereaved family. Our hearts go out to them.

The tragic crash that took the life of our beloved colleague also claimed the lives of the pilot, a retired Air Force major, George Head, and his son, who were sharing the difficult obligations placed upon our Congressman. I know the House would want to extend its sympathies to their friends and family.

## "Wheat Is Wheat" Won't Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, many citizens whose taxes finance our agricultural programs cannot understand why farmers continue to produce crops that are not in demand when there are many additional agricultural products people would gladly buy.

Too many people believe that "wheat is wheat." The fact of the matter is that there are many different varieties and types of wheat. Under the administration farm program there is no differentiation between the premium wheats and the low protein Hard Red Winter wheat, which is in less demand. We find that the largest portion of our grain surplus represents products with a low demand either here or abroad.

There are few individuals as well qualified to understand the intricacies of the wheat business as Mr. Carl C. Farrington, vice president of the Agricultural Group of the Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. Before assuming his present responsibilities with that company, he served in the Department of Agriculture from 1923 until 1947. He was the vice president of the Commodity Credit Corporation from 1940 to 1947. Accordingly, I place great confidence in his judgment on the inadequacies of our present farm program, which treats all grades of wheat alike. As he says, this just "won't work."

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include portions of an address by Mr. Farrington before the annual convention of the Millers National Federation in Seattle, Wash.

"WHEAT IS WHEAT" WON'T WORK

(From aan address by Carl Farrington, vice president, Agricultural Group)

As the only "consumer" representative on this panel, I will direct my comments toward the consumer requirement aspects of the administration's farm program, particularly as they relate to wheat.

As processing consumers and producers of consumption goods, we are naturally interested in adequate supplies of raw materials—wheat, in our case—with the requisite quality characteristics and at relative prices which will permit us to manufacture products that meet the exacting needs and specifications of our customers. And, hopefully, we want to be able to expand markets for the particular products we produce.

The rather loose production controls but high support and rigid price relationship that have been in effect since 1953 have permitted the accumulation of over a billion bushels of carryover wheat—mostly low-protein Hard Red Winter wheat—but have provided supplies of certain classes and qualities of wheat which were barely adequate to supply domestic needs. Premiums of 20 to 30 cents a bushel and, even, 40 to 50 cents a bushel have often prevailed. Repeatedly we have exhausted the supplies of quality wheats from the current crop and then have combed through CCC stocks to find wheat which would meet our requirements and which we could purchase from CCC at appropriate premiums in exchange for less desirable qualities of wheat.

Numerous teams and missions have gone to the far corners of the earth, trying to develop and expand markets for surplus U.S. wheats. They have come back with glowing accounts of potential markets for quality wheat only to be faced with two cold, hard, economic facts: (1) That we have no real surpluses of the quality wheats the potential foreign buyers say they want, and (2) domestic millers, day in and day out, are paying premiums for quality wheats that are much higher than most of the potential foreign buyers are willing to pay.

True, we have moved vast quantities of low-protein Hard Winter wheat and western white wheat into use abroad under Public Law 480 and other Government-financed export programs. Our white wheats have been particularly popular with Public Law 480 recipients. Notwithstanding these huge Government-financed shipments abroad, we find ourselves, today, with a carryover stock of 1⅓ billion bushels of wheat, over 80 percent of which is Hard Red Winter wheat—and most of that, low protein. We also find that Hard Red Winter wheat amounts to about 56 percent of our annual production and but 44 percent of our domestic consumption and dollar exports.

In the face of this distorted supply and unbalanced production situation, the administration has proposed a permanent wheat program that ignores the facts about quality in the wheat situation, treats wheat as if it were just wheat, imposes an across-the-board cut of 20 to 24 percent in acreage allotments, and projects the present production pattern indefinitely into the future.

Is it any wonder that we have tried to expose the shortcomings of the administrations's program? We foresee acute shortages where no surpluses now exist. We foresee further distortions in market prices and carryover stocks. We foresee further frustration in attempts to expand markets at home and abroad because we cannot expand markets if we do not produce what the markets wants. We foresee our very efficient producers of quality wheats placed in a straitjacket and prevented—through acreage allotments and Government-dictated uneconomic price relationships—from adjusting their production in response to consumer demand.

And to help pay for such a program we would be forced to take on the burden and the redtape of paying or collecting a 60 cents a bushel processing tax—alias marketing certificates. For such a price, is it too much for us as consumers to ask that we have a sound, sensible program? We suggest that such a program should provide producers with an opportunity to continue to improve the efficiency of production, to make production adjustments in response to consumer requirements as reflected in competitively determined market price relationships, and to expand markets.

## Big Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 2, 1962*

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, staggering figures have been made public which emphasize how big the Federal Government has become. The total national debt including the $300 billion outstanding, unpaid obligations, unused authority, unfunded cost of started public works, contingent obligations and other commitments actually reaches $1,242 billion. This equals $6,642 for each man, woman and child in the United States. Next to defense, the largest item in our Federal budget—$9.4 billion last year—is for the interest payment on the national debt.

The Federal Government is the largest single owner of real estate in the United States. Its total holdings exceed the combined areas of the six New England States plus Texas. It also owns 224,300 vehicles.

Senator BYRD, chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures, reported that as of June 30, 1962, there were 2,496,455 Federal employees. New Federal programs and policies since the Kennedy administration took office have added 143,656 employees to the Federal payroll, with an estimated added cost of $718,280,000 per year—or the total tax payments of 861,936 taxpayers.

Last January the President submitted to Congress the largest peacetime budget in history—$92.5 billion. At that time it was estimated that receipts from taxes and other revenue would be $93 billion, leaving a surplus of $500 million. However, we now hear that we will actually end this fiscal year with a deficit of from $4 to $5 billion. Two recently enacted administration bills, the $900 million "standby public works bill" and the tax revision bill, with its 7-percent credit provision add to this deficit.

Deficit spending is the real cause of inflation. Unless we begin to balance the budget and curb Government spending, we are going to have a continuing depreciation of the value of the dollar. While everyone is affected by inflation, those who are hurt the most are persons relying upon small, fixed incomes—such as pensions. Only when every citizen realizes it is his money that the Government spends and every taxpayer identifies himself with "the Treasury" can we expect to attain responsible public administration. Everyone must keep in mind that the Government has no money of its own. Government money or Federal funds or "Federal aid" must come from taxpayers—every cent of it. If it does not come from taxpayers, it must be borrowed, thereby further increasing our national debt and the burden on you and me—taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, we hear much talk about the possibility of a tax reduction next year. The prospect of a tax cut is a pleasing one and most taxpayers agree that it is long overdue. However, taxes are supposed to pay the cost of Government. Therefore, would not the most direct approach to the question be to find ways to relieve the people of the tremendous burden of Federal spending, of deficits and debts which cheapen our money, and of general waste which pervades the "big government" operation? Real tax reform could come easily if we would cut back Government spending. This could do much to provide the conditions under which enterprise could flourish, providing more jobs and more goods for everyone. Instead of continuing to follow its policy of tax, tax, tax and spend, spend, spend, I would hope that the adminstration would forgo needless new Federal programs and those that may be desirable but not really necessary, such as the Washington fish tank and establish real priorities for needed Government expenditures.

## Eulogy of the Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the sad news of CLEM MILLER's untimely death was a deep personal shock to me. It is hard to express the meaning of this, and harder still to let CLEM's wife Katy and his family know how much sympathy we feel and how much we share their loss.

CLEM was a man who had spent much of his life in the business of landscape gardening. His profound interest in conservation stemmed from his personal feeling for nature. Perhaps, equally important, CLEM viewed the legislative process as one of growth; and the democratic process as one which requires cultivating. By his life and actions he showed that care, hard work, sensitivity and devotion to principle are as important in giving growth and life to plants as to democracy.

CLEM's constituency and the country have lost a fine Representative. We will never know how great CLEM's ultimate contribution would have been; his untimely passing did not allow the full development of his potential. However, I for one believe that his career in the Congress held great promise and that his ultimate impact, like his record to date, would have been a great one.

The House has lost a fine, sensitive, and profound thinking Congressman. I have lost a personal friend whose friendship meant very much to me.

## Statement by Fernand J. St. Germain, Member of Congress, First District, Rhode Island, Eulogizing the Late Clem Miller, U.S. Representative of the First District of California, October 9, 1962

SPEECH
OF
### HON. FERNAND J. ST. GERMAIN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ST. GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, I join with the other Members of the House in paying tribute to my personal friend and colleague, CLEM MILLER. The tasks and duties of a Member of Congress are many and varied, not the least of which is reporting to our constituents on what we have done, what we plan to do and to ask for their support or rejection of those actions. CLEM MILLER was in the process of that reporting when tragedy struck.

Many men have passed through this Chamber but few have brought with them the degree of intellectual honesty and personal responsibility that has CLEM MILLER. He came to this Chamber with eyes and ears that perceived the true consequences of our actions here. He perceived much that we tend to forget about our positions here. We would do well to follow his example and to examine his views of this great deliberative body.

In the past 2 years I have come to know CLEM MILLER as a good friend, as a hard-working Member of the House, as a committee member who is fully aware of what is being considered and what should be done, and as a wonderful family man. CLEM MILLER knew his responsibilities to his Nation, to his constituents, to his family, and to the House. He faced these responsibilities with courage and a sense of purpose. He has been a credit to the House of Representatives and to himself.

I worked closely with CLEM MILLER on a bill that would aid the veterans' homes in our respective States. I found him to be an active and diligent worker for legislation affecting his State and his constituents. CLEM MILLER was an able and fine legislator who was a source of sound advice and forthright judgment.

It is unfortunate that reflections on the careers of our colleagues are not made until those careers are no more. We can, however, pay the highest tribute to the memories of our colleagues by learning from them and following their examples. CLEM MILLER has left us a volume of his thoughts, his ideas, and analyses of our duties and responsibilities that gives us great cause for reflection and for learning.

I speak with a sad heart today because I have lost a good friend, a wonderful family has lost a loving father and husband, but the greatest loss is to the Nation that has lost a fine Member of Congress. The memory of CLEM MILLER will long remain in this Chamber and should remain as a constant reminder of our duties and our responsibilities.

## Moscow Yom Kippur—A New York Comparison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House I am including with these remarks a very interesting newspaper article from Moscow written by David Miller and published in the New York Herald-Tribune of October 8, 1962:

MOSCOW YOM KIPPUR—A NEW YORK COMPARISON
(By David Miller)

Moscow.—A cantor in flowing white robes huddled over the faded pages of a Hebrew scroll last night, his sad, haunting voice raised in a liturgy more than 57 centuries in the making.

Behind him, in the Moscow Central Synagogue, a mere shadow of its onetime greatness and in the narrow streets beyond, massed 6,000 Jews. Their bodies were pressed in incredible tightness in the warm, soft air of Indian summer.

But of the thousands of men and women who filled every aisle, jammed every doorway and physically fought and shouldered their way closer, only a handful seemed under age 25 or teenagers.

Even that handful stood in bewilderment, unable to pray or comprehend the chant marking the eve of the day of atonement of the Hebrew year 5723. Organized religious instruction to those under 18 is forbidden by Soviet law.

Yet even a young Jew devoted to atheism can never forget he was born a Jew. His identification papers—regardless of where he is born in the Soviet Union—carry the word "Jew."

Some came to the synagogue yesterday out of curiosity; some even in the knowledge that exhibiting Jewishness will make jobs and promotions more difficult.

For in the Soviet Union, a state officially dedicated to atheism, religion bears little resemblance to the American picture. The contrast was perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the synagogue here last night.

Prayer books are in such short supply—only 5,000 have been printed in recent years for the Soviet Union's 3 million Jews—that some books carried prayers to the health of Czar Nicholas I, who died in 1855.

Groups of three and four men tenderly shared a single book, the pages torn and finger-worn after being passed from generation to generation. The going price for a prayer book—100 rubbles, $111—if you can find some one to sell one.

But for a religious Jew nothing is more important than a prayer shawl. This he wears not only through life but also to the grave. Yet the manufacture of religious shawls in the Soviet Union is illegal.

Not more than a few dozen of the thousands in the synagogue last night had them. Also impossible to find are the phylateries, wrapped around the forehead and left arm daily for prayers.

Because Israeli Embassy officials have been accused of leaving prayer books and other religious articles behind, the Israelis have been restricted to an enclosed pew off to a side. A few members of the synagogue council stood guard to keep their fellow Russians away.

But when any Westerner walked through the crush of humanity in the synagogue, hundreds of hands stretched forward in friendship. From everywhere came voices whispering softly in a mixture of Yiddish, Russian, and German.

"Do you have a prayer book?" "Do you have a shawl?"

Their faces are the faces of New York. Except for the frayed collars and ill-fitting clothes of all Russians; these are the faces of the Eighth Avenue local and Brighton Express.

The men need a shave, but that's to be expected. Razor blades have been hard to find for so long in Moscow that most men shave every other day.

So crowded was the synagogue that a group of elderly, bearded men stood in the kitchen of the caretaker's room, their altar an icebox with two candles. A dozen women stood in a side room, their heads covered with handkerchiefs.

## An American's Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, once again the American people are beneficiaries of some exceedingly knowledgeable and wise counsel from a great American—Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Speaking at the national convention of the American Legion in Las Vegas, Nev., October 9, Mr. Hoover has given a clear warning of the "wave of lawlessness now sweeping the Nation" and of the undiminished threat of Soviet espionage and Communist Party activity within the United States.

With characteristic bluntness he has warned that the Nation's efforts to deal effectively with the Communist menace "are not enhanced by those of the extreme right who tend to affix the Communist label without intelligent analysis, or by those of the extreme left who endeavor to minimize the real danger of communism."

Mr. Hoover's address should be read and pondered by all right-thinking Americans.

Under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I include the full text of the address.

AN AMERICAN'S CHALLENGE

At this critical hour in the life of our Republic, it is indeed a high honor to serve as keynote speaker for this great national convention. It is a great privilege to be thus honored by men and women who have demonstrated their patriotism and their courage in defending our beloved Nation.

Today, the American Legion is more vigorous than ever in inspiring national loyalty and promoting national preparedness. You have never faltered in your dedication to, and promotion of, American ideals.

In 1946, when I spoke to you at San Francisco, the world was just emerging from a long and devastating war—a war which claimed the lives of over 400,000 of our fellow countrymen. We looked hopefully for the end of hostilities and an era of peace—peace with dignity, peace with honor, peace with international trust and understanding.

We were aware, however, that a brand of tyranny and fascism—Red fascism—far more

treacherous than that of Hitler and Mussolini, was emerging as a powerful threat on the international scene. By 1957, when I was honored to speak at your Atlantic City convention, the virus of communism had spread in epidemic proportions, infecting vast areas of Europe and Asia. The stench of death from the brutal slaughter of Hungarian freedom fighters by Soviet hordes, paralleling the carnage of Genghis Khan, the Mongol conqueror of the 13th century, hung heavy in the world atmosphere.

Two years ago, in 1960, it was my duty to urgently warn your delegates at Miami that communism had gained already a strategic beachhead in nearby Cuba; that Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung, and Castro were dictators of the same order, driven by the same atheistic urge to dominate men and nations.

I referred also to the devastating encroachments of crime and corruption—avowed enemies of the very ideals upon which our Republic was founded. The poisonous effect of these enemies on the social, economic, and political life of America is keenly felt.

Today, we stand at the same crossroads and are faced with threats identical to those which confronted us 16 years ago. These threats are accepted in some quarters as the normal climate of life, to be met with appeasement or accommodation. The heavy inroads of international Communist aggression continue with a terrible ruthlessness.

Peoples everywhere must be prepared today to stand up and be counted—either for or against freedom.

We are an idealist nation—a nation ruled by laws, not by men. Yet, each year shows new record peaks of crime and lawlessness.

Nearly 200 years ago, Edmund Burke warned, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." How meaningful these words are today.

We have failed to meet the postwar goals which America had established for herself because the good men to whom Burke referred—the forces for decency in our country—have failed in many respects to live up to their duties and responsibilities.

What has happened to the time-honored precepts of hard work and fair play which influenced the American scene during the all-important formative years of this great Republic? Where is the faith of God which fortified us through our past trials? Have our national pride, our moral conscience, our sensitivity to filth and degradation, grown so weak that they no longer react to assaults upon our proud heritage of freedom?

Crime and subversion are formidable problems in the United States today because, and only because, there is a dangerous flaw in our Nation's moral armor. Self-indulgence—the principle of pleasure before duty—is practiced across the length and breadth of the land. It is undermining those attributes of personal responsibility and self-discipline which are essential to our national survival. It is creating citizens who reach maturity with a warped sense of values and an undeveloped conscience.

Crime is a parasite, feeding upon public disinterest and moral lethargy. This day, more than 5,200 felonies—4 serious crimes every minute—will be committed across the United States. They will include 430 crimes of violence—murders, forcible rapes, and assaults to kill. At least 250 robberies, 10 an hour, will be recorded, as will 4,500 burglaries, major larcenies, and automobile thefts.

Since 1946, our national crime totals have more than doubled. Over the past 5 years, since 1957, these crimes have risen five times as fast as our growing population.

Nowhere has this increase been more pronounced than among America's youth. Last year, persons under 18 years of age were involved in 43 percent of all arrests for serious crimes. They accounted for 22 percent of the robbery arrests, nearly one-half of the burglaries and larcenies, and well over half of the automobile thefts throughout the United States.

There is a moral breakdown among young people in the United States. The crime rate is outdistancing the population increase; pornography is flourishing; and there is a quest for status at the expense of morality.

The heavy toll of crime, both juvenile and adult, is a direct product of self-indulgence and irresponsibility. There is a pattern of flight from responsibility.

It is utterly tragic that many otherwise intelligent people develop a blind spot with regard to the conduct of their own children. Until there comes about a greater degree of parental understanding—real interest, affection and concern—we will witness a continued upsurge in juvenile crime.

There must be a moral reawakening in every home of our country. Disrespect for law and order is a tragic moral illness.

As Benjamin Franklin said, "Nothing is of more importance for the public weal, than to * * * train * * * youth in wisdom and virtue. Wise and good men are, in my opinion, the strength of a state; much more so than riches or arms."

Our city streets are jungles of terror. The viciousness of the rapists, murderers and muggers who attack women and young girls seems to know no bounds. This senseless sadism can be stopped only by a concerted, realistic action on the part of everyone connected with law enforcement and our judicial processes. We must adopt stiffer laws and a more stern policy toward these perverted individuals.

Too often, the interests of justice and consideration for the welfare of society are buried under an avalanche of court decisions which give violators of the law rights and privileges that destroy respect for the law and the public safety.

Too often, technicalities have been permitted to exist in our penal codes which have been employed solely and exclusively for the benefit of that small minority of lawyers-criminal who use any tactic, no matter how unethical, to defeat the interests of justice.

More and more the judicial-legal system of this country is being revised to benefit the criminal—to the disadvantage of the innocent. More judges should speak out against this legalized perversion of justice.

Too often, our parole boards are being influenced by impractical theorists—conference room "experts" who are without experience in the arena of action against crime.

Too often, a cloak of special privilege is thrown around the enemies of society, vicious young muggers, robbers, rapists and murderers, by poorly conceived and maladministered programs intended to promote their rehabilitation.

Mercy tempers justice in the American judicial system, but leniency was never intended to become a weapon for repeating offenders. Mercy can be hazardous and sympathy morbid when they are wasted on those who exploit them.

Responsibility for the wave of lawlessness now sweeping the Nation and the continued existence of conditions in which crime and corruption flourish, rests directly with the American people. The public, by its submissive attitude and its lethargic acceptance of infractions of the law, has helped create an atmosphere conducive to the insidious growth of underworld activity.

Crime is a community as well as a national problem. It will not be abolished by ignoring it. Perhaps it is sometimes oversensationalized; its gory details undoubtedly are distasteful to many people. But if the public is to be aroused to take needed action against what appears to be an epidemic of criminal activity, even sensationalism perhaps may be justified.

We are paying dearly and in cold cash for these indulgences. Crime now costs the American people more than $60 million a day. But this figure does not take into account the human factors—the personal grief, the broken homes, the physical and mental suffering. Nor can a price be placed on the loss of American prestige in the community of nations, or the eroding influence upon our heritage, which are byproducts of the continuing growth of underworld activity.

Crime has a sinister partner in promoting the breakdown of our moral standards. This partner is international communism—an aggressive and atheistic force which today controls one-third of the world's population and one-fourth of her land surface. The barbaric Communist empire now stretches from the wall of Berlin to the China Sea, from Asia's Mekong River to the Escambray Mountains of Cuba.

In our country, this international conspiracy is represented by a bold and defiant Communist Party—fanatically dedicated to the destruction of our form of free government.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is an alien force, an agency of a foreign power—the Soviet Russian government. Today, it is engaged in an intensive campaign to openly defy the law and destroy public confidence in our entire system of justice.

Throughout the past year, the party has deliberately and flagrantly refused to comply with a U.S. Supreme Court ruling which requires it to register with the Attorney General as an agent of the Soviet Union.

In furtherance of this campaign, front groups have been formed, propaganda leaflets circulated, agitational meetings held—all for the purpose of attacking American laws and undermining faith in our democratic institutions. We must be aware of these tactics to sabotage our basic heritage of freedom.

The Communists, their myriad fronts and collaborationists do not fade away. The Communist Party today may be smaller in the United States, but it is a hard-core group of fanatics operating a massive and impressive propaganda machine. The danger and wiles of communism cannot be measured solely by shrunken rolls of actual party membership in this country.

Communists continue with impunity to breathe out hate, particularly against the United States.

There is not an avenue to the heart and mind of Americans that is not used to implant their false ideology.

The Communists are experts in the practice of treachery and deceit. They have used this program of blatant defiance as an offensive weapon to rally the support of misguided, ill-informed and naive individuals.

Foremost among their targets have been America's young people, for the aim of communism is world youth and the capture and corruption of that youth.

We have but to look at the shameful riots in San Francisco in 1960 when college youth in that area, encouraged by Communists, acted like common hoodlums in demonstrating against a committee of the U.S. Congress engaged in public business.

We have but to look at the Communists' success in stimulating the interest and participation of some of America's young people in the Communist-inspired and Communist-dominated World Youth Festival which was held at Helsinki last summer.

We have but to look at the party's campus speech program which has seen Communist functionaries appear before student groups at colleges and universities from New York to California. On one campus

alone, a crowd of nearly 12,000 turned out to hear the party's general secretary, ex-convict Gus Hall, declare that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is a legitimate political organization on the American scene and deny its subservience to Moscow, from which it has been established that it actually receives orders and financial support.

The success of these and other programs which the Communists have directed against American young people can be measured by the enthusiasm of top party officials who predicted several weeks ago that 1,000 youths could be recruited as party members before the end of the year.

Colleges should bear in mind that Communist speakers are not bound by any obligation to tell the truth.

The fact is that the party in this country functions as a valuable auxiliary of the Soviet-bloc espionage network. From their areas of influence, American Communists have produced a Julius Rosenberg, a Morton Sobell, and others both willing and able to betray vital secrets to the Soviet Union.

Today, there are 925 Soviet and satellite official personnel in the United States. The vast majority of them represents a cunning and dangerous espionage threat.

From the immunity of their diplomatic assignments, representatives of Communist-bloc nations have directed intelligence networks within the United States. From 1950 through 1960, 21 officials of the Soviet Union alone were declared persona non grata or otherwise asked to leave the United States because of flagrant activities detrimental to this country.

One Soviet defector, a former intelligence officer, has estimated that between 70 and 80 percent of the Soviet officials in the United States have espionage assignments. Years of personal experience qualify this man to speak with authority concerning the duplicity, the deception and the deceit which are inherent in every phase of the international Communist conspiracy.

During the last 30 years, the United States has participated in hundreds of meetings with the Communists—Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom, and Geneva. These meetings led to many agreements, almost all of which have been broken by Soviet Russia.

We are at war with this sinister conspiracy. Every Communist today must be considered an enemy, wherever he may be, at home or abroad.

A "soft" approach toward the menace of communism can lead only to national disaster.

Much has been done by the Government's internal security programs; by investigation, arrest and prosecution of party functionaries; and by widespread intelligent public opposition to the Marxist philosophy to thwart the Communist Party's efforts in this country.

However, communism remains an intense subversive threat. Our Nation's efforts to deal effectively with this menace are not enhanced by those of the extreme right who tend to affix the Communist label without intelligent analysis, or by those of the extreme left who endeavor to minimize the real danger of communism.

This latter group includes grossly irresponsible elements—a shocking number of whom have depended, for their very existence, upon tax-exempt funds. We have heard them shout "sententious poppycock" at well-founded and documented warnings against the capacity of the Communists to pervert our thinking and destroy the spiritual supports which form the foundation of our freedom. Inane statements such as these add nothing to the American people's understanding of the true menace of communism, at home and abroad. They are a rank disservice to the cause of freedom.

I repeat, a "soft" attitude toward communism can destroy us. We should unite as a people, around an intelligent, rational, sensible but very hard attitude against communism everywhere.

In the battle against communism, as in all previous encounters with godless tyranny, the United States must win and we will win. Let Khrushchev, Castro and Mao Tse-tung recognize there is no force more powerful than the determination of a free and righteous people.

Let us not forget that whenever we have stood firm, communism has retreated.

From the moment the American Republic was conceived, our country has achieved its proudest moments in the face of advertisy. Valley Forge; Belleau Wood; Guadalcanal; Pusan, Korea—these are proud names in the Nation's history, places where our fighting men have risen to heroic heights to overcome deadly enemies. Challenge, not compromise—victory, not defeat—these are words which have real meaning for true Americans.

We must assemble our strength—the moral strength endowed upon us by our Creator, the Author of liberty. We must reaffrm our determination—the God-inspired determination to protect our freedoms and safeguard our democratic heritage at all costs.

In the heat of an all-out struggle with an alien godless ideology, this Nation needs all the prayers it can get. Prayer and devotion to our Creator are basic to American strength and courage.

There is a vast difference between Americanism and communism. One teaches morality; the other, expediency. One follows the law of God; the other, no law. One is founded upon spiritual values; the other is complete secularism. One is characterized by deep religious conviction; the other, by ruthless, atheistic materialism. The Communist world is a world of walls, searchlights, and guards—a prison for the heart, mind, and soul.

The United States is second to no nation in material wealth. From our free economy has emerged a standard of living beyond the reach of any Communist-controlled people in the world. But, in luxury there is the danger of physical weakening and moral softness. Self-indulgence can prove fatal. It can accomplish from within what our most deadly enemies have been unable to do from without.

We cannot defeat communism with socialism, nor with secularism, nor with pacifism, nor with appeasement or accommodation. We can only defeat communism with true Americanism.

The fight against crime and communism can be won, and it will be won with, but only with, the help of every decent American citizen. No individual in this great land of ours should underestimate the importance of his or her role.

Let us all work that there may be a rebirth of freedom under God in our Nation.

As Astronaut John H. Glenn, Jr., said, "Freedom, devotion to God and country are not things of the past. They will never become old fashioned."

Every strong nation in history has lived by an ideal and has died when its ideals were dissipated. We can be destroyed only by our own gullibility. If we are ready, we shall neither be dead nor Red.

It is what a nation has in its heart, rather than what it has in its hand, that makes it strong. The nation which honors God is protected and strengthened by Him.

To foster the cause of liberty and justice—this is the goal of America and the goal of every Legionnaire. This goal has been challenged by communism and crime. America has accepted the challenge and we must and will meet it successfully.

We are a God-loving people. That is our greatest strength. Let our national motto always be, "In God we trust."

## Who's Winning the Cold War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud and fortunate to be an American living in a 20th century society which enjoys more basic freedoms and more material wealth than any nation in the history of this earth. All of us can rejoice in the blessings we now have. Yet, I sense from my mail a great deal of worry and concern about the future of our country. This uneasiness seems to boil down to two conclusions which are drummed into our people from many sources: (1) We are gradually losing our free enterprise system to socialism; and (2) we are slowly, but surely, losing the cold war and will eventually live under communism.

In a recent report I tried to refute the charge that we are blindly stumbling into a democratic socialism. In this report, I will suggest that we stand back a moment and compile a box score of Khrushchev's position in the cold war.

I heard an agitated radio commentator the other night picture Khrushchev as a ruthless giant astride his monolithic Communist empire "steamrolling across the face of the earth at a fantastic speed." This is a defeatest view taken by many constituents who write: We do nothing right; the Russians do nothing wrong; our foreign policy always is blind, foolish, futile; Russian foreign policy is masterful, devious, and always successful; the free world is gradually shrinking as communism nibbles away here and there. Is this a balanced view of events since World War II? What are the facts?

It is true that all is not rosy for us. Khrushchev has had some cold war scores; we have serious problems in Berlin, Cuba, and elsewhere. The path ahead of us is full of traps and dangers. Perhaps the world will plunge itself into nuclear war. But I venture to suggest that Khrushchev's scorecard isn't all hits and runs. He has a lot of errors and strikeouts, too.

THE LIABILITY SIDE OF KHRUSHCHEV'S LEDGER

All of us are familiar with communism's successes. Let us take a look at the debit side of its ledger. Here are some of the things worrying this 68-year-old dictator as he looks over the world from his Kremlin office.

WORRY: THE HOME FRONT

Food: Shortages remain a problem. The "virgin lands" reclamation project in central Asia is a failure. Sharp increases in food prices announced.

Housing: Adequate facilities are scarce. Construction generally is in a mess. It was recently ordered that no new projects will begin until existing ones are completed and some of these are years behind. Consumer goods are costly.

Industrial breakdown: Machines are idle for want of spare parts. Industrial

output still is only around 45 percent of the U.S. level. Of 47 major products, the most recent comprehensive study shows the Soviet Union had forged ahead of the United States in only 5: bicycles, sewing machines, fish, flour, and footwear. In 25 other products it fell farther behind.

Space race strain: Five of six probes to other planets have failed. The cost of the space race and military programs have heavily strained the Soviet economy. Russia reduced its foreign aid program by half in the past year, reneged on promises to abolish income taxes.

Discontent: This generation of Russians wants more of the good things of life and is restless. The death penalty has been revived to cope with increased crime and corruption. Despite jamming, millions listen to the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. Millions of Russians have personal memories of slave labor camps which at one time held as many as 15 million persons. Despite growing population, membership in the Young Communist League has remained static. Press accounts indicate collection of dues from Communist Party members is sometimes difficult. Within the party ranks there is competition among old Stalinists and other enemies of Khrushchev, younger men striving for top positions and the powerful military.

None of this means an internal overthrow of the Communist regime is in the offing. But it indicates that this home base of all Communist power is not a place of enthusiastic multitudes. Perhaps it is the Communist economy (not the capitalist) which carries by its very nature the seeds of its own destruction.

WORRY: THE SATELLITE WORLD

Eastern Europe, with its 116 million people, had close ties with Western Europe in the past. Much evidence indicates the people of Eastern Europe remain restless and anti-Communist:

Revolts have flared in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany. In the latter country alone 22 Soviet divisions are used to hold the people in line.

The Berlin wall is a monument to weakness on the Soviet side, not ours. Successful societies do not have to build walls and string barbed wire against their own people.

Albania has publicly denounced the Soviet Union for aiding India; shut off vital ports to Russian submarines.

Yugoslavia continues to pursue a course independent of Khrushchev. English replaces Russian as the most widely taught foreign language. U.S. Information Service is permitted to carry out programs on greater scale than in any other East European country. New York Times and Herald Tribune received in some 70 libraries.

Poland, headed by a man who has resisted Soviet pressure for farm collectivization, quarreled with Soviets on boundary lines, and opposed Moscow's attacks on Tito. American magazines, films, exhibits permitted.

To a large degree the satellite captive nations are not Russian assets, but liabilities.

WORRY: RED CHINA

Along the border of K.'s homeland lies Red China. Its more than 650 million people—a fifth of mankind—are restless, impoverished, in desperate need of food and space. Red China might start war with India—a war Russia does not want. The risks increase as Red China moves closer to possession of nuclear weapons. With its massive manpower, China is too close geographically, and apparently too far away ideologically, to provide much comfort for K.

WORRY: JAPAN

Communists confidently expected to take over Japan when our occupation ended. Yet today, 93 million Japanese are enjoying a prosperous life vastly different than that available to the millions under Communist rule in Red China. Japan's progress has come under a working democracy, not under totalitarianism.

WORRY: THE UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS OF AFRICA AND ASIA

By Communist dogma, the former colonies should have turned in hatred against their ousted rulers. But most leaders of emerging countries have chosen to develop in cooperation with the industrially advanced free nations.

And in the Congo, at one time, a takeover by Communists seemed imminent. Successful intervention by the United Nations has stymied Red hopes so far.

Egypt: Nasser takes Russia's money and throws Communists in jail. So does Iraq. Communist parties are still underground, diminished in membership.

India: This prime Communist target is moving ahead, spreading democratic methods down to the villages.

Resentments still linger from the old colonial days and inflammation is still possible. But chances are good for a free world victory in keeping the world's new nations independent.

WORRY: WESTERN EUROPE

Here are 13 nations of 260 million prospering people. Nations are integrating economies and moving toward closer political cooperation. There are new factories, jobs, prosperity. This is nothing short of revolutionary, as the Communists see things. Red hopes and plans were based on the assumption that these Western European countries would fall to communism after World War II. According to dogma, the industrialized nations should be ripped by ever-deepening class struggle, economic crises, and by fighting among themselves.

Instead, the opposite is happening.

WORRY: FADING COMMUNIST POPULARITY

A certain indicator of the failure of communism to gain popularity is the score chalked up by Communist parties in recent free general elections. Some examples:

*Communists elected*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sweden: | |
| In next to last election | 5 |
| In last election | 5 |
| Norway: | |
| In next to last election | 1 |
| In last election | 0 |
| Finland: | |
| In next to last election | 50 |
| In last election | 47 |
| France: | |
| In next to last election | 150 |
| In last election | 10 |
| Israel: | |
| In next to last election | 3 |
| In last election | 5 |
| Italy: | |
| In next to last election | 143 |
| In last election | 140 |

In the United States, Communist Party strength is down 90 percent since 1944, its peak year.

WORRY: U.S. MILITIARY MIGHT

Khrushchev knows he is facing a superbly equipped, well-trained, and ready offensive force which can devastate the Soviet Union. Arrayed against him are such publicized items as:

Some 65 intercontinental missiles carrying nuclear warheads.

At least six Polaris submarines, each of which can hurl 30 megatons of destruction from submerged positions from the North Pole to the Persian Gulf.

Hundreds of heavy bombers carrying nuclear bombs; some of these are based near Russia's borders.

The 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean mounting atomic bombs and rockets aboard its air arms. Other carrier fleets police the world in the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and the Pacific.

For limited wars, combat ready divisions, with sharply increased air and sea lift and firepower. A guerilla warfare force is ready too.

Adding to the U.S. might are nearly 30 NATO divisions which are or can be quickly equipped with atomic weapons; 60 H-bombs which Britain has in place on Thor IRBM's aimed at Russia; 20 Italian high-megaton range bombs ready to be launched via Jupiter IRBM's; 44 mutual assistance pacts in which other nations have agreed to come to our aid.

Two hundred military bases are located in Western Europe where 10 years ago only 20 existed.

COMMUNIST EXPANSION HAS BEEN CHECKED

Let us look at another part of the score:

In 8 years immediately after World War II, Stalin extended Communist control to 10 countries and 800 million people.

Since 1956 when Khrushchev took the reins, Communist control has been extended to only one country—Cuba—with 6 million people. Even this victory, serious as it is, was caused more by our mistakes than by Communist planning.

DO WE HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY?

Many people suggest that America has no long-range foreign policy. I do not agree. It is a tribute to leaders of both our political parties that American for-

eign policy 1946–62 has had a bipartisan framework. There have been difference in emphasis, skill, and tactics, but Eisenhower followed the essential threads of Truman's strategy, just as Kennedy has continued Eisenhower's. The end aims of our foreign policy have been:

First. Avoid world war III.

Second. Freedom for America.

Third. Freedom for our democratic partners.

Fourth. Non-Communist governments for the new and neutral nations of the world.

Fifth. Eventual freedom for the captive nations.

To achieve these goals, both Republicans and Democratic administrations have tried to:

First. Keep our Nation economically strong. In order to do this, a large balance-of-payments surplus must be maintained. Another major element is the trade legislation, soon to become law, a link to Europe in the great common enterprises of the free community of nations. Finally, we require a high and well-sustained rate of growth and relatively full employment.

Second. Maintain a large, flexible Military Establishment sufficient to deter attack and fight general or limited wars, and help our allies remain militarily strong.

Third. Strengthen the association and partnership among ourselves and the free highly industrialized nations of the Atlantic Community: Britain, France, Germany, Canada, and so forth, and with Japan.

Fourth. Develop friendly relations and economic partnership with the emerging nations of Latin America, Africa, and Asia so that they progress toward democracy and rising living standards.

Fifth. Divide Russia from its satellites and encourage the satellites to move toward more freedom.

U.S. COLD WAR PROGRAMS

The Communists have used various techniques to defeat our aims. But we have taken the initiative too. Our cold war offense in recent years has been bolstered with special programs such as these:

Peace Corps, highly successful and now operating in 44 countries.

Alliance for Progress, designed to help South America in its transition to modern industrial free partners.

Civic action program, just getting underway, to utilize military manpower in underdeveloped countries for public works projects.

Food for peace, helping to end hunger and to create a stronger alliance.

CONCLUSION

I do not believe in peace at any price. Along with most Americans I am willing, if need be, to risk a nuclear war rather than live under communism. But our aim is a world in which we are neither "Red nor dead" but alive, prosperous, free, and at peace.

In war, the best generals are calm in the midst of panic, willing to roll with the punch, ready to improvise new strategies and techniques for changing situations; ready for offense or defense as the events may require; prepared to wait, or to charge.

We are the "generals" of a free world's forces in a deadly serious struggle. Let us be strong, calm, reasonable, alert and united.

The cold war is not lost. On balance we are winning.

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## The Importance of Good Property Tax Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, a provocative article dealing with the key reason behind high land prices appeared in the July issue of the Reader's Digest. The article, entitled "Land Speculation and How To Stop It," was based upon a special issue of House and Home, a Time, Inc., publication, which discussed the problem of land prices in terms of the housing industry.

Pointing to the harmful effects of the very rapid increase in land prices in recent years, the article makes clear that ample vacant and underused land still exists close to and even inside of our cities. The article maintains that speculators are keeping much of this land out of use, or in an underused state, in order to receive higher prices later.

Prying this land loose from the speculators would have several beneficial effects. It would stimulate our economically important housing industry and help curb the spread of suburban sprawl.

The editors of House and Home concluded that the way to pry this land loose was to reverse the current tax policies of most of our cities, which tax land and buildings equally, and begin taxing land more heavily than improvements on the land. In other words, taxes on land or dilapidated improvements, such as slums, are now so low in most of our cities that it costs almost nothing to hold such land for speculative purposes. Today, the man who builds on his land or otherwise improved his property is penalized through higher taxes.

Another way to pry this land loose from the speculators would be by changing certain Federal tax regulations so that the profits gained by the sale of land are treated as income rather than taxed at the lower capital gains rates, as they are today.

These ideas, which would also help to renew our slum areas without large Federal handouts, is not new. The city of Pittsburgh, Pa., taxes land value at twice the rate of building value, and this policy has contributed greatly to the revitalization of that city. Because of the provocative and important nature of this article, I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD.

LAND SPECULATION, AND HOW TO STOP IT

(An editorial review by Wolfgang Langewiesche)

The homebuilding industry faces a crisis: in many areas it can no longer buy land at a price that makes building profitable. This is the conclusion of House & Home, in a special issue on which this article is based. House & Home, a Time Inc. publication, has examined the problem of land prices in terms of the housing industry, but it is a problem that touches every one of us, whether we rent or own or want to own. As the magazine points out, "A cutback in homebuilding throws more men out of work than a like cutback in autos, or steel, or oil."

Here are the key reasons behind high land prices, plus an examination of the radical remedy which House & Home proposes.

On Long Island, builders are paying $16,000 and more for raw acreage they could have bought for $3,500 in 1950. In San Francisco a builder paid $580,000 for a tract that was offered for $15,000 in 1948. North of Albuquerque a builder paid almost $1,000 an acre for land that sold 10 years ago for $4 an acre. Since 1950, while building-material prices have climbed 21 percent and wages 68 percent, land prices have risen 100 percent in many areas, as much as 4,000 percent in others!

These figures might give the impression that we are running out of land. But there is plenty of vacant and underused land left close to our cities, even inside them. It is merely being held out of use, or kept in underuse, by speculators who are holding out for absurd prices.

For example: In 1961 only about 40 percent of the "suitable" land in the 22 counties of the New York metropolitan area was developed for "urban" use. The 6,500,000 people of greater Chicago use only one-sixth of the land within the metropolitan boundaries. In Indianapolis, a special study by House & Home inside the city limits showed nearly 7 square miles of level land, zoned for homes—unused. Right around the city (well inside the present far-sprawling suburbia) are some 125 square miles suitable for housing—enough, at the present growth rate, to accommodate the needs of Indianapolis for the next 35 years.

OPERATION LEAPFROG

So the land is there. But speculators have it, and are holding out on us. The result is that developers have to leapfrog the closer in, too expensive land, and go well out in the country to find land cheap enough to build on. Then prices rise there, and further development has to leapfrog again and go still farther out. The result: suburban sprawl; millions of miles of wasted driving, at 8 cents a mile, between home and work; extra highways at $500,000 a mile.

Speculation by the "investors" who buy 20 acres or 2,000 acres outside of town and won't sell until they can triple their money, takes land out of the market. And when it is finally sold, much still has to be done to get it ready for building—roads, schools, zoning, sewers, etc.—and it takes years. This further strengthens the impression that land is scarce.

ROOM TO GROW

But the land is there, and cities don't have to sprawl. Suppose, House & Home points out, you have a built-up city, more or less round, with the outskirts 8 miles from the center. Suppose now you extend streets, bus lines, water and sewers outward by 1 mile—putting the outskirts 9 miles from the center. Well, in that 1-mile addition all around there will be space for 400,000 people in

single houses at 4 families per acre. So why go 30 miles out?

Cities could even grow inward. There is lots of space downtown and right around it; we don't see it because much of it is covered by old buildings—low-cost buildings known as "taxpayers": warehouses, decrepit factories and slums. In downtown Fort Worth the under-used or derelict land had space for: a belt highway; parking garages for 60,000 cars; a 300-percent increase in office space; a new civic center; a convention hall—all that, and "green belts," too.

House & Home says that the land now being held speculatively far exceeds any possible demand for building land for generations to come. A lot of speculators are going to be left out in the cold. But, meanwhile, some of the blocked-out land is very much in our way.

TAX THE LAND

And how can we pry this land loose? House & Home says: Tax it loose.

It's not how much we tax, but how we tax. Most cities now tax land and buildings at the same rate. This is wrong. We should tax the land more heavily, the "improvements" more lightly or not at all.

The average homeowner might even be better off. He would save on house tax what he'd pay extra in land tax. The town treasury would come out even: the total tax take would be the same. But the system would radically change the climate in which our cities grow and sprawl.

The way it is now, it costs almost nothing to hold land as speculation. Taxes on it are low. As a mater of fact, a lot is usually assessed lower while vacant than the same lot is after it has a building on it. If land were heavily taxed and buildings lightly taxed, the owner of vacant land would find it less attractive to hold onto. Taxes year-by-year would eat too much of the profit he hopes for in the end; and taxes would be sure, the profits not. So he would be far more likely to put his land on the market, and at a price at which it would move.

Or perhaps he would use the vacant lot himself. For instance, instead of renting it out as a parking lot, he might build a 10-story parking garage on it. He would not be penalized for building it by having to pay more tax; we would have 10 times as much parking space.

DO NOTHING

To make such taxation by cities effective, some Federal tax regulations would also have to change. If you just own land and finally sell it, your profits are capital gains, taxed low. But if you do anything to your land, such as subdividing, building roads—then your profits are "income" and are taxed twice as high or even higher. So, the smart man will sit on land like a bump on a log. And the only one who can afford to buy it from him is a rich man who will do the same.

The very idea of taxing "improvements" is a paradox—just to say it slowly makes you stop and think. It's strange. That stern old Uncle in Washington seems to favor speculation, idleness and waste, and to penalize enterprise and creativity. Local real estate taxes are deductible for Federal income tax purposes. This means the rich land speculator in the 75-percent income tax bracket can deduct 75 percent of his land tax from his income tax.

Taxing the land, un-taxing the building, would also clear slums, House & Home claims. Slums are largely tax-made. The ratty old buildings are taxed low; so is the high value land underneath. The "slumlord" is best off by leaving his slum a slum. Even if he merely did decent maintenance, his taxes would go up. Anyway, his real objective is to sell the underlying land someday at a big, low-taxed capital gain. In the end, because the rundown downtown neighborhood doesn't "renew" itself, it is bought up for "urban renewal" by the Federal Government, then resold to "redevelopers" at about one-third the cost. We taxpayers get hit for the difference.

THE POWER TO BUILD

If land were more heavily taxed and buildings more lightly, the slumlord's situation would be reversed. He would no longer get a tax break from his ratty buildings; all building, ratty or not, would be tax-cheap. He would no longer find it tax-cheap to hold his high-value land for future gains; he would have to sell, to someone who would put up good buildings. Thus, by taxing land we could actually tax slums out of existence. The power to tax could be the power to build.

The idea is old. It has been tried and found to work. Pittsburgh taxes land value at twice the rate of building value. Pittsburgh is the example of an American city that has revitalized itself, especially downtown.

In Brisbane, Australia, buildings are tax-free, while land value is taxed up to 10 percent per year. That's enough to make it unattractive to hold land you are not using; it keeps land available and keeps land prices down. There are no slums as we know them. In Denmark, increases in land value are taxed so high that they are practically confiscated. You can't make money by land speculation in Denmark, so you don't try.

House & Home does not mention the most successful use of the land-value tax. This is in California, in connection with irrigation; it started about 1880, but it's still going. An irrigation district is formed; and a stiff tax (used to finance the building of dams and canals and bring water) is laid upon all land in the district while buildings and crops are totally exempt.

This tax broke a speculative blockage much like the one that now troubles our cities. Before the tax, it had been more profitable to hold irrigable land as speculation than to irrigate it and grow crops. The land was held in big blocks, and farmers could not find farm-size parcels to buy at prices that made economic sense. There was water, and there was land; the two did not get together.

Then came the land-value tax. The tax made it expensive to hold irrigable land idle, or to under-use it as cattle range. Farmland appeared on the market, in small acreages, at economic prices. Farmers came, water started to flow and crops grew. The whole of California's immense irrigation agriculture stems from this one application of the land tax.

A long time ago, House & Home notes, young Winston Churchill put the case for the land tax succinctly. In a thundering speech he made in 1909 in Edinburgh, when he was president of the board of trade, he described "the landlord who happens to own a plot of land on the outskirts of a big city, who watches the busy population around him making the city larger, richer, more convenient every day, and all the while he sits still and does nothing. Roads are made, services are improved, electric light turns night into day, water is brought from reservoirs hundreds of miles off in the mountains—and all the while the landlord sits still. While the land is what is called 'ripening,' the artisan going to his work must detour or pay a fare to avoid it"—just our present trouble.

Finally, the land having risen 20 or 50 times in value, Churchill's landlord sells. What is the moral difference, Churchill asked, between the land speculator's activities and those of the man who buys and sells, for instance, old masters?

Churchill: "Pictures do not get in anybody's way."

## Reform of the National Banking System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding banker from San Francisco, Jacob Shemano, recently issued the following statement. I ask for its printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for I know it will be of interest to many concerned with reform of the national banking system.

SAN FRANCISCO, September 28.—Jacob Shemano, president of Golden Gate National Bank, announced his wholehearted support of the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon, today as an epic battle began shaping up over Saxon's move to modernize the national banking system in the face of bitter opposition by powerful, entrenched banking interests favoring the status quo.

This decision was announced by Shemano at a meeting of the executive committee of the bank's board of directors after receiving a report from Senior Vice President Chapman C. Fleming on his observations at the American Bankers Association convention last week in Atlantic City, N.J. Fleming was one of Saxon's four Deputy Comptrollers of Currency until he retired to join GGNB on September 1.

Fleming reported what he considered to be the beginning of a concerted personal attack on Saxon to prevent implementing many of the reforms advocated in the 84-point bank modernization program submitted to President Kennedy by the Comptroller's office last week.

Alerted to the menace of a campaign to discredit Saxon as a circuitous means of blocking bank modernization, Shemano has begun to rally public and political support for the Comptroller's objectives. He has written to the White House, to both of California's Senators, THOMAS KUCHEL and CLAIR ENGLE, and both of San Francisco's Congressmen, JOHN SHELLEY, and WILLIAM MAILLIARD.

Now generally known as the "Saxon Report" the program is the work of the Advisory Committee on Banking to the Comptroller of the Currency. It was prepared by a representative group of bankers and bank law experts after intensive study of recommendations made by 1,500 national bankers from all parts of the country. Among those whose suggestions were considered, and embodied in great part in the report, was Shemano, who himself broke a long "freeze" on new banks here by opening Golden Gate National on June 1, 1961, the first national bank established in San Francisco in 37 years.

The bank reform report ranges over the entire spectrum of banking, from the need to broaden national bank lending powers to recruitment and compensation of executive personnel. But Shemano and Fleming are convinced that the crucial issue in the battle now developing is whether national banks will be permitted and encouraged to expand their services, in the national public interest to communities that need modern financing methods to help them grow, or whether outmoded laws of many States shall continue to prevent the required expansion of national banking facilities by fostering privately motivated banking monopolies and protecting them from competition for the free choice of the public.

Shemano noted a recent public example in which the State of Idaho moved to block

the branching of a national bank into a nearby community under the rule that the existing local bank has the power to veto such expansion by refusing to consent to the branch.

"The opponents of the so-called Saxon plan, in reality the Advisory Committee on Banking to the Comptroller of the Currency, to modernize the banking system to meet national and international economic requirements," Shemano said, "claim they are fighting to preserve the 'dual' banking system of State and National banks."

"Such an excuse is based on a false premise, for the fact is we do not have a dual banking system. Compared to privileges granted State-chartered banks in many areas, national banks are under such severe restrictions that they are often frustrated in attempting to operate in the public interest, to provide adequate financing for growing business and industry, for individuals, and for the building of new cities and redevelopment of old cities.

"Some banks may find it privately profitable to operate under such restrictions, especially where they have monopolistic advantages, but we believe the public is being cheated out of benefits it is entitled to from banking.

"Just for an example, take the case of Federal Reserve membership. Every national bank must be a member of the Federal Reserve System. Member banks are required to place substantial sums on deposit with the Federal, money which costs the banks interest paid to depositors and the expense of account aquisition and servicing. This reserve, which at least in part could be invested in Government securities and help earn its keep, is in addition to the premiums paid for deposit insurance in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. State banks are not compelled to belong to the Federal Reserve; in some States they are even spared the cost of membership in the FDIC.

"It is time to replace the myth of a dual banking system, geared to archaic, depressive, and monopolistic practices, with a banking system empowered to deal with the economic and social dynamics of the space age.

"A dual system must be dual in fact; State and national bank systems each must be independent of the other, both able to operate so as to foster the maximum competition in the public interest.

"Either private capital will provide such a banking system in the interest of enlightened free enterprise, or we will feel the crushing weight of total Government Financing. Should the latter alternative occur, some may call it communism, some may call it fascism, but whatever you call it, the liberty of free choice through capitalistic free enterprise will be dead."

## Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF

## HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, as is the case with so many of us, I know, I feel quite inadequate to express in words the tremendous loss I feel at the sudden and tragic death of our colleague CLEM MILLER.

CLEM was not only an able, well-informed, intelligent, and forceful legislator, he was an extremely thoughtful person, with whom it was always a pleasure to work. I feel privileged to have worked closely with him on the lumber problem, as well as on other matters of mutual interest to us, as western Representatives. His contributions to the welfare of the West, and of the entire Nation, will be sorely missed, here in Congress.

Mere words fail to express the measure of our loss, but to his widow and his lovely children, my deepest sympathy and affection.

## Aviation Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, many questions have been raised about aviation safety recently during the hearings of the Government Operations Subcommittee. Although these have been reported in the press, Paul Martin, the chief of the Gannet News Service bureau in Washington, and a contributor to the North American Newspaper Alliance, has had a series of interviews with Gen. E. R. Quesada, formerly Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, and Mr. Najeeb E. Halaby, the present Administrator. Because General Quesada was the first Administrator of the newly created FAA and because the difference in viewpoint between his and Mr. Halaby's approach deserve careful study and consideration I hereby request permission to include this in the appendix of the RECORD:

CHANGES IN AIR SAFETY PROGRAM HOTLY DISPUTED

(By Paul Martin)

A controversy over air safety is festering in aviation circles.

Exponents of conflicting points of view are Najeeb E. Halaby, 47, Federal Aviation Administrator in the Kennedy administration, and Gen. Elwood R. "Pete" Quesada, 58, who held the same job under former President Eisenhower.

Both are pioneer pilots who have flown modern supersonic jets. Each is well acquainted with the people and problems of both civil and military aviation.

Mr. Halaby was a Los Angeles lawyer and test pilot. He was secretary-treasurer of Aerospace Corp., technical adviser to the Air Force on missile and space problems. He served as vice chairman of a White House study group in 1955–57 which recommended creation of FAA.

WORLD WAR II LEADER

Peppery "Pete" Quesada led the allied tactical air force in Europe during World War II, and later became commander of all U.S. tactical aircraft. Now in retirement, he is best known as pilot of the Washington baseball club. He also is a director of a number of corporations, including American Airlines.

He took over as the first head of FAA January 1, 1959, after the new agency was created by Congress, upon the recommendation of Gen. Edward P. "Ted" Curtis of Rochester, N.Y., a vice president of Eastman Kodak Co., who served in 1956–58 as General Eisenhower's special aviation adviser.

Mr. Curtis made a report on funds and facilities that would be needed for air safety in the jet age during the next 20 years that won him a Collier trophy. General Quesada says "it was an excellent report," and that "practically every one of its recommendations was implemented."

POLICY QUANDARY

The controversy between Quesada and Halaby is over what the new administration is doing to change the policies and procedures at FAA as laid down in the Curtis air safety program during the Eisenhower regime.

This is a matter of great public interest, since it affects the service, safety, and expenses of all who travel on the civil airlines of the Nation, as well as costs to the taxpayer for aviation subsidies.

General Quesada claims that under Mr. Halaby's management, the FAA is slipping back under control of outside special interests that is supposed to regulate to the detriment of the public interest.

He contends that Mr. Halaby has weakened efficiency by decentralizing responsibility for air traffic control into seven geographical FAA regions. He says that Mr. Halaby is asking Congress for more money and more Government employees than necessary to do an effective job of policing the Nation's airways.

DENIES ALLEGATIONS

Mr. Halaby denies every allegation. He accuses the former administration of "phasing out" the Federal aid airport program. Whereas he claims $375 million in Federal funds will be needed to help meet $1.2 billion in new airport requirements for jet facilities in the next 5 years.

He also claims that the present air traffic control system is "out of date," and that it will take 3 to 5 years to "bring it up to proper standards." He says it will be 1965, and more likely 1967, before FAA will have a system that will assure "safe separation of aircraft" on landing, takeoff, and en route between airports.

"We have been getting quite a number of reports of near misses between aircraft," Mr. Halaby warned. "There has been and will continue to be a period of calculated and unavoidable risk. We have to accept the risks and coordinate the delays.

"FAA has gone to great lengths to try to measure the risk. We carefully investigate every report that comes to us, and take whatever corrective action is necessary. At the extreme, we suspend or penalize the pilot or controller. At the least, we find out what happened, and publish the findings."

Mr. Halaby is proposing to hire 4,000 more Government employees in his agency. He asked Congress for an FAA budget of $791 million for the 1963 fiscal year, $61 million more than 1962, including $75 million for Federal grants to local airports.

"They don't need that many people," General Quesada said. "We should take care of the natural growth of aviation by increasing efficiency, not by increasing bureaucracy."

But Mr. Halaby said the extra money is mostly for air controllers and maintenance men needed to operate and service additional air navigation and communications equipment being put into service. "Congress provided for new towers and service centers and radar stations," he said. "Now we have to man them."

General Quesada claims that his successor hasn't been as "tough" in cracking down on air safety violations as the former administration. Mr. Halaby replied that "there has been no relaxation in enforcing the rules, but there has been greater assurance of a fair hearing and due process" for the accused.

FAA figures show there were 3,822 violation reports filed in 15 different categories but affecting primarily airmen's certificates in 1959, compared to 4,603 during the last year of the Eisenhower administration in 1960, and 3,918 during the first Kennedy year in 1961.

Mr. Halaby said he couldn't explain the drop in reports last year, but he was going to find out. He thought maybe certificate holders were being more careful or that the FAA inspectors were separting the willful from the unintentional violations of safety regulations.

PROFICIENCY INCREASES

"More air miles are being flown," he declared. "The proficiency of pilots is increasing. Maintenance standards on aircraft have improved generally. Our inspection and surveillance has increased. Even though the airlines are carrying more people, the number of fatalities per passenger miles flown has been improving.

"The accident rate is not increasing with the number of near misses reported by any means; 1961 was one of the safest years in aviation history. I don't believe that 1962 will be a bad year. We have tightened up on Federal regulation of nonscheduled airlines. We have stringent new laws against the skyjacker. But there are still too many air drunks who are disorderly and dangerous in flight."

British aviation experts have compiled worldwide aircraft casualty figures through 1961 purporting to show:

In piston planes of the DC-6 and DC-7 types, 4 out of every 100 planes manufactured has been totally destroyed in accidents; the destruction rate is 1 every 60 days, or around 1 every 500,000 flying hours.

The loss rate in turboprop planes of the Electra and Viscount types increased to 5 out of every 100 manufactured, a loss rate of 1 every 6 weeks or per 100,000 hours; the cost of the planes increased significantly to around $5 million per aircraft.

Preliminary experience with pure jets shows a destruct rate of one a month or one every 100,000 hours; the cost of the planes has gone up even more, to around $20 million per aircraft.

FAA safety officials claim these figures are not significant, that the true yardstick should be the number of accidents per 100,000 flying hours or per 100 million passenger miles flown.

OTHER VIEWPOINT

By the yardstick of 100,000 flying hours, the rate of air carrier accidents in piston planes declined from 2.2 in 1955 to 1.7 in 1961. The rate in jets dropped even more dramatically from 8.6 in 1956 to 3.0 last year, and 2.9 so far in 1962.

The fatal accident rates this year per 100,000 flying hours has amounted to two-tenths of 1 percent in piston planes, and four-tenths of 1 percent in turbine aircraft. An FAA official pointed out: "The jet engine has a lower factor of mechanical failure than the piston engine. At the outset of this administration, Halaby appointed three major task forces to make recommendations. One, called Horizon, proposed national aviation goals. Another, called Tightrope, suggested new regulatory and rulemaking procedures for FAA.

The third, called Beacon, proposed that FAA should build its own air traffic control system with radar beacons and computers at an estimated cost of $500 million, instead of using jointly with the military the SAGE system already installed at a cost of more than $1 billion.

All the persons who served on these "task forces" came from outside the Government. Quesada claims some of them represented "special interests," seeking to sell something to the Government, or trying to influence FAA regulatory policies.

Regarding project Beacon, he said, "it would be naive to expect anything from this group except to throw away what we've got, and start all over. If this were done every time the administration changed hands, it could cost the taxpayers billions."

He said that "bureaucracy likes to have its own system without regard to cost," whereas both military and civil aviation should be able to use the existing radars, computers, and air traffic control facilities of the existing SAGE system.

FAA claims that the Beacon report showed it would be less expensive to design and build a whole new system for civil aviation, than it would be to adapt the SAGE military system for common use. But the Kennedy administration has not yet asked Congress to appropriate any funds for the proposed new FAA system.

SPECIAL INTEREST CHARGE

As for consorting with the "special interests" he is supposed to regulate, Halaby said:

"I travel in the field at a rate of 100,000 miles a year. I have frequent talks with airline pilots and general aviation groups. I go to our centers and towers and regional headquarters. Most of these places were never visited before by the FAA Administrator. We're not here just to regulate, but to serve the public."

Finally, some Congressmen are becoming interested in the insurance aspects of air safety. Preliminary investigation by the House Commerce Committee indicates that most of the Nation's airlines are insured by one of two general syndicates, each representing a consortium of private insurance companies who share the risks, with clauses in policies prohibiting them from suing one another.

General Quesada claims that, the public is getting "gypped" on airline trip insurance, because airport operators lease their insurance concessions to the highest bidder, with no competition between insurance vendors at the airports.

Mr. Halaby said he didn't know about this, "but it's an intriguing idea." He said he would like to see "the best insurance at the least possible cost." If there is any price-fixing or restraint of trade, he said, it could be the basis for a Federal antitrust action. But the FAA administrator added: "I don't believe the Federal Government should be fixing insurance rates."

## John W. Holton

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues who have expressed their appreciation to one of the most loyal employees in the House of Representatives, John W. Holton.

I have found John Holton to be most capable, courteous, industrious, and considerate. During my years in the House, whenever I have had occasion to call upon him for assistance and advice, I have found him to be sincere, cheerful, and cooperative.

As assistant to the late Speaker Sam Rayburn and then as legislative assistant to you, Mr. Speaker, he has proved to be a loyal and efficient employee. I want to extend to him my sincere congratulations and wish him every success in his new career in private industry. The American Bankers Association is fortunate to have John W. Holton on their staff.

## Gen. Eric Fisher Wood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh Press of October 5, 1962:

GEN. ERIC FISHER WOOD DIES, FAMED WORLD WAR I HERO—HELPED FOUND AMERICAN LEGION

BEDFORD, Pa., October 5.—Maj. Gen. Eric Fisher Wood, one of Pittsburgh's famous heroes of World War I, died yesterday at his farm here, "Journey's End."

Cofounder of the American Legion, architect and author, General Wood had a distinguished career both as a civilian and a soldier. He was 73.

In World War I, he served in three armies—the French, British, and American—and held every rank from private to lieutenant colonel.

He was wounded twice—the first time on the day the United States declared war; the second time on Armistice Day.

DECIDED ON HOME HERE

General Wood was born in New York City, the son of a physician.

He was educated at Hackley Preparatory School and Yale University where he was graduated in 1910, receiving his A.B. degree and one in engineering at the same commencement. He took postgraduate work in architecture at Columbia University and Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

While an undergraduate at Yale, he visited Pittsburgh and decided to make his home there.

The war interrupted his studies in Paris, and he became an attaché to the American Embassy there. He helped organize the American Ambulance Corps, then joined the French Army as a private in the ambulance corps where he rose to the rank of lieutenant.

In 1916, he joined the British Army and returned to France, becoming a major in the 63d Division. He participated in the spring offensive of 1917 and was wounded during the Battle of Aras.

DECORATED IN WAR

After convalescing, General Wood joined the American Army. On Armistice Day, as a lieutenant colonel in the AEF general staff, he was severely gassed while in the front line trenches.

For his war exploits, General Wood was decorated with the French Croix de Guerre, the French Gold Medal of Honor, and the Order of the Purple Heart. He was made a Knight of the French Order of the Black Star and of the Legion of Honor.

He returned to Pittsburgh and became associated in an architectural firm with the late Henry Hornbostel, former director of Allegheny County Parks. Together, they designed the Grant Building, the Schenley, Loutellus, and Coronado Apartments, and the German Evangelical Church among others.

COFOUNDER OF LEGION

They were in charge of all State building programs under Govs. John S. Fisher, James Duff, and Edward Martin.

General Wood also was associated with the firm of Rutan, Russell, and Wood.

With Theodore Roosevelt Jr. and several other AEF officers, General Wood helped organize the first Legion post in Paris after World War I.

General Wood, as an author and a public relations analyst, wrote several books and contributed to numerous national magazines. His "Note Book of an Attaché" became a best seller.

A member of the Pennsylvania National Guard for more than 20 years, General Wood formerly commanded Pittsburgh's 107th Field Artillery and the 53d Brigade prior to World War II. He was attached to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's staff during World War II in France and Germany.

His son, the late Lt. Eric F. Wood, who was killed during the Battle of the Bulge in World War II, was awarded the Belgian Government's highest military honor for heroism.

## Congressman Joseph E. Karth Reports to the People of the Fourth District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, a record of solid achievement has been made by the 87th Congress with the cooperation of the Kennedy administration. This is a fact which the people of the fourth district—and the Nation—recognize and appreciate.

St. Paul is today at the threshold of an exciting era of rebuilding its core city. The initial stimulus came from substantial Federal projects such as the $8,317,000 St. Paul-South St. Paul floodwall which is far enough along for the Riverview Industrial Park to begin taking shape. Construction is proceeding on the $7,600,000 annex to the post office and customs house. The site for the $11,700,000 new Federal Office Building and Courthouse has been agreed upon by the responsible local authorities and the General Services Administration. Detailed plans for acquiring the land are being expedited by the Federal Urban Renewal authority.

Unprecedented progress is being made in the building of a $1,250,000 Lake States Forest Experiment Station on the University of Minnesota St. Paul campus.

In the city of White Bear Lake a badly needed addition to the post office is being constructed at a cost of $175,000 to relieve the overcrowded conditions there.

Preliminary work is being conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers to determine the feasibility of creating a great new barge harbor at St. Paul where deepwater navigation begins in the Mississippi. Funds amounting to $25,000 have been appropriated.

In the near future we can expect a new post office terminal and vehicle maintenance facility of a not-yet determined value and a $16,400,000 Veterans' Administration Center building at Fort Snelling.

Heartened by this considerable confidence of the Federal Government in the future of the St. Paul area, private real estate interests have now begun to launch spectacular developments of their own which will ultimately wholly rejuvenate the central city.

In other economic news of interest to the Fourth District, the Department of Defense has notified me that area businesses during the last fiscal year received prime military contracts of nearly $200 million, or about 80 percent more than in the previous year. At the rate current defense contract awards are being made with area companies for classified ordnance items, electronic equipment, computers, and so forth, this will be even a better year for Twin City firms and workers.

This is heartening news because a considerable part of my efforts in Washington are devoted to exploring new ways to help area enterprises make their capabilities known to defense and space agencies and thereby to help secure new job and business opportunities for our community.

SPACE COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

As a ranking member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I was assigned by Chairman GEORGE P. MILLER to head the Subcommittee on Space Sciences. During the last session this assignment involved the responsibility of making significant investigations into projects which were encountering difficulties such as Centaur, ANNA, and Advent.

The troubles with Centaur—its initial spectacular blowup and lack of back-up capability—alarmed me because Centaur is a workhorse vehicle in many of the next generation of space exploration missions. Centaur is important because its new-type engine uses as fuel, liquid hydrogen—which boils at −422° F.—with liquid oxygen, a combination which surpasses presently known fuels in efficiency.

The investigation by my subcommittee disclosed such diffusion of management responsibility among the contractors and Government managers, lack of definition of objectives, and underfunding that the project was imperiling important parts of our space programs. The subcommittee's hearings and recommendations initiated a major reevaluation of Centaur and caused a realinement of management, clarification of goals, and establishment of a top priority in scheduling.

In addition to the investigations our subcommittee participated for weeks in holding hearings and intensively evaluating the space sciences 1963 budget for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In full committee we finally approved $3.81 billion for NASA.

ACTIONS OF THE 87TH CONGRESS

It is in the height of fashion for carping columnists to try to minimize the very substantial achievements made jointly through the efforts of the administration and liberal majorities in Congress. I certainly knew that when President Kennedy set the goals of the New Frontier, he did not expect them to be accomplished immediately. As a former Congressman and Senator, he knows the Congress well—both its limitations and its strengths.

In fact the 87th Congress has done a remarkable job which has been unmatched in the last 10 years. The main problem since January 1961 has been for our Nation to catch up the 8 previous years of economic backsliding which put the United States on the brink of depression. Emphasis of the major domestic legislation enacted during the 87th Congress was on bolstering the economy with measures such as:

Temporary unemployment compensation which authorized Federal advances to permit up to 13 additional weeks of benefits for workers who have been unemployed so long that they have exhausted their regular benefits;

Temporary railroad unemployment compensation which approved additional unemployment benefits for railroad workers similar to those granted to other employees;

Aid to dependent children amendments to authorize, temporarily, aid by States to children of needy unemployed parents who are not otherwise eligible for Federal aid;

Minimum wage amendment was raised from $1 an hour to $1.25 and coverage extended to 3.6 million additional workers;

Manpower retraining and development programs to retrain with new skills workers who have lost jobs because of automation or dying industries and assures trainees of living expenses while learning;

Area redevelopment program established to provide a 4-year program of $300 million in loans and $94 million in grants for industrial plants and public facilities in economically distressed areas;

Public works acceleration program will make available up to $900 million in loans and grants to communities with high unemployment or community projects which can quickly be initiated to employ workers;

Federal highway aid that will increase Federal share of interstate highway program from $25 billion to $37 billion;

Water pollution control program to make available an additional $270 million to help communities construct sewage treatment plants;

Housing Act of 1961 authorized up to $4.9 billion for new housing units and establishes new programs to make urban areas more desirable places in which to live;

FHA mortgage insurance loan authorization was increased by $1 billion;

VA home loans were increased by additional $1.2 billion in direct VA home loans;

Small business loans limited raised by $20 million loan;

Small business amendments increased SBA revolving fund by $105 million to a total of $1.1 billion; and

Small business investment restrictions were liberalized for small business firms.

Many of these economy-sustaining programs are financed through self-liquidating loans upon which interest is paid to the Government.

MEETING HUMAN NEEDS

Not forgotten during this Congress was the vast inventory of programs to improve human resources and the measure of social justice to those who deserve better of our community. Much more should have been done but nevertheless I am proud of these achievements:

Social security minimums were increased for old-age benefits and benefits to widows, and men were allowed to qualify at reduced benefits at age 62—disability provisions were liberalized and the fund strengthened;

Railroad retirement was improved to make benefits comparable to social security;

Disabled veterans' compensation increased by about 9.4 percent payments to veterans for service-connected disabilities;

Veterans' widows received new benefits equal to death pensions;

Juvenile delinquency grants of $10 million a year to be made available to communities with programs to combat juvenile delinquency;

Practical nurses' scholarship programs were extended;

Migratory health services made available for establishing and operating family health clinics and special health projects for migratory farm families;

Drug regulation law imposes stricter safeguards on use of new, untried medicines;

Education TV broadcasting given financial assistance;

Self-employed pension plans now permitted to lawyers, doctors, small businessmen, with some of the privileges enjoyed under present law by corporations;

Salaries of 1.6 million Federal workers raised to make Government employment attractive and thus hold key people who have been leaving in large numbers for private industry;

A resolution proposing that the States approve a constitutional amendment prohibiting the payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting for Federal officials; and

The Civil Rights Commission's life has been extended and programs securing the civil rights and equal employment opportunities of all citizens have been strengthened.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

In our Nation's international affairs the Congress backed this administration's forceful "no drift" foreign policy and helped with the enactment of such legislation as:

A new Trade Expansion Act was passed to meet the challenge of the coming revolution in foreign trade created by the European Common Market. The act will permit some U.S. tariffs to be reduced as much as 50 percent and others even more where trade is almost exclusively with the Common Market. Those U.S. industries and workers hurt by tariff reductions will be given assistance in various forms to get reestablished.

Foreign assistance was again offered to help nations facing internal and external fights with communism.

Peace Corps was established to recruit men and women with key skills and to send them as good will ambassadors to the underdeveloped areas of the world. This imaginative program has been an outstanding success.

Authority for the United States to buy up to $100 million in U.N. bonds to keep the world organization performing its peacekeeping activities.

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was established to provide weapons control information in international negotiations and prepare plans for converting defense industries to peacetime uses.

The Congress substantially backed President Kennedy's moves to counter Communist threats in Laos, Thailand, Berlin and Cuba. The Congress has now made it abundantly clear to Khrushchev and the world that a unanimous American Government is ready to face a showdown with communism and possesses the will to win if he is foolhardy enough to risk one. To back this conviction the Congress has provided the Defense Department with $48.1 billion, a record peacetime budget, to purchase primarily the military hardware and scientific know-how to insure an invincible retaliatory striking power.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Despite the important progress made on President Kennedy's legislative program, there are vital parts of the program which must be acted on in the 88th Congress. These include measures for:

Aged: Adequate hospital and nursing home care under social security as provided in the Anderson-Javits bill;

Youth: Provide unemployed young men an opportunity to work in conservation and other job-training programs;

Education: If need continues, to provide essential Federal assistance;

Labor: Establish uniform and fair minimum standards in the administration of the unemployment compensation system; and,

Tax reform: Reduce load on overburdened taxpayers and insure integrity of our tax system by closing loopholes.

Continued national progress and prosperity will require the utmost cooperation between the Kennedy administration and the 88th Congress. Working together we can insure the achievement of a program which will build a great and dynamic America.

## Tribute to Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

### HON. BRENT SPENCE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and grieved to learn of the untimely and tragic death of my colleague, CLEM MILLER, of California. He was an able, conscientious, and industrious member of the Banking and Currency Committee. His influence had been steadily growing. His contributions were recognized by all. His life was one of leadership and service, from his days at Williams College through his exemplary performance as a soldier in World War II, to his work as a most able Member of the House of Representatives. He was a man of varied talents, being among other things, a practicing landscape consultant before his entry into Congress. Most recently he had revealed himself as a sensitive observer of the Washington scene in his book "Member of the House: Letters of a Congressman." One reviewer described it as a volume "which surely must rank among the best of the portraits of Congress."

CLEM MILLER's death is a severe loss to the committee, the House of Representatives, his district, his State, and the Nation. May the light of God's countenance shine upon him and give him peace.

## Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my regret that H.R. 11158, the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1962 did not come up for passage in this Congress.

During this Congress I introduced similar legislation to authorize the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to provide additional assistance for the development of comprehensive and coordinated mass transportation systems in metropolitan and in other urban areas. It is my belief that if our urban areas, both large and small, are to escape strangulation by traffic congestion, the efforts of all levels of government are needed to solve the critical transportation problems now confronting them. A start in this direction was made in provisions of the Housing Act of 1961 and H.R. 11158 would have continued that program. Enactment of that legislation was urgently needed.

The transportation problems of the metropolitan or urban areas of national concern. Seventy percent of the Nation's population live in urban areas and it is here that the highest rate of population growth is occurring. It is manifest that because our Nation is predominantly an urban nation, the solution of urban problems is very much a part of the current worldwide race for economic, scientific, and cultural leadership. The strength of our economic system, the viability of our methods of government, and our way of life will have to be demonstrated in the cities. Our successes and responsibilities as a nation have come to be thought of primarily in terms of nation, rather than in their local context. We speak of national wealth, national production, and national problems. In actual fact the effect of our total achievement is measured by the successes—or failures—of the many parts that constitute our Nation. Important parts that are added up to make our Nation are our metropolitan areas. These core

cities of 50,000 or more and their surrounding urban and suburban territory have been the fastest growing sections of the country since the start of the century. In 1900 urban areas included only a third of our national population but today over two-thirds.

One of the key and unique pressures that faces the city today is the burden of handling a daytime population 30 to 50 percent greater than the residential population. The continuing decline in use of mass transit facilities is making this task enormously more difficult. It is a common sight throughout the country to find every morning long lines of individuals crawling toward the teeming center of the city, while parallel lines of automobiles head with determination in the opposite direction. In almost every metropolitan complex, with the notable exception of New York, the private automobile accounts for the significant and growing proportion of the commuting travel to the central city. Radial highways leading to the central business district are peppered with automobiles. The picture is much the same in many communities where the commuter heads from close-in residential districts to employment areas on the periphery of our cities.

A principal response of the cities has been to facilitate the shift from transit riding to the use of the private automobile by building or planning to build freeways to the central cities and by adding to the supply of parking spaces. It is obvious that the extent to which parking space can be provided at close-in locations will continue to be limited by both cost and space. For that reason a highway program alone, it appears, will fail to solve the problem of accessibility for many cities as they are constituted today. The question of accessibility has a great deal to do with the decision of the businessman to stay downtown or the decision of the shopper to go there. In fact the very question of accessibility to the modern city is closely tied to the question of the survival of the central city.

Within recent years a number of students of the modern American city have spoken of the "disappearing city," they have argued that the central metropolitan areas of our Nation are "doomed," "obsolete" and that by this view the city is seen to be dissolving, distributing the amenities of the urban center in a film of suburbia.

Faced with this unhappy prospect a number of communities have made great efforts to meet the manifold problems of moving people and goods with dispatch. The San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit District was formed to meet the tremendous challenge of urban concentration and the movement of people. The facilities of this district are recognized to be the result of essential basic research to find the very finest system for the bay area. The voters of a number of bay area counties will go to the polls in November to make this system a living reality.

"When a man is tired of London," said Dr. Johnson, "he is tired of living for there is in London all that life can afford." This classic tribute to the qualities of living in an urban community can be matched by statements from many other observers from antiquity to the present time.

To our cities have come the young and energetic, the enterprisers and dreamers, everyone who seeks "all that life can afford." In my mind, it is apparent that the preservation of our central cities must be premised upon the recognition of its maintenance as a viable center for our culture. Its preservation cannot be left to blind chance but must base itself on the balanced and rational solution to a whole range of problems. Without question one of the most pressing and complex problems deals with transportation and traffic. A realistic and sober evaluation must be undertaken by our communities. Such an evaluation was undertaken in the San Francisco Bay area. In drawing up one of the model rapid transit programs in the Nation, the Bay Area Rapid Transit District provides balanced attention to all methods of movement in giving due stress and attention to a workable public transit system. The Bay Area Rapid Transit District will do much to prevent the bay area motorist from strangling in his own congestion.

I believe it to be evident that the movement of the great masses of people into and out of the central city can be accomplished only by mass rapid transit. Nationally, it matters little what form this transport takes—subways, surface trains, buses, elevated trains or a combination of any or all of them. What is clear is that the fact of galloping congestion in our urban areas be met—and with dispatch.

Our highway programs, our urban renewal projects, and all urban planning assistance programs would have become more effective with the enactment of H.R. 11158, which provides a framework for coordinating efforts to improve urban transportation with other metropolitan programs, all to the end of enabling urban areas to achieve the growth which is important to our national economy.

The Federal aid proposed in H.R. 11158 is most practicable. The assistance is to be given to State and local government agencies. They are in the best position to keep abreast of trends which indicate need for specific transportation facilities which will contribute to rather than hinder progress.

I wish to congratulate Mr. MULTER and the members of Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on Banking and Currency for framing such a comprehensive and well thought out measure.

In closing I wish to express my deep regret that this measure was not passed by the House of Representatives. We have come to a point in the development of our Nation at which neither the Federal Government nor the American economy as a whole can afford the expense and damage if metropolitan areas fail in their productive function. Enactment of the Urban Mass Transportation Act would have done much to insure the good health of the American city.

## Representative Wilson Gaining in His War on Waste, Says Chicago Daily News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News is reporting to the people, along with other newspapers all over the country, about the success of the "Wilson versus waste" military study.

Charles Nicodemus, of that newspaper, wrote the following article that appeared in that newspaper on October 8, 1962. It is a profile and an evaluation of my study and I commend it to my colleagues:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Oct. 8, 1962]

REPRESENTATIVE WILSON GAINING IN HIS WAR ON WASTE—HOOSIER'S ONE-MAN BATTLE ON SPENDING GETS SUPPORT

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—A Midwestern Congressman's once lonely war against Pentagon waste is getting less lonely every day.

"We're getting more interest all the time," says Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana. "Next session (of Congress), our results should be even better."

After more than a year of unaided tilting with the giants of the military, ranks are finally forming behind the 56-year-old Hoosier with a former math teacher's eye for numbers and a smalltowner's devotion to the wisely spent tax dollar.

When the subcommittee condemned the Navy's action, Defense Secretary McNamara had WILSON cut off all procurement agency mailing lists, which WILSON had been scanning to spot upcoming cases of waste.

McNamara's maneuver brought in Representative JOHN E. Moss' Information Subcommittee to raise public hob about the clampdown. Thus McNamara, who may have hoped to silence WILSON with the cutoff, is now finding he has troubles anew.

While a few Congressmen, such as Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, have led successful committee fights in this field, WILSON's one-man campaign against sloppy spending and contract favoritism—particularly in the electronics field—is a rarity for two reasons:

WILSON deals in facts and specific instances, not generalities.

This is possible because WILSON is fed tips and facts by sympathetic career civil servants and by electronics industry experts who want to see all qualified firms, instead of a favored few, get a crack at lucrative electronics contracts.

WILSON turns this data, with added inquiries, over to Congress watchdog on Federal spending, the General Accounting Office, which digs into Pentagon and contractor records to substantiate the charges of waste.

Many Congressmen hesitate to get on the wrong side of the Defense Department.

They fear that some firm in their district will be passed up on a key defense contract, that manpower at a nearby Army or Navy base may be reduced next year; that work at a local ordnance plant will be cut off. The Pentagon has—and uses—scores of such devices to ward off congressional pressure.

WILSON, a smalltown schoolteacher before he was elected to Congress in 1940, can ignore most of that pressure. His southern Indiana district is mostly rural and small town, and does less Pentagon business than most.

WILSON, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, got neck deep in defense spending problems almost accidentally.

During a casual conversation in a Washington hotel 18 months ago, two veterans of the electronics industry suggested that the Government was regularly throwing away money. They offered facts and figures to help prove it.

WILSON turned the data over to the GAO for investigation, and the proof soon began streaming back.

There were instances of "sole source" contracts handed to lone, favored manufacturers at exorbitant prices, with flimsy justification. There were negotiated (without bid) contracts by which a few firms were permitted to split up lucrative production jobs for years, even though other qualified companies offered to do the work more cheaply. There was "auctioned" bidding, in which a procurement agency kept canceling and readvertising bids for certain jobs, until the "right" firm's bid was low.

WILSON began detailing his analyses in House speeches and in remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. But for months, most Congressmen—unschooled in the complexities of procurement and the convolutions of Pentagon maneuvering—were too busy to be interested, failed to understand, or disbelieved.

"But now," WILSON points out, "more and more of my colleagues, on both sides of the aisle, are beginning to listen—and believe."

At the urging of several influential House Members, WILSON appears slated for appointment to the Appropriations Committee's key Subcommittee on Defense Spending, which would put him—WILSON hopes—in a spot where the Pentagon will have to start listening, too.

## The Late Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KING of California. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, CLEM MILLER was all of the wonderful things that our colleagues and our dear friends have said. He was an extremely great and successful man. God in His infinite wisdom has called CLEM MILLER. We find it a tragedy, as does CLEM'S family, but I say, as my colleagues have said, that he was a very successful man, successful in the infinite, for CLEM MILLER truly loved his fellow man. This is the highest—the very highest—achievement.

Mr. Speaker, I am reminded at this sad hour of the counsel that my old-fashioned mother always gives me: "May the Lord be between thee and all harm, particularly that of sin."

Mr. Speaker, here was a great man, CLEM MILLER, who served his fellow man and served him to the very death. This is truly one of God's children whom God has called home to an everlasting life.

## Airline No-Show Penalty Rules Flop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, many commercial air travelers in the United States have been irked by the so-called no-show penalties inaugurated in May. It has been determined that the problem lies not with passengers, but with the airlines. The penalties were inaugurated as a trial matter for the period until October 31. The plan should be dropped if the following data contained in an article in today's Wall Street Journal is anywhere near correct:

AIRLINE ERRORS CAUSE 90 PERCENT OF THE NO-SHOW PASSENGER PROBLEM—CANCELLATIONS OFTEN ARE NOT RECORDED, BUT PENALTY TEST IS EXPECTED TO BE EXTENDED

(By James Harwood)

WASHINGTON.—Instead of nabbing scads of unreliable travelers, the much-heralded penalty plan for "no-show" airline passengers is demonstrating that 90 percent of the industry's problem has been its own doing.

Starting last May, major airlines imposed fines of 50 percent of the ticket price, with a $5 minimum and a $40 maximum, on passengers failing to honor their reservations. The plan's operation has revealed:

The airlines' good-sized lists of absentees have included many names of passengers who actually canceled out but weren't checked off by reservation clerks.

The records include numerous instances where one airline has simply failed to connect passengers to another line's plane on time; these, too, have been counted as no-shows.

The results show real absentees have been equal to less than 1 percent of all passengers who have boarded planes. That's a far cry from the 10-percent rate often mentioned in the past.

SOME LINES HAIL "SUCCESS"

Airline and Government officials who fostered the cash-penalty plan aren't hailing this embarrassing intelligence, of course. Quite the contrary. With some carriers citing the plan's "success," 11 major airlines recently voted to continue the program beyond the October 31 expiration date of the original trial. The Civil Aeronautics Board, which backs the plan to boost ailing airline finances, blessed its results as "beneficial." The Board claims it has cut no-shows from a number equal to 9.8 percent of all passengers boarded in April to 6.9 percent in July; no later figures have been compiled. The Board is expected to approve extension of the experiment.

Behind the hurrahs, however, lies disenchantment. One CAB official says, "The passenger-created no-show problem was a myth." A Board member is reconsidering his original vote in favor of the plan. And at the same meeting where the carriers voted to continue the scheme, few industry spokesmen exhibited exuberance at results so far. One airline official dubs it a "phony." All this casts doubt on the plan's performance.

Since absentees who cancel reservations or fail to make connections through airline delays naturally don't have to pay penalties, experts got a good idea of the true extent of the no-show problem by totaling the fines actually levied. Last July, the number of assessments was less than $26,000, equal to only 0.69 percent of the nearly 4 million passengers who actually flew then. This was roughly one-tenth of the 6.9 percent no-show rate quoted by the CAB for that month. The remaining nine-tenths were probably traceable to airline errors, experts say.

MANY "ERRONEOUS" BILLS

Airline errors also have raised a question of whether the real assessment rate may not be lower yet. For example, airlines mailed out no-show penalty bills totaling $957,176 in the first 3 months of the experiment, but collected only $26,660. Checking, the CAB discovered that many mailed bills were "erroneous"—probably more than 50 percent, say airline and CAB officials.

If most absentees are truly innocent, as first figures suggest, there's a distinct possibility the Board will eventually junk or severely alter the penalty plan. Public complaints, which so far have been light, might mount in light of new disclosures, forcing the CAB to change course. Equally important is the possibility that penalties might drive away airline passengers at a time when the CAB is straining to put the industry in better shape.

More than a year ago, a CAB staff report warned that penalties are palatable only if passengers are at fault, adding "there is a strong incentive from a sales standpoint to keep the demands upon a customer at an absolute minimum." Further, said the staff: "If the no-show is predominately the result of record error, improvement in record-keeping rather than passenger penalty would be in order."

Even the plan's opponents, however, favor further trial. They say experience indicates there's been a general tightening of airline procedures to keep track of passengers. Even some big carriers that were prepared to pull out of the pact have been impressed a little by this result. Says a spokesman for one of these carriers:

"We maintained originally that airlines, not passengers, were causing no-shows. The only thing that surprises us now is that first reports show airlines cause 90 percent of no-shows; we estimated 80 percent. But the plan is at least showing some effect in improving reservation systems."

## Milton Friedman Links Capitalism, Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, recently a new book entitled "Capitalism and Freedom" was written by one of America's most distinguished economists, Dr. Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. I want to take this opportunity to urge all of my colleagues to read this important book. It makes a powerful and convincing case for human freedom under capitalism. As Dr. Friedman says:

I know of no example in time or place of a society that has been marked by a large measure of political freedom and that has not also used something comparable to a free market to organize the bulk of economic activity.

A few additional excerpts from the book will give the flavor of Dr. Friedman's thinking, and I ask unanimous

consent that they be included in the RECORD at this point. I also ask unanimous consent that a review of Dr. Friedman's book by William Henry Chamberlin, appearing in the Wall Street Journal on October 8, be included in the RECORD.

[From "Capitalism and Freedom"]

ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

I believe that it would be far better for us to move free trade unilaterally, as Britain did in the 19th century when it repealed the corn laws. We, as they did, would experience an enormous accession of political and economic power. We are a great Nation and it ill behooves us to require reciprocal benefits from Luxembourg before we reduce a tariff on Luxembourg products, or to throw thousands of Chinese refugees suddenly out of work by imposing import quotas on textiles from Hong Kong. Let us live up to our destiny and set the pace not be reluctant followers (p. 73).

ON DISCRIMINATION

As already stressed, the appropriate recourse of those of us who believe that a particular criterion such as color is irrelevant is to persuade our fellows to be of like mind, not to use the coercive power of the State to force them to act in accordance with our principles (p. 115).

ON SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Few trends could so thoroughly undermine the very foundations of our free society as the acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make as much money for their stockholders as possible. This is a fundamentally subversive doctrine (p. 133).

ON DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

Despite the lip service that we all pay to "merit" as compared to "chance," we are generally much readier to accept inequalities arising from chance than those clearly attributable to merit. The college professor whose colleague wins a sweepstake will envy him but is unlikely to bear him any malice or to feel unjustly treated. Let the colleague receive a trivial raise that makes his salary higher than the professor's own, and the professor is far more likely to feel aggrieved. After all, the goddess of chance, as of justice, is blind. The salary raise was a deliberate judgment of relative merit (p. 166).

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THE BOOKSHELF—UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ECONOMIST STATES CASE FOR TRUE LIBERALS

Thirty or forty years ago, the suggestion that a capitalist furnishes essential underpinning for human freedom in other fields would have been greeted with derision in supposedly advanced intellectual circles. Even those who did not favor full-fledged Marxism were inclined to see the only hope for a brighter future in a great extension of Government intervention and control. Here was the magic wand that overnight would transform an unsatisfactory present into a bright future.

To some extent this attitude is still with us. In America and Western Europe intellectuals, for a variety of reasons, are apt to be somewhat alienated from the private enterprise economy. But there are signs of a turn in the tide, first signaled by the publication in 1944 of Prof. Friedrich A. Hayek's powerful tract, "The Road to Serfdom." The collectivists now are not allowed to have it all their own way on lecture platforms and in publications.

The obvious failure of communism, in the Soviet Union or anywhere else, to realize the values of the good life has made its impression. So has the amazing recovery of Germany from wartime devastation under the stimulus of competitive free enterprise. A sign of the reviving interest in what would once have been called liberalism—now better understood in America if labeled conservatism—is the publication of a little collection of essays by Milton Friedman, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, under the title "Capitalism and Freedom."

THE BASIC PROPOSITION

Professor Friedman states the basic proposition of his little book clearly and firmly in his opening chapter:

"Historical evidence speaks with a single voice on the relation between political freedom and a free market. I know of no example in time or place of a society that has been marked by a large measure of political freedom and that has not also used something comparable to a free market to organize the bulk of economic activity."

A favorite old demagogic slogan is: "Human rights before property rights." This obscures the fact that the right to acquire and own property is one of the most precious human rights, not only because it is an indispensable incentive to efficient work, but because it is one of the most solid guarantees of individual dignity and liberty. In a totalitarian society, where everyone is, in one way or another, on the state payroll, resignation on an issue of conscience or idealism is an act of uncommon courage. There are not many men of the caliber of Yugoslavia's Milovan Djilas, who, after having tasted the fruits of elite life in a Communist dictatorship, will twice go to jail rather than keep silent about his ideas.

In a capitalist society, on the other hand, it is almost commonplace for a man who doesn't like his job, with the government or with a private employer, to resign and speak his mind, with no punches pulled. It may be that courage and sacrifice are involved, but both are in bearable measure. Mr. Friedman gets to this point when he writes:

"So far as I know, none of the people who have been in favor of socialism and also in favor of freedom have really faced up to this issue, or made even a respectable start at developing the institutional arrangements that would permit freedom under socialism. By contrast it is clear how a free market capitalist society fosters freedom."

CHURCHILL'S EXPERIENCE

The experience of Winston Churchill in the 1930's, when he foresaw the peril of Hitler's unlimited ambitions while the British Government was hugging the illusions of appeasement is very instructive in this connection. The BBC, at that time the only source of British broadcasting, was a state monopoly. Churchill was barred, as too "controversial." He was able to publish his ideas because there were privately owned free British newspapers and magazines.

Mr. Friedman elaborates his central idea with discussions of such subjects as the government's role in education, social welfare measures, the control of money, licensing of occupations and distribution of income, always using freedom as his yardstick of judgment. Besides possessing a lively and questioning mind himself, he shows excellent judgment in some of his quotations, notably in the following from A. V. Dicey's "Law and Public Opinion in England":

"The beneficial effect of state intervention, especially in the form of legislation, is direct, immediate and, so to speak, visible, while its evil effects are gradual and indirect and lie out of sight."

And there is this gem of comment on how statists have pirated the term "liberalism", from the writings of the brilliant Austrian-born Joseph Schumpeter:

"As a supreme, if unintended compliment, the enemies of the system of private enterprise have thought it wise to appropriate its label."

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

# Appendix

## Government Makes No Hay With Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article which appeared in the Washington Post on October 7, 1962:

GOVERNMENT MAKES NO HAY WITH FARMERS

(By Julius Duscha)

OSCEOLA, IOWA.—Lowell Chipp still calls himself a farmer, but he spends as much time working in a factory near Des Moines as he does on his farm in the rolling hills of south-central Iowa.

Chipp commutes more than 50 miles each working day from his farm to a Ford plant because he says he cannot make enough money farming on his 200 acres. With his wife's help, he tends to his hogs, cattle, and milk cows before and after his factory shift and on weekends.

On another 280 rolling acres near the Chipp farm, Donald Burgus continues to try to earn a living for his family by spending all of his time farming.

With 50 acres of corn, 20 head of cattle, and the help of Government feed-grain subsidies, Burgus was able to earn only $2,500 in cash last year.

OVERLOOKED BY PROSPERITY

Chipp and Burgus are typical of many farmers in the Midwest who feel that prosperity has passed them by. Farmers are often confused, concerned, and even frustrated as they search for solutions to their many problems.

One indication of the concern and confusion is the rapid growth of the National Farmers Organization, which believes that direct economic action holds the only hope for farmers.

The NFO, which was started just 7 years ago, tries to get farmers to hold hogs, cattle, and other commodities off the market to force processors to guarantee higher prices to farmers. Last week it called a recess in its latest "all-out holding action," which lasted for more than a month but did not result in the signing of any price-guarantee contracts with processors.

The wide response among farmers to the NFO seems to reflect deep disillusionment with the Government price-support programs that have been operating for 30 years.

In Iowa and elsewhere in the Midwest, many farmers maintain that existing farm programs, which cost the Government $3 billion a year, generally help big operators at the expense of struggling small farmers.

Farmers point out that "at a dollar and a nickel," corn prices are no higher today than they were in 1948, the postwar year in which farm income was the greatest. Hog and cattle prices are below their 1948 levels.

RIGID CONTROLS FEARED

Despite Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman's determined efforts to sell his farm program of "managed abundance," most farmers have no clear idea of what the Kennedy administration is trying to do for them.

The majority of farmers seem, however, to fear the rigid controls that are at the heart of the Kennedy-Freeman farm program. Every farmer can cite for a visitor examples of what are considered to be injustices resulting from reductions in acreages to comply with farm programs.

Farmers also are afraid of Government programs because they say they never know what to expect. First there was the soil bank under former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson during the Eisenhower administration; then came the Kennedy administration's feed-grain program. What next?

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are looked upon by farmers as their saviors. Although most Midwest farmers generally vote Republican, they tend to view the farm policies of both parties with a growing skepticism.

LEGISLATION IGNORED

Traveling in the Midwest last week, talking with farmers, businessmen and political leaders, I found more interest in the new NFO than in the farm legislation that the Kennedy administration finally pushed through an extremely reluctant Congress.

Farmers are becoming acutely aware of their diminishing political influence, so it is not surprising that they are listening more carefully than ever before to men like Oren Lee Staley, the evangelistic farmer who leads the NFO.

Furthermore, farmers are always more interested in the prices their products bring in the market place than in Government devices designed to subsidize farmer income or even to set a floor under prices.

Here in Iowa, farmers can always tell you the prices at which hogs, cattle, corn and soybeans are selling on local markets. But few farmers know the details of the administration's new wheat control program or even the details of the year-old feed grain program.

Staley, a 39-year-old farmer from Rea, Mo., would have farmers rely on their own economic power rather than on legislation passed by an unpredictable Congress in which farmers will have less and less of a voice because of the movement of population from the countryside and small towns to the cities.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, which is the Nation's largest and most powerful farm organization also has moved away from a reliance on Government programs to control farm production and to keep farm prices high.

The Farm Bureau, which supported extensive Government agricultural programs during the 1930's and early 1940's, now advocates the gradual withdrawal of Government from agriculture.

For the most part, the Farm Bureau represents the views of the larger, more successful farmers who do not like Government programs restricting them and who believe that they do not need Government price supports to bolster their economic position.

The Farm Bureau also rejects the kind of economic coercion that the NFO advocates to force processors of meat and other commodities to sign contracts guaranteeing prices to farmers. Instead, the Farm Bureau encourages farmers to produce better quality products that will bring premium prices and to develop better marketing facilities through cooperatives over which farmer-members have control.

The National Farmers Union, which is controlled largely by Western wheat growers, remains the strongest advocate among farm organizations for Government price guarantees. The National Grange, which is strong in the Northeast and parts of the Midwest, also supports Government programs as the best avenue for agriculture.

Into this sea of disagreement among farm organizations and farmers themselves plunged Orville L. Freeman 2 years ago, fresh from the governorship of Minnesota. An adroit and persuasive politician, Freeman knew little about farm policies and programs. But as Secretary he decided to move in the direction of Government controls.

The Kennedy administration has gone the control route largely because it is convinced that the ever-increasing costs of the farm programs can be reduced only by forcing farmers to cut back their production.

But neither Congress nor farmers seem to want controls: The farm legislation finally approved by Congress this year provides for tougher controls over production in 1964 and for substantially the same controls over corn, sorghums and other feed grains as were in effect this year and last year.

But farmers in Iowa and in other agricultural States seem to feel that they are getting less and less out of all the maneuvering and political in-fighting among the politicians in Washington.

And what do farmers want? Like most Americans, they want a fair share of America's abundance. Many of the larger, more efficient farmers are making a good living, driving new cars, sometimes flying their own airplanes and often vacationing in Florida during the winter.

But of the Nation's 3.7 million farms fewer than 1.5 million have cash sales of over $5,000 a year. Of these, fewer than 800,000 market more than $10,000 worth of commodities annually.

It is on the 2.2 million farms with annual sales of under $5,000 that the Nation's farm problem exists. Here are the farmers like Lowell Chipp and Donald Burgus who must work at another job who must struggle along on a $50-a-week cash income and who often must decide whether to stay in farming or move to the city.

In one sense the Nation's farm problem remains what it has been since the 1920's, when comprehensive farm programs were first proposed in Congress. Now, as then, it is a question of how best to help assure farmers an adequate and fair share of the Nation's income.

But what seems to be significant in typical Midwestern farming areas today is the feeling that Government has not and perhaps cannot provide the answers to the farmers' problems and that farmers may be better off pursuing their own solutions through such direct-action movements as the NFO and by withholding commodities from market to force prices higher.

"So many statements and counterstatements have been made from Washington," NFO President Staley told me "that farmers hardly know who to blame.

"And," he added, "you can only protest about so long."

## A Study of Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I would like to bring to the attention of the Senate the latest book by J. Edgar Hoover, entitled "A Study of Communism." I have found this book to be not only interesting, but one of the most plainspoken, effectively presented writings on communism. I believe this volume could serve as well, if not better, than many of the textbooks on communism presently used.

Edgar Hoover's presentation is commendable reading for every American and I hope it will be used in the education of our children. Once again this great crime fighter and outstanding expert on subversive activities has rendered his Nation a great service.

I ask that the review "Primer on Subversion" of Mr. Hoover's book which appeared in the Deseret News and Telegram of September 27 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with my remarks.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRIMER ON SUBVERSION—FBI CHIEF SPELLS OUT THE RED CHALLENGE

"A Study of Communism," by J. Edgar Hoover. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., New York. 212 pages. $3.95.

American education in recent years has become convinced that one of its responsibilities should be to provide instruction, preferably at the high school level, on the dangers of communism.

Doing that, however, is easier said than done. One of the difficulties is that of finding an acceptable textbook. Many textbooks have been objected to on the grounds that they were not sufficiently authoritative, that they were outdated, or that they were not sufficiently "tough" on communism.

J. Edgar Hoover's latest book, however, goes a long way toward meeting such objections. So it probably deserves to be considered as a text for such courses.

As Director of the FBI, which has jurisdiction in internal security matters involving communism, Mr. Hoover's credentials as an authority in the field are more than sufficient.

As to being tough on communism, Mr. Hoover makes it plain that when its outer trappings are stripped away, communism is nothing more than lust for power, and that it is long on promise but short on performance.

Moreover, the book is so up to date that it even includes a brief section on the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba.

One other thing that might qualify "A Study of Communism" for use as a high school text: It is sufficiently complete to tell the average citizen just about all he needs to know about communism and how to fight it. And it is written in such a manner that a difficult subject is made easily understandable.

The elementary manner with which the book treats communism will make it something of a disappointment to anyone who reads his daily newspaper thoroughly. Yet there is a definite need for such a treatment. Anyone who has ever attended an anticommunism seminar such as those put on by Harding College of Arkansas or by the National Guard is amazed at how unaware many adults are of the extent of the Communist menace. Mr. Hoover's book could do much to help erase such ignorance.

In this connection, the final chapter of the book points out that the real struggle is not between communism and capitalism but between communism and freedom, and it provides a list of the differences between the two in such fields as their aims, their views on education, elections, employment, economics, government, human rights, travel, and trade unions. This list seems like a good pedagogical technique.

Finally, a further advantage of the book as a possible classroom text is the way it avoids certain pitfalls. It avoids becoming bogged down in controversy over whether or not the United States should conduct a thorough housecleaning of its State Department and withdraw from the United Nations. Moreover, it discusses the relationship of socialism to communism without becoming embroiled in the dispute over whether or not socialism inevitably leads to communism. And it sidesteps the argument over which aspect of communism constitutes the greater danger to the United States—that of internal subversion, or that of external aggression.

However, one section of the book seems likely to make it objectionable to certain groups. That's the section in which Mr. Hoover warns that "citizens should not circulate rumors about subversive activities or draw conclusions from information which may come to their attention. Vigilante action weakens our society. It is just as important to protect the innocent as to identify our enemies.

"Reckless charges against individuals and false statements about the nature of communism and the extent of its penetration into various areas of our life serve the cause of communism by creating disunity among Americans."

That's eminently sound advice, of course. But the John Birch Society, for one, seems likely to take umbrage at it. Perhaps any displeasure on its part, however, will be eased by Mr. Hoover's solid record in fighting communism, by the fact that many Birch Society members look with favor on his previous book on communism called "Masters of Deceit," and by the responsible approach of his most recent book. For as this book points out:

"The ultimate guarantee against Communist encroachment is a deep and abiding awareness on the part of each citizen that freedom is inherently superior to communism."

## Representative Harold R. Collier Reports to the People of Illinois 10th Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith the report to the residents of the 10th Congressional District of Illinois covering a résumé of major legislation and my activities as their Representative in the 87th Congress.

Convening on January 10, 1962, and extending through the second week of October, the recent session of the 87th Congress was the longest in peacetime history.

Few congressional sessions in the annals of the Nation's Federal legislative body brought the degree of controversy, delays, and indecision which marked this one. Deadlocks and "behind the scene" pressures of every nature contributed to the early stagnancy of committee deliberations from the start of spring until the session came to its painful end with more than 175 Members having departed Washington by the time the foreign aid bill was passed on October 6. Midway into the second week of October, a record for rollcalls had been established in the House with a total exceeding the 290 mark, running the figure for the 2-year period of the 87th Congress to well over 500.

Disagreements in many areas on major legislation between the House and the Senate became a frequent occurrence. The total number of bills introduced in the House of Representatives during the near 10-month session extended 6,000 and brought the 2-year total of bills to more than 13,600. Less than 8 percent became law and many of these were bills of a private nature. As is generally true in our legislative process, many bills of prime importance were not even considered—and other bills which had "political sex appeal" were given priority in this election year. To attempt to sum up this Congress as being one primarily of achievement or failure is, of course, entirely a matter of one's personal point of view.

It must be remembered, of course, that many factors contributed to the congressional pressures which in turn affect the thinking and actions of a legislative body which has an obligation to reflect the will of the people in the vast majority of instances.

The heat of critical developments in Cuba, Laos, Berlin, and many other far-flung areas of the world increased from time to time as did the tensions within Congress.

On the domestic front throughout the past year, spotty unemployment remained in the face of the so-called emergency programs designed to bolster the American economy.

Though we have lived in an aura of cold war tensions for more than a decade, the situation in Cuba, Russia's satellite colony 90 miles off the coast of Florida, has become far more explosive, and the attempted invasion of Cuba by its exile and refugee citizens became a fiasco which strengthened Castro's hand. There has been a tremendous military buildup in Cuba which is continuing as this report is being written.

New undercurrents continue elsewhere as the struggle between free nations in the world and Communist-dominated countries erupts with new fervor. Deep-grained international strife continues to exist in the new African nations as well as in South America. As I suggested would be the case nearly 2 years ago, Laos might well be "written off" as a pro-Western nation. In fact, its base of government has been broadened into a "coalition" which is dominately pro-

Communist and promises to eventually fall totally into the Communist orbit. All of these things have demanded a continued acceleration of our national defense cost and program.

In these difficult times we must have two prime concerns; first, to maintain peace through strength but only without yielding or risking freedom or the growth of Communist tyranny; and, second, to strengthen our economic and fiscal stability on the domestic front. Certainly there is grave question whether we are pursuing the course of fulfilling these two demands as fully as we should.

While the industry and business economy of the country remains generally strong, we have undergone a decline in new capital investment and our economic growth has by no means measured up to the promises and predictions of the administration's economic experts. Our fiscal situation is far less stable today than it has ever been in the past. Public indebtedness has again been sharply increased and our gold reserve continued to drop this past year. To fully understand the latter situation one must realize that on December 31, 1946, U.S. gold holdings were in excess of $25 billion while on September 17, 1962, these holdings shrunk to slightly more than $16 billion. In the meantime, the gold holdings of other foreign nations have increased from $13 billion in 1952 to nearly $24 billion as of the start of this past year.

Twice in a span of 7 months, Congress voted to increase the statutory debt ceiling by an accumulated sum of $10 billion, thus carrying the public debt beyond the $300 billion mark, highest in the history of the country. While there are many factors which could substantially change the deficit spending figure for this fiscal year, it would appear that the outlay of Federal revenues by the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, will reach the $7 billion mark. Had the suggested tax cut been ordered for fiscal 1962, we would have experienced an even greater deficit. Many of us who are concerned with the mushrooming national debt have been critical of many domestic programs which reflect imprudence at a time when a nation has been called upon to make sacrifices. It has frequently been stated that "an America which goes broke would be of no help to the world" and the forces of communism would then be left without the opposition of a great nation which has been the bastion of the free world for many decades.

While it is impossible to list all important business transactions and legislation in the Congress this year, here are several with which Congress tussled throughout the past 10 months:

DEFENSE BUDGET

An alltime record high defense budget was unanimously approved by both the House and Senate for fiscal 1963, totaling $52,600 million. Of this amount nearly $15.5 billion will be used for the purchase of new weapons; $13.5 billion for military pay and allowances; and $11.5 billion for operations and maintenance. The more than $12 billion balance will be expended for research and development, atomic energy, military aid abroad, et cetera.

TRADE BILL

Congress passed a controversial trade bill granting the President unprecedented powers to cut U.S. tariffs, to impose market quotas, and to provide subsidy payments for both workers and business firms injured by imports. This bill recently became the law of the land, and only time will establish how effectively it provides the tools for dealing with the complex problems of international trade and the side effects of recent trends in both the world market and our shrinking balance of gold reserves.

FOREIGN AID

Although the funds requested by the administration for foreign aid were sharply cut, Congress approved an appropriation bill which increased the House figure by nearly $800 million, thus bringing the total to $4,400 million again this year. This is an increase of $14,300,000 over last year's foreign aid appropriation.

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS

Legislation which would have established a new Cabinet post and another bureau of the Federal Government to be known as the Department of Urban Affairs was defeated in the House. The defeat might well be a temporary one, however; authoritative source has it that a renewed effort to create an Urban Affairs Department will be made by House liberals in the next sessions.

FARM LEGISLATION

President Kennedy got a farm bill through both the House and Senate in the closing days of the session, but it fell very short of the original program requested which would have given vastly expanded power to the Secretary of Agriculture. The bill contained a new wheat program for 1964. Although it is designed to cut grain production and surpluses next year, many legislators feel that it will result in an expanded subsidy without any cutback in production.

RESERVE CALLUP

In a bipartisan and almost unanimous vote in both the House and Senate, President Kennedy was given standby authority to call up 150,000 reservists. The measure also provides for authority to extend the service tenure of regular military personnel. It must be understood that this is standby authority which may or may not be used at the discretion of the President.

EDUCATION

The Federal aid to education bill which would have provided Federal funds for school construction and teachers' salaries, remained tangled in a web of politics and religion where it died in committee during the previous session. It appears that it will take a great deal more unified support to extricate it in the future than is prevalent. However, Congress did expand the aid to school districts and federally impacted areas, as well as approving the school milk program and renewing other general educational programs.

It expanded the National Defense Education Act for institutions of higher learning, but revolted against the Senate version of the so-called college facilities bill which passed the House void of scholarship loans and grants earlier in the year.

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED

The House of Representatives was not given an opportunity to debate the medical care program under social security on the floor because the Senate short-stopped the measure and killed it in the upper body in mid-August. Needless to say, other measures to place a program in effect with a tax allowance on certificate system fell by the wayside as a result of the Senate action, also.

POSTAL RATES AND PAY BILL

Congress almost unanimously approved a bill combining postal rate hikes with a $1 billion pay raise and increased retirement benefits for Federal employees.

SELF-EMPLOYED RETIREMENT PROGRAM

After years of consideration, both the House and the Senate finally passed by a substantial majority a measure giving profession people and other self-employed persons new tax incentives to set up their own retirement funds. The bill known as H.R. 10 which came from the Senate included an amendment to tax certain profit-sharing and private retirement benefits. The House refused to go along with this amendment, introduced by Senator GORE, thus striking this section of the bill in conference.

PUBLIC WORKS

A mammoth public works bill, which will cost the taxpayers of this country at least $900 million, was passed by a voice vote late in August after Republicans lost by a narrow margin a motion to send it back to committee. It provides sweeping authority for the administration to establish almost every type of project including recreational facilities of every nature and description. Mind you, this was entirely separate from another public works bill which was passed for rivers and harbors projects.

VETERANS LEGISLATION

Congress enacted legislation providing a cost-of-living increase for service-connected disabled veterans and voted unanimously to increase the program for veterans' hospital facilities to insure adequate care and outpatient treatment for disabled veterans.

TAX REVISIONS

The 1962 tax revision bill, including new tax credits for outlays on machinery and equipment and tighter rules for deductions on income expenses, was approved after multiple changes in both legislative bodies in the original proposal.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION

Among the measures of special legislation which Congress passed this year were those which established the Space Satellite Communications Corporation; a plan to give the President authority to assist the United Nations through the purchase of $100 million in U.N. bonds; a bill tightening the Federal Drug Administration's control over the manufacture and distribution of drugs; and

resolutions calling for a firm policy in dealing with the explosive Cuban and Berlin situations.

PERSONAL REPORT

During the 1962 session more than 400 residents of the 10th Congressional District visited my office in Washington. My staff arranges tours of the White House, provides gallery passes for both the House and Senate, and schedules tours of many other places of historical interest in the Nation's Capital.

Early in each session of Congress, I take a special opinion poll in my district to determine how the majority of my constituents feel about the many controversial legislative issues. The poll taken during the 87th Congress brought a tremendous response running considerably higher than the average mail public opinion poll return. Tabulations on each question were carefully summarized and the results placed in the press as well as in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

As was the case during the previous year, I was obliged to cancel out scores of speaking engagements and meeting commitments during September and October because of the prolonged session.

Congressional mail, which was heavier this year than at any time during my 5 previous years in Congress, was given careful and considered attention. Replies were sometimes delayed as a result of the fact that often a particular issue will draw a deluge of mail in a 2- or 3-day period making it impossible to answer within 24 hours as we do under normal conditions.

During the second session of this Congress, I introduced 12 public bills although several other measures which I proposed were under committee consideration at the time the 1962 session began. Among the bills introduced this year were the following:

H.R. 9505, a bill to prohibit exports to Communist countries.

H.R. 10645, a bill to amend section 20 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 so as to prohibit the assistance under that act to the government of any country which is delinquent in compensating U.S. citizens for loss of any property by expropriation.

H.R. 10731, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to exclude from gross income gain realized from the sale of the principal residence by a taxpayer who has attained the age of 60 years.

H.R. 10092, a bill to authorize the conveyance of certain surplus Federal lands to the State of Illinois for wildlife, conservation, and recreation purposes.

H.R. 11087, a bill to provide medical and hospital care to the aged through a system of voluntary health insurance.

H.R. 11589, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide that lawful expenditures for legislative purposes shall be allowed a deduction from gross income.

H.R. 12505, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow deduction from gross income for certain amounts paid by a teacher for additional education or training.

H.R. 12392, relating to the refund to the States of any unexpended balance of taxes collected under the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961.

H.R. 13001, a bill to establish a permanent commission on aircraft noise abatement problems.

H.R. 13220, a bill to terminate the retailers excise tax on cosmetics and other toilet preparations.

As a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics, my special assignments for the adjournment period have not been definitely designated, as yet. However, I assisted in the writing of several important bills which emanated from our committee and which were ultimately either reported to the House or enacted into law, including the proposal to provide more stringent regulations on the sale of drugs, the quality stabilization bill, regulation of shipment of gambling devices and parts for such devices shipped in interstate commerce, the bill to establish the Communications Satellite Corporation, and a score of bills dealing with changes in the Nation's transportation system. This committee will resume its work on the jet noise problem which has plagued the residents of our own area as well as those adjacent to other airports throughout the Nation where there are jet aircraft airport facilities.

Although this report might appear quite lengthy, it is actually but a brief analysis of what Congress did during this past session and, specifically, the work of your own Representative. We are, however, prepared to provide detailed information to all my constituents on any and all bills of special interest. These inquiries may be directed either to my Washington office or to the district office in Berwyn.

By way of special information, it should be remembered that most of the congressional districts throughout the United States underwent boundary changes as a result of the 1960 decennial census. The 10th Congressional District, which previously embraced 5 suburban townships and approximately 135,000 residents in 3 Chicago wards, has been drastically changed. We now have the largest population of any congressional district in Illinois with a figure of nearly 575,000 residents. It includes only that portion of Chicago in which O'Hare International Airport is located. The townships of Maine, Leyden, and Cicero have been added to our congressional area, along with those townships which have been in the 10th District since 1958, specifically, Oak Park, Berwyn, Proviso, Riverside, and River Forest. With the newly reapportioned district, the work of this office is certain to be increased considerably during the 88th Congress.

## It's Time for Congress To Think of Self-Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the many procedural difficulties confronted by this Congress constitutes overwhelming evidence of the necessity of Congress considering substantial reforms in a number of its ways of doing business.

Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, of Pennsylvania, has been actively proposing reforms that deserve serious consideration.

It has been more than 16 years since passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The outmoded procedure and suggestions as to new methods that might be considered is discussed in an excellent editorial from the Nashville Tennessean of October 1, 1962.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S TIME FOR CONGRESS TO THINK OF SELF-REFORM

One more Congress has just about ended its work and again the shortcomings of this legislative body are under criticism. Some of the most frequently recurring complaints about Congress—even from lawmakers themselves—involve procedures and rules under which work is carried out.

At session's end, a group of Senators, led by Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, is proposing to do something about the rules which tend to make Congress so unwieldly. These Senators have urged creation of a Senate-House committee which would recommend an overhaul of procedures and has submitted several rules changes for the Senate.

These changes would deny Senate committees authority to pigeonhole legislation requested by Presidents and would require all administration bills be reported out by July 4 of each year.

Another proposal would authorize joint Senate-House Appropriations Committee hearings on money bills, with each branch initiating action on half the bills.

Two other suggestions include abolishment of the seniority system of picking Senate committee chairmen by providing secret ballot elections, and the imposition of a 70-year age limit for chairmen of Senate committees.

These are useful suggestions, particularly those of reporting out administration measures and joint initiative on money bills by both Houses. Appealing and sensible is the proposal to limit by age the committee chairmanships.

As for the seniority system, it appears to be firmly and permanently entrenched. Most Congressmen favor it, and those of the South especially approve. Nobody with a pat hand is going to urge a new deal, and presently 11 Southern States have 10 of the 15 most important committee chairs.

One of the flaws the Clark group should have mentioned is the "Tuesday-through-Thursday-Club" routine in which leadership tends to adjust schedules to the home-

ward movement of lawmakers which begins usually on Thursday and lasts through Monday. Consequently, Congress performs very little on Mondays, Fridays, or Saturdays.

Another fault is that Congress tends to drift for the first few months of a session, then acts in haste on a great deal of vital and complex legislation as adjournment draws near. Perhaps a division of the session in a legislative and fiscal period would expedite its work.

It has been more than a decade since the last Congressional Reorganization Act. The time has come to take stock again. The group headed by Senator CLARK could provide the impetus for full-scale scrutiny of legislative procedures and subsequent improvements.

It would be a most welcome action from a public which finds increasing annoyance in the cumbersome and creaking machinery of the legislative branch.

## Advertising: True or False

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Daniel J. Murphy, director, Bureau of Deceptive Practices, Federal Trade Commission in Washington:

ADVERTISING: TRUE OR FALSE

(Address by Daniel J. Murphy, director, Bureau of Deceptive Practices, Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D.C., before Ohio Valley Advertising Club, Wheeling, W. Va., Oct. 10, 1962)

It was, indeed, a pleasure to accept this invitation through your able and distinguished Congressman, CLEVELAND BAILEY, and to discuss with you a subject of mutual interest—deceptive advertising.

It may be of interest, at the outset, to very briefly refer to the history of advertising.

I

Advertising at the turn of the century was bold and vigorous and reckless. It was a period of rapid expansion and economic growth. Technological discoveries made it possible to expand production to replace hand labor with powerdriven machinery—consequently, this increased the amount of goods available for marketing.

Advertising even then was showing indications of its future phenomenal progress. It had come a long way from its early vocal beginnings of the street crier—to signs—to pamphlets—to newspapers. It became a vital factor in the economic growth of the country.

However, the unrestricted excesses of advertising of this period demanded correction. The cry for advertising ethics was heard. Leading magazines exposed the dishonesty of many advertising claims. The courts decided very definitely that the remedy must come from the legislature and not the courts.[1] The crystalization of public sentiment for Federal regulation resulted in the Food and Drug Act of 1906 and the Federal Trade Commission Act in 1914.

During the next few decades, advertising continued its phenomenal growth. And again, in the 1930's, it became the target of bitter attacks. It was accused of exploiting the consumer. Thus, began the consumer movement to educate and inform the consumer in buying. The leaders of this new movement felt that it was necessary for the consumer to have a power of his own to contend with the power of advertising—that was the power of knowledge—the power of skepticism in order that he might get exactly what he wants and to know exactly what he is getting.

Once again the opposition to advertising was crystallized and once again the result was more Federal restrictive legislation. The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was passed in 1938. The Wheeler-Lea amendment was adopted also in 1938. This amendment gave added powers to the Federal Trade Commission over false advertising which was designated as "an unfair or deceptive act or practice in commerce." The new law called for consumer protection and the exercise of special vigilance in the advertising of foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics.

For the next two decades, advertising continued to boom and continued to be criticized. The publication of two new books—"The Hucksters" published in 1946, and "The Hidden Persuaders" in 1957—both of which became best sellers—added fuel to the fire. The most persistent challenge to advertising was its indifference to ethical values and the alleged discrepancy between its performance and its claims. Half truths and misleading irrelevancy were not confined to the fly-by-night, fast buckers but were indulged in national advertising. The consumer was encouraged to resist and challenge of the formal theory of respected economists that advertising was wasteful and inefficient. Once more, then, advertising was called upon to justify its existence and to clean house where necessary.

II

During this period two important factors were taking place:

(1) The growth of specialized advertising organizations—the advertising agencies and the development of research. We witnessed the growth of new expert techniques of research with their philosophies of marketing and phychologies of motivation—all directed toward the consumer—to create new wants and new desires.

(2) Television—another mammoth and intimate medium—was now added to the advertising world. Television has grown faster than any advertising medium in history. A dozen years ago or so there were only one-half dozen television stations—today there are more than 500. Today there are more than 55 million television sets in American homes. Six out of seven homes in the country have at least one television set—more television sets than telephones, than bathtubs. It is the greatest mass medium of communication ever devised. Conservatively the American consumer has invested more than $11 billion in television sets. Within a dozen years, television expenditures for advertising rose from nothing to $1,525 million, so that today television is a dominant advertising medium. It is the salesman's dream—instead of one foot in the door—he is right in your living room—therefore, as a guest in the home, his proper conduct and responsibility cannot be overemphasized.

III

These modern advertising techniques and additional medium of communication have brought additional power and authority to the advertiser and the agency; they have also brought additional responsibilities and obligations to the consumer.

The consumer, on the one hand, is generally unsophisticated, unorganized, and for the most part defenseless. On the other hand, the national advertiser and his agency, with their sophistication, experience, and techniques, make their primary thrusts with relentless pressures toward the consumer, in part educated and skillful, but for the most part uneducated and gullible. This primary thrust may be in print, in picture, or in sound—it may be dramatic and emotional—in any event, it is persistent and persuasive.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the advertiser and the agency not only maintain high standards but that their standards be continually improved. Any claim or representation made concerning an industry product which, directly or by implication, or by failure to adequately disclose additional relevant and material information, has the capacity to deceive, is not generally the result of ignorance, naiveness or inadvertence.

While there must not be a deliberate policy or practice of seeing how close one can come to the line of conflict with legal regulation—there must be a continual and aggressive awareness that there are certain obligations and responsibilities involved which must be studiously and carefully met and satisfied.

Not only must the patent lie be avoided as the plague, but also must be avoided the skillful ad which can mislead without misstating a single fact, by the shrewd use of exaggeration, innuendo, ambiguity and half truth. This type of ad may be more efficacious than factual assertions. As the court stated: [2] "Facts are dull and dangerous; exaggerations are vivid, attractive and privileged."

A prominent advertising official, in recently discussing "the yoke of public ridicule moving from Wall Street to Madison Avenue," stated as follows:

"How many of us here can say that he's never been a party to deceptive advertising; that he has never, at the very least, allowed advertising of one kind or another to go by him that encouraged favorable but untrue inferences about his product?

"And who among us has not been so mesmerized by the lyricism of a piece of copy, or the beauty of a layout, or the poetic tintinabulations of a musical commercial, that he has ignored the consumer's rightful desire to be told quickly and clearly—without a lot of meaningless guff—how the product will benefit him?"

IV

The entrance of television to the advertising world dramatically pointed up the value of demonstration. The consumer is interested to know what a product will do for him. Television demonstration of what the product will do is a very effective pictorial commercial. The fundamental obligation, therefore, is for the advertiser and the agency to be sure that the demonstration fairly and truthfully demonstrates. This type of advertising does not give full reign and license to the imagination. The demonstration must be more than merely credible; it must be factual. There are many examples of TV commercial demonstrations which appear to indicate that the advertiser and his advertising agency have not met their obligation in this area.

Advertising, stripped to its fundamentals, is salesmanship, directly or indirectly. Many TV demonstrations, in their eagerness and persistency to sell a product, have extended over to the realm of fiction for fact, of dreams for reality, of demonstrations that do not demonstrate, of proofs that do not prove.

V

The Commission has issued several complaints alleging that TV advertising was

[1] *American Washboard Co.* v. *Saginaw Mfg. Co.*, 103 Fed. 281 (C.C.A. 6).

[2] *Maurice J. Feil* v. *FTC*, 285 F. (2) 879.

deceptive because it leads the viewer to believe that a demonstration shown therein proves something when in fact it does not.

Some of these demonstrations of products challenged by the Commission included a demonstration of a filter cigarette; [3] demonstration of aluminum household foil; [4] the presence of moisture drops or "flavor gems" on margarine as evidence it tastes like butter;[5] a demonstration of the danger in actual use of competitive "round head razors"; [6] a depiction showing what is represented to be a comparison between competing shaving creams as to their being "moist and creamy"; [7] and others.

These cases hold that, apart from any determination of the merits of the product, a commercial must be considered illegally deceptive if purchasers may be induced to purchase a product because they have been led to believe they have seen a valid test or demonstration of it.

VI

The recent decision by the Commission in the Colgate-Palmolive, Ted Bates matter offers interesting comment.[8]

Truth and reality must govern the claims made for the efficacy of a product, whether in TV advertising or in any other media. The respondents in this case made use of a "sandpaper" test on TV to prove the moisturizing power of their shaving cream on what was represented as sandpaper and what the viewers had every reason to believe was sandpaper but was actually a Plexiglas mockup.

It is quite obvious that the respondents were making claims for the efficacy of their product which were not true. There is an equivalence between sandpaper and "a beard as tough as sandpaper." The product could not "shave" sandpaper in the manner and for the length of time depicted in the commercials, and equivalently it could not, in the same manner and time, shave a beard as tough as sandpaper. If the demonstration is false and it tends unfairly to divert business from competitors or to induce consumers to make purchases they might not otherwise make, it is unlawful. The heart of these television commercials was the visual demonstration—a demonstration that was in reality not demonstrating. If the public is to be induced to purchase a product by demonstrations, that demonstration must not exceed truth and reality.

It is interesting to note a few of the specific defenses raised by respondents in this case.

(a) Respondents first suggest that the use of a plexiglass mockup was justified because television technical limitations caused sandpaper to look unreal when televised. We are advised that the use of mockups or props to simulate reality in TV advertising is a widespread practice in the industry. Thus, aside from the specific facts in this case, a broader question is involved, that is, whether mockups or simulated props may lawfully be used in TV commercials to demonstrate qualities claimed for products when the audience is told it is seeing one thing demonstrated while actually it is seeing something different. It is our opinion that the know-how of the industry in the matter of TV photography is not as inadequate as respondents have indicated. We are reliably advised that most products can be photographed properly for TV in their natural state.

Even if the TV medium in certain instances presents a problem of limitation in photographically advertising products, this could not justify a resort to falsehoods and deception to the public. If the advertiser chooses to use television advertising to sell his products, and there is a conflict between truth and TV salesmanship, then truth must prevail.

(b) Another argument was made that if a decision was rendered against the respondents, the entire TV industry would be disrupted by prohibited future use of props and simulated realities in all circumstances. This, of course, is not so. What is prohibited is a prop simulating reality which constitutes a misrepresentation that is material to the inducement of a sale of the product involved. For example, an announcer may wear a blue shirt that photographs white; but he may not advertise a soap or detergent's "whitening" qualities by pointing to the "whiteness" of a blue shirt. This difference is the distinction between a misstatement of truth that is material to the inducement of a sale and one that is not.

(c) Respondents took the position that a television demonstration purporting to prove the qualities claimed for a product, where the public in told it is seeing one thing when it is actually seeing something different, is nonetheless lawful and not deceptive if, in fact, the product involved has the qualities claimed for it.

There is no justification for the use of a falsehood even though extrinsic to the objective value of the product to sell that product, whether or not it may deserve to be brought on its own merits. The false demonstration—the heart of the commercial—was a material element in the advertising for the sale of the product. The public and honest competitors are entitled to the protection the law gives against such unfair and deceptive advertising practices.

VII

A common method of advertising used in all media is the use of false comparisons and false disparagements. The advertisement, whether in newspapers, radio or television—whether in print, in sound or in picture—should not, directly or by implication, create an impression which is disparaging and untrue as regards other products. Advertising should be positive—based upon virtue and value of one's own product—and not upon deficiencies and defects of a competitive product.

The Commission has issued orders prohibiting disparaging, by untruthful statements or misleading or deceptive methods, including any pictorial presentation or demonstration, or any other deceptive or misleading manner, any property, quality or characteristic of any competing product.[9] If the product has merit, it should not be necessary, in order to build its sales, to attempt to tear down the integrity of another product.

Let the advertiser seek to sell his product on its own merits rather than by false comparisons and false disparagements. All meritorious consumer products are entitled to protection from these false comparisons and false disparagements.

VIII

The recent and serious criticism of advertising had its inception in the public indignation at being deceived by certain TV practices, including the scandalous, rigged TV quiz shows—Then came "payola" and the use of illegal push money in the music recording field.

The consumer once again is increasingly demanding that information—not merely creditible but accurate—be made available in order that his free choice, of what he will or will not buy, is not restricted. After all, the private enterprise system of America—which all consumers cherish and want to preserve—is, in reality, an outgrowth of a traditional democratic system of individual freedom of choice.

The criticism of advertising has reached the ears of the White House and the Congress. President Kennedy, in his recent message to the Congress on programs for protection of consumer interests stated:

"Consumers, by definition, include us all They are the largest economic group in the economy, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. Two-thirds of all spending in the economy is by consumers. But they are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are often not heard."

There are approximately 150 bills affecting advertising and marketing on file in this 87th Congress.

This charged atmosphere presents a challenge to the advertising industry—the advertiser, the agency, and the media. The industry has attempted to respond to this challenge by amending or issuing new codes and regulations.

The National Association of Broadcasters revised its code, stating: "The presentation of a product must not by copy or demonstration involve a material deception as to characteristics, performance, or appearance of the product."

The American Association of Advertising Agencies, the Association of National Advertisers, and the Advertising Federation of America jointly sponsored new advertising codes and principles, including the principle that "Good advertising tells the truth, avoiding misstatements of facts as well as possible deception through implication or omission."

Have these many advertising codes been effective in self-regulation, or have they been merely declarations of ideals rather than a description of effective rules? Has the advertising industry been sufficiently objective in appraising the industry advertising?

IX

May I at this point briefly refer to two substantial and important procedures, in the Commission's guidance program, which became effective June 1, 1962: (1) trade regulation rules and (2) advisory opinions.

(1) Under the new trade regulation rules procedure the Commission will promulgate rules which will identify practices which the Commission, based upon its factual knowledge, deems unlawful. Some of such rules may cover all applications of a particular statutory provision, others may be nationwide in effect or limited to particular areas or industries or to particular products or geographic markets. Before any such rule is issued by the Commission, an opportunity will be given to interested parties to present their written views. A public hearing may be held if it is deemed necessary. Any such rule, when issued and published in the Federal Register, may be relied upon by the Commission in any adjudicative proceeding, thereafter instituted, provided the respondent has been given a fair hearing on the legality and propriety of applying the rule to a particular case.

(2) Under the revised rules advisory opinions may be requested from the Commission as to whether a proposed course of action would be illegal. Staff members of the Commision formerly gave informal opinions not binding on the Commission. Now, after June 1, 1962, the Commission itself, where practicable, will advise if the proposed undertaking would be likely to result in further action. This advice may be revoked later if required by the public interest. However, the information submitted will not be used as a basis for a proceeding against the requesting party without prior notice and an opportunity for the party to discontinue the activity pursued in good faith in reliance upon the Commission's advice.

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[3] Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp., Docket 7688.

[4] Aluminum Co. of America, Docket 7735.

[5] Standard Brands, Inc., Docket 7737.

[6] Eversharp, Inc., Docket 7811.

[7] The Mennen Co., Docket 8146.

[8] This matter is pending on appeal in the U.S. circuit court in Boston, Mass.

[9] Aluminum Co. case Mennen case, Eversharp case, supra.

x

We have noted that at the turn of the century the criticism of advertising resulted in restrictive Federal legislation. Again in the 1930's, the criticism of advertising resulted in more restrictive Federal legislation. Will history now repeat itself? Will the present criticism of advertising again result in more restrictve legislation?

The cry for additional legislation has been heard in the Halls of Congress and the White House. The President of the United States, in his aforesaid message to the Congress on consumer protection, referred to the subject matter of several pending bills. He took the occasion again to advocate additional power to the Federal Trade Commission to issue temporary cease-and-desist orders. Industry, in its opposition to this additional grant of power, should bear in mind that the power, if granted, would, of course, be subject to judicial review and would only be used in extraordinary situations in protecting the public interest. A spokesman for the advertising industry recently defined this opposition as follows:

"Advertising is the voice of choice. It puts the decisionmaking power where it belongs in a democracy—in the hands of the consumer. They (proponents) would take from the people this voice of choice and hand it over to government."

President Kennedy, in his recent consumer message to Congress, referred to this consumer choice as follows:

"Consumer choice is influenced by mass advertising utilizing highly developed arts of persuasion—whether the performance of a product will in fact meet his needs; or whether the 'large economy size' is really a bargain."

The obvious answer to this opposition is: It is agreed that truthful advertising does permit the consumer to exercise his freedom of choice in a more intelligent manner and thus to bring about a more equitable and efficient utilization of the factors of production but deceptive advertising tends to produce an opposite result. Giving the Federal Trade Commission better tools to prevent deceptive advertising in its incipiency accordingly aids the consumer in the exercise of his freedom of choice and tends to preserve and strengthen the competitive free enterprise system.

## Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on the eve of Columbus Day, our thoughts naturally turn to the discoverer of the New World and the Nation which produced this magnificent explorer.

In connection with these thoughts, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Columbus Day speech of the Honorable Samuel A. Culotta, grand venerable of Maryland, Order Sons of Italy in America.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLUMBUS DAY

Firstly, I would like to recognize the presence of Judge Vito A. Marino, supreme trustee; Guy Sardella, grand recording secretary; Francis Tarasco, grand treasurer; Alfred Grue, grand trustee, and Cesare Piccinini, grand delegate. Now I would like to recognize the fine officers that have made this lodge the greatest in the State of Maryland: Jerome Della Noce, venerable; Charles Barbera, assistant venerable; Vincent L. Caperna, ex-venerable; Angelo DiBiasi, orator; Shirley Marziale, recording secretary; Audrey Klausemeyer, financial secretary; Mary Grue, treasurer; Genevieve Della Noce, corresponding secretary; Mary Pastore, Mary Trionfo, Anne Giacomelli, Anne DiBiasi, Anthony Longo, trustees; Mary E. Culotta, and Frances Marino, mistresses of ceremonies, and Francis DiGennaro, sergeant at arms.

On October 12 we commemorate the discovery of a New World, and the planting of the cross of Christianity on the soil of that New World by Christopher Columbus 470 years ago.

The courage, faith and vision of this great son of Italy opened up the sealanes for those who came after him, eventually to establish the United States and the other nations of North and South America. And so today, throughout the Western Hemisphere, we pause a while to pay tribute and honor to the great navigator from Genoa.

It is regrettable that Columbus Day has not yet become a national holiday, although many States, including Maryland, as a matter of law, have declared this day a State holiday. It may well be that in the not too distant future Columbus Day shall attain its proper recognition as a national holiday.

I think that it is appropriate to preface my remarks by stating that I am not going to dwell on the historical contributions of our Italian ancestors or of our Americans of Italian descent. Their place in history is known to all and their influence in contemporary thought speaks for itself.

Rather, I would like to talk about us as citizens of this great Republic, and what we can do with the natural talents that we have inherited from our Italian ancestors, primarily from our parents and grandparents, to build a better and stronger America.

It is amazing how much progress we sons of Italy have made in this country in the short span of approximately three generations. Consider, if you will, that we came to a foreign land over 4,000 miles away, where the inhabitants spoke a strange language and its customs were basically non-Latin. However, we did have some things in common, our Christian faith and a desire to build a better life for ourselves and our children.

Better still we had a willingness to make a contribution to America in exchange for her hospitality. Our natural qualities of industry, virility, warmth, inventiveness and integrity soon made their influence felt throughout our land. These qualities, nurtured in a land of freedom and opportunity, brought forth a success and well being impossible at the time for the vast majority of our immigrants from the shores of southern Italy and Sicily.

Upon arrival at the great ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, our parents and grandparents immediately went to work, and in their search for employment quickly settled throughout the United States. Before long our waterfronts, railroads, textile factories, mines, farms, and markets were busy with their industry and strength. Soon they were able to start small businesses of barbering, shoe repairing, grocery stores, tailor shops, and many others. Those who were able entered our schools and universities, and it wasn't long before we had American trained lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, and teachers. Each generation struggled harder than the one before to educate their sons and daughters in order to gain more success for themselves and the respect of the people of our beloved country.

And then as we approached the end of the thirties and entered the era of World War II, in which over a million of our sons and daughters participated, 20 winning the Congressional Medal of Honor, many making the supreme sacrifice, we came into our own. No longer, except by the unusually bigoted and ignorant, were uncomplimentary labels heard in our communities. Instead, streets, and squares were being named in honor of our war dead. Ships of the Navy proudly steamed with the names of our heroic sons. Then, too, there were the returning veterans, and others, filled with pride and a sense of confidence in their ability, who were to become mayors, Governors, Congressmen, judges, and a host of other positions. Those with a talent for building soon developed from bricklayers, paperhangers, sewerage workers, hodcarriers, pick-and-shovel men into giants of the construction and building trades. In music, in science, in engineering, in management, and labor, our sons and daughters, with their natural talents and an innate resourcefulness, accompanied with keen perception, were soon rising to leadership in their respective fields.

While our progress has been substantial and noteworthy in government, construction, business, and the arts, we have not yet made our full contribution in other fields. For example, we need more religious vocations. Surely the land that spawned the Roman Catholic faith and to this day is the center of Christianity, should have contributed more of its sons and daughters to the church in the United States. Take another example like manufacturing. With our inventiveness and industry, we should be able to expand our small plants and shops into much larger units and, thereby contribute to the material production of our abundant economy.

What about the professions—law, medicine, and science? It seems to me much more progress can be made in these fields.

We need men like Columbus. Men who have the perseverance to set their sights high and who will prepare themselves intellectually for the objectives they wish to attain; more important, who will work and struggles to achieve their goals.

Yes, there will be disappointments, and there will be those who will tend to discourage and ridicule our attempts to rise. There will be financial sacrifices, possibly illness and family considerations. However, each obstacle surmounted will strengthen our will and purpose. Think of what Columbus went through, almost 20 years of searching to find a sponsor, laughed at from court to court, storms, mutiny, and then God crowned his faith with the discovery of America and the realization of his dreams.

However, glory is a fleeting thing and people are fickle. You may recall that on his third voyage he was returned to Spain in chains. But Columbus never lost faith. On Ascension Day, May 20, 1506, in a Franciscan monastery on his deathbed, wearing the habit of the third order of St. Francis, he repeated the words of the dying Christ, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Of course, a true man of faith in God knows that the single most important purpose of life is to save his immortal soul. Columbus did not allow his ambitions for material accomplishment to divert him from this purpose.

The talents that we have must be put to use. Do not hesitate to take the first step and then stay with it. Have confidence; there is nothing lacking in our Italian backgrounds and in the opportunies of America that perseverance, patience, preparation, and participation won't cure.

Join in your community activities. Spread your light. Every new experience teaches us just a little bit more and thereby enables us to do better the next time. The rewards may not be riches but you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you are making your contribution to the material

and spiritual growth of our Nation. Moreover, you and your families will be able to live in dignity and honor as you earn the respect of your neighbors through good example and accomplishments.

Refuse to join with those who would corrupt your life or community. Hasten to condemn those whose ways are evil and bring disrepute upon our fine Italian heritage. We want nothing to do with those elements who claim pride in their Italian background but who at the same time through their evil activities would dishonor us. Unfortunately, we have been subjected to identification with the few criminal elements among us. The bigots and the uninformed of our Nation quickly use this pretext to smear the majority of Americans of Italian descent with the stigma of crime. However, we want them to know that crime is not peculiar to race, nationality or creed. And for every one that is criminally inclined there are thousands of us ready to do our duty as citizens to make our communities secure and law abiding.

Now let us go back to a more positive posture. A people that produced more than half of the great benefactors of humanity, such as can be seen at the Albert Memorial in Kensington Garden, London, need not be unreasonably sensitive to the mouthings of bigots and the reporting of journalists for profit.

It has been proven many times, if we work patiently, set good examples, and use our natural talents, that success and recognition can be had. As I have indicated before, there are many fields that await our interest and dedication. We cannot all be leaders but we can all make some contribution. Parents can encourage their children and make sacrifices to gain for them a proper education. Students can review their aims and strengthen their purposes. All of us can participate in community activity by giving up the fireside and television and contribute our time and energy for the benefit of projects and programs that better our neighborhoods, our churches, our Government, our schools and our homes.

The best of us should govern our actions and set the pace for progress in all of our endeavors. Patriotism and loyalty should be our constant attitude toward our country and its defense. In this way we shall be true to the values taught to us by our parents and make our maximum contribution toward strengthening our church, country, and family.

In time all good things will come to pass. Look at the progress we have made in the short period of 70 years, since the first wave of immigrants arrived from Italy.

Why, I predict that in time Columbus Day will be a national holiday. The national origins system that says, in effect, that eight mediocre English ship captains are better than one Italian like Columbus will be eliminated from our immigration laws. Commonsense should tell Congress that an immigration policy based on individual merit and humanitarian causes would be a more effective and fairer policy than one based on the accident of birth.

Why, I even predict that we will see, during the lifetime of many of those here, when a cardinal of the church in America will be one of our sons.

In fact, if the language spoken here had been a Latin derivative, many of our sons would now be fully participating in every field of governmental and community activity. Look at South America, President Frondizi, of Argentina; President Alessandri, of Chile; and President Nardone, of Uruguay, are all first and second generation sons of Italy, and they take great pride in their ancestral heritage.

Columbus founded America; Americus Vespucci named her; a million sons and daughters of Italy fought for America in World War II, and I predict that some day, God willing, a great American of the same heritage will lead her as President of the United States—men like Volpe and Celebrezze.

The American ideal—as the land of opportunity and equality and freedom—makes all that I have said not only possible, but in my humble opinion, likely. However, let us not forget that there are others in our midst who are now suffering under the many handicaps that our people endured in the early days of this century. The American way must be for all Americans. No one ought to be denied the rights of equality, freedom and opportunity because of race, color, religion or previous national origin.

And let me assure everyone here that it is consistent with our loyalty and love of America to be devoted to the ancestral ties and culture of Italy. Every great contribution made by sons of Italy in the past which we cherish, does not belong to Italy alone, but to the world. President Wilson recognized this principle when he said before several thousand newly naturalized citizens in Philadelphia, on May 10, 1915, and I quote:

"And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you, bringing what is best of their spirit but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you left behind in them. I certainly would not be one to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the country of his origin. These things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go."

We love the spirit and cultural ties that we inherited from Italy because of birth or parentage. However, our patriotism and dedication can only be for America. We have no national group among us to which we belong, unless it is rooted in the constitutional privileges and responsibilities of every citizen of the United States.

And so tonight we take particular pride in the spirit and accomplishment of Christopher Columbus, a son of Italy. As citizens of the United States, we recognize and honor the founder of our continent; as sons of Italy we take pride in his Italian blood and spirit which many of us share. The same spirit and values that caused Charles E. Russell, the historian, to say: "From the southern shore of Europe projects a peninsula of no great size, partially filled with mountains and with stretches of land no better than any other terrain, and yet out of that strip of land has emerged a great flaming dynamic force that has influenced the entire Western World and made that world what it is, in its anatomy, in its essence and function, purely Italian."

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, in the untimely passing of Reprsentative CLEM MILLER, the House and the Nation have lost a hard working and dedicated Member and his district has lost a devoted public servant. CLEM MILLER was outstanding in his drive to achieve those goals in which he believed and even those who might differ with him on specific issues could not but feel admiration for his sincerety and his loyalty to the beliefs he held. Combined with these qualities was a boundless energy that kept him on the job early and late on behalf of the people he represented here. Those people will miss him and the service he rendered and this House also will miss CLEM MILLER. But the Nation's loss, however great, cannot compare to the void left in the heart of his wonderful family. I join other Members in heartfelt condolences to them and pray that God will comfort them in their loss as only He can do.

## Resignation of Aubrey Gasque, Assistant Director, U.S. Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to hove printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a communication addressed to all U.S. judges, containing an exchange of letters between Mr. Aubrey Gasque, assistant director, and Mr. Warren Olney III, director, announcing the resignation of Aubrey Gasque as the assistant director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF
THE U.S. COURTS,
SUPREME COURT BUILDING,
*Washington, D.C., October 4, 1962.*

*To All U.S. Judges and to All Members of the Standing and Advisory Committees on Rules of Practice and Procedure of the Judicial Conference of the United States:*

With deep regret, which I know will be shared by all of his many friends in the Federal judiciary, I must announce the resignation of Mr. C. Aubrey Gasque as Assistant Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts.

Mr. Gasque has performed with great ability and effectiveness the duties of this position since June of 1958, and is now leaving the administrative office in order to undertake important staff responsibilities for the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. Gasque's letter of resignation, and my acceptance, read as follows:

"SEPTEMBER 24, 1962.

"HON. WARREN OLNEY III,
*"Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Supreme Court Building, Washington, D.C.*

"DEAR MR. OLNEY: This is to advise you of my resignation as assistant director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts effective as of the appropriate date, determined by accumulated leave, following the adjournment of this session of the 87th Congress.

"When I came with the Administrative Office in June of 1958 there was a large backlog of legislative proposals of interest to the Federal judicial establishment. Nearly every one of these has been enacted, including the omnibus judgeship bill and the Judges'

Travel Act, thanks largely to the devoted and brilliant teamwork led by Chief Judge John Biggs, Jr., and Judge Albert B. Maris, both of the third judicial circuit. Moreover, statutory authority has been granted for improving the Federal rules of practice and procedure, and for bettering Federal sentencing procedures, and these programs are firmly established.

"Thus, I believe that the principal contribution which I could make in this capacity to the work of the Federal judiciary has been made and that the remaining work in the Administrative Office should be in the nature of regular administration. And, since my own interests are so clearly in the law, in legal scholarships, and in studies concerned with the long-range improvement of the Federal system, I now wish to be relieved of these duties in order that I may pursue these interests actively and directly. No small part of this, of course, is the treatise, about which you know, that I am writing on the Federal criminal law and which should be attended to and published in due time.

"My associations in the Administrative Office, and the opportunities to meet and work with judges and personnel of the Federal judicial establishment, will always be sources of great stimulation and happiness for me.

"Sincerely,

"AUBREY GASQUE,
*"Assistant Director."*

"SEPTEMBER 28, 1962.

"Mr. AUBREY GASQUE,
*"Assistant Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Supreme Court Building, Washington, D.C.*

"DEAR AUBREY: The close personal relationship which I have enjoyed with you during the 4 years you have been assistant director in this Office, as well as the numerous and important contributions you have made to improved administration of the Federal judicial system and to the Administrative Office, make me loath to accept your resignation.

"However, I cannot fail to recognize that the important work you have been asked to undertake by the Senate Judiciary Committee offers an even greater opportunity for you in the areas in which you are most interested, that it is in reality a logical continuation of the work you have done here and that we can continue to work together on the problems of judicial administration almost as closely as we have in the past, and probably with even more effect. These considerations reconcile me somewhat to your departure.

"Your accomplishments while assistant director are far too numerous for me to attempt to list in this letter. I can only say that the Federal judiciary have every reason to be grateful to you for your service in the Administrative Office.

"You have my own personal thanks and gratitude and you take with you my best wishes for the work you are undertaking and the hope and expectation that it will bring us together often on our common tasks.

"Sincerely yours,

"WARREN OLNEY III,
*"Director."*

Mr. Gasque has also served during the past few years as executive secretary for the Standing and Advisory Committees on Rules of Practice and Procedure. I am informed by Judge Albert B. Maris, chairman of the Standing Committee, that Mr. Gasque will continue to serve as executive secretary to the committees for the time being and until the Standing Committee can appoint his successor.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN OLNEY III,
*Director.*

Aubrey Gasque is a former general counsel who served with great distinction with the Committee on the Judiciary, and he will be particularly remembered for his service as counsel during nationwide investigations under the direction of then Senator Price Daniel, of Texas, and, later on, by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming.

He is an able, knowledgeable, and forceful lawyer, and it is evident not only from this exchange of correspondence, but from my own conversations with Federal trial and appellate judges, that his service in the judicial branch is highly regarded and much appreciated. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, I can state that he has worked tirelessly over the past 4 years to advance the needs of the Federal judges and the courts.

Because of his ability and experience, we want and expect Aubrey Gasque to come and help us in the efforts we are making to bring about badly needed improvements in the Federal judiciary. In the meantime, he is completing a treatise on the Federal criminal law and is taking a well-deserved vacation.

## Dr. Alfred Benjamin Butts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Alfred Benjamin Butts, a distinguished American educator, died suddenly here in Washington. Dr. Butts for the past 15 years has been director of education for the Department of the Army.

Prior to assuming his work with the Army, Dr. Butts served for 11 years as chancellor of the University of Mississippi and before that was vice president of Mississippi State College.

Dr. Butts was an outstanding chancellor of the University of Mississippi. He aided materially in its development and had on outstanding record in support of the academic freedom of the faculty.

While with the Army here, Dr. Butts supervised the graduate studies of over 6000 officers enrolled in American and European universities. On his retirement from this post a year ago, Dr. Butts received a plaque from the superintendent and faculty of the U.S. Military Academy in recognition of his contribution to the advancement of higher education in the Army.

Born in Durham, N.C., Dr. Butts received bachelor's and master's degrees from Mississippi State College, advanced degrees in public law from Columbia University, and a bachelor of laws degree from Yale University Law School. He was head of the Department of Government at Mississippi State for 5 years before going to the University of Mississippi.

During World War II, Dr. Butts was a lieutenant colonel and assistant staff judge advocate at Second Army headquarters in Memphis, Tenn.

Since his retirement last year, he had lectured at American University School of Law.

He is survived by his wife, Mary Lampkin; three daughters, Mrs. Read Dunn, Jr., 3501 Leland Street, Chevy Chase; Dorothy Butts, 2144 California Street, NW.; and Mrs. J. A. Latimer of Ridgewood, N.J., and a son, Lampkin of Laurel, Miss.

The passing of Dr. Butts is mourned by friends throughout the country and I join in extending my sympathy to his wife and family.

## Salute to a Lynn Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following well-deserved editorial for the Lynn, Mass., Home for Young Women who have graciously allowed their premises to be used continuously over the years to so many worthwhile organizations for social and humanitarian purposes.

The people of Greater Lynn point with pride to this institution as one that has set a most favorable example to others for their thoughtfulness and consideration of others.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lynn (Mass.) Daily Evening Item, Oct. 9, 1962]

SALUTE TO A LYNN INSTITUTION

The Lynn Home for Young Women this week is celebrating the golden anniversary of the opening of its present quarters at 136–144 Broad Street. Planned by its incorporators to provide a home for girls coming into the Lynn area to start business careers, it still maintains that aim as its prime function.

A less widely known aspect of the home has been its policy since the beginning to open its social room as a meeting place to civic organizations and social agencies. In this area perhaps no other room in Lynn has had come from it such accumulative good or diversity of contributions for the benefit of the citizens of Lynn.

If we can salute a room it is that one in which the Lynn Cancer Society made its decision to buy an X-ray machine for the Lynn Hospital, where it also has made its decisions for the medical, nursing, and transportation care of hundreds of cancer patients. It is also where the North Shore Association for Retarded Children receives substantial support each year derived from the monthly meetings of the Evening Division of the Woman's Club. This is also the 35th year that the Lynn Association for the Blind has been using the room to plan its program of transportation to hospitals, its continuous social programs for Lynn's blind people as well as deciding to send many blind persons on a vacation to Camp Sunshine in the town of Egypt.

Thousands upon thousands of Lynners have been helped by the Lynn Visiting Nurse Association which for many years used the home as its office. The social room is also the cradle of the Camp Fire Girls Council in Lynn when the home opened the room to them for a year to establish the first Camp Fire Girls headquarters in the city.

Inestimable support and aid to the North Shore Philharmonic Orchestra emanates from the regular meetings of the North Shore Philharmonic Auxiliary held there, and all the YD veterans who are hospitalized are

being remembered regularly as a result of the YD Auxiliary meetings.

Quarts of milk, numberless pairs of shoes and rubbers are given to needy families in the city by the Columbus Guild which uses the room weekly. And the money for many scholarships have been raised there by the Simmons College Club and the Business and Professional Women. From that room also the Business and Professional Women have reached out in many directions to run war bond campaigns, to enact legislation and to make their prime contribution to women of the State by their efforts in establishing the Women's Division of the Massachusetts Department of Commerce.

The room has a rich 50-year history of directly benefiting thousands of Greater Lynners at the same time providing sociability to those who served on these committees. This community contribution by the Lynn Home is saluted today but always, foremost, in their plans come first the creating of a happy home for girls "away from home."

## Hon. Frank E. Smith

SPEECH
OF
## HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, under general leave authorizing all Members to revise and extend their remarks regarding the gentleman from Mississippi, Hon. FRANK ELLIS SMITH, I take this opportunity to express my deep regret that the service of this distinguished friend and colleague comes to a close in this body at the end of the present session, and my deep appreciation for his ability and his friendship, and the many courtesies and favors he has so willingly granted me.

Congressman SMITH and I entered our congressional careers on the same date. He was one of the first of the freshmen Congressmen I had the privilege to meet. Doubting my ability to find my way through the twists and turns in the subway for the first time I expressed that doubt to Congressman SMITH who immediately and graciously suggested that since he had been on the Hill for some previous time as administrative aide to a Senator and was thereby familiar with the surroundings, he would take me over to the House Chamber for the opening session of the 82d Congress. I accepted his kindness, and from that day on he has been my friend.

Congressman FRANK SMITH possesses a brilliant mind and is conceded to be an outstanding authority on rivers and harbors, flood control, and other matters coming before the House Public Works Committee. I have never asked him a question on such matters that he did not courteously and correctly answer. I have been the beneficiary many times of his skill and ability and have had successes because of that assistance that otherwise might not have resulted.

Congressman SMITH will render outstanding service in the new job which he will assume at the close of this session. I wish for him and his fine family the very best of health, happiness, and success.

## Migration With a Purpose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from World Affairs Quarterly, fall edition 1962:

MIGRATION WITH A PURPOSE
(By James R. Price)

Since World War II and its legacy of millions of displaced persons in Europe, the United States has led a gigantic effort to relieve suffering and ease the way to new lives for the refugees. The scope of this effort is illustrated by the expenditure in Europe alone of more than $160 million in a succession of programs beginning with the postwar International Refugee Organization and continuing with the U.S. escapee program, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and ICEM, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

During the same period the United States expended a total of $90.5 billion in various military and economic assistance programs abroad. More than $46 billion have been spent since 1954, including slightly more than $12 billion to 28 countries which also receive about $6.5 billion in aid and credit from the Soviet Union.

The problem receiving increasing attention in Congress is how to keep all aspects of the foreign aid program—humanitarian, economic, or political—in phase so that one may not cancel out another.

Although U.S. refugee and migration assistance programs have considerable humanitarian content, the political and economic implications are even more closely scrutinized by those directly concerned in both legislative and executive branches of Government. Appropriations for such programs are normally drawn from foreign aid funds; and the foreign aid programs of the United States are explicitly political in concept and publicly defended as powerful weapons in the cold war.

The refugee problem in Europe has largely passed. But new refugee problems are on the upswing in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, in proportions dwarfing anything found in Europe. With public pressure for action on the increase, it is well to see what lessons can be learned from the European experiment for application elsewhere.

Preoperational planning, largely theoretical, is usually improved upon by experience as operations progress. This remains true only so long as the original objectives of a given program do not change meanwhile. U.S. participation in international migration assistance programs is a case in point. The emotional stimulus of the Hungarian uprising—occurring as it did long after the IRO and Displaced Persons Commission had largely solved the wartime refugee problem—effectively overshadowed original political and economic objectives of migration assistance programs.

By far the most efficiently administered of these programs has been the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration, organized after a series of studies conducted in Europe in 1949–50 by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. These studies were motivated by congressional recognition that certain humanitarian actions undertaken by several Western countries after World War II to meet the displaced persons problem should be continued on a different, broader, and more permanent basis.

Largely upon the iniative of Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, the State Department invited the Belgian Government to convene an international conference on migration. This conference met at Brussels in November of 1951 and soon agreed to establish a provisional intergovernmental organization—outside the framework of the U.N.—to facilitate the emigration of refugees from Western Europe. The American position—that there existed a close relationship between surplus manpower and overpopulation in Western Europe and elsewhere on the one hand, and the existence of underdeveloped areas in South America, Africa, and Australia, on the other, was embodied by the conference in its basic resolution which held that:

"The concerted international effort and sound international financing of European migration could contribute not only to the solution of the problem of surplus population in Europe but would also stimulate the creation of new economic opportunties in countries where manpower was lacking."

The Brussels organization, later to adopt the name of ICEM, established its headquarters in Geneva, commencing operations on February 1, 1952. It took over and immediately expanded the activities of the expiring International Refugee Organization. The Brussels resolution setting forth the relationship between European emigration and manpower needs in underdeveloped lands was later incorporated into the ICEM constitution. Today ICEM is composed of the United States plus 28 other European and some South American nations.

Since 1952 ICEM has spent almost $194 million to move 1,146,245 migrants, of whom about 644,000 are classified as surplus manpower and more than 500,000 listed as refugees. The United States has contributed far more than its intended one-third of the ICEM budget—about $80 million.

As operations progressed a number of factors combined to divert ICEM activities from the major original purpose of its organization. One factor was the 1956 Hungarian rebellion which flooded Europe with a quarter-million refugees needing resettlement. Another factor was the proclivity of a host of private American voluntary relief organizations to follow the path of least resistance (and greatest profit) by overemphasizing the resettlement of European refugees in the United States rather than in underdeveloped areas.

Under the ICEM system of per capita payments to voluntary agencies for each refugee moved, and the establishment of a revolving fund for voluntary agencies based upon per capita costs and agency administrative expenses, many of these relief and welfare organizations have built up substantial financial reserves from the movement of refugees to the United States. Although such manpower-short areas as Australia and Canada have benefited tremendously from the planned integration of ICEM migrants, the United States—hardly in need of more manpower—has been second only to Australia in the number of persons admitted for residence under ICEM auspices.

Unquestionably there are valid arguments favoring the U.S. admission of refugees from Europe on humanitarian grounds. Unfortunately the voluntary agencies have continued to follow the same path of least resistance and greatest profit long after the back of the European refugee problem has been broken and—if one is to rely exclusively upon humanitarian criteria—long after it has become clear that European refugees as a whole constitute only a fraction of the world's refugee population. Despite this, pressures upon Congress to increase the number of European "refugee" admissions to the United States continue unabated. There is far less pressure for non-Europeans whose

migration to the United States raises far more difficult problems.

Clearly the beneficiaries of the profitable ICEM revolving fund arrangements which apply only to migration assistance for Europeans are lukewarm about abandoning this proven moneymaker in favor of new arrangements which afford less opportunity for profit and which would require many agencies—especially those of missionary bent—to concentrate resources in areas less friendly to some of their aims.

The dilemma facing U.S. policymakers is that on the one hand U.S. funds donated through ICEM and related programs are extensively employed to bring skilled migrants from Europe to the United States, thereby precluding their utilization elsewhere; and on the other hand American economic, military, and technical assistance programs invest staggering sums of the taxpayers' dollars in efforts to breathe independent life into the unbalanced economies of nations emerging from colonial dependence or outmoded economic systems.

President Kennedy recognized this dilemma in a message transmitting administration proposals for refugee aid to Congress in July 1961:

"It is important to assist in the movement of persons to developing countries in need of manpower—the most valuable asset of the free world. The contributions of the United States, together with other free nations, to international migration assistance programs, not only helps build and strengthen developing countries and thus the free world, but it enlarges the opportunities of individuals to live useful, productive lives."

The same philosophy had been stated previously to the House of Representatives by Congressman WALTER in the following excerpt from his 1960 report on the activities of ICEM:

"Obviously ICEM's activities must necessarily become geared to the manpower needs of countries who need immigrants instead of relying on movements generated by humanitarian factors in the immigration policy of the oversea countries."

ICEM was, of course, organized in the expectation that the refugee problem in Europe would be cleared up much sooner than actually took place. The Hungarian rebellion distorted the picture and upset the schedule. Now concerted efforts are again underway to restore the original concept of migration-with-a-purpose. ICEM hopes to bow largely out of its latter-day functions as a mass ticket-buying or glorified travel agency. It intends to return to its original concept.

There are two facets to this original ICEM concept—land settlement programs and industrial recruitment. ICEM has carried out experiments in both categories.

In the field of industrial recruitment projects have been developed in Italy and Spain to train factory workers primarily for Brazil and Argentina. Financing has been partially cosponsored by ICEM, but primary bilateral between the sending and receiving countries. Paradoxically the industrial recovery in Europe has accounted for the relative lack of success in ICEM's industrial recruitment projects. As workers graduated from the training schools they found that booming industry had created more local jobs than ever before, and emigration seemed less attractive. This was especially true in Italy, but applicable in Spain as well. Currently ICEM finds it necessary to withhold its one-third contribution to the training costs of a migrant until that migrant actually checks in for a ticket abroad. In effect, as trainees had gone directly into local industry, ICEM had found itself in the position of training manpower for local use only.

Agricultural settlement projects have been more successful and provide a striking example of one technique of using migration assistance programs to reinforce other foreign economic aid activities.

The Governments of Holland, the United States, and Brazil have cooperated with ICEM in the establishment of an extensive land settlement scheme near São Paulo. Under the expert management of a former Dutch planter from Indonesia, the project, called Holambra after the initial letters of Holland, America, Brazil, is staffed with agricultural migrants from Europe. Direct U.S. aid to the project consists of loans in local currency generated from the food surplus distributions under Public Law 480 and by diversion of part of the U.S. cash contribution to ICEM's 1961 budget. This cash contribution has supplied the downpayment to buy land for a second Holambra colony about 300 miles from the first, in the southern part of the State of São Paulo.

Proponents of the Holambra projects point out that not only do their activities disseminate greater agricultural know-how among the Brazilian farmers, they also necessarily teach these farmers how to run cooperatives for the marketing of their produce.

Similar undertakings are being planned for Argentina—largely in cooperation with Belgium, anxious to relocate her own nationals being displaced from the Congo.; France is also beginning to show interest because of the growing need to provide new opportunities to Frenchmen leaving Algeria.

The new reorientation of ICEM toward Holambra-type activities despite continuing pressure from religious and other private welfare organizations was pointed up by the recent election of Mr. Bastiaan W. Haveman as ICEM's new director. Mr. Haveman, formerly the Netherlands' Commissioner of Emigration, has long been an advocate of agricultural resettlement rather than refugee-movement aspects of ICEM programing. Under Mr. Haveman's direction ICEM consultants—principally Profession Metzger of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.—have drafted proposals to stimulate governmental and private cooperation to invest in "Holambras" in other suitable areas. Eminently practical, the "Metzger plan" asks of governments only that they guarantee private investments against losses through war, revolution, and other social upheavals. Implementation of this plan on a broad scale will bring local populations into close cooperation with skilled migrants and cooperative experts. International migration assistance in this form will take on a new meaning. It will have a solid economic base rather than being entirely dependent upon humanitarian considerations. And, inasmuch as ICEM activities continue to be substantially funded by the U.S. Government, this revived concept will complement, not compete with, both military and economic developmental phases of U.S. foreign aid programs.

Some imaginative Alaskans have even suggested that the United States itself can directly benefit from this kind of international migration assistance. Proposals have been made that a few hundred Tibetan refugees be relocated in Alaska, complete with their own traditional cattle for cross-breeding. As wild as this scheme may appear at first glance, it holds considerable practical as well as imaginative merit. Vast reaches of land in Alaska—more than 99 percent of the total—are Federally owned. Too, Tibetans would find the climate and the topography familiar and hospitable. And it is doubtful that they would find themselves in direct competition with indigenous Americans other than the Eskimos.

Although there are yet no concrete proposals for putting the migration-with-a-purpose concept into being in Africa or Asia, exploratory head-scratching is in process. If the problems of Tibet can be reconciled with those of Alaska, ways and means can doubtless be found to meet the even more difficult situations elsewhere, even in darkest Africa.

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## Inter-American Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLAIBORNE PELL
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, these are times when the importance of our Latin neighbors to the South has become increasingly more apparent. Our sincere desire to work with the emerging nations in Latin America for their own economic development is symbolized in the Alliance for Progress Progam, of which I have been a firm supporter.

Recently, the president of the Inter-American Development Bank, the Honorable Felipe Herrera, spoke here in Washington at a joint luncheon of the members of the Inter-American Bar Association and the District of Columbia Bar Committee on Inter-American Relations. I wish to take this opportunity and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of his remarks, which should be helpful in keeping us informed on problems of economic development in Latin America.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY FELIPE HERRERA, PRESIDENT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, AT A JOINT LUNCHEON OF MEMBERS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BAR COMMITTEE ON INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE IABA, WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 9, 1962

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the invitation to speak to your committee about the Inter-American Development Bank is not only an honor but also a matter of great satisfaction to me. As a lawyer and former professor in the faculty of law and social sciences in the University of Chile, I have naturally taken a strong interest in the legal aspects of the Bank's work. With a number of other attorneys in the Bank, I am a member of the Inter-American Bar Association and a sympathetic supporter of its work. It is a source of real encouragement that the bar of the District of Columbia has given practical expression to similar feelings by joining in the creation of the Committee on Inter-American Relations.

We feel that there are eventual possibilities of fruitful cooperation between the Bank, the association, and the committee in such fields as the improvement of the legislation of Latin America bearing on social development and the mobilization of domestic resources. Indeed, a certain amount of contact in this general direction already is maintained between the Bank and representatives of the association.

This afternoon I shall try to give you a summary of some major aspects of the Bank's activities and problems. However, I would first like to remind you briefly of the Bank's basic structure, as created by the agreement establishing the Bank, which came into effect on December 30, 1959. The organization of the Bank was set up during 1960, and the Bank opened for actual operation on October 1 of that year.

The Bank's capital structure consists of its ordinary capital, which may be considered as being similar to that of the World Bank, and the fund for special operations, which is much like the International Development Association (IDA). In addition, under the Social Progress Trust Fund Agreement signed with the Government of the United States on June 19, 1961, the Bank administers the Social Progress Trust Fund, which represents a unique technique in international development finance.

The Bank's ordinary capital consists of $813 million, of which $381,580,000 is paid-in capital and $431,580,000 is callable. The amounts would have been slightly higher if Cuba had become a member of the Bank. The callable capital constitutes a guarantee under which the Bank expects to raise funds in the private capital market of the United States and other countries. The ordinary resources are used to make so called "hard loans", that is, loans repayable in the currency loaned and under normal terms as to interest and amortization. To the present time, the Bank has made 55 loans of this kind, totalling $190 million.

The Fund for Special Operations, with an effective capital of $146 million, was created, in the language of our charter, to make loans on terms and conditions appropriate for dealing with special circumstances arising in specific countries or with respect to specific projects. Loans from this fund are studied by the Bank with the same care as its other loans, but repayment may be specified to be in the currency of the borrower, or rates of interest and periods of amortization more favorable to the borrower, may be granted, thus enabling the Bank to make useful loans in countries with a relatively unfavorable balance-of-payments position, or to borrowers which, though having sound projects, are for some particular reason not in a position to receive normal loans. From this Fund 24 loans in a total amount of $76 million have been made.

The social progress trust fund, having resources of $394 million is devoted to making loans for land settlement and improved land use, housing for low-income groups, community water supply and sanitation facilities, and supplementary financing of facilities for advanced education and training related to economic and social development. Although the Bank in its entirety is properly to be regarded as an important element in the "Alliance for Progress", the trust fund represents the Bank's most explicit participation in the alliance, which contemplates not only the provision of finance for economic and social development but also basic reforms on the part of the Latin American countries. For this reason the agreement specifies that in administering the trust fund, the Bank shall continuously give consideration to the institutional improvements which countries are effecting to achieve sound social development and a more efficient employment of their own resources to meet social needs and strengthen economic development. In the period of little over a year in which the trust fund has been in existence, $248,937,000 has been loaned in 42 different operations.

Now let us turn to some of the fundamental aspects and problems of the Bank. As conceived in its charter, the Bank represents an effort to establish for the financing of development in Latin America an institution which will be fully adjusted to Latin American thought and will equally be recognized in the United States and other capital exporting countries as operating in a sound and effective way.

This attitude has prevailed since the very first meetings of the specialized committee which was organized early in 1959 to prepare the agreement establishing the Bank. The committee, in which I was an active participant, had among its members and advisors experts in international finance and law drawn from both the civil law and the Anglo-Saxon systems, and it utilized texts reflecting both. The resultant agreement was an adaptation and fusion of the respective points of view. The presentation of the agreement to the congresses of the signatory countries for ratification represented a further step in the process of producing an integrated approach to the problems of the hemisphere. To me, the work of the committee was an encouraging experience, and the spirit it created continues to guide us.

The concept which we follow has had practical consequences not only in the daily life of the Bank but also in the field of law. In preparing our loan contracts, for example, we have striven to create documents which would be fully acceptable and understandable in Latin America but would also be such as to satisfy potential leaders in the capital exporting countries. Thus the contracts are always written in the language of the borrower and in such terms as to be satisfactory in its country, but they are also readily understandable in international financial circles. A concrete evidence of their acceptability is the large number of participations in loans which the Bank has been able to sell, without recourse, in the United States and Europe.

I believe that in projecting the philosophy underlying the charter into the loan contracts and other legal work of the Bank, our lawyers are really creating something new and valuable to the entire American area. In the long run, such efforts are bound to help bring about a unity of basic thought and approach which is greatly needed in those parts of our legal structures which impinge on international affairs.

Although the Bank was created in the light of conditions as they were seen in the period of 1957–58, I am happy to say that the principals embodied in the agreement have proved to be valid in the markedly changed conditions of the present time, at least as complemented by the social progress trust fund. The fact that the charter was broad enough to enable the Bank and the United States, working in close conjunction, to draft this pioneering instrument of international financial cooperation, utilizing a concept highly developed in Anglo-Saxon law but much less well known in civil law, may be of special interest to you as attorneys.

However, the resources of the Bank are proving inadequate to the tasks to be confronted under the greatly increased programs of development contemplated in the charter of Punta del Este. For this reason the board of governors of the Bank, at its annual Buenos Aires last April, instructed the board of executive directors to study proposals for increasing the Bank's own resources. While the report is still under preparation, it may be expected that it will recommend a large increase in the Bank's ordinary resources, presumably in the form of callable capital, and a significant increase in the fund for special operations. As a separate but related matter, it is anticipated that the United States will give consideration to a substantial increase in the social progress trust fund next year.

One of the major efforts of the Bank has been to help break the vicious circle in which countries of Latin America could not develop rapidly without obtaining financing from abroad and could not obtain the financing without being more highly developed. By wise foresight both the charter of the Bank and the Social Progress Trust Fund Agreement contain provisions empowering Bank to extend technical assistance to member countries and their nationals to help in preparing specific projects and also in formulating development plans and programs, as well as to train personnel for these purposes. The Bank has granted or loaned a total of over $9 million to finance technical assistance, beside giving much informal aid to loan applicants in the presentation of their projects.

Because of the emphasis which the charter of the Bank places on the obtaining of funds by the sale of the Bank's securities in the private capital market, we have devoted a great deal of effort to bringing about the adoption of legislation authorizing savings banks, insurance companies, trust funds, and other fiduciary or other related investors to purchase the Bank's bonds. Legislation of this kind has already been adopted in a number of the leading financial States of this country, and we are renewing our efforts for next year, when most of the State legislatures meet. It might be of particular interest to you to know that late last month the Congress passed Public Law 87-739 making securities of the Bank legal investments for insurance companies in the District of Columbia, while eligibility of our securities for purchase by trustees here was established by order of the U.S. District Court on April 17, 1962. We are, of course, also seeking to increase the eligibility of our securities in the countries of Latin America.

Another problem on which the Bank is actively working is the need of Latin American countries for a mechanism to finance exports of capital goods. In some countries capacity to produce goods of this nature has been developed but in general means of finance, comparable to those offered by the Export-Import Bank in the United States, have not arisen. At the same meeting in Buenos Aires to which I have already referred, the board of governors requested that this subject be studied and a report be rendered by the end of this year. Although it would be too soon to predict what the conclusions of the study may be, it will undoubtedly be available for discussion by the governors at the annual meeting in Caracas next April.

Under the Social Progress Trust Fund Agreement, as well as under its own charter, the Bank, as I have indicated, is placing weight on the improvement of legal conditions in Latin America relating to social and economic development. In this respect we are frequently called upon by member countries or potential borrowers to study existing or proposed legislation and give our recommendations for improvement. We are delighted to note that under the leadership of the sponsors of this luncheon and other forward-looking agencies, the bar of the United States is giving increased attention to these problems.

In fact, throughout the hemisphere different groups of lawyers and legal scholars are devoting themselves more and more to helping in the process of economic and social development, including such fields as economic integration through free trade areas. This attitude, which promises so much for the inter-American system, is perhaps especially new in Latin America, where until a relatively few years ago the old view of the lawyer as primarily an advocate predominated. Now the linking of legal thought and activity with those of other disciplines in a common effort for the public good has begun to come to the fore. I expect that at the meeting of faculties of law from all over Latin America which will take place in Santiago next April much of the agenda will reflect this change.

With this brief summary, Mr. Chairman, I believe it has been apparent that the Inter-American Bank faces broad and complex problems in its effort to assist in the development of Latin America and the carrying out of the Alliance for Progress. We are meeting these problems resolutely and, I trust, effectively. In our efforts, we are greatly encouraged by the support of the bar and we look forward to an ever-increasing degree of mutual cooperation between the Bank and the legal profession in all of our member countries.

## The Meaning of Appomattox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT**
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, much nationwide interest is being manifested in the centennial of the War Between the States. People from all parts of the country are visiting the great battlefields and museums, and books on this period are flowing from the presses in a never-ending stream.

No event of the period of 1861–65 is more strategic than the activities that occurred at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. This was an historical day—not only in the point of time and its significance with reference to the war, but in the gentlemanly manner in which the activities were carried out on the part of Gen. Robert E. Lee and Gen. U. S. Grant.

Last April—on the 97th anniversary of that day—a ceremony was held at Appomattox at which a copy of the original surrender document was returned to Appomattox, so that it could be displayed with the tables on which the original was signed.

On that occasion a splendid address was delivered by Brig. Gen. Brainard E. Prescott, USAR, retired, entitled "The Meaning of Appomattox." General Prescott's remarks are worthy of wide attention and I take pleasure in inserting them in the RECORD.

The address follows:

THE MEANING OF APPOMATTOX

(Speech by Brig. Gen. Brainard E. Prescott, U.S. Army Reserves (retired), at Appomattox Court House, April 8, 1962)

As we gather here on this occasion, we might well ask ourselves "Is this historic site meaningful in American history, and if it is, what is its particular significance?" Many prominent figures have expressed their views.

One distinguished Virginian called it the "end of an era." Charles Francis Adams, in speaking of this occasion, said, "I now come to what I have always regarded, shall ever regard, as the most creditable episode in all American history, an episode without a blemish—imposing, dignified, simple, heroic. Two men met that day, representative of American civilization, the whole world looking on. The two were Grant and Lee, types each. Both rose, and rose unconsciously, to the full height of the occasion, and than that occasion there has been none greater. About it, and them, there was no theatrical display, no self-consciousness, no effort at effect. A great crisis was to be met and they met that crisis as great countrymen should."

On Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, one of the most grueling, dramatic and tragic weeks in all history ended.

A retrograde movement of the Confederate Army conducted with classic ingenuity had won the admiration of the entire world, and stands today as a model of skill and discipline in the art of war.

Although it is not our purpose today to recite in detail the events of that horrible week, or to critize the actions and orders of the various commanders or to extol the bravery of the troops, nevertheless, it is well for us to recall something of what occurred.

It was April 9. Forty-eighty days previously, Lee, on February 21, after much study, had issued the first of several directives, in anticipation of the abandonment of the Richmond-Petersburg siege and the breakthrough of the strangling Federal lines. Once out of the grips of the Federal forces, he planned to rest, recruit and refurbish his army, effect a juncture with the remaining Confederate forces, and be in a position to exercise his and the army's great skill in lightning maneuvers.

The order called for the concentration of supplies and surplus artillery at Amelia Courthouse. Had it been carried out properly, the story of Appomattox might have been told of a different time and location.

I would like to recount to you the amazing audacity of the Confederate night movement around Burke's Station; the heroism and disaster of Sailor's Creek; the tragedy and bravery of the leaders of the too small Federal task forces sent to cut off High Bridge, and the unexecuted Confederate order to fire the bridge; Lee's dextrous utilization of the terrain at Cumberland Heights, the sheer torture of the long night march to Appomattox Courthouse; the soulsearching exquisite mental agony over the thought of the humiliation of surrender and then Gordon's dawn attack which frittered out into thin air. These are all part of the saga of Appomattox, but they are not part of today's story.

For today, we want to talk not of death and destruction, nor of feats of arms, but rather of the beginning of peace and the rebirth of the Nation.

As Charles Francis Adams recounted, the meeting in the McLean house was a simple affair. Men, in courteous measured tones, discussed in the simplest of words, the cessation of hostilities—without recrimination, thought of revenge, or punishment of the vanquished.

Sans preparation, the benefit of staff consultation, briefing, or intelligence reports, the short, stubby Grant quietly and rapidly wrote a letter which, because of its clarity and fairness, needed but a slight request for amplification by Lee. Within the space of an hour the officers had arrived, met, and departed from the McLean house and the machinery of the Federal Army was in motion issuing 25,000 rations to the hungry Confederate soldiers.

To a young quartermaster captain in the 24th Corps, Capt. Morris H. Alberger of Hamburg, N.Y., fell the lot of handling the distribution of these rations and it is due to his foresight in saving a copy of the surrender agreement that we are able to be here today.

Now—to return to our story—the understanding between Grant and Lee provided for the appointment of senior officers to implement the terms of Grant's letter to Lee. Promptly that afternoon, each commander appointed three general officers.

On the Federal side, the senior officer designated was Maj. Gen. John B. Gibbon, commander of the 24th Corps; next, Maj. Gen. Charles Griffin, commanding the 5th Corps; and finally, Brig. Gen. Wesley Merritt, one of Sheridan's cavalry commanders.

It is to Gibbon that we owe so much, for it is he who drafted the agreement and recorded in some detail the events that transpired. He likewise sounded the basic theme of cooperation and goodwill that existed in the conferences of the commissioners and was passed on to the troops. In describing his feelings just after the cessation of hostilities, Gibbon said, "I never before experienced the feeling in all its force of what it meant to be a citizen of America and a great feeling of triumph rushed over me that now indeed had we demonstrated that America was a nation and entitled to all the consideration of one throughout the world."

Thus, was the theme set for making of the peace which, had it been left to the soldiers, would have been without vengeance, personal bitterness, or recrimination.

It is then this spirit of the building of a nation under one set of Federal laws which prevailed at the conference and is the historical fact and lesson which it is my purpose to convey to you, as New York brings home to the spot where it was written, a copy of the agreement.

General Lee selected as his representatives: Lieutenant General Longstreet; next senior to him, and later a Federal commissioner, a courageous, but unpopular proponent of a policy of conciliation, Brigadier General Pendleton, his trusted associate and chief of artillery; and Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon, one of his best corps commanders.

John B. Gordon, like John B. Gibbon, had something to say about the events. Appreciating the spirit displayed by Grant and his officers, General Gordon displayed a degree of cordiality at the meeting which greatly simplified the problem of drawing the agreement. Gordon, you will remember, early that Sunday morning had been charged with mounting the do-or-die breakthrough attack. That same afternoon, he was cast in the peacemaker's role. (John B. Gordon later became the most prominent of all—becoming Governor of Georgia, U.S. Senator, and commander of the United Confederate Veterans.)

Sunday night was a night of well-earned rest and prayer for all of these men—all were great leaders and patriots.

Monday morning, Grant and Lee met for a brief talk, and at noon Grant and his staff rode off for Burkesville to entrain for Washington; 2 days later Lee set off on Traveler with his aide for Richmond over the same bloody roads they had traveled in what seemed like another century. The Federal commissioners, after Grant's departure, crossed through the Confederate camp to Longstreet's headquarters at Pleasant Retreat. After an exchange of courtesies, they arranged to meet later in the village. Finding the tavern cold and cheerless, they adjourned to the McLean House.

There Gibbon prepared the formal surrender agreement in triplicate. It was signed at 8:30 that Monday evening, April 10, 1865. Of the originals—Gibbon's own copy is in the Archives in Baltimore; Lee's copy is in Richmond, Va.; Grant's copy apparently went to Washington, but was stolen. Thus, one of the few on-the-spot copies is that of Captain Alberger, which he retained and which we bring with us today. It is written on a sheet of ledger paper in pencil. We can visualize Captain Alberger as he made his rounds distributing rations, showing it to the Confederate soldiers, so they would know its terms.

Gibbon, with his sense of history, had brought into the room the field table which he had carried throughout the war and on it the agreement was signed. That table is now here too.

General Gordon who signed the agreement, in his first speech as commander of the Confederate veterans, sounded the keynote of Appomattox when he said, "A people without the memories of heroic suffering or sacrifice are a people without a history. To cherish such memories and recall such a past, whether crowned with success or consecrated in defeat, is to idealize principle and strengthen character, intensify love of country and convert defeat and disaster into pillars of support for future manhood and noble womanhood."

He also on the same occasion expressed the hope for a broader and higher and noble sentiment which could be written on the grave of every soldier who fell on our side—"Here lies an American hero, a martyr to the right, as his conscience conceived it."

So, nearly 100 years later, on the anniversary of that day in history, we can, I think, say that we have finally come to that point in history where we can express those feelings and say—"General Gordon, your prayers have been answered."

The following day, Tuesday, April 11, paroles and rations were issued and the Confederate troops prepared for their final moment as warriors. On the 12th a Federal division drawn up in division front, its right at the crest of the hill, its left at the Bourock Isbell House, General Chamberlain, commanding, came smartly to attention.

Down the road quietly, but precisely, came the proud remnant of a great army, only 8,000 remaining of the nearly 60,000 who had left Richmond. In columns of four, ragged, shell-shredded colors in the breeze, rifles with bayonets affixed, at the right shoulder in precise alinement, they came—led by General Gordon. As the Confederate major general passed General Chamberlain, the latter ordered, "Present arms," and as the command rang out, General Gordon returned the salute with his own saber. When the troops had been brought to a halt on a line facing the Federal troops, the command came "Stack arms." Cartridge boxes were unslung and hung on the arms. Then—slowly, reverently, and with tears misting their eyes, the color guards came forward and slowly and—let me quote Gordon: "With a reluctance that was appealingly pathetic, the torn and tattered battle flags were leaned against the stocks or lain upon the ground." Then, slowly and quietly in almost ministerial voices, the command was given to resume the march and the worn columns of soldiers, suddenly grown old, warriors no longer, shuffled off up the hill. The Federal troops at rigid attention followed them with their eyes. As the last of the pitiful column passed, a great sigh went out from the whole division, every soldier of which had been holding his breath.

It was over. In the space of 3 short days an army that all, then and now, regard as the bravest ever known had vanished from the earth. The debris of the war remained, but the men had gone. They had disappeared, at least, in a dignified and honorable way—not as prisoners of war, but as citizens of the Republic.

The 10 years ahead were not easy for any of these men. The viciousness of noncombatants superseded the understanding of the soldier. At least, however, they could hold in their memories the dramatic moment of the salute of their former foes.

Now, we who are gathered here today can truly agree with Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who in 1874 said, "Let us hope that future generations when they remember the deeds of heroism and devotion done on both sides, will speak not of northern prowess and southern courage, but the heroism, fortitude, and courage of Americans in a war of ideas; a war in which each section signalized its consecration to the principles as each understood them, of the American Constitution received from their fathers."

A little over a year ago a diligent historian of 90 passed away. It had been his wish for many years that this document which had been passed on to him by Captain Alberger, be brought back here to Appomattox.

It is, therefore, my honor, on behalf of Mrs. Rhoda Scoville of Lewiston, to carry out the wishes of her late husband, J. Boardman Scoville, who owned this document; and to present this copy of the surrender agreement of April 10, 1865, to the Appomattox National Park so that it can be displayed with the tables on which the original was signed.

## Alabama's 9-to-8 Primary Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the 1960 census, Alabama will lose one of its Members of this body in the 88th Congress. The State legislature, being unable to redistrict the State came up with a unique plan—the 9–8 plan. It required each Member to run in a district primary and then, winning in the district primary, run State at Large.

This being a most difficult task for the voters as well as the Members and also being the first time, insofar as I know, where a primary of this type has been held it was thought that a detailed analyses of the results of the primary would be most enlightening and could be used as a guide for analyses of other primaries in other areas.

Mr. Tom Young, my assistant, undertook to make the analyses and I believe it to be in such detail and of considerable value that I would like to insert it in the RECORD at this point.

ALABAMA'S 9-TO-8 PRIMARY RESULTS

The recent primary held in the State of Alabama, May 1962, under Act No. 154, passed by the State legislature in special session in 1961, better known as the 9–8 plan is, to say the least, unique. Therefore, it was believed that a statistical analysis of the results of the primary may be of interest to the congressional Members. The analysis contained herein was made from such information that was available through the Democratic executive committee and the secretary of the State of Alabama.

To determine the number of votes invalidated due to the voters not voting for eight of the nine congressional candidates, or for other reasons, the total votes received in the Governor's race was the only criteria that could be assumed to be the total votes cast in the congressional primary. Under this assumption, the total votes received by all candidates in the congressional primary was subtracted from the total votes received in the Governor's race.

Total votes for Governor, 609,852; total votes for Congress, 568,766; votes invalidated, 41,086 or 9.3 percent.

ALABAMA LAW—(SPECIAL SESSION, 1961), ACT No. 154

An act relating to elections; to regulate further elections held for the purpose of nominating candidates for and election of Representatives in Congress.

*Be it enacted by the Legislature of Alabama:*

SECTION 1. If any political party holds primary elections for the purpose of nominating candidates for election as Representatives in the Congress of the United States from Alabama, in 1962, or at any time thereafter until the State is redivided into congressional districts, such elections shall only be held as provided in this act.

SEC. 2. On the first Tuesday in May 1962, and every 2 years thereafter, until the State is redivided into congressional districts, a candidate for election as Representative in Congress may be named by vote of the qualified electors of each of the nine congressional districts described in Code of Alabama 1940, title 17, section 425. The name of the candidate receiving a majority of the votes in the district shall be certified by the chairman of the State executive committee of the party holding the primary to the probate judges of the several counties of the State, who shall cause the names of such candidates as so certified to be placed upon paper ballots to be used in a statewide runoff primary election, which shall be held on the fourth Tuesday next following the date of the first primary. Only paper ballots shall be used in the primary election held on the fourth Tuesday next following the date of the first primary, in the election for the purpose of nominating candidates for election as Representatives in the Congress of the United States from Alabama under this act, and the use of voting machines for such purpose is hereby prohibited: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this act shall prohibit the use of voting machines for elections of candidates for other offices held in said primary. The names of the eight candidates receiving the highest number of votes cast in the statewide runoff primary shall be certified by said State chairman to the secretary of state as the party's nominees for election to Congress at the ensuing general election. Every voter who votes in the statewide runoff primary must vote for eight and only eight of the candidates whose names appear on the ballots. If no candidate receives a majority of all the votes cast in the first primary, then there shall be held a district runoff primary election on the second Tuesday next following the first primary; and the chairman of the State executive committee shall certify to the probate judges of the several counties of the several districts, the names of the two candidates of his party to receive the highest number of votes in the first primary election. The probate judges of the several counties shall have prepared and printed all election supplies and ballots to be voted in the district runoff primary election and also in the statewide primary election.

SEC. 3. At the general election in November 1962, and every 2 years thereafter until the State is redivided into congressional districts, the Representatives in Congress shall be elected at large by the qualified electors of the whole State, provided that every elector who votes in such election must vote for eight and only eight candidates for Representatives in Congress.

SEC. 4. Except as otherwise provided in this act, primaries held for the purpose of nominating candidates for election as Representatives in Congress shall be conducted in the same way and according to the same laws as prescribed for conducting other primaries.

SEC. 5. All laws or parts of laws which conflict with this act are repealed.

SEC. 6. This act shall become effective immediately upon its passage and approval by the Governor, or upon its otherwise becoming a law. However, if the Congress, at the present session or the next session, authorizes nine Members of Congress for Alabama, then this act shall have no force or effect and the present nine congressional districts in Alabama shall remain as they are now described in section 425, title 17, code of 1940.

Approved September 15, 1961; time: 5:44 p.m.

I hereby certify that the foregoing copy of an act of the Legislature of Alabama has been compared with the enrolled act and it is a true and correct copy thereof.

Given under my hand this 21st day of September 1961.

J. E. SPEIGHT,
*Secretary of State.*

| Districts | Candidates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Andrews | Boykin | Elliott | Grant | Huddleston | Jones | Rains | Roberts | Selden |
| 1st District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 68,795 | 68,795 | 68,795 | 68,795 | 68,995 | 68,795 | 68,795 | 68,795 | 68,795 |
| Votes received | 59,238 | 62,670 | 52,936 | 65,902 | 61,151 | 55,968 | 65,567 | 63,303 | 63,626 |
| Difference | 9,557 | 6,125 | 15,859 | 2,893 | 7,644 | 12,827 | 3,228 | 5,492 | 5,169 |
| Percent of vote | 86.1 | 91.1 | 76.9 | 95.8 | 88.9 | 81.4 | 95.3 | 92.0 | 92.5 |
| Position | 7 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| 2d District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 | 67,675 |
| Votes received | 63,031 | 56,011 | 56,476 | 63,557 | 62,199 | 47,814 | 64,456 | 62,873 | 62,484 |
| Difference | 4,644 | 11,664 | 11,199 | 4,118 | 5,476 | 19,861 | 3,219 | 4,802 | 5,291 |
| Percent of vote | 93.2 | 82.8 | 83.9 | 93.9 | 91.9 | 70.7 | 95.2 | 92.9 | 92.2 |
| Position | 4 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| 3d District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 | 51,432 |
| Votes received | 47,643 | 34,434 | 48,512 | 49,462 | 46,859 | 41,984 | 48,893 | 47,728 | 46,155 |
| Difference | 3,789 | 16,998 | 2,920 | 1,970 | 4,573 | 9,458 | 2,539 | 3,704 | 5,277 |
| Percent of vote | 92.6 | 67.0 | 94.3 | 96.8 | 91.1 | 81.6 | 95.1 | 92.8 | 89.7 |
| Position | 5 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| 4th District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 | 53,335 |
| Votes received | 49,056 | 32,657 | 48,543 | 50,363 | 50,646 | 43,744 | 51,458 | 51,164 | 49,043 |
| Difference | 4,279 | 20,678 | 4,792 | 2,972 | 2,689 | 9,591 | 1,977 | 2,171 | 4,292 |
| Percent of vote | 92.0 | 61.2 | 91.0 | 94.4 | 95.0 | 82.0 | 96.3 | 96.0 | 92.0 |
| Position | 5 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| 5th District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 | 67,966 |
| Votes received | 62,852 | 40,498 | 62,881 | 61,307 | 63,550 | 61,099 | 65,698 | 65,437 | 60,398 |
| Difference | 5,114 | 27,468 | 5,085 | 6,659 | 4,416 | 6,867 | 2,268 | 2,529 | 7,568 |
| Percent of vote | 92.5 | 59.6 | 92.5 | 90.2 | 93.5 | 89.9 | 96.7 | 96.3 | 88.9 |
| Position | 5 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| 6th District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 | 39,951 |
| Votes received | 36,210 | 26,664 | 36,588 | 36,422 | 37,526 | 33,539 | 38,322 | 35,560 | 38,695 |
| Difference | 3,741 | 13,287 | 3,363 | 3,529 | 2,425 | 6,412 | 1,629 | 4,391 | 1,256 |
| Percent of vote | 90.7 | 66.7 | 91.6 | 91.2 | 93.9 | 84.0 | 95.9 | 89.0 | 96.9 |
| Position | 6 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 1 |
| 7th District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 | 54,741 |
| Votes received | 50,296 | 32,150 | 51,284 | 47,934 | 51,267 | 51,146 | 52,785 | 51,928 | 49,129 |
| Difference | 4,445 | 22,591 | 3,457 | 6,807 | 3,474 | 3,595 | 1,956 | 3,813 | 5,612 |
| Percent of vote | 91.9 | 58.7 | 93.7 | 87.6 | 93.6 | 93.4 | 96.4 | 93.0 | 89.8 |
| Position | 6 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| 8th District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 | 73,511 |
| Votes received | 67,693 | 36,313 | 68,888 | 65,862 | 69,063 | 72,073 | 71,036 | 70,362 | 66,794 |
| Difference | 5,818 | 36,198 | 4,623 | 7,649 | 4,448 | 1,438 | 2,475 | 3,149 | 6,717 |
| Percent of vote | 92.1 | 50.8 | 93.7 | 89.6 | 93.9 | 97.3 | 95.4 | 94.2 | 87.4 |
| Position | 6 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| 9th District: | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 |
| Votes received | 74,655 | 59,276 | 84,045 | 85,966 | 90,800 | 82,449 | 90,134 | 84,205 | 84,998 |
| Difference | 17,411 | 32,790 | 8,021 | 6,100 | 1,266 | 9,617 | 2,932 | 7,861 | 7,068 |
| Percent of vote | 81.1 | 64.4 | 91.3 | 93.4 | 98.6 | 89.6 | 96.8 | 91.5 | 92.3 |
| Position | 8 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 4 |

| County | Total county population | Percent of county population voting | Number of registered voters in county | Number of registered voters voting | Percent of registered voters voting | Candidates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Andrews | Boykin | Elliott | Grant | Huddleston | Jones | Rains | Roberts | Selden |
| Autauga | 18,739 | 14.9 | 5,056 | 2,799 | 55.4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 | 2,799 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,616 | 2,094 | 2,430 | 2,712 | 2,712 | 2,019 | 2,658 | 2,579 | 2,572 |
| Difference | | | | | | 183 | 705 | 369 | 87 | 87 | 780 | 141 | 220 | 227 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 93.5 | 74.9 | 86.8 | 96.9 | 96.9 | 72.1 | 95 | 92.1 | 91.9 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| Baldwin | 49,088 | 19.9 | 19,626 | 9,767 | 49.8 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 9,767 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 9,238 | 7,796 | 7,760 | 9,390 | 8,659 | 8,183 | 9,181 | 9,047 | 8,881 |
| Difference | | | | | | 529 | 1,971 | 2,007 | 377 | 1,108 | 1,584 | 586 | 720 | 886 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94.6 | 79.8 | 79.5 | 96.1 | 88.7 | 83.8 | 94 | 92.6 | 90.9 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Barbour | 24,700 | 21.7 | 7,031 | 5,363 | 76.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 | 5,363 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,196 | 4,035 | 4,755 | 5,248 | 4,853 | 3,765 | 5,151 | 4,887 | 5,010 |
| Difference | | | | | | 177 | 328 | 608 | 125 | 510 | 1,608 | 212 | 476 | 353 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.7 | 93.9 | 88.7 | 97.7 | 90.5 | 70 | 96 | 91.9 | 93.4 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Bibb | 14,857 | 20.9 | 6,150 | 2,994 | 48.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 | 2,994 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,756 | 1,778 | 2,769 | 2,824 | 2,693 | 2,603 | 2,878 | 2,718 | 2,909 |
| Difference | | | | | | 238 | 1,216 | 225 | 170 | 301 | 391 | 116 | 276 | 95 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.1 | 59.4 | 92.5 | 94.3 | 89.9 | 86.9 | 96.1 | 90.8 | 96.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 5 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 1 |

| County | Total county population | Percent of county population voting | Number of registered voters in county | Number of registered voters voting | Percent of registered voters voting | Candidates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Andrews | Boykin | Elliott | Grant | Huddleston | Jones | Rains | Roberts | Selden |
| Blount | 25,449 | 22.4 | 11,915 | 5,703 | 47.8 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 | 5,703 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,254 | 3,011 | 5,532 | 4,991 | 5,438 | 5,354 | 5,570 | 5,430 | 5,047 |
| Difference | | | | | | 449 | 2,691 | 175 | 712 | 265 | 349 | 133 | 273 | 656 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.1 | 52.8 | 96.9 | 87.5 | 95.4 | 93.9 | 97.7 | 95.2 | 88.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| Bullock | 13,462 | 17.7 | 3,076 | 2,382 | 74.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 | 2,382 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 1,992 | 1,814 | 2,027 | 2,332 | 2,198 | 1,880 | 2,279 | 2,291 | 2,235 |
| Difference | | | | | | 390 | 568 | 355 | 50 | 184 | 492 | 103 | 91 | 147 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 83.6 | 76.2 | 85.1 | 97.9 | 92.3 | 79.3 | 95.7 | 96.2 | 93.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 7 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| Butler | 24,560 | 17.6 | 8,986 | 4,331 | 48.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 | 4,331 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,177 | 3,735 | 3,409 | 4,068 | 4,034 | 2,871 | 4,225 | 4,118 | 4,013 |
| Difference | | | | | | 174 | 596 | 922 | 263 | 297 | 1,460 | 106 | 213 | 318 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96 | 86.2 | 78.7 | 93.9 | 93.1 | 66.3 | 97.6 | 95.1 | 92.7 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| Calhoun | 95,878 | 15.3 | 29,632 | 14,619 | 49.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 | 14,619 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 13,127 | 7,064 | 13,810 | 13,691 | 14,025 | 13,393 | 14,275 | 14,271 | 13,293 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,492 | 7,555 | 809 | 928 | 594 | 1,226 | 344 | 348 | 1,426 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 89.8 | 48.3 | 94.5 | 93.7 | 96.9 | 91.6 | 97.6 | 97.6 | 90.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 8 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Chambers | 37,828 | 18.4 | 10,150 | 6,948 | 68.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 | 6,948 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 6,594 | 4,586 | 6,222 | 6,552 | 6,238 | 5,976 | 6,766 | 6,545 | 6,103 |
| Difference | | | | | | 354 | 2,362 | 726 | 396 | 710 | 972 | 182 | 403 | 845 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94.9 | 66 | 89.6 | 94.3 | 89.8 | 86 | 97.4 | 94.2 | 87.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| Cherokee | 16,303 | 30.2 | 8,633 | 4,925 | 57.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 | 4,925 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,562 | 3,334 | 4,662 | 4,252 | 4,494 | 4,409 | 4,749 | 4,742 | 4,199 |
| Difference | | | | | | 363 | 1,591 | 263 | 673 | 431 | 516 | 176 | 183 | 726 |
| Percentage of vote | | | | | | 92.6 | 67.7 | 94.7 | 86.3 | 91.2 | 89.5 | 96.4 | 96.3 | 85.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 9 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| Chilton | 26,668 | 21.0 | 12,000 | 5,399 | 42.8 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 | 5,399 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,076 | 3,481 | 4,741 | 5,017 | 5,129 | 4,496 | 5,070 | 4,970 | 5,211 |
| Difference | | | | | | 323 | 1,918 | 658 | 381 | 270 | 903 | 329 | 429 | 188 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94 | 64.5 | 87.8 | 92.9 | 95.0 | 83.3 | 93.9 | 92.1 | 96.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 1 |
| Choctaw | 17,870 | 19.0 | 5,936 | 3,392 | 57.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 | 3,392 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,277 | 2,972 | 2,979 | 3,305 | 2,999 | 2,435 | 3,176 | 2,883 | 3,108 |
| Difference | | | | | | 115 | 420 | 413 | 87 | 393 | 957 | 216 | 509 | 284 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.6 | 87.6 | 87.8 | 97.4 | 88.4 | 71.8 | 93.6 | 85 | 91.6 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 4 |
| Clarke | 25,738 | 20.4 | 9,070 | 5,256 | 57.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 | 5,256 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,963 | 4,668 | 4,376 | 5,151 | 4,700 | 3,600 | 5,007 | 4,607 | 5,007 |
| Difference | | | | | | 293 | 588 | 880 | 105 | 556 | 1,656 | 249 | 649 | 149 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94.4 | 88.8 | 81.4 | 98 | 89.4 | 68.5 | 95.3 | 87.7 | 97.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 7 | 2 |
| Clay | 12,400 | 31.6 | 7,740 | 3,924 | 50.7 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 | 3,924 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,714 | 1,888 | 3,689 | 3,670 | 3,702 | 3,526 | 3,824 | 3,804 | 3,573 |
| Difference | | | | | | 210 | 2,036 | 235 | 254 | 222 | 398 | 100 | 120 | 351 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94.6 | 48.1 | 94 | 93.5 | 94.3 | 89.9 | 97.5 | 96.9 | 91.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Cleburne | 10,911 | 25.5 | 8,929 | 2,782 | 31.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 | 2,782 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,676 | 1,803 | 2,665 | 2,657 | 2,505 | 2,243 | 2,538 | 2,727 | 2,438 |
| Difference | | | | | | 106 | 879 | 117 | 125 | 277 | 539 | 244 | 55 | 344 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.2 | 68.4 | 95.8 | 95.5 | 90 | 80.6 | 91.2 | 98 | 87.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 7 |
| Coffee | 30,583 | 20.0 | 11,349 | 6,107 | 53.8 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 | 6,107 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,981 | 4,538 | 5,393 | 5,955 | 5,493 | 4,794 | 5,737 | 5,775 | 5,189 |
| Difference | | | | | | 126 | 1,569 | 714 | 152 | 614 | 1,313 | 370 | 332 | 918 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 97.9 | 74.3 | 88.3 | 97.5 | 90 | 78.5 | 93.9 | 94.6 | 85 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Colbert | 46,506 | 23.3 | 19,000 | 10,829 | 57.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 | 10,839 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 9,295 | 6,242 | 10,222 | 9,413 | 10,316 | 10,623 | 10,360 | 10,367 | 9,874 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,544 | 4,597 | 617 | 1,426 | 523 | 216 | 479 | 472 | 965 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 85.8 | 57.6 | 94.3 | 86.8 | 95.2 | 98 | 95.6 | 95.6 | 91.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 8 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| Conecuh | 17,762 | 16.6 | 5,100 | 2,957 | 58.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 | 2,957 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,820 | 2,573 | 2,633 | 2,789 | 2,626 | 1,886 | 2,818 | 2,787 | 2,726 |
| Difference | | | | | | 137 | 384 | 324 | 168 | 331 | 1,071 | 139 | 170 | 232 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.4 | 87 | 89 | 94.3 | 88.8 | 63.8 | 95.3 | 94.3 | 92.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 5 |
| Coosa | 10,726 | 27.8 | 5,675 | 2,977 | 52.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 | 2,977 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,776 | 1,857 | 2,765 | 2,769 | 2,764 | 2,487 | 2,827 | 2,817 | 2,752 |
| Difference | | | | | | 201 | 1,120 | 212 | 208 | 213 | 490 | 150 | 160 | 225 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 93.2 | 62.4 | 92.9 | 93 | 92.9 | 83.5 | 95 | 94.6 | 92.4 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Covington | 35,631 | 25.6 | 18,802 | 9,131 | 48.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 | 9,131 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 8,803 | 7,390 | 7,766 | 8,051 | 8,056 | 7,638 | 8,652 | 8,452 | 8,244 |
| Difference | | | | | | 328 | 1,741 | 1,365 | 1,080 | 1,075 | 1,493 | 479 | 689 | 890 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.4 | 80.9 | 85.6 | 88.8 | 88.8 | 83.6 | 94.8 | 92.5 | 90.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Crenshaw | 14,909 | 25.9 | 4,742 | 3,865 | 81.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 | 3,865 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,700 | 3,539 | 3,635 | 3,656 | 3,650 | 1,784 | 3,737 | 3,574 | 3,644 |
| Difference | | | | | | 165 | 326 | 230 | 209 | 215 | 2,081 | 128 | 291 | 221 |
| Percentage of vote | | | | | | 95.7 | 91.6 | 94 | 94.6 | 94.4 | 46.2 | 96.7 | 92.5 | 94.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 7 | 5 |
| Cullman | 45,872 | 19.5 | 16,248 | 8,877 | 54.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 | 8,877 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 8,259 | 5,076 | 8,417 | 7,718 | 8,330 | 8,340 | 8,533 | 8,481 | 7,860 |
| Difference | | | | | | 618 | 3,801 | 460 | 1,159 | 547 | 537 | 344 | 396 | 1,017 |
| Percentage of vote | | | | | | 93 | 57.2 | 94.8 | 86.9 | 93.8 | 94 | 96.1 | 95.5 | 88.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 7 |

| County | Total county population | Percent of county population voting | Number of registered voters in county | Number of registered voters voting | Percent of registered voters voting | Candidates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Andrews | Boykin | Elliott | Grant | Huddleston | Jones | Rains | Roberts | Selden |
| Dale | 31,066 | 18.3 | 9,600 | 5,675 | 59.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 | 5,675 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,577 | 2,865 | 5,081 | 5,547 | 5,269 | 4,992 | 5,519 | 5,391 | 5,157 |
| Difference | | | | | | 98 | 2,820 | 594 | 128 | 406 | 683 | 156 | 284 | 518 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 98.3 | 50.3 | 89.5 | 97.7 | 92.8 | 87.7 | 97.3 | 95 | 90.9 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| Dallas | 56,667 | 10.3 | 9,203 | 5,845 | 63.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 | 5,845 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,559 | 4,994 | 4,665 | 5,609 | 5,525 | 3,577 | 5,614 | 5,650 | 5,570 |
| Difference | | | | | | 286 | 851 | 1,180 | 236 | 320 | 2,268 | 231 | 195 | 275 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.1 | 85.4 | 79.2 | 96 | 94.5 | 61.2 | 96 | 96.7 | 95.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 5 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| De Kalb | 41,417 | 21.8 | 19,656 | 9,018 | 45.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 | 9,018 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 8,398 | 5,808 | 8,431 | 7,135 | 8,479 | 8,725 | 8,856 | 8,755 | 7,556 |
| Difference | | | | | | 720 | 3,210 | 587 | 1,883 | 539 | 293 | 162 | 263 | 1,462 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92 | 64.4 | 93.5 | 79.1 | 94 | 96.8 | 98.2 | 97.1 | 83.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Elmore | 30,524 | 21.2 | 10,220 | 6,477 | 63.4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 | 6,477 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 6,161 | 4,809 | 5,760 | 6,228 | 6,092 | 4,399 | 6,276 | 6,142 | 5,948 |
| Difference | | | | | | 316 | 1,668 | 717 | 249 | 385 | 2,078 | 201 | 335 | 529 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.1 | 74.2 | 88.9 | 96.2 | 94.1 | 67.9 | 96.9 | 94.8 | 91.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 6 |
| Escambia | 33,511 | 20.3 | 12,324 | 6,807 | 55.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 | 6,807 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 6,423 | 5,702 | 5,575 | 6,245 | 6,022 | 5,674 | 6,363 | 6,350 | 6,104 |
| Difference | | | | | | 384 | 1,105 | 1,232 | 562 | 785 | 1,133 | 544 | 457 | 703 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94.4 | 83.8 | 81.9 | 91.7 | 88.5 | 83.4 | 92 | 93.3 | 89.7 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 7 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Etowah | 96,980 | 20.7 | 36,345 | 20,031 | 55.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 | 20,031 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 18,116 | 11,127 | 18,252 | 18,261 | 19,079 | 18,246 | 19,426 | 19,504 | 18,201 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,925 | 8,904 | 1,779 | 1,770 | 952 | 1,785 | 569 | 527 | 1,830 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 90.4 | 55.5 | 91.1 | 91.2 | 95.2 | 91.1 | 97.2 | 97.4 | 90.9 |
| Position | | | | | | 8 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| Fayette | 16,148 | 28.1 | 9,265 | 4,545 | 49.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 | 4,545 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,263 | 2,564 | 4,276 | 4,082 | 4,281 | 4,242 | 4,334 | 4,204 | 4,113 |
| Difference | | | | | | 282 | 1,981 | 269 | 463 | 264 | 303 | 211 | 341 | 432 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 93.8 | 56.4 | 94.9 | 89.8 | 94.2 | 93.7 | 95.4 | 92.5 | 90.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Franklin | 21,988 | 25.9 | 12,574 | 5,696 | 45.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,696 | 5,696 | 5,696 | 5,696 | 5,696 | 5,696 | 5,695 | 5,695 | 5,696 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,267 | 3,033 | 5,143 | 5,107 | 5,372 | 5,474 | 5,493 | 5,449 | 5,226 |
| Difference | | | | | | 429 | 2,663 | 553 | 589 | 324 | 222 | 203 | 247 | 470 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.5 | 53.2 | 90.3 | 89.7 | 94.3 | 96.1 | 96.4 | 95.7 | 91.7 |
| Position | | | | | | 5 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| Geneva | 23,310 | 24.3 | 7,632 | 5,418 | 71.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 | 5,418 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,952 | 3,206 | 4,603 | 4,934 | 4,609 | 4,147 | 4,801 | 4,761 | 4,333 |
| Difference | | | | | | 466 | 2,212 | 815 | 484 | 809 | 1,271 | 617 | 657 | 1,085 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 91.4 | 59.2 | 85 | 91.1 | 85.1 | 76.5 | 88.6 | 87.9 | 80 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Greene | 13,600 | 10.5 | 2,254 | 1,428 | 63.4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 | 1,428 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 1,191 | 1,078 | 1,318 | 1,361 | 1,350 | 1,235 | 1,380 | 1,104 | 1,409 |
| Difference | | | | | | 237 | 350 | 110 | 67 | 78 | 193 | 48 | 324 | 19 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 83.4 | 75.5 | 92.3 | 95.3 | 94.5 | 86.5 | 96.6 | 77.3 | 98.7 |
| Position | | | | | | 7 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 1 |
| Hale | 19,537 | 12.6 | 3,804 | 2,471 | 65.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 | 2,471 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,391 | 1,943 | 2,343 | 2,252 | 2,235 | 2,035 | 2,395 | 1,733 | 2,439 |
| Difference | | | | | | 80 | 528 | 128 | 219 | 236 | 436 | 76 | 738 | 62 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.8 | 78.6 | 94.8 | 91.1 | 90.4 | 82.4 | 96.9 | 70.1 | 97.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 1 |
| Henry | 15,286 | 22.1 | 5,202 | 3,382 | 65.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 | 3,382 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,270 | 1,340 | 3,055 | 3,277 | 3,233 | 3,155 | 3,301 | 3,231 | 3,191 |
| Difference | | | | | | 112 | 2,042 | 327 | 105 | 149 | 227 | 81 | 151 | 191 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.7 | 39.6 | 90.3 | 96.9 | 95.6 | 93.3 | 97.6 | 95.5 | 94.4 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Houston | 50,718 | 17.2 | 13,780 | 8,701 | 63.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 | 8,701 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 8,529 | 6,793 | 7,266 | 8,333 | 7,616 | 6,912 | 8,376 | 7,740 | 7,839 |
| Difference | | | | | | 172 | 1,908 | 1,445 | 368 | 1,085 | 1,789 | 325 | 961 | 862 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 98 | 78.1 | 83.4 | 95.8 | 87.5 | 79.6 | 96.3 | 89 | 90.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Jackson | 36,681 | 21.6 | 14,553 | 7,939 | 54.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 | 7,939 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 7,669 | 1,970 | 7,604 | 7,649 | 7,634 | 7,842 | 7,809 | 7,777 | 7,557 |
| Difference | | | | | | 270 | 5,969 | 335 | 290 | 305 | 97 | 130 | 162 | 382 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 96.9 | 24.8 | 95.8 | 96.3 | 96.2 | 98.8 | 98.4 | 98 | 95.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| Jefferson | 634,864 | 14.5 | 129,568 | 92,066 | 71.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 | 92,066 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 74,655 | 59,276 | 84,045 | 85,966 | 90,800 | 82,449 | 90,134 | 84,205 | 84,998 |
| Difference | | | | | | 17,411 | 32,790 | 8,021 | 6,100 | 1,266 | 9,617 | 2,932 | 7,861 | 7,068 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 81.1 | 64.4 | 91.3 | 93.4 | 98.6 | 89.6 | 96.8 | 91.5 | 92.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 8 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Lamar | 14,271 | 30.9 | 9,160 | 4,406 | 48.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 | 4,406 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,097 | 2,769 | 4,179 | 3,866 | 4,074 | 4,068 | 4,172 | 4,200 | 3,826 |
| Difference | | | | | | 309 | 1,637 | 227 | 540 | 332 | 338 | 234 | 206 | 560 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 93 | 62.8 | 94.8 | 87.7 | 92.5 | 92.3 | 94.7 | 95.3 | 87.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Lauderdale | 61,622 | 19.3 | 19,748 | 11,882 | 60.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 | 11,882 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 10,703 | 5,929 | 11,208 | 10,575 | 11,142 | 11,755 | 11,526 | 11,299 | 10,992 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,179 | 5,953 | 674 | 1,307 | 740 | 127 | 356 | 583 | 890 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 90.1 | 49.9 | 94.3 | 89 | 93.8 | 98.9 | 97 | 95.1 | 92.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 7 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| Lawrence | 24,501 | 23.0 | 10,496 | 5,637 | 53.7 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 | 5,637 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,094 | 3,126 | 5,248 | 4,888 | 5,137 | 5,419 | 5,289 | 5,323 | 4,970 |
| Difference | | | | | | | 2,511 | 389 | 749 | 500 | 218 | 348 | 314 | 667 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 100 | 55.5 | 93.1 | 86.7 | 91.1 | 96.1 | 93.8 | 94.4 | 88.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 1 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 7 |

| County | Total county population | Percent of county population voting | Number of registered voters in county | Number of registered voters voting | Percent of registered voters voting | Candidates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Andrews | Boykin | Elliott | Grant | Huddleston | Jones | Rains | Roberts | Selden |
| Lee | 49,754 | 12.3 | 10,657 | 6,122 | 57.4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 | 6,122 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,722 | 3,638 | 5,636 | 5,900 | 5,765 | 5,098 | 5,865 | 5,782 | 5,570 |
| Difference | | | | | | 400 | 2,484 | 486 | 222 | 357 | 1,024 | 257 | 340 | 552 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 93.5 | 59.4 | 92.1 | 96.4 | 94.2 | 83.3 | 95.8 | 94.4 | 91 |
| Position | | | | | | 5 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Limestone | 36,513 | 17.6 | 10,500 | 6,435 | 61.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 | 6,435 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 6,037 | 3,116 | 6,086 | 5,889 | 5,946 | 6,156 | 6,250 | 6,205 | 5,796 |
| Difference | | | | | | 398 | 3,319 | 449 | 546 | 489 | 297 | 185 | 230 | 639 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 93.8 | 48.4 | 93 | 91.5 | 92.4 | 95.7 | 97.1 | 96.4 | 90.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| Lowndes | 15,417 | 11.6 | 2,250 | 1,786 | 79.4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 | 1,786 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 1,767 | 1,607 | 1,463 | 1,717 | 1,681 | 958 | 1,723 | 1,656 | 1,716 |
| Difference | | | | | | 29 | 179 | 323 | 69 | 105 | 828 | 63 | 130 | 70 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 98.4 | 90 | 81.9 | 96.1 | 94.1 | 53.6 | 96.5 | 92.7 | 96.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 9 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Macon | 20,717 | 13.7 | 5,277 | 3,661 | 69.4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 | 3,661 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,082 | 2,930 | 3,447 | 3,553 | 3,522 | 3,152 | 3,565 | 3,561 | 3,474 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,579 | 731 | 224 | 108 | 139 | 509 | 96 | 100 | 187 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 56.9 | 80 | 94.2 | 97 | 96.8 | 86.1 | 97.4 | 97.3 | 94.9 |
| Position | | | | | | 9 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Madison | 117,348 | 15.0 | 23,500 | 17,621 | 75.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 | 17,621 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 16,331 | 8,679 | 16,397 | 15,790 | 16,529 | 17,351 | 17,061 | 16,878 | 15,952 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,290 | 8,942 | 1,224 | 1,831 | 1,092 | 270 | 560 | 743 | 1,669 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.7 | 49.3 | 93.1 | 89.6 | 93.8 | 98.5 | 96.8 | 95.8 | 90.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Marengo | 27,098 | 12.4 | 5,741 | 3,347 | 58.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 | 3,347 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,211 | 2,852 | 2,988 | 3,238 | 2,966 | 2,222 | 3,226 | 2,818 | 3,256 |
| Difference | | | | | | 136 | 495 | 359 | 109 | 381 | 1,125 | 121 | 529 | 91 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.9 | 85.2 | 89.3 | 96.7 | 88.6 | 66.4 | 96.4 | 84.2 | 97.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 4 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 1 |
| Marion | 21,837 | 31.3 | 11,185 | 6,842 | 61.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 | 6,842 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 6,515 | 4,135 | 6,571 | 5,742 | 6,236 | 6,485 | 6,592 | 6,451 | 6,006 |
| Difference | | | | | | 327 | 2,707 | 271 | 1,100 | 606 | 357 | 250 | 391 | 836 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.2 | 60.4 | 96 | 83.9 | 91.1 | 94.8 | 96.4 | 94.3 | 87.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| Marshall | 48,018 | 24.6 | 21,115 | 11,798 | 55.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 | 11,798 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 10,953 | 5,919 | 11,065 | 10,666 | 11,139 | 11,015 | 11,466 | 11,355 | 10,802 |
| Difference | | | | | | 845 | 5,879 | 733 | 1,132 | 659 | 783 | 332 | 443 | 996 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.8 | 50.2 | 93.8 | 90.4 | 94.4 | 93.4 | 97.2 | 96.4 | 91.6 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Mobile | 314,301 | 14.9 | 75,071 | 46,948 | 62.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 | 46,948 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 38,602 | 43,386 | 34,988 | 44,675 | 41,686 | 40,555 | 44,734 | 43,984 | 42,972 |
| Difference | | | | | | 8,346 | 3,562 | 11,960 | 2,273 | 5,262 | 6,393 | 2,214 | 2,964 | 3,976 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 86.5 | 92.4 | 74.5 | 95.2 | 88.8 | 86.4 | 95.3 | 93.7 | 91.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 7 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| Monroe | 22,372 | 16.0 | 7,596 | 3,577 | 47.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 | 3,577 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,486 | 3,227 | 2,462 | 3,499 | 3,074 | 2,804 | 3,380 | 3,401 | 3,290 |
| Difference | | | | | | 91 | 350 | 1,115 | 78 | 503 | 773 | 197 | 176 | 287 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 97.5 | 90.2 | 68.8 | 97.8 | 85.9 | 78.4 | 94.5 | 95.1 | 86.4 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| Montgomery | 169,210 | 13.7 | 32,696 | 23,260 | 71.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 | 23,260 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 20,864 | 19,261 | 19,603 | 22,357 | 22,365 | 15,233 | 22,458 | 21,821 | 22,118 |
| Difference | | | | | | 2,396 | 3,999 | 3,657 | 803 | 895 | 8,027 | 802 | 1,439 | 1,142 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 89.7 | 82.8 | 84.2 | 96.5 | 96.2 | 65.5 | 96.5 | 93.8 | 95 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 4 |
| Morgan | 60,494 | 21.8 | 21,127 | 13,158 | 62.3 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 | 13,158 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 11,964 | 7,251 | 12,124 | 11,658 | 12,359 | 12,927 | 12,741 | 12,513 | 11,723 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,194 | 5,907 | 1,034 | 1,500 | 799 | 231 | 417 | 645 | 1,435 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 90.9 | 55.1 | 92.1 | 88.6 | 93.9 | 98.2 | 96.8 | 95.1 | 89.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Perry | 17,358 | 14.5 | 3,357 | 2,525 | 75.2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 | 2,525 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 2,417 | 2,122 | 2,204 | 2,392 | 2,242 | 1,688 | 2,381 | 2,208 | 2,463 |
| Difference | | | | | | 108 | 403 | 321 | 133 | 283 | 837 | 144 | 317 | 62 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.7 | 84 | 87.3 | 94.7 | 88.8 | 66.9 | 94.3 | 87.4 | 97.5 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 1 |
| Pickens | 21,882 | 18.0 | 6,109 | 3,943 | 64.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 | 3,943 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,664 | 2,816 | 3,524 | 3,536 | 3,622 | 3,345 | 3,829 | 3,529 | 3,673 |
| Difference | | | | | | 279 | 1,127 | 419 | 407 | 321 | 598 | 114 | 614 | 270 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.9 | 71.4 | 89.4 | 89.7 | 91.9 | 84.8 | 97.1 | 84.4 | 93.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Pike | 25,987 | 21.0 | 8,300 | 5,468 | 65.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 | 5,468 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,238 | 4,408 | 4,632 | 5,284 | 5,106 | 3,587 | 5,299 | 5,068 | 5,042 |
| Difference | | | | | | 230 | 1,060 | 836 | 184 | 362 | 881 | 169 | 400 | 426 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.8 | 80.7 | 84.3 | 96.6 | 93.4 | 83.9 | 96.9 | 92.7 | 92.2 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Randolph | 19,477 | 22.2 | 9,456 | 4,316 | 45.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 | 4,316 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,069 | 2,514 | 4,054 | 4,128 | 4,049 | 3,847 | 4,000 | 4,078 | 3,790 |
| Difference | | | | | | 247 | 1,802 | 262 | 288 | 267 | 469 | 316 | 238 | 526 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94.3 | 58.2 | 93.1 | 93.3 | 93.8 | 89.1 | 92.7 | 94.5 | 87.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| Russell | 46,351 | 10.0 | 8,615 | 4,621 | 53.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 | 4,621 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,342 | 3,275 | 4,125 | 4,383 | 4,101 | 4,080 | 4,299 | 4,309 | 4,057 |
| Difference | | | | | | 279 | 1,346 | 496 | 238 | 520 | 541 | 322 | 312 | 564 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 94 | 70.9 | 89.3 | 94.8 | 88.7 | 88.3 | 93 | 93.8 | 87.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 8 |

| County | Total county population | Percent of county population voting | Number of registered voters in county | Number of registered voters voting | Percent of registered voters voting | Candidates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Andrews | Boykin | Elliott | Grant | Huddleston | Jones | Rains | Roberts | Selden |
| St. Clair | 25,338 | 21.0 | 10,246 | 5,323 | 52.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 | 5,323 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 4,840 | 3,130 | 4,874 | 4,967 | 5,047 | 4,756 | 5,207 | 5,018 | 4,743 |
| Difference | | | | | | 483 | 2,193 | 449 | 356 | 276 | 567 | 116 | 305 | 580 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 90.9 | 58.8 | 91.6 | 93.3 | 94.8 | 89.3 | 97.8 | 94.3 | 89.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| Shelby | 32,132 | 18.8 | 12,100 | 6,028 | 49.8 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 | 6,028 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 5,512 | 3,681 | 5,604 | 5,329 | 5,756 | 5,004 | 5,877 | 5,710 | 5,749 |
| Difference | | | | | | 516 | 2,347 | 424 | 699 | 272 | 1,024 | 151 | 318 | 279 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 91.4 | 61.1 | 93 | 88.4 | 95.5 | 83.1 | 97.5 | 94.7 | 95.4 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Sumter | 20,041 | 9.9 | 3,075 | 1,991 | 64.7 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 | 1,991 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 1,906 | 1,580 | 1,781 | 1,855 | 1,904 | 1,518 | 1,894 | 1,542 | 1,944 |
| Difference | | | | | | 85 | 411 | 210 | 136 | 87 | 473 | 97 | 449 | 47 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.7 | 79.4 | 89.5 | 93.2 | 95.6 | 76.2 | 95.1 | 77.4 | 97.6 |
| Position | | | | | | 2 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 1 |
| Talladega | 65,495 | 17.4 | 20,880 | 11,371 | 54.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 | 11,371 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 10,263 | 6,821 | 10,550 | 10,717 | 10,779 | 9,587 | 10,777 | 10,883 | 10,592 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,108 | 4,550 | 821 | 654 | 592 | 1,784 | 594 | 488 | 779 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 90.3 | 60 | 92.8 | 94.2 | 94.8 | 84.3 | 94.8 | 95.7 | 93.1 |
| Position | | | | | | 7 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| Tallapoosa | 35,007 | 23.3 | 15,400 | 8,148 | 52.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 | 8,148 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 7,484 | 5,407 | 7,530 | 7,656 | 7,567 | 6,638 | 7,861 | 7,741 | 7,309 |
| Difference | | | | | | 664 | 2,741 | 618 | 492 | 1,581 | 1,510 | 287 | 417 | 839 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 91.9 | 66.4 | 92.4 | 94 | 80.6 | 81.5 | 96.5 | 94.9 | 89.7 |
| Position | | | | | | 5 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Tuscaloosa | 109,047 | 15.7 | 28,100 | 17,115 | 60.9 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 | 17,115 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 14,966 | 11,001 | 15,788 | 15,392 | 16,217 | 14,960 | 16,447 | 15,575 | 16,571 |
| Difference | | | | | | 2,149 | 6,114 | 1,327 | 1,723 | 898 | 2,155 | 668 | 1,540 | 544 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 87.4 | 64.3 | 92.2 | 89.9 | 94.8 | 87.4 | 96.1 | 91.0 | 96.8 |
| Position | | | | | | 7 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| Walker | 54,211 | 24.2 | 22,388 | 13,117 | 58.6 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 11,479 | 7,885 | 12,051 | 11,602 | 12,385 | 12,298 | 12,677 | 12,623 | 11,936 |
| Difference | | | | | | 1,638 | 5,232 | 1,066 | 1,515 | 732 | 819 | 440 | 494 | 1,181 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 87.6 | 60.1 | 91.9 | 88.5 | 94.4 | 93.8 | 96.6 | 96.2 | 91 |
| Position | | | | | | 8 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Washington | 15,372 | 28.9 | 6,917 | 4,435 | 64.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 | 4,435 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 3,934 | 3,893 | 3,729 | 4,266 | 4,063 | 3,142 | 4,259 | 3,965 | 4,230 |
| Difference | | | | | | 501 | 542 | 706 | 169 | 372 | 1,293 | 176 | 480 | 205 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 88.7 | 87.8 | 84.1 | 96.2 | 91.6 | 70.2 | 96 | 89.2 | 95.4 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Wilcox | 18,739 | 9.8 | 2,810 | 1,840 | 65.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 | 1,840 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 1,765 | 1,678 | 1,414 | 1,798 | 1,663 | 1,210 | 1,785 | 1,644 | 1,763 |
| Difference | | | | | | 75 | 162 | 436 | 52 | 177 | 630 | 55 | 196 | 77 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 95.9 | 91.2 | 76.3 | 97.2 | 90.6 | 65.8 | 97 | 89.3 | 95.6 |
| Position | | | | | | 3 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 4 |
| Winston | 14,858 | 10.9 | 7,857 | 1,612 | 20.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 | 1,612 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 1,498 | 861 | 1,591 | 1,290 | 1,529 | 1,540 | 1,585 | 1,561 | 1,439 |
| Difference | | | | | | 114 | 751 | 21 | 322 | 83 | 72 | 27 | 51 | 173 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 92.9 | 53.4 | 98.7 | 80 | 94.9 | 95.5 | 98.3 | 96.8 | 89.3 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| All counties | 3,266,740 | 19.6 | 950,555 | 568,766 | 59.8 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total vote | | | | | | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 | 568,766 |
| Votes received | | | | | | 510,678 | 380,679 | 506,990 | 526,775 | 533,061 | 488,816 | 549,349 | 532,559 | 521,222 |
| Difference | | | | | | 88,088 | 188,087 | 61,776 | 41,991 | 35,705 | 79,950 | 19,417 | 36,207 | 47,544 |
| Percent of vote | | | | | | 89.8 | 66.9 | 89.2 | 92.6 | 93.7 | 85.9 | 96.6 | 93.6 | 91.6 |
| Position | | | | | | 6 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 5 |

## John Holton

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, as this session of Congress draws to a close—or so I have heard—the House is losing one of its most valuable employees, a man who has long been a faithful and helpful friend to many of us. I refer to John Holton, for many years an aid to former Speaker Sam Rayburn, and during the current session legislative assistant to the present Speaker. John has been named Federal legislative counsel in the Washington office of the American Bankers Association, a position for which he is eminently fitted by training and temperament. John Holton will be missed by House Members not only because of the services he has rendered to so many individuals, but also because of his outstanding personal qualities. I join other Members in wishing him well in his new endeavor and I take this opportunity to thank him publicly for his friendly and willing assistance to me on many occasions.

## Remarks by Mayor Robert F. Wagner at 1962 Alfred E. Smith Memorial Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include with these remarks the following highly interesting address delivered by his honor, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of the city of New York, at the annual Alfred E. Smith memorial dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Tuesday evening, October 9:

Ever since the inauguration of this great annual dinner in memory of Alfred E. Smith, it has been the gracious practice of His Eminence the Cardinal to invite the mayor of New York to be one of the speakers.

I have had reason to be grateful for this tradition—for the last 9 years at least.

But I do want to say, in extenuation of this tradition and of the cardinal's graciousness in this regard, that when he first invited me, as mayor, he didn't really think he'd have me on his hands, at this affair, for all these years.

Still I assure His Eminence that in the beginning I didn't plan it this way. But I got to like it—speaking at these affairs, I mean. And here I am again, and again, and again.

For those who have had to listen to all my past speeches on this occasion, I can pledge

only one thing; that I shall be brief. And I say, in the spirit of Governor Smith, that you can look at the record, and see if I keep this pledge.

For the past 8 years, my subject on these occasions has always been the same: Alfred E. Smith. He is an almost inexhaustible subject as far as I am concerned. I knew him that well, and loved him and respect his memory that much. So tonight I will not change the focus of my remarks, but only the details. And I do see some here tonight who were not around when Alfred E. Smith was in his prime, but who, by their presence here, show their appreciation of his historic role as a symbol of progressive leadership in the affairs of this city and State, as a great figure in the history of American Catholicism, and as a great influence in the development of the social and political conscience of America and the free world.

In speaking of him, we must first realize how much time has passed since his heyday. His presence and personality were so powerful that it seems only yesterday that he was among us.

When Alfred E. Smith first opened his eyes in the house on South Street, 89 years ago, how different was the New York scene. The clipper ships, moored to open piers, thrust their bows out over the paths of the horse-drawn drays and wagons which tangled in the traffic jams of the day. The Brooklyn Bridge, which Al Smith watched as it was being built with a child's fascination, had not yet even been started when he was born. Ulysses S. Grant was President of the United States.

It is almost 60 years since Al Smith began his Albany career as an assemblyman, and it is now 18 years since he died.

As I see it, it is incumbent on us who knew him, as the years go by, to preserve the picture of a man who was above all human. We must not permit to grow unchecked the legend of a man who was superhuman. Governor Smith himself would be the first to resent it, and to remark—"cut out the bunk and stick to the record."

He could, of course, be fitted into the story book pattern, the Horatio Alger hero, whose father died when he was 13, and who immediately went to work supporting his widowed mother and his younger sister. This, of course, he did. It would have been incomprehensible for him to have done anything else.

He was ambitious and worked hard. But let us not forget—lest we make him stuffy—that sometimes he was late for work, when he was courting his beloved Katie Dunn, for she lived at the far end of an elevated railroad ride, in the Bronx, and Al Smith did get home utnil the wee hours, just like any other swain. Let's not forget that he was so active in the old St. James Players that Katie Dunn's parents worried about her possibly marrying a young man whose career would be acting.

Let us remember even the early days as an assemblyman—when he and my father and another crony all shared the same hotel room—and Assemblyman Smith and my father sometimes had a few beers with the boys at a nearby bar. It was legal, it was fun, and he never tried to disguise those expeditions as studies in sociology. And neither should anyone else.

What stood out, first, in the keen eyes of his sponsor, Tom Foley, and then later to all who knew him well, was his phenomenal capacity for growth. The young assemblyman became the informed assemblyman—the best informed assemblyman—without losing a single bit of his sense of humor. The man who never deliberately sat down to study a book on government, or a treatise on the problems of society, came to know more in those fields than even those who wrote the books and the treatises.

This judgment of Alfred E. Smith in his early years—the years before he became Governor—is neither a partisan one or one created in retrospect. When he was leaving the assembly in 1915, to become the sheriff of New York County, the New York Tribune—as Republican a newspaper then as is its successor today—suggested editorially that the State would be better off if it donated to Smith the fees of the sheriff's office but kept him in the legislature in Albany.

Possibly his greatest victory was technically a defeat, the famous one in 1920, when Warren G. Harding carried every assembly district in the city for President—except Smith's home district—and Alfred E. Smith himself, defeated for Governor, nevertheless ran a million votes ahead of his ticket. And this in the days when the total vote was half of what it is today. He did virtually the same thing in 1924, only this time to win.

But in victory or in defeat, he remained human—even boyish. We may remember him as the honorary superintendent of the Central Park Zoo, in his latter years. We should also remember that he established his own zoo in the executive mansion in Albany, and many a time State business had to wait while the monkeys were lured back into their cages from which they had escaped.

What do we owe Governor Smith today? The reorganization of the State government, the building of our first great State institutions, the establishment of State responsibility for the education of our children, the creation of our great parks and beaches, the conservation of our natural resources and power sites, the great battles he waged for preservation of civil liberties, the leadership he assumed, for good, in a great political party? Yes, all these and many more.

In my judgment, his greatest monument is the tradition of public service he left behind, the tradition that men in government serve best when they serve the people with deeds rather than words. And in that same public service, the tradition that a man be judged on what he is and what he stands for, rather than who he is or where he came from. He was a man, a human being. He treated others as such, he regarded himself as such, and he expected the same from others.

As we toast his memory tonight, we toast to a man with many facets—the bright boy of humble beginnings, the young actor, the devoted suitor, husband and father, the public figure, the politician who grew with his party and made it greater each year he held its leadership, the man who learned as he worked and worked as he learned.

In his countless victories, and also in his few defeats, he wanted to be judged only by his record. May we always continue to do so, may we continue to expound it as an example to those who have followed and those who will follow in the future.

## John W. Holton

SPEECH
OF
**HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I rise to extend my most sincere good wishes to John W. Holton, for success in his new responsibilities. I am confident that the qualities that have contributed so much to his fine work in the House of Representatives and that have endeared him to so many of us, will assure him of still greater accomplishments in the future.

During the years he has been here I have been happy to consider John as my friend, and he has been a friend to hundreds of Members throughout the years and likewise has received their friendship in return. His devoted service with the late Speaker Rayburn and our present beloved Speaker has redounded to the benefit of the entire House. Although I am sorry that he will not be with us in the future, I am extremely pleased that he will be in a position where his fine talents and personality will serve him well.

I wish John Holton all the good things in life that he so eminently deserves, and I am sure that all the Members who have known him join me in this expression of our regard.

## Christopher Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the United States owes much of its greatness and glory to the peoples of many lands.

But first and foremost among these countries comes Italy. That native home of the arts and learning gave birth to the famous 15th century explorer whose name and fame are inextricably associated with the New World. This native son of Genoa, born into a little known family some time between 1446 and 1451, would have attained greatness in any age and under any clime as a daring and dauntless adventurer and resourceful explorer, but it was his great good fortune to live at the time he did, and to have immortalized his name by the discovery of the New World. It is true that his countryman and contemporary, Amerigo Vespucci, gave his name to the new continent, but Columbus discovered it.

This epoch-making and historic discovery by the adventurous and highly gifted son of a Genoese weaver easily ranks at the top of all explorations and discoveries of all time, or, at least it should be classed among the topmost of such discoveries in recorded human history. The discovery of America has been a real and lasting blessing to humanity in many ways—materially and spiritually, politically, socially, and culturally.

It is difficult to assess and evaluate the benefits the Old World derived by this discovery, and also the way the natives in the New World benefited by their contacts with the people of the Old World. Of course, there is the great and overriding living fact, the birth, rise, and growth of this great Republic, the United States of America.

On the 470th anniversary of his discovery of America, we pay tribute and honor the memory of this great Genoese discoverer, Christopher Columbus.

## Washington State's New Breed of Political Personalities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives recognize the importance under our system of government of good candidates for political office—all offices both local, State, and National.

In this connection, Bruce K. Chapman, publisher of Advance, a journal of political thought, has singled out my State and written an article in the November 1962 issue entitled "The New Breed in Washington State."

Having observed at firsthand and very closely in several instances the development of a need for a group of young political personalities during the past decade I have a special interest in those whose names are mentioned. Even more than the personal angle, however, is my interest in better State legislation as a basis of good government.

Under leave to do so, I include the Advance article:

Vigorous new personalities—candidates with ability and vision—are needed by every Republican Party, and by none more than the sagging GOP in Washington State. Republicans do elect five of seven Congressmen, but these are mostly holdovers from an earlier, happier era. Both U.S. Senators, the Governor, and both houses of the legislature are Democratic. Fortunately, however, the end of the crisis is near. For no party in the Union is getting a healthier infusion of young blood, in quantity and quality than is—at last—the GOP in Washington.

Consider the 1962 elections. Although there is a U.S. Senator race in Washington this year, the major Republican emphasis is on the attempt of a group of young legislators and legislature candidates to capture the State house of representatives and to build for a conquest of the Senate and governorship in 1964. GOP State Chairman Mort Frayn has called these young leaders "the very future—and the immediate future—of the party in this State."

So far as their personal careers go, the new breed has been "lucky." The party has been freely accepting young people in responsible positions for several years. Anyone willing to help is welcome; for, to be candid, the Republican party has been almost flat on its face.

How did this situation arise?

### THE PROBLEMS

Washington, and especially populous western Washington, is overwhelmingly middle class. Boeing Aircraft employs one-third of Seattle's workers. The area is heavily unionized. While the working middle class orientation provides social stability, the absence of any large group of wealthy men who can afford political contributions has chronically weakened the Republicans. Moreover, some of the dozen wealthy men who are concerned about the state of the GOP have backed candidates either too colorless or too conservative to win. Their support of right-to-work in 1956 and 1958 sent the party reeling. Meanwhile, the Democrats have exploited the power of the unions to win all the State offices with candidates only slightly more impressive than those of the Republicans. Said one Republican of the party's 1960 gubernatorial candidate, "He was the only man in Washington who could have lost to Governor Rosellini."

So long and so completely has the GOP been out of power that many businessmen, while privately professing their Republicanism, now regularly contribute to Democratic campaigns. Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON raised so much money for this year's campaign that he announced he would contribute the probable excess to the University of Washington.

Were it not for the political arrival of its young people, the party's situation would be dismal, if not desperate. But they have arrived, bringing prospects for better State government in Washington and a much stronger GOP.

### THE NEW BREED

Who are these young men? Largely they are products of the Eisenhower years. Many became active just 10 years ago in Ike's first campaign, and several became acquainted through the Young Republicans. One of the brightest lights in the State legislature, Seattle Attorney Slade Gorton, settled down in Washington as late as 1956 after an academic career at Dartmouth and Columbia and a stint in the Air Force. With a campaign of personal "doorbelling" typical of the new breed he was elected a State representative only 2 years later, in 1958.

No one ever questioned or resented his newness. No one has resented his youth or that of the other legislators. All of them, except their informal "adviser and stabilizer," Damon Canfield of Yakima, are in their twenties or thirties.

The number of the new breed is hard to determine, for all the members are careful to disclaim any organizational intentions. With exceptions like Harry Lewis of Thurston County (Olympia), Tom Copeland of Walla Walla, Jack Metcalf of Everett, Pat Comfort of Tacoma, and a few others, most of the young legislators come from Metropolitan Seattle. In the work of State politics everywhere, while youth may not be resented, the dominant role of one metropolitan area often is. Consequently, as Seattleite Walter Williams, Jr., insists, "We are very eager not to be a clique; each of us wants to work with everyone down there (Olympia)."

In a sense, however, the Seattle legislators are unique. Several are personal friends, and almost all are involved in the city's technically nonpartisan politics. These local representatives meet once a month with other leaders—from politics, education and business—to discuss every sort of city and State matter. The meetings are informal and democratic. To discourage the paranoid speculations usually current in any community politics, the group does not even have a name.

Oddly, these very creative Seattle legislators represent safe Republican districts, a pattern generally opposite the one in Congress, where the safest districts often produce the least effective representatives. "We don't have to fuss about the next election," one "new breed" legislator explains, "so we can take the lead in developing new programs."

Coming from the State's largest city they are almost the only legislators concerned with such matters as mass transportation and housing discrimination. Even their Democratic counterparts in Seattle are little concerned with the transportation problem. In housing discrimination the Democrats in the legislature follow the example of the Governor. Both cater to the needs of individual lobbyists but neglect the cause of integrated housing.

### PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS

In Seattle and across the State, the new breed of young Republican legislators share a common pragmatic and forward-looking approach. Though most might call themselves "progressive Republicans," the excessive labeling that occupies much of the national party is refreshingly absent on the State level. Their essential purpose is to provide sound answers to State and local problems before the Federal Government moves in, and to return to localities some of the rights the State itself has usurped.

The watchword of the group is "positive alternatives." As State Senator Charles Moriarty, Jr., of Seattle puts it, "We always are looking for answers that are right on the merits and also politically right." Thus, replying to the Democratic demands for higher taxes, the Republicans in the recent past have presented their own alternative program: Increased aid to schools and State institutions (mental and other hospitals, and prisons) through cuts in the bureaucracy and reform of one of the Nation's most outlandish welfare programs. For Republicans to so oppose excessive welfare measures and bloated bureaucracy is not uncommon; it is uncommon for them to do so under the popular banner of improved education and State institutions. Even welfare reform is proposed in the name of the needy, and properly so, since the reforms include an expanded vocational training program.

In the Republican Party the new breed extends its influence by the cogency of its individual and collective thought. Says Moriarty, "The efforts of the group see fruition in surprising ways: when the party adopts our program in the convention platform, or when a candidate we've never heard of takes up our issues." Speculation has already begun that the young minority leader Dan Evans will be a gubernatorial candidate in 1964.

An important reason for the popularity of the young legislators among Republicans is their eagerness to help the party. They recognized that Republicans could win the State legislature only if the incumbent Republicans found good candidates and persuaded them to run. Even while running for reelection themselves, Representative Evans and Representative Joel Pritchard formed an ad hoc campaign committee almost a year ago to seek out and support likely candidates throughout the State. They followed up their initial work with a campaign manual prepared by Representative Harry B. Lewis of Thurston County (Olympia) and formed a campaign school at Vancouver attended by some 200 candidates across the State. Neither has either party seen such activity. If the Republicans win control of the House, the thanks will go to these veterans of only one or two terms.

### SUCCESSFUL AMATEURS

That the new breed of legislators are "amateurs" both explains their success and makes it the more remarkable, for almost all of them are practicing lawyers or businessmen who could not afford to serve in State government at the pay of $3,000 a year if the legislature met more than the present 60-day session. At the same time, they are having an unusually heavy impact for part-time politicians.

Their competition for top billing on future GOP tickets comes largely from a number of equally young far right neophytes who obligingly have been killing themselves off at the polls by aiming too high too soon.

If the State legislators of the new breed find themselves in control of the house in 1963 and the senate and governorship in 1965 first there will be legislative reform to end the Democratic Governor's "legislation by administrators." Also, like Republicans in Congress, the Washington State minority is outrageously shortchanged on staffing, a situation the GOP leadership is pledged to repair. There will be as well the expected investigations of Democratic corruption under Rosellini.

Then, however, will come unprecedented attention to the long-range needs of the State, from tax reform to transportation. Here will be a model for other young Republicans in other States. Here will be an example to older Republicans across the country who complain about the party's situation at the State level but close the door of that same party to newcomers. Here will be a model indeed, for if the dynamic new breed in Washington State continue their present course, the result may be a governmental renaissance not seen at the State level since the "Wisconsin idea" of the progressive era.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I want to join all my colleagues in saying a few words concerning the fine service my colleague, the Honorable JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia, has rendered the people of his State and country during the 16 years he has been a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. It has been my pleasure and privilege to serve on the District Committee with Judge DAVIS and I am certain that my colleagues will agree with me that he has been solely responsible for saving the taxpayers of this country more than a billion dollars during the time he has been serving in the Congress.

Judge DAVIS is a great advocate of States' rights, law and order, and believes in the principles set out in the Constitution of the United States. I do not know of any man who has ever served in Congress, during the 24 years I have been privileged to be a Member of that body, who has made a better impression on me than Judge DAVIS. He has never been known to compromise a principle. I am certain that if the District Commissioners, the President, and the courts had supported the principles and legislation advocated by Judge DAVIS during the time he has been a Member of the District Committee, there would be very little crime here in the Nation's Capital at the present time.

The State of Georgia and the entire Nation have suffered a great loss in losing Judge DAVIS' services as a Member of the U.S. Congress. I personally do not know of any man who can properly fill his shoes as a lawmaker here on Capitol Hill. As chairman of the Police and Firemen's Subcommittee which also handles numerous judicial bills and other bills relative to legal matters in the District of Columbia, he has always done a wonderful job and will leave a record second to none as a lawmaker. I know that Judge DAVIS will be greatly relieved from the terrific pressure he has always had upon him from left-wing groups who were not satisfied to disagree with his viewpoints on legislation but made an effort to destroy his character on numerous instances by handling the truth extremely recklessly.

In my humble opinion the day will come when certain people in the city of Washington and the United States will wish that they had a person of Judge DAVIS's intestinal fortitude as a Member of the U.S. Congress. Mr. Speaker, I could write pages and pages of history on the good work Judge DAVIS has done during the time he has served as a Member of Congress; however, I want to take this brief moment to express publicly my opinion as to how much his services will be missed and the people of the United States, including the people of Georgia, will be the losers in this case and not Judge DAVIS.

My sincere wish is for Judge DAVIS and Mrs. Davis to have an opportunity to enjoy some of the good things of life, after the Judge's retirement, which they have been unable to take advantage of during the busy years Judge DAVIS has served the people of his district and the United States so well.

## Washington Is Losing a Solon, and Alabama Is Regaining a Son

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure his colleagues will read with interest the following article by Tom Donnelly about the distinguished and beloved gentleman from Alabama, the Honorable FRANK BOYKIN, that appeared in the October 9, 1962, issue of the Washington Daily News:

In England distinguished public servants may look forward to being knighted, which means among other things that the man is entitled to call himself "Sir" and the woman behind him may expect to be addressed as "Lady So-and-So." In the States we have no such system of reward for a job well done.

We've got something bigger and better. We've got the congressional tribute. Or rather, Representative FRANK W. BOYKIN, the lameduck Democrat from Alabama, has got it. A fig for titles and similar flimsy frumpery. The hosannas Representative BOYKIN's colleagues read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will endure in all their radiant beauty when Homer and Shakespeare are forgotten. But only then, as some literary jokester once said.

I can well believe that Representative BOYKIN might forget the hurt of defeat in the recent primary in the warm bath of praise his colleagues poured forth for him. Many men would give 10 years off their lifes merely to dip a toe in such a bath.

The 1960 census cut the number of Alabama Congressmen from nine to eight, all nine incumbents ran at large, Mr. BOYKIN ran ninth, and out. Ah, but Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina spoke thus of Mr. BOYKIN, for all the world to hear: "It is not possible to use the English language and describe the character of this man. He is unique among men. He is unique among public servants. When he will have left this Congress and departed this life, he will have been unique among all men. His kind flashes across the scene of life's stage only once in a thousand years."

So far, Mr. RIVERS has used the English language in a somewhat teasing, enigmatic manner. "Unique" could indicate many things, not all of them necessarily good. But when Mr. RIVERS says Mr. BOYKIN is "a man of magnificent, and astronomical stature," we know where we are. Up in a balloon with Mr. BOYKIN, floating against the azure blue. "Countless millions of deeds too numerous to recall and which I am too feeble to describe mark this great American," valiantly puffs out Mr. RIVERS, launching into a slight variation of a poem that has long inspired multitudes:

"FRANK BOYKIN can dream and not make dreams his master;

"He can think and not make thoughts his aim."

And so on, thrilling syllable after thrilling syllable.

Many of the singing Congressmen pointed out that Mr. BOYKIN graduated with honors from the university of hard knocks, and Mr. GRANT, of Alabama, reminded his hearers that, wealthy though he now is, Mr. BOYKIN has not turned his back on the humble of this earth. "This man dearly loves dogs. For many years he has in the early morning hours visited the Washington pound, claimed dogs, and shipped them to friends all over the country."

Other colleagues declared that "Mr. BOYKIN's knowledge in many fields was almost unbelievable. He has the rare gift of being able to lift the spirits of anyone who encounters him even briefly. It is unbelievable that a man with his capabilities and energy exists. A man who endows his colleagues with some indefinable euphoria for which he will always be remembered. When the Holy Spirit breathed the spark of life in the palpitating heart of FRANK BOYKIN, He gave to humankind one of the most gentle and considerate souls that ever lived."

Of this man who built his political career on the slogan, "Everything is made for love," it seems only fitting to concede that Washington is losing a solon, and Alabama is regaining a son.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania, Mrs. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, who in 1956 succeeded her late husband as Representative of the Second District of the great Commonwealth, will depart for another distinguished post as Treasurer of the United States. She has served her constituency well while dedicating her energies at all times to the best interest of our Nation. Although we regret her departure; and we shall miss her infectious personality and her reassuring presence, we heartily congratulate her, confident that the country shall continue to benefit from her knowledge and perseverance and integrity.

On behalf of the people of her entire district, and all of the people of the city of Philadelphia and the citizens of the

United States as well, I wish her continued success and good health to perform those duties which the President has assigned her.

## Teaching America to Young Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, in these days it seems necessary that the leaders of our education systems concentrate their efforts on finances, scholastic ratings, and winning athletic teams. But Dr. Harold Eibling, superintendent of the Columbus, Ohio, school system, feels that something else is important, too. He has published a report in the form of a brochure on "Teaching America to Young Americans" which deserves the commendation of those who believe that respect for the flag and love of country are necessary ingredients in the education of young Americans. Dr. Eibling is a prominent administrator and the author of textbooks on American history and government. He has traveled extensively and knows, firsthand, the methods of teaching used in other countries. The systematic indoctrination of Russian children about communism is no secret. It therefore seems only logical that we should provide inspiration for patriotism in our children and this effort at Columbus is for that reason encouraging and refreshing. Dr. Eibling's letter, which serves as a preface to the brochure, follows:

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: I often wonder if there are any sights in this world more emotionally charged than the sight of our Nation's flag being held proudly aloft in the front line of some patriotic parade; or the sight of a gigantic Old Glory rising above a crowded stadium while thousands of free men, women, and children blend voices in our national anthem; or the sight of an auditorium filled with the old and the young of a dozen national origins, all respectfully standing with hands on hearts, all pledging allegiance to the colorful symbol that unifies them as the freest people on the face of the earth.

Such sights never fail to stir me deeply. My heart pounds a bit faster and my nerves tingle. If this is a childish reaction, my only reply is that there are certain things one must "receive—as a little child." I have no doubt that a good deal of our patriotic fervor is a product of childhood. It starts, perhaps, as a simple attitude about personal freedom. Then it grows to become a treasured part of a code of values. As we observe our fellow men, as we learn the stories of America in our schools, as we listen to the counsel of parents, we soon discover that others feel quite similarly about such intangible things as freedom, equality, and brotherhood. We then become truly one people, united by a set of beliefs that use such reason-defying phrases as "endowed by their Creator" and "God-given rights."

Both in the glorious and the unglorified days of our Republic, I have been able to say that I am proud to be an American. I deserve no credit for this devotion to my country. It has been the natural outgrowth of the associations with the free men I have known in this country; it has sprung from my familial training; it has been nurtured by the good men and women who have been my classroom tutors in searches for wisdom and knowledge.

As one whose life has been devoted to education, I would be among the first to admit that there is more to true instruction than reading, writing, and computation. Just as there is more in great literature than a well-turned phrase; just as there is more in art than design; just as there is more in architecture than function; so there is more in education than facts and figures. There are human elements: the flowering of dignity, of individuality, of human understanding, of responsibility, of duty. In the development of all these traits, the educational system plays an integral role.

As superintendent of the Columbus public schools, I have no greater hope than that the schoolchildren of our metropolitan city are getting as much help in becoming good citizens of this free country as we adults did from our teachers. I am certain we of the Columbus public schools have the staff, the program, and the community support to give vital assistance in the most imperative task facing families, communities, States, and our Nation today—the development of millions of splendid, young, dedicated Americans. Your Columbus schools are now engaged wholeheartedly in this aspect of education. History will be the judge of our success.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD H. EIBLING,
*Superintendent of Schools.*

## Another Cuba in British Guiana?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, this excellent article by Victor Riesel, on the activities of Mrs. Cheddi Jagan, wife of the Prime Minister of Guiana, appeared in the October 9 issue of the New York Mirror:

INSIDE LABOR—CHINESE REDS PLAN A "CUBA" OF THEIR OWN

(By Victor Riesel)

BROWNSVILLE, TEX., October 8.—With the Soviets neatly entrenched in the Caribbean can the Chinese Communists be far behind? Nope.

They want some frontage on the lovely waters which stretch from the top of South America into the lazy blue of the Gulf of Mexico. So the "Chi-coms" are preparing to build a Cuba of their own. They have their eyes on British Guiana. And they were told not too long ago they'd be welcome.

They got this word from an authoritative Guianian. She's the Communist wife of the avowedly Communist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan. The lady was in Peiping just a few weeks back.

After touring the mainland of China as the guest of the state for 2 weeks, she arrived in its capital to be greeted by a mass rally. There, beneath the red banners, she told of her devotion to Mao Tse-tung, denounced the United States, applauded speakers who shouted against "shameful * * * American imperialism" and welcomed Chi-com aid in "rebuilding" her country.

A beachhead in the Caribbean is quite an important leap forward for Mao's state. So word went out that Mrs. Jagan was to be treated royally. She was.

She was officially hailed by six special Chi-com organizations—some of them created especially for the infiltration of the lands which start rolling below the Rio Grande, a few feet from which I have just stood. Sponsoring the rally of welcome for the politically powerful Red lady were the China-Latin America Friendship Association, the People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the China Peace Committee, the National Women's Federation of China, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and the All-China Youth Federation.

For 2 weeks she had been unleashing anti-Western speeches. Now at the rally she really poured it on:

"The ruthlessness of the colonial powers," said she as she warmed up to her oratorical bludgeoning of the United States and Britain, "the excessive plundering of national resources of colonies and inhuman disregard for the masses, have helped open the eyes of the exploited and straightened their courage for the struggle."

This—from the wife of the Prime Minister who went to the White House asking for a loan of $25 million and then complained when he did not get it.

Among those cheering her was the Cuban Ambassador to Communist China, Oscar Pino-Santoso. He cheered most loudly when Mrs. Jagan shouted that the "Cuban people need support in the struggle against recent provocations and to retain their hard-won freedom."

After some days of secret conferences with Chi-com leaders, Mrs. Jagan flew to London to join her husband at the British Commonwealth conference. There both of them protested their lack of freedom.

Freedom for whom? The people of Guiana? Judge for yourself from a message sent to me by the editor of an anti-Communist newspaper in Georgetown, British Guiana, a newspaper which has criticized the Jagan association with the Communist international, ranging from Havana, to Prague to Moscow and on to Peiping:

"We are a small newspaper," says G. E. Willock, editor of the Daily Chronicle, "fighting the Communist menace and have suffered as a result. Apart from an advertising tax that has been imposed on press and radio, which has resulted in a considerable reduction of revenue, the government (of Prime Minister and Mrs. Jagan) has singled us out for an economic squeeze by a ban on all government advertising and purchase of newspapers by departments and agencies.

"This is a matter which we would like to be ventilated in the American press. It is urgent."

That's right. Real freedom is the most urgent of matters. If the Jagans and their international allies win and they create a new Cuba we will not, this time, be able to say we were not aware of the policies of the people seizing power.

## The Record of the 87th Congress, 2d Session; Report to the People of the 2d Congressional District of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as has been my custom since my first election to Congress, I wish to report to the people of the mountain-valley 2d Congressional District concerning my votes and actions during the 2d session of the 87th Congress.

At this point I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a table which lists my rollcall votes during 1962:

*Voting record of Congressman Harold T. Johnson, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*

| My stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| For McCormack | Election of Speaker John W. McCormack | McCormack elected. |
| Voted for | Federal assistance for construction of college academic facilities | Rejected. |
| Voted for | To permit acquisition, free of charge, of 21 acres of privately owned land in Grand Canyon National Park | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize Fourth Assistant Secretary of Commerce | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase national debt limit ceiling to $300,000,000,000 | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving Reorganization Plan No. 1 (Urban Affairs). ("No" vote favored reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Approve improvements in the District of Columbia juvenile court system | Became law. |
| Voted for | Adopt a 2-year program to train unemployed workers | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize assistance to States developing educational television programs and facilities | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize Attorney General to issue civil investigative demands in antitrust cases | Became law. |
| Voted for | Strengthen Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to reduce Federal payments to needy aged, blind, and disabled to $66 per month | Motion defeated. |
| Voted for | Passage of bill designed to stress rehabilitation of welfare recipients, improve welfare services, and eliminate abuses | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize standby authority for the United States to lend $2,000,000,000 to International Monetary Fund | Became law. |
| Voted for | Raise compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize an appropriation of $63,750,000 for Peace Corps to permit expansion of Corps to about 10,000 volunteers | Became law. |
| Voted against | Recommital motion on 2d supplemental appropriations. (Bill subsequently passed by voice vote.) | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorizes appropriation of $13,000,000,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill $5,170,788,000 appropriation for Departments of Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare. (Bill which included assistance to schools in federally impacted areas, subsequently passed by a voice vote.) | Motion defeated. |
| Voted for | Passage of 1962 tax revision bill | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize appropriation of $3,000,000 to reimburse New York City for overtime payments to police force during the 1960 U.N. General Assembly. | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Authorize President to regulate imports of cotton and textiles | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill legislative appropriations. (Bill subsequently passed by a voice vote.) | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $48,000,000,000 for defense of our Nation | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize Federal Communications Commission to require television manufacturers to equip all sets for receiving ultra-high frequency channels in addition to very high frequency. | Became law. |
| Voted for | To establish private corporation to operate a commercial communications satellite system | Became law. |
| Voted against | To authorize payment of $73,000,000 to Philippine Islands for World War II damages | Defeated. |
| Voted for | To authorize assistance for construction of facilities at public and nonprofit colleges | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To authorize $3,600,000,000 appropriation for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1963 | Became law. |
| Voted for | To amend the National School Lunch Act to improve provisions and establish special fund for needy schools | Became law. |
| Voted for | To bring negotiated defense procurement contracts under more rigid legislative control | Became law. |
| Voted for | Temporary increase in national debt | Became law. |
| Voted for | Sugar Act Amendments for 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | To amend farm bill to permit planting additional grain in feed deficit areas | Amendment passed. |
| Voted against | To kill farm bill | Bill killed. |
| Voted for | To extend Defense Production Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | To amend Export Control Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | Trade Expansion Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | To ban interstate transportation of gambling machines | Became law. |
| Voted for | To give Civil Aeronautics Board permanent authority to regulate supplemental airlines | Became law. |
| Announced for | To extend ceiling on subsidies for domestic ship construction and conversion | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Mutual Security Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Announced for | Increase authorizations for Pacific Trust Islands | Became law. |
| Announced for | Urging Federal Communications Commission to permit increase of power on clear-channel AM radio stations | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $1,900,000,000 for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $5,400,000,000 for Department of Agriculture | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize construction of Mann Creek reclamation project in Idaho | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $11,500,000,000 for operation of 23 independent and executive offices | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize construction of Baker reclamation project in Oregon | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $5,300,000,000 for Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize cash awards for winners of National Medal of Science (a ⅔ majority required) | Failed to receive ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | To authorize cumpensation to U.S. citizens for personal or property losses in World War II | Became law. |
| Voted for | To permit President to distribute additional sugar quotas to Western nations | Passed House. |
| Voted against | Motion to permit continued waste of steam energy at Hanford nuclear reactor | Motion defeated. |
| Voted against | Enactment of temporary farm bill to continue programs for 1 year | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase limits on size of Federal Reserve Bank branch bank buildings and require Federal Reserve Board approval of contracts. | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act. (Subsequently passed by voice vote.) | Motion rejected. |
| Voted against | Motion to reject Senate amendment to AEC appropriations which would permit utilization of waste steam energy at Hanford nuclear reactor. | Motion defeated. |
| Voted for | Constitutional amendment to ban poll taxes in Federal elections | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establishment of Padre Island National Seashore | Became law. |
| Voted for | United Nations bond issue | Became law. |
| Voted for | Rule to permit expansion of Virgin Islands National Park. (Bill subsequently passed by voice vote.) | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase security provisions at National Security Agency | Passed House. |
| Voted against | To extend Federal internal security programs into private enterprise including denial of right of cross-examination | Defeated. |
| Voted for | To permit construction of a peanut research laboratory | Defeated. |
| Voted for | To permit continued expeditious handling of legislative franked mail to postal patrons | Defeated. |
| Voted against | Final passage of Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill College Assistance Act | Act rejected. |
| Voted for | To pass a reduced foreign-aid appropriations bill | Became law. |
| Voted for | To permit duty-free entry of personal and household goods of Government personnel on orders | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill bill to permit President to authorize diplomatic radio facilities in the District of Columbia | Became law. |
| Voted for | Standby authority for callup of 150,000 members of Ready Reserve | Became law. |
| Voted for | To require that temporary summer jobs in Government agencies in Washington, D.C., be apportioned among 50 States | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To amend 1962 farm bill to permit farmers to grow up to 15 acres of wheat in 1963 without becoming subject to overplanting penalties. | Became law. |
| Voted for | To approve National Fisheries Center | Became law. |
| Voted against | To delete Burns Creek, Idaho, project from public works bill | Project deleted. |
| Voted for | Trade Expansion Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Drug Act of 1962 | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | To curb indecent publications in District of Columbia | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | Postal Service and Federal Employees Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Berlin resolution | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | Adjust annuities for District of Columbia teachers retirement fund | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | To return to Senate continuing Agriculture appropriations bill | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | To exclude certain household items from manufacturers excise taxes | Approved by Congress. |

## A Blueprint for Survival To Avoid Thermonuclear War, To Avoid Surrender, To Preserve Freedom, To Insure a Just and Enduring Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

**HON. JOHN R. PILLION**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, the life of every man, woman, and child is at stake in the present climactic phase of the total war being waged against the United States and the free world by the Soviet-Communist forces.

The accelerating relative decline of the strength of the free world has resulted in our present position of extreme peril.

Khrushchev is now presenting to us a series of military thrusts, political demands and ultimatums for our retreat.

In southeast Asia, Laos has been delivered to a Comunist-dominated coalition government. Our U.S. soldiers are now fighting in an undeclared guerrilla war to prevent a Communist takeover of South Vietnam.

Khrushchev is actively inciting the Berlin crisis. His objectives are to first neutralize West Germany and then to disintegrate our North Atlantic Treaty Organization military alliance.

In Europe, Soviet and United States nuclear artillery are positioned for action.

In Cuba, the Soviet is now constructing land, sea, and air nuclear missile weapons systems designed to menace the people of the United States. This Soviet nuclear complex will be completed within 6 months to 1 year.

The free world and the United States are almost paralyzed by confusion, disunity, indecisions and vacillations.

The United States is relentlessly being squeezed into the grim alternatives of thermonuclear destruction or abject surrender.

Mr. Speaker, over the course of years, I have presented to Congress a series of national goals, policies, strategies, tactics, and implementing organizational structures to effectively counter the Soviet-Communist global politicomilitary war for our destruction.

I have summarized these proposals into a blueprint for our survival, to avoid thermonuclear war, to avoid abject surrender, to preserve our freedom, to insure a just and enduring peace.

THE DECLINE OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE FREE WORLD; THE RISING POWER OF THE SOVIET-COMMUNIST FORCES

Since the inception of the international Communist movement in 1919, one free country after another has fallen before the Soviet-Communist advance. Since 1939, total power has been seized in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary Poland, Rumania, North Korea, Red China, North Vietnam, Tibet, and Cuba.

The Soviet-Communist forces now directly control the economic and political resources, the labor productivity, and the military power of 1 billion people, 35 percent of the world's population.

The genesis of the decline of the relative power of the United States was the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet-Communist Government by the United States in 1933.

Due to the total lack of comprehension of the nature, purposes, scope, magnitude, strategies, and tactics of the Soviet-Communist forces, the United States and the free world have completely failed to counter the realities of this war.

Our foreign policies have not materially changed for 30 years during the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, or Kennedy.

Today, Khrushchev claims that the balance of world power has shifted to a Soviet-Communist supremacy. No one, to my knowledge, can categorically deny his conclusion.

On this premise, he is gambling for the entire world, nothing less.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, OTHER COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS

We must recognize, once and for all, that the actual enemy is the international Communist conspiracy.

It is composed of 98 national Communist Parties. All of these Communist Parties acknowledge the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The politburo of the Soviet, and Khrushchev as first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in fact, exercise leadership, direction, and discipline over these national parties and their over 40 million member agents.

Members of this Communist alliance, may at times, differ about the timing, method or means to be used for the destruction of the free world.

All Communist parties acknowledge allegiance to, and solidarity with, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The international Communist conspiracy is a supranatural organization. In every nation where the Communist Party has seized power, the national government is completely subordinated to the political and military objectives of the Soviet led international Communist alliance.

Khrushchev, as the acknowledged commander-in-chief of the international Communist conspiracy, has at his command two gigantic power systems for waging his war of destruction.

He directs an army of 40,000,000 Communist member party agents strategically placed in every nation of the world. He also controls the total economic, political, and military resources of all Communist governed nations.

GOALS, POLICIES AND ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND FREE WORLD TO COUNTER SOVIET UNION, SOVIET BLOC NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

The United States and the free world have aspirations toward a world society of free and independent nations. But, they have failed to formulate and implement positive goals, policies, programs and implementing organizations to match the rallying cries, the organizations, the strategies and tactics of the Soviet directed world Communist total war.

Without goals or objectives we are unable to develop effective international or national policies for extending the area of freedom in the world.

UNITED STATES AND FREE WORLD POLICY AND ORGANIZATIONAL FAILURES

Due to a lack of comprehension of the Soviet-Communist organization and offensive, the United States and the free world have failed to formulate, agree upon, and pursue righteous international and national goals.

We have attempted to counter Soviet-Communist campaigns with the following policies and organizations:

Policy of containment, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, other military alliances, massive retaliation, the United Nations, summit meetings, cultural exchanges, foreign aid, the Peace Corps, disarmament negotiations, the Disarmament Agency, international gifts and loans, Atoms for Peace Agency.

While the purpose and intent of these policies and organizations are commendable, they have failed to ward off or stem the Soviet-Communist advances. They are defensive, self-deceptive, and self-defeating in practical effect.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Congress has delegated to the National Security Council the vital function of advising the President with respect to the integration of the policies of this Nation involving national security.

It lacks both the authority and the organizational structure to fulfill its functions to integrate and coordinate domestic, foreign, and military policies for survival.

Today the National Security Council is a nonfunctioning agency as far as its national security responsibilities are concerned.

The Central Intelligence Agency—CIA—which reports to the National Security Council, is primarily an intelligence information gathering and disseminating agency.

The organizational breakdown between the CIA and the ineffective National Security Council prevents the translation of intelligence information into productive foreign policies and actions.

STATE DEPARTMENT AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

The State Department, today, is the prime adviser to the President on foreign policy and is the prime agency for its execution.

The State Department has become, almost exclusively, the sole and dominating general staff for the development and execution of objectives, policies, strategies, and tactics to counter the Soviet-Communist world politico-military offensive.

The exacting and extensive requirements for waging a successful political, diplomatic, economic, psychological, paramilitary, and military conflict with the highly organized Soviet-Communist forces is far beyond the intended func-

tion and capabilities of the Department of State.

The State Department has deliberately undermined and vitiated the basic policies and purposes of the U.S. Congress for confronting the Soviet-Communist aggressions.

A highly influential minority of State Department officials continuously obstruct the formulation and execution of effective policies and programs, strategies and tactics to eliminate the Communist menace.

As much as we respect the Defense Department, it must be conceded that the Defense Department is not empowered, organized or staffed to wage political, psychological, or economic war. Nor can it coordinate these forms of war with paramilitary and military war.

BALANCE OF POLITICO-MILITARY FORCES, SOVIET UNION VERSUS UNITED STATES

It is generally conceded that:

First. The Soviet Union has the largest airborne force in the world today.

Second. The Soviet Army is the largest, most powerful ground force in the world.

Third. The Soviet Navy ranks second in the world.

Fourth. The Soviet has the largest submarine fleet in the world.

Fifth. The Soviet has the largest force of ready medium-range nuclear missiles.

Sixth. The Soviet has the largest force of intercontinental nuclear ballistic missiles in the world.

Seventh. The Soviet is the only nation producing intercontinental rockets capable of delivering hydrogen bomb warheads.

Eighth. The Soviet Union has an undisputed superiority in rocket power thrust engines.

Ninth. The Soviet Union is in the lead in overall space technology and performance.

In economic production, Khrushchev boasts that the Soviet-Communist bloc produces one-third of the world's industrial output.

The Soviet-Communist political, psychological, propaganda, and agitation world apparatus is without competition in its relentless and unswerving drive to Sovietize the entire world.

There is a tight correlation and integration of the ideological, political, economic, and military forces between the world Communist parties and the Communist nations.

Khrushchev is convinced that the world balance of forces has irrevocably shifted in favor of the Communist camp. His contemptuous challenges in Cuba and Berlin are based upon this conviction.

The Soviet-Communist military power is the decisive factor in Khrushchev's assessment of a favorable Soviet-Communist world power.

ALTERNATIVE CHOICES FOR THE UNITED STATES

Khrushchev is stepping up the tempo of his nuclear threats and his political demands and advances. The continuing retreats of the United States and the free world are leading us to the inevitable choice between the alternatives of:

First alternative: Eventual total surrender by the process of conciliation, appeasement, and concession. This is our course of action.

Second alternative: Thermonuclear war arising from a desperation stand to prevent a total Soviet-Communist world takeover.

Mr. Speaker, these alternatives of surrender or thermonuclear destruction, being forced upon us by Khrushchev, should be and must be rejected.

Another alternative course of action must be found for our survival and the preservation of our freedoms.

Public opinion in this country and in the free world must be awakened to the need for the great now-or-never decision that must be made.

Mr. Speaker, I present the only other alternative that remains to us:

Third alternative: To fully engage the Soviet-Communist forces in a total political, psychological, economic, and diplomatic conflict and to win that conflict.

The essential requirements for a capability to engage in and win such a conflict are:

First. Full comprehension of the form and operation of the weapons systems of such a conflict.

Second. Establishment of new organizational structures capable of planning and waging these new forms of warfare.

Third. A dominant military superiority to give us the strength to attain our national goals of survival with freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully submit a blueprint of the steps needed to assure this Nation's survival.

THE BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL

First. Identification and full comprehension by the United States of the Soviet-Communist forces seeking our destruction.

Second. Recognition by the United States that the purpose of the Soviet-Communist politico-military war is the demoralization, disintegration and destruction of all non-Communist nations, all other economic systems, all religious bodies, all other political and social structures.

Third. Acknowledgment by the United States of the new forms of war, conceived by Lenin, for the seizure of political power; namely, political, psychological, economic, diplomatic, social and paramilitary.

Fourth. Acceptance by the United States that the war being waged by the Soviet-Communist forces is an incessant war of indefinite duration.

Fifth. Recognition by the United States of the dual nature of the Soviet-Communist weapons systems.

The weapons systems of the Communist parties include: psychopolitical warfare; propaganda and agitation; infiltration and subversion of schools, unions, religious bodies, business enterprises and governments; guerrilla warfare; creating thousands of local, national and world front organizations to promote communism and to oppose anti-Communist resistance; and infiltration and manipulation of all forms of mass communications media, including newspapers, magazines, radio, television and movies.

The weapons systems of the Communist national governments include: military power and the threat of nuclear power; economic warfare; diplomatic warfare; and political warfare.

Sixth. Comprehension by the United States of how these weapons systems, centrally directed out of the politburo in Moscow, are used separately, jointly, always mutually supporting, to attain strategic and tactical political objectives.

Seventh. A momentous decision by the U.S. Government and the American people to make the necessary sacrifices for survival as a free people, and to avoid the desperate alternatives of thermonuclear war or abject surrender.

Eighth. An official declaration by the Congress and the President of the United States pledging the resources of this Nation to maintain the freedoms of the free world by our maximum confrontation of all Soviet-Communist forces around the world.

Ninth. Establish righteous national and international goals for survival, with freedom and peace, to unify this Nation and the free world for concerted action against the Soviet-Communist forces.

Tenth. Establish a new Cabinet-level Department in our Government to be known as "The Department of National Security and International Affairs."

This Department would assist the President and the Congress in formulating national and international goals and objectives relating to national security and international affairs.

This Department would be empowered to, and charged with the responsibility to correlate and assess all intelligence information; analyze and evaluate Soviet-Communist objectives, forces, strategies and tactics, being used to anticipate and counter specific Soviet-Communist campaigns and offensives; establish priorities for the political objectives to be attained; centralize planning for the coordinated utilization of all U.S. nonmilitary and military resources for the attainment of designated political objectives; calculate and weigh the relative risks and gains from alternative courses of action; determine the optimum courses of action and designate the political, psychological, economic, fiscal, diplomatic, and military elements for their successful execution; and coordinate, oversee, and follow through all policies, programs, and actions of the United States relating to national security.

Eleventh. Undertake a crash program to attain an immediate clear U.S. superiority of military power by: Deploying and dispersing our present military, air, and naval forces to prevent a nuclear "Pearl Harbor" and to preserve a maximum retaliatory force; converting adaptable naval ships into dispersed mobile nuclear missile launching platforms capable of retaliatory action against the Soviet Union; development of neutron bomb, nuclear rocket engines, and missiles; development of manned earth orbiting space ships with nuclear launching capability; a concentrated and accelerated program for technological development of all forms of new and improved weapons systems to attain an

undisputed military superiority for the United States.

Our international and national political objectives, policies, strategies, and tactics can be no stronger than the military base supporting them.

Only military superiority will permit the United States to wage a successful political, psychological, economic, and diplomatic conflict without the resort to or fear from thermonuclear war.

This Nation must wage a total psychopolitical and economic campaign against the Soviet-Communist forces if it wishes to stave off thermonuclear war or surrender.

The United States passes the industrial capacity and the technological resources to regain undisputed military supremacy over the Soviet Union.

Twelfth. Although the rushing tides of recent history appear to favor the Soviet, the human mind and the human will remain the ultimate weapon.

To survive, to preserve our freedoms, to restore a true and enduring peace, the United States must inspire all free peoples with a unity of mind, a unity of purpose a unity of will, and a unity of action.

SUPPLEMENTING EXCERPTS

Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to present various excerpts from my previous addresses to this House. They are intended to amplify and supplement "The Blue Print for Survival."

From address, June 12, 1961, accompanying introduction of House Joint Resolution 447 calling for recognition of the total global war being waged against the United States and its citizens by the Soviet-Communist forces:

The prosecution of this war will call for dedication to outmatch the dedication of a fanatical enemy. It will call for sacrifice surpassing that which the Communists are ready to endure. But the price which we will have to pay for ultimate victory will be cheap, because it will repurchase the most priceless possession of man—his freedom under God.

Permit me to enumerate some of the practical results of the passage by Congress of this resolution.

First, by identifying the enemy, and secondly, by recognizing the war which the Communists have been waging against us, we shall have a basis for shaping our policies to prosecute the war. How can we formulate effective programs to defeat an enemy if we neither specify who he is, nor acknowledge that we are at war with him?

Second, we shall raise a standard to which freemen everywhere can rally. The enemy is not just our enemy, but of all who love freedom.

We shall, by raising this standard, assert our rightful place as leaders of the yet free world.

We shall give renewed hope to the millions whom the Communists hold in bondage.

Third, we shall have a guide for our domestic policies which must be consistent with the demands of the life-and-death struggle in which we are engaged.

Finally, we shall have a justifiable hope that by accepting the challenge which the enemy poses to civilization itself, we can someday usher in an era of genuine peace, and the fulfillment of the highest aspirations of mankind.

From address, October 3, 1962, accompanying H.R. 13315 to establish the Department of National Security and International Affairs:

Mr. Speaker, the President carries a most heavy burden of responsibilities in both the foreign and domestic areas. These are time consuming.

The Soviet-Communist aggressions are conducted in more than 100 nations around the world. The battles and the skirmishes take place in the form of political, psychological, economic, diplomatic, and paramilitary thrusts and counterthrusts.

The President, as Commander in Chief, cannot carry the additional, all-absorbing burdens of being a field general for each of these battles.

The President needs, and must have, a competent general staff. He must have at his command a suitable and reliable organization to mobilize the forces of this Nation and of the free world to engage and to defeat the Soviet-Communist nonmilitary forces of 40 million agents and provocateurs.

The President must have an organization to make accurate assessments and judgments of the capabilities of the enemies' politico-military forces; an organization which can anticipate and act promptly to prevent Communist offensives; an organization to establish targets, and develop necessary strategies and tactics.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced, today, a bill to establish a new department in the executive branch of our Government.

The basic purpose of this department is to provide the organizational structure required to assist the President and the Congress in formulating national objectives and developing an integrated strategy to defend against the International Communist political, psychological, economic, diplomatic and military conflict being waged against the free world; and for the defeat of the Communist forces.

This bill proposes to centralize into one agency the responsibility of coordinating and overseeing the execution of this Nation's efforts in the prosecution of the politico-military war in which we are engaged.

This department would be empowered to create a suitable organizational structure to provide a national unity of purpose and effort at the highest level.

It will be entrusted with the crucial task of assuring the survival of this Nation.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, Philadelphia is proud indeed of her distinguished daughter, KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN. We are particularly proud of the latest honor to come her way—her appointment by the President to the high office of Treasurer of the United States.

It was my privilege to have known Mrs. GRANAHAN's late husband, the Honorable William T. Granahan, who represented the Fourth District of Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives. Bill Granahan, a man of warm "diplomatic" personality, was a gentle and effective representative of the people. His successor, the gracious gentlewoman from Pennsylvania, has exhibited the same wonderful qualities. She has continued her husband's industrious and devoted attention to duty in her service in the Congress. On numerous occasions when talking with people from her district, as well as other Philadelphians, they have praised her service to them personally and to the community.

Among KATHRYN GRANAHAN'S contributions in the legislative field, has been her strong program to rid our country of obscene and pornographic material, which is so detrimental to the youth of our Nation. I had occasion to work with her in proposals to strengthen the procedure in the Post Office Department to weed out pornographic mailings.

I am proud to have served with KATHRYN GRANAHAN in the House of Representatives. As she moves on to assume her new important post as Treasurer of the United States, she takes with her the respect and fond wishes of her colleagues in the Congress—and her thousands of constituents and friends in a grateful city.

## Voting Record of Congressman Richard H. Ichord on Major Issues and Measures of Great Import in the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ICHORD of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my voting record on 35 of the most important bills to come before the House of Representatives during the 1961 and 1962 sessions of the 87th Congress. I am doing this after observing the record vote of Congressman WAYNE HAYS, which he inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on October 2d. Congressman HAYS stated that he has done this every 2 years since coming to Congress and mailed out the same in order that his constituents may conveniently check his record. I am doing likewise as I, too, believe that the voters of every district not only have the right to know how their Congressman votes, but also they have the duty to know. Democracy must have a fully informed electorate in order to continue and prosper.

All of the voters will obviously not agree with their Congressman on every issue as it is impossible for any two men or women to always see alike; but nevertheless the record should be made available to the electorate.

I have reviewed my record closely and have attempted to set forth my record vote on all important legislation whether controversial or not. Of course, it should be understood that there were several bills of interest to many people which were passed or defeated without a record rollcall vote, usually because of the absence of nationwide interest or because of their noncontroversial character.

The record is as follows:

| | How I voted | Number and description of bills |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Against | S. 1983 and H.R. 8400—Authorization for 1962 foreign aid program. |
| 2 | Against | H.R. 9033—Appropriation for 1962 foreign aid program. |
| 3 | Against | S. 2996 and H.R. 11921—Authorization for 1963 foreign aid program. |
| 4 | Against | H.R. 13175—Appropriation of funds for 1963 foreign aid program. |
| 5 | For | S.J. Res. 230—Resolution expressing recommendation of Congress that the Cuban situation be resolved with arms if necessary. |
| 6 | Against | Executive Reorganization Plan No. 1—To establish the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. |
| 7 | For | S. Con. Res. 34—Resolution expressing recommendation of Congress that Red China not be recognized in the United Nations. |
| 8 | Against | S. 2768—Purchase by the United States of $100,000,000 in United Nations bonds. |
| 9 | For | H.R. 7927—Provision to intercept at ports of entry into the United States Communist or pro-Russian literature sent via the mail. |
| 10 | For | S.J. Res. 29—Constitutional amendment prohibiting poll taxes. |
| 11 | For | H. Res. 167—Resolution to provide funds for operation expenses of House Un-American Activities Committee, which in effect assured continuation of that committee. |
| 12 | For | H.R. 7677—Raises temporary limit on national debt from $293,000,000,000 to $298,000,000,000 (1961). |
| 13 | Against | H.R. 11990—Raises temporary limit on national debt from $300,000,000,000 to $308,000,000,000 (1962). |
| 14 | For | H.R. 4806—Temporary extension of unemployment compensation benefits of 13 additional weeks. |
| 15 | For | S. 1—Establishment of the Area Redevelopment Administration and an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and authorizing Federal loans and grants for industrial plants and public facilities. |
| 16 | For | S. 1552—A provision for stricter regulation of drug industry and of distribution of new drugs. |
| 17 | For | H.R. 3935—Increasing $1 minimum wage to $1.25 per hour, and extending coverage to additional workers. |
| 18 | For | H.R. 12628—Providing for low- and moderate-cost housing for elderly in urban and rural area. |
| 19 | For | H.R. 10—Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act. |
| 20 | For | S. 2393—2-year extension of the National Defense Education Act. |
| 21 | For | S. 205—Federal assistance and aid for construction of TV facilities to be used for educational purposes. |
| 22 | For | H.R. 11665—Changing formula for allocation of funds under National School Lunch Act to benefit smaller schools and school districts and to better aid areas of greater need. |
| 23 | For | H.R. 8900—An educational program of Federal aid to colleges and institutions of higher learning including scholarships for students and facility construction. |
| 24 | For | H.R. 6028—An act to improve housing for low and moderate income families; to promote urban renewal and open space development in cities and other community facilities. |
| 25 | For | H.R. 7927—Postal Service and Federal Employees Salary Act of 1962—provision for salary increases for postal and other Federal employees. |
| 26 | For | H.R. 7500—Establishment of the Peace Corps. |
| 27 | For | H.R. 8399—Manpower retraining program for retraining of persons unemployed because of the closing of shops, mines, mills, factories, etc. |
| 28 | For | S. 2965—Measure to coordinate and accelerate public works projects in communities where excessive unemployment prevails. |
| 29 | For | H.R. 9118—Establishment of U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. |
| 30 | For | S.J. Res. 120—Authorization for the President to call up 250,000 reservists and National Guardsmen for active duty of not more than 1 year. |
| 31 | For | S. 1852, S. 2311, H.R. 5000, H.R. 6874—Stepped-up defense appropriations, including funds for increased aircraft production; improvement projects at military bases (home and abroad) and missile sites and for National Aeronautics and Space Administration. |
| 32 | For | H.R. 6027—1961 Amendments to the Social Security Act to increase the minimum benefits to $40 per month and to increase benefits to widows and liberalizing disability provisions. |
| 33 | For | H.R. 10650—Amendments to Internal Revenue Code to provide tax credit for investment in new equipment; tax savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks; reduce deductions for business expenses and increase taxes on income earned by American subsidiaries abroad. |
| 34 | Against | H.R. 11970—Trade Expansion Act delegating authority to the President to reduce or eliminate tariffs and duties on foreign imports. |
| 35 | For | H.R. 8773—Increases readjustment payments to members of Reserve components involuntarily released from active duty. |

## Richard Amberg, Publisher, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, on European Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the important economic developments taking place in Western Europe were recently described by Mr. Richard Amberg, publisher of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, in a talk before the Sales and Marketing Executives of Metropolitan St. Louis. Mr. Amberg also discussed in some detail the very important economic facts of life that were taking place in the United States, the questions of better workmanship, increased productivity, and increasing pride in one's work. Members of the group listening to Mr. Amberg prepared a résumé of his talk which was printed in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, October 1, 1962, which follows:

PRODUCTIVITY PRIDE GONE, EXECS ARE TOLD

One of the most outstanding meetings of the year was presented recently by the Sales and Marketing Executives of Metropolitan St. Louis when Richard H. Amberg, publisher of the Globe-Democrat, was the speaker.

Mr. Amberg, who has just completed a recent tour of the European countries, told the group that the two things in Europe which made the deepest impression to him was the wall in Berlin and the Common Market.

He said the wall was important because it is a manifestation of what lies ahead for this country if we should lose the battle; he went on that everyone should see it, especially the delegates to the United Nations.

The wall shows the results of the Communistic system, and a way of life that has been a failure in every way.

Except for scientific accomplishments, and these are not too many, the Russians are behind us in every way.

The Common Market consists of seven nations banded together. The French people and the German people, who once despised one another, now are flying their flags side by side. What they are doing may be described as what a corporation in the United States might do when they decide to diversify.

All of Western Europe is doing this. Britain would like to get into it, but they are hampered. It is important to us what the Common Market people of these seven countries are accomplishing, and it will be more later. They have an economy equal in size and efficiency to our own way. They will outproduce us if we are not careful; they have already in some cases.

Up until 1939, the United States had the trumps, better technical systems, better machinery, best of almost everything, but since the beginning of World War II we have either given away, or had taken from us, most of the trump cards.

It is now better and more profitable to do business there; they have less union problems, easier tariff laws, and their economy is advancing at a tremendous rate.

They are doing everything we are and they are doing it better. It poses a real problem for us. While Europe is climbing at an astronomical rate, what are we doing here?

We seem to have a general lack of patriotism transmitted into terms of productivity, there seems to be a lack of pride and self-reliance. Gone is the pride in a good day's work for a day's pay. We seem to have lost all the advantages we had in earlier days in respect to other economies. The United States needs pride in productivity and in a job well done.

This is necessary in terms of basic survival. The Communists are boasting time and again that they will bury us, yet there is a decline of all factors which leads to higher productivity in our country.

What is the answer? Only the productive can be strong and only the strong can be free. No matter what our business is, unless we are producing efficiently and making a real profit, both sides, labor and management doing their best, we are heading for a decline.

The needs of this country are greater productivity per man, pride in achievement and pride in workmanship. We've got to do the job ourselves through a free economy without undue help from the Government. If we are not productive, the country may well fall prey to the wall of Berlin or to the Common Market. The survival of America, this is a job you as sales executives must undertake if we are to stay free.

Mr. Amberg's presentation was the second in a series of marketing for profit series planned by the local group. The next speaker on this subject will be Robert G. Stolz, vice president in charge of advertising and public relations for the Brown Shoe Co., which will be held October 19.

## What's in a Name

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I think colleagues of the respected gentleman from Georgia, JACK FLYNT, will be interested in an appropriate poem concerning that gentleman by Miss Betty Buchanan.

Those of us on both sides of the aisle who know of his considerable efforts in behalf of the Flint River development

in his district applaud his devotion to his State and its natural resources.

WHAT'S IN A NAME

When the last conferee has voted
And the ink has faded and dried,
When the papers have printed the story
And the last hoorah has died.

When some are struck with wonder
And others are baffled and dazed,
They will look to the man who did it
And all will stand amazed.

Then all through the HOB corridors
They'll be asking what it meant,
This magic that turned the tide
For the dams on the River Flint.

Then they'll shout his name from the rooftops
And pound him on the back,
As the great Fourth District of Georgia
Shouts proudly "That's our Jack."

And later, as the years roll by,
Down at the foot of a stream
Men will name them the FLINT River Dams
As a token of their esteem.

## Freedom From Hunger for the Developing Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Freedom From Hunger for the Developing Countries," prepared by the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation of Washington, D.C.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

How is it possible for a human being to live on an income of 15 cents a day?

This would be a fair question to put to the inhabitants of some 100 countries of the world, who must exist on this meager standard. These are the developing countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, which encompass two-thirds of the world's population. Many, but not all, are countries that have been newly established or gained their independence within the last 15 years. For these people, dire poverty and deprivation are the facts of their daily life.

To help these people to help themselves is the objective of the International Freedom from Hunger Campaign. Launched in 1960 by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the U.N., the campaign will run through 1965.

In the United States, the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation with headquarters in Washington, D.C., was established to furnish leadership for U.S. participation. It is a nongovernmental, nonprofit and nonpartisan foundation, whose distinguished trustees have been invited to serve without compensation by President Kennedy.

The President was fully aware of the problems facing these developing countries when he stated: "Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope."

Their problems are legion but not insurmountable.

All are short of capital needed to develop their country, so they lack means of communication, power and home-owned industry. Medical and educational facilities are woefully deficient. Wealth is generally in the hands of a few and the majority are tied to the land in subsistence agriculture. Most inhabitants spend a high proportion of their earnings on food leaving but a small proportion for other purposes. This puts a brake on economic development.

It is ironical that the larger the percentage of people directly engaged in agriculture, the greater is the likelihood of food shortages. This is largely because of primitive methods of production. This also leaves all too few personnel to go from the farm into industry or to receive education and training which the country must have to raise its economic productivity.

These conditions are further complicated by rigid religious beliefs, social customs, and psychological attitudes which restrict their development. Needless to say, these restrictions will not readily be overcome.

What limited gains in economic productivity that have been achieved in recent years have been nullified by the pressures of expanding populations. The natural population increase throughout most of this area of the world approximates 2 percent per year, which means a doubling of the population every 35 years. Simply to match the population growth requires that food supply must increase at least this much each year. In fact, some authorities contend that population growth absorbs capital at the rate of about 4 percent of the national income for each 1 percent increase in population.

Other costs of population growth include the matter of an unfavorable age distribution. With relatively fewer persons of working age, there is less output per capita. This translates into twice as large a fraction of the labor force being required to carry on a given level of education, and results in a shortage of technical skills per capita. It also increases the pressure of numbers upon relatively fixed or depletable resources, although this is somewhat offset through research and new developments.

However, one must not view population growth in entirely negative terms. Scientists assure us that the earth can feed her people, and many more than inhabit the earth at the present time. But it will require unused human and material resources to be brought into use. Training of personnel, research to find new foodstuffs and new uses for existing foods, intensive development of land and water resources, and improved technologies are important aspects of the problem.

None of these problems are new.

Poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and ill-health have perpetually plagued mankind. The difference now lies in the fact that man has the capability to wipe out these blights on civilization. The people of the developing countries know they can have a better life and they are determined to achieve it in their own lifetime. Time is lacking for slow development. Visible signs of improvement are needed. To help them realize this goal is the challenge that faces the United States and other developed nations.

For the decade of the sixties, the emphasis must be on development, based upon a new social and economic structure. These countries do not want to subsist continuously on our charity. As stated by a Nigerian scholar, "The ambition of Africans is not to be second-rate Americans, Russians, French, or British. They want to be Africans in their own right, capable of making their own contribution to humanity."

There is general agreement on the need to expand production in the developing countries so they may trade with the developed nations. To restrict trade while extending development aid is self-defeating. The solution lies in cooperation among the various countries to increase production and expand trade.

This is the background for the Freedom From Hunger Campaign. Already some 50 countries, including the United States, have established national programs to carry out the threefold objectives of the campaign. These are: to focus public interest on the problem of world hunger, to utilize research to overcome food deficiencies, and to finance action projects to increase food production and raise nutritional standards.

The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, a nongovernmental organization located at 919 Eighteenth Street NW., Washington, D.C., seeks contributions to carry out its share of this international program.

These contributions will be applied to specific projects in various countries. They will be of a pilot or demonstration type and the recipient country will supply all of the counterpart funds, personnel, facilities, and support needed to carry out the project. It represents a cooperative approach to overcome the causes of world hunger. The general goal for the decade of the sixties should be to double the annual per capita rate of economic growth in these 100 developing countries.

This important objective can only be achieved by the full participation of all Americans in the Freedom From Hunger Campaign. Let us heed the words of former President Eisenhower: "Our Government fully supports the objectives of the Food and Agriculture Organization, but the success of the campaign requires the active cooperation of generous citizens and of public and private groups in our country and around the world."

## Nkrumah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, those around the President have always thought of Dictator Nkrumah as the last hope of the African people for achieving democracy. This feeling still persists even though Nkrumah has become a tyrant in Ghana.

In last Monday's issue of the New York Herald Tribune, the former Finance Minister of Ghana tells us of the terror that is now prevalent under this "benevolent" dictator.

The story follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Oct. 8, 1962]

CHARGE OF MURDER: GHANA EXILE HITS NKRUMAH TERROR

LOME, TOGO.—Ghana's exiled former Finance Minister, Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, yesterday accused President Kwame Nkrumah of a terror regime of wholesale arrests, pillage, and rape and warned him "the end is approaching of your intrigues and deception."

He voiced suspicions that two former ministers and the executive head of Mr. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party—Ako

Adjei, Tawia Adamafio and H. H. Cofie-Crabbe—may have been done away with in a dungeon.

He said the latest news reaching him from Ghana "leaves one almost stupefied."

Referring to the August 1 bomb attempt on President Nkrumah's life at Kulungugu, 500 miles north of Accra, Ghana's capital, Mr. Gbedemah deplored what he called the "razing of Kulungugu, looting and pillaging of homes, 2,000 or more arrested in the area, and raping of women by some of those sent to restore order." He emphasized he held no brief for those responsible for the bomb plot.

Mr. Gbedemah, one of Mr. Nkrumah's oldest political colleagues, was dismissed as finance minister in September 1961. A law, apparently aimed at him, set up the death penalty for political offenses. It was passed the following month, but Mr. Gbedemah already had slipped out of the country.

His charges yesterday were in a 32-page pamphlet sent to Ghanaian exiles here from what Mr. Gbedemah called his "voluntary and temporary exile in Europe."

On the cover, he said 80,000 copies were being distributed. A Ghanaian refugee leader here said plans were being made to mail 40,000 copies to addresses in Ghana.

## The Retiring Postman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem entitled "The Retiring Postman":

THE RETIRING POSTMAN

Swift wings of time elapse the years
Of joys, of cares and hidden fears,
Of plodding through the deepest snow,
Of summer heat 'neath sun's warm glow.

You've walked through hail, through fog and rain,
To fill your task, yet not complain,
You've brought great cheer to one and all
While answering your duty's call.

The barking dogs held you at bay
With disregard for clothes of gray,
And when you fall on snow and ice
The children's laughter thought it nice.

There have been times when you were sad
But still pretended to be glad,
You've seen the helpless, lame and blind
And through your sorrow you were kind.

You've carried news that brought great cheer,
Arousing hope, dispelling fear,
Some mail you know was word unkind
Which touched your heart and peace of mind.

Despite the hardships that you've had
Your day is done; You're more than glad
To know that working all these years
Has brought to all, more joy than tears.

As you retire for a needed rest,
You can thank God you gave your best.
May all the leisure days you spend
Be filled with gladness to the end.

This poem is dedicated to all U.S. letter carriers of post office service, for the wonderful performance of their duties toward their fellow man regardless of the elements.

Composed by Pittsburgh, Pa., letter carrier Guy M. Scafuti, in collaboration with A. J. Killmeyer, superintendent of delivery and collections at the Pittsburgh, Pa., post office, July 1, 1958.

## More Support for Federal Mutual Savings Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial, which appeared in the October 3, 1962, issue of the Journal of Commerce, which expresses support for the establishment of federally chartered mutual savings banks:

SAVINGS BANKERS' PROBLEMS

We have said before and we now repeat that bills providing for Federal charters for savings banks should be enacted as quickly as possible. We are glad to note that New York State savings bankers, at their annual convention this week in Washington, are putting this legislation in top position among objectives for next year, now that the industry has obtained a reasonably satisfactory compromise on efforts to make it pay more taxes.

To persons outside of these particular ranks a law allowing savings banks to be established under Federal charters, with conversion into national institutions for those which wish to, may not seem something of superlative importance.

The main point is that virtually all our other financial institutions, such as commercial banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions, operate under the so-called dual system of Federal and State chartering. Mutual savings banks are the only nondual banks; as State chartered institutions operating in only a third of the States they are a $45 billion industry that is national in scope but not in name or in law.

As a dual system it would find more listeners among lawmakers, power to expand into new territory, greater operating privileges and hence more opportunity to earn more for depositors—in short a chance to grow by other means than lifting itself by its bootstraps.

At a time when Federal banking authorities (as witness the recent Saxon proposals for national banks) are displaying increased zeal for a better deal for institutions under their supervision it is more important than ever for mutual savings banks to enjoy optional Federal chartering.

New savings banks in unbanked savings bank territory would get going slowly even under a new Federal chartering law, for there would be problems of furnishing initial capital and surplus in an age in which the income tax laws bear down heavily upon public spirited persons who otherwise might provide it.

There is no reason to believe that long established savings banks would hurriedly switch to Federal from State charters.

They should have the power to do so, however, if for no other reason than to make their home States conscious of the fact that they cannot indefinitely deny savings banks privileges competitors enjoy, and at a time when the savings banks are paying the highest interest rates to savers in a generation.

The banks are struggling hard to maintain these rates now at a time when yields on mortgages, upon which savings banks depend for most of their income, are weakening. Some additional avenues for earnings, such as are provided for under Federal charter bills, may be vital in the future to continuance of the high rewards now paid the thrifty.

A Federal charter law, in short, would be more a stimulus than a threat to improved State administration of savings banks, where they operate, while at the same time inducing States in which there are no savings banks to enact laws making the setting up of new institutions easier.

Federal charters for savings and loan institutions were made available in 1933 and Federal credit unions were provided for in 1934. Since then both savings and loan associations and credit unions operating by State authority have noted a vast improvement in their business weather.

That is, after all, the most compelling argument for the so-called dual Federal and State system under which most of our financial institutions operate.

It has its weak points, as we have often noted, but underlying it is the Federal-State rivalry for better laws, better operating conditions and better growth opportunities. The only cause for wonder is that mutual savings banks have done so well for so long without benefit of it.

## Death and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the best and most sensible solution that I have yet seen on the tax structure in the United States and what to do about it appeared in Art Buchwald's column in the New York Herald Tribune, a couple of weeks ago, entitled "Death and Taxes." For those of my colleagues in the House and Senate who by chance missed Art Buchwald's article, I am inserting it in the RECORD. Has anyone got a better idea?

DEATH AND TAXES
(By Art Buchwald)

WASHINGTON.—A few months ago, we wrote about a new tax plan which would change the whole system of taxation in the United States. We advocated that, instead of taxing the American people, we tax the American Government, which has a lot more money than its citizens. We suggested the Government pay taxes on all the land it owns, on all the dams it runs, and all the letters it delivers. There would be a head tax on each member of the Armed Forces, and a speech tax on every Member of Congress.

This plan was presented to Congress but no action was taken on it. So we're now presenting a new plan which we hope will get a better reception amongst our legislators and Treasury officials.

One of the reasons people don't like to pay taxes is they can't specify what their money should be spent for. All the money goes into one big bushel basket and is shoveled out by Government disbursing officers without a thought to the taxpayer's feelings.

Under our plan every citizen could specify on his tax form what he wanted this money to be spent on. The money would be set aside for this purpose only, and couldn't be spent for anything else.

For example, suppose a taxpayer wanted to finance a junket to Europe for Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. He would write down that he wanted his taxes to go for this, and also specify how many secretaries Mr. POWELL should take with him.

On the other hand, a taxpaying doctor might ask that his contribution for medicare for the aged, and a steel executive might insist that his taxes only be spent on redecorating the White House.

Southerners could specify that their money be spent to increase the salaries of the Supreme Court Justices, and the members of the Teamsters Union might want to beef up the Attorney General's office.

It isn't necessary under the plan to stick to only one item. You could divvy your taxes up. You might specify $500 for a new highway to go through your town, $100 for Federal aid to education, $50 for a new post office, $1 for a Polaris submarine, and 3 cents for Chiang Kai-shek.

The important thing about this tax innovation is that it gives the people a say on how their taxes are to be spent. If nobody wants to give any money to Nasser, tough luck for Egypt. If people are fed up with farm surpluses, goodbye to price supports. If there are no contributions for germ warfare, then they have to let the germs go.

Right now every one is probably interested in getting an American astronaut on the moon before the Russians. Under our new system the taxpayer could not only specify that he wants his tax money to go for this purpose, but he could also write in the name of the astronaut he wants to send.

(It would be run along the same lines as the Miss Rheingold contest, and pictures of the astronauts would be posted on the walls of the Internal Revenue offices throughout the country.)

If Congress refused to authorize the money for a taxpayer's pet project, then the money would be returned to the taxpayer at the end of the fiscal year, plus 6 percent interest.

It's too bad our tax reform bill isn't in effect this year as we would have been sure of a refund. We were going to request our money be spent exclusively on military aid for Cuba.

## Jim Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, JIM DAVIS, of Stone Mountain, Ga., and I have had a great deal in common during our term of service in Congress. JIM, of course, represents the district of which the great city of Atlanta is a part, and I come from the Birmingham district. In effect, Birmingham and Atlanta are sister cities, both making substantial contributions to the economic well-being of the Southeastern States.

Because of the similarity of our districts, it was natural when I first came to Congress in 1955 to immediately look up JIM DAVIS to get his advice on how best to represent the interests of my district in Congress. JIM's advice was at that time and over the years since has been most helpful and constructive.

The one quality I admire most in JIM DAVIS is his courage and the tenacity with which he stands by his convictions. I do not think that there is a Member of this House who has more strength of character and fortitude in resisting pressures than JIM DAVIS. His is a rich record of public service and his accomplishments in this body comprise a long list from which he will continue to draw great satisfaction.

JIM has represented the great metropolitan area of Atlanta well over the past 16 years and will be sorely missed by the people of Georgia's fifth district, the entire State of Georgia, and people throughout this country. I join with his many other friends, in Congress and out, in wishing him and his lovely wife, Mary Lou, much happiness in their retirement.

## New York Times Sounds Warning on Panama Canal Concessions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal which made a comprehensive study of canal and Canal Zone issues in an on-the-spot investigation in Central America 5 years ago, and prepared the report which is referred to in the following editorial, I call attention to the warning sounded by the New York Times today over steps to relax our authority and control over the canal and the zone.

This is a most serious problem. I have frequently stated my personal opinion—which I think is generally shared here—that we should move vigiorously in many ways to help the Republic of Panama, and the people of the Republic of Panama, to improve their economy and provide new employment opportunities, as contemplated under the Alliance for Progress. But I strongly oppose efforts to try to "solve" Panama's recurrent—chronic—economic problems by more and more concessions involving the canal and the Canal Zone, for these would be self-defeating. Further, they can be most dangerous to the relations between our countries.

To those interested in more detail and information on this problem, I call attention to the report on the Panama Canal my subcommittee filed with the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on January 7, 1959, and which was subsequently ordered printed on July 14, 1959, as House Report 656 of the 86th Congress.

The editorial referring to it follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 5, 1962]

A POLICY FOR THE CANAL

A bitter attack in the United Nations the other day by Panama's Foreign Minister on the United States-Panamanian Canal Treaty is the latest manifestation of unrest in the isthmus. It is not the only one. Crime has increased in the Republic of Panama; so has anti-American feeling, and various attacks upon American tourists have been reported.

The Canal Zone, which bisects the Republic of Panama, has always been administered in the past, in accordance with the terms of the basic treaty, with full U.S. authority and control as if it were sovereign U.S. territory. The question of sovereignty is one of the problems of the isthmus. It has been used deliberately and with the usual skills of political demagogs of both the right and the left to arouse the mobs of Panama City and Colon.

The Republic of Panama is subject, in microcosm, to all the ills that beset most Latin American countries: poverty, ignorance, fanaticism; political, economic, and journalistic irresponsibility and a tremendous gap between the few and cultured rich and the many and illiterate impoverished. Panama has, too, a peculiar problem of its own; economically, it is far too dependent upon the Canal and U.S. aid.

All this means that no final solutions to the problems of Panama are to be expected. Given wise decisions, helpful understanding on both sides, and responsible and statesmanlike leaders both in Panama and in the Canal Zone, the frictions and tensions can be eased but probably never cured. But a case can be made—indeed a House committee has made it—that the repeated concessions made by the United States have increased tension, not quieted it. The Canal, the committee reported, "should not be permitted to become a pawn in our normal diplomatic relations" with Panama. Yet this is exactly what it has become.

The Canal has great strategic importance to the security of the United States in limited war, less in all-out war. It is of tremendous economic importance to the United States and Latin America. Any real erosion of our position in the Canal Zone is bound to have widespread and adverse political and psychological effects throughout the Caribbean, in Latin America generally and on our entire global base structure. Until and unless another canal is built the Canal Zone and the canal must continue to be under U.S. authority and control.

## Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, on this 11th day of October 1962, celebrated as Pulaski Day throughout many parts of the United States I wish to take this opportunity to add my own eulogy to that of my distinguished colleague, the Honorable CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI of Wisconsin on October 10, 1962, and of others in tribute to the memory of Count Casimir Pulaski, the great Polish patriot who contributed so much to the victory of the American Revolution, including the supreme sacrifice of giving his life for its cause.

Pulaski Day is known throughout the world and it has come to have deep meaning to many Americans who appreciate the value of liberty and freedom. It has come to have special significance to the many people of Polish extraction in the United States who celebrate it as the anniversary of the death of one of their great compatriots who fought for and gave his life in the cause of freedom he held so dear.

This anniversary of the death of a great Polish patriot and exponent of

freedom was widely observed in Poland during the brief period that young post-war nation was able to freely give expression to the great traditions of freedom exercised by Poles when not fettered by foreign tyranny. Doubtlessly many Poles in their homeland are even today paying private tribute to the memory of Count Pulaski on this 183d anniversary of that great patriot's death, but significantly, the anniversary is not recognized officially nor observed publicly by the Communist Polish regime.

Let us therefore pause, albeit briefly, to pay public tribute to and to give thanks for all the notable contribution and final unselfish sacrifice of Count Pulaski, a great patriot who served notably in the cause of American freedom.

The life span of this crusader for freedom was short but within the years of his birth in 1748 and his death on the field of battle in 1779, Count Pulaski proved himself to be a great champion of freedom. Driven into exile by forces opposing freedom in Poland, Count Pulaski without hesitation joined the American Revolution as an officer in 1777. It was not long until Count Pulaski's military capabilities were recognized, and he rapidly rose to prominence in the Continental Army. He was soon appointed to brigadier general, and eventually became chief of cavalry, a branch of service organized largely through his own personal efforts and inspiring leadership. Count Pulaski also distinguished himself as commander of Pulaski's Legion, a cavalry unit he organized and led. Significantly, Count Pulaski died of wounds sustained while heroically leading a cavalry charge at the siege of Savannah on October 11, 1779, which we observe as the anniversary of the memory of this great man.

In pausing here to pay tribute to the memory of Count Pulaski we are mindful that he was a great Polish patriot whose unselfish example in the cause of freedom has been emulated many times by many other Poles throughout the world in their untiring and unselfish efforts to keep alive the spark of freedom which they so highly revere and which was such a notable contribution in initial American efforts to achieve freedom and independence.

## Eulogy of Clem Miller, Member of Congress

SPEECH
OF
### HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, CLEM MILLER was one of the finest people I have ever met.

He was able, diligent, and wise.

He always supported what he considered to be the peoples' interests.

He had the courage to stand for what he thought was right under all circumstances.

I feel a personal loss in his passing. I know his people do too. America has suffered a great loss in his passing.

## Astronauts and Copyrights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has called attention to a resolution introduced by our colleague, Congressman CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, Jr., of Maryland. In an editorial dated September 29, 1962, the Post-Dispatch urged favorable consideration of the Mathias resolution, House Resolution 704, calling for an investigation of the entire subject of copyright by Government officials and employees of material gathered solely as a result of Government activity. The editorial points out that favorable action for such a study is particularly appropriate and timely in the presence of a growing national interest in the personal experiences of the astronauts.

I join the Post-Dispatch in urging earnest consideration of the Mathias resolution. I am pleased to note the attention given to the splendid accomplishments of our colleague, Congressman MATHIAS. He has rendered great service to us and to the Nation in focusing attention on a difficult and complex question.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the Post-Dispatch editorial.

The editorial follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 29, 1962]

ASTRONAUTS AND COPYRIGHTS

An investigation of the whole subject of Government officials and employees copyrighting material gathered solely as a result of their Government service would be timely now, when attention is centered on the astronauts' right to sell their personal stories to the highest bidder. If the House Committee on the Judiciary will take favorable action on a resolution submitted by Representative CHARLES MATHIAS, of Maryland, it should be possible to illuminate this sorry, and potentially corrupting, policy.

The astronauts are dedicated men engaged in a most hazardous profession which at times makes them outstanding heroes to the public. A decision was made in the Eisenhower administration at high level to permit them to profit from their feats, and the Kennedy administration has reaffirmed the practice. But there is something not quite right about the sale of information gained by participating in a great Government effort that is being paid for by the taxpayers' money

The Mathias resolution also calls for checking into the legality of the rapidly growing tendency to place copyright restrictions on the contents of Government publications and documents. There is no getting around the fact that it is censorship to control the manner and extent to which Government information, not restricted for security reasons, can be quoted by the public or the press. The Mathias resolution deserves earnest study.

## Agriculture Wants Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith the following editorial by Mr. Elmer Price in the Lincoln County, Oreg., Leader on the subject of the need for freedom in agriculture:

AGRICULTURE WANTS FREEDOM

It may be that we are today seeing a first faltering step by one segment of the Nation's population to overthrow the all-consuming embracement of Federal control over its very life.

If we read the signs correctly, it would seem that a revolution is brewing at the grassroots of American agriculture to free itself from the shackless of Government.

For nearly 30 years now Government has been attempting to solve what it calls the ills of agriculture by a socialistic and planned system of controls. It took the depression era for the empire builders in the U.S. Department of Agriculture to get their hooks embedded deeply into agriculture and from this start, the Federal agency has ballooned into one of the greatest bureaucracies of all history.

Every phase of agriculture was invaded by the planners. They took every opportunity to foster their theories of controlled production, controlled markets, and controlled pricing. At its height there was little in agriculture which resembled the traditional patterns of American free enterprise. Everything was controlled from the fields of American farms to the price the housewife paid for goods at the supermarket counter.

And the American farmer, forced in many cases and reeling under the blows of economic disaster, docily acceded to the plans and dreams of agricultural planners.

But as time went on, one thing became obvious to most observers. Despite the high level planning and dispite the millions and billions of taxpayers' dollars pumped into agriculture, situations did not seem to correct themselves. Sometimes, as a matter of fact, a program designed to correct one fault actually created another, more serious problem.

And during all these years of experimentation many people began to recognize another very serious fault with the trend in agriculture * * * as the Department grew larger and more demanding, imposing more rules and regulations and edicts on the family attempting to earn a living from the soil. This part of the American economy was also losing its freedoms.

In recent years many polls of farmers have been taken and a growing number of them are demanding that Government get out of agriculture altogether. But, of course, a bureau which has grown so big and powerful as the Department of Agriculture doesn't want to scale back its operations. This would mean a reduction of powers and influence. So, by and large, the agriculture planners have ignored the polls and the pleas of farmers that they want only to be left alone to work out their own problems.

Recently the Farm Journal conducted a new poll. Over 5,000 farmers took part and over half of them wanted the Government to completely get out of agriculture and of the total only 4 percent backed the recent agriculture legislation which the administration pressed so hard to pass and which Congress defeated by a narrow, narrow margin.

Poultrymen across the Nation in a referendum voted over 70 percent to get the Government out of their business, and turkey growers, despite the promise of higher prices from agricultural "experts", rejected controls of the Washington planners in their business.

Closer at home and more recently the Oregon Farm Bureau, asking for resolutions from all counties, received them from 33 of the State's 36. And the vast majority clearly pointed out that most members of this organization believe: "Government services are costing too much and the loss of freedom to the farm is becoming a threat."

The Farm Bureau says: "The idea that free markets and competition is the only way to make a good living is rapidly being revived after 20 years of experience with the planned economy way."

## Fisheries Center Is Step Toward Revitalizing Our Threatened Fisheries Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on the approval by President Kennedy of legislation establishing a $10-million National Fisheries Center and Aquarium here in Washington, D.C. This is a notable step toward revitalizing our threatened fisheries resources.

Too little attention has been given our fisheries industry and that, as a consequence, the Nation ranks fifth in commercial seafood production, whereas we could, and should, rank first.

The National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the National's Capital will combine scientific, cultural, and educational programs which will benefit millions of Americans who are presently unaware of fisheries resources and problems, which this industry faces.

The Nation's Capital has over 7 million visitors each year, including 3,000 groups of schoolchildren. They come to see their Government in operation, to visit the White House, the Congress, and other historic buildings and monuments, and to view the great works of art in the city's museums. They come, too, to gain scientific knowledge. The new National Fisheries Center will help impart to these children and to their parents the extreme importance of our fisheries commercially, in providing foods that prevent malnutrition, and in affording countless millions opportunities for wholesome recreation.

Although fishing has been a basic pursuit in the United States since the first settlers came to this country, it has failed to attain its deserved public recognition and support. Today, the world produces about 400 million tons of fish annually, but only 2½ million tons of this amount is produced by the United States. Due to their scientific research in finding and harvesting this vast treasure of the sea, other nations have moved ahead of the United States in the commercial fisheries field.

The Department of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service has done a remarkable job of research with the very limited funds made available to it. I am convinced that the National Center for Fisheries will motivate more people to become interested in the fisheries problem, to enter actively into the commercial fisheries business, and to engage in fisheries sciences and oceanography as lifetime pursuits.

Each year some 25 million Americans engage in sports fishing, and this number is expected to double by 1980. The new center will increase the knowledge of these many millions who have a basic concern with the continuation of the Nation's sport fisheries through restocking the streams, rivers and lakes, through protection og game fish from disease and other dangers, and through eduactional programs aimed at keeping our waterways clean so fish may thrive.

Critics of this important legislation tried to ridicule and distort its true objectives, but the need for increased attention to the problems of both our commercial and sport fisheries is very real.

The education center to be built in Washington, D.C., will contain exhibits of all types depicting what this Nation has done, and stressing what it must do and can do, to safeguard one of its most important resources.

## Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Junior Chamber of Commerce Praised for Stand on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Fort Lauderdale, Fla., has adopted a resolution calling for action to meet the new intensified threat of Communist Cuba. Many of the points in the resolution which this distinguished group has adopted are contained in my 7-point plan for action against Cuba.

I am gratified for the support which these young men have given to these steps. They are to be commended for their forward thinking, their efforts to make America's future secure, their recognition of the serious threat Cuban communism poses to this hemisphere and the free world, and their contributions to this Nation's defense.

I ask that the resolution adopted by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Fort Lauderdale, Fla., be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The resolution follows:

THE FORT LAUDERDALE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RESOLUTION

Whereas the military buildup in Cuba has taken on the dimensions of a crisis in U.S. foreign policy; and

Whereas the United States must take its position as the leader of freedom in the Americas, by advocating affirmative action rather than appearing to the free world to adhere to a policy of complacency and inaction; and

Whereas the Communist buildup in a country only 90 miles from the U.S. mainland is a serious threat to the security of all free Americans: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Fort Lauderdale Junior Chamber of Commerce does at this regular meeting of September 26, 1962, go on record as being in favor of the following measures to be taken by the U.S. Government.

1. Institute full-scale air and surface military exercises to guarantee the proper functioning of U.S. Armed Forces in Caribbean combat conditions. These exercises should be held in international waters off the coast of Cuba. All nations should be notified of these maneuvers and clearly warned that any vessel entering the exercise zone does so at its own risk.

2. Diplomatic moves should be taken to halt further transport of Soviet military goods and personnel to Cuba by vessels flying the flags of NATO nations, to cite reports: West Germany, Norway, Italy, Greece, and Britain. In addition, our Government should take necessary steps to bar these flagships from entry into U.S. ports and prohibit the transport of U.S. goods in their bottoms as long as these ships are used to transport Soviet personnel and material to Cuba.

3. Strictly enforce the provisions of the mutual security act which prohibit U.S. aid going to any country which aids Cuba.

4. That support be given to efforts to rid Cuba of the Fidel Castro regime; and be it further

*Resolved*, That this resolution be submitted to all of the Jaycee clubs in this State to solicit their support for the above outlined action and to encourage their Congressmen to take such action without delay.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my appreciation for the valuable services of Hon. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN who is leaving us after years of fruitful efforts in the Congress. The members of the Committee on Government Operations and of our Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization on which she served have profited immensely from our association with her. Congresswoman GRANAHAN'S unfailingly pleasant disposition and keen attentiveness to her duties have made her one of the most respected and beloved of our colleagues. We are particularly proud of her authorship of amendments to the Travel Expense Act which have proved so helpful to Government employees.

We congratulate her on her appointment to the high office of Treasurer of the United States and wish for her much success in carrying out the important responsibilities in that position.

## District of Columbia Recreation Officials Vote To Offer Services to the F.D.R. Memorial Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the recreation officials of the District of Columbia are to be highly commended for their defense of Washington's recreation and park areas, and for their efforts to aid the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission in developing a suitable and appropriate memorial which will not destroy such recreation and park areas.

Under the direction of William H. Waters, Jr., chairman, and Milo F. Christiansen, superintendent, the District of Columbia Recreation Department has shown great leadership in the proper development of the park areas of the Nation's Capital.

Certainly Franklin D. Roosevelt was a lover of nature, a conservationist with an abiding concern in this field, and the District of Columbia recreation officials would like to see a garden area developed which would reflect the changing seasons and be kept available for the rest and renewal of the citizens of Washington and the millions of visitors who visit the Nation's Capital each year.

Francis Bacon is credited with the phrase:

God Almighty first planted a garden. And, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures.

The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission would be well advised to consult with the recreation officials of the District of Columbia at this time.

On May 17, 1962, I introduced a bill, H.R. 11804, to establish a rose garden and seasonal plantings on the 27-acre site set aside for the memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

I am highly pleased that the Congress has now rejected the slab monstrosity proposed by the F.D.R. Memorial Commission and will consider a park as an alternative to the slabs. I should like to add that I have seldom seen such complete agreement as existed in the House when the slab memorial was rejected.

I include as part of my remarks articles from the October 10 issues of the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, and the Washington (D.C.) Daily News.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 10, 1962]

TRY, TRY AGAIN

The House and the Senate now have resolved the first phase of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial controversy with celerity and sound judgment. We hope, as a result, that nothing more will be heard of the strange agglomeration of towering concrete slabs which the Roosevelt Memorial Commission had proposed to erect in West Potomac Park—an architectural creation which would have been appropriate neither to that area nor, as Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT stated in the House debate, to the memory of the former President.

In rejecting this design, however, the new act wisely affords the Memorial Commission wide latitude in its search for a more fitting memorial, and authorizes the funds necessary to accomplish the job. It is well, also, that the act requires the Commission to obtain the concurrence of the Fine Arts Commission before submitting an alternative proposal, a condition which should minimize the likelihood of further public controvery once an agreement is reached.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News of Oct. 10, 1962]

RECREATION OFFICIALS WOULD AID FDR GROUP

A move to promote a living memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt as a substitute for the vetoed Stonehenge slab design was initiated by the District Recreation Board yesterday.

Recreation Superintendent Milo F. Christiansen said the recreation board and recreation department have been "foremost in leading opposition to the slab design. This could be our opportunity to take the initiative in stimulating a living memorial."

The board suggested recreation space in a park-like atmosphere, a simple memorial marker such as the former President himself once suggested.

The recreation board voted to offer its services to the Roosevelt Memorial Commission, in a search for a good substitute.

## Report to the Citizens of the First Congressional District of the State of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to review the activities of the 2d session of the 87th Congress and to set forth for the information of the citizens of the First Congressional District my views concerning the achievements and failures of this Congress and to express my personal thoughts on the present state of the Union.

First, let me point out to the citizens of the First District that Congress became involved in many legislative snarls during this particular session and, therefore, this has been the longest Congress has stayed in session since the Korean War period of 1951. The 87th Congress was composed of 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans in the Senate and 174 Republicans and 261 Democrats in the House of Representatives. Members of the Democratic Party, therefore, were chairman of all congressional committees through which legislation is channeled before action is undertaken by the Congress. Representation on the various committees was in the ratio of approximately 2 Democrats to 1 Republican.

In my last report to the citizens of the First Congressional District, I indicated the most pressing problems facing the Nation were related to the international crises existing throughout the world. This, in my opinion, is still true. Because of these crises our defense budget for this year has soared to $52,690 million and Congress passed a mutual security bill extending aid to foreign countries in the amount of $3,928,900,000. The high taxation necessitated by these expenditures has produced an atmosphere of caution on the part of Congress to provide additional funds for the development of some projects in our own domestic economy.

A casual observation of occurrences throughout the world clearly illustrates the enormity of our problems. Since last year conditions in Berlin and Cuba have worsened. The Berlin situation has been particularly acute since the wall was constructed to separate the people of East and West Berlin thereby closing the escape hatch for many freedom-seeking people. The construction of this barricade has brought about a number of incidents any one of which has the potential of propelling us into armed conflict. Berlin is still the No. 1 trouble spot in the world.

During the past year, conditions in Cuba have also deteriorated. Soviet Russia has been admittedly supplying men and material to the Castro regime and is now attempting to develop fortifications on this island located 90 miles from the coast of Florida. It has been established that the ships of so-called friendly nations have been used to carry these Soviet supplies to Cuba. I am pleased to report that the U.S. Government is finally taking some positive action to exclude such ships from American ports. The Cuban situation has caused heated debate in Congress and criticism has been evident in many quarters.

Congress reflected its sentiments concerning the gravity of the situations in Berlin and Cuba by overwhelmingly adopting strongly worded resolutions stating that Soviet intrusions in our herisphere constituted a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and that Berlin must be defended at all costs. These resolutions, both of which I supported, pledged to the President the complete support of both Houses of Congress in any action he may recommend, event to the extent of armed conflict, in protecting our Nation from the Soviet armed threat.

Troubles were also apparent in the Congo, Laos, South America, and China. Indeed, through many parts of the world unrest and upheaval supplanted orderliness and peace. Because of the tense international situation, the President called up 157,457 Reserves and made many recommendations to improve the defense of our Nation. I supported the President in this action in the same manner that I have supported all recommendations of both former President Eisenhower and President Kennedy in matters relating to the national defense and in their decisions concerning foreign policy.

The area trouble spots also caused Congress to give attention once more to the passage of foreign aid for friendly nations. Although the House of Representatives originally reduced the President's request for foreign aid from $4,961,300,000 to $3,630,400,000, the Senate restored a substantial amount of these cuts. As a result, when the bill

was finally approved by the conferees and the Congress, it was $298,500,000 higher than the bill recommended by the House but was $1,032,400,000 less than the amount recommended by the President.

In my opinion, the most important legislation enacted by the 87th Congress was the trade bill. During the past year, many Americans expressed apprehension concerning our eventual inability to successfully compete in foreign trade with the countries associated in the European Common Market. The trade bill which had the support of most business and labor leaders not only provides our Nation with a better opportunity to compete with the European Common Market, but it also effectively reduces the opportunity for world trade by the Soviet Union. The President recommended considerable flexibility in relation to existing trade regulations, and the Congress agreed with his suggestions and overwhelmingly passed the trade bill. Under this bill the President has authority to cut or completely eliminate tariffs and to negotiate tariff reductions on entire categories or commodities. Under this bill companies injured financially by foreign competition are eligible for special loans and workers made idle by such foreign competition are eligible to receive cash payments for unemployment. It is the hope of all of us who supported this legislation that there will be an increase in the exports of the United States and that this bill will bring about greater employment, more profits for American industries, higher wages for the American workers, and a higher standard of living for all Americans. It is entirely possible that, because of the excessive powers of negotiation given to the President for the reduction of tariffs, this bill could conceivably endanger some American industries, and, therefore, I believe the Congress should carefully observe any unfavorable consequences that may develop from this legislation and take where necessary, immediate remedial measures.

There was considerable discussion in Congress this year concerning the purchase of U.N. bonds required for the preservation of the United Nations. The President had asked that Congress authorize our purchase of bonds because of the depletion of funds of the United Nations brought on by police action taken by this organization in the Congo and in the Middle East. Although the United Nations has not been very effective in many instances, it nevertheless is the only existing international body through which the United States can act in its efforts to promote and maintain peace throughout the world. I therefore supported the President's recommendation to purchase United Nations bonds. This international organization is being subjected to more intense investigation and careful scrutiny by the Congress than at any prior time and will, I hope, improve its effectiveness as a result.

Among the other important legislation enacted during the 2d session of the 87th Congress were the following:

(a) A bill creating a communications satellite system which will establish a corporation to construct, develop, and maintain a communications system utilizing the new developments and achievements of science, thereby permitting us to have quicker and more effective communications with nations outside the United States. I supported this legislation. Some evidence of the potential results attainable under this legislation has already been demonstrated through the orbiting of the Telstar satellite. Millions of Americans have already witnessed live television and engaged in telephone conversations through the direct application of the Telstar satellite.

In relation to our space program, it is encouraging to note that tremendous progress was made in this field during the year 1962. The earlier exploits of Shepard, Grissom, Glenn, and Carpenter were surpassed by the thrilling accomplishments of Comdr. Walter Schirra, Jr., who on October 3, 1962, orbited the earth six times. This is indicative of the strides being made by NASA and will according to our scientific experts enhance our hopes of being the first nation to send a man to the moon.

(b) A bill increasing postal rates on all classes of mail. Although I did not agree entirely with the contents of this bill, believing that more revenue should have been obtained by substantially increasing junk mail rates than by placing the burden upon those using first-class mail, I supported the legislation because it was the only bill approved by the postal committees of the House and Senate. This bill as passed by the House of Representatives provided solely for postal increases to remove the deficit existing in the Post Office Department. In the Senate, Federal employee pay legislation was attached to the bill resulting in across-the-board increases for most Federal employees with particular emphasis given to those in the lower income bracket.

(c) The drug bill: This legislation was urgently and speedily enacted after an investigation htad disclosed the thalidomide drug had many harmful effects. Under this legislation, the public is given additional protection from the limited number of unethical and unqualified pharmaceutical firms manufacturing drugs. I supported this measure because, in my opinion, it serves the best interest of the drug industry, the medical profession, and our entire citizenry.

(d) The Manpower and Retraining Act: This legislation has as its objective the retraining of the unemployed where the worker's job has been eliminated because of automation, the removal of industries from an area and other causes. Under this legislation the unemployed are taught new skills to enable them to obtain gainful employment in their communities. In the belief that this is an intelligent approach to the continuing blight of unemployment in the United States, I supported this bill.

(e) The Revenue Act of 1962: I originally opposed the tax bill recommended by the President because it included withholding taxes on dividends and interest which, in my opinion, would have been more costly in implementation that could have been justified in the returns received. There were also other aspects of this bill which I believed were unfavorable but, when it finally was acted upon by the Senate, the objectional part relating to withholding taxes on dividends and interest was eliminated and I, therefore, supported the measure on final passage.

(f) The Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act, known popularly as H.R. 10, is intended to create pension funds for self-employed individuals. This bill would permit individuals who are self-employed to set aside a certain amount of tax deductible income to provide personal pension plans. When this bill was before the Senate, it was amended to recommend a change in status of those individuals presently participating in existing employer-employee trust funds. I opposed these amendments because of the effect they would have on existing pension plans and the disastrous effect on the wage earners of these companies who are about to retire. Fortunately, these amendments were eliminated by the House conferees and I, therefore, supported this bill on final passage. The President signed the bill on October 10, 1962.

Some of the legislation passed in this session of the 87th Congress and signed into law, in my opinion, should not have been enacted. I therefore expressed my opposition by voting against such legislation. An example of this type of legislation is the administration's farm bill. In my judgment, this bill provides no solution for reducing the enormous and outrageous costs of the farm program and it merely benefits a limited number of big farmers in the Midwest. Incidentally, both the American Farm Bureau and the New Jersey Farm Bureau opposed this bill which seems to substantiate my opinion that this bill was not beneficial to the vast majority of farmers operating throughout the United States and certainly not in the interests of the American taxpayer.

I also expressed opposition to the Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act which was later enacted by the Congress and signed into law by the President. This bill as passed by the House of Representatives authorized expenditures of Government funds, at the discretion of the President, in areas of substantial and persistent unemployment. Inasmuch as this bill had little application to the First Congressional District and because, in my opinion, it was politically inspired and typically "pork barrel" legislation, I voted to recommit the bill. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that, when the Senate gave consideration to appropriations for implementation of the bill, the original $900 million authorization was reduced to $400 million. It is important to remember that the national budget now totals $92,537 million, which imposes a tremendous burden on the taxpayers of our country. Although a considerable portion of the Federal budget is necessitated by expenditures for national defense, space exploration and mutual security, as referred to in other parts of

this report, there is nevertheless frequently included in the budget many unnecessary expenditures for various domestic programs. I placed the public works bill in this category and, therefore, expressed my opposition to it in the House of Representatives.

I should now like to refer to certain omissions in this 2d session of the 87th Congress. In most instances these omissions resulted from the failures of the various congressional committees to take positive action on bills for later consideration by the Senate and the House of Representatives. For example, while there was much publicity and political conversation concerning medical care for the aged, the House committee responsible for the preparation of such legislation never cleared any bill for action by the House of Representatives. In the Senate an attempt was made by Senator JAVITS and Senator ANDERSON to gain passage of legislation to provide medical assistance for the aged, but it was rejected by that body and, therefore, was never presented to the House of Representatives for action. It is my personal opinion that some legislation is necessary to provide for the catastrophic illnesses of our aged coming at a time when they are least able to afford the financial burdens associated with such illnesses. It is generally agreed that this problem demands an early solution and it is my expectation that some legislation in this category will develop in the next Congress.

There was also a considerable discussion concerning Federal aid to education but no significant legislation was enacted by the 87th Congress. Bills pertaining to Federal aid to education were either disapproved in committee or rejected by either the House or the Senate. The college aid bill, the school construction bill, the public and private school aid bills all met the same fate and no education bill of any significance was enacted. In the field of education, aid for deserving and needy colleges throughout the country, together with plans for scholarship aid for deserving students, was likewise ignored. Furthermore, aid for the construction of medical schools, so vital throughout the Nation, was rejected.

One of the greatest omissions of the 87th Congress, in my opinion, was its failure to enact any constructive and equitable legislation in the field of civil rights. Although the need for adoption of further civil rights legislation is quite evident, the President did not recommend any specific civil rights bill and this conceivably is the reason that no action was taken. The only legislation in this field was the introduction of a constitutional amendment to eliminate the poll tax in the various States. Since only five States still have a poll tax and since this could have been accomplished, in my judgment, by statute as well as by constitutional amendment, it was in effect an empty gesture in this important field.

Two other important subjects were neglected by this Congress. The problem of civil defense was postponed again and the important problem of mass transportation was rejected although the Congress voted to continue a study of the mass transportation problem for an additional 6 months.

With respect to legislation specifically affecting citizens of the First Congressional District, I am happy to report that the Philadelphia wage tax bill authorizing withholding of this tax from the wages of Federal employees was again defeated. The Delaware River and Bay Authority legislation which I cosponsored was approved by the Congress and signed into law by the President. This legislation had the approval of the Governors of New Jersey and Delaware as well as the legislatures of both States. It will, I believe, aid immeasurably in the further development of the south Jersey area providing as it does a means of financing the construction of additional crossings over the Delaware River.

I am also pleased that the Congress corrected an existing inequity concerning the importation of electron microscopes. This scientific marvel was pioneered and developed by the Radio Corp. of America some 30 years ago. In later years, Germany, Holland, and Japan began manufacturing the electron microscope. The legislation enacted by the House which I cosponsored restored tariffs on the importation of these microscopes thus permitting the domestically manufactured electron microscope a competitive position in the world market.

The First Congressional District is largely dependent for its economic stability and growth on the large industries located within the district. These industries have made great contributions to the national defense, national welfare, and the scientific achievements of our country. In many conferences with various Government agencies I have frequently emphasized the quality of work and the availability of experienced manpower in these industries and it is, therefore, satisfying to me to note that during this past year the New York Shipbuilding Corp. was awarded some $80 million of contracts by the Navy Department for the construction of U.S. warships and that RCA, a giant in electronic pioneering and development, contributed to our national defense by processing some $300 million of defense contracts.

Scores of other smaller industries were awarded defense and other governmental contracts and many of the smaller businesses were aided through the assistance provided by the Small Business Administration. All of this had as its end result the creation of more employment in the First Congressional District and the continuation of a normal economy.

Although the principal function of a Member of Congress is to devote himself to legislation benefiting the United States in general and his own district in particular, he also represents the constituents of his district in their relationship with the Federal Government.

During this session of Congress, my office has processed literally thousands of requests for assistance in this field. We have handled matters relating to social security, veterans' affairs, immigration, watershed problems, small business, area redevelopment, military academies, post offices, and farm problems—to mention but a few. I have been fortunate, too, in receiving expressions of opinion on pending legislation before the Congress from thousands of constituents. This has been most helpful in aiding me in obtaining the views of the citizens of the First District and in focusing my attention on matters of particular import to individuals, businesses, and corporations of the area.

An office has been maintained with a full-time staff in both Washington and Camden for the servicing of the constituency and the solution of the problems presented. Without exception, the correspondence addressed to either the Camden or Washington office has been answered and it is my hope that all citizens received efficient, prompt, and courteous attention.

In closing, this report, I wish to express my appreciation to the people of the First Congressional District for the honor of serving them as their Representative in both the 86th and 87th Congresses.

## Promoting Sale of Coal Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, when we talk about unemployment and loss of markets abroad we tend to overlook what we can do for ourselves. As I have said before, much of our trouble stems from a State Department attitude which places the interest of other nations above our own.

If we could just wholeheartedly seek trade in the interests of our own workers and industry, much could be accomplished.

In this connection I would like to direct attention to a column by Henry J. Taylor as it appeared in the Cleveland Press on October 4, 1962.

A NECESSARY DEAL

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Tragic unemployment in distressed coal areas of Pennsylvania and West Virginia and, indirectly, in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Arkansas, and elsewhere could be helped—and fast—if our State Department would please talk "cold turkey" to our good British ally. Congressmen and Senators from the heartbreaking districts could well get the Department moving on this, and so could John L. Lewis.

These miners and their families want a future, not a past. They want work, not a taxpayer's dole. And now the skeleton of the State Department's massive inactivity walks out of the closet, snapping its fingers.

It takes a ton of coal to make a ton of steel. Britain's steel industry is flashing a major S O S to the British Government to allow American coal to enter England. None is permitted. The British Government has twice refused the industry's formal petition. For England's coal mines remain national-

ized, and the British Government forces the steel industry to subsidize the Government's mines by buying domestic coal at a far higher price than our mines can deliver coal to Newcastle.

English-Welsh coal seams are now mostly thin, irregular and very deep—some squirming like offshore serpents under the sea. Much mechanization is impractical compared to ours here, where some seams are 10 feet—and more—thick and our supply literally boundless.

The Japanese precipitated the latest British S O S. Japan is the largest importer of American coal, lately surpassing Italy. The Japanese have signed large, steady, long-term contracts here that light many a miner's lamp in our coalfields. Seeking further competitive advantage in world markets for Japanese steel, they have especially designed and built enormous coal-carrying vessels, tailor made to exactly suit our loading docks, cranes, etc.

## Nixon-Malaxa Ties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the text of my remarks which appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 5 there is an omission which I would like at this time to correct. The following is a portion of a telegram which should have appeared in the printing of my statement concerning Nixon-Malaxa ties. I refer specifically to page 1051, document No. 623, a communication from the Nazi Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Minister in Berlin, January 8, 1941, which I quote in part:

In this fight between the general and the Legionnaire command, a man plays a role who even earlier played a secret part in Rumanian politics: Carol's former friend and the present financial mainstay of the Legionnaires, N. Malaxa. The Legionnaires let this clever big industrialist finance them. He has in his plants the leader of the Legionnaire labor organization, Gana, and there the green flags of Sima flutter everywhere. Sima and his (group missing) have let themselves be roped in and want to come to an agreement with Malaxa on a settlement, while the general, as the exponent of order and purity, demands that Malaxa hand over all the "property stolen" from the state. Malaxa therefore considers the general his mortal enemy and makes common cause with the legionnaires against him. Malaxa has even again supplied with arms the legionnaire police, who had already been disarmed. Yesterday, while the scene betwen the general and Sima occurred in the office of the Minister President, they established themselves in the prefecture of police with machineguns.

The general, whose entourage kept this information from him last evening, is now extremely angry. He would like best to send Malaxa and his family off to Germany in order to get rid of them for a while. In reply to a question from him, I told him that, if he wished it, we would be glad to oblige him by taking Malaxa in, since German industry had always been on the best of terms with him. The general considers this his only chance of getting rid of this troublesome schemer.

General Antonescu described the events to me in detail. He asked me to treat the information in stric confidence.

FABRICIUS,
*German Minister in Rumania.*

## It Cannot Happen Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an address made by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, entitled "It Cannot Happen Here." This address was given at the general conference in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle on October 5, 1962, and points up the absolute necessity of fighting for and preserving liberty, which is an attribute of God in man. The address is a timely warning against appeasement, accommodation, and surrender, and I applaud this thought-provoking address.

IT CANNOT HAPPEN HERE

The late Henry Grady Weaver, of Georgia, at the time of his death, an official of General Motors, in his stimulating book, "The Mainspring of Human Progress" proclaims that human liberty is the mainspring of human progress. And progress comes through the "effective use of our individual energies, personal initiatives and imaginative abilities—applied to the things and forces of nature," in an atmosphere of liberty under the blessings of God.

The one great revolution in the world is the revolution for human liberty. This was the paramount issue in the great Council in Heaven before this earthlife. We were all there. It has been the issue throughout the ages. It is the issue today.

It is difficult for Americans to understand the danger to our liberty. "It is generally outside the range of our experience."

But we live today in an age of peril. We are threatened with the loss not only of material wealth but of something far more precious—our liberty itself.

Never before in the history of our country has there been a greater need for all of our people to take time to discover what is happening in the world. Every day decisions are being made affecting the lives of millions of human beings.

We as a people have never known bondage. Liberty has always been our blessed lot. Few of us have ever seen people who have lost their freedom—their liberty. And when reminded of the danger of losing our liberty and independence our attitude has usually been: It cannot happen here.

We must never forget that nations may, and usually do, sow the seeds of their own destruction while enjoying unprecedented prosperity.

The children of Israel, willing to sacrifice liberty, wanted Moses to be their King. Generations later their descendants begged Samuel the Prophet to give them a King. He pointed out the fallacy of their reasoning.

Samuel, like other great spiritual leaders, ancient and modern, saw the results that would follow the surrender of liberty.

In that sacred volume of scripture, the Book of Mormon, we note the great and prolonged struggle for liberty. We also note the complacency of the people and their frequent willingness to give up their liberty for the promises of a would-be provider.

The record reveals that men "of cunning device and many flattering words," sought "to destroy the foundation of liberty which God had granted unto them."

Then Moroni, the chief commander of the armies, dramatically rent his coat; and he took a piece thereof, and wrote upon it—"In memory of our God, our religion, and freedom, and our peace, our wives, and our children"—and he fastened it upon the end of a pole (and he called it the title of "Liberty") and he bowed himself to the earth, and he prayed mightily unto his God for the blessings of liberty, to rest upon his brethren." (Alma 46.)

This great general, Moroni, like the prophets whose words are recorded in the Book of Mormon, spoke of the Americas as a chosen land—the land of liberty. He led the people in battle who were willing to fight to maintain their liberty.

And the record states (Alma 46:36):

"* * * that he caused the title of liberty to be hoisted upon every tower which was in all the land and thus Moroni planted the standard of liberty among the Nephites."

This is our need today—to plant the standard of liberty among our people, throughout the Americas.

While this incident occurred some 70 years B.C., the struggle went on through 1,000 years covered by this sacred Book of Mormon record. In fact, the struggle for liberty is a continuing one—it is with us in a very real sense today right here on this choice land of the Americas. Yes, on an island strategically situated only 90 miles from our shores.

Just a short time ago Fidel Castro broadcast to the world his boastful confession that he had been a hard-core Communist all of his adult life. He gloried in the fact that he had been able to confuse and deceive many people simply by saying he was not a Communist. And because there were gullible people in this and other countries who believed his false assertions, he was able to establish a Soviet beachhead—"A Communist satellite under active Russian control."

Americans must face the cold hard fact that Fidel Castro was encouraged and supported in his seizure of Cuba. Why? Simply because many Americans were led to believe the falsehood that he would resist Soviet influence and restore the full basic liberty of the Cuban people. A few of us issued early warnings based on unimpeachable evidence. Two U.S. Ambassadors repeatedly warned that Castro was part of the Communist conspiracy and that he was working for the Communist conquest of Cuba. These voices went unheeded.

This is merely a repetition of the same deceitful pattern which was used after World War II to have us tolerate revolutionary Communists in China—to accept them as agrarian reformers and allow them to seize and enslave some 450 million people on the Chinese mainland.

This is the same deceitful pattern which we have been asked to accept in the Congo, in Laos, in British Guiana, etc. In fact, everywhere the Communist conspiratorial machinery is preparing for a seizure of power, we are assured there is no immediate danger from communism.

In less than half a century this evil system has gained control over one-third of mankind, and it is steadily pursuing its vicious goal of control over all the rest of the world. It is time, and past time, for us to be alarmed.

As reported in October 2 years ago following my return from South America, the good people of Latin America do not believe that suppression is the road to freedom. Yet, Cuba is now used as a base to spread subversion and armed revolution throughout

Latin America. Cuba is being used as a funnel through which Communists are infiltrating other American Republics. There can be no stability in Latin America so long as Cuba is Communist controlled—so long as "the shadow of the hammer and sickle is darkening the Western Hemisphere." The Communist objective is to isolate North America.

Less than 15 years ago communism was not a powerful force in Latin America. Today it is not only strongly present—there as an enemy to be reckoned with—it is openly allied with a government located on an island only about 90 miles south of Key West, Fla.

The only political party now functioning in Cuba is the popular Socialist Party—the Communist Party under another name.

It is authoritatively reported that by the end of 1958 there were 316 known Communist or pro-Communist publications in Latin America, the largest number being 55 in Mexico. About one-half are newspapers and other periodicals. There were more than 150 Communist publishing houses and bookstores. These activities have increased sharply since 1958. ("South Wind Red," by Ray, p. 17.)

True to Communist and dictator tradition, the Cuban Government has deprived its people of the rights of a free press, free elections, and the protection of other fundamental human rights.

How did this situation come about? How is it possible for communism to be here and now moving into Africa, pressing upon all of Asia, threatening the Middle East and increasingly becoming a danger in the Western Hemisphere?

There are, of course, many reasons. Our apathy—our complacent indifference is a major cause. Today, in America, we are living in a fool's paradise. We have permitted ourselves to be pacified and lulled away into carnal security as, Book of Mormon prophets predicted. (II Nephi 28: 21.)

As emphasized from this pulpit 2 years ago, we have a rich history to guide us. Think back with me a moment to the year 1823. In that year, James Monroe of Virginia was President. John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts was Secretary of State. These two men formed and announced a policy—the Monroe Doctrine—which has profoundly influenced the development of our entire hemisphere. (Here was the situation that called forth this policy—known as the Monroe Doctrine—in 1823.)

Several of what are now the Latin American Republics had by force of arms newly won their independence from Spain and Portugal. Among them were Colombia, Mexico, Chile and Brazil.

Meantime, a number of the sovereigns of Europe were seeking to enforce the divine right of kings with the express purpose of putting an end to the system of representative government. * * *

This our Government refused to permit. It said so plainly in the celebrated Monroe Doctrine. The heart of the Monroe Doctrine consisted of these words: "* * * the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. * * *" The Monroe Doctrine, which should be and is an enduring cornerstone and living principle of national policy, stated further:

"The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different * * * from that of America."

Surely if it were true a century and a half ago that European monarchy was essentially different from our American system of representative government, it is even more true today that the Communist system is totally different, totally incompatible, totally inimical to our free way of life.

This is a time of decision. Further vacillation will serve only to drive all of Latin America straight into Communist hands. If action is not taken against the power-drunken bandit and his cohorts, the day will soon come when it cannot be done at all.

The Monroe Doctrine was first invoked against the Russian Czar Alexander. The Cuban menace represents the first time in 100 years that a hostile foreign power has established a firm beachhead in the Americas.

The American people are deeply upset, frustrated, and angry at what they fear is a retreat from the time-honored Monroe Doctrine—a retreat which could now end in war.

President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., whose scholarly work on the Monroe Doctrine, as Under Secretary of State, is well known, in tracing our destiny said this:

"Then came our great Monroe Doctrine which placed us of the United States squarely behind efforts of Latin America to gain freedom and against those European states who would thwart it.

"God again moved us forward toward the destiny He has planned for us. He was preserving the blessings He had given to us." (Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine, Department of State Publications No. 37, Dec. 17, 1928.)

President Joseph Fielding Smith in his ever-timely volume, "The Progress of Man," in discussing America's fortification against other nations makes this significant statement:

"The greatest and most powerful fortification in America is the Monroe Doctrine * * * It appears to the casual observer that this doctrine came by chance * * * but this is not so. It was the inspiration of the Almighty which rested upon John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other statesmen, and which finally found authoritative expression in the message of President James Monroe to Congress in the year 1823 * * *.

"It is generally understood * * * in the church that the greatest and most significant principle by which this land is fortified against the encroachments and invasions of European and Asiatic powers is found in the Monroe Doctrine" (p. 357, 466, 467).

This Monroe Doctrine widely accepted by the Republics of the south, has been the continuing policy of our Nation for almost a century and a half. It has been reaffirmed by many American Presidents. We are on solid traditional American ground in demanding that the Communists should not attempt to extend their political system to this side of the Atlantic Ocean.

If time permitted we could show that in recent years, the principles of the Monroe Doctrine have been strengthened by various joint agreements among the American nations: These should be invoked. The longer we wait the more difficult will be the job.

It is almost unthinkable that any people would knowingly and willfully take on themselves the yoke of Communist oppression. No nation has ever done so yet. If large masses of the Cuban people have done so it is because they have been duped or coerced.

As a people, who have known only liberty, we are inclined to feel it cannot happen here. We have become lulled away into a false security.

A most brilliant discussion of the Latin American problem, which appeared in the May 1961 issue of American Opinion, concluded with these words:

"* * * history gives us one more chance. If the American people are too blind or too cowardly to take that chance, then, whether or not we as individuals deserve it, you and I and all that we hold dear * * * must suffer the doom that history mercilessly imposes on fools."

Why are we so timid in standing up to a godless Communist police state which can't even feed its own people, and whose economy, they know, will not support a major war. They "lead from weakness and we retreat from strength."

I say to you it can happen here. It is happening here. We have retreated from the Monroe Doctrine. Our liberty is in danger. But we go blithely and gullibly on our way. Some of us fall for the Kremlin line as planned by the mass murderer Khrushchev and call patriots extremists and accuse courageous, liberty-loving citizens of dividing our people.

As President David O. McKay said at the close of the last April general conference, quoting J. Edgar Hoover, "There is no place here in America for part-time patriots. This Nation is face to face with the greatest danger ever to confront it, a sinister and deadly conspiracy which can be conquered only by an alert, informed citizenry. It is indeed appalling that some members of our society continue to deplore and criticize those who stress the Communist danger. Public indifference to this threat is tantamount to national suicide. Lethargy leads only to disaster."

We must be vigilant. Let us unite. Let us join in our fight against the forces of anti-Christ.

Forgive me for being so blunt, but I feel most deeply on these matters. Possibly it is because I've seen at close range so much of this godless, treacherous conspiracy in the past few years in more than 40 nations.

I realize that the bearer of bad news is always unpopular. As a people we love sweetness and light—especially sweetness. Ralph Waldo Emerson said that every mind must make a choice between truth and repose. Those who will learn nothing from history are condemned to repeat it. This we are doing in the Americas today.

As a church we have a world message of salvation to deliver to our Father's children. The restored gospel can only thrive in an atmosphere of liberty. We are in a world-wide conflict. It is the first of its kind in history. It is between light and darkness, between liberty and slavery. It is a struggle for the souls of men. We must win this war.

In 1946, I stood in Czechoslovakia. The deadening Socialist-Communist philosophies were even then infiltrating that lovely country. Our church mission was thriving among these liberty-loving people. They, too, said it could not happen there. Only 2 years later it had happened. They had lost their liberty.

At the close of World War II while serving as European mission president I visited Stanislaw M. Mikolajczyk in Warsaw, the leader of the liberty-loving Polish people and former Premier of the Polish Government-in-exile. I had hoped we might do missionary work in Poland. Though Mikolajczyk was the leader of the indisputable majority of the electorate, he had to flee from Poland to save his life from the insidious encroaching Communist police state.

I also talked to our Polish Ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane. He told me of the tragic course of appeasement our Government was pursuing in selling out the Polish people to the Communists. Finally, unable to endure it any longer, Lane voluntarily resigned so he could tell the story. He titled his book, "I Saw Poland Betrayed."

And so the pattern has been repeated in country after country.

Rather than impede communism our policies in their total effect have apparently helped promote it. And so the honest in heart, many of whom have probably already been murdered, are deprived of the message of the restored gospel—good people who would have responded to the words of truth from our missionaries.

Who then is to blame? What then can be done?

To some extent we Latter-day Saints and Americans everywhere must share some blame, for we have not been awake to the warnings of the prophets. We have not exerted our righteous influence as citizens to stop this disastrous course. Our skirts are not entirely clean. Many of us have been asleep in Zion—the Western Hemisphere.

"But," say some, "why should we be so concerned? After all, if the Lord wants them to get the gospel message, they'll get it."

Of course, if the Lord desired He could this instant preach the gospel to every soul and do all our genealogical work. He could also right every wrong, feed the famished, plant our crops, train our children, etc. But His doctrine requires us to do our best ourselves in these areas and ask the Lord's help in our endeavors. After we've done all we can, then the Lord will cover for us.

Now what can be done? We have missionaries and Saints in South America. Those countries fall within the scope of the Monroe Doctrine. These countries are now being pushed in the direction of bondage—the loss of liberty.

What can we do to help meet this grave challenge from a godless, atheistic, cruelly materialistic system to preserve our God-given liberty?

We can encourage our Government wherever we live to stand firm at all costs against any further expansion of despotic communism.

We can support our Government in keeping the flame of liberty burning in the souls of the oppressed, wherever they may be throughout the world.

We can heed the words of men like Edward Hunter, who for 20 years has been reporting Communist conspiracy and brainwashing from abroad and who recently wrote this:

In Washington these days one hears a great deal of the word "escalation" but never the word "honor".

"Escalation" was the reason Americans had to stand by and watch with folded hands as a young man bled to death a hundred feet from them at the Berlin wall of shame, although we had every right to go in and stem his bleeding under wartime agreement.

Imagine anyone telling an American, only a few years back, that we would stand by idly, witnessing a man die needlessly because he wanted to be free.

"Escalation" is why we stood by wringing our hands when the East Germans started building the wall, whereas as is now known, their orders were to stop if we showed any serious resistance.

"Escalation", if continued, will complete our softening-up, until we "bury ourselves," as Khrushchev predicts.

This soft "escalation" policy in Cuba, starting in 1958, permitted "a small band of hoodlums, under the leadership of Fidel Castro" to conduct "open warfare against the established Government of Cuba, which was friendly toward the United States. * * * We have thus passed the time for soft and easy action to protect ourselves," says Mr. Hunter. "We have only one course of action left: to destroy Communist power in Cuba by force of arms."

As I visited among the good people of Cuba in 1955 I had a secret hope we would soon be able to bring to them the truths of the restored gospel. What are our prospects now? People said in Cuba in 1955: It cannot happen here. We love liberty.

The insidious but rapid takeover of Latin America is drawing ever closer to the final showdown.

Unless godless communism is stamped out of Cuba it is only a matter of time until like Czechoslovakia, other missions will likely close and more of our Father's children will be deprived of their liberty and the fullness of the everlasting Gospel.

The message of salvation must move forward. God grant that every effort to stay its growth will be frustrated.

Courage and statesmanship are imperatively needed today. We must take chances for liberty. May God bless our national leaders in this time of crisis.

Yes, the effective preaching of the Gospel can only thrive in an atmosphere of liberty.

Yes, we all say, we love liberty. But that is not enough. We must protect and safeguard that which we love. We must save liberty.

God grant us the wisdom and the courage so to do, before it is too late, I pray.

## Growing Russ Sea Capability Poses Threats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent series of articles written by Edward J. Mowery appeared in August 1962 issues of Navy Press Clips. They deal with the subject of sea power. Because they are so timely, I am inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that other Members might have an opportunity to read them. The first article appeared on August 19, 1962.

GROWING RUSS SEA CAPABILITY POSES THREATS

(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON, August 18.—After a July 30 parade of Soviet strength in the Baltic port of Leningrad, Adm. Sergei Gorshov boasted in Pravda that Russia has the "world's most modern army, more modern than that of any capitalist nation."

U.S.S.R. "basic" naval power, he declared, is in its atomic submarines equipped with "rockets and torpedoes with nuclear warheads," some of which have journeyed "under the Arctic ice cap" (a proven feat of the U.S.S. *Nautilus* 4 years ago).

Vice Adm. S. Zahkarov continued the saber rattling the same day. U.S.S.R. submarines, he asserted, are "faster and more maneuverable."

Are these typical, unsubstantiated Kremlin boasts? Not exactly.

How does Soviet naval power compare with that of the United States? What are their respective strong points and weaknesses?

In a startingly frank discussion of U.S.S.R. naval strength and problems facing the necessary expansion of the U.S. Navy, top naval strategists in the Pentagon yesterday stressed that the United States has the world's mightiest navy.

And virtually no spot on earth is beyond range of devastating U.S. attack from the seas.

American striking forces, fully manned armed and fueled, maintain a continuous seaborne alert from the Persian Gulf to the Antilles. And Adm. George W. Anderson, Jr., the dynamic Chief of Naval Operations, declared:

"The Navy has reached its maximum readiness posture and is ready to meet any requirement which may be given to us by the President. And I can truthfully say that our ships can do the job whenever called upon to do so."

The Navy today has 902 active ships and 8,800 aircraft manned by 850,000 Navy-Marine Corps officers and men, and 354,000 civilians. In the "mothball" fleet are an additional 650 ships, including 4 battleships, 26 cruisers, 118 destroyers and 9 carriers.

The Navy's submarine fleet of 117 craft includes 26 nuclear powered and Polaris. (Polaris missile launchers, alone, pack more potential destruction than was unleashed by all the fleets, armies and air forces of World War II.)

The Soviet Union is the second naval power with 870 ships, 430 submarines and estimated 1,400 minesweepers and motor torpedo boats.

RUSSIAN SHIPS MOSTLY NEW

U.S.S.R. naval personnel: 750,000 officers and men including river flotillas, training establishments, coast artillery and marines. Ship-assigned manpower (in total figure), 275,000; Naval Air Force, 85,000.

(The U.S.S.R. absorbed its Navy Ministry on March 15, 1953 into a unified defense ministry which controls all Soviet Armed Forces.

Intelligence sources confirm that most of Russia's ships are of recent construction.

Concerning Russia's undersea fleet, a "limited number" may be nuclear powered and none possesses weaponry remotely approaching the U.S. Polaris system—the "deadliest naval weapon in history."

The U.S.S.R. currently has two missiles—the "Komet" and "Golem"—which are clumsily launched at sea. One rocket is reportedly fired from a platform towed behind a surfaced submarine.

The other also requires surfacing of the craft for firing. Intelligence reports indicate that both weapons are primitive compared with the lethal Polaris which fires its missile load below the surface.

Top naval spokesmen frankly view the Soviet Navy as "formidable" and they're giving "full attention" to the giant buildup of the U.S.S.R. merchant marine, doubled in size since World War II.

(As of July 1, the U.S.S.R. merchant marine consisted of 975 ships totaling 4 million gross registered tons.)

While the U.S. Navy has firm control of the oceans and is acquiring more "muscle" via a huge program of new construction and modernization, the following factors are of immediate concern to its highest echelon:

1. Obsolesence stalks one-third of the U.S. fleet.

2. Because of Soviet "probes, pressures and thrusts" America is faced with a new four-ocean challenge.

3. Covert attempts to relegate the Navy (bulging with offensive potential) to a strictly defensive role would be disastrous.

Navy experts warn that the 70,000-mile network of ocean routes—the free world's lifelines—must be kept open. And they're convinced there is no such thing as "absolute security" for Americans in event of conflict not even from enemy submarine attack.

GUARDIAN OF THE SPACE AGE

Drawing on a recent, informal (unpublicized) talk he gave to high-level officers in Naval Air Operations, Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, vice-chief of naval operations, explored the full periphery of American defense, the Navy's traditional role of guardian and vagaries of the space age.

Admiral Ricketts, 56-year-old native of Missouri and Annapolis graduate, has been a naval officer for 33 years. A veteran of Pacific combat holding many decorations, he is a recognized tactical and amphibious warfare expert.

Ricketts said the traditional function of a nation's armed forces—that of a "shield" between the enemy and the homeland—has

taken a new and hazardous meaning in the era of missile warfare.

"In some way," he declared, "the Armed Forces have got to protect their own homeland. The best way to achieve this, of course, is by offensive action.

"But the way weapons have developed in the past few years, there is a real possibility that unless we do things correctly, U.S. Armed Forces will not be a shield."

This is because of the range and speed of modern weapons.

This country, the personable official explained, has never been subjected to the hazards of artillery duels on American soil except in "our own wars" and during the initial struggle for American independence.

"And future danger," he said, "is that the artillery now includes intercontinental ballistics missiles, so that the home lands of the belligerents may become the artillery battlefields.

"The best place for the artillery battlefield, or at least a great portion of it, is away from our own people. We (in the Navy) can do it. We can move it to sea.

SOVEREIGNTY EXPANDED AT SEA

"The United States has sovereignty over less than 2 percent of the earth's surface. But by going to sea, we can use over 35 times that much, in addition, on which, under which and over which we can operate without violating the sovereignty of any nation.

"Only one area in the world stands between the United States and the probable enemy—the oceans. This is the medium offering the greatest potential for the Navy to perform its traditional role."

Reviewing the Navy's "several problems" with his colleagues, Ricketts told them that the primary requisite is to "know our business" and the role of the military in "crushing the enemy from an area that does not attract weapons onto our own people."

Nobody is as able or as "interested" in doing that job as the Navy, he cautioned.

It is understandable that Americans, like most other peoples, don't devote a "lot of attention" to the sea's military potential, he explained. Americans work on the land, get their food from the soil and are close to the land, their "natural habitat."

SHIPS MOSTLY REMAIN UNSEEN

"It's very difficult for Americans to see sea power or its manifestations," Ricketts continued. "They can see planes on a land base, troops in the field and paratroopers dropping.

"But our fleets exercise at sea. And you don't drive by a squadron of warships * * * except in a seaport.

"Unless we can implant the requisite interest (in sea power) in the people of the United States, the capability, requirement and responsibility—all still rest on our (the Navy's) shoulders."

## Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of CLEM MILLER has brought real grief to all of us who knew him and who were associated with him in the House of Representatives. His untimely passing has been a shock to all of his colleagues.

I was privileged to be associated with CLEM MILLER as fellow members of the Banking and Currency Committee. He was a man of great integrity and sincerity of purpose, a very able and hard-working Member of Congress, acutely aware of his responsibility to his constituents and his country. He will be missed on the committee and in the House.

Together with Mrs. Derwinski, I extend deepest sympathy to Mrs. Miller and all of the family.

## Hatred and Bloodshed or Wrath and Remedy—Which Shall It Be?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Jacksonville, Fla., on the first day of May this year celebrated at St. Johns Bluff the coming of our first European visitors, exactly 400 years ago. At the same location this past October 2 a marker was erected remembering the 100th anniversary of a Civil War engagement that took place on that same promontory. The memorial ceremony last week was under the auspices of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; and the main address was made by Judge Frank H. Elmore, who spoke, as follows:

Recently Mrs. Elmore and I visited Port Royal Sound, in South Carolina, where Jean Ribault in 1562 established a colony and gave the sound its name. The citizens of nearby Beaufort celebrated their quadricentennial this year just as we have. The southern side of Port Royal Sound is flanked by Hilton Head Island, which we also visited. There, on November 7, 1861, a mighty Union fleet first knocked out the outgunned Confederate forts and then landed 13,000 soldiers and marines in one of the largest amphibious operations by American forces before World War II. The area was quickly converted into a huge naval and army base, the garrison throughout the war being about 50,000 men. From this base was operated the naval blockade which was a great factor in the defeat of the South.

And from this base there set sail on September 30, 1862, a Federal expeditionary force which entered the St. John's River the following afternoon.

Anticipating attack, Gen. Jos. Finnegan, early in September, erected a battery at St. John's Bluff. There followed some exchanges of shots between an occasion Federal gunboat and the Confederate shore batteries but no decisive action occurred until early on the morning of October 2, 100 years ago today. Then the Federal forces advanced from the rear upon the Confederate emplacements at St. John's Bluff. Meanwhile, Union ships moved slowly up the river, shelling the shore as they advanced. The 500 Confederate troops quickly evacuated the area, leaving their batteries and magazines practically intact. Despite Confederate reinforcements—2 days later on October 5, Jacksonville was occupied by Union troop without interference.

So we are come together here today to mark and remember the 100th anniversary of a minor battle of the Civil War, but one of the great interest to those who live in this area. The Civil War is, for the American imagination, the great single event of our history. It is our only "felt" history.

What is it that so captures our imagination; why is there a never-ending parade of books about every phase of the conflict? Every war has two sides, the glorious and the terrible. Can we deny that it is the heroic and picturesque aspects of the War Between the States which have made it so popular? Stonewall Jackson's magnificent "foot cavalry" and victory after victory in the Shenandoah Valley—Pickett's immortal charge at Gettysburg—Pelham, the brave young cannoneer—dashing "Jeb" Stuart—Sam Davis, the Nathan Hale of the Confederacy—Farragut at Mobile Bay and "Dam the torpedoes, full speed ahead"—The Andrews raiders and the race between the railroad engines the "Texas" and the "General"—the naval battle at Hampton Roads between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*—truly, the list is endless.

But what of the other side, the terrible side? Make no mistake, the Civil War was a tragedy. It was tragic in its inception, for it should have been avoided by calm, reasoned statesmanship; tragic in its 4 years of bitter fighting and devastation; tragic in its ending, and the murder of the President of the United States; tragic in its aftermath, the Reconstruction; tragic in the enduring consequences and unhealed wounds it left.

Two summers ago my wife and I visited the western battlefields. We had lived in Virginia for many years and knew the area of conflict between the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of the Potomac almost by heart. But we had largely neglected the scenes of the crucial (and decisive) struggle on and about the Mississippi, Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. Lee's victories in the East had caused us, as southerners, to put aside the terrible for the glorious. But in the West we were confronted by a different picture. Shiloh was no southern victory, neither was Vicksburg, nor Franklin, nor Nashville. It took no effort of imagination to feel the horror of Bloody Pond at Shiloh. Contemplation of the 3 hours of carnage at Franklin will drain your emotions dry even of tears. More men, most of them Confederates, died in the twilight of that bleak November afternoon than in any similar time in the history of warfare.

The Civil War was one of the bloodiest of all wars. If the United States death rate in World War II had equaled that of the Civil War there would have been 3,600,000 dead instead of 400,000. The killing of almost 700,000 young men in a nation of 33 million and the maiming of many more had evil consequences projected into the far distant future. We lost not only those men, but also their children and their children's children. We have lost the books they might have written, the scientific discoveries they might have made, the leadership they might have given. Such a loss defies measurement.

And the suffering: Against the pomp and pageantry, put the aftermath of every battle and the glorification becomes as empty as tinkling brass. The agony of a soldier dying of a gangrened wound, the heartache of a mother losing her first born, the cries of the wounded left at night on the field of battle or jolted in unrelieved pain every second in wagons without springs over rough roads—is this glory? At Shiloh most of the wounded lay where they fell 3 days in cold drizzling rain without attention of any kind.

Herman Melville once wrote:

"Let us pray that the terrible historic tragedy of our time may not have been enacted without instructing our whole beloved country through pity and terror * * *"

Have we been instructed? Sadly, the answer is no. We have not yet created a union which is, in the deepest sense, a community. We are moved more by hatred than by love.

Hatred is the most destructive of all human emotions. Wrath is indignation against wrongdoing, against cruelty and injustice, against lying and thievery and murder, against greed and treachery, against corrupt aims and systems, against the abuse of privilege and against aggressive war. Without wrath people would perish for they would not have the will to right wrongs or to feud off their enemies.

Hatred, the by-product of fear, envy, jealousy, is one of the most cowardly of human emotions. It is the weapon, not of the strong, but of the weak. Who ever knew a really strong man or woman to be a hater? Capable of wrath, yes,—but not of so base an emotion as hate. Hate is self-indulgence on a very low level.

Peace? No—I don't believe a peace will come,
Not a long and lasting peace:
But a little breathing spell between the battles;
A little time to catch my breath—
And plant the corn again.
And watch it, green against the deep brown earth.
A little time to raise my sons,
And teach them love for God and man.
And then when the battles start again
I'll send them out to kill those men
I taught them to love.
No, I expect no peace
As long as Mrs. Jones hates Mrs. Smith,
And Mr. Brown quits his job because
There's a Negro working in the plant.
No, there will be no peace—
Not because of loud-mouthed men like Khrushchev
But because of those who listen to him—
Because of the men who fight among themselves.
And I, who hold a calm love in my heart;
May only stand aside—and plant my life
In the little valleys of laughter
That lie between the mountains of hate.

We have become an undisciplined people and our respect for law and order and the essential institutions of society falls far short of the best standards of good government and good conduct.

One of the greatest judges of our times was the late Learned Hand of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second District. Of him, on his retirement, the President of the United States said: "There has never been any question about your preeminent place among American jurists indeed among the nations of the world. * * * As judge and philosopher, you have expressed the spirit of America and the highest in civilization which man has achieved." I want to read you a brief excerpt from Judge Hand's address "The Spirit of Liberty" because it applies to us today:

"We have gathered here to affirm a faith, a faith in a common purpose, a common conviction, a common devotion. Some of us have chosen America as the land of our adoption; the rest have come from those who did the same. For this reason we have some right to consider ourselves a picked group, a group of those who had the courage to break from the past and brave the dangers and the loneliness of a strange land. What was the object that nerved us, or those who went before us, to this choice? We sought liberty; freedom from oppression, freedom from want, freedom to be ourselves. This we then sought; this we now believe that we are by way of winning. * * * And what is this liberty which must lie in the hearts of men and women? It is not the ruthless, the unbridled will; it is not freedom to do as one likes. That is the denial of liberty, and leads straight to its overthrow. A society in which men recognize no check upon their freedom soon becomes a society where freedom is the possession of only a savage few; as we have learned to our sorrow.

"What then is the spirit of liberty? I cannot define it; I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near 2,000 years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest."

In conclusion, may I remind you of another memorable event which took place on our St. John's River?

The time was 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, April 13, 1870. The place was the Jacksonville waterfront. The St. John's River steamer *Nick King* stopped her huge side paddle wheels and eased into dock. Many people had gathered to meet her. The gangplank was lowered. Five men stepped forward from the waiting crowd. They mounted the gangplank and boarded the *Nick King*. Their names were: Col. John P. Sanderson, Col. J. J. Daniel, Col. Lewis I. Fleming, Dr. George T. Maxwell, and Mr. H. T. Baya. In the upper salon a young woman and a white-haired, white-bearded man were waiting. She was Miss Agnes Lee; he, Gen. Robert E. Lee. Following the five members of the committee from the city, men, women, and children then streamed aboard. The *Nick King* was almost swamped. One by one, in awe, in reverence, and in joy, they greeted Lee and his daughter. But many more remained ashore. That they might not be disappointed on this, perhaps the supreme hour of their lives, Lee then went on deck. He walked slowly to the rail where he could be seen by all. He stood there alone. The hum of voices hushed. There was no applause, there were no shouts, no rebel yells, although among the throng some were veterans of the last bitter mile to Appomattox. A silence fell; silence so complete that it was eloquent and moving beyond description. And there stood Lee.

Many years later, two historians, Cabell and Hanna, related the wonder of this moment: "The wharves were packed with his people and not one of them cheered now, for indeed a Southerner of this period would as soon have thought of applauding God. There was instead a complete silence and it was not only the women who wept." Five months later Lee was dead.

Not long before that poignant occasion General Lee said to a lady who nursed her bitterness against the Union: "Madam, don't bring up your sons to detest the U.S. Government. Recollect that we form but one country now. Abandon all those local animosities and make your sons American."

Who loves the South and reveres the memory of Lee will think on these words.

Mr. Speaker, the reference by Judge Elmore to the advice given by General Lee is timely today. The South is justly concerned about the actions of the Supreme Court, which are in some cases, in my opinion, contrary to sound law; and which have in our day caused blood to flow and hatred to mount. Since these decisions are based upon the Court's stated view of what they say the Constitution means, and since the Federal Government is determined to enforce those decisions by armed forces, what logical and effective course is open to the South?

Certainly not civil war, bloodshed and violence, nothing but self-destruction could be the result of that course. Seven or eight years ago or thereabouts I suggested to the Jacksonville Bar Association that they prepare and present a constitutional amendment, which is the only logical and realistic way to approach the matter of preserving States rights against adverse Court decisions on the Constitution. I was glad to not recently that the Florida delegation to the 15th National Legislative Conference of State Governments, in Phoenix, Ariz., was successful in its efforts to have the conference adopt a resolution which lays the groundwork for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, more clearly defining the relationships between State and Federal Governments. I hope that something constructive can come from this.

I note from the newspapers that Monday the Young Democrats of Florida endorsed a procedure to elect members of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Whether or not popular elections would accomplish an improvement, I think we can all agree that the Supreme Court should desist from making decisions based upon what they think is best for the people when there is no adequate legal basis for their actions. The Constitution has two valid methods of amendment set out in it, and judicial interpretation is not one of them. Whatever we can do to solve the present impossible situation should be done, but it should be done by legal means, not by civil war and bloodshed. We might well bear in mind the words of the Confederate President Jefferson Davis when he spoke to students at Mississippi City, after war, as follows:

The faces I see before me are those of young men: Had I not known this I would not have appeared before you. Men in whose hands the destinies of the Southland lie: For love of her I break my silence to speak to you a few words of respectful admonition. The past is dead, let it bury its deeds, its hopes, its aspirations; before you lies a future—a future of expanding national glory, before which all the world shall stand amazed. Let me beseech you to lay aside all rancor, all bitter sectional feeling and to take your places in the ranks of those who will bring about the consummation devoutly to be wished—a reunited country.

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## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF

## HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join with many others in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to my friend and colleague, the Honorable KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, who has been honored by the President in her appointment as Treasurer of the United States.

KATHRYN has been a conscientious and effective Member of the House of Representatives, as was her late husband who

was also my good friend. When she leaves these Halls she will leave her mark, a lasting impression of charm, good looks, graciousness and efficiency. I am certain she will add the same distinction to the Treasury Department upon her installation there. Needless to say, she will take with her my wholehearted wish for continued success and happiness. We will most assuredly miss her presence here in Congress.

## Presidential Bragging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the President has been bragging about what a great Congress this has been. Of course, the decision on November 6 will be more convincing than any other.

Nevertheless, I don't agree with the President. The following editorials from the New York Herald Tribune and Newsday discuss the President's estimate:

[From the New York Herald Tribune]
THE DEMOCRATIC INFIGHTING

President Kennedy has been doing a fair amount of talking lately about the need for more Democrats in Congress as a condition for national progress. Considering what is still holding Congress in session—an irritable, floundering Congress, some of whose Members have already packed up and gone home—Mr. Kennedy's plea might seem to be ironical. But there is little room for irony in politics.

One of the reasons Congress is still in Washington, rather that at home, running for reelection, is that Senator SMATHERS (a Democrat) is trying to prevent a pocket veto of the bill allowing self-employed persons to receive tax allowances for setting up their individual pension plans. The Senator believes that he can override a Presidential veto (Mr. Kennedy is known to object to the measure) but if the President just lets it die without his signature after congressional adjournment the matter will have to wait over until the next session. In a word, this is a fight between a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President.

Another issue that is keeping the Senators and Representatives around is the determination of Senator RUSSELL (another Democrat) that the House shall accept the Senate's version of an agricultural appropriation bill. Here we have the Democratic Senate fighting the Democratic House.

All of this is typical of the kind of Democratic monkeyshines that has made the current session one of near-record length and near-record futility. There is a distinction to be made between normal debate on major issues—in which most of Mr. Kennedy's program went down the drain—and the tactics of delay, and infighting, and general confusion which have marked so much of the session.

Mr. Salinger, the President's press secretary, has stated that "Congress has enacted 70 percent of the major proposals of the President." This, if not mere effrontery, must depend on the definition of "major." If, for example, one assumes that the foreign trade bill (which, said Mr. Salinger, "alone would make this an historic Congress") was the only "major" proposal put forward by Mr. Kennedy, then he got rather more than 70 percent of what he asked. But the more usual estimate that Congress turned down 80 percent of the Presidential requests seems a more accurate way of rating this Congress. And it was a Democratic Congress.

[From Newsday]
SLOW-MOTION CONGRESS

In contemplating the fact that it is now October 8 and Congress is still in session, the one question which naturally comes to mind is: What took Congress so long?

It has not been an exceptional year in Washington and the problems besetting the Congressmen have hardly been overwhelming. It was neither a particularly active Congress nor a particularly inactive Congress. And, as usual, it was both, successful and unsuccessful. Its biggest accomplishment was in giving President Kennedy the power to begin tariff negotiations with the Common Market, negotiations which can lead to trade advantages helpful to both sides. It gave the Government new policing powers over the drug industry, dealt with the new communications Telstar project, provided money to aid the United Nations in its financial difficulties, raised postal rates, approved a plan for retraining unemployed workers and pumped nearly $1 million into public works projects for depressed areas.

On the other hand, medical aid to the aged was beaten down in the Senate, drastic cuts were made in the foreign aid budget, aid to education got nowhere and, for a long time, serious efforts were made to restrict help for the best friends the West has behind the Iron Curtain—Poland and Yugoslavia. We leave it to the politicians to determine whether it was a good Congress or bad. They have their own way of working the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD around to their own advantage anyway, regardless of how many pluses or minuses the record actually has. But looking at the record coldly, it is hard to see why Congress could not have gone home a lot sooner. Like in June.

## Library of Congress Gets Winterton Collection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, today I want to pay tribute to a friend from my hometown of Muskogee, Okla., whose labors for the past 31 years in building a hobby will now be enjoyed by thousands of music lovers throughout the world.

I am speaking of Mr. Harry J. Winterton, who for nearly a third of a century has been compiling an exhaustive collection of photographs, specifications, histories, and other interesting information about organs and organists from all over the world.

This collection has been requested and is in the process of being received by the Library of Congress where its value can be appreciated by organ fanciers and others.

Mr. Winterton began his collection when he became interested in the background and data of the famous Wanamaker organ in Philadelphia. He wrote to Wanamaker for the information and with the reply his hobby was born.

Since then, he has received information on famous organs and organists from kings and queens, government officials, organ manufacturers and many other experts in the field. He estimates that he has received over 3,000 replies to his requests for material.

Mr. Winterton's collection now contains such interesting material as photographic views of organs, their history and specifications, autographed pictures of the organist at the console, short biographies of the organists and a wealth of other information.

My personal appreciation goes to Harry Winterton and I know he will have the thanks of thousands who will be the beneficiaries of his valuable legacy.

## Navy in Danger of Forced Defense Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the second of Edward J. Mowrey's excellent articles on sea power, appearing in Navy Press Clips, was published on August 20, 1962:

NAVY IN DANGER OF FORCED DEFENSE SERVICE
(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON, August 20.—Should the U.S. Navy, bulging with offensive capability, be shunted into a strictly defense posture in the space age?

Should the world's mightiest naval armada—with its built-in maneuverability, globe-girdling communications system and on-the-spot observance potential—become a floating coastal artillery battery?

High Navy officials have a ready and crisp answer. It's "No."

But there are rumblings of this threat. It has happened before. And some military spokesmen see a "real and great danger" that the Navy will be forced—if Americans permit it to be forced—into a defensive service.

In a frank appraisal of problems facing the naval service and its potential, Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, vice-chief of naval operations, said:

"We must always guard against the Navy being converted into a defensive service, that is, having too much of our effort devoted to a strictly defensive capability.

"Frequently our defensive requirements can be reduced by offensive power. Warfare against submarines—antisubmarine warfare (ASW)—is a typical example.

"Some people in this country think of ASW as a defensive thing that only kills submarines at sea.

"You are defending our shipping, you intercept the submarine and kill it. Or submarines are coming to our coast and in a position to attack the United States. You intercept them at sea and kill them.

"That's defensive. That's protecting the United States. That's ASW. But in reality, ASW goes far beyond that.

"Probably the most effective ASW in the world is our offensive power and potential, both in peace and war—our ability to keep the Communists away from additional points of egress into the oceans."

If the areas remain open, Ricketts stressed, the Reds could "flood the seas" with submarines. (The U.S.S.R. has 430 undersea craft.) The official continued:

"Of course, it takes a great deal more effort to kill submarines after they're in the open ocean than it does to bottle them up in a few miles of straits.

"But you can't do that kind of warfare unles you have a tremendous offensive capability, unless you can maintain the peacetime stature of our fleets overseas, unless the people (Communists) recognize this as offensive power and are afraid of it."

History, the Navy's No. 2 man observed, is studded with the eclipse of nations that became solely defensive.

"We saw what happened to France in the last war," he said, "and to the United States in our early history when a Jefferson directive swept our shipping from the ocean, leaving virtually at sea but coastal traffic."

"Terrific" efforts were made during the Spanish-American War to force the Navy into a "floating coastal artillery of newly built gunboats."

And advocates of retrenchment are again active on the scene.

"Today," the official said soberly, "there are people who would force the U.S. Navy into a defensive service. We must guard against it jealously, watch it and do everything in our power to maintain and increase our Navy's offensive posture."

Control of the seas isn't the "end objective," Ricketts explained, and this should be understood by Americans. The big reason for gaining such control is to use the oceans offensively "both while gaining control and afterward."

## New Pulaski Polaris Submarine Has a Rich Tradition To Uphold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker today marks the 183d anniversary of the death of Gen. Casimir Pulaski, who came to this country to assist the newly emerging American colonies in their Revolutionary War with England.

This date is particularly significant because President Kennedy recently ordered the naming of a new Polaris submarine in memory of this gallant and heroic soldier who repeatedly demonstrated his unflinching bravery and who died defending the new Nation which had won his allegiance at the Battle of Savannah on October 11, 1779.

Casimir Pulaski's heroism on the battlefield has become legendary. He formed a crack fighting unit which was a model for the untrained companies, regiments, and battalions which were being formed under General Washington. Their reputation for spirit, courage, versatility, and leadership was unexcelled. And this reputation persisted largely owing to the awe-inspiring presence of General Pulaski who never asked his men to do more than he did himself. His unrelenting willingness to expose himself to enemy fire has been rarely equaled and never surpassed in our long history of brave military men.

This new Polaris submarine, with its ability to provide instant retaliation, with its high degree of mobility, with its powers of concealment, and its dedication to protecting America regardless of the odds placed against it, is a fitting memorial to this great Revolutionary hero who came here from Poland so many years ago.

Casimir Pulaski was recognized by some of our most astute Founding Fathers as a man of rare qualities. When he expressed his willingness to join America's fight for independence from Great Britain, Benjamin Franklin wrote a personal letter of recommendation to Gen. George Washington asking him to review his record of valor and capabilities as a commander.

General Washington was so impressed with Pulaski's qualifications that he immediately dispatched a letter to the Congress requesting his appointment as an officer in the American Army.

It is apparent from historical records of the time that Pulaski, who had left Poland to escape retaliation for his efforts to prevent partition of Poland, dedicated his life to the cause of American freedom in the hope that his deeds would win a strong ally for the Polish cause, which was so similar in ideals to the American one.

It is difficult to measure the respect and affection which has been paid him by the descendants of the original participants in the Revolutionary War. Pulaski, more than any single individual, has stood for the past 183 years as the symbol of Polish-American unity and friendship and devotion to the common ideals of brotherhood and human freedom.

May I offer my congratulations to the crew of the submarine which will bear this gallant name. The men who serve on her will have a noble tradition to uphold, and a fighting spirit which has set an example for military and naval men throughout our history. Gen. Casimir Pulaski continues, in spirit, to protect America from those who would destroy her.

## The New Farm Bill—An Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, on September 29, 1962, the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal carried an editorial on the newly signed Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. The editorial, entitled "New Farm Bill," is a thoughtful one and a comprehensive study of the situation.

I do not agree entirely with all of the conclusions of the editorialist. For example it is suggested that the administration give up in its efforts to get any compulsory features into the feed grain program and try for a voluntary program that might work.

On paper and ideally, perhaps, this would be the solution. However, as has been pointed out innumerable times on the floor of this House during the debate on various farm programs which have been offered, these voluntary programs just have not succeeded. We have had voluntary programs in the past and they have not worked because too few farmers volunteer to join the programs. The emergency feed grain program of 1961 was an example of this. It did some good, but unfortunately it was not 100-percent successful because not enough farmers signed up for it.

As long as some farmers can take advantage of the program without participating in it, the programs cannot work completely.

With that exception, however, I do feel that the editorial is accurate and objective. I would most strongly commend it to the attention of my colleagues. With that in mind, the editorial follows:

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal, Sept. 29, 1962]

NEW FARM BILL

Judging from the verbal abuse heaped on the much-amended farm bill just signed by President Kennedy, one might be convinced by now that this is at best a worthless, and at worst a dangerous, piece of legislation.

More careful examination of the bill indicates, however, that this is not the case. In fact, there are many features of the measure, some of them not well known, that suggest it could be an extremely valuable tool in curbing farm surpluses, stabilizing farm income and turning agricultural lands to more advantageous uses.

The major provisions of the bill are, in themselves, constructive for the agricultural economy. Most important is the extension, with some modification, of the 1962 feed grain program for another year.

In spite of a general lack of enthusiasm for this program, it has succeeded in reversing the upward spiral of production and in bringing feed grain output in line with utilization.

The much-criticized two-price plan for wheat, included in the bill, certainly should be an improvement over the programs in effect in recent years.

This will set a reasonably high support price on wheat used for domestic food consumption and export and a low enough support on the balance to encourage its use as feed grain. Additionally, it will allow the wheat acreage to drop below the unrealistic minimum of 55 million acres which has been in effect since 1938.

Virtually overlooked in the bill is a provision by which present conservation reserve land can be kept out of production. Had this 1.3 million acres of grassland been permitted to go back to growing crops, as it would next year without this legislative action, the problems of overproduction would have started all over again.

Another little-noticed portion of the measure will offer crop-reducing incentives to farmers who feed all their grain to livestock. In the past these farmers have had little reason to participate in production control programs.

Perhaps the most significant long-range provisions of the bill will be the assistance offered for switching cropland into grass, trees and recreation areas.

It will, for instance, provide Federal funds to help local organizations build outdoor recreation facilities. This should be a natural to help develop recreation on the small

reservoirs being built around Lincoln and over Nebraska under the Federal watershed program.

Finally, the bill buys time in which to seek further improvements in farm legislation. This certainly is needed, if for no other reason than to revise the bill's provision that in 1964 feed grain support prices can be dropped to 50 percent of parity.

It will be prudent of the Kennedy administration now to give up its ill-conceived ideas about mandatory controls on feed grain production and try to get the best possible voluntary program to keep supply in line.

Now that the political sniping over the bill can be dispensed with, it might be wise for Nebraskans to take a good look at the bill and see just what we have—and how it might be helpful here.

## Defensive Weapons in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is almost unbelievable that President Kennedy can be so naive in still persisting that military materiel sent to Cuba by the Soviets is defensive in character. In the October 9 issue of the Long Island Daily Press a copyrighted story by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott tells about the 213 arms-bearing ships that unloaded their cargo at Cuban ports during the week of September 23 through 29.

When will the President wake up?

RUSSIA'S RUSHING JET FIGHTERS AND MISSILES TO CUBA

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—Russia is stepping up its arms shipments to Communist Cuba.

A record 213 ships unloaded their cargoes at Cuban ports the week of September 23 through 29.

This arms-bearing traffic brought the largest number of vessels to Cuba during a 7-day period since the Russians launched their crash program in mid-July to establish a military bastion there.

More than half of these merchants of death were Soviet bloc ships carrying additional missiles, Mig-21 jet interceptors, counter-electronic equipment, landing craft, and PT boats armed with missiles with ranges up to 80 miles.

This is the alarming report Representative JAMES FULTON, Republican, of Pennsylvania, turned over to House congressional leaders after a 2-day on-the-spot inspection-briefing tour of the Navy's strategic base at Guantanamo on the southeastern coast of Cuba.

Representative FULTON, a member of the House Space Committee, also reported his findings to Representative A. PAUL KITCHIN'S Special House Investigating Subcommittee, which is probing arms shipments to Cuba.

FULTON told the bipartisan group of legislators, and this column, that the ship totals were given by Naval intelligence officers during the Guantanamo briefing arranged for his congressional party which included four other Senators and Representatives.

The intelligence experts estimated that two-thirds of the 213 ships carried either arms or military personnel from Russia. The remaining one-third unloaded such supplies as cotton, rice, oil, and jet fuel.

FULTON also revealed that he was able to get a firsthand look at a number of the Soviet bloc cargo ships. Accompanied by a fighter escort, the Navy flew him over the ships as they made their way toward Cuban ports near Guantanamo.

This foreboding report of new Soviet arms shipments was in direct contrast to Under Secretary George W. Ball's soothing State Department report to the KITCHEN committee on October 3.

Deliberately underestimating the Cuban threat, Ball reported:

"In the last few weeks we have read much in the newspapers of the military buildup of Cuba by the Soviet Union. Quite clearly it does not constitute a threat to the United States.

"Since July when the volume of Soviet military shipments to Cuba suddenly vaulted upward, 85 shiploads arived in Cuban ports."

Under Secretary Ball's figure of 85 shiploads of arms is at variance with a Navy report sent the State Department the day before he testified. This Naval Intelligence estimate, dated October 2, fully supported Representative FULTON'S figures as obtained in his September 29–30 briefing.

Chairman KITCHIN, vigorously questioning much of Ball's testimony, plans to recall the Undersecretary this week to quiz him on the naval shipping data and why this wasn't made available to his committee.

Already, Representative KITCHIN has requested the Defense Department to furnish detailed information on the Soviet arms buildup to determine the accuracy of a number of other statements made by Ball.

For example, the North Carolina legislator wants the full story on the four cruise-type SS–N–1 missiles which the State Department now admits are in Cuba.

When he appeared before the committee, Ball flatly contended that these missiles have a range of only 20 to 35 miles. KITCHIN challenged this, stating he had information that the missiles can travel more than 130 nautical miles when guided by ships or planes.

Ball, strongly contending he had no knowledge of this, agreed to check further with the Department's intelligence aids to determine the exact range.

## Report of the Resolutions Committee of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Resolutions Committee of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress is one of America's most productive organizations in the field of the Nation's waterways, flood control, and reclamation. The convention, held in Washington, this year was attended by registered delegates from 44 States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia. Florida took second place in attendance with 43 delegates present.

As chairman of the resolutions committee, it was my privilege to preside over one of the most productive meetings this committee has ever conducted. The resolutions committee is composed of representatives from every section of the country and their occupational specialties represent business, government, and interested organizations. The resolutions adopted give expression and strong evidence of the sentiment of the subject matter contained, and I ask that these resolutions be included in the RECORD at this point.

The resolutions follow:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE TO THE 49TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS

FOREWORD

Our natural resources, and particularly land and water resources, through proper development, continue to make a major contribution to the economic growth of our Nation. The wise management of these resources is essential if their continued contribution is to be realized. The things we do now and in the future must be done with the potential of these resources in mind. The National Rivers and Harbors Congress has assumed a leading role in resource development and again dedicates its efforts toward the building of a greater America through accelerated development of these valuable assets.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONSERVATION MESSAGE

The progress that has been made in resource development, as pointed out in the President's message of March 1 this year is indeed gratifying to this congress. His plans for the future also reflect the importance he attaches to a sound program to provide and maintain a standard of living appropriate for the American people. His conclusion that our national conservation effort must include the complete spectrum of resources is an indication to this congress that for years to come the development he recommends will provide complete development of this vital part of the American heritage.

NEW STARTS

The orderly development of our water-resource projects dictates that there be orderly planning and construction on an economical schedule. Moreover, the term "new starts" should not apply to features designated as units of a comprehensive basin plan. Once work starts in a basin other features should follow in an orderly scheduled manner. Therefore, we urge the responsible agencies to program a reasonable number of new planning and construction starts in their budgets. We also urge the Congress to include sufficient funds for such programs. It is in the national interest to do so.

MAINTENANCE

Good progress is being made through appropriations by the Congress to reduce the backlog of maintenance of our waterways. The work is not complete and wherever traffic justifies specified channel dimensions, every effort should be made to provide the maintenance necessary. Moreover, funds appropriated should be sufficient to provide adequate dimensions throughout the length of the project rather than piecemeal maintenance of sections over a long period of time.

FLOOD-PLAIN DEVELOPMENT

The program for flood-plain information studies, as authorized by the congress, provides a medium whereby State and local governments can avail themselves of data essential to the solution of the flood-plain regulation problem. We urge them to take full advantage of the Federal, State, and local laws to the extent that they can solve their problems of improper development in flood-plain areas.

LOW FLOW REGULATION

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress supports legislation authorizing the provi-

sion of reservoir storage for the regulation of low streamflows along with other purposes. Where the benefits are widespread and beneficiaries are not identifiable, this storage is appropriate at Federal expense without reimbursement.

REGULATION OF MINIMUM RATES

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress supports the ultimate adoption of a national policy under which the minimum rates charged by any carrier shall be at least sufficient to cover its costs.

TOLLS

We shall continue to support the traditional national policy of toll-free waterways, and we shall strongly oppose the imposition of any type of charge, including fuel taxes, for the use of inland waterways improved by the Federal Government. We urge that such proposals be rejected.

BRIDGE CLEARANCES

Waterway traffic in the Mississippi Valley, due to the size of vessels and the potential traffic associated with the space age, is entitled to adequate bridge clearances. We urge legislation to require that all structures associated with navigable streams be constructed and operated in such manner that the efficient movement will not be impaired.

SMALL-CRAFT HARBORS

The enormous increase in small craft on our coasts, lakes, and inland waterways makes it imperative that sufficient funds be appropriated each year to provide safe harbors of refuge. The resulting reduction in the hazards to life and property is justification.

DOCK AND MOORAGE STANDARDS

Again this congress reaffirms its position that adequate codes or regulations be established for the protection of vessels and shore side terminals and facilities. Larger tows and faster types of modern vessels can easily damage such facilities and their importance to the rapid movement of increasing tonnages requires that they be protected. We urge local regulatory and zoning agencies to amend their codes accordingly.

FOREIGN RESOURCE PROJECTS

This Congress must insist that water resources projects constructed in foreign countries with the aid of U.S. funds be economically justified. The rigorous tests and criteria applied to projects are lacking with respect to foreign projects. It is evident that many projects considered here are found, after detailed examination, to fail the test. This being so could mean that many in foreign countries could fail also. If we are to build or finance any foreign projects they should pass the test and be a credit to our contribution.

## Pulaski Day, October 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 183 years ago today, Gen. Casimir Pulaski died of wounds received fighting the British in the American War for Independence.

When this brilliant military leader died at the age of 32, he was already a patriotic hero of two countries—Poland and America.

After becoming commander in chief of Polish patroit forces, and taking part in the rebellion of 1768–1772, in an attempt to loosen Russia's grip on Poland, he was driven into exile. He made his way to France, and then to America in 1777 carrying a letter of introduction to George Washington written by Benjamin Franklin.

Too impatient to wait for Congress to decide on his request for a commission, he volunteered for the Army and fought with distinction at Brandywine and Germantown. Only then was he commissioned as a brigadier general by the Continental Congress and given the task of organizing an independent cavalry corps, as suggested by General Washington.

In 1779 he was ordered to aid in the defense of Charleston, S.C. His arrival with his famous cavalry legion lifted the morale of that beleaguered city and after a swift attack, the British withdrew.

Then Pulaski was ordered south to help drive the British out of Savannah. Tragically, he was struck down on the first day of attack, before victory was in sight.

Pulaski had spent all of his adult life fighting energetically for liberty. His devotion to liberty was not the academic sort. He met the raw forces of oppression on the field of battle and had little aptitude or patience for political maneuvering or abstract theorizing. He was truly a man of action.

Nor was his passion for liberty based on narrow nationalistic feelings. Although he remained devoted to the cause of liberty in his native Poland, he was no less zealous in his desire to join the struggle to free America from alien rule. He intended to make his home in the United States after the war.

Pulaski was in the finest tradition of foreign born Americans who immediately took this Nation to their hearts. His dedication to the ideal of national independence prevents Pulaski from seeming dated.

Were he alive today he would undoubtedly be anxious to serve against the great forces of oppression that still threaten hard-won liberty and independence in the free world.

## A Resolution To Halt Consideration of the Proposed Merger of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution passed by the Town Board of Cheektowaga, N.Y., memorializing the U.S. Congress to halt any consideration of the proposed merger of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads. I am opposed to such railroad mergers, and am completely in accord with the views expressed in this resolution, which follows:

(Councilman Kaczmarek offered the following resolution and moved its adoption:)

Whereas the taxpayers of the town of Cheektowaga have suffered grievous financial loss by the New York State Railroad Relief Act, which has resulted in removing from the tax rolls almost $4 million in assessed valuation of railroad properties; and

Whereas the excuse for such legislation was to improve the economic condition of the railroads, thereby enabling them, among other things, to maintain and expand their labor forces, but in fact the labor forces have been contracted; and

Whereas the proposed merger of the New York Central Railroad and the Pennsylvania Railroad will lead to further elimination of facilities and decreases in railroad employment in this town; and

Whereas any further reduction in railroad trackage, equipment and employment will place the United States in a precarious position in case of national emergency, and in any event will further contract the amount of consumer spending to the end of adding significantly to the worsening of economic conditions; and

Whereas the philosophy of contraction practiced by railroad management and inherent in railroad mergers is antipodal to the American spirit of growth and expansion: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That:

1. This town board memorialize the U.S. Congress and Interstate Commerce Commission to halt any consideration of the proposed merger of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads at this time; and

2. That the Congress cause to be made an unbiased, expert study to determine (a) the true economic condition of the railroads, (b) the need for Federal subsidy, and (c) an overall program for expansion of and improvement in railroad facilities, including those for passenger transportation and the attendant increase in railroad employment.

3. That the town attorneys prepare an application to the Interstate Commerce Commission to permit the town's position on the proposed merger of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads to be presented at local hearings, and that the town be given due notice of any contemplated action by the Commission.

4. That certified copies of this resolution be sent by the town cleark to all local Congressmen and to U.S. Senators JAVITS and KEATING.

Seconded by Councilman Bystrak and duly put to a vote which resulted as follows:

Carried: Ayes, 6; absent, 1.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
ERIE COUNTY,
OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE
TOWN OF CHEEKTOWAGA, *ss:*

This is to certify that I, Kenneth T. Hanley, clerk of the town of Cheektowaga, in the said county of Erie, have compared the foregoing copy of resolution with the original resolution now on file at this office and which was passed by the town board of the town of Cheektowaga in said county of Erie, on the 1st day of October 1962, and that the same is a correct and true transcript of such original resolution and the whole thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said town this 1st day of October 1962.

[SEAL] KENNETH T. HANLEY,
*Clerk of the Town Board, Town of Cheektowaga, N.Y.*

## Absolute Security Ruled Out by Navy Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON**
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the third of Edward J. Mowrey's excellent articles on sea power, appearing in Navy Press Clips, was published on August 21, 1962:

ABSOLUTE SECURITY RULED OUT BY NAVY CHIEF

(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON, August 21.—How secure are Americans from enemy air, land, or sea attack in event of hostilities in the atomic age?

Can we "appropriate" enough ersatz billions to achieve absolute security from hordes of submarines spewing atomic warheads on our cities?

We cannot.

Military tacticians know the extent of U.S. defense capability. Not being crystal gazers, they also know that the best defense is an awesome and powerful offense.

In reviewing the Navy's role against the "probable" enemy, Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, says:

"One thing many people are looking for is some sort of absolute security. There is no such thing as absolute security. When these modern weapons hit any target—on land, on sea, or in the air—they're going to destroy it.

"In a total war, we could expect heavy looses. And no one can say we aren't going to lose some particular type of ship. That's what war is—a destructive operation. And we're going to take some destruction ourselves."

Obliquely referring to the stress laid on both the offensive and defensive aspects of air power in affording such security, the noted naval strategist continued:

"We can't wait, as some would have us wait, until somebody gains control of the air before we start operations at sea. Nor can we wait until we gain complete control of the sea before we start operations at sea."

There is no adequate substitute for a realistic and continuing program of preparation for any eventuality. Theoretically, Ricketts explained, nations going to war apply immediately, tremendous power to hurt the the other side.

"In such event," he declared "all-out seapower must be used immediately both for offensive and defensive purposes. Half of us can't go fishing while the other half gains control of the seas.

"The Navy can't go fishing while the Air Force gains control of the air. 'You will hear people say that you can't conduct any operations until you gain control of the air.

"That's not true. It is true that you must reduce some of these (air) threats to what you estimate to be an acceptable degree.

"But you don't always do that before you start the operation. You do it during the operation."

Risks in wartime, to veteran commanders, are "par for the course" and clever strategists design their operations so involved risks "can be accepted."

"People must understand," Ricketts cautioned, "that war is a battle and people are getting hurt, people are getting killed; ships are being sunk, and we are going to lose some ships. It's a battle for control.

"There is danger that we are trying to provide for absolute security, which goes back into this solely defensive thing (the proposed role for the Navy)."

Ricketts declared that the United States could "spend itself into bankruptcy" in an abortive quest for "absolute security." Turning to the defensive potential of air cover, he said:

"When it comes to continental air defense, we must have it. That's good. But we must be awfully careful that in any sort of defense we don't go beyond the point where the returns aren't commensurate with the effort.

"We should not get into a position where we have to continue at tremendously unproductive effort."

This would be analogous to providing an ethereal screen around the United States * * * in a fruitless attempt to ward off submarine attacks.

"This would be true," he continued, "if we tried to build some sort of fence around our coasts to protect ourselves against submarines, a defensive maginot line at sea.

"We would embark upon a program that would not perform the objective. I don't suppose we could spend enough billions, with our present knowledge of the art (attack by atomic submarine) to provide absolute security for that kind of assault."

There is such a thing as "too much defense," the Navy official hinted, in the quid pro quo strategy of scattered missile emplacements.

"There is also the danger," Ricketts said soberly, "of trying to overcome everything by offering the enemy more targets, so many targets that he can destroy 90 percent of them and the remaining 10 percent fights back.

"There's no question that we must have a survival number [of missile pads] that's capable of destroying him. But when we depend primarly upon numbers to provide that survival capability, we are really getting into some sort of a race. And there's no telling where it will end."

The official said he referred to weapons delivery systems, control centers and anything of that nature. The need, he added, is a means to provide the necessary survival percentage without reliance on a pure redundancy of numbers.

"Theoretically," he said, "enough missiles could be built to place a rocket over every square mile of the United States. You couldn't destroy them all and you would have enough to shoot back.

"But isn't there a better way to provide the requisite percentage of survival other than pure numbers? Or some other way than by digging all of them into the ground (fixed emplacements?)

"I think that seapower is the answer. Not that I would move everything to sea. Not at all. But I think the oceans provide the potential today to do it. And we should exploit this method."

## The Cross-Florida Barge Canal Item Should Be Approved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it is my considered opinion that the most important waterway project before the Congress of the United States is the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. My support of this project is primarily based upon its defense value. Four Presidents of the United States have had an important part to play in the recent history of this project: Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy, and even way back in the 19th century President Andrew Jackson vigorously supported this canal. After extended studies through many years of other various possible alternative routes the present route was selected and the project was authorized in 1942 by a bill, "to promote the national defense and to promptly facilitate and protect the transport of materials and supplies needful to the Military Establishment by authorizing the construction and operation of a pipeline and a navigable barge channel across Florida." This authorization by Congress was not on the basis of any economic justification but solely on its national defense values. The canal, however, was not built at that time because of the necessity in time of war to apply to all manpower and equipment in other directions in the emergencies involved.

As soon as I was discharged from the U.S. Army in 1947, I ran for Congress on the platform of the construction of this canal and came to Congress in January of 1949. I had the active help of President Truman in the accumulation of material necessary for a full presentation to Congress, but was not able to make such a presentation until during the administration of President Eisenhower. Under President Eisenhower's leadership it was thought that it would be well to see if the project could be justified not only for its defense values but also for its economic justifications, and President Eisenhower took the leadership in making this a budget item, and the studies were conducted and they showed economic justification for the project during the Eisenhower administration. Additional surveys were made in the beginning of President Kennedy's administration and they resulted in an even greater economic justification, 500 percent more than the original economic justification, or the final figure of 1.2 over 1.

During President Kennedy's campaign for the Presidency of the United States he had written me and allowed me to publish during that campaign the following statement over his signature:

I know of your persistent work for the early construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. If I am elected President, I will be glad to cooperate with you in making this project a reality. I regard it not only as important to Florida, but to the economy of our entire country, which must fully utilize all of our natural resources if we are to achieve necessary economic expansion.

President Kennedy has done everything he can to bring this to Congress for prompt action, having placed in the budget an item for $205,000 to complete the planning and bring the project down to the place where construction can actually be started if Congress so provides that at some future date. The present item now under consideration is $205,000 for the final planning on this project. It does not bind the Congress to go ahead with the construction. The Senate has passed this item and has refused to agree with the House conferees,

who have not approved the item since it was not included in the House bill. I sincerely hope that the House will approve these funds.

I would like to say something about the defense value of this project. On May 11, 1962, Chairman CARL VINSON of the Armed Services Committee wrote Chairman CLARENCE CANNON of the Appropriations Committee as follows:

I am very hopeful that during this Congress your committee will see fit to appropriate sufficient funds to make a forward step in the construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal which is to be a section of the Intracoastal Waterway.

I am very much interested in this project because of its very important national defense aspects.

Chairman VINSON quoted the findings of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, August 30, 1946, in part, as follows:

The Chief of Engineers has stated in his opinion (hearing before the House Appropriations Subcommittee, Jan. 9, 1946) that the authorized canal will represent, in addition to its economic worth, a value in national security considerably greater than its cost.

On May 29, 1951, the Deputy Secretary of Defense in a letter to the President, stated as follows:

The Corps of Engineers expressed the views that "a barge canal will afford a short, economical, protected route across Florida for the movement of a large amount of long-haul traffic by barge and small freighters between gulf and Atlantic ports. Large tonnages of raw materials as well as manufactured products are susceptible to movement between those points via protected inland waters at great saving. Completion of the canal would also permit quick, safe, and economical transfer between the east and west coasts of Florida, of floating plant and construction equipment now required to move via the circuitous and dangerous Florida Keys route.

"During World War II, many cargo ships and tankers were lost off the coast of Florida due to enemy action. Many of the cargoes that were lost would and could have moved by barge or small freighter had the barge canal been in existence at that time. The saving in lives, ships, and valuable and critical cargoes would have been great. Similar and comparable savings would also accrue in future serious national emergencies if the canal is in operation."

The Joint Chiefs of Staff find that either of these projects (i.e., the previously considered ship canal or the authorized barge canal) will provide an additional and shorter line of communication between the gulf coast, and the east coast, and would thus reduce exposure of shipping to submarine attack.

In the mentioned report of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, they said to the Chief of Army Engineers:

The economic analysis of a long-lived project could not be considered complete if it covered merely the interval of peacetime years and ignored the recurrent war periods. The insurance value of the avoidance of war losses is, therefore, distributable on an annual basis and can be at least roughly approximated in dollars and cents for measurement against the monetary annual charges of providing and maintaining the facilities.

The Board then goes on to compute the annual value of this wartime insurance afforded by the project as $3,600,000 based on price and replacement cost levels of 1946. In terms of today's price levels, this figure is above $10 million per year and more than doubles the total economic benefits currently reported by the Corps of Engineers in their interim report as to the peacetime economies to be yielded by the waterway.

The Office of Emergency Planning in the Executive Office of the President, in the fall of last year, reviewed a memorandum on the national defense value of the project, prepared by H. H. Buckman, engineer, and said as follows about it:

We have reviewed the Buckman memorandum and appended papers and feel that its thesis is sound and its findings still essentially valid with respect to civil as well as military defense. The desirability of a shorter line of communications between the gulf and east coasts is recognized.

Engineer Buckman further points out the tremendous cost of lost shipping in World War II due to the necessity of using the gulf-Atlantic open sealanes, and said:

Over 1 million gross tons, or 25 percent of all the shipping in these lanes, was lost. The value was $987 million, and 167 ships went to the bottom.

From what I have pointed out to you the national defense value of this canal is outstanding and there should be no further delay in going forward with it.

The lone opposition to this canal has been from railroads, which have traditionally opposed canals all over the country. It should be pointed out, however, that the Florida East Coast Railroad supports the canal and that many individuals in the railroad industry favor the canal. General Morris of the U.S. Army Engineers this year in the House hearings said with regard to railroad interests as follows:

In a short time the canal will assume its proper place in the overall transportation network. Developments along and adjacent to the canal will be accelerated, particularly by industries utilizing and processing raw materials. When this condition develops it can be anticipated that the volume of traffic transported by rail and truck will also expand due to their natural advantages in the transportation of certain classes of commodities. While this trend can be anticipated from the statistical studies made for the economic restudy of the canal, it has been clearly shown in the growth pattern of transportation in other sections of the country under similar conditions. It is believed that the provision of cheap water transportation for bulky commodities to this section of the Southeastern States will create such developments that loss of traffic to competing rail and truck transportation systems will not be of lasting importance and the resulting improvement of regional economic conditions will ultimately add materially to their traffic.

Before closing this talk, I would like to say a few things about arguments which have been raised against the canal: One is that when the canal reaches the Gulf of Mexico it reaches open waters and the route is no longer well protected until it reaches the next dug canal to the north in the shoreline of Florida some miles away. This question is answered completely by the fact that barges now safely use this partially protected area of the Apalachee Bay just as they now use partially protected routes in the Chesapeake Bay and in the Mississippi Sound. The question was answered point blank by the Chief of Engineers in his letter to the chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House under date of June 15, 1942, as follows:

With reference to the use by Intracoastal Waterway traffic of the open gulf between the eastern terminus of the present Intracoastal Waterway in the vicinity of Apalachee Bay and the gulf terminus of the above-mentioned barge canal, it may be stated that coastwise traffic now follows this route and that while some danger is connected therewith, I am informed that there is very little time lost in navigating this portion of the gulf. Accordingly, it would be possible to eliminate that section of the Intracoastal Waterway from the improvements proposed in H.R. 6999 and still move very large quantities of commerce by barge from terminals along the gulf coast to the eastern seaboard with the completion of the other improvements proposed in the bill.

Another argument that is made against this canal is that there is an existing canal running across the State of Florida in its southern portions, the Okeechobee Waterway. This southern route is 356 miles longer and is more expensive to construct and maintain even though it does exist in a very limited degree at the present time. Further, its utilization is much more limited than utilization of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal would be, according to authentic and careful studies that have been made over a period of many years. On this point there is a letter from the Office of Chief of Engineers dated May 17, 1962, which went into this question and stated as follows:

The existing Okeechobee Waterway provides a channel 8 feet deep and 80 feet wide from the Intracoastal Waterway near St. Lucie Inlet to the Gulf of Mexico near Fort Myers Beach. This waterway includes three locks, 50 feet wide and 250 feet long. In 1958, preliminary cost estimates were made for enlarging the Okeechobee Waterway to the same design criteria established for the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project. Those estimates showed that the cost of enlarging the Okeechobee Waterway would exceed $100 million. Traffic studies also showed that the volume of commerce that would use an enlarged Okeechobee Waterway, and the transportation savings therefrom, would be far from sufficient to justify the large cost of improvement of the existing waterway to the dimensions of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

Finally, it is said by the railroad lobby that the economic justification of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal is slight and that the benefits are primarily to Florida rather than to the Nation as a whole. As to the economic justification, I would like to point out that even on the most conservative figure presented by the Corps of Engineers, 1.2 over 1, this is an economic justification in excess of other projects which Congress has authorized, projects involving more money than this project, and we are spending money for such other developments right now in actual construction. As to the argument of the locality of the project, this is perhaps the most absurd argument which is raised against the Cross-Florida Barge Canal because it actually has more national significance than any wa-

terway project ever undertaken by the U.S. Government. By a distortion of the facts and figures which were given to the committee an erroneous conclusion was drawn that on economic justification most of the transit would be within the State of Florida, but an accurate reading of the information given to the committee shows that although about 80 percent of the traffic would either start or stop in Florida, only 16 percent of it would be of the within-the-State variety even when most conservative analysis is used as to its interstate utilization.

This compares very favorably with other projects. Moreover, it should finally be observed that this project was not authorized by Congress on the basis of economic justification, but was authorized on the basis of its defense value and that the defense value is certainly the paramount value of this project. Even if all of the economic justification of this project were thrown out the window, the project still should be built because of its defense values of which I have already spoken. I sincerely hope that the Congress will provide for the $205,000 budgeted Senate-passed appropriations for completing the final planning for this project.

## Mrs. R. Templeton Smith, Civic Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is my real honor to call to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people, the wonderful and effective public work of our Pittsburgh civic leader, Mrs. R. Templeton Smith. Mrs. Smith is celebrating 50 years of unpaid public service as one of our most civic-minded citizens.

"Sting of conscience" of our community is the respected title bestowed on Mrs. Smith for her patriotism, her selfless interest in good government, her untiring devotion to the common good, and protection of the rights and liberties of our citizens.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Oct. 10, 1962]

GOOD GOVERNMENT ALWAYS HER GOAL—MRS. SMITH IS HONORED; WORKED HARD FOR VOTING RIGHTS

(By Mary O'Hara)

Thursday evening, October 11, 1962 at a dinner in Hotel Webster Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa., a woman who has been the community's "sting of conscience" for half a century will be guest of honor.

Mrs. R. Templeton Smith, the former Eliza Kennedy, was just out of Vassar when she went to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's School for Suffrage Workers. She returned a dedicated worker for good citizenship and good government for all the people and this she has remained through some of the stormiest times that have rocked a big city.

From 1912 until women won the vote, she stumped the State preaching equal franchise. When the battle was won, she was active in transforming the Equal Franchise Federation into the Allegheny County League of Women Voters.

Meanwhile in 1915, Miss Kennedy had changed her name to Smith when she became the wife of R. Templeton Smith, president of Ben Venue Laboratories. Two sons, Templeton and Kennedy were born to the couple.

"My boys had more sweaters than any other children in their school," Mrs. Smith says, "because I knitted constantly while I sat waiting in the halls for city council to convene.

The "sting of conscience" got up at 5 o'clock in the morning to follow garbage wagons and to see whether or not the garbage was soaked with water to make it weigh more and thus cost the city more for its disposal. She and other members of the league worked hard for permanent registration after they had made a survey of registrations which indicated some severe discrepancies.

"We found dead people who had voted for years; empty warehouses listed as the residences of many others; vacant lots used as addresses for voters."

The "flying squadrons" of militant women went from one polling place to another checking on procedures and they stumped hard for voting machines.

But Mrs. Smith hit the high spot of her career during the Kline administration in 1929 when she headed the women's division of the citizen's committee which conducted an investigation. Mayor Kline was indicted and from the investigation grew the famous food probe.

The probe went on a long time and practically every day, Mrs. Smith hit the front pages of the newspapers. "One day when I came home," she recalls, "my 9-year-old son, said 'What's wrong, mother? Your picture isn't on the front page today.'"

When William McNair became the first Democratic mayor of Pittsburgh in many years, Mrs. Smith became the first woman budget adviser in the city's history. She slashed expenditures to the bone because she believed then, and still does, that government must pay as it goes. Of McNair, she says he didn't' get a fair break.

"We are spending ourselves to destruction, just as Lenin said we would," she warned yesterday in her office in the Allegheny County League of Women Voters headquarters.

Mrs. Smith has been a thorn in the side of many politicians in her 50 years of service to the citizenry. One time during a probe of irregularities in city finances, she exploded to a politician about a discrepancy of $65,000. "That's little stuff, Mrs. Smith," he countered.

On another occasion, a politician became so incensed at her questions during a public hearing that he put his dentures into his handkerchief with an air of dramatic finality and said, "Now you do the talkin', Mrs. Smith."

"We are always poking our noses into something," the president of the Allegheny County League of Women Voters admits. After the Brusco murder which still remains unsolved, the league, with Mrs. Smith in the vanguard, was instrumental in obtaining a centralized system of screening police calls and keeping records.

The league has worked hard for smoke control and, under Mrs. Smith's direction, was primarily responsible for securing the independent probe carried on by the attorney general's office into corruption and rackets in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

In 1943, the Allegheny County League severed its affiliation with the national organization because the local women did not agree with the philosophy of the national group.

In the 50 years Mrs. Smith has been in the public focus, what she has to say has always been of greater significance than what she was wearing or how she looks. She is a tall woman with keen brown eyes, a good smile and noticably pretty hands.

She wears very little jewelry, does not make her own clothes ("I like a better cut"), uses uses little or no perfume or cosmetics and has never been athletic. She has no particular interest in music but she painted a little in her youth.

She has a sense of humor. She likes to tell jokes on herself. "Did I tell you about the time I was arrested?" she asks. "I once painted my own car. Gave it nine coats. When I rode downtown, I was arrested for having an old license plate on a new car.

"Of course, this was 40 years ago when every new car had to have a new license. I was mighty proud of that paint job."

## Monroe Doctrine—Save It, or Bury It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest editorials I have read on the subject of Cuba appeared in the Resident newspapers in my congressional district. It is written by the publisher of the Resident, Mr. Harvey Jordan, and is entitled "Monroe Doctrine—Save It, or Bury It".

Publisher Jordan has clearly focused common sense upon our Cuban dilemma and shows the need for the making of courageous decisions.

Unfortunately, our policymakers seem to hold the confused idea that only two alternatives are available to Americans, either surrender or the acceptance of World War III. I fear this is why our national policy with respect to the Monroe Doctrine is still doubtful.

Mr. Jordan has pointed up the need for decision and the end of indecision with respect to the Monroe Doctrine. Personally, I believe, as I am sure Publisher Jordan believes, we should reaffirm the Monroe Doctrine and show our determination to back up our decision. This is one step that must be taken if we are to prevent war.

As the editorial so properly states:

Many times in the interests of peace for which we all yearn, we encourage force by our enemies in their belief that we will not fight, then it is too late, and major conflict ensues.

The editorial follows:

MONROE DOCTRINE—SAVE IT, OR BURY IT

Last Sunday night Howard K. Smith appeared on his regular Sunday nationwide telecast, and came out with one of the most flat-footed commentator opinions we have yet seen. It was very refreshing to hear someone come straight out with real opinions, supported by U.S. Senators, expert testimony, etc. In his program, Howard K. Smith opinioned for immediate, direct and conclusive stopping of Communist intervention into the Western Hemisphere: Cuba.

Cuba, he says, is the armed camp of communism, aimed at direct infiltration by force of arms of all Latin America. (As Time magazine indicates, Cuba is the "Trojan

horse" of communism in the Western Hemisphere.)

Many times in the interests of peace for which we all yearn, we encourage force by our enemies in their belief that we will not fight, then it is too late, and major conflict ensues, such as in Austria, Sudetanland, Munich Conference, Poland, Korea, Laos, Cuba, ad infinitum. Aggressors seem to fight when they know they can win, and never against a determined superiority.

Incidentally, our own Congressman CHARLES S. GUBSER recently called for a strong and effective blockade against Red Cuba, as joined by a swelling number of both Houses of our Congress.

It seems ridiculous to reaffirm the Monroe Doctrine, and at the same time ignore its provisions when slapped in the face with its defiance. If we do nothing, then in honesty we must admit that Khrushchev is right when he says the Monroe Doctrine is already dead * * * just not buried. After the Monroe Doctrine, Khrushchev says they will bury us.

Our good Mr. President, we entreat you, either save the Monroe Doctrine * * * or bury it * * * don't leave it to the carrions.

H.D.J.

## Critics of Flattops Urged by Ricketts To Check Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the fourth of Edward J. Mowrey's excellent articles on sea power, appearing in Navy Press Clips, was published on August 22, 1962:

CRITICS OF FLATTOPS URGED BY RICKETTS TO CHECK RECORD

(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON, August 22.—For years, Uncle Sam's aircraft carriers have been disparaged in certain quarters for their asserted vulnerability in combat, their "sitting duck" posture in the open sea, and their cost.

And now, say the critics, giant flattops have been rendered virtually useless by the development of missile warfare. Retort the experts: "Baloney."

In reality, Navy spokesmen said yesterday, carriers' vital and lethal role in future hostilities has been accentuated in the rocket era.

You can chart the target area of a fixed missile pad on land, they explained, but there's no possible way to accurately plot the target area of a maneuvering or reconnoitering carrier in the open sea.

Twenty-six U.S. attack and antisubmarine-warfare carriers, with their atomic weapons and swarms of jets, now prowl the oceans. Nine more are on a standby basis in the "mothball fleet."

Flattops, Navy strategists stressed, widen Uncle Sam's offensive horizon by thousands of miles away from the continental United States.

Part of a speedy, maneuverable and dispersible oceanic hunter-killer pack, carriers maintain their own "umbrella" of protection which can be quickly projected into hundreds of miles of enemy interior.

Are carriers prohibitive in cost? Not to their supporters in Congress who dispense billions in American largesse to other nations, including dedicated members of the Communist bloc.

In 1961, total U.S. Navy expenditures for ship construction, conversion and modernization was $1.87 billion. (Little Greece alone, population 7,600,000 has received 3,000 million tax dollars in economic-military "aid.")

And the White House has OK'd a projected moon exploration by 1970 with a suggested price tag of $40 billion.

Fading memories have clouded the Herculean achievements of flattops both in war and peace, Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, observed.

"Many people are uninformed about aircraft carriers," he said. "We have voluminous data on how they performed in World War II. The new generation didn't live through that war. And a lot of others who were here have forgotten many things."

One of the many forgotten heroic feats of flattops in the last war was Gen. James H. Doolittle's startling and demoralizing air strike against Tokyo on April 18, 1942.

The initial U.S. bombing of Japan was by 16 B-25's sprung from the carrier *Hornet*, 688 air miles from the Japanese capital.

"No carrier on either side in World War II was sunk by land planes," Ricketts declared, "which proves many things.

"It proves that the carrier survived in an enemy land plane environment under heavy attacks by land-based planes, that in naval warfare at sea the damage was done largely between navies.

"We in the Navy understand attacks on other ships better than other people. We work in that environment, year in and year out, so we understand it better—our attacks are more effective.

"It's true that we didn't have nuclear weapons in World War II. Neither did we possess many of the defensive things we have today."

The Vice Chief of Naval Operations (on both the boxing and football varsity teams at Annapolis in undergraduate days) recalled a deadly type of "guided missile" encountered by the Navy in the Pacific.

"Guided missiles?" he asked. "Why, a lot of guided missiles were used in World War II—missiles guided by the human hand (fanatical, suicidal Kamikaze crash divers). These were airplanes with a pilot guiding the plane into the deck of a carrier.

"I'd say that's a pretty good guided missile. Yes, they damaged some of our carriers. But they didn't sink them."

Touching again on antisubmarine warfare (ASW), Ricketts commented:

"With regard to ASW, we are far, far better today than when we were fighting submarines, and we are putting forth a tremendous effort in it.

"We must not only continue that effort but improve the quality of both our effort and talent. We cannot take any single element of sea power and isolate it, and concentrate on it.

"Naval power is just not that kind of power. Naval ships, weapons, are so versatile that almost any kind of operation has within it an element of antisubmarine warfare.

"I hope we get this across to the American people. You must think of naval warfare as an entity, as a whole."

The Navy has a tremendous job ahead, Admiral Ricketts declared, and is "ready and able" to meet its responsibilities.

"We in the Navy," he said, "are part of a military team dedicated to the preservation of American liberties. We are proud of our glorious traditions, of our superb personnel, of our fighting ability and capabilities.

"We hope we shall never be inhibited—by a lack of understanding our task—in fulfilling our assigned role of protecting our freedoms * * * unmatched in the annals of history.

"Americans must understand both our vital function and our determination to do the job."

## Illegality Breeds Illegality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the pen of David Lawrence in the U.S. News & World Report of October 8, 1962:

ILLEGALITY BREEDS ILLEGALITY

(By David Lawrence)

The above headline introduced an editorial on this page on October 4, 1957, commenting on the illegal use of Federal troops at Little Rock, Ark. The Governor of a sovereign State thought he was empowered to use the State militia to prevent violence and disorder—a State function as he saw it. This was at a time when a Federal court had ordered the admission of Negroes to a public high school, previously all-white, and feelings were inflamed.

But the Governor's theory was overruled, not by any court but by military force ordered by the Federal Government. Yet there's nothing in the Constitution which authorizes the Federal Government to send troops to any State under such circumstances. If the Federal court's order to open the school to Negroes did supersede the right of the Governor to take legal steps to prevent domestic violence, no opportunity was given to settle the point by legal procedures.

Today, the Governor of another sovereign State—Mississippi—feels he has the legal right to block a Federal court order requiring the State university to admit a Negro student. Any citizen has a right—at the risk of punishment—to refuse to abide by a court ruling and to have his day in court, even to the point of carrying the case to the Supreme Court of the United States for a determination of the issues involved.

The processes of the law were open in October 1957, as they are now in October 1962, to resolve the conflict of State and Federal functions. We should not be impatient, even though there is a congressional campaign in progress at present that adds political implications. We should let legal processes take their natural course.

For we pride ourselves on being a nation that abides by the law. Our difficulty, however, is in ascertaining just what is the law of the land in the various legal maneuvers that currently surround the integration controversy.

It is easy enough to call Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Attorney General Robert Kennedy political exhibitionists, but each has a duty to perform.

It is easy enough to call anyone a "Negro hater" who disagrees with the theory of forced integration.

It is easy enough to call the people of the South enemies of the Negro, though the facts of their relationship in the last 100 years do not bear out the accusation.

This writer was a student at an integrated high school in the North more than a half-century ago and wrote often for the press about the feats of a Negro who was star quarterback on the football team and a most popular individual. But the problem that faces all of us is not just to consider our own personal feelings. Nor is it a matter simply of obedience to rulings of the courts. It goes deeper. We should not close our minds to the other side of the argument—generated as it is by the pain of an injustice that gnaws at the hearts of the people of the South.

For they have not forgotten the injustice and, indeed, the complete disregard of the Constitution of the United States by a radical Republican majority in Congress which despotically tore that document to shreds and imposed a series of illegal acts on the people of a defeated South.

History does not lie. The almost unanimous writings of historians and the testimony in official records tell us that the 14th amendment was never legally adopted as a part of the Constitution. Yet the whole integration-segregation controversy of today is rooted in that illegality. The Supreme Court of the United States based its decision in 1954 on the unmentioned assumption that the 14th amendment is valid.

It is a shameful truth that, ever since the 14th amendment was allegedly adopted in 1868, the Supreme Court has evaded passing on the legality of that "ratifying" process.

The people of the South know this. They know also that when their State legislatures—after the War Between the States was over—ratified the 13th amendment abolishing slavery, this was accepted as legal and the amendment was duly adopted. When, however, these same legislatures rejected the proposed 14th amendment, Congress capriciously declared them outside the Union and sent Federal troops to create new legislatures which were then coerced at the point of the bayonet into adopting the amendment.

We cannot gloss over these facts. We cannot ignore the feelings of bitterness and resentment they have created through the last 94 years.

Nor can we ignore the sociological aspects. The Supreme Court said in 1954 that times had changed, and it overruled what the Supreme Court in 1896 had decided to be the "law of the land"—namely, that it was legal to provide "separate but equal" facilities for the Negro in public transportation. This was subsequently interpreted as including public schools and colleges. No legal reason for overturning that 58-year-old decision was offered in the 1954 ruling. It was an emotional opinion that emphasized sociological considerations. Yet the Court ignored the sociological consequences feared by the people of the South.

For the South sees integration—not only in schools and buses, but in restaurants and swimming pools and recreation centers—as cumulatively hastening the day of intermarriage of the races. The State laws in the South against intermarriage have not been struck down as yet, but probably will be by the Supreme Court.

How can the defenders of the illegal method of adding an amendment to the Constitution in 1868 justify in their consciences the imposition today of a social system which many people in the North as well as the South say is an interference with the freedom of the individual? For it has always been assumed that the people of a sovereign State can by majority vote choose their own way of life and manage their own educational institutions without diminishing in any way the educational opportunities of the minority.

The 10th amendment to the Constitution, on which Governor Barnett has relied, says:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

It can be said positively that no legal authority has ever been granted to the executive branch of the Federal Government to manage or operate the educational institutions of the States.

Denial of admission to the University of Mississippi for the Negro student involved in the present controversy was upheld by the U.S. district court. When the case was appealed, however, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the order and, by a 2-to-1 vote of the judges, said the student should be admitted. Judge Dozier DeVane, who dissented, said in part:

"In my opinion, Judge Mize was correct in finding and holding that appellant bore all the characteristics of becoming a troublemaker if permitted to enter the University of Mississippi, and his entry therein may be nothing short of a catastrophe."

But apparently the university authorities are to be deprived of their right to pass upon the qualifications of applicants.

The argument is made, of course, that the Supreme Court of the United States, in the desegregation decision of 1954, relied on the 14th amendment, which provides that no citizen may be denied "equal protection of the laws." Even if the 14th amendment were a valid part of the Constitution, a case could be brought to court to decide whether "equal protection" means that a university must admit students on the basis of race and not on the basis of scholastic standing or individual fitness.

But the 14th amendment is not valid.

The words of a State in the North are pertinent. In October 1868—8 months after Secretary of State Seward dubiously proclaimed the 14th amendment as ratified—the Oregon Legislature, which had earlier voted to ratify, passed a rescinding resolution and declared that the "ratifications" by the Southern States were "usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary and void," and that "until such ratification is completed, any State has a right to withdraw its assent to any proposed amendment."

Since those days, the Supreme Court has declined to decide whether an assent once given by a State can be withdrawn. It has also refused to rule on the constitutionality of a law passed by Congress declaring the Southern States out of the Union and denying them congressional representation until such time as they ratified the 14th amendment.

Amid acts of coercion and military pressure, the 14th amendment has lived on through the decades, but not until 1954 did the Supreme Court invoke it as a means of forcing the public schools of the States to bow to the Federal Government's dictation as to who must be enrolled as students.

Congress, incidentally, has never passed legislation—as stipulated in the 14th amendment—to enforce the provisions of that amendment if they relate to educational institutions. The 1954 opinion of the Supreme Court has been accepted by the Federal Government as a substitute for an act of Congress. It is still, however, the duty of the courts to pass upon the right of a President to use military force to do what Congress has never authorized him to do.

It is easy enough to grow impatient in a debate over legal questions. The processes of justice are often slow. It was at one time easy enough for southerners to say that to lynch Negroes accused of raping white women was merely to obey the impulses of natural law, and that there was no need to wait for the courts. It is easy enough also for Negro leaders of demonstrations to cry out today: "We have waited long enough—let's take the law into our own hands."

But these outbursts of passion will not solve anything. Only through the voice of reason can we find a solution, and it is important not to try to abolish overnight what generations of experience and custom—involved in the basic fear of racial intermarriage—have implanted. We must not accept the doctrine that "the end justifies the means." For when illegality breeds illegality, the result is chaos.

## New Look on Channel 13 in New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to note the article by Jack Gould, TV editor of the New York Times, concerning our new educational station, channel 13, in New York. I viewed some of its programs and I am greatly impressed with the high quality thereof. At long last, we have a station that does not surfeit us with westerns, soap operas and the rest of the trivia. It is also wonderful to be able to watch a program that is not constantly interrupted by commercials. Here is a station to which all discerning viewers may repair.

It is true, as Jack Gould states, that the programs may not appeal to everyone, but they will satisfy the more or less selective appetites of those who may now claim a station as their own. We now have a noncommercial channel that is not scaled down to the so-called common denominator. Unfortunately, there are those who contend that the descent to mass audience appeal is essential to the success of commercial television. Mr. Jack Gould is entitled to every credit for the excellent article which now follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 7, 1962]

NEW LOOK ON CHANNEL 13—NEWEST STATION, A HAPPY SUPPLEMENT FOR COMMERCIAL TV, SHOWS THAT EDUCATION NEED NOT STIFLE ENTERTAINMENT

(By Jack Gould)

It may not be very hard to become an addict of educational television station WNDT. By the test of its programs on the air, the noncommercial outlet in New York is quickly proving that the home screen is indeed susceptible of vast improvement in matters of substance.

Channel 13 is not only a hit in its own right, a heartening reward for all those who finally made the Educational Broadcasting Corp. a thriving reality in this community. It also holds major lessons for all forms of TV; indeed, its arrival offers the first practical hope of resolving the historic problem of achieving better balance in the medium's overall programing.

CHOICE

After a random sampling of the initial days of the new station, it is clear that no viewer would want to do without either type of television, commercial or noncommercial. Seeing Pablo Casals at rehearsal is one treat from California, but watching the playoff between the Dodgers and the Giants is assuredly another.

And there is the illuminating point. The long and enervating argument over standards in broadcasting companies, rooted in the assumption that each station must aspire to be all things to all viewers at all times, suddenly looked a little ridiculous when an alternative solution was at hand. The answer lies in different kinds of television stations doing very different jobs at the same time.

TASTE

The immediate accomplishment of channel 13 in New York television has been the in-

stitution of an element of genuine choice in programing where it has always been most keenly missing; in prime evening time on weekdays, when every set owner, no matter his taste, normally does most of his television viewing.

And how characteristically American such a solution to the TV problem is. From the profits of private industry, most notably from the Ford Motor Co. via the Ford Foundation, resources are available to make possible attractions that are not feasible for mass advertisers concerned with instantaneous sales in the competitive marketplace.

Much of the channel 13 schedule bears a strong resemblance to the best of the weekend public service presentations offered by the networks and the more progressive independent stations. The so-called "intellectual ghetto" of the Saturday and Sunday daylight hours has been dissolved for the New York viewer by the simple expedient of establishing a station that is not economically forced to concur in its perpetuation. If popular escapism on television is that nice to have around the house 7 nights a week, so are ideas on the screen.

But as a viewer can readily see for himself a commercial station quickly would be broke were it to attempt the WNDT pattern on weekday evenings. In the lexicon of a mass medium the programing of channel 13 is for a minority audience that embraces all ages and all intellectual levels.

Therein, of course, lies the value of noncommercial TV. It eliminates the need for depriving a mass of what it may prefer and at the same time preserves the viewing franchise of those who want something else.

STRESS

The influence of channel 13 on the New York scene, as a matter of fact, explains why the Federal Communications Commission and its Chairman, Newton N. Minow, puts such stress on the development of ultrahigh frequency television. Before there can even be a hope of alternative forms of TV in many sections of the country it is necessary first to remove technical and economic barriers to the use of more channels.

Which also in part explains why channel 13 assumes a national significance. It is in the nature of a laboratory to show that in the long run the way to richer TV lies in affirmative steps to broaden the medium's base and not in indictments and defenses of the status quo.

Richard D. Heffner, vice president and general manager of WNDT, has done superbly in starting a new station at one fell swoop. Admittedly, he began with a tremendous headstart in having access to the backlog of TV programing prepared over the years by the fourth network, NET, operated by the National Educational Television and Radio Center.

UNUSUAL

In such offerings as the magnificent Casals series, Japanese brush painting, the "Perspectives" series that began with an absorbing study of British public schools, imported TV dramas from London and Tokyo and Ernst Haas's lectures on the excitement of the art of seeing, there were the makings of unusual video.

But, helpful as any N.E.T. can be, one vital function of channel 13 is to do its own local programing. "The World at 10," which will call on a wide variety of experts to interpret news of the day, is a brilliant stroke. It will meet the need for informed commentary every night of the week—something that went by the board in commercial television when 5-minute weather reports were much easier to sell. Joyce Egginton and Ernest Dunbar ask helpful questions and are not prosecuting attorneys in disguise.

SHOWS

August Heckscher's weekly discussion of books, the series on international affairs with Prof. John G. Stoessinger of Columbia University and "Court of Reason," with Dr. Robert K. Merton, professor of sociology at Columbia, are among the unhurried hours that bring many minds to bear on contemporary affairs.

Mr. Heffner is also doing a full hour with one guest and promises faithfully only to solicit information and opinion, not try to convert or argue. Eureka.

Parents of the very young, who have asked for civilized television at the supper hour, have had their prayers answered. "Once Upon a Day" is the program's title, with charming stories and songs and the magic of science beginning at 5 p.m.

One pleasanter innovation of WNDT, incidentally, is to repeat many of its programs as a convenience for its audience.

The advent of channel 13 does pose a minor problem in the matter of labels. Probably the outlet must be called "educational" during the day when it transmits courses directly to schools. But it seems a forbidding description to be applied to the station's evening fare.

MISSION

If a viewer reads an article in the newspaper on the background of news, sees a show while traveling abroad or discusses a book with several friends, it is not normally contended that he had embarked on some heroic educational undertaking. So why should television variations on such everyday pursuits be set apart as precious or unique?

On the other hand, it may be the mission of educational television to put a new excitement and variety behind the word "education." With that happy thought in mind, perhaps channel 13 will not be adverse to one suggestion:

Couldn't a perky owl be found for the station identification placard instead of the present bird, a moody square if ever there was one?

## Tribute to Kathryn Granahan

SPEECH

OF

### HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased and happy to hear of KATHRYN GRANAHAN's confirmation as the Treasurer of the United States. I know our President selected the finest candidate for this very important post; and I further know that Mrs. GRANAHAN will do a splendid job.

I do, however, regret the fact that she will no longer be a Member of this House, where she has done an exceptional job for her country and her constituents.

I have known KATHRYN GRANAHAN for many years. She is a brilliant lady who has been blessed with compassion and understanding for her fellow man. We have worked together on many projects of concern to our City of Brotherly Love and her wisdom and understanding is remarkable.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, I will represent a major portion of Mrs. GRANAHAN's district in the 88th Congress and have had an opportunity to meet many of her people. They have the highest regard for her and I only hope I can in a small measure fill her footsteps.

To you, KATHRYN, I wish you every success in your new assignment and will pray for your continued good health and happiness.

## Red Expansion Said Boxed by Allied Might

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the fifth of Edward J. Mowrey's excellent articles on seapower, appearing in Navy Press Clips, was published on August 24, 1962:

RED EXPANSION SAID BOXED BY ALLIED MIGHT

(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON, August 24.—The steady, unrelenting grind of global conquests by the U.S.S.R. over the span of two decades hasn't gone unnoticed. It has, in fact, been meticulously charted. And a limit has been reached.

"For the past 15 years," Rear Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., said Thursday, "the Communists have been in the process of expanding east and west. Eastern Europe's satellite countries—many were once our friends—were absorbed by the simple process of marching into their lands.

"In the Far East, there has been the proliferation of Communist doctrine down through 650 million Chinese.

"And as a result of these outward thrusts, pressure and probes, the free world has drawn a line beyond which any Communist aggression gives a high probability of war."

Admiral McCain, head of the Atlantic Fleet Amphibious Training Command and designated as the Navy's new Chief of Information, pinpointed the areas of possible further Red thrusts, and explained:

"They are blocked to the west by our fixed base structure in Europe, NATO, the 6th U.S. Fleet, and possible deployment of the 2d Fleet and other forces from the U.S. east coast.

"Moving across the Eurasian Continent, their further expansion to the east is blocked by our fixed base structure in that area, the Seventh Fleet and possible deployment of the First Fleet (and other forces) from the west coast."

A northward move, he said, encounters the rugged and inherent "climatic and geographic conditions" of the polar icecap. The specter of Communist enslavement stalking free peoples on both continents has also awakened their determination to "preserve their independence."

"With only a southerly direction in which to move," McCain continued, "the Communists have, in fact, leapfrogged far beyond their borders into Africa and into our own hemisphere, Cuba.

"They have planted a foot on our doorstep. The grave danger is the marriage of Castroism and communism on this small island."

Certain "strategic" aspects about Cuba, the official stressed, are little recognized in America. It's within reach of the trade routes between the Americas and sits "athwart" the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico.

"If it ever falls into the hands of a truly dominant military power," McCain cautioned, "it can control a vital artery of commerce—the Panama Canal."

Can the Soviet bloc drive south or southeast adjacent to their borders?

"No," the official said, "because they can be outflanked from the seas. The same applies to any thrust through the Malayan Peninsula, down through India or down the isthmus connecting the continents of Africa and Asia.

"In other words, the Communists are faced with the disadvantages of peninsula warfare without control of the seas."

The appearance of two "new" oceans within the Navy's sphere of alert-readiness, a case of cause and effect.

"The Arctic Ocean," McCain noted, "is a direct result of nuclear power in our conventional and Polaris submarines. For the first time, we have developed a vast battlefield at the top of the earth, in previous history inaccessible to man."

The "Afro-Asian" Ocean, with its new strategic bordering areas, has been highlighted by the concentration of free world nations in the East and West. This entire area may have been "overlooked."

Political control of this vast section on V–J Day was held by Britain, Holland, France, Belgium, and Portugal. More than 40 new nations occupy the area today (30 in Africa).

McCain cited the "vast storehouse of raw materials that is Africa" and the vital importance of that continent's waterborne transportation.

"Two-thirds of the capitols of Africa's nations and dependencies," he said, "lie within 100 miles of the 10,000-mile coastline (from Straits of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Eden).

"It is obvious that the political and economic destinies of this continent are tied to the oceans."

Speaking of the Navy's overall responsibilities, he added:

"We are involved (United States) in the defense of some 60 nations, either by direct treaty or military assistance agreements. With rare exceptions, they border on the oceans.

"The free world's lifelines—a network of more than 70,000 miles of vital ocean routes—must be kept open. Control of these oceans and (unrestricted) passage of shipping is fundamental to the future security of this Nation and all free peoples.

"In event of hostilities, virtually no spot on earth will be beyond range of (United States) attack from the seas. A warship's past effective radius of action is no longer limited to its high-water mark plus range of its guns."

The new dimension: Destruction by jets (from carriers) rains hundreds of miles inland; surface and undersea craft deliver ballistic and guided missiles, and the Navy-Marine Corps team unleashes its amphibious capability.

"This is the most profound change in the history of warfare," McCain declared. "New distances and new conditions put new emphasis on mobility.

"And we must remember that three-fourths of the earth's surface is free real estate to use in our own defense."

## Hon. Kathryn Granahan

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, we are all delighted with the nomination and confirmation of our colleague, the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] as Treasurer of the United States. She will fill this position with grace and with distinction.

On the other hand, there is no Member of the House who does not regret her departure from our midst and we shall all be sorry that her charm and her warmth will no longer help to ease the burdens of the long sessions which we necessarily experience.

I was privileged to serve with Mrs. GRANAHAN on the House Committee on Government Operations and I am keenly aware of the contribution that she made to that committee as well as her outstanding work on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee where she did so much to bring before the country the difficulty and the importance of the problem of distributing pornographic literature.

Mrs. GRANAHAN has been a responsible and constructive Member of this body and on leaving it she will have the great satisfaction of knowing that a lasting contribution will remain behind.

## Racial Discrimination in Educational Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which provides that no Federal financial or other assistance may be extended to any educational institution which discriminates against students or prospective students on account of race, religion, color, ancestry or national origin.

This legislation has been offered primarily in an effort to put a stop to the shameful exhibitions of racial discrimination now in existence in some of our institutions of higher learning, a practice most recently spotlighted by the actions of the University of Mississippi in refusing admission to a young Negro, who, as an American citizen, is entitled to the rights and privileges guaranteed under the Constitution.

Our great country was founded on the basic principles that all men are created equal, regardless of race, creed or color. If we are to continue our position of leadership in the world today, and if we are to continue to preach democracy, freedom, and equality to the rest of the world, then we must put our own house in order and eliminate every vestige of racial discrimination which exists in these United States.

In 1954 the Supreme Court handed down its historic desegregation decision. Yet in 1962—8 years later—there are still educational institutions flagrantly violating the law of the land and the basic principles upon which our country was founded. It is the responsibility of the Congress to enact strong laws for the protection of the rights and freedoms of each and every citizen. For that reason I am hopeful that the Congress will give favorable consideration in the future to the enactment of my bill. In my opinion, any educational institution which restricts admission of students in defiance of our Constitution, certainly is not entitled to any assistance from the Federal Government in the development or furtherance of its educational programs.

## Casimir Pulaski—A Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, 183 years ago, on October 11, 1779, a great Polish patriot died for a great cause, the American Revolution.

Our observance today of Casimir Pulaski's death is a reminder to all Americans that the cause of freedom transcends national boundaries and that it joins together in common brotherhood brave and courageous men whatever their origin.

Casimir Pulaski was a freedom fighter in his native Poland before he gave his life to the cause of American independence. The son of a Polish count, Pulaski had fought valiantly but unsuccessfully to overthrow the Russian domination of his beloved Poland. His military achievements were heroic, but the forces he led were crushed and scattered and his personal property was confiscated. Pulaski, at 24 years of age, was forced to flee to Turkey. There he spent several years unsuccessfully trying to influence Turkey to help Poland. Finally, he reached Paris. Penniless and without employment, the young Pulaski eagerly sought to lend his valuable services to the American cause.

It was through the assistance of Benjamin Franklin that Pulaski sailed for the United States with a letter of introduction to George Washington. He joined Washington's forces and distinguished himself in the Battle of Brandywine. As a reward, Congress appointed this gallant soldier a brigadier general in charge of cavalry. He soon organized an independent corps of cavalry and light infantry which became known as Pulaski's Legion. This legion participated in the seige of Savannah, Ga. It was in this battle that the young Polish freedom fighter was mortally wounded on October 9, 1799. He died 2 days later.

This anniversary of Casimir Pulaski's death provides a welcome opportunity to reaffirm traditional Polish-American friendship. The courage and idealism displayed by this Polish patriot during our Revolution rekindles our great admiration for the Polish people and reinforces our faith in their ultimate victory in restoring freedom to Poland.

## Silver Anniversary of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the constituents of the 13th Congressional District of New Jersey, which I have the honor to represent in the Congress, have benefited from the housing acts passed by the Congress since 1937. Low income families and senior citizens have been able to live in decent surroundings in adequate housing at prices they can afford as the result of the foresight this Congress showed in 1937 and subsequent years when it passed badly needed housing legislation.

Today the Housing Act of 1937 is being commemorated in a birthday party given by the Jersey City Housing Authority at Currie's Woods Gardens Community Hall in Jersey City. I request unanimous consent that the remarks I have prepared for that occasion be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.S. HOUSING ACT OF 1937

Thirty years ago a revolutionary concept of government responsibility was introduced into American society. It was not a revolution of guns but of reason. The victory was a human victory over lust and greed. It was a victory for all the people.

Under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt, a Democratic Congress squarely faced the challenge of social chaos caused by a depressed economy and refused to accept the postulates of the Marxists that the free society they loved was doomed. This group of dedicated men, the New-Dealers, reversed the inevitable consequences of political inertia by enacting a series of measures that changed history and thwarted the Marxian prediction of the demise of capitalism.

Perhaps the most significant legislation enacted in those trying times was the Housing Act of 1937, which we commemorate here today. For it was with this act that the Government of the United States accepted as its policy, not only the elimination of unemployment, which was the main purpose of previous housing acts, but also the concept of decent housing for every family regardless of income or status.

It was with this New Deal measure as a base that successive Democratic Congresses have been able to amplify the benefits and expand the underlying philosophy of decent housing for all. Let me list some of these major housing measures.

In 1940 several laws, including the Lanham Act, were passed to alleviate the housing problems arising out of defense and military needs.

In 1944 the Servicemen's Readjustment Act authorized the guarantee and insurance, by the Veterans' Administration, of GI housing loans.

The following year the provisions of the Lanham Act were expanded to provide temporary housing for servicemen and veterans.

After several unsuccessful attempts at legislation during the Republican 80th Congress, Public Law 171, the Housing Act of 1949 was passed. It established national housing objectives and policies, enlarged the 1937 act, expanded FHA programs, and established slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs.

In 1951 defense housing was again a problem due to the Korean conflict. The Housing Act of this year provided for these needs.

With a Democratic Congress, 1956 saw a significant breakthrough in housing legislation. Public Law 1020 redefined "low-rent family" to include single elderly persons and authorized priorities and special construction features for elderly occupancy of low rent projects. Again, as in 1937, the Democratic Party came forth to meet a pressing social need. Senior citizens were given full status in the community and their past contributions to society were granted at least partial recognition.

This same act provided for the relocation of families and businesses dislocated by urban renewal and at the same time expanded the overall urban renewal program.

In 1961, additional comprehensive housing legislation was passed by a Democratic Congress, under a Democratic President. The Housing Act of 1961 authorized the completion of the 810,000 low rent housing units begun by the Housing Act of 1949, provided $120 additional annual payment on units occupied by senior citizens, attacked "upper low income" housing problems by authorizing below-the-market loans insured by FHA, liberalized FHA home-improvement loans to aid renewal, and provided funds for experimentation in low cost housing.

I strongly supported this legislation, as I have supported every sound housing bill that has come to a vote during my service in the Congress. I share with President Kennedy the pledge he made to the Nation in 1961, that one goal of his administration and the Democratic Party was to provide decent housing for all our people.

The most recent Housing Act, the Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962, authorized an additional $100 million for the program of direct loans to provide housing for the elderly. This will permit housing for the elderly to be provided at rents of $15 to $20 a month below projects financed either conventionally or with FHA insurance. This act expands on the Housing Act of 1961 and goes a long way toward implementing the pledge made by President Kennedy in 1961.

Thus, the story of housing since 1937 is a story of growth—social as well as economic. In the spring of 1962, there were 3,719 active low-rent public housing projects which included 643,704 units. Of these, 50,356 units have been provided for our senior citizens. In all, 2,500,000 persons are now living in decent housing because of public housing projects.

But proud as we may be of past accomplishments, we must bear in mind that any program designed to meet the growing housing needs of an expanding population can never be completely achieved. For example, in 1960, 23 percent of the families in the United States still had net disposable incomes of less than $3,000 per year. If these Americans, many of whom are part of our 16,500,000 senior citizens, are to realize the benefits of the promise made in the Housing Act of 1937, our programs must be continually expanded and improved.

The Democratic Party is committed to the proposition that a decent place in which to live is a right of every human being. Times have improved since the New Deal but new needs are constantly arising. The growing population plus the constant stream of humanity that is seeking its livelihood in our communities will continue to press us for solutions to the indignities of substandard housing. Juvenile delinquency and immorality will spread due to the crowded housing conditions that rob individuals of their privacy, and the beauty that has been made possible by our architects and designers will be muted by the spectacle of urban decay unless we act decisively.

Congress 25 years ago exhibited the courage and foresight necessary to meet the social and economic needs of the great depression by passing the Housing Act of 1937. The Democratic Party of today stands ready to display the same fortitude by continuing to exercise its capacity for leadership in social and economic progress.

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## Governmental Copyrights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.**
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, on September 25, 1962, I made certain remarks on the floor of the House with reference to House Resolution 794—a bill which I had previously introduced calling for an investigation of the existing law and actual practice with respect to the copyrighting of material prepared by officers or employees of the United States. Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD some recent newspaper editorials which comment and elaborate on this important topic:

[From the Times-Picayune, Sept. 21, 1962]

GOVERNMENTAL COPYRIGHTS

Congress has extended through 1965 the renewal terms of existing copyrights that otherwise might expire, because a proposed increase in the length of copyright terms is under study in connection with general revision of copyright laws.

Some concern has arisen about the impending revision, not so much over liberalization of copyright periods, as over liberalization of the rule that says Government publications are uncopyrightable. Some classic examples of violation of the rule were the attempted copyrighting in the 1900's of messages and papers of the Presidents which were issued as Government publications; more recently, the official Army military history of World War II, and the history of the Atomic Energy Commission.

"Government publications" has not been completely defined by law or jurisprudence. One aspect of the test case of *Schnapper* v. *Rickover* is whether departmental press releases of speeches made in an official capacity fall in this category. Some seem to want the ban applied, regardless, to all speeches made in official capacity, or even outside the scope of official duties.

Because of the intimidating nature of a copyright text, particularly the words "No part of * * * etc.," others seem to want some sort of penalty for pretense of copyright of Government publications, or vigorous administrative corrective action.

There also is a hazy field within the hazy field of Government publications and their copyrights: Why, copyrightable or not, would some certain works be copyrighted when a main objective would be to get them quoted as much and as freely as possible?

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[From the Publisher's Weekly]

THE 3-YEAR EXTENSION OF SECOND-TERM COPYRIGHTS

The first tangible, legislative result of the current ferment over general revision of the U.S. copyright law is now on the statute books. Congress has passed and the President has signed legislation which automatically continues in force until December 31, 1965, all renewal (second-term) copyrights

which were scheduled to expire between September 19, 1962 (the date the President signed the measure) and December 31, 1965.

The new law offers copyright owners of the period 1906–9 a temporary moratorium on the entry of their property into the public domain. The author of the law, Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, introduced it with the tacit understanding that between now and the end of 1965, a general revision of the copyright law will have been introduced, debated and, presumably, passed. Present prospects are that the general revision, when, as and if it becomes law, will call for a longer period of copyright than the present 56-year term (28 years, plus a 28-year renewal term). The Register of Copyrights, in his report on the general revision, has suggested a 76-year term: 28 years plus 48 years' renewal. The Authors League, the American Book Publishers Council and some other groups are in favor of a term of the life of the author plus 50 years. The relative ease with which Representative CELLER's 3-year extension became law would seem to indicate that sentiment is strong for a longer term of copyright than is presently available in the United States.

This sentiment is not unanimous, however. Critics of the Celler Act—and of any extension of copyright term—argue that the present 56-year term is quite enough protection for literary property. Alternately, they argue that any extension beyond present limits should be accompanied by a compulsory licensing system, permitting anyone to reprint a work which is a certain number of years old, upon payment of a minimum statutory royalty. To extend copyright, they say, is to extend monopoly control and potential censorship of literary work which, after a decent interval, should be made widely available to the public. A longer term of copyright, they contend, would jeopardize the many U.S. programs of publishing inexpensive reprints.

These critics may have a point, but we are not ultimately convinced by it. Central to the current thinking about copyright revision, it seems to us, is the recognition that a copyright work is a property and that the creator of this property and his heirs deserve reasonable protection against unauthorized use. Major corporate proprietors of copyrights may be massed on the side of copyright extension. But so are individual creators whose work, as things now stand, is going into public domain within their lifetimes. Their status as property owners would be enhanced—rightly so, in our opinion—if Congress would (1) pass the Lindsay bill requiring capital-gains tax treatment for copyrighted properties and (2) extend the available term of copyright. The Celler Act is a first step in the right direction.

As the legislative machinery rumbles toward a general revision, copyright is going to become an increasingly controversial subject, haggled over by all who have vested interests, creators and users of copyright material alike. Meanwhile, others are getting into the act. Representative HARRIS MCDOWELL, Democrat, of Delaware, has proposed that the Federal Government become the owner of all literature and music in the public domain, with proceeds from licensing fees going toward a general program of support for the arts. The censorship possibilities in this proposal are obvious, and we hope the whole idea dies an early death.

And Representative CHARLES MATHIAS, Republican, of Maryland, has called for a congressional investigation of the copyrighting of materials prepared by governmental employees in the course of their official duties and the publication of such materials by commercial publishers. This is a very confused area of copyright law and practice, which was not clarified by the Supreme Court's refusal to rule on the Rickover case. An objective congressional investigation of this subject could be a helpful event.—R.H.S.

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[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Post Sept. 21, 1962]

FRINGES FOR ASTRONAUTS

In an apparent reversal of judgment, the Kennedy administration has decided to let all astronauts—the original seven and the nine new men—sell stories of their personal experiences to the highest bidders.

Glenn, Carpenter, and Co., all along have had an exclusive contract with a magazine covering their experiences in Project Mercury, which probably will end next year.

Anyone naturally would wish these pioneers any benefits they can get. They are national heroes, and they are taking heroic chances with their lives to promote national prestige and scientific achievement.

But the space program is an effort of the whole people, financed by billions in taxes. It is Government-sponsored, and Government officials by and large are not permitted to sell their stories exclusively. All information resulting from the space program is the property of the taxpayers.

If it is the considered judgment of space officials that the astronauts are not being properly compensated for their risks and skills, Congress certainly would not be averse to a more appropriate pay scale. (There already have been proposals in Congress to give them a bonus.)

Let's keep these fellows in the public domain. Why should their stories be peddled to any single publictaion, no matter how rich it may be?

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[From the Salt Lake City Tribune, Sept. 21, 1962]

THE BETTER ANSWER

Announcement that the new astronauts will be permitted to sell personal experience stories for profit will recall the public shock last spring over the announcement that the seven present astronauts were going to accept the offer of a Texas homebuilder to give them free, fully furnished $24,000 homes.

Fortunately the astronauts reversed their decision, but there remained public uneasiness over their previous ventures into private profit through a reported $500,000 exclusive story deal with Life magazine and their subsequent use of the money for a Cape Canaveral motel.

This is, we will admit, a difficult problem. The astronauts as individuals have certain rights. But they also have great obligations as Americans especially selected, trained, and paid for space exploration. It must also be remembered that, while the astronauts are the public heroes, there are thousands of faceless scientists and others who make it all possible.

In a previous editorial on the subject we said it would be better to reward these brave men with an extra public bonus than to have their feats, and the Nation's space program, be in the slightest degree tainted by commercialization. We still think this is the better answer.

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[From the Newsday, Garden City, N.Y., Sept. 18, 1962]

A BAD DECISION

The President has agreed that all astronauts may sell their stories to the highest bidder. The decision is a bad one. It strips the astronauts of the aura of heroism and glamor that their hard task demands. It converts a series of great national achievements into a cash-and-carry proposition. It confirms the propaganda of our enemies that Americans will do anything for a dollar.

The experience this country has had with the present group of spacemen should have convinced the President that "no" was the only answer. These seven men sold the right to their personal stories to Life magazine for $500,000. They subsequently invested part of the money in a motel, a commercial venture near the Cape Canaveral, Fla., missile station, naming certain of the suites after themselves.

This fee business is in no sense comparable to the publication of memoirs by Gen. Dwight Eisenhower and other distinguished military men of World War II. These memoirs were not contracted for in advance of any invasion. They were not issued until World War II was over and until the authors had retired from active duty. In that context they represented a useful contribution to military science. But the astronauts are all comparatively young, with retirement long distant. They are members of the Armed Forces.

It has been argued that their base pay of approximately $10,000 is far too little considering the risks they take. Well, in time of war every GI, sailor, airman, and marine is paid far too little for facing the hazard of death. Every enlisted man and officer goes into the U.S. armed services with the knowledge that he may have to give his life. So the argument makes no sense. We, the people, are paying for the whole space program. The astronauts are not simply selling their stories to the highest bidder. They are merchandising the pride and devotion of the American people and denigrating their own undoubted heroism.

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## Russians Rapidly Build Merchant Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the sixth of Edward J. Mowrey's excellent articles on seapower, appearing in Navy Press Clips, was published on August 27, 1962:

RUSSIANS RAPIDLY BUILD MERCHANT FLEET
(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON, AUGUST 27.—Russia, leapfrogging its influence and "muscle" from continent to continent, has embraced a new concept to solidify its gains—and by necessity.

It is building, for the Soviets, an outsize merchant marine. It is also imposing, by virtue of its feverish ship construction, a mushrooming area of vigilance for widely deployed units of the U.S. fleet.

Explaining that the Soviet Union has been traditionally defensive minded and made use of its navy primarily to protect its coast, Vice Adm. Thomas H. Moerer observed:

"But now, the Russians are looking to the seas and it's a new concept for them. They are fully aware that if they expand any further, they must go to the sea.

"If they assist, resist or influence they must establish an economic link with these (target) countries, superimposed by military power."

And the Communists are trying desperately to do just that. Red bloc merchant ships are "snowballing" nonmilitary cargoes and lethal weapons to disturbed nations they're attempting to woo.

A reported $100 million in Red arms have already been dumped into Cuba.

Turning to the most recent intelligence data on the U.S.S.R. merchant marine buildup, Moorer said:

"The Soviet merchant fleet has more than doubled in size since World War II, and is continuing to expand rapidly. As of July 1, it consisted of (about) 975 ships (over 1,000

tons), placing the U.S.S.R. fifth in the number of ships and 12th in terms of tonnage.

"The combined strength of the Sino-Soviet bloc merchant marine is 1,575 ships totaling 6.4 million gross registered tons. Taken as a whole, the bloc has slightly more than 3 percent of the world's tonnage."

(Aside from the U.S.S.R. only Poland and Red China have merchant fleets of significant size.)

"The Communists have let numerous ship contracts outside Russia. Ships are now being built for the Soviets in Poland, Finland, Denmark, Communist Germany, West Germany, Holland, Japan and other countries.

Moorer, a 1933 graduate of Annapolis (where he played football), is a naval aviator and has served as a mining and ordnance expert and assistant chief of Naval Operations.

A native of Mount Willing, Ala., the 50-year-old director of the long-range objectives group holds a brilliant combat record in the Pacific.

Objectives of the Soviet merchant fleet expansion?

"There are many reasons for the ambitious program," Moorer declared. "It's designed to combat the tonnage shortage accentuated by Russia's global economic offensive, to replace overage and inefficient ships, convert ships to liquid fuel and decrease reliance on the need for Western shipping.

"The Soviets are also developing a naval auxiliary force potential."

Discussing today's "strategic environment" and its impact on the Navy's posture, the official said the rise in nationalism, "brush fires" and Soviet seapower expansion will mean from 50 to 75 percent more ocean "for us to cover."

"To keep pace with the added coverage," he said, "we'll have to build more flexibility, operate more small, self-contained and compact units. Our plans also include new 'super' supply ships and oilers.

"I think our fleets are highly trained and well equipped. They're deployed overseas in position. And I have utmost confidence that we're ready for any eventuality."

The one-package, Marine-Navy team has "all the forces needed" to conduct air, land or sea operations.

"However," Moorer said, "we give full consideration in all of our planning to the capabilities and contributions of the Army and Air Force. We're all part of the overall team.

"But we take pride in the fact that the Navy is able to project its fighting capabilities outside the continental United States."

The 6th Fleet (Mediterranean) and 7th Fleet (Pacific) are "essentially" self-contained, the official observed.

"Ships of the fleets," he added, "maintain a high level of ammunition and fuel stores. They're refueled every 3 days. Ammunition never gets below 100 percent."

Moorer characterized the Soviet surface (battle) fleet as a "formidable" adversary and said the U.S.S.R. submarine fleet (430)—operating both in the Atlantic and Pacific—requires "attention."

Russia's expansion of seapower, he added, labors under a "geographic handicap." Without aircraft carriers, its battle fleet can't successfully operate outside the range of land-based air cover.

And its lack of bases is worldwide.

"But they're trying hard to get them," Moorer said.

In event of conflict, the official declared, one of the U.S. Navy's most vital assets is its mobile, worldwide and instantaneous communications network.

But wouldn't it be outnumbered with perfection of outer space communications systems? Not according to Defense Department experts.

If such a system is incorporated in an orbiting satellite in wartime, it can be destroyed. Astronautic experts say you can predict where a fixed-orbit satellite will be, and hit your target.

They contend that the United States has the scientific capability of destroying a satellite communications system.

## Edward R. Murrow and the Film Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on this floor in the closing days of the 1st session of the 87th Congress, much was spoken concerning the deteriorating economic status of the prominent magazines circulating in the United States. There was honest concern among Members of the House that the increase in postal rates would not be to the extent that it would force additional magazines to cease publication or to merge. There was, at the same time, a will on the part of most Members to make such adjustments in rates which would not result in the circulation of a popular magazine to become a further burden on the Post Office Department due to a lower than reasonable rate.

About the same time this debate on magazine survival was taking place, a new magazine appeared on the news stand, founded by Huntington Hartford, the Show magazine. It is a magazine of culture, embracing diversified art from history to the modern theater. During its first year as a publication, it has not only dealt with the arts in Europe, the Far East and other parts of the world, but also has devoted a great share of its space to matters related to Washington politics and culture. It has dealt with such varied subjects as the theatergoing habits of Presidents, politics as a performing art—the Vice President's whistlestop tour of the South in 1960, the invasion of Washington by the "Advice and Consent" army, government and television, the showmanship at Cape Canaveral, and the relationship of government to the arts.

Although I am not a regular reader of this magazine, several issues have come to my attention; and I was particularly interested in the 1-year anniversary issue for November. One particular article which attracted my attention was an article by Frank Gervasi, "As Others See Us: Hollywood Exports, the Good Side of American Movies." The basis for this story was a recent conference requested by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, to criticize the producers and directors of movie films, because their films presented an unhealthy image of America to the outside world.

I am not in any way attempting to defend the standards, the artistic quality, nor even the impression that is reflected from the American films. I think it is important to point out, however, the travesty of Edward R. Murrow in any capacity suggesting a criticism of a film which might unfavorably reflect on American prestige or social system.

Probably the most violence done to the American image was accomplished by a film produced by Edward Murrow himself, the "Harvest of Shame." If this alleged documentary film did not do sufficient damage to America's image, it could be supplemented by one of the last Ed Murrow shows on CBS, in which he reportedly placed on the air the voices of "call girls" who it stated were available for large conventions and other gatherings in certain American cities.

In good conscience, I could not see how Mr. Murrow could justify a criticism of a film by the movie industry which is not produced for information or enlightenment, but solely for entertainment. In my opinion, these films would be largely accepted for just that. In the case of a documentary film, however, it is not produced to entertain, but to objectively depict and portray any given situation or incident. It has since been established in a Senate debate that the "Harvest of Shame" was not factually accurate, and it is probably reasonable to assume that the criticism Mr. Murrow directed to the movie industry was also made without a careful development of facts.

The only conclusion I can reach from this conflict of positions by Mr. Murrow is that a film unfavorably picturing America under a Republican administration is quite all right and in the public interest. A similar film produced, even by private enterprise, under the New Frontier is to be scorned.

I cannot see how all of these expressions can serve the public interest.

## Frank Boykin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the absence of FRANK BOYKIN in the next Congress will create a void not likely to be filled ever. His abundant love for people, his abiding faith in America and her institutions, and his indefatigable promotion of his cherished State Alabama, all combine to make FRANK BOYKIN one of the best known, best liked, and most effective Member of Congress.

I look forward to many years of continued association with FRANK and, even though it might be less frequent, I know it will be as rewarding.

## White House Operation: Boston City Hall Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, while the President and Vice President of the United States are out campaigning politically—with nobody minding the store—the Congress is still in session.

The President says he wants all Democrats in the Congress. I might suggest to him that he allow at least one Republican Member, otherwise he will have no one to blame for his miserable failure on his program in Congress.

Some excellent observations have been made on the President's political trek, including articles by William S. White and David Lawrence, in yesterday's Washington Evening Star:

ENDANGERING FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNITY—PRESIDENT'S HARSH ATTACKS ON GOP SEEN HURTING NATIONAL BIPARTISANSHIP

(By William S. White)

Rarely has a President risked so much for so little conceivable gain as is being risked in John F. Kennedy's current campaigning to retain or enlarge Democratic control of the new Congress.

Amid another developing crisis over Berlin and a worsening and chronic crisis over Castro Cuba, Mr. Kennedy is straining the delicate fabric of bipartisan national unity on foreign affairs on which this country, whatever its disputes at home, has been able to confront the outer world.

He is compromising that unity as he never has even thought of compromising it before. And for what? For the very dubious possibility that the new Congress may number more Members than the old who may turn hospitable faces to domestic reforms like medical care for the aged and urban renewal and so on.

For months the President has debated within himself as to how far he should enter this congressional campaign—and how far he should go once he was in it. It now seems clear that he has come down on the side of running a routine partisan show in times that are unhappily far from routine and in a world of lurking dangers.

The congressional Republicans have on the whole stoutly assisted him in keeping small partisan politics out of the issues of national survival. But reports from his barnstorming about the country indicate that for this he is giving the Republicans small credit or none.

By the unwritten rules, harsh politicking, in domestic affairs, is strictly a part of the game so long as the man doing it is willing to chance the repercussions. All Presidents have done it, to one degree or another. What is striking and troubling in the President's present position is that he is apparently content to take the far more serious consequences of dealing in this manner with foreign affairs also.

He is deeply vulnerable, for illustration, on Cuba, where the failure of the 1961 invasion has been followed by an open Soviet lodgment against which his administration has thus far been unable to take any effective counteraction. Any slightest lack of generosity to the Republicans in the field of foreign policy unnecessarily influences and makes inevitable what was already probably in some form—a highly dangerous partisan national debate on a thing already surely critical enough and delicate enough. Once provoked into high register, such a debate will damagingly linger long after this little congressional campaign is only a dim memory.

And when this campaign is over, Mr. Kennedy must still be President of the United States. If by his partisan conduct in the meantime he winds up being President of only a part of the people, the immense world problems before this Nation will still be there. They will still be there, only now bedeviled and rubbed up by unnecessary disunity at home.

Mr. Kennedy's national popularity to date has arisen precisely from the fact that on the big matters he has thus far been not a party President but a President of all the people. The record is clear that the Republicans have responded responsibly to this kind of leadership—on the big matters.

There is still time for President Kennedy to moderate his course in an enterprise which, even assuming he may elect a few more Kennedy Democrats, will profit him so minutely against the dangers being run. What good will a few more reform-minded Democrats be to him and the country about, say, Cuba? What are he and the country going to be able to do about Cuba if he persists in alienating responsible Republicans in order to get a few more votes for medical care for the aged and all that?

How large do any and all of these reformist schemes bulk against the menace to this hemisphere, the menace to Berlin?

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KENNEDY'S CAMPAIGN STRATEGY—PRESIDENT CALLED CONTRADICTORY IN ASKING DEFEAT OF REPUBLICANS WHO HELPED HIM

(By David Lawrence)

President Kennedy seems to be getting a bit contradictory in his weekend campaigning for an increase in the Democratic majority in Congress.

On the one hand, he says he wants a majority in Congress that will support his legislative measures. But, on the other hand, he is asking at the same time for the defeat of those Republicans who did vote to support important measures in his program.

Take, for instance, the housing bill which was passed last year. The President says that "82 percent of the Republican Congressmen from the State of Michigan voted against it." But he still asks for the defeat of the 18 percent who voted for the measure.

Also, with respect to the bill for urban affairs, Mr. Kennedy asks for the defeat of the 27 percent of the Republican delegation from Michigan who voted to support his bill.

On the Peace Corps bill, Mr. Kennedy received the support of 27 percent of the Republican delegation from Michigan, but he nevertheless asks for their defeat. The same thing is true with reference to the trade expansion bill, on which he received 27 percent of the Republican Congressmen's votes, but the President wants those Republican Congressmen from Michigan defeated just the same.

In the State of Minnesota, Mr. Kennedy told the people he wanted them to defeat all Republican Congressmen from that State—notwithstanding the fact that 33 percent of the delegation voted as he wished them to do for the bill to provide Federal aid for higher education.

The President has been saying the same kind of thing in Kentucky, where Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Republican, has voted in favor of several measures in the Kennedy program. Senator COOPER voted with the administration on medical care, trade expansion, extension of unemployment compensation, area redevelopment and housing. But nevertheless, the defeat of Senator COOPER doubtless will be urged by President Kennedy in speeches in Kentucky when Mr. COOPER runs for reelection.

In a speech at St. Paul, Minn., the President said:

"I recognize that both political parties, Republicans and Democrats, are both concerned for the welfare of their country. What concerns us in this election, what brings me to this State, is because I believe in 1962 those programs for which we stand serve the best interests of our country and strengthen our country and move it forward."

Mr. Kennedy, however, is asking the voters to defeat even those Republicans who agree with him about the "welfare of their country." The President knows that most Democratic Senators and Representatives from the South have voted against several of his measures, but he is not asking the voters to defeat them. He is not even campaigning in those States. He isn't calling for their defeat, or even the defeat of Democratic Senators in the North who have opposed certain important measures he has proposed.

Today the Democratic Party has virtually a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. But Mr. Kennedy doesn't think this is enough. He evidently wants a four-fifths majority in both Houses—more than any President of either party has had in the last half century.

Former President Eisenhower seems to feel that Mr. Kennedy is striving for a one-party system. In a speech this week in Los Angeles, General Eisenhower, noting that the Democrats have a 3-to-2 majority in the House and a 2-to-1 margin in the Senate, asked:

"What does he want? One-party government? That's the thing we're supposed to be against."

In the Soviet Union, of course, they do not permit free elections, but the men at the top of the Government do select the candidates.

Mr. Kennedy's real trouble is with members of his own party—especially the Democrats from the South. Instead of going before the people in the primaries in those States and expressing his opposition—as other Presidents of his party have done—he refrains from any form of political attack. Indeed, he fears that he may antagonize Democrats who, upon reelection, will continue to be chairmen of important committees.

To accomplish indirectly, therefore, what he cannot do directly, Mr. Kennedy proposes to punish Republicans who support him in order to get Democrats elected who presumably will vote his way on every issue instead of on selected measures.

So it all adds up to a scorn of Republicans who have helped the President out of many a legislative hole in the last two sessions of the present Congress. It's a declaration of political war against the very bloc of Republicans without whose help Mr. Kennedy could not have presented to the country the record of accomplishment on which he now asks the people to elect a higher proportion of Democrats than ever before.

Will the President be able to get any considerable "bipartisan" support again in Congress after his tactics in the present campaign, which are bound to alienate Republicans who voted with him?

It's certainly a paradoxical if not contradictory position for a President of the United States to present in all candor to the voters in a congressional election.

Especially coldblooded is the action by the President, asking for the defeat of WALTER JUDD, of Minnesota, who was told by Secretary of State Rusk in a letter "how grateful" Rusk was for Representative JUDD's efforts in behalf of the administration's foreign policy.

The Washington Daily News of yesterday scorched President Kennedy on his coldblooded, blind partisanship:

A "WORKHORSE" REWARDED

While Representative WALTER JUDD was here in Washington last Saturday, helping to pass President Kennedy's foreign aid bill, the President was in Minneapolis, trying to beat Representative JUDD for reelection.

Here we have illustrated the cynical, seamy side of partisan politics.

Only a few days ago Secretary of State Rusk addressed a "Dear Walter" letter to Representative JUDD saying "You really have been a workhorse for us on foreign policy in the House and I am deeply grateful."

Foreign policy is of overwhelming importance, perhaps making the difference between peace and war. And yet the President is making a special effort to unseat this "workhorse." He is urging the election of Representative JUDD's opponent, Don Fraser, campaigning on a pledge to support Mr. Kennedy 100 percent—in other words, to function as a rubberstamp.

It is true that Representative JUDD has opposed some of Mr. Kennedy's spending programs. So have a lot of Democrats. But to President Kennedy one of Representative JUDD's sins obviously leads all the rest. He's a Republican.

Representative JUDD, in fact, wanted to retire from Congress. After 10 campaigns he was weary of the grind. He decided not to run again but changed his mind at the urging of national leaders including ex-Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower and Governor Rockefeller of New York.

A former medical missionary in Asia, WALTER JUDD has an invaluable understanding of that part of the world, and the eloquence to explain and persuade. As the letter from Secretary Rusk acknowledges, he has avoided bitter partisanship.

It is understandable that President Kennedy should not support a Republican. But to single Representative JUDD out for concentrated opposition denotes a greater emphasis on party than on country. It seems to us to demonstrate a singular lack of gratitude and appreciation for services to America.

## Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller Demonstrates Basic Republican Principles in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JESSICA McC. WEIS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mrs. WEIS. Mr. Speaker, the basic Republican principles of fiscal integrity, local responsibility, belief in the private enterprise system, and dedication to civil rights have received no greater impetus anywhere than they have in New York State during the first term of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

In the latest issue of Advance, an independent journal of Republican thought, Governor Rockefeller explains his political philosophy and its implementation in New York. Under unanimous consent I include Governor Rockefeller's article at this point in the RECORD:

PRINCIPLES IN ACTION

(By Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller)

Republicans generally agree on four fundamental principles—fiscal integrity, private enterprise, local responsibility, and civil rights.

For almost 4 years now, the Republican administration in the State of New York has been putting these basic Republican principles in imaginative use. Within the framework of these principles, in fact, we have tackled literally every State problem in sight—and the results have been extraordinarily gratifying.

Our experience in New York State has proved that Republican principles are not only sound but are also the key to genuine and enduring human progress.

They are sound in the sense of preserving that which is good—and they are also vital and dynamic in equipping us to meet rapidly changing economic and social conditions.

In short, our experience has proved that Republican principles serve the people best—where vigorous leadership applies them responsively.

And our experience in New York State represents an important sampling of the American experience.

It represents more than one-tenth of the American people, the largest industrial population, the largest urban population. It represents a billion-dollar agricultural economy including the fact that New York is the second largest dairy State. It also represents the most complex cultural pattern in the Nation.

In this perspective, let us look at what the application of Republican principles has meant to the people of New York State since 1959.

First, we Republicans believe in the principle of fiscal integrity as the indispensable cornerstone of sound governmental policy.

We believe that a balanced budget is as vital to government as to the individual or the family.

When I took office as Governor, the outgoing administration had run deficits for 2 years and its spending requests for the next fiscal year totaled $2.3 billion against $1.6 billion in prospective income. In short, the State faced a $700 million deficit during my first year in office.

To restore the State's fiscal integrity, our Republican administration cut back budget requests $230 million. We increased taxes by $277 million and we achieved reforms and economies which, together, have resulted in 4 years of pay-as-we-go financing with balanced budgets and annual surpluses.

These actions would not have been possible without the courageous support of a Republican majority in the legislature. Let me note that every Democrat in the legislature voted against the absolutely essential tax increases. Yet these actions were fundamental to all the gains New York State has made since 1959.

We have cut the State's tax-supported debt by $85 million where the Harriman administration increased it by $347 million.

We thereby reduced State debt service from $53 million a year to $40 million a year—compared to the more than $400 million a year in debt charges that New York City must meet each year under Democratic administration.

And above all, we restored confidence in the State's ability to meet the needs of a growing population henceforward within a stable tax structure—a fundamental in restoring the business confidence essential to economic growth.

Having restored economic growth and increased employment, the State revenues have continued to rise accordingly. This has made it possible for us to meet the needs of our growing population including steps:

To increase annual State aid to education from $593 million to more than $1 billion—a 60-percent increase;

To provide scholarship and scholar incentive help for 140,000 college students promising fulfillment of our goal that every young man and young woman in New York State with the desire and capacity for college education shall have it regardless of personal finances;

To underwrite a program to fulfill the State's share of meeting the need for additional campus facilities under which we have already increased State university enrollment by 50 percent and will triple it by 1970;

To triple road building projects in the State despite a decline in Federal funds;

To achieve major increases in State support of a wide variety of other services to the people including those in the fields of mental health, hospitals, youth delinquency, combatting narcotics, and many others.

Second, we Republicans believe in the principle that private initiative and private enterprise are the fundamental forces underlying America's greatness—the source of more and better jobs for our people.

We believe that Government's role is to create a framework of law and leadership that will remove the harassments to business, industry, and agriculture, provide them with increased incentives, and encourage a more rapid rate of capital investment, thus increasing the rate of growth and production—which leads to increased employment.

We have put these principles to work in New York State these past 4 years.

The result is that 450,000 more New Yorkers have jobs today than on the day I was sworn in as Governor—and wages are higher than ever with total personal income up $6.2 billion.

The result is that where New York State had a higher rate of unempolyment and a lower rate of economic growth than the Nation as a whole during the prior Democratic administration, the situation now is completely reversed—our unemployment rate is lower and our growth rate is higher than the national average.

We didn't do this with mirrors. We took some 70 legislative and executive steps to make New York a better place in which to do business. Foremost among these were the confidence-building step of restoring the State's own fiscal integrity.

We recruited leadership to support a basic philosophy that the attitude of government at all levels is in itself an important factor in determining the growth of business, industry, and agriculture and thus in increasing employment opportunities.

I was fortunate enough to persuade the president of the New York Telephone Co., Keith S. McHugh, one of the leading businessmen in the Nation, to become the State's commissioner of commerce. He heads an aggressive campaign of new-business promotion of the State whose scope is symbolized by the fact that he has opened branch offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Montreal and is promoting New York industry worldwide.

To halt transit bus-company failures, we changed their tax base from 2 percent on gross receipts to 10 percent on net profits and reduced their motor-fuel taxes one-third.

We provided both direct tax relief and reduction of bookkeeping costs for small truckers.

We arranged extensive tax relief for railroads with special additional help for commuter lines continent upon improved service—and made possible the lease-purchase by commuter lines of 500 new commuter cars.

We cut taxes on small business by $5 million, eliminating the unincorporated-business tax for 42 percent of the small firms in the State, and reducing it for an additional 22 percent.

We cut corporation taxes at least $8 million a year by conforming to carryforward and carryback provisions to the Federal tax, and saved business another $8 million annually by revising tax treatment of out-of-State sales.

We set up an atomic research and development authority to undertake major projects designed to make New York a leader in the development of atomic industry.

In addition to stimulating private enterprise itself by removing needless roadblocks to its free functioning, we have channeled the dynamism of private enterprise into fields where Government has been conspicuous, costly, and less than fully effective. Housing is the most important example.

Here we have created the New York State Housing Finance Agency to make $1 billion in private funds available for construction of middle-income housing at no cost to the taxpayers. Through tax incentives for builders and low-cost mortgage money from this agency, middle-income housing construction in New York State has already increased tenfold. It is already a 28,000 apartment program to house approximately 112,000 people.

Using this new State finance agency, in fact, we are planning confidently in terms of new middle-income housing for up to 1 million residents of New York City in the next 10 years.

We have set up the State job development authority with power to borrow up to $1 billion for loan funds to help bring new industry into our depressed areas—which incidentally embrace a far smaller percentage of our population than in any other Northeastern State with such problems.

We have stepped up State-sponsored agricultural research and agricultural-marketing promotion. We have helped through advertising and facilities to expand tourism in the State by 30 percent—to the point that it has become a $2.6-billion-a-year industry.

And, most importantly for the flow of commerce and for agriculture, we have expanded roadbuilding to recordbreaking levels—with mileage completed coming to three times that of the prior administration, and all on a pay-as-you-go basis.

All these State actions and others in support of private enterprise have met with a like response.

Business and industry have invested $7 billion in new and expanded plants and facilities in New York State in the past 3½ years. More than 1,900 new or expanded plants have been added to the State's industrial complex.

All this means more and better jobs and increased State revenues to meet the growing needs of a growing population.

A leading industrial publication ranks New York at the top of the list of States in getting new plants—with more than the total of the next two States combined.

New business incorporations are up 17.3 percent in the past 3 years. Business failures are down 3.4 percent since 1958, while the national total had increased by 14.1 percent—and, in fact, the trend of business failures in New York State had been constantly increasing until 1959.

In a symbolic sense, perhaps the most significant incident is the case of the New York State industrial executive who announced in late 1958 that New York's business climate was so bad he wouldn't spend "another nickel" for business expansion in the State. Since the Republican administration took over and did something about improving the business climate, that same man's company has authorized 26 major plant expansions in this State at a total cost of $37.6 million.

A third basic Republican principle is that the government closest to the people is the best government.

We believe that the function of the State is to encourage stronge local government, intergovernmental cooperation, and preservation of States rights by resolute exercise of States responsibilities.

We have also put this principle to work in New York State these past 4 years.

In the first year of my administration, we created an office for local government. This office has not only served as the Albany spokesman for legislation and other matters affecting local government but has achieved tremendous gains in governmental efficiecney and effectiveness by sponsoring cooperation among local governments.

Examples include the building of joint facilities and establishing joint services at great savings to the taxpayers of the participating communities. Improved local government services in turn have been extremely helpful in attracting new industries.

Then in 1961, we set up an Office of Regional Development. This extended the range of our intergovernmental activities to include coordination of State programs with those of localities and regions, sponsorship of regional action, and sponsorship of joint action by localities, regions, the State, other States and the Federal Government.

For instance, New York State took the initiative resulting in four-State action with local cooperation to ease tax burdens on the New Haven Railway, which in turn has helped make it possible for the Federal receivers to keep this important railroad in operation.

Underlying all of this is our fourth basic Republican belief, in the supreme worth and dignity of the individual.

This is an abiding principle which stems from our spiritual heritage as a nation and our political heritage from Abraham Lincoln.

It is an article of faith reflected in the fact that Republican leadership made New York the first State in the Nation to outlaw job discrimination 17 years ago.

We have honored our Republican heritage and carried the workings of this principle forward these past 4 years by: banning discrimination in apprenticeship training and retraining programs; banning discrimination within the field of private housing, commercial space and home financing; broadening the bars to discrimination in places of public accommodation; and increasing the effectiveness of the State commission for human rights.

In short, the record of these past 4 years shows clearly that we make our principles work.

We don't just make speeches about principles—we live by them.

And the record shows that the application of these principles makes New York a better place to work, to live, and to build for the future of our children. It shows that Republican principles offer the key to progressive social advance within a framework of soundly solvent fiscal practices.

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## Foreign Trade Offers No Magic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the foreign trade question remains a live and vital issue even though the Congress has passed a 5-year bill, in which it delivered vast and, I feel, excessive powers over trade.

This year our high schools and colleges are debating the question of our trade. In preparation for this a discussion and debate manual under the editorship of Bower Aly of the University of Oregon under the auspices of the National University Extension Association was recently issued.

Under the part devoted to "The Case for Protectionism" appears a statement by Mr. O. R. Strackbein, entitled "Foreign Trade Offers No Magic."

Mr. Strackbein has devoted a number of years to the trade question as a spokesman for upward of 60 industries as well as some agricultural organizations and national labor unions. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert Mr. Strackbein's statement at this point in the RECORD:

FOREIGN TRADE OFFERS NO MAGIC [1]

(By O. R. Strackbein [2])

So much has been made of the benefits of foreign trade that some magic must be thought to inhere in it. Even though our exports represent less than 4 percent of our total national product they are somehow held to be extremely vital to our national economy. Imports in terms of value are about 75 percent of our exports and are also invested with a magic as if importation as such were an inherently virtuous economic enterprise.

We should have some second thoughts and should reflect on the purpose, meaning, and limitation of foreign trade if we are to have a more sober evaluation of its contribution to our economy. It is true that trade is being looked upon as a useful weapon in the cold war, but not on economic grounds. More and more the justification of our trade policy is shifting from the economic to the political. In some instances this may represent nothing more than a shift of convenience, especially if the economic justification begins to falter, as it does in many sectors. Again, it may reflect the rationalization of a vested interest in trade.

It might serve to clarify some of the claims ond counterclaims if we inquire a little more closely into the bases and purposes of trade. Perhaps we can then see where the magic lies and where the magician comes in.

It should be obvious that trade for the sake of trade would be meaningless and that there is nothing intrinsically valuable about trade. Very often trade simply represents a means of individual gain and its participants may be engaged in evil traffic, as in the case of opium, "white slavery" or smuggling. The immediate end of trade is profit for those who engage in it; and the national economic good is not taken into account. It is too incalculable and too remote. It may emerge as a byproduct but does not guide the conscious purpose.

However, it may be assumed that most trade is in goods of a kind that is not only acceptable but beneficial to the consumers. Even so, trade for the sake of trade would be an economically sterile undertaking.

If two manufacturers produce the same kind of goods and one is in Europe and the other is in the United States there can be no sense in an exchange of these goods if the output per man-hour is the same and if the quality is the same. Exchange of goods under these circumstances would represent unnecessary portage and economic waste. Why

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[1] Prepared for American Trade Policy: The 36th Discussion and Debate Manual. Copyright, 1962. All rights reserved.

[2] Mr. Strackbein is chairman of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on import-export policy, with offices at 815 15th Street, NW., Washington, D.C. Mr. Strackbein contributed an article to "Foreign Trade: The 28th Discussion and Debate Manual" and addressed the annual conference of the Committee on Discussion and Debate in 1954.

carry goods back and forth for the sake of doing so? It does not enhance the value of the goods by one penny.

The American consumer, however, presumably would benefit from the exchange with Europe if the European wages were significantly lower than the American. The question would then arise how sound this benefit would be.

IMPORTS

Circumstances do, of course, exist wherein trade unquestionably produces something of value. The clearest example of this instance in foreign trade would be encountered where one country had no production or an insufficiency of certain necessary or useful goods while other countries produced them in quantities beyond their own needs. This country, for example, has no tin ore worthy of consideration. Therefore the shipment of this product from abroad is of economic value. In other instances domestic supply of the resource is limited and the cost might become prohibitive if we insisted on supplying our whole demand at home. Or, as in the case of coffee and bananas or other tropical produce, we might produce our own supply but only at an exorbitant cost. Imports would free us of the need of engaging in such folly.

Under these circumstances an exchange of goods represents an economic gain; and no one would question its wisdom. Our own tariff is designed to recognize this principle. Since the law was enacted in 1930 it may be out of kilter here and there with respect to the items on our free list; nevertheless the intent was not to burden such goods with a tariff, not even for revenue purposes. About 40 percent of our total imports consits presently of goods on which we levy no duty.

Thus have we recognized the obvious value of a great part of our imports by giving them unimpeded access to our market.

EXPORTS

So far as exports go, two functions may be performed with economic advantage.

In the first place, we could not for many years continue to import without exporting. Therefore if we are to import tin, nickel, coffee, burlap, asbestos, and many other items that we either produce not at all or only in short quantity, we must export other goods. These would usually be goods that other countries in turn need but do not produce in sufficient quantity or at as low a price as ours.

In the second place we have learned how to produce many goods in a volume that exceeds our own needs. Unless we export this excess or the greater part of it our market will either be burdened with a surplus that may cause prices to fall disastrously or the Government will take the surplus off the market and store it—at a price.

Under the free market system, without Government intervention, the falling prices caused by an excess output would be expected to lead to a cutback in production sufficient to absorb the surplus. This is what was contemplated by Adam Smith, the philosophical father of free trade.

In actual practice, however, we no longer adhere to a free market in this country. Therefore the automatic adjustment of supply does not occur. We interfere publicly not only with the factors of production, including the price of farm products and the price of labor, but with money supply, interest rates, etc.

EXPORTS AS A SURPLUS-DISPOSAL OPERATION

Exportation of goods, as a means of reducing or removng a surplus, helpful as it may be to the domestic economy, may cause some difficulty by working havoc in foreign markets. What is good and of value to the exporting country may cause upset and disruption in the recipient country. For this reason antidumping laws have been enacted.

These laws recognize that mere cheapness of a product does not necessarily recommend its free flow in international trade. The cheapness may become too expensive in other respects to the economy of the importing country. Whether this is true depends on the circumstances.

The United States has for some years engaged in the most massive dumping enterprise in history with our agricultural exports. Although complaints have been heard (for example, from Canada against our wheat shipments), a special effort has been made not to dump our farm products, that is, sell them abroad at lower prices than at home, under circumstances that upset normal marketing in other countries.

ABSOLUTE ADVANTAGE IN PRODUCTION AND TRADE

There is little difficulty in assessing the value of trade where deficiencies in resources are made up by imports or where a country ships its surplus products to other countries that need them and can absorb them. If we have a special advantage in our mass production and can produce highly fabricated items more cheaply than Brazil or Celyon we should export these items—such as automobiles or typewriters, to them—while we import their coffee, tea and spices. This type of interchange fulfills the classical formula of free trade.

COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES

Unfortunately when we move from this simple world wherein the absolute advantages prevail, into the world of comparative advantages and technological innovations, we come into a very different and uncertain situation.

The theory of comparative advantage requires that a country guide its capital investment into one industry rather than another if its advantage in producing the one product, while not absolute, is greater than its advantage in producing the other. In other words, a country may have no absolute advantage in the production of steel but its advantage in producing steel, as ocmpared with steel production in other countries, may be greater than its advantage in producing ceramics. If so, it should concentrate on production of steel and other products in which it has a comparative advantage rather than ceramics. It would stay in ceramics only if its advantage there were greater than in still another industry. It would be hard to know just where to stop.

EFFECT OF INVENTION, MECHANIZATION AND NEW PRODUCTS

That this formula may become very complicated can readily be recognized if we consider the changes produced by modern technology. An industry that today is a laggard may move to the vanguard with some new discovery while previous leaders may be surpassed by others. The advent of new products such as manmade fibers, synthetic rubber and the plastics unquestionably reshuffled the absolute and comparative advantages beyond possibility of unscrambling for some years.

Within the past 10 years mechanization has created great changes in bowling through installation of pin-spotting machines, and in pretzel production by introducing pretzel-bending machines. Both were latecomers to a scene that had already been made over considerably by modern inventions. Coming from the rear these two enterprises were suddenly brightly modern. Hundreds of such innovations convert the theory of comparative advantages into a complex composite of shifting elements, and rob it of practical value as a guide in the world of international trade.

INTERFERENCES WITH THE FREE MARKET

Beyond the complexity thus created by science and technology is another element equally effective in upsetting theoretical economic calculations. This is the vast network of State economic intervention as practiced in the modern industrial countries. The controls, restrictions, supports, taxes, and subsidies defy systematic analysis and comparison. The theory of comparative or even absolute advantage bogs down in a quagmire of shifting sand.

These interferences with the placid commerce of the past do not destroy the theories; they merely make them unmanageable and worse than useless, largely because the exceptions and variables exceed the constants and the stable, while acceptance of the theory persists and distorts clear vision. The theories become no more than instruments in the hands of those who have an intellectual or material vested interest in "freer trade."

In the highly diversified industrialized world where many thousands of different articles and items of goods are produced, the question of trade necessarily becomes more complicated as time goes on. It becomes much more difficult to determine the value of trade. Trade that was profitable 10 years ago may become outdated. New products may upset whole areas of trade.

NET VALUE OF FOREIGN TRADE

If we now consider the value of foreign trade in its proper perspective we will have to settle for (1) the primary benefits that accrue from access to products that we lack but need and can use to advantage, such as certain minerals, tropical products, etc.—benefits that may include the national security, and may be extensive; (2) the disposal of goods that we produce in excess of our domestic needs, that otherwise would depress our market or increase governmental outlays; and (3) profitable interchange of products that we can sell abroad because of lower production costs, special attributes of quality, design, or prestige.

Of these perhaps the most durable benefit would be the first. Yet even this is a changeable dependence, as witness our growing independence of crude rubber, Chilean nitrates, etc. To a degree this independence, however, is offset by growing dependence in some other fields. Trade in this sphere is still of substantial value, but is little affected by the tariff.

Looking to the foreign market as a receiver for our overproduction is not basically sound. If we overproduce, as we have been doing with our farm products, it simply means that we have not solved this national production problem.

When exports become a surplus-disposal operation the likelihood is that they contribute less to the economy than if they were produced naturally, i.e., in response to foreign commercial demand. Surplus-disposal trade may be regarded as forced exports. They cost the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars and therefore to that extent burden the economy. The disposal is then an uneconomic operation. If we know how to avoid such surpluses we should do so.

The situation is different where industry, because of its mass-production prowess, is able to produce more than the domestic market absorbs. This represents the second of the sources of benefit mentioned above. In that case there may be a real advantage in exporting. If a foreign demand exists the goods exported flow through commercial channels and are neither dumped abroad nor expected to relieve a surplus at home. The goods are produced in response to foreign demand in the first place rather than in pursuance of some unrelated policy. Their production may reduce the unit cost and increase profits.

Over half our agricultural exports in recent years have moved abroad with some type of governmental assistance. These exports could be classified as "operation surplus disposal." They may have been necessary and may still be helpful but they ignore completely the theoretical justification of trade.

FOREIGN TRADE THEORY IN A "MIXED ECONOMY"

When we enter the field of the "mixed economy," i.e., that in which freedom is mixed with regulation and control, the laws of economics indeed take sudden wing and disperse like a covey of quails.

Did we or did we not enjoy an "absolute advantage" in cotton production for generations? We must assume so, since we supplied most of the world. Today we supply only about a third of the world's needs.

Have we then lost our "absolute advantage"? This would be strange, since our yield per acre increased 66.5 percent from 1950 to 1960. Our exports dropped alarmingly in mid-decade to 2.2 million bales from 5.5 million bales in 1952 and an average of 7.2 million bales from 1931 to 1935.

What had happened?

We had interfered with the laissez faire philosophy of Adam Smith and the bases of free trade (1) by curtailing cotton production in this country, (2) by raising the domestic price of cotton artificially and (3) by encouraging cotton production in India, Egypt, Brazil, Mexico, Pakistan, etc., through technical assistance and foreign aid. This interference upset the free market and the foundations of free trade.

What did we then do?

We began in 1956 to subsidize our cotton exports sufficiently to enable us to meet the world price. Exports jumped to 7.6 million bales in 1957. The subsidy was 6 cents per pound. Thereafter another decline set in. By 1959 our exports fell once more below the 3 million bale level, or to 2.8 million. To correct this, we raised the subsidy by about 2 cents per pound and our exports reversed themselves and reached 7.2 million bales in 1960.

These gyrations would no doubt have confused Adam Smith. It would have confused him immeasurably more if he had known that our cotton growers continued to profess the free trade philosophy and strongly advocated it for industrial America. Meantime they succeeded in placing a highly restrictive import quota on raw cotton under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. This was having the free trade cake and eating it at the same time.

Virtually the same treatment was extended to wheat and wheat flour. Wheat prices were supported and stringent restrictions were placed on imports of wheat and wheat flour. These two products, together with cotton, are our most important farm exports. The wheat farmer and the flour miller joined the cotton grower in ardent support of free trade! But for these highly restrictive import quotas the farm acreage devoted to cotton and wheat would have dwindled much farther than it did in this country, particularly because we were stimulating foreign production at the same time.

How extricate the theory of absolute and comparative advantage, those cornerstones of the economists' free trade philosophy, from the manipulations practiced in a "mixed economy?"

"This had to be done," the political pragmatist may say. Perhaps it did—the statue of Adam Smith had to be torn down! But nostalgic backward glances continue—and the insistence that the theory be honored in other areas where it is equally inapplicable bedevils our foreign trade policy.

These examples from agriculture may be called the exceptions which do not hold in the industrial field; and it is quite true that no true duplication may be produced. Nevertheless other interferences with the free market, almost too numerous and extensive to catalog, have been recorded in the nonagricultural field.

EMPLOYMENT AND FOREIGN TRADE

The employment problem is now widely acknowledged as one of the most stubborn, dangerous and intractable that faces our economy.

A trade bill styled H.R. 9900, now before Congress, is designed to plunge faster toward the free trade goal than was permited by the 28-year-old Hull trade program as it was extended from time to time by Congress.

The purpose of the bill is stated, among other things, to be stimulation of economic growth of the United States; maintenance and enlargement of foreign markets for our products, provision for our consumers of a wider choices of goods (a somewhat strange solicitude for the Federal Government to assume); strengthening of economic and political relations with the Common Market of Europe; help in building the economics of underdeveloped countries and standing off communism.

This is a considerable order for a segment of our economy; i.e., foreign trade (imports and exports), that at best accounts for little more than 5 percent of our total national product. The faith in foreign trade thus reflected seems as sublime as it is unjustified.

We have advertised to the wide departures from the hallowed doctrine of Adam Smith by our farm legislation. In the industrial field we have overtly trampled down the doctrine while doing it homage.

FREE MARKET DESERTED

We set aside the natural economic laws and substituted manmade regulations. Free trade calls for a free market. Otherwise its benefits would be distorted, diminished or completely lost. So alien is the concept of free trade to what we have been doing in the past 30 years that in order to conform to its mandate it would be necessary to set aside—

Our immigration laws; our minimum wage and maximum hour laws; our social security system; our governmental interference with interest rates, quantity of money, etc.; our graduated income tax laws; farm price supports; and shipping and farm subsidies, etc.

In other words, we moved in one direction in our domestic legislation and in the opposite direction in our trade policy.

Insofar as we insist on keeping these domestic regulatory laws on our statute books we depart from the bases of free trade. The whole doctrine is based on the free and unimpeded flow of goods, operating under the law of supply and demand.

This law, it will be noted, fitted admirably the British colonial system, and Adam Smith became a venerated economist in England. It does not, however, fit our domestic economic policies. Nor does it fit our official policy of developing the underdeveloped countries. Under the free trade philosophy Cuba should produce sugar because she does that better than anything else. We therefore should not upset the order of nature underwritten by free trade. The whole Alliance for Progress in fact is at odds with Adam Smith and free trade.

PROTECTIONISM BUILT U.S. INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

We in this country departed from free trade after the War of 1812 because we learned that we lacked the muscles for war. We became protectionist and in more than a century built the strongest and most productive industrial system in the world. Did protectionism dry up the fountains of our ambition during this long period and make us a victim of inefficiency? If so, why were we called upon in 1940 to support the world economically and militarily, and why were we able to answer the call?

Our departure from free trade, however, was never as great as after 1930 when we adopted much contrary legislation while in the one matter of tariffs we began to move closer to it.

CONTRADICTORY ECONOMIC POLICY SINCE 1934

At the very time that we embarked on a program that would make us less competitive abroad (i.e., higher wages, shorter hours, farm price supports, etc.) we began to take down our economic defenses through tariff reductions.

Also, at the very time that we exerted ourselves to remove wages from the field of domestic competition, so that low-wage payers could not gain a competitive advantage—while we were outlawing child labor and driving out the sweatshops by enacting minimum wage and maximum hours legislation—we were opening wider our ports to low-wage competition from abroad.

Since our legislation could not be extended to other countries, any regulation of import competition had to depend on our use of the tariff or import quotas. Yet we committed ourselves to reducing the tariff and to refraining from maintaining or imposing import quotas with a few exceptions on farm products, such as cotton, wheat and wheat flour, dairy products, etc.

Although the United States has for several generations (since 1890) dedicated itself through legislation, to fairness of competition within this country, import competition remained beyond reach, except as noted; we have reduced the average protective effect of our tariff by 80 percent since 1934 and outlawed import quotas, with the exceptions noted.

Our exports and imports have risen since the war, especially since 1950. Yet since 1950 the contribution of exports to employment has been small. Imports, on the other hand, have succeeded in chilling industrial expansion in many industries and have exerted an untold influence on the trend toward mechanization and automation. This influence cannot be measured precisely; but it stands to reason that industries employing directly 6 million workers that have been beset by import competition would have failed to expand and grow as they otherwise would have.

In 1961 our exports represented some 3.7 percent of our gross national product. If we apply this percentage to the total work force we find that the employment of some 2,480,000 workers was attributable to exports and all the activities connected with them. This figure includes a proportional share of all service, trade, military and professional employees.

INCREASED EXPORTS NO ANSWER TO EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Looking to exports as a solution to our employment problem must therefore result from a flight of fancy. An increase of exports from $20 billion, the 1961 level, to $25 billion, would increase employment by about 620,000. Such an expansion might be accomplished in 4 or 5 years, if the rate of the past two 5-year periods may be accepted as a guide. This prediction would assume a continuation of the present level of foreign aid and subsidization of agricultural exports. About 20 percent of our present exports are attributable to such outlays.

We would put possibly 125,000 employees to work per year, assuming no negative effects from the increased import competition that would be stimulated by our rising exports. The proposed trade expansion bill is designed to reduce what remains of our tariff (now averaging between 11 and 12 percent on the value of our dutiable imports) in order to promote exports by increasing imports.

The 125,000 added as a result of the assumed annual increase in exports is a small proportion as compared with the expansion

of the yearly employable but unemployed work force. The addition is some 2,500,000 per year, roughly half representing unemployment attributable to the increase in population and the other half to technological advancement, automation, etc.

Against this must be set the retardation or displacement of workers caused by the increased imports. Since a great part of our imports consists of labor-intensive goods while our exports are comprised largely of labor-sparse goods, it follows that dollar for dollar we import more man-hours of work than we export. Otherwise trade would be a sterile exercise, with some exceptions previously indicated.

When we import goods for which the demand is inelastic, such as food, or for which the market is saturated or declining, we directly displace domestic workers engaged in producing the same goods. In a growing market and a sellers' market imports may be absorbed while domestic production itself continues to expand.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF IMPORTS ON EMPLOYMENT

Imports may, however, rob domestic industries of the possibility of expansion by preempting the market growth or skimming the cream, so to speak. In many cases the domestic industry creates the market by carrying out the promotional work and advertising only to find imports capturing a growing share of the expanding market.

We can also appreciate the retarding effects of imports on growth when we consider the decision that must be made by individual companies when they are faced with rising import competition. The decision may be to stand still and cut costs as much as possible. To be of much consequence this has to mean reduction of employment. Alternately the decision may be to renovate the plant, again in order to be more competitive. Expansion of the plant or building a new plant would be an unlikely decision because of the gloomy market outlook. A more likely decision would be to invest overseas, as many hundreds of companies have done, and many more contemplate doing, as a means of selling in foreign countries from within rather than exporting to them. The foreign facilities may then also ship to third markets in place of exports from the home base.

The net effect nationally would be expected to show in our employment statistics. From 1950 to 1960 thirty of our leading industries, including iron and steel, coal mining, textile mill products, lumber and wood products, dairy products, etc., lost 1,169,000 workers. The rate of population expansion would have called for additional employment of 1,153,000 workers. The deficiency was therefore 2,322,000.

Who was then to make up this employment deficit? A half-dozen growth industries, including aircraft, electronics, plastics, etc., added 700,000 above the population gain; but this was not enough to overcome the deficit. Even here imports produced some retarding effects. We do not presently have enough growth industries to take up the slack in the settled ones, the stable ones and the saturated ones that suffer in varying degrees from import competition and therefore do not move forward.

Employment in nonproduction enterprises—the services, trades, and professions—did expand sharply during the past decade. They added 6.6 million workers; but agriculture dropped 2.8 million, railways dropped 894,000, textiles 326,000, and coal mining 219,000.

The upshot is that in relation to population growth our economy failed by 4.7 million workers to employ the available work force.

Our export position is not cheerful because foreign productivity has advanced very rapidly in the past 10 years. It responded to our foreign aid, our shipment of some $50 billion in modern machinery and equipment abroad, and instruction of thousands of foreign productivity teams in our factory methods and production system. The lower foreign wages, which range from a tenth or less to a third of our rates (Canada excepted) have thus taken on a sharper competitive edge than formerly.

So long as we insist on exposing our industries to injurious import competition we will not generate the domestic growth and expansion that we need in order to keep reasonably fully employed. Our capital will continue its movement overseas. We need a better and more attractive investment climate at home; and this means the proper regulation of imports so that our own producers, after exerting themselves can have reasonable assurance that they will not find their home market preempted by imports.

Emphasis on greater exports and increased trade in general represents a false trail. This would inevitably mean greater exposure of some of our industries for the benefit of others. The consumer has no right to enjoyment of lower prices based on lower foreign wages if he is to be a beneficiary of our high-plateau economy. He cannot undermine it and still expect it to maintain him in his accustomed standard of living.

Foreign trade, come to think of it, did nothing to build the great industries that brought us employment and growth, such as the automobile industry, the motion picture industry, the oil industry, electrical industry, refrigeration, and many others. To court dependence on it now would be inexcusable.

Foreign trade will not bring us new products upon which to build new industries or new departures in established industries that will lift the ceilings of consumer demand. We have been blinded by the international bankers, the export-dependent farm produce merchants, the importers, the mass production industries that have spilled over our own market, and those good souls who believe freer trade will pacify the human lust for war.

To look upon the European Common Market, for example, as offering a much greater outlet for our goods represents a forlorn hope. Our participation in that market will be principally through capital investment and supplying machinery and equipment, which, in turn, after its installation, will make us less competitive than before. Our imports from the six European Economic Community countries rose 300 percent from 1950 to 1960 while our exports to them rose only 112 percent. Our still favorable balance may be expected to disappear as industrial expansion in that area levels off. The comparative advantages in finished products will lie largely with the European Economic Community countries.

The world grew in economically insulated sections separating countries of diverse levels from each other. The United States stands at the apex in terms of productivity and wages. As the productivity gap disappears with mass production and automation abroad, the wage gap, which is more stubborn, makes of tariff reduction a two-edged sword. Tariff concessions designed to enhance our exports through reciprocity will sharpen foreign competitive advantage in our market and the effect will be to discourage employment expansion in this country. Thus will we frustrate our other efforts to solve this problem that looms ever higher on the horizon.

COMMENTS IN BRIEF—WORLD GOVERNMENT AND FREE TRADE

Finally, if free trade is to work on a world basis, it means that we must have a world government. This follows because several of the first seven conditions can be met only through an overall world government, a government which can set uniform taxes, establish and administer uniform laws, furnish a single currency, and assure freedom from war. It is not intended here to argue either for or against world government, but rather merely to point out that worldwide free trade is an internationalist concept—the very premise underlying the free-trade theory requiring world government as part of the necessary conditions. (From Lewis E. Lloyd, "Tariffs: The Case for Protection" (New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1955), p. 72.)

## Space Efforts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, sometimes we overlook the international benefits flowing from the national space program. In the long run, the international cooperation being built upon the solid and nonpolitical base of scientific inquiry may become the best justification for spending billions for space exploration.

Aviation Week and Space Technology, in a special issue July 2 called "NASA—Spearhead to Space," described the international side of our space program. Under unanimous consent, I include this excellent and provocative article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

NASA SPURS INTERNATIONAL SPACE EFFORTS

WASHINGTON.—Broad but highly selective program of international cooperation involving more than 55 nations is rapidly and quietly spreading the scientific benefits of space research and proving the openness of the U.S. civilian space program to the free world.

Even the Soviet Union has shown an inclination in recent weeks to consider cooperative projects, after almost 4 years of refusing to deal with anyone including the Communist satellite nations.

There is a strong belief in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that the change in Russia's attitude is a direct result of the highly successful program NASA has built for the United States, which has included participation by the same Communist nations that Russia rebuffs.

Neither the extent of U.S. space ventures with other nations nor the hardheaded practicality of the program is appreciated widely in this country, NASA believes. Nor has the aerospace industry fully realized the scope of the potential market that broad participation by less technically advanced nations represents.

More than 40 nations are directly involved in cooperative projects such as satellite and sounding rocket launchings, ground-based meteorological observations related to U.S. weather satellite flights, and communication satellite experiments.

Forty-five or so are involved in operational support for Minitrack, Mercury, and deep space tracking networks—with some countries paying for and manning the stations themselves and sharing data with the United States. About 30 countries are engaged in NASA-sponsored educational and training programs, which include a year of study in the United States.

More than 1,000 scientists and government officials from more than 40 countries visited NASA installations last year, and this program is growing as participation expands.

This year, for the first time, members of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space visited Cape Canaveral. They were invited as guests of NASA and the United States to witness the world's first cooperative satellite launching of the project—the United States-United Kingdom Ariel radiation satellite.

Delegates to the third annual meeting of the Committee on Outer Space Research (Cospar) of the International Council of Scientific Unions—including some delegates from Iron Curtain countries—took advantage of the Washington meeting site to visit NASA's nearby Goddard Space Flight Center and the Wallops Station at Wallops Island, Va., where NASA and joint-project sounding rockets are launched.

More important than the breadth of this cooperative program is its insistence on quality. The decision to enter a joint project through an agreement with NASA's Office of International Programs must be the other country's, and the ground rules are strict:

No dollars exchanged: NASA does not insist on equal expenditure of dollars, but each side must finance its own contribution.

"This is much more meaningful than if we subsidized the whole program." Marvin W. Robinson, deputy director of the international office, said. "First of all, the other country should know it has to be able to afford what it's getting into; and second, it can make its likes or dislikes known this way, so that it is a truly cooperative program."

Experiments must hold promise of producing a meaningful scientific contribution and must be of mutual interest. "We are not interested in just supplying rockets," Robinson said. This does not mean that NASA rejects a country automatically if its space technology is not as advanced as that of the United States—that would defeat the purpose of the international program.

In Pakistan's case, for example, initial talks between United States and Pakistani scientists indicated that Pakistan was not yet technically ready for a joint experiment. NASA trained Pakistan scientists and technicians at Goddard, Wallops and two universities. Then it sent a technician to Pakistan to help select a launching site, and provided a Nike-Cajun sounding rocket for a sodium vapor experiment. The Pakistanis installed the equipment, manned the range, etc., and last June 7 the Nike-Cajun-renamed Rehbar 1—made the first Pakistan space flight from a site near Karachi. Several more experiments in the joint project are due over the next few months.

"This is cooperation in depth," Robinson said, "not just an exchange of hardware."

Joint projects are completely open. All U.S. agreements are with civilian agencies, designated by the other country's government so that NASA does not become entangled in domestic disputes between rival space organizations, and the data gathered must be made available to the scientific community. All agreements so far have been between NASA and a single government organization with the exception of Telespazio, a part-government and part-private organization created in Italy for participation in communication satellite experiments.

"NASA is not trying to sell or push this down anyone else's throat," Robinson said. "The impetus has to be theirs. We point out that there is no sense in doing one experiment and quitting. We are trying to attract but we are not subsidizing."

Word on the joint program is exchanged through visits of U.S. scientists to meetings abroad and vice versa, through U.S. information channels, and so on. U.S. embassies are provided with details on the fellowship program, "but with careful instructions that no one is to beat the drums," Robinson said.

"There is no need to get involved with countries that cannot afford a project or haven't the scientific competence—and yet we have the great number of participants that we do, and the number is growing."

INDUSTRY INTEREST

Increasing interest by U.S. aerospace firms in recent months has led NASA to believe that the industry is just beginning to appreciate the magnitude of the international program.

The potential market for rocket and satellite hardware, electronic flight and ground equipment, range instrumentation, propellants, etc., is a large one. Even if other countries intend to do their own manufacturing, which many have indicated they do, they are often interested in the possibility of cross-licensing agreements.

NASA can offer little specific assistance beyond informing industry what countries are involved in programs and explaining what its own role is, since other government agencies handle such problems as export licensing. But the International Programs Office is receiving about one visit a week from firms that are ready to send sales representatives abroad to explore the market potential, and Robinson recently was asked to speak to an Aerospace Industries Association group about the scope of the cooperative program.

PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES

NASA recognizes the obvious political advantages that running a completely open program brings to the country and to an organization created as a civilian agency for the peaceful exploration of space. Fortunately both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations have recognized that the program is only worthwhile—even from the political point of view—if real scientific contributions are made.

"We can never be accused of running a cooperative program for purely political gain," Robinson said. "When a scientist from a cooperating country gets up at a meeting abroad to report to a scientific body, it is pretty easy for fellow scientists to ascertain whether the experiment has been a useful one. We would do a disservice to both countries if we ran meaningless programs."

There are practical reasons other than political for joint operations:

"No nation has a monopoly on brainpower, and the problems and questions to be answered are tremendous," Robinson said. "We want to have as many people as possible involved, especially if what is learned is to have any application beyond basic science."

Through an agreement with Sweden, NASA will provide four Nike-Cajuns for four shots from the Vidsel Range late this summer that will sample noctilucent clouds. Origin of these very high, faintly luminous clouds is unknown. They occur only for a short period of the year and only in certain regions of the auroral zone.

Last April 26, the first of three Nike-Cajuns was launched from Wallops Island in a joint United States-Japanese test of a Japanese-developed radio frequency resonance probe that may permit measurement of electron density and temperature simultaneously with only one instrument, and at a faster rate than before.

Experiments such as these obviously give the United States geographic or scientific advantages that it would not have without joint programs.

Savings to the U.S. taxpayer: The best example of this lies in the communication satellite field. The United States would like to conduct transatlantic experiments with the NASA-American Telephone & Telegraph Telstar satellite and its own Relay satellite. It undoubtedly could have obtained permission to build foreign stations. But the interest in other countries is a high as it is here. France is building its own $12 million station and England is building one at a cost of $3 to $4 million. Their agreements with NASA call only for cooperation in research and development, with no commitments regarding an eventual operational system.

Through such agreements, England, France, and Brazil probably will be ready for the first experiments this summer; Germany is building a sending and receiving station; Italy is constructing a receiving station and NASA is discussing joint ventures with other countries. A great number of countries are interested, if for no other reason than the revenue that such systems are expected to produce. But cost and such technical limitations as the coverage the satellite will give, and the power supply it can carry, will hold down the number of participants.

SATELLITE WORKSHOPS

NASA and other Government agencies recently sponsored an international communications satellite workshop, similar to the successful international meteorological workshop that attracted representatives of 27 nations to Washington last fall. The space agency paid no travel expenses, but representatives of some 30 countries attended.

In addition to training foreign scientists and technicians at its research centers for specific projects such as the Pakistani experiment, NASA has two programs administered for it by the National Academy of Sciences:

International fellowship program, in which other countries select young graduate students to attend one of 18 leading U.S. universities engaged in space-related research. Applicants' qualifications are reviewed by both the academy and the universities. The other country provides travel to the United States and subsistence for a year—again the program is not a U.S. subsidy—and NASA pays tuition and inland travel costs for visits to NASA centers. The pilot program so far has included seven fellows from six countries and has been so successful that it will be expanded next fall. The European Space Research Organization (ESRO) already has set aside 15 fellowships to be used in this program.

Resident research program: Under this plan, carefully selected senior scientists from both the United States and abroad work for 1 year on either theory or experiments at Goddard or Goddard's Institute for Space Studies in New York City. In this case, NASA provides, through the academy, a stipend consistent with the scientist's senior status.

NASA also is responsive to invitations for U.S. scientists to go abroad for lectures, seminars, or possibly even stays of a full semester at foreign universities. It also is sponsoring 6-week summer institute in space sciences at Columbia University for outstanding undergraduates, in which about 20 foreign students will participate.

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

All aspects of the international program are administered by NASA's relatively tiny Office of International Programs, under Director Arnold W. Frutkin. The Office consists of only 19 people, including secretaries. It draws legal and technical help from other NASA offices and centers, and most of the actual operation involved in joint agreements takes place at the field level—chiefly at Goddard and Wallops. This Office also coordinates with State Department, the Weather Bureau, the Academy, and other organizations.

ESRO, which has a membership of 10 European countries and is the first example of regional cooperation in space research, has sent groups to the United States to study NASA's methods. NASA can deal with ESRO as it would with a single country, but it

retains the privilege of bilateral agreements with member nations just as member nations of ESRO retain the privilege of conducting their own national programs.

NASA expects this regional cooperative approach to grow—possibly in South America next—and expects greater participation from member nations of the U.N. space committee.

Joint satellite launching agreements so far have been completed only with the United Kingdom and Canada—chiefly because cost and competence are formidable barriers. But the appearance of the large observatory satellites, which can carry a number of experiments, may permit other countries to send up single experiments. They would be subject to the same selection process used to select experiments by NASA, university and industry experimenters now.

Participation in NASA's space work has included Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. All three have made correlated ground observations of Tiros weather satellites at the invitation of NASA and the Weather Bureau.

"Some time ago there was a rash of propaganda that Tiros was a spy satellite," one NASA official said. "The value of the openness of the program is that everyone recognizes its benefits and sees from what it does that it is not a spy satellite. Had we been secretive, they would still be calling it a spy, but foreigners have actually sat here and seen the readouts."

SOVIET SITUATION

Recent talks in Geneva between Soviet Academician A. A. Blagonravov and NASA's Deputy Administrator, Dr. Hugh Dryden, produced some hope that Russia may eventually cooperate in space research.

A joint communique issued by Dryden and Blagonravov said that recommendations had been forwarded to both governments for cooperation in meteorology, a world magnetic survey and satellite telecommunications, looking toward eventual coordinated launchings of meteorological satellites and probable coordinated launchings of satellites by each country for the magnetic project.

Frutkin pointed out in a speech some time ago that the International Geophysical Year, often cited as an example of worldwide scientific cooperation, was in fact a collection of national programs loosely coordinated by a nongovernmental mechanism; that it did not solve any political problems; that Soviet intransigence greatly restricted the ICY agreements for exchange of information in space research, and that Russia has effetcively blocked a purely scientific symposium on space research under U.N. auspices in order to exact a political price which would give it a veto over the activities of other nations in meeting the problems of outer space.

But the Geneva talks—followups to exchanges of views by President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev—have at least raised the possibility that Russia has learned a lesson. If it has, some NASA officials are certain that the U.S. international program was the teacher.

## Washington Can't Solve This

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Jackson, Mich., Citizen Patriot of October 9, 1962:

WASHINGTON CAN'T SOLVE THIS

If nothing else, President Kennedy's recent whirlwind stomp through Michigan demonstrated that the Chief of State still enjoys considerable personal popularity in this State, despite developments in Cuba and Berlin and his inability to whip his Democratic Congress into line.

Good-sized crowds turned out all along the way to cheer the President, and his pleas to register and to vote for progress.

However, the President didn't take leave of Washington and the crises facing the Nation merely to enhance his image. Far more urgent matters beckon Mr. Kennedy's attention.

He and fellow Democrats are more concerned because soundings taken by their own pollsters tell them their party is in big trouble in Michigan, and several other Midwest States, where Democrats have gained influence during the last several years.

President Kennedy and lesser figures are well aware that the only possible way of stemming the tide before election time is to send in the first team.

This they are doing, as the President's acknowledged political tour dramatized.

With full weight on the panic button, Michigan Democrats already have flown in three Cabinet members, the Peace Corps Director, and the President. Not only have they made one trip to Michigan to rescue Gov. John B. Swainson and associates from George Romney and the Republicans, they have promised to return for another round. And during the coming weeks, Harry S. Truman will come to Michigan with similar motives.

All in all, the Democrats are obviously shaken by what they see as a possibility on November 6—the end of a 14-year rule of the State executive branch by the Democrats and labor unions.

The Democrats cannot be blamed for rushing in their best troops in time of crisis.

But Mr. Romney is precisely correct when he states that the issue in Michigan is leadership; leadership that Michigan Democrats have failed to produce.

No amount of campaigning by the President, ex-President Truman or others on the rescue mission squad from Washington is going to solve this basic problem in Michigan.

## J.F.K. Soft on Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under authority to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith, from the Joplin Globe of Tuesday, October 9, 1962, a news—partial—report of my statements by remote control to my constituents at a rally at Redings Mill, Newton County, Mo., on Monday, October 8. Ordinarily, I do not insert such reports or remarks in the RECORD but this is apropos my action this date in introducing a bill before this Congress amending the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, which will become known as the Russian Organization Control Act of 1963. The news report follows:

HALL CLAIMS J.F.K. SOFT ON REDS

Representative DURWARD HALL charged Monday night that the New Frontier has failed to enforce the laws against Communists with the same vigor it used to enforce the law in Mississippi.

Speaking over a telephone hookup from his Washington office to a Republican rally in Redings Mill, Dr. HALL said the Justice Department has shown "more than 9 months of foot-dragging in the issue of the American Communist Party and its members, who have brazenly flouted the law and who have not been brought to justice."

Of the more than 10,000 Communists in this country, not one has registered as required by U.S. laws, HALL said. The deadline for Communists to register was last December 20, and penalties for failure to register included fines and prison terms.

"There is no indication when, if ever, any of the Communists will be brought to trial," Dr. HALL said.

HALL told party workers at the rally that he believes Democrats are trying to keep Congress in session while "the President is campaigning all over the country at taxpayers' expense for more Democrats."

Dr. HALL, who accused his opponent (Jim Thomas of Joplin), of twisting his voting record, said "I have a record I am proud to run on."

"Unlike my opponent," HALL said, "I am not in favor of wasting your tax dollars in foreign ratholes."

## Further Deterioration in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder that the American people are shocked, dismayed, and disgusted by President Kennedy's lack of firmness in Cuba.

He is now considering paying ransom with the taxpayers' money. Is this to be part of his foreign policy for the future? Robert G. Spivack in last Sunday's edition of the New York Herald Tribune and Fulton Lewis, Jr., in the October 9 issue of the New York Mirror further enlightened us on what is actually happening:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Oct. 7, 1962]

QUESTIONS ON CUBA

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON.—Clare Boothe Luce has accused the President of showing a profile in indecision in dealing with Soviet-occupied Cuba. Other critics have used equally strong language. For his part the President, anticipating the political storm that is brewing, has denounced cheap talk and rash action advocated by those who do not share the burdens of his office.

All this excited comment reflects great anxiety throughout the country and also within the Government.

There is ample reason for this anxiety. The fact is that we and our neighbors in Latin America suffered a small-scale Pearl Harbor during July and August. We are only now being told its full dimensions. The difference between summer 1962, and De-

cember 1941, is that the Soviet Union has taken Cuba without firing a shot.

According to the testimony of Under Secretary of State George Ball, there were 85 ships in the armada which carried Soviet men and material to Cuba. Their air missiles are of a 20- to 25-mile range. They are building three or four missiles sites. They have sent 60 older type Mig jet fighters, at least one advanced type jet fighter, with probably another 25 or 30 on the way. Mr. Ball reports the presence of 4,500 Soviet military "technicians"; other informed sources use a higher figure, counting all eastern bloc "technicians."

There are many unanswered questions that are causing public anxiety about Cuba. Perhaps uppermost in people's minds is, "How did they sneak in?"

Until the administration tells us just what happened, the President is going to find it difficult to win support for whatever policies toward Cuba he develops because there will always be lingering doubts as to whether we are being told the whole truth.

For example:

Did the Central Intelligence Agency, under its new Director, John McCone, know of this armada of Soviet supplies and men? If the CIA did know, when were the facts reported to those White House officials whose job it is to oversee national security?

Assuming that the facts were known by the proper authorities, another question arises: Why was there no public warning to the Soviet Union that we would consider the presence in Cuba of Soviet troops and technicians to be an unfriendly act?

The argument is put forth that the Russians might have become angry and started shooting. The fact is that they have always backed down in the face of determined resistance, even in Europe. Is it reasonable to believe they would have done otherwise thousands of miles from the main body of their land-based troops?

This very same argument was offered as an excuse for permitting the wall to go up in Berlin. Mr. Khrushchev gambled that in Berlin and in Cuba we were "too liberal to fight." Apparently he was not worried that we might become angry.

Another point raised in the State Department goes like this: If we object to a Soviet base in Cuba, they might make trouble about our bases in Turkey or Great Britain or other countries. To this, two answers suggest themselves.

First, they have for years been making trouble about our oversea bases. Who inspired the "Yankee go home" demonstrations? Second, and far more important, the people in these nations know that we have not used our military bases for purposes of suppression.

Our soldiers did not put down the rebellion in Turkey. We have not prevented free elections anywhere. Equating American oversea behavior with Soviet oversea operations is thesis that our aims are imperialist.

No administration enjoys the embarrassment that inevitably follows Khrushchev's provocative demonstrations. Mr. Kennedy does not like it any more than General Eisenhower appreciated K's withdrawal of the invitation to visit the Soviet Union. We can expect Republicans to try to make as much political hay out of Mr. Kennedy's embarrassment as Candidate Kennedy did in 1960.

But the American electorate may be growing weary of demagogy about Cuba from politicians in both parties. What does worry us is the presence of the Red Army. Until the Soviet Union withdraws its men, there will be little peace in the Western Hemisphere and not much here at home. Meanwhile Cuba remains a vast concentration camp just 90 miles off our shores.

[From the New York Mirror, Oct. 9, 1962]

CAPITOL REPORT—ROSY RED PRAISE FOR SOFT-ON-CUBA CROWD

(By Fulton Lewis, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, October 8.—Kremlin leaders have a few words of commendation for "sober-minded Americans" who "protest emphatically the hotheads of Washington."

The powerful voice of Radio Moscow on September 25 praised the activities of U.S. students who oppose any move against Fidel Castro's "island of freedom."

The Moscow broadcast singled out something called the American Union of Students in Defense of Peace. It said that "the students picketed the White House September 23 in protest against anti-Cuban provocations. The students called for a policy of peace and friendship with Cuba."

A check by this office with Government security agencies disclosed that the American Union of Students in Defense of Peace is another name for the Student Peace Union, a nationwide leftwing pacifist group.

Thegroup is not Communist controlled. Leftist students at 160 colleges and universities, however, are said to support the group, which calls for immediate disarmament. The group is dedicated to the proposition that war under any circumstances is unthinkable.

Radio Moscow cited a recent article in the Nation magazine by Samuel Shapiro, a University of Michigan history professor. He attacked any invasion of Cuba as costly and dangerous to the cause of world peace.

Shapiro is quoted by Radio Moscow as saying: "I think that in its policy in respect to Latin American countries, as well as in the other parts of the world, Republicans and Democrats apparently are defending not national interest but the property and profits of a handful of corporations."

The words of the disarmament buff, James P. Warburg, are also given wide circulation by Radio Moscow. It reports that the "well-known publicist attempted to pour cold water on the fevered brows of bellicose Senators in Washington." Warburg, says Radio Moscow, feels that any military action against Cuba would be a violation of the U.N. Charter and contrary to U.S. treaty obligations.

While certain Americans receive Kremlin kudos, others come under scorching attack. In that category are U.S. Senators DODD, KEATING, TOWER, and GOLDWATER. All have blasted the administration foreign policy as weak kneed.

## Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues a letter I received from Mr. G. M. Ellis, in which he expresses concern over the possibility of Federal control over education accompanying Federal aid. Mr. Ellis has made some very thought provoking comments which I am sure will be of interest to all.

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER,
*Congress of the United States,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

HONORABLE SIR: After answering a questionnaire in the Palo Alto Times, the other day, which was forwarded to you by the requested method, I thought I would amplify my personal objections to the Federal Government becoming involved in education.

In my opinion, I believe it dangerous, with the trends toward centralization, to allow power to become centralized, regardless of the purpose, except those that we clasically believe a Federal Government should have and which are set forth in the Constitution. My firm belief is that education should never become in any way associated with indoctrination. I can't believe that Federal moneys would not have attached to their disbursement certain features of control and, in the future, if they were in the hands of men who are hungering for statist power, there is no reason to believe that they would not force their curriculum upon the schools. Further, if the Federal Government undertakes this program of financial "assistance", the local governments would then back off on the amounts they appropriate for schools and demand more and more of the Federal Government to take the place of the money spent elsewhere. This, in effect, means that we would enter the era of trading school buildings for some other Federal project. Again, I believe the facts are correct that more school buildings were built in the last 10 years than in any decade prior to this period. Where, then, is the dramatic, immediate need? Maybe the arguments creating the need are based on a "relativist" view of some recent Russian propaganda, which seems to be stimulating a lot of pronouncements of our shortcomings and need for action.

In spite of all the propaganda (domestic) being issued that this is a required program, the problem is far greater. The announced estimate, the other day, regarding 1 million children not graduating from high school, in this day and age of required technological or some other form of educational training, appears to me to be the paramount problem facing us today. Here again, we are thinking more about the material elements and quantities of a system, rather than the human element. Actually, the problem of school attendance, to complete high school to gain a usable education, can only be corrected on a local level. The problem involves individual people, it involves families, it involves the morale of schools and of teachers and, most certainly, it involves the selling of the idea of school to certain parents, who believe in this day and age that an educated person is to be suspected. Even locally, we find that there are many children who come from homes in which, I suspect, the idea of violence is still taught as the way to obtain the ends desired. At least, these children are not being influenced in the opposite direction. The number of children playing "hookey" from a local high school, with which I am familiar, are mostly amongst those who have little or no respect for "book larnin'". Until this type of local thing is corrected it will be very difficult to convince these children, some of whom are highly intelligent, that they should remain in school and obtain a worthwhile education. I can't believe that moneys collected from individual people and sent to Washington and then returned to the local community can, in any way, solve this problem. In fact, if the wrong type of administrators of this program, who have the power of coercion granted by the Federal Government, are involved in the granting of the moneys to local communities, all sorts of side-effect problems would exist which, I believe, would further aggravate the current condition. To me, it would alleviate the local community of the responsibility and, therefore, these other problems, that I mentioned above, would unconsciously be classified as a subject for Federal corrective action.

The idea that some States are unable to afford the required classrooms, on a local level, is further indication that the Federal

Government is, therefore, taking too much money out of the community. If the Federal Government continues to take this money out of the community and siphons back into these communities moneys taken from other communities, the amount returned being not nearly equal to the amount collected, not by the wildest stretch of imagination can this be considered as a solution. I have yet to see a dollar granted by any government which did not entail some form of either silent coercive action, or out-and-out required direction, for the expenditure of the money.

Perhaps I am one of those people who is against "progress", but I have yet to see progress made along lines establishing greater powers in a centralized government which actually improves the lot of individual people. To me, there is no progress unless we stop looking at the fancy buildings and roads and other physical projects you can put your hands on and begin to look at the lives of individual people. To me, the test is whether these people can better live their own individual lives and are stimulated into bettering themselves by educating themselves to the realities of the time. Just building more federally sponsored classrooms and furnishing more indoctrinated teachers is not going to solve our basic problem. One of the strengths of our society is our regional differences. These differences would, in my opinion, be eliminated in time if education were to be directed from Washington.

I still believe that Von Mises stated correctly the test for any program, by merely asking one question: "Will the program accomplish what it is proposed to accomplish?" If, after studying this problem, the ultimate goal over the next 10 years is to run our educational system in a manner in which we run our agricultural program, then the vote should be "Yes" for the program. However, it will not utilize to the best advantages, our human resources, individual people, by allowing these persons to individually pursue their own best courses. The only result, thus far, in public education is an attempt to educate by "levelling" masses of people to a least common denominator, which can never be accurately established as reasonable and accurate. The only way this can be changed is on a local level, where experimentation to find the proper and best solution can continue without being forced to conform to a dictated nationwide standard. I sincerely believe that a vote on this issue will separate the "group thinkers" from the people who believe in the "human action" (Von Mises), of individual people.

I most sincerly appreciate the opportunity to unburden myself at length to you, as I have done in this letter. I hope some day we may be able to say to the world that we practice, as well as say we believe in, those strentghs which enable us to produce the best possible society here on earth.

Sincerely,

G. M. ELLIS.

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## Education—Federal Dollars: Lack of U.S. Aid Policy Seen as Leading to Crisis in Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as a cosponsor of the higher education measure, a member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and its Subcommittee on Education, and a member of the conference committee, it is a matter of genuine regret to me that we have been unable to reach an agreement on a bill to provide assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher learning.

As a conferee, I tried, as did others on the committee, to salvage a compromise aid to education measure. Following the action by the House of Representatives in rejecting the conference report, I expressed my personal desire and my official interest in striving for a further sincere, concerted effort to achieve an acceptable but meaningful compromise bill. But this has been impossible.

The Nation's investment in education is the criterion for our economic growth, our standards of living, and our national security. What happens to American education in the years ahead will determine in a major degree what will happen to America.

According to the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges, on whose advisory board I serve, many splendid small colleges have been operating below capacity while some of the large institutions must reject students because of the lack of facilities.

To accommodate more than 3 million additional college and university students expected in the next 10 years, it has been estimated that we will need to spend at least $19 billion to provide new buildings, land, and equipment, and to replace buildings now in use which are obsolete and substandard.

In the areas of the various physical sciences, a serious problem is recognized in being able to provide and equip the laboratories to teach and demonstrate new findings resulting from the research explosion during and since World War II. In addition, laboratories for doing research as well as the facilities needed for training greater numbers of doctors, dentists, and other specialists and technicians are needed. There are now more than 2,000 colleges and universities providing education acceptable toward a degree. Less than 500 get Federal research assistance.

The key issues involving the expenditures of Federal dollars for research and development programs within our educational institutions are summarized in a significant article, "Lack of U.S. Aid Policy Seen as Leading to Crisis in Colleges," by Fred M. Hechinger in the October 7 issue of the New York Times. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION—FEDERAL DOLLARS: LACK OF U.S. AID POLICY SEEN AS LEADING TO CRISIS IN COLLEGES

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

The argument whether Federal money should go to higher education is an Alice in Wonderland debate. The Government is already massively involved, but at present every additional Federal dollar merely seems to make the colleges and universities run faster to keep financially in the same precarious place. Last week, the national convention in Chicago of the American Council on Education, the largest assembly of college presidents, was devoted to a search for more effective Government action.

What, according to major papers, presented at the meetings, are the key issues as increasing amounts of Federal dollars go to the colleges?

(1) Research: In a carefully documented background paper, John C. Weaver, vice president for research and dean of the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa, pointed out that historically the Federal Government entered research early. Thomas Jefferson subsidized the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804 for much the same reasons that caused the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to give similar aid to the astronauts in 1962: exploration of the unknown.

In the decade from 1951 to 1961, the Nation (from all sources) spent $80 billion for research and development, and the Federal Government was responsible for about half of each year's total at the beginning and two-thirds of it toward the end of that decade. To underline the trend, in the late 1930's the Federal Government annually budgeted about $100 million for all its research and development programs; in 1960, it was $8.1 billion, and for fiscal 1963, it is estimated to be $12.4 billion.

To put the university aspect into fucus, Dr. Weaver pointed out that about 11 percent of that overall Federal spending for research and development directly concerns the educational establishment. This can be translated into an estimated $1.2 billion for fiscal 1962. But these figures include such vast research centers under university supervision as the Argonne National Laboratory of the University of Chicago.

If such centers are eliminated from the budget totals, the Federal outlay in direct support of research and development at the colleges and universities is placed at $563 million in 1961 and $732 million this year.

(2) Balance and impact: Fortunately for the institutions, the Federal expenditures for basic research appear to be growing at a faster rate than those for the applied kind.

But the real and widely misunderstood problem is that most of this money represents a purchase of services rather than aid to education. The subsidy furthermore overlooks important academic fields. In 1961, of the entire Federal expenditure for basic research, 71 percent went to the physical sciences, including mathematics and engineering; 26 percent to biology, medicine, and agriculture; 2 percent to the psychological sciences; 1 percent to the social sciences, and nothing to the humanities.

MONEY

Of the Nation's more than 2,000 colleges and universities, fewer than 500 get any Federal research money whatsoever. More than two-thirds of all such money goes to 25 institutions, and 100 colleges and universities get about 95 percent of the total. Geographically, this select group is composed of strong private institutions in southern New England and the Mid-Atlantic seaboard, a cluster of large State universities in the Middle West and a handful of outstanding public and private institutions on the Pacific Coast.

A strong voice in defense of present Federal action, however, was raised by McGeorge Bundy, former dean of the arts and science facilities at Harvard and now a special assistant to President Kennedy. He called the Federal investment "extremely productive both for the national security and for the quality of our civilization" and added that the process of this investment on the whole tends to "enhance the freedom and independent strength of the colleges and universities." For one thing, he pointed out the Federal money does not build athletic fields and support football programs. He

said the Government often makes grants more effectively than the major foundations.

Too much time is spent by education spokesmen debating Federal participation as if it were still "an uncertain experiment instead of the stable and growing reality which it is," he said. As for the threat of imbalance, he added that while "distortions" must be avoided "there are very learned men * * * who seem to me just plain wrong in their fear of the rise of science.".

WORK PAYMENTS

(3) Fallacies and remedies: Practically none of the Government money now going to higher education supports the educational structure. With the exception of the loans for dormitory construction (about $350 million annually), practically all the other expenditures are payments for work done. Furthermore, research grants frequently fail to cover the entire cost of the projects, with the institutions paying the difference for such items as building maintenance, heat, and light.

This is true not only of research grants but of the 107 contracts with 88 universities operating in 37 foreign countries as part of the foreign aid program ($109 million this year); of student loan and fellowship programs (about $370 million a year from all Federal sources); of aid going to foreign students and scholars here.

In other words, higher education gives more aid than it gets.

Dr. David D. Henry, president of the University of Illinois, warned that for lack of a policy or public understanding, the universities are drifting toward a disastrous "day of reckoning" when the greatest enrollments hit them—between 1965 and 1970.

But he also charged that education has failed to translate its needs into a message comprehensible to Congress.

Without naming the National Education Association, whose executive secretary sent a message to Congress urging defeat of the college aid bill rather than including church-related institutions in such aid, Dr. Henry challenged "the impropriety of speaking without consultation with those directly affected."

TERM CHALLENGED

Finally, Dr. Henry challenged the very term of "Federal aid to higher education" as a slogan with "vague and sinister implications about Federal control." He urged:

"We should be asking the American people, 'Do you want teachers in your classrooms, doctors at your bedside, lawyers in your courts, scientists in your research laboratories? * * * Are you willing to ask the Federal Government to help assure that there will be room for your son or daughter or your grandson or granddaughter on some college campus?'"

He suggested—and there appears to be growing support for this demand—that a board of Presidential advisers, "unfettered by politics and unencumbered by administrative authority or responsibility," be created similar to the committees that now advise the President on science and economics.

Among the most widely quoted studies last week was "The Federal Interest in Higher Education" (McGraw-Hill, 1962) by Homer Babbidge and Robert Rosenzweig. And a key sentence in that volume reads: "What is needed from the Government is a point of view toward higher education that includes an end to the notion that institutions of higher education are self-regulating, self-feeding production machines that can be called on indiscriminately to produce goods and services without damage to the mechanism."

But Mr. Bundy added that college presidents, caught in cutthroat competition, must give a stronger voice to their common interest.

## Editorial Comments From Pennsylvania and Delaware Newspapers on Telstar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I include the following editorial comments regarding Telstar:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, July 30, 1962]

TELSTAR'S DARK SIDE

By almost unanimous vote, Telstar and its bouncing television, radio, and telephone potentialities was a magnificent technological achievement.

There is where the unanimity ends. Politically, Telstar has already become a very worrisome thing. There is more than one big man in Washington who could wish that it had not been quite so successful quite so soon; not at least while Congress was still in session.

The problem involves Telstar's unusual parentage. It was developed and sent up through a partnership of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and U.S. Government rocketmen. The money was provided privately. Some facilities and some of the brains were taxpayer provided.

Congress was asked to seal this private-public partnership for future Telstar development. The President wants this bill. The House agreed overwhelmingly. All the Republicans and some of the Democrats in the Senate want it. But certain Democratic Senators are so violently opposed that they have been filibustering and threatening to tie up the whole session to defeat what they regard as a gigantic "giveaway" to private industry.

The resultant tieup puts President Kennedy in an extremely awkward spot politically, with his own party in revolt and his opposition standing by him. Much worse than this, it jeopardizes action on a long list of unfinished business of greater importance—the trade bill, the tax bill, the farm bill, a dozen appropriations bills including that for defense spending. Telstar can't be brought back and delayed for a while; but the vital business of the United States can be and is being delayed.

Better than a long delay, and better than ramming this bill through a Senate which has been hearing some sincere arguments against it, might be a temporary withdrawal of the measure.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, July 11, 1962]

A NEW STAR FOR PEACE

The U.S. success in rocketing the world's first international communications satellite, Telstar into orbit represents another enormous stride by this country in putting space to use for the purpose of peace.

It dramatizes the sustained effort the United States is making in basic space research, and the partnership of industry and Government in preparing for an international system of radio and television communications via space reflects the practical nature of the American program.

The United States is not reaching out into space for the sake of power, or self-aggrandizement.

It is seeking only to defend itself and the free world and advance the sum total of mankind's useful knowledge.

On that score, the Telstar experiment speaks with a conviction totally lacking in any space achievement of the Soviet Union. Whether or not this first test fulfills all the hopes for it, the fact that it is being attempted is a reminder of the continued, massive progress American scientists are making in space exploration.

Telstar is not just another spectacular stunt to convince the world of the existence of an awesome military weapon, which could be used to obliterate whole nations, leaving even the survivors to suffer a half-life until they too succumb. It is the exact opposite.

The Telstar project is conceived solely to improve understanding among the peoples of the world, to bind them closer together in good will and mutual respect.

It is particularly appropriate that this experiment has been undertaken by a combination of public and private effort. The satellite itself was developed and paid for by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. but it was carried into orbit—for a fee—by a Government rocket. The commercial possibilities which the Telstar foreshadows would involve a series of orbiting relay stations forming a worldwide network to be used for radio, telephone, television, teletype, and picture transmission.

Such a system—once it was established and functioning—could serve beyond the wildest dreams of a few years ago to encourage the friendly inclinations of men toward one another. Actually, Telstar is the fourth relay satellite America has put into orbit, and only one among dozens of satellites with which it has probed into space for information and purposes that are solely confined to peace.

The Telstar is a symbol of U.S. good works at their best. It is up to Congress, the administration and the representatives of private industry involved to see to it that the project lives up fully—both for the present and the long run—to that proud standard.

[From the Wilmington (Del.) Journal Every Evening, July 12, 1962]

TELSTAR—GOOD INVESTMENT

Telstar, the 34-inch ball put into orbit through the cooperation of the U.S. Government and private industry, is not the first satellite to perform a useful task. But somehow American Telephone & Telegraph's property has really brought it home to Americans—and we hope to other peoples around the world—that the conquest of outer space is going to make life better for everyone living on this planet.

We are already convinced that such a satellite will make it possible to transmit television programs from practically anywhere on earth to anywhere else on the globe. The first picture sent from the little town of Andover, Maine, to Telstar and relayed back to the Nation's TV networks, was as clear as if it had traveled 20 miles or so. And it was just as clear on French sets that received it. Last night French and British programs, the first taped and the other live, were transmitted to this side of the water with equal success.

Of course, Telstar, all by itself, can't do much to meet the growing need for channels to carry messages, as well as television and radio programs, around the world. After all, it is only a pilot model for others to come. But it's certain that more will follow; the success of this first commercial satellite shows that.

Telstar is, obviously, a portent of things to come. The fact that A.T. & T. put up the $4 million to build, launch, and track it seems to say that private enterprise is going to have a part in making man's new knowledge of space serve man. Certainly it says that private enterprise has the initiative and the resources to make a contribution in this area.

It's noteworthy that Telstar is an American satellite. The Russians led with their

sputnik, and they have been keeping their lead in space exploration with their spaceships. But we are apparently ahead in piling up information that can be used to solve some existing problems—or problems to come. That is, we are ahead in seeking practical applications of what we know.

This partnership of Government and industry has had an auspicious beginning. And the risk capital put up by A.T. & T. will prove a good investment if we draw the obvious lesson—which is that here, as elsewhere in our economy, the profit motive can get good results.

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[From the Lancaster (Pa.) Intelligencer Journal, July 11, 1962]

TELSTAR A TRIBUTE TO TEAM OF GOVERNMENT, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Those who looked in on television last evening to see a picture of an American flag waving in the Maine breeze to the strains of the Star-Spangled Banner were privileged to share in a great moment. For that was the first time a picture had been beamed to a satellite hundreds of miles above the earth where the signal was received, amplified 10 billion times, then retransmitted back to earth where it was picked up and fed through the Nation's three TV networks to be viewed by millions of Americans.

What makes the achievement particularly noteworthy was that both pictures and sound originating in the United States of America were picked up by receivers in Britain and France thus proving the feasibility of transoceanic television.

Man's progress in improving the means of communication has been tremendous since the days when he could communicate no farther than the sound of his voice. It is lamentable that man's understanding of his fellow man has failed to keep pace.

There are many notable aspects about Telstar. Technically, it is a modern marvel. Its 15,000 components are contained in a 34½-inch sphere. Power for the amplification and transmission of broadcast signals comes from 19 nickel-cadmium cells rimming the inner periphery of the satellite's 20-inch electronic package. These cells, of the type used in rechargeable flashlights, are charged by 3,600 solar cells, mounted on a ceramic base in a platinum frame, on the satellite's skin. The solar cells, which convert the sun's energy into electricity, are covered with manmade clear sapphire to protect them from electron bombardments.

In addition to its primary function as a communications satellite, Telstar will report on 115 items of data.

Aside from the technical aspect, Telstar is a tremendous demonstration of what can be accomplished by the team of Government and private American enterprise.

We have seen no published figures on the cost of Telstar, which was developed by American Telephone and Telegraph's Bell laboratories. It is known, however, that the company paid the Government's National Space Aeronautics and Space Administration $3 million to launch Telstar in a giant rocket from Cape Canaveral, Fla.

The idea for Telstar was born years ago. Dr. John R. Pierce, a Bell Laboratories scientist, made the first concrete proposals that space satellites be used for overseas communication, in 1954. That, for the record, was 3 years before Russia's Sputnik I was orbited.

In a technica paper published the following year, Dr. Pierce analyzed two methods for communicating via satellites: by reflecting signals off mirror-like passive satellites or by transmitting to active satellites which would catch and amplify the signals before retransmitting them back to earth.

In 1960, NASA launched Echo I, a ten-story high reflecting balloon. Experiments proved the worth of Dr. Pierce's ideas. Voices and still photographs were bounced off Echo I as it orbited the earth.

Bell soon had some 400 scientists, engineers and technicians at work. Out of it came the Telstar satellite and the successful experiment of last evening.

The next step may be a whole series of satellites orbiting the earth, one of which would always be in sight between two ground stations. Or, it might consist of three repeater stations, in orbit 23,500 miles above the earth, relaying messages or pictures from one to another around the earth at the speed of light.

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[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, July 11, 1962]

THE TV SATELLITE

Successful launching of the Telstar satellite by the United States heralds a new and exciting era in communications.

It is a major step toward perfection of a global network of television satellites which, in a world where almost half the people are either illiterate or semiliterate, could breed greater peace and understanding among the diverse nations of the earth.

To be sure, Telstar is not the first communications satellite. The United States previously launched three others of this nature, and two still are orbiting the earth.

But Telstar is the first satellite equipped to transmit TV across the oceans. And it is the forerunner of the kind of satellites which someday soon will make it possible for folks in Pittsburgh to pick up a telephone and dial a manmade moon to talk to someone in London or Rome or Calcutta.

Previous communications satellites established the fact such space vehicles can be used to transmit voices, telegrams, teletype messages, pictures and high-speed business data over thousands of miles. Thus they can be used to augment ordinary communications facilities.

With undersea cables already approaching the point of saturation, communications satellites become a virtual necessity. And the Nation which first perfects such satellites stands to gain much—economically, socially, politically, and militarily.

It is heartening to note that in this field, as in weather satellites, the United States is ahead of the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Russians aren't even in this race as yet.

Now it is time for Congress to stop its haggling and to enact a communications satellite law which will insure continued U.S. leadership in this vital area.

This can best be guaranteed not by establishing a Government monopoly over communications satellites, as suggested by some legislators, but by giving private enterprise—which conceived, built and paid for Telstar—the incentive to apply to space the same boldness and ingenuity that have brought to the United States the best communications system in the world.

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[From the Shenandoah (Pa.) Evening Herald, July 12, 1962]

GREAT TEAMWORK

A perfect demonstration of free enterprise working hand in hand with our Nation's Government was provided with the successful orbit of the Telstar satellite.

Due to the vision, know-how and resources of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. this great scientific adventure was successful. This firm risked nearly $50 million in this venture without any assurance of financial return.

Telstar has achieved one of the most important and practical goals of all space experts. It has long been considered that the first nation achieving a workable system of global communication would be in a position to offer its facilities to the world and control their use for many years.

A.T. & T. has placed our Nation in the enviable position of the leader and under the terms of a bill now before Congress this partnership of Government and private enterprise would continue to develop and operate the new worldwide system. The measure could create a new corporation in which the public and common carriers like A.T. & T. each would buy half the stock. The two classes of stockholders would elect equal number of directors and the Government would name 3 to the 15-member board. There would be no Federal funds involved.

While the bill has been okayed by the House and bears the endorsement of President Kennedy, nine Members of the Senate are holding out for Government ownership and operation.

It would be wise for these Senators, after Telstar's success, to agree that the United States can accomplish much more through industry and Government working hand in hand, not battling each other.

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## Communist Propaganda Through the U.S. Mails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have received the following letter from Mr. Vlasta Vraz, president, Czechoslovak National Council of America. This great and patriotic organization was very helpful to me in my research concerning the inflow and outflow of Communist political propaganda and supported my efforts to stop the delivery of this material through the U.S. postal system with vigor.

In his letter to me Mr. Vraz says:

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF AMERICA,
*Chicago, Ill., October 8, 1962.*

Hon. GLENN CUNNINGHAM,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CUNNINGHAM: The Czechoslovak National Council is grateful to you for your fight for the postal rate bill amendment, which we have been following closely in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We are glad to know that you could use some of our information in the American Bulletin for your report to the subcommittee in the Senate.

Today we are calling your attention to another matter concerning relations with the Red regime of Czechoslovakia. The enclosed memorandum was sent last week to the Department of State.

Many Americans are concerned about their Czechoslovak relatives, especially as conditions are deteriorating there. According to the report of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Americans paid $1,543,000 for Tuzex alone in the 6 months from May to December 1961; the amount is much larger by now. That is altogether too many dollars to pay to a Czechoslovak Government monopoly.

The Czechoslovak National Council believes, therefore, that our Government should insist on something approaching reciprocity, as suggested by us in the enclosed memorandum.

We hope very much that you will give it your valued consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

VLASTA VRAZ, *President.*

Mr. Speaker, this letter and the following statement point out very clearly that there is no such thing as true reciprocity between this country and those behind the Iron Curtain.

The statement referred to above follows:

REVIEW OF CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST POLICY

TUZEX

Under Communist rule, there has been a continued scarcity of food and consumer goods in Czechoslovakia. In the past, a flood of American gift packages with American goods brought relief to grateful Czechoslovak relatives and friends. However, the freedom of entry for such merchandise has been gradually restricted by the following Czechoslovak regulations:

(a) First, sending of canned goods was prohibited.

(b) A disinfection certificate was required.

(c) The number of gift packages to a recipient per year was limited.

(d) Likewise the number of any item contained in the package was limited to one.

(e) In 1961, customs duties on all items were raised to prohibitive rates, especially on such items as wool, nylon, coffee. For instance, the duty on an ordinary pullover amounts to 180 crowns (hourly wage of an average worker is 8 crowns).

(f) Finally, customs duties on used clothing were increased to 50 crowns a kilogram (2.2 pound). With duties raised sky-high, the recipient cannot possibly pay for a gift package. On a package valued at $15 the customs duty equals a weekly wage.

Through these measures, the Czechoslovak regime has forced American citizens either to stop their aid to needy relatives or else to deposit dollars with the Czechoslovak State Office Tuzex, established for the purpose of collecting abroad highly desirable dollars and other hard currencies, in exchange for goods made in Czechoslovakia that are sold to Czechoslovak citizens, the recipients of the dollar remittances. The dollars are retained by the Czechoslovak Government and the beneficiaries of the remittances receive only Czechoslovak goods. Thus the export of U.S. produced goods has been stopped and the outflow of U.S. dollars has increased, thereby damaging doubly our economy. Moreover, the U.S. currency thus acquired is available to the Czechoslovak Government for the financing of Communist subversive activities, espionage, and other action against the free world, the United States in particular.

Americans of Czechoslovak desecnt feel that such a monopoly should not be allowed to operate on American soil. We not only tolerate the advantages which the Czechoslovak Government derives from the operations of the Tuzex agency, but also accept without protest the disadvantages inflicted upon our country. Instead, we should at least insist on the following: That for each $15 deposited with Tuzex for Czechoslovak merchandise, American senders be allowed to send a 20-pound gift package of American goods; moreover, that no excessive customs duties be levied on the American goods.

It is our considered opinion that the Czechoslovak Government needs the U.S. dollars collected by the Tuzex agency badly enough to be willing to make concessions if faced with the possibility of a ban on Tuzex monopoly operations by appropriate action of the Department of State or the Department of Justice.

OTHER HOSTILE ACTS AGAINST AMERICANS

1. The Czechoslovak regime blackmails American citizens who intend to obtain a Czechoslovak emigration visa for a member of their immediate family into paying large amounts of money;

2. Czechoslovak authorities collect amounts in U.S. dollars from American citizens purported to cover maintenance, installment payments or interest on loans on property in Czechoslovakia, although such property has already been confiscated and is now the property of the Czechoslovak state;

3. By arranging conducted tours with a propaganda slant for Americans visiting Czechoslovakia, by offering them free medical care and hospital services, the Communist regime tries to turn them into Communist agents or fellow travelers upon their return to the United States;

4. The Czechoslovak regime reduces pension payments to persons related to American citizens who are active anti-Communists in this country, threatening them with annulment of pension benefits and other persecution. In this way the Czechoslovak Government extends its influence on Americans on American soil, curtailing their lawful rights and sometimes even obstructing them in fulfilling their duties as American citizens.

These methods and means by which the present Government of Czechoslovakia misuses, disregards and restricts—unchallenged—the normal conduct of Czechoslovak American relations is a matter of grave concern to us.

The Czechoslovak National Council of America is not arguing for a restriction of contacts with Czechoslovakia and other Communist countries. On the contrary, such contacts should be enlarged upon in order to reduce international tensions, promote understanding, and inspire hope for freedom everywhere. This, however, cannot be accomplished by permitting one party to erect more and more artificial barriers, to enforce more and more restrictions, to impose more and more limitations upon such contacts.

We consider it inadmissible that an antidemocratic government be allowed to enforce, by devious means, obedience from American citizens on American soil. This cannot be the meaning and purpose of our desire to multiply contacts between the United States and Communist countries. Quite the contrary, it is in the very interests of international peace and understanding to oppose such detrimental policies of a Communist regime.

(Resolution adopted at the Convention of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, Chicago, 1962.)

## The Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH

OF

## HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. VANICK. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join the other Members who have spoken in praise of the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky.

During the past 8 years, I have had the privilege of serving with Chairman SPENCE on the House Banking and Currency Committee. This association has been one of the most rewarding experiences of my entire life.

Chairman BRENT SPENCE has one of the keenest minds in the U.S. Congress. In his three decades of service in this assembly, he has prepared and guided legislation from proposal into law during the administrations of four presidents.

Chairman SPENCE conducted the affairs of the Banking Committee with fairness, dispatch, and with dignity. When discussions became tense, as they sometimes did, the chairman would calm the turbulence with an old Kentucky story which pointed squarely at the point at issue. He strived for unanimous reports on legislation and usually achieved his goal.

I hope Chairman SPENCE will take advantage of the opportunity to relax awhile, and then make ready to resume the public work to which he is so devoted. I hope that he will be available for counsel and advice to either the Congress or to the administration in the difficult monetary problems which lie ahead. We need his friendly counsel much more than he needs retirement.

## They Backed the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GEORGE MEADER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram of October 8, 1962:

THEY BACKED THE PRESIDENT

Not all Republicans, and probably not all Democrats either, are wholly satisfied with the way the Kennedy administration has handled the Cuban affair. But thanks largely to a Republican leadership in Congress unwilling to fish for votes in these troubled waters, Congress came forth with massive bipartisan support in its adoption of a resolution about Cuba. In effect Congress—and that means both parties in Congress—has told the President it is behind him in whatever he thinks needs to be done, including invasion as a last resort, to prevent the Soviet adventure in Cuba from becoming a military threat to this country.

The Republican support of the Democratic administration in foreign policy was expected. Nonpartisanship in foreign affairs is almost a tradition. Harry Truman undertook fateful decisions in foreign policy at a time when he had an opposition Congress. Congress never said him nay. And Dwight Eisenhower in making fateful decisions while the Democrats controlled Congress found Congress backing him.

It could be argued that there was little the Republicans could do about the Kennedy administration's course on Cuba but to go along with it. But they could have done something quite different. With an accompaniment of flag waving, they could have demanded a flat showdown right now with Castro. That would have appealed to a lot of voters, and not all of them flag wavers or irresponsible thinkers either. And had they demanded this with the President already committed to watchful waiting in view of his present estimate of the state of American security, they could have presented a picture of him as being faint hearted and unsure. They did not do this, and they are to be commended. They acted responsibly.

Had the Republicans searching for votes acted less responsibly, had they provoked a split on foreign policy, the fat would have been in the fire for this country. For since the outside world cares little whether Congress and the administration is Republican or Democratic, it would have seen all America as unsure and faint hearted. And with that image created—false though it would be—Khrushchev might well have been tempted enough to push us too far.

The President no doubt is grateful for the massive support he got from Congress. Be-

ing the politician that he is, he must realize what the Republican leadership might have done but decided not to do. Political practice dictates that he show no gratitude to the Republican leadership in the coming campaign. But certainly he ought not either to erect any great barriers to the reelection of Republicans.

## Socialism, Spending, and the Welfare State—What Are the Facts?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, one of our most able colleagues, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL] has prepared a most penetrating and interesting report on "Socialism, Spending and the Welfare State—What Are the Facts?"

This report was sent to his constituents in the form of a newsletter on August 31, 1962.

I would hope, Mr. Speaker, that this report would be read by all the prophets of financial gloom and doom who are so quick to condemn our Government and our way of life.

The report, which follows, is most factual, timely, and enlightening:

SOCIALISM, SPENDING, AND THE WELFARE STATE—WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

(By MORRIS K. UDALL)

For years now we have been hearing about the "drift to socialism" in this Nation's Federal spending programs. Charges have been made and denied. Millions of angry words have been exchanged. But what are the facts? A look at the Federal budget—the only reliable indicator of what the Government is doing—can be quite revealing.

DEFINING OUR TERMS

In most such discussions problems arise concerning definitions. A program one person calls socialism another will label as "bolstering the free enterprise system." I do not intend to get into any such argument. We can all agree on that part of the Federal budget where these disputes arise, and for purposes of this discussion I am going to consider the unlikely possibility that every bit of it fits the description of socialism and welfare state spending. If it's getting larger, we will take note of that; if it is getting smaller, we will know that charges of a drift to socialism are unfounded.

THE FISCAL 1963 BUDGET

In January of this year the Bureau of the Budget published its annual bestseller, "The Budget in Brief," an analysis of Federal spending plans for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1962. We're now into that year, and it might be interesting to see how much we expect to take in, how much we expect to spend, and how we expect to apportion your tax money.

In this fiscal year it was estimated this Nation's gross national product would reach $570 billion, that Federal receipts would be $93 billion and Federal expenditures $92.5 billion, or roughly 16 percent of the total value of all goods and services produced by individuals and corporations during the year. Today it appears the $570 billion figure was overly optimistic and that the total will be about $555 billion, a new high but not enough to save us from a loss of tax revenue and a deficit rather than a surplus.

The budget pamphlet explains where these tax funds will be spent. Going through the list of budget items, one can see rather quickly that the expenditures fall into two categories: (1) Those which are caused by the needs of national security, including preparation for war (which we hope will never come) and paying the costs of past wars, and (2) all other expenditures, which can be called nondefense or domestic expenditures.

With these groupings established, let's take a look at the 1963 administrative budget.

WAR-RELATED EXPENDITURES

All Americans, regardless of party, recognize that the defense and security of our country in the world require heavy expenditures to meet the challenge of the Soviet system. Following are the expenditures which arise because of past wars, the present cold war, and preparation for future wars:

A. Major national security, $52.7 billion (57 cents of your tax dollar): Cost of armed services, ships, planes, missiles, atomic energy, military assistance, research activities. Military foreign aid is included here—aid to our military allies.

B. Space research and technology, $2.4 billion (2½ cents of your tax dollar): This is the program that put our astronauts into orbit and is calculated to prevent any aggression from a Russian-dominated outer space. Supported by nearly everyone in Congress.

C. Interest on public debt, $9.4 billion (10 cents of your tax dollar): Public debt jumped from $1 to $25 billion level after World War I, to $270 billion level after World War II. Our present public debt is wholly caused by our involvement in two Great Wars plus Korean war and cold war; welfare state spending is responsible for very little of this expense.

D. International affairs and finance, $3 billion (3¼ cents of your tax dollar): All the activities directed toward maintenance of peace and strengthening free world alliances. Economic foreign aid of $2.5 billion is included here.

E. Veterans' services and benefits, $5.3 billion (6 cents of your tax dollar): VA hospitals, rehabilitation, compensation, and pensions—a debt of honor to 4½ million disabled veterans, widows, orphans, and other beneficiaries.

Total for defense, diplomacy, and to pay the cost of past wars (79 cents of your tax dollar): $72.8 billion.

NONDEFENSE EXPENDITURES

While here is no serious dispute over defense expenditures, no one would suggest that Government exists only to prepare for and fight wars. As it turns out, even in the nondefense category there is more agreement than disagreement. Following are the expenditures which are thus classified:

A. General Government, $2 billion (2 cents of your tax dollar): Congress, courts, buildings, FBI, etc. There is no question about the need for these expenditures.

B. Natural resources, $2.3 billion (2½ cents of your tax dollar): Reclamation, flood control, national parks, mineral resources, Indian affairs. There are some differences about particular programs, but there is general agreement on the value of nearly all these expenditures.

C. Commerce and housing, $3.4 billion (3½ cents of your tax dollar): Post Office, Weather Bureau, aviation, Census, and FHA and VA housing, the programs that have enabled 60 percent of our people to own their own homes. This category also includes the funds for urban renewal and public housing—subjects of some controversy—but 90 percent of these expenditures are noncontroversial.

D. Agriculture and agricultural resources, $5.8 billion (6¼ cents of your tax dollar): Price supports, soil conservation, agricultural extension, Forest Service, REA, etc. Nearly everyone wants to find a way to reduce the price support program in the years ahead.

E. Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, $6.6 billion (7 cents of your tax dollar): Here it is—this is the segment of the budget which produces nearly all the controversy over socialism and welfare state spending. I will go into this further below.

Total for nondefense expenditures, $19.7 billion (21 cents of your tax dollar).

A POINT TO REMEMBER

It's important to note that if all expenditures included in that last 7-cent welfare state portion of the budget were eliminated, the person who paid $1,000 in income tax last year would pay $930 next year.

Should they all be eliminated? I'm sure no one would suggest this. Perhaps, some reductions or economies can be made. Here is how that 7 cents will be spent:

Aid to States for aged, blind, disabled, and dependent children, $2.9 billion.

Health services and research—the National Institutes of Health, aid for hospital construction, medical scholarships, etc., $1.4 billion.

Education—Federal aid for college housing and academic buildings, college scholarships, the National Defense Education Act, Federal impact aid, the National Science Foundation, libraries and museums, $1.5 billion.

Labor and manpower services—on-the-job training, unemployment compensation, policing labor unions, U.S. Employment Service, etc., $0.3 billion.

School lunch and special milk program, $0.3 billion.

Vocational rehabilitation and other services—program returning approximately 110,000 disabled and handicapped persons to gainful employment, $0.2 billion.

Total welfare state expenditures, $6.6 billion (7 cents of your tax dollar).

WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

The common assumption, expressed frequently, is that every year this country finds itself further involved in programs of a socialistic or welfare state nature. As we have seen, in fiscal 1963 we will spend 7 percent of our Federal budget for programs that are sometimes described in this manner. How does this compare with former years?

I had the Library of Congress dig out a copy of the fiscal 1939 budget for a comparison, and the makeup of this typical prewar budget was a real eye opener. Consider these facts:

In 1939 we spent, not 7 percent, but 44 percent, of our budget for labor and welfare programs.

In 1939 we spent $30 per capita on these programs.

In fiscal 1963, using the 1939 dollar to provide a fixed basis of comparison, we will spend $16 per capita for these same programs.

Is it true, then, that the Federal Government is creating a vast welfare state by leaps and bounds? Quite obviously not. The brutal fact is that in the past 24 years our welfare state programs have withered to little more than half their prewar level. The charge of creeping socialism simply is not supported by the facts.

NO REASON FOR APATHY

The fact that the record of Federal spending fails to support the charge of "socialism" is no reason for apathy. Of course, we want to be on the alert against proposals that would weaken or harm our economic or social structure. I am a strong believer in the merits of the free enterprise system; I want to see more competitiveness in our economy—not less; and I believe this is the view of most Americans. If any portion of our present Federal budget needs to be eliminated, let's root it out with vigor. Let us always be alert for waste and inefficiency. (For example, I believe the time is approach-

ing when we should drastically reduce our expensive farm support programs.) But let's make our analysis calmly and responsibly, as the President and Members of Congress must do, and let's not be frightened by the false notion, nurtured so long, that this country is "going down the road to socialism." Sweeping charges such as this, unsupported by the facts, contribute little to the solution of real problems that beset us—problems such as substantial, persistent unemployment and inadequate educational facilities for our children.

OUR POPULATION PRESSURES

In 1939 this Nation had a population of 130 million people. Today we have 186 million people. That we should be spending today less, in terms of 1939 dollars, than we spent 24 years ago is a startling revelation of our defensiveness about the issue of "creeping socialism."

Considering the 56 percent decline in the purchasing value of the dollar since 1939, we will spend this year, in 1939 dollars, slightly over $3 billion for labor, health, education, and welfare. In 1939, with 56 million fewer people, we spent nearly $4 billion.

Now, a housewife with nine children isn't expected to keep her grocery bill to the level set by her neighbor with six children, and yet that is what we as a nation have been doing. In fact, we have actually cut back our total expenditures as our population has grown. This may or may not be right, but I think we ought to recognize what we're doing.

IS OUR GOVERNMENT GROWING?

In 1946 our Federal debt per person was $1,900. Today it is down to $1,600. In 1946, out of every 1,000 persons in the United States, 19 were civilian employees of the Federal Government. Today that number has dropped to 13, and of these 13, 6 are civilian employees of our Armed Forces. These are further evidences that what so many critics say is not true—that the Federal Government is not growing out of proportion to our population and economy.

A further indication of this came to light through comparing the Federal debt with State local, and private debt in the United States. I doubt whether many citizens realize that between 1946 and 1960—the last year for which figures are available—the Federal debt grew just 6 percent while State-local debt grew 328 percent and private debt 278 percent. Even more startling is the fact that, whereas private debt in this country was well below the Federal debt in 1946, it now is more than double the Federal debt. The facts thus refute the "ever-bigger government" argument so often linked with charges of socialism.

WHERE'S THE SOCIALISM?

One of the basic goals of traditional socialism is economic equality—from each according to ability; to each according to need. Thus, if we are approaching socialism we should see a general leveling of society, fewer rich, fewer poor. We should see less opportunity for an individual to become wealthy or well off. In this spirit let's look at some factual indicators. What's happening to personal income in this country? How much of our industrial capacity is owned by the Federal Government? What part does our system play in equalizing income and impeding the accumulation of wealth? Here are some pertinent facts:

In 1953 there were 27,000 millionaires in the United States; today there are 100,000. According to the Wall Street Journal, the last 9 years have seen the greatest growth in number of millionaires in our Nation's history.

The United States, with 6 percent of the world's population and 7 percent of its land area has 35 percent of all its wealth—more automobiles, telephones, and other luxuries than all the other countries of the world combined.

Personal income totals over $400 billion, with a median of $5,700, but the top 5 percent of U.S. families receive 20 percent of all income, and the bottom 20 percent of families receive 5 percent of all income.

Persons owning common stock increased in numbers from 6.5 million in 1952 to 12.5 million in 1959.

The top 9 percent of our population owns 46 percent of this Nation's private assets.

Government—Federal, State, and local—owns only 12 percent of the reproducible, tangible assets and 17 percent of the land in the United States. All the remainder is privately owned.

A traditional goal of socialism is public ownership of mines, factories, railroads, airlines, and communications. All of these key industries are privately owned in our country, in sharp contrast to the countries of Europe, Scandinavia, etc.

LET'S DEBATE ISSUES ON THEIR MERITS

I have written this report, not to argue for increased Federal spending or enlarging our Federal Government, but to help my constituents get a better picture of where we are, where we have been, and where we are going. We can do whatever we, as a nation, believe is right. Each of us has his own ideas about the proper role of the Federal Government, and I am certain we will continue to debate these issues. All I hope is that, in the future, we will debate them on their merits and will discard the wholly false notion that this Nation is about to abandon its competitive, free enterprise system for socialism.

President Eisenhower was an outspoken foe of Federal spending, and yet his budget increased 19 percent, from $68 billion to $81 billion, in 8 years. If our population continues to grow at the rate of 3 million a year, and if the cold war goes on, it is obvious that we will continue to have large Federal budgets—regardless of which party is in power. Anyone who holds out the promise of wholesale reductions in the cost of government under these circumstances is either uninformed or insincere.

Some time ago Walter Lippmann concluded a study of the creeping socialism charge with these words: "It is evident," he wrote, "that creeping socialism has not crept very far."

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## Labor Day Sermon of Bishop John J. Wright of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pa.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, we in Pittsburgh are blessed with fine clergy in our churches, and we are proud of their many accomplishments. One of our outstanding religious leaders and a man of great popularity, who is esteemed by the citizens of our whole community, is Bishop John J. Wright of the diocese of Pittsburgh.

Every Labor Day in Pittsburgh there is a parade of the various officers and members to unite all creeds in showing their devotion to the higher purposes of life, and to record their desire for divine guidance. Bishop John J. Wright has made an annual occasion of the mass at St. Paul's Cathedral in Pittsburgh, where he delivers his Labor Day sermon to the workingmen of Pittsburgh and their sons, as well as the local government officials who have participated in the parade. It has been a great privilege for me to take part in these ceremonies each of the 3 years they have been held.

Bishop Wright always has a fresh and interesting approach for his Labor Day sermon for the benefit of these men and their sons, and Labor Day 1962 was no exception. Bishop Wright emphasized the role of the wife in the life of the workingman, and I have outlined here several worthwhile excerpts from Bishop Wright's Labor Day sermon.

"All thoughtful men know, but workingmen should understand with special clarity the reasons deep in nature why God made marriage permanent and sacred," Bishop Wright said in his sermon at the annual Labor Day ceremonies in the Pittsburgh Civic Arena.

"The Bible sets forth one of the divine purposes of matrimony when it represents God as saying: 'It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a helpmate like to himself.' The human experience of every civilization and of all the centuries has confirmed the wisdom of the divine intention that the wife be the spiritual support of her spouse and that both be bound to one another in common life and exclusive love.

"Not only the religious values of the Judaeo-Christian tradition but reason expressing itself in sound law and custom has always sought to strengthen the unity of the marriage bond and the intimacy of the mutual encouragement that spouses give to one another.

"Hence the tradition of common law that a wife is not normally called upon to testify against her husband. Hence, too, the instinct of common decency that finds repulsive any effort to set a woman against her husband. This instinct prompts most people to reject as vicious the tactic sometimes employed when strikebreakers bypass husbands to play upon the anxieties of their wives in the hope of indirectly influencing men to back down from positions they, as guardians of their families, feel bound to take.

"As we pay tribute this morning to the wife of a great labor leader born in Scotland, we are reminded of the gentle truth set forth by a wise Scotch dramatist, James M. Barrie. In "What Every Woman Knows," Barrie has a canny Scotch wife, Maggie, say in the moment of her husband's triumph, made possible by her, 'It's nothing unusual I have done, John. Every man who is high up loves to think that he has done it all himself; and the wife smiles, and lets it go at that.'

"The fact is that evevy man high and low is equally dependent on the sustaining power that God gives him through his wife. That need will be no less great in the trials of the future than it has been in the struggles of the past. In the soul-searching decisions and discouraging adjustments made necessary by automation and economic changes; in the efforts to preserve individual dignity and worth in the face of impersonal technology; in meeting reverses without spiritual disaster or using prosperity without moral decay, American men will need, as never before, the constancy, the help, even the heroism of understanding wives.

"Tomorrow, as today, the voice of civilization must echo the words of God at the very beginnings of our race: It is not good for man to be alone. For this reason, society, as once God Himself, recognizing the sane and saving function of the loyal spouse, must provide in full measure for the protection of the marriage bond and the family unit if we are to save not only marital morality but civilization itself."

# Appendix

## Positive Action Can Save Cuba and the Western Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. BRUCE ALGER**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, inaction and lack of a firm U.S. policy has enabled the Russian Communists to establish a beachhead in the Western Hemisphere through conquest of Cuba. State Department ineptitude has now resulted in the Russians making an armed camp of Cuba with missiles pointed at the heart of the United States. A few days ago the President was assuring us that Russian weapons in Cuba were "merely defensive" and "no threat to the United States." The administration said Communist missiles in Cuba had only a range of 25 miles and we had absolutely nothing to worry about. In that past few days we are informed through the press that Russian Communist missiles in Cuba will have a range of 1,400 miles and bring within range the greater part of the United States. Still the President and the State Department see no threat from Cuba and continue to try to lull the American people into a sense of false security through humming lullabies which are soothing but totally unrelated to the facts. The situation is not yet hopeless as pointed out in the following editorial by David Lawrence in the U.S. News & World Report, issue of October 15, 1962.

CUBA CAN BE SAVED

(By David Lawrence)

The mistakes that have been made in the formulation of the policy of the United States toward Cuba seem to some extent to be in process of correction.

Informal conferences between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the Foreign Ministers of several of the Latin American States are at least clarifying the issues.

Any military interposition by the United States alone would doubtless be disapproved by our neighbors to the south. It is, therefore, sensible to secure first as much agreement as possible among the Latin American powers on measures that do not involve a formal declaration of war or military operations at this time.

But, since measures "short of war" are necessary—such as the imposition of an economic blockade—it is essential that the main facts be made clear to the peoples of all countries.

It is beside the point for some of the Latin American spokesmen to argue that the Monroe Doctrine was a "unilateral" declaration. What does matter is that the principle laid down by the Monroe Doctrine has been accepted in formal resolutions adopted in various conferences held in recent years under the auspices of the Organization of American States.

The United States has realized for a long time that unilateral action is not desirable. But this only emphasizes the necessity for concerted action to accomplish what the Monroe Doctrine was set up to achieve.

The issues are plain: The Soviet Government has officially acknowledged that it has sent arms and ammunition to the Castro regime. The United States and its allies in this hemisphere construe this as a threat against the safety of all Latin American governments.

For several years the Soviets have been infiltrating Latin American governments and trying to subvert the institutions of nearly every country to the south of us with the avowed purpose of conquering them from within exactly as they have done in Cuba.

The countries in this hemisphere, therefore, face a threat to their independence. The Monroe Doctrine denounced any attempt by a European power to extend its system to this hemisphere. This commits the United States at least to resist such encroachment.

Certain questions, if not examined realistically, can become excuses for inaction and must be disposed of before unity of action can be achieved among our allies.

Thus, for instance, many governments, both inside and outside this hemisphere, have recognized the Castro regime as the legitimate government of Cuba. A simple remedy now is to withdraw that recognition.

Obviously, this is an action that must be taken by individual governments and cannot be imposed merely by international resolutions. But it is not unreasonable to remind every friendly country throughout the world that the American people may become tired of spending billions of dollars for what is known as foreign aid and also bearing the burden of maintaining large military forces abroad as a defense against Communist aggression when professed allies of this country seem unwilling to help safeguard the security of the United States.

It should be noted that the North Atlantic Treaty itself makes it obligatory for the United States to consider any attack on members of that alliance as an attack on the United States. This can mean instant involvement for us without so much as a declaration of war by our own Congress. The treaty requires immediate intervention in Europe to defend any country that is attacked. Are preparations for attack to be ignored? The Government at Washington would certainly join in imposing any economic blockade if our European allies ever sought such aid from us against the Soviets.

Can any Latin American Government regard itself as a sincere friend of the United States or really be concerned about protecting the independence of the nations of this hemisphere if it sets itself up as "neutral" in the situation that has arisen as between the United States and the Soviet Union or as between the Castro regime and this country? Isn't the presence of more than 4,500 Soviet military men and their weapons—including missiles—only 90 miles away, enough evidence of the possible threat to the safety of this country? Is it possible that the Mexican Government can close its eyes to what is happening? The Mexican President is quoted as saying he doesn't regard the Soviet buildup in Cuba to be a threat to peace in this hemisphere.

Will the Soviets be permitted to help the Castro Communists while other countries in this hemisphere sit idly by? We, on our part, should help the Cuban exiles to organize their liberation movement.

It is a time for soul searching in Latin America, and it is to be hoped that the words of President Kennedy and Secretary Rusk and our diplomatic representatives will be taken to heart in the capitals to the south of us.

For it is the safety and security of all the free people in this hemisphere which are at stake. Unity of action by the countries of this hemisphere can still save the Cuban people.

## The Malaxa Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ESTES KEFAUVER**
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, recently there has been considerable discussion in the Congress and in the press about the case of Nicolae Malaxa and the relationship of former Vice President Richard M. Nixon to Malaxa. In this connection, I may add that I think the manner in which this has come about is most unfortunate. Mr. Nixon chose to inject the issue of dealing with communism into the Governor's race in California, by charging that Gov. Pat Brown's administration had been soft on communism. In response to this, some have pointed to Mr. Nixon's connections with this Nicolae Malaxa, a resident alien who is alleged to have had both Nazi and Communist connections in his homeland of Rumania.

The Washington Star of Wednesday, October 10, quoted Malaxa's attorney as saying that the immigration hearings held in Malaxa's case had fully cleared Malaxa of these charges. I want to set the public record straight in this respect. I reviewed the Malaxa case closely, some months ago, and concluded that the proceedings involving him had been most irregular, and were such that the charges against him had not been fully explored. For one thing, when the charges were being considered, he refused to answer questions about his past. He claimed that because of procedural technicalities, he did not have to answer such questions.

On review, Attorney General Rogers later held that Malaxa should have answered the questions, but, nonetheless, upheld a decision in Malaxa's favor, even though Malaxa's unlawful silence had prevented a full inquiry into his past associations. This is set forth in some detail in a letter I wrote to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy on April 11, 1962, in which I reviewed the Malaxa case and urged the Attorney General to

reconsider it. I pointed out in this letter the procedural irregularities in the previous proceedings and the fact that Nazi war documents published by the State Department in 1960 now present new evidence against Malaxa. I referred specifically to a secret telegram sent in 1941 by the German Minister in Rumania to the German Foreign Ministry, in which the Minister referred to Malaxa as "the financial mainstay" of the Iron Guard, which was the Rumanian Nazi Party. Mr. Malaxa's attorney now states that this document was declassified in 1955 and was presented against Malaxa in the immigration hearings. I have not yet had time to confirm this contention. The reported decisions in the Malaxa case deal in detail with the evidence against him, and make no reference to this document, thus indicating to me that it was not considered at the hearings. In any event, the evidence against Malaxa, coupled with the peculiar procedure which operated in his favor before, indicates to me that there is clearly room for doubt that his past Nazi and Communist associations were fully explored; and certainly it cannot be claimed that he refuted the charges against him when he refused to answer questions concerning his past Iron Guard, Nazi, and Communist associations.

On April 19, the Attorney General wrote to me, in response to my letter, that the Department of Justice would look into the matter at the first opportunity and would advise me further.

Since writing the Attorney General, I have had a number of conferences with Mr. Nicholas Katzenbach, the Deputy Attorney General. He told me he thought the record showed Mr. Malaxa to be an improper person for admission to the United States, and that he should have been excluded. He said he thought a strong case of previous improper conduct had been made before the hearing examiner, and fully justified such a holding against Malaxa; but Mr. Katzenbach advised that since the Board of Immigration Appeals, by a split decision, had reversed the hearing examiner, and Attorney General Rogers had affirmed the decision of the Board of Immigration Appeals, he felt it was not good public policy for one Attorney General to reverse the decision of a previous one, unless there was substantial and convincing evidence which had not been brought out in previous hearings.

With this administrative policy I agree, but I have some question as to its applicability in this case.

Mr. Katzenbach has advised that he is keeping the matter under consideration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of my letter of April 11, 1962, to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 11, 1962.

The Honorable ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
*U.S. Department of Justice,*
*Washington, D.C.*

Re: Nicolae Malaxa.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: Nicolae Malaxa is a Rumanian alien now residing in New York City. I have received information which leads me to believe that the lawfulness and desirability of his continued presence in this country should be reconsidered.

Malaxa first came to this country in 1946 for a temporary visit as a member of the Rumanian economic delegation. He never returned to Rumania but he later claimed to have become an unwanted capitalist there—despite his appointment to this trade mission and despite the fact that the Communists paid him $2,500,000 in compensation for factories seized by the Russians and allowed him to transfer his funds to the United States.

In 1948, he began steps to gain permanent residence under the Displaced Persons Act. After hearings, the Immigration Service made a favorable recommendation on his application on September 26, 1951, in an opinion by Mr. A. C. Devaney of the Adjudications Division. Malaxa's self-serving, and at times farfetched, testimony was believed and the contrary testimony of many disinterested persons was rejected in instance after instance. The recommendation failed to receive necessary congressional approval and died. An attempt in Congress to adjust his status by joint resolution was then unsuccessful also.

Malaxa next moved under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. He was sole owner of Western Tube Corp., which ostensibly planned to build a seamless tubing plant in Whittier, Calif. His corporation filed a petition seeking a first preference quota for Malaxa on the grounds that the corporation urgently needed his services for building the California plant. The petition was approved and Malaxa was admitted from Canada as a permanent resident on September 26, 1953. Western Tube Corp. soon became inactive. It never got beyond the organizational stages and the California plant was not built. Apparently, the only objective which it achieved was to obtain permanent residence in the United States for its owner.

The apparent sham of the Western Tube operation led the Service to attempt to exclude Malaxa when he reentered the country in December 1955, after a stay in Argentina of almost a year. In addition to alleged fraud in the Western Tube application, charges were made involving Malaxa's connections with the Rumanian Iron Guard and the German Nazis prior to and during World War II and dealings with the Communists after World War II.

The special inquiry officer found against Malaxa on all points and ordered him deported. His findings were based partly upon refusals to answer questions asked by the examining officer concerning Malaxa's past Iron Guard, Nazi, and Communist associations. Malaxa contended that an examining officer was not authorized for the hearing and that he could only be required to submit to questioning by the special inquiry officer. The special inquiry officer ruled that Malaxa should answer the examining officer's questions and chose to draw adverse inferences from Malaxa's silence rather than to propound the questions himself. As a result of this procedural dispute, Malaxa's past was not fully explored.

The Board of Immigration Appeals reversed the special inquiry officer in a split decision, holding that the inquiry officer could not draw inferences from Malaxa's silence and that he should have questioned Malaxa instead of relying on the examining officer. The board expressly decided (from a record which was obviously incomplete because of Malaxa's silence) that Malaxa was never affiliated with the Iron Guard, Nazis, or Communists.

Attorney General Rogers then reviewed the case. He agreed with the inquiry officer that Malaxa should have responded to the examining officer's questions and that adverse inferences properly could be drawn from his refusal. Despite this, he affirmed the Board's order admitting Malaxa to permanent residence. Malaxa thus profited from his wrongful refusal to answer questions about his past, because the only consequence was that his past activities were not fully explored for the record. It is hard to see why a final decision was reached favorably to Malaxa on factual issues which he prevented from being fully heard. In the courts, a comparable case would have been remanded for a new hearing in which Malaxa would have responded to questions by the examining officer so that the case could be decided from all relevant evidence.

I realize something can be said for terminating such a case once it is concluded even if the decision was wrong, but new evidence has been revealed which also appears to justify reopening the Malaxa case.

Malaxa has always denied alleged affiliations with the German Nazis, the Rumanian Iron Guard and the Rumanian Communists. There has always been strong evidence against him but I will not attempt to review it here except to mention a few of the incriminating facts concerning his connections with the terrorist Nazi Iron Guard. In the 1951 proceedings, the testimony of several prominent Rumanians linked Malaxa to the Iron Guard at the time of its January 1941 uprising when it was finally suppressed by General Antonescu. Marion Novotny told of seeing iron guardists enter Malaxa's home to obtain arms reportedly stored there for use in the revolt. Alexander Cretzinu, who was then serving in the Rumanian foreign office, testified that during the uprising General Antonescu told him of learning from his secret service and German officers that Malaxa was the financial backer of the Iron Guard. Max Ausnit, a leading Rumanian industrialist, identified Malaxa as the Iron Guard's financial backer at the time. This and similar testimony was simply denied by Malaxa and his word was accepted, as it apparently again was by the Board of Immigration Appeals and Attorney General Rogers in 1958.

Now it appears that official German war documents published by the State Department in 1960 refute Malaxa's testimony and confirms the testimony against him. At page 1050 of the documents on German foreign policy appears Document 623, a secret telegram dated January 8, 1941, to the German Foreign Ministry from Fabricius, the German Minister in Rumania. Fabricius referred to Malaxa as "Carol's former friend and the present financial mainstay of the Legionnaires." He added that the Legionnaires (Iron Guard) "let this clever big industrialist finance them. He has in his plants the leader of the Legionnaire labor organization, Gana, and there the green flags of Sima flutter everywhere." Of General Antonescu's distrust of Malaxa, Fabricius reported: "The general * * * would like best to send Malaxa and his family off to Germany in order to get rid of them for a while. In reply to a question from him, I told him that, if he

wished it, we would be glad to oblige him by taking Malaxa in, since German industry had always been on the best of terms with him. The general considers this his only chance of getting rid of this troublesome schemer."

This telegram is dated only 2 weeks before the Iron Guard revolt which resulted in Malaxa's arrest and imprisonment by Antonescu.

I believe the prior handling of Malaxa's case and the persuasive evidence contained in the German war documents justifies reconsideration. These documents may not meet tests of legal admissibility in judicial proceedings, but a principal reason that the rules of evidence do not apply to immigration matters is that the issues involved are often incapable of such proof. This reason particularly applies in evaluating Malaxa's connection with the Iron Guard which reputedly slaughtered 7,000 Rumanian Jews in 1940–41.

Taken with the other evidence against Malaxa, the German documents appear to be extremely incriminating. I urge you to reconsider the case in this light.

Sincerely yours,

ESTES KEFAUVER,
*U.S. Senator.*

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## Summary of the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, at the end of the 1959, 1960, and 1961 sessions of Congress, I summarized each year's activities and mailed reprints to constituents. There have been hundreds of requests asking me to follow the same procedure at the close of this Congress. I am complying with their requests and am making this summary as soon as possible at the end of this session, and I am going to have reprints made at my expense and distributed as soon as they can be processed.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Our defense has been greatly strengthened. We increased by 45 percent the Regular Army divisions from 11 up to 16. Of the 11 we had in early 1961, only 3 were in the United States. Khrushchev undoubtedly knew we could not spare any more and was thus encouraged to precipitate the crisis. The Reserves were called and got us through this crucial period, and I think the Regular Forces will be kept at enough strength now so Reserves will not need to be called under such circumstances.

It was found that Reserve units at two-thirds strength could not be made battle ready in less than 4 or 5 months, and this is too slow to respond in present-day warfare; therefore, a realinement is underway by which several brigades will be kept at full strength instead of more brigades at partial strength.

Increased defense effort added 20 percent or $10 billion to the defense budget. The increased appropriation was supported by a unanimous vote which indicated agreement upon the need.

TAXES

Taxes were reduced by about $1.2 billion per year through changing the depreciation schedules effective last July. Also, and investment credit, such as most European countries have, was a part of a new tax law. New data collected from industry and farmers this month shows investments in new equipment sharply increasing, as was predicted would result. The results will be closely watched as new tax proposals are developed next year.

FOREIGN AID AND THE PEACE CORPS

Foreign aid requests were reduced by $1.7 billion for the 2-year period. President Eisenhower's requests to the 86th Congress were reduced about the same amount. The Peace Corps was established to get back on a technical-aid approach instead of so much of the grant-of-money approach. The administration is expected to propose only Peace Corps aid to some countries next year, and I think economic aid will be reduced.

EDUCATION

Federal aid to education under the Impacted Areas Act and the National Defense Education Act was extended for 2 more years, to expire June 30, 1963. There is a great deal of inequity and control in these laws. Some districts in the East and in California receiving this aid are much better off than districts in Iowa that do not receive any, but the vast majority of both Democrats and Republicans voted to extend these laws and voted against amending them.

A bill to provide grants and loans to colleges for classrooms passed overwhelmingly on a bipartisan basis in the House, but the Senate added loans for students to the bill, and the House then voted against loans for students. My bill for loans for students on a need basis was then sidetracked; however, I believe education legislation in the next Congress is most likely to involve loans for the 20 percent of the students with college ability who cannot pay all the increasing costs of tuition and subsistence without a partial loan.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

New national parks established were: first, Cape Cod National Seashore on the Atlantic Coast; second, Point Reyes National Seashore, immediately above San Francisco, and third, Padre Island National Seashore, which is located just off the coast of south Texas.

AGRICULTURE

The first Feed Grains Act was approved March 22, 1961. It provided that price supports would be limited to those who reduce production. Under it, production was reduced enough to provide a market for several hundred million bushels of the corn that had accumulated in Government bins. On August 8, 1961, it was extended to the 1962 crop year, and in September 1962, it was extended to cover the 1963 crop year. More than a billion tax dollars have been saved on two crops as a result of this legislation, and farm income has been increased at the same time. The estimated increase in Iowa income is $270 million.

A mandatory program was rejected by Congress, and it is now indicated that next year a more permanent voluntary proposal will be made. The 1962 bill also provided a cropland adjustment pilot program for turning farmland into recreational uses.

Programs to expand distribution of surplus foods to the needy and schools and a special milk program for children were also enacted or promulgated by Executive order.

Other laws approved provide for a hog cholera eradication program and guarding against dissemination of diseases of livestock and poultry in order to further protect against a shortage of food occurring from some epidemic.

HOUSING

Public Law 87–70, approved June 30, 1961, extended existing programs and also provided programs to enable, first, private enterprise to provide housing for moderate income families; and, second, the owners of deteriorated homes to repair and improve them with FHA insured loans. There also was a provision increasing the loans available to colleges to build dormitories, and urban renewal grant authority was extended.

H.R. 12628, approved last month, authorizes loans for rental housing for the elderly.

Public Law 87–38 provided an increase in the authorization to insure mortgages by FHA so citizens can borrow money at the bank to buy a house with a smaller down payment than otherwise would be possible. Thousands of houses in Iowa are purchased under this program.

FEDERAL BUILDINGS

A new Federal building for central Iowa to be located at Second and Walnut in Des Moines was approved, and money has been appropriated to acquire the site and for preconstruction planning. The Federal offices building on the east side in Des Moines will still be used, but the one at Fourth and Walnut will be sold.

RECESSION LEGISLATION

To help lift the recession, Congress passed depressed areas legislation and a Temporary Unemployment Act; increased social security benefits for widows and those receiving minimum benefits; stepped up the highway program; and enacted a Water Pollution Act to encourage local communities to build sewage plants and quit dumping sewage in streams used by downstream communities for a water supply.

MANPOWER RETRAINING

Most now agree that long-term reductions in unemployment will depend upon retraining the unskilled or those laid off by automation and upon educating the young to fill the professional and skilled jobs that are waiting for someone. Thirty percent of the teenagers are competing for unskilled jobs in short supply, and many skilled workers find their skill no longer needed—both need training. A bill was passed to provide schooling for jobs that are available. The program is now underway in Iowa.

PENSION AND WELFARE FUNDS

I was the author of a bill which passed and will require the administrators of pension and welfare funds to disclose their receipts, expenditures, and investments so that the participants will know the facts concerning the fund upon which they depend to give them their benefits. We had examples of administrators and insurance agents milking the funds by paying as much as 45 percent in commissions and of other abuses that should not exist. In order to protect the fund it requires an administrator to be bonded. There is now $60 billion in this kind of fund, and such funds are increasing at the rate of $4.5 billion per year.

DES MOINES RIVER PROJECTS

Further appropriations for Red Rock and Saylorville Dams and levees in Des Moines were secured. Sixteen and three-tenths billion dollars was secured for Red Rock in the 2-year period, and construction is progressing. One hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for Saylorville planning last year, and there was enough left to carry another year. Planning on Saylorville is almost done and construction probably can start in another year.

I secured a final order increasing the Red Rock minimum lake to 9,000 acres on a permanent basis. It was originally to have been 6,300 acres and only temporarily.

SPACE RACE

The overwhelming majority of both Democrats and Republicans voted for the man-on-the-moon project which is expected to take 10 years. Of course, the real objective is to develop equipment which can also be used to detect and destroy missiles that are aimed at us.

MINIMUM WAGE

The Minimum Wage Act was amended to increase the minimum wage to $1.25 per hour and to extend the act to about 3 million more workers, mostly retail workers. The amount per hour was not so controversial, but the extension to new workers was the first since 1938 when the law was originally passed and was strenuously resisted.

REORGANIZATION

I am on the committee which handles bills to reorganize the executive departments to make them operate more efficiently and economically. We had nine such proposals that reached the House for consideration in this Congress.

As predicted by the Hoover Commission, many people who have become accustomed to operating under existing procedures do not want to change. The coalition in the House defeated most of the proposals but the ones which passed will help.

I was the floor manager for the proposal to reorganize research programs. Over $12 billion per year is spent by the Federal Government on research. The proposal provides that projects will be reported through a central office so duplication and waste of both scientists and money can be detected and stopped. It passed and may very well result in saving $1 billion per year.

TRADE EXPANSION ACT

The Trade Expansion Act was one of the most important bills passed in many years. It provides authority to negotiate with the Common Market for concessions that will be mutually beneficial and result in expanding our export sales. Iowa produces a great deal for export.

CIVIL RIGHTS

A constitutional amendment prohibiting the use of the poll tax to prevent voting was passed.

FORT DES MOINES

An order was obtained to use 340 acres of the Fort Des Moines property for school sites, a city park, roads, and a new college of osteopathy campus.

BUDGET

President Kennedy's budget requests were reduced a total of over $8 billion in the 2-year period. President Eisenhower's requests to the last Congress were reduced by $2.1 billion.

MISCELLANEOUS

Drug safeguards: The first major drug amendments since 1938 were passed to improve the quality and safety of drugs.

Small business: Public Law 87–305 provides for the dissemination of procurement information so more small businessmen can bid for business. Further loans were also provided.

Hanford power project: H.R. 11974 permits local public and private utilities to erect a generating facility near our atomic reactor at Hanford, Wash., and buy waste steam from the plant to produce electricity. There is no cost to the Federal Government, and it is estimated that the Federal Government will receive more than $100 million in 30 years from the sale of this waste steam.

Highway program: Public law 87–61 provides a continuation of the present construction program until 1966 and authorizes an additional 5 years of construction from money in the trust fund.

Airports: Public law 87–255 extends the Federal aid for airports program through fiscal year 1964. Des Moines and several central Iowa cities depend on these funds and furnish airports that can be used by military planes when necessary.

Highway safety: Public Law 87–637 provides for determining and specifying what brake fluid is safe and efficient for motor vehicles in order to promote highway safety.

Drivers' registration: Public Law 87–359 authorizes States to report driving violations and cancellations of licenses to a central office so other States where a violator may apply for a license will have the information available. All but four States have already agreed to participate in the program.

Aircraft crimes: Public Law 87–197, arising out of the airliner hijacking cases, provides that certain crimes committed aboard airlines are also Federal crimes.

Public facilities: More loans for such community facilities as sewage disposal units were authorized. Of 330 applications filed last year, 45 percent were from communities of less than 1,000 population, many of which have not had proper sewage disposal, and thus dumped raw sewage into rivers and streams. Communities in central Iowa applying include Story City, Ankeny, Adel, Roland, Lehigh, Madrid, Altoona, Urbandale-Windsor Heights, and New Virginia.

Federal judgeships were increased and my bill providing for one for Iowa was incorporated in the bill.

An Arms Control Research Agency was established so our negotiators will not be going to negotiations as Harold Stassen did without a staff that can analyze the Russian proposals. It was endorsed by both President Kennedy and former President Eisenhower.

Blind children's education: I was the author of an act to increase materials available for blind children, such as braille books and sound tapes of textbooks, so these children can secure a better educational opportunity.

Juvenile delinquency was the subject of a bill passed to secure and distribute information to local officials. Des Moines has a plan under consideration.

United Nations bonds: Under a World Court ruling, countries not helping pay debts of the U.N. can be denied voting rights. Russia refused to pay for U.N. police action which stopped them in the Congo and on the Gaza strip. Under the U.N. bond proposal, which was approved, if Russia does not help pay, they will be denied their vote in the U.N.

Questionnaire: I sent out a questionnaire last winter. Since then, items 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, and 18 were enacted into law. Several have requested information as to the results, which were as follows:

| | Those with an opinion | | Percent of total with no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent for | Percent against | |
| 1. Agreements for lower tariffs | 85 | 15 | 16 |
| 2. Continued support of United Nations | 85 | 15 | 29 |
| 3. Continued foreign aid | 68 | 32 | 19 |
| 4. Aid to grade and high schools | 54 | 46 | 15 |
| 5. Aid to increase college classrooms | 57 | 43 | 19 |
| 6. Loans for college students | 72 | 28 | 27 |
| 7. Pensions for World War I veterans | 53 | 47 | 23 |
| 8. Increase disabled veterans' compensation | 61 | 39 | 26 |
| 9. Extend feed grains program: | | | |
| Farmers voting | 88 | 12 | 5 |
| Nonfarmers voting | 40 | 60 | 30 |
| 10. Administration's new farm proposal: | | | |
| Farmers voting | 50 | 50 | 5 |
| Nonfarmers voting | 41 | 59 | 39 |
| 11. Health care for the aged under social security | 57 | 43 | 10 |
| 12. Further civil rights laws | 66 | 34 | 33 |
| 13. Establish Urban Affairs Department | 62 | 38 | 36 |
| 14. Prohibit Federal officials hiring relatives | 68 | 32 | 17 |
| 15. Increase social security benefits | 57 | 43 | 14 |
| 16. Expand recreation areas | 72 | 28 | 22 |
| 17. Continue $700,000,000 medical research program | 87 | 13 | 18 |
| 18. Tax credits for new industrial machinery | 59 | 41 | |

## Larry W. Morgan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor and privilege of representing Haywood County, Tenn. One of the outstanding citizens of Haywood County is Larry W. Morgan. Mr. Morgan has had a very distinguished career not only in Haywood County but the State of Tennessee as well.

I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress an article which was published in the Commercial Appeal, an outstanding newspaper of this Nation, on Monday, October 8, about Mr. Morgan.

The article follows:

LAW, POLITICS HAVE KEPT HIM BUSY

(By Reese Moses)

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn., October 7.—It's like a trip into the past to walk through the white front gate at the home of Mr. and Mrs. L. W. Morgan.

The wide brick walk, edged with large boxwoods leads to the front steps of the early Williamsburg-type home, located in an attractive grove near Brownsville. The interior, featuring random width paneling and beautiful antiques exemplifies gracious Southern living.

The large screened porch at the rear of the house provides a beautiful view of the rolling acres, dotted with Mr. Morgan's prize herd of registered Hereford cattle. This is a view of which he never tires.

While Mr. Morgan has practiced law in Brownsville for 35 years, a list of his other activities makes one wonder how he ever had the time.

In 1941 he became a State senator and in 1945 he was elected speaker of the Senate, an event he considers a highlight in his life. It was at this point in his career that the late E. H. Crump, Memphis political leader, endorsed Mr. Morgan as a candidate for governor of Tennessee.

While Mr. Morgan considers that this was quite an honor, he never seriously considered running for Governor. Since 1946, when he was chairman of the Democratic State convention, he has not been very active in politics.

His time as State senator was particularly appealing to him from the standpoint of making it possible for him to meet many people throughout the State.

"Even now, I frequently meet young men, just beginning their law practice, whose father was a friend of mine at that time, which is a great pleasure to me."

One particular thing which occurred during his term stands out in his mind.

"There was an appropriation made which made possible the continuation of the three tubercular hospitals, one in each grand division of the State."

This he considers was the foundation for the work of education treatment and eradication of tuberculosis.

His interest in this continued and through his work, in 1956, he was granted the J. P. Kranz award, given annually by the State association for meritorious work with the Tennessee Tuberculosis Association. He is past president of this group and is a member of the board of directors of the National Tuberculosis Association.

For many years, Mr. Morgan has been closely affiliated with the Boy Scouts in Brownsville and west Tennessee. He is now an honorary member of the Boy Scout district committee.

Mr. Morgan has taught the men's Sunday school class at First Methodist Church for the past 27 years. He has consistently, through the years, had a large and regular attendance here.

A member and former chairman of the official board of the church, Mr. Morgan is president of the board of trustees of the Memphis Annual Conference of the Methodist Church and is on the board of trustees at Lambuth College in Jackson.

For 9 years, Mr. Morgan served as treasurer of the Tennessee Society of Crippled Children in Haywood County. He is chairman of the board of directors of the Brownsville Bank, a past president of the Brownsville Rotary and past commander of the American Legion.

Mrs. Morgan, a talented musician, leads a busy life herself, with a schedule of church, civic and social activities. She is pianist for the Brownsville Rotary Club and past president of the Woman's Society of Christian Service at First Methodist Church.

## Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, no more appropriate tribute may be paid to the discoverer of this continent than to express briefly the admiration, respect, and affection that we all feel for his Italian-American countrymen in the United States. As the last century ended there were about 484,000 of them here seeking a better life than the one they had known in the disrupted agricultural economy of the Italian peninsula. By 1910 they numbered over 1,343,000.

In the beginning most of them performed back-breaking labor in construction or heavy industry. But it was not long before their children became doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, legislators, and businessmen. In their achievements they are second to no other group in the United States. It has been estimated that some 845,000 men of Italian descent served in the Armed Forces of the United States during the Second World War. I have the honor of serving with able, hard-working, and patriotic Italian-Americans in this House.

Perhaps on this occasion others will extoll the contributions of Italian-Americans to the arts and the sciences. I wish to praise them as a group which in difficult times, under severe handicaps, and in a remarkably short number of years has come to take its place in the leadership of the free American society. That one of their number, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Celebrezze, was appointed to an executive department of the Federal Government whose responsibilities are of crucial importance to our entire population is characteristic of the magnitude of their achievement as political and administrative leaders. Columbus discovered America, and Italian-Americans help lead it and preserve its freedom.

## The Pornography Racket in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, the Washington Post and the Washington Daily News each took editorial snipes at the U.S. Congress for its efforts to put effective controls on the lucrative business of pornography in the District of Columbia by almost unanimously passing H.R. 4670.

The Daily News editorialist could not have read the bill before writing his editorial. He may have relied on the ranting statement of the Washington branch of the Civil Liberties Union, which consistently opposes all efforts to put bridles on obscenity, lewdness, and indecency. The Post editorial makes its usual attack on moral integrity, ignoring the fact that the widespread distribution of pornographic material promotes juvenile delinquency which is already out of hand in the District of Columbia.

I have written replies to each of the editors, hoping a factual presentation of the bills as well as the moral aspects of this problem may be presented to the readers of the two papers. The letters are necessarily lengthy. In the event either is too long for publication in its entirety, or not published at all, I want the Members of the House to know of the replies.

I hope to have your indulgence while I read them into the RECORD:

OCTOBER 9, 1962.

EDITOR,
*The Washington Post,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Referring to your October 5 editorial, "Imprisoning the Press," one wonders just what your firm is printing which you consider to be "obscene, lewd, and indecent." Reasonable men have no difficulty in knowing what is meant by obscenity, lewdness and indecency. No one can tell me that our morals have fallen so low that the distinction can no longer be made.

The annual $2 billion pornography racket is attacking the integrity, as well as the moral and spiritual welfare of the people of the United States. Can the Post editorialist be blind to this insidious influence which is as corrupting as atheistic communism? Is the filth purveyor's profit all that precious?

I do not mind your castigation of my efforts in sponsoring H.R. 4670, to smother the widespread pornography business in the District of Columbia. To say the least, the "provincial morals" which you attribute to me are high above the gutter which spawns the filth that my bill will ban.

J. Edgar Hoover stated that "sex-mad magazines are creating criminals faster than jails can be built." A former Detroit police inspector has declared, "There has not been a sex murder in the history of our department in which the killer was not an avid reader of lewd magazines." Does your editorialist honestly believe that all the bloated profits of the mendacious merchants of smut would recompense for the life of even one little girl—let alone others uncounted?

Most people in Washington wish the Post would show the same devotion to the moral welfare of the American family and to the

rights of the law abiding as it does to the coddling of yokers, rapists, murderers and worse. Children of tender age are exposed to large quantities of morally repulsvie publications and pictures, as well as to molestation by those perverted thereby. I would remove this evil from our midst—is that what the Post calls "provincial morality"? Morality doesn't change with the times, nor with locality.

The editorialist must recall the passage from St. Matthew: "But whoso shall offend one of these my little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea"—or does the editorialist feel that has been overruled as being unconstiutional? Our children must be protected; admittedly, this is a duty of the local police, but it is no less a duty of all the wholesome interests of the community. The Post policy should be to join with the responsible communications media in support of healthy laws to suppress this vicious vice.

Surely your paper's profits do not greatly depend on income from that kind of business. The continued degradation of sex, with the accompanying degradation of manhood, womanhood and childhood, is not worth the price.

Wouldn't you like to be on the right side just once? Perhaps this thought will help. I believe there is a connected ownership involving the Post and a radio station. In title 18, United States Code, is a provision that "whoever utters any obscene, indecent or profane language by means of radio communication shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both". Furthermore, there would be the possible added penalty of losing the station's license. Has the Post had any difficulty understanding the meaning of the descriptive words in that statute?

The Post has not editorialized for the repeal of that statute, nor complained of its penalties, and presumably approves of them. My bill which passed the House by a vote of 270 to 18 provides a less stringent penalty; not more than $500 fine, or not more than 1 year in jail. The House vote of 15 to 1 in favor of my bill indicates that very few Members were impressed with the Post contention. Indeed, it might be said that the Post's campaign against our efforts to control the merchants of filth and immorality has made almost no converts—and support for this bill is just as strong outside Congress as it is within.

My bill leaves the decisions up to the courts. Perhaps the Post does not trust the courts, but your editor has not suggested a better tribunal, taking only a totally "negative," "do nothing" attitude about this problem.

Perhaps it is fair to say that the Post is out of touch with the real concerns of the fathers and mothers and the religious community of the Nation's Capital. The people and the Congress have spoken and acted; it is now only up to the President to sign H.R. 4670 into law, to make possible the steps necessary to effectively combat this vicious business. It cannot be done with fine speeches about the rising crime rate and the mounting tide of juvenile delinquency. This bill, when it becomes law, will remove the profit from obscenity, and provide penalties essential to the control of filth, just as penalties are essential to the control of other crimes, and criminals.

Sincerely,

JOHN DOWDY,
*Member of Congress.*

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OCTOBER 9, 1962.

EDITOR,
*The Washington Daily News,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: This refers to your May 6 editorial entitled, "Dangerous Bill." It deals with my bill, H.R. 4670, which passed the House on October 4, by a splendid margin, 270 to 18, which is exactly 15 to 1.

Do you think it quite fair to editorialize against the bill without reading it? You have been misled by the smut peddlers, who realize this bill would cut heavily into their lush profits.

Your editorialist states that if a household owned a copy of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," which a son took to school to his English class, "the District could seize the household furniture, car, lawnmower, icebox, television set, the family clothes, and every other possession, and padlock your house for a year." This is not true, and wholly misleading.

In the first place, the courts have defined the phrase, "obscene, lewd or indecent," and "Canterbury Tales" does not fall within that class. Reasonable men have no difficulty in understanding what is meant by "obscenity, lewdness and indecency." Our morals have not yet fallen too low to make the distinction. I believe your writer is the first I have heard to condemn "Canterbury Tales" as indecent.

Now let's examine the editor's allegation about what could be seized. The bill quite plainly says that the only things subject to seizure are those things "used or to be used" in violating the law. Now re-read the editorial recitation, set out above, and decide whether the editor read the bill.

Then the editorialist stated your residence could be padlocked for a year because you let your son carry "Canterbury Tales" to school. My bill provides "any house—to which the public commonly resorts or congregates for business or pleasure" where publications, pictures, etc., forbidden by law are exhibited, etc., or to which persons resort for observing same, may be enjoined as a common nuisance, and if such use is proven to be habitual, suit may be instituted asking the Court to padlock the building for 1 year, subject to being used and occupied by posting proper bond that same will not be issued in violation of the act.

It is obvious that a family residence would not come within the definition "a house to which the public commonly resorts." Other buildings that are habitually used to violate the law are not reserving of great solicitude, especially in view of all the safeguards to protect property rights which are written into the bill, and which have been construed by the courts in other similar legislation.

The editor expresses fear for radio and television stations. Much stricter laws already on the books put limits on their abuse of decency. In addition to loss of license, the United States Code provides that "whoever utters any obscene, indecent or profane language by means of radio communications shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both." I have not heard of any of the District of Columbia stations having trouble understanding the meaning of "obscene or indecent" as used in that statute.

I hope the editor will read H.R. 4670, and correct the erroneous editorial of October 7. Police files everywhere, including FBI, reveal that obscene and lewd exhibitions and publications promote sex offenses. Surely the News will not set itself up in opposition to this partial advance toward clearing the jungle spirit from the streets of Washington, so that decent women and chaildren can again walk without fear of attack and molestation. I believe an overwhelming majority of the people, just as expressed by the 270-to-18 vote of the Members of the House, support this hope that the News will join us.

Sincerely,

JOHN DOWDY,
*Member of Congress.*

## Msgr. Bela Varga—Hungarian Committee—An Appeal for the Commemoration of Hungary's Fight for Freedom

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, Msgr. Bela Varga, who heads the Hungarian Committee in the United States, has issued an appeal for the holding of commemorative services to honor those who fought so bravely for the cause of freedom in Hungary.

Mr. Speaker, the cause of freedom for Hungary is inseparable from the cause of freedom for all peoples.

Monsignor Varga has designated October 23 to November 4, 1962, as an appropriate period for a concerted rededication to the hopes and aspirations of the freedom fight of the Hungarian people a short 6 years ago.

It would be a tragic error for the free world to forget the brutal, murdering, military attack of the army of the Soviet Union upon the defenseless citizens of Hungary.

Monsignor Varga is calling for public manifestations of sympathy and support for the continuing crusade to free not only the people of Hungary but to preserve the priceless heritage of freedom for all peoples of the world.

I join with Monsignor Varga in this great cause.

Monsignor Varga's appeal for commemorative ceremonies follows:

HUNGARY'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The September 24, 1962, debate in the United Nations General Assembly gave cause for sorrow not only for Hungarians but also for all mankind. While only 17 Communist and fellow traveler member nations voted against the inscription of the Hungarian item on the agenda last year, their number rose to 34 this year and only 43 of the 108 member nations voted for the discussion of the Hungarian problem. Thus, there is indeed, very little hope for the continued inscription of the Hungarian problem on the agenda of the United Nations in future years. Honest and freedom-loving people all around the world must do everything possible to keep the Hungarian problem on the agenda of the United Nations until it is solved.

The world seems to forget that it was Khrushchev who gave orders for the butchery in Hungary. Every means must be used and exploited to remind the free world of this Herodiasan crime.

In these circumstances the proper commemoration of November 4—in addition to the commemoration of October 23—gains increased political importance due to the ruthless and bloody crushing of the Hungarian freedom fight by the Soviet Union.

I shall offer the solemn mass on November 4, at 10 a.m. in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York for the victims of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight, and for the freedom of the Hungarian nation. The representatives of the U.S. Government and Legislature, the members of the diplomatic corps and the delegations accredited to the United Nations will be invited.

A similar commemoration will be held in a Protestant church and a synagogue in New York on the anniversary.

May I ask you to commenmorate this anniversary at solemn masses and church services, to ask Catholic church leaders to offer masses in cathedrals or larger churches for the victims of the freedom fight and for the freedom of the Hungarian nation. I also wish to ask you to see Protestant and Jewish church leaders there and ask them to hold similar solemn services on this anniversary.

Appeal to the Hungarians and the political, social, economic, cultural, and church leaders, including the representatives of the press and radio-TV to manifest their sympathy toward the victims of the freedom fight, and their solidarity wtih the aims of the Hungarian freedom fight with their personal appearances at these services.

I firmly believe that with God's help and with the united action of all Hungarians and of the friends of the Hungarian people, these commemorations will keep alive the memory of the Hungarian freedom fight and its martyrs in the conscience of the free world, and will keep the Hungarian issue on the agenda of the United Nations until it is solved.

## Commendation of Senator Church, of Idaho, by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] has received a letter from the Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, complimenting him on his help to the Department of Justice by his work for anticrime legislation.

I think this is a fine accolade for Senator CHURCH, who has represented my neighboring State of Idaho in the Senate of the United States for 6 years. The activities of Senator CHURCH, praised by the Attorney General, have been beneficial to both Idaho and Montana and have contributed to law enforcement everywhere.

I ask unanimous consent that Attorney General Kennedy's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
*October 10, 1962.*

Hon. FRANK CHURCH,
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR FRANK: With the Senate ending I just wanted to express a personal word of appreciation to you for your help to the Department of Justice. Specifically, as you know, Congress passed more anticrime legislation in this session than at any time since 1934. I just wanted to tell you that in this effort your help and support has been just indispensable.

Your record in the Senate of exposing racketeering and gangsterism, and of sponsoring legislation to bar the shipment of gambling devices in interstate commerce, warrants special commendation.

When you were a member of the McClellan committee investigationg racketeering in labor and management, and I was counsel for the committee, I came to admire the relentless way you sought to expose improper practices, without ever favoring in the slightest degree either labor or management. The whole investigative staff shared my feeling that your appointment to the committee added new life and zest to the hard task we faced in exposing crime and corruption to public view. Your contribution in this effort helped immensely in bringing about the enactment of corrective legislation in the Congress.

Particular note should be taken of your sponsorship in 1959 of S. 2107, to prohibit the transportation of gambling devices in interstate commerce. Since each State, under the Constitution, has the right to make its own laws respecting gambling, the power of the Federal Government to deal with gambling is confined to interstate commerce. Your bill led the way to the enactment of tighter restrictions on the movement of gambling devices from State to State, as called for by the Justice Department.

You may be sure that whenever we have further recommendations to make in improving the Federal antigambling laws, we shall be in touch with you. We know, from your past record in this field, that we can count on your effective support in the Senate.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

## Strong Support Develops for Measure To Control Dissemination of Pornography in the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, strong support has developed for H.R. 4670, a bill which would provide more effective controls with regard to the dissemination of pornographic materials in the Nation's Capital. Much has been said by the Washington, D.C., Post, and the Washington Daily News about the penalties provided by H.R. 4670. These newspapers have failed to tell the true story, since the penalties provided by H.R. 4670 are much less stringent than those provided in the present United States Code for obscenity over the radio.

The American Civil Liberties Union has dreamed a nightmare fantasy as a case against H.R. 4670, but this extreme position was very successfully knocked down by the Evening Star newspaper of Washington, D.C., in an editorial on October 11, 1962.

Support has been developing rapidly since the bill, H.R. 4670, passed the Congress on October 4, 1962.

Among those who have indicated their support of H.R. 4670 are: Harry Campbell, for the Methodist Church nationally—10 million members; Bishop Philip Hannan of the Catholic Archdiocese of Washington; Walter McArdle, head of the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men; Rev. Dale Crowley, radio evangelist; Dr. D. L. Foreman, president, Missionary Baptist Seminary, Little Rock, Ark.; Dr. A. J. Kirkland, president, Texas Baptist Institute, Henderson, Tex.; Dr. W. W. Watson, president, American Baptist Association—760,000 members—Auburndale, Fla.; Dr. Andrew Guy, president, Indiana Baptist Seminary, Kokomo, Ind.; Dr. Martin Canavan, dean, Missionary Baptist Seminary, Bellflower, Calif.; Rev. Julian Pope, dean, Florida Baptist Seminary, Lakeland, Fla.; Rev. Robert Miller, pastor, First Baptist Church of District Heights, Washington, D.C.; Rev. Billy Shepherd, pastor, Landmark Baptist Church, Alexandria, Va.; Rev. Charles Bray, pastor, Colmar Manor Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., and many others.

I have just learned that the new president of the General Federation of Wommen's Clubs, Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, has talked to the President's office and requested that every consideration be given to H.R. 4670, and she has also requested that President Kennedy sign this bill.

Many, if not most of these people have expressed their strong interest because many young people from all the land visit the Nation's Capital City each year. Their interest is not only in the youth that live here, but young visitors should not leave with the impression that this is a city of vice, corruption, and immorality.

Since President Kennedy believes in representative government, he will surely take into account the wide-scale support for H.R. 4670 when he signs it.

I include as part of my remarks the editorial from the Evening Star of Washington, D.C., to which I have referred, which appropriately ridicules the fantastic, capricious and ridiculous representations made by the American Civil Liberties Union.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Oct. 11, 1962]

INDECENT PUBLICATIONS

Local spokesmen for the American Civil Liberties Union have urged the President in strong terms to veto H.R. 4670—a bill dealing with indecent publications in Washington which has been passed by Congress and sent to the White House.

The ACLU letter to the President paints a dreadful picture. Suppose, for example, that the Star were to advertise "The Tropic of Cancer"—that we were to tell our readers where they could buy it. The ACLU raises the melancholy prospect that in such event our editor could be fined and sent to jail. Our editor, incidentally, is president of the Associated Press, and as everyone knows, the AP, not to mention the Star, wouldn't touch an indecent publication with Ed Wynn's 11-foot pole—the one the comedian used to touch people whom he wouldn't touch with a 10-foot pole. Even more serious, the ACLU says that the policeman who patrols our beat down in Southeast Washington, if he considers Tropic to be an indecent publication, would be empowered to seize our presses, typewriters and whatnot. We find this hard to believe. In the first place, we doubt very much that our patrolman has read "The Tropic of Cancer." And if he has it is possible he might not consider it to be an indecent publication. Furthermore, if he were to seize our presses he wouldn't have the slightest idea what to do with them. If anyone questions this let him interview the man in charge of our pressroom.

All kidding aside, we assume that the President and his advisers will take a close look at this bill. Generally, it is the intent of Congress which controls the meaning of

a bill, and Congress most certainly did not intend to enact the monstrosity which the ACLU envisions. As far as we can ascertain, the intent was merely to straighten out some kinks in the existing law. But, just on the chance that something has been slipped through, Mr. Kennedy doubtless will want to make a careful check before signing or vetoing H.R. 4670.

## Mississippi Is Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, Manchester, N.H., is the home of one Mr. William Loeb. He lives a long, long way from the State of Mississippi and if he has any personal ties to the State they are unknown. Mr. Loeb is the editor of a newspaper, the Manchester Union Leader.

I do not know Mr. Loeb. There is one thing I do know, Mr. Speaker, and that is, Mr. Loeb is a man of conviction, principle, and courage. He stands for sound constitutional government and does not hesitate to speak out.

On October 2, 1962, only 48 hours after the military invasion and occupation of the State of Mississippi and its university, Mr. Loeb let his views be known in a forthright editorial. Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, the views of this courageous man are not confined to him and the people of the southern tier of States. Similar expressions of condemnation have appeared in other newspapers of the North, as well as on radio and television. They were accorded limited space and time only because they did not approach the spectacular of the hour.

Hundreds of letters and telegrams have come to Members of our congressional delegation from all over this Union, condemning the invasion and its attendant violations of the constitutional rights of the sovereign State of Mississippi. They also condemned the unlawful arrests, beating of students, unlawful searches and seizures, and the denial of bail. They know, Mr. Speaker, that this exhibition of force and the attendant violations of individual rights as embedded in our Constitution and the Bill of Rights, were conceived, nurtured and matured in the bed of practical politics. They know, Mr. Speaker, that if these things, through the use of military force, are unlawfully imposed upon the people of one State for some political reason by the head of the Government, then they can and likely will be unlawfully imposed upon others. They know that heads of governments like Hitler, Castro, and others imposed their political will upon their respective countries through use of military force. Indeed, there are many American citizens who are concerned about the dangerous precedents established by our Federal Government in its military occupation of the University of Mississippi and, in fact, the entire State of Mississippi.

Washington politics had to have its day. Elections were in the offing. So while communism makes headway around the world and particularly in nearby Cuba, the military is ordered against defenseless Ole Miss, its students, and the proud people of the State of Mississippi. This action will finally go down as one of the darkest days in the history of the Federal Government.

But back to Mr. Loeb. On October 2, 1962, he proved himself to be a real American. He has no personal interest in my State or my university. But he is interested in the principles of sound government and fairplay. On October 2, 1962, through the columns of his paper and in an editorial entitled "Mississippi Is Right" he proved himself to be a courageous American.

Having secured unanimous consent to do so, I include as a part of my remarks Mr. Loeb's editorial, which is as follows:

MISSISSIPPI IS RIGHT

The writer of this editorial has Negro friends. He and this paper believe that the Negroes should have just as good schools, hospitals, and other facilities as white people. This newspaper deplores racial prejudice. Nevertheless this newspaper considers that Gov. Ross Barnett and the State of Mississippi are completely correct and completely right in the position they have taken, because what is at stake here is the right of the majority, be they white or black, to determine with whom they want to associate.

If a group of Negroes, be they in a school, a university, or a social club, do not want a white person to enter that school, college, or club, the white person has no business attempting to use compulsion to force himself upon the Negroes.

In reverse, no Negro has the right to force himself on any group of white people, any school, college, or club, who do not want him. To decide otherwise is to destroy freedom in the United States.

You cannot teach tolerance or remove prejudice at the end of a bayonet. Some Democratic and some Republican northern politicians may think that they are playing clever politics in favor of the Negro vote by trying to force a Negro student into the previously all-white University of Mississippi, but they are not improving race relations or race friendships by such an act.

Rather, they are creating hatred and resentment. It is doubtful whether the northern hypocrites, who will not associate with the Negro in the North, especially the wealthier whites who send their children to carefully segregated private schools in the North, have any concept of the damage of racial relationships they are doing by their holier-than-thou attitude toward the South.

In addition, this constant pandering to the Negro vote and this everlasting emphasis on the rights of the Negro, with no mention of his obligations and his duties, are creating an attitude on the part of the Negro not conducive to his own best development and progress.

Unfortunately, many Negroes today, encouraged by the northern politicians, disregard their personal obligations to self and race improvement. One has only to look at the crime records of our National Capital, of Philadelphia, Chicago, New York City or any other large metropolitan area, to discover that crime rates among the Negroes are many times that of the crime rates among the whites in the same locations.

This writer's good friend, George Schuyler, New York editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, largest Negro weekly newspaper in the United States, whose articles so frequently appear in this newspaper, has often said that the road to salvation self-improvement and in economic power gained by becoming efficient and prosperous small, middle-sized and large businessmen and by their rise in the professions, from which they should not be hindered by prejudice.

Unfortunately, the politicians—and this applies especially to the Kennedys—in their fawning over the Negro vote has done terrible damage to the cause of better race relations.

Among other things they have done is to confuse completely the issue by making forced association between the two races a necessary part of racial equality. Separation and equality have nothing to do with each other. It is perfectly possible to believe, and is supposed to be a fact, that yellow, brown, black, and white men and women can be of completely equal ability and worth, yet for it to be undesirable for them to intermingle, intermix, intermarry or associate together on any intimate basis.

Friendship and mutual self-respect do not require racial mixing. Certain differences of race, religion, and creed are not only not bad but are actually desirable and make for a brilliant diversity in our national and world society. Sociologists have found that marriages are happiest and best when made between individuals of the same religious and racial background. This does not mean that there is anything wrong or inferior in other groups. It simply means that likes does best when it keeps to like. Certainly nature follows this rule. It is doubtful whether the lofty giraffe considers himself superior to the swift-running antelope or vice versa, but the two do not breed together. It is not a question of difference. Among domestic animals a man does not breed the magnificently powerful workhorse with a magnificent racehorse. Yet one could hardly call one inferior to the other. Again it is a matter of difference.

Why can't we in this Nation advance to a position of mutual respect and confidence between the races, black and white and any other color? Why can't we permanently resolve that the Negroes in the United States be furnished with every facility just as good as those supplied to the white people? Why can't we say that every man should have every right to rise in his religion, his race or his color? Why can't we, at the same time, say that the majority, be it white or black, has a right to determine with whom it wishes to associate socially; or conversely, that no member of any minority has a right to force himself, when he's not wanted, upon the majority?

Even more important, cannot we bring the minority, whether he be white or black, to realize that his presence being unwanted by the majority does not necessarily mean that the majority feels superior to him but merely that they have a right to choose their own associates, their own companions?

If we are to accept the high-handed and dictatorial doctrine advanced by the Eisenhower and the Kennedy administrations, then eventually no private club in the United States would have any right to refuse membership to any individual whom they did not happen to like for any reason, regardless of whether it was color, religion or just general objectionableness of character and habit.

This is the objective, of course, that the Communists seek. They want to destroy all private personal family units in our society, placing everything under the dictatorial control of the state.

What is at stake, therefore, in the present Mississippi situation and throughout the entire South is the fundamental question of the right of the majority to freely determine with whom they will associate.

It is because of this fact that this great American freedom is at stake that this newspaper supports the State of Mississippi and

Gov. Ross Barnett and says that those northern newspapers and northern leaders who are vilifing Governor Barnett and the State of Mississippi are not only hyprocrites but they are sadly mistaken individuals.

## Cuban Prisoners

SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

(Mr. CRAMER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of this House well know, I have been in opposition to this abortive Castro blackmail and indemnity demand of dollars for prisoners, $60 million. I see now that there is a suggestion that CIA funds may be used for this purpose.

I would like to ask anyone in this House, did they knowingly and willingly vote any money or any authorization that would permit $60 million of the taxpayers' money or even foodstuffs to go to Fidel Castro, whom I thought Congress in its recent resolution said is the enemy of freedom, whom we are fighting, not helping—even authorizing the President to use force of arms to dispose of this Communist threat to the Western Hemisphere?

Why do we not be compassionate for American prisoners over there? I am just as compassionate for the prisoners Castro now holds as anyone. Why do we not follow up the situation in Cuba by a strong anti-Castro drive? I am compassionate for Americans who are prisoners in Cuba as well. I said yestereday there were 10 of them. I say now there are at least 20. I have a list of 10 right here.

Why are we not compassionate for American prisoners held in Cuba? Apparently we should be compassionate for all citizens of Cuba who are prisoners of Castro's communism—compassionate for the 100,000 other Cuban prisoners held by Castro on trumped-up charges in Cuban prisons—and certainly for the American prisoners held on charges of a trumped-up nature that Cuba will not even reveal the nature of to the Swiss Embassy.

If we are truly compassionate for all prisoners of communism and Castro's domination our efforts should be consistent with the position taken by this House and the Congress time and time again this session, to exert every effort and pressure to rid this hemisphere of Castro—rather than giving him this added strength in money and/or foodstuffs which he needs badly now because of the failure of his agrarian reform—failure which will have the effect of keeping him in power that much longer.

## The Main Splendor at the Golden Ox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, we cannot bring back the easygoing way of life of the turn of the century, but we can bring back some of the graceful atmosphere and the good food of those days. We New Yorkers are very proud of our restaurants and the many varieties of excellent foods served there, and we consider ourselves as connoisseurs in this respect. But a delicious Kansas City stockyards steak of "the good old days" is something which even we New Yorkers prefer.

More than a decade ago a man out in Kansas City, Mo., conceived an idea, gave it much thought, and then decided to make it a reality. It was the idea to set up the Golden Ox Restaurant as a service to clients and associates in the stockyard industry in that city. That man was Mr. Jay B. Dillingham, president of the Kansas City Stockyard Co., today still the head of the company and one of the Nation's most industrious businesesmen and promoters.

It was to be a nonprofit, convenience-type of operation catering primarily to the industry. Soon, however, its fame for unsurpassed quality food spread far and wide and its success became almost legendary. Today the Golden Ox ranks as one of the top three profit-producing restaurants in the country, and its annual gross is about $1½ million.

This did not come about through sheer miracle. There is a long tradition behind it, the tradition of the Mark Twain country, its homelife, its hospitality, its love of good food and good cooking. There is a long history behind it, too, a history dating back to the Santa Fe Trail and the Chisholm Trail which were established as a means of bringing cattle to the stockyards of Kansas City. Today it is a part of the folklore of America.

It was in these stockyards in Kansas City that the now famous Kansas City sirloin steak was originated. In other words, these were the stockyards where the "steak is born," to quote a well-known writer. And this is where the Dillingham idea came in. It was not merely an idea to establish another restaurant, but one that would specialize in the best the stockyards can offer, with emphasis on quality, good cooking, and service in the turn-of-the-century Western atmosphere.

This explains the phenomenal success of Mr. Dillingham and the Golden Ox in Kansas City. In time, other areas of the country kept asking the company to open up similar type restaurants where people could enjoy individually selected and aged beef prepared and served in the Golden Ox fashion. About 2½ years ago a Golden Ox Restaurant was opened in Denver, which also is enjoying great success and is doing a terrific volume of business.

Now the Golden Ox is coming to the Nation's Capital. Mr. Dillingham felt that his many friends on Capitol Hill, and the people of Washington in general, would welcome this type of a restaurant here. An excellent location was found at 1615 L Street NW., about midway between the Statler Hilton and Mayflower Hotels and in the very heart of Washington's finest business and shopping area. The official opening took place on Wednesday, October 10, 1962, and all indications are that it will be a great success. Before very long, I am sure, many people in government, politics, business, industry, the professions, and others, will come there to enjoy the pleasant atmosphere, the good food, and the excellent service.

Incidentally, Mr. Dillingham is an outstanding authority on the livestock industry and has served as an adviser to the Department of Agriculture on this industry. He is a close personal friend of two of our beloved former Presidents, Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, as well as Senator STUART SYMINGTON and many others in both Houses of Congress. He is also a former president of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce and was selected in 1957 as the Missouri "Father of the Year."

And finally, a word about the man who manages the Golden Ox Restaurant in Washington, Mr. Charles F. Snyder. Although only 30 years of age, he has had about 10 years of experience in quality food management in restaurants from Nantucket Island, Mass., to Dallas, Tex., his most recent position having been with the Marriott Motor Hotels. He was born and raised in the Pennsylvania Dutch country, has a B.A. degree from Middlebury College at Middlebury, Vt.

It was during his college years that he developed the desire to learn the restaurant business, and this has come to a successful and happy fruition. He has acquired extensive knowledge about beef and is considered an authority on fat beef cattle, and aging, selection and cutting of fine beef. He was manager of the famous Safari Beef House in Dallas and served as special training adviser to the Dallas Restaurant Association and the University of Texas Extension School. Mr. Synder now resides with his wife and three children in Fairfax, Va.

These are the people who have now brought to Washington a taste of the graceful atmosphere and the good food of long ago. Mark Twain described it beautifully in his autobiography where, in speaking of the sumptuous meals of Midwest America of his day, he writes that "the way the food was cooked was perhaps the main splendor." At the Golden Ox this old Missouri tradition is today "the main splendor." Which only proves once again the spirit of enterprise, the great resources and the rich heritage of the American people, today and yesterday.

## Bulgarian National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the Bulgarian National Committee recently held memorial ceremonies commemorating the 15th annual Bulgarian National Day for the fight for freedom, independence, and democracy.

The memorial ceremony commemorated the heroic death of Nikola Petkov, whose courageous death at the hands of Soviet tyrants has set a stellar example for freedom-loving people the world over.

I include the message of salutation prepared by me for the memorial ceremonies in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

BULGARIAN NATIONAL DAY—SEPTEMBER 23, 1962

The history of Bulgaria is the saga of an ancient nation. The Bulgars, a Slavic people, settled Bulgaria in the seventh century. By the early 18th century Great Bulgaria stretched from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Danube to the Aegean. It included the whole of the Balkan Peninsula except Greece. In 1393 the country was conquered by the Turks, and from the 15th through the 19th centuries the Bulgarian provinces were part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1875 the Bulgarian people revolted, and in 1878 Bulgaria became a principality. On September 22, 1908, Bulgaria became an independent kingdom under Czar Ferdinand I of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

Since 1944, however, Bulgaria has been independent in name only. The invasion of her territory by the Red army reduced her independence to a trivial formality. The desperate battle of her people for liberation brought them not independence but slavery. Political dictatorship, economic control, police terror were the fruits of her valiant but vain struggle. The Red army, together with the fatherland front coup d'etat against the democratic government, succeeded in foisting on her an unwanted Communist regime. The Bulgarian Communist Party—which in 1944 numbered no more than 15,000 members—had been trying for a quarter of a century to seize power both by parliamentary and by violent means, but without success. Only with the help of an insidious outside agent could it attain its goal.

Today life is hard for the Bulgarian people. Drabness and poverty persist. As in all Communist-dominated countries, it is difficult to find goods in the stores. The housing problem in the cities is acute. For the Communist regime ignores the basic needs—material and spiritual—of the people. But the Bulgarian people have not given up hope. Communist propaganda and political repression have not succeeded in destroying their vision of freedom. Reports filter to us in the free world of discontent and of challenges of the Communist Party. A satirical story early this year in a Sofia weekly, for example, expressed popular boredom and annoyance with party agitators who swamp their audience with figures and statistics but who never answer questions like: "Why have electric lights to be turned off at certain times? Why is there no meat? Who is responsible and why?" The Communist Party is responsible; only they can answer "why."

The Communist Party is also responsible for the murder of Nikola Petkov, the heroic Bulgarian patriot who was hanged on September 23, 1947. Petkov had denounced Communist tyranny, Soviet imperialism, and Soviet domination of the Bulgarian parliament. Petkov's courageous death set a heroic example that the Bulgarian National Committee has commemorated as the Bulgarian National Day for the Fight for Freedom, Independence and Democracy.

The commemoration of September 23 reminds us that the freedom-loving people of Bulgaria still cherish their inalienable rights of freedom and self-government. It is our sincere desire that it soon be independent once more. We are confident that the Bulgarian people will not give up hope, we commend them for their invincible courage; we express our deepest sympathy for their cause of liberation.

## The Honorable James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
**HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT**
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, many fine Members of this body will be leaving us at the close of this session, but none, in my opinion, will be greater missed than the Honorable JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia. Judge DAVIS has served here with distinction for 16 years. He has given his constituents, in the Fifth District of Georgia, excellent representation—and he has given to the people of the United States the benefit of his broad experience, his calm judgment, and his considered deliberation on matters of national scope.

As a member of the House District Committee, Judge DAVIS has rendered invaluable service in helping to administer the complicated and tedious affairs of the District of Columbia. Time does not permit a recitation of the scores of District activities in which he has had a role. His battles here have not all been won but the Judge has given unstintingly of his time and energies in trying to make this a better place in which to live.

He has likewise been a valuable member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He knows the problems of the Federal worker and has given much time and attention to the activities of the Post Office Department and the Civil Service Commission.

Judge DAVIS is a stalwart defender of States' rights and is about as strong on principle as any man I have ever known. He has refused to yield to the pressure of minority groups and has taken a vigorous stand against Federal usurpation of power. The Judge believes wholeheartedly in good government—and has done all he could to promote it—but he believes that government should be the servant of the people and not their master.

Not only the State of Georgia but the Nation has suffered a loss when Judge DAVIS leaves this membership. His place will be difficult to fill. His memory will linger long.

I wish to express my personal appreciation of his friendship and extend to him my best wishes for the years that lie ahead.

## General Flying Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK CHURCH**
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, this week the International Northwest Aviation Council met in Idaho Falls, Idaho.

The council was founded and organized in Boise, Idaho, 28 years ago, and is now recognized as one of America's finest aviation seminars.

On the occasion of this 28th annual meeting of the council, an aviation pioneer, and president of the council, H. P. (Pete) Hill, of Idaho Falls, served as general chairman.

This outstanding group of international airmen and women came to Idaho Falls for the meeting from Alaska, Alberta, British Columbia, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon, Saskatchewan, Washington, the Yukon territories, and Idaho itself.

Idaho early recognized the great utility of the airplane and put it to use as a working tool in our State's growing economy; the State ranks second in our national use per capita of registered aircraft—used for personal and scheduled transport, for spraying, dustings, aerial surveys, range and forest fire protection and for many emergency uses. With this background, Idaho was an appropriate host for this interesting meeting.

Grover Loening, New York, one of America's "early birds" in the industry and who has been honored many times as an aircraft designer and builder, was the closing banquet speaker Wednesday evening.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of his address to the meeting.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL FLYING PROBLEMS

(By Grover Loening)

The problems that arise in aviation development cover so broad a field, military and civil, that in the interest of brevity we must restrict ourselves, in this instance, to those particular phases of aviation that this council is most concerned with. Airlines and their troubles, the military field and its complexities, have a bearing on our thoughts, to be sure, but not as vital and current as the problems involved in local air traffic, general and private aviation activities, airport facilities and development in the smaller communities, and the various prospects for growth in usage of aircraft as a personal vehicle.

Some 80,000 privately owned aircraft, distinct from airline transportation aircraft (of which there are less than 2,000), are operating in the United States. These aircraft in the year 1962 will pile up about 13½ million flying hours and total almost 2 billion miles

of flying. Ten years ago, about half as many aircraft flew just over 8 million flying hours, a distance of 970,000 miles. The growth is impressive, but not explosive. Last year some 7,000 utility aircraft (meaning private, general, and personally used aircraft) were delivered, and this small number of units was more or less the same as had been delivered in the previous 5 years. When we consider that the delivery of utility and private vehicles in the automobile field last year totals 1,000 times as much as this, we arrive at two conclusions: First, our private and general aviation development is not really growing very much; and second, if we can remove by development whatever hinders the use of this mode of travel as a private vehicle for all manner of personal and business uses, we can reach a market 1,000 times greater than what we now have.

What are those hindrances?

The first one, without a doubt, is too much Federal regulation. Where would our gigantic automobile industry be if it had to operate under a Federal Automobile Agency that excused gigantic bureaucratic growth on a deliberate policy that the Government had to protect everyone against both himself and everyone else at the same time? To be sure, 40,000 people a year are killed by automobiles, but also, to be sure, quite a few jump out of windows or slip in bathtubs.

The whole idea of Government regulation of private enterprise transportation starts out with two questionable assumptions, particularly as far as aviation is concerned.

The first is the assumption that the prospective buyer knows so little about aircraft that he needs the protection of a benevolent government to keep him from making the grievous mistake of buying a death trap. This may have been true many years ago, before the war, when knowledge of aviation was limited to a small coterie of airmen, but it is not true today. During the war the ubiquitous use of flying caused us to develop in this country alone some 400,000 skilled aviators, and at least 3 million men trained either in the enlisted personnel of the armed services, or in the enormous trained personnel of the huge wartime aircraft industry. Every prospective purchaser of an airplane would surely have a son or a nephew or a friend or an associate, who would probably be expert to the tune of several thousand hours of flying, to look over his choice of a new aircraft and tell him how good it was.

The other false assumption upon which the present regulatory practices for certification are based is that the constructor is so poorly informed on air technique and aircraft engineering that he needs a handbook from the Government to tell him how to build his new aircraft. This, at the present time, is equally ridiculous—because there is an enormous mass of highly trained technicians, stress analysts, and experienced mechanics available today to make anything less than expert workmanship in aircraft a joke that most everyone could see at a glance.

With these two false assumptions as the basis for this process of certification of aircraft, we have deliberately thrown into the path of the ambitious designer, hurdles and obstacles, involving great additional expense and time, which could be removed right now with very little if any detrimental effect on our aircraft development. A 5-year moratorium on the requirement of air worthiness certificates by FAA would be safely in order. All of this applies just as pertinently to jet air transport development, and to regulations affecting them.

Right now is the one time in our history when we are fully justified in taking a definite "let the buyer beware" position on all airplanes, and give the designers a completely free hand to make for themselves a greater and more profitable business by placing with them the complete responsibility for developing a successful aircraft or sinking themselves completely into bankruptcy by building a poor one. The public, after only a few painful accidents, would completely reject a phoney or inferior product, as it did in the case of automobiles, time and again.

Automobile development proved that the best stress analysis possible is the survival of the fittest. And in its amazing progress to great perfection, the automobile never had to have a government certification procedure.

This, then, would be the most important way in which the development of advanced and more useful types of aircraft could be done in a far less expensive manner—both to the constructor and to the Government.

The next item of Federal regulation that is a great hindrance to enormous utility aircraft usage is air traffic control.

This is not so easily dismissed, by any means.

At 600 miles per hour two aircraft are passing each other at about half the speed of a bullet. Beyond this, if we envision utility flying going into supersonic regimes, traffic can assuredly not be handled by individual sightings and judgment. There would seem to be right here, the need for a limiting Federal law to the effect that no utility planes are to exceed 400 or 500 miles an hour. The airspace from 30,000 to 50,000 feet, and supersonic speeds, can be reserved for airline and military operation under strict Federal regulation of air traffic control (with areas around major airports restricted only to such professional aircraft).

This would not be too much of a hindrance to the development of wide aircraft utility. Fortunately, limiting ourselves by not being permitted to enter this higher and faster airspace region, is already on the way to being no hindrance at all, because of the coming great development of VTOL aircraft.

After all, the principal need for air traffic control is the high speed of the least speed at which aircraft can maintain flight. Let us again go to the automobile for comparison. If a car were an airplane, it would be a vehicle with no brakes (flaps and airbrakes merely reduce a little the lower speed of flight). So, as your no-brake automobile approaches a red light, it would have to declutch the motor and coast accurately enough to be stopped when it reaches the light. Is not this about what we do on landing? This alone puts a heavy premium on pilot judgment, and it is just why pilots now need so much training, fitness, and regulation. In addition to that, if the automobile was in the same family as the airplane, it could not stop and change its mind, or back up. What an impractical vehicle we really have. And it all ends up in an enormous amount of airspace being used for holding patterns for air traffic control around airports.

The automobile also, has one important advantage, in the navigation that is done for the car driver by the road, the road signs, the road lights, and the marked division of contrary traffic lanes. Without this, in an unmarked air ocean, aircraft have a great limitation. But do not give up hope on this one. Extensive radar development and electronic guidance systems as well as low-altitude marker light systems could be developed, if we get at it, to give the airman a road to follow as surely as the car driver. When reference is made to the light system, there is envisioned an extension of the now successful landing pattern alley on approaches that is provided by the airport light approach installations (in which too high or too low an approach get a red light). Systems of lights could be spread across the country to mark airways—white when you are following them—and red when you step over the line and get into the oncoming traffic alley—an extension of our old radio beam and beacons.

Unless we get to work right now on removing some of these fundamental hindrances to vast air vehicle usage, we will remain in our present limited status—which makes the ownership of an aircraft so professional, that it could almost be, like owning a private locomotive. If we cannot surmount the growth of Federal airway regulations (needed because of our imperfect aircraft and instrumentation and pilot proficiency requirement), we will not reach that clearly indicated future where air travel could break through into enormous and wide usage.

Obviously, the first step to remove the limitations we now have is to perfect the vehicle. This means VTOL, or whatever else you wish to call it. It means developing noiseless aircraft as a vehicle that can stop and back up in the air, and hover over a crowded airport, or over a crowded community, in which it can land on its own private parking space—alongside a home, alongside a factory, on the roof of a business building, or alongside a dock. It is extremely important for that part of the industry that members of this council are engaged in, to keep abreast of the progress made in this development, because if it is successful, it will completely change the entire aspect of general aircraft operations.

Acceptability of an air vehicle on a wide scale will require two features difficult to attain.

The first is to make the noise acceptable.

The second is to make the air blast from vertical-sustaining air forces low enough to be acceptable on ordinary pavements, grass, etc.

As one who has been identified with, and followed the development of vertical takeoff and landing (with a high enough cruising speed to be a moneymaker alongside the inevitably slow helicopter), the conclusion has been reached that VTOL development, successful, practical, and not too costly, is at our doorstep.

Much of this development, of course, is being done more or less in secret on military projects. The XC–142 Hiller Temco VTOL transport will be flying in 2 years. The Lockheed "Humming Bird" is already flying, the Curtiss-Wright model 200 is rapidly developing—as are many others.

There is a significant first step to show, how much this development will mean to aviation's future, in the fact that, in Europe, in NATO, and in many other quarters, fighter planes operating from any kind of airdrome or airstrip, are now considered completely obsolete. Fighters must be so distributed in the location of their bases that the coming era requires that they land and take off vertically, without any further question. This is actually being done right now, by the Hawker P 1154 VTOL—although you do not hear too much about it.

The military urgency for VTOL will help the approach of our great coming era quite a little.

But there are disadvantages. Development of new products under the necessary military government procurement system takes too long and costs too much—in addition to which, many requirements, like low noise acceptability, so needed for commercial usage and so vital, receive only cursory consideration.

Before we leave contemplating the role of government in the development of your field, you operators, airport developers, sprayers, air taxi firms, etc., must give political vigor to opposing an ever-growing threat from Government—competition by Government operation in your own field.

Let's start with the military. In the larger aircraft sizes, Air Force buys jet planes, intended to be run by MATS, to provide pure

commercial-type transportation to service people and their families. This could have been disastrous to unscheduled aircraft operators had the operators and their Congressmen not stepped in with powerful pressure to get direct transportation contracts from MATS.

Now here is where you smaller taxi operators step in and have to get busy. The military are about to purchase purely commercial type small planes for transportation of military personnel between bases and installations—planes they have no military functions whatever, except simple transportation, and a possible limited value for training. There is no reason at all why a vast amount of this flying, however, should not be contracted with air taxi operators. This is a tough one for you as an organization to get busy on, for it could put the taxi business in the black in a hurry. So start now to educate the Air Force to realize what a great reserve strength for war would be found in a large thriving air taxi industry.

There is an even further threat from Government departments other than military. There is always in a democratic government the empire building temptation of the Parkinson Law Bureaucrats. Their bureaus, departments divisions, or what not, must grow in importance, let alone in salary. So you will find the Forestry Service flirting seriously with trying to get their own helicopters; the Department of Agriculture itching to do its own spraying; the Department of the Interior, wanting to have its own aircraft for exploration—and so on. The only way to have your business grow great is to stop this tendency at the political source, which is in the Appropriations Committees of Congress. All commercial activities, according to our free enterprise system (that so many politicians give only lip service to), are properly and rightly your business, and not the Government's.

Look out you do not lose it.

Don't let the taxes of a starving industry be used by the collectors of these taxes to compete with you and starve you even more.

The old saying that "air-minded is nothing above the eyebrows but air" is unfortunately rather true when we look back at some of the stupid things that are done in aviation. Billions of dollars were spent on airports that had only one runway in a given direction. This was nothing more than a one-track railroad. Are aircraft so uncontrollable that they will swerve off runways when one is landing and another is taking off on a parallel one? Of course they are not, and instances of swerving off runways almost never happen—but years ago many feared this.

In some extra-large airports, jet aircraft leave the gate, taxi literally miles for their takeoff, using fuel at the most extravagant rate, using up time to turn in fancy ways at a gate, etc., all of which could be avoided by a tow immediately after landing. A recent study on the cost of this, made in Miami, showed that the airline operators are pretty empty headed indeed. In many instances it costs $31.63 to taxi from gate breakaway to take off, that it would cost only $1.23 to tow the same ship—and just as fast. And incidently, the passengers and the people in the air concourse would not get those delightful kerosene fumes. Consider this, too, in your smaller airport developments, particularly when you start handling little private jets.

Even in new design studies, the stupidities that are generated by habits of conformity, are only too evident. The placing of jet engines in the Boeing 707, DC-8, and Convair 880 types far outboard on the wings was a holdover concept required by piston engine propeller clearance that made no sense and is now abandoned in all new designs.

Supersonic mach 3 aircraft with a reasonable and safe margin of power will almost surely need more thrust than they have weight.

So how can so many designs be under development right now, in which no thought is given to vertical takeoff Millions are already being spent by the FAA with no prime original specified requirement as to takeoff or noise improvement. Noise is to be handled, by putting the airports so far out of town, that it will take you as long to drive in to a city as it would to fly there from 2,000 miles away. And takeoff is to be handled by that too easy solution of longer runways. Worse, still, if the supersonic aircraft cannot slow down in the air below 200 miles per hour, each plane would require 100 square miles in a holding pattern. All of this could be solved by a VTOL hovering configuration in which the thrust that is there anyhow supports the weight. But none or very little of the FAA development funds on SST are aimed in this direction. They will have to be eventually, but why always, these stupid delays?

Another of our hindrances is that the profit picture on air taxi, airport and service operations is certainly clouded and slim pickings. A more mature advice would be: Don't underprice your charges and your remunerations like the airlines have so unwisely done. Don't ever forget that the object of business is to make money.

The general situation that we face was rather well stated by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States a few months ago when, with regard to aviation, it stated: "The present unsatisfactory profit picture in aviation will not improve unless other factors, such as increased labor costs, and tax costs, and work stoppages, and needless Government interference with management, are modified."

So your problems are with you, of which only a few here have been mentioned. But your future is also with you, and it is going to be enormous, particularly if we finally perfect our air vehicle so that we can rise from a small parking space vertically (without waking up the neighbors), and then fly at a speed of at least 400 miles per hour, yet slow down to 5 miles per hour. Able to stop at any time, if the weather gets too thick, or the traffic too heavy, we could wait, if need be, to land literally wherever and whenever we want to. When we get this free air road with access to mountains, ravines, rivers, roofs, or ice—we will reach the real golden age of air travel. So let us not be too dismayed with our present hindrances and problems.

The next 50 years will be as marvelous as the last 50—if we but have continued faith, persistence, and ingenuity.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, under permission previously granted, I rise today to say I am glad to have this opportunity, though I regret the occasion, to bid goodbye to the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, my chairman, as he retires from this august body.

Mr. SPENCE commenced his life of public service in Congress at an age when most men contemplate a surcease from labor. He has been a most helpful and considerate committee chairman as well as an outstanding one. In the field of banking and currency, many measures are complicated and involved, but his ability to analyze the salient points and to clarify the difficult parts have been of inestimable value to the Members serving with him.

His leadership will be missed as well as his gentlemanly conduct and kindness of spirit.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, the American Congress is losing a great leader and the Democratic Party is losing one of its most faithful stalwarts as our beloved colleague, the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, retires from this body.

Since I came to Congress in 1944 and took a seat on the Banking and Currency Committee, the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, has been my chairman. Over the years I have been inspired by his honest beliefs and his earnest efforts in behalf of legislation to make our citizens more secure and our Nation stronger.

The principles for which the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, has fought in the Congress are fundamental to democracy and from these principles have come statute upon statute which have given our people more economic security than any nation has ever known.

As chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, has led some of the toughest legislative battles ever fought in Congress. He pioneered the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which wove the fabric for our other international monetary programs now in operation. He was a stalwart in the first hurdle to bring better housing to Americans, the Housing Act of 1949. In the years that I have been chairman of the Housing Subcommittee, on many occasions the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, has gone to bat for legislation to help our people obtain home ownership, to clean up our cities, and to provide a better way of life for millions of Americans.

He has been a worthy successor to the great Kentuckians who have made such contributions to our Nation as Henry Clay and Alben W. Barkley.

As the son of a colonel in the Confederate Army, the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, has also proudly borne his southern heritage and I would like my colleagues to know the deep esteem and affection that the people of the South hold for him.

We who have served long with him at the helm of our committee will sorely miss his counsel and his leadership. I join those who hope that he will visit with us often and continue to share the vast store of knowledge and ability with which he is endowed and which he has so wisely used to help make the world a better place.

## The Intercoastal Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON**
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, our intercoastal shipping industry has been slowly dying on the vine. Some segments are already dead. Our Government does not seem to be concerned about the welfare of this important part of our national defense. Mr. Donald Watson, president of the Weyerhaeuser Steamship Co., made an excellent statement concerning the situation at the National Propeller Club Convention held in Seattle on October 3, 1962.

His statement follows:

THE INTERCOASTAL TRADE

(An address by Mr. Donald Watson)

Certain facts about the intercoastal domestic trade are so well known that they will be touched on only briefly. Twenty-five years ago it was a thriving vital segment of our national transportation facilities. Just prior to our entrance into World War II, vessels of the trade were the first ones diverted from peacetime pursuits to aid our allies.

At the end of the war, those vessels returned to their owners were in such poor conditions that it was not economically sound to put them back in intercoastal service. During 1946 and part of 1947, a skeleton service was offered, using vessels chartered from the U.S. Maritime Commission. The Ship Sales Act of 1946 enabled some operators, who felt the trade was worth rehabilitating, to form the nucleus of new fleets. The peak of postwar activity was reached in 1948 but since then there has been a steady decline in tonnage, vessels and carriers. Today, there remain only three carriers offering roundtrip service; one a container ship operation, and two carriers operating eastbound only: one in general cargo trade out of California and the other in lumber service.

There has seldom been a segment of industry that has been so thoroughly examined to determine the cause of its poor health. Government agencies and committees of both Houses, consultants and specialists within and without the industry have poked, prodded, tested, hemmed, hawed and clucked, and after weeks and months of deliberating, have issued voluminous reports. All of the probers agree on two points: (1) The intercoastal trade is still essential in the transportation and the national defense interests of the country, and, (2) that something should be done to restore the industry to the healthy and profitable condition it once enjoyed. Point one needs no further comment.

On the implementation or methods of achieving the aim of point two, the experts cannot agree. There have been many proposals made as a result of all of the studies. They range from outright governmental subsidization for both vessel conartuction and operation, to the latest legislative effort to completely scuttle the intercoastal fleet and open up the trade to foreign-flag vessels. Not a single constructive recommendation that could be put into practical application has come forward.

In our opinion, three factors that have a substantial bearing on the problem, have been largely ignored. The first two relate only to the intercoastal trade; the third is much broader in scope.

The feeling and the activities of the domestic ship operators, who must pay the same wages and are locked into the same offshore labor agreements as subsidized operators, is so well known to you gentlemen that I will not review them here. Suffice it to say that while we have been like "a voice crying in the wilderness" such activity will be continued. This is so even though no constructive steps have been taken by management, labor or Government agencies to correct one situation that is a prime factor in the slow strangulation of the trade.

The current Maritime Administration is aware of the ever spiraling operating subsidy costs and their effect not only on the cost to unsubsidized American-flag shipping but on our whole economy. In an address before the Propeller Club, Port of Los Angeles-Long Beach on August 17, Federal Maritime Administrator Donald Alexander said, and I quote, "It [subsidy] must end, for the truth is, as our statistics so dramatically show, there is simply no future in it, either for the merchant marine or for the Nation." This potent warning should not go unheeded.

Many of the recommendations made to revitalize the intercoastal trade revolve around the construction of new vessels designed specifically for the trade which would incorporate all the latest and most efficient cargo handling equipment and automation devices. Whether or not the trade would be able to earn a reasonable return on the investment required has apparently not been taken into consideration, except in one situation which is still in the very formative stage.

There have been two distinct chapters in the intercoastal trade. The first began in 1919 and ended with Pearl Harbor. The second began in 1947 and, at least in the opinion of some people is very near its end right now. In each period and with but very few exceptions, the vessels operating exclusively in the trade were built during World Wars I and II. Following each war, these vessels became available to private purchasers at prices that were considerably below replacement or construction cost. Also, after World War II, many vessels for intercoastal service were purchased with section 511, "Construction reserve funds," which further reduced the capital base and depreciation expense. This low depreciation cost is one factor that has enabled those intercoastal operators who have survived to meet the rate competition of the transcontinental railroads. In our own situation, the savings that could be realized with new automated vessels would not offset the additional depreciation from multimillion-dollar ships. To earn that depreciation, the automatic freight rate ceiling imposed by rail competition would have to be pierced and we would price ourselves right out of business.

This was one of the conclusions reached after 5 years of study of a Weyerhaeuser fleet replacement program. After determining that the hull and other plating of our present vessels was in excellent condition, the final decision was made to rehabilitate six vessels by renewing all wiring, piping, quarters, and shell or deck plating with 15 percent or more deterioration and to alter cargo compartments and cargo-handling equipment to more efficiently load, stow, and discharge lumber and steel cargoes.

The economic life of each vessel has been extended 15 years after rehabilitation. Projected earnings indicated that the $6 million cost of the program would be earned over this additional life. The program was started in February 1961 and completed in April 1962. Results have exceeded expectations and the necessity of replacing our vessels has been deferred for some years. The whole project was privately financed with no outside assistance of any kind.

Sea-Land has just completed spending huge sums of their own money to pioneer a full container ship operation for general cargo in the trade. Just last week their first vessel, the SS *Elizabethport*, completed discharge in San Francisco Bay. We salute their courage in proceeding without Government aid of any sort. American Hawaiian are still in the earliest stages of their program of huge container ships which appears to depend upon their success in obtaining Government mortgage insurance.

Intercoastal shipping has the railroads as its competition for freight. Since 1947, the railroads have used a three-pronged attack against the water carriers.

They have (1) systematically reduced rates on commodities that move in volume intercoastally by water, (2) put holddowns or smaller increases on those commodities when instituting general rate increases, and (3) substantially increased freight rates on those commodities moving by rail from inland to tidewater for water shipment intercoastally.

The net result has been a steady reduction in the number of commodities that carry compensatory rates by water, a reduction in the inland areas that can be served by water carriers and a ceiling on water rates. As an illustration, the last general rate increase in intercoastal freight rates was effective September 7, 1957, just over 5 years ago. That's a long time to live without a raise.

The railroads have been successful in eliminating any Pacific coast coastwise general cargo water service and have decimated the once thriving Atlantic coast and gulf coastwise trade. The intercoastal trade is now and has been their No. 1 target.

The lethargy on the part of shippers, consignees, and regulatory agencies toward what is taking place is hard to understand. It seems so crystal clear to us that if the remaining few intercoastal carriers are eliminated, the rails will have a complete monopoly on transcontinental traffic. When that happens, rail rates that have been depressed to eliminate competition, will soon go up and up with no restraint.

Mr. B. T. de Bordelben, chairman of the Board of American Waterways Operations, Inc., summarized this situation so well about a year ago that I wish to quote his words:

"The day is here when industrial traffic men and Government purchasers must become partners with the carriers to bring about sane competition in shipping rates. They have the power to allow the carriers to charge and quote rates for services rendered. Unless the buyers are willing to join the carriers in bringing reason out of our present transport dilemma, there is a good possibility they will lose the power to bargain for carrier services."

I wish to expand on one point touched by Mr. De Bardeleben—our present transport dilemma. The entire domestic transportation system of the United States is in trouble. Financial pages each day carry stories of mounting losses of airlines, truckline, railroads and deepwater domestic water carriers. There is nothing wrong that cannot be cured by general rate increases and a halt

to the cutthroat competitive practices that exist within and between each mode of transportation. Certainly the recent recommendations of the President's Office on our transportation problems are not the answer. These will have to be challenged and disposed of in Congress.

This has been a rather sketchy résumé of our intercoastal water problems and situation. To summarize, the mortality of operators in the trade has been so high because they have been caught in a vise which has slowly squeezed them to death. The top jaw is a schedule of freight rates that must be under those of a surface transportation system that can offset losses on such noncompensatory rates by higher rates in territories where no water competition exists. On the bottom are steadily increasing offshore labor and longshore costs which must be met from shrinking revenues. It is no wonder that lines like Luckenbach, American Hawaiian, Pope & Talbot, Quaker, Arrow, and Shepard have all given up.

There are two areas in which great strides could be made. One is concerned with our relations with the railroads and the other with offshore labor. Each of these would require a degree of maturity and statesmanship not heretofore evinced by any of us. Perhaps the gravity of our whole domestic transportation problems will bring about a greater measure of responsibility on the part of everyone concerned. I certainly hope so.

## Retirement of the Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, long before coming to Congress the capacity and ability of my beloved and honored colleague and friend, the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, was well known to me. He had stamped indelibly his name in banking circles and the mark of his legislative efforts had branded with goodness folks from every walk of life.

BRENT SPENCE is a man of principle, of courage, and of conviction, with a heart as big as the man. Benefits flowing from his graciousness, his gentlemanly qualities, his kindness, and his benevolence have been widespread amongst the folks of all Kentucky.

His parental attitude toward the newcomers to the Kentucky delegation was a source of immeasurable help. His wisdom and experience in congressional matters have been of substantial assistance to me, as I know they have been to all other Members of the delegation in breaking in.

I am filled with dual emotions. On the one hand, I feel that the Nation, Congress, and the Commonwealth will be hard pressed to adequately and effectively fill his chairmanship—knowing him as I do, I feel I can commit him as being ready to serve as a need might arise. On the other hand, the pastures are open and I know they will be green and filled with happiness. It is with affection that I bid him adieu from the Halls of Congress, but it is also with affection and sincerity that I tell him the latchstring of my office is always in his pocket.

## A Noble American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column by George E. Sokolsky as it appeared in the Washington Post of October 12, 1962, about my long time good friend, the Honorable Jonah B. Goldstein.

It has been my pleasure to have been a member of the Grand Street Boys, thus contributing in a small way through the years to the fine work Judge Goldstein is doing.

Like George Sokolsky, I too worked nights in order to go through high school. My job was as a cigarette boy in a cabaret long before they dreamed up beautiful cigarette girls.

For the same reason, I was not an "A" student. I hope that some of those personnel directors in our Government who dare say that they only hire honor students in their departments will take note of all of this.

The article follows:

A NOBLE AMERICAN

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Since he was a boy himself, Jonah Goldstein has been interested in children. I met him first more than 50 years ago when he was in charge of the gameroom of the Educational Alliance. He was not much older than the rest of us, but he was already a leader among men, a clean-cut, noble person, working his way to an education. In time, he became a lawyer and a judge. But more important, he became president of the Grand Street Boys, an association of those who in their childhood had known the slums and the difficulties and miseries of life and who, when a degree of affluence came to them, contributed to help others.

Judge Goldstein recently found that some municipal colleges in New York require an 85 passing mark to get in. But there are boys and girls who have to divide their time between earning and learning. Many boys I knew in my youth were doing the same thing. I had a couple of jobs as a hat-check boy. Nowadays, they use girls for that, but in my youth, it was done by boys. I worked late into the night and then had to get up early to go to school. I did not get an A.

Today, there are students who drive taxis over weekends, who run elevators, and do all sorts of jobs. It is hard to get an 85 under those circumstances. Judge Jonah Goldstein realized that much college material was lost because such students, if they had a chance, ought to be able to continue in college. The Grand Street Boys put up $30,000 to help them to equality of opportunity.

Then Jonah Goldstein heard of a curious situation. Orphans inherit social security until they are 18. Then it stops. He found two boys, orphans, who were making grades of 96 plus, one a biochemist, the other a physicist. The two boys reached 18 and their social security benefits stopped. They are obvious college material, working in valuable fields. The country sorely needs biochemists and physicists. It sorely needs scholars with marks of 96 plus.

Judge Goldstein suggested that such orphans receive vocational guidance at 16, so that they do not get stuck in the middle of their college life and so that something can be done for those who are college material. Meanwhile, the Grand Street Boys have undertaken to help those in Greater New York who face situations like the boys with high marks who could not continue.

We are living in a very tough era when economic pressures cause even intellectual workers to reduce themselves to a proletariat and to go on strike. Teachers, whose greatest value is not what they teach but the impact of their personalities upon young people, go on strike. Workers in hospitals leave the sick and dying for picketing and striking at nonprofit institutions which always run at a deficit. Welfare workers, who exist only to distribute charity equitably and purposefully, threaten to strike for more pay.

But a little man, 77 years old, retired from all activities of self-benefit, devotes himself to helping children and young people to equality of opportunity. In this hard-bitten, materialistic era—when the slogan seems to be, "Get what you can, you dope"—this little man devotes his late years to public service. Not publicized, he goes his way helping others. To him, the city owes much, but he never presses forward for reward.

## The Honorable Iris F. Blitch

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MCMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely regretted to learn that our colleague, Congresswoman IRIS F. BLITCH, will not run for reelection this year. We shall all greatly miss having the valuable services of Mrs. BLITCH during the 88th Congress. It is regrettable that this fine young lady's health would not permit her to continue to serve the people of her district and the State of Georgia in the high manner in which she has rendered service not only to the people of Georgia but to the entire Nation since she has been a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

I do not know of any young lady who has ever served in Congress during the 24 years I have been a Member of this body who has gained a higher respect from both sides of the aisle than Mrs. BLITCH. She is an unusually effective legislator and always studied every bill and report thoroughly before casting her vote on any subject.

I will personally miss Mrs. BLITCH as I enjoyed her friendship, agree with her philosophy on the manner in which this Government should be administered. I never heard Mrs. BLITCH say an unkind word regarding anyone and my best wishes go out to her and her family during her retirement.

## Progress in Venezuela

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JACOB K. JAVITS**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an illuminating, enlightening, and well-written speech delivered before the Venezuelan Chamber of Commerce of New York by Gustavo de la Rosa, h, president, Envases Venezolanos, S.A., president, Dixie Cup de Venezuela, C.A., a foreign branch of the American company. The speech deals with the problems and dangers of subversion in Venezuela, a country generally considered to be strongly threatened by Communist activities.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRESS IN VENEZUELA

(By Gustavo de la Rosa, h)

Gentlemen, for many years, we Venezuelans were very skeptical that communism could effectively infiltrate our country. We did know that a majority of our people were living—and still are—in poverty and illiteracy, thus representing the proper environment in which communism could prosper. But, we didn't think it would happen.

Today, looking back, I often wonder how we could ever have been so optimistic as to think that Venezuela would be spared. For, unfortunately, the Communists have made progress in my country, just as they have in other parts of the world.

You have read the stories of the Communist activities in the New York papers and in your magazines. To a large extent the stories are true.

We Venezuelans have seen the Communists operate with all the terrorism and violence of which they are capable.

We have seen their complete disregard for human life.

We know they are striving to create another Cuban-like chaos in my country.

These things we know, because we have seen them happen, and it is quite proper they should be reported to you and to all the world.

But, there is that which is not well known that likewise merits reporting. It is of these developments I wish to speak to you today—namely the work that is being performed by private groups and organizations to correct this situation, to repel communism.

This acceptance of responsibility is a radical change for our former attitude.

It means an awakening, and fortunately, before it is too late.

It means an arousing of an individual and national conscience to work for the preservation of our country and the freedom of our people.

It means there is an avid desire to fight for the ideas and ideals in which we believe.

This, gentlemen, is, in my estimation the most outstanding development that is taking place in Venezuela today.

It is important because it indicates we understand and accept the philosophy that in order to establish and preserve our democratic ideals we have to work, work hard and consistently, and with more energy, more imagination, and more dedication than our opponents.

This is more than our responsibility—it is our solemn duty.

It is our duty to fight our own battles and before the chaos comes. To be derelict to our duty would be to our shame.

To delegate our responsibility to another country would not be patriotic and would not be fair.

To believe one day the Communists will give up trying would not be realistic.

Therefore, we willingly and eagerly accept our duty.

As a result of this change of attitude, work is in progress. The work is being done by the cross section of the population of all Venezuela—by bankers, by engineers, by laborers, businessmen, lawyers, housewives, doctors, the clergy—working individually, or more often through organizations that have been formed for this purpose, or private enterprises with which they are connected. Whatever the avenue of their pursuit, all are working with the wholehearted contribution of their time, their talent, and their money.

Success depends upon two accomplishments—to raise the living standards of the population, and to tell the true story of democracy.

To raise the standard of living and improve the general economic condition is basic as it is the only permanent way to prevent giving communism a foothold.

There are four areas where progress is being made:

(a) The first area is housing. The lack of proper housing has been one of the most acute problems of Venezuela. To correct it all hands must join forces. And private enterprises is accepting its share of responsibility in helping exchange the "rancho" for decent quarters.

The outstanding example of the efforts being made by private enterprise is the nonprofit organization, under the leadership of Eugenio Mendoza, named Fundacion para la Vivienda Popular. This enterprise has built in recent years over 2,000 low-cost houses which have been sold to workers at cost and under a good financing arrangement.

In addition to providing for decent living quarters, this system develops the sense of ownership so much needed when fighting communism.

(b) The second area is education. My country had had a very high level of illiteracy. I feel proud to report that the work done by the present government in this field has been remarkable. Through a concentrated campaign, well conceived and well executed, thousands of Venezuelans have been taught to read and write.

The same effort has been applied to the education of the new generations and school population has almost doubled in the last 4 years. Through the two combined efforts, the illiteracy rate has been cut in half, to 25 percent.

Individuals and private enterprise are contributing substantially with this program. The outstanding case in this field is the privately financed organization ably inspired by Gustavo Vollmer, called Fe y Alegria (faith and happiness). Fe y Alegria is running at present 21 grammar schools, located in slum areas where 10,000 pupils receive free basic education. In many cases, they also receive milk or other basic food to help nourish their bodies while nourishing their minds. Fe y Alegria has plans in progress for 23 additional schools and 5 recreation centers that will increase the enrollment to 26,700 pupils.

(c) The third area is general welfare. In this field our women are making the most important contribution, from setting up and paying for the expenses of medical posts in slums where doctors and dentists contribute their time free for the healing of the sick, to the distribution of parcels of food and clothing. There is no general pattern as to how they do it. Usually a group of friends will get together, decide upon a project and work on it. There are, though, the common denominators of spontaneity and enthusiasm in embracing these responsibilities.

(d) The fourth area is employment. Statistics show that presently 12 percent of the active population of the country is unemployed. This means that there are 300,000 persons that have no income with which to buy food and provide for the home needs. But there are groups and private enterprises who, unselfishly, are setting their efforts to creating sources of employment. A very outstanding example is Inversiones Creole, an investment corporation set up by Creole Petroleum Corp., with the very commendable purpose of reinstating confidence in the future of the country and creating employment. Creole Investment is willing to take the risk of the capital, and, therefore, contributes with equity but as minority shareholder in every case. In just 1 year of operation, it has participated to the extent of Bs 18 million on some 16 companies in the fields of agriculture, cattle raising and manufacturing. Between 3,000 to 5,000 new jobs have been created through this effort.

We are meeting the first approach by improving housing, by extending education, by building the general welfare, by increasing employment.

There is the second approach to combat communism.

This is to build the prestige of the democratic way of life by effectively, actively, and eloquently telling the truth—the truth about the greatness of the democratic system, the truth about the shortcomings of communism.

We have good merchandise to sell but we are not taking advantage of our abilities to sell it.

Communism does not have good merchandise to sell but they are using every known selling device to convince the people it is their only salvation.

Now is the time for us to go out and sell—sell—and deliver.

And at long last we, who believe in our democratic system and who are dedicated to it, have started to sell in Venezuela, and we are using every possible medium of advertising.

I am glad to report that no longer is all the press in the hands of Red newspapermen. There are several leading newspapers which are contributing intensely to this selling job through their editorials and presentation of news, and by allowing space for effective advertising published by anticommunistic associations. The same improvement can be seen in radio and television.

I mentioned before that all the media of communication are being used. I would like to illustrate my statement with one specific case, which, incidentally, will also show the participation of the Venezuelan women in this task:

As you know, the University of Caracas has been the stronghold of Communist students and Communist professors. This has been the result of the interest of the Communist Party to control the intelligentsia, and also of the lackadaisical—if not partial—attitude of the university's academic council.

The council is formed by the rector, vice rector, secretary, the deans of the different schools, and representatives of the student body and of the alumni. The membership to this council is by election. Last June elections were held for the posts of school deans, the electors being the professors and representatives of the student body. Prior to and during the elections, housewives started a campaign through telephone and by word of mouth to all voters to go to the polls and cast the right ticket. The result: All the leftist deans, with the exception of two, were swept out of office. I think we have a basis to be optimistic that during the present academic year there will be more books and fewer Molotov bombs.

The work has been effective. It is producing results. And although we know we are far from safety and we know we have an arduous and long road to travel, I am convinced that the tides of political unrest have reached their high-water mark and that there is ample reason to believe they are now receding.

You will see reported in the press more noisy bombs and maybe more street brawls, particularly as we approach election time, because it is against Communist interests that a country enjoy free elections. But I hope you will remember that, with less publicity, the other side—our side—will be doing its part.

The country is preparing itself for elections to be held late next year. Already names of candidates are sprouting up. It is a part of the state of mind which is already existing in Venezuela and which will continue thriving during the next few months as our election period approaches. Our population of 7 million, of whom some 50 percent will be eligible to vote, are already anticipating this experience. The vote in Venezuela is a right, as well as a duty, for all persons male or female, 18 years or older. Age and penal convictions are the only limitations. In the 130 years of history of Venezuela as a republic, this will be the first time a president is to be elected directly by the people to succeed a president also elected by the people.

It is important to have the proper candidate win and certainly we will bend every effort to bring this to pass.

But it is even more important that we have elections.

This is a long step toward educating our minds to the democratic system toward recognizing that the Constitution must be observed; that presidents are to be succeeded by elected presidents and not displaced by coups—military or otherwise; but, once elected, they should be supported; that each person within a democracy has equal rights and also equal responsibility. This, of course, is basic not only for our political life but also for our economic progress.

The economy of Venezuela is basically sound. We are endowed with tremendous natural resources that should permit the country to grow and create wealth for all Venezuelans.

And, if we have had a severe recession in the past years, it has been mainly due to political reasons—but indeed, not all of them due to the Government. Individuals and Government must each share its portion of responsibility.

Fortunately, the recession seems to have hit bottom and the curve has changed its its trend.

Progress has been slow as would be expected and although we have not as yet reversed the trend of diminishing international reserves nor the national budget has been balanced, the efforts which are being made have slowed down the deterioration of our currency and I am confident that progress will be made within the next fiscal year to bring back to our currency its traditional stability.

There are other signs of improvement which can be detected. For example:

The construction industry is receiving the impact of a Bs 200 million fund for loans for construction of houses and apartments. This amount has already been allocated and building is underway.

The oil industry is expecting realistically this year an improvement of its earnings and more reinvesting in the country.

In agriculture, the country has increased dramatically the production of basic crops to the point of fulfilling in some cases, all the internal demands. A record year of 500,000 metric tons of corn will be harvested in 1962. Eggs, which we used to import by the shiploads, are now being produced to the extent of creating this year a surplus. Tobacco, potatoes, sesame seeds and other staples are having their best years.

The manufacturing industry continues its growth at a fast rate. Import restrictions imposed to minimize the drain of hard currency have become an incentive to manufacture more in the country. Several import factories have been built or are under construction.

All these, gentlemen, are positive signs that belong to the assets side of our balance sheet. We are aware of our liabilities but it is just as important that we know our assets.

It is important that we know that the economic recession has changed its trend.

It is important to know that politically we are preparing ourselves as a democracy would for the next elections. It is most important to know that the people of Venezuela have awakened to their responsibilities and their opportunities and are developing a national conscience to work for the democratic ideals.

It is this knowledge that makes me optimistic about the future of my country.

## The Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
### HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice to the many that have been speaking with praise about the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE. The chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee will retire from Congress at the close of this session. He first came here in 1930 and has remained without a break longer than anyone in the history of his State.

From the moment he entered the Congress right down to the present day, the gentleman from Kentucky, Chairman SPENCE, has consistently displayed those qualities of leadership and integrity which have made him one of the most respected and influential legislators in these Halls. His counsels have been heeded with great care.

No history of the legislation of the Roosevelt and Truman eras and the years following could be written without prominent mention of this great legislator. He ascended to the chairmanship of the Banking and Currency Committee in 1943. The period of his chairmanship has been one of notable progress. His efforts have greatly effected and improved the domestic economy, and all Americans have been benefited by his work. His influence has extended to a worldwide scale by his pioneer efforts in the area of international finance.

In my years of service with him on the committee I have admired his capacity for leadership. He consistently utilized his great powers of persuasion and logic, usually with success. When an impasse was reached he would break it by a telling argument. The House will lose a great leader and the American people a great servant when the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, retires. And I personally shall miss his wise counsel in the years to come. Certainly, his character, his nobility of spirit, his superb performance and his gentle manner shall remain an inspiration to us all.

## Ukrainians and Their Russian Oppressors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the eighth triennial convention of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is being held starting today in New York City. This distinguished organization, representing over 2 million Americans of Ukrainian background, is dedicated to U.S. victory in the cold war by concentration of thought and action on all the captive nations, particularly those in the Soviet Union.

The convention meets to highlight Soviet Russian colonialism among the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. and to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and its global meaning for the slave half of the world today.

I include the remarks I have prepared saluting the freedom-loving Americans of Ukrainian descent in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

UKRAINIANS AND THEIR RUSSIAN OPPRESSORS

The gifted and gallant Ukrainians are among the most numerous and most industrious peoples in Eastern Europe. They form the second largest Slavic nation in the large family of Slav peoples; only the Russians are more numerous, as they have always been. The Ukraine itself is both one of the fairest and perhaps the most fertile country in the entire East European region. From time immemorial these simple peasant folk lived there in their chosen ways and enjoyed life as best they could, until the rise and expansion of modern Russia. In the middle of the 17th century, as Russia's aggressive tide was sweeping westward and endangered Ukrainian territorial integrity and freedom, Ukraine's leaders signed a compact with the Czar of Russia in 1656, by which the two countries became allies and associates. But Russia's wily and autocratic Czar never intended to keep his end of the bargain. Instead of helping the Ukrainians when the latwere in trouble, he deliberately disregarded the terms of this compact he had signed, and in flagrant bad faith began to encroach upon the territorial integrity of the Ukraine, and infringe upon the rights of the Ukrainian people. All their remonstrances and protests were of no avail. The Russians, being more powerful, prevailed.

That was the beginning of Ukrainian subjection to Russia, and, with a brief but happy interlude, it has been going on for more than 300 years. Under autocratic czars and their callous agents Ukrainians suffered much and sacrificed most of their worldly possessions. Today they suffer no less and sacrifice far more under Russia's new masters than they did under the czars. The personnel of the Russian rulers in the Ukraine have of course changed, but their alien and oppressive character have not changed much.

Under Russia's new masters, Soviet colonialism has taken on another form—scores of non-Russian peoples have been brought, by pressure and brute force, under the direct

rule, or beneath the "protective" armor of the Red army, under the well understood name, "satellites." It takes no imagination to understand the nature and extent of Soviet colonialism. But there is one sharp and contracting difference between Soviet colonialism and the colonialism practiced by the West in the past. While Western colonialism aimed at the exploitation of colonized countries, it seldom ideologically stifled the people in there countries. The Soviets are not content with mere material exploitation; they also want to enslave the people, forcing them to accept Soviet ideology to the exclusion of all other beliefs and creeds.

In this connection it is eminently appropriate to observe, as you are going to in the Eighth Triennial Convention of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. It is a tribute to the genius of Lincoln that, since his signing of that historic document, hundreds of millions of peoples have been freed and have attained independence. Unfortunately, however, the true meaning of that ageless proclamation has been totally and flagrantly ignored by the tyrannical masters of Russia. I deeply hope that the Ukraine can eventually be freed from its Soviet masters. If we in the free world can encourage the natural and rightful trend toward nationalism in the subjected nations, we may see in our lifetime the termination of the Communist threat everywhere.

Here in this great Republic Ukrainians have always been welcome and have made an immense contribution to American life and culture. They have become loyal and patriotic citizens. They have worked hard in the strengthening of our democratic institutions, and in time of war have gladly sacrificed their lives in defense of American democracy. In Bayonne, N.J., where Ukrainian-Americans are very active in all forms of communal life, we were honored recently by the visit of His Excellency the Most Reverend John Theodorovich, metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States who came to commemorate the 25th anniversary celebration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of St. Sophia. Metropolitan John, the Reverend Michael Zemlachenko, and the faithful parishoners of St. Sophia joined together to give tribute to God on the jubilee of the founding of St. Sophia. By keeping alive the liturgy and devotion of their religion, as you are keeping alive the memory and the hope of an independent Ukraine, the parishoners of St. Sophia and their fellow Americans of Ukrainian descent here assembled are contributing to the achievement of the goal of spiritual and religious freedom for all men.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of American has been in the forefront of all organizations whose goal is to warn us against the tyranny of godless Communists in Communist-dominated satellite countries. The committee has rendered a real service in carrying on this work, and also in the education of Ukrainian-Americans in the real values of Ukraine's historic heritage. I wish you success at this convention and in all your future endeavors.

## Kathryn O'Hay Granahan

SPEECH
OF
### HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, it affords me a great deal of pleasure to pay tribute to my former neighbor and longtime friend, KATHRYN O'HAY GRANAHAN, the distinguished Member of the Pennsylvania delegation.

I had the pleasure of serving in this body with her late husband, who also was a conscientious Representative of his constituents. I certainly was pleased when KATHRYN succeeded him as a Member of the congressional delegation from Pennsylvania.

KATHRYN'S family were neighbors of mine in our native Easton, Pa.

As chairman of a House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee, Mrs. GRANAHAN has distinguished herself for her devotion to duty. She has won worldwide recognition from all decent Americans for her fight against obscene literature.

I am positive that as she goes forth into her new position, that of Treasurer of the United States, she goes with the best wishes of every Member of this House. I am as equally positive that KATHRYN O'HAY GRANAHAN, my longtime friend, will serve in her new position with distinction just as she has done here in this great body.

## Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, California and the Nation has suffered a deep loss in the death of Congressman CLEM MILLER.

CLEM MILLER died in the performance of his duties as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. In the process of keeping the electorate of his district advised of the work and record of the Congress he died. To those who knew him well in Congress, it comes as no surprise that in the face of inclement and hazardous weather he would risk himself in his tireless efforts to serve the people of his district. This is the measure of CLEM MILLER. He was an intense and devoted Member of Congress. He worked long and hard in making our governmental process the viable instrument that it is.

CLEM MILLER tackled his committee assignments with vigor and hard work. CLEM MILLER knew the truth of Woodrow Wilson's statement that the true work of the Congress is at the committee level. To his committee assignments he brought his scholarly and inquiring mind helping to frame and shape meaningful legislation for the Nation.

CLEM MILLER's death leaves all of us with the keenest sense of personal loss—but we shall not soon forget his strength of character, his strong sense of honor, and his warm friendship. We shall not forget him nor will the people—Point Reyes National Seashore Park will be a monument to his memory for all time.

## A Writer Looks at Congressman Rooney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of the Sign, a national Catholic magazine, there appears a very fine article about our distinguished Member from New York, the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY. The article, entitled "The Importance of Being ROONEY," is written by William Healy, a freelance magazine writer and former newspaperman. It is well written and presents an excellent description of our colleague as a person, political leader, and Congressman. I am pleased to insert it into the RECORD and call the article to the attention of all my colleagues.

The article reads as follows:

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING ROONEY
(By William Healy)

JOHN JAMES ROONEY is a very unusual politician; he watches the taxpayer's money as carefully as his own.

"Who's going to play ROONEY?" This is the question that State Department budget officers invariably ask themselves when they hold their annual mock hearing in preparation for the ordeal of appearing before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

The hazards of a career in the State Department in these days of grave international crises are great indeed. But few officials in our apparatus of diplomacy face their daily tasks with more trepidation than these budget experts who must go hat-in-hand before JOHN JAMES ROONEY, a scrappy, little Irishman from Brooklyn.

The importance of being ROONEY—the real devil's advocate in these budget dress rehearsals—lies in the fact that in his 10 years as chairman of this all-powerful congressional committee, ROONEY has slashed millions from State's budget. Since ROONEY's committee also controls the purse strings for the U.S. Information Agency, the Justice Department, and the Judiciary, he has gained a reputation as a watchdog for the taxpayer's dollar and the chief congressional gadfly to extravagant Federal spending.

It has been estimated that ROONEY and his committee have lopped more than $1 billion in budget requests from the governmental agencies over which he has domain. The 58-year-old Congressman, who has been called the most powerful man in Government in a negative way, wields a big stick but, unlike Teddy Roosevelt's adage, does not talk softly.

Seated usually on the edge of his chair between six other congressional committee members, ROONEY often conducts his hearings in the manner of the Spanish Inquisition. Whether or not his tactics and their end result are in the best interest of the United States depends sometimes upon the perspective of the critic.

If one happens to be one of ROONEY's 385,000 constituents, situated in Brooklyn's 14th Congressional District, and a Democrat, the answer would probably be yes. On Capitol Hill, the subject is a controversial one. He has been warmly defended as the archenemy of frill spending in Government. He has also been accused of undermining foreign policy and our posture abroad by hacking away at the State Department and the USIA.

In either case, no one who has ever taken the witness chair before ROONEY is likely to forget the experience. To some who have

been on the receiving end of ROONEY's barbs, the experience has been a nightmare. When ROONEY is on the scent, his ancestral gift of wit can become a savage weapon.

The following colloquy is typical of the pungent dialogue that fills the transcripts of the hearings before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations. This one concerns ROONEY and a State Department official on the hook for failing to assign personnel to posts where, in ROONEY's opinion, their language training would be most useful.

"Mr. ROONEY. I find a gentleman here, an FSO–6. He got an "A" in Chinese, and you assigned him to London.

"Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir. That officer will have opportunities in London—not as many as he would in Hong Kong, for example——

"Mr. ROONEY. What will he do? Spend his time in Chinatown?

"Mr. BROWN. No, sir. There will be opportunities in dealing with officers in the British Foreign Office who are concerned with Far Eastern affairs. The British have foreign language experts as well as we do.

"Mr. ROONEY. So instead of speaking English to one another, they will sit in the London office and talk Chinese?

"Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir."

"Mr. ROONEY. Is this not fantastic?

"Mr. BROWN. No, sir. They are anxious to keep up their practice.

"Mr. ROONEY. Are they playing games, or is this serious?

"Mr. BROWN. This is serious.

"Mr. ROONEY. Can you describe to me how this would happen? This officer probably would not be on too important a mission, would he?

"Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

"Mr. ROONEY. But he has a counterpart in the British Foreign Office who is also studying Chinese. Is that right?

"Mr. BROWN. Right.

"Mr. ROONEY. They go out to Chinese restaurants and have chop suey?

"Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

"Mr. ROONEY (incredulously). And this is all at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer?"

James Reston, the New York Times correspondent, once blasted ROONEY in an unusually bitter column. He pointed to ROONEY's stinginess as the chief reason for the fact that only half of our Foreign Service officers can speak a language other than English. ROONEY, complained Reston, was hamstringing the Foreign Service Institute's efforts to improve the situation.

Reston soon found that he had bitten off more than he could chew. As might be expected, Reston's column was immediately followed by a defense of ROONEY in the form of a spate of rather florid oratory on the floor of the House of Representatives. Congressmen, regardless of their political feather, habitually flock together when the honor of a member of the roost has been impugned.

However, support for ROONEY also came from an unexpected quarter. Deputy Undersecretary of State Loy Henderson raised some eyebrows with an immediate and impassioned defense of the Congressman. In a letter to him, which ROONEY immediately made public, Henderson pointed out, as had the Congressman, that not only the State Department's budget requests had fared well under ROONEY but the Foreign Service Institute got more than five times as much from him as it had from the Republican who had last headed the appropriations committee.

The headlines which follow such goings on do not escape the notice of Brooklynites, particularly those burghers who have been sending ROONEY to Washington every 2 years since 1944. ROONEY is not unaware of the fact that his constituents relish seeing "one of their boys rough up the cookiepushers" in Washington.

One notable exception to this treatment was a member of the opposite sex. Shortly after assuming her post as director of the State Department's passport service, Miss Frances Knight began earning a reputation as a slasher of redtape and an enemy of bureaucracy. One day her superiors notified her to appear before ROONEY's committee.

Waving a facsimile of a travel voucher before her eyes, the Congressman demanded that she explain the sum of $99.32 spent on a trip to New York. Unruffled, the lady calmly explained that the trip was made to obtain free drapes for the New York office of the passport service. Internal State Department protocol, it seemed, prescribed that only Assistant Secretaries of State were entitled to free drapes from the Department. Miss Knight had talked the management of Rockefeller Center into donating these adornments.

ROONEY seemed mollified and appeared willing to drop the matter. But Miss Knight had drawn blood and was not finished. She wrote a searing, 5-page memo to her boss which resulted in a quick admission to ROONEY that he had been furnished with factual errors concerning their passport director. Later the Congressman admitted ruefully, nobody likes to tangle with a smart woman.

When dealing with budget appropriations for the U.S. Information Agency, our propaganda arm, ROONEY is more likely to ask "Why?" than "How much?" USIA is one of his favorite whipping boys, and he delights in playing cat-and-mouse with its directors. Once, referring to a request for an increase in the number of USIA personnel assigned to Thailand and the equipment they needed, ROONEY shuffled some papers in front of him and muttered an aside which was audible in the back of the spacious committee room.

"Between all the mimeograph machines going, the radios clacking, the movie outfits churning, and now with these hand-operated phonograph devices, they'll never be able to hear a tiger roar in that country."

It is possible that Theodore Streibert wished he were in Thailand rather than Washington the day he faced Congressman ROONEY to itemize, as director of USIA, the Agency's budget.

At one point, Streibert referred to an item described as "39 believe-it-or-not programs."

ROONEY interrupted him to snort, "What is this believe-it-or-not item? I'll bet if Bob Ripley were here today he would want to know a little more about believe-it-or-not, $877,500." Later, ROONEY twisted the knife again when he cracked, "What's this item called kingfish project? Has that got anything to do with Amos 'n Andy?"

The Justice Department and the Judiciary, fortunately for them, get off relatively easy under ROONEY. Neither is as politically vulnerable as State or USIA. The FBI, in fact, is a ROONEY pet. It has never been denied a penny since ROONEY took over chairmanship of the Appropriations Subcommittee. This is not to suggest that either does not have to submit its soul to the searching glare of ROONEY's committee.

A border patrol officer, since he comes under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, must justify his requests for every foot of additional fencing to guard our Mexican border. And even the lofty Supreme Court Justices cannot order more wastebaskets for their offices without clearing it with ROONEY.

ROONEY's diligence is such that the full House Appropriations Committee, the next highest authority on budget requests, rarely tampers with the recommendations of the subcommittee. From the full House committee, the money bills go directly to the floor of the House. There ROONEY vigorously defends them in debate, an art at which he has few equals.

Physically, ROONEY stands 5 feet, 7 inches tall and weighs barely 150 pounds. His eyes are quite blue and his head quite bald. He attributes the latter imperfection to a close squeak when he took the bar exam with the 1925 class of Fordham Law School. "Only one-third of us passed, and I was one of the lucky ones. That's when I started going bald," he recalls.

Some years ago, ROONEY suffered an injury which has prevented him from active participation in his favorite sport, golf. However, his grueling, 7-day-a-week work schedule would exhaust the average athlete. At 58, he seems to be thriving on the Spartan routine. He likes an occasional Scotch and eats sparingly.

When I interviewed the Congressman in his Washington office, he nibbled on a ham-on-rye sandwich and sipped a carton of milk while seated at his desk. If his secretary doesn't remind him, he is apt to forget even this small gustatorial concession.

Weekends, especially Sundays, are spent back in his Brooklyn bailiwick mending political fences and holding court for the endless line of favor seekers. It is the habit of the stalwarts of Brooklyn's Third Assembly District Club of the regular Democratic organization to convene at headquarters immediately after mass every Sunday. ROONEY is as at home here as he is in room B–25, the stately room where his subcommittee holds forth in the Capitol.

The 14th Congressional District spreads across the southern part of Brooklyn. Originally settled by the Dutch, Irish, Italians, Poles, and Scandianvians, it is now largely dominated by the Irish and the Jews. There is a large Syrian colony and an increasingly large influx of Puerto Ricans.

The Brooklyn Navy Yard is situated in ROONEY's backyard too, a fact which he seldom lets other Members of Congress forget. Naturally, ROONEY hates to see a contract for naval construction awarded anywhere else. He once got into a mild argument on the House floor with Massachusett's Congresswoman Edith Rogers. Mrs. Rogers wanted the Navy's gigantic, *Forrestal* class carrier built in her district at Quincy, Mass.

When the contract eventually went to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, ROONEY reminded his colleague that the craft was being built at the Brooklyn yard because it could be done there at the "lowest possible cost to the taxpayer." He couldn't resist adding, "I doubt that under these circumstances even she can put this 60,000-ton warship in her handbag and carry it up to Quincy."

JOHN JAMES ROONEY was born in 1903 in Brooklyn, a stonesthrow from the florist shop which his maternal grandfather John Fitzsimons opened in 1869. ROONEY's mother, Ellen Fitzsimons, was a product of County Leitrim. Emigrating to America in 1888, she went to work in the family flower shop in Brooklyn. ROONEY's father, James, arrived from County Sligo the same year. After a short career as a ferryboat deckhand, he also went to work in the Fitzsimons flower shop. There the meeting between Ellen Fitzsimons and James Rooney took place and culminated in marriage.

Young JOHN lost no time in exhibiting a talent for keeping track of costs. Before he finished grammar school, he was keeper of the store's books. He received his education at St. Paul's Parochial School, St. Francis' Prep School, and St. Francis College, all Brooklyn institutions. He then entered Fordham Law School and passed the bar exam 2 years later on his first try.

ROONEY hung out his shingle next door to the Fitzsimons flower shop, specializing in

the dull but lucrative title and trust end of his profession. In 1940, he was tapped as William O'Dwyer's assistant in the Kings County district attorney's office at the relatively low salary of $7,500 per year. O'Dwyer, later to become mayor of New York, was then enjoying a reputation as a racket buster. His newly acquired young assistant soon made a name for himself.

ROONEY did not really break into the headlines until he ran afoul of one Hymie Caplin, a notorious Broadway card sharp and boxing manager. Until ROONEY sniffed him out, Caplin had operated with relative immunity. Victims of this type of thievery rarely can be talked into testifying to their gullibility. In this instance the victims' losses totaled more than $2 million.

ROONEY convinced them, including several prominent New Yorkers, into taking the witness stand, but not before he had hired a sleight-of-hand artist to school him in the art of stacking cards and slipping aces up one's sleeve. After practicing secretly for weeks, he boldly went before the jury with a deck of cards. The jury, impressed with a flawless demonstration of the art of cheating at cards, convicted Caplin, who was subsequently sent to Sing Sing.

In 1944, Brooklyn Congressman Thomas Cullen, ROONEY'S friend and neighbor died. ROONEY was picked to succeed him on the Democratic ticket for the 14th District. He won the special election handily, as he has ever since. During his first term, ROONEY immediately gave evidence that he would be no absentee lawmaker. He voted on 45 out of 75 important rollcalls, though he was hospitalized during 37 days of his first session. Since then he has maintained a close to 100 percent rollcall attendance, despite the fact that he is considered the "champ" as a junketing Congressman. Long before his succession to chairmanship of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, a job which takes him to four corners of the globe in search of waste, ROONEY was touring oversea bases as a member of the House Military Affairs Committee.

ROONEY remarried several years after the death of his first wife, Helen Hughes (two sons and a daughter were born of this marriage). His second wife is the former Catherine Kram Curran, a Washington widow with two sons.

Domestically, ROONEY is just as careful with his own budget as he is with Uncle Sam's. He has been driving the same car for the past 3 years and intends to keep on doing it "until it runs itself into the ground." He is also a check adder when dining out.

As a freshman congressman, ROONEY pushed through a bill appropriating $964,000 to repair war damages inflicted on the Pope's summer residence by Allied bombers. A few years later, he succeeded in helping to pass a bill for $3 million to install educational institutions in the newly formed state of Israel. He makes as many appearances at bar mitzvahs as he does at communion breakfasts.

Above all, ROONEY is a realistic politician. Yet no one has yet managed to sway his convictions regarding economy in government as he sees it. Not long after Kennedy's election victory, the President-elect invited him to Palm Beach for an informal conference. ROONEY was the only nonmillionaire among a gathering which included Secretary of the Treasury Dillon, Vice-President Johnson, Senator Kerr, and a lot of ex-diplomats hopeful that the Kennedy charm would have its effect on the Congressman's tight-fisted policies.

ROONEY listened respectfully to their arguments for 2 consecutive days of wining, dining, and pleasant Florida sunshine. Then he left, his reputation still intact. He was also comforted by the knowledge that the money for the party came out of the President's pocket and not the taxpayers'.

## Pulaski Day, October 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, Casimir Pulaski, one of the bravest soldiers of Poland, and a soldier of freedom, was born in 1748 in the little-known Province of Podolia into a middle-class family. From his childhood he showed exceptional abilities which destined him to become a leader in everything he undertook—and a brave one at that.

Early in his youth he felt the need to serve the cause of his country, the freedom of his people. With that noble purpose in mind, he prepared himself to be a soldier and a leader. Before he was 20 he had gathered around him a group of Polish youths who were of the same mind and were willing to dedicate themselves to the same cause. With this small band of fighters he fought gallantly in a number of engagements in which he and his group did very well against superior forces of oppressing Russians.

During the middle of 1770, when he saw that his service in Poland was not producing the results he had in mind, in his last engagements against the Russians, he barely managed to escape and save his life. He fled Poland and in 1777 we find him in Paris. There he learned of the American War of Independence. He met with Benjamin Franklin and impressed him most favorably—so favorably that he was advanced sufficient funds to sail to the United States.

Armed with a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin he presented himself to General Washington who recommended him to the Continental Congress with the suggestion that he be entrusted with the reorganization and formation of our cavalry forces. He performed this difficult task so successfully that he was commended very highly both by the Congress and General Washington. He was subsequently placed in charge of our cavalry forces and took part in numerous engagements in various theaters of war. He distinguished himself in every one. In the fall of 1779, he was transferred to South Carolina where he participated in the Battle of Savannah. On October 9, he was fatally wounded in the battle and 2 days later, on October 11, at the age of 31, succumbed to his wounds.

The service of this gallant son of Poland was duly recognized by the Continental Congress and he was given the rank of brigadier general. He was later honored by his colleagues who had fought with him in every field of battle.

His name is today revered among Polish Americans who commemorate the contributions of the Poles to the victory of the American Revolution. On this, the 183d anniversary of the death of this noble defender and fighter for freedom we pay him tribute.

## Memorial Tribute to Rev. Anthony J. F. Muszynski, Honored Priest and Civic Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, we people of Pittsburgh, Allegheny County, and western Pennsylvania have had the wonderful privilege of having Father Muszynski, pastor of St. Ignatius of Loyola Church, of Glendale, Scott Township live, serve, and work for many years among us. He was until his death, our helper, guide, kindly adviser, religious leader, and trusted friend.

Father Muszynski helped people of all kinds, ages, and stations, and served our communities in civic affairs, even being appointed, and elected to responsible public office in Scott Township on the votes of people of both parties, and served faithfully and well.

Father Muszynski was especially helpful to young people, and immigrants, to help them get started, and followed closely their work, careers, and progress through the years. I was one who received his counsel, encouragement, advice, and friendship when I first started in public life and civic affairs, and am deeply indebted to him.

To pay my personal respects to his fine memory, I am entering this tribute in the U.S. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a permanent memorial for future generations to Father Muszynski and his fine parish people of St. Ignatius Church.

I remember particularly two young men whom he helped especially to start their successful careers, Father Adam J. Maida and Judge John C. Brosky. Father Muszynski could really be called the sponsor of Father Maida and Judge Brosky, as they were so close to him and valued his advice so highly. These two outstanding men in our religious and public life are Father Muszynski's top proteges, and attest to his ministry, as young men from his parish.

Father Maida, now of Bishop John J. Wright's staff, of the Pittsburgh diocese, makes this heart warming statement about Father "Muse":

The Reverend Anthony J. F. Muszynski represented to his generation and to his parishioners the image of a real father, which title he bore as a priest of the Catholic Church. Many of the members of his flock came from a foreign land without money, in search of jobs which they hoped would exist for them and provide them with necessary security. Father "Muse," as he came to be known by his people, opened the doors of union presidents, plant presidents, or

political officeholders for the members of his flock. Without exaggeration, it can be said that the majority of the parishioners received their employment through Father "Muse." No need was too small or too great to require his attention. In his eyes and heart and his life, was the image of the ideal American, the spirit of fairplay, recognizing the equality of all men before God. Indeed, he was for his people, the champion of the poor, the friend of the rich, and beloved by all.

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COURT OF COMMON PLEAS,
*Pittsburgh, Pa., July 24, 1962.*

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
*U.S. Congressman,*
*Fulton Building,*
*Pittsburgh, Pa.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: To those who are living, the death of a friend changes good and happy things that had been done to memories and memorials.

Ten years ago as our Congressman you were requested by myself, then an attorney, and Rev. A. J. F. Muszynski, pastor of St. Ignatius of Loyola Church, Scott Township, to secure governmental approval for release of steel to construct a new church for the parishioners. An old, wood church that served the parish since 1903 was destroyed by fire in 1951. As I recall, our meeting with you was on a Friday morning. You stated you would give the matter immediate attention and even took the Government forms which I had prepared to personally deliver them, since you were leaving for Washington that evening. In the following Monday morning edition of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette we read with great joy that St. Ignatius was granted approval to have all the steel necessary for construction.

One year later, on November 15, 1953, you were the main speaker at the dedication ceremonies of the new St. Ignatius Church, a majestic edifice that stands today as a monument to the Polish people of Scott Township, the parishioners of St. Ignatius.

That was the year also that St. Ignatius Church celebrated its 50th anniversary.

Father Muszynski launched a building program and put behind it his resourcefulness, drive and determination plus many, many hours of personal sacrifice. A new elementary school from kindergarten to the eighth grade was also constructed, and this was followed by a renovation of an old mansion turned into a beautiful residence for the Reverend Sisters. A chapel was subsequently added and the grounds surrounding it were made conducive for meditation and prayer. In this whole building program the parishioners, the Reverend Sisters and the schoolchildren came first.

All that remains to complete the picture of a total new parish is a rectory and home for the parish priest. An old-style wood structure that serves as the rectory stands out, conspicuous between the new church and the new school. It is the last reminder of the first 50 years of St. Ignatius Church.

It is a reminder also that Father Muszynski came to the rectory September 19, 1919 to serve as pastor, following a tour of duty in the U.S. Army as chaplain in World War I. It is a reminder that over 43 years, thousands of people, young and old, parishioners and nonparishioners, from all walks of life sat many hours with Father Muszynski in the office of this old rectory and had received not only spiritual aid and comfort, but materialistic aid with hope, strength, and inspiration to carry on.

The old rectory was home to many priests and missionaries who joined the good father at 40-hour services and other religious holidays. On these occasions, too, it meant happy reunions for Father Muszynski with his two wonderful sisters, Gertrude and Leona, and two brothers, Louis and William. From them we learn many things of the family. We learn that Father Muszynski was born on June 13, 1892 in the south side of Pittsburgh where he attended St. Adalbert's and St. Josophat's Grade School where he received his first holy communion and finally completing his education at Duquesne University, St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, Md., and Orchard Lake Seminary in Detroit, Mich., where he was ordained in the priesthood in 1917.

Here, too, in the old rectory came the spirit of community helpfulness when the welfare of the people was at stake. Father Muszynski entered civic endeavors and politics, first advising political leaders, then taking an active part himself by serving as secretary of the township board of commissioners and later as an elected school director of the township board of education. He later served on the planning commission of the township and was president of the school board. Active in county and State government politics, Father Muszynski knew intimately many leaders in all branches of government, and was particularly close to Allegheny County Commissioners Joseph G. Armstrong; George Rankin, Jr.; John J. Kane; Dr. William D. McClelland; John E. McGrady; Mayor Joseph M. Barr of the city of Pittsburgh; Governor David L. Lawrence; Governor and later Senator James H. Duff, and Gov. George Earle, of Pennsylvania.

Hundreds of foreign-born people were tutored by Father Muszynski to prepare them for American citizenship. For their security and friendship he organized the Polish American Citizens Club of Scott Township. The old rectory was the home of many other organizations for the benefit of the church and the community. Still active today are the following: St. Ignatius Guild, Young Ladies of St. Ignatius; Holy Name Society; Christian Mothers; Young Ladies Sodality; the Church Committee; Ushers Club; Altar Boys; Rosary Women; Children of Mary; St. Ignatius Choir; Polish Women's Alliance; Polish Falcons Nest 77; Falcons Ladies Nest 264; P.W.A. of A. Star Liberty, Branch 403.

To thousands like myself, the old rectory is a symbol of faith in God, charity, sacrifice, hard work, kindness, love, respect and brotherhood of man. For Father Muszynski was all of these. I know of this for he baptized me at St. Ignatius Church and every day afterward he watched me grow, directing and guiding my life to the position I hold today. His great joy was the day he stood alongside of me in the courtroom of the County Court of Allegheny County and placed the judicial robe on my shoulders.

And now the old rectory, too, has a black robe—the black robe of death across its front door—a reminder that Father A. J. F. Muszynski is dead. He was called by his Father to his great reward on May 21, 1962. Death came very quickly, a heart attack in the old rectory after Father Muszynski had just returned from saying mass for his schoolchildren whom he loved so well.

His Excellency, Most Reverend John J. Wright, bishop of Pittsburgh, was most considerate in appointing and giving to the parishioners of St. Ignatius Church a very close friend of Father Muszynski, Rev. M. W. Dreiak, who was transferred from St. Cyprian's Church, Northside. Continuing to serve as assistant pastor will be Father D. J. Szczygiel, who came to St. Ignatius when Father Muszynski suffered his first heart attack several years ago.

The old rectory will always have a memorable history of a colorful and memorable priest. Soon it will go to be replaced by a new modern rectory, an everlasting tribute to Father Muszynski, whose dedication in life was to lift people's hearts in the spirit of our Lord.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN G. BROSKY,
*Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pa.*

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PITTSBURGH, PA.,
*June 8, 1962.*

The Honorable JAMES G. FULTON,
*Fulton Building,*
*Pittsburgh, Pa.*

DEAR MR. FULTON: Please pardon the delay for answering your very nice letter of May 29, but there do not seem enough hours in a day to do everything one should.

I have written a note of thanks to you several days ago (addressed to Washington) which I hope you have received. We shall be forever grateful for all you have done.

My brother's biography: He was born in Pittsburgh on June 13, 1892; attended St. Adalbert's and St. Josephat's elementary schools; attended Holy Ghost College (now Duquesne University); attended St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.; attended SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary where he was ordained a priest on June 3, 1917.

He served as assistant pastor, St. Ladislaus Church, Natrona, as first lieutenant chaplain in U.S. Army; as assistant pastor, Holy Family Church, Lawrenceville, and as pastor of St. Ignatius Church from 1919 until the day of his death, May 21, 1962.

His other activities: He was active in Scott Township community affairs; organized the Polish American Citizens Club of Glendale; served on the township school board; secretary of township board of commissioners; member of the township planning commission.

You knew father very well, so I needn't tell you anything about him as a man. I can summarize by saying he was a big man and his heart was as big as he. It went out to everybody.

Sincerely yours,

LEONA MUSE,
*Sister of Father Muszynski.*

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PITTSBURGH, PA.,
*June 18, 1962.*

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
*Congress of the United States,*
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am writing to thank you for your kind expression of sympathy on the death of my very good friend and pastor, Father Muszynski.

In answer to your request for biographical materials, I have acquired the enclosed sketch from a testimonial pamphlet published on the occasion of his 35th anniversary as a priest. I trust it will be sufficient for your purposes.

I have known him and will always remember him as a fine and exemplary priest, a man of God. Others will be mindful of the great good he did in his public life. I am sure you have seen and appreciated the man and the priest in Father Muszynski. All his friends and I would deem it quite an honor to have his name and an account of his work perpetuated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a fitting memorial.

I also take this opportunity to thank you for the generous offer to be of assistance to me whenever possible. I shall always feel free to call upon you.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Rev. ADAM J. MAIDA.

HISTORY FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE CELEBRATION AND TESTIMONIAL TO FATHER MUSZYNSKI ON HIS 35TH ANNIVERSARY AS A PRIEST

This is a brief history of the life of Rev. Anthony J. F. Muszynski, who has become one of the most loved and respected personalities in the entire history of Scott Township, Allegheny County, Pa.

Father Muszynski was born in South Side, Pittsburgh, on June 13, 1892, the son of the late John and Frances Muszynski.

As a youth, he attended the St. Adalbert's and St. Josaphat's grade schools in South Side and in 1905 received his first holy communion at St. Josaphat's. He then enrolled at Duquesne University where he attended from 1905 to 1913. His further education took him to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md., and Orchard Lake Seminary in Detroit, Mich., where he was ordained into the priesthood in 1917.

In June 1917, Father Muszynski celebrated his first mass in St. Adalbert's Church. Shortly afterward he was assigned to Natrona where he remained for several months.

When the United States became involved in World War I, he enlisted as a chaplain in the U.S. Army and remained in Atlanta, Ga., until after the war.

About 35 years ago, on September 19, 1919, to be exact, one of the finest things that could happen to the community of Scott Township had occurred. Father Muszynski had arrived in his new role as pastor of the St. Ignatius Church. Little did anyone realize at the time that his arrival was the beginning of a new and happy era. Since that time he has been very active in civic and community affairs and in the earlier days had organized the Polish-American Citizens Club of Glendale, served as secretary of the township board of commissioners and later in 1937 being elected as a member of the township board of education and becoming president. His efforts as an efficient administrator was rewarded by reelection to a second term by an overwhelming vote of confidence.

His unstinting helpfulness to his entire congregation, regardless of the hour of night, and in many cases at a peril to his own physical condition, has earned for himself the highest esteem from all of us.

It has been due to his untiring efforts as a great pastor that he has finally realized his longtime ambition of building a new church and school for his parish. This accomplishment alone will be a living memorial to him long after he has gone to his everlasting glory.

The community of Scott Township and the parishioners of St. Ignatius Church share this happy occasion with Father Muszynski's two sisters, Gertrude and Leona, and two brothers, Louis and William.

This testimonial dinner is an expression and acknowledgment of 35 years of faithful service given unselfishly to the citizens of Scott Township and particularly the members of his congregation.

## John Holton

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join the host of John Holton's friends in wishing him all the success possible in his new adventure in private life. I know he will make a great record in connection with any private enterprise in this country, as we have all had an opportunity to review his records here in the House of Representatives during the past 20 years.

I don't know of any man who enjoys the respect and full confidence of all the Members of the House more than John Holton.

I personally will miss him.

## Meredith's Advice to the Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 13, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith an article by the eminent columnist, Mr. David Lawrence, from the Evening Star of October 11, 1962, titled "Meredith's Advice to the Army."

Mr. Speaker, Meredith, who has commanded the U.S. Army, the U.S. marshals, and the National Guard of the State of Mississippi aggregating a force in excess of 17,000, to give him security, and who has practically destroyed the usefulness of the Univeristy of Mississippi, now undertakes to dictate what the composition of the U.S. Army shall be.

How long will this Nation tolerate dictates from the NAACP? I sat on this floor when the bayonets were ordered into Mississippi; this was the genius of Field Marshal Martin Luther King. Meredith is an officer in King's army.

The article follows:

MEREDITH'S ADVICE TO THE ARMY—OLE MISS NEGRO STUDENT BELIEVED OPEN TO DISCIPLINE FOR STATEMENT ON TROOPS

(By David Lawrence)

James H. Meredith, the Negro student now enrolled in the University of Mississippi, seems to have pulled a boner. He has undertaken by a public statement to tell the U.S. Army what troops it must use in affording him protection. He argues that there must be a substantial number of Negro soldiers on duty, or else he will consider it an injustice to him and to the Nation.

Is a student in a university—whose discipline he accepts when he enrolls—privileged to call publicly for certain military forces to be deployed on the university grounds? Were those troops which had already been mobilized inadequate or inefficient? Or was the issuance of the statement itself a form of political demonstration?

Oddly enough, for a much less serious offense, the University of Mississippi was threatened a few days ago with the loss of its accreditation. If this had happened, every diploma issued would have been worthless as a certificate of admission to a professional or graduate school. The rules of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, with headquarters at Atlanta, Ga., declare that accreditation can be taken away if, for instance, there is a violation of its principles. One of these says that "to keep education free from political manipulation is fundamental to the preservation of liberty."

Officials of the association explain that they have nothing to do with the admission of or refusal to admit Negro students but that the particular point involved was the recent action of the governing board of the university in turning over to the Governor of the State the functions of the university registrar. The registrar originally had declared that Mr. Meredith was not qualified for admission, but the U.S. Department of Justice asked the court to issue an order ignoring the registrar's findings. At this point, the university restored the registrar's functions, so there is no longer any accreditation problem.

The question that now arises is whether the university authorities will sanction political manipulation by any of its students. The attorney general of Mississippi could ask the Federal court to uphold the university's right to discipline or dismiss Mr. Meredith. For, though officially registered as a student, he issued a public statement which said in part:

"The first 2 days of my stay at the University of Mississippi, the military units looked like American units. All soldiers held their positions and performed the task for which they had been trained and ordered to do. Since that time, the units have been resegregated. Negroes have been purged from their positions in the ranks.

"On Thusrday, October 4, 1962, I brought this to the attention of the proper authorities. On Friday, I was informed that the situation would be corrected and the Negroes would be put back into their places in the ranks.

"On Monday, October 8, 1962, Negro soldiers were, indeed, seen again among the soldiers. The ones I saw, however, were on a garbage-detail truck and unarmed. The white members of the detail were armed. This condition constitutes a dishonor and a disgrace to the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who wear the uinforms of our military services.

"Negro soldiers were purged from the ranks 100 years ago in a somewhat similar situation. And today, 1962, this is an intolerable act. My conscience would not allow me to go on observing the situation without, at least, letting the Negro soldiers know that I did not like them being dishonored."

Secretary of the Army Cyrus R. Vance replied by saying that, "during the difficult periods when troops were first employed in the Oxford area, Negro soldiers were not used on patrols to avoid unnecessary incidents. On October 6 when the situation became more stabilized, orders were issued that Negro military personnel of Army units employed in connection with the Oxford situation would be used in the performance of all normal functions in the units in all operations."

The real issue today is whether James Meredith has laid himself open to discipline by the university. When he called in the press and issued a public statement, he disclosed that he had tried to interfere with the functions that belong to the university authorities—namely, to maintain order on the campus. He sought on his own, and without consultation with the university, to have Federal troops deployed in certain ways and to specify the composition of the military units.

While 30,000 Federal troops were mobilized in Oxford and vicinity to assure Mr. Meredith's admission, the military forces were not instructed to operate the university. The Federal court order merely commands the university to maintain Mr. Meredith on a par with any other student. There is nothing in the court order which requires the university to ignore what it may consider a breach of conduct by him or by any other student.

## The 87th Congress—An Outstanding Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, the Kennedy administration and the 87th Congress have produced an outstanding record in the first half of President Kennedy's term. Although many new ideas were resisted by the opposition and the conservative Members, the resounding success of the Peace Corps should encourage the Kennedy administration to start bold new programs. The Trade Expansion Act is a dramatic new approach in the field of world commerce. Area redevelopment and manpower retraining show the determination of the administration to revitalize distressed areas and bring hope to those who lost out because of automation.

The following legislation of major importance was enacted in the 87th Congress:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The 87th Congress supported the policy which the Kennedy administration adopted that a strong national defense and powerful military force for both striking and deterrent purposes is necessary for both national security and implementation of foreign policy. In order to maintain our "margin of superiority," over our military forces and power have been increased qualitatively and quantitatively, while flexibility and reaction time to meet any international crisis have been increased.

SPACE PROGRAM

The effort in this field has more than tripled since 1960. The second session authorized $3.81 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1963, including $263 million for planetary and lunar exploration.

The first session authorized $1.7 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1962; included increases for manned moon-orbiting project and for research on solid and nuclear propellants.

These measures will enable American science to keep pace with developments in the space age and advance American space exploration programs.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The first session authorized $4.2 billion 1962 program of loans and grants for foreign economic aid and development, military assistance and support, and contributions to international programs; provided for 5-year programing of development loans and a contingency fund for use at the President's discretion. It was the first time Congress has ever given the President such long-term authority. It was positive evidence of U.S. interest in constructive and productive foreign aid. The measure also established AID—Agency for International Development—to coordinate the development program and assure efficient use of money.

The second session increased the authorization to $4.6 billion foreign assistance program for 1963, including military support funds, development loans and grants.

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM

The 87th Congress effectuated a previously authorized Latin American program by appropriating $600 million; included $100 million disaster relief for Chile, $394 million for loans by Inter-American Development Bank, $6 million for social and economic programs of OAS, and $100 million for loans and grants by ICA. The bill implements the President's Alliance for Progress program to promote Inter-American social and economic cooperation. This strengthens our friendship with nations in Central and South America through loans and grants for economic progress and political stability and strength. It demonstrates that we are sincere in our desire to construct a true Pan-American community.

The second session authorized the continuation of the program at $600 million a year through 1966.

U.S. PEACE CORPS

A U.S. Peace Corps has been established as an independent agency subject to policy guidance of State Department; authorized $40 million for operations in fiscal 1962. The Peace Corps has already achieved great success as can be seen by its unparalleled, enthusiastic acceptance in foreign countries. It indicates that programs of a relatively modest size, if tailored to fit the social and economic needs of other countries, may be the most effective kind of foreign aid. President Kennedy's bold approach has been most successful.

In the second session the Peacé Corps was extended and expanded and the authorization for 1963 increased to $63.7 million. This agency has been acclaimed by many writers on foreign affairs as the most significant and advantageous change in our relationship with the underdeveloped countries of the world in the 20th century.

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

This Agency was established to operate under the guidance of the President and Secretary of State. It represents the active desire of the American people and the Government to achieve a workable world peace. It created the governmental machinery necessary to develop a disarmament agreement. Plans were presented by this new Agency at the Geneva conferences.

The 2d session of the 87th Congress supported the progress of the Agency and its plans to create a world agreement which will lead to world peace.

UNITED NATIONS LOANS

The inability of the United Nations to continue its activities to maintain peace in trouble locations would reduce its potential as an instrument of world peace. The advisory ruling of the World Court regarding loss of vote for failure to pay assessments encouraged the 2d session of the 87th Congress to authorize the President to lend up to $100 million to the United Nations.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The second session authorized $435 million, 3-year program of training of unemployed in vocational schools, or on-the-job retraining, to develop new skills; first 2 years' cost to be paid by Federal Government, third year 50–50 with States.

It also provided for $900 million in immediate loans or grants for public works projects in communities with excess unemployment.

In the first session Congress authorized $928 million temporary program to provide 13 weeks' additional unemployment compensation, up to June 30, 1962, for jobless whose payments expired; increased tax on employers by four-tenths of 1 percent for 2 years beginning January 1, 1962; gave similar benefits to unemployed railroad workers under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. In the second session a similar request from President Kennedy failed by a vote of 12 to 13 to get out of the Ways and Means Committee.

The first session also authorized temporary grants to States to finance inclusion of dependent children of unemployed under Federal-State assistance program for 15 months to June 1, 1962. This act enabled some 250,000 adults and 750,000 children to feed and clothe themselves until such time that work could be obtained for the family supporter.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The first session established the Area Redevelopment Administration in the Department of Commerce; authorized $300 million loans and $94 million grants for industrial plants and public facilities in areas of economic distress; provided for technical assistance, vocational rehabilitation, and subsistence grants for persons undergoing retraining; terminates program June 30, 1963. This measure provided relief to those areas of chronic high unemployment and encouraged industrial expansion in these cases. Pennsylvania received a great portion of these moneys to enable the distressed areas of its economy to recover. The vocational rehabilitation program will enable the country to diversify its work force and provide qualified personnel to fill jobs presently in need of such people.

MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

The 1st session of the 87th Congress increased $1 minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, extended coverage to 3.5 million additional workers by gradual wage stepups; amended Fair Labor Standards Act. This measure assured a living wage to all workers employed by concerns presently covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as many engaged in large retail trade concerns.

HOUSING

The greatest Housing Act in over a decade authorized 4 to 5 years $4.9 billion housing programs for: low- and moderate-income families on liberalized

terms; urban renewal; open-spaces development in cities; college dormitory construction loans; 100,000 new units of public housing; community facilities. Extended farm housing program, increased funds for housing for the aged, and provided for loans to cities to acquire mass transportation facilities. The Housing Act of 1961 was a step to aid those in the middle and lower income ranges who were previously ineligible for public housing and were unable to purchase their own homes. It is a great stride toward complete urban renewal and aids considerably cities in their efforth toward civic improvement.

The second session provided for low- and moderate-cost housing for elderly in urban and rural areas and authorized $100 million loans funds for new construction.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The first session raised the minimum monthly old-age insurance payments under the Social Security Act from $33 to $40; increased benefits to widows; provided male workers may draw reduced benefits upon retirement at age 62; liberalized disability provisions; increased tax for workers and employers by one-eighth of 1 percent each. This omnibus measure was designed to insure that all people who have paid into social security will receive sufficient benefits for retirement. The lowered retirement age for males now permits retirement for all at 62 instead of 65.

The second session amended the Social Security Act to reduce public assistance rolls, by: providing grants to States that establish work programs for needy; increasing U.S. share of administrative costs; extending for 5 years payments to families of unemployed fathers and other needy children; raising by $4 per month ceiling on Federal matching grants for aged, blind, and disabled; and increasing grants for child welfare services.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The first session extended the life of the President's Civil Rights Commission for 2 years to September 30, 1963. The bill provided for continued life of the Commission so that all citizens may receive "equal protection under the law" as guaranteed by the Constitution.

The second session adopted the resolution for a proposed constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax in Federal elections.

EDUCATION

The first session extended aid to federally impacted school districts, for school construction and operations, for 2 years to June 30, 1963, and the National Defense Education Act for 1 year to the same date; authorized $1.3 billion for both programs. This bill allows the country to move forward in the vital field of education and enables those who are needy to obtain a college education.

Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, is the first legislation of its kind to be passed. Provides Federal assistance for projects which will evaluate and demonstrate techniques and practices leading to a solution of the Nation's problems relating to the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and youth offenses and to provide training of personnel for work in these fields.

HEALTH LEGISLATION

The first session expanded and extended programs of Federal grants to States and communities for: construction of nursing homes, training of public health personnel, and studies to improve services for aged outside hospitals. This bill provides much needed funds for urban areas to construct hospitals facilities, improve present facilities and staff these facilities with adequately trained personnel.

It also expanded water pollution control program; increased grants to State and interstate agencies from $3 million annually to $5 million for operations through June 30, 1968, and from $50 million to $100 million annually for construction of treatment works; substituted sliding-scale formula for present 30 percent limitation on Federal grants. This measure will enable urban communities to remain supplied with sufficient quantities of pure water to meet both present and future needs.

The second session extended to 1966 authorization of $5 million a year in grants to State and local governments under the Air Pollution Control Act. It also enacted a law to tighten controls over the manufacture and distribution of drugs. Advertisement must include information, in brief summary, on side effects and other characteristics.

SMALL BUSINESS LEGISLATION

The first session increased temporarily by $20 million, to $595 million, the amount available to Small Business Administration for regular business loans. Increased by $105 million, to $1.1 billion, the total borrowing authority of SBA, including $725 million for regular business loans. Raised limit on amounts Small Business Administration may lend small business investment corporation and on latters' investment in individual enterprises. The combined effect of these three measures is to give greater flexibility to the operations of the small businessman, enable him to receive additional loans for improvement and expansion and to compete in the business world of today.

The second session increased lending authority of Small Business Administration for business loans and disaster loans to a combined total of $1.109 billion; investment company loans from $325 million limit to $341 million; authorized loans to firms in need of assistance under Trade Expansion Act; established combined revolving fund. This session also passed a law to permit self-employed individuals to establish retirement funds for themselves and for their employees and receive tax deferrals on part of their contributions to the funds.

TRADE EXPANSION

The second session passed a law which empowers the President, subject to safeguard provisions, to cut duties on imports by agreements with other nations, particularly European Economic Community, for concessions to U.S.-exported products; provides aid to domestic workers and industries adversely affected.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE

The second session authorized creation of a commercial corporation, owned 50–50 by the public and the communications industry, to establish and operate a communications satellite system under regulations of the FCC, in cooperation with NASA; three members of the board of directors to be appointed by the President.

LABOR

The second session amended the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958 by providing Secretary of Labor with powers of enforcement, to establish regulations and interpret the statute; fix penalties for violations.

EDUCATIONAL TV

The second session authorized matching Federal grants up to $1 million for any State to purchase TV transmission equipment for educational purposes, providing the State or sponsoring agency furnish the land, building, and guarantee to operate and maintain the channel.

It also amended the Federal Communications Act to give FCC authority to require all newly manufactured TV sets be equipped to receive all UHF and VHF channels.

VETERANS

The first session authorized payment of $60 million special dividend to eligible policyholders of national service life insurance. It extended direct and guaranteed home loan programs for World War II veterans to July 26, 1967, and for Korean conflict veterans to February 1, 1975; authorized additional $1.2 billion for direct loans program through fiscal year 1967.

The second session increased by average of 9.4 percent rates of compensation for service-connected disability paid to 1.9 million veterans; provided increased benefits to parents and children of veterans dying from service-connected disabilities; provides for a permanent program of vocational rehabilitation for veterans with service-connected disability serving between World War II and Korean conflict and thereafter; increased compensation for blinded veterans; provided for review or death claims of veterans.

PHILADELPHIA LEGISLATION

Our city greatly benefited from general legislation which affects the cities of the Nation, such as the Housing Act, the Public Works Acceleration Act; the Trade Expansion Act; educational TV; and the Impacted School District Act; the water pollution control program; and air pollution control program; small business legislation, and health legislation.

Our city specifically benefited from the commitment by the Internal Revenue Service to build the Date Processing Center in the northeast; a program approved by General Services Administration to build a Federal office building on a site suitable to both the judges and the administration; GSA also agreed to transfer Fort Mifflin to the city as a historic park; approval of Navy Capehart Housing project; commitment for additional block for parking at Independence National Park; Water Pollution Control Laboratory; $3 million loan for new

commuter passenger cars; acquisition of regional office of Public Housing Administration; favorable arrangements for the city to acquire the Army piers under urban renewal with two-thirds of the net cost being met by Federal Government; widening of Delaware Channel above Allegheny Avenue; approval of sound and light display at Independence Hall; modernization and renovation of hospitals under Hill-Burton Act; Delaware River compact; Philadelphia Navy Yard work program.

It has been a real pleasure to represent my constitutents in the 87th Congress and I want to express my appreciation for this great privilege. If reelected on November 6 to the 88th Congress, I shall diligently continue to keep up with all matters which affect the district and the Nation and to serve my people in every possible way.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, for more than a decade I have had the privilege and the pleasure of working on the House Banking and Currency Committee with my distinguished colleague from Kentucky, the Honorable BRENT SPENCE. His tenure as chairman of this committee has been long and distinguished.

My first impression of him as chairman has proven itself correct over the years. He has brought to the committee a personal warmth and good will that has enabled us to work with high ideals and goals throughout a period in our Nation's history that has been demanding in depth and scope of the problems presented for solution.

The people of his district, the fifth district of Kentucky, have been exceptionally fortunate in having a man such as BRENT SPENCE as their Representative in Congress. No less have the citizens of his country benefited by his devoted activity in Congress. We have not always agreed in our approaches to the problems confronting the committee, but I have never failed to find him a sympathetic and understanding chairman, willing to listen to the problems and proposals of all committee members.

It is to his credit that in times of great decision the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, has put his Nation above party. His leadership and friendship will be missed by all of us, but the standard of achievement and service he has set will continue to inspire us in the years to come. I join my colleagues in wishing the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, a full and rich life in the future, and I know that, though he may retire from this body, his country will still receive the benefit of his wisdom and experience in the days to follow.

## Budget Figures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very interesting table which I have had prepared by the Bureau of the Budget, giving important budgetary figures from 1946 to the present.

I quote from the letter of Mr. Elmer B. Staats, Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, explaining the table:

Since 1946, a number of conceptual changes have occurred. To the extent possible, we have adjusted the figures to a comparable basis. Unfortunately, some of our records do not enable us to furnish new obligational authority data for current estimates in the budget review.

It is worth noting that there are a variety of reasons for the difference between th original estimates and the actuals. For one thing, the President can, and usually does, amend the budget himself to take account of changing conditions. There are often developments beyond the control of either the President or Congress which may cause significant changes. Then, of course, there are the increases and decreases made by the Congress.

This letter is timely and will be helpful to us as the new budget for fiscal year 1964 is being prepared.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Original budget estimates and actuals*

[In billions of dollars]

| Fiscal year | Receipts | | | New obligational authority | | | Expenditures | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Original budget | Budget review current estimate [1] | Actual | Original budget | Budget review current estimate [1] | Enacted | Original budget | Budget review current estimate [1] | Actual |
| 1946 | 38.2 | 36.6 | 39.6 | 86.8 | (3) | 102.3 | 80.0 | 82.5 | 60.3 |
| 1947 | 29.5 | 37.3 | 39.7 | 31.0 | (3) | 41.1 | 33.8 | 39.2 | 38.9 |
| 1948 | 34.9 | 38.8 | 41.4 | 33.5 | (3) | 38.7 | 34.7 | 34.2 | 33.0 |
| 1949 | 41.9 | 37.4 | 37.7 | 43.4 | (3) | 40.8 | 37.1 | 39.0 | 39.5 |
| 1950 | 40.2 | 37.2 | 36.4 | 44.6 | (3) | 50.2 | 41.1 | 42.7 | 39.5 |
| 1951 | 36.6 | (2) | 47.5 | [4] 40.5 | (3) | [4] 84.1 | 41.8 | (2) | 44.0 |
| 1952 | 54.4 | (5) | 61.3 | 94.4 | (3) | 92.9 | 70.4 | 69.9 | 65.3 |
| 1953 | 70.1 | 67.9 | 64.7 | 84.3 | 87.8 | 80.2 | 84.6 | 78.1 | 74.1 |
| 1954 | 67.8 | 67.5 | 64.4 | 72.9 | 66.3 | 62.8 | 77.6 | 71.2 | 67.5 |
| 1955 | 62.4 | 59.1 | 60.2 | 56.3 | 58.6 | 57.1 | 65.4 | 63.7 | 64.4 |
| 1956 | 59.7 | 61.8 | 67.8 | 58.6 | 62.4 | 63.2 | 62.1 | 63.5 | 66.2 |
| 1957 | 65.0 | 69.3 | 70.6 | 66.3 | 67.7 | 70.2 | 64.6 | 68.6 | 69.0 |
| 1958 | 73.1 | 73.5 | 68.6 | 73.3 | 71.6 | 76.3 | 71.2 | 71.4 | 71.4 |
| 1959 | 74.0 | 67.0 | 67.9 | 72.5 | 77.2 | 81.4 | 73.6 | 78.9 | 80.3 |
| 1960 | 76.4 | 78.3 | 77.8 | 76.8 | 79.3 | 79.6 | 76.3 | 78.2 | 76.5 |
| 1961 | 83.3 | 80.8 | 77.7 | 79.4 | 80.5 | 86.7 | 79.1 | 79.7 | 81.5 |
| 1962 | 82.3 | 82.1 | 81.4 | 80.9 | 93.1 | (3) | 80.9 | 89.0 | 87.7 |

[1] Amounts in these columns are revised estimates contained in the annual review prepared at the end of each session of Congress. The new obligational authority column includes January recommendations, subsequent amendments, and supplementals anticipated for later transmittal.
[2] Not available.
[3] None issued.
[4] Subsequent to the original budget, sizable increases in the military estimates were submitted to the Congress.
[5] No estimate of receipts made in brief review issued.

## The Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to have this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Honorable BRENT SPENCE for his years of dedicated public service. I was privileged to serve under Chairman SPENCE for 4 years as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee. His vast knowledge of our complex financial laws was a tremendous asset to our country and an inspiration to us all. I learned to appreciate his wisdom and unfailing devotion to the highest ideals of our country.

Chairman SPENCE's contribution to his country, the Congress, and his constituents, will long leave its mark. He will be sorely missed. I only hope that he can be prevailed upon to lend his expert advice and assistance when we are confronted with an intricate monetary problem.

I wish him Godspeed.

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in an expression of profound sorrow at the tragic death of our distinguished colleague, the Honorable CLEM MILLER, of the First District of California.

During the past 4 years, I have served with Congressman MILLER on the House Banking and Currency Committee. Everyone who worked with CLEM was

enriched by his association and stimulated by his high purpose and his devotion to the public trust. He was a rugged man—as rugged as the extensive district he so ably represented.

CLEM MILLER had a great mission. He was anxious, at times almost impatient with delays in the legislative program. He was a determined man of action who fought hard for the causes he believed in.

This Congress was a better place because of CLEM MILLER. We will miss him very much. We share the deep and profound sorrow of his devoted wife, Katherine, and his daughters.

## Ewha Woman's University, Seoul, Korea, World's Largest Woman's University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I am calling to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people, the excellent progress of this fine and worthy school of high academic standards and attainment. Congratulations from the United States of America to the staff and wonderful student body.

Ewha has developed to a world recognized university for women under the great leadership of retiring president, Dr. Helen Kim, with 43 years of faithful service. It is a pleasure to claim Dr. Helen Kim as an esteemed friend, whom I met when a U.S. delegate to the United Nations in the 14th General Assembly.

Now under President Okgill Kim, Ewha University is making continued fine progress. Ewha should be considered by citizens of America and the free world as a highly worthy institution, to be included in any gifts or bequests to further education, and to advance the cause of the progress of women.

I call attention to the president's annual message, commemorating the 76th anniversity of the founding of Ewha University in the student paper Ewha Voice of June 19, 1962:

PRESIDENT PRESENTS ANNUAL MESSAGE

(By President Okgill Kim)

In commemorating the 76th anniversary of the foundation of Ewha, I feel bound to offer my heartfelt thanks to you all who have actually made it possible for this great institution to obtain such tremendous growth, grandeur and glory as of today. If it had not been for your guidance and assistance, there would have been no Ewha at all.

The school really struggled to survive in the beginning because of the stubbornness and prejudice of the ruling class of the Yi dynasty against the education of women in Korea. After the passing of the Yi dynasty, Ewha was severely persecuted for 36 years under the Japanese regime. They apparently hated to see Ewha grow, using all kinds of cruel measures to let this institution collapse, but Ewha refused to do so. Since the liberation of 1945, we have made a steady and notable progress toward a higher goal in spite of political turmoil and social instability in this precarious land.

Mrs. Scranton started this school in 1886 with only one student. At that time, it was almost unthinkable for Korean parents to send their daughters to school for higher learning. In fact, teachers had to go out to get their students. Things have changed to an unbelievable degree during the past 76 years. For this semester we have an enrollment of 7,416 students and each one of them had to go through fierce competition to be admitted into Ewha which is now the world's largest woman's university.

When I took over the presidency in October 1961 succeeding Dr. Helen Kim, one of the greatest leaders of our time, who was retiring from the office after 43 years of faithful and remarkable service for Ewha, I was not entirely without misgivings about my ability to follow the footsteps of such a great leader. As Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Ewha Haktang Inc., however, she has been rendering more valuable service to us even after her retirement, and her helping hand has been indispensable to make my present task successful.

We have been planning a lot of things to maintain and enhance the honorable tradition of Ewha. One of them is the opening of the Korean Life Research Center, the main idea of which is to improve the living conditions of all Koreans by means of scientific approach to our food, clothing, and shelter.

The center is going to make a praiseworthy contribution to our society by creating special briquettes without poisonous gas. Briquette gas kills hundreds of people every year, but there is no longer any danger in using the briquette.

In closing this brief message of mine. I would like to thank you again for your devotion and sacrifice. There are many more things to be done for Ewha, for Korea, and for Christ. With hope and courage we are determined to move forward no matter what difficulty lies ahead. I sincerely hope that in your prayers Ewha will be always remembered.

I am also including in my remarks the staff members who publish "Ewha Voice," publishing monthly by the English Department, Ewha Woman's University, Seoul, Korea. They are—

Dr. Okgill Kim, president.
Sukkon Lee, head, English department.
Kathleen Crane, faculty adviser.
Kim Mijah, editor in chief.
Moon Young Hae, associate editor.
Han Hoon, chief copy editor.
Lee Eun Seung, picture editor.
Koh Young Cha, Kim Young Kyo, Kim Jung Mai, Kee Ki Ha, Hong Moon Ja, assistant editors.
Senior journalism class, reporters.

I am also including an excellent editorial by Lee Ki Ha, entitled "Campus Conduct" from the June 19, 1962, issue of Ewha Voice. It would be a good example to follow for our American universities as well:

CAMPUS CONDUCT

(By Lee Ki Ha)

In democratic countries, the chief of the state is each one in the nation. Likewise, the heart of any institute is its students. The behavoir of a school's students is the criterion by which the institute is judged and its quality measured. A school can only be excellent on the basis of its students, not because of ultramodern school buildings or the beautiful scenery or the very latest equipment.

So, what about us, the Ewha students of today? Let's turn our eyes to the situation of our school. Can we advertise the school both inside and out? Are we upholding the traditions of scholarship and morality laid down for us by those who have gone before?

As a first step of measuring our status, we have to raise the academic quality as well as ability shown in every activity. Else, we can never be judged excellent except in luxurious costumes and astute makeup.

Our Ewha University is a Christian school. We have chapel three times a week. Frequently, at the chapel, we greet not a few foreign visitors. Most of them are visiting here and there around the world. Even though they look benevolent and friendly, they are people with keen eyes. Also, the conduct before guests is but a part of our vast responsibility as ladylike ladies. Then we usually misconduct ourselves chattering and laughing. Why, on earth, can't we be faithful to a small thing?

No doubt, it's the sign of uncultivated people. If everyone of 7,000 Ewha girls could act more gently and study harder than now, I am sure that Ewha Woman's University would be the first women's university in fact and in name on the earth.

The Bible says, "He who is sincere to a very small thing can succeed in great work." All the days, we must strive to be both inwardly and outwardly model students, citizens, and ladies.

## Morgan M. Moulder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. O. C. FISHER**
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, one of our more distinguished and able Members MORGAN MOULDER, of Missouri, announced earlier this year that he would not seek reelection. This was most regrettable because Mr. MOULDER has established an enviable record during the 14 years he has so faithfully served in this body. It happened, however, that Missouri lost one Member because of population following the last census, and Mr. MOULDER decided to retire.

Mr. MOULDER has established an enviable record in public office, having served as Assistant U.S. Attorney for the western district of Missouri, as a Judge of the Circuit Court in the 18th Judicial Circuit of that State, before being promoted to membership in the House of Representatives.

While in the House he has been a member of the important Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and has been a faithful and effective member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In the latter position he has presided over scores of hearings as a subcommittee chairman. In that capacity he has been instrumental in exposing Communist activity in many areas. For this he is entitled to the gratitude of the entire Nation.

Mr. MOULDER is an affable individual, a loyal friend and has been a valuable and effective spokesman for the people who elected him. In his retirement from the House, I extend my felicitations and best wishes to him and to his family.

## Religious Beliefs of the Founding Fathers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. William S. Loesch, acting director of the Foundation for Spiritual Rehabilitation, Vestal, N.Y., which contains several interesting references and quotations regarding the religious beliefs of our Founding Fathers:

THE FOUNDATION FOR
SPIRITUAL REHABILITATION,
*Vestal, N.Y., August 20, 1962.*

Hon. HOWARD W. ROBISON,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROBISON: It is significant in our time, with our Supreme Court seemingly interpreting our Constitution so as to rule God out of our institutions, that most of the Founding Fathers who framed that Constitution grew up in a strong religious atmosphere. History records as follows:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, when breakdown in the debates seemed imminent, Benjamin Franklin said, "That without His (the Lord's) concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a byword down to future ages." May not our Supreme Court of today "become a reproach and a byword down to future ages"? And may not any of our building of today that excludes God's concurring aid and prayer to Him in seeking that aid, succeed no better than the effort of the builders of Babel?

What would Franklin say if he could know that our courts now rule prayer to our Creator out of our schools—Franklin who wrote the following "new version" to the Lord's Prayer:

"1. Heavenly Father.

"2. May all revere Thee.

"3. And become Thy dutiful children and faithful subjects.

"4. May Thy laws be obeyed on earth as they are in heaven.

"5. Provide us this day, as Thou hast hitherto daily done.

"6. Forgive us our trespasses, and enable us to forgive those who offend us.

"7. Keep us out of temptation, and deliver us from evil.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Washington showed where he stood regarding the importance of the Creator in our daily lives when he said he was "sure there never was a people who had more reason to acknowledge a divine interposition in their affairs than those of the United States; and I should be pained to believe * * * that they failed to consider the omnipotence of that God who is alone able to protect them."

JOHN ADAMS

With respect to God and His power in our lives, John Adams had this to say: "Self-existent, independent, benevolent, all powerful, and all merciful Creator, preserver and Father of the universe, the first good, first first, and first fair." John Adams would obviously have told us that when we exclude God from our institutions and from our lives, we exclude all that makes life worth while and meaningful.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

From Jefferson we have these words: "That to love God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself is the sum of religion." So Jefferson, like Adams, would say, in effect, that lives that exclude God are in no sense alive.

JAMES MADISON

James Madison has written: "Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the universe." Hence, it is very clear that Madison would never have advocated a constitutional structure that would have barred God or prayer to Him from our institutions.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

To him are credited these words: "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature by the Hand of Divinity itself." So Hamilton would not have had any part in framing a Constitution that would push God and prayer to Him out of the lives or institutions of Americans.

SAMUEL ADAMS

He was apparently denominationally intolerant, but was, nevertheless, a very devout man. He is known to have written to his daughter who was about to be married: "If you will fulfill the various duties of life, from the principle of obedience to your Heavenly Father, you shall enjoy that peace which the world cannot give nor take away." Surely a man who instructs his daughter in this manner is not one who would legislate God out of the lives and prayer of future generations.

JOHN JAY

He was the first Chief Justice of the United States. He held as meaningless prayer before groups where there was too much diversity of belief. However, by no stretch of the imagination could Jay have been said to advocate exclusive of God and prayer to Him from America and Americans. He was a consistent churchgoer and was one of the early presidents of the American Bible Society. He once wrote, "The moral or natural law was given by the Sovereign of the universe to all mankind. Being founded by infinite wisdom and goodness on essential right, which never varies, it can require no amendments or alteration." Obviously Jay would have made no jesture to move God and prayer out of American lives, then or today.

THOMAS PAINE

He wrote an outline of his religious beliefs which he titled "The Age of Reason." He intended this work to reawaken faith in God. He called for a return to simplicity of worship and related the political rights of man to the religious rights of man. "In my publication on religious subjects," he had written, "my endeavors have been directed to bring man to the right use of the reason that God has given him." Can it be conceived that a man who would write thus would function to regulate God and prayer out of the lives of Americans, then or now?

* * * * *

Respectfully yours,
WILLIAM S. LOESCH,
*Acting Director.*

## Election of Rev. Albert A. Chalmers as Seventh Bishop of Diocese of Springfield, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, for 13 years Rev. Albert A. Chambers was rector of the Church of the Resurrection in New York City, and one of the most distinguished residents of the 17th Congressional District. Throughout the years of his ministry the spiritual growth of the parish was always closest to his heart. The hospital work of the church, which he has done so much to foster, has been accorded national recognition.

When Father Chambers came to New York, the Church of the Resurrection had not been consecrated, even though it was built in 1868 and had been in continuous use since then, because it had a mortgage. In 1957, marking the 25th anniversary of the ordination of Father Chambers to the priesthood, the mortgage was finally paid off, and Bishop Horace W. B. Donegan consecrated the building.

Rev. Albert A. Chambers, S.T.D., was born in Cleveland, Ohio, June 22, 1906. After his secondary education in Cleveland, he attended and was graduated from Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y., in 1928, with the bachelor of arts degree, and from the General Theological Seminary, New York City, in 1931, with the bachelor of sacred theology degree.

After ordination to the Episcopal priesthood, by his father-in-law, the Right Reverend Cameron J. Davis, bishop of western New York, Dr. Chambers began his work as a diocesan missionary in western New York, where he served missions in Angola, Forestville, and Irving. In June 1933 he became senior canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, Buffalo, N.Y., and diocesan director of youth work of the diocese of western New York

From 1936 to 1942, Dr. Chambers was rector of St. Thomas' Church, Neenah-Menasha. During his rectorship in Wisconsin, he was chairman of the department of christian education of the diocese of Fond-du-Lac and also chairman of the board of examining chaplains. Also while in Wisconsin, he took the initiative in establishing a Council of Social Agencies in Neenah-Menasha and served as its first president. He also started Girl Scouting work there and organized a regional council in Fox River Valley.

In January 1942 Dr. Chambers accepted election as rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn, N.Y. While there, he was for more than 5 years a member of the diocesan council of the diocese of central New York, and from 1946 to 1949 he served as chairman of its department of promotion. He was also vice chairman of the Cayuga County chapter of the American Red Cross and

field representative on the Sampson Air Base Council.

Since Dr. Chambers has been in New York, he has served on the committee on reorganization of the diocese of New York; and from October 1953 until May 1956, he was a member of the council of the diocese and chairman of the department of promotion. In May 1957 he was elected to a 4-year term as a member of the standing committee of the diocese of New York and served as its president for the year 1961. This year he was elected dean of the Manhattan Convocation. He was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of sacred theology by Hobart College in 1957 and by the General Theological Seminary in 1961. He is an alumni member of the board of trustees of the General Theological Seminary and former president of its alumni council. For 4 years he was chairman of the committee on theological education Sunday offering of the General Theological Seminary. Dr. Chambers is also a member of the council and the executive board of the American Church Union.

In June 1934 he married Frances Hewette Davis, daughter of Bishop and Mrs. Cameron J. Davis, of Buffalo, N.Y. They have two daughters, Frances Hewette, wife of the Reverend Harrison J. Owen, and Sally Ann, wife of Dr. Donald Goldberg.

The announcement of Reverend Chambers' election as seventh bishop of the diocese of Springfield, Ill., was greeted with deep feelings of pride and of sadness by his parishioners who hate to lose him. His letter of farewell to the Church of the Resurrection is a moving testimony of the deep and lasting bonds which had developed over the years between Dr. Chambers and the members and numerous friends of the church. I would like to insert his letter at this point:

JUNE 20, 1962.

*To the Members and Friends of the Church of the Resurrection:*

The conflicts and soul searching of the past 10 days, ever since I was notified of my unanimous election to be the seventh bishop of the diocese of Springfield, Ill., are impossible to describe. The joys of the past almost 13 years, the response of the people to my rectorship, the devotion and sacrifice that has been typical of the entire parish, the sharing of joys and sorrows in personal lives, the missionary outreach, and above all, the centrality of our worship and praise of God at His altar are but a few of the realizations that have crossed my mind. Surely, no rector has ever been more richly blessed by so devoted a people. I am sure that you have felt this family tie as strongly as I have.

Decisions are so difficult to make, especially when one feels inadequate to a call to a new order in the church, with heavier responsibilities. But over against this is the gentle prodding of the Holy Spirit and the assurance He gives that He will give the strength and grace needed to meet the new challenge.

I am accepting my election, and if the consents of the bishops and standing committees of the church are received, will be consecrated sometime in November. I ask your prayers most earnestly, that God may fit me for this new work.

The test of any priest's ministry begins the day he leaves. How well he has led his people to the worship of God and the service of God is inevitably revealed most clearly then. I have confidence that the people of this great family, to whom I feel so close, will continue to bear witness to their faith and Catholic heritage, and will give the same support, encouragement, and response to the new rector who will be privileged to serve here in this devoted place.

The vestry has asked Father Moore to be in charge of the parish after November 1, when I leave, until the new rector comes. He will be assisted full time by Father Udell.

Remember how deeply Mrs. Chambers and I love you in the Lord and may our parting be with gratitude that we have had so happy a life together these 13 years.

With deep affection,

Ever gratefully yours,

ALBERT A. CHAMBERS,
*Rector.*

Mr. Speaker, although Dr. Chambers' departure from our city is a sad event for the people of New York it is nonetheless a joyous occasion for the good people of Illinois. I know that I speak for thousands of New Yorkers who have the deepest admiration for Bishop Chambers when I wish him many happy years of service in the important work that lies ahead.

## Personal Explanation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, on certain rollcalls during the 2d session of the 87th Congress, it was necessary for me to be absent on official business. On my committee assignments on the important House Science and Astronautics Committee and the highly respected House Veterans' Affairs Committee, as well as my congressional duties and responsibilities to my home people in my congressional district, I was required to be out of the city of Washington on certain few occasions as follows:

On February 5, 1962, on rollcall No. 11 on the vote for suspension and passage of S. 383, which provided for the acquisition of a patented mining claim on the south rim of Grand Canyon National Park I would have voted "nay."

On April 10, 1962, on rollcall No. 65 I would have voted "yea" on the adoption of the rule on H.R. 10788, to amend section 204 of the Agricultural Act of 1956 regarding the regulation of textile imports.

On May 3, 1962, on rollcall No. 82 I would have voted "yea" on the passage of H.R. 11040, a bill to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system.

On July 20, 1962, on rollcall No. 169 I would have voted "yea" on the passage of H.R. 12580, the appropriations bill for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and so forth, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963.

On September 18, 1962, on rollcall No. 244 I would have voted "yea" on rule on S. 2429 the bill for enlarging Virgin Islands National Park.

## The Role of the Ways and Means Committee in the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the works of the Ways and Means Committee, on which I have been privileged to serve for the last eight Congresses, has received considerable attention during the past year from the press in view of the importance of legislation coming before it during the 87th Congress.

Major legislation considered by the Committee and enacted into law included: Revenue Revision Act of 1962, Trade Expansion Act of 1962, Public Welfare Amendments of 1962, Tariff Reclassification Act, Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961, Federal Aid Highway Revenue Act of 1961, and the Social Security Amendments of 1961.

As part of my remarks, I include excerpts from several articles which appeared during the year dealing with the work of the Ways and Means Committee:

[From "Profile of a Congressional Committee" by Edward Oxford in the June–July issue of Telephone Review]

Twenty-four Congressmen and one Congresswoman lean forward about the great, sweeping, polished mahogany semicircle. Behind them: a high, gold-flecked curtain. Before them: the vast, oval, marble-columned hearing room seating 500. Stage center: a sheaf of paper, a microphone, a witness. The chairman bangs his gavel.

The House Ways and Means Committee, one of the most powerful important, and tireless of congressional committees, is in public session. For the 216th time in the mornings, noons, and nights of 4 consecutive weeks they will listen to a witness give his views on the tax bill before them. And when No. 216 has had his say, the committee will begin all over again with the 217th.

There is a quite compelling reason why House Ways and Means goes about its lawmaking with such bone-wearying thoroughness. Take a look at your watch. Each time its sweephand moves through a single second your Nation's Government spends $2,900. Which works out to about $253 million a day. Which figures up to some $93 billion a year. And which, as Damon Runyon might have put it, "is more than somewhat of a bit of change."

This billion-digited headache is the particular worry of Ways and Means. For the committee's main work is to find "ways and means"—the hard, crisp, green dollars—to pay our Nation's bills. Its final, critical

power is to tax: to come up with the money our Nation needs for its todays and its tomorrows.

Tucked away in the marble reaches of Washington, this solemn semicircle of Congressmen may seem distant—quite remote from the matters of your family, your town, your life. But the committee's high-chandeliered world is very much your own. For under the Constitution the House of Representatives—and by tradition, this committee—originates the tax laws of the land. And "tax," after all, is simply a three-letter word meaning "you."

The unsurprising fact about government is that you get what you pay for and pay for what you get. The whole, mighty range of services that a nation's government provides for the people are, in effect, paid for by the people themselves. Which is why there are Federal taxes on the income you earn. The cigarettes you smoke. The car you drive. The theater tickets you buy. Which is why there are social security taxes. Gift taxes. Inheritance taxes. Taxes large and small. Just how much Federal tax you are going to have to pay—for what, and where, and when, and why and how—will be determined by the laws originated right here, by this committee.

The significant point about Ways and Means—and about all the committees of Congress—is that they help shape the lives, the hopes, and the dreams of man, woman and child across America. Amid the 20 acres of stately buildings on Capitol Hill's grassy knoll, hosts of Congressmen are working and worrying about problems which are squarely and surely yours. In curtained, columned committee rooms they contend with a staggering complex of plans and proposals, rules and regulations, arguments and counter arguments. And from out of it all—the weighing, the judging, the battling, the compromising, the questioning, the searching, the probing, the wondering, the despairing, the bickering, the knowing, the guessing, and the sifting—will emerge, printed on crisp white paper, the laws of the lives of the people.

"Congress in session is Congress on public exhibit," once declared Woodrow Wilson, "whilst Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work." Each year, drawn by the wonder of their Capitol, the tourists, honeymooners and high school students of America descend upon Washington. Armed with maps, walking shoes and determination to "see" the center of Government, they rove the corridors of the Capitol, sit in the galleries of Congress, and shake hands with "their man" on the Hill. But, try as they might, very few of them really do "see" Congress.

Visitors to the gallery of the House of Representatives (or, for that matter, the Senate) are sometimes baffled, even a trifle disappointed, by the scene before them. Many of the 435 Members are not even there. Congressmen stroll in and out of the Chamber, huddle in small groups, pay seemingly scant attention to whichever of their colleagues happens to be addressing them. There is little blazing oratory reminiscent of "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." Many a dazed visitor begins to wonder just how Congress gets anything done.

The answer lies in the committee system. Nowadays the main legislative work of Congress is done in committees. By carefully screening all proposed legislation before sending it to the floor of Congress, committees save Representatives a man-killing lot of toil and tears.

Committees are "little legislatures." They are behind-the-scenes workshops where the tedious, often exhausting job of lawmaking gets done. Because they are specialized units, committees are able to frame, sift, and perfect the mass of legislation considered by Congress each year. They function like traffic cops. They weed out the bills, single out the most important for consideration, and channel a manageable number to Congress for debate.

The Committee on Ways and Means is called the eye, the ear, the hand, and very often the brain of the House. Just about every major legislation recommended by the present administration, for example, must take its turn in the big, oval committee room. By virtue of its jurisdiction over taxes, tariffs, social security, and the public debt, Ways and Means is setting the tone and timetable for the headline makers: The tax revision bill, the trade expansion bill, medical care for the aged, expansion of unemployment benefits, national debt limit increase, extension of Korean war and corporate excise taxes, extension of the defense contract Renegotiation Act. Whichever of these bills should survive the long journey through House and Senate and reach at last the President's antique desk for signature into law, will certainly bear the imprint of Ways and Means hand and heart. For at few times in our history has so great a burden of decision rested on a single committee of Congress.

Few committees move with such deliberate care. For Ways and Means doesn't give; it gets. "The art of taxation," notes the proverb, "consists in so plucking the goose as to obtain the largest possible amount of feathers with the smallest possible amount of hissing." Ways and Means, as a consequence, proceeds with a thoroughness that would make strong men weep.

Consider, for instance, the eye-stinging study its members recently gave H.R. 9900 ("H.R." meaning House of Representatives, 9900 meaning the 9,900th bill introduced by the House during this 87th Congress). The bill ran 61 pages, weighed a quarter of a pound, contained 10 chapters, 4 subchapters, 66 sections, and 137 subsections. Known as the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, it proposed that the President be given broad bargaining powers to lower tariff rates on goods America trades abroad. Those in favor of the plan claimed it would bind America closer to the European Common Market and the rest of the free world. Those against it argued that it would hurt, rather than help, American business. The committee had to decide.

Public hearings began early in March. To the huge hearing room streamed witnesses, rank on rank, replete with portfolios, notebooks, briefcases—an army of interested citizens come from all parts and reaches of the Nation to make themselves heard—tool builders, corn starch manufacturers, oil marketers, dress makers, rayon men, economists, fur cutters, steel merchants, clothespin manufacturers, button sewers, chemists, tractor manufacturers, educators, silversmiths, labor leaders, Treasury Department officials, church leaders, corporation presidents—a torrent of words, figures, charts, opinions, facts, graphs, mimeographed releases, speeches beat in upon the committee members.

The moods of the men about the long desk changed with each move and countermove—their voices, by turn, hammering, jovial, biting, sonorous: "You are aware, are you not * * *?" "Do you mean to imply * * *?" "Is it not so that in fact * * *?" "But do you not agree * * *?" "Perhaps I misunderstand you * * *." "Let me say to you, sir * * *" "Did it never occur to you * * *?" "Have you any proof that * * *?" "Are you convinced that * * *?" "I have great personal affection for you, sir, but * * *" "Do you really mean to say that * * *?" The committee probed, questioned, searched—pushing into the smallest, most delicate detail; burdening fact on fact; examining argument on argument.

Cigarette stubs, Aspergum, and crumpled notes piled high upon the committee tables. By day's end as many as 18 witnesses had mounded up enough fact and counterfact to try the wisdom of a Solomon. And, in the case of H.R. 9900, it went on, hour after hour, for 20 brain-racking days. Two hundred and forty-five witnesses had appeared. Hundreds of organizations, businesses, and individuals had added their letters, telegrams, and cablegrams. By mid-April, oral and written testimony had filled six large printed volumes, ran 4,233 pages, and weighed 10 pounds. But the committee's real work—the job of figuring out what to do about it all—had barely begun.

It is at this tide in the affairs of a committee—when men come to the drafting, the actual creating, of a bill—that a Congressman becomes the loneliest man in the world. For, in the end, he is left to himself—to his own convictions, his own doubts, his own knowledge, his own talents, his own ideals. He can turn to the Library of Congress—for legislative research. To the legal staff of his committee—for background. To experts of every persuasion—to find out what they think. To other members of the committee—for advise and argument. But in the solemn, ultimate moment of decision he must turn to his own conscience. Is what I am about to do the best thing for the people? This private moment, this time when one man is alone, becomes the very core and essence of our Government.

The whole business of lawmaking is a process of diamond-cut-diamond. The committee member is first a scholar, familiarizing himself with every fine point and feature of the bill before him. He is a judge, deciding the right and wrong of it. And then he is an advocate, fighting to have his own view adopted.

In the instance of H.R. 9900, the men of Ways and Means got their chance to fight for what they believed to be right and proper in executive session, a meeting closed to the public. Here, seated about green, felt-covered tables arranged into a hollow square, the members did battle for 22 days. They carved through the mass of testimony, the mountains of statistics, the welter of opinion—shaping it all into a single, living bill. Their 34 closed-door sessions made days in Rome's Coliseum seem rather mild. For every argument, a counterargument; for every reason in favor, one against. Congressman went after Congressman with sword and shield. They parried and thrust. They persuaded. They soothed. And, more than once, they shouted.

Each committee member is caught continually in crosstides of emotions and ideas rippling from place to place, person to person across the land. Each has his own views. Yet each is trying to do the best thing; the right thing.

All their hammering and testing and proving did, indeed, leave its mark on H.R. 9900. Subtle refinements were gradually made. Phrases were added. Words shifted. Paragraphs rewritten. Subsections changed Sentences deleted. By the time the bill reached its final draft, it had assumed a whole new face and form. So new, in fact, that the committee re-christened their rendition H.R. 11970—a fresh, clean bill. And on June 4 in a final voice vote—20 Members in favor, 5 against—Ways and Means proudly reported it out to the House for action. The 82 crisp pages of 17,000 words in large black type spelled, for them, the culmination of one of the most difficult lawmaking efforts ever attempted. And they spelled, for people these men would never even know or see, an important change in their lives.

When Ways and Means speaks, the House listens. For the committee commands the oldest and one of the most eminent domains

in all of Congress. Ways and Means presides over a tax system grown mammoth not merely in size but as an instrument for regulating everything from narcotics to national growth. By custom, the measures it offers to the House are usually voted on exactly as they stand; the Congress votes them up or down without amendment.

The final showdown on H.R. 11970 comes late in June before a tense, expectant House. Congressmen crowd into their historic Chamber. Visitors cram the galleries. Debate—eloquent, detailed, searching, exhaustive, persuasive, powerful—continues for 8 hours. Then, a time of culmination: the long roll-call begins. By the time it is finished, the vote reads 299 yeas, 125 nays. H.R. 11970, a monumental lawmaking achievement, passes the House by an overwhelming majority. Now its authors, the members of House Ways and Means, could begin all over again, perhaps a bit wearily, on their next problem.

There is, for these men, never an end. During the last Congress this "second House" had some 2,156 bills referred to it—nearly a quarter of all public bills introduced in the House. At the close of business last summer Ways and Means had pending before it 850 tax measures, 351 social security measures, 258 tariff measures, and 42 miscellaneous measures—the unfinished matters piled up in a single 9-month session. And the legislative tide sweeps in deeper each day.

How in the world does a Congressman keep up with it all? Along with his whole committee burden he's got a furious lot of things on his mind—floor votes, study, conferences, research, visitors, pressures, speeches, reports, lobbyists, interviews, meetings, the voter, the State, the Nation, the world. And the ceaseless command of his own conscience to do what he believes is right.

Legend to the contrary, the hard and simple fact of a Congressman's life is that he works for his $22,500 a year. He's on the Hill late and soon. He gulps his lunch. He takes on problems so complicated they can hardly be described. And he knows that no matter how hard he tries, he'll never get everything done.

"When Congress is wrong," Will Rogers used to say, "we charge it to habit." But perhaps the proudest point to be made about a Congressman is that he is merely human. He does not pretend to know everything. He makes mistakes. And, more than we sometimes know, he needs and wants the help of the people "back home."

It is the voice of these people—the men and women and families and laborers and shopkeepers and wage earners and all the uncounted who are human enough to hope and to want and to dream—it is their voice he most needs to hear.

For Congress, resplendent beneath the Capitol's great white dome, is nothing more nor less than a dialogue. A personal conversation between the representatives and the people. An American "town meeting" in the purest sense: people finding their own way by leading themselves.

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[From "Steering Wheel of the House" by Charles B. Seib in the March 18 issue of the New York Times magazine]

The Constitution of the United States provides that all legislation dealing with the raising of Federal funds must originate in the House of Representatives. And the rules of the House provide that all such legislation must originate in its Committee on Ways and Means.

That, very simply, is why 24 Congressmen and 1 Congresswoman, who make up the House Ways and Means Committee today, control the fate of the Kennedy administration's 1962 legislative program. For each of the big three items of that program—tariff reform, tax reform, and medical care for the aged—falls within the broad limits of the House's—and the committee's—jurisdiction over revenue legislation. That jurisdiction covers all bills dealing with taxes and tariffs, all public-assistance and social security matters, all measures on Government bond interest rates and the national debt, unemployment compensation, the narcotics laws, and more.

The Ways and Means Committee is no newcomer to the legislative big time, of course. During the youth of the Republic it was the seedbed of measures for both raising and spending Federal funds. As its chairman, Thaddeus Stevens financed the Civil War.

In 1865 the House shunted appropriations and banking-and-currency functions over to new committees but Ways and Means, its broad revenue-raising functions intact, continued as one of the power centers of Congress. Its chairmanship always has been coveted; three Presidents-to-be—James K. Polk, Millard Fillmore, and William McKinley—headed the committee and many of its other chairmen and members went on to become Senators, Governors, and Cabinet members.

Even so, Ways and Means has seldom held the steering wheel as firmly as it does today on so large and vital a part of an administration legislative program. It will be making far-reaching foreign policy decisions as it molds and modifies President Kennedy's request for broad new tariff-cutting authority to help him deal with the European Common Market. It will make significant changes in the tax system with a bill which includes credits for business investment and a tougher attitude on expense accounts and the taxation of dividends and interest. In considering the controversial Kennedy plan for medical care for the aged under social security it will have to decide whether to lead the Nation into a vast new welfare activity.

All through the rest of this session of Congress the committee will work long and hard on these matters. Sitting at the handsomely carved bench in their stately hearing room, its members will listen to an almost endless parade of witnesses. Then they will move down to the green felt-covered tables before the bench and will spend weeks in closed-door conferences with their technical experts, discussing, arguing, drafting, and redrafting. Through it all they will be subjected to constant pressure by lobbyists from the White House and the Government departments; business, farm, and labor organizations; medical, old people's, and miscellaneous groups, and their own congressional colleagues.

And as the months pass the committee will bring forth, one by one, the bills it considers right and proper. Only then will it be known just how the White House's big three have fared. House passage, consideration by the Senate Finance Committe, and Senate passage will still lie ahead, of course. But when Ways and Means is involved the first hurdle is the big one.

The membership of this powerful committee is representative of the membership of the House, with a few important differences. The average Ways and Means member is a degree more able than the average House Member and he has a bit more seniority. By virtue of these attributes, and the fact of his committee seat he also has more prestige; he is a Member of the House elite. If one were to draw a political dividing line through the center of the House, our composite Ways and Means member would be found a little to the right of it.

Chairman of the committee is 52-year-old WILBUR DAIGH MILLS, a stocky, ruddy Harvard Law School graduate from Kensett, Ark. The ranking Republican is crusty, conservative NOAH MASON, a 79-year-old former school principal from Oglesby, Ill. A power on the Democratic side is HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana, the new party whip. Other Decomcrats include 83-year-old TOM O'BRIEN, former sheriff of Cook County and leader of Illinois Democrats in the House; A. SYDNEY HERLONG, Jr., a Leesburg, Fla., lawyer and former president of the Florida Baseball League; cocky, tough little Philadelphia Democratic boss WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.; and courtly JOHN C. WATTS, a lawyer from Jessamine County, Ky.

The most influential Republican is JOHN BYRNES, a young Wisconsin lawyer and chairman of the House Republican policy committee. Other GOP members include erudite TOM CURTIS, a lawyer from St. Louis; ultra conservative BRUCE ALGER, a Texas real estate developer; and JAMES B. UTT, a onetime citrus grower and inheritance tax appraiser from Santa Ana, Calif.

The newest member and first woman to serve on the committee is MARTHA WRIGHT GRIFFITHS, a liberal Democratic lawyer and former judge from Detroit.

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[From "Where the Laws Are Really Made," by Vincent J. Burke, in the February 24 issue of the New York World-Telegram & Sun]

WASHINGTON.—Bringing his automobile to a slow stop, the tourist cranked down the window and pointed to the white-domed U.S. Capitol.

"That's where they make the laws," he told his wife.

"Did you suppose," she replied in icy tones, "that I didn't know that?"

In a sense, the tourists were right. No bill can become law without approval of the 437-Member House and the 100-Member Senate which legislate in separate Chambers at opposite ends of the Capitol.

In another sense, they were looking in the wrong direction. President Kennedy's aids and most of the high-paid lobbyists in this town have their sights trained these days not on the Capitol, but a marble seven-story Congressional Office Building across the street from the Capitol.

There, in a 68- by 70-foot room on the first floor, a group of 24 men and 1 woman meet almost daily, in open session, to hear views of countless groups or behind closed doors to deliberate and vote.

These 25 persons have virtual make-or-break powers over a major share of President Kennedy's legislative program this year. They comprise the House Ways and Means Committee.

Pending before the committee are Mr. Kennedy's controversial trade bill, his disputed plan to provide medical care for the elderly through the social security program, his tax revision program and his proposed welfare reforms.

However, without a green light from Ways and Means the President has almost no chance to get any of these bills enacted. Moreover, the committee will wield major influence in shaping any legislation that is enacted in these fields.

The Ways and Means Committee's vast power over Mr. Kennedy's 1962 legislative program stems from three sources: (1) The U.S. Constitution; (2) the rules of the House; and (3) long-standing House practice and tradition.

First, the Constitution says that all new revenue legislation, or revisions in old revenue laws, must originate in the House. Trade, medical care, tax, and welfare bills fall into this category.

Second, under rules of the House, the Ways and Means Committee has the sole power to draft revenue bills.

Third, under long-standing practice the House almost invariably imposes upon itself restrictions against floor amendments when considering revenue legislation. The announced reason for this is that tax legislation is too complex to be written on the

floor. Another reason frequently cited—not particularly flattering to the Members—is that the House, in an irresponsible mood, might repeal much of the taxes upon which the Federal Government depends for its revenue, if opportunity arose.

In any event, the House almost invariably agrees to consider revenue bills under a procedure which (1) bars all but one amendment, and (2) puts that amendment into the hands of the minority party.

What this means is that once a bill has cleared Ways and Means, administration forces are powerless to revamp it on the House floor, to make it more acceptable to the White House.

By making advance concessions and compromises to tailor measures to House passage, shifting majorities of 13 or more members of Ways and Means have managed for many years to dictate exact terms of House policy on social security, tax, and trade legislation.

The 25 members of the committee as now constituted, generally fall into three groups. There are eight northern Democrats. They range in seniority from second ranking Representative CECIL R. KING of California, to Representative MARTHA GRIFFITHS, of Michigan, who recently became the first woman to serve on the committee. The eight, generally can be counted upon to support the Kennedy administration on most major issues.

Representative HALE BOGGS, Democrat of Louisiana, was the only committee member outside this northern Democratic group who voted to extend the social security program into the field of medical care when the proposal was defeated on a 16 to 9 vote in 1960. Representative BOGGS, a leading supporter of the Kennedy liberal trade program, recently moved into the hierarchy of the House Democratic leadership with his appointment as party whip.

There are 10 Republicans on the committee. They range from moderate-conservative to ultra-conservative. The panel's most influential Republican—articulate, aggressive Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, Republican of Wisconsin—ranks second in seniority. He is chairman of the House GOP policy committee. Representative NOAH MASON, Republican of Illinois, the senior committee Republican, is retiring from Congress after this session.

There are seven Democrats from border and Southern States, including committee chairman WILBUR D. MILLS, Democrat of Arkansas, Even without Representative BOGGS, this group of usually conservative lawmakers has six votes, enough to wield the balance of power. * * *

Because he can influence members of this group, because he is a serious student of the issues and because of his skill in compromise, Representative MILLS usually holds the key to committee action on controversial issues. This is why President Kennedy had a private presession chat with him about his legislation program even before he consulted with Democratic leaders of the House and Senate.

## The Honorable James C. Davis

SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in paying tribute to our beloved colleague, JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia. I regret that the House will lose the vast knowledge, experience, and service of this able legislator next session.

I have the very highest regard for Judge DAVIS, both as a colleague and friend. I have never met a man more dedicated to serving the interests of the people than JIM DAVIS. He has spent the most productive years of his life in their service, always vigilant in the protection of individual liberty and freedom. The American way of life and its preservation is a religion in this great statesman's life, second only to his service to God.

The people of Georgia and the Nation can forever be proud of his service and accomplishments. His matchless understanding, attention to minute detail, accuracy of information and honest frankness on all matters, whether great or small, caused an immense demand for his advice and counsel by all who know and respect him.

My very best wishes and warmest personal regards go with Judge DAVIS as he leaves his place of service in the House. He deserves the plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." I know his love for and service to our country will be no less devoted in his retirement.

## A Eulogy of the Late Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

### HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with sad and heavy hearts that his colleagues learned of the tragic and untimely death of CLEM MILLER. And in the quiet void that his absence leaves us, we take stock of the man whose final measure we will never know.

I entered the 86th Congress as a freshman with CLEM. In our close work together, we found a harmony of spirit and purpose that drew us to one another. Perhaps it was the battles we fought and lost more than those we won that drew us together. But always CLEM's high sense of duty and honor set the guideposts. The little man always had him as a champion, the unpopular cause as an ally. And through all he did to promote the best interests of his Nation and the State of California, he had the prescience to leave us, his colleagues in Congress, a compilation of his thoughts and ideas concerning our own duties. CLEM's "Member of the House" will forever remain with me as the embodiment of the true representative of the people.

I join with the Members of the House and the Senate in paying this tribute to the memory of a great man. To Katherine Miller and CLEM's daughters, words are hollow things—but thank you for sharing him with us.

## Airline Errors Cause 90 Percent of the No-Show Passenger Problem, but the Passenger, Not the Airline, Still Pays the No-Show Penalty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, Chairman Boyd in indicating his approval of the continuance of the "no-show plan of passenger assessments," despite the fact that the trial period for this experimental program has not expired, has shown a gross disregard of the traveling public.

To buttress the position that this program has been a failure, I would call attention to the Wall Street Journal of October 10, 1962, which points out the fallacies of Boyd's position:

AIRLINE ERRORS CAUSE 90 PERCENT OF THE NO-SHOW PASSENGER PROBLEM—CANCELLATIONS OFTEN ARE NOT RECORDED; BUT PENALTY TEST IS EXPECTED TO BE EXTENDED

(By James Harwood)

WASHINGTON.—Instead of nabbing scads of unreliable travelers, the much-heralded penalty plan for no-show airline passengers is demonstrating that 90 percent of the industry's problem has been its own doing.

Starting last May, major airlines imposed fines of 50 percent of the ticket price, with a $5 minimum and a $40 maximum, on passengers failing to honor their reservations. The plan's operation has revealed:

The airlines' good-sized lists of absentees have included many names of passengers who actually canceled out but weren't checked off by reservation clerks.

The records include numerous instances where one airline has simply failed to connect passengers to another line's plane on time; these, too, have been counted as no-shows.

The results show real absentees have been equal to less than 1 percent of all passengers who have boarded planes. That's a far cry from the 10-percent rate often mentioned in the past.

SOME LINES HAIL SUCCESS

Airline and Government officials who fostered the cash-penalty plan aren't hailing this embarrassing intelligence, of course. Quite the contrary. With some carriers citing the plan's "success," 11 major airlines recently voted to continue the program beyond the October 31 expiration date of the original trial. The Civil Aeronautics Board, which backs the plan to boost ailing airline finances, blessed its results as "beneficial." The Board claims it has cut no-shows from a number equal to 9.8 percent of all passengers boarded in April to 6.9 percent in July; no later figures have been compiled. The Board is expected to approve extension of the experiment.

Behind the "hurrahs," however, lies disenchantment. One CAB official says, "The passenger-created no-show problem was a myth." A Board member is reconsidering his original vote in favor of the plan. And at the same meeting where the carriers voted to continue the scheme, few industry spokesmen exhibited exuberance at results so far. One airline official dubs it a "phony." All this casts doubt on the plan's performance.

Since absentees who cancel reservations or fail to make connections through airline delays naturally don't have to pay penalties, experts got a good idea of the true extent of the no-show problem by totaling the fines actually levied. Last July, the number of assessments was less than $26,000, equal to only 6.9 percent of the nearly 4 million passengers who actually flew then. This was roughly one-tenth of the 6.9 percent no-show rate quoted by the CAB for that month. The remaining nine-tenths were probably traceable to airline errors, experts say.

MANY ERRONEOUS BILLS

Airline errors also have raised a question of whether the real assessment rate may not be lower yet. For example, airlines mailed out no-show penalty bills totaling $957,176 in the first 3 months of the experiment, but collected only $26,660. Checking, the CAB discovered that many mailed bills were "erroneous"—probably more than 50 percent, say airline and CAB officials.

If most absentees are truly innocent, as first figures suggest, there's a distinct possibility the Board will eventually junk or severely alter the penalty plan. Public complaints, which so far have been light, might mount in light of new disclosures, forcing the CAB to change course. Equally important is the possibility that penalties might drive away airline passengers at a time when the CAB is straining to put the industry in better shape.

More than a year ago, a CAB staff report warned that penalties are palatable only if passengers are at fault, adding "there is a strong incentive from a sales standpoint to keep the demands upon a customer at an absolute minimum." Further, said the staff: "If the no-show is predominantly the result of record error, improvement in recordkeeping rather than passenger penalty would be in order."

Even the plan's opponents, however, favor further trial. They say experience indicates there's been a general tightening of airline procedures to keep track of passengers. Even some big carriers that were prepared to pull out of the pact have been impressed a little by this result. Says a spokesman for one of these carriers:

"We maintained originally that airlines, not passengers, were causing no-shows. The only thing that surprises us now is that first reports show airlines cause 90 percent of no-shows; we estimated 80 percent. But the plan is at least showing some effect in improving reservation systems."

## The Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, I will miss the great chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, to whose committee I was appointed on my election to Congress, first term, 1960. His consistent kindnesses were appreciated by me then, and I regret that advancing age and infirmities have forced his retirement from the Congress that he has graced for so many years. I have learned a lot from him, and I hope to return to take advantage of some of the lessons.

Other members of the committee, who have served so much longer, have been more intimate over the years, but my impressions of Mr. BRENT SPENCE will be as lasting as theirs.

## The 87th Congress Has Constructive and Impressive Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the 87th Congress has an impressive record and has made a great contribution to the national welfare. In my weekly newsletter, "Capitol Comments," I have summarized some of the important actions of this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include this report to the people of the great Fourth District of Tennessee in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The newsletter follows:

THE 87TH CONGRESS HAS CONSTRUCTIVE AND IMPRESSIVE RECORD

The 87th Congress, which is now largely history, has compiled an impressive record of achievements and accomplishments and has made numerous significant contributions to the national welfare.

The fact that many of the accomplishments of this Congress have come slowly is to its credit. This indicates that the Congress has not been stampeded into hasty actions or quick passage of the many measures before it, but instead has considered each legislative measure carefully and extensively.

Few Congresses, if any, during this century have faced graver crises and more important decisions than the 87th. When the 87th Congress convened in January 1961, the Nation and the Congress faced great challenges and menacing problems on all fronts.

On the domestic front, the country was experiencing a severe economic slump. On the international scene, conditions were unsettled and unpromising in Berlin, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, and the Congo. In the field of space exploration and missile development, there were great doubts about just where our country stood in this strategic race and many felt we were far behind in this important area of the cold war. There was a general realization that the Nation was drifting without purpose and that we lacked leadership and a sense of direction.

Numerous steps have been taken by the 87th Congress to reverse these trends and to bolster the economy and our defenses.

These included the Area Redevelopment Act, which had previously been vetoed under another administration, and which is already bringing benefits to many counties and many citizens in the Fourth District of Tennessee. The Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act, recently passed, is designed to stimulate capital investment programs in area redevelopment areas and speed up construction of Federal, State and local public works projects. We have appropriated $500 million to speed up needed public works under this program.

One of the most significant accomplishments of the Congress has been the passage of the Trade Expansion Act—the most significant piece of trade legislation since the passage of the Cordell Hull Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in 1934. Passage of this bill should do much to stimulate foreign trade and in turn to provide new and larger markets for American-produced goods.

The Manpower Development and Training Act, which is aimed at training workers for skilled jobs in order that they may keep abreast of technological change and remain employed as automation becomes more widespread; the temporary extension of unemployment compensation to more than 2.3 million workers who had previously exhausted their benefits during the session; a measure to provide extra funds to help children whose parents were unemployed; the Housing Act, which provides for the largest home building program ever authorized in this country; the Senior Citizen Housing Act; a 5-year water pollution control program, which will benefit many of our towns and cities by enabling them to build or extend water and sewage facilities; the new drug bill to provide tighter control on the manufacturing and distribution of drugs; and a bill giving a needed boost to educational television are some of the important measures passed by this Congress.

The Congress passed an amended farm bill which generally extends the present farm control programs and includes provisions for reducing large farm surpluses while at the same time providing farmers with adequate prices for their products. Since the Democratic administration took office in January of 1961 and during the 87th Congress, net earnings of farmers already have increased by $2 billion, average income per farm is up 13 percent, the accumulation of surpluses in our warehouses and storage bins has decreased and the cost of farm programs has been correspondingly decreased.

An across-the-board increase in compensation to veterans with service-connected disabilities—those who have given the most for their country and who are disabled because of their service—is an important bill enacted by this Congress to benefit our veterans.

On the international scene, the Congress has passed resolutions stating the determination of this Nation and the Congress to prevent Castro and his Communist regime from exporting, either by open aggression or by subversion, communism to any country in the Western Hemisphere. We have reasserted freedom's stand regarding Berlin and our determination to stand by our commitments to the citizens of Berlin and West Germany.

The Congress has adopted amendments to the foreign aid or mutual assistance bills, which are designed to assure that our aid will be used for the purpose for which it is given and that it will benefit the people of the recipient countries. Waste and fat have been cut from foreign aid appropriations, tighter guidelines have been set up and more strict controls and supervision of this program established.

Three new and dramatic programs in the foreign affairs field were enacted by the 87th Congress. The Peace Corps, which already has successfully sent 5,000 young Americans into underdeveloped countries to assist in teaching, nursing, farming, and other activities, has been a great success. The food-for-peace program, which puts America's farm surplus to work feeding the hungry people of the world, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which is an attempt by Congress to work out a solution to the problem of the threat of nuclear destruction, are significant programs enacted during this session of Congress.

Important steps have been taken to build our military and defensive strength. Our capabilities to wage conventional warfare, guerrilla or counterinsurgency warfare, or

all-out nuclear warfare have been greatly increased.

On two occasions when the cold war threatened to break into a hot war over Berlin, the President asked and the Congress granted permission to call up Reserve Forces to strengthen our military might. This call-up was an important demonstration of our willingness to fight if necessary to preserve and protect our rights around the world.

Military expenditures have been increased to give us a stronger fighting force. The Polaris submarine program, which provides our country with a potent and almost invulnerable nuclear striking force, was doubled by the 87th Congress. Missile development and production was sharply stepped up and a massive space exploration program has been authorized.

The Congress has responded effectively to the many challenges on the domestic scene and on the international front. The economy has started to move forward again. Certain international hot spots, which previously threatened to burst into all-out war, have been calmed.

The Congress has concentrated on building up the Nation's total strength to meet the broad demands and great challenges at home and abroad. The complete job of assuring the continuation of freedom and liberty cannot be done by any single Congress nor even in a decade, but this Congress has begun that job and has made significant contributions toward the important goals of assuring prosperity at home while maintaining stable prices and of maintaining world peace while furthering the cause of freedom and liberty.

## The Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and California have sustained a great loss in the untimely, tragic death of our late colleague, CLEM MILLER, of the First District of California.

I know of no man who was more devoted to his duty and more sincere in his efforts to advance the cause of our country than CLEM MILLER. He gave unstintingly of himself in these efforts. His constituents can be justly proud of his unselfish dedication to their interest.

Those of us who are residents of what is known as the San Francisco Bay area will always remember Congressman CLEM MILLER for his tireless work on behalf of preserving a portion of the Pacific coastline in Marin County as the Point Reyes National Seashore. In a period when so-called urban sprawl is consuming every available open space, it is comforting to know that one part of our region has been set aside because of Congressman MILLER's efforts. There is no question but that this seashore preserve will live for the enjoyment of generations to come as a memorial to a distinguished and selfless public servant.

Additionally, Congressman CLEM MILLER had many other accomplishments to his credit. He maintained a great interest in all legislation and, particularly, those matters concerning education, public welfare, conservation, and fish and wildlife.

He is sorely missed by all and his place will not be readily filled.

## Hon. Frank Boykin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, September 19, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, the Honorable Sterling Cole, who served in this Congress for over 25 years with unsurpassed distinction, wrote the gentleman from Alabama, FRANK BOYKIN, a letter which, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith. Mr. Speaker, letters by the thousands have come to the gentleman from Alabama, FRANK BOYKIN. This bespeaks the sentiments of us all:

OCTOBER 4, 1962.

Hon. FRANK BOYKIN,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR FRANK: Today, as I looked through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday, I noted with sadness the occasion which prompted the many tributes paid to you by your associates in the House of Representatives because of your imminent departure from that body.

I doubt if ever during the period of my membership in the House did I hear or have I read more glowing tributes paid to a departing Member either during or after his service than those paid to you and none were more richly deserved. Truly you have made a lasting impression on all of those with whom you have been associated; their lives have been brightened, heartened, and enriched because of you and your memory will live with them forever.

It has been so many years ago, 27 of them, that I feel sure you may have forgotten the fact that I entered the Congress the same time as you and throughout the period of my service, until 5 years ago, I came to value your friendship among my richest treasures. I, therefore, share with all those who paid you tribute the glowing sentiments which they so eloquently expressed.

The poet Robert Browning has written: "Gone are the long slow moonlight nights of May, gone, gone are they; yet not gone, for I have them in my soul." So it is with you for me, though you may be gone from the Halls of Congress and from endless fields abloom with the friendship of nature's loveliest creations, you will not be really "gone" for I have you in my soul.

May I join your host of friends who are tearful in your imminent departure but joyous for your previous presence, in expressing deep and lasting words of thanks to you and wishes for you an abundance of good health and happiness.

Very sincerely,

STERLING COLE.

## Columbus Day Should Be a National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, Columbus Day is observed as a legal holiday in more than two-thirds of the States and is celebrated in many of our neighboring Republics. It is entirely fitting that our Federal Government should join the States and the neighboring nations in according wholehearted official national recognition to this day.

As I have told my colleagues before, the event that is marked by Columbus Day is worthy of celebration. The discovery, which in effect doubled the size of the world, is one of the major happenings of world history. Certainly no event in secular history is more calculated to stir the heart of man by the magnitude of its daring, both of conception and of execution, and by its incalculable results to mankind.

Nearly five centuries have passed since that day in 1492 when Columbus discovered the New World and inaugurated a new era in human affairs. From that day the world moved forward toward greater fredom, achievement, and opportunity.

All of us recall the many obstacles encountered by Columbus, the delays, mutiny, and threats against his life. His unconquerable spirit enabled him to carry on. Faith in divine guidance enabled him to pursue steadfastly his chosen course until he reached the shores of the New World.

Columbus Day is very definitely a day of national interest and significance, qualities which should be the first test of a national holiday. Our failure to place it in the highest category of American holidays can only be construed as an act of neglect and an example of man's ingratitude. Of all that we see around us, of all that we have, the wealth, the power and the glory, this we know: It began with this remarkable Italian explorer and it is because of him, in the first instance, that we are able to walk here on American soil today.

Despite the great advances mankind has made since the days of Columbus, serious problems still confront us. There are goals that the world has not yet reached—peace, brotherhood, justice, and human dignity for all. The attainment of these goals will require the best efforts of all of us. It will demand those qualities which placed Columbus among the immortals—vision, courage, skill, and, above all, great faith.

The observance of Columbus Day as a national holiday would serve as both a reminder and an inspiration to the people of America and the free world—a

reminder of the difficulties he faced and overcame with fortitude and perserverance and an inspiration for us to match his courage and faith in meeting the problems of our day.

It is perhaps a belated recognition of Columbus, but in this way our great Nation can pay tribute to its great discoverer and commemorate his achievement.

## A Tribute to Chairman Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the adjournment of the 87th Congress we are brought to the awareness that one of our congressional stalwarts will not return for the next session. The gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, longtime chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, has made the voluntary decision not to seek reelection, and thus he brings to a conclusion 30 years of dedicated service to his congressional district, to his State, and to his Nation.

During my tenure in Congress, I have had the opportunity of serving on the Banking and Currency Committee and thereby being exposed to the guidance and leadership of its outstanding chairman. From this point of vantage, I have observed the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE] in action. I have noted his skill, tact, and insight as he steered the course of legislation that comes under the jurisdiction of his committee. I have watched as his ideas and ideals developed into the law of the land. His understanding of the needs of the people, coupled with his powers of persuasion, has enabled him to chart the direction of financial legislation for the last quarter of a century. The soundness of our financial institutions are in many respects a tribute to his vision and foresight.

Further, I have followed him from the committee room across the street to the well of this Chamber. I have observed with respect and admiration his keenness of mind and clarity of expression as he presented to this body the issue contained in proposed legislation emanating from his committee. His capacity to absorb and retain detailed facts contributed much to mark him as one of the able debaters of this era.

While I have not always agreed with the gentleman from Kentucky's [Mr. SPENCE] political philosophy, this does not dim my high regard for his qualities of statesmanship. I am not unmindful of his characteristics of charm and graciousness usually attributed to the true Kentucky gentleman, which the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE] possesses in great abundance. The House is losing one of its truly great figures.

As many of you may know, the committee has placed an oil portrait of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE] in a place of prominence in the committee room, so that his spirit will be an inspiration to the members of the committee who continue to follow the guidelines which he laid down during his long years of public service.

## The Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the Philadelphia Inquirer and particularly Hon. Walter Annenberg, publisher, for the fine support he gave the President on the trade bill. The trade expansion bill was one of the most important pieces of legislation passed by the 87th Congress.

I would like to include a letter from the Honorable Walter Annenberg, publisher and an article which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer, Sunday, October 7, 1962, by William L. Batt, Sr., an outstanding Philadelphian.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER,
*October 8, 1962.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr.,
*House Ways and Means Committee,*
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR BILL: William Loren Batt, a Philadelphian, distinguished both in his private business and in government service, has written a uniquely pertinent letter to this newspaper on the trade bill.

Because of your great interest in this important subject, I am taking the liberty of sending you the text of his communication, as it appeared in the columns of the Philadelphia Inquirer of Sunday, October 7.

Sincerely,

WALTER ANNENBERG.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Oct. 7, 1962]

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR: BATT VIEWS VICTORY ON TRADE BILL AS ONLY HALF THE BATTLE

(The following is another uniquely pertinent letter from the distinguished elder statesman, William Loren Batt, Sr. Mr. Batt is a former president of SKF Industries, Inc., former Deputy Director of the War Production Board during the Second World War, and former chief of the Marshall plan mission to Great Britain and Minister for Economics and Finance at the U.S. Embassy in London.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INQUIRER.

DEAR SIR: Your newspaper has devoted much effort in support of the President's trade bill and is entitled to feel deep satisfaction at the almost unprecedented action of the Congress in approving this vital piece of legislation. If one is inclined, from time to time, to despair at the great difficulty in getting prompt and effective bipartisan action from our Congress on issues of the gravest import, this almost overwhelming vote will come as a heart-warming reassurance.

It is my judgment that it will literally ring around the world, bringing new inspiration to the Common Market countries, and a stimulation to Great Britain, so perplexed and uncertain as to its future policy—economic and political—toward its European neighbors and its Commonwealth partners.

On the other side, the defeat of this bill, or its passage with crippling amendments and quisling phrases, could only have given Soviet Russia the keenest satisfaction. Fifteen years ago, the Soviets made one of their great blunders—let us not forget that they make many of them—in failing to support the Marshall plan. More latterly, their vicious threat to swamp the United States in an economic war has rested on separating and dividing the trade of countries of the West.

The astounding progress of the six countries of Western Europe—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg—in designing and building this amazing structure called the Common Market, is certain to have been a shocking surprise to Khrushchev and company.

Now this booming declaration by the Congress of the United States, in emphatic support of more liberal policies in international trade, can only bring consternation in Moscow; when three-fourths of the trade of the world is seen to be firmly closed to them—and thus their opportunities for trade expansion, on which the balance of their program, political as well as economic, must ultimately rest—one can picture their dismay.

But it was not the purpose of this letter to the Inquirer to praise all those whose sharp voices admonished the Congress as to the attitude of the American people on this grave issue, and demanded action, or to indulge in too much satisfaction now that this historic step has been taken. Rather, it seems to me highly important that we do not assume the job to be done merely because the legislation for which we have worked so hard, is soon to be signed by the President, or sit back in an attitude of highly dangerous complacency.

For this trade expansion bill is, in itself, no guarantee of a new trade policy. I make this statement with all the emphasis I can, and beg of you not to disregard it. What the legislation does do, is to give the President most unusual power to reduce or raise tariffs. It does not assure either.

It places hitherto unheard of responsibility in this field, on him, but it does not assure action on his part and it does subject him to the heaviest protectionist pressure such as he has not had before. As the Congress gives up authority which it has zealously kept to itself and transfers these powers to the President, then all the political pressures for higher tariffs, quotas and similar protective devices, are transferred to particularly sensitive political shoulders.

The concessions recently made by the White House to the textile bloc, to the glass and carpet industries and more lately to the advocates of reduced imports of lumber from Canada, are some of the reasons for concern that this great blow for international peace in the economic field, shall not be used to trade out votes on domestic issues, and so completely lose the confidence of the world in our word. This is not an idle fear.

I now come to the underlying purpose of this letter and the serious warning that the battle for consistent participation in a great new world trade program by the United States is far from being won. We shall have to regard the legislative step now so significantly taken as an authorization to move ahead, but no guarantee against heavy, insistent and insidious pressure on the administration from protectionist forces still so surprisingly powerful and persistent.

The Congress did not stop, very wisely I think, with the transferrence of so much of its operating power to the Executive, but provided a piece of machinery to the President which can be of momentous value if properly used. It created the role of chief negotiator to the President as his prime agent in creating the negotiating list and in handling the vast area of discussion with our foreign trading partners.

This job, sounding so simple, is infinitely complex. One will not exaggerate if he suggests that this may well be one of the toughest jobs in Government over the next couple of years.

Every private interest which fought to amend or kill the trade bill, will be on the chief negotiator's neck urging him to hold out its particular product from the negotiating list. It may well be that his major negotiating headaches will not be with the Europeans, but with special interests in this country.

This post, therefore, calls for a man of outstanding prestige, ability and sheer courage. He must be widely known and respected. He must be the kind of man who by his firmness, his integrity, his acceptance by the reasonable business community and the public at large, can command the unswerving support of the President.

In turn the President must recognize that his failure to support such a man can carry serious political consequences for the President himself, let alone the immeasurable damage to the country's most critical international position.

This then, is the key issue: The power to take the lead in a great world revolution in peaceful trade is now broadly in the Executive hand, but specifically in the day-to-day operations of his chief negotiator.

The law does not require them to use this power, but we, the public, must. The same publicity forces the same civilian groups, the same individuals who were so responsible for changing so many minds in the Congress, must stand constant watch that this battle, which they so courageously fought, shall go on to that victory which can make such a major contribution to blocking the growth of Soviet power and building for world peace.

We must immediately make crystal clear that the man selected as chief negotiator is a man possessing as many as possible of the qualifications imperatively demanded for this job.

We in Philadelphia have sound reasons for proposing as a candidate for this post, our distinguished fellow citizen, Howard C. Petersen. (Petersen, president of the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Co., is on leave and is serving as a special assistant to the President to "advise and assist in the development of a new international trade program.")

He has been at the President's side throughout the development of this program and its progress through the Congress. He has insistently supported the ultimate goal of a bold new trade policy, and in the face of many inconsistencies from time to time in the executive branch, has steadfastly fought against yielding to political pressures. He is most certainly an expert in this field, and not an amateur.

Petersen has been an ideal public servant in other important tasks, and has had a distinguished earlier record in the Government. In my judgment, he would be a first class choice for this very arduous job.

With such a man in charge, and with the support he would have a right to expect from the President, this really momentous piece of legislation could be looked to for far-reaching economic and political results.

WILLIAM L. BATT, Sr.

## The Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, may I add just a brief word to all the tributes being paid to the memory of our tragically departed colleague CLEM MILLER.

CLEM's father and my father were close college friends more than a half century ago; his mother and father were visitors in California before their marriage where my parents were newlyweds. When CLEM came to Congress representing a district joined to mine by the Golden Gate Bridge, it brought a happy renewal of old family associations and we maintained a most pleasant social relationship from then on.

When the shocking news that his plane was missing, under circumstances which offered little hope for survival, came over the radio, it struck a personal blow to all who knew CLEM since every one of us, whether we agreed with him or not, had come to respect deeply his personal idealism and courage.

My mother, my wife, and I join in expressing to his lovely widow and five charming daughters our deep sorrow and sympathy.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH

OF

## HON. HAROLD M. RYAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the distinguished gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] upon her appointment as Treasurer of the United States.

In my short tenure of office as Congressman from the State of Michigan, I have become acquainted with her quite well and have found her to possess the qualities of leadership, friendliness and, above all, graciousness. I wish to be numbered among those who are sorry to see her leave this distinguished body, but I know that she will assume her new position in a new field of public activity with competence and effectiveness based on her ability shown in this House of Representatives.

It is with deep regret that this honorable body loses a valued Member; however, the President of the United States has full confidence in her abilities and has selected her to become our next custodian of public funds as Treasurer of the United States.

The gentlewoman from Pennsylvania has performed a tremendous service to the Nation as a Member of this House during the past 6 years. I know that she will cherish these memories as a Member of this honorable body. She has been a most loyal supporter of the Democratic Party and backed the party in its position for a strong national defense and firm foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, President Kennedy properly recognized her great services as a legislator and her great capacity to further serve our country in the position of great importance and great trust. Again, I wish to congratulate her on the attainment of this high honor and humbly pray that God continues to bless her in her new tasks.

## Polish National Alliance, Group 1484, of Indian Orchard, Mass., Observes 50th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, on September 16, 1962, the Polish National Alliance, Group 1484, of Indian Orchard, Mass., with its president, Bolac S. Midura, as chairman of the program, observed its 50th anniversary, beginning with a parade from Kosciuszko Hall to the Immaculate Conception Church where the members attended high mass. That evening a banquet was held in the Kosciuszko Ballroom and the members heard Mr. Charles Rozmarek, of Chicago, Ill., who serves in a dual capacity as president of the Polish National Alliance of America and president of the Polish American Congress of America.

Mr. Speaker, the Polish American Congress was founded at a convention held in Buffalo, N.Y., May 28–30, 1944. It unites 6 million Americans of Polish origin. It has 30 State districts or divisions in the following States: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts—eastern and western; Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey—northern and southern; New York—downstate, central and western; Ohio, Pennsylvania—eastern, northeastern, lower anthracite region and western; Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Oregon, and Washington.

During the war, the Polish American Congress, which includes the Polish National Alliance as member organization, cooperated fully with our Government toward victory in the war. And all the while, it sought for Poland its freedom and independence, through every legitimate means. Every effort was made to bring Poland's cause to the consciousness of America. Everything said and done in defense of Poland and her cause was in full conviction that at the same time America's aims and cause were being defended, too.

The Polish American Congress through its president, Charles Rozmarek, presented many resolutions, memorandums, and declarations of policy to America's leaders, Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy, Secretaries of State Hull, Stettinius, Byrnes, Marshall, Achison, Dulles, Herter and Rusk, and to Members of the U.S. Congress.

President Rozmarek headed a delegation to the United Nations San Francisco meeting, and he and three other members of the executive board of the Polish American Congress attended the Paris conference and made a 13-week tour of Polish displaced persons camps in Western Europe. While abroad, Mr. Rozmarek held numerous press conferences and personally conferred with leaders and diplomats of democratic countries in Paris and London.

The Polish American Congress has from the beginning opposed injustice and sacrificing of principles for passing expediency. Today, it continues its work along these same lines, but it places a priority on preserving our American way of life by counteracting subversive activities in this country.

Mr. Speaker, the aims and objectives of the Polish American Congress are:

First. To give complete support to the Government of the United States in its efforts to win a just peace in accord with the principles of the Atlantic Charter;

Second. To unify action of Americans of Polish descent within the lawful limitation of their rights and duties as citizens of this country;

Third. To inform impartially the American public of Poland's historic role, her aims and needs;

Fourth. To advocate closer and deeper cooperation of American democracy with the democracy of Poland, in the fields of civic, ideological, cultural and social-economic life;

Fifth. To draft and apply a constructive program of activities for the welfare of Americans of Polish descent, with the view of raising their material well-being through increasing the ranks of their fraternal, professional, ideological and other associations, and through general support of Polish industry and trade in America;

Sixth. To support—within the laws of our country—all actions to bring about independence with true democracy to the people of Poland; and

Seventh. To counteract all subversive movements aiming at destruction of our American way of life.

## Tribute to Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying a tribute of honor and respect to the gentleman from Kentucky, Hon. BRENT SPENCE, who is soon to retire from his labors here in Congress and participate in some well-deserved rest and quietude out there in the realm of the unknown future.

BRENT SPENCE is a man of honor, dignity, character, and compassion. To know him is to love him, and certainly he has made his very lasting and most valuable contribution to all those lives he has touched both here in Washington and back in Kentucky. The Bible tells us in one verse of the Scriptures that "a good man out of the treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things." Congressman SPENCE has brought forth many good things out of the rich treasure of his kind and generous heart. It is fitting also to say that the magnitude of this man's mind matches the goodness of his heart. During these last few years we remember that his steps have been faltering at times. Yet his mind has continued right on to scintillate with erudition and those qualities of abiding culture that have characterized him in his former years. Someone said, "My mind to me a kingdom is." And if a man's mind can in reality be his kingdom, then the Spence domain has been one of rich proportions during the long years of his personal and political pilgrimage.

Both Republicans and Democrats honor this man, both northern and southern Kentuckians pay him homage, and all of us in total unison and with our spirits harmonized in complete accord wish for BRENT SPENCE the happiness and longevity that may be allotted to him by the Master of all good Congressmen, the Lord of Hosts, the God of our great Nation.

## Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I learned the sad news of the tragic death of our colleague, the Honorable CLEM MILLER, of California.

It is difficult to believe that a man so young and energetic will be with us no more. But the memory of CLEM MILLER will remain with us always in our hearts and minds.

He was a tireless worker for his district. He was a great servant of all the people. He was a man of the highest integrity and moral character. He was a dedicated champion of progressive, liberal, and humanitarian legislation.

One of the great privileges in serving as a Member of this body is to have the opportunity of being associated and serve with a man of the caliber and stature of CLEM MILLER.

To his widow and his five daughters, I express deepest sympathy on their great loss. I join with all of my colleagues in sharing their grief and sorrow.

A fitting tribute to CLEM MILLER was paid in an editorial in the Washington Post of October 11, which I include herewith:

CLEM MILLER

Representative CLEM MILLER's death in an airplane crash on Sunday seems especially shocking because it occurred so much in the midst of life, and of a life full of usefulness and promise. He was engaged, indeed, in campaigning for reelection to Congress and was flying to keep a campaign engagement when death claimed him. An exceptionally able, attractive, and progressive legislator, Mr. MILLER, after two terms as Representative for the First District of California, had already won esteem and influence among the younger Members of the House. His integrity and conscience and good sense will be missed in Congress as well as in his home State.

## The WEN Corp. Wins the Coveted "E" Award for Export Initiative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I take this opportunity to call the attention of my colleagues to a significant ceremony which recently took place in my district.

On October 9, WEN Products, Inc., a dynamic and expanding industry in the 11th District of Illinois, received the coveted "E for Export" flag from the Department of Commerce in national recognition of the tremendous forward-looking strides taken by this company in contributing to our national export program.

I might add with no small degree of pride that WEN Products is one of the first industrial firms in Chicago to receive this highly coveted award.

In ceremonies attended by dignitaries from the Federal Government, the State government and local officials of Chicago, the main plant at 5810 Northwest Highway raised the blue and white "E" flag beside the Stars and Stripes.

These "E" flags are awarded for exceptional progress and success in helping to promote U.S. trade throughout the world. The award grants to the recipient manufacturer the exclusive privilege of flying the symbolic pennant with the large "E" on it and the wearing of "E" flag lapel pins. During World War II, as some of my colleagues will remember, the "E" award was granted to various individual firms for excellence in defense production.

I am happy to say that President Kennedy, with his great concern for expanding world trade and his interest in seeking new markets for American products abroad, reactivated this program for the Government's national export expansion program.

WEN Products is a large manufacturer of electric portable tools for the home craftsman and the professional. Undoubtedly, many of my colleagues here today are familiar with this trade name and with its reputation for quality and integrity. The tools consist of a large number of items: all-purpose and free-hand operating saws, soldering guns, sanders, shavers, two-speed drills, saber saws, and accessories. WEN Products are used in the electronic, automotive, homebuilding, hardware, woodworking, and industrial fields.

The citation from the Department of Commerce, after consultation with the Labor Department, the Interior and Agriculture Departments, and the Small Business Administration, stated that WEN had more than doubled its exports of electric portable tools and rotary shavers. In addition, the firm has participated readily and with ingenuity in

various trade fairs and tool exhibitions sponsored by the Department of Commerce throughout the world.

Earlier in this Congress, I sponsored legislation which would provide for a mobile trade fair on a moving fleet of merchant ships which would actively and aggressively seek out new world markets for American products. I sponsored this legislation with small companies such as WEN Products in mind. These industries have repeatedly demonstrated that they can compete on a global scale, given the opportunity to bring their products to the attention of buyers in other countries.

Unfortunately, the costs of transporting exhibits of products of smaller manufacturers to these world markets have often been prohibitive. Under the provisions of my proposal, these financial problems would largely be solved.

The House and Senate have approved this program of mobile trade fairs and I am confident we will see a very marked resurgence of America's ability to compete with products in other countries. We have the talent, the resources, the ingenuity, and now the opportunity to compete abroad.

This presentation of an "E" flag to WEN Products heralds a new era of American trade expansion and development. I am proud to represent a company which has so willingly accepted the challenge of the 1960's. American trade expansion in world markets means more job opportunities for all Americans.

My heartfelt congratulations to the men and women of WEN Products, Inc. It is talent and teamwork, such as they have demonstrated, which have made our American industrial complex the mighty competitive giant that it is.

## Columbus Day Observation by United Italian-American Societies and Clubs of Greater Springfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, today as we approach the sine die adjournment of the 87th Congress, Columbus Day is being joyously observed in communities all over the United States. One of the most colorful of these parades is held in my home city of Springfield, Mass., sponsored by the United Italian-American Societies and Clubs of Greater Springfield. I had accepted an invitation to participate in this great event, but regretfully could not attend this afternoon because of wind up of this session of Congress. I do hope to be able to arrive in Springfield by tomorrow night to attend the Columbus Day banquet sponsored by the United Italian-American Societies and Clubs of Greater Springfield, presided over by Dr. Alfred H. Cola, at the municipal auditorium.

Mr. Speaker, 470 years ago Christopher Columbus, with his few sailors in three ships, broke down the barrier of ignorance and fear that separated the New World from the Old. Until the fear was braved and beaten back, until the ignorance was dispelled by experiment, no one, not even Columbus himself, knew that a territory as vast as the then known world lay waiting for exploration, for colonization, for exploitation or cultivation, and for the Christianizing and civilizing of the natives. Out of Columbus' bold imagination and brave deed have come the centuries of agony and triumph, of conflict and construction, of the constant effort to reconcile liberty with law, that have marked the progress of our hemisphere.

If we have built something good out of the nations of the New World; if we have contributed to man's material comfort and his mastery of his natural surroundings; if we have helped men learn to work together in freedom, in the service of God and for the common good; if we of the New World have accomplished anything of value, it is fitting that we pay tribute, on this day, to the one man whose courage and vision lie behind all that we are, behind all that we have done or can do. May we be heirs worthy of the heritage we have received from this bold spirit.

## The Honorable Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to express my regret that our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, is terminating her service in the House of Representatives at the close of the present Congress.

During her term of service she has made a place for herself as a respected and influential Member of the House. It is gratifying to all of us that she will continue to serve the Nation as Treasurer of the United States.

I am sure that I express the concensus of the House of Representatives when I state that it has been a privilege to be associated with her and that all of us have benefited from her presence among us.

She has represented the people of her district in an outstanding manner while giving the fullest consideration and highest priority at all times to the national interest and the well-being of her fellow Americans throughout the Nation.

I want to congratulate Mrs. GRANAHAN on her new appointment and to assure her of the continued friendship of the House. We hope she will be a frequent visitor to the House Chamber where she will always find a warm welcome.

## Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 3, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the annals of our American history, no date is more readily recalled, no date more easily remembered, than October 12, 1492.

This date has a unique significance for me because it is also the birthday of my small son. As he grows older, I hope he will acquire a realization of the great adventures which are so much a part of our American history; a history which begins with the monumental achievement of the greatest visionary of the 15th century.

It has been 470 years to the day since Christopher Columbus and the handful of men who sailed with him from Spain beached their frail landing craft on the sands of the New World. Their battles against hunger, disease, superstition, and the prejudice of centuries are familiar to all of us. We have read and reread these chronicles since childhood, for they are among the noblest and most exciting in our history.

It is appropriate that Italy, which brought Europe out of the Dark Ages and produced a resurgence of art, literature, and science should have produced the man of vision who was so eager to explore the unchartered depths beyond the horizon.

The perseverance and devotion to an ideal which characterized Columbus' voyage gave us the perfect foundation on which to base our national goals. He was our first pioneer, if—after these 470 years—we can now claim him for our own. He faced an unknown more terrifying than any of the gallant explorers who followed him, and he met and was equal to the challenge.

The Americans of Italian descent who have come to this Nation since that time have inherited and transmitted this undaunted spirit of Christopher Columbus. Their history of bravery in battle, their musical and cultural accomplishments which have brought renown to all of us, their leadership in Government and participation in community affairs have helped America to expand until it is truly a representative government composed of individuals of divergent backgrounds, all of whom have contributed immeasurably to the fabric which constitutes our American way of life.

And, as I wish a happy birthday to my son on this October 12, I also feel a debt of gratitude to the kind providence which shared with him a day of such rewarding adventure and such promise.

My only regret, as we observe this anniversary today, is that because of my official duties here in Washington while Congress remains in session, I could not participate personally in the huge parade which was held in Chicago this forenoon. This impressive tribute to Columbus staged in Chicago by the Italian-American community, in cooperation

with all the people of Chicago, manifests once again the high regard we Americans hold for Christopher Columbus.

## Ecumenical Councils

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, September 20, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, the Ecumenical—general—Council is one which is summoned by the Pope, presided over by him or his legates, and attended by the persons specified in Canon 223 of the Code of Canon Law. The actions of such a council are concerned with matters related to faith, morals, divine worship, and discipline in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs and in the lives of the clergy, religious and laity.

An Ecumenical Council derives its authority from the Pope, and its decrees have binding force in virtue of their confirmation and promulgation by him. There is no appeal from the Pope to an Ecumenical Council. If the Pope should die during a council, it would be automatically suspended until reconvoked by another Pope.

Attendants at a council with a deliberative vote are: cardinals; residential patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, even if they are not yet consecrated; abbots and prelates nullius; an abbot primate, abbot superiors of monastic congregations and heads of exempt cleric religious; titular bishops, on invitation. Experts in theology and canon law may be invited to attend and given a consultative vote.

The first 8 Ecumenical Councils were held in the east; the other 12, in the west. The separated eastern churches recognize the ecumenical character of the first seven.

Several emperors were active in the summoning of early Ecumenical Councils. Their action added nothing to the ecumenical nature of the councils which, as stated above, derives from the confirmation of the Pope.

Although it may appear that the councils have been principally concerned with the negative work of condemning errors against the faith, they have also performed the important, positive task of clarifying and making explicit the meaning of truths implicitly contained in the deposit of revelation.

First. Nicaea I, 325: St. Sylvester I; condemned Arianism, which denied the divinity of Christ; formulated the Nicene Creed.

Second. Constantinople I, 381: St. Damascus I; condemned Arianism, Semi-Arianism and Macedonianism; reaffirmed the Nicene Creed.

Third. Ephesus, 431: St. Celestine I; condemned Nestorianism, which denied that Mary is the Mother of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity made Man; condemned Pelagianism.

Fourth. Chalcedon, 451: St. Leo I; condemned Monophysitism, also called Eutychianism, which held that Christ had only one, the divine, nature. The heresy denied the humanity of Christ.

Fifth. Constantinople II, 553: Vigilius; condemned Nestorian errors contained in writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyprus and Ibas of Edessa.

Sixth. Constantinople III, 680–81: St. Agatho, St. Leo II; condemned Monothelitism, which held that there was only one will, the divine, in Christ.

Seventh. Nicaea II, 787: Adrian I; condemned Iconoclasm, which held that the use of images was idolatry; and Adoptionism, which contended that Christ was not the Son of God by nature but by adoption.

Eighth. Constantinople IV, 869: Adrian II; condemned Iconoclasm; deposed Photius as Patriarch of Constantinople and restored Ignatius to the patriarchate.

Ninth. Lateran I, 1123: Callistus II; first general council held in the west, it endorsed provisions of the Concordat of Worms concerning the investiture of prelates.

Tenth. Lateran II, 1139: Innocent II; adopted measures against the schism organized by antipope Anacletus; issued disciplinary decrees.

Eleventh. Lateran III, 1179: Alexander III; enacted measures against the Waldenses and Albigensians; provided that popes should be elected by a two-thirds vote of the cardinals.

Twelfth. Lateran IV, 1215: Innocent III; issued significant reform decrees; ordered annual confession and Easter Communion; made first official use of the term "transubstantiation."

Thirteenth. Lyons I: Innocent IV; considered measures against Frederick II.

Fourteenth. Lyons II, 1274: bl. Gregory X; accomplished a temporary reunion of the Eastern dissidents with the Western Church.

Fifteenth. Vienne, 1311–12; Clement V; condemned a number of errors; suppressed the Knights Templar.

Sixteenth. Constance, 1414–18: Gregory XII, Martin V; the Western Schism was ended during this Council, which also condemned Wycliff and Hus and issued reform decrees.

Seventeenth. Florence, 1438–43: Eugene IV; reaffirmed the primacy of the Pope against the claims of the Conciliarists that a general council is superior to the Pope; attempted to bring about a lasting union of the Eastern dissidents with the Western Church.

Eighteenth. Lateran V, 1512–17: Julius II, Leo X; defined the relation of the Pope to a general council; condemned errors regarding the nature of the human soul.

Nineteenth. Trent, 1545–63: Paul III, Julius III, Pius IV; issued canons and decrees stating Catholic belief on matters of faith and practice which were under attack by the reformers; mobilized the counter-reformation.

Twentieth. Vatican, 1869–70: Pius IX; defined the dogma of papal infallibility.

Each Ecumenical Council is named for the place in which it is held. These places, with their modern identifications, are: Nicaea, the city of Nicaea in Asia Minor, now the town of Isnik, in Turkey; Constantinople, the city of Constantinople, now Istanbul, in Turkey; Ephesus, the city of Ephesus in Asia Minor, now a ruin, near the modern town of Aya Soluk, in Turkey; Chalcedon, the city of Chalcedon in Asia Minor, near Constantinople, now Kadikoi, in Turkey; Lateran, the Lateran palace in Rome (first to fourth Lateran Councils), and the Lateran basilica and palace (fifth Lateran Council); Lyons, the city of Lyons or Lyon in France; Vienne, the city of Vienne in France; Constance, the city of Konstanz in Germany; Florence, the city of Firenze in Italy; Trent, the city of Trento in Italy; Vatican, St. Peter's Church in the Vatican.

Source of Facts—National Catholic Almanac, 1962.

## A Brief, Sincere Tribute to a Great Lady

SPEECH
OF
### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, with each session of the Congress that passes into history we must endure the departure from amongst us of some of our most beloved and respected colleagues. Sometimes, such departures are occasions of grief, for we shall no longer ever see some of those colleagues on this earth. At other times, they are occasions of sadness, that the political tide we must all breast has for the moment overcome them. Then, there are those times when while we regret the loss to this great body, we are gratified and proud that our former colleague will continue to serve our Nation and her citizens with the same dedicated, effective effort, though in a new capacity.

So it is today.

Since her arrival in the House, I have been privileged to know the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania. Even before her arrival as our colleague, I was privileged, for in the 7½ years of my service before KATHRYN joined us, I knew her as the lovely, gracious lady of the distinguished late gentleman from Pennsylvania, William T. Granahan. Bill Granahan was one of the truly great young veterans who helped me when I first came to the House. He was a dear friend, a valued, respected counselor. And to have known him and served with him could not but generate a predisposition to respect KATHRYN when she was elected to take his place.

Immediately, however, KATHRYN won our admiration and respect on her own merits alone. On domestic legislation, or that on foreign policy, she has firmly, unflinchingly supported bills that will maintain our Nation as the leader of the free world, while giving to all our citizens the rights that are properly theirs. On the floor, or in her committees, KATHRYN has been one of our most courageous, effective leaders.

Now she leaves us. But thankfully, she will not be far away. On some recommendations and actions by the President and his Secretary of the Treasury there has not always been unanimous approbation from both sides of the aisle. In selecting KATHRYN GRANAHAN to be Treasurer of the United States, I know, however, that the President and the Secretary have the genuine congratulations of all our colleagues.

We shall miss you, KATHRYN. We look forward to seeing you soon, as soon as you have the time to break away from downtown. We shall not forget the work you have done here. We shall not forget you.

May God bless you always with good health and the strength to continue to serve as you have always served.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I join in paying tribute to a statesman who has served this House and our country faithfully and well for many years. I want to express my personal good wishes to the chairman of my committee, the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE, who is retiring from Congress after a truly impressive period of public service.

The gentleman from Kentucky, Chairman SPENCE, has conducted the work of the House Committee on Banking and Currency with a combination of firmness and gentlemanliness which has made our committee a most effective one in the handling of important legislation. It has been a pleasure to serve with him, and an inspiration to learn from him.

The laws of our country contain innumerable important enactments guided through Congress during periods of peace and war by the gentleman from Kentucky, Chairman SPENCE, to make this a better, a stronger, and a more prosperous nation. The Defense Production Act, the many housing laws, export control legislation, banking legislation of all kinds, and other vital measures have been enacted into law largely, in many instances, because of the skill and knowledge and ability and prestige of the gentleman from Kentucky—a gentleman in every sense of the word, and a man whose friendship is to be treasured by all who are fortunate enough to enjoy it. When he retires from Congress, he takes with him our love and our respect for an outstanding career.

## Hungarian Revolution of 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, during the last week in October of 1956 a nationwide revolutionary disturbance broke out in Hungary against the Communist regime. This significant and historic event, spontaneous and startling, at once gathered momentum and spread to all parts of the country. In the course of a few days the detested regime was overthrown, the Communists were at bay, and Red functionaries were being hounded in their government posts and party headquarters. Flushed with such an apparently easy victory over their oppressors, the Hungarians were overjoyed with their success, as were their friends and sympathizers in the whole free world. Unfortunately, however, brave and stouthearted Hungarians were in no position to stay in power in the face of threatening Soviet troops. The Hungarians had no choice but to fall back on their relatively meager resources, fight their far superior enemy with all the means at their disposal, and then gallantly die for their freedom. And they did this in tens and hundreds of thousands, sacrificing their lives in a veritable bloodbath created by the ruthless Red Army in less than 2 weeks after the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution.

Today on the sixth anniversary of that revolution Hungarians still cling to their hope for freedom, and we in the West ruefully mourn the fate of those dauntless Hungarians who lost their lives in that glorious effort, the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as this session closes, we all realize that next year there will not be here with us a man from Georgia, who we have all grown to love and to respect, JIM DAVIS. Personally, he is a living example to all that is best in Southern manhood, a true gentleman. Legislatively, he has contributed to the passage of much good legislation and to the defeat of much bad legislation. The quality that most significantly marks this man as outstanding is the quality of steadfast adherence to principal. This is the quality of public life that draws the line between men who are just politicians and those who are statesmen, too. JIM DAVIS has earned the title of statesman. As he goes back to his home State he does so with the respect and love of each of us here; and I hope that this may bring him joy in all of the days of his life.

## Hon. John H. Ray

SPEECH
OF
## HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, over the years it has been most interesting to observe the biennial contributions to the House from various segments of our economy. Industry and the legal profession gave us the gentleman from New York, JOHN RAY, in the 83d Congress and a most valuable contribution, as it has been proven. We have seldom observed such sincere tributes from both sides of the aisle as we have heard here today.

Meticulous study of legislative problems, a perfect attendance record, and a rare ability to weigh the consequences of untried proposals, have all combined to make our departing colleague an ideal Congressman. This is not his first retirement, however; he has a previous record along that line, and I suspect that we have not yet heard the last of his varied accomplishments.

However, the end of his present tenure gives us this opportunity to wish JOHN and Mrs. Ray Godspeed and best wishes in all of their future activities.

## The Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, for 14 of the 18 years that I have served on the Banking and Currency Committee, it has been my pleasure and privilege to serve under the chairmanship of our able and distinguished colleague, the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, of Kentucky.

Many of them were troublesome years for our country. Much legislation, and much of it highly controversial, was enacted into law as a result of the unfailing devotion to high purpose with which Chairman SPENCE steered the legislation through the committee and the Congress. The statutes of our country are etched deep with the contributions he has made to legislation for the benefit of our people.

I am certain that the dignity and devotion with which BRENT SPENCE conducted the chairmanship of the Banking and Currency Committee will long remain as a continuing beneficial force in the operations of our committee. The imprint of this great American will remain with us even as he enjoys his well-earned retirement.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in congratulating our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, on her appointment by President Kennedy and upon her confirmation as Treasurer of the United States. I am happy to have been among those who urged her appointment.

It has been my privilege to serve with the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] since her election to the 84th Congress. She has served her district and the Nation with great distinction. The entire country is grateful for her vigorous and fruitful efforts to remove smut from the mails. The people of my district in Cleveland, Ohio, were very well aware of Mrs. GRANAHAN'S work and instructed me to support her program, which I did.

My best wishes go to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] on her new responsibilities. She is eminently qualified to be the best Treasurer in history. I know she will make the effort.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. TOM V. MOOREHEAD
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. MOOREHEAD of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pause and pay tribute to a distinguished Member of this body who will be retiring in January after a long and outstanding record of public service. BRENT SPENCE, of Kentucky, has served his district, his State, and the Nation faithfully for 32 years.

It has been a privilege for me to be associated with him in his capacity as chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. As a freshman Member of the House of Representatives, it has been most gratifying for me to serve under a chairman widely recognized for his cooperative bipartisan approach to the problems we have had to face in the committee.

As he leaves the House, I would like to join my colleagues in congratulating him for his fine record as a Member of the House of Representatives, and wishing him every future happiness.

## Workhorses Not Rewarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 4, 1962*

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, the following editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Press, October 10, 1962:

A WORKHORSE REWARDED

While Congressman WALTER JUDD was in Washington last Saturday, helping to pass President Kennedy's foreign aid bill, the President was in Minneapolis trying to beat JUDD for reelection.

This surely illustrated the cynical, seamy side of partisan politics.

Only a few days ago, Secretary of State Rusk addressed a "Dear WALTER" letter to JUDD saying, "You really have been a workhorse for us on foreign policy in the House and I am deeply grateful."

Foreign policy is of overwhelming importance, perhaps making the difference between peace and war. And yet the President is making a special effort to unseat this "workhorse." He is urging the election of JUDD'S opponent, Don Fraser, campaigning on a pledge to support Kennedy 100 percent—in other words, to function as a rubber stamp.

It is understandable that President Kennedy should not support a Republican. But to single JUDD out for concentrated opposition denotes a greater emphasis on party than on country. It seems to demonstrate a singular lack of gratitude and appreciation for services to America.

## Tribute to Mr. Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and privilege for me to join with my colleagues of the House of Representatives in paying tribute to a great American—a kindly man—a courageous man. I speak of my chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky, BRENT SPENCE.

All of us who have served on the great Committee on Banking and Currency with this brilliant statesman know of his unequaled contribution as a legislator; of his great service to his country and to his constituents.

It was indeed a great pleasure to have had the opportunity to serve with the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE].

I sincerely wish for him a long continued happy and good life.

## John Holton

SPEECH
OF
## HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to say a few words in praise of John W. Holton, who is soon to leave this House, where he has been employed for many years as an aid to former Speaker Sam Rayburn and during the present session as legislative assistant to the present Speaker.

In John's departure, the House is losing one of its most valuable employees. He is a loyal and faithful friend, and a man who has distinguished himself here on the Hill by his conscientious and efficient discharge of his responsibilities. He is eminently fitted and qualified for his new post of Federal Legislative Counsel in the Washington office of the American Bankers Association.

I join with his hundreds of other friends in the Congress in wishing him success and happiness in his new career.

## Tribute to the Honorable Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join with many others in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to my friend and colleague, the Honorable BRENT SPENCE. It has been a keen source of pleasure to have served with Chairman SPENCE on the House Committee on Banking and Currency during the 87th Congress. As a freshman Member of Congress, I am only sorry that my association with him has been much too brief. However, in this short period of time, I have plainly seen a true exhibition of devotion and dedication to strong personal principles and ideals. He so richly deserves the heartfelt thanks of everyone for his untiring public service, and we will certainly miss his presence here in Congress. It is my sincerest wish that his retirement will bring many years of good health, good fortune, and happiness.

## The Cuban Ransom Situation

SPEECH
OF
## HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

(Mr. FULTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have asked the gentleman from Pennsylvania to yield so that I may read the rest of these names that I had started to read, when my time had expired. These are Americans who are held prisoners in Cuba, American citizens who are being held prisoners in Cuba on bogus charges:

Raefael del Pino of New York and Miami; Austin Young of Miami; James Wellington King, Miami; Donald Joe Green, York, S.C.; Alfred E. Gibson, Mount Gilbuss, N.C.; James G. Dean, Franklinville, N.C.; Thomas Baker, Dothan, Ala.; Eustace Denbrunt, Baltimore, Md.; Daniel Carswell, East Chester, N.Y.; and Edmund Taransky, New York City.

Those Members who serve these areas I hope will hear this. These are American citizens.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON] has expired.

# Appendix

## The National Training School for Boys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

**HON. ROBERT C. BYRD**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, some time ago I announced that a replacement for the National Training School for Boys, now located in Washington, D.C., would be built at Morgantown, W. Va. The present facility is so outmoded and deteriorated that it should have been abandoned long ago. The replacement is badly needed in order that the Government may do a better job of redirecting the lives of the youngsters who are adjudged delinquent by our Federal courts. The contemplated location at Morgantown is a vast improvement, for the purposes of the school, over the crowded metropolitan district in which it is now situated.

The establishment of the new school at Morgantown, W. Va., will also mean a great deal both to the State and the community. While the economic benefits of its construction and subsequent operation are obvious, I believe that the school will make other very important contributions. To reassure myself on this point, I asked Mr. James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, to obtain for me the views of citizen groups in communities where other Federal institutions are located, many of which are prisons and not to be equated with the National Training School for Boys. These views were readily forthcoming, and I ask that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD some pertinent excerpts from the letters which were sent to Mr. Bennett.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION,
LOMPOC, CALIF.

Ray Williams, president, Lompoc Valley Chamber of Commerce: "We are all extremely proud of the fact that we have this agency of the Federal Government in our community. And, we are not overlooking the fact, that the Institution is of great benefit to the entire community, economically as well as socially."

Joseph F. Martin, assistant vice president and manager, Crocker-Anglo National Bank, Lompoc, Calif.: "May I say, if everyone could see the important role the FCI plays in the continued growth of this community, they would understand its importance to the economics of the valley."

Lloyd Stone, campaign chairman, the United Fund of Northern Santa Barbara County: "Perhaps it seems odd to put it this way, but the fact is that the FCI gives more the impression of being a 'campus' than a correctional institution. Parenthetically, I suppose I could have said 'prison,' but that word just doesn't seem to apply at all as a proper description of the important educational work you are doing and I doubt that any ever use or think this word when they speak of their nearby neighbors, the Federal Correctional Institution."

K. L. Skeate, assistant manager, Security First National Bank: "I have had the privilege of working with several of the employees of the FCI on various community projects. We feel that the Federal Correctional Institution is a very valuable asset to our community."

Kenneth L. Adam, Lompoc Record Publications: "It is my opinion that the FCI has been of great value to Lompoc over the past years. On the one hand it has created jobs and incomes; on the other, it has brought to the community a high quality of citizen who has joined in every effort to make this a better place in which to live."

R. B. McClellan, chairman, Board of Trustees, Lompoc Unified School District: "This is just a note to express to you the appreciation of our school board and the administrative staff for the very fine cooperation and help which you and your employees have rendered to our school district. As you know, some of our school projects would have failed except for the help which your people, both locally and in Washington, gave to us. Frankly, if the FCI were taken from our community it would be a distinct loss both economically and from a community betterment standpoint."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION,
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

Malcolm B. Johnson, executive editor, the Tallahassee Democrat: "For nearly a quarter of a century, now, the Federal Correctional Institution has grown and operated so quietly and efficiently here that most of us accept it, without thinking, in the same light as our State Capitol, our two universities, our State tuberculosis sanitorium, and other public institutions."

Amos Godby, superintendent, Board of Public Instruction, County of Leon: "I would like to take this opportunity to commend you for the excellent rehabilitation program you have at the Federal Correctional Institution. I feel that the institution is a real asset to the whole community and that you have a high caliber of personnel employed on your staff."

J. Christie Hall, chairman, board of county commissioners: "Your employees have always reflected credit upon the institution. The executives connected with the institution have made valuable contributions to our community life, and in all ways the institution and its personnel have constituted a valuable asset to our community. The security measures taken by you have been such that the people of the county have never had any fear from the fact that a penal institution was located in our community."

Ross Anderson, assistant director, Florida Sheriffs Bureau: "Both as a law enforcement officer of considerable experience and as a resident of Tallahassee for 7 years, I wish to state that yours is a most outstanding custodial institution and a real asset to the community. * * * There can be no question but what FCI is of tremendous value to the economy of the area. It probably is of comparably greater value than similar institutions located in or near larger cities having better rounded economies. Your personnel are well accepted in the community in which I find them active in a wide variety of civic and other enterprises."

Gordon W. Blackwell, office of president, the Florida State University: "We at Florida State University have always considered the presence of the Federal Correctional Institution as an asset to Tallahassee."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION,
ASHLAND, KY.

Editorial, the Ashland Daily Independent: "Other communities which may be considered as sites for additional facilities need feel no hesitancy in welcoming them. There has been no trouble here as a result of the proximity of persons in confinement for wrongdoing. The Institution has been most efficiently operated.

Eli Williams, president, Eli Williams Lumber Co.: "Among many things, the personnel have always been outstanding. The business people have all been helped, both by the purchases of the Institution and by the many new positions which have been provided. But, perhaps the greatest benefits have been the reclamation of hundreds of young men who have now been restored to their places in society."

John Fred Williams, vice president, Ashland Oil & Refining Co.: "As a resident of Ashland and as a member of the management of a major Kentucky corporation, I am pleased to note your record of accomplishment. Without question the Federal Correctional Institution has been and will continue to be an important asset to our area.

J. S. Faulconer, the First Christian Church: "I feel that the Federal Correctional Institution at Summitt, near Ashland, has been a definite asset to our community life. The people who have been identified with this Institution have been of the highest caliber. Numerous ones of the staff have served as members of the official board of our church. These men have taken positions of high leadership in our congregation.

David Aronberg, mayor, city of Ashland: "You will no doubt be interested to learn that during the entire 21 years since the Institution was established in our area, to the best of my knowledge, no inmate or families of inmates have created the slightest trouble for our law enforcement agencies."

George Wolfford, the Ashland Daily Independent: "In general, the Federal youth center employees are better educated and cleaner cut than the average. They must be personally well qualified to get and hold Federal positions. These men and their families make their presence favorably known in the community through participation in civic activities. Most become leaders in the groups they join.

William D. Jordan, senator, Junior Chamber of Commerce International: "We locally are proud of the fact that public relations between the Institution and the community has been maintained at such a high level over the past several years that the Institution has been in operation."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION,
ENGLEWOOD, COLO.

Father Joseph Koontz, Notre Dame Church, Denver, Colo.: "The building of the Fed-

eral Correctional Institution in the Englewood area has proven to have had a salutary effect not only on the juvenile offenders detained there but has seemingly exercised a positive influence on the entire neighborhood community. The cordial relationship that has been built and maintained between the Institution and your immediate neighbors and the surrounding Englewood area at large is further indicative of this fact."

C. H. Smukler, vice president, the First National Bank: "Several years ago I had the opportunity of touring the Federal Correctional Institution, and it was quite revealing to see the many ways in which positive help is provided to direct young people who have gotten into trouble. The people associated with the Institution are doing an unsung job in an extremely vital area."

R. W. Scarffe, executive manager, Englewood Chamber of Commerce: "The employees are of the highest caliber and are good citizens active in our community. They play a big part in our chamber of commerce work and take part in many community projects. The economic impact of this Institution would be hard to measure. Our feeling is that of being fortunate to have this Institution a part of our community. As to the nature of the Institution and those who are detained therein, we don't even know they are there."

Berry B. Tillman, chief of police, city of Englewood: "I am happy to say that the location of the Institution nearby has been very beneficial to the community, and the local populace is gratified that this location was chosen. Aside from the economic benefits accruing from payroll and local purchases, we find that the personnel selected to man the Institution are high-grade, public-spirited citizens who make a definite contribution to the community and its cultural life."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, DANBURY, CONN.

Sol Robinson, general manager, Berkshire Broadcasting Corp.: "For more than 10 years my experiences with the Federal Correctional Institution have been such that I can only sing its praises and commend the administration. At no time has the institution ever been a burden or a detriment to Danbury. In fact, Danbury has learned that it can receive the fullest cooperation from the administration and the inmates."

Howard McGoldrick, chief of police: "I believe that the Federal Correctional Institution in this community has earned for itself an enviable record. The inmates of the institution have assisted greatly in local athletic events and there has been a great competitive spirit. The inmates have assisted tremendously with the blood bank, when called upon to do so."

Joseph H. Sauer, Arthur Tartaglia, Michael Seri, Board of Selectmen: "The employed personnel of the institution play an important part in our daily activities; the majority are homeowners, taxpayers and voters and reflect their views, opinions and votes at many town meetings, referendums and elections. They also attend our churches, belong to many organizations, and are active generally in various other capacities. We are very proud of their splendid spirit and the cooperation shown at many civic functions."

Walter P. Sweet, superintendent of schools: "I have admired and frequently praised the dedication and the competence of the personnel who, in my judgment, need apologize to no one for their work. I think it is outstanding as an institution, that its program is remarkable, both from the content and its direction, and I feel that the town of Danbury may well be proud of having an institution within its boundaries which is doing so much for persons who need its help so vitally."

George C. Hanna, fire chief: "I cannot stress strongly enough the favorable impression that the officials and employees of the institute have made on the citizens of Danbury, due to their willingness to enter into the everyday life of our community and their cooperation and help whenever called upon. In a very few words, they are just darn good friends and neighbors and we are very happy to have them here."

J. Thayer Brown, mayor: "The ratio of donors to total population is much higher at the Federal Correctional Institution than at any industrial plant or any other organization which sponsors one or more bloodmobile visits each year. That result is due solely to the fine zeal and enthusiasm of all the personnel at the Federal Correctional Institution, from the warden to the newest prisoner."

Ronald R. Rumbaugh, executive vice president, Danbury Chamber of Commerce: "In the 22 years FCI has been in Danbury, there has only been a most favorable opinion regarding same. Danbury and its people have totally accepted the institution as a part of the community's complex. This image could not have been reflected without the excellent supervision and superior public impression made by the FCI employees."

Stephen A. Collins, the Danbury News-Times: "More important, I feel, is the caliber of the personnel which the FCI staff brings to the community. I have known personally many of the staff over the years and they are active in churches, civic groups and other organizations which help the community."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, MILAN, MICH.

John P. Stommen, publisher, Milan Leader: "I have been publisher here for going on 8 years now and in that time have never heard of the least bit of apprehension on the part of local citizens because of the prisoners housed just outside of town."

Fred Schroen, president, Milan Chamber of Commerce: "The employees of the institution have participated in the activities of the village in all types of religious and civic matters, and I am happy to state that the village has been helped greatly by the location of the institution in our area. A number of local people are now employed at the institution and some of the ones who have been transferred here have purchased homes and in so doing, have become taxpayers in the village."

George Beale, superintendent, Milan area schools: "We feel that this institution and the several employees thereof who reside in the community of Milan have contributed to a more stable economy of this community. The location of this institution has given statewide recognition to the name of Milan and beyond State boundaries in the many nearby States as well."

Howard Burr Smith, realtor: "We are still amazed at the security maintained by the FCI over the years, no fuss, no bother, no confusion, and from an outside viewpoint, everything under control."

Elaine St. Louis, clerk, the Common Council, village of Milan: "The employees of the institution are of such a calibre that we are happy to have them as both residents and neighbors. Our relationship with them has always been excellent on an individual basis and as a group."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, SEAGOVILLE, TEX.

M. D. Reeves, president, Seagoville State Bank: "It seems to be a basic human frailty to take for granted those things which demand little or no attention due to the well ordered and trouble free manner of operations. So it is with Seagoville and the FCI located here in Seagoville. It has been our privilege to have had this rather unique minimum custody type Bureau of Prisons installation for a number of years and it has been a definite asset to this area in many ways."

I. D. Thompson, superintendent, Seagoville Independent School District: "The institution is an asset to the community in appearance. Its clean well-kept grounds and buildings resemble a large college or university. It has been my pleasure to have been associated with the wardens and many of the men who have worked there for the past 15 years. In fact, several are my neighbors. They all are men of integrity. They have been outstanding in their work and contribution in civic, church, and school affairs. They have been loyal supporters for a sound educational system and have demonstrated that they are willing to make Seagoville a better place in which to live."

James E. Long, owner, Western Auto Associated Store: "I have never heard anyone voice a fear of the inmates or their families and do not believe that such fear exist among the residents of Seagoville."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, SANDSTONE, MINN.

C. E. Pearson, president, Sandstone Development Corp.: "The local institution is a real asset to the community. We have been happy to note that the employees have all been carefully selected and specially trained, and, that as a group, they are well educated, have good reputations and enjoy viable standings in this community. Almost every family has taken part in religious, school, and civic affairs, and it was a real pleasure to have this fine group of people come here when the institution was opened in 1958."

Arthur H. Larson, president, Viggo Jensen, secretary, chamber of commerce: "I suppose some people might look with fear upon the nearby prison and think of it as a sombre, forbidding type of institution housing the dregs of society. Here at Sandstone, we have come to learn that the FCI is an institution well operated with a staff devoted to rehabilitating the men therein, while at the same time maintaining good custody and control. We have no fears of escaped prisoners (of which there have been very few here)."

John G. Hawley, Postmaster: "Because your institution is located here our school district now receives about $17,000 yearly from the Federal Government to aid us in educating the children of your employees. In addition to this we received $105,000 this year in Federal funds for building purposes and we have just completed a new elementary addition with this money."

Dr. A. C. Stoffel, Superintendent of Schools: "However advantageous as this financial assistance is, I would like to mention an item of far more importance to the community and that is the fact of the many high-caliber employees both from the social and educational standpoint. Needless to say that the employees are a selected group because of the nature of the civil service tests as well as many in the professional field who must have training far above that of the average citizen in this community. I think we are fortunate in having this institution in this locality."

V. L. Colby, publisher, Pine County Courier: "Sandstone realizes the Federal Correctional Institution has an important job to do in training inmates to become better citizens when released. Many Sandstone organizations and groups give a number of entertainments for the inmates during the year to help in this program."

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, TEXARKANA, TEX.

Ed. B. Levee, district attorney: "As city attorney of the city of Texarkana, Tex., and as the present district attorney of the Fifth Judicial District, Bowie County, Tex., I have never heard of any of our citizens complaining of any fear of the inmates or of the

families of any inmates wherein any contemplated danger could be anticipated."

B. A. Lemser, chairman, Retail Merchants' Division, Texarkana Chamber of Commerce: "We feel that the community, as viewed from the standpoint of our group, has benefited in many ways since the institution has been established."

J. Q. Mahaffey, editor, Texarkana Gazette: "It is my pleasure to inform you that in my opinion the FCI is a very great asset to our city. The public relations of the institution have been excellent and it has always been presented to the public as a place in which the lives of men have been or are in process of being rehabilitated."

P. D. McGibboney, mayor: "I remember when the announcement was made that this institution was to be located here; there were many misgivings in the minds of our citizens. Many were afraid that such an institution would create an unfavorable and dangerous environment; that prisoners might escape and become a menace to life and property; that the guards and other personnel might be cruel, hard and undisciplined men who would not be an asset to our society. Now after 23 years I am happy to say that none of these fears have materialized."

Frank Loda, director, Texarkana Community Chest and Council: "By record and by personal knowledge, we know that our FCI is a real community asset and one we would sorely miss should it be removed as a part of our social and economic life."

L. E. Gilliland, general manager, Texarkana Chamber of Commerce: "In the case of the correctional institution, located in Bowie County, Tex., near Texarkana, we have found the personnel and staff have become a part of the community, participating in all community endeavors such as Community Chest, school activities, chamber of commerce programs, churches, service clubs, etc. As a matter of fact, some of the best leadership we have and have had, as a community, has come from the personnel in our penal institutions."

FEDERAL REFORMATORY, EL RENO, OKLA.

Ray J. Dyer, publisher, El Reno Daily Tribune: "From an economic standpoint, the reformatory is one of the largest employers in this area. Not only has it brought many fine new people to us, but it also has provided employment opportunities for many of our local young people, especially among returning servicemen. Because the reformatory is organized to rehabilitate inmates, not just imprison them, it is an institution to which all residents may point with pride."

Leo Krob, president, El Reno Chamber of Commerce: "In the early days of the reformatory some fears were expressed that the presence of the institution would attract outside contacts of bad reputation. The opposite has been the case. The presence of the reformatory officials scattered throughout the community has had the beneficial effect of causing most criminals to stay clear."

C. G. Fisher, president, El Reno Rotary Club: "It has been my pleasure to be an active member of the El Reno Rotary Club for a number of years. During the time of my membership and since the charter of the El Reno Rotary Club, the directors and many of the personnel of the El Reno Federal Reformatory have assisted in the El Reno Rotary Club in many of its civic projects. We have solicited your help and cooperation on many of our projects and we have never been refused."

William L. Marshall, mayor: "We are very fortunate and pleased that the reformatory was located near our city and the relationship between your officers and employees and the city's officers and employees and citizens has been splendid throughout the years. We especially appreciate the caliber of the officers and employees of the reformatory, most of whom live within the city, own their homes, actively engage in civic and religious activities within the community and are among our best citizens."

Leslie F. Roblyer, superintendent of schools: "During the past summer when faced with the problem of selecting 20 new public school staff members, I was called upon many times to outline why El Reno is a better place to live, to rear children and to teach, than neighboring cities of similar size. The one factor that seems to make sense upon analysis is the relationship of the Federal reformatory at El Reno to the community life of our city."

U.S. PENITENTIARY, M'NEIL ISLAND, WASH.

George H. Salzer, mayor: "We feel that the McNeil employees who live in Steilacoom are a definite asset. We like to think of them as among our finest citizens."

Mrs. Ruth Bethel, county superintendent of schools: "The U.S. Penitentiary at McNeil Island is one of several Federal institutions here in Pierce County of which we are very proud. It has a beautiful setting overlooking Puget Sound. A splendid chapel has just been completed where church services are conducted and a chaplain is on duty at all times."

D. G. Hager, chief of police: "The proximity of the Federal penitentiary at McNeil Island to Tacoma has caused very few problems of a police nature in our community. From a law-enforcement standpoint, we have encountered a very minimum of incidents involving either prisoners, parolees or their associates and certainly the institution has not engendered anything that should be considered detrimental to our community."

Patricia Young, assistant director, Tacoma-Pierce County Blood Bank, Inc.: "The wonderful cooperation from McNeil Island, the personnel and men on the inside has been of immeasurable value to the Tacoma-Pierce County blood bank. Many times the request has been originated by the men who have read of a need for blood. Patients as well as the blood bank are most appreciative of this thoughtfulness."

Theodore R. Meyer, executive director, United Good Neighbors of Pierce County, Inc.: "As a member of the Rotary Club it has been my privilege on several occasions to visit the institution. I know many of our fellow Rotarians have commented that it is a real privilege to work with the officials of the penitentiary."

E. R. Fetterolf, manager, Tacoma Chamber of Commerce: "The personnel in charge of the penitentiary have been upstanding citizens and many of them have taken an active part in community affairs. They definitely are considered a part of our civic life. As to the inmates and their families they create no problem. The families come and go and no situations have arisen to raise any questions."

Editorial, Tacoma News Tribune: "Both McNeil and our community have profited immeasurably through the years from mutual association. McNeil has never been a separate island, so to speak, in the civic and economic life of our area."

David D. Rowlands, city manager, city of Tacoma: "The businessmen of this community have worked with the warden at McNeil Island for the past 5 or 6 years in the promotion of a self-improvement club whereby the inmates of the institution are motivated to prepare themselves psychologically and mentally so that they can be useful citizens in the community upon their release from McNeil Island. This program, in my opinion, has been tremendously successful."

Milton Nesvig, director of public relations, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Wash.: "Prisons today are very well administrated and the working personnel of these institutions do an excellent job of public relations with the communities in which they are located."

U.S. PENITENTIARY, LEAVENWORTH, KANS.

J. F. Mitchell, mayor: "The city of Leavenworth is most happy to have you as friends and neighbors, and only wishes that there were more just like you to add to the city."

I. J. Meyer, president Leavenworth Chamber of Commerce: "The Federal prison is an asset to the city of Leavenworth, and we are very thankful that it is located here."

J. H. Johnston III, news editor, the Leavenworth Times: "Leavenworth is proud to be the home of your 'Leavenworth.' As long as our population remains considerably ahead of yours, I am sure this feeling will continue to grow."

Ethan Potter, county attorney: "It is my personal feeling and the feeling of the vast majority of the people with whom I visit from day to day, that the U.S. penitentiary has made a tremendous contribution to the city of Leavenworth. Your employees and your operations are of the highest caliber. We have absolutely no community fear of any kind that harm will result from the location of the prison or the prison inmates within our area. Your people are constantly contributing in active and positive ways to the various school, church and community programs of our areas."

Ed Reilly, former president, chamber of commerce: "Economically the Federal prison has contributed magnificently to our local business life and without it I shudder to think how much our retail and general economy would suffer."

W. La Montaine, executive secretary, United Leavenworth Fund: "I would say this to any community leaders considering their town as a future prison site—the opportunity to have a Federal prison institution in your area promises a greater long-range opportunity for your town than almost any employing unit you could find."

U.S. PENITENTIARY, TERRE HAUTE, IND.

John K. Lamb, executive vice president, Terre Haute Chamber of Commerce: "I have known the institution since its construction and have been a visitor there on countless occasions. The efficiency of operation and the courtesy of the personnel is evident even to a casual observer."

Louis F. Keifer, general manager, Tribune-Star Publishing Co., Inc.: "Terre Haute is extremely proud and appreciative of the fine caliber of families the prison has brought to Terre Haute, including staff members, civilian service, and U.S. Public Health Service personnel."

Ralph Tucker, mayor: "I cannot speak highly enough of the caliber of leadership that this city has been afforded by virtue of this institution."

R. W. Holmstedt, president, Indiana State College: "From my observation, I would say that the prison is without question a valuable asset to the community of Terre Haute. The staff totals 276 employees. The payroll and expenditures in the community are economic and business assets. The members of the staff participate in community projects and activities and make a valuable social and civic contribution to the community generally. In no way can the prison be regarded as an undesirable or dangerous institution. We are fortunate that the U.S. prison is located in the community of Terre Haute."

William F. Rippetoe, managing editor, the Saturday Spectator:

"Being a businessman, the economic value of the institution is most apparent to me. The staff payroll and local purchases of the prison are of tremendous importance in this area. However, we cannot overlook the cultural and social value that staff personnel add to the Terre Haute area. Local schools, service clubs, the united fund and many other civic projects benefit greatly through

the services made by employees of the penitentiary."

U.S. PENITENTIARY, LEWISBURG, PA.

Karl H. Purnell, editor and publisher, Union County Journal:

"At a time when so many communities are striving to bring new industry to their area, it would certainly seem that one of the best would be an institution such as we have in Lewisburg. Steady employment, good wages, are benefits which would sorely be missed if our institution were removed."

N. Brown, Myco Manufacturing Co., Inc.:

"In direct personal contract, through the Montgomery Lions Club and the Boy Scouts of America, I have had the good fortune to have worked with some of the officers of your institution. These are clean minded, hard working family men and I hope to continue my association with them."

Charles Wolfe Kalp, Lewisburg Chamber of Commerce:

"In my opinion, Lewisburg and the whole surrounding area have been immeasurably benefitted by the U.S. penitentiary at Lewisburg."

Sherman L. Kreisher, president, Kiwanis Club of Lewisburg:

"We feel that the personnel employed at the penitentiary are good citizens and we welcome them to our community."

Michael M. Fremont, president, Rotary Club of Lewisburg: "It is the feeling of the general public that having the penitentiary here in Lewisburg is a tremendous asset to the community."

John F. Zeller, vice president, Bucknell University: "The prison itself is architecturally attractive and provides one of the attractions which we show to visitors of our community. Except for the presence of the wall, visitors might have difficulty deciding which institution was the prison and which Bucknell University."

Anthony F. Flavio, chairman, Union County Board of Commissioners: "As chairman of the Union County Board of Commissioners, I wish to state that, to my knowledge, the presence of the U.S. penitentiary, near Lewisburg, has been a great advantage to Lewisburg, Union County and the surrounding area."

Edwin D. Mensch, Real Estate and Insurance: "Many visitors come to our town, many of them to see the inmates at the penitentiary, others to see their relatives who work at the penitentiary and some to see, what is known as, the model prison. Some of these people are here for a day and others stay a longer period of time. Our community is greatly benefited financially by having these visitors and the permanent residents here in our midst. This is an understatement.

W. Wesley Shrader, D.D., the Lewisburg Council of Churches: "In my best judgment the penitentiary is a definite asset to our community. This is true not only because of the favorable economic situation which the penitentiary provides but because many of the staff members at the penitentiary take an active part in the community and in the churches."

H. H. Haddon, president-editor, Sunbury Daily Item: "In a much larger sense, economic gains, the addition of a fine group of personnel to the citizenry and the distinction of having in our midst an institution that is widely accepted as a model in the rehabilitation of transgressors have long since dispelled the arguments against the establishment of this prison. Beyond question of doubt it has been an even more valuable asset then was foreseen by those who labored to have it located in this community."

Fred G. Hastings, Milton, Pa.: "I can't think of an adverse impact your prison has had on this entire area. Against that I could give a long list of benefits we have derived from it."

Charles N. Johnston, editor, the Milton Standard: "Many of us have become keenly interested in problems of penal institutions and understand them better through our association with your employees."

## Depression of Oil Business Continues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, on many previous occasions, as late as yesterday, I have attempted to bring to the attention of Congress the fact that the domestic petroleum industry has suffered serious economic setbacks because of the unwarranted excess of foreign oil imports.

This morning the Wall Street Journal, in an article headed "Oil Drilling Companies Going Out of Business at an Increased Rate," points out the facts which indicate what they call a deepening recession in this industry.

This timely article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 12, 1962]

OIL DRILLING COMPANIES GOING OUT OF BUSINESS AT AN INCREASED RATE—TOTAL OF CONTRACTORS FELL 26.2 PERCENT IN 5 YEARS—NUMBER OF RIGS DROPPED BY 252 IN 1 YEAR

DALLAS.—A deepening recession in the oil-well drilling industry is accelerating the attrition rate among drilling contractors.

In recent months more than 30 contractors have sold at auctions more than 100 rotary drilling rigs, while others have disposed of additional equipment in private sales, Warren L. Baker, executive vice president of the American Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors said.

A survey earlier this year in the Oil and Gas Journal, a trade publication, showed that the number of U.S. drilling contractors had tumbled 26.2 percent in 5 years to 880, and since then "an additional substantial number of contractors have gone out of business," Mr. Baker said. Contractors are going out of business at an increased rate this year, he added.

A census by Reed Roller Bit Co., Houston, shows there were 2,768 drilling rigs in the United States at mid-year, 252 fewer than a year ago and 520 less than 3 years ago. The census showed that 787 of these rigs were out of service, an increase of 152 from 3 years earlier.

In its report for the week ended October 8, Hughes Tool Co., Houston, said there were 1,643 rotary drilling rigs active in the United States up 32 from the previous week, but 205 fewer than in the like 1961 week.

Mr. Baker predicted that the number of active rigs and the number of well completions will fall further and further behind the 1961 pace in the remainder of this year. "It now appears no more than 46,000 new wells will be completed in 1962, maybe less," he said. This would be the fewest since 1952 when 45,879 were completed. It is about 500 fewer than previously forecast for this year. In 1961 46,962 wells were completed.

Through October 6, a total of 34,820 wells were completed, 352 below a year earlier, the Oil and Gas Journal said. In the previous week, completions trailed a year earlier by 328 wells.

## Advertising: True or False

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech made by Mr. Daniel J. Murphy, Director, Bureau of Deceptive Practices, Federal Trade Commission, before the Ohio Valley Advertising Club, Wheeling, W. Va., on October 10, 1962. It was very clear and most informative one and I am pleased that Mr. Murphy was able to so arrange his schedule in order to make this appearance. He is indeed a credit to the Commission for whom he works.

ADVERTISING—TRUE OR FALSE

(Address by Daniel J. Murphy, Director, Bureau of Deceptive Practices, Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D.C., before Ohio Valley Advertising Club, Wheeling, W. Va., October 10, 1962)

It was, indeed, a pleasure to accept this invitation through your able and distinguished Congressman, CLEVELAND BAILEY, and to discuss with you a subject of mutual interest—deceptive advertising.

It may be of interest, at the outset, to very briefly refer to the history of advertising.

I

Advertising at the turn of the century was bold and vigorous and reckless. It was a period of rapid expansion and economic growth. Technological discoveries made it possible to expand production to replace hand labor with power-driven machinery—consequently, this increased the amount of goods available for marketing.

Advertising even then was showing indications of its future phenomenal progress. It had come a long way from its early vocal beginnings of the street crier—to signs—to pamphlets—to newspapers. It became a vital factor in the economic growth of the country.

However, the unrestricted excesses of advertising of this period demanded correction. The cry for advertising ethics was heard. Leading magazines exposed the dishonesty of many advertising claims. The courts decided very definitely that the remedy must come from the legislature and not the courts.[1] The crystallization of public sentiment for Federal regulation resulted in the Food and Drug Act of 1906 and the Federal Trade Commission Act in 1914.

During the next few decades, advertising continued its phenomenal growth. And again, in the 1930's, it became the target of bitter attacks. It was accused of exploiting the consumer. Thus, began the consumer movement to educate and inform the consumer in buying. The leaders of this new movement felt that it was necessary for the consumer to have a power of his own to contend with the power of advertising—that was the power of knowledge—the power of skepticism—in order that he might get exactly what he wants and to know exactly what he is getting.

Once again the opposition to advertising was crystalized and once again the result was more Federal restrictive legislation. The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was passed in 1938. The Wheeler-Lea amend-

[1] *American Washboard Co.* v. *Saginaw Mfg. Co.*, 103 Fed. 281 (C.C.A. 6).

ment was adopted also in 1938. This amendment gave added powers to the Federal Trade Commission over false advertising which was designated as "an unfair or deceptive act or practice in commerce." The new law called for consumer protection and the exercise of special vigilance in the advertising of foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics.

For the next two decades, advertising continued to boom and continued to be criticized. The publication of two new books—"The Hucksters" published in 1946, and "The Hidden Persuaders" in 1957—both of which became best sellers—added fuel to the fire. The most persistent challenge to advertising was its indifference to ethical values and the alleged discrepancy between its performance and its claims. Half-truths and misleading irrelevancy were not confined to the fly-by-night, "fast buckers" but were indulged in in national advertising. The consumer was encouraged to resist and challenge this super advertising and to demand accurate available information. There was also the challenge of the formal theory of respected economists that advertising was wasteful and inefficient. Once more, then, advertising was called upon to justify its existence and to clean house where necessary.

II

During this period two important factors were taking place:

(1) The growth of specialized advertising organizations—the advertising agencies and the development of research. We witnessed the growth of new expert techniques of research with their philosophies of marketing and psychologies of motivation—all directed toward the consumer—to create new wants and new desires.

(2) Television—another mammoth and intimate medium—was now added to the advertising world. Television has grown faster than any advertising medium in history. A dozen years ago or so there were only one-half dozen television stations—today there are more than 500. Today there are more than 55 million television sets in American homes. Six out of seven homes in the country have at least one television set—more television sets than telephones, than bathtubs. It is the greatest mass medium of communication ever devised. Conservatively the American consumer has invested more than $11 billion in television sets. Within a dozen years, television expenditures for advertising rose from nothing to $1,525 million, so that today television is a dominant advertising medium. It is the salesman's dream—instead of one foot in the door—he is right in your living room—therefore, as a guest in the home, his proper conduct and responsibility cannot be overemphasized.

III

These modern advertising techniques and additional medium of communication have brought additional power and authority to the advertiser and the agency; they have also brought additional responsibilities and obligations to the consumer.

The consumer, on the one hand, is generally unsophisticated, unorganized, and for the most part defenseless. On the other hand, the national advertiser and his agency, with their sophistication, experience, and techniques, make their primary thrusts with relentless pressures toward the consumer, in part educated and skillful, but for the most part uneducated and gullible. This primary thrust may be in print, in picture, or in sound—it may be dramatic and emotional—in any event, it is persistent and persuasive.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the advertiser and the agency not only maintain high standards but that their standards be continually improved. Any claim or representation made concerning an industry product which, directly or by implication, or by failure to adequately disclose additional relevant and material information, has the capacity to deceive, is not generally the result of ignorance, naiveness, or inadvertence.

While there must not be a deliberate policy or practice of seeing how close one can come to the line of conflict with legal regulation—there must be a continual and aggressive awareness that there are certain obligations and responsibilities involved which must be studiously and carefully met and satisfied.

Not only must the patent lie be avoided as the plague, but also must be avoided the skillful ad which can mislead without misstating a single fact, by the shrewd use of exaggeration, innuendo, ambiguity, and half-truth. This type of ad may be more efficacious than factual assertions. As the court stated: [2] "Facts are dull and dangerous; exaggerations are vivid, attractive, and privileged."

A prominent advertising official, in recently discussing "the yoke of public ridicule moving from Wall Street to Madison Avenue," stated as follows:

"How many of us here can say that he's never been a party to deceptive advertising; that he has never, at the very least, allowed advertising of one kind or another to go by him that encouraged favorable but untrue inferences about his product?

"And who among us has not been so mesmerized by the lyricism of a piece of copy, or the beauty of a layout, or the poetic tintinabulations of a musical commercial, that he has ignored the consumer's rightful desire to be told quickly and clearly—without a lot of meaningless guff—how the product will benefit him?"

IV

The entrance of television to the advertising world dramatically pointed up the value of demonstration. The consumer is interested to know what a product will do for him. Television demonstration of what the product will do is a very effective pictorial commercial. The fundamental obligation, therefore, is for the advertiser and the agency to be sure that the demonstration fairly and truthfully demonstrates. This type of advertising does not give full reign and license to the imagination. The demonstration must be more than merely credible; it must be factual. There are many examples of TV commercial demonstrations which appear to indicate that the advertiser and his advertising agency have not met their obligation in this area.

Advertising, stripped to its fundamentals, is salesmanship, directly or indirectly. Many TV demonstrations, in their eagerness and persistency to sell a product, have extended over to the realm of fiction for fact, of dreams for reality, of demonstrations that do not demonstrate, of proofs that do not prove.

V

The Commission has issued several complaints alleging that TV advertising was deceptive because it leads the viewer to believe that a demonstration shown therein proves something when in fact it does not.

Some of these demonstrations of products challenged by the Commission included a demonstration of a filter cigarette; [3] demonstration of aluminum household foil; [4] the presence of moisture drops or "flavor gems" on margarine as evidence it tastes like butter; [5] a demonstration of the danger in actual use of competitive "round head razors"; [6] a depiction showing what is represented to be a comparison between competing shaving creams as to their being "moist and creamy"; [7] and others.

These cases hold that, apart from any determination of the merits of the product, a commercial must be considered illegally deceptive if purchasers may be induced to purchase a product because they have been led to believe they have seen a valid test or demonstration of it.

VI

The recent decision by the Commission in the Colgate-Palmolive Co., Ted Bates matter offers interesting comment.[8]

Truth and reality must govern the claims made for the efficiacy of a product, whether in TV advertising or in any other media. The respondents in this case made use of a "sandpaper" test on TV to prove the moisturizing power of their shaving cream on what was represented as sandpaper and what the viewers had every reason to believe was sandpaper but was actually a plexiglass mock-up. It is quite obvious that the respondents were making claims for the efficacy of their product which were not true. There is an equivalence between sandpaper and "a beard as tough as sandpaper." The product could not "shave" sandpaper in the manner and for the length of time depicted in the commercials, and equivalently it could not, in the same manner and time, shave a beard as tough as sandpaper. If the demonstration is false and it tends unfairly to divert business from competitors or to induce consumers to make purchases they might not otherwise make, it is unlawful. The heart of these television commercials was the visual demonstration—a demonstration that was in reality not demonstrating. If the public is to be induced to purchase a product by demonstrations, that demonstration must not exceed truth and reality.

It is interesting to note a few of the specific defenses raised by respondents in this case.

(a) Respondents first suggest that the use of a plexiglass mock-up was justified because television technical limitations caused sandpaper to look unreal when televised. We are advised that the use of mock-ups or props to simulate reality in TV advertising is a widespread practice in the industry. Thus, aside from the specific facts in this case, a broader question is involved, that is, whether mock-ups or simulated props may lawfully be used in TV commercials to demonstrate qualities claimed for products when the audience is told it is seeing one thing demonstrated while actually it is seeing something different. It is our opinion that the know-how of the industry in the matter of TV photography is not as inadequate as respondents have indicated. We are reliably advised that most products can be photographed properly for TV in their natural state.

Even if the TV medium in certain instances presents a problem of limitation in photographically advertising products, this could not justify a resort to falsehoods and deception to the public. If the advertiser chooses to use television advertising to sell his products, and there is a conflict between truth and TV salesmanship, then truth must prevail.

(b) Another argument was made that if a decision was rendered against the respondents, the entire TV industry would be disrupted by prohibited future use of props and simulated realities in all circumstances. This, of course, is not so. What is prohibited is a prop simulating reality which constitutes a misrepresentation that is material to the inducement of a sale of the product involved. For example, an announcer may wear a blue shirt that photo-

[2] *Maurice J. Feil* v. *FTC*, 285 F. (2) 879.
[3] Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp., Docket No. 7688.
[4] Aluminum Company of America, Docket No. 7735.
[5] Standard Brands, Inc., Docket No. 7737.
[6] Eversharp, Inc., Docket No. 7811.
[7] The Mennen Co., Docket No. 8146.
[8] This matter is pending on appeal in the U.S. Circuit Court in Boston, Mass.

graphs white; but he may not advertise a soap or detergent's "whitening" qualities by pointing to the "whiteness" of a blue shirt. This difference is the distinction between a misstatement of truth that is material to the inducement of a sale and one that is not.

(c) Respondents took the position that a television demonstration purporting to prove the qualities claimed for a product, where the public is told it is seeing one thing when it is actually seeing something different, is nonetheless lawful and not deceptive if, in fact, the product involved has the qualities claimed for it.

There is no justification for the use of a falsehood even though extrinsic to the objective value of the product to sell that product, whether or not it may deserve to be bought on its own merits. The false demonstration—the heart of the commercial—was a material element in the advertising for the sale of the product. The public and honest competitors are entitled to the protection the law gives against such unfair and deceptive advertising practices.

VII

A common method of advertising used in all media is the use of false comparisons and false disparagements. The advertisement, whether in newspapers, radio or television—whether in print, in sound or in picture—should not, directly or by implication, create an impression which is disparaging and untrue as regards other products. Advertising should be positive—based upon virtue and value of one's own product—and not upon deficiencies and defects of a competitive product.

The Commission has issued orders prohibiting disparaging, by untruthful statements or misleading or deceptive methods, including any pictorial presentation or demonstration, or any other deceptive or misleading manner, any property, quality or characteristic of any competing product.[8] If the product has merit, it should not be necessary, in order to build its sales, to attempt to tear down the integrity of another product.

Let the advertiser seek to sell his product on its own merits rather than by false comparisons and false disparagements. All meritorious consumer products are entitle to protection from these false comparisons and false disparagements.

VIII

The recent and serious criticism of advertising had its inception in the public indignation at being deceived by certain TV practices, including the scandalous, rigged TV quiz shows—then came "payola" and the use of illegal push money in the music recording field.

The consumer once again is increasingly demanding that information—not merely credible but accurate—be made available in order that his free choice, of what he will or will not buy, is not restricted. After all, the private enterprise system of America—which all consumers cherish and want to preserve—is, in reality, an outgrowth of a traditional democratic system of individual freedom of choice.

The criticism of advertising has reached the ears of the White House and the Congress. President Kennedy, in his recent message to the Congress on Programs for Protection of Consumer interests stated,

"Consumers, by definition, include us all. They are the largest economic group in the economy, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. Two-thirds of all spending in the economy is by consumers. But they are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are often not heard."

[8] Aluminum Co. case, Mennen case, Eversharp case, supra.

There are approximately 150 bills affecting advertising and marketing on file in this 87th Congress.

This charged atmosphere presents a challenge to the advertising industry—the advertiser, the agency, and the media. The industry has attempted to respond to this challenge by amending or issuing new codes and regulations.

The National Association of Broadcasters revised its code, stating: "The presentation of a product must not by copy or demonstration involve a material deception as to characteristics, performance, or appearance of the product."

The American Association of Advertising Agencies, the Association of National Advertisers, and the Advertising Federation of America jointly sponsored new advertising codes and principles, including the principle that "Good advertising tells the truth, avoiding misstatements of facts as well as possible deception through implication or omission."

Have these many advertising codes been effective in self-regulation, or have they been merely declarations of ideals rather than a description of effective rules? Has the advertising industry been sufficiently objective in appraising the industry advertising?

IX

May I at this point briefly refer to two substantial and important procedures, in the Commission's guidance program, which became effective June 1, 1962: (1) trade regulation rules and (2) advisory opinions.

(1) Under the new trade regulation rules procedure the Commission will promulgate rules which will identify practices which the Commission, based upon its factual knowledge, deems unlawful. Some of such rules may cover all applications of a particular statutory provision, others may be nationwide in effect or limited to particular areas or industries or to particular products or geographic markets. Before any such rule is issued by the Commission, an opportunity will be given to interested parties to present their written views. A public hearing may be held if it is deemed necessary. Any such rule, when issued and published in the Federal Register, may be relied upon by the Commission in any adjudicative proceeding, thereafter instituted, provided the respondent has been given a fair hearing on the legality and propriety of applying the rule to a particular case.

(2) Under the revised rules advisory opinions may be requested from the Commission as to whether a proposed course of action would be illegal. Staff members of the Commission formerly gave informal opinions not binding on the Commission. Now, after June 1, 1962, the Commission itself, where practicable, will advise if the proposed undertaking would be likely to result in further action. This advice may be revoked later if required by the public interest. However, the information submitted will not be used as a basis for a proceeding against the requesting party without prior notice and an opportunity for the party to discontinue the activity pursued in good faith in reliance upon the Commission's advice.

We have noted that at the turn of the century the criticism of advertising resulted in restrictive Federal legislation. Again in the 1930's, the criticism of advertising resulted in more restrictive Federal legislation. Will history now repeat itself? Will the present criticism of advertising again result in more restrictive legislation?

The cry for additional legislation has been heard in the Halls of Congress and the White House. The President of the United States, in his aforesaid message to the Congress on Consumer Protection, referred to the subject matter of several pending bills. He took the occasion again to advocate additional power to the Federal Trade Commission to issue temporary cease and desist orders. Industry, in its opposition to this additional grant of power, should bear in mind that the power, if granted, would, of course, be subject to judicial review and would only be used in extraordinary situations in protecting the public interest. A spokesman for the advertising industry recently defined this opposition as follows:

"Advertising is the voice of choice. It puts the decision-making power where it belongs in a democracy—in the hands of the consumer. They (proponents) would take from the people this voice of choice and hand it over to Government."

President Kennedy, in his recent consumer message to Congress, referred to this consumer choice as follows:

"Consumer choice is influenced by mass advertising utilizing highly developed arts of persuasion—whether the performance of a product will in fact meet his needs; or whether the 'large economy size' is really a bargain."

The obvious answer to this opposition is: It is agreed that truthful advertising does permit the consumer to exercise his freedom of choice in a more intelligent manner and thus to bring a more equitable and efficient utilization of the factors of production but deceptive advertising tends to produce an opposite result. Giving the Federal Trade Commission better tools to prevent deceptive advertising in its incipiency accordingly aids the consumer in the exercise of his freedom of choice and tends to preserve and strengthen the competitive free enterprise system.

## Show Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago, when it was the custom for magazines to go out of business rather than to begin publication, Huntington Hartford founded Show magazine, the magazine of the performing arts. During the course of the first year, it became the magazine of all the arts and, with its first anniversary issue, incorporated into it U.S.A. 1, a magazine of politics and current history. It has essentially become the magazine of culture—theater, movies, television, music, dance, painting, sculpture, architecture, design, literature, history, and politics.

During its first year as a publication, it has not only dealt with the arts in Europe, the Far East and other parts of the world but also has devoted a great share of its space to matters related to Washington politics and culture. It has dealt with such varied subjects as the theater-going habits of Presidents, politics as a performing art—the Vice President's whistle-stop tour of the South in 1960, and invasion of Washington by the "Advise and Consent" army, Government and television, the showmanship at Cape Canaveral, and the relationship of Government to the arts.

Huntington Hartford and Frank Gibney, the publisher, are making a real contribution to a better cultural climate in the United States.

I wish to congratulate Show upon the occasion of its first anniversary.

## There Is a Difference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ROBERT DOLE**
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, as we near the end of a frustrating session of Congress it will be refreshing and informative for all Members and other interested parties to read "There Is a Difference." This short treatise is a comparison of the Republican and Democrat Parties written by the Young Republican national chairman, Leonard J. Nadasdy. This young man has impressed Republican Party leaders throughout the country by his frank and fresh approach to politics and his relentless efforts to maintain basic freedoms and individual enterprise as the backbone of responsible government.

The treatise is as follows:

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE

Never in the history of this country has there been a greater need for a simple explanation and a clear interpretation of the principles upon which a savage wilderness was converted into the most productive nation in the world, and in only nine generations. The Republican Party stands today as a beacon of individual liberty, pointing the way for all Americans. As young Republicans, it is particularly important for us to know the objectives of our party and especially to understand those issues which clearly separate us from the false doctrines and practices of the Democrat Party.

FREE ENTERPRISE VERSUS SOCIALISM

History reveals that few countries have ever been destroyed entirely by outside forces; they were corrupted from within. These nations usually committed national suicide by building a governmental Frankenstein without regard to the pyramiding economic burden which it created. In republics this was often accomplished under the hypnotic spell of demagogues promising effortless economic elevation to a gullible electorate.

The story of a nation's downfall has been, in one way or another, the chronicle of its unwillingness to face reality. Time and again, the apparent easy way out was selected. The people were led astray by misguided leaders or through accepting the idea that undesirable developments were inevitable. They listened to promises that unromantic hard work could be done away with and difficult problems pushed aside.

Today the United States faces a similar situation. While the Republican Party stands firmly on the proposition of individual responsibility, the Democrat Party preaches freedom from responsibility. Whereas the Republican Party stresses more individual initiative at State and local levels, the Democrat Party has consistently urged that more power be given to the Federal Government at the expense of the State and community.

The Republican Party is not just a brake upon the vehicle of government headed down the road to socialism; rather it is the road itself to greater individual freedom. Some students of politics like to say that socialism is inevitable and that present-day conservative thought can only slow down this trend. This is not the case.

The conservative ideals of the Republican Party represent true progress. The principles which the Republican Party wants to conserve are some of the most revolutionary thoughts on record—the rights of man and the responsibilities of government as described in the Constitution of the United States and the writings of the founders of this country.

The greatest threat to all mankind throughout history has always been the encroaching power of the government. The Republican Party stands with the freedom-seeking man through the ages and is fighting for his right to make his own choice. The Democrat Party represents not a liberal view, but the reactionary thought of rule by an oligarchy—government by a chosen few. The Republican Party believes that government is the servant and not the master of the people. Order preserved through a reasonable degree of government is one thing, but the constantly growing Federal power as espoused by the Democrat Party can come only at the expense of the individual.

This is why there is nothing negative about the Republican Party's urging of the Jeffersonian concept of limited government. This is our way of saying we believe that the individual and his community will best prosper under conditions of maximum economic and political freedom.

REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS FOR PROGRESS

The Republican Party is progressive in thought and supports the premise of an expanding economy. We favor any change for the better in our business community and in working conditions for all men. However, while we favor change, the Republican Party is firmly opposed to reckless or thoughtless tinkering with the political and economic foundations of this Nation.

Interestingly, a belief in liberty requires a willingness to accept the sometimes far-reaching changes that free-market forces bring about. In their constant efforts to control production, the Democrats reveal their own fear of change. This is why they are actually reactionary in political thought. The principle of freedom in the marketplace is an economic reflection of political liberty. It is also sound practical sense, because free enterprise brings the greatest good for the greatest number.

ECONOMIC AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

The fundamental issue dividing the Republican Party from the Democrat Party concerns the role of the Federal Government in this Nation's economic affairs and the attitude of the Government toward its own fiscal affairs. Both parties, through their platforms, say they are for economic growth and promise Government action to promote it. Both parties also support the rights of man.

If you were to examine the constitutions of the Soviet Union and other totalitarian countries, you would find these same rights of work, rest, and education guaranteed. It is the means that would provide these rights which separates Republican philosophy from the beliefs of the Democrat Party and of the Socialists.

The Democrats do not promise a new birth of individual liberty but rather provide for its gradual suffocation by an all-powerful Federal Government. The rights they proudly proclaim in their platform come only at the sufferance of the Federal Government and are to be put into effect through elaborate Government control. An unbridgable chasm exists between this thinking and the author of the American Constitution.

The Democrats say that the Federal Government must create new abundance, that the economy must grow at an average rate of 5 percent come what may, and that the Government must act to achieve that goal. The Democrat platform puts growth and absolute full employment as the paramount objectives of the Federal Government to which all else is subordinated.

The Republicans flatly reject this concept of artificial economic growth forced by massive new Federal spending and loose money policies. We believe that the only way to accelerate economic growth is to increase the traditional strengths of our free economy—initiative, investment, productivity and efficiency. While the Democrats promote the artificial lowering of interest rates and the increasing of credit dollars, the Republican Party firmly supports the independence of the Federal Reserve System in maintaining a stable dollar and in preserving the value of the people's savings and earnings.

The Republican Party believes that any growth in Government must come from the vitality of the free enterprise system. A long standing principle of our party has always been the need for fiscal responsibility. The Republican platform calls for new Government spending on individual projects to be measured against the cumulative effect of its actions on the total budget and except in time of true adversity expenditures should be covered by revenues.

Here is the deep difference in faith between the two parties. For all the praise the Democrat Party has for the free enterprise system, it has no faith that a free economy can achieve the goals of growth and greater well-being for the people; they believe the Government must take over the job. The Republican Party recognizes that the free enterprise system is the source from which the Government must draw that which it would do for the people. We do not offer the illusion that the Government can create wealth by destroying the system that made us the wealthiest Nation in the world.

Examine the speeches by spokesmen for both parties to better understand the beliefs of the two parties. Senator FRANK CHURCH, keynoter at the 1960 Democrat National Convention, stated very clearly that the issue was between the individual and his Government. He said, "Are we to become a modern Babylon of public want amidst private glut? Private dissipation flourishes while public education flounders. Private slums spread in the rotting cores of our big cities, yet our urban renewal and public housing programs are too little and too late."

Contrast this statist's thinking with the words of Congressman WALTER JUDD who said, "I think we can state it as a law that whenever a government does for its citizens that which they have the capacity to do for themselves, individually and in groups, it begins to destroy both their capacity and their incentive to do for themselves. It begins to weaken rather than to strengthen the foundations of freedom as a means of progress."

These are two very different philosophies of government. The Democrat Party would have the Federal Government do everything for every man. The Republican Party would have the Government do only that which the individual or the local community cannot do. The Democrat Party would have a central Government direct the lives and fortunes of each of us. Our party would have the individual make his own decisions.

Adlai Stevenson recently inquired, "With the supermarket as our temple and singing commercial as our litany, are we likely to fire the world with an irresistible vision of America's exalted purposes and inspiring way of life?" His apparent answer is "no." He believes the pendulum must swing from private interest to public—that is government—responsibility. Some of these more articulate Democrats keep casting about for a higher purpose to which we can dedicate ourselves.

The new higher sense of purpose happens to be something rather old called collectivism. They believe that the Government should reorganize this society to see that our money is spent on the right things instead of on things which the "foolish" individual may desire. Stevenson has also attacked the

"mystique of privacy" that seems to be so widespread in this country. He says, "The face which we present to the world * * * is the face of the individual or the family as a high consumptive unit with minimal social links or responsibilities—father happily drinking his beer, mother dreamily fondling soft garments newly rinsed in a wonderful new detergent, the children gaily calling from the new barbecue pit for a famous sauce for their steak."

This, remember, is criticism by Mr. Stevenson. We are wrong, it seems, because our Nation so highly values the individual, the family privacy and the pursuit of happiness. That's not the way, say the Democrat critics, that America is going to fire the world with the vision of its purpose.

The Republican Party believes that there is no higher political vision than an open society of individual liberty. Tourists in Europe can not help being impressed by the "Americanization" of the continent. We did not force it upon them—they clamored for it. Father happy, mother dreamy, children playing—this is the American vision and what the whole world wants. It represents not only economic well-being, but political and religious liberty as well. These were the beacons that have called the poor and oppressed to our shores from the very beginning of our Nation. If we were to follow Adlai Stevenson's advice and close down these beacons in the darkness of collectivism, we would not only disappoint the world, but also destroy our own true sense of purpose.

REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS

What has been discussed thus far has dealt entirely with the differences in basic Republican and Democrat philosophies. Let's turn next to the realities of American politics and see what has been accomplished by the two parties.

The issue of government spending shows a deep split between Democrats and Republicans when the record of Congress is examined. The Republicans produced the largest budgetary surplus ($8.4 billion) in U.S. history in 1948 when Republicans controlled Congress. Spending was cut in fiscal 1954 and 1955 when the President had a Republican Congress to work with. The Democrat Party is responsible for running up 93.4 percent of the current national debt. This same party has approved deficit spending budgets or deficiency appropriations resulting in deficits during 20 of the last 27 years.

The Republican Party has produced nine major tax cuts—the last (in 1954) for $7.5 billion. The Democrats have enacted 20 major tax increases which nevertheless failed to equal their spending. Republicans prepared a balanced budget for the fiscal year 1961, which will have an $8 billion deficit because of extra spending by the Democrat administration. Worst of all, the Democrat Party is responsible for producing an inflation which cut the buying power of the dollar from 100 cents in 1937 to 52 cents by 1952, the last year of the Truman administration.

The rights of individuals are paramount in importance to the Republican Party. Labor legislation sponsored by Republican members of Congress bears this out. The Taft-Hartley law and other bills have been passed to protect the rights of the workingman within and without a union. Improved safety standards and better working conditions have come through Republican efforts. The big difference between the Republican and Democrat positions is that our party works for freedom of opportunity while the Democrats continually press for more governmental controls.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

What the Republican Party is striving to protect and promote is our American way of life. This high standard of living with its freedom of choice cannot be kept by having absolute controls over prices, wages, salaries, choice of occupation, right to expand, and similar other activities of a free society. If the United States resorts to these measures urged by the Democrat Party, we surrender many of our freedoms and threaten others.

There are many lessons to be learned from history—and especially from the record of man's struggle to maintain his freedom. Every generation must have the wisdom, the courage, and the toughness to accept the responsibilities that are uniquely theirs. If they do not—if difficult problems are pushed aside—the generations that follow will surely pay the price. The Democrat Party rests firmly on the basis of a "credit card" government philosophy—buying today and hoping that the future will pick up the tab.

When a people desire freedom from responsibility more than they want freedom of choice, they lose both. The Democrat Party stands for and promotes the principle of "cradle to the grave" protection and control.

The Republican Party recognizes the importance of the individual to work, to act and achieve by his own labor, skill, and ingenuity, for himself and for his family. Individual enterprise begins with the dignity of the individual and his freedom to choose for himself. We believe that man is a unit within himself and not a pawn to weave into a pattern for the few to manipulate the many.

The Republican Party maintains that man is the government and not the servant of it. He is the worker who creates and his ability to create in terms of serving others is the product of his incentive and a measure of his reward.

Our party is convinced that anything new or of benefit is the result of individual enterprise—not group action alone. Committees can't create; it's the individual who grapples with a problem and brings out a successful solution. Individual enterprise crossed the ocean and started a new country, felled trees and built homes, twisted a wire and made a paper clip, heated a test tube and produced a vaccine, and cleared a corner lot and built a grocery store.

Initiative created the means for serving the needs of others and provided jobs and opportunities for neighboring hands. Individual enterprise is the beginning of all things. It's a home with a heart and a heart for the future. It's "kids" in school with a skill to learn. It's competitive play in sports without a cushioned guarantee of winning. It's the salesman with an idea and a rugged territory. It's the farmer with fortitude and a way of life. Individual enterprise digs in and gets the job done.

Destroy individual enterprise and you break the benefits for everyone. This is why we in the Republican Party believe that in government, in business, in labor, or in the home—it's the individual that counts. If these are the beliefs to which you subscribe, then get active. Final victory goes to those who want it the most and are willing to exert the necessary effort. The Republican Party through the Young Republicans offers you an opportunity to be politically effective. This is your chance to work for your hopes, dreams, and ideals by electing sound conservatives to public office. Contact your local Young Republican Club today.

## Hail and Farewell to Representative Herbert Zelenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a distinguished member of the New York delegation who will not return to the House in the forthcoming Congress; Representative HERBERT ZELENKO, of the 21st District in New York City. As an unfortunate result of a Republican gerrymander, two Democratic Congressmen found themselves in the same district and the gentleman from New York, HERBERT ZELENKO, was pitted against one of his own Democratic colleagues in the primaries. Of two proven legislators, one had to lose—one had to win. The gentleman from New York, HERBERT ZELENKO, served the House throughout the 84th, 85th, 86th, and 87th Congresses. He served with diligence and great competence. His work on the House Committee on Education and Labor and on Merchant Marine and Fisheries commands the deep respect of his colleagues, and the gratitude of his constituents.

The gentleman from New York, HERBERT ZELENKO, is returning to his chosen profession of the practice of law. We who know him, know that he will be an ornament to that profession, as he has been to this House.

## Popularity of Kennedy at New Low

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I attach herewith the Gallup poll of October 10 with reference to the President's popularity across the Nation which indicates that the President's handling of his job is at an alltime low since he came into the Presidency.

I know that in my own area which contains a very substantial farm population that the people there are very unhappy with the so-called Kennedy-Cochran-Freeman farm bill. That bill would fix 50-percent parity or 80 cents per bushel for corn. That would be the lowest support price for corn since before World War II.

POPULARITY OF KENNEDY AT NEW LOW

PRINCETON, N.J.—On the eve of the riots in Oxford, Miss., President Kennedy's popularity across the Nation had slumped to a new low point—with most of the loss a result of dissatisfaction by southern voters.

In a nationwide check completed as the Mississippi situation was building to the violent climax in which Federal troops were sent into that State, 62 percent of voters across the country gave the President a vote of confidence.

The current popularity score—representing a drop-off of 5 percentage points in 1 month—is the lowest yet recorded for Kennedy during his first term in office.

Gallup poll reporters in the latest survey asked:

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Kennedy is handling his job as President?"

*Kennedy popularity*

NATIONWIDE, LATEST POLL

| | Percent |
|---|---|
| Approve | 62 |
| Disapprove | 22 |
| No opinion | 16 |

EARLY SEPTEMBER

| | Percent |
|---|---|
| Approve | 67 |
| Disapprove | 20 |
| No opinion | 13 |

*Kennedy popularity*

SOUTH ONLY, LATEST POLL

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 52 |
| Disapprove | 24 |
| No opinion | 24 |

EARLY SEPTEMBER

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 65 |
| Disapprove | 20 |
| No opinion | 15 |

Outside the South, the President's popularity has remained relatively firm.

## Position of Big Rivers Rural Electric Cooperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. DON MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, we in the State of Washington are justly proud of our public utility districts and rural electric cooperatives. We believe that they offer the finest and lowest utility rates in the Nation and have done much to stimulate the economic growth of our region. With this in mind, we in the State of Washington are vitally interested in the efforts of other areas to expand their low-cost power systems. Such an effort now is taking place in western Kentucky where the Rural Electrification Administration has approved an $18 million loan to the Big Rivers Rural Electric Cooperative Corp., of Henerson, Ky., to build a 75,000-kilowatt generating plan and transmission lines. This will result in much lower power costs for 132,000 rural Kentuckians. Since the private utility side of this issue already has been presented in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like my colleagues to see the following correspondence which details the Big Rivers-REA case for this worthwhile project:

SEPTEMBER 13, 1962.

Mr. FLOYD I. FAIRMAN,
*President, Kentucky Utilities Co., Lexington, Ky.*

DEAR MR. FAIRMAN: You will remember that you sent me a copy of your July 13 letter to the Administrator of REA requesting, without giving any justification therefor, that he revoke his approval of our Big Rivers loan.

After reading your letter, we in Big Rivers are convinced that either you are badly misinformed or you are intentionally misstating the facts. In either instance your action is obviously designed to prevent some 132,000 people in Kentucky from achieving their long-sought desire of a firm supply of low-cost dependable electricity, but rather you would have these Kentucky people remain under the burdens cast upon them by your company.

First, we find throughout your letter references to "expenditure" of the taxpayers' money and "waste of Federal funds." The use of these terms is obviously calculated to arouse the emotions of individuals so that they will be impressed by your contentions. You use them however knowing full well that you are incorrect. All funds advanced by REA are loans to cooperatives which they must repay with interest. Since you are so uninformed on this subject, you might be interested in knowing that since the beginning of REA it has loaned as of June 30, 1962, $4,680,742,660. The cooperatives, the borrowers, have repaid $911,981,911 on the principal and $532,400,567 in interest. The borrowers have actually repaid $185,856,843 in advance of the due date.

You also refer to the cooperatives as "subsidies" and as "socializing" the electric industry. It would appear to us that you as a private utility are in a poor position to talk about subsidies when the Government has given you the right to rapid tax write-off. It is your company and not our cooperatives that is being subsidized. The free money which you have received under this fast tax write-off far exceeds the loan made to Big Rivers. While this free money has been made available to you to use as you see fit, our borrowed money must be repaid with interest. The astounding fact that arises from this free money arrangement is that fast tax write-offs to the utility industry as a whole have exceeded the total amount REA has loaned to its combined borrowers since it has been in existence. Furthermore only prejudiced minds can say the cooperatives are Government-owned when specific groups of local rural people own, operate, and control the cooperatives. Quite frankly, it is an excellent example of the people doing for themselves what your company has bypassed as profitless, and thus you have failed to meet the real test of public service.

The Kentucky Utilities Co. was fully aware of the Big Rivers loan.

We are surprised at your contention that you were not informed about the Big Rivers proposal, especially in face of the following facts which obviously made you well informed.

1. As early as June 19, 1961, we had a public meeting of our three member cooperatives, guests, and representatives of the press, at which time our intention to build a generating plant, if necessary, was stated and newspaper stories both in Owensboro and throughout Kentucky carried our public announcement.

2. On September 1, 1961, Mr. J. R. Miller, the coordinator for Big Rivers and manager of Green River RECC was in a conference with Mr. Jack Germain and Mr. Morton Holbrook of Owensboro, and Mr. Harry Blanton and Mr. Bill Skinner, both from your company, at Owensboro, Ky. At that time all persons in attendance were advised that Henderson Union, Green River, and Meade County people definitely intended to build their own plant unless their suppliers removed the burdens under which they were operating.

3. On January 5, 1962, Mr. Foley Treadway, our engineer, and Mr. Miller met with Mr. Skinner, Mr. William Duncan, and Mr. Harry Blanton, all of your company, at which time they were given the complete load requirements of all three member cooperatives of Big Rivers. At that time, Mr. Treadway and Mr. Miller requested your officials to make their best proposal to Big Rivers.

4. On April 25, 1962, the Henderson Gleaner-Journal reported the filing of the Big Rivers loan by a headline stating "REA Approval Sought for Big Rivers Project."

5. On April 26, 1962, the Evansville Courier carried the same information under a banner, "Electric Co-op Loan Bid Studied."

6. Again on April 27, 1962, the Owensboro Messenger-Inquirer carried the story in an article, "REA Studying Request by Big Rivers Co-op for Generating Plant."

7. To top off informing you as well as the general public of the filing of the Big Rivers loan application, your own "Electrical World" the week of May 21, 1962, fully reported the filing.

8. You obviously knew about the Big Rivers loan when you requested and were granted a conference with the Administrator of REA.

In face of all the foregoing, we cannot see how you can honestly claim a veil of secrecy surrounding this loan.

The Kentucky Utilities Co. was given a full opportunity to present their proposal.

It is absolutely incorrect that your company was not afforded an opportunity to submit "their own proposal for the furnishing of such service to the involved distribution cooperatives." As stated above, the cooperative representatives presented their energy requirements to your company officials as early as last January. After studying these requirements you then made to us what you called your best proposal. To insure that the proposal you made was not misunderstood, we restated it to you in a letter dated March 13, 1962. Your proposal and all the correspondence between your company and Big Rivers were submitted to the Administrator as a prerequisite to his consideration of our application. When you met with the Administrator, you certainly had a full opportunity to present a new or different proposal. However, you did not choose to do so but merely restated your previous proposal.

A full public hearing is available to the Kentucky Utilities Co.

As you well know, your company will have a full opportunity to air the Big Rivers proposal before the Public Service Commission of Kentucky. The House Committee on Agriculture report to which you referred also said, "The ultimate consumer is entitled to the most advantageous source of power, determined by bringing together all pertinent facts in an objective manner." The Public Service Commission of Kentucky challenged by law with protecting the interest of the "ultimate consumer" will in a public hearing on the Big Rivers proposal determine the "facts in an objective manner." Therefore the granting of the Big Rivers loan does not entitled it to build its proposed system as you so eloquently infer. Furthermore, REA will not advance any funds unless the Kentucky Public Service Commission determines a public need. We are willing to submit the merits of our case to the Public Service Commission of Kentucky. If you have the interest of the Kentucky electric consumers at heart as you have for years contended, then you will agree that the proper place for the hearing is before the Kentucky Public Service Commission. If you are contending that a public hearing should be held by the administrator before he approves a loan, then you are deliberately imposing an undue burdensome procedure upon "the ultimate consumer."

Since your so-called public hearing before the Administrator cannot lawfully authorize the construction of a generation and transmission system, it would serve no useful purpose. Such a proposed hearing could then only be designed to indefinitely delay the "ultimate consumer" from achieving "the most advantageous source of power." This indefinite delay would be calculated to destroy the initiative of the "ultimate consumer" who does not possess a wealth of time and financial support.

The granting of the Big Rivers loan was in full accord with the House Committee on Agriculture report and completely within the authority of the Administrator.

Any fair person who is not prejudiced toward our program would certainly agree that the Administrator has fully complied with the intent and purpose of the committee recommendation in approving the Big Rivers proposal.

Contrary to your assertions concerning the administration of the REA program, each year the Administrator goes to Congress for

an appropriation, it is fully advised of the tests he applies to REA loans. Furthermore, no challenge of the administration of REA by those who would destroy our program neither in Congress nor the courts has ever been sustained.

How you can contend that the Administrator's loan approval was illegal and beyond his authority we absolutely cannot understand. Again either you are trying to win friends and influence supporters or you are badly misinformed. Surely you know the courts have refused to declare loans such as ours illegal and beyond the authority of the Administrator.

For at least 2 years prior to making a formal application the proponents of Big Rivers discussed their needs with REA officials. These discussions together with the material supplied with the loan application gave the Administrator and his staff sufficient time and information on which to make a sound decision.

We believe the Administrator's reply to your letter adequately explained his consideration of our loan application. In order to insure that everyone concerned has an opportunity to see this reply we are enclosing herewith a copy of that letter.

We again feel that the Administrator quite adequately answered the charges made by you and other in his recent letter to the editor of the Washington Post. We requested the Administrator to furnish us a copy of this letter and we are enclosing it so that you might possibly become better informed on our program.

The Big Rivers proposal is sound and will satisfy the needs of some 132,000 Kentucky people.

Your attempted comparison of Big Rivers to East Kentucky Generation and Transmission Cooperative is completely incorrect. Your statement as to our power costs under rate 61 completely neglects the added costs to the co-ops of transmitting the power they purchase from you. The figures you use from East Kentucky's system are incorrect, therefore your conclusions are false.

Since we intend to prove before the Kentucky Public Service Commission that Big Rivers will deliver electricity at a lower cost than from your company, we do not think it necessary to discuss it here. Why did you make the statement in your letter, "we offered to these co-ops new ocntracts which would not restrict the co-ops in any way whatever as to the character of type or size of load they could serve"? You know that is not true. We know it hurts, but what is true is that your proposal was simply a restatement of our existing contracts.

Your statement that our relationship has been good is another misstatement. Since you have been able to dictate the relationship which exists between us, we can see how you can say the relationship has been friendly. Certainly a private utility with a restrictive contract such as your Rate 61 cannot possibly be on a friendly basis with a distributor. Your wholesale rate to us dictates the very minimum rate we must charge our consumers, and the restriction in Rate 61 dictates the type of service our consumers can receive. Certainly your record reflects the numerous instances of conflict, such as your attempt to raise our wholesale rates. We were forced to resist your attempt and were successful only after proving the rate increase was unjustified. Possibly your memory would be refreshed if you would again read this case known as Kentucky Public Service Commission case No. 3324.

As long as private utilities such as yours fail to meet the needs of the people, they will continue to do for themselves what you refuse to do for them. Since you have been unwilling to satisfy these needs, we cannot understand why you continue to attempt to hamper us from achieving the service that is rightfully ours.

Very truly yours,

BIG RIVERS RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE CORP.,
By KENNETH COLEMAN,
*President.*

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SEPTEMBER 13, 1962.

Mr. J. R. WIGGINS,
*Editor and Executive Vice President,*
*The Washington Post,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. WIGGINS: A United Press International story appearing in the August 22 Washington Post quotes Edison Electric Institute Vice President Edwin Vennard as charging that the Rural Electrification Administration has overstepped its legislative mandate by "promoting Government ownership of the electric power business."

This charge is malicious and unfounded. The rural electric cooperatives which represent the overwhelming majority of REA's borrowers are not a form of "Government ownership," but are local, free independent enterprise. They are owned by specific groups of rural people, not the public or the Government. REA, the Federal agency from which the cooperatives have borrowed money, owns not a single pole, transformer, or mile of line. In a sense, REA is the banker for the rural electric systems, and the cooperatives are paying back the money they have borrowed from REA, on time, ahead of time, and with interest. In fact, the principal repayments amount to more than a billion dollars, and interest payments more than a half-billion dollars.

The cooperatives may not use REA loan funds to serve any consumer who already is receiving central station electric service from another supplier. The consumers now being connected by cooperatives are new consumers in the areas they pioneered and developed—areas that were bypassed as profitless by some of the very companies Mr. Vennard represents.

REA was created in 1935 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to carry electricity to rural areas of the United States. At that time only about 1 farm in 10 in this country was receiving central station electric service. After power companies failed to apply for REA loans in any substantial numbers, rural electric cooperatives were organized to fill the vacuum, and largely through their efforts and leadership, more than 97 percent of America's farms are electrified today, together with millions of nonfarm rural establishments.

The work of REA's borrowers is not done today, as Mr. Vennard charges, any more than the job of the commercial utilities which Mr. Vennard represents is finished. The job of electrification is just beginning when the initial connection is made. In the months and years which follow connections, each consumer uses more and more electricity, necessitating improvements in the system and new sources of wholesale power to satisfy the rising demand. Mr. Vennard's own institute has stated that demand for power on the lines of ESI members is doubling every 10 years. On the lines of REA borrowers, power consumption is doubling every 7 to 9 years. The job of rural electrification is far from finished.

Mr. Vennard also questions the right of REA borrowers to serve "large industries" which build in their service areas. There is nothing in the Rural Electrification Act or in the legislative history of that act to prohibit such service, although in point of fact REA borrowers serve few industries which could be described as "large." In a number of sparsely settled areas of the United States the existence of commercial loads helps to make cooperative projects feasible, so that even where there is only one farm or ranch per mile of line, it is possible to serve those farms at reasonable rates. Even today, the systems financed by REA serve only an average of 3.3 consumers to the mile of line; power companies serve 30 to 40 consumers to the mile. To do their job efficiently in such areas, cooperative systems must be allowed to serve all consumers in the territories they have developed—the large ones as well as the small ones, the more populated areas as well as the sparsely settled ones.

Finally, REA has financed no "unnecessary" generating plants or transmission lines. Generation and transmission loans are approved by REA only when they are absolutely necessary to assure distribution borrowers of adequate or dependable power, lower cost power, or power free of unfair restrictions aimed at hampering their future security and effectiveness. Where REA borrowers are able to purchase wholesale power in adequate amounts, at reasonable rates, under equitable contracts, they are more than willing to buy power instead of generating it. In fiscal year 1961, for example, our borrowers purchased 38 percent of their wholesale power from commercial electric companies; they generated 16 percent of their power requirements themselves.

When REA is forced to make a generation and transmission loan, Mr. Vennard charges "secrecy." What he means is that the power companies with which the cooperative have been attempting to negotiate for wholesale electricity should be apprised of every detail of the cooperatives' alternative plan for obtaining power. Mr. Vennard means that the very power companies which have failed to negotiate in good faith, which have refused to offer reasonable terms to the cooperatives, and which have forced the cooperatives to move ahead—at considerable cost—with their own power supply proposal, should have the right to review and the opportunity to veto that proposal. This would be an unjustifiable invasion of the cooperatives' private business. I repeat, cooperatives are private enterprise.

In summary, there has been no "deviation" either by REA or its borrowers from the original intent and purpose of the rural electrification program, which is to improve rural living through the benefits of electric power by means of long-term, interest-bearing loans to local organizations of rural people.

Sincerely yours,

———,
*Administrator.*

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION,
*Washington, D.C., August 2, 1962.*

Mr. FLOYD I. FAIRMAN,
*President, Kentucky Utilities Co.,*
*Lexington, Ky.*

DEAR MR. FAIRMAN: In your letter of July 13 you made a request on behalf of Kentucky Utilities Co. that I revoke my approval of the loan requested from REA by the Big Rivers Rural Electric Cooperative Corp. for the construction of a 66 megawatt steam generating plant, 282 miles of transmission line, and related facilities.

You also requested engineering and economic data from our files which would enable you to make cost comparisons and asked me to hold a hearing for the presentation of facts which you believe should be considered before this loan is committed.

Approval of loans by the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration is given only after careful and detailed study of the application has been made by our staff. It is necessary that the application and proposed purposes of the loan meet fully the requirements of the Rural Electrification Act and the announced policy of REA within the limitations of that act. These applications

are thoroughly checked, both from the standpoint of economic feasibility and technical soundness. They are carefully examined to determine their legal sufficiency. The proposed loan to Red Rivers ECC has passed all of these tests and on the basis of our studies will make possible savings of over $3 million in wholesale power costs to the cooperative systems to be served during the initial 10-year period of plant operation. The approval was not lightly given and its withdrawal would be both unwarranted and unreasonable on the basis suggested in your letter.

The position of the Rural Electrification Administration with respect to the custody of engineering and economic data submitted by applicants in support of their loan requests has been clearly stated on a number of occasions. I am sure that you understand what our policy is. In case there is any doubt of it, I am enclosing a copy of the recent bulletin issued on the subject which reviews in detail REA policy in this regard.

REA seeks to encourage its borrowers to secure power from existing wholesale suppliers where this power is available at as low a rate as it can be secured through other arrangements and where it is available on fair and reasonable terms. To this end we encourage our borrowers to negotiate fully with existing suppliers. The record shows that the three cooperatives to be served by Big Rivers RECC and Big Rivers RECC itself have attempted to negotiate a more favorable contract with your company over an extended period of time. The company chose to stand by its offer of schedule 61 as recently as last March and there was no indication on the part of Mr. Skinner and Mr. Blanton when they called on me in June that the company had changed its position on the matter of rates. Louisville Gas & Electric Co. also declined to make any contract modification, other than an offer to purchase the cooperative's system.

I see no useful purpose in the interest of the rural electrification program or the Government in holding a hearing on this application or any similar application for generation and transmission loan funds. These loans are made only if they meet our published criteria, and REA is fully accountable to the Congress and the public for the loans it makes. Furthermore, in this particular instance, as you know, there will be a full public hearing, not on the REA loan, but on the public interest considerations of the State of Kentucky before the Public Service Commission of Kentucky. I am sure that Kentucky Utilities will have full opportunity to present its position on this project at that time.

We do encourage our borrowers to negotiate with existing power suppliers; but if these negotiations are to be in good faith and are to be fruitful, they must be carried on between the borrower and the power suppliers involved before our borrowers have been forced to the expense and effort necessary to perfect a successful application for an REA generating and transmission loan. Kentucky Utilities had full opportunity to do this. It was certainly aware of the intention of the cooperatives to attempt to work out other means of power supply in the event their negotiations with Kentucky Utilities were unsuccessful.

I regret that it was necessary for the cooperatives to seek their own generation and transmission facilities to meet their power supply needs on the most advantageous basis possible, but it was the insistence of Kentucky Utilities on rates and terms which the cooperatives found were not the most advantageous that prompted their application for a loan.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN N. CLAPP,
*Administrator.*

## Frank Boykin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, one of the most touching letters I have ever read was one written to Congressman FRANK BOYKIN by his daughter-in-law, affectionately known as Beppie Boykin. This letter was written shortly after Mr. BOYKIN's tragic defeat in Alabama. It bears no date but its composition was sometime contemporaneous with the recent statewide primary in Alabama. FRANK BOYKIN has a big heart. As long as he lives, he will go through life trying to help everybody. His type of enigma only comes once in a lifetime.

This was written by one of the many broken hearts which resulted from the defeat of my friend, FRANK BOYKIN.

MCINTOSH, ALA.,
*May 30, 1962.*

DEAREST PAPA: Ever since that day so long ago in 1945 when you put your arm around me in affection, and took me to the train in Washington when Dick and I had just gotten married, I've loved you and been proud of you. You have been kind, sweet, and generous to me—and to everybody. But that's not why I've loved you.

Since 8 or 10 years ago, I recognized in your inherent being, something truly different and apart from other people. Not your wonderful laughter, flamboyant speech or distinguished appearance—but something intangible—disparate from public acclaim, money or anything mundane. I realized you truly were seeking to do your Father's business.

Since that time, I've never known you to intentionally degrade or vilify another person. I've never known you to hold a grudge for the contradictions in a person's nature which inclined them to want to hurt you. I've never known any person who could carry suffering like a badge of honor. You did. I've never known any person who truly lived and thought "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." You do.

I've never known a person of whom I have thought, "Here is a man, called of God, to set the example of the strong to the weak." You are such a man. Life is so full of sorrow, and joy, disappointment and pain. Most of us are so weak. Without a captain to follow, we are lost on the black ocean of defeat. But, you. You are different.

Your sorrows and joys have all been worn with the courage of Him who knew sorrow and defeat before you. So is it really defeat? No, dear, dear Papa. You have won the greatest victory man ever won, that of finding the invisible road of doing what is right and honorable, and the most important thing about this is, you did it alone and by yourself, that in itself far surpasses any accolade you may receive, ever, for there will be many more for a man such as you would never go unnoticed.

And in your congressional defeat your attitude will make many weak men stronger for having observed victory in yourself.

I am more proud of you today than I was 3 weeks ago because I know your forgiving heart will make tough men ashamed, hard hearts softer and proud friends more proud.

Now you can be free of all the leeches who wanted too much without giving one thing. You can spread your wonderful sunshine without shackles any more, so do it and never look back. You have too many guardian angels looking after you, so I know life will now in some measure repay you for all the great and wonderful things you have done.

Just feel sorry for the little people, with little hearts and minds who will wander erratically through life and never know any good thoughts or good rewards.

I love you.

BEPPIE BOYKIN.

## Cuban Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mrs. Harold Chait, president, Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom, together with a statement of the program of this group and articles from the press covering this subject:

BALTIMORE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE
FOR CUBAN FREEDOM,
*Baltimore, Md., October 3, 1962.*

Hon. GEORGE H. FALLON,
*U.S. House of Representatives,*
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FALLON: On February 20, 1962, you inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at the request of the Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom, an article by the Baltimore Evening Sun, titled "Freedom Fighters: Frederick Cleric Enlists in Anti-Castro Movement," which was about our honorary chaplain, Rev. Father Joseph F. Thorning. Because of your magnificent cooperation in doing this for us we now are writing for you to consider inserting the enclosed three articles, about our "philosophy of freedom" program for the Cuban children. I also enclose the article I wrote and turned over to the press. It would be interesting to insert my original copy too.

We feel that our program merits public support. An insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would help tremendously.

If it is possible, when you finish with the enclosed clippings please return them to me. Thank you very much for your courtesy and consideration in this request.

Sincerely yours,

PHYLLIS CHAIT, *President.*

COPY SUBMITTED TO BALTIMORE EVENING SUN
(By Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom)

A "philosophy of freedom" program for Cuban refugee children has been launched here, by the Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom. The program, according to Committee President Mrs. Harold B. Chait is to educate the refugee children in the value and principles of democracy.

"What is happening to Cuban children is the real tragedy of Castro's Cuba," Mrs. Chaitt said. "The Communists are indoctrinating Cuban children from the age of 3 up. More than a million young people are being systematically brainwashed. We feel we must do something to rescue at least a few members of that lost generation."

The committee is offering classes for the study of the democratic heritage of both the

United States and Cuba. Mrs. Manuel Alpendre, committee secretary, a former kindergarten teacher, is instructing refugee children in the lives and philosophies of Washington, Lincoln, and Cuba's Jose Marti.

"We are taking field trips to nearby national monuments and historic sites," Mrs. Chait said. "We want the children to visit Mount Vernon, Lincoln's Tomb, Fort McHenry, and other symbols of freedom. Last week we visited Annapolis and were greeted by Gov. J. Millard Tawes."

Mrs. Chait said a number of refugee children had offered to contribute pennies to a fund for restoring the American Eagle which was atop the Maine Monument in Havana. The Eagle was topped by order of the Castro regime and replaced by a Soviet "peace" dove.

"It was a very touching gesture," Mrs. Chait said, "but we felt that perhaps it would be better if the children understood the true meaning of such monuments.

"It's not our purpose to indoctrinate them in American history," Mrs. Chait continued. "Nor is this a sort of Americanization program. We want the children to understand the universal principles of human freedom and the fallacies of communism. We also want these children to understand what has happened to them—some of the younger ones aren't sure why they are here. And we want them to know what is going on in their homeland right now."

"The Cuban Communists have launched a massive campaign to capture the country's youth. Thousands of children are being shipped to Russia for indoctrination. Communist teachers indoctrinate hundred of thousands of others in state schools. One estimate is that well over 100,000 Cuban youths are now fanatic Communists.

"Our program is only a small part of an operation to rescue and preserve for democracy at least a few of those children. Nearly 30,000 have already left Cuba and more arrive in the U.S. every day. Parents unable to leave put their children on outbound planes with nothing more than a frantic note appealing for help pinned to the child's shirt or blouse. Every night brave men risk their lives slipping into Cuba in small boats to ferry a few more children to freedom.

"We are determined that bravery and trust shall not be betrayed."

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[Article as it appeared in the Baltimore Sun]

CUBAN CHILDREN TRAINING SET

A "philosophy of freedom" program for Cuban refugee children is being launched by the Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom.

The committee plans to offer classes for the study of the Democratic heritage of both the United States and Cuba. It is also planning field trips to nearby national monuments and historic sites.

Mrs. Harold B. Chait, committee president, said the program was not an attempt to indoctrinate the children in American history.

"Nor is this a sort of Americanization program," she said, "We want the children to understand the universal principles of human freedom and the fallacies of communism. We also want those children to understand what has happened to them—some of the younger ones aren't sure why they are here.

AFFAIRS IN HOMELAND

"And we want them to know what is going on in their homeland right now."

The committee president said the children would be instructed in the lives and philosophies of Washington, Lincoln, and Cuba's Jose Marti. She said the teacher would be Mrs. Marta Alpendre, committee secretary, and a former kindergarten teacher.

"Our program," she said, "is only a small part of an operation to rescue and preserve for democracy at least a few of those children. Nearly 30,000 have already left Cuba and more arrive in the United States every day.

FRANTIC PLEAS FOR HELP

"Parents unable to leave put their children on outbound planes with nothing more than a frantic note appealing for help pinned to the child's shirt or blouse.

"Every night brave men risk their lives slipping into Cuba in small boats to ferry a few more children to freedom.

"We are determined that bravery and trust shall not be betrayed."

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[From the Miami News, Aug. 21, 1962]

CUBAN FREEDOM EDUCATION

(By Hal Hendrix)

A dedicated group of American and Cuban (refugee) women in Baltimore, where a number of Cuban exiles are settled, are engaged in a program that merits expansion into all other areas sheltering those who have fled from Fidel Castro's Communist dictatorship.

Functioning as a nonpolitical and self-sustaining Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom, the group launched a philosophy-of-freedom program designed to educate Cuban refugee children in the values and principles of democracy.

As a supplement to their regular courses of education in public and private schools in the Baltimore area, the women are offering extracurricular classes for the study of the democratic heritage of both Cuba and the United States to Cuban children who have come with and without their parents from Communist Cuba.

Among other things, the Cuban children will learn of the lives and philosophies of Washington, Lincoln, and Cuba's Marti. To add interest to the instruction field trips will be made to nearby national monuments and historic sites that have become symbols of freedom.

Heading the program currently is an American, Mrs. Harold B. Chait. Working with her are several other U.S. citizens and Cuban women, including some teachers.

"It is not our purpose to indoctrinate the Cuban children in American history," emphasized Mrs. Chait. "Nor is this any sort of an Americanization program.

"We want the children to understand the principles of human freedom and the fallacies of communism. We also want them to understand what has happened to them. Some of the younger ones aren't sure why they are here. We want them to know also what is going on in their homeland right now—in terms that their young minds can understand."

Basically, the women's committee points out, the Baltimore program is an antidote.

"What is happening to Cuban children still in Cuba is the real tragedy of Castro's Communist regime," Mrs. Chait says. "The Communists there are indoctrinating Cuban children from the age of 3 years. More than a million young people are being systematically brainwashed. We must do something to rescue at least a few members of this lost generation."

There is no fiction in what the Baltimore group says about children in Cuba today, who might well turn out to be a major problem in tomorrow's Cuba. Thousands of Cuban youth have already been sent to Russia for training and education and Cuban schools are dominated by the Reds. They are working on Cuban minds in their most impressionable years.

Why wouldn't a program similar to Baltimore's be good for Miami?

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[From the Baltimore News-Post, Sept. 21, 1962]

YOUNG CUBAN EXILES TOLD ABOUT DEMOCRACY

The most discouraging aspect of any battle—of ideologies is the warping of young minds.

Since the Red takeover in Cuba, Communists have been systematically brainwashing more than a million Cuban children from the ages of 3 and up.

Under sponsorship of the Baltimore Woman's Committee for Cuban Freedom, many of these children who have come to the United States are being told the American side of the story.

Yet, the purpose of this "Philosophy of Freedom" program is not to indoctrinate the refugee children in American history. What is being taught are universal principles of human freedom.

In Baltimore under the tutelage of Mrs. Manuel Alpendre, committee secretary and former kindergarten teacher, the children are learning about the lives and philosophies of Washington, Lincoln, and Cuba's José Marti.

In particular, the program emphasizes democratic heritages of both the United States and Cuba.

The children are taken on tours to such monuments to freedom as Fort McHenry, Lincoln's Tomb, and others.

Recently some of the children visited Governor Tawes in Annapolis and heard him describe events during the signing of the 1784 peace treaty at Annapolis, which ended the Revolutionary War.

The program is only a part of a national campaign designed to take care of the mounting influx of children being brought to this country from Cuba.

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## In Defense of Foreign Aid Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, that the general public is becoming increasingly alarmed at certain facets of our foreign aid program is substantiated by personal contacts and letters I receive.

The following editorial appeared in a recent issue of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer. It raises questions many of us have raised without answer by those who support bigger and bigger handouts.

FOREIGN AID BLACKMAILERS

Substantial cuts being made by Congress in foreign aid requests of the Kennedy administration are a natural and understandable reaction of resentment against the two-bit chiselers in some countries abroad who are trying to make a fool of Uncle Sam.

We in America are a patient and generous people but some foreign heads of government are going too far in accepting our aid dollars with one hand while giving us a sharp slap in the face with the other.

When these unprincipled doubledealers blazenly embrace leaders of communism while simultaneously reaching into U.S. pockets for more dough, it's time to blow the whistle and call a halt.

Some of these phonies have been playing their crooked game for a long time. Tito of Yugoslavia and Nasser of Egypt are among the worst. India's Nehru isn't quite in the same class, perhaps, but the line he's walking between East and West is getting very thin.

Sukarno of Indonesia is one of the smoothest of the lot. He comes over periodically to persuade us to raise the foreign aid ante. Then he goes home to make big friendship scenes with Moscow

and Peiping. In between times he manages a little military aggression on his own, such as taking over several hundred thousand Papuans. American aid money helps mightily in these escapades.

A new breed of foreign aid grabbers is emerging, personified by Nkrumah of Ghana and Ben Bella of Algeria. They aren't even subtle about it. They tell Washington, in effect: "Lay the cash on the line or we'll go to Moscow." Nkrumah pulled that stunt to get millions for the Volta Dam and the United States meekly forked over.

Ben Bella is a novice in the foreign aid shenanigans but he's catching on fast. He arrived Saturday for his first visit to this country and his first meeting with President Kennedy. He was insulting from the outset by scheduling a visit to Castro's Cuba on the way home. Ben Bella boasts of "neutrality" while extending the outstretched hand.

These two-by-four blackmailers can never be satisfied. And they can not be trusted, either.

It's no wonder Congress is rebelling. And it is too bad that our friends abroad who need and deserve all the help we can give them may suffer because of the foreign aid cuts. But it is time we clamped down on the two-faced swindlers who play both ends against the middle.

If Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Sukarno, Nassar and the rest insist on playing a dangerous game with the Kremlin, that is their business, but there is no reason why Americans should feel obliged to sweeten the pot.

## The 43d Anniversary of Lieutenant Frank J. McConnell Post 229, Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 7, 1962, in my congressional district, the Lieutenant Frank J. McConnell Post No. 229, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, celebrated its 43d anniversary. The present commander of this post, Mr. George Bauer, made the welcoming address while Past Commander William McCarthy was master of ceremonies for the program commemorating this anniversary.

In conjunction with this anniversary celebration, a plaque for dedicated service was presented to Hon. Eric J. Treulich, city councilman and vice chairman of the New York City council, for his dedication and devotion to community service and duty.

As a part of the celebration of the 43d anniversary, there was dedicated a new Lieutenant Frank J. McConnell Veterans of Foreign Wars Park at Atlantic Avenue and Lefferts Boulevard, Richmond Hill, Queens, N.Y., within my congressional district.

It was my privilege and pleasure to be in attendance at this celebration and dedication. The park was dedicated to the standard bearer of said post, Lt. Frank J. McConnell, who was born on September 11, 1897, on 114th Street in Richmond Hill. He was a member of the Richmond Hill Baptist Church at 91st Avenue and 114th Street.

He attended Jamaica High School for 2 years and then attended Poly Prep in Brooklyn in order to take Greek. He was graduated from Poly Prep.

He attended Princeton University for 2 years and at the age of 20 he entered Plattsburg on a dispensation due to the fact he had not reached his 21st birthday.

At Plattsburg, McConnell was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Regular Army. Lieutenant McConnell was assigned to the 7th Field Artillery, of the 1st Division.

Lt. Frank J. McConnell was killed in action in France on the 26th day of July 1918 and his body lies in France.

Lieutenant McConnell was the first boy from Richmond Hill to be killed in action in World War I.

I take this opportunity to commend Hon. Eric J. Treulich for his service to the community and to commend the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Lieutenant Frank J. McConnell Post, for memorializing our dearly departed standard bearer and for their continued work for the veterans and the community.

## Hon. William M. Tuck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest pleasures any man elected to serve in this body can know is the realization that his constituents are proud of his service to them.

This past Tuesday, the people of Virginia's Fifth Congressional District gathered at Danville to pay tribute to one of their former Governors and the man who now represents them in the U.S. House of Representatives, WILLIAM M. TUCK, of Halifax.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Virginia, BILL TUCK, is unopposed for reelection to his sixth term. That fact alone is certainly a tribute to his service here, but, as an old friend of his, I am pleased to say that BILL TUCK's Fifth District people wanted him to know that they are proud of him and of his service to them. Democrats from throughout the Fifth District, which sprawls along in southside Virginia and crosses the Blue Ridge Mountains, expressed their pride by staging Bill Tuck Day at the great Danville Fair.

I was at the fairground in Danville Tuesday, Mr. Speaker, and it was one of the greatest days of my life. I have known the gentleman from Virginia, BILL TUCK, all my life. He and my grandfather, State Senator Thomas J. Downing, were fast friends and his name has been a byword around our home for nearly 40 years. It was a great honor for me to be there in Danville with him when his lifetime of public service was so impressively recognized.

The meeting was presided over by Andrew A. Farley, the long time chairman of the Fifth District Democratic Executive Committee, and the meeting was attended by prominent citizens from all over the district, including the county and city officials, and the State senators and members of the house of delegates from that district.

I will never forget this past Tuesday, Mr. Speaker, and it occurs to me that BILL TUCK's many friends and colleagues here would like to read about what one newspaper termed a "Political Love Affair." With your permission, may I call the Members' attention to the following two editorials that appeared in the Danville Register and the Danville Bee:

[From the Danville (Va.) Register, Oct. 9, 1962]

POLITICAL LOVE AFFAIR

The Democratic committee and the Great Danville Fair have cooperated in making this second day of the 1962 exhibition Bill Tuck Day. And to give meaning to the designation, Democrats from all portions of the Fifth Congressional District will gather at the fairgrounds about 4 p.m. to pay tribute to the former Governor of Virginia who represents the people in Congress.

Congressmen are no great shakes. There are 437 of them until the elections again reduce the number to the familiar 435. But officials of the caliber and character of WILLIAM MUNFORD TUCK do not come so-many-to-the-thousand, and when one does appear on the scene, it is an occasion of some moment.

WILLIAM MUNFORD TUCK, the Halifax native, the foster son of Hargrave Military Academy, the College of William and Mary, and Washington and Lee University and the adoptive son of William and Mary, William and Lee, Hampden Sydney and Elon College (North Carolina), is beloved as a native in every part of the Old Dominion. That is because anyone who knows both can plainly see that "Big BILL" is as indigenous to Virginia as tobacco, peanuts, country music, Brunswick stew, dogwood, and a belief that all power is vested in the people and derives from the consent of the governed, rather than handed down to them.

Because 'BIG BILL" has been without pretense and has had the courage to speak up for the democracy in which he believes, because he has stood for solid accomplishment and sound realities, he has been kept in the public service most of his adult life. First, the people of Halifax County sent him to the house of delegates, and he did so well they promoted him to the Virginia senate, a proud body of lawmakers. TUCK began to bulge at the waistline but not at the head, and so the people of Virginia, recognizing his merits as a senator, elected him to be their Lieutenant Governor. Then, when another forceful leader was needed in Richmond, the people of Virginia turned to WILLIAM M. TUCK to guide them through the critical postwar years. This BILL TUCK did with skill, foresight, and courage. When he left the governorship in January 1950, there was no man in Virginia with more people who considered him their warm and warmhearted friend.

Back at South Boston to practice law and serve on corporate boards, BILL TUCK was bored. So, when Tom Stanley decided to leave his seat in Congress to seek the governorship, Democrats in convention here in early 1953 nominated the former Governor to be their man in Washington. He has been since, with growing popularity both in Washington and in his own Fifth District.

It is fitting that the people of the district let Mr. TUCK know how they feel about him today. We suspect, however, that "BIG BILL" already has an inkling, because if we ever have seen a political love affair it is betwixt BILL TUCK and the people of the Fifth District. And the intentions, should anyone inquire, are strictly honorable on both sides.

[From the Danville (Va.) Bee]

THE GENTLEMAN FROM HALIFAX

Tomorrow will give to people of the Fifth Congressional District an opportunity to hand an orchid to Congressman WILLIAM M. TUCK, or BILL TUCK as the Halifax man has been familiarly known for many years. It will be his day at the Danville Fair which is in progress this week, enabling the people of the constituency to tell him that his long State service is worthy of the accolade. The expression of district benevolence and approval is worth far more to a public servant than flowers at his bier.

Congressman DOWNING, of Newport News, is to have a few words to say tomorrow on the record of BILL TUCK and it is a record that deserves some notice. It is a mistake to believe that the measure of a Congressman's validity is inspired legislation. That is not the case at all. The real virtue of congressional service is not the enrollment of new bills but seeing that those offered for passage are in keeping with the times and are not overly presumptuous constitutionally. And it happens that there never was a time when legislation needs such careful screening and also that someone somewhere shows willingness to stand up and be counted for the perpetuation of State rights.

Congressman TUCK, unopposed in November, knows his Virginia. He served as Governor of the State and derived a knowledge of its affairs. He has served the Democratic Party with signal faith in its precepts and its objectives. He has spoken out as few others in Virginia on the dangers of the removal of all segregation barriers and it has not been doubletalk but straight-from-the-shoulder convictions.

The Halifax County squire, when not in Washington attending to the mandate given him repeatedly by his Fifth District constituents, has kept close to the people. He is one of those Members who does not believe that, once elected to Congress, the Member suddenly mounts the Olympian heights and pontificates on what he believes is good for the people, rather than what the people want and in what terms they are thinking. He is also a member who responds to the duty—so often ignored by others—of answering letters mailed to him from his district. The answer may not always please the constituent, but it is the expression of an honest opinion.

The Bee hopes that the district will be well represented at the fair tomorrow since it is the first opportunity it has had in giving him a pat on the back for keeping at grassroots level, and that means the people's level, in spite of his advancement in the field of politics.

His pungent remarks on pending legislation and departures from the middle of the road have done much to arouse the people of his district from the complacency which is viewed in many parts of the county with concern by the political savants of the day.

## Organizations of Ukrainian Liberation Movement Condemn Soviet Russian Colonialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in 1954 a Soviet plot to assassinate Georgi Okolovich, a Russian anti-Communist leader then residing in West Germany, had a happy ending when the Soviet intelligence officer assigned to supervise the Moscow-ordered murder surrendered to the intended victim and defected to the West.

A trial is now taking place in West Germany involving two other Moscow murder orders which had horrifyingly tragic endings. This trial demands the attention of every American who has any doubts about the international Communist conspiracy's willingness to resort to violence to achieve its ends. The defendant in the trial is a former secret Soviet agent, Bogdan N. Stashynsky, who defected to the West in 1961 and who admitted that on two earlier occasions he had illegally entered West Germany and successfully carried out Kremlin instructions to commit murder.

One victim was Stepan Bandera, the anti-Communist leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The other was a prominent anti-Communist Ukrainian writer, Dr. Lev Rebt. Stashynsky confessed that he had killed each of them with a poison-squirting pistol fired in their faces at pointblank range.

Obviously, there is no limit to what the Communist conspiracy will do to snuff out anticommunism wherever possible, and there is no limit to the unholy methods that it will use to do so.

On October 7, 1962, in Philadelphia, Pa., a rally sponsored by Organizations of Ukrainian Liberation Movement in the United States of America adopted a most appropriate resolution pertaining to the Soviet Union and assassinations and I herewith place it in the RECORD.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT RALLY HELD ON OCTOBER 7, 1962, IN PHILADELPHIA, PA., SPONSORED BY ORGANIZATIONS OF UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Whereas Bogdan N. Stashynsky, agent of the Soviet-Russian secret police (KGB), defected to the Federal Republic of Germany and confessed to having assassinated upon direct orders of the KGB in Moscow, on the territory of Western Germany, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Stepan Bandera, the symbol of Ukrainian independence and Dr. Lev Rebet, the noted Ukrainian writer and journalist; and

Whereas the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany established beyond doubt that the above-named persons were murdered with poison pistols, employed by the above-named Russian agent, which constitutes an utterly immoral, inhuman, and criminal method of destroying the fighters for freedom; and

Whereas the assassination wes perpetrated by the Government of the U.S.S.R. against leaders of movements struggling to liberate the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations from colonial enslavement by Soviet Russia, and fighting for self-determination, independence, national integrity, equality of all citizens before law, social justice, economic progress, and all the fundamental human rights: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, To ask the Court trying defendant Stashynsky to make it fully clear that the Government of the U.S.S.R. is the chief agent in the planning and perpetration of these horrible murders; and further be it

*Resolved*, To call upon the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to expose on the basis of these crimes the colonial policies of the Soviet Russian Government toward Ukraine and other non-Russian nations which suffer under Communist dominated regimes; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the American people should be informed about this trial as widely as possible, inasmuch as the case exposes Soviet Russian imperialistic methods, used for achieving a world Soviet Russian Empire and whose methods transcend the Nazi genocide practices in their brutality as revealed at the process of Eichmann; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the methods used in the assassination of the Ukrainian freedom fighters are basically the same as those used in Cuba and therefore require a common response; and be it finally

*Resolved*, To request the free nations of the world to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism with its hideous methods and to demand action aiming at liquidation of the greatest, most tyrannical and criminal colonial Empire of Soviet Russia.

## Standards of Practice of the Direct Mail Advertising Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, it has been my opportunity to meet with mail users throughout the country and to become familiar with the aims and objectives of their organizations. Two years ago I reported the standards of practice which the Direct Mail Advertising Association asks its members to observe faithfully.

My attention has just been called to a statement that spells out further the high standards set for mail users by the above organization. Under the title of "Rigid Code of Ethics Regulates Direct Mail Group," Mr. Angelo Venezian, newly elected chairman of the board of governors of the 45-year-old Direct Mail Advertising Association, appeared as guest columnist for Joseph Kaselow in the September 7, 1962, issue of the New York Herald Tribune.

Mr. Speaker, with postal rates out of the picture, mail users and the Post Office Department will be working in close cooperation in the months to come to improve the postal service—a matter in which they are mutually concerned.

Under unanimous consent, I include this column by Mr. Venezian in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of the Congress:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 7, 1962]

RIGID CODE OF ETHICS REGULATES DIRECT MAIL GROUP

(By Angelo Venezian)

There were almost 65 billion pieces of mail sent out last year, and three-quarters of it was either business inspired or in response to a business offer—all of which goes to make direct mail advertising big business in the best sense of the word.

But the surprising thing about this immense, $2 billion advertising medium is how little is known about it outside the confines of professional mailing circles. A major

reason for its lack of notoriety is simply that mail advertising is quiet, in the sense that its audience is preselected and contacted privately; and secondly, because 99 percent of direct mail is strictly "reputable" in the sense that the consumer is protected against fraud and other improprieties.

This protection is due not only to the Federal Government which has always made it an offense to misuse the mail in a narrow, legislatic sense depending on the interpretation of "misuse." The unseen protection, however, is provided broadly and demandingly by the 45-year-old Direct Mail Advertising Association which gives no quarter to any form of misleading or abusive mail, going beyond the call of postal regulations.

POLICING ROLE

Composed of mail users, paper and envelope suppliers, art and service organizations as well as equipment manufacturers, the DMAA has performed a policing role for two generations in protecting the consumer against the unscrupulous and has been responsible for raising the ethics and integrity of mail advertising to a high plane.

While the public is generally unaware of its services, the DMAA reviews not only the mailings of its 2,500 members but spot checks other mails which are periodically brought to its attention. If misconduct or misrepresentation is suspected, DMAA calls the culprit to task with notice to correct or desist. Continued or repeated abuse is reported to the better business bureaus, and to the Post Office if a specific infraction of regulations is made. In a highly competitive business such as direct mail, a "report" is highly damaging. The upshot is that most mailers today tread the straight and narrow.

Specific standards of DMAA's rigid code include five areas: (1) No ambiguous statements on products or services, (2) return money promptly if merchandise was misrepresented by the seller, (3) make no offensive or immoral offer, (4) no promotion of gambling devices or pornographic material, (5) mail no unsolicited merchandise for which payment is requested.

Within the next 12 months, the association will further implement its code with operating standards and even more specific rules and regulations. The crux of the new effort will center on obtaining pledges from member companies as well as others to follow the code rigorously. Coupled with this approach, an intensified drive will get underway to flush out minor mail abusers who have thus far managed to lurk just within the code's gray area. Those who persist in falling short of code requirements will be reported to either the chambers of commerce, the FTC, the Post Office or to other advertising organizations for joint action. In the future, compliance with DMAA standards will provide upon request a "seal of approval" to be affixed to individual mailings that have been cleared in advance.

COOPERATION GIVEN

It will also extend its cooperation and facilities to the advertising council in order to help sponsor the council's approved campaigns.

Another area under cultivation is raising the image of direct mail itself. The full story of how it contributes to the economy through the employment of more than 1 million workers by thousands of companies, and through the sale of over $20 billion annually in goods and services, is one that needs telling and public understanding. The Business Mail Foundation, which has been consolidated with DMAA, has that job cut out for itself in addition to developing recognition, purpose, and an understanding of the contributions of direct mail to the economy.

At the same time the direct mail organization is attempting to improve its image, it will continue to assume both greater public responsibility and advertising leadership.

## For Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include herein an article that appeared in the Washington Post this morning, Friday, October 12, 1962. My wife found a picture of a wonderful group of sacrificing women who have done so much for our sick in Woman's Division of Christian Service Hospital. Mrs. Ralph M. Graham, retiring chairman of the coordinating council, and Mrs. Lykes M. Boykin, retiring president of the Volunteer Service Corps.

And in this picture, fixing a pin on Mrs. Boykin's collar, is Mrs. Elizabeth B. Towler, director of the Sibley Hospital volunteer services program. Both Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Boykin have completed more than 500 hours of volunteer service to the patients in the hospital. No money for this work—just a good feeling in their hearts and all over for helping somebody in trouble; 500 hours for each one of these wonderful women would have made them pilots in the Air Force or most anything else. And there were 13 other volunteers and 100-hour pins were awarded to 80 women at a recognition banquet here at the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Church on October 4.

I congratulate all of these wonderful women who were glad to go out and work and pray and give comfort to the sick people that needed it so much. I wish we could put the picture of these women in the great CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because to me, each one of them looks like a saint and I happen to know they are.

God bless and keep them and give them the strength to carry on the great work they have done and are doing and will continue to do.

The article follows:

FOR SERVICE

Diamond-encrusted service pins were awarded by the volunteer service corps of the Sibley Memorial Hospital, the woman's division of Christian Service Hospital, to Mrs. Ralph M. Graham, retiring chairman of the coordinating council, and to Mrs. Lykes M. Boykin, retiring president of the volunteer service corps. Fixing the pin to Mrs. Boykin's collar is Mrs. Elizabeth B. Towler, director of the Sibley Hospital volunteer services program. Both Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Boykin have completed more than 500 hours of volunteer services to patients at the hospital. Five hundred-hour pins were awarded to 13 other volunteers, and 100-hour pins to 80 women at a recognition banquet held at Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Church, October 4.

## Basic Failures of the Kennedy Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, on June 4, Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER of Kentucky made the keynote speech at the Republican State convention at Hartford, Conn. At this convention, our candidate for Governor, John Alsop, our candidates for State offices, for U.S. Senator, HORACE SEELY-BROWN, and for Congressman at large, John Lupton, were nominated.

I ask that this speech by Senator COOPER be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for many reasons. It was of importance because Senator COOPER declared in this speech, 4 months ago, the basic failures of the administration of President Kennedy, and pointed out the record and principles of the Republican Party. The speech has been widely and favorably commented on by newspapers throughout the country, and it has served as a basic and helpful document for many of our candidates. Its truths are applicable in any section of the Nation, and that is as it should be.

Senator COOPER is listened to with respect in the Senate and the country. He has had a long and varied experience in political life. A native of Somerset in the mountains of Kentucky—and Kentucky's one Republican congressional district, which has given Republican majorities since the Civil War—Senator COOPER entered politics in 1925. He served as precinct and county chairman, was elected when 25 years old to the Kentucky Legislature and later served as county judge, and circuit judge of his judicial district.

In 1942, at the age of 41, he enlisted as a private in the Army, and served in General Patton's 3d Army in his campaigns through France, Luxembourg, and Germany. He rose to the rank of captain and was awarded the Bronze Star. At the close of the war he was assigned to reorganize the judicial system of Bavaria.

Since 1946, he has been chosen by the Republican Party of Kentucky six times as the nominee for U.S. Senate. In 1946, 1952, and 1956 he was elected to fill unexpired terms. In 1960 he was elected for a 6-year term receiving a majority of 200,000—the largest ever given to any candidate of either party in Kentucky.

He has served as a delegate at three sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations; as an adviser to the Secretary of State in the organization of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and in 1955 was appointed by President Eisenhower to be Ambassador to India and Nepal. In 1960 he was named the "ablest Republican in the

Senate" by newspaper reporters who cover the Senate proceedings.

I mention these facts because Senator COOPER has joined in his life, practical working experience in the Republican Party, service at the local and State levels, and experience in foreign affairs as well as in the U.S. Senate. His speech at Hartford nailed down as fundamental issues in this campaign, the inability of the administration to establish a fiscal policy, its never-ending grasp for power, and its indecision in both national and international affairs.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER TO THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, HARTFORD, CONN., JUNE 4, 1962

It is a great honor to address this convention. I was glad when Senator BUSH asked if I could do so.

Senator PRESCOTT BUSH of Connecticut is the best informed Member of the U.S. Senate on fiscal and monetary matters—but he is more. Responsible in his speech and votes, humane and progressive, a man of conviction and integrity, he is one of the most influential Members of the Senate and is respected throughout the Nation. We will miss his leadership. We hold him in affection, as we do his great wife, Dotty Bush. All of us, I know, are sad that he has decided to retire from the Senate, he would have been reelected. But an element of his decision was that Connecticut has many Republicans capable of representing it ably and effectively. And I am sure that the candidate you select will succeed him.

I

The 1962 elections are of critical importance. For the American people—in choosing between the two parties—are called upon to determine the basic direction of our country's economic and foreign policies.

This statement may sound extravagant. But the record of contradictions and failures of the Kennedy administration bears out the truth of my statement. For its failure flows essentially from its inability to determine its economic philosophy. It flows also from its lack of faith in the private enterprise system, and from its lack of faith in the traditional processes of our Government.

The election this fall will be a turning point. The people are ready to reverse the trend of the Kennedy administration.

Here in Connecticut, and across the Nation, the Republican Party will lead the way. This is the year of victory for our party. We will win a Republican victory in Connecticut, we will elect a Republican House of Representatives, and gain Republican seats in the Senate.

II

Two years ago, the President promised the American people that a Democratic administration would lead our country to a new frontier of unparalleled economic growth, of confidence, prosperity, and leadership in the world.

The Kennedy administration has been favored by the continuing surge of growth and confidence fostered by the Eisenhower administration. The "box score" of bills pushed through by the Democratic majority appears impressive. I am always surprised that the President's advisers, and even some political pundits, think that a "box score" is more important than the substance of the bills. They are the bills he has contended were necessary "to get the country moving again"—to bring jobs, prosperity, and economic growth.

But as Senator DIRKSEN recently said, they have been the agents of "shrinkmanship" instead of "growthmanship": Nearly 4 million people are still unemployed in our country; business failures have increased 11 percent; mortgage foreclosures are up 40 percent, the biggest 1-year increase since the depression of 1932; farmers' costs are at an alltime high, and the parity ratio is the lowest in over 20 years; the cost of living is the highest in U.S. history; and the outflow of American gold from our shores continues.

This is a state of affairs in which the Republican Party finds no pleasure. For we believe—as does the country—that the American economy is basically strong.

The slack in our economy flows from a lack of confidence in the Democratic administration's policy.

But it goes deeper. The root of the uncertainty, and the lack of confidence which plague our country today lies, first, in the administration's inability to determine its economic philosophy and, second, in its obsessive reach for power.

III

On the one hand, the President promises steady progress toward a balanced budget. He has spoken of extraordinary measures to stop the outflow of gold. He has made world trade a chief issue in his program.

But in practice, the administration is enamored by the Keynesian policy of deficit spending. The Congress is asked day-by-day to commit itself to great programs of spending—without priorities—which make it impossible to balance the budget; which increase the outflow of gold; which discourage investment necessary for competitive world trade, and which strike at confidence. There is no evidence that the President and his administration are yet willing to obey the very injunction of sacrifice the President (he) has asked of the American people.

The President has assured private enterprise that he respects it as the chief agent of economic growth and trade, and the source of jobs. But in practice, the doubt lingers whether his administration trusts the free economic system.

Both industry and labor have their compulsions for power. There is agreement that these compulsions must be regulated, and this the Congress has done since the days of Theodore Roosevelt. The President has the duty to speak out at times if he believes industry and labor contravene the national interest. I am not here to dispute the right of the President to speak up in the recent steel episode, but it is a fact that the raw display of compelling governmental power exercised at the time, raised disquiet in the ranks of industry and labor alike. They ask whether the Presidency will be used to coerce, or to appeal to public opinion.

Our private enterprise system has given this country unparalleled prosperity and power. Rightly used, it is an aspect of our free system of government. If it is to be successful, it must be trusted, encouraged, and strengthened by sound governmental policies.

The administration must make up its mind about its fiscal and monetary policies. It must decide whether it will trust and encourage our free enterprise system. The American people can influence this choice this fall. They must set the administration straight, and it is the task of the Republican Party to lead the way.

IV

The second source of uncertainty and lack of confidence which I mentioned earlier—the administration's obsessive drive for power—strikes at the very heart and nature of our governmental system.

One of the unique contributions which the founders of the Republic made to representative government is the division of power which our Constitution defines. They were political philosophers and they knew that the core of republican institutions was centered in the denial of arbitrary power to the executive—whether a King or President.

The Republican Party has listed 25 delegations of power sought by the President thus far. I cannot even read the long list. But among them are found the President's request to give to "experts" in the Department of Agriculture control over the agricultural economy; authority for the President to initiate a vast $2,600 million public works program to be financed by funds drawn from such agencies as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and even the World Bank—without approval by the Appropriations Committees. The worst features of this proposal were exposed and defeated by the Republicans in the Senate. The President has asked the Congress to transfer to him limited authority over the taxing power—the "power of the purse"—the very power which, centuries ago, our forebears determined must be held by the representatives of the people. And I cite his request to create a Department of Urban Affairs, even though it has support in many cities of our country. Stripped bare, the proposal is based upon the philosophy of the administration that it can decide what is best for the people better than the local officials whom the people elected, or the people themselves.

Who would exercise these powers taken from the Congress? I have no doubt that the plan was conceived by the academicians and theoreticians in the administration. We will not be anti-intellectual, for they have their place in government. But the country ought to reject the administration quest for power, to be exercised by inexperienced men—whose judgment is unknown—and reject their desire to arrogate to themselves the powers of the Congress, and to *set* their judgment above the people.

These transfers of power they seek would remove from congressional debate, and from the scrutiny of public opinion, a substantial part of the specifics of legislation.

It is a reactionary trend in representative government. It expresses a lack of confidence in the judgment of the Congress—and of the people.

In this election the people must reject this policy, which I judge the most fundamental issue they will be called upon to decide.

V

I have been speaking of the proper functions of our Government, and of domestic and economic policies. But economic policy cannot be separated from foreign policy. Our military strength, the strength of our allies—our very ability to defend this country—rest upon a strong and stable economy in which our people and the people of the world have confidence.

World crises and danger will continue to manifest themselves in different ways, but their essential cause remains. It is the unchanging and steely objective of the Soviet Union that communism shall triumph over our country, and over freedom itself. Our confrontation with the Soviet Union and the threat of nuclear war have prescribed imperatives of foreign policy upon which there has been general agreement by both parties.

The years since World War II have been darkened by danger, but 1961 and 1962 with the crises of Berlin, Laos, and Cuba have been particularly unhappy. I point out that during these crises the Republican Party acted responsibly. When the Cuban disaster of 1961 shook the confidence of our Nation and its allies, our party in the Congress rejected any temptation to use it for political capital. For we knew that the President must be supported and the country unified, when the security and prestige of the Nation are at stake.

But I must say, for the people should remember it, that the responsible conduct of the Republican Party stands out in sharp

contrast to the behavior of many Democratic leaders following the U–2 affair in 1960, even when Chairman Khrushchev, attacking President Eisenhower, struck at the United States itself.

Here I want to make a suggestion which I think would be helpful in increasing the confidence of our own people, and of our allies, about our military capability to defend freedom and to deter war.

During the 1960 campaign, the President and other Democratic candidates downgraded the military strength of the Nation. The phrase "missile gap" was used again and again in the campaign to imply that the Soviet Union possessed greater power in missiles. Yet, shortly after the administration came to power, the Secretary of Defense and other officials declared that the United States possessed preponderant power, and that the "missile gap" was a myth. But, the uncertainty and lack of confidence in our military strength, which the 1960 campaign engendered, remains. I do not believe it will be wholly removed until the President expiates the wrong of 1960, and reveals to our people the strength which we possessed in 1960, as well as the strength we possess today. For it is a fact that our armed might, or missile strength, and our space program which now thrills the world, were initiated, planned, and largely developed under the administration of President Eisenhower.

VI

The record of the Democratic Party will bring Republican victory this year. But this election year is also a testing time for the Republican Party. It gives the opportunity to define and fight for broad objectives in harmony with the national interests, and to firmly establish our party's philosophy. This is the time to build not alone for victory this year, and for victory in States and local communities, but for the Presidential victory which shall be ours in 1964.

We can strengthen the affirmative and humanitarian record which already is ours. We can prove again that ours is the party of responsibility.

(1) The Republican Party is the one party of fiscal responsibility. Since World War II, with the exception of 1951, when Korean war taxes swelled revenues, the only balanced budgets were provided by President Eisenhower and, before his administration, by the Republican Congresses of 1947 and 1948. The only major tax cuts since World War II were enacted by Republican Congresses in 1947 and 1954. And even as a minority party, it has been the Republican Members of Congress who have fought to restrain spending and to maintain order in fiscal and monetary policy, against the weight of the Democratic majority.

(2) While we Republicans give weight to fiscal responsibility, we shall not neglect human needs. Unemployment, education, decent housing, the health of our people—none of these can be neglected.

These are human problems with which we must be concerned, not as a matter of politics or votes, but as a matter of humanity and justice. Justice is the ultimate objective of free government. And the neglect of these needs will deny, as the great Republican Robert Taft contended, the equal opportunity which our free system promises to all its people.

(3) The Republican Party will continue its fight for full civil rights for all of our people. The Democratic record on civil rights is one of complete failure, for it will not risk offending the southern wing of its party. What was its record this year? It introduced one bill of doubtful constitutionality, and then abandoned it. In contrast, the Eisenhower administration fought to successful enactment the civil rights bills of 1957 and 1960.

As the party of Lincoln, born to assure freedom, we have the great opportunity to stand united, and to fight for equal rights and freedom for all our citizens, regardless of race, color, or religion.

(4) The Republican Party has demonstrated its responsibility in the field of foreign policy. We will maintain the military and economic strength on which our security depends. We will be faithful to our commitments throughout the world. But we must resist the arguments of extremists who dream of isolation, who believe that honest negotiation is appeasement, and who cannot understand that our support of the United Nations and our assistance to other countries contribute also to our security and leadership in the world. For the United States alone possesses, as Winston Churchill said, the decisive power to maintain freedom in the world.

VII

The President asks for the election of an overwhelming Democratic majority in the Congress, not to exercise its powers, but to rubber stamp the administration's proposals, and to assist in the transfer of congressional power to the executive. He asks the election of Democratic State and local governments, which would be tied to the National Government to stifle criticism, local independence and initiative. We do not need or want a rubber-stamp Congress. What we need is a Congress—a Republican Congress—and State and local officials who have respect for their responsibilities; who will subject the proposals of the administration to public examination; who will support them when they are right, and reject them when they are wrong.

The central idea of our Government is, as Lincoln said in 1856, "the equality of man." And his familiar words in his Gettysburg address that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth," spoke of his powerful sense of the mission of representative government at home and for the world.

Connecticut is one of the cradles of freedom and representative government. It has the great opportunity this year to lead the way to Republican victory. It has the opportunity to assert, as Lincoln did, the central idea and the mission of our party, and of free government itself.

## The Honorable James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Judge JAMES C. DAVIS and I have stood together in many a fight for constitutional government; for States rights, for freedom of government at the local level, and for a maximum of individual liberty. Judge DAVIS epitomizes the rugged individual, self-reliant, early American who carved out of this wilderness America, the greatest civilization the world has ever known.

JUDGE, in your service here, you are devoted to the great free enterprise economic and political order which caused the United States to be known around the world as the arsenal of democracy and the heart and core of freedom. JUDGE, I will always remember you as one of our outstanding Congressmen, not only of our time, but of the history of our country.

The thinking people of the Nation's Capital are grateful to you for your service to them beyond the call of duty. You have served all of America by curbing the onward march of socialism, government bureaucracy, and excessive taxation. You hold high the high traditions, the heritage, and the honor of the great empire State of the South, and the magnificent State of Georgia.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for you, Mrs. Davis, Mary Martin, and your fine son-in-law the very best always, and, JUDGE, come to see us in South Carolina.

## Retirement of Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
### HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. ASHMORE. Madam Speaker, it is always a sad occasion when we lose a good friend. Upon the adjournment of this Congress one of the great Members of this body, JAMES C. DAVIS, will conclude his services on the floor of this House. We who have had the privilege of working with him have learned to love him because of what he is and what he stands for.

JIM DAVIS has proven to his colleagues that he is a man of principle, honor, integrity, and ability. His unimpeachable character is reflected in the respect and trust of his colleagues. His record shows that he has always been a most devoted public servant who willingly, energetically, and capably represented his constituents. I have never know anyone to be more dedicated to the responsibilities and duties of his office. Robert E. Lee said: "Duty is the sublimest word in the language," and I am sure that if Lee were here today he would join me in describing JIM DAVIS as a living example of sublime duty.

Our friend has many wonderful attributes, but one of his most admirable qualities is courage. He has spiritual, mental, moral, physical, and political courage. When necessary he can be as stoical as any man. And he is always a stoic when defending the Constitution of this Nation and the principle of States rights, both of which he believes in to the very depths of his heart and soul. Too many people who hold public office today are willing to cast thin votes and use their influence for what is best described as political expediency, but JIM DAVIS did not let political expediency control his actions and voice in the House of Representatives. No doubt he could have been reelected as a Member of this body if he had put less emphasis on the U.S. Constitution and the philosophy of our Founding Fathers, and relied more heavily on political expediency. But he preferred defeat in

the recent Georgia primary election rather than the surrendering of his lifelong principles in exchange for votes.

We desperately need more men like JIM DAVIS in high governmental offices today. And not only his congressianal district but the welfare of the entire Nation will suffer as a result of his defeat. In the future, though he is not with us in person, the influence and spirit of this man will linger long in this Chamber.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, during the 20 years I have served in this body I cannot recall a Member who has deserved and won such profound respect as has been true with our colleague, JIM DAVIS. The Fifth District of Georgia has indeed been well represented. By his service on the District Committee the District of Columbia has been ably represented, in keeping with the interest of the entire Nation in District affairs. And above all, the entire country has been well represented by this great statesman from the State of Georgia.

He has been a tower of strength. He has been a leader at a time when leadership has been so useful and so valuable. JIM DAVIS has risen above the bickering and the petty partisanship to provide the courage and statesmanship that has contributed so often to the cause of good government.

JIM DAVIS has been a bastion of strength during many a House battle to maintain fiscal responsibility in this country. While others may have yielded to expediency and pressures, our friend from Georgia has been steadfast, regardless of the possible political repercussions. If it were possible for this Congress to be blessed with more men of the JIM DAVIS caliber, the future of our country would be much more secure.

His loss is indeed a tragedy for the Fifth District of Georgia, and in a broader sense it is a tragedy for the entire Nation. In these times of peril, plagued by a mammoth public debt, with our national security being challenged abroad and our free enterprise system facing an uncertain future here at home, the need for the type of courage, statesmanship, and leadership provided by JIM DAVIS is self-evident.

I join with the hundreds of others here who regret to see JIM DAVIS go. The loss of his example of good conduct and the absence of his inspiring leadership can hardly be replaced. I wish for him and his family good health, much happiness, and a continuation of his role as a citizen who loves his country and is dedicated to its preservation.

## Legislative Box Score—The 87th Congress: What It Accomplished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to include in the RECORD today an excellent analysis of actions taken by the 87th Congress.

This impartial review was written by Mr. Vincent J. Burke, who has covered the Capitol for United Press International since 1947. Mr. Burke has done a masterful job of objective reporting and has brought credit to the entire profession of journalism.

In this unbiased analysis, Mr. Burke lists those measures which President Kennedy was able to pursuade Congress to approve and those measures which Congress failed to enact into law.

On the whole, Mr. Speaker, the excellent article gives the people of America an opportunity to view the record of the 87th Congress in an intelligent and objective manner. I congratulate Mr. Burke for an outstanding job of reporting.

Mr. Speaker, permit me also to take the opportunity to congratulate Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, his majority leader, CARL ALBERT, and the majority whip of the House, HALE BOGGS for their inspiring leadership during this past session of the 87th Congress.

If we who have served in the 87th Congress can go back to our respective constituents with a proud record of accomplishment, it is because of the truly dedicated leadership of these three Members of Congress. Without their guidance, the impressive record so thoroughly reported in Mr. Burke's analysis would not have been possible of accomplishment.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Burke's article appeared in newspapers throughout the Nation. I am pleased to include in the RECORD today Mr. Burke's article as it appeared in the Chicago Sun Times on October 7, 1962.

Mr. Burke's analysis follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 7, 1962]

LEGISLATION BOX SCORE—THE 87TH CONGRESS: WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHED

(By Vincent J. Burke)

WASHINGTON.—The Democratic-controlled 87th Congress stampeded toward preelection adjournment with an imposing box score of victories and defeats for President Kennedy.

The President himself was highly pleased with the record though at times he was much distressed when members of his own party—mostly conservative southern Democrats—teamed with Republicans to scuttle or water down pet New Frontier programs.

Nevertheless, he claimed the 87th, in its 2 years of existence, would go down as one of the most productive since World War II.

Senate Republican Leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and House GOP Leader CHARLES A. HALLECK, of Indiana, firmly disputed this. But their Democratic counterparts, Senate Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, and Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, seemed ready and willing to let the voters render the verdict.

This they will do on November 6 when all of the House Members and one-third of the Senate come up for relection.

In the 2 years it has served under Mr. Kennedy, the 87th enacted more than 750 laws.

The interests of just about every voter were affected in one way or another. For example:

The legislators approved Mr. Kennedy's bold new tariff-cutting plan which is designed to enable U.S. industry to compete with Europe's burgeoning Common Market. This topped the President's "must" legislative requests.

They also gave industry a $1.3 billion tax credit to clear the way for installation of new and modern production equipment. This also was a White House request.

In other fields, Congress reshaped the controversial farm program; broadened the Federal floor under wages; expanded housing and slum clearance subsidies while refusing to go along with Mr. Kennedy's request for a Cabinet Department of Urban Affairs; approved three new programs to help the unemployed.

Gave the White House authority to buy $100 million of U.N. bonds to keep the world peace organization solvent; raised postal rates again but offset the increased revenue by giving most Federal workers a raise.

Gave the Justice Department stronger powers in civil antitrust prosecution; approved a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax as a voting requirement; passed a new and more drastic drug control law as a result of the European baby-deforming thalidomide tragedy; authorized an anti-recession $900 million public works program; and approved the highest peacetime defense budget.

The President was rebuffed decisively on two of the big programs on his "must" list. These were Federal aid to public schools and medicare for the aged, financed by Social Security.

Following is a box score of action by Congress:

FOREIGN POLICY

Congress approved without substantial change President Kennedy's bold new tariff-cutting foreign trade program. It was his biggest legislation victory. He said he wanted the authority so he can negotiate bigger markets for American products in Europe's revolutionary Common Market.

Congress also gave Mr. Kennedy authority to lend up to $100 million to the United Nations to help save the world peace organization from bankruptcy.

Three Kennedy innovations in foreign policy were approved. The Government was authorized to plan a large part of its foreign aid program on a long-range (5-year) basis. The Peace Corps was endorsed and expanded by Congress. A new agency to work on disarmament was created.

DEFENSE

Last year and again this year Congress backed up the President in international crises by passing resolutions specifically authorizing him to augment military forces by calling up Ready Reserves. And Congress overwhelmingly affirmed the announced intention of the United States to resist Communist aggression from Cuba.

The first Kennedy Congress set a peacetime record in appropriating defense money. The total over the 2-year span was about the same as Mr. Kennedy requested.

TAXES

Although no general relief was granted, every pocketbook was affected by new laws.

Business got more than a billion dollars a year of the kind of tax relief Mr. Kennedy said was necessary to modernize industry, spur the economy and create jobs. Instead of repealing tax deductions for business entertainment, as the President proposed, Congress tightened the rules slightly.

The lawmakers turned down Mr. Kennedy's plea for tax withholding on dividends and interest, but approved a plan under which corporations, savings institutions and other payers of interest and dividends will have to send to both the Treasury and the individual investor a report on all investments earning $10 or more in 1963 and in future years.

To finance new social security benefits, modest increases in payroll taxes (ranging up to $6 a year) were levied on every employee covered by the program. Employers were required to match the tax increase. The increases took effect last January 1.

The 10 percent Federal tax on railroad, bus and water travel will be removed November 15. Congress also scheduled for the same date a reduction to 5 percent in the 10 percent tax on airline tickets.

WELFARE AND HEALTH

Mr. Kennedy got nowhere on his controversial proposal to finance hospitalization and nursing home care for persons 65 or older through higher social security taxes.

Congress accepted most of the administration's proposals for reforming the multibillion dollar public assistance program to put more stress on rehabilitation measures aimed at helping get needy persons off the relief rolls.

Administration-backed bills to tighten Government controls over the marketing of drugs were shelved, then revived and passed.

Social security cash benefits were raised last fall for 3,700,000 widows and other persons.

WAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Congress intervened on behalf of low-paid workers and set up three new programs to aid the unemployed.

Wage minimums of $1 an hour were extended to more than 2 million workers in retail and service trades. They will be guaranteed $1.15 in September 1964, and $1.25 in 1965.

A new Federal program of grants and loans was launched last year to help communities where there is chronic unemployment. This year Congress also approved Mr. Kennedy's plea for a new program of retraining the unemployed for new jobs.

But Congress cold-shouldered Mr. Kennedy's plea for Federal standards to force States to jack up benefits of their unemployment compensation programs. The President's special program to help youths find jobs also fell by the way side.

Congress didn't seriously consider the President's request for standby power to cut taxes and launch public works programs in time of recession. But it approved a $900 million immediate expansion of public works.

EDUCATION

Mr. Kennedy was clobbered on this. Conservative foes of his ambitious programs of Federal aid to education were helped by a church-state issue which divided its supporters in and out of Congress. Some opposed programs that would grant aid for religious-affiliated institutions. Others opposed any program which did not include such aid.

Moreover, the House this year rejected on a showdown vote a compromise version of Mr. Kennedy's $2.3 billion aid program to help colleges build classrooms and to provide scholarships to talented but needy students.

FEDERAL AID FOR CITIES

Mr. Kennedy triumphed on housing. The lawmakers last year gave him just about all of the vast, new subsidies and other tools he requested for battling slums and improving city living conditions.

But they balked at his proposal this year to begin tapping the treasury to provide better and faster rail and bus and subway travel for suburban commuters.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. Kennedy used a soft approach. He relied largely on executive actions for advances in this area on the theory that a head-on clash with Southerners would alienate support needed for other legislative battles.

In the first session Mr. Kennedy sought, and got, nothing except a 2-year extension in the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

In the second session the White House finally endorsed a bill which supporters said would increase Negro voting in the South. Efforts to pass the measure were abandoned after the Senate twice refused to stop a southern talkathon. It would have outlawed discriminatory State literacy tests for voters and made sixth-grade education proof of literacy.

Then, with some southern support, a less controversial constitutional amendment was pushed through. It would, if ratified in 7 years by 38 States, ban the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections.

CRIME AND TRUSTBUSTING

The lawmakers gave the President's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, much of the expanded power he wanted to crack down on racketeering.

FARM

Mr. Kennedy was decisively defeated last year in efforts to arm his Agriculture Secretary with broad authority to work with farm groups in devising programs to bolster farm income and curb surpluses. But he won enactment of stopgap measures which reduced farm surpluses.

POSTAGE AND GOVERNMENT PAY

For the second time since 1932, Congress agreed to increase the postage rate on first-class mail. The bill will raise first-class postage to 5 cents, airmail to 8 cents, and post cards to 4 cents.

Also approved in revised form as part of the same bill was Mr. Kennedy's plan for raising pay of more than a million postal and other Government employees.

## A Letter to the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the people back home are discouraged and dismayed by what is taking place in Cuba today. A letter from a friend expresses the concern of one constituent and I bring it to the attention of the House.

BRIDGEWATER, MASS.,
*October 11, 1962.*

Mr. J. F. KENNEDY,
*President of the United States,*
*White House, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Tonight's Brockton, Mass., paper headlines a statement that the ransom for Cuban prisoners is to be paid out of U.S. Government funds. Such an occurrence, if true, would be a disgrace to a country which until now has been proud of the cry "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." As a taxpayer I not only question the moral right of this Government to make such a payment, but also its legal right.

If these men are our representatives to whom we owe a debt, let us send a force into Cuba to free them rather than making innocuous statements as to how we will "maintain our rights when the time comes." The time for concrete action has already come. To compromise our national dignity and try to buy our way out is unthinkable. Since when were America's negotiations conducted in back alleys by a nonaccredited diplomat with a nonrecognized government?

I trust there is no consideration being given to such a vile proposal. If such should be the case, I trust the Congress and the General Accounting Office will block any such raid on the Treasury and punish the responsible parties.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID C. CHAMBERLAIN.

## New Book by Martin Gross Analyzes Brain-Picking Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 10508, a bill which I have introduced, would help correct many of the abuses which are now present in testing programs in our schools. I am referring, of course, to the nonacademic brainpicking tests which are being used by many self-styled psychiatrists. I am very proud that two of our outstanding colleagues in the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. UTT] and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHADEBERG] have introduced companion bills. Mr. UTT's H.R. 12114 and Mr. SCHADEBERG's H.R. 12581 would accomplish the same purpose as my H.R. 10508 and are identical.

In the Saturday Review issue of October 13, 1962, C. Northcote Parkinson has reviewed "the Brain Watchers," a most interesting and timely book which is just off the press. The author of this fine treatise on the general field of testing is Martin L. Gross, who is also the author of the September 21, 1962, Life magazine article which I inserted in the RECORD on October 10.

The review to which I refer follows:

GENIUS BY THE YARD

"The Brain Watchers," by Martin L. Gross (Random House, 304 pp. $4.95), examines the results of the attempt to measure human qualities by mechanical methods. C. Northcote Parkinson's latest book is "In-Laws and Outlaws.")

(By C. Northcote Parkinson)

The personality quiz, or the attempt to assess people by questionnaire and depth interview, derives partly from size and wealth, partly from a mechanized way of life, and partly from World War II. In a relatively small community, whether of ancient Athenians or modern Egyptologists, there are

few applicants for few posts vacant, and the reputation of candidates was and is pretty well established. The wrong appointment could and can be made, but not as a result of any crucial interview or test. The situation is totally different when a mammoth corporation has to consider 2,000 unknown applicants for 20 vacancies. As its directors live already in a mechanized world of computers, addressographs, and conveyor belts, they feel instinctively that their potential recruits (like their new materials) can be sifted mechanically. Wool, rubber, or cotton can be graded for quality by a rapid and reliable test. It should be possible to do the same with human beings. More than that, it has become essential, the applicants being too numerous to deal with in any other way.

What was no more than a tentative experiment in 1904, a first and unsuccessful mass survey in 1917, became an accepted technique in 1942. With recruits to be numbered by the million, the process of selecting potential officers and technicians could no longer depend upon personal recommendation or background. Not only in the United States, but in Britain as well, the sheep were separated from the goats by a fairly arbitrary process. In defense of this system it can be said that some mechanical cream separator had to be used and that the method adopted may not have been much worse than any other. It must also be recalled that further selection—at least in combat units—would depend upon the far more effective test of active service. By the end of World War II, it was generally believed that potential leaders could be scientifically chosen and that the system used in the forces could be adapated to suit the purposes of industry and commerce. The fallacy of the argument became almost immediately apparent in Britain, but is only now being realized in the United States. America's slowness over this must be attributed to the wealth and size of her larger organizations. The cost of the test is (relatively) nothing, and the need for it rests firmly upon the number of the applicants. The personality test must be regarded as valid, for no other basis of selection seems even practicable.

Unfortunately, the reality of the demand does not prove the value of what is supplied. In this instance the accepted procedure breaks down at every point. The accepted criteria are demonstrably false. The means of measurement are manifestly inaccurate, and the known results are obviously bad. All this Martin Gross has set out to prove. Nor could any intelligent reader doubt for a moment that his point has been made. In the realm of commonsense he leaves his giant opponent dead on the battlefield. The advocates of the personality quiz can say nothing effective in reply, for they have said nothing intelligent at any time. Insofar as there was ever a serious discussion, Mr. Gross can be said to have ended it. Insofar, however, as there is an established circle of personality quizzards, the author may scarcely have damaged it. Evils are easier to define than abolish.

But while the quizzards, like their cousins the educationalizers, will not collapse at a single blast of a trumpet (not even when blown by Admiral Rickover), their dupes are at least publicly ranged among the subnormal. And Mr. Gross has exposed their racket in a book which could hardly be bettered. He combines full knowledge with acute analysis, sound organization, and caustic style. He attacks the system on two grounds: first, that the brain-watching system is a violation of human rights; second, that it fails to isolate the qualities which its practitioners (quite wrongly) suppose to be the best. While his moral point may be generally agreed upon, his practical criticism should have the bigger impact. He points out, for example, that the selection system of the OSS was completely unsuccessful in its selection of undercover men:

"By the time the Assessional Branch of the OSS had finished testing 5,391 recruits in the 2 war years between 1943 and 1945, it had evolved as the most complex and time-consuming personality check ever made in history."

And what was the result?

"Many men judged 'outstanding' did unsatisfactory jobs and vice versa. The correlation between the prediction and performance was a worthless coefficient of .23, while others, like "emotional stability," came out a low .08, approximately the same as if OSS recruits were chosen by the spin of a roulette wheel."

The system that survived this revelation, to be applied (it would seem) to the selection of U–2 pilots, will not yield to any ordinary attack. But Mr. Gross' swordpoint goes thrice to the heart. He describes how he tested the braintesters. First, he coached a poor candidate for the Edwards Personal Preference—knowing the questions and foreseeing the sort of answer that would be acceptable—and saw his man graded as exceptionally promising. Then he went on to take all the tests himself (11 of them) and found the results wildly at variance on every point. The author proved to be: "* * * an extroverted hermit, both morose and happy, an unemployable who responds beautifully to corporate life, the average pedestrain soul who stands head-and-ego above the crowd, in a spectacularly adjusted, but highly neurotic way."

The final and fatal thrust comes with the revelation that the efforts to weed out personality risks from the Armed Forces during World War II was a complete fiasco. Some 1 million men, the equivalent of 55 divisions were discarded as psychologically unsuitable, this being the result of a testing system since shown to be utterly unreliable. On being asked "Could you kill a man?" one recruit is believed to have replied, "Yes, I think so," adding thoughtfully, "but it would take weeks and weeks and weeks." It was on such shaky evidence that the system was made to rest, and the fact of its failure would seem to be a matter of common knowledge.

The significance of the admissions since made about the World War II screenings needs a little emphasis. For the quality the psychologists were attempting to isolate was the one most easily measured: physical courage. Qualities of imagination, integrity, sympathy, and tact are comparatively elusive. But courage can be tested (after a fashion) with a 10-foot wall or some overhead fire. Yet even this simplest test is inconclusive, for it ignores the miracle of leadership. Not only is the individual soldier inexplicably brave on one day and cowardly on the next, but the whole formation's morale can be affected by a change in command. The problem in peace and war is not to choose the best men, but to make the men you have far better than they were known to be before. Asked by his superiors to choose his officers, Lord Nelson is said to have replied, "Choose whom you like." The story may not be entirely true, but it represents at least what people could believe at the time—that Nelson's presence could raise men above their normal selves.

This is the sort of leadership we need, and this is precisely the quality which the personality screen is calculated to exclude. In the world of smooth conformists there is no room, it would seem, for genius. But there is room (as Mr. Gross has shown) for the man of unusual ability in one direction. Among the elect of the modern age, the chosen of the professional choosers, the man most highly regarded will be, beyond all question, the liar.

## Doane Scholarship Award Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address delivered by Mr. F. B. Doane before the 1962 graduating class of Bandera, Tex., High School. Mr. Doane has made a marked success in his business and on the subject of free enterprise he knows whereof he speaks. He is an alert citizen, fully cognizant of the grave dangers posed by the threats of communism as well as the inroads of socialism. As a result of hard work, long hours, ambition, and determination, this man has achieved success in keeping with the best American traditions. And his example may very well be emulated by the younger generation.

Mr. Doane is a valuable citizen. He is a philanthropist who identifies himself with many worthy projects. And above everything else he is interested in his country and its future.

His remarks follow:

DOANE SCHOLARSHIP AWARD ADDRESS

(By F. B. Doane, LL.D., Sc. D., Bandera High School, May 25, 1962)

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to appear again before you, the graduating class, and your many friends.

I was thinking the other day what a different world was the one I lived in when I was a boy, carrying my books back and forth from school, not long after the turn of the century.

America had been victorious over Spain in 1898 and was emerging from the ranks of smaller nations to the status of a new world power.

The telephone was a comparatively new invention and probably not more than half a dozen families in town possessed one. Electricity in the home, other than the telephone, was practically unknown. The kerosene lamps were trimmed and lighted each evening and the first automobile to be delivered in our town caused more excitement than Barnum & Bailey's Circus. The airplane and the submarine were only dreamed of it what was the forerunner of modern science fiction.

All of these inventions and many others, unimagined in those days, are matter of fact and commonplace today. Truly, it is a remarkable world we live in.

However, I am afraid that certain very valuable things have been lost since the period I speak of and in place of them other new things have come into existence, some of which are not desirable. I think, for example, we have lost a great deal of the sense of security which we enjoyed prior to World War I. Then our enemies were weeks away; now they are only hours and minutes away. Science has made fantastic progress in almost every direction, but human nature, which directs and employs the fruits of science, has not, so far as we are able to judge, changed one single bit since the dawn of history.

Today we live with the constant threat of aggression by world communism. As President Kennedy put it in a recent speech, "We are living under the sword of Damocles."

But another American, former President Eisenhower, said only 2 weeks ago, "the real threat to our liberty will come, not from any sudden, calculated onslaught, but from a steady erosion of self-reliant citizenship and in excessive power concentration resulting from the lodging of more and more decisions in an ever growing Federal bureaucracy." In other words our danger comes from within—from socialism, from too much government, from the welfare state so many people are asking for today.

The Romans threw off government domination and did great things for 600 years. Then they said to their government "Take care of things for us. We would rather have you do it than do it for ourselves." And the government took care of them. But they went down into the darkness of the Middle Ages.

The Puritans tried it here in America. They decided to go on a socialistic welfare basis. The Government said, "Go out and work. Bring the fruits of your labor back to a central warehouse," (the equivalent of which today would be Washington, D.C.), "and then we will divide them equally among everybody." What happened? Well, they almost starved to death until incentives were restored through individual ownership and the industrious ones pitched in and made the colony a success.

In my opinion the men who govern Russia do not want an all-out war. They hope to divide and rule. They hope and work to promote socialism in the free world because this is a major objective in undermining our free world economy.

What do those people who want socialism do to bring it about? One of their methods, which was proposed by Karl Marx himself, is to attack our American business system by undermining the profit motive. I believe this attack is dangerously wrong. Profits have made possible our present position as the wealthiest and most powerful Nation in the world today. They have made it possible for public-spirited men—as individuals—to establish educational, philanthropic, and research institutions and to found scholarships and grants of learning.

I wonder if you boys and girls of the graduating class have ever stopped to consider just how such an individual arrives at the financial status where it is possible for him, or her, to do such things? The answer is that it takes either devoted effort, or money, or both. Some people give freely of their time and efforts, and this is a wonderful thing. How, now, do we get money? This is a question to which most everyone would like an answer.

If I were to attempt to answer it I might say that occassionally money is realized from the finding of buried treasure, or treasure raised from the hull of a sunken ship. Unfortunately such ventures usually end by costing as much or more than the treasure is worth.

Money is also often inherited from one's parents, or from rich old Uncle Henry. But if you're not likely to receive such a windfall about the only way left is to earn it yourself and this usually requires two things: the first is hard work and the second is a certain amount of good fortune—call it luck if you like. Any modest success which I may have had is partly due to the fact that for many years I worked from 12 to 14 hours a day, but that is not unusual. However, partly due to that, I was fortunate in meeting a certain man, and our two minds sparked an idea which neither of us alone, in all likelihood, would have thought of, and the idea turned out to be profitable. We made money on it. And here I come to the heart of what I would like to say this evening. Surprisingly, the word "profit" is not always considered good.

The word "profit" among beatniks and "intellectuals," in labor union circles, in some colleges, and particularly in Government circles has become almost a naughty word.

Now, what is profit? In general it's the difference between cost and selling price. For example, suppose I make tables and sell them for $10 each and people buy them. Then I do some hard thinking and discover a way to make them for $5. Then I have created something worth $10 out of labor and materials which cost only $5. I have created $5 worth of social value.

Is this the end? Not according to some of those people I mentioned. According to them I am a profiteer, an exploiter of labor. I am antisocial.

But—the wealth that I have created by making a profit on tables is the source from which society gets ahead. It provides the mony for better homes, better factories, and better machinery. It is the source of the money which the Government extracts by taxes and which enables it to run its manifold operations, to engage in all its welfare projects, to build and operate its military machine and to subsidize and assist foreign governments. All of the money the Government takes—the Government does not and cannot earn any money—is the result of the profits made by this and by preceding generations.

When we ranchers receive a subsidy for our wool (which we need), when we are paid to cut cedar, to "rest" pastures, to build terraces and tanks, all of which make our land more valuable, the Government furnishes part of the money. But where does this money come from? It comes from the profits somebody else has made.

Where does the money come from which endows our colleges and universities, our museums and art galleries, our centers of culture, such as the Carnegie libraries, the Frick and Mellon galleries, the McNey Art Institute and the Witte Memorial Museum, hospitals like the Peterson, the Nix and the Santa Rosa, and our great centers of scientific research such as the Mellon and Battelle Institutes and our own S. W. Research Institute in San Antonio?

It comes from bequests made by men who had been able to make a profit. So in these days of the welfare state when the Government promises to take care of us from the cradle to the grave it is well to remember that the money which makes this spending possible must come from the profits which some of the taxpayers have made, if not by this, then by previous generations.

So let's take a very hard look at proposals to do away with incentive and initiative by way of excessive taxation by Government and by elimination of the profit motive.

America's future will largely lie in the hands of the graduating classes of today. If you will preserve and encourage the capitalistic system on which this Nation's success is founded, a system which has made it possible for men with ideas or money or courage, and mainly courage, to develop new products, new factories in which to make them, and an economic system which permits them to be sold at a profit—then we can continue to maintain and to raise our American standard of living, the highest this world has ever seen.

## The Honorable Frank Smith

SPEECH
OF
## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Monday, October 8, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, may I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our friend and able colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi, FRANK SMITH. I have never served with a Member from this body who stood more steadfastly by his convictions. Our loss here in the House is a gain for TVA. FRANK SMITH will carry to this great public organization the same devotion and dedication that he brought to this House. Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for him and his lovely family the very best always; and FRANK, with privilege of the floor, you just come back to see us at any time.

## Alert Citizens Can Prevent Abuse in Nonacademic School Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ASHBROOK: Mr. Speaker, my bill H.R. 10508, would be a meaningful way to prevent abuses in the nonacademic brainpicking tests which are currently being conducted in many of our schools throughout the country. Of course, it cannot do the full job. State laws are needed and, above all else, an alert citizenry at the local level.

During the past 2 years, I have worked extensively on this very significant area of education. I have received the help and advice of many hundreds of Americans throughout the United States. Without their information on the testing programs carried out in their schools at the local level, I would not have been in a position to present the information to the House which I had in my October 10 address.

If I am returned to the 88th Congress, I assure all of you that I will make every effort to press with vigor this legislation which will be reintroduced at that time. I believe we will win the next round. I have been amazed at the reception here in the House following the revelations of these sordid tests. Disbelief turns to shock as the Members I discussed this matter with read the tests which are being given. We will have a groundswell of support in the 88th Congress for this proposal.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage Americans in our 50 States to study the testing programs in their own local school districts. As I put it in the concluding paragraph of my October 10 address:

> By alerting American fathers and mothers to the dangers inherent in these nonacademic brainpicking tests we can encourage them to be ever vigilant lest their children be guinea pigs in some classroom. My bill H.R. 10508 would help plug this gap but in the final analysis it is going to be an alert and vigilant citizenry which will rectify this erroneous usurpation of the privileges and responsibilities of the home and church.

I hope we can spread this message throughout our entire Nation. I will be most appreciative of all of the information on local testing that can be sent to me in the next few months since I want to build up a good file which can be used

to further demonstrate the need for this legislation and buttress our arguments when we begin once more our efforts in January.

## Du Pont Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a wonderful story in Forbes Business and Finance magazine of October 1, 1962, regarding the Du Pont's 160 years of corporate success. What a great record; and it took brains, sweat, and tears, hard work, and prayer by the men that lead this great Du Pont corporation and who have succeeded so wonderfully well for a long 160 years.

I have met most of these great men for the last quarter of a century and they were the most brilliant and energetic and brainy men that I have ever known. We all know how long 160 years are—over a century and a half.

Companies like the Du Pont Co. is no accident. These men from the first Du Pont on the front page of the Forbes magazine, and I wish it could go in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that will go to every library in America and every beat and I wish they could see the pictures of the great Du Pont, Eleuthére Irénée Du Pont, that founded this company 160 years ago.

And then we have that wonderful chairman of the board, Crawford H. Greenewalt. I believe all right thinking people will agree that Crawford H. Greenewalt is a brilliant scientist and has done an outstanding job for his State, for his Nation, and his company. Why should they not make a little profit? Somebody had to make the ammunition for us to defend the greatest country on earth and these great men, the Du Ponts, did. They were in and they were out for 160 years and I believe they will go on for another 160 years.

They have just elected a new president, Mr. Lammont du Pont Copeland, who will carry on in the great Du Pont plant that has meant so much to all mankind.

I also know Mr. W. Sam Carpenter, who has just retired as chairman of the board but who is on the job. Then they have a youngster coming along that is brilliant in every way. His famous father and all of this great company must have worked on him from childhood and I believe he can do more things well than most anbody I know can. He never stops working and smiling. I had occasion to hunt with him on our place in Alabama last December. We have some of the greatest shots there, but none of us, with the exception of Florida's great Edward Ball, outshot W. Sam Carpenter III. Ed Ball is as great as any of the Du Ponts and can do more things well than any man I know and he has a heart of gold and silver, too. He is not connected with this company in any way, but nobody knows the good that Edward Ball has done for Florida and every place I know of, not only in the United States but in foreign countries, too, and especially Ireland.

Edward Ball's charming, beautiful, wonderful sister, married Alfred I. du Pont, one of the greatest of this clan. But they moved their part to Florida and other places where now this great Edward Ball has control over 40-some-odd banks, a great railroad, the St. Joe Paper Co., and a million acres of this fabulous forest land which is mostly covered by our beautiful pines that stay green the year around.

He also has many other interests and he and his sister have helped in schools, our industries, and all of our people, just like the Du Ponts have done in Delaware. So I know God has blessed Mrs. Jesse Ball du Pont and her brilliant, wonderful brother, Edward Ball.

Sam Carpenter III has charge of the international department of the Du Pont Co. in Delaware and I think that practically reaches all parts of this great country we live in.

I know another young man there. He is assistant treasurer of this company. He is E. M. Robinson and he too, in my judgment, will go a long way in this great company. But I feel sure that when Lammont du Pont Copeland ends his term as president, that this great company will select W. Sam Carpenter III as president. His famous, fabulous father was president of the Du Pont Co. and chairman of the board and he and Crawford Greenewalt are right there working now as hard as they ever have.

So, the future of this company and this country looks good to me if we will all work together and not try to destroy one of our greatest businesses and groups on earth. This was tried down here in the Congress but it did not work because one had to think about what good old Abe Lincoln said, "You can fool some of tthe people some of the time," but our people know we need strong men and strong institutions to keep going and keep ahead of the rest of the countries that would like to destroy us. I have no fear of this company with this group that is running it and all of the right thinking men in this country helping and cooperating. That is something we have to have. We have to have help and this Forbes magazine article is very short.

But I believe they could have written a dozen pages about the Du Pont Co. that has developed and brought into being so many wonderful, wonderful projects that we had to have to make us what we are.

The aforementioned article follows:

LEARNING THE HARD WAY

There is serious thought being given these days to the value of much of what goes by the name of public relations. Some businessmen are beginning to suspect that sometimes more public relations effort goes into selling the boss on its value than goes into influencing the public. More and more observers are convinced that there is too much mumbo jumbo about the whole business.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that smart public relations can do a good deal for a company. E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., subject of the current Forbes cover story is a case in point. After World War I, Du Pont found itself faced with a whopper of a public relations problem. Rumors of excessive war profits from gunpowder began to appear in the press. The company was accused in print of defrauding the Government of a staggering $100 million. A Senator took to the Senate floor to attack Du Pont, alleging that it had become an industrial giant at the peoples' expense.

CLEAN BILL

The Justice Department gave Du Pont a clean bill of health after a 3-year-long investigation. But still the suspicions persisted. In 1934 a Senate investigation really went after Du Pont's munitions profits. The investigation was inconclusive. But the public and the press lapped up the accusations. Du Pont, proud and aloof, did little to counter the image, and the facts rarely caught up with the wild allegations. The tag "Merchants of Death" stuck, and Du Pont was often cited as an example of the worst aspects of big business.

Though at first they did little to counter it, the Du Pont family took this as a personal blow. They felt that the company had made a vital contribution to the Allies' war effort and at quite reasonable profits to themselves. By and large this was true by the standards of the time. But who was to know it if Du Pont didn't tell them?

Typically, Du Pont did nothing flambouyant. But the company did launch a quiet but increasingly effective program for working with schools, with employees and scientific groups. Gradually the image of war lord faded. In its place grew that of a dedicated scientist serving the country.

ONCE BURNED

When World War II began, Du Pont was determined not to make the same mistake twice. It went so far as to refuse to build its own munitions plants, instead designed and ran them for a fee. In the 1950's, handsome Crawford H. Greenewalt, the company's then president, and a brilliant scientist who was also a Du Pont son-in-law, made many speeches, wrote articles and a book "The Uncommon Man", and generally spent much of his time convincing opinion leaders that the big businessman was no villain.

Today the Du Pont image has come full circle. Once a whipping boy for politicians, it now merits their respect. Its antitrust troubles notwithstanding, many people now regard Du Pont as representative of what is best in business. In fact, a very sympathetic Congress this year passed special legislation which reduced the stockholders' economic hardships stemming from the General Motors divestiture. This is something it would never have done for the alleged "Merchants of Death."

## Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the death of CLEM MILLER was a terrible shock to me and I am sure to all of us. CLEM MILLER was my friend. He was a great Member of Congress. He had the vision to see the greatness of America, the ability and determination

to see that greatness enhanced. No Member of Congress more ably represented his convictions and his constituents than did CLEM MILLER.

His death is a tragic loss to his family, to his district, to the Congress, and to the country.

## Stronger Position Regarding Cuba Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like my colleagues to have the benefit of seeing a fine and thoughtful letter which has come from Mrs. Robert Muñoz, one of my constituents.

This is one of the best expressions of what I think is popular opinion across the Nation. The American people strongly feel the need for asserting American rights and for a stronger position against Cuba.

The letter follows:

LOS ALTOS, CALIF.,
*September 14, 1962.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GUBSER: I think you're right about those U–2 flights over Cuba. I think we should take the line that if it's too high for them to shoot down, it's not their airspace. That's in line with the way national waters are determined by the range gunboats can defend. I was heartsick when we did not maintain that line of reasoning with the U–2 over Russia: that we thought we were so high they could not shoot us down and we were so sorry we were mistaken. After all, they started the satellites, which fly over us without any objection from us.

We need to build an edifice of infringing precedents, just as the Russians do. That is power diplomacy, and the main criterion is what you can get away with (whether it's taking a photograph or taking a country) without provoking massive retaliation.

If Iceland can unilaterally extend its coastal waters to 12 miles offshore, we can extend ours to 24 or 50 or more. We can warn the Soviets cordially that we are conducting "naval maneuvers"—and just prolong them indefinitely. We can tell them not to cross our "supply lines" from the United States to the Lesser Antilles or Guantanamo Bay, and when they do arrive just accidentally bump into them and tow them off to Miami for "repairs" until they get the idea. Let them write the "stiff notes of protest" for a change.

How do we reconcile this with the "Golden Rule"? By admitting to ourselves and our friends that we aren't going to be a good neighbor to one who slanders us and threatens us with materiel as well as speeches. Fortunately we have the Monroe Doctrine affirming our privilege of keeping Eastern Powers out of the Western Hemisphere. It's a self-conferred privilege, to be sure, but the world has lived with it for a century and a half, and that is how prerogative and precedent become established. The fact that Cuba is openly under foreign occupation is the unique situation that reassures our other neighbors that we will not use gunboat diplomacy on them when they go against us.

Yours truly,

MRS. ROBERT MUNOZ.

P.S. I think we should immediately start doing the same thing in Berlin—not on as large a scale or in as aggressive a manner, but maintaining the rights we have and using every dubious incident to stretch them, not shrink them. I am appalled that we let a youth die rather than assert our right to enter East Berlin. Aside from the crime against humanity, we lost a chance to win a little more prerogative. We needn't worry about the Russians using our acts as an excuse to kidnap people from West Berlin. They don't need excuses.

## Frédéric François Chopin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, October 17, 1962, marks the 113th anniversary of the death of the Polish composer, artist, and patriot, Frédéric François Chopin. A great man of music, he was admired and esteemed by his contemporaries. The works of his genius are enjoyed and appreciated to this very day and will remain an immortal gift for generations yet to come.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD a tribute to the great artist, the great patriot, the great human being, Frédéric François Chopin, who died an exile from the country he loved 113 years ago.

Members will be interested in knowing, Mr. Speaker, that this tribute was written by someone known to many of us here on the Hill, George J. Olszewski, of New York, who as a young man was appointed by the late Hon. Sol Bloom as an assistant clerk in the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives under the late and beloved South Trimble during the years 1938 to 1942. Many will also recall it was Dr. Olszewski who composed House Resolution 269 of the Seventy-seventh Congress on the occasion of the death of another great Polish patriot and musician, Ignace Jan Paderewski, in which the House of Representatives conveyed its expression of sympathy to the grief-stricken Polish Nation and Polish people throughout the world. I wish I could claim Dr. Olszewski as a constituent because of his deep knowledge of Chopin's life and music, but at least I can say that he has many friends and relatives among the splendid Americans of Polish ancestry.

Dr. Olszewski has so well performed his self-appointed task of paying tribute to this great exponent of human freedom and dignity that there is nothing I can add, save to say that I adopt his words as mine, and join in expressing the hope that the time again will come when the unhappy land of Poland will have a truly free and democratic government again.

FRÉDÉRIC FRANÇOIS CHOPIN

(By G. J. Olszewski, Ph. D.)

One hundred and thirteen years ago on October 17, 1849, a devoted son of Poland died in exile in Paris. His beloved land was then dominated by the Russians and other occupying forces of the unholy alliance, as it is dominated by the Communists today. This Polish son was not only an ardent and intense patriot but was God's chosen musical spokesman for a Poland ravaged by occupation forces. He devoted his life to the perpetuation of the spirit of freedom, liberty and independence of Polish thought and culture. For more than a century the voice of this patriot inspired and guided his tortured nation through the pangs and ignominies of bloodshed and violence. His voice was the voice of music. It was the undying voice of Frédéric François Chopin.

Born in the tiny Polish village of Zelazowa-Wola near Warsaw on February 22, 1810, Chopin was forced into exile in his youth by the Russians because of the revolutionary character of his music. Chopin found safe haven in Paris where he continued to live and to compose in the freedom which France has traditionally extended to the persecuted of all nations. In exile Chopin was kept informed by family and friends of the dire plight of his native land. Throughout his life a goblet of Polish earth remained in Chopin's room to remind him of his origin. He breathed into his music his undying love for his homeland.

Despite the racking pain of pulmonary disorders and financial difficulties, Chopin's genius and intense patriotism gave him no respite from the unceasing demands of creative inspiration. Although the oppressors used every means at their disposal to destroy Polish culture and to decimate the Polish people, Chopin's music spoke for Poland when that nation had no audible spokesman in the civilized Christian world. His entire life was devoted to the preservation of Polish nationality and ideals.

Throughout the intense years of his short life, the voice of Chopin's music rose as a hymn to liberty. It swept from his tiny cell on the island of Majorca in the Mediterranean. It spread throughout France, England and continental Europe. It even penetrated the most remote corners of his native land to plague the oppressors.

The occupation forces sought to suppress the compelling, arousing voice of Chopin's music. The Germans forbade its playing; the Russians crashed his piano into the streets of Warsaw. But the jangled crashing of Chopin's piano became transmuted into the noble strains of his "Revolutionary Etude." What a supreme weapon. The voice of Chopin could not be silenced for music was the weapon beyond compare. The oppressors could not grasp it; they could not silence it; they could not tear it from the hearts of a people seeking liberty, freedom, and justice.

Throughout the years this vital weapon has retained its mystic potency. During World War I and again during World War II when pagan forces ravaged Christian Poland once again, it was the music of Chopin which majestically sounded the cry to battle from the Warsaw radio and triumphantly led the resistance. Throughout the bitter years of struggle which followed, Polish sons and daughters were inspired to untold feats of heroism and valor. They rose from prisons and concentration camps, from hidden caves and dugouts in the woods, from the rubble and ruin of Polish cities. They struck a last blow for Polish independence to the penetrating, commanding and awe-inspiring themes of the "Polonaise Militaire." Chopin's music symbolized the united response of a nation which resisted the onslaughts of its oppressors.

NATIONALISM AND ROMANATICISM

What were the dominating influences which molded such a significant Polish spirit into Chopin's music? How did this frail genius succeed in portraying the vital spirit of a nation in chains? What were the driving forces of his soul? Perhaps a clue can be found in an examination of the era in

which Chopin grew to manhood in Poland.

It may be recalled that the 19th century in Europe was an era of political and intellectual ferment. The success of the American and French Revolutions in the last quarter of the 19th century had aroused a new spirit of nationalism which swept across Europe influencing not only the political life of the Continent but also its literature, art and music.

Poland by this time had gone through the agonies of three partitions—the first in 1772 between Russia, Prussia and Austria; the second in 1793 between Prussia and Russia; and the third, or final, again between all three of this unholy alliance. By the Treaty of Tilsit of 1802, however, the Duchy of Warsaw had been reconstituted as a source of manpower by Napoleon whose star was then illuminating the European heavens. With his defeat and retreat from Moscow in 1812, Napoleon's Polish creation perished. Under the terms of the final act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Poland was definitively partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria.

In a vain attempt to win the Poles to Russia's side, Alexander I set up the congress kingdom of Poland in 1815 under a Russian constitution. Warsaw was the center of this new creation. Diametrically opposed to the nationalistic principles of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1795, however, this final act brought about a wave of intense nationalism and rebellion throughout the land. It culminated in the ill-fated Polish uprising of 1830, so brutally suppressed by the Russians. The end was now not far off. The year 1831 marked the total occupation of Warsaw by the Russians and the complete extinction of Poland as an independent political entity. In 1832 Nicholas I declared Warsaw to be an integral part of the Russian Empire.

These events were but part of a long series of attempts to subjugate the Poles. The policy of the occupying powers was the decimation of the Poles and the extinction of Polish thought and culture. In 1832, for instance, 50,000 volumes of the library of the Society of the Friends of Knowledge, founded by the Polish historian, Tadeusz Czaski and several contemporaries, was carried off to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Polish literature had by this time entered the so-called era of romanticism. It had been ushered in by the appearance of the great Polish poet Mickiewicz in 1822, who, together with his contemporaries Slowacki and Krasinski formed the triumverate of Polish thought of the period.

Chopin thus became the Old World renowned Polish composer of this era who reflected the new thought and spirit of romanticism in Poland. This development was marked by a militant spirit in his music and the evolution of new and daring styles and revolutionary techniques in his compositions. It won for him the wrath of the diehards of his day, the admiration of the concertgoer and the undying devotion of the Polish masses.

HIS SOUL WAS MUSIC

Chopin's music was, therefore, the poetic echo of the era. This subtle, passionate, at times violent themes became the basis of his claim to lasting musical fame. Throughout his compositions the simple folk rhythms of the Polish countryside abound. In it are found the subtle dances of the Warsaw salons. The themes of the mazurka, the krakowiak, the polonaise and of ancient Polish hymns and songs abound in Chopin's music. He gave them a dignity and hitherto unknown majesty. It was his great creative genius which enabled him to weave into his compositions a pattern which expressed the nationalistic longings of his sorrowful nation.

The militant, nationalistic spirit is, however, but one facet of the genius of Chopin. He speaks not only for the physically and spiritually oppressed of his own nation, but for all humanity. His music carries a message of spiritual tranquillity to the oppressed of all nations, for its appeal is varied—to some it may be emotional or spiritual, to others artistic and intellectual. But all agree, however, on its benign influence, for the power of Chopin's compositions stems from the very foundation of music which is an expression of life itself. It stems from the forces of creation and the depths of the human soul. His music lives in the breath of the wind, in the murmur of the forests, in the flow of the rivers. It flows in the very blood of our veins reflecting every sensation of joy, grief, sorrow, happiness, anguish, delusion, and ecstasy which grips the heart and soul of man. The melodies of Chopin's music flow harmoniously across the starry pathways of the sky. They ascend above the range of human speech and sweep the entire universe; they lift the hearts and minds of humanity to the ideals of creation and the harmony of the human spirit.

In pausing today to reflect a few moments on the genius of this Polish composer and patriot, Frederic Francois Chopin, let us not overlook the contributions of two other Polish heroes, Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, to our own fight for freedom and independence during the Revolutionary War. Nor should we forget the 16th century Polish astronomer, Nicolas Copernicus, the founder of modern astronomy, whose brilliant concept of the universe stabilized world knowledge of the planetary system, thus providing the germinating influence that has captured the minds of men and led to today's heroic achievements in space travel. May this heritage of great accomplishments by Polish minds for the benefit of all humanity continue to guide and inspire the continued fight for the freedom and independence from all foreign yokes and ideologies of a truly Christian and democratic Polish nation.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH
OF
## HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, when I came as a freshman to the 81st Congress it was my good fortune to be assigned to the Committee on Banking and Currency where I had the enriching experience of association with the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, the great chairman of that committee. I again served on the Banking and Currency Committee in the 83d Congress and my admiration and my affection for this legislative giant deepened with every passing day. It is difficult for me to contemplate the convening of the 88th Congress without the presence of this great American who has left an imprint upon the laws of his country that insures the inclusion of his name on any list of the alltime greats of the Congress.

From the bottom of my heart I wish for him every blessing of health and contentment and of continuing usefulness in the years of his retirement. No man has ever served his country with greater dedication. No man has more fully earned his place in the history of the Congress.

I shall forever be grateful to him for the many kindnesses that he bestowed upon me when I served on the Banking and Currency Committee. In the 81st Congress I was the lowest ranking majority member of the committee, of which the Honorable BRENT SPENCE was chairman, but the human touch, the kindliness, the innate democracy of BRENT SPENCE made me feel at home and as welcome as though I had been a member of the committee family all my life.

God bless BRENT SPENCE.

## Now Listen Here, Udall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, while some Members are trying to wind up the 2d session of the 87th Congress, the President, his Cabinet, and some of the New Frontiersmen have long since hit the campaign trail. The New Frontier leaves no stone unturned and the following Norton Daily Telegram editorial is an example of the unprecedented power politics out where the West begins in western Kansas:

[From the Norton (Kans.) Daily Telegram, Oct. 10, 1962]

NOW LISTEN HERE, UDALL

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall speaks in Norton tomorrow at ground breaking ceremonies for the Norton Dam.

Norton extends him a warm welcome for the office he represents.

However, the welcome for the politician side of Mr. Udall is cooler than the top of Mount Fujiyama in winter on the part of many of us, and Mr. Udall knows how cold that is.

The reason many of us do not join in welcoming the politician side of the ubiquitous Udall is that so much effort was put forth by the powers that be in Washington to make sure that nobody, except Mr. Udall and his cohorts of the New Frontier—FLOYD BREEDING et al.—would have the limelight in the speaking here.

This was accomplished through brazen use of power against local citizens who had acted in good faith and with good will. And it was done with no consideration for the feelings of these good folks.

The people of Norton County, acting through their chamber of commerce and other civic groups, decided some weeks ago to have a ceremony to celebrate start of work on the Norton Dam.

Norton Chamber President Marvin S. Steinert appointed a long list of Nortonites—of both political persuasions—to handle arrangements for the ceremony at the damsite and a dinner in Norton.

The chamber announced it would conduct things on a completely nonpartisan basis. Congressman BREEDING would be invited and so would Congressman DOLE as well as other leading candidates of both parties. All would speak at the dinner in the American way of allowing both sides to be heard.

The chamber reasoned the dam was the work of Republicans and Democrats alike.

First appropriations came under the Eisenhower administration and continued funds have been voted by Congress during the Kennedy administration.

Many goodhearted men worked for the dam for many years without thought of doing so to benefit one political party or the other. Their sole aim was to help the future of this area through careful conservation of our God-given resources.

Then the New Frontier moved in. Orders came down from Washington—we don't know for sure whether from Mr. Udall's or Mr. BREEDING'S office. The orders were the dinner would be a "Democrat dinner"—no Republican candidates to be allowed to speak.

A high lieutenant of FLOYD BREEDING passed down these orders.

At first the New Frontier wanted the chamber to continue to sponsor the dinner. But the chamber refused to be involved as sponsoring a political dinner for either party. The dinner was taken away from the chamber.

Thus the event planned by the people of Norton County was seized from them and given to one political party for its supposed benefit. The implication was the $18 million being spent on the dam is totally to aid the New Frontier.

Secretary Udall was originally invited by the people of Norton County. No one cared whether he spoke on political or nonpolitical subjects. But most of us wanted to give both sides a chance to be heard if there was going to be any politics in it.

Instead, Republican candidates were completely barred. Mississippi wouldn't allow a Negro to enroll, and the New Frontier wouldn't let a Republican candidate speak at a community dinner in Norton. It is difficult to distinguish the difference in discrimination.

The reason they don't want any Republican candidates in the limelight is, in effect, "it's our money that you got to build the dam, and we intend to get credit for it."

We'll give the apostles of the New Frontier credit, all right; credit for being the smoothest politicians this Nation has ever seen. They know how to outmaneuver their Republican opponents and how to get the most votes out of every public dollar spent.

The New Frontier has made sure that FLOYD BREEDING has been the "dedication speaker" at new post offices all over the Fifth and Sixth Districts. The Post Office Department has so ordered even when local people would have preferred someone else.

But what they have pulled here at Norton caps them all in disregard for the rights and feelings of local citizens.

Needless to say, the whole mess has been extremely embarrassing to good citizens of this community who freely gave of their time in serving on committees, believing they were working for a nonpartisan effort.

The tactics of the New Frontier in this instance smack of one-party rule of the harshest nature.

We don't exactly expect an apology from Mr. Udall, but this community is at least entitled to an explanation.

Meanwhile we want you to know, Mr. Udall, that the kind of tactics used in the arrangements for the ground breaking events here won't work in Kansas. They might work in the boss-ridden cities of the East. They might work in Massachusetts and they might even work in Arizona.

But if I know anything about the freedom-loving and fairminded peoples of western Kansas, Democrats and Republicans and Independents fed up with infringements on personal liberties, I don't think they are going to fall for it.

The answer will be given at the polls Tuesday, November 6, when the people of western Kansas choose between Mr. BREEDING and the much-slandered-by-the-New-Frontier Congressman from Russell, Mr. BOB DOLE.

May the best man win.

## The Honorable H. R. Gross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington Bureau, has written such a splendid article relating to the activities of my good friend, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

H. R. GROSS is a power of strength in the Congress. Whether you are for him or against him, you must have respect for his courage, tenacity, and knowledge. He is a proven patriot, a good friend, and a worthy adversary.

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

(By Walter Trohan, chief of Chicago Tribune's Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, October 12.—There are three parties in the U.S. House of Representatives—Democrat, Republican, and HAROLD ROYCE GROSS. A slight, mild mannered gentleman from Iowa, GROSS is a champion of efficiency and economy in Government.

Although he is nominally a Republican, the first concern of the former editor and broadcaster, who has served in Congress for 14 years, is as guardian of the public pocketbook. He began his political career batting left-handed on the liberal side, but was moved to switch to the right by shock over the free dealing of public funds.

At times he has been a much of a thorn in the side of Republican spenders, when that party ruled Congress, as he has been to the Democratic opposition. Yet he has the respect, admiration, and even envy of Members on both sides of the aisle for his courage and industry, as was evidenced recently when he was honored by almost a hundred colleagues at a breakfast as "the conscience of the House."

GROSS, who prefers to be known by his initials, H. R., is the most frequent objector in the House to unanimous-consent requests, by which considerable legislative business and a good deal of monkey business are transacted. With the retirement of 87-year-old Representative CLARE HOFFMAN, Republican, of Michigan, at the end of this session for reasons of health, GROSS will fight alone on this front of the battle for economy and efficiency. Over the years they teamed up on the economy front.

PREPARES THOROUGHLY FOR ECONOMY WAR

GROSS does his homework. He studies every bill. Then, armed with a rule book, he goes to the floor of the House to battle for the taxpayer, poised to leap to his feet, the bird dog of economy. He is the dread of proponents of legislation who rise to speak without preparation. His points of order, parliamentary inquiries, and questions have tied the House in knots, demolished pretentious champions of spending legislation, forced bills back to committee for revision, and frequently knocked them out altogether.

When an attempt was made to pass a bill which was not on the calendar, establishing a $10 million aquarium and fisheries center by unanimous consent, GROSS was on his feet with an objection. This delayed the bill and forced the leadership to bring it to the floor under proper procedure. He saved $2 million by objecting to a bill which would have erected a memorial to Roger Williams in Rhode Island merely to please former Senator Theodore Francis Green, Democrat, of Rhode Island.

When Congress sought to appropriate $500,000 for research on the advisability of adopting the metric system, GROSS was there with an objection again. He isn't against the metric system itself. He pointed out that since the decimal system has been adopted by 90 percent of the world, no study is needed. He suggested bringing out a bill which would put the system in effect in about 5 years. He saved taxpayers more than $600,000 by stopping a move to take over an Arizona trading post.

He has warred on increasing the liquor allowance for ambassadorial entertainment and on junketeering. He charged officials of the Truman administration with "outlandish spending" of taxpayers' money for oil portraits of themselves at $1,500 each. He objected to providing a military driver for Frank Sinatra and Peter Lawford, brother-in-law of the President, when the entertainers staged a gala on inaugural eve, 1961.

SUGGESTS TIN CUP REPLACE TORCH

When the House voted to give New York City more than $3 million to reimburse it for the "extraordinary expenses" of its police department during the United Nations visit of Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev, GROSS suggested that the Statue of Liberty's torch be replaced with a tin cup. He has suggested every Member of Congress who votes for U.S. purchase of $100 million of U.N. bonds, buy a $1,000 bond himself. He has fought official secrecy and waste in civil defense.

While the successes of the Congressman are few, in his own opinion, and mostly temporary and relatively small as measured against the total volume of spending, his daily presence on the floor is a guarantee to taxpayers that nothing is going to slip by unnoticed. He is dedicated in purpose and steers his course by this statement of Calvin Coolidge, which is framed on his office wall:

"Nothing is easier than the expenditure of public money. It does not appear to belong to anybody. The temptation is overwhelming to bestow it on somebody."

## The Honorable John H. Ray

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join and associate myself with the statements that have been made about the character and service of our colleague, the Honorable JOHN RAY, of New York. The tributes paid to him are most highly deserved. I concur in them completely.

The district he has represented and the Nation he has served have been greatly benefited by Congressman RAY'S membership in the House of Representatives.

We shall all miss him. I will particularly feel his absence. My hope is that in his retirement I can still call upon him for counsel as I have so many times during his membership here.

He is a great statesman, combining a keen mind and sound judgment with a willingness to work untiringly for the good of his country and his neighbors.

As he leaves, I join in saluting him and wishing him and his wife many years of pleasant retirement.

## How Long Do We Wait for Trade Bans on Cuba?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.**
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] has been among the leading advocates in the Congress for strong action against Cuba. His work in this regard has been recognized in the press, and I include the following editorials in the RECORD:

[From the Palm Beach Post, Sept. 11, 1962]

HOW LONG DO WE WAIT?

Florida's Representative PAUL G. ROGERS, in a resolution introduced in the House last week, urged reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine as national policy in the face of the Russian arms buildup in Cuba.

No such reaffirmation should be necessary, but apparently it is.

And merely giving lip service to the Monroe Doctrine is not enough. Failure to implement it will be equivalent to abject surrender to communism.

"Adoption of this resolution," said Representative ROGERS, "will give clear indication to those who administer our foreign policy that the American people want to revitalize this Doctrine, return to our proud heritage, and establish an effective course in dealing with this new threat of communism to the American hemisphere."

Certainly it is obvious that "those who administer our foreign policy" are thinking along lines widely divergent from those of the American people in general. The very fact that communism has been allowed to gain a foothold in Cuba is proof enough of that.

Many of them apparently, subscribe to the prevailing liberal opinion that the Monroe Doctrine is outmoded—that we are committed to action against communism in this hemisphere only in concert with other Latin American States.

The time is past for any such temporizing. It could be fatal.

Even though still unconfirmed by Washington, there is substantial evidence that Russia not only has troops in Cuba, but also intermediate-range ballistic missile bases. There are reports that a Soviet submarine base also is being constructed.

The longer we wait to expel communism from Cuba, the more difficult will be the job. And our liberty is at stake.

[From the Hollywood Sun-Tattler, Oct. 5, 1962]

SUPPORT REPRESENTATIVE ROGERS IN CUBA TRADE BANS

With President Kennedy announcing a decision to order a major economic crackdown on shipping between the Communist bloc and Cuba, special recognition should be given to our Representative in Congress Representative PAUL G. ROGERS, for the part he has played in urging action to check the Soviet arms buildup in Castro's Communist kingdom.

Representative ROGERS has been campaigning for active policies against both the Communist bloc nations and the free world nations which have been shipping to Cuba.

What has aroused Representative ROGERS particularly—and what should arouse every American citizen—has been the number of ships which have sailed to Cuba after having put into U.S. ports.

This practice has all but made a mockery of the U.S. decision to ban trade with Cuba. What good has it done us to ban trade, then permit ships to come to the United States, take on valuable and vital cargoes and sail happily to Cuba?

And it's also been a mockery of our so-called "assistance" programs to have those free world countries which we've been aiding substantially for years to continue to trade with Cuba—poised as it is like a knife at the jugular vein of American security.

Representative ROGERS' activities have been distinguished by his courage to come out forthrightly and make it clear that we are our own worst enemies by permitting these practices to continue. The Representative from the Sixth Congressional District has called repeatedly for unilateral action by the United States to protect its own vital interests.

He left no doubt in anyone's mind of the gravity of the situation when he said, "* * * The United States is presented with a clear and present threat from the Soviet buildup in Cuba. The weapons, armaments, and personnel now in Cuba add up to a new Soviet offensive in the Western Hemisphere. This offensive is being aided by the 28 free world tankers which ran petroleum products to Cuba in the June–August period."

If these free nations of the world are indeed our friends and allies then we should show no hesitancy in calling upon them—insisting, in fact—to follow a course of action which is not at complete variance with our national aims and purposes.

Certainly these allies never have been hesitant about calling upon the United States to desist from any actions which they deemed contrary to their security—and the United States has been more than cooperative in adjusting its policies to suit those of anyone and everyone who had a complaint.

It is the height of folly for us to walk timidly for fear of hurting anyone's feelings when our very security is being threatened by a military buildup a scant 90 miles from the shores of Florida.

Moreover, Representative ROGERS has pointed out that assertion of our national interests can bring results. In his remarks before the House Select Committee on Export Control this week he noted:

"Pressures from the Congress have brought results. West Germany, Turkey, and Norway now have announced their willingness to cooperate with the United States. With continued insistence by the Congress and its committees, the policies and actions of this Government will be consistent with the aims of this Nation."

In this regard, however, it must be remembered that the effectiveness of Representative ROGERS' campaign, and the measure of his success, will be determined in great part by the support he receives from his constituents.

Certainly, there is no reasonable individual in this area who is anything but enthusiastic about Representative ROGERS' campaign to curtail shipping to Cuba—but this enthusiasm must be demonstrated if it is to be helpful.

The people of this area should write to Representative ROGERS telling him of their wholehearted support of his efforts, and they should write to as many other Members of Congress as they can, urging these legislators to cooperate with Representative ROGERS in accomplishing what is best for our Nation.

At the same time that we commend Representative ROGERS for what he is doing, let us also give him our full support in every way that we can.

## In Defense of Eagles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. MORRIS K. UDALL**
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, on October 12 the House cleared for the President a bill to provide protection for the golden eagle. There have been many vividly written stories about the so-called strength of these birds but the veracity of such tales is open to question.

My good friend, Mr. Lewis Wayne Walker, associate director of the world-famous Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum near Tucson, Ariz., has written an incisive study of this issue which I would like to share with my colleagues:

HEADLINES ON EAGLES

(By Lewis Wayne Walker)

Since the dawn of history eagles have been described as culprits that carry off babies, sheep, deer, and goats and a variety of other victims. Even today, when we are supposed to be so scientific and so reasoning, such stories crop up periodically in our newspapers. The following news dispatch from Seattle, Wash., is a typical masterpiece of reportorial romancing. It has action, suspense, and in fact everything a story should have to make good "copy"—except, of course, the truth.

"A shadow circled high overhead, the child lay on its back and watched it interestedly," reads the news story. "The shadow narrowed its circle flying in a narrowed spot in the sun. Suddenly it swooped down with a terrifying whirr of strong wings, glistening black in the sunlight. The child screamed. Cries terrible and pained filled the air."

From the town of Gunpowder, Md., comes another. This one was headed by a picture that was captioned: "Bird Weighed 50 Pounds; Had a 6-Foot Wingspread." It would be interesting to have a reliable airplane designer specify the horsepower needed to lift such a weight. But the story goes on:

"Attacked by two immense eagles as she played in the yard of her home here, 3-year-old Betty Earnestburger was saved from possible death, or even from being carried away, when a friend of her parents fired on the huge birds."

And then from another publication: "The Meece boys and the Phelps boys were startled by a scream. Eight-year-old Jim Meece had run a short distance away from his brothers. A great, bald eagle had swooped down from the sky and fastened its talons in little Jim's leg. For perhaps 2 seconds there was a struggle, Jim fought wildly and cried out. The bird succeeded in lifting him from the ground, his head hanging down. The struggle continued as the eagle flew to a height, according to the estimate of the other children, of about 75 feet. Jim kicked out violently. The eagle flew lower. The boys on the ground screamed too. And at last the bird released its grip and Jim fell. It had flown a distance of 200 feet. There were bruises on Jim's legs from the grasp of the talons and bruises and cuts on his body from the fall at a height of about 12 feet, but otherwise he was sound and whole. Jim weighs only 35 pounds. If he had been a little lighter, the eagle might have succeeded in carrying him away."

For some reason or other I enjoy tying up the two sentences regarding Jim's age (8 years) and his weight (35 pounds).

Every now and then magazines appear with similar stories. In almost every instance, however, the child has been saved. Often the rescue is achieved by the use of a trusty shotgun whose scattered pellets always hit the bird but never the baby. The wingspreads of these Samsonian eagles vary from 3 to 15 feet. Their lifting, or carrying abilities usually are at least 50 pounds—or even more. The birds are never gentle; always ferocious. They are never cowardly; always courageous.

Several years ago I had the opportunity of making a life history of golden eagles at an eyrie in southern California. A blind was constructed about 30 feet from the nest, and in this I spent many a weary hour. Sometimes full days were wasted waiting for one or the other of the "courageous" parents to return and feed their young. In spite of their heralded fearlessness, even when they did return the click of a camera or the slightest move on my part would send them off in a panic.

On one of my first visits to the nest food was found weighing approximately 35 pounds—Jim Meece's weight. It was made up entirely of injurious rodents—12 rabbits and 11 ground squirrels. Hunt as I might not a single human bone was found. In days of watching and waiting I saw prey carried to the nest on many occasions. The record weight was a jack rabbit, which might have weighed 4½ pounds. I may have underestimated a little because the eagle had quite a struggle carrying this rabbit.

The nest itself, measured by tape, was just 6½ feet across. The adult birds sometimes spread their wings, and the tips just about reached from edge to edge. Try as I might I could not see the 15-foot span that the world has so often seen reported in print.

Three days after the young one left the nest he was tame and gentle, permitting me to walk within 20 feet of him before taking flight. Visions of a sad ending at the opening of the hunting season prompted me to take him captive and to train him after the manner used by ancient falconers.

Months passed. He became proficient in the art of flying, gliding, and returning to his trainer. Then came the weight tests. Needed was the answer to the question: "How much can an eagle carry?" The site selected for the experiment was chosen to give "Caesar," as he was called, the best opportunity to prove his strength. The wind was blowing steadily at about 10 miles per hour. An airport building with a platform about 15 feet from the ground was chosen for the takeoff spot. Weights of varying sizes were placed in socks and were fastened loosely about his feet. He was so accustomed to handling by humans that this part of the experiment did not excite or bother Caesar at all.

In all, six weighted flights were made, allowing a 20-minute rest interval between each takeoff. Carrying a 1-pound weight on each foot the bird averaged 162 yards in normal, effortless, playful flight. On two subsequent flights, with the weights doubled, he flew 64 and 58 yards, respectively. But while carrying these 4 pounds, Caesar was noticeably strained. The dips, glides, and soaring circles were entirely missing from his aerial maneuvers. The next and the last tests were made with a 4-pound weight on each foot. When so loaded he beat the air wildly, seeming to use every ounce of muscle to keep from crashing. His best distances with 8 pounds were 10 and 14 yards. Twenty minutes later he was flown twice unweighted and he soared 460, and 620 yards, before I called him down to the glove.

One realizes that Caesar was a captive bird. As such he did not have the opportunity to exercise as would a bird in the free state. Undoubtedly Caesar was not quite as muscular as his wild brothers. To offset this, however, do all these wild birds, supposedly carrying off children and surprisingly heavy weights, have the advantage of a 15-foot platform from which to drop and gain flying speed? Are they catapulted into the air as was Caesar, or do they have the drag of dead weight to hinder them from leaving the ground?

In the light of these facts, let us hear two more yarns—yarns that appeared and were read and believed by many people. From Hugo, Minn., in 1935, came an eagle story that about topped them all. It told of an eagle carrying a child into the air (accompanied by the usual screams and struggles) only to be stopped by a power line that caused its electrocution. It dropped the child—unhurt.

The Audubon Society representative in Dassel, Minn., wrote of this in "Bird Lore" as follows:

"Here are the facts in the Hugo eagle and child case. A golden eagle, with a wing spread of 86 inches, was apparently pursuing a hawk, and in its flight was caught between two automobiles on the pavement of a city street. It flew upwards and was electrocuted by a high tension wire just above. The bird was only slightly burned on one wing and is being mounted by Mr. Arnold Lindberg. The baby in the case, and its mother, were at the time of the eagle incident, 260 miles away, visiting, and the story, as given to the papers, was told as a joke. Mr. Lindberg later left a note stating the facts, and, in company with his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Harvey, who was with him at the time of the eagle episode, is willing to supply details to interested parties."

We wonder how many eagles died for the sake of this joke?

And from Lynchburg, Tenn., there came the following Associated Press report:

"Fifteen-year-old Floyd Tipps was a worthy foe for a massive golden eagle with a wing spread of 35 inches. (Note the wing spread. Eagles must be getting smaller but stronger.) The big bird came out a poor second yesterday to Floyd, who beat it to death with a stick as it tried to carry off his 8-year-old brother, Charles. Attracted by screams and shouts, Floyd said he ran to his brother's aid and found the eagle dragging Charles along the ground. Floyd grabbed a stick and flayed the bird across the head until it released its hold on the little boy. Then he killed it."

In reality, the bird was found by the two Tipps boys on the ground, apparently wounded or injured. They tried to catch it and the bird clutched the younger boy in its talons. The older one then hit it on the head and killed it. This story would probably end in the city editor's waste basket. Doctored with a bit of imagination, however, and enhanced with piercing screams and cries, it made a news item of much more exciting reading and provided more choice conversations. And think of the people they fool, including, perhaps, some Members of Congress who will therefore refuse to pass a bill giving protection to our two eagles, one of which is our national bird.

## The Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, CLEM MILLER was one of the finest Congressmen and one of the greatest men I have ever known. He was rugged physically, alert, and able mentally. He was loyal to his constituents and devoted to this House. The last conversation I had with CLEM MILLER was about the unusual and beautiful belt buckle he was accustomed to wearing on the floor. When I mentioned the fact that my 4-year-old son would like to know where this particular belt buckle came from, CLEM became immediately interested and we talked at length because he loved children so much and was interested in people—the little things warmed the heart.

We are going to miss CLEM MILLER here and the Nation is going to miss him. He was a stalwart, typical red-blooded American. Mrs. Dorn and my children join in deepest sympathy to Mrs. Miller and his wonderful and lovely daughters.

## Must We Wait?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] has been among the leading advocates in the Congress for strong action against Cuba. His work in this regard has been recognized in the press, and I include the following editorials in the RECORD:

[From the Daily News-Journal, Delray Beach, Fla., Sept. 14, 1962]

MUST U.S. WAIT UNTIL WE FACE THREAT OF INVASION?

A bandit has moved into the house across the street and built up an arsenal. If you complained to the authorities about it and were told to keep your shirt on, that the weapons were only defensive at this time—you'd think you had some pretty incompetent, if not simple people guarding public safety, wouldn't you?

That's what the situation amounts to as far as the administration and the Castro Russian arms buildup are concerned. Secretary of State Rusk was reported by the Associated Press as having told some Congressmen Wednesday that we would not tolerate having Cuba become a base for offensive action against the United States or any American country.

What this means is that if it looks like we're going to be invaded, then the policymakers will then consider doing something about it. That will be really late in the game then. Meanwhile, Khrushchev, Castro, and company can set up their defensive missile bases, and their defensive air bases without any fear of action from the United States.

We might as well realize that we are not going to get any foreign policy with guts directed to this Nation's true self-interest as long as the fuzzy brained horn-rimmed set around the President has his ear. A well-informed writer on national and international affairs told us recently that in his opinion the President is really sold on the wisdom of Professors Walt Rostow, Arthur Schlesinger et al. And of course the standard reply to criticism of crackpot schemes dreamed up by eggheads with lots of degrees is that their critics are "Neanderthals," unqualified to judge cerebral heavyweights.

But look at the foreign policy blunders the United States has piled up since World War

II on the advice of the "Liberal intellectuals" who have counseled Presidents and secretaries of State, both officially and unofficially:

It was their advice to turn over Eastern Europe to Russia. It was their advice that resulted in us helping to topple Chiang Kai-shek's regime in China. It was their advice which had us rule North Korea outside our defense perimeter—a decision which brought on the Korean bloodbath. It was their advice which counseled a free rein for millions of African savages who have proved themselves about as ready to rule themselves as children in kindergarten. It was their advice which brought on Batista's ouster and Castro's triumph despite warnings from two ambassadors about Castro's Red beliefs. This catalogue of disasters will continue, to the peril of this Nation's existence, unless something is done about it.

Congressman PAUL ROGERS has come up with a seven-point program for possible congressional action. Rogers advocates full-scale military exercises in waters off Cuba and warning vessels to enter only at their own risk. He also would enforce the ban against U.S. aid going to any nation which aids Cuba and would take diplomatic action to halt further Soviet transport of military supplies to Castro.

That's enough for a start. It's something for the President to think about as he relaxes at Hyannis or Newport or on a yacht or wherever he'll be this weekend. One thing about those weekends, he's usually out of contact with Rostow and Schlesinger. That's a small blessing.

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[From the Hollywood (Fla.) Sun-Tattler, Sept. 11, 1962]

STAND OF REPRESENTATIVE ROGERS DESERVES OUR BACKING

U.S. Representative PAUL G. ROGERS has presented a resolution to the Congress of the United States calling for the Congress to reassert the Monroe Doctrine as national policy in the face of a Russian arms buildup in Cuba.

The resolution was adopted by Congress and now is being studied by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

It said Congress should establish an effective course in dealing with this new threat to the American Hemisphere.

In his speech Representative ROGERS said, "America is deeply disturbed over the buildup of Soviet military personnel and materiel in Cuba. This buildup has been carried out in defiance of the U.S. policy of protecting this hemisphere from outside interference."

We agree with him 100 percent.

Strangely enough, the Monroe Doctrine grew out of conditions existing in Europe as well as in the Americas. And Russia was one of the countries involved.

The three leading absolute monarchies of Europe at the time were Russia, Prussia, and Austria. They had pledged themselves to put an end to the system of representative government in whatever country it might exist in Europe.

The United States feared that these three arrogant powers just might take a notion to suppress representative government in the New World also.

As most high school students will remember, the revolutions which swept Latin American States aroused a sympathetic ear in the United States. An early attempt to get the new countries recognized was made by Henry Clay in 1817.

In March 1822, after the Florida Treaty was ratified, James Monroe recommended that the independence of new Latin American States be recognized.

Then in 1823 President Monroe delivered a famous message to Congress that was to become known as the Monroe Doctrine.

The doctrine practically guarantees all the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere against European interference for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any way their destiny.

The doctrine also said that the American continents were not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by European powers, meaning that the United States would not allow new colonies to be created anywhere in the Americas, nor permit existing colonies to extend their boundaries.

Representative government does not exist in Cuba. There are many highly placed Americans who think and say that Russia is in control and that Castro is just a puppet.

It is being pointed out with increasing regularity that military forces in Cuba are being built up daily, and that missile bases are being installed.

Granted, the world has changed since the Monroe Doctrine first was adopted. But the principles of freedom and representative government are still the same. We can back Representative ROGERS with letters and cards, and let our elected representatives know that we still believe in the Monroe Doctrine.

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## A Personal Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CATHERINE D. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, the nearly 2 years of my service in the Congress have passed in record time, and shortly my tenure of office will be over. Due to the vagaries of fortune, our State is losing two seats in this body. Thus in the interest of retaining a delegation as strong as possible, though small in number, I did not seek reelection.

I came into the House as a freshman Congressman, but not as a newcomer to Washington. I believe that every Member of the House welcomed me and offered his assistance. My own State delegation, headed by Congressman WILBUR MILLS, took me under its collective wing. Each member of the delegation—Congressman MILLS, Congressman GATHINGS, Congressman HARRIS, Congressman TRIMBLE, and Congressman ALFORD—has been a source of strength to me, and I am deeply grateful for their kindnesses.

The Speaker, with his usual cordiality, geniality, and fairness, has made a deep and lasting impression upon me. I have heard him say several times that he has a great affection for the State of Arkansas, and that his beloved wife, a former Metropolitan Opera singer, gave her farewell concert in Little Rock.

Mr. Speaker, thank you for your many courtesies and friendship.

Congressman CARL ALBERT, our majority leader, is, in my opinion, one of the most capable men serving in the Congress. CARL is not only a close personal friend, but a mentor as well. I have gone to him with many problems, and he has always helped me in solving them. To CARL I give my sincere thanks.

And to HALE BOGGS, our majority whip, I extend my thanks for his friendship and the help he has given me.

This has been the most challenging and interesting experience of my life. Never having expected to serve an elective office of any kind, I feel a deep sense of gratitude to the people of the Sixth Congressional District of Arkansas who elected me to serve this unexpired term.

Congressman HARRIS will be representing the new Fourth District, which will embrace 11 of the 13 counties now in the district which I represent. Congressman MILLS will be representing the two remaining counties. I am sure they both know that my offer of assistance at any time is prompted by my desire to be of service to my State.

I expect to remain in Washington for the next few years. I am sure that a spirit of nostalgia will overwhelm me at times, and that I will want to come back to follow the proceedings of the House.

My heartfelt thanks to each Member of the House on both sides of the aisle for your friendship and courtesies.

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## A Political Mystery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the folowing editorial from the Lawton Constitution and Morning Press, of which Mr. Ned Shepler is publisher and owner:

A POLITICAL MYSTERY

For some unexplained reason, the Republican National Committee reportedly has designated the Sixth District Congressional race as one of the pivotal contests in the November general election. Largely on the basis of this designation, a television network has dispatched a camera crew to the Sixth District to cover campaign activities of the two contenders.

Why the Republicans believe they have a good chance of victory in this district is rather difficult to comprehend. Perhaps this merely is a reflection of the slender hopes they hold for substantially enlarging their membership in the Congress.

As their candidate to unseat veteran Congressman VICTOR WICKERSHAM, the Republicans have offered a politically unknown Minco beekeeper. Although Glenn Gibson has been prominent in Minco affairs and successful in his profession, he is generally unknown to voters of the sprawling Sixth District. This, alone, is an almost insurmountable obstacle in politics.

On the surface, it appears the Republicans have based their hopes mainly on the 1960 presidential race, in which many factors figured in the Republican margin, as well as the solid showing made by Clyde Wheeler in the congressional contest that year.

Neither of these political oddities serves as a realistic yardstick in measuring the Republican chances in the forthcoming election. Religious as well as national issues figured prominently in Richard Nixon's margin in the district and Wheeler enjoyed a political windfall from the bitter Democratic primary a few months earlier. But time has largely erased these factors.

Unless the Republicans have other aces up their sleeves, they should not get their hopes too high for a Sixth District sweep this fall. Party wounds have a way of healing and the political climate, like Oklahoma's weather, seldom stays the same for long.

## A Look at Communism and Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.**
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and the world views the situation in Cuba with great trepidation and concern. It must be recognized that the Castro government is a Western Hemisphere foothold of international communism.

A number of leading Americans have spoken out on this subject. One of them is George E. Stringfellow, of East Orange, N.J., former business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison, passed Imperial Potentate, AAONMS and a director of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa.

His address "A Look at Communism and Cuba" was delivered before the New York Kiwanis Club on October 10, 1962. I ask unanimous consent to place this address in the Appendix of the RECORD.

A LOOK AT COMMUNISM AND CUBA

Officers, members and distinguished guests of the Kiwanis Club of New York City, thank you for the privilege of speaking to you today on the subject that is worrying all liberty loving people—communism.

Some primitive societies practice a limited brand of communism. Tribes lived in common and shared property, food and housing. The principle of communism is, therefore, not new.

Modern-day communism, known as the "science of Marxism-Leninism" is about a century old and made little progress during the first 60 years. Communism as we know it today had its beginning largely in the mind of Karl Marx. May I briefly refresh your memory of his background?

Marx was born in Trier, Germany in 1818, son of a prosperous lawyer. He was an intelligent but temperamental child. His school marks were superior. He made arrogant statements and wrote satirical verse. He was smart, vain, bitter and rebellious.

He did not have a job at graduation and didn't seem to care. A lifelong trait. He preferred to dabble in atheism and socialism.

Marx had hoped to teach but drifted into journalism. He wrote acidly, pouring ridicule on everything and everybody with whom he disagreed, strongly influenced by the teachings of Ludwig Feuerbach, a German philosopher who preached materialism.

Marx, an atheist, called for war against religion, a war that to this day is the Communist cornerstone and philosophy. In 1842 he became editor of a leftwing Cologne newspaper and undertook a bitter tirade against the Prussian Government. The paper was suppressed and Marx went to France. In 1849 he went to England with his family.

Frederick Engels, a fellow German, living in England became his intellectual comrade, his financial supporter and his faithful champion. Engels was from a wealthy family.

He is most appropriately called a "collaborator" of Marx. He had an encyclopedic memory and his farflung interest and knowledge of industrial techniques equipped him to supply Marx with important information. He also wrote independently of Marx and, in some instances, under Marx's name. Together Engels and Marx conceived and formulated the doctrine of communism.

Engels spent much of his time in Manchester, England managing his father's textile business. Marx lived in London. Engels lived out of wedlock and when his common-law wife died he lived with her sister for years. He finally consented to marry her shortly before her death.

Marx lived in poverty. He suffered from boils, headaches and rheumatism. His wife's health was poor. Her seventh child was born dead. "Daily my wife tells me," wrote Marx, "she wishes she was lying in the grave with the children. And, I can't blame her."

Marx depended on pittances for his living, especially from Engels. He lived from pawnshop to pawnshop. It is a bitter irony of history, that the founder of communism should have been literaly kept alive by a wealthy industrialist. Engels, a "capitalist's" son turned Communist was cofounder of this revolutionary movement.

It was in the minds and hearts of such characters as Engels and Marx that communism was conceived.

RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA—COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT

Understanding the nature, objectives and philosophy of communism, Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover refused to recognize the Communist Government of Russia.

In his letter to the President of the All Union Central Executive Committee of Moscow, dated October 4, 1933, President Roosevelt opened the door to the recognition of the Communist Government. Mr. Roosevelt said, "Since the beginning of my administration (he had been in office about 6 months), I have contemplated a desirability of an effort to end the present abnormal relations between the 125 million people of the United States and the 150 million people of Russia." If you are of similar mind, I should be glad to receive any representatives you may designate to explore with me personally all questions outstanding between our countries.

On October 17, seven days later, the Communist President replied in part as follows: "I am glad to accept your proposal to send to the United States the representatives of the Soviet Government to discuss with you the question of interest to our countries. The Soviet Union will be represented by M. M. Litvinov, the peoples commissar of foreign affairs, who will come to Washington at a time to be mutually agreed upon."

A few days later, Mr. Roosevelt recognized the Communist Government of Russia.

In 1933, Hitler became the target of Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks, fearing German military power, attempted to enlist the support of the non-Communist world to combat facism.

Russia joined the League of Nations and became a strong supporter of the collective security program aimed at holding Hitler in check. Fascism, shouted the Communists, represents a danger to everybody, Communists and non-Communists. All must work together to destroy Hitler's fascism.

In August 1939, the entire world was shocked to learn that Hitler and Stalin had signed a nonaggression pact. Here was Moscow making an agreement with that Fascist beast Hitler, whom it had denounced several months sooner in the bitterest terms. Hitler and Stalin made a deal. German forces invaded Poland from the West and the Russians from the east. Russia and Germany annexed large slices of Polish territory.

The Soviets became the "defenders of the peace" and everyone, except Stalin and Hitler, were "imperial warmongers." Hitler, the former enemy, now a friend and ally.

The war between Germany and the Western Allies was termed by the Communists the "imperialist" war. There was Communist opposition in our country to lend-lease, the draft, and military production; the Communists advocated strikes and circulation of antiwar literature. "The Yanks are not coming," was the Communist slogan. Pickets marched around the White House 24 hours a day urging the United States to stay out of the European war. On June 21, 1941, the pickets were withdrawn. A change in tactics was eminent. Strikes stopped. Reason: After his nonaggression past with Stalin, Hitler became deeply engaged in a war on his western front on learning that Stalin was ready to strike him in the back.

Hitler attacked Russian before Stalin had an opportunity to strike Germany. The European conflict, now said the Communists, is a "patriotic war," a "peoples' war." The United States must get into the war at once, must give support to Russia, war material, money, and manpower. United States must help keep Russia from being overrun by Stalin's "friend," Hitler. A virtual nightmare gripped the Communists who pleaded for lend-lease and second front. Send relief to Russia was the cry.

In 1943 Moscow dissolved the Comintern. The purpose was to mollify the Western fear and distrust of communism. In 1944, the Communist Party in the United States of America was "dissolved." Actually, it merely changed its name to CPA, a "political educational association."

In 1945, the war over, Hitler defeated, Moscow reverted to its former hostile "line." She denounced the Allies and claimed full credit for destroying Hitler and the Japs too, even though they entered that war 5 days before the Japs surrendered.

Communism has made its greatest progress since recognition by this country in 1933. At the time Mr. Roosevelt recognized the Communist Government of Russia it was practically bankrupt.

Many people are today concerned about the welfare of our country and the preservation of our way of life. Millions are asking, "Can capitalism and communism coexist in the same world?"

The founders of communism told us they cannot. Their successors by act and deed have confirmed it.

"I cannot forecast the action of Soviet Russia," said Winston Churchill in 1939. "It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside of an enigma."

Let us now discuss Cuba for a few minutes.

In his campaign for the Presidency 2 years ago Senator John F. Kennedy used as his theme, "The Decline of American Safety and Prestige." Candidate Kennedy pointed to the rise of Castro in Cuba as evidence that, "our security and our leadership are both slipping away." His Cuban policy was to "let the Cuban people know our determination that they will some day again be free * * * to let Castro know that we do not intend to be pushed around any longer * * * to let Mr. Khrushchev know that we are permitting no expansion of his foothold in our hemisphere * * * and especially to end the harassment * * * of liberty loving Cuban forces in Cuba and in other lands.

"Thus far," Candidate Kennedy said, "these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government" and, "the way to put the ideals of the American Revolution into significance is to act on them, not to talk about them." Hopefully he said, "events may once again bring us an opportunity to act on behalf of the cause of freedom in Cuba."

Events did bring President Kennedy this opportunity. It was on April 16, 1961, which he muffed.

May I now read excerpts from an article which appeared in the U.S. News & World Report on September 17, 1962 entitled, "The Inside Story—Kennedy's Fateful Decision: The Night the Reds Clinched Cuba," which appeared in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

"A fateful decision," made by President Kennedy on Sunday, April 16, 1961 is rising now to plague the United States.

On that Sunday evening, an armed force of Cuban refugees, trained by the United States, was at sea, sailing secretly to invade Fidel Castro's Cuba. The American President, a few hours earlier, had given final approval to that invasion. Only the day before, on April 15, a surprise attack by B–26 bombing planes belonging to the invaders had knocked out all but seven planes of Castro's tiny air force. A second air strike was scheduled for Monday morning, April 17. It was to coincide with the landing of the invaders. It was supposed to finish the job of wiping out Castro's plans and to provide air support for the invasion. Secure in this assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the preinvasion planning. Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B–26s was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away, waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots. But those planes didn't take off.

That was the fateful decision President Kennedy made on that Sunday evening. He decided that the anti-Castro Cubans could not have the support of their own air force during the invasion. Without that support, the invasion failed. When the invasion began, in the predawn hours of Monday, the need of air support became apparent. Worried, the nonmilitary officials in Washington who were running the invasion went to President Kennedy for a new decision. They suggested that U.S. Navy planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier be used in fly air support for the invaders.

Two U.S. carriers, their decks loaded with fighting planes were standing by not far away throughout the entire invasion. Their planes were readily available. In the planning of the invasion (planning begun under the Eisenhower administration), the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended the use of U.S. air support. President Kennedy vetoed the idea. He insisted that there was to be no direct American participation. Now, with the outcome possibly hanging in the balance, military and nonmilitary men joined in renewing the plea. Another "No." Once again, in the early morning hours of Monday, April 17, President Kennedy made a fateful decision. He said, "No" in the use of U.S. planes. On the beaches, in the Bay of Pigs, the invaders fought on. They did not know that an American President in Washington, 1,400 miles away, was in tight control of their every military move. They were not aware that President Kennedy had taken away their air cover.

With no air support, the invasion soon began to run into trouble. Castro brought up the few planes he had left.

Castro jets—made in America—bombed and sank two of the five ships of the invasion fleet. One carried most of the invaders reserves of ammunition. The other was their communications center. Castro tanks, safe from attack by air, moved into effective action.

In the face of this situation, President Kennedy took the wraps off the Cuban fliers. On Monday noon he said they could go into action. But had weather interfered at first? Finally, an air strike was set up early Wednesday.

On Tuesday, however, the situation continued to deteriorate. The invaders fighting without air support, were driven back under pressure at Castro's superior numbers. By Tuesday night, April 18, a crisis was clearly at hand. Once again there was an appeal to President Kennedy.

On this night the President, in white tie and tails, was playing host at a congressional reception in the White House. He left the party to confer with his advisers—both civilian and military. Again it was proposed to use U.S. planes to save the invasion.

This time the President relented slightly. He consented to using one carrier plane for just 1 hour on Wednesday morning—just long enough to provide cover for the invaders to land some supplies and for their planes to make a quick strike. U.S. planes still were not to attack land targets. Even this limited plan for U.S. aid went awry. There were communication mixups. The Cuban fliers mistimed their strike. The U.S. planes never got this action. And anyway, it developed it was too late. By sundown of Wednesday, April 19, the invasion was a failure. The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives and Castro is demanding $62 million for their release.

In his press conference on September 13, 1962, President Kennedy had no kind words for those who are saying today what Candidate Kennedy said during his campaign for the Presidency. In addressing himself to the military aspect of the Cuban situation, Candidate Kennedy said, "I think Castro is a source of maximum danger * * * a Communist menace has been permitted to arise under our very noses, only 90 miles from our shores. [Castro's] Transformation of Cuba into a Communist base of operations * * * by jet planes, missiles or submarines * * * is an incredible dangerous development." Candidate Kennedy warned, "The whole Western Hemisphere's security system is drastically threatened." President Kennedy referring to Soviet shipments of arms and men to Cuba, said that these "do not constitute a serious threat to any part of this hemisphere." He strongly denied that Communist buildup is such as "to endanger or interfere with our security," or that Cuba is "an offensive military base of significant capacity." That is what Khrushchev and Castro are saying and the President says he believes them.

Today, Castro's Cuba is still 90 miles off our shore, has the second strongest ground army in our hemisphere, has received, since the failure of the invasion in April of 1961, over $175 million in military aid and supplies from Communist-bloc countries. Communist-made jets, jeeps, tanks, radar, and electronic equipment are arriving daily in Cuba's harbors. Our State Department reports 4,500 Russian sailors and technicians are in Cuba helping Castro. They are training new pilots, ground crews, and artillerymen.

The military capacity of Cuba is vastly larger now than it was when Candidate Kennedy became President Kennedy.

As part of his propaganda for the election to the Presidency, Candidate Kennedy wrote or had written for him a book, "Profiles of Courage" in which he indirectly compared himself with the great leaders of our Republic. Men, whose wisdom and courage did much to make ours a great country. "Profiles of Courage," leads one to believe that not only did Candidate Kennedy possess the wisdom and courage of our Founding Fathers, but we could expect from him in the event of his election to the Presidency, the same kind of wisdom and courageous leadership which they provided. Up to now, he has evidenced indecision and he has frequently been the picture of retreat.

President Kennedy with the aid of the FBI licked the steel companies, and with the aid of Federal troops he licked the Governor of Mississippi and put General Walker in a mental institution, but he does not have courage enough to take on Castro or to stand up to Khrushchev.

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## Report on the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the 87th Congress has finally ground to a halt and I wish to express my sincere thanks to the citizens of the 12th District of New Jersey for affording me the high privilege of representing them in the U.S. Congress. As part of the responsibility of my office, I make this report to my constituents on some of our accomplishments and failures.

The first session adjourned on September 27, 1961, which made it the longest since 1951. But even this was topped by the second, just now completed. It must be remembered that for the first time since 1954, one party was placed in control of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government and one could reasonably suppose that any program advocated by the administration would have been enacted into law. But such did not prove to be the case.

The duties of a Representative—usually referred to as a Congressman—divided themselves into three major categories, the first of which is to legislate by exercising considered judgment to determine those bills that are for the best interests of his district and country. The second, to serve constituents who have particular problems, including matters pertaining to the military, immigration, social security, and others which are of vital personal importance to many residents. Third, and a very important one, is to receive the opinions and views from constituents on legislation and administrative matters as a guide to grassroots thinking.

I have kept my sights on the diligent effort to accept all three of these responsibilities and I am proud of the fact that my attendance record and participation in both committee meetings and House sessions has been extremely high and on a full-time basis.

In the third category, I have been favored by an abundance of thoughtful mail opinion on many subjects, and this has been very helpful.

Additionally, in this session I afforded my constituents the opportunity of expressing their views on 12 important subjects through a questionnaire mailed to them. There was a 19.4-percent return on the questionnaire, and this is a most impressive commentary on the interest

in Government shown by those residing in my district.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

In relation to foreign policy, some of the important decisions that were made during the past Congress included the establishment of the Peace Corps, a new Arms Control Agency, and on two separate occasions authority for the President to call up Reserves, although one can wonder why we do not maintain Armed Forces at sufficient strength at all time, especially when one realizes the huge amounts that are spent for defense. The defense budget was given a substantial increase of $5.8 billion and the space funds were almost doubled in an effort to beat Mr. K to the moon. But little progress has been made in concluding the cold war and, as a matter of fact, it would appear that the trouble spots are increasing, with distrubing and almost critical situations facing us, with Russians in Cuba, Berlin, the Congo, South Vietnam, and some countries in Latin America.

Some of the major legislative measures relating to the domestic economy would include the minimum wage bill, which raised the wage floor for 25 million workers from $1 an hour to $1.25 an hour in two steps and extended it to approximately 1.3 million additional workers. Other measures enacted into law included:

The so-called depressed areas bill, which disappointed me because it is weighted heavily in favor of rural sections as against urban locales where the need is greater.

Other good enactments included bills improving coverage and increasing benefits under social security; the Manpower Retraining Act, which provides a 2-year program of vocational training and assistance in retraining workers with obsolete or insufficient skills; the temporary unemployment benefits bill to help the unemployed wage earner over a slack period which was passed in 1961; the Reciprocal Trade Act, which gives the President authority to reduce tariffs by 50 percent in an effort to meet likely trade challenges from the European Common Market, and a bill authorizing the purchase of United Nations bonds on a matching basis with the total of other countries up to $100 million.

One of the most important actions taken was the passage of the postal rate increase measure which provided a long-awaited and completely justified pay raise for Federal employees based on comparability with private industry.

Among those that fail to excite any enthusiasm at all would include the Freeman program farm bill, which I believe is a step in the wrong direction in meeting problems that have existed for more than 30 years. The bill will be costly to the consumer and the taxpayer. The piecemeal Tax Revision Act, which to my mind only delays the carrying out of a long-needed complete overhaul of our antiquated tax laws, also was signed into law.

Some of the failures of this Congress, in my opinion, would include the inability to settle the controversial issue between a true medical care for the aged program versus the administration-sponsored, limited hospital care bill and to have it considered in the legislative rather than in the political arena. It is indeed unfortunate that this issue has been dragged through the political mire.

Another major failure has been inaction on bills proposing assistance for urban and suburban areas with their serious mass transportation problems. What was proposed at this session was just a minimum, but it was important so that efforts to find a solution to this serious problem could be started. It is my belief that too much Federal concern is directed to the rural areas to the detriment of our cities, suburban and industrial sections.

Another glaring failure—and certainly a major one—was the lack of any civil rights legislation to put all of our citizens in the first-class category and promote equal opportunities for all.

Of very deep concern to me is the constantly rising national debt, now at $300 billion, an alltime high with the interest alone totaling $10 billion annually, an item for which our taxpayers get no return at all. Our debt now is greater than the combined debts of all the other countries of the free world.

COMMITTEE WORK

My committee assignments include the Government Operations Committee, which is the watchdog of all Government departments including executive departments and regulatory agencies, and the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, as well as a special investigative Federal Home Loan Bank Board Subcommittee.

The main thrust of my endeavors on the Government Operations Subcommittee, on which I serve, was to assist in ferreting out waste and inefficiency in the various governmental departments and regulatory agencies that come under our jurisdiction. We were, I believe, extremely successful in pinpointing many areas where improvements could be made with a result in savings to the taxpayer. I am sure that there is general agreement on the importance of keeping a close check on fiscal responsibility. This is essential and it is my hope that it will be pursued to completion at the earliest possible moment.

The Post Office and Civil Service Committee devoted a great deal of its time and attention to postal rate increases and adjustment of Government employees' salaries to be more nearly comparable with those paid by private industry as well as providing the necessary and much needed increases in the annuities of retired, former Federal employees.

BILLS INTRODUCED

My interest in legislation, in addition to my voting record, can be illustrated by some of the important bills introduced by me. These include one to extend the presumptive period for service-connected multiple sclerosis, which was accepted by the Veterans' Affairs Committee as an amendment and incorporated in the general veterans compensation bill, a bill to award extreme hazardous pay for civilian employees, which was passed by the House, also a measure to provide convalescent and nursing home care in facilities provided at Veterans' Administration hospitals. I also introduced a bill to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted under the Social Security Act to $1,800, and I regret that no action was taken on this necessary legislation.

We have a great need for a U.S. Science Acedemy to develop scientific knowledge and achievement, and I introduced a bill to recommend necessary steps for its establishment. One of my keen regrets is that legislation to penalize those who mail obscene matters to minors and a resolution to create a select committee to investigate and study the problem of objectionable motion pictures introduced by me did not see the light of day.

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION

I was honored with appointment by the Speaker of the House to be one of two House Members to serve on the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. The purpose of this Commission is to consider and formulate plans for the construction of a permanent memorial to Woodrow Wilson, former President of the United States and Governor of New Jersey. There are nine members, five of whom were appointed by the President to serve on this important Commission: The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Chairman—President Wilson's grandson—Chester (Chet) Huntley, Walter Lippmann, Arthur H. Sulzberger, Conrad L. Wirth, Senator Clifford P. Case, Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Congressman Cornelius Gallagher and myself.

My service in the House of Representatives has been a rich experience and I have conscientiously tried to evaluate and use my best judgment on the vital issues presented to us. I have at all times attempted to be available to my constituents and diligent in my assignments. I am truly grateful for the opportunity that has been given to me and the confidence that has been reposed in me to serve in the Congress.

It is my hope that my constituents will not hesitate to call upon me for any service of which I am capable.

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## The Honorable Marguerite Church

SPEECH

OF

## HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, MARGUERITE CHURCH and I came to Congress at the same time and my admiration for her as a legislator and a lady has continued unabated throughout her service in the House. Her contributions to good government include not only diligence in her work but a polished performance as an orator. In the critical field of foreign affairs she has displayed a fearless and highly intelligent approach to the be-

wildering problems of our Nation's position in international relations. In addition, her constant and serious attention to all matters of legislation has been outstanding and should stand out as a shining example to all of us. Her code of duty as a Member of the House included faithful attendance at its sessions.

Mrs. CHURCH leaves congress with a record of many accomplishments and contributions to the cause of clean and decent government. I personally regret that she has seen fit not to be a candidate for reelection and I wish to extend my best wishes for her future health and happiness.

## Service Beyond Duty

SPEECH
OF
### HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, many times a Member of Congress finds it necessary to call upon the various agencies of the Federal Government in order to be of maximum assistance to their constituents, and I know that the membership of this House will agree with me that the various agencies have always expressed a willingness and desire to assist wherever possible.

But I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the San Francisco office of the State Department's Passport Division and to the consul of the Philippine Government in San Francisco for what I consider service beyond the call of duty.

At a few minutes past midnight last night, I received a long-distance call from my good friend, Dr. Dayton Royse, of Weatherford, Okla. Dr. Royse was calling from the home of Mrs. James Moore, whose husband is a U.S. Air Force captain, whose life is hanging by a very thin thread in a hospital at Barksdale, in the Philippines.

Captain Moore, who is only 41 years old, contracted hepatitis while on official duty for this Government in Vietnam.

Mrs. Moore had been advised that her husband is not expected to recover, and the death is not far away. She wanted her husband either brought home or an opportunity to join him.

At about 1:30 this morning I called the Department of the Air Force and spoke to S. Sgt. Edward Norris, a native of the State of Florida. Following our conversation, the Air Force immediately went to work to render every possible assistance to Virginia Moore and her family.

I was advised this morning that Mrs. Moore will arrive in San Francisco, Calif., at 5:08 p.m., and will board a military aircraft to the Philippines at 10 p.m. Because Mrs. Moore will not arrive in San Francisco before normal duty hours are over; and because she does not have the necessary passport and visa, the Passport Division of our State Department in San Francisco and the Consul for the Philippine Government have volunteered to keep their offices open in order to issue the necessary papers for Mrs. Moore.

The American Government is big and often it is accused of being too big, but we must always remember that it is the Government that represents its people and has proven in the case of Mrs. Virginia Moore that it can pause and assist in individual emergencies.

I know that Mrs. Moore, her husband, and her children join with me in expressing deep appreciation to the Air Force, to the Passport Division of the State Department, and to the Philippine Government for their assistance, and to Dr. Royce.

## My Voting Record in the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom during the five terms I have served in Congress to compile and publish a record of my stand on important issues. I firmly believe the people of the Second District of Washington State, whom I represent, have an inherent right to this information.

Also, Mr. Speaker, the compilation I present in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will help eliminate any misconceptions concerning my voting record which might have been erroneously circulated within my district.

Of course, only a small percentage of the more than 19,000 pieces of legislation introduced during the 87th Congress was voted upon in the House of Representatives. Even so, more bills came to a vote than conveniently can be placed in this voting record. I am, therefore, confining my record to issues of national importance and those of particular concern to my constituents.

Mr. Speaker, to simplify my voting record, I have placed these measures into categories according to the general fields they encompass, although some are difficult to classify because they are broad in scope and may overlap. If there are questions concerning any of these issues or my stand on a particular issue, I will be happy to answer them when I return to my district following adjournment.

BILLS AFFECTING NATIONAL DEFENSE, NATIONAL SECURITY, AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Voted for House Resolution 167 to provide funds for the House Un-American Activities Committee to carry out its functions.

Supported Senate Concurrent Resolution 34 expressing the sense of Congress as being opposed to recognition of Communist China and to seating Communist China in the United Nations.

Voted for H.R. 4469 to bar employment on waterfront facilities and U.S. merchant vessels persons who refuse to appear or to answer questions on Communist affiliations.

Voted for House Concurrent Resolution 226 which called for the taking of immediate steps to impose sanctions against the Castro regime in Cuba under the Inter-American Treaty of Recriprocal Assistance.

Voted for H.R. 8465 prohibiting shipment in interstate and foreign commerce any article imported to the United States from Cuba.

Voted for H.R. 5000 authorizing construction at Army, Navy, and Air Force bases here and abroad.

Voted for H.R. 7851 appropriating $42.7 billion in fiscal 1962 and supported H.R. 11289 appropriating $47.8 billion in fiscal 1963 for the Defense Department so we can continue to maintain a defense system capable of deterring aggression.

Voted for H.R. 8302 and H.R. 12870 to provide appropriations for military construction, including programs at Paine Air Force Base, Whidbey Island Naval Air Station, and Blaine Air Force Station.

Opposed H.R. 5618 which appropriated $500 million for a wasteful and unworkable inter-American social and economic program.

Voted for S. 2311 and H.R. 9751 authorizing additional procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels.

Supported H.R. 9118 to establish an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Voted for H.R. 11974 authorizing projects for development of our atomic energy. This legislation included authorization for the Washington Power Supply System to construct a generating facility for generating electrical power from waste steam developed by the Hanford New Production Reactor.

Voted against H.R. 13175, the foreign aid bill which already has cost more than $100 billion.

Voted for S. 2768 which permits the United States to buy United Nations bonds in an amount paid in by other nations.

BILLS AFFECTING VETERANS' SOCIAL SECURITY, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Voted for H.R. 6027 to amend the Social Security Act to permit optional retirement for men at age 62, increase benefits for widows who are 62 or older and to raise minimum monthly payments.

Voted for H.R. 10606 to extend and improve the public assistance and child welfare services programs of the Social Security Act.

Voted for H.R. 10 to encourage self-employed professionals to establish individual pension funds by granting income-deductions for funds set aside up to $2,500 each year.

Supported S. 2393 which extended programs of Federal assistance to schools in federally impacted areas.

Voted for H.R. 8900 authorizing grants and loans to colleges for construction, rehabilitation, and equipping academic facilities.

Voted for S. 278 to extend program for grants and scholarships for training

practical nurses under Vocational Education Act.

Voted for H.R. 10743 to increase rates of service-connected disability compensation for veterans.

Voted for H.R. 848 providing for permanent program of vocational rehabilitation for veterans with service-connected disability serving between World War II and the Korean war.

Voted for H.R. 5439 authorizing special dividend payments to eligible policyholders of national service life insurance.

Voted for H.R. 5723 extending direct and guaranteed home loan programs for World War II veterans to July 26, 1967, and for Korean veterans until February 1, 1975.

Voted for S. 1658 to tighten provisions of ban on shipment of gambling devices in interstate commerce.

Voted for H.R. 12628 authorizing additional money for revolving loan funds for building rental housing for senior citizens and liberalizing Farmers Home Administration loan program to be of more service to elderly borrowers.

Voted for S. 146 to extend the special milk program for schools and child care agencies, and to increase funds for program by $10 million.

BILLS AFFECTING LABOR AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Voted for H.R. 2935 to increase minimum wage from $1 an hour to $1.25 an hour.

Supported H.R. 8140 to strengthen Federal laws relating to bribery, graft, and conflict of interest.

Voted for H.R. 7929 to increase pay of postal workers and other Federal employees.

Voted for H.R. 8723 to strengthen Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to protect individual union member.

Voted for H.R. 1258, increasing disability benefits under Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Compensation Act.

BILLS AFFECTING FARMERS AND AGRICULTURE

Voted against H.R. 4510, the feed grains program which would have given the Secretary of Agriculture unprecedented powers to fix market prices and would have mean rigid Government controls.

Voted for H.R. 2010 to extend for 2 years the program of importing Mexican farm laborers to alleviate shortage of farmworkers on American farms.

Voted for S. 1643, the 1961 farm bill which denied the administration a stranglehold over American agriculture.

Supported H.R. 7176 to provide a national program to attempt to eradicate hog cholera.

Voted against H.R. 11222, the 1962 farm bill which would have established extreme, inequitable, and unworkable new controls on wheat and grain farmers, would have given the Secretary of Agriculture sweeping powers, and would have placed the dairy industry on a "licensed" basis.

Voted for H.R. 1027 to dispose of an additional $2 billion in surplus commodities under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act.

Voted for H.R. 1822 to increase from 10 percent to 25 percent the proportion of appropriated farm loan funds available for individual farms with debt of more than $10,000.

Voted for S. 2113 to permit harvesting of hay on conservation reserves under disaster conditions.

Voted for S. 1710 authorizing Secretary of Agriculture to make emergency livestock loans.

Voted for S. 2197 to permit distribution of feed at reduced prices to livestock farmers suffering drought hardship.

BILLS AFFECTING ECONOMY, BUSINESS, AND TRADE

Voted to recommit H.R. 7446 with instructions to eliminate 10-percent tax on rail, bus, air, and water travel.

Voted for House Resolution 305, a resolution disapproving the President's rubberstamp reorganization plan for the Federal Trade Commission.

Voted against H.R. 10650, the President's proposal to withhold 20 percent on savings account earnings and dividends, and to eliminate the proposed tax credits for investments in newly purchased machinery and equipment.

Voted for H.R. 11041 to establish a commercial communications satellite system under private ownership.

Supported S. 902 raising the limit on amounts Small Business Administration may lend small business investment corporations and on latter's investments in individual enterprises.

Supported H.R. 8922 to increase amount available to Small Business Administration for regular business loans.

Voted for H.R. 8102 to extend construction aid under the Airport Act for 3 years.

Voted against H.R. 1159 which eliminated 6-percent differential allowed west coast shipbuilders.

Voted against H.R. 11970, the trade expansion bill, which would not give Pacific Northwest timber industry adequate tariff protection against timber imports from British Columbia.

Voted for H.R. 6413 to extend to fishermen same treatment accorded farmers in relation to estimate of income taxes.

BILLS AFFECTING GOVERNMENT OPERATION

Voted for H.R. 5789 to establish the Cape Cod National Seashore as an addition to the National Park System.

Voted against H.R. 11990 to increase the national debt to $308 billion.

Voted for S. 1619, the old currency bill which saves taxpayers between $3 million and $4.5 million annually and improved the cash position of the Treasury by $98 million.

Voted for H.R. 8181 which would provide for a fisheries center and whose cost would be self-liquidating.

Voted for S. 1969 to grant permanent authority to the Civil Aeronautics Board to regulate and license nonscheduled airlines.

Voted for House Resolution 530 to kill the administration's proposed Department of Urban Affairs.

Voted for H.R. 12900 appropriating funds for public works, including funds for the Sammamish River flood control project, Snohomish River navigation project, Point Roberts navigation survey, Skagit, Snohomish, and Stillaguamish Rivers flood control surveys, and Swinomish Channel and Stillaguamish River operation and maintenance.

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## Is Motto "In God We Trust" Being Left Off $1 Bills?

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, together with the other Members of the House, I have been pleased to note the recent installation of the motto, "In God we trust," over the podium.

An assertion frequently held is that $1 bills currently being produced by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing do not contain this motto. As an example, I received, in the mail, this inquiry only last week:

Since you are on the House Committee for Banking and Currency, I direct to you this inquiry concerning why the motto "In God we trust" has been eliminated from the $1 bill. As you know, on the side of the bill which has the pyramid and great seal of the United States the motto appeared above the word "one." Some of the more recent $1 bills have been printed without the motto. Can you tell me if this is something voted upon by the Congress or is left up to someone in the appropriate Government department?

I will very much appreciate any information you can give on this query.

The answer, of course, is that since 1955 the law has required that the motto be placed on all U.S. currency and coins. My full answer to the above inquiry follows:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of October 1 in which you inquire why the motto "In God we trust" has been eliminated from the $1 bill.

I wish to advise you that this motto has not been eliminated from the $1 bill—that it is in fact required by law to be placed upon the currency and coins of the United States (31 U.S.C. 324(a) 69 Stat. 290). Section 324(a) of the code provides that "at such time as new dies for the printing of currency are adopted the dies shall bear, at such place or places thereon as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine to be appropriate, the inscription 'In God we trust' and thereafter this inscription shall appear on all U.S. currency and coins."

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing has followed the provisions of law in this regard carefully. As the new process for the printing of currency has been adopted, new dies are prepared for the printing of the currency. This process has not been completed for all the various denominations of currency, but the new dies, rolls, and plates for the $1 silver certificate have been completed, and no $1 silver certificate is being

printed today without the aforementioned inscription being printed thereon. You must remember that many thousands of the $1 silver certificates printed prior to the change in the printing process are still in active circulation. Until these are all recovered by the Treasury Department you will see some of such certificates without this most appropriate inscription being printed thereon.

I appreciate your having brought this matter to my attention and I trust that within a reasonable time all of our coins and currency shall bear the inscription "In God we trust."

While the use of this motto in such places as on the wall of this Chamber above the podium and on our coins and currency may, upon first blush, seem of small moment, I submit that it is a matter of great importance.

The emblazoning of those Christian ideals which ever have been the hallmark of our Nation serves notice to the world that, unlike those existing under the rule of the forces of godless communism, we place our ultimate faith in our Divine Creator.

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## Some Searching Questions About Venezuela and Betancourt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

**HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, during the current session of Congress, we have spent considerable time and effort endeavoring to determine what to do about Fidel Castro and Communist Cuba.

It is apparent that this problem will be with us for some time to come, and that it constitutes a grave peril to the security of the United States and the entire Western Hemisphere.

But, we must not let the urgency of the Cuba situation blind us to the seriousness of the Communist threat which exists throughout Latin America today.

It occurs to me that a more realistic approach to this problem on our part is mandatory if we are to forestall the Communist takeover of other Latin countries, one by one.

Just for once, I think we, the United States of America, should beat the Reds to the punch in their deadly game of Latin-Leninism.

We cannot ignore the fact that Castro was permitted to seize power in Cuba as the result of misleading our Government.

Nor can we ignore the fact that our State Department was misled as to Castro's Communist ties, apparently largely by his public disavowal of communism.

Because of the mistakes regarding Castro and Cuba and the dire consequences we now face because of them I urgently recommend that we take a close, hard look at our current policy toward Venezuela which appears on the verge of developing into another Cuba.

Like Castro, before he gained power, Venezuela's President Romulo Betancourt long ago disavowed his connection with international communism. But at the time of his disavowal, he made it perfectly clear to his comrades that he was taking this action solely to enable him to camouflage and introduce Marxism to Venezuela "with Vaseline."

So far the record shows, he has never publicly disavowed his devotion to the Marxist program.

Officials of his government confessed to former Vice President Richard Nixon, that Betancourt and his leftwing Accion Democratica Party seized power in Venezuela with the active support, collaboration, and assistance of the open Communist Party. This is in the record, period.

Whether Betancourt's disavowal of his Communist leanings is genuine or a false front calculated to deceive is entirely beside the point at this stage of the game.

What we must face is the inescapable fact that the Communist buildup in Venezuela has been permitted to reach its present alarming proportions without really effective opposition from the Betancourt government.

Lawlessness, Communist terrorism, and daylight thefts and assaults are rampant throughout Venezuela today, particularly in the major cities. The situation is described as "chaos" by many American newspapermen visiting that country.

The extent of the Communist penetration in all phases of Venezuelan life is readily apparent to our more knowledgeable and veteran Latin correspondent newsmen, such as Hal Hendrix of the Cox chain of newspapers.

In a recent article, Mr. Hendrix wrote, and I quote:

> Communists have infiltrated deeply into labor unions, the Nation's press, student organizations, almost every sector of commercial and industrial activity and the Government body, itself.
>
> Betancourt cracks down only occasionally.

The noted syndicated columnist and radio commentator, Fulton Lewis, Jr., reported after a recent visit to Venezuela, and again I quote:

> To all practical purposes, there is no law and order * * * and anarchy reigns. * * * There have been three attempted revolutions so far in 1962 * * * and this is what Mr. Kennedy calls the "show window of the Alliance for Progress."
>
> There is evidence to believe that Betancourt allows it to go on because he wants to continue the state of confusion and anarchy as long as possible.

Now we must ask ourselves: If the Betancourt government is incapable of controlling this criminal activity on the part of the Communists, how long will it be before the Communists take full and open control?

Today, the force of active Communists in Venezuela is placed at 50,000, including a number of their congressmen and senators and, at least 5 of the members of the Caracas City Council.

True, this is a small percentage in an overall population of 7 million. But anyone who quotes Communist Party membership or the party's low percentage of votes in national elections as a means of minimizing the Communist threat is blindly naive.

This is made crystal clear by the case in Cuba.

According to the Communist Party's own figures, it had no more than 27,000 active members in Cuba at the end of 1961, and yet, the Communists were in full command of Cuba at that time.

The total population of Cuba is about the same as that of Venezuela, 7 million.

If the Cuban situation does not prove my point, then consider the fact that there are as many active Communists in Venezuela today as there were in Russia at the time the Soviet Party gained control of that country.

I ask again, how long will it be before these dedicated Communists take full and open control in Venezuela?

Today, the congress of Venezuela, and most governmental departments already are dominated either by avowed Communists or members of satellite parties.

Many of the key men are old-time Communist comrades of Romulo Betancourt, from the days when he was an active leader of the Red operation in the Caribbean area and publicly admitted he proudly carried a Communist card. The roll of names from the old "open Red" days and close associates of today is long and more importantly, documented.

Among these old comrades are Raul Leoni and Ricardo Montilla, two of the three men to whom Betancourt wrote in 1932, outlining his "Vaseline plan" for introducing Marxism to Venezuela.

Montilla is now a presidential adviser and Leoni a Senator and former president of the Venezuela congress.

The third man who received the "Vaseline plan" letter from Betancourt was Valmore Rodriguez, who died as a Communist in exile in Chile a few years ago.

When Mr. Betancourt became president of Venezuela, he spent more than $300,000 to have Rodriguez' ashes returned to his homeland where he was enshrined as a national hero.

Another old comrade from the 1930's, is Mr. Betancourt's Economic Advisor Carlos D'Ascoli, who was working for the Communists in Paris, France, 3 decades ago, and heartily endorsed Mr. Betancourt's "Vaseline plan" of introducing Marxism to Latin America.

I would like to point out further, that the man whom Mr. Betancourt selected as his ambassador to the United States, has a long history of Communist activity.

He attended a Communist training school in Moscow and was decorated by the Order of Lenin.

Like Fidel Castro and Romulo Betancourt, Ambassador Mayobre also has disavowed his Communist ties, and here he sits just a few blocks away at this very moment.

I, for one, am not going to cheer that type of personal history.

In view of the rapid rise of communism in Venezuela under the present regime, I cannot help but be alarmed over this situation, and the possibility that we may once again be playing the role of dupes.

We were hoodwinked by Castro, and today we must pay the piper for that colossal blunder.

Are we being similarly hoodwinked in Venezuela by such slick slogans as "showpiece of the Alliance for Progress?"

Are these slogans or shadows? Who built what in Venezuela? And what kind of progress actually has been made in that country with our millions of dollars in "alliance" money?

I am seriously concerned over the unmistakable indications that we are blundering in Venezuela the same as we did in Cuba * * * and that the timetable for Venezuela's open conversion to communism appears perilously close at hand.

It is my firm conviction that the time has come when we must call a spade a spade, and base our policies throughout Latin America on realism rather than idealist. Assumption that all's well that appears well on the surface.

To do otherwise is to court disaster far greater in consequence than that we now face in Communist Cuba.

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## Part II: Farmers and the New Frontier—A Report on the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, 1962, at page 21143 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY], who serves as the chairman of our House Committee on Agriculture, took issue with several statements which I had made on October 1, 1962, about the New Frontier farm program. I would like to take this opportunity to rebut a few of these criticisms.

COW QUOTAS

After several pages of praising Democrats, denouncing Republicans, and condemning "partisan politics" in agriculture, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] says:

> Cattlemen were told that Washington wanted to control the livestock industry. The Department of Agriculture did not propose nor would I support Government control programs for cattle and hogs.

If this is true, the American hog and cattle raiser is justified in asking why the administration recommended and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] introduced H.R. 6400, which contained this language in section 360 (a):

> PART VII—MARKETING QUOTAS FOR SPECIFIED AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES
>
> SEC. 360(a). This part covers any agricultural commodity including but not limited to the following: Hogs, cattle, lamb, chickens, turkeys.

If there were no intention to control hogs and cattle, why were marketing quotas proposed?

REGIMENTATION, RADICALISM, AND SURRENDER

Later the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] states that the 1961 recommendations of the administration were not radical, would not regiment farmers, and would not call for a legislative surrender by Congress. If they were not, why was not this bizarre scheme able to command a majority of votes in the House and Senate Agriculture Committees controlled overwhelmingly by the Democratic Party? The answer I suspect is that there were not enough "regimented radicals" in the Halls of Congress.

The fictitious role of farmers in the administration-sponsored surrender plan was exposed early. Here is what the General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Agriculture said about the role of the handpicked farm advisors:

> Title I of H.R. 6400 provides for industry advisory groups, but the Secretary is required only to consult and advise with such groups, and the Secretary has the authority to determine the details of the programs to be established pursuant to title I of H.R. 6400.

WHAT'S EXTRANEOUS?

In analyzing my earlier remarks on the makeup of the 1962 farm bill, the chairman states that the Public Law 480, REA, FHA, rural area development, and soil conservation provisions deserve better than the label "extraneous." In that regard, I must agree with my chairman. Each one of these provisions represents a significant change in existing law. Most of them were very meritorious and if considered separately would, I am sure, have received the overwhelming support of all Members of the Congress. It is just one of the unfortunate features of omnibus legislation that a lot of worthwhile and noncontroversial items are tied to undesirable and controversial bills.

It was unfortunate that the "rule or ruin" omnibus bill had to be burdened with some meritorious legislation. The 18 members of the Committee on Agriculture who sent the bill to the floor of the House made these provisions "extraneous"—not the 17 members who opposed it.

DAIRY CONTROLS—SCUTTLED OR TORPEDOED?

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] points out in his remarks that the dairy control plan was not scuttled in 1962. If it was not, what happened to it? There is nothing on dairying in the new law which President Kennedy signed last week. If it was not scuttled, perhaps it was torpedoed by the American dairy farmer who apparently wants no part of a chain gang agriculture.

My chairman also described the proposed penetentiary terms for dairy farmers as a "bogeyman" which I would like to use to "freighten farmers away from agricultural progress." He pointed out too that the "bill had barely been in Congress for 2 or 3 days before this part of the bill had been stricken out."

I would point out first that when a major piece of legislation affecting millions of our citizens is circulated among the leaders of our Nation in the important agencies of our Government and is reviewed by the White House before it is submitted to Congress and still contains a proposal calling for penetentiary terms for dairy farmers, it is more than a bogeyman. It is a real threat to the civil liberty of every citizen in this Nation.

As far as the deletion of this unsavory provision is concerned, let me say this: It was not Mr. Freeman who changed this bill. He is not a Member of Congress. H.R. 10010 was introduced by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] on January 31, 1962. Open hearings were held starting February 7. On March 26, the Dairy and Poultry Subcommittee held its first executive session on the dairy provisions of the bill. On April 3, 1962, some 62 days after the bill was introduced, the full Committee on Agriculture held its first executive session on the bill. The dairy penitentiary provisions were deleted, not by Mr. Freeman in "2 or 3 days," but by the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture of the U.S. Congress which simply did not tolerate such an untoward proposal.

RULE OR RUIN—NOT IN DIXIE

My chairman next asks if I honestly believe that the 60 Members of the House from the great feed grain producing States—59 Democrats and 1 Republican—sold out their feed grain farmers in voting for the defeated "rule or ruin" bill. Let me say, Yes, I do. Why should a farmer in Iowa be forced to cut back from 20 to 25 percent on his feed grain production—without any compensation whatsoever after the third year—while a feed grain farmer in a so-called "feed deficit area," such as Florida, would not be required to cut his acreage at all? Why should 93 percent of the feed grain farmers in North Carolina be excused from taking a cut in acreage? And finally, why should every dairy farmer in the country be allowed to raise all the corn for silage that he wanted to while the Iowa hog farmer was required to cut back his corn production under strict controls?

The answer is clear to each of these questions. Any Member who represents the Corn Belt was not doing a very good job of it when he voted for the "rule or ruin" bill.

My friend from North Carolina expresses his southern point of view on this bill quite clearly when he says:

> It is in the self-interets of southern Members to support this position.

EIGHTY-CENT ORVILLE

In commenting about the 1964 feed grain program, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] says:

> Yes; it is true that feed-grain supports would drop in 1964 if a new feed grain program is not enacted next year.

He goes on to state that he expects a feed grain program to be enacted next year.

Everybody realizes that Congress can change the new law next year. I surely hope we will. I most certainly will work to change it. That does not alter the fact, however, that the 1964 program as here and now presently written calls for

80-cent corn. Many Corn Belt farmers now describe our present Secretary of Agriculture as "80-cent Orville" because nowhere during the debate on the farm bill or afterward has any responsible administration spokesman, either within or outside Congress denied that the way the present law is written it will mean anything other than 80-cent corn in 1964.

POKING AT STRAWMEN

The gentleman from North Carolina says that the gentleman from Iowa "sets up a strawman to condemn the wheat certificate plan." In fact, two strawmen are created, he says. The first is 92-cent feed wheat in 1964, and the second is a "bread tax."

My chairman admits that if corn were 80 cents a bushel, feed wheat will be 92 cents a bushel. But he argues that feed wheat can be supported in relation to world prices and/or feed grain prices. He says that if there is 80-cent corn in 1964 the world price of wheat would prevail and noncertificate wheat would be set at $1.30 to $1.40 per bushel. We must remember that some 175 million bushels of wheat are supposed to move into feed channels. How will $1.30 wheat move competitively into feed channels with corn at 80 cents? Who in the world would feed wheat with a 50-cent difference? No one, obviously. Thus, the grandiose wheat plan begins to crumble. The so-called feed wheat would not be fed. It would be stored with Uncle Sam instead.

Another so-called strawman is the "bread tax." If every processor and exporter of wheat must pay from $1.08—based on 92-cent noncertificate wheat—to 70 cents—based on $1.30 noncertificate wheat—for the privilege of either changing that wheat into a food produce or selling it overseas, what better description of this assessment is there? Every consumer of bread will know it when the housewife goes to the grocery store.

My chairman also mentions another strawman in his remarks. The CED report was certainly in that category. No one on the Agriculture Committee or in the Congress took it seriously enough to have it transformed into legislative language, yet several weeks of shadow-boxing were spent on it. Certainly the House and Senate committees did not take the CED plan as seriously as the penetentiary terms for dairy farmers or the heavy criminal fines for wheat farmers that the administration asked for.

In reviewing the overall situation, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] rightfully points out some of the great accomplishments and achievements of American agriculture. Every one of us is justifiably proud of our farmers. I have no quarrel with such statements. Nor do I have any quarrel with increases in farm income. I have always done by best to increase farm income. That is why I have supported the voluntary feed grain program. My quarrel is with the way this administration proposes first to rigidly control our entire agricultural economy under the false colors of high price supports and then to label anyone who opposes this hoax as "an opponent of agriculture" or a "snipe hunter."

Nowhere in his remarks did the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] challenge my statement that the Democratic Party had repudiated 90 percent of parity on basic farm commodities.

In his final remarks, the gentleman from North Carolina asks what I mean about "back on the track under our free enterprise system." I am looking forward to answering that question in great detail during the 88th Congress, but a more appropriate and a more immediate answer could probably come from the farmers and ranchers of South Dakota who attended their State fair last year. They found an exhibit sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture showing a "free enterprise" train derailed and wrecked, while a "supply management" train rolled merrily along. After enough shocked and angry protests were registered, the Department officials put the free enterprise train back on the track. Let us hope that the American farmer will make the New Frontier do the same for American agriculture.

## Hon. Iris Blitch

SPEECH
OF
## HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mrs. PFOST. Madam Speaker, at this time, I rise to pay a warm tribute to one of our distinguished Members who has announced her retirement from this body. Congresswoman IRIS BLITCH has served her district in the State of Georgia with dedication and honor during the past 8 years, and she will be missed when the Congress reconvenes in January.

It has been my great privilege to know the gentlewoman from Georgia, [Mrs. BLITCH] as a good friend and colleague in the House. I have worked with her on various projects over the past years and she has always been an inspiration to all of those concerned. Her devotion and service, at all times, has been in the highest traditions of the Democratic Party and of the Nation.

Mrs. BLITCH was the first woman in the State of Georgia's history to be elected for a full term to the House. Through her fine record and the force of her personality, she easily won reelection to succeeding terms. I know that the voters of her district are most unhappy that her name is not on the ballot this November.

Mrs. BLITCH made a name for herself with the people of Georgia long before she came to serve in the Congress. She served with distinction in the State's general assembly, both in the House and the Senate. She pioneered legislation at the State level that won for women the right to serve on juries. Always a leader, she played an active role in the State Democratic Party and served as national committeewoman in the national Democratic Party.

The honors she won while serving in the Congress were many. She was selected as "The Woman of the Year in Agriculture" by the Progressive Farmer because of her efforts on behalf of the farmer. The Georgia Sportsmen's Federation presented her with an award for her efforts on behalf of soil conservation. She received a meritorious service commendation from the American Legion's Rehabilitation Commission. She has led the fight to have the great Okefenokee Swamp, one of the wonders of nature, protected and preserved for the enjoyment of future generations.

It was, perhaps, working with her on the House Public Works Committee that I got to know her best. She had a tremendous understanding and insight into the complex problems of flood control, irrigation and reclamation and the scores of other matters which were the committee's immediate business. In this regard, not just the citizens of Georgia alone, but the people of all of the United States owe her a debt of gratitude for her distinguished service on their behalf.

All of the Members of the House of both parties, I am sure, join me in this tribute to a great American. I know that Congresswoman BLITCH will continue being a great credit to her country when she returns to reside in her home in Homerville, Ga. I sincerely hope that she will be a frequent visitor to our Nation's Capital City.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in expressing my congratulations to the distinguished gentlewoman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] upon her selection and appointment to be Treasurer of the United States.

A brief review of Mrs. Granahan's career indicates to anyone her devotion to human beings and compassionate causes. Interested and experienced in welfare problems, she has taken part in many programs relating to better medical care for our people, and holds an honorary degree from St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia.

I have watched her with admiration since joining her in the Congress and want to pay tribute to her indefatigable efforts. The Nation can be grateful for the special work she has done in combatting the flow of indecent materials in the country.

The Congress will miss her, but the Nation will gain a fine public servant in her new role. The President should be congratulated for his outstanding choice of a new Treasurer.

## Blockade Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, among the leading advocates in the Congress for strong action against Cuba, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] has received press recognition for his efforts. I include the following editorials in the Record:

[From the Fort Myers News-Press, Sept. 22, 1962]

A BLOCKADE THAT'S NOT A BLOCKADE

The most sensible proposal made to date in the hullabaloo over how to deal with Cuba comes from Representative PAUL G. ROGERS. The action he proposes would amount in effect to a blockade but would not be one in fact, with all the incalculable consequences that such an "act of war" could have.

From many quarters demands have been made that the administration impose a blockade on Cuba, which is nonsensical. A blockade is a step which a belligerent takes in wartime. If we were to declare one against Cuba it would amount to declaring war on Cuba, and if we are to make war on Cuba we should go all out on it. In any other circumstances a blockade would be merely one of those halfway measures that the advocates of vigorous action decry. But we are scarcely prepared to make war on our neighbor.

A blockade would mean we would have to halt any ships, those of the Communist nations or those of our friends, which refused to recognize it. We would have to stop them with our warships or warplanes, and sink them if necessary—a sure way to lose friends and start a war, a war that Castro isn't worth. Furthermore we would invite the Russians to declare a similar blockade in other waters to stop our shipments to allies such as Turkey.

Under ROGERS' proposal we could achieve the results of a blockade without incurring these dangerous risks. The Communist supplies, both military and nonmilitary which are being poured into Cuba are being taken there principally by ships of our allies, notably West Germany, Greece, and Italy. After delivering their Communist cargoes to Cuba these ships come to U.S. ports to load American goods for their return voyage, since Cuba has nothing to export and it would not be profitable for these ships to return empty. ROGERS would stop this shipping by banning the use of American ports to any ships which take goods to Cuba and banning the shipment of American goods in such vessels. He also would invoke against the countries which own these ships the provision of the Mutual Security Act which bars U.S. aid to any country which aids Castro.

The administration must consider it important to stop this shipping because it has made mild diplomatic representations to the other countries about it. These polite expressions of our concern have been shrugged off by the other nations. Now the situation calls for stronger measures and the Rogers program points the way for them.

CONGRESSMAN PAUL ROGERS SEEKS BAN ON CUBAN IMPORTS

Hats off to Congressman PAUL G. ROGERS for introducing a resolution Wednesday calling on the President to halt all imports into this country from Cuba.

The Rogers measure, in the form of a House concurrent resolution, would express to the President the will of the Congress that he act under the existing laws of the United States to stop Cuban imports which continue to flow into this country.

Rogers and other Members of Congress have for more than a year urged the State Department to take action on Cuban imports and have received, with each request, the answer that the matter is under consideration.

The U.S. State Department just this month issued a white paper entitled "Cuba," which stated in part:

"The present situation in Cuba confronts the Western Hemisphere and the inter-American system with a grave and urgent challenge * * * the challenge results from the fact that the leaders of the revolutionary regime betrayed their own revolution, delivered that revolution into the hands of powers alien to the hemisphere, and transformed it into an instrument employed with calculated effect to supress the rekindled hopes of the Cuban people for democracy and to intervene in the internal affairs of other American Republics * * * it is the considered judgment of the Government of the United States of America that the Castro regime in Cuba offers a clear and present danger to authentic and autonomous revolution of the Americas—to the whole hope of spreading political liberty, economic development, and social progress through all the Republics of the hemisphere."

"But while our Government sees the 'clear and present danger' from Castro to the entire Western Hemisphere, has stopped U.S. exports to Cuba and has broken off diplomatic relations with the Castro government, we continue to allow Cuban products to be shipped into this country and thus supply Castro with over 60 million U.S. dollars a year to continue domination of the Cuban people and plan the spread of the cancer they have planted in the middle of the Americas," Congressman ROGERS said.

Congressman ROGERS pointed out that the United States has always met the threat of communism throughout the world and has just demonstrated in the case of Laos that we will do so there promptly and firmly as our security and the security of the free world is threatened. But in the case of Cuba just 90 miles from the beaches of Florida, we have only met the threat half way.

ROGERS stated that this matter has "been under consideration" since the proclamation of October 1960, banning our exports to Cuba. The State Department White Paper, Cuba, has stated "A series of trade and financial agreements has integrated the Cuban economy with that of the Communist world."

Surely it is past time for action in banning Cuban imports into the United States.

With communism practically in our backyard it's time the President took a firm stand against Castro and cut off the millions of U.S. dollars we are contributing through Cuban imports, thereby providing Castro with funds to carry on his ruthless campaign against American democracy.

The only reasoning there can be for the President's soft-handed approach to Cuba is that he is waiting for the Cubans to wipe out Castro and his cutthroat henchmen through a revolution. But the period of waiting is taking too long. The Cubans who want to revolt cannot go against Castro's armies with picks and shovels. They will need help in the form of arms from the Americans.

Even if it is necessary to provide arms through the back door (some South American country opposing Castro) we should make this help available immediately.

## UNESCO and U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on October 11 through 13 the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO held its 22d meeting in the Penn-Sheraton Hotel in Pittsburgh. This was the first time in its 16-year history that the commission has met in Pittsburgh.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include extraneous material, I include speeches made at this meeting by Hon. Lucius D. Battle, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, and Hon. Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

UNESCO AND U.S. POLICY

(Address by the Honorable Lucius D. Battle, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, at the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO Meeting, Penn-Sheraton Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 12, 1962)

This is the first time I have had the opportunity formally to address the National Commission for UNESCO since I briefly met with you at your last session. I welcome this opportunity to meet with you again.

Over the years, this commission has made significant contributions to shaping our role in UNESCO, including our position for the important General Conference which opens in Paris next month. I want to take this opportunity to thank you very sincerely for the constructive suggestions and advice which you have given us; to report to you on the steps we in the Government have taken since your last meeting; and to discuss with you the general line we plan to take at the General Conference. I can assure you that we are going to Paris conscious more than ever of the vital mission UNESCO can play in the world today and of the continued leadership the United States must exert in that Organization.

UNESCO today faces unprecedented challenges. The newly developing countries need massive programs of education and training to develop their human resources. This need was implicit in the resolution unanimously adopted by the U.N. General Assembly last year designating the 1960's as the U.N. development decade. Indeed, it was the President of the United States who prompted this joint pledge to wipe out mankind's present plagues—poverty, ignorance, and disease.

UNESCO should play a crucial role in this most promising project. We would all agree that a country can develop and progress only as fast and effectively as it can build its human resources through education and training. This highly significant conclusion—that people provide the prime ingredient for progress—was pointed up at UNESCO meetings in Addis Ababa, Tokyo, and Santiago during the last year and a half. The historic declaration adopted at Santiago last March emphasized that the next decade will be a crucial period in Latin America in that it will decide whether or not an anticipated 300 million people will or will not be able to obtain higher living standards and enjoy the benefits of technical and cultural standards "under liberty

and the institutions of representative democracy." Similar declarations emerged from the deliberations at Addis Ababa and Tokyo.

UNESCO must be responsive to these new needs; but to accomplish its mission in the years ahead, the Organization must redirect its program along lines that contribute directly to the objectives of the development decade.

On the basis of a careful study of UNESCO's proposed program and budget for 1963–64 (and I might add that we in the Department of State are trying to make a more careful study of the programs and budgets of all the specialized agencies of the U.N. than we have done in the past), we have found that sufficient recognition has not been given to the kind of redirection we have in mind. The proposed program does not, for example, sufficiently recognize the vital educational needs of the development decade, nor does it, for that matter, adequately reflect the mandate of the 11th general conference to give top priority to education. The proposed budget would extend the general level of increases in education and related programs to almost all phases of the UNESCO operation, with the result that the existing proliferation of UNESCO activities would be continued. In this connection, you will recall that in your report on your April meeting you stated that "there was a consensus that UNESCO should establish priorities among its manifold activities and work toward a greater concentration of effort in a more limited number of fields in which it is uniquely qualified to render service, rather than permitting its resources to be spread too thinly over a multitude of proliferating projects." I heartily endorse this view.

We all recognize, of course, that the UNESCO program must grow. The question is, how and in what direction? We do not accept the principle that such growth must be across the board. Moreover, we feel very keenly that the rate of growth must not exceed the management capabilities of UNESCO and that the budget increase must not be so high as to impose unreasonable demands on member states.

In applying to the proposed budget the criteria which I have just mentioned, the Department has come to the conclusion that the UNESCO budget level for 1963–64 should provide for an increase of $5.5 million or 17 percent over the 1961–62 biennium. Such an increase would result in a budget level of $38 million for the next biennium instead of the budget of $40.884 million proposed by the acting director-general. The $38 million level would, in our view, permit the organization to carry out all ongoing and new programs which in our judgment are necessary and desirable.

Inasmuch as the budget level proposed by the United States would require some curtailment of program items of lesser or marginal usefulness, we recommended at the executive board meeting that the Acting Director General reexamine the budget with a view to eliminating or cutting back such activities; and that he be asked to revise the program within a $38 million ceiling. As a matter of general guidance in connection with such reexamination, we suggested that a close examination be made of the following areas where, in our view, substantial cutbacks could be made without sacrificing any of the essential elements of the program.

First, we believe UNESCO should hold fewer meetings and restrict these to topics of genuine importance. The proposed program of UNESCO calls for 125 meetings at a cost exceeding $3 million. Fewer meetings would give the Secretariat and member governments more time to prepare for them and adequately to assess the results.

Second, we consider that the time has come for UNESCO to determine whether the nongovernmental organizations which it has subsidized for many years can—at least in some instances—become self-sustaining; and whether or not UNESCO support, if necessary, might take the form of contracts for specific services instead of general subsidies. While there is no question of the usefulness of most of these organizations, it is significant to point out that the drain on UNESCO for this type of support has now risen to $1.5 million, and unless alternative ways are found to put these organizations on a more self-sustaining basis, they will never achieve the independent status which we consider desirable.

Third, while we were pleased to note that the acting director general has placed time limits on support of regional institutes and centers, we believe that UNESCO should, in most cases, try to phase out its support at dates earlier than those proposed by the acting director general. UNESCO's proper role with respect to such centers and institutes is to provide initial financial support, based on the assumption that if the project is worthwhile and of value to member states, the states receiving the service will eventually assume full responsibility for its support. If the centers and institutes do not develop to the point of obvious usefulness to the states in question, it is fair to conclude they should be phased out.

Fourth, in our opinion some activities of UNESCO fall more properly within the scope of other agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization, and the International Labor Organization. Similarly, there may be activities of these organizations which fall within the purview of UNESCO. Shifting these activities to where they belong should eliminate undesirable competition and duplication of efforts, and should produce some savings.

Fifth, we consider that UNESCO should abandon activities such as youth conferences, tendentious publications, and those seminars which lead to polemics rather than scholarly results. The question is not only one of cost, but one of integrity, for UNESCO's standards of scholarship, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion. A special committee of your Commission has been working on the difficult problem of what the UNESCO publications policy should be, and their views, I am sure, will be most useful in our efforts to help UNESCO establish a sounder policy in this field.

In suggesting that UNESCO endeavor to tighten up its programs, our objective is to try to help UNESCO become a sounder, more effective, and even more helpful organization than it has been in the past.

The U.S. position, as I have outlined it, found immediate and wholehearted support from the United Kingdom and New Zealand, both of which had gone through a somewhat similar exercise and had come to about the same conclusions. As a result of this support, and the support of likeminded delegations, it was possible to get through the executive board a resolution to the general conference along the lines of the U.S. position.

Although the margin of victory was slim, the U.S. delegation viewed the executive board action as highly significant in that it marked one of the first indications of a disposition on the part of the executive board to exert itself as a true policymaking body in the field of program and budget.

Much remains to be done if we are to have the general conference approve our overall position on the program and budget. We hope for the support of other governments for a $38 million budget ceiling and the needed program revisions I have outlined. Also, we are hopeful that some of the marginal activities of the organization will be eliminated or curtailed in revisions which the acting director general has been requested by the executive board to propose and submit to the general conference.

As you know, a new director general will be elected by the general conference next month. The present acting director general, Rene Maheu, of France, has received the nomination of the executive board. Whoever the choice of the general conference may be, the new director general must and will receive the full support of the United States in facing the arduous tasks ahead. I would like in the final few minutes to highlight what I believe some of these tasks to be.

The first and foremost challenge is the need for educational development which, as I have said, is at the heart of the development decade. We should have no doubt about the scale of the need. One African country alone has estimated that it will need 20,000 teachers to achieve primary universal education during the next 20 years, a goal set by the African countries themselves at the Addis Ababa Conference last year. The Asian countries have estimated that they will need to train 8 million new teachers by 1980. These needs can be met only by a concerted international effort.

UNESCO must face up to the implications of the expanding frontier of science in other areas. Among the prospects held out to us by scientists are new sources of water, power, and natural resources; desalinization of ocean water; reclaiming the deserts; exploring systematically the character of the oceans; studying ways in which their potential can be more fully utilized for the benefit of mankind; harnessing solar energy for power; early earthquake detection; and the enormous problem of providing water for growing populations. All such research henceforth will be unthinkable without international cooperation, for such research covering vast stretches of land, the ocean, or outer space also affect the livelihood of people across boundaries and are in many cases too costly for any one country to undertake.

In this short discussion, I have tried to review with you our interests in UNESCO and our objectives at the coming general conference to make UNESCO an ever more vital force for man's improvement, today and also tomorrow. Indeed, it is not too early to start thinking of priorities and concrete proposals for the general conferences of 1964 and 1966. In our concern for the immediate, we must not ignore the long-range in the planning of UNESCO's program. In conclusion, let me assure you again of the faith of your Government in UNESCO and of the strong support it is determined to give to the improvement and revitalization of these programs in whose behalf you are giving so unsparingly of your own efforts.

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### High Hopes and a Hard Look

(Address by the Honorable Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, before the 22d meeting of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 12, 1962)

This morning you heard some plain words from Luke Battle about the hard facts of financing UNESCO. I think my colleague has made it clear that the United Nations, Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization is not unloved and will not be undone by the U.S. Government. We consider UNESCO a priceless and irreplaceable organization—that is why we are determined that it shall not become a catchall agency, a refuge for dilettantism, a repository for the tag ends of operations of other agencies—or as Kipling said, "a sort of a bloomin' cosmopolouse."

To some, however, the U.S. intention to hold down the proliferation of UNESCO activities, and concentrate especially on its education program, may sound tightfisted or even negative. It is tightfisted. But it is also an affirmative approach, consistent

with the practical policy we are trying to apply across the board in the field of international organizations.

UNESCO is one of the dozen and one specialized agencies of the United Nations. It is one of the 51 international organizations to which the United States belongs and to which it regularly pays dues.

The policy of this administration toward all of these organizations is to try to see that they understand their mission the same way we understand it, that they know how to do their job and are equipped to do it. There is nothing simple about this policy, and, of course, there is no end to its pursuit.

It is hard work and costs us more than $200 million a year.

Then why do we do it? Why do we belong and contribute to 51 organizations?

The answer—to be quite blunt about it—is national self-interest. International organizations often can do what we would like to see done but cannot as well do on our own. They also can do some things more cheaply—and we can get others to help, too. Sensitive new countries, and their sensitive new leaders, often prefer to get advice on sensitive topics from an expert who represents all nations, and therefore represents no nation. Moreover, UNESCO and the other big international agencies can fish in a worldwide talent pool and come up with useful combinations of people and skills.

The returns we expect as Americans from international organizations are not so different in kind from, let us say, the protection Belgium expects to receive from NATO or the capital input Pakistan seeks from the World Bank or the clean beaches IMCO may be expected to restore to the United Kingdom or the peace of mind the IAEA should provide the neighbors of a country experimenting with atomic fission. These are all legitimate national interests, all beyond the limits of what national power can achieve by itself.

Does self-interest seem somehow out of place when we talk about international organizations? If so, perhaps Americans have been overindulging in the national pastime of pretending to be an altruistic duck instead of an honest swan.

Perhaps we have been persuading ourselves that our contributions to UNESCO and half a hundred other multilateral agencies are made in an annual fit of generosity. They are not. Nobody in the world thinks we're generous, so let us not kid ourselves about the matter. We pay our dues to these many international clubs because we find them useful to the foreign policy of the United States. We want malaria eradicated, we want refugees cared for, we want children educated, we want a world weather watch, we want a system of allocating radio frequencies, we want food transferred in an orderly way from where it is abundant to where it is scarce. Above all, we want to make the free world hum with prosperity and development, secure against aggression and growing in freedom for the individual.

Very quietly and almost without calculation, the free world is devising the rudimentary machinery for its material salvation. Even with allowance made for the familiar boycotts and abstentions of the Communist regimes, the members of the United Nations are now engaged in a staggering variety of efforts.

We are trying, through international organizations, to do these things:

To eliminate war through collective security agreements, sophisticated peacemaking and peacekeeping machinery, procedures for peaceful change and eventual progress in arms control;

To curtail disease and hunger at an unprecedented rate through an international offensive against their causes;

To apply the benefits of science and technology through cooperation in such matters as transport, communications, and meteorology and the exchange of knowledge through technical assistance programs and private agreements on patents and knowhow;

To achieve an international commercial, fiscal, and monetary system—stable enough and flexible enough to accommodate all nations who wish to take part;

To transfer enough private and public capital to provide developing economies with the marginal resources required for eventual self-sustaining growth; and

To help traditional societies evolve into national societies that understand the usefulness of international cooperation.

II

As far as the U.N. family of agencies is concerned, the current effort to move forward on all fronts, in what Secretary Rusk calls the struggle between the world of free choice and the world of coercion, is summed up in the bright symbol of the United Nations Decade of Development. It is easy to forget in the heat of the debates over the Congo or disarmament or Berlin that more than three out of four men and women employed in the United Nations system—and the vast proportion of the budgets of the United Nations, budgets which now exceed half a billion dollars—are devoted to very practical work, like the work of UNESCO.

The bugle calls are "coordination" and "country programing," which have a rather bureaucratic sound. The trouble with the U.N. system is the trouble with all large-scale organizations in our time: too much specialization, not enough attention to "making a mesh of things."

Those who work with one agency in the system—whether it be UNESCO, or WHO, or ILO or FAO—are often reluctant to see themselves as part of a whole. We live today for better or worse in the age of unbridled sovereignty, and sovereignty is not just a "felt need" of nations; it seems to be a "felt need" of bureaucracies too—even of bureaucracies dedicated to the building of an international order where national sovereignty is mellowed and tempered through international cooperation. No person—and no administrator—likes to see himself as a satellite. And to a large extent this is well and good even in the arenas of international cooperation. After all, each of the screaming needs of mankind, whether it be health, education, agriculture, or the special needs of children or science—each needs strong and articulate advocates to make sure that, in the competition for scarce resources, no particular need is totally neglected.

At the same time, resources are scarce—human resources no less than material and financial resources. The test of our survival—the prerequisite for a future less torn with tension and less preoccupied with poverty—depends more and more on the efficiency and the effectiveness with which we use our scarce resources, human and otherwise. Advocacy alone cannot do more than illustrate the hard choices we must make.

If I were to characterize the major challenge to the United States in the U.N. system today, I would say that it was not so much the subversive tactics of the Communists as it was the growing pains of a system of world organizations whose practice is too slowly and too often awkwardly beginning to live up to its promise.

That is why, at this point in the strategy, it is imperative that priorities be rigidly assigned and that the greatest concentrations of men, material, and money be placed at the points of greatest need. It is unnecessary to remind you that educational needs are the greatest of all. If there is one lesson we have learned in the short and turbulent history of our foreign aid program, it is that the prime bottleneck in development is not money or goods, but trained people and the social institutions which can be built only by people, not by machinery or capital.

It is also unnecessary to tell you that the United States is, of course, a sponsor, leader, and chief contributor to the decade. This is an American policy and a good one—good enough to have called forth the support of almost the entire world. No less than ourselves, other nations realize they will be safer in a world that has come to grips with its problems and is busy doing something about them.

The American people and the American Congress have just given fresh evidence that they will support this program wholeheartedly when they are convinced that it has both direction and purpose. The Congress has just taken two important decisions that affect international organizations. The first is well known. The United Nations Loan Act confounded every pollster and pundit when it received the approval of the Senate by a vote of more than 3 to 1 and the House of Representatives by a vote of almost 2 to 1. Some interesting theories have been put forward to explain this lopsided vote that not even the best of the professional analysts of congressional opinion came close to predicting.

I find the outcome less baffling than the professional theories suggest. The record of the hearings of the four committees that considered the bond proposal, and the copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the 5 days of House and Senate debate on the bill, are in my opinion—my professional, even professorial opinion—the most complete and relevant textbook ever assembled on U.S. policy with regard to that interesting New Frontier, the limited use of international peacekeeping force. It is also one of the cheapest. Brought to a quick vote, the bond bill might well have failed miserably a year ago, but when Congress took the time to thoroughly examine it in terms of American self-interest, the proposal passed the test and the issue was settled by lopsided votes in both Houses.

The same thing happened to a set of appropriations that received almost no public attention but were carefully reviewed by Congress. This money, for contributions to international organizations, was more than twice the amount of the U.N. loan. Everything the President requested was granted. Most of it was part of the foreign-aid bill, the only part that emerged unscathed from congressional cuts.

Again I believe the reason lies in the recognition that these organizations are carrying out American aims beyond the reach of American power, that they are no more and no less than a most efficient means for exercising American power for an American purpose. It is true that the purpose happens to be the betterment of the human condition which yet retains a certain popularity, but the achievement of this purpose is no more safe or certain for all its ethical content. It requires the same care and hard bargaining as the most exacting business transaction. And it is no less profitable.

International organizations, particularly the specialized agencies of the United Nations, are not international fraternities or learned societies and will not be supported as such.

If there are fewer people today who regard the United Nations system with the sentimentality that one might lavish on his favorite charity, there are also fewer people who see in every act of the organization the hand of a dark conspiracy directed at themselves. Americans instead are beginning to accept the United Nations system as a vital working part of international diplomacy—one which deserves to be taken seriously and to be regarded with professional care.

Today in the State Department we are asking searching questions about our participation in the U.N. system, which have not, I'm afraid, been seriously asked since the Second World War. We are looking hard not only at the program, staffing and financing of UNESCO but at that of every member of the U.N. constellation.

Each project no matter how small will be examined to insure that it is priority, is genuine, and that it can be coordinated with the programs of other agencies, particularly with our own foreign aid efforts. We plan a radical approach to the selection of staff members, to the recruitment of Americans for service where they are needed and to standards of performance in what is in principle, and must become in practice, the finest and proudest form of public service in the world.

Finally, we are determined to streamline the policymaking machinery within our own Government and to raise the level of coordination of our policies with those of other nations until it is equal to that achieved for the most important political issues before the U.N. General Assembly—which is simply not the case today. In the end we anticiapte the equivalent of flowsheets and continuous audits of what the agencies are doing, how well they are doing it and what is being overlooked or neglected and where the remedy lies.

To help review these matters we are calling in the most experienced minds from business, the professions and from the agencies themselves.

When it comes to making up our minds on these matters, there are certain guidelines we will follow. We do not regard the specialized agencies of the U.N. system in the way the Communists do—as forums for either propaganda or for short-run political advantage. We have a record of serious concern for the effectiveness of these organizations which cannot and will not be discarded in favor of doing as the Communists do. But we will—and do—defend sense against nonsense and will continue to turn back the political sallies of the Communists.

Furthermore, we have come to regard the specialized agencies more and more as operating agencies, rather than as discussion groups or places in which to conduct professional research. More and more we expect the specialized agencies to identify themselves with successful field projects—particularly in the less developed countries—and not merely with successful committee meetings at headquarters. This bias is dictated by the times; in these days governments cannot afford to devote scarce resources to organizations which neither spin nor weave.

The risks and responsibiilties of multilateral diplomacy are certainly high among the most exciting prospects on the world horizon today. As more nations join the U.N. system the promise will increase with the complexity. It is not surprising that in an agency like UNESCO where 11 members pay 70 percent of the budget and 95 others pay only 30 percent, there is a need for constant vigilance on budget and program. It is also not surprising that the money these 11 nations spend can accomplish things that they themselves could never do directly.

These are the normal nonsurprises of multilateral diplomacy. We in the Government, you who advise us and the rest of responsible Americans will have to develop the sophistication to master this new kind of diplomacy, to learn new ways of not being surprised. As we move along in this decade and on to the next, we will have time to prepare ourselves for the biggest nonsurprise of all time, the triumph of freedom.

## Whitton Challenges Brinkley To Prove His Allegations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by the Honorable Rex M. Whitton, Federal Highway Administrator, a copy of his telegram to Robert Sarnoff, together with the analysis prepared by the Bureau of Public Roads, in protest to David Brinkley's television program of October 1, 1962.

WHITTON CHALLENGES BRINKLEY TO PROVE HIS ALLEGATIONS

Federal Highway Administrator Rex M. Whitton today challenged television newsman, David Brinkley, to produce evidence to support his allegations of widespread irregularities in the Federal-aid highway system.

Whitton also sent a telegram to David Sarnoff, president of National Broadcasting Co., protesting that "a completely distorted picture of the Federal-aid highway program" had been painted by the newsman.

Whitton called on Brinkley to prove the charge made in the season's opener of "David Brinkley's Journal" Monday night that thievery on the Interstate Highway System has cost taxpayers $1.6 billion, or $100,000 a mile. The Administrator categorically denied this.

Whitton said a point-by-point check of Brinkley's charges while not yet completed has disclosed thus far that many of the allegations were either false or half-truths.

For instance, Whitton continued, "Mr. Brinkley told his television audience the FBI has found crime in the highway programs in Indiana, Illinois, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Missouri, and its findings included price fixing, shakedowns, and bribery."

"As far as we can ascertain," the administrator said, "the FBI has made no investigations of the Federal-aid road program in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Indiana."

Whitton pointed out Brinkley opened his program with an attack on the Federal highway program as "the biggest highway robbery in the history of the world," promised to document his charge, and then proceeded to cite allegations of irregularities on projects which had no connection with the Bureau of Public Roads.

One of them was the purchase of 11 acres of swampland in Manatee County, Fla., for a bridgehead for $41,107 even though it had been appraised at $3,000.

"Mr. Brinkley failed to point out," Whitton said, "the right-of-way was for a State project in which no Federal aid was involved."

Another example cited by Brinkley was the widening and paving of a four-lane business block running off at right angles to a highway under construction in Orlando, Fla., in 1959 to benefit two members of the Florida Road Board who had property interests on the block.

"Again," Whitton said, "Mr. Brinkley failed to point out this was a 100-percent State project without Federal aid."

As an illustration of fraud, the program showed a former truck dispatcher at an asphalt plant who was convicted in Federal court for conspiracy to defraud the Government and was placed on probation for 3 years. The dispatcher admitted "short weighting" of asphalt.

"But Mr. Brinkley forgot to mention the asphalt was not used on a Federal-aid highway project."

Nevertheless, the Administrator continued, every Federal-aid road project built over a period of several years by the contractor involved was rechecked and no evidence was found of deficiency in materials.

Brinkley's charge that an overpass had been built in New Mexico for a road leading to a nonexistent town, Gary, was cited by Whitton as an example of distortion. Brinkley said the road goes 100 feet into the desert and stops.

The truth is, Whitton explained, there is a place known as Gary, N. Mex., which is so designated on New Mexico maps. At the interchange, he went on, there are two turnoffs. One leads to an improved local road which runs to Gary where there are rail sidings, a pumping station, storage tanks, and a mining smelter. The other leads to a dirt road which connects to a road paralleling the new interstate highway.

However, the Administrator said, "Mr. Brinkley's cameraman after showing the Gary turnoff sign failed to show the improved road leading to Gary. Instead, he apparently went to the other side of the overpass and shot the dirt road.

"Mr. Brinkley should understand the various commercial establishments and ranches in the Gary area could not be denied all access to the new highway," declared Whitton. "The alternative would have been to build an access road 5 miles long."

On his program, Brinkley told of a 12-mile-long road near Kissimmee, Fla., which, he said, goes nowhere, stopping in the middle of a pasture.

The facts are, Whitton said, 8 miles of the road, Route 419, were built by the State of Florida with its own funds. A 5-mile extension was constructed as a 50–50 Federal-aid project to a pioneer road which continues north to Route 520. Florida, he said, plans to modernize the unpaved section which is not too far from Cape Canaveral.

"The fast-growing development in this area of Florida," he added, "is certain to flow along Route 419 when it is completed."

Even though there has not been sufficient time to make a complete check on Mr. Brinkley's charges, Whitton stated, it is clear he was not interested in giving an objective picture of the Federal-aid highway program.

"The most unjust treatment in the program," Whitton wired Sarnoff, "was omission of mention of the postive steps this administration has taken to deter fraud and irregularities in the highway program.

"I discussed some of these during the 30-minute filmed and recorded interview with Mr. Brinkley. Deletions of mention of our specific constructive efforts may be editorial privilege, but is hardly objective reporting."

Whitton pointed out "little or no mention was made in the program of the corrective or punitive actions we have taken where fraud or chicanery was discovered, or that we ourselves had discovered some of these cases."

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TELEGRAM OCTOBER 5, 1962

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS,
*Washington, D.C.*

ROBERT SARNOFF,
*President, RCA,*
*30 Rockefeller Plaza,*
*New York City, N.Y.:*

In the few days since the David Brinkley Journal Program, "The Great Highway Rob-

bery," was televised last Monday evening, we have checked into a number of the stories presented.

As the program began and ended, it was oriented to the Federal-aid highway program. It was an inescapable inference that all specific cases therefore were Federal aid projects. Yet in the Orlando side street paving and the swamp right-of-way projects no Federal aid was involved at all. The asphalt batch plant operator was convicted on a non-highway project.

In other instances omissions and half-truths resulted in distorted stories. There is a place called Gary, N. Mex.; access was necessary at that point for commercial establishments and service to major utilities. The "Airstrip" road in Florida has been built in sections; the State plans to continue it to a highway leading into Cocoa, near Cape Canaveral.

The FBI has not investigated any highway matters in four of the six States enumerated by Mr. Brinkley.

The most unjust treatment in the program was omission of mention of the positive steps this administration has taken to deter fraud and irregularities in the highway program. I discussed some of these during the 30-minute filmed and recorded interview with Mr. Brinkley. Deletions of mention of our specific constructive efforts may be editorial privilege, but it is hardly objective reporting.

Little or no mention was made in the program of the corrective or punitive actions we have taken where fraud or chicanery was discovered, or that we ourselves had discovered some of these cases.

The allegation that 10 percent or $100,000 a mile is being stolen is preposterous and cannot be supported, even as an estimate, by any reliable means.

I believe that the public obtained a completely misleading and erroneous picture of th Federal-aid highway program from Mr. Brinkley's program.

REX M. WHITTON,
*Federal Highway Administrator.*

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ANALYSIS OF DAVID BRINKLEY'S TELEVISION PROGRAM OF OCTOBER 1, 1962, ENTITLED "THE GREAT HIGHWAY ROBBERY," PREPARED BY THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

On Monday night, October 1, 1962, David Brinkley presented on the NBC network an hour-long television program called "The Great Highway Robbery." It associated specific incidents with broad allegations so as to imply that the entire Federal-aid highway program was rank with waste and fraud.

Most of the specific incidents described had occurred at least several years ago, but this was not made clear. Some were not highway projects or were State projects in which no Federal aid was involved at all. Some were based on unproven allegations, or were distorted by omissions of surrounding circumstances. Not mentioned was the fact that in every case where Federal aid was involved, corrective work has been done at no cost to the Federal Government or Federal payment was withheld. Insofar as it has been possible to identify the cases, they are analyzed on the following pages.

It is worth noting that hardly a word was said during the program about the vigorous actions taken by the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Public Roads to strengthen controls in the Federal-aid highway program. These also are described on the following pages.

Evidence exists everywhere of the propriety and worth of the Federal-aid highway program, had Mr. Brinkley sought to portray it. On the 41,000-mile National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, nearly 13,000 miles are already open to traffic and in daily use by millions of America's motorists. A very large proportion of our population has driven at one time or another on this Interstate System. They have seen for themselves well-planned, well-built superhighways saving time, money, and lives. If fraud and "stealing" were as rampant as alleged, and if these new highways were everywhere falling apart, surely the American motoring public would have noticed it for themselves.

THE SPECIFIC CASES

The commentary that follows covers all of the traceable cases cited in the Brinkley program, in the order of their appearance.

Congressional investigations: It was noted in the program that the congressional committee headed by Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK has made investigations in five States.

Comment: Unmentioned was the fact that the Bureau of Public Roads has constantly aided and collaborated with that committee and with the Department of Justice, and that for the most part Public Roads provided from its own investigations the evidence which initiated or supported the congressional committee's inquiries, simultaneously taking whatever corrective action was required.

GAO investigations: Mr. Brinkley reported that the General Accounting Office investigated right-of-way buying in 22 States and found something wrong in every one of them.

Comment: It is a minor matter, but GAO has made such reviews in only 21 States; they did not go into Massachusetts. Some of these audit review reports bear dates as recent as April 1962, but the latest actual review period covered ended in May 1960, the earliest in July 1958. Some concerned right-of-way appraisals dated as long ago as 1955. In all of these routine reviews, GAO's findings dealt mainly with the economy and effectiveness of the program operations, in some cases merely the nature of paperwork. In many of the instances cited by GAO, the Bureau of Public Roads was already aware of the need for changes in procedures and was in the process of itself effecting corrective action. In only one State (not 22) did GAO discover fraud, and this concerned two isolated cases for which adequate corrective action has been taken by the Bureau.

FBI investigations: The statement was made that the FBI "found crime in the highway program" in six States.

Comment: Public Roads has no information that the FBI conducted investigations in Federal-aid highway matters in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Indiana (four of the six States named); and is certain it would know if there were such cases. In Missouri, the FBI was asked to investigate by highway and Bureau officials.

Estimate of theft: A Federal investigator's "careful estimate" was cited as indicating the "stealing averages" $100,000 a mile or 10 percent of what has already been spent.

Comment: There is no way to make such a careful estimate. It is the wildest kind of guess, and preposterously high. The Federal investigator did not appear on the program nor was he named. The average $100,000 per mile incidentally would be the average total cost of the Federal-aid highway program, not 10 percent.

Side street in Orlando: The program cited a side street to some business establishments, paved as an extension to a contract on a main route in Orlando, Fla.

Comment: This was a 100-percent State contract, built in 1959. No Federal aid was involved.

Florida State employees: Several Florida State employees who had accepted gifts from contractors appeared on the program.

Comment: Public Roads withheld payment of Federal funds on all projects where either the contractors or employees involved had worked, until careful engineering and accounting checks had been completed. The State suspended or dismissed 23 employees and revoked the right of 5 contractors to bid on highway work. Some of these bans have been lifted and some employees rehired on probation. They were barred from Federal-aid work for varying periods of time. Public Roads itself referred five matters in this Florida case to the Justice Department.

Dead-end road: A road that "goes 12 miles to absolutely nowhere" was shown.

Comment: This road appears to be the Federal-aid secondary route northward along Florida State Route 419 from U.S. 192 near Deer Park. The State built the southerly 8 miles of Route 419 with its own funds. A 5-mile extension was subsequently built as a Federal-aid project, the Federal Government paying half the cost. At the time the project was proposed, traffic on the road averaged 125 vehicles per day. At present, a road being built as stage construction continues from the end of pavement north to Route 520, and the State has plans to pave this section of 419. Naturally at the present time there is little traffic at the end of the pavement. But Route 419 parallels U.S. 1 and is about 12 miles inland from the Atlantic coast. Its north end will be 14 miles from Cocoa, the nearest city to Cape Canaveral. The fast-growing development in this part of Florida is almost certain to flow along Route 419 when it is completed. This is an example of planning to try to anticipate highway needs in this rapidly growing community.

Salt water in the concrete: The Franklyn Bridge over Tampa Bay was depicted as rough and inferior because salt water was used instead of fresh water in the concrete.

Comment: This was alleged by one of the workman on the job. The allegiation was never proven. Tests of the concrete in place in this bridge showed it to be solid and fully meeting strength requirements. Incidentally, the workman served the television program as an authority, saying that when salt water is used "your cement will crumble and break." Fresh water was called for in the project specifications. However, in a number of bridge construction jobs, in Florida and elsewhere, specifications have permitted use of salt water and the resulting concreet was solid, durable, and fully adequate. The Franklyn Bridge surface is rough (actually measured and found to be about like most such bridge decks) but heavy trucks cross it regularly at 60 miles an hour. It was noted that the high-piled watermelon truck shown in the program lost only two watermelons in its passage on the bridge. Salt water does not have the detrimental effects alleged and has been used in many strutcures for a good many years.

Interstate Route 4: A section of Interstate Route 4 in Florida was described as beginning to break up because of deficiencies in the subgrade.

Comment: Some portions of the subgrade (representing a minor percentage of the total) were found to be borderline or inferior materials. Where necessary the State replaced these sections, with no payment being made by the Federal Government. The areas were not extensive, nor is the rest of the road "breaking up."

Right-of-way in a swamp: The program described the boosting of highway right-of-way appraisals for a tract in the Bradenton, Fla., area.

Comment: This was a purely State or local project. No Federal aid was involved at all and the Bureau had no authority or responsibility in the project.

Florida State Road Board: A member of the Florida State Road Board was subjected to scrutiny in the program.

Comment: The present Governor of Florida has appointed an entirely new road board.

Short weighting: A contractor's workman appeared on the program and admitted conviction in Federal Court for short-weighting materials in the loading operation at an asphalt batching plant.

Comment: This conviction was not in connection with a highway project. Nevertheless, every Federal-aid highway project built by the involved contractor over a period of several years was rechecked. No evidence of deficient materials quantities could be found. It is worth noting that the contractor is no longer in business.

Massachusetts right-of-way scandal: The Massachusetts right-of-way scandal, as described on the program, supposedly defrauded the State and Federal Government.

Comment: The Bureau of Public Roads uncovered this condition, reported it to the congressional investigating committee and the Justice Department, and collaborated with them in the inquiry. Federal-aid highway payments were stopped until each land parcel under question could be thoroughly checked out, long before any of these cases were publicized. No Federal funds were lost. Several people have been indicted and convicted. The entire State right-of-way organization and operations are being completely revamped.

Tulsa bypass; Lordsburg, N. Mex., highway: These cases were commented on in the program.

Comment: Both have been widely publicized. In the former the damage was repaired at no cost to the Federal Government and questionable shortages were not paid for by the Federal Government. In the latter case, the Bureau of Public Roads never accepted the project as satisfactorily completed and the State withdrew it from the Federal-aid program.

Employee promotion: In referring to the Tulsa bypass project, Mr. Brinkley said of the Federal inspector "His reports said the road was being well built. He was promoted."

Comment: If this comment was meant to imply cause and effect, it is completely wrong. The engineer was promoted in January 1959, more than a year before Blatnik committee and Public Roads investigators began their inquiries into this one project in the Tulsa area. None of the many other projects for which this engineer has had responsibility have been found faulty or suspect. It is worth noting that for several years Public Roads has endeavored to increase the size of its field staff, with only limited success.

The town that never was: Mr. Brinkley spoke of a $300,000 overpass with signs pointing to a turnoff to Gary, and added "* * * there is no such town and never was. The road goes 100 feet into the desert and just stops." The camera appeared to verify this description.

Comment: There is a simple interchange at this location. It cost $189,000, not $300,000. One turnoff leads to an improved local road which continues to a place locally known as Gary (shown on current Rand-McNally maps, incidentally, as well as page 1005 of the Official Guide of the Railways), where there are railroad sidings, a pumping station, and storage tanks. It provides access for maintenance to major utility facilities. A mining smelter is located on this road as well. The second turnoff from the interchange connects to a dirt road leading to a road paralleling the interstate route and serving as access to a major pipeline. Brinkley's cameraman apparently photographed the "Gary" sign on the first turnoff road and then took pictures of the second turnoff. Actually, neither turnoff road just "stops." Both provide service to commercial facilities or utilities which could not altogether be cut off. The alternative to the interchange would have been the construction of 6 miles of access roads (more costly than the interchange) and a great deal more travel for the people served.

Ohio: In reference to some previous engineering examination conducted in Ohio, Mr. Brinkley stated that 94 percent of a certain kind of sampling taken from Ohio roads did not meet the specifications. The 94-percent figure mentioned by Mr. Brinkley is recorded in a Bureau report. However, this figure was obtained as a result of a comparison of material in the road with specifications required of material prior to placement in the road. It is known that in many instances degradation of material occurs in service after a completed highway has been opened to traffic, even though the material has complied with all specification requirements prior to incorporation. Further, this is only one of many tests that are made, and is only one aspect to be considered in determining the acceptability of highways. Numerous changes have been instituted in testing procedures as a result of the experiences here.

Interview with Administrator: Mr. Brinkley interviewed Federal Highway Administrator Rex M. Whitton for 5 or 6 minutes, as seen on the program. He asked questions about several subjects which Mr. Whitton could not answer.

Comment: Disposing of the latter item first, the events involved had occurred several years ago, before Mr. Whitton came to the Bureau of Public Roads. More important than this is the deliberate nature of the cutting job done. Mr. Brinkley's interview with Mr. Whitton, as recorded and filmed in the latter's office, lasted at least half an hour; and they had additional discussions the same day. Mr. Whitton took special pains to describe and explain some of the important steps taken to strengthen controls in the Federal-aid program since he was appointed Administrator in January 1961. None of this was included in the televised program. Now were any portions of the many hours of interview with other persons in the Bureau staff and highway departments. This may be editorial privilege, but it is hardly objective reporting.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS CONTROL MEASURES

Under the leadership of the Federal Highway Administrator, the Bureau of Public Roads has in the past 2 years taken important measures to strengthen its controls in the Federal-aid highway program. Some of them are new; some were instituted to improve or expand exisitng controls.

Foremost among them was a reorganization last August of the Bureau of Public Roads headquarters structure, creating two major units whose heads report directly to the Administrator. One of these is the Office of Audits and Investigations, headed by a former FBI man and staffed with former FBI and GAO personnel.

This organization concentrates Public Roads' continuing efforts to maintain vigilance over all aspects of the program and to investigate allegations of fraud and collusion. The other major unit is the Office of Right-of-Way and Location, which deals with an area where chicanery has occurred in the past.

Public Roads has also instituted a searching technique of inspections in depth, whereby projects in every State are selected at random and are checked out in detail from beginning to end by Public Roads personnel. This process is being applied both to construction and to right-of-way acquisition.

A review of State highway department right-of-way procedures, initiated in December 1960, has been carried on vigorously. Wherever necessary, under this 35-point review, State highway organizations and procedures have been thoroughly overhauled.

Last year also there was instituted a process of concurrent auditing which, one after another, the States are adopting as they can set up the machinery required. This will, among other things, enable Public Roads to uncover and advise the States of deficiencies promptly, and take action accordingly.

In address after address to State highway officials and other highway groups, the Administrator stressed the need for safeguards for the program. In a personal letter of August 24 to the head of each highway department, he urged that they make a penetrating examination of their own organization from top to bottom and take every possible step to insure the efficiency, competence, and integrity of their work. This is being followed up, State by State, by individual discussions.

Where necessary, drastic action has been taken where alleged scandals have been discovered. In June 1961, the Administrator held up Federal-aid payments on certain projects in one State and denied authorization to proceed on any future projects, pending a thorough examination by Public Roads. This situation has since been satisfactorily resolved.

Similar action was taken with regard to right-of-way projects in two other States.

Recently, penalty provisions were formalized with regard to various kinds of wrongdoing which might involve Federal and State employees and contractors. Public Roads cannot fire State employees and contractors, but it can and has banned them from Federal-aid work permanently or for varying periods of time.

The Bureau of Public Roads is a small organization in relation to the size of the programs it administers. Under the statutory guidelines of the Federal legislation that govern the Federal-aid program, Public Roads is not intended to supplant or duplicate the resident engineering inspection and testing that the State highway departments maintain on every construction project. Instead, Public Roads field engineers periodically visit and inspect projects, take random test samples, and collaborate with other Bureau personnel in the inspections in depth already described. Public Roads does have a critical need for more field engineers. However, because of budgetary limitations in both fiscal years 1962 and 1963 it has only been allowed about half the increase in their numbers that it requested.

## Press Lauds Rogers Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ED EDMONDSON**
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] has been among the leading advocates in the Congress for strong action against Cuba. His work in this regard has been widely recognized in the press, and I ask that the following editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Palm Beach Post, Oct. 9, 1962]

REDS YELL OUCH

Latin American backing of a U.S. crackdown on ships plying the Cuban trade seems

to have hit the Communist camp in a sore spot.

Moscow complains bitterly that the free world is "playing with fire" in building a "cordon canitaire" around the new Red beachhead.

We could ask no better recommendation of the effectiveness of the plan, pushed vigouously in Washington by Florida's Representative PAUL ROGERS.

Short of a complete blockade of Castro and his Red henchmen, it appears to offer the best attack on Western Hemisphere communism so far devised.

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## The Steps to Better State Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the article in the Advance magazine by Richard M. Nixon, entitled, "The Steps to Better State Government" is an excellent group of suggestions which I sincerely hope Mr. Nixon will implement as the next Governor of California. I commend the article to the attention of my colleagues.

THE STEPS TO BETTER STATE GOVERNMENT

(By Richard M. Nixon)

Recently, at the University of California's Berkeley campus, a student asked me this question: "Mr. Nixon, how can you stoop to run for Governor after having served as Vice President of the United States?"

I asked the young man why he thought I was "stooping." He replied that today all the important and interesting problems in our country are decided in Washington, not in the States. "Why, even the question of whether we have too many crime shows on television," he said, "will be settled by the Federal Government."

Did he approve this trend toward centralized government? No, indeed, he did not. But he felt that it was inevitable, probably irreversible.

The moral of this story is as simple as it is critical. While this young man has recognized a serious problem, he has failed to see the basic solution, which lies right in our own backyard. And in this failure—typical of all too many Americans—is an implicit threat to the vigor of self-government in America and to the very status of our freedoms.

I believe that vast majority of Americans are sincerely concerned about the trend toward "Let Washington do it." They sense a basic threat even though they have not put it into words. What they have been slow to realize is simply this: The major reason for more centralized government has been that our State governments have left such a vacuum in serving popular demands and needs that the Federal Government has often been forced to move in.

And so, as I told the student, "The answer to bigger government in Washington is better government in our States." And not only better but more dynamic and more creative government. Rather than stooping to run for State office, then, the most urgent domestic problem in America today is to find the best available men and women to be candidate for State and local office and to give them the power and the support they need to meet challenging public demands and carry out major public services.

We all recognize that Washington cannot know a State's needs as well as those at home. A Federal solution to a problem is a 50-State impersonal solution—it is like tailoring a suit that will have to be worn by both a fat man and a thin man. At best it will look baggy on one and pinch the other. The suit cannot be individually fitted to one man in California, another in Michigan, and a third in New York—nor, for that matter, to one in Chico, another in Santa Barbara, and a third in Pomona.

Yet excessive centralization sacrifices more than the local touch. Along the road to Washington, John Jones is also in danger of losing all sense of self-reliance, of turning from a citizen into a statistic. Washington action can become a pain-killing narcotic. When the next problem arises, we are hooked. Our reflex action is, "Let Washington do it."

How, then, can we restore the delicate balance between sovereign States—with the emphasis on sovereign—and the National Government that was written into our Constitution?

There is obviously a need to send Representatives to Washington who will respect and preserve the Federal principle—the proper division of power among all levels of government.

But in this article I am primarily concerned with what we can do to make our State more responsive and responsible—rather than how to counter Washington pressures.

It is clear that we must attract better stronger, more capable people to State government. It is also clear that we should talk less about States rights and do more about States responsibilities. Too many States' Righters simply stand for no action in areas where action is desperately needed. Too many of those who wave the banner of States rights to avoid Federal intervention are also opposed to State or local action.

FIVE STEPS

We must therefore strengthen our States and local communities so that they can act forcefully and vigorously, in response to popular demands and with respect to important problems. I want to propose five specific ways in which this can be done.

*1. We must streamline the operations of State governments*

Since the turn of the century the growth of State governments in the United States has resembled Jack's magic beanstalk. The standard operating procedure throughout the country has been to "solve" a new problem simply by adding another box on the State organizational chart. This process has clouded lines of authority, impeded decisionmaking, and skyrocketed the cost of government.

In California, for example, by 1961 the governmental atom had been split so many times that if the Governor were to spend just 1 day annually reviewing the work of each State body, he would barely have had time to make the rounds in a year—for there were 360 State boards, commissions, and agencies.

Fortunately many States are now seeing the necessity of revising outmoded systems of management. Tennessee has recently reorganized its government to eliminate six boards and commissions. Hawaii streamlined its State administration in 1961 and abolished 323 jobs. And, although I disagree with the specific reorganization plans, there has at least been a recognition of this problem in California. And that is the necessary first step.

This is a must if State governments are to meet the challenges of our times. It is imperative that they make full use of the vast management experience available in the business and academic worlds.

*2. We must revise our State constitutions*

The typical State constitution today is a hodge-podge of archaic restrictions. The Louisiana constitution, for instance, contains 217,000 words and 407 amendments. California's constitution, which is second in verbosity, has over 75,000 words; the index alone runs to 60 pages.

Last November New York repealed a clause in its constitution that declared all land grants given by the King of England to be "null and void" after October 14, 1775. And this fall New York voters will have a chance to trim another 4,000 words of encrusted obsolescence from the State's basic charter.

This situation might be merely ludicrous if it were not that these obsolete words interfere with the proper performance of government. In many cases our States have frozen all the solutions to past problems into the constitution—thereby putting a straitjacket on our ability to solve future problems.

Almost every State could do well to take a hard look at the way this problem is being handled in Michigan, where a constitutional convention has been spearheaded by George Romney; in Minnesota, where a procedure of continuous revision is in operation; and in New York, where Judge David Peck ably heads a temporary State commission.

*3. We must reevaluate State legislator's function and compensation*

There are 7,800 State legislators in the United States. Some serve with great distinction; some do not. But almost all serve at considerable financial sacrifice.

This is because we have always considered State legislators to be part-time officials—working for only 30–90 days and then going about their "regular" business during the other 9–11 months in the year. However, while legislative sessions are still relatively brief, most State representatives find that it is almost a full-time job to serve their constituents conscientiously.

As society becomes more complex, government must concern itself with many new problems. The State representative must now write, analyze, and vote on an avalanche of legislation. There were 4,487, bills introduced in the 1961 session of the Florida Legislature, of which 3,031 were enacted. The number of proposed pieces of legislation was 4,205 in Massachusets and 4,194 in Connecticut. Yet with the need to earn a livelihood beyond the representative's pay, and with little or no professional staff provided by the State, the legislator is expected to be fully informed on each item on the session's calendar.

Moreover, as the population keeps growing, legislators find they are responsible to more and more constituents. The one State senator from Los Angeles County now represents more constituents than the total population of 43 of the States in the Union. All these people have a right to bring their views and their problems to the representatives—and many do. All these people should have the opportunity to see and hear their representatives—and the legislator had better respect this right, if he want to get reelected.

The job of a State representative is hardly one that can be left behind at the State Capitol when the legislative session is over. Yet, of the 34 States that pay a straight salary to their legislators, the median figure is $3,900 to $4,000. New Hampshire is still paying its State representatives $200 per biennium, or $3 a day—a figure fixed by the State constitution in 1889.

Among States that use a daily pay plan for legislators, the median pay is $15. Three States—Kansas, North Dakota, and Rhode Island—pay $5 a day, less than it often costs to get a babysitter for an evening. (However on November 6, Rhode Island will vote on a

constitutional amendment to raise legislators' salaries to $1,500 a year.)

What does this situation mean to the average citizen? It means that he may not be represented on the State level by the best man possible—for the best man may not be able to afford the financial sacrifice of serving in the legislature. It means that even the most dedicated State legislator may not be able to devote all the time necessary to do his job properly. It means that the State legislator may be more apt to be influenced by lobbyists and special interest groups who offer to give him business or contribute to his campaign or provide ready made position papers on complex issues.

Today State government is big business. In 1960, Illinois spent over $1.36 billion; the State expenditures in Texas were only slightly less. It is pennywise and pound foolish so grossly to underpay the men and women we ask to use their knowledge and wisdom to approve these vast sums of the taxpayers' money.

*4. We must not handicap our Governors*

Right now there are 31 States operating under one or two constitutional restrictions that badly handicap the ability of the Governor to deal effectively with the State's problems.

In 16 States, primarily in New England and the Midwest, governors serve for only 2 years. While in 15 other States, mainly in the South, governors are not allowed to run for reelection. Both these restrictions were originally designed to prevent any one man from holding too much power in his hands for too long. In fact, it was not too long ago that Rhode Island limited its chief executive to but a single 1-year term of office.

In effect, this is what these restrictions can mean.

In the case of the 2-year governor, he finds that the course of his first year in office is often severely limited and determined by his predecessor's fiscal policies; while his second year in office may be largely devoted to running for reelection.

In States that require a governor to step down after one term, the incumbent may find the legislature and the political parties more intent on picking his successor than in working on his legislative program. Moreover, at a time when the Nation needs all the talent it can muster, we find that good men are being put out to pasture. This year, for example, two governors are being retired as elder statesmen at ages 36 and 40.

Surely in a country that elects a President for 4 years, with a two-term limitation, there should be no need to hamstring Governors with more restrictive provisions.

*5. We must clearly separate State and National issues*

During my primary campaign this year for Governor of California, I received a great many questionnaires from civic organizations and newspapers. It was not unusual for these forms to ask:

"What do you think of the United Nations?"

"What is your opinion of the foreign-aid program?"

"What about a strict U.S. naval blockade of Castro's Cuba?"

It happens that after 14 years in Washington I have taken specific positions on almost all national and international issues. Therefore, it was not difficult for me to answer all these inquiries. The point, however, is that as a State Governor I would have absolutely no authority over such policies. These questionnaires, in effect, were one more instance of the present confusion of local, State, National, and international issues.

This is a very serious problem. Today when a citizen walks into a voting booth he is most likely to be confronted by a ballot that resembles a page in the telephone book. The voter will be expected to cast a ballot for a large number of municipal and State propositions—some of them to authorize millions in public spending, some of them to make important changes in charters or constitutions. At the same time, the voter will be selecting candidates for executive, judicial, and legislative positions—for every office from President of the United States or Governor to county coroner.

Also in the weeks leading up to election day the voter is exposed to a babble of words on everything from U.S. policy in southeast Asia to local sewage disposal. This is democracy in action. But it is also hard work to sort our divergent opinions on such a complexity of issues. And we should avoid making things more difficult still by needlessly lumping all issues together.

A NEW ELECTION SCHEDULE

I suggest a simple solution—so far as there can be any solution, considering the interdependence of many political problems—for separating unrelated issues and facilitating more meaningful political debate; State and national issues and offices should be untangled and two separate elections held.

Elections for national offices—President, U.S. Senate, and U.S. House of Representatives—would be held as always in November of even-numbered years. But State and local elections should be held in either the fall of odd-numbered years—as in many States they already are—or moved to the spring.

While, in some cases, this would involve additional expense, it would greatly improve the quality of political debate in the United States. And, if it would not separate issues that are essentially inseparable, it would greatly sharpen the division of sovereignty on which our Federal system is built. It would help restore to our sovereign States a definable fear of power and, just as important, an acute sense of responsibility for public service.

And so we have moved full-circle. "Stoop to run for Governor?" These five steps to better government do not themselves constitute the grandeur of State government and politics—but they do help establish a practical framework in which the only limits on achievement are human creativity and energy.

This practical framework of good government makes it possible, in other words, to restore the Federal balance between the central power and the sovereign States and localities. And in this balance lies the key to American freedom and self-rule. Self-government is not self-sustaining; it demands constant practice, continual cultivation, and vigorous roots. It demands, most of all, a body of active citizens, practiced in all the arts of self-rule and deeply imbued with a sense of personal and individual responsibility.

America's States and cities and towns can, therefore, once more become the indispensable schoolhouses of democracy. The final ingredient must necessarily be dynamic leadership—to issue the call and mobilize popular support for the restoration of a balanced federalism and the preservation of American freedom.

This to me is the ultimate challenge of State office.

This is all the incentive I need to seek the governorship of my native State—as the highest order of business in the perpetual fight for freedom.

## First Annual Convention of Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., America's Leading Conservative Youth Group

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion recently in the press concerning the growing young conservative movement in this country. Leftwing professors and liberal commentators have minimized the importance of this trend and some others may have overestimated it. Yet there is, undoubtedly, such a movement and the leading exponent of this youthful conservatism is an organization called Young Americans for Freedom. Many Members of the Congress serve on its national advisory board.

I have watched YAF grow and extend its influence throughout the Nation, on the campus and in the community. It now numbers over 300 chapters, and 20,000 members. It has sponsored two national awards rallies, the first in 1961 and the second this year at Madison Square Garden where 18,500 people gathered to cheer such leaders as Senators GOLDWATER and TOWER, and to pay homage to many other fine patriots. Last month Young Americans for Freedom held its first annual convention in New York City, and under leave to extend my remarks I take this means to report on its first annual Young Americans for Freedom convention.

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM CONVENTION

Two years after its formation at Sharon, Conn., in September 1960, Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., met in New York City to elect new officers and to formulate plans for the coming year.

Robert E. Bauman, newly elected national chairman, described Young Americans for Freedom as "a nonpartisan, political-action, conservative youth organization which seeks to mobilize young Americans to defend constitutional liberties and to work toward a foreign policy of action designed to win the war against world communism." Mr. Bauman, a student at Georgetown University Law School, was unanimously elected national chairman and will preside over the board of directors and direct policy for the next year.

Young Americans for Freedom is regarded as one of the most responsible conservative groups in America, and has a national advisory board composed of many distinguished men and women. Congressional sponsors include Senators GOLDWATER, of Arizona, TOWER, of Texas, HOLLAND, of Florida, and THURMOND, of South Carolina; and Congressmen BRUCE, of Indiana, ASHBROOK, of Ohio,

DORN, of South Carolina, BATTIN, of Montana, COLMER, of Mississippi, PELLY, of Washington, RHODES of Arizona, and WESTLAND, of Washington. Noncongressional advisors include William F. Buckley, Jr., Edgar Eisenhower, John Dos Passos, Gov. Charles Edison, Henry Hazlitt, Adm. Lewis Strauss, and many others.

More than 200 delegates and several hundred guests gathered at the Commodore Hotel in New York on September 27, 28, and 29. They represented States as far away as Hawaii, and their common purpose was to exchange ideas and methods of political action to elect more constitutional conservatives to Congress. They attended seminars on free trade and the Common Market, the New Frontier's domestic program, and on the methodology of political action. Congressman STEVEN DEROUNIAN, of New York, was a panel member in the discussion on the New Frontier.

Congressman WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, delivered a major address at the opening convention session and called for a positive effort to eliminate the Communist Castro regime from Cuba. William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of National Review magazine, delivered the keynote address at the concluding banquet, attended by more than 500 leading conservatives, Democrats and Republicans. At this banquet the newly elected officers and members of the board of directors were installed. New officers and board members are:

National chairman: Robert E. Bauman, Georgetown University Law Center.

Regional chairmen: New England, Daniel Carmen, Boston, Mass.; Middle Atlantic, David Franke, New York City, N.Y.; South, David Jones, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Southwest, Kenneth E. Thompson, Dallas, Tex.; West, Lynn Bouchey, University of Washington, Seattle.

Members of the board of directors at large: Vice chairman, Robert F. Croll, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; secretary, Kay Wonderlic Kolbe, Newport, R.I.; treasurer, Lammot Copeland, San Francisco, Calif.; Don Devine, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Antoni Gollan, Coral Gables, Fla.; Craig Ihde, Los Angeles, Calif.; Fulton Lewis III, Washington, D.C.; Marilyn Manion, South Bend, Ind.; Diarmuid O'Scannlain, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.; Robert Schuchman, New York City, N.Y.; William Schulz, Washington, D.C.; Donald Shafto, Ridgewood, N.J.; John Weicher, University of Chicago; Edmund Zanini, Westchester County, N.Y.

In his acceptance speech, the new national chairman promised that Young Americans for Freedom would make certain that the great American principles and beliefs would not die. He pledged the organization's active support for all candidates who represent the conservative viewpoint.

Programs of Young Americans for Freedom for the coming year will include: a national legislative service designed to alert all Young Americans for Freedom members to the status of important bills before the Congress; a Youth Americans for Freedom news service for college and local newspapers, giving the young conservative viewpoint; a national Young Americans for Freedom speakers' bureau; an expanded awards rally in 1963; participation in the 1964 World's Fair; and a Young Americans for Freedom radio and television program to be used by local chapters. The organization's excellent magazine, the New Guard, will continue to be published, and will be improved and expanded.

Statewide Young Americans for Freedom organizations, such as the ones already in existence in Florida, Indiana, Ohio, and New York, will be established in every State.

In short, Young Americans for Freedom will go into politics with a determination to win for conservatism.

The following resolutions were adopted by the convention delegates:

RESOLUTION ON CUBA

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union has over a period of 40 years sought by military and other means to undermine the peace and security of the world, and to enslave all the world's peoples; and

Whereas during these years the principal objective of the aggressive policies of the Soviet Union has been the Government and people of the United States toward whose deliberation and eventual enslavement all Soviet policy everywhere in the world is directed; and

Whereas the Soviet Union, by subversion and terror, has enslaved the Cuban people, at a point 90 miles from the coastline of the United States, and has used Cuba as a base from which to intensify its subversive operations in this hemisphere; and

Whereas the Castro satellite government has recently procured from the Soviet Union extensive reinforcements of military personnel, military technicians, and war materiel, which have greatly swelled the offensive potential of Cuba and now constitute an intolerable threat to the security of the United States and this hemisphere; and

Whereas the Government of the United States is committed by its covenants to guard the independence and security of its people by any means; and

Whereas under the Monroe Doctrine the United States undertook to protect all the peoples of this hemisphere from subjugation by a foreign power: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., express its utmost concern over the present situation and encourage an immediate and total armed blockade of Cuba, demanding the full support of our allies throughout the world.

RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC PRAYER

Whereas the wording of article 1 of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States reads as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; and

Whereas the regents' prayer is nondenominational; and

Whereas it does not purport to establish a religion; and simply acknowledges the existence of God; and

Whereas the U.S. Supreme Court in effect, by its ruling, is prohibiting the free exercise of the right of our children and educators to pray in a public place; and

Whereas the right to pray is an integral part of our American heritage; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That it is our intent to make known to the Supreme Court of the United States and to the President of the United States our total disagreement with the Court decision and that we intend to pursue our cause until the above decision is reversed; and be it further

*Resolved*, That we protest the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States that the recitation of the nondenominational New York State board of regents' authorized prayer in public schools is unconstitutional.

RESOLUTION ON FRATERNITIES

Whereas the freedom of choice and association by individuals is inherent in the American ideal of personal liberty; and

Whereas the right of private organizations to establish their respective memberships is vital to the preservation of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of assembly; and

Whereas attempts by certain external forces to deny member chapters of the National Interfraternity Conference and the National Panhellenic Conference their right to establish their memberships is an infringement on their right of free choice and destructive of their constiutional guarantee of freedom of assembly; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we reaffirm our belief in the basic right of free association and deplore the efforts of educators and administrators at institutions of higher learning who interefere with these basic freedoms.

RESOLUTION ON THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Whereas the United States National Student Association at present is the only student organization in the United States which claims to present a consensus of student opinion to the national and international student community; and

Whereas the United States National Student Association for many years has been dominated by ultraliberal groups such as the campus Americans for Democratic Action and the Students for a Democratic Society, and thus has been presenting a distorted, undemocratic view of American student opinion; and

Whereas the 15th National Student Congress of the National Student Association passed a series of structural reform measures which make possible a greater degree of representation within the National Student Association; and

Whereas the Young American for Freedom, Inc., as the major conservative youth organization in America is thus best suited for the purpose of providing responsible conservative leadership in such organizations as the NSA: Therefore be it

*Resolved by this first annual convention of Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.*, That conservative students throughout the country should be encouraged to keep themselves informed on the NSA question, and to work for the presentation of a responsible conservative position, thus guaranteeing an accurate democratic reflection of American student opinion.

## The Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, all of us in this body recognize the importance of well-chosen words in our work here and in our diistricts. This is the one moment in our careers when we have no

words to describe adequately the desolate grief that has invaded our hearts and minds. We all remember the oft-quoted words of the English poet, John Donne, who said, "No man is an island, entire of itself." In that same piece, Donne said what we must all feel at this terrible moment," a man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind."

How much we are all diminished, for this was not just any man whose life was taken suddenly, tragically from him. This was our dear friend, our esteemed colleague, one of the truly great Members of this body.

> For such as he there is no death—
> His life the eternal life commands;
> Above man's aims his nature rose.
> The wisdom of a just content
> Made one small spot a continent,
> And tuned to poetry life's prose.

These words might have been written about the gentleman from California. And, to me they are especially fitting, for they were written nearly a century ago by Louisa May Alcott, to describe the passing of Henry David Thoreau, one of the very first of our Nation's conservationists, even as the gentleman from Corte Madera was perhaps the foremost of our day.

How much richer we all are for having had the inspirational privilege of his association. He has given us the legacy of courage, truth, devotion. He has given the Nation an even more tangible legacy: the assurance that the beauty of Point Reyes will endure, long after all of us are gone.

And though my words can never tell to those as yet unborn the complete integrity, the wisdom, the respect for his fellow man, the uncompromising principle of him who but a few days ago was among us, his own words shall. For his book, "Member of the House," providentially published just a few weeks ago, will soon be a text for all our citizens of this and succeeding generations to read for an understanding of what their House of Representatives is and does and means to them.

The honor, the esteem that we bear CLEM MILLER will continue as long as there is one of us, his colleagues, who survives. For his spirit lives forever and preserves his remembrance.

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## Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, the 2d session of the 87th Congress—the longest in recent peacetime history—has adjourned. This was not a rubber-stamp Congress. It was a thoughtful, deliberative session with lengthy consideration of each issue. In the end, we wrote a constructive and forward-looking record. This is my report to you on what we did for the Nation and Idaho.

The length of the session proved most beneficial to the Gem State because it was in the closing days that we completed action on the greatest program of Federal water development for Idaho in our history. All of the measures involved came out of committees on which I served, and I was in the middle of the fight to "bring home the bacon," almost $300 million worth. That we were able to succeed was an immensely rewarding experience.

WATER RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND POWER

Public works projects mean jobs for the people of Idaho and economic progress for the State. Congress approved $293 million in such projects for our State, including Bruces Eddy, Ririe, and Asotin Dams and Reservoirs, and the raising of Blackfoot Dam. The $52 million Burns Creek project was lost in the final, bitter fight on the House floor, but Representative CLIFFORD DAVIS, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the powerful House Flood Control Subcommittee, assured me the project will be the first order of business for his group when the 88th Congress convenes January 9. We from Idaho will never say die on this, for the project is needed to insure maximum resources development as part of the present Palisades Dam and Reservoir project.

Along with the House Public Works Committee, I also serve on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. The latter approved my bill to build the $3.4 million Mann Creek irrigation project, and the House passed it. This same committee also reported my bill authorizing $1.4 million in pipeline repairs in the Avondale, Dalton Gardens, and Hayden Lake project, and the House passed the measure. It included an amendment which saved water users $183,000 in payments.

Senator FRANK CHURCH, Congressman RALPH HARDING, and I are attempting to give further impetus to Idaho's economy by having the Bonneville Power Administration make a survey to determine whether all Idaho should be made eligible for the low-cost power produced at the federally built dams in the Pacific Northwest. Cheaper power would bring new industry and more jobs into our State. It would also cut in half the light bills of many of our citizens in southern Idaho.

NEW BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION

New construction also means new jobs. It was satisfying, therefore, to win some $1 million in funds for improvements to post offices at Payette, Caldwell, and Nampa; about $300,000 for six Idaho airports; more than $7 million in construction, matching funds and loans for 17 separate projects ranging from $123,000 for the border station at Porthill, to a $370,000 hospital at Emmett; a $3 million housing loan for the University of Idaho, plus a total of $141,049 in grants to 18 school districts for equipment and building improvements. All of these funds, and others not listed, have served to provide a boost to the economy of Idaho's First Congressional District.

FORESTS

Idaho will receive some $20 million in the next 3 years for forest roads and trails under the new highway bill, and forest research will be expanded. A modified wilderness bill was approved by the House Public Lands Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, and was reported to the floor, but died in the adjournment rush. I visited the White House with other Northwest Members to protest the imports of Canadian softwoods, and this is now under study. The State's national forests netted our schools and road $1,063,435 from sale of timber, grazing, recreation, and other fees.

MINING

I joined the vigorous protest on artificial controls on silver—and since their removal prices have moved from 91½ cents an ounce to $1.20. Idaho leads the Nation in production of the white metal. Congress voted $4.5 million for stabilization payments to the small lead-zinc producers.

FARM

We have made a major breakthrough in the past 2 years in increasing farm income and reducing surpluses. Farm revenue is up $2 billion; and income of the average farmer is up from $2,960 to $3,360 a year. The farm bill we passed this year should make further improvments.

DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AID

Congress, keenly aware of the threat of world communism, voted a $48 billion defense budget, more than $2 billion over last year, and increased space expenditures 200 percent. The President was given the authority to call up the Reserves in an emergency, and to invoke economic sanction, or take any other action necessary, to contain Castroism in Cuba. Foreign aid was cut by $1 billion, but the Peace Corps was enlarged. Ten Idaho youths are now serving in this undertaking which even its former critics now praise.

GENERAL

Social security benefits to Idaho were increased by $3 million annually to a total of $42.3 million. A record $15.7 million was voted for health, education, and welfare activities in our State. The administration program to provide hospital insurance for the elderly was defeated in the Senate, but some type of health insurance for our senior citizens is a must next session.

The 10-percent tax on railroads was repealed; funds to complete the Lewis-Clark Highway were voted; compensation for veterans with service injuries was increased; and many other measures of merit were passed. I am proud of my part in building this record. My attendance tally for 10 years was 96 percent, one of the best in the House. I was glad to stand up and be counted on every issue.

With this report I conclude 10 years in the Congress. They have been wonderful and challenging years, and I am most grateful to the people of the First Con-

gressional District for electing me—and reelecting me so many times.

I write this, therefore, with a deep feeling of appreciation and some nostalgia. As you know, I am relinquishing my seat in Congress to run for the U.S. Senate. I aspire to the 4-year term of the late Senator Henry Dworshak. It would be a privilege and a pleasure to serve all of the people of Idaho from this wider sphere.

## Our Friends Are at Sea: Aiding Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Congress and the American people are encouraged by the actions of many friendly nations in stopping shipping to Communist Cuba.

While the list of countries which stand with us grows, we all continue to wonder at the actions of our formerly stanch ally, Great Britain.

Editor Don Shoemaker, of the Miami Herald, in an editorial for October 11, points out that Cuba must be supplied with ships—and Britain is providing these ships.

Mr. Shoemaker points out:

When there are no ships handy, the jig is up. Castro then has been isolated economically.

We have been very successful in getting true friends of the United States to cooperate with us to economically blockade Cuba. As the editorial indicates, Great Britain has reason to remember our actions when she was threatened—and should act accordingly.

I include this editorial in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR FRIENDS ARE AT SEA

Has the United States the right to request its European allies not to provide ships for Russian trade with Cuba, and then to exact mild penalties if they don't cooperate?

We think so. And some of them agree.

West German ships carry 12 percent of the Khrushchev-Castro trade and Norway's transport 9 percent. Turkish vessels carry another portion. All of them will go along.

But this is just a beginning toward execution of a policy which is namby-pamby at best. For example, we are denying U.S. Government cargoes to ships of any country used in trade between Cuba and the Communist bloc but these ships are free to pick up commercial cargoes anywhere they can find them.

Well, something in this case is better than nothing at all. Thus we urge Washington to use its best offices to get cooperation out of Greece, which supplies 25 percent of the total shipping, and Britain, which provides another 15 percent.

If there is to be no blockade of Communist Cuba and if the reclamation of Cuban soil by patriots is to be delayed, then these halting moves against shipping must be accepted as an alternative.

Before Castro had shown his colors plainly for all to see, Cuba exported $223 million worth of goods a year to the United States and took $357 million worth from this country.

It is no coincidence that Cuba's current trade with the Soviet Union almost equals these figures.

For another way, Cuba's longtime orientation toward the United States as an economic partner has now been switched to Russia.

This can go on only as long as the merchant fleets of the free world are made available for Cuban-Communist bloc trade. When there are no ships handy, the jig is up. Castro then has been isolated economically.

Representative PAUL ROGERS, who has helped keep the freeze on, thinks that Greece can be induced to cooperate. With West Germany and Norway doing their bit, the only missing character in the drama is Britain.

Our allies today are providing twice as much shipping for the Cuban Communist trade as the Communist bloc itself. It is strange, then, to hear the Economist of London chiding Americans for a mood of "furious impatience" over Cuba, especially in connection with the mild ship embargo.

Were Soviet Russia to establish a military base at Calais opposite the coast of England, it is likely that howls would go up from London.

Hitler did. History remembers that Britain had some help in flushing him out, too.

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# Appendix

## NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-seventh Congress will be published not later than Friday, November 2, 1962. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Statuary Hall, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

### A Report to the People

SPEECH
OF

## HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, my constituents are accustomed to receiving from me at the close of each Congress a message entitled "A Report to the People."

THE RIGHT TO KNOW

Citizens have a right to know the views, the record, and the performance of their Representative in Congress. For that reason, I also make weekly radio reports and offer my services to appear before any and all groups to discuss any issue or answer questions.

Due to the merger of congressional districts, this report is also being sent to citizens in Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties.

There have been attempts to deny Representatives the opportunity of mailing these reports by taking away their congressional franking privilege. Behind this effort are interests that would deny citizens the right to know about their Congress and to hear from their elected representatives.

This would keep important information from the people which often is difficult, if not impossible, for them to receive otherwise.

I hope the day will never come when the people of this country do not demand an accounting of the activities of their Representatives, and I hope that day will never come when a Representative is so lacking in responsibility to the electors that he refuses to offer such a report.

I regret that this report will reach the people almost 2 months later than usual, because the Congress has been held in session long past the usual date of adjournment.

Wild charges have been made blaming congressional mail for the big postal deficit. Facts are that the total cost last year for franked mail for all Members of Congress was less than $4 million. It has nothing to do with the postal deficit as the cost of congressional mail is paid by direct appropriation from the Treasury. It is not included in the postal deficit.

The per capita cost for all mail sent out by all Members of Congress is less than 2 cents a year. By comparison it cost taxpayers three times this much for postal subsidies that go to just one big news monopoly. The below-cost mailing service, as an example, to Time, Life, and Fortune, and three other Luce publications costs U.S. taxpayers $12 million a year.

It is a violation of the sacred right to know to have citizens depend entirely on partisan monopoly news services for reports on their Congress.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD

It is quite obvious that many persons do not realize how closely their welfare, their opportunities for jobs, for education, health services, old-age and disability pensions, and a decent livelihood are affected by action or inaction of the Congress.

It is important to know the fundamental differences between our two great political parties and their conflicting philosophies of government. To better understand the controversy over education, social security, area redevelopment, economic growth, hard money, recessions, and other such programs, it is essential to know and understand these differences. From them the sharp conflicts arise on social and economic questions.

Monetary and credit policies vitally affect the performance of the whole American economy. They affect the price level, the levels of production and employment, the rate of economic growth, and the standard of living.

They affect the degree of economic opportunity afforded to the small as well as the large, the weak as well as the strong. They affect not only the degree of economic stability and progress, but also the degree of economic justice or injustice.

Democratic Senator RUSSELL LONG put it in plain language in a Senate speech when he pointed to the deep cleavage between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Senator LONG said:

> It reflects a difference of fundamental economic philosophy—a difference which has persisted throughout our history as a nation, and particularly during the current century.
>
> The difference is between those who believe in an economy of scarcity, and those who believe in an economy of abundance; between those who feel that we must stand still, have occasional recessions or depressions, and those who feel that we have the brains and the tools to move forward without substantial interruption. It is a difference between those who feel that social injustice is the price we must pay for economic progress, and those who feel that social justice and economic progress are one and inseparable.

Regardless of election campaign oratory, the decision at the polls in State and national legislative contests will betermine which one of these two courses the Nation will follow to meet the challenge and problems of our time.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 87TH CONGRESS

The record of your 87th Congress is an impressive one. More has been done to fight recession and restore prosperity by this Congress than any other since the early New Deal years.

When President Kennedy took office in January of 1961, the Nation was in the midst of its third recession in 7 years. Unemployment was far above the tolerable 4-percent mark as over 5½ million Americans looked for jobs. Industries across the country were operating anywhere from 50 to 80 percent of capacity. Farm incomes were disastrously low.

To fight unemployment and get the economy moving again, President Kennedy stepped up the release of already authorized funds for Federal procurement and for the construction of highways and other public works.

The President asked the Congress for a bold antirecession program. As a result, the 1st session was devoted mainly to fighting recession and attempting to meet some of our urgent public needs. During 1961 the President recommended to Congress and secured the enactment of extended unemployment compensation; higher minimum wage and coverage for 3.6 million more people; area redevelopment; liberalized social security and a comprehensive housing program to provide homes and jobs and to wipe out slums, urban blight, and unemployment. Also approved were a new highway program; expanded airport construction;

increased appropriations to combat the pollution of our rivers; program for economic conversions of salt water to fresh; civil rights legislation; new laws to combat organized crime, and a program for control of juvenile delinquency. The first major addition was made to our national park system in 14 years. A community health facilities program was approved to help senior citizens through nursing homes, diagnosis, and advisory centers, improved hospitals, and other community services.

Toward the end of last year, the Kennedy program was taking its effect. Unemployment dropped from 7 percent in 1961 to less than 5.7 percent in 1962. Industrial production was up 13 percent. Corporate profits increased $12 billion. Gross national product was up 8 percent. Wages and salaries up 7 percent.

The work of the second session of the Congress was devoted to spurring on the recovery, wiping out unemployment in those areas of chronic and persistent unemployment, fighting the scourge of automation, and meeting human and public needs. Over the past 10 months, the following legislation was given favorable consideration by the Congress:

The manpower training and development program designed to help those unemployed through automation and the obsolescence of their skills find new hope and new jobs.

The first major public works bill since the great depression, designed to fight unemployment in the distressed areas and meet the need for new public facilities.

A revised welfare program emphasizing rehabilitation and self-help rather than relief and subsistence.

A revised Welfare Pensions Plan Disclosures Act to protect the pension funds of America's working men and women. Anticrime and antiracketeering legislation:

Repeal of the 10-percent excise tax on bus and train passenger fares and a reduction of the tax from 10 to 5 percent on airline rates.

A responsible drug control bill to protect our people from false and misleading advertising, untested and unsafe drugs, and excessive drug prices.

UNMET PUBLIC AND HUMAN NEEDS

Despite excellent progress made in this Congress several major measures have not received favorable action.

It was unfortunate that the administration's aid to education proposals were killed by the conservative coalition in the House of Representatives. Last year's final move to consider even a modified general aid to education bill on the House floor was killed by almost solid Republican opposition with the help of conservative southern Democrats.

The administration's proposals would have meant an extra $28 million for the State of Pennsylvania to spend on education, to say nothing about the 1,000 or more scholarships to needy high school seniors and other programs to be expanded under the National Defense Education Act.

This year the coalition was successful in killing the administration's college aid bill which would have helped the Nation's colleges and universities in building needed classrooms, libraries, science halls, and other academic facilities. This program would also have made available more than $600 million in loans and grants, for needy college students and high school seniors.

I feel that such scholarship and construction parts of this program were of vital importance to the new Sixth District. Albright College, now trying to gain enough funds to provide new facilities for growing enrollments would have benefited significantly from Federal grants and loans through the scholarship and loan provision. Needy students in Berks, Northumberland, and Schuylkill Counties would have been given new hope and new opportunities to receive a college education that is now beyond the means of many talented boys and girls.

BATTLE OF WORDS AND PHILOSOPHY

These are some of the programs that the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress have opposed with such arguments as wasteful and unnecessary spending, States rights, welfare statism and big government. Throughout our history, however, liberal programs such as offered by President Kennedy have always been opposed by ultra conservative interests.

There is, of course, this sharp conflict between the Republican philosophy which Democrats refer to as trickle-down and the Democratic belief that progress and prosperity depend upon the purchasing power of the people and their opportunities for jobs and expanding public service.

Republican leaders contend that the Nation cannot afford to do the things which the administration proposes, while Democrats insist that our country cannot afford to ignore them.

Like my Democratic colleagues, I am alarmed at the terrible waste in human and natural resources which goes on in the name of economy.

The real wealth of our Nation lies in these human and natural resources, the intelligence, health and know-how of our people, and the productive power of men and machines. Unemployment is waste. Failure to use the services of partially handicapped persons and many men over age 50, who are willing and able to work, is wasteful. To deny our youth educational opportunities is a waste to our Nation which needs to develop the best of its talent.

The waste in lost productivity and wealth due to economic curtailment, unemployment and recession during the last several years is too staggering to estimate, running into untold billions of dollars. President Kennedy has made every effort to reverse this trend with his progressive program. For the decade of the 1950's as a whole, the Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that the total loss of national production from underutilization of our resources exceeded $175 billion. This lost productivity and unemployment represents a waste of human and natural resources that the Nation cannot afford, a loss that is reflected in needless human suffering and distress, particularly in depressed coal region areas of Pennsylvania.

DEMOCRATIC WHIP

In this Congress I again served as whip and floor leader of the Pennsylvania Democratic delegation. As a party whip, I worked with House and Senate leaders, and with President Kennedy, in seeking enactment of his progressive program.

My attendance record was again one of the highest in the Congress.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

As a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, I have supported efforts to promote educational features on television and to eliminate fraud and deception and those evils which contribute to juvenile delinquency and crime.

As ranking member of the Subcommittee on Health and Safety, I gave special attention to programs which seek to find the cause and cure of crippling and killing diseases. My bill to aid the graduate schools of public health in training doctors, nurses, technicians, and other specialists, was passed by the Congress as part of the overall community health facilities bill.

I am a member of the House Administration Committee, which approves appropriations for House committees. In this capacity I have worked closely with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman FRANCIS E. WALTER, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Only once in 14 years have I objected to the amount of money requested by this committee. That was 14 years ago after the unethical conduct by a former chairman who was later convicted and imprisoned on a corruption charge.

BILLS INTRODUCED

In this Congress, as in the past, I have introduced legislation in the House of Representatives which I believe to be in the public interest. As in previous Congresses, some of this legislation was enacted into law. Some was passed in amended form. Some died in committees. All proposals, however, stimulate discussion and interest and contribute to the enactment of sound legislation.

I sponsored legislation to raise income tax exemptions to $800 a year; increase minimum social security benefits to $50 a month; allow benefits to men who retire at age 62; women at 60; establish a Federal Agency for the Handicapped; grant a deduction for income tax purposes to handicapped persons for transportation expenses to and from work; and provided an additional tax exemption for a taxpayer supporting handicapped dependents unable to care for themselves.

Other bills I introduced were designed to provide a massive public works program to put jobless people back to work; provide a pension for World War I veterans; aid in the creation of a nationwide system of junior colleges; increase Federal authorization to assist schools of public health in training specialists for public health service and institutional work.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT

Twice vetoed by former President Eisenhower, the Area Redevelopment Act was passed in this Congress and signed by President Kennedy. It provides $394 million in Federal loans and grants to assist urban and rural areas suffering from excessively high rates of unemployment.

This important legislation had my active support. It is of vital importance to the new Sixth Congressional District, especially the anthracite areas in Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties where unemployment is intolerably high.

By September 1, over $500,000 worth of loans and grants were approved by the ARA for Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties. These projects under consideration are expected to create many new jobs.

Area redevelopment is a long-range program which will not have its full effects for several years. As part of an overall program to increase our rate of economic growth and provide job opportunities for the unemployed it can bring new hope, and new opportunities to the anthracite areas of Pennsylvania. It is unfortunate that a program which will do so much to help so many of our people was opposed by 75 percent of the Republican Members when it came before the House of Representatives.

IMPROVED SOCIAL SECURITY

As part of his antirecession program last year, President Kennedy proposed a liberalization of our social security program including medicare for the aged.

Minimum monthly benefits were raised from $33 to $40. Widows' benefits were increased. Men were given the option to retire at 62 years of age with slightly reduced benefits. The requirements for eligibility were liberalized to enable thousands more of our senior citizens to come under the social security program. Of all our welfare programs, social security is the one which Republican leaders have historically opposed. One of the leading objectives of the John Birch Society, a conservative front organization which includes many millionaires, is to repeal social security. Its influence was felt at the national convention of Young Republicans in Minneapolis, which called for the abolition of social security.

With many liberal Democratic colleagues, I feel that much still remains to be done to improve social security. Benefits generally are too low and coverage should be expanded to those old folks who are not covered.

HOUSING

To meet housing needs and to increase our rate of economic growth, Congress passed the most comprehensive housing program in congressional history.

This new law will help to give every American an opportunity to own his own home. To help our citizens in the lower income groups to buy their own homes, the law contained a low-interest, low-downpayment loan program.

This bill also included an expansion of urban renewal, public housing, housing for the elderly, and college housing. In addition, a program was established to obtain open spaces in urban renewal areas for children to enjoy fresh air and recreation.

Housing programs are extremely beneficial to the new Sixth Congressional District. As of March 31, 1962, more than $60 million in Federal funds had been available to meet housing needs in Berks, Northumberland, and Schuylkill Counties.

Housing programs make it possible for thousands of our citizens to purchase decent homes through FHA-insured mortgages. More than 53,000 people in the new district are now enjoying the benefits of more than $55 million in federally insured homes mortgage and improvement loans. They provide loans for colleges to meet the needs of growing enrollments. Last year, Albright College in Reading, Pa., received $920,000 under this bill to build needed dormitory space.

More than $4,300,000 have come into our cities in the tricounty area through urban renewal programs. Rural areas have benefited to the amount of over $440,000 in planning advances from the Community Facilities Administration for public works projects like sewer and water facilities.

Reading was the first city in the Nation in providing decent public housing for our needy senior citizens. Hensler Homes in Reading is a project and a model of what can result from a healthy partnership of local initiative and Federal funds.

MANPOWER RETRAINING

To help the unemployed gain new skills and new hope, the Congress this year enacted the Clark-Holland Manpower Development and Training Act.

In the short time the program has been underway, over $300,000 in Federal funds has come into the Sixth District to retrain the unemployed.

PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

To help meet our Nation's need for new public facilities and fight unemployment, the Congress this year passed its first major public works program since the early New Deal years.

This legislation had my active support in the House of Representatives. It should go a long way in fighting unemployment in the coal region areas of the district and provide needed public facilities.

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED

The President's proposal for financing hospital and nursing home care through the social security system to meet the needs of our senior citizens is also awaiting action by the next session of Congress.

Defeat for the President's medicare program in the U.S. Senate was a serious setback for the Nation's senior citizens. This program is essential to meet the health needs of the more than 17 million people who are now over age 65. At a time when their health needs are the greatest in their lives, our old folks are receiving the lowest incomes of their adult years. This President's program had my support in the House of Representatives.

INVESTING IN AMERICA'S FUTURE

Every informed person knows that there needs to be a proper balance between Government spending and revenues. But there is a big difference between investments for public service, education, health, housing, and the big spending which benefits a favored and powerful few.

One road leads to a strong and prosperous economy. The other leads to unemployment and recession and the neglect of human needs and public service.

ABUNDANCE SHOULD BE USED WISELY

We are blessed in our country with abundance and with great human and natural resources. Yet there is unnecessary suffering and distress. There is no need to fear the future if we have faith, courage, and understanding, and if we dedicate ourselves to promoting the public welfare and the common interest we all share in a strong, united, and prosperous America.

As a Member of Congress this has been my objective. This is why I have supported legislation for schools, jobs, old age security, and programs to meet the needs of our people and our country.

COOPERATION WITH INDUSTRY

Our business community has made steady recovery from the recession. All the important statistics point to a rising level of business activity, which will mean both greater employment and profitable enterprise.

Whenever I could properly be of assistance to business and industry in Berks County, I have cooperated in every possible way. I fully appreciate the importance of a successful and prosperous industry to our community. A healthy climate for business means jobs for working men and women, and prosperity for our city and county.

Politics never interferes with my responsibility to all of my constituents. I am sure that many Berks County business leaders will attest to this fact.

Pennsylvania's Democratic Senator JOSEPH CLARK has given me full cooperation in helping my congressional district.

Senator CLARK has a business and professional background. He is one of the most progressive and able Members of the Senate. He is a man of unimpeachable integrity, great ability, and political courage.

FOREIGN POLICY

In foreign affairs, the Kennedy administration has sought to mold a community of free world nations whose military, economic, social, and moral resources would be directed against the Communist menace. On taking office last year, President Kennedy faced the grimmest situation in foreign affairs that has ever confronted a new Chief of State.

A strong and united free Europe is our first line of defense against the Communist menace. Today, when the Berlin crisis is still with us, Europe and the United States are standing firm as a solid block against the irresponsible demands of the Communist countries.

WAR ON THE BREEDING PLACES OF COMMUNISM

As an effective means in fighting communism, President Kennedy has placed emphasis on eliminating conditions that breed communism. In his address announcing the new Alliance for Progress last year, the President announced our Nation's commitment to cooperate with the underdeveloped nations in ending the poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and unemployment upon which communism thrives.

Along with our assistance, the underdeveloped nations would be expected to make necessary internal reforms such as land redistribution and tax revision in order to make their governments more stable and to make a greater contribution to their own national development. The President has pledged to rid our foreign aid programs of waste and corruption, and to insure that our aid would help all the people and not just the favored few.

Many in Congress feel that economic assistance is a vital part of our defense effort. It will do little good to forge strong military alliances in the chain to contain world communism if our economic links are weak. Many of us agree with President Kennedy who declared that military pacts cannot help nations whose social injustice and economic chaos invite insurrection and chaos.

POLITICAL SPENDING

A congressional committee has reported that millions of dollars are being spent each year in national political campaigns. Yet influencing election contests involves much more than the expenditures which are cited in such reports. To get a more realistic picture of political spending, one should also include the cost of political efforts of syndicated columnists and political writers and the value of free space given by the big news monopolies to influence political thinking and voting trends.

Nearly all of the big high-salaried national columnists hold conservative views or reflect the interest and philosophy of those who own and control the big news syndicates.

It is this fact that causes a one-sided presentation of news and information and makes it difficult for a clear public understanding of the controversial and crucial issues which confront the people of the Nation.

Political spending reports are not complete unless they include all the organized efforts to influence public opinion and election results.

FARM BILL ISSUE

The farm bill which was enacted appears to be the best possible compromise that could be agreed upon in this 87th Congress. I am not in complete agreement with every part of this bill. But its defeat would have meant a reversion to the so-called Benson program which would reopen the floodgates for a new avalanche of surpluses in wheat, corn, and other feed grains, and cost our taxpayers additional billions of dollars.

I was pleased that measures restricting the amount of grain a farmer could grow for his livestock have been significantly eased in the final report. This question was of special concern to me as I know it was to Pennsylvania farmers.

The bill's purpose is to increase farm income, lower costs of farm programs to the taxpayer, and reduce vast Government surpluses.

Opponents have made wild and deceptive charges that the bill contains a provision that would jail farmers who do not comply with the law. These statements are false and dishonest. The bill had the support of National and State Grange leaders Herschel Newsom and J. Collins McSparran. Endorsement by these respected and dedicated agricultural leaders indicates how irresponsible such charges really are. McSparran is well-known in rural Pennsylvania. He was a candidate for Governor this year in the Republican primary elections. Both Newsom and McSparran urged my support for the farm bill which was passed and for which I voted.

No question before this 87th Congress was more confusing than the controversy over the farm bill. The reason for this, however, is quite obvious.

Bad news about the farm problem as Columnist Walter Lippmann pointed out:

There are more farmers trying to make a living on the land than our modern scientific agriculture requires. Underneath the crop surpluses there is a surplus of farmers.

There are nearly twice as many farmers as are needed for efficient production. And in the years to come, as more and more scientific means are applied to agriculture, the number of farmers that are needed will decline still more.

This revolution cannot be stopped or turned back by any farm program that Congress could vote or that the Treasury could possibly afford.

Lippmann's statement outlines the basic farm problem. To soften the impact of the farm revolution, Congress, I believe, has an obligation to the farmers and to the Nation.

Farmers themselves differ widely. In a recent farm newsletter I submitted statements by the Farmers Association—Farm Bureau—the National Grange, and that of Agriculture Secretary Freeman.

These statements reflect the conflicting views on farm legislation.

When the bill first came before the House I made efforts, with some success, to have the House committee agree to amendments to meet objections raised by farmers from my district. Amendments were adopted that eased restrictions on sileage and soft wheat. Other changes were made to meet objections by some Eastern farmers. After the amendments were adopted, I supported the bill as a reasonable compromise. I feel sure that dire predictions made by opponents will prove to be wrong.

The highly respected Kiplinger Agricultural Letter, which was brought to the attention of Congress by House Agriculture Committee Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY several months ago, pointed out that there was nothing in the administration bill to regiment farmers and there was nothing in the bill asking Congress to abdicate. Yet these irresponsible charges were made in an effort to defeat the farm bill.

Involved—

The Kiplinger Report said—

is basic idea conflict on role of Government in farming. You may agree that farm economy can right its own wrongs and gain prosperity with less Government, or you may disagree on the basis that Government has a responsibility to assure strength in the economy. But no matter where you sit, it's important to know the facts.

Senate Leader MIKE MANSFIELD has this to say:

In my opinion a vote against the present conference report would bring about lower farm income. It would increase the cost to the taxpayer. It would increase surpluses and reverse the successes which the programs over the past 2 years have brought about in reducing surpluses.

H. R. Snider, a farmer whose remarks were inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator GALE MCGEE, criticized efforts to distort the farm issue through emotional outbursts, extreme exaggerations and profuse use of words and terms such as communism, regimentation, loss of freedoms, and so forth. Some speakers and writers, Snider said, are blocking a calm and relative approach to problems which should commend our very best thinking and our best talents.

The pressing problems in American agriculture and their solutions are approached by some commentators, magazine articles and some groups in a completely negative manner.

It takes little or no mental effort to resort to labels or name calling whether the purpose is to condemn or espouse. It is a negative and irrational approach which cannot be condoned by the conscience-thinking citizen.

Last July the Committee for Economic Development, a business-sponsored group, recommended that one-third of the Nation's farmers leave the farms for other work. With millions of jobless already in the cities, such a plan would lead to chaos without a comprehensive program. Automation, whether on the farm or in industry, presents a challenge that requires joint and cooperative effort of all segments of the economy affected by the technological revolution.

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## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the House in paying tribute to our fellow Member, the gentleman from Georgia, JAMES C. DAVIS. He was an indefatigable worker and has established a record of which he may be justly proud. He has served his district, station, and Nation well. I extend to him my very best wishes for health, prosperity, and success in all of his future undertakings. We shall miss him here in the House of Repre-

sentatives, but when he departs he will carry with him the best wishes of every Member.

## Report on 2d Session, 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am submitting, for inclusion in the RECORD, a brief summary of various of the legislative highlights of the 2d session of the 87th Congress, which it appears will be of interest to the 24th District of California which I represent.

The past session of Congress has been an unusual one in a number of ways. It was the longest continuous session since 1951 though you will have to go a long way in my opinion to find anyone who knows exactly why it lasted from the beginning of January until mid-October.

Early in the year, though the committees of Congress were busy holding hearings and preparing legislation to be brought up for debate and vote, months went by with little final action on legislation. Until June, only two major pieces of legislation were passed by the House.

In terms of what was accomplished, the session presented many questions and considerations on which it is difficult to give final assessment at this time. In terms of appropriations, the session has been the most expensive peacetime session in the history of the United States. The 87th Congress was one in which the basic philosophies and understandings as to what way our Government should move came into sharp focus on a number of occasions, producing plenty of legislative fireworks.

Legislation taken up covered a very broad spectrum of issues, problems, and proposals from relatively minor bills to major and far-reaching domestic and international measures.

Bills which brought into the picture the varying philosophies and ideas as to what direction our Government should go and what type of services it should perform for the people include many which you have all read about in the press from time to time. These include such items as medical care for the aged, Federal aid to education, urban affairs, tax revision, trade expansion, the farm program, public works, and others.

The medical care proposal probably presented this question as squarely as any to the Congress. In spite of the publicity given to this proposal, however, there is generally widespread misunderstanding as to just what action was taken on this measure by Congress.

In actuality, no medical care for the aged under social security bill was brought before either the House or Senate for debate and vote during the session in terms of the way legislation is generally handled.

In the House, the Ways and Means Committee did not report out a medical care bill. It therefore did not come up for debate and vote.

In the Senate an attempt was made to tack a medical care proposal on another bill when it came up for vote. This was rejected by the Senate by a vote of 52 to 48. It had not been the subject of hearings by any committee in the Senate and there was no report on the proposal. So in spite of all the comment, medicare legislation did not come up for vote before the Congress under the usual procedures of handling legislation.

The proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs was another highly publicized matter. A major issue here was the question of whether we should move toward expanded Federal Government and siphon away State and local authority. It was one on which the administration suffered a setback.

On this proposal, the House Rules Committee had refused to grant a rule on a measure to establish a Department of Urban Affairs so the means used by the President was to attempt to create one through an Executive reorganization plan. The President has certain standing authority to reorganize departments and agencies but the Congress can disagree. The reorganization plan was decisively killed in the House by a 264–150 vote.

Federal aid to education represented another area where the Congress refused to grant requests for massive assistance programs such as for school construction, subsidy for teachers' salaries, and scholarships.

Tax legislation is almost always a sure bet to bring about controversy because any bill, even the most minor measures, always has an effect which is keenly felt by someone. I often wish that people could get as concerned about expenditures as they can about taxes. Many do of course realize that they are essentially opposite sides of the same coin, but unfortunately, the significance of expenditures is often ignored.

Tax legislation was one of the major items taken up by the 87th Congress in the first major revision since 1954.

There is much to be done still in this field but the tax bill did affect a number of important matters.

It covered such items as investment credits to allow deductions from income tax of up to 7 percent of investments in new and used property. This is considered the major section of the bill. Also included are new regulations for business expense deductions, increased taxation of overseas personal and corporate income, cooperatives, thrift institutions, mutual fire and casualty insurance companies, and others.

The mail coming to the Congress on the proposal to withhold tax on interest and dividends, which was included in the tax bill when it passed the House, probably was heavier than any other single legislative item during the year. As is usual in tax legislation, this measure came up before the House under what is known as a closed rule under which amendments were severely limited. I did not agree with various items in the bill and voted against passage. The controversial features of the House-passed bill to withhold interest and dividends was dropped by the Senate and this action was accepted by the House. In its place was substituted a provision to require that interest and dividend payments of over $10 annually are to be reported to the recipient and to the Government.

Reciprocal trade was another big item which occupied much attention in the Congress, first in lengthy hearings and then in debate and vote.

Tariff legislation, as is the case in the field of taxation, is extremely complex. It has many ramifications and as far as the viewpoints of the citizens are concerned, it is somewhat like tax legislation in that many people are directly affected in one way or another by whatever action is taken in this area.

The bill passed by the Congress grants unprecedented authority to the President to cut tariffs, up to 50 percent over a 5-year period. On certain goods on which the United States and the European Common Market represent 80 percent of the supply, the President could eliminate tariffs altogether. Certain safeguards would be provided when tariff cuts hurt domestic interests but, of course, it remains to be seen how these safeguards will be administered by the Government.

A major aspect of this legislation, and the source of major controversy, was the request for authority to provide aid to industries hurt by tariff cuts. In addition to representing large potential public spending and the imposition of Federal controls over additional areas of our economy, this can be used as a convenient device to bail out or cover up inadequate negotiations. The minority members of the House Ways and Means Committee said about this part of the package deal on tariffs: "Adjustment assistance insures that the U.S. negotiators will do a poor job of negotiating."

This measure will undoubtedly affect many industries, the economy, and the consumers. Just how remains to be seen. This is probably the most far-reaching measure passed by the 87th Congress and you will want to be watching closely to see how the authority is exercised by the President.

The foreign-aid legislation again brought about considerable controversy, much of it centered around the question of aid to Communist nations. It was with regard to this point that an odd, ironic switch took place between the House and Senate positions on foreign aid.

To begin with it should be pointed out that there are each session of Congress two foreign aid bills. One is the authorization bill to authorize the President to conduct a foreign-aid program for another year. Later on in the session comes the foreign-aid appropriation bill which is to provide the actual funds to operate the program.

When the foreign aid authorization bill came up in the Senate, the Senate stipulated that no economic or military aid could be given to such nations known to be dominated by Marxism or communism. Immediately this touched off a

flurry of administration activities, such as releasing to the press a cable from the Ambassador to Yugoslavia and even bringing him back here to support the administration position to be free to grant aid to Communist nations. When the measure came over to the House, the Senate-inserted prohibition was watered down considerably to allow the President discretion as to whether or not he wished to grant such aid.

On the foreign aid money bill, the procedure was just about reversed. The House, which acts first on all appropriations bills, inserted a prohibition against aid to any Communist nation. The Senate in turn voted to give the President discretionary authority to grant aid to Communist nations and to waive restriction on aid to nations aiding Cuba. What this boils down to is that each body had an opportunity to speak out loudly and boldly in favor of opposing aid to communism. Then each took a turn at drawing in its horns and nullifying in substantial part the effect of the other in prohibiting aid to Communists. Though in conference the absolute restriction on giving military aid to Communist nations or to those who ship military supplies to Cuba was retained, the President still has authority to grant economic aid to Communist nations and to nations who give Cuba so-called nonmilitary aid. So the Congress went through lots of motions on this subject, but we stand largely where we were before this question, for what is the difference if we do not send guns and ammunition to Communist nations if we send other things to help build up their economy to either manufacture or buy military items.

I firmly believe it is a serious mistake to grant any kind of aid to Communist nations. Many claims are made, for example, about so-called differences between Yugoslavia and Poland and the U.S.S.R. and the need to cultivate their friendship and promote their independence. I believe that is fallacious reasoning. Poland and Yugoslavia are linked with Moscow through their mutual Communist beliefs, and also militarily and economically. Any differences that may exist amounts to no more than an internal squabble among dedicated and confirmed members of the international Communist conspiracy and I do not believe we should be taken in by Communist deceit.

The House did make stick a sizable cut in the foreign aid bill. As it passed the House a reduction $1.378 billion was made to the request of the administration under the foreign aid bill, most of which was for the foreign aid program, though there were a few other smaller items contained in the measure such as appropriations under the Philippine rehabilitation legislation; $1.378 billion, by the way, is $1,387 million.

The Senate, as is the usual pattern, upped the House figure and the two bodies compromised at a reduction of $1.032 billion under the amount requested in the budget for the foreign aid program.

The United Nations bond purchase proposed is another bill that came up that was quite controversial and attracted much attention. I voted against passage. I firmly believe this will set a bad precedent for financing the United Nations in the future and on the other hand will really solve no financial problems it faces. The problem is more than one of financing. We have to take a hard look at the role the United Nations is carrying out, and what it is trying to carry out, and we must also recognize that the United Nations has done a poor job of managing its internal affairs. I do not believe we can continually keep bailing out the United Nations with U.S. tax money.

The communications satellite bill—the Telstar legislation—passed by the Congress provides for a corporation to own and operate a commercial communications satellite system. Its board of directors represent public shareholders, communications carriers, and some directors will be appointed by the President. Basically this corporation was set up to provide for a joint operation between the public and the Government in running this system.

The proposal did not generate an undue amount of attention when it was passed by the House. It did not explode, so to speak, until it got to the Senate when a determined effort was made to provide for Government ownership of the corporation through filibuster.

In other actions the Peace Corps was authorized to increase in size to 10,000 by next September, and the administration was voted authority for a $900 million standby public works program. A full-scale meeting already has been held in Washington attended by representatives of cities and areas across the Nation to discuss how these funds would be spent. According to reports, the administration goal on this program is to commit the $900 million as fast as possible.

During the year Congress raised the temporary ceiling on the debt limit to $308 billion and appropriated about $92 billion for the current fiscal year. I sincerely believe that we have no alternative but to take a hard look at our Federal spending practices to check the trend toward annual increases in expenditures. This is very important for all citizens, for with Federal spending invariably goes Federal control. We are in a period during which many determined efforts are being made toward centralization of Government in Washington. This is a problem we must all be aware of and I believe work firmly against to preserve freedom in America.

After many years, H.R. 10 finally passed the Congress. Many of you I am sure are familiar with this legislation and know that H.R. 10 is the measure which would allow establishment of pension plans for the self-employed similar in ways to pension plans that can be set up in industry.

I have been a cosponsor of this type legislation over a number of years. Though it had passed the House previously it never got through the Senate. This year it was approved by the Senate but not until several amendments were added, the major one of which would have disallowed capital gains treatment on distribution of pension plan funds. A huge flood of mail hit the Congress when this happened and this amendment and others were promptly eliminated from the bill when it went to conference between the House and Senate.

The day of the nickel beer and the nickel bus or subway ride is all but gone, if not completely so, but Congress showed it was willing to do something about providing an item you can buy for a nickel—it raised the 4-cent stamp to 5 cents. Other sections of the bill increase other rates such as the postcard to 4 cents, airmail to 8 cents, and other raises in second and third class and controlled circulation. To the same bill, which passed the House earlier by voice vote, the Senate tacked on a provision to raise salaries of Federal classified and postal workers.

Due to the king-sized boost from the thalidomide scare, a drug control bill to tighten controls on the manufacture and sale of drugs sailed through the Congress with scarecly any opposition.

It is a very rare occasion that a major bill passes, or a conference report is adoped by unanimous vote, but after the House and Senate passed very similar drug bills, the conference report was agreed to in the House by a vote of 347–0. Drug manufacturing controls, factory inspections, new requirements relating to drug-test bookkeeping and reports, and tighter requirements as to the evidence of effectiveness of drugs, clearance procedures, and with regard to advertising are among the major provisions in the measure.

It is encouraging to report that through the efforts of the Select Committee on Export Control, it was possible to achieve certain strengthening amendments to the Export Control Act, which controls exports flowing from the United States to other countries.

I have been interested in this problem for a number of years and introduced legislation to study the entire administration and enforcement of the Export Control Act. Finally last year the House Select Committee on Export Control was created. It is a five-man committee and I feel privileged to have been selected to membership on the committee. We held hearings last fall and again early this year and then recommended certain amendments to the act intended basically to cut down the flow of materials to the Soviet bloc. The amendments won handily in both the House and the Senate despite roadblocks thrown in the way by the State Department which sets the overall policy under which the Export Control Act is administered. I wish I could say that the flow of materials to the Soviet bloc is down to practically nothing but unfortunately that is not the case. There is apparently a determined effort in the executive department to maintain at some substantial level the trade flow with the Soviet bloc. As an example of the type of thinking we run into in this regard, in a task force report prepared under the direction of the present Assistant Secretary of State, George Ball, in the fall of 1960, it was recommended that export controls be virtually scrapped. From my observation it appears to me that there are many who hold this view. I simply

do not see any sense in helping to build up the economy of the Soviet bloc through selling whole factories in such fields as chemicals, textiles, rubber products, and so forth and selling them advanced machine tools and other materials to build up their military and economic potential. We are in a basic struggle with the Communists. Let us face it squarely and decisively and hold the line.

The same goes with regard to the Cuba situation. The Congress can provide for an adequate defense program, as it has been doing for a number of years, and it can pass resolutions such as that taken up late in the session expressing our determination to prevent the Communist regime in Cuba from endangering our security. But in the last analysis we must have decisive, firm leadership and diplomacy if we are to succeed in eliminating malignant growths on freedom such as Castro's Cuba.

From all the way back to the incredible failure at the Bay of Pigs, which was the result of indecision and vacillation, down to the present we have seen that we in effect have no positive policy at all on Cuba, except merely to wait and see. Everyone realizes that this is a serious problem but the longer we do nothing, the worse it will get. Another Berlin wall is in effect being built. Regardless of what approach is taken, what we need first of all is a firm policy to eliminate the Castro menace and a strong conviction to carry out that policy.

Our situation today, then, at the end of the 87th Congress, is one which requires the close attention of all citizens.

Many of the items of legislation enacted can affect all of us vitally, such as the tariff legislation, the resolutions bearing on the Cuban situation, and the new or expanded programs which call for increased expenditures and increasing authority in the Federal Government.

The best advice that can be given is to follow with interest the operation of Government, how it is being administered, and how your security and welfare is being affected. This will pay dividends to yourself and your Nation. The strength of any nation is in the hands of its citizens. I cannot urge too strongly that everyone exercise the privilege that is his of participating in the operation of Government.

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## The New Hawaiian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE**
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Abraham K. Akaka is one of Hawaii's foremost religious and civic leaders who is also an authority on the life and people of the Hawaiian Islands. In a sermon delivered to his congregation at Kawaiahao Church in Honolulu on Kamehameha Day, 1962, he reviewed the early and proud achievements of the Hawaiian people and noted how, within recent years, they seem to have declined in status.

His observations, however, were not without hope. To the contrary, he envisioned a reawakening of the dormant Hawaiian spirit which at one time contributed to the greatness of Hawaii.

Reverend Akaka, together with other leaders of the community, is today providing the catalyst toward this reawakening by emphasizing and pursuing programs which would develop and utilize the full talents and abilities of the Hawaiian people—a development which will be most welcome by all residents of Hawaii regardless of ethnic ties.

Reverend Akaka's sermon was made the subject of an editorial by the Honolulu Advertiser on July 7, 1962 and I am pleased to place this editorial, entitled "The New Hawaiian" in the RECORD:

THE NEW HAWAIIAN

On Kamehameha Day last month, the Reverend Abraham K. Akaka delivered a most significant sermon from his pulpit at Kawaiahao Church.

He began by reciting the achievements of Kamehameha, who was 16 when the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia in 1776 and 18 when Captain Cook came upon these islands.

After unifying these islands by force "Kamehameha went about establishing his nation in the arts of peace. * * * He set about establishing * * * a new rule of law—from the absolute power of the king to law based on a higher justice."

Kamehameha, said Dr. Akaka, although "not nurtured in the soil of Christian ideals and civilization, yet made in his lifetime the great strides from militarism to statesmanship, from what has been called savagery to humanity, from being a holder of absolute power to voluntary reducing of that power, from a given so-called primitive religion to a way of life that exceeded the highest demands of that religion."

He had one clear goal: "to unify and bring peace to these islands." And he attained that goal.

Kamehameha, said Dr. Akaka, "had a mission in pre-Christian Hawaii." Then came the missionaries. Within 28 years the Hawaiians, a people who had been without a written language, were over 80 percent literate.

"The first schools, the first churches, the first printing in Hawaii, the first impulses toward developing our agricultural economy, the deepening of the idea of the sanctity of human personality and the individual worth of every person as a child of God—leading to the development of a democratic society—all these are fruit of the Christian mission to Hawaii."

And what of today?

"We Hawaiians must now prepare ourselves to become missionaries to the world—a people trained to take that same message (of brotherhood) to all mankind.

"The people who can serve God best are the people who are not afraid of truth.

"Not long ago when Governor Quinn quoted me that our Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian people were 'the lowest on the human ladder in Hawaii—the lowest economically, the lowest educationally, the highest in family breakdown and delinquency, the highest in heart disease, the highest on public welfare'—he spoke the truth.

"Though this kind of truth is hard to take, we cannot and must not deny truth. In order to move from one point to a higher place, we must first know the truth about where we are.

"God has a mysterious way of reaching down into the poorest of the land for the leadership He needs to lead men into new lands of promise"—and he cited Abraham and Moses and Jesus.

For the Hawaiians, he said, the basket in the bulrushes is the Kamehameha schools, from which should come those who will lead "across trackless deserts of the mind and soul that lie before us."

Dr. Akaka spoke then of how last February, at the invitation of the laymen of Kawaiahao and himself some 40 leaders of Hawaiian organizations met to form a council that "could really develop goals and objectives for our Hawaiian people."

It was this group which studied the Booz-Allen-Hamilton report on Kam schools and then made recently published suggestions.

"For the first time," said Dr. Akaka, "the best thoughts and feelings and hopes of our Hawaiian people are being expressed and listened to. Kamehameha will be a much more effective school than it has been in the past. I think I can say that if the recommendations made to the board of trustees of Bishop Estate are carried out, Kamehameha schools will be the best in our Nation—and will be producing the new Hawaiian demanded for a new day."

In pursuance of this new day, he said, all Hawaiian organizations should "join in common programs for the improvement of the education, health and general well-being of our people.

"For instance, I would like to see us institute together projects in Christian family life. Though some of us are Protestants, some Catholics, some Mormons, we all have ideals of family living that we share in common as Christians.

"I would like to see our Hawaii Heart Association institute research projects to determine why Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians make up more than 40 percent of all cases of heart trouble in our State.

"I would like to see more Hawaiians going to college and into every field with the idea that we are preparing ourselves for a broad Christian offensive.

"I would like to see Hawaiians choose high standards of personal life—without which the religion he professes becomes a farce.

"I would like to see more Hawaiians entering politics, where the decisions that determine how we will live are made.

"All of these things and more, a Council of Hawaiian Organizations can help accomplish. We must watch for influences that divide us—desire for power, limelight, control, and pride."

"Our mission must be to revive and strengthen in our Hawaiian people a sense of destiny in building a new world."

In Hawaii, the part-Hawaiian segment of our population is one of the fastest growing—in terms of the increase of births over deaths. At the same time, however, the rate at which many are leaving the islands for the mainland is extremely high.

Just why they are leaving is uncertain, but it is assumed that it is due in large part to the wider opportunities afforded on the mainland.

'In this group, the potential for leadership has never been as well developed as in our other ethnic groups. Here is an opportunity that Hawaii, which needs all the leadership it can get, must not overlook.

One of the sad aspects of history here is that the Hawaiian, who discovered and colonized these islands, who gave them a unity and a government and a culture, has been passed by.

Robert C. Suggs in his new book, "Lords of the Blue Pacific" (New York Graphic Society) points out how the Hawaiians came here 1,800 years ago in canoes from Tahiti.

"When Roman galleys were timidly sailing the waters of the Mediterranean," Suggs writes, "trying hard to keep in touch with land for their bearings, the Polynesians had already bridged a 2,200-mile abyss between Tahiti and Hawaii."

The settlers from Tahiti apparently landed at South Point on the big island where archeological diggings have discovered what is believed to be the first settlement.

Oahu was settled in 1000 A.D. and Kauai in 1200 A.D. The Hawaiians erected an elaborate society marked by a formal religion, armies, a well-developed agriculture and a form of government under chiefs—including taxation.

That society, that culture, was submerged with the arrival of Western civilization in the late 1700's, and the Hawaiian has never reattained the eminence he once held.

But now, happily, there is a new breeze blowing in these islands, well-represented by the program of the Bishop estate trustees to upgrade and broaden the scope of Kam schools, including the provision of college scholarships for Kam graduates.

This holds great potential for tapping the latent leadership capacity of the Hawaiians and the part-Hawaiians, and it is a development all island residents—of whatever ethnic ties—should welcome and support.

For the fact is that although our population is composed of many groups, we of Hawaii are indivisible. What benefits any single group benefits all. As one group advances, so do the others.

We hail this new awareness, this new determination, to enable the Hawaiian to elevate himself. The time may not be far distant when more and more men and women of Hawaiian descent will occupy positions of leadership and influence.

We look forward to that time—and hope that when it arrives the Hawaiians, whatever their progress, will retain the qualities of grace, warmth, and appreciation of life which are their most distinguishing characteristics.

## Verdict for New England on Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, as a member of the National Fuels and Energy Study Group, set up by the Senate Interior Committee, I was especially interested in an editorial in the October 1 issue of the Boston Herald which discussed the report of our committee.

Because this editorial is such an appropriate comment on the committee's report, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VERDICT FOR NEW ENGLAND ON OIL

A jury of experts has looked into the national fuels problem and rendered a verdict for New England on residual oil.

Its findings are definitive. There no longer exists any color of justification for import quotas. The administration must now restore to New England—and the rest of the east coast—the freedom to buy the fuels best suited to its needs at freely competitive prices.

The soft coal industry has lost its arguments for the limitation of residual oil use.

The findings come from a national fuels and energy study group, set up by the Senate Interior Committee to gather all available information, study it, and assess its worth. In carrying out their assignment, the members of the study group "found ourselves continuously dismayed to learn how little positive information exists, how much is impression and folklore." What they have recorded in the 499 pages of their report, with statements by the various industries, represents the most enlightened thinking on the subject today.

So how do the arguments of the coal industry shape up in this light?

The coal industry argued that the country's fuel resources were in danger of running low—with the exception of coal. The study group found that, given adequate incentives, there need be no shortage of fuels or of any particular fuel during the foreseeable future in either peace or war.

The coal industry argued that there should be federally imposed end-use controls on fuels, that Congress should allocate coal, oil, electricity, gas, atomic energy to consumers according to some calculation of the need of conversation. The study group found no need for end-use control.

The coal industry laid unemployment in the mines to the competition of other fuels. The study group found that two-thirds of the decline in employment came from improved efficiency in production, and only a third from loss of markets.

The coal industry contended that unemployment could not be remedied by any other means than restrictions on competing fuels. The study group predicts that the demand for coal will increase naturally as fast as the general increase in fuel consumption.

The coal industry insisted that residual oil imports were a substantial cause for unemployment in the coal fields. The study group found that restrictions on imports cannot lead to a significant increase in coal mine employment.

These findings are generally in line with the results of eminent research by the New England Council and the Federal Reserve bank, which have furnished the New England delegation in Congress—and us—with much of the material to buttress the New England case against residual oil quotas.

If New England has not won the case, it will be because influence other than facts are brought to bear.

## Changing Europe and United States Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on October 10, I had the privilege of delivering the Phillips Lecture of the Adult Education Council of Springfield, Mass., on the subject "Changing Europe and United States Policies." Now that the conflicts of the 87th Congress have drawn to a close, it seems to me an appropriate time to make this speech generally available for, I hope, dispassionate consideration. The views which are expressed, may I emphasize, are my own, the views of one Senator, a Senator from Montana.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the lecture, previously referred to, be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the lecture was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHANGING EUROPE AND UNITED STATES POLICIES

(By Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana)

First, let me say that in the remarks I will make tonight, I will be speaking in my capacity as a Senator of the United States and not as the majority leader of the U.S. Senate.

Although it will have taken an inordinate length of time to complete it, the record will show that the 87th Congress has disposed of a substantial amount of public business. For this work, it will be praised or blamed—at least until early November—depending in no small part, I should think, on one's political predilections. The Congress also failed to get through certain significant items of business. And for this, too, it will be praised or blamed, at least until early November.

In the closing days of the 87th Congress, however, two major measures were cleared. Praise or blame and political predilections, notwithstanding, these measures are of immense importance to the Nation.

I refer, first, to the foreign aid appropriation. We may deplore this appropriation as a waste of money, as an invitation to foreign ingratitude or worse. We may praise it as an act of farsighted humanitarianism or enlightened self interest.

However we may regard it, there is no escaping the fact that foreign aid is a critical gear in the intricate machinery of the Nation's foreign relations.

It has continued to turn, more or less adequately, for many years and through several administrations of both political parties. It is no overstatement to say that if the Congress had removed the gear or crippled it by denying an ample appropriation it would have risked bringing down the entire structure on which the peace and security of the Nation has rested for many years. Faced with that reality, more than a sufficient number of Senators and Representatives were inclined to the course of prudence with respect to this program. Members of both parties acted to sustain the security and peace of the United States.

This is not to say that misgivings were absent on the part of Members who voted for foreign aid. Many entertained serious doubts about one or more aspects of the aid program. May I say, in all frankness, that I personally share some of these doubts.

I do not believe, for example, that we can or should accept as satisfactory for the indefinite future a course of foreign policy which places great reliance on a continued outflow of dollar grants to other nations. Nor do I believe that we should accept by force of habit a course of sustaining the independence of nations elsewhere by maintaining aid-dependent governments in a style to which they may have become accustomed. Nor do I believe that the long-range interests of this Nation are served by casting aid for the economic development of emergent nations, a problem which has a rationale of its own, in the framework of a competitive struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.

But the intelligent resolution of these and other doubts does not lie in the sudden smashing of the gear of foreign aid with all that that implies to the total machinery of foreign policy and, hence, to our peace and security. I believe, rather, that we must look for the resolution of the doubts in a contingent alertness to the changing realities of the international situation. We must look for it in constructive adjustments in

the foreign policies by which we seek to deal with these realities. And we must look for it, finally, in a continuous reordering of both objective and administration in the aid program itself, as circumstances elsewhere and at home change. In these ways we may anticipate, with some realism, the day when the dependency of others on the more dubious and costly elements of the aid mechanism may come to an orderly end. Indeed, we may look forward to the day when the dependency of our own policies for peace and security on these same dubious elements may also come to an orderly end.

For this reason, among others, it seems to me that the President's new trade policy is the most important act of the recent session of the Congress. This first major revision of foreign trade policy since the enactment of the reciprocal trade program a quarter of a century ago places in the hands of the President authority to deal effectively with recent changes in the patterns of international trade. The program has great significance for the continued growth of our own domestic economy, for that growth is now interwoven with an expanding oversea trade. But even greater, perhaps, are the possibilities which are opened by the new trade program for placing our security and well-being on a more stable and equitable and, hopefully, a less costly basis than that which now prevails.

In this latter connection, the new trade law bears a direct relationship to the focus of tonight's discussion. It has particular relevance to Europe, to a changing Europe, and to our relations with that region.

I have already referred to the need for a continuing alertness to the evolving situation abroad. It is essential to effective foreign policy that we do not imprison ourselves in a self-fashioned cage of outworn facts and ritualistic slogans. Certainly, we ought not forget the experiences of the past. But, equally, we must be alert to the realities of the present and try our best to anticipate the needs of the future.

This alertness is most essential with respect to Europe. For Europe has long been at the core of our foreign policies, and Europe is changing rapidly. It is changing, moreover, in ways which are likely to require adjustments in policies on a scale more extensive than any we have known in the past decade.

We cannot yet define the adjustments which may be desirable, possible, or, indeed, inevitable in the years ahead. Our policies interact with the policies of other nations and the courses which they take will surely affect our own. But we will discern the lines of adjustment, and we shall have a better chance to formulate effective adjustments as we deepen our understanding of what is presently transpiring in Europe.

Those of you who have traveled from time to time on that Continent may have been struck by the obvious manifestations of change over the years. Indeed, a great change is readily evident in such simple matters as the progressive improvement in the dress of the people and the worsening of the traffic problems in the major European cities. It is evident in the copious availability of food and other consumer goods, in the general intensity of commercial and industrial activity.

The present look of Western Europe, to one who saw it 10 or 15 years ago, is that of a booming prosperity. And, indeed, the economic indicators sustain the apparent. Western Europe is prosperous, and it is dynamic. It is producing, investing, trading—internally and externally—and consuming at unprecedented levels.

There is a general belief that this dynamism is due to the Common Market. The fact is that much of the economic momentum was generated in the European countries on an essentially national but cooperative basis, even before the market arrangements began to go into effect. We may anticipate, therefore, that there is much more to come if the Common Market continues to live up to its initial promise and, if the cooperative concepts of the market are extended outward to other nations.

In any event, the atmosphere of Western Europe in 1962 makes it difficult to recall the Europe of 1945—the devastated Europe, stunned by long years of privation, by the incredible brutality and massive destructiveness of the war. It is difficult, even, to recall the Europe of 1950 or 1951—the Europe struggling to its feet with the help of the Marshall plan.

Difficult though it may be, it is essential that we recall these earlier Europes. For it was in those settings that our basic postwar comprehensions of the European situation were formed, comprehensions which persist to some extent even today although circumstances have changed greatly.

We saw Western Europe, then, as hurt almost beyond help, threatened by revolutionary upheaval from within and aggression from without. We saw Western Europe dependent on this Nation for its very subsistence, let alone the revival or survival of its freedom. And after the Berlin blockade, we saw Europe, as a whole, split beyond any expectation of healing between the monolithic oppressive Stalinist system in the East and the reviving free nations of the West. And we saw, in a divided Germany the wedge of a deepening division in a nation and a continent.

Throughout the early postwar years, our policies were reasonably attuned to the realities of the European situation. They were policies which could produce more and more vehement slogans of liberation, more and more speeches in the Congress on liberation, but, unfortunately, not the actuality of a liberation in Eastern Europe, as we saw with striking clarity at the time of the Hungarian uprising. But they were policies which, with less and less fanfare, were appropriate to the restoration of Western Germany, the recovery of Western Europe and to the protection of its renewed vitality and freedom.

Western Europe readily accepted our leadership in those years. Cynics might note that the Europeans had little choice. But I prefer to think that our leadership was accepted in major part because it was an understanding, effective, and responsible leadership. We pursued policies which Western Europeans recognized as serving their interests and policies which served our own interests, by safeguarding the security, the peace, the progress—the essential well-being—of the people of the United States at a realistic and bearable cost.

As I have noted, attitudes tend to persist even after the circumstances which give rise to them have changed. National policies and administration are subject at least to the same inertia. If we would deal effectively with the Europe of 1962, therefore, we must now grasp firmly the fact that we are no longer dealing with the Europe of 1945 or 1950. In Western Europe, we are no longer dealing—to be blunt—with the gaunt and shabby economic dependent, the shocked, tottering and willing dependent of the earlier years. On the contrary, Western Europe, today, is on its feet and has been for several years. More, it is running.

Indeed there are certain aspects of the change which has taken place which border on the ironic. European countries, for example, were once in little demand in the international financial markets. Some of these currencies are now in relatively greater demand than our own. Not so long ago we legislated inducements to encourage American enterprise to invest in Western Europe and found very few takers. Now we are concerned and properly so by the great outflow of American capital to that region, and we are seeking to stimulate Western European investment in this country as a partial counterbalance. Once we were badgered for loans by Western Europeans. In recent years we have been seeking a speedup in repayment of various obligations and what is more, the Europeans have been repaying in advance.

Once we placed abroad, as far as possible, orders for arms and munitions and other material for NATO. Now, we are pressing the European allies to make their military purchases in the United States as a means of obtaining foreign exchange to offset the dollar outflow involved in keeping our military forces in Europe.

I do not cite these examples in dismay or alarm. The recovery and prosperity of Western Europe were the ends which we sought because our national interests are interwoven with these ends. Moreover, the international financial position of the United States is one of great reserves and in the past year this position has apparently strengthened. I cite the unusual and ironic turnabouts, rather to indicate the extent to which economic circumstances have changed in Western Europe.

The transition has not been sudden. And as it has taken place, our policies—sooner or later—have generally adjusted to the changes. Some of the examples which I have just cited are representative of specific adjustments. But in more general terms, we might note that the policies of postwar relief to a stricken Europe, the postwar loans, the Marshall plan, have long since passed into history. With the exception of Spain, no economic aid of any kind has been extended to Western Europe for several years.

From one-sided economic aid, in short, we have progressed to a vastly expanded two-way trade—regular commercial trade. This trade has flourished, and it now encompasses one-third of our total trade, $6.3 billion in exports to Western Europe, and $4.7 billion in imports from Western Europe in 1961. Compare these figures with a prewar trade which, in 1938 stood at $1.2 billion in exports and $474 million in imports. Apart from its other virtues, the Marshall plan was a key factor in bringing about this immensely and mutually advantageous growth in trade.

It is doubtful, however, that we can coast indefinitely in this satisfactory situation even if we so desired. It is not likely that we shall be able to avoid difficulties in the period ahead in our relations with Western Europe. The basic question which is looming is whether a surge forward in Western cooperation, notably in trade, is now possible, indeed, necessary.

The major decisions in this connection cannot long be avoided. Indeed, Western Europe is moving toward them largely on a self-generated momentum. The Inner Six countries—Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg—are impelled by the high initial effectiveness of the Common Market into a speedup in the removal of economic impediments as among themselves. As a group, moveover, they are at a point at which there will be a significant step forward in the freeing of trade with nations outside the Market or the heightening of restrictions on that trade. Moreover, the very success of the Common Market appears to be serving as a stimulus to integrated and quasi-independent European action on other matters, particularly on the part of the core nations of Western Germany and France. And the resolution of the Algerian question is likely to increase this stimulus.

Britain and other Western European nations linked in the free trade area commonly called the Outer Seven, are also carried toward major decisions largely by the significance of the Common Market to their trade. They are drawn by both the great

promise and the uncertain propects with which the market confronts them. And finally, we are impelled toward major decisions not only by considerations of trade but because of the key position which all of Western Europe—and a changing Europe—occupies in the structure of policy upon which our peace and security depends.

We find ourselves, in short, in a period of major transition in Western Europe during which many questions, economic and more than economic, are appearing and demanding answers. We do not yet know all the questions, let alone the answers. For it does not rest with us alone to pose the one or to compose the other.

It is in this context that the action of the Congress in enacting into law the President's new trade program assumes great importance to the Nation. In a most responsible and nonpartisan achievement and by overwhelming vote the Congress has equipped the President to deal with the several possibilities which are emerging, all of which have great significance for the Nation's security, peace and well-being.

It is easy enough to visualize these possibilities in an optimistic light. One might look ahead, for example, to the entry of the United Kingdom and other European nations into the Common Market or, in other ways, the devising of satisfactory trade arrangements between the Inner Six and Outer Seven of Europe so that they will not find themselves at sixes and sevens. One might look ahead, too, to the immense possibilities of trade growth between this Nation and all of Western Europe, through the reciprocal removal of trade barriers, in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, under the General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade and in other ways.

Indeed these optimistic possibilities are now open. But in all realism we must recognize that they are not the only possibilities. In this connection, I would point to the difficulties which have arisen in the course of British negotiation for membership in the Common Market. It is understandable that there should be difficulties and cautions on both sides in these negotiations. But the hesitancies should not be dismissed by the glib assertion that it is just a matter of Britain "wanting the cake and eating it too." There is more involved—much more.

And much of what is involved is concerned with the Commonwealth. We will do well to remember that the Commonwealth, whatever its shortcomings, remains a significant factor for restraint and order and the evolution of freedom in a world which is never far from chaos and filled with tyranny. It is to be hoped, therefore, that arrangements will be devised which permit reconciliation of new British ties with Western Europe with the maintenance of the Commonwealth. For such a reconciliation may well decide whether present trends in Western Europe will turn inward or outward, toward seclusion or inclusion, in the direction of fragmentation or toward more effective cooperation among all the free nations in meeting the worldwide problems of freedom.

If the coming transition in Western Europe will require adjustments in our economic policies it is not unlikely that it will require adjustments in political and defense policies. Again, it is possible to view the possibilities in a most optimistic light.

We might assume, for example, that the great economic progress of Western Europe might produce a steady closing of political as well as economic ranks and the development of more effective common approaches toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and toward all the issues involved in a common advance of freedom throughout the world. One might also assume the continuation and deepening of military cooperation under NATO, with the Europeans bearing an increased share of its costs in manpower and materiel, commensurate with the improvement in their economic situation.

Yet, we would not see the present situation fully if we did not also note certain tendencies which suggest alternative possibilities. We must note, for example, that Western policies with regard to China and other parts of the Far East are by no means parallel policies, let alone common policies, and the gap which has existed for years shows no sign of closing. That may be understandable inasmuch as the Far East has become increasingly remote from the concern of Western Europe even as it has come closer to ours. But near at hand, we cannot ignore the fact that the profitable trade and shipping enticements which have existed since the breakdown in our relationships with Cuba have proved too much for some NATO members to resist. Again, I suppose one might rationalize this situation by noting that many of the NATO members are maritime nations and, as such, have traditional reluctances or legal restraints against introducing impediments to commerce on the seas, and further, that Cuba is somewhat remote from their immediate interests.

But even more directly, in the North Atlantic relationship itself, a relationship in which, presumably, the security and other interests of the European members are at least equally and probably more at stake, we cannot fail to notice certain anomalous tendencies.

There are obvious differences over nuclear strategy which far from being resolved, appear to be deepening. Further, it is years since NATO established a force goal of 30 divisions in Western Europe. At the present time, however, there are only 23 divisions in the region, and so far as I am aware, the only increments to its strength in the past half decade have come from the United States and West Germany which now supplies half of the European contingent. This is the case despite the fact that economic growth throughout Western Europe would appear to equip the nations of that region to increase their expenditures for the common defense and permit us to reduce ours.

In this instance, we are confronted with an almost inescapable conclusion that the Western European allies are either most lackadaisical about their security or they see the military threat to the North Atlantic region or at least to Western Europe in a far different perspective than do we.

This conclusion, moreover, is reinforced by another anomaly in the current situation. I allude to it by pointing out that much of the discussion of foreign policy in the last Congress, as in its predecessors, revealed a continued deep ideological hostility and security concern with respect to any and all relations with Eastern Europe. The congressional concern included Yugoslavia and Poland despite the fact the Presidents of both parties throughout the years have urged a somewhat different approach at least to these two Eastern European nations.

With this exception and despite occasional short-lived efforts to improve the tone of United States-Soviet relations—as for example during the Geneva Conference of 1955 and when the spirit of Camp David prevailed—our relations with Eastern Europe have, in fact, been extremely limited, involving minimal diplomatic and cultural contact and small-scale—in some instances—trivial trade. The closed-door situation in the East European Communist countries, of course, has been a factor in this situation. At the time the Marshall plan was proposed, for example, the Eastern European governments under Stalin's dictation isolated themselves almost completely from contact with the West. But it is also true that we imposed, as a matter of policy, our own quasi-quarantine on relations with that region and have retained it through the years. The principal motives, apparently, have been a belief that any other course would adversely affect the security of the West and the hope that quasi-quarantine would contribute to a liberation of the Eastern European people from oppressive Communist governments.

In any event, our policies with respect to Eastern Europe have involved stringent trade controls for many years. These controls have acted to keep our commerce with all of the Eastern European countries at a very low level. Exclusive of trade with Poland and Yugoslavia, it has amounted to under $100 million a year. And the great bulk of the $100 million consists of trade with the Soviet Union. By contrast, our commerce with Yugoslavia and Poland, unfolding under a somewhat eased policy, came to over $300 million in 1961.

It would be reasonable to assume that a parallel policy towards Eastern Europe would prevail among our NATO allies. They are closer to the source of danger, sharing the control of the Continent with the Communist governments. Their stake in the security of the West and the liberation of Eastern Europe would appear at least equal to our own.

But we look in vain, if we look for parallel policies. With the Soviet Union alone, for example, the trade of the NATO nations of Europe amounted to over $1.5 billion in 1961. And the trade of our NATO allies with Eastern European countries, exclusive of the Soviet Union, in the same year came to a total of over $2 billion.

Indeed, in the case of West Germany, trade with East Germany has been about $500 million a year for the past 5 years. West German trade with the Soviet Union alone amounted to $400 million in 1961, equal to our total trade with all of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia and Poland.

Moreover, the trade figures are a barebones indicator of the extent of increasing contact between West and East Europe. Add to it, a growing intra-European tourism. Add to it, the spread of commercial aviation networks until they embrace both parts of Europe and include principal European carriers. Add to it the direct rail service now available between Moscow and Rome, Paris and London. Add to it new credit agreements and seagoing shipping arrangements which facilitate the flow of trade between the two parts of Europe.

What begins to emerge from these and other indicators is a far different portrait of the all-European situation than that which prevailed a decade or more ago, the period in which our general comprehensions were formed and our basic political and defensive policies established. The contemporary portrait hardly suggests a Western Europe cowering with fear before the threat of imminent Soviet invasion, or subversion from Eastern Europe. It hardly suggests a Britain, Germany, France, or Italy which hold that the way to induce change in Eastern Europe is to isolate it. It hardly suggests Western Europe standing firm or even standing still, insofar as contact with Eastern Europe is concerned.

On the contrary, the current situation appears to be that of a Europe which while it may be separated on ideological lines is finding, through an extensive commerce and other contacts, a tolerable way to live with the division. This is a far different Europe than that which existed at the time our present policies of quasi-quarantine of Eastern Europe were devised. It is a far different Europe than that which is suggested by the situation in Berlin in which the United States and the Soviet Union confront each other in a continuous state of incipient conflict.

It is a Europe, in short, which appears to have changed markedly in a decade, except at

Berlin. So much has it changed that it suggests the desirability of a critical examination of both our comprehensions of the situation and the policies which are derived from them to determine whether both may have fallen somewhat behind the times. We will not serve our own interests if we cloak the realities of the present situation in the facts and slogans of the past. Policies persisted in long after circumstances alter risk irrelevancy or worse.

Certainly, we ought never to approach changes in foreign policy lightly. Neither ought we to fear them. We must always be prepared to seek them if, in the light of altered situations, changes may be indicated in terms of our own security, peace, and well-being.

In the end, it is the President who has the awesome responsibility of decision in these matters. But I have long believed that any President gains from thoughtful public consideration of foreign policy. Nor is such consideration impossible in this country until after November, as Mr. Khrushchev appears to think. The questions involved in our relations with the rest of the world are not political; they are national. The people of this Nation have long since shown a capacity to separate the two and, in time, to deal with those in public life who fail to separate them. It is with continued confidence in that capacity, therefore, that I suggest to you some aspects of the European situation and our policies, which are in need of thorough and dispassionate public examination.

1. It does not seem to me unreasonable, for example, to anticipate that the impact of the economic transition in Western Europe is bound to be felt, not only in economic matters, but throughout the structure of Western cooperation. It seems to me, further, that our once preponderant position of responsibility must evolve into a greater sharing of responsibility in line with the diminishing differences between the basic capacities of the Europeans and ourselves as the effect of World War II on Europe recedes into history. There is no failure of leadership in adjustment to this reality. Rather, it is an essential of leadership. It would, indeed, be a failure if we were to cling to an excessive responsibility in Western affairs on a mistaken assumption that nothing has changed and the need for us is little different than it ever was and that special sacrifices on our part must continue. In that presumptive course lies not only unnecessary tension but unnecessary cost and unnecessary risk for the security of our own people.

More suitable to the present, it seems to me, is the course of a less ritualistic pursuit and, at the same time, a more realistic pursuit of interdependence among the Western nations on the basis of a more proximate equality of benefit and sacrifice in our relations. We may begin to find such a course through the new trade program and a great expansion of trade, not only with the Common Market but with all the Western European nations. Certainly, that is precisely what the policy is designed to permit, and I have no doubt that the President will pursue it with vigor. But we need to be prepared for some very hard and difficult bargaining in the days ahead. We must be prepared to look to our national needs with the same frank concern as do others. Unless we are so prepared we may well find ourselves continuing to carry more of the burdens of interdependence while enjoying less of its benefits. We will do well, too, to make certain that the trade interests of Latin America, Japan, and other nations with whom close and fortuitous relations are enjoyed, are not shunted aside in the effort to strengthen the ties across the Atlantic.

2. If the beginnings of the adjustments of our course are to be found in the new trade program, they are not likely to end with that program. For, I do not think that we can discount for much longer, the existence of Western European concepts of security needs which differ considerably from our own. Nor can we ignore the continued reluctance of Western European governments to increase their sacrifices for the common defense in the patterns which were determined some years ago.

May I say the Europeans have an equal right to their views as to what may presently be necessary to their defense, to the common NATO defense, and every consideration should be given to their views. But equally, we have a right and a responsibility to examine the extent of our commitment to the common defense, particularly in view of the failure to reach the NATO force goals, in view of the consistent balance-of-payments deficits which we have experienced for several years, in view of the expanded European capacity to bear a larger share of the common costs if they were so inclined, and in view of the encrmous burden of assistance which we have carried and are carrying, largely alone, with respect to other areas of the world. It would appear to me that, at the least, the time is already past due when the remaining military aid programs to Western Europe should follow the economic aid programs into history. Nor is it unreasonable to consider a future reduction in our expensive ground force commitment to Europe—both in manpower and in dollars—if a reduction might be negotiated for a reciprocal withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe. Any such reduction is, of course, inseparable from a satisfactory and enduring resolution of the Berlin question. Otherwise, we would be in the impossible situation of reducing forces in Europe one day only to have to increase them the next.

3. Prospects for any such course are also partially dependent on the situation in Eastern Europe. And it is difficult to speak of the present situation in that region with any precision. Our public sources of information are somewhat limited, to say the least. Nevertheless, policies which still derive from an interpretation of that region as the Soviet monolith which it was in Stalin's day seem to me to be open to question.

Certainly, Eastern Europe remains an area of preponderant Soviet influence. Certainly, Communist nations of the region are linked in the Warsaw Pact. But it is hardly accurate to see the Soviet relationship with Finland and with Poland in the same perspective; nor is it valid to equate the Soviet relationship with East Germany and with Yugoslavia, nor the Soviet relationship with Poland and with Bulgaria, Rumania or Albania. Indeed, the latter country has actually severed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and sent its military mission packing.

What meaning, if any, these and other differences in Eastern Europe may have to the peace and welfare of the United States is an open question. But nothing is gained by closing our eyes to the fact that differences do exist or by regarding as sacrosanct policies which derive from earlier assumptions with regard to the region from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

On that basis alone, the policies which we have pursued more or less consistently with all of Eastern Europe except Finland and to a lesser extent with Yugoslavia and Poland for a decade and a half clearly require careful scrutiny. When we consider, further, that NATO trade with Eastern Europe has risen to a level of $3.5 billion and other East-West European relationships have greatly expanded, while we have continued to maintain a quasi-quarantine, the need for thoughtful review becomes even more evident.

I would reiterate that prospects for an orderly improvement of our policies with respect to Europe or, at least, a safe reduction in their burdens on the public, are likely to prove remote so long as there is a continuance of the present tension in Berlin.

It is the policy and, by this time, it should be clear to all that it is the policy of the United States neither to be provoked into unnecessary war nor to surrender Allied rights in Berlin to force. Whatever is necessary to assert that policy will be done. But let there be no mistake as to the cost of that situation to this Nation. The increase of several billions in the defense budget in the last 2 years was closely related to it. The callup of National Guardsmen and Reserve components last year was directly related to it. The grant of standby authority to the President to do the same this year is related to it.

I would point out, further, that the rights which we are seeking to safeguard in Berlin are Allied rights even though the principal responsibility and cost for upholding them has been borne by this Nation since 1948. It seems to me that, in the light of the altered situation in Europe, we may properly inquire whether the Berlin situation today is not at least as much a responsibility of the Germans and the Europeans as it is of the United States. We may properly inquire, whether or not in view of the catastrophic implications which this situation contains, it has not become, to some extent, a worldwide responsibility to share.

It would appear to me that we have every right to insist that those whose interests are at least as directly involved as ours bear more equitably the risks and costs which are involved. At the least, it would appear to me that they join in an effort to find a rational alternative to this dangerous and costly situation, by such honorable means as may be open, be it by diplomacy, be it through the United Nations or through conferences on Germany at which the European nations who may be prepared to contribute, as well as Germans, might be present. Indeed, it is not at all inappropriate that both the United States and the Soviet Union move further back in such negotiations while the Europeans themselves make a greater effort to find answers to the problems posed at Berlin by a divided Germany.

In any event, I do not believe that we should be dissuaded from seeking more rational answers to the Berlin dilemma and related questions by the raised eyebrows or the relatively cost-free reticences of others, so long as we continue to bear the preponderant burden of cost and responsibility.

To stand firm while circumstances move on is not to stand firm at all. It is to recede into irrelevance and a frustrating impotence from which the only escape may indeed be and ignominious retreat or a war of mutual annihilation. The President deserves to be sustained at home and by allies abroad as he engages in an unremitting search for a better answer to the dilemma. And the hour is indeed already very late in Berlin.

I have discussed these matters with you, tonight, notwithstanding the fact that the winds of October have already begun to kindle the political fires of November. I have felt free to do so because these questions of a changing Europe and our foreign policies will be with us all regardless of the outcome of the election.

With the President remains the awesome responsibility of decision. He will have to make the decisions—decisions on which hinge the security, the peace, and the well-being of generations. In all frankness, the decisions which are reached with regard to foreign policy are not likely to differ significantly whatever the political composition of the next Congress. In these national matters, I am confident that President Kennedy

will continue to have the support of the preponderance of the Membership of Congress, as did his predecessor. And I am confident, too, that he will have the preponderant support of the people of the United States.

## Accelerated Public Works Program

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, questions have been raised concerning the possibility that funds appropriated for use as Federal grants under the Public Works Acceleration Act might be diverted to assist in providing local public works which do not result in a true increase in curernt local employment because the same volume of construction could just as well have been provided without the assistance of the new Federal grants. These are worthwhile questions because the basic purpose of the act is the alleviation of current unemployment through accelerated construction of public works.

Such a diversion of grant funds is barred by the plain meaning of the law, and I am pleased to note that precautions have already been taken downtown to prevent grant funds from being dissipated.

On September 7, in anticipation of the enactment of the Public Works Acceleration Act, the Community Facilities Commissioner telegraphed all Housing and Home Finance Agency Regional offices that public facility projects which had previously been approved for loans under the public facility loans program would not be eligible for public works acceleration grants. The telegram also directed the field offices that all applications for Federal loans which are pending are to be processed to completion and, if the projects are found eligible for loan assistance, they would not be eligible for the new grants.

So far as new applications for Federal aid for local public works are concerned, section 4(a) of the Public Works Acceleration Act contains an express limitation which assures that the Federal grants will in fact result in additional local public works construction and in additional employment, during the fiscal year. That section states that no part of any grant allocation under the Public Works Acceleration Act "shall be made available during any fiscal year to any State or local government for any public works project, unless the proposed or planned total expenditure (exclusive of Federal funds) of such State or local government during such fiscal year for all its capital improvement projects is increased by an amount approximately equal to the non-Federal funds required to be made available for such public works project."

Under this language, Federal grants for public works acceleration may be made only if there is a resulting increase in the aggregate public works construction of the locality during the fiscal year. Some of the projects aided by Federal grants will be projects which are themselves not feasible without the grants. Others will be projetcs which could possibly have been started with just loan assistance, or without Federal aid, but which should be approved because the grants make it possible for the community to undertake aided and nonaided projects which, taken together, result in increased public works construction and local employment during the fiscal year. Section 4(a) of the Public Works Acceleration Act is thus designed to permit communities to select from a wide range of local projects those most capable of getting off to a quick start, thereby serving the basic purpose of the Acceleration Act. Also, under this language, an applicant locality would not be required to exhaust all its financing capacity on its first projects and then receive approval of Federal grants only for later projects when, as is possible, Federal grant funds will meanwhile have been exhausted.

Eligible projects in eligible communities would in most cases be assisted by 50 percent Federal grants. In addition, there would be some other projects eligible for Federal grants of between 50 and 75 percent of their cost. However, each of these projects would have to meet an additional test. That is, the locality in addition to being a redevelopment area or unemployment area, would have to show under section 3(c) of the Public Works Acceleration Act, that it does not have economic and financial capacity to assume all of the additional financial obligations required by the project without a Federal grant in excess of 50 percent of project cost.

## Printing of Committee Activity Reports

SPEECH
OF
### HON. OMAR BURLESON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, with reference to the printing of committee activity reports for the session, as vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, I wish to remind the chairman of all commitees that the Joint Committee on Printing has very properly ruled that the printing of such reports, both as committee prints and in the RECORD, is duplication, the cost of which cannot be justified.

It is requested that committee chairmen decide whether they wish these reports printed as committee prints or in the RECORD, since the Government Printing Office will be directed not to print them both ways.

## Report to Constituents in 22d District of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, as the 87th Congress draws to a close, I wish to report to my constituents, in some detail, my voting record and my evaluation of the accomplishments of this Congress. Let me first, however, make an observation for both my colleagues and my constituents.

One cannot serve a term in this great legislative body without gaining renewed confidence in this Nation and our form of government. Representing the half million people in the San Fernando Valley has been an interesting, educational, sometimes frustrating, but, above all, inspiring experience.

I know that some of my constituents will differ with me on some votes, just as my colleagues may, from time to time, differ. But our system is great because we retain the right to differ and the responsibility to protect the views of the minority and the freedom and sovereignty of the individual.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Of all the challenges faced by this Congress, none was more important than safeguarding our Nation's security. The 87th Congress has unanimously supported the requests of the President in this area, giving additional emphasis to our conventional military and naval forces and broadening the base of our strategic strike power with the Polaris weapons system.

If there was any question about the wisdom of these moves, it was answered during the Berlin crisis last year, when our swift response to the Soviet threat resulted in a relaxation of tension at least for the moment.

With all our complex, sophisticated and overpowering weaponry, it is appropriate to note that the backbone of our Nation's defense is still the same as it was 186 years ago: the citizen soldier. Twice during the 87th Congress, President Kennedy was given authority to call up Reserves and National Guardsmen to meet threats of the cold war. California's 22d District and the Nation are properly grateful to guardsmen of the 146th Air Transport Wing, based in Van Nuys, for their contribution to maintaining freedom.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Every American hopes and believes that the final answer to the world's problems does not lie in the direction of an arms race and nuclear balance of terror. We all share, I believe, a conviction that war is not a solution to these problems. We all would welcome a shift from this emphasis in our cold war competition with the Soviet Union and its satellites to competition in the area of ideas and economic accomplishment.

The mutual security program, which was so effective in combating the spread of communism in Western Europe and Japan and the Philippines, has been reviewed and revised to more nearly fit the needs of developing nations. Additionally, we have turned greater attention to our Latin American neighbors in the framework of the Alliance for Progress—a new concept of social reform and self-help. Our own national interests and the cause of freedom in the world dictate that the scourge of Communism in Cuba be isolated and eradicated. The Alliance for Progress is our greatest hope for accomplishing this goal without military action.

The Trade Expansion Act provides the format for stepped-up trade between ourselves and the other free nations of the world. Establishment of an Arms Control Agency, a Peace Corps, and renewed support for the United Nations are additional evidences of our desire to reach peaceful, not military, solutions to the complex problems which face us.

THE SPACE PROGRAM

It has been my privilege in this Congress to serve on the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House. This has afforded me an opportunity to review our space program close up, and to assess our objectives and progress so far. In my view, we have set ourselves important and realistic goals, and our progress to date has been satisfactory.

Candidly, we must note that the Russians have some capabilities in space we cannot match. Chiefly, these are in the size of the objects which they can orbit. Nevertheless, our superiority in a number of other important areas of space exploration is unchallenged. An example is the ability of our scientists to learn far more about space environment with more sophisticated, highly instrumented packages in space, and their ability to apply that knowledge.

We should not be panicked into a wasteful, hurry-up program in areas where the Russians now lead us. Rather, we should continue the program we now pursue to overcome this disadvantage. Such a program holds promise for a better life on this planet and the ability to explore other planets through technology. The technological revolution of our generation will raise living standards of all men as dramatically as the industrial revolution did a century ago.

CRIME AND COMMUNISM

This Congress also passed a number of important measures designed to improve the administration of justice and arm the Attorney General with better weapons to fight organized crime throughout the United States.

A total of 73 new Federal judges, 4 in California, were approved, to guarantee speedier, and thus fairer, dispensing of justice for everyone who comes before a U.S. court. Regulations in the National Security Agency were tightened. The Attorney General has an impressive record of convictions, aided in part by legislation of the 87th Congress.

AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Farm legislation is as important to the city taxpayer and consumer as it is to the farmer himself. The soil bank—or Benson plan—saddled the Nation with a very costly program which led to unbelievable surpluses. The key to this complex problem is, I believe, proper controls on overproduction. In its efforts to apply the brakes to this agricultural "Frankenstein," the Administration and the leadership in the 87th Congress have been hampered by resistance from farm pressure groups who fought every reasonable restriction on unbridled production while holding out for continued high subsidy payments.

I opposed the 1961 farm bill because in my opinion, it did not go far enough to curb overproduction. I did support the 1961 feed grain and the 1962 farm bills because they improved existing laws. But they do not go far enough and much more attention must be given this problem in the 88th Congress.

Let me cite one solid achievement in this area, however. Today there are 700 million fewer bushels in Government storage bins than there were when this Congressional Session began. This year's farm bill should go a long way toward reducing the surpluses still stored at great cost to the U.S. taxpayer.

In the field of our natural resources and recreational areas, some progress has also been made in this Congress. Notable is the Point Reyes bill, establishing a Point Reyes National Seashore Park, north of San Francisco. We still need a comprehensive wilderness bill to more equitably balance the needs of commercial interests and the recreation-seeking public. Our national parks are inadequate for the needs of our growing population. It would be tragic if we failed to meet the challenge of tomorrow.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Responsible steps to assist veterans with service-connected disabilities, both in areas of rehabilitation and compensation rates, were taken in this session of Congress. I think we have failed, however, to give enough attention to the problems of Reservists called to active duty.

It is apparent that the cold war is far from over, and many men will be called to active duty from time to time. In my view, they are entitled to the same types of assistance to adjust their financial responsibilities as were extended to those of us who served in World War II and the Korean conflict.

GENERAL DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

In housing, in job retraining, in area redevelopment, the 87th Congress has a record of solid achievement. In other areas—notably education—this Congress has not carried out its mandate. To cite the accomplishments:

The 1962 Housing Act makes private ownership of homes more easily available for people of modest income. It also provides for accelerated housing programs for our senior citizens. The Area Redevelopment Act, the extension of unemployment compensation, expanded social security coverage, and the Manpower Retraining Act also represent marked progress in combating the recession and meeting the needs of our jobless and retired population. Objective of this legislation is to keep men on the job, off the dole.

The 1962 tax reform bill did not go as far as some would have liked. It did provide tax relief for small businessmen, and closed some of the more glaring tax-avoidance loopholes. Of major import to the movie industry was repeal of the "foreign residence" tax exemption which has caused such an impetus to "runaway" movie production. There will no longer be the "foreign residence" tax incentive which has hurt the local industry.

Most disappointing of all to me has been our failure to enact legislation in the field of higher education. In my opinion, our national interest demands that every American have the opportunity to develop his full potential under free public education. Anything less than this constitutes a waste of our greatest natural resource; individual Americans. It is imperative that the next Congress adopt legislation to enable the Federal Government to fill its proper role in this field.

BILLS WHICH I HAVE SPONSORED

I am pleased that some of the legislation that I personally sponsored received favorable action. My bill to make FHA home improvement loans available for street and sidewalk improvements received the endorsement of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and favorable comment from the Housing Subcommittee. It will very probably be included in the 1963 omnibus housing bill.

My amendment to both the National Science Foundation and the Defense Education Act scholarships, introduced separately in the House but combined in the Senate, substantially improves security regulations. (Became law.) It repeals the disclaimer affidavit and specifically excludes Communists from eligibility for scholarships.

Action on my bill to provide a Federal building in the Valley Administrative Center in Van Nuys, has been pending for several months. Because of the delay, I sought the help of the President. I believe early financing of the project is imperative.

A number of private relief bills have been acted upon favorably by the House, and some have been enacted into law.

VOTING RECORD

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a table which lists major legislative decisions made in the 87th Congress and my position on each of them:

| My vote | Issue | Outcome* |
|---|---|---|
| | **ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE** | |
| Supported | Creates 63 additional U.S. district court judgeships and 10 in circuit courts to meet increasing caseloads. (4 in California.) | Public Law 87-136. |
| Supported | Authorizes FBI to pursue across State lines any fugitive accused of an offense punishable by more than 1 year in prison | Public Law 87-368. |
| Supported | Prohibits and fixes penalty for interstate transmission of bets by wire communications | Public Law 87-216. |
| Supported | Prohibits and fixes penalty for interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia | Public Law 87-218. |
| Supported | Prohibits and fixes penalty for interstate and foreign travel, or use of the mails, for the purpose of unlawful activity | Public Law 87-228. |
| Supported | Strengthens Federal criminal law relating to bribery, graft, and conflict of interest | Became law. |
| Supported | Broadens definition of gambling devices, transportation of which is prohibited across State lines | Became law. |
| Supported | Stiffens penalties for spreading false bomb reports | Public Law 87-338. |
| Supported | Authorizes the Attorney General to compel the production of documents required as evidence in civil antitrust cases | Public Law 87-664. |
| Supported | Provides criminal penalties for trafficking in phonograph records bearing forged or counterfeit labels | Public Law 87-773. |
| | **AGRICULTURE** | |
| Opposed | 1961 omnibus agriculture bill [1] | Public Law 87-128. |
| Supported | Provides for voluntary 1-year cut in acreage and crops of feed grains; increases price-support payments to participants for corn, grain sorghums, and other feed grains and soybeans. | Public Law 87-5. |
| Supported | Extends Sugar Act of 1948, fixing quotas of domestic and foreign producers, for 15 months to June 30, 1962; continues President's authority to exclude Cuban sugar imports and reallocate its quota. | Public Law 87-15. |
| Supported | Authorizes disposal of additional $2,000,000,000 in surplus commodities under provisions of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. | Public Law 87-26. |
| Opposed | Extends present program of importation of Mexican farm labor to Dec. 31, 1963 [2] | Public Law 87-345. |
| Supported | Provides for assistance to States in programs of forestry research | Public Law 87-788. |
| Supported | Authorizes grants to provide health services for migratory workers | Public Law 87-692. |
| | **CIVIL RIGHTS** | |
| Supported | Extends life of the President's Civil Rights Commission for 2 years to Sept. 30, 1963 | Public Law 87-264. |
| Supported | Authorizes an additional Assistant Secretary of Labor on problems of women in industry | Public Law 87-137. |
| Supported | Proposes constitutional amendment to prohibit poll taxes | Adopted. |
| Supported | Prohibits discrimination by requiring equal pay for men and women performing same services | Passed the House. |
| | **GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION** | |
| Supported | Reorganization Plan No. 3. Gives Civil Aeronautics Board authority to delegate functions to an individual Commissioner, a hearing examiner, or other employee, their findings subject to review by the Board as a whole. | Adopted. |
| Supported | Reorganization Plan No. 4. Same authority as above granted to Federal Trade Commission | Adopted. |
| Supported | Reorganization Plan No. 6. Transfers to the Chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board authority to appoint and remove personnel, assign operating functions, and have overall responsibility for management, all subject to Board review. | Adopted. |
| Supported | Reorganization Plan No. 7. Abolishes the Federal Maritime Board. Establishes a 5-man Federal Maritime Commission. | Adopted. |
| Supported | Amends Communications Act to expedite procedure in quasi-judicial functions of Federal Communications Commission | Public Law 87-192. |
| Opposed | Reorganization Plan No. 2, Federal Communications Commission | Failed. |
| Supported | Establishing a Department of Urban Affairs | Failed. |
| | **INTERNAL SECURITY** | |
| Supported | Provides funds for House Un-American Activities Committee, 1st session | Adopted. |
| Supported | Permits prosecution for acts of espionage committed against the United States outside its jurisdiction | Public Law 87-369. |
| Supported | Fixes penalty for malicious destruction of certain private communications facilities | Public Law 87-306. |
| Supported | Prohibits shipment of weapons in interstate commerce by or to any person convicted of a felony | Public Law 87-342. |
| Supported | Defines and clarifies the term "organize" as used in the Smith Act applying to Communists | Public Law 87-486. |
| Supported | Authorizes Postmaster General to notify recipients of Communist propaganda of the nature of such mail | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Provides for summary dismissal in certain security violation cases within the National Security Agency | Passed the House. |
| Opposed | Provides for summary dismissal in certain security violations in private industry | Failed. |
| | **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS** | |
| Supported | Authorizes $4,200,000,000 1962 program of loans and grants for foreign economic aid, development, and military assistance | Public Law 87-195. |
| Opposed | Proposed amendment to favor labor surplus areas in procurement contracts | Failed. |
| Supported | Alliance for Progress program | Public Law 87-41. |
| Supported | Establishes U.S. Peace Corps as an independent agency subject to policy guidance of State Department | Public Law 87-293. |
| Supported | Establishes a U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to operate under guidance of the President | Public Law 87-297. |
| Supported | Extends President's authority to use surplus farm products to aid the people of underdeveloped nations | Public Law 87-92. |
| Supported | Broadens programs of educational and cultural exchange of persons between the United States and other countries | Public Law 87-256. |
| Supported | Reduces from $500 to $100 value of goods returning Americans may bring back duty free from abroad [3] | Public Law 87-132. |
| Supported | Establishes a U.S. Travel Service in the Department of Commerce to promote and encourage tourist travel from abroad [3] | Public Law 87-63. |
| Supported | Extends U.S. Citizens Commission on NATO to June 30, 1962 | Public Law 87-116. |
| Supported | Guarantees U.S. exporters and importers against political and credit risks of loss in foreign countries | Public Law 87-311. |
| Supported | Enacts permanent authority for admission of alien orphans to the United States for purposes of adoption | Public Law 87-301. |
| Supported | Expresses the sense of Congress against seating of Communist China in the United Nations | Adopted. |
| Supported | Trade Expansion Act of 1962 | Public Law 87-794. |
| Supported | Authorizes $4,600,000,000 foreign assistance program for 1963 for Latin America at $600,000,000 a year through 1966 | Public Law 87-565. |
| Supported | Authorizes loans up to a total of $100,000,000 by the United States to the United Nations | Public Law 87-731. |
| Supported | Extends and expands Peace Corps, authorizes $63,700,000 for fiscal 1963 | Public Law 87-442. |
| Supported | Extends for 3 years to June 30, 1965, authority of President to regulate and control exports of strategic and critical material | Public Law 87-515. |
| Supported | Authorizes aid for resettlement of refugees from Iron Curtain countries abroad and those seeking asylum from Cuba | Public Law 87-510. |
| Supported | Prohibits shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of articles imported to the United States from Cuba | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Authorizes sale by Department of Justice of General Aniline & Film Corp | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Authorizes payment of $73,000,000 balance of war damage awards to the Philippine Republic | Public Law 87-616. |
| Supported | Expresses the sense of the Congress that the OAS re-evaluate the role of Cuba in inter-American affairs and take such steps as it deems necessary toward imposition of sanctions under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Urges the President to provide a program of education for Cuban refugee university students | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Expresses the determination of Congress and gives full congressional support to the President's stand with respect to Cuba. | Public Law 87-733. |
| Supported | Authorizes $3,928,900,000 1963 program of loans and grants for foreign economic aid, development, and military assistance. Authorizes the President to permit nonmilitary aid to Iron Curtain countries when he deems it important to U.S. security. | Became law. |
| | **NATIONAL DEFENSE** | |
| Supported | Authorizes the President to call up to 250,000 Reservists and National Guardsmen for active duty of not more than 1 year | Public Law 87-117. |
| Supported | Authorizes a 2d increase, in the amount of $968,000,000 for planes, ships, and missiles in fiscal 1962 | Public Law 87-118. |
| Supported | Authorizes $12,500,000,000 additional for fiscal 1962 for construction of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels | Public Law 87-53. |
| Opposed | Proposed amendment to give preferential treatment to labor surplus areas | Failed. |
| Supported | Authorizes $893,900,000 for construction and improvement projects at military bases at home and abroad | Public Law 87-57. |
| Supported | Authorizes $12,970,000,000 for procurement of missiles, naval vessels and aircraft, including $491,000,000 for RS-70 | Public Law 87-436. |
| Supported | Authorizes $1,450,000,000 for construction and improvement of Army, Navy, and Air Force bases at home and abroad | Public Law 87-554. |
| Supported | Authorizes President to call up 150,000 Reservists and National Guardsmen not called up under Public Law 87-117 | Public Law 87-736. |
| Supported | Total defense appropriations for fiscal year 1962, $46,662,556,000; fiscal year 1963, $48,136,247,000 | |

Footnotes at end of table.

| My vote | Issue | Outcome[a] |
|---|---|---|
| | **NATIONAL ECONOMY** | |
| Supported | Authorizes temporary grants to States to finance inclusion of dependent children of unemployed | Public Law 87-31. |
| Supported | Increases $1 minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, extends coverage to 3,500,000 additional workers by gradual wage stepups | Public Law 87-30. |
| Supported | Establishes Area Redevelopment Administration in Department of Commerce | Public Law 87-27. |
| Supported | Authorizes additional $11,500,000,000 for completion of Interstate and Defense Highway System as scheduled by 1972 | Public Law 87-61. |
| Opposed | Extends construction aid under the Airport Act for 3 years to June 30, 1964.[4] | Public Law 87-255. |
| Supported | Increases to 70 percent of deposits amount national banks may lend on real estate; extends maturity of construction loans. | Public Law 87-717. |
| Supported | Requires public disclosure of identical bids on Government contracts | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Amends Internal Revenue Code to: provide tax credit for investment in new equipment; tax savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks; reduce deductions for business expenses; increase taxes on income earned by American subsidiaries abroad; tax personal earnings of American citizens while residing abroad over $20,000 annual income. | Became law. |
| Supported | Increases postal rates and Federal employees salaries | Public Law 87-793. |
| Supported | Increases lending authority of Small Business Administration for business loans and disaster loans | Public Law 87-550. |
| Supported | Extends for 2 years to Dec. 31, 1964, the Renegotiation Act for recovery of excessive profits on defense contracts | Public Law 87-920. |
| Supported | Directs Securities and Exchange Commission to investigate adequacy of rules and regulations of stock exchanges | Public Law 87-196. |
| Supported | Authorizes $435,000,000, 3-year program of training of unemployed in vocational schools, or on-the-job retraining | Public Law 87-415. |
| Supported | Authorizes $900,000,000 to accelerate Federal public works and for matching grants for local projects | Public Law 87-658. |
| | **NATURAL RESOURCES** | |
| Supported | Provides for sale of excess steam to local power companies at Hanford, Wash., reactor plant. Federal Government to recoup $125,000,000 over 24 years.[1] | Public Law 87-701. |
| Supported | Extends for 6 years to July 1, 1967, the Department of the Interior program for saline water conversion; authorizes $75,000,000 | Public Law 87-295. |
| Supported | Permits miners of clay and shale to include as a depletion allowance the process of manufacturing brick and tile | Public Law 87-295. |
| Supported | Authorizes 10-year comprehensive program of oceanographic research and surveys | Public Law 87-312. |
| | **SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE** | |
| Supported | Raises from $1,200 to $1,524 the amount of retirement income not subject to personal income tax | Became law. |
| Supported | Raises minimum monthly old-age insurance payments under Social Security Act from $33 to $40 | Public Law 87-64. |
| Opposed | Extends aid to federally impacted school districts [6] | Public Law 87-344. |
| Supported | Authorizes 4- to 5-year $4,900,000,000 housing programs for low and moderate income families on liberalized terms | Public Law 87-70. |
| Supported | Extends for 4 years to June 30, 1965, $5,000,000 a year program for grants and scholarships for training of practical nurses | Public Law 87-22. |
| Supported | Authorizes a program of Federal grants of $10,000,000 a year for 3 years to combat juvenile delinquency [7] | Public Law 87-274. |
| Supported | Authorizes $1,500,000 a year for fiscal years 1962 and 1963 for grants for training teachers of deaf children | Public Law 87-276. |
| Supported | Amends Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958 by providing Secretary of Labor with powers of enforcement | Public Law 87-420. |
| Supported | Amends Social Security Act, to reduce public assistance rolls by providing grants to States that establish work programs | Public Law 87-543. |
| Supported | Authorizes $2,600,000,000, 5-year program of: Loans to colleges and universities for construction and improvement of classrooms, laboratories, and libraries ($1,500,000,000); matching grants to States for building public junior and community colleges ($250,000,000); and scholarship aid for college students ($924,000,000). | Failed. |
| Supported | Provides for low- and moderate-cost housing for elderly in urban and rural areas; authorizes $200,000,000 for loan funds | Public Law 87-723. |
| Supported | Authorizes 3-year $36,000,000 program of grants to aid States and other communities in carrying out mass vaccination programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus. | Became law. |
| Supported | Provides for stricter regulation of drug industry and of distribution of new drugs | Public Law 87-781. |
| Supported | Authorizes matching Federal funds up to $1,000,000 for any State to purchase TV equipment for educational purposes | Public Law 87-447. |
| Supported | Extends to 1966 authorization for program of grants to State and local governments under the Air Pollution Control Act [8]. | Became law. |
| Supported | Encourages self-employed professionals to establish individual pension plans by granting income-tax deduction for fund set aside up to $2,500 per year. | Public Law 87-792. |
| Supported | To prohibit use of children under 12 years of age as migrant farmworkers | Failed. |
| Opposed | To prohibit use of children under 12 years of age in motion picture, television, or any theatrical production | Failed. |
| | **SPACE PROGRAM** | |
| Supported | Makes the Vice President instead of the President, Chairman of the National Space Council | Public Law 87-26. |
| Supported | Increases number of scientific positions in Government | Public Law 87-367. |
| Supported | Reorganization Plan No. 2, 1962. Establishes Office of Science and Technology in Executive Office of the President | Adopted. |
| Supported | Makes certain communities where NASA installations are located eligible for assistance under public facilities loan program | Public Law 87-634. |
| Supported | Clarifies responsibility of National Aeronautics and Space Administration for nonmilitary activities | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Authorizes an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Science and Technology | Public Law 87-405. |
| Supported | Authorizes $1.7 billion for NASA for fiscal 1962; includes increases for manned moon-orbiting project | Public Law 87-98. |
| Supported | Authorizes $3,810,000,000 for NASA for fiscal 1963, including $263,000,000 for planetary and lunar exploration | Public Law 87-584. |
| Supported | Authorizes creation of a commercial corporation, owned 50-50 by the public and the communication industry, to establish and operate a communications satellite system under regulation of the FCC, in cooperation with NASA. | Public Law 87-624. |
| | **VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN** | |
| Supported | Extends direct and guaranteed home loan programs for World War II veterans to July 26, 1967, and for Korean conflict veterans to Feb. 1, 1975; authorizes additional $1,200,000,000 for direct loan program through fiscal year 1967. | Public Law 87-84. |
| Supported | Authorizes payment of $60,000,000 special dividend to eligible policyholders of National Service Life Insurance | Public Law 87-223. |
| Supported | Amends and clarifies reemployment provisions of Universal Military Training and Service Act | Public Law 87-391. |
| Supported | Increases payments to veterans' widows | Public Law 87-256. |
| Supported | Requires Board of Veterans' Appeals in Veterans' Administration to make findings of fact and conclusions of law | Public Law 87-97. |
| Supported | Increases lump-sum readjustment payments to members of Reserve components involuntarily released from active duty | Public Law 87-500. |
| Supported | Permits members of Armed Forces to accept scholarships, fellowships and grants | Public Law 87-555. |
| Supported | Authorizes VA hospital and medical care for peacetime veterans with noncompensable service-connected disabilities | Public Law 87-583. |
| Supported | Extends period of vocational rehabilitation for blinded veterans | Public Law 87-591. |
| Supported | Permits for 1 year granting of National Life Insurance policy to veterans with service-connected disabilities [9] | Became law. |
| Supported | Increases by average of 9.4 percent rates of compensation for service-connected disability paid to 1,900,000 veterans | Public Law 87-645. |
| Supported | Increases basic allowance for living quarters for members of Armed Forces | Public Law 87-531. |
| Supported | Provides that retirement of members of Armed Forces shall be in the highest grade served satisfactorily | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Provides for a permanent program of vocational rehabilitation for veterans with service-connected disability serving between World War II and Korean conflict and thereafter. | Passed the House. |
| Supported | Increases compensation for blinded veterans | Public Law 87-610. |

[1] In my opinion at the time of this vote, there were not sufficient production controls. However, it later developed that the cuts in wheat acreage reduced Government storage volumes. I am still of the view that we should have more stringent controls or an end to price supports.

[2] This bill provided no improvement in working or living conditions of Mexican nationals and failed to adequately protect domestic workers from use of Mexican nationals when domestic labor is available.

[3] Steps taken to reduce outflow of gold.

[4] I opposed the Federal aid to airports bill because a lack of long-term planning in the bill made it very difficult for use by the city of Los Angeles.

[5] This measure was defeated twice in the House; finally accepted as part of a conference report.

[6] I opposed the Federal aid to impacted school districts because the Los Angeles school districts are denied $5,000,000 annual entitlement; the bill is discriminatory against large districts.

[7] Los Angeles has already received $256,906 to implement this program.

[8] The 88th Congress should pass a more adequate bill to broaden the scope of our research and development of pollution control devices.

[9] I opposed the amendment which limited benefits of this bill to disabled veterans. The amendment carried and I supported the bill as amended.

[a] Public law indicates bill became law.

| | Bills which I sponsored | Status |
|---|---|---|
| H.R. 8556 | Amends National Science Foundation scholarship security provisions to require applicants to disclose record of felony convictions or pending criminal prosecutions; prohibits application by members of Communist organizations; repeals disclaimer affidavit. | Public law will include H.R. 8556 and H.R. 10612. |
| H.R. 10612 | Same provisions as H.R. 8556, applicable to National Defense Education Act | |
| H.R. 11202 | Amends the National Housing Act to permit the insurance of a loan made to a homeowner for the purpose of paying the cost of public improvements for which he is legally liable. | Committee hearings completed. |
| H.R. 12732 | Suspends until Jan. 1, 1964, certain provisions of the act forbidding the importation, exportation, or carriage in interstate commerce of falsely stamped articles of merchandise made of gold or silver or their alloys. | Pending in committee. |
| H.R. 11824 | Federal Air Pollution Control Act: Broadens the scope of the Federal air pollution control program | Pending in committee. |
| H.R. 9352 | Provides for public hearings on air pollution problems of more than local significance | Companion bill passed. |
| H.R. 7926 | Provides for the construction of a new Federal office building in Van Nuys, Calif | Pending in committee. |
| H.R. 8518 | Provides for planning the participation of the United States in the International Exposition for Southern California | Companion bill passed. |
| H.R. 5859 | Provides for relief of H. A. Saley | Passed the House. |
| H.R. 2640 | Provides for the adoption of Yoko Takayashiki | Private Law 87-282. |

## Retiring Members of the House

SPEECH
OF
## HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

(Mr. HALLECK asked and was given permission to address the House for 3 minutes and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that we are now approaching the closing hours of the 87th Congress and certainly I do not want to delay the adjournment which I understand will be put into its initial stages very soon. But I want to take this opportunity to say that all of us, I am sure, are saddened by the thought that we are completing our last day in the House with many colleagues on both sides of the aisle who will not be with us when the 88th Congress convenes in January.

Included in this group are many, many close friends of mine—able, fine, and effective Members of the House—whose departure from these halls is a sorrowing prospect. On our side of the aisle alone there are 23 Members who will not be with us next year. Most of them are leaving voluntarily after long and distinguished careers of service to the Nation. Some are aspiring to other offices. All will be greatly missed.

Mr. Speaker, I could reminisce at length about each and every one of them, but if I did so I am afraid, as some of us have feared, we would be here until the snow flies.

In the interests of time, therefore, I am simply going to call the roll of our departing Republican colleagues and their terms of distinguished service.

Leading the list is the venerable and beloved JOHN TABER, of New York, former chairman and ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations, with 40 years—or 20 terms—of very valuable service in this House of Representatives.

Next in line are the able Members, CLARE HOFFMAN, of Michigan, with 14 terms and my old and dear friend, NOAH MASON, of Illinois, with 13 terms.

The roll continues with—

ROBERT CHIPERFIELD, of Illinois, and H. CARL ANDERSEN, of Minnesota, with 12 terms. Both of them have served with distinction here.

JAMES VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania, 11 terms.

CHESTER MERROW, of New Hampshire, 10 terms.

CARROLL KEARNS, of Pennsylvania, 8 terms.

MARGUERITE CHURCH, of Illinois, and HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., of Connecticut, 6 terms.

LAURENCE CURTIS, of Massachusetts, JOHN RAY, of New York, and GORDON SCHERER, of Ohio, 5 terms.

PERKINS BASS, of New Hampshire, and PHIL WEAVER, of Nebraska, 4 terms.

EDWIN DOOLEY, of New York, 3 terms.

JESSICA WEIS, of New York, 2 terms.

PETER DOMINICK, of Colorado, EDWIN DURNO, of Oregon, PETER GARLAND, of Maine, WALTER MCVEY, of Kansas, LOUISE REECE, of Tennessee, and WILLIAM SCRANTON, of Pennsylvania, 1 term.

Mr. Speaker, I know I speak not only for myself but for all of my Republican colleagues, and I am quite sure our colleagues on the other side of the aisle, when I say to these friends of ours who will not be with us next time, "We'll miss you. Good luck and God bless you in the years ahead."

## H.R. 12900: Public Works Bill

SPEECH
OF
## HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, the conference report on the bill before us contains a compromise resulting in a cut of $100 million in funds appropriated to the President for public works acceleration. This is a legitimate cut, and quite within the rules.

However, in the statement of the managers, which constitutes a report of the conferees and is supposed to explain the effects of action agreed upon, there is a directive forbidding the use of funds for all Federal projects which cost more than $400,000.

This restriction is not part of the appropriation bill itself. It represents quasi-legislation which attempts to have the committee of conference speak with the voice of authority for a majority of the membership of both Houses. I realize that this parliamentary device has been in practice for some time, but I cannot let this occasion go by without raising my voice in protest.

Let me make it clear that the managers cannot speak for this House in their statement, and this directive can have no legal or binding effect. What it amounts to is a powerful admonition to the executive branch by other than the normal legislative process.

## Report to the People of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin—XVI

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin on my voting and attendance record for the 2d session of the 87th Congress.

The report includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. Its purpose is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through some 22,000 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The descriptions of the bills and the amendments or motions in the report are for purposes of identification only; no attempt is made to describe the legislation completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved. This word of caution is advisable in view of the fact that the descriptions used are, for the most part, taken from the official titles of the bills which, unfortunately, do not always reflect the nature or true purpose of the legislation. Upon request, I will be pleased to furnish more complete information concerning any particular bill, as well as a summary of the issues involved and the reasons for my vote.

The furnishing of this report continues a service I began in the 1st session of the 80th Congress. This is the 16th report of my voting and attendance record. These 16 reports show how I voted on 2,045 questions in the House of Representatives. Based on quorum calls and the record votes, they also show an attendance record of 94 percent.

*87th Cong., 2d sess.*

| Roll-call No. | Date 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Jan. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 2 | Jan. 10 | Election of Speaker. (McCormack 248, Halleck 166.) | Halleck. |
| 3 | Jan. 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 4 | Jan. 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 5 | Jan. 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 6 | Jan. 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 7 | Jan. 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 8900, authorizing Federal aid for construction of college academic facilities: | |
| 8 | Jan. 30 | On passage. (Passed 319 to 80.) | Yea. |
| 9 | Jan. 31 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 10 | Feb. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 383, granting private company a right to mine under Grand Canyon National Park land for 25 years in exchange for certain private land: | |
| 11 | Feb. 5 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 202 to 136, a ⅔ vote being required.) | Nay. |
| | | H.R. 6360, authorizing an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce: | |
| 12 | Feb. 6 | On passage. (Passed 231 to 169.) | Nay. |
| 13 | Feb. 7 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 14 | Feb. 7 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 15 | Feb. 7 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 16 | Feb. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 549, providing for consideration of H.R. 10050, providing for temporary increase in the public debt limit: | |
| 17 | Feb. 20 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 258 to 133.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 10050, providing for an increase in the public debt limit: | |
| 18 | Feb. 20 | On passage. (Passed 251 to 144.) | Yea. |
| 19 | Feb. 21 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 530, disapproving the President's reorganization plan to create an Urban Affairs and Housing Department: | |
| 20 | Feb. 21 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 264 to 150.) | Yea. |
| 21 | Feb. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 6747, amending the Juvenile Court Act of the District of Columbia: | |
| 22 | Feb. 26 | On amendment providing 2 additional judges. (Adopted 271 to 143.) | Yea. |
| 23 | Feb. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 24 | Feb. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 25 | Feb. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 8300, authorizing a 2-year program to train unemployed workers (Manpower Development and Training Act): | |
| 26 | Feb. 28 | On passage. (Passed 354 to 62.) | Yea. |
| 27 | Mar. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 28 | Mar. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 29 | Mar. 7 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 132, authorizing $25,520,000 for educational television by State agencies: | |
| 30 | Mar. 7 | On passage. (Passed 329 to 68.) | Nay. |
| 31 | Mar. 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 32 | Mar. 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 33 | Mar. 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 167, authorizing the Attorney General to issue a civil investigative demand compelling the production of business records for use in anti-trust cases: | |
| 34 | Mar. 13 | On passage. (Passed 339 to 58.) | Yea. |
| 35 | Mar. 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 36 | Mar. 15 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 8723, amending the 1958 Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act: | |
| 37 | Mar. 15 | On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to restore House amendment to remove conflict of interest by prohibiting affiliated union membership by the Labor Department's Welfare and Pension Division employees. (Rejected 182 to 218.) | Yea. |
| 38 | Mar. 15 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 284 to 108.) | Nay. |
| | | H.R. 10606, extending and improving the public assistance and child welfare services programs of the Social Security Act (the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962): | |
| 39 | Mar. 15 | On Byrnes' motion to recommit with instructions to delete a provision increasing the Federal contribution to States for old age assistance by $140,000,000 per year. (Rejected 155 to 233.) | Yea. |
| 40 | Mar. 15 | On passage. (Passed 320 to 69.) | Nay. |
| 41 | Mar. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 42 | Mar. 21 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 9751, authorizing procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels in fiscal 1963: | |
| 43 | Mar. 21 | On passage. (Passed 404 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 44 | Mar. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 10904, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1963: | |
| 45 | Mar. 27 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 24 to 373.) | Nay. |
| 46 | Mar. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 576, providing for the consideration of H.R. 10650, the 1962 tax revisions bill: | |
| 47 | Mar. 28 | On motion to prevent amendments. (Agreed to 224 to 185.) | Nay. |
| 48 | Mar. 28 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 234 to 172.) | Yea. |
| 49 | Mar. 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 50 | Mar. 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 10650, the 1962 tax revisions bill: | |
| 51 | Mar. 29 | On Byrnes' motion to recommit with instructions to strike out the investment credit and withholding tax on dividend and interest. (Rejected 190 to 225.) | Yea. |
| 52 | Mar. 29 | On passage. (Passed 219 to 196.) | Nay. |
| 53 | Apr. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 10162, authorizing standby authority for the United States to lend $2,000,000,000 to the International Monetary Fund: | |
| 54 | Apr. 2 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 267 to 94.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 10743, raising compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities: | |
| 55 | Apr. 2 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 347 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 56 | Apr. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 10700, authorizing an increase in funds for the Peace Corps in fiscal 1963: | |
| 57 | Apr. 3 | On passage. (Passed 317 to 70.) | Yea. |
| 58 | Apr. 4 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11038, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1962: | |
| 59 | Apr. 4 | On motion to recommit with instructions to limit U.S. contributions for the United Nations Congo operation to percentage of total payments made by assessed nations rather than percentage of total cost. (Rejected 153 to 235.) | Not voting.[1] |
| 60 | Apr. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 4441, authorizing appropriation to New York City to help defray extraordinary expenses incurred during the 1960 15th General Assembly of the United Nations: | |
| 61 | Apr. 5 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 143 to 217.) | Not voting.[1] |
| 62 | Apr. 5 | On passage. (Passed 207 to 153.) | Yea. |
| 63 | Apr. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 64 | Apr. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 589, providing for the consideration of H.R. 10788, extending the President's authority over regulation of cotton and textile imports: | |
| 65 | Apr. 10 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 265 to 76.) | Nay. |
| 66 | Apr. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 67 | Apr. 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 10788, extending the President's authority over regulation of cotton and textile imports: | |
| 68 | Apr. 11 | On passage. (Passed 312 to 81.) | Nay. |
| | | H.R. 11151, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal 1963: | |
| 69 | Apr. 11 | On motion to recommit with instructions to prohibit congressional franked mail addressed only to "occupant." (Rejected 192 to 197.) | Yea. |
| 70 | Apr. 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 71 | Apr. 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 72 | Apr. 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 73 | Apr. 16 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 74 | Apr. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 75 | Apr. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

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| Roll-call No. | Date 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 76 | Apr. 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 77 | Apr. 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11289, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1963: | |
| 78 | Apr. 18 | On passage. (Passed 388 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 79 | May 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 8031, authorizing the FCC to require television set manufacturers to equip all sets to receive ultrahigh frequency channels: | |
| 80 | May 2 | On passage. (Passed 279 to 90.) | Yea. |
| 81 | May 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11040, providing for the establishment of a private corporation to own, establish, and operate a commercial communications satellite system: | |
| 82 | May 3 | On passage. (Passed 354 to 9.) | Yea. |
| 83 | May 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 8617, authorizing $73,000,000 for unpaid balances of World War II damage awards under the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946: | |
| 84 | May 9 | On passage. (Rejected 171 to 201.) | Yea. |
| | | H. Res. 625, a resolution to send to conference with Senate H.R. 8900, authorizing Federal aid for construction of college academic facilities: | |
| 85 | May 9 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 295 to 77.) | Yea. |
| 86 | May 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 87 | May 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 88 | May 16 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 89 | May 16 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 90 | May 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 91 | May 22 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 92 | May 22 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 93 | May 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 94 | May 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11737, authorizing appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration: | |
| 95 | May 23 | On passage. (Passed 343 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 96 | May 24 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 97 | June 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 98 | June 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11665, revising the State allotment formula of the National School Lunch Act: | |
| 99 | June 6 | On motion to recommit with instructions to delete provision giving Secretary of Agriculture broad authority to determine allotment to needy schools. (Rejected 160 to 220.) | Yea. |
| 100 | June 6 | On passage. (Passed 370 to 11.) | Yea. |
| 101 | June 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 102 | June 7 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 5532, bringing negotiated Defense Department procurement contracts under more rigid legislative control and encouraging use of advertised, competitive bidding: | |
| 103 | June 7 | On passage. (Passed 362 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 104 | June 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 105 | June 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 106 | June 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 107 | June 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 108 | June 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 109 | June 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11990, increasing the public debt ceiling from $300,000,000,000 to $308,000,000,000: | |
| 110 | June 14 | On Byrns' motion to recommit with instructions to limit ceiling to $306,000,000,000. (Rejected 145 to 258.) | Yea. |
| 111 | June 14 | On passage. (Passed 211 to 192.) | Nay. |
| 112 | June 15 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 113 | June 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 691, providing for consideration of H.R. 12154, extending the Sugar Act of 1948: | |
| 114 | June 18 | On the motion to consider resolution. (Adopted 262 to 32.) | Yea. |
| 115 | June 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 116 | June 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 12154, extending the Sugar Act of 1948: | |
| 117 | June 19 | Motion to recommit with instructions to eliminate special payments of $22,755,153.67 to the Dominican Republic. (Rejected 174 to 222.) | Yea. |
| 118 | June 19 | On passage. (Passed 319 to 72.) | Yea. |
| 119 | June 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 120 | June 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 121 | June 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 122 | June 21 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| | | H.R. 11222, the administration's farm bill embodying supply-management controls for wheat, corn, and other feed grains: | |
| 123 | June 21 | On amendment permitting the Secretary of Agriculture to give farmers in feed deficit areas a special exemption from having to cut acreage below the 1959–60 level. (Adopted 267 to 151.) | Nay. |
| 124 | June 21 | On motion to recommit. (Adopted 215 to 205.) | Yea. |
| 125 | June 22 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 126 | June 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11500, extending the Defense Production Act: | |
| 127 | June 25 | On passage. (Passed 329 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 11309, extending the Export Control Act: | |
| 128 | June 25 | On passage. (Passed 339 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 129 | June 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 130 | June 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 131 | June 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 132 | June 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 133 | June 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11970, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962: | |
| 134 | June 28 | Motion to recommit with instructions to substitute a 1-year extension of the present Trade Agreements Act. (Rejected 171 to 253.) | Yea. |
| 135 | June 28 | On passage. (Passed 298 to 125.) | Yea. |
| 136 | June 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 1658, prohibiting the transportation of gambling devices in interstate and foreign commerce: | |
| 137 | June 29 | On passage. (Passed 349 to 1.) | Yea. |
| | | S. 1969, granting the Civil Aeronautics Board permanent authority to license and regulate supplemental airlines: | |
| 138 | June 29 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 337 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 139 | June 30 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 140 | June 30 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| | | H.R. 12154, revising and extending the Sugar Act of 1948: | |
| 141 | June 30 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 248 to 31.) | Not voting.[1] |
| 142 | July 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 143 | July 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11586, amending the Merchant Marine Act with respect to vessel construction subsidies: | |
| 144 | July 2 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 293 to 5.) | Yea. |
| | | S. 2775, increasing authorized funds for administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: | |
| 145 | July 2 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 281 to 14.) | Yea. |
| | | H. Res. 714, expressing the sense of the House that an increase in the current 50-kilowatt power limit for clear channel AM radio stations be permitted: | |
| 146 | July 2 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 198 to 87.) | Yea. |
| 147 | July 9 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 148 | July 9 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 149 | July 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 150 | July 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 151 | July 11 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 152 | July 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11921, authorizing the foreign aid program: | |
| 153 | July 12 | On passage. (Passed 250 to 164.) | Yea. |
| 154 | July 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 155 | July 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 156 | July 16 | Quorum call | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

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| Roll-call No. | Date 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | H. Res. 726, providing for House agreement to Senate amendment allocating subsidized sugar quotas to certain Western Hemisphere countries, added to H.R. 9050, relating to honey bee imports: | |
| 157 | July 16 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 196 to 142.) | Nay. |
| 158 | July 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 159 | July 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11974, authorizing $250,000,000 in fiscal 1963 for Atomic Energy Commission construction projects: | |
| 160 | July 17 | On amendment to prevent construction of power-generating plant in connection with the Hanford, Wash., atomic reactor. (Adopted 282 to 163.) | Yea. |
| 161 | July 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 167, authorizing Justice Department to compel the production of business records for use in antitrust cases: | |
| 162 | July 18 | On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist upon limiting bill to companies under investigation and confining use of documents obtained to Justice Department. (Agreed to 202 to 200.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 12135, authorizing appropriations for fiscal 1964 and 1965 for highway construction (Federal Aid Highway Act of 1962): | |
| 163 | July 18 | On amendment to require State highway departments to provide relocation advisory assistance to families displaced by right-of-way acquisitions. (Adopted 236 to 159.) | Yea. |
| 164 | July 19 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| | | H.R. 10606, extending and improving the public assistance and child welfare services program of the Social Security Act (Public Welfare amendments of 1962): | |
| 165 | July 19 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 358 to 34.) | Not voting.[1] |
| | | H.R. 12391, farm bill, extending the 1962 special wheat and feed grains program for 1 year, etc.: | |
| 166 | July 19 | On passage. (Passed 229 to 163.) | Not voting.[2] |
| 167 | July 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 168 | July 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 12580, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal 1963: | |
| 169 | July 20 | On passage. (Passed 266 to 56.) | Not voting.[1] |
| 170 | July 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 171 | July 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 172 | July 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 2996, authorizing the foreign aid program: | |
| 173 | July 24 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 221 to 162.) | Yea. |
| 174 | July 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 12648, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1963: | |
| 175 | July 25 | On passage. (Passed 346 to 41.) | Yea. |
| 176 | July 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 177 | July 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 529, authorizing $3,490,000 to construct the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho: | |
| 178 | July 26 | On passage. (Passed 199 to 162.) | Nay. |
| 179 | July 30 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 180 | July 30 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 181 | July 30 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 182 | July 31 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| 183 | July 31 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| | | H.R. 12711, making appropriations for sundry independent offices: | |
| 184 | Aug. 1 | On passage. (Passed 369 to 12.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 575, authorizing $6,168,000 to construct the upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon: | |
| 185 | Aug. 1 | On passage. (Passed 209 to 182.) | Nay. |
| | | H.R. 10904, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1963: | |
| 186 | Aug. 1 | On motion to recommit to conference with instructions to insist on House figure for the National Institutes of Health. (Rejected 173 to 214.) | Yea. |
| 187 | Aug. 1 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 350 to 35.) | Nay. |
| 188 | Aug. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 189 | Aug. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 190 | Aug. 7 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 191 | Aug. 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 4055, authorizing award of up to $10,000 to each recipient of the National Medal of Science: | |
| 192 | Aug. 8 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 193 to 177, a ⅔ vote being required.) | Nay. |
| | | H.R. 7283, authorizing compensation to U.S. citizens for certain World War II war claims: | |
| 193 | Aug. 8 | On passage. (Passed 355 to 15.) | Yea. |
| 194 | Aug. 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 195 | Aug. 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 1005, increasing construction cost limit on Federal Reserve bank buildings from $30,000,000 to $60,000,000: | |
| 196 | Aug. 14 | On passage. (Passed 314 to 50.) | Yea. |
| 197 | Aug. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 198 | Aug. 27 | On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall 197. (Adopted 298 to 65.) | Yea. |
| 199 | Aug. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 200 | Aug. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 201 | Aug. 27 | On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall 200. (Adopted 312 to 62.) | Yea. |
| | | S.J. Res. 29, constitutional amendment banning the poll tax: | |
| 202 | Aug. 27 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Adopted 295 to 86.) | Yea. |
| | | H. Res. 769, agreeing to Senate amendments to H.R. 11040, providing for establishment of a private corporation to own, establish, and operate a commercial communications satellite system: | |
| 203 | Aug. 27 | On motion to suspend rules and agree to resolution. (Adopted 373 to 10.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 12628, increasing the authorization for urban and rural housing loans for the elderly (Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962): | |
| 204 | Aug. 27 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Adopted 367 to 6.) | Yea. |
| 205 | Aug. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 206 | Aug. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 207 | Aug. 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 10113, authorizing the President to spend $900,000,000 on public works projects in areas he chooses: | |
| 208 | Aug. 29 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 192 to 221.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 11974, authorizing $250,000,000 for Atomic Energy Commission construction projects in fiscal 1963: | |
| 209 | Aug. 29 | On motion to instruct conferees not to agree to Senate amendment authorizing Hanford power project. (Rejected 148 to 246.) | Yea. |
| 210 | Aug. 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 211 | Sept. 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 4, providing for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore: | |
| 212 | Sept. 13 | On passage. (Passed 258 to 87.) | Yea. |
| 213 | Sept. 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 214 | Sept. 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S. 2768, authorizing the purchase by the United States of $100,000,000 in United Nations bonds: | |
| 215 | Sept. 14 | On motion to recommit with instructions to add Byrnes' amendment barring any U.S. loan until the United Nations General Assembly adopts the World Court advisory opinion on financial obligations of members. (Rejected 171 to 219.) | Yea. |
| 216 | Sept. 14 | On passage. (Passed 256 to 134.) | Nay. |
| 217 | Sept. 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11974, authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission: | |
| 218 | Sept. 14 | On motion to recommit with instructions to insist that the Hanford power project not be allowed. (Rejected 150 to 186.) | Yea. |
| 219 | Sept. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 220 | Sept. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 221 | Sept. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 222 | Sept. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 223 | Sept. 18 | Quorum call | Absent. |
| | | H. Res. 777, providing for consideration of S. 2429, enlarging the boundaries of Virgin Islands National Park: | |
| 224 | Sept. 18 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 267 to 5.) | Yea. |
| 225 | Sept. 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 226 | Sept. 19 | On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall 225. (Adopted 355 to 17.) | Yea. |
| 227 | Sept. 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 228 | Sept. 19 | On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall 227. (Adopted 339 to 26.) | Yea. |
| 229 | Sept. 19 | Quorum call | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

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| Roll-call No. | Date 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | H.R. 12562, strengthening personnel security in the National Security Agency: | |
| 230 | Sept. 19 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Adopted 351 to 24.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 11363, barring security risks in private employment from access to calssified information and for hearings for those affected: | |
| 231 | Sept. 19 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 247 to 132, a ⅔ vote being required.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 12648, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1963: | |
| 232 | Sept. 19 | On motion to agree to Senate amendment to conference report, appropriating $1,600,000 for construction of peanut research laboratory in Georgia. (Rejected 143 to 221.) | Nay. |
| | | H.R. 11151, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal 1963: | |
| 233 | Sept. 19 | On motion to disagree to Senate amendment barring congressional franked mail addressed only to "occupant." (Rejected 125 to 247.) | Nay. |
| 234 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 12391, omnibus bill extending the emergency wheat and feed grain programs for 1 year and in 1964 establishing strict controls on wheat under a certificate plan and repealing 1958 corn and feed grain program (Food and Agriculture Act of 1962): | |
| 235 | Sept. 20 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 202 to 197.) | Nay. |
| 236 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 237 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 238 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 8900, authorizing Federal aid for construction of college academic facilities, with amendment authorizing loans and grants to students: | |
| 239 | Sept. 20 | On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to eliminate student loans and grants provisions. (Adopted 214 to 186.) | Yea. |
| 240 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 13175, making appropriations for foreign aid for fiscal 1963: | |
| 241 | Sept. 20 | On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce economic aid appropriations by $100,000,000. (Rejected 190 to 203.) | Yea. |
| 242 | Sept. 20 | On passage. (Passed 249 to 144.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 12180, permitting duty-free entry of personal household goods brought into the United States under Government orders with Senate amendment extending the tax deduction privilege to life insurance companies that write individual accident and health policies: | |
| 243 | Sept. 21 | On adoption of Senate amendment. (Adopted 324 to 8.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 11732, authorizing foreign governments to operate radio facilities in the District of Columbia: | |
| 244 | Sept. 21 | On motion to recommit. (Rejected 95 to 208.) | Yea. |
| 245 | Sept. 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 246 | Sept. 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S.J. Res. 224, granting President standby authority to order Ready Reserve to active duty for 12 months: | |
| 247 | Sept. 24 | On passage. (Passed 342 to 13.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 10, regulating taxes on pensions for self-employed persons: | |
| 248 | Sept. 25 | On adoption of conferees report. (Adopted 361 to 0.) | Yea. |
| 249 | Sept. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 250 | Sept. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | S.J. Res. 230, expressing U.S. determination to prevent the spread of communism in Cuba: | |
| 251 | Sept. 26 | On motion to recommit with instructions to add language reaffirming the Monroe Doctrine. (Rejected 140 to 281.) | Yea. |
| 252 | Sept. 26 | On passage. (Passed 384 to 7.) | Yea. |
| 253 | Sept. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 254 | Oct. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 813, providing for disagreement to Senate amendments to H.R. 7927, postal rate and Government salary adjustment bill, and requesting a conference with the Senate: | |
| 255 | Oct. 1 | On motion to suspend rules and agree to resolution. (Agreed to 227 to 22.) | Yea. |
| 256 | Oct. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 5698, apportioning among the States temporary summertime employment with the Government in the District of Columbia area: | |
| 257 | Oct. 1 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 308 to 19.) | Yea. |
| 258 | Oct. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 259 | Oct. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 13241, granting farmers planting under 15 acres of wheat an exemption from 1963 marketing quota penalties: | |
| 260 | Oct. 1 | On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 255 to 60.) | Nay. |
| 261 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 262 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 822, agreeing to Senate amendments to H.R. 8181, authorizing $10,000,000 for National Aquarium in District of Columbia: | |
| 263 | Oct. 2 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 245 to 104.) | Nay. |
| 264 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 265 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 266 | Oct. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 823, providing for consideration of H.R. 12373, the omnibus rivers and harbors bill: | |
| 267 | Oct. 3 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 344 to 4.) | Yea. |
| 268 | Oct. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 12373, the omnibus rivers and harbors bill: | |
| 269 | Oct. 3 | On motion to recommit with instructions to delete the $52,000,000 Burns Creek dam, Idaho. (Adopted 203 to 130.) | Yea. |
| 270 | Oct. 4 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 11970, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962: | |
| 271 | Oct. 4 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 256 to 91.) | Yea. |
| | | S. 1552, tightening controls over the manufacture and distribution of drugs: | |
| 272 | Oct. 4 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 347 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 12648, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1963: | |
| 273 | Oct. 4 | On House amendment to conference report, relating to funds for construction of research facilities and cutting back funds allowed by Senate. (Adopted 273 to 5.). | Yea. |
| | | H. Res. 803, providing for consideration of S. 1123, extending certain provisions of the child labor law to agriculture: | |
| 274 | Oct. 4 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 257 to 81.) | Yea. |
| | | S. 1123, extending certain provisions of the child labor law to agriculture: | |
| 275 | Oct. 4 | On motion to strike enacting clause (kill the bill). (Rejected 137 to 193.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 4670, strengthening laws in District of Columbia against indecent publications: | |
| 276 | Oct. 4 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 270 to 18.) | Yea. |
| 277 | Oct. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 278 | Oct. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 7927, postal rate and Government salary adjustment bill: | |
| 279 | Oct. 5 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 312 to 20.) | Yea. |
| 280 | Oct. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 281 | Oct. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Con. Res. 570, expressing the sense of Congress that the United States should protect, by whatever means necessary, its rights in Berlin: | |
| 282 | Oct. 5 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 311 to 0.) | Yea. |
| | | S. 1447, increasing salaries of District of Columbia teachers: | |
| 283 | Oct. 5 | On passage. (Passed 260 to 9.) | Yea. |
| 284 | Oct. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 13175, making appropriations for foreign aid for fiscal 1963: | |
| 285 | Oct. 6 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 171 to 108.) | Yea. |
| 286 | Oct. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H. Res. 831, returning to Senate S. J. Res. 234, making continuing appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1963 because it infringes upon the exclusive right of the House under the Constitution to originate appropriation bills: | |
| 287 | Oct. 10 | On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to 245 to 1.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 12580, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal 1963: | |
| 288 | Oct. 10 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 172 to 76.) | Yea. |
| | | H.R. 8052, concerning use of the special constructive sale price rule for purposes of certain manufacturers' excise taxes: | |
| 289 | Oct. 10 | On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 247 to 6.) | Yea. |
| | | S. 3451, to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims upon which valuable improvements have been placed, and for other purposes: | |
| 290 | Oct. 11 | On adoption of conference report extending relief beyond that provided in House bill. (Adopted 182 to 77.) | Not voting.[1] |
| 291 | Oct. 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| | | H.R. 12900, civil functions appropriation bill: | |
| 292 | Oct. 12 | On parliamentary motion having effect of striking out funds for Cross-Florida Barge Canal. (84 to 120, not a quorum, whereupon House adjourned.) | Yea. |
| 293 | Oct. 13 | H.R. 12900, civil functions appropriation bill: | |
| | | Continuation of unfinished business-motion striking out funds for Cross-Florida Barge Canal. (Rejected 93 to 142.) | Yea. |

[1] Absent. If present, would have voted "yea."

[2] Absent. If present, would have voted "nay."

## Lammot du Pont Copeland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

**HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN**
OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extent my remarks, I include therein a wonderful article in the New York Times of Sunday, September 23, 1962, regarding a great American, Lammot du Pont Copeland, who is shown in a picture next to a picture of his mother, Louisa d'Andelot du Pont Copeland, a sister of Pierre, Irénée, and Lammot du Pont, all of whom were presidents of the company between 1919 and 1940.

What a great honor it is to be the head of this famous, fabulous, Du Pont Co. that has been doing good for all mankind for over 160 years. This young man, Lammot du Pont Copeland, has a brilliant brain, an understanding heart, worlds of energy, and is so sincere and is a hard worker, like all of these great men that have gone on before have been.

I notice in this great article in the New York Times about the new president where he says he runs a farm. So do I and I am not making a profit either. And I say that with all of his brains, energy, and ability, that if he cannot do it, who can. So I feel better about not making money in our farm. I am speaking of corn, oats, potatoes, and so forth. Of course, our main farm has over 100,000 acres of pine timber on the Tombigbee River, by the Southern Railroad, the Frisco, and the G.M. & O.

And some of Mr. Copeland's assistants have a great tract of land just north of me at McIntosh, Ala., where Aaron Burr was captured after he killed Hamilton, and the great Apache Chief Geronimo, was kept there a few miles south of us for many years before they moved the Indians from Alabama to Oklahoma. The way our fathers and mothers used to make us pay attention to what they said was to tell us that "if you do not do this we will send the Chief Geronimo" and I imagine this new president of Du Pont will be a real Geronimo because when you look at this picture of him standing by his famous, fabulous mother, you can see the determination and willpower in his face.

He has one in his livewire group that is the greatest shot I have ever seen, Sam Carpenter III, and they are coming for the hunt at our hunting lodge in December. And I had no idea that Lammot du Pont Copeland was a hunter and fisherman with all of the other things he excels in so.

So I am inviting him to join us with Mr. Carpenter and his group in December.

I have put quite a little story in the RECORD recently, but I wanted this to go in about the new president that will head this famous, fabulous, company that has carried on so long and has meant so much to so many people, not only in this Nation but practically all over the world. I know that Lammot Copeland will carry on in the same fashion that Walter S. Carpenter, Jr., and Crawford H. Greenewalt and all of the other great men that have gone before have done. And what a pleasure it will be to work with him and his associates down through the years.

God bless Lammot du Pont Copeland and give him strength to carry on the great work that lies ahead.

The article follows:

PERSONALITY: ONCE LAID OFF, HE HEADS DU PONT—NEW PRESIDENT WAS FURLOUGHED AFTER THE 1929 CRASH—COPELAND BEGAN HIS CAREER EXPEDITING SMALL ORDERS

(By Robert Metz)

A young Harvard graduate, laid off some 30 years ago by E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., has just become president of the concern, the world's largest chemical company.

It's not that the young man appeared inept to his chiefs—although one described him as about as green as they come—it was simply a depression cutback following the stock-market crash of 1929.

Still, the man was Lammot du Pont Copeland, whose mother was the sister of Pierre, Irenée, and Lammot du Pont, presidents of the company from 1919 to 1940.

The dismissal does show what those close to the company have long known. Being a Du Pont does not assure success with the company. Since there are some 1,600 in the family, it is clear that even a Du Pont must excel to reach the top.

So difficult is it to work up through the ranks that only a score or so are now forging careers in the business.

NOT RELATED

A further limiting factor is that of late the company has gone outside the immediate family to fill the presidency. Although the retiring president and new chairman, Crawford H. Greenewalt, is a son-in-law of Irenée du Pont, his predecessor, Walter S. Carpenter, Jr., was not related at all.

Mr. Copeland, interviewed in his office on the ninth floor of the Du Pont Building in Wilmington, Del., a building that contains the city's main hotel, the Du Pont, told about the Du Pont enterprises.

A man who listens attentively and answers forthrightly, often with a humorous aside, Mr. Copeland commented on his plans for the company's future.

He does not expect any sudden change in emphasis—"Mr. Greenewalt and I look at life from a similar point of view"—but rather a continuing and steady growth.

The company will continue to accent research to soften the effects of low profit margins that producers of chemical staples have to cope with.

The company's world-renowned research products have contributed heavily to its profits. Among them are Duco finishes, nylon, Orlon and Dacron fibers and Mylar plastic film. Another development, Delrin, has been called Du Pont's challenge to metal.

The company's investment plans are rising. Capital appropriations recently were increased to $300 million, of which most is to be spent in 1963. In 1962 capital spending will total about $225 million. As is traditional in this company that is heavily influenced by tradition, the money will be raised out of internal sources. There is no debt, and only a moderate amount of preferred stock outstanding.

Even though new tax laws are expected that would cut the profitability of foreign investments, a substantial portion of the expenditures will go to 7 Du Pont subsidiaries overseas. Mr. Copeland expressed particular interest in the European Common Market.

"If we don't set up facilities, the chaps on the spot will push us out of the market," he said.

AN INDUSTRIAL CHEMIST

Mr. Copeland is a trained industrial chemist who began his career expediting small orders at the company's Fairfield, Conn., plant, which makes fabrics and finishes. Some months after the layoff he was called back to take a job in the Fairfield control laboratory. He was transferred to Wilmington 5 years later.

He became assistant to the sales manager in the finishes department in 1941. He was elected secretary of the company in 1947, a post once held by his father. Du Pont's stockholder relations program was begun under his direction as company secretary. A year later he was elected a director.

Along the road, Mr. Copeland acquired a feel for figures and in 1943 he was named to the finance committee, which reviews all major appropriations of the company.

When he was named chairman of this committee in 1954, it was obvious to insiders that he was a man to watch. Like many of the Du Ponts, Mr. Copeland holds a number of company shares. With 190,941 common shares and 338,348 shares of Christiana Securities Co., a holding company with 13,417,120 or 29.2 percent of the outstanding Du Pont shares, he is among the largest shareholders.

He professes a firm belief that a company manager should own enough stock so that dividends will be a major source of his income.

Late in 1944 he was elected a director of the General Motors Corp., serving as a representative for the Du Pont Co.'s 23-percent stock interest in the motor company.

In 1946 he was elected a member of the committee on audit of General Motors and resigned in 1949 to become a member of the General Motors finance committee. In November, 1954, he became a member of the bonus and salary committee of the corporation. He resigned from the General Motors board on December 7, 1959, after the Justice Department successfully challenged the Du Pont investment in the auto company.

Mr. Copeland does not share the view held in some quarters that Du Pont will suffer now that the shares are being distributed to Du Pont stockholders. He said that the earnings from the Du Pont investments were always kept separate and that Du Pont shareholders will merely pick up the dividends directly under the distribution plan.

Mr. Copeland does not go along with the contention that the Du Pont influence on General Motors was improper. He said that Du Pont never did get all of General Motors' paint and lacquer business. "Our boys always used to weep and wail that it was harder to sell to General Motors," he said.

The Du Pont president has a broad range of extracurricular activities.

RUNS A FARM

He runs a 3,000-acre farm that is "not making a profit." However, he said, "we're making real progress, getting costs down and yields up." He expressed confidence that the farm would be in the black soon.

Mr. Copeland is a hunter and fisherman. He collects early American antiques and he has been made a member of the Walpole Society, an organization of connoisseurs limited to 30 members.

He is president of the Winterthur Corp., which runs a noted museum of Americana, and treasurer of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, a museum of the history of the Brandywine Creek. The creek is visible from his offices. It was along this creek that the first Du Pont black powder plants were built by Mr. Copeland's great-great-grandfather, Eleuthere Irénée du Pont, who founded the company 160 years ago.

During the layoff in 1930 Mr. Copeland married Pamela Cunningham and went to

Bermuda for a wedding trip. Mrs. Copeland shares her husband's interests in the arts and is a director of the American Association of Museums and the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The Copelands have three children.

## Voting, Attendance, and Performance Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include a letter from the Honorable Ralph R. Roberts, Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, certifying to my voting and attendance record in the 87th Congress, and a letter from the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, the Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, referring to my performance in the 87th Congress, to be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

I, Ralph R. Roberts, Clerk of the House of Representatives, being charged with the preparation of the Journal of the United States House of Representatives and as the certifying officer of the House, do hereby certify that I have carefully examined all rollcalls of the 87th Congress, 1st and 2d sessions, and find that ARNOLD OLSEN, First District of Montana, has voted on each and every rollcall and answered each and every quorum call and therefore has a 100 percent voting and attendance record.

In witness whereof, I hereunto affix my name and the seal of the House of Representatives, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, this 13th day of October, anno Domini 1962.

RALPH R. ROBERTS,
*Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives.*

OCTOBER 1, 1962.

Hon. ARNOLD OLSEN,
*Helena, Mont.*

DEAR ARNOLD: As the 87th Congress draws to a close, I want to express to you my personal thanks for the great work that you have done as a Member of Congress. You have made an outstanding record and the people of your district are justified in feeling proud of you. You reflect great credit upon them.

You have performed your duties with outstanding ability, with courage, and supporting progressive legislation in the best interest of the people. You have been a bulwark of strength for legislation for greater appropriations for a strong national defense and you have supported the strong leadership that President Kennedy is giving us in the field of foreign affairs.

You richly deserve reelection. I sincerely hope and I respectfully urge that the people of your district reelect you, enabling you, with your seniority, to continue the great work that you are doing in their behalf and in behalf of our great country.

You are truly, "A People's Congressman."

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
*Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives.*

## Three-Ring Circus No Pleasure for Congressmen

SPEECH
OF
### HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, our colleague from the Seventh Virginia District, BURR HARRISON, is retiring at the end of this Congress. He is a comparatively young man to have accomplished so much and rendered such outstanding public service.

BURR and I began our service in the Congress at the same time. Those of us who have been privileged to know him intimately have recognized his unusual ability, enjoyed his keen sense of humor, and have found particularly rewarding the warmth of his friendship. I know that as he discontinues his service here, his vast energies will be applied constructively in other pursuits.

As I extend to him my best wishes for improved health and a high degree of satisfaction in whatever endeavors he undertakes, I want to call to the attention of the House some of BURR's typically brief and incisive comments. These appeared in a series of short articles by Luther A. Carter, the Washington staff writer of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot. Because I am sure that these comments will be of interest to my colleagues in the House, I am including the articles in their entirety.

TOO MANY ACTIVITIES DESTROY EFFICIENCY—3-RING CIRCUS NO PLEASURE FOR CONGRESSMEN

(By Luther J. Carter)

WASHINGTON.—Congress operates in the 20th century with 19th-century procedures to the vexation of its Members, says Representative BURR P. HARRISON, Democratic Congressman from Winchester.

HARRISON, on advice from his physician, is retiring from Congress at the end of the present session.

TAXPAYERS' PURCHASE POORLY USED

For some time, he's been thinking about the faults of the institution in which he has served for the last 18 years.

"A major fault is an intolerably vexatious, inefficient management of the time of its Members, time purchased by the taxpayers," he says.

"The various activities of the Congress are in progress at the same time, like a three-ring circus. If one duty is to be done properly, it is likely another must be content with a lick and a promise.

"Committees sit as the floor debate proceeds and constituents wait in the office," he says. "A Member busy in committee will be summoned by the bells to vote on the floor on a measure as to the merits of which he knows little, if anything, and as to the controversial aspects of which he has heard no debate.

"A Member occupied on the floor or in his office will hurry to committee to propound a series of questions to a witness on points which the witness had discussed fully prior to his arrival," HARRISON says.

Cynics always have suspected that much of Congress' activities are subterranean. HARRISON confirms this view. "During the course of an average day, a Member will spend a great deal of time in the Capitol Hill tunnel system, moving from committee to floor to office," he says.

"Under such a method of operation," he adds, "the Members of Congress function without deliberation, without adequate information and in an atmosphere of stress and tension in which many are plucked at by recurring doubts as to the purpose or worth of their individual efforts."

The onerous burdens of office break down as follows:

Legislative: Attending committee sessions, hearing witnesses, drafting bills and participating in floor debate.

Attending to constituents and their representatives (lobbyists): This involves personal interviews and extensive correspondence. Aiding constituents in their dealings with the "frustrating complex of Federal agencies" has become a major function, contrary to what was contemplated under the Constitution.

(HARRISON observes: "In many cases, a Member will receive more letters, telephone calls and personal visits from constituents relating to personal problems involving civil service, veterans claims, postal service, flood control, agricultural regulations, visas and immigration, family hardships of servicemen and a multiplicity of other dealings between individual citizens and the Federal octupus, than he will on pending legislation.")

Social demands. These arise from "the practice of annual congressional banquets held in Washington by business, agricultural, labor, veteran, fraternal and other groups.

"The absence of a Member often is resented, even though he may previously have accepted an invitation to a similar function for the same evening," HARRISON says.

In the spring, invitations of this kind can account for three or four evenings a week, and "attendance at the functions becomes work." The almost invariable presence of one or more constituents makes it important work.

Mending the home fences. The Congressman keeps in touch with his district by attending community functions, accepting speaking invitations, and sampling public opinion by personal tours and correspondence generated by the legislator.

"For a House Member, faced with biennial campaigns, this activity makes a constant demand on his time," says HARRISON.

To make matters worse, not only is the Congressman confronted with these conflicting and multifarious duties, but a mixed-up legislative schedule frustrates attempts to organize his time, HARRISON says.

"In general, no one knows this week what Congress is going to do next week," he notes. "No one knows today what Congress is going to do tomorrow."

CLOCK CAN'T COMMAND ATTENTION

"No one knows at 4 o'clock this afternoon whether Congress is going to quit for the day in half an hour or continue its deliberations well into the evening. Even when announced, legislative programs often are not adhered to and cannot be relied on."

CONGRESS BEST IN CRISIS—LOBBYISTS DISTORT NATIONAL INTERESTS

(By Luther J. Carter)

WASHINGTON.—The national interest often tends to get overlooked because lobbyists apply a political leverage on the Congressman quite unmatched by that of the ordinary citizen, Representative BURR P. HARRISON says.

HARRISON, retiring from the House of Representatives after 16 years as Democratic Member from Virginia's Seventh District (Shenandoah Valley), suspects that Congress works best in time of crisis.

Then it can give the national interest its due, and sectional and private interests are properly left for secondary consideration.

Normally, however, minority interests are so politically persuasive that things hindmost often wind up in front, HARRISON believes.

The "average citizen" has no right to be sanctimonious about this. HARRISON places on him much of the responsibility for the situation, though he indicates it is perhaps inevitable.

"The activities of Congress have become so extensive that the average citizen has little information about his Congressman's record except to the extent it affects his individual interests," he says.

"This is often limited to the information given him by the Washington lobby that protects his interests.

"While these lobbies may represent substantial numbers of citizens, the individual groups represented comprise minorities of the total electorate and usually are being represented only with respect to certain issues," HARRISON says.

"The citizens in these groups, however, often are furnished lists of 'friends' and 'enemies' in Congress and urged to vote for the friends and against the enemies," he goes on.

The Congressmen are labeled on the basis of certain positions they have taken affecting the minority interest, rather than on the basis of their overall record and the general welfare, HARRISON says.

The citizen who belongs to no special-interest groups may be in an almost total void of information about his Congressman.

Indeed, this is likely to be the case, HARRISON says, "except to the extent the Member of Congress may undertake his own mass distribution of speeches, news reports, questionnaires and voting summaries."

"Minority pressure groups, therefore, exert a power over the Congress far out of proportion to their size in the overall population," he says.

"They make their members Congress-conscious and guide them in voting on a special-interest basis."

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TEMPERS TOO HOT IN SUMMER—RECESS WOULD COOL CONGRESS—CONGRESS NEEDS A REST

(By Luther J. Carter)

WASHINGTON.—In nonelection years Congress should take a summer recess and not pick up its legislative duties again until tempers have cooled along with the weather.

This is the view of Representative BURR P. HARRISON, Democratic Congressman from Winchester, who in previous articles has discussed various congressional shortcomings. HARRISON is retiring after 16 years in Congress.

RELAXATION WHEN NEEDED

A summer recess, from July 1 until October 1, is one of the major improvements he believes are needed.

Such a recess would give Members of Congress a chance to plan time in their districts, enjoy their families while the children are home from school, and "relax their tempers during the period in which experience has shown this to be most needed," HARRISON says.

"This would tend to reduce the present ill-tempered legislating of the Washington summers, conducted in a frantic tension-ridden 'when are we are going to get away from here' atmosphere," he adds.

HARRISON suggests a way to keep a legislative logjam from piling up at the end of each session. The first part of the session should be devoted largely to committee business (hearings, marking up bills, etc.), and a deadline should be fixed after which no new legislation could be introduced.

Exceptions to observance of the deadline should be allowed only upon request of the President or by vote of the House, he says.

ORGANIZATION LACKS ORGANIZATION

HARRISON complains of the lack of order and certainty in the Congressman's schedule, but he has a partial remedy for this, too.

"Divide the days of the week between those on which committees sit and the House meets," he says. This would keep Members from having to scurry back and forth through the tunnel between the Capitol and their office buildings. They could carry out their work without dispatching some duties with a lick and a promise.

He would also have the House adopt "the British system under which the floor leader announces well in advance the date and hour at which votes will be taken."

This would relieve a longstanding grievance where HARRISON is concerned. He says no one knows today what Congress will do tomorrow. When legislative programs are announced they are not to be relied upon.

Perhaps his most radical suggestion is to allow Members to delegate to staff members the right to attend committee hearings in their stead. The staffman would question witnesses in the Member's behalf.

VARIED OPINIONS

This would call for a rare tact on the staffer's part, so as not to find himself embroiled in the squabbling that often goes on among committee members of varying political hues.

Not all is wrong with the Congress and HARRISON takes up for one of its most oft-criticized features—the seniority rule that determines committee chairmanships.

"The difficulty is in selecting a better system," he says. "Prior to the inauguration of the seniority system, the power was in the Speaker and the party leadership who exercised it so arbitrarily and capriciously that seniority was substituted."

For all its faults, HARRISON laments the fact that the people do not know the Congress better. The growth of the Nation has put congressional representation in a two-way stretch.

"The size of the House has grown so large it is unwieldy (435 Members)," he says. "On the other hand, population increases have required such increases in the population of congressional districts that contact is being lost between the people and their representative."

HARRISON doesn't know whether he's returning to the anonymity of private life, or whether he's been anonymous all along "What percent of the citizens can even give the name of their Congressman?" he asks.

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## Civil Functions Appropriation Bill, 1963

SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill and against the amendment to increase it.

I regret that the Ansonia-Derby project from my district has not been included in this bill even though it has not been formally authorized, since the omnibus authorization bill in which it is included has not been finally approved by the Senate or signed by the President.

It is encouraging, however, to have obtained the inclusion of this project in the supplemental appropriation bill. Apparently this bill will not be considered by the House prior to adjournment. However, I am pleased to have the assurance of the leadership and of the chairman of the subcommittee handling the supplemental appropriation bill that the appropriation for planning funds for this project will be considered as the first business of the Appropriations Committee in January.

Although I had considered making an attempt to amend this bill, in view of the delicate parliamentary situation and the effect upon adjournment sine die of any additional controversy, and relying upon the assurances of the leadership of consideration within a matter of weeks, I decided not to attempt to include these funds in the present bill.

I was reinforced in this decision by my belief that normal procedure should be followed and that appropriations should not be made for projects before they have been authorized.

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## Legislation and Federal Programs Affecting Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the 87th Congress a number of legislative proposals of great significance to the small business sector of our economy were enacted into law. Legislation was also introduced which, although not enacted during this session, will receive further consideration during the 88th Congress.

There have also been encouraging trends in the growth of small business investment companies, and in the greater share of Government procurement received by small business. The Small Business Administration has been a source of increasing assistance to small businessmen. More loans have been made to applicants than ever before, many under the new bank participation programs inaugurated by the present Administrator. The total amount loaned, as well as the number of loans, has risen sharply. Other forms of assistance have also been increased—counseling, advice and assistance in conjunction with international trade, and specialized assistance to small businesses in those areas participating in the Area Redevelopment Administration's program.

SMALL BUSINESS BILLS ENACTED BY 87TH CONGRESS

H.R. 10, Mr. KEOGH, Ways and Means: Allows self-employed individuals tax deduction for funds for retirement.

H.R. 3413, Mr. PATMAN, Banking and Currency: Amends Small Business Investment Act to give Small Business Ad-

ministration permanent authority to make secured loans to State and local development companies for plant construction, conversion, or expansion.

H.R. 5120, Mr. MULTER, Banking and Currency: Small Business Act amendments—additional loan authority for Small Business Administration Requires Secretary of Commerce to publish notice of defense procurement actions of $10,000 and above and civilian actions of $5,000 and above. Studies to be made by FTC or the Justice Department of effect of Government activity on small business and to determine factors which adversely affect small business through the lessening of competition.

H.R. 7577, Mr. ANDREWS, Appropriations: General Government matters, Department of Commerce and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1962. Includes SBA appropriation for fiscal 1962.

H.R. 8762, Mr. SPENCE, Banking and Currency: Increases funds available for regular business under Small Business Act from $1 billion to $1.5 billion and also increases from $575 million to $725 million the maximum amount of the SBA revolving fund.

H.R. 9169, Mr. THOMAS, Appropriations: Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1962, including $160,363,500 for SBA.

H.R. 10620, Mr. BOGGS.

S. 3481, Mr. SPARKMAN, The provisions of this bill were added to the House bill by amendment in the Senate: This bill expands the so-called self-dealing limitation on the exclusion of SBIC's from definition of personal holding companies and allows a 20-percent reserve for loss. The bill also provides for certain other technical tax amendments.

H.R. 11038, Mr. THOMAS, Appropriations: Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1962, including an additional $40 million for SBA.

H.R. 10650, Mr. MILLS, Ways and Means: Allows up to 7 percent tax credit for funds invested in modernization of industry or business.

S. 902: H.R. 8870, Mr. SPARKMAN and others; Mr. PATMAN, Banking and Currency: Small Business Investment Act amendments to facilitate formation and growth of SBIC's. Increases amount of SBIC debentures that may be purchased by the SBA.

Identical or similar bills were introduced by the following: Mr. PATMAN, H.R. 6672; Mr. EVINS, H.R. 6696.

S. 1922, Mr. SPARKMAN, Banking and Currency: Housing, urban renewal and community facilities, including housing for moderate and low income families and financial assistance for displaced business concerns through loans from SBA.

Identical or similar bills were introduced by the following: Mr. JAVITS, S. 1543; Mr. HUMPHREY, S. 1803; Mr. MULTER, H.R. 824; Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, H.R. 3642; Mr. O'HARA of Illinois, H.R. 4532; and Mr. RYAN, H.R. 7418.

S. 2970, H.R. 12121: Messrs. ROBERTSON and SPARKMAN, by request; Mr. SPENCE, Banking and Currency: Amends Small Business Act to provide that interest and repayments of loans be paid into the revolving fund.

Identical or similar bills were introduced by the following: Mr. SPENCE, H.R. 11020; Mr. PATMAN, H.R. 11300; and Mr. WIDNALL, H.R. 11407.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED BUT NOT ENACTED DURING THE 87TH CONGRESS

In addition to the above legislation, a great number of bills designed to assist small business were introduced during the 87th Congress. The Committee has available to Members, upon request, a complete list of these. Because of its great deal, this 40-page analysis is appropriate primarily as a resource document.

H.R. 116, Mr. MADDEN, Interstate and and Foreign Commerce: Quality stabilization bill.

Identical or similar bills were also introduced by 10 Senators and 7 Representatives.

H.R. 127, Mr. PATMAN, Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Prohibits selling of goods below cost. Designed to strengthen independent competitive enterprise by making it unlawful for any person engaged in commerce to sell or offer goods in one location of the United States at prices lower than those exacted by him elsewhere, where such sales would include unreasonably low prices.

H.R. 3470, Mr. STEED, Ways and Means: Provides a program of special tax deductions for small business and for persons engaged in small business.

H.R. 8830, Mr. STEED, Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Authorizes Federal Trade Commission to issue temporary cease and desist orders.

H.R. 11906, Mr. PATMAN, Banking and Currency: Assists qualified small business concerns to obtain leases of commercial and industrial property in areas where unduly stringent credit requirements exist; authorizes the Small Business Administration to guarantee, directly or in cooperation with others, the payment of rentals under such leases. Establishes a revolving fund with an initial capital of $50 million for this purpose.

Identical or related bills were introduced by the following: Mr. ROOSEVELT, H.R. 11909.

H.R. 13189, Mr. PATMAN, Banking and Currency; S. 3737, Mr. SPARKMAN: Gives statutory approval to SBA "standby guarantees" of loans made by banks and expands SBA's lending power.

H.R. 13190, Mr. PATMAN, Ways and Means; S. 3736, Mr. SPARKMAN: Provides technical amendments to the Internal Revenue Code for small business investment companies. Allows setting up of reserve for losses, exempts SBIC's from the accumulated earnings tax, and other amendments.

MORE ASSISTANCE FOR SMALL BUSINESS

The President in the month of June 1961 created the White House Committee on Small Business, under the chairmanship of the Honorable John E. Horné, Administrator, Small Business Administration. This Committee has been most active in looking into the problems of America's small business community and recently issued its first report, which incorporated a number of recommendations designed to improve the economic position of America's small business sector. Members may obtain copies of this report from the House Small Business Committee.

Small Business Administration loans to small businessmen are increasing. In fiscal 1962, 6,203 loans, totaling $360,762,000 were approved and disbursed. This compares with 4,989 loans for fiscal 1961 and 3,670 for fiscal 1960. The dollar amounts involved have more than doubled since 1960. It should be noted that SBA funds have been augmented with hundreds of millions of dollars loaned by banks through the various bank participation loan programs, which have been recently expanded by the agency.

Small business investment companies have increased in number until presently there are 642 of them. These companies have proved to be a potent stimulus for private investment in the small business sector. The total capital pool available for this purpose as of October 10, 1962, was $552,854,875. Of this amount, all but $84.6 million, which was supplied by the SBA, came from private investors. In other words, private funds in the program exceed Government funds by a ration of 6.5 to 1.

During fiscal 1962, in response to a directive by the President, there was a 10-percent increase in the share of defense contracts awarded to small businesses. During the same period, $6.1 billion in contracts for overall Government procurement were awarded to small businesses, an increase of 27 percent over the preceding year.

The small business set-aside program, which reserves or sets aside certain contracts for exclusive bidding by small business has been most helpful. In conjunction with the set-aside program is what amounts to an appeals procedure. A small business which has been the low bidder for a Government contract but has been denied the award because of alleged incompetency, may request SBA to determine whether it is in fact competent to perform the contract. In those cases where the low bidder is found to be competent, he is awarded a certificate of competency and the agency letting the bid must award it to the small businessman in question. During fiscal 1962, the number of applications for certificates of competency received by SBA increased from 217 to 292, for contracts involving a total amount of $71,237,964 as opposed to $68,507,021 in fiscal 1961.

Recently, the House Small Business Committee, in conjunction with the Senate Small Business Committee, the Small Business Administration, and the White House Committee on Small Business, issued a hundred-page "Federal Handbook for Small Business." This is a survey of small business programs in Federal Government agencies. It describes for the benefit of the small businessman the various programs available to him, how he may apply for participation in these programs, whom to contact, what forms to use, and other similar useful information.

The Committee has recently sent a copy of this handbook to each Member of the House. Additional copies will be

available shortly. Should any Member desire additional copies, we will supply them, upon request, as soon as they are received from the printer.

## An Adjournment Commentary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare to consign this 87th Congress to history, and as each of us makes his public or private assessment of what has taken place here, and his part in it, an outsider's view of the momentous effects of adjournment may be of interest.

Under leave to extend my remarks, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Charles McDowell's column of this morning in the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch:

CHARLES MCDOWELL TODAY—HOW TO GET ALONG WITHOUT CONGRESS

When Congress adjourns and disperses itself among the provinces, every American has to strive in his own way to adjust to the great void left in Washington.

Admittedly, this adjustment is not terribly difficult for some of us, but the fact remains that the adjournment of Congress has much more impact on the country than it did, say, 30 years ago. In those days, Congress was composed of people who lived in their communities and went to Washington for a few months every year to pool their wisdom. A typical session lasted from midwinter to late spring.

Now Congress is composed of people who live in Washington and try to visit their constituencies occasionally. Their wisdom is almost continuously pooled, and the interaction is awesome.

Congress convenes in January, takes warmup exercises until spring, works hard for most of the summer and finally runs down, reeling with exhaustion, in the fall.

Nobody even notices any more when the lawmakers ignore the legal adjournment deadline of July 31. Congress has become such a fixture in Washington that everyone expects to find it there the year round, like the Smithsonian, the zoo, and the humidity.

The point is that the adjournment of Congress now comes as something of a surprise and shock to the citizenry. Apart from the sudden diffusion of wisdom throughout the country, there is a general sense of the void in Washington.

Various crises don't seem as critical as they were when Congress was in session, when the sentries were on the ramparts. Investigations into the most alarming situations suddenly lapse. The alarming situations themselves seem to take a turn for the better. Newspapers break out with the datelines of unfamiliar places.

The end of the world seems farther away somehow.

All sort of unsettling drifts and counterdrifts in Government stabilize themselves temporarily.

President Kennedy loses some of his most articulate military advisors on such problems as Cuba.

The whole Kennedy family loses its leading competitor for national attention, Congress.

The whole Nation loses the Ev and Charlie Show.

In this period of relative calm, while Congress is in adjournment, some Americans are bored and lethargic. They lose their fine edge of nervousness, their irritability, their sense of crisis and urgency.

We recommend that these citizens occupy their time by concentrating on the analyses of the past session of Congress that are becoming available in great quantity and variety. Every Member of Congress analyzes the recent session for the home folks, and every newsman left behind in Washington does the same.

Some of these experts discover that Congress repudiated most of the President's program. Others discover that Congress enacted most of it. The session is evaluated as too liberal because it did nothing, too conservative because it did nothing, too liberal because it did too much, too conservative because it did to much, and too middle-of-the-road because the liberals and conservatives didn't fight each other with chair legs.

Looking back on the session with the experts, there will be something for everybody but agreement on nothing except the general relief that it is all over.

## Women's Role in Veterans' Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, 1962, it was my pleasure to address the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. As my theme for the evening I chose to speak about the role women have played in veterans' affairs, which is tantamount to roles they have played in all walks of life. As they have fostered the development, growth, and progress of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, it is appropriate that they share in the commendation and recognition extended the parent organization. Under leave to extend my remarks I insert the following in the RECORD:

Madam Chairlady, our honored guest, Mrs. Eleanor M. Davids, my colleague, Congressman CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER, distinguished guests, officers, members and friends of the Department of New Jersey Ladies Auxiliary, Veterans of Foreign Wars, it is indeed a pleasure to be here this evening to attend the Department of New Jersey Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I have attended many dinners in this ballroom in past years but never have I seen it packed as it is this evening. This large audience speaks more eloquently than any words at my command of the affection, respect and high regard that you have for your honored guest, Mrs. Davids.

The Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has a great heritage. A ladies organization on a nationwide scale was a logical and needed adjunct to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. All through history women have given invaluable aid to our soldiers—in camp and in battle. But in time of peace their patriotism, fidelity, and fortitude have continued to be "a tide in the affairs of men."

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States had its origin in an ideal of patriotic service. Its founders were men who had returned from active service in the Spanish-American War. They believed that American citizenship involved a responsibility of service in times of peace as well as in war. Banded together in an organization which would be a peacetime counterpart of the military organizations to which they had belonged, those men envisioned a future of continuous service to their country, their flag, and the comrades with whom they served.

No appraisal of the Veterans of Foreign Wars would be complete without giving full credit to the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and granddaughters of overseas veterans who compose its ladies auxiliary. From the early days of the organization in 1899, the womenfolk of the members have proved themselves indispensable to the parent organization.

I have always marveled at the way the ladies of the auxiliary get things done.

The thoroughness with which you tackle a problem and carry it through to a successful conclusion is something that we men might well emulate. You barely complete one project before you begin planning another.

A study of your program reveals that thousands of hours and thousands of dollars are devoted to hospital work, cancer aid and research, the VFW national home, youth activities, rehabilitation, civil defense needs, Americanism, and an untold number of services to veterans and their families.

We must never let the passage of time obscure or minimize the Nation's debt of gratitude to our veterans and their families. Today the Government of the United States is able to deal with the problems of the world as a free Government because of the sacrifices of our veterans in time of national peril.

It is of more than passing interest to recall that America has always rendered a special kind of gratitude to veterans of military and naval conflict. Men who served under arms in America as far back as 1636 have been designated under certain prescribed and varying conditions to be eligible for public assistance. The Plymouth Colony specifically provided that any man sent forth as a soldier who returned maimed, should be maintained by the Colony from that time forward. From the early colonial authorities to the present time, formally constituted governments have enacted laws or adopted provisions making benefits available for veterans and their dependents.

But our job is more than "remembering." The crises of the present demand that we take a new grip on ourselves and look squarely at our national program in behalf of the more than 22.3 million veterans and their families.

Who knows, better than the women of our local communities, the real behind-the-scenes actual circumstances surrounding the hospital and rehabilitation programs administered by our Veterans' Administration. One of the auxiliary's basic programs is voluntary service in Veterans' Administration and community hospitals. I am told that in 1961 your membership worked over 1½ million hours, serving patients in nearly 500 Veterans' Administration and community hospitals. Your members spent 97,700 hours assisting VFW post officers in rehabilitation work for veterans and their families; 1,300 hours transporting people to hospitals, clinics and other facilities. Other rehabilitation services performed in local communities included nursing service, disaster relief, and aid to the handicapped.

Without the headlines of publicity, auxiliary members constantly devote their talents to the needs of veterans' families in distress; to the needs of disabled veterans who are forced to spend weary months in hospital

beds; and to the welfare of widows and orphans unable to subsist on their meager incomes.

Rarely a day passes in any Veterans' Administration hospital without the presence of a representative of the Auxiliary of the VFW. To the patients of these hospitals, you bring friendly smiles, cheerful greetings, and an unending flow of gifts. The sum total of these activities give a lift to patient morale that no medicine can accomplish.

The job of rehabilitation is a continuous one. The extent of your assistance can perhaps best be told when we view, even briefly, the mission of the Veterans' Administration's medical program.

Since the establishment of the Veterans' Administration in 1930 there has been a tremendous expansion in the medical program for veterans. On June 30, 1931, there were 54 VA hospitals, 7 of which were opened that fiscal year, with a total capacity of slightly more than 26,000 beds. Three decades later the number of hospitals had been expanded to 170, with a capacity of more than 122,000 beds. The average daily patient load in fiscal year 1931 was 33,000 of which approximately 24,000 were in VA hospitals, and 9,000 in other Federal, national homes, State, and local government and private hospitals. In fiscal year 1961, this number had grown to more than 114,000 of which 111,000 were in VA hospitals and 3,000 in contract hospitals.

The Veterans' Administration voluntary service program—with which you are so closely connected—provides a dynamic partnership between the community and the Veterans' Administration medical program. This involves 42 national voluntary organizations and some 400 local organizations. During the fiscal year volunteer women workers provided more than 7 million hours of volunteer service. I have previously mentioned the 1½ million hours which your auxiliary has contributed. This is a gigantic undertaking and is a highly necessary portion of the program in behalf of our Nation's veterans.

Women's patriotic organizations can indeed become a power in aiding disabled veterans. Programs in aid of job development in local communities have been formulated by your individual auxiliary units. Together with the aid of employment officers of the posts of the VFW and representatives of placement services, such programs make a most realistic contribution.

After all, perhaps no one is better equipped to seek out job information than the women citizens of our local communities. To women—whether in the home or in business and the professions—there comes information of a direct and detailed nature dealing with job opportunity.

Who, better than you, the women of the Veterans of Foreign Wars auxiliary, can realistically understand the emotional and physical impact of experiences undergone by the veteran who has been wounded in the service of his country? Who, better than you, recognizes the trials, the tribulations, and the efforts involved in that uphill fight?

Who, better than you, can earnestly, sincerely, and wholeheartedly, enter into this ever-increasing challenge of launching our physically disabled war veterans in their final step in the rehabilitation program—the step that means finding a job which they are qualified to do and will be happy in doing?

It is my belief that the ladies of the auxiliary of the VFW can continue to contribute much in the crusade for (the right, the just, and the must in) finding employment for physically handicapped war veterans.

The VFW buddy poppy is an annual reminder of the Nation's debt of honor to its disabled veterans and war dead. Public and voluntary support of this worthy cause makes possible certain phases of your welfare work. When you sell buddy poppies, you perpetuate the VFW tradition of service and every auxiliary shares in maintaining that tradition by enlisting a record number of volunteer workers. Each buddy poppy offered for sale gives you, and the people of America, an opportunity to honor this Nation's war dead by wearing this symbol of service.

Major credit for the successful development of the VFW National Home for war orphans, at Eaton Rapids, Mich., belongs to the ladies auxiliary.

You and I know that patriotism is a living, dynamic force that causes men to die on their feet for liberty and freedom, rather than live on their knees for a tyrant. These words have been derived from a study of pages of our country's history. It is easy to be patriotic in times of war, yet remembering what Will Rogers once said to the effect that we have never lost a war and have never won a peace, we should be just as patriotic in times of peace—to win that peace and security for our children.

Inherent in the action of meeting this challenge of American citizenship are the women of America. Tomorrow's history is being written today. The circumstances that can help control or change the course of history remains within the power of the people themselves, if they will exercise their rights as citizens.

Women the world over have followed with deep interest the progress of American women. They are interested in the jobs women hold, in the pay they receive, in their efforts to improve our schools and communities. The world also knows that more and more American women are contributing to the life of the Nation, expressing themselves on the issues which face them as citizens, homemakers, and workers. In the final analysis, men and women everywhere have the same basic goals as those which motivate the women of the United States. They are dreaming of better lives. They desire in the years ahead opportunities for education—new ways of learning, working, and living.

Your auxiliary is approaching its 50th anniversary. Step by step, year by year, encampment by encampment, you have served our veterans. This service, in turn, has benefited the entire Nation. I am certain you are not looking only to the past, but you are working for the future preservation of our freedoms. It is a testimony to the vigor of the auxiliary that it is constantly preparing to meet new challenges with courage, energy, and skill that have been tried in the fires of long experience.

There is much an auxiliary can do. First, each individual member can resolve to carry on the struggle for freedom in her daily life by fully accepting the responsibilities that freedom entails—thus setting an example for others. Each auxiliary, in cooperation with its post, can assume community leadership in aiding to establish peace through its Americanism programs and other projects. Regardless of the project undertaken, it is important to remember that halfhearted measures are not enough today. There must be, in addition, a determination to be as devoted, selfless, and brave on behalf of our country and its causes as were those who gave their lives for freedom.

We have inherited a sacred trust to be passed on safely to those who come after us. If one generation fails in its duty, the chain will be broken. We must believe in our democratic heritage with a faith, not passive, but strong and confident. Then we must be willing to work for it.

I am certain that the VFW and its ladies auxiliary will never betray that trust.

Godspeed.

## A United Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WALTER H. MOELLER**
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, the 87th Congress, with all its trials and moments of frustration has now come to a successful conclusion. The success of this Congress, which history will record, is attributed in a large measure to your excellent leadership and the determined efforts of all the Members of this body to pass just laws. In order that this might be accomplished, cooperation was required from Members on both sides of the aisle. And it is very apparent that in by far the majority of instances this cooperation was forthcoming. The esteemed minority leader, Mr. HALLECK, of Indiana, who is held in high respect by men on both sides of the aisle, stood by you and provided the inspiration of those of the Republican Party to join in these cooperative efforts. Truly, this was a united Congress at work in the interest of all the people of this Nation. As one not long in the field of politics, I have come to enjoy a profound respect for all the Members of this body.

On the outside there are many who feel that the lawmakers are not men of integrity and honor; often they are pictured as those seeking only personal gains and self-interests. This notion has long ago been dispelled from my mind. I have found here the most conscientious, the most dedicated, and truly the very epitome of genuine Americanism in these elected representatives of the people. It is for this reason that I resent the uncomplimentary attacks made on any Member. I resent attacks that may be made on the Speaker, the majority leader, or any man on my side of the aisle. But I equally resent attacks made upon the minority leader, Mr. HALLECK, or any Member on this side of the aisle. In these perilous days, it ill behooves any of us to find fault and condemn, when we ought to uphold and appreciate the efforts of our colleagues. These are days when all of America should be solidly united as one invincible army in following the leadership of our esteemed President and Vice President. It is a time when we need to look with appreciation upon the efforts of those in the highest court of the land, making up the third branch of our Government and find cause for rejoicing at their resolute determination that our Constitution be upheld in every respect.

This is also a time when every American citizen needs to reflect upon the great privilege of his citizenship in this the greatest Nation on earth. We dare never become proud or haughty; we must always acknowledge that what we have today and what we are as a people comes to us by divine benediction. It is truly a time when we must lean heavily upon spiritual resources to give us

strength for the day. When the psalmist of old cried out, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it"—Psalm 127:1—we must with all vigor look to divine guidance to give us direction in these days of trial when our blessings and great institutions are threatened. Only with the help of God can we remain a mighty Nation, deserving of a position of world leadership. With this sentiment upon our hearts we return to our several homes to solicit the support of our fellow men to return here to continue in this service. May even our campaign efforts give demonstration of high ideals, of strong moral character, and of humble acknowledgment of the dependence of each of us upon divine providence. And with that, may God be with us until we meet again.

## Hon. Brent Spence, of Kentucky

SPEECH
OF
## HON. FERNAND J. ST. GERMAIN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. ST. GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most unfortunate factors of this Congress is the impending retirement of the Honorable BRENT SPENCE. I have been fortunate to serve under him during my term of office and know that his departure will leave a great gap to be filled. We wish him well as he enters private life after an illustrious career of public service but I am sure that that service will continue even though he will no longer be a Member of the House.

BRENT SPENCE has been one of the great legislators of this Congress and one of the great men of the House. During my term of office and my service on the Banking and Currency Committee, of which he is chairman, I have often turned to him for the guidance, the advice and the consultation of an experienced and knowledgeable Member of the House.

The record of BRENT SPENCE is one that has brought credit to him and credit to the Nation. In the past few days my colleagues have spoken of the legislative record of BRENT SPENCE and I have listened with awe for much of the economic legislation of the past 20 years as well as the needed wartime measures have been the result of his work, his interests and his responsibilities to his constituents and to the Nation.

Committees have not always had the leadership of a man with such a deft hand and an active mind. Committees have not always been chaired by men of such character and personal integrity. Seldom have we had the opportunity to pay tribute to a man of such stature as BRENT SPENCE. His native Kentucky has just cause to be proud of its son and the Nation can be proud of having men such as BRENT SPENCE serving in the Halls of Congress. We wish him the best that life can provide and that he will spend many more years as a symbol of the best in America.

## A Look at the Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, now that the debate over the establishment of the communications satellite corporation is over, it is most useful to look at the legislative record of this highly significant matter in the cold light of history. This month's Progressive contains an article by the distinguished editor of the New York Post, James Wechsler, which reviews the history of the communications satellite bill. Mr. Wechsler presents a penetrating analysis of the issue which should be read by all my colleagues as well as every citizen. As the article states:

Americans may have reason to turn back to it (the communications satellite debate) as the saga of space unfolds.

The article follows:

SATELLITE, INC.

(By James A. Wechsler)

The congressional battle over the administration's communications satellite bill ended in late summer with a crushing defeat for the small band of men who had dared to oppose it. Their lost cause is probably already largely forgotten by most Americans, if indeed, it was ever seriously noticed by many. Yet one ventures the prediction that we have not heard the last of this affair. It might be described as one of the great untold stories of the early space age—and, conceivably, the first momentous scandal of this new era. In a free society such episodes have a way of haunting the participants long after the deals have ostensibly been completed.

This does not purport to be the definitive history of that battle. There are many aspects of it that still defy explanation and elude inquiry. In large measure what is set forth here is based primarily on a reading—sometimes between the lines—of a 456-page volume called "Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, on H.R. 11040, an Act for the Establishment, Ownership, Operation, and Regulation of a Commercial Communications Satellite System, and for Other Purposes." The story is supplemented by conversations with some actors in the drama who could move behind the scenes.

There will be little recorded here that was not accessible to the press; but it will also be apparent that much of it was never clearly or dramatically defined in most news organs. There were a few reporters who early sensed the dimensions of the story, but they were only a handful.

While we gaped and blinked in wonderment over the dawn of Telstar, the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. staged the first and perhaps decisive commercial coup of the space epoch. That it had the official blessing of the Kennedy administration (and the natural sympathy of the Republican leadership) in this endeavor merely underlines the magnitude of the feat. Ultimately we must ask: Why? But first let us turn to the record, where the heart of the story can be found.

In December 1961 Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, speaking before the political committee of the United Nations General Assembly, revealed that in his view the communications satellite represents a "fundamental breakthrough in communications [which] could affect the lives of people everywhere. It could forge new bonds of mutual knowledge and understanding between the nations. * * * The United States wishes to see this facility made available to all states on a global and nondiscriminatory basis. * * * We would like to see United Nations members not only use this service, but also participate in its ownership and operation."

As Ernest Gross, former U.S. representative to the United Nations, testified before the Senate group, Mr. Stevenson's large view of the new day, originally the official administration view, was in dramatic contrast with remarks which Senator ROBERT KERR, chairman of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, had addressed in February to Under Secretary of State George McGhee on the same subject: "It occurs to me," the Senator said, "that you do not understand that the only new thing about this hoped-for satellite communications system is that it is just an improved method of doing what is now being done."

Obviously Mr. Stevenson and Senator KERR were talking about two different worlds. Yet in the end it was essentially the perspective of the Oklahoma tycoon that shaped the legislative outcome. In the measure as finally enacted there was not a single reference to Mr. Stevenson's vision of the United Nations' role in the expanding satellite universe. In the final phase of debate, a letter was extracted from Mr. Stevenson and read on the Senate floor by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY expressing approval of the pending bill. How Mr. Stevenson reconciled his earlier words with the legislative deed is one of the unanswered mysteries of this story. But it is perhaps relevant that he succeeded in avoiding a personal appearance before the Foreign Relations Committee despite persistent demands from Senator WAYNE MORSE that he submit himself to interrogation.

One begins with the Stevenson contradiction, even though he took almost no direct part in the controversy, because it points up so many of the paradoxes and puzzles of this strange proceeding.

What was fundamentally at stake in the legislative dispute was whether the Government should control the nascent system of satellite communications for primarily public ends, or whether it should cede dominance of the enterprise to A.T. & T. for primarily profitable purposes. There was much byplay over the totality of A.T. & T.'s grip under the prospective bill, but even the stanchest supporters of the measure offered weak and contradictory testimony on that point; indeed, they seemed divided between the pretense that A.T. & T.'s role would be limited, and the insistence that the Republic was fortunate to have A.T. & T. volunteer to take over.

Obviously, if one accepted Senator KERR's view that the whole project involved more of what had already been done, no great debate was at hand. But if one accepted Mr. Stevenson's portrait of a fateful turning point in men's lives, the abdication of Government was inexplicable. Yet this is basically what has occurred, under the direction of an administration rhetorically committed to the earlier Stevenson position.

Whodunit? How?

The case for the bill was won by a compound of confusion and inertia. It is surely not my contention that all those who voted for the bill were tools of corporate power. I would argue, however, on the basis of the printed record, that those who were to be damned as the "filibusters"—a charge worthy of fuller inquiry—were generally those who paid the closest attention to the argument. Some of the stakes at issue were first set forth on March 6, 1961, when Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, leader of the small band, appeared before the Senate Space Committee. The issues were intensively explored a few weeks later at hearings before his sub-

committee, but almost none of the press bothered to attend, even though these hearings contained some of the few direct confrontations between the proponents and opponents of the bill prior to the floor debate in June. And rarely have I read as brilliant and diligent an exercise in congressional cross-examination as that conducted by Senator WAYNE MORSE in the hearing held before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Yet in most of the cryptic newspaper accounts of the whole episode, MORSE emerged as a cranky curmudgeon laboring an obscure point.

How, then, does one dramatize what really happened? How does one translate the devastating impact of the hundreds of pages of hearings that so few Americans have read and that were so inadequately reported in most places? One can try by writing some of the headlines that the testimony might have received, and by suggesting to the reader how different the outcome might have been if these headlines had been widely used. Imagine what echoes may have been stirred if there had been large headlines saying "Stevenson Reverses Stand on Satellite Bill, But Spurns Demand That He Testify."

The biggest headlines might have been won by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the U.S. Information Agency; they would have said that he had resigned in protest over the administration's support of a measure which exposed his Agency to the dubious mercy of A.T. & T. He did not do so; instead he engaged in the difficult exercise of trying to deprecate the bill without betraying the team. Yet, even within those limitations, his testimony might have rocked the country if its significance had been accurately appraised and heralded. For what he said was that the fees required by A.T. & T. might be so high as to bar USIA programs from the satellite system. Murrow testified that, unless the Government received preferential rates (nowhere provided for in the bill) it would cost USIA $900 million annually at commercial rates to utilize the satellite network for 90 minutes a day in underdeveloped areas. Now consider this testimony:

"Senator MORSE. Would it be desirable, Mr. Murrow, if we set up a satellite communications system, to have the facilities of that system made available to our Government for the transmitting of the type of freedom programs that you and I have had in mind as we have been discussing the problem?

"Mr. MURROW. It seems to me that this would be desirable, sir.

"Senator MORSE. Is there anything in this bill that guarantees to the U.S. Government a reduction in commercial rates for the transmission of U.S. programs of freedom to the areas of the world where the Communists are a 24-hour-night-and-day threat to freedom?

"Mr. MURROW. No, sir."

In Murrow's view, the United States might find itself at a severe disadvantage in competition with Communist programs around the world unless "we could secure a reduced rate of increased appropriations."

As the hearings progressed, Senator STUART SYMINGTON, a chief advocate of the leave-it-to-A.T. & T. bloc at these seminars, questioned Murrow's figures on prospective cost. He accused the USIA chief of vastly overstating them. Murrow held his ground, conceding only that in the great unchartered areas we are about to enter any estimate is necessarily hazardous. Perhaps the sharpest commentary on the proceedings is that no conclusive effort was made to resolve the gap between them before the vote sealed the choice.

A reader can only assume that the Senate chose to ignore Mr. Murrow's warning. But then, so did he. For when the climactic question came, he announced that if he were a Member of the Senate, he would vote for the bill. As in the case of Mr. Stevenson, the team spirit was apparently irresistible—or compulsory.

Now let us suppose that in many cities in the land citizens picked up their newspapers and saw this headline: "Mystery Move Curbs U.S. Rights in Satellite Plan, Probe Hears."

As initially drafted, the satellite bill contained this clear clause, based directly on the President's words of July 24, 1961:

"The corporation shall not enter into negotiations with any international agency, foreign government or entity without a prior notification to the Department of State, which will conduct or supervise such negotiations. All agreements and arrangements with any such agency, government, or entity shall be subject to the approval of the Department of State.

At first the State Department and other administration spokesmen argued vehemently for this provision, despite questioning by Senator KEAN which was considered by many to be as acid and blistering as any ever heard on Capitol Hill. Apparently this assertion of Government influence in the business of the emerging monopoly was unsatisfactory to the men who were taking over the show. And so this language was substituted:

"Whenever the corporation shall enter into business negotiations with respect to facilities, corporations or services authorized by this act with any international or foreign entity, it shall notify the Department of State of the negotiations. The Department of State shall advise the corporation of relevant foreign policy considerations. Throughout such negotiations the corporation shall keep the Department of State informed with respect to such consideration. The corporation may request the Department of State to assist in the negotiations, and that Department shall render such assistance as may be appropriate."

The State Department, in effect, abdicated any controlling rule over the conduct of negotiations; in return the corporation pledged only to let the Department know what it was doing. As someone remarked, the whole thing might have been simplified by admitting A.T. & T. to the United Nations.

Who dictated the change? Was not this single episode, embodying a complete reversal on the part of the administration, sufficient to cast doubt and discredit on the whole operation? Yet I would guess that not one in a million Americans knows that such a remarkable alteration was engineered, and that Secretary of State Dean Rusk eventually found himself defending it.

This was not a minor matter of rhetoric concerning only the handling of business arrangements. The real point was underlined by Benjamin V. Cohen, that wise old New Dealer who came forward to challenge the bill. In response to a question concerning the possibility of separating business matters from foreign policy in negotiations involving the satellite communications system. Cohen responded, "I think it is utterly impossible at this stage * * * almost all problems are mixed problems, and the State Department should not be embarrassed by having to negotiate through an instrument of this character. * * * It becomes embarrassing, even in the case of companies on whose boards the government has appointed no directors, to say these (business matters) are private negotiations that do not bind the Government. It is much more difficult to escape responsibility for a corporation three directors of which are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate."

But the mystery of why the bill was rewritten on this crucial point was neither aired in any serious form in most public places, nor ever satisfactorily resolved.

Much of the argument for swift enactment of the bill rested on the popular cry that we could not afford any delay in the great space competition. The note of urgency dominated many headlines. Now let us dream that many of the stories on August 8 had been headlined this way: "Witness Asks Senate Probers: Will A.T. & T. Strike Against Government Rule of Satellite Plan?"

This was the thrust of Joseph Rauh's testimony in opposition to the measure: One of a handful of citizens who testified against the bill, he argued—as did Cohen, and as had the dissident Senate bloc—that there was no desperate need for passage of any such final legislation at this time; that the National Aeronautical and Space Administration could proceed, in cooperation with private industry technicians, in promoting the satellite program, just as it had managed the Telstar achievement. Meanwhile the country could continue to weigh its ultimate course; it should not be stampeded into surrendering to A.T. & T.'s demands.

There could be only one plausible reason for haste, Rauh observed: "If we lose any time through not passing this bill, it would be because of a sitdown strike by A.T. & T. * * * If they are not prepared to cooperate without this bill, then I think there ought to be an investigation of A.T. & T., and that fact ought to be known to the American public; that they are putting their dollars ahead of the fight against communism."

Nowhere have I found any effective answer to this contention; nowhere have I read or heard any compelling explanation as to why time was so desperately of the essence in this proceeding unless A.T. & T. had whispered the word that it would strike unless its terms were met. As far as I know, A.T. & T. never felt obliged to proclaim that its services were at the Government's disposal regardless of the outcome of the legislative argument.

There were many days on which testimony offered the committee would have justified such headline language as: "Profits Come First in Satellite Bill, Senate Probers Told."

Defenders as well as critics of the bill were obliged to acknowledge the point, for the wording of the statute is unmistakable. There were, of course, some Government witnesses who engaged in the painfully innocent exercise of suggesting that there could be no serious conflict between corporate profit and national interest.

Thus, Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow, a bright and able young man who will, I predict, some day read his testimony with some degree of anguish, valiantly voiced his confidence that the directors of the satellite corporation would be Americans first.

Former U.N. Ambassador Gross, addressing himself to the same question, quietly recited the facts of life that should hardly have eluded Mr. Minow. Discussing the duality of interest that might confront the directors of the satellite corporation, he said, in response to a question from Senator ALBERT GORE, that the aims and goals of a corporation director were quite different from those of a Government official. "It seems to me," said Gross, "that the perspective has to be different. The director of a corporation for profit is bound, in the interests of the stockholders, to do the profitable thing. I think it would not be a matter of lack of patriotism or wisdom at all."

What he was saying, of course, was nothing more than that what is good for A.T. & T. is not necessarily good for the country.

Enterprising journalists might have found some further headline material if they had pursued the gap between the administration's ultimate position and the stand taken by Assistant Attorney General Lee Loevinger, Chief of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, in earlier testimony before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. Discussing the prospect of A.T. & T. control of the satellite program, Loevinger suggested how the present vested

interests of the corporation might cast a shadow over its operations in the great new venture: "There would be a natural reluctance on the part of companies with large investments in existing facilities to take speedy action which would make these facilities obsolete. A company controlled by A.T. & T. could scarcely avoid considering the effect of satellite facilities on existing investments in cable facilities."

It was this point which Senators KEFAUVER and LONG tried to stress, citing instances where A.T. & T. had held back on new developments. Again no one was listening.

Despite Mr. Loevinger's warning, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy warmly saluted the satellite bill and Loevinger ceased and desisted from any further public statements along these lines. The Attorney General based his stand on the assumption that the Federal Communications Commission would keep A.T. & T. in line. He conceded that nothing in the past justified this assumption but added wistfully that he hoped the FCC would "start to meet its responsibilities."

Yet even this pious hope did not confront the central problem. For the act explicity declares that "there is hereby authorized to be created a communications satellite corporation for profit." This is language that A.T. & T. understands.

And an International Telephone & Telegraph vice president testified that he thought the satellite corporation should get a special subsidy if the Government wanted it to conduct initially unprofitable operations in poor territory.

So it would seem that the Government—meaning the people—loses on both ends. It is denied any real assurance that A.T. & T. will carry the satellite program into these impoverished areas where it may be most urgently needed but where the returns may be least lucrative. Nor does it obtain any pledge of preferential rates for direct Government programs.

In a way the most unheralded story of all, which got almost no attention except in those subscribing newspapers which chose to print Drew Pearson's column on that day, involved the press itself.

On August 3, during Newton Minow's interrogation by the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator RUSSELL B. LONG had commented on the extensive volume of tax-deductible advertising published by A.T. & T. to hail its own role in Telstar. Then he observed that "any daily newspaper in the country which might undertake to attack editorially the bill that we have before us is subject to the complete right of this corporation either to advertise or not advertise in that paper. Also the corporation has the right to deduct this advertising expense but they don't have to place their advertising with any newspaper."

To which Minow responded: "I can't believe that the press would be influenced in taking editorial judgment on the basis of that."

One hopes that Minow's expression of innocence is not a true reflection of his worldliness in dealing with corporate pressures.

There are cynical men who say that it does not really matter whether A.T. & T. assumes corporate command of the satellite program or whether the Government retains nominal control while leasing the venture. They may not be entirely wrong. It may well be that opponents of the measure should have fought for full-fledged Government ownership and operation of the program, despite the counsels of caution from those who asserted that such a course was politically impossible.

It is said that public opinion would have rebelled against any radical approach. But those who profess to speak for public opinion usually bear little resemblance to the man in the street. The only poll I have seen, conducted by an agency called "What America Thinks," reported in mid-August rather startling answers to the question: "Do you think the future network of American communication satellites—like Telstar—should be owned and developed by the Government or by private industry?" The replies: 44.1 percent favored Government ownership, 39.3 percent voted for private industry, 16.6 percent were uncertain or had no opinion. This arithmetic is hardly consistent with the overwhelming proindustry vote in a Congress that treated opponents of the bill as if they were village idiots or dangerous subversives.

Inevitably one comes to the question of the filibuster. It was, in fact, only when the embattled opponents of the bill began their last-ditch fight that the issue became page 1 news; then it was largely featured as a parody on the behavior of those liberals who were allegedly employing the device they professed to abhor, and they were generally pictured as cranky men reciting old Populist slogans.

There was a surface touché in this portrait. But once again the indolence and indifference of the press—mingled with a certain chronic disdain for the liberal set—sustained a false image. For one thing, the filibusterers repeatedly explained that they were not attempting to bury the bill; they were fighting for time. On numerous occasions they made it plain that they would be ready to vote immediately after the fall elections; have southern filibusterers against civil rights ever similarly offered a deadline for decisions?

WAYNE MORSE pointed out, at the time Senate Leader MIKE MANSFIELD was piously saying "today we begin the 15th day of debate on this bill," that the measure had actually been before the Senate on 13 days for a total of 33 hours and 15 minutes. In 1957, during the debate on the civil rights bill, STROM THURMOND made a speech lasting 24 hours and 18 minutes.

Thus the cry of filibuster was in many respects a fraud. The summit of hyprocrisy was reached when cloture was finally voted by those who, in the memorable words of Senator LONG, would do for A.T. & T. what they would never do for the NAACP—and who thereby told the world that property rights held a large priority over human rights in the U.S. Senate.

In the end the big story is the mystery story: Whodunit?

It was a bill that for the first time in our history placed the U.S. Government in the role of promoter of a private profitmaking monopoly venture, with the President himself designating three directors as his agents. As Benjamin Cohen pointed out, "It will be difficult to convince those who buy the stock that the President has not recommended its purchase." There is no precedent for this use of the Presidency for the sponsorship of a business enterprise.

Why did a New Frontier administration become the architect of this strange deal? Why was there such frantic pressure for quick action? Why were the voices of dissent within the administration forced to fall into line, creating such odd and embarrassing spectacles as the conflicts between Mr. Stevenson's wise words to the United Nations and his desultory letter of capitulation to Senator HUMPHREY? Why was Mr. Murrow obliged to say that he would vote for a bill that is implicitly damned by his own testimony? And why did Senator HUMPHREY, who had earlier counseled against deciding on organization until the system became operational, join those who clamored for haste?

President Kennedy has lamented the pervasiveness of mythology in our economic thought. Yet rarely has a measure been camouflaged in so much myth—most basically the myth that there can be no conflict of interests between corporate profit and national needs. Perhaps most wondrous of all were the testimonials to the glories of the free enterprise system recited by the Senators who were in the process of creating a vast new monopoly, paving the way for its dominance by the patriarch of monopolies, A.T. & T., and resisting an alternative leasing setup that would have guaranteed a maximum of free competition.

One is compelled to assume that the clamor for immediate action, the manifest distaste for debate, the decision heaped on the lonely men who challenged the bill, reflected a fear that the truth would out if the controversy were prolonged. Perhaps this is why they refused to consider any amendments proposed but tabled every single one offered by opponents of the bill without even trying to debate them on their merits.

In the aftermath of the New Deal and the Fair Deal, and in the time of the New Frontier, we may be too prone to dismiss as fantasy evidence of the survival of established corporate power over economic and political institutions. There were, of course, many men who voted for the bill who did so out of loyalty to the President. There were others who no doubt did so absentmindedly. There were probably some whose faith in Mr. Minow (which I share in many areas) persuaded them that the present FCC would somehow impose those restraints on A.T. & T. which is predecessors were never able to achieve, even though this Commission has shown no greater interest or ability in this area and has permitted A.T. & T. to earn a higher rate of profit than was permitted by the Eisenhower FCC.

Thus, many elements contributed to the final dismal result. But one cannot escape the sense as one reviews the record that this was also a high-pressure coup staged by a corporate body that recognized the enormous stakes in Satellite, Inc.

That the Government was divided within itself is beyond dispute; there is little overt evidence that even President Kennedy passionately favored the course finally chosen. In the Senate, Mr. KERR's dedication to the care and feeding of corporate interests is a celebrated and not entirely impersonal fact; once the bill had been drafted (and spuriously proclaimed as a "compromise" between private domination and public ownership), Senate Leader MANSFIELD apparently concluded that it was a matter of honor that he finally prevail in some large legislative test. One can only hope that he will some day exhibit comparable ardor in dealing with the Republican-Dixiecrat obstructionists as he did in crushing the liberal dissenters.

Many informed men in Washington believe Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON played a decisive hand in shaping the outcome. Mr. JOHNSON is chairman of the President's Space Council and thus officially the President's "man on space"; it is said that when the State Department and some forces within the Justice Department resisted the evolving pattern, Mr. Kennedy in effect let it be known that he would defer to the Vice President's judgment. It is a matter of fact that Tom Corcoran's law firm, with which JOHNSON has continuous and intimate relations, displayed an active interest in A.T. & T.'s cause.

But whoever called the legislative tune, the President's responsibility is in no way diminished. There are those who believe his own attitude in the final phases of the battle was influenced by his desire to assure the business community that he harbored no doctrinaire enmity toward it. If so, the country may be paying a heavy price to underwrite this form of therapy.

In a way, what stands out as sharply as the power of the battalions mobilized in behalf of the bill was the frailty of the opposition. Once again we are reminded

that, on great issues involving giveaway to special interests, there is usually no major public lobby operating to contest the deal. Traditionally this was the function of the labor movement, but labor's leaders have increasingly abdicated that role in return for the nourishment of their own special interests. In the satellite battle no labor witness took the stand. There was a telegram from Walter Reuther suggesting that "there is no more reason for turning space development over to A.T. & T. than there is for turning the Pentagon over to General Motors." The AFL–CIO executive council belatedly adopted a resolution reflecting those sentiments. The impact of even those gestures was largely outweighed by the support which the Communication Workers Union threw to the bill, presumably in return for some hints of future dispensations at the collective bargaining tables of Satellite, Inc., or of A.T. & T. itself.

The result might have been different if the press had covered the story with greater zeal and fidelity, and if the editorial pages had been less unanimous in hailing the handiwork of the legislative drafters. But the combination of labor listlessness and press hostility, joined with the lobbying legions of A.T. & T., rendered the struggle of Senators KEFAUVER, MORSE, and company a hopeless one. Nevertheless, they have made the record, and it stands, and Americans may have many reasons to turn back to it as the saga of space unfolds.

## Legislation Needed To Regulate Distribution of Habit-Forming Barbiturate and Amphetamine Drugs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I have today, the last day of the 87th Congress, introduced a bill, H.R. 13419, which I believe to be of special importance to the people of this country. I want to explain to our colleagues why I have waited until the last day of the session to introduce it and why I consider it of such significance.

I claim no ownership for this legislation. I did not draft it myself nor am I responsible for anything which has gone into it. Whatever credit there may be involves the recognition of a potentially effective weapon to be used in the fight against a grave national danger and the contribution now of an additional measure of support.

This bill is a companion bill to legislation, S. 3673, introduced in the Senate by the Honorable THOMAS J. DODD. It proposes to regulate the distribution of habit-forming barbiturate and amphetamine drugs. In the language of our time, this could be called the antigoofball bill.

I have introduced this bill today for two reasons: First, to protest the failure of the 87th Congress to take affirmative action to meet what virtually everyone recognizes is a national scandal of frightening proportions, and second, to indicate my own strong personal support of this bill and my intention to continue the fight to enact this legislation in the 88th Congress.

As many of our colleagues know, Mr. Speaker, this bill grew out of extensive hearings by the Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, under the chairmanship of Senator DODD. These hearings showed that both adult and juvenile use of amphetamines and barbiturates has increased strikingly in the recent past. Senator DODD describes these drugs as "deadly drugs." They are habit forming and they frequently lead to addiction to other, even more potent, drugs.

As might be suggested by the so-called goofball craze which has swept large areas of the country, the subcommittee found that more of these drugs were being sold illegally than were being distributed according to the law. The subcommittee also found that loopholes and other inadequacies in the law were a major reason for the easy availability of the drugs and the rapid growth in the number of new addicts.

Senator DODD designed his bill to attack the central problem in controlling illegal distribtuion of barbiturates and amphetamines—the difficulty for law enforcement officials to learn precisely the quantity in which these drugs are being produced, the origin of their manufacture, and the destinations to which drugs are being sent for resale or other distribution.

The bill would attack the problem in the following ways: It would require that manufacturers, compounders and processors of barbiturates and amphetamines register their names and adresses with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It would require manufacturers and distributors of the drugs to keep records of the quantities they handle and make these records available to food and drug inspectors. And it would provide broad authority to drug inspectors to inspect establishments, inventory stocks, vehicles and other facilities in connection with proper and reasonable investigation of the disposal of these drugs.

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, has been endorsed by the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, the President of the United States, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association,, the International Juvenile Police Officers Association, the Association of Juvenile Court Judges, representatives of religious faiths, and so far as I know, by everyone else who has commented on the legislation. The bill also reflects the changes proposed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to an earlier version of the measure.

Yet, for 16 months the legislation has languished in another Senate committee—without hearings or other official action of any kind. In view of the critical nature of drug addiction, the potential effectiveness of the bill in controlling distribution of the drugs, and the overwhelming support the bill has received from Federal, State, and local government officials and private organizations and individuals, I am puzzled, to say the least, at the failure to act.

As I have indicated, Mr. Speaker, I have introduced the bill at this time to give expression to this sense of puzzlement and great disappointment and to symbolize the support this extremely worthwhile piece of legislation deserves. I intend to reintroduce this bill at the beginning of the 88th Congress. I hope our colleagues will, in the meantime, investigate the seriousness of the goofball situation and acquaint themselves with the merits of this proposal as a means of dealing with one of our country's greatest problems. I urge them to support the legislation.

## One Hundred Years of the Land-Grant Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I cannot let this session of the Congress close without calling attention to the fact that 1962 is the 100th anniversary of the enactment of the Morrill Land-Grant Act.

When President Lincoln signed into law the Morrill Act, higher education in the United States was given a boost, the likes of which had never before been known in this country. By enacting this piece of legislation, the United States advanced the then revolutionary idea that everyone with the ability to absorb a higher education should have the chance to attend college. There was provided on a national scale the incentive to bring this concept of equal educational opportunity to life. In the ensuing 100 years, land-grant colleges in every State of the Union have made a rich contribution to the advancement of life in these United States.

I have a very warm feeling, myself, for land-grant colleges, having attended one of them, Louisiana State University, where I received my undergraduate and law school training. Southern University, at Baton Rouge, is also a fine land-grant college.

The Louisiana State University alumni newsletter, the LSU Outlook, in its July issue of this year, contains a fine tribute to the 100th anniversary of the Land-Grant Act. The article, entitled "Centennial of the Land-Grant Act," discusses the act and what it has meant to education on the national scene and also discusses the part that it has played in Louisiana.

Mr. President, I send to the desk the article, "Centennial of the Land-Grant Act," from the July 1962 issue of the LSU Outlook; and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTENNIAL OF THE LAND-GRANT ACT

One hundred years ago this month—on July 2, 1862—President Abraham Lincoln affixed his signature to a historic piece of legislation, an act which brought democracy to higher education and laid the cornerstone for agricultural development in America.

This document, closely following another history making event—the creation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture less than 2 months before—is commonly known as the Morrill Land-Grant Act. A revolutionary concept, it expressed the unprecedented doctrine that higher education in America should be not only academic, but practical, and that it should be available not just to a privileged few, but to all who could benefit from it.

To the provisions of this far-reaching act of Congress, the field of agriculture and the 68 land-grant institutions, including Louisiana State University, owe a substantial measure of their growth and development.

Senator Justin Smith Morrill, of Vermont, the acknowledged father of the act, was one of the leaders of his time who had the vision and the foresight to recognize the need for a system of educational institutions "of the people, by the people, and for the people." A blacksmith's son whose formal education ended at age 15, Morrill conceived the land-grant idea as a means of self-help for "those at the bottom of the ladder who want to climb up." He was convinced that ability and desire, not individual wealth, status or birth, should determine who went to college.

To agriculture, the Morrill Act devoted particular attention. An observer of the 1850's remarked that "there is not one institution designed to furnish the agriculturist * * * with the education that will prepare him for the profession to which his life is devoted." To encourage the establishment of at least one "agriculture and mechanic arts" college in each State, the act provided that the Federal Government would grant to each participating State 30,000 acres of land for each Senator and Representative it sent to Congress. Funds obtained from the sale of these lands would be used as a permanent endowment for these institutions.

The plan was broad enough, however, not to exclude the teaching of "other scientific and classical studies" in the new colleges. And perhaps because the Nation was at war, a provision for military training, the basis of the present Reserve Officers' Training Corps, was included.

But the road to democracy in higher education was not a swift and certain one. Five and a half years elapsed from the time the land-grant bill was introduced in Congress until its final passage. With Lincoln's signature, the act became law, and higher education was placed within the reach of millions of Americans.

It is of lasting credit to this Nation that during the darkest period of its history such enlightened legislation should emerge. In 1862 the Nation was at war with itself, with brother opposing brother in a bloody Civil War. But despite the extremely perilous times, the development of education for a growing Nation remained strong in the minds of Americans. Lincoln's sweep of the pen cemented the Nation's belief that in higher education lay its future.

While the Land-Grant Act provided the impetus for the development of agriculture and mechanical colleges, many States had benefited from earlier grants similar in nature. The first step that eventually would lead to a "greater Louisiana State University" was taken in 1844 when the Louisiana Legislature authorized the Governor to sell land which in 1803 had been set aside for a "seminary of learning." This land sale netted $136,000 which was placed in an endowment fund for education.

Louisiana qualified as a recipient of a Federal grant under the terms of the Morrill Act in 1869 when the State accepted the provisions of the act. With seven Congressmen in Washington, the State was awarded 210,000 acres of land which later sold for $182,313.03, an average of approximately 87 cents per acre. This sum, combined with the previously established seminary fund, yields an annual revenue of $14,555.56 to LSU. Although less than impressive in terms of today, this financial aid was of great significance during LSU's early history as a struggling institution of learning.

Under the terms of the Land-Grant Act, the first agricultural and mechanical arts college in Louisiana was established in New Orleans in 1874. Three years later it was transferred to Baton Rouge, thus giving LSU the distinction of being a State university and a land-grant agricultural and mechanical college.

Today, each of the 50 States and Puerto Rico has at least one land-grant institution.

The program under which land-grant colleges and universities such as LSU function has been termed the "trilogy of American ingenuity," with a triangular mission of resident instruction, experiment and research and extension services. Based on these land-grant principles, the services of LSU are made available to virtually every citizen of Louisiana.

Although, almost every phase of American life has been influenced substantially by the Land-Grant Act, the agriculture industry has benefited perhaps most of all. And Louisiana, primarily an agricultural area since its settlement more than two centuries ago, has reaped untold dividends from the new knowledge and continued progress in agriculture which land-grant institutions have made possible. Among the foremost leaders in this respect has been LSU.

In addition to agricultural experiment and research, land-grant institutions such as LSU provide the means for this newly acquired knowledge to be disseminated widely throughout the people of this State. This service was made possible under the Hatch Act of 1887 which authorized and established the Agricultural Extension Service at land-grant institutions. Subsequent acts have increased the support available for the experiment centers, thereby greatly expanding the scope of their services.

With 14 agricultural experiment stations dispersed throughout the State, LSU agricultural personnel conduct vital scientific studies for crop improvement and contribute significantly to the development of better methods and techniques in agriculture. The Extension Service also works through specialists and farm and home demonstration agents located in each of Louisiana's 64 parishes, conveying to rural residents information on better methods developed by the experiment stations, the research facilities of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and by farm people themselves.

The list of agricultural accomplishments by LSU since it incorporated the agricultural and mechanical arts college in 1877 reads something like a history of agricultural progress itself. More recent efforts by the agricultural extension wing of LSU have resulted in the production of Louisiana's first true sugarcane seed, more effective chemical control of grasses in rice fields, production of numerous varieties fo the sweet potato and a herbicide that kills weeds in cotton seedlings without injury to cotton plants.

According to the Louisiana Farm Bureau, the experiment and research work of LSU agriculturists saved for the State some $50 million by developing new plant varieties and insecticides to combat diseases that once threatened to wipe out Louisiana's sugarcane industry. These savings alone are almost enough to operate the entire university for 2 years.

Countless other vital contributions to the agricultural industry of Louisiana have been made through the experiment programs of land-grant institutions such as LSU. Before 1940, the average yield of cotton production in Louisiana was less than 300 pounds of lint per acre. Through experiment and research conducted primarily at LSU, production of cotton lint per acre has more than doubled.

Clearly, the emphasis on the development of agriculture represents a major chapter in the land-grant story.

It would be difficult to estimate the value of the Land-Grant Act in terms of dollars and cents. However, a few facts and figures further illustrate the place in the American system of higher education which the land-grant institutions occupy:

Although numbering less than 4 percent of America's some 1,800 colleges and universities, they enroll 20 percent of the college population;

They grant 40 percent of all doctorate degrees awarded in all subjects;

They confer about half of all doctorate degrees in the sciences, engineering, and the health professions and approximately one-fourth of the total in the arts and languages, business, commerce, and education;

One additional point certifies beyond doubt the immeasurable value of the 68 land-grant schools: Of the living American Nobel Prize winners who attended college in this country, more than half earned degrees from land-grant colleges and universities.

In brief, the land-grant college or university is dedicated to the total life of man, not only to his mind or his knowledge of classical culture. There is scarcely a person in Louisiana who has not been enriched in some way by the services which LSU and the 67 other land-grant institutions provide.

As Senator Morrill dreamed a hundred years ago, the land-grant colleges and universities are truly "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

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## The Late Honorable Clem Miller

SPEECH

OF

## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has just suffered a great loss and each person who had the occasion to know CLEM MILLER has just suffered a personal loss.

I know of no Member of Congress who more quickly made friends with those with whom he came in contact than CLEM MILLER.

One could tell that he had developed a sincere love for the House of Representatives, and his dedication to his job impressed all of us who saw him arrive here. Yet with all of his dedication, he had a great faculty for never taking himself too seriously and could always put things in the proper perspective.

He was a fine legislator and a real fighter for those things he believed in. I have had the occasion to know how he operated because of legislation which came before my own committee, and had

it not been for CLEM MILLER, I am sure the progress of this legislation would have been slow indeed.

CLEM MILLER was the type of man for whom you went out of your way to speak to and visit with because you always felt a little better for having been with him.

I want to express my deepest sympathy to his devoted wife and beloved children, and to the people of his district which he served so well.

## Communist Party, U.S.A., Openly Soliciting Speaking Engagements on All College Campuses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the Members of the House are as amazed and disturbed as I at the present effort of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to get editors of college newspapers and student councils to invite the party to speak at forums of the student body and to carry this invitation in all the campus newspapers.

This, of course, is part of the result of the administration's established policy of permitting the Communist Party to use the mail for propagandizing purposes.

I am glad that some of the university presidents in Florida have forwarded a copy of this document—which is obviously being sent by the Communist Party to the editors of student newspapers—to me in disgust. I join them in that disgust, and am including this document for the RECORD:

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.,
*New York, N.Y., September 1962.*

*To Editors of College Papers:*
*To Student Councils:*

DEAR SIRS OR MADAMS: May we request you to invite representatives of the Communist Party to speak at forums of the student body of your school in the 1962–63 college year, either in the form of lectures, by participation in symposia, or in debates?

During the past year Communist spokesmen addressed more than 30 colleges and universities which were attended by approximately 75,000 students and townspeople. The colleges and universities included among others: Harvard Law School, University of Chicago, Brown University, Columbia University, University of Oregon, Western Reserve, University of Wisconsin, Swarthmore, New York University, University of Pennsylvania, Washington University, Stanford, University of Minnesota, Reed College, Colby College, Brandeis University, City College of New York, Hamilton College, Hunter College, Temple University, Upsala, Bowdoin and many others.

It is clear from this that the students wish to hear the Communist viewpoint from bona fide spokesmen. Students in their search for knowledge apparently are not satisfied to learn about communism from anti-Communists. They desire a fair exchange of opinion on the supreme problems facing our country, with all viewpoints represented, and they reject the widespread practice of denouncing communism without affording the Communists an opportunity to be heard.

Yet in a number of cases Communists have been denied this opportunity. One pretext used to bar Communists is that the Communist Party has not registered under the McCarran Act. This is true but this matter is now before the courts. The courts, including the Supreme Court, are yet to rule on the position of the Communist Party that registration would deprive the Communists of their rights under the 1st, 5th, 8th, and 14th amendments of the Constitution and that the enforcement of this law would establish a precedent to destroy every vestige of American democracy. Also that registration compels perjury, self-incrimination and a false confession of guilt. Communists are not foreign agents, do not commit acts of sabotage, espionage, or deception, do not seek to hide their views.

Moreover, the Attorney General has stated that the McCarran Act is not intended to prevent the public activities of the Communist Party. To ban the Communist speakers on this ground is therefore grossly improper and unjust.

Another pretext used to discriminate against Communists is that some spokesmen have served prison sentences under the Smith Act. But if political imprisonment is a bar to speaking, then a Henry David Thoreau, who served imprisonment for refusal to pay taxes as a protest against the Mexican war, would be excluded, as would the Reverend Martin Luther King, thrice imprisoned for his courageous stand against Negro oppression. Also a large number of heads of government in today's world would be barred, including President Sukarno, of Indonesia, and Prime Minister Nehru, of India, both of whom have served long prison sentences.

President Arthur S. Fleming, of the University of Oregon, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Eisenhower Cabinet, rejected the demand to bar Gus Hall from appearing before the student body, stating: "If our university deviates from the policy [freedom of expression] it has followed, it will be placed in the position of being a second-class institution in the eyes of men and women who truly understand the role of a university. It would be giving up its birthright." He was honored for his stand with the Alexander Meiklejohn Award by the American Association of University Professors.

Arrangements for Communist speakers can be made by addressing the lecture and information bureau. Where colleges or student groups are in a position to do so, we would appreciate the usual fee and expenses paid other speakers. Where schools or groups are financially not in a position to cover the expenses involved, we shall try to do so to the best of our ability. May we hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

ARNOLD JOHNSON,
*Director, Lecture and Information Bureau.*

## Personal Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, responding to the personal and urgent request of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, I returned to Washington Saturday, October 13, 1962, to be present for the meeting of the House of Representatives.

I had hoped to be here when the call of the House was made at 12, but due to the fact that my plane was late, I arrived in the House a few minutes after the rollcall vote. Had I been here I would have voted "nay."

## Twenty-Five Years of Soil Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, because of the late adjournment of the Congress, it was not possible for me to fulfill an engagement to address the 22d annual conference of the Nebraska Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts at Valentine, Nebr., on October 1.

Mr. Everett Brown, of Valentine, director of region V of the association, was gracious enough to read to the conference the remarks I had prepared for delivery.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of the statement read by Mr. Brown.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HRUSKA TO 22D ANNUAL CONFERENCE, NEBRASKA ASSOCIATION OF SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICTS, VALENTINE, NEBR., OCTOBER 1, 1962

This year Nebraska looks back on a quarter of a century of organized soil conservation and ahead to the rapidly approaching day when we can put behind us the dread fear of drougth and floods.

The record compiled since the 1937 legislature passed the enabling act is one familiar to you all. I recite it here out of pride:

Eighty-seven soil conservation districts, covering the entire State.

Technical assistance to more than 65,000 district cooperators in planning and applying soil and water conservation measures on more than 24 million acres.

Complete basic conservation plans on about 43,000 farms, totaling over 16 million acres.

This three-way partnership of Federal, State, and local governments working together to solve a common problem is an important demonstration of the fact that a task can best be done when such level of government performs the part of the job for which it is best fitted. There are all too many case where the Federal Government is being asked to render a service which can be performed more efficiently and at less cost by a subordinate government.

Nebraska has been a pioneer in soil conservation and watershed development. We can take great pride in the fact that at the start of the Eisenhower administration, four of the first pilot watersheds were located here in our State, Brownell Creek, in Otoe County, the Upper Salt Creek, the Indian Creek in Gage County, and Dry Creek out in Red Willow and Frontier Counties.

All of us rejoiced in the naming this year of Brownell Creek as the "Watershed of the Year" by the National Watershed Congress.

But in each locality, their own project is properly considered the watershed of the year. And there are 38 of these in Nebraska, of which 22 have been authorized for planning. And of these 22, 12 have been authorized for operations.

Under soil conservation laws passed through the years, the Department of Agriculture, working with farmers individually and in groups, has worked a minor miracle on the face of America's farmlands.

President Eisenhower told the Congress in 1953 that upstream watershed development "will require the maximum cooperation among the State and local communities, farmers, businessmen, and other private citizens and the Federal Government."

The soundness demonstrated by those early pilot programs, in Nebraska and elsewhere, accounts in large measure for the continuing success of the program. But the requirements on local initiative and enterprise are no less responsible. Because local agencies must acquire the land and rights-of-way, operate and maintain the works after completion and assume a portion of the cost, this program has retained its essentially local character with emphasis on local leadership.

Important progress is being made in the Great Plains conservation program, a plan tailored to fit the particular needs of this region of ours long troubled by land use problems related to soil and moisture and climatic conditions peculiar to the Plains States. The program is moving forward in accomplishing its basic purpose, with increasing support and wide interest. Plans in process of application now total over 9,100 on nearly 23 million acres and provide for 28 percent of the cropland to go into permanent grass.

Basic concepts of this program are receiving new attention in expanded programs now under consideration in soil and water conservation. This is reflected in the increase in appropriations this year, the first since the program was launched in 1957. The increase will make possible a stepped-up effort to assist the more than 270,000 farmers and ranchers eligible in the 10-State area, including the 4,000 unserviced applicants.

In Nebraska 58 counties have been designated eligible to receive assistance under the Great Plains conservation program. About 1,300 contracts, covering about 1½ million acres have been entered into, enabling farmers and ranchers to receive technical and financial assistance in planning and installing conservation systems.

The 87th Congres has provided new soil and water conservation tools. The Department of Agriculture was given additional authority to work with local people and their organizations, including soil conservation districts, in long-range programs for converting cropland into other profitable uses—for timber, grassland, and income-producing recreation, including water-based recreation in small watershed projects.

In small watershed projects the Department will now be able to cost-share on recreational developments, defer repayment by local organizations for municipal and industrial water capacity to meet anticipated needs, and to help pay for land, rights-of-way and easements for reservoir or other sites or areas dedicated to recreation in small watershed projects.

From the standpoint of appropriations, this year's increase over funds available for fiscal year 1962 includes $500,000 for assistance to new soil conservation districts, $400,000 for soil surveys, $94,500 for snow survey work, and $75,000 for plant material centers.

The bill passed by the Congress includes $60,585,000 for watershed protection, including $5,200,000 for planning of individual watersheds and $2,200,000 for river basin surveys.

For flood prevention, $25 million was appropriated and for the Great Plains conservation program, $12,250,000.

On the basis of these appropriations, the Soil Conservation Service has allocated $5,743,200 to Nebraska. This is broken down in the following manner: $2,885,000 for technical assistance to local districts, approximately the same level as last year; $1,423,300 for watershed protection, an increase of more than $400,000 from fiscal year 1962; $1,334,900 for the Great Plains program in Nebraska, up $182,000 from last year.

These funds, of course, are also used to operate the State soil conservation service office, the cartographic unit, and the soil mechanics laboratory in Lincoln.

In addition, $100,000 has been allocated for river basin studies in the Elkhorn and Big Blue Basins.

While these amounts are sizable and have increased generally throughout the past 25 years, they are still far short of meeting all the requests. The Congress must necessarily strike a balance, both in geographic and economic terms.

Perhaps more rapid progress could have been made with a crash program with large outlays of funds. Instead, we have had steady and sure growth through the years without sacrificing the important principles of fiscal responsibility. It is a record we can view with satisfaction.

In the past quarter century soil conservation districts have become a permanent part of American agriculture. They are an outstanding example of what makes this Nation what it is, what sets it apart from other countries. Districts are pure America with their emphasis on local initiative and control, and their willingness to assume responsibilities and to carry on work that benefits their neighbors, their community, their State, and their country.

We can find great satisfaction in our progress and even greater gratification for the real and valued heritage which we will be passing on to future generations.

Commendation is due the cooperation of those who have signed up for participation in this program, and congratulations are warmly extended to you community leaders, the officers, the supervisors, and others who have contributed their time and effort—and more than that, your leadership—to this worthwhile endeavor. I know how many miles you have traveled to meetings and how many midnights you have spent working on your plans.

To all of you, my heartiest congratulations for a commendable job.

The management of our soil and our water are inseparably bound up in each other. Working together, we shall become their masters and not their victims.

## Duke Power Project

SPEECH
OF
### HON. KEN HECHLER
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified to learn that there is considerable official support for authorization of the Duke power project on the Savannah River. Unfortunately, this worthy project could not be included in the omnibus public works authorization bill, but we have been given assurances that this project will be high on the priority list when the hearings on the next public works authorization bill are commenced next January.

The Duke power project will mean a great deal to the coal industry, since the installation when completed will burn 9,500 tons of bituminous coal per day. This is a project which will mean a great deal to the State of West Virginia, and will also benefit, Virginia, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and many other areas.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to keep on fighting for this worthwhile project which will mean so much to the economy of our Nation. I certainly hope that early and favorable consideration may be given to the authorization of the Duke power project so that we may get it under way as soon as possible.

## Another Honor for Representative Kathryn E. Granahan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. TOM MURRAY
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, 1962, an award of Daughter of the Year From Pennsylvania was bestowed by the Sons and Daughters' Day Foundation on our most able and gracious colleague from Philadelphia, Representative KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN.

This award is the latest in a great number of public recognitions that have come to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania in recent years as a result of her distinguished service both in the Congress and to the people of her State and Nation.

The Daughter of the Year Award was presented to Mrs. GRANAHAN in behalf of the foundation by Assistant Postmaster General Frederick C. Belen who was privileged to work with her during his long service as chief counsel and staff director of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

In his remarks, General Belen cites Mrs. GRANAHAN as "a woman of great heart, of kindness, of dedication to her people and to her country." I am confident that all of my colleagues will heartily endorse these sentiments and I am sure many of them will wish to read in full General Belen's remarks which follow:

REMARKS BY ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL FREDERICK C. BELEN IN PRESENTATION TO REPRESENTATIVE KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN OF AWARD AS DAUGHTER OF THE YEAR FOR 1962 AT THE PRESENTATION LUNCHEON OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS' DAY FOUNDATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 23, 1962

I am pleased and honored to be here today to have the privilege of presenting the award of Daughter of the Year From Pennsylvania to a distinguished lady from that State.

I want to thank the Sons and Daughters' Day Foundation for giving me this privilege and for their hospitality here today. I also want to commend them on a wise choice.

Another distinguished resident of Philadelphia—our first Continental Postmaster General, Benjamin Franklin—once observed that "the used key is always bright."

Certainly, this present distinguished Philadelphian—who has a good deal to do with our postal service herself—is a shining example of this quotation.

She is one of the busiest Members of Congress who uses herself to the fullest extent in giving to her native State and to her country of her abilities.

As a result, she has been the key to much postal legislation of far-reaching importance to us in the postal service today.

For this reason, I am particularly happy to participate in this ceremony honoring KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN.

However, aside from representing the postal service in helping to honor Mrs. GRANAHAN, I am also happy to be here because of my long personal service on the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. In my capacity as chief counsel and staff director, I had the pleasant duty of working for this great lady on many matters involving her wide interest in the postal and civil service field.

Because of her innate modesty, I fear that an adequate statement on her distinguished background might not be presented here, and I would like to read you something of her biographical background to make certain that her fine record is proclaimed fully.

The first Congresswoman from Philadelphia, she is now serving her fourth term. In addition to being a member of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, she is chairman of its Subcommittee on Postal Operations. She also serves on the House Committee on Government Operations.

Mrs. GRANAHAN was elected both to her late husband's unfinished term in the 84th Congress and to a full 2-year term in the 85th Congress. She was reelected to the 86th and 87th Congresses.

A native of Easton, Pa., and a graduate of Easton public schools and Mount St. Joseph College, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Mrs. GRANAHAN'S heritage is deeply rooted in Pennsylvania. Prior to her marriage she was supervisor of public assistance in the auditor general's department, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and liaison officer between that department and the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance.

An active participant with her late husband in Democratic affairs in the Second Congressional District, Mrs. GRANAHAN also succeeded her husband as Democratic leader of the Philadelphia ward in which she resides, a post she still holds.

She is chairman of the board of governors of the Women's Democratic Club of Philadelphia, member of the board of St. Francis Country Home for Convalescents, and is a member of the national board of the Women's Medical College, the American Legion Auxiliary, and the Catholic War Veterans Auxiliary. She is active in numerous charitable and civic organizations.

In 1960, Mrs. GRANAHAN received the Award of Merit from the Philadelphia County Chapter of the Catholic War Veterans for her untiring moral leadership in combating the sale and distribution of salacious and pornographic material, and an Achievement Award from Brith Sholom, Lodge No. 56. In 1959 she was given a Distinguished Service Award by the American Legion, Merit Award from the Poor Richard Club and the Philadelphia Club of Advertising Women, Achievement Award from Temple Beth Israel Men's Club, and was the first woman to receive the Archbishop Ryan Assembly Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus Medal for her work against obscenity and in general community interests. Also in 1959 she received a Woman of the Year Achievement Award from the Business and Professional Women's Club. In 1958 she was named Woman of the Year by both the Philadelphia Federation of Women's Clubs and the Philadelphia Circle of International Federation of Catholic Alumnae. In 1957 Mrs. GRANAHAN was given a national award from the American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS) for outstanding service to that organization and to the welfare of the Nation. She received an honorary doctor of laws degree from St. Joseph's College in 1959.

The Speaker of the House in 1957 selected Mrs. GRANAHAN as one of five House Members to pay an official visit to Germany as guests of the West German Parliament.

Through her work on both House committees on which she serves, Mrs. GRANAHAN keeps close watch on legislation and executive department policies affecting wages and working conditions of Federal Government employees. Furthermore, she takes an active part in all issues related to economic conditions in urban areas—with particular emphasis on such matters as housing, urban renewal, slum clearance, aid to small business, social security, and unemployment compensation; and in measures to aid in the recovery of chronically depressed areas. She is vitally interested in the work of the National Institutes of Health—including research on causes and cure of cancer, heart disease, arthritis, cystic fibrosis, and other killing or crippling diseases.

In the 87th Congress, Mrs. GRANAHAN has introduced bills to combat the sending of obscene material through the mails, to correct inequities in the postal field service, to increase the Government per diem travel allowance, to further assist small businesses that are affected by urban renewal projects, to provide for the defense of Federal employees in suits arising out of their operation of motor vehicles, and to assist localities in improving mass transportation services in urban and metropolitan areas. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations, she programed an extensive series of inquiries into proposals for expediting mail deliveries and undertook an investigation of the adequacy of laws and policies for prohibiting the mailing of obscene material.

There have been many recognitions of her fine work. For example, she received the Father Hogan Award, St. Joseph's College, March 7, 1962.

She received the 1962 Gold Medal Award, Philadelphia Club of Printing House Craftsmen, March 10, 1962.

She received the 1962 United Award, given by the United Business Men's Association of Greater Philadelphia, for outstanding leadership and distinguished service to the welfare of the community, and for outstanding service to small businessmen throughout the Philadelphia metropolitan area, on May 8, 1962.

She was initiated as national honorary member of Theta Phi Alpha, a national sorority for Catholic women, at their national convention in Cleveland, Ohio, on August 27, 1962.

Finally, I would like to bestow a citation of my own. I would like to cite her as a woman of great heart, of kindness, of dedication to her people and to her country.

It gives me great pleasure, Representative KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, to present to you this award as Daughter of the Year for 1962 from the State of Pennsylvania.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, all of us who have had the privilege of serving on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee during the 87th Congress with the gentleman from Georgia, the Honorable JAMES C. DAVIS, have particularly benefited from his wise counsel. His keen grasp of postal and civil service affairs, his patience, and his deep understanding of the legislative process made him a valuable and effective committee member.

As a freshman Member of Congress, I always found Judge DAVIS willing to go out of his way to assist me in every possible manner.

Washington's loss is Georgia's gain and Judge DAVIS undoubtedly will enjoy many pleasant and fruitful years in Stone Mountain.

We shall miss him deeply.

## Hon. Herbert Zelenko

SPEECH
OF
## HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, with adjournment approaching, our sense of accomplishment in the record of another productive Congress is tinged with regret in the knowledge that those of us who may be privileged to return here next year will not find precisely the same company of valued friends in which to renew rewarding associations.

One who will have moved on to other endeavors is that energetic and respected member of our New York Democratic delegation, Hon. HERBERT ZELENKO. His conscientious work in the 84th through 87th Congresses has produced significant results in legislation for the benefit of working people.

When this distinguished attorney joined us, he had earned a wide reputation in his profession for constructive analysis of the legal process. His record of civic service likewise was notable and known. It was not unexpected, therefore, that our colleague should have moved quickly into the mainstream of legislative deliberations.

Among his special interests have been the plight of migratory labor in the United States, mine safety, equal pay for men and women performing similar work, compensation adjustments for longshoremen and harbor workers and workers in the radiation industries, and an end to Federal payments to school districts refusing to honor the Supreme Court desegregation decision. As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor of this House, and as chairman of its Select Subcommittee on Labor, our colleague was able to advance progressive legislation, or contribute to administration policy, in all of these fields. He has worked diligently, too, in his important assignment on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

With all of this to occupy him, Mr. ZELENKO somehow has found time through the years to make notable contributions to the work of the Zionist

Organization of America, B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Memorial Hospital in New York City, and, as director of sports in Israel, has promoted closer ties between the United States and Israel through the development of sports programs.

His many friends in this House wish him well in his new endeavors.

## Truth in Packaging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I received a letter recently from the secretary of internal affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Genevieve Blatt, concerning a bill introduced in the other body which is of utmost importance to consumers.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a copy of this letter and a copy of the press release which our able secretary of internal affairs issued so that the public would know that she joins any official who is fighting for the protection of the consumer.

The letter and press release follow:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS,
*Harrisburg, September 24, 1962.*

Hon. HERMAN TOLL,
*House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR HERMAN: I was very much interested in reading yesterday of the introduction of Senator HART'S truth-in-packaging legislation and of its cosponsorship by Senator WILEY. May I urge that you give this legislation your most careful consideration and do whatever you can to bring about the necessary protection of the consumers of our State and Nation against fraudulent and deceptive packaging.

If you would care for any information regarding our findings on this general subject in Pennsylvania, I would be glad to supply it at any time. Our weights and measures inspectors are constantly receiving complaints concerning fraudulent packaging, but it is impossible for them to take any action under existing laws.

With my best personal regards and every good wish, I am,

Yours sincerely,

GENEVIEVE BLATT.

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, SEPTEMBER 24, 1962

Genevieve Blatt, Pennsylvania's secretary of internal affairs, today released the text of a telegram sent yesterday to U.S. Senator PHILIP A. HART, Democrat, of Michigan:

"Congratulations on the introduction of your truth-in-packaging bill. You have incorporated not only the recommendations I made in testimony before your subcommittee some months ago, but additional features which I feel certain will benefit shoppers everywhere. Be assured we will urge all Pennsylvania Congressmen to support this legislation.

"GENEVIEVE BLATT,
*"Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs."*

Miss Blatt sent a similar telegram to Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, who joined Senator HART as cosponsor, thus giving the bill bipartisan support. "Adequate protection for the consumer against fraudulent and deceptive packaging is something that goes beyond any partisan political considerations," she said.

Miss Blatt noted that last spring she had asked the Hart subcommittee, then studying the need for legislation in this field, to do something adequate to protect Pennsylvania consumers and others, in cases where existing State and Federal laws now fail to provide adequate safeguards.

"It used to be," she said, "that our weights and measures laws were sufficient. If scales and measuring devices were kept accurate, the buyer could easily keep her eye on the weighing or measuring as it was done, and be sure she didn't pay for the butcher's thumb on the scale or a false bottom in the bushel basket. In today's supermarket, however, almost everything is prepackaged, and, although the law requires marking as to the net contents, she often can't see the markings, and, even if she does, she has no ready way to check their accuracy. Furthermore, since packages now sell the goods instead of salesmen, some of them have become fraudulently deceptive in appearance, with so-called economy size often poorer buys than regular size.

"As I pointed out to the Hart subcommittee, Federal laws are essential because most products today are distributed in interstate commerce, so I am delighted that this bill has been introduced and will urge all of our Pennsylvania Members of the National House of Representatives as well as our two U.S. Senators to support it.

"When our own State legislature reconvenes in January, we hope to have some State legislation to suggest which will supplement in Pennsylvania what the Hart-Wiley bill will do nationwide."

At the time Miss Blatt's testimony was submitted to the Hart subcommittee, Senator HART commented:

"Miss Blatt's long experience in the firing line of consumer protection and the incisiveness of her statement will be of great assistance to the subcommittee (Antitrust and Monopoly) in the formulation of proposed legislation."

## The Honorable Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Representative from the Second District of Pennsylvania, KATHRYN GRANAHAN.

I knew Mrs. GRANAHAN very well while serving in the Congress with her late husband and was greatly pleased with her election as his successor. She has upheld his ideals and principles and has been an outstanding Member of the House. Having served with her on the Committee on Government Operations, I was able to observe firsthand her fine work, devotion to duty, her ability, and her dedication. We will miss her very much in the House and regret that circumstances make it necessary for her to resign.

However, our loss will be another Government agency's gain, and as Treasurer of the United States, she will have the opportunity to continue the splendid record of service which has characterized her entire adult life. In both civic and political life she has set an excellent example for all of us, one worthy of emulation.

My heartiest congratulations to Mrs. GRANAHAN on her new appointment and my best wishes and prayers go with her in her new duties.

## Report on Activities of the House District Committee, 87th Congress

SPEECH
OF
### HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House District Committee I take great pleasure in making the report of the activities of the House District Committee during the 87th Congress.

I first want to congratulate and thank the Speaker for the cooperation he has given me as chairman of the House District Committee, and also I want to thank the chairman of the Senate District Committee and the Commissioners for their cooperation in our efforts to solve some of the problems confronting the Nation's Capital. We all know that the Constitution specifically states that the Congress of the United States shall have exclusive jurisdiction over all legislation affecting the 10-mile square Federal site known as the District of Columbia.

My committee has made an effort to transact all the legislation necessary to keep the Nation's Capital and the entire Federal site known as the District of Columbia, solvent, beautiful, and a decent place in which the Federal employees and residents of the District of Columbia can live. Serving on the District Committee is absolutely voluntary service, and I believe that this committee comes nearer to having a quorum at every meeting than any committee on Capitol Hill, which surely proves that all the Members of Congress are interested in the welfare of their Nation's Capital.

During the 87th Congress, the House District Committee has acted upon a total of 299 bills, and the House has passed 59 of our bills introduced by House Members and 33 which were in-

troduced in the U.S. Senate, for a total of 92 bills. I doubt seriously whether any other committee on Capitol Hill has been able to have the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate take favorable action upon that number of bills during any Congress. We are of the opinion that some of this legislation is vitally necessary and will prove to be of great benefit to the courts, the law enforcement agencies, and the Treasury of the District of Columbia. One of these bills we enacted this session permitted the collection of over $12 million of additional taxes annually by increasing the sales tax 1 cent, by increasing from 3 to 4 cents the small tax on other additional items such as hotel rooms, and by an additional tax on liquor of 5 cents per fifth of a gallon.

We House Members are very much disappointed over the fact that the other body did not take action on three bills which would have strengthened the hands and boosted the morale of the law enforcement officers at a time when crime in the Nation's Capital should be met with a strong and positive force. The House enacted an amendment to the Mallory rule and to the Durham rule and gave the Commissioners authority to add an unlimited number of dogs to the Canine Corps of the Metropolitan Police Department. However, these bills did not clear the other body before we adjourned.

Of major significance with respect to the local courts was our passage of a bill expanding the jurisdiction of municipal court, to enable it to handle cases ranging from $3,000 to $10,000, with power in the court to issue and serve subpenas within a 25-mile radius of the city, and giving such enlarged court a new name, the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, with a similar change in name of the Municipal Court of Appeals to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

The committee also initiated what are expected to be very comprehensive hearings on legislation bearing on crime, the detention or arrests of persons in connection with investigations of crime, more severe penalties for the repeater, and so forth, all designed to materially assist the police in alleviating the horrendous crime situation in the District.

Of particular help, it is believed, to the business community and to District residents generally, was the approval by the committee of uniform model acts for the District based upon legislation approved in other jurisdictions, namely, the Uniform Partnership Act, the Uniform Limited Partnership Act, and the Uniform Gifts to Minors Act—all of which have been approved and are in effect in 39 or more States.

Our committee also passed legislation much sought by the business community, namely, expanding the authority of the Redevelopment Land Agency of the District of Columbia to permit the redevelopment of areas that are predominantly nonresidential in character, such as downtown Washington, the central business area of the city, but the bill failed of passage by the other body.

The committee acted commendably to meet the area needs with respect to hospitals by, first, approving legislation granting $2.5 million to pay one-half the cost of a $5 million expansion and improvement of the George Washington Hospital, including a 100-bed addition; second, initiating legislation which became law extending for another year the Washington Hospital Center Act of 1946, to enable the Washington Hospital Center to complete plans for a new 300-bed wing for treatment of chronic diseases, costing about $4 million; and, third, by increasing by $375,000 the appropriation authorization under the said 1946 act, thus providing one-half the additional funds needed to complete the Greater Southeast community 305-bed hospital for which $3 million has already been appropriated, thereby enabling the completion of this hospital to serve an area of the city which has increased in population from 105,000 in 1940 to 293,000 in 1960—a 175-percent increase in the past 20 years.

Also of appreciable benefit to local hospitals, as well as to other nonprofit educational and scientific institutions, was legislation enacted to reduce the 3-year period required for a determination of experience rating employed in establishing the rate of contribution to be paid by such institutions under the Unemployment Compensation Act, thereby relieving them of heavy financial burdens which otherwise would have been passed on to those using the services, as patients, students, and the like.

Pay raises for certain District employees—teachers, policemen, firemen—to enable them to keep apace increased living costs, as well as matching the pay raises given the Federal and District government civilian employees, were also enacted after much consideration, hearings and debate. Increased benefits were also provided to widows and surviving minor children of deceased former members of the police and fire department, and others. Of equal importance to the committee in its consideration of the need for such increases was where were the funds to come from. Hence, the earnest effort made by our committee to secure assurances from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia that the increases in question could be supported by the District without the need of increasing taxes of any kind.

The increase to teachers will raise the salaries of approximately 5,000 teachers at a cost of $4.2 million annually. This is at the level originally proposed by the Commissioners and within their available finances. The increase to firemen and policemen will require approximately $3.7 million annually, which likewise is within the available finances of the District.

The full District Committee held 11 closed meetings during the second session of the 87th Congress for the purpose of reporting bills to the floor of the House. The idea of closed meetings is not a rule of the District Committee but a rule of the U.S. House of Representatives. The subcommittees of the House District Committee held 37 hearings and 28 executive meetings. All the hearings were open, and the law requires that meetings in which bills are reported to the full committee shall be executive.

I want to congratulate every member of the House District Committee for giving so generously of his time in connection with legislation for the Nation's Capital. I am certain that no State in the Union has fared as well as the District of Columbia so far as legislation and appropriated funds are concerned, as all Government property in the States is tax-exempt the same as it is in Washington, and at the present time there are approximately five large Federal buildings under construction at a cost of approximately $250 million. This affords work for thousands of employees at a very high salary in the District of Columbia, in addition to the expenditure of multimillions of dollars in connection with the highway system where the Federal Government pays 90 percent of the cost.

As chairman of the House District Committee, I have always stressed economy in connection with the District government, as we were promised when the Reorganization Act was passed in 1954 that within 5 years the expenses of the District government would be reduced. Yet, in fact, they have almost doubled during the past 7 years. We all realize that pay increases absorb a great deal of this additional expense; however, numerous new bureaus have been created without any congressional authorization and some of them have been receiving Federal appropriations.

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## Summer Employees and the Library of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. KEN HECHLER
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include a letter from the Librarian of Congress and some additional material which throws light on the policies of the Library of Congress with respect to its employees. I am pleased to include this additional information to follow up the statement which I made on the floor on Monday, October 8.

THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS,
*Washington, D.C.*

HON. KEN HECHLER,
*U.S. House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. HECHLER: I appreciate greatly your taking time, in the busy closing hours of the session, to see me so that I could explain and amplify the Library's situation in regard to summer employment and to our furnishing information about it.

I was distressed by the implication of your letter to me of October 8, 1962, which was introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the same date, that the Library would think of withholding information needed in the legislative process. Nothing could be further from our policy.

The letter from me to Representative BECKWORTH of July 10, 1959, which was printed in the RECORD of October 1, was in response to a request from an individual Member for the names and addresses of certain Library of Congress employees (those employed for the summer) for an unstated purpose. No mention was made at that time of a Government-wide survey of summer-employment practices, although in an earlier letter we had asked the purpose of the inquiry and had placed our Acting Director of Personnel at the Member's, or his staff's, disposal to discuss the matter. No further information was received. Under the circumstances, names and addresses seemed to us to be personal data which the Library does not ordinarily make public. It should be noted that addresses, not legal residences, were requested. Had the latter been asked for we might have understood then that the question of geographical distribution was involved, although, since the Librarian is charged by law with appointing members of the staff "solely with reference to their fitness for their particular duties," such distribution is not a controlling factor in employment at the Library.

A responsive answer on our part was further complicated by the fact that the Library of Congress does not have a summer-employment program as such, although the Library may have temporary positions to be filled during the summer months, as well as during the rest of the year. Later, we furnished Representative BECKWORTH with statistical information about temporary positions filled during the summers of 1959 and 1960 with the legal residences of those appointed, and he seemed entirely satisfied with our response. In fact he sent to the Library data supplied to him by other agencies of the Government and asked that we put it all in the same form in which we used in replying to him.

In short, the situation is this: (1) The Library always makes every effort to provide information needed by the Congress for legislative purposes. (2) The Library does not have a summer-employment program, but it sometimes has temporary positions that happen to be filled during the summer months. Naturally, if the position is to be of 6 months' duration, for example, we prefer to fill it with someone who can stay in it for 6 months; training 2 people for such a job would be inefficient and wasteful of the Government's time and money. (3) Because appointments to the staff of the Library are, as required by law, made solely with reference to fitness for performing the duties required, geographical considerations cannot be a primary concern in filling vacancies at the Library. (4) If, in addition to geographical distribution, nepotism is a factor being considered, I should appreciate having the Library's policy on the employment of relatives made a part of this record because I believe that that policy is both strict and fair. A copy of the General Order governing such employment is enclosed.

Again, let me say how much I appreciate your courtesy in giving me an opportunity to explain the situation that has resulted in what I hope will be only a temporary misunderstanding.

Sincerely yours,

L. QUINCY MUMFORD,
*Librarian of Congress.*

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN, GENERAL ORDER NO. 1665, SEPTEMBER 11, 1958

To: Members of the staff.

From: Rutherford D. Rogers, Acting Librarian of Congress.

Subject: Employment of relatives.

Section 1. Purpose: This order states the Library's policies and procedures with regard to the employment of relatives.

Section 2. Definition: For the purposes of this order, relatives shall include the following relationships by blood, marriage, or adoption: spouses, parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces.

Section 3. General policy: Close relationship to other staff members by blood or marriage makes it difficult for staff members, in certain circumstances, to discharge their duties solely with reference to the interests of the Library. In consequence, it is the Library's policy (a) to regard such relationship as a factor in the "fitness to perform their particular duties" which by law must govern the Librarian in appointing persons to the Library service (2 U.S.C. 140), and (b) to place such limitations upon the employment of members of the same family as will protect the efficiency of the Library service. The provisions of this order shall apply to all appointments, regardless of type or duration.

It is the general policy that individuals in any of the above relationships to members of the staff shall not be employed in the Library. Exceptions to this policy will be made only when an applicant who is related to a staff member possesses unusual qualifications not found in any other applicant.

Section 4. Marriage after employment:

1. Two staff members who marry while employed in the Library may be retained on the staff, subject to the limitations on assignment described in section 5 and provided no special difficulties result from their combined employment.

2. It shall be the responsibility of the staff members concerned to give prompt notification of their marriage to their immediate supervisors who will report it to the director of personnel, and it shall be the responsibility of the supervisors to initiate immediate steps, if necessary, to bring the spouses' work assignments into line with the requirements of section 5.

Section 5. Effect on the present staff: The provisions of this order shall not apply to the continued employment of present members of the staff except as provided in sections 4 and 5 below.

Two members of the same family who are already on the staff shall not be employed in the same division and preferably not in the same department of the Library. In no case shall a husband and wife be employed or retained in the relationship of supervisor and supervised staff member, or in positions where both report to the same immediate supervisor, or in any other work relationship interpreted by the Librarian as contrary to the spirit or intent of this order except as previously officially authorized.

Section 6. Effect on previous issuances:

1. This order revokes General Order No. 1584, "Employment of Members of the Same Family."

2. The provisions of this order will be included under section 1 of part VII of the "Codification of General Orders."

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## Health Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much misunderstanding regarding the President's health care program under social security, and I wish to clarify the true purpose of the President's program.

Health is the business of a democratic country, for the fulfillment of the individual—impossible without health—is one of its highest goals. Yet many elderly citizens cannot afford and do not obtain the health care they need.

The principal aim of the President's program is to provide our older citizens with protection against the excessive costs of hospital care for prolonged illness which can wipe out the lifetime savings of an aged couple of moderate means, and often results in a major financial drain on their families, or forces them from independence to dependency.

The need is widely acknowledged, and the fact is beyond dispute that the greatest single threat to the economic security of older people is the unpredictable cost of illness. The President's program would make it possible for our people to build insurance protection in their working years against the high cost of illness in their later years—just as they now build protection under social security for themselves and their families against the loss of earnings because of old age, disability, or death.

Hospitalization represents the heaviest financial health care burden imposed on aged persons. The average hospital care cost per day in 1946 was $9.39; in 1950 it rose to $15.26; in 1955, to $23.12; in 1960, to $32.28; in 1961, to $34.98. In Montana, the approximate cost in 1961, $30.69.

Therefore, insurance against the cost of hospital care was deemed the proper area of coverage under a health insurance program, with a contribution rate within the means of our country's working force of approximately $1 per month. It is a very modest proposal designed to meet the most essential need, approximately 90 percent of the hospital bill would be paid by the plan—10 percent by the individual patient.

People 65 and over have health care costs twice as high as those of younger people. They are more likely to have serious and long-lasting illnesses, yet their annual income, on the average, is only half as large. The majority have little or no money beyond what they need to meet their day-to-day expenses for housing, food, and clothing. Most younger persons readily recover from serious illnesses and regain both their health and economic well-being, whereas such an opportunity is rarely afforded those of advanced years.

In our social security system we have the instrument which can spread the cost of health services in old age over the working years effectively, and in a manner consistent with the dignity of the individual. For over 26 years the efficient administrative machinery of the social security system has been operating successfully, and extension of health care insurance can be logically added at a minimum cost for the benefit of those over age 65.

By using this proved system to provide health insurance protection, it will be possible for our older people to get the

vital hospital services they need, not as a gift, but as a right earned and established during productive years, without exhausting their resources, mortgaging their homes, burdening their families, or being obliged to resort to public assistance. Paying for hospital costs under the Social Security System is the conservative and practical answer to the problem.

Only about half of our people 65 and over have hospitalization insurance, and many of the policies offered to older people provide but limited benefits under the restrictive conditions. It is well recognized that a policy that will provide even an approach to adequate care is beyond the financial ability of the great majority of retired persons.

The Kerr-Mills law, adopted by the Congress in 1960, provided medical assistance for those who could prove poverty. But now we must meet the needs of those millions of taxpayers who are staggered by the drain on their savings—or those of their children—caused by an extended hospital stay.

The President's program seeks to prevent ever-rising health care costs from bringing about poverty, rather than to extend care only after poverty occurs.

It is obvious the proposed health care program has no resemblance to socialized medicine. It is simply a national program to help older people prepay hospital and related health-care bills, not a means of providing these services. Nothing in the bill would in any way change existing practices of hospitals which require that patients be admitted only on the order of a physician.

There would be no interference in the doctor-patient relationship. Every patient would have free choice—of doctor, hospital, or nursing home. Hospitals and other services would be paid in much the same way that Blue Cross and other insurers now pay. The proposal states specifically that the Government would in no way control, regulate, or interfere with the practice of medicine or the administration of hospitals.

The aim and ideals embodied in the health insurance program will help social security do the job it was designed to do: provide a measure of independence with dignity for America's senior citizens during their golden years with an added measure of health and happiness. What greater bulwark against communism could there be than the contentment of a citizenry assured of a feeling of security they have earned.

Persons not covered by social security must have a method of participating. Those who are in poverty will participate in health care in the already passed Kerr-Mills law. Those who are not on public welfare and are not included under social security should be admitted by the payment of a reasonable fee commensurate with their financial background. But in no event should they be financially discouraged from participating.

## Hon. James Curran Davis

SPEECH
OF
## HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Madam Speaker, it was a great pleasure for me to find that our distinguished colleague from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] had arranged for this time during the busy closing days of this Congress in order that we might make this modest recognition of the extraordinary record of public service of the gentleman from Georgia, the Honorable JAMES CURRAN DAVIS.

This surely is the first time that I have referred to our colleague, JIM DAVIS, in so formal a way, for he has been, from first pleasant encounter to this day, and, I hope, will be for many years to come, just JIM DAVIS, my friend.

Friendly, forthright, conscientious, and courageous—these are just a few of the adjectives which come quickly to mind in thinking of JIM DAVIS. He has been a dedicated servant of his Nation, his State, and his district. That his counsel no longer will be available officially here is a loss to all levels of government, but we who have been privileged to serve with him know that our beloved colleague will not be lost to public service. JIM DAVIS, we know, will be called on to serve the people in some other capacity, and, as always, he will respond to the call with humility, but with determination to do his best in behalf of righteous causes.

I did not know, until I heard my friend, Judge FORRESTER, recall it, that Judge DAVIS had served as a Marine during World War I, but I was not surprised. JIM DAVIS is the epitome of the southern gentleman, but he is a fightingman. When he believes the cause just, he will not spare himself. Right is right to him, and political considerations are incidental.

Above all, our colleague reveres the Constitution of the United States. As an attorney and judge, he has studied constitutional law through the years. He has gained a remarkable insight into the genesis of this charter of our Government. He knows what its framers intended it to mean, and he knows it means the same today, despite the illicit redrafting by Federal judges turned legislators.

While he has other highly important committee assignments during his service here, I have always admired particularly his conscientious attention to his responsibilities as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia. He has believed in the importance of making the Nation's Capital a safe place in which to live and to rear children. His investment of time and effort in support of this belief certainly meant little politically at home in Georgia, whose citizens he served devotedly here, but it is not in JIM DAVIS' makeup to slough off any responsibility. His retirement from the Congress will be as serious a loss to the District of Columbia, as it will be to Georgia, and to the Nation as a whole.

## Retiring Members of the Committee on Public Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, eight members of the Committee on Public Works are retiring from the House, some to take other assignments and several to run for other offices. Representatives GRACIE PFOST, of Idaho, and PERKINS BASS, of New Hampshire are candiates for the U.S. Senate. Representative FRANK SMITH, of Mississippi, has been named to the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority by President Kennedy. Representatives IRIS BLITCH, of Georgia, LOUISE REECE, of Tennessee, and GORDON SCHERER, of Ohio, did not run for reelection and Representatives EDWIN B. DOOLEY, of New York, and WALTER L. MCVEY, of Kansas, will pursue other careers.

Mr. Speaker, I join the many friends and colleagues of these Members in extending to them the appreciation of us all for the service given in the past to the committee and to the Congress. We are especially sorry to lose all of our feminine members who have been an effective arm in consistently supporting legislation providing for harbor improvement flood control, and water resource programs. I want to single out the activities of Representative SMITH of Mississippi, chairman of the Subcommitee on Watershed Development, and commend him for a job well done. The programs he has sponsored will provide benefits to communities all over the Nation. ED DOOLEY has many fine qualities and I consider him one of the most able and dedicated Members of the House. PERKINS BASS and WALTER MCVEY contributed their legal talents to the committee's work. GORDON SCHERER leaves Congress as something of an expert on highway matters.

If time and space permitted I could continue at great length with a listing of the many committee activities and programs which have been advanced due to the work of these retiring Members of the Congress. The tremendous success of the public works programs we have enacted into law speaks adequately for the way in which these committee members have met their responsibility. I

have no doubt but that the same fine dedicated service will be rendered in any activitis in which they may engage in the future.

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## Congressman John D. Dingell Reports to the People of the 15th District of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am making, at this time, my seventh annual report to the people of my district on my stewardship on their behalf in the Congress. I have filed such a report at the end of each session of Congress in which I have served.

During this session I have continued my service on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. I have achieved significant seniority on both of these committees and serve as chairman of the Subcommittee on Oceanography of the latter committee, which is responsible for $123 million in research into the oceans of the world.

I maintain two offices to serve my constituents, one in Washington, D.C., and one in Detroit at 7310 Grand River, where I will again be available during the fall to meet with my constituents to discuss their problems.

I have appeared before appropriate committees on behalf of legislation to provide equality of opportunity to all our people and to liberalize social security and have devoted much time to study and sponsorship of changes in this system to offer more real protection to all our people.

I worked hard on behalf of enactment of meaningful civil rights legislation, and am happy that I helped secure passage of a measure of which I was the first sponsor in this Congress, House Joint Resolution 3, a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

I was a leader in the fight for the strong drug-control legislation reported by my committee and enacted by the Congress. I am particularly proud of defeating weakening amendments to the administration's drug bill, and of leading the floor fight to remove one very bad provision, inserted in committee over my objection, which would have permitted nondisclosure or false and misleading advertisements to physicians and others regarding dangerous side effects of drugs.

I have opposed price-fixing legislation which would have raised consumer prices by $12 billion per year for the consumers of this country.

I devoted a great deal of time and energy to securing enactment of President Kennedy's program for hospitalization for the aged within the framework of the social security system, one of the Nation's greatest unmet social needs, of which legislation I was one of the earliest sponsors in Congress.

### I. LEGISLATION INTRODUCED BY THE HONORABLE JOHN D. DINGELL WHICH BECAME LAW DURING THE 87TH CONGRESS

I was author and sponsor of 11 measures which were enacted by this Congress among which are:

House Joint Resolution 3: A constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax as a condition for voting in Federal elections.

H.R. 4038: The Blatnik-Dingell Water Pollution Control Act of 1961, providing stricter sanctions against polluters of our Nation's waters and increasing Federal grants for water pollution abatement works. This bill, endorsed by all conservation, municipal and public health groups, will result in real progress in cleaning up our water pollution problems, and is at this moment being used to clean up pollution in the Detroit River.

H.R. 3874: Providing for reduction of retirement age for men under social security from 65 to 62.

H.R. 7404: Opening over a million acres of wildlife refuges to public recreation under controlled conditions.

H.R. 12601: For the first time establishing a program for coordination of the $123 million in oceanographic research expended by the Federal Government.

H.R. 6471: Requiring drug advertisements to give truthful statements of side effects, contraindications, and the generic names as provided in the strong drug control bill just enacted, as a result of the fight which I led on the House floor.

I joined in sponsorship of the Area Redevelopment Act, the Manpower Retraining Act, and the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act, and had the great pleasure of helping to bring to a successful conclusion my 6-year fight for a $1.25 minimum wage with enactment of legislation similar to my bill, H.R. 2412. The $900 million emergency Public Works Act passed by this Congress is legislation similar to that which I have cosponsored in several Congresses.

Other pieces of legislation which I cosponsored are the provisions raising the minimum primary benefits under social security from $33 to $40 per month, including increased widows' benefits, and covering the children of unemployed under the aid-to-dependent children program.

### II. OTHER LEGISLATION INTRODUCED BY HON. JOHN D. DINGELL DURING THE 87TH CONGRESS

#### UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

H.R. 4084: To establish Federal standards for unemployment compensation to guarantee benefits equal to not less than 50 percent of the worker's weekly wage, but not more than two-thirds of the average weekly wage prevailing in the State for a minimum of 39 weeks. Had this bill been enacted the average unemployed Michigan worker would have gotten an additional $19 per week for the period he may now draw unemployment compensation, plus an additional 13 weeks compensation at the rate of $49 per week. The American economy would have benefited by $1.3 billion in additional purchasing power.

H.R. 6715: A bill to establish a self-liquidating fund to protect unemployed workers in areas of substantial unemployment from foreclosure of VA and FHA insured mortgages for a period of 1 year while unemployed and for 30 days after their reemployment.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

H.R. 2413: A bill to make it an unfair labor practice to discriminate in hiring on account of age. This would solve one of the greatest problems of the middle aged in securing employment.

H.R. 101: This bill, the first civil rights legislation introduced in this Congress, is an omnibus proposal to outlaw discrimination in voting, housing, transportation and employment, and to create a strong Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission to guarantee equality of opportunity in employment.

H.R. 102: A bill to authorize the Attorney General of the United States to file civil actions for injunctions on behalf of citizens whose civil rights are threatened or denied.

H.R. 103: A strong antilynching measure to protect minority groups from racially inspired violence.

H.R. 104: A bill to establish a strong Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission to guarantee equality of opportunity in employment to all.

#### NATIONAL CONTRIBUTORY HEALTH INSURANCE

H.R. 4413: A bill to establish a national program of contributory health insurance and make adequate medical care available to all on a prepaid basis. Ample provision is made for freedom of choice by doctor and patient.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

H.R. 4602: A bill to liberalize the definition of permanent and total disability under the social security program to permit those who are so disabled as to be incapable of continuing work in their regular employment to receive benefits without waiting until the age of 62. This bill would ease the heartbreaking plight of many now, in fact, disabled but denied benefits by the unduly harsh interpretation of the present disability sections of the act.

H.R. 5401: A bill to reduce the retirement age for men to 60 and to 55 for women, and eliminate reduction of benefits because of early retirement.

H.R. 5891: A bill to continue payment of survivor and other benefits to children attending school from the present age of 18 to 21.

H.R. 4309: This is President Kennedy's program which I sponsored with many colleagues for hospitalization of the aged within the framework of social security, providing hospitalization, outpatient, and skilled nursing home care for all recipients of social security retirement benefits. This measure was defeated in the Senate and in the House Ways and Means Committee by a coalition of reactionary Republicans and southern Democrats aided and abetted by outrageous lobbying practices and enormous expenditures of money by the American

Medical Association, and the insurance lobby.

TAXATION

H.R. 2409 and H.R. 2410: Bill to raise individual exemptions to $700 and $800 respectively. For a family of four in the lowest taxable income bracket this could mean an additional $80 or $160 per year. I have sponsored other legislation closing loopholes to raise sufficient revenue to meet the cost of this tax readjustment.

H.R. 2408: A bill to eliminate the 10-percent Federal excise tax on automobiles to stimulate our Michigan economy.

III. LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF THE 87TH CONGRESS

The 87th Congress will go down in history as one of the hardest working and most productive Congresses in history. The Democratic majority working together with our great President have fashioned a record of fine legislation to benefit all of the people.

I was one of the first and most aggressive advocates of the first action of this Congress which was the reorganization of the House Rules Committee, to make it more difficult for that body to be used as a roadblock to important liberal legislation.

This Congress has enacted over 800 public laws, and has given President Kennedy 74 percent of the major measures for which he asked during this session. The Republican critics of the Congress will not point out that many measures which could have been enacted failed because of their coalition with reactionary Democrats. The defeat of the bill to provide aid to colleges and universities, to bring the cost of educating generations to come within reach of all, and to help ease the incredible overcrowding of our schools of higher learning, is a monument to this reactionary coalition, as was the defeat of general school aid legislation to ease the crippling overcrowding in schools and excessive tax burdens on homeowners in large cities across the land.

ANTIRECESSION ACTION

Action by President Kennedy and the Congress reduced unemployment of 6.9 percent nationally to 5.8 percent, and increased the gross national product and per capita income by 10 percent, by a number of legislative and administrative actions. Immediately upon his inauguration the President doubled the amount of surplus food going to needy families and ordered use of the food stamp program, authorized by H.R. 5191 of which I was the author and sponsor in the last Congress.

Congress quickly enacted extended unemployment compensation coverage on a temporary basis to assist 600,000 unemployed workers, and to pump $1 billion into the economy.

Congress enacted legislation to provide benefits under the aid to dependent children program to children of the unemployed. Unfortunately, to its great discredit, the Republican-dominated Michigan Legislature refused to enact legislation to carry out State responsibility under the act, and denied children of our unemployed, and the economy of Michigan the sum of $20 million.

I was among the first sponsors of the Area Redevelopment Act, passed by this Congress, and signed by President Kennedy, after two Eisenhower vetoes. This act is making $394 million available for redevelopment projects, and for businesses which need funds for expansion of job opportunity, for industrial and commercial development projects, public facility construction, and subsistence payments to workers retrained under the program.

The enactment of the Manpower Retraining Act authorized expenditure of $435 million to retrain up to 1 million unemployed workers, with a potential of approximately 10 percent of this figure to be retrained in Michigan. The purpose of this bill is to provide Federal assistance to States in retraining workers in areas of high and persistent unemployment by paying both the cost of retraining and subsistence to the worker during his retraining.

Emergency public works acceleration in areas of high unemployment was authorized in the amount of $900 million to assist in Federal public works programs on a matching basis with State and local projects. Michigan's economy will be benefited by $90 million under this proposal.

Social security was liberalized by reduction of the retirement age for men to 62, of which bill I was a sponsor, and by raising the minimum monthly benefit from $33 to $40 per month, widows' benefits by 10 percent, and extending coverage to 160,000 persons previously excluded.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I am unalterably convinced that both legally and morally all of our people should have equality of opportunity to fully share and completely participate in the total life of our great Nation. Therefore, I have worked earnestly seeking the enactment of meaningful civil rights legislation as an important step forward in creating the type of national fabric where all of our people will have equal opportunity to progressively develop to the fullest of their potential and make purposeful contributions throughout the entire spectrum of our democratic society.

My bill, House Joint Resolution 3, a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax as a condition for voting, was enacted to halt for all times this highly discriminatory practice.

The Congress extended the Civil Rights Commission for 2 years. Unfortunately this represents a compromise less than complete acceptance of my bill, H.R. 6879, which would make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent agency.

I joined with the Attorney General in a petition to the Interstate Commerce Commission to establish rules and regulations to halt unlawful racial segregation on buses and in bus terminal facilities.

These rules have now been adopted by the ICC and will go a long way to provide equality of opportunity in travel for all.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

I am proud that my 2-year fight for stronger controls to assure safety of drugs was successful and that I was able to secure enactment of my bill H.R. 6471 requiring truthful information in advertisements on side effects, contraindications, and other dangers, together with information on generic name to permit physicians to prescribe equally high quality drugs of more economical price to their patients. These provisions were part of the strong drug control bill enacted by this Congress to halt dangerous practices which have had so many unfortunate effects recently in the drug industry.

I led the fight in committee and on the floor of Congress to beat off weakening amendments, and was successful in two instances in strengthening the bill for the protection of our people.

GENERAL HOSPITALIZATION FOR THE AGED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK

Most unfortunate was defeat of legislation to help the aged meet the cost of hospitalization within the framework of the social security program. This will continue placing many of the aged at the mercy of public or private charity, or require them to be treated at the expense of the general taxpayers instead of on a contributory insurance program.

The overall record of this Congress is a great one. The Peace Corps, perhaps the most striking and appreciated advance in our foreign aid program, was established; the missile gap narrowed and reversed in favor of our Nation; milestone changes in our foreign trade laws to assist American exporters were enacted; and more efficient and adequate national defense was provided through reorganization of the armed services and more careful scrutiny of the appropriation process.

The Alliance for Progress was enacted to restore the good-neighbor policy and to raise the standard of living of our American neighbors to the south; the foreign aid program was revamped to emphasize loans, repayable to the United States, and to require use of our funds in programs which contribute substantially to the improvement of the economy and lot of the people; business was aided by a new depreciation schedule to make possible more rapid write-offs of investment and a special investment credit was given to industry by the 1962 tax law. Both of these measures will provide increased employment. Also, the lending authority of the Small Business Administration was doubled; the Area Redevelopment Act providing substantial additional funds to assist in job-creating opportunities through expansion of private enterprise became law; a massive housing bill making possible 100,000 new public housing units for low-income families, with special provision for housing of minorities, and reduced downpayments was enacted and has significantly benefited the housing industry and home buyer; the minimum wage was raised to $1.25 and 3.6 million workers previously excluded from the Fair Labor Standards Act are now protected.

In addition, legislation was enacted authorizing the President to use all necessary measures to protect the interests

of the United States and the peace of the Western Hemisphere to guard against any expansion of Communist Cuba, and active measures to discomfort Mr. Castro through economic and other sanctions are being employed; provision for growth of our Nation by investment in its natural resources was provided; new national parks and recreation areas were established; strong water pollution control legislation authored by Congressman BLATNIK and myself became law and is being implemented; the postal deficit was reduced; and the pay of our Federal employees made competitive with the scales in private industry.

I have sought to provide vigorous and effective representation to the people of my district in the Congress and in the handling of the many types of problems which they bring to me.

It was my suggestion which helped bring to Michigan the whole mobility command of the Department of Defense and to locate in this area headquarters for 40,000 Federal positions. The jobs of thousands of employees at Ordnance Tank-Automotive Command were saved by this action.

I pledge to continue my efforts on behalf of the people of my disrtict, and to continue the same record of legislative endeavor.

## Resolution Adopted by the Council of the Polish Societies and Clubs and the Delaware Division of the Polish-American Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of a resolution read and adopted by the assembled at a commemoration of the 183d anniversary of the death of Gen. Casimir Pulaski, sponsored by the Council of the Polish Societies and Clubs and the Delaware Division of the Polish-American Congress, held on Sunday afternoon, October 14, 1962, at the Pulaski Place, Wilmington, Del.:

Whereas, the restoration of the right to independent political life of the nations of the central-eastern Europe is not only a test case of principles, but primarily of political realism; since World War II we have continuously been of the opinion that Soviet aggression in Europe is the source of political unrest in the world today; and

Whereas, Poland given away after the war as a prey to Soviet imperialism and, alien to her, ideology, should occupy a special place in the framework of our general political strategy because of her geopolitical position, and the quality of her inhabitants; Poland has also its special place in our hearts as the land of our forefathers, which not only contributed to the life of our country, but in time of need sent its sons, who, like Casimir Pulaski, gave their lives in our struggle for independence; and

Whereas we trust that our authorities having elements for political analysis in their hands foresee time and circumstances which can bring independence to central-eastern Europe, in case of Poland, we feel ourselves entitled to bring forth our opinion on a number of practical remedies which can ease this policy: Be it therefore

*Resolved by the assembled that the United States*—

1. Emphasize the difference between the Communist government forced upon the Polish nation, and the Polish nation itself, faithful to its historical tradition, to the faith of its father, linked with the Western culture, which by its stand is our natural ally and a disintegrating factor of the anachronistic Soviet empire. This should not be lost through our superficial analysis and shortsightedness.

2. Maintain wide cultural and scientific exchange with Poland which will enable the Polish nation to preserve its ties with the West.

3. Grant rational economic aid, with precautions that it reach the Polish people, and that they know where it is coming from. This will help the Polish nation not only to go through the difficult period of its history, but will also maintain the traditional friendship with the United States and give a testimony of our interest in the Polish cause.

4. Recognize the Polish-German frontier on the Oder and Neisse Rivers. This will not change the accomplished fact, as by the consent of the victorious powers after the war, and through the hard work of the Polish nation, the territories east from this frontier are fully integrated with Poland. It will release, however, the Polish nation from the embarrassing situation to regard its hated Communist system as a protector of national interest, and will remove a comfortable political tool from the Russian hands. This will also undermine the developing German revisionism which presently lies across any sensible solution in central Europe, and will help Germans themselves in linking their destiny with the family of European nations.

5. Create strong pressure of public opinion which can weaken the intensity of the struggle of the Communist regime with the Polish nation, especially in the field of its fight with the church in Poland.

*Resolved further*, That the removal of the outdated and outworn ideas which lie behind the present political crisis will bring forth the international cooperation for solving a real problem which is a peaceful development of hungry people, delayed in their advancement to meet the needs of the modern world. This problem can have an increasingly explosive character.

*Resolved further*, That the copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and to the Senators and Congressmen of the State of Delaware.

## A Report to the People of Union County

SPEECH
OF
### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Friday, October 12, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I think our colleagues would agree that the 87th Congress has been a memorable and significant one—as much for its failures as for its achievements.

In this, my summary report to the people of Union County, N. J., on the record of this Congress, I shall continue a practice I have followed each year of my service in the House—to keep the people I represent informed of the record of Congress and of the activities of their Representative. This is, I believe, a fundamental responsibility of an elected representative in a democracy, and I am pleased to note that a great many Members on both sides of the aisle share my conviction in this regard.

As I prepare this report, Congress is about to adjourn one of the longest sessions in peacetime history—and, certainly, one of the most needlessly prolonged on record. The length of this second session makes it more imperative than ever that Congress reform its own procedures to assure better scheduling of legislation and guarantee more orderly and adequate consideration of the hundreds of important bills that come before us each year. The spectacle of long mid-session delays and a frenzied rush to catch up at session's end does not do justice to "the world's greatest legislative body."

The most important accomplishment of the entire Congress, by general agreement, was approval this year of the Trade Expansion Act, which renewed and broadened the President's power to carry on tariff negotiations with other countries, especially the nations of the European Common Market. How well and wisely this new authority is administered will strongly influence American industry's ability to compete for foreign markets and thereby will affect, for good or ill, American jobs, our present favorable balance of exports over imports, our unfavorable balance of international payments, and the whole future of economic and political cooperation in the free world.

On this bill, which I supported, and on every other issue that came before us, I endeavored to exercise independent and informed judgment, in the conviction that the people of Union County do not want a yes-man or a no-man, but a Representative who will cast his "aye" vote or his "nay" vote with only one consideration in mind—the welfare of his country and his constituents.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In other areas of foreign policy, Congress expanded the very successful Peace Corps, and authorized loans up to $100 million to the United Nations, contingent upon matching grants by other member countries and subject to other restrictions to allow the world organization to put itself on a sound financial basis. Congress also continued the foreign aid program but reduced the administration budget request by over $1 billion in an effort to force the administration to prevent waste and redefine the program in a more rational and effective fashion. Already, it appears, our efforts are bearing fruit and I hope the administration will be successful in its present attempt to rethink the objectives of foreign aid, establish priorities, and make foreign aid a more useful servant of American foreign policy.

In two very significant resolutions, Congress expressed its determination that U.S. rights in Berlin be defended against Soviet violation and that the

threat to American security posed by the Communist military buildup in Cuba be prevented "by whatever means may be necessary."

Congress demonstrated its seriousness of purpose to back up American foreign policy and defend the security of our country by increasing defense expenditures, authorizing the President to call up Reserve Forces if necessary and by greatly enlarging our space program which has tremendous implications for both military and peaceful purposes.

In the area of national affairs—although it is becoming more and more difficult to separate national from international affairs, since our ability to defend our security and protect freedom depends primarily on our own social and economic well-being—Congress acted as follows:

Authorized a 3-year program to retrain unemployed workers and help develop the new skills required by new technological developments.

Authorized creation of a new corporation, jointly owned by the public and the private communications industry, to set up and operate a communications satellite system to exploit the progress symbolized by the successful Telstar program, to which, incidentally, Union County industry and workers have made a significant contribution.

Repealed the 10-percent excise tax on railroad and bus fares and reduced to 5 percent the tax on airline passenger tickets, effective November 15, a move I have publicly urged for some time and one which should benefit both passengers and the hard-pressed transportation industry.

Continued the vital program of improving the Nation's highway system.

Provided for more effective control of the quality and distribution of new drugs.

Expanded the highly desirable program of loans to encourage the construction of housing for elderly persons.

REFORM OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Reformed the multibillion-dollar public assistance program by placing more emphasis on rehabilitation of needy persons thereby reducing relief rolls and by providing modest increases in assistance for the aged, the blind, and the disabled and for child welfare services.

Increased the protection afforded both workers and management under the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act.

Encouraged self-employed persons to establish pension plans for themselves and their employees.

Continued assistance to State and local governments for research to control air pollution.

Increased the amounts of medical and dental expenses allowable for income tax deduction and raised from $1,200 to $1,524 the amount of retirement income not subject to personal income tax to conform with last year's amendment to the social security laws allowing for a small increase in annual earnings of retired persons.

Strengthened Federal conflict-of-interest laws and laws relating to graft and bribery, and made more effective the prohibition against the transportation of gambling devices across State lines.

Increased the rates of compensation paid to veterans with service-connected disabilities.

All of these actions, I believe, were constructive efforts to strengthen our country and its determination to preserve peace, protect freedom, prevent the expansion of communism, improve the well-being of our people, strengthen the national economy, and make our governmental system of Federal, State, and local cooperation serve us more effectively. As such, all of this legislation received substantial support from Members of Congress of both political parties. Indeed, in some cases, without Republican votes worthwhile legislation would not have been passed in spite of the sizable margins by which the majority party controlled Congress.

FAILURES, TOO

Unfortunately, however, Congress accomplishments were matched by its failures. For example, no significant education legislation was enacted into law, despite the fact that the urgently needed program to help colleges build classrooms and improve facilities had passed both House and Senate by substantial bipartisan majorities. The mass transportation bill, which I cosponsored and which is essential to the improvement of commuter service in metropolitan areas like our own, also failed to pass, although it, too, enjoyed considerable bipartisan support. In spite of the many recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission, the only civil rights legislation to be approved was the proposed constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting purposes—the least effective and most time-consuming means to this laudable end.

Election year politics, among other reasons, prevented the finding of a workable formula for providing health care for older persons. The equal-pay-for-women bill, which I have sponsored from the beginning of my service in Congress, almost made it, only to be blocked by a last-minute technicality which could and should have been overcome. The President's proposal to create a Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs out of the existing agencies of the Housing and Home Finance Administration, was defeated in the House. No action was taken on badly needed legislation to control the distribution of barbiturates and amphetamines, the so-called goofball drugs—legislation, by the way, to which I shall give special emphasis in the 88th Congress.

In the face of overwhelming evidence of the shortage of doctors and nurses, nothing was done to encourage the expansion of facilities for their training.

A special category of failure should be reserved for Congress record on Government spending. Although approximately $4.6 billion was trimmed from the administration's budget requests, spending in the current fiscal year will, for the first time since World War II, exceed $100 billion.

Congress missed many opportunities to reduce appropriations for programs and projects which by no stretch of the imagination could be classified as essential or even important, one of the most flagrant examples of which was the $10 million fish aquarium for the District of Columbia. As a result, Congress increased the authorized national debt, although only temporarily, from $298 to $308 billion. In my judgment, this increase in the debt ceiling could easily have been avoided by a little judicious restraint. While the difficulties are all too apparent, I am still convinced it is possible to exercise fiscal responsibility and at the same time do everything necessary to advance the Nation's security and welfare. In fact, the two are logical and inseparable, and I shall continue to do everything possible to see that both objectives are realized.

THE SOFT ECONOMY

In any analysis of the record of the 87th Congress, major attention must be given to the failure to take meaningful action to stimulate the economy. Tax revision, including necessary incentives to increase production and consumption, and therefore jobs, is of the first importance. Yet, this year's tax bill was notable chiefly for its investment tax credit of approximately $1.2 billion—which, while intended to be an incentive credit, covered expenditures made long before the bill was passed.

Businessmen themselves were less than enthusiastic about the value of the tax credit. Fortunately, however, Congress eliminated from the tax bill the unnecessary and discriminatory proposal to begin withholding of income from interest and dividends, a provision I strongly opposed.

The Area Redevelopment Act which could have been a useful way of helping areas of heavy long-term unemployment, became instead, a highly political program which emphasizes rural areas as opposed to urban areas, where unemployment is greater, and which dissipates available resources among too many small and relatively ineffective projects.

The public works acceleration bill, which was cut from $900 to $400 million, will only substitute Federal dollars for State and local funds without holding out much hope of increasing employment, since eligible projects, by their definition in the law, would probably be constructed without this special Federal assistance.

Our economy has never really recovered from the last recession. Unemployment is close to 6 percent of the labor force nationally. While many key economic indicators are encouraging, others indicate a continuing instability. Unless effective measures are taken by private industry, the administration and the next Congress to inject new vigor into the economy—through tax revisions, including tax cuts, efforts to create greater mutual confidence between Government and business, and more creative use of monetary policy, that is the adjustment of interest rates to regulate the supply of money—then we shall find the next economic dip a much more painful one. Our national and international responsibilities make it imperative that we do a better job of making our economy a stronger, more expansive and more dependable one than it is today, as soon as possible.

NEEDED: A GOOD FARM BILL

Other failures of the 87th Congress include the farm bill. All that can be said for the measure that squeezed past a hostile Congress is that it will be, hopefully, a temporary one.

It was makeshift, discriminatory and certain to bring an increase in the price of the food we buy. The agricultural economy is composed of so many different commodity groups, special programs, and conflicting interests—all of them represented in Congress—that a coherent, balanced and rational farm program seems impossible of accomplishment through the normal legislative processes. I do not minimize the difficulties, but sometime soon Congress is going to have to insist that farmers, processors, distributors, consumers—and taxpayers—get together and devise a program that will meet the country's need for abundance without waste, adequate income which farmers can depend on, and reasonable consumer prices. Logically, these should not be opposing objectives. Practically, Congress has not yet found the formula for harmonizing them.

This reference to agriculture leads me to the Billie Sol Estes case, the biggest, most time-consuming project in which either of my two committees engaged this year. Space obviously does not permit detailed discussion of this complex affair, so let me summarize it this way. The Estes investigation is not yet complete. As one who first insisted on my Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee's responsibility to investigate, I want to see the job done fully and fairly.

As it stands today, Mr. Estes is under multiple indictments. Several of his colleagues have been convicted on related charges. Evidence taken by our House and Senate committees establishes clearly that Estes was a wheeler-dealer on a grand scale. By means of frequent gifts, innumerable contacts, favors, and political contributions, he sought to ingratiate himself with Government officials, especially in the Department of Agriculture. As a result, he was allowed to keep millions of dollars worth of cotton allotments which he obtained in clear violation of law and regulations, until his nefarious operations became public. And, at a particularly critical point, he persuaded Department officials to retreat from a decision to raise his grain storage bond, a decision which, if carried through, would have revealed his bankrupt condition long before the Estes bubble burst.

Even though the investigation is incomplete, we have already achieved substantial results. Faced with overwhelming evidence of poor communications, inadequate supervision and generally loose administrative procedures, the Agriculture Department has been persuaded to undertake a number of important reforms—which, after all, is the primary objective of the investigation.

IMPROVING HEALTH

In other fields, the subcommittee made far-reaching recommendations which will greatly improve administration of the many health research programs of the National Institutes of Health. We also continued two important studies: To find ways of improving various consumer protection activities of Federal, State, and local governments; and to assure that the Food and Drug Administration's job of protecting the American people against unsafe food, drugs and cosmetics is done with the utmost care and efficiency, a matter of literal life-and-death importance.

In the Banking and Currency Committee, mass transportation and housing for the elderly legislation were two of our principal occupations this year. We also reported bills to extend the Defense Production Act and the Export Control Act, strengthened the International Monetary Fund which stabilizes world currencies, increased the lending authority of the Small Business Administration for business and disaster loans, and improved laws governing the Federal Reserve Board, national banks and savings and loan associations.

Overlapping both my committees, and involving the work of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations—of which I am one of three members representing the House—I introduced a series of bills which would provide more systematic scrutiny of Federal grant programs and improve coordination of such programs, especially as they affect urban areas, at all levels of government. Although no final action was taken on this legislation, I am glad to report that national organizations of Governors, mayors, and county officials have endorsed several of them, and I am hopeful we can pass them in the next Congress.

Legislation, no matter how significant, is only one of the responsibilities of Congressmen, and political scientists assign equal importance to the obligations of Members to serve the districts they represent. This aspect of my job in Washington has always been one of the most satisfying and rewarding, and I welcome every opportunity to be of service.

This year, as in the past, my staff and I have been privileged to help thousands of Union County residents on a wide variety of problems involving the Federal Government—uniting families; unraveling Government redtape; obtaining information for businessmen, housewives, students, and working people; protecting the rights of servicemen, veterans, and retired people; cooperating with public officials on community and county projects of many kinds; and welcoming visitors to our Nation's Capitol, to mention only the major categories.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

You, the people I represent, and I have continued to keep in close touch. Correspondence has been heavier than ever. Your interest in receiving my regular "Report to the People" accounted for a large increase in distribution. Your response to our congressional questionnaire was the greatest in the 5 years I have used this means of obtaining your views on important issues. And, while I remained on the job here whenever the House was in session, I used every possible occasion to return to the district on weekends and during recesses to talk with you personally and learn how I could represent you more effectively.

For all of this, and for the confidence you have placed in my ability to serve you, I thank you. This is your congressional office, and I hope you will always remember that there is nothing we like better than to try to be helpful.

I should like to conclude this report by mentioning several areas in which legislation I introduced or supported has benefited Union County directly. Urban renewal, housing for the elderly, and open space projects are underway in several of our communities. A number of new post offices have recently been completed. Assistance for hospital construction and sewage disposal has been received, and Congress has approved my request for funds to complete the flood control survey of the Elizabeth River.

Congress also passed a bill I cosponsored authorizing the sale of the General Aniline & Film Corp., a move which should contribute greatly to both labor and management at the company's big Linden plant. Approval of my bill to provide for maintenance of the channels to Port Elizabeth was a big step ahead in the development of this great new international port facility, a project which will provide employment for an estimated 8,000 to 9,000 persons in our area with annual payrolls of between $40 and $50 million. Congress, too, voted funds to continue work on a number of navigation and channel improvement projects in the New Jersey-New York port area—work that is vital in maintaining our area's preeminent position in world trade.

Finally, I am especially pleased to report that prospects look better than ever for New York State to raise its minimum drinking age from 18 to 21—a campaign I have carried on since 1955 and one in which a great many of you have actively participated. Earlier this year, 25 of my colleagues in the House and Senate joined me in petitioning the New York Legislature to take this action. On their behalf, I testified before the legislative committee studying the teenage problem. The indication of congressional concern was unique, and I believe it was helpful in emphasizing the seriousness of the situation.

All in all, therefore, this was a year of progress and delay, of victory and defeat, a not untypical session of Congress. But we have much to do and time is short.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION ENROLLED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that on October 15, 1962, that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 10620. An act to amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to in-

crease the maximum limitations on the amount allowable as a deduction for medical, dental, etc., expenses, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11586. An act to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12276. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12580. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12648. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12900. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13273. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 907. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 88th Congress.

## ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 585, 87th Congress, he did on October 16, 1962, sign enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 10620. An act to amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the maximum limitations on the amount allowable as a deduction for medical, dental, etc., expenses, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11586. An act to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12276. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12580. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12648. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12900. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13273. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 907. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 88th Congress.

## SENATE ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 585, 87th Congress, he did on October 16, 1962, sign enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1447. An act to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955, as amended, and to provide for the adjustment of annuities paid from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement and annuity fund;

S. 1961. An act for the relief of Lt. Charles M. Cox, U.S. Army (retired);

S. 2555. An act for the relief of Fong Yee Hin;

S. 3124. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Gustave M. Minton, Jr., U.S. Air Force;

S. 3215. An act for the relief of Kim Chong Koo;

S. 3361. An act to facilitate the entry of alien skilled specialists and certain relatives of U.S. citizens, and for other purposes;

S. 3451. An act to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims upon which valuable improvements have been placed, and for other purposes;

S. 3453. An act for the relief of Dr. Felix Nabor Sabates;

S. 3705. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958, as amended, to increase salaries, to adjust pay alinement, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 208. Joint resolution to establish a commission to develop and execute plans for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie, and for other purposes.

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1936).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 87th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

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# Appendix

## NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-seventh Congress will be published not later than Friday, November 2, 1962. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Statuary Hall, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

## Accomplishments of the 87th Congress: Report of the House Majority Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the accomplishments of the 87th Congress have been historic in every important area.

Responding to the leadership of President Kennedy, this Congress has enacted more important and far-reaching measures across the broadest legislative front than this country has witnessed in years.

Under the leadership of two of the greatest Speakers of all time, former Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, and Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, the House of Representatives together wits its coequal partner in our legislative system, the U.S. Senate, has written a record in which all Members can take great pride.

We strengthened the national economy. We bolstered the Nation's armed power as never before in peacetime. We launched a full-scale attack upon the many and baffling problems of the 1960's.

During the 1st session, the 87th Congress approved 62 percent of President Kennedy's legislative requests. The Republican-controlled 83d Congress, during its 1st session—and such is a proper comparison—approved only 52 percent of President Eisenhower's requests.

During its 2d session, the 87th Congress approved 74 percent of President Kennedy's requests; the 83d Congress, 2d session, approved only 40 percent of President Eisenhower's requests.

Regardless of legislative comparisons, and true to the traditions of our great people, this Congress as before has kept matters of national defense and foreign policy outside the realm of partisan politics. We have faced the enemies of freedom from a position of strength and as a resolute and united nation.

Under the Foreign Assistance Act, we have buttressed the forces of freedom around the world.

Through the Alliance for Progress, we have joined our neighbors to the south in trying to fulfill the promise of the New World.

We have supported the United Nations and its peacekeeping efforts in the Congo and the Middle East.

We have passed, substantially as recommended by the President of the United States, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which, in language typical of editorial comment across the country, the Washington Post described as "an historic monument to the work of this Congress—the kind of monument that the 80th Congress made for itself when it approved the Marshall plan."

We have established the Peace Corps, a new, imaginative, and informal approach to the field of foreign aid to the lesser developed nations.

In spite of the efforts of the United States to cultivate freedom, peace, and prosperity, crisis is still very much with us, and perhaps more so than at any time since Korea, and possibly since World War II.

Though the immediate shock of the Berlin wall's construction has been forgotten, the daily anxieties and blood-filled encounters around it have not. In another hemisphere, an old Latin friend and neighbor, only 90 miles from us, has become a host to our enemies, and has caused our friendship to change to anger. The 87th Congress, for Berlin and for Cuba, has told the President to use whatever means he finds necessary. And, with Berlin, it was necessary to call up troops.

Cuba and Berlin, however, are like a bad case of measles or chickenpox; they are visible signs of an internal infection. Other signs were trouble in Laos in 1961, and now trouble in South Vietnam.

Yet, as if international affairs did not present enough problems, domestic affairs have been of a critical nature. Many who lived through the great depression of a generation ago saw, at the time John F. Kennedy assumed the Presidency, reminders and similarities of those empty, jobless days.

An important part of the New Frontier's domestic program has been made up of antirecession measures. The contribution of the 87th Congress to this program and to the Nation's economic health is outstanding by any standards.

In the second session, Congress approved the $435 million Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. The President, when he signed it into law on March 15 of this year, said that the act was "perhaps the most significant legislation in the area of employment since the historic Employment Act of 1946." This program, indeed, is one significant answer to the labor problems caused by technological changes.

Another part of the overall administration program to stimulate the Nation's economy was enacted under the name of

the Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act of 1962. This legislation authorizes the President to allocate $900 million for public works projects in areas with heavy, persistent unemployment. The problem in these areas is not that men will not work; it is that they cannot find work.

Solutions of this problem have to be carefully worked into solutions of problems caused by the swift changes in the nature and structure of American industry, the most highly developed in the world.

The 87th Congress, under the leadership of the Democratic Party, made another effort to combat the Nation's economic problems by reforming Federal welfare law. The reforms will enable money, spent to relieve the distressed, to go further and to do more. In addition, the reforms contain provisions, such as the day-care center program, designed to enable people to work who have been forced to accept relief in order to care for their children.

Still another effort approved by the 87th Congress to tone up the economy was passage of legislation to revise our tax laws. This legislation provides for the first major revision of taxes since 1954. In part, it allows businesses to deduct the costs of certain investments, in new and used property, from their income tax liability. This legislation, as is true of much other legislation recommended by the Kennedy administration, is designed, in part, to stimulate and strengthen industries, small and large, light and heavy, of the United States. But the revision, directly and indirectly, will benefit many other interests of the country.

All of this session's antirecession legislation was enacted, to some degree, during a comparatively prosperous time, though areas of serious unemployment and industrial stagnation have continued. The general prosperity of this summer was produced, in part, from legislation enacted in 1961, during the first session.

At the time of the 1960 national elections, and later, when President John F. Kennedy assumed office, the crises that our Nation was going through were more apparent than had been true for many years, though, in fact, crises had existed all the time. Recession was growing and deepening, and the first vestiges of financial panic were claimed to be seen by some and feared by many. The President had been elected through his insistence that the critical nature of the times be publicly recognized and vigorously handled. It was in the context of a new national mood, demanding action, that the 87th Congress passed legislation extending unemployment compensation for 13 weeks.

The extension was quickly followed by passage of the Area Redevelopment Act of 1962, which provided for Federal loans and grants to areas of chronic unemployment. This legislation had been vetoed twice under the previous administration.

And, to provide for the responsibilities of those affected by the recession, Congress in 1961 enacted legislation to make families of unemployed workers with dependent children temporarily eligible for Federal public assistance payments. It has been estimated that more than a million people have benefited from this assistance.

Furthermore, the 87th Congress during its 1st session provided for changes in the social security laws, along the lines of President Kennedy's proposals: benefits for retired workers and for widows were raised, men as well as women were permitted to collect benefits at 62, and social security taxes were increased. The increased pensions injected more money where it would do the most good, in the marketplace. And, the increases made the retirees' well-deserved rest more comfortable.

Later, in its second session, Congress approved legislation to encourage the self-employed to establish personal pension funds, through special tax deductions.

Another program that the Democratic 87th Congress approved was an alteration of the highway program's financing. Certain Federal gasoline and truck equipment taxes were raised in order to meet an estimated increase from $25 billion to $37 billion for the Federal share of the 41,000-mile interstate highway program.

And, since building and construction is one good indication, as well as stimulant, of our Nation's economic growth, Congress also approved an authorization of $225 million for Federal matching grants to State and local authority for construction and modernization of public airports.

Another act passed by the 87th Congress, contributing greatly to our Nation's economy, was the $4.88 billion omnibus housing bill. This generally followed the recommendations of President Kennedy, who called it "the most important and far-reaching" housing legislation since 1949. In 1962, Congress provided a housing program for our senior citizens. One of the last measures approved by Congress in this last session appropriated more than $1 billion for rivers, harbors, and flood control projects.

During the first session, the 87th Congress also approved legislation increasing the minimum wage and broadening the coverage. President Kennedy in his February 2, 1961, economic message and in a letter of February 6 of the same year to Congress, asked for this legislation. Its enactment was a major victory for the administration.

For the farmers, the 87th Congress and the administration during the past year raised net farm income by more than $1 billion, to an 8-year high. This represents an increase of 10 percent in farming income for the Nation.

The President on October 6 described the result of the efforts of the Congress and the administration in the following statement:

**We have achieved the best 2-year advance for American farmers since the days of the great depression. We have helped to put [money] into the farmer's pocket, into his family budget and into the cash registers on Main Street in the small towns.**

While the income of American farmers has been increasing in the past year, wheat surplus has been lessened by 400 million bushels. This was due partly to the enactment of the emergency food grain program, and partly through provisions of the omnibus farm bill, which gave the President the powers he asked for to help cut back acreage of wheat and feed grains on the 1962 crop. Under the omnibus measure, Congress dealt with problems of other agricultural surpluses by empowering the President to use certain marketing orders and agreements.

Under the 1962 omnibus farm bill, the 87th Congress approved an 18 cents per bushel payment in kind to wheat growers and livestock feed grain producers who cooperate in Government programs to reduce surpluses of these grains. And so, the problems caused by the inordinate size of U.S. agricultural surplus are expected to continue to lessen.

Under the Sugar Act of 1962, the portion of the U.S. sugar market going to American farmers was increased from 55 to 66 percent.

Business received its fair share of attention from the 87th Congress. For instance, the Satellite Communications Act is an outstanding example of cooperation between Government and private enterprise in a very important new area of human endeavor. Congress also provided for an unusnal, but what appears to be a highly successful, government-business space communications venture: Telstar, the world's first telecommunications satellite. To make sure that the maximum number of television channels shall be used for tuning in Telstar and other television sources, Congress passed a law that required television manufacturers to equip their sets to receive all ultrahigh frequency—UHF—and very high frequency—VHF—television signals. An added attraction is that new television stations will probably be built to transmit to the additional channels, thus providing one more stimulant to our economy.

One measure that was passed by Congress to tighten up certain practices in the drug industry was the Drug Amendments Act of 1962. The legislation was brought to national attention through the tragedy of thalidomide, a drug suspected of causing deformities in babies.

The 87th Congress gave labor proper consideration when legislation was enacted providing increased minimum wages, and establishing shorter working hours on projects done under Government contract or with Government aid. The Congress also enacted a major labor measure in the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1962, which tightened up the ways in which unions may administer the pension funds of their members.

In matters of civil rights, the 87th Congress enacted the first step of a constitutional amendment for abolition of the poll tax in Federal elections. The Kennedy administration through executive action has done far more for civil rights than was done by any previous administration.

The 87th Congress gave Federal employees a pay raise of $1 billion annually to insure that the high caliber of public servants continues. And, pay differences between Government and industry were closed or narrowed, according to the jobs. In addition, Congress raised the pensions of retired Government employees.

In the same bill that Congress passed to provide the pay raises and pension increases, an increase in postal rates was included. This is another reform which Congress felt necessary. This measure was estimated to increase postal revenues by a little more than $600 million, when fully effective in fiscal 1965.

Finally, two measures which highlight the accomplishments of the 87th Congress concern the Nation's health and water supply: The Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961, and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1961. The latter measure had been vetoed by the previous administration.

The preceding description was designed to define the problems facing the Congress, the administration, and ultimately, the Nation. The approximately twoscore of enactments mentioned represent some of the highlights of the 87th Congress attempts to solve the Nation's legislative problems. Following is a detailed explanation of these and other bills enacted by this Congress.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

On August 9, 1962, President Kennedy signed the Department of Defense appropriations measure—Public Law 87–577—for fiscal 1963. The total appropriations were $48,136,247,000, the largest in U.S. history. And, this appropriation did not include funds for military construction, civil defense, public works, or oversea military assistance.

The current appropriation totaled $1.6 billion more than last year's appropriations bill—fiscal 1962—most of the increase was for research and development, and procurement of aircraft for the Air Force, and aircraft and missiles for the Navy. Reductions, below fiscal 1962 levels, were made in outlays for military personnel, and operations and maintenance. The reductions were caused by the planned release of reservists called to active duty to meet the 1961 Berlin crisis.

Congress has felt as strongly in the second session as it had during the first that the addition of more than a billion dollars for defense was necessary. Altogether, in our two sessions, we appropriated $8.5 billion more than was recommended for this period by the Eisenhower administration—an increase of 20 percent in our defense outlays.

During the first session, the increased appropriations were mainly for enlargement of our Armed Forces, modernization of the Army's weapons system, increases in our bomber alert and in the U.S. missile program particularly in the Polaris system. The funds increase at that time was also for a sharp increase in our nuclear capacity. In addition, Congress strengthened the discretionary powers of the President in defense matters.

In addition, the current defense appropriation law has these provisions:

First. Prohibits obligation for fiscal 1963 of funds appropriated in fiscal 1962 for long-range bombers.

Second. Delegates $157 million of Air Force research and development funds for the Dyna-Soar manned space glider, and $362.6 million for the RS–70 bomber.

Third. Authorizes expenditures for military personnel greater than the appropriated amounts, if the President determines that increases are necessary.

Fourth. Continues the President's authority to make expenditures to institute an airborne alert.

Fifth. Sets limits on Navy repair, shipbuilding and conversion funds so that at least 35 percent of the funds are to be allotted for work in privately owned shipyards, unless the Secretary of Defense finds that privately done work is "inconsistent with the public interest based on urgency of requirement."

Sixth. States that indirect costs of Defense Department research grants may not exceed 20 percent of direct costs.

Seventh. Authorizes the Defense Secretary to transfer up to $150 million from other fiscal 1963 Department funds to the Defense Department emergency fund, provided that no transfer exceeds 7 percent of the appropriation from which it is taken.

DEFENSE SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

In addition, the Army Corps of Engineers received appropriations of $3,900,000 under the Second Supplementary Appropriations Act for 1963. These funds are not counted in the main defense appropriation figure. During the first session, $40 million in supplementary appropriations were given to the Navy for procurement, shipbuilding, and conversion.

PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY

In addition to appropriations for defense, Congress enacted in 1962 a highly important measure giving the President discretionary authoirty to call up 150,000 ready reservists, and to extend the terms of men now in uniform. Congress felt this was necessary because of the continuing critical nature of the world situation.

Under the new law, the President may call up ready reservists and extend existing tours of active duty without declaring a national emergency. The law is similar in this respect to last session's Berlin mobilization legislation, which empowered him to call up to 250,000 reservists. About 148,000 were called.

The President's special mobilization powers of last year expired July 31, 1962. The new legislation restored these powers, beginning with the adjournment of the second session, and ending February 28, 1963, about 2 months after the next Congress is due to convene.

In the words of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, Mr. VINSON, of Georgia:

The current legislation is a clear indication of our determination to be prepared for any explosive crisis that may develop anywhere in the world. It would be a mistake for anyone to look upon this resolution as our answer to the crisis in Cuba, but it would also be a mistake not to consider this resolution as part of our answer to the crisis in Cuba.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara said, at least twice during the second session, that "frequent and continuing call-ups are undesirable." This statement and the general responsibility and capability with which the Defense Department has been administered under the Kennedy administration are among the assurances that the American people have that the President will exercise his authority with discretion. In addition, Secretary McNamara has assured Congress that the Pentagon has been conducting a "complete review of all our force levels."

Because of the large, continuing national defense effort, laws affecting defense have become many and complex, as have the working of the Defense Establishment. Defense procurement has become a delicate and sensitive subject, because of its unique nature.

The 1962 military procurement authorization legislation, Public Law 87–436, was approved by the President on April 27, 1962. It authorizes appropriations of $12,969,300,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels in fiscal 1963.

The law frees for unrestricted use $525 million, authorized and appropriated in 1961 solely for the procurement of B–52 bombers in fiscal 1962. In addition, the law requires that all funds appropriated for "research, development, testing, and evaluation" of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels must have prior authorization beginning with funds for fiscal 1964.

The first session of Congress authorized $12.4 billion for defense procurement, under Public Law 87–53.

As one solution to difficulties that come from procurement, President Kennedy on September 10, 1962, approved legislation—Public Law 87–653—to bring negotiated defense procurement contracts under more rigid legislative control and to encourage use of the advertised, competitive bid method in placing most contracts for military supplies and services.

In addition, Congress for fiscal 1963 appropriated $1,319,144,500, which is to be used for authorized construction and related authority for the military departments and the Department of Defense. For fiscal 1962, Congress appropriated $951,690,750, which was used for the same authorized general purposes that obtained for fiscal 1963, though often for different individual projects.

Among other legislation enacted into law relating to our national defense was:

First. A bill providing for the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries and for the extension of certain naval vessel loans.

Second. A bill providing for more effective participation in Reserve components of the Armed Forces, chiefly by amending the laws relating to the 6-month training program and participation in the Reserve components.

Third. A bill to authorize appropriations for aircraft missiles and naval vessels for the Armed Forces.

Fourth. A bill to authorize additional appropriations for aircraft in the sum of $958,570,000.

Fifth. A bill to authorize certain construction at military installations both within and outside of the United States in the sum of $893 million, and of this total, $67,097,750 was authorized for construction of Reserve facilities.

Sixth. A bill to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act. This law clarifies and removes any doubts that might arise with regard to the reemployment protection to be accorded certain persons who leave their jobs to enter the Armed Forces in the interest of national defense, as well as correcting other inequities. It also creates an additional 4-year period of service for reemployment rights purposes for persons entering or reentering on active duty after August 1, 1961.

Seventh. A bill to provide for the more effective participation in the Reserve components of the Armed Forces. The basic purpose of this law is to make omnibus amendments to the laws relating to the 6-month training program and participation in the Reserve components. The act contains five major revisions to existing laws relating to the Reserve components and the National Guard.

Eighth. Under Public Law 87–505 enacted on June 28, 1962, the Defense Production Act of 1950 was extended for 2 years, through June 30, 1964. The act authorizes the President to establish priorities for defense contracts, allocate scarce materials, and guarantee defense loans.

CIVIL DEFENSE

The entire Federal civil defense administration was reorganized during the 1st session of the 87th Congress. President Kennedy, in his May 25, 1961, special message of urgent national needs, announced that primary responsibility for civil defense programs would be removed from the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization and assigned to a new Pentagon office, the Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense—Civil Defense.

In an Executive order of July 20 of the same year, the President gave the new Office responsibility for the protection of the civilian population against nuclear attack. The President said the Office was to discharge its responsibility by preparing emergency warning and communications plans and by directing the fallout shelter program.

The President also charged the OCDM to coordinate civil defense preparations with other nonmilitary defense preparations, and to plan the management of national resources in emergencies.

At the President's request, Congress in 1961 passed legislation, which he signed, changing the name of OCDM to the Office of Emergency Planning.

The President for fiscal 1962 requested and received $207.6 million, in the Defense Department Appropriations Act of 1961, for the Department's civil defense activities, of which $169.3 million was for locating, marking, and stocking fallout shelter space in existing public and private buildings.

In addition, the Independent Offices appropriations law gave $86.5 million to the OCDM—the law was generally shaped up by the time the reorganization took place. After the reorganization and civil defense funds were synchronized, the $86.5 million civil defense appropriation had been reduced, so that the new Defense Assistant Secretary's Office received $48 million for its activities, and the Public Health Service received $13 million for civil defense medical stockpile supply activities. The remaining funds were allocated—for noncivil defense activities, generally speaking—to the Office of Emergency Planning, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the General Services Administration.

Congress, in the second session, for civil defense voted $113 million for the Defense Assistant Secretary's Office, $10 million for the Office of Emergency Planning, and $7 million for the Public Health Service.

CUBA

The United States is answering the gravest challenge to its position in the Western Hemisphere since the Monroe Doctrine was formulated 139 years ago. Diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba have been broken. The United States is bringing about a severe embargo against Cuba, forbidding U.S. ships to carry goods to that country, and excluding those foreign ships who trade with Cuba from trading with the United States. The only goods exempt from the embargo are U.S. food and medical items.

In reply to the dangers that the Castro regime presents, the 87th Congress in 1961—as the preceding Congress had done in 1960—voted to give the President power to deprive Cuba of its huge, profitable sugar market in the United States, which the President did in both years. Public Law 86–592 contained such a provision in 1960, and Public Law 87–15 contained it in 1961.

The current Cuban regime was permanently excluded from the U.S. sugar market in 1962 under Public Law 87–535. Congress had made clear, however, that Cuba shall be readmitted under the U.S. sugar quota, if she discards its Communist government and renounces aid from Communist countries.

Most recently, Congress and the President approved a strong resolution expressing U.S. "determination to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending by force or threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere."

In addition, the resolution said the United States was determined "to prevent, in Cuba, the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States" and to "work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination."

BERLIN RESOLUTION

Congress, on October 10 of this year, approved a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States is "determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms," any Soviet violation of Allied rights in Berlin including those of ingress and egress.

We made clear to the entire world that the United States would regard as intolerable any violation by the Soviet Union "directly or through others" of such rights.

TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1962

The enactment of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 provided the Kennedy administration, and in fact the Nation, with one of the most striking legislative successes in many generations. I quote the eloquent language of the President of the United States:

This is the most important international piece of legislation, I think, affecting economics since the passage of the Marshall plan. It marks a decisive point for the future of our economy, for our relations with our friends and allies, and for the prospects of free institutions and free societies everywhere.

This act recognizes, fully and completely, that we cannot protect our economy by stagnating behind tariff walls, but that the best protection possible is a mutual lowering of tariff barriers among friendly nations so that all may benefit from a free flow of goods. Increased economic activity resulting from increased trade will provide more job opportunities for our workers. Our industry, our agriculture, our mining will benefit from increased export opportunities as other nations agree to lower their tariffs. Increased exports and imports will benefit our ports, steamship lines, and air lines as they handle an increased amount of trade. Lowering of our tariffs will provide an increased flow of goods for our American consumers. Our industries will be stimulated by increased export opportunities and by freer competition with the industries of other nations for an even greater effort to develop an efficient, economic and productive system. The results can bring a dynamic new era of growth.

By means of agreements authorized by the act, we can move forward to partnership with the nations of the Atlantic Community. Together with the Common Market, we account for 90 percent of the free world's trade in industrial products. Together we make up—and I think this is most important in this vital period—the greatest aggregation of economic power in the history of the world. We now have the means to make certain that we build our strength together and that we can maintain this preeminence.

We shall also use the authority of the act to negotiate with our other great trading partners, Canada and Japan, and with the countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa—and we are particularly concerned that the countries of Latin America shall have an opportunity to participate in this period of economic growth particularly as it effects the Common Market as well as our own United States. We will use the specific authorities designed to widen markets for the raw materials and manufactures of the less developed nations whose economic growth is so important to us all and to strengthen our efforts to end discriminatory and preferential arrangements which in the long run can only make everyone poorer and the free world less united.

A vital expanding economy in the free world is a strong counter to the threat of the world Communist movement. This act is, therefore, an important new weapon to advance the cause of freedom.

Provisions of the act are summarized as follows:

It gives the President a 5-year authority to cut tariffs by 50 percent; to eliminate tariffs on goods of which the United States and the European Common Market together account for 80 percent of free world trade; and to eliminate tariffs on certain tropical products and on goods on which duties were currently 5 percent or less.

When tariff cuts hurt domestic interests, the President may raise tariffs through use of the "escape clause" in trade agreements, could devise other import restrictions such as international quota arrangements, or give Federal "trade adjustment" assistance.

Assistance for workers may be Federal unemployment compensation at higher rates and for a longer period than any other unemployment compensation system, plus retraining and relocation allowances.

Aid for firms may be loans, loan guarantees, technical assistance and tax breaks. The President may offer both import protection and trade adjustment to a given industry, in order to cushion it while it converted to new fields, or modernized.

In addition, congressional conferees on the act agreed to suspend the most-favored-nation treatment to Poland and Yugoslavia.

MONETARY FUND LOAN

The United States is authorized to lend up to $2 billion to the International Monetary Fund, as part of a $6 billion standby currency stabilization pool, through the enactment of Public Law 87-490.

Another measure approved by Congress, affecting international finance, permits U.S. commercial banks to pay a higher interest rate on time deposits—short-term investments—of foreign governments. The purpose of the law was to help maintain foreign dollar accounts in the United States and prevent conversion of the accounts to gold. Treasury officials have said the law will help to improve the U.S. balance-of-payments position, and will save the Government up to $300 million in gold reserves.

This legislation, economies in oversea operations brought about in the Department of Defense under the Kennedy administration, and certain practices of the Treasury Department have substantially reduced the drain on the Nation's gold reserve. The gold reserves under the previous administration were allowed to reach a dangerous low.

EXPORT CONTROL ACT

Public Law 87-515 provides that the Export Control Act of 1949 be extended for 3 years, through June 30, 1965; it is the law which restricts exports to Communist countries. In addition to raising the penalties for violation of this act, the Congress declared that it is the policy of the United States to formulate East-West policies that will have the cooperation of U.S. allies and nonalined nations.

TARIFF RECLASSIFICATION

The Tariff Classification Act of 1962—Public Law 87-456—reclassified the U.S. tariff schedule. On May 25, 1962, when he signed the bill into law, the President stated:

> The law embodies over 6 years of effort by the U.S. Tariff Commission, undertaken in response to the mandate from Congress under title I of the Customs Simplification Act of 1954.
>
> The new tariff schedules will simplify the determination and application of rates of duty.

The importance of this act was accentuated by passage of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

FOREIGN AID

The United States has spent nearly $87 billion on foreign aid, since World War II. The aid, at first, went mostly toward setting the European nations back on their feet after the war. Over the years, however, more and more aid has been shifted to underdeveloped countries, on the theory that communism feeds on poverty.

In 1961 President Kennedy proposed to the American people and to the nations of the world that we undertake together a decade of development in which the industrialized nations would assist the peoples of the newly independent and less-developed nations of the world in their own efforts for peaceful economic and social progress. In order that the United States might undertake a position of leadership in this great program for progress, the President asked the Congress to enact the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

In 1962, as in 1961, the heart of the President's proposal was his request for authority for a great program of development loans. In order that it might be clear to the world that the United States is indeed committed to leadership in the decade of development and to provide other nations with the assurances necessary for their own planning, the President asked that the Congress provide authority for the loan program for a period of 5 years and that the Congress also provide the authority necessary to make long-term committments to the less-developed nations against which they might plan more surely for their own progress.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 provided that authority. For the first time U.S. development assistance had been put upon an assured basis of 5-year duration. For the first time the Congress had specifically granted the President the authority to give commitments to friendly countries that over a period of 5 years we would provide aid to them in specified amounts. The legislation declared that:

> Whenever the President determined that it is important to the advancement of United States interests and necessary in order to further the purpose of this title, and in recognition of the need for reasonable advance assurances in the interest of orderly and effective execution of long-term plans and programs of development assistance, he is authorized to enter into agreements committing, under the terms and conditions of this title, funds authorized to be appropriated under this title, subject only to the annual appropriation of such funds.

While the legislation represented a compromise under which the Congress provided the President with the long-term commitment authority which he had declared essential to U.S. leadership in the world and under which the Congress retained its power over appropriations, nevertheless this is the first time the Congress gave such authority to a President, and this compromise is decidedly in the direction of the recommendations of the President.

It is clear that the funds to meet the commitments made by the President must come from appropriations as authorized in the legislation. It was equally clear that the Congress had accepted a moral obligation to appropriate in the future the funds which will be necessary to meet commitments made by the President under the authority granted by the Congress unless there should occur some most unusual and unforeseen reasons for our Government to withhold future appropriations in connection with any commitments that may be made.

For this lending program the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 authorized appropriations of $1,200 million for the first year and $1,500 million for each of the following 4 years. These funds are to remain available until expended and authorizations unused by appropriations will remain available for future appropriations. In order to provide the American aid program with the most effective administration possible the Congress in 1961 granted the President authority to establish a unified administration for the whole economic aid program. Programs formerly administered by the International Cooperation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, and otherwise were placed under a unified Agency for International Development. The Congress provided the President with authority to appoint an official with the rank of an Under Secretary of State as Administrator of this new Agency for International Development—AID—reporting directly to the Secretary of State and to the President and having as his assistants two Deputy Directors of the rank of Deputy Under Secretary of State and nine assistant administrators with the rank of Assistant Secretaries of State. This action by the Congress should provide the AID administration with the ability to attract men of the highest caliber to join in the administration of this vital function of our foreign relations.

The legislation in 1961 consolidated former categories of assistance into a new category of supporting assistance. Among other purposes this will assist those nations who in cooperation with our own military assistance program are engaging in military efforts greater than they can support without our help. The legislation will continue and strengthen the point 4 program originated by former President Truman. It is continued as part of the program of development grants which will be directed toward the strengthening of human resources in developing countries through programs of education, health, and training in many fields essential to the progress of these nations. Development grant funds will help carry forward programs of community development, land reform, agri-

cultural credit, sanitation and health facilities, urban and rural housing, and similar programs fundamental to social progress. The 1961 legislation continued the leadership of the United States in the United Nations technical assistance and special fund. It provided funds for our part in the work of the United Nations to bring order and peace out of chaotic conditions in the Congo. It provided funds to continue the U.S. assistance to the refugees in the Middle East and to help in their resettlement. Contributions were authorized to other United Nations activities such as the Emergency Fund in the Middle East, the Children's Fund, the malaria eradication program of the World Health Organization, the international atomic energy program and others.

The 1961 legislation authorized for the first time a program of development research to analyze the problems of development with a thoroughness never before possible and to apply the principles of research, well established in industry, to the more efficient conduct of our economic and social development programs.

The aid legislation also provided encouragement and incentives to private enterprise never before authorized. It is a basic policy of the Congress and the administration to encourage the participation of private enterprise in the effort undertaken by the Government to advance economic growth in the newly developing countries. The new legislation expanded existing guarantees, and provided for the first time an all-risk guarantee, on any experimental basis, to insure against losses of investment for any reason, up to 75 percent of the investment. The new act also provided newly authorized assistance to private investors in locating investment opportunities. The act is especially mindful of the interest and potential contribution of small business and gives the President specific authority to assist American small business to participate in the program.

The second portion of the 1961 legislation, the International Peace and Security Act, directed our military assistance not only toward protection of the free world from the older forms of Communist bloc aggression: infiltration, guerrilla warfare, and internal agitation. The legislation authorized $1,700 million for military assistance and provided for the first time an additional special authority to the President to draw upon defense stocks up to the value of $300 million for military assistance purposes should the vital interests of the United States require it. This has been a matter of great importance.

In 1961, the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1962, appropriated, for the foreign aid program, the largest sum made available in 8 years. The total new obligational authority is $3,878 million; together with the carryover of unobligated balances, and $30 million for the newly established Peace Corps, the funds made available total $4,014 million.

The country and the free world have been heartened by the outstanding leadership of President Kennedy—the strength and firmness of his policies and actions.

The President has evidenced such leadership in many ways: his recognition of the world situation by sharply increasing appropriations for our national defense, his firm stand on the Berlin crisis, and his prudent, but firm, policy toward Cuba.

On May 27, 1961, the President signed a bill appropriating $500 million for the inter-American social and economic cooperation program, and $100 million for the Chilean reconstruction and rehabilitation program in fiscal 1961—Public Law 87–41—definite steps to furnish concrete support to his Alliance for Progress.

This has been a program of major importance to President Kennedy in carrying out his far-reaching policy of strengthening our friendship with American nations in Central and South America through loans and grants for economic progress of their people and for political stability and strength.

Earlier steps had been taken, precedent to the appropriations granted in Public Law 87–41. Congress had authorized the programs in August 1960—Public Law 86–735—and the United States had subscribed to the Act of Bogotá, agreeing to join 18 other American Republics in promoting economic and social development in the Western Hemisphere. On January 18, 1961, former President Eisenhower requested, without success, $500 million to implement the inter-American social and economic cooperation program. President Kennedy repeated that request, and also asked for $100 million for the Chilean reconstruction and rehabilitation program in his March 14 message to Congress on Latin America.

A new Caribbean organization—successor to the Caribbean Commission—was accepted by the United States in an act passed during the first session. The agreement for the establishment of the Caribbean organization was signed June 21, 1960, by France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The four countries had been members of the Commission which had served as advisers on economic, social, and cultural matters for the area since the Commission was created in 1946.

The establishment of the new organization gives its members greater stature and demonstrates to the world a process for extending local autonomy.

The Foreign Aid Assistance Act of 1962—Public Law 87–565—authorizes $4,572 million to be spent on foreign aid for fiscal 1963. Of this total, $1,818,900,000 is designated for new authorizations. One of the most important provisions of the new authorizations is the $500 million for loans and $100 million for grants to Latin America as part of a $2.4 billion, 4-year authorization for aid to Latin America under the Alliance for Progress.

From fiscal 1964 through 1966 the law also provides $600 million annually for loans to Latin America. The conferees said that Congress supported the Alliance, and would consider requests for additional Alliance funds, if necessary.

In addition, the law provides $1,250 million for Development Loan Fund loans, and $1.5 billion for military aid.

Also, the law authorizes an unspecified amount for the Investment Guarantee Fund.

Strongly debated by Members of Congress was a provision of the law which prohibits the President from furnishing aid to Communist nations, including 18 listed nations, unless he determined and reported to the Congress that the aid was vital to U.S. security, that the recipient was not controlled by the international Communist conspiracy, and that the aid would promote the recipient's independence from international communism. Also, the President may furnish local currency aid, without restriction, to U.S.-founded and sponsored schools, libraries, and hospitals in Communist nations,

In addition, $70,100,000 was appropriated for the relief of Cuban refugees in the United States; the appropriation provided the full amount requested by the administration.

Another provision of the law would require the suspension of aid to nations in which U.S. property was expropriated without adequate compensation. This provision applies to property owned not only by U.S. citizens, but also by associations and firms in which U.S. citizens owned at least a 50-percent interest. The law—under the aid suspension provision—requires expropriating nations, or their political subdivisions, to meet their obligations to former owners under the dictates of international law, and to include arbitration as a step which would be considered "appropriate" under the new law.

PEACE CORPS

One of the most idealistic proposals advanced during the 1960 presidential election campaign by President Kennedy was that of enlisting young Americans in a Peace Corps to serve as instructors and helpers in underdeveloped countries.

The President established the Corps by Executive order March 1, 1961, at which time he also asked Congress to give it permanent legislative authority. Members of the Corps, he said, would help provide skilled manpower for development projects, "acting at a working level and serving at great personal sacrifice." By the time he had sent up a draft bill May 30, 1961, the Corps had received 8,500 applications, primarily from young college graduates, and the President had arranged to send groups to Tanganyika, Columbia, and the Philippines.

The final measure, approved September 21, 1961, authorized the Corps to pay each volunteer's expenses and $75 per month, to be paid after completion of his service.

Congress authorized $40 million for the program's first year and appropriated $30 million.

The program was such a success that Congress, in 1962, authorized for the Corps $63,740,000, the full amount requested by the administration. Congress appropriated $59 million.

REFUGEE ASSISTANCE ACT

By enacting the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, Public Law 87–510, the Congress and the President once again demonstrated the concern that the United States holds for the many persons, homeless and destitute, who are victims of communism or of other social disasters.

The act embodied President Kennedy's request for legislation to continue and centralize the authority for U.S. assistance to refugees escaping political, religious, or racial persecution. The act lifted out of foreign aid legislation, and established in a separate statute, authority for the United States to operate the U.S. escapee program—USEP—and a program of aid to Cuban refugees in the United States, and to participate in programs run by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration—ICEM and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees—UNHCR.

President Kennedy, upon signing H.R. 8291 into law, made the following remarks:

In continuing this endeavor, we will be carrying forward a great American tradition which is as well known as the generosity of our people in coming to the aid of those in need.

The Congress is to be congratulated for its action in providing the necessary authorization.

U.N. BOND LOAN

A significant bipartisan effort, recommended by President Kennedy during the 87th Congress, was the enactment of a bill authorizing the United States to lend up to $100 million to the United Nations on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis with other nations.

The U.N. bond proposal was authorized by the General Assembly December 20, 1961, to meet a financial crisis created by U.N. peace-keeping actions in the Middle East and in the Congo. The world organization proposed issuing bonds repayable at 2-percent interest over 25 years. Nineteen nations as of September 14, 1962, had purchased $27,750,000 in bonds, and 31 other nations had pledged to buy $45,518,257.

The statute authorizing the U.S. loan, Public Law 87–731, was signed by President Kennedy on October 2, 1962.

The law authorized appropriations of $100 million for a loan to the U.N. and directed that "proceeds of such loan shall not be used" to relieve U.N. members of their obligation to pay arrearages on U.N. assessments and "shall not be used to reduce" regular or special assessments.

The law also required that the total amount of money loaned shall not exceed the amount of loans made by other U.N. members.

In addition, the law required deducting from the annual U.S.-assessed share of the U.N. budget an amount equal to the corresponding annual installment of principal and interest due the United States because of the loan.

Furthermore, the statute stated that it—Public Law 87–731—did not authorize the United States to participate in future U.N. borrowing, and expressed the sense of Congress that the United States should "use its best efforts" to promote a U.N. financing pattern that would avoid future large-scale deficits.

The law expressed the "satisfaction" of the Congress that the International Court of Justice had decided special assessments for Middle East and Congo operations were "expense of the organization," thereby providing a sound basis for obtaining prompt payment of assessments.

The law also stated the sense of the Congress that the U.N. "should take immediate steps to give effect" to the World Court advisory opinion "to assure prompt payment of all assesments."

The law directed the State Department to submit to Congress by January 31, 1963, a report on steps taken by the U.N. on long-term financing of the organization.

Stated in a September 11, 1962, letter to Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, was President Kennedy's reaction to the bill—"wholly satisfactory." Last January 30, the President had asked Congress to authorize the outright purchase of $100 million of a $200 million U.N. bond issue; and on last August 22, he had described the bill as one of five "particularly important measures" awaiting congressional action, and said the bill posed "a test of this Nation's good faith in supporting the peace-keeping efforts of the U.N."

Former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman also endorsed the U.N. loan. General Eisenhower, August 25, said the bond issue was a measure "helping to open the door of hope for all mankind."

He said:

Our country has played a leading role in the development of this great forum and we must not fail it now.

Mr. Truman on September 10 said that Congress should pass the bill by a "large majority." Mr. Truman said:

The United Nations should be supported in every way, as it was in Korea and as it is now in the Congo, or we are headed for World War III.

DIPLOMATIC RADIO STATIONS

The 87th Congress, 2d session, enacted legislation which authorizes the President to license foreign governments, on a reciprocal basis, to operate 10w-power, point-to-point stations in the District of Columbia, for transmission of messages outside the United States.

WAR CLAIMS

The Congress in 1962 approved an omnibus bill authorizing payments to Americans who lost property abroad during World War II, and permitting the Government to sell General Aniline and Film Corp., seized during World War II as German-owned.

The General Aniline provision authorizes the Justice Department to sell the Government's 93 percent stock interest in the company. Special legislation is needed because the Federal seizure has been challenged by Interhandel, a Swiss holding company that contends it was the prewar owner of the seized shares. The bill provides that, if this claim is upheld in the courts, proceeds from the sale of the Government stock, estimated at $150 million, would be used to compensate the Swiss company. It is expected that the court case will take several more years.

The general war claims provisions of the bill authorize compensation to U.S. citizens, or their heirs, who lost property in Europe, in the Far East, or at sea during World War II, or who suffered death, disability, or property loss on civilian passenger vessels attacked before the United States entered the war. The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission estimates it will receive more than 35,000 claims and will approve payments totaling over $300 million. Only $100 million, however, will be available immediately, and there is no certainty that all the approved claims will be paid in full. The money will come from the sale of alien property seized in this country.

The bill specifies full payment must be made in cases of death or injury and to small businesses.

The bill also provides for the return, to their former owners, of seized patents and copyrights, estates, trusts, insurance policies, annuities, and pensions.

Public Law 87–616 was approved on August 30, 1962 by President Kennedy, thus authorizing $73 million to be paid to Philippine citizens and corporations for World War II damage awards. The Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 authorized full payment of war damage claims up to $500, and 75 percent of losses over the $500 limit. A subsequent appropriation provided $389 million for payment of all claims up to $500 but only 52.5 percent of awards beyond $500. The new law authorized the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to use the $73 million to pay the remaining 22.5 percent claims.

President Kennedy on August 27, 1962—the day that the Senate cleared the measure for the President—said that the passage of the bill was a "source of great satisfaction" to him, and that the measure marked "the opening of a new and happier chapter in the relationship between the United States and the Philippines."

U.S. ECONOMY IMPROVEMENT MEASURES

Economists, during the last Republican administration, began to note an increase of chronically depressed U.S. industrial areas. Persistent unemployment became more and more widespread. Major labor areas with "substantial labor surplus"—more than 6 percent of the working force out of work—increased very rapidly between 1955 and 1961. And smaller labor market areas suffered the same troubles.

In 1955, the Joint Economic Committee called on the Federal Government to set up an extensive area redevelopment program, and the committee proposed legislation to carry out its suggestions.

A year later, President Eisenhower requested Congress to pass limited area redevelopment legislation. In 1958, the administration again asked for a limited bill; when Congress obliged, the bill was pocket vetoed for providing "too little local responsibility." The 1960 area redevelopment bill was also vetoed.

Mr. Kennedy made the following statement during the 1960 Presidential cam-

paign in a speech he delivered September 19 in Charleston, W. Va.:

During your [presidential] primary I pledged that within 60 days of my election I would send to the Congress a complete program to restore and revive the economy of West Virginia—to bring new industry and new jobs to your State, and all other neglected areas of our country. Today, I reaffirm that pledge.

On December 5, 1960, Mr. Kennedy appointed a special 23-member task force on depressed areas. Its report, submitted January 1, reaffirmed Democratic support for an area redevelopment bill. On hearing the report, Mr. Kennedy said he thought depressed area problems deserved "the most important domestic priority."

AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

In 1961, a third attempt on the part of Congress to alleviate the economic hardships of recessioned areas met with success under a sympathetic President. On May 1 President Kennedy signed the Area Redevelopment Act. At last the Federal Government was able to step into areas of chronic high unemployment and work with State and local officials in programs to attract and settle new industries in the area; to assist in the provision of necessary public facilities; and provide assistance to those undergoing job retraining. Through a program of loans and grants, a total of $394 million in 1961 was authorized for a 4-year program. Responsibility for overall administration has been vested by the Commerce Department in the Area Redevelopment Administration. Six other departments and agencies—Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Home Finance Agency; Agriculture; Interior; and the Small Business Administration—have pooled their resources to discharge their various responsibilities toward the program.

On June 9, Commerce Secretary Hodges released a list of 114 depressed industrial areas which would be eligible for aid under the program; on July 20 he released a list of 468 rural counties and 48 Indian reservations areas eligible for aid because of chronic unemployment or underemployment. The designation of specific areas was deemed necessary in order that the funds available would not be spread so thinly that the assistance would not accomplish the desired objective in any one area.

The depth and breadth of recovery effort is amazing and inspiring.

On May 1, 1962, the first anniversary of the Area Redevelopment Act, the President stated that "these first 12 months of operation have demonstrated conclusively that the economic weight of the Federal Government can be brought to bear to help communities help themselves in alleviating chronic unemployment. The progress that has been made is a result of community initiative, private investment, State action, and Federal assistance. This kind of joint action represents the genius of our free enterprise system."

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN OF UNEMPLOYED PARENTS

Another "end-the-recession" measure enacted in 1961 was the aid to dependent children's program. This legislation added a new section to title IV of the Social Security Act to make available, during the period beginning May 1, 1961, and ending June 30, 1962, Federal grants to States wishing to extend their aid-to-dependent-children programs to include needy children—and relatives caring for them—of unemployed parents, on the same basis as Federal grants are available to needy children—and relatives caring for them—who have been deprived of parental support by the death, absence or incapacity of a parent. The bill included provisions designed to facilitate the employment of unemployed parents, or the retraining of such parents, if appropriate, and provisions to assure that aid is not provided when the parent has refused employment that it would be reasonable for him to accept.

The legislation was recommended by the President in 1961 as a part of his broad program to combat the then existing recession and to relieve resulting hardships.

Early in the first session the Congress passed three other acts intended to furnish prompt relief to workers out of employment in the recession.

The first major bill proposed by the new Democratic administration to deal with the recession was enacted as the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961. An act extending similar benefits to unemployed railroad workers under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act supplemented the first measure. A third law authorized temporary grants to the States to finance inclusion of the dependent children of unemployed workers under the Federal-State public assistance program.

The President's statement on signing the temporary extended unemployment compensation bill contained, in brief form, a summary of the purposes and the effects of its provisions, quoted in part as follows:

This program will immediately provide economic help for some 700,000 jobless workers and their families whose rights to receive regular unemployment insurance benefits under State law are exhausted. Within the next year it will provide benefit payments to an additional 2½ million workers who are expected to exhaust their benefits.

This Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act will add almost $1 billion to the Nation's purchasing power in the next 15 months. These dollars will be hard-working dollars. They will be spent almost immediately—for food, for shelter, for the bare necessities. These dollars will flow into our stores, into our factories, onto our farms.

This act is important, because it will provide much-needed help to over 3 million American workers and their families. It is important also because it will add hard-working dollars to the Nation's purchasing power. But important as it is, it is but a temporary measure to alleviate an immediate need. We must move forward with other and more permanent programs to invigorate our economy so that our free enterprise system can reach the level of production and employment which is its obligation and which its capacity and traditions promise.

The second measure authorized the Railroad Retirement Board to extend duration of benefits by 50 percent to workers who had exhausted normal benefits under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. It was estimated that 60,000 or more workers would be eligible.

In both measures provision was made for repayment of Federal funds advanced to cover payment of benefits, by increasing temporarily the Federal unemployment taxes levied on employers.

The third act made families of unemployed workers with dependent children temporarily eligible for Federal public assistance payments. It was estimated that about 750,000 children and 250,000 adults received benefits during the 14-month duration of the program. Other provisions of the bill increased Federal payments for medical aid to public assistance recipients and for aid for children placed in foster homes.

MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

The passage this session of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 represents one of our most significant actions in the field of domestic legislation. The 1961 amendments represent the third time the minimum wage has been raised since the original act was passed. Under the provisions of the act, the minimum wage of persons previously covered was raised from $1 an hour to $1.15 an hour during the first 2 years that the amendment went into effect and to $1.25 an hour thereafter. Persons not previously covered who now came under the act qualified for a slightly different wage scale—$1 an hour during the first 3 years after the amendment went into effect, $1.15 during the 4th year, and $1.25 an hour thereafter. The newly covered persons also qualified for overtime pay on a scale slightly different from that of those already covered.

Several new precedents were established by the 1961 legislation: In the first place, coverage under the law was expanded for the first time since 1938. An estimated 3,624,000 additional workers, most of them in the retail trades, came under the provisions of the law. The inclusion of retail and service workers for the first time was a second precedent. In general, all employees of retail or service enterprises that maintain one or more stores, have an overall gross annual sales volume of $1 million, and buy annually at least $250,000 worth of goods which have been moved in interstate commerce, come under the act.

The introduction of the dollar-volume-of-business test as a criterion was another feature wherein the new legislation differed from the previous law; also included was the concept of "established coverage," whereby all employees of a covered firm came under the law, regardless of whether or not they are personally engaged in activities classified as interstate commerce.

The new minimum wage legislation went into effect on September 3, 1961.

MANPOWER TRAINING

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is one of the Kennedy administration's principal programs for stimulating the U.S. economy, and firming up its foundations.

When the President signed the act, Public Law 87–415, on March 15, 1962, he stated:

The legislation is perhaps the most significant legislation in the area of employ-

ment since the historic Employment Act of 1946. For this reason, I have acted at the earliest opportunity to sign this measure into law. The new training program will give real meaning to the Act by making possible the training of the hundreds of thousands of workers who are denied employment because they do not possess the skills required by our constantly changing economy. Their training is important both to them as individuals and to the economic health of the entire Nation.

I commend the Congress for the support it has given to this important proposal of the administration.

This far-reaching bill not only addresses itself to the problems of the present, but requires us to anticipate future needs as employment conditions change.

The law provides that the manpower retraining program shall last 3 years through fiscal 1965, and authorizes $435 million for it.

The law empowers the Secretary of Labor to assess and report on the manpower needs of the Nation. The law also empowers the Secretary to test, counsel, and refer for suitable training all applicants—giving preference to unemployed persons, including members of farm families with incomes of less than $1,200 annually.

Moreover, the law empowers the Secretary to pay a training allowance to unemployed heads of families with at least 3 years of working experience and under limited conditions to youths 19 to 21 years old.

In addition, the law empowers the Secretary of Labor to promote on-the-job training programs, which would enable workers to upgrade their skills.

The Secretary is to contract with the States to provide vocational training for persons referred by the Department of Labor. The States are required to provide 50 percent of the costs of the program after the first 2 years.

It is estimated that the law will provide vocational training and on-the-job training for almost 1 million workers during its duration. It is expected that approximately 110,000 workers shall receive vocational training in fiscal 1963, approximately 160,000 in fiscal 1964, and—with matching funds from the States—320,000 in fiscal 1965. In addition, approximately 50,000 workers shall receive on-the-job training in fiscal 1963, about 100,000 in fiscal 1964, and 200,000 in fiscal 1965. Of the total, about 100,000 receiving training would be less than 21 years of age.

In the past, Congress has set up training programs for specific trades and fields, but no general retraining legislation has been enacted. Most of the appropriations for these programs are available to States and local communities on a matching basis for the partial reimbursement of teachers and others involved.

The Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, stated on October 6 of this year that the Federal Government expects to retrain 200,000 unemployed persons next year in skills for which there is a demand.

Secretary Celebrezze said that 100,000 out-of-work people were taught new skills last year under the Government's retraining program. He said the program is in line with his recently announced policy of stressing rehabilitation instead of relief for the unemployed.

PUBLIC WORKS

Another push for the U.S. economy is provided by the Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act of 1962—Public Law 87-568—which authorizes the President to allocate $900 million for public works projects in areas with heavy unemployment; and the act authorizes funds for this program.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK], one of the chief sponsors of this legislation, said the act would "make a direct attack on high unemployment and provide a wide range of necessary Federal and local public works" in more than 1,000 areas in the Nation which had not recovered sufficiently from the 1960–61 recession.

The act authorizes the President to allocate $900 million to initiate or accelerate, in eligible areas, previously authorized Federal public works projects, or State, or local public works projects for which Federal aid has been previously authorized.

In addition, the Act specifies that allocated funds are not to be used for the planning or construction, directly or indirectly, of schools, or other educational facilities.

Furthermore, the act made those areas eligible for the public works aid which are designated by the Secretary of Labor as areas of substantial unemployment during 9 of the preceding 12 months, at least, or designated by the Commerce Secretary as "redevelopment areas" under the Area Redevelopment Act.

The President is authorized under the act to allocate funds to the heads of Federal instrumentalities or agencies responsible for administering Federal projects, or Federal aid to State and local projects.

Also, the act made the allocated funds subject to requirements in the original project authorizing legislation, but the act exempts them from provisions limiting allocation of funds among States and limiting total grants committed over a specified period of time.

In addition, the act prohibits commitment to any one State of more than 10 percent of the total allocations made under the act.

Under the act, the Federal share of a project's cost is authorized to be at least 50 percent, and as much as 75 percent, if the State or local government is not economically or financially capable of raising 50 percent of the project funds.

The President is required by the act to prescribe rules and procedures to assure adequate consideration of the relative needs of eligible areas, including the severity and duration of unemployment and the extent of underemployment and income levels in the eligible areas.

The act also requires that projects aided must be capable of being initiated or accelerated within a reasonably short time, that the projects shall meet an essential public need that they shall be completed substantially within a year, shall contribute significantly to reducing local unemployment, and shall not be inconsistent with locally approved comprehensive plans.

Finally, the act prohibits allocation of funds to local or State governments, unless their planned expenditures for capital improvement projects are increased by an amount approximately equal to the amount of non-Federal funds for the aided projects.

HANFORD POWERPLANT

The 87th Congress, 2d session, approved an authorization to construct the world's largest atomic electric-powerplant at Hanford, Wash. This was another Kennedy administration victory.

The plant is to be built by the Washington Public Power Supply System, a group of 16 utility districts in that State. No Federal funds are involved in the construction.

The powerplant authorization occurred in authorizations for the Atomic Energy Commission. The Commission for fiscal 1962 was appropriated $2,547,361,000, and for fiscal 1963 was appropriated $2,872,224,000. In addition, legislation was passed in both sessions to revise certain functions of the AEC.

HOUSING

Housing construction is another major economic stimulant. In addition, such construction has other benefits. For instance, the Housing Act of 1961 and certain other related housing legislation will exert a long-range effect on many classes of individuals, particularly those in the middle and lower income ranges, who are ineligible for public housing and who up until now have been unable to afford to buy their own homes. This is another illustration of legislation passed by the Democratic Party to strengthen the family life of millions of American families. On June 30, 1961, President Kennedy signed the most comprehensive Housing Act ever passed by Congress. The following is a brief sketch of the major provisions of the act.

Under new housing programs, five categories of mortgage loans were established that could be insured by the Federal Housing Administration. Limited-interest loans are made to commercial developers, for construction or rehabilitation of sales and rental housing for moderate-income families. Persons buying new homes costing up to $15,000 now have lower downpayments and longer terms—in some cases up to 40 years—in which to pay for their homes. Especially favorable financing arrangements are available to nonprofit organizations and public agencies for construction or rehabilitation of multiple-family rental dwellings—apartments—for moderate-income families. Funds are available on loans for improvement of existing dwellings, within urban renewal areas. Loans are also available on cooperative apartments where the units are individually owned.

The new legislation increased the 1959 authorization of a $50 million revolving loan fund to $125 million, to be used to make direct loans to nonprofit organizations for construction of housing for the elderly. It also authorized the Public Housing Administration to contract for

an additional 100,000 public housing units.

An additional $2 billion in Federal capital grants for urban renewal projects was authorized with $25 million of this amount reserved for Federal grants to local agencies to apply toward the cost of mass-transportation demonstration projects, and $25 million for low-rate loans by the Small Business Administration to small businesses which are forced to vacate by urban-renewal projects or by other governmental actions.

One billion two hundred million dollars was added to the revolving fund for loans to colleges, universities, and hospitals for the construction of housing.

The community facilities loan fund for local water, gas, and sewage plant improvement was raised from $150 million to $650 million, with $50 million set aside for the construction of mass-transportation systems.

Under another title of the act a number of changes were made in the National Housing Act, including authorization to the Federal National Mortgage Association to borrow for its special assistance program an additional $750 million; expansion of the existing home improvement loan guarantee program; easement of terms for Federal Housing Administration home mortgage insurance by extending the maturity date of mortgages on new homes and lowering required downpayment; and others.

To help States and localities to acquire land in and around urban centers for recreational, conservation, scenic, and historic purposes, the act authorized $50 million in Federal grants.

And, finally, the farm housing program was extended for 4 years and the existing $207 million authorization was increased by $200 million.

From the above summary, which describes only the more significant aspects of the legislation, one can readily grasp the comprehensiveness of the Housing Act of 1961. It is certainly true as President Kennedy said, that the legislation "provides an opportunity for a giant step toward better cities and improved housing."

Any summary of action by Congress during the first session relating to housing would be incomplete without mention of the action taken to extend the time in which veterans may apply for guaranteed and direct home loans, and providing $1.2 billion over the next 6 years—from 1961—for direct home loans. The bill also increases the maximum amount available to an individual through direct loan from $13,500 to $15,000. Under the new law, a veteran will be eligible for a GI loan for 10 years from the date of his discharge, plus an additional year of eligibility for each 3 months of active wartime service. The new cutoff dates for World War II veterans will be from July 25, 1962, to July 25, 1967; for the Korean war veterans the new date will be from January 31, 1965, to January 31, 1975.

SENIOR CITIZENS HOUSING ACT

The 87th Congress, in its 2d session, approved legislation authorizing a $200 million expansion of Federal programs to promote better housing for elderly people.

The measure authorizes a $100-million increase in the $125-million fund currently authorized for direct loans to older citizens for housing in nonrural areas. It also sets up a new program under the Farmers Home Administration to aid elderly persons living on farms.

The bill establishes a $50-million program of direct loans by the farm agency to older rural residents for new housing or home improvements. It also provides a $50-million program of loans to nonprofit corporations or cooperatives to finance moderate-cost rental housing for the elderly in rural areas.

MASS TRANSIT LOANS

During its 2d session, the 87th Congress approved legislation to extend through June 30, 1963, a provision of the community facilities section of the Housing Act of 1961 authorizing Federal loans for urban mass transportation improvement.

PUBLIC WELFARE AMENDMENTS OF 1962

On July 26, 1962, President Kennedy signed legislation to overhaul thoroughly the Federal administration of the public welfare program of the United States. When the President signed the bill, he made the following statement:

I have approved a bill which makes possible the most far-reaching revision of our public welfare program since it was enacted in 1935.

This measure embodies a new approach—stressing services in addition to support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work instead of prolonged dependency. Our objective is to prevent or reduce dependency and to encourage self-care and self-support—to maintain family life where it is adequate and to restore it where it is deficient.

The law gave the President most of the welfare changes that he requested. The legislation liberalizes Federal assistance for the needy, aged, blind, and disabled; and, at the same time, it encourages certain welfare recipients to get off relief and on payrolls.

The law requires the Government to give the States $4.20 extra a month for every one of the 2,800,000 needy aged, blind, and disabled persons on State-administered relief rolls. This provision took effect on October 1. Under the new law, the Federal Government is to share in the first $70 a month in payments. The States would pay $6 of the first $35, and 35 to 55 percent of the next $35.

The State governments receiving such aid may choose one of three alternatives: pass the increased benefits on to the needy, pocket the savings, or spend the money on liberalizing medical care or other provisions of the welfare programs.

The total Federal cost of public assistance programs for 1962 is expected to run about $2,800 million. States and counties are expected to spend $2 billion for matching grants, administrative costs, and various other local relief programs.

An example of the law's self-help emphasis is the provision for day care centers. Such centers are to take care of the children of families on relief, so that the parents can work. The law authorizes $5 million of Federal child welfare funds in fiscal 1963, and $10 million for each fiscal year thereafter, for allotment among the States to build and operate day care facilities.

The law also allows welfare officials to withhold relief checks from able-bodied persons who refuse to work on community projects.

And the law permits welfare officials to withhold relief checks from parents who squander money. Payment could be made to a responsible third party who would provide children with their needs.

HEALTH LEGISLATION

In response to a special message of President Kennedy, the Congress enacted the Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961. Assistance has been provided in three general areas—community health services, nursing homes, and hospital and other medical research and construction.

The question of the health of our people is of paramount interest to President Kennedy and the Congress. The action taken has covered a wide field including hospital and other medical research and construction, for increased Federal grants-in-aid to the States for construction of nursing homes, for increased annual authorization for community health services.

An excellent record was made in the first session in these important field meaning so much to all of our people. Furthermore, the progress made in medical research will benefit all mankind due to our wise policy of making medical progress available to people everywhere, for illness, sickness, and disease are worldwide.

A second measure extended for 4 years the program of $5 million for grants and scholarships for training of practical nurses under the Vocational Education Act of 1946.

The appropriations for the major health programs of the Federal Government are contained in two acts—the Appropriation Act for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1962, and the Supplemental Appropriations Act for fiscal 1962.

In the first act the appropriation for the Public Health Service totaled $1,240,052,000. Of this amount $738,335,000 was given to the National Institutes of Health—$155,335,000 more than the President had requested. Another large item—$203 million for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act—represented an increase of about $15 million over his request. Most of the remainder of the appropriation was allocated to the numerous programs of Federal grants-in-aid, administered by the Public Health Service.

In the second session, Congress appropriated $1,504,043,000 to the Public Health Service. From this, NIH received $380,800,000, and hospital construction received $226,220,000.

The Supplemental Appropriations Act for fiscal 1962 contained items totaling over $67 million, chiefly for grant-in-aid programs.

In the meantime, Congress increased support of community health services and facilities serves to furnish more assistance to the aged, pending decision on

the legislation dealing specifically with the problem.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1961

Several important changes which liberalized provisions of the Social Security Act were incorporated in a measure which became law on June 30, 1961. The bill was signed by the President "with great satisfaction."

The principal effect of the new law was to increase social security benefits for some 4 million elderly persons. Some of the major provisions, briefly summarized, are as follows:

First. Minimum benefits for retired workers under the Social Security Act were increased from the present $33 to $40 per month. It was estimated that this would affect approximately 2,175,000 persons of retirement age.

Second. Men will be permitted to retire at the age of 62, the present retirement age for women, at a lower rate than they would receive if they waited until age 65. In the first year, about 560,000 persons were expected to receive benefits amounting to $440 million under this provision.

Third. Widows and widowers of an insured worker will get 82½ percent of his—or her—retirement benefits, instead of the present 75 percent. At an estimated cost of $105 million in the first year this will benefit more than 1½ million persons.

TAX REVISION

A major accomplishment of the 87th Congress was the enactment of legislation to revise the Nation's Federal tax structure. This legislation provided for the first omnibus tax revision since 1954.

One of the most important features of the measure allows businesses to deduct from their income tax up to 7 percent of investments in certain types of new and used property.

The base for depreciation on a new investment must be reduced by the amount of the credit taken on it, under the new law. Such credit is applicable to investments made after December 31, 1961.

The law also requires that interest and dividend payments above $10 be reported annually to the recipient, and to the Government. Penalties up to $50,000 are provided for failure to make such reports.

The congressional conferees on the measure, in their report, requested the Treasury Department to make annual reports to the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees "on the improvement in the reporting on tax returns of dividends, interest, and patronage dividends."

Tax deductions for business expense accounts, under the new law, are stiffer than under the old. The new law, however, still permits deductions of entertainment expenses "associated with" the conduct of a trade or business. The new law is clearer than the old law about the requirement for such deductions being based on business meetings or discussions. Deductions for entertainment are to be prohibited unless detailed records are kept to substantiate outlays. Taxpayers may not claim deductions for taking business associates to night clubs or sport events, unless the entertainment preceded or followed bona fide business discussions.

Also, deductions for such facilities as yachts or hunting lodges will be disallowed unless the facility is used "primarily for the furtherance of the taxpayer's trade or business," and is "directly related" to active conduct of the business.

The law also requires taxpayers to substantiate, with records, expenses claimed as deductions. The law also limits deductions for travel and lodging expenses, and for business gifts above $25 for one person.

The entertainment provisions of the law are expected to raise about $105 million annually for the Treasury, according to congressional tax experts.

Among the highly complex provisions on taxation of foreign income that are in the new law, one part would subject to immediate U.S. taxation the income of most so-called tax-haven corporations. These corporations usually are established in countries with low tax rates in order to avoid payment of virtually all taxes. Such companies serve as sales outlets for products that are manufactured elsewhere by sister subsidiaries, and sold to them at nominal prices. As is true with other U.S. subsidiaries abroad, their earnings are not subject to U.S. taxation until they are returned to the U.S. parent corporations as dividends.

The foreign earnings provisions of the new law increase the taxes on many other income sources. One section limits to $35,000—$20,000 for the first 3 years—the amount of annual income an American citizen living abroad may exclude from U.S. taxation.

Another tax deduction provided by the new law permits tax deductions for lobbying activities before legislatures, if the expenses are otherwise "ordinary and necessary" business expenses, and are concerned with legislation of direct interest to the taxpayer claiming the deduction.

DISASTER TAX RELIEF

Congress March 21, 1962, sent to the President a measure, Public Law 87–426—signed March 31—permanently amending tax law to permit persons in disaster areas to deduct, from their tax returns, losses caused by natural disasters which occurred after December 31 of the tax year, but prior to the final filing date.

CORPORATE, EXCISE TAXES EXTENDED, TRAVEL TAX CUT

When Congress on June 28, 1962, enacted Public Law 87–508, most existing corporate and excise taxes were extended for a year, and transportation and certain communication excise taxes were reduced

The law extends for 1 year, until July 1, 1963, the current 52 percent corporate income tax rates and the current rates of excise tax on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, and general telephone service. This provision is expected to retain about $2.3 billion in Federal revenues in fiscal 1963.

In addition, the law repeals, effective November 15, 1962, the 10 percent tax on transportation of persons by railroad, bus, plane, and water. The law further extends from November 16 through June 30, 1963, the tax on travel by air, but at a reduced rate of 5 percent. These provisions are expected to cost the Government $27.5 million in revenues, for fiscal 1963, but should provide a needed stimulant to our transportation industries.

Also, the law exempts from the transportation tax, effective November 15, the portion of an international air trip that is made in the United States, provided that any scheduled stopover in this country is not more than 6 hours. A loss of $2.5 million in revenues is expected by the Government because of this provision.

And, the law exempted from the 10 percent general telephone tax, or the 10 percent wire mileage tax private lines, or leased wires which permit communication from one fixed location to another, if the lines are used in a trade or business.

The 87th Congress in 1962 also approved legislation giving transportation companies a longer time to apply losses against later earnings on their tax returns.

The new law applies to railroads, local bus and streetcar lines, interstate trucking and bus firms whose rates are subject to regulation, barge lines, and airlines.

Under it, the companies may carry forward losses for 7 years instead of 5 as provided by present law.

HEALTH POLICIES' TAX DEDUCTION

Congress approved legislation in late September that would give a tax deduction to life insurance companies that write individual accident and health policies.

TAXATION

To help lessen the outflow of gold from the United States, a bill was signed on May 4, 1961, amending the Internal Revenue Code to exempt all foreign banks of issue from the U.S. tax on interest earned on investments in U.S. Government obligations unless the obligations are held for, or used in connection with, the conduct of commercial banking functions or other commercial activities.

Two other actions in the field of taxation might be mentioned. Public Law 87–17, approved April 7, 1961, expanded the scope of the study which was first authorized in 1959 by Public Law 86–272, concerning the power of the States to impose net income taxes on income derived from interstate commerce, to include all matters pertaining to the taxation of interstate commerce by the States, territories, and possessions of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Authority under this act is given to the House Committee on the Judiciary and the Senate Committee on Finance who are making these studies.

Also passed is a measure which empowers the Internal Revenue Service to assign identifying numbers to all taxpayers. By the single expedient of providing a means by which individuals are

identified regardless of discrepancies in address or spelling of names, tax evasion is made infinitely more difficult.

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT

Through the enactment of Public Law 87–512, the public debt limit was increased from $300 billion to $308 billion from July 1, 1962, through March 31, 1963. The law set a ceiling of $305 billion from April 1 through June 24, 1963, and a ceiling of $300 billion from June 25 through June 30, 1963, when the debt would return to its permanent level of $285 billion.

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

The President in 1961 paid tribute to the diligent and conscientious work that was done by the Members of Congress in working out the resolution of the many problems which were embodied in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1961. The task which Congress faced was the provision of funds needed to permit the completion of the 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System by a deadline of 1972. Authorized by the 1961 legislation was an additional $11.5 billion needed to complete the program after hearings on the tax features by the Ways and Means Committee. Provision was made in the legislation for raising approximately $9.6 billion in additional revenues by increasing taxes on various highway users, particularly the trucking industry, and on related rubber industries who manufacture tires and tubes, and so forth. In addition, the present Federal tax of 4 cents a gallon on gasoline which had been scheduled to revert to 3 cents a gallon on June 30, 1961, was continued. At the same time all of the 10 percent manufacturers' excise tax on trucks, buses, and trailers was diverted into the highway trust fund.

Under the interstate highway program, the Federal Government supplies 90 percent of the funds and the States supply the remaining 10 percent. The billboard bonus program, which allows the States an additional one-half of 1 percent reduction in its matching funds provided they agree to regulate billboard advertising within 660 feet of certain sections of the highway system, was extended for an additional 2 years, through June 30, 1963.

The legislation also provided an amount of $400 million to pay for an increase in Federal outlays for primary, secondary and urban roads, costs of which are shared equally by the Federal Government and the States.

President Kennedy said the program was beneficial because it "will increase our defense readiness, decrease the appalling highway accident toll, lower transportation costs, and stimulate economic development."

Another act that has been beneficial to the U.S. economy was the administration program for the development of public airports by making additional millions available over a 3-year period. Also beneficial is the 1962 River and Harbors project, funded with $1,041,358,800.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAM

President Kennedy gave the Federal water pollution control program a boost when he enacted into law, during the first session, legislation authorizing appropriations of $570 million through June 30, 1967, for Federal grants to help communities construct sewage treatment plants. The law also increased from $3 million to $5 million the annual Federal matching grants to States for the administration of such control programs, available through June 30, 1968.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

The Air Pollution Control Act—Public Law 87–761—was extended by the 87th Congress for 2 years, through June 30, 1966. Federal grants and assistance was authorized to provide such control.

In addition, the new law directs the Surgeon General to study the amounts and kinds of substances discharged from motor vehicle exhausts, and to determine how much may be safely discharged into the atmosphere.

Under the annual appropriation act for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Congress provided $11,069,000 for all air pollution control activities in fiscal 1963.

The act was initiated in 1955—Public Law 84–159—when Congress authorized research, and technical and financial assistance to State, local, and private agencies interested in air pollution control.

President Kennedy, during his February 27 speech of this year, urged that the act be extended.

FRYINGPAN-ARKANSAS PROJECT

The 87th Congress enacted a conservation measure which has been pending for many years: the Fryingpan-Arkansas project. This project is a multiple-purpose plan to divert water from the Fryingpan River in the Colorado River Basin across the Continental Divide to the Arkansas River Basin. The project, when completed, is to provide supplemental irrigation water, flood control, electric power, municipal and industrial water to the Arkansas Valley in Colorado. President Kennedy in his conservation message of March 1, 1962, urged Congress to pass the legislation.

COLUMBIA BASIN IRRIGATION

Public Law 87–728 approves a "short form" repayment contract negotiated with the Quincy Columbia Basin Irrigation District in eastern Washington.

In addition, the law lifts ceilings on Government spending for drainage and irrigation work within the district.

WET LANDS DRAINAGE

Public Law 87–732 is designed to protect wetland waterfowl refuges in the Dakotas, and in Minnesota, from drainage.

NAVAJO, SAN JUAN-CHAMA

Public Law 87–483 authorizes two water projects in New Mexico; the $135 million Navajo Indian irrigation project, and the $85.8 million initial stage of the San Juan-Chama project, which would carry water from the western to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.

BAKER RECLAMATION PROJECT

Congress on September 20 of this year approved legislation authorizing $6,168,000 to construct the upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project in the Baker Valley, Oreg. The project is to furnish supplemental irrigation for 18,000 acres near the Powder River; and the project would include flood control, fish and wildlife conservation, and recreation facilities.

PARK AND MILITARY LAND BILLS

Various bills were enacted, authorizing sizable additions to the National Park System, including a major accomplishment in this field of the creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore in Massachusetts, the Point Reyes National Seashore in northern California, and Padre Island National Seashore Park, off the Texas gulf coast. Also, several bills provided for military use of extensive land.

RECREATION IN WILDLIFE RESERVES

Public Law 87–714 authorized the establishment of public recreation facilities in fish and wildlife conservation areas maintained by the Department of the Interior.

POLL TAX CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The House on August 27, 1962, finished congressional action on a proposed constitutional amendment by passing it with a rollcall vote. The proposed amendment would bar the requirement of a poll tax as a qualification for voting in Federal elections and primaries.

If the proposed amendment is ratified by three-fourths of the States within 7 years, it would become the 24th to the Constitution.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Congress in 1961 acted to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for another 2 years.

An appropriation of $888,000 for the activities of the Commission for fiscal 1962 was included in the bill. Congress in the 2d session appropriated $950,000 for the Commission, for fiscal 1963.

EDUCATION

IMPACTED AREA LEGISLATION AND NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

Congress voted a 2-year extension of Public Laws 815 and 874 of the 81st Congress—the impacted area programs—and of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Additional funds—$15,707,000—for fiscal 1962, for maintenance and operation of schools under the impacted areas program, were provided in Public Law 87–545 on July 25 of this year. The 1962 appropriations law—Public Law 87–582—for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare also provides $22,799,000 of Federal funds to impacted school areas.

COLLEGE FACILITIES

Title IV of the Housing Act of 1961 provided for an annual increase in the loan authorization for college housing facilities of $30 million for the years 1961 through 1964. While most of these funds have been used for the construction of college dormitories, some also have been spent for dining halls, cafeterias, student centers, and so forth. Loans for construction of housing facilities for interns and student nurses have also been available.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

Public Law 87–447 was enacted May 1, 1962, authorizing $32 million over a 5-

year period for Federal matching grants to help develop and construct educational television facilities.

Upon the law's enactment, the President said:

In spite of the vigorous efforts of many States and communities, 215 of the television channels reserved for education 9 years ago remain unused. At a time when the wide availability of quality education is vital to our national growth and security, we must make effective use of all of our educational resources.

The Educational Television Act of 1962 authorizes $32 million to be appropriated over a 5-year period, beginning in fiscal 1963, for matching grants to the States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, up to a limit of $1 million per State, for the acquisition and installation of transmission equipment for educational television facilities.

RESEARCH CONTRACT COSTS

Public Law 87–638 was enacted in 1962 to reform administrative functions and educational institutions receiving certain Government contracts and grants. The new law is to simplify such institutions' administration of cost-type research as well as development contracts. In addition, the law is to facilitate the institutions' budget preparations, and to stimulate more efficient examinations of such contracts when they have run out.

SCHOOL LUNCH ACT

Congress in late 1962 passed legislation to revise the State allotment formula of the National School Lunch Act of 1946. The revision would apportion the cash assistance funds to the States on the basis of the number of children actually participating in the school lunch program, rather than on the school-age population of a State, as was provided in the original act.

SPACE PROGRESS

On September 12, President Kennedy, delivering a space policy speech at Houston, Tex., during a 2-day tour of U.S. space facilities, emphasized America's space achievements and promised further efforts in a peaceful space race to the moon. The President denied that his administration was ignoring the military possibilities of space at the peril of the Nation.

The President said:

I do not say that we should or will go unprotected against the hostile misuse of space any more than we go unprotected against the hostile use of land or sea, but I do say that space can be explored and mastered without feeding the fires of war.

On the cost of space exploration, the President said the fiscal 1963 space budget was $5.4 billion, "a staggering sum, though somewhat less than we spend for cigarettes and cigars every year."

The total includes $3.7 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the civilian space agency with headquarters in Houston, and more than $1.5 billion for military space programs.

U.S. space achievements have been considerable. The President noted in his Houston speech that the United States had made 40 of the 45 satellites which had been in orbit during the previous 19 months. Our satellites are far more sophisticated and have supplied far more knowledge to the people of the world than have those of the Soviet Union, the President added.

An additional benefit of the Nation's space effort are the many new companies and jobs which are being created. Space and related industries are generating new demands in investment and skilled personnel.

On August 27—the day after the 447-pound instrument-packed American satellite, Mariner II started toward the planet Venus through the vast emptiness of space—the House gave final approval to the Communications Satellite Act of 1962.

On August 31, when President Kennedy signed into law the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, he called the occasion of historic importance. He said that the joint business-Government enterprise, to finance the world's first communications satellite, was a project in which "the vigor of our competitive free enterprise system will be effectively used in a challenging new activity on the frontier of space."

The legislation accomplished two things: It provided for the establishment of a private corporation to set up, operate, and own a commercial communications satellite system; and it dramatized the Kennedy administration's high regard for American business.

Under the law, a profitmaking corporation is to be established. The corporation's board of directors are to represent the Government, the communications companies, and the public; this distribution is to insure that the three interests may equally set the corporation's policy. The Federal Communications Commission shall set rates for the use of the satellite's facilities. Up to 50 percent of the stock, selling at about $100 a share initially, is to be reserved for the communications companies, and the rest allotted to private investors.

SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

Early in 1961 the President made recommendations for a comprehensive space program to enable our country to be the leader in all aspects of stellar technology.

The Congress in recent years established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—NASA.

The Congress has strengthened the original act by amendments and cooperated by making adequate appropriations. The importance of the success of NASA, and keeping our country in the forefront cannot be overemphasized. The President and Congress recognize this fact.

The President recommended the authorization for 1961 of $1,784,300,000 for NASA for fiscal year 1962, which the Congress has passed. NASA was appropriated $3.7 billion for fiscal 1963.

In addition, Congress enacted a bill amending the existing law revising the organizational setup of the NASA and the Space Council, and providing for the Vice President to preside as Chairman of the Space Council.

OCEANOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

At the end of the 2d session of the 87th Congress, legislation was enacted to encourage development of a long-range national oceanographic program. Responsibility for developing the program belongs, under the law, to the Office of Science and Technology, in the Executive Office of the President.

SALINE WATER RESEARCH

A bill providing for a sharp increase of saline water research program was approved in 1961 by Congress.

During the past few years, expenditures for this important work have been running at the rate of less than $2 million a year. Under the expanded program authorized for the next 6 years, this amount can be increased by at least fivefold. The results of this research activity will be of great importance to our people, but more broadly, if we are successful first, in making salt water economically feasible by giving mankind everywhere such results and benefits, we could greatly improve our international situation. For the shortage of water for human consumption and for agricultural uses, which problem is rapidly growing, is a matter of deep concern throughout the world.

NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Upon the enactment of Public Law 87–405 on February 16, 1962, a fourth Assistant Secretary of Commerce was authorized, with responsibility for the National Bureau of Standards, the Weather Bureau, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Patent Office, and staff responsibilities for research and development activities pursued by the Bureau of Public Roads, and the Maritime Administration.

AGRICULTURE

One of the challenges that confronted the Kennedy administration when it assumed office in January 1961 was straightening out the mess in the Department of Agriculture left by the previous administration. In this endeavor, the administration and Congress have had a great measure of success.

Immediately after Congress came into its first session, it was necessary to take up the feed grains problem, because the time was not far off when crops must be planted. The enormous surplus of wheat and feed grain, it was feared, would be increased if the 1961 crops were not reduced in some way. Oversupply and low prices were depressing the agricultural industry and taxpayers were having to pay for holding nearly $4 billion of grains.

Without going into the details of the Feed Grain Act, signed into law on March 22, 1961, its provisions and purposes may be briefly stated. A 1-year emergency program provided specific incentives for farmers to reduce their production of feed grain, making the law of supply and demand work for the farmers. A voluntary cut in acreage and crops of feed grains was provided, with increased price-support payments to participants in the program for certain crops. Farmers responded enthusiastically and feed grains production for 1961 has been brought to a reasonable rate. It is estimated that about $750 million, in 1961, was added to the 1960 income of producers of corn, grain sorghum, oats, barley, and soybeans.

Even a brief summary of the Agricultural Act of 1961 would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present report. Title I, dealing with supply adjustment and price stabilization, permitted the Secretary of Agriculture to consult with farmers and farm commodity organizations in developing agricultural programs. Producers were permitted to retire up to 40 percent of wheat allotments, 10 percent mandatory and 30 percent voluntary, or 10 acres, whichever is greater.

The act established payments under the wheat control program at 45 percent for the mandatory reduction and 60 percent for the voluntary reduction. The 1962 feed-grains program is defined in title I; the regional marketing order authority is extended to all agricultural commodities not specifically excluded; and the National Wool Act is extended from March 31, 1962, to March 31, 1966. Title II extended the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 from December 31, 1961, to December 31, 1964, with increased authorizations and other implementing provisions. Title III contained the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961. Title IV extended to December 31, 1971, the final date for entering into contracts under the Great Plains conservation program; extended the school milk programs through June 30, 1967; and extended the Veterans and Armed Forces dairy programs through December 31, 1964.

The act, which was finally passed and signed by the President on August 8, 1961, was described by Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, as "the most important piece of legislation, in the interest of farmers, to be enacted in a decade."

The agricultural appropriation law for fiscal 1962 contained items totaling nearly $6 billion—almost $2 billion more than the funds for 1961.

The increase was largely due to the foreign assistance programs which, for the first time, were put on a pay-as-you-go basis by appropriation of funds for the current year. Previously the Commodity Credit Corporation had been merely reimbursed for the cost of farm surpluses disposed of abroad under Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for related foreign programs.

During the second session, the far-reaching Agriculture Act of 1962 was enacted.

One significant provision of the farm bill enables the administration to start a 10-year pilot program to convert idle farmland to recreation, wildlife and other conservation uses. Farmers and State and local agencies will be aided in cost-sharing programs to establish hunting, fishing, boating, and other outdoor leisure areas and in the redevelopment of blighted rural areas where unemployment may be high.

Another provision permits the Government to sell surpluses on long-term credit to private traders for dollar sales overseas. Formerly, the law limited such sales to foreign governments for foreign currencies. The law also permits private welfare agencies to use surplus food stocks for school lunch programs overseas.

Of greater importance than the subsidy programs for 1963 are the wheat and feed-grain plans in the measure for 1964. Wheat is to come under a certificate system and tighter controls in 1964 if the plan is approved by a two-thirds vote of farmers in a national referendum.

Corn and other feed grains will, in effect, be turned over to the Secretary of Agriculture to support at a level that he believes will not add to the surplus. He could set the support price between 50 and 90 percent of parity, a formula designed to give farmers a fair price for their products in relation to their cost of production.

That a major effort will be made in 1963 to amend the permanent provisions of the act relating to feed grains is now a foregone conclusion. For wheat and feed grains, a temporary program for 1963 was set up. The feed grains program covering corn, barley, and grain sorghums will work this way:

Producers can participate voluntarily by reducing their 1959–60 base acreage by a minimum of 20 percent and a maximum of 50 percent. This reduction will make them eligible for price supports at $1.20 a bushel for corn. The supports on other feed grains are set in relation to corn.

A similar program will be in effect for wheat next year. Cooperating farmers will get 18 cents a bushel to make up the difference between a support price of $1.82 a bushel and the current price of $2 a bushel. They will also receive payments for making land idle.

In 1964, however, the wheat program is to shift to a stricter control plan. The present national planting allotment of 55 million acres is to be abandoned and the Secretary of Agriculture is to set the number of acres needed to produce the total requirement for wheat. Producers are to be paid for the acres they are required to divert from production for 2 years. The 15-acre exemption was eliminated from the permanent law but was extended to the 1963 crop by an amendment passed shortly before the end of the session.

Farmers will also be issued certificates for that portion of their crop that would normally be marked for domestic consumption and for export. These certificates will be worth about 60 cents a bushel, the difference between a support price of $1.40 a bushel and the present $2 a bushel.

All other wheat for seed and livestock feed will be supported at $1.40 a bushel. The certificates will be negotiable and millers and other processors will be required to have them for all wheat used for food or sent overseas.

Agricultural appropriations for fiscal 1963 amounted to $5,487,029,500.

In addition to the laws just discussed, Congress passed many others affecting agriculture. Only the Sugar Act can be listed because of the space limitations of this report.

SUGAR ACT

The world's largest importer of sugar is the United States. U.S. sugar consumption in 1961 was 9.7 million tons, of which 4.3 million were imported. The imports have been governed under a quota for importers, set by the 1934 Sugar Act, and have been divided annually among foreign nations.

In 1960, the U.S. sugar-purchasing program was altered drastically by President Eisenhower's decision to cut off purchases of Cuban sugar, which had totaled more than two-thirds of the whole U.S. import quota. Other Latin American countries requested increased shares, and they received them on a temporary basis pending congressional action on new sugar legislation.

The new law, as enacted—Public Law 87–535—retained the quota and premium systems, but cut the import quota and provided for gradual scaling down of the premiums.

Specifically, the law provided for an increase, from 55 to 66 percent, of the sugar market for domestic producers. And, it provided an import quota of 1,205,000 tons for 27 countries, plus a special allocation for the Philippines in accordance with a treaty.

Also, the law provides a reserve of 1,635,000 tons for Cuba, should it be freed from Communist rule, with the same amount to be bought elsewhere at the world price in the interim.

In addition, the law reduced by 10 percent, annually, premium payments, pending congressional review in 1964.

Congressional action on sugar legislation was completed on July 15 when the House passed and sent to the President certain amendments to the Sugar Act. The amendments—signed into Public Law 87–539—permit the President to boost by 150,000 tons the annual U.S. sugar purchases from the Western Hemisphere.

When the President signed the amendments into law on July 21, 1962, he also issued an Executive order allocating the extra quotas to the Dominican Republic and Argentina, raising the former country's sugar marketing quota to 320,000 tons, and establishing for the latter country a quota of 20,000 tons.

DU PONT STOCK DIVESTITURE

In 1962 Congress approved legislation providing tax relief to individual Du Pont Co. stockholders who received distributions of General Motors stock as a result of a 1961 Supreme Court order. The order required Du Pont to divest itself of its 63 million shares of GM stock within 10 years. The legislation became Public Law 87–403 on February 2, 1962.

RENEGOTIATION ACT

The Renegotiation Act of 1951 was extended for 2 years, from June 30, 1962, to June 30, 1964, under legislation passed by the 87th Congress, 2d session. The act, Public Law 87–520, prescribes a method by which the Government may regain "excessive profits" charged by private firms on defense contracts and related subcontracts with certain specified departments.

DRUG LAW

A significant achievement of the 87th Congress was the enactment of the Drug Amendments Act of 1962. This law authorizes thorough Federal inspection for factories producing prescription drugs.

Drugs must be produced under good manufacturing practices, must be safe, and must meet the quality and purity characteristics claimed for them, according to the new law.

New drugs cannot be marketed until specific approval is granted by the Food and Drug Administration, and a manufacturer must show substantial evidence that a new drug will have the effect claimed for it.

The Government may withdraw from the market any drug believed to present an imminent hazard to the public.

Government controls over the manufacture of certain antibiotics are extended to all of them.

SUPPLEMENTAL AIRLINES

The Civil Aeronautics Board now has permanent authority to license and regulate supplemental—nonscheduled—airlines, because of the enactment of Public Law 87–528.

The law authorizes the CAB to license supplemental carriers to engage in charter services.

ANTITRUST DOCUMENTS

On September 7, 1962, Congress approved legislation to compel certain businesses to release to the Justice Department corporate records for use in civil antitrust investigations. The law permits documents to be obtained only from companies under investigation, and limits their use to the Justice Department.

SAVINGS AND LOAN FIRMS' APARTMENT HOUSE LOANS

Congress on September 30, 1962, approved legislation that would permit federally insured savings and loan associations to invest more of their assets in apartment buildings.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

In 1961, Congress enacted legislation authorizing the Export-Import Bank to guarantee, insure, coinsure, and reinsure political and credit risks arising in connection with U.S. exports. Such legislation is important for placing American exports on an equal basis with foreign competitors.

NATIONAL BANKS

The 87th Congress, 2d session, approved legislation to allow national banks and certain other federally supervised banks to form corporations to perform clerical, booking, and data-processing services.

TEXTILE IMPORTS

Through the enactment of Public Law 87–488, the President's authority to regulate imports of textiles and agricultural products was extended.

ALL-CHANNEL TV SET BILL

This law is designed to make television more competitive by encouraging growth of the number of commercial and educational television stations.

The legislation authorizes the Commission to require television set manufacturers to equip sets to receive the 70 ultra high frequency (UHF) channels in addition to the 12 very high frequency channels that most sets now pick up.

President Kennedy recommended the legislation during his March 15, 1962, message to Congress, discussing protection of U.S. consumers' interests.

RETIRED OFFICERS SALESMANSHIP PROHIBITION

Congress and the President enacted into public law legislation which amends conflict-of-interest laws concerning retired military officers. The new amendment provides, among other things, a uniform penalty of loss of retirement pay for retired Regular officers of the military services, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service, if they engage in selling to, or contracting with, any agency of the Defense Department, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service, within 3 years after the date of retirement.

SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

To minimize ill effects that may occur from the enactment of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, Congress in 1962 enacted Public Law 87–550 to empower the Small Business Administration to aid small business firms injured by imports allowed by the Trade Act. And, Congress increased the total SBA revolving fund authorization from $1,200 million to $1,666 million.

The new small business law, among other things, limits the maximum amount outstanding at any one time for regular business, prime contract, and disaster loans to $1,325 million, and for Small Business Investment Corporation programs under the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 to $341 million.

Because the funds for the Small Business Administration's loan program were exhausted at the end of August 1961, Congress appropriated an additional $20 million as a stopgap measure—Public Law 87–198—pending passage of bills providing funds and containing amendments to the Small Business Investment Act.

Public Law 87–305 contained authorization for $725 million to be used for loans to small business—an increase of $105 million over the current amount. This covers both the prime contract revolving fund and the business loan fund.

A second important act incorporates several major changes in the Small Business Investment Act, which gives tax shelter to companies established to aid small business.

WELFARE AND PENSION PLANS DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1962

On March 20, 1962, upon signing into Public Law 87–420, the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1962, President Kennedy said:

[The provisions of the act corrected] serious deficiencies in the basic legislation and represent a major advance in our effort to protect the economic security of our labor force.

Now the act will give the more than 44 million workers covered by welfare and pension plans greater assurance of accurate and full disclosures of plan operations. The reports required will now parallel those required in connection with the handling of the funds of labor unions.

At the present time, employee assets in our Nation's welfare and pension programs total nearly $60 billion; by 1970, they will total $90 billion. I believe that the men and women who are the beneficiaries of these programs have a right to expect that these vast sums of money—representing their future welfare—are protected by our laws.

The legislation that the President signed strengthens the enforcement provisions of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958.

The new legislation, in part, authorizes the Secretary of Labor to conduct investigations where he has reasonable cause to believe that investigation might disclose violations of the act, provided that, in the case of annual financial reports, he first requires their certification by a certified public accountant.

OTHER LABOR LEGISLATION

WORK HOURS ACT

On August 13, 1962, the Work Hours Act of 1962 was signed into law by the President. The act established standards for working hours and overtime pay for laborers and mechanics employed on projects done under Federal contract or with Federal aid.

The law provides for a 40-hour work week, with not less than time and one-half for overtime work thereafter. The preceding legislation had permitted up to a 45-hour work week before providing overtime compensation.

The new law replaces, with a single statute, a series of 8-hour day laws, enacted between 1892 and 1940, which prescribed a standard 8-hour day for employees of Government contractors or subcontractors.

The new law applies to the following Federal legislation: Federal-Aid Highway Acts; Housing Acts; Hospital Survey and Construction Act; Federal Airport Act; School Survey and Construction Act of 1950—aiding impacted area schools—Defense Housing and Community Facilities Act of 1951; Water Pollution Control Act; Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950; and the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961.

MIGRATORY LABOR

President Kennedy on September 26, 1962, enacted a measure that authorizes a 3-year program of Federal grants up to $3 million annually to help establish clinics and other health projects for this group.

The funds will be used to stimulate State and local health agencies in areas seriously affected by the seasonal impact of migratory workers.

PENSIONS FOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED

On September 28, 1962, Congress approved legislation to permit professional and self-employed persons to lay aside each year for their retirement 10 percent of their earned income, or $2,500, whichever is smaller, and receive deductions from their tax liability for doing so.

Fifty cents of every dollar put into such a pension plan would be tax deductible up to a maximum of $1,250 a year. An owner-employee could participate by providing pension plans for anyone in his employ for 3 years. His contribution to his employees' pension also would be tax deductible.

VETERANS' DISABILITY INCREASES

Veterans with service-connected disabilities received an increase in their com-

pensation payments under Public Law 87–645, signed by the President on September 7 of this year.

President Kennedy, in his January 18, 1962, budget message, asked for disability payments to be increased by approximately $65 million; the current law is estimated to increase such payments by a little over $98 million.

The law is designed to reflect increases in the cost of living since the last compensation increase in 1957, and to more adequately compensate the most seriously disabled. Those who have sacrificed part of themselves for our Nation's security well deserve the benefits of this law.

VA SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATIONS

The President on February 13, 1962 approved Public Law 87–404, which provided supplemental appropriations for the Veterans' Administration, for fiscal 1962. The law appropriated $55 million for readjustment payments to Korean war veterans attending school under the GI bill of rights. And the law transferred $115,247,000 from funds set aside for direct home loans to veterans, and made the sum available for the VA loan guaranty revolving fund.

Among veterans' legislation enacted in 1961 are:

First. A bill to extend the veterans guaranteed and direct home loan program and to provide additional funds for the veterans' direct loan program.

This act extends expiration dates for the home loan programs for World War II and Korean veterans.

Second. A bill relating to special insurance dividends for certain veterans of the Korean conflict.

This act provides for the immediate payment of dividends on insurance heretofore issued under section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, which has been converted or exchanged for new insurance under such section.

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

On August 20, 1962, President Kennedy signed into law 87–592 legislation to reform the Securities and Exchange Commission. The purpose of the reform was to speed up the Commission's handling of major cases.

The law, among other things, authorized the SEC to delegate authority for making decisions on quasi-judicial and certain specific rulemaking actions to a panel of commissioners, an individual Commissioner, a hearing examiner, or an employee board. The law, however, prohibited the Commission from delegating any of its general rulemaking powers.

The 87th Congress enacted much other legislation to reform and revise the procedures of the regulatory commissions. Unfortunately, space limitations preclude their description in this report.

THE JUDICIARY

The prompt administration of justice by our courts, as well as effective law enforcement to protect law-abiding citizens, and to detect and prosecute crimes of all kind, particularly organized crime, with adequate laws to enable enforcement, is a matter of primary importance. The President and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy are to be highly complimented for their leadership and affirmative activity in these fields.

The following measure was enacted into law:

A bill providing for 73 additional district and circuit judges.

This act, one of major importance, will assure decongestion of the Federal court calendar, for justice delayed is justice denied.

CRIME LAWS

In response to recommendations by Attorney General Kennedy for legislation to combat organized crime and racketeering, and to meet criminal acts in other directions, legislation was enacted:

First. To prohibit travel or transportation in commerce in aid of racketeering enterprises.

Second. A bill with respect to the transmission of bets, wagers, and related information.

Third. A bill to provide means for the Federal Government to combat interstate crime and to assist the States in the enforcement of their criminal laws by prohibiting the interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia.

Fourth. Extending the Fugitive Felon Act.

Fifth. A bill to further protect the internal security of the United States by providing penalties for malicious damage to certain communications facilities.

Sixth. A bill amending the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

Seventh. A bill to prohibit the counterfeiting of State obligations in certain cases.

Eighth. A bill to extend the application of chapter 37 of title 18 relating to espionage and censorship.

Ninth. A bill supplementing existing criminal laws providing a more effective deterrent to willful destruction and damage of property moving in interstate or foreign commerce.

SMITH ACT AMENDMENT

Public Law 87–486, approved June 19, 1962, redefines the term "organize" as used in the 1940 Smith Act, which outlawed conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. Government. The new law added a new paragraph to the act, defining the prohibition against organizing a group advocating forcible overthrow of the Government as applying not only to the initial act of bringing the group into being, but also to continuing organizational activities, such as recruiting new members or conducting classes.

REORGANIZATION PLANS

Congress in the first session, passed legislation to extend to June 1, 1963, the powers of the President to submit reorganization plans.

RYUKYU ISLANDS

Congress authorized $12 million annually to promote economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands. Previously, the authorization had been $6 million annually. This was one of a number of laws that Congress passed affecting areas administered by the United States, but not the States.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEE CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST LAW

The 87th Congress, near the end of its 2d session, passed legislation to make major revisions in Federal Government conflict-of-interest laws.

It is the first important attempt to make uniform and bring up to date the century-old patchwork of legislation aimed at preventing present and former Government employees from improperly mixing private interest with their public office.

POSTAL RATE INCREASE

Legislation providing for an increase in postal rates was approved in the last part of the 2d session, 87th Congress. The following lists some of the rates that have been raised, in order to reduce the postal deficit:

A 1-cent increase per ounce on first-class letters, from 4 to 5 cents; post cards, from 3 to 4 cents; airmail letters, from 7 to 8 cents, and airmail cards, from 5 to 6 cents, all effective next January 7.

In second-class mail, magazines and newspapers, the 90-year-old free in-county mailings of small county newspapers would be eliminated. The rate on them would be 1 cent a pound and one-eighth of 1 cent minimum charge per piece in 1963 and 1964, and it would rise to 1¼ cents a pound and continuation of the one-eighth of 1-cent minimum during the 1965 calendar year.

FEDERAL PAY RAISE

President Kennedy approved in 1962 legislation to raise the salaries of employees of the Federal Government, and to adjust the Federal pay scale to make Federal salaries and those in private industry generally comparable, wherever possible.

An average pay raise of about 10 percent will be given the more than 1.6 million nonwage board employees, to be effective in two stages; the first at the start of the first pay period after enactment into law, and January 1, 1964.

The million classified workers in the Federal and District Governments would get average annual increases of $342 and $261, or 5.5 and 4.1 percent over the two steps. The 590,000 postal workers would get average raises of $446 and $138, or 8.6 and 2.6 percent.

Other Federal employees affected by the new pay act will receive pay increases roughly equivalent to the above figures.

FEDERAL PENSION INCREASE

Congress and the Kennedy administration approved legislation in 1962 to provide a 5-percent increase, effective January 1, 1963, for 630,000 retirees and survivors. In addition, the law provides, among other things, an automatic increase in benefits of 3 percent when living costs rise by that amount.

In addition, more legislation enacted of interest to Federal employees is:

First, a bill relating to interest earning of Treasury issues held by the civil service retirement and disability fund.

This act is important in that it will strengthen the financial integrity of the retirement and disability fund, and as a result of a new civil service formula the interest rate currently will be at least 1 percent in excess of the interest rate provided under the old formula.

Second, 1961 legislation providing for increase in top grade positions under the Classification Act of 1949, and research and development positions of scientists and engineers.

This legislation has been under consideration for several years, and is a marked contribution toward efficiency in the agencies covered by this law.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

With reference to the District of Columbia, the most important piece of legislation which the current Congress passed was legislation which set up the election machinery for the District in preparation for the Presidential elections of 1964. On March 29, 1961, the 23d amendment was ratified by the required three-quarters of the States. This amendment gives to the citizens of the District of Columbia the right to vote for presidential and vice presidential candidates in national elections, a right they have not had since the District was created at the beginning of the 19th century.

To carry on the important activities of the various departments and offices of the District of Columbia government in the fiscal year 1962, Congress this year approved appropriations totaling $270,067,897. Federal payments to the District totaling $32,753,000 and loan authorizations totaling $29 million were also approved. For fiscal 1963, the District received a total appropriation of $288,986,350; the Federal payment was $33,199,000.

The action of Congress in the 1961 session to transfer from the Federal Government ownership and administration of Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, D.C., to Howard University, and to authorize appropriations for the construction of a new hospital to replace the totally inadequate and antiquated present establishment, will meet with general approval.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA JUVENILE COURT

Appointment of two additional judges for the juvenile court of the District of Columbia was authorized when Public Law 87-413 was enacted on March 9, 1962. Previously, the court had one judge.

INTERSTATE COMPACTS

The 87th Congress granted congressional consent to the creation of a Delaware River and Bay Authority by New Jersey and Delaware, and other interstate compacts.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is evident that the total impact of the legislation approved by the 87th Congress is a vindication of a system of government well adapted to the needs of a great country and a diverse people. Our far-reaching record is ample evidence that this Congress was in constant and continuous contact with the entire people of this Nation.

We labored long and hard. We wrote a record which will stand as an outstanding tribute to the effectiveness of the democratic system and as a monument to the constructive forces which only freedom can muster.

## The Menace of Contaminated Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, there is growing recognition among our people and public officials of the increasing threat to health and life itself posed by the increase in air pollution.

In the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, part of which I represent, the problem is immense and the obstacles to its solution are great.

One of the most effective ways of stimulating action, however, is the publication of detailed and factual reports of the dangers caused by contamination of the air. An excellent example of such a report was published recently in the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger and the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, among other Newhouse newspapers.

I urge our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, to read this extremely disturbing survey, written by the Newhouse papers' science specialist, Charles Schaeffer. We might ask ourselves whether we are doing enough in cooperation with States, counties, and municipalities, to curb this growing threat.

The article follows:

CONTAMINATED AIR GROWING MENACE TO HEALTH—MANY CITIES FACE POLLUTION THREAT

(Air pollution is now a threat of varying degrees in 6,000 American cities. This article analyzes the formidable problems confronting the experts, some of the harmful effects of poisoned air on health, and a look at the potential of antifume devices on the upcoming 1963 automobiles.)

(By Charles Schaeffer)

WASHINGTON.—The Government is readying a major campaign to arouse the public against poisoned air.

Polluted air from factories, powerplants, burning dumps, apartment house incinerators and especially motor vehicles now afflicts 6,000 American cities. At its worst polluted air is a killer—at its mildest a culprit behind ugly phenomena ranging from bronchitis to spoiled spinach plants.

Yet most industrial-city dwellers breathe their allotted 15,000 daily quarts of air with hardly a murmur of protest. Excepting the outcry in smog-blighted Los Angeles and lesser protests in some east coast cities, Americans are strangely docile about this growing menace to their health.

The attack on apathy will be launched here December 10-12 in a national Let's Clear the Air Conference. Fifteen hundred experts will present evidence calculated to shock cities into grappling with the problem. The facts aren't pretty.

The known air pollution damage bill now exceeds an alarming $8 billion annually. This is in the form of injury to livestock and vegetation, corrosion, in auto accidents and airline delays caused by smog-limited visibility, and in cheapened property values. And the mounting bill says nothing of the suffering or of the untimely deaths of persons with chronic lung disorders—those most susceptible to contaminated air.

At a similar conference 4 years ago scientists, technicians, industry, and government officials spotlighted technical advances in the science of measuring and controlling poisoned air. Though participants went away better informed, they evolved nothing that could be considered a battle plan.

This year's conference planners have a new goal: to inform the public of the growing threat and to show citizens something can be done about it—if they abandon a let-George-do-it attitude.

TWOFOLD GOAL

No overnight cure-alls will emerge, but the climate appears better for greater national action. Planners cite these plusses:

An administration publicly committed to doing more about cleaning up the air.

A Welfare Secretary, Anthony J. Celebrezze, former Cleveland mayor, whom Washington specialists are banking on to drive home to fellow mayors the necessity of controlling air pollution at the municipal level.

The ultimate national goal of air pollution control is twofold: to prevent death and illness and to reduce substantially the huge damage bill. But one of the discouraging aspects to Federal air pollution officials is a national budget of only some $11 million, divided 80-20 per cent between research and technical training.

Locally, States and cities are spending a mere $8 million—more than half of this by California alone. The median annual expenditure, then, is about 10 cents per person, a fraction of what the government pours into national defense to protect its citizens on another front.

"This * * * is a pretty gloomy picture," V. G. MacKenzie, chief of the U.S. Public Service's Air Pollution Division, said recently.

A two-pronged action program designed to accelerate research into the sources, nature, and effects of air pollution is needed now, MacKenzie says. And the experts must start applying—to a far greater degree—data they already have.

FORMIDABLE JOB

"We know how to control or prevent the great majority of air pollutant emissions but the equipment and technical knowledge available are not being applied," he says.

What anxious officials want—and will discuss as an underlying theme of the December conference—is a national blueprint to be developed cooperatively by government and industry and supported by the public.

Some of the dotted lines are already sketched in by a special task force on air pollution research goals, created by the Surgeon General following the 1958 national conference. Briefly, recommendations envision expenditures of $422 million by 1968. Responsibility for the extra financing would be 40 percent Federal, 32 percent State and local, and 28 percent industry.

Everybody involved sees a formidable job ahead. In the 6,000 communities with air pollution problems only 106 have full-time program staffs. Only 28 of these employ 5 or more full-time workers, while others have part-time staffs.

In Washington the outlook for federally motived action is better than in the States. President Kennedy, in a message on natural resources, outlined a course providing "new leadership, research, and financial and technical assistance for the control of air pollution."

There is no such clear statement of policy and intent by the States. Signs are improving, however. Fifteen States now have authorized antipollution programs. There were none in 1950.

AIR CAN BE CLEANED

But no antipollution program will work without industry's cooperation—and Government officials know this. Industry reports

that it spends $300 million annually in various forms of air pollution control, but whatever the figure, pollutions still abound in many places such as the industrial upper Ohio River Valley.

Two years ago Consumers Union measured 185 tons of dustfall per square mile monthly on nine valley towns—contrasted with 55 tons per square mile in Chicago's dirty Loop district.

The fact remains that pollution can be controlled and the technical devices for sharply reducing emissions by steel factories and coal-burning plants are available at a price.

Some companies have made a start. One Ohio Valley steel firm equipped its blast furnaces with electrostatic precipitators, one of the available types of dust-catching equipment, at a cost of $3 million. Another spent $5,500,000 for similar devices.

If it's true that dirty air could be cleaned up with existing technology, why doesn't it happen? Cost, for one thing. As Theodore R. Merrill, a Business Week editor, put it to a symposium on the economic and social effects of air pollution:

"Nobody is going to put in any kind of control devices that cost him money unless he has to * * *. There must be sanctions against industry or else it is going to pollute the air. * * * It simply has to be unpropfitable for an industry to pollute the air or else they are going to pollute it, because it is cheaper to use the air for a sewer than to pay for keeping it clean."

TROUBLE IN CAPITAL

A major source of pollution in urban areas (90 percent of the U.S. city population now live in problem spots) is the Nation's 75 million motor vehicles. Billions of pounds of pollutants in the form of hydrocarbons, oxides of nitrogen, carbon monoxide, lead and sulfur dioxide—belched into the air every year—will mount as the Nation's auto fleet increases to an estimated 90 to 100 million by 1970.

The once-clean Nation's Capital is on its way to becoming a shockingly bad example of this air-pollution problem. Air pollution detectives are warning the Capital to prepare for denser smog unless officials act to muzzle multiplying sources of bad air.

In July, technicians atop a Government building tabulated a record .41 parts of oxidant per million parts of air—a third higher than the previous peak of .31 at the same air sampling station last October. A .25 factor is sufficient to cause watering eyes; smog-wracked Los Angeles generally records an oxidant level double the Washington reading.

In Washington, as in other urban areas, unburned gases from automobile exhausts and other sources, irradiated by sunlight, are chain reacting to form photochemical smog. Researchers for the first time recently demonstrated the development of true lung cancer, similar to human tumors, in mice subjected to ozonized gasoline, a simulated smog.

Creation of animal lung cancers with laboratory-created auto fumes strengthens the case of researchers who link mounting pollution to the increasing lung-cancer death rate among American men.

BRONCHITIS ON RISE

There is no unanimous agreement today. But even cautious observers can't dispute statistics showing that:

City dwellers run a 100-percent greater risk of developing lung cancer than rural residents (in cities over 1 million lung cancer is the cause of 29.4 deaths per 100,000 contrasted with a rate of 14.6 in rural areas).

Chronic bronchitis, the third leading killer in Great Britain and a leading cause of industrial absenteeism, is on the rise in this country.

Emphysema, a chronic incapacitating lung disease involving progressive loss of the breathing function and possible heart failure, has soared fivefold as a death cause in the past decade.

Sharp rises in Washington's pollution, coupled with forecasts of more to come, heighten the suspicion that motor vehicles are a chief villain in cities of similar makeup. The Nation's Capital is uniquely lacking in the type of heavy industry that empties pollutants into the air of other locales. Conversely, its 685,000 motor vehicles belch thousands of pounds of hydrocarbons and oxides of nitrogen into the air every year.

Nationally, motor vehicles annually foul the air with more than 170 billion pounds of carbon monoxide, 21 billion pounds of organic vapors, or unburned emissions known as hydrocarbons, and 4 billion pounds of smog-producing oxides of nitrogen. Add to this millions of pounds of aldehydes, sulfur compounds, organic acids and solids such as zinc, lead, and other metallic oxides and the problem becomes formidable.

Calculations of pollution from the Nation's 70 million motor vehicles (together with a projection of 100 million by 1970) 2 years ago prompted Congress to order a hurry-up study.

The report, made public recently, got scanty distribution.

COFACTOR IN CANCER

Preliminary evidence shows a tendency of chemical emissions—under sunlight—to change rapidly into compounds even more irritating than the "parent" substances. One of these experiments with simulated smog created lung cancers in mice.

Laboratory researchers infected a strain of mice with influenza virus. Upon recovery, groups of animals breathed either clean air or air containing ozonized gasoline. Other uninfected mice were identically exposed to either pure air or simulated smog.

When the results were in, the uninfected animals showed no change in their lungs. Mice infected with the flu and exposed to pure air showed symptoms associated with the lungs of city dwellers and heavy smokers. Strikingly, 30 percent of the animals which had been infected and exposed to laboratory smog had true cancers.

"It would appear, therefore, that there is evidence that air pollutants, related to vehicular emissions, play a role, at least as a cofactor, in the production of lung cancers under these conditions," says Dr. Richard A. Prindle, Deputy Chief of the U.S. Government's Air Pollution Division.

Moreover, the sex ratio of cancerous mice was 29 males compared to 9 females. This ratio is very similar to that found in humans and certainly wasn't the result of differing occupational or smoking habits in the test animal.

Scientists emphasize the ifs, buts, and maybes of auto fumes as a triggering cause of bronchial disease symptoms. Other air-pollution sources are implicated along with cars and trucks. But this much is clear about city living. When emphysema victims are placed in pure-air chambers, their breathing improves. Restored to their normal polluted city atmosphere, they show further deterioration of the breathing function.

ANTIFUME DEVICE

Emphysema's onsets, which are still a mystery, involve millions of tiny air sacs in the lungs. As the disease advances, several tiny sacs merge into a larger sac—somewhat in the manner that tiny bubbles unite to form a large bubble. This means less surface area for respiratory gas-exchange; and ultimately as both lungs are attacked, the victim's breathing is impaired. Among victims over 45 the death rate rises sharply—either from heart failure or pneumonia.

Laboratory experimenters have found a potentially significant effect of irritating pollutants on hairlike cilia lining the surfaces of respiratory passages. Normally, cilia sweep mucus and particles from the lungs. But exposure to urban pollution such as ozone and sulfur oxides slows down the beating of the cilia and consequently impedes their cleansing action. Some observers believe the slowdown explains the increased susceptibility to disease of laboratory animals preexposed to irritating gas pollutants.

Late last year, automobile manufacturers, responding to a warning by then Welfare Secretary Abraham Ribicoff, agreed to help reduce motor vehicle pollution. Consequently, when 1963 models soon begin rolling off the assembly lines they'll be equipped with a built-in antifume device called "blowby."

There is nothing new in the blowby technique. Such systems have been in fleet use for nearly 20 years in some commercial vehicles, taxis, and foreign cars. Test vehicles in Los Angeles County have run up 2 million miles with no adverse results or complaints. And recently, District of Columbia officials ordered blowby devices for its new cars and the General Service Administration, the Nation's housekeeping agency, is buying blowbys for Government vehicles. This is to cut pollution and to set a national example.

POINT FOR DEBATE

The blowby, at its simplest, is a pipe which returns unburned hydrocarbons from the crankcase to the engine. About 15 percent to 40 percent of the pollution attributed to motor vehicles escapes from the crankcase. Blowbys may reduce this pollution 25 percent on the average. The devices will not affect emissions escaping from the tailpipes.

A variety of other devices, called "afterburners," have been proposed to neutralize tailpipe emissions. Essentially, these are mufflers that oxidize carbon monoxide and unburned fuel in the exhaust gases through a catalytic process. But there are numerous problems thwarting uniform adoption by Detroit.

Initially, the blowby reduction of pollution will be slight. More than 60 million pre-1963 models will be unequipped because few motorists will voluntarily go out and buy the device. Until the Nation's old motor vehicle fleet is gradually replaced—perhaps in 6 years—crankcase pollutants will persist.

Another problem arises. With the mounting volume of cars and trucks, uncontrolled tailpipe emissions might well cancel out the blowby contribution.

This, along with other air pollution problems, is a point for debate here at a national "Let's clear the air" conference in December.

Findings of the auto-fumes study together with data from numerous other studies will add important weapons to the arsenal of Government pollution fighters.

Arthur G. Stern, executive secretary of the conference, told this reporter, "The truth is that we must begin now to clear the polluted air that too often blankets our cities or face the prospect of an increasing drain on our national health and welfare."

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## Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on September 24 I received from one of Ore-

gon's colorful personalities, a man beloved by many, a letter containing a very short but eloquent poem entitled "Liberty," which he has asked me to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Tom Graff, the author, has been a bomber pilot and a lawyer, but he prefers to consider himself as a practicing philosopher.

In this poem, he has distilled an emotion which many share and I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the poem to which I have alluded be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIBERTY

Let us guard with might our strand.
We do not want the night to stand,
A silent watch upon our land.
When there may be but sea and sand,
And not a single human hand.

## Report to the People of the 6th District of Oklahoma on the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, since my first term in Congress in 1941, it has been my practice to mail out, at the end of each session, an annual report. The 87th Congress has ended, and I am pleased to again send you this report.

During my 16 years in the House of Representatives, I have tried to represent the thinking and the best interests of the people in the district. In introducing bills, in speaking for or against any measure, or in voting on any legislation, the welfare of the people in the Sixth District, Oklahoma, and the Nation have always been my primary concern.

Looking back 20 months to the opening days of this 87th Congress, we see clearly that the legislative program has been successful on two fronts—a broad offense against Communist aggression and subversion, and a daring new offensave against distress, disaster, unemployment, and economic dislocation at home.

During these 2 years, Congress has been in session 18 months out of 24—a notable tribute to the dedication and devotion of all the Members of the Congress. Throughout these 2 years, we have hammered out in free debate all the great issues and problems of our day. And American constitutional government comes forth in new strength, vitality, and dedicated purpose.

The following are some of the important areas, which your Congressman participated in as your representative:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The 87th Congress, and the House Armed Services Committee, of which I have the pleasure to be a member, contributed substantially to modernizing and strengthening our military posture. We now have a new and awesome ability to respond to aggression throughout the world. In every kind of defense—brush fire engagement to nuclear exchange—our defense is prepared.

Our nuclear striking power provides a retaliatory force capable of survival even after a surprise attack. The 12 Atlas missiles in southwestern Oklahoma are ready for action.

MAJOR ENACTMENTS

The Revenue Act of 1962 represents the first major revision of our tax laws since 1954. This act provides a tax incentive to modernize and expand our present industries in order to take full advantage of the space age. This new act puts Oklahoma in the best possible position to lead this Nation in space-age industries.

The agriculture bills of 1961 and 1962 will enable us to produce the farm surpluses, and save over a billion dollars a year of the taxpayers' money in storage fees, and at the same time provide our people with an abundance of basic farm items at low cost, while raising the standard of living for Oklahoma family farms.

Our foreign aid program was completely revamped to emphasize long-term loans instead of outright grants.

We made the first major revision in our public welfare program since 1950, stressing rehabilitation and training instead of continued dependency.

Congress amended the Social Security Act, reducing the male retirement age, increasing the minimum monthly benefits, increasing the widow's benefits, and providing a more meaningful program for our elderly, our blind, and our dependent children.

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 marks a historic milestone in U.S. trade policy. It equips the American people with the tools to meet the challenge of the European Common Market, as well as expanded trade from the Communist world.

The Communications Satellite Act will lead to the creation of a joint public and private corporation which will usher in the age of instant worldwide communications.

The Manpower Development and Training Act seeks to provide industry with the trained manpower necessary to meet the challenge of automation and technological change. It is a new approach to full employment and business expansion.

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 is an act to advance the economic development of those areas which have for so many years suffered from heavy unemployment. Both Greer and Grady Counties in our district are now taking part in this program, with possible long-range benefits to all our counties.

Wages and hours have been protected further by the 1961 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act.

No less than 30 new laws have been enacted in these 2 years for the benefit of our war veterans.

Public works and military construction have been expanded and accelerated on every front—highways, homes for the aged, education and recreation facilities.

Public health has been protected by a comprehensive new law to police both the production and distribution of prescription drugs. Experimental drugs are brought under Federal inspection and license for the first time in history.

Juvenile delinquency has been attacked on the national front for the first time.

Through a new agency of the Government, the Peace Corps, we have added the dimension of education to our foreign aid program.

We also eliminated taxes on railroad and bus tickets and reduced the tax on airline tickets.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The economy is once more on the move, and we are taking steps forward instead of talking about recessions. Unemployment has been reduced by over 1 million; industrial production is up 15 percent; realized farm income is up $1 billion; and personal income is up 9 percent, or in other words, 9 cents more income on every dollar.

Congressional duties are not confined to legislation in my office, but also extend to giving personal assistance to constituents in their problems with the Federal Government. This often requires a great deal of time, and in every case involves personal investigation and discussions with the Federal agencies. I feel that this is my duty, and I am available to my constituents at all times. I have always said, "Just phone, wire, or write." I have always been as close to you as your telephone. I have a 95 percent attendance and voting record in Congress, but have spent as much time as possible with you in the district, while maintaining this record.

THE OKLAHOMA TEAM

The Oklahoma congressional delegation works as a team on all matters affecting our State and Nation. We have the strongest team of any State in the Union in the Congress. The progress we have made in the Sixth District is a result of a close, friendly, working relationship between our two outstanding U.S. Senators, BOB KERR and MIKE MONRONEY, and your Congressman.

## An Administrative Precedent for a Congressional Code of Ethics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, upon passage by the Senate recently of H.R. 8140, relating to the conflict-of-interest laws, I expressed my great disappointment at the failure of the Congress to face up to the problem of a code of ethics for itself.

I have introduced two measures to deal with this problem: First, Senate Con-

current Resolution 10 would establish a joint congressional committee to draft a comprehensive code. The other, S. 637, would attack at once a specific aspect of the problem, by making matters of public record communications from Members of Congress to administrative agencies in adjudicatory proceedings.

I am pleased to note that this problem is being faced on its own initiative by one agency, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which has just circulated among Members of Congress a new regulation issued as a result of a study by the Board, prohibiting certain ex parte communications altogether and requiring that the remainder be made a matter of public record. I believe this regulation is a valuable precedent and should be a spur to early congressional action on a similar provision uniformly applicable to all agencies. I ask unanimous consent to have the regulation printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the new regulation was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD No. 16,306, SEPTEMBER 24, 1962

TITLE 12. BANKS AND BANKING

*Chapter V. Federal Home Loan Bank Board*

Subchapter A. General

Part 510. Ex parte communications

*Resolved*, That the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, upon the basis of consideration by it of the advisability of amendment of the General Regulations of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (12 CFR, ch. V, subch. A) by the addition thereto of rules and regulations relating to ex parte communications as hereinafter set forth, and for the purpose of effecting such amendment, hereby amends said General Regulations by the addition thereto of a new part 10 as follows, effective October 29, 1962:

"PART 510—EX PARTE COMMUNICATIONS

"§ 510.1 Provisions relating to ex parte communications.

"(a) Introductory statement: Hearings scheduled by the Board on such matters as applications for permission to organize a Federal savings and loan association, for permission to establish or maintain a branch office of a Federal savings and loan association, or for insurance of accounts are not required by statute and are not subject to the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act. Such hearings are held for the benefit of the Board to assist it in reaching a decision. It is in the public interest that when such hearings or other hearings scheduled by the Board are held they be conducted in a fair and impartial manner.

"(b) Prohibited communications: Except as provided in paragraph (c) of this section, any ex parte communication, either written or oral, with respect to any matter scheduled by the Board for hearing by any person to any member of the Board, a hearing officer, or any employee participating in the decisional process with respect to such matter is prohibited pending final decision of such matter.

"(c) Exceptions: The provisions of this section shall not apply to the proposed adoption or repeal of, or amendment to, rules or regulations, to inquiries limited exclusively to the status of a pending matter or directed only to procedural questions relating to the conduct of the hearing, to reports or investigations made at the Board's request in any matter to which the provisions of section 5 of the Administrative Procedure Act are not applicable, or to information given to or obtained by the Board with respect to the character or responsibility of any applicant or any member or proposed member of any group of applicants in any matter to which the provisions of said section 5 are not applicable.

"(d) Action to be taken: (1) The recipient of any written communication made in contravention of the provisions of this section shall promptly transmit such communication to the Secretary of the Board. The recipient of any oral communication made in contravention of the provisions of this section shall immediately prepare a written statement of the substance of the communication and promptly transmit such statement to such Secretary. Such transmittal shall be accompanied by a written statement of the circumstances under which the communication was made, if such circumstances are not otherwise apparent.

"(2) The Secretary of the Board shall place all material so transmitted to him in the public record or, in the case of a matter to which the provisions of section 5 of the Administrative Procedure Act or the provisions of part 509 are applicable, transmit such material to the person or persons charged with presiding at the hearing, and shall transmit copies of all such material to all interested parties for comment or rebuttal. Any such comment or rebuttal by any person shall be delivered to the office of the Secretary of the Board within 10 days after such transmittal to such person unless the Board shall otherwise provide, and shall be placed by such Secretary in the public record or, in the case of a matter to which the provisions of said section 5 or of part 509 are applicable, shall be transmitted by such Secretary to the person or persons charged with presiding at the hearing. The Board may provide for such other or further action with respect to any such communication as it may in its sole discretion deem advisable.

"(e) Sanctions: A violation of any of the provisions of this section shall be good cause, in the sole discretion of the Board, for imposition of such sanctions as the Board may deem just and proper in the circumstances. (Sec. 17, 47 Stat. 736, as amended, sec. 5, 48 Stat. 132, as amended, secs. 402, 403, 48 Stat. 1256, 1257, as amended; 12 U.S.C. 1437, 1464, 1725, 1726, Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1947, 12 F.R. 4981, 3 CFR, 1947 Supp. Interprets or applies secs. 1 through 27, 5A, as added by sec. 1, 64 Stat. 256, 10b, as added by sec. 7, 49 Stat. 295, 47 Stat. 725, as amended, sec. 5, 48 Stat. 132, as amended, secs. 401 through 407, 408, as added by 73 Stat. 691, 48 Stat. 1255, as amended; 12 U.S.C. 1421–1425, 1425a, 1426–1430, 1430b, 1431–1447, 1464, 1724–1730, 1730a.)

*"Resolved further*, That, as said amendment relates to rules of agency procedure or practice, and is deemed to apply to rules of Board procedure or practice, notice and public procedure thereon are unnecessary under section 508.12 of the General Regulations of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (12 CFR 508.12) or section 4(a) of the Administrative Procedure Act."

By the Federal Home Loan Bank Board:

HARRY W. CAULSEN,
*Secretary.*

## California Housewife Suggests Proposal To Encourage Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a letter forwarded recently to President Kennedy by a California housewife, Mrs. C. L. Summers, of Pacific Palisades. Mrs. Summers makes a most interesting proposal in her letter which, if realized, could be very effective in the promotion of American principles and patriotism in these crucial times.

I am having her letter reprinted here because I believe it should be read by every Member of Congress, in fact by every American. It would serve to encourage all citizens to rededicate themselves to our flag and to the ideals it represents. The letter by Mrs. Summers reads as follows:

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.,
*September 5, 1962.*

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: My husband and I realized a lifelong ambition this week—we had a flagpole installed on the highest point of our property, overlooking the canyons below and the Santa Monica Mountains beyond, and there never was a prouder moment in our lives than when we hoisted our new 50-star Old Glory to the top of the 27-foot mast. It was all the Fourth of July's and Labor Days of our lives rolled into one—and as, with our son, we pledged anew our allegiance to that flag, we felt a tremendous surge of love and loyalty and kinship with and for this great land of America.

This task was not an easy one to accomplish. There seems to be so little individual demand for flagpoles of this size that no company is set up for supply. After much inquiry we finally located the pole (at a pipeline wholesaler) but they had no way of delivery or installation. We then had another long search for a contractor with a truck big enough to deliver the flagpole and the equipment necessary for the 6-foot deep installation that had to be done. From this point there were the matters of the painting of the pole, the necessary pulleys, the clips for the flag itself and the proper rope to make it all work. When the time finally arrived for the actual installation, it required a bevy of men to raise this mass of steel, set it straight and guywire it until the concrete was firmly set. We were inclined many times to abandon the whole project and be content with a 6-foot pole set in a bracket on the side of the house. However, our earnest desire for a real place setting to fly our country's colors overcame this inclination and now it is an accomplished fact.

Our experience has caused us to do a great deal of thinking along these lines and we have come to, what we consider, some pretty sound conclusions:

Since Betsy Ross stitched the first one to the raising at Iwo Jima, the Stars and Stripes have seen this country through many emergencies and disturbances. It has been the one symbol that Americans have continually revered. It represents all 190 million Americans and each individual American owns one 190 millionth part of it. We do particular honor to this symbol on June 14, Flag Day, and have other days set aside each year to fly it. But how many people do this? We always have, but I believe we're in a vast minority. About the only places flags are regularly flown are on local, State, and Government buildings and areas, some office buildings, and at sports events. That individual demand is low was proved by our difficulty in getting one. Now that it's up, however, so many within our area, neighbor or stranger, has commended us on our action and expressed a desire to do the same thing themselves.

So it would seem to us that rather than a single Flag Day a year, we should have a

complete Flag Year set up in this country and the whole idea be given the impetus of Government backing for flying our flag every single day of each year.

At a time when the whole world is in such chaotic state, when the cold war is so taut, when we lag so behind in space exploration, when our own country is so infiltrated by opposing dogma, what better way can Americans present a united front to the peoples of the world than by proudly, daily, with reverence and respect unfurling on high the symbol that represents all we stand for and would die for. It could so easily be the spark that is needed to tie all our own people together. So many want to exhort the fact that they are proud, sound Americans but do so by impassive means. To fly our country's flag with gusto is a physical means of expression that is most gratifying. It not only shows that "proudly we stand" but by inference carries on to "so proudly we stand for America and American principles and against communism." This could be our united physical demonstration against communism.

From a practical standpoint, a 27-foot flagpole set in front of every house on every street in the whole United States would be going a bit far. But a program could be evolved that would encompass all approaches, be it a neighborhood project, an area project, a single pole set in the middle of a housing project, enough alternatives so that everyone, every place has an individual claim on his part of the flying flag.

Instead of our Government underwriting billions for bomb shelters, why not finances for flags—a positive attitude rather than a negative one. Let it be set up through, say, the Post Office Department. They're always needing more revenue. This could be a way to get it. They could act as the mail-order house for supply. All flagpole installations could be claimed as income tax deductions.

If the Government cannot go into business this way, perhaps the program could be handled through the fire departments in each city. They're centrally located and with their tall ladders could be right useful in actual installations.

Procurement would have to be set up. This could cause a slight boom in the steel and bunting business for certainly procurement is not an easy thing at the moment.

Maybe even an upturn in employment would be noted for it takes a heap of doing to get a flagpole installed.

But—not meaning to be facetious and aside from the practical aspects of the project—we sincerely feel that a proclamation of a Flag Year by our President could be the spark that is needed at this moment to get our country and our people out of their present indolent expressions of patriotism and back into the channels of solid American thinking that were established in 1776.

If this meets with your approval, Mr. President, I would be most happy to work out all attendant aspects of the project.

Yours most sincerely,

Mrs. C. L. SUMMERS.

## Hon. Brent Spence

SPEECH

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have this opportunity to extend my personal good wishes to the Honorable BRENT SPENCE, who has announced his plans for retirement. It has been my great privilege to serve on the Committee on Banking and Currency under the chairmanship of Mr. SPENCE for the past 4 years. During this time I have come to understand why he has been held in such esteem by his colleagues and his constituents.

His wisdom, fairness, and patience in meeting his responsibilities have won for him the respect and affection of those who served with him. His great legislative accomplishments, during war and peace, will long be manifested in the laws of our country.

His impressive record of public service certainly entitles him to a happy and successful retirement. I join with my colleagues in extending him every good fortune.

## Railroad Investors Have Best Featherbed in the Transportation Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, recent Congresses have devoted substantial quantities of time, energy and research to the economic complaints of the American railroads. They have complained to us about everything from taxation, discriminatory subsidization of competing modes of transportation and overregulation, to and including the working rules which they themselves negotiated with their employees over the years. These rules they now call "featherbedding." The railroad propagandists have claimed that these rules alone cost them some $600 million a year. The net income of the railroads has averaged about $600 million in recent years, so it is fair for one to assume that the railroads could just about double their income if they could manipulate their employees at their will and without regard for the individual dignity and well-being of their work force.

Coincidentally with the close of Congress, Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the New York Times a table showing the dividends and yields of some 21 railroads which constitute substantially all of the major railroads except those in the northeast part of the country, which do have special competitive problems. That table shows that on the basis of market price this year investors are receiving magnificent returns running as high as 9 percent on their investment. The excerpt from the Times is as follows:

TRENDS IN RAILROAD SHARES NOTED

The following table compares the prices of leading railroad issues at their highs in 1959, the dividend paid then, and the yield at that high with this year's lows to date, the latest dividend rate, and the yield at the low:

| Railroad | 1959 high | 1959 dividend | Yield | 1962 low | Latest 12 months dividend | Yield |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Atchison | 32½ | $1.45 | 4.5 | 20½ | $1.20 | 5.9 |
| Atlantic Coast Line | 62½ | 3.00 | 4.8 | 31¾ | 2.00 | 6.3 |
| Canadian Pacific | 32¾ | 1.50 | 4.6 | 19¾ | 1.50 | 7.7 |
| Chesapeake & Ohio | 74¾ | 4.00 | 5.4 | 44½ | 4.00 | 9.0 |
| Chicago, Rock Island | 37¼ | 1.60 | 4.3 | 13⅝ | 1.05 | 7.8 |
| Delaware & Hudson | 33 | 2.00 | 6.1 | 12½ | .90 | 7.2 |
| Denver & Rio Grande Western | 21 | .96 | 4.6 | 15½ | 1.00 | 6.5 |
| Great Northern | 59⅞ | 3.00 | 5.0 | 35 | 3.00 | 8.6 |
| Gulf, Mobile & Ohio | 30¾ | 2.00 | 6.5 | 20⅜ | 1.50 | 7.4 |
| Illinois Central | 55¼ | 2.00 | 3.6 | 31¼ | 2.00 | 6.4 |
| Louisville & Nashville | 88 | 5.00 | 5.7 | 80 | 3.00 | 6.0 |
| Missouri Pacific, A | 52¾ | 2.40 | 4.6 | 35¼ | 2.40 | 6.8 |
| Nickel Plate | 36½ | 2.00 | 5.5 | 28 | 2.00 | 7.1 |
| Norfolk & Western | 108 | 4.70 | 4.4 | 85¼ | 4.00 | 4.7 |
| Northern Pacific | 57⅛ | 2.00 | 3.5 | 31⅛ | 2.20 | 7.1 |
| St. Louis-San Francisco | 27 | 1.00 | 3.7 | 13⅜ | 1.00 | 7.3 |
| Seaboard | 40¾ | 2.00 | 4.9 | 21 | 1.60 | 7.6 |
| Southern Pacific | 24¾ | 1.06 | 4.3 | 21⅛ | 1.20 | 5.5 |
| Southern Ry | 60¾ | 2.80 | 4.6 | 44 | 2.80 | 6.4 |
| Union Pacific | 38⅜ | 1.60 | 4.2 | 27½ | 1.20 | 4.4 |
| Western Pacific | 27¼ | 1.00 | 3.7 | 18¼ | 1.00 | 5.5 |

If the railroads are permitted to eliminate employees on an industrywide basis, the speculators in railroad securities in the year 1962 will be able to increase yields, on the basis of this list, from a minimum amount of 8.8 percent to as high as 18 percent each year, because the net income of the railroads would just about double if everything that the railroads say about their work rules is true.

These figures indicating the yield to a current investor are certainly a much more realistic indicator of the prospects of capital in a railroad enterprise than are the self-serving figures showing net railway operating income as a percent of net investment in railway property used in transportation service, which is the figure that the railroad propagandists offer to demonstrate their impoverishment.

Judging from these figures it is indeed unfortunate that the financial structure of the railroad industry was not thoroughly examined at the time that the executive branch established the Presidential Railroad Commission to study work rules. If one is willing to sacrifice human values, any service enterprise can be made more efficient and productive. It is now an official finding in the report of the Presidential Railroad Commission that—

Operating employees have had to adjust to a way of life which is in many ways different from the pattern of employees in outside industry. They are subject to call at irregular hours, round the clock; many of them cannot accommodate their time away from duty to the normal family program of free

Sundays and evenings. Many of them must spend considerable time at distant terminals, away from their families and communities. They work out of doors regardless of weather, in the desert heat, or pouring rain, or amid snow and ice. Until they have achieved very considerable seniority they are subject to irregularity of employment and often to extensive furloughs.

Nothing should be done to disturb the job security and seniority of these employees on an industrywide basis where the result is going to be to place windfall profits and inflated incomes in the pockets of superfeatherbedding speculators. This problem can only be solved on a regional basis or individual system basis because of the wide disparity in railroading problems and economic health in the industry.

Before railroad workers as a class are singled out for special liquidation treatment their particular employer should be required to establish that it is, in fact, in such dire financial straits that all employment on that particular railroad would be jeopardized unless the work rules were changed.

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## Address of Sam Rose, Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. Sam Rose, chief contact officer of the Veterans' Administration, delivered to the 35th annual convention of the Fleet Reserve Association on September 24, 1962, at Memphis, Tenn.:

I am happy to bring you the warm greetings of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Mr. John S. Gleason, Jr.

I must tell you that it is a wonderful feeling to be with you once again. I am reminded of a young lady who was filling out a Government job application. When she came to the section on "Veterans Preference," without hesitation she wrote "sailors." It is no wonder.

It is a distinct honor to address such a distinguished group of dedicated Americans as the Fleet Reserve Association—composed of career enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps.

Yours is an outstanding organization; yours is a growing organization—with a willingness to fight for the best interests of the U.S. Navy, your shipmates, and their families. You have also fought for measures to keep America free, to keep America strong, to keep it growing. You can be proud of the fact that you have not only helped those that belong to the FRA but also any other shipmate or his widow who needs a helping hand.

The Veterans' Administration holds your organization and your ideals in highest esteem. For you are distinguished not only by your exploits in combat in time of war, but equally by your many contributions in time of peace and also by the constancy of your patriotism in these difficult times.

Your group proudly wears a badge of courage and honor that your membership—by service and sacrifice—so richly deserves.

During the past years I have traveled all over the country, from coast to coast, numbering thousands of miles, to address you. I wouldn't miss it for the world. However, please don't schedule your next national convention on the moon because I wouldn't know how to fill out a proper travel request.

At the outset, I would like to take a moment to mention the splendid relationship that the Veterans' Administration has enjoyed with your executive staff in Washington, D.C.—your good will ambassadors, Fred J.Scanlan, Schuyler Fyle, Glenn Claser, and Jack Knowles. They have the respect of respect of the VA officials in central office. Their cooperation and deep understanding of our mutual problems have contributed substantially to the Veterans' Administration programs which, as you know, affect virtually every segment of the United States.

Of the 186 million Americans, almost 31 million are veterans, members of veteran families, or survivors of deceased veterans. Thus, about 45 percent of this Nation's total population are men, women, and children who are potentially eligible to receive VA services and benefits.

The veteran population has increased almost fivefold since the VA was established as an independent agency. At the end of June 1962 there were more than 22.2 million veterans, compared with 4.7 million in 1930.

I am here today to review a few of the highlights of VA activities during the past year. I do hope you will find this report interesting, informative, and more important, heartening. For these are not bare statistics; these are symbols of a nation's remembrance.

Did you ever stop to think what a gigantic responsibility it is to manage this large, sprawling, many-sided organization we call the VA? Biggest hospital network in the Western Hemishphere; third largest ordinary life insurance company in the United States, with almost 6 million policyholders; a GI loan program under which VA guaranteed mortgages or made direct loans of nearly $55 billion; education, training, and vocational rehabilitation programs that have benefited almost 11 million veterans—about the total population of the States of Texas and Arizona; and an annual budget of more than $5 billion. From this, the VA disburses $3½ billion a year in disability and death compensation and pension payments to 3.1 million ex-servicemen and the widows and dependent parents of over 1 million deceased veterans. I was rather surprised to learn—and perhaps you will be, too—that the VA, the largest of the independent agencies of the U.S. Government, is bigger than 8 of the 10 Cabinet departments.

Yes, it is a big job. It is a stimulating job—and it is deeply satisfying, too, not because of the numbers but because of the individuals. It gives one a warm feeling to know he has been of help to a veteran or his family. This is a job placed in our hands by the Congress and it is certainly up to us to see that the responsibility is carried out in an efficient, sympathetic, and understanding manner.

The veterans we serve—their widows, orphans, and dependent parents—are not file numbers nor case folders nor faceless numbers of something we vaguely call mankind; they are people—with human problems—who have turned to VA for assistance.

All VA benefits, especially for the disabled veterans and survivors of deceased veterans, are part of a single pattern of life and hope; they contribute to restoring the opportunity that is the birthright of all Americans.

To bring facts into focus, allow me to outline some of the functions of the VA.

Health, it is said, is the second blessing—the first being good conscience. I think that is why we, who are so deeply involved with medical care and rehabilitation, receive such satisfaction from our work—for we concern ourselves with our fellowmen. Thus, while dispensing the second blessing of health, we achieve the first blessing of good conscience.

Those interested in veterans' affairs have every reason to be proud of the VA's medical and hospital program, not only because of the excellent care afforded, but also because of the tremendous contribution the VA has made to the health and welfare of all mankind through constant medical research.

The Department of Medicine and Surgery of the VA operates the largest single medical program in the United States. It consists of 170 hospitals, 18 domiciliaries, and 93 outpatient clinics. Last year, it provided 42 million days of hospital care to over 675,000 veterans. How can you translate 42 million days of tender, loving care in terms of better health, brighter hope, longer life, greater productivity? You can't.

The VA has its eyes focused on the future. Right now in our hospitals and clinics, we have over 7,000 research projects underway—many of which are of particular interest to the aging veteran and from any one of which may come discoveries of vital importance to all of mankind. The results of VA's studies, I might add, are no secret; they are published widely so that all mankind might benefit. There's a great VA contribution to health and medical progress.

Another area where considerable progress has been made is insurance. The VA operates the third largest life insurance company in the United States. There are approximately 6 million policies in force which have a face value of over $40 billion.

Take this matter of GI insurance—and the desirability of keeping your beneficiary designations up to date. Time never stands still. There are marriages, divorces, births, and deaths. In too many cases, VA has had to pay insurance proceeds to someone other than the veteran's immediate family—because the policyholder did not keep his beneficiary designations current. It's your insurance and your responsibility.

Our country is great because it is founded on a belief in its people. Our greatness is rooted in reliance on the people—in trust in their good sense and in the great power of their unfettered energies. As Thomas Jefferson put it, "responsibility is a tremendous engine of free government." Therefore, when the war was over, America offered its veterans a chance to assume responsibility, through the GI bill.

It offered them a chance for greater education, and 11 million took that opportunity. And we were—and continue to be—much the richer.

From the GI bill, we gained 460,000 engineers, 360,000 schoolteachers, 276,000 doctors, dentists, nurses and other badly needed medical specialists, and nearly 150,000 scientists. Hundreds of thousands of others raised the level of already existing skills or learned new skills that helped make the productivity of American workers the highest in the world.

The vision of Congress in passing the GI bill is today paying dividends in helping us to meet the complex challenges of the 1960's and also adding billions to our tax intake through higher incomes.

Another example of veterans' responsibilities was in the field of GI housing. Before the war we were not, generally speaking, a nation of homeowners. Now we are. Just another example of how veterans took advantage of the opportunity offered to them by the GI bill. You did it in a responsible way—fantastically so, in fact. Already over 1,800,000 GI home loans with a total value of $11.7 billion—that's right, $11.7 billion—have been paid back in full.

Offered the chance to be responsible homeowners, you took it. And in so doing, the

great sums expended in the construction of homes, and schools, and shopping centers, and needs, and thousands of other items gave our economy a tremendous boost.

I could go on and on with many other examples, for I know in great detail of the responsible ways veterans have used their benefits to help themselves and help America.

Veterans have made us stronger when we needed strength. Veterans have made us more confident in our ability to defend the right when we needed that confidence. Veterans have made us richer and more powerful at a time when we needed that wealth and that power. Collectively and individually, veterans are a tower of strength in our national scene. One major reason for the great role veterans have played in America is the dedication of veterans organizations such as the Fleet Reserve Association. May you continue to inspire us. May you continue—both by your example, and by your concern for others—to be a force for good to our beloved Nation.

Thank you for having me aboard.

## Tribute to Reed College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. WAYNE MORSE**
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I believe it appropriate to bring to the attention of the Senate by way of background material on higher education legislation the excellent address of the former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare during the convocation which commemorated the 50th anniversary of Reed College in Portland, Oreg., last September 30.

In addition to paying to Reed the high compliments which this great educational institution deserves—compliments I might add, I wholly associate myself with—Mr. Ribicoff used the occasion to speak of our national commitment to the education of our young men and women.

Throughout the thoughtful presentation the then Secretary time and again reiterated the major theme that our survival as a nation, our investment in the future, depends upon the plans we now make for the strengthening of the American educational system to meet the serious national needs of the decades ahead. He pointed out:

In this complicated and competitive world there is no asset greater than the brainpower of our people.

The generations of Americans in our schools represent the reservoir of talent and ability being shaped for enrollment into an effective instrument for the attainment of our national goals, foreign and domestic. What we in the next few years do will help to determine what the United States can do 20 years hence.

I am confident that the Senate will measure up to this responsibility in this important field of our national life.

Mr. President, in bringing to the attention of the Senate this major address by former Secretary Ribicoff I cannot permit the opportunity to pass without adding my own deeply felt word of thanks to him for his appearance at Reed's 50th anniversay convocation. Oregonians everywhere are exceedingly proud of the magnificent record that this private institution has made since its inception. The student body though small in numbers, over the years has nevertheless in terms of its graduates exercised an influence of greater magnitude than its numbers might suggest. It is committed to the value of the liberal arts as the foundation for successful participation in the life of the national community. By his appearance Mr. Ribicoff has paid tribute to all such institutions of high intellectual caliber maintained under private auspices by alumni and philanthropic endowment. Institutions such as Reed provide an irreplaceable intellectual yeast which does much to invigorate all higher education.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address by the former Secretary Abraham Ribicoff.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, FORMER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

A large measure of faith and courage once brought thousands of settlers over the Oregon Trail to this land of opportunity.

A large measure of faith and courage lived on in their descendants, who achieved great progress where the high dry plains of the West meet the green valleys and snow-crowned coastal mountains.

With industry and skill, and the help of their fellow citizens throughout the country, they harnessed the powerful forces of nature—the broad rivers, the shimmering waterfalls, the vast fields and forests. They created busy industry and far-reaching commerce.

Half a century after this State was founded with the same qualities of faith, of courage, of industry and skill which characterized the early settlers, the founders of this college strove to nurture the talent of the youth of the great Northwest.

Today we celebrate the 50th anniversary of Reed College. In a very special way, this college embodies the spirit of Oregon and of the West. This college also embodies a tradition of culture and scholarship which was thousands of years old before Lewis and Clark traveled through the beautiful Columbia River Valley.

Small in size, yet large in principle, Reed has attained in these 50 years a place of honor in the first rank of American educational institutions. Its record in the academic community and in contribution to our national life is one of which all of you in this audience are rightfully proud.

You know that Reed has produced many distinguished scientists, college and university teachers, and scholars in the social sciences and humanities. You know that Reed graduates have won scholarships for further research and study in numbers far out of proportion to the size of their college. You know that Reed has won public and private support usually reserved for larger graduate institutions. And you know that your campus provides a stimulating and enriching educational experience—that your undergraduates are producing evidence of mature and creative study.

But beneath this surface record lies a deep understanding and a stern commitment which is of real interest to the larger national community, as we face up together to the facts of here and now.

Reed has always understood that education is a serious business. This college has had little patience for the unprepared, the uninterested, the unreceptive "student," who sees his college years as four long golden opportunities for white-shoe merriment and occasional culture dabbling.

Reed has always recognized that its job is to help young people understand, to help them achieve. It strives to imbue its students with the desire for excellence, to enable each of them to fulfill his individual potential.

And while it has not ignored the importance of quantity—witness the numbers of outstanding graduates and faculty—it has stressed the quality of result, the value of a job well done.

What is more, Reed has required of its students a measure of self-discipline and self-analysis not always evident in even our better colleges. A young man or woman who arrives on this campus has put away childish things. He is asked to see through the glass clearly—to pursue his path independently—to be self-demanding and thus to gain self-respect.

He is asked to commit himself stoutheartedly, as his college has committed itself, to the achievement of a broad education equal to his ultimate responsibilities, an education which embraces the sciences as well as the humanities.

Here then, at Reed College in the State of Oregon, I would like to speak about our national commitment to the education of our young people. And I would like to reflect for you, and for citizens across the land, a bit of the thinking of this administraiton as we struggle with this problem which is so intimate to the life of each of us.

I say struggle advisedly. For as you know, we have just emerged from a struggle in behalf of better schooling for America's children. We did not achieve our objectives; this struggle will continue. But most disturbing were the emotions and arguments that befogged our efforts to convey a sense of the growth of our national problems and the urgency of solving them promptly.

In the end we will succeed. The American people want their children to receive an excellent education. But they do not connect the improvement of our schools and colleges with the world crisis which now confronts us.

True, the concept of education is an intangible one. It is difficult to see schools and teachers as a first line of defense, like guns or missiles. So the people do not realize that the defeat of any proposal for a higher quality of education—be it in a town, a State, or a nation—threatens our strength as a nation. They do not realize that the loser in such a defeat is not the administration but, as President Kennedy has put it, "the schoolchildren who need this assistance."

The people of this Nation have not made a firm commitment to the idea of education of the highest quality. When school bonds are voted down in our school districts or board of education budgets are slashed, there is little righteous indignation heard from parents. When States do not meet their responsibilities to colleges and universities, little is said. When urgently needed legislation is stalled in a congressional committee by a single vote, the public does not make its voice heard.

Each defeat for an improvement in our education system leaves us with problems of ever-growing proportions. Yet too few in the land seem troubled.

Those who seek, by their own words, to bury us have realized that education is the first step toward national strength and power.

Let me give you one clear example of what happens when a nation decides to meet a national goal. Ten years ago the Russians were graduating 36,000 engineering students.

They decided they needed more. Last year they graduated 108,000—a threefold increase. In this country our comparable figure 10 years ago was 58,000. We faced great needs too, yet last year our total of engineering degrees awarded actually dropped to 45,000.

But is is not simply a question of numbers. The Communists are giving systematic attention and major emphasis to training for goals consistent with their ideals. They are identifying every child with talent in their society, and funneling that talent in the direction which most benefits the state at any given time.

We see the results in such stories as that of the Soviet spaceman, Maj. Gherman S. Titov. As Ralph McGill points out, Titov's talents were spotted in Siberia 2,200 miles east of Moscow, years ago. His mathematics and science teachers recommended him. He chose aeronautical science.

The Soviet Union does not kid around. It wants to train such talents to strengthen the objectives of communism. Russia's leaders would never be so foolish as to ignore the value of a first-rate, trained mind.

When they see a gifted boy or girl they tap him: "Gherman," they say, "you are a smart boy. We want you. And we want to train you to do what you are best fitted to do."

We only say, "Johnnie, you are a smart boy. You will go far." We do not tap Johnnie, encourage and make sure he becomes an engineer—if that is what he is best fitted for—or an architect—if that is what he can be best—or a doctor.

We stick to the theory that the sum total of our diverse individual aims and aspirations will somehow add up to a solution of our national purpose to remain a free, strong, proud society.

We have no way of being sure the abilities and talents of thousands of youngsters now in high school or moving toward high school, will in fact become a national asset.

In this country, we do not and should not force people to do what they do not want to do or to learn what they do not want to learn. But we must insure every student every opportunity he needs to develop his talents to the fullest.

Many people even fear the so-called tidal wave of students that has already inundated our elementary and secondary schools and fast approaches the gates of our institutions of higher education. We fear lest these gates become floodgates, holding back the flow of eager young people who aspire to self-fulfillment and whose abilities the Nation so badly needs.

In this country each year between 60,000 and 100,000 high school graduates in the top 30 percent of their class fail to go on to college, because of lack of funds. And about 60,000 students leave college for that reason.

Some lack just the funds for tuition. If there is no college nearby, others may need board and room. Or some have parents—not, perhaps, college graduates themselves—who may insist that they go to work or may simply not encourage and urge them to go on with their studies.

So we lose our future spacemen or teachers or scientists or doctors or lawyers or engineers or even, if you will, politicians and legislators and Cabinet officers and even perhaps a President.

Then there is another side of the coin. Our colleges are expecting fantastic jumps in enrollment.

College enrollments are expected to rise by more than 1 million in the next 5 years, an increase of about 30 percent. In 1960 fall enrollments in institutions of higher education were 3.6 million. This fall many colleges are reporting the biggest undergraduate student bodies in their histories.

And this is only the beginning of the beginning. The colleges will really start exploding when the post World War II babies are ready for college. Projections of 1970 enrollments range from 5.2 million to 6.9 million and of 1975 enrollments from 5.9 to 8.6 million.

Remember, we're not guessing here, these figures do not represent idle speculation. The college class of 1980 has already been born.

Some people dismiss the seriousness of these figures. They say that the Nation is growing and there are naturally more college-aged children.

But they fail to realize the relentless pressure on our colleges is caused by an exciting change in our social pattern and in our values.

In the lifetime of many of us in this room, a grade school education was the norm, a high school education the exception. That rarity, a college education, was for the fortunate few.

In 1904 enrollments in colleges were only 4 percent of our college-aged boys and girls; by 1961 that figure had increased to 38 percent. The point is not only that there are more college-age youth in this country than ever before, but an ever-increasing percent of this growing group wants to go to college.

And why be alarmed? Isn't this all to the good, since we want more educated people in our land?

It would be to the good, except for the fact that our colleges and universities are in no way ready to educate these new millions of students.

Our colleges and universities need new and better facilities for students. They need more space for research and for laboratories. They need to make better and more intensive use of the space they now have—so that they can accommodate more and a greater variety of students, for we are demanding better students of everything—from mechanical drawing to African linguistics. Between now and 1965 the Nation's institutions of higher education must spend $9 billion on physical plant.

Our colleges and universities also need to improve the quality of their teaching—the content of their courses—they need more faculty. They need to establish more 2-year colleges, more community colleges and middle-level technical institutes and institutes for high-level vocational training. For we need a society of citizens trained at every level to do what they are doing well. And right now in the presence of widespread unemployment, large numbers of technical and semitechnical jobs are unfilled because of lack of skilled manpower.

In many, many ways, then, we need to help our colleges and universities so that they, in turn, can tackle the most important task of our time: giving every child an equal chance to develop his interests and personality, regardless of race, regardless of religion, regardless of anything except his own abilities.

This is a task made even more challenging and even more important by the fact that in this time of rapid change, we must teach students how to think about problems which are not yet formulated, when we don't yet know what methods to use.

In spite of all these challenges, we failed this past summer to help our schools and colleges and universities—and hence our young people and our Nation.

Now we must shift gears. Now we must change. Now we must recognize that our very survival—our investment in the future—depends on our making plans for an educational system that will both meet our serious national needs and our diverse individual needs.

Can this be done?

I think it can. I think it must. And in rethinking our educational plans and goals, I believe we must make sure that we educate well-rounded young men and women who have a unified knowledge of the whole of our mid-20th century culture.

For, unfortunately, there is a great split in the intellectual life of our country—and, in fact, in that of the whole of the Western World. Two great cultures—the sciences and humanities—are growing up which scarcely know each other.

Many thoughtful people have commented on this. The British scientist and novelist, C. P. Snow, who has explored it cogently, warns that between the "two cultures" grows "a gulf of mutual incomprehension—sometimes (particularly among the young) hostility and dislike, but most of all lack of understanding."

All of us have observed this. It sometimes seems to me that my scientist friends speak a different language than I or my nonscientist friends do. An able lawyer friend of mine recently complained that during his college days he used to sit down at the lunch table with a group of engineering students and not have anything to say to them at all. And I know a college girl today—a social science major—who doesn't even like to date a chemistry major who is her current suitor, for fear silence will prevail throughout the evening. They have different interests—even, perhaps, different ways of thinking. They are taking completely different courses. She is concerned with politics and government, painting and literature. And though he is a brilliant scientist whom professors admire, he has read little outside his field and doesn't know or care too much about who wins elections or which political party is in power.

And, on the other side, I am the first to admit that the man in our society who is not trained in the sciences is abysmally ignorant of the world of the scientist. He has no knowledge—no understanding—of the great scientific methods or principles which now affect our every moment on this earth.

And why is this mutual incomprehension so important? Why is it a joke that is no longer funny—a terrible loss to all of us?

Because it is the sicentists whose progress and ideas dominate our modern world. And the affairs of the countries of this world—whether in government, education, industry, or business are rarely controlled by scientists. Indeed they are rarely controlled by people with any experiences in the sciences at all.

Again, the humanities "certainly preserve and create values," as the Nobel Laureate Prof. Isador Rabi puts it, "they express symbolic, poetic and prophetic qualities of the human spirit. Without the humanities we would not be conscious of our history; we would lose many of our aspirations and the graces of expression that move men's hearts." But the scientist, with his intensely specialized training, too often lacks the depth and understanding which come from a wide knowledge of the humanities.

In Washington—in this year of 1961—this is seen starkly. An increasing amount of Government business is concerned with science. And Government officials, usually trained in social sciences and law, find it difficult to communicate with others, who are trained in the sciences.

A top scientist who has often served as a consultant to the Government, a man of truly broad interests, once told me of the tremendous frustration he has occasionally felt when he presented scientific issues for decision to able and intelligent men who have little comprehension of the intensely specialized points under discussion.

He says his colleagues, as highly educated men, all have some understanding of, say, economcs. But not of the sciences which now enter decisions of urgent concern to us all. And he finds his fellow scientists sometimes lack the breadth and judgment that

come only from a broad familiarity with literature and public affairs. The ability to make such broad judgments is also necessary in making great modern decisions in the public interest.

An educated man today must be a complete man. The physicist finds that some of the secrets of nature are bound up with international law; the man of letters finds that the human emotions he portrays are strongly involved with chemistry; the political man finds that he is spending a large segment of the Nation's wealth on cosmic physics or medical research; the businessman finds that his profits are very much affected by developments in foreign fields and foreign lands.

And when all is said and done, it is the man of vision—the creative man, if you will—who translates the world of today for his contemporaries—and for his descendants. It is the artist who mirrors the spiritual character of a nation and its peoples and gives them a way of expressing the meaning and the purpose of their existence. Indeed, Jules Verne reminds us that the artist can even point the direction to science.

As we strive to identify more effectively the talents of our youngsters—as we encourage young people to serve their Natoin as well as themselves—let us strive also to close the gap between the two cultures. Let us not have thousands of intelligent people, and indeed a whole national leadership, with little understanding of the scientific revolution. And let us not have thousands of people—perhaps, eventually, a great number of our national leaders—who can scarcely be described as intelligent because, though they are highly trained in the sciences, they have neglected the arts and the humanities.

Here at Reed College, you have maintained a closely knit academic community in which scholars pursuing diverse objects have worked closely together. The physical sciences and the natural sciences and the humanities have been on speaking terms, even on gossiping terms.

This is an exciting, even a challenging, situation. For it seems to me that it is the small colleges like this one that must point the way for the rest of us and show us how we can best bridge the gap between the two cultures.

The large universities have their special great contributions to make to our national life. But when a university is so big that the engineering faculty sits miles away from the law or fine arts faculty, it often hesitates to experiment with new ways—new patterns—of interdisciplinary teaching or research.

Cannot the Reeds of this country try such new ways and seek such new patterns? Can they not create diversified intellectual communities, wherein their students and teachers are exposed to study and research in fields quite remote from those in which they receive their academic credentials?

Many colleges and universities are trying to blend the two traditions, Professor Rabi tells us. But "we pour a little of this and a little of that into the student's mind. We then hope that somehow the ingredients will combine through some mysterious alchemy and the result will be a man, educated, well rounded and wise. Most often, however, these ingredients remain well separated in the compartmentalized mind."

What is needed is unified teaching by wise men and women who know—through refresher courses or other means—what is going on in each other's worlds. The scientist would then teach in a world in which men live—and hope, tomorrow, to breathe. The nonscientist would understand the wisdom of the scientific tradition and its accomplishments.

In spite of our need for more and better educated men and women of every kind, many people assume that it is wrong and unnecessary for us to work together to improve ourselves.

This is quite wrong. I challenge the assumption that we will always muddle through. I believe we have to set our sights on what we want and firmly resolve to pursue it. In this complicated and competitive world there is no asset greater than the brainpower of our people.

With the same faith and courage our forebears showed here in Oregon—with the same intellect and skill shown here at Reed College—can we create one strong culture, not so much because we fear our enemies as that we believe in our future?

There are still before us a host of unmet needs in education. And there may be many who prefer to wait until some fantastic achievement by our competitors, like the orbiting of sputnik, again defies the imagination and spurs the sleepiest among us on.

I say we cannot wait. We must not.

Let the imagination of the sixties be captured by our actions. Let us show the world and show ourselves that a free democratic society can achieve a quantity and quality of education undreamed of on this planet. Let us set this high a goal for in truth we can afford to achieve no less.

Can we continue to educate larger and larger numbers of young people—in the spirit of the American dream—and to give them a more unified background?

Our answer cannot be "No." It must be "Yes." And it must be a "yes" given—even shouted—with belief, and with a firm, a stern commitment. I ask the help of you in this audience and of all the colleges of America, in making such a commitment to our Nation and its future.

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## My Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Al Smith once said, "Let's look at the record." Even the unfriendly New York Times on the 4th of July 1956, had to state, "The fighter for civil rights, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., the country's most vocal crusader for Negro rights." This I have consistently tried to be all my life—fighting for the rights of all peoples, especially minorities, and especially those of my congressional district—Puerto Ricans and Negroes.

On October 15, 1962, the New York Times had a full-page analysis of the voting record of all of the Members of Congress on what the New York Times considered "the seven major issues in Congress." Four Congressmen from New York, incidentally all Republicans, were not recorded on several of these major issues by the New York Times. But the New York Times did state that ADAM CLAYTON POWELL was recorded on each and every issue.

The AFL–CIO's voting record indicates that POWELL's record on labor issues is 100 percent correct. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in the October issue of the Crisis, picked the important votes in the field of civil rights, and POWELL's record was perfect.

On October 8, 1962, the White House wrote me as follows:

> The contribution of your Committee on Education and Labor has enhanced substantially the legislative accomplishments of the past 2 years.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, in the New York Post on February 18, 1962, said:

> But he's doing a fine job, a fine job. * * * The answer for northern liberals is to keep sending their good men back.

The Library of Congress stated upon the query from my office, "The most bills enacted into law by any major committee of the House of Representatives came from the Committee on Education and Labor under Chairman POWELL"—15 laws in 15 months. Under me, this committee enacted 18 laws signed by the President of the United States and reported 18 other bills to the Rules Committee for further action.

Now let's look at the record:

I. SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE AREA OF EQUALITY IN EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

Investigations and hearings conducted by the Committee on Education and Labor have revealed that equal opportunities in education and employment are vital to the development of America and indispensable to the economic survival of minority groups.

Among the key accomplishments of my committee in this area are:

IN GOVERNMENT

First. In May 1962 my office received a complaint from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, that a nonwhite delegate on the payroll of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare attending a medical convention in Atlanta, Ga., was subjected to discriminatory treatment. I sent a telegram to Secretary Ribicoff requesting that he, first, forthwith direct the withdrawal of all Federal employees from this program; and, second, that the necessary directives be issued to insure the termination of such discriminatory practices.

Within 1 hour after receipt of my telegram, the Secretary issued an order to all of his officers throughout the country terminating the discriminatory practices and forwarded a copy to my office.

On June 22, 1962, I received a letter from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference stating:

> The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Negro people of Atlanta are eternally grateful for * * * your forthright actions in calling a halt to the U.S. Government's participation in a segregated conference here in Atlanta Ga. * * * We are sure that without your aid in this incident of our protest against segregation * * * nothing would have happened.

Second. After investigation and hearing by my committee, the U.S. Department of Labor, District of Columbia Apprenticeship Training Council, admitted that each application on file for apprenticeship training was coded to reflect the racial identity of the applicant. As a result of this disclosure, the Secretary of Labor immediately abolished this system of recording.

Third. After our investigation of the National Guard, the Pentagon, Washington, D.C., it was revealed that of the 86 officers assigned to the Bureau, there were no nonwhites. Following this communication and as a direct result of my investigation three nonwhite officers were assigned to the National Guard Bureau.

Fourth. During the course of FEPC hearings by the committee, a representative of the NAACP testified as to discriminatory actions by the State employment office located in Dallas, Tex. Upon receipt of the testimony, and during the course of the hearings, I dispatched a team of investigators to Dallas, Tex., who confirmed the allegation made at the hearing. An order was immediately issued by the State employment agency in Texas terminating the discriminatory practices.

Fifth. On November 29, 1961, I addressed a letter to the President of the United States, stating:

After almost 1 year of trying to work out this problem with the Pentagon, I must now appeal to you. Members of the Defense Establishment continue to use not only the question of the individual's race, but also the race of his spouse. Repeated objections by me have met with no success.

On December 13, 1961, I received a reply from Alfred B. Ditt, Deputy Under Secretary—Manpower—stating:

The requirement that a married service school applicant state his wife's race, if different from his own, will be dropped.

Sixth. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Abraham Ribicoff, appearing before my committee, adopted the Powell amendment and pledged that Federal funds would be withheld from certain schools practicing segregation. The Department of Justice supported the Secretary and the committee by instituting the suits.

OUR CHILDREN

As a result of the first legislation in the field of juvenile delinquency which was reported by my committee, central Harlem has received a sizable grant. This project will provide opportunities for the children and youth of our community to be directed into worthwhile activities and will help to eliminate the growing problems of juvenile delinquency in our area.

Through the utilization of a domestic service corps, a new and entirely creative program will come to the people of Harlem. In accepting the plan, representatives of the Department of Justice hailed this project as a pioneer in an important arena of American life.

KEY NEGRO APPOINTEES IN THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION FROM NEW YORK CITY

Through my efforts at least 17 persons from the city of New York received top-level appointments in the Kennedy administration, with salaries totaling approximately $250,000.

THROUGHOUT THE NATION

As of September 1961, over 65 nonwhites had been appointed to positions ranging from $10,000 to $20,000 a year. A leading official in the Democratic Party involved in these appointments stated:

ADAM POWELL has played a key part in every one of these appointments.

IN INDUSTRY

First. The Harlem liquor dispute had been the source of deep tension between the liquor industry and the Harlem community for the past 15 years. As a direct result of my entrance into the matter the dispute was settled on January 4, 1962. The settlement provided for an additional $15 million in gross sales and over $400,000 in commissions to nonwhite salesmen.

Second. The committee caused the reemployment of 260 workers—including nonwhite—by the Interstate Container Corp., New York City, after committee investigation revealed that the discharge had been unreasonable.

Third. The committee's investigation revealed unfair treatment and other abuses involving migratory laborers by crew leaders in Riverhead, Long Island, New York City, and Glassboro, N.J.

The New York State Employment Service advised the committee that this condition would not reoccur and that a close scrutiny of all migratory labor camps under their jurisdiction would be maintained.

Fourth. The investigation of the committee revealed that the Aluminum Corp. of America and its subsidiary, Wear-Ever, Inc., discriminated in its hiring policy. Through the efforts of the committee, the company announced that as of January 12, 1962, the company hired its first nonwhite salesman and discontinued its discriminatory credit policy.

II. ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE FIELD OF LABOR

First. Investigation and intervention by the committee led to the acceptance of two Negro carpenters by Local No. 2710, United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, New York City; and caused the acceptance of a nonwhite youth into apprenticeship training by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, Washington, D.C.

Second. After investigation and hearing, it was revealed that the Consolidated Edison Co., of New York conducted a pattern of discrimination in hiring and promotion with respect to minority groups.

This revelation caused the company to announce a new policy granting equality in employment and the introduction of a program to train nonwhite executives within the company.

YOUR STAKE IN KEY LABOR BILLS

First. Minimum wage and hour amendments of 1961: The first minimum wage legislation since 1938, establishing a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, and extending coverage to thousands of employees. If you were in this group, your salary was raised.

Second. Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962: Provides training opportunities for the unemployed and a chance to upgrade the skills of the unskilled worker while receiving Government training allowances. Also amended this law to give its full benefits to railroad workers.

The New York Times on September 9, 1962, stated the Manpower Development and Training Act is "potentially the most significant piece of manpower legislation in the Nation's history." They further editorialized on October 14, 1962, when they stated:

The most glaring deficiencies in the congressional record were in the rejection of virtually all bills that entailed any element of originality or experimentation in coping with urgent domestic problems. The lone exception was the $435 million job retraining program.

This important legislation came from my committee.

OTHER LAWS ENACTED IN THE FIELD OF LABOR

Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Compensation Act; Federal Employees Compensation Act; additional Assistant Secretary of Labor; Metallic and Non-Metallic Mines Safety Act; Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; and the 8-hour law.

BILLS PASSED BY MY COMMITTEE IN THE FIELD OF LABOR

Equal Pay for Equal Work Act of 1962: First successful effort to get an equal pay bill for women out of the House in the memory of man or woman.

Youth Employment Opportunities Act: Gives a real "break" to the unemployed out-of-school youth who needs a chance to learn work habits and a trade. Particularly important to minority groups which have the highest percentage of out-of-work and out-of-school youths.

Equal Employment Opportunities Act: First fair employment practices bill to get out of a House or Senate committee in over a decade.

Migratory labor legislation: For the men, women, and children who roam the land homeless to supply the labor that plants and harvests our crops. For the first time this Congress passed legislation considered and proposed by my committee to help this exploited group, which is composed mainly of minorities.

MISCELLANEOUS IN THE FIELD OF LABOR

The Subcommittee on the Operations of the National Labor Relations Board: The exercise of its oversight function by the committee through the hearing conducted by this subcommittee led to a reevaluation of many practices and decisional policies adopted over the preceding 8 years.

Subcommittee on the Impact of Imports and Exports on American Employment: An inquiry in depth in keeping with the committee's responsibilities.

The Subcommittee on Irregularities in the Garment Industry: Investigation of racial discrimination, possible violations of existing labor-management relations statutes, and corruption based on complaints and information received by the committee over the past 18 months.

III. ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Fifteen days of public hearings were conducted to ascertain the extent to which there had been compliance to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public education. Witnesses from all parts of the United States testified. On the basis of these

hearings and an intensive 3-month research investigation, the following facts were released:

First. Eight years after the Supreme Court decision, 2 million southern nonwhite children—over 70 percent of the total in this region—live in completely segregated school districts.

Second. Two of the 16 land-grant colleges for nonwhites are still provisionally accredited by their respective regional associations.

Third. In all of the 16 white land-grant institutions, there are accredited professional schools offering a total of 21 areas of specialization, as against 10 nonwhite land-grant institutions offering a total of 5 areas of specialization.

Fourth. Wherein all-white land-grant institutions offer the Ph. D. or equivalent degree, not any of the 16 institutions for nonwhites offer these degrees.

Fifth. Because of the nature of the legal provisions of the Hatch Act and the Agricultural Marketing Act, none of the 16 nonwhite land-grant colleges received Federal funds from these sources for research in agriculture in 1960.

Based upon reports that discrimination was being shown in the engagement of teachers for dependents of military personnel, complaints were made to the Department of Defense and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Responses from these Departments indicate that necessary investigations were made.

Upon requests from teachers allegedly unfairly fired, investigations were made and the necessary provisions followed to assure hearings for these persons.

YOUR STAKE IN KEY EDUCATION BILLS

First. The Practical Nurse Training Extension Act of 1961. Important for minorities since so many are employed in this field.

Second. Establishment of teaching hospital for Howard University. More than 50 percent nonwhite physicians have been trained at Howard University. The transferal of Freedman's Hospital as a teaching hospital enhances the professional preparation possible at Howard.

Third. Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961: First legislation of its kind. Provides Federal assistance to establish a program for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, including training of personnel for work in this field.

Fourth. School Lunch Act amended: Important for minorities since it removes the specific designation to race.

OTHER LAWS ENACTED IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Teachers for the Deaf and Speech Pathologists and Audiologists Act; Education for the Blind; increased appropriations for the American Printing House for the Blind; extension of National Defense Education Act of 1958—extension of impacted areas legislation; amendment to title II of National Defense Education Act—provides more funds for student loans; and Captioned Films for the Deaf Act.

BILLS PASSED BY MY COMMITTEE IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

University extension; special education and vocational rehabilitation; Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts; adult basic education; Quality Education Act; general aid to elementary and secondary education; amendment to Land-Grant Colleges Act to eliminate the separate but equitable clause of the act; amendment to impacted areas laws to deny payments to school districts that practice racial discrimination and segregation.

IV. KEY ACCOMPLISHMENTS—INVESTIGATIVE TASK FORCE

In January 1961 I created an investigative task force directly under my jurisdiction with offices located in New York City and Washington, D.C. The duty of this task force is to investigate discrimination and irregularities in government, labor, and industry.

To date this task force has received over 3,800 telephone complaints and over 1,800 personal complaints.

In order to more effectively combat the forces of discrimination I provide space in the committee's New York office for representatives of the New York State Committee Against Discrimination, the National Labor Relations Board, the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor, and the Bureau of Labor-Management reports. Thus, in New York City for the first time a complainant has access to four distinct agencies, Federal and State, working cooperatively to hear his grievance.

The task force was instrumental in obtaining a decertification election where the employer was involved in a "sweetheart" contract with a union not selected by the workers. The employer fired 25 of his workers. These people were reinstated.

Instrumental in settling a labor dispute at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and getting the strikers back to work.

Caused the roofers union, Paterson, N.J., on May 24, 1962, for the first time in its history to admit minority groups to membership.

Two nonwhite employees of the Labor Department were dismissed for filing discrimination charges. We were able to get these workers reinstated.

Three nonwhite pickets arrested in Brooklyn for picketing Beth-El Hospital, investigation task force intervention with the police department resulted in the police dropping charges.

Conferences with the Vulcan Society, community leaders, clergy, and so forth, were instrumental in settling dispute with the New York City Fire Department relative to charges of racial discrimination within the department.

The Yardney Electrical Corp. planned to move its plant out of the city, putting some 850 IUE workers out of work. Conferences with city, company, and union officials resulted in the city making a search for a new plant site for the company.

Upon complaints of discrimination in the New York City Transit Authority, the investigative task force investigated and met with top executives of the transit authority—caused one nonwhite to be appointed in labor relations department of the transit authority. Received assurances of other appointments.

Upon complaint of nonwhite members of Local No. 48, Mason Tenders & Hod Carriers, that they were not given work, caused workers to be given steady jobs.

Helped the new Americana Hotel to integrate its staff, including several nonwhites in responsible positions.

After complaints of discrimination, caused two nonwhites to get supervisory positions with General Motors.

Instrumental in getting the first nonwhite into Local No. 15 of Operating Engineers.

Of 382 Puerto Rican complaints relative to first, "sweetheart" contracts; second, nonunion representation; third, nonintegration of union and management; and, fourth, lack of legal protection—208 were successfully resolved.

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## S O S: Save Our Streams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, in June of this year a resolution was adopted by the Izaak Walton League of America at its 40th annual convention and conservation conference resolving that our scenic preserves containing wildlife, water resources, and recreational facilities be accorded the attention they deserve when highway planners consider construction of roads.

This resolution is of particular interest to me because my bill, S. 2767, introduced January 30, 1962, would make it necessary to consider possible destruction to wildlife and water areas before Federal highways could be constructed.

This is a subject which many conservationists are becoming increasingly alarmed about, and the Izaak Walton League has expressed its opinion in this resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the resolution adopted by the Izaak Walton League.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 5

Resolution on modern highway construction and conservation of natural resources

Whereas Federal and State highway construction, resulting from pressures of an expanding population and increased travel, is causing major problems in the management of natural resources on both public and private lands, particularly with respect to fish and wildlife, and results in detrimental stream alinement, destroys spawning areas, creates barriers to migration of deer and other big game herds, and the protection and enhancement of important outdoor recreation and scenic areas is sometimes overlooked in highway construction; and

Whereas access to important public recreation areas is not always adequately included in highway construction plans; and

Whereas highway construction is being increased and the problems concerning wildlife are still unsolved: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Izaak Walton League of America, in convention assembled this 23d day of June 1962, at Portland, Oreg.*, That in highway construction advance planning definitely provide for the protection of water resources, fish and wildlife, and recreational values, and that the costs of adequately protecting the range, the watershed, the forests, the wildlife, and the scenic values be considered normal cost of highway construction and included therein.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Congresswoman KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, has undertaken the duties and responsibilities of administering the office of the Treasurer of the United States. Since the 84th Congress Mrs. GRANAHAN has served the needs of the people of Pennsylvania; she has the distinction of being the first woman elected to Congress from the city of Philadelphia. Her work as a legislator has earned her commendable citation. Her dedicated service, industry and energy have, I am sure, prompted the President to appoint her to this highly responsible post.

KATHRYN GRANAHAN succeeded her husband, the late Congressman William T. Granahan, who had until the time of his death served the people of Pennsylvania. The Granahan family has, therefore, made its distinguishing mark in Congress during an important decade in American history.

In her new role, Mrs. GRANAHAN, will assume the responsibility for the receipt, custody and disbursement of public moneys, and for maintaining the records in connection with the source, location, and disposition of U.S. funds. This is a staggering responsibility when one considers the universal recognition accorded the integrity of the U.S. dollar, and its use as a benchmark of value by all nations. She will, among other duties, maintain close liaison with the Federal Reserve Board, commercial banks, and our postal savings system through her many office divisions. Her alertness and energy will go far in maintaining confidence in our monetary and fiscal systems.

KATHRYN GRANAHAN will, we know, perform this difficult job with the same closeness of attention to detail and versatility with which she addressed herself to her congressional duties, during which time she has earned and merited the friendship and confidence of the memberships of both sides of the aisle. In joining the executive branch she will bring to that portion of our Government a talent and ability which will assure good government, trust, and the faithful discharge of the duties and responsibilities of her new office.

While we regret with a deep sense of loss her departure from Capitol Hill, it is reassuring to know that her services will continue for the benefit of all the people of the United States.

## Time Has Proved Wisdom of Our Founding Fathers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the name of Caffery is an old and honored name in Louisiana's history. Lawyers, diplomats, and leaders in the past have carried the Caffrey banner in many movements advancing the native State and our Nation.

At the moment the younger generation of the Caffrey clan is represented by a most effective and articulate young lawyer, Patrick T. Caffrey, of the law firm of Helm, Simon, Caffrey & Duhe in New Iberia, La. Pat Caffrey has on numerous occasions made excellent addresses on the Constitution, its meaning and effect. Only recently in a speech before the Daughters of the American Revolution in New Iberia, La., he gave what I consider one of the most profound discussions on the subject, and for that reason I hasten to draw the attention of this body to its contents.

I wish we had more young men who think and act like Pat Caffrey. Here is his speech:

SPEECH BY PATRICK T. CAFFREY BEFORE THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, NEW IBERIA, LA., SEPTEMBER 8, 1962

As my subject you have assigned me "Time Has Proved the Wisdom Which Our Founding Fathers Wrote Into the Constitution." A more meaningful and flexible subject you could not have given, nor one dearer to me. For I have felt close to the heart and pulsebeat of the law all my life, and particularly for 12 years, first as a student and now as a practitioner of that venerable profession. It is impossible to be a lawyer and not to feel a close rapport to the ancient customs and traditions that fill the law books, and yet at the same time not to feel the ever-changing vitality that stems from the active day-to-day perpetuation of order, through law. As one reads and studies the law, there is a feeling of being privileged to view from a mountaintop, in kaleidoscopic fashion as it were, the vast, misty pagentry of life which has gone on before us trailing to infinity, and thus also thereby to take pleasure in evaluating present situations and prognosticating on what the future holds.

The law is thought by some to be a glamorous profession, but I think of the law, and lawmakers, and courts, and statutes, and constitutions, and jurisprudence, and I think of a long line of men beginning centuries ago, in black robes and powdered coifs, patiently and deliberately studying to know more and more about their fellow men in an effort to approach a more perfect justice; reading volume after volume of laborious detail; writing, evaluating, proceeding to court before judge and jury with throats tight through fear, not of losing, but with fear that through the human fallibility and limitations within all men, they might not fight hard enough for a client; pleading, arguing, fighting, advocating the cause of a client or the destiny of a nation to the very best of their ability; feeling the sting and regret of defeat or the humble exhilaration of a victory for a deserving client, or victory of judicial principle. Our civilization is steeped in law, it permeates to our bedrock, and perhaps it is the legal process and the orderly administration of justice which acts as the mortar in holding the bricks of our society together.

In considering my subject for today, therefore, I would first observe the role of time in the title of my talk; that is, that it is "time" which has shown the wisdom which our Founding Fathers wrote into the Constitution. That is so, because as Tennyson says, "knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers;" and knowledge which comes to us like a swallow in the summertime and leaves with the chill of fall is mere knowledge and not wisdom. Knowledge is youth and wisdom is age. Wisdom is knowledge proved by time, and it takes time to make and prove wisdom.

Entering the stage of time 175 years after those of our forefathers who wrote the Constitution, we are, therefore, in a position to judge, as best we can, whether our Constitution embodies wisdom or does not embody wisdom. It would be my conclusion that our Constitution does now and has always embodied wisdom, but that men do not always embody wisdom. Perhaps, it would be more correct to say that our Constitution embodies both knowledge and wisdom, but, it seems, knowledgeable men are not always wise men. How do we tell the difference? We wait for time, because only time will distinguish knowledge from wisdom.

You will ask: Upon what do you base your conclusion that our Founding Fathers wrote wisdom into the Constitution? My belief is that there are at least several rationales tending to this conclusion, each equally valid, except one, and that is the last one, and it has more validity than the rest. But let us look at the reasons in the order of their appearance upon the scene.

First, let us observe that the United States of America was established as an experiment in government, as a hitherto unprecedented test of whether people could govern themselves under the conditions spelled out in our Constitution. The governmental structure laid out in the Constitution was like the keel of a great ship, simple but massive in scope. Time and experience had shown our forefathers, that although most men were to be trusted, the judgments of men are not always infallible, therefore, it is necessary to catch and prevent mistakes. Time had also shown that the voice of the people might err, but not for long, because that which is pure and free in men will welcome and insist upon justice, and will inevitably and invariably rise up against tyranny and crush it.

Time had also proved to the redactors of our Constitution that although the great voice of the masses of the people was most often right, there was no way every single person could be allowed directly to express his voice, because of the sheer physical problem that a direct vote would present. And, too, time and experience had shown that, although a government runs best when guided directly by the people, it is nevertheless necessary to have leaders, to have men and women of vision and practicality, to whom the problems of running the Government could be delegated by the people.

Thus, in their wisdom, our fathers provided for a tripartite government, a government of three parts, an executive, a legislative, and a judiciary. We may compare this

three-part government to a three-legged stool. We know that if one leg of a three-legged stool is weak or missing, the stability of the entire stool is in jeopardy. It was, therefore, essential that each of the three branches of government be strong, but that each branch, owing to the fallibility of men's judgments, act as it were as a watchdog in preventing the others from error.

For example, it is significant to note that all legislative powers, that is, the power to make laws, were vested in the Congress of the United States, composed of Representatives of the people at large. This being so, the people could say, through their Representatives, how they would be governed, and could insist upon their Representatives passing the kind of laws they wanted, on penalty of not being returned to office if they failed to do so. There was thus established a vehicle whereby the will and feeling of the people could be moved as a giant mirror into a law which would reflect that will and that feeling.

Further, we see that, as regards the legislative branch of Government, a bicameral legislature was decided upon, that is, a legislature with two Houses—a Senate, with representation taken equally from all the States no matter how large or small, and a House of Representatives, with representation based purely upon population, the larger States having greater representation in numbers. In order to insure complete fairness in legislation, it was decided that, in order for a measure to be passed into law, it would have to clear both the House and the Senate, thereby creating a completely equitable balance between the size of a State and the population of a State. So, through the legislative branch of Government, the people, through elections regularly scheduled, could send their Representatives to the Capitol to effect their will. This proposed to insure the fact that no dictator could ever come into power, and that a free people, wise in their judgments and discerning in their actions, would always be free.

Our forefathers next provided in our Constitution that the executive power of Government would be vested in a President of the United States, whose job it was, and is, generally, to carry into execution, and enforce, the laws made by the Congress. The President, theoretically, is thus without the power to make law, his job being in essence one of enforcement.

However, the voice of the people might not always be clear, and it became necessary to establish a third department, the judiciary, to interpret to the executive what the legislature meant when it spoke, and to provide a forum for the people to air their grievances and to try cases arising out of disputes concerning the law. In matters concerning the meaning of law, therefore, the judiciary was designated the final arbiter.

The ease and facility of the system of checks and balances is most interesting. Let us suppose that the Congress passes a law saying that every able-bodied male person must work for a living. We see that the law does not define what "able bodied" means, and we further see that the term "male person" is given in its broadest generic sense without limitation as to age. We also note that neither the word "work" nor the word "living" are defined.

It is possible, then, that an executive with only a modicum of discretion could see little Johnny Doe, age 6, loitering unemployed at a swing in the public park, and, seeing him there, arrest him for violation of the law. If this were done, the judiciary would doubtless be called upon to interpret the meaning of the law, and thus come to Johnny's aid. The court would probably consider the case and the majority would give an opinion somewhat as follows:

"It is inconceivable to us that the legislature would have intended that the scope and aurora of the law be extended to include Johnny Doe. The law specifically says that 'able bodied' male persons shall work for a living, and we have no hesitancy in concluding that little Johnny Doe, far from being 'able bodied', is hardly 'bodied' at all, since he weighs only 45 pounds."

Perhaps one judge might write a concurring opinion as follows:

"I am constrained to agree with the majority, but for reasons different from those assigned. The law provides that every able bodied male person must work for a 'living'. It is obvious that young Johnny Doe is living. Not only did he sign the petition brought on his behalf, in a hand far more intelligible than my own, but the frisky little creature personally appeared before this court very much alive, running in the aisles and popping bubble gum. I conclude that Johnny Doe is very much alive, and, that being so, it must follow a fortiori that he must work it pretty hard, more diligently perhaps, than any member of this court. For those reasons I find Johnny Doe exempt from the provisions of the law."

However, at this point, the legislature might get back into the picture, and say that by "able bodied" it meant to include only persons over the age of 21 years, thus clarifying its expression of will for the benefit of the executive, and modifying and confirming what the judiciary had done.

And so it is that the system of checks and balances in a tripartite government will provide that ultimate equity, and protection, which no other form will give.

Not content with merely organizing the format of governmental structure, however, our forefathers also wrote various guarantees of personal liberty into the Constitution in the first 10 amendments, these being what we now choose to call the Bill of Rights. I would call your particular attention to the fact that having this Bill of Rights as part of the Constitution is not an invulnerable guarantee which should lull us into a sense of complete security, because these amendments guarantee us those liberties there defined only so long as the delicate balance between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches remains in a state of healthy and viligant equipoise, and, of course, only so long as this country remains a strong, militant, free power in the world, untainted by alien ideology destructive of the concepts of our constitutional form of government.

Assuming the state of these two conditions, the wisdom and eternal justice embodied in the Bill of Rights is at once apparent. At no time in the long history of man, filled with darkness and suffering and deprivation, has a people been guaranteed more reverent and refreshing rights. We find the Bill of Rights as a bastion, warranting that we should have freedom of speech, and of the press, and religion and peaceable assembly; that we should always have the right to bear arms and to be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures in our homes; that we should have certain well-defined rights in criminal matters; and, finally, that unless a power is specifically delegated to the Federal Government in the Constitution, that power is reserved to the States. Other amendments wisely prohibit slavery, and guarantee voting rights.

So, therefore, if these provisions are wise, where does the danger of this country and this Constitution lie? With such provisions embodied as our written guarantee of freedom, is there cause for fear? The answer is, of course, yes, because although the Constitution embodies wisdom, we have seen that men are not always wise, and good; and it is the personal element, it is men of greed and corruption in our own country, which presents the greatest and most ever-present danger to the American way of life. Therein lies the need to be viligant. What can we do? How can we fight it? We must begin by insisting that good men, and true men, be elected to serve in public office. There is the struggle, and there it has always been. Listen to the words of the wisest of our Founding Fathers—Benjamin Franklin. Immediately before the Constitution was adopted, Franklin wrote:

"Mr. President, I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure that I shall never approve them: For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men indeed as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in the possession of all truth and that whatever others differ from them it is so far error. * * * In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such, because I think a general government necessary for us and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered, and believe farther that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people have become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

And all of our national leaders, our wisest men, have from time to time reflected upon the problem.

Thomas Jefferson believed we should have "* * * a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouths of labor the bread it has earned."

In 1817 James Monroe felt we should have a federation of States, "respectively protected by the National Government under a mild, parental system against foreign dangers."

Sixteen years later, Andrew Jackson said: "My experience in public office and the observation of a life somewhat advanced, confirm the opinions long since inbided by me, that the destruction of our State governments or the annihilation of their control over the local concerns of the people would lead directly to revolution and anarchy and finally to despotism and military destruction."

William Henry Harrison reflected upon the problems of the drafters of the Federal Constitution. He states: "The great dread * * * seems to have been that the reserved powers of the States would be absorbed by the Federal Government and a consolidated power established, leaving to the States the shadow only of that independent action for which they had so zealously contended and on the preservation of which they relied as the last hope of liberty."

However, lastly, and in conclusion, I submit that time has proved the wisdom which our forefathers wrote into the Constitution, because our country, builded upon the structure of that great document, and moulded upon its principles, has lasted, has endured. We find today, 175 years after its writing, that we are still the freeest, proudest, greatest, strongest nation on earth. And that was the goal which was sought, and we have realized it. It has been said that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and that is so. Only if the people of this country, on the main streets, from coast to coast, in the towns and cities throughout all America, in all walks of life, in our businesses and mills and factories, and on our farms and prairies and plains, strive mightily to follow the

Constitution and obey the laws enacted under it, sincerely, and without fear or self interest, will this form of government, and this liberty, be preserved. Longfellow well expressed the nature of this titanic struggle, when, in "The Building of the Ship," he commands:

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State;
Sail on, O Union, strong and great,
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hopes for future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

## Medal of Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, he who possesses the Medal of Honor is the holder of the highest military award for bravery that can be given to any individual in the United States of America. It could be won in only one way during World War I and II—that was by a deed of personal bravery or self-sacrifice, above and beyond the call of duty, while a member of the American Armed Forces, in actual combat with an enemy of the Nation. The deed of the winner must be proved by incontestable evidence that it clearly distinguishes his gallantry beyond the call of duty from lesser forms of bravery; it must involve the risk of his life; and it must be the type of deed which, if he had not done it, would not subject him to any justified criticism.

One who has won this Medal of Honor has won a great privilege; that of sharing in the company of the few heroes who have been honored by the award of the same medal he wears.

I have worked with the Medal of Honor organization on various occasions and have had the privilege of meeting and knowing many of their group. They are true Americans and gentlemen and it gives me great pleasure in include the following article written on the Medal of Honor which appeared in the October issue of the VFW national magazine:

THE MEDAL OF HONOR STORY—100 YEARS OF VALOR

(By Jack Simmonds)

The highest honor in recognition of bravery, above and beyond the call of duty, which a grateful nation can bestow upon its exceptional heroes of combat is the Medal of Honor.

During the past century it has honored some almost incredible feats of courageous accomplishment in trials of arms against staggering odds. Its award salutes some nobler virtues of human composition—courage, gallantry, valor, intrepidity, and self-sacrifice.

There is no beauty in war, nor does its ghastly specter spawn the noble qualities of character for which the Medal of Honor is bestowed. But if a man possesses courage, war will frequently demand it of him. More than any other medium, war sets the stage and provides situations to test the true mettle of men.

Most men have courage and fulfill their roles well in the macabre play of combat. But occasionally, a man comes along who displays such a marked degree of this precious quality, and shows such fearless zeal in the face of death, that he becomes more than ordinarily brave. It is to pay honor to such men as these that the Medal of Honor is awarded.

The War Between the States was in its first blood-soaked year and the capital city of Washington, D.C., literally floated on a sea of mud. Thousands plodded its mucky streets and from the quagmire rose unfinished national buildings. The Washington Monument was less than half completed, the Capitol Building lacked its dome, and the White House was shy some wings. The tensions of war signaled its most salient mood. It was a young capital, in a still young country, stricken by chaos and internal disorder. The governmental ideals which had launched the United States on its political journey of greatness were now vitally challenged by a geographical split.

To preserve the Union, the Northern States heavily relied upon the courage of its fighting men. Strong feeling emerged that such courage should be recognized by the issuance of a medal authorized by the Congress.

Opposition was encountered. In the minds of many Americans medals were closely allied to the traditions of European nobility, and they felt a democratic Nation should not imitate the ways of aristocracy. Those favoring the medal pointed out that George Washington himself had authorized the first American combat medal, the Purple Heart.

Dissenters were in the minority, however, and between December 1861, and August 1862, legislation was passed authorizing issuance of Medals of Honor to Navy and Army enlisted personnel. In 1863, legislation was passed extending the award to officers as well. Because they were awarded by the President in the name of Congress, they came to be called, "Congressional Medals of Honor." This term has no official sanction and the Army and Navy Medals of Honor are separate awards with different designs.

From the War Between the States came some sterling examples of courage for which the medal was awarded. Southern servicemen also reached heroic heights in this fierce and bloody struggle—but the medal naturally was not awarded to the enemy. The medal was first awarded Army survivors of a daring raid behind enemy lines. A motion picture, "The Great Locomotive Chase," has been made about the incident.

The walls of Fort Secessionville, in South Carolina, bristled with weapons the morning of June 16, 1862. A barren piece of real estate, bordered by swamp, was the only feasible approach to the fort which gaurded the route to Charleston. At dawn, Union soldiers stormed across the open field hoping to surprise Confederate defenders. Instead, they were given a lethal surprise themselves as cannon roared and muskets blazed. Blue ranks withered under the hail of fire.

In the melee that morning was Frederick Jackson, 18, a sergeant in Company F of the 7th Connecticut volunteers. Through the carnage Jackson led four charges—the last three with his left arm blown off at the elbow. One year later, Sergeant Jackson, of New Haven, was awarded the Medal of Honor.

On May 22, 1863, Federal forces were hammering at the gates of Vicksburg, Mass. Heavily entrenched on a high hill were the 2d Texas Volunteers. In addition to Springfield rifles, each Texan had at his side five muskets.

The 99th Illinois Volunteers charged the position but the tremendous firepower of the Confederates produced a fearful slaughter and the Blue lines crumbled. A battle haze clouded the slope and the Texans were amazed when a lone figure, carrying the Stars and Stripes, penetrated the smoke pall and came directly at their position. An estimated 100 Texans took deliberate aim and fired at the colorbearer. They looked in disbelief as the soldier continued on, straight toward them. And then a strange thing happened. The Confederates yelled at one another not to shoot again. They tossed their caps and hats in the air and yelled encouragement to the brave Union soldier charging their position with only a flag.

"Come on, Yank! Come on!" they shouted.

Thomas Higgins, 32, of Franklin County, N.Y., did "come on." He was helped over the breastworks by Texas hands and congratulated upon his miraculous escape from death. Six years and 2 months later, Higgins was awarded the Medal of Honor. Among those who wrote the War Department recommending him for the honor were veterans of the 2d Texas Volunteers.

And thus the standards of courage which were to eventually govern the award of Medals of Honor in all cases began to evolve. But in those early days of the medal's existence, before its high precedents of raw courage were fully established, it was also bestowed for "seamanlike" and "soldierlike" qualities, according to the original law authorizing it. The Congress had failed to recognize there are degrees of valor and the wording of the law presented a wide range of interpretation as to who deserved the medal. In 1876, during the Indian campaigns, Brig. Gen. Alfred A. Terry helped protect the quality of the award. In disapproving a large number of recommendations for the medal, he wrote:

"Medals of Honor are not intended for ordinarily good conduct (under fire), but for conspicuous acts of gallantry."

In 1916 legislation was passed which officially affirmed the high levels of heroism that had generally been observed in awarding the Medal of Honor. The law established a "Medal of Honor Roll" and permitted to be inscribed upon it only the names of those men who had won the decoration. "For having in action involving actual conflict with an enemy, distinguished himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life, above and beyond the call of duty."

The Medal of Honor was thus firmly ensconced, legally and technically, upon its towering pedestal of valor. There now could be no doubt that it was solely intended for combat heroes demonstrating singular gallantry.

By way of eliminating past mistakes, the law also required a thorough examination of awards to determine which holders of the medal measured up to the new official standards. An examining board found that 911 persons could not hold the Medal of Honor under the 1916 Act. Of these 864 had been members of the 27th Maine Volunteer Infantry during the War Between the States. The regiment's enlistment was to have expired in June of 1863. As an inducement to keep the regiment on active duty during a critical period, President Lincoln authorized Medals of Honor for any of its members who volunteered for another tour of duty. The 309 men who volunteered for extended duty, in the face of more action and possible death, certainly were demonstrating "soldierlike" qualities, and as such were entitled to the medal under one proviso of the original law. But their act in no way measured up to the 1916 standards. A clerical error compounded the abuse. Not only did the 309 volunteers receive the medal, but the balance of the regiment, which had gone home in spite of the President's offer, was awarded it also.

In addition, 47 others lost their medals under the act. Among them, William F. Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill, and

Mary Walker, a Civil War surgeon and the only woman ever to receive the honor.

The 1918 standards were further affirmed in a law passed July 9, 1918. Because the quality of the medal was still threatened by a lack of secondary awards for valor, the act also established the Distinguished Service Cross, Distinguished Service Medal, and the Silver Star, and provided extra monthly pay for active duty holders of the decorations. A similar act providing secondary Navy awards was passed the following year. Later, more secondary awards were provided finally creating completely what has come to be called the Pyramid of Honor—a hierarchy of military decorations with the Medal of Honor at its top.

The effectiveness of legislation protecting the high standards of the Medal of Honor can be demonstrated with Army statistics. The Army awarded 2,000 Medals of Honor for feats performed during the War Between the States in which 67,058 Union troopers were killed in action. In World War II, 175,407 Army men killed, it awarded only 292. During the Indian campaigns, 919 soldiers killed, it awarded 425 medals, but during World War I, 37,568 killed, it bestowed only 95.

For gallant deeds performed between 1861 and 1918 the Army awarded 2,612 Medals of Honor, and the Navy and Marines, 735. During World War I the Navy and Marines accounted for 28 of the medals.

For action in World War II, awards of the Medal of Honor were made to members of the Armed Services as follows: Army, 282; Coast Guard, 1; Marines, 79, and Navy, 57.

There were 131 Medals of Honor awarded for exploits during the Korean conflict. Army personnel received 78 (2,834,000 taking part); Marine Corps, 42 (424,000 involved); Navy, 7 (1,177,000); Air Force, 4 (1,285,000). Ninety-two men, more than 70 percent of the total, died performing the acts for which they received the medal.

In reading the citations of those who won the Medal of Honor, a peculiar paradox of war is noted. After setting forth the heroic actions of the awardee, many of them end:

"He gallantly gave his life for his comrades."

In many instances, Medal of Honor winners gave their lives to save their comrades after dealing wholesale death to the enemy. Many fell on hand grenades to absorb the full impact of their force, thus saving others nearby. Others indulged in diversionary actions, singlehandedly and against impossible odds, so their companions might escape a murderous position. More than half of all Medal of Honor men gave their lives in the action that gained them the honor. "What greater love hath any man."

Following World War I a law was passed prohibiting award of the medal more than once to the same individual. Prior to this restriction, however, 15 rare individuals won the medal twice. Among these was Capt. Tom Custer who died with his more illustrious brother, Gen. George Armstrong Custer, at the famous Indian battle of the Little Big Horn in Montana. The general also received a Medal of Honor, posthumously.

Another double winner was Marine Sgt. Dan Daly who won both of his in minor wars—an unusual feat in itself. In 1900 he received the award for service in China, and in 1915, for action against the Haitian bandits.

Five marines who fought in France during World War I have the unusual distinction of having been awarded both the Army and the Navy Medals of Honor. And strangely enough, another two marines were the first to win Army Medals of Honor during that war, but were not awarded its Navy equivalent. The double winners were Sgt. Louis Cukela, Gunnery Sgt. Ernest A. Janson, Sgt. Matej Kocak, Cpl. John H. Pruitt, and Pvt. John J. Kelly. Those who received the Army medals only were, Sgt. Charles F. Hoffman, and Gunnery Sgt. Fred W. Stockham.

In making the awards to marines, the Army pointed out that the decorations of any branch of the service may be awarded to members of other branches—and that it was just as proud of these heroic leathernecks as it was of Army men who distinquished themselves in combat—and there were many of them.

Probably the most famous was a gray-eyed mountaineer from Tennessee, Sgt. Alvin C. York. Strangely enough, York entered the Army as a conscientious objector—a man who believed killing would be in violation of his religious principles. The Biblical quotation, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," helped him to reconcile the mental struggle before entering combat.

Shortly after dawn on October 8, 1918, as York's platoon spearheaded a battalion attack, it was suddenly raked by murderous machinegun fire. Then a corporal, York discovered he was the ranking member of eight survivors. He took command and with his men overran a machinegun nest. Leaving his men to guard the prisoners, York went ahead to reconnoiter and was soon pinned down by fire from about 35 machineguns. Like his famous ancester, Davy Crockett, York was a crack shot. He methodically began to pick off the enemy gunners as they raised their heads to fire at him. After 10 gunners had been silenced, 6 German soldiers left their position and charged York with fixed bayonets. Firing rapidly, he killed them all, and again directed his rifle at the machinegunners. York's amazing accuracy began to create panic in the German ranks. His repeated demands for their surrender had at first seemed preposterous, but after he had killed 22 of their number a German major came forward bearing a white flag. York accepted the surrender of 90 Germans and with his men began marching them to the rear. But they were still inside the German lines, and unless he could get his party through a German trench the expedition would end in disaster. With a pistol in the German officer's back, York marched to the edge of the trench and again demanded a surrender. His courageous audacity paid off. The remaining Germans surrendered and York and his men returned to the American lines with 132 prisoners.

Marshal Foch of the French Army, Supreme Allied Commander, called York's feat, "the greatest thing accomplished by any soldier of all the armies."

Winners of our Nation's highest military decoration include all ranks, from drummer boys no older than 15 during the War Between the States, to generals—and seamen to admirals. They include immigrants of many nationalities, men of varying religious beliefs and different races. Among its recipients have been Negroes, recently out of bondage, and Indian scouts with such names as Blanquet, Elastousoo, and Nantaje. And there have been many with more familiar names—Smith, Kelly, Simmons, Murphy, all, and Taylor.

The practice of awarding the Medal of Honor without regard to any factor other than heroism has its basis in our democratic system. For actions during World War II the Army awarded only 292 of the medals—yet it was won by as many technicians 5th class as it was by generals, six in each group. Nine corporals won it, and so did nine majors. The first lieutenants, with 31, trailed the staff sergeants, who won 39—and the private first class and privates accounted for 79. Most of the awards went to men killed in action, and there is no rank in honor, or in death.

One of the early heroes of World War II was Sergeant John Basilone who fought with the 1st Marine Division on Guadalcanal.

In a fierce frontal attack, the Japanese blasted his position with grenades and mortar fire. One of Sergeant Basilone's two machinegun sections and all but two of its crew were put out of action. Under a withering fire, Basilone placed an extra gun into action, repaired another and manned it himself, holding the line until replacements arrived. Later, with ammunition low and his position cut off at the rear, Basilone battled his way through the hostile lines, secured more ammunition, and fought his way back through the enemy to reach his guns. His actions were largely credited with helping to wipe out an entire Japanese regiment. Although his Medal of Honor qualified him to be relieved of combat duty, he volunteered for more action and was killed on Iwo Jima. Basilone also held the Navy Cross, one of the Nation's second highest awards.

The Navy had many gallant ships and heroic men—but never a more courageous combination than Commander Richard H. O'Kane and his crew in the submarine, U.S.S. *Tang*. Late in October 1944 Commander O'Kane maneuvered his submarine on the surface into the midst of a heavily escorted Japanese convoy. Under a fusillade of bullets and shells from all directions, he launched torpedoes into three tankers and narrowly avoided being rammed by a transport. His torpedoes found two more targets before he submerged and eluded several destroyers. The next day, the *Tang* again made contact with a convoy and escorts steaming toward the Philippines with reinforcements and supplies. Enemy fire was merciless as O'Kane closed the range, and launched six torpedoes that blasted two transports and a tanker. With ships bearing down on the *Tang* from all sides, O'Kane charged the enemy at high speed, exploded another tanker and sent the destroyer up with a mighty roar that rocked the submarine fiercely. O'Kane then launched his last two torpedoes into the remnants of a once powerful convoy before his own craft sunk.

The high traditions of courage established in earlier wars by American fighting men were carried into the Korean conflict. There, one of the bravest of the brave, was Army 1st Lt. Lloyd L. "Scooter" Burke. On October 28, 1951, near Chong-Dong, Burke's company was pinned down by heavy enemy fire. Dashing ahead of his men, Burke wiped out one of three bunkers impeding the advance and killed its crew with grenades. He next silenced another bunker with grenades and shot three of its crew when they charged at him. Ordering his men forward, Burke charged the third implacement. Catching several enemy grenades in midair, Burke hurled them back at the bunker and the position was overrun. Enemy fire again pinned them down. Securing a light machinegun and three boxes of ammunition, Burke ran through a hail of enemy bullets and set up the gun on an exposed knoll giving him a good vantage point. He poured a crippling fire into the ranks of the enemy and killed approximately 75 of them. Although wounded, he ordered more ammunition, reloaded and destroyed two mortar implacements and a machinegun position. Cradling the machinegun in his arms, Burke then led his men forward in a charge and killed 25 more of the enemy as they were in full retreat. Lieutenant Burke's Medal of Honor citation credits him with having inspired his small force of 35 ment to overcome an estimated enemy position containing 300 troops.

And thus, through time, the deeds, the gallantry, goes on. Since its inception, Medal of Honor winners have ever provided the resourcefulness, courage, and daring leadership that make America's fighting men the most dangerous "weapons" in the world. They have truly given their country 100 years of valor.

## Review of the Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. TOM V. MOOREHEAD

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MOOREHEAD of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, to review a session of Congress which has been as tumultuous as this one is not easy, but I want to try to explain some of the more important measures which I believe are of particular interest to the people of southeastern Ohio.

This has been a very long session of Congress. It has been the longest continuous peacetime session in 112 years. Some of the statistics about what has transpired in the Nation's Capital will furnish some insights about the work this Congress has done. The House of Representatives has been in actual session for more than 150 days of this year. The proceedings of the House have filled more than 8,000 printed pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In the House and Senate since January 1961, almost 18,000 proposals or new laws and changes in old laws have been offered. Since January of this year, 310 of these proposals have been enacted into law. The President has, so far, vetoed five bills and Congress has not overridden any of the vetoes.

These are some of the bare statistics of the session and, of course, do not reflect the kind of measures offered, nor do they tell us anything about the quality of the legislation that has become law.

There have been many behind-the-scenes pressures and much apparent contention among the leadership which has tended to extend the session without fruitful results. A huge logjam of legislation piled up for the adjournment rush and was finally considered under circumstances far from ideal. Foreign aid, assistance for college facilities and students, United Nations bonds, the trade bill, taxes, postage rates and postal pay, the farm bill, and authority to recall Reserve Forces to active duty were some of the issues caught in the last-minute rush.

The House of Representatives was composed of 263 Democrats and 174 Republicans. It was a heavy-spending Congress. It achieved a peacetime record of increasing public spending this year beyond the $100 billion mark. In the first of its 2 years, it operated in the red to the tune of $8.2 billion. Estimates for the second year promise another deficit of $6 billion. Of last year's $8 billion deficit, $2 billion was for defense and $6 billion went for new and additional domestic spending. The national debt is now over $300 billion and is now approaching its legal limit of $308 billion. This represents almost $40 billion more than the combined debts of all other countries of the world. But when we talk of spending and debt, we can still overlook some of the important processes that are guiding us.

There is a consistent trend which has been clear during the past 2 years and it might be well to summarize both the trend and some of the important bills and policies which show what direction the country is going. Basically, it is a question of how we wish to solve the Nation's problems.

There are in Washington today two basic philosophies that are in conflict and the margin between them has been close in many of the votes that have been taken on specific measures in Congress during the last 2 years. In simple terms, one philosophy holds that the Federal Government should have more authority to direct and manage the affairs of individual citizens and many of the Nation's institutions. The other philosophy calls for strengthening the activities of State and local governments. Those who hold that the Federal Government should be the most powerful instrument in American life also believe that the powers of the President should be vastly expanded. Those who resist that point of view believe that we must maintain the constitutional balance of power which provides that the President, that is the executive branch of government, is a coequal and coordinate branch, sharing powers with the Congress and the judicial branch. The great arguments of this Congress have involved this tremendously important issue more than any other. They have arisen in many bills dealing with a variety of national problems.

First, we must look at the direction agricultural policy has taken in these 2 years. This is symptomatic of many other issues and problems that have been left unsolved and which will be considered again next year. We all know how serious the farm problem has been—low farm income and tremendous surpluses of grain that cost the taxpayers huge amounts of money for storage costs are part of this picture. For years, we have had price supports for several basic crops. This program has failed. It has not significantly improved the welfare of the farmer and its cost has mounted into the billions. How to deal with it is the problem. The two approaches reflect the two opposing philosophies. One is for greater Government control of farmers. The other is for the decrease of Government intervention and control of farmers so that we can gradually see to it that supply and demand has greater influence in our agricultural markets.

The President's proposal for a farm program in 1961 was certainly the most revolutionary farm bill ever recommended to the Congress by the White House. In sweeping terms, it asked the Congress to surrender its legislative responsibilities and to give permission to the Department of Agriculture to write and enforce the laws pertaining to farm controls and subsidies over every farm commodity produced in America. There are 256 agricultural commodities produced on American farms and all could have been put under the direct control of the Secretary of Agriculture had this plan gained congressional approval. The actual legislation embodying this radical plan was killed in the Agriculture Committees of the House and the Senate and never reached the stage of full-dress debate.

Since that bill failed, variations of this legislation have been recommended by the White House. All have been pointed toward the same strict controls over one or more segments of American agriculture. Just how far Federal powers would extend is shown by the request for authority to jail dairy farmers who did not keep records to the liking of the Secretary of Agriculture. I would like to quote the actual language of the dairy section of the bill recommended to Congress for passage. It reads as follows:

> Any person failing to make any report or keep any record as required by the Secretary (of Agriculture), pursuant to this subtitle, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $2,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

A proposal of this kind would have seemed ridiculous had it not been recommended by a President of the United States, and I am glad to say that the administration's endorsement of this penal provision was later withdrawn.

Through many months of argument, the debate continued. A short time ago, a farm bill was passed by a narrow margin. This bill involves the philosophy of very strict controls but it delays the full effects until 1964, when farmers will certainly feel the sharp teeth in it. This debate will go on next year.

A second great issue of this Congress concerned whether the President should be given far greater powers than he now possesses over tariffs. Should he be given the right to cut tariffs in half or abolish them entirely The President based his request upon the new economic power of the European Common Market and his belief that by cutting tariffs we will increase American exports throughout the world.

For years, southeastern Ohio has been an unfortunate laboratory where we have seen the results of lower and lower tariffs. Our pottery, ceramic tile and glass industries and coal mines have suffered great economic distress because of Federal trade policies that have encouraged imports from abroad. Some of these industries have been virtually destroyed and the great harm has spread out into our communities, creating serious social as well as economic problems. Now we begin to see the same situation developing in our major industries. Steel, aluminum, ferroalloys, and chemicals are all being attacked by import competition under much less drastic trade policies than we are embarking upon at this time. There are those in Congress, and I am one of them, who feel that the granting of power the President has asked is courting economic disaster for this country. I am convinced that the problems we have seen here in southeastern Ohio will be visited upon the rest of the country, with very serious results.

The European Common Market is an organization of Western European countries which have banded together to create a trading area among themselves.

They have erected a high tariff wall around themselves. In addition to tariff, they have resorted to all sorts of protective devices—quotas, import limits, and so forth—largely for the purpose of keeping out the products of American industries and farms. Over many years, we have already negotiated away 80 percent of our tariffs, and now it appears we are about to negotiate away the other 20 percent. There is little doubt in my mind that we are oversimplifying the Common Market problem and that the only result we will achieve will be a further opening of our markets to foreign imports without obtaining reciprocity and without any real possibility or guarantee of increasing our exports to the Common Market countries. What I believe will happen is that further slashing of tariffs will encourage American industries to set up branch factories behind the Common Market protective tariff walls. If this happens, we will be actually exporting jobs and not products. John L. Lewis has called this bill the "job destruction act," and I believe he is absolutely right. For many years, there has been a refusal to recognize the damage inflicted by import competition. By this I mean that under previous trade agreements acts there have been mechanisms intended to protect American industries when tariff reductions caused economic hardships. However, these mechanisms have rarely been effective and there has been, in fact, little protection forthcoming even when damage was recognized. This was illustrated last year in the mosaic tile case before the U.S. Tariff Commission. In that case, the Commission recognized the serious import competition problem and recommended redress. The President refused to concur in the findings and provide the damaged industry with the assistance it needed. The same thing has happened to the coal industry and its long fight against residual fuel oil imports. In that instance, the President has had the power to limit imports but he has refused to do so.

This new trade program has written into it an elaborate system of Federal relief for industries and workers who have been affected by lower tariffs. I can find little assurance in this. Industries caught in import competition problems are not bankrupted suddenly. Jobs are not destroyed overnight. It is, rather, an evolutionary process. The damage occurs over a period of time. I predict a rude shock for the first company or group of unemployed who go to the Government in Washington seeking relief because of closed factories or lost jobs. The promises that sound so reassuring will melt away except in the most clearly definable situations. I seriously argue with the philosophy of this bill and with the immense grant of power over industry, labor, and the entire economy which it grants to one man—the President.

There are many other Executive powers that have been requested but not granted. One is the right of the President to adjust tax rates. Under the Constitution, this cardinal power is granted solely to the Congress. However, the President attempts to justify his request as a means for dealing quickly with economic slumps—to pour more money into a sagging economy. Of course, this is a tremendous grant of power to any President, and in the hands of a President who is more concerned about his political future than the public interest it could be very seriously abused. There are several dozen more of such requests which would give powers to the White House that should be reserved to the Congress or to the independent, regulatory commission of government.

If we were to seek a reason for the long session this year, it would lie largely in disagreements over which of the two philosophies will prevail in the country. This Congress has been a preparation for the next. The great issues and opposing philosophies are being debated today and the Congress in January will begin to make decisions on those questions that the past Congress has not considered.

There were some significant advances during the past 2 years. One was certainly the Area Redevelopment Act, on which I had the pleasure to work as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House. For localities such as southeastern Ohio, this program offers a kind of impetus that has been needed. However, it is not a Federal handout. It is firmly based upon local initiative and local effort. Already six of the seven counties of the 15th District are eligible for this kind of help, and I have reason to believe they will offer us great assistance in the future to improve our local economy and to enable us to contribute to the productivity of the Nation. We have already obtained some help, principally through the retraining of men to assume highly responsible jobs in electronics work in Guernsey County.

Even more encouraging is the survey now going on in Monroe and Washington Counties, under Area Redevelopment Act auspices, to explore the salt domes under the earth. If this study of our natural resources turns out as we hope it will, it could mean that we possess resources to support large developments in the chemical industry. It has been a long dream of southeastern Ohioans that, with our coal, abundance of electric power, oil, and natural gas, plus salt, a new era of industrialization for our area could be dawning.

We know that sound prosperity comes only from industry producing products that employed people want and can afford to buy. When the Government can provide this stimulus, it should. Government must not, however, impede industrial growth through punitive taxation and the destruction of confidence in private investment. In past months, I believe that the Federal Government has been guilty of impeding growth at the same time it professes eagerness to help. Nevertheless, I am pleased that this Congress has placed upon the books the Area Redevelopment Act, even though it is not entirely the way I would have written it if the responsibility had been mine alone.

Another excellent piece of legislation to come out of this Congress is the Manpower Retraining Act. We all know that technological changes make certain skills obsolete and require new and more complex skills. There are fewer jobs today for the unskilled or semiskilled worker. When men are unemployed, their old jobs may be lost to them forever. Are these people to be consigned to a future of unemployment compensation and public relief? Unemployment compensation and public relief are necessary and useful programs, but they are temporary stopgaps. Actually, they are negative programs over a long period of time if we know that the basic problems are a lack of skills and training among so many of the unemployed. The positive approach is to work in concert with the State to help retrain unemployed men and women so that they can become productive workers again. This is what is being attempted in the Manpower Retraining Act. It is certainly a sound idea and one that should be pursued as the country keeps pace with technological progress.

These are only some of the issues that have arisen in Washington during the last 2 years. It has been my purpose to report to you, on a weekly basis, important events affecting the lives of the American people. The reports have by no means been a one-way street. A great many people of southeastern Ohio have taken the trouble to express their views to me on legislation of all kinds. During the 2 years of this Congress, I have received more than 8,000 letters from southeastern Ohioans, commenting on legislative questions. Several thousand more have written to me for assistance in personal problems involving the Federal Government. As I have attempted to represent the people of the 15th District, their comments and suggestions have made that job easier and have added a real challenge to the responsibility and honor that has been conferred upon me.

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## Member of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Nation carried a tribute to our colleague, the late Clem Miller. I believe that it expresses much of the respect and feeling many of us felt for one of the finest Members of the House.

The article follows:

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE

The death of Representative Clem Miller, in a plane crash in California, brought the silence of sadness to this office. We knew Clem Miller as a reader, friend, and preceptor. He felt—and he was right, of course—that something should be done to improve communications between Congress and the press; that the press did not always understand the legislator's problems and that the legislator was often at fault in not explain-

ing the legislative process to newsmen. Over the years, he was for us a perceptive, thoughtful, kindly guide to Congress and the tribulations of its Members. For some years we were privileged to receive the newsletter that he sent out to a select list of key supporters and friends. Fortunately a collection of these letters was published a week or so before his death ("Member of the House: Letters of a Congressman," edited by John W. Baker, published by Charles Scribner's Sons). The volume will stand as a lasting testament to the depth of his understanding of Congress and its ways and his skill in communicating this often esoteric lore to the uninitiated. Flags should be flown at half-mast throughout the First Congressional District of California; it will be a long time before the district is represented by a better man than Clem Miller. In our book, he was a model of what a Member of the House should be.

## Honorary Degree for Hon. Thomas B. Curtis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the respect and high regard which colleagues on both sides of the aisle have for our friend, the gentleman from Missouri, TOM CURTIS, is known to all of us.

The recent publication of his book, "87 Million Jobs, a Dynamic Program To End Unemployment," is fresh evidence of Mr. CURTIS' scholarly and fruitful mind and an impressive example of the important objectives to which he devotes his talents.

It will come as no surprise, then—though it is extremely pleasant news to relate—to learn that TOM CURTIS has been awarded the degree of doctor of laws by Westminster College in Fulton, Mo. His personal scholarship, his interest in and support of educational progress, and his service as a life trustee of Dartmouth College all confirm the wisdom of Westminster College's choice.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of the citation read by John M. Mitchell, president of the First National Bank of St. Louis and a trustee of the college, who presented the degree to our colleague:

CITATION FOR THE HONORABLE THOMAS B. CURTIS UPON THE OCCASION OF CONFERRING THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS, JUNE 4, 1962

Mr. President, the candidate before you is a Member of the Congress of the United States from the Second District of Missouri. His dozen years as a representative have given evidence of his great qualities as a leader and of his background in the knowledge of the law. He is a public personage who wears well his honor; he is a politician known to rise above party interests; he is a gentleman of integrity.

President Davidson, I claim it an honor for Westminster College to make an honorary alumnus of THOMAS BRADFORD CURTIS, hence, I recommend him for the degree of doctor of laws, honorus causa, at your hand.

## Land and People Conferences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT S. KERR
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, the Department of Agriculture is sponsoring five regional land and people conferences this fall. Three already have been held—one in St. Louis, Mo., for the Midwest; one in Portland, Oreg., for the West; and one in Denver, Colo., for the Great Plains. Others are scheduled in New Orleans, La., for the South, and in Philadelphia, Pa., for the Northeast.

The purpose of these meetings is for the Department of Agriculture to have a means of counseling with rural and urban leaders to find ways and means of strengthening rural America, of providing for adequate family farming, and of stimulating economic growth throughout the rural areas of the Nation. The conferences are open for public participation.

At St. Louis there were about 1,500 rural and urban leaders in attendance from the 10 Midwestern States. At Portland there were over 1,700 rural and urban leaders in attendance from the seven Western States. At Denver this week there were 2,000 rural and urban leaders from the 10 Great Plains States. There has been broad representation and lively participation at each of these conferences, including rural leaders from the States and counties, citizens organizations, chambers of commerce, labor unions, church and youth groups, producer and consumer cooperatives, schools and colleges, county and municipal governments, agencies of State government from all States in each region, and the rural news media.

Each conference is opened by the Governor of the host State. Except for the keynote address, which is given by the Secretary of Agriculture, all of the speaking is done by citizen spokesmen. A regional speaker addresses the gathering on the subject of "Rural-Urban Interdependence in This Region." A panel of four citizens discuss "Rural Changes in Our Region," after which the conference is open to the floor for comments and questions.

The full afternoon is devoted to a second panel of six citizens discussing "Stimulating Economic Growth in Rural Areas," after which the conference is open to the floor for comments and questions. In the evening the conference breaks up into four discussion groups on the following subjects:

First. How can family farms be strengthened for rural development?

Second. How can new uses and conservation of land and water expand income, employment, and better living in rural communities?

Third. How can planning and implementation of economic development for a county or rural area be accomplished?

Fourth. How important is rural-urban community planning?

On the second day each of the four discussion-group leaders reports the consensus of his discussion group to the full conference, after which the conference is open for floor discussion and the administrators of USDA agencies responsible for financial and technical services important to rural areas development are available on the platform to receive comments and answer questions.

At Denver a spokesman for the rural leaders summarized the conference by saying:

It seems to me that sincere thanks are in order to Secretary Freeman and other personnel of the Department of Agriculture for holding a conference of this type where people from different walks of life have an opportunity to discuss and express their ideas on a subject that is of vital importance to the future of America.

I believe there is new hope for the family-type farm when we have a dedicated Secretary of Agriculture who is determined to put agriculture in proper focus with the rest of our economy. Surely his position in this regard merits our support.

It has been clearly brought out at this conference the Department of Agriculture now has many programs available to us. For example, in the Great Plains we have the Great Plains Conservation program which was a special tool designed for this area. There are many others. It is our job to make the best possible use of them. Soil conservation districts can and must assume greater responsibilities than ever before.

After listening to the discussions and conversations that are heard in the lobbies, I am convinced that these remarks I have made are the sentiments of a majority of the folks that are here at the conference.

Again may I say "Thank you" for making such a conference possible.

Each land and people conference is chairmaned by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Rural Development and Conservation John A. Baker serves as alternate chairman and has the task of funneling the questions asked, the answers given, and the opinions expressed into a conference summary.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excerpt from the keynote address of Secretary Freeman given at Denver this week, the reports from the discussion groups, and the summary of Assistant Secretary Baker.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

We are here to listen, and to learn. We want your suggestions for improving the Department's services for conservation and development.

To make the services of the Department more effective, I have reorganized it to place under one leader—which is the Assistant Secretary for Rural Development and Conservation—the Farmer Cooperative Service, the Farmers Home Administration, the Forest Service, the Office of Rural Areas Development, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Soil Conservation Service. This is a grouping—a packaging—of important development and conservation services to enable the Department to help you more effectively.

In making these and other changes in the Department, I have sought the advice of

almost countless rural leaders. I have worked closely with Members of Congress.

And I am happy to report to you today that the Congress has provided new and important tools for your use in revitalizing the countryside.

Some of these are in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, which President Kennedy signed less than 2 weeks ago.

Some are in the Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962, also just approved by the President. USDA's Farmers Home Administration is now authorized to make loans to provide low and moderate cost rental housing and related facilities for elderly persons and families in rural areas.

Other new tools are in the Public Works Acceleration Act which the President signed into law in mid-September. This act's purpose is the immediate creation of new jobs in financially hard pressed rural as well as urban areas.

The Department of Agriculture has a massive backlog of work projects ready to provide new jobs and economic upswing in rural areas eligible for help under the accelerated public works program, in virtually every State.

Some of the projects ready for operation are Federal. These are in the national forests, in soil conservation districts, or for the Agricultural Research Service.

Some are cooperative projects with State and local governmental subdivisions. Local cost-sharing or matching of Federal funds is required for these projects. Scores of multipurpose dams in small watershed projects sponsored by local agencies in cooperation with the Soil Conservation Service could be included. So could State-Forest Service cooperative projects, including protection of forested areas from fire, insects, and diseases.

USDA is working closely with the Department of Commerce, which administers the accelerated public works program, in getting rural projects started immediately. USDA already was working with the Department of Commerce in carrying out the Area Redevelopment Act in eligible rural areas.

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 gives the Department authority to aid rural people in new long-range programs for putting the land we don't need for crops into new and profitable uses, including a great expansion of outdoor recreation for all Americans.

Permit me to briefly describe some of these new authorities.

USDA now can enter into agreements up to 10 years with farmers and ranchers to carry out long-range conservation plans. These agreements will provide for cost sharing and other help for changes in cropping systems and land use, and for development of soil, forest, wildlife, and recreation resources. This includes land on which conservation reserve contracts are expiring.

The Department has authority to assist State and local public agencies designated by the Governor or the State legislature to carry out land use plans. Federal loans, repayable within 30 years, can be made to the designated State and local agencies.

In small watershed projects, the Department now may share with agencies of the State up to one-half of the cost of land, easements, and rights-of-way for reservoir or other areas to be managed by State and local agencies for public recreation. Cost-sharing also may be made available for providing sanitary and other facilities needed for recreation. State fish, wildlife, and park agencies are eligible for help. So are counties, municipalities, and special purpose districts created by or under provisions of State legislation.

The Department may now advance funds to local organizations for immediate purchase of lands, easements, and rights-of-way to prevent encroachment of other developments in small watershed projects. These funds would have to be repaid with interest before construction is started.

The Department now may aid local organizations in developing water supply for future use in small watershed projects. USDA can pay up to 30 percent of the total cost of a reservoir to store water for future municipal or industrial use. Repayment and interest charges may be deferred up to 10 years if the water stored for future use is not used during that period. Repayment with interest will begin as soon as the water is first used.

All these and other Watershed Act amendments are applicable to the 11 watersheds, such as the Washita River flood prevention project in Oklahoma, authorized under the Flood Control Act of 1944.

For the first time, the Department through the Farmers Home Administration can make loans to individual farmers for development of outdoor recreation. The owner-operator of a family-size farm may borrow up to $60,000 for construction of fish ponds, development of hunting preserves, construction of cabins, picnic and camping areas, and other facilities for outdoor recreation. The borrower may have up to 40 years to repay the loan at 5 percent interest.

Operating loans up to $35,000 also are available to owner-operators and to farm tenants for operation of recreational facilities. These loans are repayable in 7 years at 5 percent interest.

FHA also may make loans up to $1 million to aid associations serving farmers and other rural families to make changes in land use, including the development of recreational facilities.

With these new tools, the Department can assist you and your local agencies in planning and carrying out rural renewal projects, resource conservation and development projects, watershed recreation developments, creation of water supply for future needs, projects for expanding grasslands and family forests, and for the development of outdoor recreation facilities on farmland.

The Department looks to local people to initiate, to plan, and to carry out these projects in cooperation with local and State agencies, just as it does in its long-established conservation and development programs for other privately owned land.

The ultimate success of rural areas development is—and must be—the responsibility of local people. The impetus and the drive must come from them.

The Federal Government can provide incentives and technical services, but Government cannot and should not do the job for local people. Government cannot and should not control all the land-use activities of its citizens. The Government has programs and resources that will help them. But any community—any area—that waits for Government to pull it out of the problems caused by change and shifting economic and social patterns will be submerged.

The challenge, then, is to the leadership of the people of this great countryside of ours. Countless thousands of people, living up to the tradition born in rural America of local effort to meet local problems, have already accepted the challenge. They have sound experience and notable achievements to back them in this effort. Local leadership has demonstrated its worth in farmer committees, electric and other cooperatives, in soil and water conservation districts, in rural areas development committees, as well as in scores of organizations in our towns and villages. A united and coordinated effort of all these forces will insure the future of rural America.

I should like to conclude by pointing out that our program for strengthening rural America is an integral part of our program for food and agriculture in the 1960's. The heated debate over controversial supply management features of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 obscured the great advances authorized in the act for conservation and development—advances that drew quiet but strong support from conservation leaders in all fields and at all levels, rural and urban. But the goal of strengthening the income of the family farm, by means of adjusting production to amounts that can be used, is inseparable from the goal of strengthening rural America.

We seek increased efficiency on our farms, and we would further this goal by helping farmers to acquire and operate more efficient farming units; but along with this we seek farm programs that will enable the farmer, as well as the consumer, to benefit from this increased efficiency.

We seek, therefore, to manage our abundant productivity, not by idling land, but by putting it to use to provide services such as recreation that are in increasingly scarce supply.

We repudiate the CED proposals to use poverty as a weapon to accelerate the migration from our farms, and to replace a surplus of wheat and corn with a surplus of men and women.

Instead, we can provide, in rural America:

A land of prosperous farms and thriving towns, where people may choose to earn a living, not only by producing food and fiber, but also from among a number of attractive alternatives that result from building new enterprises and creating new opportunities.

Opportunities for combining part-time employment with part-time agriculture to help to provide a good life for those many Americans who prefer to live in nonmetropolitan areas.

Decent housing and adequate living for the millions of senior citizens who live in greater proportions in our rural areas than in our cities.

Communities that can provide health, education, and other public services equal to the best that we know how to provide.

Resources of outdoor recreation of all kinds and in sufficient supply to meet the needs of our growing urban population.

The conservation of our soil and water resources to meet the needs of future generations.

This kind of rural America will add to the economic strength of the Nation, and will continue to make invaluable spiritual and social contributions to our national life. We can have this kind of rural America if we work together to preserve the real values of our heritage as we use the new science and technology to meet changing human needs.

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[Land and people conference, Denver, Colo., Oct. 8–9, 1962]

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF GROUP NO. 1 ON STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY FARM

(By Ben H. Radcliffe, president, South Dakota Farmers Union, discussion leader)

Some 600 intensely intrested people with a sprinkling of farm wives discussed for nearly 3 hours the subject of strengthening the family farm.

There appeared to be a restrained feeling of optimism toward the Department of Agriculture's new farm income improvement programs and the prospect of implementing the self-help sections.

The first point of discussion centered on the definition of a family farm. The general definition term arrived at was that the family farm was not related to the acreage of the farm but is a unit on which the family furnishes most of the labor, capital, and the management. It might be further defined as a unit with sufficient potential income to provide an average standard of living.

There was considerable discussion on the need for legislation restricting vertical inte-

gration especially as it relates to the cattle feeding industry. It was the general concensus that this kind of vertical integration created unfair competition to family agriculture.

A spokesman for the Nebraska feed grain growers said that if larger integrated cattle feeders gained control of the cattle market, they would eventually control the price of feed.

Opinions were nearly unanimous that the real threat to the family farm was low farm prices. Speaker after speaker pointed out the need for a farm program that would bring parity prices to American agriculture. Supply management of feed grain and wheat was discussed thoroughly and compared to supply management production by industry to attain a desired selling price for a given commodity.

On a comment by one participant that the farmers should have the same right to put a price tag on what they have to sell as does industry, another speaker pointed out that industry can successfully do this only because it controls production to meet real demands. This must be done at the production end of the operation, not at the marketing or pricing end of the transaction.

We will be able to price our own commodities only when we agree to manage our production. Obviously 5 million farmers cannot do this voluntarily but must use the devices of a governmental program within which to achieve this end.

Considerable discussion centered around the need in any farm program for a minimum, below which a family farmer's production would not be cut. It was agreed that this family farm cutoff could not be tied to acres; rather it might be geared to a gross dollar volume of a given commodity using the normal yield as a factor to arrive at the number of acres to be sustained on each farm. This provision embodied in a supply management program would substantially reduce the annual toll of family farms.

Without a doubt the subject receiving the most attention was farm credit. Time and time again it cropped up even during discussion of other subjects. Young and old farmers alike but especially young farmers, described the need for more adequate credit. Estimates from $50,000 to $200,000 and capital investment for the establishment of an efficient operation were alluded to. Too often when a young farmer needs credit, the FHA is out of funds, and he leaves discouraged or borrows less than enough from some other source thereby compounding his problem.

In addition to more available funds, there appears to be a lack of sufficient numbers of qualified personnel in the FHA to properly supervise and assist borrowers in working out farm operating plans. At least three bankers, including the executive secretary of the South Dakota Bankers' Association, took the floor to state their complete agreement with the FHA program. They said that, almost without exception, a farmer who is helped to become established or helped out of financial difficulty by FHA became a substantial farm operator and good bank customer.

Let me quote from a statement by a farmer participant:

"Available finance to family type farmers is the greatest and most pressing need today. It can be provided through Farmers Home Administration supervised loans. It is and will prove to be the first step necessary for an expanded rural economy.

"We realize that agriculture is the basic source of economic prosperity in America, and to bring about a sounder operating program for a large segment of our American farmers the Congress of the United States needs to increase funds for operating loans. Housing funds should be greatly increased with larger appropriations; this year funds were almost exhausted the first 90 days.

"Administrative funds should also be increased to take care of the already tremendous duties and those that will come with an expanded program."

Perhaps additional legislation and authorities are needed to meet agricultural credit needs of today.

The program should be expanded to meet up to 25 percent of agriculture's credit needs, in assisting young farmers endeavoring to get started and older established farmers in making major adjustments. Adequate credit tends to strengthen the total farm and general economy and will stop out migration and keep the people on the land.

A Presbyterian minister said, "a farmer without land is like a man without a soul".

An REA man from Oklahoma suggested that farmer-owned cooperatives could do much more in the field of processing and marketing of farm commodities than they have in the past.

He cited the instance of the citrus growers who control their product from the field to the consumer. Technical assistance for developing such programs is available through RAD.

Diversion of farmland from production to recreation facilities received a minimum of discussion. It was felt that only areas surrounding metropolitan centers have recreation potential of any great importance. Instances of hunting and fishing resorts replacing agriculture were reported. One Oklahoma cotton grower said "a Yankee tourist is worth more than two bales of cotton and he is a lot easier to pick."

In conclusion, the consensus of the discussion group was that the only way a family farm can be strengthened is by increasing farm income. It was felt that the key to improving farm income is to increase farm prices along with having an adequately funded and staffed farm loan program. These two major points should be supplemented by the expansion of farmer cooperatives, increased technical assistance and the development of recreation facilities.

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[Land and people conference, Denver, Colo., Oct. 8 and 9, 1962]

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION GROUP NO. 2 ON EXPANDING RURAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

(By Dr. John E. Thompson, extension economist, South Dakota State College, Brookings, S. Dak.)

1. A strong farm operation can result from the utilization of the facilities that are already available through the U.S. Department of Agriculture. These programs can make a stronger and more prosperous agriculture.

2. There is a need to inventory all of the resources following it up with proper zoning and multiple uses of land.

3. In parts of the Great Plains, particularly the mountainous areas, it was pointed out that recreation is the best use of land providing that money is available to develop the water resources and secondary roads necessary to reach these areas.

4. Several of the statements made referred to the need for trade schools to train youth for both on farm and off farm occupations. It was further pointed out that existing educational facilities should be utilized to the maximum extent.

5. It was emphasized that many tools are needed to implement the rural areas development program and that many farmers need immediate supplies of new capital. This point was made by several people.

6. It was pointed out that some areas are dependent upon a single cash crop in their preset farming operations and are in dire need of a supplemental high income crop.

7. The possibility ought to be explored of reducing capital requirements for young farmers getting started through cooperative ownership of farm equipment.

8. It was pointed out that an adequate water supply is basic for the development of any small community and its interrelated farming activities. Watershed development provides an excellent tool to provide such water supplies. Therefore, greater emphasis needs to be given to speed up the watershed planning process by greater appropriations for that purpose. People from small towns need to make themselves heard if this is to be accomplished.

9. The many opportunities that exist for improving the economy of the Great Plains area by greater emphasis in developing forest resources was also emphasized. The possibility of utilizing seldom utilized woody plants should be explored through research.

10. In one area there is some consideration being given to the possibility of setting up new grower allotment reserves for the young farmers who desire to become established in farming.

11. The competency of U.S. farmers must be kept to the highest level possible because you get many accomplishments through individual action.

12. In order for us to develop employment opportunities in farming we must first determine the reasons why people do not seek farm employment but prefer to work in cities. Such reasons were given as better pay, shorter working hours, and better living conditions. If farmers' income were nearer to parity, it would then be possible for them to overcome some of the above-mentioned disadvantages.

13. One suggestion made for increasing income and the ability to pay higher prices was through the adoption of marketing agreement programs, and it was pointed out that this has been proved successfully on a local basis and should be broadened.

14. While recreation provides opportunities for expanded income in rural areas, it was pointed out that there are limitations and these must be recognized. The seasonal nature of some types of reecreation is an example.

15. Another suggestion was to explore all possibilities of developing small industries on the farm as well as in the nearby towns and cities.

16. It was also pointed out that we should not overlook the real value of independent action on the part of the farmers or groups of people in studying their potential and opportunities.

17. It must be recognized that problems arise when change occurs. Social institutions often do not keep up with the rapid changes which are occurring. In order to develop resource opportunities, three basic steps are necessary:

a. Local people must identify real problems and not symptoms.

b. They must decide what would be a desirable solution to these problems.

c. They must explore alternate courses of action. It was further pointed out that all people need to be involved—not just a few leaders, which means that this is basically an educational job involving everyone.

18. Research on many possibilities that can lead to rural economic expansion and job opportunities is needed and should be encouraged. Getting industrial development in rural areas does not happen easily. It was pointed out by one who has had experience in this field for many years that "The first 20 years are the toughest." This man reminded us that farmers are not the only ones having problems. In a rapidly changing world, everyone has problems, whether they are in farming, manufacturing, mining, or whatever it may be. The important thing to remember is that rural development and the creation of job opportunities requires a lot of work by

dedicated people who will stay with it until the job is done.

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SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION GROUP NO. 3 ON REVITALIZING THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

(By Lowell H. Watts, director of agricultural programs, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colo.)

The topic of discussion for group 3 was "revitalizing the rural community and its institutions." Two hundred and fifty persons participated in the discussions.

The comments varied from relatively specific recommendations and requests for governmental assistance to general statements of concern regarding problems for which there are at this time no easy or clear-cut solutions.

Although the participants did not specifically identify these needs, there was threaded through the discussion a feeling that the colleges and universities should conduct more effective sociological and economic research. A specific need exists to develop more specific standards and criteria by which to judge area or community vitality.

An agricultural economist suggested that vitality was not necessarily related directly to the number of people in a community. He stated that some communities can and must adjust to a declining or stable population. Under certain conditions he said that an increase in population may not prove feasible. This discussant said that "we can adjust communities to a declining or stable population providing we can maintain sufficient vitality within the community." However, no clear-cut definition of how to measure vitality was offered.

There was considerable concern expressed regarding the outmigration of young people from rural areas. It was agreed that limited income potentials are a primary deterrent to the return of young college graduates of many rural areas. Fundamentally, this point involved a concern regarding high initial investment in farming and relatively low return per dollar invested. There was no attempt to discuss farm price policies. There was, however, a persistent concern regarding the relative disadvantage held by the farmer in terms of the price received for his production efforts. No direct recommendations were presented on this point.

Two broad areas were discussed at length. These included recreation and education.

The discussion indicated that recreation is viewed as a major undeveloped potential for economic development, not only in the mountain areas but also in certain areas of the Great Plains.

Participants from New Mexico outlined recreation developments in one local area which involved a total expenditure of approximately $24,000. This investment has resulted in the attraction of approximately 7,000 persons annually to the area for fishing and related recreation. In spite of this achievement, it was suggested that financial assistance from the Federal Government is badly needed to expand the recreational development already begun. Newly authorized lending authority of FHA seems adequate to meet this particular type of situation. This same discussion implied that the Extension Service should serve as a catalyst to bring various agencies together in their work with local people.

It was indicated that USDA assistance to departments of game and fish would be helpful. A game and fish director stated that individual farmers and ranchers could be assisted by game and fish departments in developing recreation facilities and activities. He pointed out, however, that there is a need for a stimulated interest and an organized educational and informational effort to bring individual operators and game and fish departments closer together. Interwoven into this discussion was the viewpoint that some type of education and information program is essential in all types of development programs.

An additional consideration involved the acknowledged requirement for close interrelationships between Federal agencies as well as between agencies of State and local governments. Several speakers indicated a desire to see closer coordination between agencies.

Specific suggestions made regarding governmental assistance in stimulating recreational development included the following:

1. Government loans to finance the construction of buildings and development of grounds around reservoirs and adjacent public areas which require the improvement of facilities to service the public.

2. Development of satisfactory access roads into recreation areas which can be developed locally but which depend upon adequate highways and roads if nonresidents are to be able to use the newly developed recreational capability.

Farm and ranch operators generally expressed a need for information on how to develop, maintain and use recreational capability on private lands, particularly for hunting and fishing.

One New Mexico businessman had this to say, "Our people cannot take advantage of a rich natural endowment in recreation areas because of poor access and high associated costs of development. Our plea is of the costly type—we need roads. The road to market in our country is the road to the top of the hill."

The discussions regarding recreation as a potential for economic development indicated that programs of education, financial assistance, and increased cooperation are badly needed.

A second area which received a bulk of the discussion was education. Discussions on this point led to the following comments:

1. There is no present college curriculum which provides adequate training in either agricultural college administration or in agricultural program administration. In addition to formal training in these areas, it was suggested that universities provide college-trained people who might be available at the local level to provide special training programs for both agency personnel and farmers.

One farmer indicated that sole emphasis upon university degree programs was improper. He stated that high school and junior college emphasis on vocational training should be increased—that college and university emphasis today does not provide adequate terminal vocational training for blue collar workers.

A representative of vocational education pointed out that there is a great opportunity for adult education programs conducted under the leadership of the public school system.

2. Two university vice presidents indicated that continuing review and evaluation of program efforts is required.

One suggested that 4–H and FFA programs should be reoriented to provide a more adequate training base for youngsters who might go into either rural or urban employment. In this connection, a deemphasis in skill training was suggested.

It was suggested that our social, our political, our governmental, and our educational institutions have developed a degree of obsolescence which will require continual and serious evaluation if they are to maintain full vitality.

A further observation was made that the educational system must provide more adequate off-campus, continuing education-type programs. A primary involvement of the Extension Service in these efforts was indicated.

Throughout the discussions a concern was evidenced regarding the degree of coordination needed between various agencies of State and Federal Government. A similar concern was expressed regarding the need for total community or area consideration of problems. In this connection, it seemed obvious that greater interaction is needed between individuals and groups in an economic community or a trade area.

Serious concern was evidenced regarding the problem of enticing outstanding young people to return to rural areas after they receive their formal education. One recommendation in this regard was made suggesting that adults attempt to involve teenagers in local community affairs and problems before they go away to college.

There seemed to be general agreement that no new agencies are needed. It was indicated that the kinds of government assistance which have proved so effective in achieving high agricultural production capability can be applied with equal effect to revitalizing the rural economy of the Great Plains, but to achieve this we must achieve a unity of purpose and an effective coordination between those agencies of government that are involved.

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[Regional land and people conference, Oct. 8–9, 1962, Denver, Colo.]

DISCUSSION GROUP NO. 4—RURAL-URBAN COMMUNITY PLANNING

(James W. Fagan, moderator)

The panel was in general agreement that if effective urban and rural community planning was to become a reality, several basic requirements will be necessary.

Local leadership must be established that desires to put the power and talent of both the rural and urban committees behind a common purpose.

The panel discussed a number of vehicles which might be used for this purpose. It was the consensus of the group that State and local community RAD committees may offer the brightest hope to achieve this. The panel's discussion of various RAD committees indicated RAD's have been able to enlist both urban and rural personnel of considerable talent.

Through the development of RAD committees, for the first time the many abilities of the Federal and State agencies may be geared to the solution of community problems by the local RAD committee.

The panel was of the opinion that lay members of both the urban and rural communities, as well as local governmental people, should be encouraged to serve on local RAD committees. Community planning will require complete knowledge of the technical abilities available, upon call from the various agencies, and it therefore seems apparent that mayors, county commissioners, and other local governmental people should have every opportunity to take an active part in RAD committee planning.

It was the consensus of the panel that aggressive action should be taken now to implement RAD committees on a local level, as directed by the Secretary. It was the panel's opinion that the RAD plan is sound, and that to delay it implementation is to lay waste the best tool available for urban and rural planning by local communities.

The panel discussed other approaches to community planning, including city-county planning and zoning commissions, civic organizations, church organizations, and similar groups. Representation by these various groups on local RAD committees, it would seem, be necessary to the success of the RAD committee, or any committee whose objective is long-range urban and rural community planning.

A number of unique suggestions were made by panel members to bring about under-

standing of urban and rural problems. Most of these suggestions centered upon bringing together people of both communities for the purpose of informing each other of the problems with which each is confronted.

The panel also considered the question of recreation and industry expansion through community planning. There was general agreement that not much could be accomplished through a combined effort of urban and rural people to achieve both.

Our panel concluded that community planning is not new. It is only the approach to such planning that has developed new dimensions. The crux of the problem may well rest upon timely recognition of the fact that urban and rural communities are interdependent. This means they must solve their problems through joint efforts.

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

(By John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture)

This has been a great conference. Secretary Freeman and I and the Department's administrators came here to listen and learn. You have told us. The major accomplishments of this conference will be what we—you and us—carry to our home communities in our hearts and minds.

You have been most cooperative and frank in expressing your opinions of ways to develop rural America. You may be interested in a brief summary of the notes we have made of the key consensus points you gave us to ponder.

If we read correctly your signal, you have told us:

1. Together we must build a firm foundation for permanent prosperity in rural America.

2. Poverty must not be used as a weapon to force economic adjustments in rural America—rather we want prosperous family farms and thriving towns and small cities.

3. We want deliberately and systematically to put land, water, timber, and related resources to work to move all of America forward more rapidly.

4. We need to find workable ways to stabilize and improve family farm income.

5. We must apply to private land the multiple use principle that has been so successfully applied to publicly owned national forests and grasslands.

6. We urge management of publicly owned resources to maximize area development and prosperity of rural communities and small cities consistent with our national responsibility for a more rapid rate of economic growth and on stewardship responsibilities for natural resources for all the people.

7. If we want to get rural America on the move, we need to excite the human mind in rural America.

8. What must be done in rural America can only be done through local leadership and local initiative.

9. We realize rural area development is a vast undertaking requiring comprehensive preparation and synchronized action to build factories, develop adequate family farms, expand business enterprises, provide better public facilities such as rural electric systems, telephones, housing, water and sewer systems, swimming pools, better schools, golf courses, and tourist attractions.

Federal and State Governments should cooperate to provide coordinated technical services to help local, private and governmental leaders make comprehensive consistent farm and home plans, soil conservation district programs, watershed plans, areawide economic development plans voluntarily fitted in where appropriate to comprehensive coordinated development of the economy and resources of entire river valley basins. We must extend the principles of the Great Plains conservation program and expand the beneficial use of power and water.

10. We want in rural America to improve family farm income, raise rural living standards and increase job opportunities in rural America—to start a chain reaction of more remunerative business transactions that will start main street cash registers ringing more often and more meaningfully. We from the Department of Agriculture have been listening. This, I believe, is what you wanted us to learn. Have I summarized an accurate account of what you told us?

Now, on our part in USDA I make you this pledge. USDA is geared up by legislation, is gearing up personnelwise and administratively, is ready, willing, and able to respond appropriately with facilitating technical and financial resources warranted to augment private and cooperative local and State initiative, determination, effort, and drive.

## Review of the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the 1961–62 sessions of Congress—the Congress elected with President Kennedy—began the process of getting the United States up to date with the changing world.

Important things were left undone for the next Congress and those that come after. It is nevertheless fair to say that for the first time Congress was able to face the realities of the world, to recognize that our country must deal with new conditions and problems abroad.

At the same time, action in the session just ended underscores what I reported a year ago, that this Congress has been one of extraordinary activity, producing more affirmative legislation than any other within the relatively recent past.

The bills passed this year dealing with domestic and internal issues took the people further toward meeting an accumulation of piled-up needs that President Kennedy inherited from the past.

Three major measures of the session just ended carve out new ground:

First. The foreign trade bill was designed to boost our exports abroad in competition with the Soviet system and in cooperation with the European Common Market, and it is radically different from any other trade-and-tariff bill in the country's history.

Why did we have to write a different kind of bill? Because the Common Market—a huge economic alliance of six Western European nations—is a new thing in the history of the world, an economic union of Western peoples with great industrial strength, with tremendous power and vitality, and we cannot afford just to sit on our hands and watch it grow until it squeezes us out of the world's markets.

Our new trade bill, arming the President with power to negotiate with the European Common Market and other Western nations on trade policies, tariffs and the economic needs of the whole non-Communist world, is a departure from our past because the times demanded a fresh beginning.

Second. Congress this year passed a Manpower Development and Training Act, under which for the first time the Federal Government takes responsibility for helping jobless workers equip themselves with new skills and get themselves new jobs.

Why was this necessary? Because automation and the new technology, our rapidly developing scientific progress, are leaving great pools of unemployed, while at the same time there is an actual shortage of workers with higher skills or different skills.

The four recessions we have had since World War II, including the last two recessions of the Eisenhower administration in 1957–58 and 1960–61, have nothing in common with the now almost-forgotten great depression of 1929. Our economy is strong and vital. It is inventive. It has plenty of jobs to offer in the future—but we must fit the training of people for the kind of jobs that will be available.

For hundreds of thousands of workers now left stranded, the retraining bill offers programs to equip them once more for useful, well-paid work. For the future, it is our hope that the education and training of our growing population will be brought close to the needs of commerce, farming and industry.

In my review of the first session of Congress for Journal readers last year, I predicted that action on the manpower training bill would be completed this year, and it has been done.

Third. Congress this year also passed a major revision of our public assistance system, with the emphasis placed on giving people on relief a chance to start over again. It is the first great change in a quarter of a century.

This should not be misunderstood. There will always be a need for public assistance for the unfortunate, the helpless, the aged, the sick, the children too young to cope for themselves. Our welfare revision bill is based on more Federal aid for these purposes—not less. But a new emphasis was added, so that citizens will not have to stay stuck on the relief rolls because they have temporary misfortunes. The program is designed to help them help themselves back to productive and happier lives.

These are things that President Kennedy had in mind, partly, when he said during the campaign of 1960 that we must "get America moving again." It is what he talked about in his inaugural address when he said "we might not complete all our tasks immediately, but let us begin."

I believe very deeply that the world of the sixties is radically different from that which existed before World War II. This is not only a matter of the threat of the new Soviet Empire; we have been living with Soviet aggression for years, and we may have to live with it for decades in the future.

The point is that there have been other revolutionary changes in the world—the rise of African and Asian independence, the rise of the European Common Market, the virtual certainty that Great

Britain and her great Commonwealth countries will be associated with the Common Market. There have been revolutions in technology, and vast new discoveries are on the way.

The 87th Congress was the first that was called on by a President to face these new realities and meet them, and I think Congress made a constructive beginning.

A Member of Congress has special obligations to the people of the district he has been privileged to serve, and there are some gains to report for Madison and St. Clair Counties.

The $61 million Kaskaskia River channelization project is on its way at last, after the long years of preliminary work in getting approval from both the Army Engineers and the Budget Bureau.

This project, which I sponsored in the House, will open up large areas of southern St. Clair County to new industries that can employ our workers. The project is now officially authorized by Congress. The Budget Bureau has approved an appropriation of $100,000 for the drawing up of detailed plans. I am hopeful Congress will approve $325,000 for planning next year.

In addition, we were able this year to secure final authorization of $4,995,000 for the flood control project on Richland Creek, which will protect the Belleville area from the flash floods that have devastated farms and homes in the past.

For the southwestern part of St. Clair County $921,000 was authorized for flood control work in the Prairie DuPont Levee and Sanitary District. For the flood wall at New Athens, $73,000 has been appropriated for construction planning.

On one special project I am still working, a project that involves the very important question of whether the cities and towns of our district will be allowed to share in the benefits of the new Federal emergency public works program.

This $900 million program was passed, at President Kennedy's request, to speed up actual construction of Federal and local construction operations that have already been approved but were slated for "future delivery."

The bill was designed, very simply, to help meet local conditions of substantial unemployment by advancing the construction date of sound public projects and paying the cost with Federal funds. It specifically provides that the projects must have been locally approved, and that Federal funds are needed because State and local money is not now sufficient.

To key the program directly to communtiy needs, the bill further provides that the Federal funds shall be used in communities meeting certain formulas on the rate of unemployment.

Our problem is that Madison and St. Clair Counties are tied into the so-called Greater St. Louis area, for certain statistical purposes, by the departments of the Government. Across the river there is one set of conditions and in our own home area there is another set of conditions—yet they are tied together.

There is no law that requires them to be tied together, and there is no special reason for putting them together administratively.

In many other Federal fields, East St. Louis is related to Chicago or Springfield for administrative purposes, rather than to St. Louis. Our Federal district courts, for example, are part of the U.S. District Court for Southern Illinois, and have no immediate connection with the U.S. District Court for Eastern Missouri. Likewise, to be eligible for consideration under the Area Redevelopment Act, the separation of St. Clair and Madison County from the St. Louis labor market area is essential.

I have endeavored to persuade the Departments of Labor and Commerce that our community should be separated from the Greater St. Louis area for purposes of deciding eligibility for the public works program aimed at getting people back to work. Commerce Department officials have my proposal under active consideration, and I shall continue to press the point until we get results.

In these annual reports on the work of Congress I have often emphasized the importance of the great standing committees of the House. This is where much of the real work is done.

My own assignments for many years have been with the House Committee on the Armed Services, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The accumulated expert testimony available to these committees, given by our top military men and scientists and military-scientific administrators, is literally vital to the security of our country.

It is again a source of particular satisfaction to report that President Kennedy has continued his program of building up our ground forces, including forces for special services in areas where Communist penetration comes from guerrilla infiltration rather than overt invasion.

I never had faith in the former Eisenhower administration's doctrine of the budget balancers, that we could solve all our problems with the slogan, "More bang for a buck." What that slogan meant was acceptance of the theory that any future war must be a nuclear war, an all-out war, that would devastate this country and Western Europe and the Soviet Union and Communist China.

President Kennedy met the crisis of Berlin last year by beefing up our forces in West Germany and by calling up the reserves needed to maintain our military posture and demonstrate our firmness.

Congress this year passed a joint resolution, at Mr. Kennedy's request, authorizing the President to call up reserves again to meet any crisis that may develop while the legislature is not in session.

This resolution is aimed specifically at the situation in Cuba—but it is much braoder than Cuba. The Soviet wall that cuts Berlin in two separate pieces is a constant provocation, and danger. The resolution Congress passed gives the President full authority to meet any emergency, and we are much better equipped today than we were 2 years ago to respond to emergencies all over the world.

It has cost more money to rebuild the armed services. The defense appropriations have been substantially increased and the effect is shown in our budget figures. But the great American democracy must not be left in a position where it has no answer for Communist aggression except nuclear bombs. We are moving toward the idea of flexible power.

In the field of foreign policy, I am happy to report that most Republican Members of Congress showed a fine spirit of bipartisanship in support of necessary measures the President advocated.

This is exactly what Democrats did when President Eisenhower was in the White House for 8 years.

It may be that during the campaign ahead, some partisan things will be said about Cuba and Castro. Campaigns sometimes have a way of bringing out the worst in candidates for office. In my opinion, frankly, it would be a mistake for Republican candidates to try to blow up Cuba into a partisan issue, because the trouble began a long time ago, and all of us share the problem together.

We have launched an expanded program to strengthen the Western Hemisphere—President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. The nations of Central America and South America are perfectly capable of seeing the danger from a Soviet takeover of Castro; and we have made it perfectly clear that we will tolerate no "export" of Castro's kind of revolution to other republics in our part of the world.

To return to the subject of major legislation passed by this session of Congress, five bills should be mentioned in addition to those cited earlier.

Congress made further improvements in the basically new farm program launched in the feed grains program last year.

We are moving step by step toward cutting the cost of farm supports without treating farmers as expendable and without treating our tremendous production of food and fibers as a curse. A new system was extended this year to the wheat crop.

The problem left over from Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's 1958 system is that the price support program, which encouraged production of more and more crops on smaller acreage, became rapidly intolerable in its burden on taxpayers generally. This administration is facing frankly the fact that the size of the harvest, not the number of acres cultivated, is the key.

To face this fact requires no "regimentation" of farmers. On the contrary, the developing system takes account of our growing population and the possibility that all the fibers and food we can produce may be needed in the future. But the system promises tremendous savings in the years immediately ahead, and no one who prates about "fiscal resonsibility" can recklessly disregard the importance of the savings.

We are moving the farm program toward a rational basis good for the farmer and good for the country, a program that the public accepts.

Congress this year passed a new drug control bill, strengthening the authority of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Administration to protect the public from adul-

terated or unsafe products and to force removal from sale of new drugs shown to have bad side effects on human beings.

Congress also passed a new program adjusting and raising the salaries of Federal workers, both in the postal service and nonpostal Government activities.

The new pay scales give the Government greater bargaining power in competing with private industry and the academic world for the services of first-class scientists, educators, and administrators, plus experts of various kinds. It also increases the salary level of lower paid workers to bring them into balance with incomes obtainable in private enterprise.

It is my belief that the Federal Government has a moral obligation to treat its employees fairly and equitably. They have no way of obtaining equity for themselves, because economic pressure such as strikes cannot be allowed for workers in Government service.

The extraordinary thing is that President Kennedy is the first Chief Executive in this century to take the initiative in proposing a salary increase for Government workers; in every other case, Congress has had to take the initiative, often over the protests of the executive branch.

The pay bill was coupled this year with the first substantial move in years to cut the deficit of the Post Office Department by raising postal rates closer to the break-even point.

I do not share the view of some that the Post Office should be compelled to operate as a profit-seeking private business; the Government has a social obligation to deliver the mails. The basic business of the Post Office is to help people to communicate, to spread information and enlightenment, to stimulate our great national economic system. But there should be a reasonable relationship between postal costs and postal rates, and Congress took a long step toward restoring the balance.

In this session a tax bill was passed that extended the revisions begun last year. We have not given the revenue system the thoroughgoing reform that is needed. That will come in the next Congress, and President Kennedy has made preliminary suggestions that indicate the direction of the recommendations he will make. But in 1962 some of the abuses shown up in the old system were checked and steps were taken to stimulate business by a special system of tax credits for specific kinds of investment.

Congress also authorized purchase by the United States of up to $100 million in bonds of the United Nations—bonds that will give the U.N. the funds to finance its stabilizing activities in such operations as the Congo and the Near East.

The Soviet Union and its satellites have refused to pay assessments properly imposed to finance these operations and the U.N. General Assembly now in session will be compelled to devise a method by which the delinquents can be required to pay their share of the bill or lose their U.N. voting rights. But in the meantime, approval by Congress of our purchase of the bonds gives the U.N. money to tide the organization over a period of fiscal crisis.

Congress passed one other bill to which I give almost special mention because its enactment ended an almost incredibly ridiculous situation.

The Atomic Energy Commission has a great plant for plutonium production at Hanford, Wash., and as a byproduct this plant furnishes enormous amounts of steam. To many of us it seemed merely sensible to harness the steam for the production of electric power, and bills for that purpose have been sponsored. President Kennedy recommended a Federal facility to take the steam produced with taxpayers' money and use it for power generation.

Such is the foolishness of doctrinaire opponents of public power that they literally killed this program last year. They preferred waste rather than production.

This year a way was found to get around their opposition. A group of electric cooperatives in the Northwest offered to build the facilities to use Hanford steam, and Congress authorized the project.

A list of major bills passed in the 1st session of the 87th Congress last year emphasizes the record of affirmative activity in President Kennedy's first 2 years.

There was the 1961 minimum wage bill, extending the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions of workers previously left without coverage and raising the basic minimum to $1.25 an hour in a succession of step-ups.

There was the omnibus housing bill—the first important revision in housing legislation since the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill of 1949—that allows a broad attack on urban blight and offers help to cities in straightening out and financing their transit and traffic systems.

New social security amendments broadened benefits for an estimated 4.4 million persons and provided for financing the benefits through increased taxes.

An area redevelopment bill was passed and signed by the President, after similar bills had been twice vetoed by former President Eisenhower. The effect has already been felt in many regions where unemployment has been chronic and heavy.

Congress approved an increase in authorized funds to speed up the vast Interstate Highway System, and the evidences of its construction can be seen all over the land. Congress raised the authorization of Federal funds to assist communities in cleaning up polluted river systems—a program that Mr. Eisenhower for the last 2 years of his administration had tried to get killed.

There is plenty of work left for the future. Congress this year was unable to reach agreement on aid for our school systems and for colleges and universities. It was unable to complete work in a new program for employing young people on useful conservation works, despite the example of the usefulness of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the thirties.

These issues were left for the 88th Congress, and I have no doubt that they will be actively advocated by the President and vigorously debated. It is my belief that the President is on sound ground when he says that we have many social reforms to make in our generation, and that we must face up to our responsibilities.

I add one word in emphasis on the tone of the Federal Government under President Kennedy's administration.

The Government has been active and affirmative in its approach toward our problems.

Mr. Kennedy took personal responsibility for the failure of the attempted operation by Cuban refugees and exiles against Castro—and so he should have taken responsibility even though the operation was an inherited one, already extensively planned and prepared. He did no buck-passing; he sought no scapegoats among blunderers below.

The Preseident has sharply reduced the unfavorable balance of payments that was draining gold from this country into the pockets of foreign speculators and placing the American dollar under attack.

He has steadily extended Federal activity to protect the civil rights of all our citizens, in every State, including the State of Mississippi, and he has helped create a climate in which minority groups previously denied the vote are registering and voting in large numbers.

The President has stood firm under the pressures and threats of Soviet leaders, has asserted our detremination to defend the freedom of Berlin, and has patiently continued to build our strength and the strength of the North Atlantic Alliance that is the basic defense of the free world.

He has given strong and effective leadership to Congress and this is vital, because we learned in other administrations that a disinterested President has only negative power. He can veto bills but he cannot initiate programs. Mr. Kennedy has played an active part in working with Congress to help it achieve its creditable record.

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## Congressman Harold M. Ryan Reports to the People of the 14th District of Michigan

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD M. RYAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RYAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as the 87th Congress draws to a close, I wish to report to the people of the 14th Congressional District upon my activities in Congress and the accomplishments of this Congress. This session was the longest in peacetime history.

It was a tremendous privilege that was bestowed upon me by the people of the 14th Congressional District of Michigan when they elected me, on February 13,

1962, to serve them and to help them with their various problems.

One cannot serve a term in this great legislative body without gaining renewed confidence in this Nation and our form of government.

From the time I raised my right hand and repeated the oath of office as given to me by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, I have conscientiously tried to discharge my duties in the national interest and in the interests of my constituents.

This will be a brief report on some of the more important issues considered in the 1962 session, now close to adjournment.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

Immediately after being sworn into office, I was assigned to a very powerful committee, the Banking and Currency Committee. This committee has broad powers over the banking and money problems, as well as in the field of housing, urban renewal, area redevelopment, Federal credit unions, the insurance of bank deposits, and on subjects of International Monetary Fund and the Import and Export Bank.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Congress reflected its sentiments concerning the graveness of the situations in Berlin and Cuba, by adopting strongly worded resolutions stating that Soviet intervention in our hemisphere constituted a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and that Berlin must be defended at all costs.

Troubles were also apparent in South America, the Congo, Laos, and in China. Because of the tense international situation, our defense has been greatly strengthened. We increased the Regular Army divisions from 11 up to 16, an increase of 45 percent. The President called up over 157,000 Reserves, and made many recommendations to improve the defense of our Nation.

The trouble spots also caused Congress to give attention, once again, to the passage of foreign aid for friendly nations. The House of Representatives originally reduced the President's request from nearly $5 billion to a little over $3½ billion, but the Senate restored some of the reduction and, as a result, when the bill was finally approved by the Congress, it was $289 million higher than the bill recommended by the House, but was over $1 billion less than the amount requested by the President.

The Congress also gave the President new authorizations for missiles, naval vessels and aircraft to strengthen free world defenses.

This Congress also authorized loans up to a total of $100 million by the United States to the United Nations based on matching combined subscriptions of all other countries.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

In dealing with economic measures to reduce unemployment and lessen its hardships, many measures were passed by the Congress. Among those were: a greatly expanded housing program; a broader minimum wage law; temporary increase in State unemployment compensation, a new farm program, a two-step pay increase for all Federal employees; tighter controls over public and private pension and welfare funds.

One of the most important was the manpower retraining program which authorizes a 3-year program of training of unemployed in vocational schools, or on-the-job retraining, to develop new skills; first 2 years' cost to be paid by Federal Government, third year, 50–50 with States.

Another vast program to alleviate unemployment was congressional action which provides for $900 million in immediate loans or grants for public works projects in redevelopment areas and communities with excess unemployment.

Legislation was enacted during this congressional session which increases lending authority of Small Business Administration for business loans and disaster loans to a combined total of $1.109 billion; investment company loans from $325 million limit to $341 million; authorizes loans to firms in need of assistance under Trade Expansion Act.

To continue the highway construction program, Congress authorized funds for allocation to the States for primary and secondary highway systems and extensions into urban areas.

SPACE PROGRAM

The effort in this field has been more than tripled since 1960. This Congress has authorized nearly $4 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Agency for the next fiscal year. This includes $263 million for planetary and lunar exploration.

These measures will enable American science to keep pace with developments in the space age and advance American space exploration programs.

A major achievement this year was the enactment of a law authorizing creation of a privately owned, Government-supervised corporation to handle this country's participation in developing a worldwide system of communication by satellite.

HOUSING

Congress extended the programs and also provided programs to enable private enterprise to provide housing for moderate income families and to permit owners of homes to repair and improve them with FHA insured loans. There was also a provision to increase the loans available to colleges to build dormitories and urban renewal grant authority was extended.

Legislation was also enacted to provide an increase in the authorization to insure mortgages by FHA so citizens can borrow money at the bank to buy a house with a smaller downpayment than otherwise would be possible. Thousands of homes are now being purchased under this present program.

VETERANS

The 87th Congress authorized payment of $60 million special dividend to eligible policyholders of national service life insurance.

It extended direct and guaranteed home loan programs for World War II veterans to July 26, 1967, and for Korean conflict veterans to February 1, 1975. It also authorized $1.2 billion for direct loans program through fiscal year 1967.

In this session, Congress also increased by an average of 9.4 percent the rate of compensation for service-connected disability paid to 1.9 million veterans; provided increased benefits to parents and children of veterans dying from service-connected disabilities. A permanent program of vocational rehabilitation was provided for veterans with service-connected disability serving between World War II and the Korean conflict and thereafter. Compensation was also increased for blinded veterans.

Legislation was passed which authorizes VA hospital and medical care for peacetime veterans with noncompensable service-connected disabilities.

TRADE EXPANSION ACT

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 clearly will become a historic monument to the work of this Congress. The tariff powers it confers upon the President are the powers that are needed if the Nation is to embrace the opportunities in the rapid expansion of the European trade arising out of the Common Market. The 87th Congress, by the passage of the Trade Expansion Act, is making the recovered and rejuvenated Europe of large consequence in the economic life of the free world.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH AND WELFARE

The 87th Congress amended the Social Security Act, to reduce public assistance rolls, by: Providing grants to States that establish work programs for needy; increasing U.S. share of administrative costs; extending for 5 years payments to families of unemployed fathers and other needy children; raising by $4 per month ceiling on Federal matching grants for aged, blind, and disabled; and increasing grants for child welfare services.

Congress also passed legislation which encourages self-employed and professionals to establish pension plans for themselves and employees by granting income tax deduction for funds set aside up to $2,500 per year.

The senior citizens of this country were not forgotten by this Congress. Action was taken and legislation was passed which provides for low- and moderate-cost housing for elderly in urban and rural areas; authorizes $200 million for loan funds for new construction and other programs.

Legislation was also provided which raised minimum monthly old-age insurance payments under Social Security Act from $33 to $40; increases benefits to widows; provides male workers may draw reduced benefits upon retirement at age 62; liberalizes disability provisions.

In the field of public health, Congress saw that it was necessary to provide for the stricter regulation of drug industry and of distribution of new drugs, which topped the list of health and welfare measures.

It also enacted legislation which authorized a 3-year program of grants to aid States and communities in carrying out mass vaccination programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus.

In the field of education, Congress authorized matching Federal grants up

to $1 million for any State to purchase TV transmission equipment for educational purposes, providing the State or sponsoring agency furnish the land, building, and guarantee to operate and maintain the channel.

U.S. PEACE CORPS

A U.S. Peace Corps has been established as an independent agency subject to policy guidance of the State Department. The Peace Corps has already achieved great success as can be seen by its unparalleled, enthusiastic acceptance in foreign countries. It indicates that programs of a relatively modest size, if tailored to fit the social and economic needs of other countries, may be the most effective kind of foreign aid. President Kennedy's bold approach has been most successful.

In the second session, the Peace Corps was extended and expanded. This Agency has been acclaimed by many writers on foreign affairs as the most significant and advantageous change in our relationship with the underdeveloped countries of the world in the 20th century.

BILLS I HAVE INTRODUCED AS A CONGRESSMAN

H.R. 10834, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act. The major objective of this bill is to eliminate nationality discrimination from our general immigration laws. The new quotas provided for in the bill reflect the actual experience of recent years of our immigration policy.

H.R. 11013, a bill to allow, as a deduction from income taxes, the amount paid for tuition. This bill will allow a taxpayer a deduction for the tuition that has been paid to any grade school, high school, or college.

H.R. 11406, a bill to provide assistance in the development of mass transportation. This bill would authorize the Federal Government, through the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, to make Federal loans or grants to assist State and local bodies and agencies in financing facilities and equipment to provide mass transportation to move people much faster in the metropolitan areas.

H.R. 12912, a bill to accelerate the research with respect to the causes, prevention and cure of cancer, heart diseases, and mental illness. This bill would grant the authority to proceed at a more rapid rate to determine the causes, find methods to prevent and effect cures of cancer, heart disease and mental illness. These illnesses are the greatest killers, and take a terrible toll of life. Research would be stepped up to prevent much less suffering and greater loss of life.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF THE 87TH CONGRESS

This Congress has enacted over 800 public laws and has given President Kennedy 74 percent of the major measures for which he asked during this session. The Republican critics of the Congress will not point out that many measures which could have been enacted failed because of their coalition with reactionary Democrats. The defeat of the bill to provide aid to colleges and universities, to bring the cost of educating generations to come within reach of all, and to help ease the incredible overcrowding of our schools of high learning, is a monument to this reactionary coalition, as was the defeat of general school aid legislation to ease the crippling overcrowding in schools and excessive tax burdens on homeowners in large cities across the land.

Disagreements in many areas on major legislation between the House and the Senate became a frequent occurrence. The total number of bills introduced in the House of Representatives during the near 10-month session extended 6,000 and brought the 2-year total of bills to more than 13,600. Less than 8 percent became law and many of these were bills of a private nature. As is generally true in our legislative process, many bills of prime importance were not even considered. To attempt to sum up this Congress as being one primarily of achievement or failure is, of course, entirely a matter of one's personal point of view.

PERSONAL REPORT

During the 1962 session, more than 400 residents of the 14th Congressional District visited my office in Washington. My staff arranges tours of the White House, provides gallery passes for both the House and Senate, and schedules tours of many other places of historical interest in the Nation's Capital.

In April of this session of Congress, I took a special opinion poll in my district to determine how the majority of my constituents feel about the many controversial legislative issues. The poll brought a tremendous response running considerably higher than the average mail public opinion poll return. Tabulations on each question were carefully summarized and the results placed in the press as well as in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 19, 1962.

I have sought to provide vigorous and effective representation to the people of my district in the Congress and in the handling of the many types of problems which they bring to me.

I assisted in bringing to Michigan the whole mobility command of the Department of Defense and to locate in this area headquarters for 40,000 Federal positions. The jobs of thousands of employees at Ordnance Tank-Automotive Command were saved by this action.

Although this report might appear quite lengthy, it is actually but a brief analysis of what Congress did during this past session.

I pledge to continue my efforts on behalf of the people of my district, and to continue the same record of legislative endeavor.

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## Report to Indianans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, at the close of each session of Congress, it has become my custom to report to my fellow citizens of Indiana on our work. I ask that this report now be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT TO INDIANIANS

More jobs for Hoosiers. This has been the net effect of the last 22 months, and our most notable achievement. In modesty, we in Washington, through cooperation between Congress and the administration, have been able to mark up great success in the economic field. The State of Indiana offers a wonderful example of what can be done through hard work and cooperation, not only among us here in Washington, but with local interests.

Latest figures show 100,000 more people working in Indiana than there were in January, 1961, at the beginning of the Kennedy administration. The total employment figure has climbed from 1,632,900 to 1,733,400. Unemployment has dropped in the same period from 154,700 to 88,000.

The Nation as a whole has bounced back during the same period. Certainly the beginning of the Kennedy administration came during a recession. Despite what critics may say, much progress has been made in the 22 months since that cold and snowy January day in 1961. The rate of unemployment in early 1961 was around 7 percent both nationally and in Indiana. This has been reduced to 5.3 percent nationally and 4.8 percent in Indiana.

Hoosiers will be pleased to know that only one major metropolitan area in our State remains on the critical list of high unemployment. In January 1961 there were five. Nationally the number of critical areas has been cut in half.

DEFENSE CONTRACTS UP 105 PERCENT

Many factors contribute to such an outstanding record; not the least is defense work. We have, in 22 months, managed to increase the amount of defense work for Indiana 105 percent—an increase exceeded only by one State. During the past year $637 million in defense contracts have come to Indiana. We are beginning to get our fair share of the defense dollar. It is helping business and providing jobs for our people. One Indiana factory reports it has increased employment from 950 in early 1961 to some 3,000 today. We are proud of such results.

Legislation enacted by the 87th Congress also has been of material help already. Effects of some of the actions of Congress will not be felt fully for another year or two. One of the greatest steps forward in this field in the future will be from the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. One of the forward steps which has already taken effect is the Area Redevelopment Act, of which I was a coauthor.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

The ARA has placed more than $2 million in loans and grants into Indiana, creating more than 800 jobs. One of the requirements for a loan or grant or retraining program is that it must be shown that the money spent will actually produce jobs. Evansville obtained a loan for a sewer system which will serve a new section of the city and a shopping center that will generate more than 500 jobs directly. Sixty-three trainees learning new trades in Evansville also have received jobs as a result of these classes. A new water system has been built in Borden to serve a cabinet company with 241 jobs. A new industry is coming to Corydon through ARA. It is the Indiana Glass Sand Corp., started with ARA help. In addition to these programs, ARA designation of an area as eligible for assistance means that low-interest loans aid in defense con-

tracts and other special help to businesses can be arranged. This is possible in 2 of Indiana's 92 counties.

Project proposals still pending before ARA include: Reservoir project for New Providence, plastics molding plant in Clark County, Milan water system, Bloomfield sewer system, Jasonville sewer system, expansion of North Vernon Processing Co., building for Acme Business Forms in Jennings County, Grow Co. project for conversion of sawdust in Orange County, airport in Orange County, Middle Fork of the Anderson River watershed in Perry County, airport in Perry County, and food store in Sullivan County.

PUBLIC WORKS SPEED UP

Many communities will also be able to benefit from the accelerated public works program approved by Congress this year. These loans and grants have been established to encourage local communities to put in water lines, sewer lines, public buildings, roads and bridges which have been delayed or curtailed because of bond limitations or high local taxes. Federal funds are now available to match local moneys in order to hurry along some of this work. Speedy construction not only provides jobs now, but the work done stimulates the local economy and attracts industry. This public works program is available to communities which have been designated as eligible by ARA on the basis of lagging business and employment over a long period. Half a dozen public administrators from Indiana participated in a recent meeting with Commerce Department officials on ways to benefit from this new law.

The Small Business Administration not only gives special attention to applications for loans from firms in these depressed areas, but also tries to help businessmen throughout the State. Assistance is made not only in loans, but in helping to obtain Government contracts and in helping to set up small business investment companies to boost business in a given area. In the past year, 167 applications for loans were received from Indiana companies. Of these, 77 were approved and about $6½ million loaned. Communities which have benefited directly include: Elkhart, Jasonville, Marion, Marshfield, Mishawaka, South Bend, Terre Haute, Brazil, Carlisle, Dunkirk, Middletown, Muncie, Burket, Flora, Fort Wayne, Geneva, Linton, North Vernon, Pendleton, Pierceton, Portland, Upland, Warren, Boswell, Bunker Hill, Columbia City, Connersville, Hartford City, Huntington, Sellersburg, Vincennes, Warsaw, Chesterton, Logansport, Lynn, New Castle, Wabash, Winchester, Cannelton, Columbus, Evansville, Indianapolis, Loogootee, Mentone, Princeton, Angola, Dugger, Albany, Bluffton, Decatur, Oxford, Brookville, Valparaiso, Jeffersonville, and Milford. Our office is pleased to assist in obtaining these loans.

HOOSIER TRADE CONFERENCE

About 75 representatives of chambers of commerce and Indiana manufacturers attended a conference I set up designed to help businessmen in our State learn more about selling to the Federal Government, to suppliers of the Federal Government and to foreign countries through the new Trade Expansion Act. Emphasis was on foreign trade, which is already a big item in the Hoosier economy.

Indiana jobs also are created by the mutual security program—the so-called foreign aid program. During the bookkeeping year just ended, $1½ million was spent in Indiana for items being bought to help our friends and allies throughout the world. This is up about 25 percent from the year before. If we must continue helping other countries, I am glad that 80 percent of the money is spent in the United States for goods instead of sending money abroad. As long as $4 out of every $5 in the program is spent in this country, I am glad that we are able to generate more business for Indiana through the program. Thus, foreign aid money is going into Columbus, Connersville, East Chicago, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Kendallville, Lawrenceburg, Michigan City, Mishawaka, Mooresville, North Manchester, Richmond, and South Bend. These contracts placed us among the top States in the country supplying goods for the mutual security program.

Increased business activity and the accompanying increase in jobs for Indiana is due to more than Hoosiers doing business with the Government. Contracts with the Federal Government or subcontracts are, of course, a large item. After all, nearly one-tenth of the entire gross national product—the value of all goods and services in the country—is going into defense buying alone.

We have found that the Department of Commerce, especially, in making special and strenuous efforts to build business. Our office works closely with the Office of Business and Defense Services and with the Bureau of Business Assistance in the Commerce Department to try and help build the kind of prosperity that will create new jobs and boost the Indiana economy.

FLOOD CONTROL EFFORTS

Aside from these activities listed above, much of my efforts outside the legislative field have been directed toward development and protection of our vast water resources. Floods have cost Hoosiers more than $10 million a year during the last dozen years. In addition, hundreds of tons of rich, black soil have been washed away. There has been loss of life and property and untold misery from these floods.

Moreover, the long-term industrial development of the State demands full availability of water the year around and the transportation afforded by our rivers. Industrial development also demands outdoor recreation which can be provided along with flood control and water development. They all go hand-in-hand. This is a job which demands coordination and cooperation among city, county, State, and National Government; civilian and military arms, and private business, civic organizations and trade associations.

We are pressing ahead with the new navigation locks on the Ohio River. Work is also proceeding at Cannelton, and planning is being rushed at Newburgh and Uniontown.

At the same time we are pressing for a study which would lead to navigation along the Wabash River. We are making strenuous efforts, too, to improve navigation along the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway and from this vast new ocean into our State. In this connection, we are continuing our work on the development of harbors and navigation along the Calumet Waterway and the Illinois Waterway.

The Burns Waterway Harbor, the proposed public harbor in Porter County, will become a reality. It is expected that authorization of this project will be made by Congress in the year ahead and that funds for this work will be provided soon thereafter. This does not mean that we have abandoned hope for the development of the Lake Michigan shoreline for recreation and presrevation of its priceless natural beauty.

BILLS FOR WATER DEVELOPMENT

These principles were embodied in a bill I submitted to the Congress. The bill was held in the Interior Committee by those who opposed the port project. My bill to set up a Wabash Valley Interagency Commission to supervise and coordinate protection and development of this valley passed the Senate, but was held up in the House. We will continue to press for this needed legislation.

We had considerably more success with flood control projects which also will serve to provide a continuous supply of water and sources of recreation land. During the year just ended some $29 million was spent on Indiana flood control, water development and navigation projects. Most of this, of course, was for navigation on the Ohio River, which handles more traffic than any other waterway in the world.

But notable advances were made on other projects: Calumet Harbor, Indiana Harbor, Monroe Reservoir, Salamonie Reservoir, Mississinewa Reservoir, West Terre Haute levee, Evansville floodwall, Nibiack levee. Advance engineering was completed on levee unit No. 5, Huntington Reservoir, and Uniontown locks and dam went into final planning stages.

Surveys which will lead to construction work are being rushed at Gary Harbor, Kankakee River, Little Calumet River, Maumee River, Ohio River Basin, Oil Creek, Pigeon Creek, St. Joseph River, Wabash River, White River and Whitewater River.

WATERSHED PROJECTS

During the year just passed, too, we were able to press ahead with watershed projects under the Agriculture Department. More than $1 million was spent on the Middle Fork of the Anderson River in Perry and Crawford Counties. Planning funds have been approved for projects on Bachelor Run in Carroll and Howard Counties, Stucker Fork in Washington, Scott, Jefferson, and Clark Counties, Lattas Creek in Green County and Little Wea Creek in Tippecanoe County.

The prevention of poilution of streams is of great importance also to the maintenance of continuous pure supplies of water. Indiana has been allotted $1,897,065 this year for this work. It will allow 14 projects to proceed, including those at: Roanoke, Anderson, Union City, Hammond, Munster, Orleans, Cannelton, Brookville, St. Paul, Goshen, Lawrenceburg, Bargersville, Monroeville, and Veedersburg.

Closely tied to water transportation and water development in the quest of more jobs is transportation. In the bookkeeping year just ended, $82½ million was allocated to Indiana for highways. The primary roads program is moving ahead rapidly. Indiana is drawing on funds allocated 2 years ago to the interstate program. More than three-fourths of the highway funds available to Indiana each year are for this new system of expressways. About $185 million can be drawn by Indiana for these superhighways.

AIRPORT DEVELOPMENT

Indiana's airport development moved ahead also during the bookkeeping year just passed. We received $590,871. In the present money year Hoosier communities are to receive more than $2 million, including airports at Tell City and French Lick which I noted in my discussion of Area Redevelopment projects. Considerable work also is being done at Anderson, Evansville, Indianapolis, Huntington, Mt. Vernon and South Bend.

Military construction funds spent in Indiana during the year just ended included $144,000 for an armory at Monticello, $144,000 for an armory at North Vernon, completion of an armory at Richmond for $182,000 and alteration of the Bedford Armory for $49,000. Facilities for the regular forces were built also at Ft. Benjamin Harrison and at Bunker Hill Air Force Base. Expenditures there were about $1 million.

Many Hoosiers were called upon also to serve their country actively in the cold war. In addition to the young men drafted and enlisted, Air National Guard units and several Army Reserve units were called up during the Berlin crisis. I wrote to each of the 2,000 men so called up and told them how much their service was appreciated. The Army National Guard of our State, meanwhile, was rated "superior" by Federal inspection.

VETERANS' AID

Not only is the cost of defense high, so is the cost of services for veterans who served faithfully in past wars. Indiana has 582,000 veterans—about 3,000 from before World War I, about 69,000 from World War I, and the rest from World War II and Korea. Five Veterans Administration installations in Indiana employ 28,000 persons and cost $13 million in payroll. Total expenses for the five installations—a regional office and two hospitals at Indianapolis, a hospital in Marion and one in Fort Wayne—run $136 million. A huge construction program for one of the Indianapolis hospitals was announced a few weeks ago and will probably get underway next fall.

The VA pays some $78 million to 67,000 disabled veterans in Indiana and to 25,000 dependents of deceased veterans. Compensation payments are being increased due to action in this Congress. There have been 113,000 guarantees of loans to veterans having a total face value of $788 million and some $220,000 has been paid for education and training of veterans in Indiana.

Our office this year has handled 363 service and veterans probelms. A typical case is that of Mrs. Billy Bell whose lost allotment checks were found. Another is that of a serviceman transferred to Alaska whose belongings were held up in transit and we were able to see that they were found and delivered. A third is that of a 36-year-old veteran with a child who was turned down for a veteran's pension for whom we were able to get Social Security benefits. In addition, we handled 146 other social security cases, including the problem of a group of policemen from Indiana who had been paying into the account even though State law had taken them off some years ago.

HELP FOR HOSPITALS

Also in the field of health, $5½ million in Hill-Burton Fund grants to hospitals were made during the bookkeeping year just ended. These grants were made to hospitals and other health institutions in the following Indiana communities: Auburn, Danville, Elkhart, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Greenfield, Greensburg, Indanapolis, Jeffersonville, Kendallville, Lafayette, Lawrenceburg, Monticello, New Albany, Princeton, Sullivan, Washington, and Winamac. Hospital and other health centers in Fort Wayne, Greenfield, Greensburg, Indianapolis, Jeffersonville, Dearborn County Hospital, Lawrenceburg, and Daviess County Hospital, Washington.

More than half a million dollars also was given to Indiana institutions for research in Federal grants. Indiana's Division of Mental Health received $5,000 for its Institute for Psychiatric Administrators. Other recipients were: Indiana University, Indianapolis' LaRue Carter Hospital, Notre Dame and Purdue.

SCHOOL AID

Local school systems also received Federal assistance under the program to help the so-called impacted areas—those in which children of Federal employees cause a burden on classrooms and teachers. A total of $1,330,000 went to Indiana communities under this program. Those who have received assistance are listed below. I have checked with township trustees and school board members on whether there has been any taint of Federal domination because of this allocation of funds. Not one person has complained of any such attempt at domination. School systems receiving assistance are:

Odon-Madison Township School Corporation, Odon; Jackson Township School Corporation, Morgantown; Perry School Township, Loogootee; Loogootee School City; The Shoals Community Schools, Shoals; The Metropolitan School District of Charlestown Township; Rockville Consolidated Schools; Schools, Town of Edinburg; Washington School Township, Kingsbury; Rutherford School Township, Loogootee; Franklin City Schools; Elmore School Township, Elnora; Reeve School Township, Alfordsville; Van Buren School Township, Odon; Metropolitan School District of Lawrence Township Schools, Indianapolis; Washington School Township, New Washington; Blue River-Jackson-Spencer Township School; Clarksville School Township; Silver Creek School Township, Sellersburg; Monroe School Township, Henryville; Jeffersonville School Township; Wood School Township, Borden; Owen School Township, Charlestown; Utica School Township, Jeffersonville; Schools, City of Jeffersonville; Barr School Township, Montgomery; Jennings Township Schools, Leavenworth; Madison Consolidated Schools; Steele School Township, Plainville; Washington School Township; Vevay Town Schools; Jackson Township School District, Galveston; Tipton Township School District, Onward; Linton-Stockton School Corporation, Linton; Pipe Creek School Township, Peru.

Peru School Township; Washington School Township, Peru; Worthington-Jefferson Consolidated School Corporation; Schools, City of Peru; Mooresville Consolidated School Corporation; Lincoln Township School District, Brownsburg; Avon-Washington Township School District, Danville; S. Central School Corporation, Elizabeth; Deer Creed Township Schools, Peru; Bean Blossom School Township, Stinesville; Schools, City of Bedford; Indian Creek School Township, Fayetteville; Marion School Township, Mitchell; Marshall School Township, Avoca; Schools, City of Mitchell; Perry School Township, Springville; Shawswick School Township, Oolitic; Spice Valley School Township, Huron; Van Buren School Township, Stanford; Washington School Township, Bloomington; Eminence Consolidated School District; Metropolitan School District, Martinsville; Monroe Township School District, Monrovia; Metropolitan School District of Warren Township, Indianapolis; Decatur School Township, Indianapolis; Franklin School Township, Roachdale; Washington School Township, Greencastle; Metropolitan School District of Clay Township, Carmel; York Township School District, Florence; Greenfield School City.

Cotton Township School District, Bennington; Delaware Township, Fishers Schools, Fishers; Patroit-Posey Independent School District, Patriot; Central School District, Switz City; Washington-Stafford Consolidated School Corporation, Lyons; Rising Sun-Ohio County Consolidated Schools; White River School Township, Greenwood; Franklin School Township, Marion; Center School Township, Marion; Mississinewa Jt. Schools, Gas City; Sims School Township, Swaysee; Van Buren School Township; Fairmount Schpol Township; Marion City Schols; Monroe School Township; Jefferson School Township, Upland; Eastern School District, Bloomfield; Jefferson-Craig Consolidated School District, Vevay; Schools, City of Greenwood; Central School District, Greenfield; Vernon Township Schools, Fortville; Taylor School Township, Center; Bloomfield School District; S. Western Jefferson County Consolidated School Corporation, Hanover; Metamora Township School District.

Milan Consolidated School Corporation; Sunman Consolidated Schools; Schools, City of Aurora; Harrison Township School District; Manchester Township School District, Aurora; Moores Hill School District; Miller-Logan-Harrison School District, Laurenceburg; Miller-York School District, Guilford; N. Dearborn North School District, Guilford; Dillsboro School, Caly Township, Dillsboro; S. Vermillion Community School Corporation; N. Vermillion Community School Corporation, Newport; Franklin Community High School District; N. Knox School Corporation, Bicknell; Brown Township Schools, Cross Plains; Shelby Township Schools, New Marion; Johnson Township Schools, Versailles; Metropolitan School District of Shakamak, Jasonville.

Fifty-one Hoosiers have received educational grants to study, lecture, and teach in foreign countries.

Evansville College and Ball State College are among the latest colleges and universities in Indiana receiving assistance in building of dormitories. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency have allocated more than $66 million to Indiana for college housing, providing more than 13,000 units.

HOUSING PROGRAM

HHFA also is charged with administration of Federal Housing Administration loans to private individuals and for projects, with assistance for elderly housing, public housing programs, community facilities loans and grants for such purposes as water lines and sewer lines, and the urban renewal program. Through cooperation with local officials we have been able to speed up the clearing of slums and improvement of housing conditions in Indiana. Some $11 million has been spent or is being spent in Indiana already on these programs. The efforts of this agency extend into virtually every community in our State.

In the public buildings field, General Services Administration is the builder and housekeeper for the Federal Government. We assisted more than 30 Indiana firms in becoming eligible for selling to GSA and many more in becoming eligible to build. For instance, International Steel Corp. in Evansville is the world's largest maker of revolving doors. These doors are used in virtually no Federal buildings. Through our efforts this is being changed. Another example of our assistance is shown in a problem involving International Seating Corp., Union City. Government specifications on theater-type seats bought for institutions barred this firm from selling to GSA. We were able to work with both GSA and the Hoosier factory to iron out differences so that this Indiana firm could sell to the Government while GSA maintained quality. This was done.

New post office buildings and major renovations in Indiana during the past year include: Clarks Hill, Hanna, Harlan, Burlington, Harmony, Hillsboro, Stockwell, Miller Station at Gary, Lynnville, Stilesville, Dublin, Losantville, Lynn, Madison, Oakland City, Williamsport, station A at Indianapolis, Rossdale, Warren, parcel post annex at South Bend, Van Buren, Milan, Brook, Richland, Bargersville, Brookville, Brightwood Station at Indianapolis, Garfield Station at Indianapolis, St. Meinrad, Muncie, Howe, Tippecanoe, and Clay City.

We have also appointed 26 new rural carriers for Indiana and 69 permanent postmasters this year.

HELP FROM HARTKE OFFICE

In addition to this work, we assisted Hoosiers in getting passports and worked on 83 immigration cases during the past year. We also wrote to 551 newly naturalized citizens of Indiana.

Our office staff mailed 918 publications other than copies of bills and reports of committees and hearings. These included 500 agricultural yearbooks. In addition to this, we mailed 122 flags which had been flown over the Capitol, answered 1,290 requests for information other than on legislation, mailed 182 photographs, greeted 4,160 visitors from Indiana in the office, and answered some 75,000 incoming phone calls, and talked to 100 high school groups from home.

Through the end of September, we had received 68,325 letters this year, including many questionnaires mailed out to constituents late last year, and wrote 59,758 letters aside from our weekly news report. It was

my pleasure also to report to Hoosiers through statements, some 60 speeches, television programs and radio tapes. We have estimated that I spent about 15 hours this year in front of microphones and television cameras reporting to Hoosiers.

The Senate was actually in session 1,005 hours during 146 days. This is, of course, aside from hundreds of hours in committee work. There were more than 14,000 bills introduced in the House and Senate, some of them identical. The Senate passed 1,133 measures.

In spite of other commitments, I was present for more than 85 percent of the quorum calls and rollcalls in the Senate.

In order to meet this kind of schedule requires that I be in my office, in a committee meeting, with some constituent group or in the Senate Chamber from around 9 a.m. to around 9 p.m. Many nights I do not get home to dinner and often do not manage to finish work until much later.

LEGISLATION CHIEF JOB

Members of the Senate and House, while called upon for a variety of services and assistance, are elected primarily to go to Washington to legislate—to offer, discuss, hear testimony on, debate and vote on bills and resolutions. This should occupy most of the time of a Member. As far as I am concerned, this is my most important work.

I am proud to have been a part of the 87th Congress, especially as the fourth member of the majority leadership through my chairmanship of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Yet, I view my position as a U.S. Senator as one which calls for working for the national benefit as seen by a Hoosier, whose primary interest is to his constituents. This should be done in as nonpartisan a manner as possible. The Senate has been described as the "living symbol of the Union of States." I strive to work as a Hoosier for a better America and a better Indiana.

The 87th Congress has been the most productive one in a generation. It dealt with big problems and far-reaching solutions. There was not always agreement between the administration and the Congress. But this is nothing new under our system.

KENNEDY BATTED 74 PERCENT

Yet, the scoreboard of accomplishment is very revealing. The President made 54 major recommendations in the 2d session—the 1962 half of the 87th Congress—and 40 of these were accepted. This is a 74 percent average. President Kennedy, during 1961, made 55 recommendations of which 33 were accepted. This is a 62 percent average.

By way of comparison, President Eisenhower had far less success with his first Congress—the 83d—which had a Republican majority in both Houses. In the 1st session, President Eisenhower had 52 percent of his major proposals accepted and in the 2d session only 40 percent.

The Kennedy program was funadmentally a "win" program designed to give us eventual victory in the cold war and to strengthen and revitalize our economy at home. It has been shown above that America was, indeed, caught in the quicksand of recession at the outset of the administration and has largely recovered.

If one thinks back 2 years, it is easy to see that we have not alone improved our economy, but also our position in the world. We are closer to the Russians in space success. We have no missile gap. We have reversed the policies of stagnation on the home front—policies such as the one which insisted that we have no new starts in public works. Now we tell the people of this country and the world that we will have new starts. We will progress. We will prepare for a better America for our children.

There has been a 10-percent increase in gross national product, a 10-percent increase in personal income, a 28-percent increase in corporate profits, a leveling of prices that had been in an inflationary spiral. Budget expenditures and the national debt today represent a smaller share per person and a smaller share of our total national output than they did 2 years ago. The balance-of-payments problem, where more of our money was going overseas than coming back from abroad, has been cut to one-third of its former proportions.

OUR "WIN" POLICY

In order for us to win the cold war, we need to have a strong and growing economy and a healthy society at home. We must be good neighbors here if we are to be good neighbors to our friends and strong contenders with our enemies. There often are debates among ourselves as to the best way to accomplish these ends and to solve our problems. My quarrel is not with those who do not see problems as I do or who would seek other solutions than those I find best. My quarrel is with those who refuse to recognize problems and, therefore, decline to seek solutions and blindly oppose those of us who do try and find the answers.

As leader of the free world and the chief country dedicated to inevitable victory over the godless tyranny of communism, America needs a Congress as well as an administration which will strengthen us at home and abroad and which will work to solve these problems.

Congress strengthened our national defense by a 20 percent increase in appropriations while the administration was devising ways to cut fat and waste as outlined by Secretary McNamara. The Polaris missile program, which Congress earlier had pushed over objections by the Eisenhower administration, was doubled. With an increase in the Minuteman missile program, we now have double the number of missiles and bombers on alert which are certain to survive an attack if one should come. This retaliatory force is of great importance in strengthening our hands in negotiating with others and in deterring them from attacking us. We also added five combat-ready divisions and four times the guerrilla forces with which to fight limited wars through which the Communists had made great advances in recent years.

STRIDES IN SPACE

It has taken a 200 percent increase in space appropriations to push ahead in this field. There is not only great propaganda advantage to being ahead in space, but there is great potential military advantage. We dare not leave outer space to our enemies. We are not backing away from the Russians in this vital field.

In international communications, we have been the acknowledged leader. We took a giant step toward keeping that lead with the communications satellite bill, which also assures that free enterprise will carry the American flag in space through cooperation with the Government. I was pleased to have worked on this measure during many committee hours.

World trade and the growth of our own economy and those of the other free world partners is being boosted by the Trade Expansion Act. Our leaders have been given by Congress unprecedented authority to batter down the walls of tariffs in an effort to build the free world trade partnership. This is the key to winning the cold war in the economic field. We shall, through this partnership, prove to Khrushchev that he cannot bury us economically. And this is why he has blasted this act and the European Common Market with which the act will enable us to work closely. This bill, too, was hammered out in a committee of which I am a member.

In this field of foreign affairs and strengthening of the free world, this Congress and this administration have shown great vision and daring in seeking new approaches to problems. One new approach adopted by this Congress was the Peace Corps. Many Hoosier youngsters are in this organization. Training is being accomplished in Indiana, as well as other States. These volunteers now are serving in 43 countries. The idea generated much opposition when it was proposed early in 1961. The renewal and expansion in 1962 drew far less opposition.

OTHER STEPS FOR WINNING

Congress has adopted also long-term mutual security programs, Alliance for Progress, a Disarmament Administration and Food for Peace.

Aside from the Area Redevelopment Act, adopted in the first session of this Congress, and the Trade Agreements Act, I believe the tax revisions approved at this session are probably the most important in their impact on the economy and on keeping America rolling forward. It also was my pleasure to have worked on this tax revision legislation in committee.

An important factor in this law is a 7 percent investment tax credit to business and industry to modernize equipment, machinery and buildings. This will create jobs and will enable us to compete better with foreign competition. Added to the administration's revision of depreciation schedules for business, these are important steps forward results of which will be felt for many years in the future.

RETRAINING WORKERS

As industry modernizes and automates, there will be men who are put out of work temporarily. In a growing economy it is not that there will be no jobs for these men, but rather that new skills will be needed. This is why we passed a manpower development and retraining program. Recommendations for this program go back to 1959 and the work of the Unemployment Problems Committee on which I served and for which I held many Indiana hearings.

In the field of social security, this Congress enabled senior citizens to earn more money without jeopardizing their benefits. This was something I pushed in the Finance Committee and before the full Senate. We also were successful in pressing for a law allowing men to retire at age 62 at reduced benefits. This also was one of my personal projects. We succeeded also, with my insistence, in liberalizing benefits for the blind.

Senior citizens also are benefiting from provisions of the Housing Act that this Congress passed and which is the most far-reaching in 20 years. Rural senior citizens benefit from a new law passed this year to assist them in getting and keeping decent housing in their declining years.

FOR FARMERS

Crop insurance, more and better farm home loans, better food distribution and expanded school lunch and milk programs all will benefit the farmers. So will the farm bill of 1962 which not only continues the popular feed grains program, but also establishes the permanent wheat program sought by farmers for 10 years. It also will save an estimated $500 million a year in storage costs by reducing surpluses.

Some cropland will be put to new recreational use. In Indiana, we hope to benefit from conservation projects like the wetlands bill which will seek to save and increase the duck and goose population and preserve lands for outdoor recreation.

Through our efforts and those of Congressman DENTON, of Indiana, we were successful in establishing Indiana's first link in the National Park System—the Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Spencer County. This park was dedicated in July by the Secretary of the Interior. It should be a boon to tourist trade. We hope it is the first of several in our State.

FIGHTING CRIMES

And, while we are discussing the accomplishments of this Congress, we must point with great pride to the first significant attack on organized crime since 1934. The six new laws passed have enabled the FBI to take on 4,000 investigations in this field. This Congress also passed the first Federal support program for training workers to fight juvenile delinquency.

I believe we made another major stride in this field in our reforming of the welfare system. There will be more dignity for those in need and less chiseling by those who only want to loaf and sponge off the taxpayers because of action of this 2d session of the 87th Congress. I am proud that I worked on this bill in committee, too.

In addition, the scare of the drug thalidomide aroused public support for the first major amendments to the food and drug law since 1938. These were before Congress for action this year and were taking a beating from the blind opposition until the public was aroused. Drugs now must be effective and safe.

Congress in the first session expanded coverage of the wage-hour law and increased the minimum wage. These increases are now in effect. These were the first expansions of coverage in 25 years.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Finally, Congress worked with the administration for expansion of human rights. After 20 years of unsuccessful attempts, this session of Congress passed a constitutional amendment to eliminate the poll tax. This is now before the States for final action.

I regret that I have been limited by time in listing the accomplishments of the 87th Congress and especially those of the 2d session. I look to January when we will meet again to look to pushing America forward.

The 88th Congress ahead will mark the last in my first term in the Senate. I anticipate hard work, careful study, and voting in the best interests of our State and Nation. Upon these deeds I would be judged.

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## Four Years of Unprecedented Achievement—the Greatest Progress in Alaskan History

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, nearly 4 years as a State have brought to Alaska tangible results not possible during the long years the 49th State was a Territory.

Alaska entered the Union on a footing politically equal to its sister States but economically neglected through years of territorial rule. Efforts during both the 86th and 87th Congresses were necessarily directed toward correcting this economic inequality.

Federal Government departments and agencies, informed and prodded for the first time by elected, voting congressional Representatives of the State of Alaska, have increased their programing for the State by millions of dollars.

Part of the task of the Alaska congressional delegation during these years has been to make certain that existing and proposed Federal programs were tailored to suit Alaska's special needs.

Another part of the task has been to take decisive action with Federal agencies to protect Alaska's interests against encroachment, such as our protests against Russian and Japanese fishing intrusions.

Many advances have been made in the economic development of Alaska, some of major significance to the future of our State, others of less import but significant nevertheless in clearing away obstructions which would hinder future growth.

A HIGHWAY PROGRAM FOR ALASKA

One of the most important bills for Alaska approved by the 87th Congress is Senate Joint Resolution 137, now a part of the Federal Aid Highway Act which takes the important long-awaited first step toward positive planning and development of a road system within our State.

I introduced the measure which was cosponsored by Senators DENNIS CHAVEZ, Democrat, of New Mexico; JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Democrat, of West Virginia; STEPHEN M. YOUNG, Democrat, of Ohio; and OREN LONG, Democrat, of Hawaii.

President Kennedy, the Department of Commerce, and the Bureau of the Budget endorsed the legislation which authorizes the appropriation of $800,000 for engineering studies, cost estimates, and planning surveys.

It specifies that the Secretary of Commerce will work cooperatively, through the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, and the State of Alaska to make the necessary surveys. The final report is to be submitted to the Congress on or before May 15, 1964, although it is expected that interim reports will be submitted from time to time.

The report will include:

First. An analysis of the adequacy of the Federal-aid highway program to provide for a satisfactory program in both the populated and the undeveloped areas in Alaska.

Second. Specific recommendations as to the construction of roads through undeveloped areas of Alaska and to connect them with roads from Canada.

Third. A feasible program for implementing such specific recommendations, including cost estimates, recommendations as to the sharing of cost responsibilities and other pertinent matters.

The endorsement by the Kennedy administration carries out the President's statement on the floor of the Senate on June 24, 1960, when, as a Member of the Senate, he said:

> We must expand and modernize Alaska's highway system—a system is an essential condition of Alaska's future development—by greatly increasing our highway program so that Alaska's highways will be the equal of those in other States, which have been receiving Federal help over a long period of time.

During my testimony on behalf of Senate Joint Resolution 137 I compared the cost of visits to three large cities in three States by a family of four, mother, father, and two children, ages 10 and 14. The States compared were Oklahoma, Michigan, and Alaska. The Oklahomans followed roads to and from Beaver City to Oklahoma City, a distance of 450 miles and the gasoline cost was $7.50. The Michiganites made a round trip from Alpena to Detroit, 464 miles, for the same amount. The Alaskans' round trip to Anchorage and back to Bethel cost $462 via air highway—since no road exists.

TWO NEW HYDROELECTRIC PROJECTS FOR ALASKA

The 87th Congress has shown its interest in the development of Alaska's great natural resources by its authorization of the construction of two new hydroelectric power projects:

First. The Crater-Long Lakes division of the Snettisham project near Juneau.

Second. The Bradley Lake project on the Kenai Peninsula.

Now that these projects have been authorized, the next step is to seek the appropriation of funds for preconstruction planning.

These two hydroelectric power projects for South Central and Southeastern Alaska are the first hydroelectric projects approved by the Congress since the approval of the Eklutna project under the Truman administration. There have been, of course, other power projects constructed in Alaska in the past 3 years with Federal funds but under programs not requiring project-by-project congressional approval. These include the Cooper Lake hydro project on the Kenai Peninsula, whose dedications I attended last year with REA Administrator Norman Clapp, and the Burns Lake power project, now under construction near the new oil refinery on the Kenai Peninsula. Both of these projects were financed by loans obtained through the Rural Electrification Administration, whose general program and appropriations I have wholeheartedly supported. The REA was, of course, a program which was brought to the people under the Roosevelt administration. Through my efforts, a difficult problem which blocked completion of Chugach Electric Association transmission lines from the Cooper Lake power project to Anchorage was cleared away by negotiations with the Forest Service.

Recommended for the Bradley Lake project is the sum of $45,750,000 and $41,634,000 is recommended for the Snettisham project. Both projects have plus benefit-to-cost ratios. The benefits of such projects must exceed the costs—the amount of return for dollars expended—before being approved. The Bradley Lake project's benefit-cost ratio is 1.7 and that of the Snettisham project is 2.18. The Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors found that the Bradley Lake project near the head of Kachemak Bay is needed and economically justified to alleviate the impending power shortage in the Anchorage-Kenai Peninsula area. The Snettisham project would provide also gravely needed power by the Gastineau Channel area. It would harness water power from hanging lakes—Crater and Long Lakes—above Port Snettisham, located southeast of Juneau.

ADVANCEMENT FOR RAMPART

When the Development & Resources Corp. of New York presented its final

report on the proposed Rampart project to the Corps of Engineers it said the market for power from the project would create a busy and prosperous Alaska which would "almost certainly become a substantial producer of electric-furnace pig iron and steel, ferroalloys, copper, magnesium, chlorine and caustic soda, calcium carbide, abrasives, nitrogen, phosphorous titanium and other products." The study is part of intensive investigations now under way on the proposed project for a $1⅓ billion dam which will have installed capacity of approximately 5 million kilowatts and will produce energy at a cost of 2 mills at the bus-bar and not to exceed 3 mills per kilowatt-hour at tidewater.

Rampart Dam would be the biggest power producer in the free world. Better than $900,000 will have been used for Rampart project studies by the close of fiscal year 1963 on June 30, 1962. The total estimated Federal cost of the survey is $1.3 million which the Alaska congressional delegation hopes can be completed in fiscal year 1964. The money so far expended, and to be expended, on Rampart is not a cost to the Federal Government but rather a loan, as every penny of it, with interest, will be repaid out of power sale revenues.

Funds to undertake the study of the Rampart Dam project were first secured in 1959 when, over administration protests, I persuaded the Senate Appropriations Committee to include the sum of $100,000 in the Public Works Appropriations Act for 1960.

At my request Chairman DENNIS CHAVEZ, of the Senate Public Works Committee, and the committee had approved on April 24, 1959, a resolution requesting the Board of Engineers for Rivers Harbors "to determine the advisability of improvements in the interest of hydroelectric power and other water uses in the Yukon River Basins, Alaska, with particular reference to the Rampart Canyon site."

However in hopes of avoiding a Presidential veto, the amounts for all public works projects throughout the country were cut. Rampart was cut to $48,750. Despite this showing of congressional cooperation, the Republican President again vetoed the bill, but we were successful in overriding the veto for the first time in the Eisenhower administration.

Thus from this modest beginning of $48,750 in 1959 more and more funds have been appropriated for the Rampart Dam project and the end of the survey is in sight.

The Development and Resources report makes clear that even the tremendous power to be generated by Rampart will be insufficient for Alaska's needs and that a whole Yukon River development will be required. In pursuance of this conclusion, I requested and obtained authorization for the Corps of Engineers to investigate the Woodchopper site upstream from Rampart.

NEW STARTS ON THE NEW FRONTIER

I. EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

May 1, 1962, may some day be known as Law and Education Day. On this date President Kennedy signed Public Law 87-447 which contained language to expedite the utilization of television for educational purposes. We know this law as the Educational Television Act which has captured the imagination of many Americans.

In Alaska, Gov. William A. Egan has named a statewide committee and asked its members to explore and find ways in which ETV can best be used in the State. The public law authorizes matching funds up to $1 million to each State to help establish educational television facilities. President Kennedy, an enthusiastic supporter of educational television, said when he signed the act:

> This marks a new chapter in the expression of Federal interest in education. At a time when the wide availability of quality education is vital to our national growth and security, we must make effective use of all of our educational resources.

I am concerned with the lack of action at the Federal level to make available funds for school construction and teachers' salaries. The Senate approved such legislation but the House Rules Committee would not permit the bill to be acted on by the House. Under such circumstances it becomes more necessary to utilize available legislative aids such as the Educational Television Act.

II. AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

How to relieve the problem of chronic unemployment which affected many areas of the Nation was a major item confronting Members of the 87th Congress. Unemployment stood at more than 5 million workers. In Alaska the percentage of unemployed was high in most parts of the State. On January 4, 1961, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, introduced S. 1, the Area Redevelopment Act, a bill he had sponsored since 1955. Once again I joined as a cosponsor of this important legislation, as I had during the previous Congress.

I found it interesting to read the departmental and agency reports. For example, the Commerce Department report for January 13, 1961, was adverse, but the Commerce Department report of February 27, 1961, was favorable with amendments. You will recall that the administration had changed on January 20, 1961.

The Area Redevelopment Act became Public Law 87-27 on May 1, 1961. The act is administered through the Area Redevelopment Administration in the U.S. Department of Commerce. ARA brought together a number of Federal Government departments and agencies with resources which could be focused on the problem of helping create new jobs. It helps areas diversify and rebuild their economic base. It creates new employment opportunities through its positive approach, and astute administration of the program has furthered its development.

As this report was being prepared, nine ARA projects, with a monetary value of $1,564,308, have been approved for Alaska. The four training programs and the one public facilities loan will provide jobs for 595 persons, and will help correct the situation which existed early in January 1961, when the State unemployment rate was 18.7 percent.

The following table provides a project-by-project breakdown:

*Area Redevelopment Administration projects*

| Location | Type | Funds | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| Statewide | Technical assistance by Institute of Business, University of Alaska. | $40,500 | Study ways to increase and expand market for Alaska native arts and crafts. |
| Anchorage | Training, 15 electronic mechanics and 20 clerk-stenographers. | 32,660 | |
| | Training, 20 clerks | 15,690 | |
| Fairbanks | Training, 20 general clerks | 16,654 | |
| | Technical assistance | 1,500 | U.S. Forest Service feasibility study of proposed sawmill and lumber finishing facilities. |
| | do | 6,850 | U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, to develop integrated economic development program. |
| Ketchikan | Training, 20 general clerks | 17,108 | |
| Saxman | Public facilities loan, 500 jobs | 1,400,000 | To construct port facilities. |
| Kotzebue | Technical assistance | 50,000 | Study of meat, cannery, and fish-processing operation. |

Alaska's interest in the ARA program has drawn commendation by ARA spokesmen. The 49th State is one of two in the Union to present an overall economic development program. This was done in September of 1962 and the program is now under consideration.

Within Alaska individual areas have shown interest. The following have submitted programs which have been approved: Palmer-Wasilla-Talkeetna, Kobuk, Wrangell-Petersburg, Nome, Kenai-Cook Inlet, Cordova-McCarthy and portions of the Chitina and Prince William Sound area, Seward, Aleutian, Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Ketchikan.

III. ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS ACT

Taking positive action to alleviate unemployment and underemployment in many communities, the Senate Public Works Committee, of which I am a member, held hearings and then favorably reported the proposed Accelerated Public Works Act. I had contaced the Governors of each State having areas of substantial unemployment to determine the number of public works projects that were ready to get underway and also to learn what would be a reasonable and usable sum to appropriate. Information varied.

I discovered 17 States whose Governors replied that a sum of more than $1.7 billion could profitably and usefully be utilized. Thus I suggested that the proposed authorization of $600 million be increased to $2.645 billion. A compromise figure of $900 million became part of Public Law 87-658.

Certain limitations exist. No more than 10 percent of the total can be spent in one State, the program must be ready to go, and "no part of any allocation made by the President under this act shall be made available for any planning or construction, directly or indirectly, of any school or other educational facility." The program is being coordinated by the Area Redevelopment Administration, but some of the funds will be spent by Federal agencies on public works projects.

IV. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

With rapid technological changes occurring in industry, the needs of labor change and the skills become outmoded. The Manpower Development and Training Act provides a positive approach for meeting this challenge. I supported this legislation and endorsed its full funding. The acting director of the Alaska State Division of Vocational Education on July 14, 1962, Mr. C. G. Fader, wrote to me to urge that I support the full authorized amount of $100 million for carrying out the act.

The program is suited to Alaska and its training and employment needs. As Mr. Fader pointed out, 85 percent of the Alaska labor needs are in the nonindustrial areas and people must be trained to fill the needs of the labor market. Such needs include the development of the oil industry, the expansion of the highway program and the extension of the agriculture potential.

V. SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS—FISCAL YEAR 1963

My testimony before the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee of the Senate was later reinforced by President Kennedy and $500,000 was added for research and development of processes to produce a concentrated protein from fish. The research work will be conducted by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries at College Park, Md.

VI. IMPROVED CONTROLS ON DRUGS

The health of the public will be better protected by legislation approved this Congress which amends the Food and Drug Act. It requires adequate controls in the manufacture and marketing of drugs.

VII. IMPROVED VETERANS LEGISLATION

The 87th Congress approved legislation correcting inequities in programs pertaining to veterans. They include laws which:

First. Increase the lump-sum readjustment payments to members of Reserve components involuntarily released from active duty;

Second. Equalize per diem travel rates of servicemen with those of Federal career employees;

Third. Permit members of the Armed Forces to accept fellowships, scholarships, and grants;

Fourth. Authorize Veterans' Administration hospital and medical care for peacetime veterans with noncompensable service-connected disabilities;

Fifth. Extend the period of vocational rehabilitation for blinded veterans until 1975;

Sixth. Increase the basic allowance for living quarters for members of the Armed Forces.

The Senate Veterans Committee reported favorably S. 801, a bill I cosponsored to furnish care needed by veterans in Alaska and Hawaii who suffer from non-service-connected disabilities. Since the House did not act on the bill, I will reintroduce this legislation in January, and I will continue to work for the enactment of the cold war GI bill, which I also cosponsored.

VIII. HEALTH CARE

Congress considered but did not enact legislation which would provide for hospital care for the aged under social security. The debate which raged nationally on the issue of medicare was improperly named inasmuch as the legislation provided limited hospital care, not care by doctors outside the hospital. This legislation will be considered by the 88th Congress, as it should be. Need exists for a program to protect those aged people on limited incomes from excessive hospital costs which will absorb their savings. I believe this can be accomplished equitably and without disrupting in any way the doctor-patient relationship.

The Kerr-Mills law of 1960 goes only a part of the way by providing medical assistance to those who are poverty stricken.

IX. TRADE EXPANSION ACT

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is historic legislation which will give the President tools to increase our export trade to meet the threat of the European Common Market and to maintain a favorable balance of funds. The bill also provides assistance to industry and workers affected by increased imports. Our world is shrinking—we cannot live apart from others. The Trade Expansion Act properly provides aid for business firms in the form of loans, loan guarantees, technical assistance, and tax benefits and unemployment benefits for displaced employees.

X. ALASKA TOWNSITES

The Congress approved and the President signed into Public Law 87–742, the Alaska townsites legislation. The Senate bill, S. 3160, was identical to H.R. 11266 introduced by Congressman RALPH RIVERS. It was introduced by Senator BARTLETT and me primarily to assist the communities of Barrow and Wainwright. It allows establishment of townsites on public land in Alaska known to be mineral in character. It was favorably reported by the Senate Interior Committee, of which I am a member, and paves the way for similar developments elsewhere in Alaska.

XI. JUDGESHIP BILL

Early in the 87th Congress Public Law 87–36 was enacted. This omnibus Federal judgeship bill included provision for appointment of a second judge for Alaska. Today Alaska has two U.S. district court judges. I first pointed up the need when I introduced a bill during the 86th Congress providing for a second judge.

XII. MARINE SCIENCES AND RESEARCH ACT

One of the pressing problems of our times is the survey of the seas and their resources. This is important to our economic well-being and resource development, our national defense, and our education.

I cosponsored S. 901, familiarly identified as the oceanography bill. Alaska with its coastline of more than 25,000 miles, longer than the combined Pacific, Gulf, and Atlantic coastlines of the 48 older Sstates, is deeply concerned with this legislation which promotes oceanographic research and advances the marine sciences. At my request the scope of the investigation was broadened to include, specifically, the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Sea.

In 1960 the Legislature of the State of Alaska authorized the establishment at the University of Alaska of an institute of marine sciences. I envision the day when Alaska will be internationally renowned for work in oceanography. In no other area is the field so fertile for the training of oceanographers and marine scientists for work in the Arctic and in the Antarctic.

XIII. PARCEL POST SIZE-WEIGHT LIMITATION CHANGE

Members of the Alaskan and Hawaiian congressional delegations were successful this Congress in restoring for patrons of first-class post offices the size and weight limitations of fourth-class mail—parcel post—that existed during territorial days. The limitations now restored are 70 pounds and 100 inches in girth. Second-, third-, and fourth-class post offices were never affected by the change and did continue to handle fourth-class matter as in territorial days.

The restoration of the service for users of the first-class post offices in Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, Kodiak, Ketchikan, and Sitka is both desirable and fair.

This restoration came as an amendment ot the Postal Revision Act of 1961.

XIV. TELEPHONE AND AIR TRANSPORTATION TAXES

Alaskans, dependent on air transportation for much of their travel, will benefit from congressional action which I supported. The transportation tax on air travel drops from 10 to 5 percent on November 15, 1962. The air transportation tax ends June 30, 1963. I voted to repeal the tax completely when a rollcall vote was taken in the Senate in the 86th Congress.

The tax on long distance telephone calls is now on a year-to-year extension basis. The current extension expires June 30, 1963. The tax on local calls was removed July 1, 1960.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

Many bills are introduced during each Congress. Some become law. During the 86th Congress of 1959–60, 19 bills which I authored or cosponsored were approved by the Senate and House and became public law.

Those which became public law are:

| Bill No. | Short title | Public Law No. | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. 1 | Amends Federal Airport Act to provide increased Federal grants. | 86-72 | June 20, 1959 |
| S. 50 | Hawaii Statehood Act | 86-3 | Mar. 18, 1959 |
| S. 56 | Establishing program for Indian sanitation facilities. | 86-121 | July 31, 1959 |
| S. 931 | Increase bond sales by Tennessee Valley Authority. | 86-137 | Aug. 6, 1959 |
| S. 1016 | Agricultural surplus property made available to State and county agencies. | 86-570 | July 6, 1960 |
| S. 1004 | Bretton Woods Agreement extension | 86-43 | June 17, 1959 |
| S. 1411 | Clarifies words "restored lands" | 86-512 | June 11, 1960 |
| S. 1412 | Enlarges Alaska's discretion in land selection under Statehood Act. | 86-173 | Aug. 18, 1959 |
| S. 1670 | Mineral rights for Alaska homesteaders. | 86-709 | Sept. 14, 1960 |
| S. 1723 | Increasing coal-leasing acreage | 86-202 | Sept. 9, 1959 |
| S. 2889 | Vessels' inspection exemption | 86-668 | Sept. 2, 1960 |
| S. 2820 | Library services extension | 86-679 | Aug. 31, 1960 |
| S. 3054 | Hawaii omnibus | 86-624 | July 12, 1960 |
| S. 3207 | Disposal of certain public Alaska lands at not less than fair market value. | 86-703 | Sept. 14, 1960 |
| S. 3200 | Federal Highway Act funds authorization. | 86-467 | July 14, 1960 |
| S. 3434 | States rights to select certain public lands. | 86-700 | Sept. 14, 1960 |
| S. 3548 | University of Alaska—facilitating disposition of lands. | 86-630 | July 12, 1960 |
| S.J. Res. 41 | International Health Research | 86-610 | Do. |
| S.J. Res. 39 | Filling House vacancies | 23d amendment to U.S. Constitution. | |

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

During the 87th Congress of 1961–62, 23 bills which I authored or cosponsored were approved by the Senate and House and were signed into public law by the President. Those which became public law are:

| Bill No. | Short title | Public Law No. | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. 1 | Area redevelopment | 87-27 | May 1, 1961 |
| S. 109 | Saline water conversion | 87-295 | Sept. 22, 1961 |
| S. 248 | Postal limitations of parcel post packages in 1st class post offices (corrected by amendment to Postal Revision Act). | 87-793 | Oct. 11, 1962 |
| S. 345 | Mass transportation | 87-70 | June 30, 1961 |
| S. 353 | Ladd-Eielson land withdrawal | 87-326 | Sept. 26, 1961 |
| S. 354 | Fairbanks land withdrawal | 87-329 | Do. |
| S. 355 | Fort Greely land withdrawal | 87-327 | Do. |
| S. 356 | Granite Creek land withdrawal | 87-334 | Oct. 3, 1961 |
| S. 357 | Campbell Creek land withdrawal | 87-308 | Sept. 26, 1961 |
| S. 504 | Authorizing Snettisham project (incorporated in H.R. 13273—Omnibus rivers and harbors bill). | | |
| S. 610 | Office of International Travel | 87-63 | June 29, 1961 |
| S. 707 | Canadian vessels transportation | 87-77 | June 30, 1961 |
| S. 709 | Permits sale of disconnected tracts of Alaskan land, reserving mineral rights. | 87-147 | Aug. 17, 1961 |
| S. 800 | Extends time to file adverse suits against mineral entries in Alaska. | 87-299 | Sept. 21, 1961 |
| S. 1345 | Omnibus Housing Act of 1961 providing housing funds for moderate income and displaced families. | 87-70 | June 30, 1961 |
| S. 1703 | Extends Federal Airport Act for 3 years. | 87-255 | Sept. 20, 1961 |
| S. 2154 (amendment). | Dual rate contract agreement | 87-75 | June 30, 1961 |
| S. 2158 | Saline water conversion | 87-295 | Sept. 22, 1961 |
| S. 2382 | Adjust postal rates (incorporated in H.R. 7927—Postal Revision Act). | 87-793 | Oct. 11, 1962 |
| S. 2077 | Bradley Lake (incorporated in H.R. 13273—Omnibus rivers and harbors bill). | | |
| H.R. 6713 (amendment). | Controlling billboards | 87-61 | June 29, 1961 |
| S.J. Res. 96 | Homestead Act centennial | 87-273 | Sept. 22, 1961 |
| S. Res. 302 | International Conference, Conservation of Fishery Resources. | Passed Senate Sept. 20, 1962. | |

ALASKAN DEVELOPMENTS

1. ANCHORAGE INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION CENTER

On August 30, 1961, I introduced for myself and Senator BOB BARTLETT legislation to provide for establishing and operating a foreign trade zone, a Hall of States, and an international reception and information center at the Anchorage International Airport. Nowhere in America did the establishment of a free port similar to that operated at the airport at Shannon, Ireland, seem so reasonable and so possible. The Senate bill was S. 2484. Identical legislation was introduced by Congressman RIVERS.

More than 150,000 visitors from other countries yearly visit in Anchorage and the number grows daily. Our Shannon, if you will, could also be the prime display point of the many remarkable goods manufactured and produced in the 50 States of the Union. It could give foreign visitors a glimpse of and an opportunity to buy or order some of the many and varied products produced under the American system of free enterprise.

As with any new proposal involving a number of Federal agencies it takes time to get acceptance. I have been very gratified at the very favorable response received from the Federal agencies and their desire to cooperate. It is my intention to introduce similar legislation in the 88th Congress.

2. THE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

The Communications Satellite legislation is now Public Law 87–624. Its road to final passage was not smooth, and even with final passage I cannot say in truth that I am satisfied that it is the best bill possible, nevertheless it does represent the majority.

I believe that a worldwide communications satellite system can implement better international understanding but I do regret that the public law in effect has created a monopoly. Competition is curtailed, in fact eliminated, at a time when there is need to combine the best of Government and free enterprise. Therefore, I introduced amending legislation which would have permitted the Government to retain ownership of the program but which authorized leasing and operation to private enterprise.

So, as I said once before on the floor of the Senate on August 1, 1962, I welcome legislation making possible a communications satellite bill, but I do want any such bill to contain safeguards permitting the U.S. Government to deal effectively and efficiently with the multitude of obstacles it must meet and master.

Negotiations with other governments, particularly with totalitarian regimes, are tough. Such negotiations properly should be made by the Department of State—not a private concern. I fear we shall again have to consider legislation which will amend the public law that nearly a score of us in the Senate, including BOB BARTLETT, had doubts about.

We want live televison available in Alaska. But we prefer that the television at all times be the best available. Competition is the cornerstone of our free enterprise system; monopoly is not.

3. HELP FOR HOMESTEADERS

Since I have been a Member of the Senate I have received far too many letters from homesteaders who have described arbitrary action by officials of the Bureau of Land Management and the Geological Survey concerning the uses or claims to homesteads. A need exists for the establishment of procedures to insure an objective review of earlier decisions. The laws and regulations governing the use and disposition of the public lands should be interpreted and applied uniformly and equitably.

This can be done only if the initial decision is subject to objective administrative review, with ultimate recourse to the courts.

On April 4, 1962, I introduced legislation to establish in the office of the Secretary of the Interior a Board of Public Lands Appeals. My colleague, BOB BARTLETT, and 12 other Senators from throughout the West have joined as cosponsors of S. 3107. Response to this proposed legislation has been gratifying. Endorsement comes from all States where homesteaders' rights are clouded.

The Board I propose would have three members who would hear appeals from decisions rendered by the BLM concerning the uses or claims to public lands under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department. Appellants, upon their request, could have a hearing at a location convenient to the appellant, either before a member of the Board or before

a hearing examiner employed by the Board.

Thus, there would be made available practical machinery to bring the hearing to the place where the person who appeals lives Under present law any hearing on an appeal, if granted, must be held in Washington, D.C. This is too expensive a burden for the homesteaders

Second, no longer would a branch chief be required to rule on the decision of an associate solicitor, a man his superior. It is unrealistic to continue a situation wherein a subordinate approves or disapproves the ruling of his chief.

The Social Security Administration finds it possible to handle its claims program with respect to the old-age survivors and disability program under title II of the Social Security Act in much the same manner as I have suggested.

If the Department of the Interior does not make the necessary corrections administratively, I plan to reintroduce this legislation in January of 1963.

4. COMMEMORATIVE 50-CENT PIECES FOR ALASKA'S BIRTHDAY

I have cosponsored Senator Bartlett's S. 3055 which would authorize the coinage of a 50-cent piece in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Alaska from Russia. Such coins would be struck in 1967.

5. DUAL-RATE AMENDMENT

The continuing struggle to obtain a fair break for Alaska on water freight rates never ends. In the 1st session of the 87th Congress I introduced an amendment to H.R. 6775 which modified the laws governing conference agreements of water carriers in foreign commerce. Senator BARTLETT was cosponsor. Our amendment was enacted and it gives special procedural advantages to Governors of States against which conference-imposed rates discriminate against consumers. If the rate for water shipments imposed by a conference is found discriminatory the Maritime Commission is required to make a ruling within 180 days following the Governor's protest.

Alaskan consumers and businessmen are also plagued by the charge for the transportation of freight by transcontinental railroads. At my request the General Services Administration has worked diligently to correct this discriminatory situation. Hearings have been held on S. 1723 which I introduced and which would prohibit transcontinental railroads hauling shipments destined for Alaska from charging more for such shipments than for shipments bound to other parts of the Pacific rim nations.

The GSA has earned commendation for its efforts to effect a new deal for Alaska through extension of transcontinental rail service to Alaska on the four great transcontinental railroads which cross our Nation. Negotiations continue and a compromise is to be discussed when the carriers meet in Chicago later this year with GSA representatives who are well aware of Alaska's desires and needs in this area.

6. FAIRBANKS FORESTRY RESEARCH LABORATORY

The assessment and utilization of Alaska's vast forest resources will be speeded considerably when the forestry research laboratory near Fairbanks is completed. I am glad that I was persuasive in obtaining an amendment for the necessary $350,000 to the budget recommendations of the Department of Agriculture in 1961 for construction of the laboratory on the campus of the University of Alaska at College.

7. ALASKAN AGRICULTURE MOVES AHEAD

Homesteader-farmers in the 49th State must overcome obstacles foreign to their counterparts in other States. The agriculture potential within Alaska is barely tapped.

Many improvements in the situation have come as a result of actions initiated by me and my colleagues in the Alaska delegation. Our successful fight to obtain a decision by the Department of Defense to purchase fresh milk for troops stationed in Alaska, in place of reconstituted grade C milk previously imported from the other States, has immensely benefited the dairy industry in both the Matanuska and Tanana Valleys.

Legislation introduced this Congress by Senator Bob Bartlett and me will provide some useful tools for land development. The bill has the support of the President, the Bureau of the Budget and the Departments of Agriculture and Interior. It authorizes the appropriation of $1,250,000 over a 10-year period and provides for the development of some 20,000 acres on a cost-sharing basis. It will help fill the gap between food needs and supply in the State.

S. 2805 passed the Senate and prior to adjournment had received favorable consideration from the House Agriculture Committee. Most of the major hurdles have been cleared. Its passage next Congress will mean a great deal to Alaska.

8. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE PROVIDES AID AND AIDS

The Department of Agriculture has earned special commendation for its interest in the development of agriculture in Alaska. A number of specialists have visited in the State and given advice where requested.

Elsewhere in this report I have indicated the extent of funds which have come to Alaska from some USDA agencies. The change in attitude on the New Frontier so far as loan assistance is concerned is evident.

9. AID TO EDUCATION LEGISLATION AND A SAFEGUARD FOR ALASKA

I support Federal aid to education but I believe it is only realistic to accept the fact that an allocation of funds to the States on a basis of per capita income is manifestly unfair to Alaska. For this reason in 1961 I arranged with the University of Alaska, in cooperation with the Alaska State Board of Education, for the advisory services of Dr. George Rogers, to assist in developing a formula for Alaska which would put our State in a position equivalent with others. His research revealed that education costs in Alaska are much greater than in other parts of the Nation, thereby making a valid case for specialized treatment in the apportionment of school aid funds. The amendment adopted authorizes a special allotment ratio in cases where costs of one State appreciably exceed those in another. When the 88th Congress considers aid to education legislation, we will again offer this necessary amendment.

POST OFFICE SERVICE

Statehood has brought expanded postal facilities to Alaska. The delegation has fought and won its battle to speed and improve mail servicing into and within the State.

Following is a list of new postal establishments in Alaska for 1959 through September 1962:

Airport annex, classified branch of Anchorage, January 23, 1961.

No. 2, contract station of Anchorage, April 3, 1961.

Arctic Village, independent post office, April 1, 1959.

Buckland, independent post office, November 1, 1961.

Chefornak, independent post office, July 22, 1961.

Dot Lake, rural station of Delta Junction, September 1, 1961.

Eagle River, independent post office, August 1, 1961.

Elelson Air Force Base, independent classified branch of Fairbanks, January 11, 1960.

Money Order Unit No. 1 (Fairbanks), August 15, 1960.

Halibut Cove, rural station of Homer, August 20, 1961.

Kasigluk, independent post office, January 19, 1962.

Knudson Cove, rural station of Ketchikan, July 1, 1961.

Ladd Base Exchange, contract branch of Fairbanks, March 5, 1960 (name changed to Fort Wainwright Post Exchange April 10, 1961). Now known as Fort Wainwright Classified Branch.

Lower Kalskag, independent post office, January 16, 1962.

Manokotak, independent post office, April 1, 1960.

Myers Chuck, rural station of Ketchikan, November 1, 1961.

Napakiak, independent post office, May 1, 1961.

New Stuyahok, independent post office, July 1, 1961.

Nunaka Valley, contract branch of Anchorage, November 1, 1959.

Paxson, rural station of Delta Junction, October 1, 1961.

Russian Mission, independent post office, July 1, 1961.

Togiak, independent post office, March 1, 1959.

Tuntutuliak, independent post office, August 1, 1960.

Wildwood, classified branch of Kenai, June 1, 1961.

IMPROVED SERVICE TO ALASKANS

With statehood came the need to retain Government and to improve services of Federal agencies within the State. Progress has been made. For example:

First. The Internal Revenue Service moved its Alaskan office from Tacoma, Wash., to Anchorage in January 1961.

Second. The Department of Commerce agreed in July 1962 to establish an office of field service in Alaska. The State has been serviced by the Seattle office. The Department of Commerce also agreed to establish an Alaska Regional Export Expansion Council, ending the practice of naming Alaskans to a Seattle council. This change followed my request in testimony before the Ap-

propriations Committee and letters to the Department.

Director of the Office of Field Service Roy L. Morgan in his testimony before the Appropriations Committee observed that Alaska "a young, dynamic State does need help."

Three. The Farmers Home Administration has opened three new area offices in Fairbanks, Palmer, and Soldatna in 1961 and 1962.

DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Employment opportunities within a State such as Alaska must be developed.

The need to make it possible for all Americans to be economically independent and self-sufficient cannot be stressed too often. A number of young Alaskan natives have demonstrated conclusively that they need no doles and do deserve and will utilize opportunities making possible full utilization of their skills and resources.

Given an opportunity by the Radio Corp. of America to train as electronic technicians for subsequent employment on the White Alice Communications System and on the Ballistic Missiles Early Warning System in Alaska, they showed zeal and ability for the work and graduated with honors.

Such wise utilization of human resources has long had my complete support. The achievement of these Alaskan young men in the RCA program was noted and commended by President Kennedy who visited with them and the congressional delegation at the White House earlier this year.

HOMEBUYERS PROTECTION

I introduced S. 3460 on June 21, 1962, to insure that houses delivered as "FHA insured" met the standards of specifications established by the Federal Housing Administration.

My discussions with officials of the agency revealed that even though homes were represented to prospective purchasers as "FHA insured" the buyer had no legal recourse if homes were poorly made. Evidences of this legislative loophole were found in many parts of the Nation, including Alaska.

The language of S. 3460 will give the words "FHA insured" validity. It will put an end to the temptation by manufacturers of prefabricated homes to "cut corners," resulting in homes not built to proper specification thereby making them uninhabitable. When just this occurred in connection with 48 homes built in and around Anchorage, I persuaded the FHA to require the builder to correct the deficiencies.

My bill would permit FHA to pay to the mortgagor under an FHA-insured mortgage the reasonable costs of correcting structural or other major defects which require correction in order to bring the dwelling into substantial conformity with FHA requirements to render the dwellings safe and habitable.

The agency has endorsed S. 3460 which is cosponsored by 12 Senators representing all parts of the United States. I will reintroduce this legislation in January.

WILDERNESS BILL LEGISLATION

When the Senate considered the wilderness bill early in the 87th Congress, my amendment to prevent arbitrary land withdrawal action by any Secretary of the Interior was accepted. The amendment would insure an end to actions taken previously by Secretary of Interior Ickes in 1940 and Secretary of Interior Seaton in December of 1960. It will be recalled that Secretary Ickes in 1940 withdrew 2 million acres for the Kenai National Moose Range without public hearing or advance notice to the public or State officials. Secretary Seaton followed a similar course of action when he withdrew, despite adverse action by the Congress, 9 million acres of Arctic wildlife range.

I pointed out these instances in my individual views on the bill in Report No. 635 which accompanied S. 174, the wilderness bill, and said we did not want the actions "repealed by their unknown successors 10 years hence under the provisions of this bill."

My amendment, accepted by the committee, offered the following safeguard:

In any State having more than 90 percent of its total land area owned by the Federal Government on January 1, 1961, a Presidential Land Use Commission shall be established to advise and consult with the Secretary of the Interior "on the current utilization of federally owned land in such State and shall make recommendations to the Secretary as to how the federally owned land can best be utilized, developed, protected, and preserved."

The Commission of five members appointed by the President will have no more than three members of the same political party. Three Commission members "shall be residents of the State concerned."

Reports of the Commission as well as the Secretary of the Interior shall be made to the Congress.

The committee also accepted a second amendment which I offered specifying that any addition to the wilderness system can be made only by an act of Congress.

The wilderness legislation passed the Senate, but died in the House of Representatives. I will offer these safeguarding amendments when the legislation is reintroduced.

A PROGRAM FOR FISHERIES REHABILITATION

Senators from fish States have worked hard to secure funds for fisheries rehabilitation. Support is growing for the approach I have proposed which would authorize distribution to State fish and game agencies of funds collected from tariffs on imported fishery products. This approach would be simple to administer because the funds would be allocated directly to States having important fishery resources rather than being diverted to the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior. Twenty-three Senators joined as cosponsors of my bill, S. 1230.

I intend to reintroduce this bill when the 88th Congress convenes. The bill includes all types of fisheries. There was a time when the Alaska fishery resources were perhaps the greatest in the Nation, but during the years of territorial status this wealth was carelessly flung away through incredibly poor management on the part of the Federal Government.

Alaskans understood the plight of their great fisheries. Time after time the territorial legislature adopted memorials which were unheeded in the Congress even though the voteless delegates of the State in the Congress spoke out the plain facts that Alaska fisheries were declining.

It was more in sadness than in rebuff that I called to the attention of the Senate March 7, 1961, the fact that the U.S. Government spent $12,231,000 to rehabilitate the fishing resources of foreign countries under the foreign aid program even as U.S. fishery resources declined.

Certainly anyone who has followed closely the steady inroads being made into our fishery resources by the Japanese and the Russians will readily understand that the United States has been standing still in the development of its own fishery resources.

BUDGET REVIEWS

Part of the work of Alaska's congressional delegation has been to reshape the thinking of many of the executive agencies as to the great unmet needs of Alaska. This retraining does not occur immediately. However, I am encouraged with the action taken by some of the executive departments. To illustrate how budgets for Alaska may be improved I have traced certain interdepartmental budgets of three departments of prime importance in the 49th State—the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of the Interior.

*Review of the budget from 1959 to 1963*

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

| | |
|---|---|
| **Agricultural Research Service:** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | $342,786 |
| 1960 | 346,044 |
| 1961 | 384,674 |
| 1962 | 402,247 |
| 1963 estimate | 405,100 |
| **Forest Service:** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 2,390,665 |
| 1960 | 2,594,569 |
| 1961 | 3,661,012 |
| 1962 | 4,569,259 |
| 1963 estimate | 4,688,092 |
| **Soil Conservation Service:** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 132,356 |
| 1960 | 135,314 |
| 1961 | 159,933 |
| 1962 | 164,545 |
| 1963 estimate | 192,000 |
| **Farmers Home Administration:** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 131,708 |
| 1960 | 377,356 |
| 1961 | 459,063 |
| 1962 | 1,345,688 |
| 1963 estimate | 1,662,000 |
| **Rural Electrification Administration:** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 875,000 |
| 1960 | 5,155,000 |
| 1961 | 2,524,000 |
| 1962 | 6,596,000 |
| 1963 estimate | [1] |

[1] The estimate for 1963 is not available at this time.

*Review of the budget from 1959 to 1963—Continued*

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

| | |
|---|---|
| **Food and Drug Administration:** | |
| Appropriation: | |
| 1959 | $1,000 |
| 1960 | 1,000 |
| 1961 | 1,000 |
| 1962 | 1,000 |
| 1963 estimated | 1,000 |
| Obligation: | |
| 1959 | 1,000 |
| 1960 | 1,000 |
| 1961 | 1,000 |
| 1962 | 1,000 |
| 1963 estimate | 1,000 |
| **Office of Education (some State funds required):** | |
| Appropriation: | |
| 1959 | 5,467,943 |
| 1960 | 9,203,206 |
| 1961 | 10,327,413 |
| 1962 | 8,683,638 |
| 1963 estimate | 8,468,583 |
| Obligation: | |
| 1959 | 5,417,941 |
| 1960 | 9,132,798 |
| 1961 | 10,281,275 |
| 1962 | 8,683,638 |
| 1963 estimate | 8,468,583 |
| **Office of Vocational Rehabilitation [State funds required]:** | |
| Appropriation: | |
| 1959 | 136,610 |
| 1960 | 145,612 |
| 1961 | 172,950 |
| 1962 | 252,210 |
| 1963 estimate | 236,827 |
| Obligation: | |
| 1959 | 111,151 |
| 1960 | 119,464 |
| 1961 | 118,966 |
| 1962 | 169,912 |
| 1963 estimate | 214,129 |
| **Public Health Service [State funds required]:** | |
| Appropriation: | |
| 1959 | 23,608,834 |
| 1960 | 12,897,709 |
| 1961 | 14,299,271 |
| 1962 | 14,990,310 |
| 1963 estimate | 17,552,560 |
| Obligation: | |
| 1959 | 16,633,559 |
| 1960 | 19,159,681 |
| 1961 | 13,684,308 |
| 1962 | 13,842,013 |
| 1963 estimate | 16,896,100 |
| **Social Security Administration [State funds required]:** | |
| Appropriation: | |
| 1959 | 5,983,936 |
| 1960 | 6,534,311 |
| 1961 | 6,865,889 |
| 1962 | 7,597,111 |
| 1963 estimate | 8,175,828 |
| Obligation: | |
| 1959 | 5,983,936 |
| 1960 | 6,534,311 |
| 1961 | 6,865,889 |
| 1962 | 7,597,111 |
| 1963 estimate | 8,175,828 |

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

| | |
|---|---|
| **The Alaska Railroad:** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 17,174,000 |
| 1960 | 17,464,000 |
| 1961 | 14,335,000 |
| 1962 | 14,480,000 |
| 1963 | 14,040,000 |
| **Bureau of Commercial Fisheries:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 3,336,970 |
| 1960 | 4,617,778 |
| 1961 | 5,272,302 |
| 1962 | 4,816,309 |
| 1963 | 4,286,300 |

*Review of the budget from 1959 to 1963—Continued*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR—continued

| | |
|---|---|
| **Bureau of Commercial Fisheries—Continued** | |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | $4,655,797 |
| 1960 | 4,421,775 |
| 1961 | 5,264,781 |
| 1962 | 4,816,309 |
| **Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 655,475 |
| 1960 | 813,670 |
| 1961 | 787,610 |
| 1962 | 919,050 |
| 1963 estimate | 1,031,050 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 641,513 |
| 1960 | 801,506 |
| 1961 | 765,809 |
| 1962 | 919,050 |
| **Bureau of Indian Affairs:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 9,130,402 |
| 1960 | 7,250,813 |
| 1961 | 8,737,564 |
| 1962 | 13,195,497 |
| 1963 estimated | 15,978,123 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 8,703,083 |
| 1960 | 8,606,399 |
| 1961 | 9,851,590 |
| 1962 | 13,849,749 |
| 1963 | 15,978,123 |
| **Bureau of Land Management:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 4,850,249 |
| 1960 | 4,817,774 |
| 1961 | 4,637,098 |
| 1962 | 4,099,938 |
| 1963 | 4,566,900 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 4,892,140 |
| 1960 | 4,812,055 |
| 1961 | 4,682,014 |
| 1962 | 4,004,028 |
| **Bureau of Mines:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 423,900 |
| 1960 | 428,100 |
| 1961 | 420,000 |
| 1962 | 391,200 |
| 1963 | 392,700 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 420,169 |
| 1960 | 425,189 |
| 1961 | 418,320 |
| 1962 | 391,200 |
| **Bureau of Reclamation:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 504,808 |
| 1960 | 522,422 |
| 1961 | 552,002 |
| 1962 | 643,700 |
| 1963 estimate | 654,135 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 617,469 |
| 1960 | 504,026 |
| 1961 | 542,912 |
| 1962 estimated | 643,700 |
| 1963 estimate | 654,135 |
| **Geological Survey:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 2,720,000 |
| 1960 | 2,968,000 |
| 1961 | 3,049,000 |
| 1962 | 2,787,000 |
| 1963 | 3,325,000 |
| Expended: | |
| 1962 | 3,020,000 |
| **Minerals exploration:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1962 | 11,000 |
| 1963 estimate | 11,000 |

*Review of the budget from 1959 to 1963—Continued*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR—continued

| | |
|---|---|
| **Geological Survey—Continued** | |
| National Park Service: | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | $959,626 |
| 1960 | 1,418,932 |
| 1961 | 1,231,239 |
| 1962 | 627,280 |
| 1963 estimate | 1,045,748 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 1,829,044 |
| 1960 | 955,137 |
| 1961 | 1,387,294 |
| 1962 | 1,225,142 |
| **Office of the Secretary:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1962 | 23,800 |
| 1963 estimate | 24,000 |
| **Office of the Solicitor:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 114,400 |
| 1960 | 109,900 |
| 1961 | 111,500 |
| 1962 | 122,635 |
| 1963 estimate | 123,600 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 114,400 |
| **Office of Territories:** | |
| Appropriated: | |
| 1959 | 5,461,660 |
| 1960 | 290,000 |
| 1961 | 250,000 |
| 1962 | 78,000 |
| Expended: | |
| 1959 | 6,001,010 |
| 1960 | 4,582,783 |
| 1961 | 1,667,863 |

In all modesty I think I can say that more has been accomplished for the people of Alaska in Washington in the past 2 Congresses than in the 85 which preceded them. Without a strong, united delegation such results would not have been possible. I cannot find terms of praise too strong to apply to my colleagues BOB BARTLETT and RALPH RIVERS. Their performance has been superb. But in all truth, I must say that much remains to be done to put Alaska on a basis of economic as well as political equality with the other States. The team we now have in Congress has demonstrated it has the know-how experience and drive to carry the work forward in future sessions.

## Hon. Gerald R. Ford, Jr.'s Report to the Fifth District of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report of my voting and attendance record during the 2d session of the 87th Congress.

The record includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no attempt has been made to

describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record:

*Voting record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, Jr., 5th District of Michigan*

| No. | Date | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Jan. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 2 | do | Election of Speaker | Halleck. |
| 3 | Jan. 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 4 | Jan. 23 | do | Present. |
| 5 | Jan. 24 | do | Present. |
| 6 | Jan. 25 | do | Present. |
| 7 | Jan. 30 | do | Absent.[1] |
| 8 | do | H.R. 8900: To authorize assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher learning for construction and improvement of facilities. (Passed 319 to 79.) | Absent.[2] |
| 9 | Jan. 31 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 10 | Feb. 5 | do | Present. |
| 11 | do | S. 383: To suspend rules and pass bill providing for acquisition of a patented mining claim at Grand Canyon National Park. (Defeated 202 to 136; 2/3 vote being required.) | No. |
| 12 | Feb. 6 | H.R. 6360 (S. 1456): To provide for an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce (for scientific and technical matters). (Passed 231 to 169.) | No. |
| 13 | Feb. 7 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 14 | do | do | Present. |
| 15 | do | do | Present. |
| 16 | Feb. 20 | do | Present. |
| 17 | do | H. Res. 549: To provide for consideration of H.R. 10050 (to increase debt limit) under procedure permitting no amendments from the floor. (Passed 258 to 133.) | Yes. |
| 18 | do | H.R. 10050: To provide for a temporary increase in debt limit to $300,000,000,000 until June 30, 1962. (Passed 251 to 144.) | Yes. |
| 19 | Feb. 21 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 20 | do | H. Res. 530: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962 establishing a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. (Passed 264 to 150.) | Yes. |
| 21 | Feb. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 22 | do | H.R. 6747 (S. 486): To provide for the appointment of 2 additional judges for the juvenile court of the District of Columbia. (Passed 222 to 142.) | Yes. |
| 23 | Feb. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 24 | do | do | Present. |
| 25 | Feb. 28 | do | Present. |
| 26 | do | H.R. 8399 (S. 1991): To pass the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1961 as amended. (Passed 354 to 62.) | Yes. |
| 27 | Mar. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 28 | do | do | Present. |
| 29 | Mar. 7 | do | Present. |
| 30 | do | H.R. 132 (S. 205): To assist in construction of television facilities to be used for educational purposes. (Passed 337 to 68.) | Yes. |
| 31 | Mar. 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 32 | do | do | Present. |
| 33 | Mar. 13 | do | Present. |
| 34 | do | S. 167: To authorize the Attorney General to compel the production of documentary evidence required in civil investigations for the enforcement of the antitrust laws; amended. (Passed 338 to 58.) | Yes. |
| 35 | Mar. 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 36 | Mar. 15 | do | Present. |
| 37 | do | H.R. 8723: To recommit to the conference committee the report of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments in order to restore the original House provision to prevent a conflict of interest when employees of the Department of Labor enforce this law. (Defeated 182 to 218.) | Yes. |
| 38 | do | H.R. 8723: To adopt the conference report on the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments. (Passed 284 to 108.) | Yes. |
| 39 | do | H.R. 10606: To recommit to committee the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 in order to reduce the Federal contributions to the States by $140,000,000. (Defeated 155 to 232.) | Yes. |
| 40 | do | H.R. 10606: On final passage of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. (Passed 319 to 69.) | No. |
| 41 | Mar. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 42 | Mar. 21 | do | Present. |
| 43 | do | H.R. 9751: To authorize 1963 appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. (Passed 403 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 44 | Mar. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 45 | do | H.R. 10904: To recommit to committee the appropriation bill for the Department of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Defeated 24 to 371.) | No. |
| 46 | Mar. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 47 | do | H. Res. 576: A motion calling for the previous question on the resolutions providing for a closed rule for the consideration of H.R. 10650, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Act. (Defeated 224 to 184.) | No. |
| 48 | Mar. 28 | H. Res. 576: To adopt the closed rule for consideration of H.R. 10650, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Act. (Passed 234 to 172.) | No. |
| 49 | Mar. 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 50 | do | do | Present. |
| 51 | do | H.R. 10650: To recommit to committee the Revenue Act of 1962 for the purpose of striking out sec. 2 (investment credit provision) and sec. 19 which extends the withholding tax to dividends and interest. (Defeated 190 to 225.) | Yes. |
| 52 | do | H.R. 10650: On final passage of the Revenue Act of 1962. (Passed 219 to 196.) | No. |
| 53 | Apr. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 54 | do | H.R. 10162: To amend the Bretton Woods Agreement Act to authorize the United States to participate in loans to International Monetary Fund to strengthen the international monetary system. (Passed 256 to 94.) | Yes. |
| 55 | do | H.R. 10743: To provide increased rates for VA compensation (service-connected disability). (Passed 345 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 56 | Apr. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 57 | do | H.R. 10700: To authorize an appropriation of $63,750,000 for the Peace Corps in fiscal 1963. (Passed 316 to 70.) | Yes. |
| 58 | Apr. 4 | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 59 | do | H.R. 11038: To recommit to committee the 2d supplemental appropriations bill for 1962 in order to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations Special Assessment Fund to 32.02 percent of the total assessed on all nations. (Defeated 153 to 235.) | Absent.[3] |
| 60 | Apr. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 61 | do | H.R. 4441: To recommit to committee a bill to authorize an appropriation of $3,000,000 to reimburse New York City for extraordinary expenses incurred during 15th General Assembly of U.N. when Khrushchev and other leaders attended. (Defeated 142 to 215.) | Yes. |
| 62 | do | H.R. 4441: On final passage of the bill to authorize an appropriation of $3,000,000 to New York City for extraordinary expenses incurred during U.N. Assembly (1960) when Khrushchev and other leaders attended. (Passed 207 to 152.) | No. |
| 63 | Apr. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 64 | do | do | Present. |
| 65 | do | H. Res. 589: To adopt a rule to take up for consideration H.R. 10788, a bill relating to the regulations of textile imports. (Passed 264 to 76.) | No. |
| 66 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 67 | Apr. 11 | do | Present. |
| 68 | do | H.R. 10788: To increase the power of the President relative to agreements with certain countries on the importation of cotton textiles. (Passed 312 to 80.) | No. |
| 69 | do | H.R. 11151: To recommit to committee the legislative appropriations bill in order to eliminate the provisions granting Congressmen the privilege of addressing mail to "occupant or boxholder." (Defeated 193 to 197.) | Yes. |
| 70 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 71 | do | do | Absent.[4] |
| 72 | Apr. 12 | do | Present. |
| 73 | Apr. 16 | do | Present. |
| 74 | Apr. 17 | do | Present. |
| 75 | do | do | Present. |
| 76 | Apr. 18 | do | Present. |
| 77 | do | do | Present. |
| 78 | do | H.R. 11289: To pass the $47,800,000,000 defense appropriation bill. (Passed 388 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 79 | May 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 80 | May 2 | H.R. 8031: To authorize the FCC to require all new TV sets to be equipped to receive both UHF and VHF signals. (Passed 279 to 90.) | Yes. |
| 81 | May 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 82 | do | H.R. 11040: To provide for the establishment, operation, and regulation of a commercial satellite system. (Passed 354 to 9.) | Yes. |
| 83 | May 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 84 | May 9 | H.R. 8617: To authorize the appropriation of $73,000,000 to pay the balance of awards for war damage compensation made by the Philippine War Damage Commission. (Defeated 171 to 201.) | Yes. |
| 85 | do | H. Res. 625: To send to conference H.R. 8900, a bill authorizing assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher learning for construction and improvement of facilities. (Passed 294 to 76.) | Yes. |
| 86 | May 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 87 | do | do | Absent.[5] |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, Jr., 5th District of Michigan*—Continued

| No. | Date | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 88 | May 16 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 89 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 90 | May 17 | ...do | Absent.[3] |
| 91 | May 22 | ...do | Present. |
| 92 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 93 | May 23 | ...do | Present. |
| 94 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 95 | ...do | H.R. 11737: To authorize an appropriation of $3,700,000,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 342 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 96 | May 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 97 | June 5 | ...do | Present. |
| 98 | June 6 | ...do | Present. |
| 99 | ...do | H.R. 11665: On a motion to recommit the bill amending the National School Lunch Act to committee for the purpose of further revising the formula for apportioning cash assistance funds among the States. (Defeated 160 to 220.) | Yes. |
| 100 | ...do | H.R. 11665: On final passage of the bill to amend the National School Lunch Act. (Passed 370 to 11.) | Yes. |
| 101 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 102 | June 7 | ...do | Present. |
| 103 | ...do | H.R. 5532: To amend the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 in general to tighten up negotiated procurement. (Passed 362 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 104 | June 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 105 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 106 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 107 | June 13 | ...do | Present. |
| 108 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 109 | June 14 | ...do | Present. |
| 110 | ...do | H.R. 11990: To recommit to committee the bill raising the public debt limit in order to substitute the text of H.R. 12026 increasing the limit to $306,000,000,000. (Defeated 145 to 268.) | Yes. |
| 111 | ...do | H.R. 11990: To increase the debt limit to $308,000,000,000 until Mar. 31, 1963, to $305,000,000,000 from Apr. 1 to June 24, 1963, and back to $300,000,000,000 on June 24, 1963. (Passed 211 to 192.) | No. |
| 112 | June 15 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 113 | June 18 | ...do | Present. |
| 114 | ...do | H. Res. 691: On a motion to consider the resolution providing for a closed rule and 3 hours of debate on H.R. 12154, the Sugar Act Amendments of 1962. (Passed 262 to 32.) | Yes. |
| 115 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 116 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 117 | June 19 | H.R. 12154: To recommit to committee the amendments to the Sugar Act in order to remove the provisions awarding $22,700,000 to 3 sugar companies of the Dominican Republic in refund of import fees paid in 1960-61. (Defeated 174 to 222.) | Yes. |
| 118 | ...do | H.R. 12154: On final passage of the Sugar Act Amendments of 1962. (Passed 319 to 72.) | Yes. |
| 119 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 120 | June 20 | ...do | Present. |
| 121 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 122 | June 21 | ...do | Present. |
| 123 | ...do | H.R. 11222: An amendment to the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 (omnibus farm bill) authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to exempt certain deficit areas from compliance with programs. (Passed 267 to 151.) | No. |
| 124 | ...do | H.R. 11222: On a motion to recommit to the Committee on Agriculture the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. (Passed 215 to 205.) | Yes. |
| 125 | June 22 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 126 | June 25 | ...do | Present. |
| 127 | ...do | H.R. 11500: To extend for 2 years (to June 30, 1964) the present Defense Production Act. (Passed 327 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 128 | ...do | H.R. 11309 (S. 3161): To extend for 3 years (to June 30, 1965) and amend the Export Control Act of 1949 to regulate exports from the United States to Soviet bloc destinations. (Passed 339 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 129 | June 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 130 | June 27 | ...do | Present. |
| 131 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 132 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 133 | June 28 | ...do | Present. |
| 134 | ...do | H.R. 11970: To recommit to committee the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and to extend for 1 year the present law relative to reciprocal trade agreements. (Defeated 171 to 253.) | Yes. |
| 135 | ...do | H.R. 11970: On final passage of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. (Passed 299 to 125.) | Yes. |
| 136 | June 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 137 | ...do | S. 1658: To prohibit the transportation of gambling devices in interstate and foreign commerce. (Passed 348 to 1.) | Yes. |
| 138 | ...do | S. 1969: To adopt the conference report on the bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act to provide for supplemental air carriers. (Passed 339 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 139 | June 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 140 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 141 | ...do | H.R. 12154: To adopt the conference report on the Sugar Act Amendments of 1962. (Passed 248 to 31.) | Yes. |
| 142 | July 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 143 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 144 | ...do | H.R. 11586: To extend for 3 years present law providing for a Federal subsidy limit of 55 percent on ship construction and conversion and a 60-percent limit for passenger ships. (Passed 293 to 5.) | Yes. |
| 145 | ...do | S. 2775: To authorize an increase in the appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands from $7,500,000 to $17,500,000. (Passed 281 to 14.) | Yes. |
| 146 | ...do | H. Res. 714: Expressing the "sense of the House of Representatives" that the Federal Communications Commission should authorize "clear channel" radio stations to use in excess of 50 kilowatts of power if FCC finds it to be in the public interest. (Passed 198 to 87.) | Yes. |
| 147 | July 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 148 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 149 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 150 | July 11 | ...do | Present. |
| 151 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 152 | July 12 | ...do | Present. |
| 153 | ...do | H.R. 11921: On final passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 authorizing appropriations for the mutual security program. (Passed 250 to 164.) | Yes. |
| 154 | July 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 155 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 156 | July 16 | ...do | Present. |
| 157 | ...do | H. Res. 726: To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 8050 allocating premium sugar quotas to Argentina and the Dominican Republic, granting a sugar quota to Ireland and making other changes in the Sugar Act. (Passed 196 to 142.) | No. |
| 158 | July 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 159 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 160 | ...do | H.R. 11974: On an amendment to the bill authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission prohibiting any agreement providing for the construction or operation of electric generating and transmission facilities at the Hanford (Washington State) atomic production reactor. (Passed 232 to 163.) | Yes. |
| 161 | July 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 162 | ...do | S. 167: To recommit to the conference committee the bill to authorize the Attorney General to search and seize, without a warrant except his own, the confidential documents of business concerns being investigated for possible violation of antitrust laws. (Passed 202 to 200.) | Yes. |
| 163 | ...do | H.R. 12135: To amend the Highway Act of 1962 by striking out a provision giving to the Secretary of Commerce sole power to determine whether a State provides feasible methods for relocating families removed from their homes because of new highway construction. Under the amendment this would be left to the States. (Passed 236 to 159.) | Yes. |
| 164 | July 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 165 | ...do | H.R. 10606: To adopt the conference report on the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. (Passed 357 to 34.) | Yes. |
| 166 | ...do | H.R. 12391: On final passage of a farm bill entitled "Food and Agricultural Act of 1962." (Passed 229 to 163.) | No. |
| 167 | July 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 168 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 169 | ...do | H.R. 12580: To adopt the appropriation bill for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and the Judiciary in the amount of $1,900,000,000. (Passed 266 to 55.) | Yes. |
| 170 | July 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 171 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 172 | July 24 | ...do | Present. |
| 173 | ...do | S. 2996: On adoption of the conference report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 authorizing appropriations of $3,600,000,000 for the mutual security program. (Passed 221 to 162.) | Yes. |
| 174 | July 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 175 | ...do | H.R. 12648: To approve the 1963 appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture in the amount of $5,900,000,000. (Passed 345 to 41.) | No. |
| 176 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 177 | July 26 | ...do | Present. |
| 178 | ...do | H.R. 529: To authorize the construction and operation of the Mann Creek reclamation project in Idaho. (Passed 199 to 162.) | No. |
| 179 | July 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 180 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 181 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 182 | July 31 | ...do | Present. |
| 183 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 184 | Aug. 1 | H.R. 12711: To adopt the independent offices appropriation bill of 1963 involving $11,500,000,000. (Passed 368 to 12.) | Yes. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, Jr., 5th District of Michigan*—Continued

| No. | Date | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 185 | Aug. 1 | H.R. 575: To authorize the appropriation of $6,100,000 for construction of the upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon. (Passed 200 to 182.) | No. |
| 186 | ...do... | H.R. 10904: To recommit conference report on appropriations bill for Department of Labor and HEW in order to reduce funds for the National Institutes of Health from $880,000,000 to $840,000,000 which would be $60,000,000 more than requested by the President. (Defeated 173 to 214.) | Yes. |
| 187 | ...do... | H.R. 10904: On final passage of the appropriations bill for Departments of Labor and HEW in 1963 involving $5,300,000,000. (Passed 347 to 35.) | Yes. |
| 188 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 189 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 190 | Aug. 7 | ...do... | Present. |
| 191 | Aug. 8 | ...do... | Present. |
| 192 | ...do... | H.R. 4055: To authorize a lump-sum payment of an amount not over $10,000 to those awarded national medals of science. (Defeated 192 to 177; ⅔ vote being necessary to suspend rules and adopt.) | No. |
| 193 | ...do... | H.R. 7283: To provide for payment of valid claims of American citizens for losses incurred during World War II; payment to be paid out of proceeds from sale of German and Japanese assets in United States and taken over by U.S. Government. (Passed 354 to 15.) | Yes. |
| 194 | Aug. 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 195 | Aug. 14 | ...do... | Present. |
| 196 | ...do... | S. 1005: To require approval by the Federal Reserve Board of construction of buildings for branches of Federal Reserve banks and to increase cost limit on the buildings from $30,000,000 to $50,000,000. (Passed 314 to 50.) | Yes. |
| 197 | Aug. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 198 | ...do... | On a motion that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with. (Passed 298 to 85.) | Yes. |
| 199 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 200 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 201 | ...do... | On a motion that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with. (Passed 312 to 62.) | Yes. |
| 202 | ...do... | S.J. Res. 29: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment outlawing the payment of poll or other tax as a qualification for voting in Federal elections. (Passed 294 to 86.) | Yes. |
| 203 | ...do... | H. Res. 769: To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 11040 providing for the establishment and operation of a communications satellite system. (Passed 372 to 10.) | Yes. |
| 204 | ...do... | H.R. 12638: To authorize the appropriation of an additional $100,000,000 for direct loans by HHFA for rental and cooperative housing for the elderly. (Passed 367 to 6.) | Yes. |
| 205 | Aug. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 206 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 207 | Aug. 29 | ...do... | Present. |
| 208 | ...do... | H.R. 10113: To recommit to committee the Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act. (Defeated 192 to 221.) | Yes. |
| 209 | ...do... | H.R. 11974: On a motion directing the House managers in conference not to agree to sec. 112 authorizing electrical generating facilities for the reactor at Hanford, Wash. (Defeated 148 to 246.) | Yes. |
| 210 | Aug. 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 211 | Sept. 11 | ...do... | Present. |
| 212 | Sept. 13 | S. 4: To provide for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore in Texas. (Passed 256 to 87.) | Absent.[1] |
| 213 | ...do... | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 214 | Sept. 14 | ...do... | Present. |
| 215 | ...do... | S. 2768: To recommit to committee the bill relative to U.N. bond purchase in order to make any U.S. loan to the U.N. contingent upon adoption by the U.N. of the World Court's opinion that members must pay the special assessments in order to retain voting rights in the General Assembly. (Defeated 171 to 219.) | Yes. |
| 216 | ...do... | S. 2768: On final passage of the House version of the U.N. bond bill authorizing a U.S. loan equal to the total actual loans of all other nations. (Passed 256 to 134.) | Yes. |
| 217 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 218 | ...do... | H.R. 11974: To recommit to conference committee the bill authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission insisting on the House disagreement to sec. 112 authorizing electrical generating facilities for the reactor at Hanford, Wash. (Defeated 151 to 186.) | No. |
| 219 | Sept. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 220 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 221 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 222 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 223 | Sept. 18 | ...do... | Absent.[1] |
| 224 | ...do... | H. Res. 777: To call up for consideration S. 2429, a bill to revise the boundaries of the Virgin Islands National Park. (Passed 268 to 5.) | Absent.[1] |
| 225 | Sept. 19 | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 226 | ...do... | On a motion to dispense with the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule. (Passed 355 to 17.) | Absent.[1] |
| 227 | ...do... | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 228 | ...do... | On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under the previous quorum call. (Passed 339 to 26.) | Absent.[1] |
| 229 | ...do... | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 230 | ...do... | H.R. 12082: To amend the Internal Security Act to provide for maximum personnel security in the National Security Agency. (Passed 351 to 24.) | Absent.[1] |
| 231 | ...do... | H.R. 11363: To strengthen the national security program with respect to defense contractors and their employees, and to protect classified information. (Defeated 247 to 132; ⅔ vote being necessary to suspend rules.) | Absent.[1] |
| 232 | ...do... | H.R. 12648: To agree to the Senate amendment to the agriculture appropriation bill to provide $1,600,000 for construction of a peanut research laboratory in Georgia. (Defeated 143 to 221.) | Absent.[1] |
| 233 | ...do... | H.R. 11151: To insist upon the House provisions in legislative appropriation bill authorizing the use by Members of Congress of the privilege of "occupant" mailing. (Defeated 125 to 248.) | Absent.[1] |
| 234 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 235 | ...do... | H.R. 12391: To approve the conference report on the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. (Passed 202 to 197.) | No. |
| 236 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 237 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 238 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 239 | ...do... | H.R. 8900: To recommit to conference committee its report on the College Academic Facilities Act with instructions to insist on House position relative to student loans. (Passed 214 to 186.) | Yes. |
| 240 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 241 | ...do... | H.R. 13175: To recommit to committee the foreign aid appropriations bill in order to reduce the amount for economic assistance by $100,000,000. (Defeated 190 to 203.) | No. |
| 242 | ...do... | H.R. 13175: On final passage of the foreign aid appropriation bill in the amount of $3,600,000,000. (Passed 249 to 144.) | Yes. |
| 243 | Sept. 21 | H.R. 12180: To extend temporarily the existing law relative to the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders. (Passed 384 to 8.) | Yes. |
| 244 | ...do... | H.R. 11732: On a motion to recommit to committee a bill to authorize foreign governments to operate radio stations in the District of Columbia for transmission of messages outside the United States. (Defeated 95 to 208.) | Yes. |
| 245 | Sept. 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 246 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 247 | ...do... | S.J. Res. 244: To authorize the President to call units and members in the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than 12 months and to extend enlistments on periods of duty for not more than 12 months. (Passed 342 to 13.) | Yes. |
| 248 | Sept. 25 | H.R. 10: To accept the conference report on the bill to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed individuals. (Passed 301 to 9.) | Absent.[1] |
| 249 | Sept. 26 | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 250 | ...do... | ...do... | Absent.[1] |
| 251 | ...do... | S.J. Res. 230: To recommit to committee the resolution concerning Cuba in order to strengthen the language to indicate congressional approval of U.S. action to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. (Defeated 140 to 251.) | Absent.[1] |
| 252 | ...do... | S.J. Res. 230: To adopt the resolution "expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba." (Passed 384 to 7.) | Absent.[1] |
| 253 | Sept. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 254 | Oct. 1 | ...do... | Present. |
| 255 | ...do... | H.R. 7927: To send to conference the House-approved postal rate bill as amended by the Senate and to which the Senate had added Federal employees salary legislation. (Passed 327 to 22.) | No. |
| 256 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 257 | ...do... | H.R. 5998: To require that summer employment through the Civil Service Commission be apportioned among the States as is regular employment. (Passed 309 to 19.) | Yes. |
| 258 | ...do... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 259 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 260 | ...do... | H.R. 13241: To correct an error in sec. 309 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 relating to small farm exemption from 1963 wheat program. (Passed 255 to 90.) | Yes. |
| 261 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 262 | ...do... | ...do... | Present. |
| 263 | ...do... | H. Res. 822: To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 8181 to authorize the construction of a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia. (Passed 344 to 104.) | No. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative GERALD R. FORD, Jr., 5th District of Michigan*—Continued

| No. | Date | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 264 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 265 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 266 | Oct. 3 | ...do | Present. |
| 267 | ...do | H. Res. 823: To adopt the rule under which H.R. 13273, the bill on rivers and harbors and flood control property, would be considered. (Passed 344 to 4.) | Yes. |
| 268 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 269 | ...do | H.R. 13273: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing rivers, harbors and flood control projects in order to delete the Burns Creek project in Idaho. (Passed 203 to 130.) | Yes. |
| 270 | Oct. 4 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 271 | ...do | H.R. 11970: To adopt the conference report on the "Trade Expansion Act of 1962." (Passed 256 to 91.) | Yes. |
| 272 | ...do | S. 1552: To adopt the conference report on the bill entitled, "Drug Amendments of 1962." (Passed 347 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 273 | ...do | H.R. 12648: To adopt the conference report on the appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. (Passed 399 to 5.) | Yes. |
| 274 | ...do | H. Res. 803: To adopt the rule providing for consideration of S. 1123, a bill to extend the child labor provisions of Fair Labor Standards Act to certain children employed in agriculture. (Passed 257 to 81.) | Yes. |
| 275 | ...do | S. 1123: To recommit to committee the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to extend its child labor provisions to certain children employed in agriculture. (Defeated 137 to 198.) | No. |
| 276 | ...do | H.R. 4670: To adopt the conference report on the bill to provide penalties for distributing obscene publications, recordings and other things in the District of Columbia. (Passed 270 to 18.) | Yes. |
| 277 | Oct. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 278 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 279 | ...do | H.R. 7927: To adopt the conference report on the bill to increase postal rates and to raise salaries of Federal employees. (Passed 312 to 20.) | No. |
| 280 | Oct. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 281 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 282 | ...do | H. Con. Res. 570: To adopt the resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States maintain by every means its rights in Berlin. (Passed 311 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 283 | ...do | S. 1447: To amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955. (Passed 260 to 9.) | Yes. |
| 284 | Oct. 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 285 | ...do | H.R. 13175: To adopt the conference report on the foreign aid appropriation bill. (Passed 171 to 108.) | Yes. |
| 286 | Oct. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 287 | ...do | H. Res. 381: To return to the Senate S. J. Res. 234, making continuing appropriations for the Department of Agriculture which was held to be an infringement of the privilege of the House to originate appropriation bills. (Passed 245 to 1.) | Yes. |
| 288 | ...do | H.R. 12580: To adopt the conference report on the $2,020,000,000 appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the judiciary. (Passed 172 to 76.) | Yes. |
| 289 | ...do | H.R. 8002: To adopt the conference report on the bill to amend the Internal Revenue Act relative to the manufacturer's excise tax and the special constructive sale price rule. (Passed 247 to 6.) | Yes. |
| 290 | Oct. 11 | S. 3451: To adopt the conference report on a bill to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims. (Passed 182 to 77.) | No. |
| 291 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 292 | Oct. 12 | H.R. 12900 (public works appropriation bill): On motion to recede and concur in Senate Amendment No. 2 with an amendment to reduce by $16,382,000 the general construction funds. (84 to 120; no quorum.) | Yes. |
| 293 | Oct. 13 | H.R. 12900 (public works appropriation bill): On motion to recede and concur in Senate Amendment No. 2 with an amendment to reduce by $16,382,000 the general construction funds. (Defeated 93 to 143.) | Yes. |

[1] In Michigan for father's funeral.
[2] If present, would have voted "yea."
[3] In 5th District for speaking engagement.
[4] Night session; at White House for previous engagement.
[5] Unavoidably detained while away from the Capitol.
[6] In Stockholm for Bilderberg Conference.
[7] If present, would have voted "no."
[8] In Philadelphia.

## Highlights of 87th Congress, 2d Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, though it has been long, this 2d session of the 87th Congress has been highly productive. We have had some disappointments but many accomplishments.

I am especially proud of the enactment of a strong drug bill. After 2½ years of hearings by the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, and despite efforts to torpedo it, we finally achieved legislation which will go far toward correcting abuses in prescription drugs.

It will mean, I believe, safer, more effective and—to some extent—lower priced drugs. Provisions which would have helped to lower the prices of patented drugs were left out, but I hope something can be done about this in the 88th Congress.

We also moved ahead domestically with a public works acceleration bill and job retraining legislation. We strengthened our defenses. And we are, literally, beginning to shoot for the moon.

In the foreign field, this Congress reached new heights of statesmanship with enactment of the Trade Expansion Act, giving a new dimension to the Cordell Hull free-trade principle, and creation of the Peace Corps.

And with the resolutions on Cuba and Berlin, we have let the Communists know we stand behind our President in what he may have to do to safeguard freedom.

I regret the failure to pass sound legislation for medical care for the aging. I regret that that the tax revision bill which became law turned out to be just a hollow shell of what is drastically needed. And a major defeat for the public interest, in my opinion, was passage of the communications satellite bill, creating a private monopoly in this field before it has been fully explored.

For Tennessee, however, it was a good year. We will start construction of the Percy Priest and Cordell Hull Dams and the Dale Hollow Fish Hatchery. A much-needed 48-mile road from Tellico Plains, Tenn., through the Cherokee National Forest to Robbinsville, N.C., was authorized. We just missed getting a go-ahead on two long-sought projects, Devils Jump Dam in the Kentucky-Tennessee Cumberland border area and the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway through Tennessee and Alabama to the gulf. I hope these will be approved next year.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include a brief résumé of the highlights of this second session in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the résumé was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### RÉSUMÉ OF 87TH CONGRESS

#### ECONOMIC AREA

*Agriculture*

Senate passed two farm bills during the 2d session of the 87th Congress. The first bill, S. 3225, with two exceptions was very much like the second farm bill which has been enacted into law. The two exceptions were the provisions relating to price supports and production controls for feed grains. (S. 3225—was killed in the House.)

Second farm bill: As enacted this bill has four major titles, which contain numerous innovations as aids to reducing farm surpluses and solving agricultural problems by providing for a new permanent supply management wheat program, a 1-year extension of present feed grain program and replacing the 1958 corn law with a provision effective in 1964 permitting the Secretary to set price supports for corn between 50 and 90 percent of parity and expansion of surplus disposal under Public Law 480. Includes a new land-use-adjustment program to take land out of production and divert its use to recreational and public purposes. Public Law 87–703.

Sugar Act extension: Extended to December 31, 1966, the Sugar Act of 1948 and set new quotas for domestic and foreign sugar producing areas. Public Law 87–535.

Sugar—Western Hemisphere: Reserved 150,000 tons of premium-priced sugar for Latin American supplies for 1963 and 1964, and 75,000 for balance of 1962. Public Law 87–539.

Farmers Home Administration loans: Raised the annual limitation on Farmers Home Administration insured loans from $150 million to $200 million. These farm ownership loans made to families with a farm background and experience or training to

help them buy, enlarge, or develop farms and to refinance debts. Public Law 87–749.

Textile imports: Authorized the President, for the purpose of carrying out any agreement under section 204 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1956, to limit imports of any agricultural commodity or product covered by such agreement from countries not participating in the agreement, if, in his judgment, such imports would seriously affect domestic producers. Public Law 87–488.

Cotton disposal: Provided for disposal of all extra-long-staple cotton in the strategic stockpile by transferring domestic cotton to the CCC for unrestricted use at not less than 115 percent of current support price plus reasonable carrying charges, and foreign cotton for export only at not less than the world price. Public Law 87–548.

Cotton farmers: Extended for 1 year an emergency measure enacted last year to bring relief to cotton farmers whose land has been and is unplantable because of recent floods or whose plantings have been washed out. Public Law 87–446.

Feed grains: Liberalized requirements for participation in the 1962 feed grain program by permitting farmers to plant barley on land taken out of wheat production and make barley interchangeable with other feed grains. Public Law 87–425.

Forest management: Doubled the authorization under the Cooperative Forest Management Act which furnishes technical assistance to small forest and woodlot owners. Public Law 87–680.

Federal Extension Service: Authorized funds appropriated in excess of the 1962 funds to be distributed on the basis of an equalized formula, for the first 20 percent. Public Law 87–749.

Forestry research: Authorized matching grants for forestry research to land-grant colleges, agricultural experiment stations, other colleges and universities offering graduate training in sciences basic to forestry and having a forestry school. Public Law 87–788.

Manpower retraining: Authorized a 3-year, $435 million, program of training of unemployed in vocational schools or on-the-job retraining to develop new skills; first 2 years' cost to be paid with Federal funds, third year 50–50 matching with the States. Public Law 87–415.

Work Hours Act: Provided for a standard workweek of 40 hours with not less than time and a half for overtime after an 8-hour day or 40-hour week. Public Law 87–581.

Accelerated public works program: Authorized the President to allocate $900 million for job-creating public works projects in areas where there is heavy unemployment, the funds to be allocated to Federal agencies for acceleration or initiation of authorized projects. Public Law 87–658.

Public debt: Enacted a $2 billion temporary increase in the public debt—from $298 billion to $300 billion (to June 30, 1962). Public Law 87–414.

Tax revision: Enacted a major revision and reform of our Federal tax system which would (1) permit a business to claim a tax credit up to 7 percent (3 percent in the case of certain utilities) of the price of newly purchased business equipment, but requires a businessman to reduce his tax reductions for the depreciation of an item if he claims the investment credit at time of purchase; (2) tighten the allowable tax deductions on business expense accounts; (3) legalize tax reductions for lobbying expenses directly relating to appearances before and communications with any legislative body or individual legislator providing this affects the taxpayer's business; (4) continue the current deferral privileges for manufacturing subsidiaries of controlled foreign corporations, but would tax earnings of nonmanufacturing subsidiaries unless they were located in an underdeveloped country and their earnings put back into an underdeveloped nation; (5) impose on U.S. citizens who are bona fide residents of foreign countries a tax on income in excess of $20,000 in the first 3 years of residence abroad and in excess of $35,000 thereafter; (6) increase taxes on earnings of savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks, which are now largely tax exempt; and (7) require that corporations and financial institutions report to the taxpayer and to the Government any dividend, interest, or patronage dividend payments of $10 or more. (H.R. 10650.) Public Law 87– .

Tax changes: Permitted an employer to claim tax deductions for his contributions to employee pension plans which include medical care among their retirement benefits; broadened the allowable individual tax deductions for medical expenses; permitted oil companies, for 1962 only, to deduct drilling costs on tax returns in 1 year rather than claim them as depreciation over several years; and required a State or local government operating retail liquor stores to buy only one $54 Federal liquor tax stamp a year instead of one for each store. (H.R. 10620.) Public Law 87– .

Tax Rate Extension Act of 1962: Extended for 1 year the existing corporate tax rate and certain excise tax rates, while reducing or eliminating taxes on the transportation of persons. Public Law 87–508.

Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962: Authorized an additional $100 million (to $225 million) for the existing program of direct loans to provide housing for the elderly. Established a new program for rural areas and authorized $50 million for loans to private nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, and public agencies to build rental housing for the elderly and related facilities such as dining halls and infirmaries. The new plan to be administered by the Farmers Home Administration includes $50 million loan fund to help elderly persons purchase an existing home or housing site. Public Law 87–723.

Foreign bank deposits: To help slow the U.S. gold outflow, removed for a period of 3 years the Federal Reserve Board's present ceiling—which ranges up to 4 percent, varying with the duration of a deposit—on interest rates paid by U.S. commercial banks on time deposits of foreign governments, their central banks or other monetary authorities, and international institutions of which the United States is a member. (H.R. 12080.) Public Law 87– .

Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962: Authorized a total of $2.3 billion for fiscal years 1963–65 to continue the Federal-aid highway program for the regular system; for additional amounts for roads on Federal lands; for completion of the Rama Road in Nicaragua, the Inter-American Highway in Central America and Panama; and for relocation payments for families and businesses displaced by acquisition or clearance of rights-of-way for Federal-aid highways. Authorized a new category of public lands development roads and trails for important roads on the public domain. Permits use of secondary highway funds for roads on that system located in urban areas. Promotes cooperative transportation planning in certain urban areas by Federal, State, and local authorities; and permits the use of additional Federal-aid funds for highway planning and research. (H.R. 12135.) Public Law 87– .

Public debt limit increase: Provided for a temporary debt limit of $308 billion through March 31, 1963, and $305 billion from April 1, 1963, through June 24, 1963, and $300 billion for the remainder of fiscal 1963. Public Law 87–512.

SBA amendments: Increased the Small Business Administration's revolving fund ceiling to $1,666 million. Of the $1,666 million authorized, $1,325 million will be used for regular business and disaster loans. Earmarks a separate fund of $341 million for loans to small business investment companies. Public Law 87–550.

Self-employed voluntary pension plans: Encouraged establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed professionals by permitting them to set aside up to $2,500 or 10 percent of their income, whichever is lesser, in an approved retirement program and permits them to deduct from taxable income up to a maximum of $1,250 in any one year for contributions to the fund. Public Law 87–792.

Civil service retirees: Provided a 5-percent increase, effective January 1, 1963, to all entitled annuitants on that date. Public Law 87–793.

Retirement income credit: Increased to $1,524 from $1,200 the maximum annual amount a retired person can subetract from his tax payment. (H.R. 6371.) Public Law 87– .

Alumina and bauxite—Duty free: Continued to July 16, 1964, suspension of duty on alumina when imported for use in producing aluminum, crude bauxite, and calcined bauxite. Public Law 87–567.

Duty suspension—Shoe lathes: Continues to August 7, 1964, existing suspension of duties on shoe lathes. Public Law 87–607.

Bicycles: Provided a more definitive tariff classification description for lightweight bicycles to preclude middleweights from coming in as lightweights. (H.R. 8936.) Public Law 87– .

*Trade and communications economy*

Trade Expansion Act of 1962: Gave the President general authority to cut all tariffs as much as 50 percent over the next 5 years; empowered him to remove tariffs as much as he believes desirable on products in which the United States and Western Europe account for most of the world trade; permitted the President to negotiate tariff reductions on entire categories of commodities instead of item by item as at present; established a new program of subsidies to serve as a substitute for tariff protection for workers and companies hurt by import competition; prohibited the United States from granting tariff concessions to Poland and Yugoslavia and eliminated present concessions to these nations; and removed the peril-point provision of present law which empowers the Tariff Commission to recommend minimum safe tariffs on specific items prior to international trade negotiations, and authorizes the Commission only to advise the President on the probable economic effect of any proposed trade agreement action. Public Law 87–794.

All-channel television receivers: Authorized Federal Communications Commission to require all television receivers shipped in interstate commerce or imported into the United States must, at the time of manufacture, be capable of adequately receiving all TV channels. Public Law 87–529.

Railroads—Tax relief: Permitted any regulated transportation company to spread its net operating loss over 7 succeeding years in computing its taxable income. Public Law 87–710.

DEFENSE AND SPACE EXPLORATION AREAS

Ready Reserves: Gave President standby authority to call 150,000 military reservists to active duty if an international crisis should require it. Public Law 87–736.

Berlin resolution: Approved a concurrent resolution putting Congress on record for any action, including the use of military force, needed to uphold Western rights in Berlin. Adopted unanimously by both Houses.

Cuban resolution: Approved a resolution on Cuba stating the United States will use force if necessary to halt the spread of com-

munism in this hemisphere. Public Law 87–733.

Military construction authorization: Authorized $1,455,672,500 for construction and related authority for the military departments and the Department of Defense. Public Law 87–554.

Space authorization: Authorized $3.7 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1963. Public Law 87–584.

Communications satellite system: Established Communications Satellite Corporation, subject to Government regulation, to plan and operate with foreign governments and businesses a commercial communications satellite system. Public Law 87–624.

AEC authorization: Authorized appropriations of $242,695,000 for AEC construction projects; of this amount $159,415,000 was authorized for 42 new projects; authorized AEC to contract with Washington Public Power Supply System for sale of byproduct steam under certain conditions and for construction of electric generating facilities in connection with AEC's atomic reactor in Hanford, Wash. Act stipulates that sale of Hanford steam must provide a substantial financial return to the Treasury, any modification of the reactor for utilization of the steam must be paid by the purchaser of the steam, and the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee must be given an opportunity to review the contract before the Government signs it. If these and other conditions are not met, the steam cannot be sold. Public Law 87–701.

AEC amendments: Amended Atomic Energy Commission Act of 1954 by authorizing establishment of one or more atomic safety and licensing boards; provided Government indemnity coverage for oversea nuclear accidents involving contractors or subcontractors of AEC and limited oversea coverage to $100 million. Public Law 87–615.

Armed services procurement: Amends the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 controlling procurement of property and services by the Armed Forces and NASA—to encourage procurement by formal advertising; to obtain more competition in negotiated procurement; and to provide safeguards for the Government against inflated cost estimates in negotiated contracts. Public Law 87–653.

Southern interstate nuclear compact: Granted congressional consent to southern interstate nuclear compact which will establish a regional agency, the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, to develop and control peaceful uses of nuclear energy throughout the compact area. Public Law 87–563.

Public facility loans: Makes certain federally impacted areas in which there is located a research or development installation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration eligible for a loan under the public facility loan program. Public Law 87–634.

Civil defense emergency authorities extended: Extended to June 30, 1966, the provision of title III of the Civil Defense Act which authorized the President to declare a national emergency for civil defense purposes and to assume emergency powers during such an emergency. Public Law 87–501.

Reserves—Lump-sum payments: Equalized the treatment between "Reserves" and "Regulars" by increasing the readjustment payments to 2 months' basic pay for each year of active duty for a Reserve member released after 5 years' active duty; and authorized maximum readjustments of 2 years' basic pay or $15,000, whichever is lesser. Public Law 87–509.

World War I emergency officer retirement: Reopened the emergency officers' retirement program to permit a limited group of former World War I emergency officers to apply for and receive the benefits of that program. (H.R. 8517.) Public Law 87– .

INTERNATIONAL AREA

Foreign aid authorization: Authorized $1.2 billion in foreign aid for fiscal 1963 for development grants, investment guarantees, investment surveys, international organizations and programs, supporting assistnace and the contingency fund, and $2.4 billion over a 4-year period for the Alliance for Progress, which includes $600 million for fiscal 1963. Public Law 87–565.

International Moneary Fund: Granted the Secretary of the Treasury standby authority to lend up to $2 billion to the International Monetary Fund so that 10 industrialized nations, including the United States, can participate in a special lending program. Public Law 87–490.

Peace Corps: Authorized $63,750,000 to finance the operations of the Peace Corps during fiscal 1963. (Forty million dollars was authorized last year but only $30 million appropriated.) Public Law 87–442.

U.N. bonds: Authorized an appropriation of $100 million for a loan to the U.N. on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis with other nations for the purchase of U.N. bonds to ease the financial crisis caused by the Congo. Public Law 87–731.

Drugs: Strengthened Federal regulation under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to provide consumers with better, safer, and less expensive drugs. Public Law 87–781.

Vaccination Assistance Act of 1962: Authorized a 3-year program of special project grants to States and, with State approval, to local communities to pay part of the cost of intensive vaccination programs against four contagious diseases—polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus. (H.R. 10541.) Public Law 87– .

Air pollution control study: Extends to June 30, 1966, and authorizes up to $5 million annually in appropriations for a continuation of the present study being conducted by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in conjunction with various State agencies into the causes, effects, and ways to abate air pollution with special emphasis on the effects of automobile exhaust fumes. Public Law 87–761.

National school lunch funds: Revised the formula for apportioning cash assistance funds to States in the school lunch program to base it on the number of lunches served the previous year plus the assistance-need factor instead of the present system of number of children aged 5 to 17 plus the assistance-need factor. (H.R. 11665.) Public Law 87– .

CRIMINAL LAWS STRENGTHENED

Gambling devices: Broadened the definition of gambling devices to cover additional types of machines manufactured for gambling purposes, and requires detailed records of all such devices shipped in interstate commerce. (S. 1658.) Public Law 87– .

Antitrust: Authorized Department of Justice to demand the records of business firms under investigation for possible use in antitrust cases. Public Law 87–664.

Smith Act amendment: Defines and clarifies the term "organize" as used in the Smith Act of 1940 to make it apply to continuing as well as original Communist activities. Public Law 87–486.

Juvenile delinquents: Requires juveniles adjudged delinquents be committed to the custody of Attorney General for observation and study and that a full report be submitted within 60 days by the Bureau of Prisons. Public Law 87–428.

Adoption of minors: Imposing criminal penalties on persons trafficking for profit in interstate commerce in placing, or in arranging for placement of, children for adoption or permanent free care. (S. 654.)

Trafficking in phonograph records: Provided a criminal penalty for counterfeiting phonograph records and labels. Public Law 87–773.

WELFARE AND GENERAL GOVERNMENT AREAS

*Education and training*

Aid to education: Enacted a $2,550 million 3-year Federal-aid-to-education program for school construction and increasing teachers salaries. (S. 1021.)

Educational television: Authorized a 5-year, $32-million program of grants to the States, the District of Columbia, and Peurto Rico, to establish or improve the educational television broadcasting facilities in our public schools, colleges, and in adult training programs. Grantees may be any nonprofit foundation, corporation, or association which is organized primarily to engage in or encourage educational television broadcasting and which is eligible according to the rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission in effect on April 12, 1962, to receive a license from the Commission for a noncommercial educational broadcasting station. Public Law 87–447.

Surplus personal property to schools: Clarified the provisions of existing law permitting disposal of surplus Federal property for activities providing educational or occupational training for mentally retarded children, schools for the physically handicapped, educational television stations, and public libraries. Public Law 87–786.

War orphans education aid: Raised the present ceiling-age of 23 to 31 when a war orphan must have completed his education provided the suspension was due to conditions beyond his control. (H.R. 9737.) Public Law 87– .

Research costs: Authorized Federal agencies, when awarding research and development contracts to education institutions, to provide for payment of a fixed percentage of the direct research or development cost to cover the indirect overhead costs associated with the work. Public Law 87–638.

Religious articles—Duty free: Broadened coverage of certain duty-free imports to include cemeteries, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and similar nonprofit activities staffed and controlled by corporations or associations organized and operated for religious reasons. Public Law 87–604.

Social Security Amendments of 1962: Extended and improved public assistance and child welfare service programs of the Social Security Act. Public Law 87–543.

Pension plans: Strengthened the 1958 Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act by providing additional enforcement procedures and imposing criminal sanctions. Public Law 87–420.

Captioned films for the deaf: Strengthened and improved the existing program of providing captioned films for nonprofit purposes to groups of deaf persons, by authorizing the production and distribution of training films for the deaf, research in the use of educational and training films and training persons in the use of these films for the deaf and raised the established loan ceiling of $250,000 to $1,250,000. Public Law 87–715.

Du Pont: Enacted into law the so-called Du Pont bill providing that a distribution of stock made to an individual, or certain corporations, pursuant to an order enforcing the antitrust laws shall be treated as a return of capital; and that the amount of such a distribution made to a corporation shall be the fair market value. Public Law 87–403.

National Science Foundation amendment: Eliminated the non-Communist disclaimer affidavit required in the existing National Science Foundation Act; made it a crime for any member of a Communist organization to

apply for or to use any scholarship or fellowship award under section 10 of the act; required each applicant for scholarship or fellowship to provide the NSF with a full statement of the crime of which he has been convicted and information regarding any criminal charges punishable by confinement of 30 days or more. (H.R. 8556.) Public Law 87– .

Pay reform: Enacted a two-step pay-reform measure for the classified, postal, Foreign Service, and Veterans' Administration employees in an effort to lessen the discrepancies between industry and the Federal worker. Public Law 87–793.

*Resource buildup*

Rivers and harbors and flood control: Authorized $2.26 billion for 91 rivers and harbors projects and 108 flood control projects. (H.R. 13273).

Fryingpan-Arkansas project, Colorado: Authorized Department of Interior to spend up to $170 million to construct facilities for the diversion of water from the Colorado River Basin in western Colorado to the Arkansas River Basin. Water will be used for irrigation, flood control, power, and to meet the municipal water needs of Colorado Springs and other cities. Public Law 87–590.

Pacific Northwest power preference: Guaranteed permanent priority on Pacific Northwest power to consumers of electricity from Bonneville Power's marketing area, whether public or private users. Permits Bonneville to sell surplus power, outside its marketing area but subject to recall when power is needed in the Northwest. Areas given priority include Oregon, Washington, Montana, and, on determination by Secretary of Interior, parts of Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho. (S. 3153.)

Forest survey authorization: Increased from $1.5 to $2.5 million the authorization for keeping current a survey of the Nation's forest resources. Public Law 87–685.

Fish and wildlife: Authorized the use of national fish and wildlife conservation areas for public recreation. Public Law 87–714.

Outdoor Recreation Act of 1962: Establish Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in Department of Interior with overall responsibility for leadership of a nationwide effort by coordinating various Federal programs and assisting other levels of government to meet demands for outdoor recreation. (S. 3117.)

Minerals study: Authorized a comprehensive 2-year study of the efficacy of modern metallurgical methods including electrometallurgy on ores found in the United States. Study to be made under direction of Secretary of Interior in cooperation with other agencies of the Federal Government, with the States, and with private industry. (S.J. Res. 136.)

National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in District of Columbia: Authorized Federal construction and operation of a $10 million National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–758.

*Veterans' aid*

Disability compensation increase: Provided for increases from 5.3 to 11.1 percent for veterans disabled 10 to 100 percent, retroactive to July 1, 1962. Public Law 87–645.

Veterans' Administration: Appropriated an additional $55 million for readjustment benefits payments to Korean war veterans attending school under the GI bill of rights; and provided for a $115,247,000 increase, by transfer, in the VA loan guarantee revolving fund to enable the Federal Government to repossess homes on which GI home mortgages have been foreclosed. Public Law 87–404.

Veterans: Extended the time during which individuals affected by Public Law 87–117 may pursue and complete a program of education or training under the Korean GI bill or the War Orphans' Education Act. The individuals affected served an additional tour of duty because of the war threats in 1961. (S. 2697.) Public Law 87– .

VA pensions—Hospitalization: Continue pensions for married veterans while hospitalized in veterans' hospitals. Public Law 87–556.

Disability compensation: Increases compensation for certain veterans disabled by blindness or kidney involvements. Public Law 87–610.

National service life insurance—Assignments: Broadened assignment provisions of national service life insurance available to World War II veterans and maturing on or after date of enactment of this bill. Public Law 87–557.

War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act: Permits eligible beneficiaries under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act to attend foreign educational institutions. Public Law 87–546.

VA—Hospital and medical care: Furnished hospital and medical care, including outpatient treatment, to peacetime ex-servicemen for service-connected disabilities on same basis as care and treatment is furnished war veterans. Public Law 87–583.

Deceased veterans' benefits: Permits payment of compensation, retirement, or pension benefits withheld from deceased veterans during VA hospitalization only to spouse, children, or dependent parents. Public Law 87–544.

Prosthetic research—VA: Removed the $1 million ceiling on funds for research in the fields of prosthesis, prosthetic appliances, orthopedic appliances, and sensory devices. Public Law 87–557.

Endowment at age 96: Permits veterans holding U.S. Government life insurance to exchange for a policy providing death protection only—with reduced premiums. Public Law 87–549.

Blind veterans: Vocational rehabilitation.—Permits World War II or Korean veterans blinded by reason of a service-connected disability to obtain vocational rehabilitation training up to June 30, 1975. Public Law 87–591.

VA—Prosthetic appliances: Broadened the provisions of existing law by authorizing the Veterans' Administration to repair or replace a prosthetic or other appliance (other than dental appliances) if the appliance is damaged or destroyed in a fall or other accident caused by a compensable service-connected disability. (H.R. 6190.) Public Law 87– .

*Elections and the White House*

Poll taxes abolished: Congress approved a constitutional amendment barring the requirement of a poll tax as a qualification for voting in Federal elections and primaries. The amendment, if ratified by three-fourths of the States within 7 years, will become the 24th amendment to the Constitution. There are only five States with such a requirement: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. (S.J. Res. 29—submitted to States.)

*Reorganization and Government aids*

Government reorganization: Restored the authority of the President to submit plans for the reorganization of the Government. Public Law 87–18.

Civil Rights Commission: Extends the life of the Commission for 2 years, or until September 30, 1963. Public Law 87–264.

Postal-rate increase: Raised postal rates to produce an estimated $600 million in additional revenues to cut the large postal deficit. Increased first class from 4 to 5 cents an ounce, airmail from 7 to 8 cents effective next January 7; with graduated increases for second- and third-class mail. (H.R. 7927.) Public Law 87– .

Conflicts of interest: Enacted a measure making major revisions in Federal Government conflicts-of-interest laws to make uniform and bring up to date existing laws aimed at preventing present and former Government employees from improperly mixing private interest with their public office. (H.R. 8140.) Public Law 87– .

FCC: Added a new section to the Communications Act of 1934 to grant authority to the Commission to impose monetary forfeitures for violation of the Commission's rules and regulations by radio stations operating the common carrier and safety and special radio fields. It also provides for the remission or mediation by the Commission of such forfeitures if warranted. Public Law 87–448.

FCC—Station license: Authorized the Federal Communications Commission to renew a license in the safety and special radio services field more than 30 days prior to the expiration of the original license. Public Law 87–439.

FCC documents: Repealed the requirement that, prior to submission, all annual and certain other reports, applications for construction permits, station licenses, modifications, or renewals must be notarized. Public Law 87–444.

Government Training Act: Restored travel authority to attend training meetings to Foreign Service employees of Department of State, Tennessee Valley Authority, and Presidential appointees. Public Law 87–566.

U.S. Park Police: Provided for the creation of trial boards for the U.S. Park Police as a means of assuring better discipline and more equitable treatment. (H.R. 8567.) Public Law 87– .

Hatch Act: Liberalized the provision requiring the Civil Service Commission to impose a minimum penalty of 90 days' suspension for violations of section 9 of the Hatch Act by reducing the suspension period to 30 days. Public Law 87–753.

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## MacGregor Reports to the People of the Third Congressional District of Minnesota

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I include at this point a report to the people of the Third Congressional District of Minnesota on my voting and attendance record for the 1st and 2d sessions of the 87th Congress. The report includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls.

I am including this record because I believe that the people of the congressional district which I have the honor of representing deserve to know how their Congressman votes. In order for our representative system of government to prosper, the people must be fully informed of the actions of their elected representative.

All of the people will obviously not agree with their Congressman on every issue as it is impossible for any two men or women to always be in agreement. But the people deserve to examine their Congressman's record in order that they may place the final responsibility upon him for the votes he has cast.

The preparation of this report is one manifestation of my sincere belief that a

public official's first responsibility is to the people he represents. This belief has also been manifested at earlier stages of the 87th Congress in the two annual legislative questionnaires which I distributed to nearly every home in the Third Congressional District. In addition, I held three open discussion meetings in the district upon major legislative issues to which every citizen of the district was encouraged to attend.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through more than 42,000 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The descriptions of the bills and the amendments or motions in the report are for purposes of identification only; no attempt is made to describe the legislation completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved. This word of caution is advisable in view of the fact that the descriptions used are, for the most part, taken from the official titles of the bills which, unfortunately, do not always reflect the nature or true purpose of the legislation. Upon request, I will be pleased to furnish more complete information concerning any particular bill, as well as a summary of the issues involved and the reasons for my vote.

*Voting record, Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, 3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 1st sess.*

| No. | Date, 1961 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Jan. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 2 | do | Election of Speaker | Halleck. |
| 3 | do | H. Res. 1: Motion to vote without debate on resolution denying seat to either candidate for Congress from the 5th District of Indiana. (Passed 252 to 166.) | No. |
| 4 | Jan. 31 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 5 | do | H. Res. 127: To increase membership on House Committee on Rules from 12 to 15. (Passed 217 to 212.) | No. |
| 6 | Mar. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 7 | do | H.R. 4806: To provide for the establishment of a temporary program of extended unemployment compensation. (Passed 392 to 30.) | Yes. |
| 8 | do | H.Res. 167: To provide $331,000 to House Committee on Un-American Activities for investigations in 1961. (Passed 412 to 6.) | Yes. |
| 9 | Mar. 7 | H.R. 5188: To amend the 3d supplemental 1961 appropriation bill by adding $29,990,000 for aid to school districts in federally impacted areas. (Passed 336 to 62.) | Yes. |
| 10 | Mar. 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 11 | do | do | Present. |
| 12 | Mar. 9 | do | Present. |
| 13 | do | H.R. 4510: To recommit to committee the bill providing a program for feed grains for 1961 in order to eliminate sec. 3 which authorized sale of stored corn at 20 cents below support price of corn. (Defeated 196 to 214.) | Yes. |
| 14 | do | H.R. 4510: On final passage of feed grains bill increasing support price on corn for those who reduce acreage, etc. (Passed 209 to 202.) | No. |
| 15 | Mar. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 16 | Mar. 15 | do | Present. |
| 17 | Mar. 21 | H.R. 4510: To approve the conference report on the feed grains program, 1961. (Passed 231 to 185.) | No. |
| 18 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 19 | do | H.R. 5463: To suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend and extend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 284 to 129.) | No. |
| 20 | Mar. 22 | H.R. 4806: To approve the conference report on the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961. (Passed 362 to 31.) | Yes. |
| 21 | Mar. 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 22 | do | H.R. 5000: To adopt an amendment to the military construction authorization bill requiring a study to determine whether Army Quartermaster Food and Container Institute should be relocated. (Passed 267 to 145.) | Yes. |
| 23 | do | H.R. 5000: On final passage of the bill to authorize certain construction for military departments. (Passed 412 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 24 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 25 | do | do | Present. |
| 26 | Mar. 24 | do | Present. |
| 27 | do | H.R. 3935: To approve the Ayres-Kitchin substitute for the committee's bill amending the Fair Labor Standards Act. (Passed 216 to 203.) | Yes. |
| 28 | do | H.R. 3935: On a motion to recommit the bill to committee. (Defeated 196 to 224.) | No. |
| 29 | do | H.R. 3935: On final passage of the bill (minimum wage) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act. (Passed 340 to 78.) | Yes. |
| 30 | Mar. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 31 | Mar. 29 | do | Present. |
| 32 | do | S. 1: On a motion to recommit the area redevelopment bill to committee in order to substitute H.R. 5043 for S. 1. (Defeated 125 to 291.) | Yes. |
| 33 | do | S. 1: On final passage of the area redevelopment bill. (Passed 251 to 167.) | Yes. |
| 34 | Apr. 11 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 35 | Apr. 13 | do | Present. |
| 36 | Apr. 18 | do | Present. |
| 37 | Apr. 19 | do | Present. |
| 38 | do | S. 912: To adopt the omnibus judgeship bill providing for 70 additional Federal judges. (Passed 336 to 76.) | No. |
| 39 | Apr. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 40 | do | H.R. 6027: On final passage of the Social Security Amendments of 1961. (Passed 400 to 14.) | Paired for. |
| 41 | Apr. 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 42 | do | H.R. 6518: To appropriate $600,000,000 for the inter-American social and economic cooperation program and the Chilean rehabilitation program. (Passed 330 to 82.) | Yes. |
| 43 | Apr. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 44 | do | S. 1: On adopting the conference report providing for "backdoor financing" of the Area Development Act. (Passed 223 to 193.) | No. |
| 45 | May 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 46 | do | H.R. 3935: To adopt the conference report on amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. (Passed 230 to 196.) | No. |
| 47 | do | H.R. 6441: On motion to recommit to committee the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1961 in order to reduce the authorization from $100,000,000 to $75,000,000 annually and to require States after June 1964 to match all funds in excess of $50,000,000 and to retain State jurisdiction over intrastate waters. (Defeated 165 to 256.) | Yes. |
| 48 | do | H.R. 6441: On final passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendment of 1961. (Passed 307 to 110.) | Yes. |
| 49 | May 4 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 50 | May 9 | do | Present. |
| 51 | May 10 | do | Present. |
| 52 | May 11 | do | Present. |
| 53 | do | H.R. 2010: On final passage of the bill to extend the Mexican farm labor program for 2 years. (Passed 231 to 157.) | Yes. |
| 54 | do | H.R. 6094: To recommit to committee the bill to authorize additional funds to Council of Economic Advisers personnel in order to cut the amount from $2,000,000 to $700,000. (Defeated 151 to 199.) | Yes. |
| 55 | do | H.R. 6094: On final passage to authorize an additional $2,000,000 for personnel of Council of Economic Advisers. (Passed 209 to 136.) | No. |
| 56 | May 15 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 57 | May 16 | do | Present. |
| 58 | do | H. Res. 284: To adopt a rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 4614, a bill to encourage travel in the United States by residents of foreign countries and to establish an Office of International Travel and Tourism. (Passed 239 to 70.) | Yes. |
| 59 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 60 | May 17 | do | Present. |
| 61 | do | H. Con. Res. 226: To indicate congressional support for taking of collective measures by the Organization of American States against the Castro government of Cuba. (Passed 402 to 2.) | Yes. |
| 62 | do | H.R. 4614: To establish an Office of International Travel and to encourage travel to the United States by residents of foreign countries. (Passed 305 to 104.) | Yes. |
| 63 | May 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 64 | do | S. 1852: To authorize about $12,500,000,000 for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels for the Armed Forces. (Passed 402 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 65 | May 25 | H.R. 1986: To recommit to committee a bill relating to information furnished the Postmaster General by ICC concerning revenues received by railroads from express companies. The recommittal motion was designed to provide that certain technical information be gathered annually by ICC concerning revenue paid railroads by the Post Office. (Defeated 16 to 345.) | No. |
| 66 | June 1 | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 67 | do | H.R. 7371: The appropriation bill for Departments of State and Justice, the judiciary and related agencies ($751,300,050). (Passed 256 to 71.) | Yes. |
| 68 | June 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 69 | do | do | Present. |
| 70 | do | H.R. 7444: To recommit the Agriculture appropriations bill to committee in order to cut $100,000,000 from funds for agricultural conservation program. (Defeated 184 to 196.) | Yes. |
| 71 | do | H.R. 7444: On final passage of the agricultural appropriations bill involving $5,900,000,000. (Passed 318 to 65.) | Yes. |
| 72 | June 7 | Quorum call | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative CLARE MACGREGOR, 3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 1st sess.*—Continued

| No. | Date, 1961 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 73 | June 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 74 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 75 | ...do | H.R. 7446: To recommit to committee the Tax Rate Extension Act in order to eliminate the transportation tax on persons. (Defeated 189 to 196.) | Yes. |
| 76 | ...do | H.R. 7446: On final passage of the Tax Rate Extension Act of 1961. (Passed 295 to 88.) | Yes. |
| 77 | June 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 78 | ...do | H.R. 7053: To recommit to committee the bill providing that in the District of Columbia courts confessions and other evidence shall not be inadmissible solely because of delay. (Defeated 104 to 282.) | Yes. |
| 79 | June 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 80 | June 14 | ...do | Present. |
| 81 | June 15 | ...do | Present. |
| 82 | ...do | H. Res. 303: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 2, concerning the FCC, submitted by the President on Apr. 27. (Passed 323 to 77.) | Yes. |
| 83 | ...do | H. Res. 302: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 1, concerning the Securities and Exchange Commission, submitted by the President on Apr. 27. (Defeated 176 to 212.) | Yes. |
| 84 | June 19 | Quorum call | Absent.[2] |
| 85 | ...do | H.R. 6765: To authorize acceptance of an amendment to the articles of agreement of the International Finance Corporation permitting investment in capital stock. (Passed 328 to 18.) | Absent.[2] |
| 86 | ...do | H.R. 7712: 4th supplemental appropriation bill for 1961 involving $88,000,000. (Passed 291 to 63.) | Absent.[4] |
| 87 | June 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 88 | ...do | H. Res. 304: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 3, concerning the Civil Aeronautics Board, submitted by the President on May 3. (Defeated 178 to 213.) | Yes. |
| 89 | ...do | H. Res. 305: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 4, concerning the Federal Trade Commission, submitted by the Presient on May 9. (Defeated 178 to 221.) | Yes. |
| 90 | June 21 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 91 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 92 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 93 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 94 | June 12 | ...do | Present. |
| 95 | ...do | H.R. 6028: To recommit to committee the Housing bill for the purpose of substituting provisions which would extend present program for 1 year. (Defeated 197 to 215.) | Yes. |
| 96 | ...do | H.R. 6028: On final passage of the Housing Act of 1961 carrying authorizations of $9,000,000,000. (Passed 235 to 178.) | No. |
| 97 | June 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 98 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 99 | ...do | H.R. 7677: To raise the public debt limit for 1 year by $13,000,000,000 to $298,000,000,000. (Passed 231 to 148.) | No. |
| 100 | June 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 101 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 102 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 103 | June 28 | ...do | Present. |
| 104 | ...do | H.R. 7851: On amendment to defense appropriation bill in order to remove provision prohibiting use of funds for payment of a price differential on contracts made for the purpose of relieving economic dislocations. (Defeated 173 to 239.) | No. |
| 105 | ...do | H.R. 7851: On final passage of the defense appropriation bill ($42,700,000,000). (Passed 412 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 106 | ...do | S. 1922: To adopt the conference report on the Housing Act of 1961 as approved by conferees of the House and Senate. (Passed 229 to 176.) | No. |
| 107 | June 29 | H. Res. 354: To authorize a special flag for Members of the House of Representatives. (Defeated 108 to 270.) | No. |
| 108 | ...do | H. Res. 225: To recommit to committee the resolution granting consent of Congress to the Delaware River Basin compact in order to delete provisions for Federal voting membership and Federal cost sharing. (Defeated 92 to 257.) | Yes. |
| 109 | July 10 | H.R. 187: To expedite judicial review of orders of deportation of undesirable aliens. (Passed 304 to 60.) | Yes. |
| 110 | ...do | H.R. 5786: To establish the Cape Cod National Seashore. (Passed 278 to 82.) | No. |
| 111 | July 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 112 | July 17 | H.J. Res. 435: To provide for the observance of the centennial of the establishment of the Department of Agriculture. (Passed 367 to 12.) | Yes. |
| 113 | ...do | H.R. 2555: To provide for allotment and advancement of pay to U.S. civilian employees in emergency evacuations. (Passed 285 to 86.) | No. |
| 114 | July 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 115 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 116 | July 20 | H.R. 6874: To authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the amount of $1,780,000,000. (Passed 354 to 59.) | Yes. |
| 117 | ...do | H. Res. 328: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 5 concerning the National Labor Relations Board. (Passed 231 to 179.) | Yes. |
| 118 | ...do | H. Res. 536: To discharge the Committee on Government Operations from further consideration of Reorganization Plan No. 7 concerning the Maritime Administration. (Defeated 184 to 218.) | Paired for. |
| 119 | July 25 | H.R. 8302: To adopt an amendment to the military construction appropriations bill deleting $3,400,000 for transfer of the Food and Container Institute of Chicago to Natick, Mass. (Passed 241 to 170.) | Yes. |
| 120 | ...do | H.R. 8302: On final passage of the military construction appropriations bill providing for an expenditure of $833,300,000. (Passed 409 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 121 | July 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 122 | July 27 | ...do | Present. |
| 123 | July 31 | ...do | Present. |
| 124 | ...do | S.J. Res. 120: To authorize the President to order units and members in the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than 12 months. (Passed 403 to 2.) | Yes. |
| 125 | Aug. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 126 | Aug. 2 | ...do | Present. |
| 127 | ...do | S. 2311: To authorize appropriations of $958,500,000 for additional aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. (Passed 406 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 128 | ...do | H.R. 30: To recommit to committee the bill granting approval of Congress to the northeastern water and related land resources compact in order to have the 7 Federal representatives on the Commission serve only in an advisory position. (Defeated 129 to 261.) | Yes. |
| 129 | Aug. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 130 | ...do | S. 1643: On adoption of the conference report on the Agricultural Act of 1961. (Passed 224 to 170.) | Yes. |
| 131 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 132 | ...do | H.R. 7856: To amend the Communications Act of 1934 for the announced purpose of facilitating the prompt and orderly conduct of FCC business. (Passed 198 to 150.) | No. |
| 133 | Aug. 7 | H.R. 7728: To authorize the Secretary of a military department to sell goods and services to the owner of an aircraft in an emergency. (Passed 307 to 78.) | No. |
| 134 | Aug. 8 | Quorum call | Absent.[2] |
| 135 | ...do | H.R. 7576: On a motion to lay on the table the motion to instruct House conferees not to agree to a project involving electric energy generating facilities for the new production reactor at Hanford, Wash., at a cost of $95,000,000. (Defeated 164 to 235.) | Paired against. |
| 136 | ...do | H.R. 7576: To adopt the motion instructing House conferees not to agree to the Senate provision providing for electric energy generating facilities at Hanford, Wash., at a cost of $95,000,000. (Passed 235 to 164.) | Paired for. |
| 137 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[2] |
| 138 | ...do | H.R. 8033: To amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize delegation of certain duties to ICC employee boards. (Passed 212 to 174.) | Absent.[2] |
| 139 | Aug. 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 140 | ...do | H. Res. 406: On adoption of resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 6882, to establish an additional Assistant Secretary of Labor. (Passed 269 to 16.) | Yes. |
| 141 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 142 | ...do | H.R. 6302: To transfer Freedmen's Hospital to Howard University (District of Columbia) and to make it a teaching hospital for the university. (Passed 221 to 61.) | Yes. |
| 143 | Aug. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 144 | ...do | H.R. 7851: On the adoption of the conference report on the $46,500,100,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Defense. (Passed 383 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 145 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 146 | Aug. 14 | ...do | Absent.[6] |
| 147 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 148 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 149 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 150 | Aug. 15 | ...do | Present. |
| 151 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 152 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 153 | Aug. 16 | ...do | Present. |
| 154 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 155 | Aug. 17 | ...do | Present. |
| 156 | Aug. 18 | ...do | Present. |
| 157 | ...do | H.R. 9400: To adopt the mutual security authorization bill as amended by the House to include, among other things, a 1-year authorization for developmental loan assistance. (Passed 287 to 140.) | Yes. |
| 158 | Aug. 21 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 159 | ...do | ...do | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative* CLARK MACGREGOR, *3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 1st sess.*—Continued

| No. | Date, 1961 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 160 | Aug. 21 | H.R. 8384: To make aircraft piracy a Federal crime punishable with a possible death sentence. (Passed 373 to 5.) | Absent.[7] |
| 161 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Absent.[8] |
| 162 | Aug. 23 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 163 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 164 | ...do..... | H.R. 7763: To provide for planning the participation of the United States in New York's World Fair of 1964 and 1965. (Passed 353 to 42.) | No. |
| 165 | Aug. 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 166 | Aug. 24 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 167 | ...do..... | H.R. 84: To stabilize the mining of lead and zinc by domestic producers on public, Indian, and other land. (Passed 196 to 172.) | No. |
| 168 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Absent.[9] |
| 169 | Aug. 28 | H.R. 8181: To order the engrossment and 3d reading of a bill to authorize the construction of a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia. (Passed 223 to 120.) | Absent.[10] |
| 170 | ...do..... | H.R. 8181: On final passage of the bill to authorize the construction of a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia. (Passed 208 to 135.) | Absent.[10] |
| 171 | ...do..... | H.R. 7176: To provide for a national hog cholera eradication program. (Passed 337 to 3.) | Yes. |
| 172 | Aug. 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 173 | ...do..... | H.R. 8773: To increase the lump-sum readjustment payments for Reserve personnel involuntarily released from active duty. (Passed 394 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 174 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 175 | ...do..... | H.R. 6242: To authorize the Attorney General to fix the salaries of certain attorneys in the Department of Justice. (Defeated 172 to 228.) | Yes. |
| 176 | Aug. 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 177 | ...do..... | H.R. 8890: To consider the bill entitled "Emergency Education Aid Act of 1961" (Calendar Wednesday procedure). (Defeated 170 to 242.) | No. |
| 178 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 179 | ...do..... | H.R. 8028: To amend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act of 1961 by restricting Federal grants to the District of Columbia. (Defeated 187 to 217.) | Yes. |
| 180 | Aug. 31 | S. Con. Res. 34: Expressing the opposition of the Congress to diplomatic recognition of Red China or its admission to the United Nations. (Passed 395 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 181 | ...do..... | S. 1963: To adopt the conference report on the Mutual Security Authorization Act of 1961. (Passed 260 to 132.) | Yes. |
| 182 | Sept. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 183 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 184 | ...do..... | H.R. 9033: To amend the mutual security appropriations bill by increasing the funds for military assistance by $300,000,000. (Passed 242 to 151.) | Yes. |
| 185 | ...do..... | H.R. 9033: On final passage of the $3,800,000,000 mutual security appropriation bill. (Passed 270 to 123.) | Yes. |
| 186 | Sept. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 187 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 188 | ...do..... | H.R. 9000: To extend for 2 additional years the National Defense Education Act and the Federal impacted school districts bill. (Passed 378 to 32.) | Yes. |
| 189 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 190 | ...do..... | H.R. 8723: To suspend the rules and pass the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments of 1961. (Defeated 244 to 161; ⅔ vote needed for passage.) | Yes. |
| 191 | ...do..... | H.R. 8666: To suspend the rules and pass the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961. (Passed 329 to 66.) | Yes. |
| 192 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 193 | Sept. 11 | .....do..... | Absent.[11] |
| 194 | Sept. 12 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 195 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 196 | Sept. 13 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 197 | ...do..... | H.R. 8302: To eliminate from the military construction appropriation bill funds to provide for the transfer of the Food and Container Institute from Chicago to Natick, Mass. (Passed 212 to 185.) | Yes. |
| 198 | ...do..... | H.R. 7371: To accept a provision in the appropriations bill for the Departments of State and Justice and the judiciary extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission to Sept. 30, 1963. (Passed 300 to 106.) | Yes. |
| 199 | ...do..... | H.R. 9076: To recommit to committee the public works appropriation bill in order to reduce funds for the Upper Colorado River Basin and to eliminate certain proposed transmission lines. (Defeated 182 to 224.) | Yes. |
| 200 | ...do..... | H.R. 9076: On final passage of the public works appropriation bill in the amount of $3,600,000,000. (Passed 377 to 31.) | Yes. |
| 201 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 202 | Sept. 13 | H.R. 7576: To adopt the conference report authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission containing provisions approving an electric powerplant at Hanford, Wash. (Defeated 155 to 251.) | No. |
| 203 | ...do..... | H.R. 8102: On a substitute bill for the Federal Airport Act, as passed by the House but amended by the Senate, submitted by the conferees calling for a 3-year extension with annual appropriations instead of "back-door financing." (Passed 306 to 4.) | Yes. |
| 204 | Sept. 14 | Quorum call | Absent.[12] |
| 205 | ...do..... | H.R. 7500: On final passage of the bill to provide for a Peace Corps. (Passed 287 to 97.) | Yes. |
| 206 | Sept. 15 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 207 | ...do..... | H. Res. 455: A resolution sending to conference H.R. 2010 extending the Mexican farm labor program. (Passed 243 to 135.) | Yes. |
| 208 | ...do..... | H. Res. 464: To adopt a closed rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 7927 to adjust postal rates. (Defeated 142 to 222.) | Absent.[13] |
| 209 | Sept. 16 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 210 | Sept. 18 | S. 2393: On final passage of a bill similar to H.R. 9000 extending for 2 years the provisions of the National Defense Education Act and the federally impacted school area bill. (Passed 342 to 18.) | Yes. |
| 211 | ...do..... | S. 1459: To suspend the rules and pass the bill amending the law relating to longevity step increases for postal employees. (Passed 358 to 4.) | Yes. |
| 212 | ...do..... | H.R. 5751: To amend Subversive Activities Control Act to require the registration of persons disseminating political propaganda within the United States as agents of a foreign power. (Passed 369 to 2.) | Yes. |
| 213 | ...do..... | H.R. 8914: To suspend the rules and pass the bill amending the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (feed grains) to enable certain farmers to grow more barley. (Defeated 213 to 149; ⅔ vote needed.) | No. |
| 214 | ...do..... | H.R. 7377: To suspend the rules and pass the bill increasing the limitation on the number of positions which may be placed in the top grades of the Civil Service Classification Act. (Passed 305 to 53.) | Yes. |
| 215 | Sept. 19 | Quorum call | Absent.[14] |
| 216 | ...do..... | H.R. 9118: To establish a U.S. Arms Control Agency. (Passed 216 to 54.) | Absent.[14] |
| 217 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Absent.[15] |
| 218 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Absent.[15] |
| 219 | Sept. 21 | H.R. 7500: To adopt the conference report on the Peace Corps. (Passed 253 to 78.) | Yes. |
| 220 | ...do..... | H.R. 5628: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for a study of the desirability of establishing and maintaining a National Tropical Botanic Garden in Hawaii. (Defeated 215 to 125; ⅔ vote being necessary.) | No. |
| 221 | ...do..... | H.R. 4172: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. (Defeated 166 to 173; ⅔ vote being necessary.) | Yes. |
| 222 | Sept. 22 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 223 | ...do..... | H.R. 258: To adopt the conference report increasing the District of Columbia sales tax from 2 cents to 3 cents, transferring certain moneys to the highway fund, and including an amendment providing for the inclusion of the District of Columbia among those areas to receive Federal funds as "federally impacted school areas." (Defeated 142 to 159.) | No. |
| 224 | Sept. 23 | Quorum call | Absent.[17] |
| 225 | ...do..... | H.R. 7377: To adopt the conference report increasing the limitation on number of positions which may be placed in the top grades of the Civil Service Classification Act which report increased the number of positions beyond the House bill. (Passed 228 to 71.) | Absent.[13] |
| 226 | ...do..... | H.R. 9118: To adopt the conference report establishing a U.S. Arms Control Agency. (Passed 252 to 50.) | Paired for. |
| 227 | Sept. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 228 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 229 | ...do..... | H.R. 258: On conference report on bill to increase District of Columbia sales tax from 2 cents to 3 cents and transferring certain parking fees and other moneys to highway fund. (Defeated 97 to 173.) | No. |
| 230 | ...do..... | H.R. 9033: To adopt conference report on bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies. (Passed 192 to 81.) | Paired for. |
| 231 | ...do..... | H.R. 9033: On motion to adopt Senate amendment 27 providing that foreign aid Inspector General need not honor request for information from Congress if the President certifies he has forbidden him to do so. (Passed 152 to 119.) | Absent.[17] |

[1] Returning from home district.
[2] In home district.
[3] If present, would have voted "yes."
[4] If present, would have voted "yes."
[5] On official leave of absence to represent House Judiciary Committee at American Bar Association sessions in St. Louis, Mo.
[6] Returning from Minnesota.
[7] If present, would have voted "yes."
[8] Attending conference in downtown Washington.
[9] In home district.
[10] If present, would have voted "no."
[11] Guest of General Eisenhower at conference in Pennsylvania.
[12] Addressing conference in Hartford, Conn.
[13] If present, would have voted "no."
[14] In home district.
[15] If present, would have voted "yes."
[16] In home district.
[17] In Minnesota.
[18] If present, would have voted "yes."
[19] If present, would have voted "no."

*Voting record, Representative* CLARK MACGREGOR, *3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*

| No. | Date, 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Jan. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 2 | do | Election of Speaker | Halleck. |
| 3 | Jan. 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 4 | Jan. 23 | do | Present. |
| 5 | Jan. 24 | do | Present. |
| 6 | Jan. 25 | do | Absent.[1] |
| 7 | Jan. 30 | do | Present. |
| 8 | do | H.R. 8900: To authorize assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher learning for construction and improvement of facilities. (Passed 319 to 79.) | Yes. |
| 9 | Jan. 31 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 10 | Feb. 5 | do | Present. |
| 11 | do | S. 383: To suspend rules and pass bill providing for acquisition of a patented mining claim at Grand Canyon National Park. (Defeated 202 to 136; 2/3 vote being required.) | No. |
| 12 | Feb. 6 | H.R. 6360 (S. 1455): To provide for an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce (for scientific and technical matters). (Passed 231 to 169.) | No. |
| 13 | Feb. 7 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 14 | do | do | Present. |
| 15 | do | do | Absent.[2] |
| 16 | Feb. 20 | do | Present. |
| 17 | do | H. Res. 549: To provide for consideration of H.R. 10050 (to increase debt limit) under procedure permitting no amendments from the floor. (Passed 258 to 133.) | No. |
| 18 | do | H.R. 10050: To provide for a temporary increase in debt limit to $300,000,000,000 until June 30, 1962. (Passed 251 to 144.) | No. |
| 19 | Feb. 21 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 20 | do | H. Res. 530: To disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962 establishing a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. (Passed 264 to 150.) | Yes. |
| 21 | Feb. 26 | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 22 | do | H.R. 6747 (S. 486): To provide for the appointment of 2 additional judges for the juvenile court of the District of Columbia. (Passed 222 to 142.) | Absent.[4] |
| 23 | Feb. 27 | Quorum call | Absent.[5] |
| 24 | do | do | Absent.[5] |
| 25 | Feb. 28 | do | Absent.[5] |
| 26 | do | H.R. 5390 (S. 1991): To pass the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1961 as amended. (Passed 354 to 62.) | Yes. |
| 27 | Mar. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 28 | do | do | Present. |
| 29 | Mar. 7 | do | Present. |
| 30 | do | H.R. 132 (S. 205): To assist in construction of television facilities to be used for educational purposes. (Passed 337 to 68.) | Yes. |
| 31 | Mar. 8 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 32 | do | do | Present. |
| 33 | Mar. 13 | do | Present. |
| 34 | do | S. 167: To authorize the Attorney General to compel the production of documentary evidence required in civil investigations for the enforcement of the antitrust laws; amended. (Passed 338 to 58.) | Yes. |
| 35 | Mar. 14 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 36 | Mar. 15 | do | Present. |
| 37 | do | H.R. 8723: To recommit to the conference committee the report of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments in order to restore the original House provision to prevent a "conflict of interest" when employees of the Department of Labor enforce this law. (Defeated 182 to 218.) | Yes. |
| 38 | do | H.R. 8723: To adopt the conference report on the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments. (Passed 284 to 108.) | Yes. |
| 39 | do | H.R. 10606: To recommit to committee the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 in order to reduce the Federal contributions to the States by $140,000,000. (Defeated 185 to 232.) | Yes. |
| 40 | do | H.R. 10606: On final passage of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. (Passed 319 to 69.) | No. |
| 41 | Mar. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 42 | Mar. 21 | do | Present. |
| 43 | do | H.R. 9751: To authorize 1963 appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. (Passed 403 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 44 | Mar. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 45 | do | H.R. 10904: To recommit to committee the appropriation bill for the Department of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Defeated 24 to 371.) | No. |
| 46 | Mar. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 47 | do | H. Res. 576: A motion calling for the "previous question" on the resolutions providing for a closed rule for the consideration of H.R. 10650, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Act. (Defeated 224 to 184.) | No. |
| 48 | do | H. Res. 576: To adopt the closed rule for consideration of H.R. 10650, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Act. (Passed 234 to 172.) | No. |
| 49 | Mar. 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 50 | do | do | Present. |
| 51 | do | H.R. 10650: To recommit to committee the "Revenue Act of 1962" for the purpose of striking out sec. 2 (investment credit provision) and sec. 19 which extends the withholding tax to dividends and interest. (Defeated 190 to 225.) | Yes. |
| 52 | do | H.R. 10650: On final passage of the "Revenue Act of 1962." (Passed 219 to 196.) | No. |
| 53 | Apr. 2 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 54 | do | H.R. 10162: To amend the Bretton Woods Agreement Act to authorize the United States to participate in loans to International Monetary Fund to strengthen the international monetary system. (Passed 286 to 94.) | Yes. |
| 55 | do | H.R. 10743: To provide increased rates for VA compensation (service-connected disability). (Passed 345 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 56 | Apr. 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 57 | do | H.R. 10700: To authorize an appropriation of $63,750,000 for the Peace Corps in fiscal 1963. (Passed 316 to 70.) | Yes. |
| 58 | Apr. 4 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 59 | do | H.R. 11038: To recommit to committee the 2d supplemental appropriations bill for 1962 in order to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations Special Assessment Fund to 32.02 percent of the total assessed on all nations. (Defeated 153 to 235.) | Yes. |
| 60 | Apr. 5 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 61 | do | H.R. 4441: To recommit to committee a bill to authorize an appropriation of $3,000,000 to reimburse New York City for extraordinary expenses incurred during 15th General Assembly of the U.N. when Khrushchev and other leaders attended. (Defeated 142 to 215.) | Yes. |
| 62 | do | H.R. 4441: On final passage of the bill to authorize an appropriation of $3,000,000 to New York City for extraordinary expenses incurred during U.N. Assembly (1960) when Khrushchev and other leaders attended. (Passed 207 to 152.) | No. |
| 63 | Apr. 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 64 | do | do | Present. |
| 65 | do | H. Res. 589: To adopt a rule to take up for consideration H.R. 10788, a bill relating to the regulations of textile imports. (Passed 264 to 76.) | No. |
| 66 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 67 | Apr. 11 | do | Present. |
| 68 | do | H.R. 10788: To increase the power of the President relative to agreements with certain countries on the importation of cotton textiles. (Passed 312 to 80.) | No. |
| 69 | do | H.R. 11151: To recommit to committee the legislative appropriations bill in order to eliminate the provisions granting congressmen the privilege of addressing mail to "occupant or box holder." (Defeated 192 to 197.) | Yes. |
| 70 | do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 71 | do | do | Present. |
| 72 | Apr. 12 | do | Present. |
| 73 | Apr. 16 | do | Present. |
| 74 | Apr. 17 | do | Present. |
| 75 | do | do | Present. |
| 76 | Apr. 18 | do | Present. |
| 77 | do | do | Present. |
| 78 | do | H.R. 11289: To pass the $47,800,000,000 defense appropriation bill. (Passed 388 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 79 | May 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 80 | May 2 | H.R. 8031: To authorize the FCC to require all new TV sets to be equipped to receive both UHF and VHF signals. (Passed 270 to 90.) | No. |
| 81 | May 3 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 82 | do | H.R. 11040: To provide for the establishment, operation, and regulation of a commercial satellite system. (Passed 354 to 9.) | Yes. |
| 83 | May 8 | Quorum call | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative* CLARE MACGREGOR, *3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*—Continued

| No. | Date, 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 84 | May 9 | H.R. 8617: To authorize the appropriation of $73,000,000 to pay the balance of awards for war damage compensation made by the Philippine War Damage Commission. (Defeated 171 to 201.) | Yes. |
| 85 | ...do..... | H. Res. 625: To send to conference H.R. 8900, a bill authorizing assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher learning for construction and improvement of facilities. (Passed 294 to 76.) | Yes. |
| 86 | May 10 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 87 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 88 | May 16 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 89 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 90 | May 17 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 91 | May 22 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 92 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 93 | May 23 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 94 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 95 | ...do..... | H.R. 11737: To authorize an appropriation of $3,700,000,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 342 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 96 | May 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 97 | June 5 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 98 | June 6 | .....do..... | Absent.[5] |
| 99 | ...do..... | H.R. 11665: On a motion to recommit the bill amending the National School Lunch Act to committee for the purpose of further revising the formula for apportioning cash assistance funds among the States. (Defeated 160 to 220.) | Paired for. |
| 100 | ...do..... | H.R. 11665: On final passage of the bill to amend the National School Lunch Act. (Passed 370 to 11.) | Absent.[7] |
| 101 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Absent.[8] |
| 102 | June 7 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 103 | ...do..... | H.R. 5532: To amend the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 in general to tighten up negotiated procurement. (Passed 362 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 104 | June 12 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 105 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 106 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 107 | June 13 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 108 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 109 | June 14 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 110 | ...do..... | H.R. 11990: To recommit to committee the bill raising the public debt limit in order to substitute the text of H.R. 12026 increasing the limit to $306,000,000,000. (Defeated 145 to 258.) | Yes. |
| 111 | ...do..... | H.R. 11990: To increase the debt limit to $308,000,000,000 until Mar. 31, 1963, to $305,000,000,000 from Apr. 1 to June 24, 1963, and back to $300,000,000,000 on June 24, 1963. (Passed 211 to 192.) | No. |
| 112 | June 15 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 113 | June 18 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 114 | ...do..... | H. Res. 691: On a motion to consider the resolution providing for a closed rule and 3 hours of debate on H.R. 12154, the Sugar Act amendments of 1962. (Passed 262 to 32.) | Yes. |
| 115 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 116 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 117 | June 19 | H.R. 12154: To recommit to committee the amendments to the Sugar Act in order to remove the provisions awarding $22,700,000 to three sugar companies of the Dominican Republic in refund of import fees paid in 1960–61. (Defeated 174 to 222.) | Yes. |
| 118 | ...do..... | H.R. 12154: On final passage of the Sugar Act amendments of 1962. (Passed 319 to 72.) | No. |
| 119 | ...do..... | Quorum call | Present. |
| 120 | June 20 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 121 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 122 | June 21 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 123 | ...do..... | H.R. 11222: An amendment to the "Food and Agriculture Act of 1962" (omnibus farm bill) authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to exempt certain deficit areas from compliance with programs. (Passed 267 to 151.) | No. |
| 124 | ...do..... | H.R. 11222: On a motion to recommit to the Committee on Agriculture the "Food and Agriculture Act of 1962." (Passed 215 to 205.) | Yes. |
| 125 | June 22 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 126 | June 25 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 127 | ...do..... | H.R. 11560: To extend for 2 years (to June 30, 1964) the present Defense Production Act. (Passed 327 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 128 | ...do..... | H.R. 11309 (S. 3161): To extend for 3 years (to June 30, 1965) and amend the Export Control Act of 1949 to regulate exports from the United States to Soviet bloc destinations. (Passed 326 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 129 | June 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 130 | June 27 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 131 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 132 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 133 | June 28 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 134 | June 28 | H.R. 11970: To recommit to committee the "Trade Expansion Act of 1962" and to extend for 1 year the present law relative to reciprocal trade agreements. (Defeated 171 to 253.) | Yes. |
| 135 | ...do..... | H.R. 11970: On final passage of the "Trade Expansion Act of 1962." (Passed 299 to 125.) | Yes. |
| 136 | June 29 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 137 | ...do..... | S. 1658: To prohibit the transportation of gambling devices in interstate and foreign commerce. (Passed 348–1.) | Yes. |
| 138 | ...do..... | S. 1969: To adopt the conference report on the bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act to provide for supplemental air carriers. (Passed 339 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 139 | June 30 | Quorum call | Absent.[9] |
| 140 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Absent.[9] |
| 141 | ...do..... | H.R. 12154: To adopt the conference report on the Sugar Act Amendments of 1962. (Passed 248 to 31.) | Absent.[10] |
| 142 | July 2 | Quorum call | Absent.[11] |
| 143 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Absent.[11] |
| 144 | ...do..... | H.R. 11586: To extend for 3 years present law providing for a Federal subsidy limit of 55 percent on ship construction and conversion and a 60-percent limit for passenger ships. (Passed 293 to 5.) | Absent.[12] |
| 145 | ...do..... | S. 2775: To authorize an increase in the appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands from $7,500,000 to $17,500,000. (Passed 281 to 14.) | Absent.[13] |
| 146 | ...do..... | H. Res. 714: Expressing the "sense of the House of Representatives" that the Federal Communications Commission should authorize "clear channel" radio stations to use in excess of 50 kilowatts of power if FCC finds it to be in the public interest. (Passed 198 to 87.) | Absent.[13] |
| 147 | July 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 148 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 149 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 150 | July 11 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 151 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 152 | July 12 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 153 | ...do..... | H.R. 11921: On final passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 authorizing appropriations for the Mutual Security program. (Passed 250 to 164.) | Yes. |
| 154 | July 13 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 155 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 156 | July 16 | .....do..... | Absent.[13] |
| 157 | ...do..... | H.R. 726: To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 8050 allocating premium sugar quotas to Argentina and the Dominican Republic, granting a sugar quota to Ireland and making other changes in the Sugar Act. (Passed 196 to 142.) | Absent.[14] |
| 158 | July 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 159 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 160 | ...do..... | H.R. 11974: On an amendment to the bill authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission prohibiting any agreement providing for the construction or operation of electric generating and transmission facilities at the Hanford (Washington State, atomic production reactor. (Passed 252 to 163.) | Yes. |
| 161 | July 18 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 162 | ...do..... | S. 167: To recommit to the conference committee the bill to authorize the Attorney General to search and seize, without a warrant except his own, the confidential documents of business concerns being investigated for possible violation of antitrust laws. (Passed 202 to 200.) | Yes. |
| 163 | ...do..... | H.R. 12135: To amend the Highway Act of 1962 by striking out a provision giving to the Secretary of Commerce sole power to determine whether a State provides feasible methods for relocating families removed from their homes because of new highway construction. Under the amendment this would be left to the States. (Passed 236 to 159.) | Yes. |
| 164 | July 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 165 | ...do..... | H.R. 10606: To adopt the conference report on the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. (Passed 357 to 34.) | Yes. |
| 166 | ...do..... | H.R. 12391: On final passage of a farm bill entitled "Food and Agricultural Act of 1962." (Passed 229 to 163.) | Yes. |
| 167 | July 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 168 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 169 | ...do..... | H.R. 12580: To adopt the appropriation bill for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and the Judiciary in the amount of $1,900,000,000. (Passed 266 to 55.) | Absent.[15] |
| 170 | July 23 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 171 | ...do..... | .....do..... | Present. |
| 172 | July 24 | .....do..... | Present. |
| 173 | ...do..... | S. 2996: On adoption of the conference report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 authorizing appropriations of $3,600,000,000 for the mutual security program. (Passed 221 to 162.) | Yes. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, 3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*—Continued

| No. | Date, 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 174 | July 25 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 175 | ...do | H.R. 12648: To approve the 1963 appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture in the amount of $5,900,000,000. (Passed 345 to 41.) | Yes. |
| 176 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 177 | July 26 | ...do | Present. |
| 178 | ...do | H.R. 529: To authorize the construction and operation of the Mann Creek reclamation project in Idaho. (Passed 199 to 162.) | No. |
| 179 | July 30 | Quorum call | Absent.[18] |
| 180 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[18] |
| 181 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[18] |
| 182 | July 31 | ...do | Present. |
| 183 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 184 | Aug. 1 | H.R. 12711: To adopt the independent offices appropriation bill of 1963 involving $11,500,000,000. (Passed 368 to 12.) | Yes. |
| 185 | ...do | H.R. 575: To authorize the appropriation of $6,100,000 for construction of the upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon. (Passed 200 to 182.) | No. |
| 186 | ...do | H.R. 10904: To recommit conference report on appropriations bill for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare in order to reduce funds for the National Institute of Health from $880,000,000 to $840,000,000 which would be $60,000,000 more than requested by the President. (Defeated 173 to 214.) | Yes. |
| 187 | ...do | H.R. 10904: On final passage of the appropriations bill for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare in 1963 involving $5,300,000,000. (Passed 347 to 35.) | Yes. |
| 188 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 189 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 190 | Aug. 7 | ...do | Present. |
| 191 | Aug. 8 | ...do | Present. |
| 192 | ...do | H.R. 4055: To authorize a lump-sum payment of an amount not over $10,000 to those awarded National Medals of Science. (Defeated 193 to 177: ⅔ vote being necessary to suspend rules and adopt.) | No. |
| 193 | ...do | H.R. 7283: To provide for payment of valid claims of American citizens for losses incurred during World War II; payment to be paid out of proceeds from sale of German and Japanese assets in United States and taken over by U.S. Government. (Passed 354 to 15.) | Yes. |
| 194 | Aug. 9 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 195 | Aug. 14 | ...do | Present. |
| 196 | ...do | S. 1005: To require approval by the Federal Reserve Board of construction of buildings for branches of Federal Reserve banks and to increase cost limit on the buildings from $30,000,000 to $60,000,000. (Passed 314 to 50.) | Yes. |
| 197 | Aug. 27 | Quorum call | Absent.[17] |
| 198 | ...do | On a motion that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with. (Passed 208 to 95.) | Absent.[18] |
| 199 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[18] |
| 200 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 201 | ...do | On a motion that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with. (Passed 312 to 62.) | Yes. |
| 202 | ...do | S.J. Res. 29: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment outlawing the payment of poll or other tax as a qualification for voting in Federal elections. (Passed 294 to 86.) | Yes. |
| 203 | ...do | H. Res. 769: To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 11040 providing for the establishment and operation of a communications satellite system. (Passed 372 to 10.) | Yes. |
| 204 | ...do | H.R. 12628: To authorize the appropriation of an additional $100,000,000 for direct loans by HHFA for rental and cooperative housing for the elderly. (Passed 367 to 6.) | Yes. |
| 205 | Aug. 28 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 206 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 207 | Aug. 29 | ...do | Present. |
| 208 | ...do | H.R. 10113: To recommit to committee the "Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act." (Defeated 192 to 221.) | Yes. |
| 209 | ...do | H.R. 11974: On a motion directing the House managers in conference not to agree to sec. 112 authorizing electrical generating facilities for the reactor at Hanford, Wash. (Defeated 148 to 246.) | No. |
| 210 | Aug. 30 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 211 | Sept. 11 | ...do | Absent.[19] |
| 212 | Sept. 13 | S. 4: To provide for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore in Texas. (Passed 256 to 87.) | No. |
| 213 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 214 | Sept. 14 | ...do | Present. |
| 215 | ...do | S. 2768: To recommit to committee the bill relative to U.N. bond purchase in order to make any U.S. loan to the U.N. contingent upon adoption by the U.N. of the World Court's opinion that members must pay the special assessments in order to retain voting rights in the General Assembly. (Defeated 171 to 219.) | Yes. |
| 216 | Sept. 14 | S. 2768: On final passage of the House version of the U.N. bond bill authorizing a U.S. loan equal to the total actual loans of all other nations. (Passed 256 to 134.) | Yes. |
| 217 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 218 | ...do | H.R. 11974: To recommit to conference committee the bill authorizing appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission insisting on the House disagreement to sec. 112 authorizing electrical generating facilities for the reactor at Hanford, Wash. (Defeated 151 to 186.) | Paired against. |
| 219 | Sept. 17 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 220 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 221 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 222 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 223 | Sept. 18 | ...do | Present. |
| 224 | ...do | H. Res. 777: To call up for consideration S. 2429, a bill to revise the boundaries of the Virgin Islands National Park. (Passed 268 to 5.) | Yes. |
| 225 | Sept. 19 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 226 | ...do | On a motion to dispense with the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule. (Passed 355 to 17.) | Yes. |
| 227 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 228 | ...do | On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under the previous quorum call. (Passed 339 to 26.) | Yes. |
| 229 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 230 | ...do | H.R. 12982: To amend the Internal Security Act to provide for maximum personnel security in the National Security Agency. (Passed 351 to 24.) | No. |
| 231 | ...do | H.R. 11363: To strengthen the national security program with respect to defense contractors and their employees, and to protect classified information. (Defeated 247 to 132; 2/3 vote being necessary to suspend rules.) | No. |
| 232 | ...do | H.R. 12648: To agree to the Senate amendments to the Agriculture appropriation bill to provide $1,600,000 for construction of a peanut research laboratory in Georgia. (Defeated 143 to 221.) | No. |
| 233 | ...do | H.R. 11151: To insist upon the House provisions in legislative appropriation bill authorizing the use by Members of Congress of the privilege of "occupant" mailing. (Defeated 125 to 246.) | No. |
| 234 | Sept. 20 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 235 | ...do | H.R. 12391: To approve the conference report on the "Food and Agriculture Act of 1962." (Passed 202 to 197.) | No. |
| 236 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 237 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 238 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 239 | ...do | H.R. 8900: To recommit to conference committee its report on the College Academic Facilities Act with instructions to insist on House position relative to student loans. (Passed 214 to 186.) | Yes. |
| 240 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[21] |
| 241 | ...do | H.R. 13175: To recommit to committee the foreign aid appropriations bill in order to reduce the amount for economic assistance by $100,000,000. (Defeated 190 to 203.) | Paired against. |
| 242 | ...do | H.R. 13175: On final passage of the foreign aid appropriation bill in the amount of $3,600,000,000. (Passed 249 to 144.) | Paired for. |
| 243 | Sept. 21 | H.R. 12180: To extend temporarily the existing law relative to the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders. (Passed 324 to 8.) | Absent.[22] |
| 244 | ...do | H.R. 11732: On a motion to recommit to committee a bill to authorize foreign governments to operate radio stations in the District of Columbia for transmission of messages outside the United States. (Defeated 95 to 207.) | Absent.[22] |
| 245 | Sept. 24 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 246 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 247 | ...do | S.J. Res. 144: To authorize the President to call units and members in the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than 12 months and to extend enlistments on periods of duty for not morethan 12 months. (Passed 342 to 13.) | Yes. |
| 248 | Sept. 25 | H.R. 10: To accept the conference report on the bill to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed individuals. (Passed 261 to 0.) | Yes. |
| 249 | Sept. 26 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 250 | ...do | ...do | Present. |
| 251 | ...do | S.J. Res. 230: To recommit to committee the resolution concerning Cuba in order to strengthen the language to indicate congressional approval of U.S. action to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. (Defeated 140 to 251.) | Yes. |
| 252 | ...do | S.J. Res. 230: To adopt the resolution "expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba." (Passed 384 to 7.) | Yes. |
| 253 | Sept. 27 | Quorum call | Present. |

Footnotes at end of table.

*Voting record, Representative* CLARE MACGREGOR, *3d District of Minnesota, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*—Continued

| No. | Date, 1962 | Measure, question, and result | Vote |
|---|---|---|---|
| 254 | Oct. 1 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 255 | ...do | H.R. 7927: To send to conference the House-approved postal rate bill as amended by the Senate and to which the Senate had added Federal employees salary legislation. (Passed 327 to 22.) | Yes. |
| 256 | ...do | Quorum call | Present. |
| 257 | ...do | H.R. 5608: To require that summer employment through the Civil Service Commission be apportioned among the States as is regular employment. (Passed 309 to 19.) | Yes. |
| 258 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[1] |
| 259 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[1] |
| 260 | ...do | H.R. 12241: To correct an error in sec. 309 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 relating to small farm exemption from 1963 wheat program. (Passed 255 to 60.) | Paired for. |
| 261 | Oct. 2 | Quorum call | Absent.[2] |
| 262 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[2] |
| 263 | ...do | H. Res. 822: To agree to Senate amendments to H.R. 8181 to authorize the construction of a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia. (Passed 244 to 104.) | Paired against. |
| 264 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 265 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[3] |
| 266 | Oct. 3 | ...do | Absent.[3] |
| 267 | ...do | H. Res. 823: To adopt the rule under which H.R. 12273, the bill on rivers and harbors and flood control property, would be considered. (Passed 244 to 4.) | Absent.[3] |
| 268 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 269 | ...do | H.R. 12273: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing rivers, harbors, and flood control projects in order to delete the Burns Creek project in Idaho. (Passed 203 to 130.) | Paired for. |
| 270 | Oct. 4 | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 271 | ...do | H.R. 11970: To approve the conference report on the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. (Passed 298 to 91.) | Paired for. |
| 272 | ...do | S. 1552: To approve the conference report on the Drug Amendments of 1962. (Passed 347 to 0.) | Absent.[3] |
| 273 | ...do | H.R. 12648: To adopt an amendment to the fiscal 1963 Agriculture Department appropriations bill providing for certain agricultural research activities. (Passed 330 to 5.) | Absent.[3] |
| 274 | ...do | H. Res. 803: To adopt an open rule on amendments and 1 hour of debate on S. 1123, a bill to change laws governing children employed in agriculture. (Passed 257 to 81.) | Absent.[3] |
| 275 | ...do | S. 1123: To adopt an amendment striking the enacting clause and therefore killing a bill providing for the extension of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to children employed in agriculture. (Defeated 137 to 198.) | Paired against. |
| 276 | Oct. 4 | H.R. 4670: To approve the conference report on a bill to amend the law relating to indecent publications in the District of Columbia. (Passed 272 to 18.) | Absent.[3] |
| 277 | Oct. 5 | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 278 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[3] |
| 279 | ...do | H.R. 7927: To approve the conference report on the postal rate and government salary adjustment bill. (Passed 312 to 20.) | Absent.[3] |
| 280 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 281 | ...do | ...do | Absent.[3] |
| 282 | ...do | H. Con. Res. 570: To agree to a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States should protect, by whatever means necessary, its rights in Berlin. (Passed 311 to 0.) | Absent.[3] |
| 283 | ...do | S. 1447: On passage of a bill increasing the salaries of District of Columbia teachers. (Passed 260 to 9.) | Absent.[3] |
| 284 | Oct. 6 | Quorum call | Present. |
| 285 | ...do | H.R. 12175: To approve the conference report making appropriations for foreign aid for fiscal 1963. (Passed 171 to 108.) | Yes. |
| 286 | Oct. 10 | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 287 | ...do | H. Res. 831: To adopt a resolution to return to the Senate a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1963 because it infringed upon the exclusive right of the House under the Constitution to originate appropriation bills. (Passed 248 to 1.) | Absent.[3] |
| 288 | ...do | H.R. 12580: To approve the conference report making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal 1963. (Passed 172 to 76.) | Absent.[3] |
| 289 | ...do | H.R. 8662: To approve the conference report of a bill concerning use of the special constructive sale price rule for purposes of certain manufacturers' excise taxes. (Passed 367 to 6.) | Absent.[3] |
| 290 | Oct. 11 | S. 3451: To approve the conference report on a bill to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims upon which valuable improvements have been placed. (Passed 183 to 77.) | Paired against. |
| 291 | ...do | Quorum call | Absent.[3] |
| 292 | Oct. 12 | H.R. 12900: On a parliamentary motion having effect of striking out funds for a Florida canal from the public works appropriation bill. (84-120, not a quorum, whereupon House adjourned.) | Absent.[3] |
| 293 | Oct. 13 | H.R. 12900: On a parliamentary motion having effect of striking out funds for a Florida canal from the public works appropriation bill. (Defeated 93 to 143.) | Absent.[3] |

[1] In home district.
[2] Attending conference in downtown Washington.
[3] In home district.
[4] If present, would have voted "yes."
[5] In home district.
[6] In home district.
[7] If present, would have voted "yes."
[8] In home district.
[9] On official leave of absence.
[10] If present, would have voted "yes."
[11] On official leave of absence.
[12] If present, would have voted "yes."
[13] Returning from home district.
[14] If present, would have voted "no."
[15] If present, would have voted "yes."
[16] With 103d Army Reserve Artillery Division at Camp Gurnsey, Wyo.
[17] Returning from Minnesota.
[18] If present, would have voted "yes."
[19] Returning from Minnesota.
[20] In home district casting ballot in Minnesota primary election.
[21] In home district.
[22] If present, would have voted "yes."
[23] If present, would have voted "no."
[24] In home district.
[25] On official leave of absence on account of death in the family.
[26] If present, would have voted "yes."
[27] In home district for scheduled debates with challenger.
[28] If present, would have voted "yes."

## Revision and Reorganization of Congressional Procedures Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the action of Congress in the last few weeks and the events leading to its adjournment forcefully and dramatically illustrate the urgent need for an overhauling of our congressional procedures. This is imperative if the Senate and the House of Representatives are to effectively fulfill their constitutional responsibilities.

Our respected majority leader, Senator MANSFIELD, is one of many legislators who realizes the challenge to act affirmatively in this problem, and has so stated.

Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution.

President Madison said in speaking of the powers given by the Constitution to Congress:

> The whole system of the National Government may be said to rest essentially on the powers granted to this branch. They mark the limit within which, with few exceptions, all the branches must move in the discharge of their respective functions.

Congress has not considered general procedural and organizational problems since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. In the meantime, our Nation has acquired two new States and 50 million additional persons with a consequent overwhelming increase of responsibility for the Federal Government.

I do not presume to criticize or place blame on members of either the Senate or the House of Representatives, nor is it a reflection on either the majority or minority parties, but I believe sincerely that we should make a concerted effort to modrenize the legislative processes by a constructive reappraisal of procedural and organizational problems.

However, I remind my Democratic colleagues that the platform adopted at our national convention in Los Angeles, July 12, 1960, included the following assertion:

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES

In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 87th Congress to improve Congressional procedure so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House.

The rules of the House of Representatives should be so amended as to make sure that bills reported by legislative committees reach the floor for consideration without undue delay.

Mr. President, on the first day of the 87th Congress, I joined with 22 other Senators in sponsoring Senate Resolution 5, which would amend section 3 of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate. However, on January 11, 1962, the Senate adopted a motion to refer Senate Resolution 4, which would also have amended rule XXII, to the Committee on Rules and Administration, and subsequently referred all similar pending resolutions, including Senate Resolution 5, to the same committee.

Referring to this action, on September 16, 1961, I joined with 26 Democratic Senators and 10 Republican Senators in releasing statements which summarized our views on this important proposal. In both pronouncements we reaffirmed that the beginning of a new Congress is the proper time to try to make changes in the rules of the Senate, and I quote in part:

We said in January, 1961, and we say again now, that the rules question can best be settled at the opening of a new Congress. At that moment, a majority of the Senate of the new Congress has the constitutional right to determine its rules without minority obstruction.

The Senators signing the statements were JOSEPH S. CLARK, CLINTON P. ANDERSON, QUENTIN N. BURDICK, FRANK CHURCH, CLAIR ENGLE, PHILIP A. HART, EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, WAYNE MORSE, EDMUND S. MUSKIE, JOHN O. PASTORE, WILLIAM PROXMIRE, BENJAMIN A. SMITH, II, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr., FRANK J. LAUSCHE, PAUL H. DOUGLAS, E. L. BARTLETT, JOHN A. CARROLL, THOMAS J. DODD, ERNEST GRUENING, EDWARD V. LONG, PAT MCNAMARA, FRANK E. MOSS, MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, CLAIBORNE PELL, JENNINGS RANDOLPH, STUART SYMINGTON, STEPHEN M. YOUNG, GORDON ALLOTT, J. GLENN BEALL, PRESCOTT BUSH, CLIFFORD P. CASE, JACOB K. JAVITS, KENNETH B. KEATING, THOMAS H. KUCHEL, HUGH SCOTT, MARGARET CHASE SMITH, and ALEXANDER WILEY, who concurred in the declaration of the Republican Senators with the exception of one sentence.

It is my intention to join with Senators HUBERT HUMPHREY and PHILIP HART, and other Members of our forum, in working for a change in Senate rule XXII at the opening of the 88th Congress in January 1963. It is encouraging to note that when a rule change was proposed in the 83d Congress, 23 Senators voted to support it and in the 87th Congress, there were 48 Senators who favored it.

On September 25, 1962, I cosponsored Senate Concurrent Resolution 93 with a bipartisan group of colleagues in both Houses of Congress, to create a joint committee to study the organization and operation of the Congress and recommend improvements therein. The major objective of the resolution is to make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress and to recommend changes in the present procedures which would strengthen, simplify, and expedite its operations and enable it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution. I am sure that we shall reintroduce this important measure in January 1963.

One of our widely read journalists, Roscoe Drummond, has written a cogent and timely article, "Crisis in Congress," which appeared in the Washington Post of October 13, 1962, affirming the urgent need for reform in congressional procedures.

While I do not agree that Congress is losing power, I do believe it is losing prestige and at a time when we can ill afford to lessen confidence in the legislative forums of our country. Congress must improve its procedures for conducting business if our legislative process is to meet the test of the times.

I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Drummond's article reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRISIS OF CONGRESS—THE GREAT NEED: SELF-REFORM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The greatest national need today is not to get a man on the moon nor to build an aquarium in the District of Columbia.

These things are all right and they are going to be done. But I submit that the frantic scramble of Congress to pass vital bills and appropriate vast sums of money in the last weary, out-of-breath hours of the tail end of the session reveals that the greatest need today is not for Congress to do something about others but to do something about itself.

Congress is perilously near to losing its capacity to transact the public business.

It has already lost the capacity to transact the public business carefully, responsibly, and efficiently.

Congress is losing power. It is losing prestige. It risks losing the confidence of the country.

This isn't just bad for the Congress. It is bad for the country. It means that our very system of government—a government of balanced and coequal powers—is being altered by default.

With all the earnestness and conviction of a deathbed confession, Republican Senate floor leader Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska, shortly before his passing some 10 years ago, pleaded with his colleagues in these words:

"The creaking machinery of Congress is so appallingly inadequate for modern times that free representative government is endangered."

But Congress has been too busy to attend to itself.

It not only has not given "continous attention" to the problem. It has not given it any attention—in 16 years.

Since then a few things have happened—like the cold war, $90-billion budgets, an exploding population, the race into outer space, a Soviet satellite state planted in the Western Hemisphere—which make the careful, responsible, efficient transaction of the public business by Congress a matter of national survival.

Congress simply isn't doing its job. It is doing it less well every year. This can't go on much longer.

Fortunately, two of the most influential Members of the House—Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS of Missouri, and CHET HOLIFIELD of California—have been working on a bipartisan project which can lead to wide-ranging reorganization of congressional procedures, practices, and rules. They have already identified many of the areas crying for reform.

Senator JOSEPH CLARK, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, has sponsored a resolution with bipartisan backers in both Houses to create a joint committee on the reorganization of Congress. There is obviously gathering support for some kind of congressional reorganization.

Congress should certainly pick the scholars to do this study, but it seems to be that at least a half dozen of the big foundations would want to volunteer to contribute the funds to make it possible.

## Congressman Wilson Reviews His 10 Years of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the final adjournment of the 87th Congress completes my 10th year of service to the 30th District of California. These have been 10 eventful years, and I shall be less than modest if I did not reflect pride in having served in these time-honored Halls during the past decade.

A 400,000 POPULATION INCREASE

My district, the most southwesterly in our Nation, has grown amazingly since 1952. An estimated 400,000 new residents have moved into new homes, working at over a 100,000 new jobs, attending new schools and new churches. Literally, a community the size of Louisville, Ky., has come to life in the 30th District of California in the relatively brief but action-packed span of years.

INDIVIDUALS HELPED

I must confess that I have enjoyed being a part of this dynamic growth. My job as Representative of such a district has been always challenging, sometimes harried, but never dull. I owe many thanks to an able and dedicated staff of eight assistants, who have manned my offices in San Diego and Washington. To my surprise most of our time has been spent in helping individuals with personal problems. We have answered hundreds of thousands of constituents' letters and patiently solved the pressing problems of countless citizens who in one way or the other have needed the personal attention of their Congressman.

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE IMPORTANT

I also owe many thanks to my colleagues, both Republican and Democrat, who have cooperated with me, as I have tried to cooperate with them. The two chairmen of the House Armed Services

Committee, the Honorable DEWEY SHORT, Republican, of Missouri, and the present chairman, the Honorable CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, and the committee staff, have been especially helpful and patient, recognizing the multiplicity of problems that develop in a community so dependent on the Federal Government, and assisting the Representative of that district in adequately attending to the interests of his constituency so long as those interests paralleled the overriding interest of our great country.

KEEPS IN TOUCH WITH DISTRICT

My family has been very patient and understanding as I have practically commuted between San Diego and Washington, keeping up with vital growth and constant changes that have characterized this period. Although Members of Congress are reimbursed for only one round trip to Washington per year, I have made it a practice to visit my district once or twice each month, and clearly hold the record for west coast Members as to the frequency of visits home. Keeping in touch with district problems in this way plays hob with the pocketbook and with perfect attendance records, yet I know my district has been better served by my being on the scene often enough to keep up with the changing problems that have beset us.

Legislatively, I have worked on significant bills affecting the military strength of our country. I have been particularly interested in personnel legislation for the armed services. In addition, I have testified before many committees urgently stressing the need for legislation, much of which was beneficial to my constituents.

OVER $165 MILLION FOR MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

It is difficult to recap all of the activities that in one way or another involve a congressional district and the Federal Government. For example, over $165 million has been spent in San Diego for military construction projects. Each project required authorization of my committee, the House Armed Services Committee, before the funds were appropriated. I am listing herewith some of the more important things that have touched the 30th District, some of which I worked on actively, some of which I supported or pushed, and some of which merely received my personal interest and attention. It proves, if nothing else, how great a role the Federal Government plays in the daily lives of all of us.

PROJECTS LISTED

Worked for airport tower and improvements for Gillespie Field. Worked for new post offices in Ocean Beach, Encanto, Bostonia, Lakeside, Chula Vista, Santee, Point Loma, College Park, Imperial Beach.

HELPED SCHOOLS

Introduced bill to remove suspected subversives from defense plants. Pushed for funds for five groins to repair beaches at Imperial Beach. Helped obtain Federal land for San Miguel School, California Western University, University of San Diego, Chula Vista Hilltop High School, San Diego city schools, University of California.

Pushed for electronics building, naval station, super carrier piers, electronics building and helicopter test facility, naval air station, and $60 million improvements at Miramar Naval Air Station.

FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT

Worked for sale of Linda Vista homes to occupants. Helped write wetback control law. Additional funds for fire control in Cleveland National Forest, Sweetwater flood control survey. Return of 30,000 acres Camp Elliott to tax rolls.

SUPPORTED PAY INCREASES

Supported pay increases, medicare, and insurance provisions for Post Office and Government workers. Pushed through 54 bills for relief of private citizens. Helped write pay raise legislation for military personnel.

Pushed for over $80 million of "Federal impact" funds for San Diego schools. Supported medicare for military dependents. Supported Kerr-Mills medicare bill for needy senior citizens.

FOR CIVIL RIGHTS 100 PERCENT

Supported civil rights legislation 100 percent. Pushed legislation for retired Federal employees. Persuaded Maritime Administration to reduce rates for Port of San Diego. Pushed simplified customs clearance for boats between San Diego and Mexico.

Pushed legislation for increased veterans' benefits. Supported $40 billion Federal highway program, benefiting U.S. 80 and U.S. 101. Pushed bill for new Federal judgeship, plus courtroom.

BROUGHT SEAWATER CONVERSION PLANT TO SAN DIEGO

Introduced first legislation for San Diego seawater conversion plant. Introduced bills for relief of Greek and Korean orphans. Land for expansion of Cabrillo Monument.

Introduced first bill, now law, transferring $1 million Camp Matthews land for University of California at San Diego. Introduced legislation to benefit Philippine servicemen. Introduced legislation credited with bringing major shipbuilding to San Diego.

HARBOR DEVELOPMENT PUSHED

Originated amendment for San Diego Harbor dredging for *Forrestal* carriers. Pushed first successful appropriation to reopen Mission Bay Channel and additional dredging.

Introduced Fisherman's Protective Act to benefit local tuna fishermen. Introduced original Fisherman's Policy Act to improve fishing industry.

Supported nuclear submarine pier, now permanent submarine home port facility.

APPROPRIATION OF $215,000 FOR PORT SURVEY

Obtained $215,000 for Corps of Engineers San Diego Harbor Improvement Survey now underway. Helped draft Federal Aviation Agency legislation to improve air service. Instrumental in bringing international conferences on aviation and tuna to San Diego. Congressional delegate to nuclear test ban neogtiations in Geneva.

## Dr. Karl Barth and American Prisons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 6, 1962*

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, during his visit to the United States earlier this year, the great Swiss theologian, Dr. Karl Barth, visited an American prison and expressed great shock at the conditions he found there.

Because of his international reputation, Dr. Barth's strong criticism received considerable attention in other countries. Understandably, the reaction was adverse, despite the fact that the one prison Dr. Barth visited was not representative of American prisons in general nor did it reflect the progress being made in this country in the imprisonment and rehabilitation of criminals.

Fortunately, however, the Reverend Dr. E. Frederick Proelss, Episcopal chaplain of the New York City Correctional Institution for Men at Rikers Island, felt an obligation to show Dr. Barth the other side of the picture, and Dr. Barth was able to accept his invitation to visit Rikers Island.

Fortunately, too, the details of this remarkable episode have become public as a result of an article by Frederick S. Sontag, a prominent Episcopal layman from Montclair, N.J., which appeared in a recent issue of the Witness, an independent Episcopal weekly news magazine.

I recommend it to our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, not only for its insight into the character of the people involved in the story but for the increased concern it is bound to arouse with regard to the condition of other American prisons.

The level of civilization of a nation and a people can be judged from many criteria. A most revealing one, though too little appreciated, is the state of a nation's prisons. I hope this article will lead us to take a closer look at ourselves in this respect.

The article follows:

KARL BARTH AT RIKERS ISLAND

(By Frederick H. Sontag)

Karl Barth, the world famous theologian, had a 4-hour inspection tour of Rikers Island before returning to Europe. Barth, who had blasted American prison conditions in Washington and New York interviews, accepted the invitation of the Reverend Dr. E. Frederick Proelss, Episcopal chaplain of Rikers Island, and Mrs. Anna M. Kross, New York City Commissioner of Corrections, on the strict understanding that prior to and during this tour there would be no press coverage of Dr. Barth's New York prison factfinding.

The invitation to Barth from Father Proelss came as the result of Barth's well-publicized attacks on the American prison system. Father Proelss, who had left Germany due to Hitler persecution, knew that Barth's remarks, made after he had visited an old prison at Chicago, would be heard around the world and would be eagerly picked up by enemies of the free world.

most especially of the United States. Proelss felt that his own sense of justice and gratitude toward his adopted country demanded that he present to Barth a wider and more realistic picture of U.S. prisons, many of which are doing a most advanced and constructive correctional work.

The very same day he heard about Barth's devastating remarks, Father Proelss drove to Princeton, where the professor was speaking, and was one of two individuals who managed to obtain a personal interview with him after his lecture. Proelss outlined what was available to be seen at the New York City Correctional Institution for Men at Rikers Island. He also left a formal letter of invitation, written in German. Three weeks later, Father Proelss was informed by Barth's son Markus of Barth's acceptance.

The Rikers Island visit took place on May 25. Commissioner Kross picked up Dr. Barth at Union Theological Seminary. The professors there had been discussing deep theological questions with Dr. Barth the day before and were again preparing to question this wise man in "relay teams." Little did the seminary faculty suspect when Dr. Barth disappeared that he would spend 4 full hours not in theological subtleties, but learning more about American prisons. In his home country, Switzerland, the famous professor is well known for leaving the university lecture hall in order to worship and preach in prisons. Recently he published a book entitled "Deliverance to the Captives—Sermons and Prayers," a collection of his Basel prison sermons.

TOP TO BOTTOM TOUR

Barth, accompanied by his whole family—sons, Markus and Christoph, daughter-in-law, Rosemary, and his personal secretary, Mrs. Charlotte von Kirschbaum—was given a top to bottom tour of Rikers Island by Commissioner Anna Kross and Chaplain Proelss. First Barth was taken to the worst part of the correctional institution by Mrs. Kross. There high security risks and serious disciplinary violators are kept. Barth was for some time silent; then, pointing to large windows, he say: "But they can at least see the sky and heaven."

He then was taken to one of a total of 8 regular cellblocks, each of which contain 248 cells. Picking at random items to look at, Mrs. Kross and Barth discussed how often there are more men in this block than she would wish. Barth commented, however, "Here also the light and sun come in." One of his guides commented what an "old nature boy" Barth really was.

Then he went to Father Proelss' chapel where the church orchestra, six men, all jazz musicians, were practicing hymans for the following Sunday. After listening to the musicians Barth walked over to the Negro spiritualist group—five men—and paid close attention to their practice session. For the first time during the visit Barth sat down and rested. He listened with rapt attention to the music and then asked what had brought these men to prison and was told that most of them were drug addicts. Later he shook hands with each one of the Negro singers and said, "You have done a wonderful job." The orchestra members informed him that they would have liked to have played Mozart for him, of which Barth is especially fond, but that they couldn't find the music.

Then stepping outside, Barth and his friends were surprised to find the entire institution's orchestra—30 men strong—assembled. As he walked by they broke into a march and continued with other popular pieces. Father Proelss said that Barth's natural kindness and humility was evidenced as he smiled at each man, waving his hand and leading the applause for the musicians.

Barth then went to the new part of the prison which is not yet open but is expected to be ready in the very near future. He was flabbergasted at the large and attractive gymnasium which the inmates will have for their use. Each of the new cells gives each inmate complete privacy and Barth noted with interest the varying bright colors of the cellwalls and the absence of the usual depressing prison darkness. But what interested him the most were the new jalousie windows—beyond which there were no bars—which permit each prisoner to regulate the flow of air and light into his cell and through which they can look with ease. Obviously impressed, Barth, turning to Father Proelss, said, "This we don't even have in Basel." He continued, "We have only high windows in the Basel prison and one cannot look right through them."

ADOLESCENT UNIT

Barth then inspected the adolescent unit. There juvenile delinquents, aged 16 through 20, are housed and this is the pride and joy of the rehabilitation program which Commissioner Kross has fought for and established during recent years. This unit contains a full academic school which is not under the department of correction but is under New York City's Department of Schools. Here boys work toward a high school certificate. Barth went to every classroom, sat with the boys and watched them doing arithmetic and higher mathematical problems. He also listened to a woman teacher reading Homer's "Odyssey" and heard the inmates questioned about it. Barth chatted with many of the student inmates while sitting beside them in their classrooms.

Having been touring the institution for some while, some of the Rikers Island officials asked Barth if he wanted to rest and he told them, "I'm never tired when I am interested, and I am really interested in this." Barth then saw the occupational shops of the adolescent unit where carpentry, tailoring and auto repairs were underway and he insisted on visiting each one of them.

The party then had lunch in the captain's mess hall and Dr. Barth was offered fish or meat. He asked for scrambled eggs, which he got.

While his guides were still at the table, Barth was eager to continue his tour and soon Father Proelss and Mrs. Kross were showing him what they consider to be the best part of their rehabilitation program, "The Cottages." In each of these two separate houses 18 adolescents live, 3 to a room. Here they learn how to live responsibly in a closely knit community, and Barth noted with interest that each of the cottages had its own special social and TV rooms and neat dining halls. The cottages offer their inhabitants great freedom and are under the supervision of specially selected officers. Barth insisted on going up and down stairs in each of the cottages to see the individual rooms, talk to the inmates and question the officers. Turning to Father Proelss, Barth said, "I am deeply impressed. This is a good idea. What I would have missed if I had not seen this."

By now the Rikers Island ferryboat was behind schedule and was blowing its whistle and Commissioner Anna Kross had to hurry Dr. Barth back to Union Theological Seminary. When Father Proelss said goodbye to his visitors, one of Professor Barth's sons said to him: "I am happy that Father has been here. It was a dramatic visit, and the difference between day and night, compared to the other prison."

On his way back to Union Theological Seminary, Barth plied the energetic New York former judge, Mrs. Kross, with questions and theories about prison rehabilitation.

Father Proelss said that as Barth left Rikers Island his prison hosts knew that the visit had made a deep impression on Barth. "He has a sincere and abiding interest in the prison chaplain's world. I am convinced that it was his sense of fairness and restless search for the truth that led him to Rikers Island in New York City, after the fiasco in Chicago. He really wanted to know all about prison conditions in America. But what impressed us who spent these 4 precious hours with this great man most was his kindness and humanity."

I can only say, "Voila un homme." Father Proelss, who in addition to being chaplain on Rikers Island, is an associate of the department of psychiatry and religion of Union Theological Seminary, said that Dr. Barth's visit was certainly the high point of his nearly 10 years' work among New York's "captives," so close also to the heart of the professor from Europe.

Taking part in the Barth Rikers Island visit were lawyer William Stringfellow; Episcopal layman and a Witness editor; Chaplain David Simms; Commissioner Anna A. Kross; Warden Henry Noble, Deputy Commissioner of Corrections David Jones; Dr. Barth's secretary, Mrs. Charlotte von Kirschbaum; Prof. and Mrs. Markus Barth, Prof. Christoph Barth; Deputy Warden Bessert, and School Principal Dr. Kreuder.

ADMIRER OF BARTH

Dr. Barth and Father Proelss often talked German throughout the visit. In honor of his guest, Father Proelss gave the grace at luncheon in German and when Mrs. Kross wanted to be sure that Barth would fully understand and give her a full reply to a question, she asked that Father Proelss word the question in German. However, the bulk of the conversation during the visit was in English, which Barth handled very well.

First discussion of how poorly the Chicago prison visit had impressed Barth and how unhappy he was about it, came up during a meeting at Father Proelss' house early in May. At that time several Episcopal priests and laymen returning from Chicago were discussing the establishment of a "Halfway House" in New York City. This would help prisoners discharged from Rikers Island adjust to the outside world. Father Proelss missed seeing Barth by 2 days in Chicago. Otherwise the invitation to see a more representative American prison would have been extended right then and there in the windy city. Proelss, who has been influenced by Barth for many years, said that two Episcopal priests who saw Barth in Chicago were shaken up by how unfavorably Barth had been introduced to the entire American prison system.

Father Proelss has been a long time admirer of Barth. In Germany during the thirties Proelss was a follower of Barth's when a section of German Protestantism, the so-called confessional church, spoke out against Hitler. Barth was the leader in molding the resistance of German Protestants against Hitleriam.

Chaplain Simms, Father Proelss' colleague on Rikers Island, lived next door to Barth's son Markus in New York some years ago.

Commissioner Anna Kross approved of Father Proelss' suggestion that Barth be allowed to "see anything, ask anything, and go anywhere" on Rikers Island at a time when eager American theologians and others could not get any time with Barth or were allowed interviews of only a few minutes.

Father Proelss said that he knew the facts of Rikers Island would speak for themselves and "Barth will be listened to on the outside." The Episcopal priest discussed the issuance of the invitation only with Commissioner Kross and Warden Noble; otherwise it was kept a secret.

A recent visitor to the island, a lady working for the Voice of America, commented, without knowing or being told that Barth would visit there the next day, how many unfavorable comments about America based on the Barth quotes had been monitored by the Voice of America.

## Monetary Policies and the Silver Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, while the startling outflow of American gold to foreign countries has gained widespread attention and concern, less noticed has been the mounting crisis in silver. Since the Government terminated its sale of free silver stocks—those not required as currency backing—the price of silver has skyrocketed upward. Recently, the international price of silver traded in the London market reached a 42-year high of $1.21¾ a fine ounce. The upward trend continues. Menacing our currency is the fact that if silver reaches the price of $1.29 per ounce, it becomes profitable, though illegal, to melt down U.S. coinage to obtain the silver. The gravity of the problem is evident.

Briefly, the U.S. silver crisis resolves itself down to the basic fact that silver demand is increasing while world production fails to keep pace. This problem has been compounded by international speculation in the world silver market.

Legislation calling for a repeal of the Silver Purchase Acts, by the United States has been called for by the President and introduced in the Congress. Under this scheme, in time, silver would be entirely removed from the U.S. money system, except as a metal for coinage. In coming months this issue promises to become much talked about.

Particularly useful to me in understanding these proposed changes in our monetary policies have been the following articles, which I have excerpted from various sources. Under previous order of the House, I am including these background materials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hope that they will be of similar value to others.

[From the New York Herald Tribune]

SILVER TRADING FACES AN ACTIVE YEAR

(By Andrew J. Glass)

Silver, treasured through the centuries as a medium of exchange, emerged in late 1961 as an important world industrial commodity.

This happened November 29 when the Treasury, at the direction of President Kennedy, created a free silver market by discontinuing sales to industry.

Until then, the difference between consumption and production had been chiefly made up through Treasury held reserves, selling at 91 cents an ounce. When a run developed on these Government buffer stocks in late November, the Treasury closed the store. By year's end, the price of silver, now unpegged to Treasury dealings, had risen to $1.04¾.

FREEZES SILVER BULLION

To assure adequate silver supplies for coins, the White House told the Treasury to cut down on the circulation of $5 and $10 silver certificates, thus freeing the silver bullion that had been backing them up. Mr. Kennedy said he would ask Congress this year to authorize the Federal Reserve banks to issue $1 bills (now nearly all silver certificates) and also to repeal the Silver Purchase Acts.

The program, according to the President, "will permit the establishment in the United States of a broad market for trading in silver on a current and forward basis comparable to the markets in which other commodities are traded."

For this to happen, Congress would also have to repeal the Silver Transfer Tax, a measure that claims 50 percent of all profits in silver transactions. The act was put through at the insistence of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the early days of the New Deal as a way of blocking speculation in the metal.

The decision to discontinue silver sales was precipitated by the near-exhaustion of Treasury holdings. Although the Treasury owns more than 3 billion ounces as backing for the Nation's money, including coins, only about 22 million ounces were available to industry when the Treasury stopped its sales. (Treasury free silver has since risen to 27.6 million ounces.)

PRICE CAN RISE

Now the price of silver theoretically can rise to $1.29 an ounce. At this point, redeeming silver certificates (for silver dollars or bullion) would become the cheapest way for users to get the metal.

Few observers expect the price of silver to rise to anything like $1.29, particularly since the Treasury will not be forced to buy in the open market to satisfy its coinage needs. According to Simon D. Strauss of American Smelting & Refining Co., a price of $1.10 would bring out quantities of hoarded silver and stimulate new production.

Most of the world's silver is found in North America. In modern times, Mexico has displaced the United States as the largest producer. Canada ranks third.

Silver output in this country has been averaging 40 million ounces a year, somewhat less than the Treasury needs annually to strike new coins. Since industry and the arts consume upward of 100 million ounces a year, the silver deficiency has lately been about 110 million ounces. This has been covered by Treasury sales and by imports.

Growing use of photocopy equipment is an important factor in rising demand. The photographic industry now consumes some 32 million ounces annually.

World coinage requirements are also on the rise in several nations, notably France, West Germany, and Italy. Factors here include new silver coinage programs by Paris and Rome and the increasing use of automatic vending machines in Western Europe.

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[From the Wall Street Journal]

SILVER PRICE RISE CONTINUES; BUYERS BUILD INVENTORIES

Silver authorities agreed a number of factors were responsible for the higher prices. Demand in the United States, they noted, reflected increased industrial requirements and seasonal needs of silverware manufacturers preparing for Christmas holiday trade.

The demand, they said, also reflected inventory buildups by U.S. and foreign consumers who expect further price rises and reduced world supplies. According to one trade source, U.S. industrial users and silverware makers will increase their silver purchases from the 105 million ounces estimated to have been consumed last year. The gain, the source said, will be attributable mostly to inventory accumulations.

SLIMMER SUPPLY IN PROSPECT

At the heart of the increased demand has been the prospect of a slimmer world supply of silver, principally because of sharply reduced sales by Communist China this year. One trade source estimates Red China's silver sales are running "maybe as much as half the 50 million to 55 million ounces" sold in Europe in 1961.

Under U.S. law, silver from Red China cannot be sold or used in this country. Sales of this metal to European buyers free other sources for U.S. needs.

Also reducing the world's silver supply modestly have been the curtailment programs that began at U.S. copper mines at midyear; more than two-thirds of U.S. silver output is a byproduct of copper, lead and zinc mining.

Because of the reduced mining of these industrial metals, U.S. output of silver in the first 7 months of the year fell to 18.5 million ounces from 24 million ounces a year earlier, according to the American Bureau of Metal Statistics.

Offsetting the declines, to a limited degree, has been an estimated 5 percent increase in Mexican production. Mexico produced about 40.3 million ounces last year.

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[From the New York Times]

SILVER EXTENDS RISE THAT FOLLOWED END OF SALES BY MEXICO

The price of silver in New York added another 1½ cents yesterday, reaching $1.21½ per troy ounce, another new high since 1920.

Silver traded above $1.30 in 1920, and fell as low as 65 cents that same year. It did not rise above $1 an ounce again until late last year.

Silver's price has advanced 5½ cents since Monday, when it was reported that the Bank of Mexico, a major supplier of metal from official Mexican silver stocks, had withdrawn from the market.

The $1.21½ price quote for silver here yesterday was about 30 cents above the 91⅜ cents that prevailed here for some 3 years prior to late November 1961. At that time, the Treasury suspended sales of metal to industrial users from its free or nonmonetary stocks. Market prices have been on the upgrade since.

The Treasury's free silver had fallen from 123.5 million ounces at the start of 1961 to 22 million at the end of November. Such stocks now total an estimated 30 million ounces.

The Treasury at the end of 1961 held some 1,700 million ounces in silver bullion as backing for paper silver certificates.

Some current silver buying is believed going into inventories, as a hedge against further price advances. Handy Harman, a leading silver fabricator, has estimated that some 40 million ounces of 1961's reported silver use actually went into inventories.

Private speculators, in Europe mainly, held an estimated 40 million ounces at the start of the year, and trade sources estimate 10 to 20 million ounces are still in speculative hands.

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[From the Christian Science Monitor]

TREASURY PONDERS SILVER-PRICE SPIRAL

(By Juan Cameron)

The Government, long burdened by gold problems, in recent months has started keeping an increasingly wary eye on sharply climbing silver prices.

While Treasury officials don't say so publicly, a distinct possibility exists that the Government may move to break the silver-price spiral caused by a combination of London speculation, tight market control by the Bank of Mexico, and its own withdrawal from the market 9 months ago.

The U.S. Treasury has seen the price of silver climb by 21.6 cents an ounce—23.6 percent—since it quit its market operations in November 1961. It can take action on several fronts:

Start selling small quantities of silver from its own stock to defense industries, which are heavy users of the metal (for contact points and printed electronic circuits);

Break up the market, which many here regard as rigged, by dumping small amounts of silver.

Take antitrust action against the small group of corporations that process and set silver prices in the New York trading market.

DEMAND LAGS?

The sharp price increase—it jumped again by 2 cents an ounce this week—has occurred despite the fact that Government specialists feel world demand lags behind supply by about 75 million ounces a year. The price rise has taken place, the Treasury points out, during the past summer when the large Northeast silver users were on vacation shutdown and not buying the metal.

Informed opinion here believes speculators in London have started buying silver in hopes the Bank of Mexico, by adroit manipulation of the market, can keep upward pressure on silver prices.

(The steady upward trend in silver prices was given a boost last week by hopes—now dashed—that the Senate might repeal the 30-year-old 50 percent transfer, or profit tax on silver sales.)

The Treasury blames itself in part for the sharp rise in silver prices that affects defense industries, film producers, mirror and abrasive manufacturers, dental supply makers, and silver fabricators.

The Government is not concerned primarily about the rise in silver prices, although the 23.6 percent rise has added nearly $5 million a year, for example, to Eastman Kodak's silver bill.

Some concern is felt, however, that by buying some 3,300 million ounces of silver since 1933 the Treasury may have created a perfect situation for speculators and market riggers to reap big gains at the expense of silver consumers.

HOARD BUILT UP

Since passage of the Silver Purchase Act of 1934, enacted to pep up the market for the production of western mines, the Government has built up a hoard of some 1,700 million ounces of silver.

(The annual U.S. consumption of silver is about 105 million ounces, two-thirds of which comes from abroad. Of the domestic supply, two-thirds comes from the byproduct of copper, lead, and zinc mining; one-third, or 15 million ounces, from domestic silver mines, primarily the Sunshine Mining Co. in Idaho.)

By impounding this huge amount of silver—the world annual consumption of silver is estimated at about 300 million ounces—the Government has given speculators and the Bank of Mexico the leverage to jockey silver prices with a minimum of effort.

MEXICAN ACTION

The Bank of Mexico, under its shrewd director, Don Rodrigo Gomez, has in recent years been acting to stabilize silver prices; Mexico is the world's largest silver producer.

Simon Strauss, vice president of the American Smelting & Refining Co., which processes about 80 percent of the silver that goes into the New York market, said the Mexican central bank buys when production appears in excess of consumption and vice versa.

"This operation was carried on for about 14 years and it has been done with more success, more skills, and a profitable result than any other Government operation in the field of nonferrous metals with which I am acquainted," said Mr. Strauss in 1959.

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[From the Wall Street Journal]

TWO SILVER MILL FIRMS INDICTED IN PRICE FIXING—HANDY & HARMAN, ENGELHARD ACCUSED OF HOLDING SECRET MEETING TO CHANGE PRICES

A Federal grand jury in New York charged two companies with fixing prices of silver mill products used in jewelry, tableware, and electrical equipment.

Indicted were Handy & Harman, New York, and Engelhard Industries, Inc., Newark, N.J., which together account for 90 percent of the $42 million annual sales of silver mill products for jewelry, tableware, and electrical equipment, the grand jury said.

The indictment alleges the two companies have engaged since at least 1948 in a conspiracy marked by secret discussions prior to each major price change.

As a result of these activities, the grand jury charged competition was suppressed and the price of the silver mill products was driven to an artificially high level. The maximum penalty under the Sherman Antitrust Act would be fines of $50,000 against each of the concerns.

PROFITS CALLED MARGINAL

In New York, Handy & Harman said: "The product line involved [in the indictment] is one in which our profits at best have been and are marginal. We are consulting with counsel to determine our future course of action." Engelhard Industries declined to comment.

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[From the Wall Street Journal]

MONEY'S FAMILY TREE—KENNEDY AIMS TO CUT OFF ONE OF ITS BRANCHES

(By Arlen J. Large)

"This certifies that there is on deposit in the Treasury of the United States $1 in silver payable to the bearer on demand."

Such is the familiar pledge inscribed above and below George Washington's portrait on the dollar bills carried in Americans' pockets. If President Kennedy has his way, this pledge will be replaced someday by the more cryptic promise: "The United States of America will pay to the bearer on demand $1."

Mr. Kennedy, Treasury Secretary Dillon and swarms of monetary theorists are prepared to swear that this terse pledge—similar to one already on most currency of larger denomination—is as good as the standing offer of precious metal. Indeed, the operation of the patchwork U.S. money system depends on everyone's acceptance of three types of paper currency as equally valuable, regardless of metallic backing.

BANKS SHOW NO PREFERENCE

Most of the bills of $5 denomination and higher now outstanding are Federal Reserve notes, tied almost invisibly to gold. All of the $1 bills, 25 percent of the $5s and less than 1 percent of the $10s are backed directly by silver—a tie which the administration wants to cut eventually. A smattering of $5s and all of the actively circulated $2 bills are U.S. notes, not formally linked to any metal whatsoever. Banks channel the three kinds into general use without preference. "They don't care what we send them as long as it's the right denomination," says a Federal Reserve System official.

But if a paper bill's technical lineage encounters no snobbery at the cash register, the distinction between monetary families is still a matter of some interest. For one thing, Mr. Kennedy's proposal to snip the verbal and legal ties between silver and some $2 billion of paper bills is likely to put the subject much in the news when Congress debates it next year. And if the legislation passes, it would eventually end the money system's domestic reliance on precious metals, a reliance that has prevailed since the opening days of the Republic. Whether or not this is an alarming prospect depends partly on some notion of the present-day relationship between paper money and metal. It may be instructive, then, to poke around in money's family tree and examine some of its denizens.

About 80 percent of the country's money, of course, is not paper currency at all, but peoples' checking accounts. The ratio varies somewhat as people alter their way of paying for things; the economy's heavy retail trade at Christmas, for example, means shoppers need a bigger proportion of their money in the form of bills and coin right now.

TIED TO A CORPSE

Paper money and coins in circulation totaled $33.6 billion at last count—equal to $177.74 per person. Most of this is a $27.7 billion family of paper currency tied to the historical corpse of the gold standard, which expired in 1933. The bills, called Federal Reserve notes, are tied loosely to the Treasury's $17 billion gold supply in this way:

The physical gold in Fort Knox and other depositories is used as dollar-for-dollar backing for a ghostly family of yellow currency never seen by most people. These ornately-engraved "gold certificates," whose $100,000 denomination bears a portrait of Woodrow Wilson, are issued only to the 12 Federal Reserve banks around the country and never appear in general circulation. (Only $2.8 billion of gold actually is represented by engraved certificates; the rest is simply credited to the books of the Federal Reserve banks.)

While it's illegal for anyone to circulate gold certificates as money, these ethereal bills do perform a function for the family of Federal Reserve notes quite visible in the Nation's wallets and cash registers. Each Federal Reserve bank can circulate through the commercial banking system up to $4 in Federal Reserve notes for every $1 it holds in gold certificates or credits. The gold certificates thus provide a potential anti-inflationary ceiling on the amount of spending money that can be circulated. In this sense, the gold "backing" performs quite a different function than it did before 1933, when some paper stood as a literal dollar-for-dollar substitute for gold. A series of Roosevelt proclamations and congressional laws in 1933 and 1934 abolished this direct proxy relationship.

Federal Reserve notes carry the printed promise that the United States "will pay to the bearer on demand" either $5, $10, $20, $50 or $100—without equating it with gold or any other metal; a fine-print notation simply says the bills are "legal tender" redeemable in "lawful money." Higher Federal Reserve note denominations up to a $10,000 bill (with Salmon P. Chase's portrait) are in circulation and probably available at a big bank, but the Government hasn't printed any since 1945. People who make unusual requests for giant denomination bills at banks are reported to the Government, and may get a checkup from a tax agent.

Unlike Federal Reserve notes, the $2 billion of silver certificates enjoy an old-fashioned dollar-for-dollar metallic backing. A $1 bill presented physically at the Treasury in Washington will get you a silver dollar containing 90 percent pure silver and a 10 percent copper dilutant. Officially, there is a dollar's worth of silver in a silver dollar—at the artificially high monetary value of $1.29 an ounce. The legal 371.25-grain (about 77/100 of an ounce) silver content of a dollar is the same, oddly enough, as the amount first decreed by Congress in 1792 during the Washington administration.

As an industrial commodity, the silver in a dollar is worth nearly 81 cents at current market prices. It is widely believed among silver men that $1.29 an ounce represents a ceiling on silver prices; should the industrial market bids ever get higher than that, silver dollars would be worth more as metal than as money and it would be profitable to melt them down for sale to a silver using factory. It also would be illegal.

There are only 55 million silver dollars on deposit in the Treasury Building to handle the rare conversion demands and to keep the promise on the certificates honest. Most of the uncoined silver backing the outstanding certificates is not on deposit in the Treasury at all, but rests in the Government's bullion depositary at West Point.

President Kennedy plans to retire gradually the existing $5 and $10 silver certificates,

using the 500 million ounces of monetary silver behind them for the manufacture of half dollars, quarters, and dimes. The retired certificates will be replaced with Federal Reserve notes, redeemable only in lawful money. This phase of the plan, which needs no legislation, has already begun; the Treasury so far this month has removed 7.5 million ounces of silver from its monetary stock and transferred it to the supply available for coinage.

The second stage of the plan requires legislation. Congress will be asked to allow the Federal Reserve to issue $1 denominations of Federal Reserve notes, which is not now permitted. This would free the rest of the silver supply for coinage. The Treasury's intention is to withdraw $1 silver certificates slowly, completing the transition in perhaps 30 years.

SILVER VERSUS PLASTIC

Once the monetary silver is exhausted by the Mint's coin factories, some future Treasury Secretary must face another decision: Should the Treasury once again enter the silver market to buy coinage metal, or could plastic or some other commodity be substituted as a coin ingredient?

If silver certificates eventually disappear by the turn of the century, it would leave only one other family of currency besides the dominant Federal Reserve variety. U.S. notes already are the oldest continuously circulating kind of American paper money. They were first issued during the Civil War, when Congress sought to inflate the metallically restricted money supply by issuing currency not backed by anything but Uncle Sam's credit rating.

U.S. notes, currently printed in $2 and $5 denominations, were known in Civil War days as greenbacks, and they're still the only money really entitled to that name. There are exactly $346,681,016 of greenbacks now outstanding—an amount fixed by Congress in 1878 and still in force.

Technically, U.S. notes are non-interest-bearing Treasury securities—regular I.O.U.'s more nearly related to bonds than to metal-backed money. The "debt" represented by the notes is never paid off, because the worn-out notes retired from circulation are automatically replaced with fresh ones. Although U.S. notes are tied monetarily neither to gold nor silver, the Treasury does have $156 million of gold hooked to this currency by obsolete legislation.

Congress after the Civil War ordered the Treasury to accumulate a special fund to eventually pay off the greenbacks in gold. This is now impossible under the later laws forbidding any traffic in monetary gold, so the retirement metal now languishes in Fort Knox with no prospect of fulfilling its original function.

The $5 greenbacks carry Lincoln's portrait, just like their Federal Reserve and silver certificate cousins in that denomination. The $85 million in outstanding $2 greenbacks display Thomas Jefferson. Treasury men say $2 bills are found mostly in New England, where people have become accustomed to using them. They're rather unpopular in most other parts of the country, except in the immediate vicinity of racetracks, partly because of a belief that the bills are bad luck.

SOME DUTIES WOULD REMAIN

Extinction of the silver certificate family of currency still would leave some important duties for monetary metal. Gold would retain its theoretical link with Federal Reserve currency, standing as a barrier to unlimited money creation. And the international value of the dollar would continue to be tied directly to gold, through the Treasury's readiness to exchange gold for dollars held by other countries.

But for the domestic economy, Government money experts are almost unanimous in their belief that the nation has outgrown the old psychological need to regard paper money as a kind of warehouse receipt for lumps of precious metal. The public's lack of preference for any particular family of currency is cited as proof that money's value now is reckoned wholly by its actual power in the marketplace. It's this value that must be maintained, observed Federal Reserve Chairman Martin the other day, "to keep our entire economy functioning efficiently for the maximum benefit of all."

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I include the following article regarding U.S. monetary silver policies:

First National City Bank monthly letter carried a compilation of after-tax profit margins for six leading baking companies which shows a decline from the 1947–49 average of 4.1 cents per sales dollar to 2.3 cents in 1959. Later information shows that profit margins for the same six companies were trimmed to 1.9 cents per sales dollar in 1960. So far this year, all six companies have reported a further drop in earnings, and two of them show deficits for the first 9 months.

The increase in Government support prices for wheat came at a time when bakers were already under pressure from a profit squeeze. This squeeze hurts the industry in two principal ways. On the one hand, rising wages and distribution expenses make it imperative that bakers modernize their equipment in order to hold down their costs. At the same time, the thinness of profit margins, together with high taxes, makes it difficult for bakers to accumulate the capital needed to pay for the new equipment. A price control—or "hanging a baker or two"—can hardly have any consequence but to discourage people from entering, expanding, and improving the breadbaking business.

Should the price of bread be advanced to cover costs of ingredients and to sustain quality, this is something every realistic person should be able to understand. Government should see and acknowledge its responsibility. If this should lead to reconsideration of programs which raise the cost of living and depreciate the value of the dollar, so much the better.

FREE MARKET FOR SILVER

Much has been written about the $5.8 billion decline in the U.S. gold reserve over the past 4 years. Meanwhile, almost unnoticed by the general public, a drain on U.S. silver stocks has set in. Even though the current decline dates back only to the summer of 1959, and has been of far smaller magnitude than in the case of gold, a practical policy question was posed for the U.S. Treasury.

The problem is being resolved in a sensible way. On November 29, at the direction of the President, the Treasury discontinued sales of silver for use in the arts and industry.

To assure adequate supplies of the metal for subsidiary coinage—halves, quarters, and dimes—the President instructed the Treasury to reduce circulation of silver certificates, which tie up silver bullion as backing. He said that he would ask Congress next year to authorize the Federal Reserve Banks to issue $1 bills (practically all of which today are silver certificates) and also to repeal the Silver Purchase Acts. The program as a whole "will permit the establishment [in the United States] of a broad market for trading in silver on a current and forward basis comparable to the markets in which other commodities are traded."

In the London free market, the initial reaction was a rise from the equivient of 93.83 cents per ounce on November 28 to 99.40 cents on the 29th. In New York, the market price advanced from 91⅜ cents to $1.075.

United States Treasury officials have had the silver problem under close study for some time and have had meetings with representatives of producers and users. On October 9 silver matters were transferred from the Bureau of the Mint to a new Office of Domestic Gold and Silver Operations under the direct supervision of Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury in charge of monetary affairs.

The decision to discontinue sales was precipitated by threatened exhaustion of Treasury holdings of so-called free silver. U.S. silver stocks on June 30, 1959, exceeded 3.4 billion fine ounces, the greatest aggregation of the white metal ever accumulated by any nation. However, all but 212 million ounces of this silver was tied up in coinage or as collateral behind silver certificates, which constitute about 7 percent of our total paper currency circulation. Since June 1959, Treasury holdings of free silver have dropped from 212 million ounces to 22 million ounces.

Treasury free silver has not been going out in exports; it has been absorbed by constant growth in our silver currency circulation and sales for use here in the arts and industry. The discontinuance of Treasury sales theoretically could lead to an advance in price to $1.29 per fine ounce, the point at which redemption of silver certificates would be the cheapest way for users to get the metal.

The potentiality of retirement of silver certificates would put an automatic ceiling on the price of the metal for a long time to come. Few practical observers expect that the price of silver will rise to anything like $1.29, particularly since the Treasury will take care of its requirements for subsidiary silver coinage by retiring silver certificates. In the view of Mr. Simon D. Strauss of the American Smelting and Refining Co., as reported in the November issue of the Engineering & Mining Journal, a price of $1.10 would bring out quantities of hoarded silver and stimulate exploration and new production.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The silver problem today cannot be fully understood without recalling a few salient facts of monetary history. The original dollar was a silver dollar, though the emerging importance of gold led Congress, on the recommendation of Alexander Hamilton, to establish in 1792 a bimetallic gold and silver standard. This failed to work, because the relative values of the two metals did not stand still, and gold emerged as the dominant monetary base with silver playing a subsidiary role. The pound sterling, once a pound of silver, became the leading currency of the world after the Napoleonic wars as a gold sovereign. Other nations, save China, generally and gradually shifted to a gold or gold-exchange standard.

The decline of silver was powerfully resisted in the United States which, from about 1871 to 1900, was the world's biggest producer of the metal and also had a large agricultural population that attributed falling commodity prices to shortages of money. Since 1873, when the United States formally abandoned bimetallism, Congress at various times has passed laws requiring the Treasury to purchase silver not only for use in subsidiary coinage but also as backing for paper silver certificates. The United States has thus accumulated a hoard of some 1.8 billion ounces of silver to implement the rights of holders of $2 billion-odd silver certificates to redeem them.

The silver purchase laws in force are the Silver Purchase Acts of 1934 and 1946. A Presidential proclamation in December 1933, when the New York market price was 44 cents, prescribed that the Treasury should pay 64.64 cents per fine ounce for domes-

tically mined silver. After several changes made by Presidential proclamations, the buying price became fixed by legislation—in 1939 at 71.11 cents and in 1946 at 90.5 cents, the level presently prevailing. Silver purchases were also conducted abroad, but abandoned in 1942 after they disrupted the world market and forced China off the silver standard.

Between 1942 and 1959, apart from lend-lease transactions in silver, U.S. silver stocks were further enlarged out of domestic production. The arts and industry, for the most part, could satisfy their needs from cheaper sources abroad. Since 1959 the world price has been above the Treasury's 90.5 cent buying price, with the result that the Treasury has been getting little silver.

While earlier silver legislation had particularly in mind assistance to producers and increase of money supply, the Silver Purchase Act of 1946 took account of the problems of silver users and authorized Treasury sales. The selling price, until discontinued on November 29, was 91 cents per ounce at the San Francisco mint and somewhat higher in Denver and New York. Treasury selling, restricted to domestic users, held down the open market price in New York—quoted since 1959 at 91⅜ cents by Handy & Harman, leading fabricators of gold and silver in the United States. In London, which is now the principal free market for silver as well as for gold, the price over the past 2 years has been ranging between 92 and 94 cents. The higher London price, explained by enlarged demand for silver abroad, has been diverting supplies which used to go to the American market.

ABOUT 110 MILLION OUNCE ANNUAL DEFICIENCY

Most silver production is concentrated in North America. In the 20th century the United States has been displaced by Mexico as the world's largest producer; Canada holds third place. As the top section of the next chart [not printed in RECORD] shows, silver production in the United States—except in 1959 when output was depressed by strikes—has held near a level of 40 million fine ounces a year. Silver coinage alone has been taking somewhat more than this amount in recent years. With net usage in industry and the arts upward of 100 million ounces a year, the U.S. silver deficiency has exceeded 110 million ounces annually since 1959. Although complete figures are lacking for a full accounting of supplies and uses, the following table shows the changing picture:

*Silver in the United States*

[In millions of fine ounces]

| | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Output | 38.7 | 36.8 | 23.0 | 36.8 | [1] 40.0 |
| Uses: | | | | | |
| Industry and arts | 95.4 | 85.5 | 101.0 | 102.0 | [1] 104.0 |
| Coinage | 52.0 | 38.2 | 41.4 | 46.0 | [1] 48.0 |
| Total | 147.4 | 123.7 | 142.4 | 148.0 | [1] 152.0 |
| Excess of uses over output | 108.7 | 86.9 | 119.4 | 111.2 | [1] 112.0 |
| Imports: | | | | | |
| Commercial | 116.8 | 62.6 | 24.1 | 45.0 | [2] 35.9 |
| Lend-lease returns | 89.8 | 108.4 | 45.0 | 15.7 | [3] |
| Exports | 10.3 | 2.7 | 9.2 | 26.6 | [2] 28.5 |
| Excess of commercial imports over exports | 106.0 | 59.9 | 14.9 | 18.4 | [2] 7.4 |
| Changes in U.S. Treasury's stocks: | | | | | |
| "Free" stocks | +40.0 | +74.8 | −27.1 | −51.6 | [4] −91.1 |
| Other stocks [5] | −6.7 | +17.5 | −19.3 | −16.0 | [4] −16.9 |
| Total change | +33.3 | +92.3 | −46.4 | −67.6 | [4] −108.0 |

[1] Tentative estimates.
[2] Through September 1961.
[3] Not available.
[4] Through Nov. 21, 1961.
[5] Stocks securing silver certificates, and silver coin in the hands of the Treasury.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Mines, U.S. Department of Commerce, and U.S. Treasury.

The deficiency of U.S. production has been covered by imports, including returns of of silver lent to the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, India, Pakistan, and certain other countries during World War II under lend-lease legislation. But returns of lend-lease silver have dried up and regular commercial imports have been falling off with the rise in silver usage abroad.

The lower section of the chart gives a picture of production and consumption of the metal in the rest of the free world. According to estimates by Handy & Harman, consumption has reached the level of production, about 170 million fine ounces a year. Usage in the arts and industry abroad now takes three-quarters of the new production. The United Kingdom, India, and Pakistan withdrew silver coins from circulation as a means of facilitating return of metal obtained under lend-lease during the war, thus adding to world silver supplies. But new silver coinage programs in France and Italy are currently adding to needs for monetary silver abroad.

Thus, on the basis of figures for the 2 years, the American shortage of some 110 million ounces is also a measure of free world shortage. Offerings from Red China, for balance-of-payments reasons, have been reported in the press as likely to reach 40 million ounces in 1961. These, believed to come from stocks of coins surrendered to the Government, have been supplementing supplies in Western Europe.

The natural effect of the silver shortage has been to firm up world prices and this tendency is strengthened now that the U.S. Treasury has dropped out as a seller. A rise in the price will stimulate production though it must be borne in mind that most of the world's silver is produced from ores bearing copper, lead, zinc, and gold. Thus, prices of other metals have influences on silver production. There is, however, no doubt that a sustained advance in the price of the metal could produce a sizable increase in supply by stimulating exploration and new production as well as by inducing a melting down of silver coins—the kind of automatic demonetization that has occurred so often over the world's history when hard money has become worth more as metal than as money.

MORE THAN 3.3 BILLION OUNCE U.S. STOCKS

Along with gold, silver coins and objects of art are often held in many parts of the world as stores of value. No one can say for sure what the aggregate amount might be or how much would be turned back into metal at any given price level. But it is possible to measure U.S. silver stocks in forms of coins, reserves against silver certificates, and Treasury free silver. As brought out in the next chart, these stocks aggregate more than 3.3 billion fine ounces, an amount that dwarfs the calculated annual shortage of 110 million ounces a year. Of this stock, about 1.2 billion ounces represent the content of subsidiary silver coins—dimes, quarters, and half dollars. These would not be worth more as silver than as money unless the price of the metal rose above $1.38 per fine ounce. There is somewhat limited circulation of standard silver dollars, which, technically, would be worth their weight in silver content if the price rose to $1.29. But the bulk of the U.S. silver stock consists of bars or bullion held in reserve for redemption of silver certificates. Since silver certificates are payable to the bearer on demand in silver, this silver bullion could be drawn upon and presumably would be if the price of the metal got up much beyond $1.29.

The simplest way for the Treasury to save on silver is gradually to withdraw silver certificates, freeing silver bullion for use in subsidiary coinage. Under present law, certificates in denominations of $5 and higher can be replaced in circulation by Federal Reserve notes. Further huge amounts of silver are tied up behind $1 bills. These can be replaced by Federal Reserve notes if Congress accepts the President's recommendation and authorizes the Federal Reserve banks to issue notes in the $1 denomination.

With all our silver treasure, there is no need to follow the example of some other countries which have totally demonetized silver and swung over to cheaper metals for all coins. We can afford to keep silver in subsidiary coinage.

TIME TO RESTORE A FREE MARKET

It is clear, from the most competent estimates available, that the world's silver production can be fully absorbed by industry and the arts. It should be clear, also, that satisfaction of these growing needs should have a prior claim on new supplies. Gold has the primary function of serving as a reserve behind currencies. Silver, long ago displaced from this position, has earned a critically important place as an industrial commodity, with its rare properties of noncorrosiveness and conductivity. People may not realize that they are consuming silver, in nitrate form, when they take pictures. Applications in electricity, electronics, and missiles are essential and growing.

Silver purchase legislation in the United States has had purposes of enlarging the money supply and raising prices for the benefit of producers. Whatever could be said for the programs in generations past, they are assuredly inappropriate in a world that wants price stability rather than price inflation. The opportune moment arrived when, with a minimum impact on silver prices, the Treasury was able to drop out and let the free market do the job of equating supply and demand.

Bills have been repeatedly introduced in Congress—though never before with the endorsement of the administration—to repeal the existing silver purchase legislation, including the special 50-percent tax on profits from market transactions in silver imposed under the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 to discourage speculation in the metal. This tax which has never brought in any significant revenue, will have to be abolished if we want to have a market for silver comparable in efficiency to those for other commodities.

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I include the following article regarding U.S. monetary silver policies:

[From the Commercial and Financial Chronicle]

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT MONETARY SILVER PROGRAM

(By Herbert M. Bratter)

Silver mines in this country have been benefiting from subsidy legislation in the guise of monetary legislation continuously since 1933 under one law or another.

Under present law, producers of newly mined domestic silver may sell it on the open market, or, if they regard it to their advantage, to the U.S. mints. If they sell to the mints, it is self-evident that they have a greater advantage in so doing than would accrue from selling on the open market.

THE SUBSIDY AND ITS RESULT

Imagine a solid cube of sterling silver measuring almost 62 feet in each direction. That is how much silver is today lying idle in Treasury vaults, some of it lying there since 1878—a monument to what is probably the most senseless and least justifiable subsidy in the history of American politics.

Nominally all this silver was acquired by the Treasury in carrying out a congressional monetary policy. Actually the motive was not concerned with our currency system, but with the enrichment of silver miners, hoarders of silver in the United States and silver sellers everywhere in the world. Only a thin slice of the pie went to Americans, and at that most of these beneficiaries were not in the West, but in the East, where the big mining companies and their chief shareholders were domiciled.

Among the foreign beneficiaries were Mexico, which soon after the silver laws were enacted, nationalized foreign oil properties; China, which sold us more silver than any other country, although the rapid scale of U.S. silver buying in 1934 and 1935 caused the Chinese and other governments officially to protest to the State Department; and India. Even Russia benefited from silver sales.

The Silver Purchase Act of 1934 was preceded in 1933 by other measures to do something for silver. As executed in its early years the 1934 law proved to be a completely irrational foreign aid program that made the United States the laughing stock of the whole world.

The silver policy represented the most remarkable—as well as the least remarked—special interest triumph of the period. A minor industry, employing in 1939 (after 5 years of subsidy) less than 5,000 persons, the silver industry, in effect, held the Government to ransom, extorting nearly a billion and a half dollars in the 15 years after 1934—a sum considerably larger than that paid by the Government to support farm prices over the same period.

IT ALL BEGAN IN 1878

In all the world only one country subsidizes silver mining through silver purchases: the United States. The first law for this purpose was the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. This called for the mints to buy silver and coin it into standard silver dollars. It was recognized at the start that the public would object to handling the millions of "cartwheels" which were to be minted under this law. So the law introduced the silver certificate, redeemable dollar for dollar in silver coins. The Bland-Allison cartwheels thus were forced into circulation by proxy. Other silver purchase acts were passed to please the silver Senators and their allies in 1890, 1918, 1933, 1934, 1939, and 1946.

Today, as a result of these acts of Congress, millions of brand new silver dollar coins with ancient dates lie in bags in the vaults, alongside endless stacks of bar silver—all held as security for the small-denomination bills we use as currency. Mr. Hardy in his article states that "silver certificates are circulating money which are backed by silver on deposit at the Treasury and are payable in silver on demand." Indeed, silver propagandists claim that the silver certificate is today the only U.S. money that is redeemable in metal, now that the Government does not pay out gold coin domestically. But this claim is both false and meaningless. It is false because under the law any form of U.S. currency is exchangeable for any other form of currency. You may obtain silver dollars with Federal Reserve notes or greenbacks as readily as with silver certificates. It is meaningless because no one wants to exchange paper money for heavy silver dollars containing only 70 cents worth of silver.

If all our $1 and $5 bills were marked: "This note is by law legal tender for its face value but is not redeemable in any way," the public still would accept them as readily as now, because we simply must have folding money to transact our daily business and, so long as the Government's printing presses do not run wild, any official banknotes will be acceptable. Few of us realize that almost every dollar bill we see came into being through the silver mining holdup. Foreign silver buying by the Treasury has stopped, but the domestic subsidy is now a permanent law.

SILVER SPECULATORS TRAIL DISCREETLY STOPPED

The Treasury, in a belated effort to block the senseless silver drive, compiled a list of silver speculators. The trail led right to the steps of the Senate Office Building. There it discreetly stopped. Nonetheless, the Congress passed the Silver Purchase Act of 1934, calling for silver purchases on a vast scale.

The 1934 act was a compromise that fell short of reviving bimetallism. Theoretically we still adhered to the gold standard. But the stated goal was to increase our stock of monetary silver until its "monetary value" should equal one-fourth of the value of our gold and silver combined. At the time the ratio stood at 10.3 percent.

Under the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 the U.S. Treasury acquired more than 2,160 million ounces of silver for which the sellers received $1,084 million. Since the Treasury paid for the silver by issuing silver certificates up to the "cost value" thereof, it is argued that the program has cost the Treasury nothing. The silver purchase program has not been a charge on the Federal Budget. Silver purchases are made with newly printed certificates. The silver certificates paid out, mostly to foreigners, have constituted an inflation of the U.S. stock of currency. As the silver sellers ultimately spent here the dollar proceeds of their sales to the Treasury, the goods and services they acquired in exchange constituted the cost of the program to the U.S. economy. Moreover, under other silver laws U.S. mines have received more than $700 million for newly mined domestic silver which the Treasury was obliged to buy.

SUBSIDIES TO MINES AND USERS COMPARED

While, thanks to American Treasury purchases, silver has been taken out of monetary use in many foreign countries, industrial uses for the metal have greatly increased. After World War II the metal had become so scarce that silverware, chemical, film, and other manufacturers were forced by the existence of the silver mining subsidy to seek legislation allowing the Treasury to sell idle silver to U.S. industry. The mining bloc finally consented to this, provided that the U.S. mints should be forever open to deposits of silver at the guaranteed price of 90½ cents an ounce. This was done. The domestic subsidy, previously limited, was made perpetual. Sales to industry, optional with the Treasury, were authorized at the same price. Thus, whenever silver sells in the market at above the mentioned price, any purchases which industry is allowed to make from the Treasury include a subsidy to the extent of the excess.

How this arrangement has worked out in practice the figures reveal. During the last 10 fiscal years mining companies found it to their financial advantage to sell about 288 million ounces of silver to the mints, while users found it to their advantage to buy some 30,700,000 ounces from the mints. The arrangement appears to have favored the miners by almost 10 to 1.

Ever since the Treasury started taking in silver in 1933, thereby reducing the market supply, American silver consumers have been paying more than necessary for the metal. Silver is an element of cost in a wide range of American industrial products, not only civilian but military.

UNIMPORTANCE OF SILVER MINING

Silver mining is an activity of rather minute importance to the American economy.

In the seven silver States in 1933 silver produced was only 6.47 percent of the value of all minerals produced there; and equaled only 2.59 percent of the same seven States' farm income. These percentages declined while silver was subsidized. In 1937 only eighty-five one-hundredths of 1 percent of the total accountable income of the seven silver States came from their silver output. For the Nation as a whole silver was of microscopic unimportance. Newly mined silver in 1937 accounted for only eight one-hundredths of 1 percent of the U.S. total accountable income. Yet this was the industry which has cost the Nation many hundreds of millions of dollars since 1933. How was this program put over?

HOW SILVER BECAME SUBSIDIZED

The answer is simple. Seven States accounted for 14 Senators, or about a seventh of the Senate. Given the Senate's rules of debate, this bloc of Senators were in a position to hold up vital measures unless bought off. Because silver has been used as money for centuries, and because the great depression had awakened the always present inflation sentiment in the farm belt the silver Senators were able by logrolling to gather votes from other Senators. And they were aided, as mentioned, by the propaganda of outside organizations and individuals motivated by the possibility of private gain. Lobbying efforts were intense.

HARDY'S PLEA UNCONVINCING

Mr. Hardy's article calls the silver program "one of the pillars of our monetary system"; a "bulwark." Gold, he says, is needed—in some way he does not identify—"for larger denominations and silver for smaller." There is not the slightest basis in U.S. law for this strange distinction made by the mine president.

Mr. Hardy offers us some economic theories as to intrinsic value and demand and supply. He says:

"Manufacturers in New England are sometimes joined by various economists of the armchair variety whose advocacy of a totally managed currency stumbles when it encounters the principle of intrinsic value, the only monetary theory that has been successful throughout all the history of mankind."

New sources of silver will have to be found, Mr. Hardy notes, adding:

"The age-old laws of supply and demand could bring that about [ah] by an increase in the price of silver unless the proponents of repeal are able to stall the process by raiding the Treasury."

How Mr. Hardy would define an "armchair economist" we can only imagine. His own economic consultant is the only American economist known to the writer since 1933 who has defended the silver program. Probably all other economists sit in armchairs.

As for Mr. Hardy's reference to "intrinsic value" and "demand and supply," there

seems to be some inconsistency in his reasoning. The "mercantilist" economists of the 18th century believed—as does Mr. Hardy—that it was good for a nation to import and hoard silver, but bad to export it. They preferred gold and silver to other forms of wealth. Thinkers of the 16th and 17th centuries conceived of value as inherent in things, as "intrinsic." The evolution of an exchange and money economy changed this. Money, it was learned, is generally not wanted for itself, as millions of unredeemed silver certificates bear witness.

So, by the end of the mercantilist period value had come to be generally regarded as what Hardy calls an extrinsic market phenomenon dependent upon exchange. Extrinsic value was seen to be dependent on demand and supply.

But enough of armchair economics.

THE SENATE BILL

Mr. Hardy's article argues that to accept the Senate bill S. 3410 will put an added burden on an overstrained gold reserve, if Federal Reserve notes are substituted for outstanding silver certificates. This "would create more fiat money," he adds, ignoring the fact that all silver certificates and standard silver dollars are and always have been fiat money since 1878.

It should be noted that the bill, S. 3410 and its House counterpart H.R. 11744, do not require the substitution of Federal Reserve notes for silver certificates. The bill relieves the Treasury of the present obligation to hold "$1 in silver" as security for each $1 of silver certificates. Instead of that 100 percent reserve, the bill would in effect let the Treasury reduce the reserve as low as it wishes. The bill, in fact, does not require the Treasury to hold any silver for the redemption of silver certificates. Instead, it provides, as does existing law, that silver certificates shall be exchangeable for any other form of lawful money. All our money domestically is fiat money.

Mr. Hardy regards the bill as a silver users' raid on the Treasury. Such a charge, coming from a beneficiary of the mining subsidy, is ironical. The silver bloc engineered a succession of raids, not on the Treasury, but through the device of "monetary legislation," on the general public.

SILVER ACT'S GOAL AN ANACHRONISM

The 1934 Silver Purchase Act's stated objective of building up our stock of monetary silver to one-fourth the total of gold and silver is meaningless so far as our monetary system is concerned. In that system any silver reserves at all are an anachronism. When the act was passed the ratio was about 10.3 percent. In 1954, after all the silver buying, the ratio was up to only 15 percent, for meanwhile our gold stock had grown. Now that we have a balance of payments deficit and are losing gold to foreigners, the ratio has reached 18.4 percent. If we lose a few more billions of gold the silver-gold ratio will automatically reach the 1934 objective.

PRESENTS A SILVER PROGRAM

What should be done about silver? New legislation should prohibit Treasury acquisition of silver bullion so long as there is any idle silver in Treasury vaults. Neither newly mined domestic or foreign silver should any longer be subsidized by Treasury purchases, whether mandatory or optional. Instead the Treasury should be directed by law to meet its coinage needs for bullion out of past silver acquisitions.

The requirement that the Treasury keep a dollar in silver as reserve for each outstanding silver certificate should be repealed. There is no good reason why the silver dollar should be retained in our currency system.

To the extent that silver is not needed by the mints to satisfy the public demand for dimes, quarters, and half dollars, all surplus silver in the Treasury should be gradually sold. The law should authorize and direct the Treasury to sell silver in its discretion, wherever and whenever advantageous to the Government.

The vast official silver hoard cannot be sold overnight without drastic effects on the silver market. But over a period of years it can be sold. The silver should not be indefinitely withheld from sale just because it would have to be sold at less than the artificial value at which most of it is carried on the Treasury's books. Nor does it follow from the foregoing that it would necessarily have to be sold at less than the cost to this country.

Any losses in terms of book value would in the first place offset seignorage or profit taken by the Treasury while putting the purchased silver into the monetary system at a valuation above the metal's cost. As necessary and as incurred through sales of silver, book losses should be charged against the budget, just as the seignorage was credited to the budget.

Whatever the Treasury can get for the silver in years to come will be better than what the Government is getting for surplus farm products, which are either given away as foreign aid or sold abroad for unspendable foreign currencies.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH

OF

## HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues in expressing a few words concerning the loyal and dedicated service my colleague, the Honorable JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia, has rendered to the people of his State and country during his 16 years of service as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

It has been my pleasure and privilege to serve on the District of Columbia Committee with Judge DAVIS, as he is familiarly referred to by his friends, during my first term of office. I would not want the record to show that the admirers of our colleague all come from one State, or section of the country, or from one side of the aisle. At times, I have differed as far as convictions were concerned on legislative issues with Judge DAVIS, but never once have I failed to recognize the fact that he was motivated by personal integrity and deepest concern. He had a quality to be admired by all of his colleagues, the determination to stand for what he thought was right under all circumstances. He is highly respected by both sides of the aisle and is noted for his unswerving loyalty to his country, his conscientious dedication to his job and his sterling character. His office lights burned from early morning to late at night. Judge DAVIS will be remembered as a vigorous Congressman and a stout-hearted American. I wish for him and his family much happiness and the blessing of good fortune in his future pursuits.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH

OF

## HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to add my voice to the chorus of regretful goodbyes which are being said to our esteemed and valued colleague, the Honorable JAMES C. DAVIS.

I have had the privilege of knowing Judge DAVIS for only 2 years, but during this time I have come to entertain for him the highest respect and regard. As a freshman Member of the 87th Congress, I recall with appreciation the many kindnesses and courtesies which he extended to me and his unfailing interest and cooperation in any matter discussed with him.

Judge DAVIS has upheld the highest traditions of this body, and his presence and his influence will be greatly missed in these Halls. His devotion to constitutional principles and his adherence to what he believed to be right, never yielding to the blandishments of political expediency or the theory of the easy way out, have endeared him to all of us as a person of high and undeviating principle. He will be missed but his influence will still be felt in his State and Nation. He is a fine southern gentleman and a distinguished public servant, whom it was an honor and a privilege to know.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

### BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on the following dates present to the President, for his approval, bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 15, 1962:

H.R. 1661. An act for the relief of Dr. Hans J. V. Tiedemann and family;

H.R. 6371. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the limitation on retirement income, and with respect to the taxable year for which the deduction for interest paid will be allowable to certain building and loan associations, mutual savings banks, and cooperative banks;

H.R. 7781. An act to authorize the Administrator of General Services to convey by quitclaim deed a parcel of land in Prince Georges County, Md., to the Silver Hill Voluntary Fire Department and Rescue Squad;

H.R. 8269. An act for the relief of Dr. Walter H. Duisberg;

H.R. 8517. An act to grant emergency officer's retirement benefits to certain persons who did not qualify therefor because their applications were not submitted before May 25, 1929;

H.R. 8563. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia to permit certain policies to be issued to members of duly organized national veterans' organizations;

H.R. 9045. An act to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended;

H.R. 9669. An act for the relief of Molly Kwauk;

H.R. 10501. An act for the relief of Kenyon B. Zahner;

H.R. 12135. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1964 and 1965 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code; and for other purposes;

H.R. 12217. An act for the relief of George Edward Leonard;

H.R. 12494. An act to facilitate the work of the Forest Service, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12708. An act to increase the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court for the District of Columbia in civil actions, to change the names of the court, and for other purposes.

On October 17, 1962:

H.R. 7932. An act to amend the act of July 2, 1948, so as to repeal portions thereof relating to residual rights in certain land on Santa Rosa Island, Fla.;

H.R. 10620. An act to amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the maximum limitations on the amount allowable as a deduction for medical, dental, etc., expenses, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11586. An act to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12276. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12580. An act making appropriations for the Department of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12648. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12820. An act to validate the coverage of certain State and local employees in the State of Arkansas under the agreement entered into by such State pursuant to section 218 of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12900. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13273. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 489. Joint resolution to provide protection for the golden eagle; and

H.J. Res. 907. Joint resolution providing that the 88th Congress shall assemble at noon on Wednesday, January 9, 1963.

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

# Appendix

## NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-seventh Congress will be published not later than Friday, November 2, 1962. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Statuary Hall, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

## An Important Phase of World Medical Research: Let's Compete With U.S.S.R. in Research on Reversibility of Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the 87th Congress has enacted a number of landmark bills for the strengthening of American and international medical research.

However, at this time, I should like to comment upon one phase of medical research, which has not, unfortunately, received sufficient administrative attention by Federal agencies.

Because the hour is late in this session, I will not presume to take the time of the Senate to describe this subject in great detail.

LIFE AND DEATH—THE UNIVERSAL INTEREST

I do, however, want to state that it is one of the most important of all phases of medical research.

Why? Because it concerns the most universal interest of man; namely: the prolongation of human life, the postponement of death, and, yes, perhaps the greatest scientific frontier—the reversibility of death.

In my judgment, on this supreme scientific issue, Federal agencies have, unfortunately, proceeded to date in a relatively unimaginative, uncoordinated, unplanned, and haphazard manner.

Death does not "take a holiday."

But Federal agencies often seem to act as if they could take "all the time in the world" to study death—and in the most casual, "scatter-shot" way.

PROFESSOR NEGOVSKII'S INSTITUTE IN MOSCOW

Just 4 years ago, in Moscow, in early December 1958, I visited the Institute of Physical Resuscitation, headed by Prof. V. A. Negovskii.

There, I saw his successful animal experiments on the reversibility of death, that is, on the revival of "clinically dead" animals through massive electric shocks.

When I returned to our country, I reported publicly on his experiments.

Since then, other observers have seen this distinguished Soviet academician's expanding work.

SOVIET FANFARE ON THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS

The Soviets are never ones to lose sight of the propaganda value of any advances—medical or otherwise.

All over the world, the Soviet Union has, therefore, told the story of the revival of "dead" hearts.

Yet, it is American scientists who have, I believe, contributed some of the most significant pages of scientific achievement on this subject. Not long ago, I met with one of the great American medical pioneers in this field. I refer to Prof. Claude Beck, professor of cardiovascular surgery, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

I saw a motion picture showing his and his colleagues' scientific work. It was tremendously impressive to me, as a layman, as well as to professionals who were present.

Members of the Department of the Army were on hand, at my invitation. I am delighted to say that Army medical research has demonstrated exemplary interest in this work, particularly on such phases as resuscitation techniques which can be performed in the field.

This is not a task without hazard, but it is one worthy of the most intensive experimentation and evaluation.

NIH SUPPORT LACKS COORDINATION

Earlier I had communicated with the National Institutes of Health as regards present NIH support of the study of what might be called the physiology of death.

NIH does support numerous important investigations, both in basic and applied research on death processes.

There is, however, lacking a quality which I, for one, have, in all frankness, repeatedly found wanting both here and in other areas of NIH support.

I refer to the missing ingredient of coordination, of integration, of evaluation, of systematic pooling of interdisciplinary knowledge under an emerging new category and by strong teams.

TRUE MEDICAL LEADERSHIP IS NOT PASSIVE

In all candor, I say that the National Institutes of Health have the idea that they discharge their obligations when they merely hand out money to a variety of good investigators.

If, for example, 20 investigators apply for money, if a study section and a grant council approve 10 or 15 of the studies, if the studies proceed, then NIH tends to rest content.

I, for one, do not feel satisfied with this limited, passive approach.

The giving out of money is not the key to leadership in medical research. By contrast, the launching of a coordinated attack, the establishment of specialized centers, the mobilization of every scrap of available United States and foreign knowledge and its definitive evaluation—these are acts of leadership.

ESTABLISH CENTERS FOR STUDY OF DEATH

What do I urge, therefore?

I urge establishment under NIH support of specialized centers or institutes on the physiology of death, on resuscitation and on related topics.

I urge that the United States compete with the U.S.S.R. in bold research toward at least partial conquest of death.

Already our scientists and Russian scientists are cooperating in categorical studies of heart ailments, cancer and other diseases.

Now, let us recognize that a "new" category has emerged—the oldest category in the world—but one which commands our newest efforts—the category of death, itself.

Death of the heart, death of the lungs, death of the brain—death of other vital organs—the timing, the sequence, the interrelationships—these are the subjects worthy of the greatest scientific examination in history.

Perfectly good hearts do die. Why? What can be done to revive the good hearts and restore precious years of life? This is not an academic question. It is already being done—has long been done by Professor Beck and others.

No man can now foresee what a greatly enlarged scientific drive could achieve if we were to launch it. Death will remain the universal lot of man. But a decade or two from now, we may look back to present-day attitudes toward death as "primitive" and "medieval," in the same way we now look back upon a once-dreaded killer like tuberculosis.

ITEMS TO BE REPRINTED IN THE RECORD

I have selected certain items which illustrate, I believe, the challenge confronting mankind.

One is an introduction to an article in the August 25, 1962, issue of Saturday Review, as written by John Lear, science editor.

The article itself comprised quotations from Professor Negovskii's latest book.

The second item is the preface to Professor Negovskii's book, as written by Professor Beck. Mr. Lear's brief introduction to Professor Beck's comments is also included.

The third item consists of a supplementary memorandum which I had invited from Professor Beck on this subject.

I ask unanimous consent that the items be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

THE REVERSAL OF DEATH

NEW FRONTIER IN SOVIET SCIENCE?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Almost unknown to the American people, there has been taking place in recent years, in various parts of the world, including this country, a revolutionary shift in the approach to the study of death. To the old and established ways of preventing death has been added the possibility of reversing death, and windows have been opened onto understanding of the infinite metabolisms involved in the process of dying. Although some of the very first steps in this fundamental innovation were taken in the United States, medical researchers of the Soviet Union have dominated this rapidly expanding frontier. Their work is known to American specialists who have visited modern Russia and to those who can read the Russian experimental literature in the original. But few physicians and even fewer laymen in this country have had any access to information about this historic development. At last, during this month of August 1962, there is scheduled for publication here, in English, a summary report of Russian research and accomplishment in resuscitation of animals and humans. Written by a distinguished member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Prof. V. A. Negovskii, the manuscript will appear in book form under the colophon of Plenum Press, Inc. Its title: "Resuscitation and Artificial Hypothermia." The gist of Professor Negovskii's message is that knowledge about the heart and lungs has now reached the point where a stopped heart can be restarted almost at will. The remaining problem in reversal of death is simply that the cerebral cortex, the familiar "gray matter" of the brain, the ultimate control of man's behavior as a civilized being, can survive anoxia—deprivation of energy-giving oxygen—only 5 to 8 minutes. That brief period the Soviet experimenters call clinical death. Once it has passed, biological death and gradual decomposition of the body occur. In his laboratory in Moscow, Professor Negovskii has applied hypothermia to the task of reversing death. Hypothermia is the process of cooling the body into a state of quiescent animation, either by immersion in cracked ice or in a blanket of refrigerated air, or by direct lowering of the temperature of the circulating blood. In this manner the 5- to 8-minute interval between clinical death and biological death at room temperature can be extended considerably. Professor Negovskii has, in fact, extended the crucial time period to a full hour in experimental animals. The question now is how far treatment which includes hypothermia can stretch the survival time of a threatened brain in man. It should be borne in mind, in reading the text below, that the subject here is sudden death such as occurs in violent accidents entailing massive loss of blood, in complex surgical operations, in childbirth, or in heart attacks. The assumption is that the individual victims of conventional death are still capable of constructive and happy contribution to society. Although an ultimate effect may be to lengthen the span of the stastically average lifetime, the main purpose is not to extend an already socially spent existence.)

THE RESEARCH FRONTIER

(To a point where a surgeon unfamiliar with the techniques for reversing death will not be welcome near a hospital operating room? The famous Russian medical research pioneer, Professor V. A. Negovskii, conveys that suggestion in the book excerpted in the preceding pages. In his introduction he attributes original authorship of that conclusion to Dr. Claude S. Beck, professor of cardiovascular surgery at Western Reserve University Medical School in Cleveland, Ohio.

(Noted for daring with artificial hearts and lungs, Dr. Beck has done hundreds of animal experiments in search of ways and means of abolishing the heart attack as a major cause of death in man. Below are passages from the preface he wrote to the American edition of "Resuscitation and Artificial Hypothermia," which was translated from the Russian by Consultants Bureau, Inc.).

WHERE IS SCIENCE TAKING US?

(By Claude S. Beck, M.D., Western Reserve University)

Professor Negovskii's book should be in every medical library. Almost every research worker in this area will want it. Clinicians, cardiologists, surgeons, and medical students will find important information in it.

Published in the Soviet Union in 1961, it contains 49 illustrations and 336 references to Soviet literature (110 of which were published before 1950 and 226 since) and some 530 references to the non-Soviet literature.

Professor Negovskii is director of the institute in Moscow where investigations on this subject are carried out. The building is one of a row of typical four-story Moscow residences. In this old and poorly equipped building are some 20 full-time scientists working with great devotion under the direction of Negovskii. The institute has laboratories for physiology, metabolic studies, histology; a soundproof room for conditioned reflexes; and an area for the development of apparatus for defibrillation and other electrical equipment. A liaison exists between this institute and the hospitals of the Soviet Union.

Negovskii concludes his introduction to the book thus:

"Because of the vast scale of research on hypothermia in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, we deemed it imperative to study this problem with particular reference to its bearing on the use of artificial cooling in the treatment of terminal states. At the present time in the study of the pathophysiology and in the treatment of states of agony and clinical death, increasing use is being made of the fact that hypothermia, when properly applied, prolongs the period during which the brain and other tissue can survive general anemia. The need has arisen to summarize the more important findings obtained during research into resuscitation in recent years, and it was this that led the author to write this monograph. If the material it contains proves helpful to those working in the fields of the pathophysiology and treatment of terminal states, the author will consider his objective fulfilled."

In his conclusion, Professor Negovskii states that: "* * * The successful solution of resuscitation is bound up with training. We can now state with pride that the ranks of the many experimental researchers concerned with resuscitation for several years are being swelled by groups of young scientific workers. * * * A practical problem is to make the use of resuscitation more widespread."

In our [Western Reserve University Medical School] laboratory, machine life has been provided in dogs fibrillating for 120 minutes. Such machine maintenance of life will allow the victim to be transported to a medical center where the heart can be defibrillated and the heartbeat restored. A new medical specialty—resuscitology—is thus being born.

It is obvious that the Soviet Union is placing resuscitation in a showcase for the world to look at. It is obvious also that the world is going to have to look at it. The Soviet scientists have earned an important place in the development of this subject. They have the forward thinking to recognize that a new medical specialty has been created, and they have centralized authority to put their ideas across.

Where are we in the United States of America?

We take satisfaction in our individualism. We can be static in our attitudes without being criticized. Indeed the American M.D. does not have to learn. He can walk away from the death scene instead of running to it.

We scarcely know that the fatal heart attack can be erased and never recur. We scarcely know that over one-half of the coronary victims could be revived if conditions were right at the moment of death.

The first defibrillation of a human heart was achieved in America, the first reversal of a fatal heart attack was accomplished in America, the first application of resuscitation beyond the confines of the hospital took place in this country. Mouth-to-mouth breathing and closed chest pumping of the heart (Crile 1912) were developed in this country. But it is fair to say that America has not yet awakened to the new future.

Our medical scientists seem to be conditioned by the belief that physiological manifestations are necessarily related to morbid disease, which is the basis of the electrocardiogram. Thus the fatal heart attack is produced by injury to muscle and injury current. Our leaders in cardiology are quoted as saying in substance (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 5, 1959, p. A1807) that they do not know "the cause of death after a clean bill of health," i.e., death in a good heart.

A discussion of coronary artery disease appears in "Modern Concepts of Cardiovascular Disease," January 1962. In this article a medical cardiologist refers to anticoagulants and states that "in a word, preventive is to be the battle cry of the future," as though there is nothing else of importance concerning this disease.

It seems that our attitudes must be revolutionized, because the experiment is far beyond the clinician. This revolution would be facilitated if we had in this country an institute for the study of the envirionment of death. One such institute (comparable to our many cancer institutes) would focus attention on the prevention of death, the reversal of death, and the complex biological problems of the dying process. There is scarcely any more pressing medical problem. Strange, indeed, that America needs this nudge from Russia—and fortunate that we have had it.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ENVIRONMENT OF DEATH

1. DEFINITION

The subject concerns the process of dying and the complex changes associated with death—before it occurs, at the moment of, and after it occurs. These alterations concern circulation of the blood, oxygenation of the blood, metabolism, anatomical

changes that occur in the body tissues and factors that modify these alterations, prevent them, and reverse them. Of special importance to society is death that is preventable and reversible as in the fatal heart attack occurring in hearts too good to die. The subject matter might include manmade methods of death as in war and has relationship to the Armed Forces.

2. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA VERSUS RUSSIA

The Russians have an institute in Moscow where this subject is being investigated. They have centralized authority to put their ideas across. They have the forward thinking to realize that a new medical specialty has been created concerning prevention and reversal of death in many victims. Their contributions are no more important than those from the free world and especially from the United States of America but their institute gives them unity of purpose and this has propaganda value. A recent book on this subject places their work on resuscitation in a showcase for the world to look at. It is obvious also that the world is going to have to look at their work.

3. WHY THIS INSTITUTE?

An institute on death would identify research on death in the same way as a cancer institute identifies research on cancer. At the present time investigations are carried out in our various institutions by solitary workers who are alone in their field. The projects under investigation are often unrelated. Often they are not given proper position as to importance. An institute would provide research facilities and research staff. The work under institute-guidance would have design and purpose. The building blocks that are missing would be identified as such and new discovery would be made. A scientist can bring order out of chaos, can separate the important from the unimportant. The need for organization and leadership in this area is pressing. At present we are floundering around, satisfied and complacent and no one seems to understand or care about our position in science. This statement applies to the American M.D. who scarcely knows that the majority of fatal heart attack victims could be made to live again with the same heart. He scarcely knows that death can be erased and never recur.

4. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Society should be trained to reverse death when the body is good enough to sustain life. This involves a training program. Rescue workers, firemen, and others should be given courses of technical training. A formal and complete medical training is not a requirement to learn the technique. In the area of the fatal heart attack there are thousands of lives that could be saved every year in this country. Almost every fatal heart attack victim in the thirties, forties, and fifties could be made to live again. Everyone including the Congress has a personal interest in this subject.

CLAUDE S. BECK, M.D.,
*Professor of Cardiovascular Surgery, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.*

## Mark Twain Talks to Rachel Carson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Dr. Duncan Howlett, of All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C., recently delivered a sermon that deserves to be read by all Americans. It holds out many provocative thoughts, and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARK TWAIN TALKS TO RACHEL CARSON

(By Dr. Duncan Howlett, All Souls Church, Washington, D.C.)

Like millions of other Americans, I was enchanted with Rachel Carson's "The Sea Around Us" when it was published more than 10 years ago. The scope of her imagination—coupled with the scientific accuracy of her data—all of it expressed in lyrical prose, quite carried me away. Before I was through, I had read not only "The Sea Around Us," word for word, all the way through, but also "Under the Sea Wind," and subsequently, "The Edge of the Sea," when it was published.

It was natural, then, to begin her series of articles on poison sprays, which appeared in the New Yorker last summer. But it proved a disappointing experience. Here was a new Rachel Carson. The poetry was gone. The imaginative scope of her writing had vanished. The gentle, almost tender mood, had departed. The interest that caught and held you, and the clarity of concept and detail that enabled you to remember what you had read—all these, which Carson readers had learned to expect, were strangely lacking.

In their place, over the same author's signature, was piled fact upon fact, proof upon proof, detail upon detail, in such bewildering array, you couldn't keep it all straight. I took to underlining the articles in an attempt to grasp their meaning, and to sort out their distinctions. On top of it all, there ran through the writing, a kind of foreboding, a new denunciatory prophetic tone, wholly unexpected in the author of "The Sea Around Us" and "Under the Sea Wind."

The New Yorker articles have now appeared in book form under the title "Silent Spring."[1] Some reviews have said her book is an expansion of the articles. I understand, from her, that it is the other way around. The articles were a condensation of the book, which had been written first. If you are an admirer of Rachel Carson, you should get hold of a copy. You will find yourself at home again with an author you have learned to delight in. The beauty of language you have come to expect is there, the clarity of concept, the development of ideas, the progression from one point to the next. And you know what you have read when you are through.

And yet there is a difference, and it is marked. Here is a Rachel Carson you had not known. Here is a Jeremiah, in the marketplace of her time, denouncing, in poetic language, as did the ancient prophets of Israel in their time, the evils of a corrupt self-seeking and thoughtless society, and pronouncing doom upon the people if they do not mend their ways.

You remember your Jeremiah—"Thus saith the Lord," he cried in a typical passage:

"Your ways and your doings
Have brought this [suffering] upon you.
This is your doom and it is bitter.
I writhe in pain.
I cannot keep silent.
The whole land is laid waste.
My people are foolish.
They have no understanding.
I looked on the earth and lo, it was waste and void.
I looked and lo there was no man
And all the birds of the air had fled."[2]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Now hear the modern Jeremiah—the gentle Rachel Carson: I shall read from the first few paragraphs of "Silent Spring": She begins with characteristic poetic imagery.

"There was once a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings. The town lay in the midst of a checkerboard of prosperous farms, with fields of grain and hillsides of orchards where, in spring, white clouds of bloom drifted above the green fields. In autumn, oak and maple and birch set up a blaze of color that flamed and flickered across a backdrop of pines. Birds sang in the trees, foxes barked in the hills and deer silently crossed the fields, half hidden in the mists of the fall mornings.

"Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community; mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle and sheep sickened and died. Everywhere was a shadow of death. The farmers spoke of much illness among their families. There had been several sudden and unexplained deaths, not only among adults but even among children, who would be stricken suddenly while at play and die within a few hours.

"Over all these lay an unfamiliar stillness. The birds, for example—where had they gone? The feeding stations in the backyard were deserted. The few birds seen anywhere were moribund; they trembled violently and could not fly. It was a silent spring—without voices."

"No witchcraft, no enemy action had silenced the rebirth of new life in this stricken world. The people had done it themselves."

"The fathers have eaten some grapes," she might have added, "and the children's teeth are set on edge," or in modern terms, the fathers have sprayed their grapes and the bodies of their children have taken in the poison.

I shall not attempt to reconstruct any of the details by which Rachel Carson explains how we are endangering human life and all life on this planet by the sudden and very widespread use of chemicals designed to do away with unwanted vegetable and animal life. There is no need. She herself has done it as well as anyone could wish. But I shall ask the question that she asks, and that Jeremiah asked before him: "Are we such fools?"

Will our civilization succumb—as have all those that preceded it—to the greed, and the thoughtlessness of men? Have we learned nothing since Jeremiah's time? There rises before us today the appalling spectacle of American commerical interests that appear to exercise little or no self-control on behalf of the individual rights of men, at least as far as the manufacture and sale of their products is concerned.

In the face of mounting evidence to the contrary, the tobacco producers go on advertising the protective quality of filters, and the joy of smoking generally. They also insist that the relationship between smoking and cancer has not been proved. Perhaps it hasn't, in the strict sense, but surely there is enough medical evidence before us now of the probable relationship between cancer and smoking to make us wonder whether the manufacture and sale of tobacco is any longer a legitimate way to make a living. I wonder about this in particular when I learn that the tobacco industry is counting on our young people to sustain the ebbing market for its wares in the adult population.

In the face of the staggering figures on alcoholism in the United States—we have some 5 million cases in the United States today, according to the National Institute of Mental Health—the liquor industry spends an estimated $191 million advertising the joys and the special qualities of its several wares; and these figures do not include store-

window displays, billboard advertising, throwaways, advertising on moving vehicles, and countless other forms. The drug industry has done all it could to impede the Kefauver committee in its efforts to regulate the distribution of relatively untested drugs. And now the chemical industry tells us that Rachel Carson has written a one-sided book, and that her case has not been proved, with view, I suppose, to persuading us to pay no attention to what she says, so that the promotion of sales of herbicides and insecticides can proceed without impediment. In case you are among those who think the case not yet proved, you may be surprised to learn that "Silent Spring" contains 50 pages of documentation—not 50 items, but 50 pages of bibliography supporting the allegation that these products are a threat, not only to the life of the pests, but to life itself, including human life.

Are we, then, such fools as to risk destroying ourselves to be able to eat giant and flawless fruits, as from the Garden of the Hesperides? Shall we denude the forest of birds in order not to have to slap a mosquito? Shall we risk our own health, and that of our children, rather than bend over to pull plantain and crabgrass out of the lawn? I think we would do better to leave them there, anyway. In a hot spell, they are about the only things that stay green.

Are we such fools as to destroy ourselves? Another writer, whose work was published at the same time as Rachel Carson's, thinks so. I am speaking of Mark Twain, whose "Letters From Earth"[2] and other writings, have just been published, after a lapse of more than 50 years. Written for the most part during the closing period of his life, they were held back because Mark Twain's daughter thought they gave a distorted view of her father's thought. This year, she granted permission for their publication, having been persuaded, at last, that they belong to the whole man who, since his death in 1910, has achieved a major place in American literature.

In Mark Twain's vivid imagination, Satan comes to visit the earth, and is astonished at what he sees. He writes back secretly to two of his heavenly friends, giving some of his impressions:

"This is a strange place, an extraordinary place, and interesting. There is nothing resembling it at home. The people are all insane, the other animals are all insane, the earth is insane. Nature itself is insane. Man is a marvelous curiosity. When he is at his very very best he is a sort of low grade nickel-plated angel; at his worst he is unspeakable. Yet he blandly and in all sincerity calls himself the 'noblest work of God'."[4]

With invective as bitter as it is devastating, Mark Twain goes on to delineate the folly of man in one of its central aspects—religion. For this reason, the "Letters From the Earth," appear to be an attack upon God by an utterly irreligious man. Actually, his writing is an attack upon the outrageous kind of religion the mind of man has constructed, made by a man who himself is deeply religious. He continues:

"The first time the Diety came down to earth, he brought life and death (that was in the Garden of Eden); when he came the second time, he brought hell.

"Life was not a valuable gift, but death was. Life was a fever-dream made up of joys embittered by sorrows, and pleasure poisoned by pain; but death was sweet, death was gentle, death was kind; it gave man rest and forgetfulness; when man could endure life no longer, death came and set him free.

"In time the Diety perceived that death was a mistake; a mistake, in that it was insufficient; insufficient, for the reason that while it was an admirable agent for the inflicting of misery upon the survivor, it allowed the dead person himself to escape from all further persecution in the blessed refuge of the grave. This was not satisfactory. A way must be contrived to pursue the dead beyond the tomb.

"The Deity pondered this matter during 4,000 years unsuccessfully, but as soon as he came down to earth and became a Christian his mind cleared and he knew what to do. He invented Hell, where the suffering of men could be continued forever."[5]

But Mark Twain did not confine himself to the follies of theology. He, too—like the prophets of old—roared out against the venality and shortsightedness of the America he knew at the turn of the century—an America scarcely different than the one we know today.

"Our civilization is wonderful, in certain spectacular and meretricious ways," he says in one of the "Adam Family Papers": "Wonderful in scientific marvels and inventive miracles; wonderful in material inflation, which it calls advancement, progress, and wonderful in its extraordinary financial and commercial achievements; wonderful in its hunger for money, and in its indifference as to how it is acquired; * * * wonderful in electing purchasable legislatures and blatherskite Congresses. It is a civilization which has destroyed the simplicity and repose of life; replaced its contentment, its poetry, its soft romance-dreams and visions with money-fever, sordid ideals, vulgar ambitions * * * it has invented a thousand useless luxuries, and turned them into necessities" (shades of Galbraith's "Affluent Society" 50 years ago—here is a prophet indeed). "It has created a thousand vicious appetites and satisfies none of them; it has dethroned God and set up a shekel in His place."[6]

What are Mark Twain and Rachel Carson saying to us? Neither of them, I think, are saying only what they appear to say. Miss Carson is not talking about poison sprays alone, and Mark Twain has wider interests than the primitive nature of certain aspects of Christian theology and Christian culture. Both are saying: "What fools men are." Both are asking "Can we not do anything about the folly we see before us? Is it not man's greatest gift—to be able to see his folly and to profit by it, possibly thereby to eliminate it?"

Rachel Carson is not without her own brand of invective when she deals with man's assumption that he can rid himself of insects and weeds by using poisons that will harm nothing else. We have been at it but 10 years, she reminds us, but already the insects have outwitted us. We wipe out, let us say, the codling moth, and our apple orchards are suddenly freed from a grievous pest. Almost. Only a few moths survive. But these reproduce their kind in great numbers. We spray again. And again the codling moth is wiped out. Almost. But again the survivors begin reproducing and again in great numbers. Each succeeding generation is more spray resistant than its predecessor. Today the codling moth is impervious to DDT. Some newer and deadlier chemical will now have to be invented to deal with it. Darwin himself could not have found a better example of the operation of natural selection, she says.

Now hear the gentle Rachel, as she contemplates this aspect of human folly:

"The Department of Agriculture Yearbook for 1952, devoted entirely to insects," she writes, "recognizes the fact that insects become resistant, but it says: 'More applications or greater quantities of insecticides are needed, then, for adequate control.' The Department does not say," she remarks acidly, "what will happen when the only chemicals left untried are those that render the earth not only insectless but lifeless?"[7]

In more familiar vein, she concludes:

"We stand now where two roads converge. But unlike the roads in Robert Frost's familiar poem, they are not equally fair. The road we have long been traveling is deceptively easy, a smooth superhighway on which we progress with great speed, but at its end lies disaster. The other fork of the road, the one less traveled by, offers our last, our only chance to reach a destination that assures the preservation of our earth."[8]

That other fork is the control of insects by other means than chemical poisons. There are many alternatives, and she delineates them at the conclusion of her remarkable book, in a chapter which many of her severest critics appear not to have read. Our question is, How are we to persuade man to take that road? How are we to enable man to rise above the self-conceit that persuades him he can do anything he wishes, without counting the long-range cost? How are we to deal with the thoughtlessness of men driven by the pressure of commercial competition? How shall we deal with Gresham's law applied broadly?

It is not the chemical industry alone that is indicated here. The indictment is brought against modern man. It lies against the cigarette manufacturers, the drug industry, the Governments of the United States, Russia, and France for their atomic testing programs—not to mention the TV industry, the electrical industry, advertising, and what not else. Gresham's law in morals applies to us all. Sharp practices drive out high principles: Low scruples drive out high scruples, dishonesty drives out honesty, adulterated products drive out the unadulterated, and dangerous products drive out the safe, because, men in their folly, are not usually concerned about the long-term effect of what they do.

There is no answer but control. Not pest control, but human control. It has been so since the beginning of human society. There is no answer but the declaration of a new right, and the protection of it through law. We face the age-old problem of human avarice and human shortsightedness, both of which forget the rights of the individual. But the people have the same right to be free from fallout and poison spray that they have to be free from want or from fear; from false arrest or from self-incrimination. We, the people, have the same right to be free from the slow, ill-understood, wholly hidden accumulation of insect and plant poisons in our bodies, that we have to be free from the more dramatic and immediately tragic results of thalidomide.

If the industries of the world will not preserve this right for the people, and they cannot do it alone because of Gresham's law expanded, then the state, whose duty it is to protect the rights of individuals, must compel them to do so.

A bill regulating the drug industry has just been passed by both Houses of Congress. There is no reason to doubt that the President will sign it. Whom have we to thank for so forward-looking a piece of legislation? At whose hands are we now given protection against the manufacture and sale of drugs, the full effect of which is not understood? The drug industry? No. We have already noted their vehement and determined opposition to all such legislation. Certain devoted and equally determined Senators and Congressmen? Yes; but their efforts had been completely nullified in spite of the appalling evidence accumulated by the Kefauver committee.

This particular bit of social legislation comes to us, as the gift of little children doomed to go through life armless and legless because of the greed and thoughtlessness of men. Their lifelong tragedy aroused the conscience of the Nation, and the drug-control bill, which was dead only a month ago, passed the House just last Thursday,[9]

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Footnotes at end of speech.

without a dissenting vote. What the leaders of a great industry, and the legislature of a great people could not or would not do, the seared conscience of the American people has brought about. Truly, as Isaiah said long ago, "A little child shall lead them."

But shall we visit further maiming upon our children before we waken to the danger Rachel Carson warns us of? Shall we say of poison spray what the drug industry said of its drugs—"We need to be free to experiment; we don't want to be hampered by regulation; and besides, all of this talk about possible harm is one-sided and unproved"? Shall we accept the 50 pages of bibliography with which a distinguished author and front-rank scholar documents her thesis, or shall we listen to yet more industrial protests that the case is not yet proven? Can nothing but the maimed body of an innocent child move us to act?

Does conscience wait only upon tragedy? Is wisdom achieved only through suffering? I, for one, shall read the fine print on the can the next time I go out to spray my roses. And I shall utter a prayer of hope the next time I eat a bunch of grapes, that the spray residue I can neither see nor wash off, will not affect my health, nor that of my children. But my most fervent prayer will be directed not to Heaven, which may not be expected to intervene, but to Congress, which can, and just might act at its next session, to regulate a new evil which the inventive genius of man has just set loose upon the earth.

But there is an aspect of this matter that is profound in its implications beyond anything the race of man ever faced until the present generation.

In yesterday's mail, I received from Miss Carson a copy of a commencement address she delivered at Scripps College last June. To the graduating class on that occasion, she said:

"Instead of * * * trying to impose our will on Nature, we should be quiet and listen to what she has to tell us. * * * Life is a miracle beyond our comprehension, and we should reverence it even where we have to struggle against it. * * * Humbleness is in order; there is no excuse for scientific conceit here."

Can we learn to see ourselves as participants with Nature because we are a part of it, rather than conquerors of a natural world we think alien to ourselves? That is the ultimate question. Are we forever to be guilty of the vanity that we are the measure of all things and can do whatever we like without looking ahead or counting the cost? Shall we, in our supreme vanity, always see God as a man, and man first as the apex, and now as the master of creation? Is the bitter irony of Mark Twain not irony, but fact?

No, for the truth, dignified, majestic and whole, opens upon us now like the light of the day when the long night is done, a truth too large to reduce to words, yet too real and too important to let slip away. That truth, the spiritual reality beyond our keen, proclaims that we are creatures of earth. We belong here, but not to earth alone, for one day we may travel to the farthest stars. The universe is our home. We can neither escape from it, nor shall we conquer it. We were born into an indissoluble partnership, in the understanding of which we may learn at the last who we are.

O God, grant that the gift of foresight may endow us with a moral sense to match the wonders of our technology.

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[1] Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1962.
[2] Jeremiah 4: 18–25.
[3] New York, Harper & Rowe, 1962.
[4] P. 7.
[5] Pp. 44–45.
[6] Pp. 97–98.
[7] P. 275.
[8] P. 277.
[9] Oct. 4, 1962.

## Disbarment of Reds From Practice of Law in California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, last month there appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner four columns by George Todt concerning a resolution presented to the California Bar Association which would bar Communist attorneys from the practice of law in California. I believe the columns will be of sufficient interest to my colleagues to warrant their inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Under unanimous consent, I place them in the Appendix:

[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Sept. 5, 1962]

REDS IN STATE BAR

(By George Todt)

"I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism."—From the Communist oath.

Should a Communist lawyer be disbarred?

Attorney Edward E. Heavey, of San Francisco, answers today with a resounding "Yes" to this important question—just as he has done in the past at five immediately preceding conventions of the California Bar Association.

On five previous occasions, at the annual State bar meeting, he has offered a resolution which would call for the disbarment of Communist attorneys now practicing in the Golden State.

Each time, incredibly enough, he has been voted down.

What will happen at the next convention of the lawyers when they convene here on September 17 at the Beverly-Hilton Hotel?

Heavey will be there to offer his resolution again.

WHAT'S IN STORE?

Why he gets turned down on this item is difficult for the public to understand—if there is indeed any valid explanation.

Last week I introduced Heavey to my friend, George Putnam, a skillful television reporter at KTTV–11. These two patriotic Democrats had a ball on the 10 o'clock TV show that night.

The matter was thoroughly aired before Putnam's large and loyal audience—and the response from the public kept the telephones hot.

Around 79 calls came through the station switchboard, as I recall, according to the operator. She said every one was favorable to attorney Heavey. Where were the comrades at that night?

Under Putnam's adroit questioning, the San Francisco lawyer brought out the fact that there are 39 identified Communist barristers in the United States. Of this number, 23 are in California. Of the latter figure, 14 are listed in the Los Angeles area. Are we famous?

Heavey quoted chapter and verse from the report submitted by Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It is called "Communist Legal Subversion: The Role of the Communist Lawyer."

This was issued February 16, 1959, by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Ought to be sent for and read by everyone—including lawyers—interested in this matter. Include 25 cents for costs.

According to the authoritative Communist handbook on organization by J. Peters, every new member must subscribe to the infamous Communist oath at the time of entry into the party. It is a stated requirement.

Every attorney, in addition to the judges and other courtroom aides, is an officer of the court.

Now what kind of "officer of the court" do we have in a Communist lawyer who has subscribed to this traitorous Communist oath garbage: "* * * I pledge myself to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party—the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

Can a man or woman who takes such a pledge of allegiance to the U.S.S.R. truly be an American "officer of the court"? Write your views on this matter to California Bar Convention, care of Beverly-Hilton Hotel, Beverly Hills.

Earlier this year, President John C. Satterfield, of the American Bar Association, said this, in part.

"Every lawyer is an officer of the court and sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States. Hence, any person who is a member of the Communist Party * * * should be disbarred."

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[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Sept. 13, 1962]

WILL THEY BE OUSTED?

(By George Todt)

"It is a secret worth knowing that lawyers rarely go to law."—MOSES CROWELL.

Will the California Bar Association take effective action to bar Communist attorneys from practice when it meets in convention September 17 at the Beverly-Hilton Hotel in Beverly Hills?

From the large amount of mail that has crossed my desk recently, it appears that this is a hot subject with the public.

Out of 39 known Communist lawyers in the Nation, we have 23 of them in California—14 in Los Angeles, alone.

These people are not members of a persecuted American minority political party. This is propaganda poppycock. They are actually members of Moscow's fifth column in the United States. They knowingly pledge their basic, fundamental allegiance to the Soviet Union.

ARE THEY FIT?

Joe Doakes, American, wants to know why any man or woman who subscribes to the Communist oath—as all must do upon entry into the party in the United States—is fit to be an "officer of the court."

What is the answer? How will the California Bar Association vote on this matter again for the sixth time in 5 years? Who knows?

Here is the secret Communist oath from the Party Handbook on Organization by J. Peters. Every member subscribes to this hogwash.

"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops, among the unemployed; to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist, lies of the ruling class. 'I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States'."

Any lawyer that has subscribed to this traitorous oath is not fit to be an officer of the court in the United States.

On the contrary, he ought to have his citizenship taken away. As per the identical provisions contained in the McCarran-Walter Act and the Nationality Act of 1940, which state unequivocally as follows:

LOYALTY OATH

"A person who is a national of the United States, whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his nationality by * * * taking an oath or making an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state."

Well, how about it lawyers of the California Bar Association?

Here is a place the lawyers can do their part to strike the Reds where it will hurt. Can do?

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald Examiner, Sept. 16, 1962]

A TIME TO SPEAK

(By George Todt)

"How can a lawyer maintain his oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States when he is an agent of a conspiratorial apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution?"—Representative FRANCIS E. WALTERS.

When do we commence to win against the cunning and adroit members of the Communist universal slave state?

We have been losing for a long time—much longer than Joe Doakes, American, has any stomach for at the present rate of exchange.

We have a chance to start a rollback of the international Red disease here in Los Angeles tomorrow when the California Bar Association meets at the Beverly-Hilton Hotel for its annual convention.

For the sixth time in 5 years, Attorney Edward E. Heavey, of San Francisco, will offer a resolution to disbar members of the Communist Party of the United States from practicing in our courts.

Every attorney is an "officer of the court," as are the judges and their courtroom aids such as clerks and bailiffs.

Prior to World War II, this writer was a bailiff in the Superior Court of Maricopa County, division No. 4, in Phoenix, Ariz. I hoped then to become a lawyer. The war intervened. But I never lost my respect for the profession of law.

So it is speaking as a friend of long standing that I express my hope—and it is the hope of many others among my fellow citizens—that the California Bar Association will act effectively now to disbar Reds from our courts.

I cannot see how any honest American officer of the court could wish to serve alongside a modern Benedict Arnold attorney who has taken an infamous, secret oath of allegiance to our Soviet foes.

Let those who are of a similar mind write their opinion to the California Bar Association in care of the Beverly-Hilton and make known their forthright position on this vital matter. The courts belong to the people.

Better yet, go and see the CBA delegates.

Be sure to be polite and intelligent if you do. It is an old red fox trick to circulate among unsuspecting delegates and annoy them with lunatic bad behavior while pretending to be on our side.

Here is a worthwhile bipartisan cause for every loyal Democrat and Republican working together.

"No person who advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence is qualified to become or continue as a lawyer," said President John C. Satterfield, of the American Bar Association, at Sacramento before the Sacramento Bar Association on January 18 of this year.

"Every lawyer is an officer of the court and sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States. Hence, any person who is a member of the Communist Party at the time of an application to practice law, or becomes a party member after admission, should not be admitted to practice or should be disbarred as the case may be."

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[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Sept. 19, 1962]

UNREALISTIC LAWYERS

(By George Todt)

"For 'tis always fair weather
When good fellows get together
With a stein on the table and a good song ringing clear.
—RICHARD HOVEY, "Spring."

That the delegates to the California Bar Association annual convention now meeting at the Beverly-Hilton Hotel in Beverly Hills may be good fellows is not to be doubted—but in their collective assessment of the Communist menace they have again demonstrated that they are unrealistic.

For the sixth time in a row the 400 delegates and 400 alternates—representing some 100 local bar groups and 23,000 attorneys in California—have decidedly rejected the notion of disbarring Communist lawyers from practicing law in the Golden State.

It appears that these gentry are deluding themselves to the extent of wrongfully assuming that the Communist Party of the United States is just another political party like Democrats or the GOP.

RED OATH

Nothing could be further from the truth.

If the CBA delegates wrongfully assume that the CPUSA is in reality just another political party like the two major American parties in the Nation today—they are insulting the intelligence of our people.

For according to J. Peters' authoritative "Handbook on Organization," everyone must subscribe to the Communist oath upon entry entry into the Kremlin-controlled Red party. What does the oath require? Now hear this.

"I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

Any traitor who has subscribed to this infamous oath is not fit to be an "officer of the court" in any American courtroom.

Yet when Attorney Edward Heavey—a patriotic Democrat with a law office at 66 Post Street, San Francisco—made this painfully obvious point he met studied contempt and slander before he could even present his resolution.

For taking his exemplary action, he was denounced hysterically from the podium as another McCarthy, a superpatriot and a Hitlerite by an emotional person.

The gallant little Democratic attorney never had a chance. He was defeated before he spoke. And we may wonder why?

WHAT'S DIFFERENT?

Let's go back a quarter of a century in time. Suppose hypothetically in 1938 we found a lawyer who asked that 23 identified Nazis attorneys be disbarred by the California Bar Association for taking an oath of allegiance to Adolph Hitler and his National Socialist German Third Reich? What would have happened then?

Just substitute the words "Hitler," "Nazi," and "Third Reich" at appropriate spots in the Communist oath. How does it now appear to us?

Most Americans would like to know the difference between the two.

## Congressman Samuel S. Stratton's Report to the People of Upstate New York on the Accomplishments of the 87th Congress, 2d Session

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity again, as I have done regularly in the past, to report to the people of my upstate New York district, and especially to the people of the six new counties which have been added to it—Chenango, Cortland, Cayuga, Seneca, Ontario, and Yates—on the accomplishments of this session now concluding, and on my stewardship here as their Representative.

BRIEF SUMMARY

No Congress ever accomplished everything that might be hoped for it. This session has been no exception. Yet much has been done that is impressive and that can benefit the people of upstate New York. Of course Congress did not approve every request the President made of it. But that is not the function of Congress. We are after all a coordinate and coequal branch, in a government of constitutional checks and balances. We cannot be a rubber stamp, or democracy could never survive. In our record this year Congress has, I believe, reflected the prevailing mood of the country: anxious to move ahead, but also wary of moving too rapidly or in the wrong direction.

THE BATTLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

As I see it, the work of this session has been concentrated on the solution of two major problems, first, unemployment; and, second, winning the cold war against communism.

Of these two objectives, the battle against unemployment has been of most immediate concern to the people of our district since we include so many major unemployment areas—Amsterdam, Gloversville, Schenectady, Oneonta, and Auburn, as well as Geneva, Seneca Falls, and Penn Yan.

The 1st session of the 87th Congress enacted the Area Redevelopment Act, of which I was a coauthor, to help unemployment areas help themselves in attracting new industry. Administration of this act has not moved as rapidly in New York State as I had hoped, but we are making progress.

MANPOWER RETRAINING

Supplementing the ARA program was the Manpower Training Act, passed in this session. It is designed to train unemployed workers so as to enable them to qualify for new jobs. I am proud that the first training projects approved for New York State were for my district, Gloversville and Amsterdam.

BOOST IN CARPET TARIFFS

The single most important economic boost for our area was the President's

approval, in response to repeated pleas from many of us, of the full tariff boost recommended for the carpet industry.

DEFENSE CONTRACTS

While the increase in defense contracts for New York has not been as substantial as I would like to see, our continued pressure on the Pentagon has brought results in sizable increases for upstate unemployment areas.

EMERGENCY PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

Another major economic boost for our area was passage of a $400 million appropriation for an emergency public works program geared to the most critical unemployment areas in our district—Amsterdam, Gloversville, Schenectady, Oneonta, and Auburn. This new program will provide up to 50 percent Federal help in financing new public works projects in these communities. Even before the final bill was passed, representatives from many communities, including Schenectady and Auburn, were invited to Washington for a full briefing on how the bill could benefit their areas without delay.

CAYUGA COUNTY SUGARBEET PROJECT

In all our efforts at combating unemployment, the Government's basic theme has been that Government best helps those who help themselves. One of the finest examples of this kind of self-help that I have seen is the Cayuga County sugarbeet project. I have worked closely with county representatives on this project since the 1962 Sugar Act reached the House floor last July. In spite of some misgivings about some sections, I voted for the bill because only with its passage could Cayuga County have a fighting chance to obtain a sugar allotment big enough to support a new multimillion-dollar sugar refinery. I am proud to have been the only Member of Congress to testify in person in support of the Cayuga project at the recent departmental hearing in Washington.

SOUTH AMSTERDAM FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT

Approval of this vital South Amsterdam project, for which $300,000 has now been appropriated in the final public works bill, will mean still another significant boost to Amsterdam's economy.

THE SEARCH FOR NEW JOBS

In the long run, of course, our best answer to unemployment lies in a substantial expansion of our own industries. This session of Congress has taken two significant steps to encourage such expansion.

One was the adoption of an extensive tax relief for businesses which buy new equipment or otherwise expand and thereby create new job opportunities. This investment tax credit, as it is called, together with a stepped-up schedule of business depreciation, will now make it profitable for businesses to create new jobs by expanding or buying more modern machinery.

NEW MARKETS FOR U.S. PRODUCTS ABROAD

The second step this Congress took to stimulate greater growth in our economy was passage of the trade expansion bill. This bill will help us sell more of our products abroad—turbines, dishwashers, disposals, and the like—within the European Common Market area, and thus create more jobs back home. At the same time the bill also increases protection for local businesses against the inroads of foreign competition by making existing escape clause procedures more effective, and by supplying the first real assistance to communities suffering from the effects of foreign competition.

In the past year the Small Business Administration has helped an increasing number of companies in our area. At the same time my office in Washington has been informing area businessmen regularly of up-coming opportunities to bid on Government contracts.

One helpful thing Congress failed to do this year was to pass the Youth Opportunities Act. This bill would have increased job openings for our young people and would have established a Youth Conservation Corps to give unemployed young men an opportunity to do useful conservation work in the forests and the fields of our Nation while waiting for other jobs to open up.

GREATER DEFENSE STRENGTH AND FLEXIBILITY

Perhaps the session's most significant accomplishment has been the steady improvement made possible in the field of national defense. Our nuclear missile capability has steadily increased, so that today we are ahead of the Soviets. In addition, our conventional forces have also been increased. The Army, for example, has grown from 11 to 16 divisions. And our own Armed Services Committee has won its fight for greater emphasis on manned bombers in the now-familiar B–70 controversy. These increases in conventional weapons make us no longer the prisoner of a single massive retaliation strategy in which we either launch an all-out nuclear warfare or else back down under Russian pressures. Now we have at our disposal a variety of strategic choices, and as a result we have been able to strengthen our garrison in Berlin at the same time that we are supporting our allies in combat operations in Vietnam.

Congress did turn thumbs down on any massive program of building fallout shelters.

PROGRESS IN SPACE

Very substantial sums of money have been voted in connection with our space program this year because we all recognize the vital importance of getting ahead of the Russians in space. The spectacular achievements this year of Colonel Glenn, Major Carpenter, and Commander Schirra all demonstrate that our space program is moving ahead with precision and reliability though much more remains to be done.

Congress also established the machinery to operate a permanent communications satellite like Telstar, and did so, incidentally, on the basis of full cooperation with private business rather than through some purely Government corporation. I supported this private business approach, because I believe strongly that Government must not encroach on areas where individual persons or private business can do the job just as effectively.

WINNING THE COLD WAR

Of course the fight against communism is more than a purely military contest. While Congress has worked this past year to build a stronger defensive shield, we have not neglected to act to meet the Soviet threat in other ways as well. One of our greatest sources of danger today is that the Russians might move against us as a result of some mistaken notion that we do not really intend to stand up and defend our rights in Berlin or Cuba after all. To dispell any such idea promptly, Congress passed resolutions reiterating the deep concern of the American people over both Berlin and Cuba, and backing up the President fully and without regard to party lines in whatever action he might decide to take in dealing with these threats. It was my privilege to preside over the House when the important Berlin resolution was adopted.

RESERVE CALLUP LEGISLATION

In addition Congress passed legislation to give the President the standby authority he had requested to call up certain reservists during the 3-month period when Congress will be out of session in case some emergency should suddenly erupt. Only last August of course the reservists and National Guardsmen called up in connection with last year's Berlin emergency were released to inactive duty. Yet we cannot afford to take any chances. If President Kennedy were to decide that a blockade of Cuba was desirable, for example, under this new bill he would have the power to call to duty immediately the trained sailors and airmen he would need to enforce it. So as not to impose a special burden on those reservists only recently released from duty, the law does provide that none of the Berlin reservists can be recalled under the new standby legislation. In any case, we all hope this callup authority would not have to be used at all; it is just there, like a fire extinguisher, to be used in case an emergency should arise.

FOREIGN AID

Again this year, as so often before, Congress has been asked to fight communism by continuing our program of economic and military assistance to foreign countries. Congress recognizes, of course, the need for some such program. Foreign aid has been endorsed by the leaders of both major parties. Yet many of us are deeply disturbed about the lasting effectiveness of the program. We are concerned over the persistent reports of inefficiency in its management. We resent the fact that many recipient nations have refused to go along with us in such proposals as instituting a trade embargo against Cuba, for example, and we are shocked that some countries receiving aid, as in Latin America, seem to be moving further away from free government practices rather than closer toward them.

In an effort to require more careful administration of foreign aid, therefore, Congress cut back the original sums requested by the administration, by almost $1 billion.

THE PEACE CORPS

On the other hand, we went along almost unanimously with a very substantial increase in the Peace Corps. Even those who originally opposed the Peace Corps acknowledged that after 1 year's operation it had proved its worth, and had constituted a fresh and encouraging new approach to the problem of winning friends in foreign lands.

FARM LEGISLATION

As the only Member of my party in Congress in the entire northeastern United States representing any very substantial farm population, I have continued in the past year, as I have done since coming to Congress, to serve as a spokesman and champion of the interests of our upstate New York farmers.

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS DECISION

When the Supreme Court overthrew the compensatory payments feature of our New York milk order last July 2, for example, thereby jeopardizing the stability of all dairy farm income in New York State, a delegation of upstate farmers promptly called on me in Washington to enlist my help in their fight to restore the order to its original form. I was happy to take the lead in the fight to overrule the Court's decision with appropriate legislation. Because of the opposition of Midwestern farmers we were not successful in this fight this year, but we did at least force the Department to hold hearings on the matter which will, I hope, bring some measure of relief.

THE 1962 DROUGHT

The drought this year brought heavy financial hardship to many of our farmers. In Washington we were successful in getting nearly all of the upstate counties affected by the drought declared disaster areas, thus making possible the harvesting of hay from Soil Bank land. I also persuaded the railroads to reduce their rates for shipping additional hay and feed grains into these disaster areas. And I introduced legislation to allow the Government to release, at no charge to farmers in these areas, needed feed grains from its own surplus stocks now held in storage. Though my bill was not adopted, the Government has now begun making these stocks available in some areas, in line with the provisions of existing law, at 75 percent of parity. This price is no bargain, to be sure; my own bill would have been more desirable. But at least this action will help to prevent any sharp speculative increase in feed grain prices that could be even more damaging to our farmers.

MILK PRICES AND THE FARM BILL

To compensate for some of these heavy drought losses, I joined early last summer in an effort to get the Department of Agriculture to approve a higher return to the farmer on his fluid milk. Unfortunately this drive was not successful. As an alternative, therefore, I supported a provision in the original version of the farm bill which would have paid dairy farmers a bonus if their 1962 production fell below their 1961 figure. Because of the 1962 drought, such a drop would have been almost automatic for our upstate New York farmers. In the hope of putting this bonus plan through I supported the farm bill when it first came up. But after the milk bonus section had been stricken from the final version, I voted against the farm bill, one of the few members of my party to do so—and incidentally received some nice congratulatory notes from several Farm Bureau officials about my vote.

TAX RELIEF—RETIREMENT PROGRAMS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED PERSONS

One area in which the 87th Congress made progress has been the area of tax relief. Besides the substantial tax relief for businesses which expand, mentioned above, Congress also repealed the wartime 10 percent excise tax on transportation, and enacted into law a bill to give self-employed persons—doctors, lawyers, and accountants—plus the people who work from such persons, a tax break to encourage them to set up their own retirement and pension programs.

Incidentally, when the economy this summer began to suggest the desirability of a tax cut, the highly unpopular proposal for a withholding tax on income from dividends and interest was quickly shelved.

OTHER FLOOD CONTROL MATTERS

The flood control survey for the Otsego County area, which Congress authorized last year in order to find a suitable alternative to big reservoir dams, got officially underway this year. This survey, as I have previously reported, has suspended any possible action on these big dams for at least another 3 years, and perhaps permanently—the first real relief from the threat of big dams that Otsego County has had since 1935.

In the meantime, to meet Oneonta's immediate flood problems, the Army Engineers, at my insistence, are now processing an undertaking that will bring about some clearing and dredging of the Susquehanna in the vicinity of the Main Street Bridge. If this project of ours is finally approved, as I trust it will be, work could get underway before the end of this year.

To help those damaged by periodic floods in such spots as Oneonta and Norwich, I introduced legislation in this session to authorize a study of the best means of making some kind of flood insurance available to people in these communities. My bill received the favorable endorsement of the administration, although it did not come out of committee. I do hope to reintroduce it next year.

VETERANS' BENEFITS

As a veteran I was, of course, happy to support legislation this year to give a much-needed increase in benefits to veterans with service-connected disabilities. The effort to do better by our World War I veterans, on the other hand, was still stalled in committee in spite of our discharge petition.

EDUCATION

Considering the importance of scientific knowledge to our long-range victory over communism, the record of the 87th Congress on education must be regarded as falling short of our need.

We did enact one educational measure, a bill to provide some Federal help to educational television stations, of which we already have several in New York State. These funds will supplement the assistance already provided for ETV by the State.

But Congress failed to pass a bill to help colleges in constructing needed classrooms, and to provide additional scholarship loan funds for students. The eight counties of the new 35th District boast seven colleges which contribute to the economy of the district and enhance the progress of our State. No student today who is qualified to profit from a college education should be denied it because of lack of funds. I hope to revive this scholarship loan bill in the new 88th Congress.

OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

Athletic professionalism in our service academies: As a result of evidence which I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during this session, steps are now being taken by the Pentagon to eliminate a form of athletic professionalism that had begun to creep into some of our service academies. Such practices are not only contrary to the best interests of the services, but are also wasteful of taxpayers' money which provides free college educations for our cadets and midshipmen.

Antigambling statutes: Two bills were passed during the session to outlaw interstate gambling operations. As mayor of Schenectady I fought hard, you may remember, against illegal gambling, racketeering, and crime. As a Member of Congress I was glad to have been able to join in creating further Federal weapons to be used to fight these unsavory operations.

Repealing the polltax: A long drive to eliminate the polltax in our Southern States finally culminated this year in our adoption of an antipolltax amendment to the Constitution, which now goes to the States for final ratification.

Polish war claims legislation: Another bill for which I have long campaigned was passed this year, allowing Americans who suffered injury or damage in foreign countries during World War II to recover damages from Nazi wartime assets still frozen in this country. Polish-American organizations had been especially strong in their support of legislation of this kind, even though the bill as finally enacted did not go as far as many of us would have liked to see it go.

U.S.S. *Pulaski:* My long fight to have one of our Polaris missile submarines named after Polish Count Casimir Pulaski ended in victory last month when Secretary of the Navy Korth informed me that the keel for the submarine U.S.S. *Pulaski* will be laid in January. As a member of the Armed Services Committee, I look forward to being on hand for this historic ceremony.

Daytime radio: I am glad to report that we passed a bill that will allow daytime radio stations, like WDOS in Oneonta, WCHN in Norwich, and WCGR in Canandaigua, to continue to operate during early morning hours before sunrise. Without this legislation, a very

valuable early-morning information service for rural areas would have been foolishly eliminated.

No Binghamton TV changes: I am also happy to report that as a result of protests by many of us, the FCC finally dropped their plan to replace long-range VHF television service out of Binghamton into parts of Otsego, Chenango, and Cortland Counties, with short-legged UHF service. We fianlly convinced the Commission that any such move would only have the practical result of depriving many areas of our district of any direct television reception at all.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

This year, as in the past, I have reported regularly to you on developments in Washington through my monthly newsletter. Many of you have been good enough to comment favorably to me on these letters. I have also sent out to you our annual congressional questionnaire, and I have continued to send back to you my periodic radio and television reports on happenings in Washington.

We have also continued to maintain a congressional district office on a full-time basis, thereby providing direct and immediate service to you on all matters affecting the Federal Government. Recently I opened a second district office, in the post office building in Amsterdam, to give even more direct service to people in the Montgomery-Otsego Counties area. Mail addressed to me there will be promptly handled while Congress is in recess, and either I or my staff can be reached during business hours at the Amsterdam office, on VI 3-3400. Our Schenectady office phone continues to be FR 4-4000.

Once again, my thanks to you for all your interest and support. It has been both an honor and a real pleasure to serve once again during the past year as your spokesman, your ambassador, and your servant at the seat of the U.S. Government in Washington during these often trying but always challenging times.

## My Record in the 87th Congress—Report to the People of the First Congressional District of Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to report to the people of the First Congressional District of Montana concerning my votes during the 87th Congress.

At this point, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a table which lists my rollcall votes during the 1st and 2d sessions of the 87th Congress:

*Voting record of Congressman ARNOLD OLSEN, 87th Cong., 1st sess.*

| My stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| For Rayburn | Election of Speaker Sam Rayburn | Rayburn elected. |
| Voted for | Enlarge the House Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members | Committee enlarged. |
| Voted for | Temporary extension of unemployment compensation recommended by President Kennedy | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize budget for House Un-American Activities Committee for 1961 | Approved. |
| Voted for | 3d supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal year 1961, school districts | Became law. |
| Voted for | Emergency feed grains program | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend Sugar Act through December 1962 and authorize President to deny the Dominican Republic any quota "bonus" resulting from Cuban cutbacks. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize $804,000,000 in military construction | Became law. |
| Voted for | Create additional Federal judgeships | Became law. |
| Voted for | Area Redevelopment Act program for Federal loans, and grants for redevelopment of economically depressed industrial and rural areas. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Social security amendments to extend benefits to widows, disabled and retired people | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $500,000,000 for aid to Latin America in accordance with President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program | Became law. |
| Voted for | Minimum wage legislation, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1961 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Water Pollution Control Act, to assist State and local agencies solve water pollution problems | Became law. |
| Voted against | Extend for 2 years, Mexican farm labor law | Became law. |
| Voted for | Raise ceilings on salaries of members and employees of Council of Economic Advisers, as requested by President Kennedy | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establishment of Office of International Travel and Tourism | Became law. |
| Voted for | Resolution favoring collective sanctions by Organization of American States against Castro government | Adopted. |
| Voted for | Authorize appropriations of $12,000,000,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval ships in 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Repeal of a provision in Railway Mail Pay Act intended to prevent railroads from charging higher rates for carrying non-first-class mail than for carrying express matter. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $5,900,000,000 for Agriculture Department and Commodity Credit Corporation | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $751,000,000 for Departments of State, Justice, and the judiciary | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend existing corporation and excise taxes | Became law. |
| Voted for | Motion to recommit bill to qualify Supreme Court decision relating to unnecessary delay in criminal arraignments | Passed House. |
| Voted against | Resolution disapproving President's reorganization for Federal Communications Commission. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization disapproved. |
| Voted against | Resolution disapproving President's reorganization plan for Securities and Exchange Commission. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | To permit International Finance Corporation, an affiliate of the World Bank, to acquire stock in private companies in underdeveloped nations. | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $47,000,000 in supplemental funds for State, Justice, Treasury, and Defense | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving President's reorganization plan for Federal Trade Commission. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Housing Act of 1961 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase national debt limit for 1 year | Became law. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $42,000,000,000 for defense | Became law. |
| Voted against | Establish uniform procedure for Federal court review of alien deportation and exlusion orders | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Establish Cape Cod National Seashore Park | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving President's reorganization plan for Civil Aeronautics Board. ("No" vote supported reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Authorize commemoration of Department of Agriculture Centennial | Became law. |
| Voted for | Provide evacuation pay to civilian employees evacuated in emergencies | Became law. |
| Voted for | National Aeronautics and Space Agency appropriations | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving Reorganization of National Labor Relations Board. ("No" vote supported reorganization) | Reorganization disapproved. |
| Voted against | Disapproving reorganization of Federal Maritime Board. ("No" vote supported reorganization) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Appropriate $883,000,000 for military construction | Became law. |
| Voted for | Give President authority to call up Reserve forces | Became law. |
| Voted for | Supplemental military appropriation to meet Berlin crisis | Became law. |
| Voted for | Farm bill, including improved emergency and disaster relief programs | Became law. |
| Voted for | Reorganization of Federal Communications Commission | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize military to sell supplies or services to aircraft owners in national emergencies | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Supporting construction of powerplant at Hanford reactor to harness steam energy which otherwise would be wasted | Rejected. |
| Voted against | Reorganization of Interstate Commerce Commission | Became law. |
| Voted for | Transfer Freedmen's Hospital in District of Columbia to Howard University | Became law. |
| Voted for | 1961 mutual security authorization | Became law. |
| Voted for | Amend Federal Aviation Act to make airplane hijacking an offense punishable by imprisonment or death | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize planning U.S. participation in 1964 New York World's Fair | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Authorize lead-zinc subsidy for small operators | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize National Fisheries Center in Washington, D.C. | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Authorize Attorney General to fix salaries of aids | Rejected. |
| Voted for | Equalize readjustment payment for Reserve forces | Became law. |
| Voted for | Emergency school aid program sought by President | Rejected. |
| Voted against | Amendment substantially restricting juvenile delinquency studies | Amendment defeated. |
| Voted against | Admission of Communist China to United Nations and U.S. recognition | Unanimously rejected. |
| Voted for | Authorize national hog cholera eradication program | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase military aid program in mutual security bill | Amendment approved. |
| Voted for | Passage of mutual security appropriations | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extend Federal aid to federally impacted school districts | Became law. |

*Voting record of Congressman ARNOLD OLSEN, 87th Cong., 1st sess.*—Continued

| My stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| Voted for | Amend Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to provide for more effective enforcement. (Motion to pass under suspension of rules, ⅔ majority required.) | 245 to 161; failed ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | Peace Corps | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase longevity step pay for postal workers | Vetoed. |
| Voted for | Publicize dissemination of Communist propaganda through mails | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Permits midwestern farmers to plant barely crop on lands prepared for wheat before acreage control program for 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase number of supergrade civil service positions | Became law. |
| Voted for | U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize study of National Tropical Botanic Garden, Hawaii | Failed to obtain ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | Establish Federal Advisory Council on Arts | Failed to receive ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | Amend District of Columbia Sales Tax Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | Public works appropriations | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize new Federal supergrade positions for National Security Agency | Became law. |
| Voted for | Extension of Federal Airport Act to permit continued assistance to local airport projects | Became law. |
| Voted against | Rule prohibiting amendments to postal rate increase bill | Rejected. |
| Voted for | Bill to publicize distribution of Communist propaganda and facilitate its rejection | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To accept Senate proposal that President can withhold information on mutual security if he certifies reasons for action | Approved. |

*Voting record of Congressman ARNOLD OLSEN, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*

| My stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| For McCormack | Election of Speaker John W. McCormack | McCormack elected. |
| Voted for | Federal assistance for construction of college academic facilities | Rejected. |
| Voted for | To permit acquisition, free of charge, of 21 acres of privately owned land in Grand Canyon National Park | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize Fourth Assistant Secretary of Commerce | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase national debt limit ceiling to $300,000,000,000 | Became law. |
| Voted against | Disapproving Reorganization Plan No. 1 (Urban Affairs). ("No" vote favored reorganization.) | Reorganization approved. |
| Voted for | Approve improvements in the District of Columbia juvenile court system | Became law. |
| Voted for | Adopt a 2-year program to train unemployed workers | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize assistance to States developing educational television programs and facilities | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize Attorney General to issue civil investigative demands in antitrust cases | Became law. |
| Voted for | Strengthen Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to reduce Federal payments to needy aged, blind, and disabled to $66 per month | Motion defeated. |
| Voted for | Passage of bill designed to stress rehabilitation of welfare recipients, improve welfare services, and eliminate abuses | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize standby authority for the United States to lend $2,000,000,000 to International Monetary Fund | Became law. |
| Voted for | Raise compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize an appropriation of $63,750,000 for Peace Corps to permit expansion of Corps to about 10,000 volunteers | Became law. |
| Voted against | Recommital motion on 2d supplemental appropriations. (Bill subsequently passed by voice vote.) | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorizes appropriation of $13,000,000,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill $5,170,788,000 appropriation for Departments of Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare. (Bill which included assistance to schools in federally impacted areas, subsequently passed by a voice vote.) | Motion defeated. |
| Voted for | Passage of 1962 tax revision bill | Became law. |
| Voted for | Authorize appropriation of $3,000,000 to reimburse New York City for overtime payments to police force during the 1960 U.S. General Assembly. | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Authorize President to regulate imports of cotton and textiles | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill legislative appropriations. (Bill subsequently passed by a voice vote.) | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $48,000,000,000 for defense of our Nation | Became law. |
| Voted against | To authorize Federal Communications Commission to require television manufacturers to equip all sets for receiving ultra-high frequency channels in addition to very high frequency. | Became law. |
| Voted for | To establish private corporation to operate a commercial communications satellite system | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize payment of $73,000,000 to Philippine Islands for World War II damages | Defeated. |
| Voted for | To authorize assistance for construction of facilities at public and nonprofit colleges | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To authorize $5,600,000,000 appropriation for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1963 | Became law. |
| Voted for | To amend the National School Lunch Act to improve provisions and establish special fund for needy schools | Became law. |
| Voted for | To bring negotiated defense procurement contracts under more rigid legislative control | Became law. |
| Voted for | Temporary increase in national debt | Became law. |
| Voted for | Sugar Act Amendment for 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted against | To kill farm bill | Bill killed. |
| Voted for | To extend Defense Production Act | Became law. |
| Voted for | To amend Export Control Act | Became law. |
| Voted against | Trade Expansion Act of 1962. (NOTE.—This bill was not as good as I would have liked it. I wanted more reciprocity to the United States. The lumber industry and the metal industry are having trouble and we must give more attention to them in this country. | Became law. |
| Voted for | To ban interstate transportation of gambling machines | Became law. |
| Voted for | To give Civil Aeronautics Board permanent authority to regulate supplemental airlines | Became law. |
| Voted for | To extend ceiling on subsidies for domestic ship construction and conversion | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Mutual Security Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Increase authorizations for Pacific Trust Islands | Became law. |
| Voted for | Urging Federal Communications Commission to permit increase of power on clear-channel AM radio stations | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $1,900,000,000 for Department of State, Justice, and Commerce | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $5,400,000,000 for Department of Agriculture | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize construction of Mann Creek reclamation project | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $11,500,000,000 for operation of 28 independent and executive offices | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize construction of Baker reclamation project | Became law. |
| Voted for | To appropriate $5,300,000,000 for Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare | Became law. |
| Voted for | To authorize cash awards for winners of National Medal of Science (a ⅔ majority required) | Failed to receive ⅔ majority. |
| Voted for | To authorize compensation to U.S. citizens for personal or property losses in World War II | Became law. |
| Voted for | To permit President to distribute additional sugar quotas to Western nations | Passed House. |
| Voted against | Motion to permit continued waste of steam energy at Hanford nuclear reactor | Motion defeated. |
| Voted against | Enactment of temporary farm bill to continue programs for 1 year | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase limits on size of Federal Reserve Bank branch bank buildings and require Federal Reserve Board approval of contracts. | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill Public Works Coordination and Acceleration Act. (Subsequently passed by voice vote.) | Motion rejected. |
| Voted against | Motion to reject Senate amendment to AEC appropriations which would permit utilization of waste steam energy at Hanford nuclear reactor. | Motion defeated. |
| Voted for | Constitutional amendment to ban poll taxes in Federal elections | Passed House. |
| Voted for | Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Establishment of Padre Island National Seashore | Became law. |
| Voted for | United Nations bond issue | Became law. |
| Voted for | Rule to permit expansion of Virgin Islands National Park. (Bill subsequently passed by voice vote.) | Became law. |
| Voted for | To increase security provisions at National Security Agency | Passed House. |
| Voted against | To extend Federal internal security programs into private enterprise including denial of right of cross-examination | Defeated. |
| Voted for | To permit construction of a peanut research laboratory | Defeated. |
| Voted for | To permit continued expeditious handling of legislative franked mail to postal patrons | Defeated. |
| Voted for | Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill College Assistance Act | Act rejected. |
| Voted for | To permit duty-free entry of personal and household goods of Government personnel on orders | Became law. |
| Voted against | Motion to kill bill to permit President to authorize diplomatic radio facilities in the District of Columbia | Became law. |

*Voting record of Congressman ARNOLD OLSEN, 87th Cong., 2d sess.*—Continued

| My stand | Issue | Status |
|---|---|---|
| Voted for | Standby authority for callup of 150,000 members of Ready Reserve | Became law. |
| Voted for | To require that temporary summer jobs in Government agencies in Washington, D.C., be apportioned among 50 States | Passed House. |
| Voted for | To approve National Fisheries Center | Became law. |
| Voted against | To delete Burns Creek, Idaho, project from public works bill | Project deleted. |
| Voted for | Drug Act of 1962 | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | To curb indecent publications in District of Columbia | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | Postal Service and Federal Employees Act of 1962 | Became law. |
| Voted for | Berlin resolution | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | Adjust annuities for District of Columbia teachers retirement fund | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | To return to Senate continuing Agriculture appropriations bill | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | To exclude certain household items from manufacturers excise taxes | Approved by Congress. |
| Voted for | Public works bill | Approved by Congress. |

## Hospital Insurance Under Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have been a consistent and resolute supporter of legislation designed to provide hospital and related benefits to our senior citizens through the social security mechanism. I continue to support it, even though we have been forewarned of what to expect by way of political activity by the American Medical Association. My support is based on five factors.

First, a vast body of data, and more importantly the testimony of thousands upon thousands of older Americans, pinpoint the problem of financing the costs of care as pervasive, growing, and insoluble on an individual basis.

Second, this problem not only affects the more than 17 million persons who are 65 or older, but also directly involves and is equally acute for the many millions of Americans who are their relatives.

Third, despite much hullabaloo and sloganeering by the AMA and its economic cronies, Kerr-Mills and private health insurance are totally inadequate to the task. Burying one's head in the sand does not make Kerr-Mills any more adequate nor any less degrading. The ostrich's viewpoint does not eliminate the inadequacy of private health insurance nor does it justify the many instances of exploitation of the elderly by private insurance carriers.

Fourth, the Nation is the real loser when a great many of our people live in genuine fear of impoverishment as a result of inevitable illness. Can we as a nation tolerate a situation that forces older Americans, after a lifetime of struggle and work, to hold their meager assets in readiness for the crushing and certain expenses of illness? Must we look on passively while our senior citizens, after virtually everything is gone, are forced to plead poverty in order to secure needed medical attention?

Fifth, the clear answer to a national problem is national action. No one has come forward with a more honorable or more workable or more equitable solution to this problem than that represented by the program of protection that would be provided through the time-tested and highly efficient social security system. The proposed program would provide immediate help to 17 million older Americans. It would enable the younger generation to adequately anticipate and provide for the inevitable expenses of their older years. The King-Anderson bill, as amended in the Senate, is essentially a self-financing program that would make protection available to all in a dignified and assured fashion.

Now just who would be covered under the amended King-Anderson bill and what benefits would be guaranteed to them?

PERSONS COVERED

Basically, this is a program for people who now are or will be eligible for social security or railroad retirement benefits. In the future, this will obviously include almost the entire population except for Federal employees, who have their own program, and a few groups such as doctors. Doctors have indicated that they would like to participate under the social security program—but the AMA stringently enforces its rule by intimidation and has vetoed physician participation thus far.

Most of those who are eligible for social security today, will, of course, not have an opportunity to contribute toward the cost of their protection. Payment for coverage of these people will obviously comprise part of the social security contributions of younger people. But this is essentially a one-shot proposition and in the future all new eligibles will, of course, have contributed toward the cost of their insurance. To leave those presently eligible for social security out of the program because they had not contributed would condemn them for the shortsightedness of an earlier generation—and would leave the Nation with an enormous problem of unmet desperate need. It would continue to place a great burden upon their younger relatives who have sufficient difficulty struggling to meet their own everyday needs. The younger generation has expressed its readiness to have this burden—not only economic but emotional—lifted from them in major part and has expressed its willingness to do so through means of rational and moderate payroll deduction.

In addition, the program would cover, during its first few years, those persons over the age of 65 or reaching 65 during the initial years, who have never had a chance to become covered under social security or who have participated for a very brief period only. Coverage for this group of older Americans would also be on a one-shot basis and would be financed from general revenues.

It should be recognized that inclusion of the presently retired elderly in the program would lead to some significant financial savings in other areas. Savings in Federal, State, and local appropriations for public assistance care, as well as in charitable expenditures would be hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

BENEFITS

The program would provide 90 days of hospital care with the beneficiary contributing $10 daily for the first 9 days—minimum $20 contribution; 180 days of care in a skilled nursing home—that is, an institution which is basically medically oriented; 240 home health visits; and diagnostic services rendered by the outpatient department of the hospital, with beneficiary paying the first $20 toward the cost of diagnostic services during any consecutive 30-day period.

Persons having these benefits under a private insurance plan could use them and have the company compensated from the social security fund.

It should be noted that this program only provides a "floor of protection." There are substantial expenses that will still have to be met through other means. Personal resources, family help, and Kerr-Mills would have to be employed to cope with doctor bills, the cost of drugs and medications, and similar major items of expense. The point is that the amended King-Anderson bill would help meet those expenses that have the greatest impact in the shortest period—those incurred for hospital and related care.

NEED

One of every six Americans over the age of 65 is hospitalized each year. Nine of every ten Americans reaching 65 can expect to be hospitalized at some time. And in many cases this means recurrent periods of hospitalization, for the elderly have a far higher incidence of chronic illnesses than does the younger population.

What does this mean in dollars and cents? The average cost of a day's hospital care in Oregon is almost $40. The average hospital stay for an older person is 15 days. The cost of an average stay would therefore be about $600 in Oregon.

But these are only averages. All too many senior citizens are hospitalized for 30, 60, or 90 days and more than once. Again, the costs of hospital care are only part of the medical expenses these Americans face. When we realize that more than 50 percent of the elderly have annual incomes of less than $1,000 the enormity of the problem becomes ap-

parent. The necessity of doing something about it is equally apparent.

And what about the burden of expense thrust upon young families by the illnesses of older relatives? The costs of decent education are rising rapidly. How can money be put aside for the college education of grandchildren when the medical expenses of grandparents create a constant drain upon the resources of young families already struggling to make ends meet. And the grandparents are aware of this problem, too. All too many of our elderly put off or just do not seek necessary care for fear of upsetting the plans and families of their loved ones. This is what I am referring to when I say that enactment of the King-Anderson bill would help solve the problems of several generations of Americans—not just those who are over 65. Are there acceptable and workable alternatives to a program of protection provided through the social security system? I think not.

INADEQUACY OF KERR-MILLS

The American Medical Association and its apologists point, I am sure with less than pride, to the Kerr-Mills Act and to private health insurance as substitutes for the King-Anderson. At best, these are not substiututes but supplements. Neither Kerr-Mills nor private insurance can do the job that must be done, and I say that as one who helped pass the Kerr-Mills Act.

Kerr-Mills aid is now available in only 25 States—more than 2 years after its enactment. It is a relief program complete with means tests and investigations, not only of the sick person, but in some States of his or her children and other relatives. It is replete with indignities for Americans whose only crime is that they grow old. These people must prove that they are virtually "broke" in order to get help. And even after suffering through means tests there are no assurances that adequate benefits will be available. Only 3 or 4 of the 25 States with Kerr-Mills programs have plans that can possibly be clasified as comprehensive. Oregon, most assuredly, is not one of those three or four States.

Oregonians, who can qualify for Kerr-Mills, have available to them a grand total of 14 days of hospital care a year. And, of course, they are required to pay $7.50 a day for the first 10 days. Oregon, I am sad to say, is not overgenerous with its older citizens. By May of this year, fewer than 2 out of every 1,000 Oregonians 65 or over had received anything under it, for a grand total of 372 people.

It is illuminating to compare our Kerr-Mills program in Oregon with that of our sister State of California. California and Oregon both started making Kerr-Mills payments in January of this year. While it is true that California has almost 8 times as many people 65 or over as Oregon, during the first 6 months of this year: First, California paid out 80 times as much Kerr-Mills money as did Oregon; and, second, California gave some Kerr-Mills help to 66 times as many people as did my State of Oregon.

There is a further amazing comment on the wondrous world of Kerr-Mills in Oregon. The administrative expenses of the feeble Kerr-Mills effort in Oregon are fantastic. It costs the State 38 cents in redtape to pay out $1 in benefits. Of course, this situation is completely understandable. After all, investigations and means tests and making sure that an Oregonian pays his $7.50 a day toward his hospital bill costs an awful lot of money.

The means test alone makes Kerr-Mills an unacceptable method for financing health care for our older citizens. But it has other flaws that make it an impossible solution to a national problem. These stem from the fact that the efficacy of Kerr-Mills is totally dependent upon the resources and propensities of each one of the 50 States. As has been noted, either as a consequence of propensity, lack of resources or both, 25 States have not put Kerr-Mills programs into effect.

It must be remembered that States receive matching Federal funds contingent upon what the States themselves can raise—or rather scrape up. There is the rub. The large marjority of the States, because of urgent and competing demands for available funds from programs such as school and road construction, cannot raise sufficient "seed money" to secure the Federal grants necessary to finance adequate Kerr-Mills programs. Most of the States, according to their own standards of need, do not even adequately finance their programs for the most needy—those on relief. As we all know, welfare appropriations are usually at the bottom of State legislative lists.

KERR-MILLS IS TRUE SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

One of the strangest things about the medical profession's announced reliance upon the Kerr-Mills program is that it is really socialized medicine. The States decide what medical costs shall be financed under it, including doctors' bills, and who shall be eligible for them. Then it pays the bills.

There is nothing whatever to stop the States from eliminating the means test and just paying medical bills for its elderly, with up to 70 percent coming right out of the Federal Treasury. They can do that under this statute. They are limited only by their lack of matching funds, and by the general attitude that this should be a program primarily for the indigent.

There is no insurance principle to Kerr-Mills. There is no fund made up of tax contributions by those who will receive its benefits. It is often cited as an objection to King-Anderson that some would receive benefits under it who have not paid into the fund. Yet its critics are backing a plan financed entirely by general revenues, where no one pays into a fund from which the benefits will be paid.

Another inadequacy of Kerr-Mills is that it varies even among the 25 States that do have it. We are a mobile population. But, it may very well be financially impossible for an older individual eligible for Kerr-Mills help in one State to visit or reside with his family in another State that has no Kerr-Mills program. For example, that senior citizen blessed with the rather dubious benefits provided under Oregon's Kerr-Mills program would not even have meager protection if he chose to visit relatives in say, South Dakota. South Dakota does not have a Kerr-Mills program. It is really a 25–25 proposition. Twenty-five States have programs and 25 States do not. As to moving among the States that do have Kerr-Mills programs, it is comparable to Russian roulette with a 25-chambered revolver. You may pull the trigger on a State that has a fair program but the odds are against it.

Obviously, Kerr-Mills is no substitute for a program guaranteeing our older citizens the same protection wherever they may be in the Nation. It was not intended to be. It is not aimed at the general health needs of the elderly, but at those who are truly destitute. Those who are trying to call it a complete substitute for insurance against hospital costs are really doing great harm to the Kerr-Mills Act itself.

PRIVATE INSURANCE INADEQUATE

Private health insurance cannot do the necessary job, either. It is estimated that only one-sixteenth of the health expenses of people 65 and over is covered by insurance. The commercial insurers are in business to make a profit—and you do not make a profit insuring older Americans. The programs that are offered to our senior citizens are generally high priced, limited in benefits, and unavailable to those persons who need the protection most. A fat part of premiums paid by the elderly goes not for benefits but for commissions and stockholder profits.

However, the King-Anderson program would give standing in its coverage to individuals having private coverage. They could use their private insurance benefits.

As for Blue Cross, well they really cannot do the job, either. As Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey pointed out in the Senate a few weeks ago, the Blue Cross Association—the national organization of Blue Cross plans—seems to be mainly interested in creating an illusion of action rather than in problem solving. In all fairness, it must be admitted that illusion is probably Blue Cross' only alternative here. Despite their best efforts, they have conceded that 94 percent of the elderly cannot finance their medical expenses without sacrificing some of life's necessities—that is, reducing their expenditures for food, clothing, and shelter.

The Blue Cross Association spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on advertising in national magazines urging older Americans throughout the country to contact their local Blue Cross plan for "full details" of new amplified programs of protection. As Senator WILLIAMS pointed out, most of the plans are offering what they have always had in the shop—some of them adding a little dressing and fat price increases.

Our Oregon Blue Cross says it has nothing readily available but hopes to offer something for older Oregonians at the end of the year. I sincerely trust it is a package superior to that amplified new program being offered in our sister State of Washington.

Senior citizens in Washington are at complete liberty to purchase Blue Cross coverage at the fantastic monthly cost of $27.50 per couple—$334 a year. This does not include the cost of companion Blue Shield benefits. In return for this huge sum, they get a plan that does not even cover any preexisting conditions—that is, any illnesses they may have when the coverage commences or a new episode of a prior condition. This is great protection for the many thousands of older Washingtonians who suffer from chronic illnesses. Not only does the Washington Blue Cross plan exclude coverage for preexisting conditions, but will not provide protection for any care provided for hernias, cardiac, vascular, renal, cancerous, or tumorous conditions until after 12 months of continuous coverage under the plan—despite the fact that these illnesses occurred after coverage commenced. Indeed, I fervently trust the Oregon Blue Cross plan will offer something more meaningful than the lovely package developed by the Washington Blue Cross.

COST OF KING-ANDERSON

Mr. President, I believe the point need not be labored. I believe it is crystal clear that the financing of the hospital and related costs of care of our senior citizens can only be adequately achieved by a program such as that envisaged by the King-Anderson bill.

Far from the inflated cost which its opponents charge it with, the maximum social security tax to pay for it would be $17.16 a year for a worker earning the highest amount of earnings taxed or $5,200 a year. It would be matched by an equal amount from his employer.

That is his annual contribution toward medical insurance for himself and his wife after they reach 65—$17.16. At the same time, his aged parents, or his in-laws, who may already be over 65, would also be eligible for benefits. Compare $17.16 a year to the $40 a day this Oregon worker could pay for the hospitalization of one of these aged parents.

In such cases, the young married couple is better off if their parents are completely destitute, because then they have a chance of getting some help under the Kerr-Mills program.

That is really all Kerr-Mills was intended for. To ease the financial burden of medical treatment for the great number of elderly men and women who are neither destitute nor well off, we need insurance under social security.

## Shoe Industry Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am grealy disturbed by the very large increase in shoe imports for the first 8 months of 1962.

As matters now stand, shoe imports now equal 9.3 percent of the domestic output. Other footwear type imports in August rose 42 percent.

Obviously, if these imports continue at the present rate, it will not be long before our great American shoe industry and its thousands of faithful, highly paid, highly skilled workers may be without jobs and conditions in the industry may be truly depressed.

In this connection, I include in the RECORD as part of my remarks, a portion of a recent trade survey published by the New England Shoe and Leather Association of Boston giving these shocking import statistics:

SHOE IMPORTS INCREASE 56.2 PERCENT IN FIRST 8 MONTHS OF 1962—IMPORTS NOW EQUAL TO 9.3 PERCENT OF DOMESTIC OUTPUT—LEATHER FOOTWEAR TYPE IMPORTS IN AUGUST ROSE 42 PERCENT

U.S. imports of all types of foreign leather footwear—excluding rubber footwear and slipper socks—set a new record volume of 39,923,040 pairs in the first 8 months of 1962. This total represented an increase of 56.2 percent over the comparable 1961 period. Dollar value rose 37.5 percent to $53,809,964.

*Shoe and slipper imports—1st 8 months, 1962*

| Kind: Leather-type (nonrubber) footwear | Pairs | Dollar value | Percent change, January-August 1962, compared to 1961 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Pairs | Dollar value |
| Men's, youths', and boys' | 4,966,019 | $20,127,644 | +38.9 | +37.8 |
| Women's and misses' | 9,968,234 | 20,683,679 | +49.5 | +51.6 |
| Slippers for housewear | 4,620,101 | 2,087,977 | +127.7 | +85.0 |
| Moccasins, Indian, type | 532,507 | 504,411 | −35.8 | −28.3 |
| All other types | 20,436,179 | 10,406,253 | +60.7 | +49.2 |
| Total, leather footwear | 39,923,040 | 53,809,964 | +56.2 | +37.5 |

Note.—Figures do not include imports of rubber footwear and slipper socks.

Source: Prepared from reports of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

January–August 1962 combined import volume equaled 9.3 percent of total domestic output in the same 8-month period. Import volume for the full year of 1961 totaled 36.8 million pairs, which was equal to 6.1 percent of domestic output. Imports in August 1962 totaled 3,681,321 pairs, an increase of 42 percent over August 1961 and equaled 6.2 percent of domestic output in that month.

## The Communications Satellite Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Mr. Henry Mayer, who is former general counsel of the Telephone Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO, and who is presently counsel for many unions which represent employees of the Bell Telephone System, has recently written a useful and enlightening article about the communications satellite bill.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Mayer's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE BILL—AN INTERSTELLAR TEAPOT DOME

(By Henry Mayer)

The communications satellite bill will shortly be enacted into law. When it is signed by President Kennedy one of his pens should certainly be given to the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. as a symbol of why the communications satellite bill became the law of the land and of the space above it.

The A.T. & T. with its superb public relations has transformed itself into the sacred cow which is permitted to wander through our streets, in the air, into our legislative halls without hindrance or interference.

Owned as it is today by 2,300,000 stockholders, engaging as it does over 750,000 employees, its influence, political and otherwise, is felt in every town, village, hamlet, city, and State of this country.

My interest in Telstar stems from the realization that its spectacular propulsion into space and its effectiveness mean the loss of many, many jobs, particularly among linemen, repairmen, installers, and splicers. It is the extension into space of what has become a larger and darker blot on the escutcheon of a country which holds itself out to the world as the protector of human and individual rights.

To entrust the control of communications satellites to the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. would be akin to placing a lamb in a lion's den.

Barnum was once asked how he accomplished this miracle in one of his circuses and his response was: "By frequent and judicious replacements of the lamb."

I write as former general counsel of the Telephone Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO and presently counsel for many of the unions which represent Bell System workers.

The protection of workers' jobs is not one of the amazing byproducts of the great variety of automated instrumentalities which the Bell System's extraordinarily successful Bell Laboratories has evolved.

Beyond my intramural interests I write as a civic-minded person who is beginning to experience a sense of hopelessness and helplessness in the face of public apathy with respect to unconscionable deals with the Government which are deemed acceptable as part of a free enterprise system.

At first the newspapers were inclined to ridicule the small group of men and one woman in the U.S. Senate who had an understanding of what it would mean to the people of this country and possibly to many of the people of the rest of the world if the communications satellites became the property of private concerns and, more particu-

larly, the A.T. & T. Later they grudgingly paid them the compliment of recognizing that this was not just the usual time wasting filibuster.

With the Kennedy administration supposedly in the saddle and allegedly liberal, we find this huge giant, the Bell System, still placing its people in key administration positions, one of whom, Dr. Brockway McMillan, an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development, has been taking an active role, though part of the Federal Government, in "furthering the fortunes of A.T. & T. and spiking those of its competitors." The quote is attributable to Senator KEFAUVER.

All of this is an extension of what happened so frequently when the Eisenhower administration was in power and when 35 officials and ex-officials of Bell System companies held positions of importance in the Government.

The struggle over communications satellites was reminiscent of the one that took place in the twenties over the disposition of the Muscle Shoals facilities. Unfortunately, the interests of the people went over the dam this time.

In the twenties, the business-minded administration proposed turning over the dam and nitrate plants constructed there during World War I by the Federal Government to Henry Ford, who had offered to lease these facilities for 100 years at an annual rental of approximately $1,500,000.

Fortunately for the Nation, Senator George W. Norris conducted an unrelenting fight against this surrender of the major natural resource, the hydroelectric potential of the Tennessee River Valley.

TVA and all the benefits it has bestowed upon that region which needed it so badly and the Nation stand as a monument to that sturdy liberal's vision and courage.

The communications satellite system is the Muscle Shoals of today. The issue involved is identical. Should a natural resource, developed with public funds, be delivered into the hands of a private corporation for profitmaking purposes, particularly when it has been made possible by the expenditure of billions of dollars by the American people in the space program?

Autre temps, autre mores. When TVA was the center of controversy we were in the grip of a depression. Does it make a difference that we have since scaled the dizzy heights of prosperity? If so, then the national face which we present to the rest of the world, particularly the vast area containing underprivileged people, is not a very attractive one.

Walter P. Reuther sent a wire to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which I did not find quoted in any newspapers. It follows:

"It is bad enough to give away this vast public resource and technology to any private corporation; it is far worse to turn it over to a corporation dominated and controlled by America's largest monopoly, American Telephone & Telegraph. To give a monopoly of space communication to a private company controlled by another monopoly is the cartel system run riot. There is no more reason for turning space development over to A.T. & T. than there is for turning the Pentagon over to General Motors."

The AFL–CIO executive council meeting in Chicago during the week of August 13 voted for Government ownership of the satellite system and Government supervision with the right of private industry to lease the facilities. The lone dissenter, ironically enough, was Joseph A. Beirne, the president of the Communications Workers of America, which has not been able to obtain for the 250,000 employees of the Bell System, who are its members, the necessary protective clauses to cushion the impact of automation on present jobs and to take care of the thousands now in our schools who are being trained to perform jobs which will be nonexistent by the time they graduate.

As the Federation of Telephone Workers of Pennsylvania pointed out in asking for an investigation into A.T. & T. for "monopolistic effect on labor-management relations," the $40 million Telstar is the equivalent of a $500 million cable system and will result in the severance of several thousand conventional telephone workers, who will be replaced by a handful of ground station employees.

With the evolution and development of more Telstars the microwave towers now spanning the country will disappear and with them will go countless jobs of many other Bell System employees.

I was obliged to take issue with several of the statements in the otherwise fine piece written by J. Robert Moskin for Look magazine (Aug. 28, 1962, issue) entitled "The Surprising Story of 'Ma Bell'."

Instead of swallowing the spoon-fed material dished out to him by the Bell System's public relations people or possibly some of its officials regarding the "swelling of the ranks of telephone operators in spite of automation," Mr. Moskin should have checked the statistical figures on file with the Federal Communications Commission and other Government agencies. He would have learned from the figures that the ranks of switchboard operators in the Bell System have been literally decimated in the last few years. One of the unions which I represent, the Pennsylvania Telephone Union, Local Union No. 1944, IBEW, AFL–CIO, has gone from about 16,000 to about 7,500 in a span of less than 5 years. The New Jersey traffic group has been reduced from about 11,000 to about 4,000 and this pattern cuts across the Nation.

Had Mr. Moskin interviewed employees of Bell System companies he would have found, contrary to his conclusion in his article, that the term "Ma Bell" is not an affectionate appellation to employees who have been kicked downstairs wagewise, jobwise and otherwise. Instead, Bell System employees very pointedly call attention to the fact that there seems never to have been a "Pa Bell" and that the Bell System companies, therefore, treat their children not paternalistically, as Mr. Moskin stated in his article, but as though they were illegitimate and unwanted.

It was unfortunate, indeed, that the valiant battle waged by Senators MORSE, DOUGLAS, CLARK, KEFAUVER, GORE, NEUBERGER, LONG, and a handful of others was beclouded by the use of a filibuster.

It is not just coincidental that these leaders of a solitary parade should include Senators who have been among the most eloquent and persuasive in articulating those matters which are most vital to the largest proportion of our people.

The argument that the communication satellites should be privately owned and operated because private industry has the expertise which Government lacks is wholly disproved by the fact that the Government owns, controls and has successfully developed our space and missile programs—in fact our entire defense set-up in which we invest the largest part of our tax income.

As good a case could have been made for the criminal turning over of the vast Government-owned natural resources in Teapot Dome. The huge oil interests which benefited by that scandalous transaction had more know-how in exploring, refining, and exploiting the black gold in the vast oil properties than anyone else.

What is being swept under the rug in the satellite controversy is the giveaway of billions of dollars to a privately owned combination. That is the public's investment in research leading to the communication satellites.

If the Government condemns private property for its own use, it must pay the reasonable value thereof. Why shouldn't it work the other way around?

The assurances of the Attorney General on antitrust and of the FCC Chairman on regulation must be examined in the light of past history.

Congressional investigations have disclosed flagrant violations of antitrust laws by both the Western Electric Co. and its parent body the A.T. & T. FCC investigations as well as congressional investigations have revealed persistent exploitation of the people on rates.

The collusion between A.T. & T. officials and Eisenhower administration officials, which resulted in a consent decree preserving the Siamese tieup between A.T. & T. and its unregulated manufacturing arm, Western Electric, is hardly conducive to confidence in this or any other administration's ability to cope with the power, money, resourcefulness, and superb public relations of our largest monopoly.

The DEW line which rings our continent, setting up radar and communication lines for defense, is a good example of what could happen to communication satellites. It was built by A.T. & T. which received hundreds of millions from the Government for the job. It will undoubtedly revert to the A.T. & T. when it becomes obsolete for defense purposes. The missile and space programs have brought it close to obsolescence for defense purposes. For A.T. & T. it will be exceedingly useful as part of the Bell System. And it will probably pay nothing for it. What a windfall. Why?

Will it mean fairer rates for consumers, more equitable treatment of its employees, or reasonable returns on Government contracts? Not on the basis of a constantly escalating tariff and the lowly position of telephone workers, wagewise, jobwise, and otherwise as compared with increased dividends, stock splits, and unconscionable profits such as the Western Electric Nike project, etc.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as those who voted for the communications satellite bill, were blinded by the scintillating glitter of Telstar and thus paid little, if any, attention to the potentialities of its misuse in the one world to which we seem to be gravitating.

Our State Department seldom abdicates to a private group. A stepdown at this time especially would have portentous implications.

The A.T. & T. is not, as many believe, a publicly owned corporation. Its 2,300,000 stockholders have nothing to say about the election of its self-perpetrating policymaking board of directors. The proxy form of voting makes it absentee owned and destroys any semblance of corporate democracy. The communications satellite setup will inevitably gravitate in the same direction.

The New York Herald Tribune, in an editorial entitled "Mr. MORSE: Maverick" suggested that he get out of the way and "let Congress get on with the job it was sent to Washington to do."

I asked the Herald Tribune whether it was not implying that the billions of dollars we have poured into our interstellar space program and that space itself is not part of the job.

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, with his flair for aiming at the political jugular and hitting us on the head instead, was delighted to call his "termagant" colleagues "the little band of willful men." That is what President Wilson dubbed the small group of Senators who fought so bitterly for isolationism.

Senator MORSE and his fighting colleagues, conversely, were fighting to prevent a private monopoly from controlling satellite communications, with the concomitants of greed and other ulterior motives that would result in the kind of isolationism which the other

willful Senators were striving to create. They alone recognized that only a Government-owned project could help to establish and cement the ties so imperatively needed among the family of nations in a nuclear world.

The Times joined the Tribune in editorially denouncing the Senators who opposed the enactment of the communications satellite bill. One of its editorials (August 11) amazingly seem to convey the impression that even a bad law had to be enacted to make way for the passage of good laws. And its editorial confidence that the stir over private control of the communications satellites will provide safeguards against their misuse is even more puzzling in the light of what happened before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and in the Senate itself where protective amendments were brushed aside, and in the more revealing light of past history of exploitation by private industry.

What a sad commentary it is on the political mores of the Senate that closure was invoked to enhance the value of private property when it has always been rejected in situations involving vital human and civil rights.

If President Kennedy should ever write a sequel to his "Profiles in Courage," it should include a chapter on the valiant struggle of a handful of men and one woman in the U.S. Senate who fought so bitterly to prevent the enactment of legislation that may have a profound effect upon our relations with the other nations of the world—nations which may join Senator NEUBERGER in saying that they don't want a private corporation to have the hold upon them reflected in the advertisement of the A.T. & T., to which she adverted, and in which that company proclaimed: "You cannot call home or fight a nuclear war without A.T. & T."

## Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, George Todt, a noted columnist of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, has written some excellent articles on the Cuban situation. The titles of the articles are, "A State of Distress," "A Game for Experts," "Modern Day Pacifists." They appeared in the September 27, 30, and October 2, 1962, issues of the paper, respectively. Under unanimous consent, I place them in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Sept. 27, 1962]

A STATE OF DISTRESS

(By George Todt)

"The Soviet nuclear base in Cuba * * * is directed wholly and solely toward squeezing this Nation into a choice between thermonuclear destruction or a blackmail surrender."—Representative JOHN R. PILLION, Republican, of New York, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 18865, September 19, 1962.

There has been much coverup and backtracking about the Red military buildup in Cuba. The public has been confused. What are the facts?

One of the most lucid and informative accounts of what has really taken place may be seen in the U.S. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 18865–18867 under the title "This Nation in State of Dire Distress and Extreme Danger." It tells a story we all need to know more about.

"The Soviet has," stated Congressman PILLION last week on the floor of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., "under its command, in Cuba, as of now: (1) 2 nuclear rocket and missile launching sites, (2) 5 naval bases, (3) hundreds of Soviet fighter planes, (4) thousands of Czech and Soviet artillery pieces, (5) thousands of Soviet tanks and motorized weapons carriers, and (6) 350,000 Soviet trained and equipped troops."

TRIPLE THREAT

"This arsenal is only the nucleus of the Soviet military plans for Cuba. Unless this military buildup is arrested now, Cuba will become a triple nuclear threat to this Nation's survival.

"Within 6 months to a year, the Soviet will be using Cuba's naval bases for hiding its nuclear launching submarines. These Russian submarines are capable of destroying just about every coastal city in the United States.

"Cuba's airfields, inevitably, will be utilized for Soviet aircraft, carrying nuclear bombs. These bombers could drop nuclear bombs anywhere in the United States.

"This nuclear weapons complex, based in Cuba, will have the capability of destroying this Nation and its people. We are cravenly delivering to Khrushchev, in Moscow, another alternative weapon for blackmail."

Those who wish to look at the Cuban fiasco with rose-colored glasses are advised to shun this brilliant on-the-target warning address by PILLION before Congress.

CLOBBER THEM

But to the millions upon millions of patriotic American citizens who hate to lose when we ought to be winning on the world stage, this is your own special dish of tea. Get hold of PILLION's hard-hitting speech and read it.

The gravest danger we face today is that our military forces and the outstanding officers who command them have been downgraded.

Those now calling the shots are well-intentioned civilians who doubtless mean well. But their knowledge of modern military capabilities and know-how is incredibly inept. Their inefficiency and foolish bumbling is hurting us. Real leadership of any kind is in short supply.

The result of such costly incompetence is this: The credibility of our massive deterrent forces to prevent world war III has suffered. The Reds think we are cowards and will not resist their totalitarian world takeover in the end.

The effrontery of their Cuban assault on the Western Hemisphere proves it.

Can we defend freedom with pantywaist, effete wait-and-see tactics?

Let's clobber our enemies before they can clobber us.

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[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald Examiner, Sept. 30, 1962]

A GAME FOR EXPERTS

(By George Todt)

"In all the world's history there has never been a more ill-conceived, misplanned, and pitifully executed military abortion than our Cuban invasion of April 17, 1961 * * * Bay of Pigs debacle."—Representative JOHN R. PILLION, Republican, of New York.—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 18865, September 19, 1962.

Exactly who and what was to blame for the incompetent "comic opera type" of military fiasco which failed us at the Bay of Pigs a year and a half ago in Cuba?

Had this simple action been completed successfully, we would not have the threat of Soviet IRBM (intermediate range) rockets hanging over us today.

At least not from the Caribbean area, fast becoming a new Red Sea.

We may recall that at the time this incredible inept invasion disaster befell us—due mainly to our refusal at the 11th hour to provide adequate air cover—President Kennedy manfully took the blame.

It also may be recalled that many of us instinctively admired him for his loyalty to his underlings in taking full responsibility for what was believed to be their obvious lack of military experience and competence.

What is not generally known to the public is that many of J.F.K.'s chief architects of cold war policy are men devoid of any military experience whatsoever.

Big guns like Dr. Walt Whitman Rostow, Senator J. William Fulbright, and Adlai Stevenson—who served only 19 days in the Great Lakes Coast Guard before accepting a World War II plush job in Washington.

These men and their ADA liberal clique who sneer at our highly efficient military officers as being unfit to understand their version of the fight for survival we are in today, had their hands in our unnecessary defeat at the Bay of Pigs.

As former President Truman has said, "If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen."

Inexperienced men in military affairs ought to stay out of our military kitchen—and thereby not goof up legitimate war plans.

When we were at war with the Nazis of Adolph Hitler 20 years ago, the military experts called the shots—which was fortunate for us. We won the war.

Now in our even more deadly war with the Communist international conspiracy, the tune largely is being called by Rostow, Stevenson, and Fulbright.

No wonder we are losing on every front.

Today Cuba is a Red saber whose cutting edge is aimed at the jugular vein of the United States.

For the best account of how we got in the present fix we are in—with the Soviet armed force just 90 miles away—read the real inside story.

It is titled "Kennedy's Fateful Decision: The Night the Reds Clinched Cuba," on pages 41–42 of the September 17 issue of U.S. News & World Report.

This story reads well to me and seems correct in every detail.

Actually, it holds the President fully responsible for forbidding the intended Cuban liberation air force from making a vital strike—and that was the ballgame. Let's check out the facts of this case. What then?

Does anyone imagine this will not become a major campaign issue?

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[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Oct. 2, 1962]

MODERN DAY PACIFISTS

(By George Todt)

"When they say that this is a bipartisan matter, I say that it cannot be a bipartisan matter. If it is bipartisan, I have got to put my stamp of approval of the Cuban situation * * *."—Representative JAMES B. UTT, Republican, of California, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 18866, September 19, 1962.

The Republican leadership will have left its senses if it allows the administration to boobytrap it into "bipartisanship" on the ugly Cuban fiasco—a debacle which steadily grows worse with the passage of time.

If the GOP hammers home to the public that it is the enept bumbling of the ADA superliberals who call the signals on foreign policy which is responsible for our present difficulties on the world stage, it will have accomplished twin objectives.

Joe Doakes, rightfully anxious to save his skin, will commence to make important

changes in 1962 and later 1964, come election time.

This is the most important issue the Republicans have today.

And it is the most important issue that faces our Nation, also—for it is nothing less than our ultimate survival in these modern times.

The deteriorating situation has already become too serious for us not to call it what it is—a failure of military strategy and tactics on the highest level.

But it has not come from our professional military leaders.

The fault lies with the unaccomplished and unlearned civilians who control our military men.

Some of them—such as Prof. Walt Whitman Rostow, Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Schlesinger, and J. William Fulbright, to mention only a few well-intentioned failures—do not know enough about the art of war to fight their way out of a paper bag.

Worse, most of them are out-and-out pacifist appeasers.

They are the modern Neville Chamberlains as far as we may be concerned. And the results might later prove as disastrous for us, too.

It is imperative that we find new advisers, aides, assistants or what-have-you?—anybody at all who can give the flagging and sagging cold war effort a boost toward victory for our side—to help the President.

The advisers he has had must be pretty bad for we are losing everywhere. If this is not so, then tell me where any victory for our side has taken place since J.F.K. took office? Can you name one?

This timid failure to go into Cuba before the price in blood and treasure becomes exorbitant for us is folly of the worst kind.

I advocated it in the past when the price would have been much less than it is going to be, either now or later.

Two years ago, the United States likely could have done the job against the fanatical Castro with a regiment of our fighting U.S. Marines. Certainly no more than a single division of professionals would have been necessary to win.

Now it is being estimated that we will need at least six divisions to obtain the same results. And the price for the United States will continue to grow.

Just to keep the record straight, I advocated liquidation of Castro in this column 4 years ago—while liberal pundits in the mass communications media were hailing him as the "George Washington of Cuba." I was almost alone then, but I was right. Castro must be eliminated.

## Deserving Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, September 27, 1962, some 300 friends paid a warm tribute to Attorney William J. Lee at a surprise testimonial dinner. A highlight of the evening was the presentation of remaining books on the life of Abraham Lincoln missing in the Lee Library. Bill Lee is a close personal friend of mine and my family. I am happy to point out his outstanding record of public service in the fine town of Wakefield:

[From the Wakefield Daily Item, Sept. 28, 1962]

DESERVING TRIBUTE

Some 300 men and women paid deserving tribute to one of Wakefield's most outstanding citizens last night.

He is Attorney William J. Lee, a friend to people in all walks of life.

Because of the embarrassment they knew he would feel from such a dinner, the committee decided against a head table or principal speakers and kept the function a dark secret.

Originally, it was the intent of the committee to have a small informal party for Wakefield's former town meeting moderator and town counsel, but as soon as word leaked out there was a howling clamor for tickets.

Within 2 weeks the party grew from 50 or 75 to 300 where it had to be halted. This, in itself, is evidence of the popularity and love that most Wakefieldians have for Attorney Lee.

As with most men of his virtues, composure and generosity, Attorney Lee favors a cloak of secrecy around his philanthropies.

While we are aware of his desires, we would be remiss in not mentioning that it is a wonderful feeling to have Attorney Bill Lee as a Wakefieldian.

## Abominable Snowmakers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. JAMES C. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, the causes of fiscal responsibility and free enterprise have been dealt yet another setback by the bureaucracts in Washington. The damage was done this time by the Rural Electrification Administration.

This Agency was set up for the purpose of extending electric power to rural and remote areas which are not served by private power companies. The Rural Electrification Administration is, of course, subsidized by the taxpayers.

The Rural Electrification Administration has far overstepped its intended bounds. It recently approved a $30,000 loan to a ski resort at Hanover, Ill., for the purchase and installation of snowmaking equipment.

This money was loaned to the ski resort at a rate of interest of 2 percent—although the money cost the Rural Electrification Administration 4 percent interest. The difference, as usual, will have to be made up by the taxpayers.

Loans of this sort should be made through private channels. And if they must be made by the Federal Government, the taxpayers at least should be protected from bureaucrats who borrow money at 4 percent and lend it at 2 percent.

I insert the following editorial on the subject, which appeared in the Atlanta Journal of October 2, 1962, under the caption "Abominable Snowmakers":

ABOMINABLE SNOWMAKERS

If we ever get up to Hanover, Ill., we are certainly going to have a look at the snowmaking machine at Chestnut Hill resort. Our very own tax dollars helped buy and install this machine, after working their way through the labyrinthine wonderland of the Federal bureaucracy.

This was no under-the-table Billie Sol Estes stuff calling for a spectacular congressional investigation. It was done by the rule book, but that makes it more—not less—disturbing. Here's how it happened:

The Rural Electrification Administration, an arm of the Federal Government, approved a $30,000 loan to the Jo-Carroll Electric Cooperative of Elizabeth, Ill., for reloan to the ski resort to help purchase and install electrically powered snowmaking equipment and outdoor lights.

But that's not all. The loan to the cooperative bore an interest rate of 2 percent, while Uncle Sam must borrow at 4 percent. And we can safely assume that the snowmakers paid less than the bank rate. Any difference in interest amounts to a subsidy bestowed by us taxpayers, including conventionally financed ski resorts and investor-owned power companies.

There are plenty of good sound reasons for making cheap money available to the REA when it is doing the job for which it was chartered—the extension of electric power to rural and remote areas. These are ventures so financially unrewarding that private capital could not be attracted to them.

But when the REA exceeds this purpose, when it aggressively seeks to expand beyond its intended limits, it looks suspiciously like empire building.

There's been so much talk about the encroachment of the Federal bureaucracy that maybe we won't be heard above the din. But this is a good occasion to recall this Nation's pragmatic rule of thumb: Public enterprise steps in only when private enterprise can't or won't do the job.

Maybe it's time to take a public power inventory to make sure all its activities pass this test.

## Dedication of Thomas W. Pyle Junior High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable David W. Zimmerman, Deputy State Superintendent of the Maryland Department of Education, made a thought-provoking speech at the dedication ceremony of the Thomas W. Pyle Junior High School in Bethesda, Md., on October 9, 1962, which I would like to be included in the RECORD. Dr. Zimmerman's statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. and Mrs. Pyle, members of the Board of Education of Montgomery County, distinguished platform guests, and friends of the Thomas W. Pyle Junior High School, I am pleased to be present on this occasion to dedicate what I consider to be one of the most functional junior high schools that I have seen during recent years. I am doubly pleased to assist in honoring my long-time friend and colleague Thomas W. Pyle.

Some months ago I read an article in one of the leading national periodicals on an interview between Prime Minister Nehru of India and the distinguished editor of the Atlantic Monthly, Norman Cousins. In the course of the interview Mr. Nehru indicated

some of the problems which his nation was facing in the realization of its national goals. He expressed two concerns which the two men discussed somewhat in detail. Mr. Nehru posed the following query: "What has happened to the idealism of the Indian people? At one time only freedom and independence seemed to count; now personal grievances are the order of the day. The young people to whom we look for the raw stuff of fierce hope and idealism seem curiously self-centered and indifferent." Mr. Cousins remarked that he was impressed with the substantial material improvement which the nation had made since his last visit but he had encountered an increased criticism of the government. He inquired whether the criticism might not be a reflection of this improvement in the sense that people, once having had a taste of the better things, desire continued improvement. Mr. Nehru replied, "You may be right, there is a desire for better things and an understandable impatience. You may have observed criticism in the press that cannot be regarded as truly objective. It is this exaggerated picture that troubles me. Words should be precise instruments. Always there is need to create a properly balanced view of the situation. If our view is distorted by words, our actions will reflect the distortion."

These are questions and observations that could be made by a President of the United States. They relate to the essential ingredients of our democratic form of government. We could well ask ourselves, "What has happened to the idealism of the people of the United States?" Most of us are familiar with the substance and background of the great documents of American history, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States which express the democratic ideals of our Founding Fathers, and yet as we look about us we cannot help but observe that for the most part many of our citizens are apathetic about these ideals. People seem to be concerned with material values and regard lightly, if at all, the basic tenets of our American way of life. They seem to think that things will turn out all right regardless of their own individual beliefs or efforts. On the other hand, in times of great national emergency or war we seem to be able to rise to new heights. We dust off the famous words of our great leaders of the past and use them to arouse the people to go forth under the banner of our cherished ideals. I am not at all sure that this is bona fide idealism. It just might be a type of emotional patriotism. It is indeed ironical that only in times of war or great national emergency is our high idealism brought to the fore with controlling effect.

Does the exaggerated picture trouble you? Someone has remarked that exaggeration is a disease in the United States; we use it for emphasis without attempting to deliberately mislead. That is a debatable question. As a nation, we do not measure our words carefully and consequently the citizenry frequently does not get a balanced point of view. There is considerable distortion of the facts and often a consequent line of action which reflects this distortion. This is indeed unfortunate and reflects to a certain extent the absence of genuine commitment to our democratic ideals. All of us should consider our words well and endeavor to make them precise instruments. At this point may I state publicly that the public schools accept a portion of the responsibility for instilling within our youth the raw stuff of fierce hope and idealism. They strive to teach youth to measure their words well so that they are truly the words of the heart. You will note that I stated that the schools accept a portion of this responsibility. The schools cannot do it alone. The home, the church, and all of the social institutions which have a part in the growth and development of youth make a contribution in this direction. All agencies need to be conscious of the great need in this area and to develop a program accordingly.

The man whom you have honored by giving this school his name is an idealist. Thomas W. Pyle measures his words with extreme care. Actually, I have never known him to do otherwise. I was privileged to work with him as a fellow high school principal for a number of years and was impressed with his high idealism. He always asked the question, "In what way will this program of education enable our boys and girls to become better American citizens?" A simple maxim, but full of idealism. In addition, he was careful not to overstate the question or make observations that were not indeed factual. I am confident that his idealism and strict adherence to objective evidence have influenced the lives of the pupils who were privileged to attend the schools of which he was principal. Teachers and parents were similarly influenced. With such a auspicious beginning this school should easily produce a Woodrow Wilson or John Locke, both of whom were idealists in their respective fields of endeavor.

And now, on behalf of the State board of education and the State superintendent of schools, I dedicate this school for the purpose of free public education in this great State and Nation of ours.

## Federal Excise Tax on Telephone Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the membership of the Oregon Independent Telephone Association during its annual convention in Portland, Oreg., on June 20 through June 22, 1962. The resolution urges the elimination of the Federal excise tax on all telephone service.

I heartily endorse the views expressed in this resolution and it is my hope that the repeal of these telephone excise taxes will be given most careful consideration by the Finance Committee when tax revision legislation is considered in the next session of the Congress.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the membership of the Oregon Independent Telephone Association in executive business session during its annual convention at the Portland-Sheraton Hotel, Portland, Oreg., June 20–22, 1962, is aware that the temporary wartime excise taxes on telephone communications as well as other services and items have been extended for many years beyond the original intended tenure; and

Whereas the membership of the Oregon Independent Telephone Association is still of the opinion that the intent and purpose of the excise tax on telephone communications have long since been accomplished inasmuch as it was a war measure designed to conserve telephone facilities for defense purposes and to deter the excess use of telephone facilities by nonessential users; and

Whereas the telephone communications industry is performing a vital and necessary function of our society, and under no circumstances should it be classed as a luxury; and

Whereas the excise taxes now assessed and collected on telephone communications are discriminatory in that other utility services such as electrical power, gas, and water are not required to pay similar excise taxes, and to that extent telephone communications users are carrying an excessive share of the cost of Government; and

Whereas these excise taxes are a penalty against the communications business: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That this association urgently request that these facts again be presented to the Honorable Senators WAYNE MORSE and MAURINE NEUBERGER; the Honorable Congresswoman EDITH GREEN and Congressmen WALTER NORBLAD, EDWARD DURNO, and AL ULLMAN and that they be asked to give careful and favorable consideration to the elimination of the excise taxes now assessed and collected on telephone communications at the earliest opportunity.

Adopted at Portland, Oreg., June 20, 1962.

OREGON INDEPENDENT TELEPHONE ASSOCIATION,
LOWELL BRANARD, *President.*
HARLEY J. PORTER, *Secretary.*

## Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, in the August 29, 1962, issue of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner there appeared a column by George Todt entitled "Berlin, a Test Tube." I believe the column is timely and, under unanimous consent, place it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

BERLIN, A TEST TUBE

(By George Todt)

"Go forth to meet the shadowy future without fear and with a manly heart."—Longfellow, "Hyperion."

Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet dictator, has used the tortured city of Berlin for years as a giant testing ground of our wavering Western will—much as he has used other self-manufactured trouble spots around the globe for the same purpose.

One must understand this much at the outset, or the varied pieces in the global jig saw puzzle will never begin to take recognizable shape before the eyes of the puzzled onlooker.

You might say that, on the whole, we have few real differences between us and the Red Communist Empire in Berlin or elsewhere—save one.

And that is simply the decisive question of whether our planet is to be controlled ultimately from the eastern or western side of the Iron Curtain. Which is it to be?

Actually, the transparent issues the U.S.S.R. kicks up in Berlin—as in other worldwide areas of importance—are strictly phony when viewed from any reasonable position. They are trumped up out of thin air. Just to keep the pot boiling.

If it was not one pestiferous thing, it would be another one.

Khrushchev and company continuously dream up nuisances to test our will to resist. To see what we will let them put over on us. How far can they go?

In effect, they try to see if they can make suckers of us.

With infinite patience, they throw us a baited line from time to time in order to see how the fish are biting today. How often do we bite?

The Red warlords are constantly probing us in innumerable large and small ways. Where we stiffen our resistance, or show signs of possible retaliation, they quickly subside their efforts and go elsewhere.

Our main fault is in our overriding lack of patience at playing the same game of cat and mouse. All too often, we allow ourselves to become worn out with Soviet intransigence and impossibly stubborn postures.

After long periods of fruitless discussions and negotiations which go from bad to worse, our inept diplomats suddenly tire and throw in the sponge—claiming that half a loaf is better than none. Seldom do they get even this much.

The present imperialist Red empire is tireless and inexorable in its demands for expansion into a global world government, controlled by Moscow.

The progenitors of the modern Soviet man—the czarists were little different from the Communists in their greed for the legitimate properties of other peoples—were at the same bandit game for centuries before the world heard of Lenin, Stalin, and Mr. K in our time.

The Red warlords have conquered the Mongol empires of Genghis Khan and his immediate successors in reverse. Same boundaries today.

Since the days of Czar Ivan the Terrible in the 15th century A.D., the lords of Muscovy have been on the march against civilization.

Theirs is a long-range master plan, like a global jigsaw puzzle.

From time to time they fit another stolen piece into the overall pattern.

The Red slave empire today is composed mainly of conquered, subjugated peoples. Where is there any self-determination for Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Rumanians, Georgians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Poles, Armenians, Czechs, White Russians?

Will the underground American Association of Apologists for the Soviet Union now step forward and tell us these enslaved, unfortunate, and bitterly unhappy humans do not wish self-determination of peoples where they are concerned? Tell it to the U.N.

Berlin, Laos, Cuba, Vietnam, Formosa Straits—or what?

What does it matter? These are spots to probe our nerve. So?

## Looking Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this year, the rural electrification program marked an important milestone as the five millionth consumer received electricity as the result of REA loans to rural electric cooperatives throughout the Nation. Last year, this worthwhile program passed another noteworthy milestone when REA received from a Midwestern rural electric cooperative a check which included the one billionth dollar repaid to the Federal Government in the $4 billion REA electrification loan program.

When the REA program was started 27 years ago, rural America was still a dark land, for only 10 percent of the Nation's farms had central station electricity. Today, 96 percent of our farmers are living better and farming better, thanks to a hundred and one electrical helpers.

Those of us who have always worked for a strong and beneficial REA program have every reason to look back with pride at the achievements of the past 27 years. But we must remember to look ahead as well.

No program ever stands still. It either advances, or it starts downhill. Clyde T. Ellis, the very capable general manager of the National Rural Electric Co-op Association, made this point in a very excellent speech presented at NRECA's 1962 regional meetings, held across the country this fall. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have excerpts of Mr. Ellis' remarks printed in the RECORD:

HEAVY UP

(Statement of Clyde T. Ellis, general manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, at the 1962 NRECA regional meetings)

There is a widely used phrase in the rural electric program which we have adopted as the theme of the 1962 regional meetings. That phrase is "Heavy up."

You use this phrase in a strictly physical sense. It means increasing your plant capacity—building bigger units, setting larger poles, increasing the size of conductors—in short, making preparations to meet demands for power which double about every 6 years.

A rural electric system that tries to operate today with the same plant and concepts that it had even 10 years ago won't be in business very long.

Nowhere is the need for heavying-up more evident than in the area we normally refer to as public and member relations.

It has become almost a cliche to say that our existence as rural electric cooperatives and power districts depends on public understanding and acceptance. But, every day the truth of that statement becomes clearer.

It's not enough to just cry about the attacks of our opponents. We must take positive steps to combat their efforts to turn the public against us. We must heavy up our efforts to tell our own story—before someone else has a chance to twist and distort it.

I do not know of a single commercial power company which does not have a full-time, highly skilled public relations staff on its payroll—more than you have in your national office. In addition, the power companies spend tens of millions of dollars each year on local and national advertising and other propaganda. And, of course, they pool it for impact.

Their propaganda campaign is increasingly effective against us and one reason is that we are doing relatively little in public relations ourselves.

Right now the big slant in their propaganda is socialism and nationalism—or worse. They're trying to convince the people and public officials that our program is somehow un-American. For example, Mr. W. W. Lynch, president of Texas Light & Power Co., in a speech recently to Texas Congressmen as the newly elected president of the power companies' Edison Electric Institute, said:

"The REA and the NRECA join hands with other agencies of Government in a program which, if continued, is likely to result in the destruction of the investor-owned industry."

Can you imagine anything more ridiculous?

One paragraph later, he said:

"We hope you will oppose those programs that have as their principal purpose the nationalization of our industry."

Of course, there are no such programs. It would be no more ridiculous for us to charge the power companies with trying to take our country the way of Castro.

A new book the power companies have published is another example. It's by Edwon Vennard, vice president and managing director of Edison Electric Institute, entitled "The Deviation of REA." It's full of this socialism-nationalism stuff and follows the current power company line of trying to equate us with communism.

The truth is that the power companies themselves are the deviators. They have deviated from their authorized role of franchised public-service, nonfree enterprise agencies of the state into Wall Street-controlled dictatorships determined to destroy all of the power industry that they can't control. And they are determined to collectivize the total power industry by and for themselves.

Rural electric cooperatives, on the other hand, have stuck to their own knitting and have extended the private ownership of electric utilities to 5 million consumers and the benefits to upward of 20 million people. These member-owners control their own enterprises. Maybe this really bothers the power companies. Maybe they're uneasy about the consumer having any voice anywhere in the affairs of utility organizations.

I'll leave it to any unbiased person who knows the facts to decide whether rural America's home-owned electric systems or Wall Street's cost-plus, dictator power companies, with their captive customers, and which the courts have ruled are in fact substitutes for the state and which are now invading our territory—I'll leave it to any unbiased person whether the electric co-ops or the power companies most resemble communism as it's practiced in the world today.

Beauty is as beauty does. By the same token, ugly is as ugly does.

I'll measure the Americanism and free-enterprise status of rural electric cooperatives against the power companies any day with no fear of the result.

AID AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Many of you have been active also in other programs closely related to member and public relations. These include the cooperative phase of the area development, rural area development and foreign aid programs.

You asked Congress and the administration to consider injecting the REA idea and other do-it-yourself rural area development efforts into the foreign aid program. They did. And then they asked you to help provide the know-how and training necessary. You responded beautifully. Many of you have volunteered to take leave and go help. A few have gone already. More will go soon. Others of you have offered to help train people from other countries on your systems. Others have offered to contribute or sell them at very low prices outgrown transformers, generators, wire and other materials.

The AID program has agreed to reimburse us for time spent on these efforts, including management training.

Here we have a great opportunity to help farm and rural people of other lands to help themselves to a better way of life—better than the Communist-dictator way. And in the doing we, too, will no doubt learn and gain much.

HEAVY UP YOUR LEGISLATIVE FRONT

This has been an exceedingly difficult year for us in the field of legislation.

All of the things I've said about stepped-up power company activity and the apathy of our own people are being drawn into focus by Congress. As a group, your Senators and Representatives constitute the most sensitive barometer as to the mood and pressures of the people and special interest groups.

I want to tell you frankly that we're meeting more resistance to the REA and Federal wholesale power programs in Congress now than ever before. Our traditional opponents are bolder; many of those in the middle are beginning to lean away from us; and some of our friends are beginning to waiver.

To an increasing extent, we're forced to fight off substantial direct attacks on the REA program itself. The power companies have singled out the generation and transmission program as their major battlefield. The New York Times has said that the principal utility target is no longer TVA, it is now REA.

This year we had to beat off a major power company effort to pass an amendment to the farm bill which would have effectively destroyed our right and opportunity to generate our own power where we must do so.

We had to fight as we've seldom fought before to defeat a crippling amendment to the agriculture appropriations bill which would have restricted the amount of G. & T. (generation and transmission) loan funds to about half the need.

The vote on this clear-cut REA issue was 133 to 94. A switch of 20 votes would have meant defeat.

In opposing our right to generate, before Congress, the State commission and the courts, the power companies claims there is plenty of power while themselves building generating capacity like mad, not to keep ahead of demand, but to keep somewhat behind it. They yell that our loans are made insecret—which, of course, they are not—but the power companies live behind an iron wall of secrecy. Did you every try to find out who owns one of them? What would you think of trying to get a bill passed in each of your States to require them to file annually with your appropriate State official a complete list of their common stockholders? I say we have a right to know who is attacking us, and the people have a right to know who has taken over their public service monopolies.

The power companies yell that the electric co-ops are going to take them over, when it is they, many times our size, who are pirating away our consumers and trying to kill all our co-ops. But do they tell the Securities and Exchange Commission and their prospective bond and stock customers that they are about to go out of business? Should there not be a Federal law to require the power companies to reveal to SEC annually any statements they have made about being run out of business?

Power company lobbyists have swarmed over the Capitol like flies this year—not just the paid staffs of their national organizations, but the power company presidents, the puppet kings themselves. They are puppet kings because the strings are pulled in Wall Street where the real power company owner-dictator control groups hold forth.

We're in the classic position of having to run faster than we can just to stand still. Everyone knows that the influence of rural areas in Congress is declining. This is due partly to the population shifts which have resulted in fewer than 50 out of 437 House Members now having more than 25 percent farm constituents. But more than that, there is a feeling in Washington that rural people no longer can agree among themselves on programs which affect them. So many conflicting voices claim to speak for the farmer that Congress is beginning to think none of them can be very effective.

For instance, when we were fighting last spring with our backs to the wall trying to save sufficient funds for the G. & T. programs the farm organization which claims to be the biggest in the country went in and said this to the House Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee: "We question the need for $100 million for REA to provide for generating and transmission facilities at this time."

By contrast to this division among farm people, the power companies speak with one voice, and to that they add the voices of all their allies—the chamber of commerce organizations, the bankers, most of the big publishers, ultrarightwing groups that are springing up, and others.

If we are to stay in this fight, we're going to have to face up to and rethink our way through some of the hard facts of life, and do more about them than we've been doing.

Our people are going to have to be willing to put aside apathy and self-interest and gear up to support the program now on a crash basis.

We've just got to do a better job of supporting our friends. I'm not talking about partisan politics—I'm talking about the individual man and his voting record. I submit that when our people support a man who is against the program, just because of his party, that is partisan politics.

Let me say that I think the REA Administrator and the fine team he has assembled need and deserve your support. I don't think REA has ever had a more courageous administrator than Norman Clapp. He and his top assistants have really stood up and fought for the program.

ENERGY RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Development of our country's natural resources is lagging badly at the very time when our chief adversary, Russia, is moving top speed with hers, while boasting of no unemployment and chiding us about ours.

Meanwhile the developing countries watch us both and try to decide whether to go free capitalistic or dictator communistic.

I suggest that the time has come for us and other consumer groups to further demonstrate our historic leadership in this vital area by calling for a national conference on energy resource development.

I think we should ask the President of the United States to call such a conference, and if he does not call it, I think we should do it—we and other consumer-oriented organizations who believe in an abundance of power in the economy at the lowest possible cost.

MUST CHANGE OR DIE

The United States is growing, the people are shifting and the economy is changing. In the years just ahead the inefficient will be swept aside, and organizations which lack the ability or the willingness to change and adapt to new conditions will disappear like the dinosaur.

We must now pull ourselves up to greater height and move together as we have never moved before to insure the success of our program.

I urge that each of us, myself included, lay aside all our disappointments and differences, if any, and begin at once a heavied up overall action campaign that will capture the attention and gain the admiration of our consumers, the general public, the administration, and the Congress of the United States.

## Ambassador Stevenson Explains U.S. Nuclear Test Ban Position at U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD the full text of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's fine statement of October 10 to the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. In his eloquent remarks, Ambassador Stevenson gave a precise exposition of U.S. policy concerning the grave issue of nuclear testing. He left no doubt that the United States regards an agreement to ban nuclear testing as an integral part—if only a part—of a comprehensive program of general and complete disarmament.

In Ambassador Stevenson's words, the policy of this country is "to ban nuclear testing of every kind" through a treaty based on detection and verification under international control; failing that, he said, the least we can do for our fellow man is to "clear the seas, the air, and the space beyond, of these ghastly weapons and their poisonous spawn."

It is extremely helpful to have the maximum and minimum programs of the United States spelled out in such convincing terms. A comprehensive test ban is not possible without Soviet acquiescence to the principle of obligatory on-site inspections. Ambassador Stevenson's arguments should dispel for all time any Soviet fear, real or pretended, that the United States could manipulate the right of on-site inspection for purposes of espionage. The Soviet position of inspection by invitation is unrealistic and should be abandoned. In any event, the nuclear powers should promptly accept the recent United States-United Kingdom proposal to ban nuclear tests in all environments except underground.

It is important to note that the United States will keep on trying to obtain a nuclear test ban whatever the obstacles, the frustrations, or the past history of futility.

No one can stampede us into a test ban which is inimical to our national security. By the same token, we will not leave the conference table out of pique. As long as any purpose is served by keeping the test ban talks alive, the United States will be present and voting. Likewise, it will welcome the constructive proposals of the 8 neutral nations at the 18-nation conference in Geneva.

I am gratified that Ambassador Stevenson made these points with his characteristic force and clarity.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, IN THE FIRST COMMITTEE, ON THE NUCLEAR TEST ITEM

Mr. Chairman, I come before you to survey once again the nuclear testing issue, which by now is familiar ground to most of us. I wish very much that this issue had been behind us for many years, and that the peace of the world, the survival of civilization, and the health of mankind were not still endangered by nuclear weapons. But they are. Indeed, instead of receding, the danger has increased as the weapons have multiplied in number and in lethal sophistication.

So our discussion here this year is even more urgent, and we must ask you to examine the situation even more closely, and help us with patience and persistence to reach an agreement and reverse the tragic trend.

While we are debating here, the Geneva negotiations go on. The purpose of our discussion is not to replace those negotiations but to encourage them. This Assembly can register emphatically the anxiety and intense feeling of mankind on the subject of nuclear testing. At Geneva we must translate those feelings into concrete form. And the sooner the better.

I speak as a representative of one of the few nations possessing nuclear military power. Such power is a distinction—if such it be—conferred by history and resources, not by choice. And it is, I can assure you, an awesome responsibility, to be envied by no one.

Nuclear power imposes, in fact, a solemn threefold duty. First, we have to maintain that power in adequate measure to protect the national security of our own country and those numerous countries and peoples who look to it for protection. Second, we have the sobering duty to use the power with such restraint that the peace of the world is not endangered anywhere. And, finally, there is the imperative duty to discover some way to reduce a level of military power which serves no other purpose than to balance off a concentration of power in other hands.

My Government is totally committed to the discharge of all three of these responsibilities. But we are concerned here today with the third responsibility imposed by nuclear power: The urgent need to find some way of controlling the rush to greater and greater power—to find some way out of the insensate and endless arms race.

Mr. Chairman, I have little doubt that if I represented one of the member states without nuclear weapons, I should feel frustrated by the prolonged dialog between the nuclear powers; annoyed at what may seem like obsession with technicalities; and sorely tempted to step up and say, in effect: "Stop arguing and get down to business—and be quick about it."

But to the state which is burdened with nuclear power it is painfully evident that this is a problem which is hard, cold, incredibly complex and intensely practical. It will not yield simply to moralizing and exhortation, nor to platitudes or slogans. It therefore becomes the duty of the nuclear powers to be quite blunt about the realities—to be candid about the practical relevance of our debates in this Assembly to the politics of an arms race which is a fact of life.

There is no point in recrimination; nor in rehashing old stories for the sake of the record which is already ponderous; that would only contribute to skepticism about the chances of controlling the arms race. The point, rather, is to look realistically at our now considerable experience and to draw appropriate lessons from it.

It is not my purpose today to give a detailed recapitulation of the history of the nuclear test negotiations. However, for the convenience of delegations during the present debate, we have prepared a supplemental white paper on those negotiations, which we shall be pleased to make available tomorrow.

Our recent experience with the problem of nuclear testing is, I believe, most illuminating in this connection.

One of the first realities of the nuclear arms race emerged for all to see—in a shockingly dramatic way—just as the 16th General Assembly was about to convene. For approximately 3 years previously, no nuclear testing had been conducted—a voluntary, uninspected, and, informal moratorium on nuclear testing had been in effect. For approximately 3 years, a Test Ban Conference in Geneva had labored painfully—through ups and downs, accords and discords—until agreement was reached on a preamble, 17 articles, and 2 annexes of a draft treaty to end nuclear testing. For approximately 3 years the Soviet Union had agreed upon the principle that international inspection would be required to guarantee that the treaty's provisions were, in fact, being carried out. The issue had become the number of detection posts and the number of onsite inspections which would be necessary each year and not the principle itself. At long last, it seemed reasonable to hope that we were on the verge of a workable treaty to ban all nuclear weapons testing in all environments—forever. Meanwhile the United Kingdom and the United States refrained from testing.

Then, when the United Kingdom and the United States came forward with new proposals which reasonably met all remaining Soviet objections, a strange thing occurred; the Soviet delegation began a retreat from points already agreed upon which was to culminate in November in a complete reversal of position. We were puzzled for a while, but on August 30 we had the explanation of why the Soviet delegation had ended meaningful negotiation: the Soviet Union unilaterally ended the moratorium by conducting what turned out to be a massive series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere—a test series which had been under preparation for a long time and which was climaxed by an explosion of such force that it surpassed all rational military use.

This sudden and stunning reversal by the Soviet Union dramatized the need for a firm agreement which would give stability to the ending of tests and confidence to all the parties.

Mr. Chairman, this experience provided the first lesson about the realities of the nuclear arms race: a voluntary unverified moratorium does not reduce tensions; does not build mutual confidence; does not stop the perils of fallout; does not put a brake on the arms race; is not a step toward general disarmament; and does not contribute to the peace of the world. The conclusion is obvious: Where national security is concerned, an open society cannot undertake with a closed society an arrangement which cannot be verified.

The next reality about the nuclear arms race is that it can be ended only by agreement in which all parties can have confidence. Before this committee on October 19 of last year, I stated—and not for the first time—that the United States was ready to return to the conference table in Geneva; that before the United States followed the Soviet lead and resumed testing we were prepared to conclude a test ban treaty either here or in Geneva; I declared that a treaty could be signed within 30 days; and, of course, I said my Government would be obliged to resume testing in the atmosphere if the Soviet Union continued and refused to agree to stop, and if we found that this forced us to look again to our own security.

You know the result. The Soviet Union rejected the offer of the United States and United Kingdom, ignored the appeal of this Assembly, and continued its longest series to its bitter and violent end. But even under these conditions—even after nearly 50 Soviet atmospheric tests and before any U.S. atmospheric tests—the United States and the United Kingdom went back to Geneva and urged a test ban with international supervision and inspection annually involving less than 1 part in 2,000 of Soviet territory. Even this offer was rejected. And, at last, after detailed scientific study, prolonged delay, and with deep reluctance, the President of the United States determined that in our own security interests we, too, should have to return to testing in the atmosphere. And now, before our series has been completed, the Soviet Union is at it again.

What lesson can be drawn from this part of our experience in the preceding years? Nothing new, I am afraid; nothing but confirmation of the melancholy fact that in the contemporary world the only effective restraint upon military power which man has been able to invent is to line up opposing national military power—and an increase in military power on one side is followed by an increase in military power on the other side, almost as surely as night follows day.

Before yielding to despair, however, let us quickly note the other side of it. Even without a fundamental change in political relationships, if we could stop nuclear testing simultaneously, each side could be able to accept such a balance—as long as it is ascertainable that the stoppage has, in fact, taken place.

In the light of these rather somber realities, Mr. Chairman, what else can we conclude from our experience so far with the nuclear-testing issue? We can, I believe, draw at least two more reassuring conclusions.

The first is that, despite the futility of mere rhetoric, this Assembly overwhelmingly made up of states without nuclear weapons, is not without influence on those which have them. In the atmosphere of gloom and apprehension which prevailed last year at the opening of the 16th General Assembly, the members did not give up hope and turned once again to the quest for control of the nuclear arms race. In this, I am certain that we have overwhelming world opinion behind us. Certainly we do in my country.

In any event, encouraged by the Assembly's action in calling for renewed negotiations for an internationally monitored test ban agreement, we picked up the remains of 3 years of hard work at Geneva and returned to negotiations.

This leads me to the second conclusion of a more hopeful nature which I think we can draw from recent experience. It is this: Continuous negotiations—however fruitless they may look from the sidelines—do at least help to clear away the semantic confusion, to uncover the hard core problems underneath, to narrow the debate to the real issues. If this is tedious and frustrating work, it is immensely important because at long last the right questions can be asked and wrong answers can be exposed. If, in the end, we fail again, at least we have the advantage of knowing why we failed, and then we must try yet again.

In the meantime, some genuine progress appears to have been made. According to its official statements, the Soviet Government has again reversed itself and is willing to accept a nuclear test ban agreement in advance of general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Government now says that it is willing to accept some arrangement in which an international commission would be a feature. It is unwilling as yet, however, to concede the essential rights of international supervision and inspection.

For our part, the United States and the United Kingdom have agreed, on the basis of a new technical assessment, that a reduction can now be made in the number of sites within the Soviet Union that would be required to monitor seismic disturbances. We

also have accepted a reduction in the number of inspections required within Soviet territory for verification that such seismic events were not underground nuclear explosions.

We were able to accept these modifications because of recent improvements in scientific techniques for detection of underground disturbances. For the past 2 years my Government has been conducting an extensive program of research on the improvement of such techniques. This program, for which the United States has allocated more than $200 million, has produced much valuable information; we now have a better understanding of the phenomena relevant to detection and identification of nuclear tests than we had even a year or two ago.

This is what we have offered and what we want—a ban on all tests for all time, subject only to the necessity of international inspection in the one environment where it is scientifically necessary—that is, underground. The United States and the United Kingdom tabled a draft treaty incorporating these points at Geneva on August 27.

So once again the Western Powers have moved toward the goal of a test-ban treaty. In that process we have been aided by the positive and responsible contributions of the delegations of Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic. The memorandum submitted by these eight delegations on April 16 has been useful in making it possible to bring closer together the opposing positions in the test-ban negotiations.

These proposals did not pretend to be a detailed blueprint for a final treaty but expressed some ideas which both sides could accept and which they now must translate into precise treaty language. The United States-United Kingdom draft treaty of August 27 is responsive to these ideas.

We believe that nuclear and nonnuclear powers alike owe these delegations a debt of gratitude for their conscientious and constructive diplomacy at Geneva and, on behalf of my government, I express my thanks to them.

I want to make clear once again that our continued insistence on the need for identification and verification of underground phenomena is not based on ideological or political grounds—nor is it a bargaining position. Our insistence is based on the scientific fact that knowledge and techniques do not exist to distinguish between earthquakes and underground nuclear explosions without on-site inspection.

The U.S. delegation will circulate to all delegations a brief memorandum which elaborates on this problem. While we can detect seismic events above a certain threshold fairly effectively, we cannot identify what they are. The signals from underground nuclear tests are identical with those of most earthquakes. When we have detected something, how do we know what it is? With a few special types of earthquakes we can distinguish an earthquake from an explosion. But the reverse is not true and in no cases can we identify a nuclear explosion as different from most earthquakes. The only way to answer that question is to inspect the site of the detected event.

The Soviets seem to be saying that they do have instruments for detection and identification of underground nuclear tests which can operate on a purely national basis. We cannot say that they do not have such instruments. We can only say that we do not, nor do we know of any. The Soviets have been repeatedly invited to bring forward experts and their instruments so that this important matter of fact can be established. They have declined the invitation.

Nevertheless, as I suggested earlier, the Geneva negotiations have served to narrow the discussion to its fundamentals and to expose to the sunlight the precise issue. Therefore we can now ask the right question, which is this: Will the Soviet Union agree—as we have agreed—to the necessary number of control posts, manned by Soviet nationals under an international system, to monitor seismic events. And will the Soviet Union agree—as we have agreed—to permit on its territory a limited number of international verification teams.

We have seen that the Soviet Union has abandoned its insistence that a test cessation agreement can be accomplished only as part of general and complete disarmament. By accepting the eight-nation memorandum as a basis for negotiation, they have agreed once again that an international control system may be established to monitor tests. Only one major objection remains—only one obstacle bars the path to the first great step toward nuclear sanity. The Soviet Union has not yet agreed to reaffirm the position which it took from 1958 until November 1961—that on-site inspection was a necessary element of any test ban agreement.

Instead they have proposed inspection by invitation. The Soviet proposal in response to the eight-nation memorandum provides that an international commission would have the right to ask for information about seismic events and, after a period of consultations, could ask for an on-site inspection. The state on whose territory the event took place would then decide whether it would agree to such an inspection. Such an arrangement, of course, defeats the purpose of inspection. It gives a veto power over verification to the very state in which the suspicious event takes place. It protects cheating. But the point of an international inspection system is to give all the parties a secure confidence that the treaty is not being violated.

The United States has not and will not abandon hope that the Soviet Union will once again reaffirm their former approval of some international verification system so that an agreement can at long last become a reality. If the Soviet Union really wants an agreement to stop all testing forever, we frankly cannot understand why some inspection at the site, which was acceptable to the Soviet Union a year ago, should not be acceptable today.

For some time now, the answer of the Soviet Union has been that international verification is but a cover for "imperialist espionage"—or words, in endless profusion, to that effect. But, whatever the words, the answer is transparently wrong. And let me tell you why.

First, the international inspection teams would be chosen and organized by the executive officer of the international control system—not by the United States or the United Kingdom. The executive officer would be chosen by the Commission only, with the agreement of the Soviet Union among others.

Second, transportation of the inspectors to and from the site would be under the control of the Soviet Government or the country involved. If it wished it could even blindfold the inspectors en route.

Third, while at the site, the international inspectors could be accompanied by such observers as the host government wishes.

Fourth, the areas subject to inspection would be small and strictly limited by treaty in each case. In all, the total area subject to inspection annually would be an infinitesimal fraction of Soviet territory. Let us take the most extreme assumptions—(a) that every suspicious event occurred in a different area, and (b) that all the area of each event was actually inspected. Even under such conditions, the surface of the Soviet Union would not be covered for more than 2,000 years. If security cannot be protected under these conditions—and the actual conditions would be much more favorable—then the world indeed has much to fear.

Fifth, the location of sites to be inspected cannot be determined in advance by the United States or anyone else. They would be determined solely by objective instrumentation, operating under international control.

Finally, only a limited number of on-site inspections would be conducted each year.

Now let us try to see what would happen. A signal from an underground event would be received and recorded at control posts. The signals would be processed by the international commission. If it could not identify the event as an earthquake an inspection team might proceed to the site. The site would be determined solely on the basis of the scientifically recorded signal. Only a small fraction of such signals would be inspected on the site. To get to the site, the inspection team would use transportation under the control of the government involved. The team could carry only previously agreed and specified equipment related to its immediate task. While at the inspection site, the team would be under the scrutiny of as many observers as the host Government wished to assign. Its members could not leave the inspection site. The inspection team would then look for evidence of an underground nuclear explosion, report its findings, and return—under the same conditions as they came. Can espionage be conducted under these circumstances? The question answers itself.

We prayerfully hope that hard facts such as these will prevail over the mythical spectre of espionage, assuming it is sincere. If they do, we should be able to complete a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty in fairly short order.

But, supposing that the Soviet Union refuses to accept a comprehensive and verified test ban treaty in the near future? Can nothing then be done to curb the nuclear arms race that is so dangerous in peace as well as war, and so dreadfully costly when so much of the world is in such need? Yes, Mr. Chairman, a great deal could be done—and it is so easy to do that I find it incomprehensible that we are still discussing it.

I refer, of course, to an agreement to ban all weapons testing in the water, in the atmosphere, and in outer space, that is, all testing above ground. We have been referring to this as a limited ban. I repeat that the United States would much prefer a comprehensive treaty barring all testing everywhere. But if that is impossible, a half loaf is better than none. And it is more than a half loaf, because at least 90 percent of the force of all nuclear tests from the beginning has been exploded above ground. In this sense, a ban on all but underground testing would deal with 90 percent of the problem. And it would deal with the test environments of greatest concern. There is no radioactive fallout from an underground test, and from the viewpoint of radiation hazards a treaty banning tests in the oceans, the atmosphere and outer space would end at least that growing hazard to mankind everywhere.

I say such an agreement should be easy to make. Why? Because national detection systems are now so well developed that we can rely on them to identify nuclear explosions unless they take place underground. No on-site inspection is necessary for explosions above ground. The vexatious issue of inspection is eliminated. Indeed, there is no obstacle whatever to such an agreement.

There remains only one question: Will the Soviet Union agree with the other nuclear powers to cease and desist from the testing of nuclear weapons in the oceans, in the atmosphere, and in outer space?

Again I regret to say that the response from the Soviet side is negative. They have rejected even such a limited test ban agree-

ment because they say it would legalize underground testing. But it would do no such thing. It would, instead, make testing in three environments illegal—the environments where most all of the testing takes place and the environments where all of the radiation takes place. Moreover, it would break the deadlock at long last and bring us a long leap forward toward the ensuing steps to sanity and safety.

Should we refuse to outlaw testing in three environments—which is in our grasp this very day—just because we can't agree on the fourth environment? Surely the question of disarmament is one field in which any part of a loaf is better than none, and this is nine-tenths of a loaf.

The United States and the United Kingdom want to sign a treaty banning all nuclear tests above ground—without any inspection whatever. And we have put forward a draft text.

I do not know why the Soviet Union, having once approved the principle of international inspection which would make possible a comprehensive ban, has since opposed any inspection at all: And it is ever more difficult to understand why the Soviet Union declines to ban tests in the environment where we all agree that external or national detecting systems are adequate. But we will everlastingly hope that this opposition to any progress will thaw here in this room—and, if it does nothing else, this General Assembly of the United Nations will thereupon become a historic success.

Let me now, Mr. Chairman, recapitulate very briefly just where we stand on the nuclear testing issue.

First, we are deeply committed to the goal of general and complete disarmament, including the total elimination of all nuclear weapons and all means of their delivery—a process which we propose to start in the first stage of general disarmament. The U.S. delegation will return to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference with every intention of staying there for as long as may be necessary.

Second, we are prepared to sign at once a treaty banning all further tests in all environments, provided only that the Soviet Union accepts the detection and verification procedures, under international control, which are scientifically necessary in order to detect and identify underground tests.

Third, if the Soviet Union cannot or will not tolerate this modicum of cooperation, we are prepared to sign immediately a treaty banning all tests aboveground where we have the national capability of identifying Soviet tests; that is, in the oceans, the atmosphere, and outer space. And this is no unimportant step; it would eliminate all further poisoning of the atmosphere; it would sharply inhibit further nuclear weapons development; it would put a partial brake on the proliferation of nuclear weapons capability; and such an invigorating step forward would make a next step easier.

It would set us on the path toward disarmament.

In the light of all the conclusions we can draw from our extensive experience with the nuclear test issue, in light of the progress that has been made between the last Assembly and this one, the U.S. Government is neither pessimistic nor optimistic. We are simply and doggedly determined to keep at it until reason prevails; until we arrest the upward spiral of nuclear arms and then turn it downward, in stages which can be verified by a grateful world community.

The moment may be at hand when a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty has again become possible. The Soviet Union has had two large nuclear test series in the past year. The United States is completing a series begun last spring. Although the explosive force of the Soviet nuclear blasts far exceed the United States tests, we are quite prepared to stop testing now as soon as we have dependable means of knowing that the Soviet Union is going to stop and stay stopped. If the U.S.S.R. is satisfied with the progress in its present testing program, a rare period of equilibrium may have been reached in this sector of the arms race. This is a time, therefore, when firm insistence by the General Assembly can forestall another cycle of nuclear tests. Let us make the most of this decisive moment before it passes from us.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, let me say that we are at one of the fateful turning points of history, when the civilization of our times faces a choice between hope and horror. If we choose wrong, or fail to choose at all, the consequences to a world, already sorely wounded by two world wars in a generation, are frightening at best. If we choose rightly, the genius of man can carry us on to new triumphs of progress and brotherhood.

If we could here today, or in Geneva tomorrow, agree to ban nuclear testing of every kind, with security for all, we would lift a heavy burden from the hearts and shoulders of all mankind. If we can't, then let us at least, and without further argument or acrimony, do what we can for our fellow man and clear the seas, the air, and the space beyond, of these ghastly weapons and their poisonous spawn. There is no reason under heaven why this step should not be taken now, and every reason why it should be taken. Let us close our fateful discussion by resolving unanimously to end such tests and emancipate our people, yes, and our conscience, from this bondage.

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## Acreage Limitation Law in Respect to Di Giorgio Fruit Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an item published in the San Francisco Chronicle of July 15, 1962.

This article deals with a matter of immediate direct concern to this Congress and to the people of the United States. It describes the problems confronting the Government as it seeks to administer the acreage limitation law in respect to the Di Giorgio Fruit Corp.'s several thousand acres of land that have been irrigated by Government-subsidized water under a Bureau of Reclamation contract for the past 10 years.

At the time the Di Giorgio Corp. signed the contract, it agreed to dispose of its excess lands. Time at last has run out, and the 1952 contract is to be enforced. Ten years ago this big ranch was appraised at $5 million. Now, well irrigated and greatly increased in value because of Government water, the company's president asked for a reappraisal, saying:

Naturally, we expect to get today's market value for the land.

The Chronicle reporter says:

The company has not disclosed its plans other than to sit tight and let the Reclamation Bureau take the initiative. If it challenges the reappraisal figures, a court fight could run on for years—with the company using the water and land meanwhile.

Proceeds from the sale will be tax deferred if reinvested in other agricultural holdings within a year. If not invested, they would be subject to a capital gains tax of 25 percent.

I cite this story as a further corroboration of my efforts to prevent the giveaway of millions of dollars in irrigation funds to develop the arid lands of California's rich corporations in the San Luis project at the expense of U.S. taxpayers. As surely as day follows night, the history unfolding in the Di Giorgio Corp. story now being reported for another project in the San Joaquin Valley will repeat itself if the present escape of these powerful land corporations from acreage limitation law is allowed to stand in the San Luis project.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SETS TO SPLIT HUGE STATE RANCH

(By Charles Raudebaugh)

The Federal Government is planning to break up a 4,700-acre ranch of the Di Giorgio Fruit Corp. under the 160-acre water limitation law, the Chronicle learned yesterday.

It will be the first time the Bureau of Reclamation has taken such action, although a number of San Joaquin Valley landowners have voluntarily broken up their holdings.

"We are moving very slowly because this is a new field and we want to be dead sure of each step," said Reginald Howard, regional supervisor of irrigation contracts for the Reclamation Bureau.

The property is the Sierra Vista Ranch of the Di Giorgio Corp., one of the largest farming enterprises in the world. It is located east of Bakersfield in the Delano area.

In 1952 San Joaquin Valley landholders—including Di Giorgio—signed agreements they would dispose of land in excess of 160 acres in 10 years.

Their contracts gave the Government power to dispose of the land if the owners didn't.

NEXT MOVE

Di Giorgio's contract expired April 9. The company last year set the machinery in motion for a reappraisal and indicated the next move would be up to the Bureau of Reclamation.

It was appraised at $5 million in 1952 and as the first step in being sold by the Government a new appraisal board is being set up.

The company asked for the reappraisal and officers have told stockholders they expect the Government sale of the property will be of no financial detriment.

CONTROVERSIAL

"Naturally we expect to get today's market value for the land," said Bruce W. Sanborn, Jr., a vice president of Di Giorgio.

The 160-acre limitation law has been a subject of controversy in California since it was enacted by Congress shortly after the turn of the century.

The law specifies that water from a Federal dam or other Federal reclamation project cannot be used to irrigate more than 160 acres of any privately owned land. In a community property State such as California, a man and his wife can receive Federal water for up to 320 acres.

The disposition of the land may take months, and in the meantime—under the contract—Di Giorgio will continue to receive water and raise crops on the ranch.

The company has cooperated fully with the Reclamation Bureau in determining how best to break the big ranch up into tracts that will meet the 160-acre limit.

The Sierra Vista Ranch is prime agricultural land and is used for production of grapes, cotton, and asparagus.

In the preliminary breakup, it has been divided into 31 parcels.

NEW PROBLEMS

Appraisal carries many new problems—the toughest being a stipulation that the fair market value must be exclusive of any benefits brought about by water of the Central Valley project. The land is in the Delano-Earlimart Irrigation District, where all land values have been affected by the Federal water.

The company has not disclosed its plans other than to sit tight and let the Reclamation Bureau take the initiative. If it challenges the reappraisal figures, a court fight could run on for years—with the company using the water and land meanwhile.

Proceeds from the sale will be tax deferred if reinvested in other agricultural holdings within a year. If not invested, they would be subject to a capital gains tax of 25 percent.

## Jack Haynes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR**
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to know and appreciate the late Jack Haynes. Several years ago I left Yellowstone National Park with Jack Haynes and Horace M. Albright to go to Cody, Wyo., by way of Sunlight Basin in the Absarokas and Dead Indian Pass.

Jack Haynes' knowledge of Yellowstone National Park and the surrounding country and its history was tremendous. I shall ever be grateful for that trip and his friendship.

Horace M. Albright wrote an article for the National Park Courier concerning Jack Haynes that I am sure will recall many pleasant memories of a pioneer in the national parks concession field.

The article follows:

DEATH OF JACK HAYNES, DEAN OF PARK CONCESSIONERS, TOUCHES A RESPONSIVE CHORD

(By Horace M. Albright)

When, on May 12, Jack Ellis Haynes passed away in Livingston, Mont., after a brief illness, there was a loss of monumental proportions suffered by his family and friends, and by the entire National Park Service in general and the organizations—public and private—in Yellowstone Park in particular.

Jack Haynes was not only the dean of national park concessioners, but he had been rated for nearly a half century as one of the best of all the individuals engaged in furnishing travel facilities, accommodations, and services in the national park system. The high regard in which he was held by Government officials and fellow concessioners was the natural appraisal of a man who placed public service—and service to the public—above personal interests—profit and prestige. His father was already in business in Yellowstone National Park when he was born in Fargo, Dakota Territory, September 27, 1884. Of his long and successful life, Jack Haynes spent 75 of his 77 years in the park. His love of the Yellowstone was a part of him from earliest childhood.

He was always as ready to aid the park as he was to safeguard his family and his business. No man in business in a national park was ever more cooperative, more generous, and more unselfish.

He was educated as a mining engineer, graduating from the University of Minnesota in 1908, but he was a born artist, historian, explorer, author, and businessman. He was a talented musician. Photography was a skill attained early in life. Following in the footsteps of his father, whom he adored, he continued the famous Haynes Guide to Yellowstone National Park, improving it year by year, always keeping it up to date and constantly seeking new features to make it indispensable to park visitors who seriously sought information that would enable them to get the utmost enjoyment out of their trips. Long ago, the Haynes Guide was declared to be the official guide of the Yellowstone. Jack was also the author and editor of other important publications on the park.

Following the trail his father blazed for him, he continued the collection of books, pamphlets, souvenirs, artifacts, and other memorabilia of Yellowstone National Park, and the pioneer days of the surrounding country. No item was too small or too insignificant for Jack's attention if it had historical, archaeological, or anthropological value.

When the museums were being established in Yellowstone, Jack Haynes acted as director of the one at park headquarters and devoted much time, even in the midst of busy tourist seasons, to the planning and installation of exhibits. He contributed generously not only essential pictures but many objects from his own collections for the museum displays. As a consultant, without any compensation, he advised Park Service naturalists and museum specialists who later developed the museums in other sections of the park.

He loved to explore the wilderness areas of Yellowstone, and probably no man, except a few rangers and oldtime scouts, covered more of the remote parts of the park by horse and pack train, boat, and even afoot than Jack Haynes. He heartily supported the proposed boundary revisions and extensions of the park, and the creation of the Grand Teton National Park. In these legislative programs, his pictures and material from his collections were important aids to the Interior Department and the National Park Service officers.

When landscape restriction policies and new building programs were adopted by the National Park Service, the Haynes shops and their grounds were promptly rebuilt to meet the new conditions. When other concessionaires failed to respond to a plan for tourist facilities at Tower Falls, the risks were assumed by Haynes as a public service without much hope at the time that they might ultimately be profitable.

The Haynes picture shops at all point of interest in the Yellowstone have been outstanding for the variety and quality of the objects offered for sale, and for the superb taste with which Mr. and Mrs. Haynes planned the exhibits. Isabel Haynes was at Jack's side in business affairs and many of his other activities.

Jack Haynes' personality naturally contributed to his success and great popularity as a business operator, and as a personal friend to all of us who were privileged to know him. He was a kindly, gentle, soft-spoken man. His wit enlivened parties of all kinds whether they were at home, on a pack trip, on cookouts of scientific committee, or just riding or walking.

Jack's father, F. Jay Haynes, who had been in business in the Yellowstone since the early 1880's, died in 1921, but he had succeeded as founder of the House of Haynes in 1916. The previous year—1915—I had the opportunity to meet Jack, but it was the year that he was taking over the management of the photographic business that I came to know him well. The stagecoaches were still on the Yellowstone roads. My first trip with Jack was in an automobile and I recall our observing the special rules governing auto travel to avoid the horse-drawn coaches. There were times when we just had to sit and wait for the next move on the tight schedule, and it was then 46 years ago—that I came to appreciate the fine qualities of Jack Haynes. Every year since then my interest in him and my affection for him has continued and grown stronger.

I shall always be grateful for the opportunity accorded me to act as master of ceremonies at the dinner in tribute to Jack Ellis Haynes in Yellowstone Park September 3, 1959, when our friend approached his 75th birthday. A host of Jack's friends were present and spoke in praise of his life and work. Among them were Director Conrad L. Wirth, former Assistant Secretary of the Interior Wesley D'Ewart, Lon Garrison, Yellowstone's superintendent, Edmund Rogers, his predecessor. It was a great night for Jack, but in his mind it was by no means his last birthday party.

He had helped organize the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Yellowstone Park's creation in 1922, and the similar recognition of the 75th anniversary in 1947. At this 1959 dinner, Jack made many of us promise to be at the big party he was planning for March 1, 1972, when Yellowstone National Park will be 100 years old.

Like Jack, some of us won't be there. However, there will be tributes to Jack Haynes eloquently expressed along with those paid to Hedges, Langford, Clagett, Jackson, Hayden, President U. S. Grant, and others responsible for the creation of Yellowstone National Park which marked the beginning of the world's greatest national park system.

## International Friendship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. FRANK KOWALSKI**
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, today when the world is divided into hostile camps bristling with suicidal weapons, we hear a great deal about the need for international friendship. It is good to talk about it. It is far better to do something about it. There are many fine private organizations throughout the world engaged in international people-to-people programs. Several of my constituents have written to me about a new organization dedicated to uniting the world through human understanding. This new organization is the Friendship International.

I think we would all concur in its declaration of purposes. With unanimous consent, I will insert into the RECORD a statement of its aims extracted from an article in the first issue of the International Friendship Guide:

OUR AIMS

To create a worldwide friendship it is necessary that the people know each other better.

To achieve this, the Friendship International proposes as the first step the establishment of international friendship clubs everywhere in the world.

In every country, the international friendship clubs would serve as a meeting ground not only for those sharing similar views but especially for those having different ideas, so that differences could be explored but in a spirit of good will, dispassionately, objectively, scientifically, with emotion giving way to reason.

All discussions, all programs conducted by the international friendship clubs would be on the principle that no one is perfect, absolutely right, blameless, or can have all the answers.

The international friendship clubs would have available to everyone all the necessary comparative literature and films on all controversial subjects of international significance.

The international friendship clubs would carry on continuous exchange of members, films, literature, etc., so that all would be in a position to learn from each other, to spread the knowledge about each other, to understand each other, and to help each other.

Annually—on September 1—an international friendship day and festival will be held whenever possible. The day of September 1 was selected because it is an anniversary of the beginning of World War II—so far the worst world tragedy due to hostility between nations and peoples. This grim anniversary will be used as a warning that hostile forces and their ways lead only to destruction and the only salvation for all of us lies in mutual friendship.

As soon as possible, international friendship centers will be erected in every country, so that the people of each country would have an opportunity to get acquainted in this one dedicated place with the way of life of every country on earth.

A special magazine—the International Friendship Guide—printed at first only in English and later in other languages, as needed, would serve as a link between all persons interested in fostering international friendship.

The Honorable Jacinto C. Borja, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and permanent representative of the Philippines to the United Nations, has heralded the aims of the Friendship International as "the foremost need of the world today."

Mr. Speaker, I am sure all of us here wish the Friendship International well in the achievement of these aims.

## Doing the Impossible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, a strong nation demands strong leaders, and although the methods and procedures of such leaders may differ, the country's judgment of their accomplishments must be based on the results themselves.

During the recent 87th Congress, the Senate of the United States saw an example of leadership by my good friend and colleague, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, which earned the respect and admiration of all thoughtful Americans. An editorial on Senator MANSFIELD's services was included in a recent edition of the Sun of Baltimore, Md., and I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOING THE IMPOSSIBLE

On into the fall, through the elections and back in January to Washington the debate will rage, with ample ammunition for every view, on the quality of the 87th Congress. If Congress performed badly at times it also performed well at times, and in individual, consistent, continuing attention to duty no performance will outrank that of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD.

He had an impossible job. It was his unenviable duty to take over as majority leader from the darling of the Senate, LYNDON JOHNSON. JOHNSON did not invent the Senate, but he had stamped his imprint upon it, and his successor would be inevitably compared, and inevitably unfavorably. Even with these odds MANSFIELD made a success of it.

His was not the bravura leadership of JOHNSON. MANSFIELD capitalized upon patience, upon reason, upon the dignity of the Senate. He is a scholar, a philosopher, whose talents are quietly but deeply dedicated to his job. Toward the end that steadying influence became the guide and the conscience of the Senate, and MANSFIELD found himself. Next time the job will not be impossible, because he has taken its measure.

## J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, Mr. George W. Dougherty, president of the New Jersey chapter of the FBI National Academy Associates, has sent me a copy of the resolution adopted by the chapter concerning its annual retraining seminar. The resolution expresses the esteem in which the chapter holds J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Bureau personnel. It is a pleasure for me to insert the resolution in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and ask unanimous consent to do so.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas through the cooperation of John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the New Jersey chapter, FBI National Academy Associates, had the privilege of holding their annual retraining seminar at the Columbus Hotel, Atlantic City, N.J., on September 24, 25, and 26, 1962; and

Whereas Director Hoover made it possible for Special Agent in Charge Ralph W. Bachman and Special Agent James Tracy, of the Newark field office, to be present with the New Jersey graduates during this retraining program to assist in facilitating the attainment of our objectives: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we of the New Jersey chapter of the FBI National Academy Associates take this means of expressing to Director Hoover our sincere thanks and appreciation for his thoughtfulness in making it possible for Mr. Bachman and Mr. Tracy and the other members of the Bureau who participated, and in particular James V. Cotter, the principal speakers to be with us during this training program. The exchange of thoughts and ideas induced by the presence of Bureau executives, Bureau officials, and the various lecturers, we feel sure, will be of great value to both the FBI and the law-enforcement agencies which we represent.

Resolution committee:

GEO. W. DOUGHERTY,
*President, FBI National Academy Associates, New Jersey Chapter.*
KENNEDY A. HICKMAN.
ROBERT J. MCGONIGEL.

## Statement on Cooperative Advertising Presented in Behalf of the Apparel Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in October 1962, the Federal Trade Commission held a conference-hearing on cooperative advertising.

Mr. Sidney S. Korzenik, counsel in behalf of the apparel industries, submitted to the Commission a most illuminating statement. It is especially significant that he very clearly stated:

Now it should certainly not be necessary to point out that the National Retail Merchants Association does not speak for apparel manufacturers.

He pointed out that as a matter of fact their respective interests are adverse to each other and also offered the Federal Trade Commission every cooperation in the future, as in the past.

I feel that Mr. Korzenik's statement is of such importance, not only to approximately 5,000 clothing manufacturers, but to the small business sector of our economy as well, that it should be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

STATEMENT ON COOPERATIVE ADVERTISING PRESENTED IN BEHALF OF THE APPAREL INDUSTRIES AT FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 1962, WASHINGTON, D.C., BY SIDNEY S. KORZENIK, COUNSEL

*To the Federal Trade Commission:*

This statement reflects the position of the apparel manufacturers of the country. I am Sidney S. Korzenik, appearing as counsel for 23 trade associations in the garment-producing industries, whose total membership numbers approximately 4,850 clothing manufacturers. In the branches of the garment industry which these organizations represent, there are no other established trade groups that to our knowledge have expressed any views to the contrary.

It is a primary characteristic of apparel manufacturing that it is carried on by small businessmen. It is estimated that there are 34,500 employees in apparel and apparel accessory manufacturing industry and that the average establishment employs less than 50. Fashion is a most important element in the articles the industry makes. Hence its product is highly diversified. It requires a high degree of flexibility for a factory to accommodate itself to rapid shifts in product. This

factor tends to restrict the size of enterprise in apparel manufacturing, large-scale production being possible only where there is uniformity in product.

The profit margins in apparel manufacturing are notoriously thin. The quarterly financial report for manufacturing corporations, issued jointly by the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission, shows that the net profit after taxes for the second quarter of the current year (the most recent period available) was 1.4 percent, the lowest of any manufacturing group in the country. And these earnings were vastly better than they had been in the second quarter of last year, when the margin was 0.5 percent. In discussing advertising allowances, it is well to bear in mind how fine therefore are the cost tolerances in apparel-manufacturing operations.

Now it should certainly not be necessary to point out that the National Retail Merchants Association does not speak for apparel manufacturers. But I mention here what should be self-evident only because the National Retail Merchants Association has, preliminary to this hearing, filed a voluminous brief with the Federal Trade Commission, supplying page upon page of argument designed to show that the advertising grants wrested by the big retailer from the small apparel manufacturer are really in the best interests of the manufacturer himself. Let it suffice to state at least one difficulty in your accepting any such notion: It is that apparel manufacturers do not view their own interests in the same light. Their view is directly to the contrary. We, therefore, appreciate the opportunity accorded us here to express our own interests, instead of having them represented to the Commission by a retail group whose members do not, of course, include apparel manufacturers, who are in fact adverse in interest to us, and some of whom must bear the primary responsibility for the illicit practices here under consideration and for the breaking down of business morality which it represents.

Let it also be made clear at the outset that the viewpoint of the apparel manufacturers of the United States has not been but recently developed for this occasion; nor has it been crystallized merely by the broad-scale compliance efforts that the Federal Trade Commission has recently launched in the ready-to-wear market. It existed long prior to that. Apparel manufacturers have for many years endorsed the principle of the Robinson-Patman Act and looked toward law enforcement as a means for correcting the economic inequities resulting from the exaction of discriminatory concessions by large buyers from sellers with inferior bargaining power. Many of the trade assocations for which I speak have a long history of effort to support compliance with the law and to promote nondiscriminatory fair play in transactions between their members and retailers.

To cite an instance: On June 10, 1953, the National Knitted Outerwear Association, in consistency with a policy which it had pursued even long before that date, devoted a full-page advertisement in both the Daily News Record and Women's Wear Daily to the following statement, which I should like to submit in its entirety because it defines quite simply the general attitude of apparel manufacturers on the subject of today's conference:

"IN ALL FAIRNESS—A STATEMENT ON ADVERTISING ALLOWANCES

"We are manufacturers of knitted apparel. Ours is characteristically a small business industry. It is one of the most competitive in the country. When a congressional committee recently listed American industrial groups in the order of the number of firms in whose hands most business was concentrated—least competitive being first—we found ourselves down near the bottom of the list.

"Though the competitive way is rigorous, and though we play the game hard, the game has rules. Certain practices are against the rules. They constitute unfair competition. It is unfair, according to the Robinson-Patman Act, to give one customer an advertising allowance or other discriminatory concession not accorded to all customers on proportionally equal terms.

"This is not only the law; it is also elementary fair play. Our customers are in competition with one another, too, and we do not want to grant a favor to one that is not comparably available to all. To do otherwise would be economically unsound. A buyer is free to press fairly and squarely for the best buy he can get. But every firm ought to pay its own expenses, whether in advertising or anything else.

"Despite the ethics, the law, and the economics of the situation, some buyers have demanded a direct contribution toward their advertising, sometimes in the form of a Christmas catalog, sometimes as a newspaper advertisement. Usually the demand is made for a specific and uniform round sum. Since the same demand is made upon all our favored resources, it is obvious that there is not even a pretense of proportionateness, as would be required by law.

"Most buyers do not and would not make such demands. Most play the game fairly. Some buyers and merchandise men who have sought discriminatory advertising concessions have withdrawn their demands upon explanation and analysis of the principle involved.

"The fact is that the overwhelmingly majority of the Nation's retailers and their buying representatives value our resistance to such demands. This policy is as much in the interest of the fair and responsible retailer, as it is in the interest of the ethical manufacturer. A strong and informed public opinion in the apparel market recognizes this unfair practice for what it is, properly characterizes the few who attempt it, and will not countenance its continuance.

"NATIONAL KNITTED OUTERWEAR ASSOCIATION."

The attitude expressed then was the same as that we state here today.

Moreover, the policy set forth in this statement by the National Knitted Outerwear Association was the very same as that declared by other apparel-manufacturing associations in advertisements and otherwise in the intervening years since then and even before.

To cite a few other examples: A similar declaration, entitled "A Statement of Business Principle," was inserted in a full-page advertisement in the Daily News Record of August 7, 1953, by the National Outerwear and Sportswear Association. Again, the Popular Priced Dress Manufacturers Group, Inc., announced this same position to the trade in an advertisement which it inserted in Women's Wear Daily on April 25, 1952. From time to time in the years that followed, similar policy statements were issued in the trade press by these and other organizations of garment manufacturers. My omission of such exhibits originating with the many other associations for which I speak is not to be construed as slighting their strong and consistent advocacy of these same principles throughout these years. As a general expression of their common concern, a special luncheon was arranged in New York City on May 5, 1960, attended by representatives of the leading apparel trade manufacturers' associations at which Earl W. Kintner, then Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, was invited to speak on the subject of advertising allowances—and it may incidentally be recalled that he opened his address by announcing that that very morning R. H. Macy's had been served with a complaint initiating the proceedings under which this respondent was found guilty by the Commission of an unfair trade practice in soliciting and receiving over a half million dollars from its resources for its centennial advertising promotions.

The opposition of apparel producers to the granting of such special concessions for advertising or other promotional purposes is as old as the abuse itself, and its recent history dates back to a few years after the close of the last war. During the war and for the brief period while shortages continued thereafter, there was no such problem because a seller's market prevailed and retailers had not the power to exact such special allowances. But when war time stringencies passed and the power of the buyer in the apparel market was restored to its customary superiority, retailers found themselves in a position to make good their demands.

A writer describing this development in Women's Wear Daily of Thursday, April 7, 1960, page 44, describes it as follows: "And almost overnight the seller's market changed into the traditional buyer's market. But by that time the retailers—especially the powerful ones—had had a taste of blood. So they went on pressing for advertising subsidies. * * * However * * * a number of oldtime merchants were shocked. They averred they would have no part of this and instructed their buyers to buy at the best possible price, to cut out printing these meaningless names and to ignore the allowances. But merchandise managers felt differently. They thought this advertising allowance scheme would bring them more business—and they lulled the indignation of their bosses by all manner of soothing assurances. * * * That such an action was illegal was brushed aside. 'Whoever heard of anyone going to jail for breaking the Robinson-Patman Act'? was, and is, a standard joke throughout the entire soft goods industry. But the final consideration that broke down the resistance of even the most conscientious store heads was the hard, cynical business fact that the allowances—at least to prominent stores—had become so general that to refuse them, no matter how they may have been financed, was to act the part of a fool. And so on and on."

By the early fifties, the demands of large retailers and resident buying offices for special contributions from apparel manufacturers for store catalogs, for advertising in other media, and for various kinds of special promotional allowances became so rife as to alarm the trade. That is why so many declarations by manufacturer trade associations of opposition to this growing malpractice began to appear in the trade press during the early years of the past decade. The amount extracted from manufacturers by these techniques has been growing steadily.

No one in the trade can hazard a reliable guess as to the enormity of this abuse or suggest how many millions are annually garnered by a relatively small number of powerful retailers. The Federal Trade Commission will itself be in the best position to form such an estimate on the basis of what must be the most complete survey of this abuse thus far attempted, namely, the responses to the questionnaires distributed among retailers and manufacturers on this subject pursuant to section 6 of the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Let us make it clear that we are here focusing attention solely on illicit transactions. We are dealing exclusively in this statement with advertising allowances which are special grants in particular deals and which offend against section 2(d) of the Clayton Act as amended by the Robinson-

Patman Act, and we are not talking about any other kind. In certain areas of the apparel field, particularly where large-scale production is possible, as, for example, in hosiery, foundation garments and undergarments, and in some cases elsewhere, some leaders are large enough to supplement their own national advertising budgets by offering to all their accounts a contribution to their local advertising in some fixed proportion to the business placed, all being treated alike and subject to the same unvarying policy. This kind of uniform offer to all customers has been adopted by a number of the larger firms making products that bear nationally known brand names. But such firms are few and although figures are not available, we would estimate that they probably represent less than 2 percent. We do not include reference to such lawful advertising programs in anything we say here. We are simply not concerned with them, and we take it that this hearing has no concern with them.

It must be obvious that the distinction here made is fundamental. Unfortunately, statements emanating from certain retail quarters have preferred to lump together both lawful and unlawful types of vendor-paid advertising under the general term "cooperative advertising." The necessity of making this distinction is so palpable and unavoidable that one can only infer that the blurring and obscuring by some retailers of this vital distinction has been by design and with purpose of arguing that the Federal Trade Commission, in taking such action against unlawful arrangements, is hurting the cause of all advertising. But anyone who understands this threshold distinction will recognize the speciousness of this argument.

The illicit advertising contributions are thus commonly described by retailers by the agreeable euphemism "cooperative advertising." But they might be more aptly described as "coerced advertising allowances." Even granting that in a meager proportion of the cases, and they are precious few, manufacturers go along willingly, there can be no doubt that in the great majority of cases, they do not. Nevertheless, we accept the phrase "cooperative advertising," allowing for the fact that there is a certain amount of cooperation on the part of the victim in every successful holdup. But let no one mistake the true nature of the thing by reason of the phrase.

Having touched briefly upon the history of this trade abuse in the apparel market, the question naturally arises as to why some retail spokesmen should have chosen this late date to request this hearing on the subject. They allege that they asked this conference because they felt it necessary to respond to charges by manufacturers that the responsibility for this growing abuse was to be laid at the door of retailers. Yet this accusation has been made often and repeatedly in the past—and not by manufacturers alone.

Among those who have been particularly sharp in criticizing the retailers' role in all this has been an advertising authority long identified with retail interests. He had been executive vice president and in charge of advertising for R. H. Macy & Co., and he occupied similar positions in Gimbel's, New York. He had been with a large advertising agency and with both the New York Times and the Herald-Tribune. I refer, of course, to the late Kenneth Collins, who devoted the greater part of his career in working with large retailers, particularly in their advertising departments. In a series of articles he wrote, devoted to vendor-paid advertising in Women's Wear Daily, the first of which appeared on September 4, 1960, Collins said: "Despite the supposed deterrents of the Robinson-Patman Act * * * the total amount of vendor-paid or cooperative advertising is steadily on the increase. This is no natural, evolutionary affair. These advertising allowances do not drop as does the gentle rain from heaven. They are not, except in a few industries such as corsets, hosiery, and appliances, handed over by manufacturers with a sense of satisfaction. No. They are hacked out, deal after deal, by buyers who are equipped with shiny chisels whose cutting edges are truly the sharpest ever honed. Few people want to discuss this subject, because many of the allowances are illegal, most of the allowances raise the ultimate price of goods to the consumer, and nearly all originate with the rapacity of the retailer. (Women's Wear Daily, Apr. 6, 1960, p. 54.)

As for the claim made by some retailers that manufacturers gladly go along with store requests, Collins' comment is: "This may be so—but I may be pardoned a doubt. For there is an ineradicable human tendency to regard the man who holds the gun as the one who is doing the heist, and in this case the man who holds the gun is the retailer." (Women's Wear Daily, Apr. 11, 1960, p. 1.)

Accusations have been repeatedly made in the past by others and publicly by the apparel manufacturer associations, as in the advertisement cited above. Retailers have not reacted sensitively to those charges before nor to the facts giving rise to them. Why should they find it necessary at this time to demand this hearing in order to respond?

An answer is suggested by the surrounding facts. So long as criticisms were made but the advertising contributions continued to swell year after year, the criticisms apparently did not matter. But now that the Federal Trade Commission has launched a frontal broad-scale attack directly upon such unlawful allowances in the apparel market, and now that such advertising allowances are being curtailed under the surveillance of those responsible for law enforcement, retail organizations have become outspoken in their criticism of Federal Trade Commission's enforcement activity. The law, they now complain, is vague and requires clarification. It is claimed that if action is taken to prevent unlawful cooperative advertising, it will also inhibit all advertising, and this is bad for the economy and bad for the country. Great concern is also expressed over the scope of cease and desist orders which certain manufacturers are asked to sign, and arguments are multiplied to show why it is ostensibly in the manufacturers' interest not to consent. It may be readily surmised from all this what interests on the part of retailers are being served by this gratuitous legal advice made available for the assistance of apparel producers.

There is a startling candor in the statement made in the brief filed by the National Retail Merchants Association to the effect that the present efforts of the Federal Trade Commission to obtain consents from apparel manufacturers to the entry of orders prohibiting violation of section 2(d) of the Clayton Act as amended, will adversely affect retailers whom they represent. The same prohibition when stated in the statute alone seems to have produced less concern. Apparently, it is only the enforcement of it that is objected to. The sole conclusion that one could logically draw from all this is that the law should not be enforced.

Much has been said of late by retailers concerning the need for clarification. Let it be admitted that there are areas of doubt in the interpretation of this statute, as there has been in the case of virtually every law. The Federal Trade Commission has attempted to illuminate the law's application to the practices here under discussion by publishing a "Guide for Advertising Allowances in Aid of Compliance With Section 2(d) of the Clayton Act as Amended by the Robinson-Patman Act." This was adopted on May 19, 1960. We are not aware that any of the retail spokesmen now criticizing the efforts of the Commission in obtaining compliance in the apparel field were critical of that guide when it was issued. However uncertain the phraseology of the law may be, it has been elucidated by numerous decisions of the courts and of the Commission in more than a quarter of a century since its enactment. But essentially, let the call for clarification not obscure the clear illegality of the practice we are discussing here.

We are talking specifically about the situation of the common garden variety in the apparel field, one in which the retailer initiates the demand and predetermines himself a round sum, such as a flat $500, which the resource is to contribute to a Christmas catalog, for example. The manufacturer has offered no general program. The retailer originates the proposal; the retailer fixes the amount. Add to this the further fact which every retailer knows, that only a very few apparel firms have established advertising programs under which proportionate contributions are made available to all customers, that such programs are generally limited to a small number of leaders, usually large brand-name houses and usually too big to be pressured by the retailer into any special allowances, while the overwhelming majority of apparel resources, possibly 98 percent of them, have no such plans. In such circumstances, there cannot even be the pretense of an assumption on the part of the retailer that the sum he demanded was the amount claimable by him under a uniform national program made available by the manufacturer to all his accounts on proportionally equal terms. To claim he didn't know is simply disingenuous. Such a retailer, in the words of the Commission in the Giant Food case and in others, must be deemed to know or to have reason to know that he is inducing a discriminatory advertising allowance. How much more implausible does the retailer's defense become when he proceeds to demand the same amount of $500 from a number of resources with whom he does varying amounts of business? Clarification may indeed be required, but not so much a clarification of the law on this point as a clarification to the American public on what is actually going on here.

Much has been said in the criticism of the Federal Trade Commission's recent compliance efforts that is in the nature of an attack upon the Robinson-Patman principle itself. That is hardly a proper subject for this hearing, the law and the duties of the Federal Trade Commission being what they clearly are.

But since the tendency of such criticism has been to cast disrepute upon a statute of long standing and thereby to subvert market morale and compliance with legal obligation, a brief response is in order.

The apparel industries are a cockpit of the most rigorous competition. The prohibition against illicit advertising contributions, if it were strictly and universally respected, could not possibly abate the strenuousness of that contest, and it is inconceivable that it should. No softening of any competition is here involved. The only issue is this: Upon what factors of the transaction involved in the purchase and sale of goods should these competitive forces be focused? Should buying power concentrate upon quality of merchandise and price, or should buying judgment be perverted by the bribe of the special advertising allowance? If retailers are truly to perform their ideal function as guardians of the consumer interest, they will not base the vital purchasing decision on such blandishments. For the buyer to place business on the strength of his receiving a sum from the seller for advertising in a store catalog or on the strength of some other discriminatory concession represents a

distortion of true buying judgment. Moreover, the refusal to consider on their merits the offerings of other sellers simply because they will not make such grants is in itself a devitalization of competition. It is not competition in commodity comparisons; it is not competition in the service of the consumer. It is simply playing ball with the buyer, who permits his judgment to be bought by a money grant which inures to the profit of the buying organization and stops right there. So far as the public is concerned, it is misled: The merchandise in store catalogs is offered as if selected by the independent buying judgment of a retailer. Yet, is the actual practice discussed here any different from that of the diskjockey who conceals from his fans the fact that his choice is determined by a venal gratuity? The difference between such advertising allowance and payola is chiefly one of spelling.

What is involved in arresting this abuse is thus not an abridgement of competition—no such result is even conceivable in an industry so keenly competitive as ours. It is the predatory buyer of the type described above who imperils the freedom of the marketplace.

I should say at this point that it is to the credit of many retail buyers that they have in confidence expressed their distaste for the practice, but they have described themselves as under an assignment from top management. They would prefer, of course, to exercise the buying judgment which they have sharpened by years of experience, rather than be limited to resources that will most readily kick in. But they have no choice in the matter.

Perhaps the most startling argument employed by the retailers to justify their position is the one to the effect that since the retailer is able to purchase local advertising space on a gross basis and therefore at lower rates, cooperative advertising of this kind enables him to make these more economical space rates available to the manufacturer. This argument conceives of the buyer not as one seeking solely to buy the best goods at the best price, but in the role of a pitchman selling advertising space to resources and telling them, "I can get it for you wholesale." It is astonishing that such an appeal should be employed—of all persons—by retailers.

Let no one suppose that advertising subsidies by manufacturers serve to reduce prices. Perhaps in the early days immediately after the war, when this abuse was not so widespread, the sporadic amounts yielded here and there came out of the manufacturer's profits when earnings were well above their current and traditional levels. But today the sums demanded have grown to such proportions and profits so slender that advertising allowances are a recognized element of cost on the part of those who pursue this practice—they have to be in view of their enormity—and the manufacturer's prices must eventually be inflated accordingly. Hear what Kenneth Collins had to say on this subject:

"Does it [cooperative advertising] tend to lower the price of goods to the public?

"I have put this question to many manufacturers and to many retailers. Generally speaking, their answers have consisted of horselaughs. They want to know if I am really serious—and when I insist that I am, they shrug their shoulders. * * * But, by and large, both retailers and manufacturers seem in reasonable agreement that the bulk of advertising allowances are passed along to the consumer." (Women's Wear Daily, Apr. 8, 1960, p. 8.)

Now those who believe in advertising have justified and defended the contribution of advertising to the national economy on the grounds that advertising broadens distribution and thereby lowers prices. But there is nothing in the kind of advertising we are here discussing which has any such effect. It is not related to volume, and manufacturers' resentment over it arises, apart from its illegality, from the fact that it does not justify itself in terms of cost. Ultimately these advertising allowances inflate prices and the retailer who reckons his markup on his acquisition price is in effect taking a markup on the advertising allowance given him. Such is the absurdity of this situation. This is one of the reasons why sound advertising men themselves have criticized cooperative advertising not only from the point of view of the manufacturer and not only from that of the retailer's own best interests, but from the viewpoint of advertising itself. Advertising can serve to reduce prices, but that is not the effect in the case under discussion here.

The advertising which results from these sporadic contributions is usually in itself no compliment to the manufacturer or to the store. As Collins says, "These allowances are frequently applied to goods which are overpriced, out of season, or lacking in merit. Naturally, in these cases, the advertising is nonproductive and destructive of goodwill. Second, these allowances are often spent in the wrong media and on the wrong day and in the most slapdash fashion. * * * I will make book that I, or any other advertising man, can unerringly spot 95 percent of all vendor-paid advertising ever run. And spot it because it is often valueless."

If I have been critical of the position that retailers have taken in requesting this hearing, I also recognize that this conference can well be turned to constructive results. Perhaps after the long and troubled history of apparel manufacturers' resistance to demands for unlawful advertising contributions, this hearing can yet be made to mark a turning point. It ought to mark the beginning of the end of the sorry chapter in retailer-manufacturer relations on the subject of advertising allowances.

We in the apparel industries are not, I am glad to say, consistently at odds with our friends in the National Retail Merchants Association. On the contrary, we have worked together on many projects of benefit to both sides and in the interest of the public at large. Perhaps this is the time and the place for a renewal of that fruitful collaboration now in the field of cooperative advertising, where we have never up to now been able to arrange for truly useful cooperation in aid of fair dealing and respect for law. If some severely critical things have been said, let the candor of this conference produce a clearing of resentments that have been provoked over a long period of time. Now let us look toward the possibility of working together for the elevation of competition in the ready-to-wear market to a level consistent with self-respect on the part of both seller and buyer and for the restoration of competition truly to the service of the public.

The apparel manufacturers of the United States are prepared to offer the Federal Trade Commission every cooperation in the future, as your staff members know we have offered in the past toward the eradication of this mischievous tendency we have described. At the same time we invite and urge upon the retailers the prospect of our working together not to hinder the enforcement machinery of the Federal Trade Commission but to engender such general respect for law throughout the market as will make such action by the Federal Trade Commission less necessary in the years ahead.

Respectfully submitted.

SIDNEY S. KORZENIK,
*Counsel.*

In behalf of—

Affiliated Dress Manufacturers, Inc, 1440 Broadway, New York City, Abraham Katz, general manager.

Allied Underwear Association, 1450 Broadway, New York City, Jacob P. Rosenbaum, executive director.

American Cloak & Suit Manufacturers Association, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York City, Anthony Conticelli, executive director.

Associated Corset & Brassiere Manufacturers, 230 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Jed Sylbert, executive secretary.

Associated Fur Manufacturers, Inc., 101 West 30th Street, New York City, J. George Greenberg, executive manager.

Eastern Women's Headwear Association, 1440 Broadway, New York City, Louis Levitas, executive director.

Fashion Originators Guild of America, 1501 Broadway, New York City, Ben Barrack, chairman, Charles Ballon, esq., counsel.

Infants' & Children's Coat Association, 450 7th Avenue, New York City, Joseph L. Rubin, executive director.

International Association of Garment Manufacturers, 347 5th Avenue, New York City, Jules Goldstein, secretary.

Lingerie Manufacturers Association of New York, 521 5th Avenue, New York City, Jack Gross, excutive director.

Manufacturers of Snowsuits, Novelty Wear & Infants' Coats, 450 7th Avenue, New York City, Joseph L. Rubin, executive director.

New York Coat and Suit Association, Inc., 225 West 34th Street, New York City, Joseph L. Dubow, executive director.

National Coat & Suit Industry Recovery Board, 450 7th Avenue, New York City, Harry Meyers, secretary.

National Dress Manufacturers' Association, 1450 Broadway, New York City, Isidore A. Agree, general manager.

National Knitted Outerwear Association, 386 Park Avenue South, New York City, Sidney S. Korzenik, executive director and counsel.

National Outerwear & Sportswear Association, 347 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Jules Goldstein, secretary.

National Skirt & Sportswear Manufacturers Association, 225 West 34th Street, New York City, Eli Elias, president.

National Women's Neckwear & Scarf Association, 6 West 46th Street, New York City, George Marlin, director.

National Millinery Planning Board, 10 East 40th Street, New York City, John M. Keating, counsel.

Negligee Manufacturers Association, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue, New York City, Jack Gross, executive director.

Popular Priced Dress Manufactures Group, Inc., 1440 Broadway, New York City, Nat Boriskin, executive director.

Trouser Institute of America, 347 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Jules Goldstein, secretary.

United Infants' & Children's Wear Association, 225 West 34th Street, New York City, Max H. Zuckerman, executive secretary.

In addition to the foregoing 23 associations (membership 4,850), this statement also presents the viewpoint of the following 5 organizations (membership 1,530) which, though they do not sell directly to the retail trade, are affected by trade policy on this subject and are identified with the interests of the apparel manufacturing industry:

Infants' & Children's Novelties Association, 356 West 40th Street, New York City, Sidney Q. Cohen, executive director.

Textile Fabric Distributors Association, 469 Seventh Avenue, New York City, Max Lovell, executive director.

Pleaters, Stitchers & Embroiderers Association, 225 West 34th Street, New York City, Jack Schwartz, executive director.

United Better Dress Manufacturers Association, 110 West 40th Street, New York City, Jack Rosen, executive director.

United Popular Dress Manufacturers Association, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York City, William Esbitt, executive director.

## End of Segregation of Indians—Writer Replies to Judge Wicks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on September 20, there was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "End of Segregation of Indians—Judge Wicks Feels Reservation System Should Go," from the Omak Chronicle, Omak, Wash.

Judge Wicks, an enrolled member of the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma, served on the bench in Okanogan-Ferry Counties approximately 15 years. His article is, in fact, a discussion of the question of the assumption of jurisdiction over Indians by a State.

As many of my colleagues know, the distinguished senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] serves as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. This subcommittee currently is conducting a nationwide investigation of the constitutional rights of the American Indian. One of the thorniest problems to date uncovered by the investigation is that of the unclear jurisdiction between Federal, State, and tribal governments. The senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] and I have introduced legislation, S. 1479, on this subject.

Mr. President, Dr. Paschal Sherman, a Colville Indian from the State of Washington and an active fighter for his people, has replied to Judge Wick's letter. In his letter to the Omak Chronicle, Dr. Sherman states that Judge Wicks' letter should be examined in the interest of fair play to the American Indian. For this reason and because the letter raises some interesting questions concerning jurisdiction over Indian citizens, I ask unanimous consent to have the reply printed in the RECORD at this point. I commend this letter to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate.

There being no objection, the reply was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WRITER REPLIES TO JUDGE WICKS

WASHINGTON, D.C., *September 24, 1962.*

To the CHRONICLE:

There are some assumptions in Judge Wicks' article "End Segregation of Indians," in your September 13 issue, that ought to be examined in the interest of fairplay.

End segregation? The Colville Indian Reservation is segregation in reverse. While free to come and go and to make their homes anywhere, the segregated keep the segregators and the segregators' laws out. That is what galls.

That is the brunt of the present move for extending State jurisdiction over law and order on the reservation—a move, however, losing in momentum when one of its strongest supporters in the State legislature lost out in the recent primaries.

The Colvilles want to keep the reservation and to dispose of it on their own terms when they want to if they should ever want to. Who wouldn't? The whole of the reservation is worth conservatively about a quarter billion dollars, with possibilities for economic development virtually unlimited.

At this time it affords a dividend of $200 on the average to every man, woman, and child on the membership rolls. The Indians can hunt and fish, run cattle and operate farms on the reservation without State interference.

With mutual deputization of police the counties and the Indians maintain law and order, and there is no claim in Judge Wicks' article, or anywhere else, that this system has broken down with lawlessness rampant.

He does say it is an unhealthy situation to exist in a sovereign state. But Indian tribes are sovereign in the field of self-government. This is a historic fact. The Government concedes it.

Only recently it was reaffirmed in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on July 26, 1962 (*James Oliver* v. *Stewart L. Udall*), when a Navajo ban on the use of a cactus plant, peyote, said to be narcotic by some but not by others, in the rituals of the American native church, was upheld despite the plea that such ban interfered with the free exercise of religion.

There are many other cases in point, notably *Williams* v. *Lee* (358 U.S. 217), against Federal and State intervention in the internal affairs of an Indian tribe.

Only a Federal law can change the situation. Such a law is Public Law 280, 83d Congress, which conferred civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indians upon five States with authority given to the other States to amend their constitutions or to pass legislation for this purpose.

It may be significant that only three States have come in with definitive legislation to this end—Washington, Nevada, and Florida. The Washington Law Review (vol. 33, 1958) thinks Washington should have amended its constitution first.

Aside from this technicality, the Colville and Yakima Tribes are opposed to the State assumption of jurisdiction for obvious reasons.

The Washington State legislation invites Indian tribes to request State jurisdiction. Among the little tribes requesting jurisdiction were the Quinaults. With vandals repeatedly cutting their fishing nets and complaints to police unavailing, the Quinaults are not too happy.

The change in jurisdiction did not affect the situation of the other little tribes, because of their meager land holdings and the nature of their community relationships.

But the Colvilles and the Yakimas have large territories with diversified activities and enterprises best handled under their own regulations. As with the Quinaults, would they fail to receive the equal protection of the law under State jurisdiction?

Of the five States (Alaska later included) which received jurisdiction under Public Law 280, the 1961 report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has this to say:

"Under Public Law 280, the Federal Government relinquished to Nebraska criminal and civil jurisdiction of the Omaha and Winnebago Reservation. However, the local governments nearby claim they do not have the funds to maintain station deputy sheriffs on the reservation. Consequently, the reservation must rely upon the sheriff to answer calls as he is able. Similar problems appear to exist for reservations in California, Minnesota, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Alaska as a result of the withdrawal of Federal law and order and inadequate expansion of State jurisdiction."

According to the Okanogan County commissioners about $60,000 would be required for the proper policing of the reservation. Where would the money come from? As for the Yakimas the sheriff can assure them only one officer to cover the reservation now patrolled by a force of 15 tribal policemen complete with radio cars.

Perhaps because the present State-tribal law enforcement is reasonably satisfactory, no one in all these discussions has speculated on the part that the U.S. district attorney and the U.S. marshal should take under the Assimilative Crimes Statute (18 U.S.C. 13) which makes any crime under the laws of a State punishable by the Federal Government if committed on Federal land or Indian reservations.

Judge Wicks says that the more vocal Indian is the first to demand the benefits provided under State law. Why shouldn't he? If he doesn't pay taxes on land held in trust by the Federal Government, he still contributes his share in sales and excise taxes.

Besides, the Colvilles contribute $40,000 each year to Okanogan and Ferry Counties. When sales taxes form the principal support of assistance services, why and where should the State draw the line when taxpaying Indians are concerned?

An Indian should be like any other citizen? He is. He pays taxes, he votes, and he serves in the Armed Forces. He has disabilities imposed by law and privileges granted by law, like any other citizen.

In the State of Washington, a married man cannot dispose of community property at will. That involves a contractual disability, but it does not make of him—in the words of Judge Wicks—a second-class citizen.

Being like any other citizen does not preclude the Indian from making the most of his status and demanding his rights under law. Even though long removed from Federal supervision, he will do that.

On September 14, 1961, the Cherokees of Oklahoma, long free of Federal supervision, received an award of $14,700,000 in round figures from the Indian Claims Commission against the United States for land transactions in a bygone age.

Legislation is now pending before the Congress for distribution of this award. We have yet to hear of a Cherokee's coming forward to renounce his share on the grounds that he is like any other citizen.

PASCHAL SHERMAN.

## National Fuels Study Group Report Deserves Careful Thought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on September 21, 1962, a study group, authorized under Senate Resolution 105 of the 87th Congress, 1st session, and composed of representatives of each of the competing fuel industries, submitted a report to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Entitled "Report of the National Fuels and Energy Study Group on an Assessment of Available Information on Energy in the United States," this report is a well-written compilation of pertinent facts concerning energy. I recommend that my colleagues acquaint themselves with this impartial, objective study of our Nation's fuel supply and requirements. To outline the study's purpose and conclusion, I propose to request that there be inserted in the RECORD, at the completion of these re-

marks, the report's introduction and summary.

This report does not draw conclusions as to policy. It does draw conclusions with respect to statistical and economic facts presented and these facts in a large measure speak for themselves. It indicates that America need not put its future energy resource position in a crisis category. The Nation need have no overriding fear of being deficient in winter heat, summer coolness, illumination, or the fuel to run our machines. For some time, it has been suggested that the Nation's energy policies are unworkable and that unless some fairly drastic changes were wrought a crisis would surely ensue. While the report does not indicate that the energy field is free from problems, the problems are those which invariably arise in the give and take of a competitive, dynamic society. It is important to recognize that no drastic legislative measures or action on the part of our Federal Government to control the end use of our fuels is necessary. On the contrary, it would appear to be most undesirable.

This Senator would like to call to the attention of the Senate a few of the more important findings of this study group which I know will be of interest to you.

First, there is contained in the study an excellent discussion of the reserves and resources. Oil and gas reserves have very definitive and specific meanings. "Reserves," in the oil and gas industries, means a working inventory of oil and gas known to exist with almost full engineering certainty, and recoverable under given price and technological conditions. It has no meaning whatsoever in terms of overall availability of gas or oil. The term "life index" is simply the reserve figure, in terms of cubic feet for gas, and barrels of oil, divided by the current annual usage. The life index of natural gas is about 20 years. Oil has a life index of about 12 years. Yet, as the study points out, reserves of natural gas are probably only about one-fifth of the gas known to be underground, reserves about one-eleventh.

The study performs a valuable service in assessing coal reserves on the same basis as oil and gas reserves are assessed. The Geological Survey had classified one-half of all coal known to be under the ground as reserves. On this basis, coal's life index is some 2,000 years, but when related to coal that is available at present prices with existing technology, the test used by the oil and gas industries, coal reserves dropped to 50 years. However, the important fact to glean from this discussion of reserves is that after 50 years the Nation will not have run out of coal, after 20 years it will not have run out of gas, and after 12 years it will not have run out of oil.

A second category of interest to this body discussed in the report is the marketing and pricing practices of the various energy industries. Coal, oil, and gas producers' marketing and pricing practices are fairly similar for they are in extractive industries. The gas and electric utilities are similar—their economics are distinct from those of the producers.

Because of the nature of their businesses both electric and gas utilities attempt to level out seasonal swings in consumption. In the electric industry these attempts are even aimed to reduce daily consumption variations. The electric industry has incentive rates either to induce consumers to heat or cool with electrical energy, depending on the part of the year in which the sales valley occurs. In the gas industry it is almost universal that the sales valley occurs in the summer and to fill this valley—to employ the facilities used in transporting and distributing gas in the off season—interruptible gas is sold. Like valley-filling electric sales, interruptible gas sales make an important contribution toward the fixed costs of the facilities they use, thereby reducing the cost of gas to all consumers. The report noted that the Federal Power Commission recently certified three gas extension projects, the economic feasibility of which hinged on high-load-factor operation. New gas service was made available to about 1 million residential and commercial customers who would not have had the service unless interruptible sales were maintained, providing the high-load operation. While there is some competition between interruptible gas and coal, only about 5 percent of coal production is in direct competition, considering the uses to which interruptible gas is put in the regions where it is sold.

A third major topic covered in the report is the subject of "interfuel competition." Most all of the coal market's decline since the end of the war can be ascribed to technological factors—the conversion of the railroads to other forms of fuel, and the ability of steel equipment makers to develop means for transporting natural gas economically to the Nation's major population centers. The report indicates that where consumer preference is not so large a factor, the coal industry has done an outstanding job of penetrating the market. In power generation, coal furnished about 80 percent of the electricity produced in what the National Coal Association calls the coal competitive area—37 States in 1950. By 1960, coal supplied 84 percent of the power in that same area. Coal has increased its share in the market in the face of oil and gas competition and there are indications that it will improve its position in this respect.

A fourth topic discussed in the report is coal-mine unemployment. Analysis of the available data indicates that the unemployment problem in coal-producing regions cannot be cured by modifying domestic fuels policy. The report does not deny that unemployment is a problem, but the data presented leads one to conclude that the problem cannot be handled within the confines of energy policy and that the solution, whatever it is, must come from without the energy field. The report suggests that, at best, policy change could only be a stopgap and not the solution to unemployment.

It is comforting to realize that the total energy equivalent of recoverable crude oil and natural gas liquids, shale oil, natural gas, coal, and fissionable materials under present nuclear technology in the United States is equivalent to more than 800 years' use at current rates of consumption, or about 400 years' use at the projected 1980 rate. The report indicates that improvements in nuclear technology could raise these figures to 6,700 years and 3,350 years respectively. These figures do not include foreign supplies, fissionable materials other than from uranium, coal, and shale oil beyond the limited quantities assumed to be recoverable, or the energy potential of unconventional sources.

This study has made a significant contribution in reaffirming our belief in the free-enterprise system. It suggests that competition among the various forms of energy has provided oil, natural gas, coal, electricity, and other fuels to the public at the lowest possible cost and that, while America's energy requirements will double by 1980, our domestic fuel resources can readily meet all requirements in the foreseeable future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the summary and introduction appearing at the beginning of the report be printed and inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary and introduction were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION

THE SCOPE OF THIS REPORT

Senate Resolution 105 (87th Cong.) instructs the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to undertake a study of the supply of and demand for fuels and energy in the United States. The study is intended as a basis for possible revision of fuels and energy policy, including the possibility of new legislation. The inquiry has three parts: (1) a study of the present and future energy requirements of the Nation and of its ability to meet those requirements; (2) a review of existing laws and policies with respect to their effect upon energy supply and demand; and (3) consideration of policy.

The first two parts are factfinding operations and constitute the subject of this report. The instructions given to the authors of it by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs were simple and clear, as follows:

1. To prepare for the committee, within the objective of Senate Resolution 105, as accurate a story as possible, in simple and nontechnical language, about the economic and technical aspects of energy demand and supply in the United States.

2. In doing so, to deal with existing information only or such new information as can be assembled in short order.

AND ITS PURPOSE

The first instruction constitutes a direction to sift out the fact from the nonfact in the existing body of information to scrub the facts clean, so to speak. There are many persons who will say that the facts are clean enough as they are. That may be, as those persons see the facts. But Congress is not composed of experts in the demand and supply of coal, or oil, or gas; in the intricacies of electric generation, transmission, and use; in the potentials of atomic energy; in the possibility of needing and getting energy from the sun, or wind, or the tides, or of using heat brought up from deep in the earth.

What purports to be fact is not always indeed fact. The only bits of information that everyone can agree on are the bald statistics themselves and even that circumstance does not always hold. Often the so-

called fact represents judgment, impression, informed guess, overstatement, prejudice, or sometimes plain fiction. Professional judgment and impression are invaluable when facts are short, but they are not a substitute for fact itself.

The element of prejudice must be particularly suspect. In relation to this study, there are two kinds: the honest prejudice generated by a person's loyalty to his profession or his firm, and the biases inherent in professional theory. There are various schools of thought on how to calculate mineral reserves, for example. Those who estimate reserves of coal, oil, and gas each believe that the occurrence and economics of his commodity are unique and demand unique definitions and criteria. A figure on reserves is thus not an immutable fact, but, in the first place, involves considerable judgment and, in the second place, is conditioned by the business economics of the industry.

A second example is in the methodology of making projections. There are two major schools of thought on how projections are to be made, and each contains subschools. The adherents of each school are honestly convinced about the correctness of their methods, but however positive they may be, the figures they come up with are not fact. Considering the wide ranges in projections of future use of energy, for example, made by different experts, the figures certainly are not the kind of "fact" upon which Congress should properly be asked to anchor anything so serious and far reaching as national policy.

The first intent of this report, then is to assemble the facts as meticulously as possible. Where facts run short and judgment must be used, the report points out where the judgment enters; where informed guesswork must be resorted to—and it is resorted to only where necessary—that is clearly flagged for the reader's attention. Where the facts are too scanty for even that the reader is informed of that too.

Volumes of information are available. If stacked one on top of another, the statistical compilations, analyses, and reports relevant to the present study would make a pile many feet tall. A list of those that have come to our attention appears as an appendix to this report. The amount of information of one kind or another is so impressive as to appear to obviate the need for time-consuming and costly new studies. Part of the purpose of this report is to find out if that is true—to find out if it is necessary too often to resort to guesswork in clarifying the economic and technologic basis of policy consideration.

### THE APPROACH

The method used herein in approaching the purposes stated above is to analyze the energy needs of the United States and then to measure against them the supply of energy that can be made available. At the same time and within this framework, and in order to keep the study oriented toward its main purpose as an aid to policy consideration, the report keeps its eye on the gathering and analysis of information specifically needed to clarify the policy issues brought to the attention of Congress during the hearings on Senate Resolution 105.

Preparation of the report has exposed an assortment of additional policy issues. These are indicated. Indicated also are alternative approaches to these issues, an assessment of the costs of each alternative, and the extent, if any, that the various alternatives may violate the technologic and economic situation, in order that Congress may know of them in considering the political and social factors that it must deal with in policy determination.

### HOW FAR INTO THE FUTURE?

Senate Resolution 105 specifically refers to "prospective fuel and energy resources of the United States—and probable future rates of consumption thereof." How far into the future should one attempt to peer? The authors of this report have concluded that 20 years is a good compromise between impulse and reality. It is far enough into the future to offer perspective for policymaking, yet is not so distant as to preclude reasonable assessment of future demand and satisfactory judgment as to the trends of the technology and economics of production. We can judge within reasonable limits, for example, what may be the technology of the production of coal, oil, and gas by 1980, and what may be the effects of this technology on costs of production, whereas anything beyond that date gets deeper and deeper into unnecessary speculation. At the same time, 20 years is distant enough to permit necessary adjustments in policy if such adjustments become necessary.

The year 1980, then, is taken as the terminal checkpoint for this report. The reader is cautioned to remember, however, that "1980" does not mean that specific year, but, rather, the general period of time clustered around it. The crystal ball available to authors o fthis report is not clear enough for them to predict what may happen in any given year. A glance at economic ups and downs exposed in any historical record prove how impossible that is. The reader may consider this to be an unnecessary caveat, yet experience proves that projections and the analyses made from them almost invariably run afoul of the public's inclination to hold the forecasters to the specific year.

Assuming that the study called for by Senate Resolution 105 leads to new legislation, it will, perforce, be a while before the legislation takes effect. This factfinding report must be studied, its information married to other considerations, and legislation studied, written, and debated. The new legislation and policy will apply to conditions as they then exist; 1960, the latest year for which statistics were available in preparing this report, and 1961 and 1962 the years in which the study was made and the report written, will be history. Accordingly, the authors have striven to project economic and technological conditions to, say, 1964 or 1965 as a base year.

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## SUMMARY OF NATIONAL FUELS AND ENERGY STUDY GROUP REPORT

The basic purpose of this report is to compile and assess an existing body of information, and hence the report does not readily lend itself to being summarized in the usual sense. Nevertheless, we have tried here to condense the information and to indicate its drift in such a way as to give the reader a useful guide, so that he may be able to select such part of the contents as he wishes for detailed reading.

### REQUIREMENTS

There is a reasonable consensus among the experts that the Nation's projected requirements will nearly double by 1980 (to about 82 quadrillion B.t.u.'s), that generation of electric energy will multiply by some 3½ times (to about 2,700 billion kilowatt-hours), and that consumption of oil will increase by about two-thirds (to, say, 5.7 billion barrels). The consensus for coal, gas, and nuclear energy is not so clear cut, but the following deductions have been accepted as usable for the policy-tailored framework of this report: coal consumption roughly to double by 1980 (to 800 million tons or more), gas almost to double (to 20 trillion cubic feet or more), hydropower generation to drop from a share equal to 4 percent of total energy consumption to about 2½ percent, and nuclear energy to increase to a level about equal to hydropower.

Quantitative estimates of emergency requirements—a euphemism for wartime requirements—are meaningful only in relation to a near-future contingency. For this and other reasons, we assume that the nonmilitary part of wartime requirements will be within the margin of error inherent in the peacetime figures projected for 1965; i.e., 11 million barrels of oil a day, 15 trillion cubic feet of gas a year, 500 million tons of coal a year, and 1,100 billion kilowatt-hours a year. For oil there would be an additional military demand approaching 3 million barrels a day.

These figures do not apply to nuclear war, of course. In the period immediately following an attack, the civilian population would have to get along with such quantities and kinds of fuels as are at hand locally. We presume that the military arm has petroleum fuels in hand to support the immediate retaliatory blow. The demand for petroleum products would increase as military action mounts, and the demand for all forms of energy would increase as national authority is restored and industrial activity is resumed. The top limit of this increase is conditioned by how long the war would last and the course it takes. All energy demands would remain high during the period of reconstruction.

The Nation's resource base, in terms of each fuel, is adequate to meet projected requirements for the period covered by this study—i.e., to 1980. The 20 billion tons of coal even now commercially available (reserves) is more than enough comfortably to support a 1980 coal output of even as much as 800 million tons. There is plenty of oil in the ground but one or more steps may be needed to realize it: rate of exploration be stepped up, more attention be given to secondary recovery, ratio of reserves to rate of output be established at some figure well below the usual range of 12 to 14. The Nation has the ability to be self-sufficient in oil if it so wills. Imports could be called on if desired, there being no dearth of foreign oil, and so could the oil in oil shale. Oil shale may in fact actually be yielding oil well before 1980, and coal may be yielding gasoline. The domestic supply of gas available appears to be safely well above the projected requirement. High British-thermal-unit gas from coal is in the near offing. A comparison between projected consumption of electric energy (regardless of source) and the ability to supply it yields the prompt and simple answer that there should be no difficulties in that area. While nuclear power faces several problems, it is an accomplished technological fact.

Conventional fossile fuels plus shale oil and fissionable materials contain recoverable energy equivalent to 800 years of usage at the current rate. Improvement in nuclear technology could expand this figure eightfold. This outlook is without the benefit of foreign supplies, fissionable materials available at prices higher than those now paid, coal and shale oil beyond the limited quantities assumed to be recoverable, or the energy potential of unconventional sources.

There is also a large present plant capacity and apparently an industrial ability to generate the funds to expand the capacity as needed. Labor supply should pose no problems; the only sector about which doubt has been expressed is in regard to coal miners, and here it appears that, because of expected continued improvement in output per man-day, the 800 million tons of 1980 conceivably could be produced by a labor force even smaller than the force presently at work.

Transportation has sometimes been considered a bottleneck in the energy complex. The concern appears exaggerated. Transportation of oil and gas is a matter of investment. An aggressive research on extra-high-voltage transmission almost assures continued economic transportation of electric power. The only real question relates to a shortage of railroad cars for the movement of coal. Such shortages as occur are not the result of a shortage of cars as such but

of cars that are serviceable. The railroads repair damaged cars only as traffic demands it, and a shortage results when business picks up faster than ability to repair the cars. Whether or not shortages have ever limited the total supply of coal to the country, or have caused coal users to turn to other fuels, is a matter of conflicting opinion.

In a nuclear emergency, the Nation will have to rely initially, as indicated above, on the supply locally available, but there would be such great destruction of consuming equipment and plants that the supply would be generally adequate. Further supply should be available as quickly as it is called for by restoration of the economy. For other war or war-related emergency, the national capacity for producing oil products seems to come close to equaling, or even exceeding, total wartime demand. This is without regard to imports, but so much judgment is involved, and the problems of wartime requirements and logistics are so complicated, that the subject needs deeper analysis than we can give it. Both coal-producing capacity and labor supply are large enough to meet emergency coal demand. Gas-producing capacity and electric-generating capacity are adequate. Information on wartime transportation capability regarding energy is scanty and conflicting, but seemingly there would be no dire problems within the United States itself. Ocean transportation encompasses military problems outside our purview.

COST AND TECHNOLOGIC PROGRESS

Implicit in the above commentary about the Nation's ability to meet its needs over the next 20 years is an assumption about the ability of continued technologic progress to hold costs within limits. In part this is a matter of faith, albeit faith based on the record. How much oil, gas, and coal will be produced, and how much electricity generated, are matters of economic decision, which resolve into incentives for exploration, research, and development and for investment in plant to transport what is produced or generated. Incentives are related to ultimate profits, which are related to costs. Information on costs is elusive and inconclusive, but at least for oil and gas jointly there seems to be little discernible trend either upward or downward in real terms (dollars of constant value). None of the three principal fossil fuels seems likely to price itself out of any major markets within the time span of this report. In any case the cost of oil from shale should place an upper limit on the price of crude oil, and the cost of gasifying coal a limit on the price of natural gas; all these will impose restraints on the price of coal.

The cost of transportation is a vital part of the delivered price of energy. The coal pipeline, the integral train, mine-mouth generation coupled with extra-high-voltage transmission, larger diameter oil and gas pipelines, and other developments should hold transportation costs down.

INTERFUEL COMPETITION

Use of coal has been going down in the face of an increasing national consumption of energy. The three fuels—coal, oil, and gas—compete with one another for the electric energy, space-heating, and process-heat markets; electric energy (including hydropower) competes with coal, oil, and gas for parts of these same markets.

Competition results from the ability and willingness of the customer to shift from one product or supplier to another. Many factors influence this freedom of choice. One is the physical character of the fuels. The solid nature of coal and the liquid nature of oil generate advantages and disadvantages for each, both with respect to cost in their competition with one another and with gas and with respect to esthetic preference.

A second factor is adequacy and assurance of supply, and a third is the delivered price. Delivered price is related to transportation. Cost of transportation is the reason why interfuel competition is so severe in those areas having little or no native energy resources, as in New England particularly. Railroad transportation of coal comes high, compared to the cost of moving oil or gas, constituting on average throughout the United States more than four-tenths of the delivered price of bituminous coal.

All the major fuels, including coal, are produced and transported as though jointly with coproducts or byproducts. Electricity, too, is sometimes a joint product, and transportation also has its joint-product aspects. The economics of joint products influences the pricing of the main product.

One aspect of the influence of technology has been referred to above. Of more immediate relevance to competition is the technology of use, which has acted particularly to the detriment of coal. Prime examples are the change from steam to diesel railroad locomotives and the substitution of oil and gas for coal in home heating.

Fuel competition is related also to the propinquity of fuel source to market, which is a shifting circumstance, and, of course, to the common phenomenon of consumer preference.

A final factor is the framework of policies, laws, and regulations within which the competition operates, summarized separately below.

POLICIES, LAWS, AND REGULATIONS

Federal, State, and municipal governments all have laws and regulations relating to energy. The Federal Government leaves local energy problems to local regulation. In addition, the policies of foreign governments have their impact on American supply and demand.

Federal legislation and policy in the field of energy covers foreign trade, production of raw materials, electric power generation, production and sale of natural gas, transportation, research, taxation on production and use, maritime laws, and foreign relations. State and local regulations apply mainly to conservation of oil and gas and cover also taxation on mineral production and use, public utility regulation, and air pollution.

Policies of foreign governments relate to their control over the importation of American coal and to their reaction to U.S. restrictions on importation of oil and oil products. Canadian policy occupies a special niche, because of the contiguity of the two countries. The U.S. imports both gas and electricity from Canada, which imposes restrictions on the outflow of both.

Some policies, laws, or regulations tend to limit production and to raise price, some to lower price; some specifically restrict end use.

POLICY ISSUES

Twelve policy issues have been identified as justifying discussion. These include the sale of natural gas to industrial consumers under interruptible rate schedules, importation of residual fuel oil, importation of crude oil and products other than residual fuel oil, importation of natural gas from Canada, development of a domestic shale industry, the role of Government-sponsored research, domestic self-sufficiency, whether action is necessary to insure that U.S. emergency needs can be met from the Western Hemisphere alone, legislative or regulatory control of the use to which a fuel may be put, Government encouragement of electric transmission interties, how to handle the problem of unemployed coal miners, and granting of right of eminent domain to coal pipelines.

Whatever policy direction may be followed with respect to each of these, various costs and gains are involved—to the Treasury, to the consumer, to the gaining and losing industries, and to society. Some of these gains can be quantified, mostly they cannot. In fact, it is not possible always to isolate them, or to trace out the specific effect of a policy action. Action taken may better one situation, worsen another. Questions that cannot be answered insist on intruding, such as: What is the cost to society when in the pursuit of some goal a desired product or service is denied? Or, what is the cost of withholding the fruits of technologic innovation or of dampening investment?

Energy policy relates to other policies, either explicitly or indirectly, and some energy policies indirectly affect policy in other areas. The important involvements are with transportation, taxation, trade policy, international policy other than trade, national defense, and various Federal programs, particularly atomic energy. Other areas of policy involvement include antitrust legislation, care and development of the inland waterways, space exploration, air pollution, labor, and urban redevelopment.

The three policy issues that are currently of most intense interest are:

*Interruptible gas*

In 1960 total interruptible sales totaled 2.1 billion Mc.f. Most of this is sold in geographic areas not economically served by coal, and some is sold for noncompetitive uses. In all, about one-fourth (or the equivalent of 22 million tons) is in direct competition with coal.

The price charged for interruptible gas is less than that charged for firm service and at least covers the cost of the gas itself plus the out-of-pocket costs of transportation and distribution. Thus this type of service makes a contribution toward fixed charges that would otherwise be borne by firm customers. In 1960 this fixed-charge contribution aggregated $400 million nationally.

*Residual fuel oil*

The use of residual fuel oil in the United States has remained fairly uniform over the past decade, but on the east coast, where most of it is consumed, net imports for domestic consumption have been rising and in 1960 were the equivalent of about 40 million tons of coal. Such imports come largely from the Caribbean where heavy fuel oil is the major refinery product. These imports affect the production of coal primarily in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.

*Coal mine unemployment*

The number of workers engaged in coal mining has been declining almost steadily from a peak of about 875,000 reached in the early 1920's. It is now only about 150,000. The number of unemployed is estimated at 100,000.

About half the decline has resulted from loss of markets and half from improvement in the efficiency of production. For bituminous coal the fractions are about one-third due to loss of market and two-thirds to improved efficiency. The average miner produced 2,450 tons in 1960, as against 1,350 tons a year during the midforties when coal output reached its peak, and about 750 tons a year in the early twenties when employment reached its peak. Concurrent with loss of markets, coal-mining wages were rising and were among the highest in American industry, and this element of cost has been a major factor in pushing the industry into mechanization during the postwar period, in order to stay competitive.

Elimination of interruptible gas sales and of the importation of heavy fuel oil would increase employment in the coal industry, but for a number of reasons (among them that part of the vacated markets would be taken by domestic oil and by firm gas and that the current coal work force is used less than full time) the gain would be small—perhaps a few thousand men—in terms of the gross problem. Each million tons of

added coal production would represent the employment of 400 miners at today's average output per man-day and at the average current workweek of less than 4 full days; at the current workweek but at the output per man-day projected for 1965, each million tons would represent the employment of 285 miners.

INDUSTRY AND CONSUMER POINTS OF VIEW

The point of view held by producers and consumers of energy as to what policy should be is as much a piece of information as is a table of statistics or description of a piece of technology. In order to provide as full a body of information as possible, we have invited the points of view of 12 groups, each representing either a producer of one or another form of energy or a consumer. These are included precisely as received. It would be a disservice to these groups to summarize their statements, for interpretation unavoidably would insinuate itself, and therefore we have not done so.

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## Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce Summary of Major Legislative Activity, 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, Public Law 601, 79th Congress, and House Resolution 108, 87th Congress, I submit herewith a summary of the major legislative accomplishments of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for the 87th Congress.

During this Congress, 816 House bills and resolutions and 39 Senate bills were referred to the committee, 2 of which were rereferred to other committees having legislative jurisdiction over the subject matter; 58 bills were reported to the House, of which 48 were enacted into public law; 5 were approved by the House but not acted upon in the Senate, 1 resolution required only House approval, and 4 remained on the House Calendar on the adjournment of the Congress.

The following bills reported from the committee became public law:

S. 610 established a U.S. Travel Service in the Department of Commerce to encourage foreign residents to visit this country. House Report No. 323 on H.R. 4614, Public Law 87–63.

H.R. 4998, the administration's proposal to assist in expanding and improving community facilities and services for the health care of the aged. House Report No. 599, Public Law 87–395.

S. 2034, Federal Communications Commission reorganization. House Report No. 723 on H.R. 7856, Public Law 87–192.

S. 2268 extended Federal criminal laws to certain crimes occurring on board aircraft in air commerce, such as hijacking, murder, manslaughter, and so forth. House Report No. 958 on H.R. 8384, Public Law 87–197.

S. 205 established a program of Federal matching grants for educational television facilities. House Report No. 999 on H.R. 132, Public Law 87–447.

S. 1552, drug amendments of 1962 to assure the safety, effectiveness, and reliability of drugs. House Report No. 2464 on H.R. 11581, Public Law 87–781.

H.R. 9045 amends the Trading With the Enemy Act to divest the Government's interest in copyrights and trademarks in favor of the former owners. House Report No. 2091.

Note the provisions of H.R. 9045 relating to copyrights are contained in H.R. 7283, which became Public Law 87–846.

The other provisions of H.R. 9045 dealing with trademarks became Public Law 87–861.

H.R. 3460 amends the Trading With the Enemy Act to authorize the Attorney General to sell the General Aniline & Film Corp. House Report No. 2046.

Note the provisions of H.R. 3460 are contained in H.R. 7283, which became Public Law 87–846.

H.R. 5028 provides for a lump-sum settlement of all claims of successor organizations for return of heirless vested property pursuant to the Trading With the Enemy Act. House Report No. 2027.

Note the provisions of this bill are contained in H.R. 7283, which became Public Law 87–846.

H.R. 7283 provides compensation for American nationals for certain World War II losses. House Report No. 2035.

Note: This bill, as amended, contains the provisions of H.R. 5028, H.R. 3460, and part of H.R. 9045; Public Law 87–846.

H.R. 10541, Vaccination Assistance Act of 1962. This legislation authorizes a 3-year program of special project grants to States for intensive vaccination programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus. House Report No. 1835, Public Law 87–868.

H.R. 11040 provides for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system. House Report No. 1636, Public Law 87–624.

H.R. 3980 amended the Food and Drug Act to permit the continued use of certain food additives and pesticide chemicals which have been in commercial use since January 1, 1958, until the necessary investigations and scientific studies now in progress can be completed and regulations adopted to provide final assurance of the safe use of these additives and chemicals. House Report. No. 53, Public Law 87–19.

H.R. 5075, extension of unemployment and sickness insurance benefits to railroad workers who had exhausted their existing compensation. House Report No. 54, Public Law 87–7.

H.R. 1163 provided for an extension of 27 months to the Interstate Commerce Commission to guarantee loans to railroads for capital expenditures. House Report No. 65, Public Law 87–16.

H.R. 8102 provided for a 3-year extension of the Federal Airport Act with a new method of financing. House Report No. 728, Public Law 87–225.

H.R. 8033 authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to delegate certain functions to employee boards. House Report No. 750, Public Law 87–247.

House Joint Resolution 438 authorized the Securities and Exchange Commission to make a study and investigation of the rules of national securities exchanges and national securities associations. House Report No. 882, Public Law 87–196.

S. 2395 amended the Railroad Retirement Act to permit male railroad employees with less than 30 years of creditable service to retire at age 62 on a reduced annuity. House Report No. 1067 on H.R. 8597, Public Law 87–285.

S. 320 amended part II of the Interstate Commerce Act concerning registration of State certificates whereby a common carrier by motor vehicle may engage in interstate and foreign commerce within a State. House Report No. 1090, Public Law 87–805.

S. 1969 authorized the Civil Aeronautics Board to grant limited certificates to supplemental air carriers. House Report No. 1177 on H.R. 7318, Public Law 87–528.

S. 1186 amended the act of June 13, 1906, regarding the stamping of gold and silver articles. House Report No. 1190, Public Law 87–354.

H.R. 2429 supplemented existing Federal criminal laws in order to provide more effective deterrents to the willful destruction or damage of property moving in interstate or foreign commerce. House Report No. 727, Public Law 87–221.

S. 1440 amended the act providing for the establishment of a national register of names of certain motor vehicle operators so that additional States may participate in the national driver license program. House Report No. 1181, Public Law 87–359.

S. 1931 provided for an extension of the provisions of title XIII of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, relating to war risks insurance. House Report No. 567, Public Law 87–89.

S. 1456 authorized the Secretary of Commerce to appoint an additional Assistant Secretary to serve as his principal adviser on scientific and technological matters. House Report No. 885 on H.R. 6360, Public Law 87–405.

S. 1288, inspection of radio equipment on board U.S. ships. House Report No. 2486, Public Law 87–811.

S. 962, clarifying the Civil Aeronautic Board's authority to conduct investigations of aircraft accidents. House Report No. 2487, Public Law 87–810.

S. 455 extended the Federal Air Pollution Control Act for an additional 2-year period. House Report No. 2265 on H.R. 12833, Public Law 87–761.

S. 1130 authorized grants for family health clinics for domestic agricultural migratory workers. House Report No. 2253 on H.R. 12365, Public Law 87–692.

H.R. 10129, extension for 5 years the authority of the Federal Government to guarantee private loans to certain supplementary airlines for the purchase of aircraft. House Report No. 2250, Public Law 87–820.

H.R. 11732 authorizes the President to license foreign governments to operate radio stations in the District of Columbia. House Report No. 2248, Public Law 87–795.

S. 319 exempts express companies from long-and-short-haul charges under the Interstate Commerce Act. House Report No. 2247 on H.R. 4272, Public Law 87–707.

S. 1606 authorizes the Federal Power Commission to exempt small hydroelectric power projects from certain of the licensing provisions of the Federal Power Act. House Report No. 2241, Public Law 87–647.

S. 2135 authorizes the Securities and Exchange Commission to delegate certain functions. House Report No. 2045, Public Law 87–592.

H.R. 11099, establishment of Institute of Child Health and Human Development. House Report No. 1969, Public Law 87–838.

S. 2256 provides benefits to certain Guamanians under section 5 of the War Claims Act. House Report No. 1837 on H.R. 4753, Public Law 87–617.

S. 1658 amends the act of January 2, 1951—Johnston Act—to extend the provisions of the act to additional gambling devices not now covered. House Report No. 1828, Public Law 87–840.

S. 3025 supplements the act incorporating the Texas & Pacific Railway Co., to permit that company, subject to the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act, to acquire the stock or property of other carriers, and to increase the company's authorized stock from $75 to $100 million. House Report No. 1813 on H.R. 11244, Public Law 87–527.

H.R. 11643 is legislation which clarifies the Interstate Commerce Act so that the users of motor-water services between Alaska or Hawaii and the other 48 States may have the same benefits of through routes and joint rates which are enjoyed by users of motor-water services among the other 48 States, and by users of rail-water services or of any combination of service with air services among all of the 50 States. House Report No. 1769, Public Law 87–595.

H.R. 2446 provides that hydraulic brake fluid sold or shipped in interstate commerce for use in motor vehicles shall meet certain specifications. House Report No. 1604, Public Law 87–637.

S. 1668 authorizes the Federal Communications Commission to impose small fines. House Report No. 1561, Public Law 87–448.

S. 1589 authorizes the Federal Communications Commission to issue radio operator licenses to nationals of the United States. House Report No. 1560, Public Law 87–445.

H.R. 8031 authorizes the Federal Communications Commission to require that all television receivers be equipped to receive all television channels—70 UHF and 12 VHF. House Report No. 1559, Public Law 87–529.

S. 1595 amends the Natural Gas Act to give the Federal Power Commission authority to suspend changes in rate schedules covering sales for resale for industrial use only. House Report No. 1547 on H.R. 6949, Public Law 87–454.

House Resolution 714 expresses the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the authorization by the Federal Communications Commission of class I–A clear-channel operations.

BILLS REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE WHICH PASSED THE HOUSE AND NOT THE SENATE

H.R. 8465 prohibits the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of articles imported into the United States from Cuba. House Report No. 1182.

H.R. 134 establishes minimum Federal safety standards for automobile seat belts sold or shipped in Interstate Commerce. House Report No. 2491.

H.R. 10542 repeals the Inland Waterways Corporation Act. House Report No. 2192.

H.R. 1341 requires passenger-carrying motor vehicles purchased for use by the Federal Government to meet certain safety standards. House Report No. 2112.

H.R. 4749 amends the Communications Act of 1934, with respect to presunrise operation by daytime radio stations. House Report No. 1870.

BILLS REPORTED TO THE HOUSE ON WHICH NO ACTION WAS TAKEN

H.R. 5978 provides for partial exemption from the provisions of part II of the Interstate Commerce Act of terminal area motor carrier operations performed by or for common carriers by water in interstate commerce subject to the Shipping Act, 1916, and the Intercoastal Shipping Act, 1933. House Report No. 1116.

H.R. 12201, relating to unifications or acquisitions of control of freight forwarders under the Interstate Commerce Act. House Report No. 2268.

H.R. 4999, Health Professions Educational Assistance Act. The legislation authorizes grants for construction of teaching facilities; loans to students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy; and extends for a 3-year period grants for construction of health research facilities. House Report No. 1489.

House Joint Resolution 636, to amend the Federal Trade Commission Act to promote quality and price stabilization. House Report No. 2352.

A detailed explanation of the reported bills is contained in the committee reports which accompanied them, and in the activity reports of the committee for the 1st and 2d sessions of the 87th Congress—House Report No. 1280 for the 1st session and House Report No. 2553 for the 2d.

In addition to the bills which the committee reported to the House during the 87th Congress, public hearings were held on milk sanitation; sales below cost and cease and desist orders; Civil Aeronautics Board legislative recommendations; hardwood labeling; establishment of a national accident prevention center; water carrier bulk commodity exemptions; inclusion of flight attendants in definition of "airman"; securities regulations for the District of Columbia; National Capital Airports Corporation; medical care for fishing boat owners; fish flour; omnibus transportation bills; humane treatment of laboratory animals; and aircraft noise.

## Does the American Retail Federation Represent the Interests of Small Business?

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks it has been noted that the press has published certain news items in which allegations were made to the effect that the Federal Trade Commission is acting in such a manner as to eliminate cooperative advertising. These charges were also coupled with other statements critical of the Robinson-Patman Act and it was understood that the American Retail Federation has made some of these disparaging statements. It further appeared in doing so the American Retail Federation has undertaken to claim that it was serving as spokesman for small business.

In October 1962, the Federal Trade Commission held a conference-hearing, and Commissioner Everette MacIntyre, in making the opening statement, declared in unequivocal terms that the American Retail Federation was not authorized by its 800,000 members to engage in attacks on the Commission and the Robinson-Patman Act which the FTC enforces. Because of the importance of this matter, I wish to take this means of inviting the attention of the Congress and the general public to Commissioner MacIntyre's statement, which is as follows:

STATEMENT BY COMMISSIONER EVERETTE MACINTYRE AT THE CONFERENCE-HEARING BEFORE THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ON COOPERATIVE ADVERTISING, OCTOBER 1962

It is hoped that this conference-hearing will prove constructive. A number of things relevant to the subject matter of our hearing today need clarification. Constructive suggestions from representatives of business about how the Federal Trade Commission may enforce more effectively the laws entrusted to it are invited. They would be in the public interest. It is hoped that such suggestions and advice will be forthcoming today from representatives of business assembled here. Also, it is hoped that the record of this conference-hearing will be made clear on the point of who makes the suggestions and gives the advice. We need to know not only the identification of the parties but those for whom they speak. With that knowledge we are in a better position to evaluate and weigh the suggestions and advice.

At the outset I should say that I associate myself with the statements of the Chairman that the Federal Trade Commission is not moving to eliminate cooperative advertising. I join with him in labeling any such charges as untrue and without foundation.

It is necessary to know and understand some of the background in order to understand why we are here today. Some time ago the Federal Trade Commission received complaints and other information indicating alleged violations of section 2(d) of the Robinson-Patman Act by parties engaged in the sale of wearing apparel to the retail trade. The Federal Trade Commission undertook an investigation of that matter. It accumu-

lated information which indicated violations of subsections 2(d) of the Robinson-Patman Act. Consequently, a course of action was instituted to bring about a compliance with the law wherever ivolations should be found in the wearing apparel industry. Statements appeared in the press to the effect that the American Retail Federation was objecting to the course of action undertaken by the Federal Trade Commission. In that connection some publicity was given to statements to the effect that the Federal Trade Commission was moving so as to eliminate cooperative advertising.

By August 17, 1962, officials of the American Retail Federation and the National Retail Merchants Association had requested that the Federal Trade Commission conduct a conference to discuss the matter. Wide publicity was given to that request in the press. Contents of those requests and accompanying briefs apparently were made available by representatives of the American Retail Federation and the National Retail Merchants Association to the press. Now what did those letters and accompanying briefs say? Below are a number of excerpts from the letter of the American Retail Federation of August 17, 1962, to the Federal Trade Commission:

"Through its member associations, the American Retail Federation represents more than 800,000 retail establishments of all kinds and sizes throughout the country.

* * * * *

"The member associations of the American Retail Federation have been very much concerned over recent activities of the Federal Trade Commission in the field of cooperative advertising.

* * * * *

"The applicability of the Robinson-Patman Act to cooperative advertising arrangements between suppliers of goods and the retailers who sell them to the consuming public presents one of the most complex legal problems facing American industry today.

* * * * *

"We are informed that the Commission has proposed to a great number of apparel manufacturers that they consent to the issuance against them of orders to cease and desist from violating the applicable statute.

* * * * *

"We submit that the pressing need for clarification in this area of the law is not at all served by the procedure being followed by the Commission in the apparel industry.

* * * * *

"We are forwarding herewith a legal memorandum developed by counsel for the American Retail Federation which demonstrates in detail the manner in which the Commission's proposed action violates its intended function and the applicable law as enunciated by the U.S. Supreme Court."

The American Retail Federation's accompanying brief at page 9 contained the following statement:

"The Commission's proposed action would have the effect of outlawing legitimate cooperative advertising programs."

In addition the letter of the American Retail Federation and its accompanying brief contained the following statements:

"The membership of the American Retail Federation is also seriously concerned over the effect on cooperative advertising generally of the Commission's proposed procedures in the apparel industry.

* * * * *

"Because of the extremely vague standards of section 2(d) of the Robinson-Patman Act, manufacturers subject to cease-and-desist orders which are framed in the language of the statute itself, and to the stringent penalties provided for violation of such orders, may well determine sharply to restrict or even to eliminate their participation in cooperative advertising arrangements.

* * * * *

"It is quite clear that Congress did not intend in any way to outlaw cooperative advertising arrangements by passage of the Robinson-Patman Act.

* * * * *

"Where the Commission has issued a blanket order against most of the manufacturers in a particular industry, and where there can be no certainty of whether a particular advertising program complies with the law and the order, the result may well be seriously to inhibit, if not eliminate, cooperative advertising.

* * * * *

"Cooperative advertising is a prime source of revenue to local newspapers throughout the country and a contraction of that revenue would have serious consequences. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Federal Trade Commission will not proceed in this area of the law in a way which will restrict or eliminate this vitally important contribution to the health of our economy.

"For the foregoing reasons, we earnestly urge the Commission to reconsider its proposed action in the apparel industry.

* * * * *

"The Commission's course of action is clearly in violation of the essential responsibilities of the Federal Trade Commission, seeks to reach beyond the legal limits on the Commission's authority, and is destructive of legitimate supplier-retailer cooperative promotional plans, which Congress never has shown any intention to outlaw.

* * * * *

"The FTC is requesting that the manufacturers in question consent to cease-and-desist orders entered under section 2(d) of the act which will, in the terms of the statute itself, forbid violations of section 2(d). Entry into these consent orders will constitute a waiver of judicial review. They will be entered without public hearing and without the Trade Commission's being required to introduce evidence of any specific violation of section 2(d) by the manufacturers involved.

"The Commission's proposed action will put the manufacturers in question in an untenable position."

Thus it is seen that although the American Retail Federation acknowledged that the Federal Trade Commission was not seeking consent orders from it or its members, but instead from manufacturers of wearing apparel, the American Retail Federation was nevertheless demanding that the Federal Trade Commission cease those efforts. In doing so in the behalf of the American Retail Federation, the following statement was made criticizing the Robinson-Patman Act: "* * * the Robinson-Patman Act is not a precisely drafted statute. It has been termed 'one of the most tortuous legislative pronouncements ever to go on the statute books'; an act whose 'concepts and theories are incomplete and contradictory'; a 'hodgepodge of confusion and inconsistency'; 'prolix and perplexing'; and most mildly, 'not distinguished for its clarity of expression.'".

It followed with the following statement: "The proposed action of the Federal Trade Commission seeks to reach beyond the law as defined by the courts."

As has been noted, the American Retail Federation, in connection with making these strong criticisms against the Federal Trade Commission and the Robinson-Patman Act, stated that through its member-associations the American Retail Federation represents more than 800,000 retail establishments and that the member-associations of the American Retail Federation are very much concerned over these recent activities of the Federal Trade Commission in the field of cooperative advertising. The American Retail Federation proceeded with a statement that a list of its member-associations was attached. There was attached a list of 31 national trade associations of retailers.

There followed the suggestion that the Commission initiate a series of conferences applicable to this matter. Thus, apparently the American Retail Federation was representing itself as speaking for the 800,000 members of its affiliated associations.

These circumstances prompted me to make inquiries as to whether on this occasion the American Retail Federation would be authorized to speak for the 800,000 members of its affiliated associations. Also, I inquired whether the American Retail Federation had been authorized by the members of these affiliated associations to make the statements which the American Retail Federation had made critical of the Federal Trade Commission and of the Robinson-Patman Act. I made such inquiries in order that I be informed on matters relevant to this conference-hearing. I felt that the information I was seeking would help me evaluate and weigh matters to be presented to us here today.

My inquiries developed information to the effect that—

1. The American Retail Federation was not authorized by the 800,000 members of its affiliated associations to make the statements it did make attacking the Federal Trade Commission and the Robinson-Patman Act.

2. No party has informed me, despite my extensive inquiries, that the American Retail Federation is authorized to speak for it here today.

3. The American Retail Federation has collected large sums of money from some of its large business firms of the country. It has used a large part of the funds thus collected as a registered lobbyist for those firms. The registration to which I make reference is under the provisions of the Federal Lobbying Act, United States Code, title 2, sections 261–270.

It is reported that under the terms of that law, the American Retail Federation received nearly $255,000 in membership dues during 1959, with 52 retail corporations paying nearly 92 percent of that, according to the final 1959 ARF report filed with Congress under the Federal Lobbying Act.

This report showed that J. C. Penney Co., New York, in the fourth quarter 1959 added $10,000 to its previous dues of $10,000, to join Sears, Roebuck & Co., Inc., as the only $20,000 dues-paying members.

Allied Stores Corp., added $7,900 to a previous payment for a total of $15,800; Federated Department Stores, Inc., Cincinnati, paid $15,889 in the fourth quarter; W. T. Grant Co., New York, added $5,075 to a previous payment for a $10,150 total; and F. W. Woolworth, New York, increased its payment to $18,102 for the year.

Others whose payments were above $10,000 for the year were May Department Stores, St. Louis, $13,036; and R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., New York, $10,757.

New ARF contributors for the year who paid dues in the fourth quarter, 1959, included:

Broadway Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles, $1,800.

Bullocks, Inc., Los Angeles, $2,125.

Gilchrist Co., Boston, $571.

J. L. Hudson Co., Detroit, $4,925.

Miles Shoe, New York, $875.

Retail Drug Co., Los Angeles, $1,000.

Rose's 5–10–25 Cent, Henderson, N.C., $748.

Sprouse Reitz Co., Inc., Portland, $700.

Stix, Baer & Fuller Co., St. Louis, $1,125.

White Stores, Inc., Wichita Falls, Tex., $500.

Wohl Shoe Co., St. Louis, $900.

ARF's report showed it collected $254,770 during 1959, of which $233,735 was paid in by 52 firms which each paid $500 or more. This represented 91.7 percent of the total dues.

Some firms increased their dues with payments in the fourth quarter. These firms and their total dues for 1959, compared with their total dues in the first 9 months of 1959, in that order, were:

Allied Stores, $15,800 and $7,900.

B. Altman & Co., New York, $1,250 and $625.

Associated Dry Goods Corp., New York, $8,000 and $4,000.

L. S. Ayres & Co., Indianapolis, $1,710 and $1,130.

Edison Bros. Stores, Inc., St. Louis, $2,475 and $1,237.

Gamble-Skogmo, Inc., Minneapolis, $996 and $747.

Gimbel Bros., New York, $7,150 and $3,575.

W. T. Grant, $10,150 and $5,075.

Hutzler Bros. Co., Baltimore, $1,387 and $925.

S. S. Kresge Co., Detroit, $8,175 and $6,131.

S. H. Kress & Co., New York, $3,964 and $1,982.

Meier & Frank Co., Portland, $1,100 and $550.

J. J. Newberry Co., New York, $5,300 and $2,650.

J. C. Penney, $20,000 and $10,000.

Rike-Kumler Co., Dayton, $1,224 and $612.

Western Auto Supply Co., Kansas City, $2,300 and $1,150.

F. W. Woolworth, $18,102 and $13,577.

The records of the Congress show that the American Retail Federation during 1961 collected more than $285,000, according to the reports it filed pursuant to the terms of the Federal Lobbying Act. During the first two quarters of 1962, it collected more than $150,000. The retails of those records are as follows:

First quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 13, 1961, page 9470: Receipts, $75,901.85; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $6,056.78.

Second quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 13, 1961, page 18094: Receipts, $62,309.33; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $8,070.92.

Third quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 10, 1962, page 27: Receipts, $51,351.71; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $2,820.22.

Fourth quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 5, 1962, page 3153: Receipts, $100,408.42; no expenditures reported.

First quarter, 1962, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 5, 1962, page 9057: Receipts, $51,527.68; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $3,634.37.

Second quarter, 1962, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 12, 1962, page 18188: Receipts, $102,722.90; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $3,838.70.

MEMBERS WHO PAID DUES IN EXCESS OF $500

*First quarter, 1961*

Broadway Hale Stores, Los Angeles, Calif.
Carson Pirie Scott & Co., Chicago, Ill.
City Stores Co., New York, N.Y.
Edison Bros. Stores, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.
Haverty Furniture Cos., Inc., Atlanta, Ga.
G. R. Kinney Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
S. S. Kresge Co., Detroit, Mich.
S. H. Kress & Co., New York, N.Y.
R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
May Department Stores Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Melville Shoe Corp., New York, N.Y.
G. C. Murphy Co., McKeesport, Pa.
National Shirt Shops, Inc., New York, N.Y.
Neiman Marcus, Dallas, Tex.
J. J. Newberry Co., New York, N.Y.
Rich's, Atlanta, Ga.
Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.
Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill.
Stix, Baer & Fuller Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Thalhimer Bros., Inc., Richmond, Va.
Western Auto Supply Co., Kansas City, Mo.
F. W. Woolworth Co., New York, N.Y.

*Second quarter, 1961*

Allied Stores Corp., New York, N.Y.
B. Altman & Co., New York, N.Y.
Associated Dry Goods Co., New York, N.Y.
L. S. Ayres & Co., Indianapolis, Ind.
The Dayton Co., Minneapolis, Minn.
Gamble Skogmo, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.
W. T. Grant & Co., New York, N.Y.
Joseph Horne Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Marshall Field & Co., Chicago, Ill.
Miller & Rhoads, Richmond, Va.
J. C. Penney Co., New York, N.Y.
Strawbridge & Clothier, Philadelphia, Pa.

*Third quarter, 1961*

Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Gilchrist Co., Boston, Mass.
Gimbel Bros., New York, N.Y.
Lerner Stores Corp., New York, N.Y.
Meier & Frank Co., Portland, Oreg.
Morse Shoe Co., Boston, Mass.
Sprouse Reitz Co., Inc., Portland, Oreg.

*Fourth quarter, 1961*

Wm. H. Block Co., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bullock's, Los Angeles, Calif.
Emporium Copwell, San Francisco, Calif.
J. L. Hudson, Detroit, Mich.
Hutzler Bros., Co., Baltimore, Md.
Miles Shoes, New York, N.Y.
Rose's 5–10–25 Cent Stores, Henderson, N.C.
Safeway Stores, Oakland, Calif.

*First quarter, 1962*

Carson, Pirie Scott & Co., Chicago, Ill.
City Stores Co., New York, N.Y.
Edison Bros. Stores, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.
Gimbel Bros., New York, N.Y.
S. S. Kresge Co., Detroit, Mich.
Meier & Frank Co., Portland, Oreg.
G. C. Murphy Co., McKeesport, Pa.
J. C. Penney Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
Rich's, Atlanta, Ga.
Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.
Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill.
Thalhimer Bros., Inc., Richmond, Va.
Western Auto Supply Co., Kansas City, Mo.
F. W. Woolworth, New York, N.Y.
Younker Bros., Inc., Des Moines, Iowa.

*Second quarter, 1962*

Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio.
J. L. Hudson Co., Detroit, Mich.
G. R. Kinney Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
S. H. Kress & Co., New York, N.Y.
R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
May Department Stores Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Melville Shoe Corp., New York, N.Y.
Neiman Marcus, Dallas, Tex.
Allied Stores Corp., New York, N.Y.
B. Altman & Co., New York, N.Y.
Associated Dry Goods Co., New York, N.Y.
L. S. Ayres & Co., Indianapolis, Ind.
The Dayton Co., Minneapolis, Minn.
Gamble Skogmo, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.
W. T. Grant & Co., New York, N.Y.
Joseph Horne Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Miller & Rhoads, Richmond, Va.
Strawbridge & Clothier, Philadelphia, Pa.
Lerner Stores Corp., New York, N.Y.
Rose's 5–10–25 Cent Stores, Henderson, N.C.

4. The National Retail Merchants Association also registered as a lobbyist under the terms of the Federal Lobbying Act. In that connection it is reported that—

The National Retail Merchants Association earmarked $16,500 of its yearly income for legislative work, according to a report filed with the Clerk of the House under the Federal Lobbying Regulation Act.

NRMA reported receiving $12,375 in the first 9 months of the year for its legislative work.

Also, NRMA advised Congress that it did not receive any single contribution of $500 or more specifically for legislative services in the 9-month period. The Federal lobbying law requires a listing of those persons or organizations which have contributed $500 or more during a year to a registered lobbyist.

NRMA explained in its reports that its dues finance all NRMA work, of which influencing of legislation is a very minor activity. Also, NRMA said no dues are used principally to influence or defeat legislation and influencing of legislation is not the principal purpose of NRMA.

According to the records of the Congress, the National Retail Merchants Association also registered as a lobbyist under the terms of the Federal Lobbying Act for the year 1961 and for the first two quarters of 1962. The details regarding its registration are, as follows:

First quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 13, 1961, page 9481: Receipts, $7,481.37; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $9,520.67.

Second quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 13, 1961, page 18107: Receipts, $8,018.41; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $9,081.50.

Third quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 10, 1962, page 39: Receipts, $13,526.69; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $10,007.44.

Fourth quarter, 1961, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 5, 1962, page 3164: Receipts, $16,244.37; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $22,432.45.

First quarter, 1962, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 5, 1962, page 9049: Receipts, $12,625; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $5,399.35.

Second quarter, 1962, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 12, 1962, page 18202: Receipts, $4,125; expenditures in connection with legislative interests, $7,310.89.

The NRMA received no single contribution of $500 or more specifically for legislative services from January 1, 1961, to March 31, 1961, inclusive. Association income is derived principally from membership dues and subscriptions and is used to conduct all of the purposes and activities of the association of which the influencing of legislation is a very minor activity. Members pay dues based upon their respective total annual sales volume for the preceding year in return for which the association services them in all phases of retail operations. None of the payments is designated or otherwise earmarked for any special purpose or activity; nor are such contributions used principally to influence or defeat legislation; nor is the influencing of legislation the principal purpose of the NRMA.

All income, except as hereafter indicated, is comingled and budgetary appropriations are allocated annually therefrom by the board of directors to the various operational groups and divisions which comprise the association. Included in such annual appropriations is a specific sum to be used in connection with legislative activities, which for the year 1961 is $16,500. On occasion, the board of directors of the association may invite voluntary contributions from members specially interested in specific legislation. In that event, the legislative budget is supplemented by any contributions so received and such contributions are fully disclosed in appropriate reports under this act.

Contributors, 1st quarter, 1961:

| | |
|---|---|
| Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill | $2,244.70 |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill | 1,111.67 |
| Total | 3,356.37 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributors, 2d quarter, 1961: | |
| Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio | $1,133.03 |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill. | 1,133.03 |
| Credit Commission for Retail Women's Apparel Chain | 500.00 |
| Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill. | 1,127.35 |
| Total | 3,893.41 |
| Contributors, 3d quarter, 1961: | |
| Federated Dept. Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio | 1,127.35 |
| May Department Stores (Famous Barr Co.) St. Louis, Mo. | 1,127.35 |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill. | 1,127.35 |
| Credit Commission for Retail Women's Apparel Chain, New York, N.Y. | 500.00 |
| May Department Stores (Famous Barr Co.), St. Louis, Mo. | 2,759.82 |
| Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill. | 2,759.82 |
| Total | 9,401.69 |
| Contributors, 4th quarter, 1961: | |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill. | 2,759.82 |
| May Department Stores, St. Louis, Mo. | 711.70 |
| Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill. | 711.70 |
| Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio | 711.70 |
| Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill. | 809.70 |
| May Department Stores, St. Louis, Mo. | 809.70 |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill. | 711.70 |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill. | 809.70 |
| Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio | 809.70 |
| Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio | 2,759.82 |
| Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill. | 514.13 |
| Total | 12,119.37 |
| Appropriation in connection with legislative activities for 1962 is $16,500. | |
| Contributors, 1st quarter, 1962: | |
| Aldens, Inc., Chicago, Ill. | 500.00 |
| Firestone Tire & Rubber, Akron, Ohio | 500.00 |
| B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, Ohio | 500.00 |
| Spiegel, Inc., Chicago, Ill. | 2,000.00 |
| Western Auto Supply, Kansas City, Mo. | 2,000.00 |
| Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, Ohio | 3,000.00 |
| Total | 8,500.00 |

From these facts and circumstances it is hoped that we will be aided in our effort to determine for what parties and in whose behalf presentations and representations are made to us here today. In the event any spokesman for an organization has members who have conflict of interests, we should know which of those interests the spokesman represents. For example, if an association has among its members the largest of retailers and the smallest of retailers, and the problem under discussion should disclose a conflict of interests between the largest and the smallest of such retailers, we should know whether the spokesman is representing only the interests of the largest retailer.

In conclusion, it should be noted that in 1954 31 associations having a membership in the American Retail Federation answered "Yes" to the question: "Should the American Retail Federation support the basic concepts and principles of the Robinson-Patman Act?"

Thus it appears that among the hundreds of thousands of retailers who are members of those associations, a vast majority seek fair play and the elimination of abusive discriminatory practices. In other words, they have informed the American Retail Federation that they subscribe to the principles and the objectives of the Robinson-Patman Act. It is obvious that they want effective enforcement of that law. We who are members of the Federal Trade Commission have solemnly sworn to provide effective enforcement of the Robinson-Patman Act and other laws entrusted to them. I shall fulfill my oath in that respect. We need the advice of you who are here today on the ways and means of accomplishing that objective.

## Congresswoman Martha W. Griffiths Reports to the People of the 17th District of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to provide the residents of the 17th District of Michigan with a brief résumé of major legislation and of my activities as their Representative in the 87th Congress.

The 87th Congress convened on January 3, 1961, in a period of economic recession and a time of international tension. It was not an ordinary Congress, if indeed there is such a thing. It was marked by a change of administration, and a change of leadership in the House. On January 30, 1961, John F. Kennedy, the new President of the United States, presented his state-of-the-Union address to a joint session of Congress with Speaker Rayburn and Vice President JOHNSON presiding. When the House convened on January 10, 1962, it was an atmosphere saddened by the death of Speaker Rayburn. The House quickly elected one of his most loyal and trusted friends, JOHN W. MCCORMACK as Speaker.

In January 1961, 5,435,000 men and women were unemployed throughout this Nation; 6.7 percent of our labor force. One hundred and sixty-six thousand of these unemployed were in Detroit; 11.6 percent of the labor force, almost double the national unemployment figure. In September 1962, 3,512,000 in our Nation were unemployed; 4.9 percent of the labor force. Seventy-four thousand of these unemployed are in Detroit; 5.4 percent of the labor force—still higher than the national average but in a much smaller amount. Approximately 16,000 of Detroit's unemployed are termed "hard-core" unemployed—those who have long exhausted all of their unemployment benefits and have not been able to get back into the labor force.

Automation and the entrance of 1 million young job applicants into the labor force each year have made unemployment the No. 1 domestic problem facing our Nation. The solution of this problem is a monumental task; but the combined efforts of Government and business are beginning to show results. First, temporary emergency measures were taken to help meet the immediate needs of the unemployed.

The amount of surplus foods and distribution to our hungry was increased—the new President's first Executive order.

The extension of unemployment benefits for the jobless whose payments had expired, and similar benefits to unemployed railroad workers.

Aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers: Michigan legislature refuses to participate, costing Michigan taxpayers $10 million a year in Federal funds.

Next, Congress turned to long-termed solutions to our unemployment problems.

Minimum wages increased to $1.25 an hour and the law extended to cover 3½ million workers not covered before. The first Minimum Wage Act was passed in 1938. This was the third raise given since then. A good wage means more jobs—to supply goods and services that low-wage workers could not previously buy.

Social security changes to permit men to retire at 62, the present retirement age for women; increased minimum benefits, and increased benefits for retired widows and widowers: Many unemployed older men who had to give up hope of finding regular work have been helped by this measure.

Area Redevelopment Act: A program of loans and grants to assist local communities in the construction of new public facilities and to aid areas which are seeking new industry. Many of Michigan's communities, including Detroit and Plymouth, have programs underway—programs to bring new payrolls and form the basis for further economic growth.

Manpower retraining: In today's rapidly shifting, increasingly automated economy workers must often move to new jobs and new trades which frequently require new skills. This program provides training for workers whose jobs have been eliminated by automation or other forms of technological advance. Michigan was one of the first to take full advantage of this program. This will help reduce unemployment and add productive capacity to our Nation's resources.

Public works acceleration: Authorized $900 million for speeding up construction of needed public works—such local public works as water and sewer works hospitals, public buildings, streets and sidewalks are eligible. This program has a dual purposes of providing new jobs and completing needed public works projects. This is an additional stimulus to our economy.

There is no single dramatic answer, no magic formula to meet the problem of unemployment. There will be more jobs only as we do more business—with ourselves, in meeting our unmet needs, and with the rest of the world. The only long-term answer to unemployment is economic growth.

This Congress took two major steps to speed our economic growth.

Trade bill: The first major change in our trade policy since 1934 gives the President power to cut tariffs, to enable our Nation to deal realistically with the vast trading rising in Europe among the Common Market nations. If American industry and agriculture are to prosper we must enlarge our share of growing world markets. To do this we must also buy goods from other countries. Detroit has a tremendous stake in foreign trade.

Tax revision: A bill designed to raise some increased revenue by plugging tax loopholes and to give credit to business to stimulate job-creating new capital improvements passed. The President is going to propose major tax revisions next year. A comprehensive reform of our tax structure is sorely needed.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

An all time record appropriation of $48.1 billion was provided to strengthen American defense. There is new emphasis on ability to provide needed forces on a moments notice, for wars of any size, anywhere in the world. Improved armaments supplied to our fighting men include faster aircraft of increased range, nuclear frigates, atomic submarines equipped with Polaris missiles, and improved small arms. Development is being accelerated on long-distance bombers and on intercontinental ballistic missiles.

People frequently forget just what it is costing us to remain prepared. Defense spending proposals are one-half of our Federal budget and about 10 percent of our gross national product. In addition to the 2½ million men in uniform and the 1 million civilian employees of the Defense Department, there are 3 to 4 million people in the United States working for defense contractors. Adequate defense is a costly business and more than anything else is responsible for high Federal taxes. Over two-thirds of your Federal tax dollar goes for national security and the costs for past wars—the high price of freedom in today's uncertain world.

However, a large defense budget is no excuse for extravagance and waste. In 1957 in my maiden speech before the House of Representatives, I said that $10 billion alone could be saved from our then $40 billion defense budget if proper procurement procedures were instigated and duplication and waste kept to a minimum. In my opinion, Secretary of Defense McNamara has taken a major step to see that our taxpayers get, as he says, "a dollar of defense for every dollar spent." This is in his establishment of a new Defense Supply Agency. The purpose of this Agency is to unify purchasing and procurement of supplies and services for all our military forces—Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard—a program that has long had the support of the Hoover Commission. While this is a major step forward in bringing about economy in our Defense Department, it will not necessarily cut our needed defense expenditures but should free the tax dollar for our increasing defense needs.

The dark cloud of international communism covers the horizon of all free nations throughout the globe. As your Representative under two Presidents—Eisenhower and Kennedy—I have made every effort to support the Commander in Chief on all foreign policy programs which each administration has recommended for the best interests of our Nation and the free world. Presidents Eisenhower and Truman have publicly stated that the executive department possesses all information and confidential knowledge on conditions over the globe and their decisions on international matters are often based on facts not known to the general public. World conditions today demand that the American people must be united and all differences on international problems should stop at the oceans' shoreline.

In foreign affairs traditional bipartisanship has prevailed. On July 25, 1961, the President outlined the Berlin crisis to the American people and Congress wasted no time in backing him up. The Senate—75 to 0—and the House—403 to 2—in 5 days, passed a measure allowing the administration to call up 250,000 ready reservists.

The foreign affairs appropriation, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency all received majority support from both parties. And both Houses by an overwhelming vote passed resolutions on Red China, Berlin, and Cuba.

This Congress cut the President's foreign aid request by more than $1 billion. It is my belief that the primary obligation of foreign aid is to the United States. It should be directed toward aiding democracy in the world and to prove the benefits of a free enterprise system. Secondly, it should be directed toward keeping communism down at all costs. The administration is now undertaking a major reappraisal of its foreign aid program with the objective to reduce oversized spending and establish new tough-minded standards for the distribution of funds.

EDUCATION

The House enacted a bill providing for the construction of college academic facilities but because the Senate passed an amended education bill far more liberal than the House would accept, the compromised version was defeated and again no education bill at all was passed by Congress. However, a program of Federal aid to impacted school districts was extended as was the scholarship-loan provision of the National Defense Education Act and a grant program to develop our educational television stations.

HEALTH CARE FOR OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

Legislation to provide medical care for the aged, which I support, did not fare well during this Congress. Efforts by the Senate to take up a bill failed by a vote of 52 to 48 and the House failed to take any action.

The temporary defeat of this program does not diminish the obvious need for it. Each day in this country the number of Americans over 65 increases by 1,000 and the vast majority of them lack adequate financial protection against serious illness. In 90 percent of the States, the Kerr-Mills bill is not functioning, and in the remaining States it is a replica of the ancient poorhouse operation.

The following legislation was given favorable consideration by Congress:

A nationwide inoculation program to stamp out polio, diptheria, whooping cough and tetanus is to be commenced on a State-Federal partnership basis.

Tighter regulations imposed on the drug industry to insure against recurrence of tragedies similar to those occurring from the premature use of the drug thalidomide.

Ten million dollars appropriated for control projects to find more effective ways of combating juvenile crime and delinquency. Detroit has a project underway.

Increased compensation for our service-connected disabled veterans.

Approved a bill to permit self-employed persons to establish funds for their retirement years and receive tax deferrals on part of the contributions to the fund; a privilege that is now given to employees of companies and corporations.

A constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax laws which still remain in five States. To become effective this proposed amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the States within 7 years.

All television sets for sale in this country must be capable of UHF—ultra high frequency—as well as VHF—very high frequency—most of the channels in general used in this country are of this type. This legislation will increase from 681 to 2,025 the number of available television channels and will greatly increase the opportunity for educational television stations, assuring the public of the fullest benefit from television service.

Postage rates increases to go in effect January 1963: First-class mail from 4 to 5 cents, airmail 7 to 8 cents. Also controls on Communist propaganda coming in from abroad.

The most comprehensive housing program in a decade:

Major expansion of urban renewal and housing for the elderly.

First major middle-income housing.

First aid to local mass transit—Detroit received first study grant.

First protection of open spaces in urban areas.

Increased appropriations to combat the pollution of our rivers; program for economic conversion of salt water to fresh; new laws to combat organized crime; and the first major additions to our national park system in 16 years: Padre Island National Seashore, an island on the coast of Texas near Corpus Christi; Point Reyes National Seashore on the northern coast of California near San Francisco; and a national seashore on Cape Cod, Mass.

Public welfare improvements: The first major revision since 1950 of our Federal-State welfare program. The bill was designed to end abuses in the welfare program and to develop more constructive ways of getting people off the welfare rolls and keeping them off.

A revised Welfare Pension Plans Disclosures Act to protect the pension funds of America's working men and

women. Anticrime and antiracketeering legislation.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Early in 1961, Speaker Rayburn appointed me a member of the Joint Economic Committee, the Senate-House committee that studies and reviews our Nation's economic policies. As a member of this committee, I traveled to six countries in Latin America last year examining the economic relationship between Latin America and the United States. We issued a report on our findings. An editorial in the Washington Post on February 13, 1962, called it a painstaking and worthwhile report. If you would like a copy, I will be glad to send you one.

In January of 1962, I was the first woman ever to be elected to serve on the Ways and Means Committee, without question the busiest committee in the 87th Congress. More important, this is the first time the 17th District of Michigan has had a vote on the tax-writing committee of our Congress. During this Congress the committee held extensive lengthy hearings on tax revision which will serve as a background for the major tax revision proposals the President is going to introduce next January; the Trade Agreements Act—the first major change in our trade policy since 1934; social security changes; unemployment compensation; and public welfare changes.

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

In addition to my legislative duties, I have tried to keep the residents of the 17th District as fully informed as possible via my monthly newsletter. If you would like to be placed on my mailing list, call my Detroit office.

It was a real pleasure to once again teach civics to all the senior high schools in our district.

My two full-time offices, in Washington at 1516 House Office Building; in Detroit at 14815 Grand River, are there to serve you. If you have any problems—veterans, immigration, or with the various agencies of our Federal Government—I would like to help you.

Your letters, phone calls, and visits are always appreciated.

I have served you for almost 8 years. If it is your wish, I shall continue to serve you with the same interest in your welfare and the welfare of our country and with the same pride I have in being the Representative of the very best congressional district; a district that is alert and interested, not only to domestic affairs, but to the great issues that confront us as leaders of the free world.

## The National Labor Relations Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, early in this Congress I introduced a bill (H.R. 5662) to amend the National Labor Relations Act, which would permit supervisors to be considered as employees under the provisions of this act. I am very disappointed that no decisive action was taken on my bill, and I intend to reintroduce it in the early days of the next Congress.

I appreciate the cooperation I have received from the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, to which my bill was referred, and he has assured me that he will schedule a hearing early in the next session.

My proposal would strike out the definition of "supervisor" which, in effect, deprives the foremen in American industry of all the benefits provided by this law to other employees. This is not the first bill of its kind that has been introduced. As a matter of fact, Mr. Joseph F. Murphy, of Buffalo, N.Y., who has been championing this cause for years, testified before a subcommittee in the last Congress.

The lack of legislation which would grant equal rights to the foremen has been most discouraging to this group of men. They deserve equal status with all the rights and privileges accorded to the rank and file worker. They are entitled to a voice and vote in affairs which affect their welfare and their future.

The foreman, in his capacity, is an employee who must adhere to the conditions and terms of employment imposed upon him—a matter over which he has no voice or control. But he is denied the right, as an employee, to participate in any decision which affects that employment. This is sheer injustice. The time to correct this is long overdue, and I am hopeful that the 88th Congress will act speedily in enacting this legislation.

## Exhibits Presented to Smithsonian Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article, commenting upon the acquisition by the Smithsonian Institution of certain technical exhibits presented by General Motors, and also an article on the same subject, which appeared in the Washington Post on Tuesday, October 9, 1962, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 9, 1962]

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION GETS EXHIBITS FROM GM

The Smithsonian Institution yesterday received three technical exhibits for the display on the history of nuclear physics being readied for its new History and Technology Museum.

P. W. Bishop, head curator of Smithsonian's Department of Arts and Manufactures, was presented the exhibits yesterday in Warren, Mich., by the General Motors Research Laboratories.

The exhibits will dramatize the use of radioisotopes in medicine and industry. One includes what is believed to be the first human chest X-ray of diagnostic quality taken by using radioisotopes. A small portable container for radioactive samarium-153 was designed for use in industry and in battlefield and emergency situations when electrical power is unavailable for conventional X-ray apparatus.

The second exhibit is an operating cutaway of an engine-block radiography unit used for quality control in industrial plants. The third display shows how samarium-153 in liquid form was used to gage the critical thickness of turbine blade walls in an experimental turboprop engine.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION GETS EXHIBITS FROM GENERAL MOTORS

On October 8, 1962, General Motors Research Laboratories presented to the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.) three technical exhibits which dramatize the use of radioisotopes in medicine and industry. These are noteworthy contributions of new and far-reaching technological advancements which will be important additions to the Institution's storehouse of knowledge. As a member of the Smithsonian's Board of Regents, I am particularly pleased that these developments of one of America's great research laboratories are being made available for public exhibition and study.

The announcement of the presentation to the Institution is as follows:

"WARREN, MICH.—General Motors Research Laboratories today (Oct. 8, 1962) presented to the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.) three technical exhibits that dramatize the use of radioisotopes in medicine and industry.

"In a brief ceremony at GM Technical Center the exhibits were accepted for the Institution by Dr. P. W. Bishop, head curator of the Department of Arts and Manufactures, from Arthur F. Underwood, manager of GM Research Laboratories. Dr. Bishop said the exhibits will be displayed in the Smithsonian's new building in an area dedicated to the history of nuclear physics.

"The Smithsonian will have what is believed to be the first human chest X-ray of diagnostic quality using radioisotopes. It was taken in 1959 by GM researchers and medical radiologists with samarium 1953 as the radioactive source.

"The source container, which was actually used, is a part of the exhibit. It is approximately a 4- by 4-inch 18-pound projector which can be manipulated easily and safely. This small, portable container was designed for use in industry as well as in battlefield, accident, disaster or other emergency situations or in remote areas where electrical power is unavailable for conventional X-ray apparatus.

"The second exhibit is an operating cutaway of an engine block radiography unit. It consists of an aluminum block cut in half and a tiny stainless steel source holder that can be lowered into the cylinder bore. Inside-out radiographs can be made by wrapping X-ray film around the engine block. This permits radiography of areas that are inaccessible to normal X-ray equipment and the development provided an important new tool to assure high quality products.

"The same technique can be used to reveal inner structure, parts and assemblies of aircraft cylinder heads and propellers, automotive pistons and transmission housings. Usually the source is ytterbium 169 and GM researchers believe their application was the first used in industrial plants for quality control.

"The exhibit has push buttons which Smithsonian visitors can operate, automati-

cally lowering the source into the cylinder bore. Also, visitors can see resulting radiographs showing a good cylinder block and one that has a void or flaw in a critical spot. With low energy isotopes it was possible to refine engine block casting techniques and eliminate such occasional defects.

"The third exhibit illustrates how samarium 153 in liquid form was used to gage critical thickness of turbine blade walls in an experimental turboprop engine. The 2-inch blades were hollow with a number of internal supports so that cooling gas could be forced through the hollow interior. They were castings of a high-temperature nickel base alloy and by conventional nondestructive tests it was virtually impossible to determine the wall thickness.

"In the casting process of these experimental blades it was suspected the core shifted occasionally. To find out the extent of this shift, samarium 153 solution was poured into the blade cavity and Geiger counters measured the radiation penetration through the blade walls. The amount of radiation passing through the wall was inversely related to wall thickness.

"Prof. Clyde L. Cowan, Jr., of Catholic University of America, who is advising the Smithsonian, brought the work of GM Research Laboratories with radioisotopes to the attention of the Institution.

"Today's presentation was the second involving GM Research Laboratories and the Smithsonian. On September 9, 1954, the Institution received the first model of a Dodrill-GMR mechanical heart which was developed in the laboratories' mechanical development department under the direction of Dr. F. D. Dodrill of Detroit's Harper Hospital."

## Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein my views concerning the farm bill.

I have always been extremely anxious to support farm legislation that I thought would be beneficial to the farmers and the Nation as a whole, and I have time and again expressed my willingness by voice and vote in this body to give the Department of Agriculture full opportunity to correct and reform present deficiencies in the price support system and other agricultural affairs.

However, the situation has deteriorated from year to year, and I think that Congress, the farmers, the Department of Agriculture, and the American people need urgently to seek more constructive, adequate solutions.

I voted to recommit the farm bill because it seemed to me that course would give the committee another opportunity to report an integrated bill eliminating the objections to the pending measure.

There are great complexities and difficulties in farm legislation. Clearly, a new, constructive program is urgently required. Any effective bill must find a solution for the huge agricultural surpluses piling up, and in some instances rotting, in the warehouses of the country at great and increasing annual cost to the taxpayers.

Such a bill should seek to insure reasonable prices of foodstuffs for the consuming public, and feedstuffs for our farmers, with a maximum of freedom of enterprise and action.

Feeling as I did that these ends were not fully achieved, and that consumers and farmers of my district, State, and area would face higher prices, I thought the House Committee on Agriculture should exert additional efforts to come up with a measure that would attack the challenging problems of surpluses without increasing the burdens upon consumers, farmers, and taxpayers.

I earnestly hope this may soon be accomplished.

## The Administrative Labyrinth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the September 1962 issue of Bank Stock Quarterly, a publication of M. A. Schapiro & Co., Inc., of New York.

The problems discussed are of vast importance to our Nation at large, as well as to the banking community. For a number of years—since 1955, to be exact—I have been urging that the Banking and Currency Committee investigate the problem of bank mergers.

With the passage of the Bank Merger Act of 1960 many felt that the problem would be at least partially solved. The facts set forth in the following article show that they have not been. In this Congress I introduced House Resolution 44 on January 3, 1961, to require the Banking and Currency Committee to conduct an appropriate investigation, and I intend to reintroduce this resolution in the 88th Congress and press for its adoption.

I hope that during the adjournment period our colleagues will have an opportunity to study this article and my resolution so that the merits of the various suggestions for corrective legislation can be discussed in January 1963.

The article follows:

THE ADMINISTRATIVE LABYRINTH

"There are just too many cooks with a hand in regulating the Nation's banking." This was the finding of a New York Times editorial of August 1. The Times' conclusion is one instance of public dissatisfaction with Federal supervision under the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 and the Bank Merger Act of 1960. Dissatisfaction, which has become widespread, derives from the conflicting ways in which these statutes are interpreted and from the arrangements under which they are administered.

In enacting the Bank Merger Act of 1960 Congress decided to utilize existing Federal agencies to direct merger traffic in the banking industry. This division of authorty was a consequence of the fact that the agencies already in operation had been set up primarily for tasks other than the supervision of bank mergers. The Comptroller of the Currency was to pass on merger applications involving national banks. The Federal Reserve Board was given authority to rule on mergers proposed by State banks that are members of the Federal Reserve System. Further jurisdiction over nonmember insured State banks was placed in the hands of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Under this tripartite arrangement virtually all bank merger plans in the Nation must pass the test of Government examination before they can go into effect.

In an effort to assure uniform administration by the three agencies, Congress instructed them to seek and consider the opinions of each other and the view of the Department of Justice with respect to the competitive factor before deciding particular cases. Though no agency was bound by the advice of the others, Congress further encouraged uniformity by formulating seven criteria on the basis of which the agencies were to reach decisions. The agencies were instructed to judge merger applications in terms of—

1. The official history and condition of each of the banks involved.
2. The adequacy of its capital structure.
3. Its future earnings prospects.
4. The general character of its management.
5. The convenience and needs of the community to be served.
6. Whether or not its corporate powers are consistent with the purposes of the act.
7. The effect of the transaction on competition, including any tendency toward monopoly, and finally, the transaction must be found to be in the public interest.

BANKS AT AN IMPASSE

The lawmakers hoped that equitable and constructive administration of public policy would be achieved. It now appears that the arrangement is one of those that look good on paper. From all quarters, the consensus after 2 years is that things are not working out.

In point of fact, the different agencies have not interpreted their congressional mandate uniformly. The Department of Justice has not been satisfied that its fellow guardians of the public interest are sufficiently strict. Legal issues concerning the applicability of Federal antitrust statutes to mergers approved by the agencies remain to be clarified.

Furthermore, Federal rulings on individual cases have frequently conflicted with the views of State bank authorities and have been described as frustrating the aims of State policies.

Banks find themselves at an impasse. As their bewildered stockholders look on, banks are obliged to run a gantlet of Government supervisors who do not agree with one another and whose decisions, when they are at long last reached, may mark but the beginning of further expensive and seemingly interminable difficulties coping with Justice Department action in the courts.

Illustrations of the troubles faced by banks are not hard to find. The tables on pages 16 and 18 record the fate of some merger and holding company plans in the supervisory labyrinth. It is not argued that these expansion plans should or should not have been approved. What is important is the evidence of conflicting interpretation and the consequent uncertainty for banks.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES DISAGREE

The Manufacturers Trust Co. and the Hanover Bank, their merger proposal approved by State authorities, waited 6 months for approval from the Federal Reserve Board. The Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation had

advised favorably but the Board went against the advice of the Justice Department which began an antitrust action while the duly approved merger was being consummated.

The merger of the Philadelphia National Bank and the Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank was approved by the Comptroller of the Currency, in this instance against the recommendation of the Federal Reserve Board and that of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The Department of Justice had advised against the proposal and instituted suit in this case also. But in another instance involving the merger in Boston of Rockland-Atlas National Bank into State Street Bank & Trust Co., the negative advice of the Justice Department went unheeded but it did not sue after the proposed merger was approved by the Federal Reserve Board.

In two merger applications, one involving the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Hempstead Bank, and the other the Chemical Bank New York Trust Co. and the Long Island Trust Co., a further complication arose. The Federal Reserve Board, which had jurisdiction, rejected both proposals, having received recommendations for approval from one Comptroller of the Currency and recommendations against approval from another Comptroller of the Currency. The comptrollership had changed hands during the 8 months in which the Federal Reserve Board was deliberating. Both of these proposals had been endorsed by New York State banking authorities.

The environment created by the current allocation of jurisdiction is no less confusing for aspiring bank holding companies. As provided by the bank holding company law of 1956, the Federal Reserve Board has role jurisdiction over holding company proposals but the Board must obtain the advice of the Comptroller of the Currency or the State banking authority when the plan of acquisition involves, respectively, National or State banks.

Again one looks in vain for a consistent pattern of administrative decision. A plan for the creation of a holding company by Milwaukee banks was acceptable to the State and the Federal Reserve Board. But its consumption prompted a Justice Department suit. The proposal by Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. to form a bank holding company with six upstate banks was turned down by the Federal Reserve Board. The Comptroller of the Currency had also objected to the plan while the State approved it. The application of a subsidiary bank of Marine Midland, a bank holding company, to acquire the First National Bank of Ithaca by merger was endorsed by the State but turned down by the Federal Reserve Board although the Comptroller of the Currency, after study, did not object to the plan.

HELP FROM THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Another destiny awaited four Florida banks who entertained the hope of forming a holding company. This, the most recent case, has extraordinary aspects. The principals in Florida, aware of the fate of other expansion proposals, obtained the views of the Justice Department on their plans before making formal application to the Federal Reserve Board. They were able to make use of a procedure devised by the Justice Department expressly to enable business to reduce uncertainties and avoid conflict with the administration of antitrust law.

Mr. Lee Loevinger, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, described the Department's efforts to ease friction between antitrust administration and business in an article entitled "Antitrust Is Probusiness." He said:

"The present administration of antitrust is both thorough probusiness and steadfastly antimonopoly. The Antitrust Division is no more antibusiness when it seeks to enforce the standards of business conduct set by the antitrust laws than the bar association is antilawyer or the medical society is antidoctor when it attempts to uphold ethical standards of professional conduct. Nevertheless, many businessmen seem to feel that business itself is being persecuted merely because antitrust cases are necessarily brought against some business firms." [1]

The article went on to explain the program by which the Department attempts to allay the fears of the business world by issuing "clearance" letters to those who voluntarily submit their plans for expansion in advance, provided, of course, that the Department believes the plans are not in violation of the antitrust laws. The Department of Justice, in the words of Mr. Loevinger, "does seek by the release and clearance program to give businessmen as much assurance as possible under the antitrust laws and to minimize the inevitable area of uncertainty that is involved in the application of all law. Last year the Department received 18 requests for release or clearance and issued 8 letters."

One of those eight letters went to the planners of First Bancorporation of Florida, the Florida holding company which had availed itself of the Justice Department's offer. The Comptroller of the Currency studied the application and interposed no objection. But, on July 30, after 6 months of study, the Federal Reserve Board decided against the Florida banks, contrary to the view of the Comptroller and, in effect, overruling the Department of Justice on the question of antitrust. In this instance the conscious effort of one agent of the Government to help business avoid uncertainty and costly delay was frustrated because another authority interpreted matters differently. And although the Florida applicants had frankly offered their plan to the Justice Department for scrutiny they were not able to reduce uncertainty or to avoid a protracted waiting period that ended in disappointment.

AUTHORITIES EXPRESS CONCERN

The incongruities that derive from jurisdiction in many hands and conflicting interpretation of statutory standards create friction between the Federal Government and the States. Commenting on the Federal Reserve Board's decision in Florida, an editorial in the Orlando Sentinel of August 2 criticized the decision sharply and argued that "Despite the Board's ruling, Florida still needs the kind of financing which would have been provided." In New York irritation does not observe party lines. On July 17, at public hearings held in Albany by the joint legislative committee to revise the banking law, the committee's chairman, State Senator Ernest I. Hatfield, a Republican, said, "At present, the Federal Government uses its authority in banking in ways which obstruct the efforts of the State. The plans and expectations of the legislature, of the banks, of the State and its people, have been nullified by the arbitrary, inconsistent, and wasteful actions of those agencies of the Federal Government that wield power in New York banking." Democratic State Senator Samuel L. Greenberg, a member of the senate committee on banks, testified at the same hearing that "recently, the exercise of Federal jurisdiction through these agencies has revealed policies or, perhaps, the lack of policies, which tend to complicate our problems and frustrate our efforts to modernize the banking environment of New York State."

Among those most apprehensive about the growing confusion are the supervisory authorities themselves. The Justice Department's recognition of the need to minimize uncertainty has already been cited. As reported in Business Week on August 4, the Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon, holds that "the present system is a hodgepodge of antiquated, conflicting Federal and State law. The system inhibits, rather than encourages, economic growth by unnaturally preventing adequate bank expansion." The need for change in the administration of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 and the bank merger law of 1960 has been emphasized by Gov. James L. Robertson, of the Federal Reserve Board. In an address before the Tennessee Bankers Association on which Bank Stock Quarterly reported in June, Governor Robertson proposed the creation of a new single Federal agency with supervisory jurisdiction in the field of bank expansion. The Governor said that the present arrangement is characterized by "overlapping, inefficiencies, inconsistencies, and conflicting policies." He pointed out that the members of the Federal Reserve Board have an exacting job in central banking without adding to it complex supervisory tasks.

FREEDOM URGED FOR BOARD

Governor Robertson's suggestion has attracted considerable interest. The New York Times, in the editorial of August 1 previously cited, said:

"The Federal Reserve, which has the critical task of formulating the Nation's monetary policies, spends as much time on bank supervisory problems as on checking economic conditions. Delays, conflicts, and confusion are inevitable as long as jurisdiction is divided among so many different regulatory groups. James L. Robertson, a member of the Federal Reserve Board and a former official in the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, has suggested setting up a Federal banking commission with centralized authority over Federal bank regulation. Congress should waste no time in considering this proposal, which would allow the Federal Reserve to spend its time more profitably and end the confusion that now prevails."

Also referring to Governor Robertson's idea, the Journal of Commerce commented on August 2 that:

"This latest Reserve Board decision [First Bancorporation of Florida] furnishes a kind of eloquent postscript to a recent suggestion by a member of the Board that regulation of banking consolidations and holding companies be taken out of the Board's hands (and out of those of the Comptroller) and placed in a single new group, leaving the Board to devote its full time to more important monetary policy.

"It also points up the urgency for Congress to review the mixed up situation that has resulted from acts of Congress which placed supervision under three separate agencies. Congress never thought that they would not sing in harmony."

The creation of a single agency is one among a number of alternative steps which might bring improvement in the supervision of bank expansion. Whether a new agency is set up or administrative jurisdiction restructured, there is merit in the suggestion that the Federal Reserve Board be freed of its share of the job of policing bank expansion so the Board can concentrate its energies in its original province of central banking.

All formulas for resolving the problems of regulating bank expansion should be evaluated in light of the need to reduce the number of official appraisals and decisions which plans for bank expansion must face, to reduce the length of time for the processing of applications and to make it possible for banks and their stockholders to assess the bearing of public policy on their plans for growth with some measure of confidence.

[1] Fortune, August 1962.

*Bank merger applications*

| Principals: Acquiring bank and merging bank | Position of supervisory agencies | | | | Justice Department | Date of earliest filing | Date of final disposition | Elapsed time from filing to disposition |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | Federal Reserve Board | Comptroller of Currency | Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation | | | | Days |
| Philadelphia National Bank<br>Girard Trust Corn Exchange | No jurisdiction. | Adverse | Approved [1] | Adverse | Adverse, sued. | Nov. 15, 1960 | | [2] 654 |
| Marine Midland Trust Co. of Southern New York,[3]<br>Elmira<br>First National Bank & Trust Co., Ithaca | Approved | Denied [1] | Favorable | Favorable | Adverse | Nov. 21, 1960 | Mar. 27, 1961 | 126 |
| First National Bank & Trust Co., Lexington, Ky<br>Security Trust Co | No jurisdiction. | Adverse | Approved [1] | Adverse | Adverse, sued. | Dec. 1, 1960 | | [2] 638 |
| State Street Bank & Trust Co., Boston<br>Rockland-Atlas National Bank | Approved | Approved [1] | Favorable | Favorable | Adverse | Jan. 18, 1961 | Apr. 11, 1961 | 83 |
| Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co., Chicago.<br>City National Bank & Trust Co | No jurisdiction. | Adverse | Approved [1] | Adverse | Adverse, sued. | Jan. 23, 1961 | | [2] 585 |
| Manufacturers Trust Co., New York<br>The Hanover Bank | Approved | Approved [1] | Favorable | Favorable | do | Mar. 16, 1961 | | [2] 533 |
| First National City Bank, New York<br>National Bank of Westchester | No jurisdiction. | Adverse | Denied [1] | do | Adverse | May 15, 1961 | Dec. 19, 1961 | 218 |
| Chemical Bank New York Trust Co<br>Long Island Trust Co. | Approved | Denied [1] | Adverse | do | do | July 14, 1961 | Apr. 30, 1962 | 290 |
| Chase Manhattan Bank, New York<br>Hempstead Bank | do | do [1] | do | do | do | Aug. 22, 1961 | do | 251 |

[1] Agency having jurisdiction.
[2] To Aug. 31, 1962, litigation still pending.
[3] Subsidiary of Marine Midland Corp., a bank holding company.

*Bank holding company applications*

| Principals: Bank holding company and subsidiary banks | Position of supervisory agencies | | | Justice Department | Date of earliest filing | Date of final disposition | Elapsed time from filing to disposition |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | State | Federal Reserve Board [1] | Comptroller of Currency | | | | Days |
| First New York Corp.[2]<br>First National City Bank<br>City Bank Farmers Trust Co.<br>County Trust Co | Adverse | Denied | Favorable | Adverse | Nov. 5, 1956 | July 10, 1958 | 612 |
| Firstamerica Corp.,[3] California<br>California Bank | Approved | Approved | | Sued | Aug 11, 1958 | Jan. 19, 1961 [4] | 892 |
| Bank Stock Corp. of Milwaukee<br>Bank of Commerce | do | do | | do [5] | Mar. 15, 1960 | | [6] 899 |
| The Marine Corp., Wisconsin<br>Wisconsin State Bank | do | do | | Adverse | Aug. 17, 1960 | Oct. 2, 1961 | 411 |
| Bankers Trust Co.,[2] New York<br>County Trust Co | Denied | | | | Feb. 1, 1961 | Apr. 13, 1961 | 71 |
| Morgan New York State Corp.[2]<br>Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. and 6 upstate banks [7] | Approved | Denied | Adverse | Adverse | July 14, 1961 | May 4, 1962 | 294 |
| First Bancorporation of Florida [2]<br>4 Florida banks [8] | | do | Favorable | Favorable [9] | Nov. 29, 1961 | July 30, 1962 | 243 |
| Marine Midland Corp., New York<br>Security National Bank of Long Island | Approved | Pending | Adverse | | Apr. 25, 1962 | | [6] 128 |

[1] Agency having jurisdiction.
[2] Proposed new bank holding company.
[3] Name changed to Western Bancorporation.
[4] Final approval followed settlement of litigation which provided for merger of First Western Bank & Trust Co. into California Bank under new name of "United California Bank," but 65 branches of the merged bank (all formerly part of First Western) were to be transferred to a new bank under the name of First Western Bank & Trust Co. Firstamerica agreed to divest itself of the latter bank within 6 years.
[5] Suit filed on Mar. 2, 1961, following FRB approval on Jan. 25, 1961, to require divestiture of 1 or more banks.
[6] To Aug. 31, 1962, still pending.
[7] Manufacturers & Traders Trust Co. (Buffalo), Lincoln Rochester Trust Co. (Rochester), First Trust & Deposit Co. (Syracuse), National Commercial Bank & Trust Co. (Albany), First City National Bank (Binghamton), Oneida National Bank & Trust Co. (Utica).
[8] Clearance letter granted Oct. 18, 1961.
[9] First National Bank of Miami, Barnett National Bank of Jacksonville, First National Bank at Orlando, Exchange National Bank of Tampa.

## The Ecumenical Council in Questions and Answers—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

(By James J. McQuade, S.J.)

Pope John XXIII has called for an ecumenical council of the Catholic Church. The whole world is talking about it. Much more will be written and said about it as the time of its assembling draws near. Everywhere questions are being asked. These are sincere questions and Catholics should be preparing themselves to give intelligent answers.

Here are some answers to the more basic questions about the coming ecumenical council.

1. What is the name of the coming council?

The official name of the coming council is the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican. A council is known by the place in which it is held and this one is to be held in St. Peter's Basilica of the Vatican. It is called the second council of the Vatican because there was one previous council held there in 1869.

2. What is a council?

Webster's dictionary defines a council as "an assembly convened for consultation, advice or agreement." In this coming council it will be the bishops of the Catholic Church who assemble and they will devote themselves to consultation, advice and agreement about what is to be done for the welfare of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Encyclopedia gives the technical definition of this type of council.

An ecumenical council is a legally convened meeting, of members of the worldwide hierarchy, for the purpose of carrying out their judicial, doctrinal, and legislative functions, by means of deliberation in common, resulting in regulations and decrees invested with the authority of the whole assembly.

3. What is the meaning of the word "ecumenical"?

The word "ecumenical" means general or universal. It is derived from a Greek word of similar sound meaning "pertaining to the whole of the inhabited earth." An ecumenical council is, therefore, a gathering of people from all of the inhabited earth. In practice the word "ecumenical" is used only to designate worldwide matters in the religious sphere.

4. Is an ecumenical council something new in the Catholic Church?

Apart from the council of Jerusalem in Acts 15, there have been 20 previous ecumenical councils: (1) Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325; (2) First Council of Constantinople in 381; (3) Council of Ephesus in 431; (4) Council of Chalcedon in 451; (5) Second Council of Constantinope in 553; (6) Third Council of Constantinope in 680; (7) Second Council of Nicaea in 787; (8) Fourth Council of Constantinope in 869; (9) First Lateran Council in 1123; (10) Second Lateran Council in 1139; (11) Third Lateran Council in 1179; (12) Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; (13) First Council of Lyons in 1245; (14) Second Council of Lyons in 1274; (15) Council of Vienne in 1311; (16) Council of Constance in 1414; (17) Council of Basle in 1431; (18) Fifth Council of the Lateran in 1512; (19) Council of Trent in 1545; (20) Vatican Council in 1869.

5. What authority does an ecumenical council have in the Catholic Church?

It has very great authority in the Catholic Church. To begin with it is infallible in faith and morals. Christ has given true jurisdiction to the bishops of the Catholic Church and by reason of the power given them by Christ they have decisive vote in the defining of Catholic dogma, in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, in the making of laws, in handing down decisions and in inflicting penalties.

6. If the Pope is infallible why does the Catholic Church have such councils?

The primacy and infallibility of the Pope does not exclude the episcopate from the government of the church. The bishops, together with the Pope, govern the church. At the divine mandate of Christ the bishops are to govern the church together with and subordinate to the supreme pontiff. In such a council the bishops contribute a profound knowledge of the actual problems of the Catholic Church because of their continuous contact with the faithful scattered throughout the world.

The infallibility of the Pope does not guarantee that he knows all that has been revealed by God. It does guarantee that he will not make a mistake in defining matters of faith and morals. The Pope, like anyone else, must seek knowledge of the truths of faith from all sources. The bishops are learned in matters of faith and morals. From the deliberations of these bishops in an ecumenical council the Pope can learn much about the deposit of faith which Christ has entrusted to His church. From their recommendations the Pope can come to a decision as to what is to be defined. And when the council united to the Pope, of course, does define some matter of faith and morals, it shares with the holy father the tremendous responsibility that is his.

There is also a great psychological advantage in having matters of faith and morals determined in an ecumenical council rather than by the Pope alone. This psychological advantage lies in the effect which the agreement of so many learned and holy men has upon the minds of men. It gives them a kind of assurance that helps them to believe. The church wants this, because its mission is not only to teach the truth but also to persuade mankind to accept it. An ecumenical council is of no little advantage in this regard.

There are other very good reasons for having a council. The general publicity that is given to the council, its work, and its decrees, is a great aid to the church in getting its message over to mankind generally. Such a council displays to the world the unity and charity of the universal or catholic church. It will provide the occasion for many to reexamine their own religious convictions, and thus it will be for many the occasion of discovering and embracing the true faith.

But more important than all these reasons for holding a council of all the bishops in addition to the Pope is the reason that a council is one of the ways in which the Catholic Church carries out its divine mission of teaching mankind. The teaching church is infallible and all the bishops in union with and including the bishop of Rome compose the teaching church. Scattered all over the world and all teaching the same thing, the bishops are corporately infallible; that is, not as individuals but as a whole body. Their task is to teach all men. That is the will of Christ. When they come together in a council they are but doing the thing that Christ wants them to do in this particular way. The basic reason, therefore, for holding a council is that Christ wills it so.

7. Are such councils necessary for the Catholic Church?

Ecumenical councils as such are not absolutely necessary for the Catholic Church to fulfill its essential functions. Christ imposed upon all the bishops corporately the duty of teaching mankind and endowed them with infallibility in doing it, but He did not prescribe this particular way of doing it. In a broader sense of the word, however, ecumenical councils certainly are necessary. In this sense the word has the meaning of "extremely useful" or "almost indispensable." A family car is not absolutely necessary but there are some things one cannot do unless one has such a family car. Similarly with the ecumenical councils. The church could go on existing without them but there are certain things which cannot be done as well without them as, for instance, the fruits of this close communication, an exchange of ideas, the sharing of the lessons of experience, the development of an understanding of worldwide problems, and so on. Certainly one could never describe an ecumenical council as an unnecessary gathering.

8. What is the relation of the Pope to an ecumenical council?

The Pope is the head of the ecumenical council. No ecumenical council can be held unless the Pope himself convokes it. In the council itself it is the Pope or his representatives who preside over it. The Pope prescribes and assigns the matter to be treated in the council. He determines the order in which it is to be taken up. The Pope can transfer, suspend, or dissolve an ecumenical council. The decrees of the council must be ratified by the Pope before they become binding. The laws passed by the council must be promulgated by the Pope and they have no force or binding power until he promulgates them.

9. What would happen if a pope should die while a council was going on?

Since a body cannot function without its head an ecumenical council is automatically suspended when the reigning pope either resigns or dies. It remains suspended until the newly elected pope orders its resumption and continuation. The Council of Trent which lastèd from 1545 to 1563 was headed by three successive popes: Paul III, Julius III, and Pius IV who ratified and promulgated its decrees.

10. Where can one find the official rules and regulations which govern the procedure of an ecumenical council?

As in all matters of church discipline, the regulations governing the conduct of an ecumenical council are found in the Code of Canon Law. The second chapter of the second book presents the matter in canons 222 to 229 inclusive. These canons contain the basic law. The papal curia provides more particular instructions to the participants in the council.

11. Could an ecumenical council overrule a pope?

The pope and an ecumenical council are intrinsically united. This is in the supreme teaching authority of the church. An ecumenical council is unthinkable without its head. There just are not two things here. The question is not reasonable. It asks equivalently if the pope can overrule himself: Can the pope with the council overrule the pope without the council? That is why there can never be an appeal to a council from a ruling of the pope. It would be the equivalent of appealing a decision of a court to the same court which issued the decision in the first place.

12. Is it true that the Pope is superior to a council or vice versa?

Since the Pope and an ecumenical council are intrinsically united, make up one and the same teaching authority of the church, there can be no possibility of anything being inferior or superior. The convocation of an ecumenical council is not the creation of a new and distinct teaching authority. When there is no council in session the Pope and the bishops compose the teaching authority of the church. When a council is in session the Pope and the bishops are physically together. It is one and the same essentially.

13. Who all are to come to this ecumenical council and have the right to vote in it?

First of all there are those who have the right to attend and to full deliberative vote by canon law. Canon 223 lists all cardinals, even those who have not been consecrated bishops; second, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops of dioceses, even those who are not yet consecrated; thirdly, those who are what is known in canon law as prelates or abbots "nullius" (i.e., one who presides over the clergy and the people of a certain territory which does not belong to any diocese); fourth, abbot primates, abbots who are superiors of monastic congregations, generals of exempt clerical orders, but not those of others unless the decree of convocation includes them expressly.

Then there are those who may be called to the council but are not provided for by the law automatically. These could be titular bishops. A titular bishop is one who is consecrated for some work other than being bishop of a diocese and he is given title to a diocese that actually no longer exists but had a bishop at one time. When such bishops attend they are to have full deliberative vote.

Finally, experts in theology and canon law can be especially invited. These are to serve as consulters and advisers to those who have the power of decisive vote. To put it technically, they have "consultative" but not "deliverative" vote.

Those and those only who have full voting power are known as fathers of the council even though they be cardinals or archbishops.

14. Are not religious leaders as, for instance, the Anglican and Greek schismatic bishops being invited to attend?

It is to be noted that the second Vatican council is to be one of the Catholic Church. It is not to be, as was the impression given by the uninformed popular press, a general meeting of all religious leaders. Only the Catholic hierarchy can participate. Pope John, it is true, has extended a general invitation to others to come, but only as observers. While the council may well consider measures to be taken to bring about the union of all men in the Catholic Church, the council is not intended to be a summit conference of all church leaders on an equal basis to negotiate a settlement of the problem of a pluralistic religious society. The council itself will be an internal affair of the Catholic Church.

## Summary of Activities of Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I am happy to submit a summary of the activities of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during the 87th Congress. The summary is broken down into the areas of responsibility of our five subcommittees.

The 87th Congress was my first as chairman of this committee, and I am deeply indebted to the members of my committee on both sides of the aisle and to the leadership in the Senate for what I believe has been a very constructive record of accomplishment.

The committee has responsibility for a wide range of subjects. Our jurisdiction extends from our islands in the Pacific and Caribbean to the conservation and wise utilization of the great natural resources in this country. I believe we have accomplished a great deal, and we we have truly been successful from the standpoint of the development of our natural resources. Important strides have been made by the authorization of great new water projects in the arid areas of the West. Legislation creating three new national seashores have been enacted into law, thus providing public recreational facilities for millions of Americans.

In order to expedite legislation in which more than one subcommittee was concerned, the full committee held hearings and acted on several measures of major importance. These included:

S. 174, to establish a national wilderness preservation system, a measure which had been before two preceding Congresses. Hearings were held on the proposal in February 1961. After extensive consideration and revision of the provisions of the bill, the committee reported it to the Senate favorably on July 27. It was passed in the Senate by 78 to 8 on September 6, after 2 days of debate.

S. 3117, to promote the coordination and development of effective Federal and State programs relating to outdoor recreation, and to provide financial assistance to the States for outdoor recreation planning. This bill, recommended by the administration to implement the report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission of January 30, 1962, was introduced on April 4. Hearings were held May 10 and 11. The bill was reported with amendments on August 3, and passed the Senate as amended on August 9, 1962. Hearings were also held on S. 3118, a companion measure proposed by the President to provide for the establishment of a land conservation fund, from which parks and recreational areas would be acquired. Time was not adequate, however, to complete committee action on this measure, which will receive continued attention next year.

One of the major contributions of our committee during the 87th Congress was the completion and publication of a study on fuels and energy resources. This study is an assessment of existing knowledge of fuels and energy existing in the country. One of the tasks facing the committee next year will be to consider this study and, if it so decides, to report to the Senate any conclusions the committee might make after careful deliberation.

The committee had before it S. 2246, a measure proposed by the President to bring about planning for optimum use of the water and related resources in all the major river basins of the Nation. Hearings in 1961 revealed opposition to the bill centering around concern that the rights of the States in relation to water might be disturbed. Consideration of the bill was extended over the recess to permit the Council of State Governments to complete a survey of the States and perfect its position in relation to the matter. Early in 1962 a second hearing was held at which the Council of State Governments presented the position of the States in detail. There has ensued a series of conferences between representatives of the State governments and committee staff on a draft of a bill which would neither enhance nor diminish the rights and responsibilities of either the Federal Government or the States in relation to water and related resources. These conferences are continuing. It now appears hopeful that a measure on which there is a considerable possibility of agreement will be ready for introduction in the 88th Congress.

The committee has also undertaken to assure the implementation of the recommendation—No. 3—of the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources that the Federal Government undertake a greatly expanded and coordinated program of research on water problems. An extensive survey of research projects on water and related resources which are in progress within the Federal Government, at land grant colleges and State universities, at other universities, private foundations, and institutions, and by private firms and individuals, has been made and will be available when the committee reviews its consideration of water research in the 88th Congress.

There are other tasks which remain uncompleted, but I am confident that in the 1st session of the 88th Congress we shall resume our efforts and continue our progress toward greater utilization of our human and natural resources.

I want to reiterate that the committee is grateful to the majority leader, Mr. MANSFIELD, for his constant advice and invaluable help in the enactment of our program.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS

The Public Lands Subcommittee considered 221 original measures plus 55 House-passed bills, and enacted a total of 78 bills.

These bills covered all facets of public land administration, including the creation of new national parks and seashore recreation areas, improved management of public lands including national forests and parks through land exchange, purchase, and boundary adjustments, legislation to deal with the surface use of land on unpatented mining claims, the definition of land withdrawals for defense and other purposes, and title confirmation stemming from clouds on title.

Among the more significant bills enacted were:

First. Senate Resolution 361, which authorizes a special Subcommittee on Natural Resource Revenues, whose object is to make a review of the entire subject area. The subcommittee consists of Senator HICKEY as chairman, and Senators CHURCH, METCALF, KUCHEL, and ALLOTT.

Second. S. 3451, which provides the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture with the legal tools to provide a fair and just means of dealing with the use of unpatented mining claims, which are relinquished or invalidated, where the land contains residences. The legislation is permissive in nature and is designed to meet the situation where a hardship would result and the public interest not benefited by immediate removal of the residence. To protect the public interest with equity to the residents, the legislation permits the Secretary to grant a fee title, life estate, or less for an area of not more than 5 acres, but in no event more than is reasonably needed by the resident. The person must have residence since July 23, 1955, and must be an owner-occupant whose purposes are clearly residential and where the property is a principal place of residence.

The bill prescribes sale at fair value taking into account equities, with reservation to the United States of mineral rights and provision for removal of improvements where less than a fee patent is issued.

Third. S. 4, to provide for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore, which was reported to the Senate with amendments in March 1962, and adopted by the Senate April 10. The bill was passed by the House of Representatives September 13, and approved by the President September 28, 1962.

Fourth. S. 476, to establish the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California, which was passed in the Senate in September 1961, by the House of Representatives in July 1962, signed by the President on September 13, 1962.

Fifth. S. 857, to provide for the establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore Park. This measure was passed by the Senate in June 1961, subsequently passed by the House and signed by the President August 7, 1961. It was the first major addition to the national park system in a decade and provided for the establishment of the Nation's second Federal seashore park. The first was Cape Hatteras, established in 1937 as a result of a gift of land from the State of North Carolina. Point Reyes and

Padre Island, mentioned in preceding paragraphs, became the third and fourth such Federal seashore areas within the national park system.

Sixth. S. 543, to promote the preservation, for the public use and benefit, of portions of the shoreline areas of the United States. This measure authorized the study of 15 specified areas to provide the basis for later consideration of them as additional Federal shoreline parks or recreational areas. Also authorized was an appropriation of $25 million to assist States in acquiring shoreline parks. The bill directed the Forest Service to survey the shores of oceans, lakes, and rivers of its jurisdiction for potential recreational area sites. The measure passed the Senate in August 1961, as reported by the subcommittee and full committee.

The subcommittee reported bills to establish two additional major national park units: S. 2387, to establish the Canyonlands National Park, 332,000 acres in the State of Utah, and S. 1760, to establish the Great Basin National Park in the State of Nevada. Both of these measures were reported favorably to the Senate. The Great Basin Park bill was passed by the Senate. Time was too short for final action on the Canyonlands proposal. The merit of both of these proposals assures that they will have further consideration as the next Congress continues to implement the program necessary to meet the country's outdoor recreation facilities requirements.

A considerable number of measures of lesser importance in the park and recreation field were considered and reported by the subcommittee. These included S. 77, to establish the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park; S. 55, to authorize establishment of the Fort Bowie National Historic Site in Arizona; S. 765, to consolidate Vicksburg National Military Park; S. 1775, to provide for an addition to Richmond National Battlefield Park in Virginia, and numerous others.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

The Subcommittee on Indian Affairs has legislative responsibility over matters involving the relations of the Federal Government with approximately 500,000 Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts, about half of whom reside on reservations; over Indian landholdings and reservations which, subject to varying degrees of Federal control, total approximately 52 million acres in 29 States; and over the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition the Indian health and sanitation program supervised by the Division of Indian Health in the U.S. Public Health Service is of concern to the subcommittee.

Of the 120 measures referred to the subcommittee, 55 were reported and 49 were enacted.

The following Indian bills of general applicability throughout Indian country were enacted or passed by the Senate during 1961–62:

S. 108, ANDERSON, GOLDWATER: Amends section 1 of the 1955 Leasing Act to permit leases of Indian lands for educational, recreational, business, and so forth, purposes for up to 99 years. Present law limits leases to 25 years. Ninety-nine year leases have been extended to the Navajos and Palm Springs Indians, California. Longer term leases are needed in order to enable lessees to obtain financing for the type of development contemplated. S. 108 passed the Senate March 30, 1961, but was not acted on in the House.

Public Law 87–273, ANDERSON (S. 200): Amends the Indian Vocational Training Act of 1956 by increasing the $3.5 million authorization for this program to $7.5 million.

Public Law 87–48, CHURCH (S. 751): Amends the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 to provide for a 5-year extension in the life of the Commission from April 10, 1962, to April 10, 1967. Additional time is needed to complete action on approximately 468 dockets pending before the Commission.

Public Law 87–250, METCALF, MANSFIELD (S. 1540): As introduced in the Senate, S. 1540 would have amended the act of June 18, 1934—Wheeler-Howard Act—by deleting the $10 million authorization in the revolving credit loan provision and providing for an open-end authorization. Senate action increased the $10 million to $35 million and provided for a merging of the Navajo-Hopi funds and the Oklahoma fund with the general fund. In a House-Senate conference it was agreed to increase the $10 million limit to $20 million and delete the merger provision.

Public Law 87–282, CHURCH (S. 1719): This law amends title 23 of the United States Code to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept the cooperation of any State, county, or local subdivision in connection with the construction of Indian reservation roads and bridges. Such cooperation will ordinarily be in the form of contributions or materials, or both.

Public Law 87–283, CHURCH (S. 1768): Permits the payment to tribes of unclaimed per capita payments arising from income to tribes from various sources, such as treaty agreements, oil and gas leases, and so forth. In many cases these payments have lain in the Treasury for many years and will never be collected. The law restores the funds for tribal use.

Public Law 87–279, MANSFIELD, METCALF (S. 1501): Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to contract for the sale, operation, maintenance, repair, or relocation of Government-owned utility systems—except utility systems operated as part of an irrigation system—used in the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Provides that the Secretary shall not execute any contracts until the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House and the Senate have been notified and furnished a proposed contract and supporting data.

Public Law 87–417, CHURCH (S. 1299), by request: Amends a 1952 statute to increase from 20 to 50 acres the size of surplus Indian school properties which the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to convey to local school districts or public agencies.

Public Law 87–23, CHURCH (S. 1297), by request: Authorizes the members of the Indian arts and crafts board to receive per diem payments at the same rate that is paid to other persons serving the Federal Government without compensation.

ARIZONA

Public Law 87–150, GOLDWATER (S. 54): Grants 81 acres of land in Arizona to the Cocopah Indians to be held in trust as other tribal lands. It was originally believed that the subject land was included within the reservation, and the law secures to the Indians lands it was always believed were a part of their reservation.

Public Law 87–627, KUCHEL, GOLDWATER, ENGLE (S. 1208): This legislation has two purposes. First, it extends to certain lands of the Colorado River Indian Reservation in California provisions of a 1960 act which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to lease lands on the Arizona side of the reservation. Second, it enlarges the permissible term of leases up to a maximum of 99 years in order to bring new investments and development on the reservation that will greatly benefit the Indians.

CALIFORNIA

Private Law 87–145 (H.R. 1593): Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to convey by a quitclaim deed to the American Baptist Home Mission Society all right, title, and interest of the United States in 7½ acres of land on the Big Sandy Rancheria, Calif., and to accept in exchange therefor a conveyance in fee simple to the United States by the mission of 12½ acres which will become a part of the Rancheria.

Public Law 87–35 (H.R. 2195): Conveys, without compensation, all the right, title, and interest of the United States and the Pala Band of Indians in three-quarters of an acre of land on the Pala Indian Reservation in California to the diocese of San Diego Education & Welfare Corp. to be used for educational purposes. The conveyance will be subject to reversion of title if the land ceases to be used for this purpose.

H.R. 567: Permits Indian lands on the Torres-Martinez Reservation in Riverside County, Calif., to be leased for business and various other purposes for a term of 99 years or less instead of, as at present, for 25 years with right of renewal for another 25 years. Grazing leases, if any, will continue to be for a term of 10 years or less. This legislation pending on Senate calendar at adjournment.

COLORADO

Public Law 87– (H.R. 8113) (S. 3714), CARROLL: Permits Indian lands on the Southern Ute Reservation to be leased for business and various other purposes for a term of 99 years or less instead of, as at present, for 25 years with right of renewal for an additional 25 years. Grazing leases, if any, will continue to be for a term of 10 years or less. Such authority is needed in order to encourage the type of commercial development which, it is expected, will materialize on the Southern Ute Reservation following construction of Navajo Dam and Reservoir, a project which was authorized several years ago and is now under con-

struction. Some of the sites upon which development is anticipated adjoin land included in the reservoir.

Public Law 87– (H.R. 9342) (S. 3713), CARROLL: Provides for an exchange of lands between the United States and the Southern Ute Tribe of southwestern Colorado in connection with the construction of the Navajo Dam and Reservoir. Some 707.5 acres of Indian land located within the boundaries of the reservation are needed for the Navajo Dam and Reservoir unit of the Colorado River storage project authorized by the act of April 11, 1956 (70 Stat. 105). The tribe desires to exchange this acreage for public land instead of selling it. Accordingly, 2,200 acres on the Archuleta Mesa immediately adjoining the eastern boundary of the reservation have been designated for exchange. Provides that the lands conveyed to the United States will not be utilized for public recreational facilities without the approval of the Southern Ute Tribal Council.

FLORIDA

Public Law 87–375 (H.R. 3575): Permits leases of Indian land on the Dania Reservation in Florida for business and other purposes to be made for a term of 99 years or less instead of the present 25 years with right of renewal for another 25 years. Grazing leases, if any, will continue to be for a term of not to exceed 10 years. The legislation is needed in order to permit development of lands lying in an expanding business and tourist area.

IDAHO

Public Law 87–232, CHURCH (S. 322): Makes available to the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho the unexpended balances in two special accounts in the Treasury totaling $6,400, the balance of a $1,626,000 payment to the tribe for lands ceded to the United States in 1894. All of the moneys were distributed per capita many years ago except for the small balance that is still in the account. The balance in the second account is the remainder of the interest that has accumulated on the principal account.

Public Law 87–154, CHURCH (S. 1294): The purpose is first, to approve an order of the Secretary of the Interior eleminating certain lands from the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project; second, to change the size of the project as defined in the act of June 30, 1948 (62 Stat. 1167), from 47,044.63 acres to 47,064.63 acres and authorize the Secretary to redesignate the irrigable acreage from time to time within the limits of the total figure; and, third, to increase the duty of water to be furnished project lands by 0.5 acre-foot per acre per year.

Public Law 87–24, CHURCH (S. 1295): Authorizes the distribution of a $4,177,605.06 judgment recovered by the tribe against the United States in Indian Claims Commission docket No. 175–A, less expenses of litigation and attorney fees. Divides the funds between the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho and the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, Wash. In addition, provides for the same division—86.6 percent to the Nez Perce and 13.4 percent to the Colvilles—in connection with any other judgment awarded to either group.

KANSAS

Public Law 87–503, CHURCH (S. 2893), by request: Vests title in the Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians, Kansas, to a 10-acre tract of land now excess to the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The land in question was purchased in 1912 with funds belonging to the Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians and was used for agency purposes. Title to the land was taken in the name of the United States with the result that the United States, while holding legal title to the land, does so as trustee for the tribe.

MINNESOTA

Public Law 87–445, CHURCH (S. 2895), by request: Authorizes the conveyance of 4.78 acres of Minnesota Chippewa tribal land on the Mille Lacs Reservation to the Little Flower Mission of the St. Cloud diocese for recreational facilities and other uses beneficial to the local Indians.

Public Law 87–446, CHURCH (S. 3018): Permits the Secretary of the Interior, with the concurrence of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, to convey 39 acres of tribal land on the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation to the SS. Mary and Joseph Church, Sawyer, Minn., for church and cemetery expansion.

MONTANA

S. 1316, METCALF, MANSFIELD: As amended, S. 1316 would improve the land tenure patterns on the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation by authorizing the tribe to sell tribal lands to members of the community, and to exchange tribal land for trust or restricted land owned by members of the community in order to block out economic farms and ranches. Existing statutes prohibit Indian tribes from selling tribal lands to individual enrolled Indians. No action taken on S. 1316 in House Interior Committee.

S. 1912, METCALF, MANSFIELD: Increases the appropriation authorization for the completion of the construction of the irrigation and power systems of the Flathead Indian irrigation project, Montana, to $6,200,000. Additional construction is necessary to complete the irrigation and power facilities through extension and rehabilitation of the canal and lateral systems and of the power and electric service lines. Bill awaiting action of House Interior Committee at adjournment.

Public Law 87–237, MANSFIELD, METCALF (S. 2216): Authorizes the transfer of project works in three units of the Fort Belknap Indian irrigation project to an organization of landowners whose lands are served by the units. Following the conveyance of the project works, the landowners will have complete responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the works. The bill also provides for the cancellation of $24,859.44 of delinquent operation and maintenance charges. It is the Indians' request that title to the works on the three units be transferred in the belief that they can operate and maintain the works more economically than the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Public Law 87–287, METCALF, MANSFIELD (S. 2224): Modifies and clarifies a section of the act of June 3, 1926 (44 Stat. 690), as amended, which relates to mineral deposits on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, first, by permitting leases to be entered into in accordance with the act of May 11, 1938 (52 Stat. 347; 25 U.S.C. 396a–f); second, by providing that mineral rights may go to an allottee's devisees, as well as the allottee himself and his heirs, when the tribal interest ends in 1976 and that the ownership of the allottee, his heirs, or devisees in 1976 shall be subject to then outstanding leases; third, by providing that no conveyance of the surface of the land, whether heretofore or hereafter made and regardless of reference or lack of reference to minerals, shall carry with it mineral rights; and, fourth, by providing that the Indian allottee or his successors in interest shall take a trust title in the minerals unless the surface of the land is held in fee.

NEBRASKA

Public Law 87–235, CURTIS (S. 1518): Provides for the disposition of a judgment awarded the Omaha Tribe of Indians by the Indian Claims Commission. The amount of the award was $2,900,000, which was appropriated by the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1960 and deposited in the Federal Treasury. Attorney's fees and expenses reduced the net amount of the judgment to $2,648,581, which is drawing 4 percent interest. The current balance amounts to $2,722,288. Directs the Secretary of the Interior to prepare a roll that includes all persons eligible to share in the judgment and makes that roll the official membership roll of the tribe. Provides that the judgment fund shall be used to make a per capita payment of not more than $750 to each enrolled member and that the balance, estimated at about $1,200,000, may be used for other purposes authorized by the tribal council and approved by the Secretary.

Public Law 87–629, CHURCH, by request (S. 3174): The act provides, first, for the preparation of a tribal roll of members of the Ponca Tribe of Native Americans of Nebraska; second, for the division of the tribal assets among the enrolled members; and finally, for termination of Federal supervision and control over tribal affairs. All tribal property will be disposed of within 3 years or as soon thereafter as practicable. The estimated value of this property is approximately $105,000. Each member of the tribe will be entitled to buy not more than 5 acres of tribal land for homesite purposes at current market value. The remainder of the tribal land is to be sold. Property distributed under the act will not be subject to Federal or State income tax at the time of distribution.

NEVADA

Public Law 87–229, BIBLE, CANNON (S. 2016): Declares that the title to the minerals underlying 168254 acres of land added to the Walker River Reservation by secretarial order dated September 25,

1936, are held in trust by the United States for the tribe. Mineral patents and claims validly initiated before passage of the bill are not affected. Also provides for the leasing of the minerals under the general tribal Mineral Leasing Act of May 11, 1938. The tribe already owns the minerals in 142,503 acres of other tribal lands.

NEW MEXICO

Public Law 87–231, CHAVEZ, ANDERSON (S. 203): Declares that the United States holds in trust for the Pueblos of Santa Ana, Zia, Jemez, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Isleta, and San Ildefonso approximately 69,706 acres of public domain lands, subject to valid existing rights. Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire by exchange any lands or interests therein within the Pueblo land consolidation areas, and to convey in exchange therefor any unappropriated public lands within the State of New Mexico, or, with the consent of the Pueblo authorities, any Pueblo tribal lands or interests therein. Directs the Indian Claims Commission to determine the extent to which the value of the title conveyed thereunder should or should not be set off against any claim against the United States determined by the Commission. The lands are grazing lands used by the Indians exclusively and continuously over the past 20 years under free use permit. By transferring title BLM would be relieved of the burden of administering these lands. Present maintenance is difficult and complicated by the existence of intermingled and surrounding tribal trust lands. The economy of the Pueblos is largely dependent on livestock operations on these and other trust lands. Donations of these lands to the Pueblos will foster the initiation and continuation of better soil conservation practices in the entire area through the use of tribal funds and appropriations for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Public Law 87–687, ANDERSON (S. 2696): Corrects two errors in a long list of land descriptions in Public Law 87–231 donating certain public domain to Pueblo Indians in New Mexico. When the original legislation, S. 203, passed the Senate and House, it was correct, and the errors apparently occurred at the time of enrollment.

Public Law 87–416, ANDERSON (S. 201): Donates approximately 610 acres of federally owned land in New Mexico to the Zuni Tribe. This acreage is a part of a larger tract acquired in 1937 by the United States under the provisions of title III of the Bankhead-Jones Act. By the act of August 13, 1949, several thousand acres of these Federal lands were donated to the Zuni Tribe. The 610 acres were not donated since the land was then being used for administrative purposes in connection with the Zuni livestock enterprise. The land is completely surrounded by Zuni land and is used by the tribe for grazing purposes. The Department of the Interior has no further use for the tract.

Public Law 87–288, ANDERSON, by request (S. 2241): Donates to the Jicarilla Apache Tribe 391.43 acres of federally owned land in the State of New Mexico. The land donated is needed by the Jicarilla Tribe in order to control a watershed on which the tribe is dependent for its domestic water supply. The land consists of four tracts, three of which border the original eastern boundary of the reservation and all of which are surrounded by or adjacent to other tribal lands purchased for the Jicarillas by the United States in the 1940's. The four tracts are key tracts for the water system that serves the Jicarilla Agency, the Indian boarding school dormitory, the Dulce Public School, the Public Health Service facilities, and the tribal housing and development program. The Indian Claims Commission is directed to determine the extent to which the value of the title conveyed should or should not be set off against any claim against the United States determined by the Commission.

Public Law 87–696, ANDERSON (S. 2971): Declares that 7 acres of Federal lands on the Jicarilla Indian Reservation in New Mexico shall be held in trust for the tribe. The lands are within the boundaries of the reservation. The lands were purchased by the United States in 1931. Improvements consisting of lookout towers, two cabins, and two concrete cisterns, were transferred to the tribe in 1953. The tribe desires the land for forest fire protection purposes in connection with its sustained-yield forest management program. The right to use the lands and improvements thereon in the administration of tribal affairs is reserved to the United States. The Indian Claims Commission is directed to consider a possible setoff of the value of the lands donated against any tribal claim.

NEW YORK

Public Law 87–230, KEATING, JAVITS (S. 344): Amends the Seneca Leasing Act of August 14, 1950 (64 Stat. 442), in two respects. First, it allows the Seneca Nation more discretion than now exists with respect to the use of funds derived from lease on its reservations in New York. Second, it permits the Council of the Seneca Nation to grant easements and rights-of-way across its lands. The act gives the Senecas greater leeway in the handling of transactions involving their lands and the use of lease income.

NORTH CAROLINA

Public Law 87–519, ERVIN, JORDAN (S. 3224): Conveys in trust to the eastern band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina 22.71 acres of federally owned school land and improvements thereon. The land is no longer needed for Federal purposes. Its use by the tribe will be for a council house, parking space, and homes for Indians. The Indian Claims Commission is directed to consider whether to set off the value of the lands against any tribal claim.

NORTH DAKOTA

Public Law 87–695, BURDICK, YOUNG of North Dakota (S. 1161): Gives permission to the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, N. Dak., to graze stock without charge on such former Indian land acquired by the United States for Garrison Dam and Reservoir as the Secretary of the Army determines is not devoted to recreational or other beneficial uses. By the act of October 29, 1949 (63 Stat. 1062) the Federal Government acquired approximately 152,000 acres of individual and tribal Indian land for the Garrison project. The Indians were paid $12,605,625 for all of the right, title, and interest in the lands, including intangible damages. Approximately 52,000 acres of the total amount of Indian land taken is suited to grazing. The grazing permission will materially benefit and stabilize the Indian livestock industry which was severely restricted by the construction of the Garrison project.

OKLAHOMA

Private Law 87–102 (H.R. 4500): Donates to the heirs of Anthony Bourbonnais in an unrestricted status approximately thirty-six one-hundredths of 1 acre of land in Pottawatomie County, Okla. The land is a narrow strip lying between the Bourbonnais Indian allotment and an adjoining State highway. Until a recent survey indicated the contrary, it was assumed that the acreage was part of the allotment, and it was so treated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The act is needed to overcome the problems raised by the survey. The United States reserves a right of access across such land whenever such land is needed for public purposes.

Public Law 87–205 (H.R. 5964): Authorizes the use and distribution of funds already appropriated to satisfy a judgment of the Indian Claims Commission in favor of the Potawatomi Nation of Indians. The judgment, based on inadequate consideration for Potawatomi land in Iowa and Kansas which was ceded to the United States in 1846, amounted to about $3,288,975 less litigation costs and attorney fees of $312,052. Under the act the prairie band will receive $^{780}/_{2,180}$ of the award and the citizens band will receive $^{1,400}/_{2,180}$ of the judgment. This proportion arises from an 1873 agreement in which the two bands agreed to divide the assets of the nation on the basis of the relative number of their enrolled members. Per capita distributions, if any are made, are not subject to Federal or State income tax.

Public Law 87–284, CHURCH, by request (S. 1807): Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to convey the title to two homestead sites located within the Chilocco Indian Industrial School Reserve in Oklahoma upon completion of payments required by existing homestead agreements. The two homesteads, each containing 5 acres, have been declared excess to the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Public Law 87–609 (H.R. 12355): Extends by 3 years the time within which certain provisions of the act of August 25, 1959, are to be carried out. The 1959 act provided the rules governing completion of disposition of the assets of the Choctaw Tribe. Under the 1959 law the Secretary of the Interior was directed to dispose of the lands—except a one-half mineral interest—belonging to the Choctaw Tribe and held by the United States in trust for the tribe or subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by

the United States. A legal entity was to be organized under the laws of Oklahoma, as the successor in interest to the Choctaw Tribe to hold the reserved mineral interest, and if it so chose, to take title to the Choctaw lands. The tribe has had to engage in several lawsuits in order to protect its claims with respect to tribal land that is to be disposed of. Additional litigation is in contemplation. This, plus unforeseen problems in organizing a suitable entity to take over tribal assets, makes necessary an extension of the time allowed under the 1959 act.

Public Law 87– (H.R. 11590) (S. 3250, MONRONEY-KERR): Provides for the per capita distribution of an appropriation heretofore made in satisfaction of a judgment awarded the Cherokee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma by the Indian Claims Commission. The fund amounts to nearly $14,800,000 less offsets, attorneys' fees and expenses. About 42,000 enrollees or their heirs are potentially entitled to share in the distribution. The net amount available for distribution will thus average about $283 for each enrollee. The act will simplify distribution problems and eliminate the necessity of distributing shares which are so small as not to warrant the expense involved, free recipients of distributive shares from the possibility of income tax liability, and limit the effects which the distribution might otherwise have on social security eligibility. Cost of distribution will be borne by the tribe.

OREGON

S. 3342, CHURCH, by request: Approves an order of the Secretary of the Interior canceling irrigation charges against non-Indian-owned lands under the Klamath Indian irrigation project, Oregon. The act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 719), terminating the Klamath Indian Tribe authorized the adjustment or cancellation of reimbursable construction, operation, and maintenance charges against the Indian land on the Klamath irrigation project. The Secretary of the Interior, by an order on April 10, 1961, canceled a total of $266,619.64 of construction and operation and maintenance costs on Indian land. This bill would adjust or cancel reimbursable charges against non-Indian lands within the Klamath project in accordance with the act of June 22, 1936 (49 Stat. 1803), which requires congressional approval. A total of $329,301.86 in construction costs and $72,138.69 in operation and maintenance costs is canceled on the non-Indian land. The effect of the bill is to place the non-Indian landowners on this project in the same position as the Indian owners. S. 3342 was reported by the House Interior Committee but failed of enactment.

Public Law 87–202 (H.R. 5235) (S. 1309, MORSE-NEUBERGER): Permits the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon to acquire non-Indian land situated within the reservation boundaries and to take title in a trust status. The reservation contains about 600,000 acres, of which about 3,700 acres are held by non-Indian owners. Of these 3,700 acres only a 313-acre tract is immediately desirable to the Warm Springs Indians. This tract includes the Kahneeta Hot Springs which have been commercially operated by non-Indian owners for many years. The tract is for sale—appraised value of $165,000—and the tribe has an option to purchase it to be operated as a tribal enterprise. Annual appropriation acts of the Department of the Interior have contained a provision prohibiting the use of tribal funds for the acquisition of land or water rights within the State of Oregon if the acquisition would result in the property being exempted from taxation. This act will permit the acquisition of fee land within the reservation notwithstanding this provision.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Public Law 87–379 (H.R. 3572) (S. 630, CASE of South Dakota): Places in trust status 1,276.25 acres of federally owned lands on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation. The land was purchased in 1944 with Federal funds for cattle-raising activities at the Crow Creek Indian school which closed in 1954. The tribe will lose much of its present land in connection with the construction of Big Bend Dam on the Missouri River, and the lands donated by this act will provide some homesites for dislocated Indians. The Indian Claims Commission is directed to consider whether value of these lands should or should not be set off against any claim the tribe may have.

Public Law 87–734 (H.R. 5144) (S. 1251, MUNDT and CASE of South Dakota): Reimburses individual Indian landowners and the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe in South Dakota for the trust lands acquired by the United States for the construction and operation of the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir on the Missouri River. Compensates the tribe and its members for treaty and tribal damanges, and provides for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the members of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe.

Takes the entire outstanding interest, including gravel but excluding oil, gas, and other minerals, in 14,299.03 acres of tribal and individual trust land and such interest as the tribe may have in the bed of the Missouri River for which the United States will pay $825,000 from funds appropriated for Big Bend Dam. The Government will also pay, by way of intangible and indirect damages, $400,715 in settlement of all claims, rights, and demands of the tribe and individual Indians arising from the taking. This figure includes $26,910 for the tribe's interests in the bed of the river. Out of the $400,715, not to exceed $247,325, will be available to pay the expenses and losses incident to moving and relocating members of the tribe directly affected by the taking.

Authorizes the appropriation of $1,968,750 for rehabilitation funds for development of individual and family plans, relocating, reestablishing, and providing other assistance designed to improve the economic and social conditions of approximately 900 enrolled members of the tribe, both on and off the reservation. This is the largest sum per capita ever recommended for rehabilitation purposes, but in view of the need and the fact that the Lower Brule Tribe has twice been called upon to give up its best bottom land for dam purposes, a generous rehabilitation program is warranted.

The act also provides for expenditures of approximately $1,300,000 by the United States for the following purposes:

First. The relocation and reconstruction of the town of Lower Brule to take the place of the present town of Lower Brule which will be inundated by Big Bend Dam.

Second. Relocation and reestablishment of Indian cemeteries, tribal monuments, and shrines within the taking area.

Third. Construction of replacement roads and replacement or reconstruction of existing essential governmental and agency facilities.

Fourth. Expenses of the tribal council incurred in connection with the taking of the land for the Big Bend project, not to exceed $75,000, including appraiser fees and the fees and expenses of the tribal attorney.

The act confers on members of the tribe the following rights or privileges:

First. To remain on and use the lands taken until required to vacate.

Second. To cut and remove timber and to salvage the improvements.

Third. To graze stock without charge on the former trust land acquired by the United States between the water level of the reservoir and the taking line to the extent that this land is not devoted to other beneficial uses as determined by the Secretary of the Army.

Fourth. To have free access to the shoreline of the reservoir including, as a part thereof, the right to hunt and fish subject to regulations.

The act contains authority to purchase land and to sell tribal land for the purposes of first, providing substitute land for individual Indians who owned land within the taking area of Fort Randall or Big Bend projects; second, consolidating land holdings; and, third, eliminating fractionated heirship interests within the reservation.

Public Law 87–735 (H.R. 5165) (S. 1252, CASE of South Dakota, and MUNDT): Reimburses individual Indian landowners and the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe for the trust lands acquired by the United States for the construction and operation of the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir on the Missouri River, compensates the tribe and its members for treaty and tribal damages, and provides for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the members of the tribe.

The act takes the entire outstanding interest, including gravel but excluding oil, gas, and other minerals, in 6,283.57 acres of tribal and individual trust land. It also takes such interest as the tribe may have in the bed of the Missouri River.

As compensation for the lands, the United States will pay $355,000 from funds appropriated for Big Bend Dam. The Government will also pay, by way of intangible and indirect damages,

$209,302 in settlement of all claims, rights, and demands of the tribe and individual Indians arising from the taking. This figure includes $13,890 for the tribe's interests in the bed of the river.

The act also authorizes the appropriation of $3,802,500 for rehabilitation through family plans, relocation, and other assistance designed to improve the economic and social conditions of 1,800 enrolled members of the tribe, on and off the reservation. The rehabilitation fund is the largest sum per capita ever recommended for this purpose, but in view of the need and the fact that the Crow Creek Tribe has twice been called upon to give up its best bottom land for dam purposes, a generous program is warranted.

The act provides for expenditures of approximately $590,000 for the following purposes:

First. The location and construction of a Fort Thompson townsite, including a community center.

Second. Relocation and reestablishment of Indian cemeteries, tribal monuments, and shrines within the taking area.

Third. Construction of replacement roads and replacement or reconstruction of existing essential governmental and agency facilities.

Fourth. Expenses of the tribal council incurred in connection with the taking of the land for the Big Bend project, not to exceed $75,000, including fees of an appraiser and fees and expenses of the tribal attorney.

The act confers on members of the tribe the following rights or privileges:

First. To remain on and use the lands taken until required to vacate.

Second. To cut and remove timber and to salvage the improvements on the lands taken.

Third. To graze stock without charge on the former trust land acquired by the United States to the extent that this land is not devoted to other beneficial uses as determined by the Secretary of the Army.

Fourth. To have free access to the shoreline of the reservoir including, as a part thereof, the right to hunt and fish subject to regulations.

The act contains authority to purchase land and to sell tribal land for the purposes of first providing substitute land for individual Indians who owned land within the taking area of Fort Randall or Big Bend projects; second, consolidating landholdings; and third, eliminating fractionated heirship interests within the reservation.

UTAH

Public Law 87-698, Moss (S. 1924): Amends the Uintah and Ouray Reservation Termination Act of August 27, 1954, which provided for the division of Ute tribal assets between the mixed-blood and the fullblood members and the termination of Federal trust over the property of the mixed-blood members. Section 10 of the Termination Act excepted from the division and retained in common ownership all mineral rights and all claims against the United States, and the Ute Development Corp. handles the assets and distributes income from the undivided tribal property. Public Law 87-698 will insure that the mixed-bloods' corporation stock will not be lost by being offered as security for minor debts so long as the stock remains in the ownership of the original stockholder or his heirs or legatees. The stock will not be subject to mortgage, hypothecation, execution, or similar process.

WASHINGTON

Public Law 87-298 (H.R. 8236) (S. 2123, JACKSON, by request): Provides for the disposition of a $1 million judgment—less attorney fees and expenses—recovered by one of the Confederated Tribes in Indian Claims Commission docket 181. The provisions of the act also cover such amounts, if any, as may be awarded in several other dockets pending before the Indian Claims Commission. Any per capita distribution that may be made under the provisions of the bill will not be subject to Federal or State income tax.

Public Law 87- , JACKSON (S. 507): Sets aside in trust approximately 85 acres of land within the Quinaielt Reservation for the benefit of the Quinaielt Tribe. The lands were purchased by the United States for lighthouse purposes in 1914. The lands are now excess to Federal needs. The act directs the Indian Claims Commission to determine the extent to which the value of the title conveyed to the Indians should or should not be set off against any claim against the United States determined by the Commission.

S. 2087, JACKSON, by request: Directs the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the State of Washington, without consideration, all of the right, title, and interest of the United States in approximately 14.56 acres of federally owned land located on the Quinault Reservation, together with the improvements and utilities located on the land. Authorizes the Secretary to donate to the State of Washington federally owned equipment that is now in the possession of the State under a fire protection agreement. The land, buildings, and equipment have a total value of approximately $92,267. S. 2087 passed the Senate July 27, 1961, but was not acted upon by the House Interior Committee.

WISCONSIN

Public Law 87-25, CHURCH, by request (S. 1298): Permits the Secretary to revoke in part or in entirety the school and agency farm reserve on the Lac du Flambeau Reservation in Wisconsin. The act of May 19, 1924, reserved approximately 700 acres of land in certain designated sections of the Lac du Flambeau Reservation for a school and agency farm. The Bureau of Indian Affairs still needs for administrative purposes about 15 acres; the balance is no longer needed and will be restored to its prior status of tribal land. It will then be subject to regulations that are applicable to such land. The bill is so drawn that if the 15 acres, or any part of them, become surplus, they can also be removed from reserve status.

Public Law 87-432 (H.R. 4130) (S. 870, PROXMIRE and WILEY): Provides financial assistance to Menominee County, Wis., for a transitional period after April 30, 1961, by authorizing the Secretary of the Interior, notwithstanding the Menominee Termination Act of 1954, to make grants either to the State of Wisconsin for distribution to the county or town of Menominee or directly to the county or town, for contributions to joint school district costs up to a maximum of $660,000 over a 5-year period.

The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is authorized to construct such sanitation facilities on the former Menominee Reservation as he finds are reasonable and justified and to expend for this purpose not more than $438,000.

The purpose of the act is to lessen the impact of termination of Federal services to this group of Indians and to aid the new Menominee County in providing services to its citizens.

WYOMING

Public Law 87-516 (H.R. 3444) (S. 536, HICKEY and MCGEE): Approves an order of the Secretary adjusting, deferring, and canceling certain irrigation charges against non-Indian-owned lands on the Wind River Indian irrigation project in Wyoming. The act of June 22, 1936, authorizes the Secretary to cancel, adjust, and defer water charges in whole or in part or to enter into contracts if departmental investigations prove them to be too high for the farms to be profitably operated. The act provides that his determination shall not be effective until approved by act of Congress.

An investigation of the Wind River project was completed in 1956 and three scheduled of cancellation involving 103 owners and charges of $36,439 plus accrued interest were submitted to Congress with the required findings. This act will ratify the Secretary's order and thus complete the cancellations and deferments.

OTHER SUBCOMMITTEE ACTIONS

Indian heirship: One of the most important problems on which the subcommittee acted during the 87th Congress related to a legislative solution to the complicated problem of multiple ownership of Indian allotted lands. Following the completion of an exhaustive study of the subject in the 86th Congress which was printed and widely distributed, Senator CHURCH introduced S. 1392. Hearings were held on this bill on August 9 and 10, 1961, and the hearings were printed. Careful study was given to the testimony on S. 1392, and subsequently in the second session Senator CHURCH introduced a second heirship bill, S. 2899, and hearings were conducted on this proposal on April 2 and 3, 1962. The hearings were printed.

The subcommittee has accumulated a great deal of information about the heirship problem, its effect upon the individual Indian owners, and the administrative burden that the problem creates. A number of excellent recommendations and suggestions were presented to the subcommittee by attorneys and repre-

sentatives of Indian tribes, all of which are being studied in detail, looking toward the formulation of legislation on the subject to be introduced early in the 88th Congress.

On September 21, 1962, the House passed H.R. 3529, a bill to amend the act of June 25, 1910, with respect to the sale of Indian timber. Much of this timberland is in heirship status, and because this problem is closely related to that sought to be resolved by S. 2899, the subcommittee put over until next year consideration of a timber bill.

Submarginal lands: S. 2183 was introduced by Senator CHURCH at the request of the Department of the Interior, and its purpose is to provide for the conveyance in a trust status of approximately 346,000 acres of submarginal lands that are currently being used by Indians of the reservations on which the lands are located. The subcommittee held a hearing on April 3, 1962, but took no action pending receipt of a detailed report requested from the General Accounting Office. The Comptroller General's report was not received until August 13, 1962, and it was not possible to schedule further action on S. 2183 and related bills during the time remaining in the second session of the Congress.

Land donations: At the conclusion of the 87th Congress, there were pending in the subcommittee several House-passed bills—H.R. 4592, H.R. 10452, H.R. 10485, and H.R. 10530—and Senate companion bills that would donate surplus Federal lands to Indian tribes in a trust status. The subcommittee did not act on these measures for the reason that a motion by Senator ALLOTT, of Colorado, that the subcommittee adopt a resolution spelling out guidelines of the conditions under which surplus lands would be conveyed to Indians had not been acted upon. It is expected that this subject will be taken up again in the 88th Congress.

S. 337: The subcommittee considered S. 337, a bill authorizing the enrolled members of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation to acquire tribal lands of the reservation. The sale of these lands to the tribal members was requested in order that economic farming and ranching units might be blocked out on the reservation. The subcommittee amended the bill to provide that the title in lands sold could be taken in fee or in trust as determined by the Secretary. The tribe objected to this amendment, and at their request no further action was taken on the bill.

Senate Joint Resolution 168: The subcommittee also considered Senate Joint Resolution 168, to cancel any unpaid reimbursable construction costs of the Wind River irrigation project, Wyoming, chargeable against certain non-Indian lands. A hearing was held on this bill on June 11, 1962. Due to a lack of adequate information about the problem, the joint resolution was not acted upon, and the Department of the Interior was requested to initiate an investigation and study of the Wind River project, to be submitted to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs early in the 88th Congress so that corrective legislation may be further considered.

S. 3178 (ANDERSON, CHURCH): This proposed legislation would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make loans to finance the testimony of expert witnesses needed by Indian claimants before the Indian Claims Commission. The need arose out of a decision in the Crow case, and following receipt of favorable reports from the executive departments, the subcommittee held hearings on the bill. No action was taken.

S. 3056 (ANDERSON, CHAVEZ): This bill would amend the act of October 31, 1949, by authorizing an appropriation for the construction of a county hospital in Albuquerque, N. Mex., to provide facilities for the treatment of Indians. The purpose of the bill was to provide for a minimum bed level at the hospital which would be available for Indian patients. It was possible to arrive at an administrative solution to the problem, and no action was taken on S. 3056.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

During the 87th Congress, 68 Senate bills, 4 joint resolutions, and 10 House bills were referred to the Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, as well as 11 small reclamation project proposals and 10 rehabilitation and betterment contracts, and 2 drainage and minor construction reclamation projects. In addition hearings were held on the San Luis contract between the Department of the Interior and the State of California; the proposed release of water for sediment control in the lower Colorado River; the proposal of the Department of the Interior for the construction of transmission lines as a part of the Colorado River storage project; and various other matters.

Field hearings were held in Eden and Riverton, Wyo., on legislation that had been proposed for the relief of the settlers on the projects. In addition a field hearing was also held in Rawlins, Wyo., on the Savery-Pothook project, which is near the Colorado-Wyoming line and affects both States.

NEW PROJECTS

S. 103, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate and maintain the Auburn-Folsom south unit, American River division, Central Valley project, California, under Federal reclamation laws.

Favorably reported by the full committee with amendments on August 1, 1962. Reported to the Senate with amendments, August 7, 1962.

The bill would authorize the construction of Auburn Dam, reservoir, and powerplant on the north fork of American River, the Folsom South Canal and distribution works, and facilities to provide a water supply to the Forest Hill divide and Folsom-Malby areas. This Department has transmitted to the Congress a planning report recommending construction of the Auburn-Folsom south unit. The facilities described in the bill are generally consistent with that report. This multiple-purpose unit represents an additional stage of the plan to conserve and make more useful the waters of the American River under the provisions of the American River Basin Development Act of October 14, 1949. It would be coordinated with and made an integral part of the Central Valley project.

The Auburn Dam would form a 1-million-acre-foot reservoir and would include a 155,000-kilowatt powerplant at the toe of the dam. It would supply 265,000 acre-feet of water annually to the Folsom South Canal in addition to the water to be supplied by the Folsom Reservoir. It would also provide additional flood protection to the American River area and the city of Sacramento, and add 516 million kilowatt-hours annually to the Central Valley project hydroelectric power generation. Its cost is estimated to be $138,812,000, including $557,000 for recreation lands and basic public use facilities. The total benefit-cost ratio for this feature on a 100-year period of analysis is 2.24 to 1. On a 50-year period, using direct benefits only, the ratio is 1.53 to 1.

S. 107, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate and maintain the Navajo Indian irrigation projects and the initial state of the San Juan-Chama project as participating projects of the Colorado River storage project.

Public Law 87–483. Approved June 13, 1962.

This legislation would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Navajo Indian irrigation project and the initial stage of the San Juan-Chama project as participating projects of the Colorado River storage project. The construction and operation of these works coordinated with the operation of the Navajo Reservoir, which is presently under construction, would enable New Mexico to put to use a major portion of the water of the Upper Colorado River system to which it is entitled under the Colorado River compact and the Upper Colorado River Basin compact. The Navajo Indian irrigation project would provide for the irrigation of about 110,000 acres for the benefit of the Navajo Indians. The initial phase of the San Juan-Chama project would provide for the diversion from the San Juan Basin to the Rio Grande Basin of about 110,000 acre-feet of water annually to be used to supply irrigation water to an estimated 121,000 acres of land in the Rio Grande Basin and furnish additional municipal and industrial water to the city of Albuquerque.

S. 114, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Waurika Reclamation project, Oklahoma.

Passed the Senate, as amended, June 26, 1962.

This project is located in southwestern Oklahoma in Jefferson, Stephens, Cotton, and Comanche Counties. Waurika damsite is in Jefferson County about 6 miles northwest of Waurika on Beaver Creek, a tributary of Red River. The urban areas which would be furnished water supplies from Waurika Reservoir surround the Beaver Creek Basin. The lands to be irrigated from the reservoir are located along the north bank of the Red River near Ryan, Okla., near the confluence of Beaver Creek, about 20 miles downstream from Waurika damsite.

The Waurika project would provide for maximum practicable regulation of Beaver Creek flows at the damsite for the dominant purpose of municipal and industrial water supply for six municipalities and an oil refinery and a vital national defense installation. It would provide for construction of the Waurika Dam and Reservoir; an aqueduct system to deliver Beaver Creek flows from the reservoir to the cities of Lawton—including Fort Sill—Duncan, Waurika, Comanche, Temple, Walters, and the DX-Sunray refinery; a pumping plant and distribution system at a point 20 miles below the damsite to deliver reservoir releases to lands in the vicinity of Ryan, Okla., for the irrigation of about 2,000 acres; and recreation and fish and wildlife facilities. The project would provide essentially full control of floods on Beaver Creek at the Waurika damsite and desirable flood control benefits along the Red River.

S. 230, to make certain provisions in connection with the construction of the Garrison diversion unit, Missouri River Basin project, by the Secretary of the Interior.

Reported to the Senate with amendments, August 3, 1961.

This project would provide for necessary modifications in the Missouri River Basin project authorizations to accommodate the special conditions of the Garrison diversion unit. The principal revision would be to reduce the irrigated acreage from the original proposed 1,007,000 acres to 250,000 acres, with the corresponding decrease in costs.

The plan of development for the initial stage provides for irrigation of 250,000 acres, a municipal and industrial water supply for 15 towns and cities, 24 areas for fish and wildlife conservation, and recreation development at 7 major water impoundments. Flood control and incidental drainage of nonirrigable lands are other benefits.

Six areas make up the 250,000 acres. They constitute a feasible development, but other areas could also be used in the event any should drop out of the initial development. The system includes 1,932 miles of canals and laterals, 4 regulating reservoirs, 156 pumping plants, and about 2,265 miles of drains to control ground and surface water. Pumping power will be supplied by either existing or proposed federally constructd facilities, or by wheeling over electric cooperative or utility lines.

The facilities to serve the modified plan will be constructed during a period of about 11 years to full initial size, with first delivery water for irrigation during the fifth year of construction. Construction of deferred drains is expected to continue for another 20 years.

S. 284, to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance by the Secretary of the Interior of the Fryingpan-Arkansas project, Colorado.

Public Law 87–590.

Reported to the Senate July 19, 1962. Senate passed H.R. 2206, August 6. Approved August 16, 1962.

This authorizes the construction and operation by the Secretary of the Interior of the multiple-purpose Fryingpan-Arkansas project in Colorado, for furnishing supplemental irrigation water, furnishing industrial and municipal water, controlling floods on the Arkansas River, supplying electric power and energy, and other incidental purposes. The project would constitute a major step in maximum utilization of water and land resources in Colorado.

Supplemental irrigation water would be made available for approximately 280,000 acres of land through the transmountain diversion of an average of about 83,000 acre-feet of water annually—including additional diversions through existing works—the conservation of floodflows in the Arkansas Valley, the reregulation of winter flows there, and the reuse of return flows. In addition, about 20,500 acre-feet of water would be made available annually to meet the rapidly expanding municipal water needs of Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and other Arkansas Valley towns. Operation of the project for flood control would prevent a large part of the flood damages which, under present conditions, occur annually in the Arkansas Valley. The hydroelectric plants and related facilities would provide over half a billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy annually to meet the expanding power and energy needs in the area. Also, the project would benefit fish and wildlife, provide recreational opportunities, help control sediment, and prevent stream pollution.

S. 308, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon, and for other purposes.

Reported favorably to the full committee, July 31, 1962. Companion bill, H.R. 575, reported to Senate, September 5, 1962.

The development of the upper division of the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon, would be a multipurpose project, including the functions of irrigation, flood control, fish and wildlife, and recreation. Project works would consist of the earth and rock-filled Mason Dam and 100,000 acre-foot reservoir on the Powder River some 18 miles upstream from the city of Baker, the Lilley pumping plant and relift pumping plant, minimum recreation facilities, and a hydrologic network consisting of precipitation gages and snow courses to predict runoff from the drainage basin above the reservoir. The irrigators contemplate rehabilitating and extending the present distribution systems so no new diversion structures, canals, or laterals would be constructed as part of the potential Federal development.

Approximately 13,990 acres of the project lands now receive a partial water supply, primarily by flooding the lands during the spring runoff. After July 1 of most years, there is little natural streamflow and, except for a small amount of pumping from wells, the irrigation season is at an end. The water that would be stored in Mason Reservoir would provide a reasonably firm water supply to the 13,990 acres over the entire irrigation season as well as a full water supply to 4,010 acres that are not now irrigated.

S. 405, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho. H.R. 529, companion bill.

S. 405 passed the Senate June 26, 1962.

Public Law 87–589, approved August 16, 1962.

The plan of development for the Mann Creek project would provide a supplemental water supply to 4,465 presently irrigated acres and, in addition, would provide an adequate water supply to 595 acres which are not now irrigated. The principal works consist of the Spangler Dam and Reservoir on Mann Creek, diversion facilities from the reservoir to the existing distribution systems, and drainage facilities for the Mann Creek area of the project. The Spangler Reservoir would have a total capacity of 13,000 acre-feet, of which 11,000 would be active storage—prorated 9,400 acre-feet to the Mann Creek Irrigation District and 1,600 acre-feet to the Monroe Creek Irrigation District.

S. 594, to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Crater-Long Lakes division of the Snettisham project, Alaska, and for other purposes.

Reported to the Senate, July 25, 1962. Taken from calendar and rereferred to Public Works, August 28, 1962.

The plan of development for the Crater-Long Lakes division of the Snettisham project, consists of tunnels from existing Crater and Long Lakes leading to a single powerplant at tidewater on Speel River with the necessary transmission facilities to deliver the power to the Juneau area. The natural lakes are at elevations 1,022 and 815 feet above mean sea level, respectively. The proposed tunnel intakes would be at such elevations as to permit drawing down the natural levels of these lakes by about 200 feet and 165 feet, respectively, thereby creating approximately 270,000 acre-feet of active storage regulation. The pressure tunnel from Crater Lake would be 7 feet in diameter and 6,175 feet long, ending in a 20-foot-diameter surge tank. The tunnel from Long Lake would be 10.5 feet in diameter and 8,150 feet long with a similar surge tank. Steel penstocks would lead from the surge tanks to the powerplant.

The powerplant would consist of three turbine-generator units, providing a total installed capacity of 60,000 kilowatts and an average annual energy output of about 303,300,000 kilowatt-hours, consisting of 280 million kilowatt-hours of firm energy and 23,300,000 kilowatt-hours of nonfirm energy. This power would be delivered to the Juneau area over a 115,000-volt transmission line 38.7 miles long, 2.7 miles of which would be in submarine cable under Taku Inlet.

Because of the provision of this bill that the project would be constructed by the Corps of Engineers but be operated and maintained by the Bureau of Reclamation. The report on it recommended that the bill be referred to the Committee on Public Works for further consideration.

S. 809, to authorize the transfer of a Bureau of Reclamation bridge across

the Colorado River near Needles, Calif., to San Bernardino County, Calif., and Mohave County, Ariz.

Public Law 87–156. Approved August 17, 1961.

The purpose is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to transfer a Bureau of Reclamation bridge which crosses the Colorado River approximately 1 mile east of Needles, Calif., to the counties of San Bernardino, Calif., and Mohave, Ariz. The transfer would be made without monetary consideration and would be subject to terms and conditions specified by the Secretary.

S. 892 (H.R. 23), to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Arbuckle reclamation project, Oklahoma, and for other purposes.

S. 892 reported to the Senate August 3, 1962. H.R. 23 approved August 24. Public Law 87–594.

The plan of development for the Arbuckle project provides as a Federal project, first, the construction of the Arbuckle Dam and Reservoir; second, the construction of pipelines and pumping facilities required for the delivery of water to the project cities; third, the purchase and development of lands for fish and wildlife purposes; and fourth, the development of basic recreational facilities at the reservoir site.

The Arbuckle Dam and Reservoir site is located on Rock Creek about 4 miles above its confluence with the Washita River near Dougherty, Okla. The dam would be a rolled earthfill structure 139 feet high and 1,870 feet long. The reservoir would have a total capacity of 226,450 acre-feet, of which 120,650 acre-feet would be surcharge. The balance of the capacity is tentatively allocated to provide 58,300 acre-feet for municipal and industrial water supply, 35,900 acre-feet for flood control, and 11,600 acre-feet is dead and sediment storage. The surface area at the top of the conservation—water supply—pool at elevation 871 is 2,248 acres.

S. 923, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to replace lateral pipelines, line discharge pipelines, and to do other work he determines to be required for the Avondale, Dalton Gardens, and Hayden Lake Irrigation Districts in the State of Idaho.

Reported to the Senate August 25, 1961. Indefinitely postponed September 11, 1961—see H.R. 4458.

The purpose of S. 923 is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to replace lateral pipelines, perform interior lining of discharge lines, and do other work he determines to be required in the replacement, modification, or improvement of facilities heretofore constructed by the United States for the Avondale, Dalton Gardens, and Hayden Lake Irrigation Districts in the State of Idaho.

Replacement of pipelines or lining of existing pipelines serving the three districts is necessary because of accelerated interior and exterior corrosion and deterioration of such pipelines. Corrosion has penetrated the pipe in numerous places, and it is estimated that 50 percent or more of the surface area of the lighter gage pipe will be penetrated before 1963 and the situation will grow progressively worse. Considering that the fact that the livelihood of a large number of farmers is dependent upon the proper functioning of this distribution system, the need for replacement is considered urgent.

S. 970, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the mid-State reclamation project, Nebraska, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate, amended, September 21, 1961.

The project is located in central Nebraska along the north side of the Platte River. Lands to be benefited cover a width of from 10 to 20 miles from east of Lexington to the vicinity of Silver Creek, Nebr. There are approximately 550,000 acres of land within the mid-State district boundaries, of which about 363,000 acres have been designated as arable. Nearly 260,000 acres of land are now dependent on wells and pumps drawing upon the ground water and upon streams for their irrigation supplies.

The project would provide a regulated gravity and well combination water supply for approximately 140,000 acres of land and would replenish and stabilize to the maximum extent practicable the aquifer from which about 4,600 irrigation wells are pumping ground waters within the boundaries of the district. In addition, the development would produce substantial flood control, recreation, and fish and wildlife benefits. Provision also is made for initial irrigation pumping power and for ultimate development of commercial power.

S. 1023, to amend the act of August 20, 1954 (68 Stat. 752) in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of additional features of the Talent division of the Rogue River Basin reclamation project, Oregon.

Passed the Senate March 8, 1962. Approved October 1, 1962. Public Law 87–727.

S. 1060, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Oroville-Tonasket unit of the Okanogan-Similkameen division, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate, amended, September 15, 1961. Cleared for President, September 28, 1962.

The Oroville-Tonasket unit is a proposed irrigation development in the Okanogan River Basin in northern Washington. The lands are located along the river and on benches and slopes on both sides of the river in the general vicinity of the towns of Oroville and Tonasket. The area is about 25 miles long and 3 miles wide at its widest point. It contains 8,450 acres of irrigable lands, of which about 6,950 were irrigated and 1,500 acres have no water supply. Of the total irrigable area, about 7,500 acres are within the boundaries of the presently operating Oroville-Tonasket Irrigation District. The intention is for all lands within the unit to be incorporated within the district. The objective of the plan is to construct new irrigation works and rehabilitate portions of the present district so as to provide an adequate irrigation water supply to the 1,500 acres now dry and to supply about 3,650 acre-feet of supplemental water annually to the remainder of the irrigable area. This will require a total average annual new diversion water supply of about 13,850 acre-feet.

S. 1085, to provide for the disposal of certain Federal property on the Minidoka project, Idaho, Shoshone project, Wyoming, and Yakima project, Washington, and for other purposes.

Public Law 87–151. Approved August 17, 1961.

The purpose of H.R. 7601 is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain Federal property located on the Minidoka project, Idaho, the Shoshone project, Wyoming, and the Yakima project, Washington, and to use the proceeds from such sales for the construction or expansion of operation and maintenance headquarters facilities serving the three projects.

S. 1139, to amend the act granting the consent of Congress to the States of Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming to negotiate and enter into a compact relating to the waters of the Little Missouri River in order to extend the expiration date of such act.

Public Law 87–452. Approved May 15, 1962.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this legislation is to allow 4 years' additional time for the negotiation of a certain compact by the States of Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming for an appointment of the waters of the Little Missouri River and its tributaries.

S. 1581, for the allocation of costs on the Wapato-Satus unit of the Wapota Indian irrigation project.

Passed the Senate September 15, 1961. H.R. 115 approved September 26, 1961. Public Law 87–316.

The principal purposes of S. 1581 are to fix the final construction costs of the irrigation works that have been constructed on the Wapato-Satus unit of the Wapato Indian irrigation project, Washington, to allocate those costs among the lands that can be served by those works, and to provide a formula for distributing construction costs hereafter incurred for serving additional lands. The portion of the costs that are allocated to non-Indian land will be assessed, and the portion that is allocated to Indian land will be deferred under the Leavitt Act of July 1, 1932.

S. 1697, to approve the amendatory repayment contract negotiated with the Huntley Project Irrigation District, Montana, to authorize its execution, and for other purposes.

Public Law 87–168. Approved August 30, 1961.

S. 1697 will approve the repayment contract negotiations that have taken place between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Huntley Project Irrigation District in Montana and will authorize the execution of that repayment contract.

The Huntley project was authorized in 1905, to serve approximately 32,000 acres of land. The original land classification,

in 1905, recognized a considerable acreage of so-called class 3 lands, consisting largely of heavy textured alkaline soils. In 1925, reclassification of lands, which was the basis for the Huntley project adjustments approved by the act of May 25, 1956, designated 831 acres as permanently unproductive and 13,476 acres, including 1,336 acres of unpledged lands, as temporarily unproductive.

S. 1988, to aid in the administration of the Tule Lake, Lower Klamath, and Upper Klamath National Wildlife Refuges in Oregon and California, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate May 16, 1962.

Generally the bill provides:

First. The public lands within the boundaries of the Executive orders establishing the Tule Lake, upper Klamath, and lower Klamath refuges in California and Oregon will be retained in Federal ownership with the major purpose of waterfowl management. Homesteading would be prohibited.

Second. The agricultural use of these lands will be continued under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior.

Third. The revenues from the leases will be shared equitably with the local counties on the basis of a payment of 25 percent of the lease revenues but not to exceed 50 percent of the average per acre tax levied on similar lands in private ownership.

Fourth. The basic question is what will be the utlimate use of the 15,000 acres of leased agricultural land within the Tule Lake refuge and 6,400 acres in the Klamath Straits unit within the lower Klamath refuge. Local interests have held that these lands should be sold or made available for homesteading. Conservation and wildlife groups have urged maximum use of these lands for waterfowl.

S. 2008, to amend the act of September 16, 1959 (73 Sta. 561, 43 U.S.C. 615a), relating to the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Spokane Valley project.

Approved September 5, 1962. Public Law 87–630. Passed the Senate, as amended in committee, September 19, 1961. August 24, 1962, Senate concurred in House amendments.

As now proposed, the Spokane Valley project would provide a replacement water supply for irrigation to 7,250 acres of land in the Spokane River Valley in the northeast corner of the State of Washington, and water for domestic use. Irrigation water service to the project lands and adjacent lands has for many years been furnished through a gravity surface water system utilizing water of the Spokane River. The existing works are in a seriously deteriorated condition, and continued operation and maintenance of those works is becoming progressively more difficult and more expensive.

The project plan is to abandon the works now serving the project lands and to substitute closed-pipe pressure distribution systems utilizing water pumped from wells in the abundant ground water aquifer underlying the area. Turnouts from this system will provide water for irrigation of farms and small tracts as well as for delivery to non-Federal domestic water distribution and delivery systems.

S. 2132, to approve the revised June 1957 reclassification of land of the Fort Shaw division of the Sun River project, Montana, and to authorize the modification of the repayment contract with Fort Shaw Irrigation District.

Public Law 87–477. Approved June 8, 1962.

S. 2132 will approve the reclassification of land of the Fort Shaw division of the Sun River project and authorize the modification of the present repayment contract with the Fort Shaw Irrigation District.

The Fort Shaw division is one of the older projects of the Bureau of Reclamation. Construction of works for the irrigation of 16,000 acres was started in 1905, and the first water delivered in 1909.

Reclassification of lands in 1959 indicate that 531.77 acres of pay lands have been determined to be permanently unproductive and 36.47 acres of formerly determined unproductive land have been reclassified into a productive category. The changes in the repayment contract indicated by the reclassification are: $7,702.59 charge against 531.77 acres will be written off; $1,193.67 charge for 34.74 acres will be added to the contract; and there will be no extension of the payout period.

SALINE WATER CONVERSION

S. 2156 and H.R. (Public Law 87–295).

This measure provides for a $75 million 6-year program for an expanded saline conversion research and development program. Its principal purpose is to provide funds for broad basic research to supply new ideas and basic data necessary for the development of new processes to accomplish the goal of truly low-cost desalinization. The bill does not provide for financing construction or the participation in the financing of further demonstration plants.

S. 2179, to amend section 9(d)(1) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (53 Stat. 1187; 43 U.S.C. 485), to make additional provision for irrigation blocks, and for other purposes.

Approved August 28, 1962. Public Law 87–613. Passed the Senate May 17, 1962.

The bill would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to amend repayment contracts with irrigation districts to provide for block development where that was not originally provided for. Block development permits irrigation to get started earlier in part of a district as soon as progress with construction will permit, while construction continues in the balance of the district. Testimony indicated that it is not always wise or possible to complete construction of a project and have water available for all the lands at the same time. In order to equalize the burden of the construction costs on all irrigators the committee feels that the Department proposals offer the best means accomplishing this goal.

The bill would also provide authority for the Secretary of the Interior to extend the length of the development periods up to a maximum of 10 years, and to cancel supplemental contracts where the extension of the development period would remove the necessity of such a contract. Under present law the exact length of the development period is written into the repayment contract signed prior to the commencement of construction.

S. 2245, to amend the act granting the consent of Congress to the negotiation of certain compacts by the States of Nebraska, Wyoming, and South Dakota in order to extend the time for such negotiation.

Public Law 87–181. Approved August 30, 1961.

The purpose of this legislation is to allow 2 years' additional time for the negotiation of certain compacts by the States of Nebraska, Wyoming, and South Dakota for equitable apportionment of certain river waters. This bill does not authorize the appropriation of additional funds.

S. 2522, to defer the collection of irrigation maintenance and operation charges for calendar year 1962 on lands within the Angostura unit, Missouri River Basin project.

Public Law 87–440. Approved April 27, 1962.

This bill would authorize the Department of the Interior to defer the collection of $24,000 of operation and maintenance charges due in 1962 from the Angostura Irrigation District. An extended drought has caused a critical water shortage with resultant decreases in crop production. Records indicate that the annual runoff within the basin has been decreasing for the past 3 years. In 1959 it was 42 percent of normal. In 1960 it was 29 percent, while in 1961 only 25 percent of the annual average. Because of the shortage, much of the land was not irrigated with low yields on the balance. Many of the district water users have loans on land, improvements, and equipment. As a result of a situation over which they had no control, many of the landowners are in a critical financial condition and are unable to meet the 1962 charges now due.

S. 2665, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into an amendatory contract with the Burley Irrigation District, and for other purposes.

Public Law 87–472. H.R. 9647, approved May 31, 1962.

S. 2665 would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into amendatory contracts with the Burley Irrigation District and with the Minidoka Irrigation District, both in Idaho, with respect to the disposition of electric energy and power from the first six units of the Minidoka powerplant, and other matters. Under the contract terms proposed, the districts would give up their present interest in the power revenues from the six units in exchange for a dependable supply of pumping power at a reduced rate.

The exchange of the districts' interest in the power revenues from the Minidoka powerplant for an assured supply of pumping power is not expected to result in any additional cost to the Federal Government. It probably will result in savings to the United States.

S. 3153, to guarantee electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal plants in that region and to guarantee electric consumers in other regions reciprocal priority, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate August 8, 1962.

The bill would provide that the marketing area of the Federal Columbia River power system be the "Pacific Northwest," approximately the Columbia River drainage. Presently, the Bonneville Project Act, 50 Stat. 731, as amended, provides no limit on the marketing area other than one of economic transmission distance; with extra-high-voltage transmission, this could include most of the Western States.

In general, the bill would permit the Secretary of the Interior to market only surplus power outside the Pacific Northwest. Any contract of the Secretary for the sale of surplus energy must provide that deliveries may be terminated on not to exceed 7 days' notice, if the energy is needed in the Pacific Northwest. For that reason, no energy could be sold outside the region as firm energy. Any contract for the sale of peaking capacity must provide that the arrangement may be terminated on not to exceed 48 months' notice. Exchanges could be made without regard to these restrictions only if the facts warrant a determination by the Secretary of the Interior that the conditions specified in section 5 would be met. Provision would be made for the transmission of non-Federal power over any interconnecting lines between the Pacific Northwest and other regions which may be constructed by the United States. The bill contains no authorization for the construction of Federal lines between those regions. Existing statutes provided such authority.

S. 3162, to approve an amendatory repayment contract negotiated with the Quincy Columbia Basin Irrigation District, authorize similar contracts with any of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project Act of 1943 (57 Stat. 14) as amended, and for other purposes.

Reported to the Senate with amendments, August 9, 1962. Companion bill, H.R. 11164, reported to Senate September 6, 1962. H.R. 11164 passed Senate September 20, 1962. Approved October 1, 1962. Public Law 87–728.

Senate Joint Resolution 76, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior during the calendar year 1962 to continue to deliver water to lands in certain irrigation districts in the State of Washington.

Public Law 87–169. Approved August 30, 1961.

Senate Joint Resolution 151, permitting the Secretary of the Interior to continue to deliver water to lands in the third division, Riverton Federal reclamation project, Wyoming.

Public Law 87–479. Approved June 8, 1962.

SMALL RECLAMATION PROJECTS

Under Public Law 84–984, the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956, all small project applications after approval by the Secretary of the Interior must be submitted to the Interior and Insular Affairs of both the Senate and the House of Representatives for 60 days before appropriations may be made to implement the project, and then only if neither of the committees have by resolution disapproved the proposal.

During the 87th Congress, 11 proposals have been received by the committee. All of these have either been approved by resolution or the 60-day waiting period has expired without unfavorable committee action. The projects are listed as follows:

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| Eastern municipal water district at Hemet, Riverside County, Calif. | $4,980,000 |
| Klamath Basin Improvement District, Klamath County, Oreg. | 942,100 |
| Molokai project, State of Hawaii | 4,514,000 |
| Haights Creek Irrigation Co., Kaysville, Utah | 340,000 |
| Weber-Box Elder Conservation District, Ogden, Utah | 811,000 |
| Cassia Creek Reservoir Co. of Cassia County, Idaho | 2,351,600 |
| Grants | 146,400 |
| Settlement Canyon Irrigation District of Tooele County, Utah | 907,000 |
| Grants | 189,000 |
| Banta-Carbona Irrigation District, San Joaquin County, Calif. | 964,000 |
| Orchard City Irrigation District, Delta County, Colo. | 270,000 |
| Georgetown Divide Public Utility District, El Dorado County, Calif. | 4,637,000 |
| Roosevelt Irrigation District, Buckeye, Ariz. | 4,620,000 |

REHABILITATION AND BETTERMENT CONTRACTS

The act of October 7, 1949, as amended, provides that the expenditure of funds specifically appropriated for rehabilitation and betterment of irrigation systems or projects constructed under the Federal reclamation laws shall be made only after the organizations benefiting from such expenditures shall have obligated themselves for the return thereof in installments fixed in accordance with their ability to pay, as determined by the Secretary of the Interior, with the provision that the determination of the Secretary of the Interior does not become effective until the expiration of 60 days after it has been submitted to the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the Senate and the House.

In accordance with the above requirements 10 contracts were submitted to the committee by the Secretary of the Interior. None of these were rejected. Extensive hearings were held on the Coachella Valley County Water District contract to determine if the works proposed and the funds to be expended came within the scope of the rehabilitation and betterment act.

The contracts considered and the cost of each follows:

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| Arch Hurley Conservancy District, Tucumcari project, New Mexico | $750,000 |
| Prosser Irrigation District, Sunnyside division, Yakima project, Washington | 346,000 |
| Pathfinder Irrigation District, interstate division, North Platte project, Nebraska | 90,000 |
| Coachella Valley County Water District, All-American Canal system, Boulder Canyon project, California | 7,150,000 |
| Orchard Mesa division, Grand Valley project, Colorado | $750,000 |
| Sunnyside Irrigation District, Sunnyside division, Yakima project, Washington | 517,000 |
| Gem and Ridgeview Irrigation Districts, Owyhee project, Idaho and Oregon | 260,000 |
| Gering and Fort Laramie Irrigation District, Fort Laramie division, North Platte project, Nebraska | 2,000,000 |
| Bitter Root Irrigation District, Bitter Root project, Montana | 510,000 |
| Unit B Irrigation and Drainage District, Yuma auxiliary project, Arizona | 450,000 |

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, 87TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

The Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs has responsibility for measures relating to the insular possessions of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, except those measures affecting their revenue and appropriations.

Of 15 Senate bills referred to the subcommittee, 3 were reported and subsequently enacted. Of six House bills referred to the subcommittee, two were enacted. These bills are as follows:

Public Law 87–750, S. 2429 (ANDERSON):

Public Law 87–750 furthers the purposes of the act of August 2, 1956 (70 Stat. 940) providing for the establishment of the Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, V.I., by revising the boundaries of the park, subject to valid existing rights, to include adjoining lands and submerged lands and waters.

The legislation has two purposes: First, to enlarge the boundaries of the Virgin Islands National Park to include adjoining submerged lands and waters in a north offshore area of 4,100 acres and a south offshore area of 1,550 acres; and, second, to permit appropriated funds to be used for the acquisition of other lands and interests which were included within the original boundaries of the park but which have not been acquired.

An appropriation of $1,250,000 is authorized to accomplish the latter purpose. A provision in the Senate bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to acquire inholdings by condemnation was stricken by a House amendment to which the Senate subsequently agreed.

Public Law 87–750 will insure that the exceptional marine features of the offshore areas—including Coral Gardens, among the most beautiful in the world—are preserved. The acquisition of inholdings within the original park boundaries will make it possible to utilize more effectively the existing park facilities and resources.

Public Law 87–419, S. 2774 (JACKSON):

Public Law 87–419 amends section 8 of the Organic Act of Guam and section 15 of the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands to provide for appointment of acting secretaries for such territories.

This legislation would authorize the appointment of acting government secretaries during a vacancy in that office or while the secretary is unable to act, is absent, or is acting as Governor. The respective Organic Acts presently provide that the secretary for each territory

shall act as Governor when the Governor is absent or unable to act, or when there is a vacancy in that office (48 U.S.C., sec. 1422A, 1595). They also make provision for designation of an Acting Governor when both the Governor and secretary are absent or unable to act or when both officers are vacant (48 U.S.C. secs. 1422B, 1596). There is, however, no authority for the appointment of an acting secretary. By correcting this omission, Public Law 87-419 will facilitate the administration of the territorial governments during the absence of one or more of their principal officials.

The acting secretary will be selected from among territorial department personnel and the legislation provides that he will receive no additional compensation for his work as acting secretary. Consequently, no expenditure of Federal funds will be required by the enactment of Public Law 87-419.

Public Law 87-541, S. 2775 (JACKSON):

Public Law 87-541 amends the act of June 30, 1954 (68 Stat. 330), providing for a continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by increasing the appropriation authorization in section 2 of the act from $7,500,000 to $17,500,000. The legislation provides that not more than $15 million is authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 1963.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is administered by the Secretary of the Interior under Executive Order No. 10265, as amended, in accordance with a trusteeship agreement between the United States and the Security Council of the United Nations. Under the terms of the agreement, the United States exercises full administrative, judicial, and legislative authority over the former Japanese-administered territories and has undertaken obligations to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants.

The Department of the Interior, by executive communication, requested the introduction of the legislation to remove the ceiling then applicable to appropriation authorization for the administration of the trust territory. This was to permit requests for appropriations substantially in excess of the $7,500,000 ceiling in accordance with the comprehensive program of the Department for development of the trust territory.

Although the appropriation authorization ceiling is not removed by Public Law 87-541 as originally requested by the Department of the Interior, it is raised sufficiently to permit the Department to make proposed appropriation requests through fiscal year 1965.

Public Law 87-421, H.R. 7666; companion bill S. 2088 (JACKSON):

Public Law 87-421 amends section 17 (a) of the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands (68 Stat. 505) pertaining to the salary of the government comptroller. This legislation was requested by the Department of the Interior to establish the salary of the government comptroller of the Virgin Islands in accordance with the standards of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. This would permit the government comptroller to receive such salary adjustments as may be authorized in the future by Congress for those Federal employees under the Classification Act. Prior to the enactment of Public Law 87-421, the compensation of the government comptroller was fixed by the Revised Organic Act at $12,500 per annum.

Public Law 87-688, H.R. 10062; companion bill S. 2440 (LONG, GRUENING):

Public Law 87-688 extends the application of certain laws to American Samoa. The legislation provides that any Federal department, agency, or corporation may extend to American Samoa, without reimbursement, scientific, technical, or other assistance under any program which it administers and which, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior, will promote the welfare of the territory. The Secretary of the Interior may not request assistance which will involve nonreimbursable costs as estimated in advance in excess of an aggregate of $150,000 in any one fiscal year.

Public Law 87-688 also authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to extend to American Samoa the provisions of the National School Act (60 Stat. 230) and authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to extend to American Samoa the benefits of the Vocational Educational Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 775), the Hospital Services Act (70 Stat. 293), the Hospital Survey and Construction Act (60 Stat. 1040), and section 314 of the Public Health Service Act (58 Stat. 693).

Public Law 87-688 will permit technical assistance to be given to American Samoa in such varied fields as tax revision, education, agriculture and fisheries production, harbor development, public utility improvement and land planning and zoning. The extension of the specified grant and aid programs to American Samoa permits the Territory to share in programs presently enjoyed by other insular possessions of the United States.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINERALS, MATERIALS, AND FUELS

Twenty-eight measures were referred to the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels during the 87th Congress. Of these, 19 were Senate bills, 2 were Senate joint resolutions, and 7 were House bills.

Eighteen measures were reported favorably by the subcommittee and approved by the full committee.

Major bills considered were:

Stabilization of domestic lead and zinc production—S. 1747, by the chairman; S. 115 by Senator KERR; and H.R. 84 by Congressman EDMONDSON. This latter became Public Law 347, 87th Congress.

Stimulation of domestic production of gold and silver. Senate Joint Resolution 44. Two public hearings were held on the measure, but because of administration opposition, no further action was taken. The hearings attracted widespread attention and favorable comment.

Survey of Federal laws for purpose of locating minerals, sponsored by Senator METCALF.

Among bills on which hearings were held but which were not acted upon favorably were Senator LAUSCHE's bill, S. 3304, for a study of strip mining in the United States. The tariff provisions of my lead and zinc stabilization bill were given intensive study and reported favorably by the full comittee, but were deleted by the Finance Committee upon referral to that committee due to the revenue implications.

Also of very substantial public interest was our hearing on the iron ore industry in the Upper Great Lakes—no bill.

Of potential importance is our action in passing the extension of the authority of the U.S. Geological Survey to areas outside the national domain. Public Law 87-625.

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## The Ecumenical Council in Questions and Answers—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(By James J. McQuade, S.J.)

What then is the purpose of the second Vatican council?

The purpose of the second Vatican council, as described by Pope John XXIII, is to promote the increase of the Catholic faith; to renew the morals of the Christian people; and to bring church discipline up to date.

How often are ecumenical councils supposed to be held?

The Pope is under no strict obligation, arising from either divine or ecclesiastical law, to convoke ecumenical councils. It is a matter of his own judgment whether he should do so and how often. In certain circumstances, especially in times of distress and spiritual calamities, the convocation of an ecumenical council may be morally or relatively necessary. The last ecumenical council, that of the first Vatican council which began in 1869, was held almost 100 years ago. There have been tremendous changes in the way of life of the peoples of the earth in those 100 years. These changes have given rise to so many great, varied, and worldwide problems that in the judgment of Pope John it was time to call an ecumenical council.

Do Catholic laymen have any actual part in the deliberations of an ecumenical council?

While laymen will not take any direct part in the deliberations of the council, it is quite possible that the individual fathers of the council might consult laymen who have expert competence in specialized fields. Cardinal Tardini, in a press conference held on November 5, 1959, said that the topic of the place of the laity in the church will be an important one for the council to consider in view of the importance the laity has assumed in the organized life of the church. He said that the importance of the laity to bishops everywhere has become clear from the very first answers received from bishops on suggestions for subjects to be considered in the council.

Does the Holy See plan to invite non-Catholics to the council individually?

In answer to this, Cardinal Tardini, in his November press conference, said, "The Pope is free to invite anyone he wants—even journalists to give it an element of color. * * * We have nothing to hide. If anyone has sufficient reason to come as an observer, I believe the Pope will invite him. * * * We are letting them know that they are welcome and that they will be treated with due kindness and every possible regard. But there will be no direct invitation. We look on them as brothers, because they are also the sons of God."

Will there be any representatives of governments present at the council as there were in some of the earlier councils?

When this question was put to Cardinal Tardini at the same press conference, he answered with a sharp "No," and then went on to say, "This time we shall do it alone. Times have changed. At one time, communications also depended on princes. But today the church can move freely. The participation of heads of states at a council today would create a somewhat comic effect."

When will the second council of the Vatican actually take place?

Because of the immense amount of preparatory work, it may not be for some time. Cardinal Tardini estimates it as probably late in 1962 or early in 1963.

In what does the preparation for the Vatican council consist?

The Holy See requested all the prospective fathers of the council and others such as Catholic universities to send in suggestions as to matters deserving the attention of the council. There are over 2,000 bishops to respond. Already in November of 1959 some 1,600 responses from bishops alone have been received. This was reported as 80 percent of all the bishops contacted. All these suggestions will have to be cataloged and classified. This is being done. This is called the "ante-preparatory" work and there is a special commission to do it. When it is done, then actual preparatory commisions will be set up to prepare and do research for the agenda of the council. These commissions will be many and varied and will include groups to study moral, dogmatic and liturgical questions, and others studying technical problems.

What language will be used in the council?

The Latin language is the language of the church. It is particularly adapted to express with precision and conciseness the concepts of Catholic doctrine and the norms of the Catholic discipline. Special provision will be made if necessary for the fathers of the council who belong to other than the Roman rite, though for the most part these will be familiar with Latin as well as the language of their own rite. In his press conference Cardinal Tardini said that, as of the time he spoke, there was no plan for multiple translations with individual ear phones. It would be almost impossible, moreover, for translators to be sufficiently accurate in simultaneous translation to reach the precision required by the subject matter being discussed at the council.

How long will the council last?

Among the points made by Cardinal Tardini at his press conference was that as a result of present technical facilities and intense preparation, it is expected that the time which bishops attending the council will have to spend in Rome away from their sees will be kept to a minimum. An ecumenical council is not, however, scheduled as an ordinary convention which must meet and conduct its business according to a 2-, 3-, or 4-day program. The council is convoked to do a job and it will continue until the job is done. The Council of Trent, for instance, lasted from 1545 to 1563. But its work was interrupted twice, once for 4 years and once for 10. The duration of most of the ecumenical councils is, however, counted in months rather than years and this will likely be true of the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican.

Does the ecumenical council have anything to do with the ecumenical movement?

The ecumenical movement consists in a growing union of various non-Catholic churches to secure a larger combined influence in all matters concerning the moral and social condition of the people so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

It had its origin from three roots: (1) The missionary movement of the 19th century: the problem of mutual relations between denominations in the same field suggested the possibility of common planning at home to avoid sectarian competition by delimitation of territories to be evangelized and by preaching the essentials of Christianity and forgetting the nonessentials of denominationalism; (2) the student movement: the uniting of Christian student groups in an international organization for common action in the personal and missionary apostolate leading to the formation of the World Christian Student Federation in 1885; (3) the social gospel: a movement toward insistence on applied or practical Christianity, avoiding dogmatic differences and emphasizing Christ's teaching on human relations. This gave rise to the formation of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908. In 1913 the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches was formed. These movements, together with some others through a series of international meetings and conferences, evolved into the World Council of Churches in 1948. (See Duff, Edward, S.J., "The Social Thought of the World Council of Churches," Association Press, New York.)

The ecumenical movement, in the common usage of the term, is Protestant in origin and basically Protestant in its theology. The second Vatican council has, therefore, no particular relationship with the ecumenical movement.

What is the Catholic attitude toward the ecumenical movement?

The Catholic Church sees herself as the ecumenical (universal, catholic) church. Itself is the ecumenical movement established by Christ. Nevertheless the church looks with favor on the beginnings which the ecumenical movement has made toward unity. It is the hope of the church that the present unity in prayer and unity in charity will lead to unity in faith.

The holy office speaks of the intrinsic value of the eumenical movement: "In several parts of the world, either on account of world events and a change in interior dispositions, or mainly because of the common prayer of the faithful, the desire has become daily more acute in the hearts of many men separated from the Catholic Church, under the inspiration of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that all who believe in Christ our Lord should return to unity. This is for the children of the true church a source of holy joy in the Lord and an invitation to help those who sincerely search for the truth by beseeching God through fervent prayers to grant them the necessary light and strength" (as quoted from G. H. Tavard, "Catholic Approach to Protestantism," Harper, 1955).

Pope Pius XII called upon "all who, without belonging to the visible body of the Catholic Church, are near to us through faith in God and Jesus Christ, and are in agreement with us as to the organization and aims of peace. * * * The more and more frequent contacts and the disparate mixture of various religious confessions within one people have brought civil law courts to adopt the principle of tolerance and freedom of conscience. In this fact, furthermore, there is a political, civil and social tolerance concerning the faithful of other religions which is also for Catholics in those circumstances a moral duty" (address to the members of the Roman Rota, Oct. 6, 1946).

What can Catholics do to foster the good tendencies of the ecumenical movement?

Dr. Julius Doepfner, cardinal archbishop of Berlin, when he was bishop of Wuerzburg, outlined the following five ways in which Catholics could help establish Christian unity:

1. By developing a thorough love of the Catholic Church while rejecting any dogmating indifference which leads to the decay of Christianity and frustrates all genuine reunion efforts;

2. By prayer and penance to win God's grace;

3. By cultivating a "loving understanding for non-Catholics" as a prerequisite for establishing an honest contact with them;

4. By "clarifying talks" with non-Catholics, conducted in strict adherence to the instructions of the Holy See and the bishops, without "blurring the differences."

5. By "trustful cooperation" with non-Catholics in the common tasks of our time" (Indiana Catholic Record).

What will the holding of the second Vatican council mean to the lay apostolate?

Throughout history the holding of an ecumenical council has always been the occasion of great grace for the whole church. It will be the part of the laity in their apostolate to cooperate in the general renewal of spirit that will be taking place throughout the world, to prepare for it and to foster its fervor.

It will be the part of the lay apostle through the various means at his disposal to bring himself and others to a willing receptivity and an intelligent docility to the determinations and decrees of the coming council. This will mean the intensification of awareness, in the minds of all, of the meaning of faith in all that the church teaches and the increasing of devotions, or promptitude to do the divine will as it is manifested to all in the teaching of the church thus so formally presented in the decisions of an ecumenical council.

The very fact that this is to be an ecumenical council and that it will be concerned with the problems of all the world will direct the lay apostolate to the task of bringing fervent Christians everywhere up to the level required of them by the international needs of today. The lay apostolate will be devoting itself more and more to the education of Catholic leaders in spheres of modern world problems hitherto neglected. The meetings and conventions of the lay apostolate will be concerned more and more with clarifying the international issues on which guidance is sought from the council. Catholic action generally will be concerned more and more with "coordinating in a supranational atmosphere all work as based in the fundamentals of morality" (see National Catholic release on Archbishop Roberts, Oct. 30, 1959).

The lay apostolate will, moreover, seize the occasion of the ecumenical council to emphasize well all those doctrines of the church which apply particularly to the whole world of men: the supernatural brotherhood of all men with Christ and with each other under the fatherhood of God and in the holy spirit of love; the doctrine of the universal salvific will of God whereby He wills all men to be saved; the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ and the consequent doctrine of the urgency that all men become its members; the doctrine of the universal kingship of Christ by right over the minds and hearts of men; the doctrine of social justice in the world order as

applied to the international inequities of today; the doctrine of the natural law as a basis of universal cooperation for a better world in a pluralistic world society.

The preoccupation of the whole church with things ecumenical during the council cannot help but be an opportunity for the lay apostle to use the occasion to make Catholics more aware of the ecumenical movement and to prepare them for intelligent and discreet participation in it.

The lay apostolate will not overlook the fact that the expenses for the council on the part of their respective bishops and on the part of the Holy See itself are going to be very great. In addition to maintaining the whole machinery of the council in Rome, His Holiness will be called upon to assist poor bishops to attend. The lay apostolate will be called upon as time goes on to organize financial support for this whole project.

What contribution toward Christian unity do Catholics expect as a result of this Vatican council?

Treating of this matter editorially, America for February 7, 1959, said: "Previous ecumenical councils have wrestled in vain with the problem of Christian reunion. One should not look for certain or quick answers. But at the very least a marked clarification of points of unnecessary friction and misunderstanding can be achieved. In the meantime, there are other problems to which the fathers of the council will conceivably address themselves. Once again the church is called upon to point out the spiritual and theological ills of our time and to probe those doctrinal and moral errors of modern society of which communism is a mere surface symptom. It seems that many months, if not years, must be spent in preparation for this momentous council. Where all this will lead no one can say, except that the illumining and strengthening power of the Holy Spirit is at work guiding minds and hearts to peace and unity."

Where can one find more information along these same lines?

If you want a completely worked out book on Catholic ecumenism, send for Dumont, C. J., O.P., "Approach to Christian Unity." It is available from the Catholic Book Club, Department AJ, 70 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

The book "One Fold," edited by Fathers Hanahoe and Cranny, both of the Society of Atonement, available from Chair of Unity Apostolate, Graymoor, Garrison, N.Y., will give you a series of excellent essays on various aspects of ecumenism as well as acquaintance with the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement whose whole main apostolate is along this line.

For getting something of a friendly and courteous viewpoint of the Catholic Church by Protestants and Jews, there is the excellent "American Catholics," edited by Philip Sharper, Sheed, and Ward.

REFERENCES

Most of the particulars of the coming council in this pamphlet were gleaned from the press reports of the formal press interview given by Cardinal Tardini in November of 1959. Matters of scientific theology were checked with the Latin of I. Salaverri, De Ecclesia Christi III, L.2, c.2, article 1 "De Infallibilitate Episcoporum," and from the Latin of A. Tanquerey's "Brevior Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae," Nos. 266–268. Many of the answers were derived from or checked with the good old reliable Catholic Encyclopedia. The answers concerning Canon Law were checked with "Canon Law; A Text and Commentary," by Bouscaren and Ellis, and with "The Sacred Canons," by Abbo and Hannan.

## Lung Power Versus Brain Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Gerald W. Johnson, which appeared in the October 1, 1962, issue of the New Republic.

Although Mr. Johnson's column is always entitled "The Superficial Aspect," I think this one should certainly be entitled "The Commonsense Aspect."

The article follows:

LUNG POWER VERSUS BRAIN POWER

(By Gerald W. Johnson)

Freedom House, the foundation set up by admirers of the late Wendell Willkie, has recently issued a manifesto that it calls a guide for responsible anti-Communists. No doubt we need one.

It is admirable—moderate in tone, logical in argument, lucid in presentation except at one point. Its theme is that communism is the enemy only because it is what mathematicians would call a special case of a general theorem. The general theorem is totalitarianism, which manifested itself as fascism in Italy, as nazism in Germany and as communism in Russia. Or, as the Freedom House manifesto puts it: "The Communist conspiracy is a counterrevolutionary movement on the reactionary right—the totalitarian twin brother of fascism and naziam."

There is the point at which the document falls short of lucidity. In this connection "conspiracy" is a foggy word. A conspiracy, says Webster, is an agreement among men to do an unlawful act. Concealment is of its essence, for the success of a conspiracy depends upon taking the victim by surprise. But there is nothing furtive about communism. When Khrushchev said, "we will bury you," he didn't whisper it to his accomplices in a dark cellar, he proclaimed it from a public platform in broad daylight. Communism is not so much a conspiracy as it is a defiance.

The point is worth noting because calling a thing by the wrong name is a failure in communication, and failure in communication is one of the heavy handicaps of the modern world. A defiance may be every whit as dangerous as a conspiracy, but it offers a different kind of danger, which calls for a different kind of defense. Exposure is usually the ruin of a conspiracy, but can you expose a neon-lighted billboard 40 feet high? Can you expose a steam calliope going down the street with every whistle wide open? No more can you expose communism, shouting from the housetops what it proposes to do to us.

But totalitarianism in its communistic, or at least its Russian communistic, aspect differs from its other manifestations if not in its ultimate purpose, yet in its method of operation. Hitler proposed to destroy us with brute force, so with brute force we destroyed him.

If Russia should try the same method we should have no choice but to meet it in the same way. But when Hitler was buried under the ruins of his own flaming capital the lesson was not lost upon Russia; and thus far, at least, she has relied mainly upon methods less insane than Hitler's.

For us to have tried to meet Hitler's panzer armies with diplomatic maneuvers would have been sheer madness; but it would be no less irrational for us to meet Russia's diplomatic maneuvers with tanks. Nor is it better sense to try to meet an economic and ideological frontal assault with means of defense that would be effective against a conspiracy. Yet if we keep calling the thing a conspiracy, we risk deluding ourselves into using the wrong means to repel it.

Repeating "Communist conspiracy" today is at bottom a resort to word magic. "Conspiracy" is pejorative, therefore it appeals to shallow minds cherishing the superstition that cursing the enemy damages him. So does the equally superstitious notion that you can kill an idea with gunfire. It can't be done, not even with a silver bullet.

The only real success that the Russians have thus far gained against the free world was achieved by fighting with ideas. The idea of escape from colonialism has won more ground for them than all their artillery. On our side, the idea embodied in the Marshall plan smashed their effort to achieve the economic conquest of Europe. The idea embodied in Truman's point 4 and expressed in many activites, from economic assistance to the Peace Corps, has halted their progress at a dozen points. The National Security Agency does not appear to have saved a single acre from them.

The trouble about fighting with ideas is that it calls for brains as well as guts, while fighting with spells and incantations requires nothing more than brazen lungs; and it is sadly evident that many of our public figures are far more liberally endowed with lungpower than with brainpower.

So it is more than merely depressing, it is a little alarming to find people who are not only intelligent, but highly intelligent, falling even momentarily into the idiom of the hex doctors. But "Communist conspiracy" is one of the phrases dearly beloved of the numbskulls who think that hard words can substitute for hard thinking against an adversary who may, as they say, be lacking in basic intelligence but who is abundantly supplied with shrewdness and ingenuity, backed by colossal nerve.

## Gen. Julius Klein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Julius Klein and I have been friends for many years. He is a genuine Republican, but one who will cross party lines in any good cause. When it comes to national security, party affiliation goes out the window. He has an excellent war record and is the recipient of many military awards and medals. These have been specified on numerous occasions and need not be detailed here. He has served in civilian as well as military capacities in numerous administrations. I do not know of a public figure who enjoys the friendship and esteem of so many Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

General Klein has been the subject of intense criticism in the German press. There was no basis therefor. The gen-

eral needs no defense from me, but I am happy to express favorable comment concerning him.

He is the public relations counselor to many nationally known concerns. His clients form a "who's who" of business and industry. Most of his valuable time is dedicated to their interests.

In the many years I have known the general, I have often sought him out for his advice and counsel, especially on matters appertaining to industry in West Germany. He is a sort of bridge between American and German business corporations. He represents numerous German firms in America and interprets for the United States the interests, aims and purposes of his German clientele. He is to that extent a "foreign agent" and has registered as such.

He is a man of probity and his representations may be deemed trustworthy. His effectiveness as a public relations counselor and as a duly registered "foreign agent" are excellent. There have been no departures from any legal or ethical standards.

"Public relations" is an art—the art of conveying to the public the worthiness of a firm or a product—the art of presenting the good qualities of individuals or firms or their wares through various communications media. It is the art of creating consumer demand for a gadget or a package or an object. It is the art of selling to the public the good character, the wisdom, the courage, the honesty of a personage—or even a city or a country. It is all these and more. In these pursuits, General Klein excels. No successful firm or corporation is without its "public relations" man. "Public relations"—the establishment of good and cordial relations between the company and the public—has become an integral part of modern management. In "public relations," management has a weapon to counteract or minimize a bad press, to present to the public the true image of the man or the company, to answer or obliterate unfair criticism or attack. The "public relations" man establishes good will.

There are "public relations" counsellors on the domestic and on the foreign scene. General Klein covers both. He represents domestic concerns and German entities.

Some members in the German press have criticized General Klein as a foreign agent in an unfair and caustic manner. This is unfortunate. This unjust criticism prompted the distinguished Senator from Missouri, Senator EDWARD V. LONG, to state on September 18 last on the floor of the Senate:

I am convinced that confusion exists in the public mind as to the respective roles of the lobbyist and the foreign agent. Many people apparently believe that they are one and the same. Such is certainly not the case. * * * In this regard, I might mention that several unfortunate articles recently have appeared on the subject in the German press. It was obvious that these publications did not even comprehend the difference between a lobbyist and a foreign agent. * * * Some German newspapers went so far as to write that one of the most reputable foreign agents in the United States may be involved in "a court hearing by the State Department." This statement certainly reflects misunderstanding and confusion. * * *

It is unfortunate that many people are wont to confuse the activities of one person such as Alexander Guterma, who represented the dictator Trujillo and who was prosecuted for not registering as a foreign agent, when the actual foreign agent registration files in the Department of Justice include the names of some of the most prominent men in our country. * * *

I might list just a few of these gentlemen, who either are or have been registered foreign agents: former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, John and Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, and Maj. Gen. Julius Klein. * * * This country spends many millions of dollars annually to protect the proper image of America in foreign countries. It is heartening that the Western European democracies are cooperating in encouraging mutual understanding.

Concerning recent attempts to discredit General Klein for his services to foreign clients, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, said that he was "shocked about misleading and mischievous information" spread in discussing the general's activities. Senator HUMPHREY added that he was deeply concerned about the spread of such information.

Referring to criticism of General Klein's possible effectiveness in representing some of his clients' interests in Washington because he is a Republican, the Senator further said:

Tell anyone that Julius Klein has more friends in the Senate and the House of Representatives than any man I know. We respect his partisanship, but even more, we cherish his friendship.

## Ten-Point Voters' Guide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, in a recent edition of the Yonkers, N.Y., Home News and Times, there appeared an editrial directed at the voters in my district. This editorial contained a 10-point voters' guide to facilitate the selection of candidates for public office. This represented to me an excellent example of the responsible and vital role a newspaper plays in the civic life of a community. It is the honorable American tradition of the newspaper as an educator of public opinion. Therefore, I would like to commend the publisher and managing editor, Mr. Ralph R. Martinelli, for his high journalistic standards. In the interest of good government, for the benefit of my colleagues, and for the edification of our citizens, I include the editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TEN-POINT VOTERS' GUIDE

Here is a suggested 10-point guide for voters to use when they vote November 6. In these days of low standards, it will profit to use this checklist in selecting the best-fitted candidates. Many intelligent citizens do not find the time to make a study of the candidates and their qualifications. We urge all citizens to study these points and judge how the candidates qualify as to what a public official owes to the public before making a choice:

1. A public official owes complete honesty to his job.
2. A public official should be sympathetic to the needs of the people he represents.
3. A public official should have the courage of his convictions and when he knows he is fighting for what is right, he should never falter.
4. A public official should be willing to discuss honestly the problems of his office and he should strive to correct any faults for the benefit of any other official who may follow him.
5. A public official should be independent and should not just be a sheep and follow the pack.
6. A public official should work hard to end graft and wrongdoing.
7. A public official should set an example by his good character and high integrity.
8. A public official should be outspoken when he sees evil and fearlessly try to stamp it out.
9. A public official should welcome constructive criticism.
10. A public official should be above reproach and he should energetically strive to make the community he serves a better place in which to work and live.

## Railroad Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of a letter addressed to the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Greater Grand Rapids, Mich., Chamber of Commerce relative to the merger of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the New York Central Railroad Co., and a copy of a resolution adopted by the city commission of Grand Rapids, and a copy of a resolution adopted by the city commission of Wyoming, Mich.:

FINANCE DOCKET NO. 21989, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD CO., NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO., MERGER

GREATER GRAND RAPIDS,
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
*Grand Rapids, Mich., July 16, 1962.*

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
*Washington, D.C.*

GENTLEMEN: The above reference proceedings involve the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the New York Central Railroad Co. and this chamber upon recommendation of its transportation committee, concurred in by the board of directors, wishes to informally lend their support to the merger as proposed. It is the opinion of this chamber that the proposed merger will greatly strengthen the financial structure of the proponents through savings effected by a combined operation. Such savings will be accomplished, inasmuch as the services provided by the proponents complement each other and in many instances duplicate each other.

It is the opinion of this chamber the proposed merger will be in the public interest

specifically of this community for the following reasons:

1. Local shippers and receivers now served by the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., through the proposed merger, will gain a more direct route via the Niagara gateway to eastern ports and to northern New York and New England points.

2. Shippers and receivers now served by the New York Central Railroad Co. will receive a more direct service route to the South and Southeastern United States via the Ohio River gateway and through the Potomac yards.

3. Locally on one branch switch line on which service has been provided alternately by both the New York Central Railroad and the Pennsylvania Railroad for a set period of time by agreement of each railroad; through the proposed merger such service will be performed by one line and, therefore, should be improved.

4. It is the opinion of this chamber that through the proposed merger this community will gain the advantage of all types of trailer-on-flatcar service provided by the New York Central Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.

5. It is felt that through the more efficient operation which can be accomplished through the proposed merger, this community will receive restoration of maximum less-than-carload service.

In view of the above, this chamber respectfully supports the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and New York Central Railroad Co., both of which presently provide service for this community.

Respectfully,

BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
ALEX T. MCFADYAN,
*Executive Secretary.*

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RESOLUTION, CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

Whereas there is pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission, under Finance Docket No. 21989, a proposal to merge the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the New York Central Railroad Co.; and

Whereas the city of Grand Rapids is vitally interested in the providing of adequate and increasingly efficient railroad service to this area and State of Michigan; and

Whereas the Committee of the Whole of the City Commission of the City of Grand Rapids, Mich., has reviewed the impact and effect of this proposed merger on the economy of this area: Now, therefore, be it hereby

*Resolved by the city commission, as the legislative body of the city of Grand Rapids, Mich.*, That it favors the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the New York Central Railroad Co., and urges favorable consideration of the proposal by the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the reasons set forth in the communication of the board of directors of the Greater Grand Rapids Chamber of Commerce, dated July 16, 1962, and addressed to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and because the study of the committee of the whole of the city commission indicates that the results of this merger will be to provide more efficient railroad transportation and services to this area, encourage industrial growth, result in the expansion of employment and further the general public good; be it further

*Resolved*, That the city clerk send a copy of this resolution to the Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D.C.

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RESOLUTION 809

Resolution to support the merger of the Pennsylvania and the New York Central Railroads

"Whereas the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads are interested in joining into one system; and

"Whereas the stockholders of both the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads have voted overwhelmingly in favor of the aforesaid merger; and

"Whereas there are indications that this combination would strengthen the financial position of both railway companies; and

"Whereas both the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads serve all the larger industries within the city of Wyoming; and

"Whereas it is in the best interest of the city of Wyoming that the best of public transportation facilities are available within the city of Wyoming: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the city commission of the city of Wyoming does hereby support the merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroad Cos. and hereby declares that this action is in the best public interest of the city of Wyoming, Mich."

I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was adopted by the city commission of the city of Wyoming, Mich., in public session held the 9th day of July 1962.

EDWARD VAN SOLKEMA,
*Wyoming City Clerk.*

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## Representative James A. Byrne Reports to the People of Pennsylvania, Third Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of the 87th Congress, I think it is well to review the record with regard to the legislation sponsored by the administration of President Kennedy. In many instances these laws were passed despite the opposition of a large majority of the Republicans. In some other instances they gave grudging and reluctant support on final passage, after having utilized every parliamentary device to diminish or decrease the scope of the recommendations which President Kennedy had made for the benefit of the American people. They hoped in this way to obscure their opposition to the President's proposals and to pose as being favorable to legislation which they had tried in every way to minimize or defeat.

For myself, I am glad to have the people of my district and my State know what my position has been and how I have voted on these important matters which were before the Congress. I supported the President on all defense measures which he recommended to the Congress as necessary if we are to successfully resist the attempt of Soviet Russia to spread its communistic domination throughout the world. I also supported him with regard to his progressive and humanitarian proposals to prevent evils developing in our domestic economy and to correct and adjust those situations which were causing hardship and limiting opportunities for so many average citizens.

I voted to increase the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and to extend this protective legislation to many who were not heretofore covered. I supported and voted for President Kennedy's proposal increasing social security benefits to widows and liberalizing its provisions for the disabled. I voted for the legislation recommended by the President giving salary increases to postal and other Federal employees. I supported the legislation for urban renewal which means so much to Philadelphia. I voted for public works programs for depressed areas and for manpower retraining programs to train for employment in other industries those thrown out of work because of closedowns in their own employment. Both these measures were priority items on President Kennedy's program and were of the utmost importance to the people of Pennsylvania and of immense concern to the economy of the city of Philadelphia.

I supported moderate cost housing for the elderly and improved housing for low- and moderate-income groups. I voted for Federal aid to colleges including scholarships and for the construction of college facilities. This in my opinion is most important if young people in our moderate income groups are to have educational opportunities not only for their own benefit but also that we may utilize our full potential in our competition with communistic Russia in scientific and technological endeavors. In the same spirit I likewise supported Federal assistance and aid for the construction of television facilities for educational purposes.

President Kennedy and the Democratic Party certainly merit the approval and the support of the American people for these progressive and intelligent recommendations, which are for our national safety and for the well being of the greatest number of our citizens. When one recalls the attitude of the majority of Republicans on many of the President's proposals there certainly seems to be no question about this.

On the wage and hour bill, for example, my Republican colleague from Pennsylvania, who is now the Republican candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, supported every attempt to reduce the recommendation of the President from $1.25 an hour to $1.15 and also opposed extending its coverage to many low wage workers who had not been covered by existing legislation.

It is also interesting to note that the President's recommendation for the extension of unemployment benefits to those out of work and in dire need of everyday necessities of life was prevented from coming to the floor of the House of Representatives for a vote because it was blocked in the Ways and Means Committee, and that every Republican but one on that committee voted to kill the legislation.

The Republicans are almost solidy against the President's recommendation for medicare, which is so important to everyone and particularly to our elderly people. The cost of medical care is nearly prohibitive. This legislation is a must in the next Congress. I sincerely

hope we will have a Congress which will support the President on this question and that we will be successful in having it enacted.

## Expansion at Oxnard, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to an article appearing in the October 1962 issue of Western Grower and Shipper magazine, entitled "Expansion at Oxnard, Calif."

Although the writer infers that some of the circumstances mentioned in the article are unique to the Oxnard area, I do not believe this is entirely true. I think the picture portrayed is probably representative of the situation facing agriculture in many of our vegetable-producing areas, and that the article, therefore, will prove of general interest.

EXPANSION AT OXNARD

(NOTE.—Oxnard is so close to Los Angeles that factories and housing subdivisions would seem the major crops for its fertile land. But instead of disappearing, agriculture has diversified and expanded to make the area so productive that farmers bid land rentals up to $200 an acre.)

Oxnard is not a part of the sprawling Los Angeles urban complex. The little coastal city is connected with downtown Los Angeles by 55 miles of freeways which pass through almost contiguous communities and it has many of the characteristics of its big neighbor to the southeast—oil wells intermingled with orange groves, a military installation and light industries, beaches, and sedate residential areas, and a rash of real estate and housing developments which are typical of the southern California boom.

But Oxnard is separated from California's biggest city by a county line, a series of small valleys (which, it is true, are filling up fast with homes and factories), and by a direction of economic expansion which is rare in the populous section. Its agricultural production is growing by leaps and bounds—from $35 million in 1942 to more than $110 million a year only two decades later.

Nearly all of this mushrooming production is concentrated on or around the Oxnard Plain, a small triangle of land which stretches from the beaches to a ring of forbidding coastal mountains. In fact, this delta, formed in ages past by the overflow of the Santa Clara River, and a few hills overlooking it are the center of virtually all activity in Ventura County. Most of its 1,184,000 acres is rough and sparsely populated country.

While its area is concentrated, the pattern of production in the small district—128,000 acres including multiple cropped and seasonally used land, its pattern of production is as diversified as the rest of the southern California economy.

LEMONS TOPS

Topping the dollar value producers are 22,656 acres of lemons which turned out a $30 million crop in 1961 and 16,000 acres of Valencia oranges which produced an $18 million crop. The livestock industry, concentrated in a relatively few acres is also important: cattle and poultry (mostly eggs) accounted for $5 million each last year while dairies added another $3 million. Several specialties were also million dollar producers—cut flowers with $1,500,000, strawberries with $1,760,000, walnuts with $1,106,000, and nursery stock with $1,502,000. The area's agriculture also mushrooms in the literal sense, producing 1,077,000 pounds of toadstool's aristocratic cousins with a gross value of $538,500.

The most dramatic factor in the expanding agricultural economy, however, has been the Oxnard vegetable deal, which has not only grown faster than the overall industry—from $5 million in 1942 to $27 million in 1961—but has been responsible for the radical improvement in Ventura County farming. Its requirements have pushed sugarbeets, once a top dollar crop, almost out of the agricultural picture and its crops have created new allied industries such as vegetable freezing plants.

AMAZING DIVERSITY

For a district so small (the district had 43,000 acres of vegetables last year but much of this represented land which grew two or even three crops), Oxnard's vegetable production is incredibly diverse. It grows lima beans, green beans, beets, broccoli, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, celery, chard, sweet corn, cucumbers, lettuce, green onions, parsley, peas, peppers of every description, pimientos, squash, and tomatoes—all in commercial quantities.

The district also harvests and markets its production in a variety of ways. There are 26 packinghouses for handling fresh vegetables in the area but Oxnard also keeps a number of canneries and frozen food plants busy during its almost continuous harvest season.

Biggest single commodity in the vegetable deal is tomatoes, which have taken over the No. 1 spot in acreage, tonnage produced, total value, and interest among the farmers. Nearly 10,000 acres are devoted to tomato production and Oxnard packinghouses send nearly 3 million boxes a year to fresh fruit users while harvesting more than 100,000 tons for canneries located in the Los Angeles area.

Actually, the $9 million tomato deal is two—or possibly three—separate industries. Fresh tomatoes, because they are much greater income producers—$6 million for some 48,500 tons as compared to $3 million for 100,800 tons destined for the canneries—are naturally at the center of attention, but some farmers grow only for the canneries, some only for the fresh market, and some hedging their bets by selling through both channels.

The Oxnard grower and shipper who puts all his chips on the fresh market usually does it in lavish fashion by growing pole tomatoes, which even with the money saving techniques the Ventura Countians have devised, costs an average of $1,100 an acre.

Nearly one-third of the total acreage is involved in this expensive production method, and most of the 2 dozen fresh tomato packers ship "pole tomatoes," which command a quality premium in the markets. To offset a part of the costs of staking individual plants and then periodically binding them to the stakes, Oxnard growers use a variety of strange California-developed contraptions; they have miniature pile drivers which put the stakes in the ground automatically, big four-row "stringers" for trying up the growing plants, and spidery high-clearance sprayers for applying their insecticides and fungicides.

STRANGE MACHINES

Even with their ingenious money-saving machines, the Ventura County tomato men must depend on an out-of-season market to show a profit for their crop. They try to start their major harvest season in September—as late in September as possible—to avoid competition with California's King City tomato deal (which starts in late summer and ends with first frost) and with the hundreds of local tomato producing areas throughout the United States.

They also try to dodge the major producing districts with their No. 2 fresh commodity. Although celery, a $3.5 million a year crop, is produced every month of the year, the major portion of the harvest is made during the winter months when such giants as Salinas are out of the picture.

For lettuce, the No. 3 commodity with $2.5 million a year, there is no avoiding the hazards of competition, and the growers plant their acreage and take their chances. The Oxnard producers do, however, have one advantage which is not enjoyed by such giants as the Imperial Valley, Salinas, and Phoenix; they are only an hour from the monster Los Angeles market and can supply their customers without extra costs for refrigeration and transportation.

This closeness to market gives the Ventura County producer an outlet for a whole range of vegetable crops which are grown in small blocks and either trucked to the nearby metropolitan area or shipped in mixed carloads. The area has 1,200 acres of Romaine lettuce, 510 acres of leaf lettuce, 70 acres of chard, 350 acres of cauliflower, 1,200 acres of cabbage, 300 acres of bell peppers, 200 acres of winter squash, 500 acres of carrots, and even a few acres of cherry tomatoes and miscellaneous vegetables.

DOUBLE MARKETS

Several of the fresh vegetables grown on the Oxnard Plain enjoy the advantage of a second market outlet. Bell peppers are grown for both the fresh market (290 acres in 1961) and for the canneries (320 acres) as are the green chili peppers (1,000 acres), while the 800 acres of pimientos are purely for canning purposes.

The major portion of the 1,000 acres of spinach growing in the district also goes to processors but in 1961, 2,350 tons were diverted to fresh channels.

One major Oxnard vegetable—the biggest in point of acreage with 13,000—never sees to supermarket shelves in fresh form. The area now produces nearly 26,000 tons of lima beans for the freezer plants and sells more than $4 million a year worth of the crop.

The rapidly expanding frozen lima bean deal has been responsible for one of the major changes in Ventura agriculture and is fast relegating dry lima beans to a secondary position. Once top crop for the district, dry beans still account for more than 10,000 acres and $4 million a year, but their totals are decreasing annually.

The big frozen lima deal is almost as mechanized as the dry bean industry which it is replacing. Dry beans are conventionally grown by field crop methods and harvested with big combines and the fresh frozen producers are adapting much the same methods. Harvest, traditionally the most expensive operation in the vegetable industry, accounts for only $40 of the $281 an acre involved in lima beans for the freezers because the vines are mowed down, loaded onto trucks, and hauled to the plants where automatic equipment removes everything but the beans which go into the consumer-sized container—all without being touched by human hands.

A few other Oxnard vegetables—2,000 acres of broccoli and a small acreage of green onions—are also grown for the processors, but the area's climate and its high land costs make it primarily a fresh market center.

EXPENSIVE LANDS

Farmland in Ventura County is a precious commodity and the urban spread of southern California is making it more costly every year. The average annual rental for good producing land is a fantastic $150 per acre

per year and growers sometimes pay as high as $200 an acre. Such initial costs preclude growing of a whole range of crops—many of which could not gross enough to pay the basic rental—and make potentially high producers such as citrus, strawberries, and out-of-season vegetables the only practical possibilities. Most of Ventura County's 30 million pounds of beef is produced in confined feedlots on imported feeds and its $5 million egg industry is confined to tiered cages. What little hay and grain are produced on marginal lands not adaptable to orchards or row crops.

Even if economics permitted, it is doubtful that Oxnard ranchers would look to hay or grains or grazing. The area has a climate which is a natural for the specialty crops which have flourished there.

The entire coastal belt is classified as "frost free," permitting the big citrus development and multiple cropping for its vegetables. Says Ventura County Farm Advisor Calvin Delphey, "There have been instances like the one last winter when temperatures dropped to the middle 20's in some places, but these occurrences are rare and farming is usually planned as if there were no danger of frost."

FEW HAZARDS

There are few other weather hazards. "Summer temperatures seldom go above the middle 80's," Delphey declared, "and we can grow vegetable crops such as tomatoes without running into poor fruit set and lettuce without the danger of bolting or poor germination."

The average rainfall of the area is slightly over 12 inches (although the area was deluged with 25 inches in last winter's floods) and most of the water falls during December and January. The onset of these rains usually marks the end of the tomato harvest because wet fields and deteriorating quality of fruit make harvest impractical, but otherwise the Oxnard grower does not worry about the weather.

The limited and seasonal rainfall has given Oxnard, along with every similarly blessed western farming district, a water problem. Crops are irrigated from wells and while there is enough water to meet current needs, there is not enough to avoid the inevitable water hassels which are the rule rather than the exception in California and Arizona.

Irrigation water on the plain is lifted an average of 75 to 100 feet for an average cost, according to Extension Service estimates, of $7 per acre-foot. The underground water table is recharged by the winter rains and the process is aided by a conservation dam on Piru Creek which catches a part of the runoff and gradually releases it during the dry summer season.

But there is still not enough water to meet the ultimate needs of the valley. In the Calleguas Water Conservation District in the western end of the county, landowners have taken extreme measures by contracting to bring in additional water from Glendale, a city just north of Los Angeles. The first of this water is scheduled to flow through a new delivery system—which includes a tunnel through Santa Suzanna Pass—in 1963, but it will cost users $70 an acre-foot. Such costs will make the new water supply all but prohibitive for farming but it is hoped that the new water can be used for the expanding urban needs and the underground supply can be left for agriculture.

DISPUTED SOURCE

Another possible source of supply is the Sespe River, whose flow is the object of a court battle between the United and Calleguas Water Conservation Districts. Both would like to build a dam similar to the one on Piru Creek to control its flow, but while the outcome of their litigation is pending, the stream's 300,000 acre-feet a year flows unhampered to the Pacific.

The complications with water do not end with the possibility of a shortage. In isolated areas along the coast, sea water has seeped in and spoiled some wells, putting acreage out of production, and soil salinity has become a cultural factor in all parts of the plain.

Althought the quality of irrigation water is good—1,000 parts of salt per million, mostly of relatively harmless types—constant cropping does tend to build up harmful deposits in the soil. This condition can be corrected by application of additional water to leach out the salts, but where water is none too plentiful and farmers want to keep land in year around production, such practices become complicated. Winter rains, especially such heavy ones as occurred last January, also serve as leaching agents, but they are too infrequent to be depended upon.

During the 30 years in which water has been tested, its quality has remained relatively stable (except for traces of nitrogen which have leached into the underground through the area's long farming history) and farmers have learned to manage their salinity problem. At the start of development in the district, the area was almost a salt flat, with white deposits visible on much of the surface. Now, however, most acreage is tiled and connected to a system of drains which keep the problem at a minimal level.

LABOR SHORTAGE

One perennial agricultural problem, also common to the rest of the West, shows little likelihood of early solution. Although some of its crops are highly mechanized, the Oxnard area is a heavy user of farm labor in an area where such workers are always in short supply.

The citrus harvest is the big labor user with more than 40,000 bearing acres, all of which must be harvested by hand but the needs of the vegetable industry also come in for major consideration.

While Oxnard has a diverse labor supply, it is by no means large enough to meet the needs of more than 100,000 acres, which is cultivated on a 12-month basis, and growers must depend on a variety of outside sources for their workers.

At mid-September, Ventura County's total farm labor force was 14,150 people, a figure which included farmers and their families, permanent workers employed in the packing sheds and on ranches, seasonal migrants, braceros brought from Mexico on seasonal contracts, and a small number of Japanese imports.

The biggest group in this force were 8,100 seasonal workers who follow the harvest throughout the West. The object of their attention at Oxnard was the tomato harvest, which reaches its peak in late summer when the cannery fruit is picked and continues through the fall and early winter when the fresh tomato crop is packed and shipped. Most of these workers, according to Bill Turner, manager of the local farm labor office, will move on to other areas after the tomato season, leaving a gap in the continuous harvest program.

The only available method for filling this gap is with Mexican nationals, brought in during the peak season to handle specific harvest tasks (especially the lemon and orange crop, which few of the domestic workers will pick). In September, there were 2,750 such workers employed at a variety of tasks.

In the vegetable industry, they represented only a small proportion of the total number of workers employed. California Department of Labor figures showed these distributions of foreign workers in the fields. There were 90 workers in celery fields, of whom 40 were imported workers. In cucumbers, imports numbered 20 out of 110; in the miscellaneous vegetables, 230 out of 1,400 (the miscellaneous group includes crops not using 100 workers in a single commodity).

For the tomato harvest, the proportion of foreign workers was higher. There were 420 among the 560 harvesting cannery tomatoes and 340 among the 930 working in pole tomatoes.

The local labor force does double duty in agriculture. The 26 packing houses and the half-dozen canneries and freezers are major employers only when their vegetable specialty is being harvested, and the local packers ofter become field workers when the packing season is ended.

SPECIAL IMPORTS

Oxnard has one specialized group of farmworkers who represent an oddity in American agriculture—Japanese nationals imported under Public Law 414, which operates along the lines of the Mexican bracero program. There are now 270 such workers (the peak was 450) in the area, all in the United States on 3-year contracts and all supervised by the Oxnard Plain Labor Association. The long term of their contracts (compared to 6-months maximum for braceros) and their past experience with vegetable farming make this group a highly valuable asset for the growers who employ them. Frank Hovely, association manager, says that they acquire skills quickly and can work without the close supervision necessary for many other segments of the farm labor force. But they also require special facilities (such as cookers which will handle huge quantities of rice) for housing and feeding which are not conventionally employed in the district.

The types of operations in the Oxnard vegetable deal are as varied as everything else in the area's agricultural economy. The firms involved come in every size from the small grower who packs his crop in the field and operates without a packing house to big companies with highly mechanized packing sheds capable of turning out huge quantities of fresh produce.

Western Tomato Growers and Shippers, Inc., for instance, specializes in the one commodity, fresh tomatoes, and is geared to handle huge quantities of the crop during a season which starts late in September and continues until weather stops operations. With 200 acres of pole tomatoes and 700 more of bush tomatoes, speed becomes the essential consideration. In fact, Western's Hy Speer reports that he was forced to abandon one otherwise satisfactory type of container simply because it could not be packed at the 20-car-a-day rate which the firm hits at peak season.

Other firms operate with exactly the opposite view. Williams Vegetable Co. is not involved with tomatoes but ships a wide range of other commodities—cabbage, endive, lettuce, romaine, spinach, and Swiss chard. Says veteran shipper P. W. Williams, "Our daily volume is not large, but there is seldom a day when we are not packing and shipping something."

TOMATO PACKAGES

Tomatoes are the focal point of more than half the Oxnard operations—including those which have a big volume of other commodities—and nearly every shipper is concerned about the current revolution in tomato packaging. The industry is now testing dozens of containers—some wood, some wirebound, some fiberboard, and some composed of combinations—and current packinghouse operations are complicated by these trials. At the L. A. Hooge Co. shed, as many as six different types of boxes may be used in a single day as the firm attempts to satisfy customers who want a special type of pack and

to find the package which will deliver the best quality tomato to the market.

A few, like Richview, Inc., are staying out of the experimental mixup until the controversy settles down. Says Manager Bob Hiji, "We are staying with our old wood containers because they seem to give the best protection, but if something better comes along, we will switch over to it."

Competition, as much as climate, is responsible for the wide diversity or crops, methods, and types of firms at Oxnard. Even with its huge tomato crop, the area is never the dominant factor in the market (because the nearby San Diego County district is shipping simultaneously) and its shippers must find holes in the market to show a profit. When the breaks come—as they did last winter when the results of the Texas freeze made all vegetables green gold—Ventura County vegetables show big profits, but no grower can wait for these once-in-a-decade deals. The customary practice is to grow one specialty—tomatoes or celery—in large quantities and to balance the big crop with two or three others.

MULTIPLE CROPPING

Such practices mean multiple cropping of the same land to divide the high land rentals, but it also brings on the ills of repeated use of the same land. Diseases, like fusarium wilt of tomatoes, build up in the soil and make resistant varieties an important part of crop planning, and insects, with a continuous food supply, have a field day in the lush acreage. Last year, Ventura County Agricultural Commissioner's statistics showed that 56,871 acres of vegetables were treated by commercial applicators; this means that every acre received two treatments by commercial firms in addition to the uncounted treatments made by the growers themselves.

Lettuce, a $3.5 million a year crop at Oxnard, generally requires two to four dustings during its brief growing season, and Extension Service figures put the average cost at $28.21 per acre. (Fall lettuce costs are higher because of the presence of the cabbage looper, the crop's No. 1 pest.)

Overall costs in the 5,500 acres of Oxnard lettuce are fairly representative of the district's vegetable deal. Total preharvest costs, the Ventura Farm Advisor reports, average $216.78 per acre, and the harvest itself is twice as costly at $405 per acre. The additional market costs (10 percent of the value of the 450-carton per acre crop) brings the annual lettuce cost to $700.53 an acre.

Of the growing costs, $49.53 per acre is invested in labor for ground preparation, hoeing, and thinning. Among the materials used, seed accounts for $9.31, fertilizer, $27.75, water, $10.50, and insecticides, $23.73. The big item of land rent is kept to $50 per lettuce crop, since the vegetable takes up the land for only about one-third of the year.

Although Ventura County's agriculture is expanding, southern California's continuing urban expansion is making itself felt on the Oxnard Plain. The increasingly critical water situation can be attributed directly to the needs of the growing population, and the likelihood of still more in the area is pushing land costs steadily upward.

Fortunately, most of the new developments are on marginal agricultural lands—hillsides not adaptable to intense cultivation and valleys where water is scarce—and the area's farmers are still pushing ahead in overall productivity. The University of California believes that the productivity will expand even while acreage declines; forecasts place the 1975 agricultural acreage at 100,000—20 percent below the present levels—but authorities believe that the continuing changeover to high return crops will push the 1975 gross income far above the $110 million a year now produced.

## Opposition To Commercializing and Copyrighting of Official Information in the Public Domain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the growing practice of public officials using their official status to acquire information that they publish for private profit has been disturbing to me. This practice goes against our democratic heritage of full and free knowledge of the activities of public servants. It seems to me that unclassified materials prepared as a result of the expenditure of taxpayers' dollars should be public information, unlimited by private copyright and uncommercialized for personal gain. Believing that basic principles may have been blurred in this area, I introduced a resolution asking for a study of Government copyright law and practice.

I am not alone in my concern about developments in this regard. Among those who have expressed opposition to the commercializing and copyrighting of official information in the public domain are the following newspapers and magazines:

New York Times: August 22, September 18, October 7.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch: September 22, September 29.

Editor and Publisher: June 23, September 8, September 22.

Saturday Review: August 11.

Hartford Courant: September 22, also May 18, 1959.

Des Moines Tribune: September 11, also November 3, 1959.

Washington, D.C., Star: September 19.

Washington, D.C., Post: April 3, also May 19, 1959, October 28, 1959, and November 7, 1959.

Washington, D.C., News: September 21.

Buffalo, N.Y., News: October 5, also November 1959.

Milwaukee Journal: September 17.

Atlanta Journal: September 17.

Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald: September 19.

Philadelphia Inquirer: September 26.

Cincinnati Post: September 21.

Seattle, Wash., Journal of Commerce: August 18.

Champaign, Ill., Courier: September 19.

Spokesman Review, Spokane, Wash.: October 24, 1959.

Konoska, Wis., News: October 3.

Grand Junction, Colo., Sentinel: September 26.

Yakima, Wash., Republic: September 20.

Decatur, Ill., Herald: September 14.

Wichita, Kans., Eagle: September 19.

Salt Lake City Tribune: September 21.

Newsday (Garden City, N.Y.): September 18.

New Orleans Times Picayune: September 21.

Roanoke, Va., World News: September 18.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch: July 13.

Phoenix, Ariz., Republic: July 17, August 12.

Wausau, Wis., Record-Herald: July 11.

Duluth, Minn., Herald: July 13.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle: July 10.

Nashville Banner: July 16.

Terre Haute, Ind., Star: September 26.

Dubuque, Iowa, Telegraph-Herald: September 26.

Burlington, Vt., Free Press: September 25.

Montgomery, Ala., News: October 5.

Dallas News: November 27, 1959.

Providence, R.I., Journal: December 30, 1959.

Muncie, Ind., Star: January 12, 1959.

New York Daily News: February 12, 1959.

Publishers Auxiliary: July 14.

Durham, N.C., Herald: September 17.

Fargo, N. Dak., Forum: August 3.

San Jose, Calif., Mercury: November 11, 1959.

Honolulu Star-Bulletin: October 27, 1959.

Raleigh, N.C., Times: November 7, 1959.

Portland, Oreg., Journal: November 8, 1959.

Corpus Christi Caller: October 30, 1959.

Indianapolis Star: January 6, 1960.

Albuquerque, N. Mex., Journal: September 14.

## Steel Probe Must Go On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial from the Nashville Tennessean, of October 4, which is pertinent to the steel inquiry of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, be inserted into the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STEEL PROBE MUST GO ON

Action of Kaiser Steel Corp. reducing mill base prices an average of $12 a ton has started a chain of reappraisals by eastern steel mills of their pricing policies.

Kaiser, the country's ninth largest producer, operates in California. In the past, its prices have been high enough above the eastern prices for eastern mills to ship to the west coast on a competitive basis.

The new price reductions of Kaiser, ranging from $20 for continuous weld pipe, down to $11 for tin plate, bring most Kaiser prices within $2 per ton of the lowest mill base prices anywhere in the country.

In the wake of the Kaiser announcement, United States Steel Corp., Bethlehem, and other eastern and midwestern steel companies, began a study of their own prices. Kaiser's reduction probably will make it

impossible for these companies to compete in the West after paying shipping costs.

These are the same companies that 6 months ago announced a $6 a ton price increase and then retracted it in the face of criticism by President Kennedy.

If they can now reduce prices to meet the Kaiser challenge, it will indicate that steel prices have been too high all along.

After the price increase and retraction, Senators ESTES KEFAUVER'S Antimonopoly Subcommittee began an investigation of price-fixing in the industry.

His probe has been temporarily stymied by the refusal of four of the steel companies to produce cost data, claiming it would put them in an unfair position competitively. This argument no longer stands up.

Contempt citations against the four companies—requested by the Kefauver committee, were rejected by the full Senate Judiciary Committee. This was an unwise decision. The fact that some steel companies were claiming an increase in prices was imperative a few weeks ago and now one of them can afford to cut prices today makes it clear that an investigation is necessary if the public interest is to be protected.

## Putnam County Sesquicentennial 1812–1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues from Tennessee, West Virginia, Georgia, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Florida, and those in other States which have a Putnam County would be interested in knowing that their sister Putnam County in the State of New York, which is, in its entirety, within the boundaries of my congressional district, has concluded the observance of its sesquicentennial year.

Putnam County was named in honor of Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, the illustrious Revolutionary War officer who was second in command to General Washington, and who defended the Highlands of the Hudson. Across the river from Putnam County on the reservation of the U.S. Military Academy stands Fort Putnam, which is one of the most historic of the shrines located at West Point.

Enoch Crosby, one of the patriot spies of the Revolution who has been immortalized as the hero Harvey Birch in James Fenimore Cooper's famous novel "The Spy" was a lifelong resident of Putnam County.

On behalf of the residents of Putnam County which runs from the Connecticut line to the Hudson River between the bounds of Westchester County, the residence of John Jay, first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and of Dutchess County, the birthplace of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, I want to commend the officials, the citizens, and particularly, the publishers of the Putnam County Courier, the Brewster Standard, the Brewster Record, the Putnam County News in Cold Spring, and the Mahopac Press for their excellent contributions in reporting and recording the history of Putnam County from June 12, 1812, to date.

I believe that my colleagues from Putnam Counties in other States, their constituents, and others across the Nation will be interested in the following article about the life of General Putnam which appeared in the special historical edition of the Putnam County Courier:

LIFE OF GENERAL PUTNAM

(By Horace E. Hillery)

While Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam was in command of Washington's leftwing Army in Connecticut during the Revloutionary War, a foraging party of 1,500 British soldiers, many of them mounted, landed near Greenwich, Conn. Putnam with a handful of foot soldiers confronted them. Putnam ordered his men to seek safety in a swamp where horses could not follow, thus drawing the British to himself. As his horse raced up a ridge hotly pursued by British horsemen, he suddenly turned his horse sharply down a steep hill strewn with boulders. His pursuers reigned their horses expecting to see Putnam thrown any moment. To make things more interesting, they fired at him and his horse. Somehow he escaped, gathered a force of men including those in the swamp and captured a sizable body of foragers.

This experience was typical of Putnam's life. During his 15 years of warfare, he lived a charmed life. He was honored by Washington by appointment next to himself in rank in the Continental Army.

This man's name is born by our county and his particular experience at Horseneck is reproduced on our county seal.

Quickly let us remind ourselves of some of Putnam's experiences. He was born in Massachusetts in 1718. At 21 he married and moved to Connecticut. Here he engaged in farming and prospered.

One exciting incident was a group following a wolf by her tracks in the snow. When the wolf entered her den, the dogs refused to follow. A fire did not smoke her out. Putnam went in with a birch bark flare, again to shoot the wolf, and again to bring her out.

When the French and Indian War began in 1755, except for lulls, the next 10 years were spent in pursuits of war. For 5 years, the British fared badly because of poor leadership. Putnam served as captain and major of Scouts and Rangers. He was warmly regarded by his superiors. In 1758 he was captured by Indians, received a facial tomahawk wound, the effects of which he carried through life, and was bound and a fire started under him when the French commander rescued him just in time. Taken to Montreal he became an exchange prisoner.

These years were followed by an expedition to the West Indies and by Pontiac's 2-year rebellion. By this time he held the rank of colonel.

Home at last from war, he lost his wife. Later he married a former neighbor and widow. Being hospitably inclined he opened a tavern. By then wartime's aftermath of depression was upon the land. Britain inopportunely began a series of new taxes which aroused the ire of the colonies. Putnam sought constructive action. Putnam joined others in a trip to the Mississippi River for the purpose of establishing a settlement. But with deepening friction between Britain and her colonies, he returned home.

MARCHES MEN TO BOSTON

When news of Concord and Lexington came, he took horse and covered 100 miles to Boston in 24 hours. Realizing there would be a widening conflict, he returned to Connecticut, recruited volunteers, was appointed brigadier general and marched his men to Boston.

When Washington arrived at Boston, he appointed Putnam the first major general of the Continental Army. At the Battle of Breed's Hill his defenses had much to do with the brave stand of the green troops.

When artillery was ox drawn overland from captured Ticonderoga, Boston was attacked and the British forced out 11 months after Concord.

Anticipating a major attack on New York and up the Hudson River, Putnam was sent to put the area in a state of defense. One thing necessary was to block the British fleet from sailing up the Hudson. Putnam put a boom across the river but the tide and strong river current weakened the materials until they failed. Fire boats were unsuccessful.

At the Battle of New York, Putnam commanded the last division in the retreat. With the British fleet flanking both wings of the Army, Putnam's division got out just in time.

After the Battle of White Plains the Army was broken into three parts. Lee's men (4,000) remained at White Plains. Their enlistments soon expired. Heath's 3,000 men were stationed in the Highlands. Putnam was in charge of Washington's 5,000 men in New Jersey.

Washington drew the British after him. Putnam had two responsibilities, first, the defense of Philadelphia; then the interruption of British supplies.

He was particularly good at this. At one time he captured 100 wagons and their contents. Gathering a few prisoners here and there, upward of a thousand men were captured.

IN COMMAND OF HIGHLANDS

Late in May 1777, Putnam was transferred to command of the (Putnam) Highlands. This was part of Washington's policy of rotation of commands followed each year to find those best able to take initiative. The chain across the Hudson, the boom, the forts, the fire boats were pushed with energy by Putnam.

The summer campaign brought Howe against Philadelphia and Burgoyne at the headwaters of the Hudson, Sir Clinton was in New York with from 7,000 to 10,000 reserves.

Both Howe and Burgoyne called on Clinton for help. Washington drew 2,000 of the Continental Army from the highlands.

Expected militia replacements did not arrive. When Sir Clinton sent the British fleet and an army of from 3,000 to 4,000 up the Hudson, aided by a heavy fog, they overran the Clinton brothers and their 600 men. Putnam had 1,200 men. An aside, Putnam's wife was with him and desperately ill and died during these crucial days.

After the 20 days during which the British breached the highlands and had their own way, pressure was eased against Burgoyne and Howe; 8,000 additional troops were sent to the highlands after it was all over.

Washington suggested a move on King's Bridge. Putnam moved to within 3 miles of King's Bridge. Col. James Delancy was captured. Oliver Delancy's home on Long Island was burned. Several other actions were taken on Long Island but only one of them was worth the effort.

This highland loss is still a matter of debate. When a court of inquiry was convened a year later, Putnam was exonerated.

FORT PUTNAM BUILT

In the 3 months following the breach of the highlands, a better defense was devised. West Point was selected as a core around which the new defenses were to be built. At the very apex of these defenses was Fort Put-

nam. It was the one place which controlled every point of the compass. (This restored fort must not be missed when you visit West Point.)

During the winter months, Putnam was sent to Connecticut to stimulate recruiting. In the spring of 1178, he rejoined Washington's Army and commanded the army's right wing at the Battle of Monmouth.

When the whole of Washington's Army was brought together in what is now Putnam County, Putnam was in command of the right wing along the highlands.

We have already followed the winter of 1779 in Connecticut and his experience at Horseneck. During the following summer, the British cut the main East-West Highway at King's Ferry. From July to December Washington's headquarters were at West Point. Putnam was on his right at the Clove.

In December, Putnam took a furlough home. The next spring on his way to rejoin the army, he became partially paralyzed, a condition from which he never recovered during his remaining 11 years of life. He died in 1790 at the age of 73.

After these many intervening years, it is difficult to assess the qualities that made this man great. Putnam was endowed with much physical strength, he was a natural leader from boyhood, he was friendly even toward his enemies (a characteristic which was held against him by some), he was ingenious in overcoming barriers, created by nature and by men, his strong religious faith fortified his native courage and his intrepid patriotism withstood all the British inducements to cast his lot with the mother country.

Surely our country has honored itself by choosing this patriot's name, who in our Nation's formative years stood next to Washington in command of our country's defenses. In this sesquicentennial year (1812–1962) of our country's history, we are doubly assured we made a wise choice.

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## Prayer and the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following thoughtful, balanced, and challenging sermon preached on July 15, 1962, by the Reverend William R. Snyder, senior pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, of Minneapolis, Minn.:

PRAYER AND THE SUPREME COURT

(Luke 6: 37: "Judge not, and you will not be judged.")

THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

(By Rev. William R. Snyder)

A severe storm has spread across our country since the Supreme Court set forth its stand regarding the praying of formal prayers in the classrooms of our public schools. This ruling of the Court caused more reverberations than any other ruling of recent years. The reaction was swift, sharp, and spirited. Because of the shouting and the tumult, the current condition in our country is one of confusion. In this condition of confusion the churches of our land cannot shirk their role. Certainly it is the responsibility of the churches of our country to bring some clarity to this current condition of confusion. What can the churches say to bring some light to this dark situation?

First of all, the churches of our country should call their people to greet this decision of the Court with Christian charity. The church members of our Nation should let the love of our Lord move them regarding the ruling of the Court. Certainly those people who sent poison pen letters to the family in New York who initiated litigation were not manifesting the love of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. Mrs. Lawrence Roth, wife of the plaintiff, could not help but be thankful that her children were protected from hearing about the god of gods of some of her neighbors. "If they wish that my children would get polio or that my house be bombed, then their god has not done a very good job with them," she said after a weary week of answering the phone and reading letters.

Truly the acrimonious accusation leveled at the members of the Supreme Court were an abomination in the eyes of the Almighty. The Congressman who thundered that "The Court put the Negroes in the schools, and now they've driven God out," did not manifest the love of our Master. Nor was it charitable to charge the members of the Court with being against God. The truth of the matter is that all six Jurists who concurred in the majority opinion are members of the church. Certainly it was uncharitable to charge these Christian laymen with being part of a Communist conspiracy to cast the Creator from our country.

But all of the lovelessness did not flow from the side of those who did not agree with the Court's decision. Some uncharitable comments also came from the side of those who sided with the Court. Certainly it was unfair to charge all Congressmen who disagreed with the Court's ruling with courting the favor of the voters in order to win election in November. Some who sided with the Supreme Court were also saying that all Roman Catholics and all southerners who opposed the decision, did so out of ulterior motives. They went on to say that Roman Catholics were seeking to gain financial aid for their schools, and southerners were seeking to get even with the Court for its 1954 decision on segregation. But certainly it is uncharitable to charge all Roman Catholics and all southerners who disagreed with this decision of the Court with ulterior motives.

What a sorry spectacle we have seen in our Nation in the past several weeks—would-be servants of the Saviour acting as if they are servants of Satan. What horrible hypocrisy. Men and women who claim that the love of the Lord lives in them, acting as if Lucifer were their Lord. If ever our people needed to hear our Lord's words in today's Gospel lesson to judge not, it is now. Therefore, the churches of our country should call their people to react to the decision of the Court with Christian charity.

Secondly, in this current condition of confusion, the churches of our country should call their people to support the decisions of the Supreme Court whether they agree with those decisions or not. Truly it is both un-American and un-Christian to flagrantly flout the final findings of the highest Court of our country. Truly it is both un-American and un-Christian to urge others to openly defy the decisions of the Supreme Jurists of our Nation. Those who counsel such a course are not preaching Americanism. Instead they are preaching anarchy.

If a member of the church does not agree with a decision of the Supreme Court, he makes use of the legal processes which are available to him to express his disagreement. The church members must always keep in mind the fact that the Court is limited by the system of checks and balances of the Constitution. The Court does not have the power to pass laws. Only the people of our democracy, through their elected representatives, have the power to pass laws. The Court does not have the power to amend the Constitution. Only the citizens of our country, through their legislators, have the power to amend the Constitution.

The Supreme Court cannot legislate; it cannot amend; it can only rule on laws which have already been passed by the Congress and the States. In fact, the Court cannot rule on any law until the constitutionality of that law has been called into question by one of our citizens.

Thus in our nation the ultimate power is in the hands of the people. It is not in the hands of the nine members of the Supreme Court as some people would have us believe. Because this is so, because the Court is not an autocratic entity, the churches of our nation should call their people to support the decisions of the Supreme Court whether they agree with them or not. Indeed, without this third branch of our Government our democracy would soon disintegrate.

Thirdly, in this current condition of confusion the churches of our country should call upon their members to accept the challenge which this decision hurls at them. Truly this particular ruling of the Court pricked the consciences of many of us. Suddenly parents discovered that they could no longer depend upon the public schools to teach their children to pray. Indeed, too many parents in our Nation have placed too many burdens upon our already overburdened, dedicated public school teachers. Some parents have gone so far as to consign all of the responsibilities for the rearing of their children to the public school teachers, even to the point of having the teachers teach their children to pray.

This decision of the Supreme Court will have the effect of stopping some parents from shirking this responsibility. It is the responsibility of the parents to teach their children to pray. It is the responsibility of fathers and mothers to guide their sons and daughters into a relationship with God, the Father. The Supreme Court has backed us parents up against the wall of separation of church and state and has placed squarely upon our shoulders the responsibility of teaching our children to pray. Now the growth of their prayerlife depends, to some degree, upon the growth of our prayerlife. Now their spiritual development depends, in some degree, upon our spiritual development. Small wonder that some parents protested loudly and long. For this is a soul-shaking situation.

It was to this situation that our President referred when he said that all of us parents could do more praying in our home than we have done in the past and all of us could worship in the church of our choice with a higher degree of regularity. It is tragically true that many parents who protested the ruling of the Court rarely ever, if ever, pray with their children in their homes. It is tragically true that many parents who protested the ruling of the Court rarely worship with their sons and daughters in the house of the Lord.

All church families of our Nation would do well to follow the example of Col. John Glenn. His pastor tells us that he learned, through the colonel's children, that every evening this dedicated father leads his family in Bible study and prayer. This is one American family that will not be adversely affected by the ruling of the Supreme Court. Yea, it is not necessary that any family in America be adversely affected by the ruling of the Court—so long as every family accepts the challenge to pray together as a family.

Fourthly, in this current condition of confusion the churches of our land should call

upon their people to utter a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the preservation of the precious principle of separation of church and state. Constant vigilance is necessary if this preeminent principle is going to be protected. There will always be those among us who will seek to peck away at the wall of separation between church and state. They will seek to have the States or the Congress pass laws establishing an official religion in this Nation.

In nearly every session of the Congress there is one Congressman or several Congressmen who introduce legislation which would make Christianity the official religion of our Nation. While this proposed legislation may appeal to some church members it is clearly in conflict with the first amendment of the Constitution. In some areas of our country the religion of the majority has become the religion of the area. The textbooks which are used in the public schools in these areas teach sectarian doctrine and sectarian prayers are uttered in the classrooms of the public schools several times each day. The recent ruling of the Court protects the minority in such areas from religious oppression by the majority.

The Court did not ban prayer in the classrooms of our public schools in its ruling But the Court did ban official prayers which have been written by the State and adopted by the State for use in the public schools. The Court ruled against these official (the word "official" is most significant) prayers because these official prayers tend toward the establishment of a religion. Even though it be only religion in general that these prayers tend to establish, they are still unconstitutional.

Certainly the word "respecting" weighed heavily in the Court's decision banning these official prayers. The opening clause of the first amendment states that "Congress shall not pass any law respecting the establishment of a religion." The word "respecting" means to tend toward—thus any law which tends toward the establishment of any religion is unconstitutional.

Our Founding Fathers were well aware of the fact that a religion can become the official religion of a country by a gradual process. A law which on the surface appears to be harmless—such as the prayer law in New York—can set a precedent which leads to other laws which have the ultimate effect of establishing an official religion. The Founding Fathers were well aware of what had already taken place in the colonies through a gradual process.

Some of the colonists who had sought to escape from the religious oppression which is frequently found in a country with an official religion began by a gradual process, to set up the same sub-Christian situation in this new land. By a gradual process they had come to create the very condition which they had condemned in the country from which they had fled. By a gradual process they had come to establish religious tyranny in this so-called land of the free. By the time of the American Revolution there were already several official religions in the colonies. These official religions persecuted other churches that threatened their official status. What gross hyprocrisy.

The Founding Fathers wanted to put an end to this abominable situation; therefore they inserted the word "respecting" in the first amendment. They did not want any laws which would tend toward the establishment of an official religion. They did not want, through a gradual process, a repetition of this revolting situation which existed at the time of the Revolution. Truly the members of the Supreme Court sensed accurately this spirit of our Founding Fathers. Again I say that the churches of our land should call their members to utter a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the inspired, incisive, intelligent interpretation of the Court, an interpretation which has preserved the precious principle of separation of church and state.

Finally, in this current condition of confusion the churches of our land should call their people to pray to God for guidance in fulfilling the "free exercise" clause of the first amendment of the Constitution. This clause declares that Congress and/or the States shall not pass any law which would prohibit the free exercise of one's religion. While the separation clause prohibits Congress and the States from passing any law which would tend to interlock the official functions of the state with the official functions of the church; this free exercise clause guarantees to every individual in our Nation the freedom to testify to his personal faith.

President Eisenhower was exercising the freedom which is guaranteed to all of our citizens under the Constitution when, at his first inauguration, he began with a personal prayer. Abraham Lincoln was exercising this same freedom when, during his second inaugural speech, he uttered the immortal words, "may we follow the right as God gives us to see the right." George Washington was exercising this freedom when he placed his hand upon Holy Scripture while he repeated the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

When Col. John Glenn gave his thrilling testimony to his faith in God after his history-making flight through space no one thought to call him to question for violating the principle of separation of church and state because he is an employee of the Government. Such a questioning would have been ridiculous because John Glenn was exercising that freedom guaranteed to all of us under the Constitution to witness to our faith.

If our Presidents, Members of Congress, and our military heroes have the freedom to express their personal conviction, certainly our public schoolteachers have the same freedom to expres their personal convictions. It is heartening to hear of more and more public schoolteachers who are exercising this freedom.

Some time ago in a certain high school science class one of the students raised his hand and asked the teacher this question: "Don't you believe that science will make religion unnecessary in another 100 years?" The teacher answered the question from the frame of reference of her personal religious conviction. She said, "I do not believe that science will ever make religion unnecessary." Then she went on to tell the class that religion and science are on two different levels. "Religion deals with the question of why," she said, "science deals with the question of how."

All the students in the class thrilled to this dedicated teacher's personal testimony of her faith in God. She helped them to see the importance of God in our modern world. Through this thrilling testimony, in the course of her teaching, she did more good than is accomplished by a thousand prayers of the type which the Court banned in New York. This testimony was not in violation of the first amendment of the Constitution. Instead it was a fulfilling of the free exercise clause of the same amendment. The Court has already ruled that when the public schools cooperate with the churches of our land they are following the best traditions of our Nation. The Court has also ruled that we are a religious people.

But we must take note of a most curious condition which presently exists in our country—a condition which was not intended by our Founding Fathers. In our Nation today there are secularistic humanists, agnostics and atheists who express their personal convictions in the classrooms of our public schools. Because of their testimony many of our children have the mistaken idea that God played very little if any role in the founding of our Nation. Or worse still, through the testimony of their personal convictions, our young people have the erroneous idea that God is no longer necessary in this age of breathtaking accomplishments in science.

In our Nation today we also have communism being taught in the classrooms of our public schools—taught as a course and not being insidiously fed to our children by actual Communists. We also have publication houses publishing lewd literature unhindered which is being consumed by our children. Now these things exist in our Nation because they have the legal right to exist under our Constitution.

But here is where the curious twist comes in: many of the people who would defend the right of schoolteachers to teach communism in our public schools; the right of publication houses to publish lewd literature; the right of secularstic humanists, agnostics, and atheists to express their personal convictions in the classrooms of our public schools would deny to the dedicated man of God the very same freedom of expression.

This curious condition was not the intention of our Founding Fathers. They did not intend to kick Christianity out of our public schools while the religious ideas of Communists, humanists, agnostics, and atheists flourished unimpeded. Thomas Jefferson is the originator of the metaphor: "a wall of separation of church and state." Jefferson founded the University of Virginia. Shortly after he founded this institution he urged the Virginia State Legislature to provide funds to establish a chair of theology at the university.

Jefferson firmly believed that truth needed no defenders. Therefore he felt that all religious ideas should be freely expressed to our children because truth would survive. Jefferson used this logic to defend the minority against the majority.

But today in America we have the curious condition of the minority using the laws of our Nation to defend their particular truth. We have the curious condition of the minority muzzling the majority. How much better if we continued to follow the advice of Jefferson. Certainly, when the occasion presents itself in the course of teaching, the secularistic-humanist, the agnostic, the atheist should have the freedom to express his respective personal convictions. But the dedicated man of God should have the same freedom of expression in the classrooms of our public schools. I firmly believe with Jefferson that through such freedom of expression, which is guaranteed to us in the first amendment of the Constitution, truth will survive as it has for lo, these many centuries.

In this current condition of confusion the churches of our land should call their members to: receive the ruling of the Court with Christian charity; support all of the decisions of the Supreme Court of our Nation whether they agree with them or not; accept the challenge that this decision of the Court hurls at them, the challenge to pray together as a family; utter a prayer of thanksgiving that the precious principle of separation of church and State has been preserved; and pray to God for guidance in fulfilling the free exercise clause of the Constitution, the positive clause of the first amendment, for the church firmly believes that truth needs no defenders, truth will survive. Amen.

## Don't Go to College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Christian E. Burckel, editor and publisher of

the College Blue Book, the reference authority for higher education, and a distinguished educator, has given a powerful and timely address to the high school seniors of the entire State of Delaware entitled "Don't Go to College."

This remarkable analysis is worthy of national attention in its clarity and commonsense approach to making the decision of whether or not to go to college.

In the expectation that the youth and educators of the Nation will benefit substantially by the information in Mr. Burckel's address I now quote it in its entirety.

The address follows:

DON'T GO TO COLLEGE

(A speech delivered by Christian E. Burckel at the 12th annual College Night, the Dover High School, Dover, Del., sponsored by division of child development and guidance of State department of public instruction, Dover High School guidance staff)

Dr. Row, Mr. Baker, Mr. Charlton, high school seniors of Delaware, honored guests, ladies, and gentlemen, many of you in this audience are here this evening to get some help in choosing a college, and in meeting the requirements to be accepted by a college.

I am here to tell some of you: Don't go to college—because public education is not an objective, but a means of achieving an objective. American public education is attempting to achieve two objectives: (1) To develop the individual to realize his own highest individual potential, and (2) to implement national welfare, security, and growth.

Many American educators and statesmen promote public education with emphasis on developing the potential of the individual—with the hope and trust that he in turn will use his knowledge in the achievement of the national objective: to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

The Soviets emphasize the education of the individual for national growth and development and they choose only those individuals who show promise of achieving that objective.

The formula for the success of any enterprise is a fraction, whose numerator is the number of agencies engaged in the enterprise, and the denominator the number of objectives they strive to achieve.

The Soviet fraction is one over one, while the American is one over two.

America wants to continue to serve the cause of the individual but must not lose sight of the need for national growth and development in its struggle for national survival against the Communist threat.

The best qualified American students know exactly why they want to go to college. However, too many make the effort just because: it is the fashion; a college education is a status symbol; a degree is a means to earn more money in a lifetime; they have been offered a scholarship to play football, basketball or baseball; it is an escape from digging ditches, driving trucks or working on an assembly line; college is a place to meet people on a high social-economic plane; because they can afford the cost, or, are assured of financial aid equal to or approaching the income they can expect from a starting salary in a job that a high school graduate is qualified to fill.

The reasons for attending college are much like the reasons for travel: first, to get where you want to be; second, to get away from where you are; and third, just to travel.

About 25 percent of college freshmen who enter college to get away from where they are, or just to "go along for the ride," do not return to college for the second semester of their first year, and about 40 percent do not graduate with their class.

Some of the dropouts do so voluntarily—the rest are washed out by the faculty. The old face-saving excuse of "no money" is now a thing of the past. There are enough scholarships, grants and loans available so that no qualified student need quit or be washed out for that reason. Some dropouts are quite honest about the reason they quit voluntarily. They just couldn't make the grade.

I am reminded of the story of a young farmer who went away to college but was back on the farm after a few weeks. When asked why he quit he said: "I found out that law ain't what it's cracked up to be—I'm sorry I learned it."

One college student wrote to his father that he was coming home because he had learned enough, it was costing a great deal of money, and besides that, he had just finished a discussion on this very subject with the dean of the college.

If you are going to college for reasons other than to get where you want to be, the chances that you will make the grade are a little better than 50–50—with the possibility of one out of four that you'll be back on the farm before the start of the second semester of your first year.

There are some who will argue that even a little exposure to higher education has value. But I have yet to hear anyone take a position against completing a college curriculum and earning the recognition of having graduated with a degree.

So, don't just go to college. Plan to graduate.

And while I'm on the subject of earning a degree, permit me to call attention to earning a higher recognition than a college degree: election to membership in one or more honor societies.

College degrees are becoming more and more common, but not Phi Beta Kappa Keys or Phi Kappa Phi Keys. An engineering graduate with a Tau Beta Pi membership is recognized as having achieved excellence in his studies, and, an election to Sigma Xi is more to be desired than the presidency of your graduating class, or the captaincy of the football team.

So, don't go to college just to graduate. Work to achieve the recognition afforded by election to an honor society, as editor of the yearbook, or class officer. Strive for the lead in the college play, or become a member of the debating team. You can't win them all, but you can work to achieve one or more distinctions—recognized badges of excellence.

The principal difference between attending high school and going to college is that you are not required to attend college—unless by law, the job you want requires higher education—or by choice, you want a broad knowledge of the history and status of mankind, the world, or the universe, as a foundation for your living.

So, if you don't want to become a doctor, a dentist, a lawyer, an engineer, an architect, a teacher, or join any of the professions that require (in the interest of the public welfare) a license to practice, or a broad understanding or knowledge of the world in which we live, then don't go to college.

If you want to become a professional, the path to achieve a license is fairly well marked. You have only to choose the institution of higher education you believe is best suited to your needs, and then hope that the institution of your choice chooses you.

Of course there are a great many things you can do now to influence the college of your choice to accept you when you apply.

First, you can master the tools of learning (observing, experimenting, reading, writing, speaking, and listening) providing you are blessed with the intelligence to master them, and are interested (or should I say motivated?) to become proficient in the use of these tools.

Secondly, you can accumulate evidence of being of good moral character, socially acceptable, and personally responsible.

As I have said before, there is no longer any need to be economically solvent to go to college. If your other qualifications for admission to higher learning are satisfactory, the necessary funds will be made available through scholarships and loans, or by enrolling in one of the 170 institutions offering cooperative education programs (sometimes called learn and earn programs). Some students still indulge in the old-fashioned idea of working their way through college.

Third, you can accumulate evidence of an ability to learn. What you have learned and remembered is evidenced by the knowledge you display on college entrance examinations. Passing the college boards is accepted as proof of your ability to learn. Further evidence is qualification for advanced placement in the college of your choice.

What the tests seldom reveal is the ability of an individual to use the knowledge that he has accumulated. We have all seen examples of college graduates who have been educated beyond their intelligence.

Fourth, you can achieve distinction in high school by being elected to the national honor society, winning medals, and earning other evidences of ability.

Fifth, you can develop your body to withstand the rigor, tension, and pressures of study. Don't go to college if according to Army, Navy, Marine, Coast Guard, or Air Force standards you are not "fit to be shot."

But I am not here to tell you how to get into college. My message is for those who very likely will not profit from going to college, or put any patch on the seat of learning, or help mankind to live in communities by cooperating in what's good for mankind.

Don't go to college to increase the amuont of money you will earn in your lifetime. You have seen and heard statements, supported by research statistics, that a high school graduate earn $200,000 more in his lifetime than the individual who did not graduate, and that a college graduate earns $400,000 more.

Those statements are as misleading as cosmetic commercials on television, which try to make you believe that a certain skin lotion will make you as beautiful as a movie star. If the actress was not blessed with the kind of features which people admire, the cream would not help much.

On the other hand, I am perfectly willing to concede that a cut and polished diamond is worth more than a diamond in the rough. But to produce such a gem, we must start with a diamond—not with soapstone.

Higher education acts on bright, solid individuals as a diamond cutter's tools and abrasives act on a diamond. The same treatment on sandstone would pulverize it.

Graduates of high schools and colleges are like marble and diamonds in that they can withstand the chipping and grinding by experts, and come out as bright lustrous bodies that wear well and are a joy to behold. They have demonstrated that they possess the qualities that in themselves are worth more on a free labor market: high intelligence and an ability and capacity to work, and a willingness to subject themselves to the tough ordeal of learning.

Don't go to college if you are headed to become a dropout.

As I said before, approximately 25 percent of entering freshmen do not return to college after their first semester, and approximately 40 percent of college students do not earn their bachelor's degrees.

Among these dropouts are people like the young lady who had no intention of completing her college course; she stated that she had enrolled so that her wedding announcement would read "the bride attended such-and-such a university."

Just a word regarding the impressive percentage of college dropouts.

From my 40-odd years of observation, the dropouts from college comprise largely the individuals who went to college "to get an education."

They did not (or were not able to) shift their attitude from "being educated" to "learning."

College faculty members have been labeled poor teachers largely because they did not follow the classroom pattern of their secondary school predecessors.

High school teachers educate, give instruction, teach, tutor, and train their charges—while in college, the professors profess. Our better colleges and universities are institutions of "higher learning"—not institutions of "higher education" for adults, or for teenage youth who attend school until they become "of age."

Learning is the product of interest and intelligence. The highest intelligence without interest learns nothing—as is evidenced by the fact that Einstein flunked his high school mathematics course, and Thomas Edison left grammar school because his teachers thought he was "addled."

So, don't go to college to increase your lifetime earning, unless of course you are intelligent and propose to apply yourself to the task of learning the skills, facts, and vocabulary and to develop the attitudes that command a better price on the free labor market.

Join a labor union, whose ability to demand more and more for their members by their power to strike, will assure you a better income in many cases than those of many college professors. I know truck drivers who are paid as much as $18,000 a year, and in New York City, the average union elevator operator is paid as much as a high-school teacher.

One of my hobbies is to collect anecdotes that indicate that an education is not the deciding factor in life earnings, or in living a good life.

Just 10 days ago I added the following case history to my collection.

Bonnie was one of Mrs. Burchel's students: a boy of above average intelligence—who hated school.

At the age of 16 he was given the choice—to get a job, or be arrested as a juvenile delinquent.

For a couple of years he worked as a baker's helper, and, when he was old enough to get a chauffeur's license, he took a bakery route, earning about $185 a week—nearly $10,000 per year.

About a year ago he got the idea that people would pay a few cents more for better doughnuts, and that food merchants would stock his packages and push their sale if they made a few cents more profit.

Bonnie now employs 12 people—manning 5 doughnut routes in Manhattan, and expanding. He is planning to open doughnut bakeries across the Nation in the next few years.

His present income is between $70,000 and $100,000 per year. He is now 20 years old, is married and the proud father of a baby girl.

So don't go to college to increase year earnings—open a doughnut business.

It has been said that the Nation loses every time a student who is qualified to go to college does not enroll.

This, to me, is utter nonsense. We need intelligent people to be doughnut bakers, plumbers, and electricians, builders, and salesmen. We need some college-calibre youth in our police departments, and in civil-service positions. Many of the high school graduates who do not go on to college, and some highly qualified dropouts from colleges fill many of these all-important positions, to the benefit of all of us.

Intelligence is seldom wasted, even when not college trained. Many a not formally educated individual has achieved high station in life—several even became Presidents of the United States—while many a graduate engineer is working as a draftsman, and many a chemist is making routine tests in a production control laboratory.

Speaking to you now, is a civil engineer turned educator, who has degenerated (or been elevated) to the status of analyst and publisher.

I have told this story before, but it bears repetition. Some 30-odd years ago while I was superintendent of schools, I complimented my assistant in charge of maintenance (usually called janitor) on the many skills he had demonstrated: he had replaced a broken pane of glass, repaired the lock on a door; stopped a faucet from leaking; fixed a broken desk; and found the reason for the lights being out in a classroom. I asked him how he knew so much. I shall never forget his answer: "Well, you see, Mr. Burckel, I ain't never had no education, so I gotta use ma head."

You have heard that the market for unskilled labor is shrinking because of automation. Nothing is said, however, of the nonshrinking number of people who—because of lack of intelligence or interest to learn, or their unwillingness to assume responsibility—never rise above the laboring class.

Permit me to define the term "laborer."

A laborer is an individual who must be given instructions on what to do, where to do it, how to do it, when to do it, what tools to use, what supplies to use, when to start and when to quit. An unskilled laborer is one that requires constant supervision in the performance of his assignment. A man who installs the right front fender on the chassis of an automobile passing before him on an assembly line is a skilled laborer, because he requires little or no supervision after he has learned his job; and a banker who goes by the rules, never able to, or permitted to use his head, is also a laborer.

While we are on the subject of definitions, permit me to define the next higher category of workers: the craftsman.

A craftsman (bricklayer, plumber, electrician) given instructions or directions, can work within the framework of his discipline, craft, or trade, employing skills, facts, and vocabulary in the achievement of a predetermined objective.

If the craftsman is capable of exercising judgment in the performance of his assignment, he is an artisan.

To make the distinction clear, permit me to compare a craftsman with an artisan.

Suppose, instead of this pitcher of water and this glass on this table, it was decided to install a drinking fountain here on this stage.

An artisan would first find a source of water, locate a point where he can connect the overflow, decide on the type of fixture to serve the purpose, decide on the best location (unless that were specified), and then make up a bill of materials and supplies and a list of tools required to do the job. He would also check with the principal of the school as to the time to do the work with least interruption to the use of this auditorium.

A craftsman would then cut the pipe (specified by the artisan) to the proper length, thread the connections (or solder them) so that when the faucet or valve is opened, water would flow from the fixture, and the waste would run off.

So, don't go to college if your interest lies in being a laborer, a craftsman, or an artisan.

Attend instead a vocational high school or get a job offering on-the-job training in the craft or vocation of your choice. If there is no vocational high school in your area, suitable work-study programs should be organized by local merchants and industry, labor unions and educational officials within the framework of the conventional high school. Such a vocational program could also serve as an opportunity for work experience for the entire student body.

I advise students, who by all standards are believed capable of mastering higher education courses (but who are not interested in learning in order to qualify for white-collar jobs) to follow their natural inclinations—to repair machinery and equipment, to get a job in retail merchandising or any vocation that gives them the satisfaction of achievement, rather than to enroll in a college. They can rest assured that there is dignity and satisfaction in working with their hands as well as with their minds.

Don't go to college unless you approach the opportunity with zest, pleasure, and alacrity.

Don't go to college if you are an intellectual or a genius who plans to hew to the line and let the chips fall where they may. Run-of-the-mine instructors and teachers at credit factories will warp you unless you are a good actor. As Jaques Barzun, in his speech entitled "The Place and Price of Excellence," said: "Many teachers respect industry, politeness, and even flattery, who would be quite taken aback by an encounter with intellect."

Thomas Paine expressed the idea of the value of formal schooling nearly two centuries ago in his book entitled "The Age of Reason." I quote: "As to the learning that any person gains from school education, it serves only, like a small capital, to put him in a way of beginning learning for himself afterward."

Thinking is hard work. So if you find this type of work distasteful—don't go to college.

Don't go to college if the education or preparation for learning (which you plan to pursue there) is not necessary, or does not contribute to what you consider "a good life."

The world functions today as it has since the dawn of civilization—by force and the threat of force. Perhaps in another millennium or two, people will have learned to live together as humans: to live and help live by cooperation, rather than live and let live, or conquer and dominate. Perhaps in another few thousand years people will be advanced enough to live together by the knowledge of functional relations rather than by banditry, exploitation, or laws that require policemen to enforce.

You are living today in a world where uncounted millions of people are refugees, displaced from their homes by force; where uncounted thousands of individuals are bought and sold as slaves. Involuntary servitude is so widespread that a United Nations agency is devoting its full attention to the elimination of slavery and forced labor.

If the world of today does not concern you or cause you any apprehension, then don't go to college. You would be cluttering up the only agency of mankind where a concentration of intelligence is laboring to make this world a good place in which to live.

Our colleges and universities afford a good means to educate our youth in the structure and function of our world; in the sciences and applied sciencies comprising its problems of health, human relations, transportation, communication, culture, economics, industry, nutrition, commerce, art—the list is endless. If you are planning only to enhance your own personal status, earn more money, enjoy more leisure, command respect, and pursue recognition or fame—then please don't go to college. The number of our youth who will apply for admission in the next decade will approach 7 million or more.

In other words, don't go to college if you are thinking only of "what's there in it for me?"

Permit me to explore briefly what I consider "a good life," so that if you find that you can achieve your idea of a good life without going to college, then you can get on your way 2 to 6 years sooner. Time is like money; it can only be spent once.

Very few of us can aspire to high public office to implement our ideas of how people can live together, work together, and play together so as to achieve what has been stated as the purpose of government.

Our Declaration of Independence states the inalienable rights of man to be: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The Atlantic Charter professes the objectives of government to be: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of faith, and freedom of expression.

The Bible gives Ten Commandments as the basis for living with our fellow man. And let us not forget the 11th commandment—to love one another.

Very few of us can aspire to the status of Billy Graham or Father Divine, yet each one of us can base our own individual idea of a good life for ourselves on the broad principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Atlantic Charter, and the 11 commandments.

Permit me to list the words that symbolize the principles of the art of people living together: life, liberty, happiness, and freedom.

The meanings of each of these words depend almost entirely on your own definitions and your own interpretations. Their incorporation into the statement of your philosophy of life are contingent upon the Ten Commandments, the laws of the land, a decent respect for the rights of others, and the opinions of those who know you.

The cornerstone of a good life is the Golden Rule: "Do unto others, that which you would have them do unto you"—or better still, its predecessor, the Hindu version which says: "Do not unto others, that which you would not have them do unto you."

Only a competent hermit can survive without living in a community, so to achieve your freedom from want (unless you have been born to independence from want), you must engage in at least one of the occupations that provide goods and services for yourself and other members of your village, city, county, State, Nation, the world, or the universe.

Kropotkin found that survival is the result of cooperation—not of the fittest, as Darwin stated.

The choosing of your occupation will be the greatest single decision you will ever have to make in planning to live "a good life." It is more vital than your choice of a husband or wife, or any other decision you will ever be called upon to make.

Regardless of whether you plan to earn your living as a laborer, or a craftsman, an artisan or a professional, you must remember that almost one-half of your waking, conscious life will be spent on your job (unless you are unemployed).

In a 24-hour day you sleep 8 hours, or take a pill to induce sleep—which is not "living." Of the remaining 16 waking hours, you spend about half of your time on your job. To live a good life, be sure you get satisfaction out of that part of your living. An intellectual who has to do unsatisfying work just to earn a living is a very unhappy man.

I used to feel sorry for the worker who did not achieve a thrill of achievement or the satisfaction of accomplishment out of his work. I could hardly endure a day on the assembly line in an automobile plant where I worked during a summer vacation, placing floor boards into a roadster. And yet, most of the men who worked beside me were quite content to labor, be paid, and then use their earnings in the pursuit of happiness and in achieving freedom from want. I endured a summer stripping tires in a tire factory to earn money for college tuition. The men who worked with me did not seem to be frustrated by the endless monotony of the repetition of operations.

I learned much later in life that only an artisan, a professional, or an intellectual, can hope to work on a job that brings with it a sense of satisfaction in performance and achievements. Too many people get their satisfaction "after work," in hobbies, professional entertainment, fraternal and social organizations, or just plain animal satisfactions.

A most successful and prosperous lawyer once confided in me that he hated the practice of law: if he had his choice he would be a short story writer.

So, I say to you again: Don't go to college unless the experiences, the learning, the friendships, the enlightenment you will receive there (if you work for them) are fundamental to your achievement of "living a good life."

You have heard of the growing competition among high school students to get into college, because of the ever-increasing number asking for admission. Colleges are characterized as becoming overcrowded, just as some of our elementary and secondary schools are now.

Let me repeat what I have said many times in the past: there is no shortage of college capacity now, there has never been any shortage in the past, and there will be no shortage in the future, because of the financial support of higher education by alumni, by industry, and by government.

The apparent shortage of college capacity results from multiple applications (students applying to as many as six institutions in the hopes of being accepted by at least one), and a great many applications being made at a comparatively few well-known institutions. The sum total of all capacities compared with the sum total of all enrollments indicates that there is room for all applicants. To my personal knowledge, no qualified student has ever been rejected by all institutions where he applied for admission.

For example: One student who had been rejected by all 18 American colleges of veterinary medicine, on my advice, enrolled in one institution's college of agriculture. He let it be known by his avid interest in animal husbandry, his hard work in all of his studies, and his willingness to clean test tubes in a laboratory or the manure from a barn, that he wanted to be a doctor of veterinary medicine. A transfer from the college of agriculture to the college of veterinary medicine was made at the close of his freshman year (when several students dropped out) without the loss of a single academic credit, in spite of the loss of gallons of body moisture in the form of sweat.

Greater numbers of students are attending colleges now than at any time in history, except perhaps for the few years immediately following the end of World War II.

They are being accommodated by more judicious scheduling of classes, better use of plant facilities, the employment of educational television, use of high-school buildings for first- and second-year college curriculums, and some expansions of college plants and facilities as well as the establishment of new institutions.

These measures usually follow the conventional patterns of American education: more students—more classrooms—more teachers. Practically all predictions of coming shortages are based on the assumption that education and learning in the future will be patterned after the system of compulsory education inaugurated at the turn of the century. The planning seldom takes into account the possible abandonment of present conventional practices and the implementation of new methods and new scheduling.

Suppose we were to change the admission requirements to kindergarten or to the first grade of grammar school (which is traditionally from 5 to 6 years of age) to include the ability to read and write and to do simple sums?

The Montessori method has demonstrated that children several years too immature to be accepted in our conventional public schools are able to learn any subject for which there is no prerequisite. They can learn to speak a second language, can learn to read, can learn to write, and can learn to do arithmetic. Some can learn the history of the American Revolution as easily as they can a fairy tale.

With the aid of a video-tape player now in the production laboratory of the Radio Corp. of America, any normally intelligent individual can learn any subject in which he is interested, at any age, at a time of his own choosing—providing he is willing to work hard at learning.

Imagine a youngster as eager to learn the principles of hydrostatic pressure as the key to locating a hidden treasure. With a little reflection, one can see that both learnings are equally profitable and can furnish equal satisfactions.

To solve the problem of rising college enrollments, suppose our institutions of higher education introduce a new entrance requirement? Suppose that besides 16 academic high school credits, a good reputation, a competence in the fundamentals for higher learning, a demonstrated ability to learn, and a thousand dollars, the candidate were required to submit evidence of having been employed at some gainful occupation for a minimum of 1 year?

I wonder what percentage of qualified college students would enter a year later, when they had satisfied that requirement.

So, with a little flight of imagination, we can start 5- or 6-year-old elementary students in the subjects that now are offered in the second or third grade. That would enable them to complete High School at the age of 16 or 17. After 1 year of work experience (preferably in some phase of the vocation or profession of their choice) they enter college and still graduate at the age of 21 or 22, as they do now.

Registrars work hard to reject applicants who are not qualified to be admitted to their institutions.

There may be some errors in judgment, but that is to be expected. However, permit me to say in conclusion, that some of those qualified to enter an institution of higher learning should not go to college—or even apply for admission: If being qualified is their only reason for attending; if they are not entering with joy, zest and alacrity; if they think only of what they gain by entering; if they have little concern for the well-being of their fellow men; if they lack the intelligence to use the knowledge they accumulate from their studies; if they cannot survive the shift from being educated to learning; if they have not mastered the art of communication, which is the foundation of learning; and if thinking is an unpleasant experience for them.

And now, may I close with an old Spanish proverb: "What God forgot, even the University of Madrid cannot supply."

In other words, don't go to college to compensate for what God forgot to give you, and, if you do go, apply all your abilities to the utmost, to develop your own highest potential, not only for yourself but for the growth and development of America.

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret the tragic death of our colleague, CLEM MILLER.

CLEM came to the Congress in 1958, the year in which I was first elected, and with the other Members of the 86th group I was keenly aware of CLEM'S warm and sympathetic friendship, his idealism, and his willingness to expend his energy for the benefit of his constituents. In the difficult days which lie ahead for our country we shall miss the contributions which CLEM MILLER might have made.

I deeply sympathize with Mrs. Miller and her daughters in their grievous loss, and I hope that they will find consolation in the memory of CLEM'S full and constructive life.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

## BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 3, 1962:

H.R. 5144. An act to provide for the acquisition of and the payment for individual Indian and tribal lands of the Lower Brule Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, required by the United States for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir project on the Missouri River, and for the rehabilitation, social, and economic development of the members of the tribe, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5165. An act to provide for the acquisition of and the payment for individual Indian and tribal lands of the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, required by the United States for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir project on the Missouri River, and for the rehabilitation, social, and economic development of the members of the tribe, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5312. An act for the relief of certain additional claimants against the United States who suffered personal injuries, property damage, or other loss as a result of the explosion of a munitions truck between Smithfield and Selma, N.C., on March 7, 1942;

H.R. 5320. An act for the relief of Robert Knobbe;

H.R. 6649. An act for the relief of C. W. Jones;

H.R. 6998. An act for the relief of Anthony Pirotta;

H.R. 6999. An act for the relief of Henry Massari;

H.R. 7704. An act for the relief of Chyung Sang Bak;

H.R. 8626. An act for the relief of Wilfrid M. Cheshire;

H.R. 8738. An act to amend sections 1 and 5b of chapter V of the Life Insurance Act for the District of Columbia;

H.R. 9472. An act for the relief of Janina Tekla Gruszkos;

H.R. 10678. An act for the relief of Angelo A. Russo;

H.R. 10720. An act for the relief of Rexford R. Cherryman, of Williamsburg, Va.;

H.R. 11266. An act to amend the act of March 8, 1922, as amended, to extend its provisions to the townsite laws applicable in the State of Alaska;

H.R. 11728. An act to amend section 1208(a) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to authorize investment of the war risk insurance fund in securities of, or guaranteed by, the United States;

H.R. 12711. An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12818. An act to amend the act of July 13, 1946, to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of certain additional toll bridges over or across the Delaware River and Bay.

On October 4, 1962:

H.R. 10937. An act to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands.

On October 5, 1962:

H.R. 218. An act to provide that individuals enlisted into the Armed Forces of the United States shall take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States;

H.R. 1960. An act to amend chapter 85 of title 28 of the United States Code relating to the jurisdiction of the U.S. district courts, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2952. An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain public lands in the State of California to the city of Needles;

H.R. 7708. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Beaver and Sgt. and Mrs. Cecil P. Fisher;

H.R. 8134. An act to authorize the sale of the mineral estate in certain lands;

H.R. 9603. An act for the relief of Lt. Comdr. Joseph P. Mannix;

H.R. 10022. An act to amend section 510 (a) (1), Merchant Marine Act, 1936;

H.R. 10566. An act to provide for the withdrawal and orderly disposition of mineral interests in certain public lands in Pima County, Ariz.;

H.R. 12529. An act to provide for the free entry of one nuclear magnetic resonance spectrometer and one mass spectrometer for the use of the University of Illinois;

H.R. 12589. An act to amend the Smith-Lever Act of May 8, 1914, as amended; and

H.R. 13067. An act to amend title VIII of the National Housing Act with respect to the authority of the Federal Housing Commissioner to pay certain real property taxes and to make payments in lieu of real property taxes.

On October 9, 1962:

H.R. 310. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the military departments, and the Secretary of the Treasury to settle certain claims for damage to, or loss of, property, or personal injury or death, not cognizable under any other law;

H.R. 4333. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the registration and protection of trademarks used in commerce, to carry out the provisions of certain international conventions, and for other purposes," approved July 5, 1946, as amended;

H.R. 6682. An act to provide for the exemption of fowling nets from duty, and for other purposes;

H.R. 7326. An act for the relief of E. La Ree Smoot Carpenter;

H.R. 7876. An act relating to the effective date of the qualification of the joint pension plan for employees of local unions 645, 1507, and 1511, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America as a qualified trust under section 401(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954;

H.R. 8181. An act to authorize the construction of a National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in the District of Columbia and to provide for its operation;

H.R. 8205. An act to provide tax relief to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America Local 863 pension fund and the contributors thereto;

H.R. 8824. An act to modify the application of the personal holding company tax in the case of consumer finance companies;

H.R. 9747. An act to amend section 514(1) of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940, as amended;

H.R. 10613. An act to eliminate the requirements for certain detailed estimates in the annual budgets;

H.R. 10652. An act to amend the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 to provide a more reasonable allowance for transportation of house trailers or mobile dwellings by certain governmental officers and employees upon their transfer from one official station to another;

H.R. 11059. An act relating to the effective date of the qualification of Bricklayers Local 45 (Buffalo, N.Y.) pension fund as a qualified trust under section 401(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954;

H.R. 11217. An act to amend section 6112 of title 10, United States Code;

H.R. 11551. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in the State of Maryland to the Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Greenbelt, Md., and for other purposes;

H.R. 11590. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds of the Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma;

H.R. 11793. An act to provide criminal penalties for trafficking in phonograph records bearing forged or counterfeit labels;

H.R. 11887. An act to provide for the conveyance of all right, title, and interest of the United States reserved or retained in certain lands heretofore conveyed to the city of El Paso, Tex.;

H.R. 13044. An act to amend the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933 and the Federal Home Loan Bank Act; and

H.J. Res. 693. Joint resolution granting the consent and approval of Congress for the State of Maryland, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the District of Columbia to amend the Washington Metropolitan area transit regulation compact, and for other purposes.

On October 10, 1962:

H.R. 10. An act to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed individuals;

H.R. 8113. An act to amend the act of August 9, 1955, for the purpose of including the Southern Ute Indian Reservation among reservations excepted from the 25-year lease limitation;

H.R. 10316. An act for the relief of Leopoldo Rocha Canas and Teofilo Caoile Servito;

H.R. 10881. An act for the relief of Major Singh Sunga;

H.R. 11378. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 so as to permit donations of surplus personal property to schools for the mentally retarded, schools for the physically handicapped, radio and television stations licensed by the Federal Communications Commission as educational radio or educational television stations, and public libraries;

H.R. 11594. An act to extend for 2 years the period for which payments in lieu of taxes may be made with respect to certain real property transferred by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiaries to other Government departments;

H.R. 12164. An act to provide for the establishment of the Fort St. Marks National Historic Site;

H.R. 12180. An act to extend for a temporary period the existing provisions of law relating to the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12451. An act to authorize reimbursement to appropriations of the U.S. Secret Service of moneys expended for the purchase of counterfeits;

H.R. 12688. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to encourage and assist the several States in carrying on a program of forestry research, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12887. An act for the relief of Benjamin Leach, Diogracias Leach, Rogelio Leach, and Maximo Leach; and

H.J. Res. 659. Joint resolution granting consent of the Congress to a compact entered into between the State of Maryland and the Commonwealth of Virginia for the creation of the Potomac River compact of 1958.

On October 11, 1962:

H.R. 1362. An act for the relief of Calogera Virone Messina;

H.R. 1483. An act for the relief of Priscillo Jose Sisson and Evelyn Sisson;

H.R. 2836. An act for the relief of C. Edwin Alley;

H.R. 5423. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to take possession of the naval oil shale reserves, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5695. An act for the relief of Forrest L. Gibson;

H.R. 6987. An act for the relief of Maj. William R. Cook;

H.R. 7617. An act for the relief of John W. Schleiger;

H.R. 7927. An act to adjust postal rates, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8567. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to create trial boards for the U.S. Park Police, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8983. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to participate in financing the construction of a bridge at Cape Hatteras National Seashore, in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9469. An act for the relief of Charles L. Kays;

H.R. 9491. An act to provide for the removal of an encumbrance on the title of certain real property heretofore conveyed to the Board of Education of the Vallejo School District, Vallejo, Calif., by the U.S. Housing Corporation;

H.R. 9590. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Edward Hirsch;

H.R. 11543. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands adjacent to the Suitland Parkway in Prince Georges County, Md., to Suitland Lodge No. 1856, Loyal Order of Moose;

H.R. 11552. An act for the relief of Henry E. Keiser;

H.R. 11732. An act to amend section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended;

H.R. 11970. An act to promote the general welfare, foreign policy, and security of the United States through international trade agreements and through adjustment assistance to domestic industry, agriculture, and labor, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12093. An act for the relief of Joseph Wolf, Jr.;

H.R. 12539. An act for the relief of Leslie O. Cox and other employees of the Federal Aviation Agency;

H.R. 12653. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 in order to increase the limitation on the amount of loans which may be insured under subtitle A of such act; and

H.R. 13241. An act to amend section 309 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962.

On October 15, 1962:

H.R. 946. An act to extend to oyster planters the benefits of the provisions of the present law which provide for production disaster loans for farmers and stockmen;

H.R. 1598. An act for the relief of Michael Anthony Dedetsinas;

H.R. 1691. An act for the relief of Elaine Veronica Brathwaite and Jessie Bamer;

H.R. 2978. An act for the relief of Rosa and Rita Quattrocchi;

H.R. 4094. An act to amend the act of July 15, 1955, relating to the conservation of anthracite coal resources;

H.R. 4483. An act for the relief of Simon Karasick;

H.R. 6386. An act for the relief of Cleo A. Dekat;

H.R. 6691. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, sections 871 and 3056, to provide penalties for threats against the successors to the Presidency, to authorize their protection by the Secret Service, and for other purposes;

H.R. 7099. An act to validate payments of certain per diem allowances made to members and former members of the U.S. Coast Guard while serving in special programs overseas;

H.R. 7600. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the effective date provisions relating to awards, and for other purposes;

H.R. 7791. An act to amend title 13 of the United States Code to provide for the collection and publication of foreign commerce and trade statistics, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8662. An act for the relief of Jose Fuentes;

H.R. 8855. An act for the relief of Marie Silva Arruda;

H.R. 9342. An act to provide for an exchange of lands between the United States and the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9737. An act to amend section 641 of title 38, United States Code, to provide that deductions shall not be made from Federal payments to a State home because of amounts collected from the estates of deceased veterans and used for recreational or other purposes not required by State laws, and to amend chapter 35 of such title in order to afford educational assistance in certain cases beyond the age limitations prescribed in such chapter;

H.R. 9894. An act for the relief of Loretta Shea, deceased, in full settlement of the claims of that estate;

H.R. 10129. An act to amend the act of September 7, 1957, relating to aircraft loan guarantees;

H.R. 10415. An act for the relief of Earl T. Briley;

H.R. 10605. An act for the relief of Joan Rosa Orr;

H.R. 10617. An act providing that the U.S. district courts shall have jurisdiction of certain cases involving pollution of interstate river systems, and providing for the venue thereof;

H.R. 10897. An act for the relief of Joseph Hammond;

H.R. 11018. An act to amend the act concerning gifts to minors in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 11049. An act to amend the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920;

H.R. 11058. An act for the relief of Carl Adams;

H.R. 11334. An act for the relief of Mary J. Papworth;

H.R. 11665. An act to revise the formula for apportioning cash assistance funds among the States under the National School Lunch Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11678. An act to waive section 142 of title 28, United States Code, with respect to the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, eastern division, holding court at Akron, Ohio;

H.R. 12080. An act to permit domestic banks to pay interest on time deposits of foreign governments at rates differing from those applicable to domestic depositors;

H.R. 12090. An act for the relief of James Comeau;

H.R. 12092. An act for the relief of Arthur H. Brackbill;

H.R. 12402. An act for the relief of Concetta Maria, Rosetta, and Tomasino Mangiaracina;

H.R. 12513. An act to provide for public notice of settlements in patent interferences, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12855. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 relating to the lease and transfer of tobacco acreage allotments.

On October 16, 1962:

H.R. 1660. An act for the relief of Margaret MacPherson, Angus MacPherson, Ruth MacPherson, and Marilyn MacPherson;

H.R. 4034. An act for the relief of Lt. Comdr. David V. Kyrklund;

H.R. 8556. An act to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 to require certain additional information to be filed by an applicant for a scholarship or fellowship, and to amend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 with respect to certain requirements for payments or loans under the provisions of such act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9199. An act for the relief of certain officers and enlisted personnel of the 1202d Civil Affairs Group (Reinf. Tng.), Fort Hamilton, Brooklyn, N.Y.;

H.R. 10650. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a credit for investment in certain depreciable property, to eliminate certain defects and inequities, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12936. An act for the relief of Kenneth E. Fousse and others.

On October 17, 1962:

H.R. 11099. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of an Institute of Child Health and Human Development, to extend for 3 additional years the authorization for grants for the construction of facilities for research in the sciences related to health, and for other purposes.

On October 18, 1962:

H.R. 8321. An act for the relief of Maj. Clara May Matthews;

H.R. 9128. An act for the relief of Sgt. Ernest I. Aguilar;

H.R. 9504. An act for the relief of Cuyahoga County, Ohio;

H.R. 10931. An act to revise and codify the general and permanent laws relating to and in force in the Canal Zone and to enact the Canal Zone Code, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12580. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 712. Joint resolution to direct the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission to consider possible changes in the winning design for the proposed memorial or the selection of a new design for such memorial.

On October 22, 1962:

H.R. 7283. An act to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to provide compensation for certain World War II losses.

On October 23, 1962:

H.R. 555. An act for the relief of Elmore County, Ala.;

H.R. 1663. An act for the relief of Dr. Hans J. V. Tiedemann and family;

H.R. 5260. An act to continue for an additional 3-year period the existing suspensions of the tax on the first domestic processing of coconut oil, palm oil, palm-kernel oil, and fatty acids, salts, combinations, or mixtures thereof;

H.R. 5700. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to permit the designation of certain contract carriers as carriers of bonded merchandise;

H.R. 6190. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide for the repair or replacement for veterans of certain prosthetic or other appliances damaged or destroyed as a result of certain accidents;

H.R. 6336. An act to amend the Policemen and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act;

H.R. 7781. An act to authorize the Administrator of General Services to convey by quitclaim deed a parcel of land in Prince Georges County, Md., to the Silver Hill Voluntary Fire Department and Rescue Squad;

H.R. 7932. An act to amend the act of July 2, 1948, so as to repeal portions thereof relating to residual rights in certain land on Santa Rosa Island, Fla.;

H.R. 8140. An act to strengthen the criminal laws relating to bribery, graft, and conflicts of interest, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8269. An act for the relief of Dr. Walter H. Duisberg;

H.R. 8355. An act to authorize executive agencies to grant easements in, over, or upon real property of the United States under the control of such agencies, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8563. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia to permit certain policies to be issued to members of duly organized national veterans' organizations;

H.R. 8874. An act to authorize certain banks to invest in corporations whose purpose is to provide clerical services for them, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8952. An act to amend the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to the conditions under which the special constructive sale price rule is to apply for purposes of certain manufacturers excise taxes and relating to the taxation of life insurance companies, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9045. An act to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended;

H.R. 9669. An act for the relief of Molly Kwauk;

H.R. 9777. An act to amend Private Law 87–197;

H.R. 10002. An act for the relief of civilian employees of the New York Naval Shipyard and the San Francisco Naval Shipyard erroneously in receipt of certain wages due to a misinterpretation of a Navy civilian personnel instruction;

H.R. 10026. An act for the relief of Thomas J. Fitzpatrick and Peter D. Power;

H.R. 10199. An act for the relief of Lester A. Kocher;

H.R. 10423. An act for the relief of Mrs. Dorothy H. Johnson;

H.R. 10501. An act for the relief of Kenyon B. Zahner;

H.R. 10541. An act to assist States and communities to carry out intensive vaccination programs designed to protect their populations, particularly all preschool children, against poliomyelitis, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus;

H.R. 10620. An act to amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the maximum limitations on the amount allowable as a deduction for medical, dental, etc., expenses, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10708. An act to amend section 303 of the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, with respect to communication service for the transmission of voice, sounds, signals, pictures, writing, or signs of all kinds through the use of electricity;

H.R. 10936. An act to permit the Postmaster General to extend contract mail routes up to 100 miles during the contract term, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11578. An act for the relief of Don C. Jensen and Bruce E. Woolner;

H.R. 11899. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to provide for a Federal telecommunications fund;

H.R. 12135. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1964 and 1965 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12217. An act for the relief of George Edward Leonard;

H.R. 12276. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12313. An act for the relief of Jane Froman, Gypsy Markoff, and Jean Rosen;

H.R. 12434. An act to facilitate the work of the Forest Service, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12599. An act relating to the income tax treatment of terminal railroad corporations and their shareholders, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12708. An act to increase the jurisdiction of the municipal court for the District of Columbia in civil actions, to change the names of the court, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13175. An act making appropriations for foreign aid and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13273. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 907. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 88th Congress.

On October 24, 1962:

H.R. 6371. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the limitation on retirement income, and with respect to the taxable year for which the deduction for interest paid will be allowable to certain building and loan associations, mutual savings banks, and cooperative banks;

H.R. 8517. An act to grant emergency officer's retirement benefits to certain persons who did not qualify therefor because their applications were not submitted before May 25, 1929;

H.R. 11586. An act to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12648. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12820. An act to validate the coverage of certain State and local employees in the State of Arkansas under the agreement entered into by such State pursuant to section 218 of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12900. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporaton, the Tennessee Valley Authority and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 489. Joint resolution to provide protection for the golden eagle.

## HOUSE BILLS DISAPPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The message further announced that the President had disapproved the following bills of the House on the dates indicated:

### RICKERT & LAAN, INC.

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 1616, for relief of Rickert & Laan, Inc.

In 1959, the beneficiary company imported three shipments of nails from an Italian firm, having received assurances that such nails were of Italian origin and they were so marked upon arrival at the port of New Orleans. After the merchandise had cleared U.S. customs, it was discovered that the nails were, in fact, of Hungarian origin. The erroneous marking made the importing company liable for special marking duties, assessed at the rate of 10 percent of the value of the goods.

The original purpose of marking duties was to assure that labels as to country of origin could be relied upon by American consumers of imported goods. At present, these duties serve the additional purpose of helping to prevent mislabeling of products of the Communist bloc as products of free world countries in order to evade the higher duties placed on Communist goods and other restrictions on trade that would benefit our adversaries.

Under present law, marking duties are due on improperly marked merchandise whether or not there is evidence that the importer knew or had reason to know that the merchandise was mismarked. I believe that the policy behind this rule is sound. It should be the responsibility of the importer to assure proper marking, since he is in a position to insist on indemnification from the foreign seller if goods have been misrepresented. If, on the contrary, relief were granted to all importers with respect to mismarked merchandise whenever customs could not show that the importer was aware of the mismarking, this would be tantamount to making customs prove in each case of mismarking that the importer was at fault at considerable cost in time and effort. This would greatly change the impact of the marking law.

Since this would be the result of general legislation relieving importers of marking duties whenever mislabeling has resulted from the actions of others, I am constrained to withhold my approval from H.R. 1616 as a bill according relief which cannot be given to all other honest importers.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 16, 1962.*

### AMENDING THE LAW RELATING TO INDECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

I am withholding my approval of H.R. 4670, a bill "to amend the law relating to indecent publications in the District of Columbia."

Although I am in complete accord with the Congress that the people of the District of Columbia should adequately be protected against the dissemination of indecent and obscene publications and articles, there are grave constitutional and other considerations which have been called to my attention which compel me to withhold my approval of the legislation.

Among other things, my attention has been directed to the 1961 Supreme Court decision in *Marcus* v. *Search Warrant*, reported at page 717 of volume 367 of the U.S. Reports, which seems clearly to make the search and seizure provisions of this bill unconstitutional.

The 88th Congress will convene in less than 3 months and I am convinced it is desirable that the considerations which have been brought to my attention should be brought to its attention. Such a brief delay in the enactment of this legislation seems a small price to pay in order to obtain an enforcible law which will achieve the worthy objectives which prompted the bill before me.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 18, 1962.*

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## CATALINA PROPERTIES, INC.

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 12701, an act for the relief of Catalina Properties, Inc.

The bill would direct the Secretary of the Treasury to pay $29,425.01 to Catalina Properties, Inc., representing the amount which the corporation was unable to collect as rentals from sublessees of the Catalina Hotel, Miami Beach, Fla., for the period February 1 to March 15, 1953. The corporate claimant owned a 99-year leasehold interest in the hotel. During 1953, the Internal Revenue Service served a notice of levy and warrants for distraint on the sublessees of the hotel to pay accrued rentals to the district director. This levy resulted from a lawful attempt to collect income taxes fraudulently evaded by the corporation's principal shareholder, a bookmaker. The sublessees failed to pay these rentals either to the Government or to Catalina Properties, Inc., and the sublessees were evicted from the hotel in November 1953.

Catalina Properties, Inc., contends that the United States should pay to it the rentals which it could not collect from the sublessees on the ground that the levies caused the claimant's failure to collect the rentals. However, during 1953 the sublessees had no independent assets from which the rentals could have been collected from them, and the balance sheet accompanying their income tax returns for 1953 indicated that they were insolvent at that time.

The enactment of this bill would presuppose a duty on the part of the Government to collect from taxpayer's creditors, on whom levies are served, at the risk of the Government being held liable to the taxpayer if such collection is not effected. This is a risk which it is unfair to impose on the Government. Moreover, the primary beneficiary of this bill would be the corporation's principal stockholder whose fraudulent evasion of income taxes caused the levies.

Under the circumstances, I am constrained to withhold my approval from the bill.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 18, 1962.*

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## PROVIDING A MORE DEFINITIVE TARIFF CLASSIFICATION DESCRIPTION FOR LIGHTWEIGHT BICYCLES

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 8938, "to provide a more definitive tariff classification description for lightweight bicycles."

The new tariff classification description for lightweight bicycles would include a description of the frame. By this means, it would double the import duties on certain types of bicycles being imported.

Bicycles are provided for in paragraph 371 of the Tariff Act of 1930 and were originally subject to duty at 30 percent ad valorem. A tariff concession on bicycles was first granted to the United Kingdom in a bilateral trade agreement effective January 1, 1939. Under that agreement the framework of the existing tariff classification based upon diameter of the wheel was established. That classification provided for separate categories of duties: bicycles with or without tires having wheels in diameter over 25 inches; over 19 but not over 25 inches; and not over 19 inches.

That classification and duty treatment were continued following a concession granted by the United States in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade effective January 1, 1948, with one exception. The exception provided that the rate of duty on bicycles with or without tires having wheels in diameter over 25 inches and weighing less than 36 pounds complete without accessories and not designed for use with tires having a cross sectional diameter exceeding 1⅝ inches was to be reduced to $1.25 each but not less than 7½ percent nor more than 15 percent ad valorem. All other classifications were dutiable at specific rates but not less than 15 percent nor more than 30 percent ad valorem.

The present duty on lightweight bicycles is the result of a renegotiation which took place in February 1961. This renegotiation, in effect, reestablished an escape clause rate increase which had been invalidated by a previous court decision.

The practical effect of this legislation would be to increase the duty on imported bicycles having a cantilever or curved frame, weighing less than 36 pounds from the present duty of $1.875 each, but not less than 11¼ percent nor more than 22½ percent ad valorem to a new rate of $3.75 each, but not less than 22½ percent nor more than 30 percent ad valorem. I am informed that approximately one-half of current imports of bicycles that are imported under the lightweight classification are those with cantilever or curved frames, and would be subject to this approximate 100-percent increase in duty.

The enactment of this legislation within a short time after the 1961 negotiations and following the opening of new opportunities for trade expansion under the recently approved Trade Expansion Act would hamper our efforts to improve the position of American industry in foreign markets.

Under the Trade Expansion Act, a wider variety of relief is available to assist American firms suffering from imports. Should the American bicycle industry demonstrate the need for this relief, it should be provided.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 22, 1962.*

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## RICHARD C. COLLINS

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 3131, a bill "for the relief of Richard C. Collins." The bill directs the Court of Claims to grant a rehearing to Mr. Collins, of Billerica, Mass., in connection with his contesting the action of the Department of the Treasury in demoting him to a lower grade.

The facts concerning this legislation are as follows. Mr. Collins was employed by the Internal Revenue Service. He was notified, on November 27, 1956, that his work was unsatisfactory and thereafter that he was separated for inefficiency. However, the district director decided, after further review of Mr. Collins' case, that a more compassionate step would be to demote him to a lower grade. After the civil service regional office at Boston and the Board of Appeals and Review of the Civil Service Commission in Washington held that the demotion was valid and warranted, Mr. Collins instituted suit in the Court of Claims in April 1958. The court thoroughly reviewed his case and held that his demotion complied with applicable regulations, procedures, and laws. The court subsequently denied a motion for reconsideration.

Mr. Collins, who appeared before the court in his own behalf, contends that because of improper Civil Service procedures and through his own lack of understanding of legal procedures, he failed to emphasize the most important aspects of his case. The Court of Claims, however, appears to have fully considered the applicable statutes and regulations and Mr. Collins had previously presented his views before the agency and before the Civil Service Commission in a lengthy hearing.

In summary, I do not believe that a constitutional court should be directed to hear particular matter once deposed of. Mr. Collins has had his day in court. If each dissatisfied litigant were to be permitted repeatedly to litigate his claim, there would scarcely ever be an end to litigation against the Government.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 23, 1962.*

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## MRS. HELENITA K. STEPHENSON

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 9285, a bill for the relief of Mrs. Helenita K. Stephenson. The bill would pay veterans' death benefits in a lump sum of $5,144.29 to Mrs. Stephenson for the period 1946 to 1955, during which she was remarried and ineligible for such benefits. The asserted basis for this

payment is that her remarriage was annulled in 1955, because her husband had fraudulently misrepresented his wealth and health, and from a legal point of view, remarriage did not therefore exist during those years.

Mrs. Stephenson's entitlement to veterans' survivor benefits derived from the death of her husband in service in 1943. The monthly payments to her on this account were terminated in 1946, in accord with the law that remarriage is a bar to such benefits. Also in accord with longstanding regulations and practice, the payments were resumed in 1955 when her remarriage was annulled. Death benefits were paid all during the period of her remarriage on behalf of her children, continuing even after they were in college.

Mrs. Stephenson's situation appears to be no different from thousands of similar cases where individuals have not been given lump-sum settlements to cover the period of an invalid remarriage. While it may be, given the grounds of the annulment, that she did not receive adequate support during her remarriage, in view of all the circumstances this does not seem to be adequate reason for the retroactive payment proposed. Retroactive payments in this program are inherently objectionable because the program is based on the rule that death benefits are compensation toward support of the widow for current monetary loss resulting from the service death of a husband. A remarriage, even one subsequently annulled, must be assumed to replace that loss and to remove the Government's obligation to do so.

Approval of this bill would therefore seriously discriminate against similarly situated widows of veterans and it is important that we preserve the integrity and impartiality essential to the administration of programs involving hundreds of thousands of veterans and their dependents. This we cannot do if we grant special privilege or favored treatment as proposed by H.R. 9285.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 23, 1962.*

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## LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

### CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the official reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the official reporters of the respective Houses.

The official reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the official reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

THE UNIVERSITY
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United States
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 87th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 108 WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1962 No. 193

# Appendix

## NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-seventh Congress will be published not later than Friday, November 2, 1962. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Statuary Hall, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

## The John Birch Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the most careful analyses of the John Birch Society, its background and its objectives, has been made in a series of three articles in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner. The second one on October 5, 1962, is entitled "Where's the Report?" Under the previous unanimous-consent agreement, I request its insertion in the RECORD:

WHERE'S THE REPORT?

(By George Todt)

"I grow daily to honor facts more and more, and theory less and less."—Carlyle.

As pointed out previously, I neither endorse nor reject everything I hear pertaining to the John Birch Society.

It is best to be objective in this and other matters of ideological interest.

Writing as an American journalist, let's hope the day never arrives when we may be afraid to defend a persecuted minority.

I have done so in the past and am going to do so again.

Item: There is a report on the John Birch Society in a California Legislature committee that ought to be published before the November elections. But this is not to be. Why not?

Well, the powers that be in their tender solicitude for the public want you to see it after the November elections. How come?

Could it be that the character assassination and guilt-by-association techniques utilized against the JBS cannot stand inspection in the open?

Apparently the society is not nearly so bad as painted heretofore or its opponents would not keep the committee report bottled up.

Let me make the report of Efficiency Research Bureau, 800 South Harbor Boulevard, Anaheim, available to my readers. It may be found as a public document in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 14, 1962, under the remarks of Representative JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, Republican, of California.

This group of five investigators, including a Negro clergyman, sat in on numerous JBS meetings in an impartial study. Here are some of their conclusions:

1. Many of the allegations and rumors against the JBS could not be supported by fact.

2. The JBS is an anti-Communist movement open to anyone interested in joining or attending meetings.

3. It is not a secret organization, but rather groups meeting for discussion of views and ways in which to fight the international Communist conspiracy.

4. The majority of JBS members do not support or agree with many of the statements of Robert Welch, the society's founder. They usually agree with him on policy.

5. Each chapter is independent, and each chapter cooperates with chapter, State, and national views according to the dictates of his own conscience.

6. Efficiency Research Bureau investigators attending these meetings have found groups as small as 15 and as large as 59 at a single meeting. About 15 seemed to be preferred.

7. All indications show that the JBS anti-Communist movement is steadily growing.

8. Utilizing white and colored investigators, it was learned the JBS is neither anti-Semitic nor anti-Negro. Or "anti" any other religious or ethnic groups. Some chapters are nearly all colored. There are Jewish members on the national advisory council.

9. Investigators found no evidence of violence or unlawful activity engaged in by the John Birch Society.

10. Investigators learned certain individuals carried their prejudices into the JBS with them, but were quickly isolated.

11. Investigators expected to find a dictatorship, but did not.

12. Society works hard to prevent its being utilized as a vehicle to promote prejudices.

This factual report is contrary to the usual hearsay and innuendo being bandied about by detractors. Is this why Sacramento won't release its own?

## Travel to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the noteworthy accomplishments of the U.S. Travel Service in its first year of operation were indicated in preliminary statistics that showed an estimated 18 percent increase in visitors from foreign countries to the United States, almost double that of previous years. Its success has far exceeded my own expectations when I suggested the establishment of such an office and cosponsored legislation for it with Senator MAGNUSON, and there should be a substantial increase in its budget to enable it to make a truly full-scale effort.

To determine the extent to which interest to visit the United States has increased in oversea countries as a result of the efforts of the Travel Office, I requested the Department of State to inquire of its embassies abroad or otherwise provide information to show what

had been done to further develop interest in U.S. travel.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD, the letter I received from the Department of State dated October 3, 1962, and the statistical tables to which it refers.

There being no objection, the letter and tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, October 3, 1962.*

Hon. JACOB K. JAVITS,
*U.S. Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: Thank you for your letter of September 12, 1962, concerning the interest of foreign travelers in visiting the United States.

You will have noticed that the President last Thursday announced the latest of a series of steps taken by the Department of State in pursuance of his message of February 6, 1961, on balance of payments and gold. A copy of this press release is enclosed. Wide discretion has been given consular officers to waive the personal appearance of foreign tourists seeking to visit this country.

Starting in 1954, the Department has continuously sought means of simplifying the visa formalities for foreign travelers whose contributions of foreign exchange would help relieve the balance-of-payments problem. A series of simplifying measures have been taken, one leading to another. That described above is the most sweeping in its effect but is surely not the last.

Additionally, the Department has, during the past 2 or 3 years, encouraged all consular officers to take such of the following steps as might be suitable in their respective areas:

Display in waiting rooms pictures and posters advertising the United States as a tourist destination even if these have a commercial character advertising U.S. transportation lines.

Stock waiting rooms with folders, circulars, and other reading materials likely to stimulate interest in travel to the United States.

Include in response to inquiries about visas lists of agents in the area of U.S. transportation lines.

Meet with travel agents and transportation line representatives to brief them on correct visa information for their clients, misapprehension of travel agents having been identified as an important barrier to this movement.

The formation of the U.S. Travel Service as provided in the legislation you sponsored has been of service in the effort described above, since the Travel Service has been able to take over a part of the responsibility for stimulating travel to the United States and answering relevant questions for which consular offices were not staffed.

Rather than delay you by asking our diplomatic missions for their impressions of the effectiveness of the Travel Service, I am enclosing visa issuance statistics which represent the only concrete measure, actual visa applications, which those offices can have on this point. In the second part of the enclosed table, specific countries where offices of the Travel Service have been opened are marked with asterisks. The figures given are for 2 fiscal years before and the first fiscal year after the establishment of that Service. You will note that the statistics for France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland show an increase for the fiscal year just elapsed which is much higher in proportion than the annual increase experienced before these two oldest offices of the Travel Service were opened.

The other offices of the Travel Service were either opened much later in the fiscal year or are situated in countries where foreign exchange regulations seriously hamper tourist travel. It is premature to assess how effective these other offices can be.

I hope that the information provided will meet your needs. Please let me know if I can be of any further service.

Sincerely yours,

MICHEL CIEPLINSKI,
*Acting Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.*

*Nonimmigrant visa issuances and revalidations*

I. BY AREAS

| | Fiscal year 1959-60 | Fiscal year 1960-61 | Fiscal year 1961-62 |
|---|---|---|---|
| American Republics | 295,380 | 304,302 | 289,979 |
| Canada | 69,876 | 72,451 | 68,594 |
| Other Western Hemisphere | 25,665 | 27,967 | 34,282 |
| Europe | 183,006 | 201,471 | 239,451 |
| Soviet bloc countries | 4,582 | 4,517 | 4,484 |
| Near East | 26,532 | 30,296 | 35,545 |
| Far East | 58,369 | 64,087 | 70,177 |
| Africa | 7,223 | 8,928 | 10,430 |
| Total | 670,833 | 714,019 | 752,942 |

II. BY SELECTED COUNTRIES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 12,999 | 19,085 | 20,032 |
| Australia [1] | 15,973 | 15,419 | 15,838 |
| Austria | 2,824 | 2,948 | 3,282 |
| Belgium | 3,690 | 4,301 | 5,226 |
| Colombia [1] | 15,253 | 16,226 | 15,237 |
| Cuba | 42,899 | 30,461 | |
| France [1] | 17,199 | 20,457 | 27,799 |
| Germany | 29,693 | 32,585 | 39,620 |
| Great Britain and Northern Ireland [1] | 60,676 | 65,447 | 78,232 |
| Greece | 3,266 | 4,862 | 6,605 |
| India | 5,416 | 6,341 | 6,489 |
| Israel | 5,884 | 7,670 | 8,822 |
| Italy [1] | 13,832 | 15,956 | 16,794 |
| Japan [1] | 17,251 | 20,856 | 22,633 |
| Mexico | 134,258 | 139,863 | 146,475 |
| Morocco | 604 | 679 | 653 |
| Netherlands | 10,135 | 12,018 | 12,766 |
| Philippines | 6,773 | 7,871 | 8,856 |
| South Africa | 2,783 | 3,005 | 3,084 |
| Spain | 5,011 | 5,472 | 6,767 |
| Sweden | 7,706 | 9,016 | 9,328 |
| Switzerland | 7,302 | 8,874 | 10,881 |
| Venezuela | 29,888 | 27,892 | 24,924 |

[1] Travel Service office here.

## Ralph Votapek: Milwaukee's Musical Pride

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI**
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, musical fame has been brought to my native Milwaukee by the brilliant efforts of Mr. Ralph Votapek. Mr. Votapek recently was the winner of the first Van Cliburn International Piano Contest.

Mr. Votapek won by beating out 45 contestants from 16 nations, including 2 Russian pianists who finished second and third. His prize, $10,000, was the largest cash prize ever given a performer in the United States.

Well known to Milwaukeeans for his concerts with the Milwaukee Symphony and the Catholic Symphony Orchestra, Mr. Votapek had many enthusiastic rooters in Milwaukee during the days in which the grueling contest was being decided.

One group which is particularly proud of Mr. Votapek is the teachers and students at Custer High School from which the 23-year-old pianist graduated in 1956.

When the shy, bespectacled pianist arrived at Milwaukee's Billy Mitchell Field on October 9, the entire Custer High School Band was there to meet him, resplendent in their red and white uniforms. Also on hand were members of the student council of the high school and its principal, Mr. Raymond F. Michalak.

Mr. Michalak presented the talented Mr. Votapek with a large bouquet of flowers, a gift from the school. Signs, saluting the hometown boy, had been prepared by the high school boys and girls for the homecoming. There were 162 of them, representing various student organizations.

Custer High School issued a mimeographed short biography of Mr. Votapek to acquaint the students with the accomplishments of their famous graduate. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the short biography of Mr. Votapek and a story on his victory which appeared in Time magazine:

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF RALPH VOTAPEK

Ralph Votapek attended Custer High School from September 1952 as a 9B and was graduated June 14, 1956. He was well-liked by his teachers and by the students.

He was a member of the student council and the Music Service Club which was sponsored by Mr. E. Grant Boltz, music instructor. He was elected to the national honor society in his junior year by the faculty. Upon his graduation he received the Civic Music Medal from the school as the most outstanding music student. He received a music scholarship from Northwestern University at Evanston. He attended the Juilliard School of Music together with the Wisconsin Conservatory of Music. He received a superior scholarship average having taken 4 years of English, 4 years of math, 3 years of science, 2 years of social science, 3 years of Latin, together with 4 years of music in his junior and senior high school.

We are proud to have Ralph as an alumnus of Custer High School.

THE B'S THAT MADE MILWAUKEE

At Milwaukee's General Mitchell Field one day last week, a landing airliner was greeted by a 100-piece high school band, a chorus of can-canning cheerleaders and a cluster of city officials. Out stepped Milwaukee's Ralph Votapek, 23, to be greeted by Mayor Henry Maier. "For too long," intoned the mayor, "Milwaukee has been symbolized to the rest of the Nation only by beer and the Braves. Now, thanks to Ralph Votapek, we have added a third and very important B to our national honors—Beethoven." He proclaimed Ralph Votapek Day and announced that Votapek's name would appear in neon lights on the city hall tower.

The recipient of all these honors had just won the first Van Cliburn international piano competition, and with it the largest cash prize—$10,000—ever given a performing artist in the United States. Votapek, a pupil of Cliburn's teacher Rosina Lhevinne, had to beat out 45 contestants from 16 na-

tions, including two fine Soviet pianists who finished second and third. A soft-spoken, shy young man, he played the Prokofiev "Third Piano Concerto" and the first movement of the Beethoven Fourth, singing his way into their reflective passages and kindling fire from their climaxes with an ease and fluidity that immediately impressed the judges.

With the whopping cash prize went various other rewards: a recital in Carnegie Hall, a concert in London's Royal Festival Hall, a European tour, an S. Hurok-sponsored tour of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. For a time, Pianist Votapek did not know whether he could accept any of them: he was scheduled to be drafted, did not learn until week's end that he had been deferred for a year.

## Viewpoint of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in August of this year, 3,200 high-school-age members of the Boy Scouts of America from every one of our 50 States attended the National Explorer Delegate Conference conducted by the Boy Scouts of America at Ann Arbor, Mich. These young men, known as Explorers, represented the 285,000 members of the organization. Charles M. Heistand, assistant chief Scout executive, has informed me that this conference was planned, staffed, and operated by the Explorers themselves. Their theme was "Our Best Today for a Better Tomorrow." To demonstrate that they wanted to live up to that theme, the Explorers developed and adopted a "Viewpoint of Youth." This document, arrived at after long discussion, is refreshing evidence of the sound core of good citizenship in our younger citizens today. I was deeply impressed with it; the Explorers are concerned about everything from physical fitness to competitive free enterprise. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIEWPOINT OF YOUTH

We, the representatives of the exploring program of the Boy Scouts of America, in order to give our best today for a better tomorrow, present this viewpoint of youth, of, by, and for explorers, as a challenge to renewed and redirected action, starting now and continuing so long as we are Explorers.

Work for a balanced education making full use of our talents, so we may defend, advance, and enjoy the American way of living.

Learn more about communism and other subversive organizations so we can bury them with the truth about freedom.

Keep informed on public affairs by all means of communication from the printed page to Telstar.

Grasp leadership responsibilities and help other young people do the same in Exploring units and cabinets, in student councils and clubs, and in religious youth groups.

Form our own opinions of today's opportunities and problems and express these in youth conferences and to influential people such as editors and government representatives.

Urge more young people to join Exploring, school, and religious groups as workers, not watchers.

Seek greater recognition of youth's abilities and achievements which stand in overwhelming contrast to its delinquency.

Make Exploring more useful in community life and in our own lives through our service experiences.

Promote more school courses and assembly programs on citizenship, American Government, and competitive free enterprise.

Be able to explain how competitive free enterprise is related to our form of governments, offers freedom of opportunity, and raises our living standards.

Conduct activities that increase our understanding of the principles set forth in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

Learn more about the economic facts of life through vocational exploration, post specialities, and cabinet activities, such as career conferences.

Develop enough money-earning activities to avoid the free-ride attitude in unit programs.

Follow only leaders of character, and ask for technical help from the best qualified adult consultants.

Take the initiative in forming world friendships by welcoming exchange and student Explorers into our homes and meetings, and by corresponding with them.

Learn about and support methods of world friendship such as the Peace Corps, CARE, Red Cross, Radio Free Europe, and student exchanges.

Participate wholeheartedly in Exploring's new fit-for-tomorrow plan.

Help overcome many young people's take-it-or-leave-it attitude on personal fitness by demonstrating that fitness is fun.

Encourage competitive sports for all young people as players, not spectators, with a premium on clean sportsmanship.

Promote more challenging physical education programs with better direction and facilities in many schools, starting in the lower grades.

Conduct unit, district, and council competition in carry-over sports.

Extend more of our wilderness trips beyong reach of the station wagon.

Include more reverent and patriotic observances in our programs.

Encourage more Explorers to qualify for their religious awards.

Hold faithfully to our nonsectarian but reverent policy toward all Explorers' religions.

Discuss more often the application of such standards as the Explorer code, Scout oath and law, Golden Rule, and Ten Commandments to our personal problems—bearing in mind that what we do, tells more about us than what we say.

Based on discussions and adopted in principle by 3,200 delegates, representing 283,560 Explorers, at the first national Explorer delegates' conference at Ann Arbor, Mich., August 29, 1962.

## The John Birch Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the most careful analyses of the John Birch Society, its background and its objectives, has been made in a series of three articles in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. The first one on October 4, 1962, is entitled "For and Against." Under the previous unanimous-consent agreement, I insert it in the RECORD:

FOR AND AGAINST

(By George Todt)

"None so deaf as those that will not hear."—Matthew Henry, "Commentaries," Psalm LVIII.

As I have mentioned frequently before, I am no member of the John Birch Society—although the Soviet lie sheet, Pravda, grunted boorishly earlier in the year that its founder, Robert Welch must be my idol. Which is about par for the course.

Actually, this writer has no idols. But if I did, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower would come much closer to being one for me than Mr. Welch. I told the latter long ago that I would never buy any of his blatant nonsense about Ike, Richard Nixon, or John Foster Dulles.

But having said this, I must also write that I admire Welch for fighting both communism and Fabian socialism in this country. It is his attention to the latter that has brought down an avalanche upon his head. For Fabianism is deeply intrenched by now in our Government and most significantly, in the vital mass communications media.

RESULTS ARE SAME

Welch equates Fabianism and its exponents with communism, which I do not—although both are Marxist and end results admittedly appear similar.

As my readers know, I think members of the Communist Party of the United States are Benedict Arnold type traitors because all of them subscribe to an oath of allegiance to the Soviet Union upon entry into the party.

But the Fabian Socialists do no such thing. Insofar as I know, most of them are loyal Americans who simply believe that the social welfare state is best for our country. They are carrying out their beliefs with meaningful legislation at the local, State, and national levels.

A MIXED SYSTEM

This they have a right to do, under the Constitution of the United States, and they have been very effective over the past 30 years.

Now, I am in 100 percent disagreement with the Fabians that socialism is better than free enterprise for the United States.

Which is not to say I believe the first system is all bad and the second one all good. Perhaps a mixed system of about one-quarter socialism and three-quarters free enterprise—combining some of the best features of each—would be one we all could live with very well.

But let socialism in the United States become 50 percent, or 75 percent—much less 100 percent—and I think we would soon see extremely disastrous results.

The same kind, incidentally, that former Prime Minister (now Lord) Clement Atlee gave Great Britain from 1945–50 when his bumbling Social Labor Party wrested control away from the great Conservative, Winston Churchill.

The Fabian Socialist government of Atlee and Aneurin Bevan would have scarcely lasted even 1 year—much less 5—except for the billions of dollars to Britain we poured in under Marshall plan foreign aid.

Frankly, it seems almost incredible that the American people might permit the liberal extremists in this country to herd us into a similarly inept and soon-to-be-bankrupt economics system. Who will give us foreign aid later?

MIXED REACTION

As for beleaguered Robert Welch, I view him objectively but with mixed reactions. I am antagonistic to his weird public-relations-in-reverse statements about the leaders of the political party of my choice. But I favor his patriotic fight against disloyal Communists and the loyal-but-mistaken ADA and CDC.

Let's zero in on the target. It is neither all black nor all white.

## Report of Activities of Committee on the District of Columbia, 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, as chairman of your Committee on the District of Columbia, I am honored to present to the Senate a report of the activities of your committee during the 87th Congress.

Your committee has seen one of the busiest and, I believe, most productive, periods in some years, as the statistics and explanations I will submit hereafter fully support.

The Senate District Committee is unique among Senate committees by virtue of the great variety of problems and legislative proposals that come before it. The committee in some respects is not unlike a Senate legislature and city council combined. Constitutionally, the Congress is the legislative arm for the District of Columbia.

Mr. President, I am aware that few members of this distinguished body aspire to serve on the District of Columbia Committee. I believe that my colleagues on this committee are most deserving of the gratitude of the entire Congress, the people of the District of Columbia, and the people of the whole country generally for the long hours they spend in conferences, hearings, and executive sessions to tend to the business of the Nation's Capital City. May I, therefore, take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to my subcommittee chairmen who so unselfishly gave of their time and their energy. They are my distinguished colleague, the very effective and hard-working senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who is chairman of the Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety Subcommittee; the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], whose energies and skills and experience in municipal government have been invaluable to our committee as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee; my warm friend and capable junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SMITH], who is chairman of the Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee; and my close friend and willing worker, the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], whose long service, both in the Senate and the House, made his work most valuable as chairman of his subcommittee, Business and Commerce. To the other committee members, the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], whose past service in the House has been generally valuable to our committee; and to the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], whose experience in the executive branch of the Government and in the legislature of his home State, has done much to assist the committee with its multitude of problems, I wish to express my sincere thanks and deep appreciation for the hours they gave to our committee.

Mr. President, I believe this year, the Senate as well as the House, made real strides in enacting constructive legislation for the District of Columbia and the metropolitan area. As in the past, the Congress during this Congress has recognized the great metropolitan growth of Washington, D.C., and its diversified attendant problems.

In furtherance of the act establishing the National Capital Transportation Agency and the proclaimed Federal policy of the Congress to have a study made of the area's traffic problems with a view toward developing a comprehensive transit program for the National Capital region, the committee approved a bill to authorize the acquisition of certain lands in adjoining counties that will be needed as corridors for a rapid transit system. In approving this legislation the committee felt that acquisition of these parcels of land is essential at this time if space is to be reserved at a relatively low cost.

Again, as in other sessions of the Congress, the fiscal problems confronting the District of Columbia were important matters of consideration for the committee. The District's financial problems are being continually aggravated by the ever increasing operating costs imposed upon the District Government. These costs must be met with additional revenues acquired either through additional taxes or a larger Federal payment to the District. The former has its limitations for the simple reason that too great a tax increase on District residences and businesses could cause an imbalance with the surrounding county governments.

Being completely realistic about the District's financial plight, it is my judgment that Congress must do a better job of helping the District meet its fiscal needs by providing a greater Federal payment than that which has been appropriated by the Congress in recent years.

The Congress must share some responsibility for the District's ever increasing budget. In 1960, the Congress enacted mandatory pay raises for District employees, including teachers, policemen, and firemen. These fiscal measures contributed in part to the District's critical revenue deficit in fiscal 1962.

In an effort to meet this fiscal deficit, the committee during the 1st session of the 87th Congress approved a revenue bill which was finally enacted into law in March of 1962. This bill, along with an increase in the real estate tax, has assured the District of at least $16 million in increased revenues for the general fund.

On the basis of these revenue-producing measures, the fiscal situation for the District has improved in fiscal 1963.

Although such is the status now, it may become less favorable as the committee has approved salary increases for District employees in accordance with the congressional policy of providing salary increases for all classified and postal employees. However, the legislation providing for these pay increases was not approved by the committee without full realization that the District's revenue in 1964 may again be on the deficit side and require a greater Federal payment and possibly an increase in District taxes.

The fiscal measures that the committee approved during both sessions of the 87th Congress are as follows:

First. Provided a 10-percent increase in the salaries of teachers, school officers, and other employees of the board of education. It was the view of the committee that such increases will be instrumental in helping to recruit and maintain competent teachers and other personnel in the District's schools. The increase places the District's school system fourth highest among cities of over 500,000 population in the Nation.

Second. Provided increases of 11 percent in the salaries of policemen and firemen of the District of Columbia. These increases will place the District in fifth place among cities with a population of 500,000 and over.

Third. Provided increases in the retirement benefits of widows and children of former members of the various police and fire departments of the District of Columbia.

Fourth. Provided for the payment of a subsidy to the D.C. Transit Co. for the transporting of schoolchildren when the earnings of the company are less than an amount established by a prescribed formula.

Fifth. Provided for a reduction in the working week of the firefighters of the District of Columbia Fire Department to 48 hours. On an overall comparison with 20 of the largest cities' average workweek, the 48-hour workweek for the District firefighters would place it 5 hours under the average 53-hour workweek for this group.

In addition to these fiscal authorizations, the Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate District Committee approved a bill to authorize the District of Columbia to increase the limit of borrowing for the general fund of the District of Columbia, from $75 to $150 million. This additional borrowing authority would be used by the city to finance in 1964–68 a $142 million capital improvement program that would include the construction of many new elementary and junior high schools and other vitally needed service facilities.

The committee, recognizing the need to cooperate with the adjacent county governments, approved another bill that would permit the District of Columbia government to sell real property owned by the District to Prince William County, Va. The county envisions this land as being used for purposes of heavy indus-

try that will in time add to the tax base of the county and promote general welfare among its citizens.

In the field of judicial legislation, I believe this committee has made some real headway during this Congress. The Senate enacted several important measures that will greatly assist the courts of the District of Columbia and also provide for more effective law enforcement in the Nation's Capital.

After several years of stalemate between the Senate and the House, a workable juvenile court bill approved by this committee was finally agreed to by the House and enacted into law. The measure provides for two additional judges to be added to the court.

This increase in judicial manpower will enable the juvenile court to be kept current and thus bring to an end the ever-increasing backlog of juvenile cases which has delayed justice and caused in some measure serious social problems.

This committee approved a bill outlawing mandatory capital punishment in the District. This measure was also approved by the House, and it has now been enacted into law. Its enactment will remove a harsh and archaic principle of law that requires the imposition on the death sentence for all persons convicted of first degree murder in the District of Columbia. The change that has been made in existing law is long overdue, and will conform the law of the District more closely to that of every other jurisdiction in the United States, both Federal and State.

The Senate also approved another bill of the committee which was enacted into law. This particular measure increased the ad damnum jurisdiction of the municipal court of the District of Columbia in civil cases from $3,000 to $10,000. The bill also changed the names of the municipal court and municipal court of appeals to the District of Columbia court of general sessions and the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, respectively. This legislation will have the effect of relieving the congested calendars of U.S. district court of the cases involving small amounts claimed and thus free Federal judges for consideration of many more and far-reaching classes of litigation that come before it as a Federal court. Also, the measure will make the minimum ad damnum jurisdiction uniform with that of the other U.S. district courts.

The committee also cleared legislation for Senate action, and which was enacted into law, amending the various District laws relating to uniform partnerships, uniform limited partnerships, uniform gifts to minors, and incorporation of nonprofit corporations. The enactment of these measures had the effect of modernizing the law, and making it clear what the nonprofit corporations and partnerships may do, and how to do it. The bill amending the Gifts to Minors Act, also modernizes existing law, and makes it possible for donors to make gifts of money to children.

In the field of public health, and following committee approval, the Senate enacted several important measures. These included legislation authorizing the licensing of tissue banks in the District of Columbia; the authorization of grants for the expansion and improvement of the facilities of George Washington University Hospital; the regulation of the practice of physical therapy; amended the Hospital Center Act to provide fund authorization increase and time extension for grants for the Southeast Community Hospital; and extended the Hospital Center Act for 1 year.

This year the Senate and House enacted several amendments that will do much to improve the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act. This was accomplished after several years of stalemate between the Senate and the House on how best to improve the program. The enactment of the legislation increases unemployment benefits, extends period of time of eligibility, and brings many new groups of individuals under the program.

In the public welfare area, following committee approval, the Senate and House concurred in legislation providing for a more effective administration of public assistance and to make certain relatives responsible for support of needy persons. This legislation was long sought by the District government.

The committee again this Congress approved legislation supporting the establishment of a junior college division within the District of Columbia Teachers College.

The committee also approved several insurance bills which will have the effect of generally improving the insurance laws of the District of Columbia. Foremost of the legislation include authority to permit domestic insurance companies to invest bonds, notes, and evidence of indebtedness of the Inter-American Development Bank; exemption of the policies of group life insurance issued to credit unions from the requirement of the Life Insurance Act that such policies contain certain standard provisions; and provisions for the regulation of credit life insurance and credit accident and health insurance in the District of Columbia, which is written in connection with loans or other credit transaction of less than 5 years' duration.

The latter measure which pertains to credit life insurance is important for the reason that it will curb abuses most frequently encountered such as: First, selling the debtor insurance in excess of the amount of indebtedness; second, selling the debtor a policy for a term longer than the debt's life; third, failing to inform the debtor of the term, amount, and premium cost of such insurance; fourth, failing to refund unearned premiums when the debt is prematurely paid or renewed; and, fifth, charging excessive premiums for insurance of the proper term and amount.

Before closing I desire to express my deep appreciation for the cooperation that my committee received from Congressman McMillan, the chairman of the House District Committee, and the members of his committee. I also wish to commend the cooperation that the staff members of the House District Committee extended to the staff members of my committee during this Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to include the report in the Record at the conclusion of my statement. It contains a summary statement and statistical table of committee action on matters referred to it.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 2D SESSION, 87TH CONGRESS

The Committee on the District of Columbia received for consideration in the 2d session, 87th Congress, the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Senate bills | 46 |
| House bills | 22 |
| Senate resolutions | 0 |
| Senate joint resolutions | 1 |
| House joint resolutions | 1 |
| Nominations | 10 |
| Grand total | 82 |

During the session there were reported to the Senate from the committee, 27 Senate bills, and 17 House bills. Two Senate bills and one House bill remain on the Senate Calendar.

Of the 22 House bills referred to the Senate District of Columbia Committee, 10 are pending before the committee.

Thirty-five bills and acts have become public law.

Forty hearings were held by subcommittees on Senate bills and 14 hearings were held by subcommittees on House bills.

The full committee held hearings on 10 nominations.

The full committee met in executive session on six occasions.

Following is statistical data of actions by the Senate District of Columbia Committee during the 2d session, 87th Congress:

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations referred to committee | 82 |
| Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations reported to Senate | 54 |
| Number of bills, acts, and resolutions in process (hearings held) | 7 |
| Number of bills, acts, and resolutions indefinitely postponed within committee, including consolidation | 15 |
| Number of bills, acts, and resolutions awaiting final action | 31 |

Number of bills, acts, and resolutions received during the 1st session of the 87th Congress upon which the committee has acted during the 2d session:

| | |
|---|---|
| Senate bills reported favorably | 5 |
| House acts reported favorably | 7 |
| Senate bills in process | 5 |
| House acts in process | 0 |
| Senate bills postponed indefinitely | 9 |
| House acts postponed indefinitely | 0 |

*Comparative statistical data of action by the Senate District of Columbia Committee during the 1st and 2d sess. of the 86th Cong. and the 1st and 2d sess. of the 87th Cong.*

| | 1st sess., 86th Cong. | 2d sess., 86th Cong. | 1st sess., 87th Cong. | 2d sess., 87th Cong. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations referred to committee | 112 | 96 | 135 | 82 |
| Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations reported to Senate | 53 | 44 | 61 | 54 |
| Number of bills, acts, and resolutions in process (hearings held) | 7 | 4 | 2 | 7 |
| Number of bills, acts, and resolutions indefinitely postponed within committee, including consolidation | 27 | 17 | 14 | 15 |
| Number of bills, acts, and resolutions awaiting initial action | 26 | 29 | 44 | 31 |
| Hearings held by subcommittees on Senate bills | 54 | 57 | 47 | 40 |
| Hearings held by subcommittees on House bills | 18 | 17 | 13 | 14 |
| Hearings held by subcommittees on resolutions | 8 | | | |
| Total hearings held by subcommittees | 90 | 74 | 60 | 54 |
| Hearings by full committee on bills, resolutions, and nominations | 7 | 2 | 17 | 13 |
| Full committee meetings | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 |

The following is a list, by title and number, of all bills, acts, and resolutions passed by the Senate during the 2d session of the 87th Congress. Those that became law are indicated by the public or private law number.

S. 778, to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the District of Columbia government to establish an Office of Civil Defense, and for other purposes," approved August 11, 1950.

S. 1447, to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955, as amended. Public Law 87–881.

S. 1834, to further amend the act of August 7, 1946 (60 Stat. 896), as amended, by providing for an increase in the authorization funds to be granted for the construction of hospital facilities in the District of Columbia; by extending the time in which grants may be made; and for other purposes. Public Law 87–511.

S. 2139, to exempt from taxation certain property of the American War Mothers, Inc.

S. 2250, to provide for the incorporation of the National Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, organized 1883, 78 years old. Public Law 87–650.

S. 2357, to provide for the regulation of credit life insurance and credit accident and health insurance in the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–686.

S. 2436, to transfer certain land in the District of Columbia to the Secretary of the Interior for administration as a part of the National Capital parks system, and for other purposes.

S. 2793, to amend the District of Columbia Traffic Act, 1925, as amended, to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to assess reasonable fees for the restoration of motor vehicle operators' permits and operating privileges after suspension or revocation thereof. Public Law 87–745.

S. 2795, to prohibit the use by collecting agencies and private detective agencies of any name, emblem, or insignia which reasonably tends to convey the impression that any such agency is an agency of the government of the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–837.

S. 2977, to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–740.

S. 3011, to amend section 4 of the act of Congress approved March 1, 1899, entitled "an act to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to remove dangerous and unsafe buildings and parts thereof, and for other purposes."

S. 3013, to amend the act of July 2, 1940, as amended, relating to the recording of liens on motor vehicles and trailers registered in the District of Columbia, so as to eliminate the requirement that an alphabetical file on such liens be maintained.

S. 3063, to incorporate the Metropolitan Police Relief Association of the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–523.

S. 3086, to provide for a reduction in the workweek of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. Public Law 87–697.

S. 3313, to authorize an increase in the borrowing authority for the general fund of the District of Columbia.

S. 3314, to amend the District of Columbia Public School Food Services Act.

S. 3315, to relieve owners of abutting property from certain assessments in connection with the repair of alleys and sidewalks in the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–700.

S. 3317, to amend provisions of law relating to personal property coming into the custody of the property clerk, Metropolitan Police Department, and for other purposes. Public Law 87–691.

S. 3350, to amend the act of August 7, 1946, relating to the District of Columbia hospital center to extend the time during which appropriations may be made for the purposes of that act.

S. 3356, to permit investment of funds of insurance companies organized within the District of Columbia in obligations of the Inter-American Development Bank. Public Law 87–739.

S. 3359, to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to lease certain public space under and in the vicinity of 10th Street SW., for public parking.

S. 3428, relating to the appointment of judges to the municipal court for the District of Columbia, the municipal court of appeals for the District of Columbia, and the juvenile court of the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–596.

S. 3705, to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958, as amended, to increase salaries, to adjust pay alinement, and for other purposes. Public Law 87–882.

H.R. 2838, to exempt from taxation certain property of the Army Distaff Foundation. Private Law 87–385.

H.R. 5143, to amend section 801 of the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1901. Public Law 87–423.

H.R. 6836, to amend the Policemen and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act. Public Law 87–857.

H.R. 6967, to provide for the incorporation of certain nonprofit corporations in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. Public Law 87–569.

H.R. 7752, to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes. Public Law 87–470.

H.R. 8074, to amend the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947, as amended, and the District of Columbia Business Corporation Act, as amended, with respect to certain foreign corporations.

H.R. 8563, to amend the life insurance act of the District of Columbia to permit certain policies to be issued to members of duly organized national veterans' organizations. Public Law 87–855.

H.R. 8738, to amend sections 1 and 5b of chapter V of the Life Insurance Act for the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–738.

H.R. 8916, to authorize grants for planning and carrying out a project of construction for the expansion and improvement of the facilities of George Washington University Hospital in the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–460.

H.R. 9699, to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to sell certain property owned by the District of Columbia located in Prince William County, Va., and for other purposes. Public Law 87–475.

H.R. 9954, to amend the act of June 6, 1924, chapter 270 (43 Stat. 463), relating to the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, as amended by the National Capital Planning Act of 1952 (66 Stat. 781; 40 U.S.C. 71). Public Law 87–683.

H.R. 11018, to amend the act concerning gifts to minors in the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–821.

H.R. 11019, to provide that the Uniform Limited Partnership Act shall apply in the District of Columbia. Public Law 87–716.

H.R. 12547, to amend the act of August 7, 1946, relating to the District of Columbia hospital center, to extend the time during which appropriations may be made for the purposes of that act. Public Law 87–593.

H.R. 12675, to provide for the formation of partnerships in the District of Columbia and to make uniform the law with respect thereto. Public Law 87–709.

H.R. 12689, to repeal section 557 and to amend section 559 of the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1901. Public Law 87–694.

H.R. 12708, to increase the jurisdiction of the municipal court for the District of Columbia in civil actions, to change the name of the court, and for other purposes. Public Law 87–873.

H.R. 12727, to amend the act of February 28, 1901, to insure that policemen and firemen in the District of Columbia will receive medical care for all injuries and diseases. Public Law 87–708.

H.R. 12546, to amend the Life Insurance Company Act of the District of Columbia (48 Stat. 1145), approved June 19, 1934, as amended.

H.R. 12762, to amend the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act, as amended. Public Law 87–705.

The following is a list of nominations confirmed by the Senate:

John L. Newbold, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for the term expiring March 3, 1965.

Edwin T. Holland, of Virginia, to be a member of the Advisory Board of the National Capital Transportation Agency.

Frank Hammett Myers, of the District of Columbia, to be judge of the municipal court of appeals for the District of Columbia for the term of 10 years, vice Leo A. Rover, deceased.

Joseph C. Waddy, of the District of Columbia, to be associate judge of the municipal court for the District of Columbia, domestic relations branch, for the term of 10 years, vice Frank Hammett Myers, elevated.

John J. Malloy, of the District of Columbia, to be judge of the municipal court for the District of Columbia for the term of 10 years. (He is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired February 24, 1962.)

Thomas D. Quinn, of the District of Columbia, to be judge of the municipal court of appeals for the District of Columbia for the term of 10 years. (He is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired February 24, 1962.)

John Joseph Gunther, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for the term expiring March 3, 1967. (Reappointment.)

Edgar H. Bernstein, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia for a term of 3 years expiring June 30, 1965.

Morris Miller, of the District of Columbia, to be chief judge of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia for the term of 10 years.

Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, of the District of Columbia, to be associate judge of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia for the term of 10 years.

## Floyd Gonyea: Mr. Cudahy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the best known and most beloved citizens of Milwaukee County has announced his retirement. He is Floyd J. Gonyea, police justice of suburban Cudahy for 32 years, Milwaukee Sentinel reporter for 35 years, and a sought-after toastmaster for over a generation.

All his life, Judge Gonyea, 63, has been driven by one outstanding ambition—to make the world a little brighter and happier place for the people with whom he daily came in contact.

As a police justice, Judge Gonyea had a well-deserved reputation for tempering his law with charity. His decisions often were not strictly by the book, but they corresponded to the Golden Rule.

As a reporter, principally covering police and court news in Milwaukee County, his work was characterized by a sensitivity to the feelings of individuals, both those about whom he wrote and those among whom he worked. Young reporters, just breaking in on the "beat," no matter what newspaper they worked for, could expect a bit of fatherly advice and a helping hand from Judge Gonyea.

His infectious good humor and artful speaking style won him a large following as a toastmaster and master of ceremonies. His humor was broad and gentle, his manners ingratiating.

Judge Gonyea also has long been noted for his charitable work. At the present time he is on the corporation board for the Milwaukee area United Fund. He has been active in the Red Cross since 1940, and served on the board of directors of the Milwaukee-Waukesha chapter from 1945 to 1961. During World War II he served with the Red Cross field service, including 1 year in England.

"Flamboyant," "colorful," and "fabulous" are all adjectives which have been used to describe Judge Gonyea's career. He is a man who believes in dressing well—as a closet full of suits and sport coats will attest—and in keeping a daily eye on the stock market. He is, of all men, a man "of parts," a personality whose characteristics single him out as unique.

My own association with Judge Gonyea has been long and pleasant. He is a man to whom it is natural to come with problems and difficulties. Often those problems involve Federal matters which can be handled by the congressional office. Together we have been able to bring aid to, or solve problems for, dozens of people.

In a day when newspaper reporters sometimes pride themselves on their detachment from the scene which they write about, Judge Gonyea is an example of the journalist as an activist. He never shrank from living as he wrote about life. Not content to be merely the observer, he plunged into civic and charitable duties in his own community, Cudahy, and in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

Judge Gonyea's retirement was forced by a heart condition which has made him set a slower pace for himself. But retirement for him is likely to mean a fulltime devotion to those "works of mercy" to which his nonworking, waking hours were dedicated for so many years.

"As a man sows, so shall he reap," the Bible tells us. As one who has sown the good seed throughout his life, Judge Floyd Gonyea may certainly look forward to reaping a bountiful harvest of affection and esteem in the years to come.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include articles on Judge Gonyea's retirement which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel, his old paper; the Milwaukee Journal, and the Cudahy Reminder-Enterprise:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Oct. 11, 1962]

"MR. CUDAHY" RETIRES AS MUNICIPAL JUSTICE—FOURTH HEART ATTACK BRINGS END TO LONG, FLAMBOYANT CAREER OF FLOYD GONYEA

(By Edward S. Kerstein)

A fourth heart attack in 10 years caused Floyd J. Gonyea—flamboyant toastmaster, friendly counselor, civic leader, and ubiquitous former newspaper reporter—to announce his retirement Thursday as Cudahy's municipal justice. Gonyea's activities stamped him as "Mr. Cudahy." When he ends his judicial career November 1, his tenure of 32 years and 5 months will establish a Milwaukee County record for municipal or police justices.

Gonyea, 63, was elected to the old police justice court in 1930 and was reelected every 4 years thereafter. Under court reorganization last January 1, he became Cudahy's municipal justice.

Gonyea's decisions occasionally raised eyebrows, particularly when he reduced a charge against a first offender or suspended sentence on him. To critics of his rulings, Gonyea, a former Catholic seminary student, countered that his knowledge of canon law motivated him to "display a bit of Christian charity" to repentant violators.

A native of Manistique, Mich., Gonyea was graduated from the high school department of St. Norbert College in De Pere, Wis., in 1918. After a brief stint as a timekeeper in a lumber camp at Shingleton, Mich.—and as editor of the Brown County Journal-Democrat at De Pere—he decided to study for the priesthood at St. Francis Major Seminary in St. Francis.

In 1925 Gonyea left the seminary to become a general assignment reporter for the old Milwaukee Sentinel and editor of the Cudahy Enterprise, a weekly newspaper. With the exception of 2 years as editor of the Cudahy Enterprise, Gonyea had been on the Sentinel staff until his recent retirement.

In the 1930's, Gonyea endeared himself to the poor families of industrial Cudahy by transporting them in his car to relief stations and aiding them in filling out relief applications. He also sought used furniture and hauled it to the homes of newlyweds trying to set up housekeeping with little in those bleak years.

Gonyea became a leader in fundraising activities. He also became widely known as a toastmaster fond of pranks. For example, he brought many chuckles to Cudahy civic dinners by presenting extremely loud neckties to his Catholic priest friends who were among the dinner guests.

Gonyea received the Cudahy Kiwanis Club's first distinguished Kiwanian Award in 1953. He is a charter member of the club and was its president from 1936 through 1938.

Gonyea, who is now a member of the corporation board for the United Fund, has served as president of the Holy Name Society of St. Frederick's Church, president of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild and post service officer of the Arthur Kerlin Post American Legion. Long active in Red Cross work, he joined the Red Cross field service in 1942 and served until 1945, including 1 year in England.

Gonyea spent most of his newspaper years as Sentinel police reporter at the safety building. Often he was assigned to cover major crime stories elsewhere in Wisconsin.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Oct. 11, 1962]

FLOYD GONYEA RETIRES FROM CUDAHY COURT

Floyd J. Gonyea, Cudahy's police justice for 32 years, announced his retirement Wednesday, effective November 1. Gonyea, 63, a former police reporter, explained that his health did not permit him to devote adequate time to his police court. He was the oldest justice of the peace in point of service in Milwaukee County. He had been reelected every 4 years since May 1930.

Because of a heart condition, Gonyea has been setting a slower pace for himself. Earlier this year, he ended a 37-year career as a newspaperman.

With the exception of 2 years as editor of the Cudahy Enterprise, Gonyea had been on the Milwaukee Sentinel staff since 1925.

One of the foremost promoters of Cudahy, Gonyea has been active in civic, service, veterans', and church activities in the community since the early 1920's. He has been a leader in fundraising activities and is one of the metropolitan area's best known toastmasters.

Gonyea received the Cudahy Kiwanis Club's first distinguished Kiwanian Award in 1953. He was a charter member of the club and its president from 1936 through 1938.

HONORED BY AWARDS

He was honored with the Cudahy Allied Veterans Council Service Award in 1954, the Cudahy Junior Chamber of Commerce Good Government Award in February 1959, and the South Side Advancement Association of Cudahy Service Award in June 1959.

Gonyea is a past president of the Holy Name Society of St. Frederick's Church, a member and past president of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild, and post service officer of the Arthur Kerlin Post, American Legion. Active in the Red Cross since 1940, he joined

the Red Cross field service in 1942 and served until 1945, including 1 year in England. He served on the board of directors of the Milwaukee-Waukesha Red Cross chapter from 1945 to 1961.

SERVES UNITED FUND BOARD

Gonyea currently is a member of the corporation board for the United Fund.

In addition to his membership in the American Legion, Kiwanis, and Holy Name Society, Gonyea is a member of St. Frederick's Court, Catholic Order of Foresters; the Pope Pius XII council, Knights of Columbus; the American Overseas Association, St. Norbert Alumni Association, and the Jesuit Seminary Guild.

Gonyea was born August 15, 1899, in Manistique, Mich., and has been a Cudahy resident since 1920.

A widower, Gonyea was married to Catherine Havlichek, a Marquette University journalism graduate. He has two daughters—Miss Barbara, who lives at home at 4932 South Packard Avenue, Cudahy; and Mrs. Jacqueline Jaster, 2120 West Colfax Place.

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[From the Cudahy Reminder-Enterprise, Oct. 11, 1962]

FLOYD GONYEA TO RETIRE AS MUNICIPAL JUSTICE—CITES "UNCERTAINTIES WHICH SURROUND MY HEART CONDITION"

Floyd J. Gonyea, municipal justice of the peace here for over 32 years, will retire from that position, November 1 of this year. The amiable judge, in a letter which will be read at the October 16 council meeting said he made his decision because of "the uncertainties surrounding my heart condition." He said "periodical leaves from my duties because of this are manifestly unfair to other members of the official family, the police department and the general public."

Gonyea, elected police judge in 1930, has been reelected since. In the latter years he has had no opposition for the position—a tribute to his popularity. He has led these elections in total number of votes for many years.

Gonyea's career in Cudahy has been long and varied with the judgeship only part of his work record. He is also noted as a reporter, having served on the Milwaukee Sentinel from 1925 until the paper was recently sold. He spent all but 2 of those years as a reporter for the Sentinel, when he was editor of the old Cudahy Enterprise.

During his years in Cudahy he has distinguished himself by being active in many community activities. He was chosen as Kiwanian of the Year in 1953. He won the Cudahy Allied Veterans Council Service Award and directed Red Cross and Community Fund campaigns and other fundraising projects in Cudahy for many years. And he is respected throughout the county for his prowess as toastmaster.

Gonyea came to Cudahy from his native Manistique, Mich. He attended St. Francis de Sales Parochial School there and St. Norbert College, West Depere, Wis. He attended the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and St. Francis Major Seminary from 1919 to 1924 receiving a B.A. degree there in 1923.

Some of his distinctions include being president of the Cudahy Kiwanis Club, 1936, 1937, and 1938, president of St. Frederick's Holy Name Society, 1931, 1932, and 1933, president of the Southeastern Wisconsin Baseball League, 1930–31; adjutant Cudahy Legion Post, 1927–29, and its service officer for many years; secretary of the old Cudahy Business and Advancement Association, 1927–29 and president of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild, 1941 and 1945.

Here are some of the organizations to which he belongs:

Cudahy Kiwanis Club; Arthur Kerlin Post 16; Cudahy American Legion; St. Frederick's Court; Catholic Order of Foresters; Pope Pius XII Council, Knights of Columbus; American Overseas Association (Red Cross Overseas Workers); Holy Name Society of St. Frederick's Church; Milwaukee Newspaper Guild; Milwaukee Sentinel Six Star Club; St. Norbert Alumni Association; Jesuit Seminary Guild;

Member of board of directors of the Milwaukee-Waukesha County chapter, American Red Cross from 1945 to 1961; corporation board of the Community Fund, and of the board of directors of the defunct Veterans Service Exchange. Rollcall director for Milwaukee County in 1940 of the American Red Cross and chairman of the Selective Service Board (Cudahy-old Town of Lake) from 1940 to 1942.

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## Crisis in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, last week the Washington Building Congress celebrated their 25th anniversary and were privileged to have as their main speaker Mr. Philip L. Graham, president of the Washington Post.

The Washington metropolitan area is faced with the same problems of metropolitan growth common to all major city areas. However, these problems have been intensified by the fact that the District of Columbia metropolitan area has had the second fastest growth in the United States and over one-half of the District of Columbia area's population is located outside the District of Columbia proper. Mr. Graham is one of the outstanding leaders in the Washington metropolitan area, and I am happy to call to the attention of the Congress and the country his views for a realistic program for action in planning metropolitan expansion. I ask unanimous consent that his speech before the Washington Building Congress be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Our Nation's Capital has never been at a loss for planners and prophets.

The first act of prophecy about our city and its future was made 171 years ago by a planner, Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant. He conceived of the Capital of this Revolutionary Republic in the grand baroque manner of 17th century European monarchy.

While we may question L'Enfant's sense of history, it is difficult, even after nearly two centuries, to question his sheer genius as a physical planner.

L'Enfant was a far shrewder visionary than any among the generations of his successors. His plan was, in fact, compelling enough to be revived a full century after it was grudgingly received by our first President and all but torn to pieces by the land speculators of those days.

L'Enfant, luckily for him, started with nothing. Some of our contemporary planners seem to feel that they, too, are starting from nothing, a strange and delusive way of thinking about the 1960's.

Today we have still another plan, this one for the National Capital region of 38 years hence, our plan for the year 2000. And this is what I want to talk about tonight.

LOOKING BACK

The year 2000 is 38 years off. Let's skip back 38 years and see how prescient the lesser breed of L'Enfants were when they planned for the year 1962 back in the early twenties.

They, like us today, were merely human beings, not seventh sons of seventh sons. Thus, their population projection from that era showed that no one had any idea of the revolutionary changes—the urban explosion, if you will—that would transform the Federal City into a metropolis stretching from Leesburg to Upper Marlboro and from Bowie to Manassas.

Although our research could not turn up forecasts that were actually made in 1924, we did discover that as late as 1930 the experts were confident that the District of Columbia in 1962 would still hold some 60 percent of the metropolitan population.

What has actually happened? Nearly two-thirds of the population has migrated to the suburbs.

The prognosticators of more than three decades ago foresaw a metropolitan population of 1.5 million people in 1962—with 875,000 of these numbers housed inside the District and 625,000 in the suburbs.

MISSING THE MARK

As it turned out, our suburbs are well over the million-and-a-quarter mark and suburban growth rates have not abated. So you see the suburban growth projections were a mere 200 percent off the mark.

Of course the science of population was still in its bow-and-arrow stage back in the twenties. It is no surprise that the arrow went so wide of its mark.

After all, it was shot from a world in which airplanes lumbered along at less than 150 miles an hour; where mass dispersion of buying power was undreamed of for such amenities as washing machines, refrigerators, air conditioners, cars, and even homes; a world in which radio was still in its infancy and television unknown.

And in the District there existed ghetto boundaries for the Negro population which everyone thought would remain fixed in perpetuity.

Back in 1924 there was no comprehensive planning as such. And officials were only dimly aware of the beginnings of those two forces which would profoundly alter the face of our city—the automobile and urban sprawl.

MORE VEHICLES

There were about 100,000 motor vehicles on our streets in 1924. There are 700,000 today.

Commissioner James F. Oyster was warning in 1924 that within 5 years the municipal authorities "may be turning to the possibilities of underground parking and the creation of 'parking hotels' to get some of the machines off the streets during the hours of the day."

In 1924 steamshovels were crunching into such remote spots as Klingle Ford and Piney Branch within 3 miles of the White House to clear the way for new homes and apartment houses.

At the 59th anniversary meeting of the Association of Oldest Inhabitants, Col. Clarence O. Sherrill, officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, lamented that Piney Branch "has been completely destroyed."

Each year, Sherrill protested, the "dumping and denuding of the (city's) forested areas has progressively continued."

In the year when the foxtrot was king, when Coolidge was reelected President, when a new Ford touring car sold for $295—the citizens of Washington were only beginning to show any awareness of the need for civic leadership to guide the great new thrust of development that came with prosperity.

COMMITTEE ROLE

Their concern showed itself in formation of the Committee of 100 and the National Capital Park Commission. But in the 38 ensuing years neither organization has been able to play a vital role in the National Capital area's development.

How did the District respond in 1924 to the storm warnings of change and growth?

Except for a handful of farsighted citizens, the prevailing preoccupation was with the cosmetic needs of our streets, parks, and monuments rather than corrective surgery. The dominant desire was to make the Capital City a place of monumental beauty surpassing Paris and Vienna.

Thoroughly in the spirit of the time, the Washington Post declared editorially that Washington "is going bravely forward to the Augustan age of its development."

And yet one prophetic soul—an obscure assistant engineer commissioner, Capt. John E. Wood—recognized that needs of the new age would cut far deeper than mere physical ornamentation and display.

MUSTS OF 1924

In 1924, after 4 years of service to the city, Wood drew up this remarkable far-sighted list of must endeavors:

1. Development of the Washington Channel waterfront.

2. Acquisition and development of the Potomac Palisades.

3. Completion of a metropolitan plan embracing the Maryland and Virginia suburbs.

4. Construction of radial boulevards into the city.

5. Construction of belt highways in the suburbs to bypass congested residential areas and connect parkland.

6. Special architectural treatment for sections of the city such as Georgetown.

Wood was especially emphatic about the need for a beltway system as a "key to the plan of Greater Washington." Today we can take rueful measure of his warning that "further delay in establishing a proper plan for Washington outside Florida Avenue will mean glowing opportunities lost and tragedy invited."

But no one—not even the perceptive Captain Wood—suggested that Washington would benefit from a subway system which had already been tried and proven in other world capitals. Even as late as the New Deal era when land was cheap and massive public works were needed to combat unemployment, the city's first detailed plans for a subway were laughed into oblivion.

LOOKING AHEAD

So much for planning and prophesying in 1924. The truth is that no one was then trying to plan or capable of planning 38 years ahead.

In 1962 are we any more capable of planning in detail, for 38 years from now? Are we so sure we have inherited the vision and talent of L'Enfant? Of course, we must have goals, long-term goals. But are we not better advised to temper our detailed planning to a period within our foresight and tangible grasp?

Let's look ahead to the year 2000.

Most of you are familiar with the year 2000 plan.

As a rough-sketch statement of goals toward which we may grow over the next four decades, it isn't bad.

Suburban planners and politicians have responded well to the notion of fixed growth corridors to permit balanced patterns of urban growth and open space.

But I must confess that I have fears about the actual operative effects of the year 2000 plan.

We are already seeing it used as an opiate by planners and by out-and-out obstructionists to tranquilize us against our day-to-day and year-to-year problems. In some quarters it is being invoked as Holy Writ to justify delay and deferral on decisions for the critical needs of today and 5 years from today.

OLD ARMY GAME

A military friend once told me of an old Army gamesmanship device to avoid making decisions. If you're assigned a problem, he said, all you have to do is make it so big that everyone finally agrees it's insoluble.

The so-called year 2000 plan is being used in just this fashion. It has been grasped by too many of our planned policymakers and technicians to sidestep painful but necessary controversy. It has been exploited by the philosophers of negativity.

One troublesome aspect of our current year 2000 planning is that it treats the central city as a sort of hole in the doughnut. Our planning sights must be set in the central city, in the midst of the forces that shape metropolitan development, rather than at the periphery. How can we intelligently tell where our development spokes should go if we haven't planned the hub of the system, our metropolitan core?

And the truth is that we haven't faced other most fundamental development issues within the District of Columbia in the year 2000 plan or anywhere else.

GAPS IN POLICY

For example, although we have a so-called plan for 38 years hence, we still have no existing policy to control the development of our most treasured asset, the Potomac Valley from Great Falls to Mount Vernon.

Is it any surprise that one controversy chases another down the shoreline—the battle of Merrywood, the battle of Watergate Towne, and even our bridge controversies?

When we fasten our eyes on the next millenium we are piling new atrocities on the old mistakes. Our most precious visual heritage, the vista of the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials, as well as the Washington Monument, have already been defiled by commercial excrescences of unsurpassed ugliness along the Georgetown waterfront.

And just as the monumental skyline sweeps into view from Whitehurst Freeway, our nostrils tell us that we have entered the foulest pocket of industrially polluted air in the city. Perhaps we ought to post a roadside warning to out-of-town motorists: "You are entering a monumental area. Hold your nose."

Still further downstream, along Rock Creek Parkway, comes the reek of raw sewage from one of the world's filthiest rivers, a monument itself to what has been called our effluent society.

HUMAN NEEDS

Yes, we have an image for the year 2000. But meanwhile, who has devised a way for a $65-a-week wage earner with three kids in an urban renewal area to qualify for a section 221 rehabilitation loan today, or next year, or 5 years from now?

How will the plan unsnarl tomorrow's traffic jam along Shirley Highway created by a Federal agency that decided to plunk down a major employment center at, say, Cameron Station in Alexandria?

How will it provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing next year for families chased out of their homes by a big new motel in midtown, by a freeway, or by the latest brainstorm of our Capitol Architect?

What can we find in the year 2000 plan to take care of the blight factor that we are building into our new Southwest right now by not providing parking to go with the thousands of Federal employees flocking into the new office buildings along Independence Avenue?

What should we do about the Anacostia River which has been completely ignored as another great natural asset of our region as a planning tool for revitalizing a section of Washington that has been left to rot? Should it have a 20- or 40-foot channel? How should we treat its shoreline? Must we also despoil the lovely and neglected Arboretum?

PRESENTING PLEA

I simply want to make this plea.

Let's not take the year 2000 plan for what it is not—an answer to problems that are now on the frying pan.

We must not be tranquilized into a sense of complacency that Washington's pressing issues have been solved on paper and that all we need do is follow our blueprint down the garden—or the corridor—path.

Ten years ago I was invited to your birthday and I spoke to you of the serious, costly and dangerous problems that lay ahead for our city. In almost every respect, our worst fears have been surpassed.

The flight to the suburbs that was well underway in 1952 is still running full tide, draining the central city of middle income families, depriving the District of their tax payments and their retail shopping dollars.

Then at your 20th birthday party, 5 years ago, we took another look into our familiar metropolitan can of worms to find that our problems were bloating and multiplying beyond imagination.

NEEDS, 1958

We took stock at the 1958 reunion of our needs:

To redevelop and rehabilitate large parts of the central city.

To create healthful, balanced and economically viable suburban growth.

To find means toward redistributing the racial elements of our population.

To start moving on our water supply and pollution problems.

To expand our transportation plant both on rail and asphalt.

At our last meeting I complained to you that our brainpower and energies were being dissipated in prolonged and sterile disputes such as the 7-year bridge-tunnel debate for our Constitution Avenue crossing of the Potomac. It is absolutely scandalous that after 11 years that bridge is still incomplete. It is dangling there in mid-air, a monument to the obstruction of the Planning Commission, the Fine Arts Commission, the Park Service and others.

In 1958 I reported to you that southwest redevelopment has "continually been delayed and bedeviled by crisis after crisis—all of them involving matters of essentially minor importance." The southwest could have been largely completed by 1958. But again the obstructionists have had a field day. And it may not be done by 1968, unless someone takes action.

CAPITAL OUTLAY

The capital outlay needs we faced in 1952 and 1958 to replenish and care for our antiquated municipal plant have multiplied greatly. Yet only within the past week Congress has once again displayed, in the most revolting form, its lack of responsibility to the National Capital when it shelved the city's request for expanded borrowing authority.

For sheer obstructionism toward the District, the record of this session of Congress is hard to match.

Before the demise of the city's borrowing authority bill, Washingtonians witnessed the spectacle of a southern-dominated House District Subcommittee interposing itself between the Commissioners and a proposed fair housing regulations in an ugly act of legislative extortion.

Just a few days earlier came the burial of a modest piece of legislation that would have cleared the way for planning the revitalization of our blighted downtown.

The action plan for downtown and supporting legislative proposals represent an investment of more than half a million dollars

and 2 years of work by two of our most valuable civic action groups—Downtown Progress and the Federal City Council. It was an investment, I need not remind you, by Washington's much-maligned business community.

CONGRESS' ROLE

Yet an unresponsive Congress shrugged off the city's pleas for legislation to start the action plan on the road toward realization.

Somewhere in the innumerable pigeonholes on Capitol Hill dust is also gathering on a bill that would have allowed the city to go ahead with a badly needed 2,000-car garage under the southwest Mall. A selfish and shortsighted minority of our business fraternity, together with their friends on Capitol Hill, put the Mall parking bill in cold storage. In the process, they upset a major element of our southwest plan, which has already been bedeviled by delay and disruption.

The 87th Congress also took a 20-year backward step when it all but abolished the Motor Vehicle Parking Agency and in the process wrecked any hopes for rational parking strategy at the very time our midcity building boom is creating a parking crisis—and with it a potential blighting influence—of major proportions.

But all the blame cannot be unburdened at the doorstep of an obstructionist Congress.

Civic and governmental leadership in the National Capital area is in a bad way. The agencies to which we look for leadership are fighting among themselves and in the process, paralyzing our decisionmaking faculties.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

We have seen our desperately needed expressway system lose all forward momentum during the past 12 months, falling prey to jurisdictional guerrilla warfare between transit partisans and road builders. Mr. Stolzenbach, administrator of the National Capital Transportation Agency, conceived it as one of his first duties to polarize the transit-freeway battle.

I can think of no more palpable nonsense than the way the obstructionists have urged us to delay project after project until Mr. Stolzenbach's plan is finished. One would think Mr. Stolzenbach was away on a flight to Mars; he has never yet once said that any action could be taken without injuring his mysterious plan.

Our Planning Commission, with one foot solidly planted in the year 2000, has recently tried to soft-shoe its way through controversies over the highway program, and the need for renewal of Georgetown's industrial waterfront. The Commission hasn't exercised its full measure of leadership in coordinating Federal moves throughout the metropolitan area.

DART GAME

And the Federal Government has been one of the worst transgressors. Executive agencies have been playing a reckless game of darts with the map of Metropolitan Washington.

Instead of working as a positive influence in shaping a rational metropolitan environment, it has done just the opposite. The Central Intelligence Agency's new home at Langley didn't even place in a list of 25 sites picked after careful planning research. But Allen Dulles, you may remember, wanted a Princeton-type campus setting for his employees and Congressman BROYHILL couldn't have been more sympathetic.

If that massive blockhouse of the CIA's is campus-type architecture, then I think we ought to rename the Pentagon "Harvard Yard."

Another incredible monument to Federal whimsy is the Atomic Energy Commission building, a 45- or 50-minute or longer drive from downtown Washington. The secretaries were the first to rebel at this exile to exurbia As usual, they had more sense than the planning technicians.

In fact, we have become so numbed, by this sort of folly that the scandalous waste of moving NSA to Fort Meade has hardly ever been noted. And now we have the Bureau of Standards and other dispersal-minded agencies doing violence to the most elementary concepts of sound metropolitan planning.

CHAOS UNLEASHED

The dispersers and decentralizers in the Federal Establishment have failed to prove the wisdom of their argument. Instead they have further unleashed the forces of urban chaos in the National Capital region.

There is, on the contrary, great sense in the new cluster of Federal buildings along Independence Avenue and at the gateway to the new southwest. But without companion action to accommodate both the traffic and parking demands of this vast new employment center, it will only build new blight factors into our downtown.

Because of the city's enormous public and private investment in the southwest, GSA has a compelling responsibility to provide underground parking in the southwest Mall for at least 4,000 cars. Secondly, GSA should join others in demanding the earliest possible completion of the Inner Loop, no later than 1970.

There is urgent need for a strong, central checkrein over the various agencies in the executive branch.

It is notable that Washington's best days, as far as the executive branch is concerned, were the years from 1953 to 1958 when, under President Eisenhower, Gov. Sherman Adams displayed continuing and intelligent interest in National Capital affairs.

Some day Washington should recognize formally Governor Adams' contribution to our city.

KENNEDY ACTION

It is strange, on the other hand, that the New Frontier waited more than a year and a half before extending its influence to the citizens of Metropolitan Washington through the appointment of Charlie Horsky as Presidential Adviser on National Capital Affairs.

Washington, after all, has been our President's most permanent hometown. It has also been home to many who serve in his administration.

The saving of Lafayette Square is just one example of how much can be achieved with the active, personal interest of President and Mrs. Kennedy. And we can now welcome enthusiastically the appointment of Mr. Horsky for giving institutional support to the President's determination to help Washington.

In Congress, the work of Senator ALAN BIBLE and his Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems has shown us what can be achieved with constructive and enlightened leadership on Capitol Hill. Without Senator BIBLE, we would certainly not have been even as far along toward transit modernization as we are today.

And now I should like to place before you tonight an agenda for action in the National Capital region.

FIVE-YEAR GOALS

It is a program not for the year 2000 but for 1967—5 years from now, something that falls within our mortal capabilities. We have the tools, the money, the civic genius to achieve it. We need only the will.

First, a clean Potomac in which we can once again swim and fish.

Second, a National Cultural Center to enhance both our Nation and our culture.

Third, although my editorial colleagues at the Washington Post disagree with me, a national aquarium to celebrate nature along with our zoo and opera. For I believe the gifts and wonders of the ocean are as enhancing to man as opera.

Fourth, the rapid flowering of a new downtown which will serve as the vital center rather than the shame of our metropolitan area.

Fifth, an inner loop freeway that is fully under contract.

Sixth, a functioning metropolitan authority to manage the financing and construction of a regional mass transit system.

Seventh, modern, high-speed subway service in our downtown core.

Eighth, a humane and efficient relocation service for families and businesses to insure that our public works undertakings do not steamroller over properietary rights and individual initiative.

Ninth, completion of plans for the long-neglected southeast and northeast quadrants of our city, along both sides of the Anacostia.

Tenth, the blossoming of the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Eleventh, completion of the Three Sisters Bridge with perhaps a start on the Fourth or Fifth Sister, as well as a completed access road system to Dulles Airport.

OTHER ASPECTS

But we cannot build a greater National Capital with public works alone.

We must also set our 1967 sights on such goals as these:

Achieving equal housing and job opportunities for Negroes and other minorities.

Strengthening our institutions of higher learning so that we may attract the Nation's keenest and most cultivated minds as well as our due share of the new scientific industries on our periphery.

Coming to grips with our spiraling welfare problems in a way that will attack the underlying social conditions from which our relief loads spring.

Creating larger banking and commercial institutions worthy of a world capital.

Getting more intelligent and responsive representation in the District Committees of Congress.

In conclusion, I would say that there has been some good news during the past year to go with the bad. Mr. Horsky's appointment was a heartening demonstration that the administration is recognizing its responsibility to the National Capital.

COOPERATION NEEDED

But, remarkable as he is, and prodigal as are his gifts, he is no miracle man.

He will need the ear of a sympathetic President.

He will need the cooperation of a citizenry that must stop its nay-saying and must, in the words of New York's Bob Moses, ignore the "babel of strident voices" that counsel delay and negativism.

It is not simply an array of problems that face Metropolitan Washington. It is a full-blown crisis.

We must learn to accept the signs of change and growth that will make our Federal City as different in the year 2000 as it was in 1924.

## The John Birch Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the most careful analyses of the John Birch Society, its background and its objectives, has been made in a series of three articles in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. The third one on October 8, 1962, is entitled "In Glass Houses." Un-

der the previous unanimous-consent agreement, I insert it in the RECORD:

IN GLASS HOUSES

(By George Todt)

"The strongest man is the one who stands most alone."—Ibsen, "An Enemy of the People."

It may be doubted if any organization in the American Republic has been so persecuted in modern times—certainly since the days of the Mormon ordeal in the early 19th century—as has the more-sinned-against-than-sinning John Birch Society.

Some of the worst examples of slander and libel ever directed against citizens of this Nation have been hurled thoughtlessly at JBS. Much has been fraudulent and deceitful. Little has had any foundation of fact. Legally, or otherwise.

The greatest wonder of it all is that the society has not yet seen fit to sue its tormentors in the courts. Will it do so in the future?

Recently I talked with a prominent member of the JBS and he told me that this course of action is now being considered.

It might come someday as a stunning surprise to careless defamation artists that they will have to produce their mostly nebulous proof in the courts or else.

Bigotry, intolerance, bias, and prejudice are just as insufferable when emanating from the left as from the right.

Most of us deplore the type of detractors who yell loudly for justice when their side is at bat, but won't give it to their opponents.

Much of the unfair criticism of the JBS, but not all of it, is emanating presently from the leftwing socialistic Americans for Democratic Action.

Now JBS is likely not quite as far to the right as ADA is to the left. Before the latter Fabian ideological organization came to power under the present administration, I cannot recall any concerted attempt to defame or disgrace it. We are a tolerant people.

Large numbers of thoughtful citizens in the past disliked and disagreed with ADA policies, which are predominantly Fabian Socialist in end results, and still do so today. Yet none to my knowledge has ever tried to run ADA out of the country.

Had anyone dreamed of doing so, the leftwing chorus of "How unfair, how intolerant, how bigoted can you get?" would have ascended hysterically to the heavens.

But now that the onrushing ADA is in the saddle, look out.

Where is the "fairplay for unsocialistic Americans" at this time?

Someday the pendulum will undoubtedly swing back again and the conservatives will have their innings at bat. What of the pitiful precedent the ADA people are now setting for the future?

Can they blame their opponents at a later date for handing back their insults and defamation with perhaps some added interest?

I am not a member of the JBS but I think someone has to keep the sorry record straight regarding this disturbing matter in the mass communications media today.

Before anyone with an ax pontificates on this beleaguered society, where the public is concerned, I suggest he first read the "Beliefs and Principles of the John Birch Society." We must not have uninformed criticism, prejudice, and bias here.

This official and authoritative material was incorporated into the U.S. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 12, 1962, by Representative JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, Republican, of California. It is now a matter of public record. I have read it. Other critics should do likewise.

While many may not agree with these beliefs and principles in entirety, most of us will wonder why JBS has become a political whipping boy.

Does the ADA recall the old Scotch adage: "Live and let live"?

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## Advertising: The Mammoth Mirror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I am proud that the State of New York is the center of one of the most dynamic and creative aspects of American free enterprise—the advertising industry. This year American business will spend $12 billion to publicize, dramatize, and sell thousands of products, large and small, which represent our Nation's productive genius. Involved in this effort is employment for hundreds of thousands of our people. A most informative and readable account of the industry and its leaders appears in the October 12, 1962, issue of Time magazine.

Singled out for special tribute in this article are the following leaders of the advertising industry:

Mr. Norman Hulbert Strouse, president of J. Walter Thompson Co.

Mr. Marion Harper, Jr., chairman of Interpublic.

Mr. George Homer Gribbin, chief of Young & Rubicam.

Mr. Charles Hendrickson Brower, president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne.

Mr. Robert Emmett Lusk, chairman of Benton & Bowles.

Mr. Harry Albert Batten, chairman of N. W. Ayer & Son.

Mr. Robert Mondell Ganger, chairman of D'Arcy Advertising Co.

Mr. John Philip Cunningham, executive committee chairman of Cunningham & Walsh.

Mr. David Mackenzie Ogilvy, chairman of Ogilvy, Benson & Mather.

Mr. Henry Guy Little, chairman of Campbell-Ewald Co. of Detroit.

Mr. Fairfax Mastick Cone, head of Foote, Cone & Belding of Chicago.

Mr. Leo Burnett, chairman of Leo Burnett Co. of Chicago.

I ask unanimous consent to include the following article from Time in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADVERTISING: THE MAMMOTH MIRROR

("Nothing except the Mint can make money without advertising."—Thomas Babington Macaulay.)

"Madison Avenue," the all-purpose handle for the advertising business, is a street named Desire that starts in Manhattan and wends into every household in the land. Americans are seeing more advertisements now—an average of 1,600 per person per day—and whether they are enjoying them less is a matter of argument. But the inescapable fact is that the pleas and promises of Madison Avenue dance before the eyes of the ordinary American whenever he reads, rides, watches television, strolls down the street or strikes a match. The $12 billion that U.S. business will spend on advertising this year exceeds the gross national products of Austria and Norway combined.

Behind this vast expenditure lies one truth that both critics and practitioners of advertising agree upon: advertising is an aggressively creative force that makes music at the cash registers by stimulating the public's desire to acquire goods. This is an overriding consideration for the Nation's businessmen at a time when the United States is geared to produce more than it consumes and when nothing would help the economy more than a surge in consumer spending. As the U.S. economy grows in size and complexity and the cost of labor increases, advertising is an indispensable substitute for the personal salesmanship of times past. The genial clerk who used to sell undecided customers with the assurance that "my own family uses it" is steadily giving way to the self-service shopping cart. Today, advertising is the magnet that draws customers into the Nation's supermarkets and department stores, and the prime mover of human inventiveness. Emerson notwithstanding, a man has small inspiration to build a better mousetrap unless he can mass-produce it and shout to the world about it.

The use of advertising as the strongest force in moving goods is a uniquely American contribution to economic life—and like most things American, constantly in flux. Born as a big business with the rise of national magazines around the turn of the century, advertising has changed bewilderingly since then, and today is changing faster than ever, with far-reaching implications for all of U.S. society. It is destined to become even more omnipresent: in dollar volume, advertising in the United States has doubled since 1950, is expected to double again in the decade to come. And as it grows bigger and more complicated, it is also becoming costlier. The average U.S. business now spends $1 on advertising for every $70 in sales, against $1 for every $100 in 1947.

As advertising becomes more pervasive, so does debate about it. Never before have admen been so concerned about the future of their business or so nervous over charges that Madison Avenue is somehow corrupting the standards of Main Street.

ON THE AVENUE

Debate about advertising is not new to the United States. At one time or another, virtually every American of consequence has passed judgment on the industry. The late Fred Allen jeered: "An advertising agency is 85 percent confusion and 15 percent commission." In 1931 F.D.R. surprisingly confessed: "If I were starting life over again, I would probably give first thought to making advertising my career * * * because it combines real imagination with a deep study of psychology." But today, Americans talk about advertising more than ever because it has woven itself inextricably into the texture of their every lives. The first songs sung by today's toddlers are less apt to be nursery rhymes than mesmeric radio and TV jingles. Millions of Americans might have trouble identifying Ernest Hemingway, but it would be hard to find one who does not know what to order for "the pause that refreshes."

Familiar as they are with its products, millions of Americans also tend to assume that they know all about the advertising business. Moviegoers have a clear impression of the nature of life on Madison Avenue: it is a combination of Sydney Green-

street bullying Clark Gable in "The Hucksters" and Rock Hudson seducing Doris Day in "Lover Come Back." In the public mind, the advertising business is firmly established as a gray-flannel world of three-Gibson lunches, three-button jackets, unabashed throat slicing and zany argot ("Let's smear some of this on the cat and see if she licks it off").

But the cat is not really like that. To do the job that otherwise would require millions of salesmen, the United States has spawned more than 500 advertising agencies of some size and stature. The backbone of the business consists of the 42 major agencies that have billings[1] of more than $25 million a year. These are the agencies that create the ads for the Nation's major corporations and that, consciously or unconsciously, people refer to when they speak of "Madison Avenue."

Contrary to legend, the top U.S. agencies are just as diverse in character and outlook as 42 individual salesmen would be. Only 25 of them are headquartered in Manhattan, and only 7 actually have offices on Madison Avenue. Some are the lengthened shadow of one man: Manhattan's research-minded Interpublic, Inc., pursues the sociological bent of indefatigable Marion Harper, a complex Ivy Leaguer, while Chicago's Leo Burnett Co., reflects the down-to-earth outlook of founder Burnett, a Michigan small-town boy who once worked as an $18-a-week reporter for the Peoria Journal. Other agencies, such as New York's J. Walter Thompson and Philadelphia's N. W. Ayer & Son, are true corporate enterprises, scarcely different in spirit from General Motors or Procter & Gamble. Among them, the top agencies employ almost as many different techniques of advertising as they do receptionists.

OIL IN THE CHAMPAGNE GLASS

According to their differing philosophies—and the product involved—admen appeal to vastly disparate human emotions: snobbery ("If they run out of Löwenbräu order champagne"), the confusions of parenthood ("How Sears helps your daughter choose her first bra"), nostalgia ("Our beer is 50 years behind the times"), hypochondria ("Take Geritol to end tired blood"), and the competitiveness of childhood ("Every boy wants a Remco toy"). Inevitably, the most heavily used selling themes turn on three aspects of existence that particularly fascinate Americans: youth, sex, and romance. Pepsi-Cola, once typed in the public mind as a sweet, cheap drink ("Twice as much for a nickel, too"), almost certainly owes much of its upsurge of recent years to being recast as the product "for those who think young." Marlboro cigarettes, which had previously sold mainly to women, broadened their appeal when tattooed he-men began to puff them in the pages of the Nation's magazines. (This kept the women loyal, attracted the men, and sent Marlboro sales soaring 120 percent in a single year.) And the TV puppets that depict a girl chasing a boy who has just dabbed Brylcreem on his hair (two girls if he uses two dabs) helped to lift that hair tonic from fourth to first place in the market in less than 3 years.

As Americans grow more sophisticated, however, the admen are turning to subtler appeals. Board Chairman David Ogilvy of Manhattan's Ogilvy, Benson & Mather plumps for detail-packed text ("How Super Shell's 9 ingredients give cars top performance," "25 facts you should know about KLM") on the grounds that today's customer is hungry for facts. In apparent proof of Ogilvy's contention, U.S. sales of Rolls-Royce cars doubled within 3 years after Ogilvy started running ads, with 21 paragraphs of text, under the headline: "At 60 miles an hour the loudest noise in this new Rolls-Royce comes from the electric clock."[2]

The newest variant of the appeal to sophistication is that made by needle-sharp President William Bernbach of Manhattan's Doyle Dane Bernbach, who has wowed the ad industry with his grain-of-salt Volkswagen ads playing up qualities that would normally be considered shortcomings ("Think small"). Though some admen still stubbornly insist that "humor doesn't sell," the evidence is that nowadays it does. The major factor in making Duluth's Chun King Corp. a nationally known enterprise has been the zany commercials for the company's prepared Chinese food written by Hollywood's Stan Freberg and yodeled by the "Chun Kingston Trio."

Whatever their approach, truly original ads are so few that they are quickly copied. The bulk of menthol cigarette ads—a boy, a girl (shoeless), and a babbling brook—are virtually indistinguishable. Often, too, the less expensive or distinctive a product is, the more pretentiously it is advertised—which leads admen to argue whether it is good salesmanship to make a snob appeal for a non-snob product. The most notable voice raised in opposition is that of Fairfax Cone, of Chicago's Foote, Cone & Belding Agency, who argues that an ad should come as close as possible to saying what a personal salesman would say. "Whoever heard of smoking a cigarette while you're water skiing?" he asks dryly. "Or pouring motor oil into a champagne glass?"

ANY NUMBER CAN WIN

One reason for such debate within advertising circles is that admen themselves are not all pressed out by the same cookie cutter, as can be seen in the personal histories of the 12 men on the cover. Gray flannel was never a uniform on Madison Avenue, and Brooks Bros. suits are not the style in the flourishing advertising communities of Chicago and St. Louis. More top admen than not come from lower middle class families and never saw the inside of an Ivy League college. But any generalization about them is riddled with exceptions. The chairman of the Nation's hardest selling agency, Rosser Reeves, of Ted Bates & Co., is a chess expert who, while acting as manager of the U.S. chess team visiting Russia 7 years ago, charmed an audience of Muscovites by delivering an engaging speech on international competition and peace. Fast-rising William Bernbach never takes work home (he does not even own a briefcase), and is one of the few U.S. company presidents who choose to live in Brooklyn.

Most top admen, however, work at a coronary-inducing pace: 70-hour weeks are not unusual, and last year the average age of the men whose obituaries were published in Advertising Age was 61, versus 68 for executives in such related industries as publishing. In return, the admen are well paid. It is not uncommon for an adman with some talent and only 5 years' experience to enjoy a salary of $15,000 to $20,000—which is about 50 percent more than a man with similar assets can command in engineering or electronics. "Advertising," exults Marion Harper, who earns over $100,000 a year, "is an intellectual lottery at which everyone can be a winner."

Everyone can also be a worrier, for insecurity is the rule. The admen live in a world where the stealing of accounts and executives is a way of life, and where a client's hunch or whim may erase a score of jobs overnight. On average, the U.S. adman changes his job once every 3 years during his thirties and once every 4 years during his forties—a far swifter turnover than in corporate life as a whole.

BOGEYMEN THREE

Partly because they are insecure and partly because, like most men dealing in words and ideas, they tend toward introspection, admen wear the most conspicuous hair shirt in all of U.S. business. A recent survey of admen published in Advertising Age revealed that only 8 percent of those polled considered their fellow admen to be "honest." And because they doubt themselves, the admen overreact to any criticism of their industry—however casual, ill-informed or unimportant. This has caused John Crichton, president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, to tartly and correctly chide his fellows for spending too much time "staring into the mirror to count the pimples, broken veins and wattles on the serene, handsome and competent face we hope to present to the public."

For several years, admen have been fretting over the attacks of fashionable critics such as Author Vance "The Hidden Persuaders" Packard, one of the Nation's most talented self-advertisers, who pipes the old tune that advertising twists truth and debases public taste. Most recently, Madison Avenue's fears have focused on an unlikely trio of bogeymen whom the admen accuse of being in conspiracy to abolish the advertising industry. Bogeyman No. 1 is Presidential Assistant Arthur Schlesinger, who—in one sentence of a 23-page tract published in 1960—tossed out an ill-considered suggestion that perhaps advertising should be taxed. No. 2 is U.S. Ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith, who in "The Affluent Society" argued that advertising tempts people to squander on "unneeded" possessions money that would be better spent on public works. No. 3 is British Historian Arnold Toynbee, who believes that the stimulation of personal consumption through advertising is un-Christian ("I cannot think of any circumstance in which advertising would not be an evil"), and last year advanced the ridiculous proposition: "The destiny of our Western civilization turns on the issue of our struggle with all that Madison Avenue stands for more than it turns on the issue of our struggle with communism."

THE NONCRUSADE

In their outrage at such attacks, the admen conjure up a threat to their industry that does not exist. There is no evidence that the New Frontier is about to launch a crusade against admen. Neither Schlesinger nor Galbraith carries any great weight in Washington economic councils these days. The Treasury says flatly that it is not considering any special tax on advertising, and Bobby Kennedy's main visible concern with advertising lies in its effects on the sales of his new book.

For the most part, the admen's defense against their critics consists of pointing out advertising's vital role in the U.S. economy. Beyond argument, advertising does induce the public to buy products that are not needed—since it can be said that people really do not need much more than a cave, a knife, and a bow and arrow. But by informing people of the availability of new or improved products, advertising helps to create mass demand—which in turn makes possible mass production, mass employment, and greater physical well-being than ordinary men have ever before known.

What the admen do not answer very successfully is the charge that they are hidden

[1] "Billings," which are the amount that an agency's clients spend on advertising, are the conventional measure of size in the advertising business. Some admen argue that this gives the public an exaggerated notion of advertising's profitability, and should be abandoned in favor of actual gross income—which, in most cases, means the 15 percent of billings that the agency takes as its commission.

[2] Last May, for undisclosed reasons, Ogilvy resigned the Rolls-Royce account.

persuaders who manipulate the people of the United States like so many puppets, debasing public taste and behavior to serve greedy commercial ends. This picture of their industry is partly the fault of admen themselves, many of whom are fond of magnifying the powers of their craft with claims that it could perfectly well be used to sell not only soap but democracy or the American way of life. The fact is that advertising, by definition, is the most visible and undisguised form of persuasion; and the American consumer, fully aware of its purpose, has a sturdy skepticism about it. At bottom, advertising is incapable of selling a product—much less an idea—for which there is not a spontaneous demand. Whatever claims he may make for advertising's powers when he is trying to land a client, no adman will soon forget the Edsel. So successfully did Fairfax Cone and his agency whip up interest in the Edsel that 3 million Americans flocked into Ford showrooms in the first week after the car was introduced—and, not liking what they saw, proceeded not to buy it.

THE 7-YEAR ITCH

Selling goods to a public thus armored—and showing a profit in the process—are far more significant challenges to today's adman than all the assaults of intellectual critics. Nowadays, virtually every U.S. corporation of any size is already a heavy advertiser—and, on average, changes its ad agency every 7 years. In a costly scramble to hold on to their clients, the agencies are offering a stack of services far beyond the writing and placing of ads. Today's big agency advises the client on what new products he should market, designs the packages for him, sends out shock troops to help merchants sell the results, gets the client's name (or his firm's) in the papers, helps put over his pet charities, and procures his world's series tickets. All these extras have nibbled so deeply into profits that the earnings of the major agencies plunged from 5 percent of gross income in 1956 to 2.5 percent last year.

Heaviest of the new expenses is for the occult art of head-candling, which the admen call "research." Today virtually all major agencies back up their copyrighters and artists with sociologists, economists, statisticians, and a psychologist or two. What all these experts are seeking like the holy grail is some statistical method to determine how to frame an ad that will sell the product without fail. In their quest for this magic formula, the admen engage in some remarkably far-out enterprises. Manhattan's interpublic is experimenting with a pupil recording apparatus that attempts to measure which part of an ad the eye sees first. In Chicago last week, interviewers for the Tatham-Laird agency were running a random selection of shopping-center customers through a 67-foot mobile trailer to test their reactions to a clutch of the agency's latest campaigns and an operative for the Leo Burnett agency was trying out newly filmed TV commercials on small groups of housewives whose fingers were wired to polygraphs as a check on their spoken reactions.

So far, all this has yet to produce any surefire way to reduce human impulses to statistics. But Madison Avenue continues the quest out of painful awareness that U.S. businessmen are growing increasingly disinclined to approve their ad budgets without searching questions. The problem that bothers the businessmen was summed up long ago by department-store tycoon John Wanamaker, who was reckoned in his day to be an advertising genius. Said Wanamaker: "Half of my investment in advertising is wasted. The trouble is, I don't know which half."

TIME FOR THE PROS

As in Wanamaker's day, advertising is still an inexact speculation. The thing that most concerns businessmen is that it is also an increasingly expensive one. Little more than a decade ago, $1 million was a respectable year's advertising budget for anyone but a major consumer-goods manufacturer; today a single TV spectacular may cost that much.

Despite corporate efforts to trim advertising expenditures, however, the trend to bigger ad budgets seems likely to continue. Contributing to that trend, along with the flow of consumer advertising, are the industrial and institutional campaigns. This year U.S. business, mostly in the fields of construction and heavy manufacturing, will invest close to $600 million in fact—crammed industrial ads intended to attract the eyes of purchasing agents and establish a company's reputation so that it will be invited to supply talent and material and to bid on jobs. In addition, there are institutional ads—such as the Container Corp. of America's series on "Great Ideas of Western Man"—by which companies aim to create an aura of progressiveness in order to recruit customers, stockholders, or employees.

Among institutional and industrial advertiser—and even in consumer-oriented industries where products are distinctively different and personal salesmanship is still a vital element—advertising is considered a "controllable" expense to be cut in lean times. Thus General Motors, the world's biggest advertiser (1961 budget: $142 million), pegs its advertising budget for the coming year directly to what it thinks its sales will be. But for manufacturers of low-priced packaged goods such as beer, proprietary drugs and processed foods, advertising is the one thing that can notably increase sales—which is one reason why the Nation's four smaller cigarette companies spend almost twice as high a percentage of their gross on advertising as front-running R. J. Reynolds and American Tobacco.

In the fast-turning world of packaged goods, where advertising budgets often run higher than the costs of production and a blindfolded customer can scarcely distinguish between competing brands, it is the adman's task to find and exploit any slight difference, real or imagined, in his client's product. Says one top packaged-goods executive: "If we've got a real product difference, we could let any kid from the Harvard Business School write the ads. When we've got parity of product, though, that's when we need the pros."

THE ENFANT TERRIBLE

For Madison Avenue's pros, the task of getting across the client's message is getting harder all the time. The average American is now exposed to 10,000 TV commercials a year. As the number increases, so do the admen's worries about "overexposure." Frets Chicago agency Chief Earle Ludgin: "Customers are getting deaf to advertising. They're able to ignore it and pass it by." Before long, echoes Young & Rubicam President George Gribbin, "the day of the shouter will be gone."

But it is not gone yet. Most admen profess to detect evidence of "increased public consciousness" of advertising—by which they mean more vocal public irritation with strident or tasteless ads. Armed with surveys of "thought leaders" to buttress their point, the majority of admen lay the blame on the newest major force in advertising: television. An ad for a deodorant or a panty girdle seems right at home in a women's magazine; the audience is "selective" and the scanning eye can reject the ad if it wishes. But the TV audiences in the Nation's living rooms are "unselective," often mingling parents, children and casual friends, and in such an atmosphere an explicit ad blares out to the embarrassment of all. Says President Norman Strouse of J. Walter Thompson: "It is a simple matter to turn a page, but TV makes it possible for advertisers to impose rudely on the viewer with every unhappy practice of the industry—hard sell, bad taste, driving repetition."

Many admen tend to ascribe much of the responsibility for television's excesses to one source: Manhattan's Ted Bates & Co., which funnels a greater percentage of its business into TV than any other agency (80 percent), and has rocketed from nowhere in 1940 to fifth place among all U.S. agencies, with billings last year of $163 million. Chief Executive Theodore Lewis Bates, 61, is a shrewd down-easter who graduated cum laude from Yale (1924) and is still one of Manhattan's most facile copywriters. But the enfant terrible at Bates is Chairman Rosser Reeves, 52, who propagated the dogma of the unique selling proposition, or USP. The rule: find a unique proposition that promises a specific benefit to the customer and will thereby sell the product. The agency then takes the USP and hammers it home with water-torture repetition—Colgate Dental Cream "cleans your breath while it cleans your teeth," "Wonder Bread helps build strong bodies 12 ways." (The Bates people like to observe that 20th Century-Fox may not recoup its $30 million investment in "Cleopatra," but that their controversial "split level head" television commercial for Anacin cost only $20,000 and raised sales of the pills by a whopping $35 million.)

Reeves holds that once he has linked a USP with one of his clients' products, he has no need to worry about the fact that rival products may be able to offer the same "unique" benefit. All toothpastes clean breath as well as teeth but, says Reeves, if a rival were to make such a claim, it would only remind the public of Colgate. Although the Bates agency engages an expensive stable of doctors and scientists to insure that its claims are "FTC able," the Federal Trade Commission sometimes takes the fun out of the USP game. It has blown the whistle on Bates for suggesting that Carter's pills had something to do with the liver (even though Carter had made that claim long before it hired Bates in 1942), for sprinkling drops of water on Blue Bonnet margarine to indicate that it alone delivered "flavor gems," and for pasting sand on plexiglass to demonstrate that Palmolive Rapid Shave could shave "sandpaper."

BATTLE OVER CONTROLS

Despite its general concern over the television problem, the ad industry has mixed emotions about this kind of crackdown by the FTC. Most admen profess to see serious, long-range danger in the order that the FTC issued in the Rapid Shave case—a sweeping decree that forbade Colgate and Bates to misrepresent the merits of Rapid Shave "or any other shaving cream," or to use "spurious mockups or demonstrations for any product" on pain of fines up to $5,000 a day. Opponents of the ruling hold that it amounts to an unspecified threat of punishment.

A majority of admen are also disturbed over the FTC's attempt to win greater powers from Congress. As matters now stand, the FTC has to battle its way through the courts to force withdrawal of an ad that it deems untruthful or misleading. (In the Carter case, it took the Government 16 years to get the company to remove the word liver from the name of its pills.) What the FTC wants is authority to issue its own temporary cease-and-desist orders against ads it deems objectionable, pending a court ruling.

This FTC request has been rattling around Washington for years—and is likely to do so for quite a while to come. A vocal minority of admen, however, would like to see it granted. Says Fairfax Cone: "The industry cannot police itself—it never could. The FTC is just reaching for more authority to do what it's supposed to do."

Moving on from questions of truth—which involve only a small minority of today's ads—a few admen even argue that the FTC should be given more power to deal with questions of taste. But to most observers, including many outside the ad industry itself, this seems a highly dubious proposition. To give any official body—appointed or elected—the right to determine what is "good taste" would scarcely jibe with the traditional U.S. view of a free society.

Nor is there any obvious compelling need for such a drastic departure. "You can tell the ideals of a nation by its advertisements," wrote British Author Norman (South Wind) Douglas. Allowing for occasional flaws in the glass, advertising is simply a mammoth mirror of the world around it, and the intellectuals who flog advertising are using it, consciously or unconsciously, as a whipping boy for all that they dislike about U.S. society and the U.S. character. In the most effective rebuttal any adman has yet made to Arnold Toynbee, William Bernbach wrote: "Mr. Toynbee's real hate is not advertising. It is the economy of abundance. If Mr. Toynbee believes a materialistic society is a bad one (and I am not saying he is wrong in that belief), then he owes it to mankind to speak out against such a society and not merely against one of the tools that is available to any society."

In fact, as Historian Toynbee should know, taste and cultivation have historically reached their heights in prosperous societies. By helping to produce mass prosperity, advertising has at least indirectly helped to raise the general level of taste in the United States—a development that, in turn, has been mirrored in advertising itself. Even its critics concede that advertising has come a long way since the days when national magazines were littered with ads for nostrums that purported to cure everything from consumption to lost manhood, and when a U.S. soapmaker could bugle: "If we could teach the Indians to use sapolio, it would quickly civilize them." Today most ads, if not 99⁴⁄₁₀₀ percent of them, strive for both taste and believability. And, assuming a continued increase in U.S. affluence and cultivation, tomorrow's advertising should be even more sophisticated and tasteful.

Whatever the state of American culture, all signs are that advertising will always be a conspicuously visible part of it. Fascinated as it is with the business of finding better ways to live, the U.S. public wastes little time worrying about whether advertising may be damaging to its collective psyche. It is unlikely that the citizenry will ever take the step some admen seem to yearn for and pass a national vote of thanks to advertising for its part in enriching U.S. life. But it is equally unlikely that the public will ever be suborned out of its unemotional recognition of the adman for what he is: a highly effective salesman without whose efforts the world would be a far more primitive and less pleasant place.

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## The 12 Executives on Time's Cover

### STROUSE: THE PROFESSIONAL MANAGER

The General Motors of U.S. advertising is New York's J. Walter Thompson Co., with 17 U.S. branches, 38 abroad, and worldwide billings last year of $380 million. In the driver's seat at Thompson is President Norman Hulbert Strouse, 55, a determinedly unemotional man whose prime strength lies not in the creative side of advertising but in meticulously efficient administration of his sprawling organization. Like Strouse, who wears a toothbrush mustache and half-rimmed glasses, Thompson exudes an air of solid dependability. It shuns the hard sell to turn out orthodox, convincing ads for such blue-chip clients as Ford, Kodak, and Kraft Foods. Strouse became the third chief executive in Thompson's 84-year history in 1960, when he was hurdled over 84 other vice presidents to succeed Stanley Resor, then 81, who had run the agency for 44 years. The self-educated son of a railway clerk, Strouse joined Thompson as a space buyer in San Francisco 33 years ago and, after a World War II stint as a major on MacArthur's staff, rode the Ford account to the top of the agency. In his spare time, Strouse turns out handsomely designed pamphlets on a hand printing press in his elegant triplex apartment on Manhattan's Beekman Place.

### HARPER: CUSSED AND DISCUSSED

"Man is captured by what he chases," says Marion Harper, Jr., 46, chairman of Interpublic, the top block in the complex corporate structure that has grown out of Manhattan's McCann-Erickson agency. What hulking Marion Harper openly chases is Norman Strouse's crown as head of the biggest U.S. agency. Gifted with uncommon ability at convincing argument and a metabolism that enables him to step into a conference with a client daisy-fresh after 24 solid hours of work, Harper became president of McCann at 32. Since then he has personally won for his agency such accounts as Coca-Cola and Buick and has increased its worldwide billings 600 percent to $371 million last year—second only to Thompson. An Oklahoman who went to Andover and Yale, Harper is an inveterate theorist who has become the most cussed and discussed man in advertising by expanding McCann into a maze of separate companies, each designed to offer advertiser a different kind of communications or advertising service. So far, Harper's costly expansion program has left McCann with small profit, but his competitors still keep a nervous eye on the thrusting man who begins each day at his $150,000 Irvington, N.Y., home by simultaneously reading a book and pedaling a few miles on his stationary bicycle.

### GRIBBIN: THE COPYWRITER'S FRIEND

Working in a plain-shoe office that does not even boast air conditioning, George Homer Gribbin, 55, presides over Young & Rubicam (1961 billings: $260 million), the Nation's third biggest agency. "We're always described as the second-best agency, right after the agency that's making the pitch for itself," says Gribbin, grinning behind his Mephistophelian eyebrows. Prime reason is that, unlike some of his competitors, Gribbin encourages his copywriters to exercise their individual style, on the theory that there are no hard-and-fast rules for producing effective advertising. Some of the results; those ads in which the Life Savers looks good enough to nibble right off the page, and the discreet "Modess * * * because." Michigan-born and Stanford-educated (1929), Gribbin broke into advertising as a copywriter for Detroit's J. L. Hudson department store, worked his way eastward to Manhattan's Macy's before joining Y. & R. in 1935. A dry, reflective man who claims to play "the worst golf in the ad business," he won his spurs at Y. & R. with his whimsical ads for Arrow shirts and Borden's "Elsie the Cow" campaign.

### BROWER: THE FRANK CRITIC

Madison Avenue's favorite phrasemaker is Charles Hendrickson Brower, 60, the shambling, 6-foot 4-inch president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, which had 1961 billings of $248 million and is the United States' fourth largest agency. A one-time English teacher who describes his forebears as "New Jersey peasants for generations," Brower made his name at B.B.D. & O. as a copywriter with an infinite capacity for hard work. Propelled unexpectedly into the presidency in 1957, he was promptly hit with the loss of the $7 million Revlon account. His reaction: "I'll just go out and get seven new $1 million accounts." He did even better, personally hooking the $12.5 million Pepsi account and the $21 million Dodge account. Feared by his colleagues for his "terrifying frankness," Brower is nonetheless much sought after as a public speaker, won wide attention a few years ago by asserting that the United States was verging on decadence with "the 2-hour lunch, the 3-day weekend and the all-day coffee break. What we have to do is teach that work can be fun—that the only reward life offers is the thrill of achievement." No decadent himself, Brower lives in an unpretentious New Jersey home that he bought 20 years ago, and until recently mowed his own lawn.

### BURNETT: THE MIDWESTERN MARVEL

Legend has it that 70-year-old Leo Burnett works from before dawn till after dark 364 days a year—and takes Christmas morning off. Through his ability to confect folksy attention-getting ads, Chairman Burnett has lifted the billings of Chicago's Leo Burnett Co. to $136 million, largest for any agency west of the Hudson. Out of Burnett's oven came the Pillsbury cake-mix campaign, which set a much imitated standard for food ads by running a mouth-watering photo of a cake under copy that appealed to Mrs. America's subliminal desires and fears ("You triumph, you please, you make everybody very, very happy"). Burnett's earthy roots go back to St. Johns, Mich., where he helped write ads for his father's dry goods store. But his career really started at General Motors, where he rose to head Cadillac's advertising department before switching to ad agency work. In 1935 Burnett mortgaged his house, borrowed on his insurance, and thereby raised $50,000 to start his own agency "because there was nobody else here in Chicago." Today, his personal trademark is the bowl of red apples that sits in each of his agency's reception rooms—a permanent rejoinder to a scoffing gossip columnist who warned years ago that Burnett, by going into business for himself, would "wind up selling apples."

### CONE: TOUGHNESS AND TASTE

"Show me this young genius of yours," sneered tyrannical George Washington Hill, the late president of the American Tobacco Co. Up stood Fairfax Mastick Cone bearing an ad with the slogan that was to be his lucky strike: "With men who know tobacco best * * * it's Luckies two to one." That was in 1941, when "Fax" Cone was 38, but his boss, famed Adman Albert Lasker, never forgot it. In 1942, when Lasker decided to retire, he sold his prospering agency, Lord & Thomas, to three top staffers including Cone for a bargain-basement $167,000. Today, as Chicago's Foote, Cone & Belding, the agency is the Nation's seventh biggest, and Cone, as chairman of the executive committee, is its boss. Its worldwide billings last year: $127 million. Cone, who ran away from his San Francisco home at 16 to spend 2 years as a merchant seaman, still has the knack of pleasing tough tycoons (among his clients: Howard Hughes), but he is equally respected by his peers for the eye-appealing campaigns that he has staged for packaged goods ranging from Clairol to Kool-Aid. A trustee of the University of Chicago, he spends a high percentage of his time on community affairs, and his public consciousness extends to advertising. He refers to the "tasteless people" in advertising as "a miserable, crawly, noxious 2 to 3 percent who represent the advertising horn of our dilemma."

### LUSK: THE SEARCH FOR DIVERSITY

In a handsomely furnished Fifth Avenue eyrie, Robert Emmett Lusk, 60, chairman of Benton & Bowles, is fighting to reverse a trend. Alone among the Nation's top 10 agencies, Benton & Bowles last year suffered a loss in billings (from $120 million to $116 million). Lusk's answer has been a cam-

paign to expand his agency from a specialist in advertising low-priced packaged goods to a general-purpose agency by lining up such accounts as Western Union and Mutual of New York. Lusk, a Connecticut machinist's son who worked his way through Yale (1923), rose to the top of Benton & Bowles on the crest of a vastly successful 1946 advertising campaign for Procter & Gamble's Tide—for which he coined the slogan "Tide's In, Dirt's Out." (Early this year, with competing detergents cutting deeply into Tide's share of the market, Procter & Gamble switched the $9 million account away from Benton & Bowles to Manhattan's Compton Advertising.) Tall, handsome, and well-tailored, Lusk rarely departs from an inborn affability. But last year, when Benton & Bowles Cofounder Chester Bowles publicly lamented the years he had spent in advertising because "there's a lot of phoniness that runs through it," Lusk angrily shot back: "If an advertising man were asked to advise young people about going into politics as a career, he could say * * * that countless politicians have been grafters and crooks."

BATTEN: THE QUIET PHILADELPHIAN

As remote from Madison Avenue in spirit as they are in miles are Philadelphia's N. W. Ayer & Son and its chairman, candid Harry Albert Batten, 65. Born 4 blocks from Ayer's 13-story headquarters on West Washington Square, Batten (no kin to B.B.D. & O.'s cofounder, George Batten) still lives only 11 blocks from the office and walks to work each morning. His agency, an envied enigma in the industry, shuns the spectacular for quiet craftsmanship, e.g., its 23-year-old "A diamond is forever" campaign for De Beers, and selects its clients with as much care as a mainliner making a suitable marriage. "When we sign up a client," says Batten, "we expect to have him for life." Ayer has had International Correspondence Schools since 1896, A.T. & T. since 1908. Ayer's employees last almost as long as its accounts. Batten joined at 14 as an office boy, learned to write ads by covering up for writers who had had one too many at lunch, became president at 39. Under him, the value of Ayer's employee-owned stock has multiplied 52 times, and billings have risen to 1961's $113.5 million. The very thought of a move to Manhattan horrifies Batten, who says: "The pirating of personnel and accounts that goes on there is unbelievable."

GANGER: THE BUSINESSMAN'S ADMAN

Breezy Robert Mondell Ganger, 59, chairman of D'Arcy Advertising of Manhattan and St. Louis, was hardened in the competitive fires of manufacturing in the early 1950's when, as president of P. Lorillard Co., he was instrumental in launching Kent cigarettes. As a result, he has scant patience with the pseudoacademic theorizing of some admen, instead talks to businessmen in their own lingo: "The objective of advertising has always been to sell goods at a profit." A handy man with a trombone, Ganger (rhymes with hanger) paid his way through Ohio State (1926) by playing in campus dance bands, joined the Geyer ad agency fresh out of college. His work on a campaign for Embassy cigarettes brought him to the attention of Lorillard—where he spent 3 years before resigning "for reasons of health." When he was invited to take charge at D'Arcy in 1953, Ganger walked into a disaster: loss of the $10 million-a-year Coca-Cola account. But in a vigorous drive for new business, Ganger signed up Royal Crown Cola, has recently won Wildroot, Knox Gelatine, and Plaid Stamps. With billings up to $87 million last year, Ganger beams: "We've nearly doubled our business in the past 5 years—and you don't do that by luck."

LITTLE: THE BIG ACCOUNT

Curled like a benign bear behind his desk in Detroit's General Motors Building, Henry Guy Little, 60, the 212-pound chairman of Campbell-Ewald Co., masterminds the biggest single advertising account in the world: $60 million a year from Chevrolet. It is hard to tell where Chevrolet leaves off and Campbell-Ewald begins. Only a floor separates their offices, and Ted Little is in on much of Chevrolet's market planning; it was he who named the Chevy II. Bent on an advertising career ever since his teenage days in Los Angeles, Little bypassed college to go to work as a copy boy for Lord & Thomas, and learned the advertising craft from Albert Lasker. Signed up by Campbell-Ewald during World War II, he has headed the agency for the past decade, increased its billings 350 percent to last year's $87 million. He leans to simple ads with somewhat corny slogans ("Swissair Swisscare"), and his personal tastes are plain. He likes to chase fire engines and listen to his vast collection of recorded noises of railroad locomotives.

CUNNINGHAM: THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE

John Philip Cunningham, 65, is the debonair Don Quixote of advertising. As executive committee chairman of Cunningham & Walsh (1961 billings: $48.5 million), he publicly lambastes the vulgar sell ("When we load the television screen with arrows running around people's stomachs, we are boring the public") and the oversell ("When we plaster five different commercial messages right after one another at station-break time, we are boring the public"). Harvardman (1919) Cunningham gets away with such blunt talk because admen admire him as one of the great copywriters of all time. Among his notable creations: Chesterfield's "Blow some my way," which came along as women took up smoking in earnest, and the campaign that stressed the cleanliness of the bathrooms at Texaco stations instead of the spunk of Texaco gas.

Cunningham, who launched Cunningham & Walsh in 1950, once said, "Creative men build agencies. Businessmen eventually run them." Last year, stepping upstairs, Jack Cunningham turned over the chief executive's duties at C. & W. to President Carl Nichols, now 39.

OGILVY: THE LITERATE WIZARD

Advertising is salesmanship—it is not fine art, literature or entertainment," insists David Mackenzie Ogilvy, 51, chairman of Manhattan's Ogilvy, Benson & Mather. Yet it is Ogilvy's flair for creating ads that are literate and entertaining while tugging at the purse strings that has made him the most sought-after wizard in today's advertising industry. It was Ogilvy who immortalized Hathaway shirts with Baron Wrangel's eyepatch and bearded Commander Whitehead for Schweppes. Cultivated, charming and handsome enough to model occasionally in his own ads, British-born David Ogilvy studied history at Oxford, served a depression stint as a chef in a Paris hotel, and sold stoves door to door in Scotland before coming to the United States to work for Pollster George Gallup. When he set up his agency in 1948, Ogilvy made a private list of the five clients he wanted most: General Foods, Bristol-Myers, Campbell Soup, Lever Bros. and Shell. Today he has some business from all five, and his agency's billings ($47.5 million last year) are almost eight times greater than a decade ago. Recently he was selected by Washington to sing the charms of the United States to prospective tourists from Britain, France, and West Germany. "Every advertisement I write for the U.S. Travel Service," he muses, "is a bread-and-butter letter from a grateful immigrant."

## Dedicated Lorain Women Aim for New Community Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES A. MOSHER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MOSHER. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to present here the story of the achievement of the Lakeland Woman's Club of Lorain, Ohio. On June 28 of this year, the 40 members of the club were honored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation by being named the third-prize winners of the Award on Community Achievement. They won not only this nationwide recognition of their accomplishment, but received also a prize of $3,000 for their outstanding work. The following summary speaks for itself:

INTRODUCTION

Lorain, Ohio, is a steel town located on the shores of Lake Erie, 27 miles west of Cleveland. In 1956 when the new hospital project was started the population was 60,000. According to the 1960 census, Lorain now has a population of 71,394. A melting pot of nationalities forms the makeup of this growing industrial community.

For approximately 70 years Lorain was primarily a one-industry town—the steel mill. The shipbuilding and shovel companies were the only other sizable industries until 1957 when an automotive assembly plant located here.

Lorain's 71,000 people are the nucleus of a 115,000 metropolitan area which is serviced by 216 beds in only one hospital. The 1965 projected population explosion figures as estimated by the Lorain County Regional Planning Commission, have already been surpassed. The metropolitan service orbit in 1975 as predicted at 325,393, or over double the 1960 population.

Of the 20,330 dwelling units, 55 percent are self-owned. The city has 90 miles of paved streets, 200 acres of parks and public playgrounds, and fine natural recreational facilities along the shores of Lake Erie. Lorain, the 16th largest city in Ohio, is known as a city of beautiful churches. But only one hospital.

The educational system includes 2 senior high schools, 4 junior high schools, 17 elementary schools, 9 elementary parochial schools, 1 parochial high school, and a public library with 3 branches.

Four banks and nine loan companies have current bank deposits aggregating $120 million. There are 650 retail stores and 6 shopping centers. But only one hospital.

Does Lorain, Ohio, need a second hospital? "Yes," said 98 percent of the 25,068 subscribers listed in the telephone book of the Lorain metropolitan area. The civic and community affairs department knew their new community improvement project had been found.

Our 40-woman department is a part of the 400-member Lakeland Woman's Club which was formed and federated in 1954. Having spent 2 years in successfully establishing a YWCA in Lorain, we were now searching to find another civic area needing improvement in our community.

A new hospital could be our project. Almost everyone of our members had had a

personal experience emphasizing the desperate need for additional hospital facilities.

The obvious need for another hospital had long been recognized by the citizens of Lorain as evidenced by two previous unsuccessful attempts to establish one.

As always, new attempts for a second hospital were bogged down by an apathy and cynicism which for many years has characterized the attitude of Lorain. "Sure, we need it—but it can't be done. Where will we get the money" had been the cry of Lorain for 20 years. "Yes, we need it; it will be done; we will get the money," was the retort of our 40 dedicated women.

The entire community has tried to analyze our success in the passage of a $3½ million new hospital bond issue for Lorain. We think this is easily explained. Once our group was firmly convinced that our cause was just, we became almost fanatical in our pursuance of the goal. As housewives we had the time—no, we made the time—by sacrificing bridge parties, luncheons, teas, and golf matches. We doggedly and determinedly kept after the city fathers and resolved their every objection and obstacle, not least of which, "It takes money to educate a community." If money it takes, money we raised—$35,000 gross to net $25,000 and to pay all the expenses of convincing and educating 70,000 people that a new hospital was within the realm of possibility and to pay the expense of passing a $3½ million new hospital bond issue.

The first step taken by our civic and community affairs department in December of 1956 was to make a telephone survey of every one of the 25,068 subscribers listed in the telephone book of the Lorain metropolitan area. Telephone books were torn apart and each woman took many pages to call. Only one question was asked: "Do you think there is a need for a second hospital in Lorain?" Amazing results of the survey showed that 96 percent of those polled said, "Yes, we need a second hospital."

A letter was sent to clubs and organizations and 63 interested representatives attended this first hospital meeting on Sunday, February 24, 1957. The speaker for the day was a hospital administrator who had just completed a new building program in Cleveland, Ohio.

Among other things, he informed those present that it would take 5 to 7 years from that day before the first patient would be admitted to the new hospital. For preliminary organizational purposes a temporary four-member committee was elected: a woman from our civic and community affairs department, two physicians, and an attorney. The purpose of this committee was to appoint a nine-member steering committee representing the community. Named to this steering committee were: a woman from the civic and community affairs department, three physicians, a bank president, two presidents of local businesses, and a vice president and treasurer of local industries. Their job was to determine the procedures to be followed in establishing a second hospital. To proceed effectively incorporation papers were filed under the name of the Lorain Hospital Facilities Committee. The civic and community affairs department assumed the cost of this incorporation and assured the committee that all future expenses would be paid.

In the spring of 1957 shortly after the formation of the hospital facilities committee the only 216-bed privately operated hospital in Lorain announced a 100-bed expansion program on its limited 6-acre site to be financed through public solicitation. Disheartened by this event, but nonetheless recognizing this to be the way to expedite the desperately needed beds, some of the new hospital facilities committee members chaired divisions of this building fund campaign and the women of our department aided in soliciting funds as well as making large personal contributions to this successful drive.

Then we resumed the task of promoting the establishment of a new hopsital. For the projected population figures of the Lorain County Regional Planning Commission proved that even with this 100-bed addition to Lorain's only hospital, our needs would not be met according to the standards set by the Ohio Department of Health, Division of Hospital Facilities. Also the publicity and emphasis placed on civil defense intensified our concern for our families, and the fear of danger in the event of a disaster blatantly pointed out the inadequacy of a single hospital in our rapidly growing highly industrial community.

In order to met the financial needs of the hospital facilities committee and to keep the new hospital a live issue before the public the women of the civic and community affairs department set out to raise the necessary money and each contributed $5 to show her faith in the project. In the fall of 1957, the largest card party in the history of Lorain was planned and executed successfully. Over 800 men and women played cards, afternoon and evening of the same day and bought pandora box tickets and handmade aprons. A profit of $1,300 was realized for the benefit of a second hospital, at a time when there were no architectural plans, no site and no suggestions for financing this hospital—but Lorainites were affirming the need for a second hospital.

While the civic and community affairs department was raising money and involving the community, the hospital facilities committee was trying to discover the proper procedure for establishing a new hospital in Lorain. Many questions had to be resolved. How much would a new hospital cost? Would it be financed by city or county taxes or through private solicitation? Would it be government, religious, or privately owned? Were Hill-Burton Government funds available? Should a survey be conducted? Whom should they consult? The answers to these questions were slow in coming because the hospital facilities committee was only meeting every 2 or 3 months. As businessmen, the committee could not devote full time to this project, thus the responsibility of getting the committee together fell upon the civic and community affairs department. We prodded, we harassed, we poked, we nagged, we insisted that the hospital facilities committee meet and keep moving forward in the struggle to get another hospital.

The civic and community affairs department felt that it was important to plan money-raising projects to involve the total community because of the apathy and cynicism encountered and because too many were still saying, "It can't be done; it was tried before; you'll never make it." These attitudes would only make the women more determined to carry on, remembering those same remarks about their first community project, the establishment of the YWCA in Lorain, which was now operating successfully and a great asset to the community.

In October of 1958 a second big card party and hat sale were held, and over 800 citizens again played cards and bought hats to promote this needed hospital, netting $995. In November 1958, a week-long rummage sale netted $600 and provided the local rest homes with clothing which was not sold.

In the spring of 1959, 85 women journeyed to Cleveland to appear on a local TV show to publicize our efforts in getting a new hospital for Lorain. A charity ball with a big name band held at a huge local ballroom was attended by a capacity crowd. Twenty-four teenage girls from the Rainbow Girls' drill team volunteered to entertain during intermission time. Even though we only cleared $507, because the expenses were so great, we felt pleased, because once again we were selling a new hospital to a different cross section of the community.

In 1956 a professional hospital consultant made an extensive survey of hospital facility needs in the area for Lorain's only hospital. In the spring of 1959, this same consultant was hired by the hospital facilities committee for $1,000 to update his survey and to document the needs in this rapidly growing community. The women of the civic and community affairs department guaranteed the money for this survey and for all other expenses incurred by the hospital facilities committee.

As more money was needed, more successful projects were ventured.

The summer of 1959 during Lorain's sesquicentennial celebration the civic and community affairs department operated a country store in the downtown area—6 days a week, 6 hours a day, for 2 months. Roughly, 1,200 volunteer hours netted $603 toward the new hospital fund. This store supplied the community with all varieties of souvenirs: plates, derbies, canes, ties, sunbonnets and calico dresses, banners, large wooden coins, and shaving permits (as beards were ordered by proclamation of the mayor). Working in this store provided an excellent opportunity to meet our civic obligations in helping the community celebrate its historic past while providing them with a vision of this new hospital for a better future.

Many in-between-big-activity projects were sponsored—rummage sales, bake sales, selling Christmas and everyday cards and wrappings.

In April of 1960, a $5-a-plate luncheon and a fashion show by leading designers was sponsored through a local specialty shop. The request for tickets far exceeded the 250-seating capacity of the local country club. Professional models donated their talents to make their contribution to the hospital. And again, another segment of the community aided the new hospital treasury by $805.

During 1960–61 the Lakeland Mother Club had turned over to the civic and community affairs department all requests for contributions to civic and welfare projects, because Lakeland Woman's Club (by constitution) cannot donate money to anything but general and Ohio federation projects. So the civic and community affairs group through its departmental dues (25 cents per member per meeting when attending) and by its own contributions to its treasury (not the hospital treasury), chaired divisions, solicited, and contributed to United Appeal; donated money to local high school prom-to-dawn parties; bought a $150 drum major's uniform for the new second public high school band (because tax moneys could not be used for such expenditures); delivered Christmas gifts to welfare families; held parties for the crippled and handicapped adults, contributed to Safety Town, another federated women's project; bought a flag and standard for the Lakeland Women's Club; and worked for innumerable civic functions. Having been responsible for giving birth to the YWCA, obligations to it were recognized and assumed.

During the 1960 and 1961 Christmas seasons our department was greatly responsible for donating over 500 out of the total 2,500 new dresses collected in Lorain County for the "Noel for Nonnie," Elyria, Ohio, Federated Women's Club project. Both years our 400-member mother club won first prize of $50 for this effort. Tireless work was also given to Santa's Toyshop, a community welfare project. The civic and community affairs members serve on boards of most social and welfare organizations in the Lorain area.

At the request of local labor unions, a representative from the CIO and A.F. of L. were added to the hospital facilities committee as well as another woman from our civic and community affairs department. At a later date early in 1960, the hospital facilities

committee was again enlarged to bring the committee number to 20; 2 utility representatives, president of their companies; a contractor; 3 top executives of the steel mill and automotive assembly plants; and again, another woman from our department.

The hospital facilities committee continued the employment of the hospital consultant in 1960 for an additional $5,000 fee to lead the way in establishing a second hospital. After having met the financial obligations of the Lorain Hospital Facilities Committee for 3 years which amounted to $5,296, the civic and community affairs women with only $129 left in the treasury at this time still assured payment of all expenses including the consultant, architect, and legal fees. However, faith in each other's ability to produce propelled the consultant and the department on to the tasks to be done.

After much study and consideration as to how this second hospital should be financed, the hospital facilities committee and the consultant asked the Lorain City Council to consider it as a bond issue on the November 1960 general election. In order to place a building bond issue on the ballot, Ohio law requires architectural plans to be presented to city council for approval, thus a local architectural firm was hired at $2,748. The architect worked with the consultant and designed a unique 168-bed, progressive nursing care hospital in the round. This hospital to be publicly owned and financed, and then privately leased and operated not for profit, presented a revolutionary concept of hospital design and care.

Lorain's 10-member city council, 5 Democrats and 5 Republicans, with far-reaching vision, in consideration of the welfare of the community, crossed political party lines, and voted unanimously to place this $3½ million bond issue to include site, building, equipment, and landscaping, on the November 1960 ballot. This would cost the average taxpayer $6.42 per year for 20 years or only $128—cheap insurance for a safer community. This was the first concrete possibility of realizing our second hospital.

Now really big money was needed to promote the new hospital bond issue.

A bond issue committee was formed, consisting of additional outstanding civic leaders in the community who, with the hospital facilities committee, estimated that about $8,000 would be needed to promote the bond issue. Contracted bills of $4,000 were still due the hospital consultant and architect, thus the civic and community affairs women were committed to raise $12,000 in 6 months to achieve their goal.

Those who had viewed us tongue in cheek were asking, "What can I do?" "How can I help?" Heartened by this individual response as well as by donations from six clubs and organizations contributing $560 without solicitation, we steadily moved forward in our program to provide a new hospital for our community.

Late in the spring of 1960, a representative from a New York stage show producing firm contacted our group to see about putting on a Broadway produced, staged and directed musical—using local talent. The task seemed tremendous and proved to be since it ran simultaneously with the promotion of the bond issue. But the possibility of earning $8,000 with this production led the women on to try it and a 3-day October date was contracted. In the seethingly hot summer of 1960, when 20 straight days registered 90° or better—the civic and community affairs women and other women from the community who volunteered to solicit ads for the program book, spent endless hours personally contacting merchants, businessmen and industry to help support our show to be called Operation Follies. Even though there was need for a new hospital and those contacted wanted to help—being businessmen, they felt that if they supported a second hospital they were indirectly saying they didn't like the present hospital. Many did not want a tax increase. Others were afraid to back a little-known controversial issue, for only now that the goal was in sight was the insidious opposition making itself known. Nonetheless—over $5,000 profit was realized on the advertising program book alone.

Getting a cast of 150 men and women to try out, rehease, and polish up a production in the amazingly short time of two and a half weeks was a challenge. But by then the community was truly inspired with the vision of this new community hospital and the response and cooperation was thrilling. Teachers, businessmen, engineers, bankers, doctors and their wives, nurses, scientists, local professional singers and dance instructors, PTA presidents, leading church women, choir directors, prop and stage men, union leaders, political figures, high school students, and just plain people representing all nationality, racial, and religious groups from all geographical areas of the city, shared their talents to put together a Broadway show. Restaurants and clubs offered their physical facilities for talent tryouts and costume storage. The Lorain Recreation Board offered the free use of their building for rehearsals. Neighborhood parties were held to make scenery, to sew costumes, to collect properties. The three nights performance were sellouts and the show was a real hit. When the bills were paid $9,350 profit was realized.

At the same time the Follies was rehearsing—exciting plans were being made by the hospital bond issue campaign committee and the hospital facilities committee, in cooperation with doctors and nurses for the promotion of the hospital bond issue. The committees planned the campaign strategy and the civic and community affairs women executed their plans with time, work and money. People from all over the community banded together and worked tirelessly. Three headquarters, rent free, were established September 1, 1960, in different parts of town and were supplied with new hospital literature, pamphlets, bumper stickers, and buttons urging everyone to "vote for No. 12—new hospital bond issue."

These headquarters were "wo-manned" 6 hours a day, 6 days, and 2 nights a week for 10 weeks. Early in September workers were assembled looking up the phone numbers of every registered voter in Lorain in preparation for a "telephone marathon." Two weeks prior to election day 12 telephones were installed in the downtown headquarters. From 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. working in 2-hour shifts 72 women a day called every one of the 30,458 registered voters using a "canned speech" urging them to "vote for bond issue No. 12 for the new hospital." All of the 20,330 homes in Lorain were canvassed with literature distributed by men, women, and children.

Endorsements of the bond issue came forth without solicitation from doctors, nurses, clergy, PTA's, clubs, organizations, unions, business, industry, councilmen, lodges, political clubs of both parties, and the building and lands committee of the chamber of commerce. The local newspaper favored the hospital with resounding editorials.

In response to these editorials a local bank volunteered to receive contributions sent in by individuals who wished to help with the bond issue and $1,977.89 was collected from 67 individual contributors on a purely voluntary basis.

Throughout the summer of 1960 a local country club donated its facilities for a weekly bridgathon—the proceeds to go to the hospital. Our women made and supplied the refreshments for these affairs as they had always so willingly given of themselves throughout this promotional program.

A speaker's bureau of men and women was established to properly inform the public at organization meetings. A doctor of the Lorain Area Physicians (a name adopted by the staff of the only existing hospital) accompanied each speaker to these meetings by taking time from his practice to emphasize the support of the physicians of this new hospital bond issue, and to answer any questions pertaining to the health needs of Lorain. Signs were donated by a local sign painter for headquarters, business advertising space was contributed for the buses about town. Billboards, newspapers, airplane advertising, radio, and Cleveland TV media were employed to sell the idea to the voters. At the annual 1960 Halloween parade sponsored by the Lorain Junior Chamber of Commerce a large semitrailer, flat-bed truck, donated by a local trucking firm was decorated by members of our department and their husbands. Our families, dressed as witches, goblins, clowns, bums, voting machines, and various Halloween characters, rode on the float and urged the thousands watching the parade to vote for "bond issue No. 12—for the new hospital." Much fun and gaiety accompanied this method of informing the community and we were very excited by the enthusiastic response of the viewers.

The month before the election the air was charged with emotion. The hospital bond issue was the topic of conversation every place—the country clubs, grocery stores, private dinner parties, bowling alleys, and even mock elections were held by the children in school.

The day of judgment arrived—Tuesday, November 8, 1960. All three headquarters were teeming with volunteers offering their help. Automobile dealers volunteered cars to take people to the polls if they contacted hospital headquarters. Babysitting services were available the same way. Union members posted signs at every polling place throughout the city where volunteers were giving out hospital literature, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.

In our usual optimistic manner, plans for a victory celebration, to be held at the downtown headquarters, had already been made. Runners from each precinct were to bring in the results as soon as possible, and with voting machines this could be done quickly. A huge election return board was on the wall. Votes were recorded, precinct by precinct, number for, number against, and percentage of the votes cast. A huge crowd eagerly awaited the results and no campaign headquarters for any election could have held more excitement. Cheers of jubilation were heard after each posting. The results were fantastic as they came in and were figured. Only 2 precincts out of 78 fell below the necessary 55-percent majority. The totals showed that 70.1 percent had voted for bond issue No. 12. This 70.1 percent was the largest majority vote ever recorded in the city's history. This vote was even more impressive, since 91.3 percent of the registered voters participated in this election. Even more impetus is placed on the hospital bond issue victory in view of the resounding defeat of the other two major issues; i.e., railroad overpasses and sewers.

What a proud, humble group of men and women cleaned up the headquarters that night. "Fantastic, unbelievable, good job well done," were heard repeated over and over. It was truly miraculous that the community had supported the new hospital so overwhelmingly when it would mean taxation at a time when Lorain had made national headlines, because it was considered a depressed area due to the high percentage of unemployment. Alone it could not have

transpired, but with people joining hands and working together anything is possible.

This past year the civic and community affairs department appointed a committee of nine women to study the organization of a hospital auxiliary for the new hospital. Numerous trips were made throughout the area visiting with hospital administrators and auxiliary presidents, and endless hours were spent in study, in an effort to find the best framework for the forming of an auxiliary.

We hope always to be an integral part of all the future plans concerning the hospital, in particular, staffing a snack bar, stocking a gift shop, or perhaps being in charge of a hospitality cart. It is certain that any one of these projects will take money, and so, not resting on our laurels, the civic and community affairs women embarked on another "follies," which was held in October 1961 with a goal of $5,000. Undoubtedly our past experience was helpful in organizing another follies. However, the task of assembling 150 people to put on a show and selling an ad program book when there was no longer the emotional appeal of the passage of the bond issue for motivation held many inherent problems. Nonetheless, old friends and new faces rallied round, and once again we relived the thrill and excitement of the passage of the bond issue and netted $5,300 in our 6½-week effort for the new hospital fund. Good fellowship abounded in our community eagerly awaiting a new hospital.

Several other money-raising projects were offered to our civic and community affairs department and even though we had exceeded our financial goal for the year, we could not relinquish an opportunity to increase the treasury of the new hospital fund. Two different women's apparel shops offered us a percentage of their gross sales for the day if our women promoted their merchandise and acted as saleslades. When asked by a local ballet instructor to sponsor the Swan Lake Ballet, we were pleased to lend our name to a cultural effort in our community. A capacity crowd of 3,000 saw a 2-night performance professionally executed by 125 girls between the ages of 5 and 15. Only an additional $500 was realized from these three efforts, but we were pleased to help because of the cultural benefit to the community and in an effort to pursue good public relations with the merchants.

After the 1960 election the first order of business toward the actuality of the hospital was for city council to purchase the 30-acre landsite. Council advertised for bids for the site. Fourteen bids were opened on the deadline of January 20, 1961, one of which proved to be 16 acres of free land adjoining a shopping center which was not within the city limits. This offer created a tremendous controversy, requiring countless meetings with city council, the hospital facilities committee, hospital consultant architect, and the civic and community affairs department. Council guided by the opinion of the experts, purchased a 30-acre site rather than accepting this inadequate free offer.

A five-member hospital commission has been appointed by the mayor in compliance with Ohio State law and includes one of the officers of our department. A professional consultant and architect approved preliminary architectural drawings. The plans for this 168-bed hospital-in-the-round, designed for maximum progressive nursing care at minimum cost, have been revised and refined in the year since the passage of the bond issue. On February 5, 1962, city council announced the sale of the $3½ million bonds. Construction bids will be let early this spring and construction is scheduled to begin June 1962.

Periodic progress reports are submitted to the civic and community affairs department by the hospital commission so that we may be well-informed ambassadors to the rest of the community.

Everyone connected with the bond issue has been deeply affected and influenced by their experience. Truly, ignorance is bliss. For it is doubted that if any of us had known the work involved and the problems to be surmounted, that we would have had the courage or the confidence to do the job.

On the credit side of the ledger the list is endless. At the very top of the list should be our husbands—who were equally dedicated, encouraging and helping us at every turn, putting up with numerous meals somewhat less than gourmet—and shifting from foot to foot as we ironed them a white shirt to wear. Next in order: our children, who very young in life, learned to defend mommie's project, to peddle literature door to door, to sell tickets, to crusade for an ideal; in particular, two very dedicated officers of the hospital facilities committee who week after week, month after month, year after year took time from their business and profession to plot the course to be pursued—and who frequently picked up luncheon and dinner checks at many meetings in advancing our cause; the two attorneys who acted as advisers to the hospital facilities committee and prepared the bond issue but never submitted a bill; the moral support given by industry through the offering of their facilities for committee functions; and our local newspaper for the outstanding publicity in presenting the new hospital story and their resounding support of the project; and on and on and on.

Something wonderful has happened to the people in Lorain since the bond issue. Never again will they be satisfied with second best or the mediocre. They have discovered that with the dedication of purpose and zealous attack any goal is attainable.

A once lethargic community has been stirred to an awareness of its potentialities. A pessimistic attitude can no longer be tolerated in this community which has proven that a just cause propelled by dedicated people will always succeed.

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## Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, at 10:13 a.m. on July 25, 1962, in the Senate conference room in the U.S. Capitol, it became the privilege of the junior Senator from Illinois, acting for the Chicago Anti-Superstitution Society, with 13 of my colleagues in the Senate participating, to make an unusual award presentation to the famous American astronaut, Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., before batteries of newsreel and television cameras and representatives of other news media. Because of the unique nature of this presentation, I ask unanimous consent to include a transcript of the proceedings—which records one of the most relaxed moments in the history of outer space—in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Senator DIRKSEN. In a sense this is a kind of deputized meeting of the Anti-Superstition Society of Chicago and I think it ought to open in the traditional fashion. The society, as you know, is dedicated a little to jollification somewhat discouraging to popular belief in superstitions and then for charitable purposes and recognition of people who have rendered notable public service. So, I shall open this little informal meeting with my colleagues, 13 in number, from the Senate, and do it as we've always done it * * * breaks mirror with hammer * * * the meetings of the society always begin with crashing a mirror and there is the exhibit of number 13.

Now, you may wonder what this is all about. The Anti-Superstition Society was established in Chicago in 1930, so it's been doing business for 32 years. It presently has about 400 members including a great many of our outstanding businessmen. They meet only on Friday, the 13th. They hold a dinner, they always seat 13 at each table, the tab is $13.13 for a dinner ticket, and they perform charitable and other activities. How at the meeting on April 13, 1962, they felt that they ought to present Colonel Glenn with a token of their appreciation for his great feat. In doing so, they realized of course that his capsule was number 13 and so I've summoned 13 of my colleagues here for this purpose. They're all identified with thirteens. Senator RUSSELL is one of 13 children and he comes from Winder, Ga., and I think there are 13 letters in the words Winder, Ga. I believe there are 13 letters in Senator CANNON's name, there are 13 letters in my hometown of Pekin, Ill., there are 13 letters in the majority leader's name. There are 13 letters in Massachusetts from whence Senator SALTONSTALL comes. There are 113,000 square miles in the State of Arizona from which Senator GOLDWATER comes. There are 13 letters, I think, in the name of STROM THURMOND, and in the case of GEORGE SMATHERS, he was born in 1913, in Florida, which was founded in the year 1513. Now, KENNETH KEATING lives at 1233 31st Street and I believe that adds up to 13. And there are 13 letters in U.S. Marine Corps, Colonel, so that we get that properly in the picture. So, here we are, doing our bit in dissuading people from these popular superstitions and on this day, in keeping with the traditions of the society, I'm now going to ask Colonel Glenn, our very distinguished guest, to come up and receive the society's award.

Colonel, this is a beautiful and excellent watch but I ask you to take a little look at the dial. Instead of the customary numerals on the dial, there are all thirteens on the dial and it is a very good watch. And Colonel, it is inscribed to you by the Anti-Superstitution Society of Chicago of which Ben Reagen, formerly of Chicago, now of New York, was the award chairman, and P. J. Collerton is the president.

Now, I've been specially deputized to present this award to you today, and so first, before we hear from you I think we ought to have a word from our distinguished majority leader. I should point out that what we have here today are the three marines in the Senate, the majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, Senator SMATHERS, of Florida, and Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois. In addition, we have the four Members of the Senate holding military rank of general; namely, General CANNON, General KEATING, General GOLDWATER, and General THURMOND. So, we've got a very distinguished group here today participating in this award. We want you to feel at home in the presence of the marines and may I take occasion to say that we were so distressed some weeks ago that another member of the Marine Corps should pass into the great beyond. May I suggest at this moment we stand in respectful silence for 30 seconds in tribute to Francis Case, former Member of the Senate, and a great marine.

And now we'll have a word from our distinguished majority leader, a great marine, Senator MANSFIELD.

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, EVERETT I'm delighted to be here with you and my colleagues to the number of thirteen in participating in this ceremony. All I can say is that 13 is my lucky number, I hope.

Senator DIRKSEN. Now Colonel, I'm going to call the roll. Senator THURMOND, Senator WILEY, Senator MANSFIELD, Senator SALTONSTALL, Senator GOLDWATER, Senator SMATHERS, Senator DOUGLAS, Senator KEATING, Senator KERR, Senator KUCHEL, Senator CANNON, Senator RUSSELL, and Senator HUMPHREY.

Now Colonel, if you'll talk 13 seconds we'll love you. If you talk 13 minutes we'll wonder how you ever got into orbit, and if you talk 13 hours we'll be in orbit. Colonel we're glad to see you.

Colonel GLENN. I thought you were going to say if I talked 13 hours I'd be in good company here. [Laughter and applause from members of the press and the Senators.] I wish you could see this watch closer up here; this is not just a toy watch, this is a dandy. It's a beautiful watch, everything is inscribed 13 on it here and I can assure you that 13 I consider to be my lucky number too. Someone asked me before the flight of *Friendship 7* what I thought of having capsule No. 13. We in fact received some serious letters advising us to change the number of the capsule. However, we had to do it or to pick another capsule for our first orbital flight because of the number. But I could only reply to those people that 13 boded or bided, whatever it is, only good as far as I was concerned and I still look at 13 the same way. I think that this is good evidence that I was right this morning. Thank you very much.

Senator DIRKSEN. Colonel, those letters you received only give encouragement to the Anti-Superstition Society. It indicates there is still work to be done to discourage these popular beliefs in superstition. To my colleagues I want to say I'm deeply grateful that you should come this morning as we honor Colonel Glenn and I am grateful to the Superstition Society, Anti-Superstition Society, that I was privileged to have this deputized meeting in Washington. Thank you all.

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## Responsibility for Bloodshed at Oxford

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared recently in the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Free Press, which I hope will be read by all Members of this body who are concerned with the preservation of constitutional liberty in this country:

RESPONSIBILITY FOR BLOODSHED AT OXFORD

With an application of force against Mississippi unequaled by application of force against Communist Cuba, President Kennedy has sowed the wind, and the Nation has reaped the whirlwind, as two lie dead and others bear wounds resulting from violence triggered by dictatorial and illegal actions to which the response was unconscionable violence.

Despite pious protestations to the contrary, the Federal action against Mississippi violated the Constitution in a number of ways, and, therefore, those who dictated it must bear responsibility for the horrible results.

VIOLENCE UNJUSTIFIED

But as wrong as was the Federal action, there can be no justification whatsoever for the violence and rioting that have turned into murder. Great though the provocation was, no American can find in it any shred of excuse to make right the disorders that took place. One evil does not make another evil tolerable. One wrong does not make another wrong right. Violence has no place in our American way of life.

Even though Federal force has crushed the Constitution and law, the proper response for Americans is protest with loud voices and clear reason, citation of the Constitution to alert their fellow citizens to what it means, so that by marshaling public opinion the rights the Constitution clearly defines may be recovered and preserved.

These are neither the times nor the issues for resort to the revolution that Thomas Jefferson spoke of as man's right. These are times for proof that though truth be crushed to earth, dedicated men and women, displaying the loftiest and most forbearing sort of good citizenship can bring the issues into the forum of public debat that may yet awaken our people to the dangers of unconstitutional and usurped centralized power, so truth may rise again.

BEYOND THE SHOCK

So shocked and saddened is our Nation today by the reprehensible rioting that has been sparked by Federal force in Mississippi, it is difficult for calm and reasoned debate of the issues.

But if these issues had been calmly and reasonably explored with knowledge and understanding throughout our Nation in years past, it is probable that Americans jealous of their liberty and dedicated to constitutional government would never have permitted to arise the conditions which brought the conflict that has erupted into ugly violence and death.

President Kennedy has never demonstrated himself to have a heart bleeding for minorities or a spirit wracked with pain over alleged injustice. Rather, he has shown himself to be an arrogant, spoiled, vindictive, and coldly calculating seeker of political power based on votes garnered by whatever scheme may best at the time serve his purposes. So his action in the Mississippi case has been more political than principled.

This author of a book called "Profiles in Courage," hailing men who stood for principle at the cost to them of popularity and votes such as he so avidly seeks, has displayed a profile of cowardice in refusing to face the international issues such as Communist Cuba while asserting authority contrary to the Constitution against his own countrymen in Mississippi. As he gathered force to apply against Mississippi, he federalized the Mississippi National Guard so he might make it do his will against the guardsmen's own people.

WHAT LAW?

All of this he has clouded in protestations that he is acting "to uphold the law," as he pronounces it. And here the case of those who uphold the central dictatorship falls flat on its face.

What law?

What law do they uphold? They have never yet cited any real law to justify their position, relying only on decrees by appointed men which are not "the law" in our Republic.

THE LAW OF THE LAND

The Constitution of the United States clearly defines in article VI what "the law of the land" is: "This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Persuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land."

Those who speak of the Federal aggression in terms of "law" cannot cite a single section of the Constitution, a single act passed by Congress, or a single treaty that provides them any basis for their emotional, vote-buying, revolutionary position. The Constitution does not say that a decree by a court is "the law of the land." If it were, Americans would live in a dictatorship, for our Federal judiciary is appointed and unresponsive to the people. We would be at the unmerciful mercy of a panel of nine dictators on the Supreme Court who could rule as they willed, and demand Federal force to carry out their orders against an enslaved populace.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The United States of America was created by the States, not the States by the National Government. The creation was accomplished under terms of the Constitution.

In article I, the legislative power is delegated to the Congress—the power to pass laws restricted only by the fact that they must not violate the terms of the Constitution.

In article II, the Executive powers are delegated to the President, who does not rule, who has no legal monarchial powers, but who may act only within bounds prescribed by the Constitution in carrying out the specific laws passed by the Congress and performing the other tasks specifically delegated to him.

In article III, the judicial powers are delegated to the Supreme Court and such lower courts as may be created. But the Supreme Court and others are not given any power to issue decrees that shall alter the law, or extend the law, or amend the Constitution. The judiciary cannot legally and constitutionally do what the political Supreme Court has sought to do.

Leftwingers who promote the centralization of power unconstitutionally, and at the expense of the American people and their dream of liberty, seek by the most specious reasoning to justify themselves by asking "who else is to interpret the Constitution," if the appointed political judges are not to do it. But they are at a loss to cite any provision of constitution or law that gives to the courts the power to rule on law and constitution beyond the clear terms stated therein.

FOR JUSTICE

If the Constitution and the law speak, then these words must be applied by courts of justice; if the Constitution and law are silent, then courts of justice must not speak in the absence of valid law, with the people being allowed under their Constitution the right to leave the Constitution and law silent, or to supply its voice through constitutional amendment or legal enactment of salutes through the Congress.

The Mississippi tragedy has resulted from political, sociological, and demagogic substitution of the decrees of appointed men for law. So when President Kennedy and his partisans speak of upholding the law, they still find themselves without any law to cite, exposing their hypocrisy and willingness to take into their own hands powers which are not theirs, thus violating the oath of the President when he raised his right hand, placed his left upon the Bible and declared: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

By failing to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, by substituting dictator-

ship for it, the President has infringed upon the rights of the States and the people and brought such a degeneration that some—though wrongfully—have felt that since the President does violence to the Constitution they also may resort to violence.

THE SPECIFICS

Article IV, section 4, of the Constitution provides that the States shall be guaranteed "a Republican Form of Government"—that is, government by elected representatives who make specific law. This has been violated.

Article IX of the Bill of Rights declares: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." This removes any doubt whether central government may assume unspecified powers.

Article X of the Bill of Rights asserts: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This clearly rules out Federal action where specific delegation is lacking, as in the cases currently at issue.

An effort is made by the usurpers to get around all of these constitutional specifics by citing the 14th amendment. There are three major fallacies in this effort.

The first is that the 14th amendment was rejected by the States whose ratification was necessary to breathe legality into it. The Southern States during reconstruction, approved and ratified the 13th amendment, abolishing slavery. But they rejected the 14th amendment. If they had the right to approve the 13th, they had equal right to reject the 14th. But radicals then in power responded to the rejection of the 14th amendment by imposing an army of occupation on the South, bringing about illegal legislatures in the South to rubberstamp what the legal legislatures had rejected. And in face of this the legislature of New Jersey and Ohio rescinded their ratification of the 14th amendment. Thus it was never legally approved and is not legal today.

The second fallacy is a fact even if the 14th amendment is treated as legal. The amendment simply does not provide for discard of other clear provisions of the Constitution, and does not permit what is being done in its name.

But even if it should be conceded that the 14th amendment shall be accepted as legal, even if it should be accepted that it does intend and permit the things wrongfully done with it as an excuse, there is a third and fatal fallacy that negates any claim of legality on the part of courts or President.

The 14th amendment in section 5 declares: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

Congress has enacted no legislation in this respect—and the amendment does not allow courts or President to act instead.

WHAT IS IMPORTANT?

Why is it important that these constitutional and legal principles be so scrupulously upheld? The real issue is not one of whether a Negro man shall be enrolled in the University of Mississippi. The issue is one of dictatorial power versus the constitutional rights of the people.

For if a mere court decree may upset the Constitution, the law and previous court rulings on this kind of question which have stood for generations, what is to prohibit appointed dictators from depriving all Americans of all their freedoms?

If these changes can be wrought contrary to Constitution and law, what is to prevent some appointed court from ruling, for example, that in its "interpretation" of the Constitution Americans may have free speech—only if the freedom is not extended to criticism of whatever rulers may be in power?

What is to keep appointed judges, if they succeed now, from ruling that freedom of religion may be retained—only to the extent of bowing to the altar that dictators may designate?

As one portion of freedom goes, so all may go, if we let it.

This issue of Federal usurpation is vital to freedom because it is the weapon whereby freedom in America today is most threatened with destruction. No external enemy, Communist or any other, so endangers Americans as does unconstitutional government within.

WHAT NOW?

As our enemies throughout this land and the world, the Communists and all others, rejoice at our misery, let us as Americans seek the course that may yet save our Nation.

As we condemn and deplore violence, let us raise a standard of reason and information to cause our people to be able through the democratic processes to undo the injustices that have been dictatorially committed, preserving both freedom and the peace.

And in these troubled times, let us confess the inadequacies of man: let all Americans exercise the freedom that is yet theirs to bow their heads to God, in subservience to His will and in petition for His guidance, that this may continue to be a Heaven-rescued land of free men seeking liberty and justice for all.

## Hon. James C. Davis

SPEECH

OF

## HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join others in paying deserving tribute to Hon. JAMES C. DAVIS, of the State of Georgia, who leaves this body at the end of this session.

It has been my happy privilege to be closely associated with Judge DAVIS throughout the 16 years we have served together in the House of Representatives, both as a personal friend and fellow Congressman.

Judge DAVIS can take pride in the record of legislative accomplishments which he leaves behind. Indeed, his work as a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has been outstanding, and much fine legislation bears his name as its author. As a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, he has wielded a tremendous influence for good on the affairs of our Capital City. Judge DAVIS has been a relentless crusader for law and order, and perhaps the best friend the police and firemen have ever had in the Congress. Except for his work, I am sure the crime rate in the District would have been much higher, and he deserves the thanks and gratitude of all its peace-loving and law-abiding citizens.

Though Judge DAVIS' legislative record is one of great accomplishment, the qualities of character which he always exhibited in all matters, whether personal or political, have been his real hallmark of distinction.

Judge DAVIS is a man who has a profound faith in the genius of our American system. He has risen on many occasions to defend the cherished principles of our Constitution when they were being trampled upon by power-hungry political demagogs. While his people have been made the victims of political chicanery, he has always risen to their defense.

Judge DAVIS is a dedicated American patriot. He is a man of convictions, with the courage and ability to put those convictions forward.

Mr. Speaker, I regret that Judge DAVIS will not be with us next year, not only because of our warm personal friendship, but because America sorely needs his kind of statesmanship.

I am grateful for the opportunity of knowing Judge DAVIS as a friend, and I hope that in years to come, he will visit us often in this Chamber. I am sure others will join in wishing for him and his family an abundance of God's richest blessings throughout their future years.

## Cinerama—Nicolas Reisini

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a series of articles paying tribute to the genius and public spiritedness of Mr. Nicolas Reisini, president and chairman of the board of Cinerama. Mr. Reisini is a friend of mine, but I do not speak of that friendship as I give him this proper recognition. It was my privilege a few weeks ago to see the first film created by Cinerama under Mr. Reisini's leadership, "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm." Here, indeed, is a motion picture in the finest traditions of the industry, one with an emphasis on wholesome family entertainment and absent the cruelty, depravity, and eroticism too often associated of late with motion pictures.

It is appropriate that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflect this respect for Mr. Reisini because he is about to become an American citizen. Born in Greece 56 years ago, Mr. Reisini has been an international traveler, a highly successful businessman, a respected financier, an imaginative inventor, and today known as a "movie mogul with a heart." With all of these careers he has been, as a writer recently stated, a man with a mission. He is determined that Cinerama, under his leadership, will be a voice all over the world for that which is noble in American life. His new film, "How the West Was Won," is in that tradition. Mr. Reisini is today telling the story of America to millions of people all over the world. He does this without Government assistance but out

of a spirit of loyalty and dedication of the principles of his America.

During this past Congress I introduced legislation to provide congressional and governmental recognition to those who have made significant contributions to the field of arts and letters in America. Congress has not as yet acted on this proposal. A Congressional Medal of Merit, however, is indeed warranted for the kind of significant contributions made by Mr. Reisini, and it is with pleasure that I welcome him now as a fellow citizen of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that articles dealing with Mr. Reisini appearing in the April 1, 1962, issue of the New York Herald Tribune; the April 8, 1962, issue of the New York Times; the June 25, 1962, issue of the Washington Post; the July 28, 1962, issue of Business Week; the August 13, 1962, issue of the New York Herald Tribune, and the September 10, 1962, issue of the National Observer, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Apr. 1, 1962]

THE GREEK'S GOLDEN TOUCH ON CINERAMA—NICK REISINI'S WIDE, WIDE SCREEN

(By Ken McKenna)

If Nicholas Reisini were an actor he would require a medium with the size and three dimensions of Cinerama to contain the scope of his performance.

Being a mere businessman and president and chairman of Cinerama, Inc., he must confine himself to a platform that usually consists of the carpeted floor behind his cluttered desk in a Manhattan office building.

But the lack of theatrical trappings affect this Greek financier's style not at all. A heavy man of medium height, he is always on the move, even when sitting down. His arms gesticulate, his roundish head bobs, his face flexes. One minute he is up and ruffling for a paper or a photograph; the next he is straining across his desk to stress a point of his story.

HE'S COLOSSAL

The Reisini voice—undeniably Greek and prone to garbled pronunciation—is as active as the rest of him. Moving up and down with the drama of his conversation, it's like a musical instrument, a clarinet in the hands of a far-out jazz musician.

His performance, in the lexicon of the film world, is colossal.

The manner of Mr. Reisini's talk, in fact, almost diverts the listener from its matter, which is hardly fair. For the progress of his favorite company, Cinerama, Inc., in the 2 years since he took control rates full attention.

In 1959, the company showed a loss of $109,000 after taxes; in 1960, his first year, it turned a profit, and in the first 9 months of last year, the profit had swelled to $476,000.

Mr. Reisini, at 56, has been compared to such fellow countrymen as Aristotle Socrates Onassis and Stavros Niarchos, has the Greek touch for money that runs in the tens of millions.

His main other financial interest, Robin International, does an annual volume of $150 million in import-export and international finance, and Mr. Reisini is sole owner.

These days, however, his impressive energies are directed to the furtherance of Cinerama, a company whose yearly sales are only a slight percentage of Robin International volume. Why the concentration on a relatively minor property?

"There are easier ways to make money," he admitted last week, but he professes to be interested in making movies. He first went into the movie business in the 1930's in Manchuria where he operated a coal mine inherited from his grandfather.

When he lost the mines during World War II, he came to the United States and started Robin International.

After seeing Cinerama on Broadway in 1954, he persuaded the company to allow him to set up distribution of Cinerama films abroad. As might be expected, the venture was highly successful for both parties.

"I never like to work for other people. I like to work for myself," he observed, in explaining some of the reasons for his purchase of working control of Cinerama.

As owner of more than 20 percent of Cinerama stock, he put to work some of his ideas for taking full advantage of entertainment possibilities in the wide, wide screen.

He expanded the chain of theaters (59 now operating and a total of 100 expected by July), invested in research to improve the Cinerama camera and exhibition facilities, and arranged for production of more films.

"They're afraid of anything different," Mr. Reisini said of his fellow moviemakers, then launched tangentically on a tirade about television and film executives who follow vulgar fads to win an audience.

He would have no part of those acts of desperation that in movies take the form of sex and in television the form of violence.

His movies, Mr. Reisini commented, will be good movies that will not embarrass anyone. He added with a wily Greek smile, "You can make a lot of money that way, too."

PACT WITH M-G-M

To get his new Cinerama movies, he signed a partnership agreement with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer whereby each invested half the money for four pictures. Cinerama will distribute them and profits will be split.

Two pictures, "How the West Was Won" (a 20-star epic costing $12.5 million) and "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm" will be released this summer.

Since they are the first Cinerama films with story lines, they will represent the consumer test of Mr. Reisini as a showman and, not incidentally, the future of Cinerama.

A personality trait Mr. Reisini lacks is pessimism. Another one he has in full supply is confidence. For him, the success of the films is foreordained.

"Not that I'm a genius," he said modestly, "I don't believe in geniuses. Sixteen hours work a day. That's a genius."

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[From the New York Times, Apr. 8, 1962]

PERSONALITY: THE DYNAMIC MAN OF CINERAMA—REISINI BRINGS NEW LIFE TO MODERN FILM CONCERN

(By Sal R. Nuccio)

The dynamic man behind the huge Louis XV desk was enthusiastically discussing Cinerama, but he might have been describing himself. For he, too, seeks, by his very nature, to "induce audience participation in emotion, as well as in action."

The man, Nicolas Reisini, is president and chairman of Cinerama, Inc., owner of the wide-screen movie process. He relegates to second place his status as a world trader and financier. Moving swiftly about his spacious, oak-paneled office, the 56-year-old executive gathered illustrations, documents and objects that gave substance to his account of the progress made in the 2 years he has headed the company.

With a tremor in his voice, Mr. Reisini declared:

"The only new thing the motion-picture industry had done in the last 35 years was to provide air conditioning. Cinerama long ago could have brought the industry to new heights. But, until now, this revolutionary process was left on the shelf, perhaps because of fear of change."

When Mr. Reisini took over operation of Cinerama, Inc., in January 1960, it was a fragmentary and unprofitable organization, established in 1950 to make filming equipment.

The first of the predecessor companies was the Vitarama Corp., formed in 1938 by Fred Waller, inventor of the process.

The Cinerama Production Co., with which Lowell Thomas and Louis B. Mayer were active, made the films. The first, "This Is Cinerama," had a highly successful initial run in 1952. In Denver, a new Super Cinerama theater in which the 146° curved screen covers the fourth wall, has been grossing an average of $10,000 a week, since it opened with the 1952 film on March 8, 1962.

The Stanley Warner Corp. became producer and distributor of Cinerama movies, rights to all five of which were bought by Cinerama, Inc., in 1959.

In Cinerama's first year under Mr. Reisini's guidance, there was a net income of $136,375, against a net loss of $108,672 in 1959. The net income in the first 9 months of last year was put at $476,000.

As part of Mr. Reisini's program, Cinermiracle, a similar process, was bought. The deal included its only film, "The Windjammer," bringing to six the stockpile of films.

A contract was signed with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, under which that company and Cinerama are equal partners in the production of four films. The first, "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm," starring Laurence Harvey, will open here August 8. This film, Mr. Reisini said, will establish audience participation in emotion, "refuting the argument that the process is only for good spectaculars."

TAKES ACTIVE PART

The second film, "How the West Was Won," with James Stewart, is expected to open late this year.

Mr. Reisini takes an active part in production. Calls from Hollywood asking his advice on technicalities are common.

His interest in motion pictures began in Paris in 1927, when he saw Abel Gance's "Napoleon." The film was made by using three cameras simultaneously, giving today's wide-screen effect. While Mr. Reisini turned from time to time to this interest in the next 30 years, his attention was held by quite unrelated enterprises.

His education was financed by his grandfather, a European financier and industrialist, who had taken young Reisini from his native Greece at the age of 2, after his parents were killed during the Asia Minor Salonika uprisings.

In 1933, Mr. Reisini, then 28, when to Manchuria to run a coal mine given to him by his grandfather. He turned an unsuccessful enterprise into China's second largest coal mine. He also became distributor in China of such notable European films as "Mayerling," with Charles Boyer.

With the start of World War II, the Japanese took Mr. Reisini's mine. He then was in Shanghai until 1945, when he came to the United States.

Two years later, with money left by his grandfather, who died in 1943, Mr. Reisini bought an asbestos mine in California. Despite warnings from associates, he made his decision, based on his knowledge of mining and a hunch. That hunch parlayed his investment of about $350,000 to $4,200,000, the price paid in 1950 by the Jefferson Lake Sulphur Co.

In this period, he was developing into a $150 million a year business an export-import and international finance company he formed in 1952. That concern, Robin International, Inc., deals in heavy commodities, especially Government surpluses.

A man who enjoys living in the Old World tradition, Mr. Reisini resides with his wife and three children, aged 1 to 9, in a 14-room Park Avenue apartment furnished in the style of Louis XIV. In his office, a blend of the Louis XIV and XV periods, there is a painting of "The Prophet" by Riberia, the 17th century Spanish master.

It is in this Old World setting that the driving force behind the modern age's Cinerama is generated. After Mr. Reisini first viewed Cinerama in 1954, he excitedly opened negotiations for a contract to export it. In the next several years, he spent $2 million on theaters in London, Tokyo, and Osaka, Japan; Paris, Rome, and Milan, Italy.

Then, concerned with the lack of new Cinerama films, and convinced of the medium's great potential, he sought to acquire stock control of Cinerama, Inc. He now owns 600,000 of the 2,800,000 outstanding shares, with the balance held by 12,000 stockholders.

The drive to increase the number of theaters (financed by exhibitors) has been accelerated. As of last Friday, there were 58 theaters, half of them in the United States. When the Grimm's "Fairy Tales" movie opens in August, 21 more domestic and 6 more foreign theaters will be ready. The plan is for 100, with 60 in this country, by year's end.

"The secret to success in this business, or any other business," Mr. Reisini said, with a slam of his fist on the desk, "is in research and development."

A product of that research is a lens capable of filming and projecting in a 146° arc, eliminating the need for three screens, cameras, and projectors. Another is Itinerama, an inflatable theater that seats 3,000 persons and can be transported by truck caravan. An improved version of the model tested in France is planned eventually for domestic use.

Mr. Reisini, seeking to diversify within his company's field, pressed for a consumer camera. The product developed, a competitively priced, simplified still camera, revolves on a pistol-grip base, taking photographs of up to 360°. Manufacturing and marketing methods are being explored.

"My grandfather gave me advice that has been my guide," Mr. Reisini said, his voice softening. "Don't try to be the richest man in the world, for you will always have Rockefellers and Morgans. Don't try to be the strongest man in the world, for there will always be someone stronger. But have 5 minutes more patience than your opponent, and you will be the victor."

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[From the Washington Post, June 25, 1962]

CRUSADER ARISES—CINERAMA IS GONNA HAVE "HEART"

(By Philip K. Scheuer)

LOS ANGELES.—Nicolas Reisini has been called the last of the old movie moguls; but since few people outside the business have heard of him till now, he may well turn out to be the first of the new movie moguls. The reason more people haven't learned about Reisini is that he has been the behind-the-scenes operator in Cinerama. Now, with Cinerama emerging as a maker of dramatic Super Cinerama features with MGM, Reisini has decided to emerge, too.

The late Louis B. Mayer used to astonish interviewers by announcing that what pictures needed was "heart"—a metaphor he drove home by beating his chest repeatedly on the larboard side. I even knew him to drop to his knees, tears actually filling his eyes and hands folding as if in prayer, in simulation of a little girl's innocence and as a more graphic illustration of what he meant by "heart."

Reisini, a massive gentleman of similar build, proved to be of much the same histrionic persuasion soon after we met. He didn't fall to his knees but he pounded his chest to demonstrate what movies today lack, and what "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm" will shortly provide; and then, to hammer home what is wrong with most of them today, slapped resoundingly at his underside.

A crusader, no mistake. Veteran of 35 years in the industry, mainly as a distributor, Reisini explained with oratorical pride why he had persuaded MGM to release "Grimm" ahead of "How the West Was Won." "The financially minded studio wanted to show the most expensive one first—$15 million as against $6 million. I said 'No.' Why? My answer tells also why I think of Super Cinerama as being something new, a revolution.

" 'How the West Was Won' has names, stars, great movement; 80 percent of it was shot outside. This being a tremendous achievement, an epic, people looking at it will say, 'Fine, we were sure Cinerama would excel in action' * * * that kind of participation.

"I said, 'But will Cinerama give participation in emotion—an actor communicating emotions which up to now Cinerama has never shown, a simple human story with sentimentality, a feeling of compassion toward the human situation, toward what is important today?

"Today we are ashamed of it, of sympathy, of being touched.

"Why were people all over the world attracted to the Cinerama travelogs? Authenticity; a man could see with his own eyes the truth as under a magnifying glass; even more than the eye could see, since many people said to me, 'I've been there but I didn't see that.' It is that challenge that I feel we have to show the world, that will be more apparent in 'The Brothers Grimm.'

"I am not interested only in grosses," he added triumphantly. "Do we or don't we bring something of a new, dynamic character to the world? In Super Cinerama, we have a technique appropriate to the space age."

Reisini has made his weight felt in other ways. In "How the West Was Won" a sequence revealed Hope Lange coming to a bad end. "Out," cried Reisini. In the same film, Jimmy Stewart is stabbed in the chest and his shirt front reddens with blood. "Out," cried Reisini—and out, damned spot, it was. In "The Brothers Grimm," a sequence showed Claire Bloom, wife of one Grimm brother, nuzzling up to the other Grimm brother. "Out."

Why? "Cinerama audiences are 40 percent children; the rest are people who can't stand the kind of irritation that the industry thinks—falsely—people want. This is the industry that never spent any money on research that would insure its tomorrow, and so planted the seeds of its own death. And what did it do about television? If you can't lick 'em, join 'em. Is that a solution?"

The space-age theater, Reisini envisions, has three walls; the fourth is the screen, wall to wall. "There is no proscenium; the audience sits with the actors." The Warner Hollywood Theater is being renovated to conform at a cost of $300,000. The goal is 100 such theaters, worldwide.

And they're being built; not with Cinerama's money, but with exhibitors'. Nick Reisini is a most persuasive gentleman.

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[From Business Week, July 28, 1962]

CINERAMA'S STAR IS RISING—UNDER THE AGGRESSIVE DIRECTION OF NICOLAS REISINI, THE COMPANY FORMED TO EXPLOIT A NEW MOVIE TECHNIQUE IS BEGINNING TO SHOW PROFITS AND EVEN GREATER PROMISE

For the 12 years of its existence, the fortunes of Cinerama, Inc., have been characterized by wide-screen movies and narrow profits.

Cinerama developed the method of splashing movies across a screen 146° wide, but it relied on outsiders for production, distribution, and exhibition. Five Cinerama travelogues, starting with "This Is Cinerama" in 1952, have grossed around $125 million, but Cinerama collected only modest royalties on box office receipts, plus some fees for technical work. Until 1961, earnings never topped $60,000 a year, and in 1958 and 1959 the company lost money. Even when Cinerama bought the five films in 1959 from Stanley Warner Corp., it never knew how to exploit them.

New boss: But an aggressive new management, led by a 56-year-old, Greek-born financier, Nicolas Reisini, is betting it can turn Cinerama into a moneymaker and perhaps chart some new paths for the beleaguered film industry as well.

Reisini, a chunky, voluble dynamo, who has been exhibiting Cinerama films overseas since 1954, bought control of Cinerama, Inc., in early 1960 for $1.4 million. As chairman and president, he has revamped the company and edged it back into modest profitability.

Cinerama earned $11,000 in 1960 and $336,000 in 1961, chiefly by finding new markets for its old films. In a financial coup of sorts, Reisini last year also renegotiated a $15 million loan agreement with Prudential Insurance Co. of America, winning some important concessions for Cinerama. All this commotion has caught the eye of investors. Cinerama's stock rose from a low of around 60 cents several years ago to $20 early this year, before settling at around $16.

Big test: Reisini's crucial test comes August 8 when "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm"—first new Cinerama film in 4 years and the first with name stars and a story line—opens in 14 United States and Canadian cities. In mid-October, "How the West Was Won," a second Cinerama narrative, opens in theaters overseas. By early 1963, the two films—produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc., and distributed by Cinerama, with costs and profits split 50–50—will be in 100 theaters.

Cinerama's future is riding on these two films. Reisini puts their cost at $27 million, including extra prints and preopening expenses. For Cinerama to get back its investment and start earning a profit, Frederick E. Koehner, vice president and treasurer, estimates film rentals must top $33 million. Even with tickets scaled from $1.25 to $3.50, that's a big order. Ben Hur has brought back about $55 million for MGM, Gone With the Wind about $60 million, but relatively few films have grossed $15 million.

Rosy prediction: Reisini thinks he is almost home free. He says both movies will break even in a year or less, then pile up more profits in coming years. Max E. Youngstein, hired this year from United Artists to act as Reisini's executive vice president—and a candidate for the top spot at 20th Century-Fox—predicts the films will take in $100 million to $150 million "by the time they're played out, if they're ever played out."

The highly jealous movie industry, though, is still dubious about what they regard as little more than a gimmick. Some think the flush of newness will soon wear off the "new" Cinerama.

Accomplishments: Yet even they think Reisini deserves some kudos for what he has already done with the company. In 2½ years he has:

Wrapped up a deal with MGM—the first time a major studio had invested in Cinerama. The agreement calls for at least two—and up to six more—MGM-produced Cinerama movies, in addition to the two already completed.

Hiked Cinerama-licensed theaters from 22 in 1959 to 83 today, with a goal of 100

theaters worldwide by early 1963—all financed by exhibitors themselves.

Prepared Cinerama for diversification. An inexpensive still camera that takes full 360° pictures will be marketed next year by a new subsidiary, with other consumer photographic products to follow. By 1964, according to Reisini, sales of consumer products should turn up in corporate earnings.

Reisini's moves become more dramatic when viewed against the backdrop of the movie business. The film industry has been in trouble since the end of World War II—a complex blend of problems including competition from television, mounting production and distribution costs, and the expensive "star" system. The result has been generally unstable earnings with sagging profits—or, as in the recent case of 20th Century-Fox, outright losses.

The industry has countered by selling old films to television, turning toward more independent productions, trading off real estate holdings for commercial development.

There have been some bright spots, such as Robert S. Benjamin's and Arthur B. Krim's takeover of slipping United Artists Corp.

Stress on purity: Reisini thinks he can pull off the same trick. The industry, he says, has forgotten how to create; "it has substituted sex and violence for inventiveness." Reisini also scoffs at the idea that the bankers are ruining the movie industry. "I never saw a banker who was a frustrated movie producer," he says.

The cure, he says, lies in the type of films Cinerama will offer—"creative, wholesome stories enhanced by the super-wide-screen technique."

Mode in mogul: Reisini, in fact, appears a likely candidate for survival in the hurly-burly film industry. Cagey and tough, he's much like the movie moguls of yesteryear, yet he combines a technical and financial skill that some of them lacked.

Reisini's acumen has been tested in a career that includes running a Manchurian coal mine from 1933 until the war intervened and launching an export-import business in 1951 (it represents American Cyanamid Co. in Yugoslavia) whose annual volume Reisini places at $150 million.

It's this sort of toughness that Cinerama's previous management lacked.

I. FALTERING START

The Cinerama process was developed in the 1940's, by Fred Weller, a former Paramount producer, but though Waller got some financial support, his company withered for lack of interest.

New owner: In 1950 one of his backers, Hazard E. Reeves, head of Reeves Soundcraft Corp., then a small 4-year-old electronics concern, picked up the dormant operation for $1,500. Reeves, the developer of Cinerama's unique sound system, felt the process had vast potential if it were developed properly. But he lacked the background to do it.

Reeves, who concedes that he had no film industry experience, set up Cinerama as an engineering and licensing company. Then he brought together a new group of supporters, and "This Is Cinerama," was released in 1952 by Cinerama Productions Corp. Shortly after, though, CPC ran into troubles. Cinemascope and other film techniques were new competitors. And, when Cinerama Productions had financing troubles, it sold out to Stanley Warner Corp.

Warner's deal: The Warner organization got Justice Department approval to produce, distribute, and exhibit Cinerama films for 5 years, starting in 1953, and the next four travelogs came from Warner. Reeves says Cinerama's share averaged only about 5 percent of box office receipts.

Relations between Reeves and the Warner organization never ran smoothly. Reeves wanted better pictures and broader distribution, while Warner officials felt they were doing a good pioneering job with a comparatively new technique. This disagreement led Reeves to look for a way out, and he piled up about $1.8 million in cash by 1959 with an eye toward getting Warner out of the picture. By 1959, when Warner's 5-year grace period was over, Warner's was ready to sell the films, plus its Cinerama stock.

Enter Reisini: Reeves teamed up with Reisini, still a successful oversea exhibitor of Cinerama films, to buy blocks of Cinerama stock from Warner. Reisini took 100,000 shares, which he soon sold.

"I never thought at that time in terms of running Cinerama," he says, "but of protecting my interests."

Transaction with the Pru: To finance purchase of the five films in Warner's hands and to provide for future Cinerama movies, Reeves turned to the Pru. A transaction of this sort had the earmarks of a speculative venture for an insurance company, but the Pru was willing to lend Reeves money, at a price.

Reeves borrowed $3 million at 6 percent to buy the five films. The Pru also bought $3 million of 6 percent secured notes and agreed to take another $6 million worth to finance purchase of additional equipment and the production of more Cinerama films. In return, the Pru got warrants for 300,000 Cinerama shares at $4 (about double the market price) and 15 percent of Cinerama's pretax earnings through 1974. Once the first $3 million loan was repaid, the Pru was to get a 15-percent perpetual share of Cinerama's take from the five old films.

Virtually all of Cinerama's assets were put up as security on the loans, and 25 percent of the unpaid interest and principal was guaranteed by Robin International, Inc., Reisini's wholly owned export-import firm. In return, Robin International received options on 300,000 Cinerama shares at $2.65½ a share, and Reisini suddenly assumed a dominant position in the company.

Reeves found the conditions steep, but explains: "We didn't have a very good position as far as dynamic progress was concerned. The Pru was taking a hell of a risk."

Reeves pulls out: By the end of 1959, Reeves decided he preferred his own, by then successful electronics business to the film industry. He sold 350,000 Cinerama shares to Reisini for $1.4 million. The price was above double market value, but Reisini says it was enough to give him operating control. He now has 23 percent of the company's stock and an option for another 5 percent.

Once in command, Reisini moved quickly. He hashed out terms of the deal with MGM, pushed Cinerama into film distribution, and launched a drive for new exhibitors.

Reisini estimates $17.5 million is being spent by exhibitors to set up new Super-Cinerama theaters—21 already are built or planned in the United States and abroad. The exhibitors' share of the take is 10 percent of box office receipts after deducting overhead.

II. FINANCIAL HEALTH

These new outlets have helped Cinerama's earnings. Volume went from $2.6 million in 1959 to $6.6 million in 1960, before dipping to $6.2 million last year. But Cinerama wound up with earnings of $336,000.

Financial coup: With Cinerama in the black and MGM deal signed, Reisini finally tackled the Pru.

Under the new agreement, another $6 million was made available to Cinerama, while the Pru is to get 15 percent of Cinerama's net on the two films it financed instead of 15 percent of pretax profits. The loan also was revised to give Cinerama more room for working capital.

This spring, Cinerama repaid the first $3 million loan ahead of time.

Sidelines: Reisini obviously hasn't stopped yet. The Panoramic camera patented by Waller, but never developed (Reisini says he found the plans for it stashed away in a closet) will be handled by Cinerama Camera Corp., a newly created subsidiary. A manufacturer, probably in Japan, will be picked this year and the camera is slated for marketing by Christmas 1963. Other Cinerama ideas include a wide-angle home movie projector and a single-lens motion picture camera for Cinerama films. Research is important to Reisini, who has spent over $4 million on research since taking over.

Reisini also says he has plans for Cinemiracle—a compatible, wide-screen process that Cinerama purchased for $1.25 million late in 1961. Cinemiracle's assets include one film—"Windjammer"—and Cinerama will pay off the purchase price from its film rentals. In a way, Reisini simply was gobbling up a competitive nuisance. But he insists he will make additional Cinemiracle films. This acquisition eventually may provide Reisini a way out of his deal with MGM if he decides to sever that tie.

Doubts: This rush into new areas has convinced some people that Reisini is threatening to spread Cinerama too thin. They believe that Cinerama's first job is to add more outlets for the two new films.

Some financial men also think Reisini is trying to touch too many bases at once. In a sense, they think he already has assumed the air of the old-fashioned movie king who is confident he can juggle any number of things at the same time. Reisini will have no part with such an argument. "Whoever stops creating today is dead the day before yesterday," he says.

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[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 13, 1962]

CINERAMA BOSS; MAN WITH MISSION

(By Joe Hyams)

HOLLYWOOD.—An interview with Nicholas Reisini, the man who now runs Cinerama, is not just an interview, it's a total experience. To be with Mr. Reisini, a 56-year-old Greek-born citizen of the United States who speaks six languages and was a multimillionaire at 23 from the development of Manchurian coal mines is to be enveloped in a verbal cloud of sentiment, emotion, volubility, and optimism for the future of movies. Optimism is an adjective long ago discarded in describing motion picture executives.

Mr. Reisini first got into the movie business in 1952 when he was distributor in the Far East for the early Cinerama pictures. In 1960 he bought control of Cinerama, Inc., for $1.4 million, revamped the company and soon edged it back into modest profitability.

During a recent interview with him at his suite in the Beverly Wilshire Hotel he was like a shirt-sleeved general receiving bulletins from the battlefield as telegraphed reports came in from the 14 cities where "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm" opened simultaneously last Wednesday.

Business was obviously good and Mr. Reisini, who is of medium height and heavy build, was very much the general as he outlined the future and philosophy of his company with dramatic gestures for punctuation.

"The future of movies is unscratched," he said. "In these two pictures (the other is 'How the West Was Won,' which will be released later this year) we have $21 million—$4 million of it my own money. We plan to make six pictures a year, but we are not gambling.

"You know why? Because we are giving the public something they have not had for

years—the genuine experience. In my opinion, the intelligentsia of this country, the intellectual elite, has betrayed the people.

"They have made cynicism the god and have made it an embarrassment to have any more a belief in sentimentality and being moved. If a tear is about to come out, it has to be laughed off. People are ashamed to be touched in the heart.

"The intellectual elite has twisted sex and made it a cover for emptiness. If they have nothing to say on screen they bring in sex.

"I am against anything sadistic, blood by fountains. If sex is not genuine it is not needed, and I am reluctant to have it in a Cinerama picture.

"What has happened now is the public has revolted being presented by the elite, against the intellectuals, too. What we are doing is to appeal to something which has been forgotten—the genuine experience.

"I am a midwife who helps people by bringing out of the something they thought they didn't know how to express or had forgotten. I am a midwife of ideas who will bring out the best in people.

"Look at me, Joe, and don't smile when I say this. I need people to sympathize. You may not agree with everything I say, but if you leave here feeling I am sincere, it's accomplished.

"I have a mission and I am not afraid. I am obsessed by the possibilities of the future of movies. I tell you again, it is unscratched."

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[From the National Observer, Sept. 10, 1962]

REISINI BRIGHTENS THE PICTURE FOR CINERAMA

(By Ben Kubasik)

Chunky, Greek-born Nicolas Gregory Reisini, at 56, is the newest model of a major movie mogul.

As chief stockholder, president, and chairman of the board of Cinerama for more than 2 years, Mr. Reisini (pronounced Ruh-zeenee) seems single handedly to have set out to change the Nation's—and even the world's—moviegoing habits.

Mr. Reisini's first move in that direction came during the past month when 40 theaters in as many American cities premiered "The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm," the first Cinerama film to tell an intimate story rather than to serve as an expensive display for travelogs.

And, beginning in mid-November, his second feature with a story, "How the West Was Won," an epic-like film expected to fill better Cinerama's height and breadth, will premiere in key capitals of Europe and Asia.

Shortly after the first of next year, Mr. Reisini hopes to have "Grimm" in 60 American cities and "West" in 40 sites abroad. It is his idea to relocate the two when their audience appeal at their original show points begins to decline.

THE BIGGEST OF THE BIG

Cinerama is the biggest of the wide-screen movie processes in use today. Its wide, three-panel screen is arced so that it forms almost a half-circle. The purpose: To encompass the normal peripheral vision of audiences, whose normal range of vision is said to be 120° to 150°. On the average, the Cinerama screen is 100 feet long by 55 feet high.

The outspoken Mr. Reisini maintains confidently that his gigantic Cinerama will be about the only entertainment that will motivate people to leave their homes for an evening out in the future.

Cinerama's wide screens, he states, envelop audiences in "a total experience." By using stories tailored to Cineramic proportions, he contends that audiences' emotions and imaginations can be involved as they never were before in witnessing motion pictures.

Until recently, Mr. Reisini stood almost alone in his enthusiasm for Cinerama. The fact is, it is still considered by many in the film business as a gimmick that will soon dissipate what popularity it now has.

But he meets such skepticism by decrying what he calls "backward leadership" among his industry's prime movers, and charges that "the only innovation in motion picture exhibition during the past 30 years—outside of Cinerama—was air conditioning." He considers Cinemascope and all the other wide screen processes, except Cinerama, that have been introduced since 1952 as picture postcards.

Mr. Reisini contends that today's movie emphasis on "sick sex and violence" is dehumanizing audiences, which he holds "are unable to identify with such coverups for emptiness." It is his belief that audiences should "cocreate with what is being shown to them in a film, to complete and continue certain actions depicted on the screen. How can anybody expect a communion—a communication—between what is presented in a movie and the audience if it is outside the realm of warmth, tenderness, or genuine tragedy that most people can or have experienced?"

PRAISING THE INCOMPREHENSIBLE

Besides blaming his own industry for making too much of subjects he considers taboo for his own films, Mr. Reisini also holds certain film critics in contempt. He considers these critics part and parcel of "an intellectual elite," hopefully quipping that they are becoming "an increasingly ineffectual elite," who too long have sold average audiences short.

"The moment a film is incomprehensible these days, these critics are praising it," he said. "The less they understand, the better they write about a thing, the more they are attracted."

Such volubility is rare in motion picture circles, but Mr. Reisini can afford to let his ideas be universally known. Head of Robin International, an import-export firm with an estimated $150 million annual volume, he says that he's "in the movie business not for financial considerations, but for the love of it."

His film experience includes exhibiting Cinerama's travelogs during the 1950's in London, Paris, Tokyo, and in Japan's Osaka. But as far back as the 1930's, when he ran a Manchurian coal mine belonging to his grandfather, Mr. Reisini was distributing European films. His coal mining-film distributing experience then came to an abrupt end when World War II came along and the Japanese interned him until 1945, at which time he decided to come to the United States.

Two years later he bought an asbestos mine in California with $350,000 left to him by his grandfather. He sold the mine for more than $4 million in 1959. By then he had formed Robin International and was on the verge of taking control of Cinerama.

Since becoming Cinerama's mastermind, he has turned a money-losing operation into a profitmaking one. Cinerama's previous owners made only minimal profits before they started showing losses after leasing their techniques to others for production, distribution, and exhibition.

Mr. Reisini's first move on taking control was to talk independent exhibitors into building or refurbishing their theaters to show Cinerama's old travelogs while they were awaiting his promised new Cinerama productions containing stories.

Industry insiders were impressed by Mr. Reisini's shrewdness and foresight in planning to switch Grimm to Europe and Asia, and West to America at the most opportune time.

But what really clinched their respect was his ability recently to sign two of United Artists most promising forthcoming productions for Cinerama. One is producer-director George Stevens' forthcoming screen treatment of Fulton Oursler's life of Christ, "The Greatest Story Ever Told." The other is producer-director Stanley Kramer's slapstick comedy, "It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World." The former is due to go into Cinerama theaters early in 1964. "Mad World" will be ready for those theaters a year from now.

THE ENTIRE FOURTH WALL

What impresses the industry most about the Cinerama-United Artists deal is that it gives Mr. Reisini what Hollywood likes to call a "flow of product" for specially designed Cinerama showplaces.

At this point, he wants to make certain that densely populated urban centers such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago have more than one Cinerama theater each. Already, exhibitors in this country alone have spent almost $18 million building new theaters or refurbishing old ones to fit Mr. Reisini's concept of the Cinerama screen as being each theater's "entire fourth wall."

In achieving what he has in so short a time, Mr. Reisini makes it clear that nobody speaks for Cinerama save him. When reports were published recently that screen versions of Broadway hits such as "My Fair Lady," "Camelot," and "The Unsinkable Molly Brown" were to be produced in Cinerama, he became very angry. "At first, by timid people afraid of change, I'm being told I'm overextending myself," said Reisini. "Now somebody else is trying to overextend me without my knowing anything about it. When there's a movie to be made in Cinerama is when I'll want it made. Believe me, I'll be the first to know about it. And I'll announce it."

With the multi-million-dollar empire he is building and trying to hold together under Cinerama, it's easy to understand why he looks like a tightrope walker trying to juggle Cinerama-sized screens.

His deal with United Artists provides for no production outlay on his part, though Cinerama will get royalties on every ticket sold.

With "Brothers Grimm" and "West," Cinerama and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, which produced the two movies, split the $22 million production costs. Cinerama and M–G–M also plan to split the gross, which some industry experts estimate ultimately will reach well over $100 million.

There are precedents for the possibility. The two biggest moneymakers of all time, "Gone With the Wind" and "Ben Hur" have now amassed a combined gross of $115 million, with more to come. Cinerama's five travelogs, at advanced admission prices similar to those for today's Cinerama story features, took in $120 million.

It must be little comfort to Mr. Reisini that only a very few individual movies have earned even as much as $15 million, reserved seats or not. But more and more people are looking to see if he, a mixture of bombast, pride, and undoubted sincerity, can pull it off. If he does, the movies, as people know them today, may never be the same.

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## Employing the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, this week the Nation observes National Employ the Handicapped

Week, and we also celebrate the 15th anniversary of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. It is obvious that the President's Committee has, in a decade and a half, helped the Nation to recognize that one of the worst forms of discrimination is to deprive a person of his livelihood simply because he may have a handicap that most other persons do not have. But, as one editorial said last week, we should stress man's abilities not his disabilities. For this reason, this week's observance has special significance. It reminds us that wherever there is understanding, there is hope, and there can be progress. Editorials in the October 5 issues of the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post and the Passaic (N.J.) Herald-News make this point effectively. So does a column on October 7 by the distinguished columnist for the New York Times, Dr. Howard A. Rusk. I ask unanimous consent to have these articles reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post, Oct. 5, 1962]

EMPLOYING PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

We have all read or heard the saying, "Never underestimate the power of a woman." Perhaps the same might be said about a properly trained handicapped employee who is able to work and who is looking for work.

Why? The handicapped have proved themselves time and again to be safe, loyal, dependable employees. Furthermore, surveys made all over the country prove that the handicapped hold more than their own when it comes to on-the-job performance.

During National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, October 7–13, let us remember that there are thousands of qualified handicapped men and women who want to work, who want the opportunity to prove themselves. They want to contribute to society and to their community. In short, they desire to be on the payroll, not the public assistance roll.

While special emphasis is placed on the hire-the-handicapped program during this week proclaimed by the President of the United States, let us also remember that this is a year-round program and not one to be taken out of the files in the fall, dusted off, and publicized for 1 week or so and forgotten about for the next 51 weeks. It is an ongoing program that stresses man's abilities, not disabilities. And for the handicapped, it adds up to independence, not dependence.

A survey by the U.S. Labor Department has proved that the handicapped have a work-safety record which is equal to or slightly better than the nonhandicapped, that handicapped workers have production records equal to or better than the able bodied, and the job absence rate of the handicapped as a group is no higher than the able bodied.

And, once given the opportunity to prove themselves, the handicapped are loyal employees. There is less turnover among handicapped employees.

As we observe National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, let us resolve to give qualified handicapped applicants the opportunity they deserve. In this day when we must make the fullest possible use of our manpower, there is no valid reason for depriving the handicapped of the opportunity to be a wage earner.

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[From the Passaic (N.J.) Herald-News, Oct. 5, 1962]

EMPLOYING THE HANDICAPPED

Sunday marks the opening of National Employ the Handicapped Week, which runs through Saturday, October 13. The week is proclaimed annually by the President and the 50 State Governors to focus attention on the fact that there are thousands of men and women with physical impairments who are capable of joining the Nation's work force in many kinds of employment.

The newspapers of America long ago recognized the usefulness of handicapped people. Over the years newspapers have given jobs to persons who had the courage to rise above physical deformity or lack of normal faculties. Many newspapermen can testify to the high performance of such people. At the linotype machine and on the copy desk they have done well.

The U.S. Department of Labor reports that surveys show the work-safety record of the handicapped to be equal to or slightly better than that of the nonhandicapped employees. It reports also that their production records are as good as the able bodied and that their job absence rate is no higher than others.

Hiring handicapped persons is not an act of charity. Few handicapped persons want charity. They want only the chance to prove themselves and to make good in a job. Hiring them is good, sound business that helps everyone involved—the individual, the employer, and the community.

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[From the New York Times, Oct. 7, 1962]

JOBS FOR THE DISABLED—CHANGES IN GOALS AND ATTITUDES MARK ANNUAL EMPLOY THE HANDICAPPED WEEK

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

Today marks the opening of annual National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, and with it the 15th anniversary of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

The committee was started at the suggestion of President Truman and has enjoyed the personal support of both President Eisenhower and President Kennedy.

Last year the word physically was dropped from the committee's title because of the committee's increasing activity in employment of the mentally retarded and the mentally restored.

A comparison of attitudes toward employment of the handicapped 15 years ago and today shows the committee's effectiveness.

EMPHASIS ON CIVILIANS

Fifteen years ago its primary concern was the employment of disabled veterans. It still retains that interest, but today the civilian disabled are of far greater concern.

Perhaps the most significant change in employment of the handicapped in the past decade and a half is that today we are successfully rehabilitating into employment disabled persons who were considered unemployable then.

When the committee started, for example, there were few State vocational rehabilitation agencies that would consider providing services for a person with paraplegia, paralysis of the legs and lower part of the body.

Although finding the right job for a person with a severe disability is still difficult, it is now commonplace to find paraplegics at work in all types of jobs.

Even more difficult is the rehabilitation and vocational placement of quadriplegics (persons paralyzed in the body and all four extremities). Yet, they are finding jobs.

EDUCATION A FACTOR

The majority of quadriplegic patients are teen-agers and young adults who fractured their necks and backs in car accidents or in athletic accidents, especially diving, or, recently, in unsupervised use of the trampoline.

Because of their young age and the fact that young people today are far more apt to have a better basic education than prior generations had, these young people are excellent prospects for rehabilitation despite the severity of their disabilities.

A followup study of 368 such persons served in one rehabilitation center showed that over half were employed to some degree and that one-third were in competitive employment or self-employed on a full-time basis.

Another significant change of the last 15 years is our increasing recognition that the psychological and social adjustment of the handicapped person is frequently a far more important factor in successful job placement than the physical disability.

This has become increasingly true as machines have taken over more and more of the physical work previously done by man.

PLACEMENTS DECLINE

Due to the general business turndown last year, there was a decrease from 274,387 handicapped applicants placed in jobs in 1960 by the Nation's 1,800 local employment security offices to 255,933 in 1961.

Placement of disabled veterans, however, rose to 105,100, an increase of 5,000 over the previous year.

The Veterans' Administration has reported that as of June 30, 1962, nearly 700,000 disabled veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict rave had vocational training under its auspices and have been placed in employment.

The number of handicapped persons employed by the Federal Government also increased from 4,706 in 1960 to 8,648 in 1961.

A part of this increase came from the appointment of 3,500 coordinators responsible for employment of the handicapped in each Federal agency.

LEADERSHIP IMPORTANT

The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped is a perfect example of the adage that any program is the mirror of its leadership.

The long-time chairman, Melvin J. Maas, is a retired Marine Corps general who also served in Congress.

He once disarmed a maniac on the House floor and received a Carnegie Silver Medal for heroism.

Originally named vice chairman of the committee by President Truman, he was appointed chairman by President Eisenhower in 1954.

Blind since 1952, he has arthritis, diabetes, and has had three-fourths of his stomach removed.

In the 100,000 miles a year or more he frequently travels promoting employment of the disabled, he does not refer to these handicaps.

He gets a sure-fire response from an audience, however, when he states he feels qualified to speak for the handicapped, because he is one of them, and then adds, "I've got false teeth."

His close colleagues point that two statements have dominated his life. One is, "There'll always be a United States of America as long as there is a U.S. Marine Corps." The second is, "It's good business to hire the handicapped." He himself is a dynamic example of both.

## Study of Congressional Reorganization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, many Members have noted with interest the numerous articles and editorials in recent weeks dealing with the subject of congressional reorganization. The questions raised are basic to the operation of this body in these times of peril and its ability to cope with the vast legislative problems coming before us.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was a step in the right direction and brought about some needed reforms to the Congress. But it has been more than 17 years since the act took effect and much has taken place both at home and abroad to increase the workload of Congress and to make even more complex the day-to-day operations of the legislative branch.

I call to the attention of Members two recent articles which discuss this vital subject, one by Roscoe Drummond in the New York Herald Tribune and one by James Deakin of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

GREATEST NATIONAL NEED: CAPITOL'S REORGANIZATION

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The greatest national need in the United States today is not to get a man on the moon or to build an aquarium in the District of Columbia.

These things are all right, and they are going to be done. But I submit that the frantic scramble of Congress to pass vital bills and appropriate vast sums of money in the last weary, out-of-breath hours of the tailend of the session reveals that the greatest need today is not for Congress to do something about others, but to do something about itself.

Congress is perilously near to losing its capacity to transact the public business.

It has already lost the capacity to transact the public business carefully, responsibly, and efficiently.

Congress is losing power. It is losing prestige. It risks losing the confidence of the country.

This isn't just bad for Congress. It is bad for the country. It means that our very system of government—a government of balanced and coequal powers—is being altered by default.

APPEAL RECALLED

With all the earnestness and conviction of a deathbed confession, Republican Senate floor leader, Kenneth Wherry, of Nebraska, shortly before his passing some 10 years ago, pleaded with his colleagues in these words:

"The creaking machinery of Congress is so appallingly inadequate for modern times that free representative government is endangered."

His plea has gone unheeded to this day.

The present Democratic Senate floor leader, HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, has been equally concerned. He has said: "The modernization of Congress to keep it abreast of the requirements of the times is a continuing problem which demands continuous attention."

But Congress has been too busy to attend to itself.

It not only has not given continuous attention to the problem; it has not given it any attention—in 16 years.

Since then a few things have happened—like the cold war, $90 billion budgets, an exploding population, the race into outer space, a Soviet satellite state planted in the Western Hemisphere—which make the careful, responsible, efficient transaction of the public business by Congress a matter of national survival.

Congress simply isn't doing its job. It is doing it less well every year. This can't go on much longer.

Year after year new demands and heavier workloads are piled on the harried legislators. Congress has passed laws to streamline the machinery of the executive branch after extensive studies by the two Hoover Commissions.

What Congress needs is the equivalent of a Hoover Commission to modernize the machinery of Congress.

WILL IT BE ENOUGH?

Something needs to be done. Something is going to be done. The only question is whether it will be adequate.

Fortunately, two of the most influential Members of the House—Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Missouri, and CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, have been working on a bipartisan project which can lead to wide-ranging reorganization of congressional procedures, practices, and rules. They have already identified many of the areas crying for reform. Mr. HOLIFIELD is chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Mr. CURTIS is ranking minority member of the Joint Economic Committee. Few know the workings of Congress better than they do. They speak for many others on both sides of the aisle.

Senator JOSEPH CLARK, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, has sponsored a resolution with bipartisan backers in both Houses to create a Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress. There is obviously gathering support for some kind of congressional reorganization.

What Mr. CURTIS and Mr. HOLIFIELD have in view seems to me the orderly and well conceived approach to produce the best possible action. They want a thorough and detached study of legislative reform by specialists in the functioning of Congress. This would provide the foundation for congressional consideration.

Congress should certainly pick the scholars to do this study, but it seems to me that at least a half-dozen of the big foundations would want to volunteer to contribute the funds to make it possible.

Congressional reform is important enough to take the time to do it well.

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DELAYS IN LAST CONGRESS RAISE QUESTIONS ON WHETHER RULES AND PROCEDURES ARE ADEQUATE—EIGHT MEMBERS CALL FOR EXTENSIVE MODERNIZATION—CURTIS AND HOLIFIELD, IN SEPARATE ACTION, URGE THOROUGH STUDY

(By James Deakin)

The delays, squabbles, and frustrations that helped make this session of Congress the longest in 11 years have again raised serious questions about whether the rules and procedures of the National Legislature are adequate in a supersonic jet age.

This session was the longest continuous meeting of the House and Senate since 1951, when the Korean conflict kept Congress on the job until October 20. The snail's pace this year, with no war or national emergency in the picture, has prompted Members on both sides of the aisle to express grave doubts about the mechanics of the legislative process.

Pointing to the progressively later adjournment dates Congress' increasingly heavy and more complex workload and the growing tendency to sweep important legislation under the rug, a bipartisan group of eight Senators and Representatives introduced a resolution calling for extensive modernization of congressional procedures.

At the same time, two House Members of widely divergent political outlook, Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Webster Groves, and CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, have been collaborating quietly on the same problem. They have concluded that a thorough study of Congress' antiquated operations is badly needed.

In introducing their resolution last month, the eight Democratic and Republican Members warned that Congress is approaching the point where it will not be able to meet its constitutional responsibility to legislate effectively in the national interest.

"The improvement of congressional procedures is an urgent national need," they declared. They noted that there has been no general revision of Congress operating procedures since the LaFollette-Monroney Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

"The volume and complexity of Federal legislation has increased enormously in the last 16 years," the group pointed out. "Science and technology have involved the Congress in subjects unheard of in 1946. Two new States and fifty million additional persons are now represented in Washington."

The Members said that their resolution would be introduced in the next session. It calls for the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, to make a study of needed modernization.

Among the sponsors were the assistant Democratic and Republican leaders in the Senate, Senators HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, and THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Republican, of California. Others were Senators JOSEPH S. CLARK, of Pennsylvania, and CLAIR ENGLE, of California, Democrats; Senators JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky, and CLIFFORD P. CASE, of New Jersey, Republicans, and Representatives HENRY REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, and JOHN V. LINDSAY, Republican, of New York.

In the session, Senate Democratic leader MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, who is also chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, said that he was convinced that some changes in the Senate's rules were needed. The Members of this Chamber, he declared, "waste an awful lot of time in useless debate."

The chief weakness in Congress' procedures, as some Members see it, is that they encourage delay. Time-consuming technicalities in the rules and the wide powers given to committee chairmen play into the hands of those who are not interested in legislating but in stalling, they argue.

"I know not how better to describe our form of government in a single phrase than by calling it a government by the chairmen of the standing committees in Congress." The proponents of streamlined procedures say these words are as true today as when Woodrow Wilson wrote them in 1885.

In a memorandum prepared after months of discussion and study, Representatives CURTIS and HOLIFIELD cited this statement by Senate Republican Leader Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska shortly before his death in 1951:

"Congress still labors under antiquated machinery and processes. This is more than a problem for Congress. It deeply affects the liberties and welfare of every individual * * * the creaking machinery of Congress is so appallingly inadequate for modern times that free representative government itself is endangered."

Rather than introduce a resolution, CURTIS and HOLIFIELD are hoping that a private foundation will underwrite a thorough study of Congress procedures. They fear that unless the groundwork for reform is carefully

laid, it will be doomed by the deep political divisions in Congress.

During this session, the country was treated to a spectacle of delay and squabbling stemming, at least in part, from the old-fashioned machinery of Congress. About $99 billion in appropriations were held up for months by a feud between two octogenarian committee chairmen.

The dispute between Representative CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat, of Missouri, and Senator CARL HAYDEN, Democrat, of Arizona, involved the House's insistence on originating appropriations bills. This long-standing argument flared up again later in the session when the Senate amended an appropriations measure by adding $25 million for farm research projects that the House had not considered.

Both the time-consuming fights might have been avoided if the Senate and House Appropriations Committees held joint hearings on proposed spending. The Reorganization Act of 1946 authorized such joint hearings by standing committees, to speed up the work of Congress.

Some joint Senate-House committees have been set up over the years for specific purposes, and several of them have been notably successful. The standing committees, jealous of their prerogatives, have avoided this procedure, however.

The practice of authorizing projects in one bill and appropriating money for them in another further contributes to delay. Each Chamber usually holds hearings on each bill. As a result, members of the President's Cabinet and other high-ranking administration officials normally must testify four times on the same proposal.

In the House, the chief roadblock remains the Rules Committee under Chairman HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia. At the beginning of this Congress, three new members were added to Rules in an effort to break SMITH's hold over legislation. The results did not live up to expectations.

The eight liberal Democratic members did not force SMITH to call more frequent meetings, although they had the votes to do so. The Rules Committee still has no regular meeting day and convenes only on the call of the chairman, although the 1946 act required all standing committees to meet at least once a month.

Those who oppose any move to reduce the power of the Rules Committee argue that the committee is a pressure vlave that often saves House Members from having to vote on politically popular but unwise legislation, and that other procedures are available if the House really wants to get a bill to the floor. The procedures they cite are the discharge petition and calendar Wednesday.

The difficulty involved in using calendar Wednesday successfully was illustrated in the House's 1960 action on a depressed areas bill. Opponents of the measure used up 5 hours with procedural delaying tactics, including 11 rollcalls. On an earlier fair employment practices bill, opponents delayed matters for 15 hours with seven rollcalls, three quorum calls and six teller votes.

Under the calendar Wednesday procedure, a bill cannot be passed unless it reaches the "previous question" (voting) stage on the same legislative day that it is brought up. The committees are called in alphabetical order, giving opponents a wealth of opportunity for delay by calling up measures approved by other committees.

Since the discharge petition procedure was set up in 1910, only two bills have been enacted through this method. Of the 790 discharge petitions filed between 1924 and 1956, only 29 obtained the required number of signatures.

With these and many other outmoded procedures in mind, Senator CLARK has submitted five specific proposals for changes in the rules:

1. All standing committees would be required to act, affirmatively or negatively, on all legislative recommendations submitted by the President prior to July 4 of each year.

2. The Senate and House Appropriations Committees would be authorized to hold joint hearings on all appropriations bills, and each committee then would initiate action on half of the spending measures.

3. Members of each standing committee would choose the chairman of the committee by secret ballot at the beginning of a new Congress. This would eliminate the seniority system of choosing chairmen. Of all the proposals, it is least likely to be adopted.

4. Committee chairmen could not serve in that capacity beyond the age of 70. This proposal also has little chance of adoption in the foreseeable future.

5. The Senate Finance Committee would be relieved of jurisdiction over social security and tariff legislation, which would be given to the Senate Labor and Foreign Relations Committees, respectively. This suggestion likewise will get nowhere as long as Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, chairman of the Finance Committee, is in Congress.

## Jersey Students Answer Red Slur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, on October 9, when the new nation of Uganda was celebrating its independence, students at Glassboro State College in New Jersey participated in a program to honor the same occasion. These students and their faculty advisers have been at work for months planning this observance and participating in practical programs to help citizens of the new nation. Their spontaneous act of friendship to Uganda is one of the most heartwarming people-to-people actions I have heard of; I think that the citizens of New Jersey and of the entire Nation can be proud of the splendid example these youngsters have set.

Articles in the October 7 issue of the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger and the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post describe the work at the Glassboro campus and this week's observances. I ask unanimous consent to have them reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Oct. 7, 1962]

JERSEY STUDENTS ANSWER RED SLUR—GLASSBORO COLLEGE COLLECTS BOOKS FOR UGANDA

(By William T. Keough)

Students from New Jersey's tiny Glassboro State College were mildly outraged when a Russian told them to their faces the United States was so decadent it could no longer inspire underprivileged nations.

On a field trip to the United Nations last April, the 30 members of Glassboro's International Relations Club met the Russian U.N. aid. During the bus ride back to school, the students talked about his biting remark and what they could do to prove it wasn't so.

As the bus rumbled through the pine wood of South Jersey, "Operation Uganda" was spawned.

SOON TO BE FREE

Uganda, a British colonial territory straddling the equator in East-Central Africa, gains its independence Tuesday. Its 6.7 million inhabitants are largely illiterate.

A gift of books and school furnishings would be appropriate for the newest of Africa's emerging nations, thought Marius Livingston, the cigar-smoking adviser to Glassboro's International Relations Club.

The idea caught on fast on the Glassboro campus, a onetime peach and apple orchard, and has spread to the townspeople of Glassboro, civic organizations throughout New Jersey, and to other schools.

CREDIT TO PROFESSOR

In the basement of the Glassboro Theater, there is a mountain of books—40,000 of them. Seventy-two used school desks are being refurbished in a nearby garage. They will soon be shipped to Uganda along with blackboards, maps, and other school supplies. Some Glassboro students may go to Uganda in the future as teachers.

If, in fact, the United States is decadently disinterested in the world's backward nations, the people in the south Jersey town haven't got the word.

Livingston, an associate professor of social studies with an abundance of nervous energy and a taste for bow ties, has been given most of the credit for the project by the students and faculty members working with him.

"He works about 20 hours a day on Operation Uganda," said club president William Kanouse, a 19-year-old junior English major from Glassboro.

"I don't think his wife knows what he looks like any more."

Helping combat illiteracy in Africa wasn't a new idea for Livingston. In 1957, when he taught history at Pennsbury High School in Yardley, Pa., he organized a student club which sent some 26,000 books to the then new African nation of Ghana.

STUDENTS EAGER

Glassboro students took to Operation Uganda in a big way. Local theater owner Clayton (Duffy) Platt gave them permission to use the theater basement to store the books.

Platt, who is a borough councilman, liked the idea so much he gave the students a small pickup truck which they painted fire-engine red with a sign on its side, "Ugandamobile."

The Ugandamobile has been all over south and central Jersey collecting books from schools, libraries, private individuals, and colleges.

ROTARY CHIPS IN

The students couldn't afford to insure it for a male driver, so sophomore Carole Leporati, 18, of Oak Valley, has become the official truckdriver for the project.

The New Jersey Rotary has promised the students 1,000 books from each of its 60 clubs throughout the State.

Governor Hughes has proclaimed Tuesday as Uganda Independence Day in New Jersey.

A map firm has donated $300 worth of maps for the project. Fifty book publishers have promised 2,000 new books among them for Uganda.

The Gotham Manufacturing Co., of New Rochelle, N.Y., donated enough new blackboards to equip 10 classrooms.

Theater owner Platt has made a deal in which to allow students to sell tickets to certain movies, and he splits the take 50–50 with them.

The Hunt Bros. circus will put on a benefit performance for the project tomorrow in Burlington, and will lend its big top

for the Uganda Independence Day celebration in Glassboro the next day.

FOURTEEN ENVOYS TO ATTEND

Fourteen African Ambassadors will attend. A tape-recorded message from Uganda Prime Minister Apollo Obore will be played and Glassboro students will speak by telephone to Uganda officials in Africa.

The Uganda Ministry of Education has asked the U.S. Government to ship the books and the African-American Institute of New York will transport the other school supplies to Uganda.

Plans are still tentative, but Glassboro hopes to send several June graduates to teach in Uganda.

Betty Bowe, 21, a social studies senior from Glassboro, as assistant director of the project under Livingston, has been to Washington three times to confer with Ambassadors and the State Department on the project. She is the daughter of Glassboro Mayor Joseph Bowe, who helped contact Governor Hughes and the New Jersey Congressman about the independence celebration.

Dr. Jesse C. Kennedy, a grey-templed associate social studies professor, is working with four other faculty members on the project steering committee.

"I'm sort of a front man," Kennedy says, "We're constantly getting calls from service clubs that want to hear about operation Uganda and I make about two or three speeches a week."

"We're all making speeches," Miss Bowe said. "Everybody wants to hear about it."

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[From the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post, Oct. 6, 1962]

GLASSBORO STUDENTS ANSWER A CHALLENGE FROM A COMMUNIST

(By Nanda W. Haynes)

How do American youths react today to a challenge?

One of the best examples is found at Glassboro State College where the International Relations Club has launched an ambitious project to help the new African nation of Uganda.

The project began in February after the club paid a visit to the Soviet mission to the United Nations. The students received a lecture from a Russian attaché giving the reasons the Soviet Union would prevail over democracies. The attaché told the group that U.S. youth was decadent and not able to rise to the challenges presented by the emergence of underdeveloped nations.

QUICK DECISION

Reacting to this taunt, the students decided in the bus on their way back to Glassboro, to prove him wrong. The original plan was simply to collect and ship 50,000 books to supply Uganda's schools with texts and library books.

But as enthusiasm grew so did the plans. The students began to write to businesses asking for contributions of books, money, or classroom equipment. And the response was encouraging.

Soon the club had promises of 10 classrooms of desks, chairs and maps. Reference books were offered by publishers. Donations came in from businessmen and schools from all over the East began sending texts and used equipment. It is now hoped that eight students and two professors may accompany the books and equipment to Uganda when they are sent next June.

SHOWS TO HELP

Benefit performances are being planned throughout the year to aid Operation Uganda. The latest of these is a benefit performance featuring Hunt Bros. Circus Monday afternoon and evening. Hunt Bros. also has donated the use of its circus tent for the Tuesday independence day celebration to be held on the college campus.

The ambassadors from 25 African nations will be among the guests of honor for the celebration centered around Uganda Ambassador Apollo Kironde. Activity is brisk at the college in preparation for the big event which is now only 3 days away.

ARTISTS BUSY

Art majors are busy painting facsimilies of the African flags to decorate the tent and campus, while in Pitman Mrs. Helen Stoudt finishes up the real thing. She volunteered to make the first Uganda flag and there are plans for it to be given to the government of this new nation after its use in the campus ceremony.

Uganda is a unique country in the heart of Africa. It is very proud of the fact that it has no color bar. The plains and forests abound with elephants, gazelles, zebras, lions and leopards. Through Uganda—from the Mountains of the Moon to Lake Victoria—the people have a thirst for knowledge and education intensified by their approaching independence.

Glassboro students are extending a helping hand across the world.

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## Address by George M. Smith to North Texas Credit Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most rapidly growing financial institutions in the world today is the credit union movement. It not only is a growing force in our country, but in many other parts of the world as well.

On International Credit Union Day, George M. Smith, personnel director of the East Texas Motor Freight Lines, Inc., of Dallas, Tex., gave the following address to the North Texas Chapter of Credit Unions in a meeting at Texarkana Junior College. Mr. Smith makes a penetrating analysis of an area that is too often overlooked, the benefits received by management when a firm's employees organize a credit union:

CREDIT UNIONS FROM MANAGEMENT'S VIEWPOINT

I have asked myself what I could say to a group such as this, a group made up of people like yourselves, folks who work in credit unions every day, people who know far more about credit unionism than I. To try to bring you a message of instruction on what a credit union is, would be like trying to explain an orbit around the earth to John Glenn and the other astronauts.

I can tell you, with assurance and conviction, what a credit union means to a company. Perhaps I can give you some insights through the knothole in the fence to the other side—management's side, and share with you the feelings of management about their credit union.

I must say at the outset, however, that our own credit union is a very special source of pride to us at East Texas Motor Freight. My remarks will, of course, be based largely on management's experience with the ETMF Employees Federal Credit Union, although from my contacts with other management people, I am well aware that my feeling is pretty universal.

A credit union gives employees a common identity along with their feeling of being a part of the company. This is important to the success of a credit union, for the members realize that their fellow employees and their families, and only those people, are members, save together, and for provident and productive purposes borrow from the collective assets. Only members may be shareholders; only members may borrow.

We consider our credit union an employee relations asset, a means by which our company is made more attractive to prospective employees. We take advantage of this benefit at very little cost, when compared with the results obtained. Let's look at what we gain and what the employees who are members gain.

In conducting orientation interviews, we tell employees that their personal lives and problems should not get mixed up with their jobs. A man or woman who has money problems cannot help but be less productive. It takes energy to worry, energy that could be spent and should be spent doing a better job. The credit union takes a great deal of the burden off of the employee. He can do a better job.

Did you ever walk up to someone who was so engrossed in his work that when you spoke or he noticed you he jumped? We all have. Worry can take your mind off your work too; and all of us know it. Many industrial accidents happen because employees aren't keeping their mind on their work. Could be that in many cases the man's home, money problems are at the bottom of the trouble. There's not one of us here who could say that an industrial accident doesn't add to the problems of both the employee and the employer. Peace of mind is so important; we all work for it; credit unions help members achieve it.

For the most part the personnel department in any organization catches most of the credit inquiries and complaints. In years past from 5 to 10 percent of our calls were verifications of employment by loan companies, or from stores who had sold merchandise on credit and weren't receiving the expected return. Many of these stores were our shipping customers and I've experienced the squeeze play of "I would hate to see your company lose our account because of the poor credit record of one of your employees." Incidents like these take time, our time, the employees' time and cost the company money. We found that we were being set up by these sources as a collection agency. Only Uncle Sam can effect a garnishment in the State of Texas, but don't think others won't try. In the past 5 years we haven't had 25 calls like these since our credit union stepped actively into the picture and more and more employees became members.

The company saves another way, too. All of us have emergencies from time to time. Without a credit union to refer employees to, companies find themselves in the loan business. And that's not what they're in business for. Not only is the employee placed at a disadvantage in having to bring his personal, financial problems to the management; but management is burdened with the responsibility of making fair and equitable decisions for all comers, and again, that's not management's chief responsibility.

Now, what does management have to do in order to gain these and other advantages? First, they must lend their name and support to the credit union. And believe me, the more actively the management supports and encourages the credit union, the greater will be its rewards, often manifold from the amount of effort expended. Usually the management designates one executive to have the responsibility for credit union liaison. I am proud to hold that job in our company. It has been one of the richest and most rewarding activities in my career.

Let me give you some idea of how our credit union got its start. I think our case is pretty typical.

Our credit union started in 1952 in Texarkana under a State charter with literally handful of employees with an ideal and a dream. Its beginning was, to say the least, modest. At first, membership was confined to the Texarkana terminal. That was not to last long however, not in our business. You know, we have a saying in our industry: Our grapevine works better than our teletype circuit and produces a lot more information. If you want it known at the end of the line, tell one of our road drivers, it won't take long.

Drivers who came into Texarkana wanted to become a part of the organization. They were taken in as members. Pretty soon the personnel at other terminals wanted in and so they joined. At first, all deposits were in cash. The need soon arose for a better method. That is when we were approached for payroll deductions. Up to this time we knew the credit union existed but did not take a really active part in its support. We agreed to payroll deductions. That was the beginning. In 10 years we've gone from 10 to 1,200 members, from State to Federal charter and from one State of operation to six. Our payroll deductions have grown from a few hundred dollars a month to last month's alltime high of $91,000. The credit union's total assets now exceed $1,200,000. And ladies and gentlemen, that is big business.

At first all services were volunteered. There was a time when the volunteers were about to quit because the membership and deposits had grown so that it was impossible to keep the credit union running and do a full day's work, find any time for family to say nothing of never sleeping. It was then that the credit union through ETMF employee and credit union treasurer, H. W. Tippie, and with management's encouragement, hired its first full-time employee. And bless her heart, Neva Humphries was literally the answer to a maiden's prayer. It's dedicated people like Neva Humphries and Harold Tippie, paid or not, that make credit unionism. From the three full-time employees in Texarkana and one full-time employee in Dallas to the members of the board and other committees who work so tirelessly in the interests of the members, in this personnel director's opinion, there's not a better spirited and capably managed credit union anywhere.

What else does management do to encourage and support credit unions? Where necessary we have furnished office space and office machines and have given employees paid time from their jobs to work for the credit union in our terminal locations. Management has helped with direct mail advertising campaigns, used our IBM equipment for lists and statistical studies and in general been of every encouragement possible, for we know that we will receive more benefit than the energy we expend. At ETMF it is a matter of company policy that no member of the executive staff may hold any elective or appointive office in the credit union. This the employees' credit union—theirs—and not ours. We will assist where we can, but that only.

As the credit union grew in stature they wanted and expected to be on a self-supporting basis. They are. They own all of their own equipment and pay their own way first class. As a matter of fact, they're getting so efficient I'm feeling a little useless in my capacity of liaison.

I've told you some of the things that we, as management get out of the credit union and what we put in. Let's look at the most important part of this picture—at some of the benefits management views that you and I derive as employees of a company and members of the credit union.

First, we have a ready source of thrift. Many of us never had a savings account before we joined a credit union. No matter how small the amount, that money in the bank feeling can't be beat. Through payroll deductions, we can save something out of each check, taken first before other obligations. Savings are security. Savings, the credit union way, are also life insurance.

Let's face it, all of us have problems; money problems. Any of us can approach one of the credit union representatives. There is a solution, no matter how difficult the problem. And yet we can maintain our dignity and self-respect by working through our problem with the credit union representative whose responsibility to us and to the other members is to render this kind of programed assistance to make our credit work for us. Whether the need is for a boat for pleasure, a new car for the family, medical expenses that the hospitalization didn't cover or for any other provident or productive purpose, the credit union stands ready to assist its members to improve their standard and to find a way to solve their needs or wants safely and at a low cost.

Working in and for a credit union is excellent business and managerial training. Many companies look to their credit unions as a source for promotable people into positions of higher management responsibility. Credit union training is invaluable.

I would like to share four often understressed points with you as food for thought in your future dealings in your credit unions.

First. Tell more of the story on interest to your members. Make sure they understand what interest is. Make sure that they understand the difference between bank interest and credit union interest, that through the credit union they pay interest only on the money they are still using, not on money they have already repaid. More education needs to be done along these lines.

Second. The biggest criticism of credit unions (and there are very few) is that it may sometimes be too easy to borrow from a credit union. Loans may be made on unwise purchases and therefore not really helping the member; or, loans made to poor risks who would not continue repayment of their loan if they were to leave the company.

Third. As credit unions become larger, there is a tendency to lose the personal touch. Remember that every member, every borrower is an individual. To him, his problems are most important. Do not minimize the role of personal service in credit union dealings. Just remember how glad you were to have a new member or borrower during the early, struggling days. Never lose sight of the individual.

Fourth. Place more emphasis on estate savings planning. Borrow instead of withdraw. Too often this important and valuable asset of the credit union movement is overlooked. Cite some examples if you must, to convince your borrowers and members of the value of estate planning and borrowing rather than withdrawing. Here's a good example. One of our members had a clear $2,000 savings account. Last March he wanted to withdraw $1,200. He borrowed instead, using his shares as collateral. In August he repeated for $800 more. When he died in September at the age of 37, his $1,500 loan balance was paid off and his shares were doubled. His widow has a clear loan and $4,000 instead of a clear loan and no savings of significance. As you know, the loan and share insurance is free to the member. This is real service to a member by a credit union and is often overlooked.

You might even try encouraging your savers to borrow outright, put the money in shares and repay the loan. Compute the difference between the loan interest and the share dividends. It's the cheapest kind of life insurance you can buy.

Each of us has a goal in life. One of the most rewarding experiences any of us can have is in being of service to our fellow man. Being in and serving a credit union is that kind of rewarding experience. It is for that reason that I am proud to have at least some small part in the wonderful work you are doing. Thank you so much for having me.

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## Soul Searching in the North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has concluded a 2-day hearing in Newark, N.J. Forty-five witnesses testified. They described progress, and they also described lags in progress. From their testimony the entire Nation learned of conditions that must be overcome if we in New Jersey are to say with any degree of certainty that equal rights pertain to all in our State.

The hearing was memorable and historic because, I believe, it opened the way for new, objective thinking about civil rights in our State. I was happy, too, that this hearing took place in the North, because I believe that the North must do much to set its own house in order, even while citizens of the North concern themselves with injustices in other parts of the Nation.

In other words, the hearing has accelerated the soul searching which must take place in communities and States before anyone can really be certain that an honest effort is underway to protect and enhance the rights of all its citizens.

An editorial in the September 16 issue of the Sunday Star-Ledger, Newark, N.J., was written in this spirit of objective concern. It is worthy of study, and I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLEAR CHALLENGE

Historically, civil rights in this country has been a complex problem that has been nagging the conscience of right-thinking citizens and public officials for longer than most like to remember.

For many it has been a hair shirt that has rubbed the wrong way for decades. They wear it without grace.

For others—men and women of reason—it's a searing social problem that violates human dignity. It has plagued these United States for too long, and these people want to do something about it.

Racial tensions are often associated with the South, where the roots of hatred and distrust are deep, nurtured by the bloodied soil of the Civil War.

That war not only geographically divided our then young Nation, but it spawned warped intellects that categorized the Negro as a second-class citizen.

But the South has far from a monopoly on racial prejudice. The North and other parts of the country have their share, too. It may not be as brutally frank, but the refined version of discrimination in these areas is also hurtful. The intent is the same, even though it is not as widespread or as brutal.

It was against this background that a 2-day hearing was conducted in Newark by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on racial problems in this area.

After hearing 45 witnesses from the fields of employment, housing, education, and administration of justice, the Commission hopefully concluded that headway is being made in the Newark metropolitan area in recognizing racial problems and planning for their solution.

This finding has a familiar ring. It's been heard many times before and will, no doubt, be heard many times again.

The problem is complicated and troublesome. There are remedies, of course, at law, going all the way up to constitutional guarantees. But there is as yet a law to be drafted that will eradicate deeply ingrained emotional prejudices.

One Commission member, Erwin N. Griswold, dean of Harvard Law School, apparently was very conscious of this phase of the problem.

"Great forces are trying to do a difficult job," said Dean Griswold. "We shouldn't delude ourselves, however, because there are many problems to be solved, and when they are solved, there will be new problems to solve."

A less hopeful note was sounded by the only Negro member of the Commission—Spottswood W. Robinson, 3d, dean of Howard University Law School, who presided at the hearing.

Despite sincere efforts to solve the problem in this State, Robinson said, the hearings showed that, notwithstanding the New Jersey law against discrimination, problems of segregation and discrimination in employment, housing, public education, and the administration of justice "still do, in fact, exist."

Few will dispute that discrimination and segregation exist in this State, even if they are not in a rampant, virulent stage.

But, as Dean Robinson noted, the problems that were highlighted at the hearings must be left as a "challenge to government officials, community organizations, and the people of this State."

The challenge has been clearly and forcibly stated. It should be met just as clearly and forcibly.

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## Accomplishments of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs During the 87th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, as the 2d session of the 87th Congress draws to a close, I believe that a summary report of the accomplishments of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, of which I have the honor to be chairman, would be of interest to all Members. It is a matter of great personal satisfaction to me to be able to report that this has been one of the most productive Congresses on record from the standpoint of matters under the jurisdiction of this committee. Advances in the fields of conservation and water resources development have been particularly noteworthy.

Before summarizing the legislation that has been enacted in this Congress and discussing other activities of the committee, I would like to take this occasion to express my appreciation to every member of the committee for his cooperation and attention to the committee's work, without which our record of achievement would not have been possible. I especially want to recognize the energetic leadership of the subcommittee chairmen—Hon. LEO W. O'BRIEN, Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs; Hon. WALTER ROGERS, Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation; Hon. GRACIE PFOST, Subcommittee on Public Lands; Hon. JAMES A. HALEY, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs; Hon. ED EDMONDSON, Subcommittee on Mines and Mining; and Hon. J. T. RUTHERFORD, Subcommittee on National Parks. I want, also, to note the help given all of us by the ranking minority member, Hon. JOHN P. SAYLOR, and those who were named by him as the minority counterparts to the subcommittee chairmen; namely, Hon. J. ERNEST WHARTON, Mines and Mining; Hon. E. Y. BERRY, Indian Affairs; Hon. JACK WESTLAND, Territorial and Insular Affairs; Hon. CRAIG HOSMER, Irrigation and Reclamation; Hon. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH, National Parks; and Hon. GLENN CUNNINGHAM, Public Lands.

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs worked very hard during the 87th Congress. Of the 909 measures referred to the committee, 479 were given active consideration and 181, representing 365 of the total referred, were favorably reported to the House, the House passed 178 of the measures favorably reported, and 163 of these were enacted into law. It is significant to note that 17 percent of all the public laws that were enacted by the 87th Congress came from our committee.

Consideration of these measures and other committee business necessarily consumed an enormous amount of time. Either the committee or one of its subcommittees met, with very few exceptions, on every working day during the entire Congress. In Washington alone, 350 committee meetings were held. These were, in addition, a number of field hearings and inspection trips. Many important bills which the committee handled did not become law because of the lack of time or because of their controversial nature. Time spent in hearings and in considering these measures was not wasted, and the record that was made and the added knowledge of the Members with respect to these measures will be valuable when the subjects are taken up again in the next Congress.

Probably no two of us would agree on precisely which of the numerous laws enacted are the most important, or in which field of committee jurisdiction the greatest advance were made. In the field of water resources development this has unquestionably been one of the most productive Congresses in our history. Nine new reclamation projects were authorized involving a total investment of about $426 million. These projects will provide irrigation water for about 560,000 acres of land, most of which is presently in production but without an adequate water supply. They will also provide about 30 billion gallons of water annually for municipal and industrial use and over half a billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy annually to meet our ever-increasing power needs. In addition, these projects will provide the opportunity for millions of Americans to enjoy various forms of outdoor recreation. In recognition of the fact that a continued adequate supply of water is necessary to our national economic growth and well-being, the Nation's effort to hasten the economic conversion of saline water to fresh water was greatly expedited in this Congress. The results of this stepped-up research program will be of great importance not only to the American people but to the entire world. In the field of conservation there was the unprecedented action of establishing three new additional seashores which adds more than 200 miles of unspoiled coastline to the national parks system. A great deal of progress was made on the recommendation of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission for developing fully the outdoor recreation resources of the Nation. Our increasing needs in this area are pointed up by the fact that recreational use of available Federal areas alone has increased tremendously in recent years until visits have now reached approximately 400 million annually.

#### TERRITORIAL AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

With the admission of Hawaii and Alaska as States in previous Congresses, the volume of bills referred to the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs in the 87th Congress was not as great as before. Nevertheless, this subcommittee, which has major responsibility for legislation affecting the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as well as limited responsibility in Antarctica, favorably reported 11 measures of the 57 referred to it. Six of these were enacted. Public Law 87-419 provides for the appointment of acting government secretaries for the Virgin Islands and Guam. Public Law 87-382 increases by $4 million the amount which the Virgin Islands Corporation is authorized to borrow from the Treasury. Public Law 87-421 amends the 1944 Virgin Islands Organic Act by placing the government comptroller under the Classification Act of 1949. Public Law 87-688 extends certain Federal laws to American Samoa. Public Law 87-541 increases the authorized appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by $10 million annually. Public Law 87-121 removes the debt limitation provisions of the Puerto Rican Federal Relations Act. Progress was also made on other important legislation which is expected to be before the committee in the next Congress.

#### IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

The Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, having jurisdiction generally of legislation relating to development of our Nation's water resources, favorably

reported 29 measures of the 162 referred to it. Of these, 25 were enacted. I have already mentioned that nine new reclamation projects were authorized. Public Law 87–590 authorizes the Fryingpan-Arkansas project, Colorado, a multiple-purpose development for furnishing supplemental irrigation water to 280,000 acres of land in the Arkansas Valley, about 20,500 acre-feet of municipal water to meet the critical needs of cities and towns in the valley, and over half a billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy annually. In addition, it will prevent extensive flood damage and provide recreational opportunities. Public Law 87–483 authorizes the San Juan Chama reclamation project and Navajo Indian irrigation project, New Mexico, developments which will provide for the irrigation of 110,000 acres for the benefit of the Navajo Indians and 121,000 acres in the Rio Grand Basin, furnish municipal and industrial water to the city of Albuquerque, and provide extensive fish and wildlife benefits and recreational opportunities. Public Law 87–630 authorizes the Spokane Valley project, Washington-Idaho, to provide water service to about 7,250 acres, as well as domestic water supply to the project area. Public Law 87–589 authorizes the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho, which will furnish irrigation water to 5,060 acres and provide fish and wildlife benefits and recreational opportunities. Public Law 87–706 authorizes the Baker Federal reclamation project, Oregon, which will furnish water to 18,000 acres, prevent floods, and provide fish and wildlife and recreational opportunities. Public Law 87–762 authorizes the Oroville-Tonasket unit, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington, which will furnish water to 8,200 acres and provide fish and wildlife benefits. Public Law 87–727 authorizes the Agate Dam and Reservoir, Rogue River project, Oregon, which provides for irrigation water for 6,630 acres.

One measure—Public Law 87–613—was enacted which amends the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 by giving the Secretary additional authority with respect to establishing development periods and providing for block development. This new authority will permit irrigation operations at an earlier date and provide the means for coping with unforeseen difficulties that develop in getting projects under way.

Four measures were enacted dealing with amendatory repayment contracts on existing projects. They involve the irrigation districts of the Columbia Basin project, Washington, Public Law 87–728; the Burley Irrigation District and the Minidoka Irrigation District, Idaho, Public Law 87–472; the Fort Shaw Irrigation District, Sun River project, Montana, Public Law 87–477; and the Huntley Irrigation District, Montana, Public Law 87–168.

Three measures were enacted dealing with the disposal of Federal property. Public Law 87–151 involves disposal of property in the Minidoka project, Idaho; the Shoshone project, Wyoming; and the Yakima project, Washington. Public Law 87–156 authorizes the transfer of a reclamation bridge across the Colorado River to local control. Public Law 87–220 involves an exchange of land in the Central Valley project, California.

Two measures were enacted authorizing the delivery of water during calendar year 1962 under circumstances which would otherwise preclude it—Public Law 87–169, relating to the Columbia Basin project, Washington, and Public Law 87–479, relating to the Riverton project, Wyoming.

Public Law 87–289 authorizes the replacement of pipelines for three irrigation districts in Idaho, Public Law 87–542 provides for construction of recreational facilities at reservoirs of the Rio Grande project in New Mexico, and Public Law 87–440 provides for adjustment of irrigation charges to the Angostura Irrigation District, South Dakota.

Three measures were enacted relating to interstate compacts: The Sabine River compact, Louisiana and Texas, Public Law 87–418; the Niobrara River compact, Nebraska, Wyoming, and South Dakota, Public Law 87–181; the Little Missouri River compact, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming, Public Law 87–452.

I have already mentioned the Saline Water Research program. The legislation—Public Law 87–295—expands and extends the research and development program being conducted by the Federal Government by providing a 6-year program and authorizing the expenditure of $75 million.

The Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee spent considerable time on other important legislation which was not enacted but much of which will be before the committee next year. The subcommittee also spent considerable time on legislative oversight activities, including the review of 11 small reclamation project loan applications and examination of the findings of the Department of the Interior on 10 rehabilitation and betterment projects.

PUBLIC LANDS

The Public Lands Subcommittee, the jurisdiction of which extends to the public lands generally, including forest reserves created from the public domain, favorably reported 32 measures of the 116 referred to it; 21 of these were enacted.

Three acts which came from this subcommittee are of general significance in the administration of public lands. Public Law 87–851 permits holders of unpatented mining claims who reside on the property to obtain, at fair market value, an interest in not more than 5 acres in the event the mining claim is invalidated or the holder relinquishes the patent under the mining laws. Public Law 87–558 has the objective of providing permanent settlement of problems arising out of having military bounty land warrants outstanding. Public Law 87–524 grants national forest status to land within the exterior boundaries of national forests where such lands have been acquired under the provisions of the Taylor Grazing Act.

Seven measures were enacted which relate to military use of public lands. In the aggregate, they provide for the withdrawal and reservation of more than 2 million acres of land in Alaska, Nevada, and Arizona for use by the military departments for defense purposes. These seven acts are Public Laws 87–308, 310, 320, 326, 327, 334, and 597. They all incorporate provisions to assure maximum public utilization of the withdrawn areas insofar as this is not incompatible with their use for defense purposes.

Several bills were enacted which are designed to assist States and municipalities. Two of these, which are designed to assist in the development of the State of Alaska, are Public Law 87–147, which deals with the sale of isolated and disconnected tracts of land, and Public Law 87–742, which deals with the sale of land under the townsite laws. Public Law 87–752 provides for conveyance of public land to the city of Needles, Calif., thereby permitting orderly expansion of the city. Two other laws relating to Nevada are Public Law 87–340, which disclaims any interest the United States may have in land granted to the State of Nevada incident to its admission as a State in the Union, and Public Law 87–784, which extends the time within which the State of Nevada may exercise an option to purchase certain public lands made available for sale to the State by an earlier law. Public Law 87–40 provides a limited waiver of the Federal prohibition against the State of New Mexico passing title to lands granted to it by the United States, and Public Law 87–473 authorizes the State of Washington to utilize funds obtained from the sale of lands granted to it by its statehood enabling act for the construction of State institutions.

Four other measures of a minor nature involving title problems were enacted. These four acts are Public Laws 87–468 and 469, and Private Laws 87–183 and 193.

Among the legislation which the Public Lands Subcommittee and the full committee approved but which was not enacted was a measure referred to as the wilderness bill. It was designed to provide a statutory base for the permanent preservation of wilderness areas. The subcommittee spent many days in its consideration of this legislation. Field hearings were held in Idaho, Colorado, and California. Extensive hearings were also held in Washington. The bill, as reported, included provisions to govern all future withdrawals, reservation, restrictions, classifications, and uses of public, forest, and shelf lands as well as providing specifically for preservation of some areas in their primitive or wilderness state.

Another measure which was approved by the committee, passed by the House, but was not enacted was a bill to permit the railroad companies to convey, subject to certain limitations, portions of their rights-of-way no longer required for railroad purposes.

A bill which was not reported by the committee but which involved considerable time and study had as its purpose the modification and modernization of procedures for disposing of public lands.

This legislation would have authorized the classification, segregation, and disposition of public lands for urban or suburban development, for business and commercial use and, where the lands are excess, for any private purpose.

Other important legislation was considered by the Public Lands Subcommittee and, in addition, the subcommittee spent considerable time on legislative oversight activities. For example, the subcommittee considered 20 proposed withdrawals of public lands for nondefense purposes.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

The Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, which has legislative responsibility over matters involving governmental relations with our Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts, and over their landholdings and reservations, reported 56 measures of the 169 referred to it; 49 of these were enacted. Seven of those enacted are measures of general importance in the administration of Indian affairs. Public Law 87–279 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to contract for the disposition, operation, and maintenance of Government-owned utility systems used in the administration of Indian affairs. Public Law 87–417 permits the Secretary to convey up to 50 acres of Indian school property to local school districts. Public Law 87–283 provides for the restoration to organized Indian tribes of funds available for distribution to individual members but not claimed by them. Public Law 87–250 increases the amount authorized for the Indian revolving loan fund from $10 to $20 million. Public Law 87–273 increases the amount to be appropriated for implementation of the Indian Vocational Training Act of 1956 from $3½ to $7½ million annually. Public Law 87–23 authorizes the payment of per diem to the five members of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Public Law 87–48 extends the life of the Indian Claims Commission for 5 additional years.

Four measures were enacted which relate to the termination of Federal supervision over Indian tribes. Public Law 87–629 provides for the preparation of a roll of members of the Ponca Tribe, division of the tribal assets among the enrolled members, and for termination of Federal supervision and control. Public Law 87–432 authorizes Federal financial assistance to the Menominee Indians by assisting the school district and providing sanitation facilities. Public Law 87–609 provides 3 additional years for carying out the provisions of the 1959 act relating to termination of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma. Public Law 87–698 provides that stock in the Ute Development Corporation, which was established by the Uintah and Ouray Termination Act of 1954, shall not be subject to hypothecation, pledge, mortgage, or any other encumbrance which may lead to its dispersal other than by outright sale.

Fourteen measures from the Indian Affairs Subcommittee deal with land transfers to Indian tribes or individual Indians. They are Public Law 87–519, relating to the Cherokee Tribe of North Carolina; Public Law 87–284, relating to the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma; Public Law 87–150, relating to the Cocopah Indians of Arizona; Public Law 87–379, relating to the Crow Tribe, South Dakota; Public Law 87–388 and Public Law 87–696, relating to the Jicarilla Apache Tribe, New Mexico; Public Law 87–503, relating to the Potawatomi Tribe, Kansas; Public Law 87–102, concerning the Potawatomi Tribe, Oklahoma; Public Law 87–25, relating to the Lac de Flambeau Reservation, Wis.; Public Law 87–231 and Public Law 87–687, relating to the Pueblos of New Mexico; Public Law 87–806, relating to the Quinault Tribe, Washington; Public Law 87–828, relating to the Southern Ute Tribe, Colorado; and Public Law 87–416, relating to the Zuni Tribe of New Mexico.

Six measures were enacted which deal with the sale, conveyance or lease of Indian lands. They are Public Law 87–145, relating to the Big Sandy Rancheria, Calif.; Public Law 87–445 and Public Law 87–446, relating to the Chippewa Tribe, Minnesota; Public Law 87–35, concerning the Pala Band, California; Public Law 87–230, relating to the Seneca Nation of New York; and Public Law 87–695, concerning the Three Affiliated Tribes, Fort Berthold Reservation, N. Dak.

Three other measures were enacted which extend to 99 years the maximum period for which leases of Indian lands may be made for certain purposes. These are Public Law 87–375, dealing with the Dania Reservation, Fla.; Public Law 87–627, dealing with all the lands on the Colorado River Indian Reservation on the Arizona side of the river and with certain of the reservation lands on the California side; and Public Law 87–785, dealing with the Southern Ute Reservation, Colo.

Five measures were enacted providing for the use of tribal funds deposited in the Treasury. They are Public Law 87–24 and Public Law 87–232, relating to the judgment and other funds of the Nez Perce Tribe, Idaho-Washington; Public Law 87–235, relating to judgment funds of the Omaha Tribe, Nebraska; Public Law 87–205, relating to funds awarded to the Potawatomi Nation, Kansas and Oklahoma; and Public Law 87–298, which provides that any judgment against the United States recovered in the Indian Claims Commission by any constituent group of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, Wash., shall be credited in the Federal Treasury to the account of the Confederated Tribes.

Four measures were enacted which relate to Indian irrigation projects. Public Law 87–237 authorizes the transfer of title to units of the Fort Belknap irrigation project to an organization of landowners served by the project. Public Law 87–154 establishes the acreage of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project and the amount of water to be furnished. Public Law 87–516 relates to payment of irrigation charges in connection with the Wind River irrigation project, Wyoming. Public Law 87–316 relates to the construction cost and repayment for irrigation works of the Wapato Indian irrigation project on the Yakima Reservation.

Among the other miscellaneous measures enacted are Public Law 87–287, relating to mineral leases on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Mont.; Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735, providing for reimbursement of individual Indian landowners of the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Sioux Tribes; Public Law 87–229, relating to the mineral rights of land within the Walker River Paiute Reservation; and Public Law 87–202, permitting the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation to acquire certain non-Indian land.

The Indian Affairs Subcommittee considered 24 additional measures which did not become law.

MINES AND MINING

The Mines and Mining Subcommittee has jurisdiction over mining interests generally, with particular reference to the mineral resources of the public lands, the mineral land laws, the Geological Survey, and petroleum conservation on all Federal lands. This subcommittee reported 16 measures of the 78 referred to it, and 14 of these were enacted.

The subcommittee spent considerable time in connection with problems of the domestic mining industry. One bill in this area which became law was a measure—Public Law 87–347—for the stabilization of lead and zinc mining by small producers. While not considered a permanent solution to the problems of this industry, this legislation is designed to assist small producers and allow them to maintain their business operations until such time as long-range assistance to the industry can be accomplished.

Six measures were enacted which relate to the recurring problem involving interference with surface development and use of lands caused by mineral reservations. They are Public Law 87–747, which withdraws from all forms of appropriation under the public land laws land within the city of Tucson and immediately adjacent thereto in Pima County, Ariz.; Public Law 87–754, which withdraws from all forms of appropriation under the public land laws an area in Maricopa County, Ariz.; and Private Laws 87–181, 182, 185, and 574, which authorize the sale of reserved phosphate interests to the surface owners of lands in Polk, Sarasota, Highlands, and Orange Counties, Fla.

Seven additional measures dealing with various miscellaneous subjects were enacted. Public Law 87–818 provides Federal assistance, under certain circumstances, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in sealing and filling abandoned anthracite coal mines. Public Law 87–626 extends the authority of the Geological Survey to permit operations outside the continental United States. Public Law 87–713 makes petrified wood subject to sale under the Materials Act of 1947. Public Law 87–689 provides authorization for the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate sales of minerals and materials coming within the scope of the Materials Act of 1947. Public Law 87–822 authorizes reinstatement of oil and gas leases that have been terminated under certain circumstances relating to

rental payments. Public Law 87–260 places Alaska under the same time restrictions applicable to the rest of the United States with respect to the filing of various claims under the Federal mining laws. Private Law 87–192 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to enter into a negotiated lease covering gilsonite mining within the Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation.

The subcommittee considered other important legislation which was not enacted, including bills designed to assist the gold, mica, and tin mining industries. The subcommittee also held hearings on and exercised surveillance over problems involved in the stockpiling of mineral materials.

NATIONAL PARKS

The Subcommittee on National Parks has jurisdiction over legislation affecting national parks, monuments, historic sites, and recreation areas; military parks and battlefields; national cemeteries; and related matters. This subcommittee favorably reported 52 measures of the 305 referred to it; 47 of these were enacted.

I have already mentioned that three new national seashores were created in the 87th Congress. They are the Cape Cod National Seashore, Mass., Public Law 87–126; the Point Reyes National Seashore, Calif., Public Law 87–757; and the Padre Island National Seashore, Tex., Public Law 87–712. When fully established, the Cape Cod National Seashore will include approximately 26,700 acres and about 55 miles of shoreline on both the ocean and bay side of Cape Cod; the Point Reyes National Seashore will include 53,000 acres and 72 miles of Pacific Ocean and bay shoreline; and the Padre Island National Seashore will include about 80 miles of shoreline and about 47,000 acres.

Nine other measures were enacted authorizing the establishment of new units in the national park system. They are Public Law 87–213, authorizing the acquisition of the site of Old Fort Davis, Tex., and its maintenance as a national historic site; Public Law 87–215, authorizing the acquisition of Fort Smith in the State of Arkansas and its establishment as the Fort Smith National Historic Site; Public Law 87–286, providing for administration of the White House and its surrounding grounds in accordance with the basic laws governing the national park system; Public Law 87–362, authorizing the acquisition of land and scenic easements across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon, an area known as Mockley Point; Public Law 87–407, establishing the Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, Ind.; Public Law 87–438, authorizing the acquisition of Alexander Hamilton's home in New York City, The Grange; Public Law 87–547, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of Theodore Roosevelt House in New York City and Sagamore Hill on Long Island and administer them as national historic sites; Public Law 87–633, authorizing acceptance of the donation of Cedar Hill in the District of Columbia, which was the home of Frederick Douglass, and administer it as a unit of the National Capital parks system; and Public Law 87–798, authorizing acceptance as a donation the site of former Fort St. Marks in Florida and its administration as a national historic site.

Thirteen measures became law authorizing enlargement of existing units of the national park system. The units of the national park system enlarged by these acts are the Capulin Mountain National Monument, N. Mex., Public Law 87–635; Cedar Breaks National Monument, Utah, Public Law 87–81; Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Ky., Public Law 87–111; Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa, Public Law 87–44; Fort Necessity National Battlefield, Pa., Public Law 87–134; Fort Raleigh National Historical Site, N.C., Public Law 87–148; Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Wash., Public Law 87–78; Joshua Tree National Monument, Calif., Public Law 87–80; Lassen Volcanic National Park, Calif.; Public Law 87–129; Petersburg National Battlefield, Va., Public Law 87–603; Tupelo National Battlefield, Miss., Public Law 87–133; Virgin Islands National Park, V.I., Public Law 87–750; and Wupatki National Monument, Ariz., Public Law 87–136.

Twenty measures were enacted and one concurrent resolution was adopted which relate to miscellaneous matters within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on National Parks. The concurrent resolution—Senate Concurrent Resolution 14—salutes "Uncle Sam" Wilson, of Troy, N.Y., as the progenitor of America's symbol of Uncle Sam. Public Law 87–68 excludes certain lands from the Scotts Bluff National Monument, Nebr., and adds other lands to the monument. Public Law 87–71 provides for a transfer of Blue Ridge Parkway land to the Shenandoah National Park. Public Law 87–131 provides for the administration of two national monuments as part of the Natchez Trace Parkway, Miss.-Tenn. Public Law 87–135 authorizes a study of extending the Blue Ridge Parkway into Georgia. Public Law 87–146 relates to an exchange of land and property within the Rocky Mountain National Park, Colo. Public Law 87–193 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to extend, on certain conditions, the water and sewerage systems of the Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park to serve the adjacent village of Medora, N. Dak. Public Law 87–278 separates the Hawaii National Park into two parts and designates that portion on the island of Hawaii as the Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. Public Law 87–471 changes the name of the Whitman National Monument to Whitman Mission National Historic Site. Public Law 87–504 authorizes the National Park Service to participate in the First World Conference on National Parks. Public Law 87–608 authorizes the inclusion, in concession contracts involving Government facilities, provisions for maintenance and repair of those facilities. Public Law 87–628 merges the Edison Home National Historic Site and the Edison Laboratory National Monument under the single name of "Edison National Historic Site." Public Law 87–99 authorizes a Federal contribution of $500,000 toward the cost of constructing a bridge in the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Public Law 87–797 gives the Secretary of the Interior authority to punish, within certain limitations, violations of rules governing the U.S. Park Police. Seven additional measures, Public Laws 87–76, 313, 457, 458, 596, 628, and 652, provide for minor land purchases or exchanges in connection with units of the national park system.

One measure—Public Law 87–178—was enacted which relates to the national cemetery system. It modifies prior law with respect to the selection of superintendents of national cemeteries.

With respect to outdoor recreation, legislation—Public Law 87–12—was enacted to extend the time for the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission to submit its report.

The National Parks Subcommittee spent considerable time on other important legislation which was not enacted but which is expected to be before the committee in some form again next year. One group of bills in this category relate to outdoor recreation research and planning and land acquisition. The matter of providing additional outdoor recreation facilities for our exploding population is one of national emergency. Hearings were held on several measures which would establish new major units of the national parks system. The subcommittee also held extensive hearings and devoted a great deal of study to the matter of national cemetery policy. This resulted in the development of legislation but no final action was taken.

The legislative oversight activities of the National Parks Subcommittee included the consideration of 19 concession contracts.

I mentioned at the beginning of this report the great assistance I have had from the subcommittee chairmen, the ranking minority member, and other members of the committee. I cannot close without mentioning also the invaluable service rendered by the four full-time members of the professional staff, Sidney L. McFarland, professional staff director and engineering consultant; T. Richard Witmer, counsel and consultant on national parks; John L. Taylor, consultant on territorial and Indian affairs; and Milton A. Pearl, consultant on mining, minerals, and public lands; and the six full-time members of the clerical staff, Nancy J. Arnold, chief clerk; Dixie Duncan, Penelope Harvison, Virginia Bedsole, Patricia Freeman, and Susan Whitener.

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## Hon. Dale Alford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, among those Members who are retiring voluntarily from Congress at the end of this

session is the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas, Hon. DALE ALFORD.

Congressman ALFORD was elected to the 86th Congress through the process of a write-in campaign, which in itself is evidence of the high esteem in which he is held by his people.

Since coming to Congress, Dr. ALFORD has gained the respect and good will of this body, and has distinguished himself as a productive and hardworking representative of his people. He has been an ardent and unwavering advocate of constitutional principles, and a relentless foe of those who would do violence to our cherished freedoms. He has always exhibited courage and integrity in facing legislative issues and certainly can take great pride in the splendid record he leaves in this body.

During his period of service in this House, I have known DALE ALFORD as a warm personal friend. As he leaves us to resume his practice of medicine in his home city of Little Rock, I can assure him he takes with him my very best wishes and appreciation for his fine work in behalf of the cause of Americanism. I am sure I speak, also, for nearly everyone here in this expression to Dr. ALFORD.

DALE ALFORD will be sorely missed in this Chamber, but I am certain that in private life he will continue his fight for the same deathless principles of freedom that distinguished his career in this body.

## Newark and Rutgers Join in Program To Aid Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio, of Newark, N.J., and officials of Rutgers—the State university—have announced that they will cooperate in a significant new program to provide more opportunities for youth in schools, neighborhoods, and places of employment.

Mayor Addonizio, who said that Newark is proud to participate in this experiment, also reminded the Nation that the rebuilding of American cities will not be accomplished merely by construction of new buildings. He said:

> Providing new jobs, uplifting the poor, and generating new responsibility for all will not only insure a new structure for a community; it will also provide new spirit, increased civic participation, and more opportunity for all.
>
> Since rebuilding the American city is in itself a phenomenon, this local effort is of extreme importance to the Nation.

We, in New Jersey, are fortunate to have the Urban Studies Center at Rutgers, and we are fortunate that this center will direct the 7-year study. An excellent article in the Newark Sunday Star-Ledger of September 9 describes the start of this project and the hopes for its success. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWARK AND RUTGERS JOIN IN PROGRAM TO AID YOUTH

The city of Newark and Rutgers, the State university, will join together in a 7-year experimental project to enlarge opportunities for underprivileged youth and develop their potentialities.

The project will center around South Side High School and 13 elementary and junior high schools that cover an area of some 65,000 people, two-thirds of whom are nonwhite.

TO FORM COMMITTEE

Announcement of the experimental project was made yesterday by Mayor Addonizio and representatives of Rutgers. The mayor said Newark would form a committee of civic leaders to assist. The members of the committee will be announced within a few weeks.

A 10-point program is under study to improve the education of youth in the area, draw adults from the area into the program, and establish increased employment opportunities.

Addonizio said Newark was proud to join with Rutgers in the program.

"Urban renewal," he said, "is more than the tearing down of the obsolete structures to be replaced by modern architecture. It is a total communitywide effort in the rehabilitation of buildings and the reestablishment of neighborhoods and family life.

"Providing new jobs, uplifting the poor and generating new responsibility for all will not only insure a new structure for a community but will also provide new spirit, increased civic participation, and more opportunity for all.

"Since rebuilding the American city is in itself a new phenomenon, this local effort is of extreme importance to the Nation."

The experimental program will be directed by the Urban Studies Center of Rutgers, which was set up 3 years ago with a $750,000 grant by the Ford Foundation. The foundation also has given an additional $200,000 to the center.

Plans for the program were developed by Dr. Harry C. Bredemeier, professor of sociology, and by Dr. Mason W. Gross, Rutgers president.

TO COLLECT DATA

The remaining months of this year will be spent in collecting data on young people and social conditions in the area and in exploring what services can be made available by city and community agencies.

It is expected that early next year an action program will be started to improve conditions in the area.

The area is bounded on the north by 18th Avenue and Spruce Street, on the west by South 11th Street, Shanley Avenue and Osborne Terrace Avenue, Elizabeth Avenue and the Newark City line and on the east by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Beside South Side, the other schools in the area are Charlton Street, Runyon, Miller Street, Dayton Street, 18th Avenue, Coe's Place, Clinton Place, and West Kinney Junior High School, Cleveland, Avon Avenue, Bergent Street, Montmouth Street and Waverly Avenue.

The project is based on the premise that the underprivileged youths can achieve a sense of accomplishment by doing something important, by gaining personal acceptance from people in their neighborhoods and civic authorities and by a sense of making reasonable progress toward goals that they find enjoyable.

IDEAS UNDER STUDY

Among the ideas currently under study that may be incorporated in the program are proposals dealing with schools, the community, and job opportunities, such as:

Seminars for teachers, early identification of gifted students and slow learners, development of out-of-school and summer recreational and vocational activities and recruitment of local college and advanced high school students to provide after-school tutoring.

Locating increased library facilities in the area bringing them to the attention of the students, formation of parents' associations and neighborhood councils in the area and establishment, through a number of community agencies, of helping centers to reach troubled students and their families with assistance.

Development of a program to open up employment opportunities and ambitions of young people, based on a study of the prospective labor market in the area during the next 10 days.

Throughout the 7 years of the experimental plan's operation, records will be kept to enable researchers to evaluate the effectiveness of various aspects of the program.

## Supreme Court Prayer Decision Misunderstood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following lucid editorial which appeared in the September–October 1962 edition of the magazine Liberty.

The misinterpretations placed upon the Court's opinion in Engel against Vitale will eventually be swept away and this editorial accomplishes a good part of this necessary job. Following the editorial will be found—from the same edition of Liberty—two opposing editorials from two Washington newspapers.

The articles follow:

SUPREME COURT PRAYER DECISION MISUNDERSTOOD

The U.S. Supreme Court decision against prayer in New York public school classrooms (*Engel* v. *Vitale*) does not declare unconstitutional the saying of a prayer in a public school, nor does it rule out mention of God. It does not affect the singing of "God Bless America," or the verse in "The Star-Spangled Banner" that says: "And this be our motto: 'In God is our trust.'" Equally undisturbed are the pledge of allegiance phrase "one nation under God," and the motto on our coins, "In God we trust." The decision merely rules out official prayers written or directed by the State—or any other branch of—government. Thus the scope of the Court's decision is considerably less than some early, and impassioned, press releases concluded.

The kernel of the decision is contained in these words of Justice Black, who wrote the formal—and binding—opinion of the Court:

"We think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for

any group of the American people to recite as a part of the religious program carried on by government."

In a footnote Justice Black added:

"There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with that fact that schoolchildren and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance."

Thus the Court's decision should not be called anti-God, but anti-State-enforced religion. The spiritual foundations of our American heritage, the principles that led our forefathers to flee their neighbor's religion to found a land where men of all faiths and no faith might live together in peace—knowledge of these truths is not denied our children. Nor does the Court deny them the right to pray voluntarily, apart from State direction, either at school or at home.

The decision reemphasizes two things: First, the constitutional barrier against State-directed religious practices. And this reemphasis is essential, as a reading of the current clericalism barometer shows. For example, Jerome G. Kerwin, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and a liberal Catholic, answers the question, What might be expected if America becomes Catholic by saying: "Public recognition of the Roman Catholic faith as the religion of the state and the people would ordinarily be expected. Public ceremonies would be accompanied with Catholic forms of worship." [1] No more to be desired is the Protestant clericalism exemplified by the politically oriented lobbying activities of certain churchmen. The Supreme Court reaffirms the protection against clericalism afforded by the Constitution. In the words of Madison, the Court "saw all the consequences in the principle and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle."

In addition, the Court's action highlights the responsibility that rests upon American parents to instruct their children in religion. President Kennedy recognized this when he proposed a "very easy remedy" for the ruling: For Americans to pray a good deal more at home and to go to church more, thereby making the true meaning of prayer "much more important to the lives of all of our children."

If the Court's action is rightly understood, as merely ruling out "official" prayers written or directed by the State, little concern will be aroused that we have taken another step down the road to secularism. And if families will, as a consequence, be found together, parent and child, kneeling morning and evening to seek knowledge of the will of God, the action will have propelled us a long step upward toward a vital relationship with our Father in Heaven.—R.R.H.

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PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS—THE U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION

FOR

*In behalf of religion*

The Supreme Court's decision respecting prayer in the public schools is an act of liberation. It frees schoolchildren from what was in effect a forced participation by rote in an act of worship which ought to be individual, wholly voluntary, and devout. It frees the public schools from an observance much more likely to be divisive than unifying. And most important of all, perhaps, it frees religion from an essentially mischievous and incalculably perilous sort of secular support.

The main thrust of Mr. Justice Black's learned, illuminating, and richly eloquent opinion for the Court is to show that one of the principal purposes of the first amendment was to preserve religion in the United States from the inevitably corrupting influence of secular authority. The establishment clause, he wrote, "stands as an expression of principle on the part of the Founders of our Constitution that religion is too personal, too sacred, too holy, to permit its 'unhallowed perversion' by a civil magistrate." It would be wholly absurd to treat this concern for religious liberty as reflecting any indifference, let alone hostility, to religious worship. Speaking of that faith in the power of prayer which animated so many of the authors of the Constitution, Mr. Justice Black went on:

"These men knew that the first amendment, which tried to put an end to governmental control of religion and of prayer, was not written to destroy either. They knew rather that it was written to quiet well-justified fears which nearly all of them felt arising out of an awareness that governments of the past had shackled men's tongues to make them speak only the religious thoughts that government wanted them to speak and to pray only to the god that government wanted them to pray to. It is neither sacrilegious nor antireligious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of that business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave the purely religious functions to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance."

There is no doubt that this decision will be disappointing and painful to many deeply conscientious ministers of religion and to laymen who believe that public education ought to be infused with some measure of religious faith. But religious faith is best inculcated in the home or in places consecrated to religion. And the freedom to inculcate it in accordance with private conviction is best fortified by a jealous exclusion of civil authority from all forms of religious activity.

A prescribed prayer, however nondenominational it may be, is a form of enforced orthodoxy and is, therefore, an inescapable enemy to religious liberty. Let children speak to the teachers appointed to instruct them in the forms and language prescribed for their education. But let them speak to God in the forms and language prescribed by their individual consciences.—The Washington (D.C.) Post, June 26, 1962.

AGAINST

*"And forbid them not"*

Jesus, according to St. Luke, remonstrated with His disciples and said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." Little children may not approach Him, however, through the public schools of New York. Six Justices of the Supreme Court have forbidden it.

At issue was this brief nondenominational prayer: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country." This prayer has been composed by the State board of regents and was recited each morning in at least some of the schools.

Had any child been required to recite the prayer, the Court would have had every reason to forbid it. But this was not the case. Those who did not wish to participate were not even required to be present when the prayer was recited. Thus, the real effect of the Court's ruling is to prohibit children who might wish to do so from reciting the prayer. And this in the name of freedom of religion.

The first amendment says that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, the Founders having in mind the established Church of England and similar early efforts in some of the colonies. But would the recital of this simple prayer, as recommended by a State agency, be equivalent to enacting a law respecting an establishment of religion? Of course not, and Justice Black, speaking for the majority, was obliged to concede that it does not amount to a "total establishment of one particular religious sect to the exclusion of all others." In our opinion it does not remotely approach this. Nor does it bear any rational relationship to the religious struggles of 200 or 300 years ago.

In his dissent, Justice Potter Stewart noted that the Supreme Court begins each day by invoking the protection of God. Its crier importunes: "God save the United States and this honorable Court." How long will this be tolerated? And what about the prayers which are said each day in the House and the Senate. Does this contravene the first amendment?

Justice Stewart also noted that the Star-Spangled Banner was declared to be our National Anthem by an act of Congress in 1931. Yet its third stanza reads:

"Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto 'In God is our Trust.'"

Perhaps this could be substituted in New York for the proscribed prayer. But, on second thought, maybe it would be better not to suggest it. The Supreme Court some day might rule that Congress, in its act of 1931, passed a law respecting an establishment of religion, and that the National Anthem, therefore, is unconstitutional. Farfetched? We are not so sure.—The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), June 26, 1962.

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## Public Libraries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we in this Nation seem to find new reasons every year for enjoying our libraries. They have become cultural centers for many of our communities; they perform growing numbers of services for the student and for other persons. As our communication media grow, so does the need for the written word.

The American Library Association has done much to give Americans this new appreciation of the services offered at libraries. We in Congress have given some long and serious thought to the proposals made for greater support of libraries. This year's president of the association, James E. Bryan, of Newark,

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[1] Jerome G. Kerwin, "Catholic Viewpoint on Church and State" (Garden City, N.Y.: Hanover House, 1960), p. 90. Imprimatur: Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York, May 10, 1960.

N.J., testified this year on behalf of the association. He gave us some thought-provoking arguments for Federal concern about the future of our library system.

An article in the Sunday Newark News of September 9 described Mr. Bryan's hopes for his own library system in Newark and for libraries elsewhere in the Nation. Mr. Bryan has great hopes for future advances in library services, and I think we are fortunate to have such a man as head of the national association. I ask unanimous consent to have the article reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STRESSES "PUBLIC" IN LIBRARY—NEWARKER SPREADS MESSAGE AS HEAD OF NATIONAL GROUP

(By Douglas Eldridge)

James E. Bryan is a librarian's librarian who believes firmly that public libraries everywhere should be as public as possible.

In 15 years as assistant director and 4 years as director of the Newark Public Library, Bryan has sought to keep the institution in the forefront of efforts to make the resources of libraries more accessible and attractive to everyone. "I don't take the attitude that books are only for scholars," he declares. "Books are for everybody."

And now, in his first 2 months as president of the American Library Association, he has attempted to persuade many audiences—including a congressional subcommittee—that the burdens as well as the benefits of libraries must be shared more widely. The Nation's libraries, he warns, can keep pace with increases in population and improvements in education only if they are "adequately and equitably supported by the people who use them."

This year will probably be the most strenuous yet of the 30 that Bryan has spent trying to get books off the shelves of libraries and into the hands of readers. Until next June he must represent the Nation's libraries before public agencies and in cultural circles while he continues to administer the Newark library system—a $2-million-a-year operation that serves a million persons, and is getting bigger and busier all the time.

Bryan, who is 53, went into library work in 1932 after receiving bachelor's degrees from Lafayette College and Drexel Institute of Technology. He spent 4 years as an assistant at the Washington Public Library while studying for a master's degree at American University; returned to his hometown of Easton, Pa., for 2 years as librarian, and then went to Pittsburgh for 5 years as head of adult lending in the Carnegie Library.

In 1943 Bryan came to the Newark Public Library, long a pioneer system, as assistant to John B. Kaiser, then director. In 1958, when Kaiser retired, Bryan was chosen by the board of trustees to become the new director, a $15,000-a-year civil service position. At that time Bryan had already become prominent in State, regional, and national library groups, and was well on his way to an honor that had gone to his most famous predecessor in Newark, John Cotton Dana—the presidency of the American Library Association.

As soon as he arrived in Newark 20 years ago, Bryan announced his interest in making libraries less formal and forbidding. A few years later, when he drew up a postwar modernization program for the main library, he transacted this intention into action. A store room for old documents, for example, was converted into the popular reading room—a bright, cheerful area with fireplaces, casual furniture and a selection of the best books in many fields. Many other features of the library today resulted from Bryan's recommendations in 1947.

In subsequent years Bryan worked to expand and improve the library's adult and preschool programs and its science and social science collections—the collections that have accounted for much of the increased use of the library. And since becoming director Bryan has gone right on making long-range plans—to meet growing demands for more library space for people as well as books and to keep up with the needs of changing, shifting populations.

Bryan is even looking far enough ahead to see the day that libraries will store much information on magnetic tapes and other devices, and will supply it to each other through a nationwide electronic network. But computers will not replace books on the library shelves, any more than television sets have, he insists. "All that we have done so far" in developing new ways to keep and transmit knowledge, Bryan pointed out, "has not diminished the reading of books; it has increased it."

An electronic data system, which would permit a person in one part of the country to obtain material from a library in another part, is a logical extension of the Newark library's longtime policy of widening its patronage. It is a policy that Bryan warmly supports.

Book stacks in Newark are open to browsers, Bryan said, so they can see at a glance all the material on any subject; borrowing privileges are open to nonresidents who work or study here so they can have the material they need to make economic and cultural contributions to the community.

A person should not be halted at a city, county or State line in his quest for knowledge, Bryan believes; anyone should be able to get anything he needs from any library. But, on the other hand, librarians should not be stopped at political boundaries, either, in their quest for financial aid for expansion and improvement, Bryan contends; big city libraries like Newark's must serve large regions, and should be supported by more than just the central part of the region.

Bryan has been active in civic and cultural organizations, as well as professional ones. He organized the Historic Sites and Buildings Committee of Newark 2 years ago, and served as its chairman until last spring. He is also chairman of the advisory board of the Rutgers School of Library Service, an elder in Forest Hill Presbyterian Church, and a former scouting commissioner for the Robert Treat Council.

Because of his schedule the library director—who feels that "it is only when books are made use of that they are any good"—must lament that he has too little time for making use of them himself. His personal reading preferences are mostly for nonfiction, especially books on education, economic history, social trends, urban development, and wildlife. He reads a little fiction, too—but only if it has social or political significance.

If Bryan has any misgivings about his job, he can find plenty of reassurance, right in his own home at 666 Highland Ave., that he has chosen a good career. His wife, Helen, after many years of keeping house and raising two sons, James E. Jr., a college senior, and Arthur, a high school senior, is going back to school herself—to take graduate work in library service.

## Erbe of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of Advance, a journal of political thought, carries a wonderful article on the Honorable Norman Erbe, Governor of Iowa. Alan K. Henrikson, a recent graduate of Harvard, who is a native Iowan and a Rhodes scholar, has carefully assessed the role which Norman Erbe has played in providing the State of Iowa with aggressive leadership during a period of transition from a dominantly agricultural to a dominantly industrial economy.

Those of us who respect competence in government will be reassured by the fact that statesmen of the caliber of Norman Erbe are providing leadership at the State level in these complex and trying times. I commend this article to my colleagues. After they read it, they will know why all Iowans hold Norman Erbe in such high esteem.

The article follows:

ERBE OF IOWA

(By Alan K. Henrikson)

The Governor of Iowa, traditionally expected to preside over plowing contests and to taste homemade pickles at county fairs, has seldom been expected to think. With the accession in 1961 of Norman A. Erbe to the governorship, the folksy politician gave way to the thoughtful administrator.

As a Governor who is concerned primarily with the structural renovation of governmental machinery, Erbe is an ideological heir to the inventive Midwestern progressivism of Albert B. Cummins and Robert M. LaFollette. The administrative revolution which is quietly transforming the State today is no less momentous than that which transformed Iowa and Wisconsin half a century ago. Like his illustrious predecessors, Erbe has discovered that the battlelines in farm belt politics are often more sharply drawn between innovators and resistors than between Republicans and Democrats or between conservatives and liberals.

STREAMLINING

With the professional intensity of an efficiency expert, Erbe has supervised the streamlining of governmental administrative processes. In his mastery of technicalities he is strikingly reminiscent of a venerable Iowan of a previous era whose portrait now overhangs the gubernatorial chair: Herbert Clark Hoover, the "great engineer." By appointing to the State comptrollership a vigorous certified public accountant, Erbe has endowed that key position with new meaning in Iowa government. By installing a complex electronic data processing system, he has created a potential centralized bookkeeping service for all levels of government—State, county, and municipal. By reshaping the structure of several State departments, he has significantly reduced administrative operating expenses. Only in attempting to introduce a centralized purchasing system have his efforts been frustrated. A major

obstacle to strong executive action in Iowa is the executive council, a trifling administrative board as archaic as the primitive tribal council. Like the stifling 2-year gubernatorial term it should be removed if the Governor of Iowa is expected to be a truly predominant figure.

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In confronting administrative problems, Governor Erbe has displayed remarkable competence; in confronting social problems, he has displayed remarkable sensitivity. Like all States that are undergoing a shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy, Iowa is experiencing its growing pains. The displacement of the farm by the factory creates new social problems without replacing old ones. The older problems of the physically handicapped and the mentally ill, as the Governor observed in a recent tour of State institutions, are as in need of imaginative solution as the newer problems of the ill-housed and the unemployed. The poignant pleas of the blind child, the poorly fed child, and the unwanted child for vision, food, and a home have made a profound impression on him.

SALESMANSHIP

In translating his deep personal concern into mass concern, Erbe has enlisted the support of hundreds of Iowa's professional people. The ad hoc committees appointed by him to investigate the problems of mental health, civil rights, children and youth, and the aged are bright spots against a pale background. The formal executive authority of the governorship is limited, but its informal educational authority is not. By lending gubernatorial officiality to the private creativity of laymen, a State Governor can greatly amplify his personal educational power. The potentiality of the citizen group in public affairs is affirmed by Theodore H. White's "The Making of the President, 1960," a book which Governor Erbe and his advisers thoroughly digested. The new willingness of educators, physicians, psychiatrists, lawyers, and businessmen to participate in the political process is one of the most important developments of modern political history. The American layman has nearly conquered his antiseptic attitude toward politics.

Having a modest opinion of purely governmental power, Governor Erbe strives to augment it by harnessing it with private power. Wherever possible, he prefers to integrate the efforts of the public agency with those of the private association. A clear manifestation of this preference is his advocacy of a voluntary rather than a compulsory health insurance program. Like Alexis de Tocqueville, he believes that the ability of the individual to protect himself by voluntary association with his fellows is reduced as governmental solicitude for the individual is increased. Referring to the role of governmental power in the United States in his brilliant "Democracy in America," Tocqueville wrote: "The more it stands in the place of associations, the more will individuals, losing the notion of combining together, require its assistance: these are causes and effects that unceasingly create each other."

The economic views of Governor Erbe mirror his social views. A progressive government in Iowa, he believes, must be built upon a broad tax foundation made possible by rapid industrial growth. Consequently, he has given top priority to statewide planning for industrial development. Having inherited an idle budgetary surplus from preceding administrations, Erbe was able to raise appropriations to education without raising taxes. He increased State aid to colleges for capital improvements $20 million and increased State aid to schools 25 percent. His personal zeal to assist education even further is dampened only by widespread popular resistance to an increase in the State sales tax.

State Governors cannot ignore with impunity an unfortunate political truth; monetary values are often more determining than human values and fiscal policy is often more controversial than social policy. The public has a pathological fear of an energetic Governor who increases States taxes. As a result, the popularity of a Governor often rises and falls with the popularity of the State tax system. His constituents clamor loudly for improved schools and highways without being willing to pay for them. Iowans, in particular, cry for property tax relief without being willing to purchase that relief from the State government. Advocacy of a State sales tax increase has proven suicidal to previous gubernatorial candidates in Iowa. The political acid test for a Governor seems to be this: whether or not he can find a way to make a bitter tax dosage sweet to the public taste.

GRASSROOTS DANGER

The budgetary dilemma in which so many Governors have been trapped may arise simply from the closeness of State governments to the people. Congressmen and Senators are relatively immune to the incessant and trivial criticism that often plagues Governors. The public insists that State officials always be available for public visitation and open to public scrutiny. The public demands the simple personal government of an uncomplicated agrarian era in a complicated industrial age. Alexander Hamilton suggested a possible explanation for this sentimental and anachronistic attitude toward State government in "Federalist No. 17":

"It is a known fact in human nature, that its affections are commonly weak in proportion to the distance or diffusiveness of the object. Upon the same principle that a man is more attached to his family than his neighborhood, to his neighborhood than to his community at large, the people of each State would be apt to feel a stronger bias toward their local governments than toward the Government of the Union; unless the force of that principle should be destroyed by a much better administration of the latter."

The close emotional attachment of the people to their respective States was shattered by the experience of the Civil War, but large fragments of it still remain. Although the individual no longer turns to his State for military protection, he does turn to his State for economic and social protection. Since World War II there has been a phenomenal trend toward a functional division of labor between the Federal Government and the States. Modern State Governors have finally realized that within the federalist principle the State is a coordinate not a subordinate entity. Without direction from the Federal Government the States have forcefully asserted their originality in the following important areas: urban renewal, industrial promotion, flood control, sewage disposal, and commuter transportation. In the celebrated Godkin Lectures at Harvard University, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller attested to the continued vitality of the Federal idea in our society:

"With the Federal Government's resources and attention increasingly devoted to defense, foreign aid and international relations, the rising pressures to meet domestic needs have been directed more and more to State and local governments."

The person most able and most responsible to prevent the imbalance of the delicate Federal scale is the State Governor. In order to do so he must construct an effective counterweight to the Federal Government. He must consciously develop a thoroughly progressive governmental program—an inventive administrative system, an imaginative social outlook, and an intelligent economic policy. In Iowa, a State that has only recently disavowed its residual isolationism and rural domination, such a program must be instituted gradually.

BACKGROUND

Without studied showmanship or faked flamboyance, Gov. Norman A. Erbe, a relative newcomer to politics, is gently accelerating the wheels of change in Iowa. Trained as a lawyer and seasoned as a military officer, he approaches the governorship as the greatest of his three professions. Educated in the law at the State University of Iowa, where he received B.A. and J.D. degrees, Erbe practiced law privately in his hometown and then publicly as attorney general of Iowa. Educated in the military as a B–17 pilot in the European theater where he merited a Distinguished Flying Cross and four Air Medals, Erbe rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Having recently turned educator himself, the Governor serves as an instructor of military law at the Iowa Military Academy. In private life he is a widely read amateur historian, a skillful amateur bridge player, and a proud amateur photographer of his charming wife and three energetic daughters. In public life he is an able lawyer, an exacting military officer, and a competent administrator. As Governor of Iowa his large unstated goal is perhaps this: the thoughtful introduction of professionalism to State government. If his thoughtfulness is not misinterpreted as aloofness and his professionalism is not misinterpreted as impersonality, Gov. Norman A. Erbe will not disappear from the political horizon for many years to come.

## Swimming Pool on Wheels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, within the past year we have seen a great upsurge of concern about the physical fitness of our youth. Every level of government is participating in new programs to help our young citizens to apply old and new disciplines of exercise and organized sports.

One of the most ingenious and helpful programs I have heard of has been organized in Union County, N.J. There, the Eastern Union County YMCA has organized mobile units which bring swimming pools and other facilities directly into communities for instruction and play. Businessmen and owners of trucking firms have cooperated generously in this program, and the idea seems to be growing. One of the vehicles, for example, visited Puerto Rico last year to show how the mobile units could be used there.

An article in the September 10 issue of Transport Topics—national newspaper of the Motor Freight Carriers—gives a good account of the program, and it may help to encourage similar programs elsewhere. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSTANT Y: SWIMMOBILES PROVIDING CITY YOUNGSTERS WITH DELIGHTS OF RIVIERA RIGHT ON MAIN STREET

ELIZABETH, N.J.—The "old swimming hole" is about to be put in storage for the winter, but as long as the warm weather lasts New Jersey youngsters will be learning to swim in pools that roll right into their neighborhoods.

Before the season ends, more than 2,000 boys and girls will have learned at least the rudiments of water safety in two swimmobiles—pools constructed on trailers—which have been criscrossing the State all summer.

Gerald H. Croushore, secretary of the Eastern Union County YMCA, whose brainchild they were, is the first to admit that the swimmobiles can't keep up with the demand. Ten more units are needed now, he says.

COMBATING DELINQUENCY

Conceived as a pilot program to help combat juvenile delinquency, the swimmobiles have made Instant Y an instant success. In each community, the local newspaper, a local business, or civic association and city authorities have cooperated with the YMCA in sponsoring the program. Youngsters register for a 2-week course in swimming instructions from Y experts.

The project was launched 2 years ago after a chance locker room conversation. Mr. Croushore outlined the idea to Joseph Perrotto, vice president, eastern division, Eastern Motor Dispatch, Inc., Columbus, Ohio. Mr. Perrotto immediately grasped it as major public relations activity for the truckline.

EMD contributed two trailers and the basic plans for a funmobile, a mobile playground supply center, and the world's first swimmobile. Many other businesses gave supplies, time, and money to the project. EMD agreed to supply the tractors to move both vehicles from location to location and to help in the program development.

The vehicles received such widespread newspaper, radio, and TV coverage last year that the Puerto Rican YMCA heard about them and asked if the funmobile could be sent to the island. Last winter the funmobile, fully equipped, was donated to the Puerto Rico Y to help meet the needs of that crowded land.

EMD OFFICIALS AT CEREMONIES

EMD President H. H. Buel and Mr. Perrotto personally attended the dedication ceremonies in San Juan.

EMD promptly donated another trailer and construction started on the second swimmobile. It proved to be so popular in New Jersey that a planned tour to other States had to be canceled.

While the original swimmobile has been kept busy daily in and around Elizabeth, its companion has been making 2-week stands in all sections of the State. Each swimmobile is set up to teach 240 youngsters how to swim each 2-week period. Youngsters completing the course, with 52 percent passing their tests, receive a regular Y swimming certificate.

Both Y officials and Mr. Perrotto hope the idea spreads to other States.

## Outstanding Service to Veterans: the Brooklyn Veterans' Administration Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Philip R. Casesa is director of the Veterans' Administration hospital located in Brooklyn, N.Y. Dr. Casesa has brought to his task all of the great qualities that Americans have come to expect from the members of the medical profession plus the administrative ability to direct a hospital devoted to the special needs of the veterans of our Nation's wars.

During the 1962 fiscal year this hospital provided the following services to Brooklyn veterans: 7,416 admissions; 11,238 examinations; 32,881 laboratory tests per month; 22,923 prescriptions filled; 29,575 X-ray examinations; 88,670 X-ray films exposed; 3,230 surgical procedures; 1,051,257 meals served; 97,644 physical medical treatments; 11,888 dental treatments; 92,389 volunteer hours served. The total budget for the hospital during fiscal 1962 was $8,807,739.97. All of these services are aimed at the individual veteran and represent only a partial record of the services provided—only that part which can be rendered statistically.

The Veterans' Administration hospital—under Dr. Casesa's able direction—is an institution of which we can all be proud. It will serve as an example of public service carried out with devotion to those who depend upon its ministrations.

## Congressional Shortcomings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following newsletter to my constituents:

For a Congress which seemed to linger on and on, the accomplishments, despite a heavy majority control—2 to 1 in the Senate and 3 to 2 in the House—were far from the ambitious program of the New Frontiersmen. They were not able to sell their program to a thoughtful public or members of their own party who saw through the veil of oratory thrown over the offer of gifts, for which they would have had to bargain away their future and their children's future and their grandchildren's future. Among the proposals that failed to clear a wary Congress, despite their substantial party majority, were an urban affairs department—one would think the local municipalities were not able to manage their own affairs; a mass transit bill for big city areas; standby tax reduction authority which would have superimposed Executive authority over the prerogatives of the legislative branch, raising serious questions as to its constitutionality. Because of an obvious attempt at boondoggling, they failed to clear a standby public works authority bill, which would have given the President a blank check on the Nation's pursestrings to the tune of $2 billion. The $900 million finally authorized was bad enough.

Out of the maze of legislative proposals which were sent to the Congress, there emerged a pattern of spending and more spending. We are now over the $100 billion figure annually. The public debt ceiling has been raised to $308 billion and an Eisenhower surplus for fiscal 1962 was turned into a $6.5 billion deficit. Burdensome wartime excise and corporate taxes were continued. The withholding of dividends and interest—a tax that would have penalized the small investor and pensioner—was prevented by the Republicans. A tax revenue bill was patched together, with a promise of a tax reform bill being in the works for next year. Why was this not done in this Congress? I had a bill in that would have accomplished this purpose, but the administration ignored it. This bill would have given back to the States some of the taxing privileges rightfully belonging to them, enabling them to better handle their own affairs.

A quantity of proposals and bills were sent to the Congress by the executive branch, it is true, but there was considerable doubt about the quality. Farm legislation was proposed which would have put the farmers into such a tight corner they might never have wiggled loose, yet these proposals did little to raise the farmers' income or give them a measure of the security they need. The farmers have shown they won't accept the compulsory controls the administration tried to ram down their throats and so, because of its regimentation-er-ruin provisions, the administration did not win the proverbial half-a-loaf in farm legislation.

Another of the New Frontier's unkept promises was the medicare bill which excluded 4 million of our neediest senior citizens, forgot need, jeopardized social security, duplicated the yet unevaluated Kerr-Mills Act.

The fact that there are more than 15 different agencies and departments already conducting major programs in higher education under previously passed legislation and Federal directives did not deter the administration joining school construction with across-the-board aid and throwing out the concept of need. This bill failed to clear the Rules Committee. Also on the higher education front, the student scholarship and loan issue was rung into the House-passed measure, thus injecting the religious issue. This bill went back to conference, where it died.

There was the U.N. bond issue, which the administration proposed, asking us to absorb the responsibilities of other nations, including Communist nations. With but one vote in the United Nations, we subscribed to 50 percent of this issue. Everyone should face up to their responsibilities, including financial. You can't belong to a club and make up your own rules of membership, as the Communists are wont to do.

Republicans helped to achieve improvements in tax and trade bills passed by the Congress; rewrote the manpower retraining measure, which has yet to get its feet off the ground; helped put a space program into orbit; blocked much unnecessary spending; helped write a ban against White House efforts to aid Communist Poland and Yugoslavia.

We were faced with a Tower of Babel in the many proposals that came to the Congress from the administration. A merry-go-round of unabated foreign aid—to the tune of 1,000 23-inch television sets ordered for use in community education programs in underdeveloped oversea areas, with no electrical supply, at a cost of $400,000. Reason and commonsense seems to have been thrown overboard, but Republicans were able to prevent any aid being earmarked for Communist Poland and Yugoslavia. Then there was a seemingly lackadaisical approach to the civil rights issue. There was no effort made on the part of the majority to push this legislation. Under Eisenhower we observed our gross national product increased 3 percent per year, while under Kennedy it went up but 1.8 percent in his first annual report. One wonders what direction we are heading. It is plain it is not forward—as the President promised—instead rather sideways, or even backwards, when we note the rise in unemployment—up to 5.8 percent—and the profits and revenues down. And then there are

those traveling about the country, peddling their wares—saying this country needs more of their membership in Congress. Why should this be necessary when they already have a substantial majority? It boils down to the fact that the responsible Members of Congress were not sold on the mass give-aways which were proposed.

On the credit side of the ledger for the 87th, with bipartisan support, we achieved more freedom and less regimentation for the farmer by turning down the compulsory controls for agriculture; maintained a steady growth of rural electrification; extended the Sugar Act—after much milling around of highly paid foreign lobbyists; protection for the public against dangerous drugs; facilitation of our Interstate Highway System; a fairly good foreign trade bill to enable us to better compete in the world market and dispose of more of our surplus farm products abroad; a postal rate bill; establishment of a good communications satellite system, working for the benefit of everyone; and some constructive veterans' benefits.

It is good to be home visiting with as many of you as possible during the congressional recess. I hope to be able to discuss congressional accomplishments and its failures with many of you, continuing to be of service to you through my district office in Bismarck and my Washington office. In this legislative wrapup, I have tried to cover the important issues that were before the 87th Congress. Space does not permit me to cover them all. In closing, let me urge you to go to the polls November 6 and vote for the individuals whom you believe can best help govern this great country of ours.

## Jersey Town To Pay Tribute to Famous Slogan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, every schoolboy knows that "Don't Give Up the Ship" is a stirring slogan dating back to the War of 1812. Not every student knows, however, that the man who made this slogan his battle cry is Capt. James Lawrence, a native of Burlington, N.J.

The Burlington County Historic Society is proud of Captain Lawrence, and its members are now making plans to honor the 150th anniversary of Captain Lawrence's gallantry and his memorable phrase. Burlington is fortunate to have a society which has paid such meticulous attention and care to the birthplace of Captain Lawrence. The work of Lawrence House has given our State and the Nation a shrine of great interest. It is one of the coincidences of history, too, that the birthplace of James Fenimore Cooper is adjacent to the Lawrence House.

Mr. President, I think that all Americans should know of this anniversary, and I think that many of them should share in the anniversary by visiting Burlington for a visit to the birthplace of two great Americans. An article in the New York Times of September 23 describes the site and the anniversary. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JERSEY TOWN TO PAY TRIBUTE TO FAMOUS SLOGAN

(By Robert B. MacPherson)

BURLINGTON, N.J.—Although this old colonial town has celebrated many anniversaries since it was first settled by the Quakers in 1677, the one this year will be something special. Burlington will be honoring the 150th anniversary of a famous slogan created by one of its most renowned native sons.

Burlington is the birthplace of Capt. James Lawrence, who gave the War of 1812 its battle cry of "Don't give up the ship." While many people credit the saying to Commodore Perry, who used it in action on the Great Lakes, it was Lawrence, mortally wounded, who urged his crew onward with the famous words. The occasion was a battle between the British frigate *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake* off Boston Harbor.

Plans for a celebration of the sesquicentennial of the War of 1812 have not been completed as yet but local officials hope that the State will join them in organizing appropriate ceremonies to be held this fall or next spring. One such observance will take place at Lawrenceville, N.J., during the week of October 1–8, and a special exhibit from here will be on display.

Captain Lawrence's birthplace is still standing as one side of a pair of tandem houses on High Street. Oddly enough, the adjoining house was the birthplace of Burlington's other illustrious citizen, James Fenimore Cooper.

SPENT BOYHOOD HERE

Lawrence House, which is now a New Jersey historic site, was built in 1742. It is open to the public without charge and contains some of the Lawrence family furniture and other mementos of the captain's career. Lawrence lived here until he was 13 years old, and then returned after 2 years in nearby Woodbury. When he was 17, he began his career in the service.

Naval history buffs will find several items of interest in the house. For example, there are paintings and other reminders of Navy ships that have been named for the captain. These include a photograph of the present U.S.S. *Lawrence*, a guided missile destroyer that was commissioned on January 6. A copy of Perry's flag also is displayed. The Naval Academy at Annapolis jealously guards the original as one of its cherished treasures.

Other items include a ship's writing desk of the period, Navy recruiting posters urging young men to join up for the War of 1812 and a document signed by Captain Lawrence. Perhaps the most unusual item is a large portrait of the captain done on a sheet of stainless steel. It was retrieved from the battleship *New Jersey* when she was decommissioned in 1957.

The house itself will be of considerable interest to those who enjoy the colonial period. Although only the ground floor is open to the public, there are several examples of good colonial workmanship to be seen. The original glass is in many of the windows, and the old plank floors are authentic. The big kitchen fireplace was restored in the early 1940's, and the old pull-bells still hang on the kitchen wall.

THE HOUSE NEXT DOOR

Since the Cooper House adjoins the Lawrence House, it is an easy matter to visit both places. The Cooper House is operated by the Burlington County Historical Society and contains more general historical material than memorabilia. This is accounted for by the fact that Cooper's family moved from Burlington to New York State when James was only 13 months old. A manuscript of "The Spy" is one of the few Cooper items here.

However, the building does have many historic items dating from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War. These include one of the most complete Quaker genealogical libraries in the Nation, a collection of old Quaker dolls, assortments of Quaker bonnets, Revolutionary War flags, Jersey glass, and various household implements of the era.

Among the more unusual items is a large case housing a shell grotto made in 1751. The grotto is a fantastic assemblage of seashells made to form an underwater scene. The curator here says it is typical of the work done by unmarried daughters of well-to-do families in colonial times. Cooper House also has an original painting of Commodore Perry, the same man who played such an important part in making Lawrence's slogan famous.

On the second floor of Cooper House is a collection of empire bedroom furniture that belonged to Napoleon's brother, Joseph. He built a castle in nearby Bordentown and lived in this area for several years.

The historic society here recently received a $300,000 gift. A new annex is now being built in the rear of Cooper House. This will serve as a gallery for special exhibits and for lectures. It is expected to be completed by early summer.

In the four blocks along High Street, between these two houses and the Delaware River, are many buildings of historic significance. Although most of them have had their street fronts modernized, the upper stories are much the way they were when built in the 18th century. Across the street, at the corner of West Broad and High, was the Metropolitan Inn, originally constructed in 1761. It was a famous stagecoach stop.

On the corner of High and Union is Anderson's Drugstore, built in 1731 and a drugstore for more than 100 years. During the Civil War, it was a station on the underground railroad. Near High and Pearl Streets is the site of Benjamin Franklin's printing establishment where, for a few months in 1728, he printed paper money for the Province of New Jersey. Burlington wharf, at the foot of High Street, started as a ferry crossing about 1675.

Just north of Burlington wharf, in the middle of the Delaware River, is Burlington Island, perhaps the Nation's first example of aid to education. The island was deeded to the city of Burlington in 1682, with all revenue from it to be spent for city schools. It is the country's oldest education trust.

OLDEST CHURCH

Other places of interest in Burlington include old St. Mary's Episcopal Church on the corner of Broad and Wood. It was built in 1703 and is believed to be the oldest church building in New Jersey. A new St. Mary's was built nearby in 1846. It was designed by Richard Upjohn, who also designed Trinity Church in downtown Manhattan. The Revell House on East Pearl Street was built in 1685 and is one of the oldest buildings in the State.

A pamphlet giving directions for a walking tour of historic Burlington is available from the Historical Society office at 457 High Street.

## Whitworth College, Brookhaven, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, it is highly unusual to find a college dedicated to free enterprise and academic

freedom to the extent that it rejects all governmental assistance in order to remain uncontrolled. Such a college, however, is Whitworth College at Brookhaven, Miss.

Under the inspiring leadership of President Louis H. Dobbs, Whitworth College is fulfilling its important mission of teaching our youth to be industrious, knowledgeable, moral, and self-reliant. It deserves the encouragement and support of all Americans who believe in these principles.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include Whitworth College's declaration of principles:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Whitworth College has earnestly maintained since it was founded in 1858, that reverence and devotion to God is the beginning of wisdom, and that the ultimate of education is a life enriched through knowledge and truth that fully comprehends and willingly obeys all of God's laws.

Whitworth College acknowledges that patriotism is second only to love of God and family. It asserts, however, that free government is rightfully derived from the consent of the governed and that the Federal Government is a creature of the sovereign States, their agent and servant, and not their master. The Constitution of these United States and the amendments thereto, the acts of Congress and treaties properly entered into, solely constitute the basic law of the land. This law of the land should remain inviolate and unaltered by socialistic or communistic interpretation or modification by any branch of the Government except as provided for in the Constitution.

The right of private ownership of property is one of the foundations of our Government, and Whitworth College opposes all concepts and forces opposed thereto. Furthermore, it repudiates all socialistic dogma which tends to weaken local self-government by the people or augment the ever-increasing powers, regulations, and controls of the Federal Government.

Whitworth College unequivocally asserts that the parents of American children have the divine right to determine where, by whom, with whom, and what their children shall be taught. In protection of this God-given right, Whitworth categorically opposes the integration of the races in any manner.

Whitworth College is conservative in its thinking and actions. It distrusts and rejects the newborn, progressive educational policies now being followed by many liberals in the educational and social fields. It prefers those educational procedures and programs which have stood the test of time.

Whitworth College earnestly proclaims that education must not only advance the cause of knowledge, but also the cause of morality, integrity, freedom, and justice.

Whitworth College is Christian in principle and welcomes students of all faiths. The young men and women who come to Whitworth will be taught in accordance with these ideals and propositions to which Whitworth College is fervently dedicated.

## Your Friendly Finance Company and Its Friends on Capitol Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, Mr. Julius Duscha of the Washington Post has written an article about my truth-in-lending bill entitled "Your Friendly Finance Company and Its Friends on Capitol Hill," which appeared in the October issue of Harper's magazine.

Mr. Duscha followed the legislative hearings which I conducted on the truth-in-lending bill and he has written a truthful and revealing account of the interests and forces opposed to it.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Duscha's article appear at this point in my remarks in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR FRIENDLY FINANCE COMPANY AND ITS FRIENDS ON CAPITOL HILL

(By Julius Duscha)

(How the foes of the truth-in-lending bill are fighting to keep millions of installment buyers in profitable ignorance while those "easy monthly payments" continue to cost up to 40 percent interest a year.)

A little noticed fact of Washington life is the way in which lobbyists form shifting coalitions to meet their ever-changing legislative needs in Congress. The tools of their exacting trade are unobtrusive. A quiet word here, a private luncheon there, an appointment on Capitol Hill, a corridor conversation in one of the Senate or House Office Buildings—these are the modern lobbyist's instruments rather than the women and liquor of fiction. But the impact is equally deadly, and usually it is the public interest that suffers.

A disturbing current example of such a behind-the-scenes operation is the campaign against Senator PAUL DOUGLAS' truth-in-lending bill. Everybody who buys on the installment plan—which includes the majority of American families—would benefit from this law, which simply requires merchants and lenders to disclose the real cost of credit to their customers. Twenty-one Senators are cosponsors of the legislation. It also has wide support in the House and has been endorsed by President Kennedy as part of his consumer-protection program. Yet for more than 2 years the bill has been suffocated in a Senate subcommittee.

The attack began in 1960 when Senator DOUGLAS first introduced his bill. The small-loan companies quickly understood that one effect of such a law would be to bring about a reduction in their rates, which are now frequently camouflaged in what has been called the wonderland of credit. Often the installment buyer who thinks he is charged only 6 percent a year is actually paying six or seven times that amount. The Douglas bill would require the lender to disclose not only the dollar cost of the loan (only $5 a month) but also the annual interest rate. It would not regulate rates, but the result would be real price competition in the lending business and a lowering of finance charges which can legally run as high as 36 or even 42 percent a year.

Natural allies of the finance companies were the automobile dealers—particularly used-car merchants—whose National, State, and local associations were lined up against the bill. They were joined by furniture stores and other retail establishments which have discovered a bonanza in revolving credit (the poor man's charge account which permits him to be permanently in debt to the vendor—for a price). The problem now was to broaden the base of the opposition, for a lobby made up only of those with a crude financial stake in legislation is in a vulnerable position.

To cover their exposed public-relations flank, the two high-powered organizations of the small-loan companies shrewdly sought the backing of the American Bankers Association, the American Bar Association, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. They entered the battle despite serious disagreement within these organizations over the truth-in-lending bill. Generally, spokesmen for the larger banks and the bigger businesses saw no great harm in bringing to the credit marketplace two time-honored goals of conservatism—the full disclosure of price as well as true competition based on price. Twenty-eight years ago, exactly the same principles were applied to the stock market with the New Deal truth-in-securities legislation.

But in the end, other considerations prevailed. For one thing, bankers regularly need the support of finance companies in State capitols where laws regulating banking are enacted. For years the small-loan people have assiduously—and profitably—cultivated State legislators to protect their own State-regulated business interests. In many States, harmonious relations are assured by the fact that lawyers who serve in State legislatures are also attorneys for loan companies. Furthermore, small-loan companies are often big customers of banks and, like all businessmen, bankers want satisfied customers who will come back for more.

As for the American Bar Association, its committees concerned with credit problems are usually made up for the most part of lawyers with close ties to lenders. The chairman of its consumer bankruptcy committee, for example, is Linn K. Twinem, who also happens to be general counsel for the Beneficial Finance Corp., one of the largest small-loan companies in the country.

The chamber of commerce is always concerned about any extension of Federal authority and has based its opposition to the bill largely on the familiar States rights arguments.

MORE SOPHISTICATED TRUTH

Professors have also been enlisted in the campaign. At hearings on the bill the principal spokesman for the National Retail Furniture Association was Albert Haring, professor of marketing in the school of business at the University of Indiana and a consultant to the Nation's furniture dealers for the last 20 years. Another star witness for the opponents of the truth-in-lending bill was Prof. Robert W. Johnson, of Michigan State University. Appearing for the National Retail Merchants Association was its consultant, Theodore N. Beckman, professor of business organization at the College of Commerce and Administration of Ohio State University.

In seeking to explain his opposition to the truth-in-lending bill, Beckman made much of his own search for truth. "At no time have I been motivated solely or principally by pecuniary considerations on matters of this kind," he said, "because all of my adult life has been devoted to teaching and research at the university level, and thus in a constant search for truth."

Senator DOUGLAS then placed in the record excerpts from a book, "Principles of Marketing," of which Beckman is the senior author. The book seems to support the truth-in-lending bill by noting that "few consumers know just how to determine the actual rates paid by them on a per annum basis, and yet such knowledge is indispensable in making intelligent comparisons with respect to alternative methods of financing."

Beckman hastily explained that he was preparing a new edition of the book. "In that edition," he added, "I am treating the subject with greater maturity, with much more knowledge, a great deal more sophistication, and you will not find me making statements of that character."

The president of the National Retail Merchants Association this year is Harold H. Bennett, a prominent Salt Lake City businessman. His brother happens to be Senator WALLACE F. BENNETT, of Utah, a well-known Salt Lake City automobile dealer and a former president of the National Association

of Manufacturers. Senator BENNETT has led the opposition to the Douglas bill in the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization of the Senate Banking Committee where it has been languishing. DOUGLAS is chairman of this 10-man subcommittee, which includes Banking Committee Chairman A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia. The subcommittee is split 5 to 5 on the legislation.

With such a formidable opposition lined up, neither of the two small-loan company organizations thought it even necessary to testify against the bill this year. The spokesman for the National Foundation for Consumer Credit, William J. Cheyney, describes his organization as being "dedicated to making consumer credit more widely and more perfectly understood by those who use it and all others in American society." Despite its name, the foundation does not represent consumers, but speaks for small-loan companies, merchants who do an extensive credit business, and a few bankers.

The other small-loan company organization is the National Consumer Finance Association, the industry's trade association which is run by Paul L. Selby.

Cheyney, Selby, and their aids are largely responsible for putting together the highly effective lobby against the truth-in-lending bill. In this project they have the great advantage of dealing with a committee whose chairman, Senator ROBERTSON, is a now-aging protege of that still older friend of business and banking interests. Senator HARRY F. BYRD, also of Virginia. (BYRD himself is chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee, which handles all tax legislation, including the social security program.)

Organizations favoring the bill include the AFL–CIO and the Credit Union National Association as well as some mutual savings banks and well-meaning but anemic consumers' groups. This support has been far from sturdy. Nowadays, the AFL–CIO has plenty of troubles getting its way with labor legislation, and its influence on issues like consumer credit is marginal. Nor are the credit unions any match for finance companies and banks.

But, as its opponents realize, the few consumers who do know about the legislation are for it. In fact, all consumers have money to gain and not a penny to lose from the bill. That may be why the chamber of commerce noted in a recent letter to its members:

"Because the bill obviously now has administration backing, this magnifies the problem of heading off the legislation. As in the past, though, our best opportunity to do this is still within the subcommittee itself. Fortunately, 5 of the 10 members of the subcommittee still share our views about the bill—and so long as they are opposed, Senator DOUGLAS cannot muster a majority vote for reporting his bill."

A SCHOLARLY COMMANDO

Should the proposal ever get out of subcommittee into the full Banking Committee and then onto the Senate floor it would undoubtedly find overwhelming support. Few Senators or Representatives want to be recorded against a bill that tries to help consumers by seeking out truth in lending, and Senator DOUGLAS is stubbornly determined to fight for his bill. Despite the forces lined up against it, he may well succeed.

A deliberate man who prefers to concentrate on one legislative proposal at a time, DOUGLAS did not begin to press for action on this bill until the spring of 1961 when Congress finally approved the depressed-areas program that he had been championing, at times almost single-handedly, for 7 years. The Senator says, however, that he has been concerned about the cost of consumer credit since his academic days of the 1920's and 1930's when the dollar-down, dollar-a-month philosophy became part of the American middle-class economy.

DOUGLAS may not be a member of "the club" that runs the Senate, to which BYRD and ROBERTSON belong, but he is equally persistent and can be as political as he is learned. It is no ordinary academician who can be elected to the Chicago City Council while serving as an economics professor at the University of Chicago, as DOUGLAS was in the late 1930's. Nor would many men of 50 volunteer as privates in the Marine Corps, which DOUGLAS did soon after World War II began. His white hair askew, his blue eyes blazing, words tumbling from his mouth with a faint touch of a disarming down East accent (he was born in Maine), the Senator is a formidable adversary in debate.

He is one of the few champions of mortgaged-to-the-gills middle-class America. Personal debt in the United States now totals nearly $200 billion, of which $140 billion consists of home mortgages. However, interest on mortgages has been kept relatively low, largely through the influence of the federally fixed rates on mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration and guaranteed by the Veterans' Administration. Furthermore, Congress long ago equated low interest rates on housing loans with the public interest—and votes.

It is the remaining $55 billion to $60 billion in consumer debts that concerns DOUGLAS. Since the end of World War II, consumer credit has increased a spectacular ninefold, from less than $6 billion in 1945 to more than $55 billion today. By contrast, mortgage debt has gone up about sevenfold, from less than $19 billion to today's $145 billion.

Americans have come to accept personal loans, installment purchases, charge accounts, revolving credit, and the credit card itself as a way of life. But they have been little agitated about the staggering cost of credit. This is partly because credit charges and interest rates are often cleverly concealed and misrepresented. The average consumer cares only about the amount of the monthly payments on the car, the television set, the refrigerator, and now even the summer vacation.

When the consumer decides to buy on credit he is generally faced with one of the following five situations:

1. He is simply told that, say, a $10 downpayment will be required and that the monthly payments will be $10 for 1, 2, or 3 years. Neither the total finance charges nor the interest rate is even mentioned.

2. He is informed that the finance charge will be $6 a year per $100 borrowed. Although such an add-on rate is often represented as 6 percent interest, it actually amounts to almost 12 percent over a period of a year because the borrower has the use of only about $50 in credit during the year as the outstanding balance declines month by month.

3. He learns that the loan will be discounted at the rate of $6 per year for each $100 borrowed. Under this variation of the add-on rate he receives $94 and the interest rate again amounts to about 12 percent a year.

4. He is told that the monthly interest rate will be 1 percent or 1.5 percent, which sounds small but actually is a substantial annual rate of 12 to 18 percent.

5. He discovers that fees are loaded on the loan to pay for its cost and to increase the lender's profit. These fees usually are for such things as credit investigations, the processing of the loan, and credit life insurance.

DOUGLAS insists that the annual interest rate is the only yardstick available to consumers for meaningful comparison of credit costs. "A major segment of the consumer credit industry," he has said, "is trapped in a web of misleading and deceiving trade practices when it comes to stating the true costs of credit. Honest and ethical lenders are frequently forced into deceptive practices in order to survive in competition with some of their less ethical competition."

Commenting on hearings held on the bill by his subcommittee, DOUGLAS went on to say: "One witness who was in the lending business described the average borrower as being caught in a wonderland of credit where percentages are divided and multiplied at will, where finance charges materialize on command and fees are collected on the way out—where sharp practices and rackets not only inflate the cost of credit but also impose enormous financial hardships on the debtor, particularly those who can least afford it."

In automobile financing, for example, kickbacks to dealers by banks as well as by loan companies are common. In one instance cited to the Douglas subcommittee, an automobile dealer who steered a customer to a particular bank received almost half of the $500 interest charge. There is vigorous competition among lending institutions for automobile dealers' "paper," a sure sign that it is highly profitable despite the cost of kickbacks.

Opponents of the truth-in-lending bill all argue that the compilation of annual interest rates would make life unbearable if not unprofitable for small retailers. In answer the proponents point out that financial tables are available now for the compilation of bank loans to businessmen, who insist on knowing the true annual interest rate on the money they are borrowing. Surely America's computers are capable of solving this rather minor mathematical problem for haberdashers and hardware dealers.

As the President said in his message on consumer legislation last spring, consumers have the right "to be informed" and "to be heard." DOUGLAS is trying to make certain that they are informed about the costs of credit. But consumers still cannot make themselves heard in Congress. They are unorganized and often inarticulate. Unless they can organize as effectively as have small-loan companies, automobile dealers, retail merchants, bankers, lawyers, and other business interests, consumers will have to depend on tenacious Senators like DOUGLAS to fight their battles for them.

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## In the Wake of the Health Care Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate vote on an amendment to provide better health care provision for our older citizens is now almost a week old, but we perhaps do not yet really appreciate the widespread public reaction to the defeat of this proposal. It is my feeling that there is a growing sense of loss and an increasing determination to discuss this issue at great length in the months ahead.

Two New Jersey newspapers summed up much of this reaction last week. The Daily Journal of Elizabeth, N.J., said on July 19 that—

This controversial question goes, not merely back to the committee room, but to the people.

The Morning Call of Paterson, N.J., said in an editorial on the following day

that it will be only a matter of time before medicare becomes a law.

On July 22, in the New York Sunday Times, Dr. Haward A. Rusk gave a detailed analysis of the proposed health care proposal and the present situation in States which are not using the Kerr-Mills Act. His conclusion is—

This November the voters of the United States will have an opportunity for a real referendum as to whether it (the Kerr-Mills bill) will continue to be our only national program of health care for the aged or whether we shall have a plan such as was voted down in the Senate Tuesday.

Mr. President, we will hear many voices on this issue within the next few months. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorials and article reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Elizabeth (N.J.) Daily Journal, July 19, 1962]

MEDICARE ISSUE GOES TO VOTERS

Medicare—some pattern of assurance of treatment for the ill among our senior citizens—is not dead, as some gloomy partisans may insist, but it has been delayed, possibly for a year, possibly longer. The Senate's rejection of the latest version of an administration program, the Anderson-Javits overhaul of the King-Anderson bill, has sent this controversial question, not merely back to the committee room, but to the people.

There are regrets that this issue cannot be clarified and settled by the current Congress, but the delay may be valuable.

Public discussion and the occasional instances of open debate on the King-Anderson proposal glowed with a heat that perhaps obscured some of the facts—certainly left much of the populace befuddled. The bitter opposition of much of the medical profession, the denunciations by advocates of other systems, and the inevitable partisan caterwauling did not contribute to lucidity. The split in party ranks on both sides of the aisle was symbolic of the general attitude of the people.

Some system of medical care at the social security level seems a logical and probably inevitable evolution of the Federal Government's welfare operations. This conclusion affronts ultraconservatives, but concurs with the philosophy of most of the people.

Whatever the virtues of the present legislation in this field, the Kerr-Mills program, response among the various State legislatures and among the people has not been uniform, attesting an absence of understanding. Even New Jersey has not decided on participation.

The administration perhaps can improve its bill. The measure rejected was an attempt to remove objections in the King-Anderson text. Time now is available for a restudy of the fundamental points and evaluation of the objections that brought about the reversal. There now is time, too, for a more orderly and definitive presentation to the public.

Medicare can, and should be, a dominant campaign issue. Full and honest debate will help to determine the attitude of the next Congress on this issue. Public sentiment will do more to select or reject Members of the House than partisan loyalties. The next Congress, then, will have a mandate, not on medicare alone, but on our welfare philosophy for a long time.

[From the Paterson (N.J.) Morning Call, July 20, 1962]

DEFEAT OF MEDICARE A PYRRHIC VICTORY

The defeat of the Kennedy's administration's medicare bill by a 52 to 48 vote in the Senate is a blow to the elderly, to whom its enactment into law would have provided hope they would not be forsaken when overtaken by sickness.

We stood unequivocally for the bill, realizing only too well how necessary it is to furnish hospital and nursing care and diagnostic services at a time in life when the earning power of those 65 or over is practically nil and their savings over a lifetime in danger of being wiped out by reason of a serious or catastrophic illness.

We never could grasp why medical associations fought the measure inasmuch as it had nothing to do with the hiring of doctors.

But greed asserts itself and lowers those who place selfish interests and needless fears ahead of the health and welfare of people.

We're quite certain that it will only be a matter of time before medicare becomes a law.

We salute the 48 Senators who voted on the side of humanity.

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[From the New York Times, July 22, 1962]

EXTENSION OF AGED CARE—ELECTION ISSUE CREATED BY SENATORS' VOTE AGAINST KENNEDY MEDICAL SERVICE PLAN

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Last Tuesday a coalition of 31 Republicans and 21 southern Democrats in the Senate killed any possibility of the enactment of an improved health-care program for older persons this year. This is the general consensus of individuals both in and out of Government.

The vote came on a motion to table, and thereby kill, an amendment to a public welfare bill that was approved that day. The amendment would have extended the original proposals of President Kennedy for hospital and related care for older persons under social security.

Under the President's original proposals, the following would be provided for about 15 million older persons:

In-patient hospital services up to 90 days for one illness, for all costs in excess of $10 a day for the first 9 days and full costs for the 81 remaining days.

Nursing home services up to 180 days immediately following discharge from a hospital.

Hospital outpatient clinic diagnostic services from all costs in excess of $20.

Community and visiting nurse services and related home health services for a limited time.

EXTENSION WAS PROVIDED

Under a compromise acceptable to the administration, the plan would have been extended to cover about 2,500,000 older persons not eligible for social security and railroad retirement benefits.

It also permitted private insurance companies and Blue Cross and other nonprofit health organizations to issue policies that included the Government plan.

An individual would have the option of having his benefits administered under social security or taking out or continuing a policy with a private insurance company or Blue Cross. The Government in the latter instance would reimburse the private company or Blue Cross for payments made for services for which the Government bore the responsibility.

ELECTION ISSUE CREATED

Individuals under nongovernmental coverage would also be able to choose between a 90-day, $90 deductible and a 45-day, nondeductible benefit.

The Senators who defeated the proposals created one of the most significant issues for the 1962 congressional elections.

Aime J. Forand, president of the National Council for Senior Citizens, has already announced that his group would appeal to the Nation's 17,500,000 people over 65 to win the health-care issue through the ballot box in November.

NEW ASSISTANCE LEVEL

A program has been operating under the Kerr-Mills Act since October 1, 1960.

First, this program substantially increased Federal funds given the States to improve and extend medical-care services in their existing old-age assistance programs or to develop such medical-care services.

Second, it authorized a new Federal-State program for the aged to serve those who were above the financial level of eligibility for old-age assistance but who were unable to pay their own medical care costs.

This program is known as medical assistance for the aged. It is not an insurance program and is financed from general revenues.

To qualify for such assistance, an individual must submit to a "means" test to determine his needs. One need not, however, be destitute or become destitute in order to qualify for help.

In New York State, for example, aged married couples are eligible if they have no income, including support from responsible relatives, in excess of $2,600 a year.

For a single person, the amount is $1,800. A married couple may have $1,300 and a single person $900 in liquid assets and still be eligible.

CITY AGED UNAFFECTED

The medical assistance for the aged program is of little assistance to older persons in New York City. All persons in these income levels are provided free services by city's department of hospitals and department of health.

It has resulted, however, in shifting a higher percentage of the costs of care for older persons from the city to the State and Federal Governments.

Only about half the States have enacted legislation making the medical assistance for the aged program operable. Of those that have programs about half do not provide medical assistance for the aged where yearly income is as much as $1,500 for an individual and $2,000 for a couple. Half the States also deny eligibility if liquid assets are as much as $1,000 for an individual or $1,500 for a couple.

In December 1961, 17 States and the Virgin Islands expended $13,900,000 on behalf of 72,000 recipients. This was an average of $193 a recipient.

PROGRAM LED BY THREE STATES

However, New York, Massachusetts, and Michigan accounted for 71 percent of the recipients and 92 percent of the funds expended. Their average payment was $249 for each recipient.

In the remaining States and the Virgin Islands with 29 percent of the recipients the average payment was only $52 a recipient.

It is apparent that the Kerr-Mills program is not providing uniform or adequate coverage. This November the voters of the United States will have an opportunity for a real referendum as to whether it will continue

to be our only national program of health care for the aged or whether we shall have a plan such as was voted down in the Senate Tuesday.

## Heber Herbert Votaw

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.**
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to pay tribute to a great champion of religious liberty in the democratic processes of our Government as lived out in the life of the Reverend Heber Votaw, who, until his recent death, was a resident of my congressional district.

Heber Herbert Votaw, 81, a brother-in-law of President Harding, the first Seventh-day Adventist missionary to Burma in 1905, and Superintendent of Federal Prisons, 1921 to 1925, died October 7 at the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital of cancer.

Born in West Mansfield, Ohio, Mr. Votaw was educated in public elementary schools in Ohio, and a Seventh-day Adventist junior college in Michigan. He received his bachelor's degree from George Washington University.

He began his career with the Adventist denomination in Ohio in 1903 when he helped start the Harding Sanitarium and Hospital, still operated today by the Harding family. The same year he married Carolyn Harding, youngest sister of Warren Harding, and a girl who was to become known for her work with girls as a U.S. Public Health Service official. Mrs. Votaw died in 1951.

Ordained as an Adventist gospel minister here in 1904, Mr. Votaw went with his wife to Burma the following year, where he established the country's first manual training school and began publication of a quarterly journal printed in Burmese.

Illness forced the Votaws back to America, and during the years 1915 to 1917 he served on the faculty of Washington Missionary College, now Columbia Union College, in Takoma Park. He served for 1 year as service manager of the Washington Sanitarium and Hospital where he died.

He joined the staff of then Senator Harding in 1919. Later he went into prison work. In addition to serving as prison superintendent, he was Chairman of the Federal Boards of Parole.

During this time, Mr. Votaw joined the newly formed women's police bureau here, then under the Public Health Service, and established a voluntary probation department.

Mr. Votaw returned to denominational service in 1926, when he became associate secretary of the Adventists' Religious Liberty Department. He served for more than 20 years as editor of Liberty magazine, a quarterly journal, and retired in 1954.

For 24 years he served as chairman of the John Nevins Andrews Elementary School Board in Takoma Park.

Mr. Votaw wrote "Your Freedom and Mine," now in its third edition, and was coeditor of "American State Papers."

In Takoma Park he lived at 7633 Carroll Avenue, was a member of the board of the Citizens Bank, and a volunteer of the Takoma Park Fire Department. For 36 years he was on the board of the Federal Service Finance Corp.

He leaves several nieces and nephews. Services were held on Thursday, October 11, at the Takoma Park Seventh-day Adventist Church. Burial was in Lincoln Cemetery.

## General Services Administration Report of Assistance to Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following report of the General Services Administration on its assistance to small business during fiscal year 1962:

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,
*Washington, D.C., September 7, 1962.*

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am pleased to send to you a report of actions taken by the General Services Administration during the past fiscal year to benefit small business through Government procurement programs.

In March 1962, a small business task force was established in the General Services Administration for the purpose of reviewing the overall small business program of the agency and its accomplishments during fiscal year 1962. The task force was given the additional mission of making recommendations to increase further the number and dollar volume of contracts awarded to small business.

The following report, which is based on the findings of the task force, describes actions taken by the General Services Administration to assist small business to participate in Government procurement. They include: (1) Introduction of new procedures that will provide greater opportunities for small business to participate in subcontracts under Government prime contracts; (2) more widespread use of unilateral set-aside contracts; (3) accelerated development of Federal specifications and standards; (4) improvement and simplification of the system for processing bidders' mailing list applications; (5) standardization of contract forms to simplify their use by the small businessmen; (6) limitation and clarification of the use of "brand name or equal" purchase descriptions; and (7) a study of the use of indefinite quantity-open end type contracts and the effect of such contracts on awards to small business.

A number of recommendations regarding internal procurement procedures have been made by the small business task force, which are designed to further small business participation in GSA procurement. These recommendations are being carefully studied with a view to future adoption and implementation. You may be assured that this agency will continue in its efforts to improve the governmentwide small business procurement program.

Respectfully yours,
BERNARD L. BOUTIN,
*Administrator of General Services.*

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF ASSISTANCE TO SMALL BUSINESS, FISCAL YEAR 1962

Fundamental among the operating policies of the General Services Administration is the assurance that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for property and services made by GSA shall be placed with small business concerns. This policy was enunciated by the Congress in its enactment of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 by which the General Services Administration was established. It has been further strengthened by the affirmative, personal interest which President Kennedy has taken in the welfare of small business and in the participation of small business in all Government procurement programs.

Because of the President's determination to keep the Nation's economy competitive by widening the access of small business to credit and to Government contracts, a small business task force, under the chairmanship of the Assistant Commissioner for Procurement and Economic Policy, Federal Supply Service, was established in GSA by the Administrator of General Services in March of 1962 for the purpose of reviewing the overall small business program of the agency, accomplishments during fiscal year 1962 tending to further the interest of small business, and the making of such recommendations as might be deemed appropriate to further increase the number and dollar volume of contracts awarded throughout the agency to small business. The following report is based on the findings and recommendations of the task force.

ACTIONS TAKEN OF GOVERNMENTWIDE SIGNIFICANCE

Under the authority of title II of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 the Administrator of General Services has prescribed and published in the Federal Procurement Regulations the following procedures and regulations having governmentwide application in the interest of assisting small business in obtaining a fair proportion of total Government purchases and contracts for property and services.

1. A new regulation containing improved comprehensive procurement policies and procedures for aiding small business concerns was published in subpart 1-1.7 of the Federal Procurement Regulations. This regulation sets forth specific policies to be followed by procurement agencies in assuring a fair proportion of awards to small business including, among other things, such topics as cooperation by procurement agencies with SBA representatives, the making available to SBA representatives of information, technical data and other procurement items, procedures for carrying out the small business set-aside program, and the processing and handling of certificates of competency.

2. Policies and procedures were prescribed in FPR implementing the small business subcontracting program cooperatively developed by GSA, DOD, and SBA pursuant to the Small Business Act Amendments of 1961, including standard contract clauses to be used in furtherance of such program.

3. Revised and modernized requirements for publicizing proposed procurement actions in the Department of Commerce publication "Commerce Business Daily" were prescribed in the Federal Procurement Regulations. These requirements not only assure that information concerning proposed Government procurements is made available to small businesses who bid on Government contracts as prime contractors but also place

many more small businesses in a position to offer their products or services as subcontractors or material men to prime contractors on large Government contracts which, because of the size or nature of the contracts, are not readily adaptable to performance by small business.

4. Revised policies and procedures limiting and clarifying the use of "brand name or equal" purchase descriptions in the procurement of supplies were issued in the Federal Procurement Regulations. Under this regulation the use of "brand name or equal" purchase descriptions is curtailed to an essential minimum and, when so used, must be in strict accordance with prescribed procedures, thereby preventing any promiscuous use of the procedure to the detriment of small business.

5. Authority has been delegated by the Administrator of General Services to the heads of all executive agencies to make advance payments to contractors, when necessary, in connection with contracts entered into pursuant to title III of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended. The availability of this method of financial assistance will be of immeasurable benefit to those small businesses whose operating capital is limited.

6. Action has been taken under section 302(c)(1) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to provide a legal basis for agencies to make unilateral setaside contracts for small business whenever small business joint setaside determinations are not feasible and whenever it is determined by the contracting officer to be in the interest of (a) maintaining or mobilizing the Nation's full productive capacity, (b) war or national defense programs, or (c) assuring that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for property and services for the Government are placed with small business concerns.

ACTIONS TAKEN TO IMPROVE INTERNAL GSA PROCUREMENT WITH RESPECT TO ASSISTING SMALL BUSINESS

In addition to the Government-wide actions set forth above which are also equally applicable to GSA, the following improvements have been made internally in GSA procurement procedures during fiscal year 1962 in the interest of facilitating small business participation in the receipt of GSA awards:

1. Bidding on contracts of the Federal Supply Service for personal property and nonpersonal services has been greatly simplified by the adoption of standard contract forms for all buying programs, the development of one consolidated form of supplemental contract provisions applicable to all contracts of the Service, and the discontinuance of special contract forms and contract provisions for Federal supply schedule contracts. Concurrent improvement in the format of Federal supply schedules and in procedures for agency use of such schedules is expected to channel a larger volume of business into this program, with a proportionate increase in delivery orders being placed by customer agencies with small business schedule contractors.

2. During fiscal year 1962 a new bidders' mailing list system has been installed in GSA. For the first time a firm can now be placed on the mailing list in all GSA buying offices by applying only to one GSA business service center. This new procedure, with accompanying simplified forms and instructions, affords any small business concern the opportunity, with a minimum of expense and effort, to receive invitations for bids and solicitations for offers from all buying offices of GSA with respect to items which it is capable of supplying to the Government.

3. The Federal Supply Service has made and is continuing to make an analysis of the potential for further small business setasides by reviewing results of bidding in each commodity area. This action will result in the identification of opportunities for small business set-asides over and above those proposed by Small Business Administration representatives under the joint small business set-aside program. In addition, it will facilitate and encourage the making of unilateral set-asides for small business.

4. There is in progress within the Federal Supply Service a progressive review and revision of the methods of supply used under various commodity programs, with the objective of conforming GSA procurement methods as closely as possible to industry practices. In this connection, GSA carries on extensive counseling of prospective small business suppliers, through personal contact and appropriate GSA publications on the subject of doing business with the Federal Government. In addition, preaward conferences are regularly held with those concerns to which contracts are about to be awarded in order to assure complete understanding between the parties and to avoid difficulties in performance. This personal contact with potential suppliers has proven to be of great assistance to small business.

5. An accelerated program has been started under which additional Federal specifications and standards are being developed, and existing specifications are being revised, with the objective of making them reflect the present capabilities of industry of all sizes and types, and for the purpose of stimulating interest in supplying the needs of the Government. Regional libraries of Federal specifications are maintained and are readily available to all suppliers. Steps are being taken to enlarge these libraries to include military and other specifications utilized in GSA procurement programs.

6. During fiscal year 1962, a study was commenced of current internal and Government-wide contract reporting requirements and forms directed toward simplification in procedure as well as the obtaining of more comprehensive reports, particularly with respect to reports of contracts awarded by GSA to small business and labor surplus area firms. In pursuing this project to conclusion, particular emphasis will be given to obtaining reports, to the extent practicable, of subcontracts awarded small business by GSA prime contractors and the placement of purchase orders under Federal supply schedule contracts and other indefinite quantity type contracts.

7. The use of indefinite quantity-open end type contracts is being carefully studied from the viewpoint of small business participation in the receipt of awards of such contracts. Results to date indicate that small businesses have received a substantial proportion of awards of such contracts and have been able to perform them satisfactorily because of the inclusion in such contracts of provisions, designed to reduce normal business risk, which establish minimum and maximum order quantities and maximum monthly production limitations. Continuing attention will be given to the maximum practical use of definite quantity contracts where such contracts can be utilized without impairing the overall accomplishment of GSA's procurement responsibility, thereby assuring the continued maintenance of an effective, manageable balance between the two types of contracts.

CONCLUSION

In furtherance of the Government's overall small business program the General Services Administration is determined, constantly, to strive to insure the availability of a strong, diversified foundation of healthy small business firms as potential sources of supply, to exert all effort and influence in the preservation of a system of free and open competition in Government procurement and to develop, for Government-wide applicability as well as for internal use, constructive procurement policies and procedures designed to insure that a fair proportion of total purchases and contracts for property and services for the Government will be placed with small business concerns.

The achievement of this purpose will require continuing, constant attention to small business matters of all kinds and significance and at all levels within the agency. It will precipitate an expanded program of education and training of contracting personnel throughout the entire agency in the field of small business policies and procedures, including all procurement methods and procedures, which might be utilized as a means of assistance to small business in their attaining a greater share of GSA contracts. Commensurate with applicable law and regulations, greater emphasis is being placed on the negotiation of small purchases with small business concerns wherever possible. In the field of counseling small businessmen desiring to do business with the Government, GSA business service centers will be supplied at all times with current lists of products which have been placed on the qualified products list for the purpose of advising potential suppliers of items which have been so qualified.

Results of the agency's unified determination and effort to increase the share of participation by small business in GSA awards during fiscal year 1962 are significant. The number of contracts set aside during fiscal year 1962 by GSA for award to small business under the joint procurement set-aside program increased from 4,617 contracts in fiscal year 1961 to 5,186 contracts in fiscal year 1962. The percentage of all GSA procurement which was awarded small business increased from 42.9 percent in fiscal year 1961 to approximately 46 percent in fiscal year 1962.

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## Resolution of Young Men's Business Club of Greater New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following resolution which was recently passed by the Young Men's Business Club of Greater New Orleans:

Whereas we are engaged in a global war in which lovers of freedom are pitted against the unscrupulous forces of international communism; and

Whereas the outcome of this momentous struggle depends on the effort of individuals as well as political governments; and

Whereas America is the symbol of the individual and of freedom: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Young Men's Business Club of Greater New Orleans does hereby commend the longshore workers of Locals 1418 and 1419, International Longshoremen of America, for their recent patriotic demon-

stration in refusing to load a ship which engaged in trade with a Communist satellite country bordering our shores. In taking this position we are citing the workers' action as a fine example of how free people can strike a blow against communism. We take heart from these men who put principle before financial gain. We urge all Americans to follow the pathway carved by the workers of locals 1418 and 1419; be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Locals 1418 and 1419, International Longshoremen of America, Secretary of Labor of the United States, U.S. Senators Ellender and Long, and U.S. Representatives Boggs and Hébert, Mr. Victor H. Bussie, president of Louisiana State AFL–CIO, Seafarers International Union, Associated Press, United Press, and the television stations and newspapers of the New Orleans area.

## Communist Suppression of Ukrainian Freedom Movements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the long and valiant struggle of Ukrainian freedom fighters to liberate their homeland from Soviet enslavement is known throughout the world. Yet, not often are we able to completely comprehend how bitter is this struggle, how insidious and brutal are Soviet efforts to suppress and destroy movements to free the captive nations. Recently, however, the shocking methods used by the Communists were exposed during the trial in West Germany of a former Soviet agent, Bogdan Stashynsky. Stashynsky confessed that under orders of the Soviet secret police he used poison spray guns to commit the inhuman and vicious murders of two leading Ukrainian nationalists, Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet. Recently several New Jersey branches of the Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, the Organization of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in Passaic, N.J., and the Ukrainian American Youth Association in Jersey City adopted resolutions condemning these Soviet methods to destroy the forces of freedom and self-determination, and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD following these remarks. During this time of crisis, the example of the courageous and indomitable Ukrainian freedom fighters is one which all Americans can look to in facing themselves the same menace in the Western Hemisphere.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, BRANCH 16 OF BAYONNE, N.J.

Whereas Bogdan N. Stashynsky, agent of the Soviet Russian secret police (KGB), defected to the Federal Republic of Germany and confessed to having assassinated upon direct orders of the KGB in Moscow on the territory of Western Germany, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Stepan Bandera; and

Whereas the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany established beyond doubt that the above-name person was murdered with poison pistols, employed by the above-named Russian agent, which constitutes an utterly immoral, inhuman, and criminal method of destroying fighters for freedom; and

Whereas the assassination was perpetrated by the Government of the U.S.S.R. against leaders of movements struggling to liberate the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations from colonial enslavement by Soviet Russia, and fighting for self-determination, independence, national integrity, equality of all citizens before law, social justice, economic progress, and all the fundmental human rights: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, To ask the court trying defendant Stashynsky to make it fully clear that the Government of the U.S.S.R. is the chief accomplice in planning and preparation of these horrible murders; and further be it

*Resolved*, To call upon the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to expose on the basis of these crimes the colonial policies of the Soviet Russian Government toward—Ukraine and other non-Russian nations which linger under Communist-dominated regimes; and be it

*Resolved*, That the American people should be informed about this trial as widely as possible, inasmuch as the case exposes Soviet Russian imperialistic methods, used for achieving a world Soviet Russian empire, which methods transcend the Nazi genocide practices in their brutality as revealed at the process of Eichmann; and be it

*Resolved*, That the methods used in the assassination of the Ukrainian freedom fighters are basically the same as those used in Cuba and therefore require a common response; and be it finally

*Resolved*, To request the free nations of the world to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism with its hideous methods and to demand action aiming at liquidation of the greatest, most tyrannical and criminal colonial empire of Soviet Russia.

RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, BRANCH 9, CARTERET, N.J.

Whereas, Bogdan N. Stashynsky, agent of the Soviet Russian secret police (KGB), defected to the Federal Republic of Germany and confessed to having assassinated, upon direct orders of the KGB in Moscow on the territory of Western Germany, the head of the Organization of Ukranian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera; and

Whereas the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany established beyond doubt that the above-named person was murdered with poison pistols, employed by the above-named Russian agent, which constitutes an utterly immoral, inhuman, and criminal method of destroying fighters for freedom; and

Whereas the assassination was perpetrated by the Government of the U.S.S.R. against leaders of movements struggling to liberate the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations from colonial enslavement by Soviet Russia, and fighting for self-determination, independence, national integrity, equality of all citizens before law, social justice, economic progress, and all the fundamental human rights: Now, therefore, be it

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*Resolved*, To request the free nations of the world to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism with its hideous methods and to demand action aiming at liquidation of the greatest, most tyrannical and criminal colonial empire of Soviet Russia.

RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION FRONT OF PASSAIC, N.J.

Whereas Bogdan N. Stashynsky, agent of the Soviet Russian secret police (KGB), defected to the Federal Republic of Germany and confessed to having assassinated, upon direct orders of the KGB in Moscow on the territory of Western Germany, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera; and

Whereas the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany established beyond doubt that the above-named persons was murdered with poison pistols, employed by the above-named Russian agent, which constitutes an utterly immoral, inhuman, and criminal method of destroying fighters for freedom; and

Whereas the assassination was perpetrated by the Government of the U.S.S.R. against leaders of movements struggling to liberate the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations from colonial enslavement by Soviet Russia, and fighting for self-determination, independence, national integrity, equality of all citizens before law, social justice, economic progress, and all the fundamental human rights: Now, therefore, be it

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*Resolved*, To request the free nations of the world to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism with its hideous methods and to demand action aiming at liquidation of the greatest, most tyrannical and criminal colonial empire of Soviet Russia.

RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC., BRANCH 12 AND UKRAINIAN AMERICAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION, INC.

Whereas Bogdan N. Stashnynsky, agent of the Soviet Russian secret police (KGB), defected to the Federal Republic of Germany and confessed to having assassinated upon direct orders of the KGB in Moscow on the territory of Western Germany, the head of

the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Stepan Bandera; and

Whereas the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany established beyond doubt that the above-named person was murdered with poison pistol, employed by the above-named Russian agent, which constitutes an utterly immoral, inhuman, and criminal method of destroying fighters for freedom; and

Whereas the assassination was perpetrated by the Government of the U.S.S.R. against leaders of movements struggling to liberate the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations from colonial enslavement by Soviet Russia, and fighting for self-determination, independence, national integrity, equality of all citizens before law, social justice, economic progress, and all the fundamental human rights: Now, therefore, be it

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*Resolved*, That the methods used in the assassination of the Ukrainian freedom fighters are basically the same as those used in Cuba and therefore require a common response; and be it finally,

*Resolved*, To request the free nations of the world to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism with its hideous methods and to demand action aiming at liquidation of the greatest, most tyrannical, and criminal colonial empire of Soviet Russia.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT FROM THE CITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

1. The murder of the leader of Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, Stepan Bandera, and Ukrainian prominent member of this organization, Dr. Lev Rebet, by the Soviet secret agent, Staszynski, is the only one segment of the series of political assassinations of the Ukrainian leaders and freedom fighters, by the Kremlin.

The first victim of the Russian terroristic police system was the President of the Ukrainian National Republic and Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Armed Forces during the period of the Liberation War 1917–21—Symon Petlura.

In 1938 Col. Evhen Konowalets, the founder and the leader of the revolutionary liberation organization, the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) was killed in the street in Rotterdam by the explosion of a time bomb.

2. The physical liquidation of the Ukrainian national leaders and the prominent Ukrainian freedom fighters by the Bolsheviks in the free world is just another example that the ideas of the national liberation of Ukraine and other people enslaved by the Russians is such a grave danger to Moscow that it continues to carry out terroristic actions even on the territories of the free countries.

3. Political assassinations organized by the high ranking officials of the Soviet Government is undeniable proof, which should be a signal of warning for the people of the Western World, that Bolshevism under the leadership of Khrushchev has not changed and has not ceased to be an imperialistic movement, which tries to bring under its dominations the people of the free world by means of violence and terror.

4. In the eyes of the free world, and especially at the forum of the United Nations the Soviets try to defend Afro-Asian nations from colonialism, despite that on the territories occupied by the Russians (Ukraine and others) slavery is still enforced.

5. The newest incidents in Cuba prove that Moscow under the appearance of cultural and economical aid is in reality sending highly qualified military agents to establish a base for subversive acts in the American hemisphere: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, To accuse the Russian Government for the crimes they committed in the Ukraine, and free nations are called upon to prosecute Khrushchev, Chelapin and many others of their Government for the murdering of the Ukrainian leader Stepan Bandera; and Dr. Lev Rebet, a prominent Ukrainian journalist; and further be it

*Resolved*, To ask the court trying defendant Stashynsky to make it fully clear that the Government of the U.S.S.R. is the chief accomplice in the planning and preparation of these horrible murders; and be it further

*Resolved*, To call upon the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to expose on the basis of these crimes the colonial policies of the Soviet Russian Government toward Ukraine and other non-Russian nations which linger under Communist dominations; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the American people should be informed about this trial as widely as possible, inasmuch as the case exposes Soviet Russian imperialistic methods, used for achieving a world Soviet Russian empire, which methods transcend the Nazi genocide practices in their brutality.

We call upon the free world to look at today's problems of the captive nations under Soviet regime with greatest attention and especially the Ukrainian nation, and to support them in their struggle toward freedom and independence.

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## Services for Disabled Veterans by the Disabled American Veterans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN A. CARROLL

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared concerning the service to disabled veterans by the Disabled American Veterans.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CARROLL

I am very pleased to note that the Disabled American Veterans at their national convention in Atlantic City have elected a constituent of mine as their national commander. Peter L. Dye, an assistant attorney general of Colorado, has long been active in the Disabled American Veterans as a member of the Murphy-Borelli Chapter of Denver. He has also been a department commander of the State of Colorado for the Disabled American Veterans and has previously served as a national junior vice commander of the organization. Mr. Dye, as the newly elected national commander, has pledged to continue to support the fine rehabilitation service of the Disabled American Veterans to all disabled veterans who have suffered injuries or diseases in time of war while in the service of their country.

The Disabled American Veterans was chartered by special act of Congress in 1932 for the purpose of extending free, expert, personalized service for America's disabled defenders. This rehabilitation program is designed to help these wartime disabled veterans to help themselves. Originally, of course, this service was utilized by veterans of World War I but today the files of the Disabled American Veterans include World War II veterans and Korean conflict veterans as well.

The Veterans' Administration provides available space in each of its regional offices throughout the Nation for the national service officers of the Disabled American Veterans. They also provide space in each district office and in the central office in Washington, D.C. This space is provided by the Veterans' Administration because it is recognized that veterans need expert legal help in the development and prosecution of their claims. Each case handled by the Disabled American Veterans receives the attention of national service officers who have spent anywhere from 15 to 30 years in this specialized branch of the law. Some of these national service officers are attorneys at law and all of them are attorneys in fact, devoting their talents in the practice of this profession which demands that constant attention be given to the changes in rules and regulations by the Veterans' Administration as well as by laws enacted by Congress.

It is surprising to note that the Disabled American Veterans is continuing to obtain service connections for disabilities incurred during wartime service for veterans who have been out of service for 40 years in some instances and over 17 years in other instances.

The Disabled American Veterans is, of course, very active in the Halls of Congress as guardians and protectors of veterans. During this session of Congress the Disabled American Veterans has been most active in fighting to secure a compensation increase measure for the benefit of over 2 million of the Nation's wartime disabled veterans.

In its service and legislative programs the Disabled American Veterans is mindful of the principle on which it was founded, which is that this Nation's first duty to veterans is the rehabilitation of its wartime disabled. The principle includes:

1. Proper medical care and treatment of veterans for disabilities incurred in or aggravated by military service.

2. Adequate compensation for the degree of disablement caused by such disabilities.

3. Training and/or education to restore employability of the wartime disabled into gainful employment.

4. Adequate compensation to the widows, minor children, and dependent parents of veterans who die as the result of a service-incurred disability.

The Disabled American Veterans does not limit its aid to disabled veterans to those who are members. Indeed many veterans served by the Disabled American Veterans in their claims are not even eligible for membership in the organization.

It is interesting to note that the Disabled American Veterans has continued to grow in membership each year and today more than 10 percent of the 2 million veterans receiving disability compensation have joined this fine organization. This is an increase over previous years and points to the growing interest by disabled veterans in this organization which has as its sole purpose the welfare of those who were disabled during time of war.

A review of the service accomplishments of the Disabled American Veterans would justify a greater membership record than has thus far been accomplished. For example, during the last fiscal year, July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962, the report of the Disabled American Veterans shows the following monetary benefits obtained in behalf of veterans and their dependents represented by the Disabled American Veterans national service officers:

Total monthly increases obtained in compensation and pension, $6,084,689.85.

Total retroactive payments obtained, $72,650,386.72.

The full amount of recoveries obtained by the Disabled American Veterans was $78,735,076.57.

Also during the past year the national service officers of the Disabled American Veterans have reviewed 240,172 case files and the organization has made 102,509 appearances before the rating boards of the Veterans' Administration throughout the Nation for and in behalf of veterans and their dependents who have entrusted their claims into the professional hands of a Disabled American Veterans attorney in fact.

With a membership of approximately 210,000 it is evident that the Disabled American Veterans must seek other support than from membership alone to carry on this great work. While these figures alone would justify the existence of this organization of the Nation's defenders in time of war, there are many other personalized services given which cannot be measured or recorded statistically. These include helpful advice to veterans on personal problems, referring them for employment as well as referrals to other Government agencies for assistance in a multitude of problems.

The Disabled American Veterans income is derived to a large extent from its "Idento-Tag" project. Here the Disabled American Veterans renders a distinct service to millions of the Nation's motorists. The "Idento-Tag," which is attached to the keyring, has enabled the Disabled American Veterans to return millions of sets of lost keys to the rightful owners regardless of whether or not a contribution was made previously. Fortunately, the receipts from these "Idento-Tags" have enabled the Disabled American Veterans to maintain its fulltime staff of national service officers and, in fact, the Disabled American Veterans has the largest national staff of attorneys in fact than any other veterans organizaiton.

If each recipient of "Idento-Tags" was to donate $1, the Disabled American Veterans would be able to expand its rehabilitation services not only in the regional offices of the Veterans' Administration but also to all Veterans' Administration hospitals. It would enable the organization to provide personalized service to bedridden patients, many of whom are in great need of rehabilitation service during their time of confinement.

This service that is provided for disabled veterans must be a continuing one. The Honorable John S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator of Veterans Affairs, made this statement before the national convention of the Disabled American Veterans in Atlantic City, N.J., in August 1962:

"Finally, let me say that there is no way * * * through money or training, or medical care * * * to go to a veteran with a serious disability and say, 'There, we are even now.' And I don't think for a moment that anyone feels that way. I think that every American realizes that you are owed a debt which can never be repaid * * * except perhaps by according to you the deep honor and respect you so well deserve."

The Disabled American Veterans national service officers serve under the national service director, Irving Peltz. National service headquarters are located at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C. Mr. Peltz has a staff of experts to assist him in administering the affairs of the national service program. Mr. Frank G. Wood, the assistant national service director of claims, and Mr. Pasquale Gervace, the assistant national service director of employment, are also located at national service headquarters and aid in formulating the policy of the organization on the national level in the service program. Mr. Charles L. Huber has recently been appointed the national legislative director of the Disabled American Veterans and it is his responsibility to keep the Congress of the United States aware of the problems of the disabled veterans and to suggest legislative remedies.

National service officers of the Disabled American Veterans have spent years in this profession at a salary level far below that which they deserved. However, owing to the generosity of the public in supporting the program of the Disabled American Veterans, the financial position of the organization has slowly improved. It is gratifying to note that the salary structure of the organization has undergone some improvement in recent times.

However, as General Gleason states, this is a continuing responsibility not only of the Federal Government but of all the citizens of our land as well. By continuing to support the Disabled American Veterans the American public will continue to support one of the great benefits of a free nation and that is to assure its nation's defenders a life of security and dignity, notwithstanding disablement that may have been incurred during the mortal battles fought in the course of the preservation of our free institutions.

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## The Story of W. H. "Ping" Ferry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that, as some of my colleagues have already pointed out, a speaker at the Western States Democratic Conference used his appearance at that gathering on August 6 to viciously attack one of America's outstanding public servants. The speaker was Wilbur H. "Ping" Ferry, a vice president of the so-called Fund for the Republic, which is sometimes referred to as the "Fund for Whose Republic?" Mr. Ferry is also a staff director of the fund's center for the study of democratic institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif. The man he attacked was FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Mr. Hoover needs no defense in this body. He has done so outstanding a job as Director of the FBI that, after his appointment in 1924 during the administration of Calvin Coolidge, five succeeding Presidents—Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy—have asked him to continue leading the agency which he has made the most widely known, respected, and efficient investigative force in the world. He has raised the agency and his position to so high a level that a bill has recently been introduced in the Congress which would require that future Directors of the FBI be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

In his attack on Mr. Hoover, Mr. Ferry peddled the same line he and his cronies of the fund have been disseminating through that foundation since it was set up in 1953 with 15 million tax-exempt dollars of the Ford fortune. This is the line that there is no Communist danger in the United States and that, to the contrary, the major threat to our democratic institutions comes from anti-Communists and anticommunism.

Apparently, Mr. Ferry took out after Mr. Hoover because he realizes that the FBI Director, the esteem in which he is held, and the truth with which he speaks, have been—and still are—a major obstacle to the Fund for the Republic's success in promoting its false and dangerous line. He attempted to heap ridicule on the FBI Director and paint him as a calculating prevaricator who, for years, has been misleading the American people and feeding them falsehoods about communism.

He referred to Mr. Hoover as "our official spy swatter" who, through "sententious poppycock" has been creating a completely false picture of Communist strength and "a mischief-making tapestry of legend and illusion if ever there was one." He claimed that Mr. Hoover's warnings about Soviet espionage are merely "an old line of the FBI Chief."

Congress was included in Ferry's attack. Referring to this alleged old line of Mr. Hoover concerning Soviet espionage, Mr. Ferry stated that "its success year after year is a tribute to the trance into which his sermons throw Americans, not excepting Congressmen." He bemoaned the fact that "Congress never grudges Mr. Hoover a penny."

It was with great pleasure that I later read that the U.S. Attorney General, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy, repudiated Mr. Ferry and came to the defense of, and paid tribute to, Mr. Hoover at a press conference following a speech he gave before the same group. It was with equal pleasure that I have on several occasions since then read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—or heard on this floor—remarks made by my colleagues in this body in defense of Mr. Hoover.

The Attorney General stated in the course of his press conference that Communist espionage in the United States is on the increase and that those who dismiss this problem are badly informed and "perform a disservice to the Nation." Of Mr. Hoover, the Attorney General said:

> I believe the country owes him and his organization a real debt of gratitude. I hope he will continue to serve the country for many, many more years to come.
>
> I admired him and the FBI before I became Attorney General, but my admiration has increased tremendously after seeing his work close at hand.

As I said before, Mr. Hoover needs no defense before this body, but I do believe that this body should know—and most of its Members want to know—something about his critic, Wilbur H. Ferry.

"Ping" Ferry, class of 1932 at Dartmouth, taught for about a year after completing college. During the years 1934 to 1941 he worked as a newspaper-

man—with a side excursion into the publicity field in 1936 to 1937. Fellow newspapermen who knew and worked with him during this period have variously described him as "radical," "pacifist," "liberal," "leftist," "arbitrary," and "egghead" and "stormy petrel" who was always involved in controversies.

In May 1942, at the height of World War II, Ferry secured a position as OPA inspector for the State of New Hampshire. A year later, in May 1944, he resigned that Government post to become publicity director of the CIO Political Action Committee.

In an action that was praised throughout the Nation, the CIO in 1949 and 1950 ousted a dozen unions which were Communist controlled and, with them, hundreds of Communists who had obtained positions of leadership in the organization. Prior to that time, however, in the fall of 1944, a subcommittee of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, after investigating the Political Action Committee of the CIO, reported that—

While the political action committee purports to be a democratic political organization for the rank and file of labor in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, it is, in fact, a dictatorial political pressure organization being directed and controlled in a large measure by Communists who are entrenched in positions of leadership in the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

FERRY'S WORK WITH REFUGEES

During the period of his affiliation with the CIO-PAC, "Ping" Ferry was also close to the national officers of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, being a member of an advisory committee of publicity men who met with JAFRC officials to assist in mapping out a national fund-raising campaign for the organization.

What was the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

Attorney General, now Supreme Court Justice, Tom Clark cited it in 1948 as a subversive and Communist organization. It has also been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Committee on Un-American Activities, of which I have the honor to be chairman. Louis Budenz, former member of the Communist Party's national committee and managing editor of the Daily Worker, has written that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was "set up for the specific purpose of bringing useful European Communists—useful, that is, from Moscow's angle—to the United States."

Of course, Ferry's associations with the CIO-PAC and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee date back almost 20 years now. Many people who were tied up with such organizations and causes in those days have since changed. They no longer have anything to do with Communist-influenced or Soviet-serving operations.

But this is not true of Mr. "Ping" Ferry.

"PING," COMMUNISTS, AND THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ATTORNEY GENERAL

On December 7, 1953, under authority of a New Hampshire law which has since been upheld as constitutional by the State's supreme court, the attorney general of New Hampshire interrogated Mrs. Elba Chase Nelson, chairman of the Communist Party of New Hampshire, concerning party activities in that State. She refused to cooperate in the investigation and was prosecuted for contempt. She was defended in these proceedings by Attorney John R. McLane of Concord, N.H. The indomitable "Ping" Ferry went out of his way at this time to write to Mr. McLane congratulating him for his defense of Mrs. Nelson.

About the same time, there were reports that the New Hampshire attorney general was questioning some Dartmouth professors in his investigation of Communist activities. On December 12, 1953, "Ping" Ferry wrote a letter to President John S. Dickey of Dartmouth in which he said that the New Hampshire attorney general's investigation was "a fishing trip of a ranker stripe than most and should be resisted, derided, and put in its proper contemptible light."

Mr. Ferry advised Mr. Dickey that it would distress him—"Ping" Ferry—and many others if Dartmouth College cooperated with the attorney general who, I want to stress, was doing no more than attempting to carry out duties assigned him by the people of New Hampshire. Ferry urged that the college resist the investigation. He told the Dartmouth president that he was writing as "an indignant alumnus" and that if he could do anything to help in any way "you have only to call on me".

FERRY AND THE OSLO CONFERENCE

In May of 1961, a 5-day conference against the spread of nuclear weapons was held in Oslo, Norway. This conference was called and organized by Dr. Linus Pauling and his wife. Dr. Pauling is the top scientific peace traveler in the United States. Since the end of World War II, Dr. Pauling has an unbroken record of support of, and leadership in, Communist-oriented and Communist-serving peace movements.

About a dozen U.S. representatives took part in this conference—and "Ping" Ferry was one of them. Of course, there were representatives of other nations there as well—representatives of the Soviet Union, Communist Hungary, Communist Poland, and Communist Czechoslovakia, as well as those from a few Western powers. The conference was favorably publicized by Communist journals in this country and throughout the world. It was promoted by Moscow radio.

Before leaving this country to take part in the conference, Dr. Pauling held a press conference during which he stressed his belief that the greatest danger to world peace was the possibility that our NATO allies might be armed with nuclear weapons. And it is most interesting to note, in mentioning this fact, that the Oslo conference was timed to end on the eve of the opening of the NATO Foreign Ministers Conference in that same city. This timing of Pauling's conference, in which Mr. Ferry participated, was perfect—from the Soviet viewpoint.

The New York Times, in a report which mentioned the timing of the close of the Oslo Conference, stated:

Without mentioning the alliance—

That is, NATO—

by name, the [Oslo] Conference called for quick negotiation of a treaty that would bar the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from ever becoming a nuclear power.

This demand was not the only one made at the Pauling-Ferry Oslo conference. Those participating in it issued a statement at its close which called for general and complete disarmament, the demilitarization of Central Europe, and the immediate cessation of all nuclear weapons testing. As all of you know, I am sure, these are also the main propaganda themes of Moscow and the U.S. Communist Party.

"PING'S" MINORITY OF ONE

The August 1961 issue of the magazine Minority of One listed Mr. Ferry as one of eight signers of a statement of purpose by the "Friends of the Minority of One." The other seven persons who signed this statement included Dr. Linus Pauling and his wife; the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, a clergyman who has invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about his Communist Party membership; and the Reverend Clarence Duffy, a Roman Catholic priest who has been disciplined by church authorities because of his associations with Communist causes.

AND WHAT IS THE MINORITY OF ONE?

Edited by M. S. Arnoni, a citizen of Israel who has lived in the United States since 1954, the magazine is a promoter of Dr. Pauling and his Soviet-serving peace activity and also of "Ping" Ferry's Fund for the Republic; a defender of persons such as Alger Hiss and Paul Robeson, Jr., who, like his father, has been identified as a Communist Party member; and, at the same time that it finds reason for defending the Soviet Union and Communist Hungary and praising Castro's Cuba, it attacks the United States and all anti-Communists, and protests talk of freedom versus slavery, satellites versus allies, and peace with justice against aggression.

Among its contributors have been such persons as retired Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, an aggressive supporter of, and speaker before, Communist fronts and writer for the Communist magazine New World Review.

"PING'S" PLEA FOR CARL BRADEN

In the fall of 1961 the Communist Party undertook another one of its typical operations—a maneuver to rescue one of its identified agents, the agent being Carl Braden.

In November 1954 Carl Braden was indicted for sedition in Kentucky following the bombing of the home of a Negro couple who had moved into a white community in the Louisville suburbs Evidence presented to the grand jury investigating the bombing and in the course of Braden's trial indicated that the bombing was a Communist scheme to create racial tension in the Louisville area. Braden and his wife, Ann, had bought the home on the pretext that they intended to live in it and had then turned it over to the Negro family which was living in it at the time it was bombed.

In the course of his trial, both Braden and his wife were identified as Communist Party members by undercover informants of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Braden was convicted, sentenced to 15 years in prison, and fined $5,000. He was in prison pending appeal when the Supreme Court handed down its Nelson case decision invalidating State sedition laws. This freed him.

Braden ran into trouble again in 1958 when the Committee on Un-American Activities was holding hearings in Atlanta, Ga. Subpenaed to testify before the committee, Braden refused to answer questions on grounds of the first amendment. He was, therefore, indicted, tried, convicted of contempt, and sentenced to a year in prison. The Supreme Court upheld his conviction.

It was then that a petition to President Kennedy asking clemency for Braden was initiated and circulated. The name of "Ping" Ferry appears on this petition as one of its signers.

The petition itself is so worded as to create racial antagonism and dissension. It vilifies the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It falsely states that "Braden has already spent 8 months in prison in Kentucky for his stand for integration."

What a way this is to describe the bombing of the home of a Negro family. Yet "Ping" Ferry, along with many others, had the gall to sign this statement. He also had the effrontery to claim, as a petition signer, that in seeking clemency for Braden, his purpose was "to reaffirm the position of the Federal Government supporting peaceful and orderly integration in the South."

Since when is it supporting peaceful and orderly integration in the South—or anywhere else—by trying to spring a convicted racial agitator.

FERRY, SOCIALISM, AND THE MONTHLY REVIEW

The March 1962 issue of the magazine Monthly Review turned the No. 1 spot in its book review section over to Mr. Ferry so that he could review—and praise—a novel of social protest written about 50 years ago and recently republished by the Monthly Review Press. This book, "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists," was described in the Monthly Review as a working class classic. It is a book in which capitalism is the villain and the church and clergy are objects of contempt.

In the course of praising this work in the March 1962 issue of the Monthly Review, Ferry expressed his contempt and disdain for the United States and its people and pointed out that, in his opinion, the author of the book had succeeded brilliantly in his stated aim of showing the evils of the capitalist system and "the only true remedy—socialism."

Because of this fact and the fact that the Monthly Review claims to be an independent socialist magazine, you may get the impression that "Ping" Ferry is a Socialist. But this would be a wrong impression.

The Monthly Review is edited by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. Both Huberman and Sweezy have extensive records of Communist-front activity, and both are still most actively promoting Communist causes. They are coauthors of the book, "Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution," published by their Monthly Review Press and highly praised in the Communist press. In the years they have been editing the Monthly Review, they have made it clear, beyond all doubt, that when they advocate socialism, they mean Soviet style socialism.

Although the Monthly Review features an unusually large number of anonymous articles, the backgrounds of certain of its contributors whose names its editors have chosen to reveal leave no doubt about its orientation. Among its recent contributors have been:

Che Guevara, Castro's expert in bloody revolution.

Cheddi Jagan, Communist Premier of British Guiana, and also his American-born wife, Janet Jagan, the former Janet Rosenberg, who was a member of the Young Communist League during her student days in this country.

Carl Marzani, former State Department employee whose Communist Party name was Tony Wales and who has been convicted of perjury for falsely denying Communist Party membership while employed by the State Department.

Millionaire Communist Corliss Lamont.

The recently deceased Julius Emspak, for years a top leader of the Communist-controlled United Electrical Workers Union, whose Communist Party name was Comrade Juniper.

Some of the books published and now being promoted by the Monthly Review Press, whose most recent book "Ping" Ferry has praised in its pages, include the following:

"The Great Road" by Agnes Smedley, the American who was tied in with the Sorge Soviet espionage ring. When Miss Smedley died in 1950, she willed her U.S. Government bonds, royalties from her books, and "anything else of value included in my estate" to Chinese Red Army Commander in Chief Gen. Chu Teh. She is buried in the Cemetery of Revolutionaries outside of Peiping.

"The Wall Between" by Ann Braden, an identified member of the U.S. Communist Party.

"Guerrilla Warfare" by Che Guevara, whom we have already mentioned.

"The Chinese Economy" by Solomon Adler, a former U.S. Treasury Department employee who has been identified as a member of the Silvermaster espionage ring and as having collaborated with agents of the Soviet intelligence apparatus.

"Ping" Ferry's contribution to and open support of the Monthly Review, which features and promotes the writings of notorious Communists, speaks volumes. I need make no interpretive comment on it.

"PING" AND THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Since 1938 the Communist Party has been attacking the Committee on Un-American Activities and attempting to have it abolished. This campaign has been greatly stepped up during the last few years. One of the major features of the current Communist campaign has been the appearance of full-page anti-committee ads in such papers as the New York Times, usually signed by a few hundred people and appealing to this House to abolish the committee.

The latest such ad was published in the New York Times on February 22 of this year. It was typical of the rest of these ads in its falsity, claiming, among other things, that Carl Braden, whom we have already discussed, Frank Wilkinson, Chandler Davis, and Lloyd Barenblatt are in prison for defying the committee's probing of their personal beliefs and associations, and that 35 others are threatened with imprisonment for the same reason.

There were, of course, a good many known Communists who signed this ad—and dozens of the most notorious fellow travelers in the country, along with the usual innocent dupes, joined with them in doing so. "Ping" Ferry, too, was a signer.

FERRY AND SURRENDER TO MOSCOW

The deeper you look into "Ping" Ferry's record, the more you wonder just how he can maintain a position with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and serve as vice president of a fund which claims to have as its aim the preservation of this Republic.

On January 13, 1960, the Santa Barbara News-Press featured a letter written by "Ping" Ferry and entitled "Alternatives to Arms Race—Drastic But Thinkable." In this letter Ferry, in effect, proposed as his solution to the arms dilemma, the surrender of the United States to the Soviet Union—not when a war might develop between the two nations, but right now. Nuclear war, he said, was unthinkable. He classified all solutions to the threat of nuclear war thus far proposed as sterile and hopeless. He therefore recommended that the United States junk all our weapons of whatever kind and announce to the world that it had taken this step.

Two results could flow from this, he said: The best possible would be that the Soviet Union would follow our example because of its declared eagerness to compete with the United States on nonmilitary grounds. The worst possible result, he said, would be that the Soviet Union would take advantage of our defenselessness and instantly bomb the United States into radioactive rubble. If this happened, he added, we would be no

worse off than if we had waged war in our own defense and "all that would be lacking would be a regret among survivors that we had not had vengeance on our attackers."

These are the words, believe it or not, of a man who claims that his dedication is to the preservation of this Republic.

He then went on to assure his readers, however, that he believed a massive Soviet attack would be wholly unlikely. The U.S.S.R. does not desire the extinction of this country but only "its submission as a nation and great production center to communism." Admittedly, Ferry added, the submission of the American people and our allies in Western Europe and other parts of the world to Soviet Communist rule and oppression was a desperate and repellent vision, but he insisted that it was thinkable while nuclear war is unthinkable. Decades later, he pointed out, there might be a chance for the American people to regain justice and their freedom.

The editors of the previously mentioned Monthly Review were so impressed with "Ping" Ferry's letter as the kind of propaganda that should be disseminated among the American people that they reprinted it in the February 1960 issue of their pro-Communist magazine. They praised Ferry's message as courageous thinking.

A few months later, in August 1960, the American Friends Service Committee, the pacifist organization which—since it was created in 1917—has opposed U.S. defense preparations, the drafting of its citizens for military service, and so forth, also published Ferry's letter in a small brochure entitled "Alternatives to the Arms Race—Drastic But Thinkable." It is still selling "Ping's" masterpiece of political thinking at a fair price—5 cents per copy.

"PING" AND CAPITALISM

Just a few months ago a Member of this body included as an extension of his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Mr. Ferry entitled "Caught on the Horn of Plenty." This was done with the expressed belief that Members of the House would want to give constructive thought to the questions Mr. Ferry's thoughtful and provocative article would raise in their minds.

I agree that the article was provocative—it provoked me—but I have doubts about its thoughtful quality. It was no more than a plea for more and more Government intervention in, and control over, the lives of the American people. To cure our economic problems, as Ferry sees them—and he sees them caused by overabundance—we must do such things, he said, as use public funds to pay people for painting pictures, composing music, writing novels, poems, and plays and—mark this—for doing nothing at all.

Our policy toward foreign countries "should be not that of sustaining capitalism."

If the United States is to advance, he added, it must stifle private ambition and abandon the pseudo-moral principles of capitalism such as efficiency, administration, progress, success, profit, competition and private gain.

"Ping" Ferry is a vice president of a fund allegedly established to preserve this Republic—but this is his attitude toward the economic system on which this Republic rests and on which it has made such progress for so many years that it is the envy of the world.

FERRY, CASTRO, AND KHRUSHCHEV

On September 16, 1962, a statement on the Cuban crisis, in the form of a paid advertisement, was published in the New York Times. It was signed by a mixed group of about 40 Socialists, pacifists, appeasers, and fronters. "Ping" Ferry was one of the signers.

This ad denounced Khrushchev for what he was doing in Cuba. Yet it most definitely was not a pro-United States, profreedom, or anti-Communist statement. It denounced the Soviet dictator not for establishing a military base in Cuba as a major step in his grab for power in the Caribbean and Latin America and his aim of conquest of the United States, but only because he was allegedly giving a new opportunity to those who feed on world tensions. This was an obvious reference to, and disparagement of, those in this country who believe we should face the reality that the Communists are out to destroy us and that we should act accordingly in our dealings with them.

The ad stated that the use of force by the United States to help the Cuban victime of communism free themselves would be an act of international immorality.

This Ferry-signed statement was actually a backhanded defense of Khrushchev's invasion of the Western Hemisphere. It unfairly compared his seizure of Cuba to this country's military assistance to Turkey and its establishment of a base in that country in response to Turkey's plea for help when it was threatened by Soviet aggression. It said that these two actions, so vastly dissimilar in intent, were equally justifiable.

The statement signed by Ferry went on to say, incredibly, that there is no more danger in Khrushchev's building a base in Cuba than there was in the United States establishing defense bases in England or sending military aid to South Vietnam—a statement which future developments, I am sure, will prove to be false.

It also urged that this country reestablish diplomatic relations with Castro's Cuba.

The statement, of course, was couched in noble terms. It was allegedly a plea for peace and disarmament. In reality, however, like all unrealistic and appeasement-oriented statements, it was a Communist-serving declaration and, for this reason, a war-promoting one.

Here, then, is the record, up to date, of "Ping" Ferry's activities, exclusive of what he has done as an official of the Fund for the Republic. His actions in that capacity are another story. These facts about Mr. Ferry, I believe, provide clear insight into why he should attack and attempt to discredit a man such as J. Edgar Hoover.

The best that can be said of Ferry is that he is himself a living refutation of his own line and the line of the Fund for the Republic—the line that the Communist Party is impotent and that there is no danger from communism in the United States. Ferry's adult life is a tribute to the ability of Communists to win the support of gullible persons who occupy positions of influence, to sell important elements in the party line to them, and thus infect many thousands of others with the virus of promoting Communist-serving policies and propaganda.

## Films for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, often we hear it said that it is difficult to get the facts on a public issue or upon other matters of special concern to citizens in a democracy. In this day of neighborhood libraries and ever-growing information media, this is sometimes difficult to believe. Nevertheless, there is always room, I believe, for feature stories, films, or other summaries that give us essential facts about complex matters.

For that reason I am happy to see that many business firms have joined in sponsoring "Films for Freedom," a project to offer motion pictures on a free-loan basis to community organizations throughout the Nation. I have looked through the list of films, and I see that they deal with everything from sightseeing in Washington, D.C., to Woodrow Wilson. It is my understanding that these films will be offered to some 70,000 adult organizations—clubs, churches, veterans organizations, colleges industrial plants, unions, and other civic, patriotic, and community organizations.

Mr. President, this project may be of great interest to many individuals and groups throughout the organization. I ask unanimous consent to have a descriptive news release reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"Films for Freedom," a selection of historical, public affairs, and industrial motion pictures that "show the positive accomplishments of our democratic and free-enterprise system," is being offered on a free-loan basis to community organizations by Association Films, Inc. Included in the project are biographies of Presidents and statesmen of this century, films on international trade and intercultural relations, and documentaries on communism, fascism, aspects of our national defense, and the importance of business in our national growth.

The films have been selected from several hundred that association is distributing for industries, associations, Government agencies, and other organizations. They have been grouped into six categories: (1) "The American Tradition: Freedom and Enterprise"; (2) "Spokesmen for Freedom"; (3) "In Defense of Freedom"; (4) "The Alien Philosophies: Communism and Fascism"; (5) "World Trade: Bulwark of Freedom"; and (6) "Freedom From Want."

The films are all 16-millimeter sound and include: "Churchill: Man of the Century" (an hour-long biography); "The Red Sell" (a two-part exposé of Communist propaganda techniques); "Al Smith" (the story of the 1928 presidential candidate); "A Child Across the Sea" (a family's escape from Red China); "Rhapsody of Steel" (an award-winning animated film on steel); "The Nuremberg Trials" (trial and testimony of the Nazi war criminals); "Project Hope" (academy-award winning documentary about a hospital ship); "The Mastery of Space" (the story of Project Mercury); "Europe Without Frontiers" (the workings of the Common Market); "The Times of Teddy Roosevelt" (a biography of the 26th President); "Washington at Work" (the business of Government); and "Assignment: America" (a reporter's tour of industrial America).

Among the films on our defense network are documentaries explaining Operation DEW line, training of troops for guerrilla warfare, the Minuteman missile, and development of the nuclear submarine. Under "Freedom From Want," the distributor offers films on the work of medical missionaries in Burma and the Congo, and oversea help provided by U.S. relief agencies. World trade films show how American industry has helped underdeveloped areas prosper, the interrelationship of trade between countries, and the importance of a stable economy as a buffer against communism.

Many of the films are from the television series, "The Twentieth Century," sponsored by the Prudential Insurance Co. of America. Other sponsors whose films are in the project are: American Airlines, New England Life, Maytag Co., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the National Urban League, National Life of Vermont, United States Steel Corp., Merritt-Chapman & Scott, the Kiplinger Editors, Montgomery Ward, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., United Fruit Co., Foster Parents' Plan, Gulf Oil Corp., Corning Glass Works, Smith Kline & French Laboratories, Ex-Cell-O Corp., DeBeers Diamonds, Ltd., New York World's Fair Corp., the European Economic Community, First National City Bank, Committee for American Steamship Lines, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

A brochure describing "Films for Freedom" is available from Association Films, Inc., 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

## Agrarian Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that the Republic of Honduras has adopted a law which would permit the confiscation of the property of U.S. companies. As you know, the U.S. Government has been advocating that our Latin American friends adopt various reforms as conditions precedent to the granting of loans and aid under the Alliance for Progress program. The principal one our Government has been insisting on is so-called agrarian reform. What we mean by this is improved land use and increased agricultural production. What others mean by it is Marxist revolution, the basic tenet of which is punitive and confiscatory action against those who own land. Some of the countries in Latin America believe we are advocating that when we demand agrarian reform.

I am advised that the proposed law in Honduras has been passed by its Congress and has been signed by its President. Its preamble states that it has been drafted in accordance with the demands of the Alliance for Progress. I am advised that it would set up an all-powerful agrarian institute not subject to the ordinary constitutional guarantees or the process of the courts. This institute would make its own decisions as to the proper use of land, the necessity for its seizure, the value to be paid for it, and so forth, and that such decisions would not be subject to review of the courts.

The United Fruit Co., a company which has made and is making great contributions to the economy of Louisiana and my home city of New Orleans, has made it clear to the Government of Honduras that it will make no new investment in Honduras should this law pass. Obviously it would violate the spirit of the Hickenlooper amendment, to the AID Act of 1962. I trust our State Department has made it clear to the Government of Honduras that this is so and furthermore that the proposed law would be inconsistent with the Alliance for Progress program and violative of international law.

As serious as this is for Honduras, it is much more serious for the whole Alliance program and the future of Latin America. The adoption of the law would encourage the adoption of similar laws by other countries. The private enterprise aspect of the Alliance program is already going backward with the flight of both foreign and domestic capital from Latin America. The enactment of new confiscatory laws of this nature would finish private enterprise.

Apparently the serious intent of the United States not to furnish aid and loans to countries which steal American property was not made clear to our friends as a result of the Hickenlooper amendment. It should be, and I would support a new and more definitive amendment to the appropriations bill for the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 making it mandatory for our State Department to notify all governments seeking aid that the United States must cutoff all aid to governments which take American property without the payment of prompt, adequate, and effective compensation.

Does the laudable goal of intelligent and productive agrarian reform require that we stand by and allow American property to be stolen while our taxpayer's money is being granted to aid the thief? I recommend to the thoughtful consideration of citizens of the United States and Latin America alike, in determining the attitude of the Alliance for Progress toward the practicality of agrarian reform, the attached analysis of the agrarian reform problem by Victor C. Folsom respecting the United Fruit Co., delivered at the Princeton University conference on "Latin America Since 1945: Progress and Problems" on April 5–6, 1962:

AGRARIAN REFORM—THE MYTH?

(By Victor C. Folsom)

I should like to make it clear at the outset that the views that I express today are strictly personal and not those of the company for which I work. They are based on a lifetime of work in Latin America and what I hope has been close perception. If they should come to the attention of my many friends in Latin America, I hope that they will be received as constructive criticism. Possibly they will serve to orient some of the well-intended planners—mostly from north of the Rio Bravo. I would not take second place to anyone in the hope and desire to see Latin America make rapid social and economic progress.

The imagination and the vision which have gone into the "Alianza para el Progresso" are great, but so far it is little more than a rallying cry, albeit a good one. I support it and my company stanchly supports it. However, I believe that those who emphasize agrarian reform as its principal tenet do it a great disservice. The famous—or infamous—agrarian reformists who took over Red China and Red Cuba may have been guilty of deception, but they knew exactly what they were doing. Can we say the same for many of those who advocate agrarian reform in Latin America?

It is not new that many times fools do more harm than knaves. What I should like to advocate is that first of all we abandon use of the term "agrarian reform." It is another example of the perversion of the meaning of good words. We play into the hands of those who know what they are about when we use it without being specific as to what we mean.

The history of agrarian reform as a Communist mechanism for collectivization is too familiar to need repetition here. It occurred last in Cuba. It has no relation whatsoever to improved land use and increased agricultural production and is simply a system for securing political control over people.

This week's U.S. News & World Report contains an article on why China was lost. It is based on the recently published papers released by the State Department. It is well to bear in mind constantly that we have not had too much luck with agrarian democrats or reformers.

GENERALIZATION

There is no such place as Latin America. Our friends to the south of us in the hemisphere live in 20 sovereign countries. Conditions in these countries, particularly as they relate to land tenure and use, are very diverse. One of the greatest mistakes in our thinking in this area is to lump our good neighbors together and assume that each suffers from the same problem with respect to agriculture. Our public officials who are actively concerned with the Alianza make such statements as, "Today 1.5 percent of the people, those with 15,000 or more acres each, own half of all agricultural land in Latin America." What does this mean. Does agricultural land mean land actually being cultivated, arable land, or area which is potential agricultural land? Such general statements are misleading. Are they intended to be propaganda which advocates the redistribution of wealth? I submit that at best they only add confusion to a complicated problem which can only be solved by dealing in specifics.

In this connection, one of the things I would commend to you is the first annual report of the Social Progress Trust Fund issued on February 21, 1962, by the Inter-American Development Bank. This, notwithstanding the fact that it uses the phrase

"agrarian reform," of which you may have gathered I am not too fond. Its authors did make a valiant effort to get away from the phrase and the subject is dicussed under the heading "Land Settlement and Improved Land Use." Another refreshing thing about the report is the fact that each country's agricultural problem is treated separately and no attempt is made to chart them into a bunch of meaningless general statistics about Latin America's land reform problem.

While the study generally is good and attempts to cover the land tenure system in every country in Latin America, it falls into some of the same percentage fallacies in speaking of the large areas of land owned by a few landholders. It is not clear in most cases, but apparently the percentages refer to cultivated land and not to total arable land available in the country. In few of the countries of Latin America is land use such that more than a fraction of the total arable land is actually cultivated. Exceptions to this, such as Chile and Mexico, come immediately to mind. However, even there, the total arable land could be increased manyfold with the development of needed irrigation projects. In recent years Mexico has made excellent progress with its irrigation programs. Obviously what is needed to increase agricultural production is to put more land under cultivation. The three countries of the hemisphere which have a large per capita amount of land under cultivation, the United States, Canada, and Argentina, do not have any agricultural problem except that of overproduction.

The constant use of generalized statements (which by their very nature are misrepresentations) regarding land tenure in Latin America makes one suspect that some of the proponents of agrarian reform are not so interested in improved land use as they are in social revolution which would redistribute land. Of course, the history of such attempts at redistribution clearly shows that all that happens is that there is less wealth to be enjoyed by the people. Obviously what is needed is increased production and not fractionization of large units into inefficient small ones.

PUBLIC LANDS

In most of the countries of Latin America large areas of arable land are still owned by the governments. The distribution of these lands under systems which might be similar to our homestead acts seems to be in order in those countries which need increased agricultural production—and there are few which do not. Most of the agricultural reformers do not seem to be interested in this land but want to take—sometimes by outright confiscation—lands which are presently being efficiently cultivated.

Several of the countries have embarked on settlement programs using presently unused public lands. This is real progress.

"MINIFUNDIO"

Fidel Castro is responsible for most of the hemisphere becoming conscious of the word "latifundio." In his language a "latifundista" is synonymous with a devil. Incidentally, about the only way one can be a successful farmer in the United States today is to be a "latifundista." As you know, our small farmers are rapidly disappearing because they cannot match the efficiency of the large mechanized farms.

A problem which did not seem to worry Fidel is "minifundio," which in my opinion is a more serious problem than "latifundio." There are millions of farmers in the countries of Latin America who try to cultivate small farms and simply do not produce enough for a real subsistence. Yet we have witnessed the agrarian reform committees of many countries parcel out small plots of land of from 5 to 10 acres. This type of thing simply makes it certain that the new landowner will fail.

Perhaps Mexico's "ejido" program has suffered as much from this problem as any. More than 50 million hectares of land have been distributed in Mexico from 1915 through 1961. In the beginning very small plots were distributed and experience proved this impractical. For example, through the year 1941 the average amount of land received per person was 17.6 hectares, but only 4.6 hectares was actually crop land.

The Mexican Government has been making every effort to improve this situation, and in the last few years the opening up of large irrigation projects has tended to alleviate the plight of the "ejidatario." Still the December 1961 report of the Mexican Government stated: "Due to the natural variations in the land and the erratic climate which reduce the possibilities of efficient use of land, only about 22 percent of the area distributed to the public up to 1950 was tillable and the great majority of this was sown only part of the time, thus producing considerable insecurity." Notwithstanding the many problems which Mexico has had, it has recently succeeded in converting its agriculture from that of a subsistence economy to a market economy.

Another example which might be cited is that of Honduras where the 1952 agricultural census showed the average farm to consist of 3.9 hectares. There the President of the Republic has recently stated that since Honduras is a country with abundant publicly owned lands and extensive cultivatable areas with scarce population, it can begin the reform program by utilizing national and communally owned lands.

FARM CREDIT IS ESSENTIAL

Many of the agrarian reformers sincerely seem to believe that if families can only be settled on raw land, their economic well-being is assured. It should be obvious to everyone that without sufficient credit to provide such things as tools, seed, storage facilities, and sustenance for the family until crops can be produced, no land tenure reform is going to be a success. The credit which will have to be advanced to make these programs a success will be large indeed. Among other things, the Social Progress Trust Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank is authorized to make social development loans in the field of "land settlement and improved land use, including access and feeder roads, assistance to agricultural credit institutions, assistance to supervised credit and agricultural extension, and development of storage and marketing facilities, provided that the resources of the Fund shall not be used for the purchase of agricultural land."

As a part of the Alianza program the United States furnished this Fund $394 million which could be used for this and other purposes. This, of course, is a mere drop in the bucket compared to the total credit which will be necessary to provide the farm credit essential to launch successfully any real program of land settlement and improved land use.

TRANSPORTATION AND STORAGE FACILITIES

It is apparent that transportation facilities, such as roads to markets, will have to be improved throughout the countries of Latin America. Likewise, storage and marketing facilities must be developed lest agricultural production be increased only to spoil before it can reach the markets. In most countries of Latin America it is possible today to raise much more food than is being raised, but it is not possible to transport, store, and market it.

ASSURED MARKETS

Does the United States advocate setting up in each Latin American country an agricultural price support program similar to that in this country which costs the U.S. taxpayer billions of dollars each year? It is true that in general food is not plentiful, but in many countries of Latin America there are areas where certain types of foods are gluts on the market. Unless some orderly method of marketing food is developed in each country, we may be fostering an agricultural mess similar to the one which exists in the United States. Most of the people who have left farms in Latin America to go to the cities have done so for a very good reason, the same reason that the small farmer has gone to the city in the United States.

Aside from the problem of increased production of food for local consumption and its proper distribution and marketing, are we advocating the production of exportable surpluses to compete with our own? Argentina, for example, says it has no farm problems except the one of where to sell its agricultural export products. It correctly says give it some world markets and its economy will flourish again.

Traditionally, the United States has been opposed to international commodity stabilization agreements. Recently we have given the coffee agreements moral support. Are we ready to give real financial support to wheat, corn, cocoa, meat, palm oil, and bananas, all of which our southern friends can produce in surplus quantities, or are we simply advocating agricultural reform to provide for local subsistence? If the latter is all we are talking about, what country is going to be satisfied with it?

EXPROPRIATION VERSUS CONFISCATION OF LAND

Some of our officials have apparently put the stamp of approval on the theft of land under the guise of agricultural reform. At least they have abandoned the idea that one whose land is taken from him should receive prompt, adequate, and effective compensation for it. These same individuals profess surprise when the owners of land in Latin American countries resist the taking of it in return for 20- or 30-year bonds of doubtful value. Some of these advocates of land reform own land in the United States, and I wonder how they would react if our good neighbors came to the United States and advocated that their land be turned over to the government for a social purpose for such indefinite compensation. It must be admitted that the Carta de Punta del Este itself does not urge the Latin American countries to take over property without payment, but apparently we have approved some agrarian reform laws which do not provide for effective payment.

Surely one of the basic human rights inherent with those who live in a democracy is the right to hold property. If land is to be subject to confiscation at any time, is there much point in adopting land settlement and tenure reform programs? Will the rights of new owners be any more secure than those who are having their property taken now? Are not large and small plots of land private property which should be protected by all the usual constitutional guarantees inherent in our systems of democracy in this hemisphere?

LAND USE REFORM VERSUS POLITICAL REVOLUTION

There is no doubt that many sincere advocates of agrarian reform believe that it should be a slogan for political revolution rather than a system for increasing agricultural productivity. They believe that punitive action against landlords is what is needed, and they are only collaterally interested in land use improvement. Under this theory land redistribution means confiscation of property and political revolution rather than improvement in the economic well-being of the people. The advocates of its use for this purpose are apparently willing to allow agricultural production and economic well-being to suffer in exchange for the accomplishment of revolution. Those who advocate this type of agra-

rian reform are simply fostering violent revolution rather than the orderly evolutionary reform of land use and increased productivity.

UNITED FRUIT CO.'S POLICIES

Commencing in the 1890's the United Fruit Co. has contributed greatly to the progress of Latin America by opening up and developing for productive use vast areas of previously uninhabitable jungle and swamp lands. Sanitation programs were initiated, and basic facilities, such as housing, roads, railroads, ports, communications, powerplants, hospitals, schools, and churches were built by the company in an era when local governments could not build them. As a result of this activity of the United Fruit Co., the arable land area in each country has been substantially increased, not only by the land cultivated by the company, but by land developed by others who took land adjoining that of the company in order to be near populated centers which provided new markets. Thus, an important contribution has been made to the host countries and their citizens. The company has directly benefited, as have its 81,000 stockholders, and more than 50,000 employees in the countries where it operates, but we are especially proud of the many opportunities this general development has created for innumerable Latin Americans, many of whom have received training in modern agricultural methods and more efficient land utilization through their association with the United Fruit Co.

Several years ago the company initiated its associate producer program. This is essentially a partnership arrangement between the company and nationals of certain Latin American countries. Under this program the company sells or leases improved land to the nationals for the purpose of growing crops which the company then markets. However, in addition to marketing the crops, the company, utilizing experience gathered over many years, acts as technical adviser, exporter, and marketer, and provides associate producers with disease control, an indispensable requirement in banana production. The company at times has given financial assistance to associate producers by acting as guarantor of loans. The associate producer program is now in full swing in Ecuador, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and to some extent in Honduras. The company had been working in this direction gradually for some time, and the amount of fruit purchased from independent growers has been increasing. In 1961 the company purchased almost half of its total shipments of bananas. With this new program the company is pursuing a policy of increasing local participation in banana growing by encouraging interested nationals to take over banana lands and assisting them in their endeavors. This new land-use policy is finding popular support, and we believe it constitutes real improved land tenure and use.

As most of you probably know, the company has given land to aid in certain government resettlement programs being carried out in Central America. In addition, in recent years it has adopted the policy of selling to governments or their nationals company lands not required in its foreseeable operations. In selling land, the company is making every effort to avoid having it fall into the hands of speculators. Most of these lands have been put under cultivation, and this should go far toward helping meet the challenge of providing adequate food supplies for expanding populations and improving standards of living. The lands being sold under this program all have productive possibilities, and most of them have facilities in existence which will enable the new owners to exploit them fully. Where appropriate the company provides export marketing facilities for many of the new farmers.

Thus, the United Fruit Co. has had for many years its own "alianza" in agriculture. It believes that its actions are consistent with the objectives of the larger Alianza para el Progreso, which it fully supports.

CONCLUSION

The Alliance for Progress has raised the hopes of the peoples of the hemisphere that they may realize most of their justified aspirations within the relatively short period of a decade. There is no reason why we cannot help to accelerate the industrial and agricultural revolution which must occur in Latin America. The dramatic increase in production in the United States occurred in the last 40 years, and in many ways the increased efficiency which occurred in agricultural production overshadowed that of industry. Land settlement and improved land use can and must play its part in our new partnership in Latin America, but we certainly need to get away from the idea that land-use reform is a panacea for all the ills of the hemisphere. There is urgent need to define what our objectives are with respect to it and how they are to be carried out. Also, let's stop burdening this part of Alianza with a name which has become synonymous with Marxist revolution.

## The Court and the Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the autumn issue of hte United Synagogue Review. I hope that this issue will be resolved soon and that religion will for all time be entrusted to the church and the home.

The editorial follows:

THE COURT AND THE PRAYER

Perhaps no other freedom guaranteed by the Bill of Rights has contributed as much to the history of liberty on this continent as the freedom of religion—not even the freedom of the press. It is doubly dismaying therefore that in the name of religion well-meaning men and women are advocating a constitutional amendment that would have the effect of nullifying the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision on the regents prayer in New York State.

To any American committed to a religious belief that the State should not come between man and his God, these efforts will bring sadness and distress. For the Court's decision is not, as has been rashly and superficially interpreted in some quarters, a defeat for religion. On the contrary, it is a clear victory for religion, boldly won on the ineluctable premise that the historic separation of church and state cannot be chipped away at without imperiling the national welfare. Few voices have been raised in favor of a state church or a churched state. From such partisans, if any there be in 20th-century America, opposition to the Supreme Court decision would be comprehensible. But to the American who cherishes his freedom to worship as privately as he wishes, and publicly when he wishes—and that means almost every American—the Court's decision is a precious reassurance that that freedom will be preserved.

A review of history and even a quick glance around the modern world should suffice to convince us of the folly and misery that ensue when the State undertakes the duties of minister, priest, or rabbi. The real minister, priest, and rabbi are in effect now being told by opponents of the Supreme Court's decision that they have failed, that their duties can better be carried out by Government decree.

Prayerfully, Americans who want the freedom of worship fully preserved hope that the issue will be resolved in due course for all time by entrusting religion to church and home—and the human heart—where it belongs. It does not belong in State agencies.

## Edison National Historical Site

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, citizens of New Jersey have long taken pride in the memorials to Thomas A. Edison within our State. The "Wizard of Menlo Park" achieved many of his greatest successes in the laboratories he kept at that small New Jersey community. Everyone who marvels at man's inventiveness has been impressed deeply with the patient researches Edison conducted there. For that reason, it is very welcome news that new Federal legislation has created the Edison National Historical Site in Menlo Park. An editorial in the September 20 issue of the Elizabeth, N.J., Journal expresses satisfaction at this new action. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDISON NATIONAL HISTORICAL SITE

Two memorials to the late Thomas A. Edison in Menlo Park have become the Edison National Historical Site through Federal legislation signed by President Kennedy. This is another step toward protection of the lifetime environment of one of New Jersey's more distinguished citizens.

A welcome provision in the new law is authorization for the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of abutting land. Whether that Department foresees any gifts was not disclosed.

Preservation of the Edison landmarks has been proceeding slowly for several years and under two titles. These now are consolidated.

Time and economic pressures already have eroded other landmarks connected with the career of the inventor. The Menlo Park site has been saved from encroachment for a quarter century. The new legislation assures preservation and more attention to its maintenance and setting.

## TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

## ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 585, agreed to October 13, 1962, the President pro tempore, on October 16, 1962, signed the following enrolled

bills and joint resolutions, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 1447. An act to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955, as amended, and to provide for the adjustment of annuities paid from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement and annuity fund;

S. 1961. An act for the relief of Lt. Charles M. Cox, U.S. Army (retired);

S. 2555. An act for the relief of Fong Yee Hin;

S. 3124. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Gustave M. Minton, Jr., U.S. Air Force;

S. 3215. An act for the relief of Kim Chong Koo;

S. 3361. An act to facilitate the entry of alien skilled specialists and certain relatives of U.S. citizens, and for other purposes;

S. 3451. An act to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims upon which valuable improvements have been placed, and for other purposes;

S. 3453. An act for the relief of Dr. Felix Nabor Sabates;

S. 3705. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958, as amended, to increase salaries, to adjust pay alinement, and for other purposes;

H.R. 7932. An act to amend the act of July 2, 1948, so as to repeal portions thereof relating to residual rights in certain land on Santa Rosa Island, Fla.;

H.R. 10620. An act to amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the maximum limitations on the amount allowable as a deduction for medical, dental, etc., expenses, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11586. An act to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12276. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12580. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12649. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12820. An act to validate the coverage of certain State and local employees in the State of Arkansas, under the agreement entered into by such State pursuant to section 218 of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12900. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13273. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes;

S.J. Res. 208. Joint resolution to establish a commission to develop and execute plans for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 489. Joint resolution to provide protection for the golden eagle; and

H.J. Res. 907. Joint resolution that the 88th Congress shall assemble at noon on Wednesday, January 9, 1963.

## ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The Secretary of the Senate, on October 17, 1962, presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 1447. An act to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955, as amended, and to provide for the adjustment of annuities paid from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement and annuity fund;

S. 1961. An act for the relief of Lt. Charles M. Cox, U.S. Army (retired);

S. 2555. An act for the relief of Fong Yee Hin;

S. 3124. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Gustave M. Minton, Jr., U.S. Air Force;

S. 3215. An act for the relief of Kim Chong Koo;

S. 3361. An act to facilitate the entry of alien skilled specialists and certain relative relatives of U.S. citizens, and for other purposes;

S. 3451. An act to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims upon which valuable improvements have been placed, and for other purposes;

S. 3453. An act for the relief of Dr. Felix Nabor Sabates;

S. 3705. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958, as amended, to increase salaries, to adjust pay alinement, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 208. Joint resolution to establish a Commission to develop and execute plans for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie, and for other purposes.

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## APPROVAL OF SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President of the United States, subsequent to sine die adjournment of the Senate, notified the Secretary of the Senate that on the following dates he had approved and signed the following bills and joint resolutions:

On October 9, 1962:

S. 455. An act to amend the act of July 14, 1955, relating to air pollution control, to authorize appropriations for an additional 2-year period, and for other purposes;

S. 1060. An act to authorize the Secretary of Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Oroville-Tonasket unit of the Okanogan-Similkameen division, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington, and for other purposes;

S. 3120. An act to amend section 6 of the act of May 29, 1884;

S. 3156. An act to amend section 142 of title 28, United States Code, with regard to furnishing court quarters and accommodations at places where regular terms of court are authorized to be held, and for other purposes;

S. 3408. An act to establish in the Library of Congress a library of musical scores and other instructional materials to further educational, vocational, and cultural opportunities in the field of music for blind persons;

S. 3431. An act to consent to the amendment of the Pacific Marine Fisheries Compact and to the participation of certain additional States in such compact in accordance with the terms of such amendment;

S.J. Res. 60. Joint resolution to establish the sesquicentennial commission for the celebration of the Battle of New Orleans, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain property within Chalmette National Historical Park, and for other purposes;

S.J. Res. 211. Joint resolution providing for the establishment of an annual National School Lunch Week; and

S.J. Res. 226. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a gold medal to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur.

On October 10, 1962:

S. 136. An act for the relief of Dinko Dorcic;

S. 453. An act for the relief of Robert J. Scanlan;

S. 689. An act for the relief of Karl Heinz Agar;

S. 1552. An act to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to assure the safety, effectiveness, and reliability of drugs, authorize standardization of drug names, and clarify and strengthen existing inspection authority; and for other purposes;

S. 1999. An act for the relief of Anna Marie Erdelyi;

S. 2667. An act for the relief of Sabastiana Santoro;

S. 2777. An act for the relief of Arild Ericksen Sandli;

S. 2836. An act for the relief of Carmelo Rafala;

S. 2902. An act for the relief of Sumiko Takahashi;

S. 2922. An act for the relief of Raymond Chester Hendon;

S. 3089. An act to amend the act directing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain public lands in the State of Nevada to the Colorado River Commission of Nevada in order to extend for 5 years the time for selecting such lands;

S. 3275. An act for the relief of Anna Sciamanna Misticoni;

S. 3295. An act for the relief of Mathew Lengyel (also known as Brother Paul, S.V.D.);

S. 3336. An act for the relief of Lazaro Loyola Arinque, Jr.; and

S. 3396. An act to amend section 511(h) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, in order to extend the time for commitment of construction reserve funds.

On October 11, 1962:

S. 1651. An act to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to delegate the function of approving contracts not exceeding $50,000;

S. 2690. An act for the relief of Mona McIsaac Downey;

S. 2711. An act for the relief of Tasia Demetropoulon (Dimitropoulos);

S. 2908. An act for the relief of Rosa Fumarola Balice;

S. 2992. An act for the relief of Michelangelo Comito (Nati);

S. 3152. An act to provide for the nutritional enrichment and sanitary packaging of rice prior to its distribution under certain Federal programs, including the national school lunch program;

S. 3240. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lee Ma Chin-Ying;

S. 3279. An act for the relief of Yet Gee Moy (Tsze Woo Lai) and Mee Sen Moy (Sau Ming Lai);

S. 3452. An act for the relief of Dr. Hassan M. Nouri; and

S. 3600. An act for the relief of Chao Hua-Hsin.

On October 15, 1962:

S. 320. An act to amend the provisions contained in part II of the Interstate Commerce Act concerning registration of State certificates whereby a common carrier by motor vehicles may engage in interstate and foreign commerce within a State;

S. 507. An act to set aside certain lands in Washington for Indians of the Quinault Tribe;

S. 914. An act to provide for more effective administration of public assistance in the District of Columbia, to make certain relatives responsible for support of needy persons, and for other purposes;

S. 962. An act to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, to aid the Civil Aeronautics Board in the investigation of aircraft accidents, and for other purposes;

S. 1263. An act for the relief of Marie Margaret Arvanetes;

S. 1288. An act to amend section 362(b) of the Communications Act of 1934;

S. 2454. An act to amend the Housing Amendments of 1955 to make Indian tribes eligible for Federal loans to finance public works or facilities, and for other purposes;

S. 2568. An act to amend the act of September 7, 1950, to extend the regulatory authority of the Federal and State agencies concerned under the terms of the Convention for the Establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, signed at Washington May 31, 1949, and for other purposes;

S. 2687. An act for the relief of Robert D. Barbee;

S. 2697. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide an extension of the period within which certain educational programs must be begun and completed in the case of persons called to active duty during the Berlin crisis, and for other purposes;

S. 2753. An act for the relief of Duk Man Lee and Soon Mal Lee;

S. 2928. An act for the relief of Seymour K. Owens;

S. 2950. An act for the relief of Dwijendra Kumar Misra;

S. 2953. An act relating to the tax-exempt status of the pension plan of Local Union No. 435 of the International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union of America;

S. 3085. An act for the relief of Paul Huygelen and Luba A. Huygelen;

S. 3177. An act for the relief of Michael (Mike) Bessler;

S. 3265. An act for the relief of Despina Anastos (Psyhopeda);

S. 3267. An act for the relief of Gunter Heinz Hillebrand;

S. 3338. An act to incorporate the American Symphony Orchestra League;

S. 3390. An act for the relief of Naife Kahl;

S. 3504. An act to amend the Migratory Bird Conservation Act;

S. 3557. An act for the relief of Betty Sandra Fagann;

S. 3631. An act to amend title 13, United States Code, to preserve the confidential nature of copies of reports filed with the Bureau of the Census on a confidential basis;

S.J. Res. 214. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to designate the period from November 26, 1962, through December 2, 1962, as National Cultural Center Week; and

S.J. Res. 235. Joint resolution to extend the time during which loans for mass transportation facilities may be made under title II of the Housing Amendments of 1955.

On October 16, 1962:

S. 2795. An act to prohibit the use by collecting agencies and private detective agencise of any name, emblem, or insignia which reasonably tends to convey the impression that any such agency is an agency of the government of the District of Columbia.

On October 18, 1962:

S. 1563. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands within the Clark Hill Reservoir, Savannah River, Ga.-S.C., to the Georgia-Carolina Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, for recreation and camping purposes;

S. 1658. An act to amend the act of January 2, 1951, prohibiting the transportation of gambling devices in interstate and foreign commerce;

S. 2459. An act for the relief of Major C. Todd, Jr., and the estate of Ira T. Todd, Sr.;

S. 3451. An act for the relief of G. W. Todd and the estate of Lloyd Parks;

S. 3389. An act to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to develop American-flag carriers and promote the foreign commerce of the United States through the use of mobile trade fairs;

S. 3394. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. William A. Carter, U.S. Air Force; and

S. 3679. An act authorizing an appropriation to enable the United States to extend an invitation to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to hold a World Food Congress in the United States in 1963.

On October 23, 1962:

S. 1961. An act for the relief of 1st Lt. Charles M. Cox, U.S. Army (retired);

S. 2555. An act for the relief of Fong Yee Hin;

S. 3124. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Gustave M. Minton, Jr., U.S. Air Force;

S. 3215. An act for the relief of Kim Chong Koo;

S. 3451. An act to provide relief for residential occupants of unpatented mining claims upon which valuable improvements have been placed, and for other purposes; and

S. 3453. An act for the relief of Dr. Felix Nabor Sabates.

On October 24, 1962:

S. 1447. An act to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955, as amended, and to provide for the adjustment of annuities paid from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement and annuity fund;

S. 3361. An act to facilitate the entry of alien skilled specialists and certain relatives of U.S. citizens, and for other purposes;

S. 3705. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958, as amended, to increase salaries, to adjust pay alinement, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 208. Joint resolution to establish a Commission to develop and execute plans for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie, and for other purposes.

## OCEANOGRAPHY PROGRAM—POCKET VETO

The President of the United States notified the Secretary of the Senate that he had allowed the bill (S. 901) to provide for a comprehensive, long-range, and coordinated national program in oceanography, and for other purposes, to expire at midnight of October 17, 1962, without his approval.

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

# Appendix

## Current United States-Indonesian Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on August 2 it was my privilege to welcome the amicable settlement of the Dutch-Indonesian dispute over West New Guinea—an area to be known henceforth on our maps as West Irian. This was a bitter, though inevitable, decision for the Dutch, who signed the agreement and evacuated their former colony with dignity and good will.

With the elimination of almost all vestiges of colonialism in the Indonesian Archipelago, events in the island republic have truly entered a new stage. Indonesia has staggering economic problems over the short run, as well as bright opportunities if her resources of manpower and material are wisely used and employed. Indonesia enjoys considerable internal stability, although her huge Communist minority poses grave questions for the future. Whither Indonesia? Indeed, whither independent Algeria and scores of other underdeveloped countries whose ability to stand on their own feet is one of the biggest problems facing the world today.

Mr. President, we must recognize the fact that our relations with these new and relatively new countries can affect the course of history for good or for ill. No country, no area of the world, is either to be written off as lost or to be taken for granted as a friend and ally.

For this reason I am pleased to share with my colleagues a study on United States-Indonesian relations which was prepared at my request by Mr. Edward D. Sinaga, a congressional fellow under the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association and a Ph. D. candidate at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He is also president of the Indonesian Students Association of the United States. The study, entitled "A New Chapter in United States-Indonesian Relations," represents the thinking of one patriotic Indonesian nationalist who believes that the development of mutual understanding between his country and ours is a worthy goal demanding much hard work on both sides. Of course, Mr. Sinaga's specific views and conclusions are his own, but I certainly share his hope for the happy fulfillment of the current new chapter in United States-Indonesian affairs. The study is a significant contribution to this end, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the study was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### A NEW CHAPTER IN UNITED STATES-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

(A study prepared at the request of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY by Edward Djanner Sinaga, congressional fellow, American Political Science Association)

#### INTRODUCTION

A new chapter has been opened in the United States-Indonesian relations, now that the sensitive issue of West Irian has been amicably solved between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The United States has played a constructive role in this outcome. A peaceful solution was achieved without having to sacrifice thousands of lives on both sides, and at the same time a serious threat to world peace was avoided.

Aside from United Nations Secretary General U Thant and both the Dutch and Indonesian Governments, and Kennedy administration certainly deserves credit for the achievement of the West Irian solution through the efforts of former U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. Dr. Subandrio, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, having thanked Secretary General U Thant for his "guidance during the negotiations based upon sincerity, wisdom and experience," paid special tribute to Ambassador Bunker in his brief speech before the signing of the Dutch-Indonesian accord.

Subandrio said:

"On behalf of the Indonesian Government and people, I also wish to sincerely thank the tireless efforts and patience of Ambassador Bunker, who never spared himself physically and mentally in order to overcome the difficulties and obstacles which sometimes seem to flood the path toward this agreement. * * * To be frank, without the personal qualities inherent to Ambassador Bunker, it would be almost impossible to formulate an agreement within such a short period."

The United Nations General Assembly approved the text of the Dutch-Indonesian agreement on August 15, 1962, and adopted it as a United Nations resolution.[1]

During his recent visit to the United Nations to sign the Dutch-Indonesian agreement, Dr. Subandrio had a 55-minute talk with Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Coming out of the meeting, Subandrio declared the opening of a new chapter in United States-Indonesian relationships.[2]

#### A REVIEW OF THE PAST

While entering the "new chapter," it would be useful to review the past chapters of United States-Indonesian relations.

To start with the struggle for independence (1945–49), one would note the active involvement of the United States in the United Nations effort to solve the "war" between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The U.S. Senate adopted a resolution in support of Indonesia's cause. Several Senators, such as Senator Wayne Morse, Senator Brewster, Senator Frank Graham, who served as a member of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia (UNCI), and other Senators made strong statements in support of Indonesia's struggle for freedom from 350 years of Dutch rule.[3] The U.S. Government was ready to apply a sanction in the form of a threat to cut off Marshall plan aid to the Netherlands if the latter did not comply with the resolution. The resolution predicated the transfer of sovereignty over the former Netherlands East Indies[4] from the Netherlands to Indonesia in December 1949, after 4 years of bloody war.

The action of the United States then was regarded in Indonesia as a positive and constructive element in United States-Indonesian relations.

#### UNITED STATES-INDONESIAN RELATIONS DURING PERIOD OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY, 1950–59

The years from 1950 to mid-1959 were dominated by complex political, social, economic and other factors, rational as well as irrational, in Indonesia's struggle for political stability and her search for a national identity.

It was not easy for American observers to penetrate and comprehend the factors dominating the Indonesian political scene at this period of United States-Indonesian relations. In 1958, this lack of sophistication in understanding Indonesia's political and philosophical problems at this period was reflected in the grave error of tacit U.S. support for the rebellious elements in Indonesia. The rebels used the bait of anticommunism to obtain Western or U.S. support, while proclaiming the establishment of "a state within a state," in the form of what was known as the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI).

Quite understandably, President Sukarno, whose position was analogous to that of Abraham Lincoln in the early 1860's, had to take drastic action against the rebellious elements in order "to preserve the Union," to use Abraham Lincoln's words. After 3 years of internal fighting, President Sukarno granted amnesty to those rebels who voluntarily surrendered. This policy has led to the establishment of domestic tranquillity. Indeed, the Union was preserved. The wisdom of President Sukarno and his Minister of National Security Affairs, now concurrently Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Gen. Harris Nasution, deserves great praise in solving a very grave national problem, which obviously has had international repercussions.

#### A DRAMA IN UNITED STATES-INDONESIAN RELATIONS: THE CASE OF AMERICAN FLIER LAWRENCE POPE

In the course of the rebellion in Indonesia (1958–61), a tragic drama occurred, which had a negative effect upon United States-Indonesian relations. This was the involvement of an American flier, called by the then President Eisenhower "a soldier of fortune," who was generously paid by the rebels to fly rebel bombers. In the course of one such mission he was shot down and captured by the Indonesian troops. After adequate hearings and proceedings, the appropriate Indonesian court of justice sentenced Pope to death. But luck was on the side of Lawrence Pope.

While he was awaiting the execution of his death sentence, a cordial atmosphere was growing in United States-Indonesian relations. In particular the constructive role of the United States in the settlement of the West Irian dispute led to the establishment of this new and cordial atmosphere.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

Instead of being executed by the Indonesian authority, it was reported that Pope was already vacationing in Florida a few weeks ago. President Sukarno pardoned him. It would have been a sorry page in the chapter of United States-Indonesian relations had Pope been executed. President Sukarno's decision to grant him amnesty certainly contributed to the "new chapter" in United States-Indonesian relations.

THE GUIDED DEMOCRACY CONCEPT

It is important to review the process of political and ideological development in Indonesia as a significant factor affecting U.S. relations. For that reason, we shall review briefly Indonesia's national concept of "guided democracy" and its impact upon Indonesia's political process.

The period from 1950 to 1959 can be regarded as one of parliamentary disorder. There was constant political instability due to the easy fall and rise of short-lived cabinets. It was quite amazing that in the first general election in 1955, 162 political parties and groups participated in the contest for votes. No Western democracy was ever afflicted with so many parties and splinter groups. Quite logically, ultraparliamentary democracy resulted in ultraparliamentary chaos. Even when only 28 political parties and groups out of the 162 managed to secure votes to elect their representatives to the Parliament, that number was still too many. Party maneuvering has consistently caused political instability. The majority in Parliament, or a combination of a few political parties which became a majority, could easily overthrow any cabinet. The result was that within 13 years, 17 cabinets have reigned. The well-known motto, "My loyalty to my party ends when my loyalty to my country demands" was far from being realized. The ultraparliamentary democracy which led to the chaotic situation in this period demanded a solution. A new national concept, rather than the Dutch-style parliamentary system, was needed.

It was in such a situation that President Sukarno proclaimed the concept of democracy with leadership, or as it is often called guided democracy.

Since the concept was new at the time, there were various reactions, favorable and unfavorable, at home and abroad. And as the domestic political situation needed vigorous leadership, as embodied in the person of President Sukarno, there was an increasingly favorable reaction to the new concept. And today, all elements of Indonesian society rally behind the national concept. Abroad, however, there has been insufficent understanding of the new concept.

Let us review the institutional, ideological and other aspects of the concept.

Guided democracy entails the following institutional structure: the Presidency and the Cabinet (almost comparable to the presidential system of the United States); the Supreme Advisory Council, which advises the President at the request of the President or at the initiative of the Council; the National Planning Council, entrusted with the overall national development plan; the House of Representatives, representing the political parties and functional groups; the People's Congress, which includes the House of Representatives and the regional delegates, constituting the highest governmental institution in the nation. Besides these there are autonomous regional governments and also a body of the courts of justice throughout the nation. There is also a national front, led by the President, which coordinates the activities of all revolutionary forces.

As to the ideological aspect of guided democracy, it should be noted that these institutions act according to the official state ideology called the Pancha Sila, which contains five basic principles. These are: Belief in God, humanitarianism (internationalism), national consciousness (nationalism), people's sovereignty (democracy) and last but not least, social justice. Another ideological function is the establishment of a general outline of state policy by the People's Congress. The general outline of state policy is called the Manipol-Usdek (the political manifesto), which sets the main course of the state. It determines the implementation of the guided democracy, the guided economy, the national identity, and Indonesian socialism, all based upon the 1945 constitution.

Significant elements in the implementation of the Indonesian national concept are the principles of Gotong Royong (the traditional "mutual cooperation" principle, inherited from Indonesian history and characteristics in Indonesian daily life; Musjawarah, meaning "consultation" rather than endless debate; Mufakat, which emphasizes the general consensus of opinion containing the principle of unanimity rather than strict majority rule.

One interesting aspect of the guided democracy concept is the existence of 10 political parties, representing the nationalist groups, the religious affiliations—Moslem, Catholic, and Protestant—and the Communist Party. There are five nationalist parties, four religious, and one Communist party. This concept is quite different from that of President Nasser's where only one political party exists, or Nkrumah's of Ghana, or Pakistan's "basic democracy," or Ne Win's of Burma. It differs from the practice of many other countries, in the East or in the West, in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, where only one political party or no political party is allowed to function. There is, however, a growing feeling in Indonesia that the present 10 parties need to be reduced to 5, representing the 5 main political forces.

The notion that guided democracy is a dictatorial system is wrong. Democracy does exist in Indonesia. Indonesia calls it an Indonesian democracy, a democracy with Indonesian ingredients, so to speak. Who guides the democracy, now that it is called guided democracy? Is it President Sukarno? No, President Sukarno himself has denied this. It is the state ideology, the Pancha Sila, which guides the Indonesian democracy and the general outline of state policy (the Manipol-Usdek), which was determined by the highest institution in the nation, the People's Congress. Not many people in the United States realize this fact. The term "guided" seemed to have aroused a prejudice, which actually is unjustified. The Pancha Sila ideology is an official state ideology, incorporated in the preamble to the Indonesian Constitution. Thus, all laws and regulations including the constitution must be derived from the five basic principles of Pancha Sila. Since the democracy is guided by the Pancha Sila ideology, it actually can be called a Pancha Sila democracy or a Pancha Sila-guided democracy.[5]

Most people in the United States who ask about Indonesia are preoccupied with the Communists in Indonesia. Why are they allowed to exist? Some people forget that even in the United States the Communist Party exists. In the Western democracies, which are alined to fight against communism, the Communist Party is allowed to operate, under the basic philosophy of "freedom of expression." Indeed, freedom of expression exists in Indonesia. In England, France, Italy, and other Western democracies, one would find Communist parties. So it is not surprising to find one in Indonesia.

But in the case of Indonesia, as distinct from other non-Communist countries, there is an established state ideology, the official Pancha Sila ideology, which contains the five basic principles of belief in God, humanitarianism, nationalism, people's sovereignty, and social justice. And there is a general outline of state policy, the Manipol-Usdek (the political manifesto). Any political party or group in Indonesia is required to adhere to this state ideology and general outline of state policy. For this reason, President Sukarno and other non-Communist leaders always stress the fact that in an Indonesian democracy, where freedom of expression exists, there is no sense of having a "communistophobia" (fear of the Communists). Indeed, any political party or any group or individual, Communist of non-Communist, which attempts to undermine the state ideology, Pancha Sila, and the general outline of state policy, the Manipol Usdek, will not be tolerated.

It is therefore up to the non-Communist parties to compete with the Communists in theory and in practice to strengthen the state ideology and to implement the general outline of state policy.

In general, these are the facts. One could go into details on the subject.

The question then arises: How could the Communists accept the Pancha Sila ideology, since the Pancha Sila's first principle is belief in God? This indeed is a valid question. But the Indonesian Communist Party does accept the Pancha Sila, interestingly enough, for the Government requires any political party to accept it as a prerequisite for its survival. But is the Communist Party in Indonesia a "revisionist" party, or has it accepted the Pancha Sila for tactical reasons? These are questions which history will answer.

IMPACT OF THE GUIDED DEMOCRACY CONCEPT IN INDONESIA'S DEVELOPMENT

One very important and very basic achievement under the concept of guided democracy is the fact that political stability has been established. Another, equally important achievement, is that a concrete economic plan, the 8-year plan, has been formulated and is today the basis of Indonesia's overall national development process. Various industrial, agricultural, roadbuilding, and numerous other construction projects have been and are going forward without the fear of possible political sabotage, as was the case under the ultraliberal parliamentary system.

Education, which unquestionably is a factor in the upbuilding of any nation, has been one of Indonesia's greatest achievements since independence. When the Dutch left Indonesia, after a colonization of 350 years, there was only 5-percent literacy among the 75 million people. Today, out of a population of 100 million, 60 percent are literate. At the end of the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, there was only one university throughout the 3,000 islands. Today, Indonesia has established more than a hundred colleges, academies, universities, both private and Government-owned. Thousands of students, graduates and, undergraduates have studied and are currently studying abroad—in the United States, in Western and Eastern Europe, in Australia, in Japan, in India, and in other countries.

In brief, the guided democracy concept has facilitated economic, political, and cultural progress in Indonesia. Further progress and challenges are still ahead.

U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD INDONESIA'S NATIONAL CONCEPT

Having discussed the guided democracy concept, let us review briefly the U.S. attitude toward the new concept in the context of United States-Indonesian relations. The U.S. attitude should be viewed in the light of the political, economic, and ideological revo-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

lution now taking place in various parts of the world.

In this political, economic, and ideological revolution among the developing countries, one common phenomenon is distinctly obvious. That is, the recognition of the fact that a national concept, suitable to the needs and prevailing conditions of the country concerned and suitable to its national identity, has become an absolute necessity. This premise rejects the imposition of any alien concept, be it from the East or West, but does not object to those aspects of both Western and Eastern concepts that are adjustable to the prevailing conditions of the country and useful for its upbuilding.

This phenomenon can be discovered not only in the guided democracy concept, but also in other concepts, such as Pakistan's "basic democracy," Nasser's Arab socialism, Ne Win's Burmese socialism, Nkrumah's Ghanaian socialism, Sekou Toure's concept for Guinea, Nehru's Indian socialism, and other similar concepts. Even in the Communist world, this phenomenon can be found in Yugoslavia's revision of orthodox communism.

In the process of the ideological revolution discussed above, and in evaluating the U.S. attitude toward Indonesia's guided democracy concept, one can fairly say that the United States has become increasingly aware of her past error in adhering to a doctrine of "those who are not with us are against us." The Kennedy administration has reflected this increasing awareness. Indeed, there is a marked change in international outlook between the Kennedy administration and the Eisenhower-Dulles administration. The farsightedness of the present administration in its basic international outlook is being felt and welcomed by the newly independent nations. This is perhaps to be credited to the farsightedness and qualities of internationally renowned personalities such as President Kennedy, Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles, Dean Rusk, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Justice William Douglas, Robert Kennedy, and others. Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties have men of international caliber with a farsighted outlook in dealing with the political, economic and ideological revolution discussed earlier.

During his trip to Indonesia earlier this year, President Kennedy's brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, met with President Sukarno and other national leaders and also with Indonesian students. In one of his speeches to the students in Djakarta, Kennedy showed his understanding or his attempt to understand Indonesia's problems and aspirations by citing an Indonesian proverb: "Lain ladang, lain belalang; lain lubuk lain ikan"—"another field, another grasshopper, another pond, another fish."[6]

Since "each country has its own customs and habits," as Robert Kennedy rightly understands it, or to expand it a little bit more, since each country has its own problems, prevailing social, political, economic, and other related conditions, each also has the right to establish its own national concept in order to deal with these prevailing conditions and problems. This is a political interpretation of the proverb.

"A sense of identity and of national aspirations," to borrow Robert Kennedy's words, is being recognized and ought to be recognized by the United States in her dealings with the developing nations. In this connection it is worth noting that the American press in general seems to be a little behind, as compared with the progressive attitude of the administration. Here and there, however, signs of progress have appeared.

Footnotes at end of speech.

INDONESIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Having reviewed the guided democracy concept in the context of United States-Indonesian relations, it is significant to discuss briefly Indonesia's economic development and aspirations, which are based upon the concept of guided economy or Indonesian socialism.

Now that the West Irian issue, which has absorbed 70 percent of her national energy, is solved, Indonesia can devote her national effort to the great task of economic construction. She has to carry out short-term economic stabilization and implementation of the 8-year plan. The short-term economic stabilization program aims to achieve self-sufficiency in food and clothing for the people. Also the need to carry out a monetary stabilization program is being seriously recognized. The long-term economic construction program covers the period from 1961 to 1969, i.e., the 8-year overall national development plan, which was planned by the National Planning Council and approved by the People's Congress.

The 8-year plan contains 343 projects in the following fields: culture, education, research, social welfare, public administration, clothing production, food production, industry in general, fisheries, medical development, transport and distribution, finance, oil, aluminum, tourism and specific construction projects. These projects are spread throughout the islands and provinces (including West Irian), so as to make it "overall" and "national," as the plan is called.

The 8-year plan is aimed at increasing the national income per capita, which was estimated to be rupiah 2,500 (or roughly US$56 at the rate of Rp45 per US$1) in 1960, with 1½ percent per annum at the investment rate of 13 percent of the gross national product (estimated to be Rp236 billion in 1960). This is with the calculation of a population growth rate of 2.3 percent (92.7 million in 1960).

The first 8-year plan is meant to establish strong foundations for further 8-year plans in Indonesia's aim to achieve a "just and prosperous society" or a "Pancha Sila society," as President Sukarno calls it.

To bring Indonesia's economic endeavor into the perspective of United States-Indonesian relations, it is significant to note that as a result of an agreement between Presidents Sukarno and Kennedy, a U.S. economic survey team was sent to Indonesia. The economic survey team[7] had five main tasks which, in general, concerned the 8-year plan and general U.S. economic assistance to Indonesia. Point 4 of the defined task of the team was to recommend the ways in which the United States could be of assistance to Indonesia, particularly in regard to the execution of its 8-year plan.[8]

The economic team is convinced that Indonesia possesses all the necessary elements of a stable economy. The team believes that although Indonesia is still in the early stages of economic development, she is moving in the right direction. Indonesia, the team stated, has not reached the period of takeoff into self-sustained growth, but "We predict," the team asserts, "that when the Indonesian economy does take off, it will fly high and fast."[9]

The U.S. economic survey team is certainly justified in stating that Indonesia has a tremendous potentiality and a great future. Some people do not realize that Indonesia is, in fact, the third richest country in the world in terms of natural resources, surpassed only by the United States and the Soviet Union. It is the fifth most populous nation in the world with about 100 million people. The republic consists of 3,000 islands stretching from Sabang, in the northernmost tip of Sumatra, to Merauke, in the western end of West Irian. It covers a territory comparable to the distance from San Francisco to New York or from London to Moscow, located between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. It is not only rich in natural resources, but it is also rich in culture, since her civilization dates back 2,000 years. All these factors certainly lend credence to the prediction of the U.S. economic survey team that Indonesia will one day fly high and fast.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Senate majority whip and member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, gave special attention to the report of the U.S. economic survey team to Indonesia. He agreed with the team that 'a stable, viable, and independent Indonesia, though following a nonalined foreign policy, will be advantageous to the United States and the free world in the context of world politics."[10]

Senator HUMPHREY stated that "Indonesia is fortunate in possessing more than the rudiments of a modern industrial society" and praised Indonesia's ability to "plan her development with excellent chances for success."

"In line with the recommendations of the study team," the Senator from Minnesota said, "the United States should help build up the infrastructure of the Indonesian economy—transport, light industry, and so forth—which in turn will provide the basis for heavy capital investment in the future."[11]

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN INDONESIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the perspective of United States-Indonesian relations, the writer deems it necessary to discuss briefly the role of foreign private enterprise in Indonesia's economic development. One aspect of Indonesian socialism is that "private enterprises are given an appropriate role," particularly "in the field of production and transportation."[12] Not only Indonesian national private enterprise, but foreign private enterprise as well.

The term "socialism" has erroneously been associated by some people in the United States with communism or with complete state ownership of economic enterprise. But some people forget that even in a capitalistic society such as the United States, where main emphasis in any economic endeavor is placed upon private initiative, one discovers enterprises where the Government has full control or ownership. Some examples of this are the Tennessee Valley Authority and the New York Port Authority. The new Telstar satellite enterprise, based on a 50–50 arrangement between Government and private enterprise, might even be labeled "semisocialistic."[13]

The examples mentioned here, which have proven to be successful in the United States, are in fact being practiced in the developing nations which apply socialism in a pragmatic manner. Their bitter experiences under colonial rulers, who practiced the laissez faire system, has led them to associate the free enterprise system with colonial laissez faire exploitation.[14]

"Joint enterprise" between private firms and government—be it national or foreign private enterprise—is a definite element in Indonesian socialism. One interesting feature of Indonesian socialism which has attracted foreign private enterprise is the concept of production sharing. This means that a foreign private enterprise can join with the Indonesian Government or an Indonesian national private enterprise or with a combination of both, in the production of resources, such as tin, oil, nickel, etc. Indonesia has vast natural resources which need exploitation, development and production.

Production sharing, as defined by the Indonesian Government, means that "any credit or loan (from a foreign private company) including costs, is to be repaid with part of the proceeds from the production

unit which is financed by the loan or credit." [15]

Thus, "a credit from abroad is to be repaid from the results of the production or of the increase of the production or of the increase of the quality of production." [16] (See attached details and explanation on loans or credits based on production sharing.)

It is interesting to note that as recently as June 15, 1962, the Pan American Oil Co. signed an agreement, based on the production sharing concept with the Indonesian Government. The Japanese Kobayashi group has been working on the basis of the production sharing concept in the production of oil in North Sumatra with the Indonesian National Oil Enterprise (Permina). Discussions are taking place between the Pacific Vegetable Oil Corp. in San Francisco on the "production sharing" of copra with the Indonesian Government. Likewise, the Union Oil Co. is holding talks with the Indonesian Government on the production of oil in Indonesia, based upon the production sharing concept.

The writer merely wishes to point out that Indonesian socialism does have its own unique characteristics. And in the process of economic development in Indonesia, the concept of production sharing is one of the significant factors.

What are the advantages of the production sharing concept? The deputy governor of the Indonesian Central Bank (Bank Indonesia), Dr. Khouw Bian Tie in his remarks concerning production sharing at a meeting of the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce in New York on September 25, 1962, gave the following answers to that question:

1. "It will avoid psychological difficulties of classical private foreign investment, and the possible risk of expropriation, since it will be an arrangement freely entered into by the Indonesian side and one in which the ownership of the enterprise will be on the Indonesian side from its inception."

2. "The creditor will be assured of a definite source of repayment since the proceeds will be earmarked for this purpose. These would also be made available without being subject to corporate or income taxes in Indonesia so that credit will be repaid more rapidly."

3. "Since the creditor will retain the proceeds in foreign currency, it will not be subject to Indonesian restrictions concerning the right to retain foreign exchange and, therefore, it will also not be concerned with the applicable rate of exchange or the disparity in the various rates of exchange."

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

In summing up the various factors in the development of United States-Indonesian relations, one can chart a linear graph of "up, down, and then up again," as both countries enter the "new chapter."

The constructive role of the United States in the United Nations effort to solve the independence war (1945–49) between Indonesia and the Netherlands is an up line on the chart of United States-Indonesian relations. The down line occurred when the previous administration made the grave error, in 1958, of giving tacit support to the rebellious elements in Indonesia. This was worsened by the adventure of soldier of fortune Lawrence Pope, whose bomber was shot down and who himself was sentenced to death. Pope was recently released and is now in the United States. All rebels who have surrendered have also been pardoned. The internal threat to national security has been fully eliminated.

The U.S. attitude toward Indonesia's national concepts was both a downward and upward line on the chart. The previous administration's concept of "those who are not with us are against us" (which in the latter part of the second half of the regime was somewhat corrected), was changed by the much improved attitude of the present administration.

The current up line on the chart of United States-Indonesian relations began with the contribution of the Kennedy administration through Ellsworth Bunker, to the solution of the West Irian issue.

In discussing past, present, and future United States-Indonesian relations, the name of U.S. Ambassador Howard P. Jones in Djakarta deserves mention for his sophisticated approach to Indonesia's process of development. High Indonesian Government circles reportedly gave credit for Jones' diplomatic skill and achievements. Robert Kennedy rightly stated in his book "Just Friends and Brave Enemies" that "Ambassador Jones has performed with dedication and perseverance under difficult circumstances" in Indonesia. Credit is also due to former Indonesian Ambassador to the United States, Mukarto Notowidigdo, now Indonesian Ambassador to India, who has contributed a great deal toward laying the foundations of improved United States-Indonesian relations.

The present Indonesian Ambassador to the United States, Zairin Zain who served as Ambassador to West Germany for 5 years, seems to be winning many American friends already for Indonesia. Zain served in the early fifties as Minister Counselor at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, D.C. He and Ambassador Jones will undoubtedly help write several pages of the "new chapter" in United States-Indonesian relations. Speaking about the writing of pages in United States-Indonesian relations, the American-Indonesian Society [17] which was recently established does have a role to play. So also does the Indonesian Students Association in the United States.[18]

At the highest level, both Presidents Sukarno and Kennedy, assisted by their very able Foreign Ministers Subandrio and Rusk, certainly have the decisive role in determining the content of the "new chapter" in United States-Indonesian relations. President Sukarno has visited the United States more than once as state and unofficial guest. Thus far, however, no U.S. President has ever paid a visit to Indonesia. A reciprocal visit on the part of the U.S. President to Indonesia would undoubtedly have a favorable impact upon the "new chapter" in United States-Indonesian relations. Personal diplomacy by heads of states has become increasingly prevalent today and has proven to be very effective.

The visit of Attorney General Robert Kennedy to Indonesia earlier this year had a most favorable impact upon United States-Indonesian relations. The writer was fortunate to have had the privilege, together with Indonesian students, of holding friendly discussion and exchange of opinions in late June 1962 with Robert Kennedy at his office on Constitution Avenue. We talked about various issues affecting United States-Indonesian relations. Kennedy told us his experiences during his visit to Indonesia. A prime topic of discussion was the West Irian issue. At that time, the Dutch Government had not declared its willingness to accept the Bunker proposal as a "basis for settlement" of the West Irian question. The Dutch accepted it only as a "basis for negotiation," while Indonesia has very early declared its acceptance of the proposal as a "basis for settlement." After repeated questions on the West Irian issue, Robert Kennedy gave us assurance that the Netherlands, too, would accept the Bunker proposal as a "basis for settlement." [19]

A few days later, it was reported in the newspapers that the Netherlands Government accepted the Bunker proposal as a basis for settlement of the West Irian dispute.

Indonesians had the definite impression that Robert Kennedy's visit to Indonesia and his understanding and grasp of Indonesia's problems and aspirations as well as his awareness of Indonesia's determination to regain West Irian, had led the U.S. Government to support Indonesia's claim over West Irian. It was after his visit to Indonesia that the Bunker proposal emerged as a way out of the West Irian impasse.

Meanwhile, according to U.S. press reports on the visit of Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver to Indonesia, President Sukarno has reacted favorably to the idea of having Peace Corps volunteers come to Indonesia. This then is a new element in the latest chapter of United States-Indonesian relations. Since the Peace Corps has been welcome in other nonalined nations such as India, Ghana, Ceylon, Malaya, and other countries, there is a possibility of an agreement with Indonesia. However, the final decision rests solely with the Indonesian Government. There has been a lively discussion in some Indonesian newspapers concerning the pros and cons of the Peace Corps coming to Indonesia.

Finally, the writer wishes to point out that Western observers sometimes fail to recognize the significance of "irrational" or "non-economic" factors, which in Indonesia are often actually determining factors in arriving at a certain historical outcome. To overemphasize rational or economic factors in Indonesia's development can be misleading and can thus harm rather than improve United States-Indonesian relations. One should always take into serious account the rational as well as the irrational factors.

Indeed, relations of two nations is a two-way traffic and thus requires sophisticated understanding on both sides of each other's state of mind. For instance, Indonesia's sensitivity toward any reaction—negative or positive—to the national concept or national identity is a determing factor in her foreign relations.

The attitude of the United States toward Indonesia's national concept has been discussed earlier. In his state of the Union message in January 1962, President Kennedy stated that America's goal is "a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others * * * a free community of nations, independent but interdependent."

If the United States sticks to this goal in dealing with nations which are determined to be free to choose their own future and their own system—and this includes Indonesia—then peace and progress will fill the pages of the new chapter of United States-Indonesian relations.

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EXPLANATION ON LOANS OR CREDITS BASED ON PRODUCTION SHARING

(The following is an unofficial translation of a statement issued August 3, 1962, by President Sukarno on loans or credits based on production sharing.)

In accordance with the decree of the President/Commander in Chief for Economic Operations as stated in his message of May 8, 1962, on the general outline of national economic policy, 1962, the concept of production sharing has become one of the directives of the Nation in facing cooperation with foreign investors in the field of production.

In view of this the Government deems it necessary to issue the following explanation:

ARTICLE I

The idea of loans and credits based on the Government's policy of production sharing in relation to foreign parties is based on the following considerations:

(a) The overall development in the framework of using all available national resources needs a large amount of financing in local as well as foreign currency.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

(b) The realization of the mobilization of funds and forces should be channeled in the form of a working relation with a third party, either domestic or foreign, according to norms prevailing in the business world.

(c) The execution of the working agreement with a third party must be of a positive character in view of the feelings, desires and opinions of the community and the nation's determination in building a just and prosperous society.

ARTICLE II

The form of cooperation as mentioned above generally prevailing in the business world usually consists of:

(a) Foreign investment in its clasical sense.

(b) Loans or credits based on certain credit terms.

ARTICLE III

Foreign investment in its classical sense is not acceptable to the Indonesian Government in view of the decisions made by the MPRS (Provisional National Assembly).

Such a policy generally has been assumed by the newly developing independent nations.

The major reasons for this are—

(a) Such foreign investment would remind newly developing nations of their bitter experiences with such investment in the past, which hampered the development of these countries as a whole. It would always be associated with the colonial period and with methods used to drain colonies of their resources.

Furthermore—

(b) Foreign investment in the classical sense, which implies unlimited transfer of profit, is contrary to the well-being of the nation, since the recipient of the foreign investment would be obliged to transfer forever additional profit, even though the invested capital plus interest had been covered by profit transfer. This practice is unacceptable to the new nations, who desire to develop free nations and to enjoy to the full extent their national wealth. It can be understood, therefore, that there arises a desire and a demand to nationalize enterprises owned by a third party and established through the medium of traditional foreign investment.

ARTICLE IV

The new nations, however, are prepared to receive cooperation from third parties on certain conditions, among them:

(a) That enterprises be owned and managed solely by nationals and that the labor force consist primarily of nationals.

(b) That a never-ending profit transfer shall not be considered.

In essence the working agreement as stipulated in sections (a) and (b) shall be the basis for obtaining credit from a third party, since the enterprise created with the credit would then be owned by the recipient from the very beginning, while the repayment of the loan or credit would eliminate a never-ending profit transfer. The recipient country would be obligated only to repay the loan or credit within the period of time agreed upon.

ARTICLE V

Additional credits or loans in the form described above are not always in accordance with the position or need of the countries concerned. Any credit in its traditional form disrupts the balance of payment of the recipient country, and consequently meeting its repayment and the cost of its operation becomes burdensome.

This means that whenever the needs of a developing country have to be met only through such loan or credit, an enormous amount has to be set aside from the available sources of a foreign receipt, and as a result the freedom of activities of the recipient country in other fields is very limited.

Whenever such loans increase, the major portion of the foreign receipt has to be obligated accordingly to meet the repayment and its operation cost. Undoubtedly a situation such as would arise could not be accounted for.

ARTICLE VI

To avoid an undesirable balance of payment such as described in article V, the Indonesian Government has assumed a policy which, although still based on loans and credits, aims at the elimination of the elements which might directly burden the balance of payment. Loans and credits in the ordinary sense are acceptable; not acceptable are those which have no time limit in connection with the growth of the balance of payment which might be disrupted by the obligations for their repayment.

In shaping this policy, which creates the credit concept based on production sharing, the Government's idea is to receive from abroad foreign currency which in essence is in the form of loans or credits, so that it can secure the national ownership and management of an enterprise or production unit. The principles of the concept of credit based on production sharing are based in the term "production sharing." The term means that any credit or loan, including costs, is to be repaid with part of the proceeds from the production unit which is financed by the loan or credit. Thus the repayment of the loan or credit will not be taken from the already established foreign receipt, but will be taken from additional foreign receipt earned by the new production unit.

Inherent in the concept of credit based on production sharing is the idea that new enterprises or production units be owned by Indonesia or by Indonesian private parties, and that management be in the hands of nationals. This is in accordance with the desire of the nation, which does not accept foreign investment as meant in article III. On the other hand, the consequences of loans and credits not based on production sharing and which might burden the balance of payment or the monetary position of the Government, shall not be acceptable without certain limitations.

By connecting credits or loans with production sharing, the characteristics of foreign investment and of credit or loan without production sharing can be avoided.

SUKARNO,
*The President/Commander in Chief for Economic Operations.*

Issued in Djakarta, August 3, 1962.

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APPENDIX TO THE STATEMENT

ARTICLE I

*Objective*

Credit based on production sharing should hold conditions agreeable to both Indonesians and foreigners.

1. With credit based on production sharing, Indonesia intends to stimulate its economy with assistance from abroad, without creating any burden to its balance of payment, as was the case with foreign investment in Indonesia.

2. Production sharing is:

(a) A credit from abroad to be repaid from the results of production or of the increase of production or of the increase of quality of production.

(b) Title and management of a project or a unit production should from the very beginning be in the hands of Indonesian nationals.

ARTICLE II

*Areas of activity*

1. (a) In general, the production areas of the Indonesian natural wealth which have world commercial value shall be open for credit based on production sharing.

(b) In the area of establishing local projects which primarily will supply domestic consumption, production sharing shall also be permitted.

(c) By integrating projects which produce goods for domestic consumption as indicated in article II, paragraph 1, section (b), with projects producing goods for foreign consumption, the financing of the former projects can ultimately be covered by the receipts from export commodities.

ARTICLE III

*Use of credit based on production sharing*

1. (a) Credit received is to be used to finance capital goods, equipment and other facilities needed to establish a well-run enterprise, including technical know-how, survey, and planning. All equipment imported for the project will become the property of the project, except equipment on lease which will be based on purchase-sale contract. The prices of equipment granted as credit on a production-sharing basis are to be determined according to the world market price.

(b) In each credit agreement based on production sharing it shall be stipulated in a technical assistance agreement that Indonesian nationals must be trained for the project involved.

ARTICLE IV

*Guarantee*

The Government guarantees the execution of each agreement based on production sharing.

ARTICLE V

*Sales*

During the term of the agreement based on production sharing, the creditor will be allowed to participate in the sale of production. The creditor's participation will be regulated in an agreement.

ARTICLE VI

*Personnel*

In cases where foreign experts are a necessity, Indonesia will provide proper facilities.

ARTICLE VII

*Cost*

(a) The use of credit based on production sharing shall be supervised by the Government.

(b) The Indonesian side is required to facilitate the local currency financing.

ARTICLE VIII

*Duration*

(a) Repayment commences after the project starts producing or after the project starts additional production brought about by the use of credit.

(b) The repayment schedule for each project shall be determined in accordance with the nature of the project.

ARTICLE IX

*Miscellaneous*

By "the Indonesian side" is understood: (1) the Indonesian Government, (2) the regional government, (3) national private parties, (4) joint ventures of (1), (2), and (3).

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TEXT OF AGREEMENT

The Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, having in mind the interests and welfare of the peoples of the territory of West New Guinea (West Irian) hereinafter referred to as "the territory," desirous of settling their dispute regarding the territory, now, therefore, agree as follows:

RATIFICATION OF AGREEMENT AND RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*Article I*

After the present Agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands has been signed and ratified by both Contracting Parties, Indonesia and the Netherlands will jointly sponsor a draft resolution in the United Nations under the terms of which the General

Assembly of the United Nations takes note of the present Agreement, acknowledges the role conferred upon the Secretary General of the United Nations therein, and authorises him to carry out the tasks entrusted to him therein.

TRANSFER OF ADMINISTRATION

*Article II*

After the adoption of the resolution referred to in Article I, the Netherlands will transfer administration of the territory to a United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (U.N.T.E.A.) established by and under the jurisdiction of the Secretary General upon the arrival of the United Nations Administrator appointed in accordance with Article IV. The U.N.T.E.A. will in turn transfer the administration to Indonesia in accordance with Article XII.

UNITED NATIONS ADMINISTRATION

*Article III*

In order to facilitate the transfer of administration to the U.N.T.E.A. after the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly, the Netherlands will invite the Secretary General to send a representative to consult briefly with the Netherlands Governor of the territory prior to the latter's departure. The Netherlands Governor will depart prior to the arrival of the United Nations Administrator.

*Article IV*

A United Nations Administrator, acceptable to Indonesia and the Netherlands, will be appointed by the Secretary General.

*Article V*

The United Nations Administrator, as chief executive officer of the U.N.T.E.A., will have full authority under the direction of the Secretary General to administer the territory for the period of the U.N.T.E.A. administration in accordance with the terms of the present agreement.

*Article VI*

1. The United Nations flag will be flown during the period of United Nations administration.

2. With regard to the flying of the Indonesian and Netherlands flags, it is agreed that this matter will be determined by agreement between the Secretary General and the respective governments.

*Article VII*

The Secretary General will provide the U.N.T.E.A. with such security forces as the United Nations Administrator deems necessary; such forces will primarily supplement existing Papuan police in the task of maintaining law and order. The Papuan Volunteer Corps, which on the arrival of the United Nations Administrator will cease being part of the Netherlands armed forces, and the Indonesian armed forces in the territory will be under the authority of, and at the disposal of, the Secretary General for the same purpose. The United Nations Administrator will, to the extent feasible, use the Papuan police as a United Nations security force to maintain law and order and, at his discretion, use Indonesian armed forces. The Netherlands armed forces will be repatriated as rapidly as possible and while still in the territory will be under the authority of the U.N.T.E.A.

*Article VIII*

The United Nations Administrator will send periodic reports to the Secretary General on the principal aspects of the implementation of the present agreement. The Secretary General will submit full reports to Indonesia and the Netherlands and may submit, at his discretion, reports to the General Assembly or to all United Nations members.

FIRST PHASE OF UNITED NATIONS ADMINISTRATION

*Article IX*

The United Nations Administrator will replace as rapidly as possible top Netherlands officials as defined in Annex A with non-Netherlands, non-Indonesian officials during the first phase of the U.N.T.E.A. administration which will be completed on 1 May, 1963. The United Nations Administrator will be authorized to employ on a temporary basis all Netherlands officials other than top Netherlands officials defined in Annex A, who wish to serve the U.N.T.E.A., in accordance with such terms and conditions as the Secretary General may specify. As many Papuans as possible will be brought into administrative and technical positions. To fill the remaining required posts, the U.N.T.E.A. will have authority to employ personnel provided by Indonesia. Salary rates prevailing in the territory will be maintained.

*Article X*

Immediately after the transfer of administration to the U.N.T.E.A., the U.N.T.E.A. will widely publicize and explain the terms of the present agreement, and will inform the population concerning the transfer of administration to Indonesia and the provisions for the act of self-determination as set out in the present agreement.

*Article XI*

To the extent that they are consistent with the letter and spirit of the present agreement, existing laws and regulations will remain in effect. The U.N.T.E.A. will have the power to promulgate new laws and regulations or amend them within the spirit and framework of the present agreement. The representative councils will be consulted prior to the issuance of new laws and regulations or the amendment of existing laws.

SECOND PHASE

*Article XII*

The United Nations Administrator will have discretion to transfer all or part of the administration to Indonesia at any time after the first phase of the U.N.T.E.A. administration. The U.N.T.E.A.'s authority will cease at the moment of transfer of full administrative control to Indonesia.

*Article XIII*

United Nations security forces will be replaced by Indonesian security forces after the first phase of the U.N.T.E.A. administration. All United Nations security forces will be withdrawn upon the transfer of administration to Indonesia.

INDONESIAN ADMINISTRATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION

*Article XIV*

After the transfer of full administrative responsibility to Indonesia, Indonesian national laws and regulations will in principle be applicable in the territory, it being understood that they be consistent with the rights and freedoms guaranteed to the inhabitants under the terms of the present agreement. New laws and regulations or amendments to the existing ones can be enacted within the spirit of the present agreement. The representative councils will be consulted as appropriate.

*Article XV*

After the transfer of full administrative responsibility to Indonesia, the primary task of Indonesia will be further intensification of the education of the people, of the combating of illiteracy, and of the advancement of their social, cultural and economic development. Efforts also will be made in accordance with present Indonesian practice to accelerate the participation of the people in local government through periodic elections. Any aspects relating to the act of free choice will be governed by the terms of this agreement.

*Article XVI*

At the time of the transfer of full administrative responsibility to Indonesia a number of United Nations experts, as deemed adequate by the Secretary General after consultation with Indonesia, will be designated to remain wherever their duties require their presence. Their duties will, prior to the arrival of the United Nations representative, who will participate at the appropriate time in the arrangements for self-determination, be limited to advising on and assisting in preparations for carrying out the provisions for self-determination except in so far as Indonesia and the Secretary General may agree upon their performing other expert functions. They will be responsible to the Secretary General for the carrying out of their duties.

*Article XVII*

Indonesia will invite the Secretary General to appoint a representative who, together with a staff made up, inter alia, of experts referred to in Article XVI, will carry out the Secretary General's responsibilities to advise, assist and participate in arrangements which are the responsibility of Indonesia for the act of free choice. The Secretary General will, at the proper time, appoint the United Nations representative in order that he and his staff may assume their duties in the territory one year prior to the date of self-determination. Such additional staff as the United Nations representative might feel necessary will be determined by the Secretary General after consultations with Indonesia. The United Nations representative and his staff have the same freedom of movement as provided for the personnel referred to in Article XVI.

*Article XVIII*

Indonesia will make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the United Nations representative and his staff, to give the people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice. Such arrangements will include:

(a) Consultations (Musja-warah) with the representative councils on procedures and appropriate methods to be followed for ascertaining the freely expressed will of the population.

(b) The determination of the actual date of the exercise of free choice within the period established by the present agreement.

(c) Formulation of the questions in such a way as to permit the inhabitants to decide (a) whether they wish to remain with Indonesia; or (b) whether they wish to sever ties with Indonesia.

(d) The eligibility of all adults, male and female, not foreign nationals to participate in the act of self-determination to be carried out in accordance with international practice, who are resident at the time of the signing of the present agreement and at the time of the act of self-determination including those residents who departed after 1945 and who return to the territory to resume residence after the termination of Netherlands administration.

*Article XIX*

The United Nations representative will report to the Secretary General on the arrangements arrived at for freedom of choice.

*Article XX*

The act of self-determination will be completed before the end of 1969.

*Article XXI*

1. After the exercise of the right of self-determination, Indonesia and the United Nations representative will submit final reports to the Secretary General who will report to the General Assembly on the conduct of the act of self-determination and the results thereof.

2. The parties to the present agreement will recognize and abide by the results of the act of self-determination.

RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS

*Article XXII*

1. The U.N.T.E.A. and Indonesia will guarantee fully the rights, including the rights of free speech, freedom of movement and of assembly of the inhabitants of the area. These rights will include the existing rights of the inhabitants of the territory at the time of the transfer of administration to the U.N.T.E.A.

2. The U.N.T.E.A. will take over existing Netherlands commitments in respect of concessions and property rights.

3. After Indonesia has taken over the administration, it will honor those commitments which are not inconsistent with the interests and economic development of the people of the territory. A joint Indonesian-Netherlands commission will be set up after the transfer of administration to Indonesia to study the nature of the above-mentioned concessions and property rights.

4. During the period of the U.N.T.E.A. administration there will be freedom of movement for civilians of Indonesia and Netherlands nationalities to and from the territory.

*Article XXIII*

Vacancies in the representative councils caused by the departure of Netherlands nationals or for other reasons, will be filled as appropriate consistent with existing legislation by elections, or by appointment by the U.N.T.E.A. The representative councils will be consulted prior to the appointment of new representatives.

FINANCIAL MATTERS

*Article XXIV*

1. Deficits in the budget of the territory during the U.N.T.E.A. administration will be shared equally by Indonesia and the Netherlands.

2. Indonesia and the Netherlands will be consulted by the Secretary General in the preparation of the U.N.T.E.A. budget and other financial matters relating to United Nations responsibilities under the present agreement; however the Secretary General will have the final decision.

3. The parties to the present agreement will reimburse the Secretary General for all costs incurred by the United Nations under the present agreement and will make available suitable funds in advance for the discharge of the Secretary General's responsibilities. The parties to the present agreement will share on an equal basis the costs of such reimbursements and advances.

PREVIOUS TREATIES AND AGREEMENT

*Article XXV*

The present agreement will take precedence over any previous agreement on the territory. Previous treaties and agreements regarding the territory may therefore be terminated or adjusted as necessary to conform to the terms of the present agreement.

PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

*Article XXVI*

For the purposes of the present agreement, Indonesia and the Netherlands will apply to United Natoins property, funds, assets and officials the provisions of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. In particular, the United Nations Administrator, appointed pursuant to Article IV, and the United Nations representative, appointed pursuant to Article XVII, will enjoy the privileges and immunities specified in Section 19 of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

RATIFICATION

*Article XXVII*

1. The present agreement will be ratified in accordance with the constitutional procedures of the contracting parties.

2. The instruments of ratification will be exchanged as soon as possible at the headquarters of the United Nations by the accredited representatives of the contracting parties.

3. The Secretary General will draw up a proces-verbal of the exchange of the instruments of ratification and will furnish a certified copy thereof to each contracting party.

ENTRY INTO FORCE

*Article XXVIII*

1. The present agreement will enter into force upon the date of the adoption by the General Assembly of the resolution referred to in Article I of the present agreement.

2. Upon the entry into force of the present agreement, the Secretary General of the United Nations will register it in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter.

AUTHENTIC TEXT

*Article XXIX*

The authentic text of the present agreement is drawn up in the English language. Translations in the Indonesian and Netherlands languages will be exchanged between the contracting parties.

In witness whereof the undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized for that purpose by their respective Governments, have signed the present agreement.

Done at the Headquarters of the United Nations, New York, on this fifteenth day of August, 1962, in three identical copies, of which one shall be deposited with the Secretary General and one shall be furnished to the Government of each of the contracting parties.

For the Republic of Indonesia:
SUBANDRIO.

For the Kingdom of the Netherlands:
J. HERMAN VAN ROIJEN.

For the Kingdom of the Netherlands:
C. W. A. SCHURMANN.

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[1] Text of agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands is attached. See Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY's statement on Dutch-Indonesian Accord in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Aug. 2, 1962.

[2] See Washington Post, Sept. 23, 1962, article written by Warren Unna, "Rusk, Indonesian Talk; 'New Chapter' Hailed."

[3] See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[4] The status of West Irian was supposed to be negotiated a year later. After 12 years of dispute, the Bunker formula solved the problem.

[5] Attached is a paper on "Pancha Sila an Ideological Contribution to an Ideological Age," by the writer.

[6] See Robert Kennedy, "Just Friends and Brave Enemies," Harper & Row, publishers, New York, and Evanston, 1962, p. 105. Robert Kennedy wrote two chapters in this report of his world tour on his visit to Indonesia.

[7] See "Indonesia: Perspectives and Proposals for U.S. Economic Aid," published by the Agency for International Development, Washington, 1962, p. 1.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Op. cit., foreword.

[10] See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 2, 1962, p. 14474.

[11] Ibid. Senator HUMPHREY incorporated into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Aug. 2, 1962, the summary of the U.S. economic survey team report.

[12] See decision of People's Congress (MPRS) on Indonesian Socialism in "Ringkasan Pembangunan Semesta," Department of Information, Djakarta, 1961.

[13] Some potential Senators, during the heated debate of the satellite bill even strongly recommended that the Telstar satellite enterprise be completely owned by the Government.

[14] See Robert Kennedy's chapter on "Capitalism Is the Dirty Word in the Orient" in his book "Just Friends and Brave Enemies."

[15] See art. IV of the "Explanation on Loans or Credits Based on Production Sharing" issued by the President/Commander in Chief of Economic Operations, issued in Djakarta, Aug. 3, 1962.

[16] See Ibid., art. I, appendix to the statement.

[17] The American-Indonesian Society has its headquarters in Los Angeles. Honorary chairman is former Senator Frank Graham, whose name was mentioned earlier in the discussion of the 1945–49 period on Indonesia's struggle for independence.

[18] The Indonesian Students Association in the United States (Permias) was established in December 1961 in Washington, D.C. It has today 30 chapters in 30 cities throughout the United States. It has about 700 student members, mostly graduate students. Its headquarters is in Washington, D.C.

[19] Tape recording of the discussion between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and the Indonesian students was made by the Voice of America. This meeting was followed by "An Evening With Attorney General Robert Kennedy" sponsored by the Indonesian Students Association (Permias) at the Indonesian Embassy on July 12, 1962.

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## Address of the Honorable J. L. Robertson, Member, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, September 19, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address of the Honorable J. L. Robertson, a member of the Federal Reserve Board, advocating the consolidation of the Federal Government's banking regulating agencies into a Federal Banking Commission.

This is a practical and needed reform—one which I have long suggested needed the serious study of Congress. In January, when the 88th Congress convenes, I intend to introduce a bill embodying this principle.

Governor Robertson's address was given on September 19, 1962, before the annual convention of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks held at Bretton Woods, N.H. His address follows:

TOO MANY COOKS

Recently the New York Times carried an editorial titled "Too Many Banking Cooks." Naturally, the editorial impressed me as being unusually good, even for the Times, because it reported favorably on my suggestion for streamlining Federal bank supervision. I made the suggestion initially with some trepidation. It was not that I had any doubts about the merits of the case, but

there are always those who think they have a vested interest in the status quo, and I had no way of knowing how many people would be deeply offended by a suggestion for a radical change. I have been surprised and gratified to find that the response to the proposal has been overwhelmingly favorable.

In supporting the proposal, the New York Times brought to its readers' attention a fact of banking life which is only too well known to all of us here. That fact is that delays, conflict and confusion are inescapable so long as jurisdiction over the Nation's banking system is divided among so many cooks in Washington. Unfortunately, recent examples are easy to find of cases in which the Federal bank supervisory agencies have contradicted and overruled each other, made recommendations to other agencies obviously inconsistent with decisions rendered by them in their own cases and, in these and other ways, confounded and exasperated members of the banking community.

Bankers may be consoled by the knowledge that in some instances they are no more surprised by agency actions and decisions than are the heads of other agencies. You may remember a few weeks ago when the head of one regulatory body was reported to have expressed "amazement" at a decision arrived at by a sister agency. That is a pretty good reason in itself for getting the whole family together—under one roof.

Although many of you are familiar with the outlines of my suggestion to accomplish this, I would like to review briefly the form of the proposal for a Federal Banking Commission, then comment on a few of the questions which people have raised regarding it, and finally (I mention this now so you will be prepared) try to answer any questions that you may have. After that, I am leaving for South America. You have read in the newspapers recently about this or that person fleeing from the United States, under pressure, to safety in South America, so let me quickly assure you that this trip was planned long before I received the invitation to appear here.

The Federal Banking Commission would be a new agency, headed by a board of five Commissioners appointed by the President, with the approval of the Senate, on a staggered-term basis. The FBC—if I may use that shorthand for the proposed Federal Banking Commission—would assume all the bank and bank holding company supervisory powers presently vested in the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency. The last two would be completely absorbed into the new Commission, except that the currency functions of the Comptroller's office would be transferred to the Federal Reserve, where they belong operationally.

The FBC would acquire all the jurisdiction presently exercised by the existing Federal agencies over charters, branches, mergers, holding companies, fiduciary, and foreign banking activities, as well as disciplinary actions. The Commission would promulgate all of the regulations which are now within the province of the three existing agencies, and it would also interpret and administer the Federal banking laws.

There would be a Director of Insurance and a Director of Examinations, responsible to the new Commission, and appointed by it. Both Directors would be career appointees with indefinite terms of office.

The Director of Insurance would handle the deposit insurance and related functions now performed by the FDIC.

The Director of Examinations would be in charge of all examiners. His staff would consist initially of individuals currently employed by the three existing Federal agencies. He would be obliged to see that every national bank was effectively examined, that the laws of the land were obeyed, and that the regulations of the Commission were complied with. He would be authorized to examine State member and nonmember insured banks when necessary in the judgment of the FBC, its Insurance Director, or the Federal Reserve Board, all of whom would have free access to copies of his examination reports. In serving the Commission, he would submit to it a report on every application relating to a charter, branch, merger, or holding company; he would be expected to represent the public interest at quasi-judicial proceedings of the Commission, he would report to it unsound banking practices and violations of law; and he would refer to it questions calling for interpretation of law.

Exactly 4 months have passed since I first voiced this proposal. During the interim many people have enthusiastically discussed with me the merits of the plan. They have agreed that it would add consistency to decisions and efficiency to operations. It would eliminate overlapping jurisdictions in the interpretation, administration, and enforcement of Federal banking laws and regulations. It would bring all bank supervisory and examination personnel of the Federal Government together in a single place, where they would combine their abilities and resources to keep abreast of and contribute to a growing and healthy dual banking system. Banks, for their part, would be able to concentrate their fire or their requests, as the case might be, on that one spot. In addition, the FBC would facilitate the gathering and processing of banking statistics. Its existence would free the Federal Reserve to devote all of its time to the System's primary responsibility—monetary policy—which, I can assure you, is a full-time job.

As a matter of mechanics, in case there is need for clarification, it is contemplated that all members of the staff of the FDIC and of the Comptroller of the Currency, as well as those employees of the Federal Reserve System who are engaged in bank supervisory work, would be automatically transferred to the new agency. From among them the Commission would select its top staff and proceed to weld together the three units into an efficient and effective force, thus eliminating duplication of work, cross-travel, and all the excessive costs that result therefrom. This would permit uniformity of Federal policy in bank supervisory work. It would eliminate, for example, the necessity for three different Federal agencies to consider the competitive aspects of each bank merger, although only one makes the final decision. It would eliminate a situation in which one agency condones the absorption of exchange charges and another condemns it. It would provide the efficiency and effectiveness of one-man administration in both the examining and insurance functions, and yet assure to State bank supervisors and members of the regulated industry the right of an appeal to the full Commission in the case of determinations they deemed unwise, unfair, or capricious. It would assure that the important functions of formulating policy, promulgating, regulations, and rendering decisions on merger, holding company, charter, and branch applications, would be exercised by a group of specialists sitting in a quasi-judicial capacity.

These specialists would be the members of the new Commission. They should be men who know the business of banking, men of integrity, impartiality, and competence, who will create for the Commission a prestige comparable to that of the Supreme Court. They will constitute a body which is above politics—not bipartisan, but nonpartisan—even as the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal courts are today. The Commissioners should be men who have the courage of their convictions; they should be strong, bold, and unvacillating.

At the time I first spoke on this proposal, I suggested that the plan be made the subject of debate, in the hope that it could be perfected or be supplanted by a better plan. Thus far, no one has come forth to accept the challenge, and I am left with no alternative than to debate with myself. This is very unsatisfactory, because I may not fully understand or state the arguments of those who object to the plan.

The few objections that have been brought to my attention are not the kind into which one can get his teeth. For example, there are those who prefer the "divide and conquer" or, as they call it, the "country store" approach to bank supervision; those who have indicated preference for a system that has worked well enough in the past—the "horse and buggy" approach; those who say they see in it a threat to the dual banking system through federalization or an "obvious threat of Federal controls" over all banks; and those who refer to the proposal as "novel and interesting but impractical."

There is no way to deal with emotional arguments for preserving the old because it is old, except to appeal to reason. It is my hope that the plan for a single Federal bank supervisory agency will be adopted or rejected on its merits. But I might comment that when I was a boy on a ranch near Broken Bow, Nebr., we went to town twice each summer—once to see the Custer County Fair, and another time to attend the Chautauqua. On those occasions we would hitch up to the spring-wagon the two fastest, longest-winded animals on the ranch—a spicy mule named Balaam and a saddle horse named John. After the chores were completed early in the morning, all the ranch hands would pile into the spring-wagon and head for Broken Bow at high speed, stay in town long enough to visit the fair, or the Chautauqua, and go back to the ranch in time to do the evening chores. The trip took more than 2 hours over twisting, hilly roads that were so rough one had to hold tight to the wagon to keep from being bounced out. Today, on the new highway, the smooth trip to town takes 15 minutes.

I may feel nostalgia when I remember those times and the old-fashioned ways, but there is no use bemoaning their passing. Similarly, today's Federal bank supervisory setup is still in the horse-and-buggy stage. Perhaps we are nostalgic toward it because that was the pattern that existed when we were young, but it is outmoded—as outmoded as Balaam, the mule. Why preserve it? Some may cling for a while to the country store approach if they wish. The most convincing arguments may not shake them—but time will; even the most obstinate among us cannot hold up progress forever.

I have heard it said that although the proposed unification of agencies has great merit and is admittedly superior to the current arrangement, why disturb a system that is still working pretty well? Let sleeping dogs lie. The attitude revealed by such an argument can raise one's hackles, but the argument must be answered rationally, not emotionally. The simple, honest answer is that a large and vital area of our national economic well-being is affected. It always takes effort, sometimes great effort, to overcome the inertia of an established method. But human experience proves that the effort is fully repaid by the immediate and future gains. The moment a society stops trying to improve itself, it begins to wither. If man does not work to make his established institutions better, they become worse; they never remain the same; the direction is either forward or backward.

Certainly I do not see the FBC as representing any kind of threat to the dual banking system. That worry is very farfetched. The FBC would introduce no additional tier of Federal authority. It would simply amal-

gamate in one agency the powers which the Federal Government now exercises over banking through multiple agencies—functions which have been scattered among three different agencies, almost by unplanned accident, as our Nation developed and adapted.

Some State supervisors who have considered this proposal have wondered whether a new Federal Banking Commission such as I have proposed would be apt to display favoritism toward the national banking system to the detriment of the State banking systems. As a matter of fact, the State banking systems would then be in a better position in this respect than they are today, because a Federal agency which has responsibilities with regard to both systems of banks would be less likely to show favoritism than one which exercises supervisory functions over a single system and may seek to advance the interests of that system alone. By way of homely analogy, everyone knows that a father is so careful not to favor one son over another that he will bend over backward to make sure that each receives fair and equal treatment. If one were to seek an example in the realm of Government, he need only look at the Federal Reserve System, which possesses supervisory powers over both State and national banks. No informed person has ever challenged the impartiality of the System. It has not shown favoritism toward one group of banks over another.

The FBC would make every attempt to remove itself from State bank supervision as expeditiously as possible. During an initial period of 3 years, the FBC would make its advice and assistance available to the States as they worked to perfect their own supervisory staffs and procedures. After that, the FBC would examine State banks only upon State request, or for occasional spot checks, or where State examinations were inadequate for Federal supervisory purposes. Thus, under the plan I have proposed, there could be a gradual move toward much more complete supervision of State banks by State authorities, depending upon whether they develop staffs that can perform their functions satisfactorily without the aid of a Federal agency. One might think—and certainly hope—that the adoption of this proposal would spur more of the States to provide the amount of funds necessary for adequate State bank supervision and for adequate compensation of examiners.

In this connection, I was told the other day by a friend that a State banker said his bank paid no attention to the examinations by State authorities, but relied exclusively on Federal Reserve examinations. This should never be the case. Each State must see to it that it has a competent bank supervisory staff which is sufficiently manned and financed to do the job. Under my plan, each State would continue to have Federal assistance with the expectation that in 3 years it could develop an adequate staff and be able to establish to the satisfaction of the Commission that it could carry on the supervision of its State banks in a manner that will satisfy also the needs of Federal insurance and Reserve programs, and the requirements of Federal law.

Although the proposal for an agency such as the FBC is untried, the idea is not novel. For more than 40 years various groups and individuals have proposed similar reorganizations. Still the fundamental concept remains modern and up to date. It is designed to meet today's and tomorrow's increasingly rapid pace and complex nature of business and economic activity, which place expanding demands and stresses on the dual banking system as we know it, threatening its breakdown under pressure. When any system vital to the well-being of our people begins to suffer from harmful deficiencies, something drastic is likely to happen sooner or later. We have the opportunity now to shore up or rebuild the system before its weaknesses become critical. It would be foolhardy to fail to take advantage of the opportunity.

Assuming, however, as some seem to have done, that the proposal for a single Federal bank supervisory agency is novel and interesting, is it, as they assert, impractical? Just the opposite is true. The plan would reduce costs and increase efficiency. Bankers would be in a position to know precisely what the ground rules are, in order to better plan and regulate their own activities. The banking industry is entitled to know the rules of the game. Once known, bankers will abide by them, but they must be known, not buried in the midst of numerous press releases of multiple agencies, not confused by conflicting positions or decisions, and not be the product of a race of laxity between competing Federal agencies. They must be devoid of political overtones and of interpretations designed to favor one group of banks over another. Under my proposal bankers will be able to look to one Federal supervisory institution instead of three. Responsibility and authority at the national level will be centered in one brightly illuminated goldfish bowl. No longer will it be appropriate for editorials to point out that there are too many cooks in Federal bank supervision or to look with distaste at the kind of broth they have brewed.

As I indicated earlier, I have been heartened by editorials in leading newspapers and periodicals and by numerous letters from financial, economic, and governmental leaders, expressing approval of the proposal that Federal activities in this field be consolidated in one agency; so heartened that sometimes I think I can hear the bells tolling the demise of multiple Federal bank supervision. But bells have tolled before for events that have never come to pass. Much depends on the soundness of the plan, and much depends on the attitude of your organization toward it. Consequently, I hope each of you will study it, take steps to perfect it, and then espouse it in whatever ways you deem appropriate.

The need for coordination, efficiency, and uniformity of Federal bank supervisory policy is such that we must not follow those whose views are based on the "divide and conquer" theory. The need is great and the time is ripe. Continued bickering and inconsistent supervisory actions among Federal authorities can soon lead to a situation which will call for legislation of a much more drastic type than that which I am advocating, and this might really jeopardize the continuance of a dual banking system.

Now, since I am here today not so much to sell or defend an idea as to improve it, I will welcome your questions as well as any comments or suggestions.

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## Increased Presidential Requests for Money and Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, just 5 short months ago I rose in this Chamber to express concern, not only for myself but for thoughtful citizens everywhere, over the demand for more power for the President and more money to be spent under the President's direction.

At that time I asked unanimous consent that there be placed in the RECORD a tabulation showing that by the end of April 1962 the President had in 4 months made 62 requests for more spending and 25 requests for more power. I also stated that I intended to advise this body of further requests.

Since that time, his requests for power have multiplied and the call for further appropriations, over and above those originally requested, has continued unabated. Today these totals stand at 88 requests for more spending and 29 requests for additional Executive power.

"Money," said Leon Samson, "is the power of impotence," and "The law," said Aristotle, "has no power to command obedience except that of habit, which can only be given by time, so that a readiness to change from old to new laws enfeebles the power of the law."

I ask unanimous consent that there be placed in the RECORD at this point a tabulation supporting my statement that by the end of September the President had in 1962 made 88 requests for more spending and 29 requests for more power.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PART I. PRESIDENTIAL REQUESTS OF CONGRESS FOR MONEY, 87TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, BEGINNING JANUARY 10, 1962

January 11, 1962: The beginning (President proposes rash of new laws to appropriate Federal funds in state of Union message):

(a) Federal funds to help retrain jobless persons.

(b) Federal funds to train and find work for out-of-school youngsters.

(c) An 8-percent investment tax credit.

(d) Changes in unemployment insurance program.

(e) Federal pay increases.

(f) Higher postal rates.

(g) Imposition of withholding taxes on dividends and interest income.

(h) Extension of excise and corporate tax rates, with some changes affecting transportation industries.

(i) New comprehensive farm program.

(j) Federal aid to medical and dental colleges.

(k) Mass immunization program (State administered).

(l) Compulsory health insurance for aged under social security.

(m) Federal aid to higher education.

(n) Federal aid for public school construction and teachers' salaries.

(o) A 5-year trade expansion act—featuring elimination of many tariffs and reduction of others.

(p) Special fund to give long-term support to Alliance for Progress program in Latin America.

January 18, 1962: Record high $96.5 billion proposed budget for fiscal year 1963.

January 25, 1962: Trade Expansion Act of 1962:

1. Assistance to U.S. workers idled due to increase in imports—to include:

(a) Readjustment allowances—up to 65 percent of individual's average weekly wage for 52 weeks—13 additional weeks for workers over 60 years of age.

(b) Unemployment insurance benefits deducted from workers' allowances to extent available.

(c) Vocational education and training assistance.

(d) Financial assistance for relocation in new communities for those who cannot find employment near their homes.

2. Specific aid to businessmen and farmers—harmed by a flood of foreign goods—to include:

(a) Tax benefits.

(b) Loan guarantees and loans not otherwise commercially available.

January 30, 1962: United Nations bonds: Requested authorization of up to $100 million for purchase of United Nations bonds. Total issue would amount to $200 million repayable at 2-percent annual interest over a 25-year period.

January 31, 1962: Public welfare programs:

1. Proposed Federal Government provide three-fourths instead of one-half of funds shared with States for rehabilitation and preventive services offered to dependent persons.

2. Proposed increase from $30 million for 1963 to $50 million for 1969 and succeeding years of authorized ceiling for annual grants to States for child welfare services.

3. Requested earmarking of $5 million in 1963 and $10 million a year thereafter for grants to States in establishing day-care programs for young children of working mothers, through revision of the Social Security Act.

4. Provide Federal financial assistance to permit States to maintain community work and training projects for unemployed people receiving welfare payments (under certain stipulated conditions).

5. Increase Federal assistance to States for training of additional welfare agency workers.

6. Extend Federal sharing in assistance payments to both needy relative and his or her spouse when both are living in home with child receiving aid to dependent children payments.

7. Provide small increase in assistance funds to those States which simplify their laws by removing all residence requirements in any of their federally aided programs.

January 31, 1962: Farm program: Proposed pilot projects leading to permanent conversion of some 68 million acres of cropland to grassland, forests, and recreational areas.

Cost estimated at $15 million the first year, rising to as much as $700 million or more annually by mid-1969.

February 1, 1962: International Monetary Fund: Suggested legislation to implement recommendations made by National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems:

(a) Would authorize the United States to lend up to $2 billion to the Fund.

(b) The other nine participating nations to provide the remaining $4 billion.

February 5, 1962: Aid to education: Proposing the expenditure of $5.7 billion to expand and improve the educational system—

(a) Providing Federal assistance to elementary and secondary schools through financing increase in teachers' salaries and building more classrooms.

(b) Supporting, with Federal money, expansion of medical and dental education.

February 7, 1962:

1. Proposed legislation to establish $1 billion Government-created monopoly of privately owned commercial communications system for satellites—operated under supervision of Federal Communications Commission.

2. Supplemental appropriations for 1962 and budget amendments for 1963, including:

(a) Seven proposed supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1962 for various agencies—totaling $418.5 million—plus $700,000 for the District of Columbia.

(b) Amendment to budget for fiscal year 1963 in amount of $2.6 million to Department of Interior for construction of educational television station at American Samoa.

(c) Another amendment to fiscal year 1963 budget to increase by $800,000 amount of money for the Patent Office.

February 13, 1962: Department of Defense request for military construction authorization totaling $1.59 billion.

February 19, 1962: Requested authorization of $2 billion public works program.

February 20, 1962: Proposed increase of Federal Government salaries costs to amount to over $1 billion annually.

February 26, 1962: Program for health insurance for the elderly through social security benefits—a 10-year federally financed program for expanding medical and dental training facilities; nationwide immunization program; increase in funds to National Health Institutes and research facilities, and funds for various mental health programs. Established costs vary from $1.2 billion to $1.7 billion per year.

Peace Corps: Expansion of Peace Corps—and cost—from $40 million for fiscal year 1962 to $63.8 million for fiscal year 1963.

February 28, 1962: Conservation: To set up a land conservation fund with advances from the Treasury not to exceed $500 million over an 8-year period. Money would be made available from the fund for land acquisition by annual appropriations by the Congress. (The New York Times, Mar. 2, 1962, set the total cost of the President's program at $1 billion.)

March 5, 1962: To amend Small Business Act of 1953, Public Law 85-536. (Would remove statutory limitation on authorizations to appropriate funds, as well as the separate limitations on the amounts of appropriated funds which may be utilized for various SBA assistance programs.)

March 12, 1962: 1. Proposed changes in the temporary extended unemployment compensation program, requiring States to increase weekly unemployment benefits to at least one-half of the former weekly wage up to a fixed maximum. The maximum would also be raised gradually until it reached 66 percent of a State's average wage. A permanent extension of the 13 weeks of benefits would be provided for those having a work history of 3 years.

2. Foreign aid authorizations and appropriations: Requested authorization and appropriations for fiscal year 1963 totaling $4.9 billion for various foreign aid programs. Also proposed $2.7 billion for development lending, and requested $2 billion authorization for the Alliance for Progress program of aid to Latin America for the next 4 years. This authorization to be separate from the supplementary to the $6 billion already authorized for loans for development for 1963 through 1966.

March 13, 1962: Requested a supplementary appropriation of $25 million for fiscal year 1962 for Department of Commerce to provide for construction of pavilion and numerous exhibits at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair.

March 15, 1962: Consumer protection: A lengthy omnibus message containing four legislative proposals and many recommendations to strengthen programs for protection of consumer interests, which ranged from cosmetics and prescription drugs to installment buying interest charges and ultra high frequency television. No budgetary estimates were made on the costs of these programs.

March 19, 1962: Asked Congress for $35 million supplementary appropriations for fiscal year 1962 for storm damage relief, $25 million of this amount to replenish the President's disaster relief fund for both current and next fiscal year.

March 26, 1962: Urged immediate congressional approval of a $600 million authorization of Federal grants for various types of public works in areas of substantial unemployment: This, in addition to his request last month for standby authority to expend up to $2 billion on public works projects in future recessions.

March 28, 1962: Balance of payments: Requested appropriations adequate to staff and operate the office of a recommended export coordinator and enlarged functions of Departments of Commerce and State in stimulating exports.

April 3, 1962: New Frontier recreation tax proposal:

1. Proposed that user fees be imposed on pleasure boat owners and on motorists entering national parks or other Federal recreational areas, money to be used to expand our present and future needs of recreational resources.

2. Tax take would amount to an estimated $81 million.

3. Also asked authorization for $500 million from Federal Treasury for recreational land purchases over the next 8 years.

4. Asked for supplemental appropriations of $17.3 million to be distributed to nine different agencies and departments: Less than one-third to be used to restore facilities destroyed during the severe March storm on the east coast.

April 5, 1962: Transportation message:

1. Requested user's tax on inland waterways; 2 cents tariff per gallon on fuel used in such transportation.

2. Stepped-up research program for transportation industry.

3. Proposed abolishing mandatory minimum rates for intercity passenger travel.

4. That airlines be given approval to cut rates in a gradual or temporary basis only.

5. Urged authorization of a long-range program of Federal aid to urban regions for the revitalization and expansion of public mass transportation; wanted grant of $500 million over a 3-year period with $100 million available beginning July 1, 1962.

April 10, 1962: Requested emergency jobless pay extension, a 1-year renewal of a temporary anti-recession-type program cost; $183 billion from special taxes to be collected on 1962 and 1963 payrolls.

April 19, 1962: Proposed amendment to the budget for fiscal year 1963 involving an increase of $2 million for Department of the Interior to start a pilot project to increase productivity of depleted rangelands.

May 10, 1962: Requested amendments to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $101.5 million for Department of Labor, to provide for training of approximately 100,000 unemployed workers; increase of staff in Office of Secretary, and the Office of the Solicitor; staff for an Office of Policy Planning and Development; an Office of Labor Management Services and Women's Bureau; staff for the Commission on the Status of Women.

May 15, 1962: Issued Executive order establishing a President's Council on Aging. Asked for legislation to authorize a 5-year, $50 million program of grants to improve services for the aged, Senior Citizen Act of 1962.

May 21, 1962: Proposed an amendment to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $210.8 million for the Atomic Energy Commission.

May 23, 1962: Requested Congress to remove the limitation previously placed on indirect expenses connected with research grants included in the pending Department of Defense appropriation bill for fiscal year 1963.

May 24, 1962:

1. Requested $750,000 increase for construction of additional power facilities on the Colorado River, increasing the original budget estimate of this item from $159.8 million to $160.6 million.

2. Requested $400 million increase for loan program for various small reclamation projects.

June 25, 1962: Requested Congress to increase the 1963 budget of the Department of Agriculture by $1,500,000 for activities of the Agricultural Research Service, Soil Con-

servation Service, and civil defense activities of the Agricultural Marketing Service and Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

July 25, 1962: Requested an amendment to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $29,300,000 for operating expenses of the Atomic Energy Commission, to prevent the possibility of unauthorized use of deployed nuclear weapons.

July 16, 1962:

1. Requested an amendment to the 1963 budget involving a net increase of $2,869,000 for the civil works program of the Corps of Engineers.

2. Requested an amendment to the 1963 budget involving a net increase of $550,000 for the Bureau of Reclamation.

July 23, 1962:

1. Requested amendments to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $17,570,000 for the Department of Commerce.

2. Requested an amendment to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $198,000 for the Panama Canal and Canal Zone Government.

July 28, 1962:

1. Requested a supplemental appropriation of $850,000 for fiscal year 1963 to finance the Office of Science and Technology.

2. Requested an amendment to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $382,000 for the civil functions of the Department of the Army for administration of the Ryukyu Islands; raising the previously amended budget estimate of $13,900,000 for administration of the Ryukyu Islands, Army, to $14,282,000.

July 31, 1962: Requested amendments to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $276,729,500 for the Department of Defense, principally to provide funds for military family housing authorized in the Military Construction Authorization Act of 1962.

August 6, 1962: Requested an amendment to the 1963 budget involving an increase of $80 million for the foreign investment guarantee program of the Agency for International Development.

August 13, 1962: Requested supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1963 amounting to $595,480,000 for the executive branch, $120,000 for the judiciary, and $10,886 for the District of Columbia.

August 17, 1962:

1. Requested of Congress $28,089,000 in supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1963 for the Department of State to cover contributions and administrative cost associated with the Department's refugee activities and to provide for additional training of Foreign Service personnel. Included in this amount was an item of $12,000 to assist in meeting the expenses of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

2. Requested a supplemental appropriation of $1,075,000 for the fiscal year 1963 for the Department of the Interior to cover advanced planning on the Arbuckle, Mann Creek, and Fryingpan-Arkansas projects.

September 6, 1962: Requested supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1963 of $8,394,000 for the executive branch and $185,000 for the District of Columbia.

September 21, 1962: Three communications from the President transmitting amendment to the budget for fiscal year 1963 were received, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed, with accompanying papers, as Senate documents, as follows:

1. In the amount of $3 million for the Corps of Engineers, Civil, Department of the Army (S. Doc. No. 135);

2. In the amount of $2,344,000 for the Department of the Interior (S. Doc. No. 134); and

3. In the amount of $100 million for the Department of State (S. Doc. No. 133);

September 28, 1962: Three communications from the President transmitting amendments to the budget for fiscal year 1963 were received, as follows:

1. In the amount of $5,357,000 for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, supplemental appropriations;

2. In the amount of $5 million for the acquisition of lands for the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, supplemental appropriations; and

3. In the amount of $10,191,000, supplemental appropriations for the trade adjustment program of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

Grand total of 88 requests as of September 28, 1962.

PART II. PRESIDENTIAL REQUESTS OF CONGRESS FOR NEW POWERS, 87TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, BEGINNING JANUARY 10, 1962

January 11, 1962: Sweeping new powers requested in state of Union message:

(a) Standby power to cut taxes temporarily to combat business recessions.

(b) Standby power to launch public works (when the economy slackens).

(c) Creation of new Cabinet rank (Department of Urban Affairs and Hou:sing).

(d) Civil rights protection, including outlawing of literacy tests and poll taxes.

(e) Tightening of food and drug laws.

(f) Renewed request for powers (which Congress refused to allow in 1st sess., 87th Congress, such as reorganization plans for FCC, SEC, NLRB, Maritime Board and Federal Home Loan Bank Board).

January 18, 1962:

1. Requested a 5-year authorization to reduce existing tariffs by 50 percent in reciprocal negotiations covering broad categories, rather than through item-by-item review.

2. Asked special authority to negotiate with the Common Market to reduce or eliminate all tariffs on certain groups of products.

3. Special authority to reduce or eliminate all duties and other restrictions on importation of tropical, agricultural and forestry products—not produced in quantity, in the United States.

January 30, 1962: Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962, to create a new Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, headed by a new Cabinet-rank Secretary.

January 31, 1962: Trade Expansion Act of 1962:

1. Permit to appoint Advisory Council on Public Welfare representing broad community interests and concerns, to advise HEW Secretary in administration of Social Security Act.

2. J.F.K. farm program—demanding tight curbs or aid cutoff—deals mainly with wheat, feed grains, and dairy products.

To cut production below consumption—so difference can be made up from Nation's surplus of agriculture commodities.

February 19, 1962: Public works authorization: Asked authority to launch a public works program without further legislation, when certain criteria are met.

March 28, 1962: Balance of payments: Requested authority for various measures to increase exports and maintain the strength of the dollar—contended that he was appointing a new toplevel official in Department of Commerce to oversee this program:

(a) Authority to participate in the supplementary International Monetary Fund arrangements.

(b) Authority to bargain effectively for lower tariffs with European Common Market and other countries.

(c) To offer incentive for more rapid modernization of industrial equipment by means of investment tax credit.

(d) Removal of special inducements to invest abroad by eliminating possibilities for tax avoidance.

(e) Simplified visa requirements for foreign visitors.

March 29, 1962: Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1962:

(a) To create a new Office of Science and Technology as a unit within the Executive Office of the President.

(b) To transfer to above office certain functions of the National Science Foundation.

(c) To abolish or change certain functions of the National Science Foundation.

(d) Incidental transfers to proposed new Office of Science and Technology of personnel records, property—unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations and other funds presently being held, used, available, or to be made available as the Director of the Budget shall determine.

April 6, 1962: Requested more home rule for Virgin Islands—to elect their own officials, reapportion the legislature, and to transfer assets and activities of the Virgin Islands Corporation to the Government of the Virgin Islands.

April 11, 1962: Asked for new controls in the drug business—particularly on drugs sold over the counter without prescriptions and drugs which may have some doubtful effectiveness.

April 14, 1962: Asked that Congress give the President power to select his own Federal Reserve Board chairman—changing term of appointee to 4 years instead of present 14-year term. Claimed it is essential for the effective coordination of the monetary, fiscal, and financial policies of the Government.

April 19, 1962: Requested authority for Federal Government to withhold from the pay of civilian employees of the United States union dues for membership in certain employee organizations.

May 7, 1962: Requested standby Presidential authority to cut individual income taxes temporarily as much as 5 percent in each tax bracket.

May 16, 1962: Submitted bill to amend existing statutes relative to disposal of federally owned real property, surplus to the needs of the Federal Government, would (1) provide common standards for determining terms and conditions on which Federal surplus real property may be conveyed for authorized public purposes; (2) provide for sale of such property to public bodies at 75 percent of fair market value rather than 100 percent of fair market value as presently required; (3) define and make uniform the administrative responsibilities of the various Federal agencies involved.

August 5, 1962: Requested legislation to strengthen S. 1552 to provide for stiffer controls on the manufacture and sale of pharmaceutical drugs. In addition, advertising requirements for prescription drugs are tightened and the legislation removes certain restrictions relating to the certification of antibiotics.

Grand total of 29 requests as of September 17, 1962.

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## Résumé of Activities of the Committee on House Administration, 1st Session, 87th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, in the 1st session of the 87th Congress 256

items of legislation were referred to the Committee on House Administration. Of this number, 99 were approved by the committee and reported favorably to the House.

During the 2d session 119 items of legislation were referred to the committee, of which 70 were reported favorably to the House. For the 87th Congress a total of 375 items of legislation were referred to the House Administration Committee, of which 169 were approved and reported favorably to the House.

The Subcommittee on Accounts, under the chairmanship of the Honorable SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, acted on funds requests from various committees in connection with studies and investigations. The following table furnishes detailed information as to committees involved and funds authorized:

| Committee | Authorizing resolution | Funds resolution | Funds approved | Amount requested | Amount approved | Period (years) | Foreign travel |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | H. Res. 86 | H. Res. 94 | Feb. 28, 1961 | $50,000.00 | $50,000.00 | 2 | Yes.* |
| Agriculture | H. Res. 86 | H. Res. 728 | July 25, 1962 | 25,000.00 | 25,000.00 | 1 | Yes.* |
| Armed Services | H. Res. 78 | H. Res. 79 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 150,000.00 | 150,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Banking and Currency (Housing) | H. Res. 143 | H. Res. 144 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 100,000.00 | 100,000.00 | 1 | Yes.** |
| Banking and Currency (Housing) | H. Res. 143 | H. Res. 504 | Jan. 24, 1962 | 100,000.00 | 100,000.00 | 1 | Yes.** |
| Banking and Currency | Rule XI(4) | H. Res. 200 | Mar. 15, 1961 | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| District of Columbia | Rule XI(5) | H. Res. 199 | Mar. 15, 1961 | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Education and Labor | H. Res. 141 | H. Res. 149 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 633,000.00 | 633,000.00 | 2 | Yes.** |
| Foreign Affairs | H. Res. 60 | H. Res. 61 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 150,000.00 | 150,000.00 | 2 | Yes. |
| Foreign Affairs | | H. Res. 348 | June 29, 1961 | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Government Operations | Rule XI(8) | H. Res. 70 | Mar. 1, 1961 | 640,000.00 | 640,000.00 | 1 | Yes. |
| Government Operations | Rule XI(8) | H. Res. 592 | May 17, 1962 | 400,000.00 | 400,000.00 | 1 | Yes. |
| House Administration | Rule XI(9)(k) | H. Res. 158 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 20,000.00 | 20,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| House Administration | Rule XI(9)(k) | H. Res. 357 | June 29, 1961 | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Interior and Insular Affairs | H. Res. 92 | H. Res. 129 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 60,000.00 | 60,000.00 | 2 | Yes.*** |
| Interstate and Foreign Commerce | H. Res. 108 | H. Res. 165 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 435,000.00 | 435,000.00 | 2 | Yes. |
| Interstate and Foreign Commerce | H. Res. 420 | H. Res. 439 | Sept. 7, 1961 | 150,000.00 | 150,000.00 | 2 | Yes. |
| Judiciary | H. Res. 56 | H. Res. 68 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 200,000.00 | 200,000.00 | 1 | No. |
| Judiciary | H. Res. 56 | H. Res. 500 | Jan. 24, 1962 | 200,000.00 | 200,000.00 | 1 | No. |
| Judiciary | Public Law 86-272 | H. Res. 204 | Mar. 15, 1961 | 165,000.00 | 150,000.00 | 1 | No. |
| Judiciary | Public Law 86-272 | H. Res. 663 | June 21, 1962 | 100,000.00 | 100,000.00 | 1 | No. |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries | H. Res. 98 | H. Res. 99 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 75,080.00 | 75,000.00 | 2 | Yes. |
| Post Office and Civil Service | H. Res. 75 | H. Res. 76 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 100,000.00 | 100,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Post Office and Civil Service | H. Res. 75 | H. Res. 705 | July 25, 1962 | 25,000.00 | 25,000.00 | 1 | No. |
| Public Works | H. Res. 23 | H. Res. 135 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 950,000.00 | 950,000.00 | 2 | Yes.**** |
| Public Works | H. Res. 23 | H. Res. 433 | Sept. 7, 1961 | 150,000.00 | 150,000.00 | 2 | Yes.**** |
| Science and Astronautics | H. Res. 55 | H. Res. 85 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 300,000.00 | 300,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Small Business | H. Res. 46 | H. Res. 148 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 580,000.00 | 580,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Un-American Activities | Rule XI(18) | H. Res. 167 | Mar. 1, 1961 | 331,000.00 | 331,000.00 | 1 | Yes. |
| Un-American Activities | Rule XI(18) | H. Res. 513 | Jan. 24, 1962 | 350,000.00 | 350,000.00 | 1 | Yes. |
| Veterans' Affairs | H. Res. 49 | H. Res. 50 | Feb. 28, 1961 | 50,000.00 | 50,000.00 | 2 | Yes.** |
| Veterans' Affairs | H. Res. 49 | H. Res. 392 | Aug. 10, 1961 | 100,000.00 | 100,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Ways and Means | | H. Res. 291 | June 13, 1961 | 25,000.00 | 25,000.00 | 2 | No. |
| Select Committee To Investigate Export Control Act of 1949 | H. Res. 403 | H. Res. 453 | Sept. 19, 1961 | 60,000.00 | 40,000.00 | 2 | Yes. |
| Select Committee To Investigate Export Control Act of 1949 | H. Res. 403 | H. Res. 704 | July 25, 1962 | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 | 1 | Yes. |
| Select Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures | H. Res. 753 | H. Res. 756 | Aug. 30, 1962 | 35,000.00 | 35,000.00 | 1 | No. |
| Total (studies and investigations) | | | | 6,749,000.00 | 6,714,000.00 | | |
| Expenses of the U.S. Constitution 175th Anniversary Commission, authorized by Public Law 86-650. | | | | 387.73 | 387.73 | | |
| Expenses of the Joint Committee on Lost Colony Celebration, authorized by H. Con. Res. 438, 87th Cong. | | | | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 | | |
| Total | | | | 6,759,387.73 | 6,724,387.73 | | |

The House of Representatives has authorized travel outside the United States with the following limitations:

*By subcommittees of not to exceed 5 members.

**To any Commonwealth (of the United States) or possession thereof.

***Territories and possessions of the United States, Puerto Rico, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Pacific flag areas of the United States.

****Canada; and 2 subcommittees not exceeding 6 members and not exceeding 2 staff members each, as authorized by the chairman of the committee to do so, are authorized to travel outside the United States in connection with highway conferences.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to legislation providing funds for studies and investigations, the subcommittee considered proposals to provide a residence for pages, adjustments in personnel for various officers of the House, additional office equipment for Members of the House, adjustment in the basic clerk hire allowance of Members of the House, and adjustment in the communications account of Members of the House.

The Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment, under the chairmanship of the Honorable PAUL C. JONES, inspected improved models and types of office equipment in order to revise the official list of equipment approved for purchase by Members of the House. This subcommittee establishes the general policies relating to office equipment, and approves purchase of equipment for committee use and the specialized items used in the offices of various officers of the House. This group also made adjustments in the amount of office equipment to accommodate the larger districts.

The Elections Subcommittee under the chairmanship of the Honorable ROBERT T. ASHMORE, conducted a ballot recount and full-scale investigation into the election dispute in the Fifth District of Indiana. With a spread of only a few votes between the totals for Democratic candidate J. EDWARD ROUSH and Republican candidate George O. Chambers the subcommittee was faced with a difficult and time-consuming task which took the group into every county and election precinct of the Fifth District. After several weeks of field studies, including a complete ballot recount, the subcommittee brought all ballots, except those clearly noncontroversial, to Washington for closer study. The group worked day and night through endless meetings to reach a final conclusion which was reported to the House on June 13, 1961, House Resolution 339.

Hearings were conducted in the area of Federal corrupt practices. The House passed a bill by Chairman ASHMORE to reduce the minimum sentence for violations of the Hatch Political Activities Act from 90 to 30 days suspension without pay.

A number of bills were introduced to remove the payment of a polltax as a prerequisite to voting. These proposals were superseded by Senate Joint Resolution 29, which was referred to the House Judiciary Committee.

The Subcommittee on Printing, under the chairmanship of the Honorable WAYNE L. HAYS, reported favorably to the House a total of 120 resolutions authorizing the printing of various documents, manuscripts, hearings, and so forth.

One of the most important bills was H.R. 8141 to provide for the revision of the laws relating to depository libraries.

The Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills and Library, under the chairmanship of the Honorable PAUL C. JONES, has the responsibility of examining all bills and resolutions to see that those bills and joint resolutions which originate in the House of Representatives are correctly enrolled, and delivered to the President.

There were a total of 1,007 House bills and resolutions delivered to the White House and 39 House concurrent resolutions delivered to the National Archives during the 87th Congress.

Among legislative proposals considered by the subcommittee was a memorial to General Pershing, which was passed over. The establishment of a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commisson

was authorized. The Franklin Delano Roosevelt proposed memorial was rejected and returned to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission for further study. The subcommittee favorably reported resolutions providing for the reappointment of Dr. Jerome C. Hunsaker, Dr. Caryl P. Haskins, and Dr. Crawford H. Greenewalt, and the appointment of William A. M. Burden as citizen regents of the Smithsonian Institution. The group favorably reported a bill to establish a National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board of the Smithsonian Institution, and a National Portrait Gallery as a bureau of the Smithsonian Institution. A resolution was approved authorizing Arizona to place a statue of Father Kino in Statuary Hall. A bill to amend the act relating to the microfilming of Presidential papers was approved; also a bill to establish in the Library of Congress a library of musical scores and other instructional material for blind persons. Among Senate proposals acted upon by the subcommittee were a bill to provide for indexing and microfilming records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska in the collections of the Library of Congress, and a bill to raise the limitation of gifts and bequests to the Library of Congress.

While joint committees do not handle legislation, members of the Committee on House Administration who sit on the Joint Committee on Printing, the Joint Committee on the Library, and the Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers, were active in their respective fields.

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## Accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor, as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to present a summary of the activities of the committee in the 2d session of the 87th Congress. This committee, consisting of nine Members from each House, is unique in several respects. It is the only joint committee with the legislative functions of initiating, reviewing, and reporting bills. In addition the committee has conscientiously fulfilled its statutory responsibility as watchdog of AEC and Defense Department secret activities with respect to nuclear weapons and military propulsion. Of equal importance have been its activities in encouraging the peaceful uses of atomic energy through hearings and other public informational activities.

Through these activities, the Joint Committee, as the representative of Congress and the public, has exercised a creative role in initiating and recommending policies and programs to accelerate the progress of the atomic energy program.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the following statement of accomplishments and activities demonstrates the usefulness and vigor of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. I look forward to new achievements in the 88th Congress, as the Joint Committee moves into its 17th year of active participation in the atomic energy program.

ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE 87TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, 1962

#### I. LEGISLATION

##### A. AEC AUTHORIZATION BILL (PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-701)

The Joint Committee, after hearings in April and May, 1962, reported out the AEC authorization bill for fiscal year 1963—H.R. 11974—on June 21, 1962. The bill authorized a total of $159,415,000 for new construction projects by the Atomic Energy Commission during fiscal year 1963, and an additional $3 million for use in the program to develop atomic power in cooperation with private industry. This $3 million authorization could be used, in addition to other funds previously authorized for a new type of design assistance as requested by AEC, intended to stimulate construction by industry of atomic powerplants of at least 400,000 electrical kilowatt capacity. The bill also authorized the sum of $5 million, in addition to the $10 million previously authorized, for use in the cooperative program for research and development with the European Atomic Energy Community.

Among the highlights of section 101 of the bill was a $10 million authorization for Project Rover—the nuclear powered rocket—test facilities and a $20 million authorization for an organic reactor project.

Two projects in section 101 of the bill were especially added by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in order to expedite the AEC food irradiation program: a marine products development irradiator, $600,000; and two mobile irradiators, $700,000. These projects were added as a result of technical data developed during hearings in February 1962 by the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation on the AEC and Army food irradiation programs.

As reported out by the committee, the bill contained no provision for construction or operation of electric generating facilities at the Hanford new production reactor. The AEC had been negotiating arrangements with the Washington Public Power Supply System, under which WPPSS would construct such generating facilities at its own expense. It had been the view of the parties that congressional authorization would not be necessary in order for AEC to proceed with such arrangements. However, on July 6, 1962, the Comptroller General rendered an opinion that AEC could not proceed with these arrangements without further congressional authorization.

In order to decide as to an appropriate course of action, the Joint Committee held 2 days of hearings on July 10 and 11, to thoroughly review the proposed arrangements. The hearings were immediately published along with a Joint Committee print containing all the contracts, opinions, and other documents pertinent to a consideration of the WPPSS proposal. After further consideration, the committee voted to report favorably two amendments to the bill authorizing the AEC to proceed with the arrangements under certain conditions.

On July 17, 1962, the House considered the bill and passed it in the form recommended by the Joint Committee, but adopted a substitute amendment in lieu of the Joint Committee's amendments on the WPPSS proposal. The substitute stated that the Commission was not authorized to proceed with any arrangements for construction or operation of electric generating and transmission facilities at the Hanford new production reactor.

The Senate considered the bill on August 1, 1962, and passed it with an amendment offered by Senator JACKSON identical to the two amendments recommended by the Joint Committee. As amended by the Senate, the bill provided that the Commission was authorized to enter into arrangements with non-Federal entities for the construction and operation of electrical energy generating and transmission facilities at the Hanford new production reactor in accordance with specified program justification data which had been previously submitted by the AEC to the Joint Committee, and considered during the hearings. The Senate amendment also contained three provisos, including one that 50 percent of the electrical output would be offered to public organizations and 50 percent to private organizations on a nondiscriminatory basis.

The House considered the bill again on August 29, 1962, and rejected a motion to instruct the conferees to insist on their disagreement with the Senate amendment. Accordingly, a conference committee was convened on September 10, 1962. The conferees filed their report on September 11, 1962. The conference report—House Report No. 2342—provided that the Commission was not authorized to enter into arrangements for the Hanford electric plant unless and until it made a series of determinations concerning the benefits, the national defense aspects, and the costs associated with construction and operation of the project. The conference report also contained a provision that 50 percent participation should be offered to private organizations, and an additional provision for review by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy prior to consummation of any arrangements.

The House considered the conference report on September 14, 1962, and approved it. On September 18, 1962, the Senate considered the conference report and voted its approval.

The bill was forwarded to the President and signed into law on September 26, 1962, as Public Law No. 87-701. Following the enactment of the law, the Joint Committee held further hearings on the proposed arrangements for the

Hanford generating facilities. These hearings are described in section III–K of this report.

B. AEC OMNIBUS BILL, 1962 (PUBLIC LAW NO. 87–615)

In accordance with its regular practice, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy considered and reported out an omnibus bill incorporating necessary amendments to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. In this way the committee assures that the basic legislation reflects any new developments in the atomic energy field.

At the close of the 1st session of the 87th Congress, the Joint Committee had pending before it two important bills affecting the regulatory and indemnity sections of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. These were H.R. 9244, introduced by Congressman PRICE, concerning indemnity matters, and H.R. 8708 and S. 2419, introduced by Chairman HOLIFIELD and Vice Chairman PASTORE concerning regulatory matters. These bills served as a basis for hearings by the Joint Committee on indemnity and regulatory matters in April.

After further study and revisions of the earlier bills, Chairman HOLIFIELD and Vice Chairman PASTORE introduced clean bills, H.R. 12336 and S. 3491, on June 26 and 29, respectively. The bill was passed by the Senate on August 7, 1962, and by the House of Representatives on August 15, 1962. It was approved by the President on August 29, 1962, as Public Law No. 87–615.

The amendments in the 1962 omnibus bill can be grouped into four general categories:

1. REGULATORY AMENDMENTS

Sections 1 through 3 amend the regulatory provisions of the Atomic Energy Act by authorizing the establishment of one or more atomic safety and licensing boards and by modifying the provisions in the act concerning public hearings and review by the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards.

The Atomic Safety and Licensing Board, as established by the new law, will consist of three members, two of whom shall be technically qualified and one of whom shall be qualified in the conduct of administrative proceedings. As described in the Joint Committee report, the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board is conceived as a flexible experiment in new administrative law techniques. Its major objectives are to bring technical expertise to bear at the decisionmaking level, and to reduce cumbersome and formalized procedures. The committee report encourages the use of informal procedures by the Board to the maximum extent permitted by the Administrative Procedure Act. The law permits AEC to appoint a panel from which it may select Board members, but the committee report anticipates that the Board will become a permanent institution as the reactor licensing workload of the Commission increases.

The amendment also eliminates the requirement for a mandatory hearing except upon the application for a construction permit for a power or testing facility. In addition, it clarifies the scope of review required by the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, a group of distinguished scientists who assist the Commission as advisers, on a part-time basis.

In summary, the amendments are intended to encourage the application of technical expertise in decisions affecting the licensing of reactors, and to simplify and improve the AEC regulatory process.

2. INDEMNITY AMENDMENTS

Sections 4 through 7 of the new law amend the indemnity provisions of the Atomic Energy Act to cover incidents occurring outside the United States in the AEC contractor program. This coverage is especially needed in the case of contractors in the nuclear submarine and nuclear rocket programs. It is also of vital importance to U.S. contractors engaged in the construction of military reactors in remote locations, such as Greenland and the Antarctica.

The amendments also incorporate limitations and provisions intended to protect the U.S. Treasury against unreasonable judgments in foreign courts.

3. STANDARD AUTHORIZATION LANGUAGE

Section 8 incorporates into permanent law a number of boilerplate clauses which have appeared each year in the past as part of the annual AEC authorization bill. These clauses concern advance planning and design, restoration and replacement, and substitutions.

4. MINOR DRAFTING CHANGES

Sections 9 through 12 make minor changes in several sections of the act to correct minor drafting errors or omissions.

C. BILL FOR DISPOSAL OF THE LOS ALAMOS COMMUNITY (PUBLIC LAW NO. 87–719)

The Joint Committee in 1962 approved bills to provide for the disposal of the Los Alamos community—H.R. 12718 and S. 3580—in order to terminate Federal Government ownership of facilities and housing in the community and to permit local self-government and private homeownership.

When the atomic energy projects were started in secrecy during World War II, three communities were established at each of three necessarily remote locations: One at Oak Ridge, Tenn.; another at Richland, Wash.; and a third at Los Alamos, N. Mex. In 1955 Congress enacted the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955, providing for the disposal of the Government-owned communities at Oak Ridge and Richland. It was decided not to include the Los Alamos community at that time because of its acute housing shortage and the need for continuing stringent security. In February 1962 the AEC submitted a bill to the Joint Committee to amend the Atomic Energy Community Act to provide for disposal of the Los Alamos community under similar terms and conditions.

Public hearings on the proposed disposal were held by the Subcommittee on Communities at Los Alamos on April 23, 1962. Thirty-eight witnesses testified at the hearing, representing the principal Government agencies involved—AEC and HHFA—as well as public officials and private citizens in the community.

On August 1, 1962, the bills were approved by the Subcommittee on Communities and reported out favorably by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The bill was passed by the Senate on August 8 and by the House of Representatives on September 12, and signed by the President on September 18, 1962, as Public Law No. 87–719.

The bill provides the same general framework for disposal as applied at the Oak Ridge and Richland communities. It authorizes approximately $8.7 million for necessary plant additions and modifications to be undertaken over the next several years during the period of predisposal and disposal operations. It also authorizes local assistance payments for a period of 10 years after disposal is effective.

In summary, the bill provides the same opportunity for local self-government and home ownership as previously provided to the atomic energy communities at Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Richland, Wash.

II. AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION

A. PEACEFUL USES

In accordance with section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, 1 new agreement, and amendments to 12 existing agreements for cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy were submitted to the Joint Committee by the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission during 1962. The new agreement was with Argentina, and the amended agreements are with Brazil, city of West Berlin, the Republic of China, Euratom, France, Greece, Israel, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, and West Germany.

On June 25, 1962, the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation held a public hearing to review the proposed agreement and amendments. Following the hearing, at a committee meeting on June 28, 1962, the Joint Committee waived the remainder of the 30-day period in the case of the amendment to the agreement for cooperation with Israel, since the agreement would have otherwise expired prior to the expiration of the 30-day waiting period.

The new agreement for cooperation with Argentina supersedes a previous agreement. The new agreement provides for the sale or lease, as may be agreed upon, of a net amount of 65 kilograms of $U^{235}$. The old agreement was limited to lesser quantities of material at a lower enrichment.

The amendments to the agreements with the remaining countries, for the most part, extended the terms for an additional 2-year period. New language was also incorporated to facilitate administration of safeguards by the International Atomic Energy Agency over materials and equipment transfered under the bilateral agreements.

The amendment to the agreement for cooperation with Euratom will permit Euratom to lease, as well as purchase, enriched uranium for power reactors under the United States-Euratom joint reactor program. In addition, the amendment made changes to the existing agreement with respect to the indemnity protection, patents, and the use

of materials. According to testimony received from representatives of the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission, the amendments were consistent with the objectives of the Euratom program and will permit increased cooperation between the United States and the countries of the Western European community in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

B. MUTUAL DEFENSE

A proposed new agreement for cooperation with Belgium for mutual defense purposes was submitted by the President in 1962.

Section 123(d) of the Atomic Energy Act requires that proposed agreements for cooperation for mutual defense purposes, as distinct from peaceful uses, must lay before the Congress and the Joint Committee for a period of 60 days while Congress is in session, prior to taking effect. Moreover, they may not take effect if the Congress, during the 60-day waiting period, passes a concurrent resolution expressing disapproval.

The proposed agreement for cooperation with Belgium for mutual defense purposes was reviewed by the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation at executive and public hearings on June 25, 1962. This agreement is essentially the same as agreements which have been concluded since 1959 with a number of other NATO countries. It provides for the transfer of classified information and nonnuclear materials to assist Belgium in the training and operation of its military forces in using and defending against atomic weapons. In accordance with the statute, the agreement does not permit the transfer of any nuclear parts of atomic weapons nor any information to assist another country in the design, development, fabrication, or testing of nuclear weapons.

On June 29, 1962, the Joint Committee filed separate reports to the Senate and House of Representatives on the proposed agreement with Belgium. The report stated that the Joint Committee, after having reviewed the hearings, had no objection to the proposed agreement.

III. INFORMATIONAL HEARINGS

During the 2d session of the 87th Congress, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and its subcommittees held a total of 94 public and executive hearings. A total number of 200 hours were spent in these hearings. The full committee held 32 executive sessions and 13 public meetings. The subcommittees held 20 executive sessions and 29 public meetings. Some 18 publications, consisting of reports, hearings, and committee prints were printed by the Joint Committee during this 2d session of the 87th Congress.

A. STATUS OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY INDUSTRY (SEC. 202)

The Joint Committee held hearings in March on the "Development, Growth, and State of the Atomic Energy Industry." These hearings are held annually in public session pursuant to section 202 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. The major focus of this year's hearings was the AEC's goal of achieving economic nuclear power in some areas of the United States by 1968. Among the subjects covered in the 4 days of hearings were the AEC plutonium buy-back program, private ownership of nuclear fuel, and radioisotopes in industry.

B. RAW MATERIALS

On June 18 and 19, 1962, the Subcommittee on Raw Materials held public hearings on the AEC uranium procurement program. These hearings were a followup to hearings held by the subcommittee in Moab, Utah, in November 1961.

During the hearings testimony was received from representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission and representatives of the uranium industry. The subcommittee heard testimony concerning the increasing trend toward concentration of the industry in a few large corporations, and considered the implications of this trend for the future. The hearings also pointed up the need for a declaration by the Atomic Energy Commission of its uranium procurement policies after 1966.

At the close of the hearings, Subcommittee Chairman ASPINALL stated that the subcommittee would continue to maintain close surveillance over the AEC raw materials program.

C. INDEMNITY HEARINGS

On April 10 and 11, 1962, the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held its annual hearings on atomic energy indemnity and reactor safety. Testimony was received from representatives of the AEC and the reactor and insurance industries.

In addition to reviewing the AEC's regular annual report concerning indemnity and the activities of the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, the subcommittee considered several other subjects of current interest in the insurance and indemnity fields.

Testimony was received on the bills, H.R. 9244 and H.R. 10775, introduced by Congressman PRICE, chairman of the subcommittee, to extend Price-Anderson indemnity protection to contractors engaged in activities outside the United States. Legislation on this subject was later incorporated in the 1962 omnibus bill, Public Law No. 87-615—see section I-B above.

The subcommittee also considered insurance and indemnity problems arising out of the transportation of radioactive materials across toll roads, tunnels, and bridges.

Representatives of the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards also testified during the hearings on current reactor safety problems and the reactor site criteria recently published by the AEC.

D. REGULATORY HEARINGS

The Subcommittee on Legislation held public hearings on AEC regulatory problems on April 17, 1962. The hearings covered recent developments in the AEC regulatory field and the bills to establish an Atomic Safety and Licensing Board and make other changes in the AEC regulatory process. The substance of these bills were subsequently incorporated in the 1962 omnibus bill, Public Law No. 87-615—see part I-B above.

E. HEARINGS ON RADIATION STANDARDS AND FALLOUT

The Joint Committee held public hearings June 4-7, 1962, on "Radiation Standards, Including Fallout." These hearings were particularly timely because of increased public concern over the radioactive fallout resulting from the resumption of the nuclear weapons tests by the Soviet Union in the preceding fall, followed 6 months later by the resumption of nuclear testing by the United States in the spring of 1962.

The objectives of these hearings were threefold:

First. To update the information previously developed by the Joint Committee during the course of hearings on fallout in 1957 and 1959 and on radiation standards in 1960;

Second. To review Government policies and organizational problems associated with the administration of radiation standards; and

Third. To consider, in layman's terms, the risks involved in exposure to man-made radiation.

After the hearings, the committee prepared a summary analysis which was published in September 1962. In addition to the highlights of the testimony, the summary analysis includes a comparison of the radiation exposures and biological effects from various sources of radiation including medical and dental X-rays, background radiation, and fallout.

The testimony brought out a difference of opinion concerning the applicability of exposure limits established for the peaceful uses of atomic energy to fallout from nuclear weapons testing. Following the hearings, a significant exchange of correspondence occurred between the committee and the Federal Radiation Council and the Public Health Service to obtain clarification on the applicability of available radiation guides to exposures from fallout.

F. SPACE APPLICATIONS FOR ATOMIC ENERGY

The Joint Committee held a series of hearings on the development of atomic energy for the propulsion of space vehicles and atmospheric missiles as well as the generation of electricity for auxiliary power in space missions.

The first session of these hearings on September 13 covered the Rover nuclear rocket program. In this hearing, testimony was received on the status of the program and plans for flight test of the first nuclear rocket engine. Information was obtained on delays which have been incurred in the program and steps which are planned to accelerate progress in the development of a nuclear rocket engine.

During the second session, the SNAP project—systems for nuclear auxiliary power—was discussed. This program is aimed at the development of nuclear powered electric generators to provide auxiliary power for space vehicles and satellites.

Testimony was received on the performance of the first SNAP unit used to supply electric power for a satellite. This was the Transit satellite which was launched in June of 1961 and which has been performing satisfactorily to date. Testimony was received concerning the

resistance of such power supplies to damage by radiation in space, a difficulty which has impaired the performance of solar cells in similar missions. The testimony brought out the need for giving additional consideration to the development and use of nuclear power supplies for future space missions in order to obtain a more reliable power supply.

The final public session of this series of hearings was devoted to the Pluto nuclear ramjet project. This project is aimed at the development of a supersonic nuclear ramjet engine for the propulsion of space vehicles. It is a joint AEC-Air Force development program and is the only project aimed at the development of a nuclear propulsion plant for vehicles in the earth's atmosphere.

The testimony indicated that excellent progress has been realized in the development of the nuclear reactor portion of the system. It was indicated that the associated engine and vehicle development work is 1 to 1½ years behind the development of the nuclear reactor. The testimony made it apparent that delays in the completion of this development program are imminent if the Department of Defense fails to complete its review and approval of the joint AEC–Air Force program for succeeding phases of the project.

G. DISPOSAL OF THE LOS ALAMOS COMMUNITY

The Subcommittee on Communities of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy held hearings at Los Alamos, N. Mex., on April 23, 1962, to consider legislation for the disposal of Government-owned properties at the Los Alamos community.

Extensive testimony covered every facet of the proposed termination of Government ownership of the community. In addition, the published record contains an exhaustive collection of financial and descriptive data pertaining to the community.

As noted earlier in this report, these hearings set the stage for further legislative action which resulted in the enactment of the Los Alamos disposal bill.

H. CONFIRMATION OF PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES

The Senate section of the Joint Committee met in public session on August 14, 1962, to consider the nomination of James T. Ramey and John G. Palfrey to the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Ramey was nominated to serve the remainder of the term of Mr. John S. Graham until June 30, 1963. Mr. Palfrey was nominated to serve a full 5-year term, to expire June 30, 1967.

The Senate section met in executive session to consider the nominations on August 14, 22, and 23. The nominations were reported favorably on August 23 and confirmed by the Senate on August 24, 1962.

I. U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

On August 2, 1962, the Joint Committee held a public hearing on U.S. policy toward the International Atomic Energy Agency. Special emphasis was given to a report on this subject published May 19, 1962, by an advisory committee to the Department of State.

The committee received testimony from Dr. Henry D. Smyth, U.S. representative to the IAEA, who served as chairman of the advisory committee, and from other members of the advisory committee.

In addition, testimony was received from the Honorable Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, and Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Commissioner, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, concerning plans by the Department of State and AEC for implementation of the recommendations of the advisory committee's report. Mr. Sterling Cole, former Director General of the IAEA, also testified.

At the outset of the hearings, Chairman HOLIFIELD pointed out that the IAEA has now been in existence for 5 years, and that we approach the juncture where the United States must decide whether the IAEA is to be assigned a major role in U.S. policy for development of nuclear power abroad and application of safeguards, or whether these activities will be carried out primarily through bilateral channels. The testimony indicated that a delegation from India had recently visited the United States seeking assistance for construction of a large atomic powerplant in India. Chairman HOLIFIELD pointed out that the question of whether IAEA safeguards would be applied to such reactors in India would be of crucial importance to the future of the IAEA.

The hearings also covered possible ways in which the United States might indicate further support of the objectives of the IAEA.

J. AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION

On June 25, 1962, a public hearing was held by the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation on proposed agreements and amendments to agreements for cooperation with other nations in the atomic energy field. Testimony was received concerning proposed amendments to agreements for peaceful purposes with the city of Berlin and the countries of Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Portugal, South Africa, and Thailand, and with Euratom, and a new agreement with Argentina. In addition, testimony was received concerning a proposed agreement for cooperation with Belgium for mutual defense purposes. Following the hearings, on June 29, 1962, the Joint Committee filed reports in the House and Senate stating that it had no objection to the proposed agreement.

K. PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR ELECTRIC GENERATING FACILITIES AT HANFORD NEW PRODUCTION REACTOR

Following the enactment of the fiscal year 1963 Authorization Act, which included provisions authorizing arrangements for the addition of electric generating facilities at the Hanford new production reactor, the Joint Committee held hearings on September 27 to review these proposed arrangements. The committee also reviewed certain determinations which had been made by the Atomic Energy Commission pursuant to the law.

Testimony was received from each of the contracting parties, including the Atomic Energy Commission, the Bonneville Power Administration, and the Washington Public Power Supply System. Following the hearings, Chairman HOLIFIELD in a letter to the manager of the WPPSS, stated the view of the committee that the proposed arrangements submitted to the committee were "in compliance with the terms and conditions of the law."

L. FOOD IRRADIATION PROGRAM

The Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held hearings March 6–7, 1962, to review the AEC and Army food irradiation programs.

The hearings were held because of concern over budgetary cutbacks in the AEC program which would have curtailed the fiscal year 1963 effort.

The Army is working under a 6-year program utilizing the high dose or complete sterilization method for the preservation of such foods as meat, pork, and poultry for ultimate Army acceptance and use. It was learned that the Department of the Army expected to obtain approval from the Food and Drug Administration within the near future to begin use of its first irradiated food—bacon.

The AEC program consists of low dose or pasteurization of such foods as fish, fruit, and vegetables for ultimate widespread consumption. Notable successes with fish and fruit were indicated.

Expert witnesses from Government, universities, and other sources testified overwhelmingly in favor of continuance of the program because of the outstanding research results.

Following these hearings the Joint Committee added several items in the AEC authorization bill for the fiscal year 1963 to support the food irradiation program. These projects added by the committee were the marine products demonstration irradiator for fish products and two mobile irradiators which could be transportable to various locations for fruit, vegetable, or fish processing on site.

IV. CLASSIFIED ACTIVITIES

In addition to the hearings described in the previous section of this report, the Joint Committee conducted an extensive number of hearings on classified matters in executive session.

The subject matter of these hearings proved to be as broad as the worldwide defense and security interests of the United States.

INTELLIGENCE BRIEFINGS

On January 17 and August 14, 1962, the full committee received intensive briefings on late intelligence developments from Mr. John A. McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. The meetings were a continuation of the regular practice of semiannual briefings by CIA on vital matters affecting the security of the United States.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING

In the area of nuclear weapons testing, the committee in January reviewed the results of U.S. underground tests with AEC officials. In advance of the resumption of atmospheric testing, the committee also received a detailed briefing from officials of joint task force 8 and its commander, Gen. A. D. Starbird, on planned Pacific test operations.

After the initial series of atmospheric tests, the committee held further executive hearings at which test results were reviewed with representatives of DOD, AEC, Los Alamos Laboratory, Livermore Laboratory, and Sandia Corp. Among the key officials who testified were Gerald W. Johnson, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy; Dr. Norris Bradbury; Dr. John Foster, and Mr. S. P. Shwartz, president of Sandia Corp.

NATO

The problem of nuclear commitments by the United States to NATO continued to be a vital area of committee interest. On March 1, 1962, the committee received an extensive briefing on current and planned U.S. policy with regard to nuclear weapons for NATO. Witnesses from the State Department, DOD, and AEC testified during 2 days of hearings.

Later, in September, the committee met with Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, who had been designated to succeed Gen. Lauris Norstad as supreme Allied commander, Europe. In this meeting the committee had the opportunity of reviewing NATO nuclear weapons arrangements with General Lemnitzer.

DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

During the course of the year, the committee closely followed the progress of disarmament negotiations. Prior to his departure for Geneva, Ambassador Arthur Dean, U.S. representative to the 18-nation disarmament conference, reviewed proposed U.S. policy positions at Geneva with the joint committee. He was accompanied by representatives of the State Department, AEC, and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Upon his return from Geneva, Ambassador Dean, on August 2, 1962, reported to the committee on the progress of negotiations and further U.S. plans in connection with negotiations for a test ban treaty with the Soviet Union.

SECURITY

Finally, the committee continued its watchdog role in assuring the adequacy of safeguards to protect restricted data. The Subcommittee on Security held hearings in executive session to review the adequacy of DOD and AEC procedures for the safeguarding of atomic secrets. Included were reviews and analyses of specific security cases. During these hearings, recommendations were made by the committee for improving Defense Department security practices and regulations. Some changes were subsequently adopted by the Department of Defense.

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. RALPH R. HARDING
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened at the death of our beloved colleague, CLEM MILLER. Not only his district in California, but the whole State of California, as well as our great Nation, has lost one of the finest servants in the U.S. Congress.

It seems like only yesterday after we had had the Burns Creek project, which was so vital to my district, defeated on the floor that CLEM MILLER put his comforting arm around my shoulder and said, "We'll get it next year, RALPH." That is the kind of a friend that CLEM MILLER was.

I have joined with him on many projects for the benefit of the West. We have fought together for increased money for forest roads and to help the depressed timber industry. His interests extend far beyond his district; he was interested in keeping our Nation strong and prosperous throughout the whole of its boundaries.

I join with my colleagues in extending sympathy to his wife, Kathryn, and their five wonderful daughters. They can take great comfort in knowing that their husband and father was not only a great Congressman but also a loyal and devoted American.

## Letter From Robert D. Partridge, Legislative Representative, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Mr. Robert Partridge, legislative representative of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, relative to newspaper accounts of an address given in Portland, Oreg., by the association's president, Mr. Clyde Ellis.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
*Washington, D.C., October 12, 1962.*

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: An account of the Western States Water and Power Consumers' Conference published in the October 3 edition of the Oregon Journal has just come to my attention. Through an error, the newspaper has attributed remarks to Mr. Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which he did not make and which do not reflect his opinions on the subject.

I refer to the following paragraphs contained in a story bylined by Watford Reed:

"At the same time, he acknowledged that State and Federal ownership of utilities is 'not in the cards in the United States now' but expressed belief that increased public ownership is possible through municipal ownership and organization of more PUD's.

"We'll be able to get nationwide public ownership only by gradual means," he declared, claiming at the same time that 'the power companies are combining to kill off the public utility districts.'"

Mr. Ellis is away from Washington; however I discussed this with him by telephone, and he told me that he did not make these statements at the Western States Water and Power Consumers' Conference, nor has he made such statements at any other time.

Mr. Ellis said he had discussed this newspaper story with Wallace Campbell, director of public affairs for Nationwide Insurance Co., who also spoke at the conference on the same panel. Mr. Campbell believes, as Mr. Ellis does, that the above quoted paragraphs refer to remarks which he (Campbell) made at the conference.

Mr. Ellis feels that this mixup of quotes has caused a most serious situation. It has been seized on by enemies of the rural electrification program and is being used in an attempt to discredit Clyde Ellis and the program. Congressman JOHN SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania, has used it in just such a manner on the floor of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Ellis wants it most emphatically understood that neither he nor the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association has ever advocated nationwide public ownership of power facilities by any means, gradual or otherwise.

Mr. Ellis feels that the story in the Oregon Journal has been damaging both to him personally and to the rural electrification program which he represented at the Western States Water and Power Consumers' Conference. I hope the Oregon Journal will take action to inform its readers of the true situation in regards to these quotes and do what it can to clear up the misunderstanding.

Sincerely,

ROBERT D. PARTRIDGE,
*Legislative Representative.*

## Hungary and Soviet Germany: An Eyewitness Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Arthur J. May, a veteran of the University of Rochester faculty, has recently returned from 9 months of study and travel in Europe, on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

It was his eighth trip abroad, and while there he presented lectures to learned societies and university groups in Austria and Poland. Dr. May also reported his impressions of Old World countries for the Gannett newspapers.

A pioneer in this country in research and writing on the history of central Europe, Dr. May was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize by the American Historical Association for his "Hapsburg Monarchy." He has written four other books, including a "History of Civilization Since the Mid-17th Century." He is the author, too, of many articles for scholarly journals and other publications, and for leading encyclopedias.

It is against this background that my constituent prepared a number of illuminating press reports on his observations and impressions of today's Europe. I

believe they deserve a wide readership, and, under leave previously granted, I include them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, May 4, 1962]

HUNGARIANS GRIM, WEARY, RESIGNED

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

BUDAPEST.—"When you get to Hungary, I wish you would call on my relatives," a Hungarian refugee from the anti-Communist revolt of 1956 said to me.

"I've talked with them on the telephone, but I'd like to know how they are really living."

"Aren't you afraid that some harm might befall them," I asked, "if an American visited them." "Oh, no," came the answer, "they have lost nearly everything they had, and they don't care what happens now."

Without difficulty I learned from a Budapest travel official how to locate the family and rode there in a couple of congested, antiquated streetcars. It was plain from the furnishings in the cramped apartment that the family had a tradition of refinement and culture.

The very fact that this visit was possible testifies in a way that the strict police surveillance established after the rebellion of 1956 has been relaxed. Three years ago I was refused a visa to spend some time in Hungary, but this year getting one was no problem.

For Americans the fee for a visa has been radically cut since last year. The nub of the matter is that this government of Kremlin puppets welcomes foreigners to get funds to liquidate debts to the Soviet Union and its satellites or to purchase needed goods abroad.

Moving freely in downtown Budapest, I at no time had the slightest suspicion that I was being followed.

On the other hand, the Communist regime is determined to keep its citizens at home. It is next to impossible to secure papers to go abroad, unless the would-be traveler wishes to visit another Communist land, and even that cannot always be arranged.

That the "Iron Curtain" is not a mere figment of the imagination may be vividly seen at heavily guarded frontier points leading from Hungary to Austria.

Dressed in Sunday best on a warm spring day, Budapesters appear better off than their fellows in any other Communist country I have visited in the last 10 years. Clothes have a pleasing variety, and shoes seem stoutly made. But women seldom wear stockings. Cosmetics and costume jewelry are equally rare.

A pair of shoes and two pairs of stockings are the annual quota for an ordinary Hungarian. It takes anywhere from a quarter to a seventh of the average worker's monthly income to buy shoes for a small child. Cotton textiles cost around three times as much as in Austria.

Prices of food on display in stores run roughly the same as in the United States. As in other Communist countries, housing congestion is an everlasting headache. During the last 5 years many big new apartment blocks of small dwellings have gone up, though not nearly enough to meet elementary needs in this growing city of almost 2 million. Apartments in one fancy new building are awarded to top winners in state lotteries.

Men and women beyond 30, say, look weary, grim, harassed, frustrated, resigned. Rarely do you see a smile on a face. But youngsters romp, laugh, or kick a soccer ball around as though theirs was the best of all possible worlds.

[From the Elmira (N.Y.) Star-Gazette, May 9, 1962]

HUNGARIAN CAPITAL CITY OF CONTRASTS—BUDAPEST HAS A SPLIT PERSONALITY

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

BUDAPEST.—This capital of the Hungarian People's Republic is a twin city. On one side rise the steep hills of Buda, with fragmentary Roman ruins to remind the traveler that it was once embraced in the great empire. On the other is Pest, a part of the endless plain sweeping eastward. The fast-flowing Danube separates the two sections.

All the connecting bridges were knocked out during the Russian conquest in World War II. With one exception the bridges have been replaced and work is underway to restore the last one.

Hotels along the edge of the Danube were so badly damaged in the savage fighting that most of them have been razed. Their sites serve today as public parks. The massive royal palace also suffered severely and is being reconstructed as the national library.

Many older houses are pockmarked with shellfire from the war period or from the civil struggle of 1956.

On the fashionable streets of Pest smart shops with attractive window displays are fairly numerous. Move off to the side streets in the older area though, and you find them dirty and often reeking with unpleasant odors. Street lighting at night is inadequate.

Quality inns where delicate wine is served attract crowds of patrons. Gypsy orchestras entertain with tunes, some of which are straight from the sidewalks of New York or Vienna.

Blue public buses are solidly built, but streetcars, two or three in a string, have a melancholy, shabby appearance and are scheduled for oblivion.

Rakish tugs chug heroically against the stiff current of the Danube, dragging heavily laden barges. Passenger boats, flaunting the red, green, and white flag of Hungary, are loaded to capacity.

Book stores are well supplied and offer selected works by Western authors. Street signs announce that "Hamlet" and "Romeo and Juliet" will be presented in coming theater attractions. Efforts are being made to revive the classic traditions of the Budapest Opera.

A great deal of space in the newspapers is assigned to sports. An immense stadium, accommodating 96,000 spectators, ranks with the enormous Communist Party headquarters as a new showplace in the Capital. Margareten Island with winding paths, a Japanese garden, boat and tennis clubs, thermal baths and swimming facilities for the densely concentrated population retains its popularity.

Among the great churches of Budapest, Holy St. Stephen's resembles St. Peter's of Rome in appearance. Throngs crowd in to worship and to seek consolation and comfort. Elderly people predominate in the congregation. Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty remains a refugee in the American Legation, as he had been for almost 6 years.

A rather large square bears the name of Roosevelt. Not far away stenciled on a wall is "Cuba si, Yankee non." On the spacious Stalin Square a dull, dumpy plant occupies the space filled by a massive statue of the Soviet dictator until the revolutionary events of 1956. Nicholas Lenin is remembered in the name of the principal boulevard.

Police and soldiers are not conspicuously plentiful, though everyone knows that Soviet infantry and tanks are not far away, ready to suppress ruthlessly any attempt to repeat the fight for freedom of 1956.

Despite incessant press and radio propaganda to the effect that conditions in Hungary are better than in free Europe, some analysts guess that as many as 9 out of 10 adult Hungarians are anti-Communist and cherish a deep sense of alinement with the West.

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[From the Gannett newspapers, July 7, 1962]

DRESDEN ART: SLOGANS, PAINTINGS IN CITY

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

DRESDEN, EAST GERMANY.—If slogans can make a people healthy, wealthy, and wise, Dresdeners should be the most contented folk on earth.

Emblems and photographs, diagrams and placards—white lettering on a deep red background—are plastered all over. Communist watchwords are even stenciled on the windows of streetcars.

A typical specimen appeals to workmen to "bend every resource to strengthen the German Democratic Republic and peace." "By meeting production targets, win a victory for socialism," reads another. Or "Freedom for the oppressed colonial peoples." And "West German militarism is the mortal enemy of German unity."

Alongside of a picture of the wrinkle-faced, goateed President of the Soviet German regime, Walter Ulbricht, stands the sentence, "Increased work efficiency is the hallmark of the Socialist." Attached to the same billboard are photographs of smiling workers pledging to fulfill their assignments in the state economic plan.

A curious agitation center displays pictures of Communist worthies, past and present, German and foreign, and a photograph of ex-President Dwight D. Eisenhower and ex-Vice President Richard M. Nixon cheerfully chatting with Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the latter's visit to the United States in 1959.

Nearby is a monumental metal globe, which a child can easily turn. Communist states are shown in red, the United States and other free countries in somber black, and neutral lands in yellow. Cuba is being given special attention in the form of an art exhibit, and parading schoolchildren wave banners with "Cuba" written on them.

One theme in the sloganeering tops all others: Peace. Reads one poster, "Peace must be fought for"—and another, "Peace and friendship in the future not only for Germany, but for the whole world."

The accent on peace is peculiarly appropriate in Dresden for this city was terribly mangled in the final phase of World War II. In proportion to its population—then in the vicinity of 700,000—Dresden suffered more extensive destruction than any other German community. After that came the inclusion of the city in the Soviet Russian zone of Germany.

Before the war Dresden prided itself on being not only the most beautiful of German cities, but one of the most attractive in the world. Writers called it the Florence on the Elbe, because it occupies both banks of that river's valley, possessed choice palaces, churches, cultural collections, and boasted fine educational establishments, crowned by a world-famous university of technology.

The chief glory of Dresden was—and yet is—the wondeful Zwinger picture gallery. Tardily in the war period, the Nazis stowed the paintings in castles to the east of Dresden, and removed them to abandoned mines and the like as the Red armies stormed westward. After the war, the Soviets hauled the treasures off to Russia, avowedly to keep them from seizure by avaricious America.

Some invaluable art objects disappeared—stolen or destroyed. Not long ago a priceless vase was discovered in the home of a

peasant where it was serving as a pickle jar. The building in which the paintings are housed was damaged during the war, but has been fully reconstructed.

In 1954 the Soviets shipped the paintings back to Dresden, a gesture which German Communists interpret as a noble demonstration of Soviet friendship. Just that is written in large characters on a wall of the gallery. Four years ago the Soviets restored other art objects and scientific collections to Dresden museums.

The pearl of the picture gallery is Raphael's "Sistine Madonna," one of the best known and best loved of all paintings. Before the war it was in a separate room where the lighting was bad. Today it hangs on a rear wall at the end of a series of alcoves and can be viewed to maximum advantage.

A "Portrait of Rembrandt with Sarkia," his new wife, is only one of more than a dozen works by Rembrandt in the Dresden collection. Holbein's "Henry the Eighth" is another prized possession.

There is a wealth of Italian, Dutch, and Flemish masterpieces and a splendid selection of 19th and 20th paintings. Throngs of visitors wander through the rooms.

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[From the Gannett newspapers, July 11, 1962]

PRESS PROPAGANDA IN SOVIET GERMANY

(By Dr. Arthur J. May)

DRESDEN, EAST GERMANY.—Strictly speaking, the Government of East Germany is not run by the Communist Party, but by the Socalist Unity Party of Germany, abbreviated as SED. It represents a post-World War II combination of Communists, who were a strong force in German public life before Hitler took charge, and of leftwing Social Democrats.

Veteran Communists, however, dominate the public stage and though they customarily refer to their scheme of things as Socialist, it is, of course, Communist in the ordinary Western understanding of the word.

How general real allegiance to the Communist regime is remains a matter of conjecture. Twenty-five percent of the adult population is undoubtedly a top estimate, probably it is less, perhaps much less. Mature men and women in Soviet Germany have known nothing other than authoritarian rule for 30 years—first the Nazis and afterward the Communists.

Social welfare arrangements, broad educational opportunities within the Communist mold, large incomes for the highly trained and skilled are all important means in winning—or trying to win—converts to communism. Press and radio, movies and TV ceaselessly carry forward the work of indoctrination.

Only Communist papers and magazines are on sale at Dresden newsstands. The New Germany is the official mouthpiece of the SED Party. There are also the Saxon Daily and the Saxon newspaper, the latter the organ of the local branch of the SED, and published in Dresden.

Differences in name and in format of the papers have little significance, for the content is essentially the same. Take the Saxon newspaper, for example, a well-printed eight-page job, whose pages are two-thirds the size of a standard American paper.

On the masthead stands the Marxist battle cry, "Workers of all countries, unite." Beneath is an austere portrait of Franz Mehring, a militant German disciple of Karl Marx of an earlier generation. Ten clear photographs are presented.

The principal topics dealt with are the iniquity and menace to peace of the West German Republic, economic turmoil in the free societies of the world, advances in East German industrial output, and the solicitude of the Government for the well-being of children.

A fair amount of space is allocated to diversions, sports especially, and to an installment of a novel. Weather prospects get a paragraph. Advertisements, which are concentrated on a single page, call attention to new offerings in furniture and in photographic supplies, spots for dancing, and movie programs. Sandwiched in are rather elaborate death notices in the traditional pattern of Germany.

Banner headlines proclaim the wide fluctuations of the New York Stock Exchange, which have unloosed a chain reaction in financial centers of Western Europe. The principal cause of these developments, it is explained, is political. "The armaments monopoly—above all, the Rockefeller group in the United States of America—fears successful results from Soviet-American negotiations on the German and West Berlin questions," the text reads, "which will bring about a relaxation of international tension and reduction in orders for armaments."

The heaviest barrage of propaganda is laid down against politicians in West Germany. Social Democratic leaders over there are upbraided as faithless to Socialist principles and as the paid lackeys of the Adenauer "imperialists and warmongers." But these Socialist chiefs, it is said, do not really reflect the attitude of the party rank and file, which is increasingly impressed by what is being accomplished in "the workers and farmers" state of East Germany.

Almost an entire page is given over to denunciation of West German "monopoly capitalists" and great landed proprietors, who bar the way to a united, peaceful, and democratic Germany. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and top personalities in the Bonn government are depicted in a cartoon with a gaunt skeleton hovering over them. Listed are prominent West German officials, who formerly were "table companions" of Adolf Hitler.

Several articles, accompanied by pictures, report on East German factory workers who have increased their efficiency on the job. High praise is lavished on Comrade Maria Woliff, for smashing all records in weaving, and setting admirable standards for other workers to imitate.

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## The Thoreau Centenary in Concord

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, this year of 1962 has been a notable one in its observance of the centenary of the death of Henry David Thoreau.

On May 6, the anniversary of the death, a bust of Thoreau was unveiled in the Hall of Fame in New York City.

On the following Friday, on May 11, a Thoreau observance in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, and the executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, Howard Zahniser, had as speakers the poet Robert Frost and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas—and a notable gathering as audience.

But not only in the Nation's Capital and in its metropolis was Thoreau honored. There have been many observances. Even in his home village, Concord, Mass., where he had lived most of his life, where—as he said—he had travelled a great deal, and where he died—there Thoreau has been greatly remembered, a prophet not without honor even in his own Concord. And not only has the centenary of his death been there observed but also once more, as annually, the anniversary of his birth.

"A BIRTHDAY PARTY"

At the annual meeting of the Thoreau Society held in Concord on July 14, 1962, the Saturday nearest Thoreau's birthday anniversary on July 12, the president of the society—the distinguished head of the department of English and comparative literature of Columbia University, Dr. Lewis Leary—described the occasion as a birthday party.

Recalling that Thoreau intended no ode to dejection, Professor Leary declared:

We meet here on this anniversary weekend for the refreshment of reawakening to the challenge and the wisdom which he continues to present.

"RELEVANT TO OUR GENERATION"

In an address on "Thoreau and the Wilderness," Howard Zahniser, of the Wilderness Society, reiterated on this Concord occasion his comment that "Thoreau's example and his thoughts and writings are in many ways relevant to our generation."

To the wilderness preservation movement, Thoreau continues to give meaning, inspiration, hope—

Said Dr. Zahniser:

His concepts still help interpret wilderness preservation. His effectiveness in writing is still persuasive.

Mrs. Edmund W. Fenn described the observance of the centenary of Thoreau's death in Concord on May 6, 1962. In his introduction of Mrs. Fenn, Dr. Leary noted that "the New York Times recognized that the most appropriate commemoration of this centenary was here in Concord."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Dr. Leary's presidential paper, "Wilderness Is Where You Find It," Mrs. Fenn's description of the Concord observance, and Howard Zahniser's remarks on "Thoreau and the Wilderness" be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THOREAU'S CENTENARY OBSERVED IN CONCORD

(An account by Mrs. Edmund W. Fenn presented at the 1962 annual meeting of the Thoreau Society in Concord, Mass., July 14, 1962)

We didn't know whether anybody would come. I found that as the time of the Thoreau centennial in New York approached, I was not the only one with a sense of frustration and disappointment because I couldn't be there. For I had a telephone call from Mary Sherwood. She said:

"Wouldn't it be a good idea for those of us here in Concord to have a walk from the Thoreau House on Main Street to the cemetery, swinging in past the church here where the funeral had been held? We'll ask people to bring wildflowers, and we'll get a flutist because, of course, the flute was Thoreaus' instrument. And we'll lay our flowers on his

grave at just the moment of the unveiling of the bust in New York." I did indeed think this was a wonderful idea. So she put notices in the paper and then we waited. But we didn't know whether anybody would come.

Still, there was a telephone call to ask whether a bunch of violets would be suitable. And I met a friend down street who said she turned down an invitation to a big dinner party because she wanted to go to the grave.

Well, we'd do it anyway if there were only a half dozen of us. But when we came to the meeting place on that day, May 6, there were about a dozen people waiting, and others converging from all directions.

Some were townspeople, and some were from outlying places, and there were whole families. One little baby rode in a tote-basket on his father's back. Everyone had flowers, most flowering branches of trees and bushes. One man brought a basket with 20 different kinds of wildflowers in it. One couple brought rhodora, that earliest of wild azaleas, with beautiful lavender blossoms.

Mary Sherwood brought wild apple blossoms, and that morning I had gone to the swamp to pick branches of andromeda, which were in full bloom, and had made them into a wreath, remembering the Olcutt girls had made an andromeda wreath for Henry's coffin, andromeda being his favorite flower.

There was even a bunch of very wilted dandelions, clutched too tightly in a little fat fist.

As we started down Main Street we were all very gay and talkative, for it was exciting to see the people all along the way waiting with their flowers and falling into line. And the batteries of news photographers were everywhere.

But as we turned the corner and swung into the circular drive in front of the meeting house, the bell in the steeple began to toll—45 times, once for each year of Thoreau's life. Those of us who live in Concord had been to three funerals in the church this spring—the funeral of our old minister who had been here for so many years, and that of one of the town's most beloved citizens and benefactors, and one of our own Concord boys who had died so suddenly and much too young—and here we were again.

It suddenly came over us that this was a real man we were honoring.

We were all very quiet now—even the children—and no one talked. I think the lumps in our throats got in the way.

As we entered Sleepy Hollow, we placed flowers on the Dunbar plot, where Thoreau had first been buried, then turned and walked along the dirt path in silence except for the lovely strains of the flute and the singing of birds and the soft swish of many feet.

As we crossed a little rise, we looked back, and a hundred people were following along behind us. There was the minister, and there was the librarian, and there was the doctor. Many of the townspeople were walking past the graves of their own ancestors.

When we reached Authors Ridge, another hundred people were waiting there—Raymond Emerson, Ralph Waldo Emerson's grandson, and his family, the descendants of the Alcotts, and those of the other old Concord families. We placed flowers on the grave of Thoreau's friends—Sanborn, Channing, Alcott—rhodora for Mr. Emerson, remembering his famous poem of that name, and cedar for Mr. Hawthorne, remembering the cypress hedge which once encircled his stone.

We gathered around Henry Thoreau's grave, and Mr. Robert Needham spoke very simply as to why we were there.

Then Ellen Emerson, a high school girl, read excerpts from her great-great grandfather's speech which he had delivered at Thoreau's funeral.

Mr. William Kussin read a couple of short poems which his great-great grandfather, Bronson Alcott, had written for Henry.

There was a brief piece by the flutist.

Each person then stepped forward and placed some flowers on Henry Thoreau's grave.

Well, this is what we did. It was indeed what his friends and neighbors had done a hundred years ago. It was a very touching and beautiful ceremony in its appropriateness and its simplicity, and we felt content. We thought Mr. Thoreau would have been pleased, too.

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## Wilderness Is Where You Find It

**(The presidential address at the 1962 annual meeting of the Thorean Society, in Concord, Mass., July 14, 1962, by Lewis Leary, president of the Thorean Society and head of the department of english and comparative literature, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.)**

During this centenary year so much has been said, and so well said, about Thoreau, his life and his death and, particularly, about his achievement as a humane man of letters, a guide, and a continuing inspiration, that it seems presumptuous to attempt more.

We have remembered Thoreau on the 100th anniversary of his death, in New York, a city which he did not like and in ceremonies some of which we think he would not have approved; and we remembered him more simply and appropriately in Concord.

The President of the United States sent us testimonial greetings, joining Thoreauvians from all over the world—from France, Australia, Brazil, Norway, and Japan—in remembering with gratitude one of America's most consistently compelling and living voices.

A few days later, the American Literary Society of Japan dedicated a memorial day to Thoreau in Tokyo.

Shortly after that, in the lovely, unspoiled natural setting of Dumbarton Oaks Park in Washington, Secretary Stewart L. Udall of the Department of the Interior joined with Chief Justice Earl Warren and Mr. Justice William O. Douglas in ceremonies presided over by Howard Zahniser of The Wilderness Society, and the Thoreau Society as well. These ceremonies were attended by a small galaxy of important people—conservationists, members of the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society, men of letters, diplomats, and poets such as Robert Frost, who spoke so movingly, and Louis Untermeyer, Allan Tate, and, appropriately, Robert Lowell.

Western Thoreauvians remembered him also, in Utah, far from Concord, but to which Concord provided representation. Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota—the State to which Thoreau made his last excursion the year before he died—read resolutions about Thoreau into the Congressional Record. Private presses and fine printers have turned out a dozen or more memorial items, beautiful exemplars of typographic art. A picture book about Thoreau and the people he knew and the scenes he loved, entitled "In Wilderness Is the Preservation of the World," will be issued during this centennial year, as will be scholarly variorum edition of "Walden" to which we have all looked forward.

Thoreau's death 100 years ago has been well remembered, all through this land, over all the world, most effectively here, where he was born and where he died. His bust is in the hall of fame, with the plaque beneath it reminding every visitor that "There is more day to dawn."

### COMMEMORATING HIS BIRTH ALSO

Because of so much commemoration, some suggested that we need not hold our summer meeting in Concord this year; but the suggestion was put forth timidly, and was shouted down at once, for remembering "Walden" and its theme of rebirth and reawakening—"There is more day to dawn"—this summer meeting is dedicated, not to memorializing something which is past nor to commemorating the centenary of a death, but to recollection that July 12—2 days ago—is the birthday of Henry David Thoreau, and that we meet here on this anniversary weekend for the refreshment of reawakening to the challenge and the wisdom which he continues to present.

We meet today, then, for no funereal remembering, but as a birthday party, recalling that Thoreau intended no "ode to dejection, but to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning," if only to wake us, his neighbors, up.

With so much having been said, and so expertly and subtly said, during these centennial months, it has seemed appropriate that we devote this birthday celebration today to recalling simple things—Thoreau's love and understanding of nature, his aspiration toward wildness, and his concern about the importance to man of the wilderness.

For this reason, we have planned walks this afternoon which will allow us to follow, even with less accustomed legs and less well honed perception, some of the trails which in a real as well as a figurative sense Thoreau blazed for us.

Tonight we shall be led toward discussion of "The Maine Woods," which details Thoreau's three adventurings toward wildness, and has much to say about the comfort he found in briefer excursions which began and ended at the back door of Concord.

When I have stopped talking this morning, Howard Zahniser will take us on an excursion of his own through Thoreau's attitudes toward and his convictions about the wilderness.

Our theme today is wildness.

We are sharing a wild party, and I think Thoreau would have liked that.

Before I do stop talking, perhaps it will be useful for us to refresh our minds together about some of the simpler details of the book about "The Maine Woods," in preparation for the more revealing things which each of us will find to say about it in our discussion tonight. It tells, we remember, of three visits: one in the late summer of 1846, while Thoreau was officially in residence beside Walden Pond; the second, in the late summer of 1853, not many months before the book "Walden" was printed; and the third, in the summer of 1857, when Thoreau was better known as a writer, and when he was filling notebooks with materials which he hoped would shape themselves into new books, about Concord, or the seasons, or the Indian.

### WHAT THOREAU MEANT BY WILDNESS

Just what Thoreau meant by wildness has never been satisfyingly explained. "I wish to say a word for * * * absolute freedom and wildness," he said. "Dullness is but another name for tameness." "There is in my nature," he confessed in "A Week," "a singular yearning toward all wildness," and he praised "the savager and more primitive aspects of nature" of which Homer and Ossian have sung, and all the others who have made those books which are the bibles of mankind.

Thoreau was, as John Burroughs once said, the wildest man ever turned out by New England. He was never tamed. He is never tame.

Sometimes we suspect that by wildness he meant the free-swinging association of thought and unfetered expression which is so characteristic of other poets entrapped or entranced within the context of the romantic movement, in this country, or in Europe.

But we suspect also that he meant wildness to signify the elusiveness of untamed thought which may dart away as man approaches it.

Norman Foerster in "Nature in American Literature" has written persuasively of

Thoreau's wildness, but he makes it a limited thing, not quite central. John Burroughs finds its final expression in Thoreau's increasing interest in the American Indian, mistaking, I think, a means for the end.

But it was more than that, more central, more pervasive. Thoreau found wildness in and about Concord; he found it in himself; he sought it in what he wrote, and in the books he liked best to read—not domesticated novels, but bibles of mankind.

He examined it and tested it in his three excursions to Maine. Each visit to the wilderness there was different from the others. Each was recorded in its different, appropriate tone.

There is a progression of discovery in his accounts of the three excursions which seems to me to make "The Maine Woods," as a book, remarkably adroit in organization. It lacks the structural intricacy of "A Week" or "Walden"—perhaps because Thoreau never really finished it. The third of the essays seems less completed than those which precede it—perhaps, some suggest, that was Ellery Channing's fault. But, even unfinished—if it is unfinished—"The Maine Woods" moves majestically toward meaning.

"THE STARK WILDNESS OF KTAADN"

Let me explain briefly what I mean. Everyone knows that on that first visit, fresh from a year of quiet living beside Walden Pond, Thoreau was repelled, even terrified by the stark wildness of Ktaadn. Amid "grim, untrodden wildernes, whose labyrinths of living, fallen, and decaying trees, only the deer and moose, the bear and wolf, can easily penetrate," where "the only roads are of nature's making"—here wildness is stark and menacing: "one could no longer accuse institutions and society, but must front the true source of evil."

The bare top of the mountain seemed "the raw materials of a planet": "It reminded me of the creations of the old epic and dramatic poets, of Atlas, Vulcan, the Cyclops, and Prometheus. Such was Caucasus and the rock where Prometheus was bound. It was vast, Titanic, and such as man never inhabits."

It was wasteland, like that in Melville's sterile Encantadas: "This was that earth of which we had heard, made out of chaos and old night. Here was no man's garden, but the unhanseled globe. * * * Man was not associated with it. * * * There was clearly felt the presence of a force not bound to be kind to men." Unenlivened matter, the world as God saw fit to make it in the beginning—"What is this Titan that has possession of me? Talk of mysteries. Think of our life in nature * * * the solid earth, the actual world. * * * Who are we? Where are we?" Lost amid immensities.

"A PLACE, BUT A LIMITED PLACE"

On the second trip to Maine 7 years later, Thoreau found something of an answer, as this time he avoids mountaintops (except as seen at a distance). Returning to Concord, he found, "For a permanent residence, it seemed to me there could be no comparison between this and the wilderness, necessary as the latter is for a resource and a background, the raw material of all our civilization. The wilderness is simple almost to barrenness. The partially cultivated country it is which chiefly has inspired, and will continue to inspire, the strains of poets. * * * Perhaps our own woods and fields—in the best wooded towns, where we need not quarrel about huckleberries—with the primitive swamps scattered here and there in their midst, but not prevailing over them, are the perfection of * * * landscapes * * * the natural consequence of what art and refinement we as a people have."

The landscape is best which has people in it, who animate nature with art and aspiration. * * * Wildness had then a place, but a limited place: "not only for strength, but for beauty, the poet must, from time to time, travel the logger's path and the Indian's trail; to drink at some new and more bracing fountain of the muses, far in the recesses of the wilderness."

"AN ANSWER TO THE ESSENCE AND USEFULNESS OF WILDNESS"

The temptation is to stop here, as Norman Foerster stopped in his classic explanation of the essential humanism of Thoreau. The poet must adventure into wildness when he seeks something new to say, though the essence of wildness is awful beyond comprehension, and though he must return to quiet Concord to record what he has discovered.

But Thoreau did not stop there. He was 40 when he made his last excursion into the wilderness of Maine, and this time he met Joe Polis, 8 years older than he, and an enigma. Sometimes Thoreau thought he glimpsed in him something of the beautiful simplicity which all Indians must have had before being spoiled by the white man.

At another time, Joe Polis seemed a wild man indeed and suddenly to have forsaken humanity as he bent over the water to call a muskrat from its nest—but at the next moment, he was kneeling by the campfire to say his prayers as the white missionaries had taught him: "I have much to learn of the Indian," said Thoreau, "nothing of the missionary."

Joe Polis was not only a mystery; he was also a challenge, to be met, bested. In his simple but corrupted and therefore complicating character lay an answer to the essence and usefulness of wildness. I think Thoreau discovered something of that.

The last journey to the Maine woods ended when Joe Polis was taken ill, and noisily ill: "like the Irish, he made a greater ado about his sickness than the Yankee does." The travelers returned to Oldtown, and then back to civilization. "This was the last I saw of Joe Polis," the book ends. "We took the last train and reached Bangor that night."

Was this simply a disappointed farewell to the wilderness, and to the mystery which Joe Polis signified? I think not.

On this last trip to Maine, these virgin woods seemed not tenantless, "but chokefull," said Thoreau, "of honest spirits as good as myself any day." This wilderness was not "an empty chamber, in which chemistry was left to work alone, but an inhabited house," comfortable, comprehensive.

As he traveled longer through it, Thoreau discovered that "generally speaking, a howling wilderness does not howl; it is the imagination of the traveler that does the howling."

The wilderness knew one law for all animate creatures: "the [wood]chopper fells trees from the same motive that the moose gnaws them—to get a living." Thoreau looked with envy then on the pioneer in these woods. "How much more wild and adventurous his life than that of the hunter in the Concord woods, who gets back to his house and mill-dam every night. Yet they in towns who have wild oats to sow commonly sow them on cultivated and comparatively exhausted grounds."

"HE CARRIED HIS WILDNESS WITH HIM

For Thoreau did learn from Joe Polis on this last excursion to the Maine woods. For one thing, as they approached their journey's end, he proved to the Indian that he, Thoreau—the white man, the tenderfoot, not really a woodsman at all—could effectively paddle a canoe as well as the red man could. His manner of holding the paddle was different, and his stroke less practiced, and he sat differently in the stern; but he made his way, even in the wilderness.

And then, wrote Thoreau, "as we drew near to Oldtown I asked Polis if he was not glad to be home again; but there was no relenting to his wildness, and he said, 'It makes no difference to me where I am.'"

He carried his wildness with him.

And that perhaps is what Thoreau discovered, that wildness is where you find it—not alone in the lifeless mountaintop, nor in the animated forest, nor the humanized woodlands around Concord: anywhere "the howling wilderness does not howl; it is the imagination of the traveler that does the howling."

We shall not have much wilderness nor great refreshment in our walks this afternoon, we shall not have much wildness in our discussion tonight, unless we have brought it with us, unless we have learned also to look beyond Walden Pond and the Concord River and the woodlots and fields and swamps to something which we can howl about because it is in us, not them.

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THOREAU AND THE WILDERNESS

(An address at the 1962 annual meeting of the Thoreau Society, in Concord, Mass., July 14, 1962, by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society and editor of the Living Wilderness, 2144 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.)

Among the observances of the centenary of Henry David Thoreau's death on May 6, 1862, was a gathering in the Dumbarton Oaks park in the Nation's Capital sponsored by the Secretary of the Interior and the Executive Secretary of the Wilderness Society, on May 11, 1962, addressed also by Associate Justice William O. Douglas, of the U.S. Supreme Court, and the poet Robert Frost.

That morning the Washington Post set the tone of that Thoreau day in the Nation's Capital with a notable editorial entitled "Immortal Yankee." In the course of the editorial the Post said:

"The most fitting memorial to Thoreau on the centenary of his death would be the passage in Congress of the wilderness bill, designed to keep some of our land forever wild as a national treasure."

WHY A MEMORIAL TO THOREAU

Why would the Washington Post call passage of a measure in Congress "to keep some of our land forever wild as a national treasure" the most fitting centenary memorial for Thoreau?

The Wilderness Society's executive secretary and editor—whom I quote with hesitation but peculiar confidence—answered this question (perhaps satisfactorily) at the Dumbarton Oaks gathering to which the editorial had been pointing, by explaining that "Thoreau more than a hundred years ago asked for the preservation of wilderness areas for our own true recreation. He also urged a primitive forest for every town, and a committee to see that the beauty of the town received no detriment."

WILDNESS AND WILDERNESS

The text for our general discussion so far might well be that brave dictum in Thoreau's essay on "Walking": "In wildness is the preservation of the world."

For many years that gnomic saying has appeared on the stationery of the Wilderness Society, advocating the urgency of the society's concern and associating Thoreau with its cause.

Wildness and wilderness are common terms in their distinguishing nature, yet not synonymous.

Wildness is a quality, wilderness an area of certain character.

Wildness is the essence of wilderness, yet wildness characterizes also that which is not wilderness, including many wild land areas that are not wilderness.

Wildness is the quality of that which is fresh and independently vital, undomesticated, uncontrolled, though possibly close to and surrounded by man's civilization.

The house cat, in its indoor feline independence and its untrammeled caterwauling without, maintains its essence of wildness.

Wilderness is something more, yet not comprehensive of all wildness.

Wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is an extensive area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself as present is a member of the natural community or a visitor who does not remain, whose travels leave only trails.

WILDERNESS IN THE MAINE WOODS

Although Thoreau knew many wild tracts in and about Concord, many areas of wildness, he knew the wilderness only when he reached the Maine woods, and he knew then that he had not known it before.

On May 10, 1838, during a trip to Maine which I understand was made to see about schoolteaching prospects, Thoreau traveled from Bangor to Oldtown and wrote in his journal:

"The railroad from Bangor to Oldtown is civilization shooting off in a tangent into the forest. I had much conversation with an old Indian at the latter place. * * * Pointing up the Penobscot, he observed, '2 or 3 mile up the river one beautiful country' and then, as if he would come as far to meet me as I had gone to meet him, he exclaimed 'Ugh, one very hard time,' But he had mistaken his man."

So close did Thoreau come to wilderness when he was not yet 21 years old. He was not, however, to enjoy "one very hard time" in this "one beautiful country" until some 8 years later when he left his Walden hut, during his second summer there, for the trip to the Maine woods that he later described in his narrative "Ktaadn."

WILDERNESS IN "WALDEN" AND "THE WEEK"

This first wilderness trip came in time, however, to exert an influence on his thinking and his writing. His account of it was published serially in five parts in the Union magazine beginning with the July 1848 issue under the title, "Ktaadn, and the Maine Woods." Thus Thoreau's first wilderness narrative had its magazine publication before his first book, "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers," was published, in 1849; and, while "Ktaadn" was probably written after the "Week" and possibly even after the first version of "Walden," the wilderness trip may have had an influence on these works.

In any case both the "Week" and "Walden" include expressions of wilderness appreciation that have meant much to many readers. In the "Week" Thoreau wrote:

"The wilderness is near as well as dear to every man. Even the oldest villages are indebted to the border of wild wood which surrounds them, more than to the gardens of men. There is something indescribably inspiring and beautiful in the aspect of the forest skirting and occasionally jutting into the midst of new towns, which, like the sand heaps of fresh fox burrows, have sprung up in their midst. The very uprightness of the pines and maples asserts the ancient rectitude and vigor of nature. Our lives need the relief of such a background, where the pine flourishes and the jay still screams."

In "The First Version of Walden," as presented in J. Lyndon Shanley's book entitled "The Making of Walden With the Text of the First Version," we read:

"Our village life would stagnate, I think, if it were not for the unexplored forests and meadows which surround it. We need the tonic of wilderness—to wade sometimes in meadows where only the bittern and the meadow hen lurk, and hear the booming of the snipe; to smell the whispering sedge where only some wilder and more solitary fowl builds her nest, and the mink crawls with its belly close to the ground.

"At the same time that we are earnest to learn and explore all things, we require that all things should be mysterious and unexplorable by us, that land and sea be infinitely wild, unsurveyed and unfathomed by us. We can never have enough of nature. We must be refreshed by the sight of inexhaustible vigor, vast features and titantic—the sea coast with its wrecks, the wilderness with its living and its decaying trees—the thunder cloud—and the rain that lasts 3 weeks and produces freshets. We need to witness our own limits transgressed, and some life pasturing freely where we never wander."

To meet the challenge of those who see no difference whether wilderness is living or vanishing, Robert Marshall, wrote for the April 1937 Nature magazine one of his epochal pleas that established the movement for wilderness preservation as championed by the Wilderness Society. In this article entitled "The Universe of the Wilderness Is Vanishing," Bob Marshall quoted from these words of Thoreau. Truly they speak of wilderness and its precious value.

Benton MacKaye in his 1923 volume entitled "The New Exploration: A Philosophy of Regional Planning," quoted so much from Thoreau that he commented on this in his "Preface." He wrote:

"This book quotes voluminously from Henry David Thoreau. This is not merely because Thoreau is a favorite of the present author. It is because, in the author's opinion, the notes and comments of this seer on the simple potencies of life and life's environment form the fragments (the precious stones, if you please) for building some day a structure of philosophy for remolding human outlooks on the earth. Thoreau is the philosopher of environment: he saw the eternities of the indigenous, and he foresaw the invadings of the metropolitan."

Whether these and similar expressions from "Walden" and "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers," were written after Thoreau knew the wilderness influence of the Maine woods, or not, they do reveal his intense awareness of the character, the essence, of wilderness and its importance in our culture.

WILDERNESS IN THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT

Thoreau has been recognized in various ways—as writer, walker, philosopher, moralist, poet-naturalist, conservationist, leader in wildlife appreciation and in wilderness preservation—but it seems clear that he studied most how best to live in the environment in which he found himself—the American environment that in so many ways is the environment in which we find ourselves a century later.

An important part of this environment was—and fortunately still is—the area of still unspoiled wilderness to visit and to know as still living. Thoreau helped us to evaluate our remnant of wilderness and to preserve it.

"Those Maine woods," Thoreau realized and wrote, "differ essentially from' ours. There you are never reminded that the wilderness from which you are threading is, after all, some villager's woodlot, some widow's thirds, from which her ancestors have sledded fuel for generations," etc.

When Thoreau sensed in the Maine woods what the wilderness is, he also realized that, as he wrote, there had as yet been, as he said, "no adequate account of a primitive forest," and he began to provide one.

On a day when "The Maine Woods" is scheduled to be considered so particularly as it is today we need not quote from it as we might otherwise in a discussion of Thoreau and wilderness. We can note that Thoreau did, in his accounts of his three wilderness excursions to Maine, describe the wilderness he recognized. We can also note that he became aware of the wilderness resource of the United States. He wrote:

"I am reminded by my journey how exceedingly new this country still is. You have only to travel for a few days into the interior and back parts even of many of the old States, to come to that very America which the Northmen, and Cabot, and Gosnold, and Smith, and Raleigh visited. If Columbus was the first to discover the islands, Americus Vespucius and Cabot, and the Puritans, and we their descendants, have discovered only the shores of America. While the Republic has already acquired a history worldwide, America is still unsettled and unexplored. * * * The very timber and boards and shingles of which our houses are made grew but yesterday in a wilderness. * * * New York has her wilderness within her own borders, and though the sailors of Europe are familiar with the soundings of her Hudson, * * * an Indian is still necessary to guide her scientific men to its headwaters in the Adirondack country."

Well, the Indian's presence (or absence) is a different thing in our world. The wilderness of which we are conscious has much of its area in our West and Alaska. Yet to a great extent we still share Thoreau's satisfying realization that we do still have wilderness—even in New York and in Maine.

A STILL LIVING WILDERNESS

Many are amazed at this still living wilderness we have. One recent July 5 my wife and I and our two sons and two daughters left Washington, D.C., early in the morning and, after traveling through New York City, for the fun of it, camped that night on the edge of a river beyond which we would have traveled through the woods for 20 miles before reaching another road. And had we gone halfway across this stretch of wild forest lands, we would have been at least 10 miles from a road in any direction. From the Nation's Capital, through its metropolis, in 1 day we had come to the wilderness. So fortunate still is our wilderness preservation opportunity.

We see even more clearly than Thoreau could have seen—and because he did have his own finger-pointing glimpse—the possibility for preserving wilderness through the deliberate designation of portions of our publicly owned lands for this purpose.

In the much-quoted final paragraph of the second or "Chesuncook" narrative in "The Maine Woods," Thoreau perceived the way toward wilderness preservation. He wrote:

"The kings of England formerly had their forests 'to hold the king's game,' for sport or food, sometimes destroying villages to create or extend them; and I think that they were impelled by a true instinct. Why should not we, who have renounced the king's authority, have our national preserves, where no villages need be destroyed, in which the bear and panther, and some even of the hunter race, may still exist, and not be 'civilized off the face of the earth'—our forests, not to hold the king's game merely, but to hold and preserve the king himself also, the lord of creation—not for idle sport or food, but for inspiration and our own true recreation? Or shall we, like the villains, grub them all up, poaching on our own national domains?"

Why not indeed? Thoreau's questions are still asked.

WHY WILDERNESS IS QUESTIONED

The reasons such questions are still pertinent a century after Thoreau and a half dozen years after the development of national legislation that would accomplish such purposes as he proposed—these reasons are those the like of which Thoreau also noted.

"The mission of men," Thoreau said of the Maine woodsmen, "seems to be, like so many busy demons, to drive the forest all out of the country, from every solitary beaver swamp and mountainside, as soon as possible."

Maine, Thoreau feared, might soon be where Massachusetts then was. "A good part of her territory," he wrote, "is already as bare and commonplace as much of our neighborhood, and her villages generally are not so well shaded as ours. We seem to think that the earth must go through the ordeal of sheep pasturage before it is habitable by man."

A machine, he had heard, had even been invented "for chopping up huckleberry bushes fine, and so converting them into fuel."

"At this rate," he exclaimed, "we shall all be obliged to let our beards grow at least, if only to hide the nakedness of the land and make a sylvan appearance."

"Strange," wrote Thoreau, "that so few ever come to the woods to see how the pine lives and grows and spires, lifting its evergreen arms to the light—to see its perfect success; must most are content to behold it in the shape of many broad boards brought to market, and deem that its true success."

"If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day," Thoreau later complained in his essay on "Life Without Principle," "he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen. As if a town had no interest in its forests but to cut them down."

It is essentially against the same differing sense of values that Thoreau's followers are contending today in their efforts to see wilderness values appreciated and wilderness areas preserved.

The spokesmen for lumbering, mining, grazing, and other commercial interests speak with skill and determination in opposition to the Wilderness Act now pending in the House of Representatives. Their influence is great. To many legislators they seem to make sense—an economic sense that is skeptical of wilderness values. They speak for their own profits, but they appeal to a materialism that still seems "realistic" to many Americans.

THE DUAL HOPE FOR WILDERNESS

Against them is a dual hope. There is the hope that a successful and secure materialism can tolerate the luxury of preserving some wilderness for scientific, income-bringing recreational, and water-conserving purposes, as well as for spiritual benefits, "for inspiration and our own true recreation." There also is the higher hope that an increasing awareness of the true values of wilderness and a sense of the banality and frustration of a life without such values will continue to rally support to programs that will indeed preserve wilderness.

To the wilderness preservation movement Thoreau continues to give meaning, inspiration, hope. His concepts still help interpret wilderness preservation. His effectiveness in writing is still persuasive.

## Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
**HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK**
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, with deepest sympathy, profound sense of loss, and heartfelt emotion I rise today to pay tribute to a dedicated and selfless legislator, a great American, and a fine man—a man for whom integrity was more than a word or abstraction to which lipservice was paid, for CLEM MILLER was committed to integrity as a way of life.

His earnest pursuit of noble causes and legislation designed to preserve and prepare this democracy for the decades beyond has, in a few years time, engaged the attention and respect of all who worked with him and knew of him. The compassion breathed into all of his work, coupled with his great facility for perceiving the currents of essential truth in every undertaking, were the basis for his rapid rise to national stature and leadership. With his passing this Nation has suffered a great loss.

The presence of this fine man in Washington is a tribute to the people who elected him. He served them with distinction, this dear friend of mine. His absence will be long noticed—his memory long with us.

## Advanced Ships of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
**HON. ALTON LENNON**
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, on May 18, 1962, Mr. E. Kemper Sullivan, Acting Chief, Office of Research and Development, Maritime Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, addressed the National Rivers and Harbors Congress on the subject "Advanced Ships of the Future." The information Mr. Sullivan imparted concerning marine transportation and new concepts and development in nuclear shipping is highly significant. Under unanimous consent, I place this address in the Appendix of the RECORD for the attention of our colleagues:

ADVANCED SHIPS OF THE FUTURE

(Address by E. Kemper Sullivan, Acting Chief, Office of Research and Development, Maritime Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress at Washington, D.C., May 18, 1962)

It has been axiomatic in the past that changes in the marine industry were slow and hard to come by. This has been true over the years, and indeed, still presents an obstacle. In fact, attainment of substantial improvements in the method of transporting our water-borne commerce has been limited in scope since the country was founded. Let us review our achievements since that time.

Although naval architecture has been practiced in one form or another over the centuries, the application of marine engineering is fairly recent. The earliest practical example of marine engineering was the now famous vessel *Clermont*, which in 1807 made the first commercially successful voyage up the Hudson River under steam propulsion. In the *Clermont*, steam was generated at slightly above atmospheric pressure in a copper kettle, and led to the single cylinder reciprocating engine. Beams and cranks transmitted the motion to a paddle wheel; from that moment on a new era was begun.

Shortly thereafter, the first Mississippi steamboat, *New Orleans*, was launched. She was 116 feet long and made the remarkable speed of 9 knots going with the current. The *New Orleans* was put into passenger and freight service between Natchez and New Orleans and, from what I can gather, did well financially for a number of years.

As would be expected, steam propulsion machinery was first installed in ships originally designed as sailing vessels. The original *Savannah*, for which the first nuclear merchant ship is named (about which I will have more to say later), is noted as the first steam vessel to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Construction of the *Savannah*, however, had been started in 1818 as a sailing packet, but before she was completed, a steam boiler and engine were added. Little, if any, advancement had been made since Fulton's *Clermont*, and the machinery in the two ships was almost identical. There was not much room for wood as fuel on these first steamships. For this reason the *Savannah* on her maiden voyage from Savannah, Ga., to Liverpool, England, spent only about 80 hours of the 29½-day voyage under steam.

Progress continued to be slow over the first half of the 19th century. As late as 50 years after the birth of the *Clermont*, the bulk of cargoes were still being carried under sail. The steamboat was making great strides in river traffic, however, with boats such as the 319-foot *Memphis*, which regularly made 18 miles per hour, and which is representative of the never-to-be-forgotten Mississippi steamboats of the time.

A factor that may have had a delaying effect on the development of the steamship was the birth of the clipper ships during this same period. Clippers were beautiful to the eye. They were fast and practical ships, and they made money. They could be easily distinguished by their fine lines, long graceful stem, and large mass of canvas. The *Flying Cloud* was typical. Built in 1851, she was 235 feet long and extremely fast. Records indicate that on occasion she logged average daily speeds up to 15 knots. I can imagine that the contemporary maritime industry found it increasingly difficult to maintain interest in the development of the steam engine in the face of competition of this sort.

The high top speed of the sailing ship was an asset that was difficult to improve upon. As a matter of fact, some of the speed records set by the McKay-built clipper ships still exceed the speed of many cargo ships today. Their greatest liability was, of course, dependence upon a strong wind, and this provided the incentive for developing the steamship.

The turn of the 20th century saw steamships come into their own with quadruple expansion engines of over 20,000 shaft horsepower. Wooden hulls of the clippers and earlier ships were replaced by steel, and ship structures improved. The steamship continued to slowly advance in quality and in numbers, as improvements were made in hull form, and in the powerplant. Whaleboats with the rounded "cigar type" hull, such as the *Christopher Columbus*, startled the shipping trade, and the 11,000-ton luxury liner *St. Louis* greatly enhanced our oversea prestige.

Prior to 1900, coal or wood was the only fuel readily available for marine propulsion. In 1901 large quantities of high quality oil were discovered in Texas and California. This was the last basic development needed to attain the type marine machinery we have today.

Ship design and marine steamplants have come a long way since the *Clermont*, and the many difficulties of the earlier versions have now been overcome. It has been a slow process without evolutionary breakthrough. Gaining further significant improvements is becoming more and more difficult with displacement-type ships as operated today, and

in the absence of the introduction of new concepts or vastly new and useful materials, further improvements will come in small increments.

A look at the transportation spectrum shows immediately that the marine industry is in need of much more extensive research and development to improve itself.

In the past 25 years, going back to just before World War II, we find that dry cargo merchant ships were in many respects almost the same as those making up the bulk of today's fleet. In this same period, aircraft have increased their speed threefold and quadrupled their size. Their economic position has vastly improved. Trucks are operating with greater reliability and economy, and railroads, in converting from steam to diesel and gas turbines, have made major changes in their cost structure.

Merchant ships, however, on the average, have increased their speed only 3 knots and their size, except for tankers, not at all.

In addition to the problem of meeting domestic competition offered by other forms of transportation, the marine industry is faced with the difficult problem of meeting foreign competition in our import and export trade. The competition is keen and American ships are at a decided disadvantage due to the fact that our ships cost 100 percent more to build and considerably more to operate. This cost difference is due mainly to the large wage differential between United States and foreign workers both ashore and aboard ship. Meeting this situation is a real challenge to the American marine industry.

We must, therefore, recognize and accept the fact that we cannot afford to maintain the status quo if we are to survive economic competition. We must on the contrary aggressively and continuously look for means of transporting goods and people that will provide a service better than our competitors, and moreover, provide it at a lower cost. We cannot achieve any measurable degree of success if we merely try to improve what we have with commonly accepted systems and equipment. It is imperative that we rid ourselves of conservative restraints and conventional thinking sufficiently, at least, to investigate the potentials of new concepts and new ideas.

The Maritime Administration through its research program is attempting to do just that. We have underway a detailed study of present trade routes to provide information needed to delineate problem areas, provide recommendations for improvements and provide the basis for selection of improved maritime systems. In this connection, a statistical model method for rapidly evaluating the factors involved is being developed. In a broader sense, we are conducting an operation analysis of worldwide maritime transportation and the imemdiately related inland transportation systems to determine means for effecting improvements in the overall U.S. maritime system. From this operation analysis of worldwide maritime transportation we expect to identify the areas where fruitful research can be carried out to bring about the application of beneficial new concepts to shipping.

Concurrent with our investigation of the overall problem, we have under various stages of development four ship research projects involving advanced concepts, which, if successful, will offer substantial improvements to present day shipping. These are the automated ship; the nuclear-propelled ship, NS *Savannah*; the hydrofoil vessel, HS *Denison*; and the surface effect craft.

The major effort of Maritime's research and development program at the present time is aimed at the introduction of principle of shipboard automation to the maritime industry. This involves the development of mechanized systems and equipment which have fewer manning requirements than present ships. The advantage is multiplied by related reduced requirements for servicing personnel and accommodiations. The program provides for phased development and testing of components to demonstrate their performance and suitability for automation, leading to the ultimate objective of construction and operation of automated ships, which can operate at substantially reduced cost. Areas under development include ship control and navigation, powerplants, auxiliary equipment, and cargo handling. Since this approach directly concerns the cost item where U.S. ship operators have the greatest disadvantage compared to their competitors; i.e., higher wage structure, it offers the greatest early promise for reducing the competitive gap.

The second-mentioned project, the nuclear merchant ship *Savannah*, has recently received a good deal of publicity as a result of completion of the shipbuilder's tests and trials and acceptance of the ship by the Government on May 1.

The *Savannah* is a 20-knot, single-screw, combination passenger-cargo vessel with an overall length of 595 feet 6 inches. Molded beam is 78 feet and design draft is 29 feet 6 inches. Total displacement at design draft is approximately 22,000 tons. The *Savannah* lines feature a raked stem and modified cruiser stern, and with her superstructure somewhat aft of midship and obvious lack of a funnel, she presents a striking profile unlike that of any other ship at sea. She can carry 9,250 tons of general cargo, and has accommodations for 60 passengers.

Of course, the new concept introduced by the *Savannah* is the nuclear powerplant which consists of a reactor system of the pressurized water type and a secondary propulsion system.

The reactor, or primary system, is composed of a reactor, pressurizer, two primary coolant loops, two steam generators and supporting auxiliary systems. It is fueled with low enriched uranium dioxide in the form of pellets contained in stainless steel tubes, and is cooled and moderated by water under a pressure of 1,750 pounds per square inch absolute. The core, which is a right circular cylinder about 62 inches in diameter and 66 inches high, contains 32 fuel elements. Design core lifetime is 52,200 megawatt days, or 1,230 days of operation at average power levels which is equivalent to over 3 years of operating life.

Advantages which may be gained by future nuclear ships may be summarized briefly as follows:

On long voyages, nuclear ships will be able to carry more cargo because their reactors will require less space than conventional oil-burning equipment and fuel tanks.

Nuclear ships will be able to operate on longer runs at higher sustained speeds than conventional ships.

Weight savings due to lack of need for carrying fuel oil will allow more cargo to be carried in non-surface-type ships.

The *Savannah*, as the first ship of its kind, will not be economic, since costs of such a prototype are necessarily high, and nuclear development is still in its early stages. It is expected, however, that the *Savannah* will pioneer the way for other nuclear merchant ships which eventually will prove to be economically competitive with those powered by conventional means.

The *Savannah* is now being operated by States Marine Lines under general agency agreement with the Maritime Administration. For the time being, operation consists of extended experimental runs off the Virginia capes, in and out of the trial base at Yorktown. When review and analysis of test results to date have been completed, and authorization for further operation received from the responsible regulatory agencies, the *Savannah* will be put into operation and begin voyages into ports of this country and abroad.

The third new concept under development is the oceangoing hydrofoil ship *Denison* which operates with only her foils submerged and the hull riding above the water line. The vastly decreased resistance allows speeds unattainable by commercial surface ships. This vessel is rapidly nearing completion and will be launched about June 1, 1962, followed by an extensive 6-month test program.

The *Denison* has a gross weight of 90–100 tons, is 117 feet in length, and will run at a design speed of 60 knots. With the foils extended and the vessel at rest, she will draw 16 feet of water. With the foils retracted, the ship can maneuver in only 6 feet of water. The ship is capable of carrying 40 tons of weight, which may be distributed between cargo and fuel. If the range is short, a greater portion of the carrying capacity can be utilized for cargo or passengers. Power for foil-borne operation is provided by a gas turbine engine located above the main deck and within the aft end of the superstructure. A mechanical transmission carries the power above the weather deck, down through the tail strut and then aft to a single supercavitating propeller. While designed as an experimental vessel, the *Denison* can nevertheless be outfitted to carry 50 to 60 passengers in comfort and plans are in preparation for such conversion. Were we to construct a second vessel of comparable size designed specifically for passenger service, the ship could accommodate approximately 200 passengers in comfortable aircraft type seating.

Due to its high speed, the hydrofoil offers a maritime service not currently available and has particular application possibilities for distances in the 100–200 mile range. Maritime's hydrofoil program has been directed to providing answers to the technical and economic questions involved in designing and constructing commercial seagoing hydrofoil vessels.

The fourth-mentioned project, the surface effect ship, or GEM, makes use of still another new principle: the ship operates just off the water surface, supported by a cushion of air, which in turn is maintained by a continuous peripheral air jet. Such a craft, unlike an airplane, directly depends on the water surface for its support. At low speeds, the supporting air cushion displaces an equal weight of water as does any other marine craft. The advantage of the GEM is that an almost frictionless translation is achieved. By using advanced aerodynamic principles, if successful, the GEM will be able to perform more economically at higher speeds than other forms of transportation known today.

The marine industry should become acutely aware that the gap between ships and airplanes is being filled. Hydrofoils at speeds of 45 to 80 knots and GEMS at speeds of 80 to 150 knots have enormous implications for water transportation people. The potential to those concerned with inland transportation should be obvious.

The potential of this new concept also exists for new nations now struggling toward identity. The progress these nations make depends on their trade with others, and transportation to their interiors is an all-important element. But how long will it be, for instance, before Africa and South America have a network of turnpikes and major railroads? Under their present transportation systems, movement of materials to and from their interiors is severely limited. They do, however, have broad networks of rivers spreading fanlike throughout the land.

Shipments consigned to destinations on these rivers are today unloaded at a major seaport, and transferred into a small coaster that eventually gets to a tidewater harbor in the delta, where it is transshipped to a small, slow vessel for the long trip up the river. When most of this cargo eventually

arrives, it has been subjected to the ravages of mildew and rain, with resultant deterioration.

Tomorrow, if transportation research achieves its goal, this same shipment, encased in a container and loaded into an automated high-speed ship, could be hoisted out as that ship comes abreast of the river mouth and put with other containers into a waiting surface effect craft. In a matter of hours it could be delivered, dry and safe, to its destination up the river. One 90-ton GEM could provide daily service 300 miles inland, without regard to shoal water or rocks. Such a craft could take machine tools and consumer goods upstream and bring finished products back. Unloaded from the shipping container, the imported goods could be further distributed to nearby destinations by other means of transportation such as hydrofoils. The major segments of such a transportation system are available today. With the developments we expect in these craft and the achievement of economic nuclear power in compact, lightweight sizes, system improvements will be outstanding.

Gentlemen, those are the advanced ships of the future.

## Speech by Hon. John Keiller MacKay, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am privileged to ask that a speech recently delivered by His Honor John Keiller MacKay, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario, be included in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It is a remarkable speech and one worth reading.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

May I express sincerely and without undue superlatives my sense of pride and gratitude for the privilege and distinction of speaking on an occasion so fraught with a record of matchless valor and deathless glory of American and Canadian arms.

Here within touch of Fort Niagara and Fort George; here where Rensellaers commanded and Brock fell; here where Scheaffe struggled and Lovatt fought; here along the banks of the Niagara River which, 150 years ago, were defined in irrepressible shadow and traced in fratricidal blood—but now, thank God, other than in political institutions, a vanished shadow—I hasten to bow in reverential devotion before the memory of gallantry and patriotic fervor. May He who is the patriot's God cherish and support their noble memory, prosper the fortunes of their living sons, and perpetuate the inspiration of their courage.

Our of this agony and from this sanguinary scene there have arisen rich and ennobling traditions. Nor indeed should we speak lightly of tradition. Tradition is the sum of those enduring values which have been kept alive through all mutations. It is tradition which gives continuity, stability and direction to life and reflects the ceaseless whisper of permanent ideals. Far from stifling growth and progress, it is tradition which gives sustenance and nourishment for their germination. Indeed, one of the greatest of all is the tradition of growth and adaptation, in harmony with the fundamentals drawn from the lessons of the past; and it seems to me that we should have every young mind understand that there is such tradition and that we wish him to be part of it and get strength from it and, if it lies in his power, to make it still richer and fuller in his day and generation.

During those 150 years, our common ancestors—by dint of unremitting toil, unfaltering faith, invincible courage and enlightened vision—laid well and truly the foundations of international harmony, peace and concord, thus making us legatees of an ennobling and priceless heritage, enduring as the everlasting hills.

It is true, as I have just indicated, that we have been progressing and developing under somewhat different political institutions for almost 200 years—but what is that compared with the thousand and more years during which our loyalties, our history and our fortunes were the same? Did not your ancestors and mine tear from tyrannous kings and corrupt ministers the great charters which formed the basis of the liberties of the world, and gave you inspiration and courage to fight for the freedom embodied in that stupendous document, the Declaration of Independence? Magna Carta, trial by jury, the petition of right, habeas corpus, and the Bill of Rights are the milestones which point the way along which we have together marched to freedom, liberty, and prosperity. Thus we see a practical exemplification of the world's greatest experiment in human government whereby everyone is assured of indefeasible right—and not by favor or sufferance—in the enjoyment of his life, his liberty, his property in all its forms, his family relations, his freedom of conscience, and of speech. The powers of government in all their extent and elaboration are constituted for this ultimate purpose. For this they exist, and on this foundation is based all that makes social life desirable.

Yes, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Burns are yours as well as ours; Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Lowell, and Emerson are ours as well as yours; John Hampton, Cromwell, Chatham, Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln are both yours and ours. We have common lot and part in all the great names that emblazon a common history and enrich a literature which is indivisible.

Two years ago I stood before a memorial erected in commemoration of the opening of the St. Lawrence power project. It is a noble memorial both in sentiment and as a literary gem. Its inscription is a declaration of faith which carries with it a promise of immortality, and I quote:

"This stone bears witness to the common purpose of two nations whose frontiers are the frontiers of friendship, whose ways are the ways of freedom, and whose works are the works of peace.

If, unhappily, envy or distrust should move among us to estrange us one from the other—nation from nation, race from race, creed from creed, or class from class—let us be conscious of and rebuked by that enduring proclamation, reverberating over the hills and down through the years, prompting us to wider and wiser standards of citizenship.

As the representative of Her Majesty the Queen in the Province of Ontario, warmly and cordially I greet our American friends. As a lawyer I shall labor with you to dedicate the majesty of justice to the service of mankind. As a comrade in arms in two World Wars, I cherish a lively and inspiring memory of your dauntless valor and invincible courage. As a lover of liberty and ordered progress I salute you in the name of centuries of expanding freedom in the past, and all the hoped-for span of enlarged liberty and constitutional development in the years to come, ushering in may we fervently hope—in this war-wasted war-weary, war-distraught and yet war-conscious world—the dawning of a better day and nobler destiny than ever was wrought by the sword or sought at the cannon's mouth.

"Where the sun or the light or the moon or the stars be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain."

As one North American to another, I clasp your hands in enduring friendship and—hearing the beating of your approving hearts—invoke in these days of destiny, as yet unrevealed, a comprehensive thought from the immortal Burns and the illustrious Emerson:

> "Be brothers still to brother true
> Among ourselves together;
> For what avail, the plow or sail
> Or land or life,
> If freedom fail?"

A mighty duty but a mighty inspiration should impel everyone in our respective nations to lose, in patriotic consecration, whatever estranges and whatever divides. This—our North American home—has been a constant and expanding miracle even from that day when there arose, from the voiceless and trackless deep, a new continent to the sight of the inspired sailor. And as we approach the fifth centennial of that stupendous day; the second centennial of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America; and the first of our Canadian Confederation, may we resolve to crown the triumphs of those years by the spectacle of two nations—cultured, serene, and resplendent; radiant in the abiding treasures of science and delights of learning; but, above and beyond all, holding fast to those eternal verities of moral and intellectual integrity—resting securely on a foundation of liberty, freedom, peace, and concord—bequeathed to us as a priceless legacy by resolute and inflexible antecedents who, themselves, journeyed by its light and labored in its hope.

## Address of Hon. Golda Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel, Before the U.N. General Assembly, October 9, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following excerpts from the address of the Honorable Golda Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel, before the United Nations General Assembly on October 9, 1962.

Mrs. Meir again expresses the hope that solutions can be found for the problems in the Middle East, including that of disarmament and discrimination based upon race, creed, or color—a hope that we all share.

Mrs. Meir's remarks follow:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS BY MRS. GOLDA MEIR, FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL, BEFORE THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1962

DISARMAMENT

Again disarmament is the keynote of this general debate; and so it must be until we see at least a beginning. Mankind can know no peace as long as it is compelled to watch nations feverishly accumulate more and more

arms, capable of destroying the human race more and more efficiently. While at the same time speeches are made expressing the need for disarmament.

It is the tragedy of our generation that after two world wars the long-drawn-out discussions on disarmament are held as though we had a choice between war and peace. Naturally, everybody is agreed that peace is better than war, but the assumption is that the choice is there.

If only the negotiators in Geneva were to decide unanimously that there was no such choice, it would be a real breakthrough toward disarmament. Once each of us convinces himself that war simply cannot exist as a means of solving international problems, there would be only one path for us to follow: to destroy all the means of war.

Since Isaiah spoke of the day when swords would be beaten into plowshares, mankind has made revolutionary strides in all domains of endeavor, but the sword is still in use, and many fields are still untilled for lack of the plow.

Disarmament would indeed be a double achievement, for not only would it reduce and eventually remove a terrible menace to us all, but it would enable vast resources to be diverted from military purposes to peaceful ends.

We, the small and new countries, emerging into a world of armed camps, suffer twofold. Our immediate aim is rapid development, but since the danger of war still looms over every dispute, we are constantly burdened with defense expenditures to the detriment of our development needs. We, too, quickly learn the bitter lesson that those who threaten others must be deterred by some equilibrium. And let not those whose declared policy is to attack their neighbor cry out in mock indignation when the latter seeks some means of defense.

My Government rejects war as a means of settling disputes. From the day, that the State of Israel was established, my Government has called for settling all outstanding differences by direct negotiations. We do not rest content with calling upon the great powers to find a way to disarmament, and to settle outstanding problems by negotiation and conciliation between them; we are prepared to put this into practice in the dispute in which we are involved with our neighbors. As we have done in the past, we call again upon the Arab States to agree to complete disarmament with mutual inspection, covering all types of weapons, and to accept the method of direct negotiation as the only means for solving all differences between them and Israel.

We were most interested to find in the speeches of many distinguished representatives the call for direct negotiations as the only means for the solution of disputes between nations.

DECOLONIZATION

It is most gratifying that on the important question of decolonization the words spoken from this rostrum find a concrete expression. This Assembly has again had the privilege of welcoming new member states. This, I believe, is not a routine matter to any of us. As we stand in awe and wonder before each newborn child, so do our hearts beat faster when we face peoples who have just made their first steps as free and independent nations. The dignity that they have achieved adds to the dignity of all of us. The world cannot be free as long as one nation is dominated by a foreign power.

It is in this spirit that Israel expresses its most cordial welcome to our new members—Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago, and now Algeria—and wishes them well. Many distinguished representatives have expressed from this rostrum their welcome to Algeria. In a statement in the Israel Parliament on June 24, 1962, I said:

"As we participate in the joy of the nations now reaching their national and spiritual independence, we cannot but touch upon the agreement reached at the beginning of the year between representatives of France and Algeria. When the Evian agreements were signed, the Prime Minister sent his congratulations to the President of France who, through his steadfastness and understanding, became the chief architect of this great achievement. Our feeling of appreciation for both sides who conducted the negotiations found their expression in various documents and declarations of the Government of Israel. * * * I can only say * * * that we shall be glad to establish with independent Algeria the same beneficial relationship as exists between us and other new states."

May the process of decolonization lead quickly to the sovereignty of all the peoples of the world; and let us strive that this should take place peacefully. It would be both immoral and unrealistic to oppose this historic trend.

DISCRIMINATION

It is now my sad duty to touch on a subject with which, when this organization was founded, it was thought inconceivable that we would have to deal again. The United Nations came into existence amidst the ruin and destruction of the Second World War. Every objective historian, analysing what brought about this disaster, must conclude that one of its primary causes, if not the most important one, was the Nazi racist doctrine. It was this poison, poured into the souls and minds of millions of young people, that made possible the worst horrors in the history of mankind. It was this doctrine that made any individual who was different on grounds of creed, race or color, an object of humiliation, tyranny and finally of annihilation. I belong to a people that has been ravished by this madness more than any other, and is now deeply disturbed by symptoms of a revival of anti-Semitic acts. We recognize though that however terrible our past ordeal, whatever our present anxieties, this is part of a world problem which concerns many groups and peoples. The United Nations is seized of this problem as a result of what took place in the winter of 1959–60 when in various parts of the world, the horrible swastika appeared again on Jewish and Christian houses of worship, on public institutions and private homes of individuals of different faiths. I would here stress my firm conviction that the reappearance of the swastika is not only a matter of concern to my people, but a challenge to us all, because under its sign the most unspeakable crimes were committed against the entire human race. There is another aspect of discrimination. It is that of a minority that is not allowed to give expression to its religious and cultural needs and aspirations. This, too, we believe, is not in accordance with the vision which the founders of this organization had after the Second World War. My delegation will have more to say on all aspects of discrimination when it is debated in the appropriate committees. Racialism and discrimination in all its forms, is indivisible, and no one group can be its victims without other groups being affected. It is discrimination itself which must be attacked and eradicated wherever it occurs, against whomever it is directed and in whatever form, and whether it is based on difference of creed, race, or color.

THE MIDDLE EAST

I now turn to the region of which Israel is a part. There are many that are misled by two fallacies regarding the Middle East. The first is that it is an Arab region. In fact, there are in it more non-Arabs than Arabs—Moslems, Christians, and Jews. This composite pattern of peoples of various faiths and cultures, has always been the pattern of the Middle East—each people with its historic continuity, past, present, and future. The second fallacy is that all would be well in that region if it were not for the tension between the Arab States and Israel. I would be the last to underrate the difficulties and dangers which arise from that conflict. But this is only one source of tension in a part of the world which is unhappily the scene of much political instability, economic, and social backwardness, rivalry and friction between different countries and regimes, and the pressures of the cold war. Anyone who follows the affairs of the Middle East knows that during this last year, the focus of trouble in the area has been the bitter struggle within the Arab world, which has made of the Arab League no longer even a facade of unity.

Israel longs for the day when the political independence and territorial integrity of every single State in the area—Arab or non-Arab—will be assured; and when we can all concentrate on the welfare of our peoples. When I refer to the turmoil in the Arab world, it is because we are a Middle Eastern country, and therefore affected by all that affects the peace of our area, and retards its peaceful progress.

As far as the Israel-Arab dispute itself is concerned, it is as well to see clearly what is the basic problem. It is the denial by the Arab States of Israel's right to exist. If this attitude were to change, and if the Arab States and Israel were to discuss their differences at the conference table, in a frank and open maner, I am positive that solutions could be found on all the specific issues. Year after year, Israel has come to this rostrum with one demand—peace between it and its Arab neighbors. May I say here that we were grateful to the distinguished Deputy Foreign Minister of Ghana when he drew our attention again to the important statement of President Nkrumah during the 15th General Assembly in which he called for recognition of the political realities in the Middle East and for insurance against nonaggression. We are entirely in agreement with that view.

The Arab denial of Israel's right of existence has a direct bearing on the distressing refugee problem. We are willing, and always have been willing, to discuss with the Arab governments what can best be done to secure the future of the refugees in the light of the political and economic realities in the region.

But a natural solution to the problem is frustrated by the Arab dream of destroying Israel and openly proclaimed Arab intention of using the refugees for this purpose. This design has been openly propagated even from the rostrum of this Assembly. This small spot of land, in which the Jewish people have revived their ancient home and nationhood, must again be wrested from them, and they again be scattered to the four corners of the earth. Our neighbors have tried to achieve this by various means—open or guerrilla warfare, economic boycott, propaganda, and threats. Negotiation and conciliation are proclaimed from this rostrum as the road to solve all other problems in the world except this one, which must, according to these spokesmen, be resolved by force. For every other nation, they claim coexistence practiced in peace; for Israel, nonexistence to be achieved by war.

This doctrine not only runs counter to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Its acceptance strikes at the very roots of our organization. The world of today is overwhelmed by ideological disputes, international conflicts, and economic controversies.

In face of this situation the basic concepts of the charter on the eschewing of force, on the unremitting search for peace, on international cooperation, on negotiation as the means to solve problems, have gained a new depth and significance. As long as negotiation is sought, there is hope. Those who rule out negotiation in the Middle East, those who year after year engage in sterile and stereotyped speeches of hostility should

know that their attitude is irrelevant to the basic theme of the international community and can have no echo in an organization which has proclaimed peace to be synonymous with human survival, that they are assaulting the foundations of human progress.

The policy of the Israeli Government has been and continues to be peace. It is peace not only for the world, but also between us and our neighbors. We believe in coexistence and cooperation everywhere, and we shall do everything in our power to achieve that end.

However, as long as Arab belligerency continues, Israel will take all necessary measures to be capable of protecting itself. Thus it is ironical that, when Egypt amasses a fleet of heavy bombers, and when President Nasser proclaims that his rockets will be able "to hit any place south of Beirut" (that is, Israel), an Egyptian spokesman should complain loudly from this rostrum when Israel is acquiring missiles which can be used solely for protection against attack from the air.

I do not wish to create the impression that Israel, subjected as it is to hostility, is preoccupied only with this somber aspect of its existence. Some of you have been to Israel, and I venture to believe that you have found a people which is developing with enthusiasm the long neglected deserts and the rocky hills. There is a steady progress in all phases of our economy, in the development of our educational and scientific institutions. People who came to our shores, driven either by the need for refuge or by the desire to participate in a great endeavor, are not only reclaiming a country, but also regaining their human dignity. Those who have come to us from scores of countries, speaking many tongues, share the great revival of our Biblical language and our ancient culture. We have received these newcomers with love and devotion, and they have ceased to be destitute refugees and become a constructive, vital element in our life. Had the Arab nations put their minds and energies into developing their lands, the refugees who dwell in their midst could have been drawn into productive life and become a real asset for the development of their countries. This is what happened in Israel with the more than a million refugees, of whom over 600,000 came from Arab lands.

We are happy to note that, despite frustrations and setbacks, there is a growing consciousness in some of the Arab countries, that the direction of their energies and talents toward constructive endeavor is more vital to the welfare of their peoples than to perpetuate sterile rancor. These tendencies should be encouraged by the international community.

Mr. President, despite all the speeches which we have heard from Arab representatives we are convinced that for us and for our neighbors the day must come when we shall live in amity and cooperation. Then will the entire Middle East become a region where the tens of millions of people will dwell in peace, and only then will its economic potentialities and rich cultural heritage achieve fulfillment. This Israel believes, and toward this end we shall devote all our efforts.

## Beloved Bishop Joseph A. Burke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the death of Bishop Joseph A. Burke has come as a great shock to all of us in the Buffalo diocese and our entire community. He was loved and respected by people of every faith and creed.

It was my privilege to know Bishop Burke personally over many years. He was a great inspiration to all who knew him.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include two editorials which express the sentiments of our community. These appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express and the Buffalo Evening News:

BELOVED BISHOP JOSEPH A. BURKE

Like a thunderclap out of October's bright blue sky, came word here that Buffalo's Catholic diocesan head, Joseph A. Burke, lay dead in Rome. The jarring impact of the dispatch was felt by this entire community, leaving Catholics shocked and saddened and causing people of all faiths to sympathize with them in the loss of their bishop.

Some persons are given to sense death nearing them, but if Bishop Burke had any such premonition it would not have stayed him from undertaking attendance at the Ecumenical Council at the call of Rome—rather it would have confirmed his resolve to go as a concluding acceptance of the divine will and of his episcopal responsibility to serve his church to his uttermost. In any case, he must have sensed the physical demands it would make on him at the age of 76, climaxing his 50 years in the priesthood and 10 years in the episcopate. As a stanch soldier of Christ, he would have been wholly willing to die on active duty, just as his whole living was preparatory to answering his final summons.

His participation in the Ecumenical Council, with its accent on the spread of good will among all God-fearing men, was in perfect keeping with the personal motivation of his ecclesiastical career. His mind and heart were open to all persons and to their aspirations for doing good in the world by individual or group effort. As a Catholic bishop, he was not trailing an ecclesiastical trend but was well in pace with it and forehanded in appreciating its indicated perspective. A bishop in a community is circumstantially somewhat of an aloof figure, but the bond between Bishop Burke's episcopal dignity and that of his fellow men's reverence and esteem for him was so close that he readily identified himself humanly with all. His love of children was typical of his personal innocence and outgoing character. Catholics' reference to him as their "beloved bishop" was their response to his Christian regard for humanity.

Bishop Burke lived with the crucial burden of a tremendous responsibility as overseer of the affairs of the eight-county Catholic diocese. His dedicated direction brought about the steadily expanding pattern of diocesan institutions, making his executive administration second to none in western New York in the range and scope of its contribution to spiritual and humanitarian welfare. For his work as guiding head of Catholic charities alone, he has made this community lastingly indebted to him. For a comprehensive coverage of his good deeds, one would need to be privileged a glimpse into the golden book of the recording angel.

Buffalo and Erie County deeply mourn his departure and long will have him in memory, as the story of his life stirs popular recollection of human-interest aspects of his personality. The first Buffalo-born bishop of this diocese, Joseph A. Burke has left his distinctive mark on the progressive life of the community, together with a legacy of rich inspiration. In the classic definition of the Good Shepherd, his Catholic flock well commemorate him as one who laid down his life for his sheep.

BISHOP BURKE

The most Reverend Joseph A. Burke was justly beloved among people of every faith and creed.

He was uniquely a bishop of Buffalo—the first native Buffalonian to head his home diocese since its founding more than a century earlier. No Catholic bishop before him knew this community so well. None served it with deeper faith, greater devotion or more abundant good cheer.

He spent many years as a parish priest in small and large churches before becoming auxiliary bishop in 1943. In that post he shared the burdens of two of his predecessors—one later to become a cardinal—with characteristic energy, dedication, and skill.

The present vigor of the eight-county Buffalo diocese bespeaks the excellence of Bishop Burke's own administration as spiritual father to almost 900,000 Catholics during the past decade.

He conceived and built the diocese's first major seminary. He greatly expanded its school program and built a total of five convalescent homes and homes for the aging. He opened nine suburban parishes and intensified rural mission work. He enlarged church programs in many fields, including youth, family life, and labor-management relations. Under his direction, the first major census in diocesan history was accomplished.

In the community at large, Bishop Burke demonstrated his vital lifelong concern for the general welfare by taking part wholeheartedly in good works of every description. His splendid contributions to interfaith amity and brotherhood exemplified Buffalo's finest traditions as a city of good neighbors.

When thousands of persons joined last summer in honoring him upon his 50th anniversary as a priest and 10th anniversary as bishop it was a sincere and moving tribute to one who had won universal esteem as a religious leader of wisdom, compassion, humility, and personal warmth.

In his last days Bishop Burke knew the deep satisfaction of taking part in an epochal event in the august councils of his church, in the city that was his spiritual home. In his death, his church has lost an outstanding prelate and his community and Nation a faithful citizen.

## The Community Development Foundation Methods and Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, and because of the considerable interest expressed as a result of my recent remarks concerning the Community Development Foundation, I am led to supplement those remarks with a more detailed examination of the methods used by this distinguished organization and the results produced by those methods during the past year. I do this primarily because those methods are so successful—a combination of tested community development principles and a sincere humanitarian concern. They represent an expression of the basic good will of the American people for those individuals, communities, and nations who are struggling to create for

themselves an existence where love of freedom, individual enterprise, and national good can be welded into a potent weapon for the establishment of world peace.

In describing the working methods used by the Community Development Foundation, I am drawing upon a talk given by Mrs. Theodora Pantos, the foundation's field director of its Greek program—a talk delivered at the Regional Conference for Community Development held at Chalkis, on the island of Euboea under the auspices of the Royal National Foundation of Greece. It was attended by representatives from the Nomoi of Attica, Phokis, Cyclades, Samos, Euboea, and Boetia. Mrs. Pantos, incidentally, has been the recipient of an award of the Second Order of Merit by the Greek Ministry of Welfare under royal edict for her work on behalf of Greek children and communities through the foundation.

While Mrs. Pantos was speaking for the program in Greece, her description of the methods and goal of the foundation are just as accurate for the programs of the foundation in Lebanon, France, Korea, among the American Indians, or in the southern Appalachian Mountain regions of the United States, as well as in all other areas where the foundation is striving to inculcate new hope, new determination, and new competence in the hearts and minds of people who have long suffered from chronic poverty and despair.

She points out that long before the term "community development" became part of a scientific phraseology, there were many people who were practicing its principles. The village schoolmaster in the isolated community, who used to sit in the village square and talk to the people over a cup of coffee, instilling in them enthusiasm for acting together to build a school or to bring water down from the hills; firing them with the determination to roll up their sleeves, pick up their shovels and go to work to improve conditions for themselves and their children, was doing community development. The priest who talked with the mothers of the village, advising them on their problems, telling them how they could keep their homes clean and care for their children, was doing the same. As Mrs. Pantos said:

> Anyone who loved people and came in contact with them in an effort to help them, did community development * * * for the basic rule for anyone who wants to work in this field is a love of people. He must let the village people know that he loves them and in this way win their confidence so that he can help them.

Often the first visits to a village by the community development worker seem unproductive of interest or results, though miracles do happen. With patience, however, even the sleepiest or most apathetic village can be aroused to face realities, and once the first step is taken and a first project proves successful, the resultant pride of accomplishment triggers a desire for further efforts.

As the foundation's French field director wrote in her 1962 annual report:

> In 1956 I walked through the villages, the silent deserted villages. No friendly attitude, no gesture of welcome from an entirley shut up population. I was the stranger. All the trouble came from that. What right had I to enter their village? But in 1962 friends in every village. Villages with community development projects successfully completed. New villages and new projects continually: 35 a year ago; 48 this year; 48 villages with 69 projects. Many others waiting for a visit, having submitted a project and asked to be included in our program.

The stronger a village gets through its own efforts, the less often it is visited by the community development worker. The better the work that is done, the less credit will he take for himself, for the worker who has done real community development is the one who visits a village and leaves with the people the knowledge that they themselves built the school, carved out the road, brought water into the village, repaired their homes, acquired new livestock, planted new and better orchards. Thus, with renewed confidence in themselves, they will go forward toward the consummation of their dream: the establishment of security for themselves and their children.

This is how the foundation starts its work. A road, a well, a better crop, a school, improved strains of livestock; in other words, a dream in the mind of a family or a community. A dream that would remain only a dream and eventually die, were it not for the spark of life poured into that dream by dedicated workers, backed by technical skill, humanitarian understanding, and the support of thousands of individuals and groups from every corner of America; in other words, the cooperative effort that the community development foundation represents.

And what does it accomplish? I am going to give you concrete examples, examples taken from the reports by the foundation's field offices at the end of the 1961–62 fiscal year, so that my distinguished colleagues may judge for themselves as to whether or not the foundation's methods are a powerful weapon for making friends for America and furthering the cause of peace and international understanding.

In Greece, not only were 29 new village projects initiated, but the foundation was also able to expand its program into a new area, the Nomos of Phokis, and at the request of local government authorities, initial steps were taken for further expansion in another three areas. At present, therefore, its village self-help program is operating successfully in seven areas: Attica, Levadia, Euboea, Corinth, Thesprotia, Phokis, with expected expansion into Nafpaktos, Agrinion, and the island of Corfu.

The projects are many and varied, running from improvements in playgrounds, road and bridge building, water supply projects, and projects for the introduction of new and improved strains of livestock or new species of fruit trees.

By means of playground and other school-centered projects, the foundation has assisted the village people to create better educational facilities for their children, turning bare buildings into schools where children can receive an elementary education under decent and healthful conditions; where they will have access to at least a rudimentary library, with a few maps and charts, and so forth. Water supply projects enable parents to bring in an adequate supply of drinking water that will protect their children's health from possible contamination of wells where both people and animals formerly drank from a common source. More plentiful water lightens the task of the housewives, enabling them to keep their homes clean more easily, giving them more time for their children and husbands.

Road and bridge building makes rural areas more accessible to markets, opens up more land for cultivation, lessens the cost of transportation of farm products or fertilizer. Improved breeds of animals and better species of trees make possible increased incomes in areas where the average per capita income is as low as $60 per year. This supplemented income in cash and kind enables parents to provide better diets and more adequate clothing for their children, to say nothing of the luxury of a high school education in many cases.

A total of only $3,682.03 was given out in Greece by the foundation in grants for village self-help projects, against which 32,395 days of man labor was contributed by the villagers. At $2 per day, the value of this labor would be $64,790; in other words, the recipients of the benefit contributed labor valued at over 17 times the amount made available by the foundation.

In Korea, with its large but impoverished population, 116 new community development projects have been initiated by the foundation during the past year. The majority of those projects are concerned with agriculture and land reclamation and with dam and irrigation facilities. Water is Korea's biggest problem—either too much water during the flood season, or not enough, during the growing season. Thus projects for building dams to conserve water and drainage projects to reclaim land that has been flooded are given priority by most villages which are dependent upon the staple food—rice. In Mok Ri, for instance, a dam makes possible a reservoir and the draining of acreage for rice paddies. A grant of $320 was made to this village of 87 families. The villagers pledged 4,500 days of work on the dam and $500 worth of materials. In the next 5 years, the anticipated annual gain is $29,500.

During the Korean war, ruthless cutting of forests created erosion and flood problems. Working under foundation guidance, villagers have set out more than 35,000 pine seedlings and 25,000 young chestnut trees. The seedlings were furnished by the South Korean Government, while foundation grants paid for fertilizer, and foundation counselors provided the guidance and encouragement as well as motivating the people to work together.

Last fall, a miserable village of 320 refugee families huddled wretchedly in a suburb of Taejon, Korea, named Dal

Hwa Ri. Since they had not only lost their dwellings but also their means of livelihood, they could not build new homes until a miracle happened. They had been living in miserable shacks built of broken pieces of board and wornout straw matting. The foundation consultant in Korea reported:

> We inspired the people to contribute their labor and they began building two decent model homes. The construction took about 2 weeks and the total cost of each house was about $80. When the people realized how much they could accomplish by working together, they embarked upon the project of building 24 more homes. Help was given them by the foundation and by Korean World Church Service as a joint endeavor.

So enthusiastically and hard did the people work that the 24 model homes were actually completed in only 8 days. To the people of Dai Hwa Ri, it was a miracle, but in actuality, it was the result of two organizations encouraging the people to work for community development.

In France, I have already mentioned the 48 new villages with 69 projects. These cover many different types of plans: community centers like the one in Molene where the fishermen gave 6,000 hours of work, setting up the center, installing electricity, organizing educational and recreational facilities. One of the present projects in Brittany on the Finistere coast is that of Auberlac'h, which will benefit 2,000 people. It was started but recently, but promises to be of great value to the whole fishing community. It will keep the fishermen away from the cafes and serve as a meeting place where they can telephone the fishmongers, discuss prices and sales of their fish. There will be storage facilities for fishing equipment; lectures can be held and a library established. Thus it will benefit, not only the fishermen, but also their wives and children.

Once again, there is the problem of water for the housewives, for the cattle. There have been 14 water or shower projects this year. Started by the people of Coet-Bugat and Pourmabon, who were the first to carry out a water project, they were followed by the surrounding villages which, as the men said, "had not realized that a community project would have allowed this, or we would have done it many years ago." Now there are no more heavy pails of water to be carried over and over again from the distant fountain; no more endless hours spent to take the cows to drink from a far-off stream. As the field director said:

> Unless you have seen the strain of the overtired women, you cannot realize the joy and excitement caused in a village when a water project is completed and a tap can be turned for water.

One of the most interesting projects is one that involved three families, totaling eight children, in the Pourmabon area, who joined together in a large guinea hen farm. Started in January 1961, by the end of the year the net profit was $388, to be split between the three families. The farmers agreed that this profit was more than could be earned working all year in their fields. Because the hens were so well cared for, the merchant with whom they had their sales contract asked the leader of the families, Mr. Marivan, to start a breeding project. Mr. Marivan is now in charge of 450 guinea hens which are expected to produce 45,000 eggs during the year, while additional personnel have been employed to handle the collection and shipment of the eggs. Other farmers in the area, stimulated by this successful example, are now planning similar projects.

In Lebanon, the program of the foundation is receiving increasing support from the Government. In many respects, rural Lebanon is still highly underdeveloped. Four consecutive drought seasons have left many villages with an insufficient water supply. Electricity and running water are scarce. Asphalt roads are almost nonexistent, which makes it extremely costly for the people to get their produce to the markets. Schools are not found in every village and those that do exist, rarely have more than the first four elementary grades. Children desiring further elementary or secondary education must walk daily to and from neighboring towns, no matter what the weather. It is not surprising, therefore, that the villagers have welcomed the foundation's program as a rare opportunity to improve their conditions. Increasingly, also, they are realizing that they can help themselves much more effectively than any external agency or organization. It is this spirit that the foundation fosters, for its eventual hope is that it will be unneeded by the villagers.

During the past year, with foundation counseling and assistance, the villagers initiated 17 community self-help projects. Of these, 10 were undertaken by a joint foundation-Government program, while the remaining 7 were under foundation guidance alone. This brought the total number of projects since the inception of the foundation program in Lebanon in 1957 to 112 projects in 51 villages.

The 7 projects under the regular foundation program benefited 429 children and 815 adults. On the joint program set up between the foundation and the Social Development of the Lebanese Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, the 10 projects initiated benefited 1,466 children and 2,954 adults. Every dollar contributed by the foundation was matched with $2 from the Lebanese Government and at least $7 from the villagers themselves, either in cash, labor, or materials and supplies. It is indeed indicative of the esteem felt for the foundation's program, to hear a Government official state:

> The foundation is the only organization to which the Government delegates the authority to make direct payments to the beneficiaries. For all other organizations, the Government accountant makes such payments.

It is therefore not strange that the Lebanese Government will increase its contribution from $3,333 last year to $15,000 this coming year for the purpose of reaching and encouraging a greater number of families and communities to help themselves.

An illustration of one of the school projects was that initiated in Al-Rihan. In the past, the Rihanians have built 3 classrooms, but the rooms have become overcrowded with the 130 students of both sexes in the 5 lower elementary grades. They were firmly resolved to solve this difficulty and provide a higher level of elementary education for their children. The foundation and the Government made them a grant of $433 and this was matched by a value of $1,330 worth of labor and materials from the villagers. The result: Four additional classrooms have been built. The Government was so impressed that the next higher elementary grade has been started with plans for additional grades in the future. The 130 children are receiving the benefits and the village folk have developed so much confidence in their own ability to meet the problem that they are eager to embark on the project of building four more classrooms.

The village of Kfar Dabach lacked a clean and sufficient supply of drinking water. The present spring is polluted due to rain water seepage carrying human and animal sewage, with the result that outbreaks of disease were frequent. With a CDF-Government grant of $383, the villagers are digging a new well which will be made properly sanitary. The entire village of 175 children and 225 adults will have an ample and unpolluted source of water.

The foundation's program in the United States has been long established and consistently effective. By working out self-help projects with American Indian tribes on Southwestern reservations, the dignity of the tribes is protected and the well-being of the children advanced. During the past year, 6 Indian tribes undertook 22 self-help projects, while 23 other projects were continued from former years.

On Apache reservations, women were taught health practices which they used and shared so effectively that participation in health programs increased several hundred percent. Other Apaches engaged in craft programs and have developed ever increasing facilities for marketing their handiwork. Teenage boys and girls who hitherto had presented a problem because of the dissatisfaction and restlessness of youth, have been given an expression for their energy and a stimulus to their initiative through projects for home repair and land clearance. By working together and enjoying the fruits of their efforts, their enthusiasm has been reflected in increased ambition and school attendance.

One of the most interesting projects was that of the Papago girl hospital workers who call themselves the Candy Stripers. Through their service as aids in the reservation hospital, these teenagers are being educated in health, responsibility and the concept of service to their own people. Even more important, each member has been able to carry her new knowledge into her own home—a most important factor on a reservation where approximately 50 percent of the people are unable to read and 40 percent cannot speak English. A public health community worker has stated that of all the projects on the Papago Reservation,

that of the Candy Striper is the most valuable.

The Colorado River Reservation has undertaken projects to renovate buildings that now serve as a community center for tribal meetings and industries. A large library was established. Camping facilities and a golf course were developed to increase tribal income through tourism.

Especially interesting was an 8-week summer day camp for 42 teenagers at which they received vocational training. Each camper pledged 100 hours of labor and their work included plastering and painting walls, repairing windows, laying an adobe wall and apprenticeship in learning clothes repair, furniture upholstery, and craft production. There were daily recreational activities, educational classes in good grooming, nursing, and cooking for the girls, and field trips for all. The camp provided not only training and vocational preparation as well as education and recreation, but also provided each camper with funds to meet return-to-school expenses. The reservation received a minimum of 4,200 hours of labor on community improvement.

A clear pattern of decreasing foundation aid emerges as tribal groups assume greater responsibility in project management as a result of experience gained. For example: In 1959, the San Carlos Boys' Camp required a grant of $3,000. In 1962, only $200 was required to assure the success of this year's undertaking. An increasing use of young adult participation in community efforts has been effective on the Colorado River, San Carlos Apache, Pima, Papago, Jemez, and Zia Reservations. This has contributed to the maturity of the young people and given a new impetus to community development projects.

One of the most significant new projects inaugurated by the foundation in its domestic program is the Southern Mountain Self-Help Scholarship Fund for teenagers in the mountain areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Until recently, a high school education was not generally available for many children. The primitive rural elementary school supplied the only education many mountain children could hope to attain. Today, centralized schools are being built throughout the area.

For the first time in mountain history, young men and women can receive training which should enable them to become self-supporting in their own communities. This, however, does not mean that high school is automatically obtainable. Too many of the mountain young people cannot afford the clothing, the school supplies and the necessary spending money that enables them to go on with their education. Their parents are too poor to help. Though the foundation's plan, boys and girls whose scholastic ability, economic need and the presentation of a plan for service to their school or community make them eligible for help, are given a scholarship to help them stay in school. In an area where more than a third of the young people from 16 to 17 are forced to drop out of school, this program is demonstrably valuable.

In the rural elementary schools, the foundation provides funds and encouragement to communities and teachers for installing electricity, painting and repair of buildings, clearing ground for playgrounds and providing equipment, installing indoor toilets and lunch kitchens where the children may be served hot lunches and thus become eligible for Federal aid. Typical of this kind of project is the Decoy School in a remote area of Kentucky. The 2-room schoolhouse had an enrollment of 38 students in all 8 grades. The parents and community installed running water for the school, started a library, initiated a sewing project and a 4-H Club, put a foundation under the school, built a basement and installed a central heating system. In addition, a rug-weaving project was started to raise funds for other improvements they plan for next year.

During the past year, 198 sponsored self-help projects were completed in 135 communities, spanning 55 counties.

From this panoramic picture of the Community Development Foundation achievements during the past year, I believe I can truthfully say, and be joined by my distinguished colleagues, that here is a private, nonprofit, nonsectarian and nonpolitical organization that is most truly representative of what its executive director, Mr. Glen Leet, calls "The practice of philanthropy in the space age." He states an inspiring premise when he says:

> This is a time that calls for a creative and imaginative approach to the concept of philanthropy. Science and technocracy have made miraculous strides in pioneering the unexplored realms of outer space. But we who are striving to seek within the "inner" space of the human heart and mind, cannot be content with a pedestrian approach to the chronic problems that hold man back from the enjoyment of his heritage. There are galaxies and constellations still to be discovered in this realm of the inner space of thought. The extension of our knowledge of humanity and its needs is even more important to the future of the world than is advancement in terms of the physical aspects of outer space * * * the conquest of outer space will bring only an extension of the present mundane problems and fears until men can learn to live together in a climate of peace based upon mutual understanding and respect.

The Community Development Foundation is located at the United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, New York, N.Y.

## Résumé of Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 87th Congress, To Be Printed as a Committee Print

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the recommendation of the Joint Committee on Printing, the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries elects to report its résumé of activities during the 87th Congress by means of a committee print rather than by insertion in the Appendix of the RECORD. The résumé is in preparation, and will be ready for distribution to interested persons in the very near future.

## The Prisoner's Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 11, 1962*

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the April 11, 1960, issue of Life magazine.

All advocates of justice must examine the case of the "Birdman of Alcatraz" in the dispassionate manner suggested by Paul O'Neil: his crimes are not the issue. His punishment for those crimes is what we must be concerned with.

The article follows:

PRODIGIOUS INTELLECT IN SOLITARY—IMPENITENT KILLER ROBERT STROUD, WHO IS FAMED FOR BIRD TREATISE, SEES NEW HOPE FOR FREEDOM

(By Paul O'Neil)

In Federal penitentiaries, as in those little cellblocks of circumstance in which we all serve time, most men conclude that conformity is synonymous with commonsense. The man who stoops to survive is encouraged by a world which offers rewards to stoolpigeons and asks only that a convict stay quietly behind his bars. If defiance in adversity is the final, ennobling duty of the human spirit, there are few noble souls in prison—or few, at any rate, who do not finally surrender, die, or lose their minds under the thud of the long gray years.

Here is the story of Robert Stroud—impenitent killer, convict, scholar, scientist, nonconformist—who has survived on his own terms.

Few humans in any age have been held in prison as long as Stroud, who has now spent more than 50 years continuously behind walls, all but a few months of those years in tough, heavily guarded institutions—McNeil Island, Leavenworth, and Alcatraz. It is doubtful that anyone, since the Man in the Iron Mask, has lived out his life in the kind of isolation which Stroud has survived. Forty-three of those fifty gray years have been spent in solitary confinement (or "administrative segregation," as the Federal Bureau of Prisons prefers to call it) during which he has eaten alone in his cell, has never mingled with the prison population and has been denied, for years on end, the privileges of the prison exercise yard. He has become, as a result, a sort of invisible man. All but a few who remember him as a stripling of 19 in 1909—the year he went to prison—are dead. For the last 18 years he has been allowed only one regular visitor, a brother. Except for two lawyers no other callers have been permitted to see him. His correspondence is limited and, as with all prisoners, his mail is censored.

Stroud has not spent his decades in prison without reason. He has killed two men: A bartender named Charlie Dahmer, whom he shot in Juneau, Alaska, in 1909, and a prison guard named Andrew F. Turner, whom he stabbed to death at Leavenworth Penitentiary in 1916. He has lived his life in solitary as specific punishment for killing the

guard. When he knifed Turner, Stroud struck at the very basis of the penal system—the harsh discipline by which herds of bored, resentful and sometimes desperate men are controlled in overcrowded penitentiaries. After failing in three attempts to get him hanged, both the Attorney General of the United States and prison officialdom resolved that he should live the rest of his days as an object lesson to other recalcitrant convicts.

Time and rigorous censorship of the Stroud case makes it extremely difficult to weigh his crimes. One can only plow through old trial records, old letters, and faded newspaper clippings in an attempt to decide whether they were committed under extreme provocation (as Stroud claims) or were (as the Government insists) simply exercises of cold, premeditated vengeance. Time, however, has not altered the prison bureau's attitude toward Stroud. The average life sentence runs but 10 years, and even so controversial a murderer as Nathan Leopold was freed after 34 years. But though Stroud has engaged in surprising feats of self-rehabilitation, it seems doubtful that the Government will ever voluntarily set him free.

AN IRON STOICISM

Stroud has never begged for quarter and has never expressed the slightest contrition for his crimes. He has borne a wasting disease and the endless indignities of prison routine with iron stoicism. He has not raised a hand to another man since 1916 and has devoted himself for 40 years to the passionate development and exercise of a remarkable intellect. Since the publication 5 years ago of Thomas E. Gaddis' study of the Stroud case, "Birdman of Alcatraz," thousands of people have written from all over the world to applaud both his courage and his accomplishments. The most noted of his achievements is "Stroud's Digest of the Diseases of Birds," which he wrote after 20 years of study and experiment with canaries in his cell at Leavenworth, and which is the most authoritative and comprehensive work on this subject ever published. But though he became eligible for parole in 1937, and though his case has been reviewed 23 times in the last 23 years, there has never been any suggestion that the Federal Board of Parole has ever seriously considered his release.

Stroud maintains that he could have been out of here years ago if he had ever stooped to bootlicking. But he would seem, literally, to prefer death. "I am neither a moron nor a sycophant, the only types they conceive worthy," he wrote in one letter, "but a man of strong character, who in 50 years has not been broken and who cannot be broken. I am still Prometheus, and I can endure to the end if necessary." Stroud, the stir-wise old con, has lived with prison regulations for half a lifetime, but Stroud the defiant individualist has engaged, decade after decade, in a remorseless contest of wills with the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, James V. Bennett.

Stroud has never ceased trying to use public opinion to wring concessions from his jailers. He has got his name into the newspapers with embarrassing frequency and has managed, at times, to outwit and defeat the whole U.S. prison system. Most of his triumphs have been short lived, but his impulse to dominate rather than be dominated has remained unquenched. Bennett has been forced for 30 long years to deal with Stroud's complaints, to answer letters from irate bird lovers ("Bird brains! Bird brains!" he sometimes exclaims), to endure interrogation from the press and to compose letters to Congressmen and Senators about the man who raised the canaries in his cell. One is impelled to wonder whether Stroud has not, with the weapon of his terrible endurance, inflicted some subtle and nagging wound in the heart of his jailer during his endless, one-sided struggle.

Bennett, an assured, pleasant lawyer of 65, is sometimes hailed as the most enlightened penologist in U.S. history. He is, without question, the most successful of the prison reformers, an able administrator who has utilized techniques and ideas which earlier and less practical penal theorists were incapable of putting into practice. He has not only molded the Federal prison system into the image of the new penology, which proposes to classify and rehabilitate rather than punish criminals, but has set a powerful example for the State prisons to follow. He is, by all accounts, a decent and honorable man. But his handling of the Stroud case and his reactions to Stroud himself raise questions indeed, when viewed against this solid background of balance of achievement.

Bennett refuses to allow anyone access to the Bureau's records of the case, refuses to discuss it for publication, or to allow any employee of the Federal system to do so. Above all, he refuses to allow any contact with Stroud, although he will disparage the old prisoner at length once he has exacted the protection of a no-quotation agreement. He does his level best to prevent publication of anything concerning Stroud, and often succeeds. (Simultaneously, although he holds that the Bureau's files are confidential, he offers every cooperation on stories or pictures about more interesting convicts.) Bennett maintains, in justification, that he is duty bound to take this attitude toward a troublemaker like Stroud out of simple justice to the majority of 22,000 Federal prisoners who have vanished behind walls without a trace. But he also refuses to discuss his own important part in the Stroud case. It would be impossible to describe it, in fact, if he had not left behind him, over the years, unqualified statements about the old prisoner which a patient reporter can collect and, in good conscience, use.

Bennett's most recent suppression of the Stroud story occurred in 1958 in Los Angeles when he dissuaded executives of 20th Century-Fox from doing a motion picture which was to have been based on Gaddis' book and which might have yielded Stroud the first important money of his life. Bennett was frank to say that he had done everything he could to prevent the New York publishing firm of Random House from bringing out the book. He warned the Fox people "for their own good" that they should not risk the movie since they did not know the truth as he knew it. He insisted, without specifying, that the Gaddis book was "a pack of lies" and denied the company access to any Federal prison, although offering to cooperate on some more suitable picture.

When Producer Jack Cummings asked his opinion of Stroud's intellect, Bennett answered, "I find him rather dull. Oh, he's cunning." When questioned about Stroud's accomplishments, he said, "He amused himself with those canaries." When the worried moviemakers felt impelled to check on Stroud's sanity (Bennett has refused to release a report on Stroud made by famed Psychiatrist Karl Menninger after an extended interview with the prisoner one day at Alcatraz), he replied, "The old man is not psychotic but he is getting senile."

But little about the Stroud case—or what is visible of the Stroud case—is really quite as black and white as this might make it sound. Unquestionably Stroud has been a difficult and troublesome prisoner. He is also one of the most cantankerous old men alive in the world today. He insists, for instance, that parole would violate his right to free and unconditional pardon and has sworn to refuse it if it is ever offered to him, although he is now 70 and the marks of prison lie heavily on him.

Stroud is a tall (6 feet 3 inches), bald and emaciated being who wears old-fashioned steel spectacles. He suffers from a chronic kidney ailment and a type of arteriosclerosis which causes him pain in his hands and feet. He reads Cicero and Baudelaire in the original Latin and French, but he speaks with an old lag's defensive caution—softly, and with no perceptible movement of the lips. At Alcatraz he formed the habit of grasping his barred door while talking, and rocking himself endlesly back and forth like a bemused zoo chimp. He is a food faddist who believes that meat, fish and vegetables should all be eaten raw and is convinced that the two greatest killers of all time are "the milk cow and the cookstove." But neither his ego, illnesses nor eccentricities have prevented his viewing himself with merciless detachment.

"I do not want you to get the idea that Stroud is in any sense a hero or a genius," he wrote as guidance at the time 20th Century-Fox was planning its picture about him. "He is neither. He is an unfortunate human being who got off in life on the wrong foot, almost from birth; a criminal, a murderer, a man who has done many evil, shameful, and terrible things and has suffered terrible punishments. He is a pronounced egotist. The one outstanding thing about him is that he has been a fighter from the day of his birth. He has always fought against heartbreaking odds and without the advantages of preparation for the battle of life. So, though Stroud is as devoid of conventional morals as a chicken is of teeth, his story contains one great moral lesson. Man can die, but he can never be a slave until he himself accepts slavery."

This is not to say, however, that Stroud blames himself for his crimes. He is convinced that his nature was distorted in childhood by a warping and unnatural possessiveness on the part of his mother, Elizabeth, and that the "evil, shameful, and terrible" things he did were inevitable "since no God ever made a man to be a coward." As a boy in Seattle, he was withdrawn and quiet and had an obsessive compassion for weaker creatures—his little brother Marc, stray dogs and cats. But he also had an instinct for violence. At the age of 10 when his father knocked him down, "I came up out of the dirt with a rock in each hand. The first one hit him in the chest hard enough to break two ribs. He treated me with respect after that."

A RIVAL'S ULTIMATUM

At 13 he ran away from home, turned hobo and eventually made his way to Alaska. At age 18—tough, gangling, ignorant, repressed—he met Kitty O'Brien, a full-fleshed, shopworn saloon hustler of 36. Kitty took him in, nursed him through an attack of pneumonia, and shared her bed and earnings with him. Then, one cold night in 1909, a man named Charlie Dahmer announced that he was replacing Stroud in Kitty's scheme of life. Dahmer, a Russian-born rough-and-tumble fighter of note, also gave her a savage beating to dissuade her from any sentimental reservations.

"Kill him," said Kitty when Stroud came back to their furnished room. Charlie Dahmer's fate—and Stroud's—was sealed in that moment. Stroud stared at Kitty's blackened eyes, reached into a drawer in which she kept a .38-caliber pistol, walked down the street, and bought a box of cartridges. Dahmer's shack was empty. Stroud waited inside, and when Dahmer got home, Stroud shot him dead. Then he walked to the U.S. marshal's office and turned himself in. To save Kitty standing trial as his accomplice, he pleaded guilty to manslaughter.

"From my sixth year," Stroud has written, "I have never had any fear of death, probably because most of my life has been so miserable." But if freedom was misery, McNeil Island near Tacoma was worse. Prisoners wore stripes, the silence system (no talking at meals or at work) was enforced, and inmates were often handcuffed to their cell doors as punishment. Stroud had expected a light

sentence but had got the maximum term allowed by statute: 12 years. He was a recalcitrant and bitter prisoner. When a stool pigeon reported him for stealing food, he jammed a kitchen knife into the man, lost his chance of parole, and was shipped off to Leavenworth, the "tough joint" on the Kansas prairie.

Leavenworth's knife-packing prisoners lived by a jungle law of their own. Its guards enforced a harsh but uneasy discipline by recourse to "snitches," the "hole," the 25-pound ball and chain, and hardwood clubs which were mandatory equipment on duty. Stroud endured the dismal prison routine, endless meals of "Billygoat stew," and the painful beginnings of Bright's disease without complaint, although he wrote "mother darling" that he thought of "ending it all." But on Saturday, March 25, 1916—7 years after he began his sentence—he came back to his cell and found something which made his "breast chock up with emotion." It was a basket of fruit from his brother Marc, who had come all the way from Alaska to see him and had been turned away because of a ban on weekend visitors.

Marc proposed to call again in a few days. Stroud, nevertheless, burned with resentment, and that night a supper he muttered indignantly to the man beside him. This was a clear violation of the silence system. Guard Andrew F. Turner, a muscular, bespectacled Arkansan, was standing immediately behind him and instantly called, "Give me your number," Stroud froze, but dutifully intoned: "Eight one five four." His visiting privileges, he knew, would be withdrawn if the guard reported him to the warden, and Stroud spent a sleepless night.

As Turner passed in the mess hall at noon the next day, Stroud raised his hand and when the guard nodded, rose and demanded, "Turner, did you shoot me?"—i.e., report me. The conversation was virtually lost in the clatter of dishes and the sound of the prison brass band at the end of the big hall playing a song entitled "In Paradise." The men faced each other for a few seconds. Then, according to a witness, Stroud "with a sinuous and undulating motion" pulled a knife from the lining of his blue dress coat and thrust it into Turner's chest "two and a half inches from center." Blood gushed from the guard's mouth and nose, and while 1,100 startled convicts stared in fascination, he toppled, dying, to the floor.

"LACK OF NEWS"

"Dear Father," Stroud wrote thereafter, "I will drop you a few lines. Things have been somewhat upset here for me of late—March 26 I got up from the table at the noon meal and had a littel talk with the guard who was standing in the aisle—The guard took sick and died all of a sudden—He died of heart trouble—I guess you would call it a puncture of the heart—Anyhow there was a knife hole in it—They are holding me for murder—My case goes befor the grand jury next Wensday and I shall try to get a trial at once. I have never give any reason for doing it so they won't have much to work on only that I killed him and that won't do much good for I will admit that—Well, father, I will have to close for lack of news. Your loving son. R. F. Stroud."

Stroud was encouraged to write to anyone he wished. None of his letters left the prison. Each was extracted from the prison mail, opened, and filed away to be used against him. Before and during his three trials, which extended over 3 years, the Government took many other extraordinary measures to insure his execution. One judge ruled that the testimony of a convicted criminal was inadmissible. This denied the defense any case at all, but the prosecution utilized the ruling handsomely by handing seven prisoners unconditional pardons for taking the stand against Stroud. In two trials the defense did manage to elicit scraps of testimony that Guard Turner was a tough screw who believed Stroud was "dogeyeing" him and needed "a club wore out on his head." But the defense was barely able to suggest a rumor which, true or false, every convict believed: that Turner had been transferred from Atlanta to Leavenworth because he had clubbed a prisoner to death. (This rumor, it should be added, is vehemently denied by Turner's widow, who still lives, still clips news articles about Stroud, and still believes the man who caused her to raise two sons in poverty has gone too long unhanged.)

Each trial, however, really turned on a more important question: had Turner raised his club to hit Stroud over the head before he was stabbed? The defense insisted he had. But three Kansas juries decided not—perhaps because they were unable to disbelieve John M. Purcell, captain of the guards. Purcell testified that Turner had held his club tucked between his left arm and his body at the moment Stroud knifed him. He went on to tell how "Mr. Turner then turned deathly pale and wavered and raised his right hand a little (to signal Purcell) and then reached around with it to get the club * * * and got it out * * *" and how "Stroud grabbed at the club * * * and looked Mr. Turner right in the eye * * *" and finally how "Mr. Turner tipped forward * * * and pitched down on his face in the aisle."

Stroud appealed after his first trial (the judge had neglected to inform the jury that it could specify a life sentence if it wished), stubbornly appealed after the second (although the jury had specified a life sentence), and after the third trial was sentenced to be hanged. But 7 days before the execution date Leavenworth resounded to a dull, rhythmic and triumphant sound—convicts pounding in unison on bars and pipes. Woodrow Wilson had commuted Stroud's death sentence to life imprisonment.

A CRAMPED NEW WORLD

Thus, at 30, Stroud found himself inhabiting a world precisely 12 feet long and 6 feet wide. His bare, roughly plastered "segregation" cell contained a cot, a toilet, a washbowl and assorted resident cockroaches. A dim 25-watt electric light dangled from a cord in the ceiling. A small, barred window admitted daylight at one end. Stroud seemed relieved to find himself there.

His mother, who had moved to Kansas, had spent her life savings in "my Robbie's" defense and had won him the Presidential commutation, did her best to have him removed from solitary and transferred to Atlanta. Stroud refused any part of the scheme—he was coldly certain some stoolpigeon would try to kill him. He was also becoming aware, through extension courses in mathematics and astronomy, that he was the possessor of an unusual intellect, and he had begun to believe it might be the key with which he could reenter the world of men.

Two newly hatched sparrows shortly lent feverish purpose to his monastic existence. He picked them up under a broken branch in the prison yard (to which he was admitted alone for exercise periods), took them to his cell, raised them and taught them tricks. At a signal they would roll over on his cot and play dead. He started raising canaries and then, with his mother's assistance, sold them on the outside. The rotting idleness of a lifetime—or even a year—in solitary has driven many men to madness, but Stroud found himself working and studying 14, 16, even 20 hours a day. Keeping even a few birds in a cell taxed all his ingenuity. He was forced, at first, to collect bugs and flies simply to feed them. But eventually, with the somewhat indifferent sanction of the authorities, he had 300 canaries in an airy complex of cages hand built from sliced-up cigar boxes. Eventually, too, he had almost a half ton of scientific equipment jammed into his cell.

When birds fell sick he struggled, often unsuccessfully, to cure them. This failing, he dissected them—with no more instruments, in the beginning, than his fingernails—and attempted to understand and find cures for ailments which his government handbooks did not seem to explain. In the process he soaked up enormous drafts of booklearning: pharmacology, chemistry, medicine, bacteriology. As he read, he grew horrified at his own semi-illiteracy and crammed courses in English usage and syntax. Living with his birds 24 hours a day sharpened his powers of observation, and as he strove for scientific method and scientific detachment, he began discovering in himself a kind of scientific insight.

"The force of desperation produced ideas," he wrote, "that any medical man would have pronounced absurd." Many of them were. But many of them worked. He began marketing them commercially as well as his canaries. Stroud's Effervescent Bird Salts, Stroud's Special Prescription and Stroud's Salts No. 1 became widely heralded specifics for diseases of birds. Stroud accumulated an ancient Remington typewriter, learned to use it, and wrote numberless articles for canary journals. Simultaneously he maintained a correspondence with 2,000 owners and breeders. By 1930 he was making money enough to support his mother, and Robert Stroud, Box 7, Leavenworth, Kans., was America's supreme authority on the care and breeding of canaries and other caged birds.

In 1931, however, as a prelude to the organization of a system of prison industries, convicts were forbidden to engage in private business of any kind. Stroud was given 60 days to get rid of his birds. He put a piece of paper in his typewriter and forthwith began his 30 years' war with the Federal Government. "I know that if you are one of the thousands of bird breeders Robert Stroud has helped through the years," he wrote, "you will be interested in this letter—the man who bends low over his typewriter every night until 3 to help you is himself a bird in a cage, a convict serving a life sentence in solitary confinement." He went on to explain that a heartless bureaucracy was about to rob him of his canaries.

The cult of the canary has been superseded today by what might be described as paiship with parakeets, but it was a vehement freemasonry in the 1920's and early 1930's and most of its votaries seemed incapable of believing ill of a man who loved a bird. One zealot, a dumpy, middle-aged widow named Delia May Jones, smuggled Stroud's letter out of the prison and had thousands of copies sent to bird fanciers across the country. The repercussions were astounding.

THE BUREAU RETREATS

Bird lovers hurried to newspapers in coveys and sat down by aroused brigades to write to Washington. One hundred Congressmen descended upon the hapless reformers in the new Bureau of Prisons. In the face of this uproar the Bureau hastily took a new tack; Stroud, it announced, would be allowed to keep his birds if he would agree to turn his profits over to a fund for prisoners and accept a salary from the prison system for extra duties performed. "Socialism," cried Stroud, and refused, James V. Bennett, at that time 37 and a newly appointed Assistant Director of the Bureau, was then dispatched to Leavenworth to negotiate directly with the prisoner. Stroud flatly refused to cooperate with him. Eventually, to its hideous embarrassment, the prison system was forced into a long list of concessions; Stroud was given two cells with a connecting door, new laboratory equipment, new spectacles and new electrical outlets. To rationalize these privileges with the new rules regarding ordinary inmates

Stroud was categorized as a special prisoner of the Bureau.

The war, however, had only begun Stroud's correspondence was soon cut to two letters a week. He was forbidden to contribute to magazines. He responded by writing messages in onion juice (which became legible when pressed with a hot iron) and slipping them past the prison censors in hollowed-out sections of the cages in which he shipped his birds. When the prison grapevine informed him that he was one of the "incorrigibles" who were shortly to be gathered from Federal penal institutions and salted away in the new penitentiary at Alcatraz, he began casting around for some method of making himself too noticeable to move. After reading an old law book from the prison library Stroud decided that the Treaty of Paris, in 1803, had granted inhabitants of the Louisiana Purchase (which included Kansas) the right to marry by simply signing a contract. A few days before Leavenworth's hard cases were due for transfer, Della May Jones showed up at the Kansas City Star with a document typed out by Stroud and a story which soon blossomed in newspapers from coast to coast. She and Robert, she announced, had become man and wife.

The trick worked, although Stroud paid for his audacity. His jailers, with his mother's encouragement, ruled that he could never see Della May again. Meanwhile they filed the whole embarrassing incident away under unfinished business. In his own mind, Stroud had simply been defending a God-given right to be a "self-respecting human being." But the executives of the Prison Bureau saw it as a cunning and vindictive assault on their personal authority and on the precarious balance of penal discipline. Nine more years passed, nevertheless, before Stroud was sent to the Rock. He utilized them in the fierce hope of leaving some imprint of greatness on the world, by writing "Stroud's Digest of the Diseases of Birds."

A great many of Stroud's remedies are now outmoded by antibiotics. But the Digest is more than a text on avian therapeutics; it is also a reflection of its author's strange and indomitable personality and a record of his long, painful, and triumphant exploration of the world of the intellect.

Stroud tried to write "in language no 10-year-old child could fail to understand," and for all the complex nature of his subject he contrived to inject innumerable patches of homely observation. "Unlike mammals," he noted in his first paragraph, "birds have air cavities in the principal bones, and there are cases of birds breathing through a broken wing bone while their heads were entirely submerged in water." Mosquitoes, he wrote, often attack the feet of birds at night. "Old birds will flutter to the floor where they protect their feet by sitting on them. But young birds are afraid to leave the perch and [simply] kick with [one] free foot; it sounds something like two dots—dash—two dots as sounded on a telegraph instrument."

The bulk of the book, however, mirrors the author's self-taught science, fantastic patience, and ornithological insights. While writing it, Stroud taught himself to use an old microscope donated to him in 1936 by Wesleyan University, and over a period of 2 years, using only a razor blade and scraps of glass and metal, he constructed a microtome capable of slicing tissue to one twelve-thousandths of an inch. He experimented with 65 staining techniques, and then, simply to produce one 13-page chapter on the blood of birds, spent 3,000 hours at the eyepiece and his drawing board. His jailers were not impressed. Bennett, who had by now become Director and was, therefore, ultimately responsible for Stroud, gave reluctant consent to the book's publication. But in 1942 he ordered that Stroud be moved, at last, to Alcatraz, taking nothing but the clothes on his back.

It was at this point, in the minds of Stroud's increasing number of defenders, that he became subject to cruel and unusual punishment. Guard killer or not, he was now 52 years old, was partially crippled by disease, and had—no matter what suspicions his jailers may have entertained about him—spent 20 years attempting to be of some use to the world. Few partisans in the Stroud case deny that he may well have driven officialdom at Leavenworth to distraction. But even if transfer was necessary, they demand, why Alcatraz, and why the insistence on solitary far into Stroud's old age?

Bennett explains that Stroud, while cultivating a reassuring image of himself in the public mind, actually never ceased being an unruly, even dangerous prisoner at Leavenworth and brought about his own downfall by secreting a knife in his cell. Bennett sometimes displays this weapon to visitors in his office. On one occasion, according to an article by Herbert Corey in Nation's Business, he charged that Stroud had manufactured it from a file "for the express purpose of killing me." But even though Stroud has admitted hiding a knife in 1942 (passed to him, he insists, by a stool pigeon bent on providing officials with an excuse for his banishment), the accusation has a curious ring. From 1930 on, Stroud was allowed to possess a veritable arsenal—scalpels, scissors, ice pick, chisels, claw hammers—and it is hard to understand why he would have needed additional armament if he really contemplated mayhem or murder. In attempting to plumb this mystery one must consider one other odd fact—Bennett recently told a reporter (who was discussing another matter) that Stroud was sent to Alcatraz "because he was a nuisance, not because he was a menace," and added, "We do it all the time."

At Alcatraz, despairing of clemency and forgotten by the world, Stroud was hard put to cope with loneliness and the loss of his work and equipment. Most of his time on the Rock was spent alone in a room the Prison Bureau has described as "a large, well-lighted and ventilated ward in the prison hospital." The room contained no furniture except two beds, had no washbowl, no toilet, and was ventilated only because Stroud managed to break a piece out of its heavy, barred window with his tin cup. He was locked into the room behind bars and a heavy wooden door for 8 years, and he left it under guard only long enough to empty his bedpan once a day and take a shower once a week. He had no newspapers and no radio and was allowed to possess only one library book at a time. To stave off madness, he began making detailed nightly lists of "things to do tomorrow." He started teaching himself Latin, French, Italian, and criminal law, and simultaneously began a 2-volume, 200,000-word work on caged men—an analytical study of the Federal penal system from 1790 to 1930—to match his work on caged birds.

He toiled over the book for years, drawing on his own immense knowledge of old prisons and old wardens, the chilling fables and folk tales of imprisoned men, and unabashed personal theories of penology he had developed over many decades. To prepare the final manuscript for publication, since his arthritic handwriting was all but illegible, he printed all 200,000 words by hand, using an old breadboard as a desk and a length of stretched string as a line guide. He had always considered himself the intellectual superior of his old nemesis, Bennett. Now, with nothing but his own ego to sustain him, he grew certain that he was a better theoretical penologist as well, and was in prison only because Bennett did not "dare" to let him out.

Stroud had definite theories on penology: "My system would not be a soft system but there would always be opportunities and advantages to be gained by developing good habits." As he was finishing his book, he wrote in a letter: "For dramatic writing when I am at my best, I do not have to take a back seat from anyone who ever lived. The secret is total memory. I can quote poetry for 12 hours without repeating myself. [This book] will be so far ahead of everything else on the subject that there will be no comparison. But * * * death may be the price tag."

Convinced that he had produced a masterpiece but fearful that prison authorities would never allow its publication, Stroud attempted one last, awful act of defiance. He wrote a will on onion skin paper, directing the courts to deliver his book to an old friend. Then, believing an autopsy would be done on his body, he slipped the will into a thin metal tube, swallowed it, gulped down a handful of pills he had been secreting, and lay down on his bed to die. He woke up in a straitjacket. His stomach had been pumped, the will had been recovered—and his manuscript was gone. He never saw it again, and to this day neither Bennett nor anyone else in the prison system has given the slightest hint as to whether or not it still exists.

Just what disappointment, loneliness and the self-consuming effects of solitary did to Stroud in the ensuring months would be hard to say. But then, like a miner buried amid the rubble of a cave-in, he became aware that rescue parties were trying, at last, to aid him from the outside. Both his spirits and his confidence revived.

Author Tom Gaddis, at that time a Los Angeles probation officer, and a Beverly Hills real estate lawyer named Stanley Furman were among the first and most important of these self-appointed defenders. Gaddis heard of Stroud in 1950 while chatting with some reporters. He looked up Stroud's brother, read what he could find about the case and became so emotionally involved in the prisoner's plight that he quit his job and began writing "Birdman of Alcatraz." Attorney Furman, disturbed by what he considered a distortion of American justice called at Alcatraz in 1955, became Stroud's counsel, and spoke so sharply that his client was granted three astounding concessions: a toilet, a washbowl and the right to open the wooden door behind which he had been sealed for almost a decade.

Gaddis cut the prisoner in on the profits to accrue from his book, although he and his family had endured periods of real poverty during the 5 years he worked on it. Furman and Gaddis organized a Release Committee which now numbers such influential citizens as Author Arthur Koestler, Motion Picture Producer Walter Wanger and Penologist Dr. Negley Teeters. Furman also set up a defense fund, which has drawn contributions from all over the world, and drew up a petition for executive clemency—which the Justice Department refused to forward to the White House since, it ironically explained, Stroud was eligible for parole. But it was Stroud himself, basking again in the delicious warmth of publicity and once more captain of his soul, who developed the judicial weapon upon which the defense now bases its fondest hopes.

When Stroud's lawyers appealed his death sentence back in 1918, they based their argument upon that provision of the Fifth Amendment which reads "nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb." This is normally interpreted to mean that no defendant, having been found innocent, may be tried again for the same capital offense. Stroud's defense, however, took a different tack, and maintained that he had been sub-

ject to double jeopardy even though guilty. Why? One jury had specified hanging after a previous jury had forbidden capital punishment. The appeal was rejected by the Supreme Court. But in 1957—38 years later—the Court considered another case involving this rare interpretation of double jeopardy. And this time—*Green* v. *U.S.*—it found for the defendant.

STROUD WRITES HIS OWN PETITION

"Stroud asked me to come to Alcatraz," says Furman, "and as soon as he saw me he said, 'I'm out. The Supreme Court reversed itself in the Green case.' I had to ask him, 'What's the Green case?' I hadn't even heard of it, but he'd gotten all the details, somehow, on the prison grapevine and he had immediately seen its implications. In fact, he told me just about what Mr. Justice Frankfurter said, as I discovered later, in dissenting: that the court could not rule for Green without reopening the Stroud case. Bob wanted to write his own petition for habeas corpus. He's a good guardhouse lawyer and I told him by all means to go ahead. It took him 6 months, partly because they refused to let him have more than one law book at a time, and partly because he had to learn a lot of new law to develop his thesis. But when it was done I could see no way of improving it. In fact, I was enormously impressed by his logic and his language."

Since Stroud was a prisoner in Alcatraz, it would have been logical enough to have filed the petition in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco. Stroud, however, insisted that it be sent to a Federal court in Kansas where he had been tried originally. Both this point of strategy and the reasoning and language of the petition itself would seem to refute Bennett's contention that "the old man is getting senile." Cries Furman, "Like a fox. I would have represented him here in California, but Bob preferred to go before a judge in Kansas as a pauper. 'Judges here don't know me,' he told me, 'but a Kansas judge will remember the Stroud case. He'll feel it is more important than a San Francisco judge. He'll appoint good lawyers for me—in fact, he'll probably appoint his best friends and he'll listen to them.'"

As it turned out, U.S. District Judge Walter A. Huxman of Kansas could hardly have treated Stroud with more consideration. He ruled against the petition [since only the Supreme Court—which will automatically review it later—can reverse itself], but he congratulated the prisoner for "much logic and sound reasoning in an exhaustive and able brief." He also noted that "in the court's view" the 1920 order of the Attorney General specifying solitary confinement had been illegal, "an unwarranted assumption of power and wholly void."

By the time he ruled, however, this last point had become academic. Last July, 4 months before Judge Huxman considered the petition, Stroud was finally taken out of Alcatraz and moved to comfortable living quarters in a wing of the Federal prison hospital at Springfield, Mo. In the intervening months he has been allowed more freedom than he has known since the night he was arrested in Juneau a half century ago. One can only guess whether Bennett's decision to remove him from solitary was simply prudent anticipation of public censure or whether it sprang from some deeper sense of concern, some readjustment of values. One can only wonder, in fact, what jailer and prisoner have truly come to think of each other in 30 years. They are not only old antagonists who have come to know each other's every facet of mind—but old acquaintances, too. During Stroud's years at Alcatraz, Bennett seldom visited the prison without calling on "old Bob" and asking after his health. Stroud received him politely. "Never in my life have I hated anyone so much that I was not willing to forgive or forget," he wrote recently, "although I never accept anyone on faith and am convinced that the issue [between us] is bigger than any personal feelings we may have in the matter."

Whatever prompted his transfer, however, Stroud has reacted with an almost childish wonder and delight to his new life. "I have my own room," he wrote to Furman, "and it is one of the nicest and coolest. It has two big windows. I have my own toilet, bath and lavatory and get hot water in 1 minute, day or night. It is like a new world. Imagine how it feels to me to be able to sleep without a door being locked on me, to talk to whom I please, and, if I want to be alone, to be able to close my door without being disturbed. I can give you the tone of the place by telling you that a guard just stepped up to my door and said, 'Do you mind, sir, if I look out your window for a moment? I have some men working on the yard and I know some of them want to watch the ball game on TV.' Imagine that after what I have seen.

"I probably walk 3 miles a day and the yard is a beautiful park of 5 acres or more. I've met many old friends. The head nurse has read much of me and had been anxious to meet me and my physician, Dr. Hoversten, told one party that I am the most amazing man he ever interviewed. I have been told that my IQ is 139. If I had no hope for greater things, I know I could live just as happy and satisfactory a life here as anywhere on earth."

But Stroud still burns to get out because "accomplishment is the only reason for living." What if all his hopes fail?—his petition, his hope for spreading public sympathy, and perhaps even some eventual award of damages by Congress? He replies in Italian with a quotation from the oath once administered to Athenian soldiers: "Combattero per esse, solo o con tutti." "I have translated this," he wrote Lawyer Furman, "as follows: 'I will fight to the death for them, too, either with all of you at my side, or alone, singlehanded against all of you.'"

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## Legislation To Enable Federal Power Commission To Certify Extra-High-Voltage Electric Transmission Lines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on June 18 I introduced legislation, H.R. 12181, to amend the Federal Power Act to require public utilities, other than those owned by Federal or State agencies, to obtain a certificate of public convenience and necessity from the Federal Power Commission as a condition for construction, extension, operation or maintenance of facilities to transmit electric energy subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission in excess of 230,000 kilovolts. A companion bill, S. 3432, was introduced in the Senate by my colleague, Senator CLARE ENGLE.

There was not opportunity for congressional action on our proposal this year. I intend to reintroduce my bill in January 1963, immediately following the convening of the 88th Congress, and will work for its enactment.

This is significant legislation. It attempts to reach at a problem which affects directly the millions of Americans who are consumers of electricity.

Users of electricity are all too frequently at the mercy of their supplier. Regulation is often ineffective and "yardstick" competition weak or nonexistent. Technical developments have enhanced the ability of large electric utilities to dominate and control dissemination of this vital service. Today electricity can be transmitted thousands of miles via extra-high-voltage lines. A single producer, or several acting in consort, can control the availability and cost of electricity in a way which was not contemplated in 1920 when the Federal Power Act was passed, or even in 1935 when the Federal Power Act was strengthened and extended as a result of the revelation of scandalous actions by many private utility companies.

On the Pacific coast, two companies—the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Pacific Power & Light Co.—seek to create a major regional intertie linking the Northwest and California. Recently the FPC, by a split vote, approved the issuance by P.P. & L. of stocks and bonds which will be used in part to finance this privately owned interconnection. The majority of the commissioners asserted that the FPC does not have authority to determine whether or not such a tie line is compatible with the public interest. My bill would clearly place this power in the hands of the FPC.

I have a strong interest in this question. I witnessed the efforts of the giant P.G. & E. to force the tiny Shasta Dam area public utility district in California into receiving its federally allocated power over P.G. & E. lines, at far greater cost to both the Government and the customer. The House Special Subcommittee on Assigned Power and Land Problems, of which I am chairman, documented this situation in hearings and in a report in 1960—House Report No. 2221, 86th Congress—as a result of which the Interior Department worked out direct service arrangements with the Shasta Dam area PUD that will save millions of dollars for both the Federal Government and the district.

Control of transmission is a key to the control of electricity—and profits. We are not doing enough to insure that consumers, instead of the private power companies, will have a say as to how that key is used. The administration needs to move more firmly in this field. I hope that the administration will give my bill vigorous support in the next Congress.

Last month Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, discussed this problem in the Western States Power and Water Consumers Conference, in Portland, Oreg. He told the conference delegates that—

Hand-in-hand with full-scale power pooling on a nationwide basis must go certain requirements to insure that consumers share the benefits and that economies are not promoted solely for profit. Super transmission on a regional scale adds a new element to the electric power business—which is a public

business and a public utility no matter who owns or operates it. Electricity is an essential of everyday life and we must guarantee that giant power lines do not create a new form of monopoly which will allow a few men to control both the current and the cash register by setting up transmission tollgates.

Senator MORSE emphasized the need for legislation, such as my bill, H.R. 12181, which would require utilities seeking to build major transmission lines to go before the FPC and prove that their plans are in the public interest. He also urged effective Federal regulations which will insure common carrier service on extra-high-voltage transmission lines crossing Federal lands, and Federal transmission facilities to link Federal power systems and provide a competitive influence by channeling savings to consumers.

Senator MORSE's speech clearly points up the nature of some of our major national power problems and indicates their proper solutions—both in the field of long-distance transmission and other areas. I believe that his speech will be of great interest to other Members of Congress as well as the general public, and I therefore include his speech as part of my remarks:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF SENATOR WAYNE MORSE, WESTERN STATES POWER AND WATER CONSUMERS CONFERENCE, PORTLAND, OREG., OCTOBER 2, 1962

In the field of electric power we face serious problems and hopeful prospects.

By 1980 we will need nearly four times the amount of electric power required today. In this vast increase in capacity and consumption we must insure that the consumer is not overrun by accumulations of capital and control in an industry which already represents 10 percent of all business expenditures for new construction.

Advances in technology have given us exciting new tools to perform the job—ever larger generating units, nuclear power supplies and transmission capable of carrying power half way across the country.

We need high-capacity common carrier electrical interties in this country. The United States is perhaps the only technologically advanced nation in the world which has failed to move forcefully to link its individual power systems effectively for maximum efficiency.

In Canada regional transport of large blocks of power by long-distance transmission is well underway and there is talk of a transcontinental grid. Russian efforts to tie together power sources and systems of its vast territory via extra-high-voltage lines are well known. And Western Europe—an area which we frequently view antiquated and outdated but which has one of the highest rates of economic growth in the world—is interconnected from Sweden to Italy and international exchange of power is increasing at an average annual rate of 16 percent—double the consumption increase.

The Federal Power Commission has embarked on a survey to develop a long-range program to meet the Nation's rapidly expanding electric power requirements through a coordinated and interconnected system. The potential for savings to electric customers is enormous. An improved efficiency of only 5 percent from a fully coordinated power supply system could reduce the Nation's cost of generating electricity almost $300 million a year.

However, this is not just a matter of applying advanced technology. Hand in hand with full-scale power pooling on a nationwide basis must go certain requirements to insure that consumers share the benefits and that economies are not promoted solely for profit. Super transmission on a regional scale adds a new utility to the electric power business—which is a public business and a public utility no matter who owns or operates it. Electricity is an essential of everyday life and we must guarantee that giant powerlines do not create a new form of monopoly which will allow a few men to control both the current and the cash register by setting up transmission tollgates.

I believe that the utilities which seek to build major transmission across State lines should be required to go before the FPC and prove that their plans are in the public interest. Regulations should be in force throughout the administrative agencies of the Federal Government which would insure that when transmission right-of-way is granted across Federal lands, common carrier service is made available to the Federal power systems and their preference customers on a nondiscriminatory basis.

But this is not enough. We need publicly owned lines to provide the yardstick of competition. No regulatory scheme yet devised has long withstood the tendency of the regulators to become captive of those they regulate. Historically, State utility commissions have given way to the wishes of the power companies. From 1946 to 1960, 578 rate increase applications were filed by private power companies in this country and 517 or 94 percent were approved in full or part by State regulatory commissions.

This deficiency at times even permeates the Federal Government. Only a few years ago we witnessed the spectacle of certain Federal Power Commissioners joining in the giveaway of one of the greatest publicly owned resources in America—the incomparable Hells Canyon Dam site. We cannot always depend upon men of the character of Joseph Swidler and Howard Morgan on the FPC.

The Kennedy administration has plans for a 1,000-mile high-voltage interconnection between the Northwest and California. As a common carrier facility controlled by the public, this intertie has tremendous potential advantages for the whole Pacific coast. With two 750,000-volt direct-current lines the benefit-cost ratio is nearly 3.5 to 1. It is a lucrative proposition and the private power companies are eager to exploit it. Consumers will be the losers if they do.

Private power companies, who tell the public that they are ready, willing, and able to supply all of America's power needs, were before Congress this year asking for an 8-percent tax credit as an incentive to carry out functions they are required by law to perform as public utilities. Private power companies are regulated monopolies which are afforded the opportunity to earn just and reasonable rates of return after taxes. They do not pay taxes in the sense that other enterprises do; they collect them from consumers. They enjoy sheltered markets and virtually risk-free investment.

Yet their representatives came before Congress to urge that they be granted a new tax subsidy—on top of the $1.5 billion bonanza in interest-free loans these utilities have gained as a result of fast tax writeoff. This year Congress ended up giving the utilities a 3-percent tax credit—which can amount to a $3.9 billion windfall tax cut over the next 20 years.

Why should the taxpayers of this country give away a revenue-producing project like the California intertie to special interests who are already heavily subsidized?

Our best bet for availability of an abundance of low-cost power in the United States remains the influence of competition by publicly and cooperatively owned electric systems. That is why I have supported the historic preference clause throughout my career in the Senate. This policy protects the public interest. It helps to assure that consumer controlled utilities have access to Federal power.

But the preference clause—which might more accurately be called the antimonopoly clause—is under new attack. Last year the Congress approved the Delaware River compact without inserting this provision. The Federal Government will be called upon to build the projects involved in this plan for northeastern water resources development and we face a project-by-project fight to provide this essential protection in an area which has some of the highest power rates in the Nation.

An allied principle which is threatened today is the concept of comprehensive development of our rivers throughout multiple-purpose use. The Northwest is a major battleground. In Montana, a private power company is attempting to promote an inferior proposal which will kill Knowles Dam. Montana Power Co.'s plan will provide no flood control and only one-sixth of the power benefits available through Knowles. In Idaho, similar forces have been trying to destroy the proposed Burns Creek project.

On the Middle Snake River between Oregon and Idaho the struggle is between the Nez Perce project and High Mountain Sheep. Nez Perce has been repeatedly found to be the superior project but questions have been raised about ability to protect migratory salmon. The Department of the Interior has embarked on a "crash" program to find answers. At the University of Washington, an internationally acclaimed scientist is developing salmon which can be produced in greater quantity with higher quality in limited water areas. Fish farming work provides new prospects for more and better fish.

We should get all the facts on fish before we throw away 2 million kilowatts of low-cost power on the Middle Snake. Economic hydrosites are limited. What we need is more fish and more power and we should not settle for less of either.

I hold no brief for relief for dam builders from the cost of protecting our fisheries. That is a responsibility incurred as a result of the opportunity granted to construct the project on rivers which belong to the public. But there are questions about the rationale involved in the conflict between fish and power which need much more study.

Atomic power may be the generating field of the future. Economic atomic power is not here yet. Power needs will not stand still while we wait for technological advances in nuclear energy. We must consider now the use of our vast untapped potentials of hydroelectric energy.

Increasing stress must be placed on the role of recreation in multiple-purpose water development.

In 1960, artificial lakes created by the reservoirs behind dams built by the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority received 175 million visitor-days of use. This figure exceeds attendance at national parks and national forests combined. The overall rate of growth in the use of all national reservoirs for recreation has been over 10 percent annually—a doubling of visitor-days every 5 to 7 years.

Economic studies show that availability of reservoirs with significant shorelines boosts an area's population growth, per capita income, annual wages, retail sales, bank deposits, taxes, and investment. We have seen this happen in the Pacific Northwest, where tourism is a major industry.

The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission noted in its report to the President this year that "most people seeking outdoor recreation want water, to sit by, to swim and to fish in, to ski across, to dive under, and to run their boats over. Swimming is one of the most popular outdoor activities

and is likely to be the most popular of all by the turn of the century. Boating and fishing are among the top 10 activities. Camping, picnicking, and hiking, also high on the list, are more attractive near water sites."

In the next 40 years participation in outdoor activities is expected to nearly triple as population doubles. Millions of Americans will seek water for recreation. Water is a focal point of outdoor recreation. Where reservoirs appear, they stimulate recreational activity.

Planning for use of water resources must take this fact into account. Most Americans are not mountain climbers or white water sailors. They are Sunday drivers, weekend walkers, vacationing sightseers, or amateur swimmers. We need to preserve sites where water is an intrinsic part of wilderness or primitive areas for the enjoyment of those who seek out the solitude of nature, and I have supported effective legislation to do just this. But the mass of Americans seek less strenuous outdoor recreation in more accessible locales. And that is why I also endorse the inclusion of recreation as a prime project purpose at Federal multiple-use developments, and why I will continue to advocate maximum recreation development at reservoirs which are the result of investment of taxpayers' funds.

These are some of the areas of the national power picture which I consider significant and of concern to people like you. Some of them are of special importance to the Pacific Northwest. But regional development has a nationwide impact. All projects are local, but each reflects and shapes national policy.

The fight for the Hanford project is a good example. Local forces joined with conservation supporters throughout the country to successfully back the proposal of local public agencies to finance, construct, and build generating facilities at Hanford. They fought to prevent waste of a national resource—and won in the face of bitter determined opposition from those who sought to preserve their own special interests. It was a great victory for the people. I hope that we have more of them.

We need a capital budget to put the whole power picture in proper perspective. Investment in hydroelectric projects represents creation of an asset which will pay back its full cost plus interest. Power is a paying partner in multiple-purpose projects. In the last decade, taxpayers realized better than $1 billion from sale of electricity from Federal projects.

Today we lump self-liquidating costs for power together with governmental operating expenses such as typewriter ribbons and carbon paper. Establishment of a capital budget would be a basic fiscal reform, permitting a meaningful distinction between current and capital outlay.

I have pressed for such a budget since 1947. We are making some progress toward its realization. Recently I received from Budget Director Bell an outline of how the current budget would look in capital budget form.

In summary, he found that total Federal expenditures for Federal, State, and local governmental assets totaled $27 billion of which $8,700 million was for civil programs and $18,292 million was for defense programs.

Mr. Bell expressed the view that special attention needs to be paid to this area of Federal expenditure. While this is a far cry from President Kennedy's outright endorsement of the capital budget before this very group in 1960 there is a prospect that more analysis of this kind will appear in next year's budget.

It will take the continued work and devotion of all of us to press for all the advances and protections for consumers of water and power which I have outlined. I appreciate the great contribution you have made in the past to the achievement of these objectives and I know your work for them will continue in the future.

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## In Opposition to Proposed Breezy Point Ocean Front Park: Any Future Park Should Be Limited to the Land Known as Fort Tilden if Government Ceases Operations There

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement I made in opposition to the proposed Breezy Point Ocean Front Park at a mass rally at Cardozo Junior High School, Edgemere, N.Y.:

I am as anxious as anyone to expand our public park and recreational accommodations and I agree the teeming city, with its slum dwellings and crowded tenements desperately needs such additional facilities. More Reis Parks, Fire Island Parks, Sandy Hook Parks, Jones Beaches, help solve our juvenile delinquency difficulties and other related city problems and offer respite from the summer heat of the "asphalt jungle."

"In selecting these park sites, however, there are many factors that must be considered. Those who advocate turning the 4½-mile stretch of ocean front on the Rockaway Peninsula into a second Jones Beach are apparently unaware of the factors that militate against such a grandiose plan. There is the inordinate cost to the city. This cost would make the proposal unrealistic. It is estimated that it might well run to over $100–$150 million. Even if that estimate is high and the cost would be definitely limited to $100 million, that sum would be unwarranted, considering the present state of the city's treasury. This difficulty could not be overcome even with appropriate aid from the State and the Nation, because the bulk of the moneys would have to come from the city.

Expending these sums now or in the foreseeable future would represent unsound financial planning, especially when the city of New York so desperately needs additional funds for housing, greater police and fire protection, more and efficient school buildings, classrooms and equipment, better salaries for teachers, more up-to-date hospitals and nursing homes, additional subway routes, buses and adequate transit facilities for our growing population, public auto parking space, development of our port facilities, including more and better docks, piers, and bridges.

The narrow Rockaway stretch offers no proper avenues for traffic to the proposed park area. All the Rockaways are already congested with autos and the park now envistaged would greatly exacerbate the already crowded auto transit flow.

The proposed park would balk the building of 6,900 units of middle income housing and related facilities in the 217-acre part of the area bounded by Beach 183d Street above Fort Tilden, Beach 201st Street, Rockaway Inlet and the Atlantic Ocean. The city would incur a loss of $6 million annually in taxes. With such an ambitious park project, an additional bridge would be made necessary from Brooklyn to the Rockaways across the inlet. The cost thereof indeed would not be a bagatelle. Preparation of the land and maintenance of the park would involve more millions. Small wonder Park Commissioner Newbold Morris stated that the park would be to costly and city could not attempt it.

The city now has 11,000 acres of park land in Jamaica Bay. There is no money available to develop it. It is absurd to talk about another park when this huge bay area is undeveloped.

The city owns over 760 acres of park land with storm damaged ocean beaches on the Rockaway Peninsula. Over 250 acres of this park land is only empty lots and not developed at all because of lack of funds. It is foolish to talk of further park land if we cannot develop what we have at the present time. Robert Moses is opposed to a park at Breezy Point. On October 11, 1961, he stated:

"Eventually Fort Tilden should be turned over to the city as a park * * *. I do not believe that it is necessary to acquire another park at Breezy Point, although this would have been logical years ago when La Guardia was mayor and before values had risen to dizzy heights. As a former city park commissioner, as head of the Triborough and the State park system, I would certainly not advocate the use of State park funds toward acquiring Breezy Point, although I would consider an additional shore front park built in connection with further slum clearance between Beach 73d Street and Beach 55th Street to be desirable."

The real keystone of this arch, as it were, is Fort Tilden. I am informed that the Department of Defense has no present intention whatsoever of yielding this territory either to the city or to anyone else. The Defense Department has never said one word about cessation of its activities there or about ceding title to the city. Apparently, those who propose this huge park are reckoning without their host.

As Secretary of Interior Udall stated, the conversion of the area into a waterfront park comes rather late. I say that it would have been better if those who are advocating this project had made known their plans a quarter of a century ago before rights of others had jelled. Mayor Wagner, at a news conference, properly stated that the people living in the area would have the city's "first" consideration.

Preliminary stages of apartment construction are already underway. There are 2,600 cottages on property owned by a cooperative. Have these property owners no rights? Are they to be cast aside as untouchables? Are their investments to go aglimmering? Condemnation will not yield them proper compensation. The many intangible values they contributed would be lost.

Some of those who are for a huge Federal Government subsidy to acquire the land and build the waterfront park are usually loudest in their protests against Government spending.

If there is to be any park, I suggest that should the Government eventually cease operations at Fort Tilden and the Government is willing to transfer the land to the city, then a park might well be established in that area. Thus a park could be established without trespassing and treading upon the rights of so many other peole. The cost would not be prohibitive and could well be within the range of the city's budget.

## More Coal—No More Jobs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, recently I read a most interesting article by Richard Harwood which discusses the findings of the National Fuels and Energy Study Group, a group established by the Senate Interior Committee to assess available information on energy in the United States. Samuel G. Lasky, of the Department of the Interior, chaired the group, which included representatives of the gas, oil, and coal industries. Its report was the result of 10 months of effort.

Because I think Mr. Harwood's article will be of interest to my colleagues, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE COAL—NO MORE JOBS?—REPORT BY FUELS STUDY GROUP GIVES THE COAL INDUSTRY LITTLE AMMUNITION IN A DRIVE FOR FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

(By Richard Harwood)

WASHINGTON, September 30.—The coal industry is sometimes called the crybaby of American capitalism.

Sickened by competition it can't meet, by the loss of a third of its business since World War II, and by massive and incurable unemployment in the mining towns, the industry in recent years has often behaved like a surly beggar.

It has, at various times, blamed the Government, the oil and gas industry, organized labor, and foreigners for its troubles. It has demanded public subsidies, protective legislation and punitive laws to curb its competitors.

Its search for an answer to admittedly grave problems has now been crystallized in a plan to secure from the Federal Government a "national fuels policy," backed up by laws designed to insure that "all domestic energy industries shall be permitted and encouraged to maintain levels of productive strength that will enable them, in peace and war, to satisfy the energy needs of the economy."

THE IMPLICATIONS

These bland words belie the enormous economic and political implications underlying the plan. Billions of dollars and the whole structure of competition in the fields of fuel and transportation are involved.

It has been said that the ultimate objective of coal's plan for a national fuels policy is "the permanent division of markets into historic shares" through Federal intervention.

This is perhaps an overstatement; but there is no doubt that coal is seeking to enlist the power of the Federal Government in the solution of its problems.

A 15-point program for governmental action has been put forward by the coal corporations, the United Mine Workers and major U.S. railroads, including the Louisville & Nashville.

Their proposals include the enactment of laws to curb the gas industry as an industrial competitor, and to reduce or cut off the importation of foreign fuels, including residual oil and natural gas. They are seeking greatly increased Federal subsidies for coal research. They want a new deal for the railroads, including the right to enter competing fields of transportation; freedom to cut rates; financial assistance for a revolutionary changeover from diesel-powered to electric-powered trains.

They want executive orders compelling Federal agencies to buy coal only from U.S. mines and encouraging all agencies to install coal-burning equipment. They want coal tolls reduced on tonnage shipped through the Panama Canal and a major State Department effort to open up new coal markets abroad.

FIRST STEP TAKEN

The coal men—but not the railroads—also want Federal legislation to ease the way for construction of pipelines for the transportation of coal slurry direct from mines to steam-electric plants.

This ambitious program is the coal industry's outline for a "national fuels policy."

The Senate Interior Committee assigned the research task to a National Fuels and Energy Study Group headed by Samuel G. Lasky of the Department of the Interior. He was assisted by representatives of the gas, oil, and coal industries.

Their report has now been published; and while it maintains a tone of statistical neutrality, it will unquestionably have an important bearing on what Congress does next.

It is impossible to summarize in a few words a 500-page, technical and historical analysis of the complex, $12 billion fuel and energy industry. In general, however, it seems fair to say that the findings of the study group provide the coal corporations and the United Mine Workers Union with very meager ammunition to support their demands for drastic Federal action.

The study group ackpowledges that the coal industry has passed through a crisis since World War II. Soft coal production has slumped from more than 600 million tons in 1947 to about 400 million tons last year. Mine employment has dwindled since the peak year of 1923 from 775,000 to about 150,000 today.

The coal industry's position is that these ills have been caused by Government encouragement of unfair competition from the domestic oil and gas industry, by heavy imports of fuel oil on the eastern seaboard, Federal hydroelectric and atomic power projects, and by high freight rates traceable to Government policies.

The report of the study group fails to substantiate most of these claims. It found, for example, that the enormous job loss in the coal industry has been primarily caused by mechanization, rather than lost markets.

Furthermore, the study group foresees a continuation of this trend for the next 20 years, despite its forecast that coal production will double and reach record levels by 1980.

Labor productivity in coal mines, said the report, is rising so rapidly through mechanization that the expected output of 800 million tons of coal in 1980 "may be produced by a labor force even smaller than the force presently available."

PRESSURE APPLIED

The UMW and the National Coal Association have put severe pressure on Congress and on the White House to halt the importation of fuel oil on the eastern seaboard. They insist that these imports have thrown thousands of American miners out of work and have contributed significantly to the economic depression in the mining areas. They have implied that a cutback in imports would be a major step in the solution of the unemployment problem.

The coal alliance is exerting comparable pressures in Washington to secure Federal curbs on natural gas sales to industry. Coal claims unfair competition, and argues that corrective measures would be another major step toward a cure for unemployment.

The study group disagrees, and if its findings impress the Interior Committee and Congress, much of the emotional appeal now present in the coal industry's case will be destroyed.

On the unemployment problem, the report says:

"Putting 100,000 unemployed miners back to work would require an additional output of about 250 million tons—if all the increased output were brought about by employing more miners. But this could happen only by fiat. If employers were left to their own decisions, an expanded market for coal would be met at first largely by working the mines more days a week with the same work force. To put the full 100,000 unemployed back to work would require an additional annual output of as much as 350 million tons for a total of about 775 million tons. This is 80 percent more than all coal produced in 1960. Full correction of coal-mining unemployment by this means thus becomes impossible—the market does not exist for the required amount of coal, nor do the facilities for efficient production of it now exist."

If all residual oil imports were halted, the study group said, and if gas and oil producers were forced by Government action to give up industrial markets to coal, these actions "would still leave us 280 million or so tons short of a market to create full coal-industry employment. Or expressed differently, would create only 30,000 jobs, leaving 70,000 still unemployed."

Furthermore, the report states, although "a social benefit would stem from providing the coal industry with enough of the market to achieve significant additional employment there would be an offset by unemployment in the oil and gas industries, compatible with the size of the markets lost by them. Whatever the gain, it would bring with it a social cost in the form of the results of market compulsion. We can presume that those who wish to use coal are doing so, so that (additional tonnage) would have to be used by someone who does not want to use it."

One of the arguments advanced by the coal industry in support of Federal curbs on gas sales to industry has been a conservation argument. Natural gas is too valuable and too limited in supply to be wasted in this fashion, the coal and railroad interests maintain.

The study group report rejects this contention and recites figures designed to prove that natural gas reserves, like coal and oil reserves, are completely adequate for the next 20 years and beyond at current use levels.

United on almost all other issues, the railroads and coal interests part company on the subject of coal-slurry pipelines. Coal wants pipelines constructed to cut its transportation costs and to improve its competitive position. It proposes Federal legislation to give coal pipeline companies eminent domain rights through the States.

The railroads are opposed. They get nearly 30 percent of their revenues from coal freight—27.5 percent in the case of the L. & N. They are determined to retain this revenue, and they reject the claims that slurry pipelines will prove economical.

The study group's position in this controversy is ambiguous. It reports without comment claims that modern pipelines will cut the cost of moving a ton of coal from West Virginia to New Jersey from $5 a ton by rail to $1.20 a ton.

FINDINGS ENCOURAGING

While failing to produce much statistical evidence to justify the national fuels policy contemplated by the coal industry and the railroads, the study group's findings are, on the whole, encouraging, particularly for the 25 biggest coal corporations which now con-

trol more than 50 percent of the market for coal in the United States.

The steady expansion of steam powerplants during the next 20 years, the report says, will provide a huge expansion in the demand for coal, perhaps to a level of 800 million to 1 billion tons. The study group believes that this demand can be met with no major increase—and possibly with decreases—in the present labor force.

Since wages and fringe benefits now account for about 53 percent of production costs, the prospect for the large, mechanized companies in 1980 would seem to be higher profit margins and a larger return on investment.

## President Truman Discusses the Example of Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to hear former President Harry S. Truman at a national Order of Ahepa banquet in Chicago in August eloquently describe how Greece has provided great examples to the West both in ancient times and in the present.

This distinguished American told how the Founding Fathers of our Nation learned from the city states of ancient Greece lessons which helped to form and preserve our Government. President Truman, the author of the Truman doctrine, then described the background to the decision after World War II to provide U.S. assistance to Greece at a time when that war-ravaged country was endangered by communism.

The story of the triumph of democracy in Greece and of the economic recovery since World War II is well known and provides an inspiring example for other nations of the free world. I am pleased to include President Truman's address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ADDRESS OF FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, HARRY S. TRUMAN

Mr. President, it is a very great pleasure for me to be with you and to talk about history as it was happening in March 1947.

On March 12, 1947, it was my duty to go before a joint session of the Congress of the United States and state the condition with which we were faced in Greece and Turkey.

I quote from the message to Congress on the situation:

"The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

"I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

"Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace-loving country has suffered invasion, 4 years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

"When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

"As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

"Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel, and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

"The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists, and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

"The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

"Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the Government throughout Greek territory.

"Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy."

This is only told to you as a reminder of the historical event. Greece has a historical background unequaled in the history of government.

The United States stepped in and saved Greece and Turkey for the free world.

The men who wrote the Constitution of the United States knew the history of the Greek city state governments. They also knew the history of the Roman Republic, the Dutch Republic, and the history of the governments before and after these events.

The Greek states were so sure that their own state governments were better than any other governments, they could not agree on a general Greek Republic. Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Thebes each one knew that their state was better than all the other states put together.

What happened? Each was taken separately by Rome and incorporated into the Roman Empire. But the best educated and greatest leaders of Rome were educated in Greece.

Now Greece is a free nation and I hope with its great historical background it will again become the center of knowledge as it was in the time of Cicero and Augustus Caesar.

This United States had a parallel situation with the Greek states.

The Governor of New York, George Clinton, Patrick Henry in Virginia, and several other well-known men opposed the adoption of our Constitution. The Constitution was adopted and we have the greatest free Government in the history of the world.

The Greek example helped our forefathers to form our Government and prevented to date our downfall.

## We Are Proud of Our Naval Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, in these days of world tension, it is appropriate that we recognize and pay tribute to the members of the armed services of the United States.

Most of our military leaders receive their training from the service academies, and it is to these establishments that we owe a special debt of gratitude. Recently the Evening Capital, of Annapolis, Md., carried an editorial entitled "We Are Proud of Our Naval Academy." I join the Evening Capital in saluting the Naval Academy and the cadets who will be our future naval leaders.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE ARE PROUD OF OUR NAVAL ACADEMY

The firm step taken by the United States in quarantining arms shipments to Cuba makes us realize the significant role played by the Naval Academy in fulfilling this hazardous and vital mission.

Most of the names of admirals, captains and other high-ranking naval officers heading the Cuban blockade operation received their initial training and academic degrees at the Naval Academy.

To the average newsreader these names are familiar ones, and to us they are more so. These officers are hometown heroes because they went to school in our own backyard.

As Annapolitans it is easy to take the Naval Academy "for granted." We live so close to this hallowed institution that we sometimes fail to realize its national importance.

But perilous times, such as the present tense crisis in our Nation's history, makes us realize how important the Naval Academy is to America. This is "the" school that trains the officers who command our Nation's fleet—the most powerful sea force in world history.

The midshipmen we see walking the brick sidewalks of Annapolis are the future admirals and captains who will command the ships and intricate weapons of the future.

It is at the Academy that these men learn the strategy and quality of leadership that are so necessary in their chosen field. They also acquire that most necessary quality of all—the intangible "spirit," so difficult to describe, but so necessary in seeing our Nation through when the chips are down.

It has been so all through our history as a democracy. When the Navy has had a job to do, it has done it well. And, the Academy, founded on the tradition of those who have gone before, has been the fountainhead of naval leadership.

We are proud that the Naval Academy is located in our city, thus providing us the opportunity to know many of its graduates and current brigade members.

To these we say, "God be with you, the fate of our Nation, once more, rests heavily upon you."

## The Defense Contract and Its Impact on Utah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK E. MOSS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, Utah is extremely proud of the fact that a Utah woman, Mrs. Esther Peterson, is Assistant Secretary of Labor, and Director of its Women's Division, holding in this dual assignment the greatest position of responsibility given to a woman in the Kennedy administration.

On August 1, Mrs. Peterson returned to Utah to address the State convention of the AFL–CIO which was held in Orem. Her subject was "The Defense Contract and Its Impact on Utah," and she made what was by far the most comprehensive and definitive speech on this subject heard in the State. She discussed with eloquence and clarity the importance of defense contracts on the life and economic health of the many Utah communities in which they are located, and urged every community with sizable defense production and defense-related employment to plan now for the economic adjustments which will be thrust upon it in the case of sudden change in defense needs.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Mrs. Peterson's challenging speech be carried in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BEFORE THE STATE CONVENTION OF THE UTAH AFL–CIO BY MRS. ESTHER PETERSON

It is always such a pleasure to come to Utah and to meet with old friends and make some new ones, but it is a particular pleasure for me to come here to meet with the leaders of organized labor—the men and women of the Utah AFL–CIO—with whom I have worked for so many years on so many causes, and with whom I have enjoyed so many close and rewarding friendships.

It took some of our forebears many months to walk to Utah from Illinois 115 years ago; now, in a matter of hours, I am able to fly here from Washington. The marvels of ever-speedier communications impress themselves upon us every day. What a wonderful age. What a marvelous era in which to live.

And yet, well, I am reminded of Thoreau's cynical comment more than a century ago when the idea of the cable to England was being seriously discussed. He said: "Perchance the first news that will leak through the broad, flapping American ear will be that Princess Adelaide has the whooping cough." Sure enough, when the Telstar communications satellite was hurled into orbit last month, enabling us to have instantaneous live television communication with Europe, we were treated, as our very first glimpse, to the breathtaking spectacle of a French film actor crooning us a love song. Without the Telstar, we would have had to wait perhaps 8 or 10 hours for the film clips of the same performance to have been whisked over here by jet plane, but by then, perhaps the song might not have been popular anymore.

I suppose it has a lot to do—I am sure it has a lot to do—with what we communicate. For instance, how moving it was—how impressive—when the Tabernacle Choir could be heard and seen simultaneously here and in Europe. I certainly approved of that, and was proud all over again of my Utah heritage.

So it is not necessarily true that progress is a waste of time and that the rugged disciplines and hard tasks of the old days were inevitably better and gave us a greater sense of accomplishment. I love to bake bread and my family prefers homemade bread to the store-boughten variety, but I have to admit that I prefer to bake mine in a modern oven, in a well-built kitchen range, instead of using a wood fire under an outdoor oven. I like to walk, but I assure you that in coming to Utah there's much to be said for using the airplane instead of the mode of transportation used by Brigham Young and his followers. Furthermore, sometimes it is urgent to get messages to our diplomats or our allies or our antagonists abroad, so it is a good thing to have the cable and the radio and the telephone, and now live television, for that purpose. So I am certainly not against progress.

But as Secretary of State Dean Rusk pointed out when asked about the possible effect of the Telstar communications satellite on international relations, merely increasing the speed of communications is not going to help much if it only quickens the pace of international developments.

Whether we like it or not, we are certainly quickening the tempo of all developments in our civilization, and particularly in our economy. This is not something we can resolve by passing resolutions—there is very little we can do to block technological change, even if we were to want to do so. There are, however, many things we can do as citizens, and in our public and private roles in government and in industry and in labor and in society, to adjust—and to help others to adjust—to changed conditions and methods and procedures and circumstances resulting from this whirlwind of technological inventiveness.

No group realizes this with greater clarity and insight than you men and women who are the leaders of organized labor. The speed with which industrial production methods has changed just in the short period since the start of World War II—particularly in the last decade—has outmoded the skills of untold members of the American labor force. This trend is continuing and accelerating. We can all think back to the days when a skilled worker in almost every major industry could consider himself, at the end of a specified apprenticeship, not only a journeyman but a craftsman, whose grasp of his skill was solid and sure. Of course this is no longer completely true. Every skill represented here in the unions which from the Utah AFL–CIO is now in a state of dynamic change. All of your members are in a sense apprentices—learning essential production methods newly developed and newly invented to meet changing technology.

It was a very comfortable feeling in other years for a workman—a craftsman—to feel he had mastered the basic challenges of his art. All things being equal, he could look forward to a lifetime of employment in the skill he had acquired. The buggy-whip manufacturer went out of business, but the buggy-whip makers who did wonderful things with good leather, went on with their work of fashioning leather into useful and desirable products for which there was a market. We have always known the dislocations in employment resulting from the painful death of an established industry; but the man or woman with skills did not suffer prolonged unemployment or permanent unemployment as a result of the obsolescence of a particular product. Perhaps some retraining was required, but the skills themselves were basic, and were in demand in other industries, in the making of other products. True, a particular worker or group of workers might have to pull up stakes and move to other towns or other States—but there were jobs for the skilled, and it was the mobility of labor and of job opportunities which led to the settling of all 50 of our States and the prosperity we have known as a people.

Now, however, every State convention of the AFL–CIO today faces and is discussing some of the same problems you are discussing here—problems reflecting not stagnation in our economy—for it is certainly not stagnant—but the specter of the technologically unemployed, who cannot immediately and overnight take their skills to a new job down the street or across the city or in the next town or in the next State.

Each of you here representing unions affiliated with the Utah AFL–CIO can cite situations in your own fields, where skills which required years of preparation to learn are being superseded, or eliminated from the production lines.

To the individuals involved, the problems are truly tragic. We are certainly sensitive to the personal hardships and the psychological scar tissue of the men and women and their families who have been hurt by automation or comparable techniques which have eliminated the jobs of some workers while creating jobs for others.

Suffering should never be in vain. Often, we learn only through painful experience. The hardships of today's technologically unemployed must be translated into a learning experience not only for them but for the entire country—we must seize the challenge the plight of these people presents to our economy and to our complacency. I know that is one of the problems you are most deeply concerned about, and working to solve. On behalf of the Kennedy administration, I want to say to you that solving this problem is our number one domestic objective—and we are deadly serious about achieving it.

We must join together—the Federal Government, the States, and localities, the schools, and labor and industry—to provide well-paying and satisfying and useful new jobs for those who are now being displaced; we must make sure they can be trained for the kind of jobs which are needed, and that these jobs are available for qualified people once they have undergone the necessary training.

The Area Redevelopment Act provided us with the first real tools for pioneering in this new kind of job prospecting. The act was ridiculed and attacked at the time it was proposed, and vetoed after finally being passed by Congress in the previous administration. It is not being ridiculed now. We are using its provisions with increasing effectiveness. In West Virginia and in some of the other areas of long-time very substantial and persistent unemployment—the chronically depressed areas of abandoned plants, obsolescent machinery, dying industries, vacant store main streets, and forgotten men and women—coal miners, for instance, and other long-term unemployed, have been transformed or are now being transformed into typists, drafting aids, spray painters, electrical appliance repairmen, automatic transmission mechanics, machine tool operators, aircraft riveters, refrigeration mechanics, sheetmetal workers, trailor assem-

biers, inert gas welders, machine shop inspectors, route salesmen, vehicle testers, etc.

In addition to helping, through special schooling grants and subsistence payments, to train the workers for the kind of job skills which are in demand, the area redevelopment program is also helping the areas of substantial and persistent unemployment to build necessary facilities—public and private—to attract industries and employ the newly trained people. And in the effort, many agencies of the Federal Government are participating cooperatively—Labor, Commerce, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Small Business Administration, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and so on. But fundamentally, the effort must begin in the locality itself.

Here in Utah, for instance, seven labor market areas comprising eight counties—Beaver, which includes all of Beaver County; Heber, which includes all of Wasatch County; Manti and all of Sanpete County; Nephi and all of Juab County; Panguitch and all of Garfield County; Park City and all of Summit County; and Price, which includes all of Carbon and Emery Counties—are eligible for a variety of reemployment assistance programs under the Area Redevelopment Act; I know you're working on this, and that applications have gone in for assistance. So keep after it.

But the area redevelopment program, while touching and helping a great many labor market areas which desperately need emergency help, cannot begin to meet and solve the overall problems—the problems of getting all of the technologically unemployed back in their overalls. President Kennedy recognized not only the opportunities inherent in the depressed areas program when it was enacted last year, but the limitations of it as well, and that is why he worked so hard to achieve passage of the even broader Manpower Training and Development Act, which was enacted this year. The techniques of retraining being pioneered under the area redevelopment program can now be extended nationwide, because this is a national challenge. It doesn't matter where a worker happens to live, whether in the Provo-Orem labor market area, which is an area of substantial unemployment but not of substantial and persistent unemployment, or in Price or Park City or Panguitch in Utah, or Pittsburgh or Paducah or Providence or in any other of the eligible redevelopment areas of the country—the worker who can't get a job because his own skills are no longer in demand needs retraining for a new occupation, and we must see to it that the workers in all such situations can obtain that training. The Manpower Retraining Act is our vehicle for that. Let's make sure it's used.

Meanwhile, the youngsters in school, or of school age, should be, and must be, encouraged and guided into a genuine desire for more education so that they do not form a new pool of unemployables. There are so many good-paying jobs and professional openings in our country going begging for lack of qualified people to fill them, but they are mostly the kind of jobs which require years of preparation—mathematicians, electronic computer programers, nurses, doctors, veterinarians, optometrists, chemists, geologists, physicists, and so on—and the opportunities for careers for youth in these fields are unlimited.

Someday, and I hope it is very soon, we will have the kind of college-aid program the President has recommended, under which good students, regardless of their financial situations, can be assured of the opportunity to go through college and through the graduate school courses necessary to prepare for the shortage professions. Considering how desperately we need doctors, for instance, it seems hardly appropriate to continue to restrict this field, as a practical matter, pretty much to the sons and daughters of the well-to-do.

Workers with moderate incomes have helped put sons or daughters through medical school, but the family hardships have been tremendous—a great sacrifice. Think how many more good doctors we would have if the opportunity to spend 4 years in college, 4 more in medical school, 2 more in internship, and 4 more in hospital residence could be brought within the economic reach of more young men and women with abilities but without the finances needed, for such expensive educational preparations.

But suppose we succeed in solving some of the problems I have just outlined—and which concern all of us so deeply—the problems of retraining those whose skills are made obsolete, or training those who have no skills, and of providing more opportunities in more fields, including the professions, for the youngsters now thinking about careers. Would that mean we could then begin to look with complacency on the employment challenges of the future? Not at all.

In addition to the constant flow of new products to the market, making long familiar items obsolete and similarly outmoding the production facilities which produce them—and also outmoding the skills, sometimes, of the men and women who make these products—we have a rather new factor in our economy. It is one which hardly existed at all in peacetime prior to World War II.

I am speaking of the tremendous portion—about 9 percent—of our production and economic effort devoted to defense needs—and the velocity, if that's the word, of changes in the art of weaponry. There is always an underlying feeling of uncertainty about the future in areas where defense activity and defense-related work provide a high proportion of the employment opportunities, and this, of course, is understandable.

For instance, here in Utah, a total of 10.3 percent of all nonagricultural employment is accounted for directly by defense employment. Of these jobs, two-thirds are on U.S. Government payrolls in the military and related fields—Defense Department, Atomic Energy Commission, NASA, selective service and civilian defense—while the remaining one-third of your defense jobs are in private industries working strictly on defense orders—ordnance, aircraft or electronics. This does not include jobs in the various defense-related industries like steel, minerals, and so on. Your 10.3 percent in direct defense employment is one of the highest State averages in the Nation, exceeded only by the States of Washington with 10.6 percent and Alaska with 10.4 percent. Of the other States, only Virginia and Connecticut have between 9 percent and 10 percent averages. Considering the large volume of shipbuilding activity, it is obvious that Utah's 10.3-percent level represents an extremely high proportion of employment in the other phases of defense work. Incidentally, the national average is only 4.1 percent, compared to your 10.3.

But whether accounting for 10 or 2 percent of a State's total employment, the defense jobs, and also the many additional defense-related jobs not counted in this tabulation, are often concentrated in a particular area or a few areas of a State, and in these instances, the impact of defense is overpowering on the life and economic health of the community. Often, as in Utah, these concentrations are in areas which formerly were not industrialized.

These are factors we have to take into consideration in weighing our economic situation, and in building firmer foundations—as we must always seek to do—in our economic well-being. The American economy moves fast, and this is one of its great strengths—but it is also a challenge to our wisdom in matching political policies to economic realities.

We recognize that defense is a large factor in the economies of our States and regions. Perhaps some day it might not be, but it is now and will be for a long time to come. We are spending more than $50 billion a year on weapons and the personnel to man those weapons—not as a means of providing employment to labor, of course, or contracts to business, but because we must spend these huge sums for the survival of freedom and our way of life. Employment and profits are, therefore, not the controlling factors. But employment and profits are very definitely affected by decisions made in the Pentagon—there is no question about that. Fashions and accessories in defense items go out of style perhaps even faster than women's clothes, and this tends to send shivers of apprehension through the industries engaged in defense work, and through the men who work for those industries, and through the communities in which the plants are located.

The Defense Department under Secretary McNamara is now making an unusually strong effort to fulfill its public relations responsibilities in advising the communities and industries affected on the reasons for the many and frequent changes in defense procurement policies—the sudden closing down or phasing out or deactivization of a military installation or airplane or missile or component. It is also conscientiously trying to help all such localities adversely affected.

In the normal course of a $50 billion annual operation for defense, there are bound to be periodic and serious dislocations to groups of workers and to particular localities, as weapons systems are abandoned or superseded, as research and technology advance, and as plants become dangerously obsolete for defense production needs. Contract termination is a six syllable phrase which sounds prosaic only to these who have not seen communities thrown into panic, and people thrown into despair, by its abrupt and unexpected consequences.

Although these decisions are not made in the Department of Labor, we certainly feel their repercussion—and instantly so. We feel it first, of course, in the unemployment compensation offices, and in the USES offices. And then we feel it with progressive intensity in the studies which go into the designation of surplus labor areas, the qualification for area redevelopment, the demands for retraining certification, and in the anguished efforts on the part of a community to fight its way back to prosperity and new employment opportunities. In many localities, the full resources of a great variety of Federal Government agencies are eventually put to use to try to meet and solve these problems.

President Kennedy brought to the White House long and intimate association with these emergencies from his experience as a Member of the House of Representatives for 6 years and of the Senate for 8, during which time he was called upon frequently to aid constituents in meeting the paralyzing impact of contract terminations and the closing of Federal installations. No President in our history ever had a better understanding of the human problems and the community crises arising out of changes in defense procurement policies.

I think this awareness shows through in the actions of this administration in seeking to mitigate the occasional contract termination crises. In the many years during which I have been involved in, or concerned with, this kind of problem, first in the labor movement and now in the Government, I have never known the Defense Department, for instance, to be as alert as it is now to the human aspects, and the community aspects, of its decisions to make significant

changes in weapons or in the location of installations.

But the Defense Department, as I said, is not primarily an employment agency or a community development agency. It does have responsibilities in these areas—but they are not its main mission. When it undertakes the production on a crash basis of a new type of number of years. The particular item may even become obsolescent before it ever becomes operational. This has happened. As taxpayers, we are not interested in pouring billions into useless weapons.

But we are interested in—we do have a moral commitment to—communities and to people. That is why the Defense Department, in cooperation with the Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and many other Government agencies, has been developing a new and very comprehensive program of community economic adjustment to organize and mobilize the resources of areas which are suddenly hard hit by changing military needs, so as to enable them to place the displaced, to attract new industries, to develop new products, to stabilize property values and otherwise assist the community to survive and overcome the impace of a Pentagon weapons system decision which might adversely affect the economy of a whole area.

But the Defense Department's responsibility to get into this type of community assistance begins only after an employment and business crisis has been created for the locality by a Pentagon decision. I don't think the individual community should wait for a crisis to begin to do the things it would have to do in case of such an employment crisis. In the instances covered under the new Defense Department community economic adjustment program, the communities involved had to take a brandnew and very comprehensive look at themselves—a completely objective and analytical look—to determine their weak points and their strong points in attracting new industry, and in using the skills of their displaced workers. A variety of other Government agencies come in jointly with the Department of Defense to make surveys of needs and opportunities in connection with programs on which they can be of assistance.

Now what I am driving at is this: it seems to me that every community with sizable defense production and defense-related employment—should be doing as a regular thing the kind of planning and reevaluation which would be thrust upon it in case of a production or employment crisis caused by a sudden change in defense needs. This is nothing more than good community prosperity insurance. The objective should be to determine how to diversify industry in the community so that it is not a town completely dependent for its survival on one product or a few items made by one firm or a limited number of firms for only one big customer or a few big customers rather than for millions of customers.

Preventive medicine is still the best medicine. We head off epidemics of disease by anticipating them far in advance—and preparing against them. The House of Representatives, for instance, recently passed an administration bill to encourage the immunization of every preschool child in the Nation against four dread diseases: polio, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and whooping cough. If we can eliminate these diseases among children, we will eliminate them entirely. But we can't do it by waiting for epidemics to strike—and then seeking to immunize.

It's the same thing in preparing against the possible day of contract termination, or changes in weaponry, or—if we can look that far ahead—the day when mankind will have learned to live as brothers; plowshares and spears into pruning hooks—in a world truly at peace.

Considering the needs of our people that are not now being met—for schools, highways, bridges, airports, mass transportation of all kinds, hospitals, clinics, housing, research facilities, colleges, and graduate level professional schools, in a population expanding by leaps and bounds—in a world in which misery and hunger still dominate vast areas of the rest of the globe—we need never fear that America will run out of things to make or ever lack uses for our skills and resources

But the question is, Will this particular plant in this particular town be useful in a few years, and, if not, what will be there to take its place? Or, how can it be converted to the changing needs of defense or of our civilian economy? If the item that plant is making will be obsolescent shortly, how can that product item be changed or modified into something of new value and usage? How much research is management doing now on tomorrow's markets, and the year after? How much thought is going into product diversification and consumer demand and product improvement?

Tanks and automotive vehicles of various kinds, weapons and ammunition, plus construction equipment and other equipment and hardware constituted exactly half—50 percent—of the military hard goods delivered in the last year of the Korean war. Within 8 years, these categories had fallen from half to only an eighth of what the Defense Department calls its "hard goods buy." Electronics, on the other hand, shot up from 11.2 to 18 percent—a 50-percent gain—while missiles zoomed from one-half of 1 percent to 33.6 percent of all Defense Department prime contract awards in the same 8 years—from one two-hundredth to one-third. Aircraft is a major source of employment in Utah, and during this same 8-year period, aircraft orders pretty much held their own in terms of percentage of defense expenditures for military hard goods, dropping only slightly from 31.5 to 28.2 percent. This level is a bit higher than the 27.3 percentage during World War II. But we all know that the types of planes are constantly changing—and will continue to change. Is it a good idea, or not, for a firm making air frames, for instance, to begin thinking about possible civilian applications—trailers, housing shells, and mass transit vehicles? I don't know. If my job were dependent on the firm, I want the management to be thinking about tomorrow's and next year's and next decade's production, and I'm pretty sure I'd want my union to be concerned, too.

Are your unions discussing these things with management—contributing your ideas toward solving these problems of the future—problems of mutual importance for both worker and management, as well as for all of the business and professional people in the community?

Not out of fear of imminent disaster, but out of a decent respect for the exigencies of modern production and technology, and the speed at which things do happen in our economy. I think union groups in every plant, and in every community where defense plants are located, should begin to think now—and work now—as if they were about to become "phased out." What would you do? How would you go about attracting a new firm to operate an abandoned defense plant or installation? What could it manufacture? Is there a market for that product? Or for any other product it could be converted to produce? How attractive would your community be to new industries? Do you have a joint labor and business task force in your towns to consider these problems? How are the schools? Do they make the community an attraction for new management and professional personnel to come in? Are there any problems in the water supply? Do you know? Do you have adequate housing for the people already living in the town? Are there adequate local credit sources for business? Has there ever been a comprehensive survey of recreational opportunities, or of community facilities needed for plant expansion?

Now these are all things you would begin to do if, suddenly, overnight, a Defense Department weapons system decision should close down one of your major plants, or if an installation should be abandoned or mothballed, with resulting unemployment. My point is: don't wait for such a disaster; gear your plans now for preventing a disaster from ever happening.

There are many Federal and Federal-State programs already operating to help a forward-looking community to plan and organize its efforts toward assuring continued employment opportunities, or of fighting its way back from the distress category. The Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security, working with the affiliated State agencies, has for some time been actively promoting community organizational efforts to meet this problem, as, for instance, in Omaha not so long ago when 700 packing plant employees "automated" out of jobs signed up with USES for assistance and were nearly all helped to find new employment under a community-wide labor-management effort.

Among the many operating programs are these: Retraining and subsistence allowance under both Area Redevelopment and the Manpower Training and Development Act; industrial loans to businesses for plant expansion and facilities under both Area Redevelopment and the Small Business Administration program; public facilities loans and grants under Area Redevelopment and loans under the Housing and Home Finance Agency's Community Facilities Administration; grants for community improvement under urban renewal; funds to plan effective campaigns against juvenile delinquency under a joint Justice-Labor-HEW program; vocational education and rehabilitation assistance under HEW; housing programs of all kinds—low-income public housing as well as middle-income FHA mortgage insurance and nonprofit projects for the elderly; the library services program; the Farmers Home Administration program in the rural areas—the list is long and includes many programs now in existence to bolster the resources and attractiveness and economic resiliency of all of our communities.

And we are trying to provide more—for instance, the youth opportunity bill proposed by President Kennedy to get idle and untrained youngsters into worthwhile activities which will give them not only skills but an aim in life; the college scholarship bill; the health professions expansion bill; aid to education; the public works bill—all intended to make greater use of our human resources—and of the traditional imagination and spirit of our cities and towns. Help us enact them into law.

Much has been done, but there is so much to be done to make this country into the kind of land we want it to be for all of our people—to make Utah into a shining jewel among all of the States in terms of progressive social legislation and universal well-being—to provide our elderly citizens on social security with good housing at rents they can afford and with insurance against the almost inevitable high cost of hospitalization and nursing home care—to clear our slums, and build more schools, and enlarge our libraries, and fill them with good books, and make our roads safer and the traffic manageable; to strengthen our laws to protect the consumer; to remove the specter of want in the midst of plenty; to protect the weak and the poor and the ignorant against exploitation, and to make sure their children are not equally disadvantaged.

Whenever a man or woman who needs a job or wants a job and is willing to work con-

scientiously at it can't find a job, we face in microcosm—in miniature—America's greatest domestic problem. We must know the reason why that person can't get work. Is it in his or her lack of skill—or because of a lack of opportunity? Either way, there are steps which can be taken—many steps—to solve that problem for that individual.

One man or one woman out of work involuntarily is a manageable problem; multiply this situation by several million, however, and we then recognize the magnitude of the challenge which faces us as a people—in a time of record national production.

Organized labor understands the problem and the challenge, and reacts to it responsibly and intelligently—by making concrete suggestions for solutions in the spirit of President Kennedy's request in his Yale address for what he called a serious dialog between the political parties and between the various groups in the economy—a serious dialog on the steps necessary to make our free economy work at full capacity; "that is," he said, "provide adequate profits for enterprise and adequate wages for labor and adequate utilization of plant and opportunity for all."

I know you here agree with the President on the need for this kind of serious dialog—for a good, hard, objective look at what ails us and what we do about it.

It is the free exchange and interchange of ideas and of concepts which give our society its strength and its vigor. There isn't anything we cannot do or any problem we cannot solve if we but take it apart and examine it in the bright light of public discussion and unfettered debate. In Utah, we are used to the winds of controversy and the value of the unpopular idea in shaping public thoughts and actions. This administration, I am proud to say, is not afraid to consider new thoughts of ideas or suggestions—nor is it afraid, either, to oppose those ideas—new or old—no matter how grimly held, which cannot stand up to the full light of objective review and analysis.

Naturally, I feel at home in Utah. Thank you.

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened by the very sudden death of our friend and colleague, the Honorable CLEM MILLER, as I know all of the Members were. When I heard of his tragic death, the thought come to me immediately that just a few days ago we had sat, side by side, discussing the necessity for the prompt adjournment of the session of Congress so that we could all go back to our districts to campaign for reelection. CLEM and I commented on how much we each had to do, how many people we felt we must meet and talk to. These were our major concerns.

And then, in the flash of a moment, all of those urgent needs and great plans and hopes were stopped forever for the conscientious Congressman from California.

The thought occurred to me again, as it has on many, many occasions when tragedy has struck down a friend working so hard at a difficult assignment: we must truly live each day as if it might be our last.

It was a pleasure to serve on the Committee on Banking and Currency with CLEM MILLER. We were both on the Housing Subcommitte and also on the subcommittee which handled the mass transit bill—an issue on which he exerted tremendous and effective effort. His penetrating questioning of witnesses reflected a thorough grasp of the problem, and he helped us to understand it better and to present it ably to our colleagues on the parent committee.

CLEM MILLER'S great ability will be missed in the Congress of the United States. Because he was a fine person as well as a fine legislator, we all share some of the loneliness and the grief of his wife and his daughters.

As one who also lost a beloved husband who died suddenly while serving as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, may I say, Mr. Speaker, to Mrs. Miller and the children: "Your grief and sorrow will be deep and will be with you for a long long time—God's will be done. But you wil lalways have locked in your heart the memory of the years with a fine man—years that God allowed you to share together."

## Dr. Thorning Speaks on Castro's Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, earlier this month, the Reverend Dr. Joseph F. Thorning addressed the Current Events Club of Hood College on the subject of "Fidel Castro's Cuba: Its Causes and Possible Cures."

Dr. Thorning's remarks reflect an acute perception of the Cuban problem. I ask unanimous consent that an article contained in the News of Frederick, Md., dated October 13, 1962, reporting on Dr. Thorning's address be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DR. THORNING SPEAKS ON CASTRO'S CUBA

Addressing the Current Events Club of Hood College under the auspices of "Town Hall," Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, discussed "Fidel Castro's Cuba: Its Causes and Possible Cures" and emphasized that "since bad reporting and the folly of State Department officials in 1959 had allowed the public to picture the Soviet Gauleiter of Cuba as a mixture of Abraham Lincoln and Robin Hood, it was now essential for good reporters and clear-thinking Government officials to recognize the presence of organized units of the Red armed forces in Cuba and prepare the people of the United States to face the dangers inseparable from the use of force before Castro announces the adherence of Cuba to the Warsaw Pact."

The Maryland educator, author and diplomat continued:

"The desperate straits to which spokesmen for a policy of inaction in the Caribbean are reduced may be understood from the October 3 claim of Mr. Walter Lippmann. The latter alleged that we have in fact achieved the same kind of penetration of the Communist world (in Yugoslavia) as Moscow has done in our world of Cuba. This assertion, uttered in the calm, pontifical manner of Mr. Lippmann, can and should be examined in the light of the facts."

"Mr. Lippman and the Government officials he defends owe it to the American people to pinpoint the U.S. military installations, airfields, missile and rocket bases in Tito's Yugoslavia. Mr. Lippmann and State Department functionaries should advise us about the thousands of U.S. technicians, i.e., Air Force pilots, engineers, antiaircraft gunners, war communications' specialists and space experts bivouacked in military encampments in the neighborhood of Belgrade, Zagreb, and other cities in Titoland.

"Do Mr. Lippmann and U.S. Government employees have any evidence showing that 96 American ships, in the past 4 months, have been transporting war materiel to Yugoslavia's Adriatic ports? Or must thoughtful readers conclude that the parallel Mr. Lippmann and others find between U.S. penetration of the Marxist-Leninist world and the Soviet domination of Fidel Castro largely a figment of the columnists imagination? Is it not fair, therefore, to point out the superficiality of judgment displayed by the most vociferous apologists for a program of nonaction?"

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, now that Congresswoman KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN, of Pennsylvania, has been nominated by President Kennedy and confirmed by the U.S. Senate for the position of Treasurer of the United States, I want to express my heartfelt congratulations to KATHRYN, knowing that she will fill this important position with honor and great ability. We will certainly miss her here as one of the outstanding Members of the House, however.

My husband served with KATHRYN'S husband, Bill, on the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. During the first 3 years of my service here, Congressman Granahan was a gracious and helpful colleague, and since 1956, I have been privileged to enjoy KATHRYN'S friendship as a colleague. She has distinguished herself as a leader against the misuse and abuse of the mails for transmitting filth and pornography, and I am sure her efforts and the legislation she sponsored will continue to have a great effect in combatting the flood of obscene materials aimed primarily at children.

Mrs. GRANAHAN has also been an outstanding friend of Government employees and particularly of the postal workers, as a ranking member and a subcommittee chairman in the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. And her devotion to the well-being of her

constituents is well known to all of us here. She has, therefore, built a substantial and admirable congressional record of achievement.

The redistricting of the Pennsylvania congressional districts cannot help but result in an injustice to the people whom KATHRYN represented so ably, and it is most unfortunate that her district was divided and eliminated. However, she accepted this great disappointment in her usual manner, and will now put her very effective talents into a new assignment where her charm, intelligence, and devotion to duty will make her a truly outstanding official of the Government of the United States, as Treasurer of the United States.

My very, very warm wishes go with you, KATHRYN, as you prepare to start on the important responsibilities you are undertaking in the administration of President John F. Kennedy.

## Alaska Dam Would Spawn Power-Based Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Alaska, like Montana, requires comprehensive development of its water resources in order to provide power, jobs, new industries. The site of the largest dam in this hemisphere, Rampart Dam, is in Alaska, on the Yukon River. Rampart Dam would have an installed capacity of about 5 million kilowatts, about 2½ times as much as Grand Coulee, which is presently the largest dam, in terms of power production, in the United States.

My colleague on the Public Works and Interior Committees, the distinguished junior Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], has devoted much of his considerable energy and talents toward further action on Rampart, for which an additional $315,000 in investigation funds were recently approved. The desirability to Alaska of cheap and abundant power—as would be produced at Rampart—is indicated by an article which appeared in the October 1, 1962, issue of Chemical Engineering. This article states:

> Helping to stimulate development of Alaska's industry, a proposed dam on the Yukon River could deliver 3 mill/kilowatt-hour power by 1990, the lowest electricity cost foreseeable for the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert the entire Chemical Engineering article, entitled "Alaska Dam Would Spawn Power-Based Industries," in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALASKA DAM WOULD SPAWN POWER-BASED INDUSTRIES

With ample low-cost power, Alaska will almost certainly become a substantial producer of aluminum, electric-furnace pig iron and steel, ferroalloys, copper, magnesium, chlorine, and caustic soda. Other likely products include calcium carbide, abrasives, nitrates, phosphorus and titanium.

The Western United States would provide the principal market for these products. Some would find a growing market within Alaska itself. Some would enter the export trade to foreign markets, particularly Japan.

These conclusions were recently reported [1] to the U.S. Senate's Committee on Public Works, as part of a program of investigations now in progress to determine the physical and economical feasibility of the Rampart project, a proposal for a huge new Alaskan dam.

The power market was studied for the period from 1972, when Rampart would begin producing limited amounts of power, to 1990. At that time, the energy available from the project would be scheduled to reach its full level, 31.1 billion kilowatt-hours per year. Of this total, 9.2 billion would nominally go to plants of electroprocess industries, other than aluminum, attracted to the area by ready availability of cheap power. This schedule would leave a maximum of 6 billion for the aluminum industry—far less than aluminum producers could consume if their industry developed fully.

LOW-COST POWER

The cost of power delivered in bulk to the centers of use, including the nearest Alaskan tidewater locations, will be about 3 miles per kilowatt-hour. This is within the cost ranges that prevail at all but one or two of the very cheapest of the great energy sites in the world. It will be the lowest cost power increment available in the United States in 1990, according to the report.

Rampart Canyon Dam would be built across the Yukon River at a point roughly at the geographical center of Alaska, for an estimated cost of $1.3 billion. The dam would create a lake about 400 miles long, larger than Lake Erie. Installed generating capacity would be about 5 million kilowatts.

Alaskan locales likely to attract large power-using industries are those accessible the year round to safe marine navigation. Offering good potential are the entire coastal regions of Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, some 300 miles from the project site.

ELECTROPROCESSORS' NEED

The projected growth in the U.S. economy will require prodigious amounts of electrical energy. Between now and 1990, it probably will be necessary to build nearly a billion kilowatts of generating capacity. (Of this, the Rampart project would represent only half of 1 percent.)

Generally, the annual rate of growth of the electroprocess industries averaged 8.5 percent from 1940 to 1960, and is expected to average 6.7 percent from 1960 to 1980. It has exceeded, and continues to exceed, the rate of growth in gross national product, estimated at 3.2 percent from 1965 to 1980. The proportion of total electric power requirements of these electroprocess industries to the total power requirements for all industry in the United States has gradually increased from about 16 percent to almost 20 percent during the last few years and is likely to continue increasing.

In itself, plant location within the United States (including Alaska) is an attractive factor to American-owned industries, which will account for a substantial portion of the total new electroprocess plant capacity to be developed in the free world during the next generation. Rampart would produce and deliver energy at lower cost than any other projected powerplant anywhere in the Nation. And electroprocess industries with Rampart power would have distinct cost advantages in the major markets of the Western United States and in Japan.

ALUMINUM

The aluminum industry is a leading possibility as the largest consumer of Rampart power. The power demand for an Alaskan aluminum industry by 1990 is conservatively estimated to be from 875,000 to 3.85 million kilowatts to serve U.S. markets, and 200,000 kilowatts more for Japanese markets.

Corresponding Alaskan production figures would be 0.5 to 2.2 million tons per year of primary aluminum for U.S. customers, and 100,000 tons for Japan. An Alaskan aluminum industry would thus serve between 6 and 13 percent of the U.S. markets and about 11 percent of the Japanese markets.

WESTERN MARKETS

The U.S. markets for Alaskan aluminum would be principally in the Western States, especially California. The broad framework of present and future delivered costs of primary aluminum produced within the rest of the United States establishes guides to which Alaska must conform if it is to serve U.S. markets. This pattern is set by the Ohio Valley and the Pacific Northwest, each of which has over one-fourth of U.S. capacity.

With transportation costs included, to a market in California, delivered costs from Alaska would be competitive with the Ohio Valley and better than from the Pacific Northwest (see following table). Both the Pacific Northwest and the Ohio Valley have serious limitations on their capacity to serve this market. Major aluminum companies have obtained control of Ohio Valley coal deposits; but limitations on the amount of coal thus controlled, or that will become available for power to serve the aluminum industry, remain to be determined.

At present, two aluminum companies prefer their future expansions to serve other regions where they will not have to provide the power investment. They may use their Ohio Valley coal reserves to meet growth requirements in areas other than the west coast States, leaving the latter to be served by other sources. This nonwest coast growth is expected to be 9–21 million kilowatts, corresponding to 5.2 to 12.2 million tons of aluminum, by 1990.

The Pacific Northwest is expected to have used up nearly all of its economical hydroelectric resources by 1975, and to require electric power from other sources, possibly including imported power.

OTHER ELECTROPRODUCTS

Despite its importance, the aluminum industry is far from being the only one that would be aided by the Rampart project. Here's a look at some other areas of Alaska's industrial potential.

Based on present estimates of resources, Alaskan deposits could yield 1.8 million tons per year of pig iron. If this were all converted to steel, it would provide about 11 percent of total 1980 western U.S. requirements.

Estimated production costs of Alaskan steel, based on Alaska pig iron melted in large electric furnace installations, range between $54 and $69 per ton, exclusive of profits and transportation. This compares with recent quotations for carbon steel, at steel centers, of $76 to $80.

Alaska's known occurrences of ferroalloy materials at this time include chromite, molybdenum, tungsten, and nickel. Tonnage requirements of the Alaskan steel industry would be about 16,000 tons per year of all ferroalloys, or about the annual production capacity of a minimum-sized plant.

The ferroalloy requirements for the western steel industry by 1980 would be close to

[1] This article is based on the report, "The Market for Rampart Power, Yukon River, Alaska," describing a study made for the U.S. Army Engineers district, Alaska, Corps of Engineers, by Development & Resources Corp., New York.

500,000 tons per year. In terms of electric furnace ferroalloy production, this would correspond to around 400,000 tons. The Pacific Northwest ferroally industry might produce about 225,000 tons, leaving about 175,000 tons per year to be produced elsewhere.

Estimates of costs for a minimum-sized ferrochrome plant, as an example, using local Alaskan ores, indicate a range of $323 to $340 per ton. Present quotations range between $324 and $462 per ton.

The Alaskan copper reserves of some 3 million tons compare with the 32 million total estimated for the United States, and the 100 to 170 million tons for the world.

Raw materials for the production of magnesium and titanium are available in Alaska. Dolomites and olivines (and, of course, sea water) are abundant for magnesium plants. Regarding titanium, there have been some reports of titania-bearing sands. Most interesting potentially are the titania fractions that might be recoverable out of furnace slag resulting from the production of pig iron from titaniferous magnetites.

The production of nitrogen and hydrogen from the atmosphere, from coal, from natural gas, or from the electrolysis of water, would not be hampered by lack of natural resources.

The principal raw materials required for the electric furnace production of calcium carbide will probably all be obtainable in Alaska. Present U.S. production is around 1.2 million tons, with only two plants west of the Mississippi. And Japan is an important producer and consumer. It produced at the rate of 900,000 tons in recent years. An Alaskan plant would be advantageously located with respect to Japanese markets.

CAUSTIC-CHLORINE

An Alaskan chlorine-caustic facility would require importing salt from California or Mexico. Waterborne shipping from these sources to the Pacific Northwest and Japan has been established and could readily be extended to tidewater Alaskan plant sites.

The pulp and paper industry of Alaska, both existing and potential, would be a substantial consumer of both chlorine and caustic soda. It is probable that at least two-thirds of the 1 to 1.5 million tons per year of estimated Alaskan pulp production would be bleached, requiring around 85,000 tons per year of chlorine. Caustics could be marketed to Alaskan dissolving-pulp plants, petroleum refining and chemical plants, with any remainder going to Japan.

Shipping cost of salt would add $2 per ton to cost of producing chlorine in Alaska versus producing it in the Pacific Northwest. But to Alaskan pulp and paper makers, cost of chlorine from either Alaska or the Pacific Northwest would be about equal. This is because cheaper Rampart power and the elimination of Pacific Northwest-to-Alaska chlorine shipping costs would offset the advantage that Pacific Northwestern chlorine makers gain via cheaper salt.

JAPANESE MARKETS

The present policy of Japanese industries is to import materials as close to the raw-material stage as possible, and to supply both the domestic and foreign markets with manufactured products. But with continued economic development in Japan and elsewhere, relaxation of this policy seems likely. Japan has already announced the intention to liberalize by 1962 imports of refined nickel, some zinc products, titanium, chrome products, asbestos, quicksilver, and copper and lead and their products, much of which could eventually come from Alaska.

Japan is likely to increasingly import some of the finished and semifinished products that can be processed at lower cost in foreign countries. This prospect would be enhanced as Japanese wage rates and labor costs increase, narrowing some of the cost differentials between Japan and foreign countries.

*Alaskan aluminum will compete with alternate U.S. product*

[In cents per pound]

| Cost component, 1990 | Delivered to California from— | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Alaska | Pacific Northwest | Ohio Valley |
| Transportation | 0.6–0.8 | 0.6 | 1.2 |
| Power (7.5 kilowatt-hours per pound) | 1.6–2.3 | 3.4–4.5 | 3.0 |
| Labor | 3.6 | 3.1 | 3.1 |
| Raw materials | 8.3 | 8.6 | 7.8 |
| Capital charges (without profit) | 3.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| Total | 17.6–18.5 | 18.7–19.8 | 18.1 |

*Possible major electroprocess outlets for Rampart power in 1990* [1]

| | Alaskan capacity (thousand tons per year) | Energy needed (million kilowatt-hours per year) |
|---|---|---|
| Pig iron, electric furnace | 1,800 | 3,000 |
| Steel, electric furnace | 1,600 | 800 |
| Ferroalloys | 90 | 900 |
| Refined copper, excluding mining and beneficiation | 80 | 60 |
| Refined zinc | 18 | 100 |
| Magnesium | 30 | 500 |
| Titanium | 5 | 200 |
| Phosphorus, including mining and beneficiation | 15 | 200 |
| Chlorine and caustic soda | 70 | 140 |
| Calcium carbide | 15 | 50 |
| Wood pulp | 1,200 | 1,000 |
| Nitrates | 75 | 375 |

[1] Aluminum plants would certainly represent a significant outlet for Rampart power; in fact, they alone could absorb the project's entire output of electricity. But if the industries shown above materialize, only a fraction of Rampart power will be available to aluminum producers. Therefore this product has been left out of the table.

*Major U.S. electroprocess industries: The overall picture*

| | 1960 | | 1990 (estimated) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total U.S. production (thousand tons per year) | Energy needed (million kilowatt-hours per year) | Total U.S. capacity (thousand tons per year) | Energy needed (million kilowatt-hours per year) |
| Aluminum, primary | 2,015 | 36,700 | 8,000 | 120,000 |
| Magnesium, primary | 40 | 800 | 360 | 7,200 |
| Titanium, sponge | 5 | 210 | 60 | 2,400 |
| Copper, electrolytic | 1,542 | 1,020 | 2,580 | 1,700 |
| Zinc, electrolytic | 320 | 1,730 | 710 | 3,840 |
| Steel, electric furnace | 8,379 | 4,600 | 63,000 | 31,500 |
| Ferroalloys, electric furnace | 1,326 | 8,100 | 4,500 | 27,400 |
| Phosphorus | 420 | 5,450 | 1,050 | 13,600 |
| Chlorine | 4,592 | 12,700 | 14,000 | 31,700 |
| Calcium carbide | 1,160 | 3,600 | 2,104 | 6,500 |

## Railroad Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE GREATER CANANDAIGUA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
*Canandaigua, N.Y., September 24, 1962.*

SECRETARY,
*Interstate Commerce Commission,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was unanimously approved by the board of directors of the Greater Canandaigua Chamber of Commerce at their regular meeting held on September 13, 1962, Arthur S. Hamlin, president, presiding:

"Whereas the New York Central Railroad system and the Pennsylvania Railroad system have made application for a merger of these two major eastern rail transportation systems for what seems to us to be sound economic reasons in maintaining railroad services within their respective areas, and

"Whereas it seems to be to the best interests of the people of the Greater Canandaigua area and such a merger should be allowed to take place with the understanding that this would improve the railroad service to this community and neighboring area: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the officers and directors of the Greater Canandaigua Chamber of Commerce do all in their power to promote the approval of this merger. This resolution being consistent with the promotion and growth of the Canandaigua area; it is further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D.C."

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. MITCHELL,
*Executive Director.*

## The Fight for Equal Staffing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania,

has announced the organization of a "Special Committee To Improve Congressional Committee Staffs." Senator SCOTT, who is an able and constructive legislator, a forthright and forward-looking former chairman of the Republican National Committee, and a leader in the fight for better staffing of congressional committees, will serve as chairman of the special committee. Other members are Senators CARL T. CURTIS, of Nebraska, and WINSTON L. PROUTY, of Vermont; Representatives GLENN P. LIPSCOMB, of California, and FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa. I have the honor of serving as vice-chairman of the committee.

Few reforms would contribute more to the cause of good gvernment than the improvement of congressional staffing procedures, particularly as regards the need to end the present unfair division of staff between Democrats and Republicans. A more equitable sharing between the parties of congressional staff positions would increase the effectiveness of Congress and help to maintain the strength of our two-party system. In addition, it would also enable whatever party happened to be in the minority at the time to serve the Nation as a more active and effective loyal opposition.

Without adequate staff help, the minority is unable to give careful study to legislation coming before the Congress and to do the hard, time-consuming research which is required to come up with constructive proposals of its own.

In addition, the reforms for which I and the special committee will fight in the coming months will serve to strengthen the hand of Congress vis-a-vis the executive branch. If the Congress is to be a more viable and contributing branch of Government, and not merely a rubberstamp for the Executive, it must have at its command more adequate staff resources with which to study independently the difficult problems facing our Nation. Otherwise, the Congress will have to rely increasingly for its information and advice on the vast apparatus of the executive branch, a situation which is not conducive to the development of sound public policy.

In the weeks ahead, the press and political leaders of both parties, including new Members of Congress as well as those who will be returning to Congress, have a heavy responsibility to give careful study to the problem of congressional staffing and to encourage wide discussion of the issue. Reform of staffing procedures is not a partisan issue, but rather one which both Democrats and Republicans can and should support in the interest of a more effective Congress and better government in general.

Under unanimous consent, I insert a press release issued by the office of Senator SCOTT announcing the organization of this committee at this point in the Appendix to the RECORD.

SENATORS, REPRESENTATIVES ORGANIZE TO FIGHT FOR BETTER COMMITTEE STAFFS

WASHINGTON.—A new drive to improve the staffs of congressional committees was announced today by U.S. Senator HUGH SCOTT.

A group of six Republican Senators and Representatives organized into a "Special Committee To Improve Congressional Committee Staffs."

Members include Senators CARL T. CURTIS, of Nebraska, WINSTON L. PROUTY, of Vermont, and HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania; Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Missouri, GLENN P. LIPSCOMB, of California, and FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa. Senator SCOTT was named chairman and Representative CURTIS, vice chairman.

Senator SCOTT said:

"Congress and the Nation suffer under the present unfair division of staff between Democrats and Republicans. The congressional committees have Democratic employees on their staffs far out of proportion to the Democratic Senators or Representatives on the committees. This seriously hampers the work of the committees.

"At present the minority party happens to be Republican. But the pendulum will swing and our efforts for a fair and constructive division of congressional staff will benefit both parties in the long run.

"Our objectives are—

"1. To make Congress more effective.

"2. To maintain the strength of the two-party system.

"3. To implement the spirit of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

"4. To help the minority party be more effective as a loyal opposition.

"We realize that the vast majority of congressional committee staff employees are capable and devoted persons who are doing good jobs. But we object to the system which permits them to be appointed in an arbitrary way that is not good for either Congress or the Nation. We also recognize that some staff employees work in a nonpartisan manner.

"Therefore we will work toward the objective that each congressional committee have on its staff employees in three categories: (a) nonpartisan, (b) appointed by the majority, and (c) appointed by the minority—with the proportion of majority and minority employees in the same general ratio as there are Democratic and Republican Senators or Representatives on the committee. It is intended that staff employees, regardless of category, be selected on the basis of their ability to perform the particular duties assigned.

"While my own relationships with the majority leadership and the committee chairmen are excellent, my observations are addressed to the whole broad question.

"We will continue to work with the congressional leadership of both parties as we have done in the past. As the result of our actions as individuals in the past year, the public is considerably better informed about this problem and some slight progress has been made in Congress. We hope that the formation of our special committee will hurry that progress along."

## Another Kremlin Weapon: Red Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the National Petroleum Council recently reported that oil is Russia's most important weapon in its politicoeconomic offensive against the free world.

Now, this observation did not receive front page attention—nor should it have from the standpoint of news value; yet the Russian oil story is one of the most disturbing situations on the international news front. Russia's use of oil as an economic and political weapon has long been evident. The alarming factor is that there has been no leadership on the part of anti-Communist nations in meeting the issue.

Russia's oil offensive actually got underway in 1960. There was no question about the Kremlin's ability to undersell competitors in an all-out campaign, because under the totalitarian system the selling price of a commodity can be fixed without regard to production costs. Moscow has also taken advantage of its grip on satellite nations by keeping its oil prices low on the world market, then compensating by gouging her captive buyers. The U.S.S.R. has delivered crude for $13 a ton at Bombay and for less than $12 a ton at Montevideo while forcing the Poles, whose markets are within close proximity of Soviet oilfields, to pay $22 a ton for the same product at the same time. Finally, Russia's offer to barter oil for materials needed at home has proved added inducement for getting business among the non-Communist nations. She will accept finished manufactured products from Western Europe in exchange for oil, and she has swapped oil for Fidel Castro's sugar, Brazil's coffee, and Argentina's beef.

The free world began to sense Russia's intentions of using oil in her plans for world conquest when exports jumped sharply in 1959. From 1950 to the middle of 1960 shipments went from 18,200 to 57,000 barels a day in West Germany, from 16,400 to 63,000 in Italy, and from 0 to 14,000 in Brazil and 22,000 in Japan. For the year 1960 as a whole, sales to non-Communist countries were one-third greater than in the preceding year.

In May of last year, the Bureau of Mines issued a report on the Soviet 7-year plan for oil. It pointed out in its very first paragraph that the rapid growth of Soviet petroleum production, which was only a tenth of U.S. output in 1946, would be more than half by 1965, at which time 50 percent of Russia's exportable 359 million barrels could be confined to free world destinations.

Still another study, "Soviet Oil in the Cold War," was released in May of 1961. Prepared by the Library of Congress at the request of a Senate Committee on the Judiciary, its findings included this observation:

The dependence of any member of NATO alliance on Russian oil in a substantial measure inevitably has a significant bearing on its position relative to the security of the Western World. With Italy becoming increasingly bound up in Soviet oil schemes, the question is bound to arise as to its probable behavior in the event of a serious crisis in the cold war.

Let us stop here and examine the "probable behavior" of any non-Communist nation that is willing to make its energy requirements dependent upon sources within the periphery dominated by the godless and brutal criminals in the Kremlin. It matters not whether that nation lies along the Adriatic within easy reach of Khrushchev's short-range missiles, in South America across from the new Russian fortress in the Caribbean, or on an island in the relatively calm seas of the Indian Ocean.

For the record, all three areas are already being saturated with Red oil. Italy receives more than one-half of the Soviet oil imported by Common Market countries. In addition to Brazil and Argentina, Uruguay is buying oil directly from U.S.S.R. production fields, and Castro is importing increasing amounts of crude for processing in the refineries he expropriated from American companies. On the other side of the world, Russian oil products are sold at service stations which the Government of Ceylon seized from American and British companies as part of its deal with the Soviet.

Assorted other importers of Red oil include India, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Egypt, France, West Germany, Sweden, Iceland, Norway, and of course, Yugoslavia.

The economic threat involved in Russia's oil export campaign has been indicated in news stories almost from the time the all-out invasion got underway, and there is no reason to believe there is going to be any lessening of the Red offensive. The August 6, 1952, issue of International Commerce, a U.S. Department of Commerce publication, contained an article under this heading: "Soviets Pushing Petroleum Production and Exports—Gap With United States Narrowing Rapidly."

Following this illustrated documentary was an item entitled "Pipelines in U.S.S.R. Spread Far Over Land." It describes the giant strides made by the Soviet Union in expanding oil pipelines in the past decade, pointing out that by 1965 the total lineage will be more than nine times greater than the 1950 capacity.

The current issue of a leading business publication features an article on communism as viewed by a number of prominent authorities, including Dr. Walt Whitman Rostow, key adviser to President Kennedy and counselor and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the U.S. Department of State. A chapter on economic warfare, whose author is Leon M. Herman, a senior specialist in Soviet affairs for the Library of Congress, contains this passage:

TRADE FOR POLITICS

Foreign trade in Russia is more suitable for political combat than for commercial exchange. There is no independent trading community. All citizens and organizations are forbidden to engage in trade. A single government agency, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, has exclusive power to maintain contact with the outside world for trading.

Soviet behavior in the world market has shown the Kremlin is willing and able to disrupt the normal pattern of commodity trade for political advantage. Its potential for disruptive tactics is sizable.

In the marketing of petroleum, for example, the Soviet trade monopoly does not hesitate to slash the going price, by as much as 20 and 33 percent, to break into markets of other suppliers, primarily producers in the Middle East.

So, Mr. Speaker, we can assume that it is well established even in the official minds of the administration that the U.S.S.R. is using its oil as an economic and political tool to sabotage industrial and business activity in non-Communist countries. The implications of the overseas flow of Red oil have been commented upon in the daily press for at least a year and a half, and Government publications have thoroughly studied and analyzed the Soviet oil program for almost as long. Despite this official recognition, there has been a very grave dual deficiency of purpose on the part of the State Department: first because no effective measures have been adopted—and so far as Congress knows, have not been recommended—to combat the Soviet scheme; second, the military factors have either been overlooked or disregarded in the various pronouncements by spokesmen of the State Department and other Government offices. If we wish to be generous, let us initially inspect the military aspects of the Soviet program.

Stephen F. Dunn, president of the National Coal Association, came back from a technical conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in early 1961 and immediately announced that the Kremlin had begun to destroy the fuels self-sufficiency of nations outside the Soviet orbit. He said that if the threat continues, a dangerous energy gap could very well develop in the midst of America's most energetic mobilization program in peacetime history.

A short time later, on June 12, 1961, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall told the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee:

In short, we should take action now to insure against an energy gap. A study of fuels and energy by a Senate committee, and appropriate action based upon its recommendations, would go far toward assuring all Americans that they will never be faced with such a gap.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that so long as we are going to walk arms-in-arms with selected non-Communist nations down what we hope is the path to maximum unified military strength and ultimate peace, then it is incumbent upon us to make every effort possible to preclude the development of an energy gap in a single country allied with us. What is it going to avail the cause of America and the free world if we sent forth our dollars and our defense materials to a nation that is agreeable to placing its energy requirements in the hands of Nikita Khrushchev? How are those tanks and airplanes going to contribute to the defense of the free world if their fuel tanks are empty when the crucial time arrives?

In these instances, of course, for each barrel of Russian oil that is imported, a barrel of oil or its coal equivalent from the free world is displaced. The arrangement not only deprives non-Communist nations of an opportunity to enjoy the economic advantages of this trade, but places a reliance upon the Kremlin that could very well be fatal in an all-out conflict. Every industrial operation in Western Europe or anywhere else in the world now being supplied by Red oil would be subject to immediate shutdown if the despots in the Kremlin so willed. Merely by shutting off the valves from producing fields would the Kremlin be able to shift into idleness an important ratio of industrial activity outside its own sphere of influence.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, America must recognize the military as well as the economic and political dangers in the Red oil program. It must be recognized as a situation that will become progressively intensified unless checked forthwith. Opposition cannot wait until the Library of Congress is ready to issue another report, or until the Bureau of Mines completed a second study, or until the impressions on Russian oil formed during his recent visit to the Kremlin are made public by the Secretary of the Interior.

We need action now. We need leadership. While we wait, giant pipelines are snaking their way from Russia's producing fields into East Germany and Czechoslovakia for stepping up shipments to West Europe as well as to satellite industrial centers. Russia may already have concluded arrangements, first proposed in 1961, to build a line through Siberia with Japanese steel pipe that will be paid for by the oil it carries. In addition, supertankers are under construction at various shipyards serving the Kremlin. Yugoslavia alone is building 9 of the 250 tankers which the U.S. Bureau of Mines estimates Russia will have ready by 1965.

Perhaps the State Department is considering steps to offset the Soviet oil surge. Nevertheless no beneficial results are yet apparent. Under the circumstances, the prevailing situation presents an excellent opportunity to test the effectiveness of the Organization of American States. Members of this body should surely be as concerned as we are about any sovereign unit on this hemisphere that would submit itself to Kremlin control, that would place its fuel economy in the hands of the Red asassins. Every member of the OAS should willingly join with the United States in informing Moscow that we on this side of the Atlantic want no part of Russia's oil supplies. The free world has ample stocks that will always be available to all peoples who wish to remain free.

Perhaps the State Department questions the effectiveness of such an appeal. Perhaps it is suspected that some of our Pan American friends do not find it repugnant to be associated in depth with Khrushchev and his gang. If such is the case, certainly there is no logic in spreading American dollars up and down the broad reaches from the Caribbean to Cape Horn if recipients are willing to place their destiny in the hands of the Red gangsters.

Assuming that we will enjoy at least a modicum of cooperation and of program to persuade the OAS nations to shut out the inflow of Red oil, the State Department should then extend its efforts with a similar appeal to NATO and its associated alliances. The endeavor should be undertaken without delay, for certainly there is no excuse for the failure to act in the face of all the evidence that has been building up over the past 2 years.

Without a doubt—

The National Petroleum Council stated—

Soviet oil is the most important element in the Soviet political-economic offensive in the free world.

Without a doubt, Soviet oil can also be the Kremlin's most important medium of sabotage in a showdown with the free world.

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## Will Proposed International Coffee Agreement Prevent Excessively High as Well as Excessively Low Prices?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, October 5, 1962*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as one who has always tried here in the Congress to reflect the consumer point of view, I have, however, never opposed fair treatment for the farmer in assuring decent prices for the food he produces. The consumer is not benefitted in the long run if prices to the producer of food are so ruinously low as to drive the farmers off the farm.

Similarly, while I have vigorously opposed the recurring—and sometimes successful—attempts to boost prices of coffee to the American consumer on the basis of fake shortages or rumors of shortages, I would certainly not want to give the impression that I think the Latin American producers should not be helped to get fair and reasonable prices for their coffee. Far from it.

The unconscionable speculative price increases of January 1954 did not have much chance to help the individual coffee grower; the subsequent collapse of the wholesale price 6 months later, after the disclosure of the market excesses and irregularities, hurt the coffee grower very much, however. Thus, violent upswings in prices are a problem to both consumer and producer, just as depressed prices are a problem, particularly when the economy of a whole country rests heavily on just one commodity.

With this in mind, Mr. Speaker, I wrote to the Secretary of State last month asking what provisions were being included in the proposed international agreement on coffee which would protect the American consumer—who forms the main market for Latin American coffee, and who is also the individual who is going to have to pay for most of the cost of any stabilization agreement—what provisions were included to protect our consumers against unconscionable price increases, in case today's surpluses should conceivably turn into tomorrow's shortages. There are circumstances under which such a thing could happen, of course.

WHAT PROTECTION FOR CONSUMER AGAINST RUNAWAY PRICES?

Mr. Speaker, I think the correspondence is self-explanatory. We all remember during price control days in this country that while it was politically possible to put a floor under farm prices, it became almost impossible politically to put any effective price ceilings over them once circumstances drove these prices from far below parity to way above parity. I had that in mind when I addressed the following letter to the Secretary of State on September 13:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., September 13, 1962.*

The Honorable DEAN RUSK,
*Secretary of State,*
*State Department,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Ever since I raised an alarm over runaway coffee prices in the United States in 1954, setting off a Federal Trade Commission investigation which disclosed widespread evidence of speculative price excesses and futures trading irregularities, I have been attempting to keep in touch with developments in this field which might foreshadow possible gouging once again of the consumer. Just recently, I called the attention of the House, and of the housewives of the country, to a news report from Brazil implying that some frost damage to the new crop would, or might, result in higher coffee prices in the United States. I warned that any wholesale or retail price increases based on such a scare story would be utterly unjustified, in view of the tremendous stocks of coffee on hand.

My purpose in writing to you is to do two things: first, to assure you and your aids that my concern is directed primarily at unwarranted increases in coffee prices based on false reports and speculative excesses, rather than on any opposition on my part to any reasonable international program for stabilizing coffee prices at prices which are fair to both producers and consumers; and, secondly, to ask what safeguards are being written into the proposed international agreement which would serve to protect the American consumer in case crop controls and other measures should result in inordinately high prices to the American consumer.

We have long followed a policy in this country of encouraging reductions in farm production when prices are ruinously low, so I do not subscribe to the idea that any attempt to stabilize coffee prices for Latin American producers is necessarily a disservice to the American consumer, particularly if it should mean any substantial improvement in incomes and living conditions for the people of Latin America, and thus a reduction in the amount of aid we would have to give there.

On the other hand, it has been the sad experience of the American consumer in both World War II and Korean war days that after having gladly cooperated in building a floor under farm prices, the consumer was denied any effective ceiling over those same prices once inflation became virulent. I fear that if a stabilization program should be adopted for coffee, it would require our consumers to support the idea of a floor under coffee prices, but would give them no protection over excessive increases if unexpected circumstances should precipitate sharp increases in price.

Perhaps this matter has already received departmental consideration, and the necessary safeguards have been included in the draft agreement. If so, I would be glad to know about it. If not, I certainly trust some proviso is included to permit reasonable restraints on excessive price rises as well as on excessive price declines. Since we are the biggest customer-country involved in the negotiations, and since the American consumer will largely pay for the international stabilization program in terms of higher prices for coffee in the stores, I think our consumers are entitled to the kind of consideration I have outlined.

May I have your thinking on this.

Sincerely yours,
LEONOR K. (MRS. JOHN B.) SULLIVAN,
*Member of Congress,*
*Third District, Missouri.*

Mr. Speaker, I have now received a reply to this letter from Assistant Secretary Frederick G. Dutton outlining the provisions of the proposed new agreement which could possibly operate to protect the American consumer in case of sudden inflation in coffee prices.

I think this information will be highly useful to us in assessing the desirability of Senate approval of the agreement. If the safeguards here outlined do not appear strong enough, perhaps we can then take whatever steps might be necessary to assure adequate protection for the American consumer.

SAFEGUARD PROVISIONS IN PROPOSED AGREEMENT

I again want to make clear, as I have tried to do in all my past discussions of coffee prices, that I favor helping the coffeegrowers, particularly those on family sized acreage, to obtain a fair price for their product. A cup of coffee would taste bitter, indeed, if it represented starvation returns for the men and women who raise and gather the beans. But excessive speculative price increases in the commodity exchanges must also be prevented, and any runaway inflation in coffee prices, no matter how improbable such a thing might seem at the moment, is something our consumers must nevertheless be protected against.

Mr. Speaker, the State Department reply to me on this issue was as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, October 3, 1962.*

The Honorable LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I want to thank you for your letter of September 13, 1962, addressed to the Secretary, with regard to the new international coffee agreement which is now before governments for consideration. I am sorry that our reply is somewhat tardy; our workload in the closing days of this Congress has been exceptionally heavy.

At the beginning I want to say that the officials of this Department concerned with the coffee problem are sincerely appreciative of the constructive view you have taken in this matter. Accordingly they want me to assure you that they have been mindful throughout the long negotiations with foreign governments that our first duty is to protect the American consumer. The advisory committee appointed by the National Coffee Association to work with the State Department during the negotiation of the new coffee agreement has, of course, always maintained that the U.S. consumer must be protected in any coffee agreement. Toward this common objective we have managed to secure a number of provisions in the new agreement which should fully protect our interests.

Before describing these specific provisions, it is noteworthy that the tremendous stocks of coffee now held by Brazil and Colombia would seem adequate assurance that no substantial advance in green coffee prices could be sustained in the foreseeable future. Stocks are also building up in some African countries, and present productive capacity everywhere is in excess of any likely demand over the next 5 years. Thus the supply and demand situation as presently known argues against any marked increases in coffee prices.

The new international coffee agreement does not have any specific price objective in the sense that it will endeavor to maintain prices for the various kinds and qualities of coffee at certain cents-per-pound figures. It does provide that through the fixing of quotas, the members agree on the necessity of assuring that the general level of coffee prices does not decline below the general level of such prices in 1962. We consider this

price objective a realistic one in view of the burdensome stocks overhanging the market. In the light of the price trend it is also a reasonably modest one, as coffee prices have been declining steadily in recent years. During the first 8 months of 1962 the price of Brazilian coffee averaged about 34.3 cents a pound, compared with 36.6 cents in 1960 and 48.4 cents in 1958. The decline set in immediately after 1954, when you will remember the severe frost damage in Brazil resulted in prices averaging 78.7 cents per pound.

Consumer protection against any unwarranted price increases is assured by a number of specific provisions in the agreement. Probably the most important are the provisions relating to the establishment and adjustment of export quotas. Export quotas are intended to control the amount of coffee that may be made available to the market by the producing countries during a given period, and thus they directly influence the price. The agreement provides that all decisions on the establishment and adjustment of export quotas shall be taken by a distributed two-thirds majority vote, i.e., a concurrent two-thirds majority of the importers and exporters voting separately. As the United States has 400 votes this in effect gives us a veto power over decisions of the Council. We would to make the veto effective need only one other importing country voting with us. The number of votes held by it would be of no consequence as we alone have more than one-third, but it was felt desirable to provide that one country alone could not exercise a veto. We cannot conceive of any situation in which the United States advocated a veto where we could not persuade at least one other importer of the merit of our position.

In addition to the voting provisions of the Agreement with regard to export quotas, two other provisions are noteworthy, in that they specifically recognize the undesirability of marked changes in coffee prices for whatever reason, and provide for corrective action under voting procedures which are easier to attain than the standard procedure of a distributed two-thirds majority. These two provisions are quoted below for your information.

"(5) All members recognize that marked price rises or falls occurring within brief periods may unduly distort underlying trends in price, cause grave concern to both producers and consumers, and jeopardize the attainment of the objectives of the agreement. Accordingly, if such movements in general price levels occur within brief periods, members may request a meeting of the Council which, by distributed simple majority vote, may revise the total level of the quarterly export quotas in effect.

"(6) If the Council finds that a sharp and unusual increase or decrease in the general level of prices is due to artificial manipulation of the coffee market through agreements among importers or exporters or both, it shall then decide by a simple majority vote on what corrective measures should be applied to readjust the total level of the quarterly export quotas in effect."

In the unlikely event that unforeseeable circumstances might arise in the administration of the agreement which would operate against the interests of our consumers or our coffee trade, the United States could always withdraw from the agreement. It is provided that any government, after September 30, 1963, may withdraw by giving written notice, such withdrawal to be effective 90 days after notification. As the agreement would collapse without our participation, this possibility is the final assurance that our views on the operation of the agreement must be respected.

If I can be of any further assistance in furnishing information please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,
*Assistant Secretary.*

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## Tom C. Nokes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguished members of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Tom Nokes, is a resident of my congressional district.

Following a recent trip which he made to Europe, Mr. and Mrs. Nokes submitted a report to the association. I feel that this article is of sufficient interest to people outside the advertising field that they should have an opportunity to know his views.

The article follows:

Having participated in the first International Congress on Outdoor Advertising held July 11–15, 1960, at Toronto, Canada, and meeting so many representatives from 24 countries, it did not take much urging for my husband and I to accept an invitation from the officials of the Advertising Federation of America to accompany them on a visit to the advertising affiliations and practitioners in Western Europe from July 26 to August 17, 1962.

Mr. Nokes has been affiliated with the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World and the AFA since 1913, and was vice president of the AFA at one time when James Welch, of Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., New York, was president; Elon G. Borton, of LaSalle Extension University, Chicago, was chairman of the board of directors, and Earle Pearson was general manager.

Mr. Nokes has been a director of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America for 44 years; and was named the official representative of the USA Outdoor Organization for the conferences held in Europe.

The AFA party was made up of representatives of advertising agencies, advertisers, graphic arts, publishers, newspapers, direct mail, freelance artists, college instructors in advertising, and us, too, outdoor advertising exponents. A feature column writer for the New York Herald Tribune accompanied the U.S. delegation and sent daily cable stories back to his newspaper. One of his columns under date of August 23 gave Mr. Nokes credit for the story he got from a copy of the Advertisers Weekly of London which was given him by Mr. Nokes, who has been a subscriber to the British publication for many years. Naturally we posed as experts on outdoor advertising, and did help some to even promote a better appreciation of the medium among the men and women in the AFA party.

We traveled by chartered planes from New York City to Bergen, Norway, in and out of Berlin, and back home from Amsterdam. We also had two long train rides, but did most of our sightseeing by bus; thus getting to see the countryside and the cities and towns to better advantage. We visited Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, and Netherlands, and also had a brief visit in Ireland.

We were very well received everywhere. There were cocktail parties and luncheons, panel conferences, and meetings with media counterparts, entertainment, and shopping for the ladies. At Amsterdam there were 241 at the luncheon tendered our party. Mr. Nokes was one of the speakers at this affair, and was called upon after his presentation to answer many questions from the audience about American outdoor advertising displays and how they were handled by agencies, National Outdoor Advertising Bureau, Traffic Audit Bureau, etc.

Our trip with the AFA contingent was the third visit to Europe for us in 10 years, and we were able to note the great recovery in all the countries from the bombing and devastation of the last war. There were big changes for the better in even the past couple of years. Most of the rubble heaps have been cleared away, and in many places fine new buildings have been erected. The most notable building program is the erection of 4- to 10-story brick apartment buildings out on the edges of the crowded cities. Outdoor advertising structures are doing much to fill up the gaps in bombed areas not yet scheduled for rebuilding. It was interesting to note the poster panels as barricades along the sides of big cathedrals still undergoing repair work.

In nearly all of the cities there are so many narrow and winding streets with three- and four-story houses with no space between them, and small shops of all kinds in almost every building. The national and municipal regulations permit these shops to have point-of-purchase and identification signs over the fronts of the shops; and what an array of electric, plastic, and painted signs one can see down a block or two at one glimpse.

Large painted signs may be seen on the sides of buildings and houses with open spaces showing to the traveling public.

In some cities the electric displays on buildings along the principal streets give one the impression of a miniature Broadway, New York City.

Transit advertising is a big thing in most of the cities. Streetcars have advertisements inside and out, and some have signboards on the roofs. Railroad stations, have many signs of all kinds, as do subways.

In some cities we found signs, 18 by 32 inches and double faced, attached to the steel electric company and street railway poles along the main streets.

There is not much typical highway advertising as known in the United States. Roadside posters are used more in Italy, France, and Belgium, but little in Germany and Holland. On the ends of brick homes in small settlements along many highways there are poster displays, mostly of the 6- and 12-sheet size.

In the cities are to be found 1-, 2-, and 3-sheet posters displayed on tubular structures, kiosks, pillars, and small structures of various kinds at street corners.

There is no conformity in the sizes used. One-sheets are prevalent in Belgium, four-sheets in France, six-sheets in Italy, and eight-sheets in the Netherlands.

The standard 24-sheet poster used in the United States is rarely found in Europe. Coca-Cola is the biggest and sometimes the only user of the 24-sheet poster.

In fact the 24-sheet poster size is hardly suitable in most of Europe. Long-distance viewing justifies the use of it in America. But the density of population in Europe governs much. A standard size of 8 or 10 square meters is more likely in Europe as a standard size. The maximum size of posters in France is 16 meters and in Belgium 20 meters.

John Paver, former president of the National Outdoor Advertising Bureau, New York City, some time ago suggested that an international uniform proportion for posters rather than a standard size be established. This would mean that the same artwork could be used to fit different poster structures or space if they are in the same proportion. Of course, because of cultural variations and differences in response to advertising copy from country to country, it may be difficult to produce a design which can be used throughout the world. The smaller the country and the more densely populated it is, the more urgent the problem becomes. Adequate international mass communication is still badly needed. Coca-Cola and Esso have done much along this line in Europe.

The old saying is that a picture is worth 1,000 words. Poster art may yet be the universal medium with all the bilingual situations. Just think how that would help in Africa with 150,000 people speaking 200 different tongues and illiterate in many instances.

The European outdoor advertising operators generally marveled at the extent of the standardized poster displays in the United States, with 800 operators in 12,000 cities and towns, and how in 299 metropolitan areas, with a population of 125,373,000 and 43 million automobile registrations, a full showing of 7,259 regular and 4,741 illuminated panels cost $581,143 per month. For the balance of the country 14,030 regular panels and 582 illuminated panels cost $423,642 per month.

But one must remember that our State of Pennsylvania, with a population of 11 million in 45,045 square miles, is larger in area than Belgium, with 11,775 square miles and 9 million population; Denmark with 16,586 square miles and 4,500,000 people; and Holland, with 12,850 square miles and 11 million people.

And the United States, with 3,600,000 square miles and a population of 180 million, is much larger than 15 countries in all of Europe with 828,000 square miles and a population of 336 million population.

Russia embraces 7,877,598 square miles and a population of 208,826,000.

Great Britian, with 94,279 square miles of area and 51 million population, is exceeded in area by 9 of our States.

Five of our cities in the United States—New York, 8,500,000; Chicago, 3,600,000; Philadelphia, 2,100,000; Los Angeles, 2 million; and Detroit 1,800,300; compare favorably with London, 8,222,000; Paris, 6,500,000; Berlin, 3,900,000; Rome, 2,100,000; Milan, 1,350,000; Naples, 1,100,000; Brussels, 1,308,000; Hamburg, 1,760,000; Copenhagen, 768,000; Cologne, 718,000; Oslo, 455,000, and Stockholm, 1,110,000.

The United States has a density of 50.5 persons per square mile, while the Netherlands has 893 and Belgium, 769. Canada has only four persons per square mile.

The officials of the European Federation of Outdoor Advertising, which was organized in 1958, are planning to hold an international conference on outdoor advertising somewhere in Europe some time in 1964. The creation of the European Common Market may hasten the adoption of standard practices.

Local and national government regulation of outdoor advertising locations and signs, with various systems of zoning, licenses, permits and inspection fees, has become prevalent in Europe with the growth of the medium.

This was natural because with the great increases in population and the projection of hard-surfaced roads, traffic, especially that of the motor car, began to assume large volume. This naturally brought about considerations of highway beautification and landscaping. In certain court records the word "landscape" is judicially defined as follows: "A portion of land or territory which the eye can comprehend in a single view, including all the objects it contains." This concept is the antithesis of roadside beauty, which conveys the idea of extended areas along highways, and furnishes a basis for agitation in favor of highways without any objects of commercial utility.

In any consideration of highway beautification most of the objects that enter into the problem include barns and sheds, farm houses and outbuildings, country stores, road excavations and fills, inns, telephone and telegraph poles, school houses and playgrounds, churches and graveyards, devastated timber tracts, weeds and brush, blacksmith shops, junk yards, cattle yards, manufacturing establishments, coal tipples, and various industrial developments.

With the tremendous increase in travel over the highways, with its attendant demands for various services, there sprang up garages, filling stations, comfort rooms, refreshment stands, wayside inns and motels, roadhouses, barbecues, roadside markets, antique and curiosity shops, and littered picnic grounds. Then followed in short order hotels and restaurants, amusement resorts, camping grounds, suburban developments, utility poles and lines, airports, auto dumps, etc.

Just as outdoor advertising signs have been in existence from the earliest beginnings of the world, and have figured prominently in all ages, outdoor advertising in some form or other has followed the beaten paths and lines of communication, so that he who runs may read. Highways have never been without signs. We can go back for interesting facets of the stone age, bronze age, iron age, etc. The use of posters to communicate ideas goes so far back in history that it is unlikely that any researcher will ever be able to identify the first use of outdoor signs. American poster history really commenced with circus bills in 1870, but there have always been signs of different kinds, such as doctor plates, shop signs, poster displays, electric and neon displays, sky writing, etc., etc. Posters grew out of the early practice of posting announcements on the walls of the towns and settlements. This is still being done in Russia. In the ruins of Pompeii I have seen original signs. And it was 443 years ago that Martin Luther nailed to a church door his 95 theses, and thereby set the fuse for the Reformation.

Some folks in Europe criticize outdoor advertising signs for various reasons, just as they do in the United States, where they also find fault with yellow journalism, TV and radio commercials, direct mail efforts, etc. It has been found that many of the critics, aside from the real esthetes, object to signs principally because they can secure publicity by being quoted in competing media. They are not very articulate about auto junk yards, ramshackle buildings, cinder and coal refuse dumps, trash heaps, etc.

The officials of the European Federation of Outdoor Advertisers are also concerned about securing common regulatory standards for all countries in Europe. And the same may be said of American advertisers in the Common Market with all its different customs, habits, languages, and regulations in an area comparable to that between New York and Chicago in the States. And we were told in asides that American politicians did not have anything on those of the Europe nations.

The changes in European advertising brought about by American infiltration by various means are striking. Europeans are only just beginning to enjoy most of the consumer goods that Americans have known for years, such as autos, electric refrigerators, air conditioning, etc. And it is hard to tell European girls and women from American females by clothes, styles, hairdos, and manners. The many new and enlarged stores carry quite a variety of goods. Woolworth has a very fine one of its chainstores in West Berlin. Hotel accommodations are more alike now. The U.S. change in the duty free goods limit from $500 to $100 tended to put a brake on the previous heavy expenditures abroad by Americans. In 1961 U.S. tourists spent a billion dollars more abroad, which is equal to about half of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficits. In 1960 the United States ranked 23 out of 25 countries on the amount spent on travel promotion. Russia spent 20 times as much and Britain 50 times. During the first half of 1962 some 18 percent more was spent by the United States on press, radio, TV, and poster advertising of brand goods in Germany as against 26 percent in 1960 and 36 percent in 1961. The drop for 1962 was mostly in motor vehicle and oil advertising expenditures, while the increases were in confectionary, banks, building societies, insurance companies, and joint advertising campaigns.

With 14 different languages spoken in Western Europe social customs also vary dastically, resulting in separate and distinct markets. An international brand image will be required for most American goods. It is estimated that perhaps by 1970, with a total of 19 countries in the Europe sphere of influence with a population of 350 million, there will be a combined gross national product roughly comparable to that today in the United States.

Wages have gone up in Germany since 1958 about 34 percent, and the cost of living 8 percent. Hourly wages in 1960 went up 9.5 percent and in 1961 there was an additional 10.4 percent. The result is a squeeze on profits. France had a wage increase of 4.9 percent in 1960 and 2.3 percent in 1961. Last year wages went up in Sweden 9 percent, Denmark 13 percent, Finland 8 percent, and Norway 10 percent.

The European Common Market has a population of 169,585,000, the Soviet block 310,400,000, as against the United States 180,670,000.

American travel expenditures in Western Europe dropped sharply in 1961 to $509 million; about 9 percent less than in 1960. The present rate should provide about 1 million Americans in Europe for 1962. As against this visitors from Europe to the United States will be about 275,000, with expenditures of about $115 million.

The U.S. Department of Commerce is now promoting more travel from Europe. The Department asked Congress to appropriate $4 million for advertising. It looks as if about half that will be appropriated.

Tourists from Europe feel that 2- or 3-week trips to the United States, which are about all they can afford in most instances, cover too much territory in too little time. More time is spent on buses than sightseeing to different cities. Most miss getting to see California, Grand Canyon, Yellowstone Park, and Florida. Most Europeans are dissappointed with restaurant and hotel food. Italians are accustomed to big noontime meals with soup and spaghetti. Germans complain of too few kinds of potatoes, and too much French fries. They also complain about beer and wine not sold at turnpike restaurants. Lack of training in languages is cited as America's greatest obstacle to international hospitality. The American Hotel Association is circulating to 2,500 of its 6,500 members a new 75-page manual outlining a general plan of action for hotel men to follow in welcoming foreign tourists to America under the visit U.S.A. program.

The rate of currency exchange and the amount of money a visitor from Europe can take out of his country is also a factor. England is now restricting its residents to $125 that can be taken out of that country.

It is estimated that last year oversea customers paid $19.6 billion for U.S. pro-

duced consumer goods, industrial equipment, and raw materials, much of it sent to Europe. But of 300,000 U.S. companies only about 12,000 so far have ventured into this area of high potential. To enter the world marketplace, the prospective trader abroad must know intimately or have impeccable source for merchandising, financing, and distribution in overseas markets he wishes to enter. He must have complete information on import restrictions, duties, currency regulations, and the like, plus timely and accurate marketing information to help him penetrate overseas markets effectively.

The first principle of good public relations is to do a good job and then get credit for it. Many in Europe still consider the United States as imperialists, as champions of colonialism, whereas the United States was the original revolutionary colony.

The United States has given something like 79 billions to Europe since the war. Some of our beneficiaries already have leaned over into Russian sphere of influence. Much of the economy in Europe is also bolstered by the expenses paid by the American taxpayers for thousands of troops and military installations over there, and all kinds of peace missions, cultural aids, etc. It might not be prudent to venture the opinion also that the United States could well do with more qualified governmental representation in foreign service.

But much has changed since Europe reached its low point of desolation and hunger at the end of the war. One of the biggest changes has been its economic recovery to a point where the standard of living, for the common man if not for some of the former privileged classes, is higher than it has ever been. The abolition of customs barriers for the industrial and agriculture products of the various nations is a chief objective. If only Russia could be persuaded to play the game.

About 40 U.S. advertising agencies are now represented in Western Europe—triple the number 5 years ago. American agencies are attracted by the rapid buildup of U.S. manufacturers operations over there.

Among the leading agencies may be mentioned J. Walter Thompson; McCann Erickson International; Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn; Norman, Craig & Kummel; Doyle, Dane, Bernach; Kenyon & Eckhardt.

Most American agencies are opening branches, but the tieups with European agencies help most. An American agency usually has to incorporate under the laws of the country in which it wishes to operate, and it is advisable to have a local resident appear as the executive in charge. However, the merger and absorption route of agencies in Europe is about over. Working arrangements with U.S. agencies is coming to pass for the local agencies. For some time an agency in France handling American accounts could not place them in neighboring countries.

The differences in language, custom, and law raises problems for American agencies as the European market will remain for the foreseeable future a conglomeration of countries, each in a different state of economic and cultural evolution, separated by language, history, tradition, and laws, with different ways and standards of living, as well as buying habits and motivation.

From 1960 over 700 American firms have participated in 1,200 new oversea ventures including new business, expansions, and license agreements. Some of the big American firms promoting production in Europe include Du Pont, General Electric, General Motors, Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, Esso, Colgate, Palmolive, Procter & Gamble, among the leaders. You find Vicks cough drops in bilingual packages, Ritz crackers in France and Italy, cosmetics, razors, etc.

Dr. Marshall Goldman, a Wellesley College economics professor, an associate at Harvard's Russian research center, and the author of the forthcoming book "Soviet Marketing-Distribution in a Controlled Economy," says that Soviet enterprises will spend up to $40 million for advertising this year. There are now 30 to 40 advertising agencies in the U.S.S.R. The Ministry of Trade has set up an agency. In 1961 some schools began to offer special courses in advertising.

In Bergen, Norway, with a population of 115,000, there are five newspapers representing five political parties. Wages in Norway rose 10 percent last year.

In Oslo, Norway, Henning Koefoed, advertising manager of Aftenposten, the largest newspaper in Norway, said his country was divided about the Common Market. For 26 years Norway has had but one political party favoring a planned economy. There are no TV or radio commercials in Norway. Hard liquor is taboo on weekends for drivers, and 0.5 of alcohol in the blood means jail for 3 weeks. Both in Norway and Sweden 6 years of English schooling is required. A state-subsidized company shows movies in about 1,000 rural communities—operating 45 vans and 6 boats.

Sweden is still pushing social welfare programs, and the costs this year are about 9 percent over 1961. To finance these programs the Government is levying a sales tax on consumers—not hitting the businessman. The corporation tax rate has been cut from 50 to 40 percent, and the top individual tax rate from 80 to 65 percent. Depreciation schedules are lower. Wages are up 10 percent.

Several Americans headed by Robert F. Stockholm, has just been installed in a fine new building. Each reporter has his own private office with a little receptacle outside the door where he puts his copy to be picked up for the desk of the copy editor. Nyheter is Sweden's largest paper. AB Svenska Telegrambyran is the largest agency in Sweden with a billing of $12 million. It has many U.S. accounts.

Several Americans headed by Robert T. Thompson, of Texas, have tried to overcome Sweden's ban on radio and TV commercials by establishing a small ship off Stockholm, outside the 3-mile limit, to broadcast news, music, and weather reports. Their signal reaches 200 miles, and the time cost is $60 for a 15-second spot commercial. Two other ships followed suit, one south of Stockholm, and one off Denmark. When we left the country a law was passed effective August 1 prohibiting Swedish firms from providing supplies of any kind to the ships or producing programs, commercials or any other material for them. This American venture forced the Swedish monopoly radio to use the same type of program. At our hotel dining room we saw a TV broadcast of the Perry Mason program. The actors spoke in English, but for the benefit of those who did not understand the language, the gist of the dialogue was carried in the Swedish language in white letters across the screen.

Denmark has no commercial TV. In Copenhagen the movies run a number of commercials before the show starts. It was interesting to note that Copenhagen has the oldest stock exchange in the world. Wages in Denmark rose about 13 percent last year.

At Hamburg, Germany, the local advertising association has established a daily advertising course for advertising people. Graduates are permitted to carry certain initials after their names to indicate that they are experienced in adverising. The Germans pay tax for TV, and the TV commercials are for only 15 minutes spaced out over three periods a day. There is a big backlog waiting to get on the air. German advertising volume has reached $1 billion a year. Hamburg, the seaport of Germany, has made a most remarkable recovery from the war damages. There are 170,000 foreigners working in Hamburg, most of them from Italy, Spain, and Greece. The average income in Hamburg is 720 marks a month ($180). The average for West Germany is 600 marks.

Cologne, Germany, has made a remarkable recovery from the war damages, and is a bustling community. The traffic on the River Rhine is greater than ever.

In West Germany with TV advertising limited to a 45-minute stretch of consecutive commercials every evening, time must be booked about a year in advance, and advertisers are not allowed to specify the dates their commercials run.

Radio Free Europe, broadcasting from Munich, has 28 transmitters broadcasting 2700 hours a week to the people in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. The Soviet jams these broadcasts at times.

A variety of national and local governing regulations govern advertising practice in West Germany. For instance, superlatives such as "best" or "greatest" are forbidden in ads, as are comparisons with competing products. In Italy cigarettes cannot be advertised. Market research, so dear to the hearts of American ad men, is a relatively undeveloped art in Europe. United States agencies usually receive a standard commission of 15 percent, but there are no fixed rates in Europe. Down in Italy a commission of as little as 3 percent is not unusual.

West Berlin is a bustling community. East Berlin is another story. The situation in Berlin is really aggravating, as the result of the Russian tactics. It is pathetic to note the conditions brought about by the brick and concrete dividing walls, barbed wire entanglements, blocked out windows of the homes and buildings along the dividing lines. Where hundreds of people are seen on one or two blocks in West Berlin only a dozen or so are seen in East Berlin. The latter are sad looking, and do not wish to converse with you—at least with our party that got into the Russian sector for an hour or so, after a thorough examination at the exchange gate.

Since 1950 the number of employed persons in West Germany has been increased by over 6 million, or 49 percent. Great numbers of imported labor is from Italy. More than 10 million refugees poured into West Germany in the postwar period, expanding the population by 30 percent, thus providing a supply of cheap labor.

Of course some of the economic miracle in Western Europe is commencing to wear off. Germany still remains a dynamic country, but the shortage of labor is commencing to place the trade unions in the driver's seat. Lately stock averages have fallen off. German bank and insurance company stocks are off now, in many cases by 50 percent. Volkswagen, which shot up from its original stock issue price of 350 marks to over 1,000 marks, is now quoted down around 500 marks. Germany does seem to be in for a slower growth rate, perhaps 4 or 5 percent a year, instead of 7 to 10 percent which was common during the 1950's. The miracle may be over, it is said, but its achievements remain a solid base for future advances. And Germany along with other European countries can still ship products to the United States under the price of production in the United States of America. We had a good case in point right here in our hometown of Johnstown, a steel center. Our company could not secure new steel beams from the company that turns them out in this community, but it did secure new beams just arrived from Germany for $4 per ton less. Nails are manufactured in Johnstown by the train load, but Norway nails can be purchased at a lower price.

Belgium is a thriving country for all its troubles. French and Flemish appear in the same advertisement, as the country is split between folks speaking these two languages. And one must not refer to the Dutch. The unions are very strong now in Belgium. There are about 15 outdoor advertising concerns operating in Belgium out of Brussels. The poster art work and bright color certainly stand out.

The Netherlands may be a good test market for those wishing to break into Europe, as the land known as Holland is well to do, compact and is at the confluence of the three dominating European cultures—Anglo-Saxon, French, and German.

Belgium, Holland, and France do not have commercial TV or radio.

Amsterdam is fast becoming the port of entry for airplane flights from the United States.

But Holland is still overpopulated. Ten years ago the country sent 20,000 of its people to Brazil. This year over 120,000 are being sent to Australia and New Zealand.

But the differences in language, customs, and laws raise problems for U.S. agencies as the European market will no doubt remain for the forseeable future a conglomeration of countries, each in a different state of economic and cultural evolution, separated by language, history, traditions, and laws, with different ways and standards of living, as well as buying habits and motivation. Media practices vary from country to country, but the steady influx of American industry and advertising sales promotion promise to do much to remove many barriers. About 50 advertising men from Holland are coming to New York City on October 23 to spend about 15 days observing American advertising in action. The New York Advertising Club, the Advertising Federation of America, Time, Inc., Reader's Digest, NBC, Point of Purchase Institute, are planning to entertain them.

## Lumber Imports and the Trade Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on October 11 I commented in the Senate concerning a matter of vital importance to the lumber industry of the State of Oregon. During the course of my comments I inserted in the RECORD a copy of my letter of October 10 addressed to Chairman Dorfman, of the U.S. Tariff Commission.

Mr. Dorfman has replied to my letter of October 10, and has included his comments with respect to my remarks of October 11. In order that the record may be made complete on this matter, I ask unanimous consent that there be inserted at this point in the RECORD the following items: First, Mr. Dorfman's letter addressed to me; and, second, Mr. Dorfman's opening statement at the hearing on softwood lumber, October 2, 1962.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION,
*Washington, D.C.*

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,
*U.S. Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have your letter of October 10, 1962, concerning the current Tariff Commission investigation with respect to softwood lumber.

You refer to my opening statement at the hearing held in connection with the investigation, which statement you interpret as indicating that I consider the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to vary from the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 as concerns escape clause procedure.

My opening statement pointed out that if the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 should become law before the completion of the investigation (as it did), the investigation would be completed on the basis of the provisions of section 301(b) thereof, rather than on the basis of section 7 of the previous law, under which the investigation was initiated. The President signed the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 on October 11.

I do consider that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 varies from the previous law in regard to escape clause procedure. As you well know there are numerous differences between the language of section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 and that of the escape clause provisions of the new act as set forth in section 301(b). It was entirely appropriate therefore to have called to the attention of the interested parties the differences in language.

You refer particularly to the colloquy between Senator HARRY F. BYRD, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and yourself when the Trade Act was debated on the floor of the Senate on September 18, 1962. You quote your question to Senator BYRD, "Is it intended that the Tariff Commission shall consider all relevant economic evidence of injury to a domestic industry in an escape clause case?" And you state merely that the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee answered in the affirmative. According to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (Sept. 18, 1962, p. 18677), however, Senator BYRD replied to you as follows: "In answer to the question of the distinguished Senator from Oregon the Senator from Virginia states that certainly the factors enumerated by the Senator from Oregon are relevant factors and I should think that the Tariff Commission would take them into consideration along with others that may be pertinent."

Section 301(b)(2) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 provides that "the Tariff Commission shall take into account all economic factors which it considers relevant, including idling of productive facilities, inability to operate at a level of reasonable profit, and unemployment or underemployment." I interpret Senator BYRD's reply to your question as recognizing that the bill left to the Tariff Commission the determination of what economic factors—in addition to those specifically mentioned—are to be considered relevant.

You observe further that my statement "the escape clause provisions of the two acts differ also with respect to the description of the injury criteria that the Tariff Commission is to take into account," differs from the legislative intent. I respectfully submit that the quoted statement does not purport to indicate anything of the kind. My statement merely notes the obvious fact that the provisions of the two trade acts differ with respect to the description of injury criteria.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 11, 1962, there is reported your statement on the Senate floor on the subject of your letter to me (to which this letter is a response). The RECORD carries a reproduction of your letter, in which you quote from my opening statement at the hearing. Your remarks indicate that you may not have had a copy of my complete statement; otherwise you would not have stated that in opening the hearing on softwood lumber I "interpreted the laws with respect to the hearing and the potential Commission findings." As I pointed out above, my statement was merely a recital of the differences in the language of section 7 of the 1951 law and section 301(b) of the new act.

You quote the following from my opening statement as being in explanation of my "interpretation of the escape clause provisions" of the new bill:

"The escape clause provisions of the two acts differ also with respect to the description of the injury criteria that the Tariff Commission is to take into account. The Trade Expansion Act omits reference to any of the injury factors specifically enumerated in section 7."

I would point out that the foregoing quotation consists of selected portions of a paragraph in my opening statement, with no indications that any excisions were made from it. The full paragraph from which your extract was taken reads, as follows:

"The escape-clause provisions of the two acts differ also with respect to the description of the injury criteria that the Tariff Commission is to take into account. Section 7 specifically enumerates certain factors which the Commission is to consider 'without excluding other factors.' The Trade Expansion Act omits reference to any of the injury factors specifically enumerated in section 7 but provides that the Commission is to 'take into account all economic factors which it considers relevant, including idling of productive facilities, inability to operate at a level of reasonable profit, and unemployment or underemployment.'"

This statement, inclusive of the passages that you omitted, is not an explanation of any "interpretation." It is merely an observation of fact of which interested parties at the hearings were certainly entitled to be apprised.

You are no doubt aware of the general rule of statutory construction to the effect that a change in language implies a change of intent. The Commission will necessarily have to consider carefully the significance of the changes in language referred to in my opening statement. In so doing the Commission will have the advice of its own legal counsel who will carefully examine all the pertinent legislative history of the new act. Moreover, as I indicated in my opening statement, counsel for interested parties will have opportunity to express their views in briefs with regard to the significance of the changes in the law insofar as these might be pertinent to the investigation in question. I do not believe that there is any valid basis for interpreting my opening statement as suggesting that the changes in the law "will make a substantial difference in the present proceeding." Precisely what difference it will make is a matter that will be determined by the Commission in due course.

Since you inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD your letter to me and a portion of my statement delivered at the opening of the lumber hearing, I respectfully request you to have published in the RECORD of this session of Congress my statement in full (a copy of which is attached), as well as this reply to your letter.

I fully appreciate the deep interest that you have in the outcome of the Commission's softwood lumber investigation. You may be sure that the softwood lumber industry has been and will continue to be given every reasonable opportunity to establish its just

claims within the scope and intent of the law.

Sincerely yours,

BEN DORFMAN, *Chairman.*

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OPENING STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN AT HEARING ON SOFTWOOD LUMBER, OCTOBER 2, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will please come to order.

This hearing is being held in connection with investigation No. 7–116 instituted by the Tariff Commission on July 26, 1962, under the authority of section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, with respect to softwood lumber. Imports of such lumber are provided for in paragraph 401 or 1803(1) of the Tariff Act of 1930, or in section 4551 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended. These provisions correspond to items 202.03–.31, 202.45–.50, 202.52, or 202.63 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States, the adoption of which is provided for in Public Law 87–456, approved May 24, 1962.

The purpose of the investigation, including this hearing, is to obtain information to enable the Tariff Commission to determine whether sufficient reason exists for recommendation to the President that the escape clause of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade be invoked with respect to the concessions contained therein on the aforementioned lumber. The facts relevant to such a determination are those bearing on the following question: Is softwood lumber, as a result, in whole or in part, of the customs treatment reflecting the concessions granted thereon under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, being imported into the United States in such increased quantities, either actual or relative to domestic production, as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industry producing like products?

This hearing was ordered on July 26, 1962, and reasonable public notice thereof has been given. Interested parties who have entered an appearance in accordance with the Commission's rules are being given an opportunity at this hearing to produce evidence and to be heard with respect to the subject matter of the investigation.

As all the interested parties present at this hearing must be aware, Congress now has before it the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (H.R. 11970). This act is expected to become law in the very near future, possibly sometime during the course of this hearing. Section 257(e)(3) of that act provides, as follows:

"Any investigation by the Tariff Commission under section 7 of such act which is in progress on the date of the enactment of this act shall be continued under section 301 as if the application by the interested party were a petition under such section for tariff adjustment under section 351. For purposes of section 301(f), such petition shall be treated as having been filed on the date of the enactment of this act."

There is, therefore, every indication that this investigation will be completed under the new law and that the Commission's findings will be made on the basis of the provisions of section 301(b) thereof.

Section 301(b) contains the escape-clause provisions of the new act which are patterned in large measure after the provisions of section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951. There are, however, several points of difference to which I call your attention.

Under section 7 the Tariff Commission is required to determine whether increased imports causing or threatening serious injury to a domestic industry result "in whole or in part" from "the duty or other customs treatment reflecting" a trade agreement concession. Under section 301(b) of the Trade Expansion Act the Commission must determine whether the increased imports causing or threatening serious injury result "in major part" from "concessions granted under trade agreements."

Another difference between the escape-clause provisions of section 7 and those of the Trade Expansion Act is that section 7 refers to imports in increased quantities "either actual or relative"; that is, either absolutely or relative to domestic production, while the Trade Expansion Act refers to imports in increased quantities without the qualification "either actual or relative."

The escape-clause provisions of the two acts differ also with respect to the description of the injury criteria that the Tariff Commission is to take into account. Section 7 specifically enumerates certain factors which the Commission is to consider "without excluding other factors." The Trade Expansion Act omits reference to any of the injury factors specifically enumerated in section 7 but provides that the Commission is to "take into account all economic factors which it considers relevant, including idling of productive facilities, inability to operate at a level of reasonable profit, and unemployment or underemployment."

Another difference is that no counterpart of the so-called fragmentation provision, contained in subsection (e) of section 7, is included in the Trade Expansion Act. The fragmentation provision defines the term "domestic industry producing the like or directly competitive products" as meaning "that portion or subdivision of the producing organizations manufacturing, assembling, processing, extracting, growing, or otherwise producing like or directly competitive products * * * in commercial quantities. In applying the preceding sentence, the Commission shall (so far as practicable) distinguish or separate the operations of the producing organizations involving the like or directly competitive products * * * referred to in such sentence from the operations of such organizations involving other products or articles."

Lastly, I should mention the provision in section 7 which reads:

"Increased imports, either actual or relative, shall be considered as the cause or threat of serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive products when the Commission finds that such increased imports have contributed substantially toward causing or threatening serious injury to such industry."

The corresponding provision in the Trade Expansion Act (sec. 301(b)(3)) reads: "* * * increased imports shall be considered to cause, or threaten to cause, serious injury to the domestic industry concerned when the Tariff Commission finds that such increased imports have been the major factor in causing, or threatening to cause, such injury."

In the interest of the expeditious handling of this case, it is suggested that, to the extent possible, all persons giving testimony at this hearing present it in the light of the provisions of both section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 and section 301(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. If this is done, the necessity of another hearing may possibly be avoided. This procedure should not impose undue hardship, since witnesses would no doubt wish to present much the same information under the provisions of section 301(b) as they would under section 7. If enactment of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 occurs while this hearing is in progress, the hearing will be continued under the new law. Should enactment of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 occur during or after the close of this hearing, notice of opportunity to request an additional hearing will be given. Persons giving testimony at this hearing would in any circumstance be permitted to supplement their presentation in writing within 30 days after the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 becomes law. Any such supplementary information in written form that they present on the basis of the provisions of that act will be made part of the records of this investigation. Parties desiring to present views on questions of law may include them in their briefs or in supplemental briefs for which adequate filing time will be allowed.

It should be understood that the proceeding of which this hearing is a part is investigative rather than adversary in character. As each witness is called he will please identify himself, and after being sworn in by the Secretary of the Commission he will proceed with his statement without interruption, except by members of the Commission. After a witness has completed his statement, other interested parties or representatives of such interested parties desiring to interrogate the witness will be permitted to do so upon request. Such interrogation will be permitted, however, solely to assist the Commission in obtaining the material facts with respect to the subject matter of the investigation. Witnesses are requested to be as brief as possible, and the introduction of extraneous matters should be avoided by all parties concerned. Needless prolongation of this hearing will be avoided if repetition of substantially similar testimony of different witnesses is held to a minimum.

When it is desired to submit written information in confidence, it should be identified and offered as such.

Copies of the stenographic record of this hearing may be purchased from the official reporters, Ward & Paul, 917 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

In order to keep the air in this hearing room as fresh as possible, it is requested that there be no smoking in the room while the hearing is in progress.

The hearing is now open. The secretary will please call the first witness.

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## Judge Morgan M. Moulder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, one of the compensations for service in the House is the opportunity for association with many exceptional men.

One of these is Judge MORGAN M. MOULDER, of Missouri, who, after a service of 14 years, announced early in the session his intention to retire from the House at the close of this Congress and return to his first love, the practice of the law.

Judge MOULDER came to the House a successful and seasoned lawyer. Few men in the State have attained the eminence as a practitioner and jurist which he occupied, and the wide esteem in which he was held throughout the State, at the time he came to Washington as a Member of the 81st Congress.

On this account it was not necessary for him to pass through the customary probationary period which awaits the new Congressman but he was admitted at once to the inner circle and was from the beginning one of the most popular

and most influential men in the Missouri delegation and on the floor.

His sound judgment, his knowledge of the law, and his judicial temperament and experience have been invaluable factors in the solution of many vital national problems in these last critical years.

His retirement is a loss to the House and to the Nation.

But he is entitled to the best years of his life in the forum which he enjoys most. He retires in the prime of life and at the zenith of his legislative career and has before him many years of service at the bar. With his experience in the making of law he is all the more competent and capable in the interpretation of the law and I predict for him even greater eminence and success in the future than in the past.

We hope to see him back in Washington frequently for counsel and advice. And, in the meantime, we wish for him good luck and Godspeed.

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## The 60th Anniversary of St. Stephen's Slovak Catholic Parish and the Newark Slovaks

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the Slovak Catholic Parish of St. Stephen of Newark observed its 60th anniversary on Sunday, September 23, 1962, with a solemn Mass of thanksgiving and a banquet.

The Slovaks have lived in Newark for the past eight decades. They have raised large families and their children have multiplied into an important, proud, patriotic segment of our population. They have distinguished themselves in all branches of our Armed Forces; they occupy positions of importance in religious, civic, as well as the industrial and commercial world.

Mr. John C. Sciranka, well-known American Slovak journalist and editor of the Slovak Catholic Sokol, Passaic, N.J., prepared the following historical article on the occasion of the anniversary. I take this opportunity to felicitate the pastor, Rev. George C. Senderak, and all his parishioners on this memorable milestone, and to introduce to you this article which tells the glorious history of this group of fine, decent, American citizens:

THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF ST. STEPHEN'S SLOVAK CATHOLIC PARISH AND THE NEWARK SLOVAKS

(By John C. Sciranka)

On Sunday, September 23, 1962, when the Slovak Roman Catholic Parish of St. Stephen the Proto-Martyr, located at 225 Bruce Street, Newark, N.J., will observe the 60th anniversary of the dedication of its church, it is fitting to review the history of Newark Slovaks who have settled in this the largest city of New Jersey some four score years ago.

The anniversary celebration will commence with a solemn Mass of thanksgiving to be celebrated by its present pastor, Rev. George C Senderak, who will be assisted by the Reverend Dr. Clement A. Ockay, professor at Seton Hall University as deacon; Rev. Michael Simko, former administrator will be subdeacon, and the Reverend Francis Reiboldt, master of ceremonies. His Excellency the Most Reverend Thomas A. Boland, archbishop of the Newark Archdiocese, will preside. The Very Reverend Monsignor Joseph Costello, vice chancellor, will be master of ceremonies. The Right Reverend Monsignor Andrew J. Romanak, P.A., first American of Slovak descent to be elevated to the dignity of protonotary apostolic in the eastern States will preach on this solemn occasion. Monsignor Romanak is the illustrious son, who was born in Newark on November 30, 1896. He recalls that his mother, Miss Mary Hudak, came to America from Slovakia in 1883 and his father, John Romanak, in 1885. They were married in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church, New York City, in 1885 and settled in Newark, N.J. This proves that the Slovaks lived in Newark then, although in a small number.

The records show that the first Slovak Society "Národná Slovenská Dobrocinnost" (National Slovak Charity) was organized here on July 7, 1890, and on November 16, 1890, admitted as assembly 23 of the National Slovak Society with 23 members. The first meeting was held in the home of Stephen Salasovic, 91 Springfield Avenue. Their first amateur Slovak play "Pater Peter" was given on November 2, 1890. The following were its first officers: Ferdinand Mascuch, president; Frank Dzadzan, vice president; Joseph Martinka, recording secretary; Stephen Salasovic, financial secretary; John Hurej, treasurer; John Richter, auditor; John Tkach, marshal; John Varga, sergeant at arms; John Argalas, Max Martinka, and Ladislaus Jennik, financial committee.

But it was the St. John the Baptist Slovak Catholic Society, founded on April 12, 1891, which gave the impetus to the founding of St. Stephen's parish. This society became branch 58 of the First Catholic Slovak Union of the U.S.A. and Canada and was the first to donate $500 for the new parish.

The Slovak Catholics, although in greater number than the Slovak Lutherans, since over 85 percent of the population of Slovakia is still Catholic, founded their parish in Newark much later than their Lutheran countrymen. This, however, encouraged them to establish and build their own church. In passing we wish to establish the fact that the Slovak Lutheran Church of Holy Trinity was founded in Newark, N.J., on June 3, 1893. Its pastor for over 40 years was the well known fraternalist, Rev. Ludevit Novomesky, who is closely associated with the history of the first Slovak organization in America, the National Slovak Society. Reverend Novomesky labored in Newark for over 40 years. His wife, Mrs. Pauline Novomesky, was a well known leader among women and was the supreme president of Zivena (Goddess of Life), oldest Slovak women's organization in America, founded in 1891. Reverend Novomesky was assisted for some 15 years in his parish by Rev. Dr. Gustave Cernansky. The present pastor is Rev. Paul Baranek, a native of downtown New York.

The Slovak Lutherans formed about 33 years ago another parish "Sion," of which Rev. William Hinlicky is present pastor.

The Greek Catholics of Byzantine rite also formed their parish of St. George close to a half century ago.

FIRST PARISH MEETING

But the Slovak Catholics started their organization work on May 6, 1900. John Merjavi, temporary treasurer, presided. It was decided to establish the Parish Society of St. John the Baptist. The following first officers were elected: Joseph Shefcik, president; George Zbojan, vice president; Albert Suchy, financial secretary; Frank Belanovich, recording secretary; and John Alexovic, treasurer.

According to Gabriel Lantos, zealous worker of the parish, who compiled the data for the Slovak Souvenir Journal on this 60th anniversary, their first collection amounted to $9.75 and the expenses were $10.63. But they had faith, hope, and charity and elected a committee to seek a place of worship and a possible building, which they could purchase for a church.

The committee consisted of the following pioneers: I. Kriger, Stephen Zeleny, Jr., John Hurej, M. Dancak, Mr. Druzbacki, and Andrew Havran.

On the second meeting, May 20, 1900, it was decided to send a committee to the Most Reverend Winand Wigger, D.D., then the bishop of Newark, for his counsel and permission: J. Skurkaj, J. Merjavi, John Alexovic, and M. Dancak called on the bishop, who soon after came personally to their third meeting to encourage them in their work and give them necessary assistance. They have formally petitioned the bishop to give them permission and blessing for their work, which he granted with fatherly counsel and encouragement. However, the bishop advised them that inasmuch as there was already another St. John the Baptist parish in the city of Newark, that they choose another patron saint. Some have suggested SS. Cyril and Methodius. But the majority selected St. Stephen, Proto-Martyr. They continued in their work and on July 1, 1900, the bylaws of the parish sent to them by Bishop Wigger were read and translated into the Slovak language. The parish was incorporated and Ferdinand Mascuch and Albert Suchy were elected first lay trustees.

MRS. FRANK BELANOVICH, FIRST WOMAN WORKER

Mr. Lantos relates that according to the minutes of the eighth meeting, held on September 2, 1900, the name of a first woman parishioner was prominently mentioned. She was Mrs. Frank Belanovich, who has raised the largest sum of money for the parish, excelling all the men collectors, for which she received praise and the men voted to present her with a gift.

FIRST TEMPORARY PASTOR AND SUCCEEDING PASTORS

It was only at the 14th meeting, held on February 3, 1901, that the name of Father Shodek, first temporary pastor, was mentioned. Here it was decided that they hold masses Sunday and holy days in the St. Mary's (German parish hall). Monsignor Romanak recalls that as a boy he attended masses with his parents at the St. Mary's Hall, and Father Policarp, a German priest, who spoke Slavonic languages, is remembered as the first benefactor and patron of the Slovaks. The first mass was celebrated there on Sunday, February 10, 1901. But several meetings later Rev. Emmanuel Zdenek is mentioned as a priest who also served the new parish. He remained with the young parish and was given a vote of confidence and full support at several meetings.

The records show that Father Julius Szabo served the parish from January 5, 1902. It was during his pastorate that lots were bought on Bruce Street and the final incorporation of the parish completed. On June 1, 1902, it was announced that the financial arrangements were completed to erect a new church in the sum of $30,000. But Father Szabo left the parish, and Father Paul Viragh was administrator for a brief period. The blessing of a cornerstone was a great event. But even greater was the blessing of a new church. The new pastor, Father Joseph Pospech, a well-known Slovak, be-

came pastor on November 3, 1902, and in a brief time completed the building of a church for a dedication celebration on Sunday, December 14, 1902. Most Rev. John J. O'Connor, new bishop of the Newark diocese, blessed the edifice with a large attendance of Slovak priests. Rev. Matthew Jankola, from Hazleton, Pa., founder of the Slovak religious congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, and Rev. John Stas, well-known writer and organizer of Slovak youth from Olyphant, Pa., attended the blessing ceremonies, which caused great joy among the Slovaks.

After the departure of Father Pospech, Father Charles Weisser assumed pastorate on January 14, 1906, and remained with the parish until his death on November 12, 1920.

After his death, Father F. Denes, Father William Biskorovany, later of Guttenberg, N.J., and Father John Miklus were administrators of the parish.

On December 19, 1920, Father Anton Gracik, well-known linguist, became pastor. Father Gracik was editor of the Good Shepherd, official organ of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America, and was the Federation's representative to Slovakia after World War I, to aid the persecuted priests. He was also the president of the Slovak Catholic Federation a half century ago. He also published Ave Maria, a Slovak religious monthly, after the death of Rev. Gaspar J. Panik.

During his pastorate the parish was visited by four bishops of Slovakia in 1926, namely, Marian Blaha, Jan Vojtassak, Paul Jantausch, and Joseph Carsky, and also the well-known champion of Slovak freedom, Msgr. Andrew Hlinka. It is to be noted that Bishop Vojtassak, now imprisoned by the Communists, was a schoolmate of Father Gracik, and Bishop Jantausch's brother lived in Newark, where his family still resides. It is to be also noted that Gen. Milan R. Stefanik, well-known Slovak scientist and liberator, also visited Newark on two occasions, for his brother resided here.

Father Gracik retired in 1955 and died near Allentown, Pa., on October 6, 1956.

After his death Father John F. Pagash was named pastor, but he served only a brief period of time. Father Clement A. Ockay, dean of studies at Seton Hall University, and Father Michael S. Simko served as administrators until May 1960, when Archbishop Boland appointed Father Senderak as pastor.

The following priests served as curates of St. Stephen's Parish: Rev. John F. Pagach, Rev. Michael E. Komar, Rev. Michael A. Hudak, Rev. Thomas A. Onacilla, Rev. Michael S. Simko, and Rev. George Senderak.

The present pastor, Father Senderak is a native of Bridgeport, Conn. He was ordained to the priesthood by the late Archbishop Thomas Walsh on May 5, 1945. He served as curate at St. Catherine's Parish, Hillside, N.J.; St. Joseph's, Bayonne, N.J., when the late Msgr. Andrew L. Adzima was pastor; then for 7½ years as assistant to Father Gracik in Newark and 4 years as assistant to the late Msgr. Emery A. Haitinger, and after his death, administrator of St. Joseph's Parish in Elizabeth, N.J. He also teaches at the Seton Hall University.

The parish has many church and fraternal societies. The society of St. Ann, branch 254 of the First Catholic Slovak Union, was founded in October 1906. The Leaf 31, of the First Slovak Wreath of the Free Eagle in 1907.

Assembly 76, Society of St. George, Slovak Catholic Sokol, was founded on October 10, 1910, and Wreath 37 on February 1, 1912. The Newark Slovak Catholic Sokols gave the organization its third supreme president, the late Gustave Kosik, and Mrs. M. Kardos Skiba was supreme vice president.

The Newark Slovaks also have the National Sokol Hall on Morris Avenue, and many fraternal societies of various national organizations and smaller congregations.

In 1904 Father Pospech organized the educational circle of SS. Cyrill and Methodius which gave many Slovak plays. In 1917 assembly 330 of the Slovak League of America was organized and 2 years later the chapter of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America was founded.

On October 8, 1924, the National Council of Catholic Women, known as the Society of St. Theresa, was founded. Also the Holy Name Society. This society took part for the first time in the Holy Name parade way back in 1912.

Also, Catholic War Veterans, St. Stephen's Memorial Post No. 1541 and its ladies auxiliary, and other societies. PFC. Joseph J. Horavath, Post 8624, Veterans of Foreign Wars, has its headquarters in the Sokol Hall.

In conclusion, the name of the late Peter Baran and his two sons, Vladimir Peter and Milan, deserve mention, for they excelled as manufacturers of the worldwide alligator leather. The factory is maintained by his daughter, Mrs. Olga Baran Clancy.

John J. Mascuch, president of Breeze Corp. and Victory Engineering Co., at Union, N.J., is the son of the late Ferdinand Mascuch, first parish lay trustee and first president of the first Slovak Society in Newark.

Last, but not least, William Stibravy, the parish son, whose parents reside here, should be mentioned. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Stibravy were married at St. Stephen's on November 5, 1911, and celebrated last year their golden jubilee. Mr. William Stibravy is a career diplomat, associated with the U.S. Department of State for over 15 years, who was delegated to represent our Government on many important missions to various countries and to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

There are many other sons and daughters of the parish, who have made good in various professions and who look upon St. Stephen's with pride and will join the parishioners and friends in celebrating this 60th anniversary at a banquet after solemn Mass and wish it continued success, in which we join them with the proverbial: Ad multos annos.

## The Greater Erie, Pa., Chamber of Commerce Goes on Record as Favoring the Proposed Merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, at a special meeting of the board of directors of the Greater Erie Chamber of Commerce on August 6, 1962, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Michael Devorris, seconded by Mr. Louis Wengert, and unanimously approved by the directors present:

Whereas the Greater Erie Chamber of Commerce is vitally interested in improving the economic advantages of the Erie area; and

Whereas the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads will be advantageous to the Erie area by providing improved passenger and freight service as well as an increased volume of business in and passing through Erie: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Greater Erie Chamber of Commerce go on record as being in favor of the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads.

## Summary of the Record and Accomplishments of the Committee on Ways and Means During the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the legislative record of the Committee on Ways and Means during the 87th Congress in my judgment will compare favorably with that of any period in the entire history of the committee. There is no area of the committee's very broad jurisdiction which has not received attention and there is no major area of the committee's jurisdiction which has not witnessed the consideration and enactment of substantial legislation. The work of our committee has significantly and beneficially touched the lives of millions of American citizens.

To indicate the breadth and depth of the committee's major responsibility in this Congress, a mere listing of some of these measures which were reported by the committee and which were enacted into law is revealing.

In the tariff field, two major legislative landmarks were enacted. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 gives to the President the weapons which he needs to deal with the emerging trade problems of this era. The Tariff Classification Act of 1962 marks the first major revision of tariff classification schedules in over 30 years.

In the field of internal revenue taxes, the Revenue Act of 1962 represents the first major revision action in this field since 1954. Its major provisions include not only incentives to stimulate investment and growth, but also provisions to equalize taxes in some areas and tighten provisions in other areas. Another major tax enactment was the Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act of 1962. This major enactment is designed to encourage the establishment of voluntary retirement plans by self-employed individuals.

In the field of highway legislation, the Highway Revenue Act of 1961 made possible the continued progress in the construction of interstate and defense highways and provided financing which should make it possible to complete that program within the time originally contemplated.

In the social security field, the Social Security Amendments of 1961 provided desirable, sound, long-range improvements in our old-age, survivors', and disability insurance system. The Aid to Dependent Children Act of 1961 made additional improvements in certain facets of our public welfare programs.

A third major enactment, and probably the most important of all, the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962, represented the first major revision in approach of our welfare laws in approximately 30 years and should become a landmark of legislation in this field. In the area of unemployment compensation, the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961 provided extended benefits to many thousands of individuals who had exhausted their State benefits.

Mr. Speaker, these major measures indicate the intensive activity of this committee in this Congress. But these by no means tell the full story, since many less important but still quite significant measures were considered and reported by the committee during this period of time.

The members of the Committee on Ways and Means have devoted themselves unstintingly to the heavy work of the committee. They have conscientiously and diligently pursued their responsibilities and have been assiduous in applying themselves to the work at hand. Due to the significantly large proportion of the major legislative program of this Congress which has fallen within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, it has been necessary that the committee meet either in public hearing or in executive session practically every day during this entire Congress. The members of the committee have attended the sessions regularly and have carefully and thoughtfully applied themselves to the hammering out of legislation of a highly beneficial and meritorious nature. While we as individual members of the committee have not always agreed on all of these measures, I think all can be justly proud of the record which has been established.

As I have pointed out on numerous past occasions in discussing the work of the Committee on Ways and Means, it is abundantly clear that the nature of legislation falling within the jurisdiction of the committee is quite complex and of vital importance to each and every American citizen and to our Nation as a whole and it is, therefore, necessary that the members of this committee must always proceed with great caution, prudence, care, and statesmanship in carrying out our legislative responsibilities. It is for this reason, among others, that the committee during this Congress has conducted public hearings in every major field of its jurisdiction in order to receive extensive and detailed reaction from the interested public on the proposals at hand.

During the course of this Congress the Committee on Ways and Means held public or executive hearings on a total of 80 days, exclusive of executive sessions, and has directly received testimony from over 850 individuals during those hearings. In addition, comments, recommendations, and statements of views were received for the printed record of these hearings from approximately 1,300 other interested persons and organizations. Twenty-four volumes, covering over 14,000 pages of testimony, were required for the printing of the hearings. Table 1, which follows, shows the subject and the details of these hearings:

TABLE 1.—*Hearings held by Committee on Ways and Means, 87th Cong.*

| Subject | Number of days | Number of witnesses | Number of pages | Number of volumes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1ST SESSION** | | | | |
| Temporary unemployment compensation and aid to dependent children of unemployed parents | 3 | 31 | 423 | 1 |
| Federal-aid highway financing | 6 | 93 | 731 | 1 |
| Social Security Amendments of 1961 (executive hearing) | 5 | 5 | 161 | 1 |
| President's 1961 tax recommendations | 24 | 217 | 3,613 | 4 |
| Temporary increase in debt ceiling (executive hearing) | 1 | 2 | 27 | 1 |
| Health services for the aged under social security | 9 | 140 | 2,281 | 4 |
| Tariff treatment of shrimp imports | 1 | 22 | 633 | 1 |
| Taxation of mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations | 2 | 26 | 425 | 1 |
| Taxation of exchanges and distributions pursuant to antitrust decrees | 1 | 13 | 490 | 1 |
| **2D SESSION** | | | | |
| Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 | 3 | 26 | 667 | 1 |
| Trade Expansion Act of 1962 | 20 | 245 | 4,233 | 6 |
| Temporary increase in debt ceiling | 2 | 7 | 109 | 1 |
| Extended temporary unemployment compensation benefits | 3 | 29 | 263 | 1 |
| Total, 87th Cong | 80 | 856 | 14,086 | 24 |

In addition to the public hearings, during the course of the 87th Congress, the full Committee on Ways and Means met in executive session 199 times.

Of the 15,745 public and private bills and resolutions introduced in the House during the course of this Congress, there was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means a total of 2,114 bills and resolutions, in addition to 68 executive communications. Moreover, 20 messages of the President of the United States were on subjects within the jurisdiction of the committee. Of the total of 2,114 such bills and resolutions, there were 1,147 tax bills, 459 tariff bills, 451 social security bills, in addition to 57 bills of a miscellaneous character falling within the committee's jurisdiction. This represents over one-sixth of all the public bills and resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives in this Congress. Table 2, which follows, sets forth the breakdown of the measures referred to the committee:

TABLE 2.—*Bills and resolutions referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, 87th Cong., by category*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tax | 1,147 |
| Tariff | 459 |
| Social security | 451 |
| Miscellaneous | 57 |
| Total | 2,114 |

During this Congress, the committee favorably reported to the House of Representatives a total of 84 bills, which total breaks down as follows: 34 tax bills, 34 tariff bills, 7 social security bills, and 9 miscellaneous-type bills. It should be noted in this connection that quite often the committee reports omnibus legislation which, statistically, appears as one bill but which in fact may combine the provisions or subjects covered in a large number of individual bills which were pending before the committee. For the further information of the Members, I shall insert at this point table 3, which sets forth the statistics on the status of bills repored by the committee during this Congress:

TABLE 3.—*Status of bills reported by the Committee on Ways and Means during the 87th Cong.*

| | Tax | Tariff | Social security | Miscellaneous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reported to House | 34 | 34 | 7 | 9 | 84 |
| Passed House | 31 | 33 | 7 | 9 | 80 |
| Reported to Senate | 23 | 25 | 5 | 7 | 60 |
| Passed Senate | 20 | 25 | 5 | 8 | 58 |
| Enacted into law | 19 | 23 | 5 | 8 | 55 |

It should be noted that the provisions of 9 bills which had been reported by the committee were adopted as amendments to other bills and became law in that way, and are therefore not reflected in the total of 55 shown in the table above.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members there is presented here a brief summary and digest of all bills reported from the Committee on Ways and Means during the 87th Congress, including a statement of the stage in the legislative process reached by each bill.

TAX LEGISLATION

THE REVENUE ACT OF 1962

H.R. 10650, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-834, SIGNED OCTOBER 16, 1962

This legislation represented a major accomplishment of the Congress in the tax field. The President submitted his recommendations for revision in our Federal tax system early in 1961, and there followed some 18 months of diligent

effort on the part of the Congress and the congressional and departmental staffs, during which the various ramifications of the President's proposals were studied in great detail and views and comments from thousands of individuals and groups were received and carefully considered. Although the bill ultimately reported by the Committee on Ways and Means was modified and revised to some extent before its final enactment—that is, the deletion of the provision for withholding of tax on interest and dividend income—the Revenue Act of 1962 constitutes an impressive effort toward making the income tax work more fairly and in a reasonable manner among the 180 million people and nearly 5 million firms in the country. At the same time, through the encouragement it gives to plant modernization and expansion, it will be a significant step in making businesses more competitive here and abroad.

In general, the legislation provides a tax incentive designed to stimulate investment in productive capacity with the revenue loss attendant upon the adoption of this incentive being absorbed by the removal or modification of a number of previously existing preferential tax provisions. A brief summary of the major provisions of the bill follows.

A basic provision of the bill, the investment credit, permits the taxpayer to reduce his tax liability by a tax credit amounting to 7 percent of the cost of depreciable machinery and equipment—but not buildings—which he puts into operation. The full 7-percent credit is allowed only for property expected to last over 8 years, and no credit is allowed for assets expected to last less than 4 years, with proportionate rates of credit allowed for assets with useful lives between 4 and 8 years. The credit will be allowed on only $50,000 of investment in used property a year. Investments in public utility property are given a credit of 3 percent. The amount of credit must be subtracted from the basis on which depreciation allowances are computed. The credit is further limited in that it cannot exceed the tax up to the first $25,000, plus one-quarter of the tax above this amount. Any credit which cannot be used because of this limitation may be carried back 3 years or forward 5 years to offset the taxes of those years.

The act contains a number of sections tightening provisions of prior law which were considered to be unduly preferential. One of these provisions was designed to prevent abuses in the deduction of business entertainment expenses. The act imposes a heavier burden on the taxpayer for substantiation of entertainment expenses, and it also requires that many classes of these expenditures be more closely related to the business than was the case under prior law. Deductions for business gifts are limited to $25 per recipient per year, and travel deductions are limited in some situations.

The new law reduced the preferences that were available to several classes of mutual or cooperative organizations, while in each case care was taken to make adequate allowance for the fact that mutuals and cooperatives are unable to sell stock in order to get the capital necessary to meet business risks. More specifically, the new law, first, makes subject to tax for the first time the underwriting income of mutual fire and casualty insurance companies, but it also allows a deduction for underwriting losses and it allows some deferral to provide a loss reserve; second, provides that all of the income of cooperatives will be taxed once but makes provision for patrons to agree to pay the tax on noncash dividends; and, third, removes the provision whereby mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations paid virtually no income tax and instead provided a loss reserve provision applicable to them which will increase their tax liability, in the aggregate, by some $200 million but still make adequate provision for possible losses.

Payors of dividends or interest are required under the act to report to the Internal Revenue Service on payments, with name and account number of the recipient, of more than $10, in the aggregate, per year to one recipient. It is expected that this will eventually help recover a large part of the nearly $850 million tax liability which is avoided each year due to failure of individuals to report the receipt of dividends and interest. With the new automatic data processing equipment now being installed by the Internal Revenue Service, these information returns can be matched with tax returns and the unpaid taxes can be collected.

The new law tightens up a number of provisions relating to the treatment of foreign income. The exclusion of earned income for permanent foreign residents was limited to $20,000 for the first 3 years of foreign residence, and then to $35,000. The foreign trust loophole was stopped. The excessive foreign tax credit on dividends received from a foreign subsidiary was substantially narrowed, and the foreign investment company loophole was closed. The tax on gains from selling shares in controlled foreign corporations was made more severe, and the foreign real estate exemption in the estate tax area was eliminated, prospectively.

A major item in the taxation of foreign income was the provision for taxing, to controlling U.S. stockholders, foreign "tax haven" profits. Generally, these are profits which do not arise from the operations of the foreign corporation in the country in which that corporation is organized but are diverted to the foreign corporation because its country of organization has a low tax rate.

Another important provision of the Revenue Act of 1962 is that for the future the gain arising on the sale of depreciable machinery and equipment will be taxed as ordinary income, instead of capital gain, to the extent that the gain merely resulted from excessive depreciation. This change made possible the new depreciation schedules adopted this summer by the Treasury. Without the change to prevent a capital gains advantage due to excessive depreciation, the Treasury would not have been able to relax the prior depreciation rules.

The act contains a number of other more or less minor provisions, three of which incorporated the provisions of other bills which had been reported by the Committee on Ways and Means—H.R. 8652, H.R. 10080, and H.R. 12719—and which are discussed separately in this summary.

THE SELF-EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS TAX RETIREMENT ACT OF 1962

H.R. 10, BY MR. KEOGH; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-792, SIGNED OCTOBER 10, 1962

This legislation was designed to encourage the establishment of voluntary retirement plans by self-employed individuals by extending to such plans, and the individuals covered thereunder, the advantage of favorable tax treatment similar to that provided in the case of qualified retirement plans established by employers for their employees.

Under this new law, self-employed persons—professional men, small businessmen, farmers, and others—are allowed to set up retirement plans for themselves and their employees for pension purposes, and certain commission salesmen who are not employees for pension purposes, and certain persons who perform services at home for compensation—are given a limited income tax deduction for amounts set aside to fund future retirement benefits under an employees' retirement plan that qualifies for tax exemption.

Annual plan contributions with respect to which self-employed persons may claim a deduction are limited to 10 percent of earned income or $2,500, whichever is the lesser. However, the allowable deduction is limited to one-half of the permissible contribution, or a maximum annual deduction of the lesser of 5 percent of earned income, or $1,250. Plans covering multiple businesses are aggregated in applying these dollar limitations.

Owner employees—that is, sole proprietors or partners owning more than a 10-percent partnership interest—cannot make voluntary contributions unless they participate in a plan which also covers their full-time employees who have 3 or more years' service. Plans covering owner-employees and other employees may, under special rules, be coordinated with social security.

Requirements for qualification of plans and limitations regarding methods of investment are set forth in the act. Generally, distribution of benefits cannot commence before age 60 and must commence by age 70, under the act, and will be taxable as ordinary income except to the extent they are attributable to nondeductible contributions. Special rules are provided in the case of lump-sum distributions.

THE HIGHWAY REVENUE ACT OF 1961

H.R. 6713 (TITLE II), BY MR. FALLON; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-61, SIGNED JUNE 29, 1961

The Committee on Ways and Means transmitted to the Committee on Public Works language for inclusion as title II to H.R. 6713, the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1961, containing highway financing provisions making it possible for the greatly expanded program of Federal aid for interstate highways to be completed within the time originally contemplated, and without the necessity for a stretch-out of the program. These revenue provisions will bring into the highway trust fund an additional $9.8 billion in reve-

nues over the life of the program, in addition to transferring back to the General Fund $2.4 billion in revenues attributable to passenger car and automobile part taxes. Under the legislation, it will be possible for the construction program to be completed in 1972.

The legislation, as agreed to by the conferees and accepted by both the House and Senate, provided for, (1) continuation of the taxes on gasoline, special motor fuels, and diesel fuel at the existing rate of 4 cents a gallon; (2) increases in the taxes on tires for highway-type vehicles and inner tubes to 10 cents a pound, and on tread rubber to 5 cents a pound; (3) increase in the tax on highway vehicles weighing over 26,000 pounds to $3 per 1,000 pounds; (4) dedication of five additional percentage points of the manufacturers' tax on trucks, buses, and trailers to the Highway Trust Fund, received after June 30, 1962; (5) continuation of the Highway Trust Fund for an additional 3 months, to October 1, 1972, with all taxes now dedicated to the Fund continued as Highway Trust Fund revenues at these tax rate levels for the additional 3 months; (6) repeal of the provision of previous law for diversion of 5 percentage points of the manufacturers' taxes on passenger cars, et cetera, and on automobile parts and accessories to the highway trust fund; and (7) provision for payment of the use tax on highway motor vehicles weighing over 26,000 pounds on a quarterly basis and for the exemption of gasoline from tax where it is sold for nonfuel purposes in the manufacture of another article. In connection with the deletion from the bill, in conference, of a Senate amendment relating to compensation of retail dealers of gasoline for tax paid on gasoline lost by shrinkage, evaporation, et cetera, the Treasury Department was requested to conduct a scientific study on this subject and to report the results of the study to the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Finance.

THE TAX RATE EXTENSION ACT OF 1961

H.R. 7446, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-72, SIGNED JUNE 30, 1961

This legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, continued for 1 year, until July 1, 1962, certain existing tax rates, including the 52-percent corporate income tax rate and the present rates of excise tax on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, and on general—local—telephone service and the transportation of persons. The extension of these tax rates for 1 more year was recommended by the President in his message on taxation, in which he said:

> Our present revenue requirements make such extension absolutely necessary again this year. * * * We cannot afford the loss of these revenues at this time.

THE TAX RATE EXTENSION ACT OF 1962

H.R. 11879, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-508, SIGNED JUNE 28, 1962

The purpose of this bill was to again continue for 1 year, until July 1, 1963, the 52-percent corporate income tax rate and existing rates of excise tax on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, and on general—local—telephone service. In addition, as reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill provided for a 6-month continuation of the tax on transportation of persons, with the tax on transportation of persons other than by air scheduled to expire on December 31, 1962. The committee bill provided for a reduction of the rate on transportation by air to 5 percent to be effective January 1, 1963, with that tax to expire on June 30, 1963. The legislation was in general conformity to the recommendations of the President, and the action was taken in recognition of the loss of revenue involved in the absence of its enactment.

H.R. 221, BY MR. HARRISON, OF VIRGINIA; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 19, 1961

This bill, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed the House by voice vote, related to the imposition of the manufacturer's excise tax on tires and inner tubes. Under present law, the tax is imposed at the time the tires or inner tubes are sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer. In the case of manufacturers maintaining their own retail stores or retail outlets, this means that no tax is imposed until the manufacturer makes a sale at retail, that is, to the consumer. Thus the retail inventory of the manufacturer maintaining retail outlets enjoys a tax-free status, whereas the independent tire dealer, because the sale to him by the manufacturer, producer, or importer occurred prior to his acquisition of the tires and tubes, can have only taxpaid inventory. The Committee on Ways and Means was advised that independent tire dealers may have as much as 15 percent of their inventory investment tied up in these taxes, while their competitors, the manufacturers with their their own retail outlets, need make no such investment.

This legislation would remove the competitive discrimination against independent tire dealers resulting from this situation by providing for the imposition of the tire or inner tube tax at the time the tire or inner tube is delivered to a retail store or retail outlet of the manufacturer, producer, or importer.

H.R. 929, BY MR. BYRNES, OF WISCONSIN; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-109, SIGNED JULY 26, 1961

The purpose of this legislation was to conform income tax accounting to more accurately reflect generally accepted accounting principles in the case of prepaid income arising from membership dues. The bill, which became public law as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, provided that prepaid membership dues income of membership organizations may, at the election of the taxpayer, for tax purposes be spread over the period during which there is a liability on the part of the organizations to provide the service, rather than reported in the earlier year in which the income is received. The liability involved must extend beyond the current year but may not extend for more than 36 months. The provision applies only to membership organizations having no capital stock and making no distributions of net earnings to members, and is effective for taxable years beginning with the calendar year 1961.

H.R. 2016, BY MR. GREEN OF PENNSYLVANIA; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 17, 1962 (SEE H.R. 10620, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-863)

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that States and political subdivisions which operate retail liquor stores are to be required to pay only one special occupational tax imposed on retail liquor dealers under section 5123(b) of the Internal Revenue Code, each year, regardless of the number of locations at which the liquor is sold within the State or political subdivision. The bill was passed by the House, and later the substance of this bill was adopted by the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 10620 and the provision became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 2017, BY MR. GREEN OF PENNSYLVANIA; REPORTED TO HOUSE MAY 9, 1961

This bill would amend the provisions of present law permitting the Federal Government upon request to enter into an agreement to withhold State or territorial tax from compensation paid Federal employees who are employed in the State or territory so as to also provide for withholding of city taxes by the Federal Government, with respect to its employees who are employed in a city with such a tax, if the city has a population of 60,000 or more. The restrictions of existing law applicable to State withholding taxes, designed to limit the administrative burdens of the withholding by the Federal Government and to prevent hardship and discrimination in the case of the Federal employees involved, would also apply to the city withholding taxes, under the bill. Enactment of this legislation is favored by the Treasury Department.

H.R. 2244, BY MR. HERLONG; REPORTED IN SENATE JULY 20, 1961

This bill would have amended the provisions of present law relating to the deduction, for income tax purposes, of charitable contributions. Under existing law, the 20 percent maximum limitation generally applicable in the case of individuals is increased to 30 percent if the contributions to which the additional 10 percent relates go directly to churches, operating schools, or hospitals—or medical research organizations carrying on research in conjunction with a hospital. As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that the additional 10-percent deduction would also be available in the case of contributions to a foundation, and so forth, if the foundation, and so forth, is organized and operated exclusively for the purpose of turning over each year to one or more of these specified categories of institutions its entire net earnings and if any portion of its principal it may distribute may go only to one of these categories of organizations. At adjournment, the bill was pending in the Senate, having been reported with an amendment by the Finance Committee.

H.R. 2585, BY MR. UTT; PUBLIC LAW 87-321, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 26, 1961

This legislation was designed to prevent the imposition of a double tax in

the case of the Federal and State unemployment taxes resulting from a technical deficiency in the Federal tax laws arising from a variation in the definition of "employer" between the Federal and State laws. Under the law prior to enactment of this legislation, the predecessor employer, where a trade or business changed hands within the first 20 weeks of the year, was not treated as an employer for purposes of the Federal unemployment tax, but generally was so considered for most State unemployment compensation taxes. As a result, the first employer usually had to pay the State tax in such cases, and then the second employer had to pay the full Federal tax but could not obtain the credit usually available for the State tax paid by the first. This bill corrected the faulty operation of the Federal laws in this situation by making the usual credit available in such cases.

The bill was amended by the Senate in two respects, the first dealing with the effective date of the House bill—to make its application prospective only—and the second adding a provision relating to the percentage depletion deduction in the case of clay and quartzite used in making refractory products. The House accepted the Senate amendments to the bill, and the President approved it in this form.

H.R. 5189, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW 87-29, SIGNED MAY 4, 1961

This legislation, which was enacted at the request of the President as one of various desirable steps intended to improve this country's ability to defend its gold reserves, provided an exemption from tax for income derived by a foreign central bank of issue from U.S. Government obligations, but only if the obligations are not held for, or used in connection with, commercial banking functions or other commercial activities. The exemption is effective with respect to income received in taxable years beginning after 1960, and is expected to have a negligible effect on revenues.

The Senate added to the House bill a provision extending to May 15, 1961, the period in which the spouse of a shareholder in a small business corporation may consent to an election not to be taxed as a corporation, in certain circumstances. The House agreed to the Senate amendment, and the bill became law as thus amended.

H.R. 6145, MR. RIVERS OF ALASKA; PASSED HOUSE JUNE 16, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill would have provided a 1-year postponement of the reduced credit provisions relating to the Federal unemployment tax insofar as they relate to certain past advances to a State under title XII of the Social Security Act. This would have had the effect of preventing the reduced credit provisions from applying to wages paid by employers in Alaska for calendar year 1961. The committee was aware that existing requirements for repayment of costs of outstanding title XII advances post serious problems for a number of States—the reduction of credits provided by section 104 of the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 would not be affected by this bill. The committee felt that, because the cost of unemployment compensation in Alaska is extremely high and it was the only State in which the reduced credit provisions would come into effect in 1961, it was desirable to postpone the operation of these provisions pending a more detailed examination of the problem.

In view of the fact that House action was not taken on the bill in the first session, and the reduced credit did become effective, a committee amendment was offered when the bill was brought up for House passage in the second session substituting for the reported bill language which would simply retain for the year 1962 the same rate of reduction in credit as had applied in 1961, rather than allowing the increased reduction provided in existing law to operate. The bill passed the House as thus amended and at adjournment was pending in the Senate Committee on Finance.

H.R. 6352, BY MR. BOGGS; REPORTED TO HOUSE MAY 16, 1961

This bill, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means to the House would have amended the provisions of the income tax laws which provide an unlimited charitable contribution deduction where in the last 10 years the charitable contributions and income taxes paid by an individual equal 90 percent of his taxable income—with certain modifications—in each of 8 years. The bill provided that this 90-percent test would be considered as satisfied for each of 2 consecutive years where the test is met on the basis of the average of contributions, taxes, and income in the 2-year period. However, the charitable contributions and taxes in each of these 2 years must represent at least 75 percent of the income of that year and no more than two sets of consecutive years may be averaged in this manner, under the bill. It was also provided that the 2-year averaging provision is to be available only where the charitable contributions taken into account are those going to churches, operating schools and colleges, hospitals and related medical research organizations, and certain other educational, charitable, or religious organizations.

H.R. 6371, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-676, SIGNED OCTOBER 24, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this legislation amended the provisions of prior law relating to the retirement income tax credit. The retirement income credit was designed to give those who have retirement income, but who do not receive tax-exempt social security or similar types of tax-exempt benefit payments, a tax exemption of approximately the same size as that received by social security beneficiaries. A discrimination has arisen gradually, however, as changes have been made in the social security laws over the past several years without corresponding changes in the retirement income credit provisions of the income tax laws, so that the retirement income credit no longer provides equal tax treatment for those who may be retired under Government or private pension systems or may make provision through investment income for their own retirement.

This legislation was designed to again equalize the retirement income credit with the social security program by raising the maximum amount of income which can qualify for the credit to $1,524 a year and by amending the earned income limitation to more closely correspond with the amended provisions of the social security laws.

The Senate in passing the bill adopted an amendment not affecting the provisions of the House bill but adding a section incorporating the provisions of H.R. 13358—discussed separately in this summary—which had previously been reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House. The amendment was accepted by the House, and the bill became law in this form.

H.R. 6413, BY MR. KING OF CALIFORNIA; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-682, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 25, 1962

As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that, for purposes of the estimated income tax, fishermen are to be accorded the same treatment as is available for farmers.

Under existing law, taxpayers having income from farming have the privilege of filing the declaration of estimated tax, and paying the estimated tax, by January 15 after the end of the year in question—for calendar-year taxpayers—rather than filing the declaration by the prior April 15 and making quarterly payments, and this bill extended this advantage to those having income from fishing.

The bill passed the House by voice vote, and a Senate amendment to make the provisions of the bill effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1962—instead of 1961, as in the House bill—was accepted by the House. The bill became law without further amendment.

H.R. 7057, BY MR. HEARD; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-312, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 26, 1961

As unanimously reported to the House, this bill provided in the case of brick and tile clay and certain other clays that insofar as the holding in the Cannelton Sewer Pipe case departs from the principles previously enunciated in the Cherokee Brick & Tile Co. and Merry Brothers Brick & Tile Co. cases, it is not to be applied retroactively for years beginning before the Supreme Court granted certiorari in the Cannelton case on December 14, 1959. Thus in the case of brick and tile clay and any other clay or shale where the finished product is the first commercially marketable product, percentage depletion for these past years to the extent they are open will be based upon the value of the finished or end product.

An amendment of the Senate providing that for the purpose of computing the percentage depletion deduction with respect to these minerals gross income from the property would be 50 percent of the gross income from the finished product but not to exceed $12.50 for each ton of clay or shale used in the finished product was agreed to by the House, and

with this amendment the bill became public law.

H.R. 7757, BY MR. HERLONG; REPORTED TO HOUSE MAY 31, 1962

As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that certain charitable and other organizations described in section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 are not to be subject to the tax on unrelated business income provided by section 511 of the 1954 code or the corresponding provision of the 1939 code, for taxable years beginning before January 1, 1960, under certain specified circumstances. The bill was pending before the House at the adjournment of the Congress.

H.R. 7859, BY MR. KEOGH; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 19, 1961

This bill would have amended section 814 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939—providing an election to take a credit against estate tax for estate taxes paid on certain prior transfers—to make it applicable to estates of decedents dying after December 31, 1949—instead of December 31, 1951—to make the credit against estate tax available where the death of the first spouse to die occurred within the 3 years, prior to that of the decedent in question but after December 31, 1947—instead of within 2 years of the decedent—and by providing that, where the deaths of the husband and wife occurred more than 2 years apart, the credit for prior estate taxes is to be 80 percent instead of 100 percent.

H.R. 8652, BY MR. KING OF CALIFORNIA; VETOED BY PRESIDENT OCTOBER 4, 1961 (SEE H.R. 10650, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-834)

This bill provided that in the case of a net operating loss sustained in the years 1953 or 1954, principally as a result of the conversion from street railway to bus operations, this loss, to the extent not offset against income in years before 1960, will be available in the year 1960 and 4 subsequent years as a net operating loss carryforward. The bill was designed to alleviate the unusual hardship existing in the case of the Twin Cities Rapid Transit Co., Minneapolis, Minn. While most transit companies have spread their conversion to buses over many years, affording a sufficient period to absorb the loss against income—present law providing a 3-year carryback and 5-year carryforward for business losses—this company completed its conversion in an 18-month period, while under the management of officers subsequently found guilty of conspiracy to defraud the company, who intentionally disregarded the income tax consequences involved. At the end of the 5-year carryforward period provided under existing law, there remained a $5,200,000 unused loss.

Vetoed by the President on its original passage by the Congress, the bill was adopted in substance by the Senate as an amendment to the Revenue Act of 1962—H.R. 10650—and became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 8754, BY MR. FRIEDEL; PASSED HOUSE AUGUST 30, 1962

The purpose of this legislation, as unanimously reported by the committee and the enactment of which, as amended, was favored by the Treasury Department, was to resore the treatment of ground rent payments in Maryland, for tax purposes, to that which obtained under the rules and regulations in effect before they were changed on January 1, 1962, to conform to certain court decisions. Under the bill, which passed the House under unanimous consent and at adjournment was pending in the Senate Finance Committee, for the home buyer the ground rent paid would be treated as a mortgage interest payment and, therefore, deductible by him. The seller of the real property subject to the redeemable ground rent would be treated as if he had sold the property subject to a mortgage in a face amount equal to the redemption price of the redeemable ground rent. As a result, the redeemable ground rent would be taken into account in determining his sale price for the property and, therefore, reflected in any gain—or loss—recognized to him.

H.R. 8824, BY MR. KEOGH; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-768, SIGNED OCTOBER 9, 1962

This legislation dealt with the tax treatment of consumer finance companies, and modified the rules relating to exceptions from the personal holding company tax in that respect. As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill deleted certain requirements relating to lending companies engaged in the small loan—consumer finance—business in order for such companies to qualify for exception from the personal holding tax, and modified others, in order to conform the requirements with the laws enacted in many States in recent years for the regulation of such companies. The bill passed the House and Senate without amendment, and became law as reported by the committee.

H.R. 8846, BY MR. BOGGS; REPORTED IN SENATE SEPTEMBER 29, 1962

The purpose of this bill was to provide involuntary conversion treatment, for income tax purposes, for property other than stock which is disposed of as a result of civil antitrust proceedings instituted under the Sherman Act or the Clayton Act. Thus under the bill, no capital gains tax would be incurred where property is disposed of as a result of a judgment or decree in such a case and the proceeds are reinvested in other property, similar or related in service or use to the property disposed of, but instead the new property, to the extent acquired with the proceeds from the property sold, would have the same basis as the old property. Safeguarding provisions were included in the bill, which passed the House and was reported to the Senate without amendment to the House-passed bill. At adjournment the bill was pending in the Senate.

H.R. 8847, BY MR. BOGGS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-403, SIGNED FEBRUARY 2, 1962

This bill related to the income tax treatment to be afforded the recipients of stock distributed in pursuance of a court order enforcing the antitrust laws. In general, the bill provided that such distributions shall not be treated as a dividend distribution but shall be treated as a return of capital, and that the amount of such a distribution made to a corporation shall be the fair market value of the distribution. As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means to the House, the bill would have had general application to such cases involving antitrust distributions; however, at the request of the administration, committee amendments were adopted in the House at the time of passage of the bill which had the effect of limiting its application to distributions in the Du Pont antitrust case, as well as providing that in order for the provisions to apply, the order pursuant to which the distribution is made shall require the divestiture of stock to be completed within 3 years or less from the date the order becomes final. The Senate passed the bill without amendment, and it became law in the form passed by the House.

H.R. 8876, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-397, SIGNED OCTOBER 5, 1962

This bill, which became law without amendment, was designed to improve enforcement and collection of internal revenue taxes. The taxpayer account number system provided for in the bill will make possible a greatly expanded use of automatic data processing equipment by the Internal Revenue Service and will enable the Service to match information returns now filed with tax returns. Taxpayer account numbers are basic to a satisfactory identification system for automatic data processing equipment, through the use of which the Service hopes to develop a single file which would contain, in one place, information relative to all of the tax transactions involving a taxpayer, thus making possible the reaching of objectives in enforcement and collection of the taxes that could only be partially achieved in the absence of this legislation.

The bill provided that persons required to file tax returns may be required to record their account numbers on their tax returns, and persons filing information returns—such as those relating to dividends or interest—are to include the account numbers of persons with respect to whom information is supplied—such persons to supply their numbers to the persons required to file the information returns. The committee requested the Internal Revenue Service to work out a system involving the least possible burden to taxpayers in obtaining account numbers.

Enactment of this legislation, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was recommended by the administration.

H.R. 8952, BY MR. BURKE OF MASSACHUSETTS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-858, SIGNED OCTOBER 23, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this legislation dealt with the conditions under which the special constructive sale price rule is to apply for purposes of certain manufacturers excise taxes. The Excise Tax Technical Changes Act of 1958 provided that in determining the base for the computation of manufacturers excise taxes, a constructive sales price could be used where sales were made to retailers or to consumers if sales were also made at the wholesale level. However, this provision applied only if the normal method of sales within the industry is not to sell

articles at retail, to retailers, or to both. As reported and as passed by the House, this bill provided that the latter restriction would not apply in the case of manufacturers excise taxes on refrigerators and related items, on electric, gas, and oil appliances, and on radios and television sets and related items.

The bill was substantially amended in the Senate, and under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, in addition to an amendment to the substance of the House bill providing that the restriction described above is not to apply in the case of any manufacturers excise taxes except those relating to automobiles, trucks and buses, business machines and matches, with respect to articles sold on or after October 1, 1962, new sections were added relating to, first, the limitation on the amount of the deduction for charitable contributions by individuals to make the existing additional 10-percent allowance applicable in the case of contributions for certain State colleges; and, second, the taxation of life insurance companies. This section of the bill amends the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to life insurance companies by: First, removing the termination provisions relating to variable annuities and otherwise revising the provisions relating to segregated asset accounts; second, providing an alternative method of tax in the case of capital gains; third, revising the priority for the application of the limitation on deductions allowed under paragraphs (3), (5), and (6) of section 809(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; fourth, providing that the disqualification from the 8-year operations loss carryover will not apply where a new life insurance company is connected through stock ownership only with a corporation taxable as an insurance company other than as a life insurance company; and, fifth, excepting certain distributions of stock of controlled corporations from the application of section 815(a) of the code.

H.R. 10080, BY MR. YATES; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 11, 1962 (SEE H.R. 10650, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87–834)

As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that gifts made after December 31, 1961, to nonprofit organizations supporting or opposing the reorganization of the judicial branch of a State government in referendums occurring in 1962 are to be deductible as charitable contributions. The nonprofit organizations involved must be created and operated exclusively to consider proposals for the reorganization of the judicial branch of a State government and to provide information, make recommendations, and seek public support of or opposition to these proposals. The bill passed the House under unanimous consent, and subsequently was adopted in the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 10650, the Revenue Act of 1962. Ultimately, the provision became law as a part of that act.

H.R. 10117, BY MR. CURTIS OF MISSOURI; REPORTED IN SENATE OCTOBER 2, 1962 (SEE H.R. 10620, PUBLIC LAW 87–863)

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow qualified pension plans to provide for the payment of benefits for sickness, accident, hospitalization, and medical expenses of retired employees and their spouses and dependents, if such benefits are subordinate to the retirement benefits provided by the plan. The substance of the bill was adopted in the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 10620. Under the conference agreement on H.R. 10620, and as that bill became law, the provisions of H.R. 10117 were included and are applicable to both trusteed plans and nontrusteed plans that are funded through the use of insurance.

H.R. 10620, BY MR. BOGGS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87–863, SIGNED OCTOBER 23, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to raise the ceiling limitations applicable to deductions, for income tax purposes, of medical expenses. As amended by the committee, the provisions of the bill have the effect of doubling the medical expense deduction ceilings which are generally applicable, with increases in the ceilings also provided in the case of taxpayers and spouses who are age 65 and over and disabled. The bill was passed unanimously by the House, and while the Senate in passing the bill adopted numerous amendments, the provisions of the House bill were retained and became law without amendment.

The amendments of the Senate added several new provisions to the bill, and under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, it included the substance of two other bills which had been reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, H.R. 2016 and H.R. 10117—summarized herein as individual bills. In addition, under the conference agreement, certain other amendments of the Senate were retained in the legislation as it became law. These related to, first, a new option to expense intangible drilling and development costs; second, rules relating to the alternative methods of computing the tax under section 1341(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 where the taxpayer restores a substantial amount held under claim of right; and, third, authority of internal revenue officers who are charged with the duty of enforcing any of the criminal provisions of the internal revenue laws.

H.R. 12470, BY MR. GREEN OF PENNSYLVANIA; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 4, 1962

This bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was designed to amend the Internal Revenue Code so as to make the $600 child-care deduction available, on the same basis as for widows, to women who have been deserted by their husbands. Present law requires a married woman to file a joint return with her husband in order to take advantage of this deduction, and in such cases the allowable deduction is reduced $1 for each dollar of income of the husband and wife in excess of $4,500. The income limitation is not imposed in the case of widows. The committee felt that, since a woman who has been deserted is unable to file a joint return with her husband and therefore is precluded under present law from taking advantage of the child-care deduction, the law should be amended to treat such women on the same basis as widows. The bill was passed by the House, and at adjournment was pending in the Senate Finance Committee.

H.R. 12526, BY MR. KEOGH; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87–710, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 27, 1962

The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to amend section 172 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a 7-year net operating loss carryover for certain regulated transportation corporations with respect to losses occurring in taxable years after December 31, 1955. Corporations generally may carry net operating losses back 3 years and, where there is remaining unused loss, forward for 5 years. In his message on transportation in April 1962, the President recommended—among other things—a 7-year instead of a 5-year carry-forward period for the losses of regulated public utilities. This legislation implemented that recommendation of the President with respect to regulated transportation corporations, and takes cognizance of the fact that such companies in general have relatively lower rates of earnings than other companies and therefore require longer periods of time in order to fully offset losses against earnings of other years.

H.R. 12599, BY MR. LIBONATI; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87–870, SIGNED OCTOBER 23, 1962

This legislation dealt with the income tax treatment of terminal railroad corporations and their railroad shareholders, and as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means provided that where such a corporation offsets a charge for services performed for a railroad shareholder, by crediting railroad terminal income against this charge, the corporation is not to be treated as having received the portion of the charge so offset, nor is this portion to be rendered taxable to the terminal railroad corporation through the disallowance of deductions. The railroad shareholder, under the bill, would not be taxed on the portion of the charge satisfied with the related terminal income nor is it to receive a deduction as having paid such portion. The bill was designed to alleviate certain problems arising as a result of recent court decisions, and was reported unanimously by the committee.

The several Senate amendments to the bill were accepted by the House conferees, and as it became law, additional rules were provided relating to the application of the bill to taxable years ending before the date of enactment, as well as certain technical changes in the provisions of the House bill. In addition,

as it became law the legislation included new sections, first, incorporating the substance of H.R. 12030, which had passed the House and is discussed separately herein; second, making a technical amendment relating to the limit on credits or refunds of overpayments determined by the Tax Court; and third, relating to the tax treatment of cooperative banks.

H.R. 12719, BY MR. KING OF CALIFORNIA; PASSED HOUSE AUGUST 30, 1962 (SEE H.R. 10650, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-834)

The purpose of this bill, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide that awards made under the Japanese-American Evacuation Claims Act, to persons of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated from the west coast in 1942 during World War II, are not to be subject to Federal income tax. The Treasury Department interposed no objection to this legislation, in view of the special circumstances involved. The substance of the bill, which passed the House under unanimous consent, was adopted in the Senate as an amendment to the Revenue Act of 1962—H.R. 10650—and became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 13358, BY MR. MILLS; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 10, 1962 (SEE H.R. 6371, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-876)

This bill, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed the House under unanimous consent, provided, in general, that mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, and cooperative banks will not be allowed in any one year income tax deductions for interest payments to depositors—or for dividend payments to shareholders—which are attributable to more than a 12-month period, the provision to be applicable for taxable years ending after December 31, 1962. The bill, the enactment of which was urged by the Treasury Department, was designed to prevent possible avoidance of the new provisions contained in the Revenue Act of 1962 applicable to these institutions by "bunching" in 1963, or a subsequent year, interest or dividend payment deductions attributable to more than a 12-month period.

The substance of this bill was adopted in the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 6371, the amendment was accepted by the House, and the provision became law as a part of that legislation.

FOREIGN TRADE AND TARIFF LEGISLATION

THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1962

H.R. 11970, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-794, SIGNED OCTOBER 11, 1962

This major piece of legislation in the tariff field has been described by many as the most important legislative proposal to come before the committee in the last decade. The committee spent several months in public hearings and in executive sessions formulating a trade expansion act which would meet the challenges and grasp the opportunities of the future years. The bill which the Committee on Ways and Means reported was adopted in toto by the House, and in substantially identical form by the Senate. While, in general, the provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 continue the principles of the trade agreements program which began in 1934, and has continued to date without interruption, the Expansion Act goes further in two important respects. On the one hand for the first time the President is given authority under certain conditions to remove U.S. duties entirely. It was necessary to give the President this authority particularly because of the program of the Common Market which looks toward the elimination of internal tariffs within the next 5 years. If the United States is to be able to sell its goods within this very lucrative market in Europe, then of necessity the external tariffs of that market must be lowered or removed. It was with the realization of the need for striking a meaningful bargain with the Common Market that the Committee on Ways and Means recommended the authority be given to the President to remove U.S. tariffs pursuant to trade agreements negotiated under the Expansion Act.

Secondly, the Expansion Act fills a void in existing law in those cases where imports create a problem with U.S. producers and workers. Under existing law, the sole remedy available to the President is to increase tariff rates and this he can only do in those cases where the imports are adversely affecting the entire industry in the United States. While this basic authority is continued in the Trade Expansion Act, an important new tool to deal with injurious situations has been added. It will now be possible for the President to give financial and technical assistance to individual firms and workers who may be adversely affected by imports even though the industry in which such firms or workers are located is not being injured by imports. It is now possible to reach and remedy even the smallest segment of the U.S. economy which may be seriously injured by imports.

It is expected that with these new approaches to both the tariff authority and the relief provisions of the trade agreements program that for the first time the United States will have a total program which should serve to meet the total needs of the country as well as the individual needs of the constituents of the U.S. economy.

The bill contains specific safeguards and requirements for hearings which should be of material assistance to interested parties and to those who may be adversely affected by action under the bill. If the bill's authority is used properly, we can expect an increase in U.S. exports and a corresponding favorable effect on the balance-of-payments position of the United States.

THE TARIFF CLASSIFICATION ACT OF 1962

H.R. 10607, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-456, SIGNED MAY 24, 1962

This legislation embodied the first major tariff reclassification in over 30 years and represented the culmination of several years' study and hearings by the U.S. Tariff Commission which had been undertaken pursuant to the directive of the Congress in 1954. This act implemented a complete overhauling of the tariff schedules, establishing schedules that are logical in arrangement and terminology and adapted to the technological, and so forth, changes which have occurred since 1930, eliminating anomalies and illogical results in the classification of articles and simplifying the determination and application of tariff classifications.

H.R. 641, BY MR. BOGGS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-426, SIGNED MARCH 31, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and as passed by the House of Representatives, was to provide for the free entry of one intermediate lens beta-ray spectrometer for the use of Tulane University, New Orleans, La., which that university has acquired from abroad to be used in the field of experimental nuclear physics. The committee was advised that this particular type of spectrometer is not available in the United States but can only be purchased abroad from a firm which specializes in the design of such instruments. Under these circumstances, the committee felt that Tulane University should not have to pay import duties on such a highly specialized instrument, which is not available in the United States and is utilized in important scientific projects. The bill was reported in the Senate without amendment, and a Senate floor amendment, not affecting the provisions of the House bill but adding a section designed to permit the deduction, for income tax purposes, of disaster losses in the taxable year immediately preceding the taxable year in which the disaster occurred, under certain circumstances, was accepted by the House, and in this form the bill became law.

H.R. 1377, BY MR. O'NEILL; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-59, SIGNED JUNE 27, 1961

As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that the Plumbers Union Local No. 12 Pension Fund, Boston, Mass., be considered a qualified and exempt trust from the time of its establishment in 1954 to June 3, 1959, but only if it is shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate that the trust was not operated in this period in a manner which would jeopardize the interests of its beneficiaries. The Senate passed the bill with several amendments, which while not changing the provisions of the House bill, added provisions, first, extending for 2 years the period within which certain stock life insurance companies may make deductible distributions to shareholders in pursuance of a plan of mutualization adopted prior to January 1, 1958; second, reducing the tariff in the case of hair of animals, like the cashmere goat; and, third, relating to the effective date of the qualification as a qualified trust of the pension fund of the slate, tile, and roofing industry in New York City. The House accepted the amendments of the Senate, and the bill became law in this form.

H.R. 3385, BY MR. IKARD; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-95, SIGNED JULY 20, 1961

This legislation, which became law as reported by the Committee on Ways and

Means, provided for the free entry of apparatus utilizing any radioactive substance in medical diagnosis or therapeutic treatment—such as cobalt 60 therapy units used in cancer diagnosis and treatment—and of electron microscopes, when imported for the use of, and not for sale by, nonprofit organizations and institutions, whether public or private, established for educational, scientific, or therapeutic purposes.

The committee was of the opinion that the general public interest would be served by permitting such organizations to import these needed tools of scientific research and educational pursuits without the burden of having to pay the substantial import duties which would apply in the absence of enactment of this legislation.

H.R. 3506, BY MR. BOGGS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-598, SIGNED AUGUST 24, 1962

As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to designate any freight forwarder, authorized to act as such by any agency of Government, as a carrier of bonded merchandise not finally released from customs custody. At the time the provision of the Tariff Act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to designate carriers of such bonded merchandise was broadened to include freight forwarders, only freight forwarders under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission were authorized to be so designated, the only reason for this limitation apparently being that other freight forwarders—such as airfreight forwarders—were not then as prominent in this field as they now are. The Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that the Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized to extend the privilege of handling bonded merchandise to any freight forwarder licensed to act as such by any agency of the Government. The legislation passed the House and Senate without amendment, and became law as reported by the committee.

H.R. 3668, BY MR. MACK; PASSED HOUSE JUNE 14, 1961

This bill, which passed the House without amendment would have amended section 498 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to permit the extension of the informal customs entry procedure to import shipments not exceeding $400 in value. Present law permits informal customs entry to be made when the aggregate value of the shipment of imported merchandise does not exceed $250, thus obviating within this area the necessity for the more complex and burdensome customs procedures required for formal customs entry. The bill, which raises this ceiling to $400, retained the existing provisions of law giving the Secretary of the Treasury the discretion to establish lower ceilings for certain types of merchandise and transactions when circumstances warrant his doing so.

H.R. 3985, BY MR. KNOX; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 4, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide for the imposition of a duty on imports of certain pan and pan-type loaf bread, at the rate of 7½ percent ad valorem. The bill provided that the duty would not be applicable during any period when the principal supplying country of such bread in calendar year 1961 extends duty-free treatment to U.S. bread of the same kind imported into that country. Having passed the House by voice vote, the bill was pending in the Senate Finance Committee at adjournment.

H.R. 4449, BY MR. MACHROWICZ; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-604, SIGNED AUGUST 24, 1962

As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was, first, to add iconostases to the list of articles for which free entry is presently provided in paragraph 1774 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended—providing for the free entry of certain articles for religious purposes; second, to provide for the free entry of adjuncts and appurtenances of the named articles whether to be physically joined thereto or not; and, third, to extend the application of paragraph 1774 to cemeteries, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and similar nonprofit activities staffed and controlled by corporations and associations organized and operated for religious purposes. Granite cemetery headstones, grave markers, and so forth, were specifically excepted from the provisions of the bill.

The committee was advised by the interested Government departments that enactment of this legislation would assist in solving certain difficult interpretative questions which have arisen under the present provisions of paragraph 1774. The House accepted Senate amendments which added marble to the exception from the application of the bill of granite headstones, and so forth, and providing for the free importation of a silver cross for the Christ Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, Ohio. As thus amended, the bill became law.

H.R. 4591, BY MR. MACHROWICZ; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-110, SIGNED JULY 26, 1961

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to continue for 1 year, to the close of June 30, 1962, the suspension of duties on metal scrap. The limitations and provisos of existing law were continued under the bill. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation, and no opposition to its enactment was made known.

In addition to a technical amendment to the House bill, the Senate added a section providing for the free entry of horsemeat, fresh, chilled, or frozen, when imported in immediate containers weighing, with their contents, 10 pounds or more. The Senate amendments were accepted by the House, and the bill became public law as thus amended.

H.R. 4940, BY MR. WATTS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-47, SIGNED JUNE 16, 1961

This legislation, which became law as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was designed to prevent the circumvention of the control by the Philippine Government over the exports of Philippine tobaccos to the United States by providing that U.S. customs authorities shall only admit free of duty under the Philippine tobacco quota such tobacco as the Philippine Government has licensed for export to the United States free of duty under the provisions of paragraph 2 of article II of the Philippine-United States Trade Agreement.

H.R. 5193, BY MR. BAKER; REPORTED TO HOUSE SEPTEMBER 26, 1961

The purpose of this legislation, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to impose sliding scale duties on imports of lead and zinc and lead and zinc articles. The duties would be imposed or removed depending upon the domestic price levels of lead and zinc. The committee concluded that adoption of this formula is desirable, in view of the general dissatisfaction with existing quota arrangements.

H.R. 5260, BY MR. DINGELL; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-859, SIGNED OCTOBER 23, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill would have repealed the 3-cent per pound processing tax imposed by section 4511(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 on the first domestic processing of coconut oil, palm oil, palm-kernel oil, and certain derivatives of such oils. The processing taxes involved have been suspended continuously for several years and the committee was advised that no complaints have been received regarding the suspension. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation.

The bill was amended in the Senate to provide a 3-year continuation, to June 30, 1966, of the suspensions of tax involved, rather than a repeal. The Senate amendment was accepted by the House, and in this form the bill became law.

H.R. 5700, BY MR. BYRNES OF WISCONSIN; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-854, SIGNED OCTOBER 23, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to designate any contract carrier, authorized to act as such by any agency of the United States, as a carrier of bonded merchandise for the final release of which from customs custody a permit has not been issued. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation, and it was reported unanimously by the committee. Senate amendments to the bill were rejected by the conference committee, and it became law as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5852, BY MR. MEADER; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-261, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 21, 1961

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided for the free entry of a towing carriage for the use of the University of Michigan, which has a large ship model towing tank used for experimental testing and research on model vessels under simulated sea conditions, frequently under contract for the Maritime Administration and the Bureau of Ships of the Navy Department. The committee was advised that no company in the United States specializes in the design and construction of ship model laboratory equipment, and was of the opinion that it would be in the national interest that the University of Michigan not be burdened with substantial import duties in its efforts to modernize and update its ship research testing facility.

In reporting this legislation to the Senate, the Finance Committee added a provision to the House bill which amended the Tariff Act to allow nonresident visitors to bring up to $100 in gifts into the United States duty free. The House accepted the amendment of the Senate, and in this form the bill became law.

H.R. 6611, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-132, SIGNED AUGUST 10, 1961

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill, which was proposed by the President as a part of his program to counter the unfavorable balance-of-payments situation, provided a temporary—to the close of June 30, 1963—reduction, from $500 to $100, in the amount of articles acquired abroad that a returning resident of the United States may bring into the United States exempt from duty, and waived, in the case of articles acquired in the Virgin Islands, the 48-hour period for which otherwise such resident generally must remain outside the United States in order to be entitled to the exemption.

The Senate amended the House bill to provide that in the case of articles acquired in the Virgin Islands by a U.S. resident arriving directly or indirectly from the Virgin Islands, the exemption would be $200 instead of $100, without regard to the 48-hour requirement. The Senate amendment also would allow such a resident who has remained outside the United States for 48 hours or more an exemption of $200, not more than $100 of which shall have been acquired elsewhere than in the Virgin Islands. Under the conference agreement, the House accepted the Senate amendments, and the bill became law in this form.

H.R. 6682, BY MR. WIDNALL; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-770, SIGNED OCTOBER 9, 1962

As unanimously reported to the House, this bill provided for the transfer from the dutiable to the free list of the Tariff Act articles known as fowling nets. These nets are used to temporarily capture birds, and facilitate quick banding and release of the birds. These activities are carried out by persons and organizations, primarily under the cordination and sponsorship of the Department of the Interior, who are volunteer workers receiving no pay, although supplying their own nets or other equipment. The information and records developed from these activities are used in research by the U.S. Government. The committee was advised there is no knowledge of domestic production of fowling nets, and received favorable departmental reports on the bill, which was passed by the House under unanimous consent.

The Senate adopted amendments to the bill—not affecting the provisions of the House bill, which were retained—and under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, a section was added to the House bill relating to the term "local advertising" for purposes of determining the amount excluded from the selling price on which the manufacturers excise tax is based, amending this term to include advertising which appears in a magazine or is displayed by means of an outdoor advertising sign or poster.

H.R. 7431, BY MR. DADDARIO; PRIVATE LAW NO. 87-572, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 28, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide for the free entry of certain stained glass windows imported for use in St. Joseph's Cathedral, Hartford, Conn., and in St. Francis Xavier Church and auxiliary buildings in Phoenix, Ariz. The committee was of the opinion that this legislation was meritorious and consistent with prior congressional enactments.

The Senate accepted the provisions of the House bill and added amendments providing for the free entry of certain stained glass for use in the construction of a new synogogue and auxiliary buildings for the Congregation B'Nai Israel of Woonsocket, R.I., and one set of musical handbells imported for the Court Street Methodist Church, Rockford, Ill. The Senate amendments were accepted by the House under suspension of the rules and the bill became law as thus amended.

H.R. 7678, BY MR. TEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA; PASSED HOUSE JUNE 29, 1961

The purpose of this bill was to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to extend the existing free importation provisions for wild animals and wild birds intended for exhibition in zoological collections for educational or scientific purposes to wild animals and wild birds imported by any importer for exhibition for any purpose, or imported by a person or firm who in turn would sell them for ultimate use in exhibitions for any purpose. The amendments suggested by the Departments of State, Commerce, and Treasury to an earlier bill on this subject were incorporated in H.R. 7678, and the bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7692, BY MR. HEELONG; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 7, 1961

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide, first, that when articles, imported in containers required to be marked to show the English name of the country of origin, are repackaged in the United States and offered for sale, the new packages shall be marked to show the country of origin of their contents; and, second, that such containers shall be marked, in addition to the country-of-origin marking, to indicate to any person who repackages such articles that the new packages must be marked to indicate to an ultimate purchaser the English name of the country of origin of their contents.

The committee was of the opinion that enactment of this legislation would provide a comprehensive plan for insuring, in appropriate cases, that purchasers are notified of the origin of imported merchandise, thus greatly assisting in fulfilling the purposes of our marking laws. Penalty provisions for violation were included in the bill, and the Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized to make exceptions from the marking requirements in certain circumstances.

H.R. 8938, BY MR. BASS OF TENNESSEE; POCKET VETO OCTOBER 22, 1962

The purpose of this bill was to limit the tariff provisions for lightweight bicycles to typical lightweight bicycles and prevent classification thereunder of nontypical lightweight bicycles. The Committee on Ways and Means was unanimous in reporting this bill to the House and it passed the House and Senate in the form reported. A pocket veto precluded the bill from becoming law.

H.R. 9414, BY MR. GREEN OF PENNSYLVANIA; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 4, 1962

The purpose of this legislation, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and as passed by the House, was to transfer from the free list to the dutiable list of the Tariff Act of 1930 electron microscopes, and parts or accessories thereof, imported by or on behalf of certain nonprofit organizations. The committee had recommended enactment, earlier in this Congress, of legislation—H.R. 3385, Public Law No. 87-95—which provided for the free importation of electron microscopes, but upon receipt of information to the effect that advancements which have occurred in the technology of the production of these items have had the result that domestically produced electron microscopes are now not essentially different in construction and capabilities from those which are imported, the committee reexamined the subject and concluded that further importations of such articles should be subject to duty. At adjournment the bill was pending in the Senate Finance Committee.

H.R. 9520, E, MR. KING OF CALIFORNIA; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-567, SIGNED AUGUST 2, 1962

The purpose of this bill, which became law without amendment, was to continue for 2 years—until July 16, 1964—the existing suspension of duty on, first, alumina when imported for use in producing aluminum; second, bauxite, crude, not refined or otherwise advanced in condition in any manner; and, third, calcined bauxite.

The suspension of duty on these articles has been in effect continuously for several years, and all interested Departments and agencies reported favorably on its continuation.

H.R. 9778, BY MR. KNOX; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-488, SIGNED MAY 21, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to provide for the free entry of certain steel and steel products donated for an addition to the Chippewa County War Memorial Hospital, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., a public, nonprofit hospital. Favorable reports were received on this legislation.

An amendment added to the bill by the Senate, which did not affect the provisions of the House bill and was designed to facilitate the customs clearance of data with regard to business, engineering, or exploration operations conducted outside the United States, was accepted by the House, and the bill became public law as thus amended.

H.R. 10088, BY MRS. GRIFFITHS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-514, SIGNED JULY 1, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to continue for 1 year, to the close of June 30, 1963, the existing suspension of duties on metal scrap. The existing limitations and provisos of law relating to lead, zinc, and tungsten scrap and alloys, and so forth, were retained under the bill. It also contained a provision that the exemption from duty of any article under it would not affect the applicability of section 4541 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, which imposes an import tax on certain copper bearing ores and concentrates, and so forth. Favorable reports were received on the legislation from the interested departments, and no opposition was made known to its enactment. The bill became law in the form reported by the committee.

H.R. 10652, BY MR. KEOGH; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-602, SIGNED AUGUST 24, 1962

The purpose of this bill, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to continue for 3 years, to the close of November 7, 1965, the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of spun silk yarn. The committee was advised that failure to continue the suspension of duties on these commodities would adversely affect domestic employment and would place the weaving industry at a competitive disadvantage. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation.

The House accepted a Senate amendment, not affecting the provisions of the House bill, which added a section authorizing the duty-free entry of a towing carriage for the use of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and the bill thus became law.

H.R. 10928, BY MR. THOMPSON OF TEXAS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-606, SIGNED AUGUST 24, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of H.R. 10928 was to transfer casein or lactarene—a now obsolete term previously used synonymously with casein—to the free list of the Tariff Act of 1930. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation, and it was reported unanimously by the committee, the committee feeling that the continuous suspension of duties on casein since September 3, 1957, had developed sufficient experience to warrant its transfer to the free list. A technical amendment by the Senate involving a paragraph number was accepted by the House, and the bill became law as thus amended.

H.R. 10986, BY MR. HARVEY OF MICHIGAN; PUBLIC LAW NO 87-497, SIGNED JUNE 28, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to extend for a temporary period, through June 30, 1964, the existing suspension of duty on certain natural amorphous graphite or plumbago—crude or refined—valued at $50 per ton or less. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, which was reported unanimously by the committee and became law without further amendment.

H.R. 11400, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-607, SIGNED AUGUST 24, 1962

The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to continue for 2 years, until August 7, 1964, the existing suspension of duties on copying lathes used for making rough or finished shoe lasts from models of shoe lasts and capable of producing more than one size shoe from a single size model of a shoe last. The suspension of duties on such copying lathes has been in effect continuously since August 6, 1956, and serves to make available to domestic shoe-last manufacturers highly specialized and expensive copying lathes which can only be obtained from foreign sources. Favorable departmental reports were received by the committee on this legislation.

H.R. 12109, BY MR. HALLECK; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 4, 1962 (SEE H.R. 12820, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-878)

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to transfer to the free list of the Tariff Act of 1930 bleached natural grasses, grains, leaves, plants, shrubs, herbs, trees, and so forth. Foliages of the kind covered under the bill, which are mainly not grown in this country and do not compete with domestic foliages, are principally used ultimately in the making of wreaths and other ornaments by florist supply houses and decorators. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and it was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House. The substance of this bill was adopted by the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 12820, the amendment was accepted by the House, and the provision became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 12190, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-790, SIGNED OCTOBER 10, 1962

As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and as passed by the House under unanimous consent, this bill extended for 2 years, until July 1, 1964, the provisions of law permitting the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders. The committee took this action in view of the continued presence in many parts of the world of members of the Armed Forces of the United States and Government personnel, and in the realization that the basic legislation is safeguarded from abuse by restrictions contained in the act and by appropriate departmental regulations. Both the Departments of State and Defense recommended the enactment of this legislation, and pointed out the inducement and morale factors involved. In conference, the House agreed to the substance of the Senate amendments to the bill, and as it became law language was included, not affecting the provisions of the House bill, but adding new sections providing for, first, the free entry of monofilament gill nets for use in fish sampling; and, second, the extension of the special deduction, for income tax purposes, allowed life insurance companies of 2 percent of premiums attributable to group accident and health contracts to premiums attributable to individual accident and health insurance contracts, with certain limitations. The conference committee requested the Treasury Department to report to the Committee on Ways and Means and the Finance Committee in the next session of Congress on the problems involved in this area of insurance company taxation.

H.R. 12213, BY MR. SCHNEEBELI; PASSED SENATE (AMENDED) OCTOBER 5, 1962

As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill would have provided for a 3-year suspension of duties imposed by the Tariff Act of 1930 on cork insulation and cork stoppers. Favorable departmental reports were received on this proposal, and the committee was advised that these items are no longer produced in the United States.

The bill was reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee without amendment, but numerous amendments—including the substance of H.R. 12242, which had previously been reported to the House and is described separately in this summary—not affecting the provisions of the House bill, were adopted in the Senate prior to passage of the bill, and at adjournment it remained on the Speaker's table pending House action on the Senate amendments.

H.R. 12242, BY MR. HERLONG; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 11, 1962

As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill was to provide for the classification under the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, of certain particle board, and was designed to alleviate a problem which has arisen in the customs treatment of such board. The substance of this bill was passed by the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 12213, which at adjournment was on the Speaker's table awaiting House action on the several Senate amendments to that bill.

H.R. 12529, BY MR. O'BRIEN OF ILLINOIS; PRIVATE LAW NO. 87-591, SIGNED OCTOBER 5, 1962

The purpose of this bill, which became law without amendment, was to permit the free importation of one nuclear magnetic resonance spectrometer and one mass spectrometer to be used by the University of Illinois. The funds for the purchase of these scientific instruments were from grants made by the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health, and attempts to purchase the instruments in the United States had been unsuccessful.

SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

THE SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1961

H.R. 6027, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-64, SIGNED JUNE 30, 1961

This legislation provided desirable and sound, longrun improvements in our social insurance system, designed to make the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program more flexible and effective in carrying out its basic purpose. With its enactment, additional purchasing power was placed in the hands of people who very much needed it, benefit-

ing about 4¾ million people within the first 12 months through new or increased benefits amounting to $800 million. The changes made, which were in general along the lines recommended by the President, were fully financed, consistent with policies established by the Congress in the past, and the program will thus continue to be self-supporting and on a sound actuarial basis.

The major provisions of the legislation can be summarized as follows:

First. An increase from $33 to $40 in the minimum monthly retirement benefit payable to persons retiring at or after age 65 and in the minimum monthly disability benefit, with proportionate increases in the minimum benefits payable to dependents and survivors.

Second. Provision for payment of retirement benefits to men beginning at age 62—at their option—with the benefits payable to men claiming benefits before age 65 reduced to take account of the longer period over which the benefits will be paid.

Third. Liberalization of the insured status requirements, so that a worker will be fully insured if he has one quarter of coverage for every year elapsing after 1950—or after the year in which he attained age 21, if later—and up to the year of disability, death, or attainment of age 65 for men—62 for women. Previous law required one quarter of coverage for every three such elapsed quarters.

Fourth. An increase in aged widows', widowers', and parents' benefits from 75 to 82½ percent of the workers' retirement benefit—a 10-percent increase in benefits for these beneficiaries.

Fifth. Liberalization of the earned income limitation to increase from $300 to $500 the area in which only one-half of earnings above $1,200 are treated as excess earnings.

Sixth. An increase in the contribution rates of one-eighth of 1 percent each for employees and employers, with corresponding increases for self-employed persons, thus keeping the system fully self-supporting and actuarially sound.

Provisions were also included in this legislation for an increase in the Federal matching maximum for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled; for the expenditure of Federal funds for temporary assistance to certain U.S. nationals who have returned from foreign countries and are without immediately available resources; extending through December 31, 1962—or, if later, the expiration of 2 years after the date on which coverage was approved for the group which originally elected coverage—the time in which employees who did not elect coverage under a divided retirement system agreement may change their decisions; adding New Mexico to the list of States which are permitted to divide their retirement systems; permitting survivors of ministers or Christian Science practitioners to file a certificate of election for coverage of the minister or Christian Science practitioner, in certain circumstances; and moving up by 1 year, to 1968, the scheduled increases in rates of tax for employers, employees, and self-employed persons.

THE TEMPORARY EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ACT OF 1961

H.R. 4806, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-6, SIGNED MARCH 24, 1961

This legislation provided a temporary program of, first, extended unemployment compensation to persons who have exhausted their unemployment compensation under State and Federal unemployment laws; and, second, reimbursement to certain States in meeting their cost of long-term unemployment compensation. Enacted as part of the administration's program to help offset the effects of the then current recession on unemployed workers and on the Nation's economy, the bill provided extended benefits for up to 13 weeks of total unemployment to workers who had exhausted their rights under State programs and under Federal unemployment compensation programs for exservicemen and Federal employees. Payments could be made to unemployed persons who had exhausted their benefit rights under State programs after June 30, 1960, and before April 1, 1962, for weeks of unemployment starting before July 1, 1962. The bill also provided that, to the extent a State pays unemployment compensation for more than 26 weeks of total unemployment in the benefit year, the State will be reimbursed for the number of weeks it pays in excess of 26, up to a maximum of 13 additional weeks, this number to be subtracted from the potential extended benefit payments under the bill to the individual. The cost of the program is financed by advances from the Treasury to be repaid by a temporary increase in the net Federal unemployment tax of 0.4 percent on the existing wage base of $3,000, for calendar years 1962 and 1963.

Under the conference agreement on the bill, an amendment was adopted relating to reduction in temporary extended unemployment compensation payments in certain cases of retirement pensions and annuities, as well as a provision increasing the ceiling for certain administrative expenses authorized under section 901(c)(1)(A) of the Social Security Act to $385 million for fiscal year 1961 and $415 million for fiscal year 1962; the conferees also accepted the Senate amendment directing the Secretary of Labor to collect certain information related to administering the temporary extended unemployment compensation program.

THE AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN ACT OF 1961

H.R. 4884, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-31, SIGNED MAY 8, 1961

This legislation added a new section to title IV of the Social Security Act to make available, during the period beginning May 1, 1961, and ending June 30, 1962, Federal grants to States wishing to extend their aid-to-dependent-children programs to include needy children and relatives caring for them; of unemployed parents, on the same basis as Federal grants are available to needy children and relatives caring for them, who have been deprived of parental support by the death, absence, or incapacity of a parent. The bill included provisions designed to facilitate the employment of unemployed parents, or the retraining of such parents, if appropriate, and provisions to assure that aid is not provided when the parent has refused employment that it would be reasonable for him to accept. All existing provisions of the aid-to-dependent-children program apply to the temporary expanded program, including, of course, the Federal-State matching formula. The legislation was recommended by the President as a part of his broad program to combat the then existing recession and to relieve resulting hardships.

Under the conference agreement on the bill, certain amendments of the Senate were accepted and/or modified and incorporated in the bill. These included provisions relating to the denial of aid under the program where the unemployed parent is receiving unemployment compensation; extending Federal matching funds under the plan to children placed in foster homes in certain circumstances; extending for 1 year, to June 30, 1963, the authorization for appropriation of sums for training grants for public welfare and increasing the Federal share to 100 percent; relating to the denial of aid, under a State plan, because of the conditions in the home in which the child resides and providing a period for further study of this problem; raising the overall ceiling on grants which may be made to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam, to take into account the increased grants which would be made under the bill; and relating to the reimbursement of States for salaries and other expenses of the States' employees temporarily assigned to duty with the Department of Labor. Also included was a provision increasing from $12 to $15 the maximum medical care expenditures in behalf of old-age assistance recipients with respect to which there will be Federal participation.

THE PUBLIC WELFARE AMENDMENTS OF 1962

H.R. 10606, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-543, SIGNED JULY 25, 1962

An important and far-reaching achievement in the social security field, this legislation represented the most significant revision in the public welfare titles of the Social Security Act since the inception of the act. Through the comprehensive and constructive overhauling of the public assistance and child welfare provisions contained in this act, the States are given new tools for providing more effective welfare programs, with strong emphasis on the need for rehabilitation services and training programs. Ultimately, of course, success in implementing the objectives sought to be obtained by the Congress will depend largely upon the wholehearted cooperation of the States and local governments in fashioning programs which emphasize self-help. The major provisions of the bill as it was enacted into law are summarized briefly below.

Designed to provide incentives to the States to offer more rehabilitative services with a long-range view toward reducing the number of individuals on public welfare rolls, provision was made, effective September 1, 1962, for increased Federal matching for services and in the cost of staff training, so that the Federal

share for such services was raised to 75 percent from 50 percent. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was given broad authority to prescribe the minimum services necessary to help applicants and recipients with capacity for self-care or self-support, or to help them maintain and strengthen family life, the services to be provided under State plans for old-age assistance, aid to families with dependent children, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled.

A provision was added to the requirements for the aid to families with dependent children—aid to dependent children—program, effective July 1, 1963, under which each State plan must provide for the development of a program of welfare and related services for each child recipient geared to the child's home conditions and special needs.

To assist the States in encouraging the retention of existing work skills and the development of new ones, recognition is given to community work and training programs by the authorization of Federal financial participation in State expenditures for aid to families with dependent children made in the form of payments for work performed by a relative aged 18 or over with whom a dependent child is living. Safeguards are established with respect to the minimum rates to be paid, the expenses attributable to the work, and so forth.

As another step toward the goal of rehabilitation, the new law requires that the State consider all expenses attributable to employment in determining the need of a recipient of public assistance. Moreover, in the aid to dependent children program, under the new law, the States may permit earned or other income to be set aside for the dependent child's future needs, such as his education.

Provisions are contained in the new law designed to make it possible for the State agency to be assured that aid to dependent children payments are being used for the benefit of the child, without jeopardizing Federal financial participation.

Provision is also made for protective payments under the aid to dependent children program, that is, payment to another person interested in or concerned with the welfare of the child and his relatives. Procedures for and limitations on such protective payments are specified, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been requested to report back to Congress on the administration and operation of this provision by January 1, 1967.

Federal sharing in State expenditures for assistance to a second parent was also provided under the aid to dependent children program, under certain circumstances.

Certain previously enacted temporary provisions were extended or made permanent by this legislation, including the extension of Federal sharing of aid to families with dependent children to include dependent children of unemployed parents, which was extended for 5 years, to June 30, 1967. The provision for foster family care for certain children removed from their homes by judicial determination was made a permanent provision. In addition, the increased ceiling on Federal participation in old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled, which was scheduled to expire July 1, 1962, were continued to September 30, 1962, at which time a new formula with further increased ceilings on a permanent basis became effective. It was the clearly expressed intention that the increase in Federal sharing should be passed on to the recipients in these programs.

Provisions were contained in the new law to implement the recommendations of the administration for expanding and improving child welfare services, including the authorization for additional amounts to be appropriated for grants to the States for these services. Funds for expanded day care facilities were also authorized. Other provisions were designed to require the States to coordinate to a greater degree all of their programs which touch upon services to children.

Many additional provisions were contained in this extensive legislative revision of the public welfare titles of the Social Security Act. For example, there are new provisions relating to increase in trained welfare personnel; recognition of demonstration projects; the establishment of an advisory council on public welfare; important provisions giving the States an option instead of having separate State plans for the needy aged, disabled, and blind of combining their programs under one plan; and changes were made in the provisions relating to the consideration of earned income in determining need for old age assistance and aid to the blind.

H.R. 7500 (TITLE II), BY MR. MORGAN; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-293, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 22, 1961

The Committee on Ways and Means transmitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs language amending the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and the Social Security Act in relation to Peace Corps volunteers and volunteer leaders. The general effect of these provisions is to treat Peace Corps volunteers and volunteer leaders in a manner similar to enlisted men in the Armed Forces for income tax and social security purposes.

These amendments were included as title II of the bill reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs establishing the Peace Corps, and were accepted by the Senate in conference on the legislation, subsequently becoming law as a part of the Peace Corps Act.

H.R. 8853, BY MR. TUPPER; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 5, 1962 (SEE H.R. 12820, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-878)

The purpose of this bill was to amend title II of the Social Security Act to add the State of Maine to the list of States—making a total of 18—which may obtain social security coverage, under State agreement, for State and local policemen and firemen. The bill was passed unanimously by the House, and its substance was adopted on the Senate floor as an amendment to H.R. 12820. Ultimately the provision became law as a part of that bill.

H.R. 12820, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-878, SIGNED OCTOBER 24, 1962

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill was designed to validate the coverage under old-age, survivors', and disability insurance of the employees of certain agencies in Arkansas which have been included, in good faith but erroneously, as separate political subdivisions under the coverage agreement between the State of Arkansas and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The employees of the agencies involved should properly have been covered as employees of the political subdivisions of which the agencies are integral parts. Under this legislation, each of the agencies in question is deemed to have been a separate political subdivision from the time it was included in the coverage agreement through the year of enactment of the bill. Attempts to solve the problem administratively were unsuccessful. In future years, the State's coverage agreement will have to conform to the general requirements of the law.

The Senate adopted amendments, not affecting the provisions of the House bill, which incorporated the provisions of two other bills reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and which are described herein individually, H.R. 8853 and H.R. 12109. These amendments were accepted by the House, and the provisions of all three bills thus became law through H.R. 12820.

MISCELLANEOUS, INCLUDING LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE NATIONAL DEBT AND TO RENEGOTIATION OF DEFENSE CONTRACTS

H.R. 311, BY MR. BENNETT OF FLORIDA; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-58, SIGNED JUNE 27, 1961

The purpose of this bill, which became public law without substantive amendment, was to authorize the U.S. Government to accept gifts of money or other property which are to be used for the reduction of the public debt. It provided for the deposit of cash gifts, or proceeds from the sale of other gifts, in a special account on the books of the Treasury, and money in this account is to be utilized to retire obligations of the United States which are a part of the public debt.

Heretofore the Treasury Department, in the absence of specific directions to the contrary, had been treating gifts received by the United States for the purpose of reducing the public debt as unconditional gifts and depositing them in the general fund of the Treasury. The committee felt that those making gifts to reduce the public debt may prefer to have their contributions used for this specific purpose, and further that making this possible may encourage persons to make provision for gifts of this type.

H.R. 4317, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-370, SIGNED OCTOBER 4, 1961

As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this legislation was to provide a system of annuities for surviving widows and dependent children of judges of the Tax Court of the United States. Prior to enactment of this bill the Tax Court was the only Federal court without an adequate system of survivorship protection, since the Congress in 1956 provided a

survivor annuity system for other members of the Judiciary generally.

The Senate amended the bill in several respects, and under the conference agreement, and as the bill became law, the House bill was amended to conform the benefit computation in the case of widows and dependent children of Tax Court judges to the formula provided in the 1956 act relating to widows and dependent children of Federal judges. In addition, a provision was added relating to the taxability of amounts contributed by an employer which is a public school system for annuity contracts for its employees.

H.R. 7677, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-69, SIGNED JUNE 30, 1961

This bill, which became law without amendment, provided for a temporary—1 year—to June 30, 1962, addition of $13 billion in the public debt limitation. The present permanent statutory debt limit is $285 billion; this legislation provided an additional $5 billion temporary increase over the temporary ceiling in effect at the time of its enactment—to $298 billion. Enactment of this legislation was recommended by the administration, the Secretary of the Treasury having advised the committee that this action was essential to the orderly and economical management of the Government's finances.

H.R. 10050, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-414, SIGNED MARCH 13, 1962

The purpose of this legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to implement the request of the administration for a further temporary increase in the public debt limit of $2 billion to the end of the fiscal year 1962, making the temporary ceiling $300 billion through June 30, 1962. The debt limit had previously been temporarily increased by $13 billion, from $285 to $298 billion through June 30, 1962. The Secretary of the Treasury testified before the committee that the existing ceiling imposed serious operating difficulties and provided no flexibility for market operations and no margin to handle the fluctuations in trust fund investments. This legislation did not deal with the administration's recommendations regarding an increase in the ceiling for the fiscal year 1963.

H.R. 11990, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-512, SIGNED JULY 1, 1962

The purpose of this legislation, which became law without amendment, was to provide a temporary increase in the public debt limit for the fiscal year 1963. Under existing law, the debt limit would have reverted to the permanent ceiling of $285 billion at the end of June 30, 1962. The administration had requested a temporary increase of $23 billion—to $308 billion—for the fiscal year 1963. Under the committee's bill, and as it became law, the public debt limit is increased to $308 billion from July 1, 1962, to March 31, 1963; to $305 billion from April 1, 1963, to June 24, 1963; and to $300 billion from June 25 to June 30, 1963, at which time the ceiling will revert to the permanent limit of $285 billion in the absence of further legislative enactments. This approach was designed to provide a debt limitation adequate for the expected seasonal variation in expenditures and receipts, without providing so much leeway that it can subsequently be used to cover deficit financing.

H.R. 12030, BY MR. MILLS; PASSED HOUSE OCTOBER 4, 1962 (SEE H.R. 12599, PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-870)

The purpose of this bill, which was passed by the House without amendment, was to amend the Internal Revenue Code to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to make special statistical studies and compilations and certain other services, to engage in these studies, etc., jointly with parties requesting them, and to furnish the results of the studies to the parties requesting them upon payment of the cost involved.

Other Federal agencies have the authority to receive reimbursement for services similar to those of the Internal Revenue Service for which reimbursement would be authorized by this bill, and many States, private research organizations and individuals have need for the type of information which would be made available under it. The substance of this bill was adopted in the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 12599, and ultimately became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 12061, BY MR. MILLS; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-520, SIGNED JULY 3, 1962

In the absence of this legislation, the Renegotiation Act of 1951, which authorizes the Government to recapture excessive profits on certain Government contracts and related subconstracts, would have expired on June 30, 1962. The President in his budget message, the Renegotiation Board, and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation—in its report pursuant to a directive contained in the last extension of the act—recommended that the act be extended. As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill would have extended the Renegotiation Act for 2 years, to June 30, 1964, without further amendment. The amendments of the Senate, retaining the 2-year extension but amending the act with respect to review of Tax Court decisions in renegotiation cases, were accepted by the House, and the bill became law as thus amended.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 356, BY MR. WATTS; PASSED HOUSE SEPTEMBER 11, 1962

The purpose of tis resolution, which was reported to the House unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to express the sense of Congress that the appropriate agencies of the U.S. Government should be aware of the fact that bourbon whisky is recognized as a distinctive product of the United States, to the end that such agencies will take appropriate action to prohibit the importation of whisky designated as "bourbon whisky" unless such whisky is clearly labeled to show the country of origin as an integral part of the name. The resolution passed the House by voice vote, and was pending in the Senate Committee on Finance at adjournment.

S. 1750, BY SENATOR MAGNUSON; PUBLIC LAW NO. 87-342, SIGNED OCTOBER 3, 1961

This legislation, which was enacted at the request of the administration as an integral part of its anticrime legislative program, amended the provisions of the Federal Firearms Act by prohibiting the shipment, receipt or transportation of firearms in interstate or foreign commerce to or by any person who has been convicted of, or is under indictment for, a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year. Prior to enactment of the bill, these prohibitions in the act had applied to any person who was under indictment for, or had been convicted of, a "crime of violence," as defined in the act. The Attorney General advised that enactment of this legislation would aid Federal law enforcement officers in their assault on organized crime. The bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, identical bills having been introduced by the chairman and ranking majority member of the committee.

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## Columbus Day in Newark, 1962, and the Columbian Foundation Dinner

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant and joyous of our holidays is that marking the anniversary of the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus. This year, in the northern New Jersey area, it was especially joyous, from the very beginning to the end.

In the morning, the annual great parade formed, under the guidance of my dear friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO], who was the grand marshal. Assisting the grand marshal were many of the leading citizens of the greater Newark area, including Mayor Healey, of Kearney; Mayor Rodgers, of Harrison; Mayor Larson, of East Newark; Mayor Chenoweth, of Nutley; Mayor Laterza, of Belleville; Louis Tonti, executive director of the Garden State Parkway; Nicholas Caputo, clerk of Essex County; Roy D'Aloia, sheriff of Essex County; and Domenick Micelli, assistant business administrator of Newark.

Undoubtedly, the feature of this year's parade was the attendance by our most distinguished and truly great President, John F. Kennedy. In a typically fine, concise, masterfully delivered speech, the President called on all Americans to draw from the example of courage shown by Columbus, in facing the challenge of life today.

I hope—

Said the President—

in 1962 all Americans will continue to meet our responsibilities in the preservation of

world peace, equal opportunities, and guaranteeing our youth full educational opportunities.

The President also took the opportunity to reveal that he is descended from Geraldinis, who came from Venice. This was not an unpopular revelation to the throng of 150,000 who turned out to honor him and view the parade.

In the evening, the climax to the happy day came at the dinner of the Columbian Foundation, held in the Military Park Hotel.

The Columbian Foundation was organized in 1941 and is composed of business and professional men of Newark and nearby communities. Its objectives are to promote the economic, cultural, educational, and social welfare of the community, and to engage in works of philanthropy. The foundation has established the Italian Institute of Seton Hall University. It gives aid to Columbus Hospital each year and to youth development organizations. And each year it selects leading citizens who have contributed to the improvement of American life and culture for achievement awards. In the past, the foundation has cited such noted figures as Gen. Leslie Groves, Director of the Manhattan project; Nuclear Physicist Enrico Fermi; Perry Como; and Joe DiMaggio.

This year, the foundation presented four awards—to Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Doherty, president of Seton Hall University, for his work in education; to the mayor of Newark, and our former beloved colleague, Hugh J. Addonizio, and to his long-time close friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO], for their achievements in the field of government; and, in an unprecedented move, to the 12-year-old son of that gentleman, Peter W. Rodino III, for his little-people-to-little-people program, in the field of human relations.

We in this body are familiar with the work of young Peter who has conceived of and worked to develop his correspondence campaign, to spread Americanism and encourage peace throughout the world. Commenting on the award to the lad, Frank Langella, chairman of the Columbian event, noted that this was the first time "that so young a person has received one of our awards, but this young man's program in developing interest among Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and other youth organizations is telling the American story to other young people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. And, it demonstrates that individual achievement can come at any age."

The award to Master Rodino set the theme of the whole evening—a people-to-people program. Our distinguished colleague, and I am sure, rightfully so, proud father, likened the voyage of Columbus to the responsibilities that face us today.

For, 500 years ago—

The gentleman from New Jersey said—

the great Italian navigator sailed the uncharted seas to add another dimension to the Old World and discovered a new world full of promise where man's highest aspirations might be realized and his fondest dreams fulfilled. He opened up new vistas for those who dared set sail toward the harbor of attainable dreams.

Tonight, five centuries later, those of us who have inherited his spirit look with pride on this symbolic day and on our legacy inspired by his faith—the idea of giving and doing. We, too, have set our hands to the sails, and each in our own way has tried to help steer the ship of human destiny to greater horizons and to ports of great promise.

To each of us has been given a small role to play. Mine has been a small one, too, but what little contribution I have made in helping along the way, has given me the satisfaction of receiving so much while I have given so little.

There are yet uncharted seas, greater goals, heavenly horizons, for those who will sail in the spirit of Columbus. Perhaps through little people to little people we may yet reach this port of golden promise. And, in so doing, send rays of light to the darkest corners of the earth.

We Americans of Italian heritage have a rendezvous with destiny, but we must accept the challenge of the currents and the shoreless seas to reach our golden tomorrow.

In the time-hallowed custom of civilized men, I tell you these words which are in my heart. And for myself and Peter's mother, I give you my hand in thanks for the great honor you have done me and my son.

Thus our esteemed colleague eloquently pointed out how we today can reverse the role of Columbus. He brought light to the New World. Now we can bring the light of freedom, of security, of peace from the New World back to the old, so ravaged by centuries of strife.

Yes, Columbus Day, 1962, was a memorable one for Newark and its suburbs. And all in this body can be proud of the contribution made by our beloved colleague and his fine son.

## Racial Harmony in Lebanon, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in these days when racial disturbances and incidents of violence occasioned by school integration are very much in the news, it is encouraging and uplifting to learn of the experience of a Negro school principal in Lebanon, Conn., which for many years was my home.

Mr. Marshall Jenkins, principal of the Lyman Memorial High School, of Lebanon, Conn., recently wrote to me to tell me of the marvelous experience he has had as principal of this high school during its greatest period of change and growth. This experience demonstrates that where attitudes are not preconditioned by prejudice and fear and racial intolerance, people of both races can work together in friendship and mutual respect in improving our Nation's school system.

Mr. Jenkins says:

The most beautiful part of the entire story is that I am not accepted as a Negro principal but as the high school principal.

I am sure that some day the sentiment expressed in this sentence will be a reality throughout our Nation's school system and I bring the story of Marshall Jenkins to the attention of the country in order that it might serve as an example of what can be achieved.

It is, I think, significant that this exercise in Americanism has taken place in Lebanon, Conn., which is, I believe, a typical American community. Lebanon has played an important part in our history and its background is rich in American tradition.

As early as April 9, 1770, Lebanon freemen, incited by the Boston Massacre, met and drafted a declaration of rights and liberties that preceded the Declaration of Independence by more than 6 years. The document was drafted by William Williams who was later a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Lebanon early became a key town in Colonial military activity, with Jonathan Trumbull, the town's foremost citizen, a counselor to George Washington, and the only Colonial Governor to espouse the revolutionary cause. When facing a financial or commissary crisis, Washington so frequently said "let's see what Brother Jonathan can do," that the appelation came to be synonymous with the present term "Uncle Sam."

Across from the Common in Lebanon is the former Revolutionary War Office, which is now a museum. Under Trumbull's direction this building served as the northern business headquarters of the Continental forces and supplied from Connecticut more men and money than were furnished by any other Colony, with the exception of Massachusetts. No call for aid ever lacked response during the entire war. In 1780, when Washington, scarcely daring to hope for further aid for his starving troops, sent to Trumbull for food and the Connecticut Governor replied with a train of ox sleds laden with 1,500 barrels of beef and 3,000 barrels of pork, Washington wrote in his diary:

No other man that Trumbull would have procured them and no other State could have furnished them.

Washington once said:

Except for Jonathan Trumbull, the war could not have been carried to a successful termination.

It is in this historic American town that Marshall Jenkins is now making more American history, a testament to the natural ease with which men and women and children of all races can work together productively when prejudice and intolerance are set aside.

What has happened in Lebanon will one day be the rule and not the exception in this country, and I am publicizing this story as best I can in order that its example may hasten the day when all Americans are judged on their merit as individuals and none is deprived of an opportunity to make his full contribution to our national life.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the letter to me from Mr. Marshall Jenkins, of Lebanon, Conn., be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LYMAN MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL.
*Lebanon, Conn., October 10, 1962.*

Senator THOMAS A. DODD,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: In the light of our present-day situation in Mississippi and Albany, Ga., and the vast racial problems faced by the United States as she seeks to win the friendship of the ever evolving new nations of Africa and the world, I am compelled to write this letter to you.

I am supervising principal of the Lyman Memorial Junior-Senior High School in Lebanon, Conn. During the time in which I have held this position (the only Negro holding such a position in this State), I have heard comments, read articles, and discussed problems which Negroes may encounter as a result of integration. Comments such as Negroes will not be hired as teachers in integrated schools, or that Negro teachers will lose their present jobs, or that all principalships and supervisory positions will be a thing of the past in integrated systems, are not based on fact. For 7 years, I have been principal of an "all white" school in an "all white" town. In fact, we are one of only two Negro families in Lebanon. Until a month ago, we were the only Negro family in town.

This perhaps in itself is not too significant except that I feel others need to know that in Connecticut democracy is not only a dream but in many areas a reality.

The most beautiful part of the entire story is that I am not accepted as a Negro principal but as the high school principal. Perhaps the most dramatic portrayal of this was the planning, organizing, staffing, and supervising of our new school and its programs. We moved from a 6-teacher high school to a 17-teacher junior-senior high school. Now we have 24 teachers on our staff and plan to increase even more. In fact, we are presently adding six classrooms, a nurses room, and other special service areas to our present building.

The leadership role I assumed during this process and the vast number of decisions I had to make were never doubted or questioned because of the color of my skin. The people of Lebanon wanted the best education they could get for the money they wanted to spend. They didn't care about pigmentation anymore than they cared about separating the rainbow on the basis of color.

All of the 315 students and the 24 faculty members are white. This also has never made any difference and I don't believe it ever will. Good education in a well organized and well disciplined school is the responsibility with which I have been charged over the past 7 years. This I believe is presently taking place in Lebanon.

Lebanon, named for the Bible town, was settled in 1698. "Yet here once flashed the blue and buff of general's rank—the flaming scarlet of the Nation's new gentility—the jewels and gold insignia of foreign friends. Here dreams of liberty once called their stirring martial call to arms which roused the country to its peril." Liberty, democracy, freedom, and equality were inspired here and live on through today.

I am sure that the day is coming when experiences like mine will no longer be news, but will be a common part of the American culture.

Respectfully yours,

MARSHALL JENKINS.

## Berlin Memorandum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the 1st session of the 87th Congress, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research published a very informative three-part analysis of the Berlin situation. Today, although most attention is focused on Cuba, the unsolved Berlin problem still faces us. In fact, as we all know, reports and conjectures, as well as official statements, have indicated that another Soviet-inspired Berlin crisis may well evolve before the end of the year.

A highly interesting memorandum, written by Prof. P. Van de Meerssche, of the University of Louvain in Belgium, has come to my attention. This memorandum attempts to deal with the major and essential elements of the Berlin situation with particular emphasis on the juridical, political, and human aspects. In looking into the prospects of the Berlin problem, Professor Van de Meerssche notes the differences in approach between the British, the French, and the Germans. The limits and possibilities of a Western policy toward Berlin are also discussed, as are certain special questions such as what form the next Soviet challenge in Berlin might take.

Mr. Speaker, it occurred to me that my colleagues would be very interested in a Berlin analysis written in Europe that might serve as a complement to the analysis of last year made by the American Enterprise Institute. And certainly, with the very real possibility of another Berlin crisis around the corner, it will prove of interest to all my colleagues to ponder the analysis and proposals set forth by Professor Van de Meerssche.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM ON THE BERLIN SITUATION

(By P. Van de Meerssche Dr. iur.; Drs. pol. sc., Louvain, Sept. 12, 1962)

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The Berlin problem, so dramatically apparent today,[1] has a long history; the history of a victory without peace.

If the Berlin problem were an isolated problem of international politics, many solutions could be found, but the essence of the problem is to be found in the permanent cold war between the ex-Allies.

The Berlin problem is not a most complicated technical problem concerning the status of a city, but as Henry A. Kissinger noted[2] and President J. F. Kennedy said;[3] "Berlin has become the touchstone of the West's European policy."

The aim of this memorandum on the Berlin problem is to give an objective, fair, brief, and shaded account of the juridical, political, and human aspects of the Berlin situation, in order to find a founded answer to the main questions[4] on the further development of the Berlin crisis: the limits of the Western policy, the differences of approach between the German, the French, and the British Governments; the possible initiatives of the Soviet Union at the end of this year; the NATO implications; the prospects of a shift in West Germany's political orientation.

PART I. THE SITUATION OF BERLIN

*Section 1. Juridical aspects*

The rights of the Western Powers on West Berlin are irrefutable. It was Mr. Khrushchev who started the Berlin crisis by calling the situation in Berlin "abnormal" and asking the West to "solve" a "problem" which would not have existed if the Soviet Union had observed the treaties signed by her delegates after the Second World War; in other

Footnotes at end of speech.

words, if Mr. Khrushchev had observed the rule "pacta sunt servanda." [5]

The international juridical status of West Berlin is mainly based on the protocol between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin" signed on September 12, 1944, at Lancaster House, London.[6]

The two essential points of this protocol, elaborated by the "European Advisory Commission," about which the Western Powers can argue to defend their position in West Berlin are:

Article 1: "Germany, within the frontiers as they were on December 31, 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into three zones, one of which will be allotted to each of the three powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the three powers."

Article 2: "The boundaries of the three zones and of the Berlin area, and the allocation of the three zones as between the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. will be as follows:

"Eastern Zone (as shown on the annexed map A—not printed in RECORD). The territory of Germany (including the province of East Prussia) situated at the east of a line drawn from the point on Lübeck Bay where the frontiers of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg meet, along the western frontier of the province of Hanover, to the frontier of Brunswick, thence along the western frontier of the Prussian province of Saxony to the western frontier of Anhalt; thence along the western frontier of the Prussian province of Saxony and the western frontier of Thuringia to where the latter meets the Bavarian frontier; thence eastward along the northern frontier of Bavaria to the 1937 Czechoslovakian frontier, will be occupied by armed forces of the U.S.S.R., with the exception of the Berlin area, for which a special system of occupation is provided below."

Confirmed at Yalta, the London protocol was completed on July 26, 1945, in order to define the French position, but neither this nor any latter agreement [7] have changed the essential rights such as defined by the London protocol on September 12, 1944.[8]

The Soviets, however, contest the legacy of the Western rights, proposing three arguments:

1. "Neither the United States, nor Great Britain, nor France possess any rights on Berlin. They did not conquer it. The protocol concerning the occupation of the city had been signed after the German capitulation." [9]

This argument among others set forth by Marshal Tchuikov is a rather weak one, that has seldom been used by Soviet diplomacy. As a matter of fact, it would imply that the Iron Curtain should coincide with the demarcation line of the respective Allied Forces at the moment of the capitulation of the Third Reich. In particular, this would mean that the Soviet Union would restore to the Western Powers a zone in which are included Thüringen, Saxen-Anhalt and a part of Mecklenburg, in all 42,000 square kilometers in 1942 populated with 8,700,000 inhabitants.

2. The second argument of the Soviet Union is that West Berlin lies on the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

Although this argument was set forth after July 5, 1948 [10], it was stressed in the memorandums since the beginning of the Berlin crisis:

"The most correct and natural way to solve the problem would, of course, be for the western part of Berlin, which is virtually detached from the German Democratic Republic, to be reunited with its eastern part and for Berlin to become a single united city within the state on whose land it is situated." [11]

This argument is repeated again and again by Mr. Khrushchev:

"The conclusion of a peace treaty would at the same time solve the problem of West Berlin which, being a part of Greater Berlin, lies on the territory of the German Democratic Republic.[12]

"Berlin lies on the territory of the German Democratic Republic." [13]

This argument is in flagrant contradiction with the already mentioned articles 1 and 2 of the London protocol. In their answer of July 18, 1961, to the Soviet memoradum, the State Department reproduced the map A, annexed to the protocol; [14] a map on which everybody can see that Berlin is marked with color different from the other zones.

This argument is also in contradiction with the facts: the Western Allies have carefully observed the quadripartite status of Berlin. Indeed, they did not allow West Berlin to be integrated as a "land" in the Federal Republic (as set forth in the proposal of the Berlin constitution, September 1, 1950); the Berliners have no military service to perform; [15] the outlawing of the Communist Party in the Federal Republic has no application in West Berlin.

Of course, the argument that West Berlin lies on the territory of the German Democratic Republic is easy to voice when one—as Communist jurists do—simply forgets to reproduce the complete text of the London protocol.[16]

3. The most important argument, however, the argument which goes to the heart of the matter, is as follows: "the status of West Berlin can no longer be maintained because it has lost any contact with the purposes for which it was set up and also with the agreements signed by the Allies concerning the occupation of Germany." [17]

In juridical terms this means, that the agreements the Soviet Union signed "rebus sic stantibus" no longer exist because the situation of 1958–62 essentially differs from the situation 1944–45. Thus the "rebus sic stantibus" clause is at the bottom of the juridical reasoning behind Soviet threats to conclude a separate peace with the German Democratic Republic and against the statute of West Berlin. It is of course true, that the situation of 1944–45 is no longer that of 1958–62 and it is also true that the agreements on Berlin have been signed in the perspective of the unification of Germany. However the question is: Who is responsible for the essential change in the actual situation in Europe, in Germany, [18] in Berlin? To this question the answer is not juridical but only political. Before explaining the political aspects of the Berlin crisis one can ask if it would be "überhaupt" possible to discuss with the Soviets on Berlin, their conception of international law being essentially different from ours.[19] Indeed, the Soviets see international law as the extension of national law which is founded on the Soviet conception of society, i.e., the law-creating element is the Soviet state, the Communist Party. This role of the Soviet state, the Communist Party, as supreme judge of good and evil, permits it to do anything that its leaders feel will contribute to the spread of communism in the world.

The Soviet conception of law—like Hitler's—looks at juridical structures and agreements as reflecting a given balance of power between classes. Law is created by the state and, therefore, not bound by any rule of justice or morality, according to Lenin's expression that law per se does not exist. In other words, law is not more than a political instrument for the building of communism, it is conceived as simply a part of the superstructure of society and not as a basic element like economy. Thus international law for the Soviets is "a body of norms regulating between states in the process of their rivalry, their struggle, and their cooperation, which express the will of the dominating classes in these states, and which are guaranteed by the coercion exercised by the states separately or collectively." [20] This primacy of the principle of state sovereignty in international law affects, of course, their conception of the sources of the law of nations. Thus in theory the only real and undisputed sources of international law are the treaties by which two or more states have contracted reciprocal commitments. This conception could be constructive in international law, if the Soviets did not show, in fact, that they are only bound to the extent they consider useful. If they want to denounce a treaty which they consider awkward at a given time, like the London protocol on Berlin, the Soviets invoke the right to nullify treaties, which, because of changed circumstances, have lost their "raison d'être." The question at stake, therefore, is the interpretation of the clause "rebus sic stantibus." The Soviet doctrine is very careful not to give any exact details on the nature and degree of the changes in external circumstances which justify the annulment of the Soviet-Finnish nonaggression pact of January 21, 1932 (annulled on November 27, 1939); the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact of April 13, 1941 (annulled on April 5, 1945); the Soviet-Yugoslav treaty of friendship and collaboration for the postwar period concluded on April 11, 1945 (annulled on September 28, 1949); the Anglo-Soviet alliance of May 26, 1942 (annulled on May 7, 1955); the Franco-Soviet treaty of alliance and mutual assistance of December 16, 1944 (annulled on May 7, 1955). The different conception the Soviets have on international law and their abusive interpretation of the "rebus sic stantibus" clause make it hard to believe that the treaties Mr. Khrushchev now proposes on Berlin and Germany are to be more than purely temporary arrangements without providing real juridical guarantees as the Western Powers understand it for the freedom of the German people, the freedom of the Berlin people, they are held to guarantee.

*Section 2. Political aspects*

A. The Political Choice of the Berliners

Before explaining Soviet and Western policy concerning Berlin the question arises why Berlin—where the Communist and Socialist before 1933 always maintained a particularly strong position—did not become another "democratized" city like Bucharest, Budapest, Prague and other East European capitals where the "salami" tactics were applied. Logically the Communist tactics had to be at least as successful in Berlin as in any other East European capital and state.

Two facts of considerable political importance, however, explain why the opposite happened. First, in Berlin it was the working class itself who had said "No" to the Communists. With the prospect of elections in autumn 1946 the Communists wanted to set up a United Workers Party under their control, but on March 31, 1946, more than 80 percent of the SPD (Social Democrats) members voted against the merger of their party with the KPD (Communist Party). Nevertheless, Otto Grotewohl declared the merger of SPD and KPD under the label "SED" (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) to be an accomplished fact. The anti-Communist social-democrats reacted to this, erecting an independent anti-Communist Party under the former denomination "SPD," on April 7, 1946. On October 20, 1946, for the first and last time since 1933, free and secret elections were organized for the whole city of Berlin. They resulted in

Footnotes at end of speech.

a disaster for the Communist SED. The division of the valid votes was as follows:

SPD (anti-Communist Social Democrats), 1,015,609 votes equals 48.7 percent.

CDU (anti-Communist Christian Democrats), 462,425 votes equals 22.2 percent.

SED (Communists), 412,582 votes equals 19.8 percent.

LDP (Liberals), 194,722 votes equals 9.3 percent.

In this connection a significant ancedote may be quoted: a Berlin industrialist who normally voted liberal, was said to have voted SPD in order to be sure he had voted anti-Communist.

As the Communists didn't want to incur another disaster at the elections of December 1948—which had to be organized according to the Inter-Allied Agreement on the Berlin administration—they changed their tactics. The SED—which only occupied 26 out of 130 seats in the Berlin City Council—sabotaged with every means the activities of the city council: several times Communist elements penetrated into the Berliner Rathaus, which was situated in the Soviet-sector and threatened the non-Communist members. Finally, after the coup d'etat of November 30, 1948, in the Soviet sector of Berlin, the regularly elected members of the city council and senate were obliged to transfer their seat to Schöneberg in West Berlin. The elections which were to be organized at the end of 1948 were forbidden in the Soviet sector and could only take place in West Berlin on December 5, 1948. As expected, the SPD obtained an overwhelming success (64.5 percent), whereas the Communists (SED) had chosen not to enter into competition.[23]

In East Berlin a new city council and senate were imposed without democratic election. They were recognized by the Soviet officer in command, Jelisarow, in a note of December 2, 1948, as "the only legal municipal organ."[24]

Meanwhile—and this fact should also be mentioned—the Berlin Socialist Trade Union in order to prevent Communist agitation from being successful in the union "apparatus" had created an independent anti-Communist confederation; namely, the UGO, on May 26, 1948.

The second fact we should have in mind is that the Berliners, and first of all the Berliner working class, perhaps never would have been able to stop the Communists if they hadn't found themselves supported by resolute and determined Western Allies; the sympathy of the Berlin people for men like Gen. Lucius Clay is indeed very far from merely sentimental.

B. Soviet Policy Concerning Berlin

Our aim is not to retrace the whole Soviet policy concerning Berlin since 1944.[25] One should only remember who has broken up the quadripartite administration of Berlin (May 20, 1948); who has disturbed the practice of the democratic institutions in the eastern part of the city (June 23, 1948); who has broken free communications between Berlin and the Federal Republic (June 24, 1948), till an agreement was signed on May 9, 1949; who has practiced the "salami" tactics of frictions, stresses, and strains cutting one by one a piece of the Four-Power statute of the city of Berlin; who has opened the crisis over Berlin with an ultimatum of 6 months on November 27, 1958; who announced again that a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic would be signed before the end of 1961; who has given his consent to erect barricades within Berlin on August 13, 1961. It is clear that these unilateral acts of the Soviet Union violating the existing Four-Power Agreements are not to increase hope and confidence of the German and Berlin people, but rather despair and grief, expressed by Chancellor K. Adenauer: "* * * the tanks of the people's army, the people's police, and the factory combat groups which have been concentrated in and around East Berlin in order to give military support to that illegal attack (wall) on the status of the city of Berlin, offer a foreboding of what would be the nature of the guarantee to be given to a so-called free city."[26]

More and more the Soviet aims beyond the Berlin crisis became clear. Opening the Berlin crisis on November 27, 1958, Mr. Khrushchev wanted to render legitimate the situation in East Berlin and East Germany that had been established by brute force in other words: the legalization of the Ulbricht regime where already more than 3 million German people have abandoned their possessions risking their lives in order to begin a new life in freedom; Mr. Khrushchev wanted also to reinforce Soviet authority in the East European satellite countries, since the Communist world is no longer a monolith under Soviet control; finally he wanted to cut off Berlin from the Federal Republic.

Of course the Soviets only demand that the Western Powers recognize for West Berlin a free city status: "* * * the Soviet Government finds it possible for the question of West Berlin to be settled for the time being by making West Berlin an independent political entity—a free city—without any state, including either of the existing German states, interferring in its life. It might be possible, in particular, to agree on the territory of the free city being demilitarized and having no armed forces on it. The free city of West Berlin could have its own government and could run its own economy and its administrative and other affairs" (Soviet memorandum, November 27, 1958).[27]

Further on the reasons will be discussed why a free city status for West Berlin cannot be accepted. One must only see this: the real danger for Berlin does not reside in a military attack, but in a slow whittling away of the Western position through a series of steps each of which is so small that it does not seem to justify a major risk and in a pattern of negotiations about the status of Berlin by which the West purchases a series of respites at the price of jeopardizing the future. The proposal of a free city must be seen in this perspective.

C. The Western Policy

Berlin has become the touchstone of the West's European policy. In the 17 years during which the Western Powers have striven to live peacefully with the Soviets in Berlin, their positions have been gradually undermined by Communist encroachments. The failure during the period of greatest Soviet confusion in 1953–57 to make clear that the Soviet Union rejects any scheme for unification including free popular choice at whatever stage and the reluctance of the Western Powers to negotiate when they could have forced the Soviet leaders to come to grips with the issue of Germany and Berlin are among the causes of our present difficulty. Sure, there is no need of declarations by the Western Powers confirming their rights on and their obligation to the Federal Republic and West Berlin. At this moment, it seems, however, not superfluous to have these Western obligations well in mind, for example, as they were expressed by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France on October 3, 1954:

"Take note that the German Federal Republic has by a declaration dated October 3 accepted the obligations set forth in article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and has undertaken never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification of Germany or the modification of the present boundaries of the German Federal Republic, and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other states; declare that—

"1. They consider the Government of the Federal Republic as the only German government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs.

"2. In their relations with the Federal Republic they will follow the principles set out in article 2 of the United Nations Charter.

"3. A peace settlement for the whole of Germany, freely negotiated between Germany and her former enemies, which should lay the foundation of a lasting peace, remains an essential aim of their policy. The final determination of the boundaries of Germany must await such a settlement.

"4. The achievement through peaceful means of a fully free and unified Germany remains a fundamental goal of their policy.

"5. The security and welfare of Berlin and the maintenance of the position of the Three Powers there are regarded by the Three Powers as essential elements of the peace of the free world in the present international situation. Accordingly they will maintain armed forces within the territory of Berlin as long as their responsibilities require it. They therefore reaffirm that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon their forces and themselves."[28]

One should not forget that this declaration was the counterpart of the fact that the Federal Republic became a member of NATO.[29]

Since Mr. Khrushchev opened the crisis over Berlin with his ultimatum of November 27, 1958, the Communists have engaged in a series of harassing moves aiming at cutting off West Berlin from the Federal Republic. The Western answer has been rather confused. The mere fact that the Western Powers seemed divided on Berlin, was enough to continue and even to stress his threat on Berlin. The deterioration of the Western position is shown by the process of negotiations since November 1958: first of all, despite protestations to the contrary, the Western Powers—London and Washington—have been indeed negotiating under constraint; in fact, they seemed more interested in the respite they had been given than concerned with the fate which was waiting at the end of the period of grace.

Further on, it was also Mr. Khrushchev who dictated the terms of the abnormal Berlin problem asking the West to solve it. It is impossible in this perspective of a receptive and forced passive position that the status of West Berlin should be ameliorated. If the Western Powers really will change the Berlin status in order to solve the problem—Mr. Khrushchev's problem—the only thing to be determined by negotiation in these conditions—the initiative remaining in Mr. Khrushchev's hands—is to limit the extent of defeat. Finally, the intensity of Soviet pressure has served to confuse the problem of what rights are at issue. Of course, the position of the Western Powers became rather paradoxical, but many columnists and reporters in France, Belgium, Holland, England, and the United States forgot how this actual situation had become that intricate, and so it is also true that the Western Powers not only officially differ in approach, but that within each Western Power one can find two opposed trends: those who say that there is no point whatever in negotiating about Berlin, and their opponents who urge that we ought to "improve" the status of Berlin.

The position of the West during the negotiations on Berlin at the Foreign Minister's Conference at Geneva (May 11–June 20, 1959;

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July 13–August 5, 1959) was at least uncomfortable: The West proposed mainly another interim agreement to guarantee its rights of access to Berlin. In return the West was to accept a limitation in the size of its military garrison in Berlin. It would forgo stationing nuclear weapons in Berlin. No intelligence or subversive activities were to be conducted from West Berlin. This proposal—and it was not even accepted by the Soviets—goes to the very limits of safety and probably beyond them because the offer transforms a permanent status into an interim one. The initiative remains with the Soviets. It is difficult to believe that the Western Powers after a 5-year interval would defend rights for which they were not prepared to contend when they were first challenged and which were especially altered by the interim agreement. The size of the garrison of the Western forces is subject to negotiations as far as the principle of military presence is maintained and the size sufficient to prevent the Communists from taking over the city by riots or by a sudden coup. However, a serious problem is posed by the prohibition of subversive activities, unless the term is rigidly defined. Of course, there is no objection to ban subversive activities in the conventional sense. However, it is very hard to believe the Soviets and their East German puppets should understand it in that sense. All democratic parties in the Federal Republic have already been labeled "Fascist," any article in a free Berlin, any visit of a political leader of West Germany or speech maintaining the rights of the Western Powers may be subversive for the Communists. Thus their possibilities of interference would be endless; there would be many pretexts for abrogating the agreement and thus confronting the West—why not in the General Assembly of the United Nations—with an even worse dilemma. Under pressure of the neutral's a solution could then be found on the basis of new concessions of the Western Powers prevailing peace.

The most convincing argument, however, for the right position of the Western Powers and the most damaging to the Soviets, is the fact that, since the Communist regime has been installed in Eastern Germany and East Berlin, more than 3 million people have abandoned all they had to fly to the Western Zone. This lasting referendum by feet against the Pankow regime is at the same time the most poignant, deeply human aspect of the Berlin crisis.

*Section 3. Human aspects*

As a result of the international tension caused by the Communists, the stream of refugees which has flowed unbroken for years past swelled to an actual mass flight, which only the sealing-off measures of August 13 and the following days could stop.

The refugee movement from the Soviet Zone,[28] and in particular its rise during the summer of 1961, is an uncontrovertible proof that in the Soviet Zone only a small group of fanatic functionaries is dominating by forcible means 16 million Germans. Therefore the sealing-off measures of August 13, 1961, are to be accounted as a declaration of bankruptcy on the part of Ulbricht's government.

After having studied the absolute figures, the regular rhythm, the structural composition of this dramatic "referendum by feet," it is easy to understand why the German Federal Republic cannot talk with the spokesmen of the Ulbricht regime.

1. The absolute figures of the Germans leaving the East sector is about 3,600,000 to 3,700,000.[29]

Since September 1949 a register of refugees from the Soviet Zone has been kept,[30] but already during the first postwar years hundreds of thousands of Germans, under the stress of political conditions, left the Soviet Zone and sought refuge in the Western Zones of occupation. This group was never systematically registered. According to statistics, the number of people from the Soviet Zone of occupation and the Soviet sector of Berlin who left these areas between 1945 and 1949, or who did not return there after being evacuated during the war, is put at 438,700. It is very probable that the actual figure is much higher.[31]

Taking as a basis the fact that since 1945 day by day an average of over 500 persons have left the Soviet sector of Berlin, this means that a medium-sized village has been completely depopulated there every day.

2. The rhythm of this stream of refugees was particularly regular and continuing. Registered refugees from the Soviet zone of occupation:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1949 (from September) | 129,245 |
| 1950 | 197,788 |
| 1951 | 165,648 |
| 1952 | 182,393 |
| 1953 | 331,390 |
| 1954 | 184,198 |
| 1955 | 252,870 |
| 1956 | 279,189 |
| 1957 | 261,622 |
| 1958 | 204,092 |
| 1959 | 143,917 |
| 1960 | 199,188 |
| 1961 (Aug. 15) | 159,730 |

Better than words can say, these figures express the importance of the referendum for freedom of those people "voting with their feet."

3. The structural composition of the stream of refugees shows a particularly high proportion of young persons. The proportion of young persons in the age group from 18 to 25 is considerable; in 1960 it amounted to 25, 7 percent, and in the first half of 1961 it mounted to 27, 2 percent. The same proportion is assumed by the age group between 25 and 45 (1960: 23, 4 percent; first half-year 1961: 23, 9 percent).[32]

Proportion of young persons under 25 years among the number of applicants for emergency reception formalities:

| | *Percent* |
|---|---|
| 1954 | 49.1 |
| 1955 | 52.4 |
| 1956 | 49.0 |
| 1957 | 52.2 |
| 1958 | 48.1 |
| 1959 | 48.3 |
| 1960 | 48.3 |
| 1961 (Aug. 15) | 49.6 |

The fact that young persons between 18 and 25 represent an overwhelming proportion of the population who takes flight and that the older age groups play a minor part only in the stream of refugees (the proportion of the age group over 65 years stays nearly constant at 5.4 percent) is a noteworthy political phenomenon. It is youth indeed, against which the enticement and coercion of propaganda is specially directed; older persons are less tempted by the "great adventure" and therefore put under less heavy pressure. As far as the younger generation is concerned, they first of all did not yield to the material enticements of the West, but simply felt that they had to break with a regime of coercion which had become mentally unbearable.

Flights of scholars reached a peak in 1958, when a total of 410 such persons fled from the Soviet Zone (51 professors, 52 readers, 14 lecturers, 52 assistant lecturers, 45 senior physicians and senior medical assistants engaged in research work, a.o.). From 1955 to October 1960, 22,884 students, candidates for admission to study and holders of the general certificate of education (advanced level) took flight.

Members of military units: attention deserves to be drawn in particular to the category of former members of military units. From 1952 to June 1961 a total of 20,009 refugees were counted, who at the time of their flight or immediately before (at the most 6 months) had belonged to the "armed forces" (national people's army, people's police living in barracks, etc.).[33]

It is essential to draw the attention of world public opinion to these facts which make clear the true causes of that policy of force and the meaning of Ulbricht's statement declaring that the Germans in the Soviet-occupied zone have already exercised their right of self-determination. These facts prove that there is only a right of self-determination for those who have left their homes in the Soviet-occupied zone, who have abandoned their possessions and risked their lives flying to West Berlin.

This referendum by feet of more than 3 million Germans is an irrefutable proof that the Western Powers have to stand firm on Berlin and the perspective of unification on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations.

PART II. PROSPECTS OF THE BERLIN CRISIS

In discussing the prospects of the Berlin crisis one has to take into account the differences in approach between the British, the French and the German Governments. The margin of possible concessions has to be definite and some special questions answered: In what forms are the Soviets and their East German puppets likely to mount another challenge to the Western position in Berlin? What about the likely effects upon NATO? What are the prospects of a shift in West Germany's political orientation from a loyal NATO ally to a neutral power?

*Section 1. Differences in approach between the British, the French and the German Governments*

Before explaining the differences in approach between the British, the French and the German Governments, it has to be repeated that these Governments have to take into account even more essential differences in approach within their own country.[34] Thus when we are speaking of the British approach or the French, one must always regard that there are "soft" and "rigid" French, rather "pacificist" and rather "hard" British politicians, etc.[35]

A. The British Approach

It seems that the "experience" during the Berlin crisis has shown to the British two important "facts." [36]

First of all, the fool who likes to start a nuclear war for West Berlin has yet to be found; in other words: neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is prepared to initiate the use of military force in the other's area of occupation in order to bring about a more satisfactory situation in Berlin. It seems very significant to the British not only that the West took no physical action demolishing the "wall of shame," but also that when a week later the Americans ran a tank convoy up the corridor through East Germany into Berlin, the Soviets on their side showed no inclination whatever to challenge its passage by force. The second fact they should have learned is that even without using force in the Western Zone, the Soviets and their East German assistants may be able to break the morale of the West Berliners—one of the "sine qua non's" of the Western policy of maintenance of the Western position in Berlin.[37] Indeed, since the wall was built in the middle of Berlin, for the first time there has been a substantial movement of West Berliners into West Germany. The ordinary men and women living in West Berlin are unlikely to feel sufficient confidence in the survival of their part of the city unless the cat-and-mouse tactics pursued by the Russians for the last 14 years show some sign of coming to an end as a

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result of a more lasting settlement than the one that was made under the armistice agreements of 1945. This is probably the most important reason why Britain is now anxious to negotiate with the Russians for an improvement in the security of West Berlin.

In any case most of the British would agree that it is better to negotiate on Berlin before Mr. Khrushchev signs a unilateral peace treaty with East Germany. Negotiating immediately with the Soviets, the Western Powers can negotiate from the juridical basis which at present they recognize. This is not only no longer true after a peace treaty with East Germany, but our main bargaining point, namely, the readiness to recognize the existence of the East German Government rests without any interest. Another element in the British approach is the feeling that it would be desirable to negotiate on a wider range of problems than the very narrow question of the independence of West Berlin and the access to it. The reason for this is that, even if the Western Powers succeeded in negotiating a new juridical status for West Berlin and a new juridical basis for Western access to Berlin through what will then be—also for the Federal Republic—the territory of the East German state, the security of the West Berliners will remain uncertain as long as West Berlin is an island of Western democracy in a Communist sea, and as long as the cold war and the arms race continue uncontrolled in Central Europe. Physically the West is bound to remain so vulnerable in Berlin, no matter what juridical agreements are reached, that, if the cold war goes on uncontrolled in Central Europe, the Soviet Union will be tempted from time to time to exploit this vulnerability by putting the pressure on West Berlin again.

So far all Britons seem to agree; they differ, however, in defining the concrete proposals to be set forth: the official spokesmen maintain the five essential points the Western Powers have promised to guarantee (Cfr. supra); in the Labor Party, one can hear voices speaking of neutralization of a united Germany. Even those who propose this plan do not believe it would be practicable. In fact, the Soviets do not trust a democratic Germany to remain neutral and the West does not trust a neutral Germany to remain democratic. Moreover, the unification of Europe would become undermined.

B. The French Approach

The British view is contested at almost every point by the French Government, which for international policy is President Charles de Gaulle himself. General de Gaulle does not like to negotiate and has not the temperament of a negotiator.[38] Every time he receives a statesman—let it be Mr. Khrushchev or Mr. Kennedy—a broad fresco is painted on the wall of international politics; he has been charming, and sometimes he was listening; but, as a Western politician said who knows him well: "The only method in order to change his mind is to put a tree over his road." Painful bargaining is not for him.

Concerning Berlin, President de Gaulle is right, he simply refuses to negotiate with the Soviets on the terms set forth by Mr. Khrushchev.

First of all, General de Gaulle knows strategy too well not to see that physically West Berlin has no future anyway; negotiations over Berlin can only result in concessions of the Western Powers.

Secondly, he thinks that what happens to Berlin depends essentially on what the West German Government can be brought to accept or to support. He does not want France to share the blame for any settlement of the Berlin problem which is likely to be unpopular in Bonn, although perhaps he would not mind allowing the British and the Americans to take an initiative which might produce such a settlement.

Finally, he does not really want any negotiation between the West and the Soviets on any major issue until France has become a nuclear power.

C. The German Approach

The choice Dr. K. Adenauer made in 1954, i.e., allowing his country to become a member of NATO, remains valid. It was made on the submission that the Western Powers accepted solemnly that they "consider the Government of the Federal Republic as the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international politics," that "the achievement through peaceful means of a fully free and unified Germany remains a fundamental goal of their policy," that the "security and welfare of Berlin and the maintenance of the position of the three powers there are regarded by the three powers as essential elements of the peace of the free world in the present international situation," that "accordingly they will maintain armed forces within the territory of Berlin as long as their responsibilities require it" and that "they therefore reaffirm that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon their forces and themselves."[39] Dr. Adenauer's choice and the solemn promises made by the Allies have been the basis of German policy during several years.

Perhaps the government of Bonn has deliberately accentuated the promises of the Western Powers in order to get public support for Germany's effort as NATO-member (there was no enthusiasm in Germany when the military service was reinstated—a euphemism).

The West German Government therefore refuses to agree to so-called realistic negotiations on Berlin. If it were to so agree it would not only expose the German people to some harsh and unwelcome realities, but at the same time would take the blame for deceiving and misleading German public opinion for many years. No existing Federal Government can do this and certainly not Dr. K. Adenauer.

*Section 2. Limits of any Western policy toward Berlin*

During the 17 years in which we have striven to live peacefully with the Soviets in Berlin, our positions have been gradually undermined by Communist encroachments. As a result, the margin of possible concessions has become dangerously narrow.

1. Two Extreme Attitudes

The pacifistic realists pretend that after all the Berlin situation indeed no longer conforms with the situation in Europe 1962. Why then risk a nuclear war for hardly more than 2 million people? Why not negotiate with the Soviets on the basis of recognizing the legitimacy of the status quo in Germany? Why not accept the division of Germany when no Western statesman really wants the unification of Germany, which would be a source of difficulties for the equilibrium of Europe? On the other side it is said that "since wars have again become ideological, that is to say, they do not only affect the frontiers of a given country but its liberty, nay, its very existence"[40] not only the 481 square kilometers of West Berlin nor its 2,226,000 inhabitants are subject for negotiation, but Berlin "as the essential symbol of the West's determination to resist further Soviet encroachment", Berlin must be seen as "a symbol of freedom to those in the East who remain enslaved by the Soviet tyranny"[41] and thus the West has to stand firm without any compromise. It is on the basis of those extreme attitudes—expressed of course with some nuances—that the limits and possibilities of a Western policy on Berlin are elaborated.

2. Recognition of "Status Quo" the Only Possible Solution for the Time Being

The recognition of "status quo" could be a practical solution for the time being, however, not the best and definite one for the Berlin and German problem as some Western politicians and columnists propose. They argue that the Hungarian and East Berlin upheaval proved that the West is not prepared to support anti-Communist revolutions with force, that as long as West Berlin is an island in a Communist sea it will remain as a continual focus of international conflict, that the Western Powers have long since recognized the existing governments in eastern Europe and that the myth of unification no longer can be the grounds for a realistic and dynamic policy.

They forget, however, that the case of the East German Government is essentially different from that of the other east European satellite governments. The problem in East Germany is not only that a puppet government has been forced on a hostile population; a separate state there—even were it non-Communist—runs counter to German national feeling. The flights from the east zone of more than 3 million Germans and the sealing off measures of the Communist regime of August 13, 1961, confirms clearly and unmistakably the fact that the Ulbricht regime is not supported by the German people.

Secondly, they forget that the position of the East German regime is perforce—and Ulbricht knows it too well—precarious as long as there exists a free and prosperous West Germany which is the symbol of an alternative—a condition which has not existed in any other satellite area. By the same token, no West German Government can accept as permanent the forcible partition of German territory without undermining its domestic support. An alliance which demanded such a price would lose its meaning in German eyes.

Thirdly, recognizing the division of Germany the Western Powers would ruin forever the aspirations and the hope for freedom of all those who live in the other satellite countries, our "secret allies."

Fourthly, if the West were to accept the division of Germany the Soviet Union would be able to shift the responsibility for thwarting unification to the Western Powers. This has already been foreshadowed by Mr. Khrushchev's statement to a group of West German editors that the West preferred a divided Germany for economic as well as military reasons.[42] In this eventuality, the German policy toward the West would change. (Cfr. Infra, sec. 3. Special questions: Prospects of a shift in West Germany's political orientation).

Conclusion: the recognition of East Germany in return for safeguarding the Western rights in West Berlin is nonsense. The Communists would gain international recognition for the partition of Germany and create a situation whereby they alone could emerge as the advocates of unification. The Federal Republic would be dealt a staggering blow and for all this the West would obtain a withdrawal of an unilateral, unprovoked threat. This is hardly the way to discourage further Communist pressure and to protect the West from future difficulties concerning the status of West Berlin.

3. Negotiations Between East and West Germany

The Berlin problem is a German problem; let the Germans negotiate their problem and we shall subscribe to the outcome.

This is a cynical proposition. It is hardly to be supposed that the subservient satellite whose government would be eliminated in a unified Germany resulting from exercise

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of the German people's right of self-determination would prove any more tractable on the issue of resolving the division of Germany than its boss in the Kremlin. Negotiations between two "German" governments, which a schism even deeper than that which has rent East and West separates, would undoubtedly increase rather than decrease the tension between the East and the West bloc.

4. The Status of a "Free City"—Possibly the Seat of the United Nations

"The implementation of this proposal would not alter in any way the existing situation in West Berlin, it would only terminate the occupation status. The former social system would be preserved, there would be no change in the mode of social life. Fears are being voiced in the West somecne should threaten the freedom and independence of West Berlin. Such fears, naturally, are totally unfounded. Nevertheless, we have proposed that the great powers guarantee the indepenednce and free development of the free city. No state, including either German state, should interfere in its internal affairs. We do not object to the United Nations being a party to these guarantees either. If need be, we are even ready to have the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, or neutral countries maintain in West Berlin a minimum of troops to assure the observance of the free city status, without the right, however, to interfere in the city's internal life. With such guarantees no one would dare to infringe upon the independent life of the free city." [43]

One cannot say that Mr. Khrushchev has done nothing to make as attractive as possible his proposal of a free city, but the West can not agree with a free city status for West Berlin because accepting this, the perspective of unification no longer exists.

Secondly, the experience of the free city status in recent history has been most deceptive: Krakow, Danzig, Trieste, etc. The Soviet Union could find many pretexts for abrogating the agreement and thus confronting the West with an even worse dilemma.

Although principally the East and the West could agree with the proposal to make West Berlin the seat of the United Nations, the proposal would practically imply a lot of difficulties and altogether give few more guarantees than the status of a free city.

That there are a lot of measures to be taken—construction of a building for the United Natjons Secretary, General Assembly, Security Council, and the several commissions and committees; construction of hotels, an arrangement for the traffic with the whole world, enlargement of airfields, is not the biggest difficulty. In the realm of technics very much may be obtained if everybody is willing to help. The organization and maintenance of an international police force, however, is much more difficult. It should not be this time a collection of troops of neutral forces—are there any neutral powers in the United Nations?—but a real international force under supreme command, but under whose command? Of the President of the General Assembly who changes every year? Or the Secretary General, whose power has been diminished and whose election would be an even more difficult problem? A "troika" that cannot take decisions? Will the international force be able to take action against peace breakers, even if they are supported by Ulbricht? Would this intervention of the international force not violate the sacrosanct right of domestic jurisdiction (art. 2, sec. 7 of the U.N. Charter)? These are important questions, but even more important is the question whether a move to West Berlin would serve the interest of the United Nations. The World Organization may not serve as a means of settlement of a European territorial conflict, unless at the same time the cause for which it was set up is served. But this is doubtful.

*Section 3. Some special questions*

1. In What Forms Are the Soviets Likely To Launch Another Challenge to the Western Position in Berlin?

"It is possible Mr. Khrushchev signs a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic," said W. Brandt on August 25, 1962.[44]

This possibility exists. What else could the Russians do, apart from continuing to harass the traffic to West Berlin and to irritate and provoke the West Berliners and the West in the usual way.

According to the tactics of the Soviets it is most possible that the signature of a peace treaty with Pankow might not directly and spectacularly affect the situation in the Berlin sector. Their tactics, in fact, consist of making a rapid and audacious move after which everything again becomes remarkably silent and "back to normalcy," at least apparently. They don't like to exploit their victories if it is in their interest to lull the enemy into confidence and sleep again. They don't want to provide a "casus belli" over Berlin, but prefer to gradually cut off Berlin from the free world. The signature of a peace treaty could be a part of these tactics and the West should never have itself maneuvered into the position of seeming terrified by an agreement between Communists, which after all is just a legal fiction. Already now, the East Germans exercise control over access to Berlin; the West sees the East German soldiers as agents of the Soviet Union and permits them already to exercise rights which previously have been granted not to the DDR but to the Soviet Union.

There is only a new problem when those German soldiers set new conditions to the access of Berlin and force the West to negotiate with their political leaders. As far as the Federal Republic should be ready to negotiate—for instance on the technical implementation of existing agreements—the West can always go as far in dealing with the East Germans as has the Federal Republic.

As far as the Federal Republic should not be ready to negotiate because the forced concessions are a real challenge to the West, the West will have to face the much more difficult problem of defining at what point Communist harassment becomes an intolerable threat to the freedom of Berlin.

2. What About NATO?

The West should have no illusions; the Soviet rulers are only interested in power politics. Firm policy of the West should be based above all on a resolute determination to preserve and strengthen the Atlantic Alliance. It may be that, since the Berlin crisis, the members of the Alliance have made some efforts. But whatever Mr. Stakker has said,[45] they are far from enough.

More than military strength the Atlantic Alliance needs unity. It must be one of the greatest pleasures of Mr. Khrushchev to read every morning at his breakfast the different notes of pro and antinuclear weapons supporters for NATO, the painful efforts of President de Gaulle establishing a nuclear force in France, etc.

Of course, there is "no needs of available machinery of coordination in NATO, in OECD, in the United Nations and elsewhere? The trouble with this machinery is that it is not used and the reason that it is not used is the absence of a conscious sense of community among the free nations. * * * Freedom is not its own defense. Its survival in this century will require the construction of a new community of unified effort and shared responsibility. In the words of the Spanish philosopher Salvador de Madariaga, the trouble today is that the Communist world understands unity but not liberty, while the free world understands liberty, but not unity." [46] A strong military power—could an army be up-to-date without nuclear force?—and a nonacademic unity is what the Atlantic Alliance needs if the Atlantic Powers really hope to negotiate over Berlin and Germany with the Soviet Union from a position of strength.

This conclusion is by no means new. But a simple truth, even repeated and repeated, does not cease to be a simple truth. The intellectual weakness of the West is that it looks for a more original, a more imaginative policy. Supreme wisdom in our dealing with the Soviets, however, might very well be to stick to our promises and to remain faithful to our allies.

3. Prospects of a Shift in West Germany's Political Orientation

The fear that there should be a shift in West Germany's policy—if the Western Powers consent to compromises on essential points judged by the Federal Government as being in their detriment—is expressed excessively in a recent article by Mr. S. Haffner.[47] In any case he seems to be right insofar as he believes that the German policy to the West would be changed. The whole problem, however, is to determine the orientation and degree of this change—if change should be.

Firstly, it might be true that the compromises of the West might create a new traumatic myth on which German nationalism could grow dangerously fat. A country which was ruled by Hitler, experienced the shock of defeat and has already lost a quarter of its prewar territory might be an easy subject to sudden and perhaps violent fluctuations of mood; to realize suddenly that the policy of their Government, the policy of unification, is ruined by the Western Powers they have fully sustained during the whole postwar period, could of course result in a resurgence of virulent nationalism.[48]

Secondly, that West Germany would turn Communist is improbable, although the possibility of another German-Russian rapprochement should never be completely ruled out. After Dr. K. Adenauer's retirement from politics—and that is another element the West shall have to deal with—the situation in Germany will change; it might be much more fluid and far less stable than now. So far economic prosperity in West Germany has diverted attention from the drive for reunification and even from politics at all, but economic difficulties, causing unemployment could trigger off a powerful wave of nationalism, and it would be the Soviets, not the Western Powers, who would benefit from this situation. If the political leaders—like Dr. Mende and others—cannot achieve reunificaiton through ties to the West, it may attempt dealing with the East.[49]

Thirdly, in this perspective it is very interesting to see Mr. Khrushchev's aim becomes less a political neutrality in exchange for unification than an invitation for economic neutrality; more concretely it means that Mr. Khrushchev's greatest performance should be a Germany out of the Common Market. During a visit to the Italian Industrial Fair this year [50] in Moscow Mr. Khrushchev did not omit to depict to his Italian guests the possibility of crisis in the Common Market and to describe to them the advantages of a lasting and extensive trade agreement with the Soviet Union. And in order to remove every doubt about his secret wishes, he exclaimed: "If some forces were able to win the Italian Government over to a policy of neutrality, how much could the Italian people and other nations profit by it." [51]

Doing so, Mr. Khrushchev shows his awareness that the main and driving force behind the Common Market is political and not merely economic; thus a Germany out of the Common Market should result in a

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politically handicapped country, in most serious difficulties for the European unification efforts and in an economic advantage for the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, while President J. Kennedy is demanding a further modification of the Common Market pattern by insisting that in its external tariff and foreign trade policy an enlarged European Community should take account of the commercial interests of the United States, Latin America, and Japan, the result being a "universalization" of the Common Market, one can hear Mr. N. Khrushchev proposing an "International Conference on International Trade."

The crisis over Berlin is connected with the evolution of the Common Market; this should not be forgotten in the United States. Berlin, the German problem at large, and the European integration are two sides of the same coin; both are rooted in the division of Germany and the division of Europe in the postwar period, that is, in our determination to resist further Communist expansion.

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[1] The last incident on the wall was the murder by "Vopo's" (East Berlin police) of a young refugee, who agonized 1 hour under the eyes of the West Berlin people, watching helplessly this crime against liberty and humanity.

[2] "The Necessity for Choice," London, Chatto & Windus, 1960, p. 139.

[3] Speech on TV, June 6, 1961, after the President's meeting with Mr. Khrushchev at Vienna.

[4] See the letter of Mr. David M. Abshire to Prof. Dr. H. Brugmans on Aug. 3, 1962.

[5] Although it is learned—of course in theory—by Professor Kryzov, that "The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the international treaty which specifies the mutual rights and obligations of the parties. * * * The treaty must bind the parties explicitly and must consequently be observed in an extremely scrupulous and literal manner * * *," Recueil des Cours de l'Académie de Droit international de La Haye, vol. 70, 1947, p. 437.

[6] B. H. M. Vlekke, De kwestie Berlijn in Dokumenten, in Internationale Spectator, vol. XV, n°20, 22 Nov. 1961, p. 548; Le statut international de Berlin, in Chronique de Politique étrangère, vol. XI, n°1, Bruxelles, 1958, pp. 75–95; e.a.

[7] Documents on Berlin: Berlin Dokumente 1944–61, Stephan Verlagsgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1961; Jäckel, E., Die deutsche Frage 1952–56, Notenwechsel und konferenzdokumente der vier Mächte, Frankfurt a/M., 1957; Dokumentation zur Deutschlandfrage von der Atlantik-Charta 1941 bis zur Berlin-Sperre 1961, H. von Siegler, Bonn, 1961, 3 vols.; Europa-Archiv, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, two-weekly, Frankfurt a/M.

[8] Le statut international de Berlin, in Chronique de Politique étrangère, vol. XI, No. 1, Jan. 1958, p. 95.

[9] Speech on June 21, 1961.

[10] After the departure of the Soviet representative from the "Kommandatura."

[11] Memorandum, Nov. 27, 1958, in Soviet News, published by the Press Department of the Soviet Embassy in London, 1958, vol. II, No. 3960, pp. 185–190.

[12] Speech of Mr. Khrushchev at Berlin, Mar. 9, 1959, in Soviet News, 1959, vol. I, No. 4020, pp. 217–219.

[13] Speech of Mr. Khrushchev on TV, June 16, 1961.

[14] Reproduced at p. 7 of this memorandum.

[15] Reinstated in the Federal Republic since July 21, 1956.

[16] Handbuch zur Westberlin-Frage, published at the end of November 1959 in the Soviet Union, p. 23.

[17] Memorandum of the Soviet Union, June 4, 1960.

[18] Our question differs from the "neutral"—if this could exist—set forth by R. Aron in his recent work "Paix et Guerre entre les nations," Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1962, p. 116; "Il est vrai que les traités ajoutent, après la formule 'pacta sunt servanda, rebus sic stantibus': il reste à savoir quand les changements intervenus justifient la modification d'un traité. Les Occidentaux ont le droit juridiquement incontestable, d'occuper une partie de l'ancienne capitale due Reich. Mais cette présence était liée au projet d'une Allemagne unifiée. Si ce projet est abandonné et le partage de l'Allemagne accepté, convient-il de modifier les pactes parce que le contexte a changé?"

[19] L. Frendl, the Soviet conception of international law, in World Justice, vol. II, 1960–61, No. 2, December 1960, pp. 199–227.

[20] Krylov, Recueil des Cours de l'Académie de Droit international de la Haye, vol. 70, 1947, p. 420.

[21] CDU: 19.4 percent and LDP: 18.1 percent, cfr. Berlin, aus seiner Geschichte 1945–57, Berlin, 1958, p. 20.

[22] Berlin, Dokumente 1944–61, pp. 82–83.

[23] Cfr. J. Peckert, Die Sowjetische Deutschlandpolitik seit 1945, in Die Grossen und die kleinen Mächte, Möglichkeiten der Weltpolitik heute, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1961, p. 155; Berlin son destin et sa vocation, Berlin, 1952; A. Hillgruber, Berlindokumente 1944–61, Darmstadt, 1961, 234 pp.; A. Dalma, Hintergründe der Berlin-Krise, der aktuelle Punkt, Condor Verlag, Karlsruhe, 1962, 127 pp.; e.a.

[24] Government statement by Dr. K. Adenauer to the Bundestag on Aug. 18, 1961.

[25] Soviet News, Soviet Embassy, London, vol. II, No. 3960, pp. 185–190.

[26] The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XXXI, No. 798, pp. 521–522.

[27] B. H. M. Vlekke, De kwestie Berlijn in Dokumenten, op. cit., pp. 576–577.

[28] The flights from the Soviet Zone and the sealing-off measures of the Communist regime of Aug. 13, 1961, in Berlin, Bonn, "The Federal Ministry for All-German Questions, 1961."

[29] The flights * * *, op. cit., p. 15.

[30] Since the coming in force of the law on emergency reception of Aug. 22, 1950.

[31] The flights * * *, op. cit., p. 15.

[32] The flights * * *, op. cit., p. 16.

[33] The flights, op. cit., p. 17.

[34] B.H.M. Vlekke, "Meningen Over Berlijn," in Internationale Spectator, vol. XV, No. 19, Nov. 8, 1961, pp. 508–509.

[35] A. Fontaine, "Après trois ans de crise de Berlin," in Le Monde, Nov. 22, 23, 24, 1961.

[36] Denis Healey, "The Crisis in Europe," in International Affairs, April 1962, pp. 145–155.

[37] A. Fontaine, "Après trois ans de crise de Berlin," in Le Monde, Nov. 23, 1961, p. 5.

[38] A. Fontaine, "Après trois ans de crise de Berlin," in Le Monde, Nov. 23, 1961, p. 5.

[39] Declaration by the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, and France, Oct. 3, 1954.

[40] H. Brugmans, "Is European Federalism a Factor for World Peace?" in World Justice, vol. II, September 1960, p. 26.

[41] Robert W. Tucker, "The Just War," a study in contemporary American doctrine, Baltimore, J. Hopkins Press, 1960, 186–187 pp.

[42] New York Times, May 16, 1959.

[43] Speech of Mr. Khrushchev at Berlin on Mar. 9, 1959.

[44] Interview in La Dernière Heure, Aug. 26–27, 1962, p. 1.

[45] "The Cornerstone of Western Policy," in NATO Letter, vol. 10, No. 6, June 1962, pp. 2–3.

[46] J. W. Fulbright, "For a Concert of Free Nations," in Foreign Affairs, vol. 40, No. 1, October 1961, pp. 16–18.

[47] Germany, Russia, and the West, in Encounter, October 1961.

[48] Paul Noack, Deutschland von 1945 bis 1960, ein Abriss der Innen—und Aussenpolitik, München, G. Olzog Verlag, 1960, 2d edition, demonstrates the discrepancy between the German European and Atlantic policy on the one hand and the internal policy on the other hand. If the European and Atlantic policy of West Germany, driven by the strong personality of Dr. Adenauer, was dynamic, the political life within West Germany was rather passive. The German people seemed only interested in "Wirtschaftswunder," not in political life or political parties and the (see p. 37) author concludes that "the most urging task in the following years will be to make the citizen realize that he is living in a world, in which freedom—and intrinsically his personal freedom—is threatened by the totalitarian claim of communism. The state in which he is living has given the citizen on the brink of Soviet grip the opportunity to overcome a dark past and to diminish the political mortgages that weighed upon everybody. It is high time that a citizenship of a democratic state involves more than private comfort."

[49] "Westdeutschland gegen seinen Willen zu opfern, würde das auf Vertrauen aufgebaute Westbündnis beenden," Cfr. J. Peckert in "Die grossen and die kleinen Mächte Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1961, p. 190.

[50] Europa Archiv, Folge 15, 1962, p. 51.

[51] Ibidem, note 7.

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## Freedom for the Baltic States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the steady subjugation of the Cuban people and the military buildup so recently in the news on that beleaguered island are but fresh reminders of Soviet tyranny and enslavement. The brave people of the Baltic States have long known what the Cuban people have only recently learned, that the Soviet Union is the worst perpetrator of colonialism the world has ever known.

It is particularly fitting, I think, for us at this time to remember the plight of the captive countries of Eastern Europe and to renew the challenge to the Soviet Union to liberate the Baltic Republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and permit the holding of free elections.

A resolution to that effect has been prepared and is supported by the Lithuanian-American Council of New Jersey, the Knights of Lithuania, the American-Lithuanian Community, and the Lithuanian-American Chamber of Commerce of New Jersey. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BALTIC STATES FREEDOM

Whereas the Government and the people of the United States of America have maintained and enjoyed excellent and friendly relations with the Governments and peoples of the Baltic States Republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, during the years of independence of these Republics; and

Whereas the concept of liberty and freedom of choice of government is still alive in this country, as it has constantly been since the Declaration of Independence; and

Whereas the evidence produced at the hearings of the select committee of the House of Representatives to investigate the incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. overwhelmingly tends to prove that the actions of the U.S.S.R. in relation to these free and independent Baltic Republics, were contrary to the principles of international law and the principles of freedom; and

Whereas the people of this Nation have consistently shown great sympathy for the peoples of these three Republics, especially as a result of their enslavement and as a result of the inhuman exile, deportation, and imprisonment of great numbers of law-abiding persons from their native lands to slave labor camps elsewhere in the U.S.S.R.: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved that—*

1. The President of the United States of America be, and he is hereby requested to continue the American policy of nonrecognition of the unlawful absorption of the Baltic States Republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into the U.S.S.R., and to continue the recognition of the diplomatic and consular officers of these Republics, as the lawful representatives of these three nations in the United States of America;

2. That the executive branch of this Government be, and the same is hereby, requested to raise the question of the forceful incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia by the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations; and

3. That the executive branch of this Government memorialize the United Nations Assembly and/or Council to conduct an investigation of conditions in the said Baltic Republics to the intent and purpose that Soviet armed forces, agents and colonists be withdrawn therefrom, and that the exiled peoples of these Republics be returned thereto in freedom, and that free plebiscites and elections be held therein, under the supervision of the United Nations to let the people, in freedom, make their own election and choice as to government.

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
### HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Representative CLEM MILLER has been a shock to all his colleagues here in the House. We share with his wife and daughters and his innumerable friends in California a sense of great loss on his passing. Although he had been a Member of the House for only a comparatively short period, while he was here he made many friends and quickly acquired an unusually keen insight into the diverse aspects of the functions and life of a Member. He applied himself to his legislative tasks with an enthusiasm and an intelligence of a high order which soon redounded to the benefit of his constituents. The occasion and the circumstances of his death were characteristic of the way he lived and pursued the fulfillment of his duties.

I want to join my colleagues in extending to his widow and daughters, as well as his many friends, my sincere sympathy.

## Syracuse Chamber of Commerce Supports Merger of New York Central and Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, following is a resolution of the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce, Inc., Syracuse, N.Y., in support of the joint application of the New York Central Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. seeking authority for merger:

A RESOLUTION OF THE SYRACUSE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INC., SYRACUSE, N.Y., IN SUPPORT OF THE JOINT APPLICATION OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO. AND THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD CO. SEEKING AUTHORITY FOR MERGER

Whereas the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce represents approximately 2,400 individuals and firms engaged in business and industry in the Syracuse, N.Y., metropolitan area and has, therefore, a vital interest in the continuing economic development of Syracuse and Onondaga County; and

Whereas the economic development of Syracuse and Onondaga County depends in large measure upon the maintenance of good, dependable, and competitive transportation services by the various modes of transportation; and

Whereas the New York Central Railroad Co., in principal part, provides Greater Syracuse with the rail and trailer-on-flat-car services essential to the economic development of that area; and

Whereas it has become a matter of common knowledge that in recent years many eastern railroads, including the New York Central and the Pennsylvania, have become financially distressed by reason of traffic losses; and

Whereas it appears that the New York Central Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. will, by the merger proposed, realize many important economies which will be financially beneficial and will permit the merged company to improve service in competition with other modes of transportation; and

Whereas the Syracuse metropolitan area will benefit from these improved services enabled by the financial strengthening of its principal rail carrier, the New York Central: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce:*

1. That the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce is of the opinion that the merger of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroads is in the best interests of the further economics development of the Syracuse metropolitan area and Onondaga County; and

2. That Syracuse Chamber of Commerce supports the merger application of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania now pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission in Finance Docket No. 21989.

## Senator Robert C. Byrd's Statement on His Legislative Stewardship for the Year 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I feel it incumbent upon me to give an account of my legislative stewardship during this fourth year of my service in the U.S. Senate.

ATTENDANCE ON ROLLCALLS AND QUORUM CALLS

Throughout my 16 years of service to the people of West Virginia, I have prided myself upon having a good attendance record. During this session, I have answered 220 out of 227 rollcalls for an attendance record of 96.9 percent.

COAL

Some of my activities this year in behalf of the coal industry are as follows:

May 2: I amended, in the Appropriations Subcommittee, the fiscal 1963 interior appropriation bill to include an additional $1,450,000 for the Office of Coal Research.

June 5: Defense Department officials and leaders of the coal and related industries accepted my invitation to a conference which I had arranged for the purpose of examining the economic and national defense aspects of boiler conversions from coal to other fuels which have recently occurred in military installations. I expressed my concern that military installations using residual fuel oil may prove to be weak links in our chain of national defense. I asked the coal industry leaders to prepare recommendations to overcome such possible weaknesses, stating that I would submit them to the Defense Department.

June 14: The Senate approved my amendment to the interior appropriation bill which provided an additional $1,450,000 to the Office of Coal Research's budget for Projects Gasoline and Bootstrap. One million dollars would be used on Project Gasoline, a process which would utilize a new catalyst to manufacture gasoline and related chemicals as well as char—a form of coke—from high volatile bituminous coal. The remaining funds would be used for Project Bootstrap, a process to develop the production of pipeline gas for industrial and home use from low volatile bituminous coal.

June 25: I addressed a 1-day coal meeting called by Gov. W. W. Barron in Washington where I stated that "the coal industry has become an economic enigma because it has been baffled and perplexed by Government policies and governmental indifferences to its needs."

June 29: I asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to be ready to move swiftly to cut coal freight rates if new and modern railroad equipment and coal handling methods result in lowering handling and transportation costs. The

development of an integral train for hauling coal holds promise of lowered costs.

July 16: I denounced the "baldfaced pressure tactics of some importers of foreign residual fuel oil" who are using an alleged shortage of oil for Government buildings in Washington, D.C., as an excuse to destroy the Government's oil import control program.

July 27: The $1,450,000 which I added to the Interior appropriation bill became a certainty as a result of favorable action by the Senate-House conferees on this bill. I was a Senate conferee.

August 14: I submitted a list of recommendations to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, suggesting improvements which should be made in fuel purchasing policies of the Defense Department. These recommendations resulted from the June 5 meeting which I held.

ALLEGHENY PARKWAY

Progress was made this year on S. 1798, a bill which I introduced on May 3, 1961, providing for the establishment and administration of the Allegheny Parkway. The proposed 550-mile scenic highland route would begin at Hagerstown, Md., proceed through central West Virginia, western Virginia, and eastern Kentucky, and would terminate at Cumberland Gap National Historical Park.

The proposed parkway would traverse 360 miles of West Virginia's most scenic terrain, opening up heretofore inaccessible West Virginia scenic panoramas to tourists.

To stimulate support for the bill, I held a conference at the capitol in Charleston on Februay 5, 1962, with members of the West Virginia Legislature through whose counties the parkway would run. A hearing on the bill was held in Washington on May 10, at my request, by the Public Lands Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, following which the Interior Department recommended that a feasibility study be conducted and advised me that $97,000 would be needed for such a study.

On October 4, the Senate Appropriations Committee adopted my amendment to insert language in the committee report on the 1963 supplemental appropriation bill directing the National Park Service to proceed with the Allegheny Parkway study.

The Park Service will immediately undertake this study. When the 1st session of the 88th Congress convenes in January 1963, I will reintroduce the bill on the parkway, and will try to secure the necessary authorization if the survey proves the project to be feasible and justifiable.

COAL RIVER NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AREA

In another effort to spur tourism in West Virginia, I introduced a bill S. 3589, on August 1, 1962, for myself and for my colleague, Senator RANDOLPH, which would provide for the establishment of a 30,000-acre national park in the Racine and Coal River area of Boone County, to be called the Coal River National Demonstration Area.

The demonstration area would make available needed year-round outdoor recreational facilities to approximately 2.6 million people living within a radius of 100 miles of the area, and more than 26 million people who live within a radius of 250 miles.

The project is now being studied by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. I shall reintroduce the bill in January 1963 when the new Congress convenes.

WESTWARD EXPANSION OF MONONGAHELA NATIONAL FOREST

Another project which would stimulate my State's economy through expanded outdoor recreational opportunities and through increased wildlife populations for public hunting and fishing, is the western expansion of the Monongahela National Forest.

The expansion, recommended by the U.S. Forest Service, after conducting a study at my request, would embrace parts of eight West Virginia counties, and would include 550,000 acres of rugged mountain and forest lands, as well as submarginal farmlands.

I amended the fiscal 1963 Interior appropriation bill to obtain an initial $250,000 for this subject. Although the subcommittee, the full committee, and the Senate acted favorably on my amendment, the House conferees succeeded in striking it from the bill.

PARSONS LABORATORY

A Watershed and Forest Management Research Laboratory will be constructed at Parsons, W. Va., as a result of an amendment which I offered adding $150,000 to the fiscal 1963 Interior appropriation bill.

Research in the management of watershed lands for soil stability and streamflow will result in improved water quality of the rivers and streams in the Appalachian region.

BOWDEN NATIONAL FISH HATCHERY

Another important project, the Bowden National Fish Hatchery, located in Randolph County, will be completed as a result of $62,000 I was able to obtain by amending the Interior appropriation bill.

PRINCETON LABORATORY

In the same bill, $150,000 was provided for construction and programing of the timber marketing and utilization center at Princeton. I was able to amend the fiscal 1962 Interior appropriation bill in June 1961 to obtain $450,000 which initiated work on this project.

JUSTICE RESERVOIR

I have been working to secure flood protection in the Guyandot River Valley since early in 1957, when, as a Member of the House of Representatives, I toured the flood-stricken areas of Logan and Man. At that time I introduced a resolution calling for a study by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to determine the best means of flood protection for the area. In February 1962, the U.S. Army Engineers, as a result of their study, recommended the construction of a $60.5 million dam, to be located at Justice in Wyoming County. I immediately urged the Federal agencies, preparing reports on the proposed reservoir, to expedite those reports as quickly as possible so that action could be taken in this session of the Congress to obtain authorization of the reservoir and to procure funds for the initial planning of the project.

On May 25, I called responsible officials of the agencies involved to my office and once again urged haste in processing the needed reports.

In the meantime, objections were voiced to the proposed dam. Among other things, it was said that 57 million tons of coal would be lost forever; that millions of dollars worth of timber and natural gas would be lost.

To determine the validity of these objections, I contacted the Army Engineers, asking for comment. On June 11, 1962, I received a reply stating:

The various complainants are basing their estimates on misleading or erroneous information.

On August 14, I wrote to Army Secretary Cyrus R. Vance, requesting that "prompt action be taken to proceed with the reservoir." I also had a number of telephonic conversations with Assistant Secretary of the Army W. F. Schaub. On August 23, Mr. Schaub wrote to me stating that the Guyandot River report was being sent to the Budget Bureau with a favorable recommendation by the Department of the Army. On that same day, I wrote to Budget Bureau Director David E. Bell, asking him to "act with all possible speed on the project" so that "a recommendation can be immediately made by the Secretary of the Army to the Congress." At the same time, I informed him that, as a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I would try to secure initial planning moneys for the reservoir by amending the fiscal 1963 public works appropriation bill.

During the week that followed, I called Director Bell, and I also had three discussions with the White House on the reservoir. I also attempted to meet with President Kennedy on the project, but his schedule did not permit it. I, therefore, wrote to the President on the project.

Approvals were promptly given by the Budget Director and the Secretary of the Army, and the proposal was submitted to the Senate Public Works Committee, which held a hearing on the proposed reservoir on September 20, at which time, I presented testimony in behalf of the project. Senator RANDOLPH, a member of the Public Works Committee, presided. The project was authorized by the Senate on October 4. In the meantime, I amended the fiscal 1963 public works appropriation bill in the Appropriations Committee to obtain $150,000 for initial planning. The Senate approved the bill with the amendment included. However, the money was eliminated from the bill in conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Definite progress on the Justice Reservoir has been made this year in that the project has been authorized. The forces opposing the project made every effort to prevent the proposal from being sub-

mitted to the Congress before adjournment. Had they been successful, authorization by the Congress might have been delayed 2 years and perhaps indefinitely. When the new Congress convenes in January, I shall renew my efforts to obtain necessary planning moneys for the reservoir.

KANAWHA RIVER BASIN STUDY

I amended the fiscal 1963 public works appropriation bill to add $200,000 to initiate a comprehensive study of the Kanawha River Basin.

Piecemeal studies of the Kanawha River Basin have been conducted in the past, but the economic growth along the Kanawha, especially in the Charleston complex, has intensified the urgency for an all-inclusive study of the basin's problems. The U.S. Army Engineers will seek to learn what kinds of installations are needed in the basin, where they are needed, and how soon they will be needed.

The public works appropriation bill, which was passed by the Congress, also contained $65,000 to be used to initiate a study of the Burnsville, Steer Creek, and West Fork Reservoirs on the Little Kanawha. I obtained Senate approval of moneys for the three reservoirs last year, but the funds were eliminated in conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Other moneys in the bill for West Virginia included:

For construction or continuation of construction—Belleville locks and dam, $3,200,000; Opekiska lock and dam, $6 million; Pike Island locks and dam, $12,348,250; and Summersville Reservoir, $9,750,000.

For planning and surveys—East Lynn Reservoir, $100,000; Hannibal locks and dam, $100,000; and Racine locks and dam, $395,000. Survey moneys were also included for the Stonewall Jackson Reservoir, Buckhannon, and the Cheat River.

SALTLICK CREEK WATERSHED PROJECT

Earlier this year, I asked Senator HERMAN E. TALMADGE, of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Subcommittee on Watersheds, to hold a special hearing on the Saltlick Creek watershed project. Senator TALMADGE honored my request, and a hearing was held before his subcommittee on June 6, at which time I testified as to the urgent need for this project in Braxton County. The subcommittee approved the project that very day. I then requested Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER, of Louisiana, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, to urge approval of the project by his full committee. I am happy to report that the project was approved.

OHIO RIVER WATER POLLUTION STUDY

When the HEW fiscal 1963 appropriation bill was before the Senate Appropriation Subcommitee on Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, I offered an amendment to add $500,000 to initiate a water pollution and water resources study of the Ohio River and its tributaries.

The Appropriations Committee and the Senate approved my amendment. However, when the bill was sent to conference between the Senate and the House of Representatives, only $100,000 was agreed upon by the conferees, but this amount will permit work to start.

Operating out of Wheeling, the U.S. Public Health Service will begin the planning of a concerted effort to reduce and abate pollution in the entire upper Ohio River Basin. Eventually, as a result of this study, the PHS hopes to provide this industrial heartland of America with the kind of water quality required for industrial growth and expansion.

MEDICAL RESEARCH IN MINING AREAS

I further amended the HEW appropriation bill in subcommittee to add $520,000 for medical research on pulmonary diseases affecting workers in the mining industry. This amount was agreed to by the full committee and the Senate but was reduced to $100,000 in conference with the House of Representatives. This research will be conducted by the Public Health Service and will be centered in Beckley because of that city's central location in the Appalachian coal region.

BECKLEY WEATHER STATION

When the Commerce appropriation bill came before the Senate Appropriations Committee, I offered two amendments which were adopted by the committee and approved by the Senate.

One amendment, in the amount of $75,000, was for the purpose of establishing a 24-hour weather bureau station in Beckley. Such a weather station will be beneficial to commercial air travel and to the economy of the area in and surrounding Raleigh County.

The other amendment, in the amount of $40,000 would have established a U.S. Department of Commerce field office in Charleston. There is no such office in West Virginia at the current time, and individuals must travel to Richmond, Va., or to Pittsburgh, Pa., to transact business with Department of Commerce officials. I felt this field office would greatly enhance the economy of our State.

Although the Senate approved both of my amendments, the Senate-House conferees eliminated the field office appropriation, but did approve the $75,000 for the weather station.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES ADMINISTRATION FIELD OFFICE

As a result of my specific request to Mr. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Administration, a Community Facilities Administration field office was opened in Charleston in July. This new field office will help speed the processing of applications for Federal assistance in the planning and construction of public facilities, college housing, and senior citizens' housing.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Charleston Youth Community, Inc., was presented a $131,000 planning grant by Attorney General Kennedy to be used to conduct a 16-month study of the sources of juvenile delinquency in Kanawha County. A second grant of $55,000 will be given to CYC in the next fiscal year to complete the program.

Charleston became the first middle-size city and the first southern city in the Nation to receive such a grant. The findings of the CYC will serve as a blueprint for the rest of the State and for other economically distressed Appalachian region areas faced with similar youth problems.

I worked very closely with CYC on this project, and did everything possible to be of assistance in securing moneys for such projects throughout the country and in securing Federal approval of this specific project.

NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS

As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, I learned that the Federal Government was planning to relocate Washington's antiquated National Training School. I discussed with President Kennedy the possibility of relocating the facility in West Virginia.

In continuing discussions with the White House, and with the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Morgantown was chosen as the site for the school because that city best met the minimal criteria established for such a facility.

The school will accommodate 400 to 500 male juvenile delinquents between the ages of 13 to 19. It will have a staff of between 175 and 200 employees, about 50 percent of whom will be brought in from Washington.

This facility is not a prison, but one in which academic and vocational subjects are taught and in which maladjusted boys who have violated the laws of the United States are motivated to acquire positive attitudes toward society and the responsibility of good citizenship.

PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY PUBLIC WORKS ACCELERATION PROGRAM

En route to Wheeling, W. Va., on September 27, President Kennedy indicated to me that he hoped the Senate would approve $600 million for his emergency public works acceleration program. The Senate Appropriation Subcommittee on Public Works had only allotted $400 million for the program. Accordingly, when the full Senate Appropriations Committee met the next day to consider the fiscal 1963 public works appropriation bill, I offered an amendment to that bill to allow $600 million for the program. Although the Appropriations Committee did not accept my amendment, it did increase the amount to $500 million. When the item reached the Senate floor on September 29, an amendment was offered to reduce the amount to $300 million. I spoke in support of a $500 million appropriation. Senate and House conferees finally agreed on a $400 million appropriation.

Many hard-pressed communities in West Virginia will be able to initiate work on urgently needed public facilities with funds provided under this program.

MEDICAL CARE TO THE AGED

I wish also to comment on two important Senate votes this year which were of uppermost concern to West Virginians. One of these was Senator CLINTON ANDERSON's medicare amendment. I supported that amendment because I felt it encompassed a reasonable solution to the problem of furnishing much-

needed health care for the aged. Today we have over 17½ million people who are over age 65. Those who are over 65 have an average income, if they are single, of about ten or eleven hundred dollars a year. If they are a married couple, their income is about $2,300 annually. Nine out of ten people over 65 will visit a hospital before they die; two out of three people who are over 65 will visit a hospital two or more times before they die. Hospital costs have gone from an average of $9 a day in 1946 to $32 a day now. Thus, at a time in life when their earnings are greatly reduced, the medical needs of persons over 65 become greatly increased. Often the burden of supplying these costly medical needs falls upon the children of the aging parents. In my judgment, consideration must be given to th enactment of legislation which will provide hospitalization and nursing care for our elderly people through a program which they themselves can help to finance during their younger and more productive working careers. Senator ANDERSON sought to make his amendment a part of H.R. 10606, the welfare reform bill, which made possible the extension of the ADCU program in West Virginia and other States. I was vitally concerned about unemployment in my State, but I was assured by Senator HUMPHREY, the majority whip; Senator MANSFIELD, the majority leader; Senator ANDERSON, and by administration spokesmen, that legislation extending the ADCU program would be enacted before adjournment. I had already joined in cosponsoring a measure to temporarily extend the program. There was little opposition to H.R. 10606 in either the House or Senate. It was my position, therefore, to support the medicare amendment, and, although it was rejected, I shall again support such legislation when the new Congress convenes in January.

In view of the fact that the vote on the medicare amendment occurred under circumstances which were made more difficult by a parliamentary situation involving other legislation of importance to my State, I wish to include in the RECORD a memorandum supplied to me by the Assistant Parliamentarian of the Senate shortly after the vote was taken stating the various procedures which existed for bringing about the successful passage of H.R. 10606 in the event Senator ANDERSON's medicare amendment had been adopted by the Senate and if subsequent agreement by the House had been found impossible:

MEMO TO SENATOR BYRD OF WEST VIRGINIA RE AMENDMENTS ON MEDICARE TO H.R. 10606

U.S. SENATE,
*Washington, D.C., July 20, 1962.*

Had the Senate adopted the so-called medicare amendment by Senator ANDERSON (and others) to H.R. 10606, the possibilities of the enactment of the remaining provisions carried in the said bill, as reported to the Senate, would be as follows:

1. The bill, as passed by the Senate with the so-called Anderson amendment, would have been messaged to the House and placed on the Speaker's desk.

2. Since the Senate had moved to reconsider the vote by which it passed the bill and laid that motion on the table, a further motion to reconsider the vote on the bill and the adoption of an order to request the House to return that bill to the Senate would not be in order. It could, however, have been done by unanimous consent or by a suspension of rule XIII, on reconsideration, which would require a two-thirds vote. Besides, if the Senate should have permitted a motion to reconsider, and the adoption of an order to request the House to return the said bill to the Senate, the House would still not be compelled to return the papers—that would be at the discretion of the House itself.

3. With the papers on the Speaker's desk it would require unanimous consent in the House to call up the said bill, with the Senate amendments, for further action thereon unless the Rules Committee would grant a special rule providing for such action. In the latter case, only a majority vote would be required. The possibility of receiving unanimous consent to call up the bill with the Senate amendment on medicare would be more likely granted by the House if it had been stated before the request was made that a motion would be made "to disagree to the Senate amendment on medicare and insist on the House-passed version of the bill," because all that this action would involve would be to send the bill back to the Senate.

It would appear that a special rule would have been necessary in order to send the bill with the suggested amendments to conference.

At any rate, if the Senate could have recovered the bill and the papers thereon from the House under either of the two above-suggested conditions, the Senate would then be in a position to recede from the Senate amendment proposed by Senator ANDERSON and others. Or if the bill had been sent to conference, the Senate conferees could have receded from the said Senate amendment, allowing the bill to become law without the so-called Anderson amendment.

4. If the Senate had been unable to recover the papers on H.R. 10606, with Senate amendments thereto, under either of the above-suggested conditions, the provisions of H.R. 10606, as reported to the Senate—exclusive of the so-called medicare amendments proposed by Mr. ANDERSON and others—could have been proposed by any Senator and added to any other tax bill which had originated in the House during the remainder of this session of Congress, when that bill was under consideration by the Senate and prior to its passage by that body. It should be suggested that there will be a number of such bills to come before the Senate before the sine die adjournment of this session of Congress to which such an amendment could be offered.

FLOYD M. RIDDICK,
*Assistant Parliamentarian.*

PRESIDENT'S TRADE EXPANSION ACT

Another controversial measure of tremendous importance to West Virginia was the President's Trade Expansion Act. I voted for the legislation. The emergence of the Common Market, which has fundamentally altered the old circumstances of international trade, presents a new and vital circumstance that must be considered. The United States, and West Virginia, must have an instrument with which to effectively bargain for foreign tariff reductions, and to successfully compete with the Common Market.

VETERANS' BENEFITS

I cosponsored S. 349, a bill which would provide educational benefits for post-Korean war draftees and volunteers who have served in our Armed Forces for more than 6 months. I feel that the men and women who have served in our Armed Forces since the conclusion of the Korean conflict are veterans of the cold war. I also feel that these men and women should be given the same economic benefits which our Nation so justly provided to World War II and Korean war veterans.

GLASS TARIFFS

I supported the U.S. Tariff Commission's recommendation to President Kennedy that tariffs on imported glass products be stiffened in order to bolster the economy of the ailing glass industry of West Virginia. President Kennedy approved the Commission's recommendation.

FRUIT EXPORTS

Along with 17 other U.S. Senators, I urged the State Department "to take vigorous steps to protect foreign markets for U.S. fruit exports." I asked that adequate safeguards be provided for U.S. fruits and fruit products to protect them from trade restrictions imposed abroad.

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## We Must Aid, Not Hamper, Railroads—Piggyback: The Price of Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the perilous situation in Cuba and elsewhere requires, among other things, consideration of the ability of our domestic transport system, particularly our railroads, to function efficiently in a national emergency.

Some doubt arises about the ability of our railroads to do another superb transportation job such as they did in World War II. Has our national transportation policy, or what some term "overregulation" of our railroads, interfered with their proper and necessary development? This may well be so.

The President's transportation message to the Congress a few weeks ago was a masterpiece and in the interest of modernizing our national transportation policy should be acted upon promptly by the next Congress.

Railroad transportation is at the crossroads. It will go forward to success or it will go into the doldrums. It must go the former route because transportation is essential to the Nation's commerce and industry and security. The backbone of transportation is the railroad common carrier. The railroad moves most of our coal and ores, so essential to manufacturing. It alone has the capacity and the means necessary for mass transportation service. It is indispensable in time of war or emergency for the carriage of troops and military materiel.

The President has been gravely concerned with the plight of the railroads. He called attention to the following:

The railroad industry in 1961 managed to earn only 1.97 percent on its net in-

vestment, the lowest return since the depression of 1938.

One of the largest railroads in the East is in bankruptcy, and its ability to continue in operation is seriously in doubt.

Twenty-five class I railroads in 1961 operated a deficit, while many others barely managed to earn their fixed charges.

Railroad employment is actually far below what it was at the depth of the great depression in 1933.

As recently as 1949, intercity freight traffic in the United States was divided between regulated carriage on the one hand, and unregulated carriage on the other, in the ratio of about 3 to 1 in favor of the regulated carriers. The ratio today is about 2 to 1, and the trend away from regulated common carriage is continuing.

Reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that only about one-third of all intercity motor freight traffic is handled by motor carriers under its control; the remaining two-thirds is unregulated.

On inland waterways, only one-tenth of all barge traffic is subject to ICC regulation.

We must, therefore, help, not hamper, our railroads which are so essential to our economy and well being. These railroads afford employment to millions of American citizens. The success of these railroads is the basis of their jobs. We dare not, therefore, be apathetic in the face of the dangers that now beset our railroads.

One comparatively new development in transportation is of extreme importance to the commerce of the Nation and our transportation system. I refer to "piggybacking" and similar services. We must not hurt development in that important field.

Faced with a pattern of declining traffic, the Nation's railroads in 1954 pinned their hopes for the future on so-called piggyback service in which highway trailers are hauled over the rails in special trains between railroad loading points. In the last few years, the growth of this traffic has been nothing short of phenomenal.

The marked expansion of piggyback service, however, apparently caused some consternation on the part of the ICC which last June responded with what it called a broad-scale investigation into so-called piggyback operations. As one eastern railroad executive put it: "I guess we are paying the price of success."

While piggyback operations were not entirely new, their more rapid expansion and general acceptance by the shipping public began in late 1958, following legislation designed to remove what a Senate subcommittee referred to as "over-regulation" by ICC. The same subcommittee, moreover, had severely criticized railroad management for its failure to recognize changing conditions, times and tastes to compete aggressively for business by use of modernized equipment as well as failure to adjust rates to compete effectively for traffic.

Given some measure of freedom in pricing, railroad management immediately demonstrated marked ingenuity in establishing and expanding a number of piggyback services, each of which was tailored to meet particular competitive situations. So-called plan I and plan V rates were offered for use of the truckers themselves, and the latter, given access to high-speed, low-cost intercity rail service, were quick to take advantage of the potential savings by reducing their over-the-highway operations.

When the railroads offered plan II door-to-door service at rates roughly paralleling those of the truckers, the latter were not overly concerned. At that point, of course, the railroads were still operating within the old framework of value-of-service pricing, that is, the more valuable the commodity, the higher the freight rate. In 1958, however, exhorted by Congress to provide some self-help and concerned over the rapid growth of private do-it-yourself highway transportation by shippers, the railroads instituted what is now known as plan III piggyback service.

In order to use these rates, the shipper was required to perform its own terminal trucking service and provide its own trailers just as it did in private operations. The railroad offered only ramp-to-ramp transportation of the shipper's trailers at rates which were comparable to the costs incurred by the shipper for the intercity haul only.

Plan III was quickly embraced by the shipping public, and it appeared that the railroads had at last provided a combination of service and price which promised to stem the tide of private transportation.

By and large then, existing TOFC service contained something for everyone, and, most important, the shipping public had a variety of rates and services from which to choose. Shippers registered their approval of piggyback service, and plan III in particular, both in supporting testimony before the ICC and in actual practice. Between 1959 and 1961, plan II traffic handled on five major eastern railroads rose from 80,000 to 120,000 trailers annually, and during the same period, plan III volume on the same lines rose from 35,000 to 125,000 trailers per year.

After 2 years of litigation instituted by trucker complaints, ICC approved the plan III service. Before the dust had settled, however, another full-scale investigation was underway and will not be concluded until late 1962. Thus, when ICC announced a third investigation in June, railroad management had ample excuse for feeling as Custer must have felt at the Little Big Horn.

The proposed rules issued by the ICC in October give ample cause for concern on the part of the railroads and the shipping public. For while ICC says that the proposed rules are not intended to curtail the TOFC services now in general use, one of the proposed rules would prohibit railroads or their subsidiaries from leasing equipment to shippers for use in plan III. According to one major railroad, this rule would eliminate plan III, the fastest growing piggyback service, from the scene. The fact that ICC was advised of the extensive use of leased trailers by one of its own bureaus and cannot plead ignorance on the subject lends emphasis to the railroads' apprehension.

The railroads may well wonder whether ICC in formulating the proposed rules has given any consideration to the criticisms of railroad management voiced by the Congress in 1958. Congress in turn may well wonder whether ICC intends to reinstate the pre-1958 regulatory shackles. Whatever may be ICC's intent, the proposed rules promise no benefit whatever for the railroads, and for this reason the truckers embrace the new investigation with high glee.

What ICC does here will certainly have a permanent policy effect on the future of railroad industry. The new methods, new services, and new prices required if the railroads are to survive as a principal means of intercity transportation cannot thrive in an atmosphere of constant litigation and turmoil.

In today's buyer's market, only the shippers, not ICC, will determine whether a given service is sufficiently flexible and reasonably priced. Back in the twenties, the railroads attempted a similar container service, but ICC put a floor under the rates which was unacceptable to the shipping public, and the containers were left to rust. A host of artificial proposed rules can be just as deadly.

## The Late Honorable Clem Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me on the late Honorable Clem Miller, a Representative in Congress, from California.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR METCALF

In the Congress of the United States, where seniority often determines the effectiveness of a Member, it is unusual for a comparative youngster to distinguish himself.

Our colleague, Clem Miller, was unusual. Elected to Congress in 1958, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to learning the intricate legislative process that he might best represent the people of his district, State, and Nation. I knew him as a tireless and effective workman for the conservation, orderly development, wise management, and highest possible use of our natural resources.

Enactment this year of his bill to add the Point Reyes Peninsula area to our national park system climaxed a drive which he started when he first came to Congress. For generations this recreational area will serve as a monument to Clem Miller.

I lost a friend when Clem Miller's airplane went down, and the public interest lost a dedicated and an effective spokesman. But this Nation is the better for Clem Miller's work. And we shared a real privilege who had the opportunity to know and work with this outstanding American.

## Maximum Opportunity for Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me concerning the status of the urban renewal program.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MUNDT

One of the key factors in national economic growth is the construction industry. Normally it accounts for more than 10 percent of gross national product. Any time that construction drops below 10 percent of gross national product the danger of depression becomes very real. When construction is more than 10 percent the economy is likely to be on the upgrade.

The Federal Government has been increasingly interested in construction. For more than 25 years it has been fostering national policies designed to benefit the industry.

In 1934 Congress enacted the National Housing Act which created the Federal Housing Administration. The purpose of this act was to establish a system for Federal insurance of home mortgages made by private financial institutions. The effect of this action was to revolutionize methods of housing production in the United States.

Before 1934 the mass production of housing was almost unknown. Subdivisions were being developed but their promotion was being predicated more on the sale of lots than of completed homes. The buyer of a lot had to make his own arrangements for the financing and construction of his house. Usually the mortgage finance company knew who was going to occupy the house, was satisfied with his personal credit, and was basing the loan on the qualifications of the individual as much as on the value of the property. This gave maximum protection to the finance company but was a definite impediment to the mass production of homes.

FHA made fundamental changes in the system. It made commitments to insure houses which were built for the market rather than for preselected individuals. Such commitments enabled builders to arrange financing and proceed with the mass construction of all the homes in a subdivision at one time.

FHA has insured mortgages issued by private financial institutions on more than 4 million dwelling units. It has been highly successful. It has paid back to the U.S. Government, with interest, all of the capital originally advanced for its establishment. It now has extensive financial reserves and is in position to expand its service to the construction industry.

FHA is playing an important part in urban renewal. It has available special forms of mortgage insurance which can be used both within and without urban renewal project areas to help provide housing for families displaced by any governmental action.

The Congress in pursuance of its policy of helping the construction industry wrote into the Housing Act of 1949 and continued in subsequent legislation a national housing policy which included a declaration that "private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can." There can be no mistake about the intent of the Congress.

The experience in urban renewal has not paralleled that of the FHA. Private enterprise participation has not been fully effective. Only about 30 percent of the land that has been cleared and offered for sale for private redevelopment has been bought and put to the intended use. About 20 percent of the projects for which Federal subsidies have been committed have been abandoned before completion.

There has to be some explanation for this failure. In my opinion it will be found, not in any inadequacy of the legislation, but in the administration of the law.

Responsibility for administration of the urban renewal program has been assigned by Congress to the Housing and Home Finance Agency. That Agency has been made responsible for the formulation of the principles and procedures to be followed in carrying out the program. It has to assume a major share of the responsibility for any failure which has occurred.

The HHFA has instituted a procedure in federally subsidized urban renewal projects which is completely different from that traditionally used in private enterprise renewal.

In private enterprise renewal, which continues to constitute the most widely used pattern, only principals are involved. A team of experts is recruited on which the following are normally represented: an architect, a builder, a real estate operator, and a source of mortgage finance. These persons focus their attention on a tract of land which could lend itself to profitable development or redevelopment. Possible uses are considered. Estimates of cost are prepared with respect to acquisition, demolition, site improvements, and the design and financing of new construction. If the facts indicate that a project is feasible, the members of the team make the necessary commitments and try to get options on properties which may be involved. Up to this point there is no publicity. Only after land acquisition has been arranged will there be any public announcement of the project.

A public urban renewal project is operated completely differently. A monopoly on the operation is given to a local public agency which may or may not have on its board or staff individuals qualified in construction. Every step is taken with full publicity. Many individuals and interests become involved in the project development who may have no status as principals.

The key to the federally aided urban renewal project is the urban renewal plan. It is required by law. It must spell out to the extent required by the administrator "such land acquisition, demolition and removal of structures, improvements, and rehabilitation as may be proposed to be carried out in the urban renewal area, zoning and planning changes, if any, land used, maximum densities, and building requirements."

If private enterprise is to play any full part in a project it must be in on the planning of that project. It cannot wait until a plan has been developed by others and then be expected to come in and build to whatever specifications the plan may contain. It must contribute to the development of the plan.

This reality has been largely ignored by local public agencies. They have been following procedures outlined for them by the HHFA. They have not been warned that they cannot hope to be successful unless they have the full cooperation of the construction industry. They have not even consulted the industry during the planning phases of the program. Instead they have turned almost exclusively to the planners and asked them to formulate the urban renewal plans.

The position of the planners is understandable. They seek the ideal with only limited consideration given to economic feasibility. Their incentive and inclination is to maximize rather than minimize the overhead expenses. The fact that redevelopers will not buy the land and the project may never be completed, is of no great concern to them. By utilizing the advice and experience of the construction industry they might complete a plan quickly, at low cost, and with every assurance that the construction industry would be prepared to buy the available project land and complete the project.

Blame for this kind of planning must rest, not with the planners, but with the local public agencies and with HHFA which established the procedures followed by the local public agencies.

This will be disputed in some quarters. Representatives of the bureaucracy will insist that private enterprise is welcome to participate and that every opportunity is being offered for such participation.

There are two answers to this claim. Each one reveals the unsoundness of the position of HHFA.

The first answer is to be found in the specific requirements of the HHFA as spelled out in the "Urban Renewal Manual," the three-volume set of policies and requirements to which every local public agency must conform if it hopes to remain eligible for Federal financial aid. These procedures delay establishing a price at which the land can be made available for reuse until the urban renewal plan can be completed. This may take a year or several years. And it may result in prices which are based, not on firm offers of entrepreneurs, but on the opinion of planners and appraisers about what the land should be worth when a series of hypothetical plans have been carried out.

Private investment sources cannot afford to wait for all these preliminaries to be completed and cannot accept the assumption that the plan will succeed as the planners have decided that it should. The fate of their investments is determined by the actual real estate market which develops and they must base their decisions on market evidence rather than on planning concepts.

So long as HHFA applies the test of planning rather than of practicality to the submissions of local public agencies, private enterprise will be at a disadvantage and record of completions on projects will be poor.

The second answer is to be found in the Agency reaction to one very specific proposal designed to insure the more effective participation of private enterprise in urban renewal projects. The proposal was made at the Senate hearings on the housing bill of 1961. Senator CAPEHART asked for the official comments on the proposal. Both the proposal and the comments of the Agency follow:

"PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO FEDERAL URBAN RENEWAL STATUTE TO REQUIRE INVITATION FROM PROSPECTIVE DEVELOPERS AND INVESTORS PRIOR TO APPLICATION FOR URBAN RENEWAL FUNDS

"SEC. . The third sentence of section 102 (d) of the Housing Act of 1949 is hereby amended to read as follows:

" 'No contract for any such advances of funds for surveys and plans for urban renewal projects which may be assisted under this title shall be made unless (i) the governing body of the locality involved has by resolution or ordinance approved the undertaking of such surveys, and plans and the submission by the local public agency of an application for such advance of funds, and (ii) the local public agency has, by publication in a newspaper having general circulation in the community, invited recom-

mendations for the development of all or any part of the proposed urban renewal area from any prospective developers or investors having an interest therein, and (iii) the local public agency represents that, in preparing and submitting such application, it has taken into consideration all recommendations made to it within a reasonable time under clause (ii).'

"EXPLANATION OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO FEDERAL URBAN RENEWAL STATUTE TO REQUIRE INVITATION FOR URBAN RENEWAL PROPOSALS FROM DEVELOPERS AND INVESTORS PRIOR TO APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL FUNDS

"This amendment would require that before a local public agency submits any application for advance planning funds for an urban renewal project it must invite recommendations for the appropriate development of all or parts of the proposed urban renewal area from prospective developers or investors. Such prospective developers and investors would thereby also receive an opportunity to indicate, if they wished, the types of renewal activities in the project area in which they might be willing to participate.

"The invitation would be published in a newspaper having general circulation in the community. Also, the local public agency would be required to represent that in submitting the application for advance planning funds, it has taken into consideration all of the recommendations received from prospective developers or investors within a reasonable time after the invitation therefor is published.

"The purpose of this amendment is to require that recommendations be obtained from local realtors and other interested persons, which could include city officials, at the initial stage of the planning of the project before the local public agency has, through its planning employees, formulated the urban renewal plan. This would give the local public agency the advantage of having informed advice and recommendations on various types of proposed development in the urban renewal area at a time when they can give adequate consideration to it. Under present urban renewal operations, the urban renewal plan has frequently been completed and the proposed development determined and fixed prior to the time that prospective developers and investors have real opportunity to have their views and suggestions considered. This means that before consideration is given to these views and proposals the project has been carried to the point where it is usually not considered feasible to change it substantially.

"The amendment would in no way restrict the discretion of the local public agency. Rather, it would assure that the urban renewal project is truly a local project arrived at after considering the views of vitally interested business groups."

The comment of the Agency is as follows:

"The second proposal would amend section 102(d) of title I to require a locality to invite recommendations from prospective developers and investors prior to applying for a Federal advance for survey and planning. We would like to point out, first, that such recommendations would be premature if made before a survey and planning application has been submitted by a community. At this stage of a renewal project, only tentative information is available on the exact nature of the blight problem and on the possible solutions, so that any recommendations would have an insufficient basis for reliability.

"Regardless of the timing of these recommendations, however, we believe that to require them by Federal law is both unnecessary and inappropriate. We, of course, favor the general principle evidenced by this proposal—that a community should have sound, practical advice for its renewal project as early as practicable in the planning stage. In a general way the citizen participation element of the community's workable program offers one avenue to secure this advice. We believe that it accomplishes at least a part of the objectives of this second legislative proposal, and we believe that measures designed to obtain the view of potential developers are more appropriate for administrative than legislative action."

The inadequacy of the HHFA response to Senator CAPEHART is indicated by the suggestion from the Agency that the citizen participation element of the workable program offers one avenue to secure this advice. The citizen participation element is administered by the mayor and has to do with communitywide rather than project activities. Project activities are administered by the local public agency on which the mayor is seldom represented.

I can agree with the views of the HHFA to the extent that it would be preferable to remedy this problem administratively rather than by legislative action. It is the failure of HHFA to act administratively which has brought about the suggestion of legislation. There is no evidence that HHFA will take the necessary action unless compelled to do so. If administrative action is not forthcoming, legislation will be the only course of action.

More than a year has passed since the HHFA submitted its response to Senator CAPEHART. During that time it has not modified the requirements of its "Urban Renewal Manual" in any significant manner to give private enterprise any greater participation in the formulation of urban renewal plans. Land is still being cleared and allowed to lay dormant because buyers will not accept the limitations which are being imposed by the urban renewal plans. This land is standing idle at a time when private enterprise money is scouring the country looking for good investments. There is serious doubt that some of the land in some of the urban renewal projects will ever be bought by private enterprise so long as the federally approved restrictions on its use remain in effect.

This issue is broader than just the relationship of HHFA to the construction industry. It relates to the entire contribution which construction can make to the gross national product and to the growth of the Nation. HHFA is not encouraging the industry to serve as large a part of the total need as it can. Steps must be taken to correct this situation which is stultifying rather than vitalizing our national economy.

## Hon. Clem Miller

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Tuesday, October 9, 1962*

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, the untimely passing of our friend and colleague, CLEM MILLER, of California, has shocked and saddened all of us who admired and respected him.

It was my privilege to come to the House with CLEM with the 86th Congress in January 1959. His outstanding legislative ability, integrity, and courage have been an inspiration to his colleagues during the past 4 years. CLEM MILLER loved the House of Representatives. In a short time he became a keen student of its traditions, its inner workings, its moods, and the institutional characteristics which make it great. His book "Member of the House—Letters of a Congressman," captures this greatness by perceptive observations of events taking place during his service in this body.

CLEM was a true representative of his district and State. He believed strongly in the liberal tradition in the highest sense and carried with this belief an inner sense of the practical that made him an exceptionally effective legislator. Forthright and articulate, he had the courage of deep humanitarian convictions to espouse the cause of the underprivileged.

We will miss CLEM MILLER in the crucial days ahead. Yet we have all gained by having even this brief privilege of serving with him. Mrs. Giaimo and I extend to Mrs. Miller and his five daughters our deepest sympathy in their great loss.

## Dr. Henry E. Kelly, Man of the Year of the National Medical and Dental Association of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on September 1, 1962, the National Medical and Dental Association of America elected Dr. Henry E. Kelly, of Cleveland, Ohio, as its Man of the Year. The honor was presented at the national convention at Lake Placid, N.Y. This honor is awarded each year to that member of the association who has made the greatest contribution to his profession as well as to the advancement of the National Medical and Dental Association.

Dr. Kelly, for many years, has been devotedly concerned in the activities of the National Medical and Dental Association. He is past national secretary, 1933; past president of the National Medical and Dental Association, 1951, 1952, and 1953. He was president for more terms than any other president in the history of the association. He is a past president of the Medical and Dental Arts Club of Cleveland, an affiliate of the National Medical and Dental Association. Dr. Kelly is a fellow of the International College of Dentists. He is a past president of the Cleveland Dental Society, and at present is a member of the board of directors of the society and one of its delegates to the Ohio State Dental Association. He is a member of the Xi Psi Phi National Dental Fraternity.

Dr. Kelly, for almost his entire career in dentistry, has been notably active in liaison work between the dental profession and America's children. He embarked on this effort from the moment he was appointed chairman of the Cleveland Dental Society's Children's Dental Health Day Committee in May of 1947. Since that time he is best known in Cleveland and in Ohio for his efforts in dental health education.

Children's Dental Health Day originated in Cleveland in 1941. Dr. Norman H. Denner, then president of the Cleveland Dental Society, was the inspiring force in its creation. The purpose of this activity was intended to be the pinpointing of community attention to the importance of maintaining good oral health in children, to advise parents of the advancement in knowledge gained in dental research relative to the best methods and procedures in home care intended to insure good oral health in children, to advise parents of research findings relative to treatment of oral disease in children, as well as to encourage dentists in the practice of child.en's dentistry.

From its inception Children's Dental Health Day was an outstanding success in Cleveland. Many Cleveland mayors have supported the activity by issuing Children's Dental Health Day proclamations.

The success which the Cleveland Dental Society enjoyed in its early promotions of Children's Dental Health Day encouraged it to make an effort to induce the American Dental Association to promote Children's Dental Health Day on a national level. As a result of these efforts, the retiring president of the American Dental Association, in his address to the house of delegates in 1946, urged the American Dental Association to investigate the possibility of promotion of Children's Dental Health Day on a national scale.

On his appointment as chairman of the Cleveland Dental Society's Children's Dental Health Day Committee Dr. Kelly embarked on an intensive program of activity aimed at urging the promotion of Children's Dental Health Day nationally. His first effort was made at the Boston convention of the American Dental Association in 1947. He attended that meeting and, together with other members of the Cleveland delegation, participated in discussions with representatives of the American Dental Association in which the feasibility of a national observation was explored. The proposal was approved in committee and the house of delegates adopted a resolution approving the observation of Children's Dental Health Day on a national level under the auspices of the American Dental Association.

For some time following the Boston resolution, there was great fear in Dr. Kelly's mind, as well as in the minds of others in Cleveland, that National Children's Dental Heath Day would not become a reality. Representatives of the American Dental Association felt that such an activity would require a special promotional effort which would be costly and for which no funds were available. Dr. Kelly met with representatives of the American Dental Association, at which meetings he urged that promotion of the observation be carried out by the alrec.ly existing agencies of the association at small additional cost. This was agreed to and plans were initiated for the first National Children's Dental Health Day.

From the outset, it was generally felt that great impetus would be given the first observation of National Children's Dental Health Day if it were to be accompanied by a proclamation issued by the President of the United States. Dr. Kelly, together with the Washington representative of the American Dental Association, Dr. Willard Camalier, was assigned the responsibility to arrange for the issuance o fa Presidential proclamation. Dr. Kelly requested me to arrange an appointment with the President, at which meeting an appeal could be made for a proclamation. The meeting was arranged and the delegation met with President Truman. The delegation was led by President Sterling Meade, of the American Dental Association, and was accompanied to the White House by the late Senator Murray, of Montana; Secretary Biffle, of the Senate; Congressman McCormack, of Massachusetts, now Speaker of the House of Representatives; Dr. Kelly; Dr. Camalier; Dr. Lynch, of Washington; Dr. H. C. Janke, of Cleveland; Dr. Leon Kramer, of Kansas; and Dr. Bruce Forsythe, chief of the Dental Division of the U.S. Public Health Service.

The appeal for a proclamation was not successful. Dr. Kelly was advised that the next step for realization of a Presidential proclamation would be an act of Congress. Dr. Kelly immediately appealed to me as Representative of the 20th Ohio District to introduce such a bill. As a result of Dr. Kelly's appeal, I introduced H.R. 184 which requested President Truman to issue a proclamation establishing the first Monday in February of 1949 as First National Children's Dental Health Day.

H.R. 184 was the first public law signed by President Truman in 1949. In the delegation, at the signing of the act by President Truman, were President Adams, of the American Dental Association, Dr. Kelly, who inspired the bill, Dr. McDermott, of Cleveland, and Dr. Forsythe, and I, as author of the bill, H.R. 184.

Following the issuance of the proclamation, Dr. Kelly received a telegram from Past President Sterling Meade, of the American Dental Association, which said in part, "American dentistry owes you a debt of gratitude."

It is refreshing to note that in the past 11 years National Children's Dental Health Day has been expanded into Children's Dental Health Week. It has been widely acclaimed and has proven universally effective as an instrument of acquisition and maintenance of sound oral health in children. Dr. Kelly has remained quite active in the work to which he has so wholeheartedly dedicated his efforts. For 11 years he was chairman of the Dental Health Education Committee of the Cleveland Dental Society. In this capacity he entertained more than 20,000 schoolchildren in Cleveland's Public Auditorium at children's dental parties.

The health and well-being of our children is of paramount importance to all of us, and certainly Dr. Kelly has made an estimable contribution in that direction. The recognition that has come to him is well deserved.

## Statement by Joseph Tuvim at the Convention of the New York State AFL–CIO, Sepember 12, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following cogent and balanced statement made by Joseph Tuvim at the convention of the New York State AFL–CIO held on September 12, 1962:

STATEMENT BY JOSEPH TUVIM AT THE CONVENTION OF THE NEW YORK STATE AFL–CIO, SEPTEMBER 12, 1962

The fight for civil rights has been going on for many years and its successful conclusion will come only when we win the fight for the four freedoms that are supposed to be guaranteed under our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Once we achieve that stage in human endeavor, we may achieve integration of the human race, and this will be a determining factor for our future.

Since the days of Samuel Gompers, the organized labor movement has cherished the concept of freedom in the full sense of the word. At its many conventions and meetings, organized labor over the years has constantly sought the best methods to be used for helping to bring about an orderly and peaceful transition from segregation in public life to integration. Unions have been motivated by the principle that if people of all creeds and colors can fight and die together on the battlefield to preserve our heritage, sacrificing themselves in order to maintain our democratic way of life, then the first precept of the labor movement must be dedication to the advancement of humanity.

The following excerpt from a report of the committee on resolutions was accepted at the 63d Annual Convention of the AFL in 1943: "The founders of the American Federation of Labor since its inception were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with or prevent thoroughgoing organization of all wage earners. They made one of the cornerstones of the great trade union structure; they were determined to erect the principle that the right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be restricted in any manner, shape, or form because of creed, color or race."

At the 72d convention of the AFL held in St. Louis, Mo., the convention voted favorably on a resolution which stated in part: "Discrimination based on race or creed is repugnant and a direct denial of our stated beliefs and principles." The resolution further condemns the practice where "Negroes are denied equal job opportunities, are crowded into slums and ghettos, or taught in inferior schools."

This principle, first enunciated over 80 years ago, to a large extent has been the guilding light for those in the labor movement who have been courageous enough to completely renounce prejudice against minority groups. They know that racial hatred has planted in the labor movement the seed of disaster. They know that if it is not eliminated completely, it will eventually cause the destruction of one of the greatest forces for American democracy. They realize that national origin, race, color, or creed

in no manner or form should be the basis of restriction of a human being from freedom of opportunty. They know that this problem must be met, that it cannot be continuously evaded, and that our economic strength and social scheme of things cannot be fully effective so long as the poison of discrimination flows within the bloodstream of the organized labor movement.

Typical of the forces that are poisoning our Nation's bloodstream, as you know, are the white citizens' councils, which remain unyielding in their attitude against change for the better. Members of these groups live in a sphere of ignorance and indifference to world change. You may recognize this kind of individual to a large extent in anti-union, antifair employment, antifree speech, and assembly mobs which use the tactics of cross burning, lynching, and even killing to obtain their ends.

The greatest challenge of our time is to eliminate from our midst forces like these that attempt to dupe the American people through political chicanery and subversion. Employing many frightening techniques that set people adrift on a sea of prejudice, these forces are such that they might very easily achieve the destruction of our Nation. In order to alientate persons and organizations whose goal is to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination, they skillfully blend and bend most means of communications through gossip and hoax, through lies and deceit. Rumors and headlines which bear no similarity are made exciting and even inflammatory. Malicious propaganda leads people into such self-indulgence that they fail to recognize the dangers inherent in the spread of this virulent infection. Thus, through immoral methods they create the impression that equality based on race, creed, color, and national origin must be opposed.

Fortunately, there are men and women both within and without the organized labor movement who have taken the lead to demonstrate that they have been moved by the spirit of true freedom and democracy. Fortunately, many organizations—social, economic, political, and religious—are reinforcing and extending the campaign for the early elimination of racial segregation and the achievement of true equality and human dignity.

We must remember that strict social customs prevailed in the South for many, many decades. We must recognize that more and more people in the South have come to recognize that inevitably the South must make changes in race relations. We must bear in mind the fact that many people hold that long-standing social customs cannot be changed overnight, nor human attitudes shifted suddenly. We must remember that many Americans believe in gradualism, that the mild approach is the only way, and that changes must be effected with fairness to all.

I once heard a lecturer say that society is like a stew over a fire—full of good things called ingredients which require watching so that what's in the pot turns out to be well blended. A good cook, this lecturer said, keeps the pot simmering. He doesn't allow it to boil over or cool off until the proper time. Otherwise, the result would be a mess instead of a wholesome stew.

It is highly significant that during the life of a union like the United Steelworkers of America, there has not been recorded one outbreak in membership ranks on account of social conflict. On the contrary, social relations among organized steelworkers have continued to improve, and these workers show that it is possible for men and women to live and work together in harmony regardless of their race, creed, color, or national origin. This union, as well as others like the ILGWU, the Machinists, and the Automobile Workers have made enviable records in their struggle to win social justice and a richness of life without any limitations. These organizations, along with many more, are united in seeking a nobler life for the masses of the people, let alone their own members.

In spite of their efforts, however, or rather, quite aside from their efforts, enlightened organized labor must implement the struggle to preserve freedom and not only meet the challenge of the white citizens' councils and the Ku Klux Klan throughout the South, but also combat the influence of groups that create inflammatory situations in urban areas throughout this country.

All labor must be vigilant so that the peoples of the world will understand that the organized worker is dedicated to the preservation of freedom and genuine democracy. Organized labor must also help to prevent the abridgment and denial of civil rights. In the best interests of our Nation, unions must energetically arouse the conscience of the people againt the forces of distortion and discriminatory practices.

More and more labor leaders are coming to see that through active and enthusiastic participation in union affairs, union members are shifting from an attitude of personal, intense conflict to one of cordial and sympathetic cooperation. From these variables there is emerging the kind of motivation which can help solve unions' economic problems. The more members are integrated, the more likely are they to become active in behalf of their fellow workers' problems.

Many organizations opposed to discrimination hold that time must be allowed in order to resolve obstacles arising during a transitional period. However, the question arises whether delay—as we see it these days—is within the scope of reasonable compliance with the directives of our Nation's highest judicial tribunal. In many cases, compliance without the forceful arm of Government is being effectuated. But even in these cases, organizations must be prepared, and alert, and must seek cooperation and consultation from other organizations and from trade unions in order to carry out practical campaigns to combat prejudice and discrimination.

This Government is the American people's own instrument created by the citizens through means of majority decision. Although minority groups have every right to express themselves, they should in a democratic fashion use peaceful persuasion, if they hope to become majorities. Through this principle we have pledged ourselves as a Nation to promote respect and maintain human rights and fundamental freedom for all.

Our knowledge and appreciation of the American heritage has been achieved because of our traditions and our goals; also, because the American people have interpreted national interests as free men.

Because of a constantly changing world, new interpretations of old rights which concern themselves with individual justice must be given more serious consideration. Widespread thinking must be developed in line with present social change so that new rights are recognized by the American people. Confidence in our democratic faith is no longer enough. We face the great challenge of helping all Americans to develop real understanding of the principle of fairness among all men.

## Hail and Farewell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as I shall not be a Member of the House next year, I take this occasion to express my appreciation to my fellow Members for the many kindnesses which I have received from them. The friendships made during my 10 years in the House will always remain my most precious legacy of that period. To the Members whom I am leaving I say "Hail and farewell."

I refer to a question asked by one of our Members. He asked if it had not been hard to make the decision to run for the Senate instead of again seeking election for the House. That was not quite the problem, because ordinarily, under the Massachusetts timetable, a person who fails to receive a nomination at the Republican Convention in June can still run for his House seat in the September primaries. At that time, however, the redistricting had divided my district among three adjoining ones, those of Speaker McCORMACK, of former Speaker MARTIN, and of Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR., making it as a practical political matter impossible for me to run for the House.

## Letter From Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower to the Honorable Thomas B. Curtis, of Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, during my service as ranking minority member of the Joint Economic Committee, I have had the privilege to serve with the senior House Republican on the committee, the Honorable THOMAS B. CURTIS, of St. Louis County, Mo.

I have come to know and respect TOM CURTIS and have developd a hign appreciation for the intelligence and dedication he brings to the study of the difficult economic issues facing our Nation. I was particularly pleased, therefore, to learn that former President Dwight D. Eisenhower has very strongly endorsed TOM CURTIS for reelection.

General Eisenhower has echoed my sentiments exactly and I ask unanimous consent that his letter to TOM CURTIS be included in the Appendix to the RECORD.

GETTYSBURG, PA.

Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS,
*Clayton, Mo.*

DEAR TOM: Because I was not scheduled to go into St. Louis on my campaign tour, I want especially to tell you and the people of the Second District how important I regard your reelection.

After the many ways in which my administration benefited from your scholarship, hard work, and willingness to take risks for principle, I came to regard you as a bulwark of strength in the Congress and an example to all Republicans of the constructive approach of our party. Therefore, it has been a source of great gratification to me to hear from so many of your colleagues during the past 2 years how highly they value your continued counsel and guidance.

You know of my deep interest and beliefs in sound economic and fiscal policies. As the senior Republican on the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee and as a ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, you were of great assistance to my administration and our Council of Economic Advisers. Your responsibility to give expression to these principles under this administration is even greater, and I have been truly impressed by the vigor and intelligence with which you have discharged it. You have championed fiscal responsibility without succumbing to partisan rancor; and you have supported the present administration, as I did, on matters of bipartisan interest such as the foreign trade bill.

Since I have retired from Government, it is a great comfort to know that Republicans like you are still willing to take on the burdens and risks of public service. I hope you are returned to Congress with the greatest plurality of your career.

Sincerely,

(S) D.D.E.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

## Harmony Sought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is a natural tendency to oversimplify the complications that still exist within our society. In light of the recent untimely outburst of racial controversy in Mississippi, an editorial, "Harmony Sought," which appeared in the October 11 issue of the Des Plaines Valley News, is especially appreciated. Under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

HARMONY SOUGHT

These are days of high drama.

A lone astronaut becomes famous by piloting a vehicle through space for six orbits around the globe. A single Negro becomes famous by enrolling in a southern university with the aid of over 1,000 armed men.

Only in the newspaper is there a permanent record of the anxiety, the fear, the unrest in events.

As the Nation marks Newspaper Week, October 14–19, it becomes important that people begin to understand each other in order to tolerate differences in customs and behavior so that little incidents do not cause a wave of mass hate leading to total destruction.

There is, for example, the integration question. Too often, the word is linked to the Negro race due to the militant action of a segment of that race. Yet study will show that color alone does not link individuals in harmony.

A Jamaican Negro, a Southern Negro, or an African native may be alike in color but still face discrimination within their own kind. They may be refused acceptance in one group because of social status, to another due to religious belief, to another because of material posessions, and to another due to cultural levels.

Take any large American city. You find neighborhoods predominantly Polish, German, Greek, Chinese, Hebrew, Swedish, or other nationality.

These may be alike in color, but each will discriminate within its nationality grouping as well as against others outside group.

American Indians were forced into reservations over a century ago. Communities around such reservations have more regard for the foreigner than for the American native at times.

Four tots may play together on the street. Yet one may go to a public school, the second to a parochial school, the third to a private school, and the fourth have a tutor. While the tots may play together, the parents may associate only in emergency conditions, for one family can play golf, another cannot; one owns an organ and is musically talented, another is not.

A carpenter and a tree farmer deal in the same constructional material, wood, and yet neither has knowledge of the other's problems.

Individual harmony amongst others of the same kind as well as with others can depend on economic differences as well as training of attitudes.

Military force can create harmony, but it cannot change an attitude.

America's greatest source of strength should be the realization that the Constitution was designed to link a group of jealous, bickering States into one force that has endured for 175 years. It becomes our heavy responsibility to cherish, to use, and pass on this document to the generations to follow.

Granted, it is not always easy to recognize one of its principles that affect attitudes and behavior, but any watering down would in time destroy the very fabric of its durability.

## Highlights of Senator Wiley's Activities in the 2d Session of the 87th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, following the adjournment of Congress, I want to report to the people of Wisconsin and the Nation.

I request unanimous consent to have the summary of the highlights of my work to serve our citizen and national interests printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

THE 1962 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The workload covered a broad range of citizen and national interests.

During the session, I sponsored, cosponsored, and/or supported a variety of legislative proposals for progress and security. My duties, also, included voting against legislation that—in my judgment—would not serve the best interests of Wisconsin and the Nation.

Realistically, also, the extensive committee work involved writing and rewriting, revision, and/or approval on legislation. The committees on which I am privileged to serve include:

1. Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee.

2. Foreign Relations Committee, including African Affairs Subcommittee, European Affairs Subcommittee, and Canadian Affairs Subcommittee.

3. Judiciary Committee, including Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights Subcommittee, Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, Refugees and Escapees Subcommittee, and Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee.

MAJOR CHALLENGES CONFRONTING NATION

In these critical times, the major challenges confronting the Nation—in my judgment—involve:

1. Maintaining the peace, or, conversely, preventing a third world war.

2. Containing, and ultimately diminishing, the influence of communism.

3. Preserving and strengthening the economic and political integrity of our free way of life.

A STRONG DEFENSE

For meeting these challenges, the Congress enacted—and I supported—such legislation as:

1. Creating more firepower for conventional and nuclear defense forces;

2. Strengthening free world alliances in which the United States participates, including NATO, SEATO, CENTO, OAS, and ANZUS;

3. Extending the Peace Corps, created to meet human and economic needs in less-developed countries by (a) giving ideas and leadership; and (b) providing an indirect nonmilitary counterforce to combat communism operating a global ring of Red conspirators;

4. Making moderate improvements in our civil defense program; and

5. Other efforts to provide a deterrent power against military aggression of the Communists; and at the same time to protect United States and free world interests on political, economic, ideological, and other nonmilitary fronts.

MAINTAINING A STRONG ECONOMY

The economy of the Nation must be preserved and strengthened—

If we are to meet the needs of a fast-expanding 187 million populace; and

If we are to meet the threat of communism.

The legislation adopted includes:

1. Adoption of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, created, among other things, to brighten the outlook for U.S. economy.

2. A moderate beginning in much-needed reform of tax laws.

3. Authorization of a manpower retraining program to equip out-of-job individuals in depressed areas for jobs elsewhere.

4. Senior Citizens Housing Act to provide liberalized housing for the elderly.

5. Accelerated civil works program to provide funds for job-creating works projects in areas of high unemployment.

6. Establishment of the mobile trade fairs program.

7. Increase the loan authorization for the Small Business Administration to assist small businesses.

8. Providing legislation for requiring television sets to be manufactured with equipment for all TV channels.

9. Expansion of atomic energy development program.

STRENGTHENING OUR FREE SYSTEM

Other legislation, designed to strengthen our free system, includes:

1. Cracking down on gambling and racketeering, including utilization of mails and interstate commerce for gambling purposes.

2. Tightening up internal security laws.

3. Establishing the Office of Science and Technology to coordinate Federal functions in this field.

4. Strengthening Federal criminal laws relating to briberies, graft, and conflict of interest.

HUMAN PROGRESS

Naturally, the well-being of our citizens merits high priority in national programing, such as follows:

1. Enactment of a voluntary pension plan for self-employed individuals.

2. Approval of liberalized retirement benefits for civil service employees.

3. Establishment of new health safeguards on drug usage by the public.

4. Improvement and expansion of our educational program.

5. Allowing surplus Federal property to be allocated to educational institutions;

6. Liberalization of benefits for veterans, and the dependents and widows of veterans.

CONSERVATION

The conservation, management, and best utilization of our natural resources, too, is essential if we are to meet the needs of the future.

Among other efforts extended during the session are included the following:

1. Carrying forward a program for antipollution of water.

2. Improvement of forest conservation and utilization programs, including expansion of the Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wis.

3. Extension and expansion of soil and water conservation programs.

During the session, I was privileged to be appointed by Vice President JOHNSON as a member of the National Forest Preservation Commission, responsible for policymaking over our national forest lands.

AGRICULTURE

In agriculture, regrettably, legislation held little or no promise for improvement of the economic outlook.

On April 1, 1962—the beginning of the marketing year—the administration lowered price supports of dairy products. I cosponsored legislation for improving the support levels. Unfortunately, the Congress failed to act. Other legislation adopted included:

1. Extension of the special school milk program.

2. Expansion—and changing the formula of—the national school lunch program.

3. Liberalization of farm loans.

SPACE

The Congress authorized $3.7 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for 1963.

Generally, this will create additional rocket-power for U.S. efforts to explore and utilize space (a) for defense, and (b) for peaceful purposes.

Among the practical benefits will be improved radio, telephone, and television communications through Telstar-type systems; better weather reporting, transportation and progress in other fields.

OTHER LEGISLATION

The Congress also enacted a wide variety of legislation in other fields.

LEGISLATION OF SIGNIFICANCE TO WISCONSIN

As senior Senator of Wisconsin, I naturally have a special interest in legislation of significance to my home State.

During the session my legislative and extralegislative work included efforts to:

1. Expanded trade and commerce—for example, through the seaway, established by Wiley-sponsored legislation—to create more jobs and business-industrial activities.

2. Obtained more defense contracts—now one of the biggest businesses in the Nation, for which over $50 billion are earmarked, annually.

3. Enacted Wiley-sponsored legislation—now getting favorable consideration—for creating an ice age scientific reserve in Wisconsin to preserve our unique, glacially sculptured moraines; conserve more of our outdoor heritage; and expand our attractions to tourists.

4. Further promote tourism—now one of our largest income-producing industries—to make Wisconsin a vacationland mecca for the Nation and the world.

5. Further improve and expand Wisconsin ports and harbors. The St. Lawrence Seaway transformed the Great Lakes into America's fourth seacoast. Strategically located at the western end of the lakes—capable of serving as an outlet of trade and commerce for the lakes-to-the-Rockies region, the challenge now is to transform our once-inland ports into world ports.

6. Expand and improve highway, water, rail, and air service for better commercial and pleasure traffic for Wisconsin and America.

7. Improve the economic outlook for Wisconsin farmers, including better prices, expanding markets, and finding new ways to utilize dairy and other farm commodities for industrial purposes; for example, by expanding research through establishment of a research laboratory in Madison, Wis., as I recommended in Congress.

8. Human progress: Establishment of realistic programs for medical care for the aging; development programs for youth; and further improving our educational system.

9. Conservation: Further expanding conservation programs for preservation, best management, and utilization—and, as possible—replenishment of our soil, water, forest, and other natural resources.

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## Nondiplomatic Activities of Representatives of Foreign Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a great deal of interest awaits the hearings which the Foreign Relations Committee is expected to conduct in the next session of Congress on the subject of "Nondiplomatic Activities of Representatives of Foreign Governments." It has been approximately 20 years since Congress examined this field of activity and I am sure that these hearings will prove fruitful, if only to clear away the uncertainty which surrounds the popular conception of the nature of the functions performed by lobbyists and registered foreign agents.

Apparently some confusion exists as to the precise definition of lobbyist and foreign agent. Frequently they are identified as one and the same. This, of course, is not true.

I am pleased to report that a responsible German publication, Industriekurier, has published an article which does a splendid job of clarifying this question. The particular newspaper is the German equivalent of the Wall Street Journal and is noted for unbiased factual reporting.

This article was called to my attention by Maj. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago, a distinguished citizen-soldier and international public relations consultant.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from this article printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I believe it will help place in perspective the distorted stories that have recently appeared in the German press. It should help, moreover, to make clear to our own press just what the role of "foreign agent" can and does mean in the counseling and representation of foreign clients in this country.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY AND POLITICS

(By Gerhard Hirseland)

Businessmen should become much more active in politics than they have been, former President Eisenhower recently requested. A few months ago, President Kennedy made a similar request, emphasizing the need for intensified discussions between businessmen and political leaders.

Thereby both Presidents voiced the conviction that the interdependence of politics and business should be carried over to the highest level, with management directly active in politics. For Germans this may seem a radical retreat from the time-honored traditions and social order. For Americans this request is significant only insofar as the interdependence already existing is considered as insufficient.

The fact is that the American businessman is considerably more enthusiastic in the participation of public affairs than his German counterpart. Four high level members alone of the present administration, Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of Commerce Hodges, Secretary of the Treasury Dillon, and the chief of the counterintelligence service, CIA, John McCone, were very successful and important businessmen before their appointments to high political positions of Cabinet rank. It is a matter, of course, for American businessmen to participate in public life, and these are but a few of them. Public relations is an integral part of management policy and its activity has become a byword in the United States of America. The slogan "Do Good and Tell About It" is used for promotion and at the same time another phase is brought before the public on the principle that there are two sides to every story.

LESSONS ONLY RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED

How serious American business and industry take this work is evidenced by the fact that there is a public relations expert in the management of any large firm. As a vice president he is equal, for instance, in rank, to the sales manager, the advertising director, and the treasurer of the company. Every large company not only has its own public relations department, but at the same time employs outside public relations firms specializing in this profession. During the last year alone about $2 billion were spent for such outside public relations. The interest in public relations goes even so far that a large banking institution, the Exchange National Bank of Chicago elected to its board of directors an independent public relations professional. No annual report, no shareholders' meeting, no speech or comments of an executive, no press release, in other words, no verbal or written communication in industry is published without close cooperation of the respective public relations department.

The effectiveness of this work is acknowledged not only in the United States but also abroad, and last but not least in Germany—even though the lessons are absorbed with amazing wariness and partly with outspoken aversion.

Considering this universal recognition, it is not surprising that even international politics makes use of the public relations people. There is indeed another side of the story which is worth making public. Katanga's Tshombe, for instance, recognized the urgent necessity to explain to the Amer-

ican public his side of the story. Japan, as the former enemy country and supposed classical country of starvation wages, had to overcome a psychological handicap. Last, but not least, the Federal Republic in her new political structure, German industry in toto, and individual enterprises, such as the old "weapons manufacturer" Krupp, had to and still have to regain much of the formerly existing good will.

This international public relations work has suddenly made headlines during the last weeks and months. In the chase for sensational news, well-founded background information did not matter.

This was triggered by announcement of hearings on foreign agents of Senator FULBRIGHT and his Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The translation of "hearing" with the German term "untersuchung" and of "foreign agents" with "auslandsagenten" is entirely justified, but in the German language these terms assume a double meaning which invited sensational stories.

The fact of the matter is that a hearing—as is the case here—serves to hear witnesses, and the evidence gathered serves to determine whether there is a need for an embarrassing investigation. The foreign agents are not cloak-and-dagger agents but simply public relations representatives of a foreign client. They are required to register with the Department of Justice in Washington under this ambiguous term and file their income.

POLITICIANS AS FOREIGN AGENTS

There are quite respectable gentlemen in this group as borne out by the fact that distinguished politicians, such as the former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, former governor of New York and presidential candidate, Thomas E. Dewey, and the present Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, have represented the interests of foreign clients. So far there has not been any change in this situation which is demonstrated by the fact that the same "huntsman of agents," Senator FULBRIGHT, and his committee, confirmed the appointment of Abba Schwartz as head of the vitally important Internal Security Division in the State Department. Until then, Abba Schwartz was public relations representative for the Netherlands Government.

What really compounded the confusion was the gay and indiscriminatory use of the expressions "foreign agent" and "lobbyist." The Department of Justice notes a substantial difference between these two terms. There is a distinct difference between these terms in the registration, and a foreign agent would be called on the carpet by the FBI immediately if he were to try to influence the legislative process as a lobbyist.

This careless lack of knowledge on the part of German correspondents in America, and the consequent incorrect reports moved Hillenbrand, chief of the German Affairs Office at the State Department in Washington, to intervene with the German journalists concerned. This also prompted the Democratic Senator, EDWARD V. LONG, to make the following statement on the floor of the Senate on September 18:

"I am convinced that confusion exists in the public mind as to the respective roles of the lobbyist and the foreign agent. Many people apparently believe that they are one and the same. Such is certainly not the case. In this regard, I might mention that several unfortunate articles recently have appeared on the subject in the German press. It was obvious that these publications did not even comprehend the difference between a lobbyist and a foreign agent. Some German newspapers went so far as to write that one of the most reputable foreign agents in the United States may be involved in a 'court hearing by the State Department.' This statement certainly reflects misunderstanding and confusion.

"It is unfortunate that many people are wont to confuse the activities of one person such as Alexander Guterma, who represented the dictator, Trujillo, and who was prosecuted for not registering as a foreign agent, when the actual foreign agent registration files in the Department of Justice include the names of some of the most prominent men in our country.

"I might list just a few of these gentlemen, who either are or have been registered foreign agents: former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, John and Franklin Roosevelt, Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, and Maj. Gen. Julius Klein * * * this country spends many millions of dollars annually to protect the proper image of America in foreign countries. It is heartening that the Western European democracies are cooperating in encouraging mutual understanding."

A BOOST FOR THE LOBBYISTS

It should not be overlooked either that President Kennedy also not only knows the value of public relations, but holds this work in high regard. When still a Senator, he spoke in behalf of lobbyists in an article in the New York Times:

"Lobbyists are in many cases expert technicians and capable of explaining complex and difficult subjects in a clear, understandable fashion. Competent lobbyists can present the most persuasive arguments in support of their positions. Indeed, there is no more effective manner of learning all important arguments and facts on a controversial issue than to have the opposing lobbyists present their cases. They frequently can provide useful statistics and information not otherwise available."

Public relations is a reputable activity in America and as Kennedy further pointed out in his article, it is regarded in the same unprejudiced manner as the work of an attorney leading his client's case in court with all facts available to him and with all eloquency he is capable of. It is a matter of course in such a climate that business and industry and politics value the services of a public relations expert highly and that businessmen personally take an active part in politics to create a favorable climate for their interests—just as, for instance, the labor unions do.

## Russian Missiles in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, almost 1 year ago on November 21, 1961, to be exact, George Todt reported in a column entitled "George Todt's Opinion," which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Express—now the Los Angeles Herald Examiner—that a vast supply of rocket missiles with nuclear warheads had been unloaded in Cuba. At the time I commented publicly on the missile buildup in Cuba using Todt's column as one of my sources of information. The accuracy of Todt's report has been borne out by recent disclosures. So that my colleagues will know what Todt said, I will place the subject column in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION—RUSS MISSILES IN CUBA

("Republics are brought to their ends by luxury; monarchies by poverty."—Montesquieu, "The Spirit of the Laws.")

What would the American people do if they knew that 10 large Russian ships had unloaded a vast supply of rocket missiles with nuclear warheads—to be aimed at eastern cities in the United States—in Cuban ports recently?

A better way to put this question would be to say:

"What are we going to do about it?"

According to a brilliant young Los Angeles industrialist, Frank Gard Jameson—immediate past president of the U.S. Navy League—10 Red ships came from Murmansk to Cuban ports recently and unloaded their deadly nuclear hardware for the infamous Communist murderer and tyrant, Fidel Castro.

QUESTION, SIR

Jameson is a man who knows what he is talking about and the question naturally arises: Why has there been a blackout regarding this vital news in our mass communications media?

Is it because certain peace-at-any-price advocates, such as Senator J. William Fulbright, Adlai Stevenson, and Edward R. Murrow, for example, might not like it if the not-to-be-trusted public got the facts?

Would such distressing news hamper the unflinching, unyielding efforts of some key individuals on the famous fourth floor of the Department of State as they press on with heads bloody but unbowed to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory now?

IT'S FOR YOU

Most of all, would it hurt our drape shape, new look with the great uncommitted nations of the world? Is it possible that they would no longer love us if we had to denounce brave little Cuba for stocking up on nuclear rockets—designed to massacre our people in their sleep some fine morning?

I do not know the exact answers to all these intriguing questions, but they are something for us all to ponder upon.

Let me remove my tongue from my cheek at this point to write, quite simply, that I believe it to be criminal dereliction of duty for our leaders to permit the Soviet Union to unload nuclear hardware at Cuban rocket bases now or at any other time.

The Cuban missile sites should be knocked out and destroyed. Without delay. Period.

WILL YOU STIR

I think Mr. Khrushchev has cunningly contrived and designed this much-ado-about-nothing Berlin mess in order to take our eye off the ball. And the ball is Cuba. It is a massive missile base complex where Red intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM) can be aimed at all our major cities east of the Mississippi River.

Jameson pointed out that these deadly steel birds will be ready in a couple of months. Castro is keeping relatively quiet for the moment. But watch the forthcoming play when the Russian rockets are in place.

Our seemingly great predilection for our Berlin castle on the global chessboard may be blinding us to the fact that the wily Red opposition is moving toward a possible checkmate by threatening our king—or home base—here in the United States.

Red IRBM's in the Caribbean cockpit could interdict our Strategic Air Command bases—including SAC headquarters in Omaha, Nebr.—if allowed to be placed in position to be fired at us from Cuba.

From the viewpoint of professional military men this kind of sins of omission might rightly be labeled suicidal on our part.

If the darling of the Americans for Democratic Action—Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,

a former Rhodes scholar to Britain's Oxford University—had not succeeded so well in muzzling the military, I am sure we would have heard much from those outraged gentlemen by this time. They are very wise in these matters and really know the score.

AND PROTEST, TOO?

I have met a number of admirals and generals in our armed services in times past. Never ran into one who did not understand 10 times more about correct military science and tactics than Senator FULBRIGHT or the appeasement-minded ADA will ever know.

Yet the Arkansas solon, in his controversial memorandum to the Pentagon, downgraded the American officers who have insisted that the only way to defeat the monstrous Red totalitarian threat is with strength instead of weakness. The public is overwhelmingly on their side.

Frank Jameson, the knowledgeable Navy leaguer, reiterated many of the arguments used in this column in previous months. He pointed out that we are far superior to the Communist bluffs in raw military power—and they would pull in their horns if we called them.

Let's make the Red bullies put up, or shut up. Watch them back down.

## The Doctor's Little Black Bag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the faults of the time is the failure to appreciate our legitimate national accomplishments. The traditional devotion of the doctor to his patients is dramatized by the doctor's little black bag, which is the visible trademark of the medical profession. Under leave, I insert in the RECORD at this point the editorial of the Pointer Publications of October 4, 1962, which in an appreciative manner discusses the subject of medical service:

THE DOCTOR'S LITTLE BLACK BAG

The doctor's little black bag—the traditional symbol of American medicine—follows a different path today than it did 50 years ago. Then it made most of its trips between the doctor's office and the patient's home; today it travels most frequently between the office and the hospital.

"The little black bag's altered path illustrates the changing patterns of medical practice—the trend toward centralizing medical care in the hospital," according to Sister Marie Duchesne, administrator of St. Francis Hospital.

Medical care has shifted from the home to the hospital, and with the shift, a new ingredient has been added to patient care—the highly technical methods resulting from the scientific revolution of the 20th century, she said.

The contents of the doctor's little black bag have changed only slightly in the last 50 years, but the changes again illustrate the trend toward the hospital. Added to the bag are some new drugs—particularly antibiotics and stimulants for starting stopped hearts. Subtracted are the equipment and instruments the doctor used at the patient's home for surgery, obstetrics, and emergency treatment of injuries. Nowadays, the doctor admits surgical and obstetrical patients to the hospital and meets the injured patient at the hospital's emergency room.

The hospital has indeed become the community's center for health care. In the past 50 years, it has added laboratories, diagnostic X-ray machines, cobalt units, pharmacies, and a host of other facilities necessary for the patient's recovery. As new scientific equipment is developed and proven effective, it is added by hospitals to help save lives and combat disease. This dramatic progress has meant added years of life for many persons.

"Just as every medical service provided in the patient's home was accompanied by the doctor and his little black bag, so today hospital services are administered individually to meet the needs of each patient," Sister said. Hospital people are highly trained to provide the exact treatment or medication the doctor prescribes.

Individual concern for each patient is synonymous with hospital care. The scientific services are necessary for the patient's speedy recovery, but hospitals also recognize the patient's need for emotional support. Hospital people strive to provide this support by means of individual and personal services for patients and their families. Additionally, hospitals are adding many services which make each patient's recuperation more pleasant.

The care provided in today's hospital scientifically exceeds that provided from the little black bag of 50 years ago, but the tender loving care which accompanied the doctor's visit is also still present in the hospital.

In conclusion, Sister commented, "This combination of personal interest and scientific advances found at St. Francis Hospital is summed up in the theme "Your hospital—uniting science and patient care."

## Who Will Get Tax Windfall?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the October issue of Public Power contained a very important article that should be of interest to all concerned about the formulation and evaluation of national tax policy. I ask unanimous consent to insert this article in the Appendix of the RECORD and I hope that this article will be considered carefully by those that would add more loopholes to the tax structure in the name of tax reform.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO WILL GET TAX WINDFALL?—CONGRESS VOTES POWER COMPANIES NEW "TAX CREDIT" BONANZA; COMMISSION REOPENS QUESTION OF "PHANTOM TAX" ACCOUNTING

(By J. D. Brown)

The old question of whether private power companies will pass tax savings on to their consumers is being revived this fall, with two power company tax bonanzas involved.

A new tax cut for the power companies, approved early this month by the Congress, has been estimated to cut the Federal income tax bill of the private power companies by about $100 million a year, or around 9 percent. The question: will the power companies pass this new tax saving on to their consumers, or will they use the tax savings solely for the benefit of stockholders?

An old tax savings provision, under which power companies have accumulated well over $1.5 billion in tax savings, is up next month for reconsideration by the Federal Power Commission. This is the so-called "liberalized depreciation" provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, which along with the defense-related fast tax writeoffs has been a prime source of interest-free capital for many power companies. Next month FPC will hear oral argument to determine whether the Commission will maintain its past policy—that the companies keep these tax savings—or whether FPC will institute a new policy of having the companies "flow through" these tax benefits to consumers.

Since the private power companies, which proudly advertise about the amount of taxes they pay, now have two major methods of cutting their Federal tax bill, the two tax subsidies should be considered separately.

CONGRESS APPROVES NEW TAX CUT

The newest tax cut provision for private power companies, approved this month by the Congress, is a 3 percent "investment credit" measure. It works this way: for every $100 which a power company invests in new plant, the company can deduct $3 from its Federal income tax bill.

But it should be emphasized that this is not a reduction of just 3 percent in taxes. For the private power industry, as a whole, it means an average tax cut of about 9 percent; and for some power companies it can mean tax cuts of as much as 20 percent or more, depending on how great their investments in new plant will be.

For example: According to a table published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Consolidated Edison Co., which reportedly plans to invest $270 million in new plant during 1962, could reduce its Federal taxes by 3 percent of this amount, or $8.1 million. This would mean a 21.9-percent reduction in the company's 1962 Federal income tax bill. Likewise, based on companies' reported 1962 capital spending plans, Alabama Power Co. could cut its Federal tax bill by 13 percent; Ohio Power by 10 percent; Public Service Co. of Colorado, by 16 percent; Union Electric, by 17 percent; and Virginia Electric & Power, by 10 percent.

An amendment offered September 4 on the Senate floor to knock out the 3-percent tax windfall for private utilities was defeated 16 to 49. Voting for the amendment (and therefore voting against the new tax subsidy for private power companies) were Senators of such diverse viewpoints as Senators HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, ALBERT GORE, Democrat, of Tennessee, STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, and FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio.

In a joint statement, Senators PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, and GORE attacked the tax credit for utilities: "The 3-percent credit which is to go to utilities would be completely wasted and is wholly unnecessary. The rate of return of the private utilities is regulated by both State and Federal bodies." Then the Senators' statement summarized a key point: "If regulation is properly carried out, then any favorable tax consequences of the credit would be offset by reductions in the rates charged to consumers. If not properly carried out, it would be an outright gift to the private utilities, for it would merely increase their rate of return above that set by the regulatory bodies."

The question, then, for the private power companies: Will they accept this "outright gift," and keep the tax savings for their stockholders; or will they consider the ratepayers' viewpoint and pass the tax savings along to their consumers through lower rates? If history is a guide, the power companies will vigorously oppose any effort to

force them to pass along these sizable tax savings to their consumers.

FPC REOPENS TAX QUESTION

In fact, the key question involved in the second tax-related case—that to be argued before the Federal Power Commission next month—is whether regulated utilities should keep the benefits of tax savings under another part of Federal tax laws, or pass those savings on to consumers.

In 1954, Congress approved the use of fast or liberalized depreciation by business firms. Private power companies argued, and the Commission later ruled, that the tax savings resulting from speeded-up depreciation could be retained by regulated utilities, rather than passed on to consumers.

Last summer, FPC announced that it would reconsider its past policy, using as a test case a natural gas company's proposed rate increase. The Commission asked all interested parties to submit statements.

The American Public Power Association, in a 10-page statement, urged the Commission to adopt the flow-through principle, which would include in a company's cost of service only Federal income taxes actually paid—not the phantom taxes which the company collected from its consumers but did not pay to the Government.

APPA General Manager Alex Radin said that under section 167, the liberalized depreciation provision of the Internal Revenue Code, "a utility customer pays the company enough money to permit the company to earn its allowable rate of return and to meet all expenses, including Federal income taxes computed on the basis of straight-line depreciation. Thus the company earns its fair return over and above all taxes. If the company retains for its own use and benefits a portion of the ratepayers' money that has been contributed for tax purposes, the company is retaining funds beyond its allowable fair return—funds contributed by the ratepayer."

Opposing this practice, Mr. Radin declared that a company should include in its cost of service "only the Federal income taxes actually paid." In a letter to FPC Chairman Joseph C. Swidler, Mr. Radin pointed out that "a number of local publicly owned electric systems purchase power at wholesale from private power companies; therefore, they have a direct interest in the Commission's treatment of liberalized depreciation as it applies to private power companies."

The Commission staff, in a brief on this issue, also favored the flow-through method, as did the General Services Administration, which said it was interested in the effect on "the substantial utility bills paid by the Federal Government" as a consumer; the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers; the American Public Gas Association; and others.

In these situations—congressional action on the "investment credit," and FPC reconsideration of "phantom taxes"—there are similar questions involved:

1. Does a regulated private utility really need special tax incentives such as an investment credit or a fast tax writeoff? Should a regulated utility be considered in the same category with a normal competitive enterprise?

2. If the regulated utility does get the benefit of special tax breaks, should it be permitted to keep these tax savings, or should it pass the benefits on to its ratepayers?

DILLON OPPOSES UTILITY TAX AID

Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, appearing earlier this year before the Senate Finance Committee, opposed the new tax cut for regulated utilities, saying that "private utilities are regulated monopolies with substantial assurance of a given rate of return on investment after tax. Moreover, investment in public utility facilities is based largely on demand, governed by public requirements."

And in a lengthy memorandum submitted with his statement, Secretary Dillon used blunt language to oppose new tax subsidies for private utilities.

"Regulated utilities do not need tax incentives to induce them to meet their service obligations to the public," the Treasury Department statement declared. "Public utilities are regulated monopoly industries with legal obligations to serve public convenience and necessity."

Further, said the Treasury Department, private utilities have "a captive monopoly market, guaranteed rates of return, ready access to capital funds, and need for new investment determined largely by long-range trends in consumer demand."

"In return for their authorization to operate as regulated service corporations," declared the Treasury memorandum, private utilities "are assured consumer rate charges which will cover their costs of operation, including Federal income taxes, plus a just and reasonable rate of return on investment. This rate of return is set so as to attract the capital needed to serve the public convenience and necessity."

The Treasury statement also observed, "Unlike manufacturers who can stimulate new markets by developing new products, the gas and electric utilities offer a commodity that has changed imperceptibly over the past half century. Their need for new investment is a need for satisfying growing consumer needs that they are legally required to meet and that they can readily project for the years ahead."

The special tax credit, the Treasury Department concluded, "would be inappropriate in the case of corporations enjoying sheltered markets and just and reasonable rates of return which, in effect, insulate them from the corporate income tax."

The unusually strong memor submitted to the Senate Finance Committee by Secretary Dillon also distinguished private utilities from regular competitive enterprises.

"The risk of investment in the utility field is less than in industry generally," the memorandum pointed out. And it added that "public utilities are not likely to respond in the same manner as other industrial corporations operating in competitive markets to tax incentives such as the investment credit."

The Treasury Department statement also explained that "because the corporate income tax is treated as a cost of operation, the utilities and their investors do not bear the burden of the tax."

In opposing tax credits for power companies and other utilities, the Treasury cited "unsatisfactory" experience with previous rapid amortization programs for regulated utitilities and recalled the argument of Senator BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, in opposing continued fast tax writeoffs for private power companies:

"The unsatisfactory results of attempts to stimulate public utility investment are exemplified by the recent experience with accelerated amortization in the electric utility field," the statement declared, explaining: "This experience was critically reviewed by the Congress when it restricted the further issuance of amortization certificates in 1957. Chairman BYRD, of the Senate Finance Committee, in commenting on the matter in 1957, stated that he regarded such rapid tax writeoffs for utilities as without any justification whatever because utilities are guaranteed profits."

The Treasury also noted that the tax credit "is primarily intended to aid manufacturing and other industries in modernizing, eliminating obsolete equipment, and strengthening their competitive position, with reference to foreign competition.

"These goals," the statement continued, "are largely inapplicable to utilities which have for the most part a domestic market and only indirectly are concerned with problems of foreign competition."

TREASURY CITES BENEFITS CONTROVERSY

Anticipating the forthcoming argument at the Federal Power Commission, the Treasury pointed out that, "The extension of the investment credit to the utilities would tend to bring heavy pressure on the various regulatory commissions to pass the benefit on to consumers in the form of lower rates."

This, the statement said, would "gravely complicate the regulatory process and become a continuing source of controversy and litigation."

Commenting on the difficulties in regulation which would result from the tax credit and upon the probability of differing rulings by different regulatory agencies and courts, the Treasury declared, "The resulting erratic distribution of the credit in the regulated area and the numerous disputes it would engender would not serve the best interests of either the utilities or the Nation in the long run."

What about the benefits to the consumer from these "tax incentives"? The Edison Electric Institute, trade organization for the private power companies, had already answered that question in its statement to congressional committees. The EEI said there is no certainty that the tax savings would be passed on to the consumer by the power companies, and "there is a possibility of treatment of the credit within the structure of the tax law in such a way as to preserve the benefits to the recipient utility."

The Treasury Department statement put it this way: because private utilities have "ready access to funds for financing" new plant, the "utilities are more likely than any other group to pay out the benefits of the investment credit in the form of dividends. As a consequence much of the reduction in tax liabilities made possible by a credit to utilities will become an immediate benefit to the stockholder, rather than a stimulus to additional investment."

When the Federal Power Commission conducts its hearing next month on whether "liberalized depreciation" benefits should go to stockholders or to ratepayers, the Commission will have an opportunity to decide whether it—unlike many power companies—is willing to have the consumers of electricity benefit from these tax windfalls which the power companies have received.

## Texas Student Gives Eyewitness Account of "Ole Miss" Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, under date of Tuesday, October 9, 1962, the Amarillo Citizen, Amarillo, Tex., printed an eyewitness account of the "Ole Miss" Tragedy by a student, Bill Ewton, from Amarillo. Mr. Ewton is a junior at the University of Mississippi, majoring in psychology and minoring in sociology. Twenty-one years old, he lives in a dormitory on the campus.

Because the account is written by an out-of-State student at "Ole Miss" and because it presents some interesting sidelights on the tragic events that occurred

which have not appeared in print, I include, under leave to extend my remarks, the article as printed in the Amarillo Citizen.

AMARILLO STUDENT DESCRIBES BATTLE DAYS OF OXFORD—TELLS HOW RIOT STARTED; HAS CLASS WITH MEREDITH

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The public has been treated to reams of copy through the daily press on the Oxford, Miss., riots. The Citizen through the initiative and enterprise of one of its veteran reporters and photographers, Bill Clough, Jr., is privileged to give a Mississippi University student's firsthand report and viewpoint on the Oxford trouble. Clough last Friday afternoon received an airmail letter from Bill Ewton, an Amarillo student at "Ole' Miss," giving a graphic and feeling account of the events there and his efforts at interviewing the Negro student. It is reprinted verbatim as Clough received it.)

UNIVERSITY, MISS.,
*October 3, 1962.*

DEAR BILL: I thought maybe you would like to know some of the happenings around Ole Miss. I'm sure the entire story was not heard.

I have never, and pray to God that I will never go through an ordeal such as this again. Most of the people here, students as well as citizens are still more or less in a daze wondering just what actually happened Sunday and Monday. I will try to relate to you the best of my recollection.

Most of the students had left the campus for the week and had gone to Jackson to our game with Kentucky. Nobody actually knew anything about Meredith coming on campus until after it had happened. We did know, however, that an extreme concentration of troops had begun in the university area, but did not know the reason until about 6 or 6:30 Sunday evening. The talk was that Meredith was on campus and then we heard it on radio.

The students began to gather into groups, not a riot but merely discussing what had happened. Suddenly we saw the guards and marshals pour out of the Lyceum building and surround it. So, out of curiosity, we started walking toward the gathering to see why these marshals had gathered on our campus.

Immediately the marshals began to push and yell at the students to return to their dormitories because "this was none of their business and the students could not stop it anyway" as one marshal put it.

Then for no apparent reason at all as I can see it, the marshals fired pointblank into the crowd with tear gas grenades, hitting girls and boys, injuring some critically.

Up until that time there had been no violence, but merely threats. Now it was as if the entire student body erupted into a fiery spear that just plowed into the lines of marshals. The marshals began falling under the terrific pounding the students were giving them.

Later that night, probably around 9 o'clock, the most damage began. Outsiders began pouring into the grounds. They brought with them cases of "Molotov cocktails" (bottles filled with gasoline and oil mixed with a saturated rag out the top as a fuse), guns, knives, and various other weapons, which they used to do great damage to people as well as to buildings on the campus.

Then on the once-beautiful and colonial-style campus of Ole Miss, a virtual battle was carried out. Men fell like flies on the Federal side. The entire campus was covered with tear gas and phosphorous gas of different kinds. Gas was shot into the dormitories (girls and boys), where girls were sleeping. Many girls had to evacuate the dormitories from the terrific volume of tear gas poured into their dorms.

The next morning, the once peaceful campus of the University of Mississippi looked like the aftermath of a bombing. Burned cars, foxholes, expired ammunition casings, blood-stained pavements and the still-remaining fog of tear gas were grim evidences of the violence which raged on the usually peaceful "Ole Miss" campus. Other debris was scattered from one end of the campus to the next.

The news was then out that we had started the riots. This is not true. What turned the usually peaceful citizens of this campus as well as Oxford, was the ill use of the tear gas in the hands of inexperienced marshals. They actually acted as if they enjoyed toying with the lives of the students.

You may ask why has all this taken place. It is very simple. The people of Mississippi feel that their States rights have been certainly infringed upon if not removed. The people and the students as well feel that they have been mistreated by the Government, especially on the "Ole Miss" campus Sunday night and in the town of Oxford Monday. I, too, feel the same way.

The feeling toward Meredith on the whole is one of disgust, mainly because of what he has started in the State of Mississippi. Some hate Meredith and are still attempting to hurt him when possible. A very few pity him. Many of the students would rather just forget about the whole matter.

In class, no one even sits close to him. I happen to be one of the ones in class with him. In my English literature class which previously held 80 students, there are only 19 people and Meredith.

The Associated Student Government is urging people to come back to class but people are leaving here by the hundreds. Classes are still being held, however, but only in the buildings that were not so badly tear gassed or so terrifically mutilated.

The organizations around the campus are all against Meredith. The Greek letter organizations do the best they can to harass the troops every night until early morning. Several of them have signs up in front of their houses such as: "Yankee go home," "You might take Mississippi, but you'll never take us," and so forth.

A curfew has been set in the town of Oxford itself at sundown. No one may enter or leave after dark sets in. The town and campus are under martial law, although it has not been announced as such. The town of Oxford and the university on which it thrives belong to Federal troops now. They control everything from the flow of traffic to the operation of downtown business.

Troops control all access routes to the town and the university. Soldier roadblocks were stationed as far as 5 miles from the town on each incoming highway. Troops check the cars and their occupants as many as three times between town and the campus (about 2 miles). This rule is true no matter which direction the motorist traveled.

Troops hold bayonet-tipped automatic rifles on the occupant while a two-man team examines the trunk, the glove compartment, the inside, the engine area, and the underside of the car. If the keys are not surrendered they are taken.

The campus, where the university lovers once sat under huge spreading pecan, walnut and magnolia trees, is now filled with tents, trucks, jeeps and stockpiles for the Army. The only place we are allowed to go is to class, to eat and to the dorm.

When will it all stop? God only knows. But we do know it happened in our own hearts. It is also pretty certain that it has not ended either, although the people do know they are fighting a lost cause.

Well, Bill, I have still got my psychology and Spanish homework to do. It is now midnight and I must get started.

Your friend,

BILL EWTON.

INTERVIEWS MISSISSIPPI NEGRO

Bill: Here are the only comments I could get from Meredith after wading through about 25 marshals with the newsmen, I asked him the following:

"What do you think of the treatment you are receiving here?"

Meredith: "I think I am being treated fine under the conditions."

"Do you feel lonely or out of the crowd here?"

Meredith: "I have a lonely life anyway, so it really doesn't matter."

"How do you feel about what your entrance has caused?"

Meredith: "I am very sorry that anyone had to get hurt or killed, but I believe that is an unfair question to ask me."

"Why?"

Meredith made no comment.

"Now that you are enrolled in 'ole Miss,'

"Now that you are enrolled in 'Ole Miss,'

Meredith did not answer.

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## The Educational Cartel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have struggled for years with legislative battles over subjects of Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. The controversies have been complicated by the lobbying activities of many organizations.

In an editorial "The Educational Cartel," which appeared in a recent issue of the Chicago Sun-Times, a penetrating comment is made concerning the role that the National Education Association has played in the struggle over Federal aid to education. Under unanimous consent I wish to insert it into the RECORD at this point:

THE EDUCATIONAL CARTEL

The Sun-Times' opposition to Federal aid for elementary and secondary public schools has been based on the conviction that Federal control is inherent in Federal aid.

We cling to the belief, old fashioned as it may be, that parents have a right to exercise some control over the education of their children. We doubt they could do so if ultimate control were lodged in a vast Federal bureaucracy in Washington.

That the National Education Association, composed of professional educators, advocates Federal aid has surprised us at times. But no longer. For control—real control over the education of the Nation's children—is being shifted rapidly to the NEA. That organization has about completed the job of cartelizing public school education under its own auspices.

It is doing so through an organization known as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, an agency whose governing council is tightly NEA controlled.

We are indebted to an article by James D. Koerner in the October 20 issue of the Saturday Review for a revealing account of the manner in which the NEA is usurping parental prerogatives by determining the type of education offered. It is all very simple: control the education and hiring of teachers.

This is what the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE, pronounced "en-kate") has set out to do and what, to a considerable extent, it has ac-

complished. Most public school administrators belong to NEA. Increasingly public school administrators hire only teachers who have received their training in NCATE-approved institutions.

The absurd result of this policy is illustrated by the Carleton College episode. Without doubt, Carleton, located at Northfield, Minn., is one of the Nation's outstanding colleges. Academically, it probably has no superior.

Yet NCATE initially refused to approve Carleton's program for teacher education. Carleton is a liberal arts college. Its students receive fine training in the humanities and in other areas which make for a well-rounded person. Its emphasis is on education in the best sense of the word. It provides a minimum education in teaching methods, an area of study on which NCATE places its emphasis.

Carleton was refused NCATE accreditation. But teachers colleges whose faculties were far less renowned, whose libraries and other essential academic facilities were far inferior, were approved. They were approved because their curriculums contained a preponderance of courses having to do with methods of teaching. Their students were required to take courses in methods at the expense of acquainting themselves with the subject they were going to teach.

Carleton refused to be traduced. It insisted that education in content was more important than education in teaching methods. It believed that a knowledge of history was more important to a history teacher than a knowledge of procedure and methods. It didn't contend procedures and methods were unimportant. It merely contended they were of secondary importance.

Carleton's refusal to knuckle under resulted in NCATE capitulation insofar as Carleton was concerned. But many fine colleges throughout the Nation do not have Carleton's resources or Carleton's prestige. They have to knuckle under, otherwise their students who wish to be teachers would have difficulty getting jobs, the NEA cartel being what it is. So the NEA is now dictating to colleges what they will teach.

Teacher certification is a power lodged in each State. But a certificate without a job doesn't do a teacher much good.

NEA has no apprehension regarding Federal control of public schools as a consequence of Federal aid. It has control itself. It is extending that control over colleges and universities. In the NEA scheme of things it will be a simple matter to extend control over whatever Washington agency handles the funds.

Professional organizations and accrediting agencies have their proper places. But when they become masters rather than servants of people who hire their members they have gone too far.

## Unemployment Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, recently Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, of St. Louis County, Mo., published a thought-provoking book called "87 Million Jobs: A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment."

As one who is privileged to serve with TOM CURTIS on the Joint Economic Committee, of which he is the senior House member, I know of his deep interest in and broad knowledge of the major economic problems facing our country. Out of his long study of unemployment, he has come up with a book that makes an important contribution to a solution of the unemployment problem. The book has been well received, and, under unanimous consent, I wish to insert some of the reviews and notes which have appeared in the press, as well as a summary of the book prepared by Congressman CURTIS for Advance magazine, at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Bluefield (W. Va.) Telegraph]

PLENTY OF JOBS

President Kennedy, who in 2 years in office has made not the slightest dent in the U.S. unemployment rate, might profitably apply his speed-reading skill to a new book written by Representative TOM CURTIS, a Missouri Republican.

CURTIS, one of the most respected Members of Congress, has produced a treatise entitled "87 Million Jobs," subtitled "A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment."

CURTIS' theory is, briefly, that there are plenty of jobs to go round in this country, but that unfortunately the millions of job-seekers aren't trained for the jobs that need filling.

CURTIS notes that most newspaper want ad sections generally show a close balance between the number seeking jobs and advertisements seeking technically skilled workers. Unfortunately, the two categories don't mesh.

His solution is a combined public and private drive in the job retraining field, including changes in the American educational system designed to fit young people for the jobs which now go begging in many areas.

CURTIS says such a program will require a vast cooperative effort on the part of both industry and Government to upgrade worker skills, to encourage workers to go where the jobs are, and to stimulate savings and investment on which creation of new jobs depends.

The Kennedy administration has made a stab at a job retraining program, which generally has been a flop. It was a rather crudely conceived and hastily drawn up program which had little chance of success, and it seemed intended only as a form of unemployment compensation in many areas.

CURTIS has attacked the problem in broader fashion, with full realization that there is more to curing unemployment than a massive Federal spending program. That approach has been tried before, and has failed miserably. That has not deterred the New Frontiersmen from attempting the same discredited cure, however.

[From the Washington Post]

CALLED A CAPITAL CRIME—SOCIETY SEEN FAILING TO ALINE UNEMPLOYED WITH OPEN JOBS

(By Frank C. Porter)

"Unemployment is a capital crime which the citizens of an industrial nation commit against themselves," Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, fervently believes.

It is his thesis that there are about as many jobs going begging as there are persons officially classified as unemployed in this country.

The solution, he suggests, is a comprehensive program of job escalation to match these unfilled openings with unemployed workers. And the point of departure for such a program would be a national clearinghouse for the study and classification of the skills of the future, emerging skills of the present, and obsolescent skills of the past.

The Nation's present efforts to relieve unemployment are woefully misguided, the Missouri Republican insists, because they focus on these obsolescent skills. Through make-work projects and massive Government spending, he says, the classic governmental approach has been to create jobs to fit available skills. Instead, we should seek to create skills to fill the jobs.

CURTIS develops his argument in a recently published book, "87 Million Jobs: A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment" (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 126 pages, $1.95).

A member of the Ways and Means and Joint Economic Committees, Representative CURTIS takes a conservative approach to the Nation's economic problems.

Despite his suggestion for a Federal clearinghouse of skills, he feels efforts to reduce joblessness should come mainly from the private sector. CURTIS sides with the "structural" school in its continuing debate with the "demand" school over unemployment.

Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and a leading spokesman for the latter, believes the present high level of unemployment is the result of inadequate demand for goods and services and consequently for labor. If demand can be increased by such fiscal measures as a tax cut and monetary policies such as reasonably low interest rates, he argues, unused labor will be channeled into the most productive areas of activity.

CURTIS quotes Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McC. Martin in rebuttal. Martin contends fiscal and monetary policy is powerless to relieve such structural imbalances as immobility of labor and inappropriate skills, which must be attacked directly.

"We are now persistently resisting the facts of the case in order to make drudgery and unskilled labor economically feasible as a way of life," CURTIS writes. "We ignore the new jobs that a new age has created, and we concentrate angrily, wistfully, confusedly on the jobs at the lower end of the hiring scale that are being eliminated."

The Missouri legislator dismisses emergency relief programs, extended unemployment benefits, work practice freezes, and split-the-jobs hour shortening as either useless or short-lived remedies.

Instead we need to improve our information on unemployment and job skills, improve our schools and update curricula, overhaul tax laws to assist rather than hinder job adjustment, eliminate deterrents to business efforts to restrain its own workers and step up inducements to business investment, he asserts.

CURTIS cites a number of blind tax laws which he claims obstruct the upgrading of our labor force.

The law permits individuals to deduct from taxable income the costs of improving skills in an existing job but not those incurred to qualify for a new and better one.

Property taxes are so drawn that they cut down on labor mobility.

Except under the new Manpower and Area Redevelopment Act, if a person without a job enters a training school, he becomes ineligible for unemployment insurance or the the equivalent. CURTIS contends he should be denied jobless payments if he refuses to attend school.

Despite recent improvement, depreciation tax writeoff chedules still are geared to rather than obsolescence and consequently hold back economic progress.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 29, 1962]

PEOPLE AT WORK—JOBS: TOO MANY SQUARE PEGS?

(By Ed Townsend)

NEW YORK.—"We have a serious problem on our hands. We have jobs going begging and we have people unemployed who would like to work."

Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS of Missouri, senior Republican in the House and a member of the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee and of the House Ways and Means Committee, makes this statement in a book, "Eighty-seven Million Jobs," published this past week by Duell, Sloan & Pearce—the result of 2 years of late evening consideration of a national problem that could become a national crisis.

The book is provocative; it will be debated widely in the weeks ahead. What it outlines as "a constructive solution to unemployment" will find support in some quarters, will be scoffed at or challenged in others. Nevertheless, the book is important. It focuses new and needed attention on the basis of problems too often considered only in terms of statistics.

Unemployment persists at a level of about 5 percent of the civilian labor force. Methods of counting the jobless differ. Unions contend that the Government's figures are too conservative—that if allowances are made for those working only part time, the number idle would be about 6 million and the percentage around 7 percent. Whichever is right, there is almost universal agreement that the total is much too high.

Moreover, long-term unemployment—the kind that really hurts—has been increasing steadily in recent years. Today there are more than 500,000 men or women who have been jobless more than 26 weeks and nearly 1 million who have been off jobs for more than 15 weeks.

Conservatively, there is a large pool of nearly 4 million men and women anxious to go to work, according to Mr. CURTIS, while hundreds of thousands of jobs remain unfilled because properly trained workers cannot be found.

The problem, he says, is one of imbalances. "Many employers, knowing the workers they need are not available, do not even bother to advertise for them," Mr. CURTIS said in a recent discussion of the problem. The openings are for skilled workers, usually for specialists. The jobseekers—the unemployed in today's labor market—are largely unskilled or semiskilled.

For instance, 900,000 more persons could be employed in the field of health services alone if they were available, according to Mr. CURTIS. Many parts of the country are desperately short of teachers and other school personnel. In many cities, it is almost impossible to find competent, fully qualified secretaries.

Moreover, according to a survey by the Missouri Congressman, there is a severe shortage of automobile mechanics, tailors, sales clerks, shoe repairers, office workers, social and welfare workers, scientific and technical workers, and other classifications of white-collar and subprofessional workers—shortages that can be found even in areas with long and persistent unemployment.

However, a jobless coalminer or steelworker cannot be fitted easily into any of the shortage jobs. Usually, they lack the basic education and background necessary for retraining. Too often they are not adaptable. And many of them are reluctant about making a new start in an entirely different field of employment.

"Too many people simply don't want to train for the jobs that are available," Mr. CURTIS comments, adding, "There is no magic cure-all for our problems, but * * * we must launch a vast program to upgrade the skills of our people so that they can fill the many new jobs being created in our highly developed and increasingly service-oriented society and leave their old jobs to be filled by others, perhaps today's unemployed with their lesser skills."

This would mean training and retraining programs on a greatly expanded basis—and with attention to developing needs. There is entirely too much stress now on training and vocational programs directed toward skills little needed now or becoming obsolete, says Mr. CURTIS. There is entirely too much thinking in terms of today or the past, too little in the new and challenging terms of tomorrow, he adds.

"The technique of matching idle workers with unfilled jobs is in its infancy. So too, is our system of training and retraining Americans to fill the jobs that must be filled in the future if, as a nation, we are to realize our economic potential," Representative CURTIS states.

The need is for a broad reshuffling to upgrade workers "energetic and ambitious enough to try to improve skills or education." Today's big waste is the underdeveloped worker. Today's wrong technique is to try to train the untrainable—or to pass over him as untrainable. The answer, as Mr. CURTIS sees it, is not to try to retrain the possessor of the lowest skill for newly emerging skilled jobs but to engage in a sweeping retraining program upgrading workers all along the line.

It's not an easy program. It takes considerable cooperation all along the line, from workers and their unions, companies, and governments at all levels. It's only part of a solution. But it's a step that can be taken in a "free enterprise approach to our problems," according to the Congressman.

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NEWSLETTER BOOK REVIEW—"87 MILLION JOBS," BY REPRESENTATIVE TOM CURTIS

Representative TOM CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, in a new book, "87 Million Jobs: A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment," (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $1.95) offers Republicans a fresh and exciting economic program that stands in sharp contrast to the tired-out economic thinking of the Democratic Party. The St. Louis Congressman persuasively disposes of the depression-era idea that more Federal spending can create jobs, prosperity, and economic growth.

CURTIS, who is the senior House Republican on the Joint Economic Committee and a ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, points out that as many jobs are going begging today as there are people out to work; that the problem of providing jobs for our unemployed essentially is one of eliminating labor market dislocations, and that our people must be trained to fill the new, more demanding jobs opening up in our society.

This requires, he says, a vast public and private cooperative effort to upgrade worker skills, as well as more effective efforts to encourage worker mobility and to stimulate greater savings and investment, upon which job creation depends. It is an exciting book, and Republicans can be proud that one of their own has come up with new answers to some of our most troublesome and persistent economic problems.—Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey.

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[From the Kiplinger Washington Letter, Sept. 22, 1962]

Unemployment cannot be solved by any massive Government programs. That's the gist of a new book by Representative TOM CURTIS, of Missouri, a Republican. He says the solution lies in business and local action to train workers, improve education to fit the unemployed for thousands of unfilled jobs. Also tax changes to stimulate investment. A point of view, of course, but thought-provoking and worth reading. The title: "87 Million Jobs," published by Duell, Sloan & Pearce. Your local bookstore can get it.

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[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 28, 1962]

LACK OF SKILLS IS HELD KEY TO UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

"The crux of the so-called unemployment problem is not the lack of jobs, but the lack of skills to fill available jobs."

This is the thesis on which Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, has written "87 Million Jobs," a book published today by Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

The title alludes to the fact that by 1970 the American labor force will number 87 million. The subtitle, "A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment," serves to introduce Congressman CURTIS' plan for upgrading the work force to fill the higher skilled jobs which he says are going begging today.

His multidimensional plan calls for a nationwide survey of the skills of the future and a national clearinghouse to classify these job opportunities and to disseminate information about them to schools and private employers.

On the Federal level, Representative CURTIS wants the unemployment insurance system revamped to give benefits to unemployed workers who train for new skills and deny benefits to those who refuse to start learning a new skill. He also wants tax regulations relaxed to encourage persons to upgrade their skills or to move to areas where employment is available.

Rather than spend Federal money to create jobs to fit available skills, the Government should encourage private business to expand and thereby produce more jobs by granting more realistic and more up-to-date depreciation allowances, the Congressman contends.

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[From Roll Call, Oct. 3, 1962]

BOOK REVIEW—HORSE-AND-BUGGY ECONOMICS A DRAG ON EMPLOYMENT PROGRESS

(CURTIS, Representative TOM. "87 Million Jobs: A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment." New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1962. $1.95; Reviewed by Hon. PRESCOTT BUSH, U.S. Senator from Connecticut)

Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS has written a thought-provoking and penetrating book about a subject close to the hearts of all Americans—their jobs.

A Missouri Republican from St. Louis County, Congressman CURTIS, is well-equipped for the task by reason of his keen and searching intelligence and his long experience as the senior House member of the Joint Economic Committee, on which we serve together, as well as a ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

The book appears at a particularly appropriate time. Unemployment, which so far during 1962 has not fallen below 5.4 percent of the civilian labor force, actually rose sharply in August to 5.8 percent. Particularly disturbing is the fact that this increase occurred at or near the top of the business cycle. Since the end of World War II, each recession has left us with a higher level of unemployment. Clearly, we are a long way from solving our unemployment problem.

Congressman CURTIS offers a fresh and penetrating analysis of how to eliminate this persistent, hard-core unemployment. He rejects the widely and often uncritically held dogma that we can do it by creating jobs for the unemployed through more and more Federal Government spending. Indeed, instead of finding a solution in Federal spending and "depression economic," CURTIS believes these nostrums aggravate and prolong our unemployment problem.

The central point of Congressman CURTIS book is that in order to eliminate unemployment we must wake up to the fact that we are living in a dynamic and changing economy in which as many jobs, both actual and potential, are going begging as there are people out of work. He sees the solution to the unemployment problem in a shift of emphasis and attention from self-defeating attempts to increase the demand for obsolete skills to the urgent and more rewarding task of filling our job vacancies.

In a dynamic economy, characterized by swift technological advances, Congressman

CURTIS points out that jobs are constantly being eliminated. But while jobs are being eliminated, new jobs are opening up. He offers striking evidence of this in the shift in employment in recent years from production to service-type, professional, managerial and highly skilled jobs.

Congressman CURTIS makes clear that this trend is certain to continue in the future. If we ignore it or if we seek to correct unemployment through the application of horse-and-buggy economics, we run the grave risk of holding back our economic growth and progress. When the Government seeks to create jobs artificially at skill levels that are no longer in demand, it hampers efforts to find a genuine and lasting solution. Congressman CURTIS points out that unfilled jobs hold back our economic growth as much as unemployment.

Our inability to fill our job vacancies and to put our unemployed workers back on the job is not, Congressman CURTIS believes, because of inadequate demand in the economy. Rather, it is caused by dislocations in the labor market. Very frequently, the unemployed person either does not have the skills to fill the job vacancies or he does not live in, or is not willing to move to, an area where jobs are available.

Congressman CURTIS persuasively argues for a vast national public and private program to upgrade the skills, training and education of our people so they can meet the job needs of our modern society. As envisioned by Congressman CURTIS, persons high up on the skill ladder move into the new and demanding jobs and thus open up positions which can be filled by persons below them on the skill ladder, and so on down the line. He also advocates measures which would encourage greater worker mobility as well as increase inducements to save and invest, which are essential if we are to accumulate the capital required to create jobs.

In recent years the search for a solution to the problem of unemployment has resembled a cat chasing its own tail—a lot of action but no real progress. Congressman CURTIS, who probably more than any other man in Congress has devoted his time and thought to this problem, is due our thanks for introducing a new and penetrating outlook to what had become a stale and unrewarding search for an answer to the serious human problem of unemployment.

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[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 28, 1962]

### CURTIS OUTLINES JOB PLAN

(By Robert Dietsch)

A leading Republican Congressman today outlined a program to upgrade unskilled and semiskilled workers to enable them to fill "the millions of jobs going begging in America today."

In a 126-page book, Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Missouri, suggests new tax devices, a national clearinghouse to report on job needs, wider training in schools, better training programs by employers and changes in the Federal unemployment insurance system.

But his accent is always on upgrading workers through private channels.

"I do not rule out government which at all levels has an important role to play in a well-designed program of job escalation," Representative CURTIS writes in his book, "87 Million Jobs; a Dynamic Program."

"But Government spending, pump-priming, does not equip a single man with the skills required to take one of the many new jobs created by our advancing technology. It can buy time, but only individual training or retraining can buy any real guarantee of real work and real income."

At another point, Representative CURTIS, a member of the Ways and Means and the Joint Economic Committee, said, "we hear little about the important successes in job upgrading being scored by individual business firms * * * not all of them can do as well as International Business Machines which retrains 100,000 workers each year.

"But a number of companies are doing a fairly good job and could do much more under appropriate tax incentives and other government policies."

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[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, Sept. 29–30, 1962]

### CURTIS CALLS FOR FRESH LOOK AT UNEMPLOYMENT

(Reviewed by Patrick J. Buchanan)

"Eighty-seven Million Jobs," by Represenative THOMAS B. CURTIS (Duell, Sloan Pearce). Today as thousands of coal haulers and ditchdiggers are unemployed, newspapers advertise for operators of coaldiggers and trenchers. As millions of Americans sit idle, millions of skilled jobs go begging.

The Federal Government is using antiquated solutions bred by depression unemployed to solve the postwar problem of technological change. Taxpayers' dollars for public works are keeping drudgery and unskilled labor feasible as a way of life.

This is the Congressman's thesis and he occupies the dugout with that team of economists which argues that increased investment capital—not the hiking of aggregate demand by Federal handouts—is the key to full employment. If left alone, the dynamic American economy will create new jobs as it makes the old ones obsolete.

With tax incentives, Government should induce local business and schools to retrain workers for the skilled jobs that are opening, should reward plant modernization, and grant the newly qualified laborer easy access to areas where his talents can be employed.

Today the Government taxes every worker to provide a few with artificially created jobs, rather than encouraging the upgrading of skills to enable them to take on better jobs with a real future. Government seeks to bury the ugly visage of unemployment in a landslide of dollars that unearths the equally repulsive ogre of inflation.

To Mr. CURTIS, this is our crime against the future and a hoodwinking of workers, using Federal boodle to buy their votes and keep them toiling in fruitless vineyards.

Congressman CURTIS calls for a fresh look at unemployment and urged a single congressional study committee and a modern evaluation as election nears.

Chief shortcoming in the piece is his tendency to shortchange and oversimplify the arguments of a formidable economic school of thought entrenched in "Swampoodle and Foggy Bottom."

Not a bulging text of charts and graphs, but a commonsense study by a principal actor who has stepped offstage to watch the huge cast of players, who, for all their eloquent soliloquies, seem to be moving to a curtain call that will find every American a ward of the state and an apostle of the status quo.

If today's notions prevailed years ago, he argues, men would be working on "cat whiskers" for crystal sets.

Cogent and clear, the work sides with that minority that steadfastly refuses to burn incense at the altar of John Maynard Keynes.

Opposition is anticipated from Washington deskmen and union leaders whose own future is tied to keeping telegraphers, farmers, and coal miners tapping obsolete keyboards, producing grain for government bins and loading 16 tons.

But these voices are familiar to Mr. CURTIS.

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### CURTIS BOOK ON MANPOWER GETS A PLUG

When the committee appointed by President Kennedy to advise on manpower retraining had its first meeting a couple of weeks back, a new book by a Republican Member of Congress got special billing.

The book, "87 Million Jobs," by Representative TOM CURTIS, of Missouri, stems from a GOP study of unemployment headed by CURTIS earlier this year. Prof. Eli Ginzberg, of Columbia University, committee chairman, brought a copy to the first work session.

Labor Department officials have obtained a batch of copies for their use, though in the book CURTIS takes some lusty swings at Democrats.

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[From the Washington Post]

### CHANGING TIMES DEPARTMENT

Back in 1945, when he was Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace was hooted and derided for writing a book called "60 Million Jobs." It was a pipedream, they said.

The other day a highly respected Republican Congressman from Missouri, Representative TOM CURTIS, published a book with the title "87 Million Jobs." And nobody let out a peep. Not, at least, at CURTIS' theme—that with "a dynamic program to end unemployment" the 87-million figure will be reached.

Current employment is just short of 67 million.

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[From Republican Report, October 1962]

### CURTIS BOOK PROPOSES 87 MILLION EMPLOYED

When an important Congressman writes a serious treatise on the economics of unemployment without benefit of "ghosts" it is news. When that book proposes to employ a working force of 87 million people while at the same time reducing unemployment to an insignificant problem it represents news which merits serious consideration. Such a treatise has been written by Congressman TOM CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri. "Eighty-seven Million Jobs: A Dynamic Program To End Unemployment" has just been published by Duell, Sloan & Pearce of New York.

CURTIS, who is neither an economist nor an academician, has written a book which has merited prefaces by three distinguished economists and scholars. The problem of unemployment as he sees it, is not that jobs are unavailable for these millions of workers, but rather that many of these workers are unsuited and untrained for the jobs that the technological revolution continues to create. He points out that newspaper advertisements for technically skilled workers usually balance those from people who seek employment. From this premise, he argues that those who are active in directing the American economy must investigate the field of job retraining. Such efforts must encompass changes in our educational system to aid our manufacturing and labor interests in bringing about such escalation. Furthermore, tax laws must be redrawn to encourage the use of modern machinery to keep the process of automation going so as to provide jobs for those who have retrained to perform them.

#### REPRESENTATIVE TOM CURTIS

CURTIS, who is one of the most respected Members of the House of Representatives, has achieved national recognition as a member of both the Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee. He holds degrees from Dartmouth and the Washington University Law School and was elected to Congress in 1950.

In commenting on the book, W. Allen Wallis, dean of the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago and president-elect of the University of Rochester, said in a preface: "He is a conservative, not in the sense of seeking to preserve the status quo or protect vested interests but—quite the contrary—in the sense that he seeks to conserve the forces of progress."

[From the Troy (N.Y.) Times Record, Oct. 10, 1962]

SQUARE PEGS

It is impossible to gain agreement on how many unemployed we have. Government figures put the total just under 5 million or more than 5 percent of the work force. Union economists say it is closer to 6 million or about 7 percent. But all agree that the real problem is the great number of long-term unemployed, those who for one reason or another are presently unemployable.

Unions think they have an answer in the 35-hour week. This might only make the matter worse. A more sensible solution may be that offered by Missouri Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, who calls for a revision in our thinking about worker retraining.

In his book "87 Million Jobs," Congressman CURTIS says 900,000 people could find work in the health services if they were trained and available. Teachers and school personnel, competent secretaries, mechanics, tailors, shoe repairmen, social workers, and sales clerks are just a few other categories in which the Congressman said there are many openings, even in areas with the most persistent unemployment.

How to solve the problem? Rather than take unemployed coal miners or steelworkers and enroll them in training courses for which they have neither the ability nor the determination. Congressman CURTIS calls for a reshuffling of the training system. Rather than try to train the untrainable, or discard him because he is untrainable, for the newly emerging skilled jobs, Congressman CURTIS calls for an extensive program which would upgrade workers all along the production line. The solution may be open to argument but the Nation has too many square pegs to reject it without serious study.

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[From the Advance magazine]

BETTER JOBS FOR MORE AMERICANS: A DYNAMIC PROGRAM TO END UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Representative TOM B. CURTIS)

Our dynamic economy has created a demand for so many skills of so many new and different sorts that we have, in amazing fact, developed large labor shortages. This is the crux of the so-called unemployment problem: not the lack of jobs, but the lack of skills to fill available jobs. This is the growing pain of our economy—it is not the fatal sickness of a sick economy, as those who see only the "job wanted" but never the "help wanted" columns of our papers so often say.

Most of the unfilled job requirements are known only in general terms, however.

THE NEEDS

We need many more engineers, in old as well as altogether new fields. We need more doctors, more nurses, more garage mechanics, more lab technicians, more scientists, of all sorts, more teachers with more and varied training, more salesmen with genuine technical expertise about their complex products, more management technicians, more computer poerators, more computer designers, more computer programers, more highly skilled production workers. More, more and still more, as each new wave of skills breeds the machines and the services that demand ever more skills and creates ever more jobs in new fields.

Newspapers are filled with advertising for needed skills. Many employers no longer use such columns because their experience has shown that the necessary skills simply are not available. In such cases they undertake to train people to fill these jobs.

What is more, the skill requirements of our dynamic economy are snowballing. The Department of Labor recently estimated that about 5,000 new job titles will be added to its dictionary of occupational titles in the decade of the sixties. During the same period some 8 to 10 percent of current job titles will become obsolete.

Since technological growth and heads-up, innovating management create a demand for more jobs than they make obsolete, our basic task as a nation is to find the ways to meet such a demand.

The cost, surprisingly in the age of so much Federal spending, is bound to be relatively low and in a sense self-liquidating. Work at higher skills obviously pays more, which enlarges the tax base, other things being equal. Also, success in this endeavor will reduce the incentive for featherbedding, which fear of technological unemployment frequently generates. The resulting greater productivity will also serve to expand the tax base. Then, billions now spent in all manner of Government programs to conceal unemployment in the fog of inflation could be saved and Federal taxes accordingly cut to the bone.

THE CONCEPT

A successful attack on unemployment even gives great promise of increasing a general understanding of the role of government in our society. Government is ancillary, a handmaiden of the private sector. Government is not a copartner of the people. It is their servant, and government jobs are created only when individuals in their private enterprise create a demand for ancillary assistance. This, and not the state concept of government as a big spender, should guide us in the era ahead.

Of all the things that Government might be tempted to do in finding answers to job problems, the most necessary first step is to satisfy requirements for relevant information about emerging skill requirements as well as about the pattern of unneeded skills. We must upgrade skills across the land, but "upgrade for what?"

1. Urgently necessary are answers based on an analytical, nationwide study of the skills of the future, emerging skills of the present, and obsolescent skills of the past. Such answers are needed, negatively, lest we retrain men, as we are unfortunately doing today in some instances, for outmoded or unneeded skills, and, affirmatively, to steer our efforts in the right direction on a time basis.

2. To this end, there should be established a national clearinghouse for the classification of these skills and their needs on a geographic basis. At present, a limited amount of work is being done in this area by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the U.S. Employment Service. But these agencies overlap a good deal, and their operations do not synchronize well with large segments of private activity bearing on the subject.

3. The clearinghouse system should aim to present, on a timely and coordinated basis, all relevant public and private information, bearing mainly on skill requirements in relation to existing and near-term supplies of trained manpower. This information should be suitably classified as to all levels of remuneration by skill categories, length of retraining periods for typical upgrading situations, and the like. Coordination with vocational and other educational institutions would be necessary in order that the various interrelated activities be reflected in the clearinghouse's reports and analyses.

4. Such information, moreover, should be systematically used by the country's Armed Forces, especially in connection with their work in vocational guidance, since these services occupy a strategic position in relation to job escalation and career planning for many young people.

5. The clearinghouse system and cooperative work by many local groups in connection with it should play a constructive role also in education. The point is worth stressing, since the country's increasing emphasis on rapid technological improvement has vast implications for educational policy.

6. Primarily, we should pay relatively less attention to old-fashioned narrow training, and place more emphasis in the schools on fundamental subjects. For it is the basic subjects which provide the future working population with a strong springboard to sound skill in youth plus improvement and occupational flexibility after they have entered the labor force. Much of this is known, of course. What a skill clearinghouse system could do in particular would be to create a framework within which citizens could more actively cooperate with school authorities in weeding out obsolete courses and programs and in helping to expedite the upgrading of teachers.

A clearinghouse system could also exert pressure on behalf of school administrators who now might lack strong local support for reforms. For instance, in a great number of vocational schools, or the vocational departments of regular schools, students needing discipline are dumped into, say, the machine shop course. This simply disrupts the course, and class effectiveness suffers badly as a result.

Why should disciplinary requirements and methods curtail necessary skill development?

7. At the college level, including both the 2-year junior college and the regular undergraduate institutions, upgrading of curriculums and instruction also seems to be necessary in many cases if the Nation is to achieve a maximum pace of job escalation in technical and professional work. College officials, to be sure, are doing more than before in an effort to improve effectiveness. A functioning skill clearinghouse system could constructively enhance their work.

STRENGTHENING COLLEGES

Especially worthy of study and close attention is the tendency to lengthen college programs in many States, ostensibly to improve the student product. Educational history shows that the usual result is little more than course proliferation, with many low-quality offerings remaining in curriculums instead of being displaced by more substantial and useful ones. With a good clearinghouse system, responsible local pressure can be brought to bear in support of those educators who are fighting within their institutions for stronger courses that genuinely challenge students coming from improved high schools. This work is important and by it nature needs to be done chiefly at the local level. Today's needs for well-educated people are such that a college degree is equivalent in importance, and general need and availability, to the high school diploma of only a generation or so ago.

The significance is well illustrated in a study prepared by Prof. Almarin Phillips, of the University of Virginia. He estimates that no less than 40 percent of the increase in our total national production is associated with technological change. Professor Phillips adds significantly that this change is now more rapid, but not materially different from change in previous periods. The problems developed not so much from the changes as from the failure of business, labor, and government to recognize them at their outset, when merely marginal corrections will suffice to keep skills and needs in step.

THE LOCAL IMPERATIVE

Such corrections, it should be emphasized, can be most effectively made, first of all, at the community level. The measure of their effectiveness, in fact, might well be the degree to which they prevent problems from ascending the scale of complexity to the regional, State, or Federal levels.

Where better, for instance, to spot and prepare solutions for technological changes than at the level of the community in which the changes first begin to affect individual employees and managements? Community educational institutions can be and must

be more sensitive to such changes. Management, as it plans ahead, should be a partner in such community efforts—never excluded from them. The responsibility goes two ways, of course. Management must not exclude itself.

For the community that fails in its response to these challenges, preferring to pass the buck to higher, distant levels of government, there is an obvious and terrible fate: dependency, loss of local pride and initiative, and, eventually, loss of citizens and a slow decline to blight.

There are five broad areas in which action should be taken on the Federal level to remove impediments to job escalation in the private sector of the economy.

TAX REVISION

As might be expected, revision of our tax laws must play an important part in this effort. As a member of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, I am acutely aware of the importance of tax policy for an effective nationwide program of job escalation. It has been said with much truth that our tax laws are now all but blind on these matters.

The five areas for action, with my specific recommendations in each area, as as follows:

1. Tax laws, for instance, provide no personal incentive for individuals contemplating retraining. Cases are covered in our newspapers constantly showing how tax laws impede the very upgrading process that our country so badly needs to encourage. Note the following press account:

"An Army captain got leave from his post as an artillery instructor to complete courses in psychology, public administration and history. Under an Army plan to encourage higher education of its personnel, he continued to draw his regular pay, but he had to pay the added school expenses himself. The Internal Revenue Service, asked if the captain could deduct these outlays as an educational expense, said no. The law permits a deduction for costs of improving one's skills in an existing job, but not for those incurred to qualify for a new post."

Clearly, this shows that our tax laws work precisely to impede—not help—job escalation. Many individuals who want to improve * * * know that they have to qualify for * * * to get a better one. The tax laws should * * * elementary fact of life. Tax deductions * * * should be given to men and women who want to train for greater skill or competence.

2. Another way in which our tax laws hinder employment is the area of geographic labor mobility. The tax laws were written when only a relatively small percentage of our people owned their own homes, and when few persons sought work far beyond reasonable commuting distance from their normal place of residence. Today, however, it makes no sense to have our tax laws continue to regard a man's "legal residence" for tax purposes as the place where he works, for today nearly 70 percent of our people own their own homes and are not going to pull up family stakes just to enable the breadwinner to accept a challenging but perhaps temporary job 200 miles away. Why should shortages of skills exist in sections of our country when men are prepared to work there temporarily if they are not penalized taxwise? The acceptance of such employment should not require that the workers relocate their entire family near the job site in such cases.

NEEDED: REALISM

A realistic program for job escalation, therefore, would call for more realistic tax regulations defining "place of residence" as the "tax home" of those workers temporarily engaged in an occupation in another part of the country.

Together, these two tax reforms could do much directly to stimulate the more rapid skill development and job mobility that is necessary for the smooth performance of our dynamic economy.

3. The Nation's unemployment insurance system also has a great potential as a vehicle for promoting the upgrading of our labor force. This system is paid for by private employers but administered by the States, with some participation by the Federal Government. It has achieved fairly good results in terms of providing stopgap financial assistance to men out of work, tiding them over the cyclical downswings. But little has been made of the system with respect to the challenge of upgrading the skills of the labor force.

There is a simple key to the needed reform of our unemployment compensation system as far as job escalation is concerned. It is found by answering this question: How is an unemployed person treated at present if he enrolls in a training school to learn a new or better skill? The answer is that he is removed from the unemployment rolls, and thus becomes ineligible for unemployment insurance benefits, in 40 of the 50 States.

This is precisely the opposite of the policy that is called for. An unemployed person should be removed from the unemployment rolls if he cannot get a job in his obsolete skill and he refuses to start learning a skill that is in demand.

State legislation, therefore, should permit those engaged in training and retraining programs to continue to receive unemployment benefits up to normal amounts and limits, as is currently the case in only 18 of our 50 States and the District of Columbia.

EMPLOYER BENEFITS

Moreover, there is a potential for job escalation in the broadening of merit rating in unemployment payments. The cost of unemployment insurance to individual employers varies with the employment record of the firm. In other words, companies experiencing heavy unemployment pay more than those with a record of little unemployment.

There is no incentive stemming directly from the operation of the unemployment insurance system to provide retraining for unemployed personnel. An unemployed worker who may be undergoing company-sponsored retraining is still classified as unemployed, and the firm's merit rating suffers accordingly. Surely this makes little sense in view of the great need for increasing retraining opportunities.

States should broaden merit rating concepts to include on-the-job retraining, to the end that the employer is not penalized for extending this opportunity to his workers. This would be another step in the direction of rapid job escalation.

4. In our rapidly growing economy, machinery becomes obsolete before it wears out. This is the reality of our technological advancement. Do our tax laws reflect this reality? Not at all. We find, on an examination of the situation, that our tax laws are geared to the old economics of wear, not of obsolescence. Such tax machinery simply does not mesh with modern industrial requirements.

In spite of the long-needed recent revision of depreciation schedules, the problem remains. We do not yet know whether these new schedules will be responsive to the needs of the economy. Depreciation schedules must be kept up to date continually to reflect the economic reality of useful life.

It takes more investment money to buy machinery when it becomes obsolescent long before it wears out. For the sake of progress, therefore, one would think that our tax laws would encourage such investment. Yet cutting off such investment is precisely what our tax laws do. The lag in depreciation allowances is now estimated to be some $4 to $6 billion behind replacement needs. Our economic progress is obviously slowed down when a third of our industrial plant is obsolete, as it is today.

Our tax laws must permit more realistic depreciation allowances. We need this not only for the sake of more and better jobs in the United States, but also to keep the American economy competitive internationally and to impart strength to the dollar as a world currency. Today, for example, Britain allows more than 40 percent depreciation on new machinery in the year of acquisition. Germany permits a writeoff of 25 percent for the first year and about 58 percent of the cost in the first 3 years. France does even better. We do only a fraction as well.

DEPRECIATION MODERNIZATION

There are four overriding reasons why we must modernize tax legislation bearing on depreciation. First, we will experience an increase in the annual additions to our labor force in the next decade. Some 3 million new workers will be wanting productive jobs. Second, the investment cost per job—the amount required to create a new position—is rising, and is now between $20,000 and $25,000 per man. Third, there is a high investment cost in generating new products. Sensational as it is in fact, the pace of new product development is little known. Actually, about 30 percent of the goods on the market today were not there only 5 years ago. Finally, our tax legislation respecting depreciation needs modernization to assure that the American economy remains up to date as compared with rival trading nations, especially in Europe.

The needed tax legislation should be in the form of generally applicable rates, known in advance to business management so that it can make the right kind of long-range investment plans. A system lodging discretionary authority with the Government, adjusting depreciation rates or tax credits, in terms of untested theoretical considerations—such as President Kennedy proposed shortly after assuming office—simply will not do the job.

5. Sound employment legislation also demands a well-ordered operation in the Congress of the United States. At present, this is lacking. There is overlapping jurisdiction among congressional committees dealing with employment. Consider, for example, the way the subject of automation is handled in the House of Representatives. It is dealt with by the Education and Labor Committee, the Banking and Currency Committee, the Ways and Means Committee, and the Joint Economic Committee. Knowledge remains uncoordinated, and one committee usually acts without knowing very much about the experience of the other committees.

In this connection, I welcome the endorsement of the House Republican policy committee, for my proposal to establish a new coordinating committee. This would be a standing committee on employment, composed of members from each of the four committees mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Such a standing committee could recommend positive policies in the area of employment, cooperate with State legislatures and city councils throughout the country, and analyze executive branch activities in the economic field.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

With faith in ourselves, and perseverance in job escalation without federalization, we can succeed in attaining a future of full employment. We can do so while strengthening our freedom, not through decisions which trickle down from an apex of authority in Washington but from actions originating in the broad base of the pyramid of America's economic and political strength—in the heart and soul of a strong and free people.

## What Every Candidate Should Know—By James A. Michener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

## HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure and pride that I submit for the RECORD the following article published in the New York Times of September 23, 1962, dedicated to our "adopted" son of Hawaii, James A. Michener, for his untiring efforts to see his dream become a reality—the admission of the 50th State of our Nation.

Jim was born in New York City in 1907 and spent his childhood in Doylestown, Pa. In his early youth he knew poverty and despair and at age 14 left home to "bum" his way cross country. The years that followed doing various jobs and human experiences were an important part of his early education. From these circumstances he chose more formal education and entered Swarthmore College in the honors course. After some postgraduate years of "teaching others how to teach" he became associate editor of a publishing firm.

During World War II he served with the U.S. Navy in the Solomon Islands. From this wartime experience came his famous book, "Tales of the South Pacific"—Pulitzer Prize, 1947—which was later adapted into a Broadway musical.

There followed "Fires of Spring," "The Voice of Asia," "The Bridges of Toko-ri," "Sayonara," "The Floating World," "The Bridge of Andau," and a tribute to our island paradise—"Hawaii."

Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is not just a literary interest to Jim Michener—it was his home. During his years in our island he was an active participant in many civic affairs. His belief in good government, honest and free from political domination, is truly a legend among the many of us who know him.

The article is as follows:

[From the New York Times magazine, Sept. 23, 1962]

WHAT EVERY NEW CANDIDATE SHOULD KNOW

(By James A. Michener)[1]

(NOTE.—A first-timer in the political lists (who thought he knew something about it all) reports on the shocks, crises, self-revelations—and fun—he is encountering.)

For 10 years I taught American government and for 10 years after that I helped write textbooks on politics, so I was not exactly a novice when one of the major parties asked me to run for Congress this year.

On Saturday, February 17, I accepted the job and bright and early the following Monday morning I started punching doorbells. Since then, I have been campaigning like a firetruck at least 5 days every week and usually 7. I try to hold three or four meetings a day and I have met with thousands of my constituents.

I have also come upon quite a few facts I have not known before. Right now, across America, several thousand men and women who are running for Congress, for Governor or for their State legislatures are also learning these facts, which the layman—even an interested one such as I was—never learns.

The incumbent has an overwhelming advantage. If you have weak nerves, you'd better not try to unseat a well-entrenched Congressman, because our elections are rigged in favor of the man who is already in. He mails his letters free. You pay for yours. For him to send a piece of literature to each family in his district costs about $6,000, paid for by the taxpayer. You cough up your own $6,000, in cash. Of course, the sitting Congressman is not allowed to use this privilege with respect to blatant electioneering propaganda, but he can get around this by flooding his district with "questionnaires," many of whose "questions" do not pertain to legislation with which he is involved.

He gets his phone calls, up to a very generous limit, free. You pay for your own. Since modern-day campaigning uses the telephone more and more, his advantage is increased.

He has at his command a staff of seven or eight secretaries and helpers, with a total yearly salary of around $45,000, paid for by the taxpayer. You find one girl and pay her yourself.

He can use the Congressional Quarterly like a smalltown newspaper and build up reams of publicity. You must get yours the hard way.

In a dozen other ways you find that the incumbent is protected, but worst of all is the fact that while you spend your own hard-earned cash to run your campaign, you must also pay taxes which enable him to run his. You pay for his mail, his secretaries, his telephone. You are subsidizing your own worst enemy, and sometimes it hurts like hell.

Curiously, I would not change the system. The solidity and continuity of our form of government require that incumbents be protected. It would not be in the national interest if a long-term, intelligent, effective Congressman could be easily thrown out of office; so even though weak-kneed, ineffective little men also find protection in our system, I still think it a good one, because the little men can be beaten.

Any man who wins an election from an incumbent has won victory against almost insurmountable odds. I know.

It is very difficult to finance a campaign. I knew this before I started, but I didn't know how difficult. The national election law limits a congressional candidate to spending not more than $5,000 of his own money in any one campaign. Since it costs not less than $30,000 to run an average race, and much more to make a first-class try, the candidate must somehow make up the difference by every fundraising means he can invent.

It is almost impossible to convince the average American that he should help pay for the political system which protects him, and even the best planned campaigns are run in a crisis atmosphere. The money isn't available—but you pray that somehow it will come in. You worry far more about money than about your opponent's voting record.

I got the tipoff on these sad facts when I ordered some campaign materials. Back came the letter: "We have learned through sad experience that we must demand our money in advance. And a deposit will not suffice, no mater how generous. You must pay in full, for we have found that campaign committees invariably wind up broke."

This is a ridiculous situation, but there seems no substitute for hand-to-mouth financing. I will even confess that the other night, when I was presented with the latest batch of bills, I caught myself thinking, in spite of my high ideals about American politics, "I wonder if Billie Sol Estes has a Pennsylvania office?"

Public indifference to politics is disheartening. On that snowy February morning when I started ringing doorbells, the first four families I visited said bluntly, "We never vote." In my district there are about 334,000 adults eligible to vote, but of these, 92,000 do not even bother to register. Of the 334,000, only 217,000 voted in the Kennedy-Nixon election.

A recent study at the University of Michigan shows that of 100 registered adults, only 7 ever attend political meetings of any kind, only 4 have ever given money to a campaign, only 3 have ever worked for a candidate, and only 2 actually serve as working members of any political party.

The burden of running our Nation falls on the shoulders of an appallingly small number of people. As I campaign, month after month, I see these same people again and again. The others I never touch.

Political in-fighting is even tougher than I thought. As a layman, I only vaguely realized that, for young, aggressive men, political life can prove to be a well-paid, enviable vocation. The only raw material required is the ability to corral votes and, if one has served his party well during the winning years, he can look forward to some kind of minor job when he loses. People not connected with politics call this "taking care of the hacks," but I am strongly in favor of it, providing the man is reasonably efficient, because people who have served the Nation must be kept alive.

But because the rewards of politics can be great, the contest for those rewards is apt to be rather brutal, and only those deeply involved with political life can know how brutal. Since I became interested in local politics, the following things have happened:

1. The leader of the opposition was publicly tried for taking bribes. Acquitted.

2. An elected official of the opposition was tried in Federal court for masterminding a counterfeiting ring. Acquitted.

3. The head of my party was publicly accused of threatening to fire State highway employees unless they coughed up political contributions, which is against the law in Pennsylvania.

4. The elected heads of a local school board were charged with selling teachers promotions for cash on the barrelhead.

Since the day I accepted the nomination to Congress, I have lived in constant crisis; and since this has been the relatively quiet time preceding the election, I shudder to think of what this month and next hold.

On the other hand, I entered politics to help clean up such messes and I find the struggle exciting. Brawling is an inescapable part of the American political tradition. I was present when a group heard that one of our neighbors had decided to run for office. "Good," an experienced politician cried. "We'll put a private detective on him right away. We'll look into that deal his brother had with the real estate development. We'll check his income tax returns. And we'll revive the rumors about his wife."

When word broke that I was going to run for Congress, the opposition served notice in the newspapers that they were going to fine-tooth comb every word I had ever written, and since I've published several million, they ought to winnow out some dillies. I have, thank heaven, always been against the recognition of Red China, in favor of strong anti-Communist measures, and very solid on the question of mother love.

I want to make two comments about this savagery of politics, lest it frighten away potential candidates, especially those from the upper middle class, who tend to be squeamish about dirty linen in public.

[1] James A. Michener, author, is the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Bucks-Lehigh County district of Pennsylvania.

First, your're crazy if you think the same thing doesn't go on in most other aspects of American life. The battle for preference on a university faculty is just as bitter, the fight for the vice presidency of a great corporation is just as tough. The difference is that the political skulduggery is carried on in public.

Second, it's fun. It's part of our folkways and it rarely hurts. As a writer, and as one who has been connected with the theater, I have grown to expect that what I do will be subjected to savage criticism. By and large, such criticism has been good for me. Only children and cowards shy away from words and situations that might hurt.

There is no substitute for meeting voters face to face. Some laymen are appalled at the prospect of shaking hands day after day and attending one coffee hour after another. A friend recently said, "I think it's degrading for a man like you to go into a shopping center to ask people for their votes." I replied that I could think of no substitute for this ancient tradition.

For when a man, week after week, meets with his fellow men something happens to him. A certain arrogance is knocked out of him. Some of the dross in his system is burned away. He comes to know what he deeply believes. He identifies those few positions from which nothing on earth could dislodge him, and he abandons others that he possibly had stumbled into without properly analyzing them. He learns what conciliation means, what character is, and which gnawing doubts disturb his neighbors. Most of all, he is driven back to a basic reality. Again and again he is forced to say what he really thinks.

Long before I ran for office, I discovered these basic facts about our elections system, and I used to tell my students that Warren G. Harding might have had some sense kicked into him if he had left the sanctum of his front porch in Marion, Ohio, and had beat his way across the Nation in sweaty, shirt-sleeved electioneering. A good rule for Americans will always be, "Never vote for a man who hasn't campaigned. Never vote for a man who makes all his speeches on television." (This is not a personal comment. My opponent is a very good campaigner.)

But even so, I didn't really appreciate the psychic impact door-to-door campaigning would have upon me. I used to think I knew something about America, but now I feel as if I were just beginning to understand its subtle system of balances.

I'll say this without reservation. If I could go back to last February, and if I had known then how hard campaigning was to be, I'd still accept the nomination. To battle with one's neighbors for votes is an honorable occupation, and men who have not done so should have no pretensions to government.

There are tremendous satisfactions in running for office. Last week I had a meeting scheduled for a wooded hilltop overlooking Allentown, which is the largest city in my district. At dusk it rained like mad. It was cold, muddy, ugly. Through sloshy roads I reached a dreary hall where there were seven people. At meeting time we had a huge crowd of nine, four of whom were party workers and had to be there. But as the rain abated, the crowd grew, and by 11 o'clock there were about 80 of us, and we talked about the most fundamental problems of our day. It was a privilege to be with those citizens.

Some time before, I had gotten mad at the indifference that seemed to be greeting the 1962 political campaign and I said, "Let's put it to a test." So we hired the biggest hall in town, found an old print of one of my movies, and invited the public to spend an evening with a politician. We promised them a moving picture, free pretzels and birch beer, and a night of political argument. To weed out the merely curious, we charged everyone a dollar, and when we got to the hall we found a crowd of 1,100 people, who stayed around to argue politics till 2 in the morning. The money we made that night kept us going for 5 weeks.

Whenever I have gone I have found this fundamental reservoir of people interested in our Government. During these months, I have had some of the greatest conversation of my life, some of the best fellowship. If, as I complained before, there are 92,000 citizens in my district who won't bother to register, there are another 92,000 who are desperately concerned about the future of their Nation and the second group must do the work that the first won't. I suppose it was the same in Athens and in Rome.

The highlight of the campaign occurred in a small restaurant at the southern end of my district. While I was dining, a group of Girl Scout Brownies—little girls of 8 and 9—spotted me and crowded around for autographs. I had signed 37 when the last little girl came up, and she was so irresistibly sweet that I gave her not only my signature but a farewell kiss as well, whereupon she rushed out into the crowd and shouted, "He kissed me."

At this the other 37 stormed back and demanded equal time. As I kissed the last one, I became aware that one of the mothers, a beautiful young woman in her twenties, had taken her place at the end of the line. "I used to be a Brownie," she confessed, and with a gallantry usually reserved for Southern candidates, I rose to the occasion.

She laughed and said, "We are all proud that you want to represent us in Congress. You may not win, but what you're doing is worth while." Then she added, "But I think you will win."

## Death of Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, too much has been said, especially in the immediate area of Oxford, Miss., which obviously added to the turbulence that developed over the enrollment of James Meredith in the University of Mississippi.

The Harvey Tribune, an outstanding publication in my district, in its editorial of October 4, "Death of Segregation," very dramatically analyzed the major result of the Mississippi controversy. Under leave, I insert this editorial into the RECORD at this point:

DEATH OF SEGREGATION

President Kennedy is not to be envied for the role he has been required to play in the drama being enacted in Oxford, Miss.

It was a grim, deeply touched President who said over a national television and radio hookup several nights ago, "Americans are free to disagree with the law, but not to disobey it. For in a government of laws, and not of men, no man, however prominent or powerful, and no mob however unruly or boisterous, is entitled to defy a court of law."

Event political enemies of the President must approve those words, which will be historically documented for the generations to follow.

No real American can fail to agree that the presidential pronouncement was sound—for a land without laws, or a land whose laws are scorned, is destined for extinction. In the present situation it is simply a matter of preservation of a tradition or survival of a nation for as Lincoln, quoting from the Bible, said, in a like situation: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

It is Mississippi against America and it is the former which must and will capitulate. It is to be regretted that this dark chapter of American history should be written partly in the blood of the innocent, but few important objectives have ever been achieved without some form of sacrifice.

Segregation as we in the North don't know it, but with which our southern neighbors are well acquainted, is rapidly becoming a part of the past. Integration is as inevitable as death itself. That it could have been accomplished peacefully, without bloodshed, was desirable. Who is there to say, now, that Oxford is not the last bastion of the segregationist?

The threat of Gov. Ross Barnett to pursue his point through the courts is a shallow one and meant obviously as a face-saving gesture. It is destined for failure because the law is clearly written and there can be no recourse. Mississippians may not agree with this law but eventually they must obey it. Adherence may be surrender but at worst it is surrender with honor.

What the future holds for James Meredith as a student is impossible to predict, but whatever his fate he will go down in history as the implement used to demolish a tradition of centuries. Ole Miss is destined for a new future.

## The Network and the Mind Machines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate Show magazine upon the occasion of its first anniversary. Mr. Huntington Hartford, president, and Mr. Frank Gibney, publisher, have rendered the Nation a service in bringing this magazine of culture and the arts into being a year ago.

I have been particularly impressed with their incisive reporting upon the quality of television programing and the forces which operate within television to degrade American taste and to, on occasion, even corrupt our youth. I call attention particularly to their article about the American Broadcasting Co. in their very first issue, October 1961, and to their April 1962, article about the Columbia Broadcasting System—"The Network and the Mind Machines," which illustrates the tyranny of the rating system.

The problem was well summed up in Show's April editorial, which with the articles, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From Show Magazine, Oct. 1961]

PORTRAIT OF ABC

(By Martin Mayer)

ABC television is a young network. It is young in operations (it has been functioning as a true network for only half a dozen

years); in personnel (most of its vice presidents are under 40); and in audience, according to its research department's analysis of who is watching. "Of course," says Oliver Treyz, the network's terribly open-minded, 43-year-old president, spreading out the charts which prove that vigorous, credit-using, quick-buying young adults watch ABC more than any other network, "this may be good or it may be bad. It's just a fact."

Treyz's life is full of such facts. He needs them, professionally and personally, because the opinions of his network are not so good. Belligerent, hungry, and intelligent, ABC has become, in a surprisingly short time, the industry leader in matters of programing, selling, and dealing with affiliated stations. In each area, the rival networks, most of the advertising agencies, and the staff of the FCC believe, rightly or wrongly, that the ABC influence has tended to destroy what integrity the network business had.

ABC pioneered the "adult" or you-really-see-him-hung western and the multiple-murder mystery (both on film) and in the process virtually eliminated serious television drama. ABC successfully sold network time on the basis of 1-minute "participations" rather than sponsorship of shows. ABC shortened its programs to give affiliates an extra 20 seconds an hour, over and above the 60 seconds already available to them, to sell for "spot announcements"—10 more seconds of advertising for each "station break." The other networks took a high moral tone about this maneuver for a few days, but presently they followed suit.

Everything ABC has done that seems most wicked is defensible in general, if not always in detail. And, indeed, ABC on at least two occasions defended itself ably to the previous chairman of the FCC, who made no public statements about vast wastelands but who was equally depressed by what he saw on his television set. There is something a little disingenuous about the complaints of the rich and established networks that ABC has cheapened television by competing against them with the only weapons available to the dispossessed. Yet it is also true that the older networks live with the tattered remnants of the idealism that characterized the early days of broadcasting, while ABC—certainly from the time of its purchase by Paramount Theaters in 1953—has been strictly a business enterprise. Like the movie theater chain that owns it, ABC television is in the business of retailing entertainment.

Though it is Treyz who makes the public statements and gets his head chopped off for them, the guiding spirit of the network is Leonard Goldenson, a balding, athletic, handsome man who first became head of the theater division of Paramount Pictures in 1938, when he was 32 years old, and is now president of American Broadcasting-Paramount Theaters, Inc. Born in Scottsdale, Pa., where his father owned a drygoods store and minority interests in two movie houses, Goldenson went through Harvard College, a year in the brokerage business, and then Harvard Law School. In 1933 the Wall Street law firm of Root, Clark (now Thomas E. Dewey's firm) sent him up to Boston to help with the reorganization in bankruptcy of Paramount's New England theater chain.

"I spent my days going over the legal conditions," Goldenson recalls, "and my nights visiting theaters to learn the function of every man. Then I got into policy—which theaters the chain ought to keep, which it ought to drop. I'd see what did well, what didn't, and try to analyze why. After a while, I was trying to determine in advance what would do well. That's the whole business—determining the value of properties. In the fall of 1937 I made the switch out of the law and came down to New York to be Frank Freeman's troubleshooter. He was Paramount's head of theaters then. Freeman, in the fall of 1938, went out to the studios, and I took over the theaters. Twice a year I would sit down with Freeman to analyze all the studio's policies—where they were going wrong—as a retailer tries to guide a dress manufacturer, and tell him what's selling."

Goldenson carried this approach directly into television. If Clausewitz saw war as the continuation of politics by other means, Goldenson has seen network television as the continuation of the movie theater business by other means. His first concern, after Paramount bought ABC, was to find suppliers in Hollywood who could produce the shows on which ABC could make money. The network's production work has been done almost entirely by the movie studios, and though ABC usually pays half the cost of program development, Goldenson's small New York programing staff sits down with Hollywood mostly to talk about buttons and bows, to give the kind of guidance the retailer gives the dress manufacturer.

The situation is crystal clear to the corporate management, if not always to the people who work at the network. "The great appeal of the motion picture business," says Simon Siegel, who has been with Paramount 32 years and is now financial vice president of AB–PT, "was that if you knew your area, knew your theater, knew your public, knew your product, you would do all right. Well, the same thing is true of television."

This relation between broadcasting and the neighborhood movie houses seems obvious now that Goldenson and his associates have made it work, but when the AB–PT merger was first proposed, most analysts could not see it. Operationally, the two businesses are very different. "The movie theater," Siegel explains, "is a cash operation—if a house makes a thousand dollars a week, you have a thousand dollars in the bank at the end of the week." Television, on the other hand, is a business of large advance commitments, successes in terms of rating points rather than box office, and delayed revenues. (Except for political parties, which must put cash on the line before a television station will carry a word, advertisers do not pay for their shows or their time until 30 days after the program has been broadcast, which is often more than a year after the network has made its commitment to the producers.)

This difference in financial procedure did make some trouble in the early days. "A lot of these guys," says a man who was with ABC in 1953, "couldn't adjust to the fact that you didn't have a batch of telegrams waiting at the office at 8 a.m., telling you how much money you'd made the night before." But Goldenson is what actors and musicians call a quick study—he learns his part very fast. Soon he knew exactly what he was doing with ABC, not only in principle but in practice.

When Paramount took over, ABC's programing was essentially the same as that of the other networks: variety shows, comedians, live dramas, a few adventure serials (mostly awful), news, and antique movies. "Vaudeville," says Goldenson, surrounding the word with the contempt of a man who saw through bankruptcy a number of theaters that had placed their hopes on vaudeville. Goldenson brought in, at levels just below the top, a number of movie executives to help revise ABC's programing. None worked out; all departed.

Meanwhile, Goldenson himself and ABC President Robert Kintner (now president of NBC) went hammering on the doors of the Hollywood studios. Goldenson landed Walt Disney, whom NBC had been attempting to sign up, by investing half a million dollars in the construction of Disneyland (AB–PT recently sold its share of Disneyland for $7 million, and still runs the profitable food concessions in the entertainment park). None of the other studios was particularly interested in producing for television, then regarded as the dragon threatening the fair lady of the movie business. Finally, Goldenson convinced Jack Warner that broadcasting was really much the same business as movie theaters, and that a company which made money producing films for theaters could also make money producing films for television. The first result of this sale—only the first—was "Cheyenne," and presently nearly all the movie studios were ready to buy Goldenson's argument. More or less reluctantly, the other networks bought it, too.

It is somewhat ungenerous of the Federal Communications Commission to look darkly upon ABC television. The Government made ABC what it is today, and presumably should be satisfied. Originally, what is now ABC was the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Co.; the Justice Department forced RCA to divest itself of its second network, and Edward Noble, who purchased the orphaned Blue, rechristened it the American Broadcasting Co. Again, Paramount held an interest in Chicago's WBKB–TV through its Balaban & Katz subsidiary. ("We had one of the first five licenses for television," Goldenson likes to say. "We were television pioneers.") But Goldenson would never have developed a major interest in broadcasting if another antitrust action had not forced the movie producers to "spin off" their theater divisions as separate companies. And Goldenson might not have been forced to compete as roughly as he did if the FCC had not dawdled 2 full years before permitting Paramount Theaters to buy the stations wholly owned by ABC, keeping the ABC network in limbo while its rivals were signing up new stations all over the country.

Including its wholly owned subsidiary stations, the ABC network that Goldenson took over in 1953 had 13 primary affiliates—stations contractually obliged to carry, during specified time periods, any sponsored program the network might send their way. Virtually all owners of television sets in 1953 could get NBC and CBS programs on their screens, but nearly two-thirds of the Nation's television households were out of range of an ABC affiliate. Severely undercapitalized, Noble's ABC had been unable to buy stars, make large program commitments, underwrite affiliation agreements, or even establish transmission lines to the new areas rapidly opening up to television. Of the 63 hours a week which the FCC allowed a network to "option" from its affiliates, ABC was transmitting only 12½.

"We weren't a network," says Julius Barnathan, a short but broad-shouldered New Yorker, a likable infighter with a huge smile, who recently moved from the research department to be head of ABC's station relations division. "We were packagers. The only way we could hope to get our shows on the air was to send them out on films, to be run some time after the network had carried them. Even now, we always look bad in the ratings in October, when the season starts, because in so many markets we're 1 or 2 weeks behind. We couldn't do the Ed Sullivan type of show if we wanted to—there are too many places where we'd be saying Merry Christmas in the middle of January."

In the early days, ABC was strictly a "supplementary" service for advertisers, a way to buy additional audience at relatively low cost. Selling against ABC, an NBC or CBS salesman could simply point out all the markets he could deliver that ABC couldn't. It was widely believed that ABC could never offer one of the top 10 shows, in terms of audience ratings, simply because it couldn't get on enough stations at enough good time

periods. "Disneyland" broke this barrier, because so many people wanted to see it that stations which carried no other ABC show made time for it; but before he could sell the show to Rambler, Kintner had to call on almost a hundred potential sponsors. Even after ABC had expanded its list of affiliates, institutional advertisers, who want truly national coverage, found the network unattractive. "The United States Steel Hour," one of the few surviving live dramatic shows on television, was originally an ABC program, but the program moved to CBS so the sponsor could be seen in Louisville, where ABC had been unable to find an outlet. ABC has seen letters from Rochester dealers to manufacturers, complaining that the manufacturers' "nationwide" ABC television shows were not to be seen in their city—letters which ABC believes were stimulated by the proddings of rival network salesmen.

In mid-1961, ABC had almost a hundred and twenty "primary affiliates"—but both the other networks had about 200. There are still a number of "two-station markets," where NBC and CBS can guarantee a sponsor delivery of his show in prime evening time, while ABC often has to settle for 5:30 in the afternoon, if it gets on the air at all. Some of these markets are important cities for potential advertisers—Louisville, Jacksonville, Rochester, and Syracuse, for example. Nationally, ABC's rates run $7,000 an hour lower than those of the other networks, because it cannot deliver as many markets. "Even in Detroit," Barnathan says, "where our station is number one, we have to take $200 less for our time. It's the most frustrating damn thing."

ABC has affiliate troubles in terms of quality as well as numbers. "There's no particular secret," says an officer of a rival network cautiously, "about the fact that the better owners—the good newspapers, the good radio broadcasters—were already locked up by NBC or CBS before ABC came around." About four-fifths of the ABC stations began broadcasting after 1953. Under these circumstances, ABC finds almost no support among its affiliates for quality programing, which, in the public affairs area, often goes unsponsored, and which tends at all times to draw smaller audiences, leaving less valuable adjacencies to be sold as spot announcements by the local station. Though in theory a network can demand the time for a sponsored show from any primary affiliate, in fact the bargaining situation gives the station the whip. As Barnathan puts it, "A station clears a network show because it's to his advantage." NBC and CBS have these problems, too, but it is some measure of the difference in responsibility between their affiliates and the ABC stations that "CBS Reports" and NBC's "The Nation's Future," both unsponsored, with no revenue for the broadcaster who carries them, get onto more stations than ABC's sponsored "Bell and Howell Close-Up."

ABC, in short, has been under the greatest imaginable pressure to deliver large audiences, and has spent literally millions to outbid its rivals for sure attractions like Bing Crosby and NCAA football. Apart from such guaranteed winners, the most certain way to deliver audiences has been by supplying a sensation, preferably murder, money, or sadism. Hollywood is chockablock with routine sensational plots decently executed: a touch of the button, the lights blink on and off, and the memory drum types out what is needed. Most of the big ABC successes have been primitive, violent, predictable from opening scene to final line; simple characters and complicated plots, deliberately repetitive, week after week. "All right," says Julie Barnathan. "Can you imagine where we'd be if our programing had been bland?"

Yet people act from instinct and inclination as well as from economic necessity. Aside from James Hagerty, who took over ABC's public affairs department on Eisenhower's departure from the Presidency, there are few on the top levels of ABC whose satisfaction comes from the quality of what they put on the air rather than from the jingle of coins. Goldenson in the early days once told a friend that he hoped to make ABC "the Universal of television—MGM and Twentieth Century always got the publicity, but Universal made the money." Donald Coyle, a remarkably handsome young man who came to ABC research after winning virtually all the medals the Royal Canadian Air Force could give him, and who is now director of the company's international operations, likes to say that "people are creatures of habit—they want the same entertainment every week. That's where NBC made its big mistake, when it went so heavy on spectaculars." The fact that the NBC spectaculars gave television some of its truly memorable hours cuts no ice with Coyle. Thomas Moore, a thoughtful, soft-spoken Southerner who is vice president in charge of ABC programing, came to his present position from newspaper work, public relations at Forest Lawn Cemetary, and success at selling CBS films. The tribute most commonly paid to him is that he has a wonderful sense of which ideas for shows will sell to advertisers.

"Take Ollie Treyz," says the television man of an advertising agency that does little business with ABC. "Anybody ever seen him with a book in his hand, or at the theater unless some Warner Bros. piece of talent invited him? Admittedly, on the chicken-dropping level at which this business actually operates, he's very able. He's the most thoroughgoing, untiring, relentless human being I've ever seen. He keeps an incredible amount of data in his head. He can tell you the call letters of the stations in New Orleans and what their rates and ratings are. He can drop all the right names. But a showman? Never. There isn't a professional in the bunch over there. If there was a strike and the executives had to do the work, they couldn't produce a station break."

Treyz must have had literary inclinations once, because Hamilton College chose him as one of a handful of students to go sit at the feet of alumnus Alexander Woollcott and imbibe culture during a vacation. (He didn't like it at all, and stormed out of Woollcott's house after a couple of days, with personal antagonisms on both sides.) Recently, he has been too busy. He watches ABC programs at night, sometimes with two other television sets going in the same room, to show him the opposition, too. During the day, he is selling, or thinking up selling ideas. Aesthetic judgments do not come naturally to him. When he likes something he sees in an ABC show, he does not say, "Good, good," the way most people in the entertainment business would; he says, "Smart, smart."

On the other side, "Ollie the Dragon," as the business knows him, is one of the most attractive people in television. From crewcut and bright eyes to dancing feet, he is genuinely boyish; it still makes his day when he can figure out the gimmick that will get the passers-by to whitewash his fence for him. Appropriately enough in a network that has never had any interest in color, he sees the world in black and white. His loyalties are intense, not only to ABC, but to the people who work for him, and they reciprocate. No other network president commands the affection of his subordinates as Treyz does, and nowhere else in television is there so little fear, so little stench of internal politics. Treyz's people are constantly trying to protect him from the consequences of his own overexuberance—consequences which he usually cannot see at all. Treyz moves through his world with clean hands, and he cannot see why people get so upset just because his hand is faster than the eye.

Like Barnathan and Coyle, Treyz comes out of research, with a stopover outside ABC to organize "TVB," the Television Bureau of Advertising, which did general promotion for the television medium as against (distinctly against) magazines, newspapers, and radio. TVB did an amazingly successful sales job, partly because it had a good story to tell, partly because Treyz found so many ingenious ways to embellish the story with facts and figures made to order by market research outfits. He also used little devices like firing off guns in the middle of presentations, to wake people up. When Goldenson and Kintner came to a parting of the ways in 1956, Goldenson went immediately to Treyz. A network presidency, though it sounds like something else, is primarily a selling job. Advertising commitments to networks involve so much money that the president of the sponsoring company is often involved in the decision; you can build a new factory for the cost of 150 commercial network minutes. And presidents, obviously, like to deal with other presidents. Treyz had proved himself the best salesman in television, a distinction he retains.

It is positively inspiring to hear Treyz talk about television, and especially about ABC programs. "What makes this business so exciting," he says, "is the bing-bing-bing. The excitment of the show. Thank God, people do turn that dial. They view kinetically. That dial goes click-click-click. Particularly the audience we're after—the young postwar families, who want excitement. This year we're doing 'Ben Casey,' a whole new departure in television programing. 'Bus Stop'—a modern Chaucer. We're going to do 'Stories From the Bible'—a whole new departure, a new frontier on TV."

"Stories From the Bible," perhaps not quite so original an idea as Treyz believes, is still a year or so away. "Ben Casey," which will premiere this fall, is a weekly hour-long serial about a dedicated doctor, young, handsome, brilliant, who can't get along with his easygoing colleagues; no time for women, though there's a lady intern who loves him and whom he really loves; much hospital detail, with heartbreakingly sick kids for Casey to cure. "Bus Stop," also an hour-long weekly serial, will offer William Inge's play as one installment. The show will deal with all the interesting but troubled people who get off the bus at a Colorado stopover, to grab a sandwich and go to the bathroom. "The whole idea smells of urine," says an advertising man who refused to have any part of it. "Pioneering," says Ollie Treyz. "The world of adult emotions. Excitement."

On the evidence of the pilot films, both "Bus Stop" and "Ben Casey," from the critical point of view, will be typical ABC material—competently done, low-quality, unsubtle movies for showing on television. Yet competence is not to be sneered at, especially in television. ABC believes that the B-picture is the correct television show, as once it was the correct show in the neighborhood movie house, and the network cares deeply, more deeply than its rivals, about the quality control in such work. "The Untouchables" and "77 Sunset Strip," for example, are probably the slickest products in television—well written, well cast, well directed. ABC picks its Hollywood people carefully; Goldenson himself has intervened at the studios "to get the right man in charge."

"So many people in Hollywood," says Daniel Melnick, the network's 30-year-old vice president in charge of program development, "are ashamed of working in television. I won't have them. You can't be very different very often in ideas—not in an industry based on security. The differences have to come in style. To get style, you have to go with the people who have pride in what they're doing. You're going to reach 10 or 15 million homes—you should care."

It is also true, as Treyz says, that ABC's Hollywood product broke up television's nasty habit of programing similar shows against each other in the same time period. Before ABC was a ponderable force, CBS and NBC ran through the night in tandem—drama against drama, comedy against comedy, news against news. For most of a decade, NBC fought Ed Sullivan with similar variety material. (Obviously, if Ed Sullivan was successful at eight o'clock Sunday night, then the people wanted variety shows at 8 o'clock Sunday night, and television "gives the people what they want.") ABC came along with "Maverick" and took away Sunday night leadership. ABC's "counterprograming," as Treyz likes to call it, may have specialized in cheap goods, but it undoubtedly broadened the viewer's choice of shows at any given hour of the night, if not for the week as a whole.

At the rear of the shallow, low-ceilinged entrance to the AB–PT building, which occupies a former stable and riding academy just west of Central Park on 66th Street, there is an architect's rendering of the projected new headquarters, a skyscraper influenced by Edward Stone's Abassid-Caliphate style, to be built in 2 or 3 years. The current offices are anything but imposing. Goldenson's room, though pleasant, could fit into a corner of William S. Paley's or Robert Sarnoff's, his CBS and NBC counterparts, and so important a man as financial vice president Si Siegel looks out only onto the narrowest of alleys. ("All I want from the new building," Siegel says, "is a window that will let me know if it's raining outside.") Barnathan works down the block, underneath the St. Nicholas Arena, an old prize-fight club. Hagerty does not even have four walls of his own; his office is a partitioned cell with glass panels at the top through which the secretaries can be heard making their personal calls.

The plans for the new building are regarded as a symbol of new ambitiousness at ABC. A more important symbol, already in being, is Hagerty himself, hired in January to create an active and productive news, special events, and public affairs department. Hagerty has been given a wholly independent position: he reports, not to Treyz, but to Goldenson, and he has the right to pre-empt network time for anything he feels must be broadcast. (He has already exercised this privilege, kicking Dick Clark off the air to carry Dag Hammarskjöld's reply to the Russians at the U.N. General Assembly.) "If I didn't think I was going to have more leeway than people in this organization have had in the past," Hagerty said earnestly in the late spring, "I wouldn't be here. So far, they've given me everything I've asked for." A man who works for a rival network says he would be more impressed by that statement if he knew what Hagerty has asked for; but nobody seriously doubts that Goldenson has made here a major investment of both money and prestige.

A former New York newspaperman who first went into politics as Dewey's press secretary in 1943, Hagerty has considerably shaken up ABC's news work, instituting an 11 o'clock broadcast from Washington and abandoning the anchor man who sat at the desk and did most of the talking. He has ordered his people to various parts of the world to dig out stories, and he is sending a number of them to language school. (He knows at first hand the value of speaking a foreign language, he says, because he covered LaGuardia's mayoralty campaigns in New York. "You went into a meeting in an Italian or a Jewish neighborhood," he recalls, "you grabbed somebody to sit beside you and tell you what LaGuardia was saying. It was a sure thing LaGuardia wouldn't tell you.") And Hagerty has scored something of a coup in arranging an informal "Adlai Stevenson Reports" show for Sunday afternoon every other week, permitting the American Ambassador to the U.N. to present his views in a format very much to his own taste.

Hagerty wants to bring TV reporting closer to newspaper work. He much admires a local show done in Chicago by a station which helped the police catch the hoodlums who had beaten up a local drama critic, and covered the hunt as it happened. "The camera acted as a reporter writing a current story," Hagerty says. "That's what it should be doing. Why must there be so much lead-time between the event and the showing? Maybe we need some new machinery; we'll invent it."

So far, Hagerty has not asked to have his own camera crews, relying on outside services for news films and on outside contractors—most notably the Robert Drew Associates subsidiary of Time, Inc.—for documentaries. "I'll go outside for directors," he says. "I believe in getting many people to do this rather than a few with the same techniques." Drew Associates has, in fact, done unusually imaginative work for "Bell and Howell Closeup," particularly in shows like "Yanki, No"; and the "Expedition" series, especially in the monthly local shows where stations used their own camera crews, has been a credit to television and Ralston Purina almost everywhere. In public affairs as well as in entertainment shows, however, the work of the outside supplier usually lacks depth, because the supplier has to make money every time out, while the network doesn't. As long as ABC buys its documentaries, there will be some question about whether Goldenson really regards this area as more important than the newsreel in the neighborhood movie house.

On the entertainment side, ABC is slowly moving away from the pulp-magazine subjects. Westerns are no longer the network's bread and butter; in fact, ABC this year will broadcast fewer Westerns than either of the other networks. Gangsters, murder, foreign intrigue, and such will still take up more than half of ABC's prime evening time, but gentler doings will also be on display. The network's outstanding hit of the 1960–61 season was the cavemen-in-suburbia cartoon "The Flintstones," to be supplemented this year by another series, "Top Cat," from the same producers, and by "Calvin and the Colonel," with the voices of Amos and Andy. One new situation comedy, "Margie," will deal with the alleged escapades of a teenager in the 1920's. Another, "The Hathaways," will be built around the Marquis chimpanzees. The family shows—"Ozzie and Harriet" (now 10 years old, one of the most durable of television attractions), "The Donna Reed Show," "The Real McCoys," "My Three Sons"—are now staples of the network. These too, of course, are most commonly unimaginative stock film, with warm hearts on display instead of warm blood; but at least there is nothing in them to upset all those gentlemen who got elected to Congress because they were so sweet and kind to their mothers.

In addition, ABC will take a new plunge into live programing with a weekly variety show featuring Steve Allen. This show is to some extent a gesture of confidence toward young Dan Melnick; he pushed it hard against strong opposition from Treyz, who hated to try to sell Steve Allen after spending some years telling his customers how lousy Steve Allen was on a rival network. But Melnick is ABC's program idea man, the only theater man (he went right from New York's High School of Performing Arts to the production of children's shows at the Greenwich Village Circle in the Square). "Winston Churchill—The Valiant Years" was his show, too, and will pay itself out with a profit; he has got consistently competent work from the Hollywood studios; and if he thinks Steve Allen is that good, Treyz will let him play with it—especially as no advertiser was willing to buy "The Rebel and the Yank," which is what Treyz wanted to put in that time slot.

Melnick's position illustrates both the strengths and the weaknesses of ABC. "There are only three people I have to consult on new programs," he says. "Moore, Treyz, Goldenson. We don't have rules and criteria; there's no big program board to make you settle for something less than you want. The four of us went down to Screen Gems at 9 o'clock in the morning, saw 4 minutes of animated cartoon and some storyboards, and by 10 we'd bought "The Flintstones." There was no precedent; there'd never been an adult cartoon on television. It was easy for me to have a conviction—I wasn't spending the million and a half. But because it was only the four of us, we could just go ahead." ABC will gamble on serials, investing hundreds of thousands of dollars in pilot films, because a success here may sell an hour of network time 52 weeks a year for 5 years, providing perhaps $20 million of time revenue plus the network share of the profits on the production of the show. A little originality here may be worth cash money—a little originality, not too much. "My motto is," says Melnick, " 'I want to be doing what everybody else is doing, a year early.' "

At the same time, Melnick cannot be detached to work on special attractions—they sell only once, and there are too many serials to be processed. This season ABC plans 27 specials—shows that will not be back next week, same time, same station. Most of them involve big-name Hollywood stars, and they will be very expensive. (Indeed, they will be more expensive than they seem, because ABC will be able to "clear" them in some two-station cities only by buying the time at higher than network rates, and paying the difference itself.) Some of them will be produced by so distinguished a man as Fred Coe. But nobody in ABC's front office seems very excited about them: the excitement is reserved for the young-adult audience, the high ratings, the bang-bang-bang that keeps the kinetic viewer from going click-click-click, the big sale of 300 commercial minutes—in short, the serial, which by its nature can be none too good.

What is lacking is an interest in the form itself—in television as something different from the neighborhood movie house. ABC has profited vastly by its understanding that routine filmed serials will be done best by people who respect the craftsmanship of what they do. By the time the new headquarters building is completed, we will all have had a chance to see whether quality television can be hand-crafted, on that special, once-only basis which is the essence of art, by men who do not respect the artistic potential of broadcasting. Maybe so; it would not be Leonard Goldenson's first miracle.

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CBS: THE NETWORK AND THE MIND MACHINES

(By Martin Mayer)

On virtually every working day of the year, groups of 8 or 10 or a dozen visitors will be mysteriously invited to spend an hour or so in one of two small conference rooms, in the Hollywood offices or in the Madison Avenue headquarters of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The visitors in Hollywood are recruited mostly from those who take the usual studio tour; those in New York used to come from studio audiences at shows, but now that there are so few "live" shows on the air, the CBS research department has taken to soliciting at the conventional tourist haunts, like the observation tower of the Empire State Building. When they are first approached, and again when they settle down around the coffin-shaped, formica-topped conference table, the visitors are in-

formed that they are going to help CBS make some decisions about the incidents and characters of a television program that has not yet been broadcast, and about the prospects for the program as a whole. The pleasant young lady who acts as their hostess takes their orders for drinks—coffee, tea, milk, or pop; no booze—and then they watch what looks like a television screen, though the pictures come from a projector.

They do more than watch. They hold in either hand a large, black, plastic knob, from which a thick, black cable runs under the table. The knob in the left hand has a red button on it, and this is to be pressed when the visitor dislikes what he is seeing; the knob in the right hand has a green button on it, to be pressed as a sign of pleasure. The young hostess retires, visibly but not ostentatiously, to a control booth beside the conference room. Here the red and green lines representing the reactions from each seat are traced on separate pieces of graph paper. The hostess looks out, to watch the show and its audience, through a piece of glass that, from within the room, appears to be a mirror. When the cameras click off and the houselights rise, the young lady steps out from her booth with a fairly certain knowledge of how each member of her small audience liked the program.

Refreshments are then served, and with them comes a questionnaire, asking whether the guinea pig thought this was a good show or a bad show, whether he watches this sort of show, whether he would watch this one if it went on the air; what he liked about it and what he didn't; whether he would watch this show in preference to some others (specified, one by one) if they appeared at the same time. The questionnaire ends with demographic data—age, sex, family status, occupation, education, approximate income. Nobody signs—indeed, nobody is referred to by name throughout the proceedings. Each participant is merely a seat number, "Miss Two" or "Mr. Five."

The hostess browses through the questionnaires and then begins asking questions. A secretary, who has been sitting quietly beside what appears to be a telephone switchboard at the rear of the room, takes down the visitors' answers verbatim. Because she knows who liked what when, the hostess (or "session director," to use her organizational title; she is usually, but not always, a psychologist) can alternate people who had different reactions, and avoid any "bandwagon effect" in the group. The oral quiz takes about 2 minutes for each person, which is the reason CBS tries for only 8 or 10 visitors per session.

Ten or a dozen such sessions are held for each program CBS is trying to evaluate. The result, after the responses of people who seem too atypical have been thrown out, is 80 or so individual records of reactions—red and green lines, questionnaire answers, comments. This documentation, statistically summarized by IBM machines, goes to the genii of the research department, and eventually to Tore Hallonquist, who has been the chief analyst of such material from the very beginning of this project, more than 20 years ago, in the radio days. Hallonquist and his associates, after examining the entrails, attempt to predict whether the program in question will be "above average," "average," or "below average" in audience rating, if CBS should choose to put it on the air. Fifteen or twenty pages of explanation and analysis, including minute-by-minute graphs and quotes from the oral quiz, tell the network's program department why the prediction was made, and often hint (broadly) at improvements to increase audience potential.

This package of action and interpretation is the "program analyzer," developed a quarter of a century ago by Paul Lazarsfeld, of the bureau of applied social research at Columbia University, and Frank Stanton, now president of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The version employed is "Little Annie," involving only 8 or 10 people each session (there is also a "Big Annie," which may take a studio audience of 100 or more, all pushing buttons and filling out questionnaires, but not commenting). Experience has shown that the transcript of comments is the best guide to successful prediction. "The thing we've got going for us," says Jay Eliasberg, CBS research director, "is that big backlog of tests. None of this testing means a damn except in comparison with other tests. The advantage we have over the other networks is that we've been doing this same thing so much longer."

Since Eliasberg took over the research department 5 years ago, Little Annie has predicted the audience for about 60 television shows that later got on the air. Of the 60 predictions, about 85 percent turned out to be right. "We've been lucky," says Eliasberg, "with that sample of 80 respondents. But even discounting for luck, it's remarkable." Among Annie's triumphs were "Have Gun, Will Travel," which was originally regarded as just another western, until Annie said it had the potential of "Gunsmoke" if a few changes were made, and "The Defenders," this season's attempt to combine "Playhouse 90" talent with serial melodrama, which was an expensive show ($110,000 a week for program alone) by people whose previous work had been noncommercial (especially producer Herbert Brodkin and writer Reginald Rose) and was regarded with great distrust by the network's salesmen until Annie said it would be a hit. It has been, in fact, the only solid hit among the new shows of the 1961–62 season. Annie's greatest victory, however, came with a show which CBS rejected, "The Magnificent Montague," starring Sir Cedric Hardwicke and Vivienne Segal. Hallonquist & Co. said it would be a bomb, and with fear and trembling shipped off their prediction to Hubbell Robinson, then executive vice president of network programs for CBS Television, and in private life the husband of Vivienne Segal. "It took some courage, that," says a psychologist on the analyzer staff. Robinson presently sent back word that he agreed with Annie that the show was a dog, and he was pleased to have the report.

Program people can wax bitter about Annie's influence, but program executives at least feign calm. "The analyzer," says Mike Dann, a small, muscular, aggressive young man who is New York program director for CBS Television, "is not the only factor, or even one of the most important factors, in deciding whether or not a program runs." A certain number of CBS programs run for the sake of prestige or balance, though everyone knows they will not draw a big audience; in 1959 and 1960, "action-adventure" programs consistently tested best on Annie, but CBS never let them dominate its schedule as they dominated ABC's. On other occasions, the program committee (which is headed by William S. Paley, chairman of the board of CBS itself and a man with several decades of demonstrated showman's flair) may decide that the analyzer was wrong and the show will draw big ratings, as "Dennis the Menace" did, despite a vigorous thumbs-down from Annie. Again, the network may have put its own venture capital into a "pilot" film from Hollywood, and may wish to give the thing a try on the air for the same reason Broadway producers bring obvious turkeys to Broadway after disastrous out-of-town tryouts. In show business, you never can tell; and the lust to get your money out is one of the strongest of human motivations, as the management of any racetrack can demonstrate.

Nevertheless, Annie is deeply, irrationally resented, less for what it is than for what it symbolizes at the network. Within the memory of relatively young men, television was a kooky medium, in which anybody with an idea and a modicum of talent stood a fair chance of putting his work on the air. The people who worked in television then, though they claimed that they were fenced in, could at least run free in the corral, kicking their heels against real grass. Now they see themselves as totally enclosed by a machine, where the hands on the dials are far less important than the dials themselves.

Even on this level, those who dislike it must admit CBS is a smoothly functioning machine. Every aspect of the broadcasting operation is satisfyingly professional to observe. From the beginning of Stanton's tenancy to the present, the research operation has been the most ingenious in the business. CBS selling is shameless, but not cute; unlike the other networks, CBS has almost always held to its rate card. The rewards of professionalism have been satisfying, too: for 7 consecutive years, CBS television has been the world's largest advertising medium, and the CBS network has commanded the largest share of the television audience. In recent years, one of the rare periods during which another network has led in the Nielsen rating reports came shortly before the 1960 election, when a good deal of CBS time was preempted for political programs, and ABC adventure shows pulled ahead. In 1961–62, the challenger has been NBC; but CBS has stayed comfortably on top.

The leadership talent makes up an imposing roster of men big enough to be free: Paley, one of the major influences on the New York art world; Stanton, formerly an academic psychologist, still startlingly blond and youthful, though sagging a little about the cheeks, a compulsive reader with a fanatic's eye for detail and design; James T. Aubrey, Jr., president of the CBS television network, young, tall, lithe, a hard but not unscrupulous bargainer still a program man at heart who reports for work at CBS television at 8:30 in the morning and rarely gets out before 10 at night, and never complains ("If you want to be a country doctor, you have to figure on getting up in the middle of the night to deliver babies; if you want to be president of a network, you have to work 14 hours a day"); Richard Salant, president of the news division, a former corporate lawyer, slight and now a little stooped, with a shock of brown hair over horn-rimmed glasses, who wrote Supreme Court briefs on behalf of the FCC when he was younger and wound up running the news division because he made too many right arguments in meetings while he was vice president for corporate affairs; Oscar Katz, programing vice president, bald, also thin (Paley apparently does not like men around him who are fat, or sleep at night) who started at CBS in 1938 in the research department, where he "did a lot of work in the esthetics of broadcast programs." The strength of CBS," Mike Dann says admiringly, "is that it gets people when they're available. There was nothing for me to do when I first came here. Paley knows that if you wait until you need people, you're in trouble."

These men are responsible for running the big machine. CBS has stockholders, but the men who run it are conscious, too, in greater or lesser degree, of other and more profound responsibilities, especially to themselves and to the ideal of television's potential force in our culture. Thus they come into basic conflict with the machine, which is designed to satisfy the investor, not satisfy Newton Minow. Indeed, the biggest piece of this machinery—the Hollywood production line—is not even directly controlled by the network chiefs. It is tended by movie companies and the powerful independent packagers, whose job is to grind out a given quantity of sausage every year. The net-

works retain a certain voice in the development of new recipes for "wurst." But control is not complete, and it is the packagers who have created the basic dish.

The machined procedure is to get hold of a star, write a character for him or her to play, prepare half a dozen or a dozen plot outlines around this character, and make a pilot film of one of the episodes. The typical budget for a weekly series runs about $55,000 per half hour, of which as much as $10,000 goes to the star. Hour-long shows can afford somewhat better subsidiary casts than half-hour shows, because the star rarely commands more than $20,000 for an appearance. If for any reason (outdoor shooting is the most common) these figures go over the budget, the average price of a showing will be kept down by making fewer episodes and rerunning the best of them. The pilot episode itself, however, will be more expensive than the average, because certain capital investments are inevitable, and because, after all, nobody wants to skimp on the film that is going to sell the series. Few pilots of half-hour shows come in under a hundred thousand dollars, and the hour-long pilot often costs $175,000 or more.

Only a handful of advertisers are willing to risk this much money—or even a substantial piece of it—on a show that may never see nighttime. Procter & Gamble, General Foods, Lever, Colgate, and one or two others still control some network shows. "They have certain time periods," says network President Aubrey. Subject to the approval of the CBS program committee, which is not quite automatic (every year, the network refuses to run a few shows advertisers have already agreed to buy), they can put into this time the programs they have helped to construct. They can play around with these properties, too, as General Foods did when it spun the Andy Griffith show out of the Danny Thomas show. Only rarely, however, can an independent producer meet his "nut" with contributions from an advertiser. Usually he has to rely on his credit with the banks, or on help from a network.

From everyone's point of view, network coownership of a television series is a double-edged sword. The producer is a little less likely to lose his money, because the network will at least try to find air time for a show of which it owns a piece; and even if the show is a flop, the advertisers to whom the network sells it must guarantee to buy time on at least 13 and often 26 episodes, which will pull a sensibly budgeted weekly series near the producer's break-even point. On the other hand, the producer's possible profit is drastically cut by network participation, if only because he loses the chance to commit highway robbery later, when the network needs his high-rating hit as the center of an evening's schedule. "A successful show," Aubrey says dryly, "can become a weapon."

The producer who raises his own money must sell his pilot to a network, though sometimes this trick is most easily accomplished by selling it first to an advertising agency—to a Daniel Seymour at J. Walter Thompson, or a Robert Foreman at Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, or a Richard Pinkham at Ted Bates & Co. Even an agency will probably put together a pair of sponsors, however. Advertisers today not only refuse to assume the risks of program development; they refuse to sponsor a show all by themselves. On a 52-week basis, at maximum discounts in the best time period (9 to 10:30 at night, eastern standard time), each CBS network half hour costs about $60,000, plus $55,000 or so for the program. This $6 million a year buys 3 minutes of commercials on one program once a week, and it is not guaranteed to be cheap at the price. A few years back, advertisers decided they could make do with alternate-week sponsorship of a program, taking two of the commercial minutes one week and 1 minute the next, and splitting costs with another, noncompeting advertiser. On hour-long shows, sponsorship could be split three ways, and even more. Starting with Pat Weaver's "Today" and "Tonight" on NBC, then on the ABC hour-long action-adventure films, and finally on all networks, advertisers were offered the chance to buy "participations"—1 commercial minute every week. "When the advertisers fought to buy shows on an alternate-week basis," Aubrey says, "they lost control of the shows. The control automatically passed to the networks."

But what is it that the networks now control? Back in the days when advertisers had fangs, CBS was constantly developing its own programs, from "Amos 'n Andy" in radio days through Arthur Godfrey and Jackie Gleason to "Playhouse 90." Today, when the Hollywood packagers (MCA, Screen Gems, Four Star, and others) and the New York packagers (Goodson-Todman, David Susskind among them), do so much of the actual producing, the net work originates very little in the line of entertainment. The economics of the industry prevent a network from signing up personalities and producers with annual contracts, as it did in the old days; with residuals (payments for reuse of a program), the talented producer can now make more than any network can pay him by setting up his own shop as an independent contractor. Yet in these situations, a civilized man can exert a civilizing influence; a network can still play a creative part, as it cannot in Hollywood.

"Creativity," by definition, is a wasteful business, and every time in recent years that the net profits of the machine have slid off, creative work has been cut back, to eliminate waste. Hubbell Robinson retired as executive vice president in charge of programing, because his program development and production operation was losing $6 million a year ("Hub had units going all over, like a movie company," a senior executive recalls). Several studio facilities and their staffs were abandoned in the spring of 1960.. In the fall of 1961, CBS foreclosed, at least temporarily, any possibility of major new live shows by firing another 60 technicians—camera crews, designers, stylists, and the like. The ones who were fired, inevitably and not unreasonably, were those with the least seniority. But television is a business where last year's kids have been next year's heroes (and the year after next's intolerable bastards—the vanity of a man who has projected his personality into 15 million homes quickly becomes uncontrollable). The best talent leaks out the top, because both Broadway and the movies can offer bigger rewards than television. New talent needs live production, which can be worked over and refined, week by week, as the result of palpable reaction from the audience; much new directing and producing talent used to come out from behind cameras. Now the new talent has been choked off, almost as a matter of policy, to save the figures for the machine.

"There aren't many people left," Aubrey says sadly, "who can use the live television technique." And Mike Dann laments that "the breeding place for young, creative talent has been drying up. Today, the best place to look for live talent for American television is Toronto." The Canadian Broadcasting Corp., has never dropped live programing to the extent that the American networks have. At any rate, the only really significant new talent in American television recently has come out of the news and public affairs departments, where the networks still rely on people rather than on figures.

CBS News is a separate division of CBS, Inc., and unquestionably the pride of the corporation. "If there weren't news and public affairs," says Frank Stanton, "I wouldn't be in this business." Not counting the technicians and camera crews, CBS News has about 500 regular employees, 100 of them permanently stationed overseas ("and every time I look around," says Richard Salant, president of this division, "about half the peope from here seem to be overseas, too"). CBS News sells its services to both the radio network and the television network, filling almost three-fifths of the time on radio and about a dozen hours a week on television. Divisional balance sheets are not published by CBS, but at an FCC hearing, Aubrey said the loss on the news and public affairs operation runs to $5 million a year. In this area, however, losses are expected and accepted; indeed, the news and public affairs operation has been constantly expanding in size, scope, and monetary loss, despite much growling of gears from within the machine.

Blair Clark, a very tall, very tired young reporter who is general manager of CBS News, talks of a tripartite job—"a daily thing, a weekly thing, and a monthly thing." The daily job centers around the news broadcasts—17 of them, at 10 minutes each, on the radio network, plus 5 on television. The division also supervises "College of the Air" and "Calendar," a morning half-hour of talk and interview which is one of three additions Salant has made to the regularly scheduled CBS public affairs roster since he took over the division in 1960. Weekly shows are headed by "Eyewitness," which attempts to cover the outstanding story of the week to whatever depth a half-hour format permits. The others are for Sunday, and the bellwether is the remarkable "Twentieth Century," which gives the Prudential Insurance Co. 24 minutes of first-rate documentary every week for only $25,000.

Clark's "monthly thing," though it now runs three times a month, is "CBS Reports," far and away the most important positive contribution television has made to the level of discourse in America. Its executive producer, Fred W. Friendly (known to a number of CBS people as "Horace Hostile"), has bulled his way to money, time, talent, and publicity in unprecedented quantities. The show is budgeted at as much as $94,000 an hour, which puts it in the same class as an entertainment program and gives Friendly a chance to do an extraordinary job as a routine matter. Movie producers on medium-sized budgets customarily "shoot five to one"—that is, they expect only 1 usable minute for every 5 that the cameras grind. Television film packagers try for 2 to 1, and almost always stay under 3 to 1, which is a major reason why the television serial so often looks sloppy and semiprofessional. Friendly, with an entertainment show's budget and no stars to pay, can shoot as much as 30 to 1, vastly increasing his chances of getting the shot that reveals reality.

"CBS Reports" has been—and, despite some denials, still is—a very independent operation; it shoots 35-millimeter film, while the rest of CBS News uses 16 millimeter. Friendly has his own crews, and eight producers who work for him; he can keep any of them digging at a program for months at a time. His basic resource, however, is the field staff of CBS News, every man jack of which would love to develop something for "CBS Reports."

Apart from the continuing triumph of "CBS Reports," last year was a difficult one for CBS News. Ed Murrow left for Washington, and Howard K. Smith left after an argument (the details of which are still most obscure) and now is set to appear, as they say, on another network. Both rival networks expanded their news coverage considerably, buying away some valuable CBS correspondents and forcing the division to raise salaries for a number of men who stayed. Public affairs shows, predictably, continued to receive low ratings and limited sponsorship (and sponsored public affairs shows do not pay their way, because advertisers get them cheap).

When Salant was appointed head of the news division, the wiseacres proclaimed that management was cracking down, putting in its own man—a man with no previous news experience whatever, though he had sat on the editorial board that ruled on proposals from the division. Actually, Salant, at the moment of his appointment, was a powerful factor in the inner councils of the corporation. He was, in the confusing internal politics of CBS, the strongest voice management could have put behind this desk. The prices CBS News charges the network for its shows—the great bone in the throat of the mastiffs in the network division—have risen rather then dropped since he took over. But the staff losses are serious, and Salant and Blair Clark have not been notably successful so far in finding replacements.

Networking has never been a highly profitable business. The five stations CBS owns and operates make, among them, considerably more money than what is left from network profits, once the costs of the news division are deducted—indeed, WCBS-TV, the New York station, probably makes more itself than the network does. Today, there are pressures in Washington to forbid the ownership of stations by networks and other pressures to eliminate option time (the networks' right to demand of its affiliates that they carry sponsored network programs at the hour the advertiser has bought from the network). Without option time, a local station, which receives only 30 percent of its published rates for carrying a network program, may be powerfully tempted to drop network shows and substitute syndicated films at those time periods that advertisers are willing to buy locally. "Checkerboarding," as Frank Stanton has called this danger, could cripple network selling operations by making it impossible for the network to offer true nationwide coverage to an advertiser. But what else would it cripple?

"I asked a meeting recently," Stanton says, "how many programs we had for which we needed more than selling and publicity. There were only a few, most of them public affairs. The rest could be handled by mail. But it would be more expensive by mail, and then there wouldn't be a network when you needed one, for a political convention or a big news story. You can't afford to put together a network paying for wires on a one-time rate basis; we once figured out it would cost 40 or 50 times as much to broadcast the conventions if we had to lease the wires just for that purpose." Still, it might not be beyond the wit of man to devise a scheme whereby wires would become available when needed, without year-round support from networks. A number of thoughtful people in television have begun to wonder whether networking has a future if its main purpose is to transmit by rapid means Hollywood series that age cannot wither nor custom stale, because they started stale.

Stanton will have none of this. "If you grant me the belief that as networks grow they will carry more of the world in which we live, instead of just escape and entertainment, then you must grant the need for coast-to-coast transmission." These propositions demand live people, live programs, a real hand at the controls. Such marvels may be coming, too. Quite apart from public affairs, CBS is beginning to wiggle out of the Hollywood vise (which had never closed completely: Ed Sullivan, Garry Moore, "The United States Steel Hour," and "Armstrong Circle Theater" were always New York programs). "The factory concept," James Aubrey predicts, "will decay to a degree."

Some observers trace CBS's renewing interest in program production to a meeting last spring at which the top executives of the corporation and the top executives of the network joined to discuss what programs would be carried in the fall. After about an hour of it, rumor reports, Paley shook his head and said, "I thought we were going to talk about programs, but all I've heard you talk about is deals." (A packager, commenting on this story, remembered an occasion when he heard a group of television executives discussing a program to be made in Greece. They knew it was to be made in Greece, they knew the budget, they knew who had what piece of the property—but not one of them knew what the show would be about.) Certainly the purse strings have been loosened for programing Vice President Oscar Katz and his eastern associate, Mike Dann, who recently made a large commitment to Max Liebman for a zany live variety show to be produced next year, and who feels he has a mandate from upstairs to go looking for "the new crop of Coes, Brodkins, Serlings, Roses, Bob Banners, Sidney Lumets, Frankenheimers, and Penns"—all of them people whose careers are identified almost exclusively with live television.

Studio facilities will be available. A new CBS production center on Manhattan's West Side, now going up at a cost of over $14 million, will contain six studios designed for entertainment shows, to be broadcast live or taped. (The extreme difficulty and expense of cutting and splicing video tape makes the taped show, in most instances, just a record of a live show rather than a separate enterprise; that universal genius Jackie Gleason coined the phrase "live on tape" to describe it.) With the new studios must come new crews of technicians, scene designers, stylists, costumers, and the like, as well as writers, directors, producers. The 100 technicians CBS fired between May of 1960 and October of 1961 will probably not be available, and the whole painful process of building a staff for television will have to be undertaken once again.

And there is some question whether the machine will permit such shenanigans. The great advantage of live television is the chance to do something a little different—perhaps a lot different—every week; and the machine proclaims, pretty convincingly, that television watching is a habit rather than a function of conscious choice. There is a limit to how much excitement you can have without breaking habits. Specials are fewer than they used to be—except in the public affairs area, where they don't have to draw an audience—because the machine found them irritating. Preempting time from the sponsors of the regular weekly shows was expensive, and the sponsors didn't like it. Anyway, the machine could demonstrate that, in Stanton's words, "a large part of the audience for a special comes to see something else." Why try? To which the answer is: Because.

For the top people at CBS, Inc., broadcasting has always been a mystique as well as a business. But, as the 19th century learned, it is hard to maintain mystiques in the face of machinery. Professionals need machinery. The program analyzer, the Nielsen rating, the deal, and profit and loss statement are all indispensable. But the machinery is not supposed to use the people, as it has for the last few years at CBS. The personnel changes near the top have brought no decline whatever in ability or intelligence, but they have produced a drop in the temperature of personality. Behind the inconsequential gabble at public hearings on television lies a real question for the leaders of CBS: Are they responsible individuals, or are they servants of the machine? Or will the machine itself decide?

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[From Show magazine, April 1962]

THE KINGDOM OF THE FEEDBACK

Like all good hyperbole, Charles Addams' drawing on Show's cover has some disturbing truth in it. The smiling, sinister characters who run Addams' audience-reaction torture chamber are scarcely real-life images, yet the fact remains that the function they perform increasingly molds the shape of television entertainment in the United States. The Kingdom of the Feedback has come. As their mind-measuring systems grow more efficient, the purveyors of television lose whatever interest they may have had in directing public taste or inspiring it—not to say elevating it. Their interest and their economics lead them to assess the lowest common denominator of public taste as accurately as possible—and then accommodate themselves obediently to it.

The Columbia Broadcasting System is inevitably singled out in discussions of television's reliance on mind machines. CBS, after all, has pioneered in gadgets for measuring the public mind. Its team of network statisticians is still the most impressive in the world. But it should be added, in fairness, that the Kingdom of the Feedback possesses all the networks equally—CBS was just the first and most efficient at the trade.

In his article on page 62, Martin Mayer describes in detail how the network statisticians operate their finely meshed system of push-button testing and how the network then adjusts its programing to the results of such polls. The system is enough to make a village Orwell out of anyone contemplating it. It subordinates, if it does not altogether destroy, the relationship of the entertainer to his audience, the artist to his beholders. Imagine a great composer asking a segment of his audience to come to the concert 2 hours before performance time, giving them a boiled-down sample of his symphony, tabulating their reactions, from the first cough to the last ripple of applause, then rewriting the composition or substituting another for it in order to give the audience exactly what his poll indicated it wanted. Absurd? Yet this is the way in which your evening's television "entertainment" is largely selected.

The practice of basing network programs on the likes and dislikes of the pretested audience shows a classic confusion of cause and effect (a confusion also demonstrated in the rating systems, which gage a program's success by whether or not the sets in a thousand households were turned on—or off—or how 500 vewers answered an inquiring voice on the telephone). Inevitably, a Gresham's law of entertainment goes to work. The television producer tests an already undernourished audience, which has rarely, if ever, been fed exciting entertainment or artistry, and concludes that its reactions to more mediocrity represents: (a) its maximum potential and, (b) a true picture of its tastes and inclinations. Thus encouraged, the producer calls up his Hollywood packager and orders more of the same. The artistic coinage grows ever more debased.

The other great result of the mind-machine system is to drive creative talent underground or out of the house altogether. CBS, for example, was traditionally the home of strong-minded commentators and—to use a journalistic phrase that television has almost forgotten—good editors. Call them crusaders or Quixotes if you will; Murrow and his men were always ready to stand up and be counted. But these days, a creative mind at CBS or at either of the other networks finds the going ever rougher. As surely as bad money drives out good, judgment by poll drives out individual men of decision in favor of management by committee.

Nothing in the behavior of the networks or in the recent testimony of network executives before the Federal Communications Commission (performances, incidentally, which were far livelier and more earnest than most of their programs) gives any indication that the machine mentality will be curbed. So we face an unending sequence of doughy family-situation comedies whose wit is as thin as their reason for existence.

The American sitting in front of his television set faces a future as ghastly as that of the Waugh hero who was forced to end his days in the Amazon jungle reading Dickens (which he hated) over and over again to a demented hermit. At least Waugh's man was able to move his lips.

To give the networks their due, we concede that the hazards of producing a single network show are far greater than anything in newspaper or magazine publishing or, for that matter, in movies or the theater. The television producer has one cast of the dice, and that's it. His stakes—production plus time costs—are enormous. He can hardly be blamed for trying to hedge his bet before he makes his toss. He is not in the business for fun. As Mayer says in his article, the network organization is fundamentally "designed to satisfy the investor, not Newton Minow."

Which brings us to the heart of the matter: the public trust reposed in the networks and their private investors. Minow and the other FCC commissioners are a Federal regulatory body with circumscribed powers; they are not a jury or a district attorney's staff. Their official existence bears out the obvious fact that TV entertainment is not just something to satisfy the network investor, in the short run. Television is the most intimate, intrusive device for entertainment and instruction ever known. It affects the lives of every American and, in greater or lesser degree, shows his taste and outlook. It can help build a culture, or destroy it. Whether it inspires art, or the worst kind of Philistinism—however it works, it works on a huge national scale. It is the voice and the face in your home. As such, it lies well within the area of public weal.

In matters of the public weal, the public has a legitimate, a commanding concern. Thus the FCC's entry into television programing is no accident. Nor is the recent flurry of congressional investigation into TV violence and the delinquency problem the work of reckless legislators or "bureaucrats." Congress and the FCC, after all, both represent the people of the United States, and in our cumbersome, democratic way the people are putting pressure on the mediocrity-mired networks in the only way left to them. If legislation follows that the networks do not welcome, they will have only themselves to blame. Consistently, they have scorned critics, advisers, boards, foundations, forums—every noncoercive device by which the public has tried to make known its desire for quality. They have scorned them in favor of the poll and the feedback.

Perhaps this very scorn shows the real blindness of the "scientific" poll mentality with its sanitized survival-of-the-fittest programing tests. For it requires intellectual blindness as well as arrogance to think that the tastes of the American people—that people's aptitude for art, its urge for excellence, its thirst for information—can be handily measured simply by putting 10 people in a darkened room with buttons in their hands and free coffee and soft drinks on the table, tabulating the number of button presses and light flashings, adding and weighing the findings, then multiplying by 10 million.

## Proper Rebuff for Comptroller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, much has been said concerning the unwarranted assault of home rule and States rights by the Federal bureaucracy. This subject comes to mind in banking circles in the thinly disguised efforts of the Comptroller of the Currency, James M. Saxon, to eliminate the traditional jurisdiction of State banks over the financial institutions they charter.

Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point the editorial of September 30, 1962, of the Chicago Heights Star, entitled "Proper Rebuff for Comptroller," which vividly discusses this point:

PROPER REBUFF FOR COMPTROLLER

Comptroller of the Currency James M. Saxon quite properly received a setback in his efforts to give Federal regulations priority over State laws with respect to branch banking.

Saxon, who went to the Federal post after serving a giant Loop bank which seeks branching in Illinois, favored a recommendation by his appointees to permit national banks to branch out irrespective of State regulations.

The result, of course, would be to force Illinois to permit branch banking for all or impose a handicap on State banks in the race for growth. The Saxon committee's report was rejected by the American Bankers Association at its meeting in Atlantic City. As a further encroachment of Federal authority on local government alone, it richly deserved to be rejected.

Branch banking, meanwhile, presents a controversy which we are likely to face again at the next session of the Illinois General Assembly. It is favored by the two largest Loop banks, which stand to be the principal beneficiaries of such legislation. It is opposed vigorously by bankers and community leaders who do not believe that the economic life of a suburb, for example, should be reliant on decisions made by bankers whose principal interests lie elsewhere.

Ironically, and inconsistently, branch banking has the support of some persons who express vigorous opposition to monopoly and bigness in other fields.

Yet it is considerably more important for a community to have locally controlled financial institutions than it is to have only factories possessing no affiliation with large corporations.

## Scientific and Technical Manpower of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it is becoming increasingly obvious that our scientific and technical manpower resources are among the most the crucial ingredients in the Nation's military strength. It is unfortunate and perhaps dangerous that there should be any gaps in our understanding about the nature and extent of these vital resources. If these gaps in our knowledge are as large as many have claimed, a real threat to our national security might emerge. A shortage of relevant information may be as weakening as the shortage of scientific talent if that gap in information prevents the action necessary to solve the real problem.

It is important that every encouragement and support be provided to those that are gathering and evaluating data on the availability and utilization of such an important national resource. As chairman of the Statistics Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, I plan to do all I can to provide such encouragement and support to the solution of this information problem.

I have recently written to Dr. Waterman of the National Science Foundation in order to be brought up to date on the important work being done by the Foundation in this area. I ask unanimous consent to insert these letters in the RECORD as a contribution to a wider understanding of both the successes and remaining problems in this matter.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OCTOBER 9, 1962.

DR. ALAN T. WATERMAN,
*Director, National Science Foundation,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR DR. WATERMAN: The problem of obtaining adequate statistics about the availability of scientific and technical manpower will continue to absorb a great deal of my interest in the coming sessions of Congress. For this reason I appreciated the opportunity you recently provided for my representatives to meet with your staff in order to become better acquainted with the fine work being done by the National Science Foundation in this matter.

I am still trying to determine if the Statistics Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee can play a role in resolving some of the problems that face those that gather or use statistics in this area. This appears to be a large and important problem area about which there is much misunderstanding. A congressional study might clear up some of this misunderstanding even if it could not improve on the statistical work being done by other interested groups, either Government or private.

I would appreciate it if you could provide me with answers to the following questions. This would assist me in determining what contribution my subcommittee might be able to make to the solving of these problems:

1. What Government or private groups are presently gathering statistics about the availability of engineering and scientific manpower? What groups are gathering statistics about the utilization of engineers and scientists? What aspects of the utilization and availability problems are each of these groups specializing in?

2. What unanswered questions provide the focal point of the empirical research being done? What gaps are there in the present statistics which prevent the answering of important policy questions?

3. What have been the results of this statistical effort up to this time? What previously unresolved problems in this area have been answered as the result of the activities of these groups?

4. What evidence is there that the great volume of statistics gathered by all these groups is being gathered in a coordinated fashion? What evidence is there that the evaluation of this mass of data is being done in a coordinated manner? Is there duplication of such efforts and if so is it duplication that serves a purpose?

Some of these questions are prompted by the impression that instead of a lack of statistics and research there may be a lack of coordination and evaluation of the profusion of existing material. Also, the doubt persists that the deficiencies may be in the relevance of the data rather than its volume.

Your answers to these questions will be a great contribution toward advancing the work of the Economics Statistics Subcommittee.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
*U.S. Senator.*

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NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

Hon. WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR PROXMIRE: In response to your request of October 9, the National Science Foundation welcomes the opportunity to report to you on some of the activities which have taken place in the development of adequate statistics on the availability of scientific and technical manpower. The specific questions which you raised and our answers to them are in the attached pages.

This reply has become rather more lengthy than was intended. However, the issues in the area of scientific and technical manpower are complicated ones, involving many programs and groups. We cannot claim that there are no problems of data collection and analysis; however, we do believe that a great deal of progress has been made in the last few years in meeting needs for these data. The enclosures listing NSF publications, publications resulting from NSF support, and projects now in process are illustrative of the remarkable diversity of data requirements.

If you or the Statistical Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee would like further information, we shall be happy to cooperate in any way we can.

Sincerely yours,

ALAN T. WATERMAN,
*Director.*

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION REPLY

Question 1: What Government or private groups are presently gathering statistics about the availability of engineering and scientific manpower? What groups are gathering statistics about the utilization of engineers and scientists? What aspects of the utilization and availability problems are each of these groups specializing in?

Answer: The resources of both Government and non-Government agencies are utilized to meet our national information requirements for engineering and scientific manpower. The following list, although not comprehensive, includes principal groups engaged in gathering statistics on (a) supply of engineers and scientists, (b) employment of engineers and scientists, (c) demand for engineers and scientists, (d) salaries and wages of engineers and scientists, and (e) other data on scientists and engineers.

(A) SUPPLY OF ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

Bureau of the Census provides at decennial intervals census counts of engineers and selected natural scientists through the Decennial Census of Population. At intermediate periods, occasional sample surveys provide broad aggregate data.

Immigration and Naturalization Service annually makes available (by discipline and country of origin) data on engineers and scientists immigrating into this country. Such immigration constitutes a not insignificant addition to this country's manpower resources.

National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council through its Office of Scientific Personnel maintains an annual series on doctorates awarded in science and engineering.

National Science Foundation through its National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel and cooperating professional scientific societies provides information on the numbers and professional characteristics of more than 200,000 professional scientists at biennial intervals. Data collected include levels of training, scientific specializations, work activities, age, location, etc.

U.S. Office of Education reports each year degrees granted in science and engineering by American colleges and universities. This constitutes a measure of annual additions to the engineering and scientific manpower supply. The same agency provides annual data on enrollments in engineering and in science at undergraduate and graduate school levels.

(B) EMPLOYMENT OF ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

Bureau of Labor Statistics collects annually data on employment of scientists and engineers in private industry. Less frequently, data are collected on such employment in State governments and miscellaneous nonprofit institutions.

Civil Service Commission is the source of annual data on Federal Government employment of engineers and scientists.

National Science Foundation in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education secures information every few years on scientists and engineers employed in American colleges and universities.

(C) DEMAND FOR ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

Bureau of Employment Security reports bimonthly the unfilled demand for engineers and scientists as reflected through the nationwide system of public employment offices.

Bureau of Labor Statistics with financial support from the National Science Foundation completed a study of requirements for engineers and scientists, which was published as "The Long-Range Demand for Scientific and Technical Personnel" by the Foundation in 1961. A new study, which brings up-to-date the earlier volume, is now in process and will be released in 1963.

Engineering Manpower Commission of the Engineers Joint Council conducts an annual survey of manpower requirements for engineers as reported by a selected group of industrial and Governmental employers.

Northwestern University conducts a somewhat similar survey of the hiring intentions on local college campuses by large industrial employers.

(D) SALARIES AND WAGES OF ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

Bureau of Labor Statistics includes selected engineering and scientific occupations in its sample surveys of salary rates.

Engineering Manpower Commission of the Engineers Joint Council reports on salaries paid to engineering faculty and to engineers in industry.

Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory of the University of California conducts an annual survey of salaries paid to research and development scientists by a sample of industry and Government laboratories.

National Science Foundation releases data collected through the National Register on total professional income and salaries of scientists by disciplines, type of employer, and work activity.

(E) OTHER DATA ON SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS

Numerous other agencies contribute to the pool of data on availability and utilization of engineering and scientific manpower, usually in a more limited fashion. For example, the Atomic Energy Commission is a source of information on engineers and scientists engaged in atomic energy activities; the Department of Defense provides information on scientific personnel employed on some of its programs; several Government agencies are sources of information on fellowships which they provide for graduate study in the sciences. The American Chemical Society and the American Institute of Physics provide information on the professional groups included in their membership. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, the National Merit Scholarship Corp. at Evanston, Ill., the Educational Testing Service at Princeton, N.J., and the Bureau of Social Science Research in Washington are among the private and university-affiliated groups frequently engaged in research studies dealing with scientific and technical manpower. A more exhaustive list of such organizations will be found in chapter III of "A Study of Scientific and Technical Manpower." (Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, 86th Cong., 2d sess.).

Question 2: What unanswered questions provide the focal point of the empirical research being done? What gaps are there in the present statistics which prevent the answering of important policy questions?

Answer: In 1958 a Special Advisory Panel to the National Science Foundation and the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers reviewed the Government's scientific manpower information activities. As a part of this review the Panel (generally referred to as the Hauser Committee) noted certain important issues for which such information seems imperative. These issues are:

1. The extent to which the scientific and technical talent and skills should be encouraged and developed to increase the supply of scientists, engineers, technicians, and teachers of science.

2. Ways in which the teaching and study of science should be furthered and the means of doing so.

3. Methods which should be used to raise the standards of teaching and training in order to improve the quality of scientists, engineers, and technicians.

4. Development of criteria for military induction, occupational and student deferment, and Reserve screening.

5. Determination of an optimum level of Government-financed research.

6. Determination of levels of compensation of scientific and technical personnel, both civilian and military, and of means of improving prestige and morale.

7. Methods of conserving and utilizing to the greatest possible extent the available scientific and technical manpower.

The issues noted are for the most part equally pertinent today. Such issues are never fully solved and yet are constantly being solved in terms of the Nation's immediate needs.

Despite our wealth of information, there are certain important gaps in our statistical data at this time. Some of the principal ones are: (1) Lack of information on the statistical reliability of our demand data; (2) inadequate measures of manpower utilization effectiveness; (3) insufficient information on the extent of loss of college-trained scientists and engineers to other occupational fields: and (4) insufficient data on the current and future extent of graduate education in engineering and science and sources and amounts of support available to graduate students.

Recent studies of the demand for engineers and scientists point to an approximate doubling of the Nation's requirements in the period 1960–70. These studies provide considerably more information than has been available on this subject in the past, but this information clearly goes beyond statistical precision into uncharted areas where measurements are largely determined by judgment and by their consistency with historical data. Only continuing scrutiny of current trends tempered with an enlightened assessment of future prospects will serve to increase the accuracy of demand estimates. A new report scheduled for publication in 1963 should contribute to our knowledge of this topic. Recent studies have produced a substantial body of information on the deployment of our scientists

and engineers in terms of their principal work activities and industrial distribution.

Less adequate is our information on how effectively they are being utilized, the extent to which their skills are underutilized, the character of measures which might generally improve utilization, the effect of Government procurement and research and development programs on utilization, etc. Information on these topics would be most helpful as guides to policy formulation relating to education and training programs, to the optimum level of Government-supported research and development, and to Government procurement practices. The National Academy of Sciences is now engaged in a study of this entire area at the request of the President.

Another serious gap in our scientific manpower information concerns the relationship between education, training, and employment. It is well known, for example, that many college-trained engineers do not subsequently practice engineering, but become employed in a variety of occupations, including sales, management, and research. Conversely, large numbers of practicing professional engineers are not graduates of engineering schools. More extensive information on these subjects would greatly assist in analyzing the extent to which a given supply of college graduates will serve to meet the requirements for a given number of engineers and scientists. A sample study, now in process with joint support from several Government agencies, promises to provide information of assistance in answering many questions of this type in 1963. This survey is based upon a cross-section of the population reported in the 1960 census as engaged in a technical occupation or with a college education. Respondents are asked to provide further information (1) on their current work activities, education, and training which qualify them for their occupation, and (2) on other training. The survey results will provide data not now available on occupational mobility, job training, and utilization.

Still another gap in information involves more adequate measurement and analysis of the movement into, and the participation of, science and engineering students in graduate education. Examples of the kinds of questions for which better answers are needed are: What proportions of science and engineering baccalaureates continue their education to the master's degree, the doctor's degree? Do these proportions vary by field and over time? What is the time lapse of entry into and completion of graduation? What are the sources and extent of graduate student support? How many high-ability students do not enter graduate training and for what reasons? To what extent are graduate students involved in teaching and research duties? The Foundation is supporting a study by the Office of Education on the sources and extent of graduate student support. Several private groups are continuing their studies of graduate level education.

Question 3: What have been the results of this statistical effort up to this time? What previously unresolved problems in this area have been answered as the result of the activities of these groups?

Answer: The most important result of this large statistical effort has probably been that the Nation is now, for the first time, in a position in which it can reach national decisions on scientific manpower resource problems on the basis of a growing body of knowledge collected and analyzed in accordance with scientific principles. The framework of a system of national intelligence on our engineering and scientific manpower resources has been developed within the past 10 years. This system is unrivaled among those countries accustomed to freedom of choice of occupation and employment, although probably it is not equivalent to that of some countries where rigid economic and manpower controls are customary.

It should be pointed out in passing that science manpower statistics of themselves resolve no problems, except those specifically associated with lack of information. Such statistics rather provide tools which the policymaker can use in deriving problem solutions in a logical fashion. More specifically, research and survey efforts have produced an awareness of the dimensions of manpower resource problems. Much of the concern with the inadequate numbers of engineers and scientists now being trained can be traced to studies which have provided estimates of the future requirements for persons with such training. An appreciation of the extent to which our scientific manpower resources are committed to Government research and development programs has resulted from information on the work activities of scientists and engineers. The magnitude of the science education effort which will be needed to produce scientists and engineers in the numbers required becomes clearer in the light of estimated manpower requirements. Comparative data on the education of scientists and engineers in foreign countries have become a matter of public concern lest the Nation's position of leadership in this regard be imperiled. Regional and State programs for expanding graduate training in engineering and science are emerging in answer to information showing the concentration of graduate education in a relatively few areas. These are only a few examples of specific problem areas which are symptomatic of the important issues which involve scientific manpower and which provide the justification for a substantial research and survey program.

Question 4: What evidence is there that the great volume of statistics gathered by all these groups is being gathered in a coordinated fashion? What evidence is there that the evaluation of this mass of data is being done in a coordinated manner? Is there duplication of such efforts and if so is it duplication that serves a purpose?

Answer: A high degree of coordination exists among Government agencies collecting scientific manpower data. To a lesser extent, non-Government agencies also coordinate their data collecting activities with those of the Government. Coordination is achieved principally through close communication between organizations participating in these programs, but is aided by interlocking advisory committees and groups and by financial controls. Among Federal agencies coordination is further effected through control of questionnaire forms under the Federal Reports Act.

In general coordination among Government agencies lies in the recognition that funds for survey purposes are limited, and that agency cooperation will greatly aid in stretching resources as far as possible. Thus, agency advisory committees and less formally established groups usually include representatives from other agencies concerned with scientific manpower problems. The National Science Foundation, for example, utilizes an advisory panel which includes in its membership representatives from the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Defense. Similarly, Foundation representatives serve on committees advisory to the Office of Education, Department of Labor, and Office of Science and Technology, and act as observers on other groups, including nongovernmental agencies such as the American Institute of Physics and the National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

Also contributing to well-integrated activities in the collection process is the Federal Reports Act of 1942. This statute requires Government agencies, with minor exceptions, to secure Bureau of the Budget approval prior to collecting information from the public. The Bureau, which, through its Office of Statistical Standards, controls the use of questionnaire and other survey instruments has requested the National Science Foundation to serve as the focal agency in the coordination of the Government's program of statistical information on scientific and engineering manpower. This assignment has been important in the Foundation's role of programing, releasing, and publishing information on scientists and engineers. Thus, much of the research and survey work on scientific personnel is initiated or encouraged by the Foundation when its studies reveal serious deficiencies or inadequacies in existing data. Frequently, rather than launch a new effort which would unnecessarily duplicate part of a related survey elsewhere, the Foundation provides substantial financial support to cooperating agencies.

Much emphasis is given to analysis and evaluation of survey data since administration of the manifold Federal programs requires a great deal of specialized information on technical manpower. Detailed information for program guidance is most effective when oriented to the particular problem at hand. For example, an analysis of the utilization of engineers in industry prepared for the Department of Defense with defense procurement implications in mind will probably not be the most useful analysis for an agency considering the desirability of an undergraduate scholarship program to augment the supply of engineers for industry. Similarly, the National Science Foundation in analyzing science teacher qualifications to determine the optimum size of teacher training institute programs will not be concerned with the same analysis as might a department of education developing plans for preservice training of science teachers. This is to say that one should normally expect substantive program administrators to insist upon data analysis adapted to their special purposes. Of course this will mean that data will be analyzed and evaluated for such special purposes by many different agencies. The important point is that the underlying basic data should be consistent, accurate, and timely in order that it may serve as many purposes as possible.

## Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan

SPEECH
OF
## HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Wednesday, October 10, 1962*

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I join in extending my heartiest congratulations and best wishes to our colleague from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN] as she leaves the House of Representatives after a distinguished 6-year record of service to become Treasurer of the United States.

As a member of the Post Office and Civil Service and Government Operations Committees, Mrs. GRANAHAN became an outstanding expert in the intricacies of the Postal Establishment. By her diligent work on the Post Office Committee she led the fight against pornographic literature in the mails, a fight which won for her the praise of parents, churches, and civic groups throughout the country.

It has been a pleasure to serve with such an outstanding legislator and conscientious public servant. We wish Mrs. GRANAHAN every happiness on her challenging new assignment in the executive branch.

## Report by Congressman Laurence Curtis to the People of the 10th Congressional District of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as this legislative year draws to a close, I think it is important to review the activities of the session.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In these days when the Soviet power buildup in Cuba has become threatening, foreign policy is an overriding issue.

I therefore report first on my work as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. That committee is the one which is most closely concerned with cold-war policies. The administration of foreign policy is a constitutional prerogative of the President and the State Department, but the Foreign Affairs Committee authorizes the spending of funds to carry out foreign policy, and proposes resolutions on vital foreign policy issues. This year it passed resolutions on Berlin and Cuba. Vietnam and Laos also present difficult problems.

The Secretary of State and military leaders have kept the Foreign Affairs Committee fully advised about these situations. The committee has supported administration policies and has urged firmness in the face of threats.

My votes in the committee and in the House have been cast in the realization that we are in a period of great danger to our country; that Americans must have stout hearts and steady nerves, and that it may be necessary to risk war in order to avoid certain war; that once a country gives in to threats, only eventual war or surrender and enslavement can follow.

CUBA RESOLUTION

Concern over the Soviet military buildup in Cuba led to the passage by Congress of a resolution expressing the determination of the United States to prevent, by any means necessary, including the use of arms, the creation in Cuba of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States, and to prevent the spread of communism from Cuba to other countries of the Western Hemisphere.

The resolution was reported out of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and was passed by the House on September 26 by a vote of 387 to 7. The disapproving votes were largely from those favoring a stronger resolution. The Senate had passed the resolution a few days previously.

The Monroe Doctrine was much discussed during the House debate. President Monroe, in a passage to the Congress of December 2, 1823, asserted that the American continents were not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power, and that we should consider any attempt by those powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The Monroe Doctrine has since been affected by our agreements with other Latin American countries for collective action in support of its principles.

In the House debate it was urged that the resolution should be made stronger, and that the steps already taken in Cuba by the Soviet Government amounted to a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. A motion to amend the resolution and express this point of view was rejected, although House Republicans voted for the motion 137 to 13. I so voted, and in addressing the House I said:

The Monroe Doctrine inhibits any European power from extending its system to this hemisphere. As I read this resolution, in subsection (b) it prescribes the extension here of a system which creates a military capability endangering the security of the United States. That is certainly a much narrower objective than that of the Monroe Doctrine which aims at preventing any extension by a European power of its system to this hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine does not say that that system must create a military danger to this country.

I felt that this point might become important in connection with our future relations with Cuba.

BERLIN RESOLUTION

Shortly after the Cuba resolution, the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported favorably a similarly worded resolution on Berlin, stating that the United States was "determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms", any violation by the Soviet Union directly or through others of Allied rights in Berlin, including those of ingress and egress.

On October 5, 1962, the House passed the resolution unanimously, and a few days later the Senate passed the same resolution.

During the past 4 years the Soviet Union has been trying to force the Allies out of Berlin, in violation of agreements made at the close of World War II. Mr. Khrushchev has constantly threatened to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany, which he said would have the effect of terminating or gravely impairing Allied rights in Berlin. On more than one occasion his threat was in the nature of an ultimatum, but in each case he backed down in the face of the firm attitude of the United States and Allied countries.

During the deliberations of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I argued and was partly responsible for the inclusion of a clause in the resolution, stating that it was the "purpose of the United States to encourage and support the establishment of a free, unified, and democratic Germany." I pointed out that the Soviet Union continually reiterated its own objectives, and that we should do the same, even though this particular objective was not immediately attainable.

Shortly before congressional action on the Berlin resolution, Mr. Khrushchev stated that he would postpone further action on Berlin until after the congressional elections on November 6.

I quote from my remarks to the House during the debate on this resolution, and resulting discussion, as follows:

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, let us tell the world that the Congress resents the intrusion of the Communist masters in the Kremlin into our internal affairs in this country by the suggestion that Mr. Khrushchev will postpone certain actions and his proposed peace treaty with East Germany until after the congressional elections this November.

Mr. Chairman, let us tell the world that this country's attitude does not depend on the outcome of the congressional elections, and that we regard it as impudent for anyone to make such a suggestion. Let us tell the world that whether the Congress is in session or not, we now, as representing the American people, have taken a stand which we know will meet with their approval, whether we Members are in Washington or whether we are back in the "hustings" conferring with our constituents.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. I want to compliment the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts upon his stand and upon his statement.

With reference to the question that has been raised about Mr. Khrushchev wanting to wait until after the election, is it not reasonable to assume from that that he is implying that if your party that is now out of power were to come into power in the Congress, you would be pursuing a different policy?

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. I agree with the gentleman. I think it is an impudent suggestion.

May I add also that in my personal opinion this is not the first time Mr. Khrushchev has tried to intrude into American politics. Such conduct, in my opinion, occurred in the year 1960.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I should like to compliment the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CURTIS] for a very fine statement and to express my regret that he is not going to be with us next year, that he is not running for reelection. I should like to say that I am sure I speak for Members on both sides of the aisle when I say that he has been a very valuable Member of our committee and has contributed in many ways to sensible solutions of some of the delicate and difficult questions with which we have been presented.

VIETNAM AND LAOS

Vietnam and Laos are other trouble spots.

Our Government felt that the loss of Vietnam to communism would threaten the whole Western position in southeast Asia. We have therefore been giving extensive military aid to the Government of Vietnam in its fight against Communist guerrillas. This was done at the request of the Vietnamese Government. Our aid has verged on actual assistance in the fighting, but seems fully justified.

In Laos we supported the formation of a neutralist regime involving an attempted coalition between the more extreme factions on the right and on the left. Laos has a long thin border with

Vietnam, and there is danger that its territory will be used as a bridge between the Communists in China and the Communist guerrillas in Vietnam. The attempt to secure collaboration between the Communist and non-Communist was a policy which failed in China, and there is always the danger that in any such arrangement the Communist will in the end come out on the top.

FOREIGN AID

This is the subject to which the Foreign Affairs Committee devotes its major attention.

There has been growing opposition to this program resulting largely from past mistakes and unsatisfactory performance. But after extensive hearings, the Foreign Affairs Committee continued to feel that foreign aid is an essential tool of our foreign policy and that the developing nations must be encouraged to make progress in freedom rather than in reliance on the Soviet type of tyranny.

I have supported our foreign aid programs, but felt this year that our foreign aid is now being given too indiscriminately. Over 80 foreign nations are now recipients of our foreign aid. The administration of that aid must be tightened up still further. We must not allow its benefits to be syphoned off by those at the top. It must reach the masses of the people. We must focus more on programs to increase the productivity of the nations which we are aiding. I felt that one way to control waste and taking up of unwise projects was to exercise greater care in the amount of funds to be appropriated.

Our expanded program of economic aid to Latin America faces problems. Some of the countries have been slow in making the internal reforms to which they agreed—improvements in land tenure, taxation, social justice, and the like, referred to as self-help. A difficult question is whether we should continue to go ahead despite this. It is hard for an outsider to tell another sovereign nation how to run its affairs.

The Congress made severe reductions from the amounts requested by the administration. In the providing of funds there is first the authorization by the Foreign Affairs Committee, which sets outside limits, and then appropriation by the Appropriation Committee. The Foreign Affairs Committee made some reductions, but the most severe cuts were made by the Appropriations Committee. It reported a severely reduced appropriation to the House and little attempt was made in the House to increase the appropriation. The administration preferred to rely on the Senate, which did increase the appropriation. But in the final compromise between the two branches, the cuts were more severe than in recent years. If the administration finds them too hampering, it can seek supplementary appropriations next January.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The foreign-aid legislation again reiterated support of policies which have particular application to Arab-Israel relations: freedom of navigation in international waterways, increased economic cooperation and trade between countries, disapproval of discrimination against American citizens based on race or religion. It directed that these principles be supported in the administration of foreign aid.

PEACE CORPS

The Peace Corps has made good, and is to be expanded. The Congress this year with little dissent authorized a large increase in the number of Peace Corps volunteers. They are given intensive training, including training in the language of the country where they are going. They live under hard conditions in faraway places and help the populace in education, farming, sanitation, and other ways.

Foreign countries have found the system good, and want more of it. Young Americans have volunteered in large numbers. This is a form of foreign aid which reaches the grassroots, and shows the world our finest commodity—well-trained, dedicated American youth. The success of the Corps is encouraging to those of us who had faith in and supported the idea from the start.

NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS' CONFERENCE

I again attended, as I had the previous year, the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in Paris last November. It is a meeting of delegates from the legislative bodies of the NATO countries. There were committees on military, economic, and political questions.

Discussions before the economic committee, which I attended, stressed the success of the European Common Market, the importance of British relations with it, and the importance of our trade with it.

World prices of raw materials and possible methods of stabilizing them, were again discussed. Price changes can cause economic distress, particularly for countries such as some in South America, which depend largely on one crop or product. The discussion again made it clear that the Communist bloc nations use trade not for peaceful commercial intercourse, but as a means of political and economic aggression, and that the free world must find ways of protecting itself from any such practice.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

In my report of last year I said:

> I have cast my votes in the direction which I believe would promote a free economy, sound money, and wise governmental economy * * * avoiding the extremes on either side.
>
> The danger of overcentralization of governmental powers in Washington needs continual watching. Government should be kept close to the people, and local control of local matters is a cornerstone of American democracy. The fight for home rule and against unwarranted Federal interference must be a continuous one. Federal power has a tendency to feed on itself.

I still believe strongly in these principles. Many bills before the House this year aimed at desirable objectives, but went too far both as to spending and as to centralization of power in Washington. I found it necessary to vote for amendments reducing the excesses. My voting record, which will be found below, gives examples of this. In many cases a majority of the House shared that view, and amended or rejected the bills.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

That part of the President's program which tended to increase the Executive power and which would have involved heavily increased spending met congressional resistance, which led to the defeat or great modification of many of the programs.

The defeated programs included a new cabinet Department of Urban Affairs; standby tax-cutting authority; standby authority to initiate public works; Youth Conservation Corps; education bills. The bill for Federal aid to education for elementary and secondary schools remained bottled up in the Committee on Rules as it was the previous year, and did not come before the House. The college academic facilities bill, providing Federal grants and loans to public and private colleges for construction of academic facilities, was passed by the House; but the House disagreed with later Senate amendments, and refused to agree to a conference committee report, thereby killing the bill.

Important parts of the President's program which were enacted included: the Trade Expansion Act which replaced the old Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and gave the President broader powers in tariff negotiations, having in view negotiations with the European Common Market; the act authorizing the purchase of $100 million of U.N. bonds; increase of postal rates and Federal pay; foreign aid, considerably reduced; the manpower retraining bill, modified by amendments sponsored by House Republicans; the tax bill, also much modified by the Congress. The farm bill was defeated, but a much watered-down version was later enacted into law.

These and other items of domestic legislation are discussed in connection with my voting record, reported on below.

The following issues deserve special comment:

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE ELDERLY FINANCED UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

The House Ways and Means Committee did not act this year on the administration's bill for the provision of medical care for the elderly under social security. The issue, therefore, did not come before the House.

The subject did come before the Senate by means of an amendment in the nature of a rider attached to another bill. This health care amendment was worked out by Senator ANDERSON and Senator JAVITS. It differed from the administration's bill in that it made provision for the medical care of elderly persons not covered by social security, and also included an option under which persons entitled to health benefits could have them paid by a private insurance company which would be reimbursed by the Government. This amendment failed in the Senate by a narrow margin.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The administration was criticized again this year for lack of legislation on civil rights, despite platform and campaign promises. It continued to seek progress through Executive action rather than

through legislation, and through enforcement of existing laws protecting minority rights in voting, school segregation, interstate transportation, and jobs with the Government and its contractors.

I believe that the following civil rights legislation is particularly needed: a bill permitting the Attorney General to intervene for the protection of civil rights in general. Such a provision was passed by the House as part III of the 1957 act. but was limited in the Senate to the protection of voting rights; a bill to prevent the unfair use of literacy tests as a means of denying voting rights.

IMMIGRATION

An immigration bill was passed this year to facilitate the entry of alien skilled specialists and relatives of U.S. citizens. It also permits certain aliens subject to deportation, but who had lived in the United States from 7 to 10 years with a good civic record, to remain in the country legally. The Congress again failed to take up the issue of discrimination resulting from the quota system.

MASSACHUSETTS PROBLEMS

Massachusetts problems receive my special attention. Many problems affecting Massachusetts must be handled by the executive departments rather than by legislation. The Massachusetts congressional delegation acts on these problems, and I have joined in those efforts: to see that Massachusetts got its fair share of defense contracts and appropriations for such programs as urban renewal, airport construction, and flood control; relief for railroads and for urban mass transportation; removal of the quota on imports of residual oil; protection of the textile industry; protection and Federal aid for the fishing industry; maintenance of the workload at the Boston Naval Shipyard and Watertown Arsenal.

VOTING RECORD

As the fairest and most impartial way of reporting on the highlights of my voting record at this session, I am listing the votes chosen annually by the New York Times as the key House rollcall votes of the year.

KEY ROLLCALL VOTES, 1962

What follows is copied directly from the the New York Times except for the addition under each item of my comments:

1. Urban affairs, February 21, 1962: Resolution disapproving the President's proposal of a Department of Urban Affairs at the Cabinet level. Adopted: Yea, 264; nay, 150. Democrats: Yea, 111; nay, 137. Republicans: Yea, 153; nay, 13.

CURTIS voted for the resolution of disapproval. There were several valid objections to the creation of the new Department of Urban Affairs which led to its overwhelming rejection, with only 13 Republicans voting for it. My principal objection was that this bill would add to the overcentralization of power in Washington, with increased dictation from Washington over State and local affairs. Additionally, the bill did not create an effective Department of Urban Affairs. What it really did was to elevate the Housing and Home Finance Agency to a Cabinet level, leaving it without jurisdiction over other important Federal programs affecting cities, such as highways, air pollution, and even some housing programs. My vote against this plan was not in the slightest a vote against the appointee for the new secretaryship which had been proposed by the President.

2. Tax revision, March 29, 1962: Passage of the Revenue Act of 1962. Passed: Yea. 219; nay, 196. Democrats: Yea, 218; nay, 34. Republicans: Yea, 1; nay, 162.

CURTIS voted nay. The inclusion in this bill of the provision for the withholding of the tax on interest and dividends was the principal reason for objection to this bill, with only one Republican voting for it. Opponents believe that this withholding tax would be an administrative monstrosity, and that there were other and better ways of insuring collection of these taxes through requiring more detailed reports of payments. The Congress later passed this bill after the Senate had stricken out the withholding tax and substituted the reporting requirements.

3. Debt limit, June 14, 1962: Passage of the administration bill to raise the national debt ceiling from $300 billion to $308 billion. Passed: Yea, 211; nay, 192. Democrats: Yea, 202; Nay, 39. Republicans: Yea, 9; nay, 153.

CURTIS was opposed to passage. My opposition to increasing the debt limitation was largely a protest against continued high Government spending. Once the Congress has appropriated money, the Government is free to spend it. If the resulting expenditures exceed the income of the Government, the additional funds are borrowed by the Treasury. But this borrowing process can go on only up to the debt ceiling. This ceiling is, however, somewhat illusory as the Government bills must be paid. Still, the ceiling does act as a brake on expenditures. Only nine Republicans voted to increase the debt ceiling.

4. Farm bill, June 21, 1962: Findley (Republican, of Illinois) motion to recommit (kill) the administration's first omnibus farm bill. Adopted: Yea, 215; nay, 205. Democrats: Yea, 48; nay, 204. Republicans: Yea, 167; nay, 1.

CURTIS voted to recommit—kill—the bill. I opposed this farm bill as representing a continuation of the high support price programs which have worked badly and piled up ever-increasing surpluses. There must be a move toward greater determination of prices in the marketplace.

5. Trade expansion, June 28, 1962: Mason (Republican, of Illinois) motion to recommit the administration's Trade Expansion Act with instructions to substitute a 1-year extension of the expiring Trade Agreements Act. (The administration measure subsequently passed: Yea, 298; nay, 125.) Rejected: Yea, 171; nay, 253. Democrats: Yea, 44; nay, 210. Republicans: Yea, 127; nay, 43.

CURTIS was paired against the motion to recommit the bill. The reciprocal trade agreements law was enacted in 1934, and has since been extended 11 times. It permits the United States to enter into reciprocal tariff cutting agreements with other countries. The President this year proposed a new Trade Expansion Act which extends and expands the existing law. It is intended to facilitate negotiations with the European Common Market.

A vote on the motion referred to above would have defeated the new trade bill and would have instead merely extended existing law for another year. I believe that we must be in a position to negotiate with the European Common Market, while at the same time assuring reasonable protection of essential industries. I therefore voted against the motion. Following defeat of the motion the House passed the new trade bill after adding protectionist measures.

6. U.N. bonds, September 14, 1962: Adair (Republican, of Indiana) motion to recommit the bill authorizing the President to purchase up to $100 million in U.N. bonds, with instructions to amend it to bar any payments unless other nations in arrears paid back assessments. (The bill subsequently passed: Yea, 257; nay, 134.) Rejected: Yea, 171; nay, 219. Democrats: Yea, 44; nay, 193. Republicans: Yea, 127; nay, 26.

CURTIS was against the motion to recommit. The U.N. found itself in financial straits because of nonpayment of special assessments for military operations in the Gaza strip and the Congo by certain nations which disproved of those operations. I felt that it was in the best interest of the United States for it to do its fair share to keep the U.N. going, but not more than its fair share. The proposed commitment of the United States had been trimmed down in committee before the bill came before the House. The World Court had also recently issued an advisory opinion which would improve the ability of the U.N. to collect special assessments through denial of voting rights in the General Assembly of nations which were in arrears in payment up to a certain amount. I favored the bill and voted against the amendment referred to above which would have killed the bill.

7. College aid, September 20, 1962: KEARNS, Republican, of Pennsylvania, motion to recommit (kill) the conference report. Adopted: Yea, 214; nay, 186. Democrats: Yea, 84; nay, 156. Republicans: Yea, 130; nay, 30.

CURTIS voted not to recommit—kill—the conference report. This vote related to the higher education bill providing Federal aid to colleges for construction of academic facilities and for scholarships. There was disagreement between the Senate and the House as to various provisions for grants. These were largely compromised in a conference committee. I felt that the bill was in the public interest, and so disproved of killing the conference report which would also have killed the bill.

CURTIS BILLS

It is the practice of some Congressmen to file a large number of bills, many of which are repetitions of other bills already before the Congress on subjects of popular interest. I have not followed that practice, but have limited my bills to matters of special interest to the 10th District or to matters which I felt were insufficiently covered.

Legislation which I introduced this year included a bill to tighten the Fed-

eral laws in order to cover more specifically illegal acts disclosed in the highway scandals, such as kickbacks and unfair appraisals; a bill to have a survey conducted by the Army Engineers as to the feasibility of opening up a channel or sluiceway at the location of Shirley Gut in order to increase water circulation and help alleviate pollution condition in Winthrop Bay. This survey was authorized in the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act; a number of private bills relating to immigration problems.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

I believe that one of my major duties is to see to it that constituents are fairly treated in all their dealings with the Federal Government. I maintain offices open throughout the year in both Boston and Washington for every possible service to constituents. I conduct periodic meetings with constituents in every section of the district.

My newsletters published in the local press seek to keep people in touch with matters of interest in Washington and report on my activities. I both write these letters and do the necessary research myself.

CONCLUSION

In closing this report, I express my appreciation to the people of the 10th District for the honor and privilege of representing them in the Congress of the United States.

In the Massachusetts redistricting which took place this year following the loss of two congressional seats as a result of population changes, the 10th District was dismembered. The Boston wards, with the exception of ward 21, were added to Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK'S district. Newton was added to the district represented by former Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr. Brookline and Boston ward 21 went to the district represented by Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr.

As a result it was impossible for me to be a candidate for Congress in the September primaries from any one of these three districts, which would otherwise have been possible in view of the outcome of the Republican Convention in June. It is with keen regret that I cease my happy association with the people of the 10th Congressional District, whom I have represented these past 10 years.

## Hon. Clem Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 13, 1962*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the newspaper editors of the First District of California—the district represented by the late Clem Miller—have said their own eulogies to our late colleague.

While we knew Clem as a colleague, they knew him as their Congressman. Their editorials on what Clem meant to them and to the people of his district give us, here, a new perspective of Clem Miller.

I include excerpts from some of their editorials:

[From the Eureka (Calif.) Humboldt Times]

REPRESENTATIVE CLEM MILLER

Flags fell to half mast yesterday in northwestern California, as a wave of shock, followed by sorrow, swept over the First Congressional District.

Sunday night, death removed from the rolls a conscientious and hardworking representative in Washington, D.C. The sudden, unexpected death of Congressman Clem Miller is mourned by those of all political faiths.

Congressman Miller was first elected to represent the wide northern California First District in 1958. He brought to his office intelligence, energy and a deep concern for the national problems created by rapid technological change and explosive population growth which affected his district.

The Congressman, who was completing his second term, and campaigning for his third, was on his way to Crescent City, where he was determined to keep a series of appointments. At the same time, he had planned to autograph copies of his book, "Member of the House," published last week by Scribner's.

Congressman Miller was a liberal, and he made no bones about the fact. However, in serving the people of his district, he did not allow political delineations to interfere in getting things done. The greater part of the legislation sponsored by Congressman Miller was at the request of his constituents.

That Congressman Miller fully recognized his responsibility is to be found in a paragraph in his book, in which he spoke of his schedule: "It imposes a constant vigilance, unrelieved, hour upon hour. An inappropriate offhand remark, misplaced flippancy, or a flash of irritation are not readily forgiven. People ask meaningful, serious questions on all conceivable subjects and they demand and are entitled to informed, thoughtful answers. As Representative, I am constantly exposed to the represented—to our mutual education and benefit."

Among legislative accomplishments, one turns to Miller's Point Reyes National Park Area bill; the Kings Peak Range bill, providing multipurpose use—a piece of Humboldt legislation of which he was especially proud; the Salmon restoration bill which would have improved both sports and commercial needs; the Noyo Harbor improvement bill; flood control at Orick's Redwood Creek, and levee construction at Blue Lake. He instigated and backed surveys and studies in the needs of the lumber industry; saw to Humboldt Bay's improvement in dredging and jetty construction. He was a friend of education, commerce, agriculture, industry, and recreation.

Congressman Miller maintained a prolific mail, answered all communications on thousands of matters, listened to his people, welcomed visitors to Washington. Youth, especially, found the welcome mat out. He was never to busy to spend some time with a youngster from Humboldt, Del Norte, Mendocino or some other county in his district.

Regardless of party affiliation, those who met Clem Miller always found a cheerful, friendly individual, reflecting the qualities of a man who genuinely enjoyed people—friends.

Congressman Clem Miller was born in Delaware. He attended Williams College, after which he did graduate work at Cornell University. He enlisted as a private in the U.S. Army in World War II, and proceeded to work up to the rank of captain. As a soldier he was decorated for outstanding service and for bravery in action.

He served for 7 years as a member of the National Labor Relations Board. In private life, Congressman Miller was a landscape consultant.

In the 4 years in which he had served his First District, Clem Miller had made thousands of friends, gaining their respect and confidence as a friend, and in his service in Washington, D.C. Today, these thousands mourn the loss of that friend and representative.

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[From the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press Democrat]

AN ABLE MAN GOES

The tragic death in an airplane accident of Congressman Clem Miller brought sorrow to everyone in the redwood empire. It is one of the measures of Mr. Miller that while he had strong partisans and had equally vigorous opponents of part of his philosophy of National Government, he had no personal enemies.

An energetic and persuasive man, he worked hard and ceaselessly for what he conceived to be right.

At the district level, in a redwood empire with vast national forests, turbulent rivers, and a long and rugged coastline, Mr. Miller saw the urgency of starting and completing public works on an expedited basis. These nership between Federal and local governhas authority to do; or jobs involving partnership between Federal and local governments. The population explosion in the First Congressional District is just beginning. Mr. Miller wanted the public works completed in time for it. In this, he was extraordinarily effective, and to it he devoted both intelligence and energy.

At the level of national affairs, Mr. Miller believed wholeheartedly in big government. A substantial number of the voters of the First District, and possibly a bare majority, held exactly the opposite viewpoint. Again, it is a measure of Clem Miller that he did not straddle or evade. He told everyone exactly where he stood.

In his death, a forthright and an able man has been lost.

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[From the Fort Bragg (Calif.) Advocate News]

HE WAS DEDICATED

Residents of the Fort Bragg district, Democrats and Republicans alike, still refuse to believe the news of the untimely death of Congressman Clem Miller, killed in an airplane crash east of Eureka late Sunday afternoon. We extend our deepest sympathy to the members of his family, and close associates.

Much can be said at this time about Congressman Miller, for Clem, as he preferred to be called, was one of the hardest working Congressman in Washington, a man dedicated to the principles in which he believed.

Editorially, this newspaper failed to see eye-to-eye with Congressman Miller in matters of political philosophy, yet we have always respected the sincerity of his purpose, a quality which could hardly be overlooked by anyone, regardless of personal or political differences of opinion.

Congressman Miller's work in behalf of the Noyo breakwater project, which just a few days ago was nearing the final hurdle before budget stage, was one of his most noteworthy undertakings, and his dogged determination to see the project through to final completion again brings to light his sincerity of purpose, a man dedicated to the principles in which he believed.

Yes, the Clem Miller shoes, whether to be worn by a Democrat or a Republican, will be hard to fill, for Clem, whether you were for him or against him, was working for what he thought to be the best interests of his district, 24-hours a day, each day of the year. What more could be expected of a public servant?

[From the Fortuna (Calif.) Humboldt Beacon]

A LOSS TO THE FUTURE

We have said it before. This has been a tragic year for many in Humboldt County through the death of men of accomplishment and stature.

And now it is Clem Miller, a man we had to learn to like, but for whom we had gained not only a genuine feeling of friendship, but a tremendous respect for his capacities as a Congressman. Somehow, one could see on the horizon—he was not yet 46—a leadership quality, combined with a zenith of energy capable of massive performance at the national level.

Six weeks ago, one of the top level engineers of the West said—"Do you fellows realize that in 35 years I have never seen so much accomplished by a junior Congressman? Clem Miller knows how to get things."

To put it a bit differently, a major business executive, opposed in party, policy and philosophy, said: "I knew that despite being as opposite as the poles, I was beginning to like Clem and to respect his ability and sincerity. Had he lived, he could have become one of the Nation's great legislators, a governor, a Cabinet officer."

Most of the printed words have come from men of opposite political faith and they have been honest in their respect for the man and their sympathy toward a charming and lovable family.

But Clem Miller had more than all this. He had a capacity for warmth and fellowship which made everyone who believed and followed him also his warm friend and most ardent supporter. In a brief 6 years of campaigning and service in the First Congressional District, 4 years as the Congressman, his friends had multiplied.

Many of these friends spent a sleepless night after the news of his possible tragedy was flashed over the air and when the finality of that loss became known they wept openly, unashamed, heartsick and stunned. To these and many more his memory will remain a shrine in the years to come.

As the Humboldt Standard so ably expressed it—"political philosophies aside, Clem Miller was a vote-getter of the highest order, a man who defended his principles, an American, and his loss to the many activities with which he was associated has yet to be felt in full."

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[From the Rohnert Park (Calif.) Press]

CLEM MILLER: THE MEMBER OF THE HOUSE

Clem Miller was a friend of ours; he was also our Congressman—24 hours a day.

He died last Sunday while working.

Clem had been staying in Washington, D.C., all week, with Congress in session. During the past month on weekends he had been flying over 3,000 miles to his district to campaign and to take care of the business that had to be taken care of at home.

Two weeks ago he came to our Founder's Days ceremonies in Rohnert Park. The next week he was again in the district, and last week he was here again. Clem covered and traveled the 300-mile length of his district as casually as most people cross town.

Just before he left on the flight Sunday, we received an autographed copy of his book, "A Member of the House."

To us he had the potential to become "The Member of the House." He was the ideal Congressman. He did his tasks intensely, cheerfully, and doggedly.

We and his other friends are only sorry that he is not going to be able to do for the First District what he could have done, and that thousands of more people throughout the country are not going to be able to know and appreciate him as we already did. On November 6 we are going to vote for Clem Miller. We hope everyone in the First Congressional District does.

No more fitting tribute could be given to a man who gave up his life in the service of his country.

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[From the Sebastopol (Calif.) Times]

LET PEOPLE SPEAK

Saturday afternoon, Clem Miller sat in my office, and we talked about local problems—off the record. It was probably his last news conference. The next day he was dead. It was like he wrote in his October 11 newsletter: "This is the final 'Washington Letter' of 1962."

In the year that I have known Clem, he proved to have an unusual concern for his constituents. When the Times lambasted him for not doing something about last year's labor problem in Sebastopol, he roared into the Times office, took off his kid gloves, and we engaged in a verbal slugfest that would have been more appropriate in a barroom brawl. We parted friends, and remained friends. This guy could take it; and dish it out, too.

Clem wasn't exactly a hero in this only Republican stronghold in Sonoma County, and more often than not he had to endure criticism and downright insults as he shook hands and talked his way up and down Main Street. Clem was partial to the little guy and the underdog.

When Clem started camapigning for office, his assets consisted of a battered house trailer and his own personality, and he suffered more than one defeat before his campaign to the people elected him to Congress. Nothing came easy for Clem, and he couldn't have cared less.

He acquired the title of "Spending Clem" for his support of liberal Democratic legislation; but his first duty, as he saw it, was looking after the best interests of the people in the First Congressional District. There never would have been a public hearing by the Corps of Engineers on the subject of the shoreline road to the nuclear plant at Bodega Bay had not Clem Miller personally intervened.

On behalf of the Times and on behalf of the well-mauled people of Bodega Bay, I thanked him Saturday for intervening in a fight that could and did bring him powerful enemies. In substance, he replied:

"The right of the people to be heard on a public question was being denied at Bodega Bay. Let the people speak; let them be heard. Even if their talk gets them nowhere, at least they've had their constitutional right to stand up and talk. That's important."

When Clem came into this office Saturday, I was reading a copy of his new book, "Member of the House," which deals largely with his wonderment at the workings of Congress as seen through the eyes of a freshman Member. Now that he's gone, the book has even more meaning.

I wish he could have stayed and chatted longer than he did, but he had to cover one of the largest congressional districts in the Nation—and he had to see all the people. I wish he hadn't taken that ride to Crescent City in a light plane in bad weather. The only Democrat I expected to vote for next month was killed in the plane's crash Sunday—all because seeing "his people" and "letting them talk" were more important to him than his personal safety.

I liked that man, and I'm glad he knew it.

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[From the Fernandale (Calif.) Enterprise]

CONGRESSMAN CLEM MILLER

Congressman Clem Miller's death is a personal loss, not only to many of his supporters who had become closely acquainted with him during his political career, but to hundreds of other friends and political leaders throughout the Nation. His frequent visits to crossroads and metropolitan communities of District One were always informal and on a basis of honest appraisal of community needs and interests.

Mr. Miller had a genuine warmth of feeling for his fellow man and won the respect of political friends and foe for his dogged drive toward a project's completion. He was also highly regarded for his personal interest and activities on behalf of each of the varied community problems within his District. Few Congressmen have been as willing to give a personal answer to a constituent.

Mr. Miller's major interest locally was flood control on the Eel River and its delta area, and a Federal development of the Kings Peak country on a basis fair to Mattole ranchers and residents as well as to public recreation needs. He had presided at several public meetings on each subject, here and in Petrolia, and had kept the slow-moving machinery of government progressing toward eventual solutions.

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[From the Ukiah (Calif.) Daily Journal]

ACCORDING TO HIS BELIEFS

Clem Miller was not a man who was ever taken lightly—neither by his friends nor by his enemies. And he collected his fair share of enemies during the 4 years he pursued the interests of the First Congressional District in Washington.

Miller was not a man known for his tact. He spent little time winning friends and influencing people on the cocktail circuit. And the big smile and the hearty slap on the back was not an approach he favored in any situation.

He was a worker. He was a fighter. He was a perfectionist. And he was dedicated to doing his job, according to his beliefs.

Miller has been eulogized by President Kennedy, California's Senator Clair Engle, Senate GOP Whip Thomas H. Kuchel, and Oregon's Senator Wayne Morse, but perhaps the best expression of the type of man and Congressman this district has lost lies in the words of a telegram received in this office today:

"We sincerely regret the passing of Congressman Clem Miller. Although we differed with Congressman Miller in political philosophy, we respected him as a sincere, dedicated Congressman."

The telegram is signed by Robert Hill, chairman of the First Congressional District Republican Campaign Committee.

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[From the San Rafael (Calif.) Independent Journal]

CLEM MILLER'S BOOK MAY PROVE TO BE HIS MOST LASTING CONTRIBUTION

A Congressman, like any other man, eventually has to stand on his record.

This is true after death even more than it is during his life. Thousands of Americans have lived and served as Members of the House of Representatives and died—and have been forgotten.

If he happens to become Speaker of the House or gets his name tacked onto an especially good or especially bad bill, his chances for durability increase somewhat.

There are exceptions. After all the memorials and resolutions have taken their place as conventional tributes, I think Congressman Clem Miller stands a pretty good chance of lasting well beyond the memory of the first district and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It may be true that the Point Reyes National Seashore will be an everlasting monument to Miller, but this will take second place, eventually, to another, almost incidental, contribution from Miller.

A name on a plaque or grave at Point Reyes may mean little to sightseers 50 years from now.

A more enduring work, as far as Miller's intellect and personality are concerned, is a modest document called "Member of the House: Letters of a Congressman."

This collection of letters from Miller to a group of friends who did the spade work at election time was published the day after his death. As a book, it is not a great one. But as a report by an observant young Congressman it should remain an integral part of the more readable literature on how Congress works, and why it works at all.

Miller relates his experiences in the House of Representatives during the period of 1959–61. The account includes lively references to Miller's annoyance at the difficulty of "selling" a bill to the Eisenhower administration and the superficiality of the novel, "Advise and Consent."

But the letters are more than an informative (and informed) story of Washington politics at a particular time.

Because he is not a political scientist or any other such expert, Miller brings first-hand insights into the sometimes dreary, sometimes dramatic, always complex workings of Congress.

Arriving in Washington with bright ideas and legislation in hand, all ready for the enthusiastic approval of his colleagues, Miller at first expresses a kind of Mr. Smith-Goes-to-Washington dismay at the way things really are.

But while waiting and watching Miller learns a lot, and so does the reader of his letters. He illustrates generalities about the traditions and intrigues of House committees with colorful examples. In a few lines he conjures up a memorable impression of the awesome power of the Speaker (in this case the late Sam Rayburn).

Many books have been written about Congress, but this is most likely one of the few that brings full force to a nonpolitician, and nonveteran politicians, too, the personal maneuverings and hard work that shape national legislation.

The Miller letters are valuable because they are from a man who was there and brought a clear style and intelligent mind to his work. They should be valuable to students of Congress (and shouldn't we all be?) for many years.

We in the first district may not have known until too late that we were represented by a rather wise man. His book is evidence of that.

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[From the Yountville (Calif.) Veterans' Home Observation Post]

CLEM MILLER, 1916–62

("Abiit ad plures"—"He has joined the great majority"—Petronius)

It is a sad and impossible task adequately to tell the whole story of how Clem Miller, our recently deceased Congressman, sought to bring better conditions to the Veterans' Home of California.

Perhaps it is better just to say that nothing pertaining to improvement here was too small a matter for this great young legislator.

In addition to other fine plans he had in mind for northern California's future, he was responsible for preservation of Point Reyes National Seashore.

On the Bear Valley Ranch overlooking this park and the sometimes calm and troubled Pacific, Clem Miller will be laid to rest.

Like many an American hero of battles in foreign climes and lands around the world, northern California's beloved Clem would want no more than to have this picturesque scene for his last resting place.

Clem Miller, a true and sincere friend of his fellow veterans, will be missed by many.

[From the Napa (Calif.) Register]

CLEM MILLER SERVED HIS COUNTRY

"Forget the Clement. Just call me Clem."

With determination, the new Congressman from the First Congressional District sought in 1958 to become known as "the people's representative" on Capitol Hill. To do this he wanted to drop all of the formalities connected with his name. He was to be Clem to his friends, associates, and everyone else. And during the past 4 years few people have failed to remember that desired "Clem."

Clem Miller had been associated with the Veterans' Administration and the National Labor Relations Board before running for Congress.

Voters were apparently impressed at the sincerity shown by Candidate Miller for the then 41-year-old Democrat was elected to office after conducting an aggressive campaign throughout the huge district.

Educated at Williams College and Cornell University, his work reflected the schooling he had received. And his experiences in the Army—where during the war he rose from private to captain and won many decorations for bravery in action—also contributed to his devotion to governmental duty and his purpose in action.

At the completion of his first term in office, Clem Miller sought reelection. After a vigorous campaign, he was returned to Congress.

During the past session of Congress he authored the recently enacted bill creating Point Reyes National Seashore, the King Range bill, the salmon restoration bill, the migratory marine game fish research bill, and was instrumental in obtaining legislative approval for numerous water-conservation measures, including some pertaining to the Napa River.

Clem Miller was not afraid of hard work. It was not unusual for him to be at his office nights long after the House Office Building was deserted by most of his associates.

The Congressman studied and restudied legislation pending in the House. He became thoroughly familiar with problems in his home district.

Friends and foes of the Congressman were amazed at his knowledge of virtually any subject coming up in conversations dealing with California or national-international problems.

Clem Miller was seeking a third term in Congress and had just launched another intensive campaign. Just last Friday night he had been honored at a political gathering in Napa. Tomorrow he was to speak at the Napa Rotary Club meeting. He will not fill that speaking engagement, nor will he ever serve another term in Congress.

The father of five daughters and resident of Corte Madera, Miller was killed while journeying in a small plane on a campaign tour Sunday.

His many friends are shocked at his death. His wife, Katharine, and family have lost someone they loved intently. His party lost a vigorous votegetter and campaigner. The Nation has lost a devoted citizen who gave his all to public service.

Many people may have disagreed with some of his actions, but none can dispute his honesty or sincerity.

His feelings in the current campaign were noted in his address here Friday night: "I hope to continue for you the job you want done in Congress." Fate has prevented him from fulfilling that wish.

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[From the Arcata (Calif.) Union]

REPRESENTATIVE CLEM MILLER

The tragic loss to the First Congressional District and our Nation of Representative Clement Miller is a fact difficult to accept even today.

Any loss of life is costly, but infinitely more so in the instance of a person who has contributed so greatly to his fellow men.

Representative Miller felt a deep responsibility not only to people of his district, but in a broad sense to the entire Nation. His death is grieved by local and national figures, most acutely reflected by those of President Kennedy.

"He spoke with great eloquence for the needs of our people, particularly in the field of conservation.

"His death is a personal loss to me and to the American people."

Representative Miller, a conscientious, liberal Democrat, wanted to be a good Congressman. He worked 24 hours a day to represent his district, and did this in a manner which overshadowed the efforts of any previous Congressman from this portion of the State.

He was a very warm human being, possessing a love for people that showed itself often in his correspondence, his actions, in personal encounters.

A clear image of the inner man is found in his recently published book by Scribner's, "Member of the House—Letters of a Congressman." In his letters to selected friends, Representative Miller sought to enlighten them on the workings of Congress in this modern age. He succeeded in this, and furthermore, while describing the responsibilities and concerns required of a Congressman, Representative Miller exhibited his own awareness of these characteristics.

"That politicians have thick skins is simply not reliable opinion," he wrote. "Politicians are usually in politics because they are 'feeling' people. Their feelings toward one another are the most acute of all."

On another page: "One of our major problems consists of getting to our committee hearings on time. Frequently it seems almost impossible to arrive on time for these hearings, what with the press of office work. However, the committee work is vital to the work of Congress, and I think it well nigh a national disgrace to observe witnesses who have traveled many miles speaking to a committee of one member. So, I make it a point to be there on time."

Yet another: "It imposes a constant vigilance, unrelieved, hour upon hour. An inappropriate offhand remark, misplaced flippancy, or a flash of irritation are not readily forgiven. People ask meaningful, serious questions on all conceivable subjects and they demand and are entitled to informed, thoughful answers. * * * As Representative, I am constantly exposed to the represented—to our mutual education and benefit."

Miller's efforts on behalf of the people of his district are well known: the 53,000-acre Point Reyes National Seashore; flood control and harbor reclamation projects along the north coast, with the Noyo Harbor project completed, the Redwood Creek flood control project all but approved and the Blue Lake levee project in final planning.

The King range bill for southeastern Humboldt County has become a reality. He introduced a mental health bill in the last session of Congress which will be the basis of mental health legislation in the next session. Salmon stream legislation to rescue sport and commercial fishing in the north coast streams is expected to become legislation next session.

As a freshman Congressman, Representative Miller introduced nine pieces of legislation which were passed, an unusual accomplishment.

It is a sad reality that Representative Miller's conscientious efforts to keep faith with the people of his district resulted in his death. He was on the way to a speaking engagement in Crescent City when the fatal plane crash occurred.

We express our deepest regrets to the family of Representative Miller. His death was to us, as it was to many others, a personal loss.

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[From the San Rafael (Calif.) Independent-Journal]

CLEM MILLER'S TRAGIC DEATH IS REAL LOSS TO ALL OF US

The untimely death of Representative Clem Miller comes as a blow to all of the people of Marin County, indeed to all in the First Congressional District.

Tragedy becomes personal to most Americans when the victim is a public official. They have campaigned for or against him; have voted for or against him for a variety of reasons. But even if he wasn't their candidate, he still was their Representative.

In Clem Miller's case he was even more. He was a Marin resident and was raising his daughters here before the voters sent him to Washington. At first unsuccessful, on his second try he won a seat in the House of Representatives. He was reelected and was campaigning for his third term when his plane went down in Sunday's storm.

Miller was an outspoken and hardworking proponent of the so-called liberal philosophy of government. He was sensitive to human problems and felt that Federal Government should do much to alleviate them.

He also was concerned with the situation in his district. Less than 3 weeks ago he happily accepted the designation "pork barrel idealist" from Democratic Leader Roger Kent in recognition of specific projects Miller had been able to bring to his district.

Without doubt the most impressive and important of these is the new Point Reyes Seashore, for which he worked hard and long. He lived long enough to see the park authorized, but not long enough to see the first Federal appropriation or acquisition of the first piece of property to make the park a reality. But it will happen and will be a continuing memorial to his service to the public.

We of the Independent-Journal, who have not supported Clem Miller's candidacy and opposed some of his political positions, sincerely regret his tragic passing. He had become an articulate, effective advocate of his philosophy. His voice had become louder in Capitol Halls. He represented the people of the district in the way he believed best for them and the way he believed they wanted to be represented.

It is particularly untimely that his death should occur at just this time, a time when the general election is too near at hand to place another name for his on the ballot. Ponderous democracy sometimes seems temporarily unfair.

And we sorrow with Clem Miller's gentle widow, Katharine, and with their five daughters. They have our deep sympathy and our most heartfelt thanks for all they have gone through in being a part of our great system of government. We hope they will return to live amongst us once more.

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[From the North Bay Labor Journal]

CLEM MILLER

Congressman Clem Miller's name will be on the ballot November 6.

We will vote for him.

We will pass through the polling place with bared heads and sorrowing hearts and offer him our final tribute, our courage to carry on where he left off.

We will vote for the principles he stood for, for his program. We will vote for the kind of Congressman he was and the kind of a Congressman we want to represent us.

If we elect Clem Miller, if we give him the greatest memorial a great leader could hope for, we can have a successor who will pick up his program and carry it to completion.

If Clem Miller is elected, the opponents of what Clem stood for will be defeated. Then there will be a special election to see what living man may best represent us in Congress.

If we forget Clem Miller, we are beaten before we start.

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## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 183, p. 1937).

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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## CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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## PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

## SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson

Aiken, George D., *Vt*
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* — 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Beall, J. Glenn, *Md*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Bottum, Joe H., *S. Dak*
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Bush, Prescott, *Conn*
Butler, John Marshall, *Md.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va* — The Shoreham
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*
Capehart, Homer E., *Ind* — The Westchester
Carlson, Frank, *Kans* — Sheraton-Park
Carroll, John A., *Colo*
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*
Chavez, Dennis, *N. Mex* — 2525 P St.
Church, Frank, *Idaho*
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*
Eastland, James O., *Miss* — 5101 Macomb St.
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Engle, Clair, *Calif*
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Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* — 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
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Hartke, Vance, *Ind*
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Hickey, J. J., *Wyo* — Room 1251, New Senate Ofc. Bldg.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*
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Kefauver, Estes, *Tenn* — 4929 Hillbrook La.
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Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*
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Long, Oren E., *Hawaii*
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McClellan, John L., *Ark*
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Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
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Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
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Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W.Va* — 4608 Reservoir Rd.
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Wiley, Alexander, *Wis* — 2122 Mass. Ave.
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Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
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*Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*

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Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Goldberg, of Illinois, 2811 Albemarle St.

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Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
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*Second judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

*Third judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

*Fourth judicial circuit:* Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

*Fifth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

*Sixth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

*Seventh judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

*Eighth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

*Ninth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

*Tenth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

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*Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries*

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## UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

(United States Court House, 3d and Constitution Ave.)

| *Office telephone* | *Chief Judge* | *Residence telephone* |
|---|---|---|
| | Wilbur K. Miller, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | | Federal 8–5313 |

*Circuit Judges*

| | |
|---|---|
| Henry White Edgerton, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Emerson 3–6017 |
| David L. Bazelon, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Emerson 3–5007 |
| Charles Fahy, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Emerson 3–6267 |
| George T. Washington, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Emerson 2–8653 |
| John A. Danaher, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Federal 8–8272 |
| Walter M. Bastian, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Federal 8–6630 |
| Warren E. Burger, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | Jefferson 3–1347 |
| J. Skelly Wright, Washington 1, D.C. | |
| Sterling 3–5700 | |

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## COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

(Internal Revenue Building. Phone National 8–4696)

Chief Judge—Eugene Worley, of Texas, 4745 32d St., North, Arlington, Va.
Judge—Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va.
Judge—Giles S. Rich, of New York, 4949 Linnean Ave.
Judge—I. Jack Martin, of Ohio, 9614 Hillridge Dr., Rock Creek Hills, Kensington, Md.
Judge—Arthur M. Smith, of Michigan.

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## THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS

(Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St. Phone, District 7–0642)

Chief Judge—Marvin Jones, of Texas, University Club.
Judge—Samuel E. Whitaker, of Tennessee, 4921 Quebec St.
Judge—Don N. Laramore, of Indiana, 5017 Scarsdale Rd., Sumner, Md.
Judge—James R. Durfee, of Wisconsin, 4 Carvel Circle, Westmoreland Hills, Washington 16, D.C.
Judge—Oscar H. Davis, of New York, 2021 16th St.

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## UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

*District of Columbia*

(Washington 1, D.C.)

Chief Judge Matthew F. McGuire

*Judges*

| | |
|---|---|
| David A. Pine | Luther W. Youngdahl |
| Alexander Holtzoff | Joseph C. McGarraghy |
| Richmond B. Keech | John J. Sirica |
| Edward M. Curran | George L. Hart |
| Edward A. Tamm | Leonard P. Walsh |
| Charles F. McLaughlin | William B. Jones |
| Burnita S. Matthews | (Vacancy) |

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## UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

(United States Court of Military Appeals Building, 5th and E Sts. NW.)

Phone, Liberty 5–6700

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief Judge | Robert E. Quinn |
| Judge | Homer Ferguson |
| Judge | Paul J. Kilday |
| Commissioner | Richard L. Tedrow |
| Clerk | Alfred C. Proulx |

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Church, Marguerite Stitt (Mrs.), *Ill*. 2122 Mass. Ave.
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Davis, John W., *Ga*.
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Dingell, John D., *Mich*.
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Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass*.
Dooley, Edwin B., *N.Y*.
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S.C*.
Dowdy, John, *Tex*.
Downing, Thomas N., *Va*.
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Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y*. 1719 New House Office Building
Durno, Edwin R., *Oreg*.
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Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*.
Fogarty, John E., *R.I*. 1235 New House Office Building
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., *Mich*. 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., *Ga*.
Fountain, L. H., *N.C*. The Westchester
Frazier, James B., Jr., *Tenn*. The Congressional
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., *N.J*. 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md*.
Fulton, James G., *Pa*.
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Garland, Peter A., *Maine*.
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*.
Gary, J. Vaughan, *Va*.
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*.
Gavin, Leon H., *Pa*.
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*.
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*.
Glenn, Milton W., *N.J*. Capitol Park Apts., 800 4th St. SW.
Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex*. 200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y*. 3842 Macomb St.
Goodling, George A., *Pa*.
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Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill*.
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*.
Green, William J., Jr., *Pa*.
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Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich*.
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*.
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*.
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Hagen, Harlan, *Calif*.
Haley, James A., *Fla*.
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*.
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind*. 4926 Upton St.
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Harding, Ralph R., *Idaho*.
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*.
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Harrison, Burr P., *Va*.
Harrison, William Henry, *Wyo*.
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Harvey, James, *Mich*.
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*.
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Henderson, David N., *N.C*.
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Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich*.
Hoffman, Elmer J., *Ill*.
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*.
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*.
Horan, Walt, *Wash*.
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*.
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Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*.
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Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*.
Jarman, John, *Okla*.
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va*.
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa*. 2120 16th St.
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*.
Johansen, August E., *Mich*.
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*.
Johnson, Lester R., *Wis*.
Johnson, Thomas F., *Md*.
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*.
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Jones, Robert E., *Ala*.
Judd, Walter H., *Minn*. 3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*.
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*.
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis*.
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa*.
Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), *W. Va*. Albemarle House, 4501 Conn. Ave.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass*. 5906 Harwick Rd.
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*.
Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y*. The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N.Y*.
Kilgore, Joe M., *Tex*. 4807 Newport
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*.
King, Cecil R., *Calif*.
King, David S., *Utah*.
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Kyl, John, *Iowa*.
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McCulloch, William M., *Ohio* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
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McDowell, Harris B., Jr., *Del.*
McFall, John J., *Calif.* — 507 Robinson Ct., Alexandria, Va.
McIntire, Clifford G., *Maine.* — 1001 3d St. SW., Apt. N-306
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Mack, Peter F., Jr., *Ill.*
Madden, Ray J., *Ind.*
Magnuson, Don, *Wash.*
Mahon, George H., *Tex.* — Alban Towers
Mailliard, William S., *Calif.*
Marshall, Fred, *Minn.*
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Mason, Noah M., *Ill.*
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr., *Md.*
Matthews, D. R. (Billy), *Fla.*
May, Catherine, *Wash.*
Meader, George, *Mich.* — 3360 Tennyson St.
Merrow, Chester E., *N.H.*
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Miller, William E., *N.Y.* — 6605 Radnor Rd., Bethesda, Md.
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Mills, Wilbur D., *Ark.* — 2701 Conn. Ave.
Minshall, William E., *Ohio* — 8120 Kerry Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
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Olsen, Arnold, *Mont.*
O'Neill, Thos. P., Jr., *Mass.*
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Poff, Richard H., *Va.*
Powell, Adam C., *N.Y.*
Price, Melvin, *Ill.*
Pucinski, Roman C., *Ill.*
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Rains, Albert, *Ala.*
Randall, Wm. J., *Mo.*
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Reece, Louise G., *Tenn.*
Reifel, Ben, *S. Dak.*
Reuss, Henry S., *Wis.* — 6448 Brooks Lane
Rhodes, George M., *Pa.* — 5603 24th Ave. SE., Hillcrest Hgts., Wash. 21, D.C.
Rhodes, John J., *Ariz.*
Riehlman, R. Walter, *N.Y.* — 3210 Wis. Ave.
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Rivers, L. Mendel, *S.C.*
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Roberts, Ray, *Tex.*
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Rogers, Paul G., *Fla.* — Sheraton-Park
Rogers, Walter, *Tex.*
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Shriver, Garner E., *Kans.*
Sibal, Abner W., *Conn.*
Sikes, Robert L. F., *Fla.*
Siler, Eugene, *Ky.*
Sisk, B. F., *Calif.* — 129 6th St. NE.
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Smith, Frank E., *Miss.*
Smith, H. Allen, *Calif.*
Smith, Howard W., *Va.* — 204 W. Walnut St., Alexandria, Va.
Smith, Neal, *Iowa*
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Springer, William L., *Ill.*
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Staggers, Harley O., *W. Va.*
Steed, Tom, *Okla.*
Stephens, Robert G., Jr., *Ga.*
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Teague, Olin E., *Tex.* — 6015 Mass. Ave.
Thomas, Albert, *Tex.* — 2901 34th St.
Thompson, Clark W., *Tex.* — 3301 Mass. Ave.
Thompson, Frank, Jr., *N.J.*
Thompson, T. A., *La.* — 1600 Kenwood Av., Alexandria, Va.
Thomson, Vernon W., *Wis.*
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Vinson, Carl, *Ga.* — 4 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
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Wickersham, Victor, *Okla.*
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Willis, Edwin E., *La.*
Wilson, Bob, *Calif.*
Wilson, Earl, *Ind.*
Winstead, Arthur, *Miss.*
Wright, Jim, *Tex.*
Yates, Sidney R., *Ill.*
Young, John, *Tex.*
Younger, J. Arthur, *Calif.* — 4501 Conn. Ave.
Zablocki, Clement J., *Wis.*
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Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
Doorkeeper—William M. Miller, 3119 N. Harrison St., Arlington 7, Va.
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Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 216 Normandy Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Julian R. Serles, Jr., 4225 North 31st St., Arlington, Va.
Joseph J. Sweeney, 3832 Porter St.
Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 701 North Harrison St., Arlington, Va.
Placidino Zagami (clerk), 5805 10th Pl., Chillum, Md.

HOUSE

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F. S. Milberg, 3 Pooks Hill Rd., Bethesda, Md.
E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Albert Schneider, 2737 Devonshire Pl.
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Bjarne J. Sigurdsen (assistant clerk), 1921 U Place SE.
James W. Lea (assistant clerk), 5055 Dixon St., Oxon Run Hills, Md.